INCANTATION BOWLS FROM BABYLON AND BORSIPPA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM*

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The origins of the British Museum collection of incantation bowls are inextricably connected with the upsurge of interest in Mesopotamian antiquities that arose during the mid-nineteenth century. The first accessions took place as early as 1841, following the purchase of B.M. 91739 and B.M. 91712 from Claude Scott Stewart[1]. Austen Henry Layard published the latter, a superbly decorated specimen, written in the Syriac Estrangelo script in his epic tome, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, which presented incantation bowls to the European public for the first time[2]. Discussing incantation bowls, Layard noted that "[t]wo from the collection of the late Mr. Stewart had been deposited in the British Museum"[3].

In 1851 the first incantation bowls from Babylon, B.M. 91766 and B.M. 91710, were registered by the British Museum[4]. Layard published these two bowls, which may have been discovered during his excavations at Amran, where he mentions "five cups or bowls of earthenware, and fragments of others, covered on the inner surface with letters written in a kind of ink"[5]. B.M. 91766 commenced with מזמנה קמיעה דנן מן שמיא [mzmnh qmy'h dnn mn šmy'] "designated is this amulet from heaven"[6]. In doing so, the copyist combined two common introductory formulæ לאסותא מזמן הנא כסא/קמיעא [mzmn hn' k's'/qmy'' l'swt'] "this bowl/amulet is designated for the salvation of ... " and אסותא מן שמיא ['swt' mn šmy'] "salvation from heaven"[7].

B.M. 91710 is specifically termed גיטא [gyṭ'] "a bill of divorce" against demons, including Bagdana who is named as מלכיהון דשידי ודדיוי ושליטא רבה דליליתה [mlkyhwn dšydy wddywy wšlyṭ' rbh dlylyth] "the king of the demons and of devils and great ruler of

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1 The accession dates for both incantation bowls being 1841-7-26, 90.

2 A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London: 1853), 521-2, for the transcription of the Syriac Estrangelo script, English translation and a hand-copy of the incantation text. He also includes on p. 526 a small line drawing of several incantation bowls, including B.M. 91712 (no. 6), which is captioned, "Inscribed Earthen Bowls from Babylon".

3 *Ibid*, 509.

4 B.M.91710 and B.M. 91766 were accessioned on 1851-9-3, 2 and 1851-9-3, 3.

5 Layard, *loc. cit.*. The two bowls were published by Layard as Text I and Text V on pp. 512-3 and 519-21 respectively.

6 See *Plate I*: Aramaic incantation bowl (B.M. 91766) from Babylon.

7 T. Harviainen, "Pagan incantations in Aramaic Magic Bowls" in Geller, *op. cit.*, 54 *sqq.* for a study of the initial formulae of Aramaic, Mandaic and Syriac incantation texts.

liliths"[8]. It was written for clients, presumably husband-wife, who bore Iranian names: BHRNDWK daughter of NYWNDWK and MHDD son of YŞPNDRMYD[9]. The incantation text was widely known in Sassanid Mesopotamia and is partially duplicated by five other extant Aramaic incantation bowls, including three from Nippur[10]. It also crossed linguistic boundaries, as shown by the three parallel texts that were written in Mandaic[11]. Both the Aramaic and Mandaic versions refer, in their closing stages, to the "signet-ring" of Solomon, which was, of course, famed for its control over demons.

More incantation bowls from Babylon were acquired by the British Museum acquired in 1851 when eight specimens were purchased from Col. Henry Rawlinson. One was written in Mandaic[12]. The seven remaining incantation bowls, all written in Aramaic, were found "in a tomb at Babylon", but there are no further details about this unusual find-spot[13]. Layard published three of the "Rawlinson" texts: B.M. 91716, B.M. 91720 and B.M. 91726 in his aforementioned book. However he appears to have been mistaken about their provenance since he claimed that they were "obtained at Baghdad, where they are sometimes offered for sale by the Arabs; but it is not known from what sites they were brought"[14].

The seven Aramaic incantation bowls were a very important acquisition since they were written for the client, MHPRWZ son of HNDW, whose names combine Semitic and Iranian elements[15]. MHPRWZ, incorporating an epithet that was sported by several Sasanian monarchs, points to the infiltration of Persian nomenclature amongst the Aramaic-speaking citizens of Babylon[16]. All seven bowls (henceforth called "Rawlinson") have a common physical typology; being hemispherical with simple rims measuring 0.6 cm thick and shaved bases, that suggest their manufacture as a batch at the same workshop, probably in the city of Babylon itself. The palaeography of the incantations, in a typical Aramaic script, confirms that they were the product of the same copyist.

Four of the "Rawlinson" bowls, B.M. 91716, B.M. 91720, B.M. 91721 and B.M. 91727 were inscribed with an incantation that was very widely known in Sassanid Mesopotamia[17]. To date, fourteen parallel incantation bowls written with this text have

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8 British Museum accession date is 1851-9-3, 2. See also S. Shaked, "Bagdana, king of the demons and other Iranian terms in Babylonian-Aramaic magic", *Acta Iranica* 25, 2nd série xi (1985) 511 - 25.

9 BHRNDWK = "Daughter of BHRN", NYWNDWK = "daughter of good/strong ones", MHDD may be read "given by the moon" or, if DD is a Semitic element, "beloved by the moon". See F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg 1895) 75 for names commencing with the element DD.

10 Erica C.D. Hunter, "Combat and Conflict in Incantation Bowls: Studies on Two Aramaic Specimens from Nippur" in M.J. Geller, J.C. Greenfield and M.P. Weizman (eds.), *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches* (*Journal of Semitic Studies* Supplement 4) (Oxford: 1995) 67 *sqq.* for discussion and collation of the duplicate texts.

11 Specifically, M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 2 vols. (Giessen: 1902), vol. I, Text V, to which B.M. 91769 and B.M. 103358 can be added.

12 This bowl appears to have been mislaid, since its whereabouts are unknown today. It apparently came from a site called Teeb, that has remained unidentified.

13 British Museum, Trustees Minutes 1848-52, 362-3.

14 Layard, *op. cit.*, 509 and 509-514 for Texts II, III and IV.

15 B.M.91716, B.M.91719, B.M.91720, B.M.91726, B.M.91727 and B.M.91756.

16 Justi, *op. cit.*, 247 - 51 for lisings of the name PRWZ.

17 B.M.91727 has been translated three times. In 1890 it was re-edited by Moïse Schwab, "Les coupes magiques et l'hydromancie dan l'antiquité orientale", *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, April 1890, 306-10 [Text B], secondly by Isak Jeruzalmi in his unpublished doctoral thesis, *Les coupes*

come to light and undoubtedly more discoveries will made of this popular text[18]. The incantation, which J. B. Segal has termed 'Refrain A', commences with a distinctive call for the overthrow of the world and heavenly *viz*: בשום הפכה הפכה שמיה הפיכי [bšwm hpkh hpkh hpykh šmyh hpyky ...] "in the name of, the Overturning, overturning. Overturned be the heavens, overturned ...". Despite being written for the same client, the "Rawlinson" texts and even their layout are not identical, but may be described as "variations on a theme".

All four bowls cite the distinctive invocation הפיכיה hpykyh "overturned" that is directed to the earth and heavenly elements and which may express why incantation bowls were buried "downturned"[19]. The command הפיכיה begins the texts of B.M. 91720, B.M. 91721 and B.M. 91727 which are written in concentric spirals. In B.M. 91716 it only occurs mid-way through the text which has been arranged, quite atypically, in four wedges or segments. הפיכיה occurs in l. 39 of the third segment, that consists of ll. 29 - 43, which have been written from the rim to the centre of the incantation bowl. The placement of hykyph undoubtedly highlighting the cardinal role of the "overturning" element in the incantation, indicates the scribe's manipulation of the text, possibly to fulfill a ritual pre-requisite.

To achieve their aim of "overturning'" the earth and the heavenly elements, B.M. 91716, B.M. 91720, B.M. 91721 and B.M. 91727 call upon the auspices of a great angel who is named as יטבא yṭb', and to whom a further eleven names are appended[20]. The listings commence with סכבך ssbk[21], although the process of orthographic corruption has garbled once intelligible epithets. Some sense can occasionally be salvaged with the final two names כביבי בנורא kbyby bnwr' being read as "scorched by fire".

TABLE 2: Names of "the great angel"

BM 91716: ss krb' ...b sydryh ḥydryh ...yh btqp' 'wqp' 'nsps kbyby bnwry'
BM 91720: sskbh sryh kkb' swdryh 'wznyh btqpt' nwqp' 'nsps kbyby bnwr'

magiques araméennes de Mésopotamie (University of Paris: 1963) 52- 63 and finally by Charles Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula: 1975) 131-2 [Text 58].

18 Other parallel texts are (i) B.M. 91745, (ii) Iraq Museum 9726, (iii) Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Institute of Archaeology No. 1401 published by Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations from Late Antiquity* (Leiden: 1985) 134-45 [Bowl B] (iv) a specimen in a private collection published by Edwin Yamauchi, "Aramaic magic bowls", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85 (1965) 511 - 23 and (v) a specimen in a private collection published by Markham Geller, "Eight incantation bowls", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 17 (1986) 101 - 5. Six more examples of Refrain A have been identified and are included in the forthcoming volume by J.B. Segal, with a contribution by Erica C.D. Hunter, *Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London: 2000). These incantation bowls are: B.M. 91713, B.M. 91718, B.M. 91721, B.M. 91764, B.M. 108819 and finally B.M. 117883.

19 Cyrus H. Gordon, "The Aramaic Incantation Bowls in Historic Perspective" in M. Brettler and M. Fishbane (eds.), *Minhah le-Nahum: biblical and other studies presented to Nahum M. Sarna in honour of his 70th birthday* (Sheffield: c1993) 142. The author wishes to thank Prof. Gordon for sending her an offprint of this article.

20 The name is not present in B.M. 91716 and B.M. 91721 since their texts are deteriorated at this point.

21 Naveh and Shaked, *op. cit.*, 140 postulate that YṬB' is a corruption of the term YY RB' "the great YY" which in other incantation bowls written with Refrain A is sometimes written as YRB', the Mandaean divinity Yorba. See E. Yamauchi, "Aramaic magic bowls", *Journal American Oriental Society* 85 (1965) 519.

BM 91721[22]: sskb'
BM 91727: sskb' syrh kbb' krbk' sydryh ḥydryh 'znyh btwqp' 'wqp' 'nsps kbyby bnwry'

As well as differences in the sequence of names, the actual number of names which are cited varies. B.M. 91716 and B.M. 91720 have nine, B.M. 91727 has ten. Such discrepancies, suggesting that the practitioner was unconcerned to list the exact number, do not appear to have hindered the efficacy of the text, in the same way as bowls that were selected upon which to write incantations often have physical flaws.

After the acquisition of the "Rawlinson" collection in 1851, twenty-nine years elapsed until the British Museum acquired more incantation bowls. In 1880 two Aramaic specimens from Borsippa were received from Hormuzd Rassam, a Christian from Mesopotamia, who conducted excavations on behalf of the British Museum at Babylon, as well as at nearby Borsippa (Birs Nimrud)[23]. The registration date, on the 12th of November, indicates that the two incantation bowls were found early in Rassam's two year season at Borsippa (July 1880 - July 1882)[24]. No precise information is available about the find-spot of the two incantation bowls, although a discovery at the city mound of Borsippa would be more likely than at the Nabu Temple area which Rassam also investigated[25].

B.M. 127395 and B.M. 127396 are flat-based bowls with simple rims and convex walls, their physical typology pointing to their selection from the same pottery workshop. The decoration of these two incantation bowls is highly individualistic: the interior centre has a circle subdivided into four segments, each with a crescent. In a particularly distinctive decorative touch, scalloped underlining highlights listings of eight angels' names אנניאל ברקיאל נבריאל טסדיאל זייאל טנניאל אתריאל קנאיאל qn'y'l 'nngy'l brqy'l gbry'l ḥsdy'l zyy'l ḥnny'l 'try'l which occur in the texts[26]. The palaeography confirms that the incantations were written by the same hand for the client 'B'N son of DDY whose name combines, in a pattern reminiscent of the 'Rawlinson' bowls, an Iranian appellation with a Semitic patronym[27].

The Aramaic text commences with a distinct clause: קל קלה שמעית בשמיא ql ql' šm'yt bšmy' "Hark. The voice which I heard in the heavens" which is reminiscent of phraseology which commonly opens Mandaic incantation bowls[28]. In their aim לפנסא ולסיעא lpns' wlsy''

[22] B.M. 91721 commences with ssbk' but the text has deteriorated at this point.

[23] The registration date for both incantation bowls was the twelfth of November, 1880. See J Reade, "Hormuzd Rassam and his discoveries", *Iraq* LV (1993), pp. 39-62 for a vivid discussion of the life and career of this remarkable man.

[24] See J. Reade, "Rassam's excavations at Borsippa and Kutha, 1879 - 1882", *Iraq* XLVIII (1986), p. 112 for further details.

[25] *Idem.* Rassam's inventories report the findings of miscellaneous Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid and Hellenistic objects, as well as a hoard of Parthian coins, but do not specifically mention incantation bowls.

[26] See *Plate II*: Aramaic incantation bowl (B.M. 127396) from Borsippa.

[27] 'B'N may be 'B "water" with the patronymic suffix ān. Cf. J. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia: 1913) Text 5:1 [Abanduk] . DDY "friend" was a very popular Semitic appellation and occurs in many Aramaic and Mandaic incantation bowls, including Montgomery, *op. cit.*, Text 15.2.

[28] For the occurrence of קל קלה שמעית וקאל הלשיא דמיתבריא ql ql' šm'yt wq'l hlšy' dmytbry' "Hark, the Voice I have heard, the voice of the weak that are broken" see B.M. 91714 l. 2; B.M. 91736 l.4; B.M. 91728 l.1;

"to provide and help" the client, the two incantation bowls, in a rare divulgence of socio-economic detail call upon כל עינא בישתא kl 'yn' byšt' "every evil eye" to desist from לביתיה ולטנותיה lbytyh wlḥnwtyh "his house and his shop", indicating that 'B'N son of DDY was a merchant or trader in Borsippa. Moreover, the opening word of the incantation, לכינפא lkynp' "for the edge" sheds light onto praxis, in giving instructions for the bowl's placement at the corners of a room or a courtyard.

Two other incantation bowls in the British Museum that are also connected with Rassam's activities at Babylon or Borsippa could have been surface finds or even bought from locals. B.M. 117873, a fragmentary specimen in a "pseudo-script" together with three fragments: B.M. 117876 and B.M. 117869 – 70 were registered on twenty-seventh of March, 1881. The fragments all came from a single large ledge-rim bowl that was written for a client called חנישׁ ḥnyš who seems to have been Jewish[29]. The text is badly deteriorated, but the legible excerpts include Hebrew quotations from Isaiah XL.12 and Genesis XLIX.22. The circumstances of their registration do not clarify their exact find-spots, but these specimens were the last incantation bowls to be acquired by the British Museum to come from Babylon and Borsippa.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The acquisition of incantation bowls by the British Museum was marginal in the wider scope of archaeological activities in Mesopotamia. Between 1851-1881 the British Museum received thirteen incantation bowls from Babylon or Borsippa. Nine Aramaic incantation bowls came from Babylon and two from Borsippa. Two fragmentary bowls, one in Aramaic and the other in "pseudo-script" may have come from either city. This small group represents less than 10% of the total collection of 142 incantation bowls held by the British Museum but, because their provenance has been recorded, these incantation bowls from Babylon and Borsippa are extremely valuable, not the least for the glimpses which they supply about their communities during Late Antiquity.

A Mandaic counterpart to B.M. 91710, and parallel Aramaic texts from Nippur, confirm the transmission of incantations between different locations and communities in Mesopotamia. More evidence of the inter-change between the two major language groups emerges from the inclusion of common Mandaic incantation formulae in B.M. 127396 and B.M. 127395. These two Aramaic bowls also reproduce the nomenclature that is found in the seven "Rawlinson" incantation bowls where the clients sport an Iranian name and Semitic patronym. The prevalence of this pattern in the British Museum's small collection of incantation bowls from Babylon and Borsippa suggests a trend towards Iranicization

B.M. 91740 l.3 - all of which are written in Mandaic. The phrase also occurs midway in another Mandaic text, B.M. 135438 (l.17) and a figure drawing on the outside wall of this bowl is captioned קאלא האזין דמוחא דקאל h'zyn dmwt' ḏq'l q'l' šwmy' "This is the portrait of 'Hark, a Voice". For further examples of this phrase see, E. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts* (New Haven: 1967) Texts 7 l.3-4, 8 l.1-2, 9 l. 1-3, 18 l.4-5, 19 l.3-4, 26 l.4-5. Also Iraq Museum 60494 which was published by Erica C.D. Hunter, "Who are the Demons? The iconography of incantation bowls", *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici* 15 (1998). The only other known usage of this phrase in an Aramaic incantation text occurs in Montgomery, *op. cit.*, Text 13.9.

[29] The patronym cannnot be read due to the deterioration of the text at this point.

amongst the Aramaic communities. Possibly this was a response to the Sassanid dynasty at Seleucia-Ctesiphon.



Fig. 1: Aramaic incantation bowl (B.M. 91766) from Babylon.

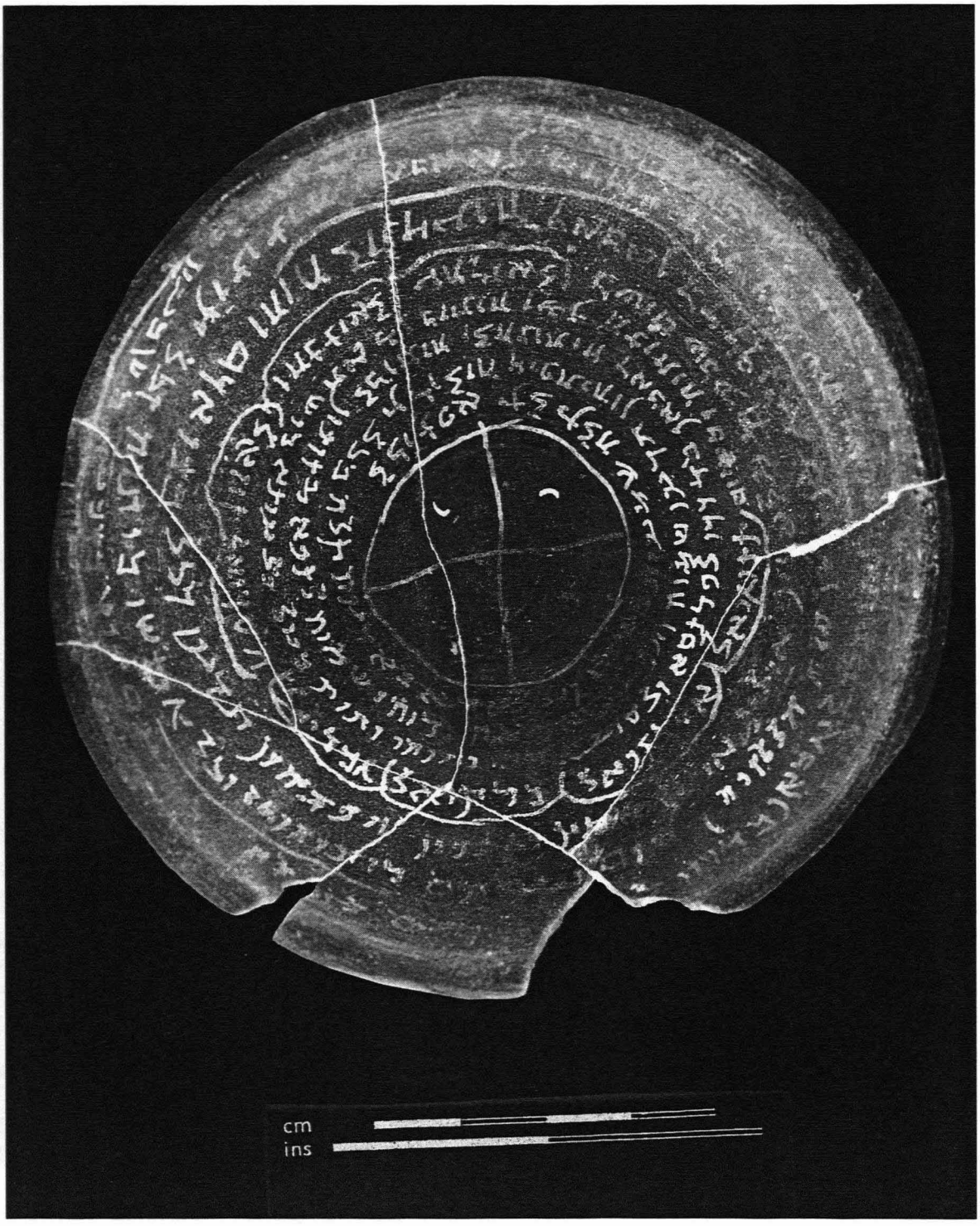


Fig. 2: Aramaic incantation bowl (B.M. 127396) from Borsippa.

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A Byzantine Private Letter in London and Aberystwyth

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§1 In P.Lond. 3, Papyrus 868 of the British Museum (now in the British Library) was described as follows:

§2 > Letter on private affairs, to the brother of the writer, whose name is not given. 7th cent. Perfect; written across the fibres, in a very straggling cursive hand.[1]

§3 The descriptum also gives the date of acquisition by the British Museum as 1900; the papyrus was later transferred to the British Library. On inspection there, the light brown sheet proves indeed complete, but not without some surface damage and abrasion. The writing is transversa charta on the front, with a kollesis visible running horizontally c. 8 cm from top and a protocol join c. 0.5 cm from the bottom. The letter was part of a lot of papyri eventually assigned the shelfmarks 835-878, described in the Catalogue of Additions as, "Miscellaneous documents, mostly official and legal,"[2] ranging in date from the first to seventh centuries CE, which were presented by the executors of the will of the antiquarian William Joseph Myers, in whose collection they had lain until his death the previous year.[3] The papyrus may have been acquired during the years in which Myers was stationed on military service in Egypt (1882-1887), or on later visits there as a private citizen. Myers is known to have had advice and assistance from Emile Brugsch and to have purchased directly from villagers in addition to antiquities dealers. More could perhaps someday be gleaned from the 36 volumes of the diaries of Myers, still unpublished, kept in the library of Eton College.

§4 The name of the brother of the writer probably was in fact given, but it lies beyond recovery in the damaged state of the text. Some progress towards contextualization can nevertheless be made. First there is the conjunction of the reading of a toponym Migtolis (6) and the presence of meizones (6), which point to an Arsinoite provenance,[4] despite the position of 868 among a group of shelfmarks (863, 865-869) that might otherwise point to the Hermopolite. Papyri in the Myers lot that have secure internal indication of provenance (see Table 1) come nearly exclusively from the Hermopolite and Arsinoite, including for the latter at least two from the seventh century (P.Lond. 3 871 of 603, P.Lond. 3 872 of ca. 619-629, both from Arsinoe; the shelfmarks might have been assigned on chronological (that is, palaeographic) grounds, not circumstances of acquisition in Egypt.

§5 Table 1: Papyri from the Myers lot (P.Lond. 835-878) with definite internal indications of provenance. (Unless otherwise noted, the publication of reference is P.Lond. 3.)

Arsinoite	Non-Arsinoite
	P.Lond. 835: Hermopolite (c. 102-117)
	P.Lond. 839 (P.Sarap. 11): Hermopolis (128)
	P.Lond. 840 (P.Sarap. 40): Hermopolis (129)
P.Lond. 841a: Arsinoite (Soknopaiou Nesos) (139)	

1 P.Lond. 3 p. xli. All dates in the following are CE. There is an earlier transcript by H. I. Bell, the author of the descriptum, now in Aberystwyth, Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru, Harold Idris Bell papers (unprocessed), box 3, black notebook with the title page "Notes on papyri (chiefly) Book I(a)", pp. [16]-[17]. I thank Todd Hickey for the reference to this document and Beryl Evans for assistance with the papers during my visit (4 May 2021).

2 Catalogue of Additions to the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCC-MDCCCCV (London 1907) 440.

3 R.T. Stearn, in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

4 These officials are not securely attested in the Hermopolite (Berkes 2017: 67), a provenance to which the same toponym Migtolis (see the commentary on 6 below) and the internal localization of some other papyri in the lot might otherwise point.

P.Lond. 841b: Arsinoite (Soknopaiou Nesos) (160)	
P.Lond. 842: Arsinoite (Apias) (140)	
P.Lond. 844: Arsinoite (Soknopaiou Nesos) (174)	
P.Lond. 845b: Arsinoite (Soknopaiou Nesos)[5] (139)	
P.Lond. 845c: Arsinoite (Nilopolis) (c. 181-189)	
P.Lond. 846 (W.Chr. 325): Arsinoite (Soknopaiou Nesos) (140)	
P.Lond. 847: Arsinoite (Soknopaiou Nesos) (170)	
P.Lond. 848: Arsinoite (213)[6]	
P.Lond. 849 (SB 20 15076): Arsinoite (Euhemeria) (206 or 235?)	
P.Lond. 850: Arsinoite (Soknopaiou Nesos) (162)	
P.Lond. 851: Arsinoite (216-219)	
	P.Lond. 852 (P.Sarap. 95): Hermopolis (c. 90-133)
	P.Lond. 853a (P.Sarap. 98): Hermopolis (c 90-133)
P.Lond. 853b (SB 20 14200): Arsinoite (Arsinoe) (202-203)	
	P.Lond. 854 (P.Sarap. 101): Hermopolis (c. 90-133)
P.Lond. 855a: Arsinoite (Apias) (c. 216)	
	P.Lond. 855b (P.Sarap. 86): Hermopolis (c. 90-133)
P.Lond. 860a (P.Turner 31, 32): Arsinoite (Soknopaiou Nesos) (c. 201-211)	
	P.Lond. 863a (P.Sarap. 28): Hermopolis (125)
	P.Lond. 863b (P.Sarap. 22a): Hermopolis (102-103)
	P.Lond. 865a+876a, 865b: Hermopolite (mid-7th c.)[7]
	P.Lond. 866a (SB 20 14445): Hermopolite (6th/7th c.)
	P.Lond. 866b (P.Sijp. 24c): Hermopolite (7th c.)
	P.Lond. 867 (SB 16 12864): Hermopolis (506)
	P.Lond. 869 (SB 18 13620): Hermopolis (473)
	P.Lond. 870: Panopolis (4th c.)
P.Lond. 871: Arsinoite (Arsinoe) (603)	
P.Lond. 872: Arsinoite (Arsinoe) (ca. 619-629)[8]	
	P.Lond. 874:[9] Hermopolis (554)
	P.Lond. 876b: Hermopolite (mid-7th c.)

5 The residence of the taxpayer; the receipt is issued by a tax-collector from Memphis.

6 Along with P.Lond. 851 and 855a, now assigned to the archive of the shepherd Akouis: J. Schwartz in the commentary to P.Alex.Giss. 5 (p. 14); Reiter 2004.

7 Information from Nick Gonis, who will publish the texts (along with P.Lond. 876b, listed below) as part of the Senuthius archive in a future volume of CPR.

8 A transcription in Bell's notebook (as cited in n. 1 , here p. 8) establishes the residences of both parties to this lease as ἡ Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλις and gives a dating formula that places it in the Sasanian period; the text will be published by S. Kovarik in BASP 60 (2023).

9 See now Benaissa 2021: 188-191 no. 8.

	P.Lond. 877 (SB 22 15495): Hermopolite (Sinarchebis) (6th c.)

§6 The writer of the present letter addresses himself to a man whom he calls "brother."[10] Neither of their names can be gleaned from the damaged address on the back, but some family and associates are mentioned by name in the body. The chief matters of business, as far as can be gained from the letter's clumsy Greek, are three: acknowledgment of a shipment of fish received with a previous letter; a call to further action, or at least to further correspondence, in relation to conflict with some local officials; congratulations on a safe return. The last shades into the customary closing greetings, probably in the context of an extended family, as a "household" (ὁσπίτιον) is mentioned (9); the sender greets a woman, Thalet, and asks that the addressee greet another, Maria, and "her little child." If the brotherhood of the correspondents was of the flesh, one could speculate that Maria and Thalet might have been the wives of addressee and sender respectively, with Thalet perhaps remaining near the brothers' family home during the sender's travel in connection with the shipment of goods.

§7 The headmen (meizones) of Migtolis are presented (5-7) as causing considerable "bother" (πολλὰ σιαίνονσοι (for σιαίνουσι)). The background is unknown, but it is tempting to think of a context, established by the contemporary Senouthios archive, of complaints about perceived abuses and irregularities in requisitions for the newly installed Muslim administration, in particular for the capital at Babylon-Fusṭāṭ.[11] Some such adversarial relationship with the heads of Migtolis might also explain why the addressee is said to have returned to, and was hence presumably absent or even displaced from, his χωρίον (8-9), which could in the Islamic period mean "village"[12] more specifically than "land" as it is rendered here.

§8 The syntax of the new London papyrus is irregular but not without parallels of its time (e.g. P.Oxy. 16 1831: "very illiterate" according to the editorial introduction; P.Oxy. 16 1866: "very ungrammatical"). In fact the adverb μ̣ά̣την (5), if correctly read, adds a rather literary effect, as might the locution ἐχάρη ἡ ψυχή μου (9: see the commentary to both places). Bilingual interference from Coptic in particular might explain the most characteristic feature, the so far unparalleled density of the conjunction ἐπειδή (see also the commentary to line 3), which could have rendered a string of verbs in the circumstantial conjugation somewhat more naturally in the sender's mother tongue. Something similar has been proposed for an otherwise unusual epistolary formula in Greek, introducing the sender's name in the nominative with ἐγώ followed by the verb γράφω.[13]

§9 The main hand can be assigned to the middle of the seventh century: some general parallels in considerably more skilled hands are P.Oxy. 1 153 (618); CPR 30 3, 4, and 5 (c. 643/644), 21-22 (second half of 7th c.) The address on the back is in a chancellery style, probably by the same writer.

§10 The width of the sheet would accord with roughly half of the height of an original bookroll of 36 cm in height. Trema is used once (5), as is punctuation by colon (3, possibly also 2). The copyist has made several corrections; two of them involve the incomplete washing out of text before overwriting, which might otherwise suggest the presence of an earlier, unrelated text, if the remaining traces did not align closely with the lines of the finalized text. In three more cases the last word of a line is entirely (1) or partly (9, 11) above the line, probably an expedient for reasons of space rather than as corrections: the end of ἐδεξάμην, the second-last word in 1, is already especially compressed. Nearly double the usual space has been left above the last line on the front, probably simply to avoid a rough area on the surface.

10 On contemporary letters see in general Fournet 2009.

11 F. Morelli, CPR 30 p. 10.

12 Berkes 2017: 7.

13 Gonis 2005.

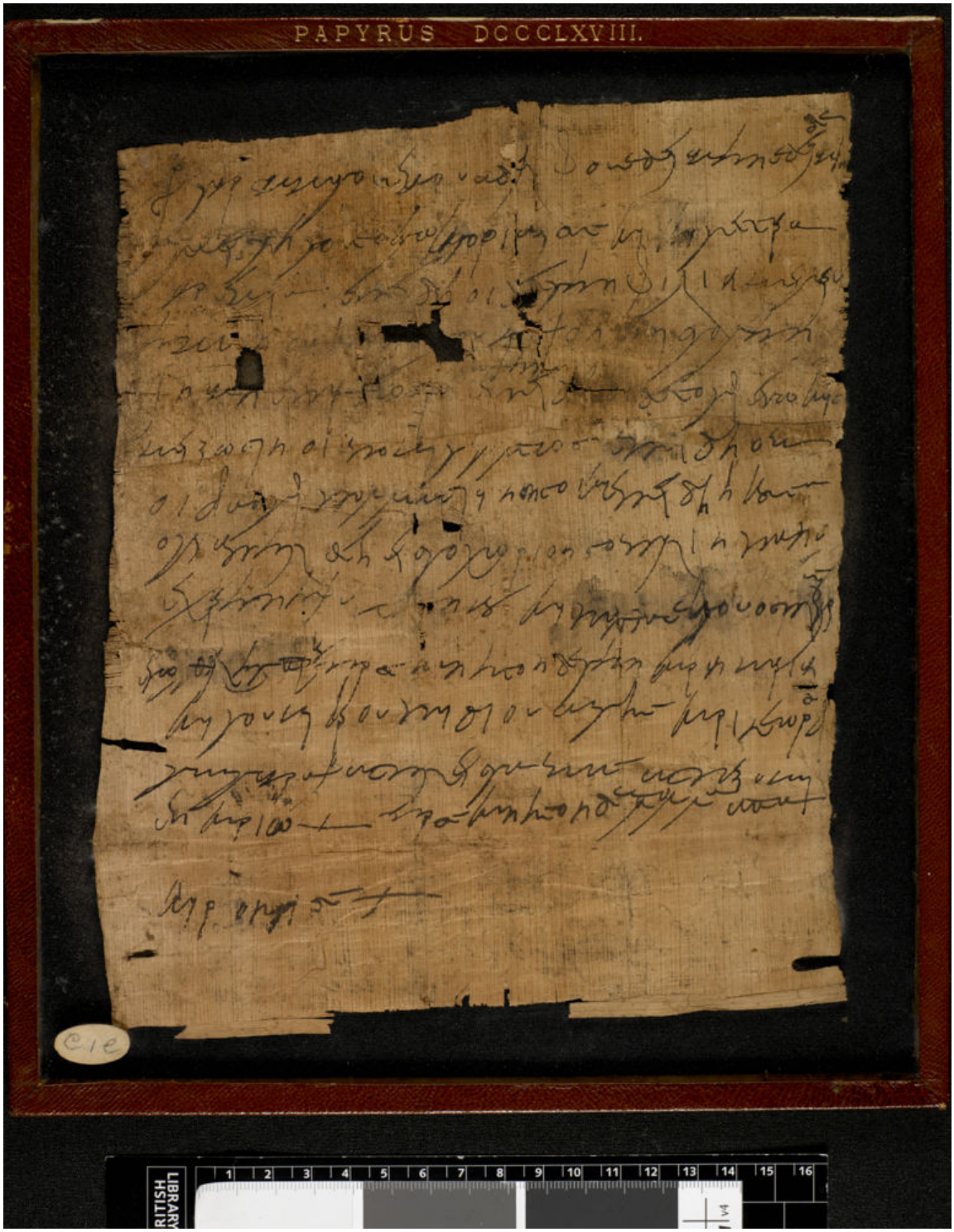


Fig. 1: P.Lond. inv. 868 recto © British Library Board



Fig. 2: P.Lond. inv. 868 verso © British Library Board

P.Lond. inv. 868 | 23.4 (h) x 18.8 (w) | mid-7th c. CE Arsinoite?

r

☩ τὰ γράμμα τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐδεξάμην· ἐδεξάμην \δὲ/
τὰ εἴτη· τοὺς ὀκτὼ κτοριάξους καὶ ⟦και⟧ τέσσαρα
ἀγρέμια· ἐπειδὴ οἶδες τὴν φιλίαν μεταξὺ

ἡμῶν, ουκα̣.. [.̣].̣ ου· γράψον ἐπιστολὴν
ἵνα μὴ ἐπαρῳ̣ῶσιν \μ̣ά̣τ̣ην/· ἐπειδὴ οἶδες ὅτι ἐγὼ καὶ σύ̣,
μείζωσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Μιγτ̣ο̣λεως, ἐπειδὴ οὖν
οἶδα ὅτι πολλὰ σιαίνονσοι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσα
ὅτι ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ χωρίον σου πάλιν, πάνυ
ἐχάρην ἡ ψυχήν μου καὶ ⟦κ̣α̣ι̣̣... [...].. κ̣.. ξας⟧ πάντα ἐκ̣ τ̣οῦ ὁσπιτίου·
ἐγὼ ⟦τ̣. λ̣.. ⟧ Θαλητ προ̣σκ(υνῶ)· προσκύνησον δὲ τὴν κύραν Μαρίαν
καὶ τοὺ μικροὺ παιδίου αὐτῆς. κύρι Γεωργίου
ταῦτα γράψας πλεῖστα ὑμᾶς ἀσπάζομαι
ἐν κυρίῳ. † προσκύνησον δὲ πολλὰ ἄπα
Καιρ⟦.̣ ⟧όντιος. †
v
Ⲑ τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελ̣φ̣ῷ̣ [sealing] σ̣ὺ̣ν θ̣(εῷ) -ca.10- Ⲑ̣

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1 *l.* τὸ γράμμα (*or* τὰ γράμματα) **2** *l.* εἴδη corr. ex... η *l.* κοριάξους **3** *l.* οἶδας **5** ἵνα papyrus *l.* οἶδας **6** *l.* μείζονες **7** *l.* σιαίνουσι **8** *l.* ἀπῆλθες **9** *l.* ἐχάρη *l.* ψυχή *l.* πάντες (*or* πάντων) **11** *l.* τὸ *l.* μικρὸν *l.* παιδίον *l.* κύριος *l.* Γεώργιος **13** corr. ex κυρίῳ **14** *l.* Γερόντιον

I have received the letter of my brother, and I have received the articles, the eight koriaxos-fish and four (fresh) catches (of fish?). Since you know the friendship between us, you did not (?) ...: write a letter, so that they may not be roused in vain (?), since you know that, as for you and me, regarding the headmen (meizones) from Migtolis—since I know that they are causing considerable bother. Since I heard that you (?) have gone back to your land again, my soul rejoiced greatly, and (so did those of) all from the house. I embrace Thalet. Embrace lady Maria and her little child. Lord Georgios, who has written this, gives you very many greetings in the Lord. Embrace warmly Apa Gerontios.

To my brother, with God, ...

§11 1 τὰ γράμμα. The plural of this noun is far more common in self-referential use in letters, and the article is certainly written τά, so the writer probably intended τὰ γράμματα (such a mistake, probably by haplography, is found in P.Kell. 1 24.16, [μὴ εἰδότ]ωϙ γράμμα), although a phonetic spelling τά for τὸ γράμμα cannot be entirely excluded (cf. Gignac, Gram.: 287-288 for the spelling, and for the singular number e.g. P.Berl.Zill. 14.1-2, ἐδεξάμ[ην] νῦν τὸ τίμιον γράμμα τῆς ὑμετέρας πατρικῆς καὶ ὁσίας δεσποτίας καὶ τῆς ἐ[ντί]μας καὶ γ[ν]ησίας [ἀ]δελφικῆς θεοφιλίας).

§12 2 εἴτη (l. εἴδη). For the spelling cf. Gignac, Gram.: 82; for the term to denote wares in the course of shipment see e.g. CPR 30 7.5.

§13 κτοριάξους (l. κοριάξους). The insertion of /t/ may be a purely graphic error under the influence of the preceding ὀκτώ, but κγο- is also a possible reading, in which one might consider the adventitious /g/ the result of a phonetic development better known through the omission of expected /g/ (Gignac, Gram.: 74). The word appears three times in the medical author Alexander of Tralles (1:501, 2:263 and 289 Puschmann; whence LSJ “a kind of fish”), for an as-yet unidentified species apparently native to the Nile, as it is found a few times in Byzantine texts as the object of shipment: P.Naqlun 1 10.3 (with Gonis 2008: 228 no. 592), P.Naqlun 2 27.8, P.Prag. 2 197, SPP 20 224.1. The fish may also appear, under the by-form κόραξος, in an iatromagical prescription to cure disorders of the spleen: P.Utrecht

Copt. Ms. B3.8 (ed. van den Broek 2017), 7 (see the commentary ad loc. for two further attestations in documentary papyri).

§14 3 ἀγρέμια. LSJ give a single instance of ἀγρέμιον from the Greek Anthology and book the term as a synonym of ἄγρα, which can in turn be applied to fish (s.v. II), here perhaps by metonymy, "(freshly-)caught (fish)," which would fit with the other item in the shipment (see the previous note). There is one other papyrological witness: the Byzantine account of provisions SB 1 5301 (twice, and once more with the spelling ἀκρε-), for which see now DGE s.v., but there the rest of the items in the list are fowl, not fish.

§15 ἐπειδή. The conjunction is used three more times in quick succession. A search of papyri.info reveals nothing closely comparable to this construction, which may constitute an idiolectal feature of the sender, possibly influenced by interference from Coptic (see further the introduction; for ἐπειδή in turn as common loanword in Coptic, Förster, WB 275-276; it became part of a common formulaic transition between the preamble and the body of Coptic letters: Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983: 33-34, 215-216, but one that should only appear once per letter). The closest parallel is SB 5 7655, five times but more generously spaced over at least 34 lines; cf. also CPR 25 8 (twice in eight lines); CPR 30 9 (three times in 15); P.Eirene 2 24 verso, where ἐπειδή itself is copied as writing practice.

§16 4 ουκα̣.[.]ου. A negated verb form seems most likely, expressing the action taken by the addressee in consequence of knowing the 'friendship' between the correspondents; οὐ κατ̣ᾰ́[σ]χου might be considered ("you did not hold back" or "delay" from some unexpressed, praiseworthy action: cf. P.Brem. 16.13-14, μὴ κατέχου), or οὐκ ἀπ̣[έσ]χου (cf. the imperative ἀπόσχου in a request for a cessation of ὄχλησις in P.Poethke 36.4), in both cases assuming an enlarged χ; the traces of the latter could also suit λ, which has not yet led to a plausible supplement.

§17 5 ἐπαρθῶσιν `μᾰ́τ̣ην´. The reading of the verb follows a suggestion of Lajos Berkes; the τ that Bell saw in place of θ (επαρτωσιν in his notebook as cited in n. 1) may be the original writing before a correction by the copyist (for the underlying phonetic conflation in that case cf. Gignac, Gram.: 91). The reading of the supralinear insertion is hindered by some fading of the ink, but a continuation of the purpose clause seems certain in light of the following ἐπειδή, and the only other viable possibility, the pronoun αὐτ̣ήν, is a poorer fit for the sense. No parallels for the expression ἐπαίρομαι μάτην have yet been found in the papyri, but there is something relevant in John Chrysostom, In epistulam ad Romanos, ed. PG 60:469: Christians cannot have their hopes proven false, ὡς εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην καὶ ἐπὶ σαθραῖς ἐπαρθέντας ἐλπίσιν; and in the words of Adam to Hades in Romanus the Melode 44.3.3, μὴ μάτην ἐπαίρου. The adverb lends a literary ring to a documentary context: compare the simile ο̣ἶ̣[ο]ν̣ ἐπὶ γῆν ὕδωρ ἐκχύσῃ τις τολμηρώτατος μάτην in the petition P.Cair.Masp. 1 67002.15-16. If the subject is taken proleptically to be the meizones (see the following note), the meaning may be more specifically that these hostile parties should not be allowed to be "falsely elated" by a sense of victory: that is, the latter should be forestalled by the addressee's prompt action, cf. in general the wish of the petitioner in P.Hamb. 3 230.23-25 to clear himself of false accusations, ὅπως δυνηθῶ (...) ἀνεύθυνον ἐμαυτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι πάντων τῶν μάτην κατ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορημένων παρὰ τῶν συκοφαντεῖν με ἐθελόντων; and the reference in the letter SB 5 7655.23-24 to an adversary's "letter suiting his vain way of seeing and thinking" (ἐπιστολὴν πρέπουσα τῇ ὄψει αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει τῇ ματαίᾳ).

§18 ἐγὼ καὶ σύ̣. The pendant nominative seems inevitable: taking σύ̣[ν] with the following noun ("I am among greater ones," perhaps i.e. "outmatched," but leaving an even more perilously pendant nominative in οἱ ἀπὸ κτλ. in 6), or the latter two together as a verbal συ̣|μείζωσιν or συ̣|μείξωσιν (but orphaning ἐγώ), gives nothing sensible. The sender will have perhaps originally intended to implicate himself in the trouble with the meizones (see the following note), but as the construction unfolded, he stressed the "bother" caused to his correspondent instead. A general parallel for the prolepsis is

the authentication-token given in P.Euphr. 17.23-25, ἐγὼ κ[α]ὶ σὺ καὶ̣ Σαδαλλαθος, σημῖον ἔχις [ὅ]τι ἐφάγαμεν λοκανικὰ ϛ.

§19 6 μείζωσιν οἱ ἀπό. The most sensible, if still not optimal division (cf. the previous note) requires this phrase to be taken with the following toponym (see the following note) as an unsyntactical whole (for μείζονες οἱ ἀπό); punctuation before οἱ, otherwise appealing in view of the common locution οἱ ἀπό for residents of a particular place, would create two nonsensical clauses, and a clausular division is signalled by the following ἐπειδή. At least the expression of multiple meizones in connection to a village is known: οἱ μείζονες Φερετνουεως in P.Oxy. 16 1937.7; for the meizon in general, chief official of a village with broad responsibilities for taxation and other matters, see Berkes 2017: esp. 75 and 82 for multiples in office in the same place.

§20 Μιχτ̣ολεως. Read by Nick Gonis (Μιττο- by assimilation is also possible, and Bell's transcript [see n. 1] gives . . ττ . λ̣εως,); probably the same as the Arsinoite Μικτολις (gen. κώμ(ης) Μικτολεως, PSI 1 63.14), ultimately derived from a Semitic word for "tower" (Aramaic magdal; cf. Hebrew migdal), as probably also Μεγτωλις (gen. Μεγτωλεως), a Hermopolite κώμη in P.Athen.Xyla 4.5 (541 CE), corrected to Μεγγωλις (gen. Μεγγωλεως) by J. Gascou (BL 10.251), but Μιγγ- is less attractive here. The toponym was compared to Μαγδωλα by Mandilaras in P.Athen.Xyla, but Gascou preferred Μιχωλις.

§21 7 σιαίνονσοι (l. σιαίνουσι). The unusual spelling could be regarded as a result of interchange of ου with ο (Gignac, Gram.: 212) followed by insertion of medial nasal (Gignac, Gram.: 118), cf. ὑπαρχὸνσα in P.Ryl. 2 160c col. 1.4; for /i/ represented by οι, Gignac, Gram.: 272. Also possible is a suggestion of Lajos Berkes: divide σιαίνον σοι, for which understand σιαίνων (σιαίνοντες) σε "are bothering you," removing some of the phonological oddity but adding unusual syntax. The verb is used for vexation probably in connection to a burden imposed by the caliph (ὁ ἀμιρᾶς τῶν πιστῶν) in the letter P.Apoll. 37.12, διότι οὐκ ἐσιάνθη ποτὲ οὔτε ἐθλίβην εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος; for more general annoyance in P.Oxy. 16 1837.2, ἵνα μὴ ὁ ἀναγινόσκον σιανθῇ καὶ μὴ ἀναγνώσι τὴν ἐπιστολήν; P.Oxy. 16 1849.2, ἐπειδὴ τὸ λάχανον ὅδε σαπρόν ἐστι καὶ σιαίνομε; and for ill health in CPR 5 25.5-6, τὴν δὲ ὑγίειαν Θεοδοσίου γράψῃ μοι, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσα ὡς σιαίνεται καὶ πάνυ ἐμερίμνησα.

§22 καί. Read by Lajos Berkes.

§23 8 ἀπῆλθεν. In the absence of any other named person preceding (τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ in 1 should be the addressee, in view of the address in 15), and as σου is applied to the destination of this travel, the correction to ἀπῆλθες seems inevitable; one could think of ἀπῆλθαν (for ἀπῆλθον), but the return of the only conceivable subject of a third-person plural, the meizones once again, to the addressee's χωρίον would be no cause for rejoicing (see the following note). There may be a conceptual error, such as conflation of the second person with the polite use of a third person (e.g. ἡ σὴ ἀδελφότης), or an interchange of quiescent final letters (Gignac, Gram.: 131-132; cf. the following note).

§24 8-9 πάνυ ἐχάρην ἡ ψυχήν μου (l. ἐχάρη, ψυχή?). The false addition of two final nus (cf. the previous note) seems likelier than that ἐχάρη τὴν ψυχήν or τῇ ψυχῇ was intended. The phrase, so far not yet precisely paralleled in papyrus letters (but the opposite emotional response is referenced in μὴ λυπίσθω δὲ ἡ [ψυ]χή σου, P.Abinn. 19.10-11), has a biblical ring. Although not actually found in the Greek versions of scripture, it seems to approximate the same in Just. Dial. 58.7, εἶδον γὰρ θεὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον, καὶ ἐχάρη ἡ ψυχή μου. Cf. also χαρᾷ ἐχά̣ρ[η]ν̣ in the Byzantine letter P.Lond. 2233 (ed. Zellmann-Rohrer 2017: 166-170 no. 5), 2 (with further parallels in the note at p. 168).

§25 9 The second half of the line has been washed or rubbed out and overwritten, with some traces still visible especially above and below the line; nothing connected can be made out from the original

writing, but there was perhaps an aorist participle in -ξας, the ξ written on the line, the ας above it in the same space-constrained style that motivated the writing of ὀσπιτίου.

§26 πάντα ἐκ τοῦ ὀσπιτίου. The nexus is presumably a later development from formulae such as ἀσπάζομαι πάντες τὰ [ἐ]ν τῇ οἰκίᾳ in P.Abinn. 6.23-24, with a similar confusion of gender (perhaps under the influence of expressions with ὄνομα or πρόσωπον). In the familial context of this letter, the loanword ὀσπίτιον probably has the general sense of "house" (rather than specifically "poor-house") as already in Greek of Late Antiquity (Lampe 976b s.v. 3; cf. 1249b s.v. σπίτι) and common in later Greek (LBG s.vv. ὀσπίτι(ν), σπίτι(ο)ν).

§27 10 ⟦τ̣.λ̣..⟧. The following word has been written directly over the erasure, of which some traces especially below the line are still visible; did the writer simply misspell the personal name (see the following note), e.g. as Ταλητ, and prefer to start afresh?

§28 Θαλητ. Bell's reading (see n. 1) θε\α/λητ̣ suggests a correction, which now seems to have been on a larger scale than the second letter (see the previous note); a small α at the top of λ is clear, but for the high and low traces between θ and the body of λ at midline ε is just one possibility. The name is not precisely paralleled but probably female and related to Coptic ϑⲁⲗⲏⲧ (ⲧ-ϩⲁⲗⲏⲧ) "the bird," cf. ϩⲁⲗⲏⲧ in O.Vind.Copt. 335 and SB Kopt. 2 1046 (on other Coptic names from birds, see Heuser 1929: 73-74). In Greek script cf. the genitive Θαλητ̣(ος) in the metronym in O.Ont.Mus. 2 197.4, and Ταλης, genitive Ταλητος, in P.Cair.Isid. 77.29 and 2 respectively.

§29 προ̣σκ(υνῶ) (προσκ/ pap.). The abbreviation is so far unattested for this form of the verb, but προσκ/ is found for προσκ(υνῆσαι) in CPR 25 35.12 and for προσκ(ύνει) and προσκ(υνεῖν) in P.Oxy. 16 1837.15-16. The subject of προσκ(υνῶ) is taken to be the sender of the letter rather than the adjacent personal name in the absence of another expressed object for the verb, but it could be allowed that the latter is an unexpressed σε ("I, Thalet, embrace (you)").

§30 11-14 As the reference to κύρι Γεωργίου cannot be matched to anything in the address on the back, it is taken here as the name of the amanuensis (for κύριος Γεώργιος). A vocative would otherwise be possible; formulaic greetings with ταῦτα γράψας ἀσπάζομαι are found elsewhere (e.g. P.Oxy. 1 158.4-5; 16 1855.16-17; 1860.14-15; 59 4006.7; P.Ross.Georg. 3 21.2-3; SB 5 7655.33-34), but not so far preceded by personal names in either nominative or vocative; the closest parallel so far found tends to favor the interpretation advanced here: the closing greetings in the letter P.Herm. 13.13-16, in which the copyist Nilammon adds his salutations to those of the sender Papnoutheios, ἀσπάζο[μαί] σοι ἐγὼ Νιλάμμων ὁ γρ[άψα]ς τὴν ἐπισ̣τολὴν κ̣αὶ [πάντ]α̣ς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κατ᾽ ὄνομα. More generally, the intrusion of a named amanuensis is occasionally found elsewhere in contemporary epistolography. In the letter PSI 14 1429 (6th c.?), a similar greeting is probably to be recognized: punctuate after υἱός in 7 and read continuously into the following line, ὁ κύριος Μαριανὸς ταῦτα γράφω, πλεῖστα ὑμᾶς ἀσπάζομαι ἐν κυρίῳ; cf. also CPR 25 35.12, ἐξ ἐμοῦ δὲ παρακαλῶ προσκ(υνῆσαι); P.Lond. 2233 (ed. Zellmann-Rohrer 2017: 166-170 no. 5), 7, ἐγὼ δὲ Βίκτωρ ὁ ὑμέτερος οἰκεῖος πολλὰ τὰ σεβάσμια ἴχνη τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπ(ότου) προσκυνῶ (for further parallels see p. 166 there). The apparently self-referential honorific κύριος might be due to dictation by the sender.

§31 12-13 πλεῖστα ὑμᾶς ἀσπάζομαι ἐν κυρίῳ. This form of the greeting, under the influence of the Pauline ἀσπάζομαι ἐν κυρίῳ πολλά (1 Cor. 16:19), is relatively rare: cf. CPR 30 21.11, PSI 14 1429.8, which shows other similarities of formulary with the present text (see the previous note), and SB 24 15898.2.

§32 14 Καιρ⟦.⟧όντιος (l. Γερόντιον). The spelling with /g/ for /k/ is paralleled in the Hermopolite toponym ἐποίκιον Κεροντίου in SB 26 16737.3, cf. in general Gignac, Gram.: 77.

§33 15 σὺν θ(εῷ). The ink is faded, with further losses perhaps connected to the removal of the sealing, but the conjunction of the final two uprights with a round letter above the line is assured by microscopy, and this common Christian formula is the most credible solution.

§34 The end is very obscure and still partially obscured by dirt; one expects the name of the addressee in the dative, perhaps followed by a title or the name of the sender in the nominative, but the latter would have had to have been quite short.

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Ma'aseh Merkabah Literature
SH'IR QOMA
"The Measure of the Divine Body"

From the
Sefer Raziel HaGadol
Book of (the Angelic Secrets of) Raziel the Great One

1. RABBI YISMAEL SAID: "Metatron the Great Lord said to me: I bear this testimony on behalf of the Lord YHVH, *Elohim* of Israel, the Living and Enduring El, our Lord and Master:
- That His height, from His Seat of Glory and up (is) 118 ten thousands parasangs (*rebaboth*),
- From His Seat of Glory down (is) 118 ten thousands parasangs (*rebaboth*),
- His total height 236 ten thousand thousands parasangs.
- From His Right Arm to His Left Arm (is) 77 ten thousand (parasangs).
- From His Right Eye to (His) Left Eye (is) 30 ten thousands (parasangs).
- The Skull on His Head (is) three and one third ten thousand (parasangs).
- The Crowns on His Head (amount to) 60 ten thousands (parasangs) equaling the 60 ten thousands of the tribes of Israel.

Therefore is He called the Great, the Mighty and the Awesome *El* : *KLYTYH YDYDVT EL CHY KLTA 'AVVTA HMQVQ TQTF HQTF HQTM QTF B'ABVR MSVS*
"Blessed be the Name of the Glory of His Kingdom for ever."

2. It is said that he who knows this mystery is assured of his portion in the world to come (is assured to be a son (daughter) of the world to come), and will be saved from the punishment of *Gehinnom* (Hell), and from all kind of punishments and evil decrees about to befall the world, and will be saved from all kind of witchcraft, for He saves us, protects us, redeems us, and rescues me _____ from all evil things, from all harsh decrees, and from all kinds of punishments for the sake of His Great Name.

3. (A long hymn follows in alphabetical order, the alphabet being repeated several times, the hymn concludes with the verse:)
"**Lord of Hosts, happy is the man that trusts in You**." (**Psalms** 84:13)

4. RABBI YISHMAEL SAID: "I have seen the King of Kings sitting on a high and exalted throne. His hosts stand before Him on His right and on His left, with the Lord of the Presence (Sar Hapanim) whose name is Metatron: *RVH, PYSQVNY"H, PSQY"N, ATM"VN, HYGR"VN, SYGR"VN, SRT"VN, SNYGR"VN, MYQ"VN, HSKV"M, STY"M, HSK"M, HQYR"YN, N"A, DVQYR"YN, ZYN"A, RB"A, NNTV"S, ZNTV"F, HKYQ"M.*

5. RABBI YISHMAEL SAID: "What is the measure of the Holy One, Blessed be He, who is hidden from all creatures? The soles of His feet fill the whole world, as it is said (Isaiah 66:1): "The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my foot-stool."
The height of each sole is three ten thousand thousands of parasangs.
The sole of His right foot is called *PRSYMYA, ATRQTT* and His left sole (is called) *AGTMN*.
From the sole of His feet to His ankles (the height is) one thousand ten thousands and five hundred parasangs, and the same for His left (ankle).
The name of the right ankle (is) *TZNMTNYH, TSSQM*, and the name of His left ankle is *ASTMN*.
From His ankles to His knees the height (is) nineteen thousand ten thousands and four parasangs, both right and left.
The name of His left leg (is) *QNGGY, MHRYH, TSSQVM*, and of the right (leg) (is) *MMGA, VZVYA*.
The height from His knees to His thighs (is) twelve thousand ten thousands and fourteen hundred parasangs, both right and left. His name: *MMGA, VZVYA*.
The right thigh is called *SSPVST, PRSB*, and the left (thigh) is called *TFGT, HZYZA*.
From His thighs to His neck (the height is) twenty-four thousand ten thousands of parasangs.
The name of His loin of loins (is) *MVTNYHV, ATSGH, YDYDYH*.
On His Heart are inscribed seventy names:
(list of Hebrew Names not available in HTML)
"*Baruch Shem Kavod Malkuto L'Olam Va'ed*."
(Blessed be the Name of the glory of His kingdom forever.)
His neck: Thirteen thousand ten thousands and eight hundred parasangs (is) the height of His neck, its name: *SNNYHV, VBHTYQN*.
The roundness of His head (circumference) (is) three hundred thousand ten thousands and thirty-three and one third parasangs, which the mouth cannot express and the ear cannot hear, its name: *ATR, HVDRYH, ATSYH, ATTYH*.
His beard (is) eleven thousand five hundred (one ten thousand and one thousand and five hundred) parasangs, its name: *HDRRQ, SMYA*.
The appearance of the countenance as the appearance of the cheeks, (as well as the appearance of the cheeks) is like unto the likeness of the *Ruach* [i.e. *Ruach HaQodesh*] and in the form of the Divine Soul (*Neshamah*) (which) no creature is able to mention or describe.
His Astral Shell (*geviyah*) like chrysolite (*tarsis*).
His splendor (*ziv*) glitters awesomely from out of the midst of the darkness (**Psalms** 18:12 and **2 Samuel** 22:12).
Clouds and thick darkness (*anan v'arafe*l) surround Him (**Psalms** 97:2).
All Lords of the Presence (*Sare He'anim*) stand before Him as ordained (*k'tikun*).
(For the nose and the tongue) we do not have a measure, only names are revealed to us.
The name of the nose: *LGBTYYA*, and also *ABRGG, TTPYYH*.
His tongue (reaches) from one end of the World to the other, for it is said (**Psalms** 147:19): "**He declares His Word unto Jacob, His statutes and His ordinances unto Israel**." He who knows not (how) to conclude this verse is in error for it is said: "**He declares**" its (the tongue) name *ASSGYYHV, VAYYA*.

His forehead is called *MSSGYYHV, YNAYYA, NGM*.
On His forehead is inscribed:
(Hebrew font not available in HTML)
YYHV HY HV YH
HH HY VYHV YH YHV
YVH HA HH YA YHVH
VYH HH YH HV HA
AH VVH AY HV HYH
HY YYY HH YYHYY VYH
The black of His eye (is) 11,500 parasangs, similarly His left eye.
The right (eye) is named: *AZRYYH, ATTYTVS*.
The Lord (of the eye?) is called *RHBEL* (*RHBYEL* or *RHBEL*).
The left (eye) is called *MTT, GRVFMTzYA*, and the sparks that issue (emanate) from them (from it) give light to all creatures.
The white of His right eye (measures) twenty-two ten thousand and two parasangs, similarly (that of) His left (eye), and is named: *BZQVHA*.
From His right shoulder to His left shoulder (is) sixteen thousand ten thousands parasangs,
The right shoulder is named: *MTTGRYAA*, '*ANGN*.
The left (shoulder) is called TTMHYNTA, it also has another name *SLMH YNNYEL* (alternate reading: and it has one name, meaning that the two shoulders have one name in common).
From His right arm to His left arm (is) twelve thousand ten thousands parasangs.
His arm (are) double [The meaning is, perhaps, that the two arms together are double the size mentioned before, namely twenty-four thousand ten thousands parasangs].
The name of the right arm (is) *GBRHZZYA, AKBVY*,
and of the left (arm) *MTTGHTzTzYVH*.
The (size of) the fingers of His hands: each finger (is) fifteen thousand ten thousands parasangs, both of the right and of the left.
(The name of the fingers or of each finger) of the right (hand): *TTMTzMTz, GGMVT, GGSMS*, and of the left (hand) *TTz, MF, TTMT, AGGMZ, AGGMT, SVSNYM* (the last name is *Shoshanim*, roses). This way, you count beginning with the thumb.
The palms of His hands (are) four thousand ten thousands parasangs, both the right and the left (hands).
The right (hand) is named: *HZZYA, ATGRYYA*, and the left (hand) is named: *ASHVZYH*.
The fingers (toes) of His feet (are) ten thousand ten thousands parasangs, each finger (toe) on both right and left (feet).
The name of the right (toes): *ATRMTz, ADRMT, BRMNM, BRTHMYM, VAHVZ*; and (the names of the) left (toes): *ZKYYN, KZKYYN, HTMT, AHVZ*. You count the way you count those of the hand (namely beginning with the big toe).
Therefore, is He called: the Great, the Mighty, the Awesome *El*, for it is said (***Torah Doverim*** 10:17): "***For the Lord YHVH your Elohim, HE is Elohim of Elohim, Lord of Lords, the great El, the Mighty and the Awesome***."

6. HE SAID TO ME: "The size of the parasangs, what they measure: each parasang consists of three mils, each mil contains ten thousand cubits, each cubit two spans

(Zereth), and His span fills the whole world (*olam*, also universe). As it is written (**Isaiah** 40:12): "**Who has measured in the hollow of His hand the waters, and meted out the Heavens with His span**."

7. RABBI NATHAN, THE PUPIL OF R. YISHMAEL SAID: He also gave me the measure of the nose right and left, as well as that of the lips and cheeks. Also he gave me the measure of the forehead, he also set down rules for every cubit.
The width of the forehead is equal to the height of the neck, and so is the shoulder.
The length of the nose (is) like the length of the small finger.
The height of the cheek is equal to half the roundness of the head.
These measures are also found in human beings.
(In size of) His lips: seventy-seven parasangs.
His upper lip is called *GBRH, TYA*, and the lower one *HZRGYA*.
His mouth is fire consuming fire.
When He speaks its name (is) *ASDRA*.
-(the next five words are not translatable) The crown on His head (is) five hundred thousand by found hundred thousand (parasangs); its name is *VYS*.
The precious stone between its horns [rays?] is called *YS AMV ALY YS AMI ALY* is engraved upon it.
My friend is white and ruddy, distinguished among ten thousand.
His head is bright as the finest gold,
His locks are like waving foliage and black as a raven.
His eyes are doves by streamlets of water.
His cheeks are like a bed of roses...
Two thousand ten thousands parasangs.
And whoever does not conclude with this verse (**Shir HaShirim** 5:10-16) is in error:
"**His cheeks are like a bed of roses,**
As banks of sweet herbs;
His lips are as lilies,
Dropping with flowing myrrh.
His hands are as rods of gold, set with beryl.
His body is as polished ivory, overlaid with sapphires.
His legs are as pillars of marble,
Set upon sockets of fine gold.
His aspect is like Lebanon,
Excellent as the cedars.
His mouth is most sweet.
Yea, He is altogether lovely.
This is my beloved, and this is my friend,
O daughters of Jerusalem."
AGTYH, THVN, YHVN, TVB, THVR, YVD, YVD, YHYH, HSYN, HSYN
"**Holy Holy Holy is the Lord YHVH of Hosts, the whole earth is full of His Glory**."
(**Isaiah** 6:3)
(The measure of) His eyelids, like the measure of His eyes…
The right (eye) is named *HDR, VVLD*; the left (eye is named) *APDH*
(in Lemberg *APRH*), *TzTzYHV*.

The height of His ears (is) like the height of His forehead.
The right (ear) is called *ATzTHYYA*; the left (ear is called) *MNVGHV*.
Hence, the total measure [of the Divine Stature] is ten thousand of ten thousands ten thousand thousand parasangs in height, and one thousand thousand ten thousands of parasangs in width.

8. RABBI YISHMAEL TOLD THIS (THING) TO RABBI AQIBA. HE SAID TO ME: "He who knows this measure of our Creator, and the praise of the Holy One, blessed be He, Who is hidden from the creatures, is assured that he is the son of the world to come. (He will inherit the world to come), and will have in this world the good of the other world, and will live long in this world.

9. RABBI YISHMAEL SAID TO ME (the above mentioned Rabbi Nathan?) in the presence of his pupils. I and Rabbi Aqiba vouch for this, that whoever knows this measure of our Creator, and the praise of the Holy One, blessed be He, he will surely be a son of the world to come, provided he learns it regularly every day:
His body fills the Throne of Fire of the ***Torah***.
His name: *BG, BG, GB, HVMG*.
His locks (of) His body are named: *DBR, BRYR, DVBG*.
They have half of a nickname called: *GL, SRB*.
One of His eyes with which He sees from one end of the world to the other is named: *AKSST*, the sparks issuing from it give light to all creatures; the other one, which sees backwards (with which He sees in advance), what is going to happen in the future, is named *ATNVGST*.
His body is like unto a bow, the bow is like unto its name: *LQSSYS*, half of it is named *MN, KMTz*.
His sword is called *MTzMTzYT, MTzYA*.
His Throne of Glory is named *LVRKZ, PYRVTA*.
The place of His seat is called *DVRPZ, PRVRPZ* this is also His nickname.
The feet of His glory are the Chayot.
The Chayot standing under Him.
The first foot of the Throne, which is a Chayah, is called *AGLYV, HTzBYYH*.
The second foot of the Throne, which is a Chayah, is called *BBBK, PLBYYPTY*.
The third foot of the Throne, which is a Chayah, by name *KBBB, ALGYY*.
The fourth foot, which is a Chayah, is called *ATzBYYA, BZBZ*.
The likeness of their faces... the nature of a lion, the stamp of an eagle, the image of an ox, and the blank face of a man.
Each has four faces, four faces, and four faces on each corner (of a face), sixty-four faces for each Chayah.
Each Chayah has four faces and (four) wings, each wing consists of four wings; four wings to a face, four wings to a wing...sixty four wings to each Chayah.
The Lord of the human face is *ALYH, AMTzB, AMTz, AMT, KMTz*.
The names of the Lord of the lion-face (are) *HVDV, DYH, HYDVAH, AL, AVRYA, HVD, HVYH, TMGMTz*.
The Lord of the ox-face is called [SVR in both texts] *HLYH, TzMTzMMKA, MSKYA*.
And the name of the Lord of the eagle-face (is) *'APPY, ALYH, MMTzYT, TzHVRYRYAL*.

When Israel sinned, the ox-face was hidden away, and was replaced with a Kerub.
The name of the Lord of the Kerub-face (is): *TMTMNY, ALYH, KRRVBYH, KRBH, PSPSYH, PTzPTzYH, HNQNQYA.*
They (the Chayot) are the ones who say "**Holy Holy Holy**..." (**Isaiah** 6:3), it is they who say, "**Blessed be the glory**..." (**Ekekiel** 3:12) as it is written (**Psalms** 146:19): "**He declares His Word unto Ya'aqov**."
And he who does not conclude with ***Torah B'reshith***, with the order of the Creation, errs in the Glory of the Holy One, blessed be He. His glory fills everything, hosts of thunder rage on His right. Bands of people rage on His left, and colors (Simanim) rage in front of Him.
Within the colors, splendor, and darkness, cloud, thick cloud ('*arafel*) and mire of clay (*tithyaven*).
In front of Him (is) a field of sown seed (*zeroo'yin*).
Between one star and another (is) the source of lightning.
Between one lightning and another (is) the door of Hashmal.
And above: winds, roaring, thunder and lightning, and the holy palms, and ropes of seals, used for ascending and descending.
On the Holy One, blessed be He, (are) Grace (*Chen*), Love (*Chesed*), Glory (*Kavod*), Mercy (*Rachamim*), Splendor (*Hod*), Crown ('*Atehreth*), Adornment (*Hadar*), Beauty (*Tifareth*), and Majesty (*Ge'ooth*).
The Hand of the Holy One, blessed be He, (is named) Metatron.
They say: Mighty and Strong...
They say: Holy and Blessed...
And they appear before Him with a great sound (as in **Ezekiel** 1:24): "**As they went, a noise like the sound of a host**." They stand before Him.
The Youth (*Na'ar*) Metatron appears and prostrates himself before the Holy One, blessed be He, His name AHH...
He praises and glorifies and says:
"Blessed be the glory of the Lord YHVH from His place."
YHVH, HV, HV, YVHY, YHYYH
"Blessed be the glory of the Lord YHVH from His place."
And they repeat after him: "Blessed be the glory of the Lord YHVH from His place," and "Blessed be the Name of the glory for ever."
He (Metatron) enters in front under the Throne of Glory.
He is accompanied by stones of fire and hailstones and a wall of roaring (*z'aaf*) on his right.
On his left, wings of storm and strength of tempest accompany him.
When Metatron enters before the Holy One, blessed be He, under the Throne of Glory, he holds (the Throne) with a multitude of wings, and all the ministering angels come before the Holy One, blessed be He, and say: "the great, the mighty, and awesome *El*."
They praise the Holy One, blessed be He, thrice daily through Metatron.
The Holy One, blessed be He, bestowed His splendor and His beauty on the ministering Angel Metatron, the Lord of the Presence, who has been appointed grand master over all the Lords and ministering angels.
They stand before him, and he stands higher and higher upwards, and ministers before Adam; a fire consuming fire throne (*kise*) is its name.

This is the seat of Metatron, the Lord of the Presence, which is written with One-Letter (Alef, the Unity) with which Heaven and Earth have been created, and sealed with the ring "I WILL BE THAT I WILL BE" (*Ehyeh Asher Ehyeh*). And is written with seven letters, and seven letters, and twenty-four letters, and seventy-two names, and seven Holinesses (*Kedushoth*). And it is placed on six of their names, and is engraved on twelve stones, and is written on seven sounds (voices) on a height of six by six (see **Book of THAT Which is Concealed**...***Zohar* II**: 186b).

It was given to our teacher Mosheh (Rabbenu) in innermost chambers, in hidden hiddenness, in wonder of wonders.

The Holy One, blessed be He, permitted neither Adam nor Shem, the son of Noah, nor Abraham, Yitza'aq, or Ya'aqov to use it. Only to Mosheh did He give permission to use it, as it is written (*Torah Doverim* 23:20): "***Behold I send an angel before you***," and the Holy One, blessed be He, warned Mosheh to beware of Him, as it says (***Torah Shmoth*** 23:21): "***Beware of Him, and obey His voice, disobey Him not, for He will not pardon your transgressions because My Name is in Him***." And Mosheh said to the Holy One, blessed be He (***Torah Shmoth*** 33:15): "***If Your NOT (Lo)-Presence go with me; carry us (into the) NOT (Lo), up from here***."

The angels that are with him (Metatron) come and surround the Throne of Glory, they on one side, Chayot on the other, and the *Shekhinah* upon the *Shekhinah* of Glory is in the middle. A Chayah ascends on the Serafim and descends on the dwelling place of Metatron, and announces in a loud voice, in the sound of a soft whisper [still small voice]: "This is the Throne of Glory."

Immediately the Ofanim become silent, the angels become quiet, the *Irin Kadishin* make haste and rush into the River of Fire (*Nehr Dinur*), and the Chayot turn their faces down to the ground. Metatron brings the deafening fire and puts it in the ears of the Chayot, that they hear not the voice of the glory of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the explicit "Name of Brilliant Fire" (*Shem Ha Meforesh,* YHVH) that Metatron is pronouncing at that time.

Thus is He calling the Holy One, blessed be He, by His living, pure, holy, powerful, majestic, strong, beloved, mighty, glorified and awesome Name:

vhyrda yhh hvh hh
ykrha avy vhv yhyhy
HHYY HKH HH YH
YHVH HH HYA YHYH
AHYH ASR AHYH VH HVA YHVH

"***He who lives for ever, this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations***." (***Torah Shmoth*** 3:15).

"Blessed be the Name of the glory of His Kingdom for ever."

Its interpretation in the language of purity (Metatron pronounces the *Shem Ha Meforesh*, Brilliant Name of Fire, in the language of purity):

YHV YH HHY HYY HY
HHYV HVHY VYHH HV YHVH
HYH HYH YHY YHVH
HY VYHYV HY YHV
YH YHV HHYV HYHV

Blessed be the Name of the glory of His Kingdom for ever.

10. Here follows in the text a hymn, and **Psalms** 93, 29, and 24.

End of "Meaure of the Divine Body"

SH'IR QOMA

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT ACCORDING TO BEST EVIDENCE

The "**Meaure of the Divine Body**" text is known to be corrupt, as all current texts come from a single corrupt text published in the 1701 Amsterdam edition (Eleazar of Worms). Consequently, the dimensions taken as directly translated will not lead to a reasonable image of the *Yosher* (upright form of the Lord YHVH). However, if the following changes are made, the *Yosher* image that is yielded (see Figure) can be shown to be self-consistent with the text. Seventeen dimensions were left unchanged, eleven dimensions were changed as follows, and the last two dimensions, dealing with the total measure, were not used.

SECTION DIMENSION READ (x107 Parasangs) change made
HEIGHT (Seat of Glory) 118 add *alafim*
HEIGHT (Seat of Glory) 118 add *alafim*, Seat of Glory is located in single Eye of Vast Face in center of Small Face's head.
TOTAL HEIGHT 236 no change
Right Arm to Left Arm 77 add *alafim*, this is completely around two arms
Right Eye to Left Eye 30 add *alafim*
Skull (Galgaltha) on Head 30 add *alafim*
Crowns on Head 60 add *alafim*
Sole to Ankles 1.5 no change
Ankles to Knees 23 add *rebaboth*
Knees to Thighs 13.4 no change
Thigh to Neck 24 no change
Height of Neck 13.8 no change
Roundness (circumference) of Head 333 1/3 no change
Beard 15 multiply by 10 (change *alafim* to *rebaboth*)
Black of Right Eye 1.15 no change
White of Right Eye 24 add *alafim*
Right Shoulder to Left 16 multiply by 10
Right Arm to Left Arm 12 x 2 (no change) dimension given must be doubled as shown in text, and taken across body.
Finger 15 no change
Palms 4 no change
Toes 10 no change
Width of Forehead 13.8 no change, however this must be taken across Vast Face Skull
Width of Shoulder 13.8 no change, checks with dimension in 5
Length of Nose 15 no change
Height of Cheek 53 no change, however, this must be taken as half the diameter of the head, otherwise human dimensions will not hold, as claimed in next sentence
Lips, Height 7.7 multiply x 106
Crown 50 x 50 square add *alafim*, then dimensions in 1 check
Eyelids, like Eyes 24 unchanged

Height of Ears = Height of Forehead unchanged
TOTAL MEASURE OF DIVINE STATURE, probably entire Chariot:
Height 10,000 x 107 parasangs
Width 1,000 x 107 parasangs
(both of these dimensions are omitted as being essentially beyond the image presented in the rest of the dimensions

Ma'aseh Merkabah Literature
SH'IR QOMA
"The Measure of the Divine Body"

From the
Sefer Raziel HaGadol
Book of (the Angelic Secrets of) Raziel the Great One

1. RABBI YISMAEL SAID: "Metatron the Great Lord said to me: I bear this testimony on behalf of the Lord YHVH, *Elohim* of Israel, the Living and Enduring El, our Lord and Master:
- That His height, from His Seat of Glory and up (is) 118 ten thousands parasangs (*rebaboth*),
- From His Seat of Glory down (is) 118 ten thousands parasangs (*rebaboth*),
- His total height 236 ten thousand thousands parasangs.
- From His Right Arm to His Left Arm (is) 77 ten thousand (parasangs).
- From His Right Eye to (His) Left Eye (is) 30 ten thousands (parasangs).
- The Skull on His Head (is) three and one third ten thousand (parasangs).
- The Crowns on His Head (amount to) 60 ten thousands (parasangs) equaling the 60 ten thousands of the tribes of Israel.

Therefore is He called the Great, the Mighty and the Awesome *El* : *KLYTYH YDYDVT EL CHY KLTA 'AVVTA HMQVQ TQTF HQTF HQTM QTF B'ABVR MSVS*
"Blessed be the Name of the Glory of His Kingdom for ever."

2. It is said that he who knows this mystery is assured of his portion in the world to come (is assured to be a son (daughter) of the world to come), and will be saved from the punishment of *Gehinnom* (Hell), and from all kind of punishments and evil decrees about to befall the world, and will be saved from all kind of witchcraft, for He saves us, protects us, redeems us, and rescues me _____ from all evil things, from all harsh decrees, and from all kinds of punishments for the sake of His Great Name.

3. (A long hymn follows in alphabetical order, the alphabet being repeated several times, the hymn concludes with the verse:)
"**Lord of Hosts, happy is the man that trusts in You**." (**Psalms** 84:13)

4. RABBI YISHMAEL SAID: "I have seen the King of Kings sitting on a high and exalted throne. His hosts stand before Him on His right and on His left, with the Lord of the Presence (Sar Hapanim) whose name is Metatron: *RVH, PYSQVNY"H, PSQY"N, ATM"VN, HYGR"VN, SYGR"VN, SRT"VN, SNYGR"VN, MYQ"VN, HSKV"M, STY"M, HSK"M, HQYR"YN, N"A, DVQYR"YN, ZYN"A, RB"A, NNTV"S, ZNTV"F, HKYQ"M.*

5. RABBI YISHMAEL SAID: "What is the measure of the Holy One, Blessed be He, who is hidden from all creatures? The soles of His feet fill the whole world, as it is said (Isaiah 66:1): "The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my foot-stool."
The height of each sole is three ten thousand thousands of parasangs.
The sole of His right foot is called *PRSYMYA, ATRQTT* and His left sole (is called) *AGTMN*.
From the sole of His feet to His ankles (the height is) one thousand ten thousands and five hundred parasangs, and the same for His left (ankle).
The name of the right ankle (is) *TZNMTNYH, TSSQM*, and the name of His left ankle is *ASTMN*.
From His ankles to His knees the height (is) nineteen thousand ten thousands and four parasangs, both right and left.
The name of His left leg (is) *QNGGY, MHRYH, TSSQVM*, and of the right (leg) (is) *MMGA, VZVYA*.
The height from His knees to His thighs (is) twelve thousand ten thousands and fourteen hundred parasangs, both right and left. His name: *MMGA, VZVYA*.
The right thigh is called *SSPVST, PRSB*, and the left (thigh) is called *TFGT, HZYZA*.
From His thighs to His neck (the height is) twenty-four thousand ten thousands of parasangs.
The name of His loin of loins (is) *MVTNYHV, ATSGH, YDYDYH*.
On His Heart are inscribed seventy names:
(list of Hebrew Names not available in HTML)
"*Baruch Shem Kavod Malkuto L'Olam Va'ed*."
(Blessed be the Name of the glory of His kingdom forever.)
His neck: Thirteen thousand ten thousands and eight hundred parasangs (is) the height of His neck, its name: *SNNYHV, VBHTYQN*.
The roundness of His head (circumference) (is) three hundred thousand ten thousands and thirty-three and one third parasangs, which the mouth cannot express and the ear cannot hear, its name: *ATR, HVDRYH, ATSYH, ATTYH*.
His beard (is) eleven thousand five hundred (one ten thousand and one thousand and five hundred) parasangs, its name: *HDRRQ, SMYA*.
The appearance of the countenance as the appearance of the cheeks, (as well as the appearance of the cheeks) is like unto the likeness of the *Ruach* [i.e. *Ruach HaQodesh*] and in the form of the Divine Soul (*Neshamah*) (which) no creature is able to mention or describe.
His Astral Shell (*geviyah*) like chrysolite (*tarsis*).
His splendor (*ziv*) glitters awesomely from out of the midst of the darkness (**Psalms** 18:12 and **2 Samuel** 22:12).
Clouds and thick darkness (*anan v'arafe*l) surround Him (**Psalms** 97:2).
All Lords of the Presence (*Sare He'anim*) stand before Him as ordained (*k'tikun*).
(For the nose and the tongue) we do not have a measure, only names are revealed to us.
The name of the nose: *LGBTYYA*, and also *ABRGG, TTPYYH*.
His tongue (reaches) from one end of the World to the other, for it is said (**Psalms** 147:19): "**He declares His Word unto Jacob, His statutes and His ordinances unto Israel**." He who knows not (how) to conclude this verse is in error for it is said: "**He declares**" its (the tongue) name *ASSGYYHV, VAYYA*.

His forehead is called *MSSGYYHV, YNAYYA, NGM*.
On His forehead is inscribed:
(Hebrew font not available in HTML)
YYHV HY HV YH
HH HY VYHV YH YHV
YVH HA HH YA YHVH
VYH HH YH HV HA
AH VVH AY HV HYH
HY YYY HH YYHYY VYH
The black of His eye (is) 11,500 parasangs, similarly His left eye.
The right (eye) is named: *AZRYYH, ATTYTVS*.
The Lord (of the eye?) is called *RHBEL* (*RHBYEL* or *RHBEL*).
The left (eye) is called *MTT, GRVFMTzYA*, and the sparks that issue (emanate) from them (from it) give light to all creatures.
The white of His right eye (measures) twenty-two ten thousand and two parasangs, similarly (that of) His left (eye), and is named: *BZQVHA*.
From His right shoulder to His left shoulder (is) sixteen thousand ten thousands parasangs,
The right shoulder is named: *MTTGRYAA*, '*ANGN*.
The left (shoulder) is called TTMHYNTA, it also has another name *SLMH YNNYEL* (alternate reading: and it has one name, meaning that the two shoulders have one name in common).
From His right arm to His left arm (is) twelve thousand ten thousands parasangs.
His arm (are) double [The meaning is, perhaps, that the two arms together are double the size mentioned before, namely twenty-four thousand ten thousands parasangs].
The name of the right arm (is) *GBRHZZYA, AKBVY*,
and of the left (arm) *MTTGHTzTzYVH*.
The (size of) the fingers of His hands: each finger (is) fifteen thousand ten thousands parasangs, both of the right and of the left.
(The name of the fingers or of each finger) of the right (hand): *TTMTzMTz, GGMVT, GGSMS*, and of the left (hand) *TTz, MF, TTMT, AGGMZ, AGGMT, SVSNYM* (the last name is *Shoshanim*, roses). This way, you count beginning with the thumb.
The palms of His hands (are) four thousand ten thousands parasangs, both the right and the left (hands).
The right (hand) is named: *HZZYA, ATGRYYA*, and the left (hand) is named: *ASHVZYH*.
The fingers (toes) of His feet (are) ten thousand ten thousands parasangs, each finger (toe) on both right and left (feet).
The name of the right (toes): *ATRMTz, ADRMT, BRMNM, BRTHMYM, VAHVZ*; and (the names of the) left (toes): *ZKYYN, KZKYYN, HTMT, AHVZ*. You count the way you count those of the hand (namely beginning with the big toe).
Therefore, is He called: the Great, the Mighty, the Awesome *El*, for it is said (***Torah Doverim*** 10:17): "***For the Lord YHVH your Elohim, HE is Elohim of Elohim, Lord of Lords, the great El, the Mighty and the Awesome***."

6. HE SAID TO ME: "The size of the parasangs, what they measure: each parasang consists of three mils, each mil contains ten thousand cubits, each cubit two spans

(Zereth), and His span fills the whole world (*olam*, also universe). As it is written (**Isaiah** 40:12): "**Who has measured in the hollow of His hand the waters, and meted out the Heavens with His span**."

7. RABBI NATHAN, THE PUPIL OF R. YISHMAEL SAID: He also gave me the measure of the nose right and left, as well as that of the lips and cheeks. Also he gave me the measure of the forehead, he also set down rules for every cubit.
The width of the forehead is equal to the height of the neck, and so is the shoulder.
The length of the nose (is) like the length of the small finger.
The height of the cheek is equal to half the roundness of the head.
These measures are also found in human beings.
(In size of) His lips: seventy-seven parasangs.
His upper lip is called *GBRH, TYA*, and the lower one *HZRGYA*.
His mouth is fire consuming fire.
When He speaks its name (is) *ASDRA*.
-(the next five words are not translatable) The crown on His head (is) five hundred thousand by found hundred thousand (parasangs); its name is *VYS*.
The precious stone between its horns [rays?] is called *YS AMV ALY YS AMI ALY* is engraved upon it.
My friend is white and ruddy, distinguished among ten thousand.
His head is bright as the finest gold,
His locks are like waving foliage and black as a raven.
His eyes are doves by streamlets of water.
His cheeks are like a bed of roses...
Two thousand ten thousands parasangs.
And whoever does not conclude with this verse (**Shir HaShirim** 5:10-16) is in error:
"**His cheeks are like a bed of roses,**
As banks of sweet herbs;
His lips are as lilies,
Dropping with flowing myrrh.
His hands are as rods of gold, set with beryl.
His body is as polished ivory, overlaid with sapphires.
His legs are as pillars of marble,
Set upon sockets of fine gold.
His aspect is like Lebanon,
Excellent as the cedars.
His mouth is most sweet.
Yea, He is altogether lovely.
This is my beloved, and this is my friend,
O daughters of Jerusalem."
AGTYH, THVN, YHVN, TVB, THVR, YVD, YVD, YHYH, HSYN, HSYN
"**Holy Holy Holy is the Lord YHVH of Hosts, the whole earth is full of His Glory**."
(**Isaiah** 6:3)
(The measure of) His eyelids, like the measure of His eyes…
The right (eye) is named *HDR, VVLD*; the left (eye is named) *APDH*
(in Lemberg *APRH*), *TzTzYHV*.

The height of His ears (is) like the height of His forehead.
The right (ear) is called *ATzTHYYA*; the left (ear is called) *MNVGHV*.
Hence, the total measure [of the Divine Stature] is ten thousand of ten thousands ten thousand thousand parasangs in height, and one thousand thousand ten thousands of parasangs in width.

8. RABBI YISHMAEL TOLD THIS (THING) TO RABBI AQIBA. HE SAID TO ME: "He who knows this measure of our Creator, and the praise of the Holy One, blessed be He, Who is hidden from the creatures, is assured that he is the son of the world to come. (He will inherit the world to come), and will have in this world the good of the other world, and will live long in this world.

9. RABBI YISHMAEL SAID TO ME (the above mentioned Rabbi Nathan?) in the presence of his pupils. I and Rabbi Aqiba vouch for this, that whoever knows this measure of our Creator, and the praise of the Holy One, blessed be He, he will surely be a son of the world to come, provided he learns it regularly every day:
His body fills the Throne of Fire of the ***Torah***.
His name: *BG, BG, GB, HVMG*.
His locks (of) His body are named: *DBR, BRYR, DVBG*.
They have half of a nickname called: *GL, SRB*.
One of His eyes with which He sees from one end of the world to the other is named: *AKSST*, the sparks issuing from it give light to all creatures; the other one, which sees backwards (with which He sees in advance), what is going to happen in the future, is named *ATNVGST*.
His body is like unto a bow, the bow is like unto its name: *LQSSYS*, half of it is named *MN, KMTz*.
His sword is called *MTzMTzYT, MTzYA*.
His Throne of Glory is named *LVRKZ, PYRVTA*.
The place of His seat is called *DVRPZ, PRVRPZ* this is also His nickname.
The feet of His glory are the Chayot.
The Chayot standing under Him.
The first foot of the Throne, which is a Chayah, is called *AGLYV, HTzBYYH*.
The second foot of the Throne, which is a Chayah, is called *BBBK, PLBYYPTY*.
The third foot of the Throne, which is a Chayah, by name *KBBB, ALGYY*.
The fourth foot, which is a Chayah, is called *ATzBYYA, BZBZ*.
The likeness of their faces... the nature of a lion, the stamp of an eagle, the image of an ox, and the blank face of a man.
Each has four faces, four faces, and four faces on each corner (of a face), sixty-four faces for each Chayah.
Each Chayah has four faces and (four) wings, each wing consists of four wings; four wings to a face, four wings to a wing...sixty four wings to each Chayah.
The Lord of the human face is *ALYH, AMTzB, AMTz, AMT, KMTz*.
The names of the Lord of the lion-face (are) *HVDV, DYH, HYDVAH, AL, AVRYA, HVD, HVYH, TMGMTz*.
The Lord of the ox-face is called [SVR in both texts] *HLYH, TzMTzMMKA, MSKYA*.
And the name of the Lord of the eagle-face (is) *'APPY, ALYH, MMTzYT, TzHVRYRYAL*.

When Israel sinned, the ox-face was hidden away, and was replaced with a Kerub.
The name of the Lord of the Kerub-face (is): *TMTMNY, ALYH, KRRVBYH, KRBH, PSPSYH, PTzPTzYH, HNQNQYA.*
They (the Chayot) are the ones who say "**Holy Holy Holy**..." (**Isaiah** 6:3), it is they who say, "**Blessed be the glory**..." (**Ekekiel** 3:12) as it is written (**Psalms** 146:19): "**He declares His Word unto Ya'aqov**."
And he who does not conclude with ***Torah B'reshith***, with the order of the Creation, errs in the Glory of the Holy One, blessed be He. His glory fills everything, hosts of thunder rage on His right. Bands of people rage on His left, and colors (Simanim) rage in front of Him.
Within the colors, splendor, and darkness, cloud, thick cloud ('*arafel*) and mire of clay (*tithyaven*).
In front of Him (is) a field of sown seed (*zeroo'yin*).
Between one star and another (is) the source of lightning.
Between one lightning and another (is) the door of Hashmal.
And above: winds, roaring, thunder and lightning, and the holy palms, and ropes of seals, used for ascending and descending.
On the Holy One, blessed be He, (are) Grace (*Chen*), Love (*Chesed*), Glory (*Kavod*), Mercy (*Rachamim*), Splendor (*Hod*), Crown ('*Atehreth*), Adornment (*Hadar*), Beauty (*Tifareth*), and Majesty (*Ge'ooth*).
The Hand of the Holy One, blessed be He, (is named) Metatron.
They say: Mighty and Strong...
They say: Holy and Blessed...
And they appear before Him with a great sound (as in **Ezekiel** 1:24): "**As they went, a noise like the sound of a host**." They stand before Him.
The Youth (*Na'ar*) Metatron appears and prostrates himself before the Holy One, blessed be He, His name AHH...
He praises and glorifies and says:
"Blessed be the glory of the Lord YHVH from His place."
YHVH, HV, HV, YVHY, YHYYH
"Blessed be the glory of the Lord YHVH from His place."
And they repeat after him: "Blessed be the glory of the Lord YHVH from His place," and "Blessed be the Name of the glory for ever."
He (Metatron) enters in front under the Throne of Glory.
He is accompanied by stones of fire and hailstones and a wall of roaring (*z'aaf*) on his right.
On his left, wings of storm and strength of tempest accompany him.
When Metatron enters before the Holy One, blessed be He, under the Throne of Glory, he holds (the Throne) with a multitude of wings, and all the ministering angels come before the Holy One, blessed be He, and say: "the great, the mighty, and awesome *El*."
They praise the Holy One, blessed be He, thrice daily through Metatron.
The Holy One, blessed be He, bestowed His splendor and His beauty on the ministering Angel Metatron, the Lord of the Presence, who has been appointed grand master over all the Lords and ministering angels.
They stand before him, and he stands higher and higher upwards, and ministers before Adam; a fire consuming fire throne (*kise*) is its name.

This is the seat of Metatron, the Lord of the Presence, which is written with One-Letter (Alef, the Unity) with which Heaven and Earth have been created, and sealed with the ring "I WILL BE THAT I WILL BE" (*Ehyeh Asher Ehyeh*). And is written with seven letters, and seven letters, and twenty-four letters, and seventy-two names, and seven Holinesses (*Kedushoth*). And it is placed on six of their names, and is engraved on twelve stones, and is written on seven sounds (voices) on a height of six by six (see **Book of THAT Which is Concealed**...***Zohar* II**: 186b).

It was given to our teacher Mosheh (Rabbenu) in innermost chambers, in hidden hiddenness, in wonder of wonders.

The Holy One, blessed be He, permitted neither Adam nor Shem, the son of Noah, nor Abraham, Yitza'aq, or Ya'aqov to use it. Only to Mosheh did He give permission to use it, as it is written (*Torah Doverim* 23:20): "***Behold I send an angel before you***," and the Holy One, blessed be He, warned Mosheh to beware of Him, as it says (***Torah Shmoth*** 23:21): "***Beware of Him, and obey His voice, disobey Him not, for He will not pardon your transgressions because My Name is in Him***." And Mosheh said to the Holy One, blessed be He (***Torah Shmoth*** 33:15): "***If Your NOT (Lo)-Presence go with me; carry us (into the) NOT (Lo), up from here***."

The angels that are with him (Metatron) come and surround the Throne of Glory, they on one side, Chayot on the other, and the *Shekhinah* upon the *Shekhinah* of Glory is in the middle. A Chayah ascends on the Serafim and descends on the dwelling place of Metatron, and announces in a loud voice, in the sound of a soft whisper [still small voice]: "This is the Throne of Glory."

Immediately the Ofanim become silent, the angels become quiet, the *Irin Kadishin* make haste and rush into the River of Fire (*Nehr Dinur*), and the Chayot turn their faces down to the ground. Metatron brings the deafening fire and puts it in the ears of the Chayot, that they hear not the voice of the glory of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the explicit "Name of Brilliant Fire" (*Shem Ha Meforesh,* YHVH) that Metatron is pronouncing at that time.

Thus is He calling the Holy One, blessed be He, by His living, pure, holy, powerful, majestic, strong, beloved, mighty, glorified and awesome Name:

vhyrda yhh hvh hh
ykrha avy vhv yhyhy
HHYY HKH HH YH
YHVH HH HYA YHYH
AHYH ASR AHYH VH HVA YHVH

"***He who lives for ever, this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations***." (***Torah Shmoth*** 3:15).

"Blessed be the Name of the glory of His Kingdom for ever."

Its interpretation in the language of purity (Metatron pronounces the *Shem Ha Meforesh*, Brilliant Name of Fire, in the language of purity):

YHV YH HHY HYY HY
HHYV HVHY VYHH HV YHVH
HYH HYH YHY YHVH
HY VYHYV HY YHV
YH YHV HHYV HYHV

Blessed be the Name of the glory of His Kingdom for ever.

10. Here follows in the text a hymn, and **Psalms** 93, 29, and 24.

End of "Meaure of the Divine Body"

SH'IR QOMA

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT ACCORDING TO BEST EVIDENCE

The "**Meaure of the Divine Body**" text is known to be corrupt, as all current texts come from a single corrupt text published in the 1701 Amsterdam edition (Eleazar of Worms). Consequently, the dimensions taken as directly translated will not lead to a reasonable image of the *Yosher* (upright form of the Lord YHVH). However, if the following changes are made, the *Yosher* image that is yielded (see Figure) can be shown to be self-consistent with the text. Seventeen dimensions were left unchanged, eleven dimensions were changed as follows, and the last two dimensions, dealing with the total measure, were not used.

SECTION DIMENSION READ (x107 Parasangs) change made
HEIGHT (Seat of Glory) 118 add *alafim*
HEIGHT (Seat of Glory) 118 add *alafim*, Seat of Glory is located in single Eye of Vast Face in center of Small Face's head.
TOTAL HEIGHT 236 no change
Right Arm to Left Arm 77 add *alafim*, this is completely around two arms
Right Eye to Left Eye 30 add *alafim*
Skull (Galgaltha) on Head 30 add *alafim*
Crowns on Head 60 add *alafim*
Sole to Ankles 1.5 no change
Ankles to Knees 23 add *rebaboth*
Knees to Thighs 13.4 no change
Thigh to Neck 24 no change
Height of Neck 13.8 no change
Roundness (circumference) of Head 333 1/3 no change
Beard 15 multiply by 10 (change *alafim* to *rebaboth*)
Black of Right Eye 1.15 no change
White of Right Eye 24 add *alafim*
Right Shoulder to Left 16 multiply by 10
Right Arm to Left Arm 12 x 2 (no change) dimension given must be doubled as shown in text, and taken across body.
Finger 15 no change
Palms 4 no change
Toes 10 no change
Width of Forehead 13.8 no change, however this must be taken across Vast Face Skull
Width of Shoulder 13.8 no change, checks with dimension in 5
Length of Nose 15 no change
Height of Cheek 53 no change, however, this must be taken as half the diameter of the head, otherwise human dimensions will not hold, as claimed in next sentence
Lips, Height 7.7 multiply x 106
Crown 50 x 50 square add *alafim*, then dimensions in 1 check
Eyelids, like Eyes 24 unchanged

Height of Ears = Height of Forehead unchanged
TOTAL MEASURE OF DIVINE STATURE, probably entire Chariot:
Height 10,000 x 107 parasangs
Width 1,000 x 107 parasangs
(both of these dimensions are omitted as being essentially beyond the image presented in the rest of the dimensions

WHO ARE THE DEMONS ?
THE ICONOGRAPHY OF INCANTATION BOWLS

Erica C.D. Hunter

Ancient man lived amongst a host of frightening, negative, demonic forces which he attempted to control or coerce in order to ensure a harmonious and benevolent world-order. A vast array of magico-religious mechanisms evolved to cope with this problem including incantation bowls which were produced in vast quantities in Mesopotamia during Late Antiquity. Their texts have a miscellaneous heritage, being essentially an amalgam of various components including «Biblical imagery, popular Jewish beliefs, remnants of Mesopotamian religions and echoes of Hellenistic esoteric traditions»[1]. This complex situation arose from magico-religious traditions being simultaneously conservative and syncretistic, absorbing as it were the «best of all worlds» in order to ensure efficacy against the demonic hosts.

All incantation bowls, whether written in Aramaic, Syriac or Mandaic, expressly aimed to bind and fetter demons[2], whose appellations were repeatedly cited throughout the texts in concatenations or strings as can be seen in this listing from an Aramaic incantation bowl, now housed in the Iraq Museum (I.M. 49972):

> *whršy wmʿbdy wptkry dykry wʾystrtʾ nyqbtʾ wṭʿwtʾ wḥwmry*
> *zydntʾ wnydry wšbʿttʾ wlwṭtʾ wmšqwpytʾ wʾšlmtʾ wʾnqtʾ*
> *whṭytʾ wkwsy wmllytʾ wškytʾ dkl byt knyštʾ bmhystl byty*
> *wmn klhyn wkl ptkry dymqblyn nydry wkl ʿystrtʾ dymqbln*
> *nydry bʾlhy*
>
> «sorcerers, magical works, male image-spirits, female goddesses, the false deity, impious amulet-spirits, vows, the oath, the curse, the affliction, the spell, necklace-charms, the sin, bowls, the word, *wškytʾ* of every synagogue, *bmhystl* houses and from all these things. Also from all image spirits which receive vows and and all goddesses which receive vows».

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1 L. Van Rompay, *Some Remarks on the Language of Syriac Incantation Texts, Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 236, 1990, 369.

2 L. Schiffman and M.D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, Sheffield 1992, 27 mention the dominant passive performatives: «bound and sealed» (*ʿasir ve-ḥatim*), «overturned» (*hafikhah*).

Some of the terms are general, embracing wide categories *viz*: *dywyn* «devils», *šydyn* «demons» and *rwhyn* «spirits». More specific are the *hwmryn* «amulet-spirits»[3] *ʿykwryn* «temple-spirits» and *ptkryn* «idol-spirits». Other demons, such as the *ʾstrt* «goddesses» and *lylyt* «liliths» are notable for their counterparts in the Babylonian pantheon from which they ultimately descended[4].

As well as being the subject of texts, demons are portrayed on incantation bowls, usually as single anthropomorphic figures that are drawn in the interior centre of the vessels. In Mandaic specimens the drawings may also be found on the interior or exterior walls. As the citation of the demons' epithets rendered their forces impotent, safeguarding the people for whom incantation bowls were written, so the portraits of their images may have also reduced their efficacy, rendering them subject to the demands of the incantation text. The figure-drawings may have functioned as simulacra, a rôle which James Montgomery already suggested in 1913[5]. The image portrayed may have been general and comprehensive, representing all demons cited in the incantation text. Alternatively, it may have been particular, depicting certain demons that were both familiar and feared who, like the gods of yesteryear, had assumed the full range of human characteristics, both physical and behavioural.

This paper concentrates on the «rude figures ... which can hardly be said to adorn the bowls»[6]. It commences by asking, «What iconography characterises the drawings?», isolating those attributes or features which transcend the boundaries of script and are found in both Aramaic and Mandaic specimens. Recourse is then made to «duplicate» incantation bowls to ascertain whether any correlation exists between text and illustration, i.e. whether specific texts are accompanied by particular figure drawings. In its final part, the paper harks back to the Mesopotamian heritage of the incantation texts in divulging that the anthropomorphic images with their distinctive regalia were Ištar-Lilith, categories of female demons who were still remembered and feared in Late Antiquity.

Defining the iconography of incantation bowls[7]

A survey of the figure drawings indicates traditions broadly corresponding to script. Aramaic bowls favour a figurative, realistic style, whereas the Mandaic specimens are generally executed in a more impressionistic fashion. In Aramaic incantation

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3 S. Niditch, *Incantation Texts and Formulaic Language*, OrNS 48, 1979, 461 sqq. for a new definition of this term.

4 W. Fauth, *Lilits und Astarten in aramäischen, mandäischen und syrischen Zaubertexten*, WO 17, 1986, 6-94 for further details.

5 J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia 1913, 53.

6 *Idem*.

7 For discussion of the iconography of incantation bowls, see J.B. Segal, with a contribution by Erica C.D. Hunter, *Catalogue of Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum*, London, British Museum Publications (in press).

bowls a single anthropomorphic figure is rendered full-frontal, although occasionally profiles are shown[8]. In Mandaic incantation bowls two figures are sometimes drawn[9]. Amidst this disparity, certain features are constant. The figures have out-stretched arms with fingers clearly drawn. They stand splayed with out-turned feet and have dishevelled hair, of varying lengths, which is rendered by a series of strokes[10]. The figures wear, in the Aramaic incantation bowls, denticulated head-dresses, which have been styled as head-bands in the Mandaic bowls[11]. The demons are frequently fettered at the ankles[12], a double shackle on the left leg connected to the left breast being favoured in the Mandaic tradition[13]. In some of the Aramaic specimens, the figures have wings and talons or pincer feet, traits that do not occur in the Mandaic incantation bowls[14].

The iconography of the figure drawings divides into primary and secondary elements. The former are fundamental and can be termed «supra-cultural» since they appear in both Aramaic and Mandaic incantation bowls. The secondary elements interpret the primary elements within the context of the community in which the incantation bowls circulated and in doing so, may be termed «intra-cultural». This dichotomy can be illustrated as follows. Incantation bowls often show demons bound and fettered, this fundamental element in the iconography reflecting a major textual theme. The different types of fetters which are depicted in the Aramaic and Mandaic incantation bowls may be classified as secondary elements, perhaps reflecting items in use amongst the communities. Similarly, the denticulated head-dresses and the head-bands (often segmented or scalloped) which are sported by figures in the Aramaic and Mandaic incantation bowls respectively may represent artistic convention.

The visual perceptions of the communities within which the incantation texts circulated are encapsulated by the figure drawings but, as incantation texts are marked by their flexiblity and variation, so these are not executed according to rigid conventions. Instead the medium is fluid, with each scribe offering his/her individual interpretation, a process that is exemplified by five «duplicate» Aramaic incantation

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8 B.M. (British Museum) 117824 and B.M. 139524.

9 B.M. 91781 and B.M.127398.

10 For a résumé of the iconography of demons, see P.O. Harper *et al.*, *A Seal-Amulet of the Sasanian Era: Imagery and Typology, the Inscription, and Technical Comments*, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 6, 1992, 45.

11 B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728, B.M. 91736, B.M. 91773, B.M. 91781, B.M. 103359, B.M. 108822, B.M. 117826, B.M. 127398 and B.M. 139524.

12 B.M. 91770, B.M. 117826 and B.M. 136204.

13 B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728 and B.M. 91736.

14 I.M. (Iraq Museum) 55672 shows a figure, with a human face and body, but winged with taloned feet.

bowls which have come, in differing circumstances, from Nippur[15]. They were written for a variety of clients, but the core texts only exhibit minimal variants[16]. That the incantation bowls were the product of the same scribe is confirmed by their typology and palaeography, as well as by the distinctive figure which has been drawn within a circle at the interior centre of the hemispherical vessels. A bust, described as that of a woman, whose hands are folded, possibly in prayer, wears a denticulated head-dress[17]. Only the detail, such as the number of scallops of the head-dress, differentiates the drawings making it clear that the scribe has coupled text and portrait.

That the association between text, its arrangement and the figure-drawings was not fixed but was determined by the scribes can be investigated *via* another set of twelve «duplicate» texts, all of which belong to a well-known genre that is exclusive to Mandaic. Three of the incantation bowls, B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728 and B.M. 91736 are now housed in the British Museum. Six other texts coming from Khouabir were published by Henri Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaïtes des Coupes de Khouabir*, Paris 1898 (Pognon Texts 15 - 20). To this collection may be added Harvard Semitic Museum 1931.1.1; Text II in M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, 2 vols, Gießen 1902, vol. 1, pp. 89-106 and finally a bowl in the Iraq Museum, I.M. 60494[18]. In four of the specimens, the text has the tripartite arrangement that is characteristic of Mandaic, the remaining eight being written in concentric spirals of text[19]. Figure drawings also appear in five of the incantation bowls; three being placed at the end of the tripartite arrangement of text and two being associated with concentric spirals[20].

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15 See Erica C.D. Hunter, *Combat and Conflict: Studies on Two Aramaic Specimens from Nippur*, in M.J. Geller - J.C. Greenfield - M.P. Weitzman (eds.), *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*, Oxford 1995, 62-66 for a detailed discussion of these specimens.

16 J. Naveh - S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 2nd edition, Jerusalem 1987, 188-97 for the translation and commentary on Bowl 12a [Heb. 4 6079 - Hebrew National University Library, Jerusalem].

17 C. Müller-Kessler, *Eine aramäische Zauberschale im Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte zu Berlin*, OrNS 63, 1994, 5. Plates I - III accompanying Müller-Kessler's article show three of the illustrated bowls.

18 H.S.M. (Harvard Semitic Museum) 1931.1.1 was published by C.H. Gordon, *Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls*, ArOr 9, 1937, 95-100 and has been republished by E. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, New Haven 1967, Text 26. Yamauchi, *op. cit.*, has also republished Pognon Texts 15, 16 and 18 respectively as Texts 7-9 as well as Lidzbarski's Text II which is numbered Text 19. I.M. 60494 has not been previously published. Its transcription and translation appear as Appendix A at the end of this article.

19 B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728 and B.M. 91736, Pognon Text 16 (tripartite arrangement), Pognon Texts 15, 17, 18, 19, 20; Lidzbarski Text II; H.S.M 1931.1.1 and I.M. 60494 (concentric spirals).

20 B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728, B.M. 91736 (tripartite arrangment) Pognon Texts 15 and H.S.M. 931.1.1 (concentric spirals).

The impressionistic, highly stylised figures which are featured in B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728, B.M. 91736, Pognon Text 15 and H.S.M. 1931.1.1 can be accommodated within the iconographic conventions that have been previously outlined[21]. All have raised arms, with the open palms and fingers being clearly demarcated. They stand splayed, with the feet out-turned and fetters attached to the left leg. The figures have flowing tresses and wear a type of cap, that appears to be segmented. Within this overall stylistic conformity there is much variation in detail:

Fetters: In H.S.M. 1931.1.1 the figure is not shackled. B.M. 91714 and B.M. 91728 show a three-part fetter linking the left nipple to the left ankle, whilst a double fetter is shown in B.M. 91736 and Pognon Text 15. In B.M. 91736 there is no connection with the fetter despite the breasts being defined.

Hair: The figures of B.M. 91728 and H.S.M. 1931.1.1 have no hair. By contrast B.M. 91736 has six wavy tresses sprouting from the crown of the head, while in B.M. 91714 four wavy strands emerge from the side. Pognon Text 15 minimises the hair to two straight strands.

Head-dress: B.M. 91728 has a head-dress that is simply defined by two parallel lines. H.S.M. 1931.1.1 has a segmented head-dress similar to those featured in B.M. 91714, B.M. 91736 and Pognon Text 15.

Facial and body features: In B.M. 91714, B.M. 91736 and Pognon Text 15 the figures have no mouths. B.M. 91714 shows protrusions from the side of the head that could be interpreted as either ears or horns. No breasts are indicated for the figure of B.M. 91714, which like H.S.M. 1931.1.1 may be clothed. B.M. 91714 has three protrusions, possibly genitalia or tails, hanging from the lower part of the torso.

Apparel: H.S.M. 931.1.1 wears a spotted tunic (?) with long sleeves as well as spotted leggings. The figure of B.M. 91714 might be clothed, but in B.M. 91728, B.M. 91736 and Pognon Text 15 appears naked.

The iconographic differences that have arisen between the figures, like the variants in the incantation texts, may be attributed to scribal interpretation, portraying the demons in an individualistic light! Yet representing a particular genre.

Recalling the Mesopotamian matrix

The images on the incantation bowls would have been familiar and well-known, but occasionally are accompanied by a caption. *qʾl qʾlʾ* «Hark, my voice» is inscribed on the exterior wall of B.M. 91714. The connection between caption and

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21 See PLATES I - V for photographs or line reproductions of the figure drawings in these incantation bowls.

figure drawing is made explicit in another incantation bowl that can be added to the aforementioned list of «duplicates». B.M. 135438, written in Mandaic, in concentric spirals, commences midway (l.17) with the typical formula *q'l q'l'*. On the vessel's exterior wall is a drawing that is defined by its iconographic attributes[22]: upraised arms with fingers clearly defined, flowing tresses of wavy hair, as well as what appears to be a segmented head-band. The right foot has the expected outward-turned position, but its left leg does not appear to be shackled. A cross at the neck may indicate some type of fetter. Patterned markings on its legs suggest leggings, and the figure wears curious apparel: a bodice with 6 spots connected by thin strips to a skirt with 9 spots. Written in a shield at its right-side is the caption, *h'zyn dmwt' ḏq'l q'l' šwmy'* ... «This is the portrait of 'Hark. A Voice'. Hear and ....».

The opening stanzas of the «duplicate» incantation texts evocatively describe the «Voice», in its various manifestations:

q' q'l' ḏš'm'n' wq'l h'lšy' ḏmyt'bry' wm' gwbry' ḏn'ṣyn
wn'htyn bqr'b' wq'l ʿnšy' z'dny't' dl'ṭ' wmykdš'n
wm'yk'šypyn wm'kyb'n bh'zyn pgr'

«This is the Voice.
The Voice of the weak that are broken and of men who fight and
go into battle. Also, the Voice of raging women who curse,
afflict, bewitch and pain this body ...».

The «Voice of raging women who curse ... » is not that of mere mortals, the «human agents» as Edwin Yamauchi suggests, but the Ištar-Lilith demons, a connection which is explicit in Pognon Texts 13 and 14[23]:

hw' šgš' b'ny' ʿstyr't' wlyly't' ql'yhyn d'nšy' z'dny't'

«There has been a commotion among the Istars and the liliths!
Voices of raging women».

A highly stylised figure-drawing accompanying Pognon Text 14 exhibits the standard iconographic attributes: upraised arms, with palms and fingers defined, outturned feet, strands of hair from the crown and possibly a head-band. Like H.M.S. 1931.1.1, the figure is not fettered.

Commenting on H.M.S. 1931.1.1, Cyrus Gordon noted that on the exterior was «a crude representation of the magician with uplifted arms to scare away the demons»[24]. Rather, the anthropomorphic attributes suggest a demon - whose identity is spelt out

22 See PLATE VI.

23 E. Yamauchi, *op. cit.*, 22.

24 C. H. Gordon, ArOr 9, 1937, 98.

by the caption which has been written at the feet of the figure's shackled legs in Pognon Text 15. *hu' l'byt* was read by Pognon and later by Kurt Rudolph as a corruption of *lby't* the Mandaic expression for «la planète Venus»[25]. On the other hand, Yamauchi has tentatively translated the phrase as, «this is for the house (?)», although he also juxtaposes the reading «[or for Venus (?)]»[26], suggesting the burial-spot of the incantation bowl. Since incantation bowls were exclusively used in domestic circumstances, the prescription, «this is for the house (?)» determining the place of burial is, at best, enigmatic[27]. If Yamauchi's reading can be accepted, *hu' l'byt* may be formulaic, like the introductory sequence *lh'zyn byth dwrh hyklh wbny'nh* «for the house, dwelling, homestead and building» which frequently commences Mandaic incantation texts[28].

The caption *db'b' dn'ws'* «at the gate of the temple», accompanying the figure drawing in H.M.S. 1931.1.1 and which has also been written on the exterior of I.M. 60494, adds further comment[29]. Rather than being the place where the bowl was depositedh as Gordon posits[30], several Mandaic texts from Khouabir stipulate that a similar phrase, *db'b' d'kwr'* «at the gate of the temple» was the place where those incantations, which were to be repulsed, were written[31]. The same texts continue, citing their authority in the «name of Adonai Snubit, in the name of Ištar, the queen», and in doing so highlight the royal status of the demons, where «Ištar, the queen» can be equated with Ruha-Ištra, the queen of darkness in Mandaean mythology[32]. Rather than being the deposit-spot as Yamauchi proposes, Pognon's interpretation of *hu'*

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25 H. Pognon, *op. cit.*, 43.; K. Rudolph, *Gnosis* (transl. R. Wilson), Edinburgh 1983, 345. See PLATE IV for the line drawing of this figure.

26 E. Yamauchi, *op. cit.*, 173.

27 For a chart of the burial of Aramaic and Mandaic incantation bowls in a courtyard at Nippur, see Erica C.D. Hunter, *op. cit.*, 606. F. Franco, *Five Aramaic Incantation Bowls from Tell Baruda (Choche), Mesopotamia* 13-14, 1978-79, 233 notes that the specimens were «found behind the southwestern threshold of a room belonging to the excavated buildings» and «behind the northwestern threshold of the same room». R. Venco-Ricciardi, *Trial Trench at Tell Baruda, Mesopotamia* 8-9, 1973-74, 19 details the excavation of area 21 where four incantation bowls were found under «the new thresholds», suggesting that incantation bowls continue a heritage which harks back to the protective rituals of the Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian periods when apotropaic figurines were buried at various points in both private and public buildings.

28 Erica C.D. Hunter, *Two Mandaic Incantation Bowls from Nippur*, BaM 25, 1994, 611 for discussion of this phrase. Occasionally incantation texts mention parts of the house, see J. Naveh - S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem 1993, 138 [Bowl 25, l. 11].

29 C.H. Gordon, *loc. cit.* See PLATES VI and VII for the phrase on the exterior of H.M.S. 1931.1.1 and I.M. 60494.

30 C.H. Gordon, *op. cit.*, 100.

31 H. Pognon, *op. cit.*, Texts 13 and 14; also E. Yamauchi, *op. cit.*, Texts 5 (l.19) and 6 (l.18).

32 *Idem.*

l'byt as «Venus» exposes the identity of the figure-drawings – as the Ištar-Lilith genres of demons to which incantation texts and amulets made frequent recourse[33].

Conclusion

Venus was, of course, the Hellenistic counterpart to the astral connotations of the Mesopotamian goddess Astarte, the Ishtar of Akkadian whose title had, by Late Antiquity, degenerated into a generic term. Yet the drawings on the incantation bowls depicting the erstwhile «goddesses» recall through their iconography their origins within the Mesopotamian matrix. These attributes, coupled with the distinctive spotted apparel sported in H.S.M 1931.1.1 and B.M. 135438, are echoed by an Akkadian incantation text which was written against the Labartu who, like the *lilitu* had the same vile reputation as the slayers of infants and whose identities eventually synthesized: «she is furious, she is impetuous, she is divine, she is terrible and she is like a leopard, the daughter of Anu ... her hair is in disorder, her breasts are uncovered»[34].

Discussing incantation texts, Montgomery states, «the religion of yesterday becomes the superstition of today»[35]. He brilliantly portrays the situation where the decaying pantheistic world-order had been largely superceded by dualistic or monotheistic faiths. Many deities had become depopularised and to quote Baudelaire were «betrayed by fate, deprived of praise»[36]. But their reputation lingered, their legacy continuing, in the form of the malevolent forces which were still greatly feared. Thus Ishtar was still called in Mandaic texts, *'sytr' ml'kt'* «Ishtar the queen», echoing her erstwhile status in Assyro-Babylonian cultus[37]. Her image as the Queen of the «goddesses», complete with her crown, portrays the visual perceptions of the magico-religious traditions of the communities in Sasanid Mesopotamia in which incantation bowls circulated. And simultaneously illuminates their integral connection with the blueprint of ancient Mesopotamia.

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33 Cf. the terminology in Syriac amulets from Iran which have been dated to the seventh century A.D. in P. Gignoux, *Incantations magiques syriaques*, Louvain 1987.

34 F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel et amulettes contre Labartu*, RA 18, 1921, 170.

35 J. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 70.

36 *Baudelaire, Selected Poems.* Trans. Joanna Richardson, Harmondsworth 1975, Quotation from *Les Fleurs du Mal.*

37 H. Pognon, *op. cit.*, Texts 13 and 14. Cf. E. Yamauchi, *op. cit.*, Texts 5 and 6.

Appendix

I.M. 60494[38]

Extract from the Iraq Museum register: (Registered 11.x.1957)[39]

«Incantation bowl, hemispheroid, inside covered with Aramaic (?) inscription in concentric circles. Further little inscription on outside. d 175 [mm] h 35 [mm] No. other register, P.O. 688. Said to come from Tell Assafa near Yousifiyah intake».

Physical Description:

FORM: A complete (unbroken) hemispherical bowl, 17.3 x 4.8 cm, with a simple rim. Profile width at rim: 0.7 cm, centre base: 1.2 cm.

FABRIC: Very pale brown (MUNSELL 10YR 7/4) clay, with part of the exterior red (MUNSELL 2.5 YR 5/6). Medium-coarse texture with a dense and evenly distributed black grit inclusion and also a common and evenly distributed mica inclusion. No slip or glaze.

MANUFACTURE: Wheel thrown, with paring marks covering 9.0 cm diameter of the exterior base. The hand-finishing appears to have been executed with a blunt instrument, possibly a shell.

Decoration: Single hand-drawn line enclosing the text which has been drawn on the external wall.

Palæography: Mandaic.

Arrangement of Text: 23 lines written in a spiral pattern, commencing at the centre and ending at the rim edge of the vessel. 3 words are on the exterior surface.

Transliteration and Translation:

Sigla:

°	uncertain reading
[n]	restored letters
{ n }	scribal plusses
< n >	scribal omissions

(1) *[k]ryk' wd'hy' lwṭt'*

(2) *mn m'h'y'z'wd gwšn[']ṣp br*

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38 See PLATE VII.

39 The author examined this bowl at the Iraq Museum, Baghdad in September, 1994. She thanks Dr. Mu'ayyid Sa'id Damerji, Director-General of the Dept. of Antiquities and Heritage, Republic of Iraq for his generous assistance in permitting its publication.

(3) *mʾkʾš qʾ qʾlʾ ḏšʾmʾnʾ*

(4) *wqʾl hʾlšyʾ ḏmytʾbryʾ wmʾ gwbryʾ ḏnʾṣyn wnʾhtyn bqrʾbʾ wqʾl*

(5) *ʿnšyʾ zʾdnyʾtʾ dlʾṭʾ wmykdšʾn wmʾykʾšypyn wmʾkybʾn*

(6) *bhʾzyn pgrʾ ḏmʾhʾyʾzʿwd gwšnʾṣp wnhyt ʿlyʾyhyn*

(7) *ʾzdʾy wyʾzrwn wyʾqrwn wprʿyl wrpʾʿyl wshʾṭʿyl shyṭynyn*

(8) *nsybynyn bʿdqyʾ ḏmʾnzyʾhyn ḏryšʾyhyn wbqw<r>qlyʾ ḏmwhʾyyn wtbʾr*

(9) qʾmʾyyn ḏrʾmʾ wmʾṣʾrznyn bʿdqyʾ ḏmʾnzyʾyhyn ḏryšʾyhyn {*wqb*}

(10) *wbqwrqlyʾ ḏmwhʾyn wʾmʾrlyʾ* {*kwr*} *krwk ḏlʾ<ṭ>tyʾ lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd gwšnʾṣp wʾmrʾ lḫ mn*

(11) *kybʾ ḏlʿbʾn lʾṭnyn wmn mrʾrʾ ḏhynkʾn gzʾrnyn wlʾṭnyn wʾmʾrnʾ lyʾ ʾšbyt ʾlʾykyn wmwmynʾlkyn*

(12) *bšwm ʾzdʾy dywʾ wyʾzrwn dywʾ wyʾqʾrwn wprʿyl rbʾ wrwpʿyl wshṭʿyl ḏtyšryʾ wtyšbwqʾlʾ*

(13) *lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd gwšnʾṣp mn kwl lwṭʾtʾ wʾqryʾtʾ kwlhyn ḏlʾṭtyn lwʾtyn wmn ḏmn ʾbʾ wʿmʾ ḏlʾwṭyʾ*

(14) *wmn lwṭtʾ ḏzʾnytʾ wzʾmrtʾ wmn lwṭtʾ ḏrʾbtʾ wšlytʾ wmn lwṭtʾ ḏʿgryʾ wʾgrʾ ḏʾgrʾ gzyl mynʾ wmn lwṭtʾ*

(15) *ḏʾhyʾ ḏlʾ plʾg bkwšṭʾ mn hdʾdyʾ wmn lwṭtʾ ḏkl ḏlʾṭʾt wʾqryʾt bšwm ʿkwryʾ wptykryʾ wʾšlwmtynyn*

(16) *ʾnʾt ʾsyʾ ḏmʾsyʾ kwlhyn myhyʾtʾ bmlʾlʾ ʾsyʾ myhuʾtʾ wlwṭʾtʾ ḏlʾṭtʾ kl ḏhʿyʾ wdlʾṭwyʾ kwlhyn bnyʾ ʾnʾšʾ lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd*

(17) *gwšnʾṣp br mʾkʾš ʾnʾt shwt wn<s>ywbynyn lkwlhyn lwṭʾtʾ ḏlʾṭwyʾ lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd gwšnʾṣp wlzʾwḫ kʾšʿzʾg wlbnḫ wlbntḫ*

(18) *wʾswyʾ bšwm ʾzdʾy wyʾzrwn wyʾqrwn wprʿyl rbʾ wrwpʿyl rbʾ wswhṭʿyl ʾnʾt shwṭynyn wsʾbynyn llyṭʾtʾ ḏlʾtwyʾ lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd gwšnʾṣp*

(19) *lwzʾyḫ wlbnḫ wlbnʾtḫ yʾsyw llwṭtʾ ḏlʾṭwyʾ lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd*

gwšn'ṣp wlz'yḫ wlbnḫ wlbntḫh wš'd'rynyn 'l m'r'yhyn 'lm'

(20) *ḏš'ry' wš'bq' wb'rk' 'l gl'l' hw {w'bty'} ḏl' b'zy' y'tbyt wktbtynyn lkwlhyn lwṭ't' ḏl'ṭwy' lm'h'y'z'wd gwšn'ṣp 'l k's' h'dt' ḏl' mš'r'y*

(21) *ws'd'rtynyn wš'kytynyn llṭ't' ḏl'ṭwy' [lm']h'y'z'wd gwšn'ṣp 'l m'r'yhyn 'lm' ḏhynyn š'ry' wš'bq' wb'r'k' bšwm*

(22) *š'r['yl] ml'k' wbrk'yl ml'k' 'tyn ml'ky' šrwnyn wbrykwnyn 'l kwl hyn lwṭ't' ḏl'ṭwy' lm'h'y'z'wd gwšn'ṣp wšrwnyn m'h'y'z'wd gwšn'ṣp wmn*

(23) *z'wḫ wmn bnḫ wmn bn'tḫ myšry' gbr' mn byt 's[yr'] wmn byt z'yn' 'myn 'myn 'myn s'lh*

(1) Curses are averted and driven away (2) from M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP (3) BR M'K'Š. Hark! The Voice which I hear (4) is the Voice of the weak that are broken and ... of men who fight and go into battle. Also, the Voice of (5) raging women who curse, afflict, bewitch and pain (6) this body of M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP. Gone down against them: (7) Azdai, Yazrun, Yaqrun, Præl, Raphæl and Saḥtæl, who seized (8) and took them by the tufts of the hair of their heads and by the tresses of their pates. He has broken (9) their horns that were on high and he has bound them by the tufts of the hair of their heads and by the (10) tresses of their pates. Then he said to them, «Avert the curse against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP». They said to him, «From (11) the anguish of our heart we have cursed and we have resolved to curse from the bitterness of our palate». Then I said to them, «I have made you swear and I adjure you (12) in the name of the dæva Azdai and the dæva Azrun and Aqrun and the great Præl and Raphæl and Saḥtæl that you should release and free (13) M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP from all the curses and incantations which you have cursed. Also, from the curses which the father and mother curse.(14) Also, from the curse of the harlot and singer, from the curse of the mistress and maidservant, from the curse of the employer and the emplyee who stole wages from him. Also, from the curse (15) of the brothers who have not divided the portions fairly amongst themselves. And from the curse of all who curse and invoke in the name of the temple-spirits and the image-spirits and their requisitions». (16) You are the healer who heals all maladies with a word. Heal the maladies and the curses which (she) curses and which anyone curses against M'H'Y'Z'WD (17) GWŠN'ṢP BR M'K'Š. You, seize and (take) all thoses curses which are cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP and his wife K'Š'Z'G and his sons and daughters. (18) Heal in the name of Azdai, Yazrun, Yakrun, great Præl and Raphæl and Saḥtæl. Seize and take the curses which are cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP and his wife, sons and daughters. May he heal the curses that are cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP and his wife, sons and daughters and send them back

against their original owners (20) (that they should) release, free and bless (them). Upon that unsplit rock I sat and wrote all the curses which they cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ŞP upon a new bowl that cannot be dissolved. (21) I have sent away and thrown the curses which they cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ŞP back against their original owners until they release, free and bless (them). By the name (22) of the angel Šariel and the angel Barkiel, you angels, loosen and bless all the curses that they have cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ŞP. And loosen them from M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ŞP and from (23) his wife, sons and daughters as a man is released from prison and from a stockade. Amen. Amen. Amen. Selah.

Exterior: The gate of that temple.

Notes and Commentary:

l.2 M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ŞP is the name of the client for whom the incantation bowl was written. The Iranian name GWŠN'ŞP occurs in several Syriac specimens, while Ferdinand Justi mentions a seal wuth the name māhāzād gūšn (aspān)[40].

l.4 *wm'yk'šypyn* «and bewitch». Absent in Pognon Texts 15, 16.

l.7 *wy'zrwn wy'qrwn* «Yazrun and Yakrun». These angels' names are variously spelt, attesting to the lack of uniformity in Mandaean orthography. Cf. *y'z'rwn wy'q'rwn* (H.M.S. 1931.1.1) and *yzrwn wyqrwn* (Lidzbarski Text II).

l.7 *pr'yl* «Prael». Qualified by *rb'* «great» in other «duplicate» texts.

l.7 *wrp''yl* «Raphael». Cf. *rp'yl* H.M.S. 1931.1.1, Lidzbarski Text II, Pognon Text 16; *rp'yyl* Pognon Text 15, *rwp''yl* Pognon Text 17.

l.7 *wsh'ṭ'yl* «Sahṭiel». Consistently spelt in «duplicate» texts as *sht'yl*, deriving from √SḤṬ «press out, wring out», with a specific connotation in incantation texts «seize»[41].

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40 See T. Harvaianen, *A Syriac Incantation Bowl in the Finnish National Museum, Helsinki. A Specimen of Eastern Aramaic «Koiné»*, StOr 51, 1978, 1-28 for the publication of a Syriac bowl, I.M. 78630 (not I.M. 7863 as in the publication) which was donated by the Iraqi government to the President of Finland. J. Naveh - S. Shaked, *op. cit.*, (1987) 183 also propose this name for a Syriac incantation bowl which is now housed in the Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade [No. 243]. Cf. also F. Justi, *IranischesNamenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 185 referring to the publication of the seal in *Revue Archéologique* 15, 1874, pt. V n. 443.

41 E. Drower - R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford 1963, 319.

l.8 *bʿdqyʾ* «by the tufts». Cf. *uʿdqḫ mn riš nisbat* «she took bunches of hair from her head» Ginza yamina 247:8[42].

ll.8/9 *wtbʾr qʾrnʾyyn ḏrʾmʾ* «he has broken their horns that were on high». Cf. I Samuel II[10], Jeremiah XLVIII[25] and Psalm LXXV[11] for the metaphorical use of the horn to denote power and strength[43].

l.10 *krwk* «avert». Cf. *šrʾy* «dissolve» in Pognon Texts 15, 16, 17.

l.10/11 *mn kybʾ ḏlʿbʾn lʾṭnyn wmn mrʾrʾ ḏhynkʾn* «from the anguish of our heart we have cursed and from the bitterness of our palate». See Ginza yamina 115:16 where the palate is equated with the voice.

l.12 *ʾzdʾy dywʾ wyʾzrwn dywʾ* «the *daeva* Azdai and the *daeva* Yazrun». *dywʾ* «daeva», used in the original sense of the word as a beneficient rather than maleficient being, is also found in H.M.S. 1931.1.1, but is absent from Lidzbarski Text II and also from Pognon Texts 15, 16 and 17.

l.13 *ḏmn ʾbʾ wʿmʾ ḏlʾwṭyʾ* «from the father and the mother who curse». Cf. the comprehensive lists of bans (*māmītu*) in the Šurpu series of incantation texts. Cf. also the lists of relations: mother, daughter, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, also men and women who curse mentioned by an Aramaic specimen now housed in the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem [no. 1401][44].

l.14 *lwṭtʾ ḏrʾbtʾ wšlytʾ* «of the mistress and maidservant». Discussing this phrase in H.M.S. 1931.1.1 which he has tentatively translated as «of grand(mother?) and foetus (?)», Gordon traces the history of its interpretation[45]. The reading «maidservant» is derived from √Šʾl «request»[46].

l.15 *mn hdʾdyʾ wmn* «from among themselves and from». At this point H.S.M. 1931.1.1 (ll. 15-16) includes the proper names Yʾhbwyʾ and Bʾnʾdwyʾ which Gordon claims to belong to « pair of ill-tempered fellows given to cursing»[47]. This combination, which is also absent from Lidzbarski Text II and also Pognon Texts 15, 16 and 17, may be interpreted as a corruption of *ʾhy* «brothers» and *bnyʾ* «sons».

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42 For a translation of the Ginzā see, M. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā. Der Schatz oder das Grosse Buch der Mandäer*, Gottingen-Leipzig 1925.

43 See R.M. Boehmer, s.v. *Hörnerkrone*, RIA Band IV, 43-44, for the horned head-dresses or crowns of Mesopotamian deities.

44 J. Naveh- S. Shaked, *op. cit.*, 135-45.

45 C.H. Gordon, *op. cit.*, 99.

46 E. Drower - R. Macuch, *op. cit.*, 441.

47 C.H. Gordon, *loc. cit.*

l.17 *kʾšʿzʾg* The name of the client's wife, possibly a variant spelling of the Iranian proper name *Xwdšyzag*[48].

l.22 *šʾr*[*ʿyl*] *mlʾkʾ wbrkʿyl mlʾkʾ* «the angel Šariel and the angel Barkiel», these names being respectively derived form √ŠRʾ «loosen» and √BRK «bless»[49].

48 J. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 277 and F. Justi, *op. cit.*, 182.

49 See C.H. Gordon, *loc. cit.*



PLATE I: British Museum 91714

(Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum).



PLATE II: British Museum 91728

(Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum).



PLATE III: British Museum 91736

(Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum).

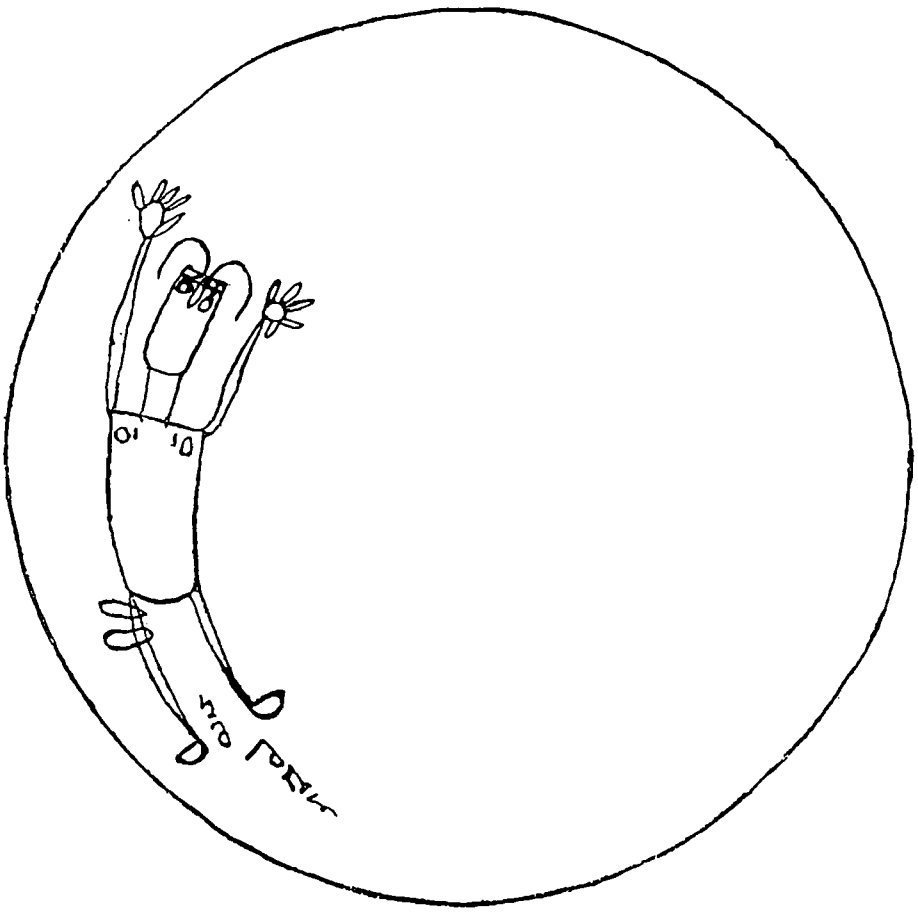


PLATE IV: Pognon Text 15 (line drawing)

(H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaïtes des Coupes de Khouabir*, Paris 1898) reproduced by K. Rudolph, *Gnosis* (trans. R. Wilson), Edinburgh 1983, 344.



PLATE V: Harvard Semitic Museum 1931.1.1



PLATE VI: British Museum 135438 (line drawing)

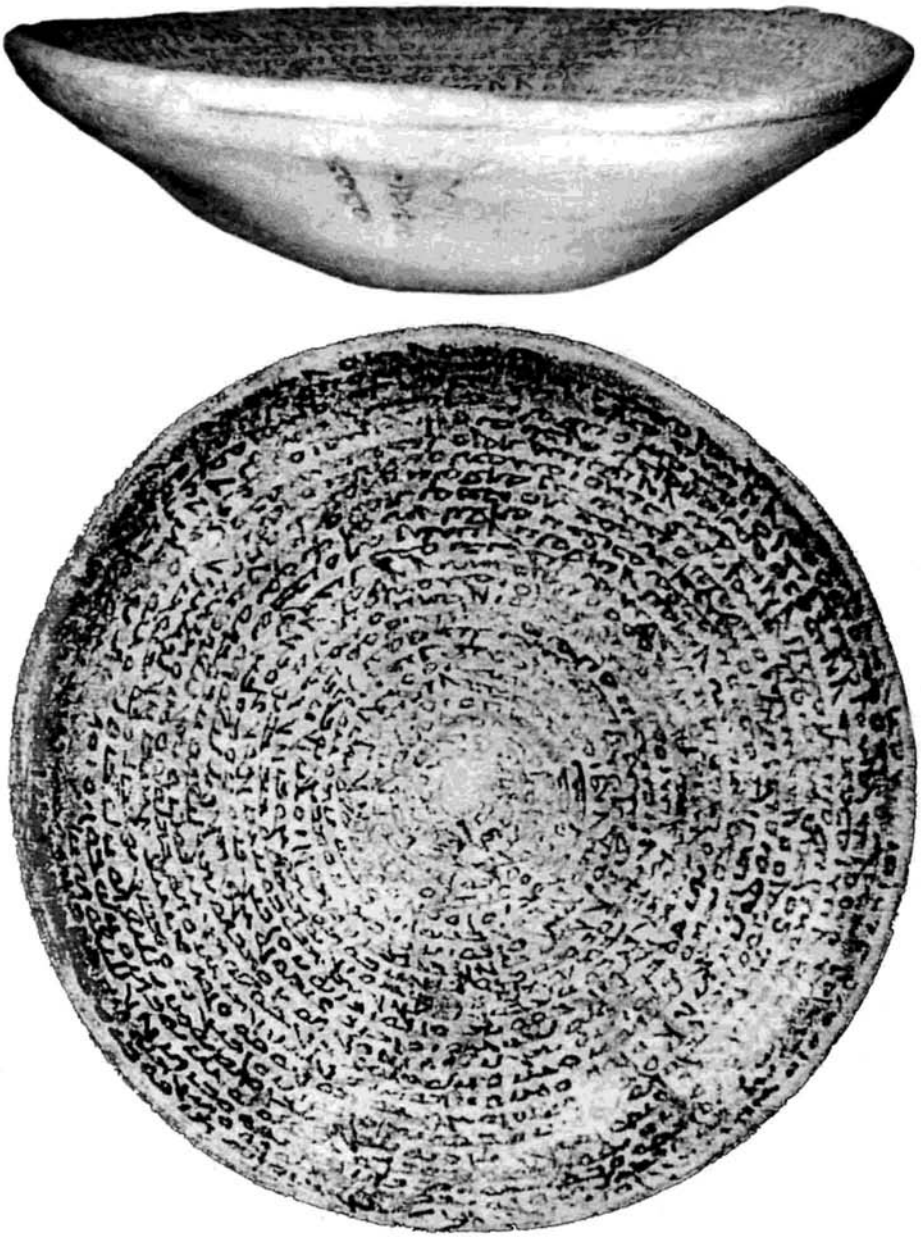


PLATE VII: Iraq Museum 60494

(Courtesy Dept. of Antiquities and Heritage, Republic of Iraq).

WHO ARE THE DEMONS ?
THE ICONOGRAPHY OF INCANTATION BOWLS

Erica C.D. Hunter

Ancient man lived amongst a host of frightening, negative, demonic forces which he attempted to control or coerce in order to ensure a harmonious and benevolent world-order. A vast array of magico-religious mechanisms evolved to cope with this problem including incantation bowls which were produced in vast quantities in Mesopotamia during Late Antiquity. Their texts have a miscellaneous heritage, being essentially an amalgam of various components including «Biblical imagery, popular Jewish beliefs, remnants of Mesopotamian religions and echoes of Hellenistic esoteric traditions»[1]. This complex situation arose from magico-religious traditions being simultaneously conservative and syncretistic, absorbing as it were the «best of all worlds» in order to ensure efficacy against the demonic hosts.

All incantation bowls, whether written in Aramaic, Syriac or Mandaic, expressly aimed to bind and fetter demons[2], whose appellations were repeatedly cited throughout the texts in concatenations or strings as can be seen in this listing from an Aramaic incantation bowl, now housed in the Iraq Museum (I.M. 49972):

> *whršy wmʿbdy wptkry dykry wʾystrtʾ nyqbtʾ wṭʿwtʾ wḥwmry*
> *zydntʾ wnydry wšbʿttʾ wlwṭtʾ wmšqwpytʾ wʾšlmtʾ wʾnqtʾ*
> *whṭytʾ wkwsy wmllytʾ wškytʾ dkl byt knyštʾ bmhystl byty*
> *wmn klhyn wkl ptkry dymqblyn nydry wkl ʿystrtʾ dymqbln*
> *nydry bʾlhy*
>
> «sorcerers, magical works, male image-spirits, female goddesses, the false deity, impious amulet-spirits, vows, the oath, the curse, the affliction, the spell, necklace-charms, the sin, bowls, the word, *wškytʾ* of every synagogue, *bmhystl* houses and from all these things. Also from all image spirits which receive vows and and all goddesses which receive vows».

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1 L. Van Rompay, *Some Remarks on the Language of Syriac Incantation Texts, Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 236, 1990, 369.

2 L. Schiffman and M.D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, Sheffield 1992, 27 mention the dominant passive performatives: «bound and sealed» (*ʿasir ve-ḥatim*), «overturned» (*hafikhah*).

Some of the terms are general, embracing wide categories *viz*: *dywyn* «devils», *šydyn* «demons» and *rwhyn* «spirits». More specific are the *hwmryn* «amulet-spirits»[3] *ʿykwryn* «temple-spirits» and *ptkryn* «idol-spirits». Other demons, such as the *ʾstrt* «goddesses» and *lylyt* «liliths» are notable for their counterparts in the Babylonian pantheon from which they ultimately descended[4].

As well as being the subject of texts, demons are portrayed on incantation bowls, usually as single anthropomorphic figures that are drawn in the interior centre of the vessels. In Mandaic specimens the drawings may also be found on the interior or exterior walls. As the citation of the demons' epithets rendered their forces impotent, safeguarding the people for whom incantation bowls were written, so the portraits of their images may have also reduced their efficacy, rendering them subject to the demands of the incantation text. The figure-drawings may have functioned as simulacra, a rôle which James Montgomery already suggested in 1913[5]. The image portrayed may have been general and comprehensive, representing all demons cited in the incantation text. Alternatively, it may have been particular, depicting certain demons that were both familiar and feared who, like the gods of yesteryear, had assumed the full range of human characteristics, both physical and behavioural.

This paper concentrates on the «rude figures ... which can hardly be said to adorn the bowls»[6]. It commences by asking, «What iconography characterises the drawings?», isolating those attributes or features which transcend the boundaries of script and are found in both Aramaic and Mandaic specimens. Recourse is then made to «duplicate» incantation bowls to ascertain whether any correlation exists between text and illustration, i.e. whether specific texts are accompanied by particular figure drawings. In its final part, the paper harks back to the Mesopotamian heritage of the incantation texts in divulging that the anthropomorphic images with their distinctive regalia were Ištar-Lilith, categories of female demons who were still remembered and feared in Late Antiquity.

Defining the iconography of incantation bowls[7]

A survey of the figure drawings indicates traditions broadly corresponding to script. Aramaic bowls favour a figurative, realistic style, whereas the Mandaic specimens are generally executed in a more impressionistic fashion. In Aramaic incantation

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3 S. Niditch, *Incantation Texts and Formulaic Language*, OrNS 48, 1979, 461 sqq. for a new definition of this term.

4 W. Fauth, *Lilits und Astarten in aramäischen, mandäischen und syrischen Zaubertexten*, WO 17, 1986, 6-94 for further details.

5 J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia 1913, 53.

6 *Idem*.

7 For discussion of the iconography of incantation bowls, see J.B. Segal, with a contribution by Erica C.D. Hunter, *Catalogue of Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum*, London, British Museum Publications (in press).

bowls a single anthropomorphic figure is rendered full-frontal, although occasionally profiles are shown[8]. In Mandaic incantation bowls two figures are sometimes drawn[9]. Amidst this disparity, certain features are constant. The figures have out-stretched arms with fingers clearly drawn. They stand splayed with out-turned feet and have dishevelled hair, of varying lengths, which is rendered by a series of strokes[10]. The figures wear, in the Aramaic incantation bowls, denticulated head-dresses, which have been styled as head-bands in the Mandaic bowls[11]. The demons are frequently fettered at the ankles[12], a double shackle on the left leg connected to the left breast being favoured in the Mandaic tradition[13]. In some of the Aramaic specimens, the figures have wings and talons or pincer feet, traits that do not occur in the Mandaic incantation bowls[14].

The iconography of the figure drawings divides into primary and secondary elements. The former are fundamental and can be termed «supra-cultural» since they appear in both Aramaic and Mandaic incantation bowls. The secondary elements interpret the primary elements within the context of the community in which the incantation bowls circulated and in doing so, may be termed «intra-cultural». This dichotomy can be illustrated as follows. Incantation bowls often show demons bound and fettered, this fundamental element in the iconography reflecting a major textual theme. The different types of fetters which are depicted in the Aramaic and Mandaic incantation bowls may be classified as secondary elements, perhaps reflecting items in use amongst the communities. Similarly, the denticulated head-dresses and the head-bands (often segmented or scalloped) which are sported by figures in the Aramaic and Mandaic incantation bowls respectively may represent artistic convention.

The visual perceptions of the communities within which the incantation texts circulated are encapsulated by the figure drawings but, as incantation texts are marked by their flexiblity and variation, so these are not executed according to rigid conventions. Instead the medium is fluid, with each scribe offering his/her individual interpretation, a process that is exemplified by five «duplicate» Aramaic incantation

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8 B.M. (British Museum) 117824 and B.M. 139524.

9 B.M. 91781 and B.M.127398.

10 For a résumé of the iconography of demons, see P.O. Harper *et al.*, *A Seal-Amulet of the Sasanian Era: Imagery and Typology, the Inscription, and Technical Comments*, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 6, 1992, 45.

11 B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728, B.M. 91736, B.M. 91773, B.M. 91781, B.M. 103359, B.M. 108822, B.M. 117826, B.M. 127398 and B.M. 139524.

12 B.M. 91770, B.M. 117826 and B.M. 136204.

13 B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728 and B.M. 91736.

14 I.M. (Iraq Museum) 55672 shows a figure, with a human face and body, but winged with taloned feet.

bowls which have come, in differing circumstances, from Nippur[15]. They were written for a variety of clients, but the core texts only exhibit minimal variants[16]. That the incantation bowls were the product of the same scribe is confirmed by their typology and palaeography, as well as by the distinctive figure which has been drawn within a circle at the interior centre of the hemispherical vessels. A bust, described as that of a woman, whose hands are folded, possibly in prayer, wears a denticulated head-dress[17]. Only the detail, such as the number of scallops of the head-dress, differentiates the drawings making it clear that the scribe has coupled text and portrait.

That the association between text, its arrangement and the figure-drawings was not fixed but was determined by the scribes can be investigated *via* another set of twelve «duplicate» texts, all of which belong to a well-known genre that is exclusive to Mandaic. Three of the incantation bowls, B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728 and B.M. 91736 are now housed in the British Museum. Six other texts coming from Khouabir were published by Henri Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaïtes des Coupes de Khouabir*, Paris 1898 (Pognon Texts 15 - 20). To this collection may be added Harvard Semitic Museum 1931.1.1; Text II in M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, 2 vols, Gießen 1902, vol. 1, pp. 89-106 and finally a bowl in the Iraq Museum, I.M. 60494[18]. In four of the specimens, the text has the tripartite arrangement that is characteristic of Mandaic, the remaining eight being written in concentric spirals of text[19]. Figure drawings also appear in five of the incantation bowls; three being placed at the end of the tripartite arrangement of text and two being associated with concentric spirals[20].

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15 See Erica C.D. Hunter, *Combat and Conflict: Studies on Two Aramaic Specimens from Nippur*, in M.J. Geller - J.C. Greenfield - M.P. Weitzman (eds.), *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*, Oxford 1995, 62-66 for a detailed discussion of these specimens.

16 J. Naveh - S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 2nd edition, Jerusalem 1987, 188-97 for the translation and commentary on Bowl 12a [Heb. 4 6079 - Hebrew National University Library, Jerusalem].

17 C. Müller-Kessler, *Eine aramäische Zauberschale im Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte zu Berlin*, OrNS 63, 1994, 5. Plates I - III accompanying Müller-Kessler's article show three of the illustrated bowls.

18 H.S.M. (Harvard Semitic Museum) 1931.1.1 was published by C.H. Gordon, *Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls*, ArOr 9, 1937, 95-100 and has been republished by E. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, New Haven 1967, Text 26. Yamauchi, *op. cit.*, has also republished Pognon Texts 15, 16 and 18 respectively as Texts 7-9 as well as Lidzbarski's Text II which is numbered Text 19. I.M. 60494 has not been previously published. Its transcription and translation appear as Appendix A at the end of this article.

19 B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728 and B.M. 91736, Pognon Text 16 (tripartite arrangement), Pognon Texts 15, 17, 18, 19, 20; Lidzbarski Text II; H.S.M 1931.1.1 and I.M. 60494 (concentric spirals).

20 B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728, B.M. 91736 (tripartite arrangment) Pognon Texts 15 and H.S.M. 931.1.1 (concentric spirals).

The impressionistic, highly stylised figures which are featured in B.M. 91714, B.M. 91728, B.M. 91736, Pognon Text 15 and H.S.M. 1931.1.1 can be accommodated within the iconographic conventions that have been previously outlined[21]. All have raised arms, with the open palms and fingers being clearly demarcated. They stand splayed, with the feet out-turned and fetters attached to the left leg. The figures have flowing tresses and wear a type of cap, that appears to be segmented. Within this overall stylistic conformity there is much variation in detail:

Fetters: In H.S.M. 1931.1.1 the figure is not shackled. B.M. 91714 and B.M. 91728 show a three-part fetter linking the left nipple to the left ankle, whilst a double fetter is shown in B.M. 91736 and Pognon Text 15. In B.M. 91736 there is no connection with the fetter despite the breasts being defined.

Hair: The figures of B.M. 91728 and H.S.M. 1931.1.1 have no hair. By contrast B.M. 91736 has six wavy tresses sprouting from the crown of the head, while in B.M. 91714 four wavy strands emerge from the side. Pognon Text 15 minimises the hair to two straight strands.

Head-dress: B.M. 91728 has a head-dress that is simply defined by two parallel lines. H.S.M. 1931.1.1 has a segmented head-dress similar to those featured in B.M. 91714, B.M. 91736 and Pognon Text 15.

Facial and body features: In B.M. 91714, B.M. 91736 and Pognon Text 15 the figures have no mouths. B.M. 91714 shows protrusions from the side of the head that could be interpreted as either ears or horns. No breasts are indicated for the figure of B.M. 91714, which like H.S.M. 1931.1.1 may be clothed. B.M. 91714 has three protrusions, possibly genitalia or tails, hanging from the lower part of the torso.

Apparel: H.S.M. 931.1.1 wears a spotted tunic (?) with long sleeves as well as spotted leggings. The figure of B.M. 91714 might be clothed, but in B.M. 91728, B.M. 91736 and Pognon Text 15 appears naked.

The iconographic differences that have arisen between the figures, like the variants in the incantation texts, may be attributed to scribal interpretation, portraying the demons in an individualistic light! Yet representing a particular genre.

Recalling the Mesopotamian matrix

The images on the incantation bowls would have been familiar and well-known, but occasionally are accompanied by a caption. *qʾl qʾlʾ* «Hark, my voice» is inscribed on the exterior wall of B.M. 91714. The connection between caption and

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21 See PLATES I - V for photographs or line reproductions of the figure drawings in these incantation bowls.

figure drawing is made explicit in another incantation bowl that can be added to the aforementioned list of «duplicates». B.M. 135438, written in Mandaic, in concentric spirals, commences midway (l.17) with the typical formula *q'l q'l'*. On the vessel's exterior wall is a drawing that is defined by its iconographic attributes[22]: upraised arms with fingers clearly defined, flowing tresses of wavy hair, as well as what appears to be a segmented head-band. The right foot has the expected outward-turned position, but its left leg does not appear to be shackled. A cross at the neck may indicate some type of fetter. Patterned markings on its legs suggest leggings, and the figure wears curious apparel: a bodice with 6 spots connected by thin strips to a skirt with 9 spots. Written in a shield at its right-side is the caption, *h'zyn dmwt' ḏq'l q'l' šwmy'* ... «This is the portrait of 'Hark. A Voice'. Hear and ....».

The opening stanzas of the «duplicate» incantation texts evocatively describe the «Voice», in its various manifestations:

q' q'l' ḏš'm'n' wq'l h'lšy' ḏmyt'bry' wm' gwbry' ḏn'ṣyn
wn'htyn bqr'b' wq'l ʿnšy' z'dny't' dl'ṭ' wmykdš'n
wm'yk'šypyn wm'kyb'n bh'zyn pgr'

«This is the Voice.
The Voice of the weak that are broken and of men who fight and
go into battle. Also, the Voice of raging women who curse,
afflict, bewitch and pain this body ...».

The «Voice of raging women who curse ... » is not that of mere mortals, the «human agents» as Edwin Yamauchi suggests, but the Ištar-Lilith demons, a connection which is explicit in Pognon Texts 13 and 14[23]:

hw' šgš' b'ny' ʿstyr't' wlyly't' ql'yhyn d'nšy' z'dny't'

«There has been a commotion among the Istars and the liliths!
Voices of raging women».

A highly stylised figure-drawing accompanying Pognon Text 14 exhibits the standard iconographic attributes: upraised arms, with palms and fingers defined, outturned feet, strands of hair from the crown and possibly a head-band. Like H.M.S. 1931.1.1, the figure is not fettered.

Commenting on H.M.S. 1931.1.1, Cyrus Gordon noted that on the exterior was «a crude representation of the magician with uplifted arms to scare away the demons»[24]. Rather, the anthropomorphic attributes suggest a demon - whose identity is spelt out

22 See PLATE VI.

23 E. Yamauchi, *op. cit.*, 22.

24 C. H. Gordon, ArOr 9, 1937, 98.

by the caption which has been written at the feet of the figure's shackled legs in Pognon Text 15. *hu' l'byt* was read by Pognon and later by Kurt Rudolph as a corruption of *lby't* the Mandaic expression for «la planète Venus»[25]. On the other hand, Yamauchi has tentatively translated the phrase as, «this is for the house (?)», although he also juxtaposes the reading «[or for Venus (?)]»[26], suggesting the burial-spot of the incantation bowl. Since incantation bowls were exclusively used in domestic circumstances, the prescription, «this is for the house (?)» determining the place of burial is, at best, enigmatic[27]. If Yamauchi's reading can be accepted, *hu' l'byt* may be formulaic, like the introductory sequence *lh'zyn byth dwrh hyklh wbny'nh* «for the house, dwelling, homestead and building» which frequently commences Mandaic incantation texts[28].

The caption *db'b' dn'ws'* «at the gate of the temple», accompanying the figure drawing in H.M.S. 1931.1.1 and which has also been written on the exterior of I.M. 60494, adds further comment[29]. Rather than being the place where the bowl was depositedh as Gordon posits[30], several Mandaic texts from Khouabir stipulate that a similar phrase, *db'b' d'kwr'* «at the gate of the temple» was the place where those incantations, which were to be repulsed, were written[31]. The same texts continue, citing their authority in the «name of Adonai Snubit, in the name of Ištar, the queen», and in doing so highlight the royal status of the demons, where «Ištar, the queen» can be equated with Ruha-Ištra, the queen of darkness in Mandaean mythology[32]. Rather than being the deposit-spot as Yamauchi proposes, Pognon's interpretation of *hu'*

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25 H. Pognon, *op. cit.*, 43.; K. Rudolph, *Gnosis* (transl. R. Wilson), Edinburgh 1983, 345. See PLATE IV for the line drawing of this figure.

26 E. Yamauchi, *op. cit.*, 173.

27 For a chart of the burial of Aramaic and Mandaic incantation bowls in a courtyard at Nippur, see Erica C.D. Hunter, *op. cit.*, 606. F. Franco, *Five Aramaic Incantation Bowls from Tell Baruda (Choche), Mesopotamia* 13-14, 1978-79, 233 notes that the specimens were «found behind the southwestern threshold of a room belonging to the excavated buildings» and «behind the northwestern threshold of the same room». R. Venco-Ricciardi, *Trial Trench at Tell Baruda, Mesopotamia* 8-9, 1973-74, 19 details the excavation of area 21 where four incantation bowls were found under «the new thresholds», suggesting that incantation bowls continue a heritage which harks back to the protective rituals of the Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian periods when apotropaic figurines were buried at various points in both private and public buildings.

28 Erica C.D. Hunter, *Two Mandaic Incantation Bowls from Nippur*, BaM 25, 1994, 611 for discussion of this phrase. Occasionally incantation texts mention parts of the house, see J. Naveh - S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem 1993, 138 [Bowl 25, l. 11].

29 C.H. Gordon, *loc. cit.* See PLATES VI and VII for the phrase on the exterior of H.M.S. 1931.1.1 and I.M. 60494.

30 C.H. Gordon, *op. cit.*, 100.

31 H. Pognon, *op. cit.*, Texts 13 and 14; also E. Yamauchi, *op. cit.*, Texts 5 (l.19) and 6 (l.18).

32 *Idem.*

l'byt as «Venus» exposes the identity of the figure-drawings – as the Ištar-Lilith genres of demons to which incantation texts and amulets made frequent recourse[33].

Conclusion

Venus was, of course, the Hellenistic counterpart to the astral connotations of the Mesopotamian goddess Astarte, the Ishtar of Akkadian whose title had, by Late Antiquity, degenerated into a generic term. Yet the drawings on the incantation bowls depicting the erstwhile «goddesses» recall through their iconography their origins within the Mesopotamian matrix. These attributes, coupled with the distinctive spotted apparel sported in H.S.M 1931.1.1 and B.M. 135438, are echoed by an Akkadian incantation text which was written against the Labartu who, like the *lilitu* had the same vile reputation as the slayers of infants and whose identities eventually synthesized: «she is furious, she is impetuous, she is divine, she is terrible and she is like a leopard, the daughter of Anu ... her hair is in disorder, her breasts are uncovered»[34].

Discussing incantation texts, Montgomery states, «the religion of yesterday becomes the superstition of today»[35]. He brilliantly portrays the situation where the decaying pantheistic world-order had been largely superceded by dualistic or monotheistic faiths. Many deities had become depopularised and to quote Baudelaire were «betrayed by fate, deprived of praise»[36]. But their reputation lingered, their legacy continuing, in the form of the malevolent forces which were still greatly feared. Thus Ishtar was still called in Mandaic texts, *'sytr' ml'kt'* «Ishtar the queen», echoing her erstwhile status in Assyro-Babylonian cultus[37]. Her image as the Queen of the «goddesses», complete with her crown, portrays the visual perceptions of the magico-religious traditions of the communities in Sasanid Mesopotamia in which incantation bowls circulated. And simultaneously illuminates their integral connection with the blueprint of ancient Mesopotamia.

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33 Cf. the terminology in Syriac amulets from Iran which have been dated to the seventh century A.D. in P. Gignoux, *Incantations magiques syriaques*, Louvain 1987.

34 F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel et amulettes contre Labartu*, RA 18, 1921, 170.

35 J. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 70.

36 *Baudelaire, Selected Poems.* Trans. Joanna Richardson, Harmondsworth 1975, Quotation from *Les Fleurs du Mal.*

37 H. Pognon, *op. cit.*, Texts 13 and 14. Cf. E. Yamauchi, *op. cit.*, Texts 5 and 6.

Appendix

I.M. 60494[38]

Extract from the Iraq Museum register: (Registered 11.x.1957)[39]

«Incantation bowl, hemispheroid, inside covered with Aramaic (?) inscription in concentric circles. Further little inscription on outside. d 175 [mm] h 35 [mm] No. other register, P.O. 688. Said to come from Tell Assafa near Yousifiyah intake».

Physical Description:

FORM: A complete (unbroken) hemispherical bowl, 17.3 x 4.8 cm, with a simple rim. Profile width at rim: 0.7 cm, centre base: 1.2 cm.

FABRIC: Very pale brown (MUNSELL 10YR 7/4) clay, with part of the exterior red (MUNSELL 2.5 YR 5/6). Medium-coarse texture with a dense and evenly distributed black grit inclusion and also a common and evenly distributed mica inclusion. No slip or glaze.

MANUFACTURE: Wheel thrown, with paring marks covering 9.0 cm diameter of the exterior base. The hand-finishing appears to have been executed with a blunt instrument, possibly a shell.

Decoration: Single hand-drawn line enclosing the text which has been drawn on the external wall.

Palæography: Mandaic.

Arrangement of Text: 23 lines written in a spiral pattern, commencing at the centre and ending at the rim edge of the vessel. 3 words are on the exterior surface.

Transliteration and Translation:

Sigla:

°	uncertain reading
[n]	restored letters
{ n }	scribal plusses
< n >	scribal omissions

(1) *[k]ryk' wd'hy' lwṭt'*

(2) *mn m'h'y'z'wd gwšn[']ṣp br*

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38 See PLATE VII.

39 The author examined this bowl at the Iraq Museum, Baghdad in September, 1994. She thanks Dr. Mu'ayyid Sa'id Damerji, Director-General of the Dept. of Antiquities and Heritage, Republic of Iraq for his generous assistance in permitting its publication.

(3) *mʾkʾš qʾ qʾlʾ ḏšʾmʾnʾ*

(4) *wqʾl hʾlšyʾ ḏmytʾbryʾ wmʾ gwbryʾ ḏnʾṣyn wnʾhtyn bqrʾbʾ wqʾl*

(5) *ʿnšyʾ zʾdnyʾtʾ dlʾṭʾ wmykdšʾn wmʾykʾšypyn wmʾkybʾn*

(6) *bhʾzyn pgrʾ ḏmʾhʾyʾzʿwd gwšnʾṣp wnhyt ʿlyʾyhyn*

(7) *ʾzdʾy wyʾzrwn wyʾqrwn wprʿyl wrpʾʿyl wshʾṭʿyl shyṭynyn*

(8) *nsybynyn bʿdqyʾ ḏmʾnzyʾhyn ḏryšʾyhyn wbqw<r>qlyʾ ḏmwhʾyyn wtbʾr*

(9) qʾmʾyyn ḏrʾmʾ wmʾṣʾrznyn bʿdqyʾ ḏmʾnzyʾyhyn ḏryšʾyhyn {*wqb*}

(10) *wbqwrqlyʾ ḏmwhʾyn wʾmʾrlyʾ* {*kwr*} *krwk ḏlʾ<ṭ>tyʾ lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd gwšnʾṣp wʾmrʾ lḫ mn*

(11) *kybʾ ḏlʿbʾn lʾṭnyn wmn mrʾrʾ ḏhynkʾn gzʾrnyn wlʾṭnyn wʾmʾrnʾ lyʾ ʾšbyt ʾlʾykyn wmwmynʾlkyn*

(12) *bšwm ʾzdʾy dywʾ wyʾzrwn dywʾ wyʾqʾrwn wprʿyl rbʾ wrwpʿyl wshṭʿyl ḏtyšryʾ wtyšbwqʾlʾ*

(13) *lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd gwšnʾṣp mn kwl lwṭʾtʾ wʾqryʾtʾ kwlhyn ḏlʾṭtyn lwʾtyn wmn ḏmn ʾbʾ wʿmʾ ḏlʾwṭyʾ*

(14) *wmn lwṭtʾ ḏzʾnytʾ wzʾmrtʾ wmn lwṭtʾ ḏrʾbtʾ wšlytʾ wmn lwṭtʾ ḏʿgryʾ wʾgrʾ ḏʾgrʾ gzyl mynʾ wmn lwṭtʾ*

(15) *ḏʾhyʾ ḏlʾ plʾg bkwšṭʾ mn hdʾdyʾ wmn lwṭtʾ ḏkl ḏlʾṭʾt wʾqryʾt bšwm ʿkwryʾ wptykryʾ wʾšlwmtynyn*

(16) *ʾnʾt ʾsyʾ ḏmʾsyʾ kwlhyn myhyʾtʾ bmlʾlʾ ʾsyʾ myhuʾtʾ wlwṭʾtʾ ḏlʾṭtʾ kl ḏhʿyʾ wdlʾṭwyʾ kwlhyn bnyʾ ʾnʾšʾ lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd*

(17) *gwšnʾṣp br mʾkʾš ʾnʾt shwt wn<s>ywbynyn lkwlhyn lwṭʾtʾ ḏlʾṭwyʾ lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd gwšnʾṣp wlzʾwḫ kʾšʿzʾg wlbnḫ wlbntḫ*

(18) *wʾswyʾ bšwm ʾzdʾy wyʾzrwn wyʾqrwn wprʿyl rbʾ wrwpʿyl rbʾ wswhṭʿyl ʾnʾt shwṭynyn wsʾbynyn llyṭʾtʾ ḏlʾtwyʾ lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd gwšnʾṣp*

(19) *lwzʾyḫ wlbnḫ wlbnʾtḫ yʾsyw llwṭtʾ ḏlʾṭwyʾ lmʾhʾyʾzʿwd*

gwšn'ṣp wlz'yḫ wlbnḫ wlbntḫh wš'd'rynyn 'l m'r'yhyn 'lm'

(20) *ḏš'ry' wš'bq' wb'rk' 'l gl'l' hw {w'bty'} ḏl' b'zy' y'tbyt wktbtynyn lkwlhyn lwṭ't' ḏl'ṭwy' lm'h'y'z'wd gwšn'ṣp 'l k's' h'dt' ḏl' mš'r'y*

(21) *ws'd'rtynyn wš'kytynyn llṭ't' ḏl'ṭwy' [lm']h'y'z'wd gwšn'ṣp 'l m'r'yhyn 'lm' ḏhynyn š'ry' wš'bq' wb'r'k' bšwm*

(22) *š'r['yl] ml'k' wbrk'yl ml'k' 'tyn ml'ky' šrwnyn wbrykwnyn 'l kwl hyn lwṭ't' ḏl'ṭwy' lm'h'y'z'wd gwšn'ṣp wšrwnyn m'h'y'z'wd gwšn'ṣp wmn*

(23) *z'wḫ wmn bnḫ wmn bn'tḫ myšry' gbr' mn byt 's[yr'] wmn byt z'yn' 'myn 'myn 'myn s'lh*

(1) Curses are averted and driven away (2) from M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP (3) BR M'K'Š. Hark! The Voice which I hear (4) is the Voice of the weak that are broken and ... of men who fight and go into battle. Also, the Voice of (5) raging women who curse, afflict, bewitch and pain (6) this body of M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP. Gone down against them: (7) Azdai, Yazrun, Yaqrun, Præl, Raphæl and Saḥtæl, who seized (8) and took them by the tufts of the hair of their heads and by the tresses of their pates. He has broken (9) their horns that were on high and he has bound them by the tufts of the hair of their heads and by the (10) tresses of their pates. Then he said to them, «Avert the curse against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP». They said to him, «From (11) the anguish of our heart we have cursed and we have resolved to curse from the bitterness of our palate». Then I said to them, «I have made you swear and I adjure you (12) in the name of the dæva Azdai and the dæva Azrun and Aqrun and the great Præl and Raphæl and Saḥtæl that you should release and free (13) M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP from all the curses and incantations which you have cursed. Also, from the curses which the father and mother curse.(14) Also, from the curse of the harlot and singer, from the curse of the mistress and maidservant, from the curse of the employer and the emplyee who stole wages from him. Also, from the curse (15) of the brothers who have not divided the portions fairly amongst themselves. And from the curse of all who curse and invoke in the name of the temple-spirits and the image-spirits and their requisitions». (16) You are the healer who heals all maladies with a word. Heal the maladies and the curses which (she) curses and which anyone curses against M'H'Y'Z'WD (17) GWŠN'ṢP BR M'K'Š. You, seize and (take) all thoses curses which are cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP and his wife K'Š'Z'G and his sons and daughters. (18) Heal in the name of Azdai, Yazrun, Yakrun, great Præl and Raphæl and Saḥtæl. Seize and take the curses which are cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP and his wife, sons and daughters. May he heal the curses that are cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ṢP and his wife, sons and daughters and send them back

against their original owners (20) (that they should) release, free and bless (them). Upon that unsplit rock I sat and wrote all the curses which they cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ŞP upon a new bowl that cannot be dissolved. (21) I have sent away and thrown the curses which they cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ŞP back against their original owners until they release, free and bless (them). By the name (22) of the angel Šariel and the angel Barkiel, you angels, loosen and bless all the curses that they have cursed against M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ŞP. And loosen them from M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ŞP and from (23) his wife, sons and daughters as a man is released from prison and from a stockade. Amen. Amen. Amen. Selah.

Exterior: The gate of that temple.

Notes and Commentary:

l.2 M'H'Y'Z'WD GWŠN'ŞP is the name of the client for whom the incantation bowl was written. The Iranian name GWŠN'ŞP occurs in several Syriac specimens, while Ferdinand Justi mentions a seal wuth the name māhāzād gūšn (aspān)[40].

l.4 *wm'yk'šypyn* «and bewitch». Absent in Pognon Texts 15, 16.

l.7 *wy'zrwn wy'qrwn* «Yazrun and Yakrun». These angels' names are variously spelt, attesting to the lack of uniformity in Mandaean orthography. Cf. *y'z'rwn wy'q'rwn* (H.M.S. 1931.1.1) and *yzrwn wyqrwn* (Lidzbarski Text II).

l.7 *pr'yl* «Prael». Qualified by *rb'* «great» in other «duplicate» texts.

l.7 *wrp''yl* «Raphael». Cf. *rp'yl* H.M.S. 1931.1.1, Lidzbarski Text II, Pognon Text 16; *rp'yyl* Pognon Text 15, *rwp''yl* Pognon Text 17.

l.7 *wsh'ṭ'yl* «Sahṭiel». Consistently spelt in «duplicate» texts as *sht'yl*, deriving from √SḤṬ «press out, wring out», with a specific connotation in incantation texts «seize»[41].

---

40 See T. Harvaianen, *A Syriac Incantation Bowl in the Finnish National Museum, Helsinki. A Specimen of Eastern Aramaic «Koiné»*, StOr 51, 1978, 1-28 for the publication of a Syriac bowl, I.M. 78630 (not I.M. 7863 as in the publication) which was donated by the Iraqi government to the President of Finland. J. Naveh - S. Shaked, *op. cit.*, (1987) 183 also propose this name for a Syriac incantation bowl which is now housed in the Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade [No. 243]. Cf. also F. Justi, *IranischesNamenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 185 referring to the publication of the seal in *Revue Archéologique* 15, 1874, pt. V n. 443.

41 E. Drower - R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford 1963, 319.

l.8 *bʿdqyʾ* «by the tufts». Cf. *uʿdqḫ mn riš nisbat* «she took bunches of hair from her head» Ginza yamina 247:8[42].

ll.8/9 *wtbʾr qʾrnʾyyn ḏrʾmʾ* «he has broken their horns that were on high». Cf. I Samuel II[10], Jeremiah XLVIII[25] and Psalm LXXV[11] for the metaphorical use of the horn to denote power and strength[43].

l.10 *krwk* «avert». Cf. *šrʾy* «dissolve» in Pognon Texts 15, 16, 17.

l.10/11 *mn kybʾ ḏlʿbʾn lʾṭnyn wmn mrʾrʾ ḏhynkʾn* «from the anguish of our heart we have cursed and from the bitterness of our palate». See Ginza yamina 115:16 where the palate is equated with the voice.

l.12 *ʾzdʾy dywʾ wyʾzrwn dywʾ* «the *daeva* Azdai and the *daeva* Yazrun». *dywʾ* «daeva», used in the original sense of the word as a beneficient rather than maleficient being, is also found in H.M.S. 1931.1.1, but is absent from Lidzbarski Text II and also from Pognon Texts 15, 16 and 17.

l.13 *ḏmn ʾbʾ wʿmʾ ḏlʾwṭyʾ* «from the father and the mother who curse». Cf. the comprehensive lists of bans (*māmītu*) in the Šurpu series of incantation texts. Cf. also the lists of relations: mother, daughter, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, also men and women who curse mentioned by an Aramaic specimen now housed in the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem [no. 1401][44].

l.14 *lwṭtʾ ḏrʾbtʾ wšlytʾ* «of the mistress and maidservant». Discussing this phrase in H.M.S. 1931.1.1 which he has tentatively translated as «of grand(mother?) and foetus (?)», Gordon traces the history of its interpretation[45]. The reading «maidservant» is derived from √Šʾl «request»[46].

l.15 *mn hdʾdyʾ wmn* «from among themselves and from». At this point H.S.M. 1931.1.1 (ll. 15-16) includes the proper names Yʾhbwyʾ and Bʾnʾdwyʾ which Gordon claims to belong to « pair of ill-tempered fellows given to cursing»[47]. This combination, which is also absent from Lidzbarski Text II and also Pognon Texts 15, 16 and 17, may be interpreted as a corruption of *ʾhy* «brothers» and *bnyʾ* «sons».

---

42 For a translation of the Ginzā see, M. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā. Der Schatz oder das Grosse Buch der Mandäer*, Gottingen-Leipzig 1925.

43 See R.M. Boehmer, s.v. *Hörnerkrone*, RIA Band IV, 43-44, for the horned head-dresses or crowns of Mesopotamian deities.

44 J. Naveh- S. Shaked, *op. cit.*, 135-45.

45 C.H. Gordon, *op. cit.*, 99.

46 E. Drower - R. Macuch, *op. cit.*, 441.

47 C.H. Gordon, *loc. cit.*

l.17 *kʾšʿzʾg* The name of the client's wife, possibly a variant spelling of the Iranian proper name *Xwdšyzag*[48].

l.22 *šʾr*[*ʿyl*] *mlʾkʾ wbrkʿyl mlʾkʾ* «the angel Šariel and the angel Barkiel», these names being respectively derived form √ŠRʾ «loosen» and √BRK «bless»[49].

48 J. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 277 and F. Justi, *op. cit.*, 182.

49 See C.H. Gordon, *loc. cit.*



PLATE I: British Museum 91714

(Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum).



PLATE II: British Museum 91728

(Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum).



PLATE III: British Museum 91736

(Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum).

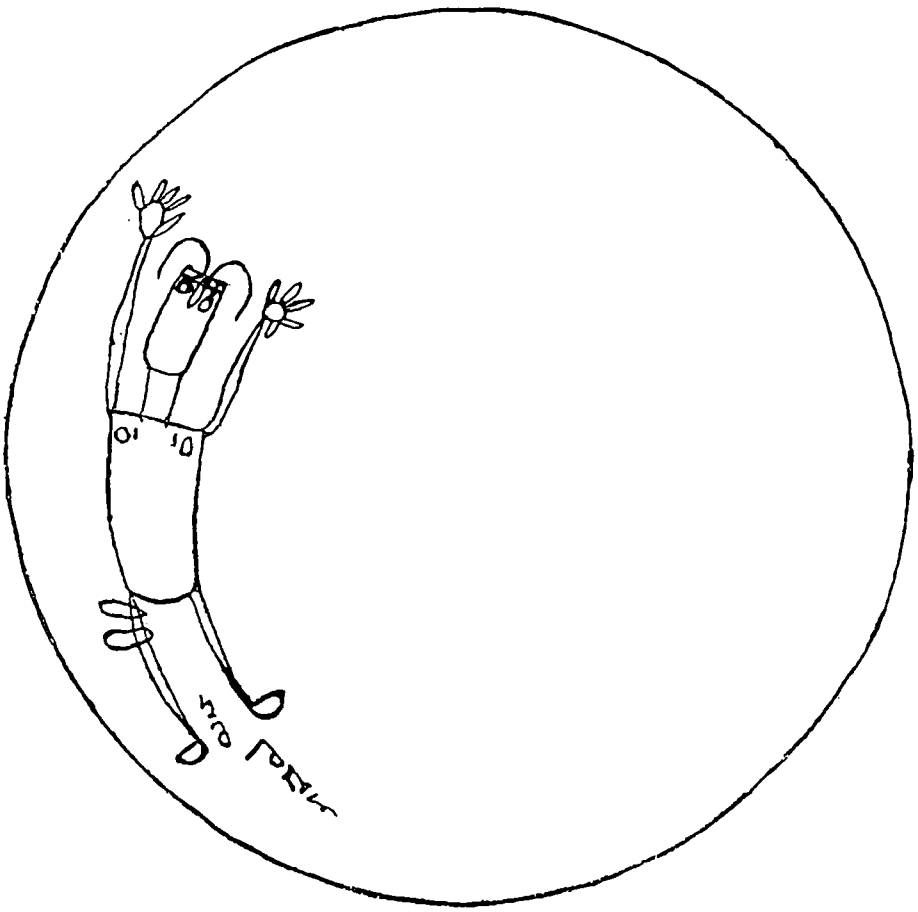


PLATE IV: Pognon Text 15 (line drawing)

(H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaïtes des Coupes de Khouabir*, Paris 1898) reproduced by K. Rudolph, *Gnosis* (trans. R. Wilson), Edinburgh 1983, 344.



PLATE V: Harvard Semitic Museum 1931.1.1



PLATE VI: British Museum 135438 (line drawing)

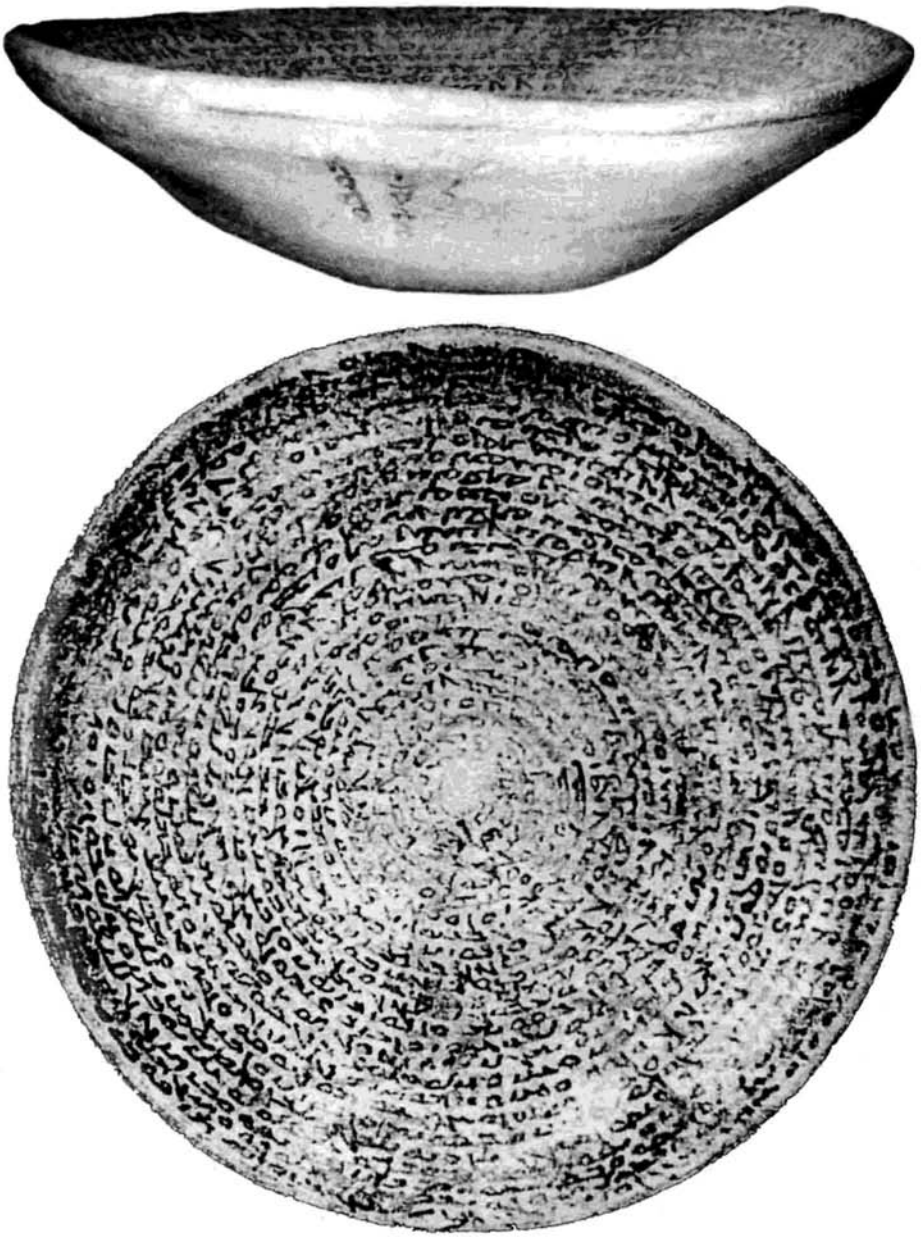


PLATE VII: Iraq Museum 60494

(Courtesy Dept. of Antiquities and Heritage, Republic of Iraq).

Raza’ Rabba’

A secret book from the geonic period, known by both its Aramaic title, Raza’ Rabba’ (Great Secret), and its equivalent Hebrew title Sod ha-Gadol. It is mentioned in lists of mystical and magical works by the ge’onim, and it is probably the work mentioned by Petrus Alfonsi in the eleventh century as a Hebrew work on the Tetragrammaton, the Secreta secretorum (see God, Names of). Many quotations from Raza’ Rabba’ are included in the commentary on the Shiʿur Qomah by R. Mosheh ben Eliʿezer ha-Darshan, an Ashkenazi Hasidic writer, who was familiar with the Kabbalah and wrote at the end of the thirteenth century. Gershom Scholem, who discovered and analyzed these quotations, demonstrated that the Raza’ Rabba’
was one of the main sources of the Sefer ha-Bakir, the earliest work of the Kabbalah. The work appears to have contained speculations concerning the structure of the Tetragrammaton, the names of archangels, and some magical material. The work may have been used by the thirteenth-century esoteric writer R. Elhanan ben Yaqar of London, in his treatise Sod ha-Sodot.

—Joseph Dan

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ART. VI.—*The Sword of Moses. An ancient book of Magic, published for the first time, from an unique Manuscript (Cod. Heb., Gaster 178), with Introduction and Translation.* By M. GASTER, Ph.D.

I. *Introduction.*

MAGIC has exercised the deepest influence upon mankind from remote antiquity unto our own days. It either formed part of the religion of the country, as it was the case in ancient Egypt and Babylon and as it is now in some forms of Buddhism (Tibet), or lived an independent life side by side with the recognized religion. In some instances it was tolerated, or rendered less obnoxious, by a peculiar subdivision into white or beneficial and black or evil magic, or was downright persecuted. Wherever we go, however, and especially if we turn to the popular beliefs that rule the so-called civilized nations, we shall always and everywhere find a complete system of magical formulas and incantations. The belief in the witch and wizard, and their powerful filters and charms, holds still stronger sway upon human imagination than appears at first sight.

It is remarkable that we do not possess a good work, or exhaustive study, on the history and development of Magic. It is true that we find allusions to it, and sometimes special chapters devoted to the charms and incantations and other superstitious customs prevailing among various nations in books dealing with such nations. But a comprehensive study of Magic is still a pious (or impious) wish. One cannot gainsay that such an undertaking would present extreme difficulties. The material is far too vast, and is scattered over numberless nations and numerous literatures. Besides, much of ancient

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times has disappeared; in fact, there is a profound gap between antiquity and modern times which is not by any means bridged over by the literature of the Middle Ages. In these times magical art and practice were ruthlessly persecuted by the Church, and the Councils teem with denunciations against the work of the Evil One. Moreover, it was connected in a certain degree with the teachings and practices of the various heretical sects, and the pursuit was anything but harmless. Thus it comes about that an exhaustive study of the origin and development of Magic is still a wish for the future, and the full influence which it has exercised upon mankind cannot be investigated in such a manner as to have a scientific value until at least a portion of the ancient literature will again have come to light.

The syncretistic character of the Gnostic teachings shows itself also in the adoption of Magic, and in the spiritual interpretation with which they invested the forms and formulas of Magic. The adherents of the various teachings of the Gnostics, and especially those that lived in Egypt and Palestine, adopted all the ideas that were floating about and transferred them into their system of superior Gnosis.

If anything of the teachings of the Gnostics has survived, it is the thaumaturgical portion of it. This has always been popular with the masses, as it afforded them those means which they wanted to defend themselves against the attacks of unseen evil spirits, and to the more speculative minds it afforded a clue to the mystery of the universe. It gave them the means to subdue and to put to their service the unknown forces of nature. This lies at the root of the general acceptance of magic formulas and enchantments, and gives to this practice the popularity which it still retains.

Being the most formidable sects that assumed an anti-Christian character, although some are anterior to Christianity, the Gnostics were the first to be attacked by the Fathers of the Church. Most of the ancient writings of the Fathers are filled with polemics against heretics, of

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which these are the foremost. The result of this campaign, which lasted for centuries, has been the absolute destruction of all the writings of the Gnostics. Sparse and incoherent fragments only have come down to us, and we are now compelled to study their systems and superstitions, if we may call them so, from the writings of their antagonists, Irenæus and Hippolytus, Tertullian and Epiphanius. A single exception is the work known as "Pistis Sophia," the date of whose composition is variously assigned to the second or fourth century. It certainly seems to belong to a later stage in the development of the Gnosis, as it contains some of the later ideas. It has come down to us in a very bad state of preservation.

Within the last few years the soil of Egypt has rendered some more fragments of this kind of literature, and magic Papyri have now enriched our hitherto very scanty stock of genuine ancient literature. These belong to the second and third century, and, being exclusively of Egyptian origin, throw an unexpected light upon the form which Magic assumed under the influence of the new order of ideas. It is a fact that nothing is so stable and constant than this kind of mystical literature. The very nature of a mystic formula prevents it from ever being radically changed. As there is no other reason for its efficacy than the form in which it is pretended to have been fixed or revealed to the Select by the Divinity itself, any change of *that* form would immediately destroy its efficacy. Dread preserved the form intact, at least as long as the practitioner stood under the influence of those divinities whose power he invoked for protection, or as long as he believed in the power of those demons whose malignant influence he tried to avert by means of that form of enchantment. This explains the uniformity of a number of such charms in whatever language we find them and almost to whatever time they may belong; as long as they are the outcome of one and the same set of religious ideas, which is the determining factor. But with the change of religion the charms also undergo changes, not in the *form* but

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in the *names* of the divinities invoked, and these bring other changes with them. To take a modern example, the charm against the Evil Eye will contain the name of Christ or of a Saint in a Christian charm, the name of Muhammed in the Muhammedan, and that of an angel or a mysterious name of God in the Jewish formula, though all the rest would be identical. The same process happened also in ancient times, and the Papyri mentioned above assist us in tracing the change which the new order of ideas had introduced in the magical formulas of the Christian era.

If we trace the first impulse of these changes to the Gnostics, we must at once associate it with the sects of Essenes and Theraupeuts that swarmed in Egypt and Palestine, and with the most important sect of Gnostics which produced the greatest impression, *i.e.* that represented by Valentin. His is the one against whom most of the polemics of the Fathers of the Church were directed. He is the author of the most profound and luxuriant, as well as the most influential and the best known, of the Gnostic systems. He was probably of Egyptian-Jewish descent; and he derived his material from his own fertile imagination, from Oriental and Greek speculations, and from Christian ideas.[1] In his system entered also the mystical combinations of letters and signs known under the name of cabbalistic formulas, and he moreover favoured the permutations and combinations of letters to express divine names and attributes. To him we owe the theory of Æons and the Syzygies, or divine creative pairs, of which the two first form together the sacred "Tetraktys." I believe this to be the Gnostic counterpart of the sacred "Tetragrammaton," and not, as has hitherto been assumed by others, the Tetraktys of the Pythagoreans. For one can see in his system, and more so in the mystical part of it, the direct influence of the Jewish mystical speculations of the time. Valentin lived, moreover, in Palestine, and nothing would suit him better than to

[1] P. Schaff, "Anti-Nicene Christianity," ii, Edinburgh, p. 472 ff.

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manipulate that mystical, Ineffable Name of God, round which a whole system had been evolved in the service of the Temple. Angelology and mysterious names of God and His angels are, moreover, intimately connected with the above-mentioned sects.

The mysterious Ineffable Name of the divinity which is invoked seems to be the centre of most of the ancient and even modern Magic. By knowing that Name, which is assumed to be the name by means of which the world was created, the man or exorciser in Egypt pretended to constrain the god to obey his wishes and to give effect to his invocation if called by his true name; whilst in Chaldea the mysterious Name was considered a real and divine being, who had a personal existence, and therefore exclusive power over the other gods of a less elevated rank, over nature, and the world of spirits. In Egyptian magic, even if the exorcisers did not understand the language from which the Name was borrowed, they considered it necessary to retain it in its primitive form, as another word would not have the same virtue. The author of the treatise on the Egyptian mysteries attributed to Jamblichus maintains that the barbarous names taken from the dialects of Egypt and Assyria have a mysterious and ineffable virtue on account of the great antiquity of these languages. The use of such unintelligible words can be traced in Egypt to a very great antiquity.[1]

It is necessary to point out these things in order to understand the character of the new formulas which take now the place of the old. To the old and in time utterly unintelligible names, new names were either added or substituted, and the common source of many of these names is Jewish mystical speculation. The Ineffable Name of God and the fear of pronouncing it can be traced to a comparatively remote antiquity. We find in those ancient writings that have retained the traditions of the centuries before the common era, the idea of a form of the

[1] Lenormant, "Chaldæan Magic," p. 104 ff.

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Ineffable Name composed of 22, 42, or 72 parts, or words, or letters, of which that consisting of 72 was the most sacred. It is still doubtful what those 22, 42, and 72 were — either different *words* expressing the various attributes of God, or *letters* in a mystical combination; but whatever these may have been they took the place of the Ineffable mystical name and were credited with the selfsame astounding powers. By means of these every miracle could be done and everything could be achieved. All the powers of nature, all the spirits and demons could be subdued, and in fact there was no barrier to human aspiration. The heavens were moreover peopled at a very early age with numberless angels arranged in a hierarchical order and each endowed with a special Name, the knowledge of which was no less desirable for working miracles. I need only allude to Dionysius Areopagita to have mentioned a complete treatise of such a divine economy recognized by the Church, but we can go much higher up and find these divisions and subdivisions of the celestial hosts recorded in books that belong to the second era before Christ. In the Book of Enoch (ch. vi) we have a long list of such names of angels, and in a book, the date of which has been differently put, the names of angels are still more numerous, to which there are added also various names of God. The book in question pretends to be a vision of the High Priest Ismael, and is a description of the heavenly Halls. Modern scholars who knew nothing of the Gnostic and other heretic literature put it as late as the ninth century, simply and solely because they could not find early traces of it in the old literature, and because it seemed to appear first in those times. A comparison of it with the Ascensio Iesaiae, and still more with a chapter in the "Pistis Sophia," easily convinces us, however, of the fact that absolutely similar treatises were known as early as the first centuries after Christ, if they were not, in fact, later remakings of still more ancient texts. The Greek Papyri already alluded to have also this peculiarity in common with these texts, that they abound in similar

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lists of names of angels and demons borrowed from Egyptian, Christian, and Jewish sources. Among these we find also numerous forms of the *Name* of God consisting also of a number of letters, 7, 27, and others,[1] and also most curious combinations of letters.

The Jewish idea of a mystical Name of God rests thus upon the interpretation of the Tetragrammaton, or the word *JHVH*, that stands for God in the Hebrew text, which from very ancient times the priests first and then the whole people refrained from pronouncing in the way it was written. A substitute was found for it, so as to avoid a possible profanation of the sacred Name. But it is an object of millenary speculation what that substitute really was. As already remarked, it is represented by a changing number of elements, letters or words. The original miraculous, powerful Name, however, was the Tetragrammaton known as the "Shem ha-meforash." This word has presented great difficulties to the following generations. It can be translated either as meaning *explicit*, the "explicit" Name of God, whilst the others are merely substitutes, or *separate*, the name which is used exclusively for the designation of the Divinity. These two are the best known and most widely accepted interpretations of the "Shem ha-meforash." In the light, however, of our study it will appear that another translation will henceforth be found to be the only true one, at any rate for ancient times. Later on the true meaning of this expression was lost, and one or the other of the first-mentioned philological translations was adopted. So we find in the Testament of Solomon, *e.g.*, "the angel *called* Aphoph, which is *interpreted* as Rafael." [This expression proves that it is based upon a Hebrew original, and that the word "perush" was taken to mean "interpretation."] Considering that this name was believed to be the only *true* Name of God, the all-powerful name which was never pronounced, "Shem ha-meforash" can only mean the *Ineffable*, as we find it also in the "Pistis Sophia," and all

[1] A. Dieterich, "Abraxas," p. 185 (Papyrus Leyden,.

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throughout the ancient tradition. It is an euphemism; instead of saying: it is the "Ineffable" unutterable name, they used the word which meant: it is the "explicit" name, just as they said for a "blind" man—he is "full of light"; other examples can be easily adduced. In this way an ancient mystery and a stumbling-block for the translator of such texts disappears.

As the Tetragrammaton, or "Shem ha-meforash," was the Ineffable Name, and could by no means ever be uttered, others were substituted and were used by the priest when blessing the people. These also were endowed with a special sanctity, and were revealed only to the initiated. These substitutes were considered to be no less effective for miracles, and the knowledge of these mysterious Names was no less desirable than that of the true Tetragrammaton, for they were believed to represent the exact pronunciation of the forbidden word, and thus to contain part, if not the whole, of the power with which the Tetragrammaton itself was invested. Rab, a scholar who had studied in Palestine towards the end of the second century, says of these substituted names, and more especially of that of forty-two elements (Tr. Kiddushin, fol. 71*a*): "That this Name is to be revealed only to a man who stands in the middle of his life, who is pious and modest, who never gives way to anger and to drink, who is not obstinate. Whoever knows that Name and preserves it in purity is beloved in heaven and beloved upon earth; is well considered by man and inherits both worlds."[1] What these forty-two may have been has thus far been the object of speculation. When comparing the ancient tradition with the new texts in the Papyri, and in the mystical texts of Hebrew literature, there can no longer be any doubt that the Name of forty-two, or more or less, elements could not have been originally anything else but *words* consisting of that *number of letters*, which were substituted in the public pronunciation for the Ineffable Name consisting of one *word* and only *four letters*—the Tetragrammaton! In time these

[1] *Cf.* Bacher, "Agada d. Babylonischen Amoraeer," pp. 17, 18.

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substitutes were also forgotten, or not divulged, and thus arose a series of new substitutes and variations for the divine Name. There was also the fear of profaning the name of God when writing it down in the way it occurred in the Bible, and therefore they resorted to manifold devices on the one hand to avoid a possible profanation, and on the other to obtain sacred or mysterious substitutes for the Ineffable Name.

Another element that came within the purview of this activity of coining new names was the new and greatly developed angelology that flourished at that time in Palestine and Egypt. The angels had to be provided with appropriate and powerful names, and the authors resorted to the same devices, of which I mention the most prominent, and which are the cause of many of the barbarous forms and names that abound in the magical rites and formulas and in the so-called practical Cabbalah. The biblical names of Michael, Gabriel, and others with the termination *-el*=God, served as a model for some of the new angels, such as in the Book of Enoch and in other similar writings. The first part was, as a rule, taken from the characteristic attribute connected with the activity of that new angel: so *Raphael*=the healing angel, in the Book of Tobit; *Raziel* =the angel of the mysteries; and in the same manner a host of similar names. Then came into requisition the system of permutation of the letters of the divine name: one standing first was placed at the end, and so on. Much more extensively were the change in the order or the substitution of other letters resorted to. In the Alphabet of R. Akiba no less than five different systems of this kind of substitutions are enumerated; either the last letter of the alphabet stands for the first (A-t; b-š, א"ת ב"ש, etc.), or one letter stands for the one immediately preceding such, as *b* for *a*; or the eighth and fifteenth stand for the first, and so on (A-h-s; b-t'-a, אחס בטע), or first and twelfth are interchangeable (A-l; b-m, א"ל ב"מ). One can easily see how differently the same name could be written and employed in the same amulet, and all these

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various forms representing only *one* and the same name. The Tetragrammaton appears, therefore, either as מצפ"ץ, or בוזו, or בקרק, or שעפע, etc. The number of such permutations and substitutions is not limited, however, to these four systems enumerated; they are innumerable, and it is almost impossible to find the key for all met with in these mystical writings, and especially on the amulets.

Other means employed for the purpose of devising new variations and protections for the sacred name, belonging to the very oldest times, were the combination of *two* words into *one*, of which one is a sacred name and the other an attribute, but the letters of these two words are intermingled in such a manner that it is not always easy to decipher them. An example, which has hitherto not been understood, we have already in the Talmud. The High Priest Ismael is said to have seen Iah אכתריאל *Aktriel* in the Temple. This word, which stands for the mysterious name of God, is nothing else than the combination of the two words כתר *Ktr*=Crown and *Ariel*, from Isaiah xxix, 1. In the text, which I publish here, we have the name שקרחזי *Ṣḳṛḥzi*=שדי *Ṣaddai* and חזק *Hzk*=mighty, powerful. Names were further formed by leaving out one or two letters from the Tetragrammaton or from other sacred names of the Bible, the primary reason always being to avoid the possibility of profanation, as the profane utterance of the divine name brought heavy penalty upon the culprit. In this manner is the obscure exclamation in the Temple to be understood, אני והו *Ani vhu*, instead of the usual "O Lord" (help us): in each of these two words *one* letter has been left out—the *d* in the first, A*d*ni, and the second *h* in the second word. On other occasions strange letters were inserted between those of the divine name, and thus we get the puzzling form (Tr. Synhedrin, 56*a*=vii, 5) which is mentioned when the blasphemer who had blasphemed God was brought before the judges. The judges ask the witnesses to repeat the

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blasphemy uttered by the accused, and they say, instead of mentioning the Divine Name, the words יוסי יוסהאת יכה, which may have obtained this form in our printed texts through popular etymology, meaning "Jose beat Jose!" But originally we have here clearly the Tetragrammaton יהוה, and a strange letter inserted after each letter of that word, viz. כ, י, ם, and א.

This process continues still unto our very days, but from the thirteenth or fourteenth century onwards a change has taken place in the system of the formation of these mysterious words, considered to be so efficacious in amulets. The initials of the words of a biblical verse are combined into a new word without any meaning, or the letters of a verse are so arranged as to form uniform words of three letters without meaning, the commencement of each of these words being the letters of the Hebrew words arranged consecutively. The most celebrated example is the use to which Exodus xiv, 19–21 has been put for many a century. But these are a mark of more recent origin, and not a trace is to be found throughout the whole ancient mystical literature, and also not in our text.

If we should apply these principles to the Greek Papyri, there is no doubt that a key might be found for the innumerable curious names which crowd these fragments of a literature that at one time must have been very rich. Traces of it we find also in the "Pistis Sophia," where special stress is laid upon that Ineffable Name, communicated only to the initiated. The knowledge which a man acquires through the "Nomen Ineffabile" is described at some length (pp. 131–153). In another place we read that Jesus spoke the Great Name over the disciples whilst preaching to them, and blew afterwards into their eyes, by which they were made to see a great light (p. 233). The mysterious names of God and of the Powers are enumerated on pp. 223 and 234–5, whilst the following passage explains the power of that Name:—"There is no greater mystery than this. It leads your soul to the light of lights, to the places of truth and goodness, to the region of the most holy, to

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the place where there is neither man nor woman nor any definite shape, but a constant and inexpressible light. Nothing higher exists than these mysteries after which ye seek. These are the mysteries of the seven voices, and their forty-nine Powers, and their numbers, and no name is superior to that Name in which all the other names are contained, and all the Lights, and all the Powers. If anyone knows that Name when he goes out of the material body, neither smoke nor darkness, neither Archon, angel, or archangel, would be able to hurt the soul which knows that Name. And if it be spoken by anyone going out from the world and said to the fire, it will be extinguished; and to the darkness, and it will disappear; and if it be said to the demons and to the satellites of the external darkness, to its Archons, and to its lords and powers, they will all perish, and their flame will burn them so that they exclaim: 'Thou art holy, Thou art holy, the Holy of all the Holy.' And if that Name is said to the judges of the wicked, and to their lords and all their powers, and to Barbelo and the invisible God, and to the three Gods of triple power, as soon as that Name is uttered in those regions they will fall one upon the other, so that being destroyed they perish and exclaim: 'Light of all the Lights, who art in the infinite lights, have mercy upon us and purify us.'"[1] This is almost identical with the saying of Rab, with the difference that in the "Pistis Sophia" the Egyptian influence is not yet wholly obliterated. These examples suffice to show the character of the central point in the new Magic adopted by the Gnostics, viz., the mysterious Divine Name and its substitutes derived from the mystical speculations of Palestine, and also the general tendency of syncretism and absorption of various forms and invocations in that form of Magic which henceforth will have the deepest influence upon the imagination and belief of the nations of the West.

From that period, then, up to the twelfth or thirteenth century there is a gap which neither Psellus nor the Testament of Solomon fill sufficiently. All those ancient

[1] "Pistis Sophia," ed. Schwartze, p. 236.

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magical books, being declared the work of the evil spirit, were successfully hunted up and destroyed. The link which binds the literature of the second half of the Middle Ages with the past is missing, and we find ourselves often face to face with the problem whether a book that appears after that period is of recent origin, or is an ancient book more or less modified? Such a book is, for instance, the so-called Sefer Raziel, or the book delivered to Adam by the angel Raziel shortly after he had left Paradise. It is of a composite character, but there is no criterion for the age of the component parts. The result of this uncertainty is that it has been ascribed to R. Eleazar, of Worms, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. One cannot, however, say which portion is due to his own ingenuity and which may be due to ancient texts utilized by him. I am speaking more particularly of this book as it seems to be the primary source for many a magical or, as it is called now, a cabbalistical book of the Middle Ages. Trithemius, the author of "Faust's Hoellenzwang," Agrippa, and many more, are deeply indebted to this book for many of their invocations and conjurations, although they must have had besides similar books at their disposal, probably also the Clavicula Solomonis, the Great Grimoyre, etc.

I must still mention one more fragmentary relic of that literature, viz. the inscribed cups and bowls from ancient Babylon with Aramaic inscriptions. These belong partly to the Lecanomantia, and are another example of the constancy of these formulas; for centuries these remain almost unchanged, and even in their latest form have retained a good number of elements from the ancient prototype.

It so happened, then, that some inquisitive men living in Kairouan, in the north of Africa, should address a letter to the then head of the great school in Babylon, Haya Gaon (d. 1037), asking him for information on various topics connected with magic rites and the miraculous powers ascribed to the Ineffable Name. I give here the gist of some of their questions, which date therefore from the second half of the tenth or the commencement of the

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eleventh century. They ask first, what it is about that Ineffable Name and other similar mysterious Names of angels through the means of which people can make themselves invisible, or tie the hand of robbers, as they had heard from pious men from Palestine and Byzantium that if written upon leaves of reeds (Papyri!) or of olive trees and thrown in the face of robbers would produce that effect; and if written on a potsherd and thrown into the sea, calms it; or placed upon a corpse, quickens it to life; and, further, that it shortens the way so that man can travel immense distances in no time. They have also books with these terrible, awe-inspiring Names, and with the *seals* of those celestial powers of which they are terrified; as they know that the use of these mysterious Names, without due and careful preparation, brings with it calamity and premature death. To these and other questions the Gaon gives a sensible and philosophic reply, warning them, in the first instance, not to place too much credence on the statements of people who pretend to have seen, but to try and see with their own eyes. Then he goes on to tell them that such books with mystical names are also to be found in his college, and that one of his predecessors was known to have been addicted to these studies, and to the writing of amulets and the knowledge of incantations, but, he adds, "only a fool believes everything." As for the books with formulas, he goes on to say: "We have a number of them, such as the book called 'Sefer ha-Yashar,' and the book called '*The Sword of Moses*,' which commences with the words, 'Four angels are appointed to the Sword,' and there are in it exalted and miraculous things; there is, further, the book called 'The Great Mystery,' besides the minor treatises, which are innumerable. And many have laboured in vain to find out the truth of these things." In the course of his reply Haya touches also upon the Ineffable Name and the name of seventy-two (elements), which, according to him, was the result of the combination of three biblical verses (*cf.* above, p. 159, where reference is made to Exodus xiv, 19–21), but he neither knows which

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they are nor how they were uttered; as to the other of forty-two, he says that it consisted of forty-two *letters*, the pronunciation of which was, however, doubtful, resting merely upon tradition. This name commenced, according to him, with the letters אבגיתץ *Abgiṭṣ*, and finished with שקוצית *Ṣkuṣit*. He mentions further the books—"The Great and the Small Heavenly Halls" and "The Lord of the Law," full of such terrifying names and *seals* which have had that dreaded effect upon the uncalled, and from the use of which those before them had shrunk, lest they be punished for incautious use.[1]

These abstracts suffice to show that the mystical literature had not come to an end with the third or fourth century, but had continued to grow and to exercise its influence throughout the whole intervening period. The reasons why so little is mentioned in the contemporary literature is, that each period has its own predilections, subjects which absorb almost exclusively the general interest, and are therefore prominently represented by the literature of the time, whilst other things, though in existence, are relegated to an obscure place. The best example we have is the modern folklore literature, that has assumed such large proportions, no one pretending that the subject did not exist throughout the centuries, although neglected by scholars. It must also not be forgotten that we have only *fragments* of the literature that flourished in Palestine and among the Jews in the Byzantine empire, to which countries this mystical literature belongs. Christian literature leaves us also in the dark for this period, for the reasons stated above; only Syriac might assist us somehow to fill up that gap, but as far as I am aware very little is to be expected from that quarter, as in the whole magnificent collection of the British Museum I have not found a single MS. of charms or magical recipes, except one single, rather modern, Mandaic text. Two very small, and also rather modern, Syriac MSS. of charms are in the possession of the Rev. H. Gollancz.

Of those books now mentioned by Haya Gaon in his

[1] Ṭaam Zeḳenim, f. 54*b* ff.

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reply—all of which, by the way, seem to have been irretrievably lost—I have had the good fortune to discover one, viz. that called "*The Sword of Moses*," of which he gives us the first words. From the answer of Haya it is evident that he considered this book to be old and to be the most important, for he is not satisfied with merely giving the title as he does with the other books, but he makes an exception for this to indicate the commencement and to add that it contained "exalted and wonderful things." A glance at the contents of the newly-discovered text will justify the judgment of Haya, for it is a complete encyclopædia of mystical names, of eschatological teachings, and of magical recipes.

Before stating the contents I must first give a short description of this MS., now Cod. Hebr., Gaster, 178. This text has come to me with a mass of other leaves full of magical formulas, all in a very bad state of preservation and apparently hopelessly mixed up. Happily there were custodes at the ends of the leaves, and by their means I was enabled, after a long toil and careful handling of leaves falling to pieces on account of old age and decayed through dampness, to recover a good portion of the original MS. and the whole of this text, which occupies twelve small quarto leaves. The number of lines varies. The writing belongs to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and is in Syrian Rabbinical characters. It is evidently a copy from a more ancient text, and the copyist has not been very careful in the transcript he made. Many a letter is written wrongly, having been mistaken for another similar, such as ד (*D*) for ר (*R*) and ם (*M*) for ס (*S*). In many a place there are evident lacunæ, and the copyist has often not understood the text. The language is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic, Hebrew prevailing in the first part, which I call the Introductory or historical, as it gives the explanation of the heavenly origin of this text, and deals with all the preliminary incidents connected with the mode of using the text in a proper and efficacious manner. In the last, which I call the theurgical or magical

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part, Aramaic prevails. All the diseases are mentioned in the language of the *vulgus*, and so also all the plants and herbs, and the other directions are also in the same language. To no language, if I may say so, belongs the middle part, which is the real text of the "Sword." This consists of a number of divine and mysterious Names, a good number of which are the outcome of all those modes of manipulations with the letters briefly indicated above. It would be a hopeless task to try and decipher these names, and to transliterate them into the original forms of which they are the transformations and mystical equivalents. In this section we can recognize besides the unchangeable character of some of the magic formulas. What I said before of the Egyptians, who would not change any sacred Name, however barbarous it may sound, for fear of destroying its efficacy, holds good also for another number of Names found here in a bewildering variety. Almost every religion must have contributed to the list that makes up the "Sword." Eclecticism would be a mild word for this process of general absorption, that has made the "Sword" thus far the most complete text of magical mysterious Names which has come down to us. A small encyclopædia of a similar character is the Greek Papyrus of the British Museum, No. cxxi, and the Leyden Papyrus (J. 395), with which our text shows great similarity, but these Papyri mark as it were the first stages of this process of growth by the assimilation of various elements and combination into one single complete *vade-mecum* for the magician or conjurer. In the "Sword" we have the full development of that process, which must have run its course at a very early period.

Nothing is more fallacious than to try etymologies of proper names. The omission or addition of one letter by a careless copyist suffices to lead us completely astray. It is, therefore, difficult to advance any interpretation of even a few of the names found in this text that have a familiar appearance. If we were sure of the reading, we might recognize among those in No. 6, Isis (Apraxia,

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Veronica), Osiris, Abraxas, and others; but, as already remarked, such an identification might easily lead us astray, and the coincidences might only be the result of mere chance. No doubt can, however, be entertained as to the complex character of this text, and to the astounding form of many of the names which it contains. It is a systematically arranged collection; in the apparent disorder there is order; and the names are placed according to certain leading features which they have in common. Thus we have a long string of names that are composed with the word Sabaoth (Nos. 24–37); others that are the components of the divine *-el* (Nos. 102–34). More startling still is a list of supposed names of heavenly powers that are represented as *sons of* other powers. These are undoubtedly derived from many sources, the author welding smaller texts and lists into one comprehensive list. The third part contains the directions for the application of these various Names. These are also arranged according to a certain system. The diseases follow, at any rate in the first portion, the order of the members in the human body, commencing with the head and its parts, then descending to the lower members; after which follow recipes for ailments of a different nature, to be followed by the directions for performing miracles and other remarkable feats.

Each of these 136 items (numbered by me) corresponds with a certain portion of Part II, the words or the mystical Names of those portions in Part II being the mysterious words that alone were the proper to have the expected magical result. In order to facilitate research, I have subdivided Part II into such corresponding portions to which I give the same number. There is thus an absolute parallelism between the two parts—one the text and the other its magical application. We see that the book has been very methodically arranged by one who intended to prepare as complete a magical book as possible. By this parallelism, and by the partial repetition of the mysterious words in Part III, we have the means to satisfy ourselves as to the accuracy of the copyist, who does not

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come out very satisfactorily from this test. It may be that the original from which he copied was already partly corrupt, and the fear which such books inspired prevented him from attempting to correct what are obvious mistakes in the spelling of those Names. It not seldom happens that the same Name is written in two or three different forms in one and the same recipe. I have also not attempted any correction, as we have no means to decide which of these *variæ lectiones* is the true and which the corrupt. Another reason why the copyist may be exonerated from at least some of these inconsistencies, is the fact that he gives in many places what are intended to be different readings. He starts his copy with the marginal note, unfortunately half gone, the paper being destroyed in that place, that "there are differences of opinion as to the readings of the text and of the Names," or, as I would interpret this mutilated glosse, "the marginal readings are *variæ lectiones*." For, in fact, there are a good number of marginal glosses throughout Parts I and II.

There also are some in Part III, but these are of a totally different character. They are purely philological, and furnish one powerful proof more both for the antiquity of the text with which we are dealing and for the country where the MS. has been copied. Most, if not all, these glosses are, namely, *Arabic* translations of the Aramaic words of the original. By the mistakes that have crept into these Arabic glosses, it is evident that they have not been added by the copyist, who surely would have known how to write his own translation, but who would make mistakes when copying another MS., especially if it were in any way badly written or had suffered in consequence of age. The translation further proves that the original was written at a time when Aramaic was the language of the people, and that at a certain time when the copy was made from which this MS. is a transcript the language of the original had begun to be forgotten and required a translation, which, by the way, is not always exact. The Aramaic of this text is, in fact, not easy to understand; there occur in it many words

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of plants and diseases which I have not found in any dictionary in existence, and many of the grammatical forms present peculiar dialectical variations, which point to Palestine as the original home of our text, and deserve a special study. Here again we have to lament the fact that we deal with an unique manuscript and have no means to test the accuracy of the text. But even as it is, this text will prove an extremely valuable contribution to Semitic philology, and would enrich even Löw's book on Aramaic names of plants, where I have in vain searched for the names and words occurring in our text. I have therefore added a translation, which, however, in some places, does not pretend to be more than an attempt to grapple with a very recalcitrant text.

The title of the book seems to be derived from the last words spoken by Moses before his death. He concludes his blessing of the Children of Israel with these words (Deuter. xxxiii, 29): "Who is like unto thee, a people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and that is the Sword of thy excellency," or "thy excellent Sword." The figurative "Sword" spoken of here must have been taken at a later time to signify more than a figure of speech. Under the influence of the mystical interpretation of Scripture flourishing at a very early period, it was taken to denote a peculiar form of the divine Name, excellent and all-powerful, which served as a shield and protection. It therefore could be made to serve this purpose in magical incantations, which did not appeal to the assistance of demons but to the heavenly hosts obeying the command of the Master of that "Sword." There is no wonder, then, that it came to be connected with the name of Moses, the very man who spoke of it, and whose last words were of that "Sword." In the Greek Papyri, Moses is mentioned as one who keeps divine mysteries (Brit. Mus., Pap. xlvi, of the fourth century, lines 109 ff., ed. Kenyon, in Catalogue, 1893, p. 68, and note to it); and again, in another Papyrus, cxxi, of the third century (*ibid.* p. 104, l. 619 and note), a reference to one of the magical books ascribed to Moses, called "The Crown of Moses." But what is

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more important still, the Leyden Papyrus calls itself the eighth Book of Moses. It resembles very much our text, which has thus preserved the old name by which many of these magical books went. Dieterich, who published the Leyden Papyrus (Abraxas, Leipzig, 1891), looks to Orphic origins for that magical composition and lays too great stress on the Cosmogony in it. In the light of our text it will become evident that these go all back to one common source, viz. to the mystical speculations of those sects, which he himself enumerates (pp. 136 ff.); and the "Logos ebraikos" quoted by him from the Paris Papyrus (*ibid* pp. 138–141) shows more clearly still the same sources for all these compositions. The overwhelming importance assigned in these texts to the "holy Name" consisting of a number of *letters*, and the book calling itself "The Work of Moses on the Holy Name," justify us in seeing in it an exact parallel to the Hebrew text, recovered now by me. There is much internal similarity between the Hebrew "Sword" and the Greek Papyri. The order of subjects is similar; all commence with an eschatological part, which in the Greek is more in the nature of a Cosmogony, in the Hebrew that of the description of the heavenly hierarchy. In both follows the "Name," and after that a list of magical recipes which refer back to that Name. The constant refrain of the Leyden Papyrus after each recipe is: "Say the Name!" Here the Name is still simple; in the Hebrew text it is represented by the rich variety which I have pointed out, but an intimate connection between these various texts cannot be doubted.

There exists besides another small treatise (B), also unique, that goes under the same name as "The Sword of Moses" (Cod. Oxford, 1531, 6). It is a short fragment of a different recension, and has only a remote resemblance with the first text (A). It consists of a list of mystic Names, different in their form from the other text, and has only sixteen recipes, which do not correspond with *portions* only of the first part, but, as in the Leyden Papyrus, the *whole* of this was to be repeated

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after each recipe. Immediately upon this short text follows an invocation of the heavenly Chiefs, attributed to Ismael, the High Priest, the reputed author of the "Heavenly Halls." This addition corresponds to a certain extent with the first part of the "Sword" (A). In none, but very few exceptions, of B is there any trace of Aramaic, and a totally different spirit pervades the whole text. It is in the first place doubtful whether we have here the whole of it or merely a fragment. In two places we find the letters נג (NG) and נד (ND), which taken as numerals mean 53 and 54. If they stand for such, then we have here only the last two or three portions of a long text, of which the preceding *52* are missing. Again, on the other hand, as it is regularly recommended to repeat the *whole* of the "Name" after each recipe, an operation that would be well-nigh impossible for the inordinate length of that text, those NG and ND may not stand as numbers of paragraphs. This text presents besides many more peculiar traits that make it rather remarkable. We find here thus far the only trace in Hebrew literature of the "Twins" or "Didymoi" which appear in the Gnostic hymns of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostle Thomas,[1] and are brought into connection with the system of Bardesanes. The heavenly Powers mentioned in the "Sword" (A) under the form of *sons* of other Powers, point also to the same system of Bardesanes, of whom Ephraem Syrus said: "He invented male and female beings, gods and their children."[2] He may have taken these ideas from older sources. However it may be, this coincidence is none the less remarkable. We find further angels with double names, the one of which I translated "Kunya," *i.e.* the proper name, and the other the *explicit*, i.e. *Ineffable* unutterable name, corresponding entirely with that of the Testament of Solomon, where we find "the angel called Apharoph interpreted Raphael" (*τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀφαρὼφ, ὅ ἑρμηνέυεται Ῥαφαὴλ*.—Orient, 1844, col. 747).

[1] Ed Bonnet, pp. 36–38. *Cf.* Lipsius, "Apokryphe Apostelgeschichten," i, pp. 313 and 318 ff.
[2] Lipsius, *l.c.*, p. 310.

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In the Gnostic prayer from the Acts of the Apostle Thomas, the Sophia is spoken of as the one "who knows the mysteries of the Chosen," or, according to the Syriac version, "revealer of the mysteries of the Chosen among the Prophets." With this the passage in the Hebrew text (B) may be compared, where the same idea is enunciated; and one feels almost tempted to see in the inexplicable word קינן ("Kinn") the Greek "Koinôn," the companion or partaker of the mystery; although it seems rather strange to find the very word in the Hebrew text. But there are many words that have a peculiar appearance in this text, and they look like transliterations of Greek words in Hebrew characters, such as "Chartis Hieratikon," etc. I have added, therefore, this second text also, making thus the publication of the "Sword" as complete as possible.

As a second Appendix I have added two conjurations found in the MS. of the "Sword" (A), both in Aramaic, and extremely interesting also for their similarity with the inscriptions inside the bowls brought from Assyria and Babylon. A detailed study of some of these magic bowls and their inscriptions has been published by M. Schwab.[1]

I have reproduced all these texts as closely and accurately as possible, without attempting any corrections or emendations, except in the case of obvious mistakes, which are pointed out by me as corrections. The glosses are given as notes, and the few corrections of obvious mistakes. I have refrained from referring to inscriptions on Gnostic gems and amulets, where we find "Ephesia grammata" similar to those of Part II of the "Sword" (A) and to some of Appendix I, and to the magical formulas in the terra-cotta bowls, which present a striking similarity with some portions of "The Sword." One cannot exhaust a subject of this kind, and the utmost one can attempt to do is to place as ample a material as possible at the disposal of those who make the study of Magic and theurgy and of the so-called practical Cabbalah the object of special enquiry. I have limited myself to

[1] Proc. Bibl. Archæology, 1890, pp. 292–342.

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draw attention to the relation that exists between these, the Greek Papyri, and the Hebrew texts which I publish here for the first time, and to point out the important fact that we have now at least one fixed date from which to start in the enquiry of a subject in which dates and times have thus far been very doubtful. It is, moreover, a contribution to Semitic philology, and by the addition of a facsimile of the first page a contribution to Semitic palæography.

The origin of the "Sword" is none the less somewhat difficult to fix. From the letter of Haya Gaon it is evident that it must have been at least a few centuries older than his time (tenth century). But it must be much older still. As the Leyden Papyrus belongs at the latest to the third century, and those of the British Museum to the third or fourth century, we are justified in assigning to the first four centuries of the Christian era the origin of our Hebrew text, which throws so vivid a light upon those remnants of Greek Magic buried hitherto in the soil of Egypt. Herein lies also one side of the importance of our text, that it shows how the connection between antiquity and the later ages was maintained. The Greek texts had become inaccessible and practically lost to the world, whilst the Hebrew text, written in a language which was considered sacred, the knowledge of which was never allowed to be extinguished, preserved the ancient magical texts, with their curious mystical names and formulas, and carried them across the centuries, keeping up the old tradition, and affording us now a glimpse into a peculiar state of the popular mind of those remarkable times. The careful study of those Greek fragments side by side with the Hebrew will assist very materially in the understanding also of those often very obscure texts, and lift the study from the narrow groove in which it has hitherto been kept by the classical scholars who have devoted their attention recently to them. It will also help us in laying bare the fountains from which flowed the whole of the magical arts of the Middle Ages.

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II. Translation.

I. *The Sword of Moses.*

In the name of the mighty and holy God!

Four angels are appointed to the "Sword" given by the Lord, the Master of mysteries, and they are appointed to the Law, and they see with penetration the mysteries from above and below; and these are their names—SKD HUZI, MRGIOIAL, VHDRZIOLO, TOTRISI. And over these are five others, holy and mighty, who meditate on the mysteries of God in the world for seven hours every day, and they are appointed to thousands of thousands, and to myriads of thousands of Chariots, ready to do the will of their Creator, X,[1] the Lord of Lords and the honoured God; these are their names—X. And the Master of each Chariot upon which they are appointed wonders and says: "Is there any number of his armies?" And the least of these Chariots is lord and master over those (above) four. And over these are three chiefs of the hosts of the Lord, who make every day tremble and shake His eight halls, and they have the power over every creature. Under them stand a double number of Chariots, and the least of them is lord and master over all the above Chiefs (rulers); and these are their names—X. And the name of the Lord and king is X, who sits, and all the heavenly hosts kneel, and prostrate themselves before Him daily before leaving X, who is the Lord over all.

And when thou conjure him he will attach himself to thee, and cause the other five Chiefs and their Chariots, and the lords that stand under them, to attach themselves to thee just as they were ordered to attach themselves to Moses, son of Amram, and to attach to him all the lords that stand under them; and they will not tarry in their obeisance, and will not withhold from giving authority to

[1] X stands for the mysterious names, which have not been transliterated. N for the name of the person who conjures.

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the man who utters the conjuration over this "Sword," its mysteries and hidden powers, its glory and might, and they will not refuse to do it, as it is the command of God X saying: "Ye shall not refuse to obey a mortal who conjures you, nor should you be different to him from what you were to Moses, son of Amram, when you were commanded to do so, for he is conjuring you with My Ineffable names, and you render honour to My name and not to him. If you should refuse I will burn you, for you have not honoured Me."

Each of these angels had communicated to him (Moses) a propitious thing for the proper time. These things (words) are all words of the living God and King of the Universe, and they said to him:—

"If thou wishest to use this 'Sword' and to transmit it to the following generations, (then know) that the man who decides to use it must first free himself three days previously from accidental pollution and from everything unclean, eat and drink once every evening, and must eat the bread from a pure man or wash his hands first in salt (?), and drink only water; and no one is to know that he intends using this 'Sword,' as therein are the mysteries of the Universe, and they are practised only in secret, and are not communicated but to the chaste and pure. On the first day when you retire from (the world) bathe once and no more, and pray three times daily, and after each prayer recite the following Blessing:—

"'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who openest the gates of the East and cleavest the windows of the firmament of the Orient, and givest light to the whole world and its inhabitants, with the multitude of His mercies, with His mysteries and secrets, and teachest Thy people Israel Thy secrets and mysteries, and hast revealed unto them the "Sword" used by the world; and Thou sayest unto them: "If anyone is desirous of using this 'Sword,' by which every wish is fulfilled and every secret revealed, and every miracle, marvel, and prodigy are performed, then speak to Me in the following manner, read before Me this

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and that, and conjure in such and such a wise, and I will instantly be prevailed upon and be well disposed towards you, and I will give you authority over this Sword, by which to fulfil all that you desire, and the Chiefs will be prevailed upon by you, and my holy ones will be well disposed towards you and they will fulfil instantly your wishes, and will deliver to you my secrets and reveal to you my mysteries, and my words they will teach you and my wonders they will manifest to you, and they will listen and serve you as a pupil his master, and your eyes will be illuminated and your heart will see and behold all that is hidden, and your size will be increased." Unto Thee I call, X, Lord of the Universe. Thou art He who is called X, King of the Universe. Thou art called X, merciful king. Thou art called X, gracious king. Thou art called X, living king. Thou art called X, humble king. Thou art called X, righteous king. Thou art called X, lofty king. Thou art called X, perfect king. Thou art called X, upright king. Thou art called X, glorious king. Thou art called X, youthful king. Thou art called X, pleasant king. Thou art called X, and thou listenest to my prayer, for Thou hearkenest unto prayer; and attach unto me Thy servants the lords of the "Sword," for Thou art their king, and fulfil my desire, for everything is in Thy hands, as it is written: "Thou openest thine hand and satisfiest every living being with favour."

"'I conjure you, Azliel called X; I conjure you, Arel called X, Ta'aniel called X, Tafel called X, and the most glorious of these Yofiel Mittron called X, the glory from above. With the permission of my king (I conjure) Yadiel called X, Ra'asiel called X, Ḥaniel called X, Haniel called X, Asrael called X, Yisriel called X, A'shael called X, Amuhael called X, and Aṣrael called X, that you attach yourselves to me and surrender the "Sword" to me, so that I may use it according to my desire, and that I find shelter under the shadow of our Lord in heaven in the glorious Name, the mighty and awe-inspiring X, the twenty-four letters from the Crown; that you deliver unto me with this

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"Sword" the secrets from above and below, the mysteries from above and below, and my wish be fulfilled and my words hearkened unto, and my prayer (supplication) received through the conjuration with the Ineffable name of God which is glorified in the world, through which all the heavenly hosts are tied and bound; and this is the Ineffable Name—X, blessed be he! (I conjure you) that you shall not refuse me nor hurt me, nor frighten and alarm me, in the tremendous Name of your king, the terror of whom rests upon you, and who is called X. Fulfil for me everything that I have been conjuring you for, and serve me, for I have conjured you not with the name of one who is great among you but with that of the Lord over all, whose name ties and binds and keeps and fastens all the heavenly hosts. And if you should refuse me, I will hand you over to the Lord God and to his Ineffable name, whose wrath and anger and fire are kindled, who honours his creatures with one letter of his name, and is called X; so that if you refuse he will destroy you, and you will not be found when searched after. And you preserve me from shortness of spirit and weakness of body in the name of X, the guardian of Israel. Blessed art Thou, who understandest the secrets and revealest the mysteries, and art king of the Universe.'"

A voice was heard in the heavens, the voice of the Lord of heavens, saying: "I want a light (swift) messenger (to go) to man, and if he fulfils my message my sons will become proud of the 'Sword' which I hand over to them, which is the head of all the mysteries of which also my seers have spoken, that thus will my word be, as it is said: 'Is not my word like as fire? saith the Lord'" (Jer. xxiii, 29). Thus spoke X, the lord of heaven and earth; and I, Assi Asisih and Apragsih, the light (swift) messenger, who am pleased with my messages and delighted with my sending, ascended before Him, and the Lord over all commanded me: "Go and make this known to men who are pious and good and pure and righteous and faithful, whose heart is not divided and in whose mouth is no duplicity, who do not lie with their tongues and do not deceive with

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their lips, who do not grasp with their hands and are not lustful with their eyes, who do not run after evil, keep aloof from every uncleanness, depart from every defilement, keep themselves holy from contamination, and do not approach woman." When the Lord over all commanded me thus, I, X, the swift messenger, went down to earth, and I said on my way: "Where is the man who possesses all these that I should go to him and place this with him?" And I asked myself, and thought in my heart that there is no man who would do all this that I wished; and I found none, and it was heavy unto me. And the Lord over all conjured me by His mighty right arm, and by the lustre of His glory and His glorious crown, with an oath of His mighty right arm, and He conjured me, and the Lord over all strengthened me and I did not fall. I thus stood up, I, X, to put NN in the possession of the desired covenant, in the name of X."

"This is the great and glorious Name which has been given as a tradition to man—X, holy, glorious, glorious, Selah. Recite it after thy prayers.—And these are the names of the angels that minister to the son of man—Mittron, Sgrdtsih, Mqttro, Sngotiqtel, etc., etc., etc. (28 names)." "In a similar manner shall you serve me NN; and receive my prayer and my orisons, and bring them to God X, blessed be He! for I adjure you in His name, and I extol you (to ascend), like unto the bird that flies from its nest, and remember my meritorious deeds before Him and (make Him) forgive now my sins on account of my words of supplication, and you may not refuse me in the name of X, blessed be He! Sabaoth, Sabaoth, Selah. His servants sanctify Him and praise Him with sweet melody, and say: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of holy name; the whole earth is full of His glory"; and do not refuse me, in the name of X, who lives for ever, and in the name of Ditimon, etc., X, and in the name X of the great One from whom nothing is hidden, who sees and is not seen, and in the name of Him who is the chief over the heavens and is called X. And the King of the

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Universe utters (this name) also in a different manner, thus—X. You swift messenger, do not tarry and do not frighten me, but come and do all my wants in the name of X, the great One, who sees and is not seen, AHVH, whose Ineffable Name is revealed to the heavenly hosts; and I conjure you by this Ineffable Name, such as it was revealed to Moses by the mouth of the Lord over all, X, the Lord Sabaoth is His name. Blessed art thou, O God, lord of mighty acts, who knowest all the mysteries."

And which are the letters which X communicated to Moses? He said to him: "If thou wishest to get wise and to use the 'Sword,' call me, and conjure me, and strengthen me, and fortify me, and say: 'X, with the great, holy, wonderful, pure, precious, glorious, and awe-inspiring secret Name X, with these letters I conjure thee to surrender to me and make me wise and attach to me the angels which minister to the "Sword," in the name of the Revealer of mysteries. Amen.'"

Write with ink on leather and carry about with you during those three days of purification, and invoke before and after prayer the following Names communicated to Moses by Mrgiiel, X, by Trotrosi, X, etc. (the 13 Chiefs mentioned at the beginning, and a long string of other mysterious names which are said to have been communicated to Moses). "And they have not hidden from him any of these sacred Ineffable names or letters, and have not given him instead the Substitutes of any of these sacred letters, for thus were they ordered by the Lord of all mysteries to communicate to him this 'Sword,' with these Names which constitute the mysteries of this 'Sword'; and they said to him: 'Command the generations which will come after thee to say the following blessing prior to their prayer, lest they be swept away by the fire': 'Blessed art Thou, X, who wast with Moses; be also with me, Thou, whose name is X. Send me X, who is the cover of the Cherubim, to help me. Blessed art Thou, Lord of the Sword.'"

Whoever is desirous of using this 'Sword' must recite his

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usual prayers, and at the passage "Thou hearkenest to prayer" say: "I conjure you four princes, X, servants of Hadirion, X, that you receive my invocation before I pray, and my supplication before I entreat, and fulfil all my wishes through this 'Sword,' as you have done to Moses, in the glorious and wonderful name of the Lord of wonders, which is interpreted thus—X." He must then call the five superior Chiefs and say: "I conjure you, X, that you accept my conjuration as soon as I conjure you, and you attach to me those four princes and all the hosts of Chariots over which you preside, to fulfil all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this beloved name X." He must then call the three angels that are superior to these, and say: "I conjure you, X, the beloved of X, who is Hadiririon, that you attach yourselves to me and attach to me X, who are standing under your rule, to fulfil all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this unique name X." And then he must lay hold of the highest Chief over all and say: "I conjure thee, X, strong and powerful Chief over all the heavenly hosts, that thou attachest thyself to me, thou and not thy messenger, and attach to me all the Chiefs that are with thee, to fulfil my wishes through this 'Sword,' by the name X, which has no substitute, for thou art beloved and he is beloved, and I am from the seed of Abraham called the beloved. Blessed art thou, King of the mysteries, Lord of the secrets, who hearkenest unto prayer."

And he is not to touch this "Sword" ere he has done all these things; afterwards he will be able to do whatever he likes, everything being written here following in its proper order.

II. *This is the "Sword."*

[It consists of a series of mysterious names of God or angels, to which the recipes in Part III refer. The first list commences with Tobat, Tsbr, etc. (1–5). These numbers are added by me to make the formulas run parallel with their magical applications in Part III, as already explained in the Introduction. I refer to them as they break up this

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part in convenient smaller portions, and are easily discernible. After these follow the words]: "With these your Names, and with the powers you possess, to which there is nowhere anything like (I conjure you) to show me and to search for me, and to bring me X to do all my bidding in the name of X," and, again, a list of names, that have no special characteristic in common. Nos. 20–24 are all names commencing with *JJ*; some of these finish with *JH*. 24–36 all these names have the word *Sabaoth* attached to them. To 41–47 *HVH* is added. From Nos. 51–93 all the names are composite; they appear as names of *sons*, the name of the father being added to each of these, close upon 160 names, *e.g.*: Ssgnis, son of Srngia; Ssgn, son of 'Arggis; Atumi, son of Batumi; Ahsuti, son of Kkthus; Agupi, son of Abkmi, etc. Every name from 102 on to the end of this part finishes with *-el*, after which follow varying syllables and words: some are only *JH* or *JV* (Nos. 102–105), or a word commencing with *'A-* and finishing with *-JH* (Nos. 106–111). Nos. 112–121 are followed by AHVH, whilst 122–127=JHVHH, and Nos. 128–134= HVJH. They conclude with the following words: "Ye sacred angels, princes of the hosts of X, who stand upon the thrones prepared for them before Him to watch over and to minister to the 'Sword,' to fulfil by it all the wants by the name of the Master over all; you Chiefs of all the angels in the world, X, in the name of X the seal of heaven and earth, ministers of X the most high God; through you I see X in the world; you are lording over me in all the place of the Master over all: I pray of you to do everything that I am asking of you, as you have the power to do everything in heaven and upon earth in the name of X, as it is written in the Law, 'I am the Lord, this is My name!'"

III.

1. If at full moon (?) a man wishes to unite a woman with a man that they should be as one to one another,

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to destroy winds (spirits), demons, and satans, and to stop a ship, and to free a man from prison, and for every other thing, write on a red bowl from Tobar, etc. (No. 1).—2. To break mountains and hills, to pass dryshod through the water, to enter the fire, to appoint and to depose kings, to blind the eyes, to stop the mouth, and to speak to the dead, and to kill the living, to bring down and to send up and to conjure angels to hearken unto thee, and to see all the mysteries of the world, write Nos. 1 and 2 upon the saucer of a cup and put in it the root of genip-tree (*genipa*). —3. Against a spirit that moves in the body write on a plate No. 3.—4. Against a spirit that burns write No. 4. —5. Against a spirit in the whole body write No. 5.—6. Against a demon (*shidda*) write No. 6.—7. Against shingles write No. 7.—8. Against quinsy (erysipelas ?) say the words of No. 8 over oil of roses and put it over his face.—9. For pains in the ear whisper in the painful ear No. 9.—10. For aches in the eye say the words No. 10 over water three days running in the morning, and wash the eye with it.—11. For cataract say the words of No. 11 over oil of sesame, and anoint the eye with it during seven mornings. —12. For grit in the eye say over Ḳohl No. 12, and fill the eye with it for three mornings.—13. For blood that runs from the head whisper No. 13 over the head early in the morning for three days, when you wash your hands before getting out of bed.—14. For paralysis say seven times over a vessel full of water and seven times over sesame-oil the words No. 14, "that it should move away and leave NN, Amen, Amen, Selah"; and throw the pail of water over his head and anoint him with the oil, and do this for three days; then write an amulet with the words from, "I conjure you" till "Amen, Selah," and hang it round his neck. —15. For pains in one half of the head (neuralgia?) and for bad singing in the ear, write No. 15 and hang it round the neck.—16. For the bad deafening (of the ear) write No. 16 and hang it round the neck.—17. For pains in the ear say into the left ear the words No. 17 backwards.—18. For deafness say over hemp water, whilst mixing it

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with oil of "Idi" (sesame?), the words of No. 18, and put it into his ear as soon as it has become a little dissolved (or warm).—19. For scabs, ulcers, itches, mange, shingles, etc., that befall mankind, say over olive oil No. 19 and anoint with the left hand.—20. For jaundice say the words No. 20 over water in which radish has been soaked, and let him drink it.—21. For pains in the nose and for the spirit in the nose say No. 21 over oil of "Idi" (sesame?) and put it into his nostrils.—22. For pains in the stomach (*lit.* heart) and in the bowels say No. 22 over water, and drink it.—23. For hot fever say No. 23 over water in which rose-laurels are soaked, and he is to bathe in it.—24. For tumors, etc., say No. 24 once over them and once over olive oil, and anoint them for three days, but do not let any water come near them—25. For an evil occurrence (?) say No. 25 over seven white cups of water, filled from the river, and throw them over the head.—26. For ulcer (diphtheria?) spit out before him, and say over his mouth, and over a cup of strong drink, No. 26, and make him drink, and watch what is coming out of his mouth.—27. For a man bitten by a snake or by another (!) poisonous insect, he must say over the place of the bite or over the painful spot No. 27 and drink it; the same he is to do whenever hurt by any creeping thing.—28. For a woman who has seen blood before the time say No. 28 over an ostrich egg, then burn it, and she be smoked with it.—29. For pains in the mouth say No. 29 over risen flour, and put it upon his mouth.—30. For quinsy (croup) and for pains in the shoulder, say No. 30 over wine and drink.—31. For a painful nerve write No. 31 on a scroll and speak these words over olive oil, and rub some of it on the scroll and smear it over the painful spot and hang the amulet round his neck.—32. For stone say over a cup of wine No. 32, and drink it.—33. For hemorrhoids take tow and put salt on it and mix it with oil, saying over it No. 33, and sit on it.—34. For a man who suffers from swelling and from venereal disease (?), he is to say No. 34 over water in which radishes are soaked, and drink.—35. For sprains, either

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you take a plate and write upon it No. 35 and put it upon the place, and all around it will be healed; or you take a ball of wool and dip it in oil of (sesame?), and say those words upon it and put it upon the sprain.—36. When injured or hurt by iron, and for every blow that it should not fester, say No. 36 over white naphtha and rub it over the place of the blow.—37. For (cramps?) and for pains of heart say over spinach and oil No. 37, and drink it.—38. For the gall and the bowels take the water in which raisins have been soaked, saying over it No. 38, and drink it.—39. For the spoiled liver take (a drink) a sixth measure of water-lentils and say No. 39, and swallow it slowly (?).—40. For the milt say No. 40 over wine-lees and drink it, and repeat it for three days.—41. For the spirit who rests on the womb, say No. 41 on camphor oil and put it on it with a ball of wool.—42. For a woman who has a miscarriage, say No. 42 on a cup of wine, or strong drink, or water, and let her drink it for seven days; and even if she should see blood and she repeats it over a cup of wine, the child will live.—43. For a man who is bald, say No. 43 over nut-oil and anoint with it.—44. To conjure a spirit write on a laurel-leaf: "I conjure thee, prince whose name is Abraksas, in the name of (No. 44) that thou comest to me and revealest to me all that I ask of thee, and thou shalt not tarry." And the one bound by thee will come down and reveal himself to thee.—45. To remove a rich man from his riches, say No. 45 upon the dust of an ant-hill and throw it into his face.—46. To heal leprosy, take the patient to the side of the river and say to him: "I conjure thee, leprosy, in the name of (No. 46) to disappear and to vanish, and to pass away from NN. Amen, Amen, Selah"; and he is to go down and dip seven times in the river, and when he comes out write an amulet with the words "I conjure—Selah," and hang it round his neck.—47. For diarrhœa write No. 47 on a red copper plate and hang it round his neck.—48. If thou wishest that the rain should not fall upon thy garden, write out No. 48.—49. If thou wishest to see the sun (!) take . . . from a male tree and stand in front of the sun and say . . . which art called

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on the . . called . . . and the ears of barley (?) the words of No. 49;[1] and he will appear unto thee in the form of a man dressed in white and he will answer thee upon everything that thou askest him, and he will even bring a woman after thee.—50. Whosoever wishes to enter a furnace is to write No. 50 on a silver plate and hang it upon his haunch.—51. If thou seest a king or a ruler and thou wishest that he follow thee, take a basin of water and put into it the root of genip-tree, and the root of purslane, and the root of (*Artilochia*), and say No. 51, and place it on fiery coals in a white earthen vessel and throw upon them leaves of olive-tree, and whatever thou decreest he will bring unto thee, even a woman thou canst command. —52. If you wish to overawe them, take water from the fountain and say upon it No. 52 and throw it into their faces. —53. For loosening (any charm) say over water No. 53 and throw it over him and write it as an amulet and hang it round his neck, and also for freeing a man from prison.— 54. To catch fish, take a white potsherd, and putting into it leaves of olive-tree say over them No. 54 at the side of the river.—55. If thou wishest a woman to follow thee, take thy blood and write her name upon a newly-laid egg and say towards her No. 55.—56. If a man is to follow thee, take a new potsherd and dip it in black myrrh (gall) and pronounce over his name the words of No. 56, and walk on without looking backwards.—57. For a tree that does not produce fruits, write the words No. 57 upon a new potsherd and bury it under the root of the fruitless tree, and water all the trees and these also which do not produce the fruit.—58. For illness (dog) in the fruit write on a new potsherd No. 58 and bury it in the cistern (watering-place), and say these words also over water, ashes, and salt, and water the earth with it.—59. For a suckling babe write on an onyx slab No. 59 and whisper it into its ears three times, spitting out after the whispering; then repeat them over a cupful of water 70 times and give it the child to drink.—60. For one bitten by a rabid dog,

[1] There is something probably missing here.

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write No. 60 on the halter of an ass and let the ass go; then repeat these words over sesame oil and let him anoint himself with it and put on new clothes and hang that halter (?) round him.—61. For fever and small fever, write on the skin of the brains of a ram or a goat No. 61, and hang it round his neck.—62. If anyone lose his way he is to say No. 62 over the four corners of his belt (?).—63. If thou wishest to ask anything of thy neighbour, say No. 63 over oil of sesame or of . . . or of . . . —64. If thou wishest that a woman is to follow thee write thy name and her name with thy blood upon her door, and the same upon thy door, and repeat the words of No. 64.—65. If thou wishest to know whether thy journey will be lucky, take a field lettuce with open leaves, and standing before the sun say the words of No. 65 and watch the lettuce: if the leaves close and shut, then do not go; but if they remain in their natural state, proceed, and thou wilt prosper.—66. If thou wishest to deliver a man from prison (?) say No. 66 once to him, and once to the sun, and once to the prison (?) house.—67. To conquer (collect ?), take dust from thy house and say over it seven times in the road of the town the words of No. 67, and then take dust from the road and do likewise and throw it into thy house.—68. If you wish to kill a man, take mud from the two sides of the river and form it into the shape of a figure, and write upon it the name of the person, and take seven branches from seven strong palm-trees and make a bow from reed (?) with the string of horse-sinew, and place the image in a hollow, and stretch the bow and shoot with it, and at each branch (shot) say the words of No. 68; and may NN be destroyed . . .—69. To send plagues, take (parings ?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd, and go out to the cemetery and say there No. 69, and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses, and afterwards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house.—70. To send dreams to your neighbours, write No. 70 upon a plate of silver and place it in the mouth (?) of a cock and kill it when it has gone

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down its mouth, and take it out from the mouth and put it between its legs and bury it at the end of a wall, and put thy foot upon that spot and say thus: "In the name of X, a swift messenger is to go and torment NN in his dreams until he will fulfil my wish."—71. If a snake follows thee say No. 71, and it will dry up.—72. To stop a boat in the sea, say No. 72 over a potsherd or on a rounded flintstone and throw it against it into the sea. —73. To loosen it (from the charm), say No. 73 over dust or a clod of earth and throw it into the water, and as this dissolves the boat gets free to go.—74. If thou wishest to prevent an oven or furnace or pot from becoming destroyed (unclean ?), say No. 74 over dust and throw it over them.— 75. If thou wishest them to be hot, spit in front of them and say No. 75, and they will boil.—76. If thou wishest to pass dryshod through the sea, say upon the four corners of the head-dress (turban) No. 76, and take one corner in thy hand and the other is (?) to precede thee.—77. If thou wishest to curse anyone, say in the 'Eighteen benedictions' No. 77, in the name of X.—78. To speak with the dead, whisper No. 71 into his left ear and throw into their holes (?).—79. To kill a lion, bear, an adder, or any other hurtful animal, take the dust from under the right foot, say over it No. 79, and throw it into their faces.—80. To catch them, take the dust from under your left foot, saying No. 80, and throw it into their faces.— 81. To open a door, take the root of lotos reed and place it under the tongue and say No. 81 against the door.— 82. To kill an ox or another beast, say into its ear No. 82.—83. To inflame his heart, say No. 83 over a piece of raw meat, and give it to him to eat.—84. To make a fool of one, say No. 84 over an egg and place it in his hands.—85. To destroy the house of thy neighbour, say No. 85 over a new potsherd and throw it into his house. —86. To expose (?) your neighbour, say No. 86 over oil of . . . and smear it at the bottom of his jug (?).—87. To make your neighbour disliked, take blood from phlebotomy, say upon it No. 87, and throw it upon his lintel.—88. To

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make a woman have a miscarriage, say No. 88 over a cup of water and throw it over her lintel.—89. To make a man ill, say No. 89 over olive oil and let him anoint himself with it.—90. To know whether a sick person will die or live, say before him No. 90: if he turns his face towards you he will live; if away, he will die.—91. To catch a lion by the ear, say No. 91 and make seven knots in the fringes of thy girdle and repeat these words with each knot, and you will catch him.—92. To make thy renown go throughout the world, write No. 92 as an amulet and bury it in thy house.—93. To shorten the way, say No. 93 over a single lotos reed.—94. To cure hemorrhoids, take kernels of dates . . . and burn them in fire and say No. 94, and mix it with oil of olives and place it as an amulet over it, and it will be good.—95. For every spirit write upon a bowl No. 95 and hang it round the neck.—96. For subtle poison, as cumin-seed and calamint, write No. 96 upon an egg and put it into wine, and repeat over it the same words and then drink it.—97. For the thunder that comes from heaven, take a ring (round piece) of iron and lead, and hang it on the spot you wish (to protect), and say over it No. 97.—98. To go before king or lord, say No. 98 over a piece of lion's skin dipped in black hemp (?) and pure wine, and take it with thee.—99. For blight, if it happen, take a sinew and soak it in turnip-juice in the night from Wednesday to Thursday, and say No. 99 over it; on the morrow sprinkle that water over the field.—100. If the fruit gets worm-eaten, take a worm from the mud and put it into a tube and say No. 100 over it; then close the tube and bury it in that place.—101. To free a man from prison (? shame), say over the grounds of Kappa (?) and unripe dates No. 101, and give it to him to eat.—102. For a field that does not produce fruits, take eight cups from eight houses and fill them with water from eight rivers, and put salt into them from eight houses, and say over them No. 102 eight times, and pour out two cups at each corner, and break them on eight paths.—103. If one does not know what a man is ailing

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from, soak mullein (*verbascum*) in water, and say over it No. 103, and let him drink it when he is thirsty.—104. To make war, take the dust from under the left foot, say over it No. 104, and throw it into the (enemies') face, and there will appear knights with weapons in their hands who will fight for thee.—105. To throw thy fear upon mankind, write No. 105 upon a leaden plate and bury it on the west side of the Synagogue.—106. To have always light in the darkness, write No. 106 upon a chart (paper) and carry it always with thee.—107. To catch (blind) the eye, write No. 107 upon a scroll and expose it in a wicker-basket to the stars, but you must not speak when writing.—108. To send a sword which should fight for thee, say No. 108 over a new knife wholly of iron, and throw it into their face.—109. If thou wishest that they kill one another, say No. 109 over a new knife wholly of iron and bury it with your heel into the earth, and keep the heel upon it in the earth, and they will kill one another, until you take it out from the earth.—110. To make them pause, take the dust from under the right foot, and, saying the same words again backwards, throw it into their face, and they will stop.—111. If an enemy has got hold of thee and wishes to kill thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 111, and he will run away from thee like one who runs away from his murderer.—112. To catch the eye (blind), say No. 112 over the skin of a lion and carry it with thee, and no one will be able to see thee.—113. If thou fallest into a (?) and wishest to come out, say No. 113, and thou wilt come out in peace.—114. If thou fallest into a deep pit, say in thy fall No. 114, and nothing will hurt thee.—115. When thou fallest into a deep river say No. 115, and thou wilt come out in peace.—116. If any burden or weight falls upon thee, say No. 116, and thou wilt be saved.—117. If the king's servants lay hold on thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 117 before king or judge, and he will kill these people who have laid hands on thee.—118. If a host has surrounded thee, turn thy face towards the west and say

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No. 118 before king or judge, and they will be like unto stones and will not move.—119. If thou wishest to release them, turn thy face towards the east and repeat these words backwards.—120. If thou walkest in vales or on the mountains and hast no water to drink, lift thine eyes to Heaven and say No. 120, and a fountain of water will be opened unto thee.—121. If thou hungerest, lift thine eyes to Heaven and spread out thine arms and say No. 121, and a spirit will stand before thee and bring thee bread and meat.—122. If thou wishest to call the angel (prince) of man, say over thy mantle (?) No. 122, and the angel bound by thee will come to thee and will tell thee whatever thou wishest (to know).—123. If thou wishest to let him go (depart), say before him the same words backward, and he will depart.—124. If thou wishest that any heavenly prince is to come to thee and teach thee, say No. 124 and conjure him in the third hour of the night from: "in the name of the Lord over the holy ones (No. 136) to the end of the 'Sword,'" and "Send him to me that he reveal unto me and teach me all that is in his power," and he will then disappear (!).—125. To walk upon the water without wetting the feet, take a leaden plate and write upon it No. 125 and place it in thy girdle, and then you can walk.—126. To become wise, remember for three months running, from the new moon of Nissan onwards, the words of No. 126, and add in the 'Eighteen benedictions': "May the gates of wisdom be opened to me so that I should meditate in them."—127. To remember immediately all thou learnest, write on a new-laid egg No. 127, then wash it off with strong wine early in the morning and drink it, and do not eat anything for three hours.—128. To make another forget what he has learned, write No. 128 in his name on laurel-leaves and bury them under his lintel.—129. To send an evil spirit against thy neighbour, take a green grasshopper and say over it No. 129, and bury it in an earth-hill and jump over it.—130. To send a plague, take the bone of a dead man and dust from under him in a pot and tie it up in a woven rag with saliva, and say upon it

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No. 130 in his name, and bury it in the cemetery.—131. To tie and to fasten thiefs and robbers, say No. 131, and whilst saying it put your little finger in the ear —132. To release them, say No. 132, and take thy finger out of the ear.—133. To guard thy house from thieves, say No. 133 over a cup of water and pour it out round thy roof. Thus also to guard a house.—134. To guard a house from hosts (robbers), take earth from an ant-hill and strew it round the roof, repeating the words of No. 134.—135. To guard thyself from Mazikim, say: "In the name of 'Nos. 1–5' may I, NN, pass in peace and not in hurt." The same must be done to excommunicate them when you meet them.—136. For every other thing that has not been mentioned say, No. 136 to the end of the "Sword."

And upon every amulet that you write from this "Sword" write first: "In the name of the Lord of all the holy ones, may this 'Sword' be effectual to do my services, and may the lord of it approach to serve me, and may all these powers be delivered over to me so that I be able to use them, as they were delivered to Moses, the son of Amram, perfect from his God and no harm befalling him!" If he will not act accordingly the angels of wrath, ire, fury, and rage will come near him to minister to him, and they will lord over him, and strangle him, and plague him all over. And these are the names of their leaders: the leader of the angels of wrath is Mzpopiasaiel; the name of the leader of the angels of ire is Zkzoromtiel; the name of the leader of the angels of fury is Kso'ppghiel; the name of the leader of the angels of rage is N'mosnikttiel. And the angels that stand under them are numberless, and these all will have power over him, and will make his body like unto a dunghill.

May the Lord preserve you from every evil. Amen!

End of the "Sword," with the assistance of God feared in the council of the holy ones. End, end.

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APPENDIX I.

In the name of the Lord. The Sword of Moses.

I. [A long list of mystical names; then follows:] and the angel over the animals, whose name is Ittalainma; and the angel over the wild beasts, Mtniel; and the angel over the wild fowls and over the creeping things, Trgiaob; and the angel over the deep waters and over the mountains, Rampel; and the angel over the trees, Maktiel; and the angel over the sweet-smelling herbs, Arias; and the angel over the garden fruits (vegetables), Sofiel; and the angel over the rivers, Trsiel; and the angel over the winds, Mbriel; and over man, X.—. . . hours are proper for man to pray and to ask for mercy upon man, be it for good or evil; and it is said that every hour is proper for man to pray, but during the three first hours in the morning man is to pray and to mention the hundred sacred names and the mighty ones, whose sum amounts to three hundred and four. Amen. Selah!

. . . . . X give me healing . . . .

Which is the great light? All the . . . . X, I conjure you, mother of the (whether?) male and mother of the (or?) female, you, the "Twins," I conjure you, the hard (strong) spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, the living one [Michael], in the name of God [Gabriel], . . Raphael (save) me from the Lions, the powerful ones (Archons?), and the Twins. I conjure you, strong spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, IH, IHVH, IHVH, I, N, son of N . .

II. Verily, this is the ("Sword of Moses") with which he accomplished his miracles and mighty deeds, and destroyed all kind of witchcraft; it had been revealed to Moses in the bush, when the great and glorious Name was delivered to him. Take care of it and it will take care of thee. If thou approachest fire, it will not burn thee, and it will preserve thee from every evil in the world.—1. If thou wishest to try it take a thick (green) branch and

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utter this "Sword" over it five times at sunrise, and it will dry up.—2. To catch fish, take sand from the sea and the root of the date (tree) (or the kernel of the date), and repeat this "Sword" over them, and the fish will come to the spot where thou throwest the sand.—3. To walk on the waters of the sea take the wooden helve of an axe, bore a hole through it, pass a red thread through it, and tie it on to thy heel, then repeat the words of the "Sword," and then you may go in and out in peace.—4. To run quickly (?), write the "Sword" on "Chartis hieratikon," then put water into a new earthenware pot, and let them drink it and wash their faces, and they will be victorious!—5. To break it (?), write the "Sword" on a plate of copper (*kyprinon*) and put it in . . and they will be broken.—6. To subdue a woman, write with the blood of thy hand thy (?) name upon thy gate, and write thy name upon a scroll of leather of a hart with the blood of thy finger, and say this "Sword," and she will come to thee.—7. To make thyself praised in the community, take in thy left hand porret-seed and utter over it the "Sword," and throw it between them,[1] and descend (?) until the sun sets, and he will carry thee wherever thou wishest, and fast for three days, and burn incense and the smoke of white flower, and repeat the "Sword" in the morning and the evening, and he will come instantly and speak to thee and do thy bidding.—8. To get information through a dream, take balm and write upon "Chartis hieratikon," and repeat the "Sword" in front of a light, and put out the light with a stick of olive-wood, and lie down.—9. If thou wishest to go to a great man, take rose-oil and repeat the "Sword" over the oil and anoint thy hands and face with it, and he will hearken unto thee.—10. To make strife in the community, take the left hand full of mustard, speak the "Sword" over it, and throw it amongst them, and they will kill one another.—11. To separate a man from his wife, take ass's meat in thy hand and say over it the "Sword," and no harm will befall thee (?).—12. To destroy

[1] There is something probably missing here.

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thy enemy, take a leaden plate and some of his hair and clothes, and say the "Sword" over them, and bury them in a deserted house, and he will fall down.—13. To walk in the street and not to be recognized by anyone, take wormwood, perfumes, and soot, and smoke thyself with it, and take the heart of a fox, and say the "Sword," and go out in the street.—14. If you are on the sea and the storm rages, stand up against the waves and say the "Sword" to them, and they will go down; then write on a plate, or potsherd, or a piece of wood, and hang it in front of the ship, and it will not founder.—15. To break an enemy, write the "Sword" upon a potsherd that has not yet been burned, and plaster it over, and throw it into his house.—16. To obtain anything thou likest, take into thy right hand wormwood, and say over it the "Sword" facing the sun, and everything will be fulfilled, and purify thyself for seven days, and thou wilt prosper in everything. Do kind deeds to thy friends, take heed not to take an oath, and walk modestly, and thus thou wilt prosper.

Write X upon the palm of thy left hand, take then a new lamp and fill it with olive-oil and naphtha, and put on new clean clothes, and sleep in a clean house, and the angel will come at once and wake thee, and reveal unto thee everything that thou wishest.

III. R. Akiba asked R. Eliezer the great: "How can one make the Angel of the Presence descend upon earth to reveal to man the mysteries from above and beneath, and the speculations of the foundations of heavenly and earthly things, and the treasures of wisdom, cunning, and help?" He said thereupon to me: "My son! I once made him come down, and he nearly destroyed the whole world, for he is a mighty prince and greater than any in the heavenly cohort, and he ministers continually before the King of the Universe, with purity and separation, and with fear and dread of the glory of his Master, because the Shekinah is always with him." And he said to him: "My master, by the glory which thou hast bestowed upon me, I conjure thee to instruct me how to attach him to me." (And he

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replied): "In that hour when I wish to attach him to me and to employ him, I sit and fast on that very day; but prior to it one must keep oneself free for seven days from any nocturnal impurity, and must bathe in the fountain of water, and not speak at all during those seven days, and at the end of this purification, on the day of the fast, he must sit in the water up to his throat, and before he utters the conjuration he must first say: 'I conjure you, angels of dread, fear, and shaking, who are appointed to hurt those who are not pure and clean and desire the services of my heavenly servants—I conjure you in the name of X, who is mighty over all, and rules over all, and everything is in His hands, that you do not hurt me, nor terrify me, nor frighten me; verily, in the name of the powerful, the head of . . . ' After this he may commence his conjuration, for now he has fortified himself and has sealed himself with the name of God of 42 letters, before which all who hear it tremble and are frightened, and the heavenly hosts are terror-struck. He must then again conjure, and say: 'X, chief, who of all the destroying angels is the most hurtful and burning, with this Name and in this way I call thee AVZHIA, angel of the Presence, youthful minister before the King of the Universe, who art a prince and chief of the heavenly hosts; I conjure thee and decree upon thee that thou attachest thyself to me to fulfil my wish and to accept the decree of my conjuration and to accomplish my desires and fulfil my wishes, and do not frighten me, nor terrify me, nor overawe me, and do not make my frame shake and my feet vacillate, nor cause my speech to be perverted; but may I be fortified and strengthened, and may the conjuration be effective and the (sacred) Name uttered properly by my throat, and may no vacillation take hold of me and no trembling of the feet by thy ministering angels confuse me and overawe me, and weaken my hands, and may I not be overcome by the fire and flame of the storm and whirlwind which precedes thee, O wonderful and exalted one, whose Ineffable name is X, of whose wrath the earth trembles, and nothing can

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withstand his anger, twice blessed. Again I conjure thee by thy 14 (!) names by which thou didst reveal thyself to thy prophets and seers, to place in their mouths sweet words of prophecy and to utter pleasant words; and these are the Ineffable names and their surnames (Kunya): Spirit Piskonnit, kunya, X; Atimon, kunya, X; Piskon (?), Hugron, kunya, X; Sanigron, kunya, X; Msi, kunya, X; Mokon, kunya, X; Astm, kunya, X; Sktm, kunya, X; Ihoaiel, kunya, X; Iofiel, kunya, X; Ssnialiah, kunya, X; Kngieliah, kunya, X; Zabdiel, kunya, X. I conjure thee with these fourteen names, by which all the secrets and mysteries and signs are sealed and accomplished, and which are the foundations of heaven and earth. Four of these are engraved upon the heads of the Ḥayoth (Holy Creatures), namely—X, the lord of powers; X, master of miracles; X, master of purity; and X, master of the yoke. And four are engraved upon the four sides of the Throne, namely—X, three times holy; X, Adir, Adiri, Adiron, etc., the king of kings. And four are engraved upon the four crowns of the Ofanim (wheels) that stand against the Holy Creatures, as it is said: "When those went, these went; and when those stood, these stood" (Ezek. i, 21); and these they are —X, who is the mightiest over all; X, who rules over all the inhabitants of the heights (?), and in whose hands everything is. And two are engraved upon the crown of the most exalted and high King, and these they are—X, before whom every knee bends and every mouth utters praises; X, besides him there is no God and helper. With these names I conjure thee, and firmly decree upon thee to descend quickly to me, N, son of N, thou and not thy messenger. And when thou comest down do not turn my mind, but reveal unto me all the secret mysteries from above and beneath, and the hidden secrets from above and beneath, and all the secrets of wisdom and the cunning of helpfulness, just as a man speaks to his neighbour. For I have conjured thee with these Names, that are great and mighty and wonderful and awe-inspiring, and proved and arranged in proper order, through which the glorious

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throne has been established and the beautiful seat of the Most High, which has been wonderfully wrought, long before thou and the heavenly hosts had been created, "While as yet He had not made the earth nor the fields, and the inhabitants of the earth and the creatures therein" (Prov. viii, 26).

"'I call thee further by (the power) of the five selected Names, to which only one is superior, and this is their form—X. I conjure thee by these five Names, which correspond to the five names of God, whose letters are written on burning fire, and they circle round the throne of glory, one ascending and the other descending, so that the angels of the Presence should not behold them, and this is their equivalent and form and glory—X. I conjure thee by these, as thou knowest their praise and greatness, which no mouth can utter, and no ear can hear, no, not even one of them. Thou hast been commanded and ordered by the Most High: "as soon as thou hearest anyone conjuring thee with these names, to do honour to My Name, and to descend quickly and fulfil the wish of the man who makes thee hear them; but if thou tarriest I will push thee into the fiery river Rigayon and place another in thy stead." Do it, therefore, for His Name, and come quickly to me, N, son of N, not in a terror, and not in fear, not with fiery coals, not with hailstone, and not with the sleet and treasures of snow, and not with the howling of the storm, and not with the provinces of the whirlwind that usually accompany thee, and do my bidding and fulfil my desire, for everything is in thy hand; by the permission of thy God, the master over all and thy lord, and with His Names I conjure thee to attach thyself quickly to me; come and fulfil my wish, and do not tarry.

"'I further call thee with the greatest of thy Names, the pleasant and beloved one, which is the same as that of thy Master, save one letter, with which He created and formed everything, and which He placed as a seal upon all the work of His hand; and this is its equivalent—X, and the

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other in the language of purity (permutations of the letters Yod, He) is read so—X. I conjure thee with the right hand of sanctity and with His beloved Name, in whose honour everything has been created, and all are terror-struck by His mighty arm, and all the sons of the internal heavenly cohort (servants) tremble and shake of His fear, which is X, and its equivalent by means of JHVH is X. Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever. And all praise and extol thy Name, for they love thee. I conjure thee, and decree upon thee firmly, not to disobey my words, and not to alter my decree and my decision with which I conjured thee, and decreed upon thee, and established in peace. In the Name X, blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever, depart in peace, and do not frighten me in the hour of thy departure; in the name X, Lord, most high and holy, in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel's battalions; in the name of the holy living Creatures, and in the name of the Wheels of the Chariot, and in the name of the river of fire, Ih, Zii, Ziin, and all His ministers, and in the name of IH, Ziin, Sabaoth, Z, El Z, Shaddai Z, X revealed Himself on Mount Sinai in the glory of His majesty.

"'With these Names, terrible and mighty, which darken the sun, and obscure the moon, and turn the sea, and break the rocks, and extinguish the light, I conjure you, spirits, and . . and Shiddim, and Satanim, that you depart and disappear from N, son of N.'"

APPENDIX II.

I. *Against an enemy.*—I call thee, evil spirit, cruel spirit, merciless spirit. I call thee, bad spirit, who sittest in the cemetery and takes away healing from man. Go and place a knot in NN's head, in his eyes, in his mouth, in his tongue, in his throat, in his windpipe; put poisonous water in his belly. If you do not go and put water in his belly, I will send against you the evil angels Puziel, Guziel,

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Psdiel, Prziel. I call thee and those six knots that you go quickly to NN and put poisonous water in his belly and kill NN whom I mean (or, because I wish it). Amen, Amen. Selah.

II. *Against an enemy.*—Write upon a new-laid egg on a Nazarene cemetery: "I conjure you, luminaries of heaven and earth, as the heavens are separated from the earth, so separate and divide NN from his wife NN, and separate them from one another, as life is separated from death, and sea from dry land, and water from fire, and mountain from vale, and night from day, and light from darkness, and the sun from the moon; thus separate NN from NN his wife, and separate them from one another in the name of the twelve hours of the day and the three watches (?) of the night, and the seven days of the week, and the thirty days of the month, and the seven years of Shemittah, and the fifty years of Jubilee, on every day, in the name of the evil angel Tmsmael, and in the name of the angel Iabiel, and in the name of the angel Drsmiel, and in the name of the angel Zahbuk, and in the name of the angel Ataf, and in the name of the angel Zhsmael, and in the name of the angel Zsniel, who preside over pains, sharp pains, inflammation, and dropsy, and separate NN from his wife NN, make them depart from one another, and that they should not comfort one another, swiftly and quickly."

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NOTICE TO BINDER.

This text and index, pp. i–xxxv, to be bound at the end of Dr. Gaster's article on

"The Sword of Moses."

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* The Numbers refer to page and line.

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APPENDIX B.

לשנאה • אנא קרינא לך שידא ביש ושדא[1] אכיראה ושדא דלא
מרחמנותא לך אנא קרינא שידא ביש יתבא בית קברא ונקמא אכמתא
דבני אינשא היא תיזל תיני קמרה לפ׳ב׳פ ברישיה ובעיניה ובפומיה
ובילשניה ובקרקבניה ובקניה ותשרי ליה מיא פיוא בכרסיה ואם לא
תזלון ותרמון ליה מיא בכרסיה משדרנא עלי בישתא מלאכין פוזיאל
ונוזאל מסדיאל פרזיאל אקריניך וקבורי[2] אנון שתא דתזלון בעגלא על
פ׳ב׳פ ותשרון ליה מיא סיוא(!) בכרסיה וקמילו יתיה לפ׳ב׳פ דאנא בעיבא
א׳א׳ס ׃׳

לשנאה • כתוב על ביצה בת יומא פי קבר נצראני משבענא
עליכון באהרי[3] שמיא וארעא כמא דאתפרשו שמיא מן ארעא כן אפריקו
ואפרישו בן פ׳ב׳פ ומ׳ב׳פ אנתיתה ואפרישו יתהון חד מן חד כמו
דאתפרשו תיי מן מיית וכמו דאתפרשת ימא מן יבשתא ומיא מן נהרא
ומורא מן גלמתא וליליא מן יממא ונהורא מן חשוכא ושמשא מן סהרא
כן אפרישו פ׳ב׳פ מן פ׳ב׳פ אנתיתה ואפרישו יתהון חד מן חד בש׳
תרתי עשר שעין דיממא ותלת ארל(!) ליליא ושבעא יומי שבתא ותלתין
יומי ירחא ושבע שמיפין ותמשין שנין יובלא כל יומא ויומא בש׳ם
דמסמסמאל מלאכא סמנא ובשם ויאבאל מלאכא ובשם דדסמיאל מלאכא
ובשם זהבוך מלאכא ובשם דאתאף מ׳ל ובשם והצמאל מ׳ל וב׳ש
וסניאל מלאכא דממנן עלי כיבא ועל פיניותא וצתכא והדריזפא ואפרישו
פ׳ב׳פ מן פ׳ב׳פ אנתיתה וירחקון דין מן דין ולא יכלון למניחמא דין ית
דין מהר בדין ומהר בצדיע ׃׳ תם

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[1] שא. [2] וקפורי l. [3] נאהרי.

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תתמנניה יהב הורנה יה יה הו הה נה יה יהב אקניעף צור זך שקתתה
וב היה יהב • בהם השבעתיך שאתה יודע ומכיר שבח ונודל שמות
אילו שלא יוכל פה לשבח ולא יוכלו אזנים להקשיב שבח נדול של
אחד מהם עליהן נצטויתה והוהרתה מפי עליון שאם תשמע שבועה
בששת האילו עשה כבוד לשמך ומהר ורד ועשה רצון משמיעך ואם
תעכב הרי דוחפך בריניון אש רודפת ומעמיד אני אתר תתת רשותך
עשה לשמו ומהר ורד אלי אני פל בן פל • לא בועף ולא בביהול
ולא בברוני(!) אש ולא באבנים של ברד וכתלי של זעף ואוצרות של
שלג • ולא בכניפות סערה ולא בנבולות של סופה ההולכים עמך
ובקשתי תעשה ושאלתי וקיים רצוני כי בידך כל " מרשות אנדיורו רד
הו היה אלהי ואלהיך אדון הכל ואדוניך ובשמותיו השבעתיך שתזקק
לי ותמהר ותרד ותעשה רצוני ולא תעכב • שוב אני קוראך בשם נדול
מכל שמותיך ונחמד וחביב בשם רבך לפי שאות אתת מחוסר משמו
ובו יצר ויסד הכל וחתם בו כל מעשה ידיו • וכך פירושו עיורן[1] תוקפן
והידורן אשש מקצתת מנ מסצייו מניקייו פיפג הוני הסס פצם יה
סאמינגסיא קתו הוהם ופירושו בלשון מהרה ביוד הי כאיצד נקרא
יהוה יו הוה הו הו יהוה יה היה יהוה יהוה יהוה חי והיי היו היה יה
ההו יו חי הוה יה יהוה יוה • משביע אני עליך בימין קדש ובשמו
ונחמד שהכל [f. 66a] לכבודו נבראו שהכל מפירוש בזרוע נבורה
ומאימתו יפחדו וירעשו כל בני פמליא הפנימית אששמע קתמפתנ אוסיינג
בי עמסיץ תמתנייץ אתתזמן ייקין ייפגהו פהוויי צצם היי אמצם אנסי
הויי • ופירושו בלשון יהוה הה יהיה ווהי הה יה יה יהוה הו יה יה
הי היה ויה הוה יהוה הוי הי יהו היו יהיה יה יה ההוה יה ההיה
ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד " והכל יאדירו ויפארו לשמך כי
בך(!) חיבתך השבעתי ונזרתי וקיימתי עליך שלא תעבור ותעכב את דבריי
ולא תשנה מכל נזירתי וקיימתי והשבעתי ונזרתי וקיימתי עליך בשלום •
בשם יהו הי אי הי יהו הב יה וא אה באה האה יוה הי הו או יה הו יה
יהה • בר׳ שכ׳מ׳ל׳ו׳ " עלה לשלום ולא אפחד בשעה פמירתך מני •
בשם אה יהוה יהוה יה היה אדון עליון וקדוש • השם בשם יהוה
י״י צבאות אלהי מערכות ישר׳ בשם חיות הקודש ובשם נלנלי המרכבה
ובשם נתר דינור יה זיי זיין וכל שמשני • ובשם יה זי״ן • י״י י״י ז׳
צבאות ז׳ אל ז׳ • שדי ז׳ אהיה אשר אהיה • אהי אשר אהי אי אהי
אי אשר יהו אי אה יהי אשר הי יהיא אשר יה יאי יהי איה יה יה אדיר
חסין שמו יה הוא הב היה הנגלה בהר סיני בתוך מלכותו • בהלין שמהתא
דחילי ועזיזי דחשכי שמשא ודחון סיהרא והפכון ימא ופקעין כיפא ודעכון
נורא משבענא רוחין וריוון ושידין וסמנין תרחקון ויזלון(!) מן פל׳ בר פל׳ "

[1] ציורן? l.

הוה • מפורש סניגרון כינוי תצנ"ג נהוסם יוהי • מפורש משי • כינוי
צקנתה יה והיה • מפורש מוקן • כינוי כתמנת פגני היה •
מפורש אסמם • כינוי אטממני הוה הוה • מפורש סקסם • כינוי
קדורדו סס יד הוה • מפורש • יהו אואל • כיטי פדר הודים סיהו •
מפור' יופיאל • כיטי קמהו וון היה וי יה והיה • מפורש ססנניאל
יה • כינוי סקמנהה יה יה יה • מפור' קנניאל יה • כינוי צצמכת •
שיהו יה ויהוה • מפור' זבדיאל • כינוי אנצצנית יוה יהוה • הריני
משביע בארבעה עשרה שכל רזים וסתרים ואותות התומות בהן
ונעשים(!) • ויסודי שמים וארץ בהם • וארבעה מהן חקוקין על ראש
החיות ואילו הן הוגנ סתי והו צץ גנו סיה אדון הגבורות והו בד הוג
קסיסה • בעל נפלאות • תצמצ שש נהי הה • בעל פרישות • קתנת
צניה ובו נדריה • בעל העול • וארבעה מהן חקוקין • על ארבע
רוחות כסא • ואילו הן נהי פדד נהו זיו הוה קדוש קדושת קדוש •
פפנ נג עקמה יה אדיר אדירי אדירון ספבר מיל אוזיה אל אלהי
האלהים את כן עתקר [f. 65a] פנניה מלך מלכי המלכים • וד' חקוקין
על ד' כתרי האופנים העומדים נגד החיות כאמור בלכתם ילכו ובעמדם
יעמדו ' ואילו הן • בליס נייה וויי[ייהן] שליט על כל • אסגנו צב סס
רוי יה אדיר על כל • וגנהו סס הי צץ הוה מושל בכל דרהי
בירנגהו(!) שהכל בידו • ושנים מהן חקוקין על כתרו של מלך עליון רם
ונישא ואילו הן זתת צץ פפ צצ קדדר חי תסיה שלפניו תכרע כל
ברך וכל פה יודה לפניו אוקה וה גרוו שוי שיה • מבלעדיו אין
אלהים ומושיע • בהם אני משביעך ונוזר ומקיים אני עליך שתמהר
ותרד אצלי אני פל' בן פל' • אתה ולא שלוחך ובירידתך לא תשרף
דעתי ותגלה לי כל מחקרי רזי מעלה ומטה וסתרי צפוני מעלה ומטה
ורזי בינה וערמת תושיה כאדם שהוא מספר לחבירו כי בשמות הגדולים
ואדירים ונפלאים ובחונים וסדורין השבעתיך שבהן נכון כסא הכבוד
ומושב עליון כלי חמדה שנעשה בהפלא ופלא מאד עד שלא נוצרתה
ולא נצרף כל צבא מרום עד שלא עשה [שמים] ארץ ותוצות • ודרי
ארץ ובריות שבה • שוב אני קוראך בה' שמות ברורים שבשמותיך שאין
לך למעלה מהן חוץ מאחד • וזה פירושו סנגנק צניה רתיה אל יה עת
צניסס חו הו היה אל יה בהורדגהו עשמש שהיה אלוה פמנוק צהו
ססעון יה ואהה אל יה אזהנך פמפמדי הוה יהיה יה אל יה • משביע
אני עליך בה' שמות כנגד ה' שמותיך שאותות שלהן כתובות באש
בולעות[1] באש ועוספות למעלה מכסא כבוד ואחת עולה ואחת יורדת
כדי שלא יציצו בהן שרי הפנים • וכך פירושן וניקובן והידורן אתלסת
גניסס הוה יה יה קריסום קריר הוה יה יה יהב אהי סנגהה יה

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[1] בולעות l.

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חדש וכסה אותו בו מעם שמן זית ומעט נפט ולבוש בגדים נקיים
ותישן בבית פהור ומיד בא מלאך ומעמיד לך ומגלה לך כל
מה שאתה מבקש.

III. שאל ר׳ עקיב׳ את ר׳ אליעזר הגדול במה משביעין את שר
הפנים לירד לארץ לגלות לאדם רזי מעלה ומטה ומחקרי יסודי מעלה
ומחקרי יסודי מטה ותעלומות חכמה וערמה תושיה · אמ׳ לי בני מעם
אחת הורדתי ובקש לשחת העולם כולו כי שר אדיר הוא מכל פמליא
של מעלה ותמיד עומד ומשרת לפני מלכו של עולם בנקיות פרישות
מהרה ואימה ויראה בכבוד קוניו(!) לפי ששכינה עמו בכל מקום · א״ל
ר׳ הריני מזקיק בו על אחת שבועה בהודי שהורתני · בשעה שאני
מזקיק עצמי להשתמש בו יושב אני בתענית יום אחד שהוא מורידו
וקודם לאותו היום יקדש את עצמו ז׳ ימים מן קרי ויהא צובע[1] באמת
המים ולא יהא מסיח סיחה ולתכלית ימי מהרתו ביום תענית ירד
וישב במים עד צוארו ויאמר קודם שישבע משביע אני עליכם שרי אימה
ויראה ורעד · שאתם ממונים לפנוע במי שאינו נקרה ומהור ונוגע
להשתמש במשרתי עליון בשם הנכבד והנורא הזה שנקרא קְתַת יְהֹ
הֹיֹה סַנְגֹ קְקְ [f. 64a] הֹוֹתַת הֹוֹ יְהֹ סַנְיֹקְקְ הֹוֹתַת הֹוֹ יְהֹ פַּפְנֹנֹה יְהֹ וֹהֹ
יְהֹ אַנְקְסְ יְהֹוֹה אדיר על הכל ומושל בכל והכל בידו שלא תזיקני ולא
תרעישני ולא תפחידוני באמת · גבורות גולה הרוץ " ואחד יפתח
וישבע כי נתחזק כי חתם עצמו בשם של מ״ב אותיות שמי שישמעו
יתבהלו ויפחדו וירעשו כל צבא מרום ויחזור וישביע אותם אֹדֹד גֹהֹוֹ
דֹהֹ וֹוֹ פְּצַץ יְהֹ שר שהוא פוגע ולוהם בכל מלאכי חבלה בשם הזה
בלשון הזה לך אני קורא אוהיא שר הפנים נער ומשרת לפני מלכו
של עולם שהוא שר ורב על צבא מרום משביע אני עליך ונזור אני
עליך שתוסיף לי להיזקק [רצוני] לרצוני ותקבל שבועת נזידתי ושאילתי
עשה ובקשתי תמלא ולא תבהליני ולא תרעידני ולא תחלחלני ולא
תזיע קומתי ולא ימעד קרסולי ולא תעזות דיבור שפתי ואתחזק ואתאמץ
והשבועה יתנבר והשם יסדר בגרוני ולא תאחזיני עות ולא תנידני רגל
משרתיך לבהלני וליראני לרפות ידי ולא אשמוף באש ולהבה בסופה
וסערה המהלכת עמך נפלא ונשגב שכך פירושו יוֹ הֹי גֹנֹ הֹוֹ הֹיֹה
עֹתְרֹנֹ הֹוֹוֹ יְהֹ מְמֹסְ יֹגֹנֹ הֹי הֹי שְׁמְסְ הֹי הֹוֹ הֹיֹה מקצה תרעש
הארץ ולא יכיל הכל ועמו ברוך מדבורך[2] " שוב אני קורא לך בי״ד
שמותיך שאתה נגלה להם לנביאים ותווים להמתיק דברי גביאות
[f. 64b] בפיהם ולהנעים אמרי נועם · וכך פירושם וכינויים רוח
פיסקוניות · וכינוי קְסְמְ נֹגֹי הֹוֹ הֹיֹה · מפורש אפשמן · כינוי צְצְמְסְ
גֹיֹהֹ הֹי הֹוֹה · מפורש פיסקון(!) מפורש הוגרון כינוי מְצְהוֹסְ הֹיוֹ גֹה

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[1] צובע כמ׳ ויכבם ומת׳ ויצבע. [2] ומבורך l.

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II. אמת הוא זה תרבו של משה שהיה עושה בו ניסים וגבורות
ויכלה כל[1] כשפים והיא נגלית למשה בסנה ונמסר לו השם הגדול
והמפואר ושמות[2] אותו באמת והוא שומר אותך · לאיתתא לא תגש
ולא תיכה והוא מצילך מכל צרה בעולם הזה · [3]ואם רצית לבדוק קח
עץ עבות ואמור התרב עליז ה' פעמי במעלה השמש ויבש · [4]ואם
תרצה לאותו דגים קח חול מן הים ועיקר תמרה ביד שמאל ואמור
התרב עליהן והן באין במקום שתשליך החול · [5]ואם רציתה להלך בים
קח עץ מפרזלא וקוב אותו ותרוז בו חום שני · וקשור אותו בעקבך
וכת' ואמ' התרב עליו ולך והכנם וצא בשלום · [6]ואם רצית להריץ
יפה כת' התרב בכרמים אי ארא מיקון · ותן יין בתרש החדש
וישתו וירחצו פניהם ונוצחין · [7]אם רצית לשבור אותו כת' תרב על
פס קפרינן וסמון בקמסון ומשתברין [6]להבאל(?) כת' מרם ידך על שערך
שמך[3] וכת' במגילת צבי בדם אצבעך בשמך ואמור התרב והיא באה ·
[7]ואם רצית לברך בקהל קח זרע כרישין ביד שמאל [f. 63a] ואמור
התרב ונזוק[4] בתוכם ורד עד שיבא השמש · ויטול אותך כרצונך וצום
ימים נ' · ועשן לבנה ופרח לבן ואמור התרב בבקר ובערב מיד יבא
וידבר עמך ויעשה כרצונך [8]ואם לשאילת חלום קח שמן אפיבלסמון
וכת' על קרמים[5] · אירישיקון והזכר התרב לפני הגר והכה את הגר
בשבט של זית וירבץ . [9]ואם רצונך לבא אצל אדם גדול קח שמן
וזרד ואמור תרב על השמשתן[6] על פניך וידיך וישמע לך · [10]ואם
רצית ליתן ריב בקהל קח תרדל מלא כפך השמאלית · ואמור התרב
ודזק וידרגו זה לזה · [11]ואם רציתה להפריש איש מאשה קח בשר
של חמר בניוך[7] ואמור התרב על שנייהן וראה[8] לא תקרוב ביניך ·
[12]ואם להפיל שנאך קח מס של עפרת וקח משערו ומבגדו וכת' התרב
ותן בבית התריבה וירביץ · [13]ואם רצית להלך בשוק ולא יכירך
אדם · קח ארמימסין ובשמים ופיה ועשן עצמך וקח לב שועל ואמור
התרב וצא · [14]ואם היית בים וקם סער עליך עמוד נבח הגלים ואמור
תרב והם נומשים · וכת' במם או בתרם או בעץ ותלי יתיה לפני
הספינה ולא תטבע · [15]ואם רצית לשבר שנאך כת' התרב על הרם
שלא נכנם לאור ושוח התרם והשלך בביתו · [16]ואם רצית לעשות
כל דבר כך בימינך ארישימום(!) ואמור תרב נוכח השמש ויעשה כל דבר
וישהר עצמך ימים [f. 63b] שבעה ותצלח בכל דבר ולתבירים עשה
מצות ושמר עצמך מכל שבועה והצנע לנמשך ובבן תצלח בכל אשר
תעשה " חזק " שעקע קמסרן " אותרן · אירפת נופיד נקשים נ' ·
סגבוני כתם כי בתי תימן אביץ · בת' על בף ידך שמאל והבא נר

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[1] לכל. [2] ושמרת l. [3] שמה l. [4] חדזק l. [5] קרשים l.
[6] השמן ותן l. [7] בידך. [8] וראה l.

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ארמית אימתת תתריחל לחינה ברינה אמיאל נ"ד · אסמאים מנאל
אסאך באלכי באתמי אני איב באסא סתתה אברבא אניאם באביך
תרניהון יהגה סרידיאם יוא אית סאסילו תקנה סאר אם סוף ברסיאה
אבנבא קאתה פנפאית תקנה מאם מיתן ניתתת לאב אח אהריאאל
סרות מאבי אפיריב אביה אדללה יחילה ארסתון מאנות מאר מארות
אתיאו אלים אין אסטר מתרין חמושיה טועת ברבת בית יהיא מן
שלמה אמ' איש יעיר באכלי אניק אחד ריגאל נתה אים באן אבות
בליתואל לחומי אסבאית תחק אן תחיסיאף פתתא אבא בא באל ריסאל
אסריא מאפסי אפי בה אסמרני נחסא באריה אנגאין כלמיאת לאבות
אנתחר אפמיאל לאמתר דאתא נכא אסבנתר אסמתר דאף נינחל אבאר
אוריה אליאל אנמיניר דארני דאסתחל מיה אמחל מלכות תיאריה
אסברית תגדנות אסביחל נמיר אננתון נאתתור יאך אכתאך נב[1] ·
שלום כסא טוב איונא ביה איכחל אפרא מאפסר ואנראן חל ליאת
תרסבאין נקרסאל אסיפתאות בתתאות נרתא ואיפים אנינין איסתוב
נרדאי סיחאל אסבריך אי אהל אמתה יאות מחנדיאל אבריר תרינן
[f. 62a] יאם תתרא יאפון אירבא מלות תתרך ברוחל אזהאל להנכני
אחות ומלאכא על בעירא די שמה איתתא לאינמא ומהא דשליט על
חיותא דמדברא מתניאל · ומה דשליט על עופא ברא ומה דשליט על
ריחשא תרניאוב · ומה דשליט על תהומא סדרקא ומה דשליט על
מורים ראמפאל · ומה דשלים על אילנא מאכתיאל " ומה דשליט על
בסמנסיא[2] אריאם מה דשליט על ברוניא על גינת עבד ספיאל " ומה
דשליט על נהריא תרסיאל " מה דשליט על רוחתא מבריאל ועל אנשא
קרה רבא הרה הבמת תלגיא יקרא רבה משה שעה יצלי ויבעי רחמי
על אנש בין מב לבין ביש ואמ' לה כל שעה יהיב לאנש למצלתיה
אלא שעין ג' שעתא קמיתא דיומא צלי וארכר מאה שמהתא קדישא
ותקיפא וסכומיהן תלת מאה וארבעה אמן שלום · [3]קן קן קנין
בא איכסנדרוס תמא פמא דרימקל אבא גימא אפסמאקיון ונורסון
אמרסיו וגברי איולי כסובייא מא מנלא איש איסורא אינממא · מו
תו מא פרקא אירי מנא קין קן] תנו לי רפואה · איזו היא אור נדולה
כל אשר אסרה בו טלני פחות ומבין אבילי מעקרת רזא ספר אילו
שאמ' מקדימין אבלו מעקרת אבלו מותך האריות והרוח · השבעתי
עליכם אם זכר ואם נקבה התאומות השבעתי אתכם הרוחות הקשות
בשם י"י [f. 62b] גבור החיל חי חי [מיכאל] בשם י"י [גבריאל]
איאל רפאל עליו[4] מן האריות מן האברות ומן התאומות השבעתי
אתכם הרוחות הקשות בשם י"י נבור החיל יה יהוה יהוה פל' בר
פל' קינין "

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[1] נה? [2] בסמניא l. [3] so in Ms. [4] הצילוני l.

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כמה דאתמסרו למשה בן עמרם שלם מאלהא עליה..ובעובדיה לא יעביד
ל ויקרב לאשתמשא ביה מלאכי רונזא וחמתא ותרונה ועברה אינן
שלטין ביה ומשנקין ית נופיה והכל הכל בגופיה מקרן ליה·· ואילן
שמהת סריא די ברישהון שם סרא דממנא על מלאכי רונזא··
מזפופיאסאיאל שמו ושם סרא דממנא על מלאכי חמתא הוא צקצורומתיאל
שמו " ושם סרא דממנא על מלאכי תרונא קסועפפנהיאל שמו ושם
סרא דימנא על עברה נעמוסניקתיאל שמו " ולמלאכייא דתתות רשותהון
לית להון מניינא וכולהון שלטין ביה ונופיה נוולי ישתוון·· יי) ישמרך
מכל רע אמן··

שלים חרבא בעזרת אל נערץ בסוד קדושים רבה·· תם
תם

APPENDIX A.

[f. 61a][1] בשם יי חרבא דמשה

I. דקמאא · יקראך · את מלכיאל חזה אז את אנון בדיך [פתיחו]
תתיכות מחין מאהילו אהל ראבות · דאסתון · פאה לב אמור · פאתו
איר · אמפראל סרופא גרא נום כלבי ברבות · נחיל להון · אסכות
תינרא דנאהל מישהל · ואיש אלתבי · מבאי סבר נאות · תנרא
באהל · בזאל כלמיא · אסימוך · פמבורי · הותתי וזך · אורי כורחזלי
הפרנם בפאי באמיר איסטרין ממסאי דאנה אאל כסות פתואל · לברזת
כותרך · ולבדיאל באברות · באות ברי בית אספות תנריאל · הריאל
מאיהל · ג"נ דר מכות זרניאל אחון לניתוך בסריד וגוריאה · זמדנא ·
אביא נאמי הזי דיי אורין יצחבי מאי פחסיה מלכיה · קיקאנא
[איטרמילין] באתיך כנאן דידה סיתור אינון ואנכלה ואיכא נאל הא
זבחאי אדר אתון אבדיה טוב לאיסנוני את יניריהון אסבי טוב כינתו
ואידור אינא להילאך אסיאך אוללך אמיאך איללך נתת בי · את אם ·
אסיאך ארת ארד תנדא סרא מורפתות הנא חלון כסא [2]אסירת
תיחמי זהר לאמות גלל מאות יא לא קא גת תאות איסאדקופא יאון
דאנה באהל תאיהל אספא בר רבת אבתת וגנאת · תאית נאות
אמוה · [2]פאפדא אות מרבי ארי ארינא כל לל איפוא אמרי מכסא
אסבך מאם אל סטרפאל תרניאל לגיניאל קמפאל יאבחות סנרחי
נחנו [f. 61b] מהראיך אומה דאיבותיו ביה' אסבו כאנו אין נפת או
בי פחדי נהל מאמטו בי אסבית אממתה לאני לא ליאל אחברא

[1] Cod. Oxford. 1531, 6. [2] So in Ms.

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קדשנאיאל ועד פיזקהיאיאל ומתפתחא לך עינא דמיא ׃ [f. 11b] [122]
אם כנפת זקוף עינך לשמיא ופרוש ידך לשמים ואמ׳ מן פזקהיאיאל
ועד קרפנהיאל וסר קאים קדמך ויהיב לך לחם ובשר ׃ [122] ואם בעית
למקריא סריאה דאנשא[1] לותך אמ׳ על סודרך מן קרפניאל ועד
הבקשפהיאל ואחית אסרך והוא אתי לותך ומא דבעית אימ׳ לך ׃ [123]
ואם בעית למפמר יתיה אמ׳ לקבליה מא דאמרת באיפוך והוא אזיל ׃ [124]
ואם בעית כל שר דבשמיא יליף יתך מה דבידיה קרי את אהיופספקתיה
ואשבע יתיה בנ׳ שעין בילילא בשם מארי קדישיא ועד תכלית תרבא
שדר לי ויגלה לי ולפינני כל מה דבידיה וינום(!) ׃ [125] אם בעית דתיזיל
במיא ורגלך לא תמבע סב מסא דאיברא וכתוב עליה הבקשפהיאל
סעספתשהיאל ואחית בהמיינך ואמ׳ כך אזלת ׃ [126] אם בעית דתתוי חכים
אדכר ג׳ ירחין בתר הדדי ראשיהון ריש ירח ניסן בחונן הרעת מן
שעספתשהיאל ועד ענפתנסהיאל יתפתחון לי שערי חכמה ואהבי בהון ׃
[127] ואם בעית כל דתשמע תילף אלתר כתוב על ביצה בת יומא מן
ענפתנסהיאל[2] קנינסהואל למחוק בחמרא חייא מן צפרא ואשתי ומדעם
לא תטעום עד ג׳ שעין ׃ [128] אם בעית דתשכח מן חברך כל דיליף
כתוב על שמיה על אסרפא דרופנים מין קנינסהואל ועד אובריהואל
וקבור באספופתיה ׃ [129] אם בעית לשדורי שידא בישא על סנאך סב
קמצא[3] ירקא ואמ׳ עליה [f. 12a] מן אובריהואל ועד קסגנהנהואל
וקבור ביה נרדא[4] ואפראיה[5] ׃ [130] לשדודי[6] מחא סב נרמא מן מיתא
ועפרא מן תחותיה בככא וצור בבליתא דקרבאסא[7] בדוקא[8] ואמ׳ עלה
מן קסגנהנהואל ועד מרנהמהואל על שמיה וקבר בבית קברי ׃
[131] יתאסרון ויתמסרון נגבין ולמטין בש׳ מרנהמהואל ועד אמטמספהואל
וכד אמרת אחית אצבעתך וזירתא באזנך כד אמרת ׃ [132] וכד בעית
דתשרי להון אמ׳ מן יאויהו ושקול ידך מן אזנך ׃ [133] למסתם[10] ביתך
מן גנבאי אמ׳ על כווא דמיא מן אסמהסהואל ועד מפנסרהואל ואזלח[9]
סתור לאינרך ואף למחתם מתא ׃ [134] למחתם ביתא מן ניאסא סב
עפרא מן קניא דשושמאני[11] ואהדר סתור לאינרך ואמ׳ כד מהדרת
מפנסרהואל ועד כל מארי קדישייא ׃ [135] למחתם נפשך מן מזיקא אמ׳ בש׳
תובר תסבר ועד היזרסניא אנא פ׳ב׳פ אעבר בשלם ולא בהנזיק וכן
לשמותי יתהון כד משכחת להון ׃ [136] ולשאר מילי דלא מפרשן בש׳ מארי כל
קדישייא ועד תכלית תרבא ׃ ועל כל קמיעא דכתבת מן חרבא כתוב
ברישא כש[12] מארי כל קדישייא " דעבדא בחרבא דאיתעביד ויקרב
לאשמשא ביה ובכל אילין עובדיא ויתמסרון ליה לאשתמשא בהון

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[1] שדארך. [2] add.: עד [3] גראזא. [4] קשעה. [5] וסירה.
[6] לשדורי l. [7] תאיך. [8] ריק ; ברוקא l. [9] רש.
[10] למחתם l. [11] גמל. [12] בש׳ l.

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סב ח' כחין מן ח' ביתין ומלי יתהון מיא מן ח' נהרין ורמי יבהון מלתא
מן ח' ביתין ואמ' עליהון מן אנ ועד אסהאל ח' זימנין ואולח על כל
קרבא תרין כחי ותבר אינון ב' כחין על ח' שבילין·· [103]לקצירא דחליש
ולא ידעת ממאי חליש סליק שיברא במיא ואמר על הינון מיא מן
אסהאל ועד לוקי וישתי כד צהי·· [104]למעבד קרבא סב עפר מתחות
רגלך דשמאל ואמ' עליה מן לוקי ועד קבקציאל[1] וזרוק לאפיהון והון
פרישין ואחדין מאני קרבא ועבדין קרבא·· [105]אם בעית דתהי אימתך
על כל בני אדם כתוב על מצא דאיברא מן קבצקיאל ועד נתהותיאל
וקבר בבי כנישתא לרוח מערבא·· [106]אם בעית דאתגבר לך בהודא
בשעת חשוכא כתוב על קרמאסא מן נתהותיאל ועד זרוקזניאל
ונקום עלך אימת דבעית·· [107]אם בעית למיצד עיני[2] כתוב על מגלתא
ואחית במאני דהוצי תחות כוכבי מן זרוקזניאל ועד בתקנשיאל ולא
תשתעי כד בתבת[3]·· [108]אם בעית דתשדר חרבא והיא תעביד לך
קרבא אמ' על סכינא חדתא דכולא פרזלא מן בתקשניאל ועד תשהואיאל
ושדי לאפיהון·· [109]אם בעית דיקטלון אנון הדדי אמ' על סכינא דכולא
פרזלא מן תשהואיאל ועד כללים[4] תניאל וקבר יתיה עם עקבא בארעא
ואחית [f. 11a] עקבך על' בארעא ואינון קטלין הדאדי עד דנסבת יתה
תרין ארעא·· [110]ואם בעית דניחין סב מין עפרא מין תחות רגלך דימין
ואיפוך מה דאמות[5] ושדי לאפיהון ואינון ניחין·· [111]ואם תפש יתך
אויב ובעי דליקטלך כוף אצבעתך דיוך זעירתא דשמאלך ואמ'
כללים תניאל ועד כתריהיאל והוא רחים מין קדמך כגבר דרחים מן קדם
קטליה·· [112]למיחד עינין אמ' על משך אריה מן כתריהי ועד הדנסומאיאל
ונקם עלך ולית דאחזי לך·· [113]אם נפלת יפרא ובעית[6] למיסק מיניה
אמ' מין הדנסומאיאל ועד סמקתיאיאל ואת סליק בשלם·· [114]אם נפלת
בבור עמוק כד לא ידעת אמור במפלך מין סמקתואיאל ועד המנגאיאל
ולא יחמי בך מרעם·· [115]אם מבעת בנהר עמוק אמר מן סמקתיאיאל
ועד המנגיאיאל ועד משקופיאיאל וסליקת לשלם·· [116]ואם נפל עלך
חיסיא או מפלה ואת תתותיה אמ' מין משקוניניאל ככלהנאיאל ועד
קניאיסאיאל ואת סליט בשלם·· [117]ואם תפסין יתך מלכותא כוף אצבעתא
ועידתא דשמאלך ואמ' מן קניאיסאיאל ועד ככלהנאיאל איאל קדם
מלכא או קדם דיינא והוא קטיל ית גברי דתפסו לך·· [118]אם נפל
עלך גיסא אהדר אפך למערב ואמ' מן בכלהואיאל ועד קדשינאיאל
קדם מלכא או קדם דיינא ואינון הוויין כאבנין דלא גדין·· [119]ואם בעית
למשריה לההון אהדר אפך למנדנחא(!) ואיפוך מה דאמרת·· [120]ואם אזיל
את בבקעין או בטורין ומיא לית למשתי זקוף עינך לשמיא ואמור מין

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[1] קבצקיאל. [2] תאכד באלעין. [3] כתבת l. כתבת [4] כללים
[5] דאמרת l. [6] צ"ע.

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דשמאל מן נהיה ועד היטנאי ושדי לאפיהון׳. [81]אם בעית למפתח
דשא סב עקר קניא דזרדא ואחית תחות לישנך ואמר לקביל דשא
מן היטנאי ועד בירקם׳. [82]אם בעית למיקטל תורא או בעירא אמור
על אזנו ברקם ועד תמימם׳. [83]אם בעית דתישחון בליבא אימ׳ על
אומצא מן תמימם ועד בדרקם ושדי ליה ויכול׳. [84]אם בעית לאשמואי
אינשא אימ׳ על ביצה מין ברדקם ועד אהיתי וסב ליה בידיה׳. [85]אי
בעית לאתרובי ביתא דחברך אמ׳ על חספא חדתא מן אהיתי ועד
שאילם ושדי בביתיה׳. [86]אם בעית לאנלאה חברך אמר על משח דידי
מן שאילם ועד אספרל ושטד בסיפא כאביה׳. [87]אם בעית לאסנואי
חברך אמר על דם נרע מן אספרל ועד עזמרם ושדי על אספופתיה׳.
[88]אם בעית תפיל אשה אמ׳ על כוזא דמיא מן עזמרם ועד [f. 10b]
יציאום ושדי על אספופתיה׳. [89]אם בעית לאמרועי אנשא אמ׳ על
משח זיתא מין יציאום ועד נאספנג וישוף׳. [90]אם דתדע בקצירא או
מאיית או חאי אמ׳ לקבליה מן נאספנג ועד להרמן אם מהדר אפי
לותך חאי ואם לנודא[3] מאיית׳. [91]אם בעית דתנקוט אריה באודניה
אמ׳ מין להרמן ועד הודיאה וקמר בכרכשתא[4] דהמיאנך ז׳ קיטרין ואמר
על כל קמרא וקמרא ונקום יתיה׳. [92]אם בעית דייזיל שבחך בעלמא
כתב קמיעא מן דודיאה ועד אצמי נונניא וקבור יתיה בבאך[5]׳. [93]אם
בעית דתקפוץ ארעא קדמך אמ׳ על קניא דזרדתא יחידאה מן אפמיטו
נניא ועד יולויהו׳. [94]אם בעית לתתתוניות דיתמי ותוב לא ימרע סב
קשיתא...דהאנא שיראה וקלי בנורא ואמ׳ עליה מן יולויהו ועד אפיון
ונבול במשח זית ויסב עליה קמיעא דמב׳. [95]לכל רוחא כתוב על
מנצב מין אפיון ועד כריאך ויתלי׳. [96]לארסא דק כמונא דפלגני כתב
על בעא ודמי בחמרא ואמר עליה מן בריאך ועד היפרו וישתי׳.
[97]לגלאלא כד אתיא מן שמיא סב תומרתא דפרולא וזאברא[6] ותלי
במדעם דא..ך על דוכתא דבעית ואימא עליה מין היפרו ועד גרומי׳.
[98]אם בעית למיעל קדם מלכא או רברבני אמ׳ על משך ארי כד צביע
במוכא אוכמא וחמר נקי מן גרומי ועד שהרומי ונקום עלך׳. [99]לירקאנא
דנפיל בארעא סב גידא ומשוש במיא דליפתא בלילי דארבעה נגהי
חמשה ולמחר אזלת אינין מיא על ההיא ארעא ואמ׳ מן שהרימי ועד
קהתמי׳. [100]לנשקא[7] דנפיל בפירי סב תולעתא מן מינא ורמי בגופתא[8]
ואמ׳ עלה מן קהתמי ועד סתנמי וסכר פומא דכופרא[9] וקבור בההיא
ארעא׳. [101]למישרא נברא מן בית זינא אמ׳ על כוספא דקופי[10] ועל
תמה דתוחלי[11] מן סתנמי ועד איי ויכול׳. [102]לארעא דלא מפקא פיד[12]

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[1] תארן. [2] צנן. [3] חאים. [4] ואעקר נמרף. [5] בביתך? l.
[6] רצאץ. [7] דוד. [8] מכחלה. [9] דנופתא l. [10] כוסב אל בנה אל
אפור. [11] תמר אלדוכאל. [12] פירי l.

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על תרעא(!) שמך ושמה וכתוב על תרעך שמה ושמך ואימ׳ לקבל תרעה
מן אליהום ועד נסכיא׳׃ [65]ואי בעית תדע מצלחת בדרכך אם לא סב
חסא גילאה דפשיטין אמרפוהי וקום לקבל שמש ואמר מן נסכיא ועד
אסדום וחזי אם כמישין אמרפוהי ומכפפן לא תיזיל ואם כבריתיה
תיזיל ומצלחת׳׃ [66]אם בעית לפגאה גברא מן בית זינא אמ׳ לקבליה
זימנא וקדם שמשא זמנא וקדם זינא זימנא מן אסדום ועד יקותני׳׃
[67]לכינפא[1] סב עפרא מן ביתך ואמור עליה ז׳ זימנין בשבילי מאתא מן
יקותני ועד אקתרם ואף סב מן שבילי מאתא ואמ׳ עליהון כן וזרוק
בתוך ביתך[2]׳׃ [68]אם בעית למקטל אינש סב מינא מן תרי כיפי[3]
נהרא ועביד צלמא וכתוב עליה שמה וסב ז׳ סלוין מן דיקלא צויא
ועביד קשתא דחסקניאתא במיני דסוסיא ואחית צלמתא בנו צרתא[4]
ומתח צלוי[5] בקשתא ושדי בה ואמור על כל סלוא מן אקתדם ועד פרסוסי
יתחבל פ׳ב׳פ׳ וי׳ת׳ד׳(!) מ׳נ׳ך׳׃ [69]לשדודי[6] נגעא סב[7] ד׳ז׳ אינשי ורמי
בחספא חדתא ופוק [f. 10a] לבר מימתא ואמר עלוהי מן פרסוסי
ועד אבנסנס וקבור באתר דלא דריך סוסיא ובתר כן סב עפרא מן
עלה דההיא מספא[8] ובזוק באפיה או על אסקופתא דביתיה׳׃ [70]לשדורי
חלמא על חברך כתוב על טסא דכספא מן אבנסנס ועד קיריואס
ואחית בפום תרנגלא ושחוט יתיה כד מתת בפיו ואהדר פיו ואחית ביני
ירכתיה וקבר בעקבא דשורא ואחית עקבך על דוכתיה ואמר כן בשם
ייזיל שליחא קלילא ויצער ית פ׳ב׳פ בחלמיה עד דיעביד ריעותי׳׃ [71]אם
אתי נחש בתרך אמור לקביליה מן קיריואס ועד אילוהש ויבישׁ׳׃ [72]ואם
למיכלא אילפא בימא אמ׳ על חספא או על גלאלא מן אילוהש ועד
אסנורכי ושדי לקביליה בימא׳׃ [73]ואם בעית למשריה אמ׳ על עפרא או
על קלא מן אסנורפי ועד נפסנגס ושדי במים וכד פשר פשרא למיזל׳׃
[74]אם בעית למיצר תגיר או כיור או קידרא דלא נטמיין אמ׳ על עפרא מן
נפסנגס ועד ספשסיא לקבילהון ושדי באפיהון׳׃ [75]אם בעית למעשריהן
רוק רוקך קדמיהון ואמר מן ספשסיא ועד סנמס ובשלין׳׃ [76]אם בעית
למעבד[8] בימא כביבשתא אמ׳ על ד׳ קרנואי דסודרא בכר כסא חד קרנוהי
נקוט בידך וחד קרנוהי ייזיל קדמך ואמ׳ מן נסמס ועד אפסומת׳׃ [77]אם
בעית דתילוף אינש אימא בצלותך במכניע זדים אסקוהחיי ינופס לפ׳ב׳פ
בשם אפסומת ועד קהוהיהום׳׃ [78]ואם בעית למללא עם מיתא אמר על
אזנו דשמאל מן קהוהיהום עד אהישוני ועד נגזריקי ורמי בחורתיהון׳׃
[79]אם בעית למיקטל אריה או דוב או אפעה או כל דיתא
דמתבלא אמ׳ על עפרא רנלך דימינא מן נגזריקי ועד נגהיה חזרוק
לאפיהון׳׃ [80]אם בעית למצאד[10] יתהון אמ׳ על עפרא דמתחות רנלך

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[1] מנעלעבון. [2] קון קצב חסר בשער ערם. [3] תאפתי. [4] מנדל. [5] עלוי l.
[6] לשדורי l. לאזנעאנ. [7] lacuna [8] חספא l. [9] למעבר l. [10] תשדהם.

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למחמי שמשא סב ביד אכן דבי ונברא[1] דדיקלא דיכרא וקום לקביל
שמשא ואמ׳ אכן דמתקריא אסרופינון וסילוי[2] דאורדינא[3] ואמ׳ מן
אסא ועד האהן נתחמי יתיה כגבר דלביש חיורין וכל דתשאל יתיה
יתיבינך ואפילו אשה יתי יתה בתרך ׃ [50]מאן דבעי דיחות[4] לאתון נורא
יכתוב על מסא דכספא מן האתון ועד באתיר ויתלי בעממיה ויחות ׃
[51]ואם חזית מלך או שליט ובעית דייתי בתרך סב סורא[5] דמיא ורמי
ביה עקר שואצרא ועקר פרפיני[6] ועקר ארמכלם ואמ׳ עליה מן
באתיר ועד אהסותי ורמי על נומרי דנורא בחספא חיורתי ורמי עליהון
אסרפין דזית וכל דתגזר עלוהי ייתי לותך ואפילו על אשה ׃ [52]ואי
בעית לאהדורי יתהון סב מי מבוע ואמ׳ עליהון מן אהסותי ועד אפותי
וחזק באנפיהון ׃ [53]לכל מדעם דבעית למשרי ליה אמ׳ על מיא מן
אפוני ועד אנתש ורמי עלוהי ואף כתב ליה בקמיעא ותלי ליה וכן
לאפראה נברא מן בית אינקיה[7] ׃ [54]למצד נונין סב חספא חיורתי ורמי
עליהון אסרפין דזיתא ואמר עליהון מן אנתשורמי ועד אתקנז על כיף
נהרא ׃ [55]לאשה [f. 9b] שתבוא אחריך סב אידם[8] מן דילך וכתב
שמיה על ביצין חדת כד סליק ואמר לקבליה מן אקתנז ועד אתומי ׃
[56]לנברא דייתי בתרך סב חספא חדתא וצבע במורא[9] אוכם[10] ואמר[11]
על שמיה מין אתומי ועד פנכיר ואיזיל ולא תצפי לאתורך ׃ [57]לאילנין
דלא מפקין פירא כתוב על חספא חדתא מן פנכיר ועד ברי וקבר
בעק(רא) דאילנא דאין בהון[12] ואשקי מיא לכל אילני וכן עביד לדיקלא דלא
מפיק פירי ׃ [58]לכלבא דנפיל בפירי כתוב על חספא חדתא מן ברי ועד
ברתיא וקבר בבית שקיא בההיא ארעא ואף אימ׳ על מיא וקיטמא
ומלחא ואשקי ית ארעא ׃ [59]למרוביא[13] כתוב על מסא דאנכא מן ברתיא
ועד אוזרוס ואף לחוש על אזנו ג׳ זמנין ורוק כד לחשת ואף אימ׳ על
כוזא דמיא ע׳ זמנין ואשקי יתיה מנהון ׃ [60]למאן דנכית ליה כלב שומה
כתוב על משרא דחמרא כד קליף מן גויה מן אוזרוס ועד אנסתרהון
ואשלח יתיה ואמר על משח שומשי וישוף כל גופיה ולבש מאני
אחריניה ותלי ליה ההוא משרא ׃ [61]לאשתא או לבני אשתא כתוב על
קרמא דמוקרא[14] דדכרא[15] או דברחא[16] מן נאסתרהון ועד מאדמוג ותלי
ליה ׃ [62]למאן דאזיל באורחא ומאעי יאמר על ד׳ קרנות אחאריה מן
סאדמוג אקותנותריץ ׃ [63]אי בעית למשאל מדעם מן חברך אמ׳ על
משח סומאן או על משח אקוסא[17] או על משח סומא[18] מן קאותנז ועד
אליהום ׃ [64]תו אי בעית דיתי אתתא בתרך סב עידם(!) על דילך וכתוב

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[1] דוכנא נאפיה ליף וכר. [2] סולי. [3] עיסנ. [4] דיחות l.
[5] כנאר. [6] כנאר. [7] צבאה. [8] (אידם l.) חמרה. [9] מור.
[10] אמור. [11] ואמור. [12] פירי add [13] למרצע. [14] קשרה.
[15] דינגנ. [16] חוס. [17] נירי. [18] מענשה.

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ביה׃· [29]לכל כיב פומא [f. 8b] אמר על קמחא כד נשין[1] מן יאום
ועד רתבין וידבק בפומיה׃· [30]לשובתא[2] ולאשתתא אמ׳ על חמרא מן
רתבן ועד סממן וישתי׃· [31]לנידא נשיא[3] כתוב על מנילתא מן סממן
ועד יכצרץ ואף לתוש על משחא דזיתא וישוף הדוא קמיעא מן ההוא
זיתא ואף שוף ליה בהדיא עמיא דכיבא אליה(!) ותלי ליה ההוא
קמיעא ביה׃· [32]לציטרתא[4] אמ׳ על כסא דחמרא דמן יכצרץ עד תפסמת
וישתי׃· [33]לתתונית[5] הב אודרא ורמי ביה מלחא וממוש במשחא ואמ׳
עליה מן תפסמת ועד ינלוניא ויסב עלוהי׃· [34]לאנש דאית ביה
עוביאתא[6] ואף מן[7] דורעין[8] ליה מיא ארע׳[9] על מיא דסליקין[10] ביה הוסתא[11]
מן ינלוניא ועד אהרוניא וישתי׃· [35]לנישמה אם בעית כת׳ על מנצב
מן אהרוניא ועד אפנגיכים ויחית על אתר נשמא לכל דדמי ליה מתסי "
ואם בעית סב משיבה דעמרא וממוש במשחא דידיה ואמור עלוהי מן
אהרינים ועד אפנגיכים ויחית על אתר נשמא׃· [36]לסתרא ולמתתא
דפרזלא ולכל מתתא דלא תזרוף אמר על נפמא חיורא מן אפנגיכים
ועד קיסא וישוף על אתר מתתיה׃· [37]לשעולא ולכיב לבא אמר על
שפר ושמן דידי[12] מין קיסא ועד אתקם וישתי׃· [38]למרתא[13] ולניפקא
אמ׳ (על) מיא דסליקין בהון ענבי מן עתקם ועד אליהו וישתי׃· [39]לכבדא
דמרימא[14] אמ׳ על שתיתא דמלפתי דמיא מן אליהו עד אתגהי ויסל
ויטס קליל׃· [40]למחלא אמ׳ אנפקא דחמרא מן אתגהי ועד מיבנאס
וישתה כן עשה לו ג׳ ימים׃· [41]לרוחא דשריא על בית ולד דאתתא אמ׳
על משח כופרא[15] מן מיבנאס ועד תוסי ותסב[16] עלה באודרא[17] דעמרא׃·
[42]לאשה דמפלא אמ׳ על כסא דחמרא או על שכר או מים מן תוסי ועד
שקבם וישתה שבעה ימים ואפילו חזת דמא אומ׳ על [f. 9a] כוס יין
וישתי ויקום ולדא׃· [43]לאינש דלא נפיק סערא אמ׳ על משח אסנוזא[18]
מן שקבם ועד סלני וישוף׃· [44]לאשבועי סרא כת׳ על מרף דפנים
אשבענא עלך סרא די שמיה אברכסס בשם פלניי ועד ינסום ותיתי
לותי ותגלי לי כל מה דאנא בעי מינך ולא תעכב ואזית אסורך
ומתגלי לך׃· [45]להסיר קצין מקצינותו אימ׳ על עפרא מן קן נמלים מן
ינסום ועד קתנק חרוק לאפוהי׃· [46]לאסאה נגעא[19] אפיקתיה לכיפא
דנהרא ואימא עליה משבענא עלך נגעא בשם קתנק ועד נתעלסס דתיזח
ותבטול ותעדי מן פ׳ב׳פ׳ א׳א׳ס׳ ויחות וימבול ז׳ זמנין בנהרא וכד סליק
כתיב ליה קמיעא מן משבענא עד סלה ותלי ליה׃· [47]לבודס[20] כתוב
על מסא סומקא דנחשא מן נתעלסס ועד מיבנאס ותלי ליה׃· [48]ואי
(בעית) דלא לילי ממר על נגך כתב מין מיבנאס ועד אסא׃· [49]ואי בעית

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[1] מנטל. [2] לשובא. [3] ערק אלנסא. [4] עצר אלטל. [5] אל כואצייר.
[6] עוביאנא. [7] מא. [8] דעריהין. [9] אמור l. [10] מסלוק. [11] שדך
אבצר. [12] שירי׳. [13] מראתא. [14] דמרייא l. [15] כאפורא.
[16] ותיסב. [17] קמנה. [18] עז. [19] אל כץ. [20] שפכרה.

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ורדא מן (ייאה) ועד אונמו והב לפומיה ׳. 9 לכבא לחוש על אודניה לניסא
דכאיב ליה מן אונמו ועד הותמיאם ׳. 10 לכל כאב עינין אמר על מיא יומין
שלשה בצפרא מן הותמיאם ועד מסולם וימש בהון עיניה ׳. 11 לברוקתא
אמור על משח שושמי מן מסולם ועד פסמי וישוף שבעה צפרין ׳.
12 לחילא אמור על כוחלא דקיק בשמיה מן פסמי דעד סיטון וימלי נ׳
צפרין ׳. 13 לדמא דנחית מן רישא לחוש ליה על רישיה מן סיטון ועד
קורי נ׳ צפרין כד משין ידך מן קדם דתיחות מן פוריך ׳. 14 לריח פלנא
אמור ז׳ זמנין על כלי מלא מים וז׳ זימנין על משח שושמין מן קורי
ועד הימי דיתיזיחון ותפקון מן פ׳ב׳פ׳ א׳א׳ס׳ " ורמי ליה ההוא דולא על
רישיה ושוף ליה מן ההוא משחא " עביד ליה נ׳ יומין וכתב ליה
בקמיעא מן משבעא ועד אמן סלה ותלי ליה .. 15 לצלתתא ולרוחא דזנמא
סמא כתוב מן הימי ועד שדי ותלי ליה ׳. 16 לרוחא דסתמא סמא כתוב
מן שדי ועד אהיה ותלי ליה ׳. 17 לכיב אודנא אמור על אודניה דשמאלא
מן שדי ועד אהיה אפכית ׳. 18 למרשא אמור על מעי דשליפותא
כד סליק במשח ידי מן אהיה ועד רוס ואחית ליה באזנו כד פשר
קליל " 19 לשיחנא ולסיפתא לשימתא ולעינבתא ולרנשא ולנידא
כ׳ דיכפית ולחזויתא ולחפזפיאתא רשיבאתה ויבישאתה ולסקבי
דייהון באנשא אמור על משח זיתא מן רוס וד׳ סשתומתיאל ושוף
ליה בידך דשמלא ׳. 20 לירקאנא אמור על מיא דסליקין בהון היסתי מן
סשתומתיאל ועד ייאזניא וישתי ׳. 21 לכאב נחירא ולרוח נחירא לחוש על
משח ידי ייאזניא ועד ייהקלתיה ורמי ליה בנחיריה ׳. 22 לכיב לבא
ולכיב מעיה אמור על מיא מן ייהקלתיה ועד ייסוסניה וישתי ׳.
23 לחכאכא אמור על מיא דסליקין בהון הרדוף מן ייסוסניה ועד
ייקרמתיה ויסחי בהון ׳. 24 לחזורתא ולטרסאנא ולאשבי אמור מן
ייקרמתיה ועד הותמז אמר עליהון זמנא ועל משח זיתא זימנא ושוף
ליה נ׳ יומין ומיא לא תקרב לותהון ׳. 25 לעבדא בישא אמר מן הותמז
ועד ניפריא על ז׳ כוזין חיורין כד מלח מיא מן נהרא ורמי ליה על
רישיה ׳. 26 לגילואה רוק ליה רוקא בפומיה ואמור על פיו או על כוס
שכר מן ניפהא ועד הליהו וישתי ויחזי מה דנפיק מן פומיה ׳. 27 לאינשא
דמחיא חויא או בלך יתשא דמזיק אימא על אתר מחתיה או על חלא
מן העיוהו ועד אמאוס וישתי וכן לכל קבלין דרחשין וצער הדין קבלא
מן העיוהו ועד אמאוס ׳. 28 לאתתא דחזייא דמא בלא זמנא אמור על
קליפתא דביעתא דנעמתא מן אמאוס ועד יאוס ותיקלי כנורא ותקיטר

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1 אל כנזור. 2 אל כרס אל ערץ. 3 מרש. 4 אמעא. 5 כנפתא.
6 שור צאר חסר. 7 רואטיק. 8 שאמאת. 9 ענב. 10 דמאמאל.
11 מרתוק. 12 חזאז. 13 נרב. 14 אל נרח. 15 ועד l.
16 שוך אכצר. 17 שירנ׳. 18 אל חכא. 19 דפלא. 20 אל הנזור.
21 ונע אלתצא. 22 מלא l. 23 ונע אלפם. 24 דנעמיתא. 25 בנורא l.

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[f. 7b] ענפתנסהיאל יהוהה לענקתיאיאל יהוהה שבהתזהיאל[1] יהוהה
יהוהה הלכאתשהיאל יהוהה שמסרהיאל יהוהה " דבסהתניאל יהוהה
שדהכהקיאל[2] יהוהה זעפוסיאל[3] יהוהה שירותהיאל יהוה זמנאתהיאל
יהוהה " פספהההשהיאל יהוהה ברנסקהיאל יהוהה המקסיהואל הויה
אשמנהואל[4] הויה " [28] קנינסהואל הויה אשתנסואל[5] הויה אספסהואל
הויה מתמתנהואל הויה " [29] אביריהואל הויה זרסהואל הויה בולפסהואל
הויה צהמקנהואל הויה " [30] אשמסנהואל הו יה קפלזנהואל הויה "
[31] מרנהמוהיאל הויה מרנעשסהואל הויה מיסהואל הויה
[32] [33] אסמהסהואל הויה זפתרסהואל הויה לביניפסהואל הויה ענהנהואל
הויה [34] מפסנדהואל הויה " מלאכין קדישין רבבין מכל חלואתיה
ד' הוהי היוהה והה יה אה יהה " דקימין [מן] מן כורסייא דמתקן להון
קדמוהי לאודהה למשעבדי חרבא למעבד להון רעותהון " * [35] " [36] בשם
מארי כל קדישייא ראשי כל מלאכייא כדאהי דעלמא קלתירא אלי אלי
מפי מקרנם תתומיה דארעא ורומא בראיהון דבני אנשא שמשוהי דהו
הוה אה וה יה וה הה אלהא עלאה דעל ידיהון אנא מתחמי בעלמא קלותמי
מקראם עצפוהיי ששנוהיי " אתון רברבתון עלי בכל אתר מארי כולא
בעינא מנכון דתעבדון לי מדעם דאנא בעינא דאתון יכליתון למעבד
כל צבורא דבשמיא ובארעא בשם יהו הי הוהי הוה אהו והי יה וה
הה ההי יוהי הי אהי הי הוה יהו הוה יהו הו ייה יהו יהו הה הההה יהו
הוהה יהי הו הוה הואה הווה[6] יה הו הו וה ההו יוהיה הה יוהי הוה
אהיה אהו הוה יוהו הי ההו אהי אהה הוה הו ההי הה יה הה וה הה
ויה הה אוהה הה יהה הה הה ההו יהה יה הי ההי ההי ההוה ההי
הוה אהה יהו אל אל יהו " דכתיב באוריתא אני ה' הוא שמי׳.

III. [1] אם למילי כסייא בעא למיחד ולמיסר לנבר ולאתתא דיהון
חד לות חבריה " ולבטל ארוחין נזיקין וסימנין[7] " ולאסור ספינה " ולהוציא
איש מן האסורים ולכל דבר כתוב על מסא סומקא מן תובר תסבר ועד
הא בשמהת׳. [2] ואי בעית לפנרא מורין ורמין ולמעבר בימא וביבשתא "
ולמיתת לנורא " ולמיסק ולאעדאה מלכין " ולמיחד עינין " ולסכרא
פומא " ולמללא במיתין " ולאמתא חיין " ולאשפלא ולארמא ולאשבעא
מלאכין דישתמעון לך " ולאמתא כל סתרי עלמא " כתב על מס דכסא
והב ביה עיקר שואצרא[8] מן תובר תסבר ועד הא בשמהת׳. [3] ללרותא
דרחשא בנופא כתוב על מנצב מן תובר ועד מנינון׳. [4] לרוח משגרא
כתוב מן מנינון ועד הידרספא׳. [5] לרוח כל נופא כתוב מן הידרספא
ועד הא בשמהת׳. [6] לשידא כתוב מן הא בשמהת ועד [הויהו] [f. 8a]
יאויהו׳. [7] לסרודתא מן יאו יהיו ועד (ייאה)׳. [8] לאסברתא [9] אמר על משת

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[1] שבהתזהיאל. [2] שרהכהקיאל. [3] זאפוסיאל. [4] אשנהואל. [5] אשתנהאל.
[6] הווי. [7] ספנין? l. [8] א"צע שואצרא. [9] לאסכרתא l. * 135 = 1—5

והיה הו הי אי אי איה איה אה אה או אה היהון אהין אהין אהי אהיו אהיהון אהיהי אהיהי " [95]אפון אפיון ב' אוסותי יהדי יואי היאה אולמו למיא למיון ארמנ ארמאן נידיה נדיה נדיאל תדו " [96]לדיאך[1] יהוה והי הה יאו יאו יואה ייאה יואה יואה תאי יהאי יאו אי יאו אי תאו " [97]היפרו היפרו אוסראי ספפידין נופיפיון מאספיון תיון " [98]נדותי ידבתא נהוהדור צנדום הדדיומי פלמומי קמתמי קצמהמי " [99]מהריומי אסממי הוסימי יואה אתרמי האה יאמיסמי הואה סממואי אהוה " [100]קהתמי אהוה סדהומי יהוהי " [101]אתגמי הוהי סה שמתגי הוה פרומצה " הוהה תתליהי [102]איי אייי ייא הי אי אה הה[2] יואי הי סס גני פרגני " פרינג אני מיכאל יאו נבהאל אה עניאל יה " [103]אסהאל יוי ושריאל ואתאל[3] יוי אתיאל ווי אליאל יוהוה אנתיאל יוהוי מלתיאל יין וה " [104]לוקייואל אלתיאל ומהנתיאל יוו היאה אבניאל אהמנאל יין והי יוקיאל משקיתאל יה " [105]קבצקיאל אה מסמניאל יה מסרהיאל ה"י הו וה שפתיאל אא והפיסיאל עה הגמותיאל אא והתמקיאל עאעה " [106]נתהותיאל עוא סגניאל עוא עסתגיאל עפיה שפציאל עופיה " [107]זדוקגיאל עפפיה דיניהאל עצציה מבוהיאל עצקהיה בשנתניאל עתריה גולהוהיאל עקתריה יובמטניאל עצשיה " [108]בתקסניאל עצסיה בספיפאל(!) ניתקנאל עצניה הסתיאל עצמיה ניקוציאל נעלציה " [109]תשהוהיאל עצביה בספפיפיאל עסייה[4] ארעעקאל עצמיה הכסניאל עציה שורסיאל עצויה " [110]כללי סתניאל עצהוה נותיתהיאל עצריה נדרוהיאל עצניה בדיוהיאל עצביה ספמריאל עצאהיה הדמיאל אהוה " [111]כתריאל אהוה שבקתניאל אהוה נזרוהיאל אהוה המוניאל אהוה אהידיאל אהוה " [112]הדסוממואל א'[5] אנתנאל א' להיאל א' קתנסהיאל אהוה קתהנאל א' " [113]סמקתיאל א' שנתסאל א' ענתיאל א' סהניאל א' שרקתאל א' קמניאל א' שניקצאל א' שלשניאל א' כרשפניאל א' שלאסאל א' " משקוניאל א' הופיהיאל א' ככמאל א' אנסיתאל א' חמניתיאל א' מנהוספאל א' " [114]קניאוסיאל[6] א' שפצסאל א' יותממאל א' נתנציאל א' " [115]בכלהואל א' הילבואל א' קסניאל א' " [116]הנצפואל[7] א' נממסאל א' סעסנניאל א' " [117]קדשינאל א' כוהואל א' שלאסאל א' להפסאל א' " [118]פיזקהיאל[8] א' מיתנהיאל א' קסותנאל א' שמתיאהיאל א' " [119–124]קרסרנהיאל יהוה מרוסהיאל יהוהה היוסקהיאל יה והה שלהיאסהיאל יהוהה " [125]הבקשפהיאל יהוהה עסרנהיאל יהוהה הצעסנהיאל יהוהה מודדנהיאל יהוהה " [126]סעסתשהיאל יהוהה סגסוהיאל יהוהה ששמסריהיאל יהוהה "

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[1] כריאך. [2] יה. [3] ואתאל. [4] עסצצה. [5] הדסוגרירואל.
[6] קניאסיאל. [7] הנסמואל. [8] פיזקהיאל.

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דמהותתיא " [64]אליהום בר שהסני ססקתריאם ב' כלתית אהיסיא ב'
ארוניתה " פרומס[1] ב' אניהום זוהוהסמיא ב' ההיאסי " [65]נסכיא ב'
פרתניא מבאתסי ב' אפופיא אנפני ב' בססי " [66]אסדום ב' אסדיתית
אפתמיא ב' דמנסיא וספדנום ב' נהושט " [67]יקותני בר אכתת הזה
דהרום ב' אנתתתם אדונישא ב' יחמניי [68]אתתרם ב' שלומים מיבנסם ב'
סהוותתיאיא[2] " [69]פרסוסי ב' פיבל קוסן פנרא ב' דנראת פידאום ב'
ססניישי " [70]אבנסנם ב' ממרוותני אוזלאה ב' סותתנום דוסמתי[3] ב'
הידאם " [71]קיריואם נתגלתתי קוסמי הזה ב' קסמלית קסמא ב'
קלוסדאי " [72]אילוהש ב' אלפי ב' סנכם ב' פסאות אעסנני ב' נדהוסי
הוסתקות ב' תלונתסם " [73]אסמרפי ב' אנמפרומי דיהומית ב' שותימת
פשמנת[4] ב' אפמונג " [74]נפמנגם ב' נמרוסי דונין אסיא ב' תסמניא
תתמציא ב' שסנות מונגות ב' נאמות סרעהותיתן ב' זקנום " [75]ספמסיא[5]
ב' אהוסניא סטפנאות ב' צנפנסם פרמיתת צפניאי ב' רכסום מתיא "
[76]נסמם בר נוסמוט משמרו מתיי להם ובה פרנסום אנסס ססקתת ב'
מהריני " [77]אפסומת בר פרנום סתנותי ב' שפתנם תנפסיסי ב' סרפני "
[78]קהוהיהוט ב' אבנניר עפקינז ב' תסמתיא סהדור ב' עצמם לוסרנ ב'
נפטני " ([a 78])אהושוני ב' אהשני אתקם ב' סרקוף עזמום ב' אצליאי "
[79]עזריקי בר כוריסוי שמעם בר שעריאם בעדאה ב' עזבואה " [80]נגהיה
ב' אסמאה רנוני ב' צקתי שריסי ב' תהלוסאי שיהם ב' ברקוץ " [81]היתיני
תדעום אקשר ב' יהותיהה כלמום ב' אמואם " [82]ברקם ב' שהרום במהון
ב' בבעת שיפכן ב' פנים בתוקן ב' אשרום " [83]תמימם בר הזהלכן
אשרהץ ב' ניתנץ אפנמי בר פעלתז " [84]ברדקם ב' להבן בדרהוסי
ב' מתמתיא עזותיא ב' מלכוק " [85]אחיתי[6] בר תמיתי כיניהי ב' משפקוהי
ביזעי ב' הוגתיא לפניאם ב' אידוהם שלושנסא ב' אסרומים " [86]שאילם
ב' שאילסיון מסינייה בר מסרהיה יואום ב' יהוחש והותששק ב'
משנסהי " [87]אספכל[7] ב' אקתנאי סרוהם ב' מביהם הסדנג ב' שהדוהם "
[88]עזמיים ב' תתמפאם " אהרותיי ב' סנגאום והוהום ב' אהבסא שמתיא[8]
ב' אתתריזי לסותתיי ב' אסטרהיי " [89]יציאום ב' תרומנמי אכסלם ב'
סהגותיא עלפנת ב' פססקתין קבלהם ב' קתרותי " [90]נאסמנ ב' רופניהום
שדמטי ב' אשמני שלתתהון ב' סהטני ישקום ב' פנהום מוביס[9] ב'
יהוסי " [91]להרמן (ב') נמולטם אהוסני בר אפריהץ משכנו ב' ארחז הקלקת
ב' שלקות " [92]דודיאה ב' אשסולסי " צהומתי ב' כאסי גילנראי ב'
שהנוסיא קתילתיו ב' אסדוהי " [93]אפטינוניא ב' תלומת הזה נעעוסי ב' אפהינקי
שיתמהה [a 7 f.] ב' מהסמה לבותניאת בר תסנותתיא רב שצדי ב' רב
קמום רב אמרם ב' איניתהה סנניהה ב' מעלתיהה " [94]יולילידהו אופראסי

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[1] פרומנ. [2] פסההתתיא. [3] דוספתיי. [4] פשמנג. [5] ספשסיא.
[6] אהיתי. [7] אספרל. [8] שעתיא. [9] מוכים.

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אספור צ׳ מוסתם צ׳ מיהקנאה צ׳ " [33]תפצמת[1] צ׳ רקרמץ צ׳ סיהדאה צ׳ פהשניא צ׳ " [34]יגלוניא צ׳ כינא צ׳ עפפניאה צ׳ נינשומיתון צ׳ " [35]אהריביה צ׳ המוניאם צ׳ אמנפר צ׳ אתסמו צ׳ " [36]אפנניכים צ׳ פסיסים צ׳ אסתי אספו אמאמרקם קום אפרקים " [37]קיסא אטריכים אטהיפים כסא דימנם דמנמיו יקוב אנמן אסיא " נופריא צ׳ פינואה צ׳ כיפמצב סוחי צ׳ קרשנ צ׳ תומיא[2] צ׳ " [38]אתקסקידא דופפספירו דפא דרוחי אור אדויה אדוני ידו ארון יה " [39]אליהו אכת אכתימום מסמהה מסנתותיה סנגאו [f. 6a] סגן יאו פנדואי ואפנם או יאו יה יה " [40]אתנוהי נוני ניאו סאו ניבו אריזפא ארפאי קרבת אומר אסאדבת פאותיה ותו מורתיאל מונמר פאליה " [41]מיבנאס פאו פנהוה פוהנפי זהומי הוה דקטפם הוה קותנמא הוה ניהנמאי הו " [42]תוסי הוה קרבסטרני הוה טתנאם הוה אמנפניס הוה " [43]שקבם[3] הוה סרנקנאס הוה תפסנרני הוה קדלותיא הוה קוסב שניא הוה " [44]סלניי הוה יה נותיום הוה עפרנוהה הוה אסננוהה הוה בתנוסי הוה " [45]ינפום הוה מנעצי הוה נהרותתיא הוה פרמם הוה " [46]קתנק הוה סלנותתיאה הוה קרנינגם הוה סלטופם הוה נעלקום הוה " [47]נתעלסס הוה מרצומי הוה סיניניהי הוה קעקת יה ביה בי או טיה הוה " [48]מיבנאס פרוספיה פיבאלו פהדכו פידא פיפי יואי אי אזארזא אזדא " [49]אסא גרמני קריפו אברו בבריך פסויד יה פינוד נידו פוכן פוכפי קו וא הוהא " [50]האהון אה הויה אההין אהין אהון אדוץ אניף ארמ ביסמי ביתרי ביסמאו ביפראמו בנפו בניהו " [51]באתיר ביניפי בינופי בתור ססנגניס בר סרנניא ססנן בר ערנגים אתומי בר באתומי " [52]אהסותי בר ככתהום אנופי בר אבקמי " [53]אפוני בר אפופיני אדני אנסמס בר שעקסם שברוסיא בר פתנגהום אדאס קויאס בר אנתש " [54]קוקתם בר סהוהוסי[4] אברמסא בר יהותנפא אברמו בר אשניהי בר אילמ[5]·· [55]אתקנז בר דוחיהן אהילמ בר אדוסאייא אהילמום בר אהדופי אהרוסי בר אהנוסי " [56]אתומי בר באתמי אתמיו בר באתיהול אבדנהא דסא בר נהוהיהום " [57]פנביר בר בסנביס פנביר בר פסנביר אנתלמו בר ניתצנס אהסמו בר אפרני " [58]בריואילה בר הנגסיא אופרנים בר שהניניה אדרוני בר אהפורי יוקטירון בר ברתיא " [59]יוניאוסס בר תיברנוס אבנהוק בר מהטרס סימנטל בר אוורווס " [60]יהואילון בר פארנג יואתמא ב׳ אבנתימניא אקניגס בר רכסוי לוקוסי ב׳ סמאג ׳ [61]נאסתרוהן ב׳ יואס קנתאות בר איהומנסס " סאסיה ב׳ איתוהיהם אינוסי(?) שטרסי היאלתם ב׳ סיסויי " [62]סארמנ בר ביסתניא דוסיהסי ב׳ דמסמנסנסי אפיסתני ב׳ דותאה סיסום ב׳ קוסטרסום אפלני ב׳ מפלנים איאיתו בר אותות קדוסיא ב׳ אקותנ " [63]אבלקט ב׳ באתיתא הומנס ב׳ הוהססיא איגנסס ב׳ היאנלם אברסק ב׳(?) תתהוסיואה ב׳

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[1] תפסמת. [2] תומים. [3] שקבם. [4] סהודוסי. [5] אהבה.

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מונבנידין " 4 מנגינין גט נמלאם דיניקא דיסוקא נוהיא מאקם קוסמוסיה
הידרסמא " 5 הידרספא[1] אנמא דימנא דאימנא הינין טלאין טלאום פאמפום
אטופרמא 6 הא בשמהת כולכון וכנוייכון דרברביתון אתון וכל אתר לית
דכותהון אותו ואבעו ואיתו לי ית אספי אספ ואספיה ואפרנסיה ירוניקא
יתך ירץ יהץ יקץ ויעביד לי כל צביוני הא בשם יאו יהו הה יה היה
אוזורום אוזורום סומרטא " 7 יאו יהו או ליהו פארי גא אבכספ[2] לוקי
לוקיאם נספתתיה נכספתא נספתא יזאום יואום יואום יזאו יאו יאו יאי
יאי אדוני אדוני " י י י י איי איי ייאה ייאה 8 קטתהא קנמרא קתמרום
קנמהם נמנהום סמאה קנמא קנמאה קנמאו 9 אונמו קונמאו קונמו קונמז
שהזנג הדקון[3] פרנזניה פרהוקא פרונגיא " 10 הותמים תנמיקום סרני
נמניא איהומי יה אהמי יה ספספס סנפספסא אסמילים סאסילים סא "
11 מסולם מסולם סא אתידם אתירם איתיתיי פיתי[4] יאו הוהי סוסבי הזה
הוא יהו סוסבאל ספבאל[5] סאהמתו " סדמתיה סותמיה בסומיה בסונאי
דימא " 12 פסמי רוסא רימאט דימא סנדרא אתים נהרא דור איסום
קוסמאה קוסאו קוסאה " 13 פיתזן[6] קותריה אפלואי מפלואי הי הי אי אי
יהו יהו קידא דודפס דונפתתם פיהו רפאה " קורידאום קורודסאי אייי
14 יקורי יא קובי פרויתו מנסס אבלא נאתה תתמסיה קתומסיה שתות
מהיה " 15 הימי הומי הזה לבאנתה יה יה יאיי יאהו אייי או הו הי או
למו אבר תוהות וארהם " 16–17 שדי אלהו איליהו אלהים אלוהים ככוספאו
ככוקתסוציה[7] סהומתיה בלתי אדוני " 18 אהיה יהוה אסיהו הי קרנס הזה
סדום הוה יפהיניהם [יהו] [f. 5b] יהו אתנום יה יה אני אל אני הוא הא
הוא זה הוא אל אלהים יה קדוש " 19 רום מיכאל נבריאל סהתניאל
אקדסיאל מתוניאל מצדוהיאל שסרוסטיאל פהנידוסטיאל " 20 משתומתיאל "
ייגר ארם ייסרותיה " 21 ייאזוניה[8] " ייבקתיט ייהוסהוסיא ייגתהניסיה
יידפעקתם ייהסהדיה ייווניה " ייסתמציה " 22 ייהקלתיה ייסירהיה ייז
ופנסניסיה ייבהוניה " יילששהק ייסותתהיני וייוסספיה " 23 ייסוסוניה
ייפפוביהה ויצקוויה " 24 ייקרמתיה ייקספיפיה[9] יישרהמנם ייתתיה זרהותי
צבאות קצפת צבאות סרניא צבאות " 25 חותמו[10] צבאות פתסנ צבאות
קשנץ צ סניסקר צ פרשנתי צ סגסמי צ " 26 ניפריא צ פיפיאה צ
כיפף צ סוגהו צ קדשנ צ תימואם צ " 27 היולהו צ הוזקמאה צ טוסיאה
צ רתיב צ " 28 אמאום צ יירקוד צ פלואי צ אסקמו צ צבאות סולנ
צ פוסיאה צ ארתם צ " 29 יאום צ אלקסה צ יהפס צ הואי צ אפסם
צ " 30 רתבו[11] צ אכסוי צ סהוהץ אססלק צ ייחמאה צ " 31 פסנון צ
משבו צ אשהיהו צ שהוהם צ יבעתני צ " 32 יכצרץ צ אסקנץ צ

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1 הידרספא. 2 אבכספ. 3 הדקנן. 4 תיתי. 5 ספבאל.
6 סיתון. 7 ככוקתסוציי. 8 ייאייניוא. 9 ייקצקפיה. 10 הותמו.
11 רתבו.

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פרקומיה " אי פי קותזיה " אירוניה " איפרונסיה " אפסימאה " אהיה
אה " די " שלח לי " אתריאוסמי " יהו קתסהדיה " דהוא ממלית
כרובייא ויעזרוני ברוך אתה קוסים " על החרב " הרוצה להשתמש
בחרב זו יתפלל תפלתו ובשומע תפלה יאמר השבעתי עליכם ד' השרים
שקד חוזי " [f. 4b] מרנייאל " ומרומרוסיה " והדרויזלו " משרתי הדירירון "
יהוה הרירירון הו הי הדיהי דיהירון הוה " שתקבלו שבועתי עד שלא
אתפלל ושועתי עד לא אשוע ותעשו לי כל חפצי בחרב זו כמו שעשיתם
לו למשה בשם אדיר ונפלא בעל פלאות שפרושו " הו הי הוה ספר הוה
היה יהות[1] וה[2] יה והו יוהה אהוסהה יהה קק"ס הזה " ויקרא את ה'
שלמעלה מהן ויאמר השבעתי עליכם מהיהונציי " פתדותתגם אסקריהו
שיתיניחום קתנגיפיי הדוחי וה וה יד גבריאל יה הו הדירירון " שתקבלו
שבועתי עד שלא אשביע אתכם ותזקקו לי ותזקיקו לי את ד' השרים
האלו ואת כל מחנות המרכבות השרים שאתם פקידים עליהם לעשות לי
חפצי בחרב זו בשם האהוב הזה " אהי הוה יה וה אי או ההי[3] הוהי
שהוסהה " יוה הו הוו[4] יה יהה יוה היי " ויקרא ג' שעל גבהן ויאמר
השבעתי עליכם " אסקוההי שמרים הויה סהותניאיה אהובי ורהודריו
והוא הדירידין " שתודקקו לי ותזקיקו לי מהיהונציי פתדותתגם אסקריהו
שיתיניחום קתנגיפיי שקד חוזי מרנייאל הדרויזלו " אשר מתחת רשותכם
לעשות לי חפצי בחרב זו בשם היחיד הזה " הה דהוה הוי שקצר השה
הי או הו הה יהה פתמנהו הה יה יהו הו היי והי יהניה ונההיה
מתגמהה היקהה והי הא צר מקוקצצוה היה והי הה תם הוו יה יהו
הי היה ויה תיה ויה תהוהי " ויחזיק את שר הראש של כולם ויאמר
השבעתי עליך " אהיופסקתיה " אמיץ וחזק ראש כל צבא מרום שתודקק
לי אתה בעצמך ולא שלוחיך ותזקיק לי את השרים אלו עמך לעשות
לי חפצי בחרב זו בשם שאין לו תמורה " יהווה אהה הוה הדי הה
איה היה הו הוה יהוהי הו הי[5] והיה והה אהוהי הדי אה והוהי יה וה
וה אה אה יו הי הו הי היה הה וה יהו הוי[6] ההוי ההוה יהו יהו "
שאתה יריד והוא ידיד ואני מזרע אברהם שנקרא ידיד " ב'א'י' מלך
הרזים ואדון הסתרים שומע תפלה " ואל יגע וישתמש בזו החרב עד
שיעשה מעשים האלו ואח"כ יעשה כל חפצו כמא שכתוב דבר דבר
וסידורו "

וזהו החרב

II. [f. 5a] 1–1תובר תסבר אכן ממה[7] מימם אולי אגידו־אסקיא דיוקמאם
לסום אנתם סדופיפלא סמא או או [3]הו פה אמא היפורקסמא[8]

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[1] יהו. [2] ההי. [3] הה. [4] היה. [5] היה. [6] יו. [7] מטר.
[8] היפורקצמא.

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פחדותתגם " אתמסר לי הא היה יהו ד' יה הא הוי הא וה אה זי וה
וה הוו הה יה ויה יהו יה הוייה הויה אאה היורה היו הא והתוה
האהניהה " אסקריהו " אתמסר לי באה בהין אסוניהה שמניהה הוי[1]
יהה[2] יה הו והויה הוי הי וה הי יוה הו הוה יהי הו יהי היוהי[3] הוה
הה יה ההיוי ויוהה ויהה אל היה אה היה האה אה הי אהוי אהויה "
שיתיניתום " אתמסר ליה " אה אה ויה האל וה היה אל הוי והתאל
היהיאל אלהיה היה אהוי ויה אהו יה והי היה אה הא היה אל הוראל
הוי אהא קממאה הלאל " קתנניפיי " אתמסר לי " הא הוא ואה
אלהא סמה אה אלהא סיאה והה אה יהה אוהה אהוהה ומצהו[4] היה
מיתיה אאל דהוי ויה הו הו אל ליה הו הי והאי והאו יה הא הו והי
והי ויה אהה הוה יהו יה יהה הה[5] הי היה וה ויה וה אה אש אוי
שיה " אסקוההי " [f. 4a] אתמסר לי " אהו יה יהי שיה יהו יה יהו
יהה אה וה אהוה אהיה אהו יה יה יהה שני הוה מכנוסיהה[6] יה דוה
הוי הא מסכפנהיה יה היא " סמריסהויה " אתמסר לי " הוי הא דייהא
אהיש הוה סקפ הוה היה אהי הוה קנקסהיה הוה יהה יהה[7] אה אה
והיה אה יה וה יה וד היה יהו הה יהו היה הוה יה היה וה היה יה "
סהותגאייה[8] " אתמסר לי " יה הא יה אה יהו יו הויו יהה יה ההו
ייהה הה הה הי הה וה ייה הוו אה[9] יהא הה אל הו היה קהיה ויוהה
אהי הי הה[10] סתיהו הה " הוה יהו[11] הי יהוה יאוהיהי יהו יהו דיה
יה יה יה הוה יהוה הה היה יה ויה היה יהו יהו הי הי " א"ה פסקתיה[12]
אתמסר לי " הו ליה היה ההוה אה וה הההיה יהו הוה וה אהו היה יהו
הו דיה יה היה אהה וההה יה וה וההה הי הוה והיה וה היה והיה והו
הי היה הוה אה הי או הה אה יהה וההה וי[13] ויה יה והי הו הי הוה "
ולא כסו ממנו כל דבר ואות מן השמות האלו המופורשים ולא כינו
לו אפילו אות אחת מהן כי כך נצטוו מפי אדון הנסתרים למסור לו
התרב הזאת בשמות האלו שהן סתרי התרב ואמרו לו צוה לחזרות
הבאים אחריך יברכו ברכה אחת זו עד שלא יתפלל כדי שלא ישמעו
באש " ברוך אתוה איזונים[14] שהיה עם משה יהא עמי ששמו
אהוצוייה: רפאותי"ה: רפואתוייה: והניהייה: הקצצייה " ענתותיהוה "
גדודיהוה " ויפעמטקתוזיה " פצאפי " פי " אויה " מהרונסניה " שריה "
קתציה " רהוני " הוה " תנפמציה " אתיספסקתיה " תישמציהה "
מצהונתהיה " אבהיתיוזיה " קפהוהי " רפמנות[15] " רפרפמר " ימרמריה "
קברסיה " נכד " קתסניה " מרכאיריה " נגמסרד " הוה " דידאדראה "
קדירהה " קניצהה " ודינאוציה[16] " אפסוניה " אי פי לי " מאסמן "

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[1] הו. [2] הוה. [3] היוהה. [4] ומציהו [5] יה. [6] מכסוניה.
[7] יהר. [8] סה"ותגיאה. [9] הה. [10] הי. [11] יהי. [12] אה"יוספקתיה.
[13] הוה. [14] אי"זונאס. [15] ר"פקנות. [16] דינאוסיה.

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הי אם ספצפנמר[1] " ובשם סמרת סמם פצץ אדונותת הוסיה עליון יה
הואי או היה פי פי איתיה ובצרם מצרפיה תסקיהו בשתקצר רבא דלא
כסי מיניה כלום דחמי ולא מתחמי " ובשמיה דשירקתיה[2] " דהוא שר
על שמיא דמתקרי יהו יהו וא והֹ " ומפיק יתיה מלך עלמיא מפומיה
בלישן אותרן " יהו אה יה והההה יה וה יה יהו הה יה הו הוו הי
הי הה הי הו הוא הו היה הויה[3] יה וה יה וה יה יה הי הי אהה
אהי הו הה יה יהי הו הוה יהו הו הה ייהו הה יו " את סרה
קלילא לא תתעכב ותרעיש ותיתי ותעביד לי אנא פ'ב'פ' כל צרכי
בשם " יהו ההיו יהו אהיו ההו הו היה הוי הוה יה וה הה יה הו
הוי היה והומר קתנניה זו קוספיה אהוניה אל הי נקטסאל יה הוה
ניננהה פסקתרה הי[4] הוה יה זרומתה היה ובר שמה הי הה יה " רבה
דחמי ולא מתחמי אהה דפירושיה אתגלי לכל חילי מרומא ובפירושיה
אנא משבע יתכון די הכדין דאתמסר למשה בן עמרם מפום מאריה
כולא " יהוה והאה הוה יהוה היה הו הגיהה יה הי הי הו הה יהוה
סה הה וה יה וה הה הוה יה יה יהי לנהה יה יה אה תבינו[5] איה יהוש
אהישה ואנריפס יהו צבאות יהוה יהוה צבאות שמו ב'א'י' אדון הגברות[6]
חכם הרזים " ומה הן אותיות שמסר לו " שקד חוזי " אמר לו אם
תרצה להתחכם ולהשתמש בתרב זו קראני והשביעיני וחזיקיני ואמצני "
ואמור מ'א'ע' שקד חוזי ברז גדול קדוש ונפלא מהור ויקר אדיר ונורא
וזה שמו ירוניקא " אקפתה " הנה " נהה " ירך " ידכירוהו יה יה
ציקעץ " באותיות האלו השבעתיך שתכוף לי ותחכמיני [f. 3b] ותזקיק
לי את המלאכים משעבדי התרב בשם גולה הרזים אמן " חקוק על עור
ברזי ושא עליך אותן ג' ימים שאתה מטהר עצמך והשביע כן קודם
תפלתך ואחר תפלתך " מרנייאל אתמסר ליה " הי הו היה והי הוה יהו
יהוה הו היה הו היה והו ההיהו יוה ההוניה הי או היה וה וה וה יה
וה יהוה יהוה יהוה יהו יהו יהו גניניה והה " פרומרוסי ' אתמסר לי '
אהו[7] הוה[8] אהי[9] הוה אהויה יהא[10] הוה[11] יה יה הוה הודא אה והה
הי הוה וא היה הויה אהה וה הי אהיה יה יה יוה הי אה אה
יה אהה ויהוה היה אהי היה יהיה אה היה איה " הדרויזלו אתמסר
לי " ההוא הה יה יה או יהו ההא יהוה אה הה אויה האה וה אהיה
אהוא היה וה הה יה תוהא[12] היה הה וה יה והה והיה הוהי יהה הוהה
ויהה " מהיהונצי " אתמסר לי יהה ההי והה ויהה ההי יהה הה והוה
הוה אהיה יהו הה וה יה היה יה הא הוה יהו יה הא הוי יה הא יה אה
הו ייה הוי הה הה וה אה חה אהיה[13] יה יהוה הו הוה הי הוה "

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[1] ספצפנמר. [2] דשירקטיה. [3] הויא. [4] הה. [5] תכינו.
[6] הגבורות. [7] אה. [8] והוה. [9] אהיה. [10] יה. [11] אהוה.
[12] אוהא. [13] אהוה.

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משקרין ידיהון לא חפפין ועיניהון לא מרמן לביש לא רהטן בנופיהון
בדילין מכל מומאה מרחקין מכל מסאב מקדשין מכל חורפין ולות אתתא
לא קריבין וכד פקיד יתי מאריה כולא אנא אסס אסס ואם ים יה
ואפרנסיה שליחא קלילא נתתית לארעא וכד עברית ואמרית[1] מאן בני מני
אנשא דכל אילן בידיה איזיל ועלוהי אשרי ובעינא ברעותי וסברנא
בלבי דלית בר אנש דיכול למעבד כדנא בעתי ולא אשכחת ולא אתקל
עלי ואשביעני מאריה כולא בימין תוקפיה והוד הדריה ועטרת של
הוד הוה ריה עקן הי דריה מהר קרוננית[2] יה וה הה תהו הי יה דא "
שבועה דימין תוקפיה ואשבע יתי ואדר יתי מאריה כולא ולא נפלית
בכן קמית ליאתאחסנא אנא אסס אסס ואסיסיה ואפרנסיה על ברית
צבותא דפ'ב'פ' בשם קמבגל עקמה וה זרומתיה יה יכרוך זנותיה ירפוה
תתיה קצי וציהין יהין יהין " דין הוא שמא רבא ויקירא דאתמסר לבר
אדם " יה ביה אץ אה באה הוי הו הו וה יא הו זה וה וה אה יה
יהו הה יהו יהו אקף הי הה ייאה הה האה הואה הדוה היי הו הו הי
קדוש אדיר אדיר סלה " צלי יתיה בתר צלותך " ואילין שמהת מלאכין
דמשמשין לבר אדם " מיממרון " סנרדתציה " ומקמטרון " וסנגותיקתאל "
ונביקתגאל " וינואתקתיאל " ואנתנקסאל " ואנתוסתיאל ומיכאל סרת
ונברי אל שקתכניה " והדקרונתיאל " ואנהסנאל " יהואל " תיזרת "
נסי אל " וסינסטהאל " וענפי " ככפיאל " ונהר " נסנגהיאל " ויכני "
אתיהאל " ואקתקליקאל " ינה " ניתציאל יה " כן תשמשון לי אנא
פ'ב'פ' ותקבלון צלותי ובעותי דאנא בעינא ותעלונה לקדם יהוה הה
סהה אהה הה וה וה " קודשא בריך הוא דבשמוהי אנא אומית
ואדרית יתכון כמא דעילא ציפרא לקינא וזכותי אדכרו קדמוהי ובפתגמי
תחנונים כפרו חטאי בעידנא דנן ולא תתעכבון בשם הה הה וה ויה
יה ויה וה וה ויהה ויה אה ההוי אהו יא הי הי הו הו יהו הה הוה יה
[f. 3a] וה ברוך הוא צבאות צבאות סלה " יקדישותו משרתיו ויעריצוהו
בגעם ויאמרו ק'ק'ק אדון השם הקדוש הזה מלא כל הארץ כבודו "
ואל תעכבו בנזירת הו היה יה הו[3] י יהו הי הי הוה הי הו הה היה
הי הוה היה הויה יהו ההו הה ההיו יהו אהו הה יה אהה איה אי
אה אי אה וה יה " חי עולמים " ובשם דימימין קריאם[4] והו ארקם[5]
גנליאום קוסמום קליקס אסקליטתרא אילי אלי מופיספרא סמנדאנם[6]
מלאסי קמם אנתפרנו פינה דיהי מיתקאם נפלא תטא דוניטא תתמנאם
טוף דוגז ממינא מהו והוטר זיקקתיהו אהוני יהו יה אל חינקיה ספפי[7]

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[1] יעני אלריפאל (?) אלרי יתערץ בהדא. [2] קרוננית. [3] היה נ"א יה אה
איו וה נ הו היה הי יהי ותיהוה יהו היה היה וה הוה הה ויה ייה והי הי יהו הי
שמא רבא ומנטלא ומפיר. [4] קיריאם. [5] ארקם. [6] סמנראנם.
[7] ספפי.

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רהו פנמיה " הניאל שנקרא פהוצפני[1] ניה " אשראל שנקרא תהמותיהיהיה
" וישריאל שנקרא קניתי פציה " עשהאל[2] שנקרא יהות נמהי היה[3] "
עמוהאל שנקרא רופניניה וספיה " ואצראל שנקרא שהננו תניהה "
שתזדקקו לי ותבופו [f. 2a] לי את התרב להשתמש בה כחפצי ולחסות
בצל אדונינו שבשמים בשם הנכבד הנדול והנורא הזה " הו יי ההי
הו הה אה וה יה יה הוי הו יי הו [נא הוה יהו] יא הו הו יה יהו
יי הו יא יה וה הו יא הו הוי היו הו יה וה יה הו הוה יהי הו יה
אהיה מהוה " עשרים וארבעה אותיות שעל הכתר שתמסרו לי בתרב
הזאת רזי מעלה ומסה סתרי מעלה ומסה ותהא שאלתי נעשית ודברי
נשמעין ובקשתי מתקבלת בפירוש שבועת השם היקר הזה הנכבד
בעולמו שבו אסורין וכבולין כל צבא מרום שפירושו " הה הה הוה
הההי יוהה אה וה ניה הוה פה והו היה צהו אה וה היה תה וה יה
וה יה סיה וה יה ויה " ברוך הוא שלא תעכבו ולא תזיקוני ולא תרעישוני
ולא תפחידוני בשם השם הנערץ בפי מלככם ואימתו מוטלת עליכם
ונקרא " פרזמותניה " סרחוקתיה " היגניתיה " טרסניהיה " קרזמתהו
צניה יה וה היה הו יי הא הוה הוה אהה ההי אה וה הוה היה אה
וה יה יהה יהו יהי או הה אה הה הא היה אה זקידידריה " קימו לי
מה שהשבעתי אתכם ושרתוני כרב כי לא בנדול מכם השבעתי אתכם
אלא באדון הכל בשמו שאתם בכל צבא מרום אחוזים תפוסים אסורים
כבולים בו ואם תעכבו לי הרני מוסר אתכם לאדון להו'ב'ה' ולשמו
המפורש שחמתו וקצפו וחרונו בוערים בו והוא מכבד את כל פעלו
באות אתת ממנו ונקרא " זרונדקנמא קצופצתתיה " אהוה סתתי ניה
נינים[4] היניה הו[5] יה הניה הוה קלצ שאם תעכבו הרי הוא מאבד
אתכם ותבוקשו ולא תמצאו ותשטרוני מקוצר רוחי ומחבל נופי בשם
חזקאי אהיה וה יה הה יהה יה וה הה יה היה אהיו יה היו יהי והוי
די הוי יה קקהוה סקקהוה נוצר ישראל " ברוך אתה סוקס חכם הסתרים
נולה הרזים ומלך עולם ✤ קלא שמעית ברקיעא קל מאריה רקיעא דכולו
ואמר בעניא שליחא קלילא דלבני אנשא אמר ואם שליחותי יתעבד
יתגאון בני בתרבא דילי אנא מסר להון דהויא ראש כל רוי ועלה על
יד חוזי פרישן כי כן יהיה דברי ונאמר הלא כה דברי כאש נאם ה' "
אמר [פנגינינו נסיה] פנגינינונסיה אלה שמיא וארקא וסלקית לקדמיה
אנא אספי ✤ אספי ואסיסיה ואפרנסיה[6] שליחא קלילא דבישליחותי
אנא יָאָה ובשתדרותי אנא מוחי למעבד...[f. 2b] ופקד יתי מאריה כולא
אזיל ואשתמע לבנא אנשא חסידין טבין כשרין וצדיקין ומהמנין דלבהון
לא פליג ופומהון לא חליק ובלישניהון לא מכדבן ושפתתידון לא

---

[1] פהוספני. [2] עשריאל. [3] איה. [4] ניגים. [5] הה. [6] יעני
סמע הרא צותאל מלאך אלרי יסמיה בעד ראש.

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דבר שהעולם משתמש בו הדברים דברי אלהים חיים ומלך עולם ואמרו
לו אם תרצה להשתמש בתרב הזאת ולמוסרה לדורות הבאים אתיך
אדם המזקיק נפשו להשתמש בה יקדש עצמו ג׳ ימים מן הקרי ומן
המומאה ולא יאכל ולא ישתה אלא מערב לערב שיאכל לחם אדם
מהור או לחם (!) ידיו במלח נקיה וישתה מים ולא ידע בו אדם כשהוא
[f. 1b] עושה מעשה זה להשתמש בתרב זה כי סתרי עולם הן ובסתר
הם נעשים ולצנועים הם נמסרים ומיום הראשון שאתה פורש מבול ושוב אי
אתה צריך והתפלל נ״פ ביום ואחר כל תפלה התפלל תפלה זו ״ ברוך אתה
קוסם אלי הנו(?) מ״ה האל הפותח בכל יום שערי מזרח ובוקע חלונות
קדים ומאיר לעולם כלו וליושביו בהמון רחמיו ברזיו ובסתריו ולמד את
עמו ישראל רזיו וסתריו ונלה להם תרב שהעולם משתמש בה ואמר
להם כשתבואו ״ להשתמש בתרב זה שכל שאלה בה נעשית וכל ח
וסתר בה מתגלה וכל אות ומופת ותמהון בה נעשית כך וכך אמרו
לפני וכך וכך קראו לפני וכך וכך השביעו לפני מיד אני מתפתה ומתרצה
לכם וממשיל אני אתכם בחרב הזאת לעשות בה כל שאלה והשרים
מתפתים לכם וקדושי מתרצים לכם ושאלתכם מיד עושים לכם וזיו
מוסרין לכם וסתרי מגלים לכם ודברי לכם משמיעים ונפלאותי לכם
מגלים והן נשמעין ומשמשין אתכם כתלמיד לפני רבו ועיניכם מאירות
ולבבכם צופה ומביט כל נעלמות וקומתכם נפשטת לפניך לך אני קורא
סוקים מלך עולמים ״ אתה הוא שנקרא יהונה הו אל יה מלך עולם ״
אתהו שנקרא פהו זגה וה וו[1] אל יה ״ מלך רחמן ״ אתהו שנקרא
זהות ניהה אל יה ״ מלך חנון ״ אתהו שנקרא צהפרוהו הוה אליה מלך
חי ״ אתהו שנקרא ספטהותהו אל יה[2] ״ מלך עניו ״ אתהו שנקרא
קניוהי הו הי אל יה ״ מלך ישר ״ אתהו שנקרא שהרו סנהורי אל יה
מלך רם ״ אתהו שנקרא ספקם הפיה והה אל יה מלך תם ״ אתהו
שנקרא קתתהו נתהי אל יה ״ מלך תמים ״ אתהו שנקרא פתרים הופיהו
אל יה מלך אדיר ״ אתהו שנקרא רעפק ציוהיה אל יה ״ מלך בתור ״
אתהו שנקרא חוסה יהו הי אל יה ״ מלך נאוה ״ אתהו שנקרא והו
הו הי הי הוה אה יה וה יה יה וה יה וה יו הי היו יה ״ אתה
שומע תפלתי כי שומע תפלה אתה והזקיק לי את משרתיך שרי החרב
כי מלכם אתה עשה לי כל חפצי כי כל בידך וכן כתוב פותח את יד
ומשביע לכל חי רצון ״ משביעני עליכם אולי אל שנקרא הודי וזי הו
הוה ״ אראל שנקרא סקריסיהיה ״ מעני אל שנקרא אתרץ אודה יה ״
מפאל שנקרא הופקי הוה אהיה ״ והאדירים מכלם הליכיה הוא יפיאל
מימטרון שנקרא נהודפטהו הה יהה הדר מרום ״ מרשות מלכי ידיאל
שנקרא סנהוה היה ״ רעשי אל שנקרא מהופתכיהייצ ״ תניאל שנקרא

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[1] וה. [2] ספטותהו הו אל.

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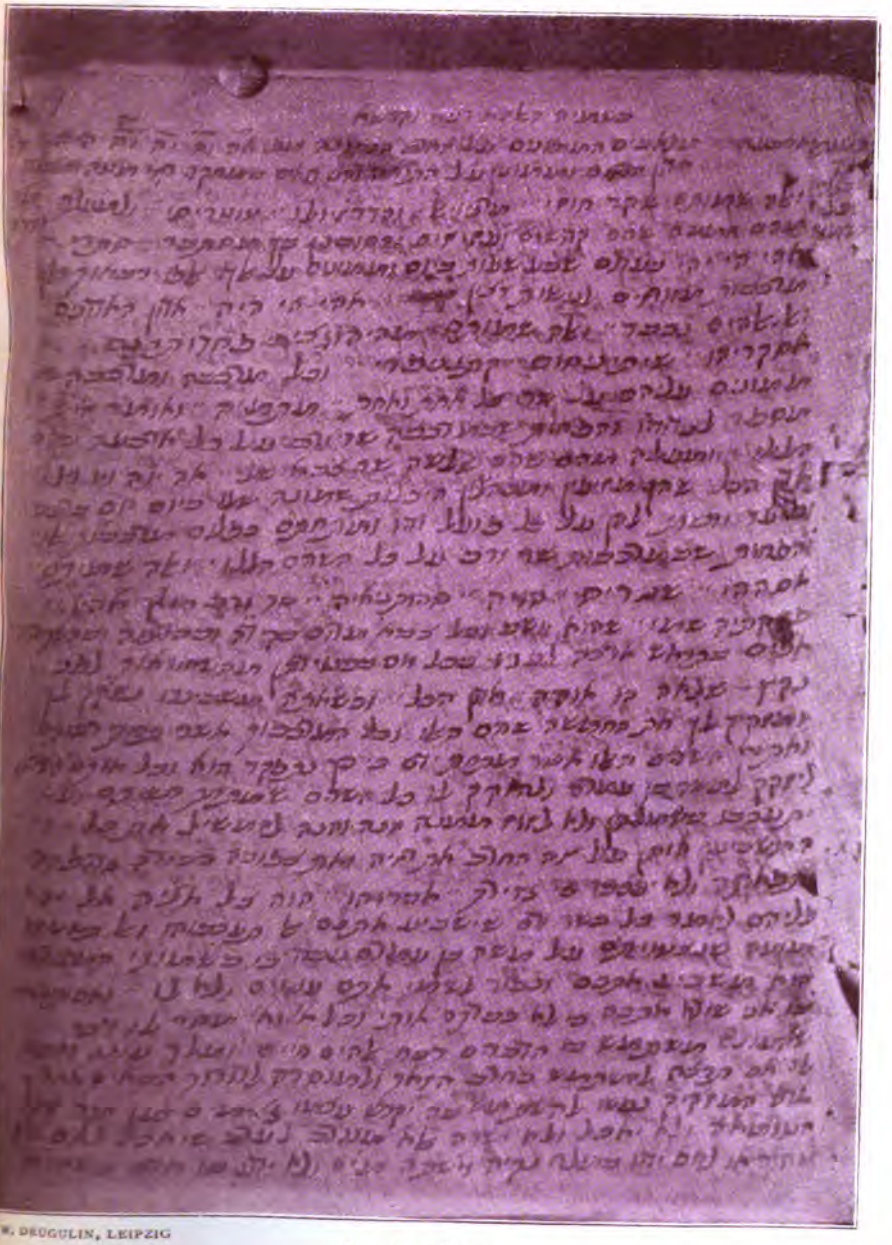
[f. 1a] בשמיה דאלהא רבא וקדישא

I. ארבעה מלאכים הממונים על התרב הנתונה מפני אה וה יה ההה[2] היה אדון הרזים וממונין על התורה והם רואים במחקרי רזי ממה ומעלה ואלה שמותם שקד חוזי " מרניואל " והדרזיולו[3] " מופריסי " ולמעלה מהם חמשה שהם קדושים ועזיזים והסוברין כך מסתבר סתרי אהי הי יהי בעולם שבע שעות ביום וממונים על אלף אלפי רבאות ואלף מרכבות מוזרזים לעשות רצון [קונם] " אהי הי היה " אדון האדונים ואל אלהים נכבד " ואלה שמותם " מהיהונצי " פחדותתגם " אסקריהו " שתיניחום " קתגניפרי " וכל מרכבה ומרכבה שהן ממונים עליהם על שרי כל אחת ואחת " מתמיה " ואומר היש מספר לגדודיו והפחות שבמרכבה שר ורב על כל ארבעה שרים הללו " ומעלה מהם שרים שלשה שרי צבא של " אה יוה ויו ויו " אדון הכל שהן מזיעין ומבהלין[4] היכלות שמונה שלו ביום יום ברעש וברעד ורשות להן על כל פועל ידיו ומתחתם כפלים מרכבות אלו " והפחות שבמרכבות שר ורב על כל השרים הללו " ואלה שמותם " אסהה " שטריס " הויה " סהותניאיה " שר ורב מלך אהיו " פסקתיה שמו " שהוא יושב וכל צבא מרום בקידה ובכריעה ובהשתחויה אפים בתראש ארצה לפניו בכל יום בפטירתן מהשתחוואות[5] לפני נקק " שלאה הו אוהה " אדון הכל " וכשאתה משביעו נזקק לך ומזקיק לך את החמשה שרים האלו וכל המרכבות אשר תחת רשותם ואת כל השרים האלו אשר מתחת ידם כי כך נתפקד הוא וכל אותם השרים ליזקק למשה בן עמרם ולהזקיק לו כל השרים שמתחת רשותם ולא יתעכבו בשמעתן ולא לזוז ממנה הנה והנה להמשיל את כל המשביעין אותן על זה החרב את רזיה ואת צפוניה כבודת נדולתה ותפארתה ולא יעכבו כי גזירת " אבדוהו " הוה צל אליה אל יה " עליהם לאמר כל בשר ודם שישביע אתכם אל תעכבוהו ואל תשנוהו ממה שנצטויתם על משה בן עמרם עבדי כי בשמותי המפורשים הוא משביע אתכם וכבוד לשמי אתם עושים ולא לו " ואם תעכבו בו אני שורף אתכם כי לא כבדתם אותי וכל א' וא' מסר לו

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[1] פלונתא . . ה שבגליון ושעל השמות. [2] יה. [3] מרנואל והדרזיול.
[4] ומבהילין. [5] מהשתחוואות l.

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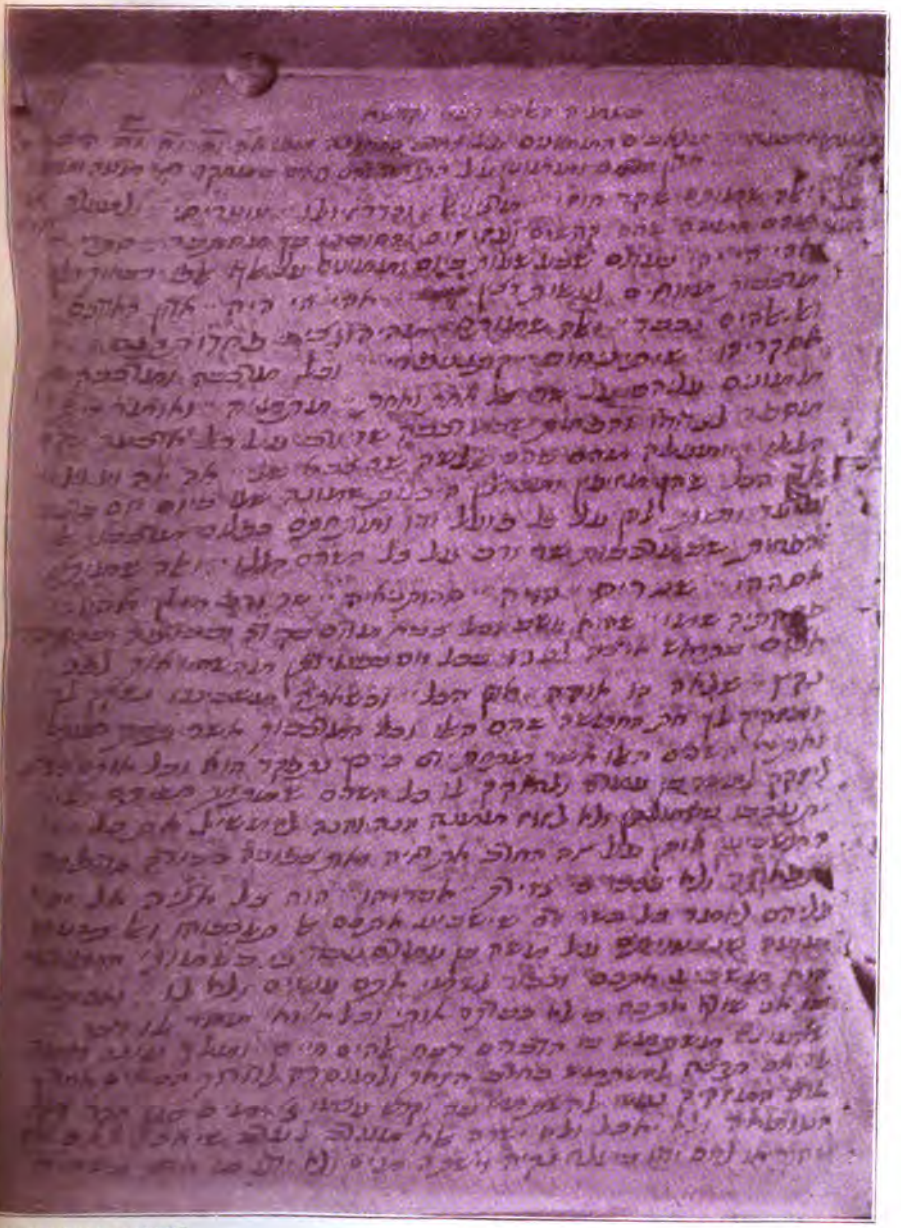
[f. 1a] בשמיה דאלהא רבא וקדישא

I. ארבעה מלאכים הממונים על החרב הנתונה מפי [1] אה וה יה ה[2]
היה אדון הרזים וממונין על התורה והם רואים במחקרי רזי מפה ומעלה
ואלה שמותם שקד חוזי " מרניואל " והדרזיול[3] " סומריסי " ולמעלה
מהם תמשה שהם קדושים ועזיזים והסוברין כך מסתבר סתרי אהי הי
ידי בעולם שבע שעות ביום וממונים על אלף אלפי רבאות ואלף
מרכבות מזורזים לעשות רצון [קונם] " אהי הי היה " אדון האדונים
ואל אלהים נכבד " ואלה שמותם " מהיהונצי " פחדותתנם " אסקריהו "
שיתיניחום " קתגניפרי " וכל מרכבה ומרכבה שהן ממונים עליהם על
שרי כל אחת ואחת " מתמיה " ואומר היש מספר לגדודיו והפחות
שבמרכבה שר ורב על כל ארבעה שרים הללו " ומעלה מהם שרים
שלשה שרי צבא של " אה יוה ויו ויו " אדון הכל שהן מזיעין ומבהלין[4]
היכלות שמונה שלו ביום יום ברעש וברעד ורשות להן על כל פועל
ידיו ומתתם כפלים מרכבות אלו " והפחות שבמרכבות שר ורב על
כל השרים הללו " ואלה שמותם " אסההי " שפריס " הויה " סהותניאיה "
שר ורב מלך אהיו " פסקתיה שמו " שהוא יושב וכל צבא מרום בקידה
ובכריעה ובהשתחויה אפים בתראש ארצה לפניו בכל יום בפמירתן
מהשתחוואות[5] לפני נקץ " שלאה הו אוהה " אדון הכל " וכשאתה
משביעו נזקק לך ומזקיק לך את החמשה שרים האלו וכל המרכבות
אשר תחת רשותם ואת כל השרים האלו אשר מתחת ידם כי כך נתפקד
הוא וכל אותם השרים ליזקק למשה בן עמרם ולהזקיק לו כל השרים
שמתחת רשותם ולא יתעכבו בשמעתן ולא לזוז ממנה הנה והנה
להמשיל את כל המשביעין אותן על זה החרב את רזיה ואת צפוניה
כבודת נדולתה ותפארתה ולא יעכבו כי נזירת " אבדוהו " הוה צל
אליה אל יה " עליהם לאמר כל בשר ודם שישביע אתכם אל תעכבוהו
ואל תשנהו ממה שנצטויתם על משה בן עמרם עבדי כי בשמותי
המפורשים הוא משביע אתכם וכבוד לשמי אתם עושים ולא לו " ואם
תעכבו בו אני שורף אתכם כי לא כבדתם אותי וכל א' וא' מסר לו

---

[1] פלונתא . . ה שבגליון ושעל השמות. [2] יה. [3] מרגואל והדרזיול.
[4] ומבהילין. [5] מהשתחוואות l.

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ART. VI.—*The Sword of Moses. An ancient book of Magic, published for the first time, from an unique Manuscript (Cod. Heb., Gaster 178), with Introduction and Translation.* By M. GASTER, Ph.D.

I. *Introduction.*

MAGIC has exercised the deepest influence upon mankind from remote antiquity unto our own days. It either formed part of the religion of the country, as it was the case in ancient Egypt and Babylon and as it is now in some forms of Buddhism (Tibet), or lived an independent life side by side with the recognized religion. In some instances it was tolerated, or rendered less obnoxious, by a peculiar subdivision into white or beneficial and black or evil magic, or was downright persecuted. Wherever we go, however, and especially if we turn to the popular beliefs that rule the so-called civilized nations, we shall always and everywhere find a complete system of magical formulas and incantations. The belief in the witch and wizard, and their powerful filters and charms, holds still stronger sway upon human imagination than appears at first sight.

It is remarkable that we do not possess a good work, or exhaustive study, on the history and development of Magic. It is true that we find allusions to it, and sometimes special chapters devoted to the charms and incantations and other superstitious customs prevailing among various nations in books dealing with such nations. But a comprehensive study of Magic is still a pious (or impious) wish. One cannot gainsay that such an undertaking would present extreme difficulties. The material is far too vast, and is scattered over numberless nations and numerous literatures. Besides, much of ancient

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times has disappeared; in fact, there is a profound gap between antiquity and modern times which is not by any means bridged over by the literature of the Middle Ages. In these times magical art and practice were ruthlessly persecuted by the Church, and the Councils teem with denunciations against the work of the Evil One. Moreover, it was connected in a certain degree with the teachings and practices of the various heretical sects, and the pursuit was anything but harmless. Thus it comes about that an exhaustive study of the origin and development of Magic is still a wish for the future, and the full influence which it has exercised upon mankind cannot be investigated in such a manner as to have a scientific value until at least a portion of the ancient literature will again have come to light.

The syncretistic character of the Gnostic teachings shows itself also in the adoption of Magic, and in the spiritual interpretation with which they invested the forms and formulas of Magic. The adherents of the various teachings of the Gnostics, and especially those that lived in Egypt and Palestine, adopted all the ideas that were floating about and transferred them into their system of superior Gnosis.

If anything of the teachings of the Gnostics has survived, it is the thaumaturgical portion of it. This has always been popular with the masses, as it afforded them those means which they wanted to defend themselves against the attacks of unseen evil spirits, and to the more speculative minds it afforded a clue to the mystery of the universe. It gave them the means to subdue and to put to their service the unknown forces of nature. This lies at the root of the general acceptance of magic formulas and enchantments, and gives to this practice the popularity which it still retains.

Being the most formidable sects that assumed an anti-Christian character, although some are anterior to Christianity, the Gnostics were the first to be attacked by the Fathers of the Church. Most of the ancient writings of the Fathers are filled with polemics against heretics, of

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which these are the foremost. The result of this campaign, which lasted for centuries, has been the absolute destruction of all the writings of the Gnostics. Sparse and incoherent fragments only have come down to us, and we are now compelled to study their systems and superstitions, if we may call them so, from the writings of their antagonists, Irenæus and Hippolytus, Tertullian and Epiphanius. A single exception is the work known as "Pistis Sophia," the date of whose composition is variously assigned to the second or fourth century. It certainly seems to belong to a later stage in the development of the Gnosis, as it contains some of the later ideas. It has come down to us in a very bad state of preservation.

Within the last few years the soil of Egypt has rendered some more fragments of this kind of literature, and magic Papyri have now enriched our hitherto very scanty stock of genuine ancient literature. These belong to the second and third century, and, being exclusively of Egyptian origin, throw an unexpected light upon the form which Magic assumed under the influence of the new order of ideas. It is a fact that nothing is so stable and constant than this kind of mystical literature. The very nature of a mystic formula prevents it from ever being radically changed. As there is no other reason for its efficacy than the form in which it is pretended to have been fixed or revealed to the Select by the Divinity itself, any change of *that* form would immediately destroy its efficacy. Dread preserved the form intact, at least as long as the practitioner stood under the influence of those divinities whose power he invoked for protection, or as long as he believed in the power of those demons whose malignant influence he tried to avert by means of that form of enchantment. This explains the uniformity of a number of such charms in whatever language we find them and almost to whatever time they may belong; as long as they are the outcome of one and the same set of religious ideas, which is the determining factor. But with the change of religion the charms also undergo changes, not in the *form* but

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in the *names* of the divinities invoked, and these bring other changes with them. To take a modern example, the charm against the Evil Eye will contain the name of Christ or of a Saint in a Christian charm, the name of Muhammed in the Muhammedan, and that of an angel or a mysterious name of God in the Jewish formula, though all the rest would be identical. The same process happened also in ancient times, and the Papyri mentioned above assist us in tracing the change which the new order of ideas had introduced in the magical formulas of the Christian era.

If we trace the first impulse of these changes to the Gnostics, we must at once associate it with the sects of Essenes and Theraupeuts that swarmed in Egypt and Palestine, and with the most important sect of Gnostics which produced the greatest impression, *i.e.* that represented by Valentin. His is the one against whom most of the polemics of the Fathers of the Church were directed. He is the author of the most profound and luxuriant, as well as the most influential and the best known, of the Gnostic systems. He was probably of Egyptian-Jewish descent; and he derived his material from his own fertile imagination, from Oriental and Greek speculations, and from Christian ideas.[1] In his system entered also the mystical combinations of letters and signs known under the name of cabbalistic formulas, and he moreover favoured the permutations and combinations of letters to express divine names and attributes. To him we owe the theory of Æons and the Syzygies, or divine creative pairs, of which the two first form together the sacred "Tetraktys." I believe this to be the Gnostic counterpart of the sacred "Tetragrammaton," and not, as has hitherto been assumed by others, the Tetraktys of the Pythagoreans. For one can see in his system, and more so in the mystical part of it, the direct influence of the Jewish mystical speculations of the time. Valentin lived, moreover, in Palestine, and nothing would suit him better than to

[1] P. Schaff, "Anti-Nicene Christianity," ii, Edinburgh, p. 472 ff.

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manipulate that mystical, Ineffable Name of God, round which a whole system had been evolved in the service of the Temple. Angelology and mysterious names of God and His angels are, moreover, intimately connected with the above-mentioned sects.

The mysterious Ineffable Name of the divinity which is invoked seems to be the centre of most of the ancient and even modern Magic. By knowing that Name, which is assumed to be the name by means of which the world was created, the man or exorciser in Egypt pretended to constrain the god to obey his wishes and to give effect to his invocation if called by his true name; whilst in Chaldea the mysterious Name was considered a real and divine being, who had a personal existence, and therefore exclusive power over the other gods of a less elevated rank, over nature, and the world of spirits. In Egyptian magic, even if the exorcisers did not understand the language from which the Name was borrowed, they considered it necessary to retain it in its primitive form, as another word would not have the same virtue. The author of the treatise on the Egyptian mysteries attributed to Jamblichus maintains that the barbarous names taken from the dialects of Egypt and Assyria have a mysterious and ineffable virtue on account of the great antiquity of these languages. The use of such unintelligible words can be traced in Egypt to a very great antiquity.[1]

It is necessary to point out these things in order to understand the character of the new formulas which take now the place of the old. To the old and in time utterly unintelligible names, new names were either added or substituted, and the common source of many of these names is Jewish mystical speculation. The Ineffable Name of God and the fear of pronouncing it can be traced to a comparatively remote antiquity. We find in those ancient writings that have retained the traditions of the centuries before the common era, the idea of a form of the

[1] Lenormant, "Chaldæan Magic," p. 104 ff.

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Ineffable Name composed of 22, 42, or 72 parts, or words, or letters, of which that consisting of 72 was the most sacred. It is still doubtful what those 22, 42, and 72 were — either different *words* expressing the various attributes of God, or *letters* in a mystical combination; but whatever these may have been they took the place of the Ineffable mystical name and were credited with the selfsame astounding powers. By means of these every miracle could be done and everything could be achieved. All the powers of nature, all the spirits and demons could be subdued, and in fact there was no barrier to human aspiration. The heavens were moreover peopled at a very early age with numberless angels arranged in a hierarchical order and each endowed with a special Name, the knowledge of which was no less desirable for working miracles. I need only allude to Dionysius Areopagita to have mentioned a complete treatise of such a divine economy recognized by the Church, but we can go much higher up and find these divisions and subdivisions of the celestial hosts recorded in books that belong to the second era before Christ. In the Book of Enoch (ch. vi) we have a long list of such names of angels, and in a book, the date of which has been differently put, the names of angels are still more numerous, to which there are added also various names of God. The book in question pretends to be a vision of the High Priest Ismael, and is a description of the heavenly Halls. Modern scholars who knew nothing of the Gnostic and other heretic literature put it as late as the ninth century, simply and solely because they could not find early traces of it in the old literature, and because it seemed to appear first in those times. A comparison of it with the Ascensio Iesaiae, and still more with a chapter in the "Pistis Sophia," easily convinces us, however, of the fact that absolutely similar treatises were known as early as the first centuries after Christ, if they were not, in fact, later remakings of still more ancient texts. The Greek Papyri already alluded to have also this peculiarity in common with these texts, that they abound in similar

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lists of names of angels and demons borrowed from Egyptian, Christian, and Jewish sources. Among these we find also numerous forms of the *Name* of God consisting also of a number of letters, 7, 27, and others,[1] and also most curious combinations of letters.

The Jewish idea of a mystical Name of God rests thus upon the interpretation of the Tetragrammaton, or the word *JHVH*, that stands for God in the Hebrew text, which from very ancient times the priests first and then the whole people refrained from pronouncing in the way it was written. A substitute was found for it, so as to avoid a possible profanation of the sacred Name. But it is an object of millenary speculation what that substitute really was. As already remarked, it is represented by a changing number of elements, letters or words. The original miraculous, powerful Name, however, was the Tetragrammaton known as the "Shem ha-meforash." This word has presented great difficulties to the following generations. It can be translated either as meaning *explicit*, the "explicit" Name of God, whilst the others are merely substitutes, or *separate*, the name which is used exclusively for the designation of the Divinity. These two are the best known and most widely accepted interpretations of the "Shem ha-meforash." In the light, however, of our study it will appear that another translation will henceforth be found to be the only true one, at any rate for ancient times. Later on the true meaning of this expression was lost, and one or the other of the first-mentioned philological translations was adopted. So we find in the Testament of Solomon, *e.g.*, "the angel *called* Aphoph, which is *interpreted* as Rafael." [This expression proves that it is based upon a Hebrew original, and that the word "perush" was taken to mean "interpretation."] Considering that this name was believed to be the only *true* Name of God, the all-powerful name which was never pronounced, "Shem ha-meforash" can only mean the *Ineffable*, as we find it also in the "Pistis Sophia," and all

[1] A. Dieterich, "Abraxas," p. 185 (Papyrus Leyden,.

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throughout the ancient tradition. It is an euphemism; instead of saying: it is the "Ineffable" unutterable name, they used the word which meant: it is the "explicit" name, just as they said for a "blind" man—he is "full of light"; other examples can be easily adduced. In this way an ancient mystery and a stumbling-block for the translator of such texts disappears.

As the Tetragrammaton, or "Shem ha-meforash," was the Ineffable Name, and could by no means ever be uttered, others were substituted and were used by the priest when blessing the people. These also were endowed with a special sanctity, and were revealed only to the initiated. These substitutes were considered to be no less effective for miracles, and the knowledge of these mysterious Names was no less desirable than that of the true Tetragrammaton, for they were believed to represent the exact pronunciation of the forbidden word, and thus to contain part, if not the whole, of the power with which the Tetragrammaton itself was invested. Rab, a scholar who had studied in Palestine towards the end of the second century, says of these substituted names, and more especially of that of forty-two elements (Tr. Kiddushin, fol. 71*a*): "That this Name is to be revealed only to a man who stands in the middle of his life, who is pious and modest, who never gives way to anger and to drink, who is not obstinate. Whoever knows that Name and preserves it in purity is beloved in heaven and beloved upon earth; is well considered by man and inherits both worlds."[1] What these forty-two may have been has thus far been the object of speculation. When comparing the ancient tradition with the new texts in the Papyri, and in the mystical texts of Hebrew literature, there can no longer be any doubt that the Name of forty-two, or more or less, elements could not have been originally anything else but *words* consisting of that *number of letters*, which were substituted in the public pronunciation for the Ineffable Name consisting of one *word* and only *four letters*—the Tetragrammaton! In time these

[1] *Cf.* Bacher, "Agada d. Babylonischen Amoraeer," pp. 17, 18.

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substitutes were also forgotten, or not divulged, and thus arose a series of new substitutes and variations for the divine Name. There was also the fear of profaning the name of God when writing it down in the way it occurred in the Bible, and therefore they resorted to manifold devices on the one hand to avoid a possible profanation, and on the other to obtain sacred or mysterious substitutes for the Ineffable Name.

Another element that came within the purview of this activity of coining new names was the new and greatly developed angelology that flourished at that time in Palestine and Egypt. The angels had to be provided with appropriate and powerful names, and the authors resorted to the same devices, of which I mention the most prominent, and which are the cause of many of the barbarous forms and names that abound in the magical rites and formulas and in the so-called practical Cabbalah. The biblical names of Michael, Gabriel, and others with the termination *-el*=God, served as a model for some of the new angels, such as in the Book of Enoch and in other similar writings. The first part was, as a rule, taken from the characteristic attribute connected with the activity of that new angel: so *Raphael*=the healing angel, in the Book of Tobit; *Raziel* =the angel of the mysteries; and in the same manner a host of similar names. Then came into requisition the system of permutation of the letters of the divine name: one standing first was placed at the end, and so on. Much more extensively were the change in the order or the substitution of other letters resorted to. In the Alphabet of R. Akiba no less than five different systems of this kind of substitutions are enumerated; either the last letter of the alphabet stands for the first (A-t; b-š, א"ת ב"ש, etc.), or one letter stands for the one immediately preceding such, as *b* for *a*; or the eighth and fifteenth stand for the first, and so on (A-h-s; b-t'-a, אחס בטע), or first and twelfth are interchangeable (A-l; b-m, א"ל ב"מ). One can easily see how differently the same name could be written and employed in the same amulet, and all these

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various forms representing only *one* and the same name. The Tetragrammaton appears, therefore, either as מצפ"ץ, or בוזו, or בקרק, or שעפע, etc. The number of such permutations and substitutions is not limited, however, to these four systems enumerated; they are innumerable, and it is almost impossible to find the key for all met with in these mystical writings, and especially on the amulets.

Other means employed for the purpose of devising new variations and protections for the sacred name, belonging to the very oldest times, were the combination of *two* words into *one*, of which one is a sacred name and the other an attribute, but the letters of these two words are intermingled in such a manner that it is not always easy to decipher them. An example, which has hitherto not been understood, we have already in the Talmud. The High Priest Ismael is said to have seen Iah אכתריאל *Aktriel* in the Temple. This word, which stands for the mysterious name of God, is nothing else than the combination of the two words כתר *Ktr*=Crown and *Ariel*, from Isaiah xxix, 1. In the text, which I publish here, we have the name שקרחזי *Ṣḳṛḥzi*=שדי *Ṣaddai* and חזק *Hzk*=mighty, powerful. Names were further formed by leaving out one or two letters from the Tetragrammaton or from other sacred names of the Bible, the primary reason always being to avoid the possibility of profanation, as the profane utterance of the divine name brought heavy penalty upon the culprit. In this manner is the obscure exclamation in the Temple to be understood, אני והו *Ani vhu*, instead of the usual "O Lord" (help us): in each of these two words *one* letter has been left out—the *d* in the first, A*d*ni, and the second *h* in the second word. On other occasions strange letters were inserted between those of the divine name, and thus we get the puzzling form (Tr. Synhedrin, 56*a*=vii, 5) which is mentioned when the blasphemer who had blasphemed God was brought before the judges. The judges ask the witnesses to repeat the

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blasphemy uttered by the accused, and they say, instead of mentioning the Divine Name, the words יוסי יוסהאת יכה, which may have obtained this form in our printed texts through popular etymology, meaning "Jose beat Jose!" But originally we have here clearly the Tetragrammaton יהוה, and a strange letter inserted after each letter of that word, viz. כ, י, ם, and א.

This process continues still unto our very days, but from the thirteenth or fourteenth century onwards a change has taken place in the system of the formation of these mysterious words, considered to be so efficacious in amulets. The initials of the words of a biblical verse are combined into a new word without any meaning, or the letters of a verse are so arranged as to form uniform words of three letters without meaning, the commencement of each of these words being the letters of the Hebrew words arranged consecutively. The most celebrated example is the use to which Exodus xiv, 19–21 has been put for many a century. But these are a mark of more recent origin, and not a trace is to be found throughout the whole ancient mystical literature, and also not in our text.

If we should apply these principles to the Greek Papyri, there is no doubt that a key might be found for the innumerable curious names which crowd these fragments of a literature that at one time must have been very rich. Traces of it we find also in the "Pistis Sophia," where special stress is laid upon that Ineffable Name, communicated only to the initiated. The knowledge which a man acquires through the "Nomen Ineffabile" is described at some length (pp. 131–153). In another place we read that Jesus spoke the Great Name over the disciples whilst preaching to them, and blew afterwards into their eyes, by which they were made to see a great light (p. 233). The mysterious names of God and of the Powers are enumerated on pp. 223 and 234–5, whilst the following passage explains the power of that Name:—"There is no greater mystery than this. It leads your soul to the light of lights, to the places of truth and goodness, to the region of the most holy, to

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the place where there is neither man nor woman nor any definite shape, but a constant and inexpressible light. Nothing higher exists than these mysteries after which ye seek. These are the mysteries of the seven voices, and their forty-nine Powers, and their numbers, and no name is superior to that Name in which all the other names are contained, and all the Lights, and all the Powers. If anyone knows that Name when he goes out of the material body, neither smoke nor darkness, neither Archon, angel, or archangel, would be able to hurt the soul which knows that Name. And if it be spoken by anyone going out from the world and said to the fire, it will be extinguished; and to the darkness, and it will disappear; and if it be said to the demons and to the satellites of the external darkness, to its Archons, and to its lords and powers, they will all perish, and their flame will burn them so that they exclaim: 'Thou art holy, Thou art holy, the Holy of all the Holy.' And if that Name is said to the judges of the wicked, and to their lords and all their powers, and to Barbelo and the invisible God, and to the three Gods of triple power, as soon as that Name is uttered in those regions they will fall one upon the other, so that being destroyed they perish and exclaim: 'Light of all the Lights, who art in the infinite lights, have mercy upon us and purify us.'"[1] This is almost identical with the saying of Rab, with the difference that in the "Pistis Sophia" the Egyptian influence is not yet wholly obliterated. These examples suffice to show the character of the central point in the new Magic adopted by the Gnostics, viz., the mysterious Divine Name and its substitutes derived from the mystical speculations of Palestine, and also the general tendency of syncretism and absorption of various forms and invocations in that form of Magic which henceforth will have the deepest influence upon the imagination and belief of the nations of the West.

From that period, then, up to the twelfth or thirteenth century there is a gap which neither Psellus nor the Testament of Solomon fill sufficiently. All those ancient

[1] "Pistis Sophia," ed. Schwartze, p. 236.

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magical books, being declared the work of the evil spirit, were successfully hunted up and destroyed. The link which binds the literature of the second half of the Middle Ages with the past is missing, and we find ourselves often face to face with the problem whether a book that appears after that period is of recent origin, or is an ancient book more or less modified? Such a book is, for instance, the so-called Sefer Raziel, or the book delivered to Adam by the angel Raziel shortly after he had left Paradise. It is of a composite character, but there is no criterion for the age of the component parts. The result of this uncertainty is that it has been ascribed to R. Eleazar, of Worms, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. One cannot, however, say which portion is due to his own ingenuity and which may be due to ancient texts utilized by him. I am speaking more particularly of this book as it seems to be the primary source for many a magical or, as it is called now, a cabbalistical book of the Middle Ages. Trithemius, the author of "Faust's Hoellenzwang," Agrippa, and many more, are deeply indebted to this book for many of their invocations and conjurations, although they must have had besides similar books at their disposal, probably also the Clavicula Solomonis, the Great Grimoyre, etc.

I must still mention one more fragmentary relic of that literature, viz. the inscribed cups and bowls from ancient Babylon with Aramaic inscriptions. These belong partly to the Lecanomantia, and are another example of the constancy of these formulas; for centuries these remain almost unchanged, and even in their latest form have retained a good number of elements from the ancient prototype.

It so happened, then, that some inquisitive men living in Kairouan, in the north of Africa, should address a letter to the then head of the great school in Babylon, Haya Gaon (d. 1037), asking him for information on various topics connected with magic rites and the miraculous powers ascribed to the Ineffable Name. I give here the gist of some of their questions, which date therefore from the second half of the tenth or the commencement of the

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eleventh century. They ask first, what it is about that Ineffable Name and other similar mysterious Names of angels through the means of which people can make themselves invisible, or tie the hand of robbers, as they had heard from pious men from Palestine and Byzantium that if written upon leaves of reeds (Papyri!) or of olive trees and thrown in the face of robbers would produce that effect; and if written on a potsherd and thrown into the sea, calms it; or placed upon a corpse, quickens it to life; and, further, that it shortens the way so that man can travel immense distances in no time. They have also books with these terrible, awe-inspiring Names, and with the *seals* of those celestial powers of which they are terrified; as they know that the use of these mysterious Names, without due and careful preparation, brings with it calamity and premature death. To these and other questions the Gaon gives a sensible and philosophic reply, warning them, in the first instance, not to place too much credence on the statements of people who pretend to have seen, but to try and see with their own eyes. Then he goes on to tell them that such books with mystical names are also to be found in his college, and that one of his predecessors was known to have been addicted to these studies, and to the writing of amulets and the knowledge of incantations, but, he adds, "only a fool believes everything." As for the books with formulas, he goes on to say: "We have a number of them, such as the book called 'Sefer ha-Yashar,' and the book called '*The Sword of Moses*,' which commences with the words, 'Four angels are appointed to the Sword,' and there are in it exalted and miraculous things; there is, further, the book called 'The Great Mystery,' besides the minor treatises, which are innumerable. And many have laboured in vain to find out the truth of these things." In the course of his reply Haya touches also upon the Ineffable Name and the name of seventy-two (elements), which, according to him, was the result of the combination of three biblical verses (*cf.* above, p. 159, where reference is made to Exodus xiv, 19–21), but he neither knows which

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they are nor how they were uttered; as to the other of forty-two, he says that it consisted of forty-two *letters*, the pronunciation of which was, however, doubtful, resting merely upon tradition. This name commenced, according to him, with the letters אבגיתץ *Abgiṭṣ*, and finished with שקוצית *Ṣkuṣit*. He mentions further the books—"The Great and the Small Heavenly Halls" and "The Lord of the Law," full of such terrifying names and *seals* which have had that dreaded effect upon the uncalled, and from the use of which those before them had shrunk, lest they be punished for incautious use.[1]

These abstracts suffice to show that the mystical literature had not come to an end with the third or fourth century, but had continued to grow and to exercise its influence throughout the whole intervening period. The reasons why so little is mentioned in the contemporary literature is, that each period has its own predilections, subjects which absorb almost exclusively the general interest, and are therefore prominently represented by the literature of the time, whilst other things, though in existence, are relegated to an obscure place. The best example we have is the modern folklore literature, that has assumed such large proportions, no one pretending that the subject did not exist throughout the centuries, although neglected by scholars. It must also not be forgotten that we have only *fragments* of the literature that flourished in Palestine and among the Jews in the Byzantine empire, to which countries this mystical literature belongs. Christian literature leaves us also in the dark for this period, for the reasons stated above; only Syriac might assist us somehow to fill up that gap, but as far as I am aware very little is to be expected from that quarter, as in the whole magnificent collection of the British Museum I have not found a single MS. of charms or magical recipes, except one single, rather modern, Mandaic text. Two very small, and also rather modern, Syriac MSS. of charms are in the possession of the Rev. H. Gollancz.

Of those books now mentioned by Haya Gaon in his

[1] Ṭaam Zeḳenim, f. 54*b* ff.

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reply—all of which, by the way, seem to have been irretrievably lost—I have had the good fortune to discover one, viz. that called "*The Sword of Moses*," of which he gives us the first words. From the answer of Haya it is evident that he considered this book to be old and to be the most important, for he is not satisfied with merely giving the title as he does with the other books, but he makes an exception for this to indicate the commencement and to add that it contained "exalted and wonderful things." A glance at the contents of the newly-discovered text will justify the judgment of Haya, for it is a complete encyclopædia of mystical names, of eschatological teachings, and of magical recipes.

Before stating the contents I must first give a short description of this MS., now Cod. Hebr., Gaster, 178. This text has come to me with a mass of other leaves full of magical formulas, all in a very bad state of preservation and apparently hopelessly mixed up. Happily there were custodes at the ends of the leaves, and by their means I was enabled, after a long toil and careful handling of leaves falling to pieces on account of old age and decayed through dampness, to recover a good portion of the original MS. and the whole of this text, which occupies twelve small quarto leaves. The number of lines varies. The writing belongs to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and is in Syrian Rabbinical characters. It is evidently a copy from a more ancient text, and the copyist has not been very careful in the transcript he made. Many a letter is written wrongly, having been mistaken for another similar, such as ד (*D*) for ר (*R*) and ם (*M*) for ס (*S*). In many a place there are evident lacunæ, and the copyist has often not understood the text. The language is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic, Hebrew prevailing in the first part, which I call the Introductory or historical, as it gives the explanation of the heavenly origin of this text, and deals with all the preliminary incidents connected with the mode of using the text in a proper and efficacious manner. In the last, which I call the theurgical or magical

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part, Aramaic prevails. All the diseases are mentioned in the language of the *vulgus*, and so also all the plants and herbs, and the other directions are also in the same language. To no language, if I may say so, belongs the middle part, which is the real text of the "Sword." This consists of a number of divine and mysterious Names, a good number of which are the outcome of all those modes of manipulations with the letters briefly indicated above. It would be a hopeless task to try and decipher these names, and to transliterate them into the original forms of which they are the transformations and mystical equivalents. In this section we can recognize besides the unchangeable character of some of the magic formulas. What I said before of the Egyptians, who would not change any sacred Name, however barbarous it may sound, for fear of destroying its efficacy, holds good also for another number of Names found here in a bewildering variety. Almost every religion must have contributed to the list that makes up the "Sword." Eclecticism would be a mild word for this process of general absorption, that has made the "Sword" thus far the most complete text of magical mysterious Names which has come down to us. A small encyclopædia of a similar character is the Greek Papyrus of the British Museum, No. cxxi, and the Leyden Papyrus (J. 395), with which our text shows great similarity, but these Papyri mark as it were the first stages of this process of growth by the assimilation of various elements and combination into one single complete *vade-mecum* for the magician or conjurer. In the "Sword" we have the full development of that process, which must have run its course at a very early period.

Nothing is more fallacious than to try etymologies of proper names. The omission or addition of one letter by a careless copyist suffices to lead us completely astray. It is, therefore, difficult to advance any interpretation of even a few of the names found in this text that have a familiar appearance. If we were sure of the reading, we might recognize among those in No. 6, Isis (Apraxia,

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Veronica), Osiris, Abraxas, and others; but, as already remarked, such an identification might easily lead us astray, and the coincidences might only be the result of mere chance. No doubt can, however, be entertained as to the complex character of this text, and to the astounding form of many of the names which it contains. It is a systematically arranged collection; in the apparent disorder there is order; and the names are placed according to certain leading features which they have in common. Thus we have a long string of names that are composed with the word Sabaoth (Nos. 24–37); others that are the components of the divine *-el* (Nos. 102–34). More startling still is a list of supposed names of heavenly powers that are represented as *sons of* other powers. These are undoubtedly derived from many sources, the author welding smaller texts and lists into one comprehensive list. The third part contains the directions for the application of these various Names. These are also arranged according to a certain system. The diseases follow, at any rate in the first portion, the order of the members in the human body, commencing with the head and its parts, then descending to the lower members; after which follow recipes for ailments of a different nature, to be followed by the directions for performing miracles and other remarkable feats.

Each of these 136 items (numbered by me) corresponds with a certain portion of Part II, the words or the mystical Names of those portions in Part II being the mysterious words that alone were the proper to have the expected magical result. In order to facilitate research, I have subdivided Part II into such corresponding portions to which I give the same number. There is thus an absolute parallelism between the two parts—one the text and the other its magical application. We see that the book has been very methodically arranged by one who intended to prepare as complete a magical book as possible. By this parallelism, and by the partial repetition of the mysterious words in Part III, we have the means to satisfy ourselves as to the accuracy of the copyist, who does not

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come out very satisfactorily from this test. It may be that the original from which he copied was already partly corrupt, and the fear which such books inspired prevented him from attempting to correct what are obvious mistakes in the spelling of those Names. It not seldom happens that the same Name is written in two or three different forms in one and the same recipe. I have also not attempted any correction, as we have no means to decide which of these *variæ lectiones* is the true and which the corrupt. Another reason why the copyist may be exonerated from at least some of these inconsistencies, is the fact that he gives in many places what are intended to be different readings. He starts his copy with the marginal note, unfortunately half gone, the paper being destroyed in that place, that "there are differences of opinion as to the readings of the text and of the Names," or, as I would interpret this mutilated glosse, "the marginal readings are *variæ lectiones*." For, in fact, there are a good number of marginal glosses throughout Parts I and II.

There also are some in Part III, but these are of a totally different character. They are purely philological, and furnish one powerful proof more both for the antiquity of the text with which we are dealing and for the country where the MS. has been copied. Most, if not all, these glosses are, namely, *Arabic* translations of the Aramaic words of the original. By the mistakes that have crept into these Arabic glosses, it is evident that they have not been added by the copyist, who surely would have known how to write his own translation, but who would make mistakes when copying another MS., especially if it were in any way badly written or had suffered in consequence of age. The translation further proves that the original was written at a time when Aramaic was the language of the people, and that at a certain time when the copy was made from which this MS. is a transcript the language of the original had begun to be forgotten and required a translation, which, by the way, is not always exact. The Aramaic of this text is, in fact, not easy to understand; there occur in it many words

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of plants and diseases which I have not found in any dictionary in existence, and many of the grammatical forms present peculiar dialectical variations, which point to Palestine as the original home of our text, and deserve a special study. Here again we have to lament the fact that we deal with an unique manuscript and have no means to test the accuracy of the text. But even as it is, this text will prove an extremely valuable contribution to Semitic philology, and would enrich even Löw's book on Aramaic names of plants, where I have in vain searched for the names and words occurring in our text. I have therefore added a translation, which, however, in some places, does not pretend to be more than an attempt to grapple with a very recalcitrant text.

The title of the book seems to be derived from the last words spoken by Moses before his death. He concludes his blessing of the Children of Israel with these words (Deuter. xxxiii, 29): "Who is like unto thee, a people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and that is the Sword of thy excellency," or "thy excellent Sword." The figurative "Sword" spoken of here must have been taken at a later time to signify more than a figure of speech. Under the influence of the mystical interpretation of Scripture flourishing at a very early period, it was taken to denote a peculiar form of the divine Name, excellent and all-powerful, which served as a shield and protection. It therefore could be made to serve this purpose in magical incantations, which did not appeal to the assistance of demons but to the heavenly hosts obeying the command of the Master of that "Sword." There is no wonder, then, that it came to be connected with the name of Moses, the very man who spoke of it, and whose last words were of that "Sword." In the Greek Papyri, Moses is mentioned as one who keeps divine mysteries (Brit. Mus., Pap. xlvi, of the fourth century, lines 109 ff., ed. Kenyon, in Catalogue, 1893, p. 68, and note to it); and again, in another Papyrus, cxxi, of the third century (*ibid.* p. 104, l. 619 and note), a reference to one of the magical books ascribed to Moses, called "The Crown of Moses." But what is

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more important still, the Leyden Papyrus calls itself the eighth Book of Moses. It resembles very much our text, which has thus preserved the old name by which many of these magical books went. Dieterich, who published the Leyden Papyrus (Abraxas, Leipzig, 1891), looks to Orphic origins for that magical composition and lays too great stress on the Cosmogony in it. In the light of our text it will become evident that these go all back to one common source, viz. to the mystical speculations of those sects, which he himself enumerates (pp. 136 ff.); and the "Logos ebraikos" quoted by him from the Paris Papyrus (*ibid* pp. 138–141) shows more clearly still the same sources for all these compositions. The overwhelming importance assigned in these texts to the "holy Name" consisting of a number of *letters*, and the book calling itself "The Work of Moses on the Holy Name," justify us in seeing in it an exact parallel to the Hebrew text, recovered now by me. There is much internal similarity between the Hebrew "Sword" and the Greek Papyri. The order of subjects is similar; all commence with an eschatological part, which in the Greek is more in the nature of a Cosmogony, in the Hebrew that of the description of the heavenly hierarchy. In both follows the "Name," and after that a list of magical recipes which refer back to that Name. The constant refrain of the Leyden Papyrus after each recipe is: "Say the Name!" Here the Name is still simple; in the Hebrew text it is represented by the rich variety which I have pointed out, but an intimate connection between these various texts cannot be doubted.

There exists besides another small treatise (B), also unique, that goes under the same name as "The Sword of Moses" (Cod. Oxford, 1531, 6). It is a short fragment of a different recension, and has only a remote resemblance with the first text (A). It consists of a list of mystic Names, different in their form from the other text, and has only sixteen recipes, which do not correspond with *portions* only of the first part, but, as in the Leyden Papyrus, the *whole* of this was to be repeated

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after each recipe. Immediately upon this short text follows an invocation of the heavenly Chiefs, attributed to Ismael, the High Priest, the reputed author of the "Heavenly Halls." This addition corresponds to a certain extent with the first part of the "Sword" (A). In none, but very few exceptions, of B is there any trace of Aramaic, and a totally different spirit pervades the whole text. It is in the first place doubtful whether we have here the whole of it or merely a fragment. In two places we find the letters נג (NG) and נד (ND), which taken as numerals mean 53 and 54. If they stand for such, then we have here only the last two or three portions of a long text, of which the preceding *52* are missing. Again, on the other hand, as it is regularly recommended to repeat the *whole* of the "Name" after each recipe, an operation that would be well-nigh impossible for the inordinate length of that text, those NG and ND may not stand as numbers of paragraphs. This text presents besides many more peculiar traits that make it rather remarkable. We find here thus far the only trace in Hebrew literature of the "Twins" or "Didymoi" which appear in the Gnostic hymns of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostle Thomas,[1] and are brought into connection with the system of Bardesanes. The heavenly Powers mentioned in the "Sword" (A) under the form of *sons* of other Powers, point also to the same system of Bardesanes, of whom Ephraem Syrus said: "He invented male and female beings, gods and their children."[2] He may have taken these ideas from older sources. However it may be, this coincidence is none the less remarkable. We find further angels with double names, the one of which I translated "Kunya," *i.e.* the proper name, and the other the *explicit*, i.e. *Ineffable* unutterable name, corresponding entirely with that of the Testament of Solomon, where we find "the angel called Apharoph interpreted Raphael" (*τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀφαρὼφ, ὅ ἑρμηνέυεται Ῥαφαὴλ*.—Orient, 1844, col. 747).

[1] Ed Bonnet, pp. 36–38. *Cf.* Lipsius, "Apokryphe Apostelgeschichten," i, pp. 313 and 318 ff.
[2] Lipsius, *l.c.*, p. 310.

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In the Gnostic prayer from the Acts of the Apostle Thomas, the Sophia is spoken of as the one "who knows the mysteries of the Chosen," or, according to the Syriac version, "revealer of the mysteries of the Chosen among the Prophets." With this the passage in the Hebrew text (B) may be compared, where the same idea is enunciated; and one feels almost tempted to see in the inexplicable word קינן ("Kinn") the Greek "Koinôn," the companion or partaker of the mystery; although it seems rather strange to find the very word in the Hebrew text. But there are many words that have a peculiar appearance in this text, and they look like transliterations of Greek words in Hebrew characters, such as "Chartis Hieratikon," etc. I have added, therefore, this second text also, making thus the publication of the "Sword" as complete as possible.

As a second Appendix I have added two conjurations found in the MS. of the "Sword" (A), both in Aramaic, and extremely interesting also for their similarity with the inscriptions inside the bowls brought from Assyria and Babylon. A detailed study of some of these magic bowls and their inscriptions has been published by M. Schwab.[1]

I have reproduced all these texts as closely and accurately as possible, without attempting any corrections or emendations, except in the case of obvious mistakes, which are pointed out by me as corrections. The glosses are given as notes, and the few corrections of obvious mistakes. I have refrained from referring to inscriptions on Gnostic gems and amulets, where we find "Ephesia grammata" similar to those of Part II of the "Sword" (A) and to some of Appendix I, and to the magical formulas in the terra-cotta bowls, which present a striking similarity with some portions of "The Sword." One cannot exhaust a subject of this kind, and the utmost one can attempt to do is to place as ample a material as possible at the disposal of those who make the study of Magic and theurgy and of the so-called practical Cabbalah the object of special enquiry. I have limited myself to

[1] Proc. Bibl. Archæology, 1890, pp. 292–342.

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draw attention to the relation that exists between these, the Greek Papyri, and the Hebrew texts which I publish here for the first time, and to point out the important fact that we have now at least one fixed date from which to start in the enquiry of a subject in which dates and times have thus far been very doubtful. It is, moreover, a contribution to Semitic philology, and by the addition of a facsimile of the first page a contribution to Semitic palæography.

The origin of the "Sword" is none the less somewhat difficult to fix. From the letter of Haya Gaon it is evident that it must have been at least a few centuries older than his time (tenth century). But it must be much older still. As the Leyden Papyrus belongs at the latest to the third century, and those of the British Museum to the third or fourth century, we are justified in assigning to the first four centuries of the Christian era the origin of our Hebrew text, which throws so vivid a light upon those remnants of Greek Magic buried hitherto in the soil of Egypt. Herein lies also one side of the importance of our text, that it shows how the connection between antiquity and the later ages was maintained. The Greek texts had become inaccessible and practically lost to the world, whilst the Hebrew text, written in a language which was considered sacred, the knowledge of which was never allowed to be extinguished, preserved the ancient magical texts, with their curious mystical names and formulas, and carried them across the centuries, keeping up the old tradition, and affording us now a glimpse into a peculiar state of the popular mind of those remarkable times. The careful study of those Greek fragments side by side with the Hebrew will assist very materially in the understanding also of those often very obscure texts, and lift the study from the narrow groove in which it has hitherto been kept by the classical scholars who have devoted their attention recently to them. It will also help us in laying bare the fountains from which flowed the whole of the magical arts of the Middle Ages.

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II. Translation.

I. *The Sword of Moses.*

In the name of the mighty and holy God!

Four angels are appointed to the "Sword" given by the Lord, the Master of mysteries, and they are appointed to the Law, and they see with penetration the mysteries from above and below; and these are their names—SKD HUZI, MRGIOIAL, VHDRZIOLO, TOTRISI. And over these are five others, holy and mighty, who meditate on the mysteries of God in the world for seven hours every day, and they are appointed to thousands of thousands, and to myriads of thousands of Chariots, ready to do the will of their Creator, X,[1] the Lord of Lords and the honoured God; these are their names—X. And the Master of each Chariot upon which they are appointed wonders and says: "Is there any number of his armies?" And the least of these Chariots is lord and master over those (above) four. And over these are three chiefs of the hosts of the Lord, who make every day tremble and shake His eight halls, and they have the power over every creature. Under them stand a double number of Chariots, and the least of them is lord and master over all the above Chiefs (rulers); and these are their names—X. And the name of the Lord and king is X, who sits, and all the heavenly hosts kneel, and prostrate themselves before Him daily before leaving X, who is the Lord over all.

And when thou conjure him he will attach himself to thee, and cause the other five Chiefs and their Chariots, and the lords that stand under them, to attach themselves to thee just as they were ordered to attach themselves to Moses, son of Amram, and to attach to him all the lords that stand under them; and they will not tarry in their obeisance, and will not withhold from giving authority to

[1] X stands for the mysterious names, which have not been transliterated. N for the name of the person who conjures.

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the man who utters the conjuration over this "Sword," its mysteries and hidden powers, its glory and might, and they will not refuse to do it, as it is the command of God X saying: "Ye shall not refuse to obey a mortal who conjures you, nor should you be different to him from what you were to Moses, son of Amram, when you were commanded to do so, for he is conjuring you with My Ineffable names, and you render honour to My name and not to him. If you should refuse I will burn you, for you have not honoured Me."

Each of these angels had communicated to him (Moses) a propitious thing for the proper time. These things (words) are all words of the living God and King of the Universe, and they said to him:—

"If thou wishest to use this 'Sword' and to transmit it to the following generations, (then know) that the man who decides to use it must first free himself three days previously from accidental pollution and from everything unclean, eat and drink once every evening, and must eat the bread from a pure man or wash his hands first in salt (?), and drink only water; and no one is to know that he intends using this 'Sword,' as therein are the mysteries of the Universe, and they are practised only in secret, and are not communicated but to the chaste and pure. On the first day when you retire from (the world) bathe once and no more, and pray three times daily, and after each prayer recite the following Blessing:—

"'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who openest the gates of the East and cleavest the windows of the firmament of the Orient, and givest light to the whole world and its inhabitants, with the multitude of His mercies, with His mysteries and secrets, and teachest Thy people Israel Thy secrets and mysteries, and hast revealed unto them the "Sword" used by the world; and Thou sayest unto them: "If anyone is desirous of using this 'Sword,' by which every wish is fulfilled and every secret revealed, and every miracle, marvel, and prodigy are performed, then speak to Me in the following manner, read before Me this

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and that, and conjure in such and such a wise, and I will instantly be prevailed upon and be well disposed towards you, and I will give you authority over this Sword, by which to fulfil all that you desire, and the Chiefs will be prevailed upon by you, and my holy ones will be well disposed towards you and they will fulfil instantly your wishes, and will deliver to you my secrets and reveal to you my mysteries, and my words they will teach you and my wonders they will manifest to you, and they will listen and serve you as a pupil his master, and your eyes will be illuminated and your heart will see and behold all that is hidden, and your size will be increased." Unto Thee I call, X, Lord of the Universe. Thou art He who is called X, King of the Universe. Thou art called X, merciful king. Thou art called X, gracious king. Thou art called X, living king. Thou art called X, humble king. Thou art called X, righteous king. Thou art called X, lofty king. Thou art called X, perfect king. Thou art called X, upright king. Thou art called X, glorious king. Thou art called X, youthful king. Thou art called X, pleasant king. Thou art called X, and thou listenest to my prayer, for Thou hearkenest unto prayer; and attach unto me Thy servants the lords of the "Sword," for Thou art their king, and fulfil my desire, for everything is in Thy hands, as it is written: "Thou openest thine hand and satisfiest every living being with favour."

"'I conjure you, Azliel called X; I conjure you, Arel called X, Ta'aniel called X, Tafel called X, and the most glorious of these Yofiel Mittron called X, the glory from above. With the permission of my king (I conjure) Yadiel called X, Ra'asiel called X, Ḥaniel called X, Haniel called X, Asrael called X, Yisriel called X, A'shael called X, Amuhael called X, and Aṣrael called X, that you attach yourselves to me and surrender the "Sword" to me, so that I may use it according to my desire, and that I find shelter under the shadow of our Lord in heaven in the glorious Name, the mighty and awe-inspiring X, the twenty-four letters from the Crown; that you deliver unto me with this

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"Sword" the secrets from above and below, the mysteries from above and below, and my wish be fulfilled and my words hearkened unto, and my prayer (supplication) received through the conjuration with the Ineffable name of God which is glorified in the world, through which all the heavenly hosts are tied and bound; and this is the Ineffable Name—X, blessed be he! (I conjure you) that you shall not refuse me nor hurt me, nor frighten and alarm me, in the tremendous Name of your king, the terror of whom rests upon you, and who is called X. Fulfil for me everything that I have been conjuring you for, and serve me, for I have conjured you not with the name of one who is great among you but with that of the Lord over all, whose name ties and binds and keeps and fastens all the heavenly hosts. And if you should refuse me, I will hand you over to the Lord God and to his Ineffable name, whose wrath and anger and fire are kindled, who honours his creatures with one letter of his name, and is called X; so that if you refuse he will destroy you, and you will not be found when searched after. And you preserve me from shortness of spirit and weakness of body in the name of X, the guardian of Israel. Blessed art Thou, who understandest the secrets and revealest the mysteries, and art king of the Universe.'"

A voice was heard in the heavens, the voice of the Lord of heavens, saying: "I want a light (swift) messenger (to go) to man, and if he fulfils my message my sons will become proud of the 'Sword' which I hand over to them, which is the head of all the mysteries of which also my seers have spoken, that thus will my word be, as it is said: 'Is not my word like as fire? saith the Lord'" (Jer. xxiii, 29). Thus spoke X, the lord of heaven and earth; and I, Assi Asisih and Apragsih, the light (swift) messenger, who am pleased with my messages and delighted with my sending, ascended before Him, and the Lord over all commanded me: "Go and make this known to men who are pious and good and pure and righteous and faithful, whose heart is not divided and in whose mouth is no duplicity, who do not lie with their tongues and do not deceive with

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their lips, who do not grasp with their hands and are not lustful with their eyes, who do not run after evil, keep aloof from every uncleanness, depart from every defilement, keep themselves holy from contamination, and do not approach woman." When the Lord over all commanded me thus, I, X, the swift messenger, went down to earth, and I said on my way: "Where is the man who possesses all these that I should go to him and place this with him?" And I asked myself, and thought in my heart that there is no man who would do all this that I wished; and I found none, and it was heavy unto me. And the Lord over all conjured me by His mighty right arm, and by the lustre of His glory and His glorious crown, with an oath of His mighty right arm, and He conjured me, and the Lord over all strengthened me and I did not fall. I thus stood up, I, X, to put NN in the possession of the desired covenant, in the name of X."

"This is the great and glorious Name which has been given as a tradition to man—X, holy, glorious, glorious, Selah. Recite it after thy prayers.—And these are the names of the angels that minister to the son of man—Mittron, Sgrdtsih, Mqttro, Sngotiqtel, etc., etc., etc. (28 names)." "In a similar manner shall you serve me NN; and receive my prayer and my orisons, and bring them to God X, blessed be He! for I adjure you in His name, and I extol you (to ascend), like unto the bird that flies from its nest, and remember my meritorious deeds before Him and (make Him) forgive now my sins on account of my words of supplication, and you may not refuse me in the name of X, blessed be He! Sabaoth, Sabaoth, Selah. His servants sanctify Him and praise Him with sweet melody, and say: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of holy name; the whole earth is full of His glory"; and do not refuse me, in the name of X, who lives for ever, and in the name of Ditimon, etc., X, and in the name X of the great One from whom nothing is hidden, who sees and is not seen, and in the name of Him who is the chief over the heavens and is called X. And the King of the

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Universe utters (this name) also in a different manner, thus—X. You swift messenger, do not tarry and do not frighten me, but come and do all my wants in the name of X, the great One, who sees and is not seen, AHVH, whose Ineffable Name is revealed to the heavenly hosts; and I conjure you by this Ineffable Name, such as it was revealed to Moses by the mouth of the Lord over all, X, the Lord Sabaoth is His name. Blessed art thou, O God, lord of mighty acts, who knowest all the mysteries."

And which are the letters which X communicated to Moses? He said to him: "If thou wishest to get wise and to use the 'Sword,' call me, and conjure me, and strengthen me, and fortify me, and say: 'X, with the great, holy, wonderful, pure, precious, glorious, and awe-inspiring secret Name X, with these letters I conjure thee to surrender to me and make me wise and attach to me the angels which minister to the "Sword," in the name of the Revealer of mysteries. Amen.'"

Write with ink on leather and carry about with you during those three days of purification, and invoke before and after prayer the following Names communicated to Moses by Mrgiiel, X, by Trotrosi, X, etc. (the 13 Chiefs mentioned at the beginning, and a long string of other mysterious names which are said to have been communicated to Moses). "And they have not hidden from him any of these sacred Ineffable names or letters, and have not given him instead the Substitutes of any of these sacred letters, for thus were they ordered by the Lord of all mysteries to communicate to him this 'Sword,' with these Names which constitute the mysteries of this 'Sword'; and they said to him: 'Command the generations which will come after thee to say the following blessing prior to their prayer, lest they be swept away by the fire': 'Blessed art Thou, X, who wast with Moses; be also with me, Thou, whose name is X. Send me X, who is the cover of the Cherubim, to help me. Blessed art Thou, Lord of the Sword.'"

Whoever is desirous of using this 'Sword' must recite his

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usual prayers, and at the passage "Thou hearkenest to prayer" say: "I conjure you four princes, X, servants of Hadirion, X, that you receive my invocation before I pray, and my supplication before I entreat, and fulfil all my wishes through this 'Sword,' as you have done to Moses, in the glorious and wonderful name of the Lord of wonders, which is interpreted thus—X." He must then call the five superior Chiefs and say: "I conjure you, X, that you accept my conjuration as soon as I conjure you, and you attach to me those four princes and all the hosts of Chariots over which you preside, to fulfil all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this beloved name X." He must then call the three angels that are superior to these, and say: "I conjure you, X, the beloved of X, who is Hadiririon, that you attach yourselves to me and attach to me X, who are standing under your rule, to fulfil all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this unique name X." And then he must lay hold of the highest Chief over all and say: "I conjure thee, X, strong and powerful Chief over all the heavenly hosts, that thou attachest thyself to me, thou and not thy messenger, and attach to me all the Chiefs that are with thee, to fulfil my wishes through this 'Sword,' by the name X, which has no substitute, for thou art beloved and he is beloved, and I am from the seed of Abraham called the beloved. Blessed art thou, King of the mysteries, Lord of the secrets, who hearkenest unto prayer."

And he is not to touch this "Sword" ere he has done all these things; afterwards he will be able to do whatever he likes, everything being written here following in its proper order.

II. *This is the "Sword."*

[It consists of a series of mysterious names of God or angels, to which the recipes in Part III refer. The first list commences with Tobat, Tsbr, etc. (1–5). These numbers are added by me to make the formulas run parallel with their magical applications in Part III, as already explained in the Introduction. I refer to them as they break up this

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part in convenient smaller portions, and are easily discernible. After these follow the words]: "With these your Names, and with the powers you possess, to which there is nowhere anything like (I conjure you) to show me and to search for me, and to bring me X to do all my bidding in the name of X," and, again, a list of names, that have no special characteristic in common. Nos. 20–24 are all names commencing with *JJ*; some of these finish with *JH*. 24–36 all these names have the word *Sabaoth* attached to them. To 41–47 *HVH* is added. From Nos. 51–93 all the names are composite; they appear as names of *sons*, the name of the father being added to each of these, close upon 160 names, *e.g.*: Ssgnis, son of Srngia; Ssgn, son of 'Arggis; Atumi, son of Batumi; Ahsuti, son of Kkthus; Agupi, son of Abkmi, etc. Every name from 102 on to the end of this part finishes with *-el*, after which follow varying syllables and words: some are only *JH* or *JV* (Nos. 102–105), or a word commencing with *'A-* and finishing with *-JH* (Nos. 106–111). Nos. 112–121 are followed by AHVH, whilst 122–127=JHVHH, and Nos. 128–134= HVJH. They conclude with the following words: "Ye sacred angels, princes of the hosts of X, who stand upon the thrones prepared for them before Him to watch over and to minister to the 'Sword,' to fulfil by it all the wants by the name of the Master over all; you Chiefs of all the angels in the world, X, in the name of X the seal of heaven and earth, ministers of X the most high God; through you I see X in the world; you are lording over me in all the place of the Master over all: I pray of you to do everything that I am asking of you, as you have the power to do everything in heaven and upon earth in the name of X, as it is written in the Law, 'I am the Lord, this is My name!'"

III.

1. If at full moon (?) a man wishes to unite a woman with a man that they should be as one to one another,

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to destroy winds (spirits), demons, and satans, and to stop a ship, and to free a man from prison, and for every other thing, write on a red bowl from Tobar, etc. (No. 1).—2. To break mountains and hills, to pass dryshod through the water, to enter the fire, to appoint and to depose kings, to blind the eyes, to stop the mouth, and to speak to the dead, and to kill the living, to bring down and to send up and to conjure angels to hearken unto thee, and to see all the mysteries of the world, write Nos. 1 and 2 upon the saucer of a cup and put in it the root of genip-tree (*genipa*). —3. Against a spirit that moves in the body write on a plate No. 3.—4. Against a spirit that burns write No. 4. —5. Against a spirit in the whole body write No. 5.—6. Against a demon (*shidda*) write No. 6.—7. Against shingles write No. 7.—8. Against quinsy (erysipelas ?) say the words of No. 8 over oil of roses and put it over his face.—9. For pains in the ear whisper in the painful ear No. 9.—10. For aches in the eye say the words No. 10 over water three days running in the morning, and wash the eye with it.—11. For cataract say the words of No. 11 over oil of sesame, and anoint the eye with it during seven mornings. —12. For grit in the eye say over Ḳohl No. 12, and fill the eye with it for three mornings.—13. For blood that runs from the head whisper No. 13 over the head early in the morning for three days, when you wash your hands before getting out of bed.—14. For paralysis say seven times over a vessel full of water and seven times over sesame-oil the words No. 14, "that it should move away and leave NN, Amen, Amen, Selah"; and throw the pail of water over his head and anoint him with the oil, and do this for three days; then write an amulet with the words from, "I conjure you" till "Amen, Selah," and hang it round his neck. —15. For pains in one half of the head (neuralgia?) and for bad singing in the ear, write No. 15 and hang it round the neck.—16. For the bad deafening (of the ear) write No. 16 and hang it round the neck.—17. For pains in the ear say into the left ear the words No. 17 backwards.—18. For deafness say over hemp water, whilst mixing it

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with oil of "Idi" (sesame?), the words of No. 18, and put it into his ear as soon as it has become a little dissolved (or warm).—19. For scabs, ulcers, itches, mange, shingles, etc., that befall mankind, say over olive oil No. 19 and anoint with the left hand.—20. For jaundice say the words No. 20 over water in which radish has been soaked, and let him drink it.—21. For pains in the nose and for the spirit in the nose say No. 21 over oil of "Idi" (sesame?) and put it into his nostrils.—22. For pains in the stomach (*lit.* heart) and in the bowels say No. 22 over water, and drink it.—23. For hot fever say No. 23 over water in which rose-laurels are soaked, and he is to bathe in it.—24. For tumors, etc., say No. 24 once over them and once over olive oil, and anoint them for three days, but do not let any water come near them—25. For an evil occurrence (?) say No. 25 over seven white cups of water, filled from the river, and throw them over the head.—26. For ulcer (diphtheria?) spit out before him, and say over his mouth, and over a cup of strong drink, No. 26, and make him drink, and watch what is coming out of his mouth.—27. For a man bitten by a snake or by another (!) poisonous insect, he must say over the place of the bite or over the painful spot No. 27 and drink it; the same he is to do whenever hurt by any creeping thing.—28. For a woman who has seen blood before the time say No. 28 over an ostrich egg, then burn it, and she be smoked with it.—29. For pains in the mouth say No. 29 over risen flour, and put it upon his mouth.—30. For quinsy (croup) and for pains in the shoulder, say No. 30 over wine and drink.—31. For a painful nerve write No. 31 on a scroll and speak these words over olive oil, and rub some of it on the scroll and smear it over the painful spot and hang the amulet round his neck.—32. For stone say over a cup of wine No. 32, and drink it.—33. For hemorrhoids take tow and put salt on it and mix it with oil, saying over it No. 33, and sit on it.—34. For a man who suffers from swelling and from venereal disease (?), he is to say No. 34 over water in which radishes are soaked, and drink.—35. For sprains, either

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you take a plate and write upon it No. 35 and put it upon the place, and all around it will be healed; or you take a ball of wool and dip it in oil of (sesame?), and say those words upon it and put it upon the sprain.—36. When injured or hurt by iron, and for every blow that it should not fester, say No. 36 over white naphtha and rub it over the place of the blow.—37. For (cramps?) and for pains of heart say over spinach and oil No. 37, and drink it.—38. For the gall and the bowels take the water in which raisins have been soaked, saying over it No. 38, and drink it.—39. For the spoiled liver take (a drink) a sixth measure of water-lentils and say No. 39, and swallow it slowly (?).—40. For the milt say No. 40 over wine-lees and drink it, and repeat it for three days.—41. For the spirit who rests on the womb, say No. 41 on camphor oil and put it on it with a ball of wool.—42. For a woman who has a miscarriage, say No. 42 on a cup of wine, or strong drink, or water, and let her drink it for seven days; and even if she should see blood and she repeats it over a cup of wine, the child will live.—43. For a man who is bald, say No. 43 over nut-oil and anoint with it.—44. To conjure a spirit write on a laurel-leaf: "I conjure thee, prince whose name is Abraksas, in the name of (No. 44) that thou comest to me and revealest to me all that I ask of thee, and thou shalt not tarry." And the one bound by thee will come down and reveal himself to thee.—45. To remove a rich man from his riches, say No. 45 upon the dust of an ant-hill and throw it into his face.—46. To heal leprosy, take the patient to the side of the river and say to him: "I conjure thee, leprosy, in the name of (No. 46) to disappear and to vanish, and to pass away from NN. Amen, Amen, Selah"; and he is to go down and dip seven times in the river, and when he comes out write an amulet with the words "I conjure—Selah," and hang it round his neck.—47. For diarrhœa write No. 47 on a red copper plate and hang it round his neck.—48. If thou wishest that the rain should not fall upon thy garden, write out No. 48.—49. If thou wishest to see the sun (!) take . . . from a male tree and stand in front of the sun and say . . . which art called

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on the . . called . . . and the ears of barley (?) the words of No. 49;[1] and he will appear unto thee in the form of a man dressed in white and he will answer thee upon everything that thou askest him, and he will even bring a woman after thee.—50. Whosoever wishes to enter a furnace is to write No. 50 on a silver plate and hang it upon his haunch.—51. If thou seest a king or a ruler and thou wishest that he follow thee, take a basin of water and put into it the root of genip-tree, and the root of purslane, and the root of (*Artilochia*), and say No. 51, and place it on fiery coals in a white earthen vessel and throw upon them leaves of olive-tree, and whatever thou decreest he will bring unto thee, even a woman thou canst command. —52. If you wish to overawe them, take water from the fountain and say upon it No. 52 and throw it into their faces. —53. For loosening (any charm) say over water No. 53 and throw it over him and write it as an amulet and hang it round his neck, and also for freeing a man from prison.— 54. To catch fish, take a white potsherd, and putting into it leaves of olive-tree say over them No. 54 at the side of the river.—55. If thou wishest a woman to follow thee, take thy blood and write her name upon a newly-laid egg and say towards her No. 55.—56. If a man is to follow thee, take a new potsherd and dip it in black myrrh (gall) and pronounce over his name the words of No. 56, and walk on without looking backwards.—57. For a tree that does not produce fruits, write the words No. 57 upon a new potsherd and bury it under the root of the fruitless tree, and water all the trees and these also which do not produce the fruit.—58. For illness (dog) in the fruit write on a new potsherd No. 58 and bury it in the cistern (watering-place), and say these words also over water, ashes, and salt, and water the earth with it.—59. For a suckling babe write on an onyx slab No. 59 and whisper it into its ears three times, spitting out after the whispering; then repeat them over a cupful of water 70 times and give it the child to drink.—60. For one bitten by a rabid dog,

[1] There is something probably missing here.

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write No. 60 on the halter of an ass and let the ass go; then repeat these words over sesame oil and let him anoint himself with it and put on new clothes and hang that halter (?) round him.—61. For fever and small fever, write on the skin of the brains of a ram or a goat No. 61, and hang it round his neck.—62. If anyone lose his way he is to say No. 62 over the four corners of his belt (?).—63. If thou wishest to ask anything of thy neighbour, say No. 63 over oil of sesame or of . . . or of . . . —64. If thou wishest that a woman is to follow thee write thy name and her name with thy blood upon her door, and the same upon thy door, and repeat the words of No. 64.—65. If thou wishest to know whether thy journey will be lucky, take a field lettuce with open leaves, and standing before the sun say the words of No. 65 and watch the lettuce: if the leaves close and shut, then do not go; but if they remain in their natural state, proceed, and thou wilt prosper.—66. If thou wishest to deliver a man from prison (?) say No. 66 once to him, and once to the sun, and once to the prison (?) house.—67. To conquer (collect ?), take dust from thy house and say over it seven times in the road of the town the words of No. 67, and then take dust from the road and do likewise and throw it into thy house.—68. If you wish to kill a man, take mud from the two sides of the river and form it into the shape of a figure, and write upon it the name of the person, and take seven branches from seven strong palm-trees and make a bow from reed (?) with the string of horse-sinew, and place the image in a hollow, and stretch the bow and shoot with it, and at each branch (shot) say the words of No. 68; and may NN be destroyed . . .—69. To send plagues, take (parings ?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd, and go out to the cemetery and say there No. 69, and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses, and afterwards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house.—70. To send dreams to your neighbours, write No. 70 upon a plate of silver and place it in the mouth (?) of a cock and kill it when it has gone

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down its mouth, and take it out from the mouth and put it between its legs and bury it at the end of a wall, and put thy foot upon that spot and say thus: "In the name of X, a swift messenger is to go and torment NN in his dreams until he will fulfil my wish."—71. If a snake follows thee say No. 71, and it will dry up.—72. To stop a boat in the sea, say No. 72 over a potsherd or on a rounded flintstone and throw it against it into the sea. —73. To loosen it (from the charm), say No. 73 over dust or a clod of earth and throw it into the water, and as this dissolves the boat gets free to go.—74. If thou wishest to prevent an oven or furnace or pot from becoming destroyed (unclean ?), say No. 74 over dust and throw it over them.— 75. If thou wishest them to be hot, spit in front of them and say No. 75, and they will boil.—76. If thou wishest to pass dryshod through the sea, say upon the four corners of the head-dress (turban) No. 76, and take one corner in thy hand and the other is (?) to precede thee.—77. If thou wishest to curse anyone, say in the 'Eighteen benedictions' No. 77, in the name of X.—78. To speak with the dead, whisper No. 71 into his left ear and throw into their holes (?).—79. To kill a lion, bear, an adder, or any other hurtful animal, take the dust from under the right foot, say over it No. 79, and throw it into their faces.—80. To catch them, take the dust from under your left foot, saying No. 80, and throw it into their faces.— 81. To open a door, take the root of lotos reed and place it under the tongue and say No. 81 against the door.— 82. To kill an ox or another beast, say into its ear No. 82.—83. To inflame his heart, say No. 83 over a piece of raw meat, and give it to him to eat.—84. To make a fool of one, say No. 84 over an egg and place it in his hands.—85. To destroy the house of thy neighbour, say No. 85 over a new potsherd and throw it into his house. —86. To expose (?) your neighbour, say No. 86 over oil of . . . and smear it at the bottom of his jug (?).—87. To make your neighbour disliked, take blood from phlebotomy, say upon it No. 87, and throw it upon his lintel.—88. To

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make a woman have a miscarriage, say No. 88 over a cup of water and throw it over her lintel.—89. To make a man ill, say No. 89 over olive oil and let him anoint himself with it.—90. To know whether a sick person will die or live, say before him No. 90: if he turns his face towards you he will live; if away, he will die.—91. To catch a lion by the ear, say No. 91 and make seven knots in the fringes of thy girdle and repeat these words with each knot, and you will catch him.—92. To make thy renown go throughout the world, write No. 92 as an amulet and bury it in thy house.—93. To shorten the way, say No. 93 over a single lotos reed.—94. To cure hemorrhoids, take kernels of dates . . . and burn them in fire and say No. 94, and mix it with oil of olives and place it as an amulet over it, and it will be good.—95. For every spirit write upon a bowl No. 95 and hang it round the neck.—96. For subtle poison, as cumin-seed and calamint, write No. 96 upon an egg and put it into wine, and repeat over it the same words and then drink it.—97. For the thunder that comes from heaven, take a ring (round piece) of iron and lead, and hang it on the spot you wish (to protect), and say over it No. 97.—98. To go before king or lord, say No. 98 over a piece of lion's skin dipped in black hemp (?) and pure wine, and take it with thee.—99. For blight, if it happen, take a sinew and soak it in turnip-juice in the night from Wednesday to Thursday, and say No. 99 over it; on the morrow sprinkle that water over the field.—100. If the fruit gets worm-eaten, take a worm from the mud and put it into a tube and say No. 100 over it; then close the tube and bury it in that place.—101. To free a man from prison (? shame), say over the grounds of Kappa (?) and unripe dates No. 101, and give it to him to eat.—102. For a field that does not produce fruits, take eight cups from eight houses and fill them with water from eight rivers, and put salt into them from eight houses, and say over them No. 102 eight times, and pour out two cups at each corner, and break them on eight paths.—103. If one does not know what a man is ailing

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from, soak mullein (*verbascum*) in water, and say over it No. 103, and let him drink it when he is thirsty.—104. To make war, take the dust from under the left foot, say over it No. 104, and throw it into the (enemies') face, and there will appear knights with weapons in their hands who will fight for thee.—105. To throw thy fear upon mankind, write No. 105 upon a leaden plate and bury it on the west side of the Synagogue.—106. To have always light in the darkness, write No. 106 upon a chart (paper) and carry it always with thee.—107. To catch (blind) the eye, write No. 107 upon a scroll and expose it in a wicker-basket to the stars, but you must not speak when writing.—108. To send a sword which should fight for thee, say No. 108 over a new knife wholly of iron, and throw it into their face.—109. If thou wishest that they kill one another, say No. 109 over a new knife wholly of iron and bury it with your heel into the earth, and keep the heel upon it in the earth, and they will kill one another, until you take it out from the earth.—110. To make them pause, take the dust from under the right foot, and, saying the same words again backwards, throw it into their face, and they will stop.—111. If an enemy has got hold of thee and wishes to kill thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 111, and he will run away from thee like one who runs away from his murderer.—112. To catch the eye (blind), say No. 112 over the skin of a lion and carry it with thee, and no one will be able to see thee.—113. If thou fallest into a (?) and wishest to come out, say No. 113, and thou wilt come out in peace.—114. If thou fallest into a deep pit, say in thy fall No. 114, and nothing will hurt thee.—115. When thou fallest into a deep river say No. 115, and thou wilt come out in peace.—116. If any burden or weight falls upon thee, say No. 116, and thou wilt be saved.—117. If the king's servants lay hold on thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 117 before king or judge, and he will kill these people who have laid hands on thee.—118. If a host has surrounded thee, turn thy face towards the west and say

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No. 118 before king or judge, and they will be like unto stones and will not move.—119. If thou wishest to release them, turn thy face towards the east and repeat these words backwards.—120. If thou walkest in vales or on the mountains and hast no water to drink, lift thine eyes to Heaven and say No. 120, and a fountain of water will be opened unto thee.—121. If thou hungerest, lift thine eyes to Heaven and spread out thine arms and say No. 121, and a spirit will stand before thee and bring thee bread and meat.—122. If thou wishest to call the angel (prince) of man, say over thy mantle (?) No. 122, and the angel bound by thee will come to thee and will tell thee whatever thou wishest (to know).—123. If thou wishest to let him go (depart), say before him the same words backward, and he will depart.—124. If thou wishest that any heavenly prince is to come to thee and teach thee, say No. 124 and conjure him in the third hour of the night from: "in the name of the Lord over the holy ones (No. 136) to the end of the 'Sword,'" and "Send him to me that he reveal unto me and teach me all that is in his power," and he will then disappear (!).—125. To walk upon the water without wetting the feet, take a leaden plate and write upon it No. 125 and place it in thy girdle, and then you can walk.—126. To become wise, remember for three months running, from the new moon of Nissan onwards, the words of No. 126, and add in the 'Eighteen benedictions': "May the gates of wisdom be opened to me so that I should meditate in them."—127. To remember immediately all thou learnest, write on a new-laid egg No. 127, then wash it off with strong wine early in the morning and drink it, and do not eat anything for three hours.—128. To make another forget what he has learned, write No. 128 in his name on laurel-leaves and bury them under his lintel.—129. To send an evil spirit against thy neighbour, take a green grasshopper and say over it No. 129, and bury it in an earth-hill and jump over it.—130. To send a plague, take the bone of a dead man and dust from under him in a pot and tie it up in a woven rag with saliva, and say upon it

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No. 130 in his name, and bury it in the cemetery.—131. To tie and to fasten thiefs and robbers, say No. 131, and whilst saying it put your little finger in the ear —132. To release them, say No. 132, and take thy finger out of the ear.—133. To guard thy house from thieves, say No. 133 over a cup of water and pour it out round thy roof. Thus also to guard a house.—134. To guard a house from hosts (robbers), take earth from an ant-hill and strew it round the roof, repeating the words of No. 134.—135. To guard thyself from Mazikim, say: "In the name of 'Nos. 1–5' may I, NN, pass in peace and not in hurt." The same must be done to excommunicate them when you meet them.—136. For every other thing that has not been mentioned say, No. 136 to the end of the "Sword."

And upon every amulet that you write from this "Sword" write first: "In the name of the Lord of all the holy ones, may this 'Sword' be effectual to do my services, and may the lord of it approach to serve me, and may all these powers be delivered over to me so that I be able to use them, as they were delivered to Moses, the son of Amram, perfect from his God and no harm befalling him!" If he will not act accordingly the angels of wrath, ire, fury, and rage will come near him to minister to him, and they will lord over him, and strangle him, and plague him all over. And these are the names of their leaders: the leader of the angels of wrath is Mzpopiasaiel; the name of the leader of the angels of ire is Zkzoromtiel; the name of the leader of the angels of fury is Kso'ppghiel; the name of the leader of the angels of rage is N'mosnikttiel. And the angels that stand under them are numberless, and these all will have power over him, and will make his body like unto a dunghill.

May the Lord preserve you from every evil. Amen!

End of the "Sword," with the assistance of God feared in the council of the holy ones. End, end.

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APPENDIX I.

In the name of the Lord. The Sword of Moses.

I. [A long list of mystical names; then follows:] and the angel over the animals, whose name is Ittalainma; and the angel over the wild beasts, Mtniel; and the angel over the wild fowls and over the creeping things, Trgiaob; and the angel over the deep waters and over the mountains, Rampel; and the angel over the trees, Maktiel; and the angel over the sweet-smelling herbs, Arias; and the angel over the garden fruits (vegetables), Sofiel; and the angel over the rivers, Trsiel; and the angel over the winds, Mbriel; and over man, X.—. . . hours are proper for man to pray and to ask for mercy upon man, be it for good or evil; and it is said that every hour is proper for man to pray, but during the three first hours in the morning man is to pray and to mention the hundred sacred names and the mighty ones, whose sum amounts to three hundred and four. Amen. Selah!

. . . . . X give me healing . . . .

Which is the great light? All the . . . . X, I conjure you, mother of the (whether?) male and mother of the (or?) female, you, the "Twins," I conjure you, the hard (strong) spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, the living one [Michael], in the name of God [Gabriel], . . Raphael (save) me from the Lions, the powerful ones (Archons?), and the Twins. I conjure you, strong spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, IH, IHVH, IHVH, I, N, son of N . .

II. Verily, this is the ("Sword of Moses") with which he accomplished his miracles and mighty deeds, and destroyed all kind of witchcraft; it had been revealed to Moses in the bush, when the great and glorious Name was delivered to him. Take care of it and it will take care of thee. If thou approachest fire, it will not burn thee, and it will preserve thee from every evil in the world.—1. If thou wishest to try it take a thick (green) branch and

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utter this "Sword" over it five times at sunrise, and it will dry up.—2. To catch fish, take sand from the sea and the root of the date (tree) (or the kernel of the date), and repeat this "Sword" over them, and the fish will come to the spot where thou throwest the sand.—3. To walk on the waters of the sea take the wooden helve of an axe, bore a hole through it, pass a red thread through it, and tie it on to thy heel, then repeat the words of the "Sword," and then you may go in and out in peace.—4. To run quickly (?), write the "Sword" on "Chartis hieratikon," then put water into a new earthenware pot, and let them drink it and wash their faces, and they will be victorious!—5. To break it (?), write the "Sword" on a plate of copper (*kyprinon*) and put it in . . and they will be broken.—6. To subdue a woman, write with the blood of thy hand thy (?) name upon thy gate, and write thy name upon a scroll of leather of a hart with the blood of thy finger, and say this "Sword," and she will come to thee.—7. To make thyself praised in the community, take in thy left hand porret-seed and utter over it the "Sword," and throw it between them,[1] and descend (?) until the sun sets, and he will carry thee wherever thou wishest, and fast for three days, and burn incense and the smoke of white flower, and repeat the "Sword" in the morning and the evening, and he will come instantly and speak to thee and do thy bidding.—8. To get information through a dream, take balm and write upon "Chartis hieratikon," and repeat the "Sword" in front of a light, and put out the light with a stick of olive-wood, and lie down.—9. If thou wishest to go to a great man, take rose-oil and repeat the "Sword" over the oil and anoint thy hands and face with it, and he will hearken unto thee.—10. To make strife in the community, take the left hand full of mustard, speak the "Sword" over it, and throw it amongst them, and they will kill one another.—11. To separate a man from his wife, take ass's meat in thy hand and say over it the "Sword," and no harm will befall thee (?).—12. To destroy

[1] There is something probably missing here.

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thy enemy, take a leaden plate and some of his hair and clothes, and say the "Sword" over them, and bury them in a deserted house, and he will fall down.—13. To walk in the street and not to be recognized by anyone, take wormwood, perfumes, and soot, and smoke thyself with it, and take the heart of a fox, and say the "Sword," and go out in the street.—14. If you are on the sea and the storm rages, stand up against the waves and say the "Sword" to them, and they will go down; then write on a plate, or potsherd, or a piece of wood, and hang it in front of the ship, and it will not founder.—15. To break an enemy, write the "Sword" upon a potsherd that has not yet been burned, and plaster it over, and throw it into his house.—16. To obtain anything thou likest, take into thy right hand wormwood, and say over it the "Sword" facing the sun, and everything will be fulfilled, and purify thyself for seven days, and thou wilt prosper in everything. Do kind deeds to thy friends, take heed not to take an oath, and walk modestly, and thus thou wilt prosper.

Write X upon the palm of thy left hand, take then a new lamp and fill it with olive-oil and naphtha, and put on new clean clothes, and sleep in a clean house, and the angel will come at once and wake thee, and reveal unto thee everything that thou wishest.

III. R. Akiba asked R. Eliezer the great: "How can one make the Angel of the Presence descend upon earth to reveal to man the mysteries from above and beneath, and the speculations of the foundations of heavenly and earthly things, and the treasures of wisdom, cunning, and help?" He said thereupon to me: "My son! I once made him come down, and he nearly destroyed the whole world, for he is a mighty prince and greater than any in the heavenly cohort, and he ministers continually before the King of the Universe, with purity and separation, and with fear and dread of the glory of his Master, because the Shekinah is always with him." And he said to him: "My master, by the glory which thou hast bestowed upon me, I conjure thee to instruct me how to attach him to me." (And he

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replied): "In that hour when I wish to attach him to me and to employ him, I sit and fast on that very day; but prior to it one must keep oneself free for seven days from any nocturnal impurity, and must bathe in the fountain of water, and not speak at all during those seven days, and at the end of this purification, on the day of the fast, he must sit in the water up to his throat, and before he utters the conjuration he must first say: 'I conjure you, angels of dread, fear, and shaking, who are appointed to hurt those who are not pure and clean and desire the services of my heavenly servants—I conjure you in the name of X, who is mighty over all, and rules over all, and everything is in His hands, that you do not hurt me, nor terrify me, nor frighten me; verily, in the name of the powerful, the head of . . . ' After this he may commence his conjuration, for now he has fortified himself and has sealed himself with the name of God of 42 letters, before which all who hear it tremble and are frightened, and the heavenly hosts are terror-struck. He must then again conjure, and say: 'X, chief, who of all the destroying angels is the most hurtful and burning, with this Name and in this way I call thee AVZHIA, angel of the Presence, youthful minister before the King of the Universe, who art a prince and chief of the heavenly hosts; I conjure thee and decree upon thee that thou attachest thyself to me to fulfil my wish and to accept the decree of my conjuration and to accomplish my desires and fulfil my wishes, and do not frighten me, nor terrify me, nor overawe me, and do not make my frame shake and my feet vacillate, nor cause my speech to be perverted; but may I be fortified and strengthened, and may the conjuration be effective and the (sacred) Name uttered properly by my throat, and may no vacillation take hold of me and no trembling of the feet by thy ministering angels confuse me and overawe me, and weaken my hands, and may I not be overcome by the fire and flame of the storm and whirlwind which precedes thee, O wonderful and exalted one, whose Ineffable name is X, of whose wrath the earth trembles, and nothing can

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withstand his anger, twice blessed. Again I conjure thee by thy 14 (!) names by which thou didst reveal thyself to thy prophets and seers, to place in their mouths sweet words of prophecy and to utter pleasant words; and these are the Ineffable names and their surnames (Kunya): Spirit Piskonnit, kunya, X; Atimon, kunya, X; Piskon (?), Hugron, kunya, X; Sanigron, kunya, X; Msi, kunya, X; Mokon, kunya, X; Astm, kunya, X; Sktm, kunya, X; Ihoaiel, kunya, X; Iofiel, kunya, X; Ssnialiah, kunya, X; Kngieliah, kunya, X; Zabdiel, kunya, X. I conjure thee with these fourteen names, by which all the secrets and mysteries and signs are sealed and accomplished, and which are the foundations of heaven and earth. Four of these are engraved upon the heads of the Ḥayoth (Holy Creatures), namely—X, the lord of powers; X, master of miracles; X, master of purity; and X, master of the yoke. And four are engraved upon the four sides of the Throne, namely—X, three times holy; X, Adir, Adiri, Adiron, etc., the king of kings. And four are engraved upon the four crowns of the Ofanim (wheels) that stand against the Holy Creatures, as it is said: "When those went, these went; and when those stood, these stood" (Ezek. i, 21); and these they are —X, who is the mightiest over all; X, who rules over all the inhabitants of the heights (?), and in whose hands everything is. And two are engraved upon the crown of the most exalted and high King, and these they are—X, before whom every knee bends and every mouth utters praises; X, besides him there is no God and helper. With these names I conjure thee, and firmly decree upon thee to descend quickly to me, N, son of N, thou and not thy messenger. And when thou comest down do not turn my mind, but reveal unto me all the secret mysteries from above and beneath, and the hidden secrets from above and beneath, and all the secrets of wisdom and the cunning of helpfulness, just as a man speaks to his neighbour. For I have conjured thee with these Names, that are great and mighty and wonderful and awe-inspiring, and proved and arranged in proper order, through which the glorious

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throne has been established and the beautiful seat of the Most High, which has been wonderfully wrought, long before thou and the heavenly hosts had been created, "While as yet He had not made the earth nor the fields, and the inhabitants of the earth and the creatures therein" (Prov. viii, 26).

"'I call thee further by (the power) of the five selected Names, to which only one is superior, and this is their form—X. I conjure thee by these five Names, which correspond to the five names of God, whose letters are written on burning fire, and they circle round the throne of glory, one ascending and the other descending, so that the angels of the Presence should not behold them, and this is their equivalent and form and glory—X. I conjure thee by these, as thou knowest their praise and greatness, which no mouth can utter, and no ear can hear, no, not even one of them. Thou hast been commanded and ordered by the Most High: "as soon as thou hearest anyone conjuring thee with these names, to do honour to My Name, and to descend quickly and fulfil the wish of the man who makes thee hear them; but if thou tarriest I will push thee into the fiery river Rigayon and place another in thy stead." Do it, therefore, for His Name, and come quickly to me, N, son of N, not in a terror, and not in fear, not with fiery coals, not with hailstone, and not with the sleet and treasures of snow, and not with the howling of the storm, and not with the provinces of the whirlwind that usually accompany thee, and do my bidding and fulfil my desire, for everything is in thy hand; by the permission of thy God, the master over all and thy lord, and with His Names I conjure thee to attach thyself quickly to me; come and fulfil my wish, and do not tarry.

"'I further call thee with the greatest of thy Names, the pleasant and beloved one, which is the same as that of thy Master, save one letter, with which He created and formed everything, and which He placed as a seal upon all the work of His hand; and this is its equivalent—X, and the

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other in the language of purity (permutations of the letters Yod, He) is read so—X. I conjure thee with the right hand of sanctity and with His beloved Name, in whose honour everything has been created, and all are terror-struck by His mighty arm, and all the sons of the internal heavenly cohort (servants) tremble and shake of His fear, which is X, and its equivalent by means of JHVH is X. Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever. And all praise and extol thy Name, for they love thee. I conjure thee, and decree upon thee firmly, not to disobey my words, and not to alter my decree and my decision with which I conjured thee, and decreed upon thee, and established in peace. In the Name X, blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever, depart in peace, and do not frighten me in the hour of thy departure; in the name X, Lord, most high and holy, in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel's battalions; in the name of the holy living Creatures, and in the name of the Wheels of the Chariot, and in the name of the river of fire, Ih, Zii, Ziin, and all His ministers, and in the name of IH, Ziin, Sabaoth, Z, El Z, Shaddai Z, X revealed Himself on Mount Sinai in the glory of His majesty.

"'With these Names, terrible and mighty, which darken the sun, and obscure the moon, and turn the sea, and break the rocks, and extinguish the light, I conjure you, spirits, and . . and Shiddim, and Satanim, that you depart and disappear from N, son of N.'"

APPENDIX II.

I. *Against an enemy.*—I call thee, evil spirit, cruel spirit, merciless spirit. I call thee, bad spirit, who sittest in the cemetery and takes away healing from man. Go and place a knot in NN's head, in his eyes, in his mouth, in his tongue, in his throat, in his windpipe; put poisonous water in his belly. If you do not go and put water in his belly, I will send against you the evil angels Puziel, Guziel,

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Psdiel, Prziel. I call thee and those six knots that you go quickly to NN and put poisonous water in his belly and kill NN whom I mean (or, because I wish it). Amen, Amen. Selah.

II. *Against an enemy.*—Write upon a new-laid egg on a Nazarene cemetery: "I conjure you, luminaries of heaven and earth, as the heavens are separated from the earth, so separate and divide NN from his wife NN, and separate them from one another, as life is separated from death, and sea from dry land, and water from fire, and mountain from vale, and night from day, and light from darkness, and the sun from the moon; thus separate NN from NN his wife, and separate them from one another in the name of the twelve hours of the day and the three watches (?) of the night, and the seven days of the week, and the thirty days of the month, and the seven years of Shemittah, and the fifty years of Jubilee, on every day, in the name of the evil angel Tmsmael, and in the name of the angel Iabiel, and in the name of the angel Drsmiel, and in the name of the angel Zahbuk, and in the name of the angel Ataf, and in the name of the angel Zhsmael, and in the name of the angel Zsniel, who preside over pains, sharp pains, inflammation, and dropsy, and separate NN from his wife NN, make them depart from one another, and that they should not comfort one another, swiftly and quickly."

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NOTICE TO BINDER.

This text and index, pp. i–xxxv, to be bound at the end of Dr. Gaster's article on

"The Sword of Moses."

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* The Numbers refer to page and line.

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APPENDIX B.

לשנאה • אנא קרינא לך שידא ביש ושדא[1] אכיראה ושדא דלא
מרחמנותא לך אנא קרינא שידא ביש יתבא בית קברא ונקמא אכמתא
דבני אינשא היא תיזל תיני קמרה לפ׳ב׳פ ברישיה ובעיניה ובפומיה
ובילשניה ובקרקבניה ובקניה ותשרי ליה מיא פיוא בכרסיה ואם לא
תזלון ותרמון ליה מיא בכרסיה משדרנא עלי בישתא מלאכין פוזיאל
ונוזאל מסדיאל פרזיאל אקריניך וקבורי[2] אנון שתא דתזלון בעגלא על
פ׳ב׳פ ותשרון ליה מיא סיוא(!) בכרסיה וקמילו יתיה לפ׳ב׳פ דאנא בעיבא
א׳א׳ס ׃׳

לשנאה • כתוב על ביצה בת יומא פי קבר נצראני משבענא
עליכון באהרי[3] שמיא וארעא כמא דאתפרשו שמיא מן ארעא כן אפריקו
ואפרישו בן פ׳ב׳פ ומ׳ב׳פ אנתיתה ואפרישו יתהון חד מן חד כמו
דאתפרשו תיי מן מיית וכמו דאתפרשת ימא מן יבשתא ומיא מן נהרא
ומורא מן גלמתא וליליא מן יממא ונהורא מן חשוכא ושמשא מן סהרא
כן אפרישו פ׳ב׳פ מן פ׳ב׳פ אנתיתה ואפרישו יתהון חד מן חד בש׳
תרתי עשר שעין דיממא ותלת ארל(!) ליליא ושבעא יומי שבתא ותלתין
יומי ירחא ושבע שמיפין ותמשין שנין יובלא כל יומא ויומא בש׳ם
דמסמסמאל מלאכא סמנא ובשם ויאבאל מלאכא ובשם דדסמיאל מלאכא
ובשם זהבוך מלאכא ובשם דאתאף מ׳ל ובשם והצמאל מ׳ל וב׳ש
וסניאל מלאכא דממנן עלי כיבא ועל פיניותא וצתכא והדריזפא ואפרישו
פ׳ב׳פ מן פ׳ב׳פ אנתיתה וירחקון דין מן דין ולא יכלון למניחמא דין ית
דין מהר בדין ומהר בצדיע ׃׳ תם

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[1] שא. [2] וקפורי l. [3] נאהרי.

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תתמנניה יהב הורנה יה יה הו הה נה יה יהב אקניעף צור זך שקתתה
וב היה יהב • בהם השבעתיך שאתה יודע ומכיר שבח ונודל שמות
אילו שלא יוכל פה לשבח ולא יוכלו אזנים להקשיב שבח נדול של
אחד מהם עליהן נצטויתה והוהרתה מפי עליון שאם תשמע שבועה
בששת האילו עשה כבוד לשמך ומהר ורד ועשה רצון משמיעך ואם
תעכב הרי דוחפך בריניון אש רודפת ומעמיד אני אתר תתת רשותך
עשה לשמו ומהר ורד אלי אני פל בן פל • לא בועף ולא בביהול
ולא בברוני(!) אש ולא באבנים של ברד וכתלי של זעף ואוצרות של
שלג • ולא בכניפות סערה ולא בנבולות של סופה ההולכים עמך
ובקשתי תעשה ושאלתי וקיים רצוני כי בידך כל " מרשות אנדיורו רד
הו היה אלהי ואלהיך אדון הכל ואדוניך ובשמותיו השבעתיך שתזקק
לי ותמהר ותרד ותעשה רצוני ולא תעכב • שוב אני קוראך בשם נדול
מכל שמותיך ונחמד וחביב בשם רבך לפי שאות אתת מחוסר משמו
ובו יצר ויסד הכל וחתם בו כל מעשה ידיו • וכך פירושו עיורן[1] תוקפן
והידורן אשש מקצתת מנ מסצייו מניקייו פיפג הוני הסס פצם יה
סאמינגסיא קתו הוהם ופירושו בלשון מהרה ביוד הי כאיצד נקרא
יהוה יו הוה הו הו יהוה יה היה יהוה יהוה יהוה חי והיי היו היה יה
ההו יו חי הוה יה יהוה יוה • משביע אני עליך בימין קדש ובשמו
ונחמד שהכל [f. 66a] לכבודו נבראו שהכל מפירוש בזרוע נבורה
ומאימתו יפחדו וירעשו כל בני פמליא הפנימית אששמע קתמפתנ אוסיינג
בי עמסיץ תמתנייץ אתתזמן ייקין ייפגהו פהוויי צצם היי אמצם אנסי
הויי • ופירושו בלשון יהוה הה יהיה ווהי הה יה יה יהוה הו יה יה
הי היה ויה הוה יהוה הוי הי יהו היו יהיה יה יה ההוה יה ההיה
ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד " והכל יאדירו ויפארו לשמך כי
בך(!) חיבתך השבעתי ונזרתי וקיימתי עליך שלא תעבור ותעכב את דבריי
ולא תשנה מכל נזירתי וקיימתי והשבעתי ונזרתי וקיימתי עליך בשלום •
בשם יהו הי אי הי יהו הב יה וא אה באה האה יוה הי הו או יה הו יה
יהה • בר׳ שכ׳מ׳ל׳ו׳ " עלה לשלום ולא אפחד בשעה פמירתך מני •
בשם אה יהוה יהוה יה היה אדון עליון וקדוש • השם בשם יהוה
י״י צבאות אלהי מערכות ישר׳ בשם חיות הקודש ובשם נלנלי המרכבה
ובשם נתר דינור יה זיי זיין וכל שמשני • ובשם יה זי״ן • י״י י״י ז׳
צבאות ז׳ אל ז׳ • שדי ז׳ אהיה אשר אהיה • אהי אשר אהי אי אהי
אי אשר יהו אי אה יהי אשר הי יהיא אשר יה יאי יהי איה יה יה אדיר
חסין שמו יה הוא הב היה הנגלה בהר סיני בתוך מלכותו • בהלין שמהתא
דחילי ועזיזי דחשכי שמשא ודחון סיהרא והפכון ימא ופקעין כיפא ודעכון
נורא משבענא רוחין וריוון ושידין וסמנין תרחקון ויזלון(!) מן פל׳ בר פל׳ "

[1] ציורן? l.

הוה • מפורש סניגרון כינוי תצנ"ג נהוסם יוהי • מפורש משי • כינוי
צקנתה יה והיה • מפורש מוקן • כינוי כתמנת פגני היה •
מפורש אסמם • כינוי אטממני הוה הוה • מפורש סקסם • כינוי
קדורדו סס יד הוה • מפורש • יהו אואל • כיטי פדר הודים סיהו •
מפור' יופיאל • כיטי קמהו וון היה וי יה והיה • מפורש ססנניאל
יה • כינוי סקמנהה יה יה יה • מפור' קנניאל יה • כינוי צצמכת •
שיהו יה ויהוה • מפור' זבדיאל • כינוי אנצצנית יוה יהוה • הריני
משביע בארבעה עשרה שכל רזים וסתרים ואותות התומות בהן
ונעשים(!) • ויסודי שמים וארץ בהם • וארבעה מהן חקוקין על ראש
החיות ואילו הן הוגנ סתי והו צץ גנו סיה אדון הגבורות והו בד הוג
קסיסה • בעל נפלאות • תצמצ שש נהי הה • בעל פרישות • קתנת
צניה ובו נדריה • בעל העול • וארבעה מהן חקוקין • על ארבע
רוחות כסא • ואילו הן נהי פדד נהו זיו הוה קדוש קדושת קדוש •
פפנ נג עקמה יה אדיר אדירי אדירון ספבר מיל אוזיה אל אלהי
האלהים את כן עתקר [f. 65a] פנניה מלך מלכי המלכים • וד' חקוקין
על ד' כתרי האופנים העומדים נגד החיות כאמור בלכתם ילכו ובעמדם
יעמדו ' ואילו הן • בליס נייה וויי[ייהן] שליט על כל • אסגנו צב סס
רוי יה אדיר על כל • וגנהו סס הי צץ הוה מושל בכל דרהי
בירנגהו(!) שהכל בידו • ושנים מהן חקוקין על כתרו של מלך עליון רם
ונישא ואילו הן זתת צץ פפ צצ קדדר חי תסיה שלפניו תכרע כל
ברך וכל פה יודה לפניו אוקה וה גרוו שוי שיה • מבלעדיו אין
אלהים ומושיע • בהם אני משביעך ונוזר ומקיים אני עליך שתמהר
ותרד אצלי אני פל' בן פל' • אתה ולא שלוחך ובירידתך לא תשרף
דעתי ותגלה לי כל מחקרי רזי מעלה ומטה וסתרי צפוני מעלה ומטה
ורזי בינה וערמת תושיה כאדם שהוא מספר לחבירו כי בשמות הגדולים
ואדירים ונפלאים ובחונים וסדורין השבעתיך שבהן נכון כסא הכבוד
ומושב עליון כלי חמדה שנעשה בהפלא ופלא מאד עד שלא נוצרתה
ולא נצרף כל צבא מרום עד שלא עשה [שמים] ארץ ותוצות • ודרי
ארץ ובריות שבה • שוב אני קוראך בה' שמות ברורים שבשמותיך שאין
לך למעלה מהן חוץ מאחד • וזה פירושו סנגנק צניה רתיה אל יה עת
צניסס חו הו היה אל יה בהורדגהו עשמש שהיה אלוה פמנוק צהו
ססעון יה ואהה אל יה אזהנך פמפמדי הוה יהיה יה אל יה • משביע
אני עליך בה' שמות כנגד ה' שמותיך שאותות שלהן כתובות באש
בולעות[1] באש ועוספות למעלה מכסא כבוד ואחת עולה ואחת יורדת
כדי שלא יציצו בהן שרי הפנים • וכך פירושן וניקובן והידורן אתלסת
גניסס הוה יה יה קריסום קריר הוה יה יה יהב אהי סנגהה יה

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[1] בולעות l.

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חדש וכסה אותו בו מעם שמן זית ומעט נפט ולבוש בגדים נקיים
ותישן בבית פהור ומיד בא מלאך ומעמיד לך ומגלה לך כל
מה שאתה מבקש.

III. שאל ר׳ עקיב׳ את ר׳ אליעזר הגדול במה משביעין את שר
הפנים לירד לארץ לגלות לאדם רזי מעלה ומטה ומחקרי יסודי מעלה
ומחקרי יסודי מטה ותעלומות חכמה וערמה תושיה · אמ׳ לי בני מעם
אחת הורדתי ובקש לשחת העולם כולו כי שר אדיר הוא מכל פמליא
של מעלה ותמיד עומד ומשרת לפני מלכו של עולם בנקיות פרישות
מהרה ואימה ויראה בכבוד קוניו(!) לפי ששכינה עמו בכל מקום · א״ל
ר׳ הריני מזקיק בו על אחת שבועה בהודי שהורתני · בשעה שאני
מזקיק עצמי להשתמש בו יושב אני בתענית יום אחד שהוא מורידו
וקודם לאותו היום יקדש את עצמו ז׳ ימים מן קרי ויהא צובע[1] באמת
המים ולא יהא מסיח סיחה ולתכלית ימי מהרתו ביום תענית ירד
וישב במים עד צוארו ויאמר קודם שישבע משביע אני עליכם שרי אימה
ויראה ורעד · שאתם ממונים לפנוע במי שאינו נקרה ומהור ונוגע
להשתמש במשרתי עליון בשם הנכבד והנורא הזה שנקרא קְתַת יְהֹ
הֹיֹה סַנְגֹ קְקְ [f. 64a] הֹוֹתַת הֹוֹ יְהֹ סַנְיֹקְקְ הֹוֹתַת הֹוֹ יְהֹ פַּפְנֹנֹה יְהֹ וֹהֹ
יְהֹ אַנְקְסְ יְהֹוֹה אדיר על הכל ומושל בכל והכל בידו שלא תזיקני ולא
תרעישני ולא תפחידוני באמת · גבורות גולה הרוץ " ואחד יפתח
וישבע כי נתחזק כי חתם עצמו בשם של מ״ב אותיות שמי שישמעו
יתבהלו ויפחדו וירעשו כל צבא מרום ויחזור וישביע אותם אֹדֹד גֹהֹוֹ
דֹהֹ וֹוֹ פְּצַץ יְהֹ שר שהוא פוגע ולוהם בכל מלאכי חבלה בשם הזה
בלשון הזה לך אני קורא אוהיא שר הפנים נער ומשרת לפני מלכו
של עולם שהוא שר ורב על צבא מרום משביע אני עליך ונזור אני
עליך שתוסיף לי להיזקק [רצוני] לרצוני ותקבל שבועת נזידתי ושאילתי
עשה ובקשתי תמלא ולא תבהליני ולא תרעידני ולא תחלחלני ולא
תזיע קומתי ולא ימעד קרסולי ולא תעזות דיבור שפתי ואתחזק ואתאמץ
והשבועה יתנבר והשם יסדר בגרוני ולא תאחזיני עות ולא תנידני רגל
משרתיך לבהלני וליראני לרפות ידי ולא אשמוף באש ולהבה בסופה
וסערה המהלכת עמך נפלא ונשגב שכך פירושו יוֹ הֹי גֹנֹ הֹוֹ הֹיֹה
עֹתְרֹנֹ הֹוֹוֹ יְהֹ מְמֹסְ יֹגֹנֹ הֹי הֹי שְׁמְסְ הֹי הֹוֹ הֹיֹה מקצה תרעש
הארץ ולא יכיל הכל ועמו ברוך מדבורך[2] " שוב אני קורא לך בי״ד
שמותיך שאתה נגלה להם לנביאים ותווים להמתיק דברי גביאות
[f. 64b] בפיהם ולהנעים אמרי נועם · וכך פירושם וכינויים רוח
פיסקוניות · וכינוי קְסְמְ נֹגֹי הֹוֹ הֹיֹה · מפורש אפשמן · כינוי צְצְמְסְ
גֹיֹהֹ הֹי הֹוֹה · מפורש פיסקון(!) מפורש הוגרון כינוי מְצְהוֹסְ הֹיוֹ גֹה

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[1] צובע כמ׳ ויכבם ומת׳ ויצבע. [2] ומבורך l.

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II. אמת הוא זה תרבו של משה שהיה עושה בו ניסים וגבורות
ויכלה כל[1] כשפים והיא נגלית למשה בסנה ונמסר לו השם הגדול
והמפואר ושמות[2] אותו באמת והוא שומר אותך · לאיתתא לא תגש
ולא תיכה והוא מצילך מכל צרה בעולם הזה · [3]ואם רצית לבדוק קח
עץ עבות ואמור התרב עליז ה' פעמי במעלה השמש ויבש · [4]ואם
תרצה לאותו דגים קח חול מן הים ועיקר תמרה ביד שמאל ואמור
התרב עליהן והן באין במקום שתשליך החול · [5]ואם רציתה להלך בים
קח עץ מפרזלא וקוב אותו ותרוז בו חום שני · וקשור אותו בעקבך
וכת' ואמ' התרב עליו ולך והכנם וצא בשלום · [6]ואם רצית להריץ
יפה כת' התרב בכרמים אי ארא מיקון · ותן יין בתרש החדש
וישתו וירחצו פניהם ונוצחין · [7]אם רצית לשבור אותו כת' תרב על
פס קפרינן וסמון בקמסון ומשתברין [6]להבאל(?) כת' מרם ידך על שערך
שמך[3] וכת' במגילת צבי בדם אצבעך בשמך ואמור התרב והיא באה ·
[7]ואם רצית לברך בקהל קח זרע כרישין ביד שמאל [f. 63a] ואמור
התרב ונזוק[4] בתוכם ורד עד שיבא השמש · ויטול אותך כרצונך וצום
ימים נ' · ועשן לבנה ופרח לבן ואמור התרב בבקר ובערב מיד יבא
וידבר עמך ויעשה כרצונך [8]ואם לשאילת חלום קח שמן אפיבלסמון
וכת' על קרמים[5] · אירישיקון והזכר התרב לפני הגר והכה את הגר
בשבט של זית וירבץ . [9]ואם רצונך לבא אצל אדם גדול קח שמן
וזרד ואמור תרב על השמשתן[6] על פניך וידיך וישמע לך · [10]ואם
רצית ליתן ריב בקהל קח תרדל מלא כפך השמאלית · ואמור התרב
ודזק וידרגו זה לזה · [11]ואם רציתה להפריש איש מאשה קח בשר
של חמר בניוך[7] ואמור התרב על שנייהן וראה[8] לא תקרוב ביניך ·
[12]ואם להפיל שנאך קח מס של עפרת וקח משערו ומבגדו וכת' התרב
ותן בבית התריבה וירביץ · [13]ואם רצית להלך בשוק ולא יכירך
אדם · קח ארמימסין ובשמים ופיה ועשן עצמך וקח לב שועל ואמור
התרב וצא · [14]ואם היית בים וקם סער עליך עמוד נבח הגלים ואמור
תרב והם נומשים · וכת' במם או בתרם או בעץ ותלי יתיה לפני
הספינה ולא תטבע · [15]ואם רצית לשבר שנאך כת' התרב על הרם
שלא נכנם לאור ושוח התרם והשלך בביתו · [16]ואם רצית לעשות
כל דבר כך בימינך ארישימום(!) ואמור תרב נוכח השמש ויעשה כל דבר
וישהר עצמך ימים [f. 63b] שבעה ותצלח בכל דבר ולתבירים עשה
מצות ושמר עצמך מכל שבועה והצנע לנמשך ובבן תצלח בכל אשר
תעשה " חזק " שעקע קמסרן " אותרן · אירפת נופיד נקשים נ' ·
סגבוני כתם כי בתי תימן אביץ · בת' על בף ידך שמאל והבא נר

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[1] לכל. [2] ושמרת l. [3] שמה l. [4] חדזק l. [5] קרשים l.
[6] השמן ותן l. [7] בידך. [8] וראה l.

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ארמית אימתת תתריחל לחינה ברינה אמיאל נ"ד · אסמאים מנאל
אסאך באלכי באתמי אני איב באסא סתתה אברבא אניאם באביך
תרניהון יהגה סרידיאם יוא אית סאסילו תקנה סאר אם סוף ברסיאה
אבנבא קאתה פנפאית תקנה מאם מיתן ניתתת לאב אח אהריאאל
סרות מאבי אפיריב אביה אדללה יחילה ארסתון מאנות מאר מארות
אתיאו אלים אין אסטר מתרין חמושיה טועת ברבת בית יהיא מן
שלמה אמ' איש יעיר באכלי אניק אחד ריגאל נתה אים באן אבות
בליתואל לחומי אסבאית תחק אן תחיסיאף פתתא אבא בא באל ריסאל
אסריא מאפסי אפי בה אסמרני נחסא באריה אנגאין כלמיאת לאבות
אנתחר אפמיאל לאמתר דאתא נכא אסבנתר אסמתר דאף נינחל אבאר
אוריה אליאל אנמיניר דארני דאסתחל מיה אמחל מלכות תיאריה
אסברית תגדנות אסביחל נמיר אננתון נאתתור יאך אכתאך נב[1] ·
שלום כסא טוב איונא ביה איכחל אפרא מאפסר ואנראן חל ליאת
תרסבאין נקרסאל אסיספתאות בתתאות נרתא ואיפים אנינין איסתוב
נרדאי סיחאל אסבריך אי אהל אמתה יאות מחנדיאל אבריר תרינן
[f. 62a] יאם תתרא יאפון אירבא מלות תתרך ברוחל אזהאל להנכני
אחות ומלאכא על בעירא די שמה איתתא לאינמא ומהא דשליט על
חיותא דמדברא מתניאל · ומה דשליט על עופא ברא ומה דשליט על
ריחשא תרניאוב · ומה דשליט על תהומא סדרקא ומה דשליט על
מורים ראמפאל · ומה דשלים על אילנא מאכתיאל " ומה דשליט על
בסמנסיא[2] אריאם מה דשליט על ברוניא על גינת עבד ספיאל " ומה
דשליט על נהריא תרסיאל " מה דשליט על רוחתא מבריאל ועל אנשא
קרה רבא הרה הבמת תלגיא יקרא רבה משה שעה יצלי ויבעי רחמי
על אנש בין מב לבין ביש ואמ' לה כל שעה יהיב לאנש למצלתיה
אלא שעין ג' שעתא קמיתא דיומא צלי וארכר מאה שמהתא קדישא
ותקיפא וסכומיהן תלת מאה וארבעה אמן שלום · [3]קן קן קנין
בא איכסנדרוס תמא פמא דרימקל אבא גימא אפסמאקיון ונורסון
אמרסיו וגברי איולי כסובייא מא מנלא איש איסורא אינממא · מו
תו מא פרקא אירי מנא קין קן] תנו לי רפואה · איזו היא אור נדולה
כל אשר אסרה בו טלני פחות ומבין אבילי מעקרת רזא ספר אילו
שאמ' מקדימין אבלו מעקרת אבלו מותך האריות והרוח · השבעתי
עליכם אם זכר ואם נקבה התאומות השבעתי אתכם הרוחות הקשות
בשם י"י [f. 62b] גבור החיל חי חי [מיכאל] בשם י"י [גבריאל]
איאל רפאל עליו[4] מן האריות מן האברות ומן התאומות השבעתי
אתכם הרוחות הקשות בשם י"י נבור החיל יה יהוה יהוה פל' בר
פל' קינין "

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[1] נה? [2] בסמניא l. [3] so in Ms. [4] הצילוני l.

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כמה דאתמסרו למשה בן עמרם שלם מאלהא עליה..ובעובדיה לא יעביד
ל ויקרב לאשתמשא ביה מלאכי רונזא וחמתא ותרונה ועברה אינן
שלטין ביה ומשנקין ית נופיה והכל הכל בגופיה מקרן ליה·· ואילן
שמהת סריא די ברישהון שם סרא דממנא על מלאכי רונזא··
מזפופיאסאיאל שמו ושם סרא דממנא על מלאכי חמתא הוא צקצורומתיאל
שמו " ושם סרא דממנא על מלאכי תרונא קסועפפנהיאל שמו ושם
סרא דימנא על עברה נעמוסניקתיאל שמו " ולמלאכייא דתתות רשותהון
לית להון מניינא וכולהון שלטין ביה ונופיה נוולי ישתוון·· יי) ישמרך
מכל רע אמן··

שלים חרבא בעזרת אל נערץ בסוד קדושים רבה·· תם
תם

APPENDIX A.

[f. 61a][1] בשם יי חרבא דמשה

I. דקמאא · יקראך · את מלכיאל חזה אז את אנון בדיך [פתיחו]
תתיכות מחין מאהילו אהל ראבות · דאסתון · פאה לב אמור · פאתו
איר · אמפראל סרופא גרא נום כלבי ברבות · נחיל להון · אסכות
תינרא דנאהל מישהל · ואיש אלתבי · מבאי סבר נאות · תנרא
באהל · בזאל כלמיא · אסימוך · פמבורי · הותתי וזך · אורי כורחזלי
הפרנם בפאי באמיר איסטרין ממסאי דאנה אאל כסות פתואל · לברזת
כותרך · ולבדיאל באברות · באות ברי בית אספות תנריאל · הריאל
מאיהל · ג"נ דר מכות זרניאל אחון לניתוך בסריד וגוריאה · זמדנא ·
אביא נאמי הזי דיי אורין יצחבי מאי פחסיה מלכיה · קיקאנא
[איטרמילין] באתיך כנאן דידה סיתור אינון ואנכלה ואיכא נאל הא
זבחאי אדר אתון אבדיה טוב לאיסנוני את יניריהון אסבי טוב כינתו
ואידור אינא להילאך אסיאך אוללך אמיאך איללך נתת בי · את אם ·
אסיאך ארת ארד תנדא סרא מורפתות הנא חלון כסא [2]אסירת
תיחמי זהר לאמות גלל מאות יא לא קא גת תאות איסאדקופא יאון
דאנה באהל תאיהל אספא בר רבת אבתת וגנאת · תאית נאות
אמוה · [2]פאפדא אות מרבי ארי ארינא כל לל איפוא אמרי מכסא
אסבך מאם אל סטרפאל תרניאל לגיניאל קמפאל יאבחות סנרחי
נחנו [f. 61b] מהראיך אומה דאיבותיו ביה' אסבו כאנו אין נפת או
בי פחדי נהל מאמטו בי אסבית אממתה לאני לא ליאל אחברא

[1] Cod. Oxford. 1531, 6. [2] So in Ms.

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קדשנאיאל ועד פיזקהיאיאל ומתפתחא לך עינא דמיא ׃ [f. 11b] [122]
אם כנפת זקוף עינך לשמיא ופרוש ידך לשמים ואמ׳ מן פזקהיאיאל
ועד קרפנהיאל וסר קאים קדמך ויהיב לך לחם ובשר ׃ [122] ואם בעית
למקריא סריאה דאנשא[1] לותך אמ׳ על סודרך מן קרפניאל ועד
הבקשפהיאל ואחית אסרך והוא אתי לותך ומא דבעית אימ׳ לך ׃ [123]
ואם בעית למפמר יתיה אמ׳ לקבליה מא דאמרת באיפוך והוא אזיל ׃ [124]
ואם בעית כל שר דבשמיא יליף יתך מה דבידיה קרי את אהיופספקתיה
ואשבע יתיה בנ׳ שעין בילילא בשם מארי קדישיא ועד תכלית תרבא
שדר לי ויגלה לי ולפינני כל מה דבידיה וינום(!) ׃ [125] אם בעית דתיזיל
במיא ורגלך לא תמבע סב מסא דאיברא וכתוב עליה הבקשפהיאל
סעספתשהיאל ואחית בהמיינך ואמ׳ כך אזלת ׃ [126] אם בעית דתתוי חכים
אדכר ג׳ ירחין בתר הדדי ראשיהון ריש ירח ניסן בחונן הרעת מן
שעספתשהיאל ועד ענפתנסהיאל יתפתחון לי שערי חכמה ואהבי בהון ׃
[127] ואם בעית כל דתשמע תילף אלתר כתוב על ביצה בת יומא מן
ענפתנסהיאל[2] קנינסהואל למחוק בחמרא חייא מן צפרא ואשתי ומדעם
לא תטעום עד ג׳ שעין ׃ [128] אם בעית דתשכח מן חברך כל דיליף
כתוב על שמיה על אסרפא דרופנים מין קנינסהואל ועד אובריהואל
וקבור באספופתיה ׃ [129] אם בעית לשדורי שידא בישא על סנאך סב
קמצא[3] ירקא ואמ׳ עליה [f. 12a] מן אובריהואל ועד קסגנהנהואל
וקבור ביה נרדא[4] ואפראיה[5] ׃ [130] לשדודי[6] מחא סב נרמא מן מיתא
ועפרא מן תחותיה בככא וצור בבליתא דקרבאסא[7] בדוקא[8] ואמ׳ עלה
מן קסגנהנהואל ועד מרנהמהואל על שמיה וקבר בבית קברי ׃
[131] יתאסרון ויתמסרון נגבין ולמטין בש׳ מרנהמהואל ועד אמטמספהואל
וכד אמרת אחית אצבעתך וזירתא באזנך כד אמרת ׃ [132] וכד בעית
דתשרי להון אמ׳ מן יאויהו ושקול ידך מן אזנך ׃ [133] למסתם[10] ביתך
מן גנבאי אמ׳ על כווא דמיא מן אסמהסהואל ועד מפנסרהואל ואזלח[9]
סתור לאינרך ואף למחתם מתא ׃ [134] למחתם ביתא מן ניאסא סב
עפרא מן קניא דשושמאני[11] ואהדר סתור לאינרך ואמ׳ כד מהדרת
מפנסרהואל ועד כל מארי קדישייא ׃ [135] למחתם נפשך מן מזיקא אמ׳ בש׳
תובר תסבר ועד היזרסניא אנא פ׳ב׳פ אעבר בשלם ולא בהנזיק וכן
לשמותי יתהון כד משכחת להון ׃ [136] ולשאר מילי דלא מפרשן בש׳ מארי כל
קדישייא ועד תכלית תרבא ׃ ועל כל קמיעא דכתבת מן חרבא כתוב
ברישא כש[12] מארי כל קדישייא " דעבדא בחרבא דאיתעביד ויקרב
לאשמשא ביה ובכל אילין עובדיא ויתמסרון ליה לאשתמשא בהון

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[1] שדארך. [2] add.: עד [3] גראזא. [4] קשעה. [5] וסירה.
[6] לשדורי l. [7] תאיך. [8] ריק ; ברוקא l. [9] רש.
[10] למחתם l. [11] גמל. [12] בש׳ l.

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סב ח' כחין מן ח' ביתין ומלי יתהון מיא מן ח' נהרין ורמי יבהון מלתא
מן ח' ביתין ואמ' עליהון מן אנ ועד אסהאל ח' זימנין ואולח על כל
קרבא תרין כחי ותבר אינון ב' כחין על ח' שבילין·· [103]לקצירא דחליש
ולא ידעת ממאי חליש סליק שיברא במיא ואמר על הינון מיא מן
אסהאל ועד לוקי וישתי כד צהי·· [104]למעבד קרבא סב עפר מתחות
רגלך דשמאל ואמ' עליה מן לוקי ועד קבקציאל[1] וזרוק לאפיהון והון
פרישין ואחדין מאני קרבא ועבדין קרבא·· [105]אם בעית דתהי אימתך
על כל בני אדם כתוב על מצא דאיברא מן קבצקיאל ועד נתהותיאל
וקבר בבי כנישתא לרוח מערבא·· [106]אם בעית דאתגבר לך בהודא
בשעת חשוכא כתוב על קרמאסא מן נתהותיאל ועד זרוקזניאל
ונקום עלך אימת דבעית·· [107]אם בעית למיצד עיני[2] כתוב על מגלתא
ואחית במאני דהוצי תחות כוכבי מן זרוקזניאל ועד בתקנשיאל ולא
תשתעי כד בתבת[3]·· [108]אם בעית דתשדר חרבא והיא תעביד לך
קרבא אמ' על סכינא חדתא דכולא פרזלא מן בתקשניאל ועד תשהואיאל
ושדי לאפיהון·· [109]אם בעית דיקטלון אנון הדדי אמ' על סכינא דכולא
פרזלא מן תשהואיאל ועד כללים[4] תניאל וקבר יתיה עם עקבא בארעא
ואחית [f. 11a] עקבך על' בארעא ואינון קטלין הדאדי עד דנסבת יתה
תרין ארעא·· [110]ואם בעית דניחין סב מין עפרא מין תחות רגלך דימין
ואיפוך מה דאמות[5] ושדי לאפיהון ואינון ניחין·· [111]ואם תפש יתך
אויב ובעי דליקטלך כוף אצבעתך דיוך זעירתא דשמאלך ואמ'
כללים תניאל ועד כתריהיאל והוא רחים מין קדמך כגבר דרחים מן קדם
קטליה·· [112]למיחד עינין אמ' על משך אריה מן כתריהי ועד הדנסומאיאל
ונקם עלך ולית דאחזי לך·· [113]אם נפלת יפרא ובעית[6] למיסק מיניה
אמ' מין הדנסומאיאל ועד סמקתיאיאל ואת סליק בשלם·· [114]אם נפלת
בבור עמוק כד לא ידעת אמור במפלך מין סמקתואיאל ועד המנגאיאל
ולא יחמי בך מרעם·· [115]אם מבעת בנהר עמוק אמר מן סמקתיאיאל
ועד המנגיאיאל ועד משקופיאיאל וסליקת לשלם·· [116]ואם נפל עלך
חיסיא או מפלה ואת תתותיה אמ' מין משקוניניאל ככלהנאיאל ועד
קניאיסאיאל ואת סליט בשלם·· [117]ואם תפסין יתך מלכותא כוף אצבעתא
ועידתא דשמאלך ואמ' מן קניאיסאיאל ועד ככלהנאיאל איאל קדם
מלכא או קדם דיינא והוא קטיל ית גברי דתפסו לך·· [118]אם נפל
עלך גיסא אהדר אפך למערב ואמ' מן בכלהואיאל ועד קדשינאיאל
קדם מלכא או קדם דיינא ואינון הוויין כאבנין דלא גדין·· [119]ואם בעית
למשריה לההון אהדר אפך למנדנחא(!) ואיפוך מה דאמרת·· [120]ואם אזיל
את בבקעין או בטורין ומיא לית למשתי זקוף עינך לשמיא ואמור מין

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[1] קבצקיאל. [2] תאכד באלעין. [3] כתבת l. כתבת [4] כללים
[5] דאמרת l. [6] צ"ע.

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דשמאל מן נהיה ועד היטנאי ושדי לאפיהון׳. [81]אם בעית למפתח
דשא סב עקר קניא דזרדא ואחית תחות לישנך ואמר לקביל דשא
מן היטנאי ועד בירקם׳. [82]אם בעית למיקטל תורא או בעירא אמור
על אזנו ברקם ועד תמימם׳. [83]אם בעית דתישחון בליבא אימ׳ על
אומצא מן תמימם ועד בדרקם ושדי ליה ויכול׳. [84]אם בעית לאשמואי
אינשא אימ׳ על ביצה מין ברדקם ועד אהיתי וסב ליה בידיה׳. [85]אי
בעית לאתרובי ביתא דחברך אמ׳ על חספא חדתא מן אהיתי ועד
שאילם ושדי בביתיה׳. [86]אם בעית לאנלאה חברך אמר על משח דידי
מן שאילם ועד אספרל ושטד בסיפא כאביה׳. [87]אם בעית לאסנואי
חברך אמר על דם נרע מן אספרל ועד עזמרם ושדי על אספופתיה׳.
[88]אם בעית תפיל אשה אמ׳ על כוזא דמיא מן עזמרם ועד [f. 10b]
יציאום ושדי על אספופתיה׳. [89]אם בעית לאמרועי אנשא אמ׳ על
משח זיתא מין יציאום ועד נאספנג וישוף׳. [90]אם דתדע בקצירא או
מאיית או חאי אמ׳ לקבליה מן נאספנג ועד להרמן אם מהדר אפי
לותך חאי ואם לנודא[3] מאיית׳. [91]אם בעית דתנקוט אריה באודניה
אמ׳ מין להרמן ועד הודיאה וקמר בכרכשתא[4] דהמיאנך ז׳ קיטרין ואמר
על כל קמרא וקמרא ונקום יתיה׳. [92]אם בעית דייזיל שבחך בעלמא
כתב קמיעא מן דודיאה ועד אצמי נונניא וקבור יתיה בבאך[5]׳. [93]אם
בעית דתקפוץ ארעא קדמך אמ׳ על קניא דזרדתא יחידאה מן אפמיטו
נניא ועד יולויהו׳. [94]אם בעית לתתתוניות דיתמי ותוב לא ימרע סב
קשיתא...דהאנא שיראה וקלי בנורא ואמ׳ עליה מן יולויהו ועד אפיון
ונבול במשח זית ויסב עליה קמיעא דמב׳. [95]לכל רוחא כתוב על
מנצב מין אפיון ועד כריאך ויתלי׳. [96]לארסא דק כמונא דפלגני כתב
על בעא ודמי בחמרא ואמר עליה מן בריאך ועד היפרו וישתי׳.
[97]לגלאלא כד אתיא מן שמיא סב תומרתא דפרולא וזאברא[6] ותלי
במדעם דא..ך על דוכתא דבעית ואימא עליה מין היפרו ועד גרומי׳.
[98]אם בעית למיעל קדם מלכא או רברבני אמ׳ על משך ארי כד צביע
במוכא אוכמא וחמר נקי מן גרומי ועד שהרומי ונקום עלך׳. [99]לירקאנא
דנפיל בארעא סב גידא ומשוש במיא דליפתא בלילי דארבעה נגהי
חמשה ולמחר אזלת אינין מיא על ההיא ארעא ואמ׳ מן שהרימי ועד
קהתמי׳. [100]לנשקא[7] דנפיל בפירי סב תולעתא מן מינא ורמי בגופתא[8]
ואמ׳ עלה מן קהתמי ועד סתנמי וסכר פומא דכופרא[9] וקבור בההיא
ארעא׳. [101]למישרא נברא מן בית זינא אמ׳ על כוספא דקופי[10] ועל
תמה דתוחלי[11] מן סתנמי ועד איי ויכול׳. [102]לארעא דלא מפקא פיד[12]

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[1] תארן. [2] צנן. [3] חאים. [4] ואעקר נמרף. [5] בביתך? l.
[6] רצאץ. [7] דוד. [8] מכחלה. [9] דנופתא l. [10] כוסב אל בנה אל
אפור. [11] תמר אלדוכאל. [12] פירי l.

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על תרעא(!) שמך ושמה וכתוב על תרעך שמה ושמך ואימ׳ לקבל תרעה
מן אליהום ועד נסכיא׳׃ [65]ואי בעית תדע מצלחת בדרכך אם לא סב
חסא גילאה דפשיטין אמרפוהי וקום לקבל שמש ואמר מן נסכיא ועד
אסדום וחזי אם כמישין אמרפוהי ומכפפן לא תיזיל ואם כבריתיה
תיזיל ומצלחת׳׃ [66]אם בעית לפגאה גברא מן בית זינא אמ׳ לקבליה
זימנא וקדם שמשא זמנא וקדם זינא זימנא מן אסדום ועד יקותני׳׃
[67]לכינפא[1] סב עפרא מן ביתך ואמור עליה ז׳ זימנין בשבילי מאתא מן
יקותני ועד אקתרם ואף סב מן שבילי מאתא ואמ׳ עליהון כן וזרוק
בתוך ביתך[2]׳׃ [68]אם בעית למקטל אינש סב מינא מן תרי כיפי[3]
נהרא ועביד צלמא וכתוב עליה שמה וסב ז׳ סלוין מן דיקלא צויא
ועביד קשתא דחסקניאתא במיני דסוסיא ואחית צלמתא בנו צרתא[4]
ומתח צלוי[5] בקשתא ושדי בה ואמור על כל סלוא מן אקתדם ועד פרסוסי
יתחבל פ׳ב׳פ׳ וי׳ת׳ד׳(!) מ׳נ׳ך׳׃ [69]לשדודי[6] נגעא סב[7] ד׳ז׳ אינשי ורמי
בחספא חדתא ופוק [f. 10a] לבר מימתא ואמר עלוהי מן פרסוסי
ועד אבנסנס וקבור באתר דלא דריך סוסיא ובתר כן סב עפרא מן
עלה דההיא מספא[8] ובזוק באפיה או על אסקופתא דביתיה׳׃ [70]לשדורי
חלמא על חברך כתוב על טסא דכספא מן אבנסנס ועד קיריואס
ואחית בפום תרנגלא ושחוט יתיה כד מתת בפיו ואהדר פיו ואחית ביני
ירכתיה וקבר בעקבא דשורא ואחית עקבך על דוכתיה ואמר כן בשם
ייזיל שליחא קלילא ויצער ית פ׳ב׳פ בחלמיה עד דיעביד ריעותי׳׃ [71]אם
אתי נחש בתרך אמור לקביליה מן קיריואס ועד אילוהש ויבישׁ׳׃ [72]ואם
למיכלא אילפא בימא אמ׳ על חספא או על גלאלא מן אילוהש ועד
אסנורכי ושדי לקביליה בימא׳׃ [73]ואם בעית למשריה אמ׳ על עפרא או
על קלא מן אסנורפי ועד נפסנגס ושדי במים וכד פשר פשרא למיזל׳׃
[74]אם בעית למיצר תגיר או כיור או קידרא דלא נטמיין אמ׳ על עפרא מן
נפסנגס ועד ספשסיא לקבילהון ושדי באפיהון׳׃ [75]אם בעית למעשריהן
רוק רוקך קדמיהון ואמר מן ספשסיא ועד סנמס ובשלין׳׃ [76]אם בעית
למעבד[8] בימא כביבשתא אמ׳ על ד׳ קרנואי דסודרא בכר כסא חד קרנוהי
נקוט בידך וחד קרנוהי ייזיל קדמך ואמ׳ מן נסמס ועד אפסומת׳׃ [77]אם
בעית דתילוף אינש אימא בצלותך במכניע זדים אסקוהחיי ינופס לפ׳ב׳פ
בשם אפסומת ועד קהוהיהום׳׃ [78]ואם בעית למללא עם מיתא אמר על
אזנו דשמאל מן קהוהיהום עד אהישוני ועד נגזריקי ורמי בחורתיהון׳׃
[79]אם בעית למיקטל אריה או דוב או אפעה או כל דיתא
דמתבלא אמ׳ על עפרא רנלך דימינא מן נגזריקי ועד נגהיה חזרוק
לאפיהון׳׃ [80]אם בעית למצאד[10] יתהון אמ׳ על עפרא דמתחות רנלך

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[1] מנעלעבון. [2] קון קצב חסר בשער ערם. [3] תאפתי. [4] מנדל. [5] עלוי l.
[6] לשדורי l. לאזנעאנ. [7] lacuna [8] חספא l. [9] למעבר l. [10] תשדהם.

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למחמי שמשא סב ביד אכן דבי ונברא[1] דדיקלא דיכרא וקום לקביל
שמשא ואמ' אכן דמתקריא אסרופינון וסילוי[2] דאורדינא[3] ואמ' מן
אסא ועד האהן נתחמי יתיה כגבר דלביש חיורין וכל דתשאל יתיה
יתיבינך ואפילו אשה יתי יתה בתרך ·. [50] מאן דבעי דיחות[4] לאתון נורא
יכתוב על מסא דכספא מין האתון ועד באתיר ויתלי בעממיה ויחות ·.
[51] ואם חזית מלך או שליט ובעית דייתי בתרך סב סורא[5] דמיא ורמי
ביה עקר שואצרא ועקר פרפיני[6] ועקר ארמכלם ואמ' עליה מן
באתיר ועד אהסותי ורמי על נומרי דנורא בחספא חיורתי ורמי עליהון
אסרפין דזית וכל דתגזר עלוהי ייתי לותך ואפילו על אשה ·. [52] ואי
בעית לאהדורי יתהון סב מי מבוע ואמ' עליהון מן אהסותי ועד אפותי
וחזק באנפיהון ·. [53] לכל מדעם דבעית למשרי ליה אמ' על מיא מן
אפוני ועד אנתש ורמי עלוהי ואף כתב ליה בקמיעא ותלי ליה וכן
לאפראה נברא מן בית אינקיה[7] ·. [54] למצד נונין סב חספא חיורתי ורמי
עליהון אסרפין דזיתא ואמר עליהון מן אנתשורמי ועד אתקנז על כיף
נהרא ·. [55] לאשה [f. 9b] שתבוא אחריך סב אידם[8] מן דילך וכתב
שמיה על ביצין חדת כד סליק ואמר לקבליה מן אקתנז ועד אתומי ·.
[56] לנברא דייתי בתרך סב חספא חדתא וצבע במורא[9] אוכם[10] ואמר[11]
על שמיה מין אתומי ועד פנכיר ואיזיל ולא תצפי לאתורך ·. [57] לאילנין
דלא מפקין פירא כתוב על חספא חדתא מן פנכיר ועד ברי וקבר
בעק(רא) דאילנא דאין בהון[12] ואשקי מיא לכל אילני וכן עביד לדיקלא דלא
מפיק פירי ·. [58] לכלבא דנפיל בפירי כתוב על חספא חדתא מן ברי ועד
ברתיא וקבר בבית שקיא בההיא ארעא ואף אימ' על מיא וקיטמא
ומלחא ואשקי ית ארעא ·. [59] למרוביא[13] כתוב על מסא דאנכא מן ברתיא
ועד אזורוס ואף לחוש על אזנו ג' זמנין ורוק כד לחשת ואף אימ' על
כוזא דמיא ע' זמנין ואשקי יתיה מנהון ·. [60] למאן דנכית ליה כלב שומה
כתוב על משרא דחמרא כד קליף מן גויה מן אזורוס ועד אנסתרהון
ואשלח יתיה ואמר על משח שומשי וישוף כל גופיה ולבש מאני
אחריניה ותלי ליה ההוא משרא ·. [61] לאשתא או לבני אשתא כתוב על
קרמא דמוקרא[14] דדכרא[15] או דברחא[16] מן נאסתרהון ועד מאדמוג ותלי
ליה ·. [62] למאן דאזיל באורחא ומאעי יאמר על ד' קרנות אחאריה מן
סאדמוג אקותגותריץ ·. [63] אי בעית למשאל מדעם מן חברך אמ' על
משח סומאן או על משח אקוסא[17] או על משח סומא[18] מן קאותג ועד
אליהום ·. [64] תו אי בעית דיתי אתתא בתרך סב עידם(!) על דילך וכתוב

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[1] רוכנא צאפיה ליף זכר. [2] סולי. [3] עיסנ. [4] l. דיחות
[5] כצאר. [6] כצאר. [7] צבאה. [8] (אידם l.) חמרה. [9] מור.
[10] אמור. [11] ואמור. [12] פירי add [13] למרצע. [14] קשרה.
[15] דינגנ. [16] חוס. [17] נירי. [18] מענשה.

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ביה׃· [29]לכל כיב פומא [f. 8b] אמר על קמחא כד נשין[1] מן יאום
ועד רתבין וידבק בפומיה׃· [30]לשובתא[2] ולאשתתא אמ׳ על חמרא מן
רתבן ועד סממן וישתי׃· [31]לנידא נשיא[3] כתוב על מנילתא מן סממן
ועד יכצרץ ואף לתוש על משחא דזיתא וישוף הדוא קמיעא מן ההוא
זיתא ואף שוף ליה בהדיא עמיא דכיבא אליה(!) ותלי ליה ההוא
קמיעא ביה׃· [32]לציטרתא[4] אמ׳ על כסא דחמרא דמן יכצרץ עד תפסמת
וישתי׃· [33]לתתונית[5] הב אודרא ורמי ביה מלחא וממוש במשחא ואמ׳
עליה מן תפסמת ועד ינלוניא ויסב עלוהי׃· [34]לאנש דאית ביה
עוביאתא[6] ואף מן[7] דורעין[8] ליה מיא ארע׳[9] על מיא דסליקין[10] ביה הוסתא[11]
מן ינלוניא ועד אהרוניא וישתי׃· [35]לנישמה אם בעית כת׳ על מנצב
מן אהרוניא ועד אפנגיכים ויחית על אתר נשמא לכל דדמי ליה מתסי "
ואם בעית סב משיבה דעמרא וממוש במשחא דידיה ואמור עלוהי מן
אהרינים ועד אפנגיכים ויחית על אתר נשמא׃· [36]לסתרא ולמתתא
דפרזלא ולכל מתתא דלא תזרוף אמר על נפמא חיורא מן אפנגיכים
ועד קיסא וישוף על אתר מתתיה׃· [37]לשעולא ולכיב לבא אמר על
שפר ושמן דידי[12] מין קיסא ועד אתקם וישתי׃· [38]למרתא[13] ולניפקא
אמ׳ (על) מיא דסליקין בהון ענבי מן עתקם ועד אליהו וישתי׃· [39]לכבדא
דמרימא[14] אמ׳ על שתיתא דמלפתי דמיא מן אליהו עד אתגהי ויסל
ויטס קליל׃· [40]למחלא אמ׳ אנפקא דחמרא מן אתגהי ועד מיבנאס
וישתה כן עשה לו ג׳ ימים׃· [41]לרוחא דשריא על בית ולד דאתתא אמ׳
על משח כופרא[15] מן מיבנאס ועד תוסי ותסב[16] עלה באודרא[17] דעמרא׃·
[42]לאשה דמפלא אמ׳ על כסא דחמרא או על שכר או מים מן תוסי ועד
שקבם וישתה שבעה ימים ואפילו חזת דמא אומ׳ על [f. 9a] כוס יין
וישתי ויקום ולדא׃· [43]לאינש דלא נפיק סערא אמ׳ על משח אסנוזא[18]
מן שקבם ועד סלני וישוף׃· [44]לאשבועי סרא כת׳ על מרף דפנים
אשבענא עלך סרא די שמיה אברכסס בשם פלניי ועד ינסום ותיתי
לותי ותגלי לי כל מה דאנא בעי מינך ולא תעכב ואזית אסורך
ומתגלי לך׃· [45]להסיר קצין מקצינותו אימ׳ על עפרא מן קן נמלים מן
ינסום ועד קתנק חרוק לאפוהי׃· [46]לאסאה נגעא[19] אפיקתיה לכיפא
דנהרא ואימא עליה משבענא עלך נגעא בשם קתנק ועד נתעלסס דתיזח
ותבטול ותעדי מן פ׳ב׳פ׳ א׳א׳ס׳ ויחות וימבול ז׳ זמנין בנהרא וכד סליק
כתיב ליה קמיעא מן משבענא עד סלה ותלי ליה׃· [47]לבודס[20] כתוב
על מסא סומקא דנחשא מן נתעלסס ועד מיבנאס ותלי ליה׃· [48]ואי
(בעית) דלא לילי ממר על נגך כתב מין מיבנאס ועד אסא׃· [49]ואי בעית

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[1] מנטל. [2] לשובא. [3] ערק אלנסא. [4] עצר אלטל. [5] אל כואצייר.
[6] עוביאנא. [7] מא. [8] דעריהין. [9] אמור l. [10] מסלוק. [11] שדך
אבצר. [12] שירי׳. [13] מראתא. [14] דמרייא l. [15] כאפורא.
[16] ותיסב. [17] קמנה. [18] עז. [19] אל כץ. [20] שפכרה.

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ורדא מן (ייאה) ועד אונמו והב לפומיה ׳. 9 לכבא לחוש על אודניה לניסא
דכאיב ליה מן אונמו ועד הותמיאם ׳. 10 לכל כאב עינין אמר על מיא יומין
שלשה בצפרא מן הותמיאם ועד מסולם וימש בהון עיניה ׳. 11 לברוקתא
אמור על משח שושמי מן מסולם ועד פסמי וישוף שבעה צפרין ׳.
12 לחילא אמור על כוחלא דקיק בשמיה מן פסמי דעד סיטון וימלי נ׳
צפרין ׳. 13 לדמא דנחית מן רישא לחוש ליה על רישיה מן סיטון ועד
קורי נ׳ צפרין כד משין ידך מן קדם דתיחות מן פוריך ׳. 14 לריח פלנא
אמור ז׳ זמנין על כלי מלא מים וז׳ זימנין על משח שושמין מן קורי
ועד הימי דיתיזיחון ותפקון מן פ׳ב׳פ׳ א׳א׳ס׳ " ורמי ליה ההוא דולא על
רישיה ושוף ליה מן ההוא משחא " עביד ליה נ׳ יומין וכתב ליה
בקמיעא מן משבעא ועד אמן סלה ותלי ליה .. 15 לצלתתא ולרוחא דזנמא
סמא כתוב מן הימי ועד שדי ותלי ליה ׳. 16 לרוחא דסתמא סמא כתוב
מן שדי ועד אהיה ותלי ליה ׳. 17 לכיב אודנא אמור על אודניה דשמאלא
מן שדי ועד אהיה אפכית ׳. 18 למרשא אמור על מעי דשליפותא
כד סליק במשח ידי מן אהיה ועד רוס ואחית ליה באזנו כד פשר
קליל " 19 לשיחנא ולסיפתא לשימתא ולעינבתא ולרנשא ולנידא
כ׳ דיכפית ולחזויתא ולחפזפיאתא רשיבאתה ויבישאתה ולסקבי
דייהון באנשא אמור על משח זיתא מן רוס וד׳ סשתומתיאל ושוף
ליה בידך דשמלא ׳. 20 לירקאנא אמור על מיא דסליקין בהון היסתי מן
סשתומתיאל ועד ייאזניא וישתי ׳. 21 לכאב נחירא ולרוח נחירא לחוש על
משח ידי ייאזניא ועד ייהקלתיה ורמי ליה בנחיריה ׳. 22 לכיב לבא
ולכיב מעיה אמור על מיא מן ייהקלתיה ועד ייסוסניה וישתי ׳.
23 לחכאכא אמור על מיא דסליקין בהון הרדוף מן ייסוסניה ועד
ייקרמתיה ויסחי בהון ׳. 24 לחזורתא ולטרסאנא ולאשבי אמור מן
ייקרמתיה ועד הותמז אמר עליהון זמנא ועל משח זיתא זימנא ושוף
ליה נ׳ יומין ומיא לא תקרב לותהון ׳. 25 לעבדא בישא אמר מן הותמז
ועד ניפריא על ז׳ כוזין חיורין כד מלח מיא מן נהרא ורמי ליה על
רישיה ׳. 26 לגילואה רוק ליה רוקא בפומיה ואמור על פיו או על כוס
שכר מן ניפהא ועד הליהו וישתי ויחזי מה דנפיק מן פומיה ׳. 27 לאינשא
דמחיא חויא או בלך יתשא דמזיק אימא על אתר מחתיה או על חלא
מן העיוהו ועד אמאוס וישתי וכן לכל קבלין דרחשין וצער הדין קבלא
מן העיוהו ועד אמאוס ׳. 28 לאתתא דחזייא דמא בלא זמנא אמור על
קליפתא דביעתא דנעמתא מן אמאוס ועד יאוס ותיקלי כנורא ותקיטר

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1 אל כנזור. 2 אל כרס אל ערץ. 3 מרש. 4 אמעא. 5 כנפתא.
6 שור צאר חסר. 7 רואטיק. 8 שאמאת. 9 ענב. 10 דמאמאל.
11 מרתוק. 12 חזאז. 13 נרב. 14 אל נרח. 15 ועד l.
16 שוך אכצר. 17 שירנ׳. 18 אל חכא. 19 דפלא. 20 אל הנזור.
21 ונע אלתצא. 22 מלא l. 23 ונע אלפם. 24 דנעמיתא. 25 בנורא l.

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[f. 7b] ענפתנסהיאל יהוהה לענקתיאיאל יהוהה שבהתזהיאל[1] יהוהה
יהוהה הלכאתשהיאל יהוהה שמסרהיאל יהוהה " דבסהתניאל יהוהה
שדהכהקיאל[2] יהוהה זעפוסיאל[3] יהוהה שירותהיאל יהוה זמנאתהיאל
יהוהה " פספהההשהיאל יהוהה ברנסקהיאל יהוהה המקסיהואל הויה
אשמנהואל[4] הויה " [28] קנינסהואל הויה אשתנסואל[5] הויה אספסהואל
הויה מתמתנהואל הויה " [29] אביריהואל הויה זרסהואל הויה בולפסהואל
הויה צהמקנהואל הויה " [30] אשמסנהואל הו יה קפלזנהואל הויה "
[31] מרנהמוהיאל הויה מרנעשסהואל הויה מיסהואל הויה
[32] [33] אסמהסהואל הויה זפתרסהואל הויה לביניפסהואל הויה ענהנהואל
הויה [34] מפסנדהואל הויה " מלאכין קדישין רבבין מכל חלואתיה
ד' הוהי היוהה והה יה אה יהה " דקימין [מן] מן כורסייא דמתקן להון
קדמוהי לאודהה למשעבדי חרבא למעבד להון רעותהון " * [35] " [36] בשם
מארי כל קדישייא ראשי כל מלאכייא כדאהי דעלמא קלתירא אלי אלי
מפי מקרנם תתומיה דארעא ורומא בראיהון דבני אנשא שמשוהי דהו
הוה אה וה יה וה הה אלהא עלאה דעל ידיהון אנא מתחמי בעלמא קלותמי
מקראם עצפוהיי ששנוהיי " אתון רברבתון עלי בכל אתר מארי כולא
בעינא מנכון דתעבדון לי מדעם דאנא בעינא דאתון יכליתון למעבד
כל צבורא דבשמיא ובארעא בשם יהו הי הוהי הוה אהו והי יה וה
הה ההי יוהי הי אהי הי הוה יהו הוה יהו הו ייה יהו יהו הה הההה יהו
הוהה יהי הו הוה הואה הווה[6] יה הו הו וה ההו יוהיה הה יוהי הוה
אהיה אהו הוה יוהו הי ההו אהי אהה הוה הו ההי הה יה הה וה הה
ויה הה אוהה הה יהה הה הה ההו יהה יה הי ההי ההי ההוה ההי
הוה אהה יהו אל אל יהו " דכתיב באוריתא אני ה' הוא שמי׳.

III. [1] אם למילי כסייא בעא למיחד ולמיסר לנבר ולאתתא דיהון
חד לות חבריה " ולבטל ארוחין נזיקין וסימנין[7] " ולאסור ספינה " ולהוציא
איש מן האסורים ולכל דבר כתוב על מסא סומקא מן תובר תסבר ועד
הא בשמהת׳. [2] ואי בעית לפנרא מורין ורמין ולמעבר בימא וביבשתא "
ולמיתת לנורא " ולמיסק ולאעדאה מלכין " ולמיחד עינין " ולסכרא
פומא " ולמללא במיתין " ולאמתא חיין " ולאשפלא ולארמא ולאשבעא
מלאכין דישתמעון לך " ולאמתא כל סתרי עלמא " כתב על מס דכסא
והב ביה עיקר שואצרא[8] מן תובר תסבר ועד הא בשמהת׳. [3] ללרותא
דרחשא בנופא כתוב על מנצב מן תובר ועד מנינון׳. [4] לרוח משגרא
כתוב מן מנינון ועד הידרספא׳. [5] לרוח כל נופא כתוב מן הידרספא
ועד הא בשמהת׳. [6] לשידא כתוב מן הא בשמהת ועד [הויהו] [f. 8a]
יאויהו׳. [7] לסרודתא מן יאו יהיו ועד (ייאה)׳. [8] לאסברתא [9] אמר על משת

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[1] שבהתזהיאל. [2] שרהכהקיאל. [3] זאפוסיאל. [4] אשנהואל. [5] אשתנהאל.
[6] הווי. [7] ספנין? l. [8] א"צע שואצרא. [9] לאסכרתא l. * 135 = 1—5

והיה הו הי אי אי איה איה אה אה או אה היהון אהין אהין אהי אהיו אהיהון אהיהי אהיהי " [95]אפון אפיון ב' אוסותי יהדי יואי היאה אולמו למיא למיון ארמנ ארמאן נידיה נדיה נדיאל תדו " [96]לדיאך[1] יהוה והי הה יאו יאו יואה ייאה יואה יואה תאי יהאי יאו אי יאו אי תאו " [97]היפרו היפרו אוסראי ספפידין נופיפיון מאספיון תיון " [98]נדותי ידבתא נהוהדור צנדום הדדיומי פלמומי קמתמי קצמהמי " [99]מהריומי אסממי הוסימי יואה אתרמי האה יאמיסמי הואה סממואי אהוה " [100]קהתמי אהוה סדהומי יהוהי " [101]אתגמי הוהי סה שמתגי הוה פרומצה " הוהה תתליהי [102]איי אייי ייא הי אי אה הה[2] יואי הי סס גני פרגני " פרינג אני מיכאל יאו נבהאל אה עניאל יה " [103]אסהאל יוי ושריאל ואתאל[3] יוי אתיאל ווי אליאל יוהוה אנתיאל יוהוי מלתיאל יין וה " [104]לוקייואל אלתיאל ומהנתיאל יוו היאה אבניאל אהמנאל יין והי יוקיאל משקיתאל יה " [105]קבצקיאל אה מסמניאל יה מסרהיאל ה"י הו וה שפתיאל אא והפיסיאל עה הגמותיאל אא והתמקיאל עאעה " [106]נתהותיאל עוא סגניאל עוא עסתגיאל עפיה שפציאל עופיה " [107]זדוקגיאל עפפיה דיניהאל עצציה מבוהיאל עצקהיה בשנתניאל עתריה גולהוהיאל עקתריה יובמטניאל עצשיה " [108]בתקסניאל עצסיה בספיפאל(!) ניתקנאל עצניה הסתיאל עצמיה ניקוציאל נעלציה " [109]תשהוהיאל עצביה בספפיפיאל עסייה[4] ארעעקאל עצמיה הכסניאל עציה שורסיאל עצויה " [110]כללי סתניאל עצהוה נותיתהיאל עצריה נדרוהיאל עצניה בדיוהיאל עצביה ספמריאל עצאהיה הדמיאל אהוה " [111]כתריאל אהוה שבקתניאל אהוה נזרוהיאל אהוה המוניאל אהוה אהידיאל אהוה " [112]הדסוממואל א'[5] אנתנאל א' להיאל א' קתנסהיאל אהוה קתהנאל א' " [113]סמקתיאל א' שנתסאל א' ענתיאל א' סהניאל א' שרקתאל א' קמניאל א' שניקצאל א' שלשניאל א' כרשפניאל א' שלאסאל א' " משקוניאל א' הופיהיאל א' ככמאל א' אנסיתאל א' חמניתיאל א' מנהוספאל א' " [114]קניאוסיאל[6] א' שפצסאל א' יותממאל א' נתנציאל א' " [115]בכלהואל א' הילבואל א' קסניאל א' " [116]הנצפואל[7] א' נממסאל א' סעסנניאל א' " [117]קדשינאל א' כוהואל א' שלאסאל א' להפסאל א' " [118]פיזקהיאל[8] א' מיתנהיאל א' קסותנאל א' שמתיאהיאל א' " [119–124]קרסרנהיאל יהוה מרוסהיאל יהוהה היוסקהיאל יה והה שלהיאסהיאל יהוהה " [125]הבקשפהיאל יהוהה עסרנהיאל יהוהה הצעסנהיאל יהוהה מודדנהיאל יהוהה " [126]סעסתשהיאל יהוהה סגסוהיאל יהוהה ששמסריהיאל יהוהה "

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[1] כריאך. [2] יה. [3] ואתאל. [4] עסצצה. [5] הדסוגרירואל.
[6] קניאסיאל. [7] הנסמואל. [8] פיזקהיאל.

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דמהותתיא " [64]אליהום בר שהסני ססקתריאם ב' כלתית אהיסיא ב'
ארוניתה " פרומס[1] ב' אניהום זוהוהסמיא ב' ההיאסי " [65]נסכיא ב'
פרתניא מבאתסי ב' אפופיא אנפני ב' בססי " [66]אסדום ב' אסדיתית
אפתמיא ב' דמנסיא וספדנום ב' נהושט " [67]יקותני בר אכתת הזה
דהרום ב' אנתתתם אדונישא ב' יחמניי [68]אתתרם ב' שלומים מיבנסם ב'
סהוותתיאיא[2] " [69]פרסוסי ב' פיבל קוסן פנרא ב' דנראת פידאום ב'
ססניישי " [70]אבנסנם ב' ממרוותני אוזלאה ב' סותתנום דוסמתי[3] ב'
הידאם " [71]קיריואם נתגלתתי קוסמי הזה ב' קסמלית קסמא ב'
קלוסדאי " [72]אילוהש ב' אלפי ב' סנכם ב' פסאות אעסנני ב' נדהוסי
הוסתקות ב' תלונתסם " [73]אסמרפי ב' אנמפרומי דיהומית ב' שותימת
פשמנת[4] ב' אפמונג " [74]נפמנגם ב' נמרוסי דונין אסיא ב' תסמניא
תתמציא ב' שסנות מונגות ב' נאמות סרעהותיתן ב' זקנום " [75]ספמסיא[5]
ב' אהוסניא סטפנאות ב' צנפנסם פרמיתת צפניאי ב' רכסום מתיא "
[76]נסמם בר נוסמוט משמרו מתיי להם ובה פרנסום אנסס ססקתת ב'
מהריני " [77]אפסומת בר פרנום סתנותי ב' שפתנם תנפסיסי ב' סרפני "
[78]קהוהיהוט ב' אבנניר עפקינז ב' תסמתיא סהדור ב' עצמם לוסרנ ב'
נפטני " ([a 78])אהושוני ב' אהשני אתקם ב' סרקוף עזמום ב' אצליאי "
[79]עזריקי בר כוריסוי שמעם בר שעריאם בעדאה ב' עזבואה " [80]נגהיה
ב' אסמאה רנוני ב' צקתי שריסי ב' תהלוסאי שיהם ב' ברקוץ " [81]היתיני
תדעום אקשר ב' יהותיהה כלמום ב' אמואם " [82]ברקם ב' שהרום במהון
ב' בבעת שיפכן ב' פנים בתוקן ב' אשרום " [83]תמימם בר הזהלכן
אשרהץ ב' ניתנץ אפנמי בר פעלתז " [84]ברדקם ב' להבן בדרהוסי
ב' מתמתיא עזותיא ב' מלכוק " [85]אחיתי[6] בר תמיתי כיניהי ב' משפקוהי
ביזעי ב' הוגתיא לפניאם ב' אידוהם שלושנסא ב' אסרומים " [86]שאילם
ב' שאילסיון מסינייה בר מסרהיה יואום ב' יהוחש והותששק ב'
משנסהי " [87]אספכל[7] ב' אקתנאי סרוהם ב' מביהם הסדנג ב' שהדוהם "
[88]עזמיים ב' תתמפאם " אהרותיי ב' סנגאום והוהום ב' אהבסא שמתיא[8]
ב' אתתריזי לסותתיי ב' אסטרהיי " [89]יציאום ב' תרומנמי אכסלם ב'
סהגותיא עלפנת ב' פססקתין קבלהם ב' קתרותי " [90]נאסמנ ב' רופניהום
שדמטי ב' אשמני שלתתהון ב' סהטני ישקום ב' פנהום מוביס[9] ב'
יהוסי " [91]להרמן (ב') נמולטם אהוסני בר אפריהץ משכנו ב' ארחז הקלקת
ב' שלקות " [92]דודיאה ב' אשסולסי " צהומתי ב' כאסי גילנראי ב'
שהנוסיא קתילתיו ב' אסדוהי " [93]אפטינוניא ב' תלומת הזה נעעוסי ב' אפהינקי
שיתמהה [a 7 f.] ב' מהסמה לבותניאת בר תסנותתיא רב שצדי ב' רב
קמום רב אמרם ב' איניתהה סנניהה ב' מעלתיהה " [94]יולילידהו אופראסי

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[1] פרומנ. [2] פסההתתיא. [3] דוספתיי. [4] פשמנג. [5] ספשסיא.
[6] אהיתי. [7] אספרל. [8] שעתיא. [9] מוכים.

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אספור צ׳ מוסתם צ׳ מיהקנאה צ׳ " [33]תפצמת[1] צ׳ רקרמץ צ׳ סיהדאה צ׳ פהשניא צ׳ " [34]יגלוניא צ׳ כינא צ׳ עפפניאה צ׳ נינשומיתון צ׳ " [35]אהריביה צ׳ המוניאם צ׳ אמנפר צ׳ אתסמו צ׳ " [36]אפנניכים צ׳ פסיסים צ׳ אסתי אספו אמאמרקם קום אפרקים " [37]קיסא אטריכים אטהיפים כסא דימנם דמנמיו יקוב אנמן אסיא " נופריא צ׳ פינואה צ׳ כיפמצב סוחי צ׳ קרשנ צ׳ תומיא[2] צ׳ " [38]אתקסקידא דופפספירו דפא דרוחי אור אדויה אדוני ידו ארון יה " [39]אליהו אכת אכתימום מסמהה מסנתותיה סנגאו [f. 6a] סגן יאו פנדואי ואפנם או יאו יה יה " [40]אתנוהי נוני ניאו סאו ניבו אריזפא ארפאי קרבת אומר אסאדבת פאותיה ותו מורתיאל מונמר פאליה " [41]מיבנאס פאו פנהוה פוהנפי זהומי הוה דקטפם הוה קותנמא הוה ניהנמאי הו " [42]תוסי הוה קרבסטרני הוה טתנאם הוה אמנפניס הוה " [43]שקבם[3] הוה סרנקנאס הוה תפסנרני הוה קדלותיא הוה קוסב שניא הוה " [44]סלניי הוה יה נותיום הוה עפרנוהה הוה אסננוהה הוה בתנוסי הוה " [45]ינפום הוה מנעצי הוה נהרותתיא הוה פרמם הוה " [46]קתנק הוה סלנותתיאה הוה קרנינגם הוה סלטופם הוה נעלקום הוה " [47]נתעלסס הוה מרצומי הוה סיניניהי הוה קעקת יה ביה בי או טיה הוה " [48]מיבנאס פרוספיה פיבאלו פהדכו פידא פיפי יואי אי אזארזא אזדא " [49]אסא גרמני קריפו אברו בבריך פסויד יה פינוד נידו פוכן פוכפי קו וא הוהא " [50]האהון אה הויה אההין אהין אהון אדוץ אניף ארמ ביסמי ביתרי ביסמאו ביפראמו בנפו בניהו " [51]באתיר ביניפי בינופי בתור ססנגניס בר סרנניא ססנן בר ערנגים אתומי בר באתומי " [52]אהסותי בר ככתהום אנופי בר אבקמי " [53]אפוני בר אפופיני אדני אנסמס בר שעקסם שברוסיא בר פתנגהום אדאס קויאס בר אנתש " [54]קוקתם בר סהוהוסי[4] אברמסא בר יהותנפא אברמו בר אשניהי בר אילמ[5]·· [55]אתקנז בר דוחיהן אהילמ בר אדוסאייא אהילמום בר אהדופי אהרוסי בר אהנוסי " [56]אתומי בר באתמי אתמיו בר באתיהול אבדנהא דסא בר נהוהיהום " [57]פנביר בר בסנביס פנביר בר פסנביר אנתלמו בר ניתצנס אהסמו בר אפרני " [58]בריואילה בר הנגסיא אופרנים בר שהניניה אדרוני בר אהפורי יוקטירון בר ברתיא " [59]יוניאוסס בר תיברנוס אבנהוק בר מהטרס סימנטל בר אוורווס " [60]יהואילון בר פארנג יואתמא ב׳ אבנתימניא אקניגס בר רכסוי לוקוסי ב׳ סמאג ׳ [61]נאסתרוהן ב׳ יואס קנתאות בר איהומנסס " סאסיה ב׳ איתוהיהם אינוסי(?) שטרסי היאלתם ב׳ סיסויי " [62]סארמנ בר ביסתניא דוסיהסי ב׳ דמסמנסנסי אפיסתני ב׳ דותאה סיסום ב׳ קוסטרסום אפלני ב׳ מפלנים איאיתו בר אותות קדוסיא ב׳ אקותנ " [63]אבלקט ב׳ באתיתא הומנס ב׳ הוהססיא איגנסס ב׳ היאנלם אברסק ב׳(?) תתהוסיואה ב׳

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[1] תפסמת. [2] תומים. [3] שקבם. [4] סהודוסי. [5] אהבה.

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מונבנידין " 4 מנגינין גט נמלאם דיניקא דיסוקא נוהיא מאקם קוסמוסיה
הידרסמא " 5 הידרספא[1] אנמא דימנא דאימנא הינין טלאין טלאום פאמפום
אטופרמא 6 הא בשמהת כולכון וכנוייכון דרברביתון אתון וכל אתר לית
דכותהון אותו ואבעו ואיתו לי ית אספי אספ ואספיה ואפרנסיה ירוניקא
יתך ירץ יהץ יקץ ויעביד לי כל צביוני הא בשם יאו יהו הה יה היה
אוזורום אוזורום סומרטא " 7 יאו יהו או ליהו פארי גא אבכספ[2] לוקי
לוקיאם נספתתיה נכספתא נספתא יזאום יואום יואום יזאו יאו יאו יאי
יאי אדוני אדוני " י י י י איי איי ייאה ייאה 8 קטתהא קנמרא קתמרום
קנמהם נמנהום סמאה קנמא קנמאה קנמאו 9 אונמו קונמאו קונמו קונמז
שהזנג הדקון[3] פרנזניה פרהוקא פרונגיא " 10 הותמים תנמיקום סרני
נמניא איהומי יה אהמי יה ספספס סנפספסא אסמילים סאסילים סא "
11 מסולם מסולם סא אתידם אתירם איתיתיי פיתי[4] יאו הוהי סוסבי הזה
הוא יהו סוסבאל ספבאל[5] סאהמתו " סדמתיה סותמיה בסומיה בסונאי
דימא " 12 פסמי רוסא רימאט דימא סנדרא אתים נהרא דור איסום
קוסמאה קוסאו קוסאה " 13 פיתזן[6] קותריה אפלואי מפלואי הי הי אי אי
יהו יהו קידא דודפס דונפתתם פיהו רפאה " קורידאום קורודסאי אייי
14 יקורי יא קובי פרויתו מנסס אבלא נאתה תתמסיה קתומסיה שתות
מהיה " 15 הימי הומי הזה לבאנתה יה יה יאיי יאהו אייי או הו הי או
למו אבר תוהות וארהם " 16–17 שדי אלהו איליהו אלהים אלוהים ככוספאו
ככוקתסוציה[7] סהומתיה בלתי אדוני " 18 אהיה יהוה אסיהו הי קרנס הזה
סדום הוה יפהיניהם [יהו] [f. 5b] יהו אתנום יה יה אני אל אני הוא הא
הוא זה הוא אל אלהים יה קדוש " 19 רום מיכאל נבריאל סהתניאל
אקדסיאל מתוניאל מצדוהיאל שסרוסטיאל פהנידוסטיאל " 20 משתומתיאל "
ייגר ארם ייסרותיה " 21 ייאזוניה[8] " ייבקתיט ייהוסהוסיא ייגתהניסיה
יידפעקתם ייהסהדיה ייווניה " ייסתמציה " 22 ייהקלתיה ייסירהיה ייז
ופנסניסיה ייבהוניה " יילששהק ייסותתהיני וייוסספיה " 23 ייסוסוניה
ייפפוביהה ויצקוויה " 24 ייקרמתיה ייקספיפיה[9] יישרהמנם ייתתיה זרהותי
צבאות קצפת צבאות סרניא צבאות " 25 חותמו[10] צבאות פתסנ צבאות
קשנץ צ סניסקר צ פרשנתי צ סגסמי צ " 26 ניפריא צ פיפיאה צ
כיפף צ סוגהו צ קדשנ צ תימואם צ " 27 היולהו צ הוזקמאה צ טוסיאה
צ רתיב צ " 28 אמאום צ יירקוד צ פלואי צ אסקמו צ צבאות סולנ
צ פוסיאה צ ארתם צ " 29 יאום צ אלקסה צ יהפס צ הואי צ אפסם
צ " 30 רתבו[11] צ אכסוי צ סהוהץ אססלק צ ייחמאה צ " 31 פסנון צ
משבו צ אשהיהו צ שהוהם צ יבעתני צ " 32 יכצרץ צ אסקנץ צ

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1 הידרספא. 2 אבכספ. 3 הדקנן. 4 תיתי. 5 ספבאל.
6 סיתון. 7 ככוקתסוציי. 8 ייאייניוא. 9 ייקצקפיה. 10 הותמו.
11 רתבו.

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פרקומיה " אי פי קותזיה " אירוניה " איפרונסיה " אפסימאה " אהיה
אה " די " שלח לי " אתריאוסמי " יהו קתסהדיה " דהוא ממלית
כרובייא ויעזרוני ברוך אתה קוסים " על החרב " הרוצה להשתמש
בחרב זו יתפלל תפלתו ובשומע תפלה יאמר השבעתי עליכם ד' השרים
שקד חוזי " [f. 4b] מרנייאל " ומרומרוסיה " והדרויזלו " משרתי הדירירון "
יהוה הרירירון הו הי הדיהי דיהירון הוה " שתקבלו שבועתי עד שלא
אתפלל ושועתי עד לא אשוע ותעשו לי כל חפצי בחרב זו כמו שעשיתם
לו למשה בשם אדיר ונפלא בעל פלאות שפרושו " הו הי הוה ספר הוה
היה יהות[1] וה[2] יה והו יוהה אהוסהה יהה קק"ס הזה " ויקרא את ה'
שלמעלה מהן ויאמר השבעתי עליכם מהיהונציי " פתדותתגם אסקריהו
שיתיניחום קתנגיפיי הדוחי וה וה יד גבריאל יה הו הדירירון " שתקבלו
שבועתי עד שלא אשביע אתכם ותזקקו לי ותזקיקו לי את ד' השרים
האלו ואת כל מחנות המרכבות השרים שאתם פקידים עליהם לעשות לי
חפצי בחרב זו בשם האהוב הזה " אהי הוה יה וה אי או ההי[3] הוהי
שהוסהה " יוה הו הוו[4] יה יהה יוה היי " ויקרא ג' שעל גבהן ויאמר
השבעתי עליכם " אסקוההי שמרים הויה סהותניאיה אהובי ורהודריו
והוא הדירידין " שתודקקו לי ותזקיקו לי מהיהונציי פתדותתגם אסקריהו
שיתיניחום קתנגיפיי שקד חוזי מרנייאל הדרויזלו " אשר מתחת רשותכם
לעשות לי חפצי בחרב זו בשם היחיד הזה " הה דהוה הוי שקצר השה
הי או הו הה יהה פתמנהו הה יה יהו הו היי והי יהניה ונההיה
מתגמהה היקהה והי הא צר מקוקצצוה היה והי הה תם הוו יה יהו
הי היה ויה תיה ויה תהוהי " ויחזיק את שר הראש של כולם ויאמר
השבעתי עליך " אהיופסקתיה " אמיץ וחזק ראש כל צבא מרום שתודקק
לי אתה בעצמך ולא שלוחיך ותזקיק לי את השרים אלו עמך לעשות
לי חפצי בחרב זו בשם שאין לו תמורה " יהווה אהה הוה הדי הה
איה היה הו הוה יהוהי הו הי[5] והיה והה אהוהי הדי אה והוהי יה וה
וה אה אה יו הי הו הי היה הה וה יהו הוי[6] ההוי ההוה יהו יהו "
שאתה יריד והוא ידיד ואני מזרע אברהם שנקרא ידיד " ב'א'י' מלך
הרזים ואדון הסתרים שומע תפלה " ואל יגע וישתמש בזו החרב עד
שיעשה מעשים האלו ואח"כ יעשה כל חפצו כמא שכתוב דבר דבר
וסידורו "

וזהו החרב

II. [f. 5a] 1–1תובר תסבר אכן ממה[7] מימם אולי אגידו־אסקיא דיוקמאם
לסום אנתם סדופיפלא סמא או או [3]הו פה אמא היפורקסמא[8]

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[1] יהו. [2] ההי. [3] הה. [4] היה. [5] היה. [6] יו. [7] מטר.
[8] היפורקצמא.

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פחדותתגם " אתמסר לי הא היה יהו ד' יה הא הוי הא וה אה זי וה
וה הוו הה יה ויה יהו יה הוייה הויה אאה היורה היו הא והתוה
האהניהה " אסקריהו " אתמסר לי באה בהין אסוניהה שמניהה הוי[1]
יהה[2] יה הו והויה הוי הי וה הי יוה הו הוה יהי הו יהי היוהי[3] הוה
הה יה ההיוי ויוהה ויהה אל היה אה היה האה אה הי אהוי אהויה "
שיתיניתום " אתמסר ליה " אה אה ויה האל וה היה אל הוי והתאל
היהיאל אלהיה היה אהוי ויה אהו יה והי היה אה הא היה אל הוראל
הוי אהא קממאה הלאל " קתנניפיי " אתמסר לי " הא הוא ואה
אלהא סמה אה אלהא סיאה והה אה יהה אוהה אהוהה ומצהו[4] היה
מיתיה אאל דהוי ויה הו הו אל ליה הו הי והאי והאו יה הא הו והי
והי ויה אהה הוה יהו יה יהה הה[5] הי היה וה ויה וה אה אש אוי
שיה " אסקוההי " [f. 4a] אתמסר לי " אהו יה יהי שיה יהו יה יהו
יהה אה וה אהוה אהיה אהו יה יה יהה שני הוה מכנוסיהה[6] יה דוה
הוי הא מסכפנהיה יה היא " סמריסהויה " אתמסר לי " הוי הא דייהא
אהיש הוה סקפ הוה היה אהי הוה קנקסהיה הוה יהה יהה[7] אה אה
והיה אה יה וה יה וד היה יהו הה יהו היה הוה יה היה וה היה יה "
סהותגאייה[8] " אתמסר לי " יה הא יה אה יהו יו הויו יהה יה ההו
ייהה הה הה הי הה וה ייה הוו אה[9] יהא הה אל הו היה קהיה ויוהה
אהי הי הה[10] סתיהו הה " הוה יהו[11] הי יהוה יאוהיהי יהו יהו דיה
יה יה יה הוה יהוה הה היה יה ויה היה יהו יהו הי הי " א"ה פסקתיה[12]
אתמסר לי " הו ליה היה ההוה אה וה הההיה יהו הוה וה אהו היה יהו
הו דיה יה היה אהה וההה יה וה וההה הי הוה והיה וה היה והיה והו
הי היה הוה אה הי או הה אה יהה וההה וי[13] ויה יה והי הו הי הוה "
ולא כסו ממנו כל דבר ואות מן השמות האלו המופורשים ולא כינו
לו אפילו אות אחת מהן כי כך נצטוו מפי אדון הנסתרים למסור לו
התרב הזאת בשמות האלו שהן סתרי התרב ואמרו לו צוה לחזרות
הבאים אחריך יברכו ברכה אחת זו עד שלא יתפלל כדי שלא ישמעו
באש " ברוך אתוה איזונים[14] שהיה עם משה יהא עמי ששמו
אהוצוייה: רפאותי"ה: רפואתוייה: והניהייה: הקצצייה " ענתותיהוה "
גדודיהוה " ויפעמטקתוזיה " פצאפי " פי " אויה " מהרונסניה " שריה "
קתציה " רהוני " הוה " תנפמציה " אתיספסקתיה " תישמציהה "
מצהונתהיה " אבהיתיוזיה " קפהוהי " רפמנות[15] " רפרפמר " ימרמריה "
קברסיה " נכד " קתסניה " מרכאיריה " נגמסרד " הוה " דידאדראה "
קדירהה " קניצהה " ודינאוציה[16] " אפסוניה " אי פי לי " מאסמן "

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[1] הו. [2] הוה. [3] היוהה. [4] ומציהו [5] יה. [6] מכסוניה.
[7] יהר. [8] סה"ותגיאה. [9] הה. [10] הי. [11] יהי. [12] אה"יוספקתיה.
[13] הוה. [14] אי"זונאס. [15] ר"פקנות. [16] דינאוסיה.

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הי אם ספצפנמר[1] " ובשם סמרת סמם פצץ אדונותת הוסיה עליון יה
הואי או היה פי פי איתיה ובצרם מצרפיה תסקיהו בשתקצר רבא דלא
כסי מיניה כלום דחמי ולא מתחמי " ובשמיה דשירקתיה[2] " דהוא שר
על שמיא דמתקרי יהו יהו וא והֹ " ומפיק יתיה מלך עלמיא מפומיה
בלישן אותרן " יהו אה יה והההה יה וה יה יהו הה יה הו הוו הי
הי הה הי הו הוא הו היה הויה[3] יה וה יה וה יה יה הי הי אהה
אהי הו הה יה יהי הו הוה יהו הו הה ייהו הה יו " את סרה
קלילא לא תתעכב ותרעיש ותיתי ותעביד לי אנא פ'ב'פ' כל צרכי
בשם " יהו ההיו יהו אהיו ההו הו היה הוי הוה יה וה הה יה הו
הוי היה והומר קתנניה זו קוספיה אהוניה אל הי נקטסאל יה הוה
ניננהה פסקתרה הי[4] הוה יה זרומתה היה ובר שמה הי הה יה " רבה
דחמי ולא מתחמי אהה דפירושיה אתגלי לכל חילי מרומא ובפירושיה
אנא משבע יתכון די הכדין דאתמסר למשה בן עמרם מפום מאריה
כולא " יהוה והאה הוה יהוה היה הו הגיהה יה הי הי הו הה יהוה
סה הה וה יה וה הה הוה יה יה יהי לנהה יה יה אה תבינו[5] איה יהוש
אהישה ואנריפס יהו צבאות יהוה יהוה צבאות שמו ב'א'י' אדון הגברות[6]
חכם הרזים " ומה הן אותיות שמסר לו " שקד חוזי " אמר לו אם
תרצה להתחכם ולהשתמש בתרב זו קראני והשביעיני וחזיקיני ואמצני "
ואמור מ'א'ע' שקד חוזי ברז גדול קדוש ונפלא מהור ויקר אדיר ונורא
וזה שמו ירוניקא " אקפתה " הנה " נהה " ירך " ידכירוהו יה יה
ציקעץ " באותיות האלו השבעתיך שתכוף לי ותחכמיני [f. 3b] ותזקיק
לי את המלאכים משעבדי התרב בשם גולה הרזים אמן " חקוק על עור
ברזי ושא עליך אותן ג' ימים שאתה מטהר עצמך והשביע כן קודם
תפלתך ואחר תפלתך " מרנייאל אתמסר ליה " הי הו היה והי הוה יהו
יהוה הו היה הו היה והו ההיהו יוה ההוניה הי או היה וה וה וה יה
וה יהוה יהוה יהוה יהו יהו יהו גניניה והה " פרומרוסי ' אתמסר לי '
אהו[7] הוה[8] אהי[9] הוה אהויה יהא[10] הוה[11] יה יה הוה הודא אה והה
הי הוה וא היה הויה אהה וה הי אהיה יה יה יוה הי אה אה
יה אהה ויהוה היה אהי היה יהיה אה היה איה " הדרויזלו אתמסר
לי " ההוא הה יה יה או יהו ההא יהוה אה הה אויה האה וה אהיה
אהוא היה וה הה יה תוהא[12] היה הה וה יה והה והיה הוהי יהה הוהה
ויהה " מהיהונצי " אתמסר לי יהה ההי והה ויהה ההי יהה הה והוה
הוה אהיה יהו הה וה יה היה יה הא הוה יהו יה הא הוי יה הא יה אה
הו ייה הוי הה הה וה אה חה אהיה[13] יה יהוה הו הוה הי הוה "

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[1] ספצפנמר. [2] דשירקטיה. [3] הויא. [4] הה. [5] תכינו.
[6] הגבורות. [7] אה. [8] והוה. [9] אהיה. [10] יה. [11] אהוה.
[12] אוהא. [13] אהוה.

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משקרין ידיהון לא חפפין ועיניהון לא מרמן לביש לא רהטן בנופיהון
בדילין מכל מומאה מרחקין מכל מסאב מקדשין מכל חורפין ולות אתתא
לא קריבין וכד פקיד יתי מאריה כולא אנא אסס אסס ואם ים יה
ואפרנסיה שליחא קלילא נתתית לארעא וכד עברית ואמרית[1] מאן בני מני
אנשא דכל אילן בידיה איזיל ועלוהי אשרי ובעינא ברעותי וסברנא
בלבי דלית בר אנש דיכול למעבד כדנא בעתי ולא אשכחת ולא אתקל
עלי ואשביעני מאריה כולא בימין תוקפיה והוד הדריה ועטרת של
הוד הוה ריה עקן הי דריה מהר קרוננית[2] יה וה הה תהו הי יה דא "
שבועה דימין תוקפיה ואשבע יתי ואדר יתי מאריה כולא ולא נפלית
בכן קמית ליאתאחסנא אנא אסס אסס ואסיסיה ואפרנסיה על ברית
צבותא דפ'ב'פ' בשם קמבגל עקמה וה זרומתיה יה יכרוך זנותיה ירפוה
תתיה קצי וציהין יהין יהין " דין הוא שמא רבא ויקירא דאתמסר לבר
אדם " יה ביה אץ אה באה הוי הו הו וה יא הו זה וה וה אה יה
יהו הה יהו יהו אקף הי הה ייאה הה האה הואה הדוה היי הו הו הי
קדוש אדיר אדיר סלה " צלי יתיה בתר צלותך " ואילין שמהת מלאכין
דמשמשין לבר אדם " מיממרון " סנרדתציה " ומקמטרון " וסנגותיקתאל "
ונביקתגאל " וינואתקתיאל " ואנתנקסאל " ואנתוסתיאל ומיכאל סרת
ונברי אל שקתכניה " והדקרונתיאל " ואנהסנאל " יהואל " תיזרת "
נסי אל " וסינסטהאל " וענפי " ככפיאל " ונהר " נסנגהיאל " ויכני "
אתיהאל " ואקתקליקאל " ינה " ניתציאל יה " כן תשמשון לי אנא
פ'ב'פ' ותקבלון צלותי ובעותי דאנא בעינא ותעלונה לקדם יהוה הה
סהה אהה הה וה וה " קודשא בריך הוא דבשמוהי אנא אומית
ואדרית יתכון כמא דעילא ציפרא לקינא וזכותי אדכרו קדמוהי ובפתגמי
תחנונים כפרו חטאי בעידנא דנן ולא תתעכבון בשם הה הה וה ויה
יה ויה וה וה ויהה ויה אה ההוי אהו יא הי הי הו הו יהו הה הוה יה
[f. 3a] וה ברוך הוא צבאות צבאות סלה " יקדישותו משרתיו ויעריצוהו
בגעם ויאמרו ק'ק'ק אדון השם הקדוש הזה מלא כל הארץ כבודו "
ואל תעכבו בנזירת הו היה יה הו[3] י יהו הי הי הוה הי הו הה היה
הי הוה היה הויה יהו ההו הה ההיו יהו אהו הה יה אהה איה אי
אה אי אה וה יה " חי עולמים " ובשם דימימין קריאם[4] והו ארקם[5]
גנליאום קוסמום קליקס אסקליטתרא אילי אלי מופיספרא סמנדאנם[6]
מלאסי קמם אנתפרנו פינה דיהי מיתקאם נפלא תטא דוניטא תתמנאם
טוף דוגז ממינא מהו והוטר זיקקתיהו אהוני יהו יה אל חינקיה ספפי[7]

---

[1] יעני אלריפאל (?) אלרי יתערץ בהדא. [2] קרוננית. [3] היה נ"א יה אה
איו וה נ הו היה הי יהי ותיהוה יהו היה היה וה הוה הה ויה ייה והי הי יהו הי
שמא רבא ומנטלא ומפיר. [4] קיריאם. [5] ארקם. [6] סמנראנם.
[7] ספפי.

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רהו פנמיה " הניאל שנקרא פהוצפני[1] ניה " אשראל שנקרא תהמותיהיהיה
" וישריאל שנקרא קניתי פציה " עשהאל[2] שנקרא יהות נמהי היה[3] "
עמוהאל שנקרא רופניניה וספיה " ואצראל שנקרא שהננו תניהה "
שתזדקקו לי ותבופו [f. 2a] לי את התרב להשתמש בה כחפצי ולחסות
בצל אדונינו שבשמים בשם הנכבד הנדול והנורא הזה " הו יי ההי
הו הה אה וה יה יה הוי הו יי הו [נא הוה יהו] יא הו הו יה יהו
יי הו יא יה וה הו יא הו הוי היו הו יה וה יה הו הוה יהי הו יה
אהיה מהוה " עשרים וארבעה אותיות שעל הכתר שתמסרו לי בתרב
הזאת רזי מעלה ומסה סתרי מעלה ומסה ותהא שאלתי נעשית ודברי
נשמעין ובקשתי מתקבלת בפירוש שבועת השם היקר הזה הנכבד
בעולמו שבו אסורין וכבולין כל צבא מרום שפירושו " הה הה הוה
הההי יוהה אה וה ניה הוה פה והו היה צהו אה וה היה תה וה יה
וה יה סיה וה יה ויה " ברוך הוא שלא תעכבו ולא תזיקוני ולא תרעישוני
ולא תפחידוני בשם השם הנערץ בפי מלככם ואימתו מוטלת עליכם
ונקרא " פרזמותניה " סרחוקתיה " היגניתיה " טרסניהיה " קרזמתהו
צניה יה וה היה הו יי הא הוה הוה אהה ההי אה וה הוה היה אה
וה יה יהה יהו יהי או הה אה הה הא היה אה זקידידריה " קימו לי
מה שהשבעתי אתכם ושרתוני כרב כי לא בנדול מכם השבעתי אתכם
אלא באדון הכל בשמו שאתם בכל צבא מרום אחוזים תפוסים אסורים
כבולים בו ואם תעכבו לי הרני מוסר אתכם לאדון להו'ב'ה' ולשמו
המפורש שחמתו וקצפו וחרונו בוערים בו והוא מכבד את כל פעלו
באות אתת ממנו ונקרא " זרונדקנמא קצופצתתיה " אהוה סתתי ניה
נינים[4] היניה הו[5] יה הניה הוה קלצ שאם תעכבו הרי הוא מאבד
אתכם ותבוקשו ולא תמצאו ותשטרוני מקוצר רוחי ומחבל נופי בשם
חזקאי אהיה וה יה הה יהה יה וה הה יה היה אהיו יה היו יהי והוי
די הוי יה קקהוה סקקהוה נוצר ישראל " ברוך אתה סוקס חכם הסתרים
נולה הרזים ומלך עולם ✤ קלא שמעית ברקיעא קל מאריה רקיעא דכולו
ואמר בעניא שליחא קלילא דלבני אנשא אמר ואם שליחותי יתעבד
יתגאון בני בתרבא דילי אנא מסר להון דהויא ראש כל רוי ועלה על
יד חוזי פרישן כי כן יהיה דברי ונאמר הלא כה דברי כאש נאם ה' "
אמר [פנגינינו נסיה] פנגינינונסיה אלה שמיא וארקא וסלקית לקדמיה
אנא אספי ✤ אספי ואסיסיה ואפרנסיה[6] שליחא קלילא דבישליחותי
אנא יָאָה ובשתדרותי אנא מוחי למעבד...[f. 2b] ופקד יתי מאריה כולא
אזיל ואשתמע לבנא אנשא חסידין טבין כשרין וצדיקין ומהמנין דלבהון
לא פליג ופומהון לא חליק ובלישניהון לא מכדבן ושפתתידון לא

---

[1] פהוספני. [2] עשריאל. [3] איה. [4] ניגים. [5] הה. [6] יעני
סמע הרא צותאל מלאך אלרי יסמיה בעד ראש.

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דבר שהעולם משתמש בו הדברים דברי אלהים חיים ומלך עולם ואמרו
לו אם תרצה להשתמש בתרב הזאת ולמוסרה לדורות הבאים אתיך
אדם המזקיק נפשו להשתמש בה יקדש עצמו ג׳ ימים מן הקרי ומן
המומאה ולא יאכל ולא ישתה אלא מערב לערב שיאכל לחם אדם
מהור או לחם (!) ידיו במלח נקיה וישתה מים ולא ידע בו אדם כשהוא
[f. 1b] עושה מעשה זה להשתמש בתרב זה כי סתרי עולם הן ובסתר
הם נעשים ולצנועים הם נמסרים ומיום הראשון שאתה פורש מבול ושוב אי
אתה צריך והתפלל נ״פ ביום ואחר כל תפלה התפלל תפלה זו ״ ברוך אתה
קוסם אלי הנו(?) מ״ה האל הפותח בכל יום שערי מזרח ובוקע חלונות
קדים ומאיר לעולם כלו וליושביו בהמון רחמיו ברזיו ובסתריו ולמד את
עמו ישראל רזיו וסתריו ונלה להם תרב שהעולם משתמש בה ואמר
להם כשתבואו ״ להשתמש בתרב זה שכל שאלה בה נעשית וכל ח
וסתר בה מתגלה וכל אות ומופת ותמהון בה נעשית כך וכך אמרו
לפני וכך וכך קראו לפני וכך וכך השביעו לפני מיד אני מתפתה ומתרצה
לכם וממשיל אני אתכם בחרב הזאת לעשות בה כל שאלה והשרים
מתפתים לכם וקדושי מתרצים לכם ושאלתכם מיד עושים לכם וזיו
מוסרין לכם וסתרי מגלים לכם ודברי לכם משמיעים ונפלאותי לכם
מגלים והן נשמעין ומשמשין אתכם כתלמיד לפני רבו ועיניכם מאירות
ולבבכם צופה ומביט כל נעלמות וקומתכם נפשטת לפניך לך אני קורא
סוקים מלך עולמים ״ אתה הוא שנקרא יהונה הו אל יה מלך עולם ״
אתהו שנקרא פהו זגה וה וו[1] אל יה ״ מלך רחמן ״ אתהו שנקרא
זהות ניהה אל יה ״ מלך חנון ״ אתהו שנקרא צהפרוהו הוה אליה מלך
חי ״ אתהו שנקרא ספטהותהו אל יה[2] ״ מלך עניו ״ אתהו שנקרא
קניוהי הו הי אל יה ״ מלך ישר ״ אתהו שנקרא שהרו סנהורי אל יה
מלך רם ״ אתהו שנקרא ספקם הפיה והה אל יה מלך תם ״ אתהו
שנקרא קתתהו נתהי אל יה ״ מלך תמים ״ אתהו שנקרא פתרים הופיהו
אל יה מלך אדיר ״ אתהו שנקרא רעפק ציוהיה אל יה ״ מלך בתור ״
אתהו שנקרא חוסה יהו הי אל יה ״ מלך נאוה ״ אתהו שנקרא והו
הו הי הי הוה אה יה וה יה יה וה יה וה יו הי היו יה ״ אתה
שומע תפלתי כי שומע תפלה אתה והזקיק לי את משרתיך שרי החרב
כי מלכם אתה עשה לי כל חפצי כי כל בידך וכן כתוב פותח את יד
ומשביע לכל חי רצון ״ משביעני עליכם אולי אל שנקרא הודי וזי הו
הוה ״ אראל שנקרא סקריסיהיה ״ מעני אל שנקרא אתרץ אודה יה ״
מפאל שנקרא הופקי הוה אהיה ״ והאדירים מכלם הליכיה הוא יפיאל
מימטרון שנקרא נהודפטהו הה יהה הדר מרום ״ מרשות מלכי ידיאל
שנקרא סנהוה היה ״ רעשי אל שנקרא מהופתכיהייצ ״ תניאל שנקרא

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[1] וה. [2] ספטותהו הו אל.

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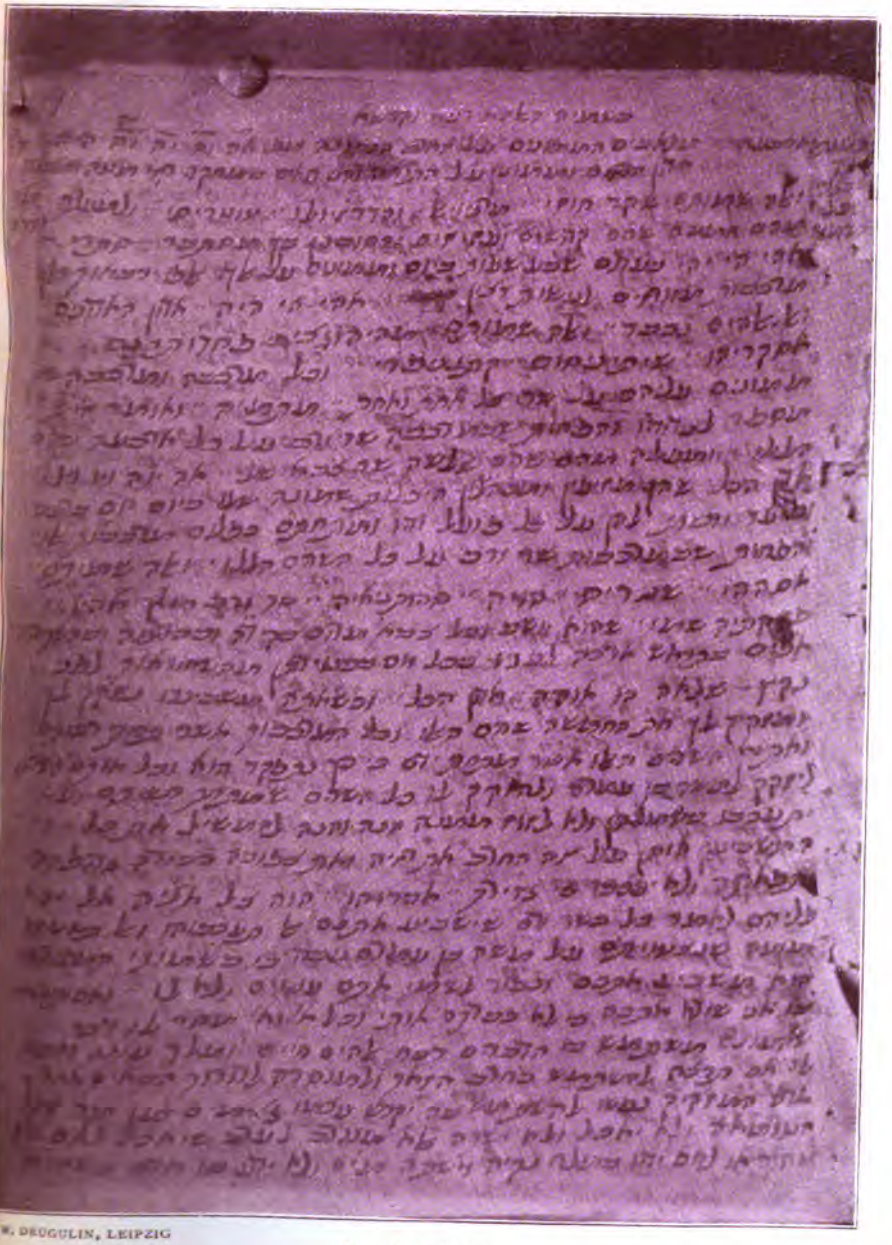
[f. 1a] בשמיה דאלהא רבא וקדישא

I. ארבעה מלאכים הממונים על התרב הנתונה מפני אה וה יה ההה[2] היה אדון הרזים וממונין על התורה והם רואים במחקרי רזי ממה ומעלה ואלה שמותם שקד חוזי " מרניואל " והדרזיולו[3] " מופריסי " ולמעלה מהם חמשה שהם קדושים ועזיזים והסוברין כך מסתבר סתרי אהי הי יהי בעולם שבע שעות ביום וממונים על אלף אלפי רבאות ואלף מרכבות מוזרזים לעשות רצון [קונם] " אהי הי היה " אדון האדונים ואל אלהים נכבד " ואלה שמותם " מהיהונצי " פחדותתגם " אסקריהו " שתיניחום " קתגניפרי " וכל מרכבה ומרכבה שהן ממונים עליהם על שרי כל אחת ואחת " מתמיה " ואומר היש מספר לגדודיו והפחות שבמרכבה שר ורב על כל ארבעה שרים הללו " ומעלה מהם שרים שלשה שרי צבא של " אה יוה ויו ויו " אדון הכל שהן מזיעין ומבהלין[4] היכלות שמונה שלו ביום יום ברעש וברעד ורשות להן על כל פועל ידיו ומתחתם כפלים מרכבות אלו " והפחות שבמרכבות שר ורב על כל השרים הללו " ואלה שמותם " אסהה " שטריס " הויה " סהותניאיה " שר ורב מלך אהיו " פסקתיה שמו " שהוא יושב וכל צבא מרום בקידה ובכריעה ובהשתחויה אפים בתראש ארצה לפניו בכל יום בפטירתן מהשתחוואות[5] לפני נקק " שלאה הו אוהה " אדון הכל " וכשאתה משביעו נזקק לך ומזקיק לך את החמשה שרים האלו וכל המרכבות אשר תחת רשותם ואת כל השרים האלו אשר מתחת ידם כי כך נתפקד הוא וכל אותם השרים ליזקק למשה בן עמרם ולהזקיק לו כל השרים שמתחת רשותם ולא יתעכבו בשמעתן ולא לזוז ממנה הנה והנה להמשיל את כל המשביעין אותן על זה החרב את רזיה ואת צפוניה כבודת נדולתה ותפארתה ולא יעכבו כי גזירת " אבדוהו " הוה צל אליה אל יה " עליהם לאמר כל בשר ודם שישביע אתכם אל תעכבוהו ואל תשנוהו ממה שנצטויתם על משה בן עמרם עבדי כי בשמותי המפורשים הוא משביע אתכם וכבוד לשמי אתם עושים ולא לו " ואם תעכבו בו אני שורף אתכם כי לא כבדתם אותי וכל א' וא' מסר לו

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[1] פלונתא . . ה שבגליון ושעל השמות. [2] יה. [3] מרנואל והדרזיול.
[4] ומבהילין. [5] מהשתחוואות l.

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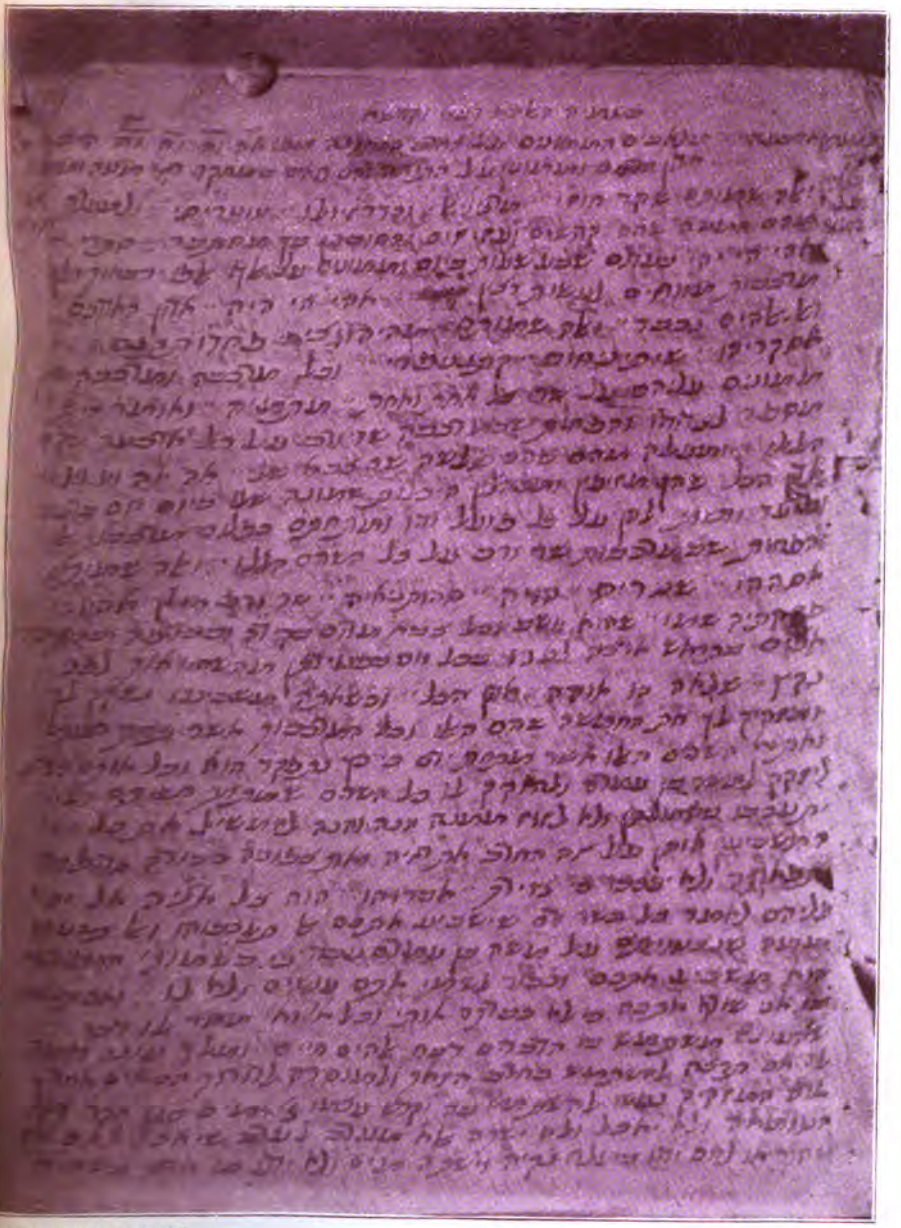
[f. 1a] בשמיה דאלהא רבא וקדישא

I. ארבעה מלאכים הממונים על החרב הנתונה מפי [1] אה וה יה ה[2]
היה אדון הרזים וממונין על התורה והם רואים במחקרי רזי מפה ומעלה
ואלה שמותם שקד חוזי " מרניואל " והדרזיול[3] " סומריסי " ולמעלה
מהם תמשה שהם קדושים ועזיזים והסוברין כך מסתבר סתרי אהי הי
ידי בעולם שבע שעות ביום וממונים על אלף אלפי רבאות ואלף
מרכבות מזורזים לעשות רצון [קונם] " אהי הי היה " אדון האדונים
ואל אלהים נכבד " ואלה שמותם " מהיהונצי " פחדותתנם " אסקריהו "
שיתיניחום " קתגניפרי " וכל מרכבה ומרכבה שהן ממונים עליהם על
שרי כל אחת ואחת " מתמיה " ואומר היש מספר לגדודיו והפחות
שבמרכבה שר ורב על כל ארבעה שרים הללו " ומעלה מהם שרים
שלשה שרי צבא של " אה יוה ויו ויו " אדון הכל שהן מזיעין ומבהלין[4]
היכלות שמונה שלו ביום יום ברעש וברעד ורשות להן על כל פועל
ידיו ומתתם כפלים מרכבות אלו " והפחות שבמרכבות שר ורב על
כל השרים הללו " ואלה שמותם " אסההי " שפריס " הויה " סהותניאיה "
שר ורב מלך אהיו " פסקתיה שמו " שהוא יושב וכל צבא מרום בקידה
ובכריעה ובהשתחויה אפים בתראש ארצה לפניו בכל יום בפמירתן
מהשתחוואות[5] לפני נקץ " שלאה הו אוהה " אדון הכל " וכשאתה
משביעו נזקק לך ומזקיק לך את החמשה שרים האלו וכל המרכבות
אשר תחת רשותם ואת כל השרים האלו אשר מתחת ידם כי כך נתפקד
הוא וכל אותם השרים ליזקק למשה בן עמרם ולהזקיק לו כל השרים
שמתחת רשותם ולא יתעכבו בשמעתן ולא לזוז ממנה הנה והנה
להמשיל את כל המשביעין אותן על זה החרב את רזיה ואת צפוניה
כבודת נדולתה ותפארתה ולא יעכבו כי נזירת " אבדוהו " הוה צל
אליה אל יה " עליהם לאמר כל בשר ודם שישביע אתכם אל תעכבוהו
ואל תשנהו ממה שנצטויתם על משה בן עמרם עבדי כי בשמותי
המפורשים הוא משביע אתכם וכבוד לשמי אתם עושים ולא לו " ואם
תעכבו בו אני שורף אתכם כי לא כבדתם אותי וכל א' וא' מסר לו

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[1] פלונתא . . ה שבגליון ושעל השמות. [2] יה. [3] מרגואל והדרזיול.
[4] ומבהילין. [5] מהשתחוואות l.

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Editorial Statement

We are pleased to present the tenth volume of *Ginzei Qedem*, an annual publication devoted to Genizah texts and studies. The term Genizah here functions as a collective noun for the Genizot around the world, and the current volume demonstrates the broad variety of the genre and its research. An article on the documents of the newly discovered Afghanistan Genizah is included here, together with texts from the recently re-discovered Damascus Genizah as well as new texts from the well-known Cairo Genizah.

The diversity of the Genizah research is displayed in this volume as well, as it represents many fields, including Biblical studies and exegesis, Halakha, liturgy, history, magic, and more.

Ginzei Qedem's purpose is to provide a specialized venue for the field of Genizah research, in the hope that research on and publication of Genizah texts will, in time, enrich both traditional and academic Jewish studies, as well as Islamic ones.

Genizah research has made great strides in the last decade, mainly with the establishment of the Friedberg Genizah Project, of which Ginzei-Qedem is one branch. As part of the effort to serve our readers, the electronic edition of Ginzei Qedem will be assimilated in the FGP website and will be synchronized with the images and the bibliographic data of the FGP database.

Contributions to Ginzei Qedem may be in Hebrew or English. Any substantial quotations in a language other than that in which the article is

written must be accompanied by a translation, and articles in Hebrew must be accompanied by an English abstract.

Contributions may be sent to: Ben-Zvi Institute, P.O.B. 7660, Jerusalem 91076, Israel. Contributions and queries may also be sent by e-mail to the editor at zvi56@ybz.org.il.

A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Magical Booklet from the Damascus Genizah

Gideon Bohak and Matthew Morgenstern

The Damascus Genizah

Although discovered at about the same time, the Damascus Genizah is far less widely known among Jewish studies scholars than its more famous sister, the one from Cairo.[1] There are two reasons for this ignorance. First, the vast proportion (more than ninety-nine percent) of the Damascus Genizah consists of Muslim Arabic texts, which are of little interest to most students of Jewish studies, and the remaining 0.5% consists mostly of Christian fragments, only some of which, notably those containing sections of the Septuagint, are of relevance for students of Judaism. Barely a handful of the texts are written in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Judaeo-Arabic and are of Jewish origin.[2] Second, the Christian and Jewish texts that made their way into this Muslim Genizah and were preserved there until the early twentieth century were shipped to Berlin in 1902 and shipped back to the Ottoman court in Istanbul in 1909, and have never been seen again. Only recently has it been discovered that while the fragments themselves are still missing (and may be found one day in Damascus, in Istanbul, or

1 For the Damascus Genizah, see the excellent study by C. Bandt and A. Rattmann, "Die Damaskusreise Bruno Violets 1900/1901 zur Erforschung der Qubbet el-Chazne," *Codices Manuscripti* 76/77 (2011): 1–20.

2 For the Christian fragments, see Bandt and Rattmann, esp. pp. 18–20; for the Jewish ones, see ibid., p. 20. See also A. Ashur, "A Ketubbah in the Palestinian Style with the Permission of Matzliah Gaon, from the Damascus Genizah," *Pe'amim* 135 (2013): 163–70 (Heb.).

elsewhere), good black and white images of some of these fragments have survived in several different collections.[3]

A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Magical Booklet

Among these now-lost fragments is a set of seven parchment folios of small size and irregular shape containing magical spells and recipes in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, photographs of which may now be found in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin under the shelf mark Or. Sim. 6.[4] The writing surface, handwriting, style, and contents make it clear that all seven folios were written by the same scribe, whose hand was identified by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger as dating to the eleventh century and displaying some possibly Babylonian features. All seven folios probably came from a single booklet, which must have contained more such folios. The order of the preserved folios cannot be determined for certain, but we tried to arrange them in what seems to be the most plausible sequence.[5] The longest

3 For the circumstances under which they were taken, see Bandt and Rattmann, pp. 9–10, 12, 16, and 18.

4 We are extremely grateful to Amir Ashur and especially to Ronny Vollandt, who is now cataloguing the Damascus fragments in Berlin, for bringing these texts to our attention. We are also grateful to Christoph Rauch for the photographs and for the permission to publish them here, to Cordula Bandt for sharing with us other photographs of the Damascus Genizah fragments, and to Judith Olszowy-Schlanger for her palaeographical advice. Dr. James Nathan Ford read the manuscript and proposed many helpful readings and interpretations, as well as granting us permission to cite from magic bowls that that he is preparing for publication (cited as JNF). Professor Shaul Shaked aided us with the Persian material and similarly granted us permission to cite from his work on the Martin Schøyen collection (cited as MS).

5 Unfortunately, the Arabic numerals on the margins of the folios bear no clear relation to the folios' original order. For the circumstances under which these numerals were added to the original folios see Bandt and Rattmann, p. 13 and Plates 7 and 8. The same is true of the small etiquettes with sequential numberings which were placed next to each folio while the pictures were taken, which also bear no relation to the original order of the folios.

continuous stretch of text is found in our folios 5–7, where the spell that begins in 5b continues into 6a, 6b, 7a, and 7b, ending at the bottom of 7b. Similarly, there is a clear textual continuity from 1b to 2a and then to 2b, and from 3a to 3b and to 4a and 4b. On the other hand, some text is probably missing before 1a, there seems to be a break between 2b and 3a, and the continuity between 4b and 5a is far from certain. In such cases, one may either try to re-order the folios in a way that would leave fewer gaps or assume, as we do, that more folios are still missing in these places, especially before 1a and between 2b and 3a. How long the original booklet was we cannot say, nor can we reconstruct the structure of its quires, as even its bifolia were dismembered before they were photographed.

One additional factor complicating the reconstruction and interpretation of this set of magical texts is that only three of the recipes bear clear titles: לאהבה (for love) in 2b:7, לשלוח אש (lit., "for sending a fire," i.e., for aggressive magic) in 3a:3, and לשילטון (for [appearing before] a governor) in 5a:4. In all other cases, no titles are provided, and it often is unclear where one recipe ends and the next begins. Unfortunately, the punctuation marks used by the scribe do not seem to mark the beginnings or ends of the magical recipes in any consistent manner or to separate the spells from the ritual instructions that explain how to employ them. These difficulties are compounded by the fact that a single textual unit may cover more than one magical aim; for example, the long text that begins in folio 5b sets off without any title or explanation (the previous recipe was "for [appearing before] a governor" and ended at the bottom of 5a) and includes a long spell for what is usually known as "opening the heart," i.e., memorizing the words of the Torah and the Talmud. But then, in 6b:5, we find the connecting word ותוב, "furthermore," followed by a long spell for protection against all types of demons, and in 7a:5 we move without any apparent break to a second anti-demonic spell, which begins with חתים ומחתם, "sealed and counter-sealed," and runs to 7b:6. Only then is the user instructed to recite this adjuration on three (consecutive?) Fridays before

dusk, to immerse himself in water, and to fast and abstain from sexual intercourse during these three Fridays. Thus, it seems that the ritual instructions were applied to a set of three adjurations, one of which was intended for the memorization of Torah and the other two for protection against demons.[6] Such mixtures might be due to copying errors or deliberate editorial activities taken by our scribe or by one of his predecessors, and they certainly reflect the recipe's complex transmission history and contribute to the difficulties inherent in interpreting magic spell texts.

Another feature of these recipes, which also reflects their long transmission history, is that whereas the spells to be recited or inscribed are consistently given in Aramaic, the ritual instructions are sometimes given in Aramaic (e.g., 3a:5–3b:4 and 7b:7–11), but in other cases are given in Arabic, here written in a phonetic manner that is also typical of the earliest Judaeo-Arabic fragments from the Cairo Genizah (e.g., 5a:1–4).[7] This is an example of a phenomenon that is well attested in both Jewish and non-Jewish magical recipe books, namely, that when the society using these recipes switches from one language of communication to another (in this case, from Aramaic to Arabic), its spell-mongers often continue transmitting the spells to be recited or inscribed in the old language, even though it is no longer fully understood, but gradually translate the practical instructions into the new vernacular.[8] In this respect, our booklet is a clear

6 As both the ritual instructions and the first of the three spells bear some resemblance to the Sar Torah rituals of the Hekhalot literature, it is likely that the anti-demonic spells are a later addition to whatever the "original" recipe may have contained.

7 For the "pre-Saadian" methods of writing Judaeo-Arabic, see J. Blau and S. Hopkins, "On Early Judaeo-Arabic Orthography,' " *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 12 (1984): 9–27 and more recently J. Blau and S. Hopkins, "On Aramaic Vocabulary in Early Judaeo-Arabic Texts Written in Phonetic Spelling," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 32 (2006): 433–71.

8 For this phenomenon, see further discussion in G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 220.

example of the ongoing circulation of some older Jewish Aramaic magical spells and recipes in the Arabic-speaking Jewish communities of the Middle Ages.

In many ways, including the small sizes and irregular shapes of the folios, the mixture of Aramaic and Judaeo-Arabic, the aims of the individual recipes, and most of the ritual techniques they employ, the Damascus Genizah magical booklet looks quite similar to the earliest parchment magical recipe books from the Cairo Genizah, with which it is roughly contemporaneous.[9] However, the Damascus booklet is distinct from its Cairene siblings in the strong Babylonian flavor of its spells, and perhaps also of some of its ritual instructions. This is especially apparent when we note the numerous parallels between these spells and those found in the Babylonian Jewish (and non-Jewish) incantation bowls, many of which are noted in our commentary to the text. It is, of course, true that these recipes also bear many resemblances to the Palestinian Jewish Aramaic magical texts, as attested in late-antique metal-plate amulets and in many Genizah magical texts, but their resemblances to the incantation bowls are far more numerous and far more striking. Moreover, in some cases the Babylonian elements are even more obvious, including, for example, the appearance of Babylonian deities in 2a:10 and of the Chaldaean priests in 4a:8. Thus, not only the folios' provenance and language (on which more below) but also their contents argue for their "Eastern" origins, in or around the world of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic. This is a world about which we know much, but almost exclusively from a single type of source, namely, the Babylonian incantation bowls, to which may be added such texts as the *Havdala de-Rabbi Akiba*, the *Pishra de-Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa*, and perhaps also the *Sword of Moses*. Thus, the emergence of a first clear example of a Babylonian-Jewish magical

9 See, for example, T-S K1.143, published in J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993), Geniza 18.

recipe book whose recipes are not embedded into any "literary" structure and display no thematic unity should make a major contribution to the study of this branch of the Jewish magical tradition. This is all the more important since this branch more or less died out in a subsequent period, as may be seen from the very few parallels between the incantation bowls and the magical recipes from the Cairo Genizah (or from non-Genizah Jewish manuscripts, including "Oriental" ones).[10] In this respect, we may note that our recipes too find very few close parallels among the published and unpublished magical texts from the Cairo Genizah and that when such parallels emerge, they are found in Cairo Genizah recipe books which display some telltale signs of the Babylonian Jewish origin of at least some of their recipes (see our notes to 2b:4–6 and 5a:4-7).

One final feature of our booklet that may be highlighted here is that while the structure of the individual recipes is not always clear, in many cases the incantations, including long stretches of *voces magicae*, seem to precede the ritual instructions, which often are quite short. In this respect, these recipes seem to differ from most magical recipes from the Cairo Genizah, which usually provide the ritual instructions first and then cite the incantations that are to be inscribed or recited. Whether this is a mere coincidence or a more typical feature of Babylonian Jewish magic is an issue that will have to be dealt with elsewhere, and only after more such texts are discovered and analyzed.[11]

10 For these parallels, see especially D. Levene and G. Bohak, "Divorcing Lilith: From the Babylonian Incantation Bowls to the Cairo Genizah," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 63 (2012): 197–217. Two more parallels will be discussed in a forthcoming publication by James Nathan Ford, but given the availability of hundreds of Genizah fragments and hundreds of bowls, such parallels clearly are the exception rather than the rule.

11 We note, for example, the occurrence of this phenomenon in the magical recipes of T-S Misc. 34.22, which displays many other signs of its Babylonian Jewish provenance (and cf. below, n. 84). The instructions similarly follow the incantations in Mandaic spells. See M. Morgenstern and T. Alfia, "Arabic Magic Texts in Mandaic Script: A Forgotten Chapter in Near-Eastern Magic," in R. Voigt (ed.), *„Durch Dein*

In addition to the Babylonian vocalization found sporadically in the manuscript, its Babylonian origin is manifest in several linguistic features, which are mostly grammatical. Some of the formulae are more classicizing than others, but many of the recognizable Babylonian dialectal features appear both in the spells and in the instructions that accompany them (insofar as these have been preserved in the original Aramaic). Representative examples of Babylonian features will be cited here.

Phonology: ותו, "furthermore" (1b:9) for תוב, showing characteristic loss of word-final *b̲*. דוץ, "stick in" (3a:7), from root דע״ץ, showing the loss of the historical ʿ and concomitant shift to II-*waw*/*yod* class.[12] Similarly, תריסר, "twelve" (4a:7), with loss of ʿ. איבי, for אעביד, "I ought do" (4a:3), and אבדנא, "I shall do" (4a:3), for עבדנא, from the root עב״ד, showing the weakening of the historical ʿ and the elision of word-final *d̲*.[13] בכצומי, "amongst sorcerers" (4a:7), for קסומי, showing assimilation of **s* to the pharyngealisation of the *q* and concomitant dissimilation of the *q* to *k*.[14]

Nominal plurals employing an *–ē* morpheme: טורי, "mountains," (1a:3); מלאכי, "angels," (1a:4);[15] בחרשי, "by charms," (2a:5); בשוקי, "in the market

Wort ward jegliches Ding!" /"Through Thy Word All Things Were Made!" II. Mandäistische und Samaritanistische Tagung / 2nd International Conference of Mandaic and Samaritan Studies (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 163–79, at 164, where it is noted that the same order is employed in Demotic magic texts.

12 See M. Morgenstern, *Studies in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Based upon Early Eastern Manuscripts* (Harvard Semitic Studies 62; Winona Lake: Indiana, 2011), 64.

13 See Morgenstern, *Studies*, 66–68.

14 As noted already by H. L. Ginsberg, "Aramaic Dialect Problems II," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (1936): 95–103, at 96, such dissimilation is a Mesopotamian Aramaic feature. *kaṣuma* is also found in Mandaic (E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1963] 200 [hereafter MD]), and we may compare also JBA כמצא, "locust" (M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* [Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002], 586 [hereafter *DJBA*]).

15 Although the absolute form is "retained occasionally following numerals" in JBA (Morgenstern, *Studies*, 113), there are numerous exceptions in both Talmudic

places," (3b:7); דרדקי, "children," (4a:1); בני איגרי, "rooftop demons," (7a:9); בנת אלהי, "daughters of gods," (7b:2). *Nisbe* plural forms employing -איי: בכלדאיי, "amongst Chaldeans (4a:8)."[16]

Pronominal suffixes: *–ēh*, "his," on dual and plural nouns: עיניה, "his eyes" (1a:8);[17] similarly, *-ah* for the feminine: עינה, "her eyes" (2b:12).[18]

Verbal forms: 3rd person imperfects with *n–*: ניזקוף, "let him raise" (1a:8, 1b:2); ונידלי, "and he should draw" (1b:2); נשקיון, "let them give me to drink" (1b:10), showing also the characteristic loss of word-final *–ī* of the object pronoun; נימרו... נשמעו, "let them say… let them hear" (1b:11); ניפרח, "let it flutter" (2b:6); נשתכח, "may be found" (4a:8).

Participle forms: קרן, "they call" (2a:8).[19]

Participles with affixed subject pronouns: 1 m.s. דאמינא . . . ושמינא, "what I say . . . and what I hear." 1 f.s. נפקאנא, "I go out" (3b:7); קא

manuscripts and the magic bowl corpus. The evidence of the magic bowls indicates that the loss of the absolute in this position is a syntactic rather than phonological phenomenon, since it also affects forms of the feminine plural. The following are some representative examples: שבע חרשיא, "seven sorcerers" (MS 2053/29:7); ושבע מבכלתא דליליה ודיממא, "and seven *məbakkela*s of the day and the night" (MS 1927/21:11); והארבע חיותא, "and behold, four beasts" (JNF 259:6; JNF 19:8; JNF 147:5). The same applies to the quantifier כל: כל רוחי בישאתה ורוחי זידיאתה, "all evil spirits and wicked spirits' (JNF 317:4–5); כל נידרי ולוטתא, "all vows and curses" (JNF 7:5); וכל נידרי ואיסרי וכל שבעתא לוטתא ודיוי ליליתא, "all vows and bonds and all oaths, curses and *dev*s and liliths" (JNF 55:5).

16 See Y. Breuer, "The Babylonian Aramaic in Tractate *Karetot* According to MS Oxford," *Aramaic Studies* 5 (2007), 1–45 at 31–32, and M. Morgenstern, "Notes on the Noun Patterns in the Yemenite Tradition of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic," *Revue des études Juives* 168 (2009): 51–83, at 76.

17 H. Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts* (Studia Orientalia 86; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society), 87.

18 On the latter, see M. Morgenstern, "Linguistic Features of the Texts in this Volume," in S. Shaked, J. N. Ford, and S. Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls*, vol. 1 (Brill: Leiden, 2013), 42–43.

19 On this form in the Jewish Babylonian magic bowl corpus, see Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 206–9.

מקטלאנא, "I kill" (3b:8–9), also showing the exclusively Babylonian tense-marker קא;[20] דשרינא, "that I release" (4a:9). 2 f.s. in *qṭlyt* pattern: רה[ט]ית, "you shall ru[n]," (2a:5). פרחית ונפלית, "you shall fly and fall," (2a:6).[21]

Infinitives: III-*yod* on the pattern of *miqṭā:* ולמשרא, "to loosen" (2b:7).[22]

Particles: כי, "like" (2a:6, 11). כי היכי ד- . . . הכי, "just as . . . so," (2b:5), both Talmudic forms.[23] עילויה, "upon him" (2b:11). מאי, "what" (4a:3 bis).[24]

Vocabulary: זרנוקא, "water pipe" (used euphemistically for penis) (1b:2). נרגא . . . וחצינא, "axe . . . and hatchet" (2a:10). אפותיה, "forehead" (3a:3) is common in JBA and Mandaic but is attested in Syriac only in the lexica and in the Jewish Targums only in the late Targum of Job (41:12). מעלי שבתא, "Fridays" (7b:10) is used only in JBA.

Exceptional in this respect are the spell for the acquisition of knowledge, fol. 5b–6b, and perhaps the first part of the spell for protection in 6b–7a, which employ many conservative forms. The following are a few representative examples:

y- prefix for 3rd person imperfect,[25] e.g., דישמע וילף, "that he shall hear and learn" (5b:3), etc.

20 See also קא משוינא, "I turn (X) into (Y)" (4a:1). Note that in both cases, קא is written as a separate particle, as is common in the better Babylonian manuscripts. See Morgenstern, *Studies*, 172–74.

21 2 f.s. participles in the *qṭlyt* pattern have been previously found in JBA in the magic bowl corpus. See Morgenstern, "Linguistic Features," 45.

22 S. Morag, "Some Notes on the Grammar of Babylonian Aramaic as Reflected in the Geniza Manuscripts," *Tarbiẓ* 42 (1972–73), 60–78, at 70–73.

23 הכי, a Talmudic form, already appears in a magic bowl text. See Morgenstern, "Linguistic Features," 46.

24 Ibid.

25 Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 175.

-ūn affixes for imperfect plural verbs:[26] דתיפתחון, "that you will open" (6a:1). תעכבון, "you shall (not) delay" (6b:1). ותצלון יתי, "that you shall deliver me" (6b:6), also employing the direct object marker *yāt-*.[27]

-ti affix for 1 c.s. perfect of III-*yod* verbs: אומיתי, "I conjure" (5b:8), the so-called Onkelos/Jonathan form.[28]

However, since many of these forms are also employed in the Babylonian magic bowl texts, these do not necessarily prove a non-Babylonian origin.

Transliteration, Translation and Comments

In our transliteration, we use the following sigla:

[ ] a lacuna in the text

• a letter which is only partly preserved

א̄ (with superlinear stroke) a doubtful reading

{} Dittography

Our translation and commentary here are kept deliberately brief and aim to provide support for the interpretation of the text presented herein. As the question marks between parentheses in the translation indicate, many passages remain obscure.

26 Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 176–77.

27 Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 226–28.

28 Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 172–73.

Folio 1a

1	BRYNG the *dev*[29] who disturbed the heavens with his (???)	ברינג דיוה דשגיש שמיה באר•יֵה
2	NṬR ṬWRY DWR NMṬY.[31] I went up the mountains,	נטר טורי דור נמטי 0 טורי[30] סליקית
3	and I went down the mountains, and I turned[32] to the hills; I saw	וטורי נחיתית ורמתה תבעית חזיתי
4	three angels, whose names are Gabriel and Uziel	תלתה מלאכי ושמיהון גבריאל ועוזיאל
5	And Shoshiel. They said to me, NN, Who overturned the m[ou]ntains	ושושיאל אמרין לי פ ב׳ פ מן הפך ט[ו]רי
6	that you overturned and the hills that you turned to I said	דאת הפכת ורמתה דאת תבעת אמרית
7	to them, I, NN, since? I wanted the mystery of love	להון אנא פ ב׳ פ דיבעית רזא דרחמת[א][33]

29 Professor Shaul Shaked has suggested to us that "bryng dywh looks like an Iranian word, but no such word exists in this form. One may think of *bērōnīg 'external' or a similar emendation. Such a word is unknown as the name of a demon, but is at least a plausible designation for a demon."

30 The following *historiola* bears a strong resemblance to similar passages in the magic bowl corpus and Mandaic formularies, e.g., *lṭura ḏ-nirig silqit ldaura rba ḏ-bit hiia aškaita lmihla pt bil alaha ulmiša br šušma hiuara*, "I ascended to the mount of Nirig, and to the great abode of the House of Life; I found Salt, daughter of the god Bel, and Oil, son of white sesame" (*Zarazta ḏ-Hibil Ziua,* ed. De Morgan 265/20: 40–43).

31 We have presented these as magic words as we are unable to propose a coherent translation. The first two words, **נטר טורי** may be rendered as "Guardian of the mountains" or "Guard mountains (imperative). . . ." **נמטי** may be either a verb (3 m.s. or 1 c.s. of **מט״י** in *qal* or *ʾapʿil*) or a noun meaning "pieces of felt, belt coverings" (Sokoloff, *DJBA*, 755).

32 For this meaning of **תבע** see M. Kahana, "The Importance of Dwelling in the Land of Israel According to the Deuteronomy Mekhilta," *Tarbiẓ* 62 (1993) 501–14, at 507 (Heb.).

8	from NN. Let him raise his eyes to heaven and he shall se[e]	מן פ׳ ב פ ניזקוף עיניה לשמיא ויחז[י]
9	the mystery of love from NN, Amen Amen Sela.	רזא דרחמתא מן פ ב פ אמן אמן סלה
10	ʾGLN QWṬY SWTY ʾKYMY ʾṢṬYS ZWṬY	אגלן קוטי סותי אכימי אצטיס זוטי
11	QYNRY NDM. Say over bdellium[35] and mustard . . .[36]	קינרי נדם ק׳ ע מיקל[34] אזרק וכרדל

Folio 1b

1	. . . over (it?) 7 times. This mystery is appointed for NN,	[ ]•• על ז׳ זמ׳ מזמן הדין רזא לפ ב פ׳
2	that he should raise his water pipe[37] and draw his bucket and drip	ניזקוף זרנוקיה ונידלי דוליה ותינטוף

33 The expression רזי רחמתא is found in the erotic bowl published by J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1913) 28:3, 4 (p. 213).

34 Lege: מוקל.

35 Muql azraq, i.e., bdellium; see E. Lev and Z. Amar, *Practical Materia Medica of the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean According to the Cairo Genizah* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 111.

36 כרדל is the Judeo-Arabic spelling for خردل, "mustard," cognate with JBA חרדלא. For the use of mustard in aggressive magic in late-antique Babylonia, cf. the *Pishra de-Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa*: ואם על חרדלא עבדו ליה ועל בר זרעא עבדו ליה קטריאל ישרי ויפשר ליה, "And if they did it to him over mustard or if they did it to him over seed, Qaṭriʾel will release and exorcise for him" (Franco Michelini Tocci, "Note e documenti di letterature religiosa e parareligiosa giudaica," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 46 [1986], 101–8, at 103).

37 Here used in a figurative manner; the same usage is found in Mandaic: *mta huṭrak unidalia qumtak uniqum zarnuqak ulanitikbiš,* "extend your staff that your stature be raised up and your pipe be erected and not brought down" (DC 12: 59–60). For a similar use in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, note the use of the Greek loan word סילונה (tube, pipe) for the male organ, on which see S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1898–99; repr.,

3	his drop in NN, in the name of BYMH NṢṬWRYNW	נטופתיה בפ׳ ב פ׳ בשם בימה נצטורינו
4	ḤSPWṬ ʿYDNNʾ MSʿLYMṬS LʾPLYṬWS	חספוט עידננא מסעלימטס לאפליטוס
5	A(men) A(men) S(ela). Precious[38] oil, precious	א א ס 0–0 מישחא שיהא משחא
6	oil, oil boiled[39] in jasmine;[40] noblemen	שיהא משחא סליקא בדיסמין חרי
7	smeared[41] it on their necks; noblewomen, on their pudenda(?),[42] contentious women	שפוי בצוריהון חרתא בגנסקיהי גרגיתא

Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964) 1:383, and G. Bohak, "The Magical Rotuli from the Cairo Genizah," in G. Bohak, Y. Harari, and S. Shaked. eds., *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition* (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture, 15; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 321–40, at 333. דולא, "bucket," is also used as a euphemism for the source of fecundity in a wedding poem in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic: דולך לא יחסר וטב תתבשר, "may your bucket not be lacking and may you be told good (tidings)," published in M. Sokoloff and J. Yahalom, *Jewish Palestinian Aramaic Poetry From Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Science, 1999), 258, text 44*:8 (in Hebrew).

38 Compare E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 458 s.v. šušma, cited from *miša anat šiha br šušma hiuara,* "The oil you are, precious, from white sesame" (CP no. 23).

39 Cf. Sokoloff, *DJBA*, p. 674: ישחא שליקא = butter. The text could also mean oil boiled with jasmine.

40 For the use of jasmine oil, cf. על מישחא דיסמין זמנין ז׳ רטין ושלח מיניך, "on jasmine-oil, whisper seven times and remove your clothes" (T-S K 1.162, published in P. Schäfer and S. Shaked [eds.], *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* III [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999], no. 61).

41 Derived from older שפוהי. See M. Morgenstern, "Linguistic Notes on Magic Bowls in the Moussaieff Collection," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68 (2005): 349–67, at 363.

8	on the circles of their navels; the troop on the (???)[44] of its servants	בקופי שיריהי[43] גיסנא בשופי דטליה
9	smeared it. NN, in front of the house of love(?) of the town; and furthermore,	שפיה פ׳ב׳פ׳ וקבאל בי חן דמתא ותו
10	from their meat let them (give me to) eat and from their cup let them give me to drink,[45]	מאוֹמציהו ניכלון ומיכסיהו נשקיון
11	what I say they let them say and what I hear[46] let them hear	דאמינא אנא נימרו ושמינא נשמעו
12	A(men) A(men) S(ela). Say at the beginning of the month when it is the second (day)	א׳ א׳ ס׳ ק׳ כל ראש ירחא מידהוי ב׳

Folio 2a

1	of the month and one of its other days, first of all, sa[y]	בירחא וחד מי אחרנה אולשי ואמ̇[ר][47]
2	seven times, each day three times. From	ז׳ זמני כל יומא תלת זמני 0–0 מן

42 **גנסק** might be a Persian loanword for "orchis, testicle," apparently employed euphemistically for both male and female pudenda. See Claudia A. Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2008), 138.

43 Lege: **שוריהי**. Cf. below, 3a:8.

44 The reading **שופי** is certain, but we are unable to propose a suitable interpretation.

45 Since **נשקיון** is a transitive verb bearing the 1 c.s. object suffix (*n* < *-ni*; contrast the following verbs **נימרו**, "let them say," and **נשמעו**, "let them hear," without the final *n*), we should similarly understand **ניכלון** as representing a minor scribal error for **נוכלון**, "let them give to eat."

46 Here **שמינא** appears in place of regular JBA **שמענא**. On the morphological shift of III-*ʿayin* to III-*yod* in JBA, see Morgenstern, *Studies,* 63–64.

47 The reading of the last two words is uncertain, and their meaning is unclear.

3	the gloom of gloominess[48] you came out, from the great	חבר חברירי̈ה נפקתון מן אתרא
4	place of darkness; the evil spirit Anpharid,	רבא דיחשוכא אנפרי דרוחא בישׁתא[49]
5	which is sent by charms;[50] you shall[51] ru[n] like a deer,[52]	דמישתדר בחרשי כי טביא רה[ט]ית
6	you shall fly like a wind,[53] and you shall fall upon NN;	כי זיקא פרחית ונפלית עליה דפ ב פ

48 We interpret חברא as equivalent to הברא, "darkness," which is sometimes written with etymological ח in JBA (Sokoloff, *DJBA*, 361). חברירי̈ה (plural emphatic) appears to be an antonym of שבריר̈א, "radiance of sun, sunlight". For the sentence structure, compare *umn škinatun ḏ-hiia qadmaiia atit mn atra rba ḏ-nhura,* "you came from the dwellings of the Primordial Life, from the great place of light" (*Pašar Mihla,* DC 51: 14–16).

49 Lege: אנפריד רוחא בישא. Compare אנפרת רוחא בישתא, "Infarat, the evil spirt" (BM 91767:2), also written אינפרת (ibid:7), who is similarly sent against an opponent by means of witchcraft. See M. Morgenstern, "The Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Magic Bowl BM 91767 Reconsidered," *Le Muséon* 120 (2007): 5–27. Professor Shaul Shaked has drawn our attention to the discussion of Arabic عفريت, *ʿifrīt*, in A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an* (Baroda: Oriental Institute), 215, and adds: "The Aramaic form suggests a Persian antecedent word such as **an-āfrīd,* 'uncreated,' and the Arabic word may be regarded as an abbreviated form."

50 Formulae like דמשתדר(ין) בחרשי are common in the bowls' descriptions of demons, e.g., מן סטני דמישתדרי בחרשי, "from satans that are sent by charms" (Moussaeiff 121:4, published in D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* [London, 2003], 81). See also C. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars Press, 1975), 63:7.

51 For the *qṭlyt* pattern of the 2 f.s. participles, see the linguistic introduction.

52 For this simile, cf. below, 6a:6–7: ואירוץ בהון כצבי שהוא רץ במדבר, "I will run in them like a deer that runs in the desert."

53 Cf. the anti-witchcraft spell of *b. Pes* 110a–b: קרח קרחייכי פרח פרחייכי איבדור תבלונייכי, **פרחא זיקא** למוריקא חדתא דנקטיתו נשים כשפניות, "may your heads grow bald(?), may your capers flutter, may your spices be scattered, may a wind flutter the new saffron that you are holding, you female witches."

7	like the three angels which are sent in the clouds	איך תלתא מלאכין דמשתד[ר]ין בענני
8	of hail,[54] and thus they are called:[55] Aglit and Maglit	ברדא וכין קרן להון אגליט ומגליט
9	and Hadar Galat; ascend to the high heavens and break	והדר גלת סקו לשמי מר[ו]מא ותברו
10	the axe from Bel and the hatchet from Barbel(?), and they will turn back	נרגא מן ביל וחצינא ומן[56] בַּרביל[57] ומיתפכין
11	like an eagle and turn back against NN. In your name	כי נישרא ומיתפכין על פ ב פ׳ בשמך
12	ʾYWʾY PY DWN ʾYWʾY ʾWRP ʾWRP	איואי פי דון איואי אוֹרָף אורף

54 ענני ברדא is paralleled in two of the bowls from the British Museum, 001A:10 and 002A:12 (J. B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* [London: British Museum Press, 2000], 43–44): ושדרו וחבילו יתה מין עננין דברדא, "and they sent and injured her from clouds of hail."

55 Lit: they call them; קרן is an impersonal 3 pl. participle of the "Onkelos" type. For the "naming" of demons, compare מסמיתא מטריתא עוירתא קרן לכי מחגרתא קרן לכי גרבניתא קרן לכי שפופתי קרן לכי, "They call you the blinder, the smiter, the sightless; they call you the lame one, the scabeous, the crawler" (MS 1927/8:7, in S. Shaked, J. N. Ford, and S. Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Volume 1* [Leiden: Brill, 2013], 56, with some alterations to the translation).

56 Lege: מן.

57 For this formula, cf. the bowl (IM 9736) republished by Ortal-Paz Saar, "An Incantation Bowl for Sowing Discord," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 58 (2013): 241–56, at 242, l. 7: איתהפיך ביל ואביל ונבו ובורסיף, "overturned are Bel and Abel and Nabu and Borsip." For the reemergence of the old Mesopotamian gods in Aramaic and Mandaic texts, see C. Müller-Kessler and K. Kessler, "Spätbabylonische Gottheiten in spätantiken mandäischen Texten," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 89 (1999): 65–87; D. Levene and G. Bohak, "A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Incantation Bowl with a List of Deities and Toponyms," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 19 (2012): 56–72.

Folio 2b

1	ʾH ʾW WʾY ʾYPʾ WʾYP PNT PNT	אה או ואי איפא ואיף פנת פנת
2	ʾNBYʾ ʾPNT PNT WʾP WʾP ʾWRP	אנביא אפנת פנת ואף ואף אורף
3	ʾWRP. Say over dust from under a corpse,	אורף ק׳ ע עפרא מתחות מיתא
4	and put it in an amulet and hang it on a bird and let it fly	ורמי בקמיעא ותלי בצפרא ואפרחה[58]
5	and say over it: Just as this bird	ואמר עליה כי היכי דפרחא הדא
6	flutters, so shall the heart of (fem.) NN flutter[59] after	ציפרתא הכי ניפרח ליבה דפ ב׳ פ בתר
7	NN, A(men) A(men) S(ela). For love: I have love, it is mine[60]	פ ב פ א א׳ ס׳ 0 לאהבה לי חן לי הוא
8	SSGR MGMR, holy angels who sit	ססגר מגמר[61] מלאכיה קדישיא דיתבין

58 For binding the text to a bird and letting it fly, see also the Genizah fragment Mosseri Ia. 26.2, copied by Abraham ibn Yiju (probably during his stay in Aden) and published in S. D. Goitein and Mordechai Akiva Friedman, *India Book III: Abraham ben Yijû, India Trader and Manufacturer* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 2010) (Heb.), 421, ותלי קמיעא בכרע[א] דציפור ואפרח יתיה, "and bind the amulet to the leg of a bird and let it fly," (but in a recipe to cause a person to be exiled from his community). See also R. Campbell Thompson, "The Folklore of Mossoul," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1906, 76–86, 97–109; 1907, 165–74, 282–88, 323–31; 1908, 30–33, no. 23.

59 For the double meaning of פרח, which cannot be rendered into English, see the frequent appearance of פרח ליביה in the Babylonian Talmud, as well as פרחיאל אפרח לביה דפ׳בפ׳ בתר פ׳ב׳פ׳ (T-S K 1.37, published in P. Schäfer and S. Shaked, eds., *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* I [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994], no. 4).

60 Or LY ḤN LY HWʾ.

61 Cf. the angels סוסגר מכמר in the Horvat Rimmon erotic spell and its many parallels, for which see Naveh-Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, A10 (p. 84) and esp. Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993, G22, 1/9 (pp. 216, 219).

9	under the cauldron(?) of fire of the (heavenly) Temple, to bind	תחות דוֹדָא דנורא דהיכלא למיסר
10	and to loosen, that (fem.) NN shall come after NN	ולמשרא דתיתי פ ב׳ פ עילויה דפב׳פ
11	with her mouth open and her saliva dripping[62] and her eyes	כד פומה פתיח ודייב רירה פתיחן
12	open but not seeing, in the Name of (??)	עינה ולא חזין בשם ••

Folio 3a

1	and stick and bind [ ] of flax, and bury	וֹדוֹץ וכַרוֹן[ ]דכיתנא וקבר
2	at the threshold of the house or on the bank	באיסקופתא [ד]בֵּיתא או על גידא
3	of the river. For sending a fire / fever ʾRH DYG??	דנהרא 0–0 לשלוח אש ארה דיג..
4	NRWGRWY DʾNH BṢ?RWN SṬ?NRYH D?YNGYM ??[63]	נרוגרוי דאנה בצרון סטנריה דינגים ..
5	of the town? Write on its[64] forehead his name [and the name]	דקרתא כתוב על אפותיה שמיה [ושמא]
6	of his mother, and this[66] mystery on the image and ???	דאימיה[65] והיי ראזא על צלמא וא...

62 Compare in Mandaic: *rirḫ daiib upumḫ ptia*, "his saliva is dripping and his mouth is open" (DC 43E:8 // DC 20: 18-20). DC 43 here provides the better reading but was erroneously read in C. Müller-Kessler, "A Mandaic Incantation against an Anonymous Dew Causing Fright (Drower Collection 20 and its variant 43 E)," *Aram* 22 (2010): 453–57, at 460.

63 The words here look like *voces magicae*, but one would expect instructions such as "Take mud, fashion a figurine," etc.

64 Presumably the text is referring to the production of a "voodoo doll," writing on its forehead, sticking needles in it, etc.

7	and bring five needles; stick one	ואיתו חמיש מחטי דוץ חדא
8	in its heart and one in its navel and one in its two	בלביה וא׳ בשוריה וא׳ בתרתין
9	thighs, with its two hands	עטמתיה וב׳ ב׳ ידיה

Folio 3b

1	on its knees right [to the left, and le]ft (one) to right	על רוכביה ימין [לסמול ו]סמול לימין
2	and put it in a new[67] vessel with its [hea]d below[68] and its legs	ושידיה במנא חתא[ר]שׁיה מתיי ושקיה
3	above, and bury it in a fresh grave which is one day old	לעילא וקבור בקברא חתא בר א׳ יומא
4	or two days old. ʾ[Y]DR ʾYDR BWKʾNʾ	או בר ב׳ יומי 0–0 א[י]דר אידר בוכאנא
5	BʾDʾ BYK QWʾ QZ[69] On the back of a lion I ride	באדא ביך קוא קז אגבא דאריא רכינא
6	and the girdle of male sorcerers and female sorceresses I have fastened to	והומיאנא דחרשי וחרשתא בחציי
7	my loins.[71] I go out[72] in the market places of infant(s),	מחי לי בשוקי יניק נפקאנא[70]

65 Here and in the next two lines there is a hole in the parchment that was clearly present before the scribe began writing his text.

66 For היי, note that in early Babylonian manuscripts the form of the demonstrative pronoun is האיי, *hāyi*. See Morag, "Some Notes," 66–7 (Hebrew).

67 Here and in the next line, חתא = חדתא. Compare Th. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1904), 21.

68 We take מתיי as *mittaii,* equivalent to מתחתאיי, "underneath." For placing the "voodoo doll" upside down, note, for example T-S Ar. 43.259: ותאכד קדר גדידה ותג׳על פיהא גיר ותאכד׳ אלתמתאל ותכבה עלי ראסה פי אלקדר, "take a new cooking pot and put lime in it and take the figurine and cast it upside-down into the pot."

69 It is unclear whether this was once a coherent text or was always magic words.

8	and in the streets that are full of children; I	ובביריאתא דמלין דרדקי קא
9	kill an infant in the market places and children in	מקטלאנא בשוקי יניק ובביריאתא

Folio 4a

1	the streets.[73] I turn wine into vinegar and old wine[74]	דרדקי קא משוינא חמרא חלא ואתיקא
2	into ???,[76] white flour into ashes {ashes}, barley	גאנה חיוריתא קיטמא קיטמא[75] קמחא

70 There is a hole in the parchment, here and in the next line, that was clearly present before the scribe began writing his text.

71 **מחי לי**, "I have fastened," represents the *qəṭīl li* syntagm. Compare the Mandaean *Zarazta d-Hibil Ziua: himiana d-birqa mhilia bhalṣai*, "I have fastened a girdle of lightening to my loins" (DC 44: 505-6). For "loins," JBA commonly employs **חרצא**, pl. **חרצי** (Sokoloff, *DJBA*, 484), though the by-form **חצי** is already found in the Dead Sea Scrolls (see M. Morgenstern et al., "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon," *Abr-Nahrain* 33 [1999]: 30–54, at 35) and late Mandaic (MD 125) and is the regular form in Classical Syriac (see M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns], 482). Dr. Y. Z. Stampfer has drawn our attention to the use of **חציה** in Geonic citation from *b. Giṭ* 78a. See Z. Stampfer, *Laws of Divorce (Kitāb al-Ṭalāq) by Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon* (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 2008), 92.

72 **נאפקאנא** and the following verbs represent 1 f. participle forms, characteristic of the best textual witnesses of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. See Morgenstern, *Studies*, 120–22, and M. Morgenstern, "Rare Forms in Eastern Aramaic," *Language Studies* (Heb., forthcoming).

73 For this section, see Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 202, and additional parallels in M. Morgenstern and M. Schlüter, "A Mandaic Amulet on Lead," Martin Schøyen Collection MS 2087/1 *Eretz Israel*, (Joseph Naveh Memorial volume), forthcoming.

74 **ואתיקא** is a phonetic spelling of **ועתיקא**.

75 Dittography?

76 We are unable to offer a satisfactory explanation for the word **גאנה**, which presumably refers to some acidic substance into which wine may deteriorate.

3	flour into dust and ashes?[77] What ought I do[78] to him, and what	דסערי עפרא ופרי מאי איבי ליה ומאי
4	shall I do to him, to NN? I shall take his thorn(?) / spirit(?) from him,	אבדנא ליה לפ ב׳ פ חוחיה[79] שקלנא ליה
5	and I shall cast it in a tube, I shall seal it with pitch	בגובתא שדיאנא ליה בכופרא סטמנא ליה
6	and bury it in the earth and trample it with my heels	בארעא קברנא ליה ובעיקבאי דישנא
7	for twelve months of the year; so that neither amongst magicians nor	ליה תריסר ירחי שתא לא בכצומי ולא
8	amongst Chaldaeans[80] shall a healer be found for him, un[til?]	בכלדאיי אסיא לא נשתכח ליה אד••
9	I release him and he dies. Say (it) over a green lizard	דשרינא ליה ומית ק׳ על[81] צרריתא

Folio 4b

1	seven times in a reed tube and bury (it) in the inner	יורקתא ז׳ זמ׳ בגובתא דקניא וקבר באסקפתא
2	threshold. 0–0 ʾṬṬ ʾSS WʾWSYS WHWDYH	גויתא 0–0 אטט אסס ואוסיס והודיה

77 Perhaps this is **ופרי** for **ואפרי**, like Hebrew **עפר ואפר**.

78 On the Babylonian forms **איבי** and **אבדנא**, both derived from the root **עב״ד**, see Morgenstern, *Studies*, 66–68.

79 Lege: **רוחיה**?

80 The expression **כצומי וכלדאי** is also attested in the Klagsbald bowl, AMB 13:13 (J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1987], 200).

81 There is a hole in the parchment, which was probably there before the scribe began writing his text.

3	WHWDYRYH, send, send against him, NN	והודיריה[82] שדר שדר עלוהי דפ׳ בפ׳
4	the fire of a spell; say (it) over 7 ???[83] of ???, and place it in the socket	אש לחש: ק׳ ע׳ ז׳ בורי דטבין ושדי בצינורא
5	of the door. Skull, GPNM WNY?SGP	דדשא 0 גולגולתא[84] גפנם ונ?סגף
6	I have adjured you, NWRDPYS the satan, that you shall go	אשבעית עלך נורדפיס סטנא דתיזיל
7	and cast fire upon NN, that it may dance[85] upon you,	[ות]פיל אשתא על פ׳ב׳פ׳ דתירפיס עלך
8	on him on him on you on you on him Amen Amen Sela.	ועלה עלה עלך עלך עלה אמן אמן סלה

Folio 5a

1	Say (it) over the (???) . . . the white son of an egg, which	ק׳ ע׳ אלערבייה [ ] אבין בידה אלביד אלדי

82 A similar set of voces *magicae appe*ars in the Sword *of Moses:* אנא אססי אסס ואסיסיה ואפרגסיה שליחא קלילא, "I am ʾSSY ʾSS WʾSYSYH WʾPRGSYH, the speedy messenger"; see Yuval Harari, Harba d*e-Moshe (The Sword of Moses): A New Edition and a Study Jerusal*em: Academon, 1997) (Heb.), 26.

83 This may be the same as בורא *b. Šabb.* 140b (Sokoloff, *DJBA*, 192), the meaning of which remains unknown.

84 This spell has a partial parallel in T-S Misc. 34.22 (a fragment whose magical recipes display a strong Babylonian influence): שילוח אש אנה גולגלתא אנא גלגולתא כ?ם ו?הנ?ם / כם והנם אנא והנם אנה והנם אשבע לכי ומנ?א? לכי? / .ד רום סטנא בישא דיתיב על תלת מאה ושיתין סטנין / איזיל ואפיל אש על פ׳ב׳פ, "(For) sending fire: ʾNH skull, ʾN׳ skull, KM WHNM KM WHNM ʾN׳ WHNM ʾNH WHNM, I adjure you and I conjure? you .D RWM, the evil satan who sits over three hundred and sixty satans, go down and bring down fire on NN," etc.

85 The meaning of רפ״ס in this context is uncertain. It could mean to dance, flutter (see Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon,* 1485), or perhaps to tremble (denominative of ריפסי, *DJBA* 1077).

2	no chicken has mounted and ??? and slaughter/cook	לם יצעד עליה דגיגיה[86] מא ותכרא ואדבח
3	and put it on the egg(?)/in his hand(?) and ??? from the sackcloth garment and bury it	איג עלה[87] בידה ואגעלוה מן אלמיסח ואדפ[נוה]
4	under an oven. 0–0 For (going before) a governor: ʾṬFWT ṬWFY	תחת תנור 0–0 לשילטון אָטפוֹת[88] טוֹפי
5	RPT ŠTS SDM RGM DRWS A(men) A(men) S(ela). Say? (it) over	רַפּת שׁתּס סַדּם רַגּם דרוֹס א א ס ק • ע׳
6	straw from a locked gate ???	גילה מן באבא סכירא בַּח ע••
7	and place it behind your ear,[90] and write ??? amulet(?)	ואותיב בתר אודנך וכתוב[89] ••מזיע.
8	and (it is) good and tried and tested. 0–0	וטב ומנסי ובדיק 0–0

Folio 5b

1	Do (it) for your Name, for the sake of [your name]. This amulet	לשמך עשה למען ש[מך] מזמן הדין
2	is appointed[91] for the name of NN, that you may open his	קמיעא על שום פ׳ב׳פ׳ דתיפתח ליביה

86 Lege: דג׳אג׳ה, i.e. דג׳ג׳ה.

87 Lege: אגעלה?

88 The magic words are vocalized with Babylonian vocalization.

89 There is a hole, or some other irregularity in the parchment, that was clearly there before the scribe began writing his text.

90 Note a somewhat similar recipe in Bod. Heb. e 74.21 (a folio from the same manuscript as the two fragments published by Schäfer and Shaked, M*agische Texte* III, no. 69, which display a Babylonian vocalization): להנצל מעת צרה: אמור ג׳ פעמים על קטר של תבן לגת לגם סכר בלם ותן אותו אחורי אזניך, "to be saved from a time of trouble, say three times over a knot of hay LGT LGM SKR BLM and place it behind your ear."

91 This is a common formula in the bowls, e.g.: מזמן הדין קמיעה לאסותא לנטרתא ולחתמתא דביתיה ד-, "This amulet is appointed for the healing and protection and sealing of the house of . . ." (Gordon A:1, published in C. H. Gordon, "Aramaic Magic

3	foolish[92] heart to all words of the Torah, that he shall hear and learn,	טפשא לכל פיתגמי אוריתא דישמע וילף
4	and all that he learns he shall not forget. ʾQQPṢ[94] HH WH YH	וכל די ילף לא ישכח אקקפץ[93] הה וה יה
5	holy, PṬMNY PTPTY PTPYH holy, ʿGSNṢ	קדוש פטמני פתפתי פתפיה קדוש עגסנץ
6	MYN holy, ŠSYS HʿNH HYG holy, THPGYH	מ֗ין קדוש שסיס ה֗ענה היג קדוש תהפגיה
7	SPYH holy, ṢWH NPNT HWH holy, STW	ספיה֗ קדוש צוה נפנת הוה קדוש סתו
8	NQSS Q?W? safeguarded,[96] holy. I conjure	נקסס[95] קו֗ סמיר קדוש אומיתי
9	you and adjure you,	עליכון ואשבעית עליכון

Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," *Archiv Orientální* 6 [1934]: 319–34, at 321).

92 Sokoloff, *DJBA* 514, reconstructs the singular of this adjectival form as טפשאה. On the merger of the noun marker *-ā* and the adjectival/gentilic morpheme *-āʾā*, see M. Morgenstern, "Notes on the Noun Patterns in the Yemenite Tradition of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic," *Revue des Études Juives* 168 (2009): 51–83, at 75–79, where evidence is also cited for alternative plural forms טיפשי, and טיפשאיי.

93 For the following set of *voces magicae*, note a similar sequence in MS New York Public Library 190 (*olim* Sassoon 56), p. 77, lines 7–9: ובהדין שמא רבא ויקירא וקדישא / ק׳ק׳ק׳ פץ קה והוה קדוש פפותמי קתניה קדוש קתר נקססה / נספרה, "and by this great, precious, and holy name, H(oly), H(oly), H(oly), PẒ (=WH in *atbash*) QH WHWH Holy PPWTMY QTNYH Holy QTR NQSSH NSPRH."

94 The series of *voces magicae* in lines 4–8 is characterized by the repetitive structure XXX + Yh *qadosh*, and if we omit the initial *aleph*, we may note that the individual sequences begin with ק, פ, ע, ש, ת, צ, ס, which may indicate an earlier attempt at an acrostic arrangement of this series.

95 There is a hole, or some other irregularity in the parchment, that was clearly there before the scribe began writing his text.

96 Compare Mandaic *smir,* "well preserved, safeguarded," in MD 333 s.v. SMR.

Folio 6a

1	and place an oath upon you,[97] that you will open my heart, me	וקיימית עליכון דתיפתחון ליבי דילי אנא
2	NN, and you will make (it) wise for Torah, and you will remove the foolishness	פ ב׳ פ ותחכמון לאוריתא ותפקון טפשות
3	of the[98] heart from the heart of me, I, NN, and you will see/make seen[99] and open	ליביה מן ליבא דילי אנא פ׳ב׳פ׳ ותחמון ותפ[תחון]
4	my heart , I, NN, like the heart of Metatron and like the heart of	את ליבי דילי אנא פ ב פ כלב מיטטרון וכלבּ
5	Moses son of Amram, and teach me the six columns of the Tal[mud][100]	משה בר עמרם ולמדני ששה טורים שלתּל[מוד]
6	in six(?) years, and I will run in them like a deer that runs[102]	בשם שנים[101] ואירוץ בהון כצבי שהוא רָץ
7	in the desert and guard in my belly all that I learn, and what I learn	במדבר וטרו במעי כל מה דאילוף ומא דאילוף
8	from this day and forever, and teach me words of Torah and wisdom,	מן יומא דנן ולעלם ולמדני דברי תורה וחכמה

97 This is a common formula in the bowls, e.g.: ואסרית ואשבעית ואחרימית וגזרית וקיימית עליכון in an unpublished bowl (SAD 31) brought to our attention by Dan Levene.

98 Lit.: his.

99 If the text is not corrupt (lege: ותחכמון, as in the previous line?), then we have here a rare example of the root חמ״י used in a Babylonian text. This spell is in general very conservative in its language.

100 This expression apparently refers to the six orders of classical rabbinic literature, though the use of טורים, "columns," in this context is unusual.

101 Lege: בשש שנים.

102 The use of the correlative pronoun with participle is regarded as characteristic of the Palestinian transmission of rabbinic Hebrew. See M. Bar-Asher, "Mishnaic Hebrew: An Introductory Survey," *Hebrew Studies* 40 (1999): 115–51, at 132.

Folio 6b

1	so that everything that I will hear I will learn[104] at once.[105] And you shall not delay	וכל דאישמע למדינו[103] בזמן אחד ולא תעכבון
2	this oath and this adjuration, and by the name of YH HW	מומתא הדא ושבועתא הדא ובשום יה הו
3	•H WH WH HW HY KYN HYHYH YH WH YH HH YH YHW	•ה וה וה הו הי ההי כין היהיה יה וה יה הה יה יהו
4	•• HY HH WH HYW HYH YH WH. Blessed is the name of the honor of	•• הי הה וה היו היה יה וה ברוך שם כבוד
5	his [king]dom forever and ever. Furthermore, I adjure you and decree	[מ]לכותו לעולם ועד ותוב אשבעית עליכון וגזרית
6	upon you and place an oath upon you, that you shall deliver me, I, NN,	עליכון וקימית עליכון ותצלון[106] יתי אנא פ ב פ׳
7	from all evil demons and from demons, whether demons of the day	מן כל מזיקין בישין ומזיקין בן מזיקין דיממא
8	or demons of the night, and all demons and demons which stand	ובין מזיקין דליליא וכל מזיקין ומזיקין דקימין

Folio 7a

1	before me, I, NN, smite them	לקבלי דילי אנא פ ב פ׳ טרופו יתהון
2	in the name of these letters by which I adjured y[ou]	בשום אותות הללו שהשבעתי אתכם

103 Lege: אלמדינו, or perhaps למדיני.

104 Or: teach me. See previous note.

105 בזמן אחד may be a calque on Aramaic בחד זימנא, "in one go." Standard Hebrew for "time" (French *fois* rather than *temps*) would be פעם.

106 Lege: דתצלון.

3	and by the name HWH YH YH HW HH HYW HW	בהם ובשם הוה יה יה הו הה היו הו
4	HH HY YH WH WHW HH YH YH YHW HY forever.	הה הי יה וה והו הה יה יה יהו הי[107] לעולם
5	Sealed and counter-sealed (is) NN from demons and spark-demons	חתים ומחתם פ ב פ מן מזיקין ומזיקין
6	and harmers and devils and evil spirits, [whether male]	ופיגעי וסיטני ומן רוחין בשתא בֿ[ין דיכרי]
7	or female, whether of the day or of the night, and from	ובין ניקבתא ובין דיממא ובין דלילֿ[יא] ומן
8	demons and *devs* and Liliths and from idol-spirits	שידי ומן דיוין ומן לליתא ומן [פ]תיכרי
9	and from the rooftop-demons[108] and from the sixty-six (demons) which are	ומן בני איגרי ומן שיתין ושתה דאית
10	in the world.[109] All who stand before me,	בעלמא כל דקאים לקבלי

107 Lege: חי?

108 On the identification of "roof demons" as demons causing epilepsy, see T. Kwasman, "The Demon of the Roof," in I. Finkel and M. J. Geller, eds., *Disease in Babylonia* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 160–72, esp. 165–69.

109 This list of demons finds ample parallels in the bowls. For the number sixty-six, cf., e.g., בשום צידקיה דהוא ראיש שיתין ושיתא מלאכין די ממנן על דמה, "In the name of Ṣidqiyyah who is the chief of sixty-six angels who are appointed over her blood" (Moussaeiff 155:10, published in Levene, *Corpus*, 111) or ובעיזקתיה דישלמה בר דויד מלכה דיחתימין בה תלת מאה ושיתין ושיתה שידין, "by the signet ring of Solomon son of David, the king of Israel, by which are sealed three hundred and sixty six demons" (VA 3854:15–18, published in D. Levene, "*Heal O' Israel*: A Pair of Duplicate Magic Bowls from the Pergamon Museum in Berlin," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 54 [2003]: 104–21, at 105).

Folio 7b

1	I, will be killed by a great killing, just as were killed[110]	אנא יתקטל בקטלא רבא כמא דאיתקטל
2	the seven daughters of the gods and the eight daughters of the female	שבע בנת אלהי ותמני בנת איסתראתא
3	ishtars. By the name of HY HY HWH HY HH HW HH	ניקבאתא[111] בשם הי הי הוה הי הה הו הה
4	YH HY HH WH HY HW HH WH YH YHW HY the eternal(?)	יה הי הה וה הי הו הה וה יה יהו הי[112] עולמים
5	A(men) A(men) S(elah) YHH WYH YH HH HH YW HW HH WH WH	א א ס יהה ויה יה הה הה יו הו הה וה וה
6	HW YH WH WYHH KYN[114] ṬM'. This adjuration.	הו יה וה ויהה כין טמא[113] הדין שבועתא
7	Say(?) (it) 23 (or, on 3?) Fridays, before dusk[115]	ק' פּג' מעלי שבתא קדים סמוך יומא
8	just as ??? (when he heats an oven?) when the day sets and he should immerse (himself in)	כי היכי חמי קמנא במסמך יומא וניטבול

110 On the apocopated form of the 3 m.p. perfect see Morgenstern, *Studies*, 186–89 (with previous literature).

111 For a partial parallel in the bowls, see היכא דיתבן הנין שבע בני אלהי וידען שבע מילי תקיפתא, "where there dwell these seven sons of gods who know seven powerful words" (Moussaieff 163:9, published in Levene, *Corpus*, 122).

112 Lege: חי?

113 Lege: תמת?

114 The sequence WYHH KYN might be construed as garbled Aramaic, but note a similar sequence in 6b:3.

115 For סמוך יומא, compare Mandaic *masmikana* (dusk), which stands in contrast to *madnaha* (dawn): *mn madnaha ualma lmasmikana umn masmikana ualma lmadnaha,* "from dawn to dusk and from dusk to dawn" (*Pašar Mihla*, DC 51: 300–302).

9	water, and come out(?) from the dawn of the Friday,	מיא ויתא מנגהי מעלי שבתא
10	and he should sit in fasting for three Fridays,	ויתב תעניתא ג׳ מעלי שבתא
11	and keep away from sexual intercourse.	ויזדהר מן תשמיש 0

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Folio 1a



Folio 1b



Folio 2a



Folio 2b



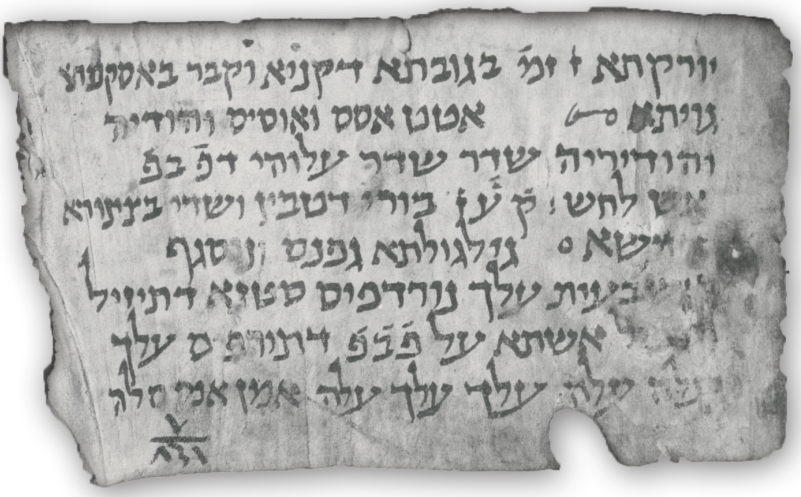
Folio 3a



Folio 3b



Folio 4a



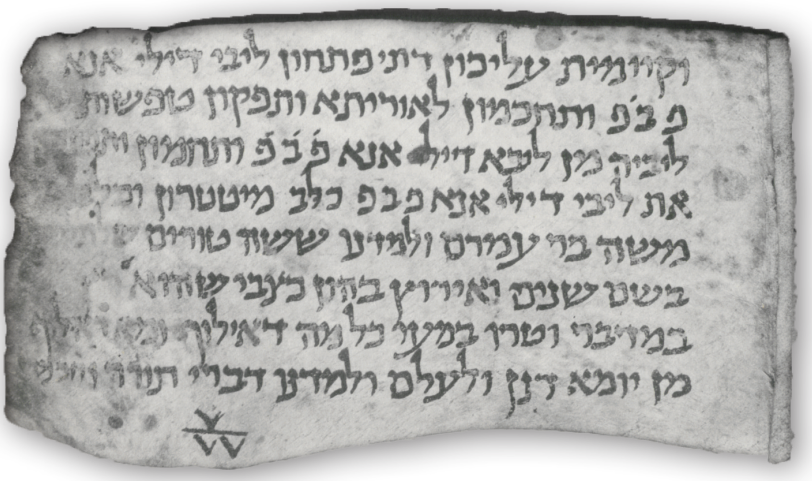
Folio 4b



Folio 5a



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Folio 6b



Folio 7a



Folio 7b

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Editorial Statement

We are pleased to present the tenth volume of *Ginzei Qedem*, an annual publication devoted to Genizah texts and studies. The term Genizah here functions as a collective noun for the Genizot around the world, and the current volume demonstrates the broad variety of the genre and its research. An article on the documents of the newly discovered Afghanistan Genizah is included here, together with texts from the recently re-discovered Damascus Genizah as well as new texts from the well-known Cairo Genizah.

The diversity of the Genizah research is displayed in this volume as well, as it represents many fields, including Biblical studies and exegesis, Halakha, liturgy, history, magic, and more.

Ginzei Qedem's purpose is to provide a specialized venue for the field of Genizah research, in the hope that research on and publication of Genizah texts will, in time, enrich both traditional and academic Jewish studies, as well as Islamic ones.

Genizah research has made great strides in the last decade, mainly with the establishment of the Friedberg Genizah Project, of which Ginzei-Qedem is one branch. As part of the effort to serve our readers, the electronic edition of Ginzei Qedem will be assimilated in the FGP website and will be synchronized with the images and the bibliographic data of the FGP database.

Contributions to Ginzei Qedem may be in Hebrew or English. Any substantial quotations in a language other than that in which the article is

written must be accompanied by a translation, and articles in Hebrew must be accompanied by an English abstract.

Contributions may be sent to: Ben-Zvi Institute, P.O.B. 7660, Jerusalem 91076, Israel. Contributions and queries may also be sent by e-mail to the editor at zvi56@ybz.org.il.

A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Magical Booklet from the Damascus Genizah

Gideon Bohak and Matthew Morgenstern

The Damascus Genizah

Although discovered at about the same time, the Damascus Genizah is far less widely known among Jewish studies scholars than its more famous sister, the one from Cairo.[1] There are two reasons for this ignorance. First, the vast proportion (more than ninety-nine percent) of the Damascus Genizah consists of Muslim Arabic texts, which are of little interest to most students of Jewish studies, and the remaining 0.5% consists mostly of Christian fragments, only some of which, notably those containing sections of the Septuagint, are of relevance for students of Judaism. Barely a handful of the texts are written in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Judaeo-Arabic and are of Jewish origin.[2] Second, the Christian and Jewish texts that made their way into this Muslim Genizah and were preserved there until the early twentieth century were shipped to Berlin in 1902 and shipped back to the Ottoman court in Istanbul in 1909, and have never been seen again. Only recently has it been discovered that while the fragments themselves are still missing (and may be found one day in Damascus, in Istanbul, or

1 For the Damascus Genizah, see the excellent study by C. Bandt and A. Rattmann, "Die Damaskusreise Bruno Violets 1900/1901 zur Erforschung der Qubbet el-Chazne," *Codices Manuscripti* 76/77 (2011): 1–20.

2 For the Christian fragments, see Bandt and Rattmann, esp. pp. 18–20; for the Jewish ones, see ibid., p. 20. See also A. Ashur, "A Ketubbah in the Palestinian Style with the Permission of Matzliah Gaon, from the Damascus Genizah," *Pe'amim* 135 (2013): 163–70 (Heb.).

elsewhere), good black and white images of some of these fragments have survived in several different collections.[3]

A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Magical Booklet

Among these now-lost fragments is a set of seven parchment folios of small size and irregular shape containing magical spells and recipes in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, photographs of which may now be found in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin under the shelf mark Or. Sim. 6.[4] The writing surface, handwriting, style, and contents make it clear that all seven folios were written by the same scribe, whose hand was identified by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger as dating to the eleventh century and displaying some possibly Babylonian features. All seven folios probably came from a single booklet, which must have contained more such folios. The order of the preserved folios cannot be determined for certain, but we tried to arrange them in what seems to be the most plausible sequence.[5] The longest

3 For the circumstances under which they were taken, see Bandt and Rattmann, pp. 9–10, 12, 16, and 18.

4 We are extremely grateful to Amir Ashur and especially to Ronny Vollandt, who is now cataloguing the Damascus fragments in Berlin, for bringing these texts to our attention. We are also grateful to Christoph Rauch for the photographs and for the permission to publish them here, to Cordula Bandt for sharing with us other photographs of the Damascus Genizah fragments, and to Judith Olszowy-Schlanger for her palaeographical advice. Dr. James Nathan Ford read the manuscript and proposed many helpful readings and interpretations, as well as granting us permission to cite from magic bowls that that he is preparing for publication (cited as JNF). Professor Shaul Shaked aided us with the Persian material and similarly granted us permission to cite from his work on the Martin Schøyen collection (cited as MS).

5 Unfortunately, the Arabic numerals on the margins of the folios bear no clear relation to the folios' original order. For the circumstances under which these numerals were added to the original folios see Bandt and Rattmann, p. 13 and Plates 7 and 8. The same is true of the small etiquettes with sequential numberings which were placed next to each folio while the pictures were taken, which also bear no relation to the original order of the folios.

continuous stretch of text is found in our folios 5–7, where the spell that begins in 5b continues into 6a, 6b, 7a, and 7b, ending at the bottom of 7b. Similarly, there is a clear textual continuity from 1b to 2a and then to 2b, and from 3a to 3b and to 4a and 4b. On the other hand, some text is probably missing before 1a, there seems to be a break between 2b and 3a, and the continuity between 4b and 5a is far from certain. In such cases, one may either try to re-order the folios in a way that would leave fewer gaps or assume, as we do, that more folios are still missing in these places, especially before 1a and between 2b and 3a. How long the original booklet was we cannot say, nor can we reconstruct the structure of its quires, as even its bifolia were dismembered before they were photographed.

One additional factor complicating the reconstruction and interpretation of this set of magical texts is that only three of the recipes bear clear titles: לאהבה (for love) in 2b:7, לשלוח אש (lit., "for sending a fire," i.e., for aggressive magic) in 3a:3, and לשילטון (for [appearing before] a governor) in 5a:4. In all other cases, no titles are provided, and it often is unclear where one recipe ends and the next begins. Unfortunately, the punctuation marks used by the scribe do not seem to mark the beginnings or ends of the magical recipes in any consistent manner or to separate the spells from the ritual instructions that explain how to employ them. These difficulties are compounded by the fact that a single textual unit may cover more than one magical aim; for example, the long text that begins in folio 5b sets off without any title or explanation (the previous recipe was "for [appearing before] a governor" and ended at the bottom of 5a) and includes a long spell for what is usually known as "opening the heart," i.e., memorizing the words of the Torah and the Talmud. But then, in 6b:5, we find the connecting word ותוב, "furthermore," followed by a long spell for protection against all types of demons, and in 7a:5 we move without any apparent break to a second anti-demonic spell, which begins with חתים ומחתם, "sealed and counter-sealed," and runs to 7b:6. Only then is the user instructed to recite this adjuration on three (consecutive?) Fridays before

dusk, to immerse himself in water, and to fast and abstain from sexual intercourse during these three Fridays. Thus, it seems that the ritual instructions were applied to a set of three adjurations, one of which was intended for the memorization of Torah and the other two for protection against demons.[6] Such mixtures might be due to copying errors or deliberate editorial activities taken by our scribe or by one of his predecessors, and they certainly reflect the recipe's complex transmission history and contribute to the difficulties inherent in interpreting magic spell texts.

Another feature of these recipes, which also reflects their long transmission history, is that whereas the spells to be recited or inscribed are consistently given in Aramaic, the ritual instructions are sometimes given in Aramaic (e.g., 3a:5–3b:4 and 7b:7–11), but in other cases are given in Arabic, here written in a phonetic manner that is also typical of the earliest Judaeo-Arabic fragments from the Cairo Genizah (e.g., 5a:1–4).[7] This is an example of a phenomenon that is well attested in both Jewish and non-Jewish magical recipe books, namely, that when the society using these recipes switches from one language of communication to another (in this case, from Aramaic to Arabic), its spell-mongers often continue transmitting the spells to be recited or inscribed in the old language, even though it is no longer fully understood, but gradually translate the practical instructions into the new vernacular.[8] In this respect, our booklet is a clear

6 As both the ritual instructions and the first of the three spells bear some resemblance to the Sar Torah rituals of the Hekhalot literature, it is likely that the anti-demonic spells are a later addition to whatever the "original" recipe may have contained.

7 For the "pre-Saadian" methods of writing Judaeo-Arabic, see J. Blau and S. Hopkins, "On Early Judaeo-Arabic Orthography,' " *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 12 (1984): 9–27 and more recently J. Blau and S. Hopkins, "On Aramaic Vocabulary in Early Judaeo-Arabic Texts Written in Phonetic Spelling," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 32 (2006): 433–71.

8 For this phenomenon, see further discussion in G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 220.

example of the ongoing circulation of some older Jewish Aramaic magical spells and recipes in the Arabic-speaking Jewish communities of the Middle Ages.

In many ways, including the small sizes and irregular shapes of the folios, the mixture of Aramaic and Judaeo-Arabic, the aims of the individual recipes, and most of the ritual techniques they employ, the Damascus Genizah magical booklet looks quite similar to the earliest parchment magical recipe books from the Cairo Genizah, with which it is roughly contemporaneous.[9] However, the Damascus booklet is distinct from its Cairene siblings in the strong Babylonian flavor of its spells, and perhaps also of some of its ritual instructions. This is especially apparent when we note the numerous parallels between these spells and those found in the Babylonian Jewish (and non-Jewish) incantation bowls, many of which are noted in our commentary to the text. It is, of course, true that these recipes also bear many resemblances to the Palestinian Jewish Aramaic magical texts, as attested in late-antique metal-plate amulets and in many Genizah magical texts, but their resemblances to the incantation bowls are far more numerous and far more striking. Moreover, in some cases the Babylonian elements are even more obvious, including, for example, the appearance of Babylonian deities in 2a:10 and of the Chaldaean priests in 4a:8. Thus, not only the folios' provenance and language (on which more below) but also their contents argue for their "Eastern" origins, in or around the world of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic. This is a world about which we know much, but almost exclusively from a single type of source, namely, the Babylonian incantation bowls, to which may be added such texts as the *Havdala de-Rabbi Akiba*, the *Pishra de-Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa*, and perhaps also the *Sword of Moses*. Thus, the emergence of a first clear example of a Babylonian-Jewish magical

9 See, for example, T-S K1.143, published in J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993), Geniza 18.

recipe book whose recipes are not embedded into any "literary" structure and display no thematic unity should make a major contribution to the study of this branch of the Jewish magical tradition. This is all the more important since this branch more or less died out in a subsequent period, as may be seen from the very few parallels between the incantation bowls and the magical recipes from the Cairo Genizah (or from non-Genizah Jewish manuscripts, including "Oriental" ones).[10] In this respect, we may note that our recipes too find very few close parallels among the published and unpublished magical texts from the Cairo Genizah and that when such parallels emerge, they are found in Cairo Genizah recipe books which display some telltale signs of the Babylonian Jewish origin of at least some of their recipes (see our notes to 2b:4–6 and 5a:4-7).

One final feature of our booklet that may be highlighted here is that while the structure of the individual recipes is not always clear, in many cases the incantations, including long stretches of *voces magicae*, seem to precede the ritual instructions, which often are quite short. In this respect, these recipes seem to differ from most magical recipes from the Cairo Genizah, which usually provide the ritual instructions first and then cite the incantations that are to be inscribed or recited. Whether this is a mere coincidence or a more typical feature of Babylonian Jewish magic is an issue that will have to be dealt with elsewhere, and only after more such texts are discovered and analyzed.[11]

10 For these parallels, see especially D. Levene and G. Bohak, "Divorcing Lilith: From the Babylonian Incantation Bowls to the Cairo Genizah," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 63 (2012): 197–217. Two more parallels will be discussed in a forthcoming publication by James Nathan Ford, but given the availability of hundreds of Genizah fragments and hundreds of bowls, such parallels clearly are the exception rather than the rule.

11 We note, for example, the occurrence of this phenomenon in the magical recipes of T-S Misc. 34.22, which displays many other signs of its Babylonian Jewish provenance (and cf. below, n. 84). The instructions similarly follow the incantations in Mandaic spells. See M. Morgenstern and T. Alfia, "Arabic Magic Texts in Mandaic Script: A Forgotten Chapter in Near-Eastern Magic," in R. Voigt (ed.), *„Durch Dein*

In addition to the Babylonian vocalization found sporadically in the manuscript, its Babylonian origin is manifest in several linguistic features, which are mostly grammatical. Some of the formulae are more classicizing than others, but many of the recognizable Babylonian dialectal features appear both in the spells and in the instructions that accompany them (insofar as these have been preserved in the original Aramaic). Representative examples of Babylonian features will be cited here.

Phonology: ותו, "furthermore" (1b:9) for תוב, showing characteristic loss of word-final *b̲*. דוץ, "stick in" (3a:7), from root דע״ץ, showing the loss of the historical ʿ and concomitant shift to II-*waw*/*yod* class.[12] Similarly, תריסר, "twelve" (4a:7), with loss of ʿ. איבי, for אעביד, "I ought do" (4a:3), and אבדנא, "I shall do" (4a:3), for עבדנא, from the root עב״ד, showing the weakening of the historical ʿ and the elision of word-final *d̲*.[13] בכצומי, "amongst sorcerers" (4a:7), for קסומי, showing assimilation of **s* to the pharyngealisation of the *q* and concomitant dissimilation of the *q* to *k*.[14]

Nominal plurals employing an *–ē* morpheme: טורי, "mountains," (1a:3); מלאכי, "angels," (1a:4);[15] בחרשי, "by charms," (2a:5); בשוקי, "in the market

Wort ward jegliches Ding!" /"Through Thy Word All Things Were Made!" II. Mandäistische und Samaritanistische Tagung / 2nd International Conference of Mandaic and Samaritan Studies (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 163–79, at 164, where it is noted that the same order is employed in Demotic magic texts.

12 See M. Morgenstern, *Studies in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Based upon Early Eastern Manuscripts* (Harvard Semitic Studies 62; Winona Lake: Indiana, 2011), 64.

13 See Morgenstern, *Studies*, 66–68.

14 As noted already by H. L. Ginsberg, "Aramaic Dialect Problems II," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (1936): 95–103, at 96, such dissimilation is a Mesopotamian Aramaic feature. *kaṣuma* is also found in Mandaic (E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1963] 200 [hereafter MD]), and we may compare also JBA כמצא, "locust" (M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* [Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002], 586 [hereafter *DJBA*]).

15 Although the absolute form is "retained occasionally following numerals" in JBA (Morgenstern, *Studies*, 113), there are numerous exceptions in both Talmudic

places," (3b:7); דרדקי, "children," (4a:1); בני איגרי, "rooftop demons," (7a:9); בנת אלהי, "daughters of gods," (7b:2). *Nisbe* plural forms employing -איי: בכלדאיי, "amongst Chaldeans (4a:8)."[16]

Pronominal suffixes: *–ēh*, "his," on dual and plural nouns: עיניה, "his eyes" (1a:8);[17] similarly, *-ah* for the feminine: עינה, "her eyes" (2b:12).[18]

Verbal forms: 3rd person imperfects with *n–*: ניזקוף, "let him raise" (1a:8, 1b:2); ונידלי, "and he should draw" (1b:2); נשקיון, "let them give me to drink" (1b:10), showing also the characteristic loss of word-final *–ī* of the object pronoun; נימרו... נשמעו, "let them say… let them hear" (1b:11); ניפרח, "let it flutter" (2b:6); נשתכח, "may be found" (4a:8).

Participle forms: קרן, "they call" (2a:8).[19]

Participles with affixed subject pronouns: 1 m.s. דאמינא . . . ושמינא, "what I say . . . and what I hear." 1 f.s. נפקאנא, "I go out" (3b:7); קא

manuscripts and the magic bowl corpus. The evidence of the magic bowls indicates that the loss of the absolute in this position is a syntactic rather than phonological phenomenon, since it also affects forms of the feminine plural. The following are some representative examples: שבע חרשיא, "seven sorcerers" (MS 2053/29:7); ושבע מבכלתא דליליה ודיממא, "and seven *məbakkela*s of the day and the night" (MS 1927/21:11); והארבע חיותא, "and behold, four beasts" (JNF 259:6; JNF 19:8; JNF 147:5). The same applies to the quantifier כל: כל רוחי בישאתה ורוחי זידיאתה, "all evil spirits and wicked spirits' (JNF 317:4–5); כל נידרי ולוטתא, "all vows and curses" (JNF 7:5); וכל נידרי ואיסרי וכל שבעתא לוטתא ודיוי ליליתא, "all vows and bonds and all oaths, curses and *dev*s and liliths" (JNF 55:5).

16 See Y. Breuer, "The Babylonian Aramaic in Tractate *Karetot* According to MS Oxford," *Aramaic Studies* 5 (2007), 1–45 at 31–32, and M. Morgenstern, "Notes on the Noun Patterns in the Yemenite Tradition of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic," *Revue des études Juives* 168 (2009): 51–83, at 76.

17 H. Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts* (Studia Orientalia 86; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society), 87.

18 On the latter, see M. Morgenstern, "Linguistic Features of the Texts in this Volume," in S. Shaked, J. N. Ford, and S. Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls*, vol. 1 (Brill: Leiden, 2013), 42–43.

19 On this form in the Jewish Babylonian magic bowl corpus, see Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 206–9.

מקטלאנא, "I kill" (3b:8–9), also showing the exclusively Babylonian tense-marker קא;[20] דשרינא, "that I release" (4a:9). 2 f.s. in *qṭlyt* pattern: רה[ט]ית, "you shall ru[n]," (2a:5). פרחית ונפלית, "you shall fly and fall," (2a:6).[21]

Infinitives: III-*yod* on the pattern of *miqṭā:* ולמשרא, "to loosen" (2b:7).[22]

Particles: כי, "like" (2a:6, 11). כי היכי ד- . . . הכי, "just as . . . so," (2b:5), both Talmudic forms.[23] עילויה, "upon him" (2b:11). מאי, "what" (4a:3 bis).[24]

Vocabulary: זרנוקא, "water pipe" (used euphemistically for penis) (1b:2). נרגא . . . וחצינא, "axe . . . and hatchet" (2a:10). אפותיה, "forehead" (3a:3) is common in JBA and Mandaic but is attested in Syriac only in the lexica and in the Jewish Targums only in the late Targum of Job (41:12). מעלי שבתא, "Fridays" (7b:10) is used only in JBA.

Exceptional in this respect are the spell for the acquisition of knowledge, fol. 5b–6b, and perhaps the first part of the spell for protection in 6b–7a, which employ many conservative forms. The following are a few representative examples:

y- prefix for 3rd person imperfect,[25] e.g., דישמע וילף, "that he shall hear and learn" (5b:3), etc.

20 See also קא משוינא, "I turn (X) into (Y)" (4a:1). Note that in both cases, קא is written as a separate particle, as is common in the better Babylonian manuscripts. See Morgenstern, *Studies*, 172–74.

21 2 f.s. participles in the *qṭlyt* pattern have been previously found in JBA in the magic bowl corpus. See Morgenstern, "Linguistic Features," 45.

22 S. Morag, "Some Notes on the Grammar of Babylonian Aramaic as Reflected in the Geniza Manuscripts," *Tarbiẓ* 42 (1972–73), 60–78, at 70–73.

23 הכי, a Talmudic form, already appears in a magic bowl text. See Morgenstern, "Linguistic Features," 46.

24 Ibid.

25 Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 175.

-ūn affixes for imperfect plural verbs:[26] דתיפתחון, "that you will open" (6a:1). תעכבון, "you shall (not) delay" (6b:1). ותצלון יתי, "that you shall deliver me" (6b:6), also employing the direct object marker *yāt-*.[27]

-ti affix for 1 c.s. perfect of III-*yod* verbs: אומיתי, "I conjure" (5b:8), the so-called Onkelos/Jonathan form.[28]

However, since many of these forms are also employed in the Babylonian magic bowl texts, these do not necessarily prove a non-Babylonian origin.

Transliteration, Translation and Comments

In our transliteration, we use the following sigla:

[ ] a lacuna in the text

• a letter which is only partly preserved

א̄ (with superlinear stroke) a doubtful reading

{} Dittography

Our translation and commentary here are kept deliberately brief and aim to provide support for the interpretation of the text presented herein. As the question marks between parentheses in the translation indicate, many passages remain obscure.

26 Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 176–77.

27 Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 226–28.

28 Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 172–73.

Folio 1a

1	BRYNG the *dev*[29] who disturbed the heavens with his (???)	ברינג דיוה דשגיש שמיה באר•יֵה
2	NṬR ṬWRY DWR NMṬY.[31] I went up the mountains,	נטר טורי דור נמטי 0 טורי[30] סליקית
3	and I went down the mountains, and I turned[32] to the hills; I saw	וטורי נחיתית ורמתה תבעית חזיתי
4	three angels, whose names are Gabriel and Uziel	תלתה מלאכי ושמיהון גבריאל ועוזיאל
5	And Shoshiel. They said to me, NN, Who overturned the m[ou]ntains	ושושיאל אמרין לי פ ב׳ פ מן הפך ט[ו]רי
6	that you overturned and the hills that you turned to I said	דאת הפכת ורמתה דאת תבעת אמרית
7	to them, I, NN, since? I wanted the mystery of love	להון אנא פ ב׳ פ דיבעית רזא דרחמת[א][33]

29 Professor Shaul Shaked has suggested to us that "bryng dywh looks like an Iranian word, but no such word exists in this form. One may think of *bērōnīg 'external' or a similar emendation. Such a word is unknown as the name of a demon, but is at least a plausible designation for a demon."

30 The following *historiola* bears a strong resemblance to similar passages in the magic bowl corpus and Mandaic formularies, e.g., *lṭura ḏ-nirig silqit ldaura rba ḏ-bit hiia aškaita lmihla pt bil alaha ulmiša br šušma hiuara*, "I ascended to the mount of Nirig, and to the great abode of the House of Life; I found Salt, daughter of the god Bel, and Oil, son of white sesame" (*Zarazta ḏ-Hibil Ziua,* ed. De Morgan 265/20: 40–43).

31 We have presented these as magic words as we are unable to propose a coherent translation. The first two words, **נטר טורי** may be rendered as "Guardian of the mountains" or "Guard mountains (imperative). . . ." **נמטי** may be either a verb (3 m.s. or 1 c.s. of **מט״י** in *qal* or *ʾapʿil*) or a noun meaning "pieces of felt, belt coverings" (Sokoloff, *DJBA*, 755).

32 For this meaning of **תבע** see M. Kahana, "The Importance of Dwelling in the Land of Israel According to the Deuteronomy Mekhilta," *Tarbiẓ* 62 (1993) 501–14, at 507 (Heb.).

8	from NN. Let him raise his eyes to heaven and he shall se[e]	מן פ׳ ב פ ניזקוף עיניה לשמיא ויחז[י]
9	the mystery of love from NN, Amen Amen Sela.	רזא דרחמתא מן פ ב פ אמן אמן סלה
10	ʾGLN QWṬY SWTY ʾKYMY ʾṢṬYS ZWṬY	אגלן קוטי סותי אכימי אצטיס זוטי
11	QYNRY NDM. Say over bdellium[35] and mustard . . .[36]	קינרי נדם ק׳ ע מיקל[34] אזרק וכרדל

Folio 1b

1	. . . over (it?) 7 times. This mystery is appointed for NN,	[ ]•• על ז׳ זמ׳ מזמן הדין רזא לפ ב פ׳
2	that he should raise his water pipe[37] and draw his bucket and drip	ניזקוף זרנוקיה ונידלי דוליה ותינטוף

33 The expression רזי רחמתא is found in the erotic bowl published by J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1913) 28:3, 4 (p. 213).

34 Lege: מוקל.

35 Muql azraq, i.e., bdellium; see E. Lev and Z. Amar, *Practical Materia Medica of the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean According to the Cairo Genizah* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 111.

36 כרדל is the Judeo-Arabic spelling for خردل, "mustard," cognate with JBA חרדלא. For the use of mustard in aggressive magic in late-antique Babylonia, cf. the *Pishra de-Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa*: ואם על חרדלא עבדו ליה ועל בר זרעא עבדו ליה קטריאל ישרי ויפשר ליה, "And if they did it to him over mustard or if they did it to him over seed, Qaṭriʾel will release and exorcise for him" (Franco Michelini Tocci, "Note e documenti di letterature religiosa e parareligiosa giudaica," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 46 [1986], 101–8, at 103).

37 Here used in a figurative manner; the same usage is found in Mandaic: *mta huṭrak unidalia qumtak uniqum zarnuqak ulanitikbiš,* "extend your staff that your stature be raised up and your pipe be erected and not brought down" (DC 12: 59–60). For a similar use in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, note the use of the Greek loan word סילונה (tube, pipe) for the male organ, on which see S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1898–99; repr.,

3	his drop in NN, in the name of BYMH NṢṬWRYNW	נטופתיה בפ׳ ב פ׳ בשם בימה נצטורינו
4	ḤSPWṬ ʿYDNNʾ MSʿLYMṬS LʾPLYṬWS	חספוט עידננא מסעלימטס לאפליטוס
5	A(men) A(men) S(ela). Precious[38] oil, precious	א א ס 0–0 מישחא שיהא משחא
6	oil, oil boiled[39] in jasmine;[40] noblemen	שיהא משחא סליקא בדיסמין חרי
7	smeared[41] it on their necks; noblewomen, on their pudenda(?),[42] contentious women	שפוי בצוריהון חרתא בגנסקיהי גרגיתא

Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964) 1:383, and G. Bohak, "The Magical Rotuli from the Cairo Genizah," in G. Bohak, Y. Harari, and S. Shaked. eds., *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition* (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture, 15; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 321–40, at 333. דולא, "bucket," is also used as a euphemism for the source of fecundity in a wedding poem in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic: דולך לא יחסר וטב תתבשר, "may your bucket not be lacking and may you be told good (tidings)," published in M. Sokoloff and J. Yahalom, *Jewish Palestinian Aramaic Poetry From Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Science, 1999), 258, text 44*:8 (in Hebrew).

38 Compare E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 458 s.v. šušma, cited from *miša anat šiha br šušma hiuara,* "The oil you are, precious, from white sesame" (CP no. 23).

39 Cf. Sokoloff, *DJBA*, p. 674: ישחא שליקא = butter. The text could also mean oil boiled with jasmine.

40 For the use of jasmine oil, cf. על מישחא דיסמין זמנין ז׳ רטין ושלח מיניך, "on jasmine-oil, whisper seven times and remove your clothes" (T-S K 1.162, published in P. Schäfer and S. Shaked [eds.], *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* III [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999], no. 61).

41 Derived from older שפוהי. See M. Morgenstern, "Linguistic Notes on Magic Bowls in the Moussaieff Collection," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68 (2005): 349–67, at 363.

8	on the circles of their navels; the troop on the (???)[44] of its servants	בקופי שיריהי[43] גיסנא בשופי דטליה
9	smeared it. NN, in front of the house of love(?) of the town; and furthermore,	שפיה פ׳ב׳פ׳ וקבאל בי חן דמתא ותו
10	from their meat let them (give me to) eat and from their cup let them give me to drink,[45]	מאוֹמציהו ניכלון ומיכסיהו נשקיון
11	what I say they let them say and what I hear[46] let them hear	דאמינא אנא נימרו ושמינא נשמעו
12	A(men) A(men) S(ela). Say at the beginning of the month when it is the second (day)	א׳ א׳ ס׳ ק׳ כל ראש ירחא מידהוי ב׳

Folio 2a

1	of the month and one of its other days, first of all, sa[y]	בירחא וחד מי אחרנה אולשי ואמ̇[ר][47]
2	seven times, each day three times. From	ז׳ זמני כל יומא תלת זמני 0–0 מן

42 **גנסק** might be a Persian loanword for "orchis, testicle," apparently employed euphemistically for both male and female pudenda. See Claudia A. Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2008), 138.

43 Lege: **שוריהי**. Cf. below, 3a:8.

44 The reading **שופי** is certain, but we are unable to propose a suitable interpretation.

45 Since **נשקיון** is a transitive verb bearing the 1 c.s. object suffix (*n* < *-ni*; contrast the following verbs **נימרו**, "let them say," and **נשמעו**, "let them hear," without the final *n*), we should similarly understand **ניכלון** as representing a minor scribal error for **נוכלון**, "let them give to eat."

46 Here **שמינא** appears in place of regular JBA **שמענא**. On the morphological shift of III-*ʿayin* to III-*yod* in JBA, see Morgenstern, *Studies,* 63–64.

47 The reading of the last two words is uncertain, and their meaning is unclear.

3	the gloom of gloominess[48] you came out, from the great	חבר חברירי̈ה נפקתון מן אתרא
4	place of darkness; the evil spirit Anpharid,	רבא דיחשוכא אנפרי דרוחא בישׁתא[49]
5	which is sent by charms;[50] you shall[51] ru[n] like a deer,[52]	דמישתדר בחרשי כי טביא רה[ט]ית
6	you shall fly like a wind,[53] and you shall fall upon NN;	כי זיקא פרחית ונפלית עליה דפ ב פ

48 We interpret חברא as equivalent to הברא, "darkness," which is sometimes written with etymological ח in JBA (Sokoloff, *DJBA*, 361). חברירי̈ה (plural emphatic) appears to be an antonym of שבריר̈א, "radiance of sun, sunlight". For the sentence structure, compare *umn škinatun ḏ-hiia qadmaiia atit mn atra rba ḏ-nhura,* "you came from the dwellings of the Primordial Life, from the great place of light" (*Pašar Mihla,* DC 51: 14–16).

49 Lege: אנפריד רוחא בישא. Compare אנפרת רוחא בישתא, "Infarat, the evil spirt" (BM 91767:2), also written אינפרת (ibid:7), who is similarly sent against an opponent by means of witchcraft. See M. Morgenstern, "The Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Magic Bowl BM 91767 Reconsidered," *Le Muséon* 120 (2007): 5–27. Professor Shaul Shaked has drawn our attention to the discussion of Arabic عفريت, *ʿifrīt*, in A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an* (Baroda: Oriental Institute), 215, and adds: "The Aramaic form suggests a Persian antecedent word such as **an-āfrīd,* 'uncreated,' and the Arabic word may be regarded as an abbreviated form."

50 Formulae like דמשתדר(ין) בחרשי are common in the bowls' descriptions of demons, e.g., מן סטני דמישתדרי בחרשי, "from satans that are sent by charms" (Moussaeiff 121:4, published in D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* [London, 2003], 81). See also C. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars Press, 1975), 63:7.

51 For the *qṭlyt* pattern of the 2 f.s. participles, see the linguistic introduction.

52 For this simile, cf. below, 6a:6–7: ואירוץ בהון כצבי שהוא רץ במדבר, "I will run in them like a deer that runs in the desert."

53 Cf. the anti-witchcraft spell of *b. Pes* 110a–b: קרח קרחייכי פרח פרחייכי איבדור תבלונייכי, **פרחא זיקא** למוריקא חדתא דנקטיתו נשים כשפניות, "may your heads grow bald(?), may your capers flutter, may your spices be scattered, may a wind flutter the new saffron that you are holding, you female witches."

7	like the three angels which are sent in the clouds	איך תלתא מלאכין דמשתד[ר]ין בענני
8	of hail,[54] and thus they are called:[55] Aglit and Maglit	ברדא וכין קרן להון אגליט ומגליט
9	and Hadar Galat; ascend to the high heavens and break	והדר גלת סקו לשמי מר[ו]מא ותברו
10	the axe from Bel and the hatchet from Barbel(?), and they will turn back	נרגא מן ביל וחצינא ומן[56] בַּרביל[57] ומיתפכין
11	like an eagle and turn back against NN. In your name	כי נישרא ומיתפכין על פ ב פ׳ בשמך
12	ʾYWʾY PY DWN ʾYWʾY ʾWRP ʾWRP	איואי פי דון איואי אוֹרָף אורף

54 ענני ברדא is paralleled in two of the bowls from the British Museum, 001A:10 and 002A:12 (J. B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* [London: British Museum Press, 2000], 43–44): ושדרו וחבילו יתה מין עננין דברדא, "and they sent and injured her from clouds of hail."

55 Lit: they call them; קרן is an impersonal 3 pl. participle of the "Onkelos" type. For the "naming" of demons, compare מסמיתא מטריתא עוירתא קרן לכי מחגרתא קרן לכי גרבניתא קרן לכי שפופתי קרן לכי, "They call you the blinder, the smiter, the sightless; they call you the lame one, the scabeous, the crawler" (MS 1927/8:7, in S. Shaked, J. N. Ford, and S. Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Volume 1* [Leiden: Brill, 2013], 56, with some alterations to the translation).

56 Lege: מן.

57 For this formula, cf. the bowl (IM 9736) republished by Ortal-Paz Saar, "An Incantation Bowl for Sowing Discord," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 58 (2013): 241–56, at 242, l. 7: איתהפיך ביל ואביל ונבו ובורסיף, "overturned are Bel and Abel and Nabu and Borsip." For the reemergence of the old Mesopotamian gods in Aramaic and Mandaic texts, see C. Müller-Kessler and K. Kessler, "Spätbabylonische Gottheiten in spätantiken mandäischen Texten," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 89 (1999): 65–87; D. Levene and G. Bohak, "A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Incantation Bowl with a List of Deities and Toponyms," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 19 (2012): 56–72.

Folio 2b

1	ʾH ʾW WʾY ʾYPʾ WʾYP PNT PNT	אה או ואי איפא ואיף פנת פנת
2	ʾNBYʾ ʾPNT PNT WʾP WʾP ʾWRP	אנביא אפנת פנת ואף ואף אורף
3	ʾWRP. Say over dust from under a corpse,	אורף ק׳ ע עפרא מתחות מיתא
4	and put it in an amulet and hang it on a bird and let it fly	ורמי בקמיעא ותלי בצפרא ואפרחה[58]
5	and say over it: Just as this bird	ואמר עליה כי היכי דפרחא הדא
6	flutters, so shall the heart of (fem.) NN flutter[59] after	ציפרתא הכי ניפרח ליבה דפ ב׳ פ בתר
7	NN, A(men) A(men) S(ela). For love: I have love, it is mine[60]	פ ב פ א א׳ ס׳ 0 לאהבה לי חן לי הוא
8	SSGR MGMR, holy angels who sit	ססגר מגמר[61] מלאכיה קדישיא דיתבין

58 For binding the text to a bird and letting it fly, see also the Genizah fragment Mosseri Ia. 26.2, copied by Abraham ibn Yiju (probably during his stay in Aden) and published in S. D. Goitein and Mordechai Akiva Friedman, *India Book III: Abraham ben Yijû, India Trader and Manufacturer* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 2010) (Heb.), 421, ותלי קמיעא בכרע[א] דציפור ואפרח יתיה, "and bind the amulet to the leg of a bird and let it fly," (but in a recipe to cause a person to be exiled from his community). See also R. Campbell Thompson, "The Folklore of Mossoul," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1906, 76–86, 97–109; 1907, 165–74, 282–88, 323–31; 1908, 30–33, no. 23.

59 For the double meaning of פרח, which cannot be rendered into English, see the frequent appearance of פרח ליביה in the Babylonian Talmud, as well as פרחיאל אפרח לביה דפ׳בפ׳ בתר פ׳ב׳פ׳ (T-S K 1.37, published in P. Schäfer and S. Shaked, eds., *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* I [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994], no. 4).

60 Or LY ḤN LY HWʾ.

61 Cf. the angels סוסגר מכמר in the Horvat Rimmon erotic spell and its many parallels, for which see Naveh-Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, A10 (p. 84) and esp. Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993, G22, 1/9 (pp. 216, 219).

9	under the cauldron(?) of fire of the (heavenly) Temple, to bind	תחות דוֹדָא דנורא דהיכלא למיסר
10	and to loosen, that (fem.) NN shall come after NN	ולמשרא דתיתי פ ב׳ פ עילויה דפב׳פ
11	with her mouth open and her saliva dripping[62] and her eyes	כד פומה פתיח ודייב רירה פתיחן
12	open but not seeing, in the Name of (??)	עינה ולא חזין בשם ••

Folio 3a

1	and stick and bind [ ] of flax, and bury	וֹדוֹץ וכַרוֹן[ ]דכיתנא וקבר
2	at the threshold of the house or on the bank	באיסקופתא [ד]בֵּיתא או על גידא
3	of the river. For sending a fire / fever ʾRH DYG??	דנהרא 0–0 לשלוח אש ארה דיג..
4	NRWGRWY DʾNH BṢ?RWN SṬ?NRYH D?YNGYM ??[63]	נרוגרוי דאנה בצרון סטנריה דינגים ..
5	of the town? Write on its[64] forehead his name [and the name]	דקרתא כתוב על אפותיה שמיה [ושמא]
6	of his mother, and this[66] mystery on the image and ???	דאימיה[65] והיי ראזא על צלמא וא...

62 Compare in Mandaic: *rirḫ daiib upumḫ ptia*, "his saliva is dripping and his mouth is open" (DC 43E:8 // DC 20: 18-20). DC 43 here provides the better reading but was erroneously read in C. Müller-Kessler, "A Mandaic Incantation against an Anonymous Dew Causing Fright (Drower Collection 20 and its variant 43 E)," *Aram* 22 (2010): 453–57, at 460.

63 The words here look like *voces magicae*, but one would expect instructions such as "Take mud, fashion a figurine," etc.

64 Presumably the text is referring to the production of a "voodoo doll," writing on its forehead, sticking needles in it, etc.

7	and bring five needles; stick one	ואיתו חמיש מחטי דוץ חדא
8	in its heart and one in its navel and one in its two	בלביה וא׳ בשוריה וא׳ בתרתין
9	thighs, with its two hands	עטמתיה וב׳ ב׳ ידיה

Folio 3b

1	on its knees right [to the left, and le]ft (one) to right	על רוכביה ימין [לסמול ו]סמול לימין
2	and put it in a new[67] vessel with its [hea]d below[68] and its legs	ושידיה במנא חתא[ר]שׁיה מתיי ושקיה
3	above, and bury it in a fresh grave which is one day old	לעילא וקבור בקברא חתא בר א׳ יומא
4	or two days old. ʾ[Y]DR ʾYDR BWKʾNʾ	או בר ב׳ יומי 0–0 א[י]דר אידר בוכאנא
5	BʾDʾ BYK QWʾ QZ[69] On the back of a lion I ride	באדא ביך קוא קז אגבא דאריא רכינא
6	and the girdle of male sorcerers and female sorceresses I have fastened to	והומיאנא דחרשי וחרשתא בחציי
7	my loins.[71] I go out[72] in the market places of infant(s),	מחי לי בשוקי יניק נפקאנא[70]

65 Here and in the next two lines there is a hole in the parchment that was clearly present before the scribe began writing his text.

66 For היי, note that in early Babylonian manuscripts the form of the demonstrative pronoun is האיי, *hāyi*. See Morag, "Some Notes," 66–7 (Hebrew).

67 Here and in the next line, חתא = חדתא. Compare Th. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1904), 21.

68 We take מתיי as *mittaii,* equivalent to מתחתאיי, "underneath." For placing the "voodoo doll" upside down, note, for example T-S Ar. 43.259: ותאכד קדר גדידה ותג׳על פיהא גיר ותאכד׳ אלתמתאל ותכבה עלי ראסה פי אלקדר, "take a new cooking pot and put lime in it and take the figurine and cast it upside-down into the pot."

69 It is unclear whether this was once a coherent text or was always magic words.

8	and in the streets that are full of children; I	ובביריאתא דמלין דרדקי קא
9	kill an infant in the market places and children in	מקטלאנא בשוקי יניק ובביריאתא

Folio 4a

1	the streets.[73] I turn wine into vinegar and old wine[74]	דרדקי קא משוינא חמרא חלא ואתיקא
2	into ???,[76] white flour into ashes {ashes}, barley	גאנה חיוריתא קיטמא קיטמא[75] קמחא

70 There is a hole in the parchment, here and in the next line, that was clearly present before the scribe began writing his text.

71 **מחי לי**, "I have fastened," represents the *qəṭīl li* syntagm. Compare the Mandaean *Zarazta d-Hibil Ziua: himiana d-birqa mhilia bhalṣai*, "I have fastened a girdle of lightening to my loins" (DC 44: 505-6). For "loins," JBA commonly employs **חרצא**, pl. **חרצי** (Sokoloff, *DJBA*, 484), though the by-form **חצי** is already found in the Dead Sea Scrolls (see M. Morgenstern et al., "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon," *Abr-Nahrain* 33 [1999]: 30–54, at 35) and late Mandaic (MD 125) and is the regular form in Classical Syriac (see M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns], 482). Dr. Y. Z. Stampfer has drawn our attention to the use of **חציה** in Geonic citation from *b. Giṭ* 78a. See Z. Stampfer, *Laws of Divorce (Kitāb al-Ṭalāq) by Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon* (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 2008), 92.

72 **נאפקאנא** and the following verbs represent 1 f. participle forms, characteristic of the best textual witnesses of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. See Morgenstern, *Studies*, 120–22, and M. Morgenstern, "Rare Forms in Eastern Aramaic," *Language Studies* (Heb., forthcoming).

73 For this section, see Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 202, and additional parallels in M. Morgenstern and M. Schlüter, "A Mandaic Amulet on Lead," Martin Schøyen Collection MS 2087/1 *Eretz Israel*, (Joseph Naveh Memorial volume), forthcoming.

74 **ואתיקא** is a phonetic spelling of **ועתיקא**.

75 Dittography?

76 We are unable to offer a satisfactory explanation for the word **גאנה**, which presumably refers to some acidic substance into which wine may deteriorate.

3	flour into dust and ashes?[77] What ought I do[78] to him, and what	דסערי עפרא ופרי מאי איבי ליה ומאי
4	shall I do to him, to NN? I shall take his thorn(?) / spirit(?) from him,	אבדנא ליה לפ ב׳ פ חוחיה[79] שקלנא ליה
5	and I shall cast it in a tube, I shall seal it with pitch	בגובתא שדיאנא ליה בכופרא סטמנא ליה
6	and bury it in the earth and trample it with my heels	בארעא קברנא ליה ובעיקבאי דישנא
7	for twelve months of the year; so that neither amongst magicians nor	ליה תריסר ירחי שתא לא בכצומי ולא
8	amongst Chaldaeans[80] shall a healer be found for him, un[til?]	בכלדאיי אסיא לא נשתכח ליה אד••
9	I release him and he dies. Say (it) over a green lizard	דשרינא ליה ומית ק׳ על[81] צרריתא

Folio 4b

1	seven times in a reed tube and bury (it) in the inner	יורקתא ז׳ זמ׳ בגובתא דקניא וקבר באסקפתא
2	threshold. 0–0 ʾṬṬ ʾSS WʾWSYS WHWDYH	גויתא 0–0 אטט אסס ואוסיס והודיה

77 Perhaps this is **ופרי** for **ואפרי**, like Hebrew **עפר ואפר**.

78 On the Babylonian forms **איבי** and **אבדנא**, both derived from the root **עב״ד**, see Morgenstern, *Studies*, 66–68.

79 Lege: **רוחיה**?

80 The expression **כצומי וכלדאי** is also attested in the Klagsbald bowl, AMB 13:13 (J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1987], 200).

81 There is a hole in the parchment, which was probably there before the scribe began writing his text.

3	WHWDYRYH, send, send against him, NN	והודיריה[82] שדר שדר עלוהי דפ׳ בפ׳
4	the fire of a spell; say (it) over 7 ???[83] of ???, and place it in the socket	אש לחש: ק׳ ע׳ ז׳ בורי דטבין ושדי בצינורא
5	of the door. Skull, GPNM WNY?SGP	דדשא 0 גולגולתא[84] גפנם ונ?סגף
6	I have adjured you, NWRDPYS the satan, that you shall go	אשבעית עלך נורדפיס סטנא דתיזיל
7	and cast fire upon NN, that it may dance[85] upon you,	[ות]פיל אשתא על פ׳ב׳פ׳ דתירפיס עלך
8	on him on him on you on you on him Amen Amen Sela.	ועלה עלה עלך עלך עלה אמן אמן סלה

Folio 5a

1	Say (it) over the (???) . . . the white son of an egg, which	ק׳ ע׳ אלערבייה [ ] אבין בידה אלביד אלדי

82 A similar set of voces *magicae appe*ars in the Sword *of Moses:* אנא אססי אסס ואסיסיה ואפרגסיה שליחא קלילא, "I am ʾSSY ʾSS WʾSYSYH WʾPRGSYH, the speedy messenger"; see Yuval Harari, Harba d*e-Moshe (The Sword of Moses): A New Edition and a Study Jerusal*em: Academon, 1997) (Heb.), 26.

83 This may be the same as בורא *b. Šabb.* 140b (Sokoloff, *DJBA*, 192), the meaning of which remains unknown.

84 This spell has a partial parallel in T-S Misc. 34.22 (a fragment whose magical recipes display a strong Babylonian influence): שילוח אש אנה גולגלתא אנא גלגולתא כ?ם ו?הנ?ם / כם והנם אנא והנם אנה והנם אשבע לכי ומנ?א? לכי? / .ד רום סטנא בישא דיתיב על תלת מאה ושיתין סטנין / איזיל ואפיל אש על פ׳ב׳פ, "(For) sending fire: ʾNH skull, ʾN׳ skull, KM WHNM KM WHNM ʾN׳ WHNM ʾNH WHNM, I adjure you and I conjure? you .D RWM, the evil satan who sits over three hundred and sixty satans, go down and bring down fire on NN," etc.

85 The meaning of רפ״ס in this context is uncertain. It could mean to dance, flutter (see Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon,* 1485), or perhaps to tremble (denominative of ריפסי, *DJBA* 1077).

2	no chicken has mounted and ??? and slaughter/cook	לם יצעד עליה דגיגיה[86] מא ותכרא ואדבח
3	and put it on the egg(?)/in his hand(?) and ??? from the sackcloth garment and bury it	איג עלה[87] בידה ואגעלוה מן אלמיסח ואדפ[נוה]
4	under an oven. 0–0 For (going before) a governor: ʾṬFWT ṬWFY	תחת תנור 0–0 לשילטון אָטפוֹת[88] טוֹפי
5	RPT ŠTS SDM RGM DRWS A(men) A(men) S(ela). Say? (it) over	רַפּת שׁתּס סַדּם רַגּם דרוֹס א א ס ק • ע׳
6	straw from a locked gate ???	גילה מן באבא סכירא בַּח ע••
7	and place it behind your ear,[90] and write ??? amulet(?)	ואותיב בתר אודנך וכתוב[89] ••מזיע.
8	and (it is) good and tried and tested. 0–0	וטב ומנסי ובדיק 0–0

Folio 5b

1	Do (it) for your Name, for the sake of [your name]. This amulet	לשמך עשה למען ש[מך] מזמן הדין
2	is appointed[91] for the name of NN, that you may open his	קמיעא על שום פ׳ב׳פ׳ דתיפתח ליביה

86 Lege: דג׳אג׳ה, i.e. דג׳ג׳ה.

87 Lege: אגעלה?

88 The magic words are vocalized with Babylonian vocalization.

89 There is a hole, or some other irregularity in the parchment, that was clearly there before the scribe began writing his text.

90 Note a somewhat similar recipe in Bod. Heb. e 74.21 (a folio from the same manuscript as the two fragments published by Schäfer and Shaked, M*agische Texte* III, no. 69, which display a Babylonian vocalization): להנצל מעת צרה: אמור ג׳ פעמים על קטר של תבן לגת לגם סכר בלם ותן אותו אחורי אזניך, "to be saved from a time of trouble, say three times over a knot of hay LGT LGM SKR BLM and place it behind your ear."

91 This is a common formula in the bowls, e.g.: מזמן הדין קמיעה לאסותא לנטרתא ולחתמתא דביתיה ד-, "This amulet is appointed for the healing and protection and sealing of the house of . . ." (Gordon A:1, published in C. H. Gordon, "Aramaic Magic

3	foolish[92] heart to all words of the Torah, that he shall hear and learn,	טפשא לכל פיתגמי אוריתא דישמע וילף
4	and all that he learns he shall not forget. ʾQQPṢ[94] HH WH YH	וכל די ילף לא ישכח אקקפץ[93] הה וה יה
5	holy, PṬMNY PTPTY PTPYH holy, ʿGSNṢ	קדוש פטמני פתפתי פתפיה קדוש עגסנץ
6	MYN holy, ŠSYS HʿNH HYG holy, THPGYH	מ֗ין קדוש שסיס ה֗ענה היג קדוש תהפגיה
7	SPYH holy, ṢWH NPNT HWH holy, STW	ספיה֗ קדוש צוה נפנת הוה קדוש סתו
8	NQSS Q?W? safeguarded,[96] holy. I conjure	נקסס[95] קו֗ סמיר קדוש אומיתי
9	you and adjure you,	עליכון ואשבעית עליכון

Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," *Archiv Orientální* 6 [1934]: 319–34, at 321).

92 Sokoloff, *DJBA* 514, reconstructs the singular of this adjectival form as טפשאה. On the merger of the noun marker *-ā* and the adjectival/gentilic morpheme *-āʾā*, see M. Morgenstern, "Notes on the Noun Patterns in the Yemenite Tradition of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic," *Revue des Études Juives* 168 (2009): 51–83, at 75–79, where evidence is also cited for alternative plural forms טיפשי, and טיפשאיי.

93 For the following set of *voces magicae*, note a similar sequence in MS New York Public Library 190 (*olim* Sassoon 56), p. 77, lines 7–9: ובהדין שמא רבא ויקירא וקדישא / ק׳ק׳ק׳ פץ קה והוה קדוש פפותמי קתניה קדוש קתר נקססה / נספרה, "and by this great, precious, and holy name, H(oly), H(oly), H(oly), PẒ (=WH in *atbash*) QH WHWH Holy PPWTMY QTNYH Holy QTR NQSSH NSPRH."

94 The series of *voces magicae* in lines 4–8 is characterized by the repetitive structure XXX + Yh *qadosh*, and if we omit the initial *aleph*, we may note that the individual sequences begin with ק, פ, ע, ש, ת, צ, ס, which may indicate an earlier attempt at an acrostic arrangement of this series.

95 There is a hole, or some other irregularity in the parchment, that was clearly there before the scribe began writing his text.

96 Compare Mandaic *smir,* "well preserved, safeguarded," in MD 333 s.v. SMR.

Folio 6a

1	and place an oath upon you,[97] that you will open my heart, me	וקיימית עליכון דתיפתחון ליבי דילי אנא
2	NN, and you will make (it) wise for Torah, and you will remove the foolishness	פ ב׳ פ ותחכמון לאוריתא ותפקון טפשות
3	of the[98] heart from the heart of me, I, NN, and you will see/make seen[99] and open	ליביה מן ליבא דילי אנא פ׳ב׳פ׳ ותחמון ותפ[תחון]
4	my heart , I, NN, like the heart of Metatron and like the heart of	את ליבי דילי אנא פ ב פ כלב מיטטרון וכלבּ
5	Moses son of Amram, and teach me the six columns of the Tal[mud][100]	משה בר עמרם ולמדני ששה טורים שלתּל[מוד]
6	in six(?) years, and I will run in them like a deer that runs[102]	בשם שנים[101] ואירוץ בהון כצבי שהוא רָץ
7	in the desert and guard in my belly all that I learn, and what I learn	במדבר וטרו במעי כל מה דאילוף ומא דאילוף
8	from this day and forever, and teach me words of Torah and wisdom,	מן יומא דנן ולעלם ולמדני דברי תורה וחכמה

97 This is a common formula in the bowls, e.g.: ואסרית ואשבעית ואחרימית וגזרית וקיימית עליכון in an unpublished bowl (SAD 31) brought to our attention by Dan Levene.

98 Lit.: his.

99 If the text is not corrupt (lege: ותחכמון, as in the previous line?), then we have here a rare example of the root חמ״י used in a Babylonian text. This spell is in general very conservative in its language.

100 This expression apparently refers to the six orders of classical rabbinic literature, though the use of טורים, "columns," in this context is unusual.

101 Lege: בשש שנים.

102 The use of the correlative pronoun with participle is regarded as characteristic of the Palestinian transmission of rabbinic Hebrew. See M. Bar-Asher, "Mishnaic Hebrew: An Introductory Survey," *Hebrew Studies* 40 (1999): 115–51, at 132.

Folio 6b

1	so that everything that I will hear I will learn[104] at once.[105] And you shall not delay	וכל דאישמע למדינו[103] בזמן אחד ולא תעכבון
2	this oath and this adjuration, and by the name of YH HW	מומתא הדא ושבועתא הדא ובשום יה הו
3	•H WH WH HW HY KYN HYHYH YH WH YH HH YH YHW	•ה וה וה הו הי ההי כין היהיה יה וה יה הה יה יהו
4	•• HY HH WH HYW HYH YH WH. Blessed is the name of the honor of	•• הי הה וה היו היה יה וה ברוך שם כבוד
5	his [king]dom forever and ever. Furthermore, I adjure you and decree	[מ]לכותו לעולם ועד ותוב אשבעית עליכון וגזרית
6	upon you and place an oath upon you, that you shall deliver me, I, NN,	עליכון וקימית עליכון ותצלון[106] יתי אנא פ ב פ׳
7	from all evil demons and from demons, whether demons of the day	מן כל מזיקין בישין ומזיקין בן מזיקין דיממא
8	or demons of the night, and all demons and demons which stand	ובין מזיקין דליליא וכל מזיקין ומזיקין דקימין

Folio 7a

1	before me, I, NN, smite them	לקבלי דילי אנא פ ב פ׳ טרופו יתהון
2	in the name of these letters by which I adjured y[ou]	בשום אותות הללו שהשבעתי אתכם

103 Lege: אלמדינו, or perhaps למדיני.

104 Or: teach me. See previous note.

105 בזמן אחד may be a calque on Aramaic בחד זימנא, "in one go." Standard Hebrew for "time" (French *fois* rather than *temps*) would be פעם.

106 Lege: דתצלון.

3	and by the name HWH YH YH HW HH HYW HW	בהם ובשם הוה יה יה הו הה היו הו
4	HH HY YH WH WHW HH YH YH YHW HY forever.	הה הי יה וה והו הה יה יה יהו הי[107] לעולם
5	Sealed and counter-sealed (is) NN from demons and spark-demons	חתים ומחתם פ ב פ מן מזיקין ומזיקין
6	and harmers and devils and evil spirits, [whether male]	ופיגעי וסיטני ומן רוחין בשתא בֿ[ין דיכרי]
7	or female, whether of the day or of the night, and from	ובין ניקבתא ובין דיממא ובין דלילֿ[יא] ומן
8	demons and *devs* and Liliths and from idol-spirits	שידי ומן דיוין ומן לליתא ומן [פ]תיכרי
9	and from the rooftop-demons[108] and from the sixty-six (demons) which are	ומן בני איגרי ומן שיתין ושתה דאית
10	in the world.[109] All who stand before me,	בעלמא כל דקאים לקבלי

107 Lege: חי?

108 On the identification of "roof demons" as demons causing epilepsy, see T. Kwasman, "The Demon of the Roof," in I. Finkel and M. J. Geller, eds., *Disease in Babylonia* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 160–72, esp. 165–69.

109 This list of demons finds ample parallels in the bowls. For the number sixty-six, cf., e.g., בשום צידקיה דהוא ראיש שיתין ושיתא מלאכין די ממנן על דמה, "In the name of Ṣidqiyyah who is the chief of sixty-six angels who are appointed over her blood" (Moussaeiff 155:10, published in Levene, *Corpus*, 111) or ובעיזקתיה דישלמה בר דויד מלכה דיחתימין בה תלת מאה ושיתין ושיתה שידין, "by the signet ring of Solomon son of David, the king of Israel, by which are sealed three hundred and sixty six demons" (VA 3854:15–18, published in D. Levene, "*Heal O' Israel*: A Pair of Duplicate Magic Bowls from the Pergamon Museum in Berlin," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 54 [2003]: 104–21, at 105).

Folio 7b

1	I, will be killed by a great killing, just as were killed[110]	אנא יתקטל בקטלא רבא כמא דאיתקטל
2	the seven daughters of the gods and the eight daughters of the female	שבע בנת אלהי ותמני בנת איסתראתא
3	ishtars. By the name of HY HY HWH HY HH HW HH	ניקבאתא[111] בשם הי הי הוה הי הה הו הה
4	YH HY HH WH HY HW HH WH YH YHW HY the eternal(?)	יה הי הה וה הי הו הה וה יה יהו הי[112] עולמים
5	A(men) A(men) S(elah) YHH WYH YH HH HH YW HW HH WH WH	א א ס יהה ויה יה הה הה יו הו הה וה וה
6	HW YH WH WYHH KYN[114] ṬM'. This adjuration.	הו יה וה ויהה כין טמא[113] הדין שבועתא
7	Say(?) (it) 23 (or, on 3?) Fridays, before dusk[115]	ק' פּג' מעלי שבתא קדים סמוך יומא
8	just as ??? (when he heats an oven?) when the day sets and he should immerse (himself in)	כי היכי חמי קמנא במסמך יומא וניטבול

110 On the apocopated form of the 3 m.p. perfect see Morgenstern, *Studies*, 186–89 (with previous literature).

111 For a partial parallel in the bowls, see היכא דיתבן הנין שבע בני אלהי וידען שבע מילי תקיפתא, "where there dwell these seven sons of gods who know seven powerful words" (Moussaieff 163:9, published in Levene, *Corpus*, 122).

112 Lege: חי?

113 Lege: תמת?

114 The sequence WYHH KYN might be construed as garbled Aramaic, but note a similar sequence in 6b:3.

115 For סמוך יומא, compare Mandaic *masmikana* (dusk), which stands in contrast to *madnaha* (dawn): *mn madnaha ualma lmasmikana umn masmikana ualma lmadnaha,* "from dawn to dusk and from dusk to dawn" (*Pašar Mihla*, DC 51: 300–302).

9	water, and come out(?) from the dawn of the Friday,	מיא ויתא מנגהי מעלי שבתא
10	and he should sit in fasting for three Fridays,	ויתב תעניתא ג׳ מעלי שבתא
11	and keep away from sexual intercourse.	ויזדהר מן תשמיש 0

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Folio 1a



Folio 1b



Folio 2a



Folio 2b



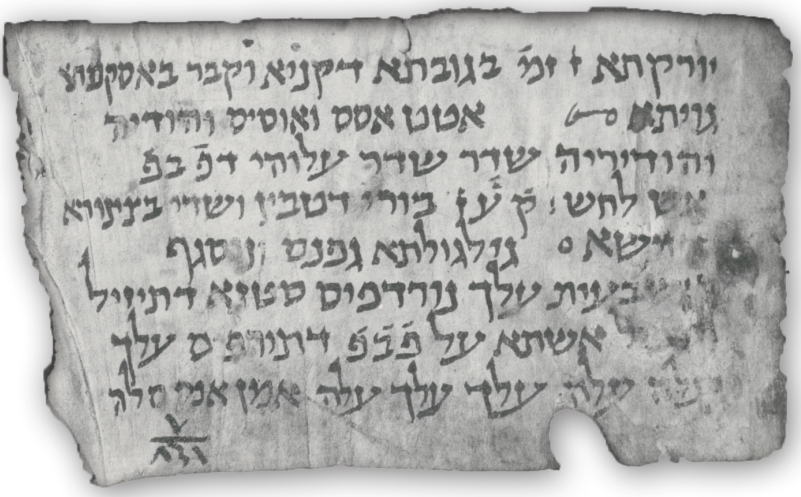
Folio 3a



Folio 3b



Folio 4a



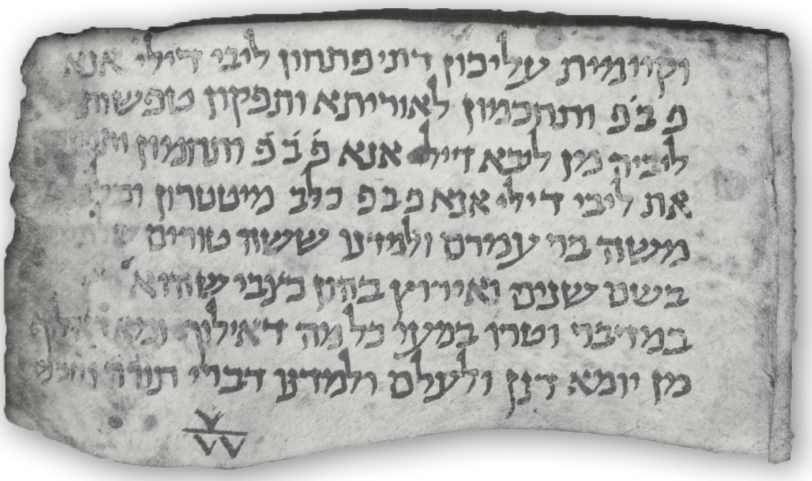
Folio 4b



Folio 5a



Folio 5b



Folio 6a



Folio 6b



Folio 7a



Folio 7b

THE MAGICAL ROTULI FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH

Gideon Bohak

Introduction

In spite of much progress in recent decades, the magical texts found in the Cairo Genizah have yet to receive the attention they deserve.[1] In the present paper, I shall focus on a previously unnoted type of Genizah magical fragments—namely those written on vertical parchment scrolls (*rotuli*).[2] Such scrolls are extremely interesting not only because of their format, but because of their contents as well, and especially the aggressive magical recipes they contain, some of which clearly stem from late-antique Palestine. But as these fragments are quite long, and the task of reconstructing them is in no way finished, no attempt will be made here to offer a full edition of any single rotulus; instead, I shall limit myself to a description of their codicological and scribal features, a brief analysis of their contents, and a selective edition of some of their magical recipes. In the future, I hope to provide a full edition of

[1] The present paper forms a part of a wider research project on the magical texts from the Cairo Genizah, which is based on a preliminary list of Genizah magical fragments compiled by Professor Shaul Shaked, and is funded by the Israel Science Foundation (Grant no. 725/03). I am grateful to my research assistants—Shani Levy, Karina Shalem and Irena Lerman—and to Ortal-Paz Saar, for their assistance throughout this research project. The final version of the present paper was written during my year-long stay in Cambridge, partly funded by the Genizah Unit of the Cambridge University Library (for which I am especially grateful to Stefan Reif and Ben Outhwaite, the former and current heads of the Unit), and by the Friedberg Genizah Project. I am also grateful to Judith Olszowy-Schlanger for her illuminating codicological and paleographical advice.

[2] For previous publications of Genizah magical texts, see especially Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985) (henceforth AMB); id., *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993) (henceforth MSF); L. H. Schiffman and M. D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1*, [Semitic Texts and Studies 1] (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992) (henceforth HAITCG); Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, [Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 42, 64, 72] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)), vol. 1 (1994), vol. 2 (1997), vol. 3 (1999), vol. 4 (forthcoming) (henceforth MTKG).

these fragments, as of many other Genizah magical recipes and recipe-collections which deserve a more detailed analysis.[3]

The Magical Rotuli—A Broad Survey

The presence of rotuli—that is, vertical scrolls made of relatively narrow pieces of parchment sewn together one below the other—in the Cairo Genizah has occasionally been noted, and a few such rotuli have already been published.[4] However, the number of unpublished Genizah rotuli known to me already amounts to many dozens, and as these fragments seem to belong to the earlier strata of the Cairo Genizah, and some of them clearly were in use even before Genizah times, they certainly deserve a close codicological analysis of their different forms and contents and of their place within the history of the Jewish book.[5] My own interest in these fragments began when, during a short visit to Cambridge to study some magical fragments, I noticed that one or two fragments had a row of tiny holes at their top or at their bottom. This surprised me, as I could not see why anyone would bother to pin-prick his or her magical texts in this manner, but a few days later I was checking some of the Genizah fragments in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and discovered a most unusual magic scroll (Bodleian MS Heb. a3.31), which is made up of four unequal pieces of parchment stitched together vertically and then inscribed horizontally. I then realized that the pin-pricked fragments I had seen in Cambridge had once been parts of such vertical rotuli, but the threads of the stitches that

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[3] For a broad survey of the magical texts from the Cairo Genizah, and much further bibliography, see Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 215–221.

[4] For the place of rotuli in the history of the Jewish book, see the brief remarks of Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West* [The Panizzi Lectures, 1992], (London: The British Library, 1993), pp. 10–11, and of Colette Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (ed. and tr. by N. de Lange) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 102. For published Genizah rotuli see, for example, Neḥemiah Allony, "RASAG's Version of *Sefer Yezira* in Scroll Form from the Cairo Genizah," in I. Weinstock (ed.), *Temirin*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Kook, 1981), pp. 9–29 (Heb.); Nicholas de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, [TSAJ 51] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1996), No. 15 (pp. 165–294); Yosef Tobi, *Poetry, Judeo-Arabic Literature, and the Geniza*, [Jewish Culture in Muslim Lands and Cairo Geniza Studies, IV] (Tel Aviv University, 2006), pp. 51–55 (Heb.). See also n. 6 below.

[5] Judith Olszowy-Schlanger and I have recently begun to map out the Genizah rotuli, but the results of this survey will have to be published elsewhere.

once held them together had crumbled long ago, leaving only narrow sheets of parchment with stitching-holes at their tops, or bottoms, or both. I have since continued looking for such fragments, and gradually came to realize that in some cases the rotuli disintegrated to such a degree that not only the stitches disappeared, but even the stitched pieces of parchment broke into much smaller pieces, without any pin-prick holes to set them apart from other small parchment fragments. I therefore try to keep track not only of all the Genizah magical fragments I can find, but also of all the parchment rotuli and rotuli-fragments, even those which have nothing to do with magic. At present, I am aware of two rotuli with magical recipes and one astrological rotulus re-used for magical recipes, of possible fragments of other magical rotuli, and of many parchment rotuli and rotuli-fragments whose contents are non-magical.[6] The magical rotuli are as follows:

1) Bodleian MS Heb. a3.31: A vertical parchment scroll, 92 cm long and 12 cm wide, made up of four pieces sewn together, measuring (from top to bottom) 38.5, 22.5, 17.2 and 13.8 cm, respectively. The first piece is of darkish brown color, the second is even darker, the third is a much lighter yellowish brown, and the fourth is even lighter in color. The scroll's right margin is preserved throughout, but the left margin is fully preserved only for small parts of the lower sections of the scroll, while for the rest of the scroll it has been damaged (by fire?) in differing quantities. From the "wavy" pattern created by the missing parts when the scroll is stretched out, it seems clear that the scroll's left margin was damaged while it was all rolled up, from bottom to top, which also explains why the bottom part of the scroll is much better preserved than its topmost section. It must be stressed, however, that the scroll begins and ends *in medias res*, and there is no telling how long the original scroll was or how much is missing on

[6] For another magical fragment which may have come from a rotulus, see Westminster College Misc. 59, published as MTKG III, 74, with the editors' note on p. 179. In what follows, I focus only on parchment rotuli, whose pieces were stitched to each other, and ignore those cases in which loose pieces of paper—including used paper—were glued one below the other and used for writing different texts (including amulets and magical recipes), a phenomenon which seems to have occurred quite often, and not only in the earlier strata of the Cairo Genizah. For published paper rotuli see, for example, MTKG II, 24 (= Bodleian Heb. a3.25); MTKG III, 66 (= T-S AS 142.15 + NS 246.14).

either end.[7] Moreover, it is quite possible that more fragments of this scroll would be identified in the future, either in Oxford or in other Genizah collections.

On the recto, the 145 lines of text are written in a well-trained hand, entirely uniform throughout, and clearly belonging to the earliest stratum of the Cairo Genizah (the hand was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the (early) tenth century).[8] The layout of the text also is remarkably uniform—each two recipes are separated by a few centimeters of blank space, many of the words in different recipes are deliberately written backward, abbreviations are marked by the same supralinear dots, and the abbreviation for "Name son of Name," appears both as the standard *p(eloni) b(en) p(elonit)* and as the hitherto unattested ŠWŠ, a sequence whose exact meaning still eludes me.[9] Even the magical recipes themselves display a remarkable degree of internal consistency, both in their aims and in the magical practices they enjoin. In light of all this, it is quite certain that the scroll was produced by a single copyist, who was quite an experienced scribe and quite a sophisticated magician. On the verso, the scroll is sporadically covered by different magical texts, in several different hands, all of which seem to be later, and much less professional, than that on the recto. It thus seems quite clear that the rotulus was originally written on one side only (a common procedure on such rotuli), but later users decided to utilize the blank side too, and added their own magical recipes on the verso.[10] This apparently means that the scroll remained in circulation and use over several generations of Jewish magicians.

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[7] Note that one of the two rotuli published by de Lange is estimated by him to have been about 3 meters long (*Greek Jewish Texts*, p. 165).

[8] Both the hand and the style of writing closely resemble those of T-S Misc. 24.1 (see Neil Danzig, "Two Insights from a Ninth-Century Liturgical Handbook: The Origins of *Yequm Purqan* and *Qaddish de-Ḥadata*," in Stefan C. Reif (ed.), *The Cambridge Genizah Collections: Their Contents and Significance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 74–122 and Plate 10), which was dated by Danzig to the final quarter of the ninth century.

[9] The most likely explanation seems to be that this is an abbreviation of שם ושם, "a name and a name" (i.e., the name of the victim and the name of his or her mother); as a partial parallel, one could adduce MS Sassoon 56 = NYPL 190, p. 117, ll.7–8: ונקמת את נקמתי מאת המקולל הארור האכזרי פלו׳ ש׳ בן פלוני׳ ש׳ וכו׳ ("And you shall exact my revenge from the accursed, the damned, the cruel *pel(oni)* Š *son of peloni(t)* Š, etc."). It has also been suggested to me that שוש is four letters removed from פבפ, but this might be a mere coincidence.

[10] For Genizah rotuli whose verso is blank, see the next item. For Genizah rotuli with different texts on both sides, clearly inscribed by different hands and in different

Looking at the recto of our rotulus, we find eighteen different recipes (including two of which only a few words are preserved), of which one is for gaining knowledge, one whose aim is not entirely clear (see recipe a in the next section), and all the rest are for aggressive purposes, and especially for "binding" the sexual potencies of male victims. Such uniformity of purpose is not unparalleled in some of the Greek magical papyri—I note, especially, PGM XXXVI, whose 19 recipes focus almost entirely on issues of interpersonal relations. These single-minded collections always make one wonder whether the practitioners behind them specialized in just one type of magical practices, or had their recipes arranged thematically, and only one of their collections (or a small part thereof) happened to be preserved. But be that as it may, the recipes found on the Bodleian rotulus are of the greatest interest: They are written in a mixture of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic and Hebrew, and contain virtually no Arabisms, a sure sign of their relative antiquity. They also display many Greek loanwords, including what seems like a whole Greek sentence in transliteration, as we shall see below. Moreover, some of the rituals enjoined by these recipes seem quite different, and often far more "daring," than those found in other Genizah magical texts, and this too might be a sign of their relative antiquity, as in the later recipe collections the potentially offensive features tended to be filtered out of the textual transmission.[11] Finally, the extant recipes contain a few apparent references to extra-biblical myths, which also are quite rare in the more typical Genizah magical recipe books. Below, we shall edit and analyze some of the recipes on the recto of this intriguing rotulus.

2) T-S K 1.120 + T-S NS 258.153–154 + T-S K 1.154: The largest fragment of this rotulus is T-S K 1.154, a vertical parchment scroll 31.2 cm long and 8.8 cm wide, which is made up of three pieces sewn together,

periods, see the rotulus edited by Tobi (above, n. 4). Some Genizah rotuli seem to have been written on both sides by their original scribes, including the two rotuli edited by de Lange (above, n. 4), and the one analyzed by Danzig (above, n. 8). Having seen numerous Genizah rotuli, my own impression is that most of them were written on the recto only, and that some retained a blank verso while in others the verso was re-used by later scribes, often for different types of texts than those on the recto.

[11] For such processes of self-censorship, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 183 and 344.

measuring (from top to bottom) 7.4, 13.5, and 10.5 cm, respectively.[12] All three pieces are of a yellowish-brown color, and all three have their right margin intact, but are damaged on their left margin. Moreover, a stain caused by water runs vertically through all three pieces, and is the likely cause of the damage to the left margin, and certainly caused the effacement of many letters on the scroll's left half. Like the Bodleian rotulus, this one too begins and ends *in medias res*, but in this case I can already point to three more fragments which clearly belong with the same rotulus. Two parchment fragments—T-S NS 258.153 and 154—are quite small, measuring 5.5 by 7 cm and 3.2 by 6.5 cm respectively, and neither fragment displays the telltale prick-holes characteristic of broken rotuli. But the fact that these parchment fragments are quite narrow, and inscribed on one side only, suggests that they may have come from such a rotulus (and not from a codex, in which both sides should be inscribed), and a comparison of the parchment and the handwriting with that of T-S K 1.154 demonstrates their great similarity. The identification is made secure by the pattern created by the stain which runs vertically through both fragments, and matches perfectly the stain running through the top part of T-S K 1.154, thus proving that all three fragments once belonged together, and that the damage caused by water preceded the disintegration of the original rotulus. Moreover, T-S K 1.120 (13.2 by 9.8 cm), which was published as MTKG III, 60 but not identified as forming part of a rotulus, displays the same hand and the same stain, and ends with the first half of Num 21.28, whose continuation may be found on T-S NS 258.153. Thus, it is entirely certain that all four fragments once belonged in a single rotulus, and the original order was (from top to bottom) T-S K 1.120, T-S NS 258.153, T-S NS 258.154 and T-S K 1.154. Throughout the reconstructed rotulus, the right margin is well preserved, but the left margin is preserved only at the top section (T-S K 1.120) and parts of the bottom one (T-S K 1.154). On all four fragments the verso is blank, which means that this rotulus was not re-used by later scribes, perhaps because it was damaged by water at a relatively early stage. It must be stressed, however, that the reconstructed rotulus still begins and ends *in medias res*, so there is no doubt that more pieces are still

[12] This fragment was briefly mentioned by Peter Schäfer, "New Magical Fragments from the Cairo Genizah," in *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Section C/1 (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 245–252, on p. 248 (Heb.).

missing both at the top and at the bottom of this scroll. If and when more pieces are found, they may allow a more precise reconstruction of this rotulus and of its codicological history.

On the recto of the reconstructed scroll, 89 lines of text are written in a uniform hand, clearly later than that of the Bodleian rotulus (the hand was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the (early) eleventh century).[13] The text is written in a mixture of Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic, and some of the recipes use many biblical verses, which are cited in Hebrew. As this rotulus is not well preserved, it is not entirely clear how many recipes were written in the extant section, but one can detect the remains of at least ten different recipes and—as in the Bodleian rotulus—all of them are aggressive in nature. But unlike the Bodleian rotulus, the recipes found here seem much less unusual, and involve many magical practices which are quite standard in Genizah magical recipes. And while some of these recipes display signs of an early origin (including the use of the title קיבלוה for aggressive recipes, for which see Dan Levene's paper in the present volume), others probably stem from the Genizah period itself, or are watered-down versions of older recipes. Thus they are of considerably less historical interest than those of the Bodleian rotulus.

3) T-S K 1.50 + T-S K 1.133: Unlike the two previous items, this rotulus was first inscribed not with magical recipes but with an astrological text, best known as the *Treatise of Shem* in its Judeo-Arabic version (and in a phonetic transliteration which is characteristic of the earlier Judeo-Arabic Genizah fragments).[14] T-S K 1.50 (6.9 cm long and 8.4 cm wide) preserves the section on Gemini, while T-S K 1.133 (25.1 by 8.8 cm) preserves the sections on Cancer, Leo, Virgo and Libra, so there is no doubt that the former once belonged directly above the latter, and that the original scroll was at least twice as long as these two fragments combined. The parchment is, once again, of a yellowish-brown color, and the margins of this rotulus are well preserved, but T-S K 1.50 is missing small pieces of both margins. The hand on the

[13] And note that T-S K 1.120 = MTKG III, 60 was dated by its editors to the tenth century.

[14] For the *Treatise of Shem*, see Reimund Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Astrologischen Literatur der Juden*, [Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism, 21] (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), pp. 45–55 (who mentions both fragments on p. 46). For another rotulus with an astrological text see British Library 5557A 64, published by Tobi (above, n. 4).

recto was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the late-tenth or early-eleventh century. Like the Bodleian rotulus, this rotulus too was re-used by a later scribe, whose hand may be dated to the later eleventh century, but this writer used the stitched up pieces of parchment not as a rotulus but as an horizontal scroll, on which magical recipes were written in columns, each some 6–7 cm wide. T-S K 1.50 preserves one full column of text and the end of another, while T-S K 1.133 preserves three columns of text and the beginning of a fourth one. Thus, the verso of both fragments presents the appearance of a parchment scroll—a very unusual occurrence in Genizah magical texts and in non-biblical Genizah fragments in general—but this is due solely to the re-use of an old rotulus.[15] And in this case, the magical recipes are both aggressive and apotropaic (including a recipe for making an amulet), are written mostly in Judeo-Arabic, and display clear signs of a Muslim influence (including a reference to the lost tribes of ʿAd and Thamud, mentioned in the Qurʾan). We may therefore conclude that both in format and in contents this scroll differs greatly from the two magical rotuli discussed above.

Select Recipes from Bodleian Heb. a3.31

These, then, are the Genizah magical rotuli currently known to me, and it is hoped that more fragments of these rotuli, and more Genizah magical rotuli, will be identified in the future. But as my own interests lie less in codicology and more in the magical texts themselves, the rest of the present paper will be devoted to a closer analysis of some of the magical recipes found on the recto of the Bodleian rotulus. Being one of the oldest Genizah magical texts identified thus far, and displaying a long set of magical recipes which are characterized by their purely Palestinian Jewish Aramaic idiom and many Greek loanwords, this collection offers an excellent point of entry into the world of Jewish magic in late-antique Palestine. And as it is devoted almost exclusively to aggressive magic, it allows us a closer look at a set of practices

[15] For non-biblical Genizah scrolls, which are quite rare, see T-S AS 74.324, published by Marc Bregman, "An Early Fragment of *Avot de Rabbi Natan* from a Scroll," *Tarbiz* 52 (1983): 201–222 (Heb.); T-S K 21.95.S, published by Peter Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur* [TSAJ, 6] (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), G1 (Hekhalot Rabbati).

which are not as well documented as the apotropaic and medicinal magical practices of late antique Jews.[16] To see this, we may focus on five different recipes, of varying length and sophistication, and analyze the magical technologies utilized in each of them. To facilitate future references to each recipe, I have included the line-numbers from my transcription of the entire rotulus; and in the transcription itself, I have used the following conventions:

() Uncertain reading of one or more letters.
= A letter which I could not read.
[ ] A lacuna in the text, and my reconstruction thereof.
א (bold type) Words which the scribe wrote "in reverse"—i.e., from left to right.[17]

a) The second (but first more or less complete) recipe on the recto of Bodleian Heb. a 3.31 is very short and quite obscure, but its great interest lies in its use of a whole Greek phrase, transliterated in Hebrew characters. The recipe itself runs as follows:

1 (סוף מרשם קודם) אין הווה[לך?
2 קופד אמור על קדרה אלין מלייא והדא [אמור?
3 תיאון פ(נ)יומה קטיגורוס (תחילת המרשם הבא)

1 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) If [you?] have
2 meat?, say over a pot these words and [say] this
3 TY'WN PN?YWMH QṬYGWRWS (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Unfortunately, the aim of this short recipe—which is found at the very top of the rotulus, where much of the left margin was eaten away—is not very clear. If QWPD means "a piece of meat" (from the Greek

[16] For the dearth of aggressive magic in the Jewish literature of Late Antiquity, apart from *Sefer Ha-Razim*, see Philip S. Alexander, "*Sefer ha-Razim* and the Problem of Black Magic in Early Judaism," in Todd Klutz (ed.), *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon* [JSNT Suppl. 245] (London: T&T Clark, 2003), pp. 170–190, whose conclusions will have to be revised in light of the Bodleian rotulus. See also Yuval Harari, "If You Wish to Kill A Man: Aggressive Magic and the Defense Against It in Ancient Jewish Magic," *Jewish Studies* 37 (1997): 111–142 (Heb.), and Dan Levene's paper in the present volume.

[17] For this magical practice, common especially in aggressive magic, see Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939) (repr. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, with an Introduction by Moshe Idel), pp. 116, 126 and 129; Joseph Naveh, "Lamp Inscriptions and Inverted Writing," *IEJ* 38 (1988): 36–43.

kopadion), as in rabbinic literature, then we might have here a spell to be uttered over a pot with meat, to make it cook faster, and such recipes are well attested in ancient magical texts.[18] If, on the other hand, QWPD is derived from the Aramaic root QPD, "to be angry," then we might have another aggressive magical recipe (which would fit the nature of almost all the other recipes in this rotulus), with an aggressive spell uttered over a pot (full of water, which is then poured near the victim's home?). But be this as it may, the spell to be uttered is extremely interesting, for it consists of three Greek words, and may originally have consisted of four words, with one word now lost at the end of line 2. Of these Greek words, TY'WN is almost certainly Greek, *theos*, "god," either in the accusative singular (*theon*) or in the genitive plural (*theôn*).[19] The third word, QṬYGWRWS, certainly is the Greek *katêgoros*, which is quite common in rabbinic literature (but note how here it preserves the nominative ending, whereas in rabbinic literature it often loses it and becomes קטיגור), and means "accuser, prosecutor."[20] The second word, on the other hand, is less certain—it may be the Greek *phainomai*, "I appear, I come," but is more likely to be *pneuma*, "spirit." In the first case, the phrase might mean something like "I come as an opponent of the gods," whereas in the second case we might either assume a missing preposition at the end of line 2 and translate the whole sequence as "among the gods, the spirit is an accuser," or assume a missing noun (or nothing missing) and translate "(X,) a spirit of gods, an accuser."[21] But be this as it may, it seems quite clear that we are dealing here with a short, but complete, Greek sentence, which would be quite like the famous transliterated Greek prayer in *Sefer Ha-Razim*, or the shorter Greek dismissal for-

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[18] For קופד, see Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1898–99) (repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), vol. 2, p. 516; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Bar-Ilan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1990), 2nd ed., 2002, p. 483. For such magical practices, see Hippolytus, *Ref.* 4.33.2, and R. Ganschinietz, *Hippolytos' Capitel gegen die Magier (Refut. Haer. IV 28–42)* [Texte und Untersuchungen 39/2], (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913), p. 49, and note a similar practice attributed to Rav Naḥman's daughters in bt Gitt 45a.

[19] And note the sequence *theon ha-gadol amona* in MSF, A22, briefly discussed in Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 257.

[20] See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 524; Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 485.

[21] A search for similar expressions in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* CD-ROM (version E, which also includes the Greek Magical Papyri), came up with nothing that seemed relevant for the present context, although *pneuma theôn* indeed is attested, for example in Philostratus, *VAT* 7.34.

mula found in the same text, or the Greek formulae which are found (together with their Aramaic translations), in the "sword" section of the *Sword of Moses*.[22] In all these cases, the reconstruction of the original Greek sequences is hampered by the difficulty of reconstructing Greek formulae transliterated in an alphabet which was utterly unsuitable for this task. In the present instance, the difficulty is further exacerbated by the damaged state of our text and by the uncertainty about the nature of the recipe as a whole (although the presence of *katêgoros* certainly argues in favor of an aggressive context), which makes it less clear what kind of Greek phrase we might expect here. But in all these cases, the very presence of Greek sentences and phrases attests to the extensive Greek influences on the Jewish magical texts of Late Antiquity, including those written in Hebrew and in Aramaic.

b) The second recipe to be analyzed here, which is the fourth recipe on the recto of the Bodleian rotulus, involves an interesting example of a much debated issue in the study of late-antique Judaism, namely, the worship of angels, in this case on a *do ut des* basis, whereby the user of this recipe offers a specific angel various gifts, and explains what he or she would like to receive in return:

11 (סוף מרשם קודם) לח[
12 דאיבר וז' פרתותין וז' בולין דמלח וא(ד)[
13 ואמור עליהון ז'ב ז' לך אנה קרי פוסיס[
14 מלאכה רבה הכמה דאנה יהיב לך לחם מן[לחמי]
15 ומלח מן מלחי וממון מן ממוני כן תתן ל(ש')[ו'ש'
16 ריוי מן ריוך וכיוב מן כיובך ושיקוץ מן (ש)[יקוצך]
17 וניאוף מן ניאופך וניצוץ מן ניצוצך בשם [
18 כלקיטס ובשם סמאל סטנה רבה בפריע [
19 הדן בויכל (תחילת המרשם הבא)

11 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) For [. . . take . . .
12 of lead and 7 chunks[23] of bread and 7 lumps of salt and [
13 and say over them 7 times,[24] to you I call, PWSYS[

[22] For these, see M. Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Aharonot, 1966), pp. 12–13 (Heb.); Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, "From Sense to Nonsense, From Incantation Prayer to Magical Spell," *JSQ* 3 (1996): 24–46; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 179, n. 92.

[23] For פרתותין, see Syriac *prtwt'*, "broken bits of bread, crumbs, fragments," in R. and J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 466.

[24] For זבנין, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 171.

14 the great angel, just as I give you bread from my [bread]
15 and salt from my salt and money from my money, so shall you give N[N
16 a dispute?[25] from your dispute? and a pain from your pain and an abomination from your ab[omination]
17 and a fornication from your fornication and a spark from your spark; in the name of [
18 KLQYṬS, and in the name of Samael the great satan, quickly [
19 this, for pain(?) (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Unlike the first recipe we analyzed, here there are few problems of interpretation, in spite of the absence of a few letters at the end of each line.[26] Here the practitioner is instructed to take lead, bread and salt, all in groups of seven (a common typological number in such recipes), to offer these to an angel, and to ask that angel to dispense some of his special qualities in return and send his dispute, pain, abomination, fornication and spark upon the person's opponent. Such a ritual must be seen in the light of the recurrent claims in ancient Christian literature concerning the Jewish worship of angels, and the recurrent rabbinic condemnations of such practices, which also are attested in *Sepher Ha-Razim*.[27] In the present recipe, there is no doubt that the practitioner is appealing to a powerful evil angel, and is offering that angel monetary and alimentary offerings in return for his services. There also is no doubt that the angel is adjured by (the hitherto unattested KLQYṬS and by) "Samael the great satan," who certainly is seen here as supervising the powers of evil.[28] In their search for aggressive powers, some

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[25] For ריו, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 523, for the meaning "appearance, form." Such a meaning is not impossible here, but a meaning influenced by the Hebrew ריב, "strife, contest, dispute," seems more likely. Another possibility would be that the original text read דיוי, or דוי, "sorrow."

[26] There are, however, some obscure points, such as the meaning of the last word of our recipe, "for pain." This might be a specification of the recipe's aim, "for (causing) pain," and placing a recipe's aim at the very end is paralleled both in this rotulus (in line 64), and in other Genizah magical texts. But in such a case, what should we make of the word]לח with which the recipe opens, and which seems to state its aim, "For X"?

[27] See Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim*, pp. 10–16; Michel-Yves Perrin, "'Rendre un culte aux anges à la manière des Juifs': Quelques observations nouvelles d'ordre historiographique et historique," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 114 (2002): 669–700.

[28] For Samael, see Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974), pp. 385–388; Günter Stemberger, "Samael und Uzza: Zur Rolle der Dämonen im späten Midrasch," in Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger and K. F. Diethard Römheld (eds.), *Die Dämonen—Demons: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen*

Jewish magicians clearly were willing to cross the line separating the worship of the One True God from angelolatry, and even from the worship of the powers of darkness. This does not necessarily mean that our recipes assume a dualistic theology, with Samael as God's opponent, but it does imply that they assume that it is to Samael and his ilk that one should turn when one seeks to harm a fellow human being.

c) Another interesting recipe in the Bodleian rotulus (the eleventh in the extant portion) makes use of a myth which seems to be unattested elsewhere, at least in Jewish sources. This recipe runs as follows:

64 (סוף מרשם קודם) אסר לרוחה [
65 ואסר אנה ל'ש'ו'ש' כמה דאסירין [
66 לעלם כן אסיר פ' לעלם וחתים לדרי[דרין? ו...לא
67 יהווי לה מן ברנש בשם אפס פפא נ(ט)[
68 עולמים ובשמה דקטריאל מלאכה דנ(ח)[ת ל...
69 ענה ולבקרת תורייה ואסר תורין דכרין [
70 כן אסור זרעה ד'ש'ו'ש' וסילוניה דלא ימר[...ו...
71 דלא תהלך עד זמן דנבעי ונשרי יתה בש[ם
72 פצציאל ובשם חצציאל ובשם קטריאל מלא[כה
73 כן אסור לעלם וחתום לדרי דרין וסב מחט דפרזל
74 ואמור עליה זמ' ז' ובזמנה שביעייה הב ראשה
75 דמחטה בעוקצה וכרכה בכתן דלא עלת ל(א)[
76 וטמור בזווי צניעה שרייה אפק מחט[ה לשימשה?
77 ואשווי מחטה (תחילת המרשם הבא)

64 (end of prev. recipe) (vac). A binding for a spirit [
65 and I bind ŠWŠ just as [ ] are bound [
66 forever, so is N bound forever and sealed for all gene[rations?
67 shall have from no one. In the name of 'PS PP' NṬ[
68 forever, and in the name of Qaṭriel the angel who came do[wn for
69 small cattle and for the herding of bulls, and he bound male bulls [
70 so shall you bind the sperm of ŠWŠ and his sperm canal,[29] that it / he shall not [
71 that she / it shall not walk until the time that we shall ask (for it) and loosen him, in the na[me of
72 Paẓaẓiel and in the name of Ḥaẓaẓiel and in the name of Qaṭriel the ang[el
73 so bind forever and seal for all generations. And take an iron needle

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Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt. The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 636–661.

[29] For סילון (Greek *sôlên*, "tube") used for the sperm canal of the male organ, see Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 383.

74 and say (it) over it 7 times, and in the seventh time put the head
75 of the needle in its tip (sic) and wrap it in linen that did not go into [
76 and bury (it) in a hidden place. (Its) loosening:[30] Take the needle out [to the sun?
77 and straighten the needle out. (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Like several other recipes in the Bodleian rotulus, this one too seeks to "bind" the male organ of its victim, a common magical practice in Late Antiquity, and one that also was known to, and discussed by, the rabbis of late-antique Palestine.[31] It does this by way of an adjuration, accompanied by an interesting *historiola* (a mythical event used as a precedent or an analogy for the desired outcome of the magical procedure) and an intriguing ritual whose symbolic meaning is quite manifest. On the ritualistic-symbolical level, we see the practice (attested in other cultures as well) of "binding" a male victim by twisting a needle (whose phallic connotations are quite obvious) and turning it into a closed circle, with its tip inside its own eye (and thus unable to penetrate any other object).[32] In this recipe, as in several other recipes in this rotulus and in other Genizah recipe books, and in the *Sword of Moses* as well, we also find instructions on how to loosen this piece of aggressive witchcraft once it is no longer deemed necessary—in this case, by taking the needle out of the dark spot in which it was buried and straightening it up, in the assumption that the same would now happen to the victim's virile organ. On the mythical side, we have here a reference to the angel Qaṭriel (whose name is derived from the Aramaic root קטר, "to bind" + the standard ending -el, and who appears quite frequently in ancient Jewish magical texts), who came down from heaven to herd small cattle and bulls and "bound" (i.e., castrated?) the male bulls (a well known symbol of virility in many cultures, ancient and modern); just as this had happened *in illo tempore*, so shall the hapless victim be "bound" and rendered impotent as the practitioner wishes. The use of such *historiolae* is extremely common in ancient and medieval magical texts, including the Jewish ones, but whereas most Genizah magical recipes utilize well worn biblical stories as precedents—and especially the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, to

[30] For שרייה, see the use of שריא, and שריא דגברא in MTKG III, 61 (= T-S K 1.162), 1c/25–1d/4.

[31] For the "binding" of bridegrooms, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 396.

[32] For a possible medieval Latin parallel, see Catherine Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 145.

which we shall return below—the composer of this recipe made use of a non-biblical, and perhaps even non-Jewish, myth.[33] Further research might shed more light on the possible origins of this myth, which does not seem to be an ad hoc invention but a casual reference to a myth which was circulating in the magician's own world.

d) The last two recipes in the extant part of our rotulus, and therefore also the best preserved, are also the most interesting. The first of these is described as intended to make peace between a man and a woman, but in fact is an aggressive / erotic magical recipe, involving the adjuration and slaughtering of a white cock:

117 (סוף מרשם קודם) למרמי שלם [בין]
118 גבר לבין איתה בס כל לוגנרת רווח עבשאו (יול)[ע?
119 דע אוהד נייחב רומאו אנה פ'ב'פ' משבענה
120 לך תרנגלה בשמה דמלכה עלייא דיתיב על
121 כורסייה דדינה: המך תאד שיבך ינבל השנא
122 הריעבלו נך שבכתי ש'ו'ש' במאתין מ'ח' אברין
123 דאית בה ונעמתה תהווי מכיכה קודם פ'ב'פ'
124 בשמה דכבשיאל דכבש ארעה בחיי(ל)ה ותהומ(ה)
125 בתוקפיה מלין אמרית עובדין יתעבדון וכ(ל)[אשר?
126 דיברתי יצליח: בסו נולטיף דכסיט וכת' א[לין מלייה
127 בגווה: בסו דדוג נם יונאם הרבנד [בהו היתי
128 הלטיפב עוזבו הלגנרת הבו (!) הבתך הוינ[ב בהו
129 (ה)פושן דפיל לגו מעוי וכוף ראשה: הלגנר(ת)[ד]
130 יועמל רומטו תשרפב התחרוא (ו)[הב?] עלוי כיף
131 דלא יפק יתה חיווה ואשבע עלוי אלין מלייה

117 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) To make peace [between?
118 a man and a woman, take a white cock and adjure over it
119 while it is still alive and say, I, NN, adjure
120 you, cock, in the name of the exulted king who sits upon
121 the throne of judgment. Just as you are subdued by men
122 and by cattle, so shall ŠWŠ be subdued by the two hundred 48 limbs

[33] By way of comparison, I note Mousaieff bowl M163 (edited by Dan Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* [The Kegan Paul Library of Jewish Studies] (London: Kegan Paul, 2003), p. 123): והיכדין דאיתכביש רימון תורא קדמאה, "…and just as RYMWN, the primordial bull, was subdued." I also note the traditions about the eschatological punishment of the Sun and the Moon "like castrated bulls," as cited and discussed by David J. Halperin and Gordon D. Newby, "Two Castrated Bulls: A Study in the Haggadah of Kaʿb al Aḥbâr," *JAOS* 102 (1982): 631–638. One may also go further afield, and cite the stories about Hercules and the bull or the Mithraic motif of the scorpion attacking the bull's genitals, but such parallels do not seem to elucidate our recipe.

123 that are in her, and her tune?[34] shall be humbled before NN
124 in the name of Kabshiel who subdued the earth by his strength and the abyss
125 by his might. Words have I spoken, deeds shall be done, and all [that?
126 I have spoken shall succeed. And take a tin lamella,[35] and write th[ese words
127 upon it. And take a thread from the clothes of the man [and place it
128 in the lamella and tear the cock apart and place the writing inside it [and place
129 fine flour[36] of ??? inside its intestines and twist the head of the cock
130 to its intestines and bury it at a crossroads. And [place?] upon it a rock
131 so that no animal shall dig it out, and adjure upon it these words.

Once again, we are faced with an aggressive magical recipe, this time intended to subdue a person and make him amorously or sexually submissive to another person of the opposite sex; and once again, the recipe involves both a ritual and an adjuration. On the ritual level, the user is instructed to take a white cock, utter an adjuration over it, tear it apart, and place inside its intestines a tin lamella with the adjuration, a thread from the victim's clothes (what James Frazer would call "magic of contagion"), and fine flour. The cock is then twisted into a kind of a knot (an action which certainly is intended as analogous to what would happen to the victim should s/he fail to comply), and buried at the crossroads, a common location for the practice of magic rituals in many ancient cultures, and perhaps also symbolizing here the desired meeting of the man and the woman.[37] The use of white cocks in aggressive magical recipes seems to have been quite common, and one may cite parallels from other Genizah magical texts, from *Sepher Ha-Razim* (for which see Ithamar Gruenwald's paper in the present

[34] For נעמה, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 354.

[35] For פיטלון, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 374, n. 64; for כסיט = כסיטרון = Greek *kassiteros*, see Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 556 (where the word is consistently spelled with a *qof*, not a *kaf*).

[36] For נשופה, see Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone and Ester Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* [Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha, 19] (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 82 (= ALD 8:6): נישפא בליל במשחא, "fine meal (Gr. *semidalin*) mixed with oil," with the editors' note on p. 176 (I am grateful to Matthew Morgenstern for this reference); I am still puzzled by the word פיל, but cf. Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 431. Note also the appearance of פילון as an ingredient in several Jewish magical texts, including Bodleian Heb. a 2.2.

[37] For Greco-Roman examples, see S. I. Johnston, "Crossroads," *ZPE* 88 (1991): 217–224, esp. 223–224; for rabbinic examples, see bt Yoma 84a; Pess 111a.

volume), from the Babylonian incantation bowls, and even from the Babylonian Talmud.[38] Most intriguing is the almost exact parallel in the *Sword of Moses*, in a recipe for sending dreams upon someone, which involves placing an inscribed silver lamella in the mouth of a cock, slaughtering it, twisting its body so that its mouth will be between its thighs and burying it at the foot of a wall.[39] But with such parallels in mind it is also interesting to note the practical mindset displayed by the author of our recipe, who is worried lest the smelly carcass might be dug out and eaten by some animal, thus dissolving the spell (or, at least, exposing it for all to see, and perhaps compromising both the client and the magician), and therefore instructs the user to place a rock over the burial place of the mutilated rooster. On the mythical level, we find in the adjuration itself a reference to "Kabshiel who subdued the earth by his strength and the abyss by his might." This angel, whose name is derived from the root כבש, "to subdue" + the standard ending -el, was extremely popular in ancient Jewish aggressive magic, and even the entire formula found here is closely paralleled in other Genizah magical texts and clearly was quite common in late antique Jewish magical texts.[40] Embedded in the adjuration we also find an interesting expression, "Words have I spoken, deeds shall be done, and all [that?] I have spoken shall succeed," which provides an interesting summary of the magician's mindset and which—judging

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[38] See, for example, Bodleian MS Heb. a2.2; *Sepher Ha-Razim* I/160–169 (pp. 75–76 Margalioth); Levene, *A Corpus*, M163, p. 122: תחות הנא תרנולא חיורא דמזמ[ן ל]יך (“under this white cock that is appoin[ted on your beh]alf”); bt AZ 4a–b // Ber 7a // San 105b, with Gideon Bohak, “Magical Means for Dealing with *Minim* in Rabbinic Literature,” in Peter J. Tomson and Doris Lambers-Petry (eds.), *The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 267–279.

[39] See Yuval Harari, *Harba de-Moshe (The Sword of Moses): A New Edition and a Study* (Jerusalem: Academon, 1997), p. 42: ואחית בפום תרנגלא ושחוט יתיה…ואהדר פיו ואחית ביני ירכתיה, וקבר בעקבא דשורא (“and place (the lamella) in the mouth of a cock and slaughter it…and turn back its mouth and place it between its thighs, and bury (it) at the foot of a wall”). For such sacrificial acts in late-antique Jewish magic see also Michael D. Swartz, “Sacrificial Themes in Jewish Magic,” in Paul Mirecki and Marvin Meyer (eds.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 141] (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 303–315.

[40] And cf. MTKG II, 45 (= T-S K 1.26), 1b/7–8: כבשיאל דכבש ארעה קודם שמייה וכביש [תהו?]ם [ ] ובתוקפה (“Kabshiel, who subdued the earth under heaven and subdued (the) [abys]s, [by] and by his power”). The formula is echoed in Levene, *A Corpus*, M163, p. 124: ובשמיה דאישו דכבש רומא ועומקא בזקיפה (“And in the name of Jesus, who subdued the height and the depth by his cross”).

from the shift from Aramaic to Hebrew in mid-sentence—might be based on some very old Jewish magical formula.

e) The last recipe on our rotulus is in many ways the most interesting of them all. It is yet another aggressive recipe, and involves some exotic ingredients and a well known *historiola*, but this time with a special twist:

132 אשקיו לרוחה בדיקה סב מיין
133 חטיפין פראהורון מן מבוע ומי של(ק)ה ד(חט)י[א]
134 ומי טלופחין שלוקן ועקר צברה ותונין דח(מ)[ר
135 ותונין דתורה אכומה ותונין מן דידך ואמו[ר
136 עליהון זמ' ז' אתון הנון דינאמיס דאלהא רב[ה
137 אתון הנון רוחתה דעלמה דהפך אלהא ב[ ] סדום
138 ועמורה אדמה וצבויים כן תהפכון ותע[ק]רון
139 ותגלון לש'ו'ש' נם התיב נמו הרתא וכל ר[וחי]ן
140 ושדין וכל מזיקין דעבידין על סרחונה וע(ל)[
141 ועל ערבובה ייתון על פ'ב'פ' ויצערון יתיה וי[
142 יתה ויגלון יתה מן בייתה בשמה דנוריאל והפ[כיאל?
143 סור(י)אל אלין ד(מ)שמשין מלאך מותה ׳ צ(י)ברו מד[וק?]
144 [ה]תייב (תחילת המרשם הבא)

132 (vac) A watering for a spirit. Tested?, take fast-flowing?[41] water
133 PR'HWRWN[42] from a spring, and water of cooked wh[eat?]
134 and water of boiled lentils and the root of aloe[43] and the urine[44] of a don[key
135 and the urine of a black bull and your own urine, and sa[y
136 over them 7 times, You are the power of the great God,
137 you are the spirit of the world [by which?] God has overturned Sodom
138 and Gomorrah Adama and Zeboim, so shall you overturn and uproot
139 and exile ŠWŠ from his house and from his place and all the sp[irits
140 and demons and harmers who are in charge of sin and of [
141 and of turbulence shall come upon NN and shall cause him grief and […
142 him and exile him from his home, in the name of Nuriel and Hap[khiel?

[41] I am not sure what מיין חטיפין really means, but the instruction to use מים חטופים appears in other Jewish magical texts as well, including, for example, the *Shimmush Tehillim* instructions in MTKG III, 81 (= T-S NS 216.23) 1a/12 (and see the editors' note on p. 322); T-S NS 322.95, and several different recipes in MS Sassoon 56 = NYPL 190.

[42] פראהורון clearly is a Greek word, but I am not yet sure which one, and the transliteration may be somewhat faulty.

[43] For צברה, see Syriac *ṣbr'*, "the aloe," in Payne Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, p. 473.

[44] For תונין, see Syriac *twn'*, "urine," in Payne Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, p. 608.

143 Suri'el, those who serve the angel of death. And sprinkle bef[ore
144 his home. (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

As in the previous examples, this aggressive magical recipe—intended to harm a person and exile him or her from their home—involves both a ritual and a mythical component. On the ritual side, a smelly concoction is prepared from six liquids and a root (the inclusion of which may be due in part to the similarity between "root" (עקר) and "uproot" (here תעקרון), and perhaps also to the similarity between צברה, "aloe, " and רבץ, "to sprinkle"), and once the adjuration is uttered over it, it is sprinkled in front of the house of the intended victim. On the mythical side, we get an elaborate oral adjuration in which the unsavory concoction is equated with the *dynamis* of the great God, and with the spirit of the world by/with which God rained sulfur on Sodom, Gomorrah, Adama and Zeboim and brought about their utter destruction (see Genesis 19). In a similar manner, the magician insists, shall the liquids manipulated here overturn and uproot and exile the victim from his or her home. And as if this was not enough, the spell adds the wish that all kinds of harmful spirits would descend upon the victim and harm him and exile him from his house, and all this in the name of Nuriel (whose name is made of "fire" + -el ending) and probably Hapkhiel (whose name is derived from the root HPK, "to overturn" + -el ending), who are here identified as part of the entourage of the angel of death. The use of Sodom and Gomorrah as a *historiola* in Jewish magical recipes—in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, and later in Judeo-Arabic as well—is extremely common in Jewish magical texts, as is the identification of a substance used by the magician with substances used *in illo tempore* to destroy the troublesome cities.[45] Similarly, the appeal to the powers of evil should no longer surprise us, as we have found it in other recipes on this rotulus. But the use of the urine of several animals, and of the magician's own urine, is—as far as I know—quite unattested in the Jewish magical tradition, and proves once again the relatively "daring" nature of the recipes found in the Bodleian rotulus. Finally, the sprinkling of the "adjured" substance in front of the victim's home, yet another example of "contagious magic," is well attested in other sources too; whether

[45] For a fuller discussion of this point, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 312–314.

the stench would have made the victim leave his or her home is quite doubtful, but I suspect it could have made them aware that some foul act was being perpetrated against them.

Summary

To sum up: While rotuli and rotuli fragments are relatively rare in the Cairo Genizah, and magical rotuli extremely rare, those magical rotuli which happened to survive turn out to be of great historical importance. This is especially true of Bodleian Heb. a3.31, which is one of the oldest available Genizah magical texts, is entirely based on much earlier Palestinian Jewish recipes which seem to have been neither "updated" nor censored in any significant manner, and provides important evidence on the aggressive magical practices of the Jews of late-antique Palestine and early medieval Cairo. The significance of this evidence may be highlighted by noting that among many hundreds of Genizah magical texts transcribed within the framework of my research project, not a single one provided as many early Jewish magical recipes in such a good state of preservation and with such a high concentration of very "daring" aggressive magical recipes. Moreover, my search for parallels for the recipes contained in this rotulus did not come up with much, neither inside the Genizah nor outside it, which seems to imply that most of these magical recipes were not re-copied by later Jewish practitioners (perhaps because they were deemed too offensive in their blatant transgressions of some biblical and rabbinic injunctions and in their frequent appeals to the forces of darkness), and would have been utterly lost were it not for the chance preservation of this rotulus. In the future, more fragments of the above-listed rotuli, and of other magical rotuli, might be identified, and further enhance our knowledge of an important stage in the textual transmission of the Jewish magical tradition from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages.

THE MAGICAL ROTULI FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH

Gideon Bohak

Introduction

In spite of much progress in recent decades, the magical texts found in the Cairo Genizah have yet to receive the attention they deserve.[1] In the present paper, I shall focus on a previously unnoted type of Genizah magical fragments—namely those written on vertical parchment scrolls (*rotuli*).[2] Such scrolls are extremely interesting not only because of their format, but because of their contents as well, and especially the aggressive magical recipes they contain, some of which clearly stem from late-antique Palestine. But as these fragments are quite long, and the task of reconstructing them is in no way finished, no attempt will be made here to offer a full edition of any single rotulus; instead, I shall limit myself to a description of their codicological and scribal features, a brief analysis of their contents, and a selective edition of some of their magical recipes. In the future, I hope to provide a full edition of

[1] The present paper forms a part of a wider research project on the magical texts from the Cairo Genizah, which is based on a preliminary list of Genizah magical fragments compiled by Professor Shaul Shaked, and is funded by the Israel Science Foundation (Grant no. 725/03). I am grateful to my research assistants—Shani Levy, Karina Shalem and Irena Lerman—and to Ortal-Paz Saar, for their assistance throughout this research project. The final version of the present paper was written during my year-long stay in Cambridge, partly funded by the Genizah Unit of the Cambridge University Library (for which I am especially grateful to Stefan Reif and Ben Outhwaite, the former and current heads of the Unit), and by the Friedberg Genizah Project. I am also grateful to Judith Olszowy-Schlanger for her illuminating codicological and paleographical advice.

[2] For previous publications of Genizah magical texts, see especially Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985) (henceforth AMB); id., *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993) (henceforth MSF); L. H. Schiffman and M. D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1*, [Semitic Texts and Studies 1] (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992) (henceforth HAITCG); Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, [Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 42, 64, 72] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)), vol. 1 (1994), vol. 2 (1997), vol. 3 (1999), vol. 4 (forthcoming) (henceforth MTKG).

these fragments, as of many other Genizah magical recipes and recipe-collections which deserve a more detailed analysis.[3]

The Magical Rotuli—A Broad Survey

The presence of rotuli—that is, vertical scrolls made of relatively narrow pieces of parchment sewn together one below the other—in the Cairo Genizah has occasionally been noted, and a few such rotuli have already been published.[4] However, the number of unpublished Genizah rotuli known to me already amounts to many dozens, and as these fragments seem to belong to the earlier strata of the Cairo Genizah, and some of them clearly were in use even before Genizah times, they certainly deserve a close codicological analysis of their different forms and contents and of their place within the history of the Jewish book.[5] My own interest in these fragments began when, during a short visit to Cambridge to study some magical fragments, I noticed that one or two fragments had a row of tiny holes at their top or at their bottom. This surprised me, as I could not see why anyone would bother to pin-prick his or her magical texts in this manner, but a few days later I was checking some of the Genizah fragments in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and discovered a most unusual magic scroll (Bodleian MS Heb. a3.31), which is made up of four unequal pieces of parchment stitched together vertically and then inscribed horizontally. I then realized that the pin-pricked fragments I had seen in Cambridge had once been parts of such vertical rotuli, but the threads of the stitches that

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[3] For a broad survey of the magical texts from the Cairo Genizah, and much further bibliography, see Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 215–221.

[4] For the place of rotuli in the history of the Jewish book, see the brief remarks of Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West* [The Panizzi Lectures, 1992], (London: The British Library, 1993), pp. 10–11, and of Colette Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (ed. and tr. by N. de Lange) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 102. For published Genizah rotuli see, for example, Neḥemiah Allony, "RASAG's Version of *Sefer Yezira* in Scroll Form from the Cairo Genizah," in I. Weinstock (ed.), *Temirin*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Kook, 1981), pp. 9–29 (Heb.); Nicholas de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, [TSAJ 51] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1996), No. 15 (pp. 165–294); Yosef Tobi, *Poetry, Judeo-Arabic Literature, and the Geniza*, [Jewish Culture in Muslim Lands and Cairo Geniza Studies, IV] (Tel Aviv University, 2006), pp. 51–55 (Heb.). See also n. 6 below.

[5] Judith Olszowy-Schlanger and I have recently begun to map out the Genizah rotuli, but the results of this survey will have to be published elsewhere.

once held them together had crumbled long ago, leaving only narrow sheets of parchment with stitching-holes at their tops, or bottoms, or both. I have since continued looking for such fragments, and gradually came to realize that in some cases the rotuli disintegrated to such a degree that not only the stitches disappeared, but even the stitched pieces of parchment broke into much smaller pieces, without any pin-prick holes to set them apart from other small parchment fragments. I therefore try to keep track not only of all the Genizah magical fragments I can find, but also of all the parchment rotuli and rotuli-fragments, even those which have nothing to do with magic. At present, I am aware of two rotuli with magical recipes and one astrological rotulus re-used for magical recipes, of possible fragments of other magical rotuli, and of many parchment rotuli and rotuli-fragments whose contents are non-magical.[6] The magical rotuli are as follows:

1) Bodleian MS Heb. a3.31: A vertical parchment scroll, 92 cm long and 12 cm wide, made up of four pieces sewn together, measuring (from top to bottom) 38.5, 22.5, 17.2 and 13.8 cm, respectively. The first piece is of darkish brown color, the second is even darker, the third is a much lighter yellowish brown, and the fourth is even lighter in color. The scroll's right margin is preserved throughout, but the left margin is fully preserved only for small parts of the lower sections of the scroll, while for the rest of the scroll it has been damaged (by fire?) in differing quantities. From the "wavy" pattern created by the missing parts when the scroll is stretched out, it seems clear that the scroll's left margin was damaged while it was all rolled up, from bottom to top, which also explains why the bottom part of the scroll is much better preserved than its topmost section. It must be stressed, however, that the scroll begins and ends *in medias res*, and there is no telling how long the original scroll was or how much is missing on

[6] For another magical fragment which may have come from a rotulus, see Westminster College Misc. 59, published as MTKG III, 74, with the editors' note on p. 179. In what follows, I focus only on parchment rotuli, whose pieces were stitched to each other, and ignore those cases in which loose pieces of paper—including used paper—were glued one below the other and used for writing different texts (including amulets and magical recipes), a phenomenon which seems to have occurred quite often, and not only in the earlier strata of the Cairo Genizah. For published paper rotuli see, for example, MTKG II, 24 (= Bodleian Heb. a3.25); MTKG III, 66 (= T-S AS 142.15 + NS 246.14).

either end.[7] Moreover, it is quite possible that more fragments of this scroll would be identified in the future, either in Oxford or in other Genizah collections.

On the recto, the 145 lines of text are written in a well-trained hand, entirely uniform throughout, and clearly belonging to the earliest stratum of the Cairo Genizah (the hand was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the (early) tenth century).[8] The layout of the text also is remarkably uniform—each two recipes are separated by a few centimeters of blank space, many of the words in different recipes are deliberately written backward, abbreviations are marked by the same supralinear dots, and the abbreviation for "Name son of Name," appears both as the standard *p(eloni) b(en) p(elonit)* and as the hitherto unattested ŠWŠ, a sequence whose exact meaning still eludes me.[9] Even the magical recipes themselves display a remarkable degree of internal consistency, both in their aims and in the magical practices they enjoin. In light of all this, it is quite certain that the scroll was produced by a single copyist, who was quite an experienced scribe and quite a sophisticated magician. On the verso, the scroll is sporadically covered by different magical texts, in several different hands, all of which seem to be later, and much less professional, than that on the recto. It thus seems quite clear that the rotulus was originally written on one side only (a common procedure on such rotuli), but later users decided to utilize the blank side too, and added their own magical recipes on the verso.[10] This apparently means that the scroll remained in circulation and use over several generations of Jewish magicians.

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[7] Note that one of the two rotuli published by de Lange is estimated by him to have been about 3 meters long (*Greek Jewish Texts*, p. 165).

[8] Both the hand and the style of writing closely resemble those of T-S Misc. 24.1 (see Neil Danzig, "Two Insights from a Ninth-Century Liturgical Handbook: The Origins of *Yequm Purqan* and *Qaddish de-Ḥadata*," in Stefan C. Reif (ed.), *The Cambridge Genizah Collections: Their Contents and Significance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 74–122 and Plate 10), which was dated by Danzig to the final quarter of the ninth century.

[9] The most likely explanation seems to be that this is an abbreviation of שם ושם, "a name and a name" (i.e., the name of the victim and the name of his or her mother); as a partial parallel, one could adduce MS Sassoon 56 = NYPL 190, p. 117, ll.7–8: ונקמת את נקמתי מאת המקולל הארור האכזרי פלו׳ ש׳ בן פלוני׳ ש׳ וכו׳ ("And you shall exact my revenge from the accursed, the damned, the cruel *pel(oni)* Š *son of peloni(t)* Š, etc."). It has also been suggested to me that שוש is four letters removed from פבפ, but this might be a mere coincidence.

[10] For Genizah rotuli whose verso is blank, see the next item. For Genizah rotuli with different texts on both sides, clearly inscribed by different hands and in different

Looking at the recto of our rotulus, we find eighteen different recipes (including two of which only a few words are preserved), of which one is for gaining knowledge, one whose aim is not entirely clear (see recipe a in the next section), and all the rest are for aggressive purposes, and especially for "binding" the sexual potencies of male victims. Such uniformity of purpose is not unparalleled in some of the Greek magical papyri—I note, especially, PGM XXXVI, whose 19 recipes focus almost entirely on issues of interpersonal relations. These single-minded collections always make one wonder whether the practitioners behind them specialized in just one type of magical practices, or had their recipes arranged thematically, and only one of their collections (or a small part thereof) happened to be preserved. But be that as it may, the recipes found on the Bodleian rotulus are of the greatest interest: They are written in a mixture of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic and Hebrew, and contain virtually no Arabisms, a sure sign of their relative antiquity. They also display many Greek loanwords, including what seems like a whole Greek sentence in transliteration, as we shall see below. Moreover, some of the rituals enjoined by these recipes seem quite different, and often far more "daring," than those found in other Genizah magical texts, and this too might be a sign of their relative antiquity, as in the later recipe collections the potentially offensive features tended to be filtered out of the textual transmission.[11] Finally, the extant recipes contain a few apparent references to extra-biblical myths, which also are quite rare in the more typical Genizah magical recipe books. Below, we shall edit and analyze some of the recipes on the recto of this intriguing rotulus.

2) T-S K 1.120 + T-S NS 258.153–154 + T-S K 1.154: The largest fragment of this rotulus is T-S K 1.154, a vertical parchment scroll 31.2 cm long and 8.8 cm wide, which is made up of three pieces sewn together,

periods, see the rotulus edited by Tobi (above, n. 4). Some Genizah rotuli seem to have been written on both sides by their original scribes, including the two rotuli edited by de Lange (above, n. 4), and the one analyzed by Danzig (above, n. 8). Having seen numerous Genizah rotuli, my own impression is that most of them were written on the recto only, and that some retained a blank verso while in others the verso was re-used by later scribes, often for different types of texts than those on the recto.

[11] For such processes of self-censorship, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 183 and 344.

measuring (from top to bottom) 7.4, 13.5, and 10.5 cm, respectively.[12] All three pieces are of a yellowish-brown color, and all three have their right margin intact, but are damaged on their left margin. Moreover, a stain caused by water runs vertically through all three pieces, and is the likely cause of the damage to the left margin, and certainly caused the effacement of many letters on the scroll's left half. Like the Bodleian rotulus, this one too begins and ends *in medias res*, but in this case I can already point to three more fragments which clearly belong with the same rotulus. Two parchment fragments—T-S NS 258.153 and 154—are quite small, measuring 5.5 by 7 cm and 3.2 by 6.5 cm respectively, and neither fragment displays the telltale prick-holes characteristic of broken rotuli. But the fact that these parchment fragments are quite narrow, and inscribed on one side only, suggests that they may have come from such a rotulus (and not from a codex, in which both sides should be inscribed), and a comparison of the parchment and the handwriting with that of T-S K 1.154 demonstrates their great similarity. The identification is made secure by the pattern created by the stain which runs vertically through both fragments, and matches perfectly the stain running through the top part of T-S K 1.154, thus proving that all three fragments once belonged together, and that the damage caused by water preceded the disintegration of the original rotulus. Moreover, T-S K 1.120 (13.2 by 9.8 cm), which was published as MTKG III, 60 but not identified as forming part of a rotulus, displays the same hand and the same stain, and ends with the first half of Num 21.28, whose continuation may be found on T-S NS 258.153. Thus, it is entirely certain that all four fragments once belonged in a single rotulus, and the original order was (from top to bottom) T-S K 1.120, T-S NS 258.153, T-S NS 258.154 and T-S K 1.154. Throughout the reconstructed rotulus, the right margin is well preserved, but the left margin is preserved only at the top section (T-S K 1.120) and parts of the bottom one (T-S K 1.154). On all four fragments the verso is blank, which means that this rotulus was not re-used by later scribes, perhaps because it was damaged by water at a relatively early stage. It must be stressed, however, that the reconstructed rotulus still begins and ends *in medias res*, so there is no doubt that more pieces are still

[12] This fragment was briefly mentioned by Peter Schäfer, "New Magical Fragments from the Cairo Genizah," in *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Section C/1 (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 245–252, on p. 248 (Heb.).

missing both at the top and at the bottom of this scroll. If and when more pieces are found, they may allow a more precise reconstruction of this rotulus and of its codicological history.

On the recto of the reconstructed scroll, 89 lines of text are written in a uniform hand, clearly later than that of the Bodleian rotulus (the hand was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the (early) eleventh century).[13] The text is written in a mixture of Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic, and some of the recipes use many biblical verses, which are cited in Hebrew. As this rotulus is not well preserved, it is not entirely clear how many recipes were written in the extant section, but one can detect the remains of at least ten different recipes and—as in the Bodleian rotulus—all of them are aggressive in nature. But unlike the Bodleian rotulus, the recipes found here seem much less unusual, and involve many magical practices which are quite standard in Genizah magical recipes. And while some of these recipes display signs of an early origin (including the use of the title קיבלוה for aggressive recipes, for which see Dan Levene's paper in the present volume), others probably stem from the Genizah period itself, or are watered-down versions of older recipes. Thus they are of considerably less historical interest than those of the Bodleian rotulus.

3) T-S K 1.50 + T-S K 1.133: Unlike the two previous items, this rotulus was first inscribed not with magical recipes but with an astrological text, best known as the *Treatise of Shem* in its Judeo-Arabic version (and in a phonetic transliteration which is characteristic of the earlier Judeo-Arabic Genizah fragments).[14] T-S K 1.50 (6.9 cm long and 8.4 cm wide) preserves the section on Gemini, while T-S K 1.133 (25.1 by 8.8 cm) preserves the sections on Cancer, Leo, Virgo and Libra, so there is no doubt that the former once belonged directly above the latter, and that the original scroll was at least twice as long as these two fragments combined. The parchment is, once again, of a yellowish-brown color, and the margins of this rotulus are well preserved, but T-S K 1.50 is missing small pieces of both margins. The hand on the

[13] And note that T-S K 1.120 = MTKG III, 60 was dated by its editors to the tenth century.

[14] For the *Treatise of Shem*, see Reimund Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Astrologischen Literatur der Juden*, [Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism, 21] (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), pp. 45–55 (who mentions both fragments on p. 46). For another rotulus with an astrological text see British Library 5557A 64, published by Tobi (above, n. 4).

recto was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the late-tenth or early-eleventh century. Like the Bodleian rotulus, this rotulus too was re-used by a later scribe, whose hand may be dated to the later eleventh century, but this writer used the stitched up pieces of parchment not as a rotulus but as an horizontal scroll, on which magical recipes were written in columns, each some 6–7 cm wide. T-S K 1.50 preserves one full column of text and the end of another, while T-S K 1.133 preserves three columns of text and the beginning of a fourth one. Thus, the verso of both fragments presents the appearance of a parchment scroll—a very unusual occurrence in Genizah magical texts and in non-biblical Genizah fragments in general—but this is due solely to the re-use of an old rotulus.[15] And in this case, the magical recipes are both aggressive and apotropaic (including a recipe for making an amulet), are written mostly in Judeo-Arabic, and display clear signs of a Muslim influence (including a reference to the lost tribes of ʿAd and Thamud, mentioned in the Qurʾan). We may therefore conclude that both in format and in contents this scroll differs greatly from the two magical rotuli discussed above.

Select Recipes from Bodleian Heb. a3.31

These, then, are the Genizah magical rotuli currently known to me, and it is hoped that more fragments of these rotuli, and more Genizah magical rotuli, will be identified in the future. But as my own interests lie less in codicology and more in the magical texts themselves, the rest of the present paper will be devoted to a closer analysis of some of the magical recipes found on the recto of the Bodleian rotulus. Being one of the oldest Genizah magical texts identified thus far, and displaying a long set of magical recipes which are characterized by their purely Palestinian Jewish Aramaic idiom and many Greek loanwords, this collection offers an excellent point of entry into the world of Jewish magic in late-antique Palestine. And as it is devoted almost exclusively to aggressive magic, it allows us a closer look at a set of practices

[15] For non-biblical Genizah scrolls, which are quite rare, see T-S AS 74.324, published by Marc Bregman, "An Early Fragment of *Avot de Rabbi Natan* from a Scroll," *Tarbiz* 52 (1983): 201–222 (Heb.); T-S K 21.95.S, published by Peter Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur* [TSAJ, 6] (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), G1 (Hekhalot Rabbati).

which are not as well documented as the apotropaic and medicinal magical practices of late antique Jews.[16] To see this, we may focus on five different recipes, of varying length and sophistication, and analyze the magical technologies utilized in each of them. To facilitate future references to each recipe, I have included the line-numbers from my transcription of the entire rotulus; and in the transcription itself, I have used the following conventions:

() Uncertain reading of one or more letters.
= A letter which I could not read.
[ ] A lacuna in the text, and my reconstruction thereof.
א (bold type) Words which the scribe wrote "in reverse"—i.e., from left to right.[17]

a) The second (but first more or less complete) recipe on the recto of Bodleian Heb. a 3.31 is very short and quite obscure, but its great interest lies in its use of a whole Greek phrase, transliterated in Hebrew characters. The recipe itself runs as follows:

1 (סוף מרשם קודם) אין הווה[לך?
2 קופד אמור על קדרה אלין מלייא והדא [אמור?
3 תיאון פ(נ)יומה קטיגורוס (תחילת המרשם הבא)

1 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) If [you?] have
2 meat?, say over a pot these words and [say] this
3 TY'WN PN?YWMH QṬYGWRWS (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Unfortunately, the aim of this short recipe—which is found at the very top of the rotulus, where much of the left margin was eaten away—is not very clear. If QWPD means "a piece of meat" (from the Greek

[16] For the dearth of aggressive magic in the Jewish literature of Late Antiquity, apart from *Sefer Ha-Razim*, see Philip S. Alexander, "*Sefer ha-Razim* and the Problem of Black Magic in Early Judaism," in Todd Klutz (ed.), *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon* [JSNT Suppl. 245] (London: T&T Clark, 2003), pp. 170–190, whose conclusions will have to be revised in light of the Bodleian rotulus. See also Yuval Harari, "If You Wish to Kill A Man: Aggressive Magic and the Defense Against It in Ancient Jewish Magic," *Jewish Studies* 37 (1997): 111–142 (Heb.), and Dan Levene's paper in the present volume.

[17] For this magical practice, common especially in aggressive magic, see Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939) (repr. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, with an Introduction by Moshe Idel), pp. 116, 126 and 129; Joseph Naveh, "Lamp Inscriptions and Inverted Writing," *IEJ* 38 (1988): 36–43.

kopadion), as in rabbinic literature, then we might have here a spell to be uttered over a pot with meat, to make it cook faster, and such recipes are well attested in ancient magical texts.[18] If, on the other hand, QWPD is derived from the Aramaic root QPD, "to be angry," then we might have another aggressive magical recipe (which would fit the nature of almost all the other recipes in this rotulus), with an aggressive spell uttered over a pot (full of water, which is then poured near the victim's home?). But be this as it may, the spell to be uttered is extremely interesting, for it consists of three Greek words, and may originally have consisted of four words, with one word now lost at the end of line 2. Of these Greek words, TY'WN is almost certainly Greek, *theos*, "god," either in the accusative singular (*theon*) or in the genitive plural (*theôn*).[19] The third word, QṬYGWRWS, certainly is the Greek *katêgoros*, which is quite common in rabbinic literature (but note how here it preserves the nominative ending, whereas in rabbinic literature it often loses it and becomes קטיגור), and means "accuser, prosecutor."[20] The second word, on the other hand, is less certain—it may be the Greek *phainomai*, "I appear, I come," but is more likely to be *pneuma*, "spirit." In the first case, the phrase might mean something like "I come as an opponent of the gods," whereas in the second case we might either assume a missing preposition at the end of line 2 and translate the whole sequence as "among the gods, the spirit is an accuser," or assume a missing noun (or nothing missing) and translate "(X,) a spirit of gods, an accuser."[21] But be this as it may, it seems quite clear that we are dealing here with a short, but complete, Greek sentence, which would be quite like the famous transliterated Greek prayer in *Sefer Ha-Razim*, or the shorter Greek dismissal for-

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[18] For קופד, see Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1898–99) (repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), vol. 2, p. 516; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Bar-Ilan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1990), 2nd ed., 2002, p. 483. For such magical practices, see Hippolytus, *Ref.* 4.33.2, and R. Ganschinietz, *Hippolytos' Capitel gegen die Magier (Refut. Haer. IV 28–42)* [Texte und Untersuchungen 39/2], (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913), p. 49, and note a similar practice attributed to Rav Naḥman's daughters in bt Gitt 45a.

[19] And note the sequence *theon ha-gadol amona* in MSF, A22, briefly discussed in Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 257.

[20] See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 524; Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 485.

[21] A search for similar expressions in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* CD-ROM (version E, which also includes the Greek Magical Papyri), came up with nothing that seemed relevant for the present context, although *pneuma theôn* indeed is attested, for example in Philostratus, *VAT* 7.34.

mula found in the same text, or the Greek formulae which are found (together with their Aramaic translations), in the "sword" section of the *Sword of Moses*.[22] In all these cases, the reconstruction of the original Greek sequences is hampered by the difficulty of reconstructing Greek formulae transliterated in an alphabet which was utterly unsuitable for this task. In the present instance, the difficulty is further exacerbated by the damaged state of our text and by the uncertainty about the nature of the recipe as a whole (although the presence of *katêgoros* certainly argues in favor of an aggressive context), which makes it less clear what kind of Greek phrase we might expect here. But in all these cases, the very presence of Greek sentences and phrases attests to the extensive Greek influences on the Jewish magical texts of Late Antiquity, including those written in Hebrew and in Aramaic.

b) The second recipe to be analyzed here, which is the fourth recipe on the recto of the Bodleian rotulus, involves an interesting example of a much debated issue in the study of late-antique Judaism, namely, the worship of angels, in this case on a *do ut des* basis, whereby the user of this recipe offers a specific angel various gifts, and explains what he or she would like to receive in return:

11 (סוף מרשם קודם) לח[
12 דאיבר וז' פרתותין וז' בולין דמלח וא(ד)[
13 ואמור עליהון ז'ב ז' לך אנה קרי פוסיס[
14 מלאכה רבה הכמה דאנה יהיב לך לחם מן[לחמי]
15 ומלח מן מלחי וממון מן ממוני כן תתן ל(ש')[ו'ש'
16 ריוי מן ריוך וכיוב מן כיובך ושיקוץ מן (ש)[יקוצך]
17 וניאוף מן ניאופך וניצוץ מן ניצוצך בשם [
18 כלקיטס ובשם סמאל סטנה רבה בפריע [
19 הדן בויכל (תחילת המרשם הבא)

11 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) For [. . . take . . .
12 of lead and 7 chunks[23] of bread and 7 lumps of salt and [
13 and say over them 7 times,[24] to you I call, PWSYS[

[22] For these, see M. Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Aharonot, 1966), pp. 12–13 (Heb.); Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, "From Sense to Nonsense, From Incantation Prayer to Magical Spell," *JSQ* 3 (1996): 24–46; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 179, n. 92.

[23] For פרתותין, see Syriac *prtwt'*, "broken bits of bread, crumbs, fragments," in R. and J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 466.

[24] For זבנין, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 171.

14 the great angel, just as I give you bread from my [bread]
15 and salt from my salt and money from my money, so shall you give N[N
16 a dispute?[25] from your dispute? and a pain from your pain and an abomination from your ab[omination]
17 and a fornication from your fornication and a spark from your spark; in the name of [
18 KLQYṬS, and in the name of Samael the great satan, quickly [
19 this, for pain(?) (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Unlike the first recipe we analyzed, here there are few problems of interpretation, in spite of the absence of a few letters at the end of each line.[26] Here the practitioner is instructed to take lead, bread and salt, all in groups of seven (a common typological number in such recipes), to offer these to an angel, and to ask that angel to dispense some of his special qualities in return and send his dispute, pain, abomination, fornication and spark upon the person's opponent. Such a ritual must be seen in the light of the recurrent claims in ancient Christian literature concerning the Jewish worship of angels, and the recurrent rabbinic condemnations of such practices, which also are attested in *Sepher Ha-Razim*.[27] In the present recipe, there is no doubt that the practitioner is appealing to a powerful evil angel, and is offering that angel monetary and alimentary offerings in return for his services. There also is no doubt that the angel is adjured by (the hitherto unattested KLQYṬS and by) "Samael the great satan," who certainly is seen here as supervising the powers of evil.[28] In their search for aggressive powers, some

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[25] For ריו, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 523, for the meaning "appearance, form." Such a meaning is not impossible here, but a meaning influenced by the Hebrew ריב, "strife, contest, dispute," seems more likely. Another possibility would be that the original text read דיוי, or דוי, "sorrow."

[26] There are, however, some obscure points, such as the meaning of the last word of our recipe, "for pain." This might be a specification of the recipe's aim, "for (causing) pain," and placing a recipe's aim at the very end is paralleled both in this rotulus (in line 64), and in other Genizah magical texts. But in such a case, what should we make of the word]לח with which the recipe opens, and which seems to state its aim, "For X"?

[27] See Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim*, pp. 10–16; Michel-Yves Perrin, "'Rendre un culte aux anges à la manière des Juifs': Quelques observations nouvelles d'ordre historiographique et historique," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 114 (2002): 669–700.

[28] For Samael, see Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974), pp. 385–388; Günter Stemberger, "Samael und Uzza: Zur Rolle der Dämonen im späten Midrasch," in Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger and K. F. Diethard Römheld (eds.), *Die Dämonen—Demons: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen*

Jewish magicians clearly were willing to cross the line separating the worship of the One True God from angelolatry, and even from the worship of the powers of darkness. This does not necessarily mean that our recipes assume a dualistic theology, with Samael as God's opponent, but it does imply that they assume that it is to Samael and his ilk that one should turn when one seeks to harm a fellow human being.

c) Another interesting recipe in the Bodleian rotulus (the eleventh in the extant portion) makes use of a myth which seems to be unattested elsewhere, at least in Jewish sources. This recipe runs as follows:

64 (סוף מרשם קודם) אסר לרוחה [
65 ואסר אנה ל'ש'ו'ש' כמה דאסירין [
66 לעלם כן אסיר פ' לעלם וחתים לדרי[דרין? ו...לא
67 יהווי לה מן ברנש בשם אפס פפא נ(ט)[
68 עולמים ובשמה דקטריאל מלאכה דנ(ח)[ת ל...
69 ענה ולבקרת תורייה ואסר תורין דכרין [
70 כן אסור זרעה ד'ש'ו'ש' וסילוניה דלא ימר[...ו...
71 דלא תהלך עד זמן דנבעי ונשרי יתה בש[ם
72 פצציאל ובשם חצציאל ובשם קטריאל מלא[כה
73 כן אסור לעלם וחתום לדרי דרין וסב מחט דפרזל
74 ואמור עליה זמ' ז' ובזמנה שביעייה הב ראשה
75 דמחטה בעוקצה וכרכה בכתן דלא עלת ל(א)[
76 וטמור בזווי צניעה שרייה אפק מחט[ה לשימשה?
77 ואשווי מחטה (תחילת המרשם הבא)

64 (end of prev. recipe) (vac). A binding for a spirit [
65 and I bind ŠWŠ just as [ ] are bound [
66 forever, so is N bound forever and sealed for all gene[rations?
67 shall have from no one. In the name of 'PS PP' NṬ[
68 forever, and in the name of Qaṭriel the angel who came do[wn for
69 small cattle and for the herding of bulls, and he bound male bulls [
70 so shall you bind the sperm of ŠWŠ and his sperm canal,[29] that it / he shall not [
71 that she / it shall not walk until the time that we shall ask (for it) and loosen him, in the na[me of
72 Paẓaẓiel and in the name of Ḥaẓaẓiel and in the name of Qaṭriel the ang[el
73 so bind forever and seal for all generations. And take an iron needle

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Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt. The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 636–661.

[29] For סילון (Greek *sôlên*, "tube") used for the sperm canal of the male organ, see Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 383.

74 and say (it) over it 7 times, and in the seventh time put the head
75 of the needle in its tip (sic) and wrap it in linen that did not go into [
76 and bury (it) in a hidden place. (Its) loosening:[30] Take the needle out [to the sun?
77 and straighten the needle out. (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Like several other recipes in the Bodleian rotulus, this one too seeks to "bind" the male organ of its victim, a common magical practice in Late Antiquity, and one that also was known to, and discussed by, the rabbis of late-antique Palestine.[31] It does this by way of an adjuration, accompanied by an interesting *historiola* (a mythical event used as a precedent or an analogy for the desired outcome of the magical procedure) and an intriguing ritual whose symbolic meaning is quite manifest. On the ritualistic-symbolical level, we see the practice (attested in other cultures as well) of "binding" a male victim by twisting a needle (whose phallic connotations are quite obvious) and turning it into a closed circle, with its tip inside its own eye (and thus unable to penetrate any other object).[32] In this recipe, as in several other recipes in this rotulus and in other Genizah recipe books, and in the *Sword of Moses* as well, we also find instructions on how to loosen this piece of aggressive witchcraft once it is no longer deemed necessary—in this case, by taking the needle out of the dark spot in which it was buried and straightening it up, in the assumption that the same would now happen to the victim's virile organ. On the mythical side, we have here a reference to the angel Qaṭriel (whose name is derived from the Aramaic root קטר, "to bind" + the standard ending -el, and who appears quite frequently in ancient Jewish magical texts), who came down from heaven to herd small cattle and bulls and "bound" (i.e., castrated?) the male bulls (a well known symbol of virility in many cultures, ancient and modern); just as this had happened *in illo tempore*, so shall the hapless victim be "bound" and rendered impotent as the practitioner wishes. The use of such *historiolae* is extremely common in ancient and medieval magical texts, including the Jewish ones, but whereas most Genizah magical recipes utilize well worn biblical stories as precedents—and especially the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, to

[30] For שרייה, see the use of שריא, and שריא דגברא in MTKG III, 61 (= T-S K 1.162), 1c/25–1d/4.

[31] For the "binding" of bridegrooms, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 396.

[32] For a possible medieval Latin parallel, see Catherine Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 145.

which we shall return below—the composer of this recipe made use of a non-biblical, and perhaps even non-Jewish, myth.[33] Further research might shed more light on the possible origins of this myth, which does not seem to be an ad hoc invention but a casual reference to a myth which was circulating in the magician's own world.

d) The last two recipes in the extant part of our rotulus, and therefore also the best preserved, are also the most interesting. The first of these is described as intended to make peace between a man and a woman, but in fact is an aggressive / erotic magical recipe, involving the adjuration and slaughtering of a white cock:

117 (סוף מרשם קודם) למרמי שלם [בין]
118 גבר לבין איתה בס כל לוגנרת רווח עבשאו (יול)[ע?
119 דע אוהד נייחב רומאו אנה פ'ב'פ' משבענה
120 לך תרנגלה בשמה דמלכה עלייא דיתיב על
121 כורסייה דדינה: המך תאד שיבך ינבל השנא
122 הריעבלו נך שבכתי ש'ו'ש' במאתין מ'ח' אברין
123 דאית בה ונעמתה תהווי מכיכה קודם פ'ב'פ'
124 בשמה דכבשיאל דכבש ארעה בחיי(ל)ה ותהומ(ה)
125 בתוקפיה מלין אמרית עובדין יתעבדון וכ(ל)[אשר?
126 דיברתי יצליח: בסו נולטיף דכסיט וכת' א[לין מלייה
127 בגווה: בסו דדוג נם יונאם הרבנד [בהו היתי
128 הלטיפב עוזבו הלגנרת הבו (!) הבתך הוינ[ב בהו
129 (ה)פושן דפיל לגו מעוי וכוף ראשה: הלגנר(ת)[ד]
130 יועמל רומטו תשרפב התחרוא (ו)[הב?] עלוי כיף
131 דלא יפק יתה חיווה ואשבע עלוי אלין מלייה

117 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) To make peace [between?
118 a man and a woman, take a white cock and adjure over it
119 while it is still alive and say, I, NN, adjure
120 you, cock, in the name of the exulted king who sits upon
121 the throne of judgment. Just as you are subdued by men
122 and by cattle, so shall ŠWŠ be subdued by the two hundred 48 limbs

[33] By way of comparison, I note Mousaieff bowl M163 (edited by Dan Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* [The Kegan Paul Library of Jewish Studies] (London: Kegan Paul, 2003), p. 123): והיכדין דאיתכביש רימון תורא קדמאה, "…and just as RYMWN, the primordial bull, was subdued." I also note the traditions about the eschatological punishment of the Sun and the Moon "like castrated bulls," as cited and discussed by David J. Halperin and Gordon D. Newby, "Two Castrated Bulls: A Study in the Haggadah of Kaʿb al Aḥbâr," *JAOS* 102 (1982): 631–638. One may also go further afield, and cite the stories about Hercules and the bull or the Mithraic motif of the scorpion attacking the bull's genitals, but such parallels do not seem to elucidate our recipe.

123 that are in her, and her tune?[34] shall be humbled before NN
124 in the name of Kabshiel who subdued the earth by his strength and the abyss
125 by his might. Words have I spoken, deeds shall be done, and all [that?
126 I have spoken shall succeed. And take a tin lamella,[35] and write th[ese words
127 upon it. And take a thread from the clothes of the man [and place it
128 in the lamella and tear the cock apart and place the writing inside it [and place
129 fine flour[36] of ??? inside its intestines and twist the head of the cock
130 to its intestines and bury it at a crossroads. And [place?] upon it a rock
131 so that no animal shall dig it out, and adjure upon it these words.

Once again, we are faced with an aggressive magical recipe, this time intended to subdue a person and make him amorously or sexually submissive to another person of the opposite sex; and once again, the recipe involves both a ritual and an adjuration. On the ritual level, the user is instructed to take a white cock, utter an adjuration over it, tear it apart, and place inside its intestines a tin lamella with the adjuration, a thread from the victim's clothes (what James Frazer would call "magic of contagion"), and fine flour. The cock is then twisted into a kind of a knot (an action which certainly is intended as analogous to what would happen to the victim should s/he fail to comply), and buried at the crossroads, a common location for the practice of magic rituals in many ancient cultures, and perhaps also symbolizing here the desired meeting of the man and the woman.[37] The use of white cocks in aggressive magical recipes seems to have been quite common, and one may cite parallels from other Genizah magical texts, from *Sepher Ha-Razim* (for which see Ithamar Gruenwald's paper in the present

[34] For נעמה, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 354.

[35] For פיטלון, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 374, n. 64; for כסיט = כסיטרון = Greek *kassiteros*, see Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 556 (where the word is consistently spelled with a *qof*, not a *kaf*).

[36] For נשופה, see Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone and Ester Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* [Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha, 19] (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 82 (= ALD 8:6): נישפא בליל במשחא, "fine meal (Gr. *semidalin*) mixed with oil," with the editors' note on p. 176 (I am grateful to Matthew Morgenstern for this reference); I am still puzzled by the word פיל, but cf. Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 431. Note also the appearance of פילון as an ingredient in several Jewish magical texts, including Bodleian Heb. a 2.2.

[37] For Greco-Roman examples, see S. I. Johnston, "Crossroads," *ZPE* 88 (1991): 217–224, esp. 223–224; for rabbinic examples, see bt Yoma 84a; Pess 111a.

volume), from the Babylonian incantation bowls, and even from the Babylonian Talmud.[38] Most intriguing is the almost exact parallel in the *Sword of Moses*, in a recipe for sending dreams upon someone, which involves placing an inscribed silver lamella in the mouth of a cock, slaughtering it, twisting its body so that its mouth will be between its thighs and burying it at the foot of a wall.[39] But with such parallels in mind it is also interesting to note the practical mindset displayed by the author of our recipe, who is worried lest the smelly carcass might be dug out and eaten by some animal, thus dissolving the spell (or, at least, exposing it for all to see, and perhaps compromising both the client and the magician), and therefore instructs the user to place a rock over the burial place of the mutilated rooster. On the mythical level, we find in the adjuration itself a reference to "Kabshiel who subdued the earth by his strength and the abyss by his might." This angel, whose name is derived from the root כבש, "to subdue" + the standard ending -el, was extremely popular in ancient Jewish aggressive magic, and even the entire formula found here is closely paralleled in other Genizah magical texts and clearly was quite common in late antique Jewish magical texts.[40] Embedded in the adjuration we also find an interesting expression, "Words have I spoken, deeds shall be done, and all [that?] I have spoken shall succeed," which provides an interesting summary of the magician's mindset and which—judging

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[38] See, for example, Bodleian MS Heb. a2.2; *Sepher Ha-Razim* I/160–169 (pp. 75–76 Margalioth); Levene, *A Corpus*, M163, p. 122: תחות הנא תרנולא חיורא דמזמ[ן ל]יך (“under this white cock that is appoin[ted on your beh]alf”); bt AZ 4a–b // Ber 7a // San 105b, with Gideon Bohak, “Magical Means for Dealing with *Minim* in Rabbinic Literature,” in Peter J. Tomson and Doris Lambers-Petry (eds.), *The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 267–279.

[39] See Yuval Harari, *Harba de-Moshe (The Sword of Moses): A New Edition and a Study* (Jerusalem: Academon, 1997), p. 42: ואחית בפום תרנגלא ושחוט יתיה…ואהדר פיו ואחית ביני ירכתיה, וקבר בעקבא דשורא (“and place (the lamella) in the mouth of a cock and slaughter it…and turn back its mouth and place it between its thighs, and bury (it) at the foot of a wall”). For such sacrificial acts in late-antique Jewish magic see also Michael D. Swartz, “Sacrificial Themes in Jewish Magic,” in Paul Mirecki and Marvin Meyer (eds.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 141] (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 303–315.

[40] And cf. MTKG II, 45 (= T-S K 1.26), 1b/7–8: כבשיאל דכבש ארעה קודם שמייה וכביש [תהו?]ם [ ] ובתוקפה (“Kabshiel, who subdued the earth under heaven and subdued (the) [abys]s, [by] and by his power”). The formula is echoed in Levene, *A Corpus*, M163, p. 124: ובשמיה דאישו דכבש רומא ועומקא בזקיפה (“And in the name of Jesus, who subdued the height and the depth by his cross”).

from the shift from Aramaic to Hebrew in mid-sentence—might be based on some very old Jewish magical formula.

e) The last recipe on our rotulus is in many ways the most interesting of them all. It is yet another aggressive recipe, and involves some exotic ingredients and a well known *historiola*, but this time with a special twist:

132 אשקיו לרוחה בדיקה סב מיין
133 חטיפין פראהורון מן מבוע ומי של(ק)ה ד(חט)י[א]
134 ומי טלופחין שלוקן ועקר צברה ותונין דח(מ)[ר
135 ותונין דתורה אכומה ותונין מן דידך ואמו[ר
136 עליהון זמ' ז' אתון הנון דינאמיס דאלהא רב[ה
137 אתון הנון רוחתה דעלמה דהפך אלהא ב[ ] סדום
138 ועמורה אדמה וצבויים כן תהפכון ותע[ק]רון
139 ותגלון לש'ו'ש' נם התיב נמו הרתא וכל ר[וחי]ן
140 ושדין וכל מזיקין דעבידין על סרחונה וע(ל)[
141 ועל ערבובה ייתון על פ'ב'פ' ויצערון יתיה וי[
142 יתה ויגלון יתה מן בייתה בשמה דנוריאל והפ[כיאל?
143 סור(י)אל אלין ד(מ)שמשין מלאך מותה ׳ צ(י)ברו מד[וק?]
144 [ה]תייב (תחילת המרשם הבא)

132 (vac) A watering for a spirit. Tested?, take fast-flowing?[41] water
133 PR'HWRWN[42] from a spring, and water of cooked wh[eat?]
134 and water of boiled lentils and the root of aloe[43] and the urine[44] of a don[key
135 and the urine of a black bull and your own urine, and sa[y
136 over them 7 times, You are the power of the great God,
137 you are the spirit of the world [by which?] God has overturned Sodom
138 and Gomorrah Adama and Zeboim, so shall you overturn and uproot
139 and exile ŠWŠ from his house and from his place and all the sp[irits
140 and demons and harmers who are in charge of sin and of [
141 and of turbulence shall come upon NN and shall cause him grief and […
142 him and exile him from his home, in the name of Nuriel and Hap[khiel?

[41] I am not sure what מיין חטיפין really means, but the instruction to use מים חטופים appears in other Jewish magical texts as well, including, for example, the *Shimmush Tehillim* instructions in MTKG III, 81 (= T-S NS 216.23) 1a/12 (and see the editors' note on p. 322); T-S NS 322.95, and several different recipes in MS Sassoon 56 = NYPL 190.

[42] פראהורון clearly is a Greek word, but I am not yet sure which one, and the transliteration may be somewhat faulty.

[43] For צברה, see Syriac *ṣbr'*, "the aloe," in Payne Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, p. 473.

[44] For תונין, see Syriac *twn'*, "urine," in Payne Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, p. 608.

143 Suri'el, those who serve the angel of death. And sprinkle bef[ore
144 his home. (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

As in the previous examples, this aggressive magical recipe—intended to harm a person and exile him or her from their home—involves both a ritual and a mythical component. On the ritual side, a smelly concoction is prepared from six liquids and a root (the inclusion of which may be due in part to the similarity between "root" (עקר) and "uproot" (here תעקרון), and perhaps also to the similarity between צברה, "aloe, " and רבץ, "to sprinkle"), and once the adjuration is uttered over it, it is sprinkled in front of the house of the intended victim. On the mythical side, we get an elaborate oral adjuration in which the unsavory concoction is equated with the *dynamis* of the great God, and with the spirit of the world by/with which God rained sulfur on Sodom, Gomorrah, Adama and Zeboim and brought about their utter destruction (see Genesis 19). In a similar manner, the magician insists, shall the liquids manipulated here overturn and uproot and exile the victim from his or her home. And as if this was not enough, the spell adds the wish that all kinds of harmful spirits would descend upon the victim and harm him and exile him from his house, and all this in the name of Nuriel (whose name is made of "fire" + -el ending) and probably Hapkhiel (whose name is derived from the root HPK, "to overturn" + -el ending), who are here identified as part of the entourage of the angel of death. The use of Sodom and Gomorrah as a *historiola* in Jewish magical recipes—in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, and later in Judeo-Arabic as well—is extremely common in Jewish magical texts, as is the identification of a substance used by the magician with substances used *in illo tempore* to destroy the troublesome cities.[45] Similarly, the appeal to the powers of evil should no longer surprise us, as we have found it in other recipes on this rotulus. But the use of the urine of several animals, and of the magician's own urine, is—as far as I know—quite unattested in the Jewish magical tradition, and proves once again the relatively "daring" nature of the recipes found in the Bodleian rotulus. Finally, the sprinkling of the "adjured" substance in front of the victim's home, yet another example of "contagious magic," is well attested in other sources too; whether

[45] For a fuller discussion of this point, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 312–314.

the stench would have made the victim leave his or her home is quite doubtful, but I suspect it could have made them aware that some foul act was being perpetrated against them.

Summary

To sum up: While rotuli and rotuli fragments are relatively rare in the Cairo Genizah, and magical rotuli extremely rare, those magical rotuli which happened to survive turn out to be of great historical importance. This is especially true of Bodleian Heb. a3.31, which is one of the oldest available Genizah magical texts, is entirely based on much earlier Palestinian Jewish recipes which seem to have been neither "updated" nor censored in any significant manner, and provides important evidence on the aggressive magical practices of the Jews of late-antique Palestine and early medieval Cairo. The significance of this evidence may be highlighted by noting that among many hundreds of Genizah magical texts transcribed within the framework of my research project, not a single one provided as many early Jewish magical recipes in such a good state of preservation and with such a high concentration of very "daring" aggressive magical recipes. Moreover, my search for parallels for the recipes contained in this rotulus did not come up with much, neither inside the Genizah nor outside it, which seems to imply that most of these magical recipes were not re-copied by later Jewish practitioners (perhaps because they were deemed too offensive in their blatant transgressions of some biblical and rabbinic injunctions and in their frequent appeals to the forces of darkness), and would have been utterly lost were it not for the chance preservation of this rotulus. In the future, more fragments of the above-listed rotuli, and of other magical rotuli, might be identified, and further enhance our knowledge of an important stage in the textual transmission of the Jewish magical tradition from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages.

THE MAGICAL ROTULI FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH

Gideon Bohak

Introduction

In spite of much progress in recent decades, the magical texts found in the Cairo Genizah have yet to receive the attention they deserve.[1] In the present paper, I shall focus on a previously unnoted type of Genizah magical fragments—namely those written on vertical parchment scrolls (*rotuli*).[2] Such scrolls are extremely interesting not only because of their format, but because of their contents as well, and especially the aggressive magical recipes they contain, some of which clearly stem from late-antique Palestine. But as these fragments are quite long, and the task of reconstructing them is in no way finished, no attempt will be made here to offer a full edition of any single rotulus; instead, I shall limit myself to a description of their codicological and scribal features, a brief analysis of their contents, and a selective edition of some of their magical recipes. In the future, I hope to provide a full edition of

[1] The present paper forms a part of a wider research project on the magical texts from the Cairo Genizah, which is based on a preliminary list of Genizah magical fragments compiled by Professor Shaul Shaked, and is funded by the Israel Science Foundation (Grant no. 725/03). I am grateful to my research assistants—Shani Levy, Karina Shalem and Irena Lerman—and to Ortal-Paz Saar, for their assistance throughout this research project. The final version of the present paper was written during my year-long stay in Cambridge, partly funded by the Genizah Unit of the Cambridge University Library (for which I am especially grateful to Stefan Reif and Ben Outhwaite, the former and current heads of the Unit), and by the Friedberg Genizah Project. I am also grateful to Judith Olszowy-Schlanger for her illuminating codicological and paleographical advice.

[2] For previous publications of Genizah magical texts, see especially Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985) (henceforth AMB); id., *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993) (henceforth MSF); L. H. Schiffman and M. D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1*, [Semitic Texts and Studies 1] (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992) (henceforth HAITCG); Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, [Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 42, 64, 72] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)), vol. 1 (1994), vol. 2 (1997), vol. 3 (1999), vol. 4 (forthcoming) (henceforth MTKG).

these fragments, as of many other Genizah magical recipes and recipe-collections which deserve a more detailed analysis.[3]

The Magical Rotuli—A Broad Survey

The presence of rotuli—that is, vertical scrolls made of relatively narrow pieces of parchment sewn together one below the other—in the Cairo Genizah has occasionally been noted, and a few such rotuli have already been published.[4] However, the number of unpublished Genizah rotuli known to me already amounts to many dozens, and as these fragments seem to belong to the earlier strata of the Cairo Genizah, and some of them clearly were in use even before Genizah times, they certainly deserve a close codicological analysis of their different forms and contents and of their place within the history of the Jewish book.[5] My own interest in these fragments began when, during a short visit to Cambridge to study some magical fragments, I noticed that one or two fragments had a row of tiny holes at their top or at their bottom. This surprised me, as I could not see why anyone would bother to pin-prick his or her magical texts in this manner, but a few days later I was checking some of the Genizah fragments in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and discovered a most unusual magic scroll (Bodleian MS Heb. a3.31), which is made up of four unequal pieces of parchment stitched together vertically and then inscribed horizontally. I then realized that the pin-pricked fragments I had seen in Cambridge had once been parts of such vertical rotuli, but the threads of the stitches that

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[3] For a broad survey of the magical texts from the Cairo Genizah, and much further bibliography, see Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 215–221.

[4] For the place of rotuli in the history of the Jewish book, see the brief remarks of Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West* [The Panizzi Lectures, 1992], (London: The British Library, 1993), pp. 10–11, and of Colette Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (ed. and tr. by N. de Lange) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 102. For published Genizah rotuli see, for example, Neḥemiah Allony, "RASAG's Version of *Sefer Yezira* in Scroll Form from the Cairo Genizah," in I. Weinstock (ed.), *Temirin*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Kook, 1981), pp. 9–29 (Heb.); Nicholas de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, [TSAJ 51] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1996), No. 15 (pp. 165–294); Yosef Tobi, *Poetry, Judeo-Arabic Literature, and the Geniza*, [Jewish Culture in Muslim Lands and Cairo Geniza Studies, IV] (Tel Aviv University, 2006), pp. 51–55 (Heb.). See also n. 6 below.

[5] Judith Olszowy-Schlanger and I have recently begun to map out the Genizah rotuli, but the results of this survey will have to be published elsewhere.

once held them together had crumbled long ago, leaving only narrow sheets of parchment with stitching-holes at their tops, or bottoms, or both. I have since continued looking for such fragments, and gradually came to realize that in some cases the rotuli disintegrated to such a degree that not only the stitches disappeared, but even the stitched pieces of parchment broke into much smaller pieces, without any pin-prick holes to set them apart from other small parchment fragments. I therefore try to keep track not only of all the Genizah magical fragments I can find, but also of all the parchment rotuli and rotuli-fragments, even those which have nothing to do with magic. At present, I am aware of two rotuli with magical recipes and one astrological rotulus re-used for magical recipes, of possible fragments of other magical rotuli, and of many parchment rotuli and rotuli-fragments whose contents are non-magical.[6] The magical rotuli are as follows:

1) Bodleian MS Heb. a3.31: A vertical parchment scroll, 92 cm long and 12 cm wide, made up of four pieces sewn together, measuring (from top to bottom) 38.5, 22.5, 17.2 and 13.8 cm, respectively. The first piece is of darkish brown color, the second is even darker, the third is a much lighter yellowish brown, and the fourth is even lighter in color. The scroll's right margin is preserved throughout, but the left margin is fully preserved only for small parts of the lower sections of the scroll, while for the rest of the scroll it has been damaged (by fire?) in differing quantities. From the "wavy" pattern created by the missing parts when the scroll is stretched out, it seems clear that the scroll's left margin was damaged while it was all rolled up, from bottom to top, which also explains why the bottom part of the scroll is much better preserved than its topmost section. It must be stressed, however, that the scroll begins and ends *in medias res*, and there is no telling how long the original scroll was or how much is missing on

[6] For another magical fragment which may have come from a rotulus, see Westminster College Misc. 59, published as MTKG III, 74, with the editors' note on p. 179. In what follows, I focus only on parchment rotuli, whose pieces were stitched to each other, and ignore those cases in which loose pieces of paper—including used paper—were glued one below the other and used for writing different texts (including amulets and magical recipes), a phenomenon which seems to have occurred quite often, and not only in the earlier strata of the Cairo Genizah. For published paper rotuli see, for example, MTKG II, 24 (= Bodleian Heb. a3.25); MTKG III, 66 (= T-S AS 142.15 + NS 246.14).

either end.[7] Moreover, it is quite possible that more fragments of this scroll would be identified in the future, either in Oxford or in other Genizah collections.

On the recto, the 145 lines of text are written in a well-trained hand, entirely uniform throughout, and clearly belonging to the earliest stratum of the Cairo Genizah (the hand was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the (early) tenth century).[8] The layout of the text also is remarkably uniform—each two recipes are separated by a few centimeters of blank space, many of the words in different recipes are deliberately written backward, abbreviations are marked by the same supralinear dots, and the abbreviation for "Name son of Name," appears both as the standard *p(eloni) b(en) p(elonit)* and as the hitherto unattested ŠWŠ, a sequence whose exact meaning still eludes me.[9] Even the magical recipes themselves display a remarkable degree of internal consistency, both in their aims and in the magical practices they enjoin. In light of all this, it is quite certain that the scroll was produced by a single copyist, who was quite an experienced scribe and quite a sophisticated magician. On the verso, the scroll is sporadically covered by different magical texts, in several different hands, all of which seem to be later, and much less professional, than that on the recto. It thus seems quite clear that the rotulus was originally written on one side only (a common procedure on such rotuli), but later users decided to utilize the blank side too, and added their own magical recipes on the verso.[10] This apparently means that the scroll remained in circulation and use over several generations of Jewish magicians.

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[7] Note that one of the two rotuli published by de Lange is estimated by him to have been about 3 meters long (*Greek Jewish Texts*, p. 165).

[8] Both the hand and the style of writing closely resemble those of T-S Misc. 24.1 (see Neil Danzig, "Two Insights from a Ninth-Century Liturgical Handbook: The Origins of *Yequm Purqan* and *Qaddish de-Ḥadata*," in Stefan C. Reif (ed.), *The Cambridge Genizah Collections: Their Contents and Significance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 74–122 and Plate 10), which was dated by Danzig to the final quarter of the ninth century.

[9] The most likely explanation seems to be that this is an abbreviation of שם ושם, "a name and a name" (i.e., the name of the victim and the name of his or her mother); as a partial parallel, one could adduce MS Sassoon 56 = NYPL 190, p. 117, ll.7–8: ונקמת את נקמתי מאת המקולל הארור האכזרי פלו׳ ש׳ בן פלוני׳ ש׳ וכו׳ ("And you shall exact my revenge from the accursed, the damned, the cruel *pel(oni)* Š *son of peloni(t)* Š, etc."). It has also been suggested to me that שוש is four letters removed from פבפ, but this might be a mere coincidence.

[10] For Genizah rotuli whose verso is blank, see the next item. For Genizah rotuli with different texts on both sides, clearly inscribed by different hands and in different

Looking at the recto of our rotulus, we find eighteen different recipes (including two of which only a few words are preserved), of which one is for gaining knowledge, one whose aim is not entirely clear (see recipe a in the next section), and all the rest are for aggressive purposes, and especially for "binding" the sexual potencies of male victims. Such uniformity of purpose is not unparalleled in some of the Greek magical papyri—I note, especially, PGM XXXVI, whose 19 recipes focus almost entirely on issues of interpersonal relations. These single-minded collections always make one wonder whether the practitioners behind them specialized in just one type of magical practices, or had their recipes arranged thematically, and only one of their collections (or a small part thereof) happened to be preserved. But be that as it may, the recipes found on the Bodleian rotulus are of the greatest interest: They are written in a mixture of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic and Hebrew, and contain virtually no Arabisms, a sure sign of their relative antiquity. They also display many Greek loanwords, including what seems like a whole Greek sentence in transliteration, as we shall see below. Moreover, some of the rituals enjoined by these recipes seem quite different, and often far more "daring," than those found in other Genizah magical texts, and this too might be a sign of their relative antiquity, as in the later recipe collections the potentially offensive features tended to be filtered out of the textual transmission.[11] Finally, the extant recipes contain a few apparent references to extra-biblical myths, which also are quite rare in the more typical Genizah magical recipe books. Below, we shall edit and analyze some of the recipes on the recto of this intriguing rotulus.

2) T-S K 1.120 + T-S NS 258.153–154 + T-S K 1.154: The largest fragment of this rotulus is T-S K 1.154, a vertical parchment scroll 31.2 cm long and 8.8 cm wide, which is made up of three pieces sewn together,

periods, see the rotulus edited by Tobi (above, n. 4). Some Genizah rotuli seem to have been written on both sides by their original scribes, including the two rotuli edited by de Lange (above, n. 4), and the one analyzed by Danzig (above, n. 8). Having seen numerous Genizah rotuli, my own impression is that most of them were written on the recto only, and that some retained a blank verso while in others the verso was re-used by later scribes, often for different types of texts than those on the recto.

[11] For such processes of self-censorship, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 183 and 344.

measuring (from top to bottom) 7.4, 13.5, and 10.5 cm, respectively.[12] All three pieces are of a yellowish-brown color, and all three have their right margin intact, but are damaged on their left margin. Moreover, a stain caused by water runs vertically through all three pieces, and is the likely cause of the damage to the left margin, and certainly caused the effacement of many letters on the scroll's left half. Like the Bodleian rotulus, this one too begins and ends *in medias res*, but in this case I can already point to three more fragments which clearly belong with the same rotulus. Two parchment fragments—T-S NS 258.153 and 154—are quite small, measuring 5.5 by 7 cm and 3.2 by 6.5 cm respectively, and neither fragment displays the telltale prick-holes characteristic of broken rotuli. But the fact that these parchment fragments are quite narrow, and inscribed on one side only, suggests that they may have come from such a rotulus (and not from a codex, in which both sides should be inscribed), and a comparison of the parchment and the handwriting with that of T-S K 1.154 demonstrates their great similarity. The identification is made secure by the pattern created by the stain which runs vertically through both fragments, and matches perfectly the stain running through the top part of T-S K 1.154, thus proving that all three fragments once belonged together, and that the damage caused by water preceded the disintegration of the original rotulus. Moreover, T-S K 1.120 (13.2 by 9.8 cm), which was published as MTKG III, 60 but not identified as forming part of a rotulus, displays the same hand and the same stain, and ends with the first half of Num 21.28, whose continuation may be found on T-S NS 258.153. Thus, it is entirely certain that all four fragments once belonged in a single rotulus, and the original order was (from top to bottom) T-S K 1.120, T-S NS 258.153, T-S NS 258.154 and T-S K 1.154. Throughout the reconstructed rotulus, the right margin is well preserved, but the left margin is preserved only at the top section (T-S K 1.120) and parts of the bottom one (T-S K 1.154). On all four fragments the verso is blank, which means that this rotulus was not re-used by later scribes, perhaps because it was damaged by water at a relatively early stage. It must be stressed, however, that the reconstructed rotulus still begins and ends *in medias res*, so there is no doubt that more pieces are still

[12] This fragment was briefly mentioned by Peter Schäfer, "New Magical Fragments from the Cairo Genizah," in *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Section C/1 (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 245–252, on p. 248 (Heb.).

missing both at the top and at the bottom of this scroll. If and when more pieces are found, they may allow a more precise reconstruction of this rotulus and of its codicological history.

On the recto of the reconstructed scroll, 89 lines of text are written in a uniform hand, clearly later than that of the Bodleian rotulus (the hand was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the (early) eleventh century).[13] The text is written in a mixture of Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic, and some of the recipes use many biblical verses, which are cited in Hebrew. As this rotulus is not well preserved, it is not entirely clear how many recipes were written in the extant section, but one can detect the remains of at least ten different recipes and—as in the Bodleian rotulus—all of them are aggressive in nature. But unlike the Bodleian rotulus, the recipes found here seem much less unusual, and involve many magical practices which are quite standard in Genizah magical recipes. And while some of these recipes display signs of an early origin (including the use of the title קיבלוה for aggressive recipes, for which see Dan Levene's paper in the present volume), others probably stem from the Genizah period itself, or are watered-down versions of older recipes. Thus they are of considerably less historical interest than those of the Bodleian rotulus.

3) T-S K 1.50 + T-S K 1.133: Unlike the two previous items, this rotulus was first inscribed not with magical recipes but with an astrological text, best known as the *Treatise of Shem* in its Judeo-Arabic version (and in a phonetic transliteration which is characteristic of the earlier Judeo-Arabic Genizah fragments).[14] T-S K 1.50 (6.9 cm long and 8.4 cm wide) preserves the section on Gemini, while T-S K 1.133 (25.1 by 8.8 cm) preserves the sections on Cancer, Leo, Virgo and Libra, so there is no doubt that the former once belonged directly above the latter, and that the original scroll was at least twice as long as these two fragments combined. The parchment is, once again, of a yellowish-brown color, and the margins of this rotulus are well preserved, but T-S K 1.50 is missing small pieces of both margins. The hand on the

[13] And note that T-S K 1.120 = MTKG III, 60 was dated by its editors to the tenth century.

[14] For the *Treatise of Shem*, see Reimund Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Astrologischen Literatur der Juden*, [Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism, 21] (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), pp. 45–55 (who mentions both fragments on p. 46). For another rotulus with an astrological text see British Library 5557A 64, published by Tobi (above, n. 4).

recto was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the late-tenth or early-eleventh century. Like the Bodleian rotulus, this rotulus too was re-used by a later scribe, whose hand may be dated to the later eleventh century, but this writer used the stitched up pieces of parchment not as a rotulus but as an horizontal scroll, on which magical recipes were written in columns, each some 6–7 cm wide. T-S K 1.50 preserves one full column of text and the end of another, while T-S K 1.133 preserves three columns of text and the beginning of a fourth one. Thus, the verso of both fragments presents the appearance of a parchment scroll—a very unusual occurrence in Genizah magical texts and in non-biblical Genizah fragments in general—but this is due solely to the re-use of an old rotulus.[15] And in this case, the magical recipes are both aggressive and apotropaic (including a recipe for making an amulet), are written mostly in Judeo-Arabic, and display clear signs of a Muslim influence (including a reference to the lost tribes of ʿAd and Thamud, mentioned in the Qurʾan). We may therefore conclude that both in format and in contents this scroll differs greatly from the two magical rotuli discussed above.

Select Recipes from Bodleian Heb. a3.31

These, then, are the Genizah magical rotuli currently known to me, and it is hoped that more fragments of these rotuli, and more Genizah magical rotuli, will be identified in the future. But as my own interests lie less in codicology and more in the magical texts themselves, the rest of the present paper will be devoted to a closer analysis of some of the magical recipes found on the recto of the Bodleian rotulus. Being one of the oldest Genizah magical texts identified thus far, and displaying a long set of magical recipes which are characterized by their purely Palestinian Jewish Aramaic idiom and many Greek loanwords, this collection offers an excellent point of entry into the world of Jewish magic in late-antique Palestine. And as it is devoted almost exclusively to aggressive magic, it allows us a closer look at a set of practices

[15] For non-biblical Genizah scrolls, which are quite rare, see T-S AS 74.324, published by Marc Bregman, "An Early Fragment of *Avot de Rabbi Natan* from a Scroll," *Tarbiz* 52 (1983): 201–222 (Heb.); T-S K 21.95.S, published by Peter Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur* [TSAJ, 6] (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), G1 (Hekhalot Rabbati).

which are not as well documented as the apotropaic and medicinal magical practices of late antique Jews.[16] To see this, we may focus on five different recipes, of varying length and sophistication, and analyze the magical technologies utilized in each of them. To facilitate future references to each recipe, I have included the line-numbers from my transcription of the entire rotulus; and in the transcription itself, I have used the following conventions:

() Uncertain reading of one or more letters.
= A letter which I could not read.
[ ] A lacuna in the text, and my reconstruction thereof.
א (bold type) Words which the scribe wrote "in reverse"—i.e., from left to right.[17]

a) The second (but first more or less complete) recipe on the recto of Bodleian Heb. a 3.31 is very short and quite obscure, but its great interest lies in its use of a whole Greek phrase, transliterated in Hebrew characters. The recipe itself runs as follows:

1 (סוף מרשם קודם) אין הווה[לך?
2 קופד אמור על קדרה אלין מלייא והדא [אמור?
3 תיאון פ(נ)יומה קטיגורוס (תחילת המרשם הבא)

1 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) If [you?] have
2 meat?, say over a pot these words and [say] this
3 TY'WN PN?YWMH QṬYGWRWS (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Unfortunately, the aim of this short recipe—which is found at the very top of the rotulus, where much of the left margin was eaten away—is not very clear. If QWPD means "a piece of meat" (from the Greek

[16] For the dearth of aggressive magic in the Jewish literature of Late Antiquity, apart from *Sefer Ha-Razim*, see Philip S. Alexander, "*Sefer ha-Razim* and the Problem of Black Magic in Early Judaism," in Todd Klutz (ed.), *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon* [JSNT Suppl. 245] (London: T&T Clark, 2003), pp. 170–190, whose conclusions will have to be revised in light of the Bodleian rotulus. See also Yuval Harari, "If You Wish to Kill A Man: Aggressive Magic and the Defense Against It in Ancient Jewish Magic," *Jewish Studies* 37 (1997): 111–142 (Heb.), and Dan Levene's paper in the present volume.

[17] For this magical practice, common especially in aggressive magic, see Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939) (repr. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, with an Introduction by Moshe Idel), pp. 116, 126 and 129; Joseph Naveh, "Lamp Inscriptions and Inverted Writing," *IEJ* 38 (1988): 36–43.

kopadion), as in rabbinic literature, then we might have here a spell to be uttered over a pot with meat, to make it cook faster, and such recipes are well attested in ancient magical texts.[18] If, on the other hand, QWPD is derived from the Aramaic root QPD, "to be angry," then we might have another aggressive magical recipe (which would fit the nature of almost all the other recipes in this rotulus), with an aggressive spell uttered over a pot (full of water, which is then poured near the victim's home?). But be this as it may, the spell to be uttered is extremely interesting, for it consists of three Greek words, and may originally have consisted of four words, with one word now lost at the end of line 2. Of these Greek words, TY'WN is almost certainly Greek, *theos*, "god," either in the accusative singular (*theon*) or in the genitive plural (*theôn*).[19] The third word, QṬYGWRWS, certainly is the Greek *katêgoros*, which is quite common in rabbinic literature (but note how here it preserves the nominative ending, whereas in rabbinic literature it often loses it and becomes קטיגור), and means "accuser, prosecutor."[20] The second word, on the other hand, is less certain—it may be the Greek *phainomai*, "I appear, I come," but is more likely to be *pneuma*, "spirit." In the first case, the phrase might mean something like "I come as an opponent of the gods," whereas in the second case we might either assume a missing preposition at the end of line 2 and translate the whole sequence as "among the gods, the spirit is an accuser," or assume a missing noun (or nothing missing) and translate "(X,) a spirit of gods, an accuser."[21] But be this as it may, it seems quite clear that we are dealing here with a short, but complete, Greek sentence, which would be quite like the famous transliterated Greek prayer in *Sefer Ha-Razim*, or the shorter Greek dismissal for-

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[18] For קופד, see Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1898–99) (repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), vol. 2, p. 516; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Bar-Ilan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1990), 2nd ed., 2002, p. 483. For such magical practices, see Hippolytus, *Ref.* 4.33.2, and R. Ganschinietz, *Hippolytos' Capitel gegen die Magier (Refut. Haer. IV 28–42)* [Texte und Untersuchungen 39/2], (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913), p. 49, and note a similar practice attributed to Rav Naḥman's daughters in bt Gitt 45a.

[19] And note the sequence *theon ha-gadol amona* in MSF, A22, briefly discussed in Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 257.

[20] See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 524; Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 485.

[21] A search for similar expressions in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* CD-ROM (version E, which also includes the Greek Magical Papyri), came up with nothing that seemed relevant for the present context, although *pneuma theôn* indeed is attested, for example in Philostratus, *VAT* 7.34.

mula found in the same text, or the Greek formulae which are found (together with their Aramaic translations), in the "sword" section of the *Sword of Moses*.[22] In all these cases, the reconstruction of the original Greek sequences is hampered by the difficulty of reconstructing Greek formulae transliterated in an alphabet which was utterly unsuitable for this task. In the present instance, the difficulty is further exacerbated by the damaged state of our text and by the uncertainty about the nature of the recipe as a whole (although the presence of *katêgoros* certainly argues in favor of an aggressive context), which makes it less clear what kind of Greek phrase we might expect here. But in all these cases, the very presence of Greek sentences and phrases attests to the extensive Greek influences on the Jewish magical texts of Late Antiquity, including those written in Hebrew and in Aramaic.

b) The second recipe to be analyzed here, which is the fourth recipe on the recto of the Bodleian rotulus, involves an interesting example of a much debated issue in the study of late-antique Judaism, namely, the worship of angels, in this case on a *do ut des* basis, whereby the user of this recipe offers a specific angel various gifts, and explains what he or she would like to receive in return:

11 (סוף מרשם קודם) לח[
12 דאיבר וז' פרתותין וז' בולין דמלח וא(ד)[
13 ואמור עליהון ז'ב ז' לך אנה קרי פוסיס[
14 מלאכה רבה הכמה דאנה יהיב לך לחם מן[לחמי]
15 ומלח מן מלחי וממון מן ממוני כן תתן ל(ש')[ו'ש'
16 ריוי מן ריוך וכיוב מן כיובך ושיקוץ מן (ש)[יקוצך]
17 וניאוף מן ניאופך וניצוץ מן ניצוצך בשם [
18 כלקיטס ובשם סמאל סטנה רבה בפריע [
19 הדן בויכל (תחילת המרשם הבא)

11 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) For [. . . take . . .
12 of lead and 7 chunks[23] of bread and 7 lumps of salt and [
13 and say over them 7 times,[24] to you I call, PWSYS[

[22] For these, see M. Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Aharonot, 1966), pp. 12–13 (Heb.); Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, "From Sense to Nonsense, From Incantation Prayer to Magical Spell," *JSQ* 3 (1996): 24–46; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 179, n. 92.

[23] For פרתותין, see Syriac *prtwt'*, "broken bits of bread, crumbs, fragments," in R. and J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 466.

[24] For זבנין, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 171.

14 the great angel, just as I give you bread from my [bread]
15 and salt from my salt and money from my money, so shall you give N[N
16 a dispute?[25] from your dispute? and a pain from your pain and an abomination from your ab[omination]
17 and a fornication from your fornication and a spark from your spark; in the name of [
18 KLQYṬS, and in the name of Samael the great satan, quickly [
19 this, for pain(?) (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Unlike the first recipe we analyzed, here there are few problems of interpretation, in spite of the absence of a few letters at the end of each line.[26] Here the practitioner is instructed to take lead, bread and salt, all in groups of seven (a common typological number in such recipes), to offer these to an angel, and to ask that angel to dispense some of his special qualities in return and send his dispute, pain, abomination, fornication and spark upon the person's opponent. Such a ritual must be seen in the light of the recurrent claims in ancient Christian literature concerning the Jewish worship of angels, and the recurrent rabbinic condemnations of such practices, which also are attested in *Sepher Ha-Razim*.[27] In the present recipe, there is no doubt that the practitioner is appealing to a powerful evil angel, and is offering that angel monetary and alimentary offerings in return for his services. There also is no doubt that the angel is adjured by (the hitherto unattested KLQYṬS and by) "Samael the great satan," who certainly is seen here as supervising the powers of evil.[28] In their search for aggressive powers, some

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[25] For ריו, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 523, for the meaning "appearance, form." Such a meaning is not impossible here, but a meaning influenced by the Hebrew ריב, "strife, contest, dispute," seems more likely. Another possibility would be that the original text read דיוי, or דוי, "sorrow."

[26] There are, however, some obscure points, such as the meaning of the last word of our recipe, "for pain." This might be a specification of the recipe's aim, "for (causing) pain," and placing a recipe's aim at the very end is paralleled both in this rotulus (in line 64), and in other Genizah magical texts. But in such a case, what should we make of the word]לח with which the recipe opens, and which seems to state its aim, "For X"?

[27] See Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim*, pp. 10–16; Michel-Yves Perrin, "'Rendre un culte aux anges à la manière des Juifs': Quelques observations nouvelles d'ordre historiographique et historique," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 114 (2002): 669–700.

[28] For Samael, see Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974), pp. 385–388; Günter Stemberger, "Samael und Uzza: Zur Rolle der Dämonen im späten Midrasch," in Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger and K. F. Diethard Römheld (eds.), *Die Dämonen—Demons: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen*

Jewish magicians clearly were willing to cross the line separating the worship of the One True God from angelolatry, and even from the worship of the powers of darkness. This does not necessarily mean that our recipes assume a dualistic theology, with Samael as God's opponent, but it does imply that they assume that it is to Samael and his ilk that one should turn when one seeks to harm a fellow human being.

c) Another interesting recipe in the Bodleian rotulus (the eleventh in the extant portion) makes use of a myth which seems to be unattested elsewhere, at least in Jewish sources. This recipe runs as follows:

64 (סוף מרשם קודם) אסר לרוחה [
65 ואסר אנה ל'ש'ו'ש' כמה דאסירין [
66 לעלם כן אסיר פ' לעלם וחתים לדרי[דרין? ו...לא
67 יהווי לה מן ברנש בשם אפס פפא נ(ט)[
68 עולמים ובשמה דקטריאל מלאכה דנ(ח)[ת ל...
69 ענה ולבקרת תורייה ואסר תורין דכרין [
70 כן אסור זרעה ד'ש'ו'ש' וסילוניה דלא ימר[...ו...
71 דלא תהלך עד זמן דנבעי ונשרי יתה בש[ם
72 פצציאל ובשם חצציאל ובשם קטריאל מלא[כה
73 כן אסור לעלם וחתום לדרי דרין וסב מחט דפרזל
74 ואמור עליה זמ' ז' ובזמנה שביעייה הב ראשה
75 דמחטה בעוקצה וכרכה בכתן דלא עלת ל(א)[
76 וטמור בזווי צניעה שרייה אפק מחט[ה לשימשה?
77 ואשווי מחטה (תחילת המרשם הבא)

64 (end of prev. recipe) (vac). A binding for a spirit [
65 and I bind ŠWŠ just as [ ] are bound [
66 forever, so is N bound forever and sealed for all gene[rations?
67 shall have from no one. In the name of 'PS PP' NṬ[
68 forever, and in the name of Qaṭriel the angel who came do[wn for
69 small cattle and for the herding of bulls, and he bound male bulls [
70 so shall you bind the sperm of ŠWŠ and his sperm canal,[29] that it / he shall not [
71 that she / it shall not walk until the time that we shall ask (for it) and loosen him, in the na[me of
72 Paẓaẓiel and in the name of Ḥaẓaẓiel and in the name of Qaṭriel the ang[el
73 so bind forever and seal for all generations. And take an iron needle

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Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt. The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 636–661.

[29] For סילון (Greek *sôlên*, "tube") used for the sperm canal of the male organ, see Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 383.

74 and say (it) over it 7 times, and in the seventh time put the head
75 of the needle in its tip (sic) and wrap it in linen that did not go into [
76 and bury (it) in a hidden place. (Its) loosening:[30] Take the needle out [to the sun?
77 and straighten the needle out. (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Like several other recipes in the Bodleian rotulus, this one too seeks to "bind" the male organ of its victim, a common magical practice in Late Antiquity, and one that also was known to, and discussed by, the rabbis of late-antique Palestine.[31] It does this by way of an adjuration, accompanied by an interesting *historiola* (a mythical event used as a precedent or an analogy for the desired outcome of the magical procedure) and an intriguing ritual whose symbolic meaning is quite manifest. On the ritualistic-symbolical level, we see the practice (attested in other cultures as well) of "binding" a male victim by twisting a needle (whose phallic connotations are quite obvious) and turning it into a closed circle, with its tip inside its own eye (and thus unable to penetrate any other object).[32] In this recipe, as in several other recipes in this rotulus and in other Genizah recipe books, and in the *Sword of Moses* as well, we also find instructions on how to loosen this piece of aggressive witchcraft once it is no longer deemed necessary—in this case, by taking the needle out of the dark spot in which it was buried and straightening it up, in the assumption that the same would now happen to the victim's virile organ. On the mythical side, we have here a reference to the angel Qaṭriel (whose name is derived from the Aramaic root קטר, "to bind" + the standard ending -el, and who appears quite frequently in ancient Jewish magical texts), who came down from heaven to herd small cattle and bulls and "bound" (i.e., castrated?) the male bulls (a well known symbol of virility in many cultures, ancient and modern); just as this had happened *in illo tempore*, so shall the hapless victim be "bound" and rendered impotent as the practitioner wishes. The use of such *historiolae* is extremely common in ancient and medieval magical texts, including the Jewish ones, but whereas most Genizah magical recipes utilize well worn biblical stories as precedents—and especially the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, to

[30] For שרייה, see the use of שריא, and שריא דגברא in MTKG III, 61 (= T-S K 1.162), 1c/25–1d/4.

[31] For the "binding" of bridegrooms, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 396.

[32] For a possible medieval Latin parallel, see Catherine Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 145.

which we shall return below—the composer of this recipe made use of a non-biblical, and perhaps even non-Jewish, myth.[33] Further research might shed more light on the possible origins of this myth, which does not seem to be an ad hoc invention but a casual reference to a myth which was circulating in the magician's own world.

d) The last two recipes in the extant part of our rotulus, and therefore also the best preserved, are also the most interesting. The first of these is described as intended to make peace between a man and a woman, but in fact is an aggressive / erotic magical recipe, involving the adjuration and slaughtering of a white cock:

117 (סוף מרשם קודם) למרמי שלם [בין]
118 גבר לבין איתה בס כל לוגנרת רווח עבשאו (יול)[ע?
119 דע אוהד נייחב רומאו אנה פ'ב'פ' משבענה
120 לך תרנגלה בשמה דמלכה עלייא דיתיב על
121 כורסייה דדינה: המך תאד שיבך ינבל השנא
122 הריעבלו נך שבכתי ש'ו'ש' במאתין מ'ח' אברין
123 דאית בה ונעמתה תהווי מכיכה קודם פ'ב'פ'
124 בשמה דכבשיאל דכבש ארעה בחיי(ל)ה ותהומ(ה)
125 בתוקפיה מלין אמרית עובדין יתעבדון וכ(ל)[אשר?
126 דיברתי יצליח: בסו נולטיף דכסיט וכת' א[לין מלייה
127 בגווה: בסו דדוג נם יונאם הרבנד [בהו היתי
128 הלטיפב עוזבו הלגנרת הבו (!) הבתך הוינ[ב בהו
129 (ה)פושן דפיל לגו מעוי וכוף ראשה: הלגנר(ת)[ד]
130 יועמל רומטו תשרפב התחרוא (ו)[הב?] עלוי כיף
131 דלא יפק יתה חיווה ואשבע עלוי אלין מלייה

117 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) To make peace [between?
118 a man and a woman, take a white cock and adjure over it
119 while it is still alive and say, I, NN, adjure
120 you, cock, in the name of the exulted king who sits upon
121 the throne of judgment. Just as you are subdued by men
122 and by cattle, so shall ŠWŠ be subdued by the two hundred 48 limbs

[33] By way of comparison, I note Mousaieff bowl M163 (edited by Dan Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* [The Kegan Paul Library of Jewish Studies] (London: Kegan Paul, 2003), p. 123): והיכדין דאיתכביש רימון תורא קדמאה, "…and just as RYMWN, the primordial bull, was subdued." I also note the traditions about the eschatological punishment of the Sun and the Moon "like castrated bulls," as cited and discussed by David J. Halperin and Gordon D. Newby, "Two Castrated Bulls: A Study in the Haggadah of Kaʿb al Aḥbâr," *JAOS* 102 (1982): 631–638. One may also go further afield, and cite the stories about Hercules and the bull or the Mithraic motif of the scorpion attacking the bull's genitals, but such parallels do not seem to elucidate our recipe.

123 that are in her, and her tune?[34] shall be humbled before NN
124 in the name of Kabshiel who subdued the earth by his strength and the abyss
125 by his might. Words have I spoken, deeds shall be done, and all [that?
126 I have spoken shall succeed. And take a tin lamella,[35] and write th[ese words
127 upon it. And take a thread from the clothes of the man [and place it
128 in the lamella and tear the cock apart and place the writing inside it [and place
129 fine flour[36] of ??? inside its intestines and twist the head of the cock
130 to its intestines and bury it at a crossroads. And [place?] upon it a rock
131 so that no animal shall dig it out, and adjure upon it these words.

Once again, we are faced with an aggressive magical recipe, this time intended to subdue a person and make him amorously or sexually submissive to another person of the opposite sex; and once again, the recipe involves both a ritual and an adjuration. On the ritual level, the user is instructed to take a white cock, utter an adjuration over it, tear it apart, and place inside its intestines a tin lamella with the adjuration, a thread from the victim's clothes (what James Frazer would call "magic of contagion"), and fine flour. The cock is then twisted into a kind of a knot (an action which certainly is intended as analogous to what would happen to the victim should s/he fail to comply), and buried at the crossroads, a common location for the practice of magic rituals in many ancient cultures, and perhaps also symbolizing here the desired meeting of the man and the woman.[37] The use of white cocks in aggressive magical recipes seems to have been quite common, and one may cite parallels from other Genizah magical texts, from *Sepher Ha-Razim* (for which see Ithamar Gruenwald's paper in the present

[34] For נעמה, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 354.

[35] For פיטלון, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 374, n. 64; for כסיט = כסיטרון = Greek *kassiteros*, see Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 556 (where the word is consistently spelled with a *qof*, not a *kaf*).

[36] For נשופה, see Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone and Ester Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* [Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha, 19] (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 82 (= ALD 8:6): נישפא בליל במשחא, "fine meal (Gr. *semidalin*) mixed with oil," with the editors' note on p. 176 (I am grateful to Matthew Morgenstern for this reference); I am still puzzled by the word פיל, but cf. Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 431. Note also the appearance of פילון as an ingredient in several Jewish magical texts, including Bodleian Heb. a 2.2.

[37] For Greco-Roman examples, see S. I. Johnston, "Crossroads," *ZPE* 88 (1991): 217–224, esp. 223–224; for rabbinic examples, see bt Yoma 84a; Pess 111a.

volume), from the Babylonian incantation bowls, and even from the Babylonian Talmud.[38] Most intriguing is the almost exact parallel in the *Sword of Moses*, in a recipe for sending dreams upon someone, which involves placing an inscribed silver lamella in the mouth of a cock, slaughtering it, twisting its body so that its mouth will be between its thighs and burying it at the foot of a wall.[39] But with such parallels in mind it is also interesting to note the practical mindset displayed by the author of our recipe, who is worried lest the smelly carcass might be dug out and eaten by some animal, thus dissolving the spell (or, at least, exposing it for all to see, and perhaps compromising both the client and the magician), and therefore instructs the user to place a rock over the burial place of the mutilated rooster. On the mythical level, we find in the adjuration itself a reference to "Kabshiel who subdued the earth by his strength and the abyss by his might." This angel, whose name is derived from the root כבש, "to subdue" + the standard ending -el, was extremely popular in ancient Jewish aggressive magic, and even the entire formula found here is closely paralleled in other Genizah magical texts and clearly was quite common in late antique Jewish magical texts.[40] Embedded in the adjuration we also find an interesting expression, "Words have I spoken, deeds shall be done, and all [that?] I have spoken shall succeed," which provides an interesting summary of the magician's mindset and which—judging

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[38] See, for example, Bodleian MS Heb. a2.2; *Sepher Ha-Razim* I/160–169 (pp. 75–76 Margalioth); Levene, *A Corpus*, M163, p. 122: תחות הנא תרנולא חיורא דמזמ[ן ל]יך (“under this white cock that is appoin[ted on your beh]alf”); bt AZ 4a–b // Ber 7a // San 105b, with Gideon Bohak, “Magical Means for Dealing with *Minim* in Rabbinic Literature,” in Peter J. Tomson and Doris Lambers-Petry (eds.), *The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 267–279.

[39] See Yuval Harari, *Harba de-Moshe (The Sword of Moses): A New Edition and a Study* (Jerusalem: Academon, 1997), p. 42: ואחית בפום תרנגלא ושחוט יתיה…ואהדר פיו ואחית ביני ירכתיה, וקבר בעקבא דשורא (“and place (the lamella) in the mouth of a cock and slaughter it…and turn back its mouth and place it between its thighs, and bury (it) at the foot of a wall”). For such sacrificial acts in late-antique Jewish magic see also Michael D. Swartz, “Sacrificial Themes in Jewish Magic,” in Paul Mirecki and Marvin Meyer (eds.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 141] (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 303–315.

[40] And cf. MTKG II, 45 (= T-S K 1.26), 1b/7–8: כבשיאל דכבש ארעה קודם שמייה וכביש [תהו?]ם [ ] ובתוקפה (“Kabshiel, who subdued the earth under heaven and subdued (the) [abys]s, [by] and by his power”). The formula is echoed in Levene, *A Corpus*, M163, p. 124: ובשמיה דאישו דכבש רומא ועומקא בזקיפה (“And in the name of Jesus, who subdued the height and the depth by his cross”).

from the shift from Aramaic to Hebrew in mid-sentence—might be based on some very old Jewish magical formula.

e) The last recipe on our rotulus is in many ways the most interesting of them all. It is yet another aggressive recipe, and involves some exotic ingredients and a well known *historiola*, but this time with a special twist:

132 אשקיו לרוחה בדיקה סב מיין
133 חטיפין פראהורון מן מבוע ומי של(ק)ה ד(חט)י[א]
134 ומי טלופחין שלוקן ועקר צברה ותונין דח(מ)[ר
135 ותונין דתורה אכומה ותונין מן דידך ואמו[ר
136 עליהון זמ' ז' אתון הנון דינאמיס דאלהא רב[ה
137 אתון הנון רוחתה דעלמה דהפך אלהא ב[ ] סדום
138 ועמורה אדמה וצבויים כן תהפכון ותע[ק]רון
139 ותגלון לש'ו'ש' נם התיב נמו הרתא וכל ר[וחי]ן
140 ושדין וכל מזיקין דעבידין על סרחונה וע(ל)[
141 ועל ערבובה ייתון על פ'ב'פ' ויצערון יתיה וי[
142 יתה ויגלון יתה מן בייתה בשמה דנוריאל והפ[כיאל?
143 סור(י)אל אלין ד(מ)שמשין מלאך מותה ׳ צ(י)ברו מד[וק?]
144 [ה]תייב (תחילת המרשם הבא)

132 (vac) A watering for a spirit. Tested?, take fast-flowing?[41] water
133 PR'HWRWN[42] from a spring, and water of cooked wh[eat?]
134 and water of boiled lentils and the root of aloe[43] and the urine[44] of a don[key
135 and the urine of a black bull and your own urine, and sa[y
136 over them 7 times, You are the power of the great God,
137 you are the spirit of the world [by which?] God has overturned Sodom
138 and Gomorrah Adama and Zeboim, so shall you overturn and uproot
139 and exile ŠWŠ from his house and from his place and all the sp[irits
140 and demons and harmers who are in charge of sin and of [
141 and of turbulence shall come upon NN and shall cause him grief and […
142 him and exile him from his home, in the name of Nuriel and Hap[khiel?

[41] I am not sure what מיין חטיפין really means, but the instruction to use מים חטופים appears in other Jewish magical texts as well, including, for example, the *Shimmush Tehillim* instructions in MTKG III, 81 (= T-S NS 216.23) 1a/12 (and see the editors' note on p. 322); T-S NS 322.95, and several different recipes in MS Sassoon 56 = NYPL 190.

[42] פראהורון clearly is a Greek word, but I am not yet sure which one, and the transliteration may be somewhat faulty.

[43] For צברה, see Syriac *ṣbr'*, "the aloe," in Payne Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, p. 473.

[44] For תונין, see Syriac *twn'*, "urine," in Payne Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, p. 608.

143 Suri'el, those who serve the angel of death. And sprinkle bef[ore
144 his home. (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

As in the previous examples, this aggressive magical recipe—intended to harm a person and exile him or her from their home—involves both a ritual and a mythical component. On the ritual side, a smelly concoction is prepared from six liquids and a root (the inclusion of which may be due in part to the similarity between "root" (עקר) and "uproot" (here תעקרון), and perhaps also to the similarity between צברה, "aloe, " and רבץ, "to sprinkle"), and once the adjuration is uttered over it, it is sprinkled in front of the house of the intended victim. On the mythical side, we get an elaborate oral adjuration in which the unsavory concoction is equated with the *dynamis* of the great God, and with the spirit of the world by/with which God rained sulfur on Sodom, Gomorrah, Adama and Zeboim and brought about their utter destruction (see Genesis 19). In a similar manner, the magician insists, shall the liquids manipulated here overturn and uproot and exile the victim from his or her home. And as if this was not enough, the spell adds the wish that all kinds of harmful spirits would descend upon the victim and harm him and exile him from his house, and all this in the name of Nuriel (whose name is made of "fire" + -el ending) and probably Hapkhiel (whose name is derived from the root HPK, "to overturn" + -el ending), who are here identified as part of the entourage of the angel of death. The use of Sodom and Gomorrah as a *historiola* in Jewish magical recipes—in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, and later in Judeo-Arabic as well—is extremely common in Jewish magical texts, as is the identification of a substance used by the magician with substances used *in illo tempore* to destroy the troublesome cities.[45] Similarly, the appeal to the powers of evil should no longer surprise us, as we have found it in other recipes on this rotulus. But the use of the urine of several animals, and of the magician's own urine, is—as far as I know—quite unattested in the Jewish magical tradition, and proves once again the relatively "daring" nature of the recipes found in the Bodleian rotulus. Finally, the sprinkling of the "adjured" substance in front of the victim's home, yet another example of "contagious magic," is well attested in other sources too; whether

[45] For a fuller discussion of this point, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 312–314.

the stench would have made the victim leave his or her home is quite doubtful, but I suspect it could have made them aware that some foul act was being perpetrated against them.

Summary

To sum up: While rotuli and rotuli fragments are relatively rare in the Cairo Genizah, and magical rotuli extremely rare, those magical rotuli which happened to survive turn out to be of great historical importance. This is especially true of Bodleian Heb. a3.31, which is one of the oldest available Genizah magical texts, is entirely based on much earlier Palestinian Jewish recipes which seem to have been neither "updated" nor censored in any significant manner, and provides important evidence on the aggressive magical practices of the Jews of late-antique Palestine and early medieval Cairo. The significance of this evidence may be highlighted by noting that among many hundreds of Genizah magical texts transcribed within the framework of my research project, not a single one provided as many early Jewish magical recipes in such a good state of preservation and with such a high concentration of very "daring" aggressive magical recipes. Moreover, my search for parallels for the recipes contained in this rotulus did not come up with much, neither inside the Genizah nor outside it, which seems to imply that most of these magical recipes were not re-copied by later Jewish practitioners (perhaps because they were deemed too offensive in their blatant transgressions of some biblical and rabbinic injunctions and in their frequent appeals to the forces of darkness), and would have been utterly lost were it not for the chance preservation of this rotulus. In the future, more fragments of the above-listed rotuli, and of other magical rotuli, might be identified, and further enhance our knowledge of an important stage in the textual transmission of the Jewish magical tradition from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages.

Babylonian Jewish Magic in Late Antiquity
Beyond the Incantation Bowls

Gideon Bohak

Babylonian Jewish Magic and the Aramaic Incantation Bowls

Upon their first discovery, in 1853, the Babylonian incantation bowls seem to have aroused little scholarly attention.[1] A few studies were devoted to the edition and interpretation of several bowls, and there was some discussion of their chronology, their original mode of use, their relationship with rabbinic Judaism and their possible overall significance. But the scholars who studied the bowls were mostly busy establishing the correct reading and understanding of the texts inscribed upon these clay bowls, a task that proved exceptionally difficult, especially at a time when very few bowls were known, and when publications were not yet accompanied by images of the bowls themselves, so that different scholars had access to different bowls – in Paris, Cannes, London, Berlin, Philadelphia and elsewhere.[2] And yet, going through these earlier publications, one has a feeling that none of the scholars involved realized that these humble clay bowls would one day furnish a

1 I dedicate this study to Professor Shaul Shaked, mentor, friend, and path-breaking scholar, whose immense contributions to the study of Jewish magic, and especially of the Aramaic incantation bowls, made the present study possible.

2 For the most important publications, see the bowls published by Thomas Ellis in Layard, *Discoveries*, pp. 509–526; Schwab, 'Une coupe d'incantation'; idem, 'Les coupes magiques'; idem, 'Coupes à inscriptions magiques'; idem, 'Deux vases'; Hyvernat, 'Sur un vase judéo-babylonien'; Wohlstein, 'Über einige aramäische Inschriften'; Lacau, 'Une coupe d'incantation'; Myhrman, 'An Aramaic Incantation Text.' Most, but not all, of these bowls have since been re-edited in the more recent publications listed below. Here and in what follows, I essentially ignore the Syriac and Mandaic incantation bowls, since my focus in on Babylonian *Jewish* magic.

major source for the study of late-antique Mesopotamia in general, and of late-antique Babylonian Jewish culture in particular.[3]

It was only sixty years after the initial publications, and just over a full century ago, that Montgomery's exemplary edition of the Nippur incantation bowls in the University of Philadelphia's Museum provided other scholars with a sound textual basis on which to base their own analyses of unpublished bowls and of the bowl phenomenon as a whole.[4] This line of research was continued by Montgomery's disciple, Cyrus Herzl Gordon, and by Gordon's own disciples, such as Mark Geller and Edwin Yamauchi.[5] But It gained new prominence with the publication of the two volumes of Aramaic magical texts by Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, in 1985 and 1993, and the subsequent publications of important corpora by Shaul Shaked, Dan Levene, Christa Müller-Kessler and many others.[6]

Today, we are on the threshold of a new era in bowl studies, with the appearance of the first volume of the Schøyen collection of incantation bowls, edited by Shaul Shaked, James Nathan Ford and Siam Bhayro.[7] Once all projected nine volumes of the Schøyen bowls are published (and especially the five volumes devoted to bowls written in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic), the corpus of published Aramaic incantation bowls will become one of the largest Jewish textual corpora from Antiquity, almost as large as the Babylonian Talmud itself. And even this will not end the stream of publications, since more bowls surface on the antiquities markets all the time, and many bowls in museums and

3 They are mentioned only briefly by Blau, in *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 154, note 2, and idem, 'Amulet,' p. 547. Thus, even the greatest scholar of Jewish magic of the late nineteenth century was not yet aware of their importance.

4 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*.

5 For the most important publications, see Gordon, 'Aramaic Magical Bowls'; idem, 'Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls'; idem, 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls'; idem, 'Magic Bowls in the Moriah Collection'; Rossell, *A Handbook*; Jeruzalmi, *Les coupes magiques*; Isbell, *Corpus*; Geller, 'Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls'; and idem, 'Eight Incantation Bowls.'

6 See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*; eidem, *Magic Spells and Formulae*; Segal, *Catalogue*; Levene, *A Corpus*; idem, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*; Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte*; Faraj, *Coppe magiche*; and Bhayro, Ford, Levene and Saar, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*.

7 Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*.

private collections remain unpublished.[8] In fact, no one really knows how many unpublished bowls are out there already, and once Iraq regains its former stability, new archaeological excavations are bound to lead to the discovery of many more Aramaic incantation bowls.

The Babylonian Aramaic incantation bowls are an important source for the study of Babylonian Jewish magic and of Babylonian Jewish culture as a whole.[9] They present four major advantages over most other types of textual sources currently at our disposal for the study of ancient Jewish culture. The first is that, in the world of the bowls, there seems to be a close connection between a bowl's language and script and the ethnic or religious identity of its producers. At the very least, one may definitely assume that bowls written in Aramaic and in the square script were produced by Jews (though not necessarily for Jewish clients). The hundreds of bowls in this category that have been published thus far display many signs of the Jewish origins of their producers, and no Aramaic bowl displays clear signs of having been produced by a non-Jewish practitioner. This gives the Aramaic incantation bowls a vast advantage over such magical texts as are found, for example, in the Greek magical papyri, some of which may have been produced by Jews, but most of which probably were not, even if they display some Jewish influence. More important still, the Aramaic incantation bowls provide a much more reliable body of evidence for the study of late-antique Jewish culture than the massive body of evidence assembled by

8 For some of the most recent publications, see Gorea, 'Trois nouvelles coupes'; Moriggi, 'Aramaean Demons'; idem, 'Two New Incantation Bowls'; Abousamra, 'Une nouvelle coupe'; Abousamra and Lemaire, 'Bol magique'; Faraj, 'An Incantation Bowl'; Ford, 'A New Parallel'; Ford and Ten-Ami, 'An Incantation Bowl'; Levene and Bohak, 'A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Incantation'; Levene and Ford, 'For Aḥata-de-'abuh Daughter of Imma'; al-Jubouri, 'An Aramaic Incantation Bowl'; idem, 'An Aramaic Incantation Text'; idem, 'A New Aramaic Incantation Bowl'; Fain, Ford and Lyavdansky, 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls'; and cf. Frankfurter, 'Scorpion/Demon.'

9 For detailed surveys of the bowls and their significance, see Yamauchi, 'Aramaic Magic Bowls'; Isbell, 'The Story'; Shaked, 'Popular Religion'; idem, 'Jews, Christians and Pagans'; idem, 'Magical Bowls and Incantation Texts'; Levene, *Curse or Blessing*; Harari, 'On the Trail,' pp. 59–67; idem, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 234–251; Morony, 'Magic and Society'; idem, 'Religion'; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 183–193; and Müller-Kessler, 'Zauberschalen und ihre Umwelt.'

Erwin Goodenough for his monumental work on Jewish symbols, most of which probably is non-Jewish to begin with.[10]

A second advantage of the Babylonian incantation bowls is that they come from Babylonia itself and are late-antique objects, not medieval copies of late-antique texts. This means that, unlike many other bodies of ancient Jewish literature (such as most of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha), their chronological and geographical coordinates are well known. In this respect, the bowls may even help us peg down some texts whose original contexts are far more obscure. Thus, to give just one example, when we find Hekhalot-related motifs, and even rather extensive passages known to us from the Hekhalot literature, in some of the Babylonian incantation bowls, we can be certain that these motifs and textual units were already in circulation in late-antique Babylonia.[11] This does not necessarily mean that they began their life there and not in Palestine, and it does not really tell us how much older they may have been, but it does provide a firm *terminus ante quem*, and one specific geographical and social context, for the early transmission of at least some textual components of the Hekhalot literature. This evidence is of great importance, since it dates to long before the references to the Hekhalot literature in the responsa of Sherira Gaon and Hai Gaon or in the *Scroll of Aḥimaaz*, and even longer before the earliest Geniza fragments of this literature, not to mention the much later manuscripts of European origin.[12]

The third reason why the bowls are such an important source is that they come in great abundance and that each bowl carries a relatively long text. Unlike tombstones, for example, which often come in great abundance but tend to be quite short, and in many cases highly formulaic and thus extremely repetitive, a typical bowl provides us with the equivalent of half a page of printed text; and while many textual

10 See Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*.

11 For a pertinent example, see Bohak, 'Observations,' pp. 220–222; for the formula discussed there, see now Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, JBA 9 (MS 2053/183), ll. 16–17. The pioneering study in this field was Shaked, 'Peace Be upon You,' and cf. idem, 'Jewish and Iranian Visions'; Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, pp. 23–27; and Müller-Kessler, 'Eine ungewöhnliche Hekhalot-Zauberschale.'

12 For a useful introduction to these complex issues, see Boustan, 'Study of Heikhalot Literature.' For the earliest manuscripts of the Hekhalot literature, see Bohak, 'Dangerous Books.'

units recur in more than one bowl (often with some variation between the different parallels), the number of different textual units found in the entire corpus amounts to many hundreds. These units range in length from a line or two to ten or twelve lines of printed text, and they often contain one or two larger spells along with a plethora of smaller textual units and recurrent formulae.[13] And they have much to tell us about many aspects of Sasanian Jewish society and culture, including language, onomastics, family structures, levels of literacy, Jewish/non-Jewish cultural and social contacts, and even the knowledge and use of such texts as the Hebrew Bible, the Mishna and the Jewish liturgy. For scholars used to reconstructing ancient cultures from their scanty textual remains, this is an extremely important body of evidence, which has not yet been utilized for all that it has to offer.

Finally, a fourth major advantage of the bowls is that they clearly stem from more than one site. This is a rather sensitive issue, since most of the bowls that have come out of Iraq over the last two decades were looted from unknown locations, but those that were excavated in more peaceful times often are of a known provenance. A full study of all these different findspots, and of the possible differences between bowls found in different locations, has yet to be carried out, but enough is known about bowls from Babylon (such as those published by Ellis), Nippur (such as those published by Montgomery), Khafajah, Kish, Tell Baruda (Ctesiphon), Bidjan, Tel Omar (Seleucia), Borsippa and some sites in Western Iran to assure us of their wide geographic distribution.[14] Thus, it is clear that these bowls are not the product of some aberrant social

13 For a pioneering attempt to sort out the different *types* of textual units found in the bowls and disentangle the logic of their internal arrangement, see Shaked, 'Transmission and Transformation of Spells'; see also Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, pp. 8–13.

14 See Cook, 'An Aramaic Incantation Bowl' (Khafajah); Gordon, 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls,' pp. 129–130 and pp. 276–280 (Kish); Franco, 'Five Aramaic Incantation Bowls' (Tel Baruda); Gawlikowski, 'Une coupe magique' (Bidjan, near Anah); Waterman, *Preliminary Report*, pp. 61–62 (Tel Omar); Harviainen, 'An Aramaic Incantation Bowl' (as this bowl was bought in Borsippa, and not excavated in situ, its provenance is less certain). For bowls from Western Iran, see Yamauchi, 'Aramaic Magic Bowls,' p. 512. For bowls found in other locations, see, for example, Faraj and Moriggi, 'Two Incantation Bowls,' pp. 72 and 77. And note the map provided by Müller-Kessler, 'Zauberschalen und ihre Umwelt,' which includes the Syriac and Mandaic evidence as well as the Jewish Aramaic bowls.

group or of specific local circumstances, but objects produced in great numbers, by many different producers, in many different locations, for numerous clients. As such, they represent a phenomenon that clearly is very different from that represented by the Dead Sea Scrolls, for example, or by the Gnostic library found at Nag Hammadi, each of which may have been intended for the use of one rather small group of potential readers. With the bowls, the potential readers were the demons whom the bowls were trying to thwart, but the clients on whose behalf these texts were written were both male and female, both Jews and non-Jews, living in many different towns and villages over a period of two, three or four centuries, from the fifth to the seventh or eighth centuries CE.[15]

Useful as the bowls might be, their usefulness as sources for the study of Jewish magic is diminished by several important drawbacks. On the one hand, because of the problematic ways in which they reach the markets, many bowls are without provenance and utterly devoid of any archaeological or precise geographical context. In some cases, bowls whose provenance is unknown may be ascribed to a specific location because the client for whom they were produced is known from other bowls whose provenance is known for certain, but such cases are few and far between. This is to be regretted, since the absence of provenance almost precludes any attempt to study which spells were used in which locations, and how the spells travelled from one location to the next.[16]

The lack of clear archaeological contexts for many bowls is a major handicap, but the bowls also suffer from another disadvantage, in that they are rather uni-dimensional. A vast majority of the bowls are apotropaic in nature, as they seek to bind demons and avert the dangers of witchcraft and the evil eye. In some bowls, there is implicit or explicit reference to the illnesses from which the bowls' owners suffered, and these bowls thus shed some light on the etiology of certain diseases, and the connection between magic and medicine, in late-antique Babylonia.[17]

15 The bowls' chronology is not easy to establish for certain, since very few carry specific dates or other chronological indicators, but those that do carry such indications cluster in the second half of the sixth century and in the seventh; see Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, p. 1, note 2.

16 For a modest effort in this direction, see Hunter, 'Manipulating Incantation Texts.'

17 See, for example, Levene, *Curse or Blessing*, pp. 28–29; Ford, 'A New

But only some two dozen of the published bowls are aggressive in nature, and even these tend to be intended more to send the witchcraft back upon its perpetrators, with only six bowls containing aggressive spells that are not presented as counter-spells.[18] Only four published bowls are intended for erotic magic, and only one seeks to enhance its client's economic and social position by attracting people to his business.[19] Thus, a reading of the bowls might give us the impression that the Jews of Sasanian Babylonia were mostly busy with 'white' magic and showed little interest in recourse to 'black' magic. Some students of Jewish culture might be satisfied with such a conclusion, since this is the type of Jewish magical activity that is easiest for them to swallow.[20] But students of magic should be extremely skeptical of such a scenario, since in other magical traditions, and in the Jewish magic of later periods and even of late-antique Palestine, magical practices for aggressive, erotic, medicinal and divinatory purposes tend to be at least as popular, and often more so, than magic aimed for protection against demons and witchcraft.[21] That the bowls preserve mostly one type of magic must be because this type was committed to writing, and on writing surfaces that happen to be quite durable; that they were buried in the ground also helped preserve them for posterity. Other types of magical activity apparently involved different practices, including the manipulation of various objects, the uttering of oral spells, the writing of spells on perishable writing surfaces or their destruction during the

Parallel,' pp. 272–275; and Bhayro, 'An Aramaic Magic Bowl for Fertility.' For a broader analysis, see Bohak, 'Conceptualizing Demons.'

18 These bowls have now been collected and analyzed as a group by Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*. My statistics are based on his discussion, *ibid*., p. 1. And cf. Saar, 'A Study in Conceptual Parallels.'

19 For the erotic bowls, see Saar, 'An Incantation Bowl'; for the economic bowl, see Levene and Bhayro, 'Bring to the Gates.'

20 For a case in point, see Baron, *Social and Religious History*, VIII, p. 283, note 21: 'The relative paucity of erotic incantations emanating from the Jews of Nippur and elsewhere (Montgomery's text, No. 28, p. 213, invoking the aid of the goddess of love Dlibat evidently was of pagan origin) testifies to the strong hold of the regnant Jewish ethics over the popular masses and their miracle-working agents even in the obscure realm of sex.' For Montgomery's Bowl 28, see below, note 103.

21 For 'black' magic in late-antique Palestine, cf. Alexander, '*Sefer ha-Razim*'; and Bohak, 'Magical Rotuli.'

magical ritual (e.g., by burning or washing in water), and so they left no archaeological traces.[22]

Thus, I would suggest that rather than being the central sphere of Jewish magical activity in late-antique Mesopotamia, the bowls represent just one type of magical activity, but the type which produced long-lasting remains, whereas all other types left far fewer remains or none at all.[23] But this suggestion raises two related questions: (a) What do we know about the other magical practices known to and used by the Jews of Sasanian Babylonia? And: (b) What other Jewish magical texts from Sasanian Babylonia do we currently have and may we hope to find in the future? The present paper is an attempt to answer these two questions, by surveying some of the possible sources of evidence pertaining to the Jewish magical texts and practices of late-antique Mesopotamia, apart from the bowls. In what follows I shall not try to offer a full analysis of each textual corpus, but I will endeavor to raise the basic questions, point to some pertinent examples and note where further research is still needed. Moreover, as many of the relevant texts have never been published, it is my hope that the survey offered here will encourage the edition and closer analysis of these neglected sources.

Babylonian Jewish Magic in the Babylonian Talmud

The most obvious starting point for any attempt to complement the image of Sasanian Jewish magic emerging from the Aramaic incantation bowls is the Babylonian Talmud. Here we are dealing with a large body of evidence that has much to tell us about the magical practices and spells known to, taught by and sometimes even used by the rabbis of late-antique Mesopotamia.[24] Surveying all this evidence would be out

22 Note, however, a lead amulet on which the spell was written in ink, published by Geller, 'More Magic Spells,' pp. 331–334; if authentic, it could provide one more point of entry into late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic. Another relevant item is the amulet from Afghanistan (see below, note 75), which probably dates to the tenth century, and whose authenticity is hardly in doubt.

23 And note Shaked, '*Dramatis Personae*,' who highlights the differences between the magic bowls and Geniza magical texts, and stresses, on p. 366, that 'the bowls do not reflect the whole range of magical practices used in the Babylonian environment at the time.'

24 For broad surveys of rabbinic magic and a more extensive bibliography, see

of the question here, and as the magical practices and recipes found in the Babylonian Talmud have often been studied, we may merely note two of their most important features. First, here we find numerous examples of medicinal magic, including the use of many types of amulets and the recitation of many types of spells, and some examples of anti-demonic and anti-witchcraft practices – but very little aggressive magic, no erotic magic whatsoever and very little divinatory magic. Second, most of the magical activity recorded in the Babylonian Talmud is transmitted and enacted orally; there are only a few references to the writing down of magical spells as a part of the ritual process,[25] confirming our suspicion that the Jews of Sasanian Babylonia utilized many magical practices that involved only the oral recitation of spells, without writing them down. These practices also involved the manipulation of various objects, the binding or slaughtering of animals and the burial (or hanging) of magical objects at crossroads, in cemeteries and at the entrance to one's home. Thus, the Talmud complements the evidence supplied by the bowls in terms not only of the goals sought by those who had recourse to magic, but also of the rituals enacted in order to attain those goals.

As has often been noted, the Babylonian Talmud never refers to the practice of writing down spells on clay bowls, and it seems unaware of this practice, whose apogee probably postdates the time of its redaction.[26] And yet, numerous motifs appear both in the Babylonian Talmud and in the Aramaic incantation bowls, including specific rabbinic, demonic and angelic figures, shared legal and liturgical formulae, similar uses of

Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*; Goldin, 'Magic of Magic'; Harari, 'The Sages and the Occult'; Geller, 'Deconstructing Talmudic Magic'; and Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 351–425.

25 For these exceptions, see BT *Baba batra* 73a (sailors writing on wooden staffs); BT *Yoma* 84a (a spell to be written on hyena-skin); BT *Pesaḥim* 111b (two rabbinic disciples writing amulets); BT *Gitin* 67b ('Why do you need to know the demon's name? To write the proper amulet'). The Talmud also refers to books of magic (e.g., BT *Ḥullin* 13a), but these were books owned by non-Jews or laypersons, and not by the rabbis themselves.

26 The Babylonian Talmud (BT *Ḥullin* 84b, *Baba metsia* 29b) is aware of the existence of 'a sorcerers' cup' (כסא דחרשין) but attributes this knowledge to the Palestinian Rabbi Yohanan, and the ensuing discussion shows that it is not the inscribed clay bowls that the rabbi had in mind.

biblical verses and a pervasive fear of demons and witchcraft.[27] More specifically, there are some interesting overlaps between the spells found in the incantation bowls (and not found on the metal amulets from late-antique Palestine, Egypt, Italy and so on) and those recommended by the Babylonian Talmud, thus showing that both textual corpora share some of the magical know-how of late-antique Babylonian Jewish society. These parallels have never been collected systematically, but useful starting points have been provided in several earlier studies.[28] In what follows, I wish to point to one such parallel, which has not yet been studied, and note its potential significance.

In BT *Shabbat* 67a, a discussion of the mishnaic dictum (Mishna *Shabbat* 6:10) that one may not carry (as an amulet) the egg of a locust, the tooth of a fox or a nail from a crucifixion, because these are 'ways of the Amorites,' soon leads to a dictum by Rabbi Ḥiyya bar Abin (a Babylonian *amora* of the third generation) that two specific first aid practices are not to be included under this umbrella term for forbidden practices. First, if a fishbone got stuck in someone's throat, those next to him should place a bone of the same kind on his head and say: 'One, one, went down, swallowed, swallowed, went down, one, one.'[29] Second, for a fishbone (stuck in one's throat), one should say: 'You were stuck in like a needle and you were locked up like a shield, *shia shia*' (ננעצתה כמחט וננעלתה כתריס שייה שייה).[30] The first of these spells

27 For some of these, see Ten-Ami, 'Rabbinic Motifs'; Manekin Bamberger, 'Jewish Legal Formulae'; Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, pp. 22–23, 53–55, 103–104; Bhayro, 'Divorcing a Demon'; and Elman, 'Saffron, Spices, and Sorceresses.' For the rabbis who are mentioned in the bowls, see Shaked, 'Rabbis.'

28 See Segal, *Catalogue*, p. 74; Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte*, p. 45; Bohak, 'Babylonian Incantation Bowls,' p. 258; Mishor, 'Hebrew,' p. 224; Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, p. 55; and Manekin Bamberger, 'An Akkadian Demon.'

29 The same magical practice, but without the spell, is found in Tosefta *Shabbat* 7:21 (ed. Zuckermandel, p. 119), and in *Testament of Solomon* 18, and is attributed by Pliny, *NH* 28.49, to the Magi. This parallel has often been noted; and see Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 76; and Veltri, 'The "Other" Physicians,' p. 51.

30 The most important manuscripts, as recorded in the Henkind Databank of the Saul Lieberman Institute, read: בגעצתה כמחט מנעלתה כתריס שייה שייה (Munich 95); ננעצתא כמחט ננעלתא כתריס שיא כשיאה (Oxford, Opp. Add. 23); (ניגע צתא) נינעצתה במחט נינעלתה כמחט נינעלתא כתריס שרא שיאה שיאה [נינעצתא] (Vatican 108);

is characterized by a chiastic structure (A, A, B, C, C, B, A, A), which in this case clearly is intended mimetically to encourage the bone that went down the throat to go back up again and join its fellow bone on the patient's head.[31] As far as I know, no parallel to this spell has thus far been found in any of the published Aramaic incantation bowls, but the chiastic structure is well attested both in the Aramaic bowls (as we shall see in one of the following examples) and in other spells recommended by the Babylonian Talmud.[32] However, the second spell is paralleled in several bowls, where it appears as דעלת כימחט דעס ביתרוס, or על כל דמחט דעלת כימחט דעס כיתרוס, or ועץ מחץ כיתרם … כיתרם מחץ ועץ דמחט כל על, or דעלת כימחט רססת כיתרס שוא פשנוש.[33] The last of these examples might even be a partial parallel to the sequence שייה שייה at the end of the talmudic spell, and in all of them we find clear parallels to the Talmud's ננעצתה כמחט וננעלתה כתריס, even though these parallels are not identical with the talmudic spell, or with each other.[34]

Reading all these parallels, one is struck by the fact that the talmudic spell is both coherent and context-specific, whereas those of the bowls are not. In the talmudic spell, most of the text, with the exception of the last two words, makes perfect sense (which definitely is not true of all the spells recommended by or recorded in the Babylonian Talmud), and this sense accords well with its intended use as a spell against a fishbone that got inserted into the throat like a needle and got locked up in there like a shield. In the bowls, on the other hand, the text of this spell makes

[שייאה שייאה](שיחשיאה) כתריס (Westminster College, Talm. II, 2 [Geniza]). Rashi *ad loc*. interprets the last two words as meaning 'Go down, go down.' The *'Arukh* of R. Nathan b. Yehiel gives them as שיח שיח and interprets them as deriving from the Aramaic root שוח, 'to melt'; see Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, VIII, p. 47.

31 See also Bar-Ilan, 'Between Magic and Religion,' pp. 394–396.

32 The clearest example being the spell הוית דפקיק הוית דפקיק, for which see Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, p. 55.

33 See, respectively, Faraj, *Coppe magiche*, pp. 52–53, Bowl 4 (IM 148241), l. 7; Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, p. 75, JBA 7 (MS 2053/12), ll. 13–14; *ibid*., p. 266, JBA 61 (MS 2053/214), l. 7. See also *ibid*., p. 254, JBA 57 (MS 2053/36), l. 8. The same formula is found in some unpublished bowls whose texts were shared with me by Dan Levene.

34 However, the readings of the bowls are complicated by the indistinguishability, in many of them, of the letters *yod* and *waw*, *bet* and *kaph*, and *samekh* and final *mem*. Thus, these parallels may be closer than what their editors' readings might lead us to believe.

no sense at all, changes from one bowl to the next and is appended to the bowls' main texts as a small appendage. Moreover, the sequence is given in Hebrew, and when the texts of the Aramaic incantation bowls shift from Aramaic to Hebrew, this usually is because they are citing pre-existing Hebrew textual units – from the Hebrew Bible, the Mishna or the Jewish liturgy, from what we now know as the Hekhalot literature and so on – which were originally transmitted in Hebrew. Finally, the word תריס, 'shield,' is a loanword from Greek (*thyreos*) that appears frequently in tannaitic sources, and while it is attested elsewhere in the Babylonian Talmud, it might point to a Palestinian origin of the entire spell.[35] Thus, we seem to have a Hebrew spell that was originally intended to help people who got fishbones stuck in their throats and that may have come to Babylonia from Palestine. In the bowls, it has nothing to do with fish or bones and appears mainly as a 'space filler,' a short formula intended to complement the longer spells that already were inscribed upon the bowl but did not suffice to fill its surface with text.

To sum up our brief discussion of the Babylonian Talmud, we may note that it is an extremely important source for the study of Babylonian Jewish magic and an excellent aid in placing the magic of the bowls in its wider social and religious contexts. On the one hand, there are enough overlaps between the bowls and the talmudic spells to assure us that they reflect the same world and stem from the same cultural environment. These overlaps still deserve a much closer scrutiny in order to highlight both the textual parallels and the contextual resemblances and differences between the two corpora, but enough has already been achieved to give us a sense of the terrain. On the other hand, the Babylonian Talmud complements the data provided by the bowls in many important ways and sheds much light on magical aims and practices that are unattested, or only partly attested, in the bowls. But even when we combine the data provided by these two major

35 Since Rabbi Ḥiyya bar Abin visited Palestine (see Hyman, *Toldoth tannaim ve'amoraim*, II, pp. 439–441), it is possible that he brought this spell with him, and that it is of Palestinian Jewish origin. That some spells of Palestinian Jewish origin found their way to the bowls is made clear by the example of the Semamit-*historiola*, for which see Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, pp. 188–197; Elitzur-Leiman, 'An Aramaic Amulet'; and Ford, 'New Light from Babylonia on the Story of Smamit.'

textual corpora, we cannot help feeling that large parts of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic still lie beyond our grasp.

A Brief Note on Method

Before turning to the Jewish magical texts of later periods in search of the remains of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic, a methodological issue must be raised: None of the evidence discussed below was found in Babylonia, nor is it preserved in late-antique manuscripts (since none from the region has survived); it comes from medieval and even later Jewish manuscripts, which we assume to contain copies of copies of much earlier texts. But this raises a grave question – reading a Jewish magical text found in medieval and later Jewish manuscripts, how would we know that it is of late-antique Babylonian origins? One criterion is linguistic, but it is problematic, because of the tendency of medieval Jewish scribes to 'normalize' Aramaic texts in line with the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud and of Targum Onqelos, which they knew so well.[36] Such processes are much more pronounced in the magical texts, which are non-canonical and intended for practical use, so that their language was constantly 'updated,' modified or even changed to the contemporary vernacular. As a rule, we may note that the magical instructions were far more likely to be modified than the incantations themselves (the copyists' assumption being that the instructions should be as clear as possible, but the incantations might lose their power if modified), but even the latter were corrupted, 'corrected,' modified and translated during their long transmission history. Thus, a linguistic analysis of later Jewish magical texts in search of earlier Babylonian Aramaic forms is not *a priori* useless, but it is not very probative either. Moreover, some Aramaic spells may even be medieval compositions. We know that Jews were writing new texts in Aramaic in the Middle Ages, with the Zohar as our best example (on which we shall say more in a moment) and the *Sidre deshimmusha rabba*, a mystical-magical text edited and analyzed by Gershom Scholem, as an even more pertinent example.[37] Even the presence of Babylonian vocalization in a

36 For this process, as seen in non-magical texts, see the classic statement by Kutscher, *Studies*, pp. 2 and 12–15.

37 For this phenomenon, see Rapoport-Albert and Kwasman, 'Late Aramaic';

manuscript of Jewish magic is no proof of the Babylonian origin of its recipes. Below, we shall note a magical booklet from Damascus that displays some Babylonian vocalization, but right next to it we could place Cairo Geniza magical texts with Babylonian vocalizations, texts whose magical recipes show no sign of a specifically Babylonian origin.[38]

A second and related problem is that once the Babylonian Talmud became the central text of medieval Jewish culture, its own magical spells and recipes became widely known to many medieval Jews. Interestingly, they did not have a great impact on the Jewish magical tradition, which had many other sources from which to draw its spells and recipes, but occasionally we do find spells and recipes that drew at least some of their inspiration from the Babylonian Talmud.[39] Moreover, there are cases where the reliance on talmudic precedents led to the creation of new spells that in some way resemble those of the Babylonian incantation bowls. Note, for example, the following passage in the Zohar, which retells the story of the creation of the woman out of the primordial human being, how Lilith was incensed by that development, and:

ערקת היא לימא, וזמינא לאבאשא בני עלמא. אסוותא להאי, בההיא שעתא דאזדווג בר נש באתתיה, יכוין לביה לקדושה דמאריה, ולימא הכי, עטיפא בקטפא אזדמנת, שארי שארי, לא תעול ולא תנפוק, לא דידך ולא בעדבך, תוב תוב, ימא אתרגישא,

Mopsik, 'Late Judeo-Aramaic'; and Tal, 'The Role of Targum Onqelos.' For the *Sidrei*, see Scholem, 'Sidrei.'

38 See, for example, Oxford, Bodleian Heb. e 74.21 (for which see the brief note in Yeivin, *The Hebrew Language Tradition*, I, p. 236); and Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, III, no. 69 (= T-S AS 142.13 + T-S NS 317.18). All three Geniza fragments come from the same manuscript, which is characterized by the Babylonian vocalization of some of its 'magic words,' but the magical recipes display no special affinity with the Babylonian Jewish magical texts of late antiquity.

39 As one example, I note the sequence שברירי ברירי רירי ירי רי י, which appears in BT *'Avoda zara* 12b and *Pesaḥim* 112a in a recipe against temporary blindness (for the Akkadian origin of the term *shabriri*, and for magical rituals against it, see Stol, 'Blindness,' and Geller, 'Akkadian Medicine,' p. 107). The same sequence appears in medieval and modern manuscripts of Jewish magic and is often used in contexts that have nothing to do with blindness. See, for example, Barel, 'Rav-Pe'alim,' p. 223, where it is used against epilepsy and to exorcize a demon.

גלגלוי ליך קראן, בחולקא קדישא אחידנא, בקדושה דמלכא אתעטפנא. ולחפיא ליה לרישיה ולאתתיה עד שעתא חדא, וכן בכל זמנא, עד תלת יומין לקליטה, דכל הרכבה דלא קולטת לתלת יומין, תוב ליתא קולטת.

She fled to the sea and is present to harm the people of the world. The cure for this – at that hour when a man copulates with his wife, he should turn his heart to the holiness of his Master and say thus: 'The one who is wrapped in bed-linen is present; loosen, loosen; you shall not come in and not come out; it is neither yours nor of your share (?). Return, return, the sea is stormy, its waves are calling you; to the holy garment I cleave, in the holiness of the King I wrap myself.' And he should cover his head and that of his wife for one hour, and thus at every time, up to three days from the moment of the reception (of the sperm in the womb), since every combination that does not receive (pregnancy) within three days, does not receive any more.[40]

Comparing this spell with those of the bowls, we may note the duplication of some words (שארי שארי, תוב תוב) and especially the structure of 'by X I did A (בחולקא קדישא אחידנא), by Y I did B (בקדושה דמלכא אתעטפנא),' both well attested in the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowls. And yet, there is no need to assume that the composer of this recipe had any direct or indirect knowledge of the bowls or their spells, since both features are well attested in the Babylonian Talmud as well.[41] We already noted above the sequence שייה שייה, which may have served as a source of inspiration for the Zohar's שארי שארי (loosen, loosen).[42] We may also note such a talmudic spell as במישרא דכרתי חבטיה בלועא דחמרא

40 Zohar III, 19a. The translation is my own, but I used the Hebrew translation of the incantation in Scholem, *Elements*, p. 152. For a brief discussion of this incantation, see Cohen-Alorro, 'Magic and Sorcery,' pp. 110–111. On pp. 319–320, note 24, Cohen-Alorro adduces an Akkadian parallel to this incantation and refers to the spells against Lilith in Babylonian incantation bowls.

41 Scholem, in his own copy of the Zohar, wrote of this spell that 'its composer is the very author of the (Zoharic) pericope on Leviticus, as emerges from its language and its contents' (לעניין הלחש: המחבר הוא בעל פרשת ויקרא עצמו כפי שיוצא מלשונו ותוכנו). See Scholem, *Sefer haZohar*, V, p. 2244.

42 Moreover, such formulae are common in many magical traditions, and see the formula שרא שרא גבר, 'Release, release a man,' in a Nabatean magical text published by Naveh, 'A Nabatean Incantation,' p. 113. I am grateful to Ortal-Paz Saar for this reference.

חטרתיה, 'in a bed of leeks I hit it, with the mouth of an ass I pounded it' (*Shabbat* 67a), as a source of inspiration for the second formula.[43] In light of such precedents, we can see why the Zohar's own spell may resemble the bowls in some striking ways, but this resemblance is not necessarily due to any historical continuity from the bowls to the world of the Zohar.

In light of these considerations, we cannot merely count on a general resemblance of language, or on some phenomenological similarities between the bowl-spells and those of later Jewish magical texts, as proof of historical continuity. We need much sounder criteria. One sound criterion for deciding about the 'Babylonian-ness' of other Jewish magical texts is a comparison thereof with the Babylonian incantation bowls, especially when we find in them parallel motifs and parallel formulae that are not attested in other Jewish magical texts, such as those from late-antique Palestine or from the Babylonian Talmud, or those found in other magical traditions (except, of course, Mandaic and Syriac magical texts, which often are of Babylonian origin themselves). In such cases, we may also use our extensive knowledge of Palestinian Jewish magic and of the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition, which had such an impact upon Palestinian Jewish magic but had only a minor impact on the Babylonian incantation bowls, to highlight those aspects of the bowls that are typical of them and of them alone.[44] When such elements re-emerge in later Jewish magical texts, these texts are likely to be copies of copies of texts that go back to late-antique Mesopotamia.

One possible application of this criterion would be to search in later Jewish magical texts for those long spells and *historiolae* that are known to us from the Babylonian incantation bowls and are unattested in late-antique Palestine. Below, we shall note some striking examples of such continuity, but also their rarity. Another application would be to search outside the Babylonian incantation bowls for words and technical terms that are extremely typical of the bowls' vocabulary and are unattested in Palestinian Jewish magic. Most useful in this regard are terms and

43 And the Zohar's description of Lilith as עטיפא בקטפא may have been influenced by the reference to חומרתא דקטיפתא, 'amulet of *qeṭifta*,' in BT *Shabbat* 57b.

44 For the continuity of Palestinian Jewish magic from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages, which is much easier to demonstrate, see Naveh, 'A Good Subduing'; idem, 'On Ancient Jewish'; and Bohak, 'Jewish Magical Tradition.'

names borrowed from the Persian language, such as זרני, דנחיש, דיוי, בגדנא, איספנדס and פתיכרי, as these are *a priori* unlikely to have had much of an impact on Palestinian Jewish magic.[45] But to this short list we may add a much longer list of Aramaic and Hebrew terms that are typical of the bowls (some of which go back to Akkadian, but others do not), including especially the many different categories of demons, such as זכיא, בני איגרי, אשלמתא, שקופתא, שלניתא, ענקתא, מבכלתא, לטבי, ירורי, חטפיתא, חומרי זידניתא and so on, as well as the many personal names of the demons and liliths attested in the bowls, including פלחס, פלחדד, אביטור and so on.[46] To this list, which reflects the highly developed demonology of Babylonian Jewish magic, we may add the Babylonian gods, who occasionally appear in the Babylonian Jewish magical texts, especially in lists of the seven planets – שמיש וסין ונבו ודליבת וביל ונריג וכיון.

Of course, when compiling such a list we must recall that once one of these words is found in a text that is of a Palestinian and late-antique origin, it must be excluded, which is why we must strike off our list terms like עינא בישא, שידא, חרשין בישין or עובדין תקיפין, not to mention סטנין or מזיקין, all of which are typical of both Palestinian and Babylonian Jewish magical texts. Similarly, words that are found in the Hebrew Bible or the Babylonian Talmud should not be on our list, which is why we should exclude Ashmedai, even though he has a Persian name, and Lilith, in spite of her Babylonian origins, and why a single appearance of Bel or Keiwan does not necessarily tell us much about a text's provenance. And, as with every such set of 'textual markers,' we must note that it is not always easy to distinguish between real appearances of a certain word and mere phantoms, as when a corrupt word or a *vox magica* accidentally resembles one of the words in our list. Thus, the more such 'markers' we find in any given text, and the more we can be certain that they are indeed our words and not some random flukes, the more likely the text itself is to be of Babylonian origin or to preserve older Babylonian material.[47]

45 For these terms, see Shaked, 'Bagdâna,' and idem, 'Popular Religion.'

46 To date, no attempt has been made to catalogue all the demons that appear in the Aramaic bowls, and the most detailed survey remains Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, pp. 70–83. For a useful comparandum, see Furlani, 'I nomi delle classe.'

47 One more feature that seems typical of Babylonian Jewish magic and sometimes

To these 'textual markers' we could, at least in theory, add a list of 'iconographical markers,' that is, features of the bowls' peculiar iconography (especially the appearance of the demons and the different manners by which they are bound) for which we could search in later Jewish magical texts.[48] However, such an analysis would not get us very far, since later Jewish magical texts rarely have a pictorial component, and when they depict demons, these depictions resemble those of Muslim magical texts and greatly differ from those of the Aramaic incantation bowls.[49] Similarly, one could examine the magic signs that occasionally appear in the bowls and usually differ from the typical *charactêres* of Greco-Egyptian and Palestinian Jewish magic, and search for similar signs in later Jewish magical texts.[50] However, I know of no attempt to assemble the relevant data from all the published (and well photographed!) bowls, without which no such research could be carried out.

Another important criterion is the appearance in later Jewish magical texts of themes and practices that seem typical of non-Jewish Mesopotamian magic, and especially of the older Babylonian magical tradition.[51] This tradition seems to have had relatively little impact on the Babylonian incantation bowls, although the exact nature of this impact is still being debated by scholars, and the publication of more bowls might shed additional light.[52] However, in looking for older Babylonian magical elements that entered the Jewish magical tradition,

emerges in later Jewish magical texts is the first-person *historiola* (for which see Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, pp. 15–17). However, I know of no attempt to classify the *historiolae* found in the 'Western' and 'Eastern' branches of late-antique Jewish magic and to isolate those features that are found exclusively in the 'Eastern' branch.

48 For the bowls' iconography, see Vilozny, 'Between Demons and Kings'; eadem, 'Lilith's Hair'; eadem, *Lilith's Hair*; and cf. Lesses, 'Image and Word.'

49 For one striking example, see the image from T-S Ar. 51.95, reproduced in Baker and Polliack, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts*, Plate 21.

50 For the *charaktêres*, see Bohak, 'The *Charaktêres*,' with further bibliography.

51 The same applies to the Persian magical tradition, which, unfortunately, is not well documented.

52 And see Müller-Kessler, 'Die aramäische Beschwörung'; Oelsner, 'Incantations in Southern Mesopotamia'; Geller, 'Tablets and Magic Bowls'; idem, 'Magic Bowls'; Gabbay, 'King of the Demons'; Bhayro, 'The Reception'; Levene, Marx and Bhayro, 'Gabriel is on Their Right'; Ford, 'Ancient Mesopotamian Motif'; and Wasserman, 'Old-Babylonian.'

we must always keep in mind that similar traditions and practices may have existed outside Babylonia as well.[53] Their presence in the Jewish magical tradition may therefore be due to non-Babylonian influences and thus tell us little about their ultimate origins. Of course, the more specifically-Babylonian a certain text or practice is, the more likely it is to have entered the Jewish magical tradition in late-antique Mesopotamia.

With these guidelines in mind, we may approach the sources, which include more than a thousand magic-related fragments from the Cairo Geniza and many hundreds of non-Geniza manuscripts of Jewish magic, some of which are hundreds of pages long. In what follows, I shall try to make two separate inroads into this vast territory. First, I shall look for longer Jewish magical texts that may be identified as coming from Sasanian Babylonia, or as displaying some Babylonian features. Next, I shall look for single Jewish magical recipes, found in manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza and elsewhere, that may be identified as stemming from late-antique Babylonian Jewish origins, even though they are found in collections of magical recipes with recipes of many different origins. I shall end with a brief evaluation of the results and some suggestions for further research.

Jewish Magical Texts of Mesopotamian Provenance

Reading through the dozens of Aramaic and Hebrew magical texts transmitted in medieval and later Jewish manuscripts (most of which have never been properly edited), we are soon forced to conclude that the search for magical texts that are likely to be of a late-antique Babylonian Jewish origin proves to be extremely complex. On the one hand, some of the magical texts may securely be attributed to other geograph-

53 I note, in this context, the interesting book by Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic*. Noting that the practice of gazing at oil-stains for the purpose of divination is attested in Mesopotamia and is well known to the Babylonian Talmud, Daiches goes on to edit and analyze early modern and modern manuscripts of Jewish magic where such practices may be found. His book contains much valuable data on modern Jewish magic, but it is entirely irrelevant to the study of Jewish magical texts of Babylonian origin, especially as the practice of oil-gazing for divination is extremely common in the Greek magical papyri as well and probably entered the Jewish magical tradition from several different directions.

ical and historical contexts and especially to late-antique Palestine or to the Jews of the Middle Ages, living under either Muslim or Christian rule. Thus, to give a few examples, a text such as *Sefer harazim* is so deeply influenced by the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition, and so full of Greek loanwords, as to assure us of its Palestinian origins and of its date some time in the Early Byzantine period, prior to the Muslim conquest.[54] Its Palestinian origins are further confirmed by its immense popularity in the Cairo Geniza, which as a rule tends to preserve Palestinian materials much more than Babylonian ones (as may be seen, for example, from the study of the *piyyutim*).[55] A Palestinian origin may also be postulated for *Shimmush Tehillim* (Use of the Psalms), which is written in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, displays some Greek loanwords and is also well attested in the Cairo Geniza.[56] Similarly, the text called *Sheva' ma'alot* (The seven grades) is written in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic and displays many borrowings from the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition, and it may thus be classified as Palestinian, even though it is not as well represented among the Geniza fragments.[57]

While these texts stem from late-antique Palestine, other Jewish magical texts clearly date to the Middle Ages. This applies, for example, to the texts of astral magic that are found both in the Cairo Geniza and in non-Geniza manuscripts, which tend to be of a Muslim origin and to have reached the Jewish world either directly from Arabic or through intermediaries in other languages.[58] Likewise, a text like *Segullot 'or hanaḥash* (The properties of snakeskin) is a medieval Hebrew translation (or rather, a set of several different translations) of a Latin text called *Experimenta duodecim Johannes Paulini* (The twelve experiments of

54 For *Sefer harazim*, see Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim*; Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim*; and Rebiger and Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim*.

55 For the Geniza fragments of *Sefer harazim*, see Rebiger and Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim*, I, pp. 1–16, 121*–201*.

56 See Rebiger, *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim*; for some of the Geniza fragments, see Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, III, nos. 78–84.

57 For this text, which deserves a fuller study, see Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, II, no. 26 (= T-S K 1.35 + T-S K 1.48), 2b/1–28; *ibid*., no. 27 (= T-S K 1.74), 1a–1b; and MS NYPL 190, in Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*, I, pp. 195–198; II, pp. 153–155.

58 For a pertinent example, see Burnett and Bohak, 'A Judaeo-Arabic Version.'

Johannes Paulinus), which itself is said to have been translated from Arabic.[59] Other examples of these processes could easily be adduced.[60]

If some books of Jewish magic display clear signs of a Palestinian or medieval provenance, others prove much harder to pin down. I note, for example, that both *Sefer hayashar* (The Book of the righteous) and *Sefer hamalbush* (The Book of the wearing [of the divine name]) are written in Hebrew and are likely to be of late-antique origin, but they do not provide any clear signs of either Palestinian or Babylonian provenance.[61] In both cases, only a small part of the relevant textual evidence has received any scholarly attention, and the question of their provenance has hardly even been discussed. Thus, it is possible that a closer examination of each of these texts would yield sounder conclusions about their likely provenance, but it also is quite possible that we will not have a clear answer even if and when such analyses are carried out.

Thus, we are left with some Jewish magical texts that clearly have little to do with late-antique Babylonia, and some whose provenance is not really known. But we also have some texts that are likely to go back to late-antique Babylonia, and of these, four merit special attention: the *Ḥarba deMoshe*, the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa*, the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* and some versions of *Sefer haqevitsa*.[62] Let us look

59 For this text, see my brief comments in Bohak, 'Rabbanite Magical Texts,' pp. 26–27, with further bibliography. In the future, I hope to devote a separate study to this text.

60 And see Shaked, 'Jewish Magical Literature'; Leicht, 'Legend of St. Eustachius'; Bohak, 'Catching a Thief'; Mesler, 'The Three Magi'; and Saar, 'A Genizah Magical Fragment.'

61 For both texts, see Wandrey, *Das Buch des Gewandes*. See also the book known as *Sefer Adam*, recently edited in Rebiger and Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim*, as '*Sefer ha-Razim* II.' It, too, displays no clear sign of its ultimate origins.

62 Another book that must have been of Babylonian Jewish origin is *Raza rabba* (The Great secret), which one Karaite author described as רזה רבה פי קצת סבע סמואת ומלאיכה ופרורים ודיוים ולטבין וירורין בגיר אלעדד, '*Raza rabba*, on the history of the seven heavens, and angels, and *paror*s, and *dev*s, and no-good-ones and *yaror*s without number.' For this passage, see Mann, *Texts and Studies*, II, p. 82. Unfortunately, *Raza Rabba* is no longer extant, and Scholem's attempts to reconstruct it from Ashkenazi citations of a Hebrew book with a similar name (see Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, pp. 106–123) were not successful. That we have yet to find this book only shows how little we really know about the Jewish magical texts of late-antique Babylonia and how much room is left for further research.

at each of these more closely and assess the evidence for its possible provenance.

(a) Ḥarba deMoshe

One obvious, but problematic, starting point for our quest is the *Ḥarba deMoshe* (The Sword of Moses). Since the text is first mentioned by Hai Gaon in his famous responsum on the uses of divine names, written ca. 1000 CE, we may perhaps assume that this is a Babylonian Jewish text, going back a few centuries before Hai's own time.[63] But the *Ḥarba deMoshe* is only preserved in very late manuscripts that clearly are corrupt, with only a few earlier Geniza fragments, covering only a part of the text.[64] As we now have it, the text of the *Ḥarba deMoshe* clearly presents some Babylonian components, but it also has some obviously Palestinian elements, including materials derived from the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition.[65] A close analysis of all the evidence has led Yuval Harari to conclude that the *Ḥarba deMoshe* combines both Palestinian and Babylonian elements and that its final redaction was in Palestine.[66] As with all such source-critical analyses, certainty on these issues is beyond our reach, but the fact that the *Ḥarba deMoshe* is not the most reliable witness for the study of Babylonian Jewish magic in late antiquity seems incontrovertible. We shall return to this issue below.

(b) Havdala deRabbi Aqiba

A somewhat less problematic example is provided by the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* (Rabbi Aqiba's *havdala*), a text that is modelled on the

63 For Hai's responsum, see Emanuel, *Newly Discovered*, pp. 124–146; the reference to the *Sword of Moses* and the citation of its *incipit* are on p. 131. The text of the *Sword of Moses* was first identified and edited by Moses Gaster, from a manuscript in his possession; and see Gaster, *Sword of Moses*.

64 For a newer edition, based on MS Sassoon 290, see Harari, *Ḥarba deMoshe*; for a recent translation, see idem, 'The Sword of Moses'; for the Geniza fragments, see idem, 'Geniza Fragments.'

65 For some pertinent examples, see Rohrbacher-Sticker, 'From Sense to Nonsense'; see further Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 175–179.

66 See Harari, *Ḥarba deMoshe*, pp. 52–53; idem, 'The Sword of Moses,' pp. 65–67.

standard rabbinic *havdala* ritual (intended symbolically to 'separate' the sacred from the profane at the end of the Sabbath) but transforms it into an apotropaic ritual to ward off demons, cure 'bound' (i.e., impotent) husbands, 'open the heart' (i.e., improve one's memory and learning abilities) and so on. It was edited from several manuscripts by Gershom Scholem, who published it with a detailed introduction and commentary.[67] Here, too, there is no doubt that some textual units go back to Babylonian Jewish magic, including long lists of demons known to us exclusively from the Babylonian incantation bowls and clearly Mesopotamian in origin, and one first-person *historiola* that clearly belongs in the world of the Babylonian incantation bowls and finds partial parallels in some of the published ones.[68] But the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* also includes many Hebrew sections that display no clear affinity with what we find in the bowls, and it is not clear that the whole composition is of a Babylonian origin or a late-antique date. Scholem noted some of the Babylonian elements and argued for either a Babylonian or a south Italian origin of the final text, and for a date in the Gaonic period.[69] But he also stressed that this text seems to have been assembled from several different sources and that some of its adjurations display the impact of the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition.[70] Hannu Juusola offered a more detailed linguistic analysis and concluded that the text presents both 'Eastern' and 'Western' features, and that, like the *Ḥarba deMoshe*, it, too, must have had a complex redaction history.[71] Thus, both the contents and the language argue for a Babylonian origin for parts of this text, but probably not for all of it; that it is only rarely found among the Geniza fragments might provide further support for the assumption of a Babylonian-Jewish origin, but it could also support

67 Scholem, 'Havdala.'

68 For the long list of demons' names, see *ibid*., pp. 258–262 (= pp. 160–164 of the revised reprint), and Scholem's numerous references in his commentary to the appearance of many of these demons in the Babylonian incantation bowls. For the *historiola*, see *ibid*., pp. 262–265 (= pp. 164–167) (for the partial parallels, see BM 135563, edited in Segal, *Catalogue*, as 049A, and re-edited in Morgenstern, 'Notes'), and cf. the 'Enochic' *historiola* in pp. 270–272 (= pp. 171–173).

69 For Scholem's view of the text's likely origins, see *ibid*., pp 245–246 (= p. 148).

70 See, for example, *ibid*., pp. 252 (= p. 154) and 267 (= p. 168).

71 Juusola, 'Notes on the Aramaic Sections.'

a southern Italian origin, in accordance with Scholem's intuitive suggestion.[72] Thus, we find ourselves once again, as in the case of the *Ḥarba deMoshe*, with a text that preserves some elements of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic but probably does not stem in its entirety from that geographical and historical context.

(c) Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa

If both the *Ḥarba deMoshe* and the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* leave us wishing for more conclusive results, the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa* (The Spell-loosener of R. Ḥanina ben Dosa), an anti-witchcraft spell that is about two or three pages long, seems much less problematic.[73] This text, which has been edited only once, from a faulty manuscript, is surprisingly well attested; it is found in at least nine Geniza fragments and in quite a few later manuscripts, including some twentieth-century amulets.[74] The late-antique Babylonian origin of this text is made quite clear not only by its Babylonian Aramaic dialect, but also by the fact that it continues in a tradition of much older Babylonian anti-witchcraft rituals (especially some of the features of the Maqlû texts) and 'Judaizes' them by turning the gods' names into angel names. The Babylonian nature of this text is further highlighted by the list of demons and dangers with which it opens, which closely resembles those of the magic bowls; by the close parallel between its closing formula and a formula used in circumcision rituals in Babylonian Jewish prayer books (*siddurim*); and by the close parallel between one of its adjura-

72 The only securely identifiable Geniza fragment of the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* of which I am currently aware is T-S NS 326.51; for other possible fragments, see Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente*, G16 (=T-S NS 322.21) and G18 (= Bodleian Heb. e 107.10). For a find that could modify our view of the *Havdala*, but might be a modern forgery, see Hamilton, 'A New Hebrew-Aramaic Incantation,' with Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 158.

73 For a brief introduction to the *Pishra*, see Bohak, 'Pishra.'

74 See Michelini Tocci, 'Note e documenti,' pp. 101–106. For a published Geniza fragment, see Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, II, no. 22 (= T-S K 1.144 + T-S K 21.95T + T-S K 21.95P), 1a/1–1b/9. For a fifteenth-century manuscript, see NYPL 190 (on which more below), in Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*, I, pp. 229–231; II, pp. 187–189. For a twentieth-century amulet that utilizes the *Pishra* text, see Vukosavović, *Angels and Demons*, p. 126.

tions and a section of an Aramaic amulet from Afghanistan.[75] As far as I can see, its text remained remarkably stable throughout its long transmission history and bears no clear marks of later, medieval interpolations.

Like the vast majority of the incantation bowls, the *Pishra*, too, is an apotropaic, anti-witchcraft spell, and most of its contents are rather repetitive, consisting mainly of the names of the respective angels who would loosen an aggressive magic act performed against the spell's potential user on each day of the week, each day of the month and so on.[76] But one section also lists all the different types of aggressive magical acts that might have been performed against the potential user and thus gives us a glimpse of the world of aggressive magic in late-antique Babylonia, as known to the *Pishra*'s composers.[77] Of course, much of this aggressive magic may have been utilized by non-Jewish magicians and witches, and it thus is not necessarily relevant to the study of the aggressive magical texts and practices of the Jews of Sasanian Babylonia, but in at least one case we can probably show that an aggressive magical practice known to the composers of the *Pishra* was indeed used by Jews as well. It occurs in the section that says: ואם בחספא וסילוי עבדו ליה כיבמשיאל ישרי ויפשר ליה, 'And if with clay / potsherd and thorns they worked (witchcraft) upon him, Kivmashiel will release and loosen him.'[78] This is a rather vague reference, but it

75 I hope to deal with these issues at greater length elsewhere. For the amulet from Afghanistan (whose reading can be improved in light of this parallel), see Shaked, 'A Jewish Aramaic Amulet.' It must be noted, however, that the study of the *Pishra* is partly complicated by the fact that a text with similar logic is found on an unpublished amulet, deciphered by Joseph Naveh, Shaul Shaked and Ada Yardeni, which clearly is of Palestinian Jewish origins.

76 This list of angelic names enjoyed a life of its own in later Jewish magic, and appears, for example, in MS New York JTSA 8114 (IMHM F 11305), part 2, fols. 4v–6r.

77 Such listings sometimes appear in the bowls, too. See the brief discussions in Morony, 'Magic and Society,' pp. 99–100, and Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, pp. 12–16. A full survey of such listings in all the published bowls and their comparison with those of the *Pishra* remains a scholarly desideratum.

78 I cite the text from MS NYPL 190 (on which more below), in Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*, I, p. 229; and II, p. 187. All the other copies of the text I examined differ only with regard to the angel's exact name, which is irrelevant to the present discussion.

is tempting to compare it with the detailed instructions provided by the *Ḥarba deMoshe* in one of its aggressive magical recipes:

> אם בעית למקטל אינש סב טינא מן תרי כיפי נהרא ועביד צלמא וכת׳ עליה שמיה וסב ז׳ סלוין מן דיקלא צויא ועביד קשתא דחוסקניאתא במיני דסוסיא ואחית צלמתא בגו צרתא ומתח צלוי בקשתא ושדי בה ואמור על כל סלוא מן אקדתס ועד פרסוסי יתחבל פ׳ב׳פ׳ וי׳ת׳ד׳ מ׳נ׳ך׳.
>
> If you wish to kill a person, take mud from the two banks of the river and make a figurine and write his name on it. And take seven thorns from a withered date palm and make a bow of *huskaniata* wood and strands of horse hair and put the figurine in a cloth bag and stretch the thorns in the bow and shoot it (the figurine) and say over every thorn from *'QTDS* until *PRSWSY* may N, son of N, be injured, and he will be removed from you.[79]

The preparation of mimetic figurines (what we might call 'voodoo dolls') to represent the aggressive ritual's intended victims is, of course, an almost universal practice, but the instruction to take mud from the two banks of the river is far from common and finds a close parallel in older Babylonian magical praxis.[80] And the use of palm-thorns (סילוי) as arrows with which to shoot the clay figurine is also very specific and fits extremely well with the *Pishra*'s reference to an aggressive magical ritual carried out by means of clay (חספא) and palm-thorns (סילוי). Thus, we seem to be seeing the same magical practice, or two close variants thereof, once from the aggressive side and once from the apotropaic side.

(d) Some Versions of Sefer haQevitsa

Sefer haqevitsa (the Book of gathering [of demons]) is a text, or a cluster of texts, written in Judeo-Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic, whose aim is to gather demons to a certain place, to adjure them and thus to make

79 I cite the text from Harari, *Ḥarba deMoshe*, p. 42, and the translation from idem, 'The Sword of Moses,' p. 89, with minor modifications. The corrupt textual sequence ויתדמנך at the end of the recipe might be derived from דמך, in which case the translation would be: 'and he shall be laid low.'

80 See Geller, 'Mesopotamian Love Magic,' p. 132.

them subservient to the adjuring practitioner. Both the aim and the praxis involved, as well as the names of some of the demons adjured, point to a strong Arabic-Muslim influence on this body of texts.[81] And yet, the texts seem to incorporate some older materials, including demons who are known to us exclusively from the Babylonian Jewish magical tradition of late antiquity. Note, for example, the appearance, in one published Geniza fragment of this literature, of the demons שפטין … וסטנין וברקו[תא] ופגעא ופלגא ודחלולי ימא ודחלו[לי] ליליא … ורוחא דיתבא בליבא … ורוח כומרי ורוח פתכרי ואסתרתא … ולוטבין בישין … מיני דנחוש … מיני איגרי … ומיני טולי ומיני דיקלי … וכל זיקין ומזיקין and so on.[82] All these demons find clear parallels in the bowls (in some cases, in slightly different spellings), and their clustering here is far too thick to be a mere accident. Moreover, in another Geniza fragment the demons are adjured:

> ותבואו מארבע רוחות השמים ותביאו לי עמכם את המלכה ששמה ארגז בת קטט דיתבא על נהרות מיטרא[83] דפרת היא וכל חייליה ... שלא יקרא (!) אתכם מה שה יקרא[84] בגוגרום מדינתא אתר דמתקלין תמן כל שדין וכל רוחין באתון נורא יקידתא.
>
> And you shall come from the four directions and bring to me with you the queen whose name is Argaz daughter of Qaṭaṭ, who sits on the rivers ??? of the Euphrates, she and all her soldiers ... so that you will not suffer the same fate as what happened in the town GWGRWM,[85] the place where all demons and spirits are burnt in a furnace of blazing fire.[86]

The geographical reference to the Euphrates would not suffice to identify this text as building on older Babylonian materials, but the reference to

81 As was noted long ago by Scholem, 'Bilar'; and idem, 'Some Sources.'

82 Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, II, no. 54 (= T-S NS 322.29), 1a/6–1b/11. Other published Geniza fragments of this text, such as *ibid.*, I, no. 6 (= T-S K 1.1) display no Babylonian features, and the same is true of many unpublished fragments.

83 In JTS 3513.11, the reading is מישרא.

84 Lege: מה שקרה.

85 Or, 'inside (בגו) the town GWRM.' I am grateful to James Nathan Ford for this suggestion.

86 T-S NS 307.6, with a parallel in JTS 3513.11. Parts of this text (but not those that interest us here) are paralleled in Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, III, no. 66 (= T-S AS 142.15 + T-S NS 246.14), 1b/11–34.

the demoness ארגז בת קטט is extremely revealing. Not only is this type of personal name for a demon extremely common in Babylonian Jewish magic (including אגרת בת מחלת, mentioned in BT *Pesaḥim* 112b), but this specific name appears in two bowls, as ארגז בת קסס.[87] And while I have not yet been able to identify the town GWGRWM (or GWRM) and the story about the place where demons are burnt, I suspect that it is in the Babylonian incantation bowls, or in earlier Babylonian magical texts, that the answer to this crux shall be found.[88] Be this last point as it may, some older Babylonian Jewish sources seem to lurk behind at least some of the medieval *Qevitzah* texts, so popular among Jews in the Muslim but also in the Christian world from the Middle Ages onwards.

Looking at the results of the above enquiries, we may note that they are mixed. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the *Ḥarba deMoshe*, the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* and the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa* have at least some components that go back to Babylonian Jewish magic of the Sasanian period. In and of itself, this conclusion should suffice to convince us that late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic was not a dead-end street, and that the fact that the production of Aramaic magic bowls ceased some time in the seventh or eighth centuries does not mean that the Babylonian Jewish magical tradition completely died out at that time. On the contrary, we may conclude that there were many other forms of Jewish magical activity in Sasanian Babylonia, and that the instructions for some of these activities kept on being transmitted and were incorporated into texts such as the *Havdala*, the *Ḥarba* and the *Pishra*. We may even conclude that some of the longer spells inscribed upon the bowls kept on being transmitted even after such bowls were

87 See Gordon, 'Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls,' Bowl H (p. 87), l. 8; Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, JBA 55 (=MS 1928/1), l. 3. Another female demon who seems to re-emerge in later Jewish traditions is Buznai, daughter of Zanai Lilith, who is found in some bowls (see especially Müller-Kessler, 'The Story of Bguzan-Lilit'), and who appears in a midrashic text in T-S C 1.3 (ed. Ginzburg, 'Hagadot qetu'ot,' pp. 66–67) as פיזנא and as אפיזנא בת פיזנאי לילית, as was first noted by Shaked, 'Popular Religion,' p. 112.

88 For an illuminating parallel, see bowl MS 1927/9, ll. 5–6: שבילכי אם לא תשני אירמי יתיכי לחצקר חצב גובא אתר דירמן שידייא כולהון, 'If you do not change your path, I will cast you into HẔQR HẔB, the pit, the place (into which) all demons are cast.' The text was published in Shaked, 'Form and Purpose,' p. 27, and the reading was corrected by Matthew Morgenstern. I am grateful to James Nathan Ford for bringing this parallel to my attention.

no longer being produced, and several spells probably were woven into the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba*. As we shall soon see, this conclusion gains much support from the evidence provided by individual recipes transmitted in medieval and later Jewish magic.

Jewish Magical Recipes of Mesopotamian Provenance

When we move from the rather limited inventory of longer Jewish magical texts to the thousands of Jewish magical recipes preserved individually or in larger compendia in hundreds of Geniza fragments and non-Geniza manuscripts, we find ourselves in a similar situation as before. On the one hand, some of these magical recipes may securely be attributed to late-antique Palestine, while others are demonstrably medieval in origin and often borrowed from Muslim or Christian sources.[89] On the other hand, a vast majority of the relevant recipes are quite 'timeless' in nature, and it is difficult to ascribe them to specific chronological or geographical places of origin. Thus, the search for magical recipes whose ultimate origins lie in late-antique Babylonia is tantamount to searching for a few needles in the proverbial haystack. And yet, such needles may be identified, as we shall see from the following few examples.

(a) The first example is perhaps the clearest evidence currently available for the continuous transmission of the spells found in Aramaic magic bowls.[90] It is found in a Geniza fragment, HUC 1029, probably dating to the twelfth century, where we find traces of two magical recipes, one of which is formulated as a *get* (a deed of divorce) for the demoness Lilith. Not only is the practice of writing deeds of divorce for the demons extremely popular in Babylonian Aramaic bowls (and even in some Syriac and Mandaic bowls), but the text of the Geniza fragment closely parallels one of the commonest variants of the divorce deed found on the bowls.[91] In this case, there is no doubt that the medieval recipe is directly based on a spell originating in Sasanian Babylonia, but it also

89 And see above, notes 58–60.

90 For a fuller discussion of this example, see Levene and Bohak, 'Divorcing Lilith.'

91 In addition to the bowls cited in the paper mentioned in the previous note, we may now note this spell's appearance in Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic*

seems quite clear that this spell was not very popular in the Middle Ages, since this is the only Geniza fragment of which I am aware that preserves it, and I have not yet found it in any non-Geniza manuscripts of Jewish magic.

To this example of direct continuity, one or two more examples may be added of long spells that appear both in unpublished bowls and in published magical texts from the Cairo Geniza.[92] In addition, several other published Geniza magical spells and recipes have some parallels in the bowls or are likely to be of late-antique Babylonian origins.[93] Surveying all these fragments would be out of the question here, but the number of potential candidates is quite small, making it clear that most of the published magical recipes from the Cairo Geniza are not likely to be of a Babylonian Jewish origin.

(b) Turning from the published Geniza magical texts to the unpublished ones, we find ourselves in a similar situation, with only a few recipes that are likely to be of a Babylonian Jewish origin. One such case is T-S Misc. 34.22, a parchment bifolium inscribed in several different hands, all dated by Edna Engel to the tenth century. It contains a Judeo-Arabic commentary on Deuteronomy 2 and 3, an elaborate drawing of a menorah, labelled מנרת שפטים, and – on a page probably left blank in the original manuscript – two magical recipes:

לאהבה בשם גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל וח?[סדיאל? ו...] / אתון ה׳ מלאכין דיממניין
על גנין[94] ו... / [ ]ומזומן לה בהיך בהיך אסא ב׳א׳ל׳ה׳א׳ רב?. דבר ... א? / וחזוא

Bowl Spells, JBA 15 (MS 1927/43), 19 (MS 2053/132), 24 (MS 2053/251) and 62 (MS 2053/242).

92 These examples are studied in a forthcoming publication by James Nathan Ford.

93 See Kwasman, 'Demon of the Roof,' for a cluster of Babylonian demons found in a recipe in Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, I, no. 2 (= T-S K 1.56) and *ibid*., no. 20 (= T-S K 1.147). Another published Geniza fragment that is likely to preserve magical recipes of Babylonian-Jewish origin is Mosseri Ia 26.2 (published by Goitein and Friedman, *Abraham ben Yijû*, pp. 418–421), a collection of magical recipes apparently copied by Abraham ben Yijû in Aden; recipe no. 4 contains an interesting first-person *historiola*, and a reference to דנהש, who is probably identical with דנחיש, for whom see Shaked, 'Bagdâna,' pp. 520–522, and Müller-Kessler, 'Dan(ḫ)iš.' See also Shaked, 'An Early Geniza Fragment,' for a fragment that is unique and therefore harder to classify.

94 Lege: גנון.

לפ׳ב׳פ׳ תשתחן ותשתגר ותשבב נשגי ממללה / בפומה ולישנה ביני ספוותה תפול פ׳ב׳פ׳ תחות / פ׳ב׳פ׳ כיטינא תחות עבדיה כי בסתרקיך תחות גבּרא / מ?ריה בשם אה אה יה וה יה קדוש קדוש קדוש יי׳ צב׳ / מל׳ כל הא כבודו שריר וקיים קי׳[95] ג׳ טאס?י[96] דאסא / וזמניה על שמה ואמור על כל חד וחד ז׳ זמ׳ והב לה ת.[97]

שילוח אש אנה גולגלתא אנא גלגולתא כ?ם ו?הנ?ם / כם והנם אנא והנם אנה והנם אשבע לכי ו?מ?נ?א? לכי? / .ד רום סטנא בישא דיתיב על תלת מאה ושיתין סטנין/ איזיל ואפיל אש על פ׳ב׳פ׳ אימ׳ ולילית יקיד ולא / יתטפי מיניה עד דאנה אצבי ויהי העם כמת[אוננים] / כוליה כ׳ת׳ על ביעתא ברת יומא וקבר על / בביה.

For love:[98] In the name of Gabriel and Michael and Raphael and H[asdiel? and ...], you five angels who are appointed over (the) bridal chamber and ???, and is prepared for her by this by this[99] myrtle, by the great God who created (?) [charm?] and grace to NN, may she be inflamed, heated up and enkindled, may her speech become confused in her mouth, and her tongue (become confused) between her lips, may NN fall under NN like clay under its worker, like a mattress[100] under the hero, its master. In the name of ’H ’H YH WH YH ‘Holy holy holy the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is filled with his Glory’ (Isa 6:3). Firm and established. Take (?) three leaves (?) of myrtle and prepare it (i.e., them) on her name, and say on each one seven times and give her. The End.

(For) sending fire:[101] I, skull,[102] I, skull, KM WHNM KM WHNM ’N’ WHNM ’NH WHNM, I adjure you and I beswear you, D RWM the evil Satan, who sits upon three hundred and sixty Satans. Go and let fall upon NN a fire, burning by night and day, and it shall

95 Lege: קח?; in any case, the meaning should be ‘take.’
96 Lege: טרפי? Or maybe טאסי, ‘foils’ → ‘leaves’?
97 Perhaps תם or תמת.
98 For Jewish erotic magic, see Saar, *Jewish Love Magic*.
99 The duplication is probably a result of scribal dittography.
100 For the Persian loanword ביסתרקא, ‘bedding, mattress, carpet’, see Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, p. 204.
101 This type of aggressive action of sending fire or fever against someone is extremely common; see, for example, Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, G16 (= T-S K 1.91 + K 1.117), p. 7, l. 1; Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, III, no. 56 (= T-S Ar. 44.26), 1b/3; *ibid*., no. 60 (= T-S K 1.120), 1a/4, 10.
102 For the use of human skulls in late-antique Jewish magic, see Levene, ‘Calvariae Magicae.’

not be extinguished from him until I desire (so). 'And the people com[plained]' (Num 11:1) in its entirety. Write (all this) on a day-old egg and bury it at his gate.

Several factors argue for a Babylonian Jewish origin of these two recipes. In the first recipe, in addition to some Babylonian Aramaic forms such as נשגי, the separation of the preposition כי from the subsequent noun (כי בסתרקיך) and the Persian loanword בסתרקיך, 'mattress,' we may note that the formula תשתחן ותשתגר ותשבב is closely paralleled in one of the erotic bowls published by Montgomery.[103] Another formula, נשגי ממללה בפומה ולישנה ביני ספוותה, is partly paralleled in a bowl published by Shaked, where the damages caused by the spirit that afflicts the poor targets include ומשגשא לישנה בפומה, 'and it confuses her tongue in her mouth.'[104] And in the second recipe, the spell is partly paralleled by a similar formula found in the Damascus magical recipe book to which we shall soon turn.[105] All this does not amount to a clear proof of a Babylonian Jewish origin, but it certainly makes such an origin very plausible.

To this example, several others may be added of unpublished Geniza magical spells and recipes that display some sign of a Babylonian Jewish origin.[106] And yet, the total number of such recipes seems

103 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, Bowl 28, ll. 1–2 (p. 213): לשמיה דאנור .. בר פרכוי דנישתיחן ונישתגר ונישתבב בתר אחת בת נבאזך (Montgomery reads the second verb as ונישתנר). A similar but much longer series of verbs appears in an unpublished Geniza fragment, JTS 3320.7. For other parallels, see Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, p. 85 (VA 2492), ll. 2–3: נישחנוניה ונישבבניה ונירדוניה ונישגרוניה, and cf. *ibid*., p. 118 (039A), l. 13, and p. 81 (VA 3381), l. 16.

104 See Shaked, 'Peace Be upon You,' p. 207 (Bowl M1, ll. 11–12).

105 See below, note 107. The spell there reads גולגולתא גפנם וני?סגף / אי?שבעית עלך נורדפיס סטנא דתיזיל / [ות]פ?יל אשתא על פ׳ב׳פ׳, 'Skull, GPNM WNYSGP, I have adjured you, NWRDPYS the satan, that you shall go and cast fire upon NN.'

106 I note, for example, T-S K 1.67, where one finds the sequence ויתנצל מן נחי..א ומן ממללתה / ומן כל חרשין בישין ועובדין / תקיפין ומן רוחי בישתה וחומרי / זנייתה זידניתה, 'and he shall be saved from ??? and from (evil) words and from all evil sorceries and powerful (magical) actions, and from evil spirits and fornicating (or 'evil,' which is the common formula in the bowls) amulet spirits.' This amulet was written for Nûmeir bar Qûbîha, the same individual for whom the spell in T-S K 1.26 (Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, II, no. 45) was written – a spell which, as noted by James Nathan Ford, also displays clear parallels with the bowls. T-S Misc. 10.90 bears the title (written

exceedingly small, given the large number of magical texts from the Cairo Geniza, and the presence there not only of magical spells and recipes whose late-antique Palestinian provenance is quite clear, but even of a Babylonian Jewish text like the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa*.

(c) From the Cairo Geniza we may turn to a very curious find, namely, a booklet with magical recipes, possibly dating to the eleventh century, found by Bruno Violet in the Geniza of the famous Mosque in Damascus.[107] In this case, both the Aramaic dialect and some of the specific parallels with the bowls argue for a Babylonian Jewish origin, and the Damascene provenance of the booklet itself certainly could support such a hypothesis. Moreover, very little in this booklet is derived from or influenced by the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition or by Christian or Muslim magic. Thus, while there is no way of accurately measuring the 'antiquity' or 'Babylonian-ness' of each of its recipes, we seem to have here a good starting point for the study of Babylonian Jewish magic as it survived, and was perhaps also modified, in the Early Islamic period, in a region not far removed from Babylonia.[108] What is perhaps most interesting about this find is that the booklet's magical recipes have few clear parallels among the many thousands of magical recipes found in the Cairo Geniza or in non-Geniza manuscripts, which might show that while the Babylonian Jewish magical tradition survived the Muslim conquest, its remains kept on fading into oblivion in subsequent centuries, apart from the few exceptions surveyed here.

(d) From the Jewish Geniza of Cairo and the Muslim Geniza of Damascus we move to non-Geniza manuscripts of Jewish magical recipes – that is, to manuscripts that normally do not date from before the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. This vast field has never even been

in a strange script!) קמיעות מבחנות מבבל, 'tested amulets from Babylonia,' but the recipes themselves do not seem particularly Babylonian. JTS 3753.9–10 has an interesting *historiola* about Mt. Hermon and a demon, which might be of Babylonian Jewish origin.

107 See Bohak and Morgenstern, 'A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Booklet.'

108 One obvious modification is the translation of some of the instructions, which must originally have been written in Aramaic, into Judeo-Arabic, a phenomenon that is extremely well attested in the magical recipe books from the Cairo Geniza as well.

charted, let alone studied in greater depth.[109] I therefore limit myself to a single manuscript that I know well: NYPL 190 (formerly Sassoon 56), a fifteenth-century compendium of magic and Kabbalah produced in an unknown location (but certainly somewhere in the Arabic-speaking world), of which I have prepared a complete critical edition.[110] In this manuscript, recipe no. 124 ('For the evil eye') on pp. 111–112 displays clear signs of the Babylonian Jewish origins of at least some of its components, the clearest of which is the following formula:

אשבעית עליכון כל חרשין בישין וכל / עובדין תקיפין בשם סלגס סליגס אדרקס אדריקס נקיקיאל קבניאל / אתון מלאכיא קדישיא דממנן על חרשין בישין ועל עובדין תקיפין / ובישין עבידו לפ׳ בן פ׳ פשרתא ואסותא אם חרשי יהודאי עבידו לה / פשרו[111] ופשרו לה אם חרשי ארמאי עבידו לה פשרו ופשרו לה אם חרשי / טיאעי עבידו לה פשרו ופשרו לה אם חרשי פרסאי עבדו לה פשרו ופשרו / לה ואם במיא ובמילחא צתרי במיכלא ובמשתיא וכל לבושא וכסויא וכל / מדעם מאית בעלמא עבדו לה פשרו ופשרו ותהא ליה אסותא א׳א׳א׳ סלה.

I adjure you, all evil sorceries and all powerful (magical) deeds, in the name of SLGS SLYGS 'DRQS 'DRYQS NQYQY'L QBNY'L, you holy angels who are appointed over evil sorceries and powerful and evil (magical) acts, accomplish for NN a spell-loosening and a healing. If Jewish sorcerers performed (witchcraft) upon him, loosen[112] and loosen him; if Aramean sorcerers performed (witchcraft) upon him, loosen and loosen him; if Ṭayya'ei sorcerers performed (witchcraft) upon him, loosen and loosen him; if Persian sorcerers performed (witchcraft) upon him, loosen and loosen him. And if with water and salt ??? in food or drink and any garment and covering and any dead thing in the world they performed (witchcraft) upon him, loosen and loosen (him), and may there be health for him, A(men) A(men) A(men) Sela.[113]

109 For some useful starting points, see Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*; Benayahu, '*Shoshan yesod ha'olam*'; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, pp. 182–189; and Harari, 'Jewish Magic.'

110 See Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*.

111 Here and in what follows, the original formula must have been שרו ופשרו ליה.

112 The original text must have read 'release and loosen him' – see the previous note.

113 NYPL 190, in Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*, I, pp. 155–156; II, p. 112, ll. 19–26.

Three different arguments may be adduced to support the late-antique Babylonian Jewish origins of this spell. The first is that the last section closely resembles in its logic and phraseology the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa*, even if the specific aggressive magical activities mentioned here are not mentioned in the *Pishra*. The second is the geographical and chronological logic of the references to Jews, Arameans (which may mean nothing more than 'Gentiles'), Persians and Ṭayya'ans (i.e., pre-Muslim Arab tribesmen), the latter being well known from the Babylonian Talmud. Clearly, whoever composed this spell lived in a time and place where Persians and pre-Islamic Mesopotamian Arabs were the Jews' close neighbors.

But the third and most conclusive argument is that this very formula is attested on one of the Babylonian incantation bowls, where it reads:

> ויבטלון ... חרשין / ארמאין חרשין יהודאין חרשין טיאעין חרשין פרסאין חרשין הינדואין חרשין יונאין חרשין די כיתין חרשין / דמיתעבדין בשבעין לישנין.
>
> And there shall be annulled ... Aramean sorceries, Jewish sorceries, Ṭayya'an sorceries, Persian sorceries, Indian sorceries, Greek sorceries, Roman sorceries, sorceries that are performed in (each of the) seventy languages.[114]

The identity between the two spells is quite clear, and the fact that almost a full millennium separates the Aramaic bowl and the manuscript with magical recipes written in the 1460s by a certain Moses, son of Jacob and Marḥaba, proves that at least some Babylonian Jewish magical spells kept on being transmitted even long after the incantation bowls were no longer produced. Unfortunately, it is not easy to tell how much of the fifteenth-century recipe goes back to late-antique Babylonia, but an examination of its other components, and the reconstruction of some unpublished Geniza parallels to them, will no doubt shed more light on this issue. It is also impossible to say whether the fact that this is an Oriental manuscript, produced by an Arabic-speaking Jew who may have lived in or come from one of the large cities of present-day Syria or Iraq, makes it more likely that its producer came across magical

114 See Gordon, 'Aramaic Magical Bowls,' bowl D (p. 328), l. 9. In the original publication, Gordon read טיאעין as שיאעין, 'Shiites,' but he corrected his mistake in idem, 'Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls,' p. 106.

formulae whose origins lie in Sasanian Babylonia. Only after much further research, and detailed studies of many other manuscripts, will the answers to such questions become somewhat clearer.

Conclusions and Desiderata

Having searched for the remains of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic in several different textual corpora, I may now offer some broader conclusions and note in which areas more research is still needed. First and foremost, we may safely assert that even when all the above-mentioned criteria are used, and the relevant texts are isolated from the vast corpus of medieval and later Jewish magical texts, we would still face a body of sources that suffers from two disadvantages vis-à-vis the bowls. On the one hand, for most of these texts we can never be absolutely sure that they are late-antique and Babylonian in origin, unless we find detailed parallels in the bowls themselves. Moreover, we can never assume that they present the text in its 'pure' form, whatever that might mean, for we are dealing only with much later copies of copies of whatever original texts may have been in circulation in Sasanian Babylonia.

Going into greater detail, we may note the need for a fuller assessment of the relationship between Babylonian Jewish magic as reflected in the bowls and that reflected in the Babylonian Talmud. To offer such an assessment, we must not only gather all the textual parallels between these two corpora, but also analyze the function and context of each of these parallel units in the bowls on the one hand and in the Talmud on the other. Moreover, we must note especially those areas where the Babylonian Talmud helps us study those facets of ancient Babylonian Jewish magic that are not well represented by the bowls, in order to arrive at a more balanced view of what late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic may have looked like.

A second conclusion that emerges from our survey is that magical texts such as the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* or the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa* often are easier to identify as Babylonian in origin than individual magical recipes. The reason for this is that such texts were often seen by their copyists as complete units and thus enjoyed a certain degree of textual stability (as may be seen, for example, in the different manuscripts of the *Pishra*), whereas individual recipes were

often translated, abridged, simplified or modified in other ways. Thus, the more often a recipe was copied, the less likely it was to retain its original wording and therefore also the markers of its ultimate origins. In this regard, one may note another scholarly desideratum: the re-edition of the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa*, and perhaps also of *Sefer hayashar* and *Sefer hamalbush*, in light of new textual evidence, especially from the Cairo Geniza. To this may be added the renewed search for the long-lost *Raza rabba*, which must have enjoyed some circulation in the ninth and tenth centuries, after which it seems to have vanished.

A third conclusion that emerges from our survey is that the bowls' limited spheres of interest inadvertently limit our ability to look for Jewish Babylonian magic in other textual corpora as well. As we saw, when we compile a list of 'textual markers' that are specific to the Babylonian incantation bowls, this list ends up containing mostly the names and classes of the different demons of Sasanian Babylonia. Thus, when we look in later Jewish magical texts, a list of demons found in the *Havdala*, or a specific female demon found in *Sefer haqevitsa*, or a *get* against demons in a fragment from the Cairo Geniza may all securely be identified as building on earlier Babylonian sources. But when we look at erotic and aggressive magical texts from the Cairo Geniza, we find that they have very few precedents among the incantation bowls, and we can therefore point to very few specifically Babylonian 'textual markers.' And, the fewer the comparanda, the less secure we must remain about these recipes' place in the Babylonian Jewish magical tradition, leaving us trapped in a vicious circle, like demons trapped in a bowl.

What all this means is that with the sources currently at our disposal, we are not likely to have a large body of non-bowl texts that can securely be used as evidence for late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic. As noted at the outset, the enormous advantage of the bowls is that they come from Mesopotamia and that they are late-antique objects; none of the other sources at our disposal can be used 'as is' as evidence for late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic, and some of it can only tentatively be classified as Babylonian. At the same time, the fact that we have some non-bowl texts that can securely be seen as later copies and reworkings of Jewish magical texts of Babylonian Jewish origin, and that each of these texts reached us through different channels of

transmission, leaves some room for optimism. Once more such sources are identified, published and analyzed, and with the ever-growing corpus of incantation bowls at our disposal, we will be on a much surer footing in our study of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic.[115]

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STUDIES IN HONOR OF SHAUL SHAKED

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Babylonian Jewish Magic in Late Antiquity
Beyond the Incantation Bowls

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Babylonian Jewish Magic and the Aramaic Incantation Bowls

Upon their first discovery, in 1853, the Babylonian incantation bowls seem to have aroused little scholarly attention.[1] A few studies were devoted to the edition and interpretation of several bowls, and there was some discussion of their chronology, their original mode of use, their relationship with rabbinic Judaism and their possible overall significance. But the scholars who studied the bowls were mostly busy establishing the correct reading and understanding of the texts inscribed upon these clay bowls, a task that proved exceptionally difficult, especially at a time when very few bowls were known, and when publications were not yet accompanied by images of the bowls themselves, so that different scholars had access to different bowls – in Paris, Cannes, London, Berlin, Philadelphia and elsewhere.[2] And yet, going through these earlier publications, one has a feeling that none of the scholars involved realized that these humble clay bowls would one day furnish a

1 I dedicate this study to Professor Shaul Shaked, mentor, friend, and path-breaking scholar, whose immense contributions to the study of Jewish magic, and especially of the Aramaic incantation bowls, made the present study possible.

2 For the most important publications, see the bowls published by Thomas Ellis in Layard, *Discoveries*, pp. 509–526; Schwab, 'Une coupe d'incantation'; idem, 'Les coupes magiques'; idem, 'Coupes à inscriptions magiques'; idem, 'Deux vases'; Hyvernat, 'Sur un vase judéo-babylonien'; Wohlstein, 'Über einige aramäische Inschriften'; Lacau, 'Une coupe d'incantation'; Myhrman, 'An Aramaic Incantation Text.' Most, but not all, of these bowls have since been re-edited in the more recent publications listed below. Here and in what follows, I essentially ignore the Syriac and Mandaic incantation bowls, since my focus in on Babylonian *Jewish* magic.

major source for the study of late-antique Mesopotamia in general, and of late-antique Babylonian Jewish culture in particular.[3]

It was only sixty years after the initial publications, and just over a full century ago, that Montgomery's exemplary edition of the Nippur incantation bowls in the University of Philadelphia's Museum provided other scholars with a sound textual basis on which to base their own analyses of unpublished bowls and of the bowl phenomenon as a whole.[4] This line of research was continued by Montgomery's disciple, Cyrus Herzl Gordon, and by Gordon's own disciples, such as Mark Geller and Edwin Yamauchi.[5] But It gained new prominence with the publication of the two volumes of Aramaic magical texts by Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, in 1985 and 1993, and the subsequent publications of important corpora by Shaul Shaked, Dan Levene, Christa Müller-Kessler and many others.[6]

Today, we are on the threshold of a new era in bowl studies, with the appearance of the first volume of the Schøyen collection of incantation bowls, edited by Shaul Shaked, James Nathan Ford and Siam Bhayro.[7] Once all projected nine volumes of the Schøyen bowls are published (and especially the five volumes devoted to bowls written in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic), the corpus of published Aramaic incantation bowls will become one of the largest Jewish textual corpora from Antiquity, almost as large as the Babylonian Talmud itself. And even this will not end the stream of publications, since more bowls surface on the antiquities markets all the time, and many bowls in museums and

3 They are mentioned only briefly by Blau, in *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 154, note 2, and idem, 'Amulet,' p. 547. Thus, even the greatest scholar of Jewish magic of the late nineteenth century was not yet aware of their importance.

4 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*.

5 For the most important publications, see Gordon, 'Aramaic Magical Bowls'; idem, 'Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls'; idem, 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls'; idem, 'Magic Bowls in the Moriah Collection'; Rossell, *A Handbook*; Jeruzalmi, *Les coupes magiques*; Isbell, *Corpus*; Geller, 'Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls'; and idem, 'Eight Incantation Bowls.'

6 See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*; eidem, *Magic Spells and Formulae*; Segal, *Catalogue*; Levene, *A Corpus*; idem, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*; Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte*; Faraj, *Coppe magiche*; and Bhayro, Ford, Levene and Saar, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*.

7 Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*.

private collections remain unpublished.[8] In fact, no one really knows how many unpublished bowls are out there already, and once Iraq regains its former stability, new archaeological excavations are bound to lead to the discovery of many more Aramaic incantation bowls.

The Babylonian Aramaic incantation bowls are an important source for the study of Babylonian Jewish magic and of Babylonian Jewish culture as a whole.[9] They present four major advantages over most other types of textual sources currently at our disposal for the study of ancient Jewish culture. The first is that, in the world of the bowls, there seems to be a close connection between a bowl's language and script and the ethnic or religious identity of its producers. At the very least, one may definitely assume that bowls written in Aramaic and in the square script were produced by Jews (though not necessarily for Jewish clients). The hundreds of bowls in this category that have been published thus far display many signs of the Jewish origins of their producers, and no Aramaic bowl displays clear signs of having been produced by a non-Jewish practitioner. This gives the Aramaic incantation bowls a vast advantage over such magical texts as are found, for example, in the Greek magical papyri, some of which may have been produced by Jews, but most of which probably were not, even if they display some Jewish influence. More important still, the Aramaic incantation bowls provide a much more reliable body of evidence for the study of late-antique Jewish culture than the massive body of evidence assembled by

8 For some of the most recent publications, see Gorea, 'Trois nouvelles coupes'; Moriggi, 'Aramaean Demons'; idem, 'Two New Incantation Bowls'; Abousamra, 'Une nouvelle coupe'; Abousamra and Lemaire, 'Bol magique'; Faraj, 'An Incantation Bowl'; Ford, 'A New Parallel'; Ford and Ten-Ami, 'An Incantation Bowl'; Levene and Bohak, 'A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Incantation'; Levene and Ford, 'For Aḥata-de-'abuh Daughter of Imma'; al-Jubouri, 'An Aramaic Incantation Bowl'; idem, 'An Aramaic Incantation Text'; idem, 'A New Aramaic Incantation Bowl'; Fain, Ford and Lyavdansky, 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls'; and cf. Frankfurter, 'Scorpion/Demon.'

9 For detailed surveys of the bowls and their significance, see Yamauchi, 'Aramaic Magic Bowls'; Isbell, 'The Story'; Shaked, 'Popular Religion'; idem, 'Jews, Christians and Pagans'; idem, 'Magical Bowls and Incantation Texts'; Levene, *Curse or Blessing*; Harari, 'On the Trail,' pp. 59–67; idem, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 234–251; Morony, 'Magic and Society'; idem, 'Religion'; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 183–193; and Müller-Kessler, 'Zauberschalen und ihre Umwelt.'

Erwin Goodenough for his monumental work on Jewish symbols, most of which probably is non-Jewish to begin with.[10]

A second advantage of the Babylonian incantation bowls is that they come from Babylonia itself and are late-antique objects, not medieval copies of late-antique texts. This means that, unlike many other bodies of ancient Jewish literature (such as most of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha), their chronological and geographical coordinates are well known. In this respect, the bowls may even help us peg down some texts whose original contexts are far more obscure. Thus, to give just one example, when we find Hekhalot-related motifs, and even rather extensive passages known to us from the Hekhalot literature, in some of the Babylonian incantation bowls, we can be certain that these motifs and textual units were already in circulation in late-antique Babylonia.[11] This does not necessarily mean that they began their life there and not in Palestine, and it does not really tell us how much older they may have been, but it does provide a firm *terminus ante quem*, and one specific geographical and social context, for the early transmission of at least some textual components of the Hekhalot literature. This evidence is of great importance, since it dates to long before the references to the Hekhalot literature in the responsa of Sherira Gaon and Hai Gaon or in the *Scroll of Aḥimaaz*, and even longer before the earliest Geniza fragments of this literature, not to mention the much later manuscripts of European origin.[12]

The third reason why the bowls are such an important source is that they come in great abundance and that each bowl carries a relatively long text. Unlike tombstones, for example, which often come in great abundance but tend to be quite short, and in many cases highly formulaic and thus extremely repetitive, a typical bowl provides us with the equivalent of half a page of printed text; and while many textual

10 See Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*.

11 For a pertinent example, see Bohak, 'Observations,' pp. 220–222; for the formula discussed there, see now Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, JBA 9 (MS 2053/183), ll. 16–17. The pioneering study in this field was Shaked, 'Peace Be upon You,' and cf. idem, 'Jewish and Iranian Visions'; Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, pp. 23–27; and Müller-Kessler, 'Eine ungewöhnliche Hekhalot-Zauberschale.'

12 For a useful introduction to these complex issues, see Boustan, 'Study of Heikhalot Literature.' For the earliest manuscripts of the Hekhalot literature, see Bohak, 'Dangerous Books.'

units recur in more than one bowl (often with some variation between the different parallels), the number of different textual units found in the entire corpus amounts to many hundreds. These units range in length from a line or two to ten or twelve lines of printed text, and they often contain one or two larger spells along with a plethora of smaller textual units and recurrent formulae.[13] And they have much to tell us about many aspects of Sasanian Jewish society and culture, including language, onomastics, family structures, levels of literacy, Jewish/non-Jewish cultural and social contacts, and even the knowledge and use of such texts as the Hebrew Bible, the Mishna and the Jewish liturgy. For scholars used to reconstructing ancient cultures from their scanty textual remains, this is an extremely important body of evidence, which has not yet been utilized for all that it has to offer.

Finally, a fourth major advantage of the bowls is that they clearly stem from more than one site. This is a rather sensitive issue, since most of the bowls that have come out of Iraq over the last two decades were looted from unknown locations, but those that were excavated in more peaceful times often are of a known provenance. A full study of all these different findspots, and of the possible differences between bowls found in different locations, has yet to be carried out, but enough is known about bowls from Babylon (such as those published by Ellis), Nippur (such as those published by Montgomery), Khafajah, Kish, Tell Baruda (Ctesiphon), Bidjan, Tel Omar (Seleucia), Borsippa and some sites in Western Iran to assure us of their wide geographic distribution.[14] Thus, it is clear that these bowls are not the product of some aberrant social

13 For a pioneering attempt to sort out the different *types* of textual units found in the bowls and disentangle the logic of their internal arrangement, see Shaked, 'Transmission and Transformation of Spells'; see also Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, pp. 8–13.

14 See Cook, 'An Aramaic Incantation Bowl' (Khafajah); Gordon, 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls,' pp. 129–130 and pp. 276–280 (Kish); Franco, 'Five Aramaic Incantation Bowls' (Tel Baruda); Gawlikowski, 'Une coupe magique' (Bidjan, near Anah); Waterman, *Preliminary Report*, pp. 61–62 (Tel Omar); Harviainen, 'An Aramaic Incantation Bowl' (as this bowl was bought in Borsippa, and not excavated in situ, its provenance is less certain). For bowls from Western Iran, see Yamauchi, 'Aramaic Magic Bowls,' p. 512. For bowls found in other locations, see, for example, Faraj and Moriggi, 'Two Incantation Bowls,' pp. 72 and 77. And note the map provided by Müller-Kessler, 'Zauberschalen und ihre Umwelt,' which includes the Syriac and Mandaic evidence as well as the Jewish Aramaic bowls.

group or of specific local circumstances, but objects produced in great numbers, by many different producers, in many different locations, for numerous clients. As such, they represent a phenomenon that clearly is very different from that represented by the Dead Sea Scrolls, for example, or by the Gnostic library found at Nag Hammadi, each of which may have been intended for the use of one rather small group of potential readers. With the bowls, the potential readers were the demons whom the bowls were trying to thwart, but the clients on whose behalf these texts were written were both male and female, both Jews and non-Jews, living in many different towns and villages over a period of two, three or four centuries, from the fifth to the seventh or eighth centuries CE.[15]

Useful as the bowls might be, their usefulness as sources for the study of Jewish magic is diminished by several important drawbacks. On the one hand, because of the problematic ways in which they reach the markets, many bowls are without provenance and utterly devoid of any archaeological or precise geographical context. In some cases, bowls whose provenance is unknown may be ascribed to a specific location because the client for whom they were produced is known from other bowls whose provenance is known for certain, but such cases are few and far between. This is to be regretted, since the absence of provenance almost precludes any attempt to study which spells were used in which locations, and how the spells travelled from one location to the next.[16]

The lack of clear archaeological contexts for many bowls is a major handicap, but the bowls also suffer from another disadvantage, in that they are rather uni-dimensional. A vast majority of the bowls are apotropaic in nature, as they seek to bind demons and avert the dangers of witchcraft and the evil eye. In some bowls, there is implicit or explicit reference to the illnesses from which the bowls' owners suffered, and these bowls thus shed some light on the etiology of certain diseases, and the connection between magic and medicine, in late-antique Babylonia.[17]

15 The bowls' chronology is not easy to establish for certain, since very few carry specific dates or other chronological indicators, but those that do carry such indications cluster in the second half of the sixth century and in the seventh; see Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, p. 1, note 2.

16 For a modest effort in this direction, see Hunter, 'Manipulating Incantation Texts.'

17 See, for example, Levene, *Curse or Blessing*, pp. 28–29; Ford, 'A New

But only some two dozen of the published bowls are aggressive in nature, and even these tend to be intended more to send the witchcraft back upon its perpetrators, with only six bowls containing aggressive spells that are not presented as counter-spells.[18] Only four published bowls are intended for erotic magic, and only one seeks to enhance its client's economic and social position by attracting people to his business.[19] Thus, a reading of the bowls might give us the impression that the Jews of Sasanian Babylonia were mostly busy with 'white' magic and showed little interest in recourse to 'black' magic. Some students of Jewish culture might be satisfied with such a conclusion, since this is the type of Jewish magical activity that is easiest for them to swallow.[20] But students of magic should be extremely skeptical of such a scenario, since in other magical traditions, and in the Jewish magic of later periods and even of late-antique Palestine, magical practices for aggressive, erotic, medicinal and divinatory purposes tend to be at least as popular, and often more so, than magic aimed for protection against demons and witchcraft.[21] That the bowls preserve mostly one type of magic must be because this type was committed to writing, and on writing surfaces that happen to be quite durable; that they were buried in the ground also helped preserve them for posterity. Other types of magical activity apparently involved different practices, including the manipulation of various objects, the uttering of oral spells, the writing of spells on perishable writing surfaces or their destruction during the

Parallel,' pp. 272–275; and Bhayro, 'An Aramaic Magic Bowl for Fertility.' For a broader analysis, see Bohak, 'Conceptualizing Demons.'

18 These bowls have now been collected and analyzed as a group by Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*. My statistics are based on his discussion, *ibid*., p. 1. And cf. Saar, 'A Study in Conceptual Parallels.'

19 For the erotic bowls, see Saar, 'An Incantation Bowl'; for the economic bowl, see Levene and Bhayro, 'Bring to the Gates.'

20 For a case in point, see Baron, *Social and Religious History*, VIII, p. 283, note 21: 'The relative paucity of erotic incantations emanating from the Jews of Nippur and elsewhere (Montgomery's text, No. 28, p. 213, invoking the aid of the goddess of love Dlibat evidently was of pagan origin) testifies to the strong hold of the regnant Jewish ethics over the popular masses and their miracle-working agents even in the obscure realm of sex.' For Montgomery's Bowl 28, see below, note 103.

21 For 'black' magic in late-antique Palestine, cf. Alexander, '*Sefer ha-Razim*'; and Bohak, 'Magical Rotuli.'

magical ritual (e.g., by burning or washing in water), and so they left no archaeological traces.[22]

Thus, I would suggest that rather than being the central sphere of Jewish magical activity in late-antique Mesopotamia, the bowls represent just one type of magical activity, but the type which produced long-lasting remains, whereas all other types left far fewer remains or none at all.[23] But this suggestion raises two related questions: (a) What do we know about the other magical practices known to and used by the Jews of Sasanian Babylonia? And: (b) What other Jewish magical texts from Sasanian Babylonia do we currently have and may we hope to find in the future? The present paper is an attempt to answer these two questions, by surveying some of the possible sources of evidence pertaining to the Jewish magical texts and practices of late-antique Mesopotamia, apart from the bowls. In what follows I shall not try to offer a full analysis of each textual corpus, but I will endeavor to raise the basic questions, point to some pertinent examples and note where further research is still needed. Moreover, as many of the relevant texts have never been published, it is my hope that the survey offered here will encourage the edition and closer analysis of these neglected sources.

Babylonian Jewish Magic in the Babylonian Talmud

The most obvious starting point for any attempt to complement the image of Sasanian Jewish magic emerging from the Aramaic incantation bowls is the Babylonian Talmud. Here we are dealing with a large body of evidence that has much to tell us about the magical practices and spells known to, taught by and sometimes even used by the rabbis of late-antique Mesopotamia.[24] Surveying all this evidence would be out

22 Note, however, a lead amulet on which the spell was written in ink, published by Geller, 'More Magic Spells,' pp. 331–334; if authentic, it could provide one more point of entry into late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic. Another relevant item is the amulet from Afghanistan (see below, note 75), which probably dates to the tenth century, and whose authenticity is hardly in doubt.

23 And note Shaked, '*Dramatis Personae*,' who highlights the differences between the magic bowls and Geniza magical texts, and stresses, on p. 366, that 'the bowls do not reflect the whole range of magical practices used in the Babylonian environment at the time.'

24 For broad surveys of rabbinic magic and a more extensive bibliography, see

of the question here, and as the magical practices and recipes found in the Babylonian Talmud have often been studied, we may merely note two of their most important features. First, here we find numerous examples of medicinal magic, including the use of many types of amulets and the recitation of many types of spells, and some examples of anti-demonic and anti-witchcraft practices – but very little aggressive magic, no erotic magic whatsoever and very little divinatory magic. Second, most of the magical activity recorded in the Babylonian Talmud is transmitted and enacted orally; there are only a few references to the writing down of magical spells as a part of the ritual process,[25] confirming our suspicion that the Jews of Sasanian Babylonia utilized many magical practices that involved only the oral recitation of spells, without writing them down. These practices also involved the manipulation of various objects, the binding or slaughtering of animals and the burial (or hanging) of magical objects at crossroads, in cemeteries and at the entrance to one's home. Thus, the Talmud complements the evidence supplied by the bowls in terms not only of the goals sought by those who had recourse to magic, but also of the rituals enacted in order to attain those goals.

As has often been noted, the Babylonian Talmud never refers to the practice of writing down spells on clay bowls, and it seems unaware of this practice, whose apogee probably postdates the time of its redaction.[26] And yet, numerous motifs appear both in the Babylonian Talmud and in the Aramaic incantation bowls, including specific rabbinic, demonic and angelic figures, shared legal and liturgical formulae, similar uses of

Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*; Goldin, 'Magic of Magic'; Harari, 'The Sages and the Occult'; Geller, 'Deconstructing Talmudic Magic'; and Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 351–425.

25 For these exceptions, see BT *Baba batra* 73a (sailors writing on wooden staffs); BT *Yoma* 84a (a spell to be written on hyena-skin); BT *Pesaḥim* 111b (two rabbinic disciples writing amulets); BT *Gitin* 67b ('Why do you need to know the demon's name? To write the proper amulet'). The Talmud also refers to books of magic (e.g., BT *Ḥullin* 13a), but these were books owned by non-Jews or laypersons, and not by the rabbis themselves.

26 The Babylonian Talmud (BT *Ḥullin* 84b, *Baba metsia* 29b) is aware of the existence of 'a sorcerers' cup' (כסא דחרשין) but attributes this knowledge to the Palestinian Rabbi Yohanan, and the ensuing discussion shows that it is not the inscribed clay bowls that the rabbi had in mind.

biblical verses and a pervasive fear of demons and witchcraft.[27] More specifically, there are some interesting overlaps between the spells found in the incantation bowls (and not found on the metal amulets from late-antique Palestine, Egypt, Italy and so on) and those recommended by the Babylonian Talmud, thus showing that both textual corpora share some of the magical know-how of late-antique Babylonian Jewish society. These parallels have never been collected systematically, but useful starting points have been provided in several earlier studies.[28] In what follows, I wish to point to one such parallel, which has not yet been studied, and note its potential significance.

In BT *Shabbat* 67a, a discussion of the mishnaic dictum (Mishna *Shabbat* 6:10) that one may not carry (as an amulet) the egg of a locust, the tooth of a fox or a nail from a crucifixion, because these are 'ways of the Amorites,' soon leads to a dictum by Rabbi Ḥiyya bar Abin (a Babylonian *amora* of the third generation) that two specific first aid practices are not to be included under this umbrella term for forbidden practices. First, if a fishbone got stuck in someone's throat, those next to him should place a bone of the same kind on his head and say: 'One, one, went down, swallowed, swallowed, went down, one, one.'[29] Second, for a fishbone (stuck in one's throat), one should say: 'You were stuck in like a needle and you were locked up like a shield, *shia shia*' (ננעצתה כמחט וננעלתה כתריס שייה שייה).[30] The first of these spells

27 For some of these, see Ten-Ami, 'Rabbinic Motifs'; Manekin Bamberger, 'Jewish Legal Formulae'; Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, pp. 22–23, 53–55, 103–104; Bhayro, 'Divorcing a Demon'; and Elman, 'Saffron, Spices, and Sorceresses.' For the rabbis who are mentioned in the bowls, see Shaked, 'Rabbis.'

28 See Segal, *Catalogue*, p. 74; Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte*, p. 45; Bohak, 'Babylonian Incantation Bowls,' p. 258; Mishor, 'Hebrew,' p. 224; Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, p. 55; and Manekin Bamberger, 'An Akkadian Demon.'

29 The same magical practice, but without the spell, is found in Tosefta *Shabbat* 7:21 (ed. Zuckermandel, p. 119), and in *Testament of Solomon* 18, and is attributed by Pliny, *NH* 28.49, to the Magi. This parallel has often been noted; and see Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 76; and Veltri, 'The "Other" Physicians,' p. 51.

30 The most important manuscripts, as recorded in the Henkind Databank of the Saul Lieberman Institute, read: בגעצתה כמחט מנעלתה כתריס שייה שייה (Munich 95); ננעצתא כמחט ננעלתא כתריס שיא כשיאה (Oxford, Opp. Add. 23); (ניגע צתא) נינעצתה במחט נינעלתה כמחט נינעלתא כתריס שרא שיאה שיאה [נינעצתא] (Vatican 108);

is characterized by a chiastic structure (A, A, B, C, C, B, A, A), which in this case clearly is intended mimetically to encourage the bone that went down the throat to go back up again and join its fellow bone on the patient's head.[31] As far as I know, no parallel to this spell has thus far been found in any of the published Aramaic incantation bowls, but the chiastic structure is well attested both in the Aramaic bowls (as we shall see in one of the following examples) and in other spells recommended by the Babylonian Talmud.[32] However, the second spell is paralleled in several bowls, where it appears as דעלת כימחט דעס ביתרוס, or על כל דמחט דעלת כימחט דעס כיתרוס, or ועץ מחץ כיתרם … כיתרם מחץ ועץ דמחט כל על, or דעלת כימחט רססת כיתרס שוא פשנוש.[33] The last of these examples might even be a partial parallel to the sequence שייה שייה at the end of the talmudic spell, and in all of them we find clear parallels to the Talmud's ננעצתה כמחט וננעלתה כתריס, even though these parallels are not identical with the talmudic spell, or with each other.[34]

Reading all these parallels, one is struck by the fact that the talmudic spell is both coherent and context-specific, whereas those of the bowls are not. In the talmudic spell, most of the text, with the exception of the last two words, makes perfect sense (which definitely is not true of all the spells recommended by or recorded in the Babylonian Talmud), and this sense accords well with its intended use as a spell against a fishbone that got inserted into the throat like a needle and got locked up in there like a shield. In the bowls, on the other hand, the text of this spell makes

[שייאה שייאה](שיחשיאה) כתריס (Westminster College, Talm. II, 2 [Geniza]). Rashi *ad loc*. interprets the last two words as meaning 'Go down, go down.' The *'Arukh* of R. Nathan b. Yehiel gives them as שיח שיח and interprets them as deriving from the Aramaic root שוח, 'to melt'; see Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, VIII, p. 47.

31 See also Bar-Ilan, 'Between Magic and Religion,' pp. 394–396.

32 The clearest example being the spell הוית דפקיק הוית דפקיק, for which see Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, p. 55.

33 See, respectively, Faraj, *Coppe magiche*, pp. 52–53, Bowl 4 (IM 148241), l. 7; Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, p. 75, JBA 7 (MS 2053/12), ll. 13–14; *ibid*., p. 266, JBA 61 (MS 2053/214), l. 7. See also *ibid*., p. 254, JBA 57 (MS 2053/36), l. 8. The same formula is found in some unpublished bowls whose texts were shared with me by Dan Levene.

34 However, the readings of the bowls are complicated by the indistinguishability, in many of them, of the letters *yod* and *waw*, *bet* and *kaph*, and *samekh* and final *mem*. Thus, these parallels may be closer than what their editors' readings might lead us to believe.

no sense at all, changes from one bowl to the next and is appended to the bowls' main texts as a small appendage. Moreover, the sequence is given in Hebrew, and when the texts of the Aramaic incantation bowls shift from Aramaic to Hebrew, this usually is because they are citing pre-existing Hebrew textual units – from the Hebrew Bible, the Mishna or the Jewish liturgy, from what we now know as the Hekhalot literature and so on – which were originally transmitted in Hebrew. Finally, the word תריס, 'shield,' is a loanword from Greek (*thyreos*) that appears frequently in tannaitic sources, and while it is attested elsewhere in the Babylonian Talmud, it might point to a Palestinian origin of the entire spell.[35] Thus, we seem to have a Hebrew spell that was originally intended to help people who got fishbones stuck in their throats and that may have come to Babylonia from Palestine. In the bowls, it has nothing to do with fish or bones and appears mainly as a 'space filler,' a short formula intended to complement the longer spells that already were inscribed upon the bowl but did not suffice to fill its surface with text.

To sum up our brief discussion of the Babylonian Talmud, we may note that it is an extremely important source for the study of Babylonian Jewish magic and an excellent aid in placing the magic of the bowls in its wider social and religious contexts. On the one hand, there are enough overlaps between the bowls and the talmudic spells to assure us that they reflect the same world and stem from the same cultural environment. These overlaps still deserve a much closer scrutiny in order to highlight both the textual parallels and the contextual resemblances and differences between the two corpora, but enough has already been achieved to give us a sense of the terrain. On the other hand, the Babylonian Talmud complements the data provided by the bowls in many important ways and sheds much light on magical aims and practices that are unattested, or only partly attested, in the bowls. But even when we combine the data provided by these two major

35 Since Rabbi Ḥiyya bar Abin visited Palestine (see Hyman, *Toldoth tannaim ve'amoraim*, II, pp. 439–441), it is possible that he brought this spell with him, and that it is of Palestinian Jewish origin. That some spells of Palestinian Jewish origin found their way to the bowls is made clear by the example of the Semamit-*historiola*, for which see Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, pp. 188–197; Elitzur-Leiman, 'An Aramaic Amulet'; and Ford, 'New Light from Babylonia on the Story of Smamit.'

textual corpora, we cannot help feeling that large parts of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic still lie beyond our grasp.

A Brief Note on Method

Before turning to the Jewish magical texts of later periods in search of the remains of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic, a methodological issue must be raised: None of the evidence discussed below was found in Babylonia, nor is it preserved in late-antique manuscripts (since none from the region has survived); it comes from medieval and even later Jewish manuscripts, which we assume to contain copies of copies of much earlier texts. But this raises a grave question – reading a Jewish magical text found in medieval and later Jewish manuscripts, how would we know that it is of late-antique Babylonian origins? One criterion is linguistic, but it is problematic, because of the tendency of medieval Jewish scribes to 'normalize' Aramaic texts in line with the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud and of Targum Onqelos, which they knew so well.[36] Such processes are much more pronounced in the magical texts, which are non-canonical and intended for practical use, so that their language was constantly 'updated,' modified or even changed to the contemporary vernacular. As a rule, we may note that the magical instructions were far more likely to be modified than the incantations themselves (the copyists' assumption being that the instructions should be as clear as possible, but the incantations might lose their power if modified), but even the latter were corrupted, 'corrected,' modified and translated during their long transmission history. Thus, a linguistic analysis of later Jewish magical texts in search of earlier Babylonian Aramaic forms is not *a priori* useless, but it is not very probative either. Moreover, some Aramaic spells may even be medieval compositions. We know that Jews were writing new texts in Aramaic in the Middle Ages, with the Zohar as our best example (on which we shall say more in a moment) and the *Sidre deshimmusha rabba*, a mystical-magical text edited and analyzed by Gershom Scholem, as an even more pertinent example.[37] Even the presence of Babylonian vocalization in a

36 For this process, as seen in non-magical texts, see the classic statement by Kutscher, *Studies*, pp. 2 and 12–15.

37 For this phenomenon, see Rapoport-Albert and Kwasman, 'Late Aramaic';

manuscript of Jewish magic is no proof of the Babylonian origin of its recipes. Below, we shall note a magical booklet from Damascus that displays some Babylonian vocalization, but right next to it we could place Cairo Geniza magical texts with Babylonian vocalizations, texts whose magical recipes show no sign of a specifically Babylonian origin.[38]

A second and related problem is that once the Babylonian Talmud became the central text of medieval Jewish culture, its own magical spells and recipes became widely known to many medieval Jews. Interestingly, they did not have a great impact on the Jewish magical tradition, which had many other sources from which to draw its spells and recipes, but occasionally we do find spells and recipes that drew at least some of their inspiration from the Babylonian Talmud.[39] Moreover, there are cases where the reliance on talmudic precedents led to the creation of new spells that in some way resemble those of the Babylonian incantation bowls. Note, for example, the following passage in the Zohar, which retells the story of the creation of the woman out of the primordial human being, how Lilith was incensed by that development, and:

ערקת היא לימא, וזמינא לאבאשא בני עלמא. אסוותא להאי, בההיא שעתא דאזדווג בר נש באתתיה, יכוין לביה לקדושה דמאריה, ולימא הכי, עטיפא בקטפא אזדמנת, שארי שארי, לא תעול ולא תנפוק, לא דידך ולא בעדבך, תוב תוב, ימא אתרגישא,

Mopsik, 'Late Judeo-Aramaic'; and Tal, 'The Role of Targum Onqelos.' For the *Sidrei*, see Scholem, 'Sidrei.'

38 See, for example, Oxford, Bodleian Heb. e 74.21 (for which see the brief note in Yeivin, *The Hebrew Language Tradition*, I, p. 236); and Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, III, no. 69 (= T-S AS 142.13 + T-S NS 317.18). All three Geniza fragments come from the same manuscript, which is characterized by the Babylonian vocalization of some of its 'magic words,' but the magical recipes display no special affinity with the Babylonian Jewish magical texts of late antiquity.

39 As one example, I note the sequence שברירי ברירי רירי ירי רי י, which appears in BT *'Avoda zara* 12b and *Pesaḥim* 112a in a recipe against temporary blindness (for the Akkadian origin of the term *shabriri*, and for magical rituals against it, see Stol, 'Blindness,' and Geller, 'Akkadian Medicine,' p. 107). The same sequence appears in medieval and modern manuscripts of Jewish magic and is often used in contexts that have nothing to do with blindness. See, for example, Barel, 'Rav-Pe'alim,' p. 223, where it is used against epilepsy and to exorcize a demon.

גלגלוי ליך קראן, בחולקא קדישא אחידנא, בקדושה דמלכא אתעטפנא. ולחפיא ליה לרישיה ולאתתיה עד שעתא חדא, וכן בכל זמנא, עד תלת יומין לקליטה, דכל הרכבה דלא קולטת לתלת יומין, תוב ליתא קולטת.

She fled to the sea and is present to harm the people of the world. The cure for this – at that hour when a man copulates with his wife, he should turn his heart to the holiness of his Master and say thus: 'The one who is wrapped in bed-linen is present; loosen, loosen; you shall not come in and not come out; it is neither yours nor of your share (?). Return, return, the sea is stormy, its waves are calling you; to the holy garment I cleave, in the holiness of the King I wrap myself.' And he should cover his head and that of his wife for one hour, and thus at every time, up to three days from the moment of the reception (of the sperm in the womb), since every combination that does not receive (pregnancy) within three days, does not receive any more.[40]

Comparing this spell with those of the bowls, we may note the duplication of some words (שארי שארי, תוב תוב) and especially the structure of 'by X I did A (בחולקא קדישא אחידנא), by Y I did B (בקדושה דמלכא אתעטפנא),' both well attested in the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowls. And yet, there is no need to assume that the composer of this recipe had any direct or indirect knowledge of the bowls or their spells, since both features are well attested in the Babylonian Talmud as well.[41] We already noted above the sequence שייה שייה, which may have served as a source of inspiration for the Zohar's שארי שארי (loosen, loosen).[42] We may also note such a talmudic spell as במישרא דכרתי חבטיה בלועא דחמרא

40 Zohar III, 19a. The translation is my own, but I used the Hebrew translation of the incantation in Scholem, *Elements*, p. 152. For a brief discussion of this incantation, see Cohen-Alorro, 'Magic and Sorcery,' pp. 110–111. On pp. 319–320, note 24, Cohen-Alorro adduces an Akkadian parallel to this incantation and refers to the spells against Lilith in Babylonian incantation bowls.

41 Scholem, in his own copy of the Zohar, wrote of this spell that 'its composer is the very author of the (Zoharic) pericope on Leviticus, as emerges from its language and its contents' (לעניין הלחש: המחבר הוא בעל פרשת ויקרא עצמו כפי שיוצא מלשונו ותוכנו). See Scholem, *Sefer haZohar*, V, p. 2244.

42 Moreover, such formulae are common in many magical traditions, and see the formula שרא שרא גבר, 'Release, release a man,' in a Nabatean magical text published by Naveh, 'A Nabatean Incantation,' p. 113. I am grateful to Ortal-Paz Saar for this reference.

חטרתיה, 'in a bed of leeks I hit it, with the mouth of an ass I pounded it' (*Shabbat* 67a), as a source of inspiration for the second formula.[43] In light of such precedents, we can see why the Zohar's own spell may resemble the bowls in some striking ways, but this resemblance is not necessarily due to any historical continuity from the bowls to the world of the Zohar.

In light of these considerations, we cannot merely count on a general resemblance of language, or on some phenomenological similarities between the bowl-spells and those of later Jewish magical texts, as proof of historical continuity. We need much sounder criteria. One sound criterion for deciding about the 'Babylonian-ness' of other Jewish magical texts is a comparison thereof with the Babylonian incantation bowls, especially when we find in them parallel motifs and parallel formulae that are not attested in other Jewish magical texts, such as those from late-antique Palestine or from the Babylonian Talmud, or those found in other magical traditions (except, of course, Mandaic and Syriac magical texts, which often are of Babylonian origin themselves). In such cases, we may also use our extensive knowledge of Palestinian Jewish magic and of the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition, which had such an impact upon Palestinian Jewish magic but had only a minor impact on the Babylonian incantation bowls, to highlight those aspects of the bowls that are typical of them and of them alone.[44] When such elements re-emerge in later Jewish magical texts, these texts are likely to be copies of copies of texts that go back to late-antique Mesopotamia.

One possible application of this criterion would be to search in later Jewish magical texts for those long spells and *historiolae* that are known to us from the Babylonian incantation bowls and are unattested in late-antique Palestine. Below, we shall note some striking examples of such continuity, but also their rarity. Another application would be to search outside the Babylonian incantation bowls for words and technical terms that are extremely typical of the bowls' vocabulary and are unattested in Palestinian Jewish magic. Most useful in this regard are terms and

43 And the Zohar's description of Lilith as עטיפא בקטפא may have been influenced by the reference to חומרתא דקטיפתא, 'amulet of *qeṭifta*,' in BT *Shabbat* 57b.

44 For the continuity of Palestinian Jewish magic from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages, which is much easier to demonstrate, see Naveh, 'A Good Subduing'; idem, 'On Ancient Jewish'; and Bohak, 'Jewish Magical Tradition.'

names borrowed from the Persian language, such as זרני, דנחיש, דיוי, בגדנא, איספנדס and פתיכרי, as these are *a priori* unlikely to have had much of an impact on Palestinian Jewish magic.[45] But to this short list we may add a much longer list of Aramaic and Hebrew terms that are typical of the bowls (some of which go back to Akkadian, but others do not), including especially the many different categories of demons, such as זכיא, בני איגרי, אשלמתא, שקופתא, שלניתא, ענקתא, מבכלתא, לטבי, ירורי, חטפיתא, חומרי זידניתא and so on, as well as the many personal names of the demons and liliths attested in the bowls, including פלחס, פלחדד, אביטור and so on.[46] To this list, which reflects the highly developed demonology of Babylonian Jewish magic, we may add the Babylonian gods, who occasionally appear in the Babylonian Jewish magical texts, especially in lists of the seven planets – שמיש וסין ונבו ודליבת וביל ונריג וכיון.

Of course, when compiling such a list we must recall that once one of these words is found in a text that is of a Palestinian and late-antique origin, it must be excluded, which is why we must strike off our list terms like עינא בישא, שידא, חרשין בישין or עובדין תקיפין, not to mention סטנין or מזיקין, all of which are typical of both Palestinian and Babylonian Jewish magical texts. Similarly, words that are found in the Hebrew Bible or the Babylonian Talmud should not be on our list, which is why we should exclude Ashmedai, even though he has a Persian name, and Lilith, in spite of her Babylonian origins, and why a single appearance of Bel or Keiwan does not necessarily tell us much about a text's provenance. And, as with every such set of 'textual markers,' we must note that it is not always easy to distinguish between real appearances of a certain word and mere phantoms, as when a corrupt word or a *vox magica* accidentally resembles one of the words in our list. Thus, the more such 'markers' we find in any given text, and the more we can be certain that they are indeed our words and not some random flukes, the more likely the text itself is to be of Babylonian origin or to preserve older Babylonian material.[47]

45 For these terms, see Shaked, 'Bagdâna,' and idem, 'Popular Religion.'

46 To date, no attempt has been made to catalogue all the demons that appear in the Aramaic bowls, and the most detailed survey remains Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, pp. 70–83. For a useful comparandum, see Furlani, 'I nomi delle classe.'

47 One more feature that seems typical of Babylonian Jewish magic and sometimes

To these 'textual markers' we could, at least in theory, add a list of 'iconographical markers,' that is, features of the bowls' peculiar iconography (especially the appearance of the demons and the different manners by which they are bound) for which we could search in later Jewish magical texts.[48] However, such an analysis would not get us very far, since later Jewish magical texts rarely have a pictorial component, and when they depict demons, these depictions resemble those of Muslim magical texts and greatly differ from those of the Aramaic incantation bowls.[49] Similarly, one could examine the magic signs that occasionally appear in the bowls and usually differ from the typical *charactêres* of Greco-Egyptian and Palestinian Jewish magic, and search for similar signs in later Jewish magical texts.[50] However, I know of no attempt to assemble the relevant data from all the published (and well photographed!) bowls, without which no such research could be carried out.

Another important criterion is the appearance in later Jewish magical texts of themes and practices that seem typical of non-Jewish Mesopotamian magic, and especially of the older Babylonian magical tradition.[51] This tradition seems to have had relatively little impact on the Babylonian incantation bowls, although the exact nature of this impact is still being debated by scholars, and the publication of more bowls might shed additional light.[52] However, in looking for older Babylonian magical elements that entered the Jewish magical tradition,

emerges in later Jewish magical texts is the first-person *historiola* (for which see Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, pp. 15–17). However, I know of no attempt to classify the *historiolae* found in the 'Western' and 'Eastern' branches of late-antique Jewish magic and to isolate those features that are found exclusively in the 'Eastern' branch.

48 For the bowls' iconography, see Vilozny, 'Between Demons and Kings'; eadem, 'Lilith's Hair'; eadem, *Lilith's Hair*; and cf. Lesses, 'Image and Word.'

49 For one striking example, see the image from T-S Ar. 51.95, reproduced in Baker and Polliack, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts*, Plate 21.

50 For the *charaktêres*, see Bohak, 'The *Charaktêres*,' with further bibliography.

51 The same applies to the Persian magical tradition, which, unfortunately, is not well documented.

52 And see Müller-Kessler, 'Die aramäische Beschwörung'; Oelsner, 'Incantations in Southern Mesopotamia'; Geller, 'Tablets and Magic Bowls'; idem, 'Magic Bowls'; Gabbay, 'King of the Demons'; Bhayro, 'The Reception'; Levene, Marx and Bhayro, 'Gabriel is on Their Right'; Ford, 'Ancient Mesopotamian Motif'; and Wasserman, 'Old-Babylonian.'

we must always keep in mind that similar traditions and practices may have existed outside Babylonia as well.[53] Their presence in the Jewish magical tradition may therefore be due to non-Babylonian influences and thus tell us little about their ultimate origins. Of course, the more specifically-Babylonian a certain text or practice is, the more likely it is to have entered the Jewish magical tradition in late-antique Mesopotamia.

With these guidelines in mind, we may approach the sources, which include more than a thousand magic-related fragments from the Cairo Geniza and many hundreds of non-Geniza manuscripts of Jewish magic, some of which are hundreds of pages long. In what follows, I shall try to make two separate inroads into this vast territory. First, I shall look for longer Jewish magical texts that may be identified as coming from Sasanian Babylonia, or as displaying some Babylonian features. Next, I shall look for single Jewish magical recipes, found in manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza and elsewhere, that may be identified as stemming from late-antique Babylonian Jewish origins, even though they are found in collections of magical recipes with recipes of many different origins. I shall end with a brief evaluation of the results and some suggestions for further research.

Jewish Magical Texts of Mesopotamian Provenance

Reading through the dozens of Aramaic and Hebrew magical texts transmitted in medieval and later Jewish manuscripts (most of which have never been properly edited), we are soon forced to conclude that the search for magical texts that are likely to be of a late-antique Babylonian Jewish origin proves to be extremely complex. On the one hand, some of the magical texts may securely be attributed to other geograph-

53 I note, in this context, the interesting book by Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic*. Noting that the practice of gazing at oil-stains for the purpose of divination is attested in Mesopotamia and is well known to the Babylonian Talmud, Daiches goes on to edit and analyze early modern and modern manuscripts of Jewish magic where such practices may be found. His book contains much valuable data on modern Jewish magic, but it is entirely irrelevant to the study of Jewish magical texts of Babylonian origin, especially as the practice of oil-gazing for divination is extremely common in the Greek magical papyri as well and probably entered the Jewish magical tradition from several different directions.

ical and historical contexts and especially to late-antique Palestine or to the Jews of the Middle Ages, living under either Muslim or Christian rule. Thus, to give a few examples, a text such as *Sefer harazim* is so deeply influenced by the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition, and so full of Greek loanwords, as to assure us of its Palestinian origins and of its date some time in the Early Byzantine period, prior to the Muslim conquest.[54] Its Palestinian origins are further confirmed by its immense popularity in the Cairo Geniza, which as a rule tends to preserve Palestinian materials much more than Babylonian ones (as may be seen, for example, from the study of the *piyyutim*).[55] A Palestinian origin may also be postulated for *Shimmush Tehillim* (Use of the Psalms), which is written in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, displays some Greek loanwords and is also well attested in the Cairo Geniza.[56] Similarly, the text called *Sheva' ma'alot* (The seven grades) is written in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic and displays many borrowings from the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition, and it may thus be classified as Palestinian, even though it is not as well represented among the Geniza fragments.[57]

While these texts stem from late-antique Palestine, other Jewish magical texts clearly date to the Middle Ages. This applies, for example, to the texts of astral magic that are found both in the Cairo Geniza and in non-Geniza manuscripts, which tend to be of a Muslim origin and to have reached the Jewish world either directly from Arabic or through intermediaries in other languages.[58] Likewise, a text like *Segullot 'or hanaḥash* (The properties of snakeskin) is a medieval Hebrew translation (or rather, a set of several different translations) of a Latin text called *Experimenta duodecim Johannes Paulini* (The twelve experiments of

54 For *Sefer harazim*, see Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim*; Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim*; and Rebiger and Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim*.

55 For the Geniza fragments of *Sefer harazim*, see Rebiger and Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim*, I, pp. 1–16, 121*–201*.

56 See Rebiger, *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim*; for some of the Geniza fragments, see Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, III, nos. 78–84.

57 For this text, which deserves a fuller study, see Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, II, no. 26 (= T-S K 1.35 + T-S K 1.48), 2b/1–28; *ibid*., no. 27 (= T-S K 1.74), 1a–1b; and MS NYPL 190, in Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*, I, pp. 195–198; II, pp. 153–155.

58 For a pertinent example, see Burnett and Bohak, 'A Judaeo-Arabic Version.'

Johannes Paulinus), which itself is said to have been translated from Arabic.[59] Other examples of these processes could easily be adduced.[60]

If some books of Jewish magic display clear signs of a Palestinian or medieval provenance, others prove much harder to pin down. I note, for example, that both *Sefer hayashar* (The Book of the righteous) and *Sefer hamalbush* (The Book of the wearing [of the divine name]) are written in Hebrew and are likely to be of late-antique origin, but they do not provide any clear signs of either Palestinian or Babylonian provenance.[61] In both cases, only a small part of the relevant textual evidence has received any scholarly attention, and the question of their provenance has hardly even been discussed. Thus, it is possible that a closer examination of each of these texts would yield sounder conclusions about their likely provenance, but it also is quite possible that we will not have a clear answer even if and when such analyses are carried out.

Thus, we are left with some Jewish magical texts that clearly have little to do with late-antique Babylonia, and some whose provenance is not really known. But we also have some texts that are likely to go back to late-antique Babylonia, and of these, four merit special attention: the *Ḥarba deMoshe*, the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa*, the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* and some versions of *Sefer haqevitsa*.[62] Let us look

59 For this text, see my brief comments in Bohak, 'Rabbanite Magical Texts,' pp. 26–27, with further bibliography. In the future, I hope to devote a separate study to this text.

60 And see Shaked, 'Jewish Magical Literature'; Leicht, 'Legend of St. Eustachius'; Bohak, 'Catching a Thief'; Mesler, 'The Three Magi'; and Saar, 'A Genizah Magical Fragment.'

61 For both texts, see Wandrey, *Das Buch des Gewandes*. See also the book known as *Sefer Adam*, recently edited in Rebiger and Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim*, as '*Sefer ha-Razim* II.' It, too, displays no clear sign of its ultimate origins.

62 Another book that must have been of Babylonian Jewish origin is *Raza rabba* (The Great secret), which one Karaite author described as רזה רבה פי קצת סבע סמואת ומלאיכה ופרורים ודיוים ולטבין וירורין בגיר אלעדד, '*Raza rabba*, on the history of the seven heavens, and angels, and *paror*s, and *dev*s, and no-good-ones and *yaror*s without number.' For this passage, see Mann, *Texts and Studies*, II, p. 82. Unfortunately, *Raza Rabba* is no longer extant, and Scholem's attempts to reconstruct it from Ashkenazi citations of a Hebrew book with a similar name (see Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, pp. 106–123) were not successful. That we have yet to find this book only shows how little we really know about the Jewish magical texts of late-antique Babylonia and how much room is left for further research.

at each of these more closely and assess the evidence for its possible provenance.

(a) Ḥarba deMoshe

One obvious, but problematic, starting point for our quest is the *Ḥarba deMoshe* (The Sword of Moses). Since the text is first mentioned by Hai Gaon in his famous responsum on the uses of divine names, written ca. 1000 CE, we may perhaps assume that this is a Babylonian Jewish text, going back a few centuries before Hai's own time.[63] But the *Ḥarba deMoshe* is only preserved in very late manuscripts that clearly are corrupt, with only a few earlier Geniza fragments, covering only a part of the text.[64] As we now have it, the text of the *Ḥarba deMoshe* clearly presents some Babylonian components, but it also has some obviously Palestinian elements, including materials derived from the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition.[65] A close analysis of all the evidence has led Yuval Harari to conclude that the *Ḥarba deMoshe* combines both Palestinian and Babylonian elements and that its final redaction was in Palestine.[66] As with all such source-critical analyses, certainty on these issues is beyond our reach, but the fact that the *Ḥarba deMoshe* is not the most reliable witness for the study of Babylonian Jewish magic in late antiquity seems incontrovertible. We shall return to this issue below.

(b) Havdala deRabbi Aqiba

A somewhat less problematic example is provided by the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* (Rabbi Aqiba's *havdala*), a text that is modelled on the

63 For Hai's responsum, see Emanuel, *Newly Discovered*, pp. 124–146; the reference to the *Sword of Moses* and the citation of its *incipit* are on p. 131. The text of the *Sword of Moses* was first identified and edited by Moses Gaster, from a manuscript in his possession; and see Gaster, *Sword of Moses*.

64 For a newer edition, based on MS Sassoon 290, see Harari, *Ḥarba deMoshe*; for a recent translation, see idem, 'The Sword of Moses'; for the Geniza fragments, see idem, 'Geniza Fragments.'

65 For some pertinent examples, see Rohrbacher-Sticker, 'From Sense to Nonsense'; see further Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 175–179.

66 See Harari, *Ḥarba deMoshe*, pp. 52–53; idem, 'The Sword of Moses,' pp. 65–67.

standard rabbinic *havdala* ritual (intended symbolically to 'separate' the sacred from the profane at the end of the Sabbath) but transforms it into an apotropaic ritual to ward off demons, cure 'bound' (i.e., impotent) husbands, 'open the heart' (i.e., improve one's memory and learning abilities) and so on. It was edited from several manuscripts by Gershom Scholem, who published it with a detailed introduction and commentary.[67] Here, too, there is no doubt that some textual units go back to Babylonian Jewish magic, including long lists of demons known to us exclusively from the Babylonian incantation bowls and clearly Mesopotamian in origin, and one first-person *historiola* that clearly belongs in the world of the Babylonian incantation bowls and finds partial parallels in some of the published ones.[68] But the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* also includes many Hebrew sections that display no clear affinity with what we find in the bowls, and it is not clear that the whole composition is of a Babylonian origin or a late-antique date. Scholem noted some of the Babylonian elements and argued for either a Babylonian or a south Italian origin of the final text, and for a date in the Gaonic period.[69] But he also stressed that this text seems to have been assembled from several different sources and that some of its adjurations display the impact of the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition.[70] Hannu Juusola offered a more detailed linguistic analysis and concluded that the text presents both 'Eastern' and 'Western' features, and that, like the *Ḥarba deMoshe*, it, too, must have had a complex redaction history.[71] Thus, both the contents and the language argue for a Babylonian origin for parts of this text, but probably not for all of it; that it is only rarely found among the Geniza fragments might provide further support for the assumption of a Babylonian-Jewish origin, but it could also support

67 Scholem, 'Havdala.'

68 For the long list of demons' names, see *ibid*., pp. 258–262 (= pp. 160–164 of the revised reprint), and Scholem's numerous references in his commentary to the appearance of many of these demons in the Babylonian incantation bowls. For the *historiola*, see *ibid*., pp. 262–265 (= pp. 164–167) (for the partial parallels, see BM 135563, edited in Segal, *Catalogue*, as 049A, and re-edited in Morgenstern, 'Notes'), and cf. the 'Enochic' *historiola* in pp. 270–272 (= pp. 171–173).

69 For Scholem's view of the text's likely origins, see *ibid*., pp 245–246 (= p. 148).

70 See, for example, *ibid*., pp. 252 (= p. 154) and 267 (= p. 168).

71 Juusola, 'Notes on the Aramaic Sections.'

a southern Italian origin, in accordance with Scholem's intuitive suggestion.[72] Thus, we find ourselves once again, as in the case of the *Ḥarba deMoshe*, with a text that preserves some elements of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic but probably does not stem in its entirety from that geographical and historical context.

(c) Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa

If both the *Ḥarba deMoshe* and the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* leave us wishing for more conclusive results, the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa* (The Spell-loosener of R. Ḥanina ben Dosa), an anti-witchcraft spell that is about two or three pages long, seems much less problematic.[73] This text, which has been edited only once, from a faulty manuscript, is surprisingly well attested; it is found in at least nine Geniza fragments and in quite a few later manuscripts, including some twentieth-century amulets.[74] The late-antique Babylonian origin of this text is made quite clear not only by its Babylonian Aramaic dialect, but also by the fact that it continues in a tradition of much older Babylonian anti-witchcraft rituals (especially some of the features of the Maqlû texts) and 'Judaizes' them by turning the gods' names into angel names. The Babylonian nature of this text is further highlighted by the list of demons and dangers with which it opens, which closely resembles those of the magic bowls; by the close parallel between its closing formula and a formula used in circumcision rituals in Babylonian Jewish prayer books (*siddurim*); and by the close parallel between one of its adjura-

72 The only securely identifiable Geniza fragment of the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* of which I am currently aware is T-S NS 326.51; for other possible fragments, see Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente*, G16 (=T-S NS 322.21) and G18 (= Bodleian Heb. e 107.10). For a find that could modify our view of the *Havdala*, but might be a modern forgery, see Hamilton, 'A New Hebrew-Aramaic Incantation,' with Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 158.

73 For a brief introduction to the *Pishra*, see Bohak, 'Pishra.'

74 See Michelini Tocci, 'Note e documenti,' pp. 101–106. For a published Geniza fragment, see Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, II, no. 22 (= T-S K 1.144 + T-S K 21.95T + T-S K 21.95P), 1a/1–1b/9. For a fifteenth-century manuscript, see NYPL 190 (on which more below), in Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*, I, pp. 229–231; II, pp. 187–189. For a twentieth-century amulet that utilizes the *Pishra* text, see Vukosavović, *Angels and Demons*, p. 126.

tions and a section of an Aramaic amulet from Afghanistan.[75] As far as I can see, its text remained remarkably stable throughout its long transmission history and bears no clear marks of later, medieval interpolations.

Like the vast majority of the incantation bowls, the *Pishra*, too, is an apotropaic, anti-witchcraft spell, and most of its contents are rather repetitive, consisting mainly of the names of the respective angels who would loosen an aggressive magic act performed against the spell's potential user on each day of the week, each day of the month and so on.[76] But one section also lists all the different types of aggressive magical acts that might have been performed against the potential user and thus gives us a glimpse of the world of aggressive magic in late-antique Babylonia, as known to the *Pishra*'s composers.[77] Of course, much of this aggressive magic may have been utilized by non-Jewish magicians and witches, and it thus is not necessarily relevant to the study of the aggressive magical texts and practices of the Jews of Sasanian Babylonia, but in at least one case we can probably show that an aggressive magical practice known to the composers of the *Pishra* was indeed used by Jews as well. It occurs in the section that says: ואם בחספא וסילוי עבדו ליה כיבמשיאל ישרי ויפשר ליה, 'And if with clay / potsherd and thorns they worked (witchcraft) upon him, Kivmashiel will release and loosen him.'[78] This is a rather vague reference, but it

75 I hope to deal with these issues at greater length elsewhere. For the amulet from Afghanistan (whose reading can be improved in light of this parallel), see Shaked, 'A Jewish Aramaic Amulet.' It must be noted, however, that the study of the *Pishra* is partly complicated by the fact that a text with similar logic is found on an unpublished amulet, deciphered by Joseph Naveh, Shaul Shaked and Ada Yardeni, which clearly is of Palestinian Jewish origins.

76 This list of angelic names enjoyed a life of its own in later Jewish magic, and appears, for example, in MS New York JTSA 8114 (IMHM F 11305), part 2, fols. 4v–6r.

77 Such listings sometimes appear in the bowls, too. See the brief discussions in Morony, 'Magic and Society,' pp. 99–100, and Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, pp. 12–16. A full survey of such listings in all the published bowls and their comparison with those of the *Pishra* remains a scholarly desideratum.

78 I cite the text from MS NYPL 190 (on which more below), in Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*, I, p. 229; and II, p. 187. All the other copies of the text I examined differ only with regard to the angel's exact name, which is irrelevant to the present discussion.

is tempting to compare it with the detailed instructions provided by the *Ḥarba deMoshe* in one of its aggressive magical recipes:

> אם בעית למקטל אינש סב טינא מן תרי כיפי נהרא ועביד צלמא וכת׳ עליה שמיה וסב ז׳ סלוין מן דיקלא צויא ועביד קשתא דחוסקניאתא במיני דסוסיא ואחית צלמתא בגו צרתא ומתח צלוי בקשתא ושדי בה ואמור על כל סלוא מן אקדתס ועד פרסוסי יתחבל פ׳ב׳פ׳ וי׳ת׳ד׳ מ׳נ׳ך׳.
>
> If you wish to kill a person, take mud from the two banks of the river and make a figurine and write his name on it. And take seven thorns from a withered date palm and make a bow of *huskaniata* wood and strands of horse hair and put the figurine in a cloth bag and stretch the thorns in the bow and shoot it (the figurine) and say over every thorn from *'QTDS* until *PRSWSY* may N, son of N, be injured, and he will be removed from you.[79]

The preparation of mimetic figurines (what we might call 'voodoo dolls') to represent the aggressive ritual's intended victims is, of course, an almost universal practice, but the instruction to take mud from the two banks of the river is far from common and finds a close parallel in older Babylonian magical praxis.[80] And the use of palm-thorns (סילוי) as arrows with which to shoot the clay figurine is also very specific and fits extremely well with the *Pishra*'s reference to an aggressive magical ritual carried out by means of clay (חספא) and palm-thorns (סילוי). Thus, we seem to be seeing the same magical practice, or two close variants thereof, once from the aggressive side and once from the apotropaic side.

(d) Some Versions of Sefer haQevitsa

Sefer haqevitsa (the Book of gathering [of demons]) is a text, or a cluster of texts, written in Judeo-Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic, whose aim is to gather demons to a certain place, to adjure them and thus to make

79 I cite the text from Harari, *Ḥarba deMoshe*, p. 42, and the translation from idem, 'The Sword of Moses,' p. 89, with minor modifications. The corrupt textual sequence ויתדמנך at the end of the recipe might be derived from דמך, in which case the translation would be: 'and he shall be laid low.'

80 See Geller, 'Mesopotamian Love Magic,' p. 132.

them subservient to the adjuring practitioner. Both the aim and the praxis involved, as well as the names of some of the demons adjured, point to a strong Arabic-Muslim influence on this body of texts.[81] And yet, the texts seem to incorporate some older materials, including demons who are known to us exclusively from the Babylonian Jewish magical tradition of late antiquity. Note, for example, the appearance, in one published Geniza fragment of this literature, of the demons שפטין … וסטנין וברקו[תא] ופגעא ופלגא ודחלולי ימא ודחלו[לי] ליליא … ורוחא דיתבא בליבא … ורוח כומרי ורוח פתכרי ואסתרתא … ולוטבין בישין … מיני דנחוש … מיני איגרי … ומיני טולי ומיני דיקלי … וכל זיקין ומזיקין and so on.[82] All these demons find clear parallels in the bowls (in some cases, in slightly different spellings), and their clustering here is far too thick to be a mere accident. Moreover, in another Geniza fragment the demons are adjured:

> ותבואו מארבע רוחות השמים ותביאו לי עמכם את המלכה ששמה ארגז בת קטט דיתבא על נהרות מיטרא[83] דפרת היא וכל חייליה ... שלא יקרא (!) אתכם מה שה יקרא[84] בגוגרום מדינתא אתר דמתקלין תמן כל שדין וכל רוחין באתון נורא יקידתא.
>
> And you shall come from the four directions and bring to me with you the queen whose name is Argaz daughter of Qaṭaṭ, who sits on the rivers ??? of the Euphrates, she and all her soldiers ... so that you will not suffer the same fate as what happened in the town GWGRWM,[85] the place where all demons and spirits are burnt in a furnace of blazing fire.[86]

The geographical reference to the Euphrates would not suffice to identify this text as building on older Babylonian materials, but the reference to

81 As was noted long ago by Scholem, 'Bilar'; and idem, 'Some Sources.'

82 Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, II, no. 54 (= T-S NS 322.29), 1a/6–1b/11. Other published Geniza fragments of this text, such as *ibid.*, I, no. 6 (= T-S K 1.1) display no Babylonian features, and the same is true of many unpublished fragments.

83 In JTS 3513.11, the reading is מישרא.

84 Lege: מה שקרה.

85 Or, 'inside (בגו) the town GWRM.' I am grateful to James Nathan Ford for this suggestion.

86 T-S NS 307.6, with a parallel in JTS 3513.11. Parts of this text (but not those that interest us here) are paralleled in Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, III, no. 66 (= T-S AS 142.15 + T-S NS 246.14), 1b/11–34.

the demoness ארגז בת קטט is extremely revealing. Not only is this type of personal name for a demon extremely common in Babylonian Jewish magic (including אגרת בת מחלת, mentioned in BT *Pesaḥim* 112b), but this specific name appears in two bowls, as ארגז בת קסס.[87] And while I have not yet been able to identify the town GWGRWM (or GWRM) and the story about the place where demons are burnt, I suspect that it is in the Babylonian incantation bowls, or in earlier Babylonian magical texts, that the answer to this crux shall be found.[88] Be this last point as it may, some older Babylonian Jewish sources seem to lurk behind at least some of the medieval *Qevitzah* texts, so popular among Jews in the Muslim but also in the Christian world from the Middle Ages onwards.

Looking at the results of the above enquiries, we may note that they are mixed. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the *Ḥarba deMoshe*, the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* and the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa* have at least some components that go back to Babylonian Jewish magic of the Sasanian period. In and of itself, this conclusion should suffice to convince us that late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic was not a dead-end street, and that the fact that the production of Aramaic magic bowls ceased some time in the seventh or eighth centuries does not mean that the Babylonian Jewish magical tradition completely died out at that time. On the contrary, we may conclude that there were many other forms of Jewish magical activity in Sasanian Babylonia, and that the instructions for some of these activities kept on being transmitted and were incorporated into texts such as the *Havdala*, the *Ḥarba* and the *Pishra*. We may even conclude that some of the longer spells inscribed upon the bowls kept on being transmitted even after such bowls were

87 See Gordon, 'Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls,' Bowl H (p. 87), l. 8; Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, JBA 55 (=MS 1928/1), l. 3. Another female demon who seems to re-emerge in later Jewish traditions is Buznai, daughter of Zanai Lilith, who is found in some bowls (see especially Müller-Kessler, 'The Story of Bguzan-Lilit'), and who appears in a midrashic text in T-S C 1.3 (ed. Ginzburg, 'Hagadot qetu'ot,' pp. 66–67) as פיזנא and as אפיזנא בת פיזנאי לילית, as was first noted by Shaked, 'Popular Religion,' p. 112.

88 For an illuminating parallel, see bowl MS 1927/9, ll. 5–6: שבילכי אם לא תשני אירמי יתיכי לחצקר חצב גובא אתר דירמן שידייא כולהון, 'If you do not change your path, I will cast you into HẔQR HẔB, the pit, the place (into which) all demons are cast.' The text was published in Shaked, 'Form and Purpose,' p. 27, and the reading was corrected by Matthew Morgenstern. I am grateful to James Nathan Ford for bringing this parallel to my attention.

no longer being produced, and several spells probably were woven into the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba*. As we shall soon see, this conclusion gains much support from the evidence provided by individual recipes transmitted in medieval and later Jewish magic.

Jewish Magical Recipes of Mesopotamian Provenance

When we move from the rather limited inventory of longer Jewish magical texts to the thousands of Jewish magical recipes preserved individually or in larger compendia in hundreds of Geniza fragments and non-Geniza manuscripts, we find ourselves in a similar situation as before. On the one hand, some of these magical recipes may securely be attributed to late-antique Palestine, while others are demonstrably medieval in origin and often borrowed from Muslim or Christian sources.[89] On the other hand, a vast majority of the relevant recipes are quite 'timeless' in nature, and it is difficult to ascribe them to specific chronological or geographical places of origin. Thus, the search for magical recipes whose ultimate origins lie in late-antique Babylonia is tantamount to searching for a few needles in the proverbial haystack. And yet, such needles may be identified, as we shall see from the following few examples.

(a) The first example is perhaps the clearest evidence currently available for the continuous transmission of the spells found in Aramaic magic bowls.[90] It is found in a Geniza fragment, HUC 1029, probably dating to the twelfth century, where we find traces of two magical recipes, one of which is formulated as a *get* (a deed of divorce) for the demoness Lilith. Not only is the practice of writing deeds of divorce for the demons extremely popular in Babylonian Aramaic bowls (and even in some Syriac and Mandaic bowls), but the text of the Geniza fragment closely parallels one of the commonest variants of the divorce deed found on the bowls.[91] In this case, there is no doubt that the medieval recipe is directly based on a spell originating in Sasanian Babylonia, but it also

89 And see above, notes 58–60.

90 For a fuller discussion of this example, see Levene and Bohak, 'Divorcing Lilith.'

91 In addition to the bowls cited in the paper mentioned in the previous note, we may now note this spell's appearance in Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic*

seems quite clear that this spell was not very popular in the Middle Ages, since this is the only Geniza fragment of which I am aware that preserves it, and I have not yet found it in any non-Geniza manuscripts of Jewish magic.

To this example of direct continuity, one or two more examples may be added of long spells that appear both in unpublished bowls and in published magical texts from the Cairo Geniza.[92] In addition, several other published Geniza magical spells and recipes have some parallels in the bowls or are likely to be of late-antique Babylonian origins.[93] Surveying all these fragments would be out of the question here, but the number of potential candidates is quite small, making it clear that most of the published magical recipes from the Cairo Geniza are not likely to be of a Babylonian Jewish origin.

(b) Turning from the published Geniza magical texts to the unpublished ones, we find ourselves in a similar situation, with only a few recipes that are likely to be of a Babylonian Jewish origin. One such case is T-S Misc. 34.22, a parchment bifolium inscribed in several different hands, all dated by Edna Engel to the tenth century. It contains a Judeo-Arabic commentary on Deuteronomy 2 and 3, an elaborate drawing of a menorah, labelled מנרת שפטים, and – on a page probably left blank in the original manuscript – two magical recipes:

לאהבה בשם גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל וח?[סדיאל? ו...] / אתון ה׳ מלאכין דיממניין
על גנין[94] ו... / [ ]ומזומן לה בהיך בהיך אסא ב׳א׳ל׳ה׳א׳ רב?. דבר ... א? / וחזוא

Bowl Spells, JBA 15 (MS 1927/43), 19 (MS 2053/132), 24 (MS 2053/251) and 62 (MS 2053/242).

92 These examples are studied in a forthcoming publication by James Nathan Ford.

93 See Kwasman, 'Demon of the Roof,' for a cluster of Babylonian demons found in a recipe in Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, I, no. 2 (= T-S K 1.56) and *ibid*., no. 20 (= T-S K 1.147). Another published Geniza fragment that is likely to preserve magical recipes of Babylonian-Jewish origin is Mosseri Ia 26.2 (published by Goitein and Friedman, *Abraham ben Yijû*, pp. 418–421), a collection of magical recipes apparently copied by Abraham ben Yijû in Aden; recipe no. 4 contains an interesting first-person *historiola*, and a reference to דנהש, who is probably identical with דנחיש, for whom see Shaked, 'Bagdâna,' pp. 520–522, and Müller-Kessler, 'Dan(ḫ)iš.' See also Shaked, 'An Early Geniza Fragment,' for a fragment that is unique and therefore harder to classify.

94 Lege: גנון.

לפ׳ב׳פ׳ תשתחן ותשתגר ותשבב נשגי ממללה / בפומה ולישנה ביני ספוותה תפול פ׳ב׳פ׳ תחות / פ׳ב׳פ׳ כיטינא תחות עבדיה כי בסתרקיך תחות גבּרא / מ?ריה בשם אה אה יה וה יה קדוש קדוש קדוש יי׳ צב׳ / מל׳ כל הא כבודו שריר וקיים קי׳[95] ג׳ טאס?י[96] דאסא / וזמניה על שמה ואמור על כל חד וחד ז׳ זמ׳ והב לה ת.[97]

שילוח אש אנה גולגלתא אנא גלגולתא כ?ם ו?הנ?ם / כם והנם אנא והנם אנה והנם אשבע לכי ו?מ?נ?א? לכי? / .ד רום סטנא בישא דיתיב על תלת מאה ושיתין סטנין/ איזיל ואפיל אש על פ׳ב׳פ׳ אימ׳ ולילית יקיד ולא / יתטפי מיניה עד דאנה אצבי ויהי העם כמת[אוננים] / כוליה כ׳ת׳ על ביעתא ברת יומא וקבר על / בביה.

For love:[98] In the name of Gabriel and Michael and Raphael and H[asdiel? and ...], you five angels who are appointed over (the) bridal chamber and ???, and is prepared for her by this by this[99] myrtle, by the great God who created (?) [charm?] and grace to NN, may she be inflamed, heated up and enkindled, may her speech become confused in her mouth, and her tongue (become confused) between her lips, may NN fall under NN like clay under its worker, like a mattress[100] under the hero, its master. In the name of ’H ’H YH WH YH ‘Holy holy holy the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is filled with his Glory’ (Isa 6:3). Firm and established. Take (?) three leaves (?) of myrtle and prepare it (i.e., them) on her name, and say on each one seven times and give her. The End.

(For) sending fire:[101] I, skull,[102] I, skull, KM WHNM KM WHNM ’N’ WHNM ’NH WHNM, I adjure you and I beswear you, D RWM the evil Satan, who sits upon three hundred and sixty Satans. Go and let fall upon NN a fire, burning by night and day, and it shall

95 Lege: קח?; in any case, the meaning should be ‘take.’
96 Lege: טרפי? Or maybe טאסי, ‘foils’ → ‘leaves’?
97 Perhaps תם or תמת.
98 For Jewish erotic magic, see Saar, *Jewish Love Magic*.
99 The duplication is probably a result of scribal dittography.
100 For the Persian loanword ביסתרקא, ‘bedding, mattress, carpet’, see Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, p. 204.
101 This type of aggressive action of sending fire or fever against someone is extremely common; see, for example, Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, G16 (= T-S K 1.91 + K 1.117), p. 7, l. 1; Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, III, no. 56 (= T-S Ar. 44.26), 1b/3; *ibid*., no. 60 (= T-S K 1.120), 1a/4, 10.
102 For the use of human skulls in late-antique Jewish magic, see Levene, ‘Calvariae Magicae.’

not be extinguished from him until I desire (so). 'And the people com[plained]' (Num 11:1) in its entirety. Write (all this) on a day-old egg and bury it at his gate.

Several factors argue for a Babylonian Jewish origin of these two recipes. In the first recipe, in addition to some Babylonian Aramaic forms such as נשגי, the separation of the preposition כי from the subsequent noun (כי בסתרקיך) and the Persian loanword בסתרקיך, 'mattress,' we may note that the formula תשתחן ותשתגר ותשבב is closely paralleled in one of the erotic bowls published by Montgomery.[103] Another formula, נשגי ממללה בפומה ולישנה ביני ספוותה, is partly paralleled in a bowl published by Shaked, where the damages caused by the spirit that afflicts the poor targets include ומשגשא לישנה בפומה, 'and it confuses her tongue in her mouth.'[104] And in the second recipe, the spell is partly paralleled by a similar formula found in the Damascus magical recipe book to which we shall soon turn.[105] All this does not amount to a clear proof of a Babylonian Jewish origin, but it certainly makes such an origin very plausible.

To this example, several others may be added of unpublished Geniza magical spells and recipes that display some sign of a Babylonian Jewish origin.[106] And yet, the total number of such recipes seems

103 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, Bowl 28, ll. 1–2 (p. 213): לשמיה דאנור .. בר פרכוי דנישתיחן ונישתגר ונישתבב בתר אחת בת נבאזך (Montgomery reads the second verb as ונישתנר). A similar but much longer series of verbs appears in an unpublished Geniza fragment, JTS 3320.7. For other parallels, see Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, p. 85 (VA 2492), ll. 2–3: נישחנוניה ונישבבניה ונירדוניה ונישגרוניה, and cf. *ibid*., p. 118 (039A), l. 13, and p. 81 (VA 3381), l. 16.

104 See Shaked, 'Peace Be upon You,' p. 207 (Bowl M1, ll. 11–12).

105 See below, note 107. The spell there reads גולגולתא גפנם וני?סגף / אי?שבעית עלך נורדפיס סטנא דתיזיל / [ות]פ?יל אשתא על פ׳ב׳פ׳, 'Skull, GPNM WNYSGP, I have adjured you, NWRDPYS the satan, that you shall go and cast fire upon NN.'

106 I note, for example, T-S K 1.67, where one finds the sequence ויתנצל מן נחי..א ומן ממללתה / ומן כל חרשין בישין ועובדין / תקיפין ומן רוחי בישתה וחומרי / זנייתה זידניתה, 'and he shall be saved from ??? and from (evil) words and from all evil sorceries and powerful (magical) actions, and from evil spirits and fornicating (or 'evil,' which is the common formula in the bowls) amulet spirits.' This amulet was written for Nûmeir bar Qûbîha, the same individual for whom the spell in T-S K 1.26 (Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, II, no. 45) was written – a spell which, as noted by James Nathan Ford, also displays clear parallels with the bowls. T-S Misc. 10.90 bears the title (written

exceedingly small, given the large number of magical texts from the Cairo Geniza, and the presence there not only of magical spells and recipes whose late-antique Palestinian provenance is quite clear, but even of a Babylonian Jewish text like the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa*.

(c) From the Cairo Geniza we may turn to a very curious find, namely, a booklet with magical recipes, possibly dating to the eleventh century, found by Bruno Violet in the Geniza of the famous Mosque in Damascus.[107] In this case, both the Aramaic dialect and some of the specific parallels with the bowls argue for a Babylonian Jewish origin, and the Damascene provenance of the booklet itself certainly could support such a hypothesis. Moreover, very little in this booklet is derived from or influenced by the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition or by Christian or Muslim magic. Thus, while there is no way of accurately measuring the 'antiquity' or 'Babylonian-ness' of each of its recipes, we seem to have here a good starting point for the study of Babylonian Jewish magic as it survived, and was perhaps also modified, in the Early Islamic period, in a region not far removed from Babylonia.[108] What is perhaps most interesting about this find is that the booklet's magical recipes have few clear parallels among the many thousands of magical recipes found in the Cairo Geniza or in non-Geniza manuscripts, which might show that while the Babylonian Jewish magical tradition survived the Muslim conquest, its remains kept on fading into oblivion in subsequent centuries, apart from the few exceptions surveyed here.

(d) From the Jewish Geniza of Cairo and the Muslim Geniza of Damascus we move to non-Geniza manuscripts of Jewish magical recipes – that is, to manuscripts that normally do not date from before the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. This vast field has never even been

in a strange script!) קמיעות מבחנות מבבל, 'tested amulets from Babylonia,' but the recipes themselves do not seem particularly Babylonian. JTS 3753.9–10 has an interesting *historiola* about Mt. Hermon and a demon, which might be of Babylonian Jewish origin.

107 See Bohak and Morgenstern, 'A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Booklet.'

108 One obvious modification is the translation of some of the instructions, which must originally have been written in Aramaic, into Judeo-Arabic, a phenomenon that is extremely well attested in the magical recipe books from the Cairo Geniza as well.

charted, let alone studied in greater depth.[109] I therefore limit myself to a single manuscript that I know well: NYPL 190 (formerly Sassoon 56), a fifteenth-century compendium of magic and Kabbalah produced in an unknown location (but certainly somewhere in the Arabic-speaking world), of which I have prepared a complete critical edition.[110] In this manuscript, recipe no. 124 ('For the evil eye') on pp. 111–112 displays clear signs of the Babylonian Jewish origins of at least some of its components, the clearest of which is the following formula:

אשבעית עליכון כל חרשין בישין וכל / עובדין תקיפין בשם סלגס סליגס אדרקס אדריקס נקיקיאל קבניאל / אתון מלאכיא קדישיא דממנן על חרשין בישין ועל עובדין תקיפין / ובישין עבידו לפ׳ בן פ׳ פשרתא ואסותא אם חרשי יהודאי עבידו לה / פשרו[111] ופשרו לה אם חרשי ארמאי עבידו לה פשרו ופשרו לה אם חרשי / טיאעי עבידו לה פשרו ופשרו לה אם חרשי פרסאי עבדו לה פשרו ופשרו / לה ואם במיא ובמילחא צתרי במיכלא ובמשתיא וכל לבושא וכסויא וכל / מדעם מאית בעלמא עבדו לה פשרו ופשרו ותהא ליה אסותא א׳א׳א׳ סלה.

I adjure you, all evil sorceries and all powerful (magical) deeds, in the name of SLGS SLYGS 'DRQS 'DRYQS NQYQY'L QBNY'L, you holy angels who are appointed over evil sorceries and powerful and evil (magical) acts, accomplish for NN a spell-loosening and a healing. If Jewish sorcerers performed (witchcraft) upon him, loosen[112] and loosen him; if Aramean sorcerers performed (witchcraft) upon him, loosen and loosen him; if Ṭayya'ei sorcerers performed (witchcraft) upon him, loosen and loosen him; if Persian sorcerers performed (witchcraft) upon him, loosen and loosen him. And if with water and salt ??? in food or drink and any garment and covering and any dead thing in the world they performed (witchcraft) upon him, loosen and loosen (him), and may there be health for him, A(men) A(men) A(men) Sela.[113]

109 For some useful starting points, see Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*; Benayahu, '*Shoshan yesod ha'olam*'; Scholem, *Kabbalah*, pp. 182–189; and Harari, 'Jewish Magic.'

110 See Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*.

111 Here and in what follows, the original formula must have been שרו ופשרו ליה.

112 The original text must have read 'release and loosen him' – see the previous note.

113 NYPL 190, in Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*, I, pp. 155–156; II, p. 112, ll. 19–26.

Three different arguments may be adduced to support the late-antique Babylonian Jewish origins of this spell. The first is that the last section closely resembles in its logic and phraseology the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa*, even if the specific aggressive magical activities mentioned here are not mentioned in the *Pishra*. The second is the geographical and chronological logic of the references to Jews, Arameans (which may mean nothing more than 'Gentiles'), Persians and Ṭayya'ans (i.e., pre-Muslim Arab tribesmen), the latter being well known from the Babylonian Talmud. Clearly, whoever composed this spell lived in a time and place where Persians and pre-Islamic Mesopotamian Arabs were the Jews' close neighbors.

But the third and most conclusive argument is that this very formula is attested on one of the Babylonian incantation bowls, where it reads:

> ויבטלון ... חרשין / ארמאין חרשין יהודאין חרשין טיאעין חרשין פרסאין חרשין הינדואין חרשין יונאין חרשין די כיתין חרשין / דמיתעבדין בשבעין לישנין.
>
> And there shall be annulled ... Aramean sorceries, Jewish sorceries, Ṭayya'an sorceries, Persian sorceries, Indian sorceries, Greek sorceries, Roman sorceries, sorceries that are performed in (each of the) seventy languages.[114]

The identity between the two spells is quite clear, and the fact that almost a full millennium separates the Aramaic bowl and the manuscript with magical recipes written in the 1460s by a certain Moses, son of Jacob and Marḥaba, proves that at least some Babylonian Jewish magical spells kept on being transmitted even long after the incantation bowls were no longer produced. Unfortunately, it is not easy to tell how much of the fifteenth-century recipe goes back to late-antique Babylonia, but an examination of its other components, and the reconstruction of some unpublished Geniza parallels to them, will no doubt shed more light on this issue. It is also impossible to say whether the fact that this is an Oriental manuscript, produced by an Arabic-speaking Jew who may have lived in or come from one of the large cities of present-day Syria or Iraq, makes it more likely that its producer came across magical

114 See Gordon, 'Aramaic Magical Bowls,' bowl D (p. 328), l. 9. In the original publication, Gordon read טיאעין as שיאעין, 'Shiites,' but he corrected his mistake in idem, 'Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls,' p. 106.

formulae whose origins lie in Sasanian Babylonia. Only after much further research, and detailed studies of many other manuscripts, will the answers to such questions become somewhat clearer.

Conclusions and Desiderata

Having searched for the remains of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic in several different textual corpora, I may now offer some broader conclusions and note in which areas more research is still needed. First and foremost, we may safely assert that even when all the above-mentioned criteria are used, and the relevant texts are isolated from the vast corpus of medieval and later Jewish magical texts, we would still face a body of sources that suffers from two disadvantages vis-à-vis the bowls. On the one hand, for most of these texts we can never be absolutely sure that they are late-antique and Babylonian in origin, unless we find detailed parallels in the bowls themselves. Moreover, we can never assume that they present the text in its 'pure' form, whatever that might mean, for we are dealing only with much later copies of copies of whatever original texts may have been in circulation in Sasanian Babylonia.

Going into greater detail, we may note the need for a fuller assessment of the relationship between Babylonian Jewish magic as reflected in the bowls and that reflected in the Babylonian Talmud. To offer such an assessment, we must not only gather all the textual parallels between these two corpora, but also analyze the function and context of each of these parallel units in the bowls on the one hand and in the Talmud on the other. Moreover, we must note especially those areas where the Babylonian Talmud helps us study those facets of ancient Babylonian Jewish magic that are not well represented by the bowls, in order to arrive at a more balanced view of what late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic may have looked like.

A second conclusion that emerges from our survey is that magical texts such as the *Havdala deRabbi Aqiba* or the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa* often are easier to identify as Babylonian in origin than individual magical recipes. The reason for this is that such texts were often seen by their copyists as complete units and thus enjoyed a certain degree of textual stability (as may be seen, for example, in the different manuscripts of the *Pishra*), whereas individual recipes were

often translated, abridged, simplified or modified in other ways. Thus, the more often a recipe was copied, the less likely it was to retain its original wording and therefore also the markers of its ultimate origins. In this regard, one may note another scholarly desideratum: the re-edition of the *Pishra deRabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa*, and perhaps also of *Sefer hayashar* and *Sefer hamalbush*, in light of new textual evidence, especially from the Cairo Geniza. To this may be added the renewed search for the long-lost *Raza rabba*, which must have enjoyed some circulation in the ninth and tenth centuries, after which it seems to have vanished.

A third conclusion that emerges from our survey is that the bowls' limited spheres of interest inadvertently limit our ability to look for Jewish Babylonian magic in other textual corpora as well. As we saw, when we compile a list of 'textual markers' that are specific to the Babylonian incantation bowls, this list ends up containing mostly the names and classes of the different demons of Sasanian Babylonia. Thus, when we look in later Jewish magical texts, a list of demons found in the *Havdala*, or a specific female demon found in *Sefer haqevitsa*, or a *get* against demons in a fragment from the Cairo Geniza may all securely be identified as building on earlier Babylonian sources. But when we look at erotic and aggressive magical texts from the Cairo Geniza, we find that they have very few precedents among the incantation bowls, and we can therefore point to very few specifically Babylonian 'textual markers.' And, the fewer the comparanda, the less secure we must remain about these recipes' place in the Babylonian Jewish magical tradition, leaving us trapped in a vicious circle, like demons trapped in a bowl.

What all this means is that with the sources currently at our disposal, we are not likely to have a large body of non-bowl texts that can securely be used as evidence for late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic. As noted at the outset, the enormous advantage of the bowls is that they come from Mesopotamia and that they are late-antique objects; none of the other sources at our disposal can be used 'as is' as evidence for late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic, and some of it can only tentatively be classified as Babylonian. At the same time, the fact that we have some non-bowl texts that can securely be seen as later copies and reworkings of Jewish magical texts of Babylonian Jewish origin, and that each of these texts reached us through different channels of

transmission, leaves some room for optimism. Once more such sources are identified, published and analyzed, and with the ever-growing corpus of incantation bowls at our disposal, we will be on a much surer footing in our study of late-antique Babylonian Jewish magic.[115]

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Content A collection of mystical and kabbalistic texts..Fols 1r-379vAuthor: Eleazar ben Judah, of Worms, approximately 1176-1238. (אלעזר בן יהודה, מגרמיזה)Title: Sode razaya.Title: סודי רזייא.Note: The contents of folio 1-49 are very close to those printed in Sefer Raziel, ed. Amsterdam 1701, folios 7v-24r.. The manuscript contains all the five parts of Sode razaya: Sod maʿaseh bereshit, Sod ha-merkavah (including Hilkhot Metatron, Hilkhot malʾakhim, Hilkhot ha-kise, Hilkhot ha-kavod, Hilkhot ha-dibur, Hilkhot ha-nevuʾah, Hilkhot ha-emunah), Sefer ha-shem, Perush sefer yetsirah, Sefer ḥokhmat ha-nefesh.. The marginal notes are partially in Latin, especially between folios 55-290..Decoration note: diagrams (ink). . (Fols 32r, 32v, 37v, 88v, 90r, 150r, 151r, 228v, 271v, 272r, 272v, 369v)Decoration note: Maniculae. . (Fols 152r, 168v, 290r)Fols 379v-388vTitle: Sefer yetsirah.Title: ספר יצירה.Note: This recension of Sefer yetsirah is presented in five chapters..Filiation: Cf contents of .BL: Or 6577. (Margoliouth, Catalogue, no. 736). .Fols 388v-470vAuthor: Eleazar ben Judah, of Worms, approximately 1176-1238. (אלעזר בן יהודה, מגרמיזה)Title: Perush sefer yetsirah.Title: פירוש ספר יצירה.Note: The author's colophon is copied on folio 470r: הסלת ספר יצירה ופירושו שבתי בר' אברהם החכם והרופא: וכאשר קבלתי ממורי אבא ר' יהודה ב"ר קלונימוס: וגם קבלתי ממורי הרב ר' יהודה החסיד בן רבנא ר' שמואל והוספתי לפרש בו גם אני הקטן אליעזר.Filiation: Cf .Steinschneider_1879: number 918.Decoration note: diagrams (ink). . (Fols 437r, 437v, 439r, 439v, 440r, 442r)Decoration note: Maniculae. . (Fols 393r, 397v, 400r, 401r, 413v, 424r, 426v, 428r, 438r)Fols 470v-485vAuthor: Eleazar ben Judah, of Worms, approximately 1176-1238. (אלעזר בן יהודה, מגרמיזה)Title: סגולות.Title: Segulot.Note: A number of segulot, combinations of letters of the alphabet and an astrological section.. Folios 476v-477r contain a poem, followed by a list of the divine names derived from each line of the poem, and a prayer connected with the same.. Folio 477v contains some additional names which were added by the scribe.. Folios 480v-485v - additional notes on divine and angelic names and excerpts from Peraḳim de-rabi Eliʿezer..Decoration note: a pen and ink drawing of a snake. . (Fol 484v)Fols 485v-522vAuthor: Eleazar ben Judah, of Worms, approximately 1176-1238. (אלעזר בן יהודה, מגרמיזה)Title: Sefer ḥokhmat ha-nefesh.Title: ספר חכמת הנפש.Decoration note: Maniculae. . (Fols 498r, 498v, 499r, 503r, 503v, 507r, etc.)Fols 522v-526rAuthor: Eleazar ben Judah, of Worms, approximately 1176-1238. (אלעזר בן יהודה, מגרמיזה)Title: Sheʾelat teshuvah.Title: שאלת תשובה.Note: An enquiry regarding the destiny of the soul by Shemuʾel ben Kalonymus, the younger, to Eleʿazar of Worms, preceded by a poem, apparently also by Shemuʾel ben Kalonymus..Fols 526r-600vTitle: Sefer ḥokhmat ha-nefesh.Title: ספר חכמת הנפש.Note: A continuation of the piece under no. 5.. Finishes with a short summary and a short poetical piece by Eleʿazar of Worms..Colophon: אמר המתנצל הכותב הספר הזה אל יאשימני אדם כאשר ימצא בספר הזה טעותים עד אין חקר כי הנני נשבע ביוצרי כי כפל כפלי כפלים היו בהעתק אשר לפני ואני תקנתי מהם הרבה והרבה ולפעמים הנחתי מקום פנוי מתיבה אחת או שתים כאשר לא הבנתי מה עניין התיבה ההיא וכתבתי הספר הזה לאחד מחסידי אומות העולם איש תם וישר מכהני במות שנטו אגושטינו שמו אדון זידייו ראש וקצין על כל כהני הבמות הנזכרי' אשר בכל מדינות ארץ הנוצרים. השם יזכהו להגות בו ולהבין מה שכתוב בו ובשאר ספירי ספריו אשר קנה והכתיב והוציא ממון רב ועוד ידו נטויה להוציא ממונו עד שיהיו לו כל הספרים הנמצאי' אצלינו. והשלמתי הספר הקדוש הזה היום יום ד' שהוא יום הושענא רבא -[רע"ו] - אשר ראיתי בו ראשי בעל הלבנה ברוך ה' כי מובטח אני שלא אמות השנה הזאת נאם הסופר אליהו ב"ר אשר הלוי אשכנזי המדקדק.. (Fol 600v)

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Languages Hebrew

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JOSEPH NAVEH SHAUL SHAKED

AMULETS AND MAGIC BOWLS

AMULETS AND MAGIC BOWLS

Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity

by

JOSEPH NAVEH SHAUL SHAKED

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*

Signs used in the transliteration of texts

( ) Uncertain readings
[ ] Restoration of lost writing
< > Omitted by the scribe by mistake
⌜ ⌝ Written above (or outside) the line
{ } Superfluous writing in the text (e.g. in case of dittography)

PREFACE

It was a widespread practice in the area of Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor during the fourth to the seventh centuries of the current era to use talismans written on metal sheets in order to ward off the powers of evil, to heal people, or to gain the love of a person. The common Babylonian practice of the same period was to write incantation texts on earthenware bowls. The number of Mesopotamian texts written in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac and Mandaic on clay bowls published to date reaches about one hundred and fifty, whereas less than ten Aramaic amulets from Palestine and its vicinity have been published so far.

This book developed from the desire of the two authors to do a modest work on a number of Aramaic magic bowls which at that time (almost ten years ago) were in Jerusalem in the hands of dealers and in the collection of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University. It has developed to its present dimensions as more texts have turned up. Work on some newly found metal amulets has made it necessary to study and revise the readings of the whole corpus of Aramaic amulets from the area of the Holy Land. Thus fifteen amulets have been edited in this volume — all those which can be deciphered with some confidence — and twelve new bowl texts written in Babylonian Jewish Aramaic and Syriac.

In order to understand the terminology and praxis of the texts discussed in this volume, it is essential to refer to contemporary and later texts from other sources: the Greek magic papyri, the early magic literature in Hebrew, and the magic fragments in the Cairo Geniza. Of the last group, so far almost completely neglected, a few selected texts are included in this work: five amulets, and three fragments from books of magic recipes.

The texts are provided with translations and commentaries, and a detailed glossary of all words is given. All newly published texts are accompanied by photographs. It has been our wish to make available to

scholars material for the study of popular religious life of Jews and pagans in the crucial period which corresponds to that of the Talmud. Our primary aim has been to provide philologically reliable material, and not to offer a detailed study of the religious implications of these texts.

It is out pleasant task to acknowledge the help received from various institutions and persons in the course of preparing the present study.

The following institutions provided us with photographs and allowed us to publish these texts and we should like to extend our thanks to their directors and staff: the Institute of Archaeology and the National University Library of the Hebrew University; the Israel Department of Antiquities; the Israel Museum; Museum of the Flagellation Convent, Jerusalem; the Jewish Historical Museum of Belgrade; the Metropolitan Museum; the New York Public Library; the Geniza Research Unit, Cambridge University Library.

The persons who made it possible for us to publish texts from their collections are Mr. Victor Barakat, Dr. Reuven Hecht, Mr. Victor Klagsbald, Dr. Wladimir Rosenbaum and Mr. Joseph Sammel.

Dr. Amos Kloner and Mr. Zvi Maoz of the Israel Department of Antiquities, the excavators of Ḥorvat Rimmon and Ḥorvat Kanaf, placed at our disposal their finds and their notes.

Mme. Hélène Lozachmeur has found and put at our disposal the original photos of Amulets 7a and 7b which were used by the late Professor A. Dupont-Sommer. We are very grateful for this help, which came when the book was nearly ready in the press.

Several friends and colleagues have given valuable advice. We should like to mention in particular the late Professor G.G. Scholem, as well as J.C. Greenfield, M. Sokoloff, G. Stroumsa and Y. Sussman.

Mrs. Ada Yardeni has contributed to this volume much more than drawings and layout; in several places she has improved the readings of the text. Mrs. Tamar Naveh has typed the manuscript and has rendered great assistance in the preparation of the book. Mrs. Miriam Shaked has done the editing of the typescript and prepared it for the press.

The staff of the Magnes Press, and in particular its director, Mr. B. Yehoshua, who has taken personal interest in this book, have done their utmost to produce an attractive-looking volume.

Jerusalem, February 1984 *J.N., S.S.*

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

Since the publication of the first edition of this book in 1985 the authors have continued to work on new materials of the same genre. The result was the publication in 1993 of the book *Magic Spells and Formulae*, where further texts were edited and further comments made on a number of topics touched upon in the present book. Each one of the present authors has dealt in a number of articles with further texts. A large collection of Geniza texts have been brought to light by Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, in collaboration with a team of young scholars, under the title *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, I–II, Tübingen 1994–1997. Further texts are planned for publication in the subsequent volumes of the same series. The authors of the present volume are thinking of preparing a new corpus of Aramaic amulets, but this may take some time to complete.

The "Additions and Corrections" at the end of the volume (pp. 295 ff.) incorporate those printed in the second edition of the book (1987), together with further addenda and corrigenda that have been detected since then by discerning colleagues and by ourselves. The reader is urged to consult the Additions and Corrections while using the book.

Jerusalem, June 1998 *J.N., S.S.*

INTRODUCTION

1. Aramaic Magic Texts: General Description

The Aramaic texts published and discussed in this book are part of a long-standing tradition of magic in the Near East. Aramaic magic literature continues Assyrian, Babylonian and Egytian magic, and is closely related to the rich literature of magic and incantations in Greek, known to us chiefly from Egytian papyri. These texts, taken together, supplement our knowledge of society, religion and culture during the early centuries of the Christian era. The Aramaic magic texts, of which a a group of hitherto unpublished specimens is given here, form a distinct body of material within the corpus of magic in late antiquity, and we shall try to elucidate them mostly within their own terms.

The inscribed magic artifacts in Aramaic, which are usually supposed to date from the fourth to the sixth or seventh centuries C.E., are known to exist in two basic material forms: (a) earthenware bowls, inscribed with ink, usually on the concave side in spiral concentric circles,[1] all of them found, as far as it is possible to tell from controlled excavations,[2] in the area of Mesopotamia and Iran; and (b) metal sheets, of gold,

[1] Exceptions to this method are not rare. Some other techniques of writing are: The inscription, or part of it, is written on the outside surface of the bowl; the inside area is divided into sections, in which the writing is done in columns (e.g. our Bowl 8); some bowls have their writing arranged in circular lines without a spiral connection between the lines. The usual spiral arrangement can begin either in the centre or on the rim.

[2] In some cases (e.g. our Bowl 9) the provenance as given by the dealer is Palestine, but this statement, which cannot be verified, lacks credibility. For a similar claim made with regard to a Mandaic amulet cf. Naveh 1975, p. 47, note 1.

silver, copper or lead,[3] with the inscription incised into the surface of the metal with the aid of a sharp instrument. These latter amulets were designed to be folded, rolled into a narrow strip, and inserted into a container (reminiscent of a *mezuza* in shape), also made of metal, which could be worn as a phylactery on the body of the owner, or placed in a private house or a synagogue, possibly by suspension (see Commentary to Amulet 11). Amulet 10, which was written on a potsherd, and which served not for protection but for arousing love, was presumably designed to achieve its effect by being placed in fire (see Commentary *ad loc.*). Amulets written on a metal sheet are mostly typical of the area of Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor, although they are not entirely absent from the eastern regions, i.e. Mesopotamia and Iran.[4] It may be taken for granted that besides such solid materials as earthenware and metal, soft materials, such as parchment, papyrus or cloth, were also often used for writing amulets, but have not survived. Amulets on papyrus are in fact known from Egypt, written in Greek and Coptic,[5] and incantations on paper, parchment and cloth have been found in the Cairo Geniza (dating to the 10th century and later); some specimens of these latter texts are given in this book. Metal bowls were used for incantations in the Muslim world (Spoer 1935; Reich 1937-38), but this practice is unknown from the earlier period. We come across medallions and gems inscribed as amulets in the Hellenistic and Iranian cultures,[6] but no such objects inscribed in Aramaic have yet come to light.[7]

[3] At least one Nabataean incantation (Naveh 1979a) is written on a large pebble. One Aramaic amulet is done on a potsherd (our Amulet 10).

[4] Metal amulets written in Syriac have been found in the area of Luristan (a photograph, without decipherment or identification, published in Vanden Berghe 1970). Several Mandaic amulets on sheets of lead have been found; cf. Lidzbarski 1909; Macuch 1967, 1968; Caquot 1972; Naveh 1975.

[5] The most comprehensive collection of the Greek material is in Preisendanz 1928, 1931, 1941.

[6] For the Hellenistic material, cf. chiefly Mouterde 1930; Bonner 1950 and 1951. The rare Pahlavi amulets are discussed in Pope 1938, among the Sasanian seals. Bivar 1967 discusses a Parthian amulet while adducing other Iranian material.

[7] There are some Samaritan amulets written on metal pendants and rings, cf. Ben-Zvi 1976; Kaplan 1967.

Among Semitic amulets from Palestine and its environs we have texts written in three languages, Jewish Aramaic (Amulet 1–3, 5, 7–15), Hebrew (Amulet 4), and Syriac (Amulet 6). The first two varieties, Jewish Aramaic and Hebrew, were presumably written by Jews; they use the regular Hebrew script of the period, whereas the Syriac amulet, which seems to have been composed by a Christian, is written in Estrangelo.

As to the magic practice which accompanied the use of the bowls, different opinions have been expressed. Many bowls were found placed in their original position upside down, a fact which has led scholars to assume that they may have served as traps for demons, being meant to keep the evil spirits imprisoned inside them. This view may gain some support from the fact that in some cases two bowls were found placed facing each other forming between them a closed sphere.[8] Such an enclosed ball-shaped area might be an ideal prison for evil spirits. This theory was rejected by Gordon,[9] who argued that it would be absurd to assume that any house-owner would want to have demons permanently locked in his house. It seems, according to Gordon, much more likely that they would want to get rid of the maleficent spirits and to have them removed from the house. He therefore suggests that the shape of the bowls resembles that of a skull, which may have been regarded as magically effective. We must confess that this argument fails to convince us. The idea of keeping demon-traps in the house need not strike us as more ridiculous than that of placing mouse-traps. In both cases the hated victim, once caught, is incapacitated and is made powerless to cause harm. A harmless demon caught by the bowl constitutes no menace to the safety of the house. The text of the bowls very often talks of chaining and pressing the evil entities; at the same time it may also bid them go away, leave the house and desist from bothering the house-owner. The bowl thus serves both to entrap the evil powers and to reject them; there is no real contradiction between these two propositions.

It may be noted that many bowls, especially in Mandaic, are designed

[8] Pognon 1898, pp. 3 ff.; Hilprecht 1903, pp. 447 f.; Montgomery 1913, pp. 40 ff.

[9] Gordon 1957, pp. 161 f.; Isbell 1975, pp. 13 ff., represents the same view.

as "of the cemetery".[10] This may possibly indicate that some bowls were placed in a cemetery, and this association with the Other World added to their mysterious power. This was by no means the only location which was used in order to increase the efficacy of amulets. The amulets from Nirim (Amulets 11–13) were found in the apse of the synagogue, where the ark of the holy scrolls was presumably placed. It may be assumed that the amulet was put there in order for it to be as close as possible to the spot which served as a gate for communication (through prayer) with heaven. In this connection one may recall that a favourite modern spot for placing appeals to divine help is in the Wailing Wall.

Another theory for the use of the bowls is based on the current modern practice of bowl magic in the Middle East, according to which the bowl is often filled with some liquid and the person who seeks protection or healing is made to drink the water which has absorbed the contents of the formula and has thus been made potent.[11] There is, however, no evidence for such a practice with our Mesopotamian bowls, and it seems rather unlikely that they were used in such a way, which might have effaced the letters or left some other mark on the bowl.

Apart from bowls designed to protect the house and the person of the inhabitants of the house from harm or disease — the most common type — or to arouse love,[12] there are bowls which aim at inflicting evil on an enemy specifically named (e.g. Bowl 9). We have no information as to how these latter bowls were used. One can only try to speculate that they were buried or hidden in the vicinity of the enemy's house, or attached to some personal effect of the victim to be, probably obtained furtively.[13]

[10] Pognon 1898, p. 3, and our Bowl 4:2, which carries the phrase "the spell of the tomb". Some metal amulets were found in tombs; see our Amulet 4 (from Aleppo) and Montgomery 1911, p. 272 (Irbid). See also Montgomery 1913, pp. 40, 43 f.

[11] Canaan 1914, p. 102; similar injunctions in Winkler 1930, pp. 75, 76. Montgomery 1913, p. 45 gives the text of an Arabic brass bowl which also contains a reference to drinking. An early reference to this practice is in the Geniza text T.-S. K1.132: פתיחת לב. קח קערה חדשה וחכתוב ג ימים בכל יום אלו השימות ותרחוץ אותו במים ותשחה...

[12] Montgomery 1913, Nos. 13, 28. Our Amulet 10 and Geniza 1 and 3 constitute further examples.

[13] We have a recipe for hatred in a late Judaeo-Persian manuscript of magic (JTS 1714,

Three basic Semitic modes of writing are presented by the Babylonian incantation bowls. These are Judaeo-Aramaic, Syriac and Mandaic. A fourth type of writing found on some bowls is Pahlavi, but its interpretation is, unfortunately, extremely difficult. A single bowl which has been seen (at the Yale Babylonian Collection) contains a script looking like Parthian, but its authenticity is questionable and it is likely to be a modern forgery. The different scripts correspond not so much to linguistic or ethnic differences (although such differences also existed), but rather more to distinctions among religious communities; it is therefore interesting to raise the question whether the religious differences are also reflected in the magic texts, or whether one can establish a correspondence between each community's magic and its religious perceptions.

On the plane of language and phraseology we have significant and obvious differences between the various groups. The bowls in Judaeo-Aramaic contain a high degree of material which is derived from the Hebrew scriptures (see the index of scriptural quotations of this volume and Isbell 1975, p. 195). They also contain a small number of peculiarly Jewish concepts of the post-biblical period. The most noteworthy among these is the figure of Yehoshuaʿ bar (or ben) Peraḥya and the idea, associated often with his name, of giving a *geṭ*, a letter of divorce, to the female demons. This is further elaborated on in some of the texts by the idea of a *geṭ* which is sent across the sea (see below, p. 27). It is remarkable that the figure of Yehoshuaʿ bar Peraḥya occurs also in two Syriac bowls (Montgomery 1913, Nos. 32–33), where the Jewish term *geṭ* is rendered by the Persian word *dastabīra*.[14] A similar concept which may be of Jewish origin (although it may equally well be a pagan magical concept introduced into the Talmud) occurs in our Bowl 6 (see Commentary to Bowl 6:7–8 **wbyr**...). Several Talmudic associations seem to be present in Bowl 13.

Such elements are specifically Jewish; it is hard to imagine that they could have been composed by non-Jews. One must come to the conclu-

ENA 2326, fol. 1b): ... לשנאה יכתוב על חרס חדש לפּבּפּ עם פּבּפּ בשם... בשם אלו שמות תתנו
The practice accompanying the writing of an incantation for hatred is to bury the inscribed new potsherd in a new tomb. The same instruction with regard to a "new egg" is given in Geniza 6, p. 4:9–11.

[14] On this term cf. Shaked (forthcoming).

sion that the writers of these Jewish-Aramaic bowls were in all probability practitioners of magic who belonged to the Jewish community. This conclusion does not necessarily apply to the clients, who ordered the bowls written for healing, protection or other purposes. There is, in fact, a combination of two factors which makes it likely that not a few of these customers were indeed non-Jews: First, there is the fact that Jewish bowls constitute the great majority of inscribed earthenware bowls from Mesopotamia and Iran, while Jews certainly did not form more than a minority of the population; and secondly, there is the fact that the names of most of the clients were not Jewish, and some of them are theophoric names of Zoroastrian significance. The second fact would not be particulatly significant on its own, since there can be no doubt that many Jews carried Persian and other non-Jewish names. However, when it is combined with the first consideration, it adds some weight to the supposition that magic may have been considered to some extent a Jewish specialization and that pagans and Zoroastrians often turned to Jewish practitioners when they sought an effective remedy, protection or curse.[15]

It may be noted that the amount of Zoroastrian religious influence which may be detected in the Babylonian bowls is very limited; it concerns mostly some names of demons (see Shaked, forthcoming). This observation stands in contrast to the strong presence of Iranian linguistic elements in Babylonian Jewish Aramaic, and to the Iranian influence which may be detected in other spheres of Jewish life.[16] The same may be said of the Syriac bowls, which seem to have been written by pagans (or even by Zoroastrians). Mandaic bowls tend to have some specifically Mandaic terminology (e.g. the divine names **abatur, iurba**), but the same divine and demonic names and concepts are sometimes found also in Jewish bowls.[17] In general, the Mandaic texts follow the same magical conventions as found in Jewish Aramaic and Syriac bowls. In one or two cases Syriac and Mandaic bowls seem to reflect

[15] See further on this in Greenfield 1973a, p.150, and Shaked 1983, pp. 16 f.

[16] This field of study has not yet been treated in a comprehensive study. Sketchy references may be found in Neusner 1968 and 1975.

[17] See Pognon 1898, pp. 93 ff.; Montgomery 1913, p. 96; Yamauchi 1967, pp. 40 ff.

specific Jewish texts.[18] At least one Jewish Aramaic text seems to show clear dependence on a Mandaic *Vorlage* (cf. Greenfield and Naveh's forthcoming article on a Mandaic lead amulet containing four incantations).

2. History of Research : Bowls

The study of the Aramaic magic texts was first begun in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Thomas Ellis translated for Layard six incantation texts in Jewish Aramaic and one in Syriac, inscribed on earthenware bowls which were brought from Mesopotamia to England and deposited in the British Museum (Layard 1853; Levy 1855). Several other texts on bowls, inscribed in Jewish Aramaic and in Syriac, were published afterwards by Rodwell 1873 (for which cf. Halévy 1877); Chwolson 1882; Hyvernat 1885 (with Nöldeke 1885 and Grünbaum 1885); Schwab 1886 and Schwab's later publications; Harkavy 1889; Wohlstein 1893, 1894; Stübe 1895; Lacau 1896. These early attempts at interpretation are often quite faulty, though they paved the way to subsequent research. Towards the end of the century Pognon (1894, 1898) published more than thirty Mandaic incantation bowls found at Khuabir on the Euphrates, west of Baghdad.

The most important single scholarly contribution to the study of the bowls was done by Montgomery 1913, a monumental book containing an edition and translation, with notes and indices, of forty bowls (thirty of them in Jewish Aramaic, seven in Syriac, and three in Mandaic). All of these bowls were found *in situ* in the archaeological excavations conducted by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur. This fact

[18] See the observations in Greenfield 1973a, as well as the comments above on Yehoshua' bar Peraḥya in Syriac bowls.

enables us to have a unified corpus of inscriptions written (or at least used) in a single town, presumably within a relatively short period of time, often by or for members of the same family. We thus gain an insight into the range of languages and scripts used in Nippur, as well as into the variety and limitations of the magic formulae which were current among the various communities in that town.

Montgomery's work (1913, pp. 16 ff.) has the added benefit of presenting the most comprehensive and solid introduction to the study of the bowls. It gives a detailed survey of earlier publications, thus rendering further discussion of the early studies of the magic bowls unnecessary, and analyzes the most important aspects of the texts and their contents. No attempt will be made in the following to duplicate or supersede Montgomery's treatment of the subject. Only certain points on which new material is available, or on which new suggestions may be offered, will be touched upon in the following pages.

Although Montgomery's readings are on the whole solid and reliable, the book contains a number of textual errors, both with regard to the reading of the bowls and with regard to points of interpretation. Many of these were corrected and clarified in an important review article by J.N. Epstein (1921-1922), which, unfortunately, was not taken into account by many of the scholars who have worked in this field since, with the result that several of Montgomery's patent errors have been perpetuated in the literature.[19]

The next most important name in this field of study is C.H. Gordon, who has in a series of articles,[20] published a great many new bowls from various collections in the U.S.A., Europe and the Middle East. The study of the magic bowls further benefited from the fact that a number of students of Professor Gordon felt inspired to work on this material; as a result there were published several dissertations containing corpora of bowls in Mandaic (Yamauchi 1967), Syriac (Hamilton 1971) and Jewish Aramaic (Isbell 1975), as well as a Handbook of the latter

[19] This observation applies to the work of C.H. Gordon, whose readings are generally reliable, as well as to that of his students Rossell 1953; Yamauchi 1967; and Isbell 1975. In Hamilton 1971 the Syriac texts of Montgomery are corrected in the light of Epstein's comments.

[20] See Bibliography under Gordon. The only work done on the subject in the intervening period between Montgomery's and Gordon's is by Fuÿe 1925.

language, in which a grammatical sketch is included (Rossell 1953). The texts collected in these corpora make up the following total numbers: 72 in Jewish Aramaic, 33 in Mandaic and 21 in Syriac. It may be remarked that not all the published bowls were incorporated into these collections.[21]

The more recent publications of texts in this field include Oberman 1940; Teixidor 1962; Jeruzalmi 1963; Yamauchi 1965; McCullough 1967; [22] Borisov 1969; Kaufman 1973, 1975; Geller 1976, 1980; Harviainen 1981.

3. Amulets Published So Far

The state of study of the Palestinian incantation texts is much less satisfactory than that of the Mesopotamian bowls. One part of the problem is that the small number of Palestinian texts makes their comparative study difficult. Another problem is that these texts were inscribed on small metal plaques (mainly silver, copper and lead), which were rolled up. The unrolling of the generally corroded fragile material and then the reading of the preserved tiny letters, which often consist of shallow scratches on the surface of the material, is by no means an easy task. Among the few generally fragmentary Palestinian amulets five were published at the beginning of this century: one, Amulet 4, is from Aleppo (Schwab 1906); one, Amulet 5, from Emmaus (Vincent 1908) and three from Irbid (Montgomery 1911). Two other amulets, Amulets 7a–b, were found at Ağabeyli in Turkey, near the Syrian border (Dupont-Sommer 1950/51). Still another, of unknown provenance,

[21] Missing from Isbell 1975 are, for example, the texts published in Hyvernat 1885; Harkavy 1889; Wohlstein 1893 and 1894; Stübe 1895; Fuÿe 1925; Borisov 1969. Not all of these were published without facsimiles.

[22] Cf. the reviews by Segal 1970; Yamauchi 1970.

Amulet 8, was published in Testa 1967. The latest publication of an amulet, Amulet 9, is by Klein-Franke 1971. The amulet is in Cologne, Germany, and may have come from Oxyrrhynchus in Egypt.

The amulets preserved in the New York Public Library, of which three were published by Montgomery in 1911, are part of a group of six metal amulets which were donated by Mrs. Henry Draper. Their state of preservation is such that it is very difficult to improve much on Montgomery's readings (which in some cases are evidently wrong).[23] We have therefore decided to leave them out of the present publication, which otherwise aims at giving a complete corpus of the known Aramaic amulets. Apart from Aramaic amulets we have included here one amulet in Syriac, published by Dupont-Sommer 1946, where we believe we can offer an improved reading and interpretation. Otherwise, because of the geographical definition which we have found useful to adopt with regard to amulets, namely those coming from the region of Palestine and adjoining countries, we have excluded from this corpus metal amulets from Iran and Mesopotamia in Mandaic and Syriac (see above, note 4).

The first amulet of this kind to be published, found near Aleppo (Schwab 1906; our Amulet 4), is one of the longest Palestinian amulets known. It contains some manifestly Jewish elements (e.g. the figure of 248 limbs, some biblical allusions, and many Hebrew phrases), together with the usual magic terminology (e.g. Ablanathanalba, Marmaraot, **ʾwgryt**). A prominent symbol which occurs in the text is strongly reminiscent of the Christian monogram XP. It has led scholars to believe that we are faced here with a Judaeo-Christian monument, though this does not seem proven, as the symbol may have been widely used outside Christian circles and may have preceded Christianity.

Vincent published in 1908 a fragmentary amulet of some five lines

[23] As an example for lines where the readings of Montgomery 1911 may be improved upon with some confidence, cf. the beginning of New York Public Library, Hebrew amulet No. 3 (Montgomery's amulet A) where one may read:

1. ובחטרה דמשה ובציצה דאהרן[]
2. כהנה רבה ובעזקתה דשלמה ו(ב)[מג]
3. נה דדויד ובקרנתה דמדבחא ובשמ(ה)
4. [ד]אלהא חיה וקימה ד(תי)גע[רון]

The combination **bḥwṭrʾ dmšh nbyyʾ... wbʿzqtyh dšlmh br dwd mlkʾ dyś[rʾl]** occurs in the Geniza fragment ENA 3513.11a.

found in Emmaus (our Amulet 5). Vincent's readings, which have been followed by subsequent scholars, have proved upon inspection to be in need of emendations, which are included in the edition presented here. We encounter in this amulet some divine names (Masagiel, Shamriel) and the magic term **krqtyry'** "magic characters, magic signs".

It has been the bad luck of this material, perhaps because of its rarity and the difficulties inherent in its decipherment, that it suffered in some cases from fanciful interpretations and unreasonable speculations. Thus, one amulet (our Amulet 6) was heralded upon its first publication as containing a gnostic doctrine relating to the letter *waw* (Dupont-Sommer 1946); subsequently it has been shown (by Gordon 1949, 1953) that not even once does the name of this letter occur in the text. Another text (our Amulet 7) was understood to allude to the Great God, who would be different from the God of Israel (Dupont-Sommer 1950/51, p. 208 on lines 15–16), but this was shown to be inexact (Scholem 1965, pp. 84 ff.). In both these cases the new reading offered here tends to confirm the revised interpretations, and in some measure it adds new details which improve our understanding of the amulets. Thus, the Syriac amulet (our Amulet 6) is now shown to contain an allusion to three deities, who are named Bar-Theon, Rabbā Ḥasīnā and Qaddiš Īlā "who stand in the great ford of the sea". It talks of a demon, called apparently Tarpas-dukh. In the Aramaic amulet (our Amulet 7) we may eliminate the speculation as to the "womb to be blessed" as well as to Metatron, as we can recognize the name of the client Shalluna bar Demetrion in lines 7–8. On the other hand there is a possibility of reading (in lines 14–15) a reference to words which rise "beside (or behind?) the throne", an allusion which brings to mind the notion of the angel whose name, Metatron, indicates that he is "beside or behind the throne".

A similar scholarly controversy has arisen with regard to an amulet which was apparently found near Jerusalem (our Amulet 8). The scholar who first published it regarded it as a blessing of the "oil of faith" (Testa 1967), but this interpretation was rightly rejected by Milik 1967 in favour of the more likely reading of the plaque as an incantation. We can see from the new reading that a demon by the name of Marten daughter of Qoriel is adjured in the name of the angel Agirat.

Finally, an amulet here reprinted with some corrections (our Amulet 9) adjures a spirit called "Fever and Shivering", evidently with the aim of healing the client, a certain Marian daughter of Esther.

4. The Newly Found Amulets

The corpus of amulets presented here is enriched by nine newly discovered texts, all, except three (Amulets 1,14,15) coming from controlled excavations in Israel, two from Ḥorvat Kanaf, near the Sea of Galilee (Amulets 2–3), one from Ḥorvat Rimmon, north of Beer-Sheba (Amulet 10) and three from Nirim in South Western Israel (Amulets 11–13). The last six amulets (Amulets 10–15) reached us at a stage when the corpus was ready for the press, and the numbers assigned had to follow at the end of the group.

As to the dating of the amulets, the archaeological data converge around the fifth-sixth centuries C.E. This dating is provided very clearly in the case of Nirim (Amulets 11–13), where the late Roman and Byzantine coins help in defining the period from which the amulets stem. The conclusion reached by L.Y. Rahmani as to the period of the small finds places them in the sixth century C.E. A similar conclusion was reached by the excavators of Ḥorvat Rimmon (fifth-sixth century C.E.) and Ḥorvat Kanaf (same period).

Amulet 1 is designated for healing the client. It contains several Jewish formulae, such as are encountered in the prayer before sleep *(Qeri'at shema' 'al ham-miṭṭa)*, as well as biblical quotations. It also has a series of magic names, and an interesting sequence of nouns, each one preceded by the word **m'yn**, which may mean either "from the eye of..." or "in the form of...".

Amulet 2, more specifically formulated for healing, commands "the fever and the shiver, the female demon and the spirits" to be driven out from the body of its owner.

Amulet 3 is for the protection of "Rabbi Eleazar..., the servant of the God of Heaven". This title is quite unusual in our amulets. Some of the text seems to suggest that the amulet is designed for protecting the owner on the road: "In every place where this amulet will be seen, you (the evil spirit) should not detain Eleazar, son of Esther. And if you detain him , you will be cast immediately into a burning furnace". Other parts seem to beg for the healing of the owner: "Send healing and cure to Eleazar". This amulet also contains verbal allusions to the Bible.

Amulet 10 is a love charm. It is written on an unbaked potsherd, which must have been meant to be thrown into the fire after the writing

of the amulet, and was probably used in this way, as far as we can tell from the black areas caused by fire on the surface of the sherd. The evidence for writing amulets on unbaked clay comes from the Judaeo-Arabic texts of the Geniza, where the term *nayy* "uncooked" occurs. The subsequent burning in fire was alluded to in the text of this amulet (and in Geniza amulets of similar nature) by the words: "Just as this sherd burns, so shall burn the heart of..."

Amulet 11 is for curing its owner from headache, which is called here by the Greek term κεφαλαργία, written **qplrgy'**. The pain is considered to go into the bones (?) of the chest.

Amulet 12 is designated for the protection of a woman and her child. Here too Jewish formulae are quite conspicuous. The female customer is called Shlamṣu, a hypocoristic form of Shlomṣiyyon.

Amulet 13 is for a woman called Esther daughter of Tatis. Esther is the most widely attested feminine name in these amulets. The amulet is designated to save her from evil spirits, and much of the text is taken by a quotation from Exodus 15:26.

Amulet 14, which is very fragmentary, is remarkable for its combination of Hebrew-Aramaic with Greek.

Amulet 15 is based on an interesting *historiola*, or magic story, which is also available to us in a Babylonian version in Bowls 12a and 12b. This story enjoyed widespread popularity in Christian magic literature of the East, where the name of the helper was identified with Saint Sisinnius. The names of the helpers in this amulet were perpetuated in late Jewish magic under the form Sanoy, Sansanoy and Samangalof, in amulets which are used for the protection of a new-born baby and its mother. The names of the main actors in our amulet are partly metaphorical: The woman is called Smamit (= spider or lizard), the attacking fiend Sideros (=iron), while the names of the helpers, **swny, swswny** and **snygly**, have not yet received satisfactory explanation. It may be significant that all names begin with the letter *s*.

5. Magic Bowls in the Present Volume

The present volume contains most of the legible bowls available in Jerusalem. These are bowls which form part of the collection of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew Universty (Nos. 2–4), as well as those of the Israel Museum (Nos. 5–8). In addition we have included a bowl recently presented to the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (No. 12a), together with a parallel text which occurs in a bowl at the New York Metropolitan Museum (12b). We are also publishing two bowls seen in the hands of an antique dealer in Jerusalem, Mr. Victor Barakat (Nos. 1 and 9), although the present whereabouts of these latter bowls is unknown. The texts of two unpublished bowls at the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, photographs of which have been sent to Jerusalem for study and publication, have also been included (Bowls 10, 11). A last addition to this group of bowls comes from the Klagsbald Collection, Jerusalem (Bowl 13).

Several points of interest are brought out by the new bowl texts which are published in this volume. Two bowls contained in this collection are in Syriac, 1 and 10. Bowl 1 contains basically a well-known text, occurring on three Syriac bowls so far published (see Commentary to Bowl 1). The parallel text presented in this new bowl allows us to complement and improve certain readings in the previously published texts, and it confirms some of J.N. Epstein's conjectural readings (cf. Commentary to lines 3–4). A point which can be made on the basis of this text and which clarifies a formula in Aramaic bowls is the possibility of eliminating the figure of Hermes where it does not belong. It is clear that in Montgomery Nos. 2 and 27 what was regarded as an allusion to the Greek god is actually a reference to steel (cf. Commentary to line 12). It is a recurrent phrase in the bowls that the sorcerer is surrounded by a wall of pure steel, or clothed with a garment of pure steel.

Bowl 10 uses some interesting metaphors for the demons who are to be abjured. They are to be like birds who fly and change places (which is why they should leave the body and person of the client), and they should be like wax which melts in fire. It is not unlikely that such formulae were accompanied by suitable magic practices of the sympathetic kind.

Our Bowl 2 (in Jewish Aramaic) has five parallel texts already published. The new text again helps establish the correct readings of the formulae. From the study of Bowls 1 and 2 we may learn something of the mechanism of the transmission of magic formulae, which is not entirely that of a scribal tradition, but is akin in some respects to oral transmission. The combination of the two modes of transmission is clearly visible in the list of eleven names of angels (see Commentary to lines 6–7), where we can see certain modifications which may be attributed to copying, while others are only comprehensible in terms of free oral tradition.

Bowl 2 also affords a possibility of establishing the original form of the divine (or angel) name which occurs in Mandaic as **iurba**, identified with Adonai. The element **yw** in **ywrbʾ** is certainly a development of the divine name Yah, Yahu etc. (which occurs here as **yyy**), with the epithet *rabbā*. Although this figure is apparently defined here as an angel, there are eleven names of other angels who assist him against the demons, a fact which establishes his lofty position as a deity.

The international character of this magic is apparent in the expression **byt ʾylhy wbyt knyšt**ʾ (line 5), which seems to refer to pagan temple(s) and to Jewish synagogue(s).

Bowl 3 has a glaring example of Hebrew spelled from hearing, without acquaintance with the traditional spelling, when Num. 10:35 is given as ...וחיחי בין נסוע הארון וימר מושה קומה יהוה ויפוצו איבאך וינסו מ מיפנך

Bowl 4 has a curious illustration of an undefinable human figure. The ribbons waving to the left of the figure may be associated with the ribbons which constitute a symbol of royalty in Sasanian iconography; cf. Göbl 1971, pp. 11f. If this was intended in the picture, it may be possible to regard **mlkn**ʾ (in line 4) as signifying "I am king" or "I rule", rather than "I advise", as preferred in our translation.

Yehoshuaʿ bar Perahya is a well-known figure in the Aramaic incantation bowls. He occurs in Bowl 5, where he is associated, as is usual, with the practice of giving a deed of divorce (*geṭ*) to a female demon, named Lilit; the legal complication which arises in this situation is similar to that of a *geṭ* sent across the sea, which is valid. However, the *geṭ* lacks force because the man who writes it does not know the name of the woman. This is rectified by the divine powers, who add the name in the blank space. The situation is used to make the exorcism valid in all cases, "both when I know the name, and when I do not know the name"

(line 4). The point about the name of the demoness being unknown is so far only attested in this text, but it may explain the particular difficulty of the *get* which comes from across the sea, with an incomplete name.

Bowl 6 presents a curious introductory text which seems to be moulded partly on the Book of Jonah, but also uses other biblical allusions (e.g. Ps. 115:4–6), as well as what looks like an association with a phrase in the Babylonian Talmud (Ta'anit 8a; see Commentary to 6:7–8). A sequence of chronological designations, which has parallels in other magic texts, is included, and also a reference to groups of people "who sit in market places and streets, and who go out on the roads". This kind of enumeration is reminiscent of the various lists of nationalities which occur on some bowls; see e.g. Kaufman 1975, where the spirits of different nationalities are mentioned.

Bowl 7 is so unusually formulated that it partly defies translation. The translation provided is to a large extent conjectural. It provides us, nevertheless, with some interesting parallels to late Jewish magical literature. The phrase **kmypl ḥysy' mn ṭwr'** etc. can be understood in the light of *The Sword of Moses* (Gaster 1898), which in its turn also gains in clarity by this comparison.

Bowl 8 has an unusual arrangement in columns radiating from the centre cross-like. This is the only text in our collection which has already been published (it was first printed in a Hebrew article by Narqis 1935), and it is re-edited in order to complete the collection of the Jerusalem bowls, as well as for rectifying some minor points in the reading.

Bowl 9 is particularly interesting in that it provides a rare example of a text devoted to imprecations addressed by name against an enemy, Judah bar Nanai. The language of the curses is based on biblical verses, and in some cases it invents non-existent biblical phrases; **wl' th' 'swth lmḥtm** betrays the intention of the writer, since he fell into the trap of using Aramaic words where he obviously thought he was writing in good Biblical Hebrew. A list of diseases, not all of them understood by us, is an interesting feature of this bowl.

Bowl 11 provides us with some new features. A seemingly Iranian term for a magic formula, **mhryn**, occurs here for the first time, as well as such unusual forms as **pydgmy** and **'ryswt'** (the latter denoting a magic bane). Two biblical verses are intertwined for magical purposes in lines 6–7 by giving a word of each successively.

Under number 12 two bowls which have a similar text are given in parallel columns, together with the text of Amulet 15, which contains

the same story. For some comments on the story of Smamit and her helpers see above in the description of Amulet 15 (p. 25).

The main interest of Bowl 13 is in its large size and very long text as well as in some features of its contents. It contains a unique description of the physical appearance of the demon addressed in the incantation, apparently the demon Bagdana, "head of sixty kingdoms, whose power is the power of a blast, whose heat is the heat of fire" and so on. Besides these attributes of power and of the terror which he arouses, we have such concrete details as "his head is that of a lion, his molar teeth are those of a she-wolf, his teeth are those of a tiger, the draughts of his mouth are furnaces of fire" and so on. The text of this bowl is also remarkable by the fact that it has a well defined structure of parallel passages, which begin with similar formulae, although the precise significance of the dialogue formed by these passages is not entirely clear. All in all, the text of this bowl presents a unique incantation formula, which has no parallel in other magic texts as far as we know.

6. Other Texts of Magic and the Geniza Material

The objective of this study was to publish the texts of our amulets and bowls with readings and intepretations which would be as exact and thorough as possible. While doing this work we checked previously published incantation texts (as far as possible from photographs or facsimile drawings) without relying too much on previous editions. Thus we could suggest revised readings not only for the amulets which we have re-edited (Amulets 4–9), but also for several phrases in the previously published Mesopotamian bowl texts.

In order to get acquainted with the whole magical literature in antiquity, major publications of Greek magic papyri and various magic books which have survived, such as the Christian Syriac *Book of Protection* (Gollancz 1912) or the Jewish *Sword of Moses* (Gaster 1898) and *Sefer ha-razim*, which was found among the Geniza materials, were checked. However, among the fragments which survived in the Cairo

Geniza there are many amulets and pages of magic books which have not yet been treated by scholars. We have found it necessary to go through some of this material and compare it with other Jewish magical texts, although we have not aimed at completeness in this field.

The Geniza amulets and magic books were written in the Middle Ages, generally in Egypt itself, but some presumably in the neighbouring countries, as e.g. Palestine. The writers of these texts spoke Arabic (in certain cases Persian, and in one case a Persian dialect), but their magic texts were written in an interesting mixture of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic (including some Greek terms and words). As for the contents, it is obvious that the magic of the Geniza follows in general the Palestinian tradition. Thus it is possible in some cases to understand phrases in the Palestinian amulets and restore the fragmentary love charm from Ḥorvat Rimmon only by comparing them with the formulae used in the Geniza magic texts. A selection of five Geniza amulets (Geniza 1, 3–4, 7–8) and three fragments of magic books (Geniza 2, 5–6) is given here. Apart from these texts, some occasional phrases from further unpublished Geniza fragments are quoted in the Commentary. The use of the Geniza texts is designed to help in elucidating certain obscurities and to add paralled material to the formulae discussed in the main parts of the book (mainly in connection with the amulets).

7. Notes on the Language of the Texts

Short sketches of the three main dialects of the bowls are provided in the following publications: Rossell 1953 (Jewish Aramaic); Yamauchi 1967 (Mandaic); and Hamilton 1971 (Syriac). Useful remarks on some expressions will be found in Epstein 1960, p. 14; Levine 1970; Greenfield 1973a and 1973b. On some formulae there are also remarks in Niggemeyer 1975 (which is mainly concerned with those in *Sefer harazim*); Gruenwald 1980; and Niditch 1979. Mention should also be made of the observations by F. Rosenthal 1939, pp. 218 ff., 233 ff. Some

points of detail have been dealt with by Schiffman 1973 and Sperber 1966.

In discussing the language of the bowls and the amulets published in this volume, we have to distinguish three groups of texts: Syriac (Bowls 1 and 10 and Amulet 6); Babylonian Jewish Aramaic (Bowls 2–9, 11–13); Palestinian Jewish Aramaic (Amulets 1–3, 5, 7–15). In Amulet 4 the Hebrew element is predominant.

a. The Syriac Bowls

The three Syriac texts are not written in the same script: the script of Bowl 1 is Proto-Manichaean, more akin to Palmyrene cursive (cf. Montgomery 1913, Nos. 31–37), while Bowl 10 and Amulet 6 are in Estrangelo. All three Syriac texts share some common features: the determined state is always written with a final *alef* and the masculine plural det. st., *-ē*, is expressed by *alef* (generally marked by a *seyāme*). *Alef* as a medial *mater lectionis* occurs in Bowl 1, cf. **yʾtẅh** (in line 6), **ymʾmʾ** (line 13). *ʿAyin* and *ḥet* are weak , cf. **šmʾ** (for **šmʿ** in 1:8); **mbʿdʾ** (for **mʿbdʾ** in Bowls 1:11; 10:8); **bwtk** (for **bʿwtk** in Amulet 6:10); **ḥdyn** and **ḥdʾ** (for **hdyn** and **hdʾ** in Bowl 10:7, 11, 13); *he* is sometimes omitted, cf. **nywn** (10:10). Moreover, in Bowl 10 *ʿayin* is used as an initial *mater lectionis* for the designation of the vowel *e/i*, cf. **ʿmmʾ** (line 4) **br-ʿmʾ** (line 6), **ʿtqṭlw** (line 12), etc. This trait is characteristic also of Mandaic (cf. Yamauchi 1967, pp. 75f.).

Further features of the orthography of the Syriac in Bowl 1 are: a line over the final part of words usually marks the participle (e.g. **mḥwʾ** line 6, **mtqrʾ** line 9). The *seyāme* is sometimes used for marking forms which are only reminiscent of the plural (e.g. **yʾtẅh**, Bowl 1:6). The third person singular in both bowls has the typical Syriac **n-** prefix, e.g. **nhwʾ** (1:8), **nḥdrh** (1:11); **nytnṭr** (10:6) etc. If the reading **lkbyšwh** (10:13) is correct, *lamed* occurs for the *nun* prefix in this case.

b. The Bowls in Babylonian Jewish Aramaic

The language of the bowls written in the Jewish script has the clear features of Babylonian Jewish Aramaic. The plural masculine, for example, has quite often the *-ē* ending, as in Syriac, but here it is expressed by a final *yod*: cf. **kwkby wmzly** (Bowl 2:3); **byšy wtqypy** (Bowl 6:2), etc. The final *-ā* designating the determined state (in singular masculine and in singular and plural feminine) is generally marked by an *alef*, but there are quite a number of words ending with a final *he* (as

in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic), cf. mainly the word **ʾrʿh** in Bowls 2:8; 3:4; 5:2; 7:8; but also **bny ʾynšh** (6:2,5); **ywblh** (6:7); **byryʾth** (6:9); **ʾswth** (11:7); **ršyʿh** (12a:3); **nḥšh** (12b:3); **rbh** (12a:6); **mqdšh** (12b:6). For this phenomenon, cf. Rossell 1953, p. 36.

Bowl 6 has the characteristic Babylonian Jewish Aramaic *paʿʿel* infinitive **lštwqy wlskwry** (line 1), but in line 5 there occurs **lštqʾ**. Rossell 1953, p. 53 has already remarked on this: "the infinitive may be *qaṭṭālā*, or more commonly, *qaṭṭōlē*".

It has been pointed out that in Babylonian Jewish Aramaic the *qamaṣ* was quite often pronounced *o*. In the bowl-texts there is sometimes a *waw*, where an *ā* is expected (cf. Rossell 1953, p. 20). This trait is quite prominent in Bowl 12a, cf. **smwmyt** (line 1), **wʿwl** (line 5), **ywtyh** (lines 5, 6, 7), **qwmw** (line 6), and in Bowl 13, cf. **qwmk** (line 2), **qwmh** (line 8) and perhaps **ywyty** (line 1). Since this phenomenon occurs in a limited number of bowls only, it may justify the assumption of Sharvit 1974, p. 555, according to which Babylonian Jewish Aramaic possessed two contemporary pronunciations of the *qamaṣ*, probably distributed by areas, one where we may observe the development *ā* > *ō*, while in another area the *qamaṣ* was pronounced *ā*. A similar division had been suggested for Palestine. On this problem cf. also the study by Boyarin 1978b.

The *shwa* was sometimes written with a *yod*. This is attested not only with regard to the conjunction **wy-**, the prepositions **by-**, **ly-**, and the relative pronoun **dy-** (cf. Rossell 1953, p. 21 and our Commentary to Bowl 2), but also within the words themselves as **pyryšw** (Bowl 5:4–5); **tyštqwn** (*paʿʿel* imperfect, Bowl 6:9). This trait occurs also in Amulet 3:4, **tyḥšyn** (*paʿʿel* imp.).

Alef is often elided in the bowls; examples are **dytt**ʾ (2:9), **ytytt**ʾ (2:9), **dym**ʾ (2:4).

Besides the older form of the possessive suffix of the third person singular masculine attached to a plural noun, **-why**, which is attested in forms like **ḥzwhy** (Bowl 9:13), we have the younger form with **-yh**, e.g. **šqyh** (Bowl 9:3) and **kkyh, šynyh** (Bowl 13:4), **ʿynyh** (Bowl 13:5) and similar forms in Bowl 13. In Syriac we have such a form in **bnyh** "his sons" (Bowl 10:6). For this phenomenon cf. Epstein 1960, p. 123; Rossell 1953, p. 38. In addition we have the interesting hybrid form **(h)dmyhw**ʾ (Bowl 9:13). With regard to the preposition **ʿl**, again, both suffixes for the third person singular masculine are used, sometimes in one and the same bowl; cf. **ʿlyh** (Bowl 9:7), **ʿlwhy** (Bowl 9:14). In

contrast, the Palestinian forms attested in the amulets tend to show this ending as **-wy** (Amulet 3:15, 16; 5:5,7; 15:16). Amulet 1:22 has the full form **bgydwhy wbgrmwhy.**

c. The Amulets

Since Amulets 2, 3 and 10–13 were found in excavations carried out in Palestinian sites, they may be considered — together with the synagogue inscriptions (Naveh 1978) — as a reliable witnesses for the description of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic. Similar traits can be found in Amulets 7 and 9, although they stem from Ağabeyli (in southern Turkey) and Oxyrrhynchus (in Egypt). The other amulets (with the obvious exception of 6, which is in Syriac), may be presumed to derive from Palestine or its immediate vicinity.

In most Palestinian texts the determined state is generally marked by *he*, but the Nirim amulets display a preponderance of *alef*.

The negative *lā* is spelled **lh** in two amulets: Amulet 3:4 and 9:6.

A typical Galilean Aramaic trait is the absence of initial *lamed* in the infinitives, cf. **mʾsyh** and **mgʿwr** in Amulet 2:1,11. This can be compared to **dʿtyd mʿbd mṣwth** in the inscription of the synagogue at Tiberias (Naveh 1978, No. 26). The above-mentioned form **mʾsyh**, i.e. the *paʿʿel* infinitive with an initial *mem*, is also characteristic of Galilean Aramaic. For **plṭʾ**, where the existence of a prefix is uncertain, see Commentary to Amulet 13:4.

The form **šwmyh** in Amulets 3:6 and 9:5 is well-known in Palestinian Christian Aramaic (Schulthess 1903, p. 209), and it occurs in two synagogue inscriptions (Naveh 1978, Nos. 20, 70).

As in the synagogue inscriptions, there are here signs for the weakening of the gutturals, cf. **ʾwryth** in Amulet 9:1 (for **ʿryth**, occurring in Amulet 2:2,12 and **hʿryh** in the Hebrew text of Amulet 4:29; but see Commentary to Amulet 9:1. A case of *ʿayin* for *alef* occurs in **mrʿšy** (Amulet 14:8), as part of the same phenomenon. The *alef* was left out by the writer of Amulet 9: cf. **mryn brth dstr** (9:2), as against **rby ʾlʿzr brh dʾstr** (Amulet 3:5).

Incidentally, the Palestinian form **rby** (cf. Naveh 1978, p. 58) occurs in Amulet 3, whereas the Babylonian form **rb** occurs in a bowl text (cf. Harviainen 1981, p. 5:8,9). For the title of the well-known authority on magic , R. Joshua bar Peraḥya, the form attested on Babylonian bowls seems to be invariably *rabbi*, as in the Palestinian tradition, presumably because this is a name borrowed into Babylonia from Palestine. This is

also the case in our Bowl 5. (Montgomery 1913, Nos. 32, 33, reads in the Syriac text **rb yyšwʿ**, but an examination of the facsimiles suggests that the correct reading should be **rby**, followed by **yšwʿ**; in Montgomery No. 17 Yehoshuaʿ ben Perahya is not given a title). Cohen 1981, p. 78, collected forms of the title **rby**. In about five cases the "Babylonian" form occurs in Palestine.

The expression **ythzh yt** in Amulet 3:14, i.e. the accusative particle **yt** after a passive verb, has some parallels in the Targum.

A typical Palestinian form is the plural imperative **ʾswn** (Amulet 3:22), whereas the third person plural feminine perfect **slqh** (Amulet 7:14) occurs in *qeri* Biblical Aramaic and the language of Onqelos.

d. Contacts Between Palestine and Babylonia

There were, no doubt, strong connections between the magical tradition of Jewish Palestine and that current among the Jews of Babylonia. This is demonstrated by various phrases and expressions which are common to both the amulets and the bowls. The opening formula of Amulet 3 occurs in three of the magic bowls (Isbell 1975, Nos. 67 and 69; Isbell 1976, p. 23). The use of the phrase from Zach. 3:2, which is quite common in the bowls (cf. our Bowl 11:5–6), occurs in Amulet 1:5–6. The story told in Amulet 7:16–22 has close parallels in two bowls dealt with by Gordon 1971, pp. 233 f. and 236 f.

This connection between the two traditions is also visible in the orthography. It has already been noted that in the bowls there are some *he* endings for marking the determined state. On the other hand, in the amulets there are several *alef* endings.

The overlapping between the Babylonian and the Palestinian traditions may occasionally be noticed in some points of vocabulary. Thus the verb **ḤMʾ** occurs in the Babylonian Bowl 6:4, although it is generally considered to belong to western Aramaic (cf. Kutscher 1971, cols. 270, 274). This is, however, a verb which is known to occur outside the area of western Aramaic (cf. Tal 1975, p. 199 and note 24).

Amulet 15, with Bowls 12a and 12b, present a concrete case of a Palestinian-Babylonian contact. The formula contained in these magic texts certainly travelled from west to east. Along with the formula and the names of the heroes of the story some typical Palestinian expressions were adopted by the writers of the Babylonian bowls: cf. **ʾrtq** (for which see Kutscher 1971, col. 274). In other cases, the writers of the bowls made the necessary linguistic adjustments to translate the

language of the formula into Babylonian Aramaic: e.g. Palestinian **kl hn d-** "everywhere" (Amulet 15:19) corresponds to **kl ʾtr d-** in Bowl 12:VIIIb.

8. Magic in the Palestinian Amulets and their Religious World

While this book aims to give, for the first time, a full and accurate reading and interpretation of all the legible amulets from Palestine and the neighbouring areas, it seems proper to try and attempt an interpretation of the world of religion and of the occult as it emerges from these texts. Of the period in which these amulets were written we do not have too many direct epigraphical traces in Palestine, especially not in Aramaic.[24] And yet this is a period of great importance in Jewish history: it is the period in which post-exilic Judaism crystallized, the Jerusalem Talmud emerged, and to a very large extent the final shape of late Judaism was determined. The study of these texts, however short they are, and however fragmentary, should therefore prove to be of considerable interest.

The Jewish influence in the magic of the period is conspicuous. This can be seen both in the Greek and Coptic papyri from Egypt and in the Mesopotamian bowls which use non-Jewish scripts (see above, p. 18). For its own part, however, "Jewish" magic, i.e. magic written by Jews and using the Hebrew script, is also cosmopolitan, containing as it does religious elements borrowed from other cults and cultures, as do other types of magic written in other scripts. It partakes with other forms of neighbouring contemporary magic the use and address of such prominent magical figures as Abrasax, Marmaraot, Ablanatanalba, Sesengen

[24] The most important epigraphical material is the collection of synagogue inscriptions, some of them extremely short; see Naveh 1978. Apart from these, there are a number of funerary inscriptions; See Frey 1952, though the latest finds have not yet been collected.

Bar Ferenges. It contains allusions to such concepts and *topoi* of magic as the great importance of iron and copper, the careful inclusion in the incantation of a reference to all possible directions: right, left, front, behind, and above (with the deliberate omission of the world underneath; see Amulet 1). It makes use of magic letters and magic figures, of a comprehensive number for the limbs of the body (usually 248, but there are other figures), and sometimes of a list of specific limbs, of careful references to divisions of time (day, week, month, year), and of other themes of a similar nature.

Within this general web of magical elements, there are elements which may strike us as Jewish. Some of these have become part of the general non-Jewish magic tradition, e.g. names such as Yah, Yahu, Sabaoth, El, I-am-who-I-am, as well as formulae such as Amen, Selah, etc. More to the point are the direct biblical quotations and the biblical allusions, and sometimes the made-up biblical verses, which underline the fact that the amulets were composed in a *milieu* where the Bible was the sacred scripture, and quoting it, or at least pretending to quote it, was deemed to be of special magic power. It is of course important to bear in mind that we have to do here in most cases with a popular type of practice, and with a level of learning that does not go very deep.

Can any doubt be raised as to the orthodoxy, in terms of Jewish religion, of the people who wrote and used these amulets? Contemporary Jewish sources, notably the Talmudic and Midrashic literatures, are notoriously ambiguous about magic.[25] It must be recalled that we should not take the utterances of the sages in the matter of magic at face value. Magic is officially condemned, but many people who practised what we call "magic" would deny that they indulged in a practice which was against Jewish law. They would say that they practised healing, protection, etc., and that they relied not on magical powers, but on the power of God and His angels. The argument about the legitimacy of magic, among Jews just as in other cultures, sometimes revolves around the definition of terms.

Of more fundamental importance is the question as to what powers are invoked in the Jewish amulets, and what position they are deemed to occupy. In the Jewish bowl texts from Mesopotamia, the divine names

[25] See L. Blau 1898, pp. 19 ff.; Urbach 1975, pp. 97 ff.

appealed to include, besides Yahweh and his epithets, and the Jewish angels Gabriel, Yehoel, Yequtiel, Michael, Nuriel, etc., also names of pagan gods such as the Greek Hermes (see Montgomery 1913, p. 99); the Mesopotamian and Syrian Belti, Nereg, Nanai, Shamish, Dlibat and Mot (see Index here and in Montgomery 1913); the Iranian Anahid, Danahish, Bagdana, and others.

The Palestinian amulets in Jewish script do not contain references to such pagan deities. In the amulets, as far as we can make out, the various powers invoked are apparently conceived as being magic agents dependent on or subordinate to Yah the God of Israel. This seems to be the case in most amulets, though in some of them (Nos. 5, 8 and 10) the God of Israel is not mentioned at all. Amulet 3:11 speaks of "Yahu **krmsys**, the great God"; whatever the actual identity of this **krmsys**, it seems to figure here as an epithet of Yahu, and not as an independent power.

Abrasax is very frequently invoked in the Palestinian charms (see Amulets 1:9; 2:3; 12:2). According to *Sefer ha-razim* IV:3 Abrasax is the first among some thirty angels directing the sun during the day. In the same chapter of *Sefer ha-razim*, a Greek prayer addressed to Helios, the sun god, is given in Hebrew transcription. The text says: "Holy, eastern Helios, good sailor, highest governor, most exalted, who of old regulate the heavenly wheel, holy umpire, controller of the poles, Lord, glorious guide, master, soldier".[26] It may be mentioned in this connection that in the mosaic pavement of three synagogues of the fourth to the sixth centuries, those of Bet Alpha, Hamat-Tiberias and Naʿaran, Helios is shown in the centre of the mosaic, riding his chariot in the middle of the zodiac. The reason for this prominent display of Helios in Palestinian synagogues has been the subject of extensive scholarly discussion.[27] The basic question is whether it may be assumed that Helios was worshipped alongside, or independently, of God in these synagogues. The evidence of our amulets, while not decisive in itself, tends to strengthen the position that Helios, like so many other supernatural powers who were treated with great respect, did not seriously encroach upon the supreme position of God. Amulets 11–13 were found in

[26] *Sefer ha-razim* IV:61–63; translation by M. Smith 1982, p. 210*.

[27] See some references in Smith 1982.

another synagogue of the same period, in Nirim, and they were placed in or close to the holy ark. The syncretistic mixture which they display, while perhaps not universally approved of in rabbinic circles, was nevertheless part of the everyday piety of the age, and the angels mentioned in them are all subservient to God.

We know from the Talmudic sources that the use of this magic was not confined exclusively to the ignorant classes of society, but may have been shared partly by people who belonged to the circles of the learned. It is interesting, nevertheless, to have this confirmed by one of the amulets of Ḥorvat Kanaf, which was made for the benefit of a certain "Rabbi Eleazar son of Esther, the servant of the God of Heaven" (Amulet 3:6–7). Specialists in Talmudic literature may try to identify the person in question, but it is sufficient to note that this title, which is not too common in magic texts, occurs here for the client of an amulet. S. Cohen 1981 discussed all the evidence for people called Rabbi in epigraphical sources. Cohen makes a distinction between two senses of the title "Rabbi": It may be used either as a general honorific title, or for a tradent of Talmudic tradition. It is obviously impossible to decide here which usage is relevant, but the pious formula "the servant of the God of Heaven" no doubt indicates that "Rabbi" is here used in a religious sense.

The one amulet in our collection which is clearly not Jewish, the Syriac amulet No. 6, displays a spirit which stands in sharp contrast to that of the Jewish amulets from Palestine. It talks of three deities, and these are given high epithets. If this contrast is anything to go by, the distinction between Jewish and non-Jewish magic in Palestine and its environs is strongly pronounced. However, since we possess no more than a few specimens of what must have been a very extensive literature of magic in that area, it would be rash to base far-reaching conclusions on so little material.

TEXTS AND COMMENTARY

I. Amulets from Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt

Amulet 1

Provenance unknown
Collection of Dr. R. Hecht, Haifa
Plate 1; Figure 1

1 [מ]ימינך הרבה מאד משמאולך עוזי(א)[ל]
2 [מ]לפניך סוסיאל ומאחריך מנוחה
3 [ו]מלמעלה מאלה שכינת אל הצילה (א)[ת]
4 [קוזמ]ה בן סלמינו מפגע מרגע מנגע
5 [ויאמ]ר ייי אל השטן יגער ייי בך ה[שטן]
6 ויגער ייי בך הבוחר בירושלים (אמ)[ן]
7 [מ]לך יונון נימוס וכל מסוסין בראן[...]
8 ישמעאל רבא גיברא (ודחילא) מאמ...
9 ולידפת ולוזפת ומרהפתיס אברסקוס
10 [ר]וחא רובא רביא יה יה אתאסנ[י]
11 [ב]ר סלמינו מכל מכאובא מן יומא [דן]
12 [וע]ד לעלם אמן אמן סלה אנה כתבת יי[י]
13 [י]אסי בשם סחריאל עזריאל גרגו (...)
14 [...](ר)ע רקיעה דהוא מ(...)ל (ת)מידה בכלין (ה)[וא]
15 ישלח באסיותיה דקוזמה בר סלמינו [...]
16 vacat (זמורה) ומעין ברוקה מעין לוחשה [ומעין]
17 שיחה מעין ביתה ומעין ברא ומעין ה[...]
18 באסיותיה מן קדם מרי שמיה אמן אמן (ס)[לה]
19 [...]ת אחד (ו)עלוה אחד הרי שנים אמן אמן (ס)[לה]
20 [ברוך] המכה והמרפא לרוח גרמיה קמיע [טב]
21 משבענה עליך רוח גרמיה דהיא מהלכ[ה]
22 בגידוהי ובגרמוהי דקוזמה בר סלמינ[ו]
23 עליך בחי | האל || אלהי | ישראל למן קדמין (...)
24] צב[(אות) מלך מל[כי ה]מלכי[ם]

Amulet 1

Translation

1 On your right are very many, on your left is Uzziel,
2 in front of you is Susiel, behind you is Repose.
3 Above these is God's Divine Presence. Save
4 [Quzm]a son of Salminu from affliction, from (bad) fate (?), from plague.
5 "And God said unto Satan: May God rebuke you Satan
6 and may God who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you" (Zach. 3:2). Amen.
7 King **ywnwn nymws** and all **mswsyn** ...
8 Ishmael the great, mighty and terrifying. ...
9 **wlydpt wlwzpt wmrhptys ʾbrsqws**
10 Ruḥa, Ruba, Rabia, Yah, Yah. Be healed,
11 Bar Salminu, from all pain from this day
12 to eternity. Amen, Amen, Selah. I have written, God
13 will heal. In the name of Satriel, Azriel, ...
14 ... heaven, who ... wine in vessels (?), h[e]
15 will send forth the healing of Quzma son of Salminu ...
16 ... from the eye of cataract (?), from the eye of a spell, [and from the eye of]
17 a talk, from the eye of the house, and from the eye of the open space (?), and from the eye of ...
18 in his cure on behalf of the Lord of heaven. Amen, Amen, Selah.
19 ... one and on top of that one, then there are two. Amen, Amen, Selah.
20 [Blessed be] He who afflicts and heals the spirit of the bones. A [good] amulet.
21 I adjure you, the spirit of the bones, that walks
22 within the tendons and the bones of Quzma son of Salminu.
23 (I adjure) you by the God who lives, God of Israel, from the beginning ...
24 ... [of Hos]ts, king of the kings of kings ...

This amulet was incised with a sharp instrument on a narrow silver sheet, rolled from the upper part to the bottom; it was placed in a container, which has been preserved with the amulet. Nothing is known of its provenance. Its surviving height is 4.5 cm., width 3.3 cm.

1–3 The first phrase is reminiscent of Geniza 5, p. 2, lines 9–10 and that of the prayer "*Qeri'at shema'* on the bed": מימיני מיכאל ומשמאלי גבריאל ומלפני אוריאל ומאחורי רפאל ועל ראשי שכינת אל "On my right Michael, on my left Gabriel, in front of me Uriel, behind me Raphael and above my head the Shekina of El". See also Amulet 14:8. This formula found its way into Christian Syriac (Gollancz 1912, p. 5, § 7; p. 6, § 8) and Muslim Arabic (Goldziher 1894, pp. 359 f.) sources. See also Winkler 1930, pp. 20ff.

4 The name of the client Quzma — Cosmas is well known among the Syriac Christians (Payne-Smith, col. 3515). The name of the client's mother **slmynw** is unknown; can it be a variant of Σαλώμη? Cf. also Frey 1952, Nos. 1236–1237, 1459.

mpg' mrg' mng' is a pun. Only **pg'** and **ng'** have the sense of "affliction" and "plague". **rg'** means generally "moment"; it may mean here "a sudden calamity".

5–6 This verse from Zach. 3:2–3 is common in magic bowls and occurs in "*Qeri'at shema'* on the bed"

7–10 The names in the frames are of angels: **nymws** is Greek νόμος "law"; **mswsyn** means perhaps "healers", a *saf'el* form of the root **'SY**. Cf. Brockelmann 1928, p. 464b.

lwzpt: See Isbell 1975, 69:7 and Isbell 1976, p. 23 **llyzpt.**

mrhptys: This may be an inversion of a Greek compound word such as ἑπτῆμαρ or ἑπτημέρος.

'brsqws is generally written **'brsks**; see Amulet 2:3 as well as the Geniza amulet 7:29 and a fragment from the magic book, Geniza 6, p. 1:11–12: **'brsks ml'kh rbh** "Abrasax the great angel". This angel is well known in the Greek magic papyri from Egypt, where it is listed with Yau the God Sabaoth, Adonai, Michael, Suriel, Gabriel and Raphael (Preisendanz 1928, I, p. 36; pp. 10, 158). See also in the bowls Isbell 1975, Nos. 3:8–9; 4:3–4 and in the Syriac bowl Montgomery 1913, 34:9 as well as *Sefer ha-razim,* pp. 8 and 96 (IV, 13).

8 **rb' gybr' wdḥyl'**: The reading of the last word is dubious. One seems



Fig. 1. Amulet 1

to see **drwqyl**ʾ, but this may be considered to be a corruption of **wdḥyl**ʾ. The whole formula brings to mind the expression in the ʿAmida prayer: האל הגדול הגבור והנורא. For the phrase **rb**ʾ **gybr**ʾ **wdḥyl**ʾ, which seemingly uses *rabbā* as the substantive epithet for the deity, followed by two attributes, cf. Amulet 6:1–2 **rb**ʾ **ḥsyn**ʾ (one of a trinity of deities); Bowl 6:9 **mšbʿn**ʾ **ytkwn byšmyh** ʿ**d**ʾ**rb**ʾ **wdḥyl**ʾ; and Amulet 7:15 **bsṭr krsyh d**ʾ**lh rbh ḥsynh wdḥylh,** where the sequence **rbh ḥsynh wdḥylh** may possibly be taken as an apposition to ʾ**lh.**

12–13 **ʾnh ktbt yyyy yʾsy**: See Isbell 1975, 1:14–15 **ʾnḥnʾ ktbnʾ wšmyh ysyk** "we have written, and his name will heal you", or Isbell 69:8 **ʾnʾ ktbyt wʾlhʾ mʾry kwlʾ ysy yt**[...] "I have written, and God the Lord of All, will heal [...].

14 If one may reconstruct [**t**]**rʿ rqyʿh** we may compare it with **trʿy šmyʾ** in 4QLevi, I:18 (Fitzmyer and Harrington 1978, p. 90) and Hebrew **šʿry šmym**.

14, 16–17 The readings and the interpretations in these lines are uncertain. **brwqh** may mean "lightning", but it may also mean "cataract" as **brwqtʾ** in Gaster 1896, p. XIII:3; *Sefer ha-razim* II:182 (p. 91) **rwḥ hbrqt**; see **brqyt** in Jastrow, p. 197a and **bruqta** in Drower and Macuch, p. 70a: **aina bruqtia** "eye with cataract". In Syriac there occurs the phrase **wbrq brwqʾ bḥṣh wpqʿt mtnh** (Gollancz 1912, p. 8,§10), which the editor translated "he hurt (?) his back, his loin ruptured" (p. XXXI). **mʿyn** could conceivably also be translated "in the form of", but the formula in the printed amulet (Warsaw 1867), where

Amulet 2

Provenance: Ḥorvat Kanaf
Golan Archaeological Museum, Qaṣrin, No. 3164
Plate 2; Figure 2

1 קמיע טב מאסיה יאיתה בר[תה]
2 דמרין מן אשתה ועריתה ועינה
3 בישתה אברסכס יה יה יהו
4 אל אל אל קקקקקקקקקק צצצצצ
5 צצצצצ ץץץץץץץץץ ה ה ה א ח א
6 אות או אוא יה יה יה יה יה
7 יהו יהו יהו יהו יהו (*4 magic signs*)
8 געורו אשתה ועריתה שידתה
9 רוחתה מן פגרה דיאיתה ברתה
10 דמרין בשם אהיה אשר אהיה

we have a series of **ʿynʾ** indicating various forms of evil eyes (Fig. 21 on p. 133), suggests that here too a similar concept is probably present.

20 For **[brwk] hmkh whmrpʾ** see Gordon 1941, p. 352 **brwk mkh wrwpʾ** "blessed is he who smites and heals"; Bowl 12b:13 **brwk ... mk(h) wrwph**; as well as Isaiah 30:26; Jer. 14:19. See also Geniza 7:2–3 **ʾl mwḥṣ wrwpʾ** "smiting and healing God", and Geniza 8:21.

20–22 **rwḥ grmyh** "the spirit of the bones" is the actual sickness, that "walks within the tendons and the bones of Quzma". For **gydwhy wgrmwhy** see the Geniza fragment at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York ENA 3381 fol. 7b: אנה משבע יחכון שמהתה דאסרין לי פֿל וגידוי וגרמוי ; see also Amulet 5 below.

23 See Geniza 5, p. 1:2–3 **mšbʿnʾ bšm ḥy hʾl** and I Sam. 25:34 and I Kings 17:1 חי יהוה אלהי ישראל and Dan. 12:7 וישבע בחי העולם.

24 **mlk mlky hmlkym**: This is a frequent expression; see Jastrow, p. 791a.

Amulet 2

Translation

1 An amulet proper to heal Yaʾitha the daughter
2 of Marian from the fever and the shiver and the evil
3 eye. Abrasax Ya Ya Yahu
4 El El El **qqqqqqqqq, ssssss**
5 **ssssss**, (final) **sssssssss** **hhh** **ʾhʾ**
6 **ʾwt** (letter) **ʾw ʾwʾ** Ya Ya Ya Ya Ya
7 Yahu Yahu Yahu Yahu Yahu *(4 magic signs)*
8 exorcise the fever and the shiver, the female demons
9 (and) the spirits from the body of Yaʾitha the daughter
10 of Marian. In the name of I-am-who-I-am

Amulet 2

11 אמן אמן סלה קמיע טב מגעור
12 אשחה ועריתה ודקיקחה מן
13 יאיתה ברחה דמרין בשם כריאל
14 כסיאל זריאל צצצצצצ בשם
15 קקקקקקק בשם מיכאל]
16 עזריאל]

Amulets 2 and 3 were found in the excavations at Ḥorvat Kanaf by Mr. Zvi Maoz of the Israel Department of Antiquities, who kindly entrusted us with the publication of these texts. The essential details about the archaeological context of these amulets, as communicated by Z. Maoz, can be summed up as follows:

> Ḥorvat Kanaf is situated on a lofty spur, descending from the basalt plateau of the Golan, 3.5 km. off the north-eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee. In 1885 Lawrence Oliphant found here a fragmentary Aramaic inscription with Hebrew characters, which was part of an inscribed lintel of the ancient synagogue (Naveh 1978, No. 19). Systematic excavations began at the site in 1977 by Zvi Maoz. During four seasons two areas were unearthed: (A) The synagogue and the adjacent area on the top of the hill; (B) Building 300 on the lowest terrace of the southern slope below the synagogue.
>
> The two amulets were found in two rooms in Building 300. Amulet 2, that of Yaitha, was unearthed in a shallow pit in the north-western corner of Locus 301, together with an iron ring and a bronze ring that lost its inlay. Amulet 3, that of Eleazar, was found in the earth fill in the centre of Locus 308, 1.35 m. above the floor level. It probably had fallen from somewhere above.

According to the stratigraphy provided by Z. Maoz, Building 300 was erected in the early Byzantine period (350–500 C.E.), while the synagogue was erected in the middle Byzantine period (c. 500–551 C.E.). In the late Byzantine period (c. 551–630 C.E.) there took place the restoration of the synagogue and the division of Building 300. It seems likely to us that the two amulets belong to the later part of the occupation of Building 300, i.e. late 6th or early 7th century C.E.

11 Amen Amen Selah. An amulet proper to exorcise
12 the fever and the shiver and the hectic (fever) from
13 Ya'itha the daughter of Marian. In the name of Kariel,
14 Kasiel, Zariel ssssssss; in the name of
15 qqqqqqq; in the name of Michael [ ]
16 ʿEzriel [ ]

Amulet 2 is written on a copper sheet, incised with a pointed instrument. Only the first 18 lines are preserved. The surviving portion measures *c.* 6×6 cm. Fuller commentary on Amulet 2 will be found in Naveh 1983.

1 **qmyʿ ṭb** "a proper amulet". These two words, which are repeated here in line 11, appear also at the beginning of the Aleppo amulet (No. 4), and they occur in the Geniza fragment of a magic book, Geniza 5, p. 1:7 as **qmyʿ ṭwb**.

mʾsyh "to heal", infinitive of the root ʾSY (*paʿʿel*). The lack of the *lamed* (see also **mgʿwr**, line 11) and the initial *mem* in the *paʿʿel* infinitive are characteristic of Galilean Aramaic (Dalman 1905, p. 281).

yʾyth is a feminine personal name meaning "the nice/beautiful (girl)"; cf. **špyrh**, a well known name in the first two centuries C.E., in Amulet 14:1.

2 **mryn** is a quite common Palestinian feminine personal name; see Amulet 9 and Montgomery 1911, p. 273 f. lines 15, 22. **mryn** is a by-form of **mrym**. See Kutscher 1976, pp. 61–62.

ʾšth wʿryth: These nouns seem to be synonymous. Whereas **ʾšth** is well known in all Aramaic dialects as "the fire" or "the fever", **ʿryth** is rare. In Syriac, however, the root ʿRY means *inter alia* "to be seized with illness, to swoon"; in *paʿʿel* "to become numb with cold"; ʿryʾ "cold, frost, chill"; and ʿrwytʾ "the shivering fit of an ague". The latter meaning fits **ʿryth** in our text. **ʾyšth wʿryth** occur in the British Museum incantation bowl No. 91745 (cf. Gordon 1941, p. 341). Cf. also **hʾš whʿryh** in Amulet 4:28–29. In Amulet 9:1 the word **ʾwryth** seems to be a misspelling of **ʿryth** (but see also Commentary *ad loc.*). The sequence ʾ(y)š(ʾ)tʾ and ʿrwytʾ occurs also in the Geniza fragment T-S K 1.95 as

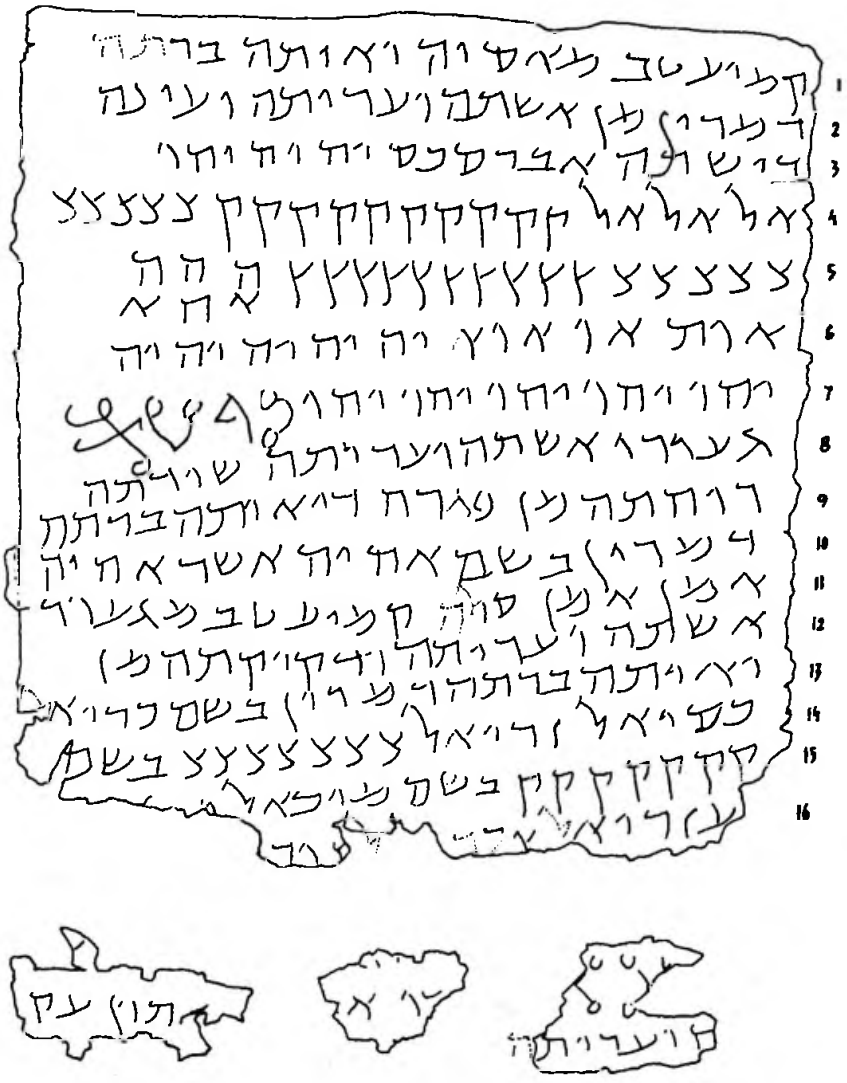


Fig. 2. Amulet 2

well as in Geniza 7:16. The combination **ʾšt ʿrwyt** together with other diseases occurs in a late Syriac magic book, Gollancz 1912, p. 8 f., § 11. The Samaritan Targum of Lev. 26:16 and Deut. 28:22 renders **qdḥt** by **ʿrbyth** (Tal 1980–81).

3 Abrasax is followed by a series of divine names and letters. It seems likely that in a prototype of this incantation these names were followed by a phrase like אתון אתייה קדישייה "You holy letters"; אתון שמהתה קדישייה "You holy names", which appear quite frequently, as in Geniza 6; or אתון כלקטיריה קדישיא "You holy characters", as in Geniza 1. For a similar phrase see Amulets 7:4 and 10:3. The plural imperative verb **gʿwrw** (line 8) implies such an address. For Abrasax see Commentary to Amulet 12:2.

4–5 The letters *qof* and *ṣade* may represent Is. 6:3. On the other hand, *qof*, medial *ṣade* and final *ṣade*, each repeated ten times in succession, may represent the root QṢṢ "to cut, break, fell, scrape, mutilate" (possibly addressed against the evil spirits of disease?).

8 For the verb **GʿR** in the sense of "to drive away, to exorcise" cf. Greenfield 1980, pp. XXXVIII f., as well as Geniza 4:3. Further discussion in Naveh 1983.

10 For the phrase אהיה אשר אהיה cf. e.g. Amulets 3:2–3; 11:1; 12:6, 40; Isbell 1975, Nos. 67:2, 69:3–4 and Geniza 4:5–6; 7:7.

11 **mgʿwr** instead of **lmgʿwr**; see above, Commentary to line 1, **mʾsyh**.

12 **dqyqth** is the rendering of the Samaritan Targum to Deut. 28:22 **ḥrḥr**; the Arabic equivalent given in *Ha-Meliṣ* is **ʾldq** (see Ben-Ḥayyim 1957, p. 473b). Bar-Hebraeus, pp. 13, 28, translates the phrase **ʾštʾ dqyqtʾ** in the Peshiṭta version of Ben Sira 26:26 as Greek ἑκτικός. In the Geniza fragments we have various corruptions of this word: **rqyqtʾ** (Geniza 5, p. 1:1), **zʿqh** (Geniza 6, p. 3:12) and **dnwqh** (Geniza 6, p. 4:2).

Amulet 3

Provenance: Ḥorvat Kanaf
Golan Archaeological Museum, Qasrin, No. 3163
Plate 3; Figure 3

1 שיר חשבחות למלך עלמ[יה]
2 [י]ה יה יחיש עולמים אהיה
3 אשר אהיה מלך ממל<ל> ברוז פרוש
4 אל כל רוח בישה ומבאשה דלה
5 תיחשין לרבי אלעזר ברה דאסתיר
6 עבדה דאלה שומיה חזק וגער
7 שרד ופרת טרגין אסתד ובקתה
8 סלסלילה קללקם יקיפס צוריאל
9 רפאל אביאל אנאל נהריאל
10 נגדיאל אפפאל ואננאל מס
11 פס יקרנדריס יהו כרמסיס
12 אלהא רבה תחתה נחגה טחטה
13 מרמר פספס יהוה קדש בכל
14 אתר דיחחזה ית קמיעה דן
15 לא תעכבין עלוי על אלעזר
16 ברה דאסתיר ואן תעכבין עלוי
17 בה בשעתה תתרמין לאתון
18 נורא יקדחה ברוך אתה אדוננו
19 הרופא כל הא־רץ שלח רפוי
20 אסו לאלעזר בובריית תבריט
21 [ו]בשתארות מלאכיה דמ[מנין]
22 [ע]ל אשתה ועריתה אסון אל[עזר]
23 [ב]מאמר קדיש

This amulet is written on a copper sheet, incised with a pointed instrument. The sheet measures *c.* 7.5×5 cm. The writing seems to have been preserved almost intact. It was found by Mr. Zvi Maoz in the excavation of Ḥorvat Kanaf. For a description of the Ḥ. Kanaf amulets see Commentary to Amulet 2.

Amulet 3

Translation

1 A song of praise to the King of the Worlds
2 Yah, Yah, Yah, Yaḥish of the Worlds, I-am-
3 who-I-am, the King who speaks with distinct mystery
4 to every bad and evil-doing spirit, that you should not
5 cause pain to Rabbi Eleazar the son of Esther,
6 the servant of the God of Heaven. **ḥzq** and **gʿr**,
7 **šrd** and **prt**, **ṭrgyn**, **ʾstd** and **bqth**,
8 **sislyrhʾ**, **qllqm**, **yqyps**, Suriel,
9 Raphael, Abiel, Anael, Nahariel
10 Nagdiel, Aphaphel and Ananel **ms**
11 **ps yqrndrys** Yahu **krmsys**
12 the great god **ṯḥth gḥgh ṭḥṭh**
13 **mrmr psps** Yahweh, sanctity. In every
14 place where this amulet will be seen,
15 you (the evil spirit) should not detain Eleazar
16 the son of Esther. And if you detain him,
17 you will be cast immediately into a burning
18 fiery furnace (Dan. 3:6). Blessed are you our Lord,
19 the Healer of all (people on) earth, send healing
20 (and) cure to Eleazar. **bwbryt, tbryṭ**,
21 **bštʾrwt**, the angels that are [appointed]
22 over fever and shivering, cure Ele[azar]
23 by a holy command!

1–3 The opening phrase, which consists of a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic words, is very similar to that which occurs in the magic bowls published by Jeruzalmi 1963 (see Isbell 1975, Nos. 67 and 69) and by Isbell 1976, p. 23, where the correct reading is שיר תשבחות למלך עלמיה יהוה צבאות צור עולמים אהיה אשר אהיה מלך ממליל ברזי (בראזי) פרישתא. This

similarity constitutes a further indication to the existence of contacts between Babylonian and Palestinian Jewish magic formulae.

2 **yḥyš** (or **yḥwš**): Probably connected to the "name" **yḥwš**, which developed from an appeal to speed, so common in magical invocations; cf. Scholem 1980/81, p. 266, notes 84–85. Our Geniza material illustrates the transition from the verb **ʾḥyšh** in Ps. 55:9 to the divine name. The verse is prominently used in Geniza 5, p. 2:6–7; 7:23–25 (where the verse occurs twice, straight and backwards). The divine name occurs in Geniza 8 in the formula **yh ʾhh ḥsyn yh yḥyšh**, repeated several times with slight variations (lines 6f.; 8f.; 10f.; 13f.).

4 **ʾl** is Hebrew, for Aramaic **ʿl**; **dlh** is sometimes written for **dlʾ**, cf. Amulet 9:6.

5 **tyḥšyn** is probably a causative form of ḤWŠ/ḤŠŠ "to feel (pain), to suffer"; the *yod* after the *taw* shows that it cannot be an *afʿel*, but rather a *paʿʿel*, the *yod* standing for a *shwa mobile*. At any rate it is a second person feminine imperfect meaning "you will cause pain".

5–6 The client is called Rabbi Eleazar son of Esther (note the *plene* spelling **ʾstyr**), the servant of the God of Heaven. This is one of the rare examples in which the client of a magic text bears the title Rabbi. Cf. also Harviainen 1981, p. 5:8,9 **rb ywsp br ʾymʾ dʾymh**.

6–10 **ḥzq wgʿr šrd** ... can be a series of verbs: "strengthen and drive out, cause to remain...", but this sequence does not make much sense. Therefore, it may perhaps be assumed that **ḥzq wgʿr šrd** is a sequence of corrupt words based on a formula such as we have in Isbell 1975, 67:3 **byʾl ḥzq wgybwr šlḥ byd** "By God, strong and mighty, send by the hand...", where it is followed by a series of angels: Shlomiel, Michael, Raphael etc. Here we may reconstruct something like **ʾlh šwmyh ḥzq *wgbwr *šdr** "...God of Heaven, strong and mighty, send..." The words **prt ṭrgyn ʾstd**...until **yqyps** may be names of angels (or *nomina barbara*); they are followed by Suriel, Raphael etc.

10–13 **msps** is an Atbash reversal of **yḥwḥ** and **psps** for **wḥwḥ** i.e. Yahweh; Cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 60.

krmsys has been explained by Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 25,40 as Hermes. The text there says: **[bšmyh] dkrmsys yh šmh rbh mpršh.**

mrmr is reminiscent of Marmaraoth.

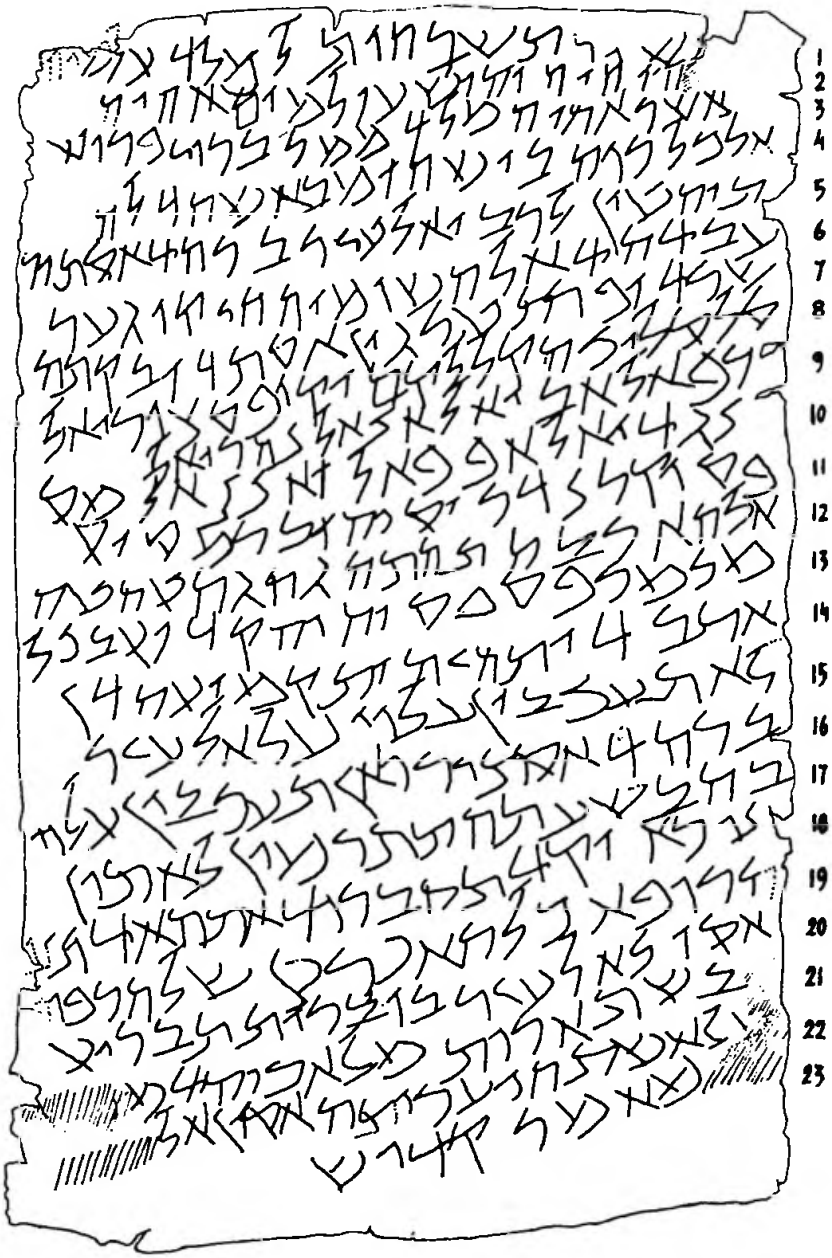


Fig. 3. **Amulet 3**

14–18 For a similar warning phrase see Gaster 1896, pp. I:25–28; III:13–21, and XXV:4–7, where both the word **tʿkb** and the punishment of burning in fire are mentioned. The construction **dyṯhzh yt**, where the accusative particle **yt** occurs after the passive *itpeʿel* form, appears extraordinary, but it is not unknown in Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew (Ben-David 1971, p. 489; Bar-Asher 1983). One recalls the biblical verses Ex. 34:23; Deut. 16:16 יראה את פני ה׳. In the Targums to Ex. 16:12 the Hebrew...שמעתי את תלונות is rendered...שמיע קדמי ית תרעמת, where the passive construction is followed by the accusative; apparently the accusative **yt** is inserted as an equivalent of the Hebrew ʾt. Kutscher 1969, p. 151, mentions this verse as an instance of the passive construction. A problematic instance is a Targum of Genesis 38:25 **wlʾ ʾštkḥt ythwn** (Klein 1980, p. 61), where Targum Jonathan has **wlʾ ʾškḥt ythwn**. We have taken **dyṯhzh** as **d+yṯhzh**, the relative pronoun **d-** followed by an imperfect 3rd person masc. *itpeʿel*. However, it can also be divided **dy+thzh**, the relative pronoun **dy-** followed by the 2nd person masc. *peʿal*. While this is possible, we must bear in mind that the following verbs, **tʿkbyn** and **ttrmyn**, are both 2nd person feminine singular. The readings **tʿkbwn** and **ttṛmwn** are implausible, since the letters seem to be clear *yod*s.

The expression **ʾtwn nwrʾ yqydth** (following Dan. 3:6) occurs in Borisov 1969, p. 11.

Amulet 4

Hebrew–Aramaic
Provenance: Aleppo
Museum of the Flagellation Convent, Jerusalem
Plate 4; Figure 4

1 קמיע טב כתום פי פתגמא הד[ן]
2 קדישא ברבר<ב>ן ובקדישיא שמו (נכ)[בד]
3 רמיאל מפאר יה עזרי אהיה א
4 אחמה אהיה אחמה יה שדי ח
5 אל (ת)י הוא אתו מאשו (מ)כרעי
6 טלמי ו(כ)מא במנא (כ)ל נדרך ה

19 **hrwpʾ kl hʾrṣ**: This blessing formula is unknown; but it can be compared with רפא חולי כל בשר (in Isbell 1975, 42:12) and רופא חולי עמו ישראל (in the ʿAmida prayer). In Gen. 18:25 we have, somewhat differently, השפט כל הארץ. There is a curved line (possibly the beginning of a *ṣade*) between the *alef* and *resh* in the word הא־רץ.

20 The first word in this line can be read either **ʾsy**, *paʿʿel* imperative, or **ʾsw**, the absolute state of the noun meaning health, healing, cure. The latter may serve as a gloss on the Hebrew word **rpwy**.

21–22 The reconstruction **dmmnyn ʿl** is based on the phrase which occurs in several magic texts; cf. Amulet 12:2; the Geniza fragment T-S K 1.160 ואלן מלאכיה דממנין על לילותא; *Sefer ha-razim* V:13–14 ואלה הם הממונים על שנים עשר חודשי השנה; Gaster 1896, Sword of Moses XX:4 שם סרא דממנא על מלאכי רוגזא.

22 **ʾšth wʿryth**: See above, Amulet 2.

ʾswn = pl. imperative; the final *nun* is typical of Galilean Aramaic, see Dalman 1905, the paradigms on pp. 402 ff. This word seems to be followed by a *lamed* somewhat ligatured with the following *alef*, but it is perhaps only a highly drawn right bar of the *alef*; whether we read with or without *lamed* the meaning is the same.

23 **bmʾmr qdyš**: In Isbell 1975, No. 42:6 we read **bdbr ʾylwh wbmʾmr qwdwš** "by the Word of God and by the holy commandment".

Amulet 4

Translation

1 A proper amulet. Write (?) this phrase,
2 the holy one. His name is venerated through great ones and through the holy ones.
3 Ramiel adorns Yah. My help is I-am,
4 I-see, I-am, I-see. Yah, Shaddai,
5-6 living God. (*An incomprehensible sequence of words; in the following such words are indicated by dots*)

7 דן יהוה אהיה יהוה אל שדי אשר
8 אל × יש (ח)י × חי  אהיה ומלך
9 מכר × מנצח × ים אש(ר) מקצפו ה
10 ארץ רעשה | הר | סר | הר הבמה
11 והר יהו יה × ה זמרו לדו(י)ד ודר
12 הי × שם לעולם ועד (ד)רום ופנים
13 ושמאול ומערב לאחוז בכנפות
14 הארץ וינערו רשעים ממנה בן
15 תנער הטלנית ורוח זכר ונקבה
16 מן אקמו ברתה דאמרבן ממאתים
17 וארבעים ושמונה אבריה ומארבע
18 מאות עם קרבין ובל תשית לב נכל
19 עליה בפיה תיחל מן זולתו כצל
20 חמה כמועט לבנה וכמזלותיה ×
21 ××××××××× יהפש יה
22 פש ×× יה ×××× ××××
23 אמן אמן סלה ×× הללויה
24 אלהי מערכות ובשם אוגריח מר
25 מרמאות יפא ובמלכות אבלנה
26 אלבלה נאחה לבאת קטב נרקי
27 (מ)ראות הדר
(three suns and seven stars are given here as magic figures)
28 משביע אני עליכם הפג<ע> והק[
29 והאש והעריה בין מיום לי[ום]
30 בין משבת לשבת בין משנה
31 לשנה בין מחדש לחדש משבי[ע]
32 אני עליכם בשם ימינו וכח [קדשו]
33 תוקפו ביה יה ביה יה בי[ ]
34 צבאות אלהי ישראל [ ]
35 ....

7 ... **yhwh**, I-am, **yhwh**, God, Shaddai, who (is)
8 God. ... Living, ... I-am and king
9 ... "At his wrath the
10 earth shall tremble" (Jer. 10:10) ...
11 ... Sing for David ...
12 <May the> name of God be for eternity. South, east,
13 north and west. "That it seizes the corners
14 of the earth, and shakes the wicked out of it" (Job 38:13), so
15 will be shaken the shadow-spirit and the male and female spirit
16 from Aqemu daughter of Em-rabban, from her
17 248 limbs, and from (her)
18 400 ... (?) entrails. Do not place an evil man's heart
19 over her. With her mouth she shall expect (?) from someone else. Like the shadow
20 of the sun, like the diminution of the moon, and like her zodiacal signs.
21-22 (*magic characters and combinations of letters*)
23 Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallelujah.
24 God of battles. And by the name of Ugrit, Mar-
25 marma'ot **yp'** and by the kingdom of *Ablanatanalba
26 ... **qṭb nrqy**.
27 Visions of splendour.
(*three suns and seven stars*)
28 I adjure you, affliction and ...
29 and fever and shiver, whether it is from day to day,
30 or from week to week, or from year
31 to year, or from month to month, — I adjure
32 you, by His right hand and the might of [His holiness].
33 His vigour, **byh yh byh yh by**[**h** Lord of]
34 Hosts, the God of Israel ...
35 ...

Amulet 4

This text was incised on a silver sheet, folded and placed in a bronze tube. It was found in a tomb near Aleppo.

The text was first published by Schwab 1906, and again 1916/17, p. 624. It was reproduced by Frey 1952, No. 819, and discussed in Testa 1962, pp. 52 ff.

The translation is given here with great reservation, as the text is largely obscure. We have examined the original at the Museum, and have had the benefit of a fresh photograph, kindly supplied to us by Father Michele Piccirillo O.F.

1 **ktwm py** seems a better reading than Schwab's **ktwm (htwm) bw. py** may be a dittography on the following **ptgm'. ktwm** may be a corruption of **ktwb.**

2 **brbr<b>n**: Schwab read **brbwn.**

6 **bmn' kl**: Cf. Schwab **kmw 'pl.**

8 This line contains the so-called "monogram of Christ". Deissmann 1927, p. 255 n. 4, remarks that it was in use long before the time of Christ. Testa 1962, p.55, regards it as an evident Christian symbol, following Avi-Yonah 1940, p. 112. See also Budge 1930, p. 347 f.

10 Schwab reads *waws* where the amulet seems to have vertical strokes.

11 **zmrw ldwyd** seems to be written. One might expect **l<y>hwh** as occurs frequently in the Psalms.

12 **pnym** signifies "east", cf. Kimron 1980, p. 41 f.

13 **śm'wl** is written with a *waw* following the *alef*, as in Amulet 1. For **śm'wl** in the sense of "north"cf.Kutscher 1957, p.32, and Kimron 1980.

15 **ṭlnyt**: This species of demons is quite widely attested. In our texts they occur in Amulets 7:6; 11:8; 13:8. For other occurrences in bowl texts see Gordon 1941, p. 279; Borisov 1969, p. 7:4, and the discussion in Scholem 1965, pp. 85, 88. The Targum of Cant. 4:6 has **ṭlny** as a species of demons (reference kindly supplied by Dr. E. Kimron). The same sense occurs in Mandaic **ṭulaniata** (pl.), cf. Drower 1946, p. 332, line 2. The transition from the sense of "shadows" to that of "demons" is illustrated by a passage in the *Schatzhöhle*, where a number of natural



Fig. 4. Amulet 4.
After Testa 1962

elements worshipped are listed: **wmnhwn byd ṭʿywthwn lšmšʾ sgdyn hww wmnhwn lshrʾ wlkẅkbʾ wmnhwn lʾrʿ wlḥyẅtʾ wlpr̈ḥtʾ wlr̈ḥšʾ wlʾẏlnʾ wlk̈pʾ wlṭlnẏtʾ wlmẏ wlr̈wḥʾ** (Bezold 1888, II, p. 130).

16 **ʾmrbn** is probably to be read Em-Rabban.

17–18 While 248 is רמ"ח, the traditional Jewish figure for the number of limbs, 400 followed by **ʿm** is incomprehensible.

20 **mwʿṭ lbnh** may be connected with Heb. **mʿwṭ** "diminution, waning". The juxtaposition *ḥammā-levānā* occurs in Is. 24:23; 30:26; Cant. 6:10. The whole expression is reminiscent of the phrases in the Qiddush Levana prayer.

wkmzlwtyh was not read correctly by Schwab.

24 **ʾlwhy mʿrkwt**: Cf. Geniza 4:2–3.

ʾwgryt, which occurs in Bavli Pesaḥim 111a (see Margaliot 1945, p. 204), is also attested in Amulet 8:6.

Amulet 5

Provenance: Emmaus
Present location unknown
Figure 5

(magic characters) 2–1

3 [ ](מ)שג־אל שמראל אלהא [... אתון]

4 [כרק](ט)יריא קדישיה בטלון כל (ח)[ ]

5 [מן ע]ינוי מן נו(חר)ה מן רישה מן גידו[י]

6 [מן ר]יסיא בשם *(magic figures)*

7 [ ] ומן ...נוי ומן בניה ... [ ]

This amulet was found in 1896 in a tomb in Emmaus and was acquired by Herbert Clark for his collection. It is written on a thin silver sheet. It was first published (with a facsimile drawing only) by Vincent 1908; and then again in Frey 1952, No. 1185; cf. also Testa 1962, pp. 64–66. Our

25 We have here the familiar Marmaraot, and afterwards the formula Ablanatanalba (lines 25–26), Scholem 1965, p. 94. Cf. also *Sefer harazim*, p. 8.

26 For **qṭb nrqy** cf. **qṭb mryry** in Deut. 32:24. For the use of the biblical formula in magic, cf. *Midrash Tehillim* (*Shoḥer Ṭov*), ed. S. Buber, Vilna 1891, p. 397 (on Ps. 91:3); *Midrash Rabba*, *Bammidbar*, Jerusalem 1965, fol. 87b (Parasha 12:3).

28 Cf. **mpgʿ mrgʿ mngʿ** in Amulet 1:4.

29 **hʾš whʿryh**: Cf. **ʾštʾ wʿrytʾ** in Amulet 2.

29–31 On the time divisions in this magic usage cf. Commentary to Bowl 6:7–8.

32 Cf. הושיעה לו ימינו וזרוע קדשו (Ps. 98:1).

33 For **yh byh** cf. Commentary to Bowl 6:2.

Amulet 5

Translation

1–2 *(magic characters)*

3 ...Masagiel, Samriel, the God [... You]

4 holy [charac]ters, annul all [the...]

5 [from] his eyes, from his nostril, from his head, from his tendon[s,]

6 [from the eye-]lids. In the name of (*magic figures*)

7 ... and from ... and from her sons...

reading is based on the drawing in Vincent; we have no information about the present whereabouts of the object, and have seen no photograph of it. It does not appear to be in the Clark collection, which is kept at the Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem.

3 **mšgʾl**: See *Sefer ha-razim*, VI:14 **msgyʾl**. In Greek amulets we have Μυσαγαω[ϑ], Preisendanz 1928, p. 34 (III:56); Μυσαγωϑ, Preisendanz 1930, p. 51 (IX:2). For **šmrʾl** see the late Jewish amulet in Shachar 1971, No. 2.

3–4 The reading is based on Geniza 1:2 and similar texts.

4 **bṭlwn**: A *he* is written above the line; hardly to be read **bṭlhwn**.

5 Vincent followed by Frey read **nwhrh** "son intelligence".

7 Vincent read unconvincingly, **wmn ʾwznwy bṣyh** "et de ses oreilles et de ses testicules".

Amulet 6

Syriac
Provenance and present location unknown
Plate 5; Figure 6

1 + ואו • בר תאון • רבא
2 • חסינא • קדיש אילא •
3 הלין • תלתא • קימין • ב(מ)
4 עברחא • רבתא • דאוקינ
5 וס • ומדברין • מיא • וע
6 למא • במעברתא • דע
7 למא • ○ מוממנא ○ בך
8 ○ רבו ○ אקים זבאות ○
9 פרקי ○ טרפסדך ○
10 דיוא ○ אנהר ○ בותך
11 ○ או ○ בר ○ תאון ○ אילא ○
12 ארזם ○ בך ○ רבון ○ אק
13 ים זבאות ○ פרק ○ טרפס
14 דך ○ דיוא מן תלטא ומן
15 * דמוללך ○ בנק(ו)חא
16 ...

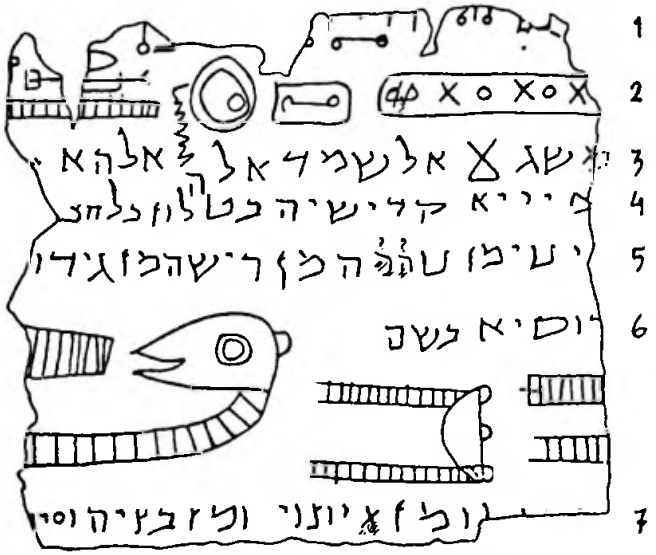


Fig. 5. Amulet 5. After Vincent 1908

Amulet 6

Translation

1 O Bar-Theon, mighty
2 Lord, the holy one of God!
3 These three are standing in the
4 great ford of the ocean
5 and directing the water and the
6 world in the ford of the
7 world. I adjure you,
8 Greatness, Aqem Zabaoth.
9 Loosen Ṭarpas-dukh
10 the demon. Illuminate your desire,
11 O Bar Theon the God!
12 I invoke (?) you, the Lord
13 Aqem Zabaoth. Loosen Ṭarpas-
14 dukh the demon from the sea (?) and from
15–19 (undecipherable)

Amulet 6

This amulet is inscribed on a silver sheet in Syriac in Estrangelo characters. It was acquired in 1925 in Beirut by Charles Virolleaud. The object was lost in 1926 when it was sent to A. Cowley in Oxford for examination, and the first editor, A. Dupont-Sommer, and all subsequent scholars who have worked on it, have had to rely on photographs only.

The inscription was first published with an extensive commentary by Dupont-Sommer 1946, who sought to understand it as an expression of a gnostic adoration of the letter *waw*. This theory was contested by Gordon 1949, who suggested a new reading of the inscription. Dupont-Sommer 1951 defended his original interpretation, and a further article by Gordon 1953 concludes this debate. See further Del Medico 1949; Testa 1962, pp. 59–64.

One problem in the interpretation of the text is the use of word-dividers. There are two devices used for this purpose in this amulet: a dot and a circle. It should be noted that in the first part of the inscription, viz. lines 1–7, only a dot is regularly used, while the circle is consistently used from line 7 on. After the first word in line 7 the transition from the one system to the other is marked by the fact that a dot followed by a circle are both used to divide **bʿlmʾ** from **mwmmnʾ**. It may be remarked that at this point the introductory invocation is concluded, and the main text of the adjuration begins. It follows from these remarks that the first word in the inscription, after the cross, is probably to be read **wʾw** (as read by Dupont-Sommer), though this does not imply that Dupont-Sommer's interpretation of the word as meaning the letter *waw*, personified or otherwise, is acceptable. **wʾw br tʾwn** corresponds to **ʾw br tʾwn** in line 11 (where **ʾw** follows a clear word-divider in the shape of a circle) and both must be forms of interjection (as seen by Gordon 1953, p. 116). It may be possible to interpret the **wʾw** in line 1 as either a variant form of the vocative particle, otherwise unattested, or, more likely, as the conjunction **w-** followed by the vocative **ʾw**. In the latter case, the initial **w-** begins the text in the same way as does **twb**, e.g. in Bowl 4, and may be translated "again" or similarly.

Resh has a dot over the letter (cf. Dupont-Sommer 1946, pp. 83f.). In **dywʾ** (lines 10,14) the *dalet* has a dot to its right.

1 The cross at the beginning of the inscription may indicate that this is a Christian amulet.

br tʾwn is here written without an internal divider, while in line 11 **br** is

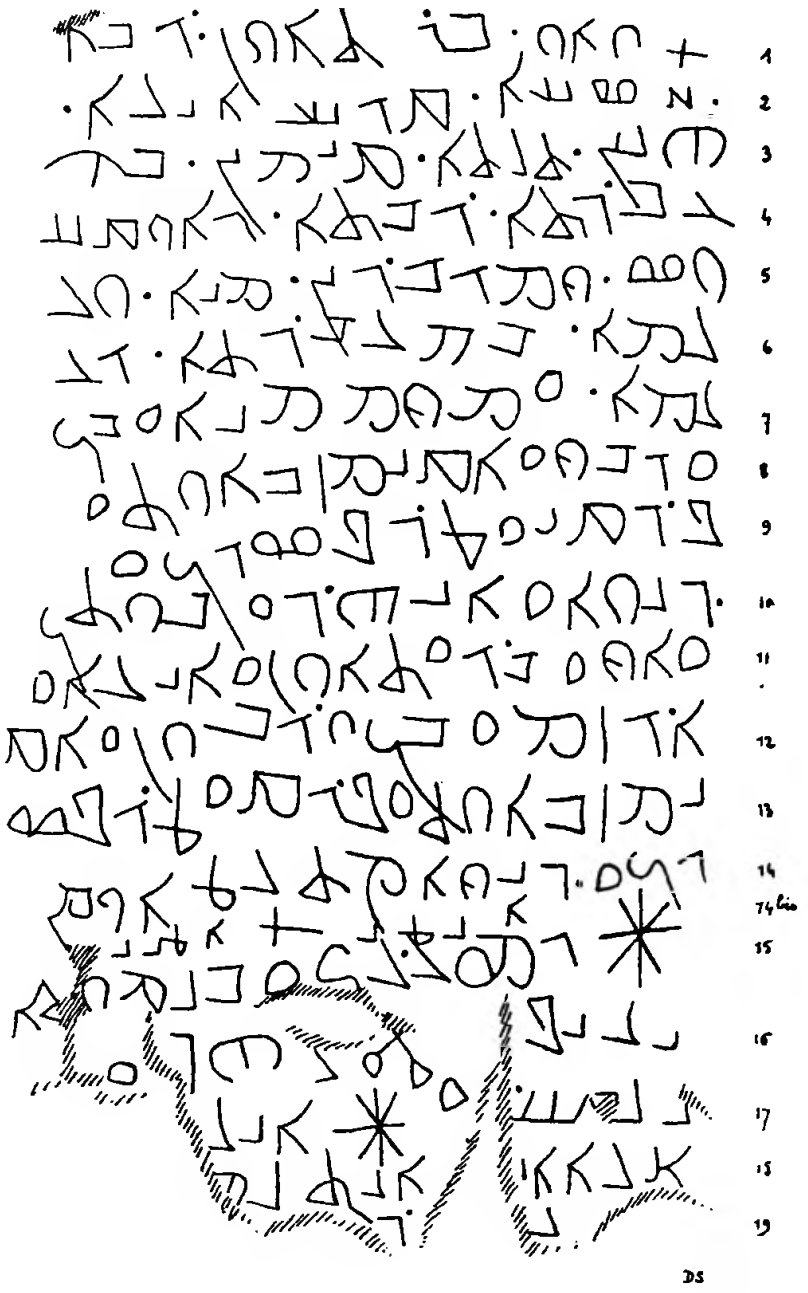


Fig. 6. Amulet 6. From Dupont-Sommer 1946

separated from **t'wn** by a circle. For the name Bar-Theon cf. Βεραδωνάι quoted in Winkler 1930, p. 141 from an amulet published by Froehner, "Sur une amulette basilidienne inédite du Musée Napoléon III", *Bull. de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 4 (1866), p. 272 (which we have not seen).

1–2 Line 3 speaks of three divine beings, the names of which must be sought in these two lines. That is why we prefer to take **rb' ḥsyn'** as one name, rather than regarding **rb'** as an epithet of Bar-Theon.

rb' ḥsyn': If our interpretation is correct, Rabbā is the name of the deity and **ḥsyn'** is the adjective; see Commentary to Bowl 13:3. and to Amulet 1:8. For **qdyš 'yl'** (written without a divider) cf. **qdšy'l**, *Sefer ha-razim*, II:119; **qwdšy'l** op. cit., IV:15. In line 11 the formula is abbreviated and only **br t'wn 'yl'** is invoked.

3 For three angels in a framework of a magic situation cf. Gordon 1934b, p. 326 (C:4 f.) **tlt'hwn ml'k'... tly bsykth dmyšply dmydly** "three angels... hung on a peg which is lowered and raised". A somewhat similar formula occurs in Gollancz 1912, p. 96, where an incantation begins **hlyn šb' 'ḥyn**. Three mysterious figures also occur as part of the incantation in Amulet 7:16–17 **hmwn tlthyn**...

3–4 Dupont-Sommer, followed by the other scholars, read **bh / gbrt'**. A comparison of the letter which comes after the *bet* with other forms in this inscription shows that it is closer to *mem* than to *he*. The fact that there is no divider either at the end of line 3 or at the beginning of line 4 shows that we have here a single word. The first letter of line 4 is quite clearly an *'ayin*.

5 **mdbryn**: This verb seems to correspond to Hebrew **mnhygym** in *Sefer ha-razim*, IV:9,11,18, which refers to angels directing or ruling over the fourth firmament.

7 **mwmmn'**: Cf. the spelling of this verb in the bowl published by Kaufman 1975, p. 151, where one should probably read **mwmymny** (for **mwmymn'**).

8 **rbw** lacks a dot over the *resh*, hence a reading **dkw** should be considered. However, in line 12 we have **rbwn** clearly written in the same combination. **rbw** and **rbwn** are both nouns derived from the same root as **rb'** in line 1, a fact which may strengthen our interpretation of **rb'** as an independent divine appellation. For **rbw** cf. Gollancz 1898, p. 95:

b'ynn mnk wmtkšpynn lrbwtk "we beg you and implore your greatness".

'qym zb'wt: The first word may be a form of the verb QWM in *af'el*, which recalls the frequent personal names mainly in Palmyrene: **'qmt** (Stark 1971, p. 72), **mqym, mqymw, mqymy, mqymt, mqmw** (Stark 1971, p. 96). What appears to be the same name occurs in Amulet 4:16, **'qmw brth d'mrbn**.

The reading **zb'wt** (see already Gordon 1949, pp. 340f.) is based on the assumption that this form can be a reflection of Hebrew **ṣb'wt**, as Syriac **zdyq** corresponds to Hebrew **ṣdyq**. This goes against the fact that **ṣb'wt** is the usual Syriac spelling of this word; cf. e.g. Macler 1908, p. 20. In Bowl 10:5 **bšwm ṣb'wty ṣb'wty ḥy' wqym'**, we have in the same phrase both **ṣb'wty** and **qym'**, which are reminiscent of **'qym zb'wt**. Arabic magic texts also have **ṣb'wt**; cf. Goldziher 1894, p. 358.

The presumed spelling of a *ṣade* with a *zayin* may gain some force from the Greek form Ζεβυθ which occurs in the formula Ιαβεζεβυθ (the Paris magical papyrus, lines 1798 and 2000, quoted by Blau 1898, p. 134 and footnote 4), if indeed this compound name means **yhwh ṣb'wt**. The phenomenon of Greek *zeta* corresponding to *sigma* in such names may similarly be attested in the two names Σουτιήλ and Ζωτιήλ as suggested by Peterson 1926b, p. 419, No. 114; cf. also there p. 402. J.C. Greenfield would regard the expression **'qym zb'wt** as equivalent to **'lhym ṣb'wt** (Ps. 59:6; 80:5 etc.), but this seems problematic.

However, a different reading of our word is possible: **zk'wt**. This word would be the equivalent of classical Syriac **zkywt'**, which renders Hebrew **ṣdqh**; see Brockelmann 1928, p. 196. This reading may be supported by the divine name Ἰαω Ζούχα which occurs in the Paris magic papyrus, line 1983, cf. Peterson 1926b, p. 402, No. 41. The whole epithet **'qym zk'wt** may then mean "establish justice", or with an initial vocative *alef*, "he who stands (in) justice".

9 **prqy** is a feminine singular imperative, perhaps addressed at **rbw** which is a feminine noun; its emphatic state would be **rbwt'**.

ṭrpsdk: The first element of this word was explained by Dupont-Sommer 1946, p. 21 as Greek τρόπος "façon, manière". Gordon connects it with **ṭrps lyb'** "pericardium" and adduces the meaning "(metal) sheet". It seems to us that **ṭrpsdk** is a Persian form, Tarpas-dukh, with the typical Persian suffix for "daughter". A similar formation is e.g. **zrdwk dyw'** (Gollancz 1912, p. 89, §25). The first part of the compound may be interpreted as **ṭrps** in Judaeo-Persian, which

means "backwards". For a different interpretation of **ṭrps** one may try to connect it with the Greek form θραφιαρι (Preisendanz 1928, p. 94, VI:652; cf. variants in Preisendanz 1941, Register XII, p. 257). A demon **ṭarpis** is attested in Mandaic, see Drower 1943, pp. 2 f.; **dwrps** occurs on a bowl: Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 128: 4 (Isbell 1976, No. 69).

10 **ʾnhr**: The same verb occurs in Myhrman 1909, p. 146 (=Montgomery 1913, p. 151) **wmnṭrnʾ lkwn wmnhrnʾ lkwn wmḥṭymnʾ lkwn.**
bwtk seems to be a defective writing of **bʿwtk.**

11 There seems to us no reason to assume an omission of **rbʾ ḥsynʾ qdyš**, as does Gordon 1949.

12 **ʾrzm bk** corresponds to **mwmmnʾ bk** in line 7 (cf. Gordon 1949, p. 341), thus establishing the meaning of the verb **RZM** (a variant of **RMZ**, cf. Job 15:12 and for Targumic Aramaic cf. Jastrow, p. 1482, s.v. **RMZ**). The verb **RMZ/RZM** has a magic connotation, e.g. in Mandaic **kup raza urimza uraza** "bow thyself, mystery and winking and mystery!" (Drower 1937, p. 596; translation on p. 610). A discussion of words derived from **RMZ** in a magic connotation is in Pognon 1898, pp. 91 f. In Montgomery 1913, No. 19:8 we have the phrase **wbšm srpyʾl mry dynʾ**

Amulet 7

Provenance: Ağabeyli, Turkey
Present location unknown
Plate 6; Figures 7–8

7a

1 vacat שויו רחמין מן שמיה
2 לשלונה בשם מיכאל רפאל
3 עזאל עזריאל אריאל ס(רר)ו
4 רבה אחון מלאכיה קדשיה דקימי[ן]
5 קדם כרסיה דאלה רבה דיתכלון
6 רוחה בישחה וטלגיתה ושידה
7 אן דכר ואן נקבה מן שלונה
8 בר דמיטרין בשם ...

(emended by Epstein 1921, pp. 49 f. to **rwz**ʾ, though doubtful) **wrymz**ʾ, where the last word is obviously a magical technical term.

rbwn: This is evidently a variant of the form **rbw** in line 8, although **rbw** seems to be the absolute form of the feminine abstract "greatness", while **rbwn** appears to be an absolute form of a word meaning "master". On this latter word see Kutscher 1963, pp. 268–271; Ben-Ḥayyim 1967, pp. 37 ff.; Kutscher 1968, pp. 403 f. This may be the reason why the imperative following **rbwn** (in line 13) is in the masculine singular form **prq**, as opposed to **prqy** in line 9 following **rbw**.

14 **tlṭ**ʾ: Del Medico 1949, p. 182, recognized here the Greek word for sea θάλαττα, which makes sense as it corresponds to "ocean" and "water" in lines 4–5.

15 The reading is difficult. It is possible that the star at the beginning of the line is a pictogram representing the noun which should follow **wmn** in line 14. Del Medico 1949, p. 180, in fact translated it as "le Soleil".

dmwlik may be a defective writing for **dnmwlik** "may he crush you". The following word might possibly also be **bnqmt**ʾ "with vengeance".

Amulet 7

Translation

7a

1 Put mercy from heaven
2 on **šlwnh**. In the name of Michael, Raphael,
3 Azzael, Azriel, Ariel, the great
4 dominion (?), you, the holy angels who stand
5 in front of the throne of the Great God. May there be extinguished
6 the evil spirit and the shadow-spirit, and the demon,
7 whether male or female, from **šlwnh**
8 son of Demetrion. In the name of...

9 ששקופות וסמרוטוש עקרמכמרי
10 סוסגון ברפרונגס אסטר ושבנ[ ]
11 תחת יהוה בשמך אלה מקדשה
12 דיתכלון רוח<ה> בישתה ושידה
13 וטלניתה ומזקה ומחבלה בשמנ[ך]
14 אלה דישראל לרקיעה מליה סלקה
15 בסטר כרסיה דאלה רבה חסינה ודחילה
16 מקדשה ומגדלה מ<פ>ארה ומרומה המון
17 תלתהין חדה כפנה ולא אכלה חדה
18 צחיה ולא שתיה וחדה נימה
19 ולא דמכה אמרת לכפנחה למת
20 כפנה ולא אכלה לצחיתה למת צחיה
21 ולא שתיה לנאמת<ה> למת נימה ולא
22 דמכה גיזו תלתיהן ואמרן דאן

7b

1 vacat לרחמין מן קדם כרסיה [דאלה רבה]
2 [ד]יתכל מזקה ומחבלה וד(ש)[ ]
3 [ו]שידה טלניתה אן דכר ואן נק[בה]
4 [מ]ן (ש)[ל]ונה בר [ד]מיטרין (ב)[שם]
5 ...

Amulets 7a and 7b are two silver sheets inscribed in Jewish Aramaic. They were found by peasants in the market village Ağabeyli in the valley of Bertiz not far from Maraş, placed in a cylindrical bronze container. The circumstances of the discovery are described by Anstock-Darga 1950/51. The larger sheet (our Amulet 7a) measures approximately 50×58 mm. Amulet 7b, of which only a fragment is preserved, measures about 43×12 mm. The *editio princeps* was by Dupont-Sommer 1950/51. A new interpretation was offered by Scholem in 1960 (see Scholem 1965, pp. 85 ff.) Further elucidation was given by Levine 1970, pp. 360 f. A comment on a part of the text is in Sperber 1966. We have tried to present in the following a better text, but in view of the fact that the

9 **ššqwpwt wsmrwṭwš ʿqrmkmry**
10 **swsgwn brprwngs ʾstr** and...
11 under **yhwh**. In your name, sacred God,
12 may there be extinguished the evil spirit and the demon
13 and the shadow-spirit and the tormentor and the destroyer. In your name
14 God of Israel, may the words rise up to heaven
15 at the side of the throne of the great, powerful, aweful,
16 sacred, magnified, praised and exalted God. Those
17 three: one who is hungry, but does not eat, one who
18 is thirsty, but does not drink, and one who is drowsy,
19 but does not sleep. I said to the hungry one: Why are you
20 hungry, but you do not eat? (I said) to the thirsty one: Why are you thirsty,
21 but you do not drink? (I said) to the drowsy one: Why are you drowsy, but you do not
22 sleep? The three vanished and said: **dʾn**.

7b

1 For mercy in front of the throne [of the great God.]
2 [May] there be extinguished the tormentor, the destroyer and ...
3 [and] the demon and the shadow-spirit, whether male or female,
4 from **šlwnh** son of Demetrion. In [the name of]
5 ...

photographs reproduced in Dupont-Sommer 1950/51 are not sufficiently legible, we have had to rely largely on Dupont-Sommer's drawings (Fig. 7), which seem to be accurate. [But see *Addendum* at the end of this Commentary, on p. 76.]

1 It is noteworthy that in both amulets there is a space left on the right hand side of the first line. It seems therefore unjustified to assume that something is missing at the beginning of Amulet 7b.

Dupont-Sommer read **šwy wrḥmyn**, which he translated "prix (?) et amour". Scholem suggested an emended reading **šyyl rḥmyn** "begging mercy", which is unlikely as an Aramaic phrase and is contradicted by

Amulet 7b which starts with **lrḥmyn**. Levine suggests that **šwy wrḥmyn** be interpreted "accord and mercy", the first word connected with **šwyt²**, which occurs in Montgomery 1913, No. 16:6. While Levine's interpretation may be correct, it seems at least equally possible and perhaps better to read the first two words **šwyw rḥmyn** from the verb **ŠWY** "to place, put", which was recently discussed in connection with Samaritan Aramaic by Margain 1979. The usage "put mercy" would be analogous to the Hebrew **śym šlwm** in the ʿAmida prayer, rendered into Aramaic **šwy lyšlm²** (Gaster 1928, III, p. 56), with its counterpart in Bowl 1:10 **dmšw² šlm² zk² bdyn²**. A similar expression is in Mandaic **šauia asuta** "one who makes a remedy" (Drower 1946, p. 326). For the form **šwyw** see Gen. Apocryphon 21:26. In 7b the shorter formula, **lrḥmyn**, is used. It is easier to explain **lrḥmyn** as an abbreviation from **šwyw rḥmyn** than from a formula such as **šwy wrḥmyn**. For the whole expression compare **wlrḥmn yśmnk qdm drywhwš mlk²** "and may He give you favour before Darius the king" (Cowley 1923, No. 30:2).

šwy, which corresponds to Hebrew **šwh**, could also mean "at once" (cf. Ben-Ḥayyim 1943, p. 119; Lieberman 1962, p. 135; Kutscher 1961, pp. 124 ff.; Ben-Ḥayyim 1967, p. 69, n. 23), though such an interpretation seems unlikely in the present context. Similarly, it is possible to interpret **šwyw** in the sense of "make haste", cf. Ben-Ḥayyim 1967, p. 69, n. 23, where we have in a Samaritan liturgical poem **nšwy khln wnpṯḥ pwmynn** "let us hasten all of us and open our mouths"; **²šww... m<bd** "they did at once". This construction hardly fits in here, as it seems normally to require another verb or infinitive which is qualified by the verb **šwy**.

2 **lšlwnh**: Dupont-Sommer, followed by Scholem, read **lšlw zh**, which is impossible because: (1) the text is purely Aramaic, (2) the Hebrew phrase suggested is nowhere attested and is quite unlikely in the sense of "he who possesses this (amulet)". The letter *nun* is not sharply distinguished from *zayin* and in this case it merges with the preceding *waw*. The name **šlwnh** may be compared to **šlwn**, Greek Σαλων, a feminine proper name (cf. Sukenik 1930). A name **slwn²**, in Syriac, is rendered by Chabot 1898, p. 303, line 183, "Sylvain"; see also Payne-Smith 1890, p. 2641, s.v. **slw²n²**. A name CHΛONO(C) appears in a tomb-stone inscription from Italy (Frey 1936, p. 433, No. 596). For the correspondence of Aramaic *shin* to Greek *sigma* cf. Krauss 1898, pp. 7 ff. The masculine name **šlwnh** may be a variant of the masculine Jewish name Shallum. On the variation of **m>n** in word-final position cf. Kutscher 1976, pp. 58 ff.

7a



7b

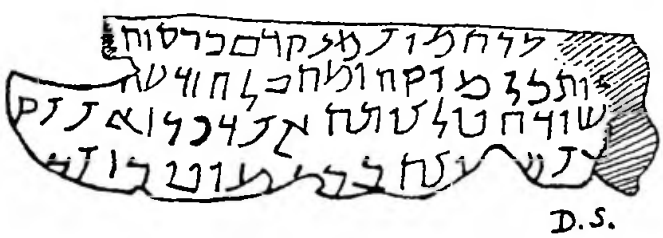


Fig. 7. Amulets 7a and 7b. From Dupont-Sommer 1950/51

Sokoloff 1982, p. 114 quotes an oral remark by Kutscher according to which the name in our amulet should be read as **šlw** (Shallu, an abbreviated form of Shallum). Kutscher accepted the reading **zh**, which follows the name as a demonstrative pronoun. It seems to us unlikely that the Hebrew demonstrative would be used in this Aramaic text.

4 **ʾtwn mlʾkyh qdšyh**: Here again the combination of *waw* and *nun* misled previous scholars. Dupont-Sommer read **ʾtt mlʾky hqdš wḥd**, which mixes Aramaic with Hebrew and makes an impossible sentence. For the phrase **ʾtwn mlʾkyh qdšyh** cf. Amulet 10:3 and the Commentary to Amulet 2:3.

dqymyn: Cf. Amulet 6:3, where the same word is used for angels.

5 **qdm krsyh dʾlh rbh**: We assume that **qdm krsyh** stands in contrast to **bsṭr krsyh** in line 15. A similar contrast is found in Stübe 1895, p. 26, lines 56 ff.; Lacau 1896, p. 50: ובשום גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל ובשמיה דעניאל דקאים אחורי גלגלי שמשא ובשום דוקיאל ופרקיאל ודרקיאל וערכיאל דימשמשין קדם כורסיה דיקרא דאלהא

6 For **ṭlnyth** see Amulet 4:15.

7–8 **mn šlwnh br dmyṭryn:** Dupont-Sommer read in line 8 **brk myṭryn** "bénis une matrice". Scholem translated this "blessed be Meta[t?]ron". See also Niggemeyer 1975, p. 146, n. 28. The reading given here, which presents the full name of the owner of this amulet, is quite well established. The Greek name Δημήτριος, which seems to underlie here the parent's name, is generally attested for men, although we normally would expect the mother's name to be mentioned in an amulet. As a Jewish name, Demetrius is found in inscriptions; see Frey 1936, No. 682 and Lifshitz in Frey 1975, Prolegomenon, p. 85, No. 715 i.

9–10 For these magical names see Scholem 1965, pp. 89, 94 ff.

11 Dupont-Sommer read **bšm dʾlh**, while it is preferable to read as given here. It will be noticed that final *kaf* is not always carefully distinguished from *dalet*.

14 **slqh** is the correct form of the third person plural feminine perfect in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. See Dalman 1905, paradigm on p. 402 (**slyqʾ**).

15 **bsṭr** has been explained as "at the side of". However, it is possible to take it as an equivalent of Syriac **bstr** "backwards, behind" (which

may be of Persian origin). "Behind the throne" would then be the perfect counterpart of μετὰ θρόνον. **bstr** stands in contrast to **qdm** in line 5.

A recent discussion of the etymology of Metatron by S. Lieberman is contained in Gruenwald 1980, pp. 235 ff. Lieberman argues that μετάθρονος, though unattested in Greek sources, is the equivalent of σύνθρονος and was preferred by Jews for the name of the angel. An earlier detailed discussion of the term is in Odeberg 1928, pp. 137 ff.

rbh ḥsynh wdḥylh: We have here the same sequence as in Amulet 1:8 (see Commentary there). A similar sequence **rbʾ ḥsynʾ qdyš ʾylʾ** occurs in Amulet 6:1–2.

16 This sequence of adjectives is reminiscent of the series of verbs in the Qaddish prayer, as noted by Scholem 1965, p. 90. See also T–S AS 143.143 ... מלך מפואר מרומם מלא כל הארץ כבודו נורא תהלות נשגב נפלא

hmwn: The form is not mentioned in the grammars of Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac (e.g. Dalman 1905, Kutscher 1976, Schulthess 1924), but it is attested in Biblical Aramaic for the masculine and once (Dan. 2:34) for the feminine.

16–22 For the theme of three mysterious figures we have numerous analogies in magic texts. We may refer, e.g. to Gollancz 1898, pp. 92 f., where three evil forms, a man, a wolf and lion, meet Moses when he tends his sheep.

A very close analogy to our story is found in the Iraq Museum bowl, No. 9731 (published in Gordon 1941, p. 349, and Gordon 1978, pp. 236 f.) and in a bowl in the Zion Research Library in Boston, No. 48 (published in Gordon 1978, pp. 233 f.). A recently published parallel version is in Scholem 1980/81, pp. 263 f. In these Jewish texts we have the story of the sorcerer (who speaks in the first person) going up to the roof at night and talking to some mysterious figures addressed as **ḥršyn byšyn wrʾzyn ʾpwkyn** "evil magicians and overturned mysteries". He says to them "If you are hungry, come eat! If you are thirsty, come drink! If you are dried up, come be oiled! But if you are not hungry, or thirsty, or dried up, go back the way you came, enter the house from which you went out, and the mouth from which you went out". The first to notice this parallel was Levine 1970, pp. 360 f., who suggested as an interpretation the observation "that providing hospitality for demons was a duty that could not be overlooked. Like many hosts the exorcist is saying, in fact, that unless there is more coming to the demons

by the way of official hospitality, they had better be on their way". Gordon 1957, pp. 171 f. (followed by Niggemeyer 1975, pp. 70 f.) also speaks of hospitality offered to demons. Our context, however, brings to mind that we have to do with a somewhat different situation. The demons come to the house probably masked as human beings, but they do not partake of food and drink as human guests normally do. They can be unmasked by putting to them the embarrassing question: why do you not eat, drink or sleep; when they are found out they must depart. There are Jewish discussions of the problem whether demons can eat and drink; according to Bavli Ḥagiga 16a they can. On this question see Shaked (forthcoming).

22 **gyzw**: Dupont-Sommer read **ḥzy** which does not conform to the signs visible. The form **gyzw** is difficult. We might have expected **gyzn**, the feminine plural of the active participle "they vanish", or **gzn**, the third person fem. plural perfect.

tltyhn is an error for **tlthyn**; see line 17.

ʾmrn: Active participle (or perfect?) plural feminine.

dʾn may be connected to the magic word mentioned in Tosefta Shabbat 7:3 and Bavli Shabbat 67b: **dny dny**, which is explained by Lieberman 1957/58, p. 188 as Greek δέννω, δέννω or δένο, δένο "I bind, I bind". **dʾn** could also be interpreted as **d-+ʾn** "(they say): yes!".

[*Addendum*: When the book was already set in the press we received from Mme. Hélène Lozachmeur the original photographs of the two amulets (7a and 7b) which the late Prof. Dupont-Sommer had used. On the basis of enlargements made from these photographs (Pl. 6), Mrs. A. Yardeni has made a fresh drawing (Fig. 8). A study of both the enlargements and the drawing brings out the following new readings:
Line 1 of 7b. Read at the beginning בעון רחמין "ask mercy".
Line 15. Read בסטר כרסיה דאלה רבה תקיפה ודחילה.
Line 22. For גיזו read ענו, which makes better sense and removes most of the difficulties. The translation is: "The three answered and said: **dʾn**".]

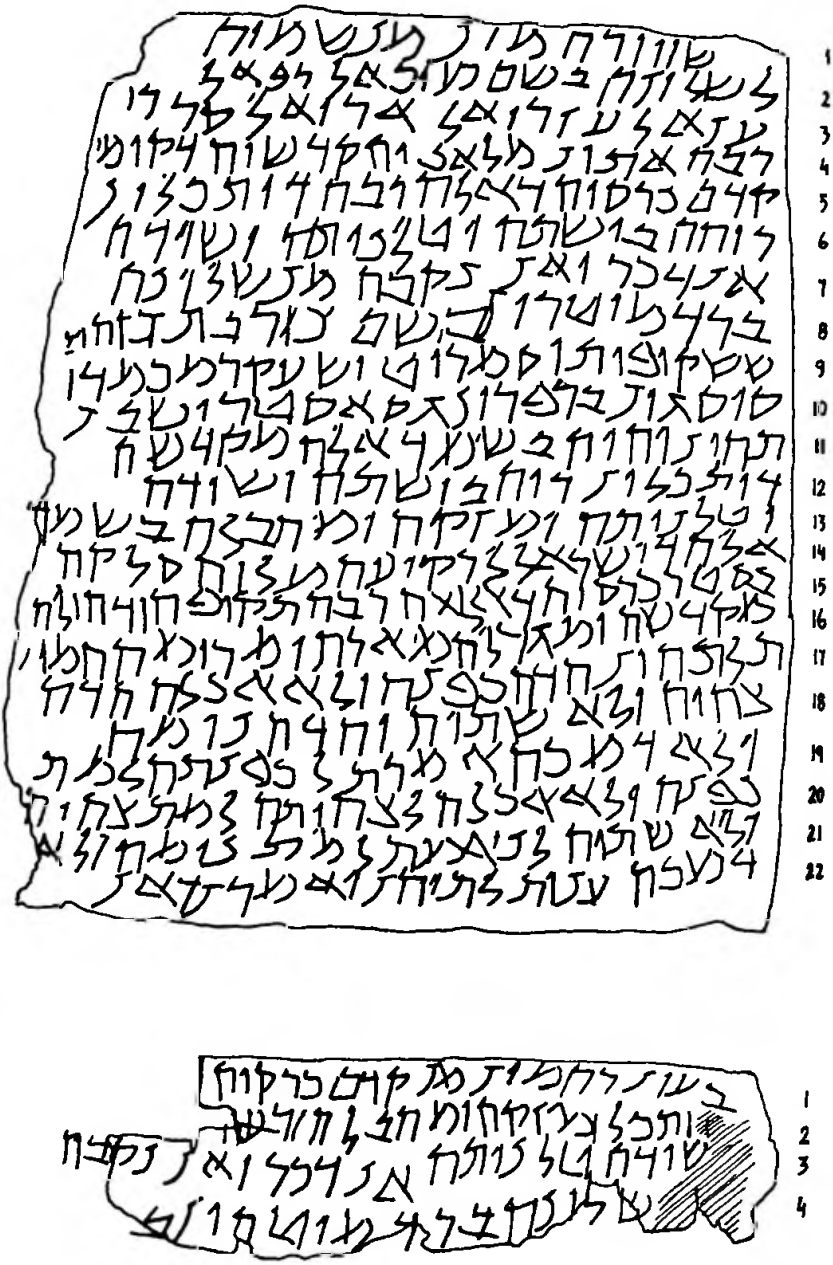


Fig. 8. Amulets 7a and 7b.

Amulet 8

Provenance: Teqoaʿ (?)
Museum of the Flagellation Convent, Jerusalem
Plate 7; Figures 9–10

1 לשם מרת(י)ן
2 ברתה דקוראל
3 משבע אנה
4 על מרת(י)ן ברתה
5 דקורלא בשם
6 אגירת מרתי פ
7 ללא ויכ(ך)
(magic characters)
8 (מ)חרב אנ<ה>
9 (סטרסוק שאפתי)
10 (נקימנס וסקאי)
11 (חטרב) אי(ת)ה
12 ניחה שלום

This amulet, written on a silver sheet, was bought in the antiquities market. According to the dealer who sold it, it was found at Teqoaʿ south of Bethlehem. It is now kept in the Museum of the Franciscan Convent of the Flagellation in Jerusalem. It measures 60×24 mm. The first publication of the text by Testa 1967 suggested that it refers to an unction of sick people. Milik 1967 recognized that the text is an amulet, and gave an emended reading and interpretation of it, which we regard as largely correct. Testa 1968 defended his original reading and attacked Milik's interpretation. The reading offered below is based on an examination of the original, aided by a new photograph, for which we should like to extend our thanks to Father Michele Piccirillo, O.P.M.

1 **lšm mrtyn.** The amulet is addressed at the name of the demon Marten ("our lady"?) daughter of Qoriel. For Marten one may compare Μαρθήνη Αστερία in Mouterde 1930, p. 124, line 15, where it occurs as a feminine proper name. The title Marten occurs also in Montgomery

Amulet 8

Translation

1 To the name of Marten
2 daughter of Qoriel
3 I adjure
4 against Marten daughter of
5 Qoriel. In the name of
6 Agirat, my lady,
7 **pll'**...
(*magic characters*)
8 I destroy
9 ...
10 ...
11 ...bring (?)
12 rest. Peace

1913, No. 19:5–6 **wbšmyk mrtyn 'ybwlyt mlkt' rbt' d'ystr't'**. The name is known from the triad of deities in Hatra (Marēn, Martēn and Bar-Marēn), for which cf. Drijvers 1980, pp. 176–179. Palaeographically Milik's reading, **mrtwn = mrt(h)wn** "their lady", is also possible. It seems, however, preferable to connect this word with a well-established divine name.

2 Qoriel is well-known as a name of an angel. It occurs in the Geniza fragment JTS ENA 1177, fol. 16:13 **qry'l**. In the unpublished Aramaic bowl Metropolitan Museum, New York, L. 66.6, line 8, we have **bšwm qwry'l glgly'**. In Greek there occur the forms Κουριήλ in Preisendanz 1928, IV:86; Καρα(α)ήλ, Καριήλ, cf. Peterson 1926b, p. 405, No. 59.

6–7 For **'gyrt** see above Amulet 4:24. Each of the names **'gyrt, mrty, pll'** and **ybk** seems to have a counterpart in the list of angels in *Sefer ha-razim* 4:13–16... **m'ryt**... **y'bwk**... **'gryt'l**... **pl'w'l**. If this correspondence is correct, **pll'** (for ***pl'l**) displays the same transposition of

Amulet 8

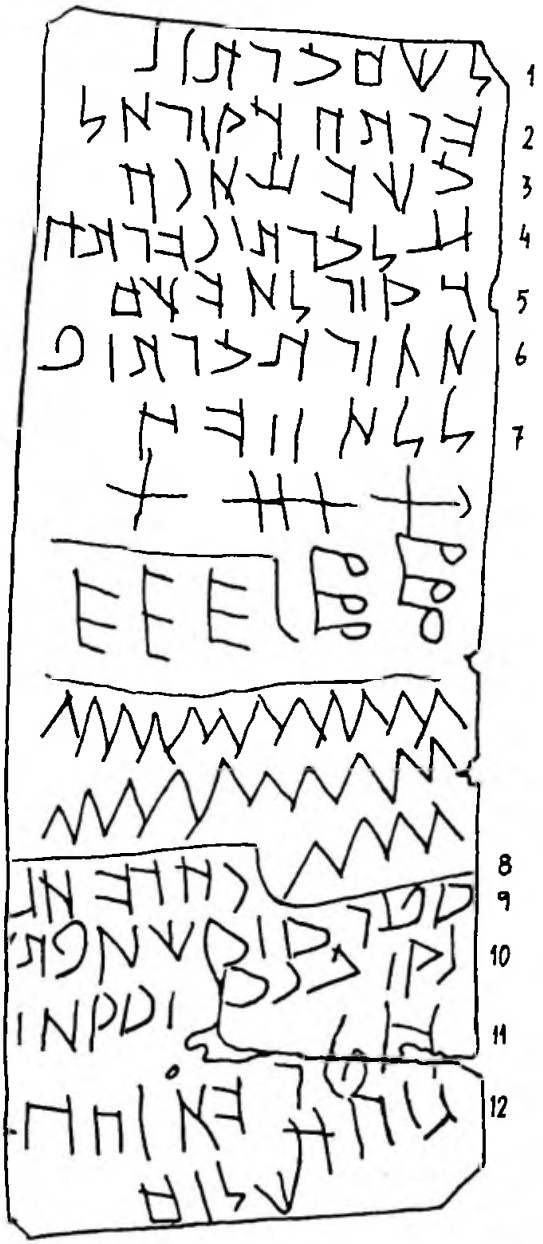


Fig. 9. Amulet 8

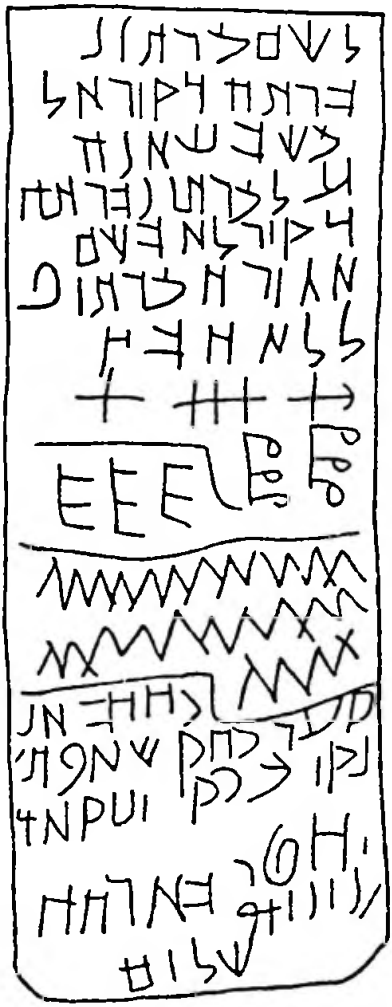


Fig. 10. Amulet 8.
From Milik 1967

letters as we have in **qwrl**ʾ for **qwrʾl**. For **mrty**=**mʾryt** cf. Peterson 1926, pp. 40 f., No. 75 Μοριάθ, etc. **mrty** may be at the base of the name **mrtyn**.

8 Our transcription follows that of Milik, though the traces do not give an unequivocal reading.

11–12 ʾ**yth** is doubtful, whereas **nyḥh** is quite safely established.

12 **šlwm** as a concluding formula, although it is frequent in epitaphs and dedicatory inscriptions, is quite unknown in amulets.

Amulet 9

Provenance: Oxyrrhynchus (?)
University of Cologne, Institut für Altertumskunde,
T. Colon, Inv. No. 6
Plate 8; Figure 11

1 עליך רוחה דמתקריה אשתה אוריתה
2 אגער מן גופה דמרין ברחה דסחר
3 מן מתין ותמניה וארבעין אברין
4 דבה משבע אנה עליך אגער מנה בשמה
5 דמן דחיה וקימה דמן דחלה שומיה
6 דלה בשלשלן ואקים ארעה דלה [על]
7 עמודין וימה ומדברה ת(מהי)ן מן
8 ק[ד]מוי וטוריה וגלמחה מזד(ע)[זעין]

This amulet, inscribed on a lead sheet and measuring 93×46 mm., is now in Cologne, Germany (T. Colon, Inv. No. 6). It was presumably found in the cemetery of Oxyrrhynchus, Egypt, from which the rest of the collection of Greek amulets in Cologne derives. The original text seems to have consisted of no more than the eight lines that are preserved. It was first published by Klein-Franke 1971 and was subsequently discussed by Greenfield 1979, pp. XXXVIII f. Our readings are in several points different from the *editio princeps*.

1–2 **ʿlyk**: This word was read **lyk** by Greenfield 1979, but Klein-Franke is certainly right in seeing an *ʿayin* at the beginning of the line. Although an invocation beginning with **ʿlyk** is not elsewhere attested, it seems clear that this is the actual beginning of the text. For a similar beginning compare Amulet 8:1 **lšm mrtyn**...The construction is elliptical, and one has to assume an implied **mšbʿ ʾnh**, as in line 4. According to Greenfield **lyk** is the direct object of **ʾgʿr**, which he understood as the first person singular imperfect of *peʿal*. However, it seems preferable to explain **ʾgʿr** as imperative singular masculine *itpeʿel* from **GʿR**, to be read as *iggĕʿar* (<**itgĕʿar*). The root **GʿR** occurs very

Amulet 9

Translation

1 Against you, the spirit which is called fever (and) shivering:
2 Be exorcised from the body of Marian the daughter of Esther,
3 from the two hundred and forty eight limbs
4 which are in her. I adjure you, be exorcised from her, in the name
5 of He who lives and exists, of He who suspended the sky
6 without chains, and set up the earth without
7 pillars, and the sea and the wilderness are terrified (?) from
8 His presence, and the mountains and the hills tre[mble].

often in the *itpeʿel* form; see the examples adduced in Greenfield 1979. For the assimilation of the *taw* to the *gimmel* cf. Dalman 1905, pp. 103 and 252 f. It is noteworthy that the form of the verb **ʾgʿr** is masculine, although **rwḥh** is described by the feminine participle **dmtqryh**. **rwḥʾ** of course can be either masc. or fem., cf. Geniza 4:3, **rwḥyn byšyn**, as against **rwḥʾ bʾyštʾ** in the Gen. Apocryphon (see Greenfield *loc. cit.*). For **GʿR** cf. Amulet 2:8.

ʾšth ʾwryth: The meaning of these two words is established by Amulet 2:2 (see Commentary there). Geniza 6, p. 4:2 displays another corruption of the formula. The spelling with *alef* for *ʿayin* is caused by the loss of the gutturals; cf. Kutscher 1976, pp. 67 ff. The peculiar spelling **ʾwryt**ʾ occurs possibly also in Hyvernat 1885, p. 116: ובעיזקתיה דמיכאיל גברא מלכא עיסרא דאוריתא ... ובעיזקתיה דגבריאיל גברא מלכא עיסרא דנורא ... The parallel **ʾwryt**ʾ//**nwr**ʾ recalls our **ʾšth ʾwryth**. It has been noted (Grünbaum 1885, p. 223; cf. also Margaliot 1945, p. 118) that Michael represents water and hail, while Gabriel is fire. Montgomery 1913, 24:2 should be read **dtytsy brḥmy šmyʾ mn ʾšytʾ wmn ʾrytʾ**, which gives us a third instance of the spelling with *alef*. Since Biblical Hebrew has **ʾwr** in the sense of "flame", one wonders whether the spellings

ʾwryth, ʾwryt, ʾryt do not represent a contamination of two words of different origin, the root **ʿRY** and the word *ʾūr* (?).

mryn: See above, Commentary to Amulet 2:2.

dstr: The reading seems certain. The initial *alef* of **ʾstr** was elided. The same name, spelled *plene* (**ʾstyr**), occurs in Amulet 3:5, 16.

3 **mtyn**: Here too the *alef* was omitted.

5 **dḥyh wqymh**: Cf. Bowl 10:5.

5–6 דחלה שומיה דלה בשלשלן ואקים ארעה דלה [על] עמודין: References to the earth and the firmament, which are said to be either supported or unsupported by pillars and chains, are frequent in magical and early mystical Jewish literature. Lieberman 1962, pp. 80 f. quotes from *Shir ha-shirim Rabba* 7:8 דברייתא משתבעין ואמרין במאן דאקים ארעא על תלתא עמודים. Niggemeyer 1975, p. 153, n. 32 quotes various sources, where the world is said to rely on the arm of the Lord. Wertheimer 1980, I, p. 28 ירושלים וביח המקדש עומדים p. 41; וכל העולם כולו עומד על עמוד אחד וחלויים בשלשלאות של אש בין שחקים לזבול (in *Seder Rabba di-Breshit*).

Arabic invocations have references to the same theme; cf. e.g. "und bei 'Allah, der die Himmel erhöht hat ohne Säulen' (Sura 13:2) und ohne ein Band" (Winkler 1930, p. 60, translation on p. 64; and a similar phrase in Winkler 1931, p. 9).

The idea is attested also in Zoroastrian Pahlavi: "I am thankful to the good, bounteous, beneficent and merciful Creator, who, when he created Asmān (the sky), which is well-formed, bright, of wondrous substance, wondrously adorned, fully ornamented, fashioned by the spirits, which stands in *mēnōg* without pillars (*a-stun*) and without being held from above (*an-abar-dāštār*)..." (*Zand-i khūrtak avistāk*, p. 256:5–10).

Amulet 10

Provenance: Ḥorvat Rimmon
Israel Department of Antiquities, No. 80.880
Plate 9; Figure 12



For the spelling **šwmyh** cf. the inscription in the Engedi synagogue (Naveh 1978, No. 70:15) and cf. **šwmy'** (op. cit., No. 20:5).

7 **wymh wmdbrh t(mhy)n**: The reading of the verb is uncertain. The root **TMH** is used in Biblical Hebrew, *inter alia*, for the terror and trembling of the earth or the pillars of heaven in the presence of God. In Job 26:11 עמודי שמים ירופפו ויתמהו מגערתו is rendered in the Jewish Targum עמודין דשמיא מזדעזעין ורחתין מן מזופיתיה. The Peshitta has עמודי שמיא רעלין ונחמהון מן כאחה. Syriac **TMH** is used to render Hebrew **HRD** "fear, tremble" in Gen. 42:28, where the Jewish Targums have **TWH** instead.

8 **glmt'**: The word seems to be typically Palestinian. It is attested in the Palestinian Targum, where it renders **gb'h** and **'mq**. It also occurs in Palestinian Syriac.

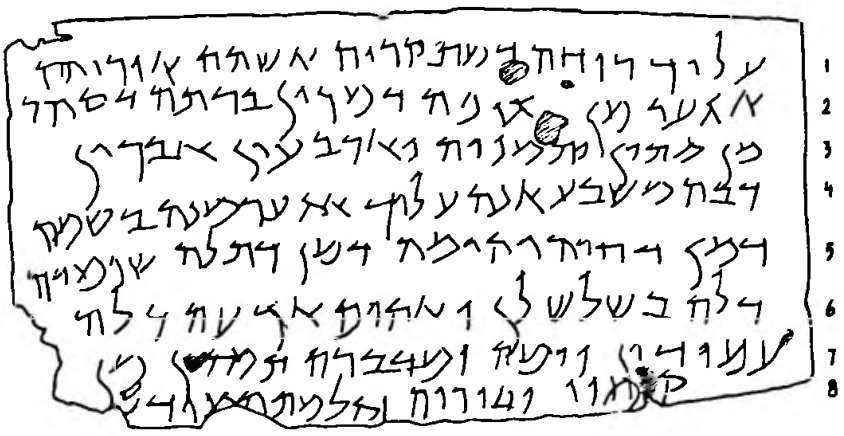


Fig. 11. Amulet 9

Amulet 10

Translation

1 **hr'wt 'tb'wt qwlhwn**
2 **sptwn swsgr [ ]**

Amulet 10

3 אתון מלאכיה קד[ישיה (ותקיפיה)]
4 [משבע אנה] יתכון כמ[ה דיקד חספה]
5 [הדין כן] יקוד לבה דר[... ברה/ברתה]
6 [דמר](ין) בתר(י) אנה (יו)[... ותהפכו]
7 [לבה והו](נה ו)כוליתה ו[י/חעבד]
8 ציביוני בהד[ ]מוד [ ]
9 *(magic characters)* [ ]

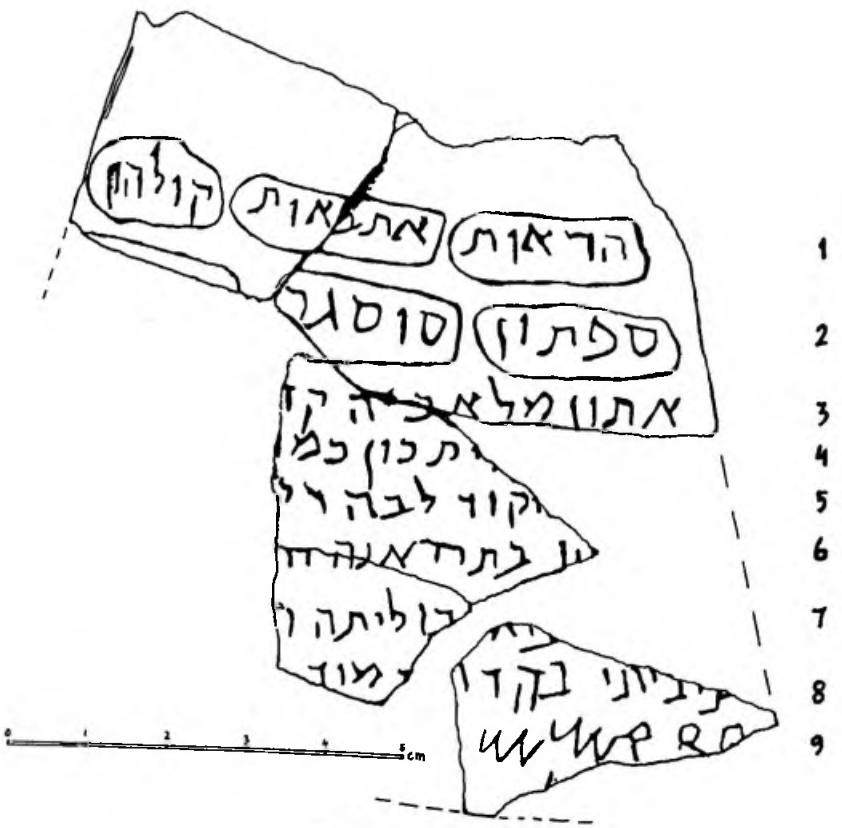


Fig. 12. Amulet 10

3 You ho[ly (and mighty)] angels
4 [I adjure] you, just as [this sherd]
5 [burns, so shall] burn the heart of R[... son/daughter of]
6 [Mar]ian after me, I ..[...and you should turn]
7 [his/her heart and mi]nd and kidney, so [that he/she will do]
8 my desire in this [ ]
9 (*magic characters*)

This amulet is inscribed on a potsherd. It was found in the excavations at Ḥorvat Rimmon (Kh. Umm er-Ramamin, Map Ref. 13721/08677), *c.* 1/2 km. south of Kibbutz Lahav and *c.* 13 km. north of Beer-Sheba, by Dr. Amos Kloner of the Israel Department of Antiquities, who kindly entrusted us with its publication. Dr. Kloner also communicated the following details about the archaeological context of the amulet:

> The potsherds under discussion were found in Locus 148, in the Ḥorvat Rimmon excavations in 1980 (cf. Kloner 1980, 1981). Locus 148 is in the north-eastern corner of the enclosure, which contains the synagogue and its adjoining area; this enclosure was created in the fifth century C.E. by the erection of a surrounding wall. The area of Locus 148 was excavated through a filling of debris down to the bed rock. Two different strata were distinguished within the debris: the upper stratum, 80 cm. in thickness, contained numerous fragments of jars, cooking pots and lids, oil-lamps, roof-tiles, glass objects, iron nails and animal bones, as well as an axe-like iron instrument and fragments of a chancel screen and a chancel post. All of these finds date back to the Byzantine period. The lower stratum (20 cm. in thickness) contained potsherds from the Second Temple period and later (1st century B.C.E. — 2nd century C.E.). The five fragments of the amulet (registered as 858/572; 858/559/1–2) were found scattered in different places in the upper stratum of the fill. It seems that the upper stratum of the debris accumulated at the end of the Byzantine period. The amulet under consideration is thus to be dated to the fifth-sixth centuries C.E.

Amulet 10

The amulet consists of five broken pieces, four of which can be attached to each other, forming line 1 and parts of lines 2–8. The fifth piece contains parts of the last two lines (lines 8–9), but it cannot be properly joined to the other fragments, as there seems to be a tiny piece missing. As a result we do not have a consecutive text of line 8. Mrs. Ada Yardeni, who suggested how the fifth fragment should be joined to the amulet, based her idea on an observation of the pattern of the thickness and of the wheelmarks.

In contrast to other potsherds, this is not an accidental fragment of a broken pot. It seems that the potter deliberately cut deep incisions on the surface of the jar before firing it, and that he broke the jar along the same incisions. Marks of the incisions are visible along the edges of the fragments, where about half the thickness of the clay is smooth and the rest is rough. The writing must have been executed when the clay was still soft, before it was baked.

This observation brings to mind the injunction which occurs in several magic recipe books, especially in connection with love charms, to use "a new sherd". Cf. e.g. the *Sword of Moses*, Gaster 1896, p. XV:17–18, where we read לגברא דייתי בתרך סב חספא חדתא וצבע במורא אוכם ואמר על שמיה מין אחומי עד פנכיר ואיזיל ולא תצפי לאחורך "If a man is to follow thee, take a new potsherd and dip it in black myrrh and pronounce over his name the words from **ʾtwmy** until **pnkyr** and walk without looking backwards" (Gaster 1896, p. 184; "black myrrh" is Greek *zmurnomelan*, cf. Margaliot in *Sefer ha-razim*, p. 2). The idea of a new piece of clay on which the charm is written occurs as a fixed formula in Mandaic incantation bowls, e.g. **ʿl glala dlbzʿia ʿtib wʿktubinin ʿl kasa hdta ḏphara uʿšadrinin lluṭata ḏlaṭu**... "on the rock that is not split I will sit and I will write them on a new bowl of clay and I will send the curses (back) to those who cursed..." (Yamauchi 1967, No. 18c:5–8; see also Nos. 7:24–26; 12:34–39; 19:16–18; 26:20–22). In the Mandaic instances the texts are not love charms. Similar injunctions occur with regard to using "a new piece of cloth" **kyrqh gdydh** (in Geniza 6, p. 1:15). An example for such an amulet on a piece of cloth exists in Geniza 1, another love charm.

In some Geniza fragments of magic books we have a more specific instruction, which relates to love or hate charms. The expression used is not "a new sherd", but **šqph nyh** (Geniza 5, p. 3:12), **pkr ny** (Geniza 6, p. 1:3, 4:4), or **kzph nyh** (Geniza 2, p. 2:). These expressions signify "an unbaked piece of pottery"; the Arabic *nayy* (like Hebrew *nāʾ*) means

"uncooked". For a charm against an enemy we have in Gaster 1896, p. XXII:29:30 the following instruction: "to break an enemy write the Sword (=amulet) upon a potsherd that has not yet been burned (**šlʾ nkns lʾwr**)..." (op. cit., p. 193). In a Geniza fragment, T-S K 1.153, p.1:11, we have: לאהבה סב חסף לא צלי וכתוב עלוי ... וכד את מטלק חספה בנורה אמור היך דאלין כתביה מתיקדין כן יתיקד לביה דפלנית ברת פלנית בחר פּבּפּ. Our amulet was apparently prepared according to such an instruction.

The amulet bears marks of black areas which were perhaps caused by exposure to fire. It was perhaps thrown into the fire as part of the sympathetic magic rite alluded to in the text: "Just as this sherd burns, so shall burn the heart of...". This is a frequent formula which occurs in love charms, such as our own amulet. On this point see further below, Commentary to lines 4–5.

1–2 These lines contain the names of six angels surrounded by a frame. **qwlhwn** and **sptwn** remind one of **qlhwn** and **swptyn** in T-S K 1.160, whereas for **swsgr** see **ssgn**, **ssngnys** in *Sword of Moses*, Gaster 1896,IX:21,**swsgwn** in Amulet 7:10. See further Scholem 1965, pp.94 ff.

3 **ʾtwn mlʾkyh qdyšyh**: See Amulet 7:4 and Commentary to Amulet 2:3.

4–5 The reconstruction is based on the Geniza fragments Nos. 2, 5–6, which are pages from magic books, as well as on the Geniza amulets Nos. 1 and 3, which are love charms. In all these texts the angels are invoked and asked to cause the heart of a certain person to burn in love for the client just as this potsherd burns in the fire. The words **yqwd lbh dr[** "the heart of R... should burn" are sufficient for the suggested reconstruction. Moreover, the word **kwlyth** "his/her kidney" (line 7) has also been preserved, and this word occurs in Geniza 6, p. 1:13–14 **lbh whwnh wkwlyth dp** "the heart, the mind (?) and the kidney of X".

6 It is possible to read **btr dʾnh** "after that I", but in this case the reconstruction suggested here is difficult. **btr dʾnh** would hardly be "after Dana", as we would expect a name to be followed by **br** or **brt** and the name of the parent (usually mother).

8 For the phrase **yʿbd/tʿbd ṣbywny** cf. Geniza 6, p. 1:2; Gaster 1896, p. VIII:5. If this reading is correct, **bhd[h]** might mean "in this matter". Alternatively, it is possible to supplement **[ytʿbd] ṣbywny bhd[yn]/bhd[h]** [personal name] "May my desire be accomplished with regard to this [person]".

Amulet 11

Provenance: Nirim
Israel Department of Antiquities, No. 57.733
Plate 10; Figure 13

1]אהיה [א]שר אהיה בשם ק[ ]ה ש(נ)רון ארסכיאל (נ)[
2]אל מש(נ)ידה שמגרון סכסך דוקון דוקון וא[
3]אל [כ](ר)קיאל אוריאל מלחמיאל אה אה אה [א]ה אה א[ה
4]א דתתעקרון מן רישה דנתרון ברתה דשאר[ה] אמן א[מן
5 ד]מתקרייא קפלרגיא ועלא בכורכוריא ד(נ)יא ולא[
6 בש]מה ד[נ](ג)דיאל מלאכה דכביש בשושלן דלא ד[נ]חש וב(ש)[
7 ד]לא דפורזיל ובשמה דנחשור ובשמה דסור(י)א[ל] מלא[כה
8]זיקין ומזקין וטלנין יערקון מנה יואל יואל [
9 נ](ת)רון ברתה דשארה בשם אוה (ה)לוסא אל באל רב[
10]תעקרו מן כורכוריא דניה ומן רישה [
11 ... [

Amulets 11–13 were discovered among the "small finds" in the apse of the ancient synagogue excavated in 1957–58 near kibbutz Nirim in the North Western Negev (see S. Levy and others 1960). This site has been identified as that of ancient Ma'on (Menois; cf. S. Levy 1960, p. 6). The group of 19 bronze amulets were deposited in the store-rooms of the Israel Department of Antiquities, where for many years they lay unopened. The three amulets given here have now been unrolled with relatively little damage in the chemical laboratories of the Israel Museum, thanks to the efforts and expertise of Dodo Shenhav and David Bigelajzen.

The synagogue is remarkable for its beautiful mosaic, covering the whole width of its nave (on which cf. Avi-Yonah in S. Levy and others 1960, pp. 25 ff.), in which an Aramaic inscription is inlaid, probably executed by a craftsman ignorant of the Hebrew alphabet (cf. S. Yeivin in S. Levy and others 1960, pp. 36 ff., and Naveh 1978, No. 57).

As for the dating of the amulets, since they were found in the apse of the synagogue, they are likely to belong to a late period in its use.

Amulet 11

Translation

1 ...I-am-who-I-am. In the name of... **š(n)rwn, ʾrskyʾl...**
2 ...] el, **mš(n)ydh, šmgrwn, sksk, dwqwn, dwqwn** and ...
3 ...]el, Barqiel, Uriel, Milḥamiel, **ʾh, ʾh, ʾh, ʾh, ʾh, ʾh...**
4 ...that you should depart from the head of Natrun, the daughter of Sarah, Amen, Amen...
5 ...called *kephalargia* and goes into the bones (?) of the chest and does not (?) ...
6 ...In the name of Nagdiel the angel who is bound by chains, which are not of bronze, and...
7 ...not of iron, and in the name of Naḥšur and in the name of Suriel the angel...
8 ...blast-demons, tormentors and shadow-spirits should flee away from her. Joel, Joel...
9 ...Na]trun, daughter of Sarah. In the name of **ʾwh, hlwsʾ**, El, Bael...
10 ...remove from the bones (?) of her chest and from her head...
11 ...

Rahmani 1960, p. 18, summarizes his discussion in the following words:

> These finds show that the synagogue was built in an area settled in the fourth century; also that the floor, and probably the whole building as well, were not later than 538. This suggests an early date of construction in the reign of Justin I, or Justinian I, at any rate before A.D. 538. It is probable that the synagogue was still in use about A.D. 582.

S. Levy (in S. Levy and others 1960, p. 11) concludes from the ceramic finds that the synagogue was used in "the sixth century A.D. with a possible continuation into the early seventh century A.D."

As mentioned by Rahmani 1960, p. 15, the amulets were "rolled tightly into a little scroll", and "on some of the amulets fragments of an outer wrapping of some woven material can still be seen; one still has the remains of the thread by which it was suspended, tied round one end. This shows that it was worn on the body, most probably around the neck". Alternatively it may be supposed that some of the amulets were suspended from the wall near or behind the Ark of the Law, or even

from the Ark itself (see the description of the place of the find in S. Levy 1960, p. 7). See above, p. 16.

The maximum dimensions of Amulet 11 are 130×45 mm. It is clear that one or more lines are missing before the first preserved line.

3 Barqiel and Uriel occur in *Sefer ha-razim* (see index there).

4 **š'rh** seems to be a curious spelling of Sarah.

5 **qplrgy'**: This is obviously Greek κεφαλαργία "headache". The same word may be present in a quotation from the lost *Midrash Yelamdenu* to Ex. 4:10 (Kohut 1955, VII, p. 165a): אינו עשוי לקופלארגיא הזו הוי לא איש דבורים אנכי. Kohut explains **qwpl'rgy'** from Greek κουφολογία "light, empty talk". Jacobson 1980, p. 59, has suggested that the Greek derivation should be from καλοπραγία "noble, heroic acts". The word in ther *Arukh* is spelled practically in the same manner as the word in our amulet, and the sense obtained may be acceptable: "He is not made for this 'headache'", although such a usage is apparently otherwise unknown in Greek.

kwrkwry': There seem to be two possible ways to explain this word: (1) A word of Greek origin in Aramaic (κερκίς, κερκίδος = staff, rod, weaver's comb, shuttle") gives in Jewish Aramaic a variety of forms **krkr, krkd, kyrkwr** etc.; see Jastrow, p. 670b. This word acquired in Syriac the additional meaning of "the bone of the upper arm, or of the upper leg". (2) A word of Semitic origin attested in the Hebrew and Aramaic root **KRKR** "to go around in circles", from which one might hypothetically derive a word meaning "a circle, a disc". None of these explanations seems entirely satisfactory.

(n)y': The reading here gains from the comparison with the same expression in line 10. In contrast to Syriac **n'**, Jewish Aramaic has **ny'**, our form **ny'** may have developed from the latter.

6 **ngdy'l**: The reading of this word is based on Amulet 3:10.

dkbyš: This verb often comes in association with **KPT** and **'SR** (e.g. Bowl 5:3); hence its use here in a context which implies tying or binding.

6–7 **šwšln dl' d[n]ḥš... dl' dpwrzyl**: The designation of the suppressing object as being "of iron" is fairly frequent (e.g. Bowl 13:13–14), but the negation of metals is much rarer. Compare, however, the phrase in Mandaic **zariz napšaikun bzaina dla hwa mn parzla** (*Ginza Y.*, p. 25:20), "arm yourselves with a weapon which is not of iron". For the



Fig. 13. Amulet 11

expression **bšwšln dl> dnhš** one may compare **w>srwhw bšlšln dnḥš** in Targum Judges 16:21 translating ויאסרוהו בנחשתים , "and they bound him with (fetters of) brass".

7 **nḥšwr**: The connection of this word with **nḥšyr** "hunt, eschatological war" in the Scroll of the War from Qumran (1QWar I:9, 10, 13) is unlikely.

Amulet 12

Provenance: Nirim
Israel Department of Antiquities, No. 57.739
Plate 11; Figure 14

1 [משבע] אנה על כול רוח ועל כול [ ]
2 [ ] בשם אברסכס דממני ע[ל]
3 [ ]א ונטר טליא במ[ ]
4 [ ]יא טור ולד[ה דש]למ[צו]
5 [ ]ה דברכתא לנ[ ]
6 [אהיה] אשר אהיה [ ]
7 [ ]דאמה ובש[ם]
8 [ ] ארא וכף א[ ]
9 [אשב]עת עליך רוחא [ ]
10 [ ]תא דל<א> תכ<פ>ין ו[לא]
11 [ ] של]מצו ברתה ד[ ]
12 [ ] ולרוח באתא [דלא]
13 [תחת]מין לשלמצו ב[רחה ד]
14 [לא ב]ליליא ולא בימ[מא]
15 [ ] בשמא רבא ב(ש)[ם]
16 [צבאו]ת קדוש קד[וש קדוש קדוש]
17 [קדו]ש קדוש קדוש [אל נקמות]
18 [ייי] אל נקמות [הופיע]
19 [אדו]ני אל אל(וה)[י ישראל]
20 [מלך] מלכי מלכי[א]

8 **ṭlnyn**, though masculine in form, seems to be the plural of **ṭlny** (see below Amulet 13:8). See further Commentary to Amulet 4:15.

yw'l is a variant of **yhw'l**; see Bowl 5:8 and the discussion there.

9 **'l b'l** could be compared with **yh byh** (cf. Amulet 4:33) and the personal proper name **bryk yhbyh**. See the detailed discussion in the Commentary to Bowl 6:2.

Amulet 12

Translation

1 I [adjure] against every spirit and against every...
2 ... In the name of Abrasax who is appointed over ...
3 ... and the guardian of the boys ...
4 ... guard the child [of Sh]lam[ṣu]
5 ... of the blessing ...
6 [I-am]-who-I-am ...
7 ... of his/her mother; and in the name...
8 ...
9 [I ad]jure you, spirit, ...
10 ... that you should not force (?) and [not]...
11 ...[Shla]mṣu daughter of ...
12 ... and to the spirit that is lodging... [you should not]
13 [be] seen to Shlamṣu dau[ghter of]...
14 [neither at] night nor at day[time]...
15 ... In the great name ...
16 [of Host]s Holy, Holy, Ho[ly, Holy,]
17 [Hol]y, Holy, Holy ["God of vengeance]
18 [Lord] God of vengeance [appeared"] (Ps. 94:1) ...
19 [the Lord] God, God of Israel (Gen. 33:20?) ...
20 [King of] the Kings of King[s]...

		...	23-21	...
[	]אל צבאות ש[	]	24	... God of Hosts ...
[	] יחיש יחי[ש	]	25	... **yḥyš yḥyš**...
		...	26	...
[	] שדי ש[	]	27	... Shaddai...
[	א]לוהים אל [	]	28	... The God, God of ...
[	]יה יה יה [	]	29	**yh yh yh**
		...	30	...
[	] (ג)יבור [	]	31	... hero ...
[	[אשבע]ת עליך רוח [		32	I [adjure] against you, spirit ...
[	[דלא ת]חמין ולא [		33	[that you should not] be seen and not ...
[	]ולדה ד(ש)[למצו	]	34	... the child of [Shlamṣu]...
		...	39-35	...
[	[אהיה א]שר אהיה[		40	[I-am-]who-I-am ...
[	] אדוני א[ל	]	41	... the Lord God ...
		...	42	...
[	] ל ל ל ל [	]	43	1111...
[	] קדוש [	]	44	... Holy ...
		...	45	...

For a general description of the Nirim amulets see Commentary to Amulet 11. The maximum dimensions of the extant fragment of Amulet 12 are 115×38 mm.

2 **ʾbrsks**: See Amulet 2:3, as well as Montgomery 1913, No. 7:9 (with parallel) **wʾbrks rbʾ mnṭrnʾ drwḥy ṭbʾtʾ wmḥbln drwḥy byšʾtʾ**. A discussion of Abrasax is in Dieterich 1891, p. 46; *Sefer ha-razim*, p. 8.

11 **šlmṣw** is attested as a hypocoristicon of Shlamṣiyyon, cf. Jastrow, p. 1587a; Frey 1952, No. 1253.

12 **bʾtʾ** seems to be the feminine singular active participle of BYT/BWT.

18 The reading yyyy for God's name is according to Amulet 1:5 etc., but another spelling is also possible.



Fig. 14. Amulet 12

Amulet 13

Provenance: Nirim
Israel Department of Antiquities, No. 57.744
Plate 11; Figure 15

1 [...]
2 [ק](מ)יע טב לאסחר
3 [ב](ר)חה דטאטיס
4 [ל](פ)לטא יתה מן
5 [מ]זקין [בי](ש)ין
6 [מן] עין בישה
7 [מן] רוח מן שיד
8 [מ]ן טלני מן
9 [כל] מזקין בישן]
10 [מן] עין רעה מן
11 [ ] מן רוח טמ[אה]
12 [ ]אם שמו[ע]
13 [ת]שמע בקול י[יי]
14 [א]להיך והישר
15 [כ]ע[יני]ו חעשה
16 [והאזנת]ה
17 [למ]צוותיו
18 [ו]שמרתה כל ח[וקיו]
19 [כל] (ה)מחלה א(ש)[ר]
20 [שמתי במ]צרים
21 [לא אשים עליך]
22 [כי אני ייי רפאך]
23 ...]

For the Nirim amulets see Commentary on Amulet 11.

The maximum dimensions of the extant fragment are 88×35 mm.

1 Only faint traces are visible.

Amulet 13

Translation

1 ...
2 An amulet proper for Esther,
3 daughter of ṭ'ṭys,
4 to save her from
5 evil tormentors,
6 from evil eye,
7 from spirit, from demon,
8 from shadow-spirit, from
9 [all] evil tormentors,
10 from evil eye, from
11 ... from imp[ure] spirit,
12 ..."If thou wilt diligently
13 hearken to the voice of the Lord
14 thy God, and wilt do that
15 which is right in his sight,
16 and wilt give ear
17 to his commandments,
18 and keep all his statutes,
19 I will put none of these
20 diseases upon thee, which
21 I have brought upon the Egyptians.
22 For I am the Lord that healeth thee" (Ex. 15:26).
23 ...

2 **qmy' ṭb**: See Amulet 2:1 and the Commentary there.

3 **ṭ'ṭys**: For this name cf. the feminine pr. n. Tation in a synagogue inscription from Ionia; Frey 1952, No. 738. A masculine proper name

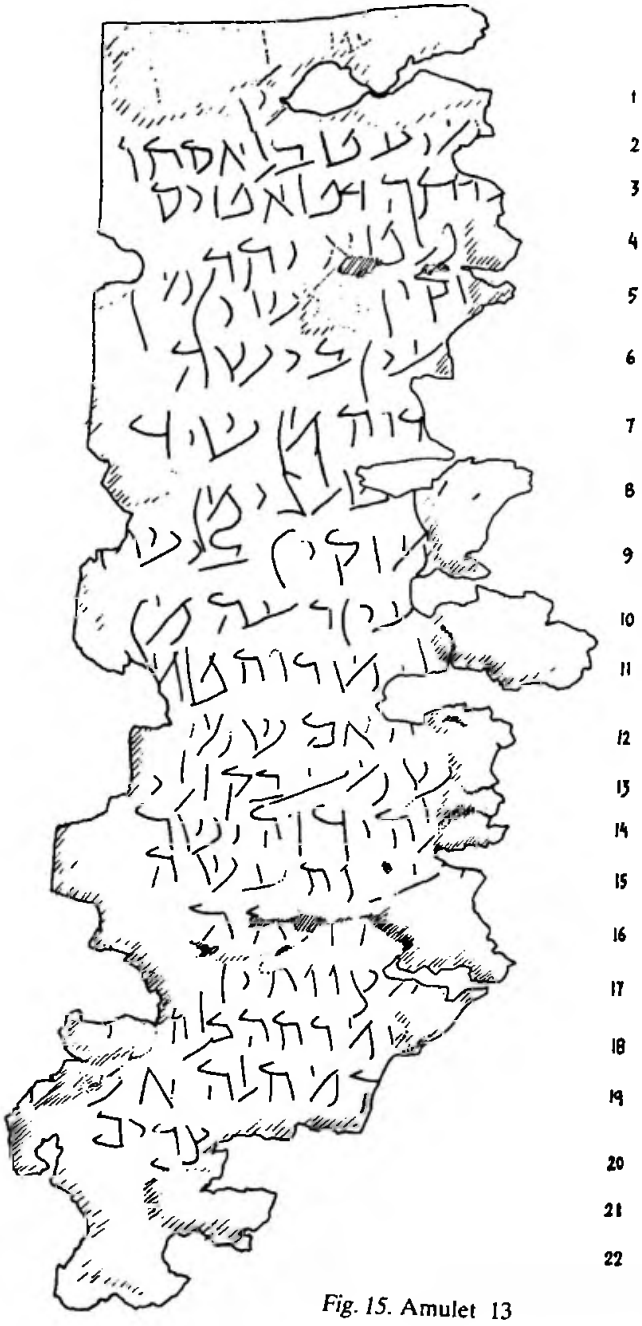


Fig. 15. Amulet 13

Tettius is attested on a Jewish tombstone in Rome (Frey 1936, No. 480).

4 [ḥ]**plṭ**ʾ: Infinitive of *paʿʿel*. The reconstructed letter could also be *mem*; **mplṭ**ʾ would then follow the pattern of Galilean Aramaic (see Commentary to Amulet 2:1). The root **PLṬ** corresponds to **ḥṣylh** in Amulet 1:3 and **ṭwlw wšyzbw** in Geniza 8:11.

5–11 The evil entities here have all indefinite forms, as in Amulet 14 and Geniza 8. The sequence **rwḥ wšyd wṭlny** occurs also in Scholem 1980/81, pp. 252 f. The same sequence occurs in Amulet 7 with the definite forms. For **ṭlny** see also above, Amulet 4:15.

The list of evil entities is partly repeated, given first in Aramaic and then in Hebrew (**mzqyn byšyn** serves both in Aramaic and in Hebrew). Geniza 7 displays a somewhat parallel phenomenon, giving a full incantation in Hebrew, which is then partly repeated in a similar text formulated in Aramaic.

12–22 The same biblical verse concludes also Geniza 8, which has other parallels with our amulet.

For the reconstruction yyyy see the Commentary to Amulet 12:18.

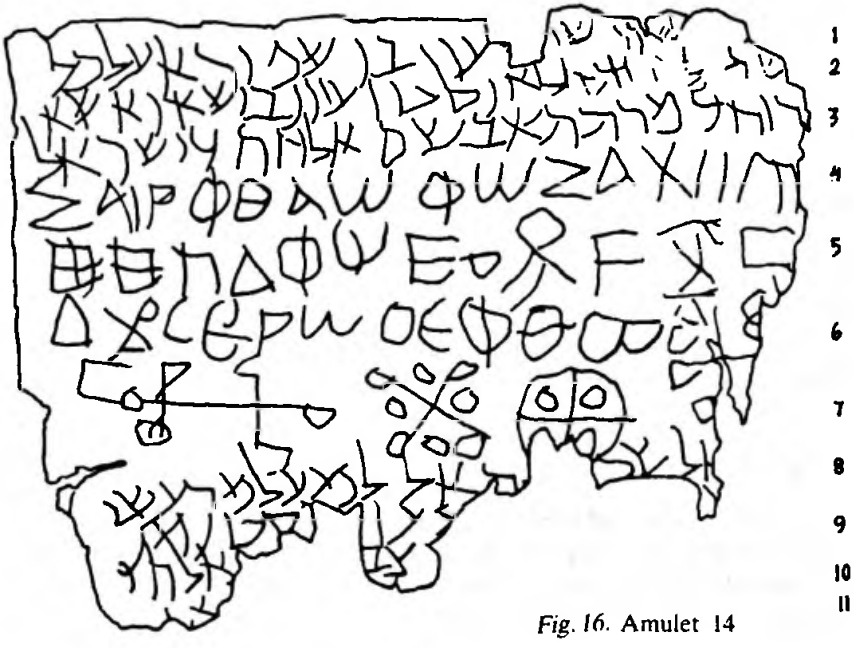


Fig. 16. Amulet 14

Amulet 14

Provenance unknown
Collection of J. Sammel, Munich
Plate 12; Figure 16

1	[	](ש)[מ]עון בן שפירא על כל
2	[	](דל)לא וסטן ועיין בישא ואשא
3	[	]רו(ח) דמרתחא בשם אל(וה)ה דישראל
4	[	ZAIP ΦΘΑΩ ΦΩZAX(ΩT)[
5-7		*(magic characters)*
8	[	]אל שכ[ינ]ת אל למעל מרעשי
9	[	](ג)עו[ר] סטן מן
10	[	]צב[אות] אלהי
11		[ישראל...]

This amulet was brought to the Israel Museum for opening by its owner, Mr. Joseph Sammel, and we are indebted to Prof. Yaʿakov Meshorer for drawing our attention to it. It consists of a silver sheet which was rolled along its narrow side. The writing is in lines which run along the length of the sheet. Its general state of preservation is fairly good, though the right-hand side and the bottom are lost. The size of the extant fragment is *c.* 4×3 cm.

1 Both Shimʿon and Shappira are widely attested names since Second Temple times. Shappira is a feminine name, meaning the same as Yaʾita (Amulet 2). Cf. Naveh 1980, p. 57, note 12.

2 The list of nouns is given here, as often, in the absolute forms; see Amulet 13.

3 At the beginning of this line one might imagine that the natural word to follow ʾš ʿry, ʿrwy, the presumed absolute forms of ʿryt, ʿrwyt; see Amulet 2:2 and the commentary *ad loc.*, and the corresponding Hebrew form ʿryh in Amulet 4:29.

Amulet 14

Translation

1 [This amulet is for Shim]ʿon son of Shappira against every
2 ...and Satan and evil eye and fever
3 [and shiver...and every] spirit that shakes. In the name of the God of Israel
4 Zair phthaò phozakh(ot).
5–7 (*magic characters*)
8 [...]el, God's Divine Presence above my head.
9 ...exorcise Satan from
10 [...God of] Hos[ts...] God
11 [of Israel...]

ʾl(wh)h dyśrʾl: The reading of the first word is not entirely clear. An alternative reading may be **ʾl(ʾ)h**.

4 We owe the reading of this Greek line to Professor Morton Smith, as well as most of the following comments on this line.

The first word may be read ZAIP or ΣAIP (if we assume that the upper stroke of the *sigma* merged with the leg of the *lamed* in the preceding line). Prof. Smith suggests that the word may be a reflection of the biblical toponym Śeʿir (Septuaginta Σηειρ) in Jud. 5:4. We wonder whether an association with biblical *śaʿir* "satyr, demon" (cf. e.g. Is. 34:14) is to be excluded.

ΦΘAΩ is explained by Prof. Smith as the name Ptah with an ending.

For ΦΩZAX(ΩT), Prof. Smith comments: "ΦΩZA is a word found in two spells: Preisendanz 1931, p.164 (XXXVI:44) and p.170 (XXXVI:228). In both it follows πεφθα/πεφνα and πεφρα is followed in Preisendaz 1931, p. 14 (VII:312) by ζαωθ. Both spells in XXXVI are for personal favour, that in VII:312 is for protection from dreams and demons".

8 We have here a sequence which is reminiscent of the text of *Qeri'at šema' 'al ham-miṭṭa*, as in Amulet 1:1–3, although what is left of the formula here conforms more closely to the traditional text. We should therefore expect the words which survive in our amulet to be preceded by an enumeration of four angels on each side of the person to be

Amulet 15

Provenance unknown
Israel Museum, No. 69.3.146
Plate 13; Figure 17

1 [ ] סממית ילי"דח בנין [... קטלהון]
2 [סד]רוס ערקת מן ק[דומוי]
3 [ ] קמת (ל)ה בר(ש)[ ]
4 [ ]בנת לה בית בר[ ]
5 [ל]ה תרעין דפרז(ל)[ה]
6 [ ]ה וטרדת בא[ ]
7 [י]ח תרעה לידא סוני [וסו]
8 [וס]וני וסניגלי ארתקו על [ ]
9 [ ]בין נעבר וניעל לע(ל)[ ]
10 [קמ]ת ופתחת להון על עמ(ה)[ון]
11 [סד]רוס וקטל לברה וצו(ח)[ת]
12 [ע](ל)יהון סוני וסוסוני
13 [וס]ניגלי מה עבד (הבין ש)[מע]
14 [סד]רוס ופתח וער(ק) מ(נ)[הון]
15 [מן] חזין רדפו בתרה וא[ש]
16 [כ]חוי בפלגוס דימה (והנ)[ ]
17 [ל]מקטול יתה אמר להון [אנה]
18 (מ)שתבע לכון במן דאכ[יל]
19 (מ)יה בשעולה דכל הן ד[ ]
20 [ ]ן מדכרין {ש} שמה דס[וני]
21 וסוסוני וסניגלי לא א[קטול]

protected; either as in the traditional formula (Michael, Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael), or as in Amulet 1.

mrʿšy: The interchange of *alef* by *ʿayin* is noted by Kutscher 1976, p. 80.

9 **(g)ʿw[r]**: See Amulets 2:8,11; 9:2,4.

Amulet 15

Translation

1 Smamit gave birth to sons. [They were killed by]
2 [Side]ros. She fled from h[im.]
3 ...She stood in...
4 ...She built a house for herself in...
5 [She provided it with] gates of iron...
6 ...and she locked...
7 ...the gate...**swny** and
8 **swswny** and **snygly** knocked on...
9 ...We shall pass and get in...
10 [She stood] up and opened (the door) for them. There came in with [them.]
11 [Side]ros and killed her son. She cried
12 [at] **swny** and **swswny**
13 and **snygly**: Why did (he) do (so)? [Side]ros
14 [heard], opened (the door) and fled from [them.]
15 [Having] seen (him), they chased him and found
16 him in *pelagos* of the sea ...
17 to kill him. He said to them: [I]
18 swear to you in (the name) of He "who has measured
19 the water in the hollow of his hand" (Is. 40:12), that wherever
20 [people] mention the name of **swny**
21 and **swswny** and **snygly**, I shall not [kill]

22 לאנטונינה ברתה ד(נ)[ ]
23 [ ] (וב)רה כרוך אתה יי[יי]
24 (אל) קים מלך העולם [יגער]
25 הרוחות מלפניך

This is an amulet on a thin silver sheet, measuring 35×82 mm. It was purchased by the Israel Museum in 1969 from an antique dealer in Jerusalem, but the provenance of the object was not transmitted. By its language, orthography, the material on which it is written and its place of purchase there can be little doubt that this is a Palestinian amulet.

The amulet, which forms a parallel to Bowls 12a and 12b, came to our attention at a late stage in the preparation of the book when it was going to press. The commentary to Bowls 12a and 12b has had to be somewhat modified in view of our better understanding of the text and of the history of the formulae which occur here. However, it was impossible to rewrite the whole commentary, and some inconsistency in the treatment of these texts may have remained.

At the same time, since the amulet is fragmentary and its decipherment has been very difficult, due to the fact that the letters are crowded together and the text is often elliptical, it might have been impossible to reach a clear understanding of the text of Amulet 15 without the benefit of previous acquaintance with the story from Bowls 12a and 12b (and the other parallels).

The text of Amulet 15, like that of Bowls 12a and 12b, is based on a story of Smamit (lizard or spider; see below, Commentary to line 1), whose sons were killed by an evil agent; the name of that demon may be reconstructed from Bowl 12a: Sideros. She flees to a place, which, if it conforms to the detail in Bowl 12, would be a mountain, and there three helpers, **swny**, **swswny** and **snygly**, enter her house, unwittingly admitting with them the fiend, who kills her (new-born) son. She cries at her helpers, but the fiend flees. They chase him and find him in the midst of the sea. When they wish to kill him he swears that wherever the names of **swny**, **swswny** and **snygly** are mentioned, he will not kill the client of this amulet and her new-born son. This story obviously serves for the protection of a woman giving birth and of her child. The details of the story and the comparison to other versions of the same story in

22 Antonina, daughter of...
23 ... and her son. Blessed art Thou y[yyy]
24 the living God, King of the world. [May He exorcise]
25 the spirits from your presence.

medieval and later times will be discussed in the Appendix to this amulet.

In order to facilitate the textual comparison, we have set the three Aramaic texts — Bowls 12a and 12b with Amulet 15 — in parallel columns, in the section which deals with Bowl 12 (p.188–193).

1 A word was probably lost before **smmyt**. Two possible reconstructions of the lost word have been considered: **ḥdh** ("one") and **hdh** ("this"). The first alternative would have required an indefinite form **smmy**; the second alternative seems to go along better with the form **smmyt**, although it lacks the determined ending, on the assumption that **smmyt** is already used as a proper name. For **hdh** before a proper name cf. e.g. **hdh rḥl**, *Berešit Rabba*, 70; ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 817.

smmyt (Bowl 12a **smwmyt**, 12b **smmyt**ʾ) is related to Biblical Hebrew *śmāmīt* (Prov. 30:28), which is variously interpreted as a lizard or a spider; the Targum and the traditional Jewish commentaries favour the latter rendering, while the Septuagint has *kalabōtēs* "spotted lizard". In Lev. 11:30 *lĕṭāʾā* is rendered by the Jonathan version *śmāmītā*, which the medieval commentary on Jonathan says is a spider. In Talmudic Hebrew and Aramaic, **smmyt/śmmy** seem to mean uniformly "spider" (cf. Kohut 1955, VI, pp. 72b f.; Jastrow s. vv.). Our context could bear either interpretation, but the preponderance of the sense "spider" in Hebrew and Aramaic in the period corresponding to the writing of our texts seems to weigh in favour of this interpretation (see also Löw 1912, pp. 140 ff.). A late Jewish amulet from Tunis (cf. Casanowicz 1917, p. 50) mentions a negative figure called **zmzwmyt**, probably unrelated to our **smmyt**. One may also recall the grasshopper figure in Islamic wonder stories (cf. Goldziher 1872, p. 767).

bnyn [...]: It is possible that the number of sons followed, although it is not certain that there is room for a number. The number should have

normally preceded the designation **bnyn**. In the bowls the number of sons killed is twelve, while in the late Greek version given in the Appendix the number is six.

2 **[sd]**rws: The name is reconstructed on the basis of Bowl 12a. That the name Sideros ("iron") is original is demonstrated by the Ethiopian Werzelya (see Appendix).

3 **br²(š)[ ]**: One may be tempted to reconstruct here and at the end of line 4 **br²(š) [ṭwr²]** "at the top of a mountain", following the indication in Bowls 12a and 12b, section III.

4–6 The details about the construction of a house with gates and the shutting of the gate are not mentioned in Bowls 12a and 12b, though they are implied in the story given there. All of this is explicitly found in the late Greek version (see Appendix).

7 **lyd²**: This is a puzzling expression in this context. **yd²** might signify "handle", but would not make a meaningful translation. **lyd** normally means "at, near"; **mn yd** or **myd** means "immediately". One wonders whether **lyd²** could not mean "near there" or "at that time"?

swny etc.: The three names are clearly divided in lines 12–13 and 20–21. The same division seems to occur in Bowls 12a and 12b, and it is continued in the later tradition of this story; e.g. in the late Hebrew amulets **snwy, snsnwy wsmnglp**, and in the Greek stories (Perdrizet 1922, p. 16: Sisinios, Sinēs and Sēnodōros). For further discussion of these names see Appendix.

8 **²rtqw**: This verb has been identified as typical of Galilean Aramaic (Kutscher 1971, col. 274). In Bowls 12a and 12b this verb lost its meaning, and it seems to be used as part of the name of the helpers.

9 A portion of the story seems to have been contracted here. The parallel stories tell of the request of the helpers to enter, the initial refusal of Smamit, their insistence, and her final acquiescence. Here we only have the helpers' insistence.

13 The reading of the final part of the line is uncertain.

14 The verbs "[heard]...opened (the door), fled" are not found in Bowls 12a and 12b.

15 For the reconstruction **[mn] ḥzyn** (the verb is in the active participle pl. m.) see Kutscher 1976, pp. 51 ff.; the alternative construction, with

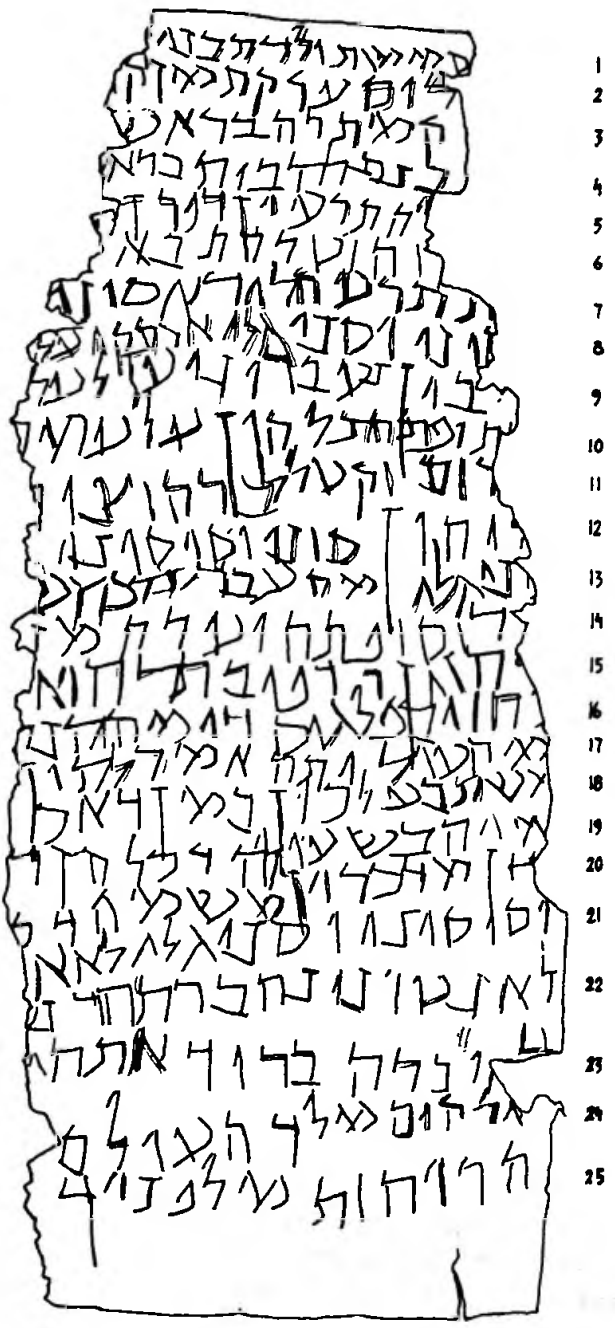


Fig. 17. Amulet 15

kd, is not attested in Galilean Aramaic (op. cit., p. 58). However, as we should have expected to see a trace of the *nun*, the reconstruction is doubtful.

15–16 **w'[šk]ḥwy**: The reconstruction is based on the parallel versions of 12a and 12b, where we have **w'drykw ytyh**. The verb **DRK** in *af'el* should mean there "to find", although the writers of the bowls probably understood it to mean "to lead", and used **lgw** "into (the Great Sea)", instead of **bgw** "in".

16 **bplgws dymh**: This double usage — Greek and Aramaic — seems to be a constant phrase in Jewish Aramaic (perhaps more particularly in the Palestinian dialect) to indicate "the midst of the sea". The Hebrew expression *bĕ-lev yām* (Ex. 15:8) is rendered by the Targum of Jonathan b. Uzziel **bgw pylgws dym' rb'**. A similar translation occurs in the Aramaic version of Ps. 46:3. The phrase is also attested in *Lev. Rabba*, section 12, beginning. In Bowls 12a and 12b the phrase is **lgw plgws ym' rb'**.

18–19 We have here a version of Is. 40:12 which is close to the Peshitta. The Targum to this verse diverges from the Hebrew text. Bowls 12a and 12b, in contrast, use the original Hebrew; in Bowl 12b the whole verse is quoted.

kl hn d- is apparently a Palestinian usage. Bowls 12a and 12b use **kl 'tr d-** instead.

20 The first word could be reconstructed as **['tw]n** on the basis of the phrase in parallel late Hebrew amulets; see Shachar 1971, p. 19, No. 4: כשמזכירים אתם את שמותינו

22 **l'nṭwnynh**: Antonina is attested as a feminine Jewish name in Rome; see Frey 1936, Nos. 236 and 416. Antoninos occurs as a masculine name on a Jewish tombstone from Palestine; see Frey 1952, No. 970.

23–24 The blessing here corresponds partly to the blessing in Bowl 12b, section X.

24–25 The reconstruction **[yg'r]** is based on the Qumran Scroll of the War X:31 ורוחי [גו]רלו גערתה מפנינו

In **mlpnyk** the suffixed pronoun refers probably to the client.

Appendix to Amulet 15

The story on which the texts in Amulet 15 and Bowls 12a and 12b are based is interesting because of its wide-ranging connections. It tells of a *smamit*, i.e. a lizard or a spider (see Commentary to Amulet 15:1), which gave birth to (twelve) children, who were killed by Sideros (the wicked).[1] Bowl 12b has the name **srgys** (Sergius?) instead. There is no clear explanation to the name Sergius in this connection, except by assuming that it is a corruption of Sideros. The latter name is clearly the Greek *sideros* "iron", a sense which gets a gratifying confirmation in the Ethiopian versions (see below).

The bereaved mother flees to a mountain "the name of which is unique in the world", to quote the phrasing of Bowl 12a. According to the two bowls she performs magic rites of copper and iron,[2] but this detail is absent from the amulet. Three new persons, **swny**, **swswny** and **snygly**, appear on the scene as friendly helpers; in the Christian version they are usually described as the woman's brothers. The meaning of these names is obscure. One might think of some Greek connection, e.g. σαύνιον "javelin"; σείσις "shaking, concussion", but such explanations lack proof.

swny, **swswny** and **snygly** knock on the door and ask the woman to open the door for them, but she refuses. At their insistence,[3] she opens, and then the wicked Sideros enters with them and kills the child which has evidently been born in the meantime. When she raises a cry, the helpers chase Sideros and reach him in the midst of the sea. They seek to kill him, but refrain when they are told by Sideros that if they spare him, he will undertake by oath to desist from killing the client and her son wherever the name of the helpers is mentioned.

The story told here has many parallels in medieval Christian literature, in Greek, Coptic, Ethiopian, Armenian, Rumanian, Slavonic

[1] The name Sideros is attested once as an angel name in the Geniza fragment T-S N.S. 329.972: אסידרוס רוחה רבה. It seems also to occur once in Mandaic, cf. Macuch 1967, p. 118:37 f., 43, but the context there is not entirely clear.

[2] The magic combination "iron and copper" occurs in Amulet 11:6–7 and in Montgomery 1913, No. 19:10.

[3] The argument which they use and which ultimately convinces her to open the door is not made explicit.

and late Syriac, as well as in Arabic and Hebrew. The various versions are discussed in detail by Peterson 1926a, pp. 109ff. and by Winkler 1931. A Greek version of it exists in a number of late medieval manuscripts. We are reproducing the Greek text given by Perdrizet 1922, pp. 16 ff.:[4]

Ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν τις γυνὴ ὀνόματι Μελετινή, ἥτις ἐγέννησεν παιδία ἕξ, καὶ συνέλαβεν αὐτὰ ἡ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτος Γυλλοῦ· καὶ πάλιν ἐν γαστρὶ συνέλαβεν ἡ Μελετινή, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα Χαλκοπράτια, καὶ κτήσας πύργον ὑψηλόν, καὶ καθηλώσας αὐτὸν καὶ μολυβδώσας, καὶ λαβὼν ιβ' θεραπαίνιδας διῆγεν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἔτεκεν ἐκεῖ τὸ παιδίον.

Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ ἅγιος Σισίνιος, Σίνης καὶ Σηνέδωρος κατῆλθον τοῦ ἐπισκέψασθαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ γινόμενοι πλησίον τοῦ πύργου ἔκραξαν αὐτὴν λέγοντες· ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν, ἀδελφὴ Μελετινή. Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· παιδίον ἐγέννησα καὶ φοβοῦμαι ἀνοῖξαι.

Ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῶν ἱσταμένων καὶ τῶν ἵππων χαλινοκτυπούντων, κατῆλθε τοῦ ἀνοῖξαι αὐτῶν. Ἡ δὲ μιαρὰ Γυλλοῦ συνεισῆλθε σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ὥσπερ μυῖα· καὶ περὶ μέσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπέκτεινε τὸ παιδίον. Ἡ δὲ Μελετινὴ ὠλόλυζεν πικρῶς, λέγουσα· ὦ Σισίνιε, Σίνη, καὶ συνοδία, οὐκ εἶπον ὑμῖν ὅτι παιδίον ἐγέννησα καὶ φοβοῦμαι ἀνοῖξαι; ἦλθεν ἡ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτό. Τότε οἱ ἅγιοι προσευχὴν ποιήσαντες πρὸς Θεόν, κατῆλθεν ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησις ὑμῶν πρὸς Θεόν· καταδιώξατε αὐτὴν εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ Διβάνου.

Τότε λέγουσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν· μὴ λυποῦ, ἀδελφὴ Μελετινή, ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ γενόμεθα ὡς κυνηγοί, καὶ κρατήσωμεν αὐτήν. Τότε καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτῶν, ἔτρεχον αὐτήν. Ἡ δὲ μιαρά, ἰδοῦσα τοὺς ἁγίους ὄπισθεν αὐτῆς, ἔδραμεν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἔλασαν οἱ ἅγιοι

[4] Another closely related Greek story was published in an English translation by M. Gaster 1900, pp. 142 ff., from the text in Leo Allatius, *De templis graecorum*, 1645 (not available to us). Perdrizet seems to have been unaware of this earlier publication. These Greek stories are probably the origin from which are derived the Slavonic and Rumanian versions discussed in M. Gaster 1900. Perdrizet 1922, p. 19, note 1, mentions a related Arabic text which occurs in a Vatican Ms. Arab. 118. Winkler 1931, pp. 97 ff., gives the text of Cod. Arab. 117 in the Vatican, which is a prayer by St. Sūsniyūs for the protection of small children. Some further bibliography is provided by T. Gaster 1971, pp. XXXIV f., and in his articles of 1942 and 1955.

τοὺς ἵππους αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔφθασαν αὐτήν. Καὶ ἀπέλαβεν αὐτὴν ὁ ἅγιος Σισίνιος ἐκ τοῦ πλευροῦ αἰτῆς, καὶ ἤρξατο βασανίζειν αὐτήν· ἐὰν μὴ μοῦ ὁμολογήσῃς ποῖον θεὸν σέβεις καὶ ποῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχεις, ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀπόλυσαι, ἕως οὗ ἀποδώσεις ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ζ' τέκνα Μελετινῆς ζῶντα, ὥσπερ ἔλαβες. Τότε ἡ μιαρὰ λέγει τοῖς ἁγίους· Ἅγιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν δοῦναι τὰ παιδία, ἐὰν μὴ πίω γάλα ἐκ τῶν μασθῶν Μελετινῆς. Καὶ στραφεὶς ὁ ἅγιος Σηνόδωρος πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν, ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτῇ τὸ γεγονός, καὶ ἔδωκεν γάλα τὸν ἅγιον. Καὶ ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἐκράτησαν τὴν μιαράν, καὶ ποτίσαντες αὐτὴν τὸ γάλα, καὶ κατ' οἰκονομίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐξέρασεν τὰ παιδία ζῶντα. Τότε ἤρξαντο μαστίζειν αὐτὴν· ἡ δὲ μιαρὰ λέγει τοὺς ἁγίους· Ἅγιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, μὴ μὲ πολυβασανίσετε, καὶ ὀμνύω σας εἰς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ εἰς τὸ κέρας τῆς σελήνης, ὅτι ἔπου γράφεται τὸ ὄνομά σας καὶ ἀναγινώσκεται ἡ πολιτεία σας, καὶ τὰ ιβ' ἥμισυ ὀνόματά μου, οὐ μὴ τολμήσω προσεγγίσω ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τριῶν μιλίων φεύξομαι ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου ἐκείνου. Τότε λέγουσιν αὐτήν· Ἀνάγγειλον ἡμῖν τὰ δώδεκα ἥμισύ σου ὀνόματα. Τότε ἡ μιαρὰ πυρὶ φλεγομένη ἔλεγεν· Τὸ μὲν πρῶτόν μου ὄνομα καὶ ἐξαίρετον καλεῖται Γυλλου, τὸ δεύτερον Αμορφους, τὸ τρίτον Αὔυζου, τὸ τέταρτον Καρχους, τὸ πέμπτον Βριανη, τὸ ἕκτον Βαρδελλους, τὸ ἕβδομον Αἰγυπτιανή, τὸ ὄγδοον Βαρνα, τὸ ἔνατον Χαρχανιστρέα, τὸ ι' Ἀδικία, [τὸ ια'...], τὸ ιβ' Μυῖα, τὸ ἥμισον Πετομένη (ι). Καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα, οἱ ἅγιοι ἐθαύμασαν, καὶ ἀνέσπασαν τὸν δεξιὸν πλόκαμον τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ποιήσαντες σχοινία τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτῶν, καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἰδιόχερα αὐτῆς ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰ παιδία ζῶντα ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν, καὶ ἀπόλυσαν αὐτήν. Καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐδόξαζεν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιοῦντα θαυμάσια διὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ.

Ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἀποστροφὴν αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ.

In the reign of Trajan the King there was a woman by the name of Meletinē. She gave birth to six children, and the abominable and impure Gyllou carried them off. Meletinē became once again pregnant, and went to those (places) called Khalkopratia, where she acquired a lofty tower; she bolted it (with nails) and sealed it with lead. Having taken twelve maids, she lived amongst them and entered into it, and she gave birth there to the child.

One day Saint Sisinios, Sinēs and Sēnodōros came down to visit their sister. Having drawn close to the tower, they called her saying,

"Open the door for us, our sister Meletinē". But she said, "I have given birth to a child and I am afraid to open the door".

But as they stood there for a long time, and as their horses stamped upon the wood, she descended to open the door for them. The abominable Gyllou came in together with the horses in the form of a fly, and toward midnight he killed the child. Meletinē cried bitterly, saying: "O Sisinios, Sinēs and company! Did I not tell you that I had given birth to a child and that I was afraid to open the door? The abominable one has come and killed him". The saints then addressed themselves to God in prayer, and an angel came down from heaven and said to them: "Your petition has been heard by God. Pursue her as far as the Lebanon".

They then told their sister: "Do not be distressed, Sister Meletinē, for we are going to be pursuers in the name of God and we shall seize her". Then, seated on their horses, they ran after her. The abominable one, however, seeing the saints behind her, ran into the sea. The saints drove their horses and overtook her. Saint Sisinios took her from her side and started to torture her: "If you do not promise to tell me which god you worship and where you derive your power, you will not escape from our hands until you give back to us the seven children of Meletinē, as much alive as they were when you snatched them". The abominable one then says to the saints: "Saints of God, it is impossible for me to give the children as long as I do not drink milk from the breasts of Meletinē". Saint Sēnodōros returned to their sister and recounted to her that which had happened, and she gave milk to the saint.

Having come to the place where they were holding the abominable one, they gave her the milk to drink, and, by God's disposition, she vomited the children alive. Then they started flogging her. The abominable one said to the saints: "Saints of God, do not torture me too much, and I swear to you by the disc of the sun and the horn of the moon that wherever your name is written and your association is known, and my twelve and a half names, I shall not dare approach that house, but shall keep away from that house to a distance of three miles". Then they said to her, "Disclose to us your twelve and a half names". The abominable one, burning in fire, said: "My first and special name is called Gyllou; the second Amorphous; the third Abyzou; the fourth Karkhous; the fifth Brianē; the sixth Bardellous; the seventh Aigyptianē; the eighth

Barna; the ninth Kharkhanistrea; the tenth Adikia; (...) the twelfth Myia; the half Petomene". Hearing these names, the saints were surprised. They tore off the right-hand braid of her head, making cords for their horses. Taking the names revealed by herself, and the children, alive just as they had been when she had snatched them, they let her go. Having entered the City, the whole city praised God who made wonders by the hand of His saints.

This device against her will not cause any harm to him who uses it.

Here we have nearly all the essential elements of our Aramaic story: Several children killed by the fiend; the flight of the mother to a fortified and lofty place;[5] the three helpers[6] coming and not being admitted; they insist; the tricky fiend sneaks in with them; the new-born baby is killed; the appeal to the helpers; the chase into the sea; and the promise of the fiend not to harm anyone who uses the helpers' names and those of the fiend. The differences are mostly of secondary character: the name (and proper identity) of the attacked mother;[7] the name[8] and gender of the

[5] The Greek text has εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα Χαλκοπράτια, which Perdrizet explains as follows (p. 17): "Quartier de Constantinople, avec une église fameuse, où était conservée, entre autres reliques, la ceinture de la Vierge". While this identification of the place name seems valid, one wonders whether Khalkopratia does not contain a reminiscence of something like Χαλκοπράγματα=חרשין דינחשה, as in Bowl 12a.

[6] The number is not uniform in the different versions. Three is still the number used in the Greek story just quoted, although it is sometimes blurred, as in the case when Meletine addresses the helpers by the words "Sisinios, Sines and their party" (ὦ Σισίνιε, Σίνη καὶ συνοδία). Other Greek versions (e.g. those given by Leo Allatius, cf. Gaster 1900 and Winkler 1931, pp. 109 f.) speak of only two helpers: Sisinios and Sisynodoros. In some versions there is talk only of a single helper, who is the woman's husband or brother (e.g. the Arabic version given below). In a similar way there is a single helper in the late Jewish and Christian sources, where the function is relegated to Elijah, Michael, or Gabriel.

[7] A certain zoological association may nevertheless exist: Meletine may be connected with the Greek word for a bee (μέλιττα). The fiend has a strong association with a fly (Greek μυῖα), which is both the form it assumed when it entered with the brothers' horses and one of its names. *Smamit*, as noted above, is a spider or a lizard.

[8] Gyllou (or Gellō, Gelō) is considered by some to be the origin for Arabic Ghūl. Cf. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, s.v. γελλώ etc.; Perdrizet 1922, p. 25; M. Gaster 1900, p. 148. On the Babylonian origin of this demon cf. Frank 1910, pp. 161 ff.

fiend, as well as its identity ("iron");[9] the number of offspring killed by the fiend (12+1 in the bowls, 6+1 in Greek);[10] the helpers are designated in Greek as the mother's brothers,[11] while in the Aramaic there is no relationship mentioned. Other points of divergence may seem to be mere enlargements or embellishments of an original version.

Apart from the great similarity of structure and plot, the Greek versions present a striking similarity to the Aramaic text in the names of the helpers. Sisinios, Sinēs and Sēnodōros bear great resemblance to **swny, swswny** and **snygly** in their sound pattern. All three names, in the Greek as well as in the Aramaic, play about with the phonemes *s* and *n*.

The identity of the fiend, Sideros=Iron, was lost in the Greek version. It survives, however, in a group of stories which are current in Ethiopic amulets and which probably derived from Coptic. They were summarized in Worrell 1909, pp. 165 f.; the interesting feature of that story for our purpose is that the attacking fiend is called *Werzelya*, while the helper, who is the woman's husband, is called in the Ethiopic stories *Susneyos*, a form resembling the Aramaic and Greek versions. Werzelya is not an Ethiopic word, and several suggestions have been put forward by scholars to explain it; it was compared to Ursula, Epilepsia, Basileia, as well as the Hebrew *Barzel*.[12] In light of the Aramaic text we are now discussing, there can be no doubt that Werzelya is actually a reflection of Aramaic Parzĕlā or Hebrew Barzel "iron". It is curious to note that the Aramaic name is preserved in Ethiopic, while the Aramaic texts present a Greek form. The surviving Greek versions, on the other hand, have lost all memory of Sideros.

[9] The name Sideros may well lie behind the sixth name of Gyllou, Bardellous, which is reminiscent of Ethiopic Werzelya, cf. below. See also Perdrizet 1922, p. 21.

[10] The theory that interprets the Sisinnius story as an astrological allegory can of course make better use of the number 12 than 6. Cf. Peterson 1926a, pp. 125 f. and the discussion by Winkler 1931, esp. pp. 126 f. The mother indeed has 12 servants and 12½ names (the additional half-name is perhaps analogous to the thirteenth baby just born).

[11] Some versions make the helper the brother of the fiend and the husband of the bereaved mother. Cf. Fries 1893, pp. 62 ff., quoted in Winkler 1931, p. 96, and see also pp. 127 ff. See also note 6 above.

[12] For a summary of views and references cf. Worrell 1914/15, p. 137. See further Aešcoly 1932, pp. 39 ff., 126; Winkler 1931, pp. 175, 186. The latter connects it with the Babylonian Labartu.

A much contracted version of this story occurs in an Arabic synaxary, based on the Coptic rite, which gives under the date Barmūda 26 the martyrdom of St. Sūsniyūs, who is said to have been the son of Sūspatros, of the retinue of King Diocletian. The relevant portion says:

> He returned to Antioch where he found a sister of his who had given birth to a hideous-looking son. Before him she had given birth to a daughter whom she had killed and whose blood she had sucked. Satan dwelled in her, and she assumed by witchcraft the shapes of birds and snakes. Whenever a child was born to the inhabitants of the town she would descend on it, kill it and suck its blood. When the holy man saw this, he took a lance in his hand and killed his sister and her son, for he was Satan's son, as well as her husband and his father, for they were sorcerers.[13]

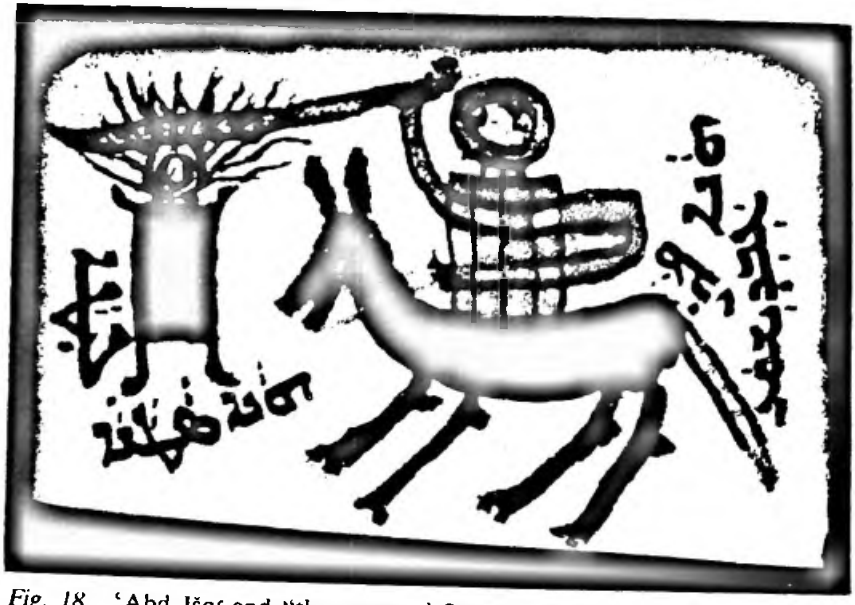


Fig. 18. ʿAbd-Išoʿ and "the accursed Satan", who wears the "likeness of a hateful woman of dark appearance". From a Syriac book of magic (Gollancz 1912)

[13] Cf. Basset 1922, pp. 336 ff., particularly p. 337. Quoted in Winkler 1931, pp. 129 f., where further references are given for the Ethiopian version based on the Coptic.

It is clear that a modified version of our story is given as part of the biography of this martyr; it has indeed become a standard element in the hagiography connected with St. Sisinnius.[14] Other reflections of the same motif are found in the various Arabic Islamic charms connected with the figure of Qarīna al-Tābʿia, Umm al-Ṣibyān,[15] and discussed at length by Winkler 1931; as well as in the late Syriac figure of *emmā ḥanoqṭā d-ṭalyē* "the mother who is a strangler of children" (Gollancz 1912, pp. 60–65), represented in the manuscripts as being killed by ʿAbd-Išōʿ: she is "the evil spirit in the likeness of a hateful woman of dark appearance" (see Fig. 18).

It may be remarked that we seem to have a late Jewish echo of this motif in the trio of magical names which are used to protect a woman at childbirth and a new-born baby: instead of סוני וסוסוני וסניגלי we have in late Jewish magic סנוי וסנסנוי וסמנגלף. The suggestion that these names are connected with Sisinnius has already been made by Moses Gaster;[16] the story in which these names occur in *Alphabetum Siracidis*,[17] is close enough to our own so as to suggest literary dependence. A typical late Jewish amulet in which the same story is used may be given in its outline as an indication for the survival of this motif in Jewish magic (see Shachar 1971, No. 3;[18] reproduced here in Fig. 19): Elijah,

[14] Cf. e.g. *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, XI, col. 1246 f.

[15] The corresponding Hebrew term אם התינוקות occurs in the Geniza fragment ENA 3381, f. 8.

[16] Gaster 1900, pp. 155 ff. (=1928, pp. 1031 ff.). Cf. also Trachtenberg 1961, pp. 101 f., where an amulet for the protection of mother and child during childbirth using these names is given in the frontispiece; also in Schrire 1966, p. 118.

[17] Fol. 23a, quoted in English by Gaster, ibid. Lilith in this story is depicted as a witch whose task is to destroy little babies; she is chased into the sea, and promises to desist from harming children if the names of the three angels are used on an amulet. Other elements in *Alphabetum Siriacidis* diverge from our base story.

[18] See also Shachar 1971, Nos. 2 and 4. The same story occurs also in Montgomery 1913, pp. 258 ff., from notes made earlier by Richard Gottheil. The provenance of that amulet is uncertain, but there can be no doubt that it is not part of the Nippur excavation material, despite Montgomery's wavering on this point. The language and style are clearly late medieval or modern (Scholem 1948, p. 166, n. 25). Montgomery's text seems to come from an area where Spanish was used. The name of the young mother to whose house Lilith goes may be read as Mercada who is known as (ד״מ is probably for דמחקריא) Vida (?), daughter of Donna. The first line should be read סנוי סנסנוי סמנגלף אדם וחוה קדמונה חוץ לילית as in other amulets of this kind. A very similar text is in M. Gaster 1900, p. 149 (=1928, p. 1025).

walking on the road, met Lilith and her companions and said to her: "You and your companions are impure, where are you going?" She said: "I am going to the house of X daughter of Y, the woman in childbirth, to kill her and take away her son, to drink his blood, to suck the marrow of his bones and to eat his flesh". Elijah put a ban on Lilith, but she asked him to release her and in exchange she promised not to harm that woman and her son wherever the names of Lilith which are enumerated[19] are mentioned. This amulet as usual carries the names of the three angels סינוי וסנסנוי וסנמנגלוף, after the regular heading אדם וחוה חוץ לילית חוה ראשונה.[20]



Fig. 19. A Jewish amulet printed in Germany in the 18th century. From Shachar 1971, No. 3

[19] Some of the names of Lilith in this text and in Montgomery 1913, pp. 285 ff. can be identified with the names in the Greek and other versions: אמורפו is evidently Morphous, שטריחה may be Striga. It may be noted that among the names of the demoness in the Greek text of Allatius (see Winkler 1931, p. 109) we have Pelagia, reminiscent of our "Pelagos, the great sea".

[20] For a psychoanalytical discussion of these stories see Hurwitz 1980.

The general outline of the probable development of the versions we have discussed may be set forth as follows. An early Palestinian Aramaic version of the story of Smamit, Sideros (=iron) and the three helpers of the childbearing woman survives in Amulet 15. This version of the story is marked by the presence of the Greek term *sideros*. This may suggest the existence of a Greek story on which the Aramaic formulation was based, but such a conclusion is not strictly obligatory. A similar Palestinian Aramaic text found its way to Mesopotamia and was copied in Bowls 12a and 12b (possibly also in Gordon 1941, p. 346), where a number of corruptions and perhaps some Babylonian linguistic features were introduced into the text. The Palestinian Aramaic story gave rise to several Christian Oriental versions, the common feature of which is the fact that the helpers assume the shape of Christian saints. The bereaved mother in these versions is a woman related to the helpers. At least one of the Christian versions (the Ethiopian one) used an



Fig. 20. A fresco at Bawit, Egypt. From Perdrizet 1922

Aramaic or Hebrew text, where the Greek name Sideros was replaced by its Semitic equivalent. A parallel Jewish and Christian legend existed, in which the role of the helper is essentially fulfilled by the Prophet Elijah or by the Archangel Michael,[21] who are secondarily identified with the phonetic equivalents of **swny**: Sanoy (etc.) on the Jewish side, Sisinios (etc.) in the Greek tradition. There seems to be a tendency in the Christian tradition to conflate this helper figure with St. George.[22] The evil agent is Iron in the early Greek-Aramaic form of the story, but this was largely forgotten in the later versions, where the evil power is a female figure, Gyllou in Greek and the dependent versions, Lilith in the Jewish tradition. Iron only stays on as a reminiscence, in the name *Barzelya/Werzelya, and in the various practices using iron in connection with child birth.[23] Many versions retain the sea as the place where the demon is vanquished. A constant feature of most forms of the story is the promise made by the evil power that wherever the name of the helpers (later coupled with those of the evil figure) should be invoked, no harm would befall the woman in child-birth and her new-born baby, on whose behalf the amulet is being prepared.

Perdrizet 1922, pp. 13 ff. tried to develop the thesis that the origin of the Coptic and Greek legend is Parthian, adducing the name Sisinnius, which was also the name of Mani's famous disciple, and the Parthian costume of this figure in the Fresco at Bawit in Egypt (Fig. 20). The

[21] See Reitzenstein 1904, pp. 298 f. (Winkler 1931, p. 112), where the Archangel Michael, who is the helper, is also identified with Sisinios and Sinodoros. In Winkler 1931, p. 111, the helper is Gabriel.

[22] Cf. Viaud 1928, p. 112, who uses Perdrizet 1922.

[23] The use of iron for the protection of a woman at child-birth is very widespread. The earliest attestation in Jewish literature seems to be in Tosefta Shabbat 7:4 והקושר ברזל בכרעי המיטה של חיה ... הרי זה מדרכי האמרי; see Lieberman 1961/2, p. 84. See further Blau 1898, pp. 159 f. For ethnological data on the Jews of Afghanistan Brauer 1944, p. 337; on Jewish practice in Karlsruhe, Scheftelowitz 1920, p. 77. In nineteenth-century Poland iron was used for the protection of women at child-birth with the explanation that Heb. *barzel* represented the initial letters of Bilha, Rachel, Zilpa and Lea (*Jahrbuch für jüd. Volkskunde*, I, 1923, p. 217; Trachtenberg 1939, p. 313, n. 14). We have information about the magic use of iron in child-birth, e.g. among Armenians (Hambroer 1962, pp. 32 ff., 105 ff.) and among Arabs in Morocco (Westermarck 1926, index s.v. iron, steel). On the efficacy of iron against demons in general see Abt 1908, pp. 159 f., where further literature is given; Doutté 1908, pp. 41 ff.; Goldziher 1907; and Trachtenberg 1939, p. 160.

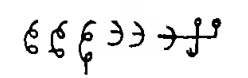
name Sisinnius, as can be seen from our Aramaic material, is not original, and the Parthian costume in a pictorial representation may indicate nothing more than that an Oriental figure is intended. The theory of the Manichaean affiliation of the story (see M. Gaster 1928, pp. 1252 ff.; Winkler 1931, p. 123) can also be safely disposed of. Even without the evidence of the Aramaic text the Manichaean connection might have seemed too tenuous, but it is now clear that Sisinnius has nothing to do with the original form of the story, and that this name is merely a transformation of the mysterious names **swny**, **swswny** and **snygly**.

II. Incantation Bowls from Mesopotamia

Bowl 1

Syriac
Formerly in the possession of V. Barakat, Jerusalem
Plates 14-15

(1–2) [מזמן הנא כאסא לחתמחא ונטרתא] ד(בי)חה ודד(ו)רה [ודפגרה דחונא בר כופיתי דתיזה מנה מ]בכלתא וחילמא ו[לוטחא] ונידרא וחרשא (3) [ומעבדא] (ושידא) ודיוא ולליתא וקרוביא וסרודתא רז שמיא בשמיא קביר ורז א[רעא] (4) בא[רעא קבי]ר ורזה דביתא הדין אנא אאמר על כל דאית בה על שידא ועל דיוא ועל חרשא (5) ועל מעבדא ועל כל אזגנדא דפחכרותא ועל כל גנדא ועל חומרא ועל איסתרתא ועל כל שידא תקיפא (6) ועל כל סטנא תקיפא ועל כל לליתא תקיפתא פתגמא הדין לכון מחוא דמקביל יאתה טבתא משכח ודביש לא מקביל (7) מלא רזא ומלאכא רוגזא אחין עלוה וסיפא וחרבא וקדמוהי קימין וקטלין לה נורא חדרה לה ושלהביתא אתיה עלוה (8) דפתגמא שמא ויתיב בביתא אכיל ומוכיל שתא ומשקא חדא ומחדא אחא לאחא נהוא ורחמא לדירא ביתא חברא לדרדקא הוא (9) ומרוביא מתקרא צותא לבירא הוא וגדא טבא מתקרא שלמא קבילו מן אבוכון דבשמיא ושבא [ש]למא מן אלהא דיכרא ומן איסתרתא (10) נקבתא דמשוא שלמא זכא בדינא ודמשוא חבילא מתקלא בנורא



ניתחת[ים וניתנ]טר ביתה ודורה ופגרה דחונא בר כופיתי (11) וחיזה מנה מבכלתא וחילמא בישא ולוטתא ונידרא וחרשא ומבעדא (!) ושידא ודיוא וללית קרוביא (וסרו)דתא וניחכביש כורחנה ונחדרה שורא (12) דאדמסא דכיא לחונא בר כופיתי {וניחכביש} (ונ)חכביש כורחנה ושידה ודיוה דחונא בר כופיתי (13) ונתנטר בלליא ובימאמא אמין

Bowl 1

Translation

(1–2) [Appointed is this bowl for the sealing and guarding] of the house, dwelling [and body of Ḥuna son of Kupitay, that there should go out from him the tormentors, evil dreams, [curses,] vows, spells, (3) [magic practices, devils,] demons, liliths, encroachments and terrors. The secret of heaven is buried in heaven, and the secret of the e[arth] is (4) b[uried in the ear]th. I say the secret of this house against all that there is in it: against devils, demons, spells, (5) magic practices, all the messengers of idolatry, all troops, charms, goddesses, all the mighty devils, (6) all the mighty Satans, all the mighty liliths. I tell you this word. He who accepts it, finds goodness, and he who is bad (and) does not accept (7) the mystery words, angels of wrath come against him, and sabres and swords stand before him and kill him. Fire surrounds him, and flame comes against him. (8) Whoever listens to the word sits in the house, eats and feeds, drinks and pours drink, rejoices and causes joy, he is a brother to brethren and a friend to the dwellers of the house, he is a companion of children (9) and is called educator, he is an associate of cattle and is called good fortune. Accept peace from your Father who is in heaven and sevenfold peace from male gods and from female (10) goddesses. He who makes peace wins the suit. He who causes destruction is burnt in fire *(magic characters).*

Seal[ed and guar]ded shall be the house, dwelling, and body of Ḥuna son of Kupitay, (11) and there shall go out from him the tormentors, evil dreams, curses, vows, spells, magic practices, devils, demons, liliths, encroachments and terrors. His sickness shall be pressed down, and a wall (12) of pure steel shall surround Ḥuna son of Kupitay. The sickness, devil and demon of Ḥuna son of Kupitay shall be pressed down (13) and he will be guarded by night and by day. Amen.

The interest of this new find is in the fact that it constitutes a welcome addition to a small group of bowls in Syriac which carry basically the same text. Since none of the bowls gives an unequivocally clear reading of the whole incantation, and since the text contains several problems, a new version helps to elucidate and sometimes to confirm earlier hypotheses. The texts parallel to our new bowl are the following:

1 A text read by T. Ellis in Layard 1853, pp. 443 f., No. 6. The bowl is now in the British Museum, B.M. 91712 (cf. Hamilton 1971, No. 10).

2 A bowl from Nippur at the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, published by Montgomery 1913, pp. 242 ff., No. 37 (cf. Hamilton 1971, No. 9).
These two texts benefited from the insights and comments of Epstein 1922, pp. 56 ff., who discovered their similarity, and managed, by comparing them to each other, to restore much of the mutilated text and to elucidate the meaning of the fragmentary formulae.

3 A bowl at the Iraq Museum (No. 44107), first published by Teixidor 1962. Teixidor did not notice the connection between this text and the previously published ones, and his reading was therefore somewhat fragmentary. The identification of the similarity is due to Hamilton 1971, No. 14, who offered some improvements to Teixidor's readings.

We have re-checked the British Museum bowl by the aid of a photograph, and having at our disposal our new text, we believe it is possible in some points to complete and correct Epstein's readings and reconstructions, which are on the whole confirmed by this text. The state of preservation of our bowl is good enough to make an almost continuous reading possible, apart from the opening words, which are illegible. Whereas our new text and Montgomery No. 37 are written in proto-Manichean characters,[1] Ellis 6 and Teixidor's bowl (as well as our Bowl 10) are written in Estrangelo.

The text begins in the centre and goes, by spirals, towards the circumference. This is, with some exceptions, the normal practice in the

[1] See Lidzbarski 1916; Teixidor 1962, pp. 61f.

magic bowls. On our bowl the two opening lines are so faint as to be largely illegible. They can, however, be reconstructed by comparing the similar formula in lines 10–11, and the opening phrases of such other Syriac texts as Montgomery 1913, Nos. 31, 32 and 35. The three parallel texts, Ellis 6, Montgomery 37, and Iraq Museum 44107, are all too defective at the beginning to be of any help.

3 The two words, **qrwby' wsrwdt'**, obviously denoting evil spirits, are also attested in line 11. The Syriac word *qrūḇyā* means "approach, attack, accusation", a cognate of *qrāḇā* "war", and could possibly serve as the proper name of a demon. No form corresponding to **srwdt'** is attested in Syriac, but Jewish Aramaic provides it in Gaster 1896, p. XII:35. The verb **SRD** "to fear" and the noun *sūrādā* "terror" are, however, familiar in Syriac, and occur in a magic text published by Hamilton 1971 (20:8): **nytsrwd bswrd' dl'lm** "may he be struck by eternal terror". **swrd'** occurs more than once in the charms published from Syriac manuscripts by Gollancz 1898. Thus we have, for example, the sequence ...**wdḥlt' wzw't' wrtyt' wtwht' wswrd' wrny'**...(p. 79) "...fear and trembling, terror and surprise, dread and anxiety..." (a similar sequence on p. 86). Derivatives of the same verb occur also in Mandaic, although the verb "to fear" in Mandaic, affected by both a metathesis and an enlargement by **-n-**, is **SNDR** (Drower and Macuch, p. 334a, where however the etymological references to Jewish Aramaic and Modern Syriac words meaning "sieve" seem out of place). The causative verb in Mandaic has the form **SRWD** (like the reflexive verb in the Syriac text of Hamilton 1971, quoted above; cf. Drower and Macuch, p. 337a, where the reference to **SRD** as an "inversion of **SDR** II" is not clear, since **SRD** is the basic form of the verb, as it is indeed presented on p. 334a). A Mandaic noun which is very close to our own is **saruadta**, translated by Drower and Macuch as "(a) fright, alarm (esp. nightmare), terror, (b) loneliness" (p. 315). The examples given there support a somewhat different translation. The phrase **saruadta ḏ-'umama** indicates "terror of the day time", perhaps personified, as opposed to **sahria ḏ-lilia** "night-demons", and the phrase **bsibuth usaruadth timut** need not compel us to introduce a new meaning "loneliness" for the word. It can perfectly well be rendered "she will die in her old age and in her fright". The plural feminine form **saruata** indicates a class of demons associated with ruins and destruction (cf. Drower and Macuch, p. 315b). Cf. also Bowl 13:13.

3–4 The phrase רז שמיא בשמיא קביר ורז ארעא בארעא קביר was reconstructed by Epstein 1922 for Montgomery No. 37, and it is gratifying to have it fully confirmed by our bowl.

4 From this point Epstein managed, by comparing the two bowls with each other, to make an almost complete reconstruction of their text. Our bowl is very close to Montgomery's text, offering only minor variations, which will be noted below. For **ʾʾmr** Montgomery has **ʾymr**.

5 On the basis of our text it is possible to suggest in Montgomery, line 5, to complete **[wʿl kl ʾzgndʾ]** (6) **dptkrwtʾ**.

6 **ptgmʾ hdyn**: Epstein conjectured in Montgomery 37:7 **pytgʾmʾ syt[rʾ]**, which Hamilton read **pytgʾmʾ hnʾ**. The correct reading of Montgomery 37:7 seems to be, like here (though in *plene* spelling), **pytgʾmʾ hydy[n]**, with the demonstrative written exactly as in Montgomery 37:5 **[r]ʾzh dbytʾ hydyn**.[2] It may be noted that the demonstrative **hdyn** is not usually recorded in Syriac texts; it is a form which is normal in Jewish-Aramaic (cf. Epstein 1960, p. 23; Rossell 1953, p. 27).[3] This may suggest that our present text is based on a Jewish-Aramaic version; see also **ytwh**.

mḥwʾ has a mark above the word to indicate the participle. In Montgomery 37:7 and in Iraq Mus. 44107:2 the form is **mḥwynʾ**.

dmqbyl yʾtwh: For the first word Montgomery has **dmqbl**. For **yʾtwh** both Ellis 6 and Montgomery 37 have **yʾth**. The accusative particle is quite unusual in Syriac, and is characteristic rather of the Jewish Aramaic texts. For the particle with pronominal suffixes, one can note a wavering in Jewish Aramaic between a singular-type declension and a plural one. For the singular cf. e.g. **yʾtky** (Gordon 1934a, p. 141, line 6); **ytyh** (Montgomery 3:7, 9); **ytkwn** (Montgomery 15:7); for the plural-type declension cf. **ytyky** (Gordon 1934c, p. 469, G:5; Montgomery 17:3). The variation **yʾth** as against **yʾtwh** demonstrates the two forms of treatment of the particle. It seems strange, though, to see a plural mark (*seyāmē*) over **yʾtwh**.

[2] There is an error in Hamilton's edition and translation of this line. **hdyn** occurs in Bowl 10:13, cf. Commentary to Bowl 10:7.

[3] In Babylonian Jewish Aramaic **hydyn** is used only for the interrogative "which one"; see Epstein 1960, pp. 29 f.

dmqbyl y'twh ṭbt' mškḥ wdbyš l' mqbyl: The B.M. text, Ellis 6, provides the clue to the puzzling sentence. Ellis 6:5 should read: **[d]mqbyl y'th ṭbt' mškḥ wdbyš wl' m(q)[byl]**. The phrase **l' mqbyl** is thus an apposition to **wdbyš**.

7 **mÏ' rž'**: This is also the obvious reconstruction of the text in Montgomery 37: **[m]l' r'z'** (or **r'zy**), rather than **'r'zy**. *Mellē rāzē* is used here in the sense of incantations.

wsyp' wḥrb': The correct reading in Montgomery 37 seems to be the same as here. Montgomery read the first word **wdsyp'**; Epstein preferred to read **[b]syp'**. The two nouns are best taken as standing in juxtaposition to **wml'k' rwgz'**.

wqdmwhy: See Epstein 1922, p. 56, where it may be seen that Montgomery's text has **qdmwh**, while Ellis has **wqd[m]why**.

nwr' ḥdrh lh "fire surrounds him": **ḤDR** is used with other prepositions, **ḥdr b-** "to retract" and **ḥdr 'l** "to return" (cf. Levine 1970, p. 350). In our text, line 11, the same verb occurs with a direct object in the sense of "to encircle".

8 **šm'** is written here, corresponding to Montgomery **šm'**, which is equally wrong. The Iraq Museum text has the correct form, **šm'**. The correspondence between our new text and Montgomery No. 37, here and elsewhere, shows that they both were copied from the same source.

wytyb bbyt': The initial *waw*, which does not exist in Montgomery and Ellis, is our scribe's mistake.

'ḥ' l'ḧ' nhw': Ellis 6 and the Iraq Museum text have here **'ḥ' l'nš' hw'**. One other case in which Ellis and the Iraq Museum text join together against the reading of Montgomery and of our new text is in the preceding line, where they have **wšlhbyt' npl' 'lwhy** (according to Iraq Mus.; Ellis has minor variations and a dittography), against **wšlhbyt' 'tyh 'lwh** (according to our text; Montgomery has minor variations). **nhw'** has a diacritic sign which marks it as a participle, perhaps to indicate that it is used for the present tense.

9 **wmrwby'**: This seems to be a copyist's error for **wmrwbyn'** attested in Montgomery 37. Ellis and Iraq Mus. spell the word **wmrbyn'** (cf. Hamilton 1971, p. 55). The correct identification of this word was made by Epstein.

ṣwt' lbyr' hw': This phrase is still puzzling. It is written in this manner in Montgomery 37 and in Iraq Mus. 44107, where it would have the sense of "he is an associate of cattle" (**byr'** for *bʿīrā*), which seems

curious. In Ellis the text shows in effect **lgld**³ (or **lglr**³), which Epstein, followed by Hamilton, read **lgʿr**³, assuming a corruption **bʿr**³ > **gʿr**³. It is possible to consider a variant form of *būrā* "uncultivated, simple, stupid", which might correspond to *gʿīrā* "hateful, hideous", although one can hardly account for the sense obtained "he is an associate of the hateful, ignorant". An argument in favour of this interpretation, however, is the fact that it comes parallel to the preceding phrase, which states that he is "a friend of children and is called an educator". Here he may be termed "a companion of the simple-minded (or of those excluded), and is called good luck", possibly some kind of auspicious magical situation.

wgd³ **ṭb**³ **mtqr**³: The scribe of Montgomery 37 omitted the word **ṭb**³.

šlm³ **qbylw mn** ³**bwkwn dbšmy**³: Epstein's reconstruction of Montgomery's text is unacceptable. He read it **šlm[**³ **mn] bl** ³**bwkwn**. It would seem more plausible to reconstruct there too **šlm[**³ **q]b[y]l[w]**, and to assume that **mn** was omitted by a scribal error. The same text may underlie the letters preserved in the Iraq Museum bowl. Ellis 6 has a completely different version at this point.

wšb³ **[š]lm**³: Epstein followed the word **dbšmy**³ by a reconstructed **[w**³**r](**ʿ**)**³. However, it seems more reasonable to reconstruct for Montgomery 37 the same phrase which occurs in our text. Indeed, the traces visible allow very well to reconstruct **[wš](b)**³. The same applies to the text of the Iraq Museum. It reads **wšb**ʿ³ **w[. . .]šlm**³.

dmšw³ **šlm**³ **zk**³ **bdyn**³: Epstein's correct reading is re-confirmed by our text, in addition to the support brought by the Iraq Museum bowl. The initial letter is undoubtedly **d-**, as in Teixidor 1962.

wdmšw³ **ḥbyl**³ **mtql**³ **bnwr**³: As the verb was not visible in Montgomery's text, Epstein had to invent one, and he chose **mtyqyd**. The Iraq Museum bowl and the new Jerusalem text concur in using the verb **QLY**, which should of course also be reconstructed in Montgomery 37. Teixidor's reading (followed by Hamilton) of the Iraq Museum text should be corrected as follows: **wdmšw**³ **ḥbl**³ **mytql**³ **bnwr**³.

10–12 The closing formula does not occur in the parallel texts, just as the Iraq Museum bowl closes with a formula which does not occur elsewhere. The formula of our text has corresponding texts in other magical bowls, such as Montgomery Nos. 31–35.

The client of this bowl is Ḥuna bar Kupitay. The name Kupitay occurs also in some other texts, cf. Montgomery Nos. 2, 4, 12, 16.

11 The spelling **mb'd'** for **m'bd'** is another instance for the weakening of the *'ayin*; cf. above **šm'** in line 8 and **šb'** in line 9.

kwrḥn': This word is written here twice with a *ḥet*, though it occurs with a *he* in Montgomery 7:11 (in Jewish Aramaic). Syriac has normally only the spelling with a *he*.

11–12 **wnḥdrh šwr' d'dms' dky'**: The reading is quite clear and unequivocal. **'dms'** is a loanword from the Greek ἀδάμας which consists of a privative α- with a derivative of the verb δαμάω "to conquer". The Greek word thus means "unconquerable" and designates the hardest substances: steel or diamond.[4] The word occurs also in Syriac (cf. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*, s.v. **'d'mws**), and in Mandaic, where the phrase **šura ḏ-dmasa** is attested several times (Drower and Macuch, p. 111b). The word is also found in Persian and Arabic *almās* in the sense of "diamond", and in Manichean Middle Persian under the form **'rm's** for "steel" (cf. Nöldeke 1892, p. 44; Bailey 1943, p. 134).[5] It can be shown that **'dms'**, **'rms'** does indeed refer to some metal by comparing the parallel phrase in Montgomery No. 4:6 (in Jewish Aramaic): **wšwr' rb' dnḥš' 'ḥdryt lh** "and I have surrounded it with a great wall of bronze".

The same word, **'dms'**, occurs, we believe, in three other Jewish incantations, where it has not been recognized. The texts in question are Montgomery 2 and 27, and Gordon 1941, p. 273 (11:3). Montgomery 2 and 27 were re-studied by Epstein 1921, pp. 30 f.; his reading and translation are quoted and amplified by Levine 1971, pp. 361 f. as follows:

> תוב אזלנא אנא פ' בר פ' בחילי דנפשי בקומתי גציצא דפרזלא קרקפתי דפרזלא קומת דנורא דכיא ולבישנא לבושא דארמסא דכיא וממללא
>
> "Again I come, I, X. son of Y., with my own might. On my body are arms (or hands) of iron, a head of iron, a body of pure fire. I don the pure-white and simmering robe of Hermes".[6]

[4] For the occurrence of *Adama* and its derivative in Greek magic cf. Peterson 1926b, p. 393.

[5] A striking parallel is found in a Manichean magic text in Middle Persian, where we have: **'wm šfšyr 'wd [cy]l'n 'y hswd 'y 'rm's [ʔ]y p'k pyr'mwn 'wb'yyd** (Henning 1947, p. 40, lines 32–34) "I am girt with a whetted sword and a dagger of pure adamant".

[6] Epstein did not commit himself on the word which was read by Montgomery as **'rms'**. The warlike character of such magical operations recalls the similar motif in the Chaldaean Oracles; cf. Lewy 1978, pp. 194 f.

The text of Gordon 1941, p. 273 (No. 11) is basically the same, though somewhat shorter.[7] However, although the name Hermes does occur on incantation bowls,[8] it is most unlikely that it occurs here. **ʾdmsʾ** "steel" is clearly the preferable reading, giving the translation "a robe of pure steel", which goes along with other indications of iron and fire. In Gordon 1941, p. 273, we might read not **lbwšʾ dʾrmys wddbyh**, but rather **lbwšʾ dʾdmwsʾ dkyh**.[9]

Another point worth examining is the adjective **mmllʾ**. Levine suggested the translation "simmering", as of coals, but this seems doubtful. One might rather seek the explanation in the Mandaic phrase **parzla nimalil ʿlḥ**, probably to be translated "iron will crush him" (cf. Drower and Macuch p. 273b, s.v. MLL III). Hebrew MLL also has the sense "to crush, squeeze" (cf. Jastrow s.v.). **ʾdmsʾ dkyʾ wmmllʾ** could therefore very well mean "pure, crushed (=forged) steel".[10]

Montgomery 19:7 was corrected by Epstein 1921, p. 49, to read **wbšwm mryʾ mlylʾ wmʾmlʾ dʾrmsʾ**. However, an examination of two unpublished parallel texts (University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, both bearing the number 18059), shows that the correct reading is **mryʾ klylʾ wmgdlʾ dʾrmsʾ**.

[*Addendum*: When the book was in the press we noticed the article by Harviainen 1978, which had escaped our attention before. It contains in Estrangelo script another parallel text to our Bowl 1. The parallel to our text goes as far as our line 10, with no significant deviations, and it confirms the restorations proposed above.]

[7] We must recall that Gordon was probably unaware of Epstein's insights on this text.

[8] The one safe example is Montgomery 7:8, which is the equivalent of Myhrman 1909, p. 346, line 4. The correspondence established by Montgomery is: **ʾyrmys=hrmys**. On Hermes in Jewish writings cf. also Lieberman 1947, pp. 53 f.; Milik 1976, p. 336, follows Montgomery's wrong interpretation.

[9] In Montgomery 25:4 [**ʾr**]**msh myṯṯrwn** is not entirely certain.

[10] It seems possible that **mmlln**ʾ occurs also in the sense of "pure", at least in the phrase **pwrdysʾ mmlln**ʾ, Black 1954, fol. 72b (cf. p. 61: "Paradise of the Word", which seems inadequate). The interpretation of **mmll**ʾ as meaning "crushed, forged" does not exclude the much more common usage of the word in the sense of "speaking, talking", as in Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 115; Isbell 1976, p. 23, where we have **mlkh mmll brʾzy pryšt**ʾ; **mlk mmlyl brzy pryšt**ʾ; cf. our Amulet 3:3.



Fig. 21. A Jewish amulet printed in Warsaw in 1867

Bowl 2

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, No. 1401

Plates 16–17

Inside the bowl:

(1) (ליט ....) הפיכי (הפיכא הפיכא) (2) הפיכא הפיכא הפיכא הפיכא ארעא (3) וי(שמ)יא הפיכי כוכבי ומזלי הפיכא שעתא דכול בני אינשא (4) הפיכא לוטתא דימא ויברתה דכלתא ויחמתה הפיכא לוטתא דגברי וינשי (5) דקימין בדברא ויבמתא ויבטורא ובית אילהי ובית כנישתא אסירא ויחתימא לוט(6)תא דלטת בישום ביתיאל ויקותיאל ובישמיה דיי רבא מלאכה דיחליה חדעסר שמין ססכבא (7) ככבא כנברא[1] סדיא סודאריא מדיריא אנקפא אנס[2] פספס כביבי בנורא כול מן דעבר על הלין שמהתא (8) מלאבי אילין אסירין ויחתימין כול שידין ושופטין וכול דלרעא קריא וכול דלישמיא מציתא שמעית קל ארעה שמיה (9) דימקבלא כול נישמתא מין הדין עלמא שמעית קלה דיתתא דלטת ושדרית עלה מלאכין נכיר נכיר יי נקום ניקמת יי נגיל ונגיל יי כיסס צצץ טימא יתיחתא דלטת ושדרו וחבילו יתה מין ענין דבר(ת)א[3] דלא תיקום ולא תילוט

Outside:

(10) דכיא בר קיימתא וימחלפא בר (דויד) ושרכה (בר) אלי(ש)תא[4]

(10a) (א) דכיא בק[5]

(11) מרים בת חורן

[1] An alternative reading could be kkbr'.

[2] An alternative reading could be 'ks.

[3] This word is seemingly written dbrd'.

[4] Another possible reading is ḫlypt'.

[5] This looks like being the first attempt to write the name, abandoned because of a mistake, and re-done subsequently above.

Bowl 2

Translation

Inside:
(1) (Cursed [?] ...) Overturned, (overturned, overturned,) (2) overturned, overturned, overturned, overturned is the earth (3) and heaven, overturned are the stars and the planets, overturned is the talk of all the people, (4) overturned is the curse of the mother and of the daughter, of the daughter-in-law and of the mother-in-law, overturned is the curse of men and women (5) who stand in the open field and in the village, and on the mountain and the temple(s) and the synagogue(s). Bound and sealed is the cur(6)se which she made. In the name of Betiel and Yequtiel, and in the name of yyy the Great, the angel,[6] who has eleven names: **sskbʾ**, (7) **kbbʾ**, **knbrʾ**, **sdyʾ**, **swdʾryʾ**, **mryryʾ**, **ʾnqpʾ**, **ʾns**, **psps**, **kbyby**, **bnwrʾ**. Whoever transgresses against those names, (8) these angels, bound and sealed are all demons and evil spirits. All that is of the earth calls, and all that is of the heaven obeys.

I heard the voice of the earth, [and of] the heaven (9) which receives all soul(s) from this world. I heard the voice of the woman who cursed, and sent against her the angels **nkyr nkyr**, yy take vengeance, yy let us rejoice and rejoice, yy **kyss ṣṣṣ ṭymʾ** the woman who cursed. And they sent and injured her (away) from the eyes of the daughter, that she may not avenge nor curse.

Outside:
(10) Dakyā son of Qayyamtā and Maḥlepā son of (David?) and Šarkā daughter of Ališţā (?)
(11) Miriam, daughter of Ḥoran

[6] Or possibly "his angel".

The text starts at the centre, where a circle is drawn, and runs in spirals towards the circumference. Near the rim of the bowl a large circle surrounds the text. No client's name is contained in the text of the incantation, but such names occur, quite unusually, on the outer surface of the bowl.

The text has a number of parallels, both complete and partial. These are as follows:

1 B.M. 91720 = Layard 1853, pp. 438-440 (Ellis 2). Layard does not contain a drawing, but we have been able to use a photograph kindly provided by the British Museum authorities to check the readings. The portion of this text which provides a parallel to the Jerusalem bowl begins at the fifth line.

2 B.M. 91727 = Layard 1853, pp. 440-441 (Ellis 3). This text has been re-edited by Schwab 1890, pp. 306-310 (Text B), and by Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 52–63, and it has been incorporated into Isbell 1975, pp. 131-133 (Text 58). Again we have been able to consult a photograph of this bowl. The text which corresponds to the Jerusalem bowl begins at line 5.

3 B.M. 91745. Portions of this text were published by Gordon 1941, pp. 339-341, without photograph or drawing. The same text had been published without indication of its present location by Schwab 1892, pp. 139-142 (Bowl G), but Gordon did not notice that Schwab's text was the same as B.M. 91745, which he re-edited. A reader would not notice this identity by comparing the two editions, which are quite divergent, unless he had the benefit of a photograph, as we did. Only by collating the two editions with the photograph of B.M. 91745 can one conclude, with a high degree of certainty, that both scholars worked on the same original. Yamauchi 1965, when he studied parallels to his text (cf. No. 5 below), treated the versions provided by Schwab and Gordon as if they constituted two different texts. It may be noted that in several cases Schwab's readings are better than Gordon's, a tribute to that pioneer in the research of magic bowls.

4 Iraq Museum 9726, studied by Gordon 1941, pp. 348-349. Only a partial reading and translation is given, and no photograph or hand-copy.

5 A private bowl in the possession of Mr. E. Safani, published by Yamauchi 1965. From line 3 we have parallels to our Jerusalem bowl, but the second half of Yamauchi's text is again divergent.

The bowls enumerated 3 and 4 begin, like the Jerusalem text, with the word *hafīḳā* repeated several times, while the other parallels have a longer introductory text.

The text contains a number of formulaic elements which recur in other bowls. It may be convenient to list them:
(a) The formula: **hpyk' hpyk'** ... with a list of (negative) objects to be reversed, especially the curses of relatives and other men and women.
(b) An invocation of angels, in particular a group of eleven names which constitute the person of **yyy** the Great.
(c) The formula which asserts the efficacy of the invocation: "All that is of the earth calls, and all that is of the heaven obeys".

All three elements recur in the parallel texts (=PT) 2, 3 and possibly also 5, where element (c) is not visible. The same may be true of PT 1, where the third element is missing, and of PT 4, of which only a portion is given by Gordon.

Some particular features of our bowl may be indicated. The spelling **wy-** for the conjunction, **by-** and **ly-** for the prepositions, and **dy-** for the relative particle are frequent in this text. Rossell 1953, p. 21, refers to the spelling **wy-** indicating that it occurs before a vowelless consonant. This is not true either of the Jerusalem bowl (cf. **wybrth, wyḥmth, wynšy,** etc.), or of Montgomery No. 1 (see Epstein 1921, p. 29). The same is to be said of **by-** for the preposition **b-**, cf. **byšwm**. Similarly in Montgomery 2:7 we have **byptkry** (assuming that the first syllable is *pat-*).

The elision of an initial *alef* following a prefixed element also characterizes this text: cf. **dym'** (=*d-'immā*), **dytlyh** (=*d-'īṯ lēh*), etc.

There is a seemingly careless alternation of *alef* and *he* in final position for the *status emphaticus,* but it may be, at least in some of the cases, a conscious use of the possessive suffix of the third person singular feminine: **lwṭt' dym' wbrth dklt' wyḥmth** (line 4) "the curse of the mother and her daughter, of the daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law", although in the parallel versions all these nouns end with *alef.* At the same time we also have the interchange of **dlr'', dlyšmy'**, as against **'r'h, šmyh,** with no apparent difference in function.

The spelling of the plural **gbry, nšy** seems an East Aramaic feature, while the use of the preposition **yt** for the accusative is more typical of West Aramaic; cf. Rossell 1953, pp. 11, 37; Tal 1975, pp. 28–30 (see also above, Commentary to Bowl 1:6).

2–3 In PT 4 the formula, as read by Gordon, is: **'wpykh {'r'} 'r'h**

hwpyk› šyd›, where in view of all the parallel versions, the last word is likely to be a wrong reading for **šmy›**.

3 The word **š‹t›** in our text corresponds to **š‹wt›** in PT 3 (B.M. 91745, correctly read by Schwab, but wrongly read by Gordon as **bw‹wt›**),[7] and to **š‹whwn** (for **š‹w‹t›hwn**) in PT 2 (B.M. 91727). The translation as given by Schwab "que la [mauvaise] heure soit renversée" was followed by subsequent scholars, but it seems wrong. This is most probably a form of the noun derived from the verb Š‹Y, cf. Bab. Aramaic and Syriac **›št‹y** "to tell, talk". We thus have Syriac *taš‹īṯā* "story", as well as *še‹yā, šu‹āyā* "play, joke", *šū‹īṯā* "story", etc., Mandaic **šuta** (from **š‹wt›**) "talk, speech, conversation".[8] In all the parallel versions of this text we have the sequence **hpyk› š‹(w)t›/š‹w(t)hwn dkl bny ›ynš›** "that the discourse of all the pepole be overturned". This corresponds in PT 4, according to Gordon's copy, to **hwpykh lwṭt› dkl bny ›ynšh.** Nothing like this occurs in PT 5 (Yamauchi's bowl), though the phrase **hpyk› kl myly** can be regarded as conveying the same idea (if it is not to be read **mzly**).[9]

4 **lwṭt› dym› wybrth:** PT 2 has here **lwṭt› d›b› wdym› wdbrt›**, while PT 1, 4 and 5 have a version similar to the one on our bowl, without the father being mentioned.[10] Our version is unique in the distinction it makes between the suffix of *immā* and of *bartāh*, if it is intentional (see above). A similar formula with the possessive suffixes is found in the printed amulet (Warsaw 1867), where we have משביע אני עליכם כל מין עינא בישא ... עינא דאיש ואשתו עינא דאשה ובתה עינא דאשה ואחותה עינא דאשה וקרובתה ...; for the same incantation with minor variants see Hanauer 1907, pp. 318 ff. (see Fig. 21 on p. 133).

5 **dqymyn bdbr› wybmt› wybṭwr›:** A similar sequence occurs in each one of parallel versions, but none is identical. **ṭwr›** and the two following

[7] The correct reading was already suggested by Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 59.

[8] Cf. Drower and Macuch, p. 458. For the Mandaic verb cf. Yamauchi 1967, p. 360 s.v. Š‹.

[9] In a note on the word *millā* as a magic term in Hebrew, Sperber 1966 commented on PT 3 as published by Gordon 1941. The word does not exist there; Schwab read it correctly as **mzly**, the same word that we have in the Jerusalem bowl.

[10] PT 3 reads according to Schwab **hpyk› lyṭt› d›b› wdym›**, and according to Gordon **hpykh lwṭt› d(›b)› wdymh**, while the bowl clearly has **hpykh lwṭt› hd› d›ymh.**

terms are unique to our bowl. On the other hand, we lack here a reference to "near" and "far", which occurs in other versions.

wbyt ʾylhy wbyt knyštʾ: These terms are also unique to our bowl in this formula. Both terms seem to present plural nouns, although the main part of the genitive construction is in the singular. For a similar phenomenon in Syriac one may quote from the Julian Romance: **wpqd dntpṯḥwn byt ptkrʾ wntbnyn ʿlwthwn... wnttqnn byt knwšt**ʾ **dyẅlpn**ʾ **ṯʿy**ʾ **dʿqyr̈n ḥwy wsḥypn** "He ordered that the idol temples be opened and that their altars be constructed ... and that the schools for erroneous doctrines, which had been overthrown and destroyed, be repaired" (Gottheil 1969, pp. 1 f.). The Syriac phenomenon is treated in Nöldeke 1898, pp. 83 f., § 141.

6 **lwṭtʾ dlṭt**: The absence of an explicit subject for the verb may suggest a passive form. What goes against such an assumption is the observation that in PT 2 the form which occurs is a masculine active form: **dlṭ** (line 6), and further **wbpwmh lṭ**ʾ (line 7), apparently in the feminine. Another argument against taking this form as a passive participle is the phrase further down in our bowl: **ṭym**ʾ **ytytt**ʾ **dlṭt** (line 9), where *ītā* seems to be the subject of the verb. The subject, when it is not specified in the texts, could well be a demon, which can of course be either masculine or feminine.

bytyʾ**l wyqwty**ʾ**l**: PT 3 has here **by**ʾ**yty**ʾ**l wyqwty**ʾ**l** though the two names were quite erroneously read by both Schwab (who read **by**ʾ**why**ʾ**l mmnḥyl**) and Gordon (who read ʿ**z**ʾ **wḥy**ʾ**l ḥqyty**ʾ**l**). Yamauchi's text PT 5 seems to have **šdyḥy**ʾ**l wyqty**ʾ**l** (the first word was read by Yamauchi as **ṭšḥy**ʾ**l**). PT 1 has (as correctly read by Ellis) **bty**ʾ**yl wyqtw**ʾ**yl**. There is nothing corresponding to it in PT 2, and Gordon does not quote a similar formula from PT 4 (Iraq Museum).

wbyšmyh dyyy rbʾ **mlʾkh dytlyh ḥdʿsr šmyn**: The corresponding expression in the other bowls has caused considerable trouble to previous editors, and the contribution of our bowl may be said to be chiefly in clarifying this phrase. In PT 2 Ellis read **bšmrwt k**ʾ **mlʾkh**, while Schwab, in a completely different conception of the letters, read here (beginning from the preceeding word) **mn kwl mdynt**ʾ **mlʾkh**. Jeruzalmi greatly improved on his predecessors, but this particular expression was read by him **bšmrytk**ʾ **mlʾkh**. He cannot be blamed for his reading, because the error is obviously the magician's own, who miscopied from his original, where the formula must have been correctly written. The ancient scribe wrote **bšmk ytb**ʾ **mlʾkh**, for the obviously correct **bšmk yy**

rb' ml'kh. Paleographically the mistake is easy to understand. The same mistake was done by the scribe of PT 3: **wbšwm ytb' ml'k' d'yt lyh ḥd 'šr šmht'.**[11] Both scribes may have used a similar original, although PT 2 has the indefinite plural form **šmhn** for PT 3 **šmht'** (our **šmyn**, which has the indefinite masculine plural ending).

One may remark in passing that the process of transmission of the magical formulae was not apparently one of careful copying from a bowl or a notebook, but something like a free adaptation from existing written (or oral) formulae. Hence the great variations even when we deal with a text which is basically the same. In a sense the process of transmission is more like one of oral tradition than in almost any other form of written tradition. At the same time, **ytb'** from **yy rb'** could only come about by erroneous interpretation of written signs.

Once the correct formula is established, it is easy to see that in Yamauchi's bowl (PT 5) we should read **byšmk yy rb' ml'kh,**[12] where Yamauchi read, with hesitation, **ywrb'**. Similarly one recognizes without undue difficulty in PT 1 (Ellis 2) the phrase **wbšmk yrb' rb' ml'k(y)h d'yt lyh ḥd 'šr šmhn,** where the original formula **yyy rb'** "the Great yyy", having given way to a pseudo-word **yrb'**, is reinforced with the epithet **rb'**.[13] Not having the benefit that we possess by our comparison, Ellis read here **wbšmry dk' dk' ml'kh.**

The partial transcriptions which Gordon gives of the Iraq Museum bowl (PT 4) do not contain any correspondence to the phrase under discussion.

6–7 The eleven names of **yyy** *rabbā* have been compared by Yamauchi in the different versions which he possessed. As stated above, he was not aware of the fact that Schwab G is the same text as Gordon's rendering of B.M. 91745, and so the two lines C and D in Yamauchi's table constitute but two transcriptions from the same bowl. On the other

[11] This is the correct reading of the word (with Gordon), against Schwab's **šmwt'**.

[12] Yamauchi transcribes by mistake **ml'k'**.

[13] The recurring Mandaic form of the name is **adunai iurba,** where the first element is sometimes omitted. Cf. Pognon 1898, p. 17 = Yamauchi 1967, p. 154; Pognon, p. 22 = Yamauchi, p. 156 (where the text is **aduna rba**); Pognon, p. 23 = Yamauchi p. 158; Pognon, p. 25; Pognon, p. 73 (**bit iurba**), etc. The name is also quite familiar from literary texts in Mandaic. Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, p. 258 note 1; Drower and Macuch, p. 191. In Gordon 1934a, p. 141, we have **ywdg' ywdb'**, and the second word may well be identical with **ywrb'**.

hand, there is room to add PT 2 (Ellis 3), which also has a similar list, competently edited by Jeruzalmi, as well as our own new text. The Iraq Museum bowl (PT 4) obviously has also a list of eleven names, but this was not copied by Gordon.

If we take the Jerusalem text as basis for comparison, we may make the following table:

1 **sskbʾ**=PT 2: **ssbbʾ**, PT 5: **ssbʾ**, PT 1: **ssbbh**, PT 3: **qsrbʾ**.
2 **kbbʾ**=PT 2: **kkbʾ** (the third in that list), PT 5: **krbʾ**, PT 1: **kkkʾ** (third in that list), PT 3: **kbkʾ** (third in that list).
3 **knbrʾ**=PT 5: **kbkʾ**, while the other corresponding forms are quoted above, under number 2. In PT 2 No. 4, **bpbbʾ** may be compared here.
4 **sdyʾ**=PT 2: **sryh** (second in that list), PT 5: **mrwh**, PT 1: **sryh** (second in that list), PT 3: **srtyh** (second in that list).
5 **swdʾryʾ**=PT 2: **sydryh**, PT 5: **sw** (?), PT 1: **sydryh**, PT 3: **ʿnyny** (?).
6 **mryryʾ** = PT 2: **hydryʾ**, PT 5: **hʿpnyʾ**, PT 1: **ḥryḥ**, PT 3: **ktyš** (?).[14]
7 **ʾnqpʾ**=PT 2: **ʾnqpʾ** (number 9 in that list, read **ʾrqpʾ** by Jeruzalmi), PT 5: **ktypʾ**, PT 1: **ʾnqpʾ** (number 9 in that list).
8 and 9 **ʾns psps** = PT 2: **ʾlsps** (number 10 in that list), PT5: **hls sš pb**, PT1: **ʾnsps** (number 10 in that list?), PT 3: **nttnt pkrps** (?).[15]
10 and 11 **kbyby bnwrʾ** = PT 2: **bmmr nwryʾ** (read differently by Jeruzalmi), PT 5: **kbybn blwrʾ**, PT 1: **kbyby...**, PT 3: **kbybn bnwr.**

We are left with PT 2 **ʿzryh**[16] (No. 7 in the list) and **btwqpʾ** (No. 8) in PT 3.

Even though this is a somewhat cursory comparison, without a proper textual edition of the different texts involved, one sees that with a fairly small movement of items one comes to a grasp of a list which is more or less identical, though it contains the fluidity of an orally transmitted tradition, as noted above.

7 **kwl mn dʿbr ʿl hlyn šmhtʾ**: The expression occurs in PT 1, and was correctly transliterated and translated by Ellis. The same is true of PT 2, where Ellis read and translated correctly, though Schwab made a wrong

[14] Thus read by Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 62.

[15] These names recall the very frequent **ʾnqtm pstm pspsym** in late Jewish amulets; cf. Shachar 1971, p. 227, and above, Fig. 21 (p. 133).

[16] Jeruzalmi reads this name as **ʿzzyh**.

translation and Jeruzalmi made a mistake both in copying the text, which should read **wlkl dʿbr ʿl hlyn šmhtʾ**, and in its translation, and was followed in this by Isbell. PT 3 has the same phrase, again translated wrongly by Schwab ("à tous ceux qui passent près ces noms") and Gordon ("and each that works [**dʿbd**] by these names"). PT 5 no doubt contains the same phrase, though this was not legible to the editor. PT 4 is not quoted at this point.

As for the expression **ʿbr ʿl** "to transgress", the usage is quite well attested in Mishnaic Hebrew. Cf. B. B. Meṣiʿa 111a: כל הכובש שכר שכיר ועובר על כל שם ושם שיש בו: Tosefta Bava Meṣiʿa 10:8. עובר בה׳ שמות הללו. These contexts demonstrate the meaning of the phrase: "to transgress, to hurt, to injure sacred names", which is somewhat transformed in the rabbinical usage to "to transgress against commandments".

8 **kwl šydyn wšwptyn**: Of the other versions, PT 3 has a more extensive list of demons. It contains the following elements, some of which were not quite accurately read by Schwab, but which Gordon rendered very well: **kl šydyn wšwbṭyn wdywyn wlyṭyn wlylyn wsṭnyn wšqwpyn.** The first two elements are identical in the two versions, despite the variation in the spelling of the second. The spelling with a *pe* occurs in Hyvernat's text.[17] A discussion of the term occurs in Montgomery 1913, p. 92. The parallel versions have different sets of names, or no names at all.

wkwl dlrʿ qryʾ wkwl dlyšmyʾ mṣytʾ: An analogous phrase is found in the various parallel versions. PT 2: **wkl dlʾrʿ qryʾ wkl dlšmyh mṣytʾ** (lines 11 f.); PT 3: **wkl dylʾy dylʾrʿh qry wlyšmyh myṣyt;**[18] PT 1 is too effaced at this point, at least in the photograph, but Ellis managed to read it very nicely (without being able to give an accurate translation): **wkl dlʾrʿ [qry] kl dlšmyh mʿyt**, where only the final word should obviously be read **mṣyt.** PT 5 can easily be restituted at this point. The editor read **kl dlʾw...**, which is apparently the beginning of our formula: **kl dlʾrʿh qry (wk)l [dlšmyh] (mṣy)[t].** The passages copied by Gordon from the Iraq Museum bowl (PT 4) do not contain our phrase. A similar phrase seems to occur in Geller 1980, p. 54, lines 8–9 **wbtqlʾ dqryh wrwḥ mlʾkh rbty dmytwtʾ**: the last word should probably be emended to **dmṣytʾ**

[17] Some other examples for the alternation of **-b-** and **-p-** are given by Rossell 1953, p. 16.

[18] Schwab: **wkl dwlʾy dwlʾ dmw[t] qry wlšmw ḥmwṣyt.** Gordon: **wkl dylʾy dylʾrʿh qdw wlšmyh,** with the translation: "and all...of the earth's...and heaven's".

As to the sense , we have here clearly a formula which asserts that the incantation is effective: "Everything which is in (or on) the earth calls, everything which is in heaven obeys". Similar formulae occur in other bowls. Cf., e.g., Istanbul 5363 in Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 128: **ʾnʾ ktbyt wʾlhʾ mʾry kwlʾ ysy yt**..."I have written (the incantation), and God, the Lord of all, shall heal...", and our Amulet 1:12–13: **ʾnh ktbt yy[yy y]ʾsy** "I have written, God will heal."

8–9 **šmʿyt ql ʾrʿh šmyh dymqblʾ kwl nyšmtʾ mn hdyn ʿlmʾ**: Here again our bowl can provide us with an aid for clarifying parallel passages, and at the same time also instruct us in the ways of textual transmission of such magical bowls. PT 1, according to Ellis's transliteration (since the photograph is unclear at this point) has the following text: **šmr[h] ql ʾrʿ dqdḥ wšmyh d[ʾtkl]tny š[mhtʾ] mn hdyn ʿlmʾ**. The first three words can without doubt be reconstructed as identical with our text: **šmʿyt ql ʾrʿ**. The fourth word seems to be missing from our text. The rest of the sentence can be imagined to be the same text as ours. The contribution of this text is in the addition of a word **dqdḥ** as the verb for the action of the earth.

PT 3 can be read in the following manner: **šmʿyt kl ʾrʿh dʾwqwḥ** (?) **šmh dym(q)b(y)l**[19] **kl nyšmtʾ mn hdyn ʿlmʾ**. The text is quite definitely corrupt, but, like PT 2, it contains what looks like a verb after **ʾrʿh**, and this is an element which the scribe of our bowl must have omitted by mistake. The interesting point here is the error which the scribe of PT 3 committed when he wrote **kl** for **ql**. The reading itself is clear and unambiguous. The second half of the text in PT 3 is basically the same as the one in our bowl, and it seems to have been badly written because the scribe did not understand the meaning of the words. The verb which should be supplemented in our bowl after **ʾrʿ** may be the one which occurs in PT 1 **dqdḥ** : "which flees, which escapes".[20] The form **dʾwqwḥ** in PT 3 is somewhat similar in appearance, and may be assumed to be a corruption of the same verb. The full reconstructed sentence should then read: "I have heard the voice of the earth *fleeing, and that of the sky receiving all the souls from this world". The earth "fleeing" may be an allusion, in this context, to the unwillingness of the souls to die.

[19] Gordon reads the last three words: **rḥyqyh šmh dymḥbyl**.

[20] For the verb QDḤ cf. below Commentary to Bowl 5:11.

PT 2 does not have our sentence, but it has some remnants of it. It reads: **šmʿt mn hdyn ʿlmʾ ql ʿyttʾ dš...** This text can be explained as a haplography: **mn hdyn ʿlmʾ** is the termination of the phrase just quoted, while **šmʿyt ql ʾyttʾ...** would be the beginning of the next sentence. In PT 2 the two sentences were conflated.

9 **šmʿyt qlh dytth dlṭt wšdryt ʿlh mlʾkyn:** This phrase too has close parallels. PT 1, according to Ellis's transcription, reads: **ql ʾytʾ [šm]ʿyt dlw[ṭtʾ] wšdrʾ**[21] **ʿlh mlkyn.** PT 2: **šmʿt ...**[22] **ql ʾyttʾ (ks...**[23] **wlṭyʾ wšdrt) ʿlh mlkn (wtqypyn).** PT 3: **qlh šmʿyt šmʿyt ql gbrʾ mšršyʾ br pwrtw dlyṭ wšdryt ʿlhw mlʾky.** No comparable phrase is quoted by Gordon from PT 4, and the final part of PT 5 is not well preserved, but seems not to contain such a phrase. The only significant difference here is that PT 3 refers to a man, while the other texts where the formula appears deal with women.

nkyr nkyr: This name does not occur in Aramaic, as far as we know, outside our text, where it occurs in some of the parallel versions. PT 1 has **nkyr** (once only). PT 3 has **nkr nkr.** The other versions do not have this name, as far as can now be verified. The context suggests that this is the name of an angel sent against the man or woman who curses. The Islamic figure of *nakīr* (usually associated with *munkar*) comes to mind: this pair of Islamic angels are the ones in charge of the *post mortem* trial of people, and their punishment. The origin of the Islamic name has been unknown. We may have here an antecedent to it.[24]

yy nqwm yy ngyl wngyl yy kyss: PT 1 has **wnqwm**[25] **nqmʾ wngl**[26] **nglʾ ww**[27] **ss.** PT 3: **ynqm nyqmt nglh nglh ss ṭwy ss.**[28] The other versions do not contribute parallels, though Ellis reads in PT 2: **ydrk wtqym nqmʾ wngyl nyglʾn wssw mʾ,** which does not seem visible in the photograph.

[21] The passage is not visible in the photograph, but we may conjecture ***wšdryt.**

[22] As explained above, the group of words **mn hdyn ʿlmʾ** probably belongs to the preceding sentence, which was omitted by haplography.

[23] Our reading here differs from Jeruzalmi's.

[24] Cf. *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, pp. 411 f., s.v. *Munkar*.

[25] Possibly to be emended to **ynqwm.**

[26] Possibly to be emended to **yngl.**

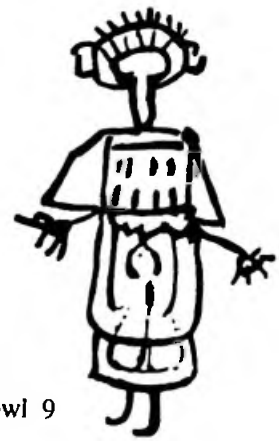
[27] Possibly **yy.**

[28] Schwab's transcription is here wide of the mark.

ṣṣṣ ṭym' ytytt' dlṭt wšdrw wḥbylw yth myn 'nyn dbr(t)': PT 1: **wss ṭy mn wssṭ mn wd'ytt' dlyṭ' wš[r]y'**[29] ... **ksy 'ytt' ... mn['']nn dbryk**. PT 2 (Ellis's reading): **wssym yd'ytt' dlwṭ' wšry' lwṭt' '''**. PT 3: **ṭymw yt mšršy' br pwrtw dlṭ wšdr lwṭtyh lḥwpy dy(?) my' wlyṭwr mdnḥ'** ... The word **ytytt'** is clearly a combination of the accusative participle **yt** with **'ytt'**. It seems that this was corrupted in PT 1 and 2 into **yd'ytt'**. All versions apart from our own become muddled and incomprehensible here. **ṣṣṣ** has a parallel sequence of letters in Isbell 1975, No. 65:4 and in Amulet 2:4–5,14.

dl' tyqwm wl' tylwṭ: PT 1: **dl' tyqwm wl' tylṭ**. PT 3: **dl' mwlyṭ.**

10–11 The names, written on the outside, are an unusual feature of incantation texts, where they are usually incorporated into the text. Here the text is entirely impersonal. The mother's name may well be read Qayyamtā. The masculine name **qywm'** occurs in a Nabataean inscription published by Milik and Starcky 1975, pp. 121 f.



From Bowl 9

[29] Perhaps one should read here ***yd'ytt' ... *wšdrw.**

Bowl 3

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, No. 1399

Plate 20

(1) אסותא מן שמיא למאדאראפרי בת (2) אנושאי ידמכון בעפרא חבילי נידרא דכוליה דוכא (3) וכל טלא וכל מידיעם דביש ומעיק לה למאדאראפרי בת מאנושי (4) חרשות ועבדין דמיתעבדין יתכבשון ויטמרון בארעה מן קדומיה (5) בעוז גדודהו וחיחי בין נסוע הארון וימר מושה קומא יהוה ויפוצו איבאך וינסו מ[vacat] מיפנך אקדד ואברא אמן אמן סלה

This is a plain bowl, with a crude square in the centre, and a fairly short inscription. Much of the inscription is taken up by a quotation from Numbers 10:35, in a peculiar spelling. No parallels are known to us from other magic bowls for any part of this inscription. The reading begins, as in most cases, in the centre.

1 The name of the client is Madar-Afri. The second element of this name seems at first sight to be similar to the name quite frequently attested in Aramaic incantations **ʾprʾ**, **ʾprh**, and which is likely to be the same as the name of Shapur's mother in the Babylonian Talmud, **ʾypryʾ-hwrmyz**.[1] The several attempts made at explaining this name may

[1] For the name **ʾprʾ**, **ʾprh** cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 118, where a Jewish or a Persian origin for the name are both mentioned as equally possible. The Jewish derivation would be from Ephraim as a hypocoristic, the Persian being a reduction from a name beginning with *fra-*. Both suggestions seem equally unlikely. Nöldeke 1879, p. 52, footnote, refers to the name of Shapur's mother by saying: "die erste Hälfte dieses Namens ist mir unklar". B. Geiger in Krauss 1955, pp. 58 f. explains **ʾyprʾ hwrmyz** as Farrah-Hormizd. The name suggested by Geiger actually occurs in Sasanian seals as **plxwʾwxrmzd**, Farrox-Ohrmazd, cf. Gignoux 1978, p. 147.

Bowl 3

Translation

(1) Healing from heaven to Mādar-Āfri daughter of (2) Anušay. May there lie in the dust the injuries of vows of every place (3) and every shaded place. And every evil thing, and whatever oppresses Mādar-Āfri daughter of Manušay, (4) the sorcery and the charms which are cast, (all) will be pressed and hidden in the earth before her (5) by the power of his army. "And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them ‹that hate thee› flee before thee" (Num. 10:35). **ʾqdd wʾbrʾ.** Amen Amen Selah.

be summarized as follows: some derivation from *frēh* "more"; some element connected with the preverb *fra-; āfrīn* "blessing"; or *farr(ah)* "fortune".[2] However, it seems likely that the name **ʾprʾ / ʾyprʾ** is connected with the name of the well-known Sasanian jurist and commentator, which is spelt **ʾplg / ʾplk,** and which has been commonly read Aparak.[3] This reading is not convincing, since it suggests a name derived from the noun for "robber" *(appar)*, though Abarag "superior" is also a possible interpretation. One would rather be inclined to think of a name *Āfar(r)ag* "Fortunate", with the preverb *ā* used in an auspicious sense.[4] Another possibility is the word *Āfurāg,* which could conceivably be attested also with a short *a* in the final vowel, for

[2] A summary of most opinions is given by Geiger in Krauss 1955, pp. 58 f. Cf. also the discussion in Goodblatt 1976, where the derivation from *frēh* is accepted.

[3] He is mentioned, for example, in *Mādigān ī hazār dādestān,* in Avesta commentaries, and in *Šāyast ne šāyast.* Cf. Perikhanian 1973, p. 562, s.v. Aparak. West 1892, p. 472, note 1, reads Afarg. Cf. also Tavadia 1930, p. 29, note 8 on 1.3b.

[4] One thinks of words like *āfrīn, āzād(ag), ābādān,* though they are all derivatives of verbal forms, which is not the case here.

"creator". This could of course be a reference to Ohrmazd, and we know that Ohrmazd is also a name of frequent occurrence. The latter explanation, even if it is not accepted as a solution for the name of the jurist, seems the most likely explanation for the name of Shapur's mother: Āf(u)rā-Hormiz, as well as the name on several magical bowls which may be read Āfrā, with an omission of the final consonant *-k/g*, just as we have the alternation Pāpak, Bābak with Pāpā, Bābā, etc.[5]

The name Mādar-'pry is however unlikely to be connected with any of the above names. The second element seems to represent either *āfriya* "beloved"; or *āfrī* as a variant on the nominal Middle Persian form *āfrīn* (Parthian *āfrīwan*) from the verb *ā-frī-*, the noun meaning "blessing"; or as a form of the present stem of the verb, in which latter case the compound *mādar-āfrī(n)* would mean "blessing (his) mother". The first alternative, reading Mādar-āfriy(a) "beloved to his mother" seems the more plausible one.[6] As a proper name, or as an element in proper names, *mādar* is not known so far either directly in Iranian or in other languages under Iranian influence. The more familiar forms Mama, Mamay etc. are quite widely attested.[7]

2 Anošay alternates, in line 3, with Manošay, an alternation which is not easy to explain, unless we regard the latter spelling as a contracted

[5] Cf. the names in the index to Montgomery 1913, p. 278. Nöldeke 1892, pp. 309 f., hesitated whether Pāpā is Iranian or Semitic. This hesitation is perhaps no longer justified, since we have it attested already in the Persepolis chert bowls in Aramaic and Elamite; cf. Bowman 1970, p. 130. One may also refer to Benveniste 1966, p. 17, who deduced the existence of Pāp as a variant Iranian name besides Pāpāk; cf. the remarks by Gershevitch 1969, p. 218, and the listing in Mayrhofer 1973, p. 133.

[6] For a final element *-friyā-* in Iranian names cf. Mayrhofer 1973, p. 202, No. 8.1116 Mišbapirriya, and Justi 1895, p. 371 Vispān-friyā. Both are feminine names meaning "beloved to all".

[7] Cf. Bowls 4:7 and 6:3 and the references in Montgomery 1913, p. 278 and Justi 1895, p. 189. Naveh, 1979b, pp. 21 f., has discussed the Semitic names denoting "mother", suggesting that they may be taken to be appellatives rather than proper names. One may refer in particular to Hermopolis **mmh** (cf. Naveh, art. cit., note 21). The ambiguity of this usage may be seen in Bowl 6:6. Nöldeke 1892, pp. 309 f. judged such names to be proper names. A seal published by Layard carries the inscription **lmmh**, cf. Lidzbarski 1902, pp. 137 f. and 97, note 3. It may be noted that the Armenian proper name Mam is derived from Persian *mām* "mother", cf. Hübschmann 1897, p. 50.

form of **mh'nwš(y)**, a name which is also attested without the final *-ay*.[8] We may then take both forms to be basically variants of the same name, freely interchangeable. The name **'nwš'y** and what seems to be its equivalent **mh'nwš(')y** is a feminine name of Iranian origin. It is possible to regard the final element, apparently *-ay*, as the very common ending of many Iranian names in the Aramaic tradition, an ending which is attested in both masculine and feminine names, and is thus similar in function to the ending *-oy*.[9]

The base element of Anušay is almost certainly *anōš*,[10] attested in New Persian *nōš, nōšīn* "sweet, pleasant", as well as in loan-words and loan forms of proper-names in Armenian *(anoiš)*,[11] in Syriac,[12] and in Arabic.[13] In the Aramaic magic texts we have the proper names **dwkt'nwš, bbnwš** (with variants **b'bnwš, bb'nwš**), **z'd'nwš**,[14] **kw'r'nwš** and **mh'nwš**.[15] Most or all of these names can be explained as compounds denoting "beloved by, sweet to —", with the first term referring in most cases to some close family relationship; daughter (perhaps meaning "the other daughter", i.e., the sister), father, son (cf. New Persian *zāda*),

[8] Cf. **'nš, 'nwšy** in Montgomery 1913, p. 274, and **mhnwš, mh'nwš** op. cit. p. 278. All occurrences are in Mandaic, partly from Pognon 1898, where, on pp. 101 f., Barthélémy's explanations are quoted. Montgomery 1913, p. 254, offers an impossible explanation of **mh'nwš** as containing the name Mithra. The names are also discussed in Nöldeke 1898b, p. 144. Cf. also Hamilton 1971, text 19, for the name **m'h'nw[š]** in Syriac.

[9] For this ending cf. Nöldeke 1888, pp. 413 ff. and 1898b, p. 145. Salemann 1930, p. 49, derives *-ōy, -ōya* from **-avya-ka-*.

[10] For a possible occurrence of this word in Pahlavi cf. Shaked 1979, pp. 254 f

[11] Cf. Hübschmann 1897, pp. 99 and 18 f. Earlier the word was identified with the term for "immortal", cf. Fr. Müller 1891, pp. 264 f., 356; Horn 1893, p. 30, No. 128.

[12] Cf. Gōšaqanōš, Hoffmann 1880, pp. 25 f.; Rādanōš, Hoffmann 1880, p. 68.

[13] Duxtnōš, cf. Nöldeke 1898b, p. 144. The name Anōšagzād is explained by Nöldeke 1879, p. 467 as "von Unsterblichem geboren"; he was actually the son of Xusrau Anōšag-ruwān.

[14] Cf. **'nwšz't'** in a Sasanian clay sealing, Gignoux 1978, p. 114, No. 10.30b. See also the preceding note.

[15] In Montgomery 1913, p. 218 (No. 29:5) we propose to read **mh'nwš** for Montgomery's **mt'nyš**. The same applies to Geller 1980, p. 49. In Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 160, there seems to be a name **mh'nš**.

sister (**kwʾr** may well be a contraction of Middle Persian *xwāhar*),[16] perhaps parents (*meh* "elder"). A similar impression is formed by some of the compound proper names containing *anoiš* in Armenian: Aršanoiš, Sahakanoiš, Smbatanoiš. In all of these cases the first element alludes to the name of the father of the dynasty. For the Mandaic names, Nöldeke 1898b, p. 144, suggests a conflation of the Iranian word with the biblical name Enosh, which became the name of a Mandaean genius. Against this theory one may note that the names containing this element are definitely Iranian, not Semitic, and that they are commonly attested also outside Mandaean texts.

ydmkwn: The verb **DMK** is attested in the Berlin bowl No. 2417; cf. Wohlstein 1894, p. 34, where the meaning is not pejorative as it is here, although the text is not quite clear. In the absence of a photograph or a drawing in Wohlstein, one can only guess what the text might read: **myty dbytʾ d[šky]byn bʾrʿh *wdmkyn bʾprʾ *qdḥw lkwn** "the dead of the house, who lie in the earth and sleep in the dust (or 'in the ashes'). Go away...". The whole of this unusual incantation is addressed at the dead who are asked to abandon the house of *Bābay son of **bydwn** (?) and resort to the house of Asmēn daughter of Iday. In Amulet 7:21–22 there is an opposition **DMK: NWM**, in which the latter means "to doze off", while the former means "to sleep properly".

ḥbyly nydrʾ: This combination could also possibly mean "bundles of oaths", though it has been the custom to translate the first term as "injury, harm" in the magic texts. Cf. also Mandaic **giṭria ḏhbila** (Lidzbarski 1909, p. 354, lines 32 f.; Yamauchi 1967, No. 22) "die Knoten des Verderbens".

3 **ṭlʾ:** The context suggests that we have here a contrast between **dwkh** "(open) place" and **ṭlʾ** "shade, shaded place", although this expression is so far unique in the magic texts. Montgomery 1913, No. 29:9, has the phrse **šydy bny ṭyly,** which he translated: "ghostly shades"; but this may rather mean "ghosts of shaded areas". By a different interpretation one may, however, connect **ṭlʾ** to the well-known term for a species of demons, usually called **ṭlnytʾ, ṭwlnytʾ.** In this case the sentence may be

[16] Nöldeke 1898b, p. 144 denies this explanation and regards the first element as *xwarrah*.

translated: "and every shade-spirit (**tl**ᵓ) and every evil thing which afflicts her..." (J.C. Greenfield's suggestion).

mydyᶜm dbyš wmᶜyq lh: A fairly close parallel for the usage is found in Gordon 1937, p. 87 (H:13) **wkl zyqyn wmzyqyn byšyn dymᶜyqyn lh l...**

4 **ḥršwt wᶜbdyn:** Cf. the sequence in Gordon 1941, p. 123 (5:4 f.) **kl ḥršy byšy wkl mᶜbd[y] tqypy dᶜbydyn bh wdmytᶜbdyn bh.** Cf. also our Bowl 12:III **wᶜbdt lḥršyn dy nḥšᵓ wᶜbdyn dprzlᵓ.**

wyṭmrwn: The verb has not been attested so far in the magic texts.

5 **bᶜwz gdwdhw:** A puzzling phrase, appearing in Hebrew in the midst of the Aramaic text and looking like a quotation from a sacred source, though no source has been identified.

whyhy byn...: A quotation from Num. 10:35, badly written. This verse is yet unattested in the magic bowls, though it is familiar from late Jewish and Samaritan magic.[17]

ᵓqdd wᵓbrᵓ: The second word looks like the name of an angel, cf. *Sefer ha-razim* 1966, p. 88, line 118. The two words could also be taken to be verbal forms in *afᶜel* from the roots **QDD** and **BRY,** meaning respectively "to penetrate" and "to soak through" (J.C. Greenfield's suggestion).



From Bowl 12a

[17] T-S AS 142.13; Schrire 1966, p. 131, No. 36. The words **qwmh yhwh,** deriving from the same verse, are quoted in Samaritan bronze amulets and other inscriptions; cf. Ben-Zvi 1970, pp. 179, 187 f., 193, 200; Kaplan 1967, pp. 158 f.

Bowl 4

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, No. 1402

Plates 18–19: Figure 22

Inside the circle in the centre:

(1) חוב הדין א(א)א א (2) איסרא דקברא (3) אמן אמן סלא

Around the central design:

(4) פעיח פעויח מלכנא קלקלא מלכנא קלקלא מלא משמלא קליה די מצמדנא די סכת פדנא היך מג<ל>א (5) מחת ליה כליביה דפומיה לא יאימר וליביה {לא יאדע} לא יאידע אמי פת לילי הי לילי לילי יצב יצב בנן בנן (6) אף על פרטדוך ליטא לתהפכי חרשיא ולוטתא ומשקיפותא מין מחדד בר (7) ממא ומין {בת} ברזוך בת ממא ומין מחזידוך בר ברזדוך ומין קיימתא בת ק(בנ)י ומין נני (8) בר קימתא ומין ביתא בת ברזדוך ומין בחי חיא וקינין חיא למעבד חי פו(גריה)

In the centre is a drawing of a human face, perhaps with the body of an insect. Two ribbons are shown on the left side of the face, and what looks like three insect-like legs are at the bottom. Encircling this design are a number of figures, which include a serpent and two reptiles as well as a cross which ends at its four corners with circles.

We should like to acknowledge the intelligent help of Mrs. Ada Yardeni, who drew the script shown in Figure 22 and who made a number of important suggestions for the reading.

The text of the incantation contains a number of obscure expressions, and is not easy to make out. It may have been intended for protecting a tomb, if we take the expressions **ʾysrʾ dqbrʾ** and **lmʿbd ḥy pw(gryh)**, which open and close the incantation, in a literal sense. But the expression is

Bowl 4

Translation

(1–3) Again. This is »»»» the spell of the tomb. Amen Amen Selah.

(4) **pʿyḥ pʿzyḥ** I advise (?). A voice I advise (?). A voice fulfils (and) completes. The burnt (thing) which I attach, which (is) the coulter of the plough, like a sickle, (5) shall introduce into his heart, that his mouth shall not speak and his heart shall not know.

Immi the daughter of Lili who is Lili Lili. **yṣb yṣb bnn bnn.**

(6) She also curses Fratadukh, that you may turn away spells and curses and afflictions from Māhdād son of (7) Mama, from Barazdukh daughter of Mama, from Māh-ized-dukh son (!) of Barazdukh, from Qayyamta daughter of Kabnay, from Nanay (8) son (!) of Qayyamta, from Bita daughter of Barazdukh, from the houses of life and the livestock of life, to make his body alive.

common in incantations, cf. Commentary to line 2. **pwgrʾ** can of course refer either to a living body or to a corpse.

1 **twb** is a common opening word in Aramaic. It occurs, for example, in the opening of the text in Montgomery 1913, p. 121 (2:1): **twb ʾzlnʾ ʾnh**... Cf. also Rossell 1953, pp. 61 f.

»»»»: The second *alef* looks like yt, but ʾytʾʾ would not give any meaningful reading.

2 **ʾysrʾ dqbrʾ**: The idea of an incantation connected with a cemetery or a tomb is quite common; cf. Pognon 1898, p. 3. ʾysrʾ is a regular term for a magical spell.

4 The text begins with a series of magical combinations which cannot be precisely translated. It is not clear where this sequence ends, and the translation given of this line is largely hypothetical.

For **pʿzyḥ** one may compare **pʿzyʾl**, one of the names given to Meṭaṭron in the Hebrew Book of Enoch, cf. Odeberg 1973, Hebrew section p. 71 (48D: 1).

mlknʾ: We have translated the word as derived from **MLK** "to advise"; it could equally well be analysed as *malkā anā* "I am king", or *mālek anā* "I rule". See further in the Introduction, p. 27.

qlqlʾ: This formula occurs in Montgomery 1913, p. 178 (13:9), cf. also p. 181, and Epstein 1921, pp. 45f.; Levine 1970, p. 352. In Mandaic, cf. Pognon 1898, p.59 **qal qal**...; Drower 1945, p.173 **qal arqa dbakia uqal šumia.** In Ginza Left, Petermann 1867, I, 2, p. 117:7 f. we have **qal qala qala qala ḏtrin qalia šumit qala ḏtrin qalia ḏiatbia ubanin qal ruha uqal nišimta**...In T-S AS 143.12 we have **wmh qlh bšmyʾ ql ʾrʿ dgʿyt wql ʿmwdy šmyʾ ʾtprqw ʾlʾ qlh dkwnnwt kwnnwt kd nḥtyt mn šmy mrwmʾ lqlqlh lstmh wlṭmṭmh lbhy wʿyynyhy**..; Rettig 1934, p. 48 **qlh qlh drbw rbh.** There is a manifest tendency to play on the similarity of the word for "voice" and that for "corruption, spoiling". Cf. on this the note by E.S. Rosenthal in Lieberman 1974, p. 139, addendum to p. 51, where Hebrew **qwl** is shown to be used in the sense of **qlqwl** "disapproval, condemnation, abuse".

mlʾ mšmlʾ: A reading *mellē mašma<ʿ> lēh* "words he utters" might also be considered. Cf. Levine 1970, pp. 355 f. One wonders whether *ma-li-e mi-il-in-ni*, presumably *mālē milīn*, in the cuneiform Aramaic tablet from Warka, has any relevance. Cf. Dupont-Sommer 1942/44, p. 44, and Epstein's suggestion that the Talmudic idiom **mmly myly** "adversaries" be adduced. Cf. Epstein 1960, p. 11, n. 4; Gordon 1937/39, p. 106, n. 4. In Gordon 1934b, p. 324 (B:9) we have **ql myly myly.** It seems, however, best to read the two verbal forms as derivatives of **MLʾ**, i.e. *mālē mšamlē*, with the second verb taken as a *šafʿel* participle (cf. Brockelmann 1928, pp. 389 f.).

qlyh, as rendered here, refers to the following **skt pdnʾ** as a burnished iron. Other possibilities of interpretation exist. **qlyh** could be "his voice". The word **qly** (Kali) is attested as the name of an angel. Cf. Montgomery 1913, pp. 258, 262; Gaster 1900, p. 149 (=Gaster 1928, II, p. 1025); Schrire 1966, p. 130; **qlyʾ** in Gordon 1934b, p. 324 (B:1). The formula **ʾpypʾ qly qlylʾ** (T-S K 1.120) may belong here. In Montgomery 1913, p. 141 (6:11 f.) we have a similar word in a somewhat obscure



Fig. 22. The text on Bowl 4

context: **wnyzym bmyzm nḥšh nyzyl qlyh bgygly šmy' wnyhwy *dwryh *bsbb** [read so!] **š'wl *rymh** "and may he be bound by a muzzle of brass; may his **ql(y)** go in the spheres of heaven, and may his habitation be in the vicinity of the grave (and) of worms". Cf. also on this passage Epstein 1921, p. 34. The word **qlyh** is unlikely to be "his voice", as the context requires a pejorative sense. It is possible to think of the word **ql** "voice" in the sense explained by Rosenthal (cf. above, comment on **qlql'**), viz. "abuse, state of abjectness".

It is of course possible to divide the sentence in our bowl differently from the way done here. One other possibility is to read: **mlkn' qlql', mlkn' qlql', ml' mšml' qlyh**, which may be translated: "(His) wisdom (or counsel) is corruption, (his) wisdom is corruption, he fulfils and completes his abuse".

mṣmdn' could possibly be a word meaning "yoke" or the like.

skt pdn': For this expression cf. Jastrow 1950, p. 988, s.v. **sk'**. A similar expression was read by Cross 1973, pp. 126 f. in an ostracon from Heshbon.

hyk mg<l>': This seems the best solution to a puzzling sequence of letters. An earlier reading which was considered was ***ḥwkmt'**, regarding the *gimel* as a badly written *taw* (or as a scribe's error). This earlier reading would give the translation "shall introduce wisdom into his heart". However, the following phrase, "that his heart shall not know", does not go well with such an interpretation.

5 **mḥt**: The active participle of NḤT in *af'el*.

dpwmyh l' y'ymr wlybyh l' y'yd': The words **l' y'd'** were first written and then re-written under the spelling **l' y'yd'**, presumably because the first spelling might have sugggested a participle form, while the corrected one shows a *ṣere* in the first syllable, and denotes the imperfect. Babylonian Aramaic has numerous expressions in which the pair **lyb'**—**pwm'** go together, cf. e.g. Jastrow 1950, p. 686.

'my: This is the name of what seems to be a female demon, **'ymy bt rbq'**, associated with **lyly** and **mr**, the sons of **'ymy**, in the Berlin bowl No. 2416, cf. Wohlstein 1894, p. 11; Stübe 1895, p. 22; cf. Wohlstein 1894, pp. 20 f., who quotes Bavli Pesaḥim 112a, where Immi may well be the name of a female spirit. Here Immi is the daughter of Lili, the latter being perhaps a variant on the name Lilith. Immi is of course also mentioned as a regular human proper name. Cf. Gordon 1941, p. 12 (4:2) reproduced in Isbell 1975, p. 97; Gordon 1937, p. 93 (L:11), reproduced in Isbell 1975, p. 127.

6 **prṭdwk** is an Iranian name which occurs here for the first time. The name may be explained as Frāta-, cf. Old Persian Frāda (cf. lately Mayrhofer 1979, II, 20), though the spelling with **-ṭ-** is problematic. It may alternatively be connected to Av. Parāta-, cf. Bartholomae 1904, p. 856, or to *Frahāta-, cf. Justi 1895, pp. 101 f.

lthpky: The form is unclear. One would have expected a **d-** at the beginning, instead of the **l-**; the latter may be merely a scribal error for **d-**.

mšqypwt': An unusual form for **šyqwpt'**, **'yštqwpt'**.

Māhdād occurs also in B.M. 91710, cf. Layard 1853, pp. 437 f. (Ellis 1); Schwab 1890, pp. 299 f.; Montgomery 1913, pp. 168 f.; Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 65 ff., in line 3, where it was wrongly read by previous editors.

For Sasanian seals, cf. Bivar 1969, p. 70, No. DB2; Gignoux 1978, p. 27, No. 3.11; p. 88, No. 4.11b. Other attestations are listed in Justi 1895, pp. 185 f. Cf. also Hinz 1975, p. 156 s.v. *māhīdātā-; Gignoux 1979, p. 69.

7 For Mama, cf. above, note 7 to Bowl 3.

myn bt brzdwk bt mm³: The first **bt** is surely a scribal error.

brzdwk: This reading was suggested by Mrs. Yardeni. The name is probably to be vocalized Barāz-dukh, associating it to the common Iranian proper name Warāz/Barāz, for which one may refer to Justi 1895, pp. 348 f.; Mayrhofer 1973, p. 190, Nos. 8.965, 967 ff.; Hinz 1975, p. 255; and to **wl³cdwxty** in ŠKZ, cf. Gignoux 1979, p. 87. The alternative reading **brwdwk** seems less likely both palaeographically and as an Iranian name, though it could be compared to the name **brd³kt** in the Syriac bowl published by Hamilton 1971, pp. 121, 159 ff. and Geller 1976, pp. 422 f. A proper name Bāra seems to be attested at a very early time. Cf. Grantovskij 1970, pp. 216 f.; Hinz 1975, p. 63. It is to be noted that on the Syriac bowl the suffix *-duxt* is spelled **-d³kt**, cf. also **šhd³kt**, and possibly also **mhgwšnyd³(k)t**, though this latter name is read by Geller **mhgwšnwd³yt**. The spelling **-d³kt** betrays an *-o-* pronunciation for long Syriac *-ā-*, as in Western Neo-Syriac, for which one may refer to Nöldeke 1898, p. 5, §4. Hence it may be deduced that the spelling **-d³kt** indicates a pronunciation *-doxt* for the ending of these Persian names, not unlike the usage of Standard New Persian for original short *u* vowels.

mḥzydwk: This name is unattested so far. It might seem possible to explain it by referring to the suffix *-čya-* in Old Iranian, which may give a form *Māhī-čyă-, perhaps a form of endearment from the word for Moon, which is also the name of a deity. The Elamite proper name Bakizza (etc.), which is reconstructed as Iranian *Bagaiča- (cf. Mayrhofer 1973, p. 138, No. 8.229; Hinz 1975, p. 56) may be compared, as well as the place name Bagiziš from hypothetical *Bagaičya- (Hinz 1975, p. 56), which are assumed to be "Koseformen" derivatives from the divine name Baga. A similar explanation has been proposed for Elamite Takaziya from Iranian **taxmačya-* (Hinz 1975, p. 232); cf. also **tigračya-* in Hinz, p. 236; **kafačya-*, op. cit. p. 144; *maryaičya-*, op. cit. p. 174.

However, a simpler solution offers itself and seems preferable. One could read the name as Māh-ized-dukh, assuming the omission of a *yod* after the second letter, and the quite common haplography of *dalet*. The deity Māh-izad or Māh-yazad is quite well known in the Manichaean

texts. Cf., e.g. Andreas and Henning 1932, p. 220, s.v. **mʾhyzd.** The spelling **yzyd** for the second part of this compound name is not surprising. In Mandaean we have both **yʾzyd** and **yzyd** as a name, cf. Pognon 1898, p. 99, taken by this scholar to be the similar-looking Arabic name Yazīd, cf. pp. 14, 103, and claimed by Montgomery 1913, p. 277, to be an unexplained Aramaic name. What proves **yzyd** to be the Iranian name Yazed is the compound form **yzydʾd** "Created by Ized", Montgomery 1913, p. 150; Justi 1895, pp. 147, 149. In Arabic, Ṭabari III, p. 371, we have the spelling **ʾzdʾd;** in Syriac (Assemani III, 226; cf. Justi, p. 149), **yzydʾd,** both for Yazed-dād. The spelling **yzyd** for Ized occurs also in early Judaeo-Persian, cf. in the Dandan-uiliq letter, Utas 1968.

For the haplography of the *dalet* one may refer also to the name **ʾyzdwk**=Izad-dukh in our Bowl 11. It is quite likely that **myrdwk** in Montgomery 1913, p. 152, is not Mithra-dukh, as stated there, but

Bowl 5

Israel Museum, No. 80.1.1

Plate 21

(1) [ב](ש)מך אני עושה הדין קמיעא דיהי לה לאסו להדין לאסקופת (ביחה) [.....]
(2) (וכל קנין דאית) לה כפתינון לכיפי ארעה ואסרתינון לרזי (רקי)עא כבשתינון
[.....] (3) [... כפ]תינון אסרתינון כבשתינון {כל} לכל שידי ומזיקי כולהון דאית בה
בעלמא בן דכר ובן נקבא (מרבר)[בי]הון ועד (4) דערדקיהון מעולימיהון ועד סביהון
בין דידענא שמה בין דלא ידענא שמה דלא ידענא שמה כבר פירישו (לי) משבעה יומי
(5) בראשית ודלא פירישו לי משבעת יומי בראשית בבר פרישו לי בגיטא דאתה לבא
*מן[1] עיבר ימא דכתבו ושדרו לה לרבי יהושוע בר (6) פרחיה כד הות ההיא ליליתא
ד(ח)נקא לבני אינשה ושדר עלה יהושוע בר פרחיה שמתא ולא קבילת מחמת דלא הוא

[1] **mn:** written **bn.**

rather Merd-dukh, from the Iranian word *mard/merd* "man".

mḥzydwk br brzdwk, like **nny br qymt'**, share the peculiarity that the name of a woman is followed by **br**, and not by **bt**. The same confusion of genders occurs in Geniza 3:6,10.

qbny: The reading is uncertain. The name obtained could be compared to the widely attested name **kpny, kpn'y**. Both our **qbny** and **kpn(')y** might be variant forms derived from a noun meaning "small, little", like the Aramaic name Zuṭra and similar names. Kabnay could be derived from Old Iranian *kamna-*, cf. Bartholomae 1904, col. 440. This old Iranian element has been used by Benveniste 1966, pp. 85 f. for explaining the Elamite forms Kamnakka, Kampiya, though the explanation has not been widely accepted (cf. Gershevitch 1969, p. 198, and Mayrhofer 1973, pp. 174 f.). A Middle Persian name which may belong here occurs on the Paris seal 3.31, where the reading is uncertain. Cf. Gignoux 1978, p. 30.

Bowl 5

Translation

(1) [By] your name I make this amulet that it may be a healing to this one, for the threshold (of the house... (2) and any possession which) he has. I bind the rocks of the earth, and tie down the mysteries of heaven, I suppress them... (3) I rope, tie and suppress all demons and harmful spirits, all those which are in the world, whether masculine or feminine, from their big ones to (4) their young ones, from their children to their old ones, whether I know his name or I do not know it. In case I do not know the name, it has already been explained to me at the time of the seven days of (5) creation. What has not been disclosed to me at the time of the seven days of creation was disclosed to me in the deed of divorce that came here from across the sea, which was written and sent to Rabbi Yehoshua' bar (6) Peraḥya. Just as there was a lilith who strangled human beings, and Rabbi Yehoshua' bar Peraḥya sent a ban against her, but she did not accept it because he did not know her name; and her

Bowl 5

דידע שמה וכחבו שמה (7) בגיטא וכריזו עלה ברקיעא בגיטא דאתא לכא מן עיבר
ימא אף אתון כיפיתון אסירייתון כבישתון כולכון תחות כיפי רגלה דהדין מרנקא בר
קלא בשום (8) גבריאל גבר תקיף דקטל כל גיברי כולהון (ד)נצחין בקרבא ובשום
יהו(אל) דסתם פום כל גי(ב)[רי כ]להון בשום יה יה יה צבאות אמן אמן סלה

This is one of a group of three bowls donated recently to the Israel Museum by members of the family of the late Mr. Alqanayan, a collector and businessman in Iran, executed by the revolutionary regime of Khomeini on the charge of supporting the State of Israel. Bowls 5–7 in the present publication are from the Alqanayan collection. Bowl No. 5 contains eight lines of inscription written spirally from the centre. The text is quite close to that of Montgomery 1913, Nos. 8 and 17, where the sage Yehoshuaʿ bar Peraḥya is also mentioned as having issued a letter of divorce to the demons.

1 For the reading of the opening formula compare for example Wohlstein 1894, p. 27 (No. 2426, line 1): **mšmk ʾny ʿwš ʾ hdyn ʾswtʾ nṭrtʾ *wqywmtʾ**,[2] "By your name I do this healing, protection and preservation". Wohlstein's formula may be compared in its turn to a Syriac incantation first published by Montgomery 1917/18, and again by Hamilton 1971, p. 99a: **mzmn hnʾ qmtyh** (for ***qywmth?**) **kbšʾ wʾswrʾ wḥtmtʾ wnṭrtʾ dbytʾ dyly** ... "Designated is this preservation (or 'oath'), spell and bond and sealing and protection of my house ..."

For our opening formula compare also Wohlstein 1893, p. 328 (No. 2422, line 1): **byšmk ʾny ʿwšh ʾswtʾ mn šmyh** l..., and Gordon 1941, p. 119 (2:1): **lyšmwk ʾny ʿwšh ʾswtʾ mn šmyʾ tyhwy** l..."By your name I do (this amulet). May there be healing from heaven for ...". In

[2] Wohlstein read this **whyy mtʾ**. Our emendation is conjectural without seeing the original. **qywmtʾ**, like **ʾswtʾ** and **nṭrtʾ**, may refer to the amulet or incantation itself. In that case we may translate it by 'oath', cf. Jastrow, p. 1356. For **qaiamta** "Festigung" in Mandaic cf. Lidzbarski 1920, p. XXIV.

name was written (7) in the deed of divorce and an announcement was made against her in heaven by a deed of divorce that came here from across the sea; so you too are roped, tied and suppressed, all of you under the feet of this Marnaqa son of Qala. In the name of (8) Gabriel, the mighty hero, who kills all heroes who are victorious in battle, and in the name of Yeho'el who shuts the mouth of all [heroes]. In the name of Yah, Yah, Yah, Sabaoth. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Montgomery 1913, p. 183 (14:1) we have the enlarged formula: **byšmk ʾny ʿwšh yhwh ʾylhʾ rbʾ hdyn ksʾ nyhwy lḥtmtʾ l...**"By your name, YHWH the great God, I do this bowl. May it may be for the sealing of..."[3]

The absolute form **ʾsw** is rare, though not unattested. Cf. Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 128 (5363:1–2): **dyn qmyʿ dyhwy lʾsw l...**; and p. 141 (5366:1–3): **lyšmk ʾny ʿwšh hdyn ktbh yhwy lʾsw lbyth dkwrkšyd[4] lh wlʾtth[5] wbnh...**"By your name I do this writing . May it be for healing to the house of Xwarxšēd, to him and to his wife and son...".

2 The phrase **kptynwn lkypy ʾrʿh** corresponds to an incantation text on a printed amulet (Warsaw 1867; Fig. 21 on p. 133), where we have עינא דכל עיינין בישין אתכפיין ואתטמרין מן קדמוהי גו כיפין. A similar text occurs in Hanauer 1907, pp. 318 ff. Cf. also in a Mandaean magic text **arbikuk uširiuk ʿl kipia ḏprat udiglat** (Drower 1937, p. 593, after line 190) "They have made you kneel and set you on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris". It is doubtful whether the phrase **kypy hqšt** (Odeberg 1928, Hebrew text, p. 36, ch. 22c:4, 6, 7) has anything to do with our text. The most likely interpretation for our **kypy** is that it is connected

[3] Isbell 1975, p. 39, is right in saying that there is no need to supplement **hdyn ksʾ** before the first word of the formula, as is done by Montgomery.

[4] This proper name should be read thus, viz. Xwarxšēd, meaning in Middle Persian "Sun" (cf. NPers. *xuršīd*), with the preservation of the cluster -xš- in the compound. The same name occurs also, unrecognized, in Gordon 1941, p. 342 (British Museum 91776): **ʾnʾ hw *kwrkšyd gwšns br dwstʾy...** The name was transliteated by the editor **kwrbšyd.**

[5] The last two words were not read correctly by Jeruzalmi and Isbell 1975, No. 70:3.

with the Aramaic word for "rock, stone". A play on the similarity of the sounds of the verb **KPT** and the noun **kypy** may have been intended. The difficulty of the translation is caused mainly by the fact that "the stones of the earth" does not give a very good parallel in sense to "the secrets of heaven ". In line 7 **kypy rglh** is apparently a different word.

4 **dʿrdqyhwn** has a parasitic *ʿayin*, which is of quite frequent occurrence in Babylonian Aramaic. Cf. e.g. **kʿkʾ** from Persian *kāk*, for which cf. Fraenkel 1886, p. 35. This phenomenon may well be the reverse counterpart of the frequent loss of *ʿayin* in Babylonian Aramaic, for which cf. Rossell 1953, p. 17; Epstein 1960, p. 18. The particular form of **dʿrdq** is however better explained as a contamination of two attested forms of the word, **drdq** and **dʿdq**, both connected with an original form **dqdq**, cf. Syriac *daqdqā*.

For the formula **byn...byn** cf. in Gordon 1941, p. 125: **bn dmyštdryn wbn dlʾ mštdryn.**

5 **mšbʿt ywmy brʾšyt:** A frequent Hebrew idiom, though usually the formula is **mššt ymy brʾšyt** "from the six days of creation ", e.g. Bavli Ketubbot 8b, and so it is in Montgomery 1913, p. 170 (11:9): **mn ywmy ʿlmʾ wmyššt** (!) **ymy brʾšyt.** The Mandaean parallel adduced by Montgomery, ibid. from Lidzbarski 1902, p. 104, has: **mršʿšat šit iumia brišit** "vom Uranfange an, seit den sechs Tagen des Uranfanges".

On the *geṭ* formula in incantation texts cf. Montgomery 1913, pp. 159, 179; Gordon 1934, p. 469; Levine 1970, pp. 348 f. The deed of divorce which comes "from across the sea" (**mʿbr ymʾ**, or **mn ʿybr ymʾ**) occurs in Montgomery 1913, Nos. 8 and 17, in both cases associated with Joshua b. Peraḥya.

For Joshua b. Peraḥya cf. Montgomery 1913, pp. 226 ff. Joshua b. Peraḥya occurs in fragments of the Jesus story published by Krauss 1911a (correcting Adler 1911), and further in the fragment recently published by Falk 1978; cf. also Boyarin 1978. A late Kabbala fragment also refers to the role of Joshua b. Peraḥya in the Jesus story; cf. Krauss 1911b.

6 **hhyʾ lylytʾ dḥnqʾ lbny ʾynšh:** Cf. the Mandaean text in Lidzbarski 1902, p. 102: **lilita...diatba bbaitḫ ubʿsqupta dbaitḫ ḏ...uma[hi]a ugaṭla ušaqpa uhanqa dardqia udardqata.** Parallels to this are conveniently given in Gordon 1934, p. 468. Amulet 15 and Bowl 12 provide further examples for the demon who kills children.

The feature which occurs in this incantation for the first time is that the ban imposed by Joshua b. Peraḥya was at first invalid because he did not know the name of that lilith, and only afterwards her name was written in the *geṭ*. In Montgomery 1913, Nos. 8, 11 and 17, the full parentage of the lilith is specified, as is legally appropriate.

mḥmt dlʾ hwʾ dydʿ šmh: In **dydʿ** the first letter seems to be superfluous. The phrase may alternatively be translated "because there was no one (read: **dlʾ hwʾ** ‹**mn**›) who knew her name".

7 **kypytwn** stands for **kpytytwn**, passive participle plural masculine of *peʿal* + the subject suffix of the second person plural masc: **kpytyn** + **ʾtwn. kbyštwn** is written for **kbyšytwn.**

8 **bšwm gbryʾl gbr tqyp dqṭl kl gybry kwlhwn:** This phrase is reminiscent of Montgomery 1913, p. 127 (3:2–3) **wytrḥq mynyh dywʾ byšʾ wstnʾ byšʾ dmytqry ṣpʿsq ʾbdh gbrʾ dqṭyl gbrʾ mylwt ʾyttyh wʾytt ʾ mylwt bʿlh**..."And may there depart from him the evil demon who is called **ṣpʿsq ʾbdh**, the hero who kills a man from the side of his wife and a wife from the side of her husband..." Montgomery reads *abbādā gabbārā* "the Mighty Destroyer", though the first word is nowhere attested in Aramaic. It seems possible that **ṣpʿsq ʾbdh**‹**g**› are two names which follow the same principle: in both cases we have a sequence of letters from the alphabet, the first one in a reversed order, and with *qof* coming at the end and out of order. In the second case the *gimel* seems to have been omitted (perhaps by haplography with the following **gbr**). Thus we may reconstruct the two names as badly written for **qṣpʿs ʾbgdh.** Cf. Gaster 1896, p. IX, line 25 **ʾbgdh**ʾ.

The play on the element *geber* in the name Gabriel occurs already in Daniel 8:15–16. The epithet *gĕbar taqqīf* (or *gibbār taqqīf*) may well be an etymological *midrash* on Gabriel, the two words rendering its two parts.

yhwʾl: The alternative reading of this name, **yḥyʾl**=Yeḥiʾel, proves upon inspection to give a non-existent name of an angel. Cf. Greenfield 1973, p. 156, n. 40 for a correction to Montgomery 1913, p. 207 (25:4). Cf. also Yo'el in Amulet 11:8 and in Shachar 1971, p. 289, No. 974 (a late amulet).

Bowl 6

Israel Museum, No. 80.1.2

Plate 22

(1) רזא רזא דנן לשתוקי ולסכורי פומה (2) דבל בני אינשה בישי ותקיפי דקימין לקובליה דבריך יהביה בר (3) ממא שלם ליכי מדינחא דעמיה סגי סגי דלא בדינא לכון ואנה רחימנא יתכון (4) וקרינא לכון גיבריה דארעה כמה דעינין לכון ולא חמתון אודנין לכון ולא שמעיתון כן תיתנו לי (5) אבן מנכון {כון} לשתקא מיני אנה בריך יהביה בר ממא {פ} פומה דכל בני אינשה דקימין לקובלי ופום (6) דדגושנסף בר אימה והון גברי ואינשי ודרדקי ודרדוקתא דקימן לקובלי אנה בריך יהביה בר ממא יהון (7) אילמין בפומיהון סמן בעיניהון חרישין באודניהון אבילין בליביהון מריעין ומבאשין חמשין שני יובלה שבע שני שמיטתא (8) תלתין יומי ירחא שבעה יומי שבתא שבתא כסא וריש ירחא בשום חדריאל ושכניאל וביר ואבן וכור משבענא יתכון משבענא (9) יתכון בישמיה ד־רבא ודחילא דתישתקון מן בריך יהביה בר ממא פומה דכל בני אינשה כתבי סיפרי יתבי אקרי יתבי שוקי קרנתא וביריאתה (10) ונפקי אורחתא ידבוק לישניהון בפומיהון ולא ימללון עלי מלל ביש בישמיה דאמר והוה אמן אמן סלה

For the provenance of this bowl see Bowl 5.

1 **lštwqy wlskwry** are regular Babylonian Aramaic infinitive *pa"el* forms. In line 5, however, we have **lštqʾ** in the same function.

2 For the name **bryk yhbyh br mmʾ** cf. the nearly identical name **bryk yhbyh br mʾmy** in Montgomery 1913, p. 209 (26:4). We have transcribed the first name as a composite: Bĕrik-Yehabyah. An alternative reading

Bowl 6

Translation

(1) Mystery. This mystery is for silencing and shutting the mouth (2) of all evil and violent people who stand against Bĕrik-Yehabya son of (3) Mama. Peace be on thee, a city whose population is very numerous, whom I have not created, and whom I love, (4) and whom I call the mighty of the earth. In the same way as you have eyes but do not see, as you have ears but do not hear, so shall you give me (5) a stone from you to silence from me, I, Bĕrik-Yehabya son of Mama, the mouth of all people who stand against me, as well as the mouth of (6) Dād-gušnasp son of his mother. And the men and women, boys and girls, who stand against me, I, Bĕrik-Yehabya son of Mama, may they be (7) mute in their mouths, blind in their eyes, deaf in their ears, mournful in their hearts, sick and corrupt, for the fifty years of the jubilee, for the seven years of the *šemiṭa*, for (8) the thirty days of the month, for the seven days of the week, on the Sabbath, the full moon, and the day of the new month.

In the name of Ḥadriel, *Šakniel*, the well, the stone, and the pit, I adjure you, I adjure (9) you, in the name of he who is great and frightful, that you may silence from Bĕrik-Yehabya son of Mama the mouth of all people who write books, who sit in forts(?), who sit in market places and in streets, (10) and who go out on the roads, so that their tongues should cleave to their mouths and that they should not speak evil words against me. In the name of He who commanded and it came into being. Amen, Amen, Selah.

may be to regard this name as analogous to the Syriac name Bĕrik-ṣebyānēh, who is attested as the father of Mar Abbā (cf. Chabot 1898, p. 313, note 1): "His will be blessed". In this case we may read Bĕrik-yĕhabēh and translate "His share/load be blessed".

Montgomery (op. cit.) conjectured that **yhbyh** is a way of writing the divine name **yhwh**, an appealing suggestion which lacks proof. It is true that there is a whole series of divine names such as **yhbyh** (Amulet

4:33; Stübe 1895, p. 22, line 15; Gaster 1896, p. IX line 16), **yhwbyhw** (Montgomery 1913, p. 146, No. 7:8), **yhwh byh** (Montgomery 1913, p. 178, 13:7), **byh byhy** (T–S K 23.3, line 5), **ʾl bʾl** (Amulet 11:9), but Montgomery himself makes the more acceptable suggestion that they reflect a phrase such as Yah-in-Yah. Our name could indeed be rendered "Blessed is Yah-in-Yah". It may be recalled that Psalms 68:5 gives God's name as **byh,** and this verse is quoted e.g. in the Geniza text T–S K 1.68, line 10; Montgomery 1913, p. 154 (8:12), if the reading in Isbell 1975, p. 44, is correct. The divine name **byh** is apparently also attested in Stübe 1895, p. 22 line 6: **mlʾkh dbyh.**

One may incidentally observe that Yah-b-yah is also associated with Bahaot, Abaho. which Scholem 1974, p. 421, has adduced in his attempt at explaining the gnostic name Ialdabaot as composed of Yaled-Abaot "Begetter of [S]abaoth"/"of Abaoth". We thus have **wbyšmyh dyhbyh bʾ(ḥʾwt) yhw yhw ʾlhy** (Stübe 1895, p. 22, lines 15 f.), paralleled by Montgomery 1913, p. 146 (7:8 f.): **bšwm yhw byhw wʾbhw rbh.** It is possible similarly to reconstruct in Gaster 1896, p. IX, line 16 **yh byh *byʾwṭ yh hwh,** by simply dividing the words differently. That this name was indeed the functional equivalent of Sabaot in Aramaic incantations can perhaps be shown by a quotation from a Geniza text: **ʾdwn byh byhy yh yw yhw bh ṣbʾ** ʾwt ... (T–S K 23.3, line 5). The conglomeration of names here also presents a sequence Yah-b-Yah(i)...**bh *ṣbʾwt.** Whatever the explanation which prevails for the first part of the compound Ialdabaot, Abaot or Baot can thus be shown to be attested in Semitic, and more explicitly in Jewish magical practice as well.

3 For the name Mammā "mother" cf. above, Commentary to Bowl 3, note 7.

The formula **šlm lyky mdyntʾ dʿmyh sgy sgy** is interesting and quite unusual. The idea is vaguely reminiscent of Jonah and the story of the gourd, where God says to Jonah (4:9): "Are you so angry over the gourd?" Jonah answers positively and God says: "You are sorry for the gourd, though you did not have the trouble of growing it.... And should not I be sorry for the great city of Nineveh, with its hundred and twenty thousand persons who cannot tell their right hand from their left, and cattle without number?" The statement that this is a city with many inhabitants and the further motif that the speaker did not create them are shared in both sources.

4 The term **gybryh d'r'h**, though reminiscent of Nimrod's epithet *gibbor bā-āreṣ* (Gen. 10:8), is quite curious. The epithet *gibbār(ā)* is sometimes used in the magic bowls for negative beings. We thus have **dyw' byš' wstn' byš' dmytqry ... gbr' dqtyl gbr' mylwt 'yttyh ...** (Montgomery 1913, p. 127, No. 3:2f.), and the rather ambiguous **dtmḥyn bṭwpry lybky wbmrnyth... dqtrys *gybr'...** (Gordon 1934c, p. 468, G:4), where the parallel texts describe this personage as having power over the demons (cf. the parallels printed by Gordon, loc. cit.). A series of "good" angels are described as **gbr' ml'kh** (Gordon 1934b, p. 331, where Gordon's texts E and F are printed in juxtaposition with the bowl published by Hyvernat).

In our text the status of the beings addressed as *gibbārayyā d-ar'ā* or with the pronominal suffix: *gibbārah d-ar'ā*, is also quite ambiguous, though their support is sought.

The phrase "you have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear" is reminiscent of Ps. 115:4–6.

6 **'ymh** is written with a different stylus, and was probably added later. If our translation "Dād-Gušnasp son of his mother" is correct, it may be surmised that the writer's first intention was to adhere to the formula of quoting the mother's name in an incantation; but since Dād-Gušnasp is an adversary who is being cursed, it was not possible to enquire his mother's name of him, and so the vague formula "his mother" was subsequently added. An alternative reading would be to regard **'ymh** as a proper name Imma; see above Commentary to Bowl 3:1 and note 7 there.

hwn is act. part. m. pl.; cf. Morag 1973, pp. 68–70.

6–7 **yhwwn 'ylmyn bpwmyhwn smn b'ynyhwn** etc.: Cf. **skyryn pwmhwn ... w'wryn 'ynyhwn wmtršn 'wdnyhwn** (Gordon 1941, p. 124, No. 6:1; also Isbell 1975, p. 102; earlier published in Schwab 1886, and in Schwab 1890, pp. 331 ff.).

7–8 The sequence of time designations has a number of parallels in the magic texts. Cf. Gaster 1896, p. XXVI, lines 15f.; Montgomery 1913, p. 141 (6:5–6).

ks' wryš yrḥ': The present context makes it clear, by the contrast of **ks'** with **ryš yrḥ'**, that the first term means "full moon", as it indeed does in the Bible and in Syriac. On the other hand, the Rabbinic explanation of the term, in connection with its use for the New Year, associates it with

the new moon; cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* IV, col. 216, s.v. *kese;* III, col. 35–41, s.v. *ḥodeš*. It may be remarked that *šabbĕta* could also be argued to belong to the same category as *kese* and *reš yarḥā* as its original Babylonian meaning was "the full moon" (cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* VII, col. 511, s.v. *šabbāt*). At this historical stage, and in the present context, this explanation would seem to be very far-fetched.

Ḥadriel seems to be attested once in the bowls, in Stübe 1895, p. 22, line 6. The name is also mentioned in *Sefer ha-razim,* p. 81 (2:12). For further references cf. Schwab 1897, p. 109; Margaliot 1945, pp. 50 f.

Šakniel is not hitherto attested in the bowls. His name occurs in *Sefer ha-razim,* p. 75 (1:152), and in Kabbalistic literature (cf. Margaliot 1945, p. 194).

wbyr w'bn wbwr: This sequence of words, with evident magic meaning, is not clear. The second word could possibly be read **w'kn,** perhaps for Jewish Aramaic **'kn, ḥk(y)n'** "snake". If this is correct, the phrase could have something to do with the famous theme of the *ḥuldā*

Bowl 7

Israel Museum, No. 80.1.3

Plate 23

(1) מזמנא הדא מילתא על שמיה <ד>מארוי בר (2) באתאי דמיתקרי אבאבאי בר {ר}
אבדימי וכל שמן (3) דאית ליה קרי קרי בעלמא קריא בישא ואכליא קרי ליה דקיריית
(4) אישתא בכיריתא ואישתא מן מרירת קברין ומן אמיתא נפקת (5) שחוטין ושגרין
עימו שיר חצוצר פעל בן לא איתכי אובלתיכי ושלחתיכי ושדרתיכי (6) ושגרתיכי
<על> מארוי בר באתאי על כל בלתי לא שמיה ולא תידחלי מצוח פולי עלוהי (7)
כמיפל חיסיא מן טורא כמיפל חיסיא מן טור טורא ויכמבסק גובתא מן דיחלא

and the *bōr*, the two objects certain people believe in (cf. Bavli Taʿanit 8a). The elaboration on this theme, according to which they are to constitute two mute witnesses to a betrothal, is set forth in commentaries on the text. Cf. *Oṣar ha-Geʾonim*, Taʿanit, Perušim, p. 57 (reference kindly supplied by Prof. M.D. Herr).

9 **rbʾ wdḥylʾ**: Cf. Commentary to Amulet 1:8.

dtyštqwn: The verb, to be vocalized *d-tĕšattĕqūn*, is evidently in the *paʿʿel* form.

ʾqry is taken here to be the plural of **ʾqrʾ** "fortress", with the omission of the preposition **b-**. Otherwise it could be connected to **qryt'** "town, village".

ytby šwqy qrntʾ is reminiscent of the expression *yošḇē qrānōt;* in our bowl we may have two separate expressions: **ytby šwqy** and **ytby qrntʾ**, which have merged. Cf also Harviainen 1981, p. 5, line 7: **lyḥš dqrntʾ**.

10 **ydbwq** Cf. Ps. 137:6 תדבק לשוני לחכי

Bowl 7

Translation

(1) Appointed is this incantation against (?) the name [of] Maroy son of (2) Batay, who is called Ababay son of Abdimi and all (other) names (3) that he possesses. There has happened, has happened, in the world an evil accident and a perdition(?). There has happened to him that the fire (4) has happened in the ditch and the fire came out of the bitterness of tombs and from the darkness.

(5) **šḥwṭyn wšgryn ʿymw šyr ḥṣwṣr pʿl bn lʾ**

I have brought you, I have led you and I have sent you and I have dispatched you (6) and I have conveyed you [against] Maroy son of Batay [and] against every unnamed Belti.

Do not be afraid to shout. Fall upon him (7) as rocks fall from the mountain, as rocks fall from a high mountain, and as the hill rises from that which is sand (?), and as the sun shines (down) unto (8) the earth.

Bowl 7

ויכמדנח שימשא עד (8) {אר} ארעה פולי עלוהי איכולי מן בישריה ואישתאי מן דמיה
דחלי ומררי בשום דיליד ומידחלא עיש אליון (9) כד עבד אישתא וינרג לא שמיה אמן
אמן עלחר

For the provenance of this bowl see Bowl 5.

1 **ʿl šmyh** has been translated as "against the name of", taking Maroy bar Batay to be the adversary. This assumption entails the hypothesis that **ʿl** was inadvertently omitted by the scribe before the name Maroy in line 6, but this is quite uncertain, as are many other points in this rather obscure text. It must be emphasized that we regard certain portions in the translation of this text as mere guesswork. A case could also be made for taking Maroy bar Batay as the client, for whose protection the bowl was wrtiten.

2 Abdimi is known as the name of several Palestinian Amoraim. The *resh* which is written before the name is pure dittography for the final letter of *bar*. The abbreviation *resh* for *rabbi* is never attested in this period.

šmn is a short form for the regular **šmhn**, the absolute plural form.

3 The translation "perdition" for **ʾkly** assumes that it is related to Hebrew *kĕlāyā*. The phrase **qry qry** etc. contains several ambiguities, which may have possibly been intended as puns. An alternative translation could be: "There has been called, called, in the world an evil call and cry". **ʾkly** may be associated with **ʾklywt**, which in the Targum of Psalms 104:7 renders *raʿam*, and in the Targum of Job 4:10 stands for *šaʾăgā*. Cf. Tal 1975, p. 91, s.v. **ʾkly**.

qyryt is probably the orthography for *qeryat*. Cf. Epstein 1960, p. 95 and note 254, where the Mandaean form **myṭyʾt** is quoted.

4 **kyryt** could mean, following the meanings of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic **kyrh** or **kryʾ**, either "digging, ditch"; "heap, pile"; or "circle, banquet". The most likely translation may, however, be "a stove", which is only attested in Hebrew.

ʾmyt seems to stand for **ʾmyṭṭ** or **ʿmyṭṭ**; cf. Syriac ʿMṬ. The image of fire coming out of darkness is quite unusual.

Fall upon him, eat from his flesh, drink from his blood, frighten and afflict.

In the name of he who gives birth and frightens, **ʿyš ʾlywn,** (9) while he makes fire, and the unnamed Nereg. Amen, Amen. Immediately.

5 **šḥwṭyn wšgryn** etc. constitutes a strange sequence of words, which we are unable to translate. The first two could be from the verbs **ŠḤṬ** "to stretch; corrupt (as in Syriac); slay an animal", and **ŠGR** "to flow; run; heat, kindle; send".

ʾytky is evidently for **ʾytytyky.** The accusative in this and the following verbs refers to a feminine object, apparently the fire.

6 "The unnamed Belti" is an unusual appellation, but it corresponds in this text to "the unnamed Nereg" in line 9. In both cases, although the combination **lʾ šmyh** is not usual for this kind of expression, there seems to exist hardly a different alternative for translation. On Belti one may refer to Lidzbarski 1916, p. 1217; Février 1931, pp. 64 f.; Du Mesnil du Buisson 1962, pp. 359 f., where (p. 360) it is stated that Belti is not a genuine name: "Le 'vrai nom' de la *Bēltī* à Palmyre est Atargatis ou Astarté". Since Belti is not the "real name", it is possible to understand how an "unnamed Belti" could be alluded to. In a Jewish context of magic we have Belti Adonay in Gaster 1896, p. VIII, line 20.

wlʾ tydḥly mṣwḥ: The last word is the absolute infinitive of *peʿal.*

7 **kmypl ḥysyʾ mn ṭwrʾ:** A parallel expression in Gaster 1896, p. XVIII, lines 27 f., clarifies the phrase. It says: **wʾm npl ʿlk ḥysyʾ ʾw mplh wʾt tḥwtyh.** Gaster's translation (op. cit., p. 188), "If any burden or weight falls upon thee", is inaccurate. The term *mappālā* is certainly to be connected with Hebrew *mappolet* "falling in, debris" (cf. Jastrow, p. 820). **ḥysyʾ,** as can be seen from the bowl text published here, must mean stones or rocks. Gaster's text might be translated: "If rocks or debris fall on you and you are buried underneath".

ṭwr ṭwrʾ is an expression which imitates *hor hahār* in Hebrew.

wykmbsq may be an error for **mnsq,** or **mysq,** the infinitive of **SLQ.**

For **gwbtʾ** cf. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic **gwbbtʾ, gwpptʾ** etc. The word **gwbtʾ** could also possibly mean "pit", like **gwbʾ,** but its connection in the sentence would then be obscure.

mn dyḥlʾ: On the face of it, one would be tempted to translate here "out of fear", but this would make little sense in the context. We have read **dyḥlʾ** as containing the relative **d-+ḥlʾ** ("sand"). By a slight emendation one may suggest reading **by ḥl(t)ʾ** as in B. Shabbat 110a. The phrase would then mean "as the dunes arise from among the sand(s)".

wykmdnḥ šymšʾ ʿdʾrʿh: One would have expected **ʿl** instead of **ʿd**.

8 "Eat from his flesh" etc.: The idea is not uncommon in incantation

Bowl 8

Israel Museum, No. 69.20.265

Plate 24

I	1	(אס)[רין]	III	1	אסריא
	2	שי[דין]		2	עינא
	3	(ו)חחמ[י]ן		3	בישתא
	4	דיוין אסרין		4	מן ביתה
	5	פתכריה חת(מן)		5	דכודאי {ד}בר
	6	לילחה בישתא		6	פאלי מן [בי]תה
	7	דכר ונוקבה אסרא		7	ומן בנ[..]ה (ו)מן
II	1	אסריא	IV	1	אדור
	2	עינא		2	אדורדו
	3	בישתא מן		3	ומן אדורדו(ך)
	4	ביתה דכודאי		4	ומן בניה מן
	5	בר פאלי מן		5	יומא [ד]נן ועד
	6	יומא ד[נן ול]עלם		6	לעלם אמן אמן
	7	אס[ריא עינ]א		7	סלה

texts, cf. Naveh 1975, pp. 48 (lines 18–22), 51.

ylyd is apparently active participle of *pe'al* and **wmydḥl'** is presumably active participle *pa''el*.

'yš 'lywn looks like a corrupted spelling of Hebrew *'īš 'elyōn*.

9 **'ltr** presents a form closer to *'al-atar* than the usual Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *l-altar*. Compare Geniza 2, p. 2:13, **bpry'**, which also occurs at the end of a magic text, after "Amen, Amen".

Bowl 8

Translation

I
Bound are the demons, sealed are the dēvs, bound are the idol-spirits, sealed are the evil liliths, male and female, bound

II
bound is the evil eye away from the house of Khwadāy son of Pālī from this day to eternity. Bound is the evil eye

III
Bound is the evil eye from the house of Khwadāy son of Pālī, from his house and from his..., (and) from

IV
...and from Ādur-dukh and from her sons from this day to eternity. Amen, Amen, Selah.

This bowl was first published by Narqis 1935, with some notes added by the editor of *Tarbiz* at the time, J.N. Epstein. It is here published again so as to complete the collection of magic bowls in Jerusalem, and because the first publication, done in Hebrew, is not easily available to all interested scholars. The present reading contains a number of improvements on the *editio princeps.* It is noteworthy that this text, together with several others (e.g. those published in Stübe 1895), are not included in Isbell 1975, which purports to be "a collection of all the published Aramaic bowls" (p. ix).

The present bowl is remarkable for its arrangement. Instead of circular lines running spirally from the inside or from the rim, as is the usual practice of the magic bowls , this one is divided into four quarters or sections by two lines which go through the centre and form a cross. The incantation goes from top to bottom in each quarter, and from right to left, quarter by quarter. Each quarter contains seven lines. The bottom of each quarter, except the last one, contains the beginning of the next. This principle was partly recognized by Narqis, but he did not

Bowl 9

Formerly in the possession of V. Barakat, Jerusalem

Plate 25

Within the central circle:

(1) אחיד פכר צמר ואקים ג(ב)יה וסריח וכוכבי ומזלי

Outside the circle:

(2) וכל (קיה) ורירה דיהודה בר נני דנ(י)בש לישנה בפומיה ויתמסי רוקיה (3) בגרגרתיה ויבשון שקיה וגופריתא ואישתא תידלק ביה וילקו גופיה ב(כו)י(א) ויסח(כר) ויתנכיר (4) ויתעכר לעיני כל חזוהי וישתמח ויתבר וי(בד) וישתצי וימגר וימות ותיתי עליה שלהוביתא מן שמיא (5) וזיעא יחוד יתיה ותברא ידבקיה ומזופיתא

notice that it applies also to the connection between III and IV. At the beginning of IV two failed attempts were made to write the continuation of the inscription, and only line 3 contains the proper text.

II,1 ʾsryʾ: This spelling for ʾsyrʾ is repeated in III,1.

II,4 The Persian name Khwadāy "Lord" is quite well attested. Cf. Gignoux 1979, p. 59.

II,5 Pālī is not so far attested to our knowledge in this form, but it could be assumed to belong to the Iranian name Pahray (cf. Gignoux 1979, p. 65); or perhaps to Pālīz "Paradise" (cf. Justi 1895, p. 240, s.v. Pālīzbān).

IV, 3 As noted above, this line continues line III,7, while the lines IV,1–2 may be disregarded as containing unsuccessful attempts. The final letter is almost without doubt *kaf*. The name Ādurdukh, which is quite well attested, is explained by Gignoux 1979, p. 76, as "Daughter of Ādur".

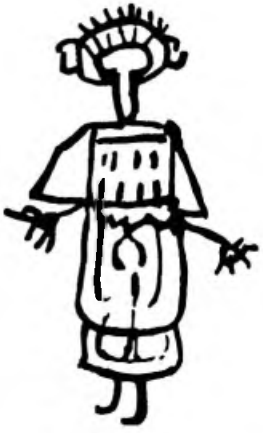
Bowl 9

Translation

(1)...and stars and planets

(2) and all the vomit(?) and spittle of Judah son of Nanay, that his tongue may dry up in his mouth, that his spittle may dissolve (3) in his throat, that his legs may dry, that sulphur and fire may burn in him, that his body may be struck by scalding(?), that he may be choked, become estranged, (4) become disturbed to the eyes of all those who see him, and that he may be banned, broken, lost, finished, vanquished, and that he

תידלוק בי(א) ויחקים עליה קראה דכתיב יפלו ולא י(ק)ומו ו(אל) תהה תקומא (6) למפלתא ולא תהא אסותה למחתם תיחשכנא עיניהם מיראות ומותניהם תמיד המעט תה טירתם לשמה ואו(הליה)ם אל יהי יושיב ויחקים (7) עליה קראה דכתיב וחרה אפי והרגתי איתכם כחרב והיו נשיכם אלמנות ו[בני]כם יתומים ותקים עליה על יהודה בר נני יככה ייי כשחפת ובקדחת (8) ובדלקת ובחרחור ובחרב ובשידפון ובי[רקון] ורדפוך [עד אוב]דך יככה ייי [בשחין ר]ע על הברכים ועל השוקים אשר לא {יו} יוכל להירפי מיכ(ף ר)גלך ועד (9) קודקודך [יכ]כה ייי בשיגעון וכעיורון וב[חמהון לבב ו]אכלתם כ[שר בני]כם וב[שר בנ]ותיכם תוכילו כלועיה דיהודה כר נני לא יבלע [וג]רגרתיה [ל]א תכול אסברא (10) יפול ליה על חינבוהי ואכפיא יפול ליה [על פומיה ועל לישניה ...] ויתן[קים על]יה קראה דכתיב ויראו גוים ויבושו מיכל גבו[רתם יש]ימו י[ד על (11) פ]ה ואוזניהם תחרשנה ילחכו [עפר] כנחש כזוח(לי) ארץ [ירגזו] מימסגרותיהם (ו)לא י[אבה] ייי (סלוח לו) כי אז יעישן אף ייי *וקנאתו באיש ההוא ו[רבצה בו כל האלה הכתובה] (12) כסיפר הז[ה ומחה] ייי את שמו מיתחת השמים כין יתמיח שמיה דיהודה בר נני ויתעק[ר דוכרניה] מן עלמה כמא דאיתמחי שמיה ד[עמלק (?) ...] (13) יתכבשו (ה)דמאיהוא ועב(י)ד ביה (ויתא) דינא אתו(ה) ו)פורענותא בעגלה בשיחנה בשיחלה בג(רב)א בקלמתא בשחרתא ובירויתא ובכלמתא [...] (14) [...]יא ליסטא וסט(נ)ה ובשום שש(ערב) מלאכה ובשום מות וירוד ואנהיד ואיסטר טורא ושתיוי (ור)וחא דשריא בית קברי (כו)להון יסמכו עלוהי על יהו[דה בר נני ...]



may die, and that a flame may come upon him from heaven, (5) and shiver seize him, and a fracture catch him, and a rebuke burn in him. May the following verse apply to him: they shall fall and not arise, and there will be no power for them to stand up (6) after their defeat, and there will be no healing to their affliction. "Their eyes will darken, so that they see not, and their loins will be made by you continually to shake" (Ps. 69:24). "Let their habitation be desolate, and let none dwell in their tents" (Ps. 69:26). May the following verse (7) apply to him: "And my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword, and your wives shall be widows and your children fatherless" (Ex. 22:23). And the following may apply to Judah son of Nanay: "The Lord shall smite you with a consumption and with a fever (8) and with an inflammation and with an extreme burning and with the sword and with blasting and with [mildew] and they shall pursue you [until you per]ish" (Deut. 28:22). "The Lord shall smite you in the knees and in the legs with a fes[tering eruption] that cannot be healed from the sole of your foot on to (9) the top of your head" (Deut. 28:35). "The Lord shall smite you with madness and blindness and astonishment of heart" (Deut. 28:28). "And you shall eat the fl[esh of your s]ons and the fl[esh of your d]aughters" (Lev. 26:29). The throat of Judah son of Nanay shall not swallow and his gullet shall not eat, choking (10) shall fall on his palate, and paralysis shall fall on [his mouth and tongue...]. The following verse will apply to him: "The nations shall see and be confounded at all their might. They shall lay their h[and on (11) their mou]th, their ears shall be deaf, they shall lick [the dust] like a serpent, [they shall move] out of their holes like worms of the earth" (Micah 7:16–17). "The Lord will not spare him but then the anger of the Lord and his jealousy shall smoke against that man and [all the curses that are written in this] book [shall lie upon him] (12) and the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven" (Deut. 29:19). So shall the name of Judah son of Nanay be blotted out and [his memory] shall be uprooted from the world, just as was blotted out the name of [Amalek(?)]...(13) may his members be pressed down and may there be done to him (?), judgement will come, omen and misfortune swiftly, with an inflammation, a purulence, an itch, a vermin, a blackening, a shiver, a vermin...(14)...a pirate and a satan. And in the name of šš'rb the angel, and in the name of Mot and Yarod and Anahid and Istar Tura and ... and the spirit which resides in the cemetery, all should lean on Jud[ah son of Nanay...]

This bowl is remarkable for the fact that it contains a text which is totally dedicated to cursing a specifically named individual. In this it would join Bowl 7, if our interpretation of that ambiguous text is correct. It is also unusually rich in biblical allusions and direct quotations, and in various terms for diseases and ailments. In the centre is the drawing of a full human figure, surrounded by a circle within which is a short inscription, which for the most part is unintelligible, though it can be quite easily transcribed.

This bowl, like Bowl 1, was at the time of writing in the possession of Victor Barakat. Mr. Barakat could only say of this bowl that it came from a private collection, and that the unnamed collector had told him that it derived from the Bethany area, in the vicinity of Jerusalem. We regard this attribution with scepticism, as the bowl strikes us as belonging basically with the other Mesopotamian bowls.

1 The first words seem to be a corruption of **ʾsyr pkyr ṣmyd**; cf. e.g. the sequence in Harviainen 1981, p. 5:4 **gzyryn ḫrymyn wmšmtyn ʾsyryn pkyryn wṣmydyn.**

2 **qyh:** If the reading is correct, this would be the first attestation of the noun for "vomit" in any form of Aramaic. It is of course well attested in Hebrew and Arabic.

dnybš is in the third person imperfect masculine *peʿal.* Inconsistency as to gender is very common in these texts.

The series of curses here can be compared to Geniza T-S AS 142.214, lines 18f.: ...וחהי נא עורון בעיניהם וסתום וחתום פיהם קצץ רגליהם...

3–4 **wystkr wytnkyr wytʿkr:** A rhyming sequence of verbs.

5 **qrʾh dktyb:** The following is an inacccurate reference to Jer. 8:4 and Amos 8:14.

wʾl thh tqwmʾ: A paraphrase of Lev. 26:37.

6 **lmḥtm** (like **ʾswtʾ**) is an Aramaic word used in the Hebrew phrase with a Hebrew suffix. The writer may have identified the Aramaic word **mḥtʾ** with the Hebrew *mákkā*, as in Jer. 30:17 וממכותיך ארפאך. The same connection of **mḥtʾ** with **ʾswtʾ** occurs in Montgomery 1913, No. 16:6, **mḥtʾ tḥwt ʾswtʾ.**

hmʿṭ is an error for *hamʿad.*

9 **blwʿyh,** which parallels **grgrtyh,** evidently means "his throat",

though **blwʿ** is so far unattested in this sense in Aramaic. It seems hardly likely that we have here **b+lwʿ** "jaw".

ʾskr also occurs as a name for a demon in late Jewish sources; cf. R. Margaliot 1945, p. 208. As a term for a situation of distress, together with **nkph**, the equivalent of our **ʾkpy**, we have it in a late Jewish amulet published by Casanowicz 1917, p. 53: ומכל מראים (!) בישין ומנכפה ... ומאסכרה.... Similarly Nash 1906: ממחה משונה ומחולה הנפל בר מינן ... ומחלה הנכפה ... Cf. also Gaster 1896, p. XII, line 35 **lʾskrtʾ** (written **lʾsbrtʾ**); Shachar 1971, p. 286, No. 966.

For **ʾkpy** cf. the Commentary on **ʾskr**.

11 ***wqnʾtw** written in the bowl **zqnʾtw.**

12 **ytmyḥ** error for **ytmḥy.**

13 **hdmʾyhwʾ** is seemingly written in the bowl **qdmʾyhwʾ.**

bʿglh: The sequence would have favoured here a word designating some disease or misfortune.

bšyḥnh: Cf. Gaster 1896, p. XIII, line 16 **lšyḥnh**; Gollancz 1912, p. 3, § 5 **ʾsyryn šḥnʾ wmwtnʾ wqws...**

For **šyḥlh** cf. Gen. Apocryphon **rwḥ šḥlny** and the commentary by Fitzmyer 1971, p. 136.

qlmtʾ: This is the word used by Onqelos to translate Hebrew *kinnim* in Ex. 8:12.

šḥrtʾ: In the same amulet, quoted above (Casanowicz 1917, p. 53), we also have ... ומחולי שחורה ...

rwytʾ: This may be a syncopated form of **ʿrwytʾ**; cf. Commentary to Amulet 2:2.

klmth: This seems to be a mere orthographic variant of **qlmtʾ.**

14 **wbšwm šš(ʿrb) mlʾkh:** One is reminded of various names made up with **šš...** as the first element. Cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 223 (31:17), where one should correct to read as follows: **mrmrʾwt ššqpwt ʾstr mwth.** Cf. also Amulet 7:9–10 **ššqwpwt...swsgwn brprwngs ʾstr...**

wrwḥʾ dšryʾ byt qbry: Cf. *Sefer ha-razim*, p. 76 (I:178): רוח קריפורייא החונה בין הקברות. **byt** could possibly mean "among", as in Syriac.

Bowl 10

Syriac
Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, No. 243
Plate 26

(3) [ ] שיד]א ודיו]א [(4)] חלמ]א דליליא וחיזונא דעממא מן
חפן[(5) בעי]ריה וביתיה דברימא ב(ר עזדנדוך) בשום צבאותי
חיא וקימא בשו[ם ... ב]שום יה יהו בשום הא היהן הא [ ]ן דחיתון (6) ותיבדון
ל(י)ה אסיותא לפגריה דברע(מ)[א בר עזדנד](וך) {ולבנה} ולבניה ולב[נתיה] דעית ליה
[ודניון ליה] (ו)ניתנטר (7) חדא ברשפתא בר אחתבו וניתנטר חדא נט[רוי ...] בר
רביתא וחדא מטריא בר קימתא לביתיה ול(נשא ביתיה) לקינינה ולבעריה (8) ולפגריה
דיליה דברימא בר (ע)[זדנדוך ...] בשום מריא רבא וק[די]שא פרחו ופוקו אנתון
חרשא דמכעדא דד(ו)א ולוטתא ואשלמתא (9) חדתתא וחתימתא ואזילו וסמו
[ ] משדר חבוקא [ ]תון כד נפקיתון בת דמו כציפרא דפרחן ונפקן ומשנין
(10) מן (א)תר ל(א)תר הכנא תישנון ותיפקון מן פגריה ד[ברימא בר עזדנדוך...]בניה
ובנתיה דעית ליה ודניון ליה וניתנטר ברשפתא בר אחתבו (11) וחדא רביתא בת חוא
[ ] וניתנטרון (פ)נהקדוך נטרוי וגוש(נ)[סף]ונימישא ו(א)יך שעיתא
דפשרא בנורא קדחו ערוסו ארוקו (12) ועתבטילו ועתקטלו ועתכלו וא(זי)לו ואזילו
מן פגריה דברע(מ)[א בר עזדנדוך ... על ...] ועל משדרניה מן ממלל פומיה ומן עובדא
עדיה בשמיה דקדחיאיל (13) ומפקיאיל וכבשיא[יל] ופרחיאיל א(סיותא) [ ] לא
ולא לכבישוה וניתנטר חדא ברשב.יא בר (אח)תבו וחדין רביתא [ ]

Bowls 10 and 11 are at the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade. Dr. L.Y. Rahmani of the Israel Department of Antiquities received photographs of the two bowls from Dr. Vidosava-Neda Nedomački, curator of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, and referred them to us for study. The information supplied by Dr. Nedomački was that

Bowl 10

Translation

(3)...demons and dēws...(4)...dreams of night and visions of day from...(5)...the cattle and the house of Bar-Immā son of Izdān-dukh. In the name of **ṣbʾwty ṣbʾwty** the living and the existent, in the name... In the name of **yh yhw**, in the name of **hʾ hyhn hʾ**...that you may come (6) and make healing for the body of Bar-Immā [son of Izdān-dukh] and his sons and d[aughters], which he has and which [he will have]. May (7) this Bar-Shapta son of Aḥat-Abū be protected, may that Naṭ[roy...] be protected; ... son of Rĕbītā, and this Maṭriya son of Qayyamtā, to his house and the members of his house, to his property and to his cattle (8) and to the body of Bar-Immā son of [Izdān-dukh]. In the name of the great and holy Lord, flee away, go out, you sorcerers of witchcraft, (who are) dēws and new and sealed (9) curses and spells. Go and put(?) ... sends ... As you go out in the form of birds who fly and go out and move (10) from one place to another, so will you move and go out of the body of [Bar-Immā son of Izdān-dukh, and of] his sons and daughters, which he has and which he will have. May Bar-Shapta son of Aḥat-Abū be protected; (11) and this Rĕbītā daughter of Ḥawwa... May Panāhakdukh, Naṭroy and Gushn[asp] be protected... and like wax which melts in the fire — run away!... flee away! (12) be annulled! be killed! be terminated! go away! go away from the body of Bar-Immā [son of Izdān-dukh!...against...] and against him who sent him, from that which he speaks by his mouth, and from the works that he does by hand. In the name of Qadḥiel, (13) Mappeqiel, Kabshiel, Parḥiel. [May there be] remedy ...that she may not be pressed down. And may this Bar-Shabta son of Aḥat-Abū be protected, and this Rĕbītā...

the two bowls were found in 1912 by a Jugoslav engineer, Janko Milošević, who was working on the building of a railway at a place specified as being 700 metres north of Kadhimain, which lies 6 km. north of Baghdad. The finder, who supplied this information, took the bowls with him to Belgrade. We should like to thank both the Jewish

Historical Museum in Belgrade and Dr. Rahmani for their cooperation.

Bowl 10 is broken, and what survives of it consists of two large fragments joined together in Belgrade. The writing of the lines in the centre, where the inscription begins, is largely effaced. For the reading we used an enlarged photograph of the joined fragments of the bowl (Plate 26), as well as small photographs of each fragment separately, obviously taken before the joining of the two fragments was made.

The language of Bowl 10 is Syriac written in the Estrangelo script (with some cursive modifications), in contrast to Bowl 1, which is written in the Proto-Manichaean script (cf. Commentary to Bowl 1).

4 **ḥlm' dlyly' whyzwn' d'mm'**: The same phrase is found elsewhere, cf. in Mandaic, Montgomery 1913, p. 248 (39:10); Epstein 1922, p. 60.

5 Bar-Immā bar Izdāndukh: The Aramaic name of the client is not yet attested in magic bowls. The mother's name, which is Iranian, occurs on Jewish Aramaic bowls with the spelling **'yzdndwk**; cf. Montgomery 1913, pp. 145 (No. 7), 212 (No. 27). The name is attested also in Syriac literature, cf. Justi 1895, p. 146. Justi's explanation "(von den) Ized (geschenktes) Mädchen" should probably be revised. The great number of names with *-dukh* seems to suggest that this is a mere suffix denoting "daughter of". The name Yazdān indeed exists as a masculine proper name; references are given by Justi, ibid.

ṣb'wty: It is not entirely certain whether the final sign in this word, which is repeated twice, is indeed a *yod*, as read here, or merely a final embellishment belonging to the *taw*. For **ḥy' wqym'** cf. Amulet 9:5.

6 **wtybdwn**: Quite curiously, the radical *'ayin* is here spelled by a *yod*. The vacillation between *yod*, *'ayin* and *alef* is evident in the forms **brym'/br'm'**, **'zdndwk**, **d'yt lyh**, **'rwqw**, **'tbṭylw**, **'dyh** etc. (cf. in Mandaic, Yamauchi 1967, pp. 75 f.).

wlbnh wlbnyh: The first word was apparently written by mistake and corrected by writing the word again. In **bnyh** for **bnwhy** our bowl follows the form known from the Jewish Babylonian bowls; cf. Introduction, p. 32.

7 **ḥd'**: The text uses the demonstrative pronoun *hādā*, which is properly feminine, indiscriminately, and with the curious spelling with initial *het*. One might think of the numeral *ḥdā* (which is feminine), used irregularly for masculine persons, but the occurrence of **ḥdyn rbyt'** in line 13 decides the issue. *Hādēn* is certainly the masculine demonstrative

pronoun, and it is again remarkable that it is used in line 13 for what is a feminine name; cf. **rbyt' bt ḥw'** in line 11.

bršpt' alternates (line 13) with the spelling **bršbt'**. As a name it belongs to the category of names referring to a day of the week, presumably the infant's birthday.

mṭry' is a name of unclear origin. One thinks of the name of a *dihqān* in Ispahan in the early Islamic period, **mṭy'r**, cf. Ṭabāri, IV, p. 295.

8 **prḥw wpwqw**: Further down, in lines 11–12, a longer list of similar imperatives of verbs signifying going away and being annulled is given. A similar list of imperatives occurs in the Iraq Museum bowl 44107, cf. Teixidor 1962, p. 55; Hamilton 1971, p. 117: **zḥw 'trw w'tkrzw prḥw *wpwqw** (read thus!).

mb'd': The metathesis of **m'bd'** is attested elsewhere too. Cf. our Syriac Bowl 1:11.

9 It seems that **ḥdtt' wḥtymt'** are attributes of **lwṭt' w'šlmt'**.

smw may perhaps be the imperative *pa"el* of SM' "to blind".

ḥbwq' is not clear.

bt dmw k- is the expression used for "like", "in the form of", corresponding to the regular Syriac **bdmwt**. Compare the Biblical Hebrew **dmwt k-** in Ez. 1:26 etc. Cf. Geller 1980, p. 51, line 4 **wmydmn lhwn bydmw dmw** (thus to be read!) "and they appeared to them in various forms".

dprḥn wnpqn wmšnyn: Cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 238 (36:2) **pwq pwq wšny mn qdm**...(Montgomery read **qdmy**, but only **qdm** is visible in his drawing).

10 **d'yt lyh wdnywn lyh**: Compare [**wkl d'y**]**t lh wdhwyn lh**, Montgomery 1913, p. 242 (37:3). See also Bowl 12:IX

11 **pnhqdwk** is an Iranian name not yet attested. The main part of the name, Panāhak, is obviously derived from *panāh* "protection". Naṭroy seems to be a Semitic proper name (it looks like the Semitic equivalent of Panāhak). The third name could be completed as Gušnay or Gušnasp.

'yk š'yt' dpšr' bnwr': Cf. Peshitta to Ps. 88:2 **'yk dmtpšr' š'wt' mn qdm nwr'** and similarly Ps. 97:5.

qdḥw: Montgomery 1913, p. 194 argued in favour of reading this fairly common magic verb as **qrḥ** in order to connect it to the formula in Bavli Pesaḥim 110a **qrḥ qrḥyyky**. Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 74, taking up this

idea, translated **wqrḥw wʿyryqw** by "soyez chauves (perdez votre efficacité en tant que magiciens) et éloignez-vous". Isbell 1975, No. 19:7; 20:9; 22:7 read the verb **QDḤ**, though in the glossary, p. 180, Isbell quotes inexplicably **QRḤ** for text 20:9. Our text, which has a clear distinction between *daleth* and *resh*, settles the ambiguity in a decisive manner in favour of the root **QDḤ**. Even without this evidence it would be fairly clear that a verb with the meaning "to flee" and not "be bald" is required. Mandaic has **uqda upuq uʿruq** (Yamauchi 1967, p. 230, line 12) in the same context. See already Epstein 1921, pp. 41 f., who establishes the basic meaning of the word " to pierce, rise". For the other meaning of **QDḤ** "to wail, moan" see Bowl 13:20.

Bowl 11

Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, No. 242/1

Plate 27

(1) [ ] ולשלהפתא ולש(ח)מתא ולן [ ] לאיסקופתיה דכוסרו
לבר[אידא בר] איזדנדוך [(2)](כ)יר ולבראידא בר איזדנדוך
ולאין]כחבו ש(מן) [(3)] מן צערי ומן מרעי ומן (כורהניא)
ביש(יא ומן) חסמתא ומן מהרין תקיפין ומן ממלא (ב)ישא [ ] ומן כל
פידג(מי) דכסיי סניי (4) (ד)דחילי ומן [ ]א (ח)ברי ותקיפי ומן לוטתא ומן
אשלמתא ומן אריסותא ומן [ ] ומן פן [ ] (ד)ליטי סניי ומן כל (5)
מידיעם דביש אמן אמן סלה ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה בכא ה[סט]ן יגער
יהוה בכא הבוחיר (6) בירושלי{של}ם (הלו) זה {אוד} אוד מוצל מ(אש) שמע יושב
יישראל בסתר יהוה עליון אלהינו בצל יהוה (7) שדי אחד יתלונן אמן אמן סלה תוב
אסותה מן שמיא לאיסקו(פתיה) דכוס(רו) בר (8) איז(דנדוך) דיתסי ברחמי שמיא
וכל שום דאית ביה [(9)] איסקופתיה דכוסרו בר איז(דנדוך)
[ ] אמן אמן סלה

ʿrwsw is not clear, and seems to be a mistake for **ʿrwqw**, which is indeed written immediately afterwards, but with a new modification, substituting *alef* for *ʿayin*.

12 **mšdrnyh** could mean "they who sent him".

mmll pwmyh: This seems to be a verbal noun, **mmllʾ**.

qdḥyʾyl, mpqyʾyl, kbšyʾyl, prḥyʾyl: A series of names derived from verbs denoting the chasing out or the subordination of the demons.

13 **lkbyšwh:** The first letter looks like a *lamed*, although in Syriac one should have expected a *nun*.

Bowl 11

Translation

(1)... to the threshold of Khusrau, to Bar[-Ida son of] Izdān-dukh ... (2) ... and to Bar-Ida son of Izdān-dukh and to ...wrote names ... (3)... from pains and illnesses and evil sicknesses and from jealousy and from mighty spells and from evil speech (?) ... and from all the words which the frightening enemies (4) are hiding and from... sorcerers and mighty ones and from curses and from spells and from submission (?) and from ...and from... which the enemies curse and from (5) all evil things. Amen, Amen, Selah. "And the Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan: even the Lord that hath chosen (6) Jerusalem rebuke thee: is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" (Zach. 3:2). "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord" (Deut. 6:4). "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty" (Ps. 91:1). Amen, Amen, Selah.

Again, may there be healing from heaven to the threshold of Khusrau son of (8) Izdān-dukh, so that he may be healed by the mercy of heaven, and any name that is in him [...(9)...should be removed from] the threshold of Khusrau son of Izdān-dukh... Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah.

Bowl 11

For the provenance of this bowl cf. Commentary to Bowl 10.

Although the bowl itself is intact, the inscription written on its inner surface is badly effaced. Having only the photographs at our disposal, we avoided readings which seemed speculative, and have concentrated on those which have seemed relatively certain. The writing begins in the outer rim and ends in the centre, going around an illustration which is not clearly discernible. It may be a human figure with two smaller drawings to its left.

1 **šlhpt'** seems to be an unusual spelling for **šlhwbt'** "flame", cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 183: **lgw nwr' yqydt' wylšlhwbt 'yšt'**. In Bowl 1:7 we have **šlhbyt'** and in Bowl 9:4—**šlhwbyt'**.

šḥmt' may mean "blackening" or "heat". It also occurs in Geniza 6, p. 3:6–7, where it seems to indicate the blackness caused by fire. If **šlhpt'** means "fever", it is possible to take **šḥmt'** as indicating some other symptom of disease, perhaps like **šḥrt'** in Bowl 9:13.

Khusrau son of Izdān-dukh and Bar-Ida son of Izdān-dukh may be brothers. It is interesting to note that the client of Bowl 10 is Bar-Imma son of Izdān-dukh. The two bowls, though written in two different scripts, may stem from the same family. If this is so, we have here another indication for the hypothesis that the script (and language) of a bowl does not represent the language used by the client, but only that which was used by the sorcerer. The sorcerer may have belonged to a different religion or nationality. Cf. Introduction, p. 18.

2 **š(mn)** cf. Bowl 7:2.

3 **(kwrhny')**: See above Commentary to Bowl 1:11.

mhryn: This is the first occurrence of this word in Aramaic to our knowledge (the reading might also be **mhdyn**). Our reading is based on the assumption that this is a loan-word from Iranian; cf. Middle Persian *mahr*, Avestan *manthra-* "(sacred) word".

mml' perhaps an error for **mmll'**.

pydg(my): If the reading is correct, this is a form of **ptgm/pytgm** on the way to becoming **pugdama**, as in Mandaic.

dksyy snyy: The first word is active participle *pe'al* plural masculine, while the second is plural of *san'ā/sanyā*.

4 **ʾryswtʾ**: If it is not a graphic variant of **ʾsyr**, would be connected to the notion of the submission of an *aris* "tenant".

lyty is the active participle *peʿal* of **LWṬ**.

6–7 The two verses, Deut. 6:4 and Ps. 91:1, are joined together into a single text by taking one word from one verse followed by one word from the other text. The same procedure is also used in Schwab 1891, p. 592 (Bowl O); Gordon 1978, p. 233; and T-S K 1.95.

8 **wkl šwm dʾyt byh**: The usual formula is with the preposition **lyh**, cf. Bowl 7:3. The use of **byh** may be influenced by another formula such as we have in Bowl 5:3 **kl šydy...dʾyt bh bʿlmʾ**.



From Bowl 13

Bowl 12

Bowl 12a
Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, Heb. 4° 6079
Plate 28

Amulet 15
see p.104

I

(1) סמומית ילידת תרי עשר בנין וכולהון קטל יתהון (2) סדרוס רשיעה	[(1)] סממית יל״י־דת בנין [... קטלהון] (2) [סד]רוס	II
וקמת וערקת מן קדומוהי ואזלת לחד טורא (3) דימיחד בעלמא שמיה ועבדת לחרשין דינחשה ועבדין דפרזלא	ערקת מן ק[דומוי] (3) [...] קמת (ל)ה בראש)[...] (4) [...] בנת לה בית בראן...] (5) [...ל]ה תרעין דפרז(ל)[ה...] (6) [...]ה וטרדת באן...] (7) [...י]ת תרעה לידא	III
ואתא סאוני וססאוני (4) וסנגרו וארתיקו ואמרו לה פתח לנא ואמרת להון ליתי אנא פתחא לכון ואמרו דוכתא דנעבר (5) וניעול עלה	סוני [וס(8)וס]וני וסניגלי ארתקו על [...] (9) [...]בין נעבר וניעל לע(ל)[...]	IV
וקמת ופתחת להון ועול עימהון סדרוס וקטליה ליברה וחנק יותיה	(10) [קמ]ת ופתחת להון על עמ(ה)[ן] (11) [סד]רוס וקטל לברה	V
וקמת וצוחת עלוהי אסאוני (6) וססאוני וסנגרו וארתיקו מא עבדו ליה	וצו(ח)[ת] (12) [ע](ל)יהון סוני וסוסוני (13) [וס]ניגלי מה עבד (הכין ש)[מע] (14) [סד]רוס ופתח וער(ק) מ(נ)[הון]	VI

Bowl 12

Bowl 12b
Metropolitan Museum,
New York, No. 86.11.259
Plate 29

(1) אסירת וחתימת אנתי מבבלתא
בישתא (2) (ד)לרית (?) עים זבינו בר
זוני ועים (דותי אינחתיה (3) בת
גוסי וימשצטמת בן דוך (?)ון[ ]
ליה (4) לזונא בר דותי

Bound and sealed are you, the evil Mevakkalta, who associates(?) with Zabinu son of Zuni and with Duti his wife, daughter of Gusi, ... to Zuna son of Duti.

סממיתא ילידת תרין עשר בנין
כולהון קטל יתהון (5) סרגיס

Smamit gave birth to twelve sons. All of them were killed by Sideros the Wicked [*N. Y.*: Sergi(u)s].

קמת וערקת מן קודמוהי ואזלת לה
לטורא חד מאחיד שמיה ועבדת (6)
מקדשה דינ(חש) ועבדין דיפרזל

She got up and fled from him, and she went to a mountain, whose name is unique in the world [*N. Y. var.*]. She performed sorceries of copper and magic acts of iron [*N. Y. var.*].

ואתא סוני וסאסוני וסינגרו וארתיקו
ואמרו (7) לה (פתחי לנא) ואמרת
ליה אנה פתחא ואמרו (ד)רכיה
נעבור ונעול עליה

There came **s'wny wss'wny wsngrw w'rtyqw** and said to her: Open (the door) for us. She said to them: I shall not open (it) for you. They said: This is a place (for us) to pass through and enter into.

וקמת ופתחת (8) להון ועל עימהון
סרגיס וקטליה ליברה {ונ} וחנק
יתיה

She stood up and opened (the door) for them. With them there came in Sideros [*N. Y.*: Sergi(u)s]. He killed her son and strangled him.

וקמת ויצוחת עלי סוני (9) וסאסוני
וסינג[רו וא]רתיקו מא עבדו לה

She stood up and cried at him: O **s'wny wss'wny wsngrw w'rtyqw!** What have they done to him?

Bowl 12a	*Amulet 15*	
וקומו ורדפו בחריה ואדריכו יותיה לגו פלגוס ימא רבה ובעו (7) מינהון למיקטל יותיה ולמיחנק יותיה	(15) [מן] חזין רדפו בתרה וא[ש](16)[כ]חוי בפלגוס דימה ו(הנ) [...] (17) [ל]מקטול יתה	VII
ואמר להון שבוקו מיני ואנא מישתבענא (לכון) כמי שמדד בשעולו מים	אמר להון [אנה] (18) (מ)שתבע לכון במן דאכ[יל] (19) (מ)יה בשעולה	VIIIa
דכל אתר דדכרין שמיה (8) דסאוני וססאוני וסנגרו וארתיקו אנא לא איקטול ולא איחנוק ולא איחבול	דכל הן ד[...] (20) [...]ן מדכרין שמה דס[וני] (21) וסוסוני וסניגלי לא א[קטול]	VIIIb
בביתיה דאגבלתא בר קרקוי וכל בנין דאית להון ודהון להון לקאקאי בת (9) (פ)וזיקתוי ולאגבלתא בר קרקוי	(22) לאנטונינה ברתה ד(נ)[...] (23) [...] (וב)רה	X

Bowl 12b

קמו וירדפו בתרוהי {לגו} ואדריכו
יתיה לגו פלגוס ימא (10) רבא
למיקטל י[תיה ו]למיחנק יתיה

ואמר שבוקו מיני ואנא מיש[ח]בענא
לכון במי שמדד בשועולו מים (11)
ושמים בזרת תיכין וכל בשליש עפר
הארץ ושקל בפלס {ויגע} ויגבעות
במואזנים

דכל אחר דידכר שמיה (12) דסוני
וסאסוני וסינגרו וארתיקו איתרח(ם)
ולא {אינ} איחנוק ולא א[י]קטול

ליבנין דזבינו בר זוני (ו)אינתתיה בת
(13) גוסי דאית להון וידהון להון מן
יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה
הללויה

Translation

They stood up and chased him and found him *in pelagos, the great sea, [*Jer. adds:* and they sought of them] to kill him and strangle him.

He said to them: Let go of me, and I swear to you in the name of He "who has measured the water in the hollow of his hand [*N.Y. adds:* and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed <the mountains> in scales and the hills in a balance]" (Is. 40:12),

that wherever the name of **s'wny wss'wny wsngrw w'rtyqw** is mentioned I shall [*N.Y. adds:* have pity and shall] not kill or strangle [*Jer. adds:* or injure]

the house of Agbalta son of Qarqoy and any children whom they —Qaqay daughter of Poziqtoy and Agbalta son of Qarqoy—have and will have.

the children of Zabinu son of Zuni and his wife daughter of Gusi, those whom they have and those whom they will have from this day to eternity, Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallelujah.

Amulet 15

X ברוך אתה י[ייי] (24) (אל) קים מלך
העולם [יגער] (25) הרוחות מלפניך

Bowl 12a

XI אסירא ליליתא אסירא מבכלתא
אסיר שתא א[ ]אסיר[ ]
אסיר (זב)נא אסיר פתכרא אסירין
כל מזיקין בישין דאית (10) בביתיה
דאגבלתא בר קרקוי [ ]
שישים גיבו(רים) [סביב לה מגבורי
ישרא]ל כו[לם אחוזי חרב] מלמדי
מלחמה [איש] חרבו על יריכו מיפחד
בלילות

The Jerusalem bowl (12a) has been recently received by the Jewish National and University Library. It is unusual in that it contains a story which occupies the best part of its text, and in certain other features. The bowl was donated to the Library by the late Professor Gershom Scholem. Professor Scholem had received it as a gift from Dr. Wladimir Rosenbaum, an antique dealer in Ascona (Switzerland).

The most striking feature of this text, as already pointed out, is the fact that it is built around a story with a magic effect, a *historiola*, to use the term applied to it by Heim 1892, p. 495 (cf. also Maas 1942, pp. 37 f.). Such stories are practically unknown in other Aramaic magic bowls, although certain bowls contain brief allusions to story situations. Such is the allusion to Yĕhoshuaʿ bar Pĕraḥya and his deed of divorce to the female demons in certain bowls, e.g. in our Bowl 5 and Montgomery

Bowl 12b

ברוך אתה יהוה אלהינו מלך העולם
מכ(ה) ורופה (14) את זבינו בר זוני
ואת (דותי) בת גוסי ואת זונא בר
דותי אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים

Translation

Blessed art Thou **yhwh** our God, King of the world, who smites and cures Zabinu son of Zuni and Duti daughter of Gusi and Zuna son of Duti, Amen, Amen, Selah. True and sound.

Bound is Lilith, bound is Mevakkalta, bound is št' ... bound is ... bound is ... bound is the idol, bound are all the evil harmers who are in the house of Agbalta son of Qarqoy ... "Sixty valiant men are around about it, of the mighty men of Israel, all girt with swords, and expert in war, every man has his sword upon his thigh, because of the fear by night"(Cant. 3:7–8).

1913, No. 32 (see also Gordon 1978, pp. 233 f., and our Amulet 7). Incantations with fairly elaborate *historiolae* are, however, quite common in Greek and in Syriac magic literature (cf. Heim 1892, pp. 495 ff.; Gollancz 1912, pp. 14f., 85, 87, 89).

Another interesting feature of this bowl is the fact that it contains a number of Greek words. This is a feature which is totally unknown in other Mesopotamian bowls, and one which has raised initial doubts as to the authenticity and original provenance of the bowl, as most Aramaic incantation bowls whose provenance can be ascertained derive from the area of Mesopotamia and Iran, where the number of Greek elements is rather limited. Although the provenance of our new bowl is unknown, it can be established by parallel material that it is Babylonian. The Metropolitan Museum in New York possesses an unpublished bowl

(our Bowl 12b) whose text closely resembles that of our Jerusalem bowl, although the names of the clients are different, and the opening formulae are also cast differently. The Museum records note that the bowl in question, No. 86.11.259, was acquired in 1886 by Mr. Ward, a curator of the Metropolitan , while he was on a journey in Mesopotamia. Another bowl which undoubtedly has the same story was published in Gordon 1941, pp. 346 f., from the Hilprecht Collection, and it "presumably comes from Hilprecht's excavations at Nippur". Gordon could only read a few detached phrases in that bowl, and we have not seen the bowl itself, but the extracts given by Gordon leave no room for doubt that it is in fact the same basic text as in 12a (with the same orthographic peculiarities), although, like the New York bowl, it has a dedication to a different client preceding and following the story.

The *historiola* which forms the basis of the incantations contained in these bowls has numerous parallels in Greek, Ethiopian, Coptic, Hebrew, Rumanian and other texts (see Appendix to Amulet 15). A striking parallel to the texts of these bowls has reached us when the book was ready for publication. Amulet 15, which is in the Israel Museum, turned out to have the same story in a shorter version, but with some details which are certaily more original than their counterparts in the Babylonian bowls. For further details see the commentaries and the Appendix to Amulet 15, as well as the text of Amulet 15 printed above in a parallel column to the texts of Bowls 12a and 12b.

In contrast to the phrasing of Amulet 15, it may be noted that although Bowls 12a and 12b have borrowed certain key expressions from a Palestinian source (the Greek name Sideros, the hybrid Greek Aramaic expression **plgws[d]ymh rbh,** the verb **ʾrtq**), the language of the bowls has nevertheless come under the influence of Babylonian Aramaic (e.g. **ʿly – ʿlwhy; btryh – btrwhy;** the use of *waw* for original *qamaṣ* in Bowl 12a, and other orthographic features). The most important aspect which emerges from the comparison of Bowls 12a and 12b with Amulet 15 is a certain number of textual misunderstandings in the bowls (e.g. **wʾrtyqw** was taken to be a proper name; **wʾdrykw...lgw** for **bgw,** in section VII). For further discussion see the Commentary below.

Some general differences of style and language can be noticed between the Jerusalem bowl and its New York counterpart:

(1) The orthography of the Jerusalem bowl has several peculiarities

which the New York one does not share. The *qamaṣ* vowel is frequently spelled in the Jerusalem (and in the Hilprecht) text with a *waw* indicating presumably that it tended to be pronounced *o*. Thus **smwmyt** (N.Y. **smmyt**ʾ), **qdwmwhy** (N.Y. **qwdmwhy**), **wʿwl** (N.Y.: **wʿl**), **ywtyh** (N.Y.: **ytyh**), **qwmw** (N.Y.: **qmw**). This way of spelling is not unusual in the Aramaic magic texts, and it has been claimed to be a feature of Babylonian Aramaic in general (cf. Rossell 1953, pp. 20 f., § 3.15 and the literature adduced in Morag 1979, p. 115, n. 21 and p. 116, n. 25). See further Introduction on p. 32.

(2) Although both texts tend towards a *plene* spelling with *yod* in words which are not commonly so spelled in Babylonian Aramaic, e.g. **lybrh, ʾyqṭwl, ʾyḥnwq, ʾyḥbwl, myštbʿnʾ**, as well as in the relative **dy-** (e.g. **dymyḥd, dynḥšh**), the New York bowl has such a spelling sometimes with the conjunction **w-** (**wyṣwḥt, wyrdpw, wygbʿwt** [Hebrew], **wydhwn**), a feature which is again found also in other texts (see Commentary to Bowl 2).

(3) The Jerusalem bowl is more explicit in several cases in the use of pronouns, while the New York bowl is more elliptic: In section IV Jer. **wʾmrt lhwn**, N.Y. **wʾmrt**; Jer. **lyt ʾnʾ pṭḥʾ lkwn**, N.Y. **lyt ʾnh pṭḥʾ**; in section VIII Jer. (and Hilprecht) **wʾmr lhwn**, N.Y. **wʾmr**.

(4) The New York bowl, on the other hand, is more expansive in some quotations and set phrases. Cf. the quotation in section VIII, where the full biblical quotation as well as the addition of **ʾytrḥ(m)** "I shall have mercy" occur only in the New York bowl; similarly in section IX we have in N.Y. the addition of the phrase **mn ywmʾ dnn wlʿlm ʾmn ʾmn slh hllwyh.**

(5) Some differences of detail indicate that the text of N.Y. is inferior to that of Jer.: Jer. has the name **sdrws** as against **srgys** in N.Y. (cf. Appendix to Amulet 15); Jer. **lḥd ṭwrʾ dymyḥd bʿlmʾ šmyh** seems the original version as against N.Y. **lṭwrʾ ḥd mʾḥyd šmyh**; Jer. **dwktʾ dnʿbr wnyʿwl ʿlh** seems better than **(d)rkyh nʿbwr wnʿwl ʿlyh**; the same may apply to the omission in N.Y. section VII of the words **wbʿw (mynhwn)** which occur in Jer.

In addition to the following textual comments the reader is advised to consult the Commentary to the approriate lines in Amulet 15. The following comments are arranged by the sections as given in the transcription of the text.

I New York and Hilprecht have an introductory section mentioning the client while Amulet 15 and Jerusalem start with the *historiola*.

II Jer. **sdrws** supported by the traces in Amulet 15; N.Y. gives **srgys**, which is evidently a corruption. Cf. also Ethiopian Werzelya (see Appendix to Amulet 15).

III **dymyḥd bʿlmʾ šmyh:** There seems to be no room in Amulet 15 for such an epithet, although a reference to a mountain may be reconstructed there.

For the phrase Jer. **lḥršyn dynḥšh** N.Y. gives **mqdšh dynḥš**. The whole phrase seems to be a corruption from an original text where instead of **ḥršyn** the similar-looking word **trʿyn** was written, as in Amulet 15.

wʿbdyn dprzlʾ: In Hilprecht we may read **wʿbdy dprzlʾ wʾtʾ** (Gordon 1941, p. 346).

IV **sʾwny wssʾwny wsngrw wʾrtyqw:** The division of words here is ascertained from a comparison of all the places in which the names occur in the two bowls, in the amulet and in the later traditions.

ʾrtyqw, which is the verb meaning "and they knocked (on the door)", as in Amulet 15, was misunderstood by the writers of our bowls and they took it to be a part of the series of names. It is likely that they regarded **sngrw** as a word with the same shape.

Our two bowls seem to waver between taking these three characters as a singular entity or as a plural. Thus we have **wʾtʾ... wʾmrw lh.. wpṭḥt lhwn... wṣwḥt ʿlwhy**, etc. The Greek version of the Gyllou story (see Appendix to Amulet 15) treats Sisinios, Sinēs and Sēnodōros as a singular (ὁ ἅγιος); this point occurs in the story more than once. These three names are seemingly phonetic variations on a single form, a point which is strengthened by the observation that the names are once given in the Greek text in the vocative ὦ Σισίνιε, Σίνη καὶ συνοδία (Sisinios, Sines and company). In Amulet 15, which seems closest to the original version, the three names consistently attract plural form.

dwktʾ dnʿbr wnyʿwl ʿlh: This may be a corruption of a phrase in the original version; Amulet 15 does not provide us with the possibility of a satisfactory reconstruction. The N.Y. version presents us with another unusual phrasing.

V This paragraph implies that a new son was born to Smamit in the meantime. This is said explicitly in the Greek version (see Appendix to Amulet 15). The sequence "to kill and to strangle", which may strike

one as illogical, occurs twice at least (cf. sections VII and VIII), although in N.Y. line 12 the sequence is "strangle", "kill". Amulet 15 uses the verb "to kill" exclusively.

V–VI In Hilprecht we may reconstruct (cf. Gordon 1941, p. 346): **[w]ḥnq ywtyh wqmt wṣwḥt *ʿlhy ʾsʾwny wssʾwny wsngrw wʾrtyqw.**

VI The spelling **ʾsʾwny** in the Jer. and Hilprecht bowls suggests the Greek vocative participle attached to the name in the appropriate syntactic situation, which makes it possible that there existed a Greek *Vorlage* from which the Aramaic version derived. The Greek text of Perdrizet 1922 indeed has a vocative form of address at this point (see Appendix to Amulet 15).

VII Jer. **btryh**, N.Y. **btrwhy**: Both forms are attested; cf. Rossel 1953, pp. 21 f., 58.

wʾdrykw ywtyh, "they found him", was misunderstood by the writer of the bowls as meaning "they led him"; see Commentary to Amulet 15:15–16.

lgw: Mistake for **bgw**.

plgws ymʾ rbh: See Commentary to Amulet 15:16.

wbʿw mynhwn: This phrase is not given in N.Y. **mynhwn** seems to be a mistake.

VIII The short quotation from Is. 40:12, as given in Jer., occurs also in *Sefer ha-razim*, 1:226. In Hilprecht we reconstruct **[bšʿ]wlw mym dkl ʾtr**...(cf. Gordon 1941, p. 347), where we also have the short quotation. Amulet 15 gives an Aramaic version of the short quotation.

kl ʾtr d-: See Commentary to Amulet 15:19.

IX The feminine name Qarqoy occurs also in Isbell 1975, p. 110 (No. 48) and Qaqay (fem. pr. n.) in Isbell 1975, Nos. 47 and 32 (spelled **qʾqy**). The name Qaqay is Iranian from *Kaka* "uncle, brother-in-law".

The N.Y. names give more the impression of being Semitic than Iranian.

X For the phrase **mk(h) wrwph** cf. Gordon 1941, p. 352 ברוך מכה ורופא and Amulet 1:20.

XI The verse Cant. 3:7 occurs also in Isbell 1975, No. 66:3–4.

Bowl 13

Collection of V. Klagsbald, Jerusalem

Plates 30–31

Within the central circle:

(1) להדא (לי)ליתא
דשריא עים יויתאי בת חתאי

(2) וברוב גאונך תנ[רע]ץ קומך תשלח חרונך יכלמו בקש

Outside the circle:

(3) בחיליה דרבה ובמימרא דמלאכי ובישמיה דמריא בגדנא אזיזא רבה דאילהי ומלכה ראישה דשיתי מלכותא חיליה חילא (דזיקא) חומתיה (4) חומתא דנורא סוגייה סוגיא דקטלא מרדותיה מרדותא דיקרבה דחי אכיל דלא מזיג שתי ראישיה דאישא דאריא כביה ככי דדיבתה שיניה (5) שיני דנמרא סירפי פומיה אדוגי דנורא עיניה ברקין דיקדין (כ)פידיה גילגלי בעננא צידיה סדנא דפרזלא איבריה תרתי ארזפתא חדייה חדיא דגברא לטבא (6) כרסיה ימא דלא ביבי גביה גבא דיגילא שקיה שקי נחשה ופרזלא סנדליה סנדלי פריחי מרכבתיה מרכבא לטבי {ת}יתי בידיה חרבא דקטלא אח<א> מריא אתא גיס (7) קריב עליהון על שידי ועל דיוי ועל ליליתא בישתא דשריא עים יויתאי בת חתאי ועל דנחיש ועל דיני ועל זכיא ועל פתכרא ועל ליליתא בישתא ועל מלויתא חציפתא דלויא עים (8) יויתאי בת חתאי ועים זוריגאי בר אימא דקטלא מינהון בניהון ובנחהון רמי לה פולקתא בפומה חבר שינה בפומה שפיד מוקרה קמה מחונה בחרבא דקטלא על מוקדה חכיל קומה (9) כל בישה ובטילו אזה מן יויתאי בת חתאי ומן זוריגאי בר אימא אתא כ־שלם גברא (דא)ישתגר אתא עליהון דשידי ודיוי בני חילי חשוכה בני אתרא דנורא בני אחרא

Bowl 13

Translation

Within the central circle:
(1) For that Lilith who dwells with Yawitai, daughter of Ḥatai.
(2) "In the fullness of thy triumph thou didst cast the rebels down, thou didst let loose thy fury, it consumed them like chaff" (Ex. 15:7).

Outside the circle:
(3) By the power of the Great One, and by the command of the angels, and by the name of the lord Bagdana Aziza, the great one of the gods, and the king, head of sixty kingdoms, whose power is the power of a blast, whose heat (4) is the heat of fire, whose practice is the practice of slaying, whose chastisement is the chastisement of battle, that which is alive he eats, that which is unmixed he drinks. His head is the head of a lion, his molar teeth are the molar teeth of a she-wolf, his teeth are (5) the teeth of a tiger, the draughts of his mouth are furnaces of fire, his eyes are glowing lightnings, his shoulders are the spheres in a cloud, his temples are an anvil of iron, his arms are two hammers, his chest is the chest of an evil man, (6) his belly is a lake without canals, his back is alum, his legs are legs of brass and iron, his sandals are sandals of sparks, his chariot is the chariot of the evil ones; he(?) comes and in his hand there is a sword of slaying.

There came the lord, there came the troop. (7) He came against them, against the demons, against the dēws, against the evil Lilith, who dwells with Yawitai d. of Ḥatai, against Danahiš, against the judges, against he who is acquitted, against the idol, against the evil Lilith, against the impudent female companion who accompanies (8) Yawitai d. of Ḥatai and Zorigai son of Imma, who kills their sons and daughters. He cast a hatchet in her mouth, he broke her teeth in her mouth, he pierced her brain before her (i.e. before the client), they smote her on the top of her head with a sword of slaying, he destroyed all evil (9) from her presence, they annihilated ʾzh from Yawitai d. of Ḥatai and from Zorigai s. of Imma.

There came in peace the man who was sent, he came against them, against the demons and dēws, sons of the troops of darkness, sons of the place of fire, sons of the place of black waters, sons of those women who

Bowl 13



דמיא איסיוי בני פגדתא (10) וילדתא בני ריגותא וזינוא בני יחטי בני בתולתא בני בתי חרבי בני כדי פסיסי בני גיבורין דהוו חלישין בני ארעא מקטלא דירה מיכליכון בשר הדדי ומישתייכון מיא איסיוי נבחיתון כיכלבי נצריתון (11) כיחזירי ומישתרקיתון כיתניני בישמיש {מי} מיחקריתון מיתחזתון לה ליויתאי בת חתאי בחילמי בישי בידמותא סניתא מיתחזתון לה בדהבא וכספא אנכא נחשא ואברא מיתחזתון לה בידמות (12) אזרא ואילנא דמות אסא שוניא וארני מיתחזתון לה ליויתאי בת חתאי בגמלי בתורי וביחמרי כאריוי בדיבי ובנמרי בשורני ובקופ[י] צילמתא יהוו כצילמתא דמיתי באבא ואימא בסכא וסבתי בעולימא ועולמתא בבטנתא (13) וילדתא בקברי סרודתא בחיתא דכצומי וכלדאי בתנורי שגירי בנוולי דלא מתקני מתחזתון לה ליויתאי בת חתאי בחיות גפא ראַרעא ובפרחותא דישמיה אתא עליכון מריא בגדנא כנשונכו כבשונכו ואחיתונכו תחות טורא רכ(ה) דפרזלא (14) <א>(ת)א פרגוד רמנכו דיוי נקש לכו בליביכו אצמומי דפרזלא אחית עליכון טינרא רבה דיגלל אטף עליכון ימא וכיפיה שלם דלא שלם יהוי עליכון דיוי ליומא רבה דדינא דימינא ודלא ימינא יהוי עליכון רוחי בישתא ואידי שמיה חילוותא איסתרתא (15) בני בתי חרבי בני כדי פסיסי דאמריתו ניזי נורי גאוני גברא מיגיני בארעא כי איסתרא דליות אתיא ברישיכו {רכיבי} אריא רכיבא מורניתא בידה נקיטא מנסבא {גוא לאילהי} זרגונא לאילהי וזרגונא לאיסתרתא חף כלהו לאילהי דחרשי לא ידעיתון דיוי (16) דגברא מילבר אתא עליכון קנטיואל שמיה סכין גודדא בידיה נקיט ליי<ה> וחרבא סטנא בבית אצבעתיה ואתא למיסחף בחי דאילהי וסחוף כל איסתרתא סחפונהו לפתורהו שדונהו לאגנהו זלח להו חלבא בארבעא זויתא בסיא לקרניהו תברו לשיפורהו (17) שויא לחדותהו נסיסא כד מידכריתון

are idle (?) (10) and those women who give birth, sons of lust and prostitution, sons of abortions, sons of virgins, sons of destroyed houses, sons of broken jars, sons of mighty ones who were weak, sons of a land which kills its inhabitants. Your food is the flesh of each other, your drink is black water; you bark like dogs, you grunt (11) like pigs, you hiss like snakes, you are called by Shamish(?).

You make yourselves visible to Yawitai d. of Ḥatai in bad dreams, in a hateful shape. You make yourselves visible to her in (the shape of) gold and silver, plumb, brass and lead. You make yourselves visible to her in the shape (12) of cedar (?) and tree, in the shape of myrtle, tree of chastity and pines. You make yourselves visible to Yawitai d. of Ḥatai in (the shape of) camels, oxen, donkeys, lions, wolves, tigres, cats and monkeys. (Your) forms will be like the forms of the dead. (You make yourselves visible in the shape of) father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, a lad and a lass, a pregnant woman (13) and a child-bearing woman, tombs of fright, midwives of diviners and soothsayers, burning ovens, unmended looms. You make yourselves visible to Yawitai d. of Ḥatai (in the shape of) winged animals of the earth and birds of the sky.

There came to you the lord Bagdana. They gathered you, they suppressed you, they brought you down underneath the big mountain of iron. (14) There came attendants (?), they cast you, dēws, they struck against your hearts arrows of iron, he brought down upon you a large flint rock of unhewn stone, he caused the sea and its cliffs to flow over you.

Peace without peace shall be upon you, dēws, for the great day of judgement. That which is on the right hand and that which is not on the right hand shall be upon you, evil spirits and the evil fates of the sky, troops, goddesses, (15) sons of destroyed houses, sons of broken jars.

That which you say, "Let us go and shoot(?) the pride(?) of the mighty one, the protectors on the earth, like the goddess Deliwat (who) comes at your head, mounting a lion, holding a lance in her hand, handing over a *zargona* to the gods and a *zargona* to the goddesses, they all covered the gods of the sorcerers" — you do not know, dēws, (16) that a man come against you from the outside, whose name is Kantioel. He holds in his hand a cutting knife, and (he holds) between his fingers a Satan's sword; he came to wreck the houses of the gods, and he wrecked all the goddesses, they wrecked their table, they cast away their chalice, they sprinkled fat in the four corners, they trampled upon their horns, they broke their trumpets, (17) they turned their joy into grief.

דיוא רבה כמינקדם הוהוא קרבה נפקיתון מישתעבדיתון ליה לאורוס דיוא תקיפא חומרי בישתא חומרי טמיתא חומרי זידניתא תלת אלוא אסא שוו לכו ברישיכו מיגופנא זניא דליות לא ידיעיתון דיוי דגברא מילבר אתא עליכון (18) נוריאל רבה נוריאל שמיה נורא לביש ונורא מכסי שלהביתא דנורא נפקא מיפומיה כד מידכריתון דיוא רבה כמינקדם הוהוא קרבא נפקיתון מישתעבדיתון ליה לזרני דיוא תקיפא קרני קריתון שיפורי מיבביתון פתורי מכשטיתון אגני מזגיתת כלילי גדליתון (19) וריחא רמיתון דאמריתו ניזי להו לידמות א(ד)ם ולא נישבוק להו חיה בדיריהו ניקטול סבי באסניהו ואלימני באישכריהו ני[סחו]פינהו לדר[ד]קי בשוקי נירדופינהו בפגריהו נירדופינהו בארחתהו לא ידעיתון דיוי דגברא מילבר אתא עליכון ודהבה שמיה (20) דארעא בולה נהרא בזיוה וטורי כולהון צמחי בידמותיה אישתפל גברי חשוכא איבטל אידי שמיה חילוותא איתזח קצירי אישתפי כורה[נא ביש]א דיוא (ננא) אגביה לטורא טורא קדח ויליל רוחי בי[שתא ...]אה וי וי עליכו דיוי דמיתחזתון לה ליויתאי בת חתאי ולזוריגאי (21) כר אימא דאישתגר ואתא עליכון דיוי שמיש ליקרבה עשרא מלאכיהון דאיתו קרם שמיש חמשה ראזי מיבית שידיה דשמיש מלאבי דאיתו קדם שמיש נורא לבישין ונורא מכסי של[הביתא ד]נודא נפקא מיפומיהון תרע[מה ע]ליך שידא ודיוא ודנחיש (22) ודיני וזביא ופתכרא וליליתא דיכרא וניקבתא דשריא עים יויתאי הרפתקא דדמא קטלא ית בולא כיכסחפי דדמא ורוגזא קריב קרבא בשידי קטיל קטלא בחומרי טמיתא וב[חומרי ב]ישתא

When you recall the great dēw, as there was a battle in old times, you go out and make yourselves slaves of **ʾwrws** the violent dēw, the evil amulet-spirits, the impure amulet-spirits, the impious amulet-spirits; place three aloes ‹and› myrtle on your heads from the prostitute(?) vine ‹of› Deliwat (?) – you do not know, dēws, that a man from the outside came against you, (18) Nuriel, the great Nuriel is his name. He is clad with fire and is covered with fire (and) a flame of fire comes out of his mouth.

When you recall the great dēw, as there was a battle in old times, you go out and make yourselves slaves of Zarne, the violent dēw, you blow horns, you sound trumpets, you set tables, you mix (drink in) chalices, you dress up wreaths, (19) and throw about perfume.

That which you say, "Let us go and (make ourselves visible) to them in the shape of a human being and we shall not spare a living creature in their dwellings; let us kill the old in their granaries, and the dumb in their wagons; let us sweep away the children in the market places, let us chase them in their bodies, let us chase them in their roads" — you do not know, dēws, that a man from the outside came against you, whose name is Dahba; (20) the whole earth is aglow with his splendour, and all the mountains are resplendent with his shape. The men of darkness were lowered, the evil fates of the sky (and) the troops were annulled, the sick rose, the [evil i]llness was healed, the dēw Nana(?) lifted (?) the mountain, the mountain moaned and wailed; the evil spirits...

Woe, woe upon you, dēws, that you make yourselves visible to Yawitai d. of Ḥatai and to Zorigai (21) s. of Imma, that there was sent and there came upon you, dēws, Shamish for battle. Ten of their angels who came to the presence of Shamish, five mysteries from the demon house of Shamish, angels who came to the presence of Shamish, are clad with fire and covered with fire, and a flame of fire comes out of their mouths.

Commotion(?) upon you, demon and dēw, and Danahiš (22) and judges and an acquitted person, and idol, and male and female Lilith, who dwells with Yawitai. A bloody destiny is killing all, as in inundations of blood and wrath. The battle against the demons is approaching, the slaughter of impure and evil amulet-spirits is killing.

Bowl 13

This bowl, from the Victor Klagsbald Collection, was put together from fragments by Mr. Rafi Brown. Almost the whole bowl was restored, with only a small fragment missing near the rim.

This is the largest bowl of its kind seen by us, and may be the largest recorded so far. The most common size of Aramaic incantation bowls "is of about 16 cm. diameter at top, by 5 cm. full depth" (Montgomery 1913, p. 13), and the size of "one large bowl" is 28x16 cm. (ibid.; cf. also Montgomery 1913, pp. 321–326). The present bowl, in contrast, measures 30–34 cm. in outer diameter (the measurement varies because the rim of the bowl is not a perfect circle), and the height, measured from the outside, is 14–15 cm. (again there are variations in the height of the bowl around the rim). Apart from the physical size of the bowl, it is also remarkable for its inordinately long text, as well as for the fact that it contains several phrases and expressions that are found here for the first time. For this reason some points in the text remain obscure. The structure of the text is unique, with its detailed description of the magical force appealed to, which is called Marya Bagdana.

The drawing in the centre of the bowl depicts a standing human figure with arms which touch each other as if meant to be crossed. A circle seems to be drawn round the feet of the figure. Around the whole figure a serpent is drawn as a *uroboros*, and another serpent is shown inside the circle formed by the first one, surrounding the figure on three sides, but not at the bottom. The inscription inside the circle identifies the figure as Lilith, although it has no features which would identify it as feminine.

1 The reading **(ly)lyt'** is not absolutely certain, but the comparison of the phrase with what occurs in lines 7 and 22 shows that it must be Lilith, for this is the demonic being that is consistently said to be "dwelling" (**šry'**) with the client.

The name Yawitai/Yoitai may be a variant of Ya'ita (see Amulet 2), with the characteristic Babylonian ending *-ay* (as in Zorigai), which seems akin to the ending *-oy*, also attested widely in Babylonian names. These endings may be of Persian origin; see Commentary to Bowl 3:2.

Ḥatai, a name which is attested under the form Ḥatoi (e.g. Isbell 11:3, 9 and other places; see index to Isbell, p. 90), is almost certainly a derivative of *'aḥat* "sister", with the proper-name ending *-ay/oy*.

2 The spelling of the verse shows the interesting rendering of the *qamaṣ* with *waw* in **qwmk**. The third word in the original verse is **thrs**, and it was replaced apparently by a different verb, of which the last

letter is *ṣade*; the verb may thus possibly be **trʿṣ**, which occurs in verse 6, or **ttṣ. yklmw** stands for the biblical **yʾklmw.**

3 The opening formula is vaguely reminiscent of the formula in Montgomery 1913, No. 2, where, however, the expressions used are in the first person singular. The combination **ḥylyh ... mymrʾ** occurs also in a Mandaic incantation text, where we have **bhilak umimrak utušbhtak** (Yamauchi 1967, No. 22:187–188).

rbh is used as a name of the deity, as in Bowl 6:9 **byšmyh ʿdʾrbʾ wdḥylʾ.** A similar usage can be detected in Amulet 1:8 **rbʾ gybrʾ wdḥylʾ**; Amulet 7:15 ... **krsyh dʾlh rbh ḥsynh wdḥylh.** In the first of these cases **rbʾ** may still be a noun, qualified by **gybrʾ wdḥylʾ**, although it reflects the Jewish liturgical sequence האל הגדול הגבור והנורא, while in the last case **rbh ḥsynh wdḥylh** are evidently all epithets of **ʾlh.** However, in the Syriac Amulet 6:1–2, the sequence **br tʾwn, rbʾ ḥsynʾ, qdyš ʾylʾ** gives us the names of three deities, the second of which is "the mighty Rabbā", with *Rabbā* serving as proper name. It is doubtful whether **rbh dʾylhy,** which we may have been tempted to translate "Lord of the gods" belongs here, as it has a clear parallel in Montgomery 1913, No. 19:5 **mryʾ rbʾ dʾylhy** (according to the reading of Epstein 1921, p. 49), which in its turn corresponds to **mlktʾ rbtʾ dʾystrʾtʾ** (No. 19:6). In Montgomery No. 19 **rbʾ, rbtʾ** are adjectives qualifying **mryʾ, mlktʾ.**

bgdnʾ: The term is quite familiar. It is used both generically for deities or demons, and as a proper name of the king of the demons (cf. Montgomery 1913, No. 11:5, and No. 19:6, with commentary on p. 198). The original meaning of the Persian word is evidently *bag-dāna* "a temple" (see Shaked, forthcoming). The name is attested apparently also as a proper name of a person in official Aramaic, see Cowley 1923, No. 17:1. The deity Bagdana, although he is described as the chief of the demons, occurs as a divine figure which is addressed in magic texts in supplication for help, as is the case here.

ʾzyzʾ: The spelling of this word with an *alef* suggests that it is not the adjective "strong, powerful", but perhaps a proper name (possibly derived from the adjective; cf. **ʾzzyʾl**, Montgomery 1913, No. 19:18), which may have been used in apposition to Bagdana. An analogical usage of the epithet **ʿzyz** can be seen in Montgomery 1913, No. 28:5 **bšmh ddlybt ʿzyztʾ.** For a deity **ʿzyzʾ** one may compare Nabataean **ʾlʿzʾ**, Arabic *al-ʿUzzá*, see Cantineau 1930–1932, vol. 2, pp. 128–129; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. *al-ʿUzzā.*

r'yšh dšyty mlkwt' seems to be in apposition to **mlkh**. This is hardly a case of **r'yšh** being used as an adjective for **mlkh**, as in Biblical Hebrew **hkhn hr'š** (II Chron. 31:10; Ezra 7:5), a usage which is unattested in a later period either in Hebrew or in Aramaic (in Jer. 52:24 **khn hr'š** is rendered in the Targum **khn' rb'**). The phrase **r'yšh dšyty mlkwt'** does not mean "his head is of sixty kingdoms"; we have a description of the head further on in line 4 **r'yšyh r'yš' d'ry'**.

šyty is the form for "sixty", besides **šytyn**, cf. Epstein 1960, p. 127. The number "sixty" is fairly widespread in magic texts, sometimes together with "eighty". Cf. Montgomery 1913, No. 19:8–9; Yamauchi 1967, Nos. 20:16f.; 27:13. Like **šyty/šytyn** there is also **tmny** (Montgomery 1913, No. 19:9)/**tmnyn** (as well as **tmnn**), although the form **tmny** is not recorded in Epstein 1960 or in Rossell 1953. (The latter, p. 34, quotes Montgomery 1913, No. 19:9 as reading **tmnn**, which is an error. Rossell himself, on p. 110, gives the same text with the correct reading **tmny**).

hyl' (dzyq'): Cf. Montgomery 1913, No. 12:8 **nšpyn kyzyq' brqyn kybrq'** "blowing like the blast, lightening like the lightning".

4 **swgy'** could also be translated "walking".

kkyh: For this ending of the plural noun with 3rd per. sg. m. possessive pronoun see Epstein 1960, p. 123; Rossell 1953, p. 38, and our Introduction, p. 32.

dybth might be read **dwbth** "a she-bear", but this is less likely. **dibia** "wolves" occurs as a killing agent in the Mandaic text published in Yamauchi 1967, No. 33:11. Wolves are commonly associated with demons in Iranian texts. On the confusion between "bear" and "wolf" in Jewish sources see Kook 1943/44.

5 **syrpy pwmyh**: We have assumed that **syrpy** is derived from the root **SRP** "to swallow, gulp down" (cf. **ŚRP** in Jastrow for Jewish Aramaic, **SRP** in Drower and Macuch for Mandaic, and in Brockelmann for Syriac); the alternative senses of the root **SRP** may also give suitable meanings: "burning" or "resin". A similar expression is found in Montgomery 1912, line 4: **dsrpyhwn brq'** (= Hamilton 1971, No. 1:4).

'dwgy dnwr': For **'dwg'** cf. Brockelmann, p. 5b; Drower and Macuch, p. 7. In Mandaic both forms, **adugia** and **dugia**, occur. The expression in Bavli Ḥullin 111b **by dwgy** is said to designate a receptacle for fat drippings, but one wonders whether it does not mean literally "(that which is) in the oven".

(k)pydyh is a compound of **kp-yd**, with the first element remaining unchanged in the plural. The literal translation is of course "the palm of the hand", but the combination **kp' dyd'** is used in Bavli Ḥullin 54a in the sense of "shoulder" (see Rashi). The writer of this bowl may have been particularly well-versed in Talmudic expressions; cf. Commentary on **gygly b'nn'** and on **gb' dygyl'** below.

gygly b'nn' seems to recall the expression **'nny bglgl'** in Bavli Berakhot 59a, which comes as an explanation of "thunders" (based on Ps. 77:19).

ṣydyh stands for **ṣyd'yh**.

sdn' dprzl': The same expression occurs also in a Mandaic magic text, cf. Drower 1938, p. 3:22.

6 **gb' dygyl'**: This combination of words occurs in Bavli Shabbat 110a and Menahot 42b: **gby' gyl'**, meaning "alum". It may contain the Persian element *gil* "clay". The back **(gb')** is compared to alum **(gb' dygyl')** possibly because of the pun element involved.

šqyh šqy nḥšh wprzl' is reminiscent of Dan. 2:33 **šqwhy dy przl.** Much of this passage is constructed like the description in Dan. 2.

pryḥy: The root **PRḤ** means "to bloom", "to fly", as well as "to shine, spark". On the semantic relationship of "to bloom" with "to shine" see Morag 1972, pp. 4 f., and below Commentary to line 20, **ṣmḥy**. For our translation "sandals of sparks" cf. the Mandaic expressions **sandlia ḏ-ziua** (e.g. *Ginza S.* 97:19); **sandlia ḏ-kima; sandlia iaqdana** (*Johannesbuch* 100:7), quoted in Drower and Macuch, p. 313.

mrkbtyh mrkbt' lṭby: Cf. the Syriac bowl in Hamilton 1971, No. 1:56 **mrkbthwn mrkbt lṭ'b'**. Our text is irregular; it should have read either **mrkb' <d>lṭby** or, as in the Syriac, **mrkbt lṭby.**

tyty: The feminine form, written by mistake, may have been caused by the word **mrkbt'**.

gys: We should normally have a final *alef* here, for which there is space on the surface of the bowl, but it does not seeem to have been written. An analogy for such an unexpected *status absolutus* in the same position is found in line 14 **'t' prgwd**. Gaster 1896, p. XVIII:31 has **'m npl 'lk gys'**.

7 **qryb** is perf. in the *pe'al* form.

'l šydy w'l dywy etc.: This has a parallel in lines 21–22.

dnḥyš: Probably of Persian derivation, cf. Shaked (forthcoming).

mlwyt': Cf. the expression in Montgomery 6:3 **dlwyn 'mhwn wdšryn bgw btyhwn.**

zwryg'y contains probably *zōrīg* from Persian *zōr* "power", though it could be read as *zīrīg*, from Persian *zīr* "wise".

8 **pwlqt'** seems to be a form related to *pelqā*, attested in Syriac, and Mandaic **pilqa** with the meaning "axe, hatchet", and in Jewish Aramaic **plq** "fissure, wound". The Jewish Aramaic verb PLQ is only attested once in the variants to Bavli Gittin 69a, and thus may be regarded as a denominative. The ultimate origin of the word seems to be Greek πελεκύς, cf. Brockelmann 1928, p. 576a; Jeffery 1938, p. 229 (on Arabic *falaqa*); Kaufman 1974, pp. 82f. (where the alleged Semitic root is relied upon with no good reason).

mwqrh, mwqdh: Aramaic seems to possess two words which look similar, and which have caused some confusion because of the similarity of *dalet* and *resh* in the Hebrew script. The one word, **mwqr'**, has the sense of (1) "brain, marrow", (2) "yolk of an egg". This word is attested in Jewish Aramaic (where only the first sense is known, cf. Targum Job 21:24. Targ. Jonathan Deut. 28:28 has for *šiggā'ōn:* **šwwyywt' dmtpš' mwqd'**, where **mwqd'** is evidently miswritten for **mwqr'**); Syriac (where two forms, *mūqrā* and *mūqlā*, are attested, both having the sense of "yolk"); and Mandaic (where both senses are known). The Arabic *muqla* "pupil of the eye" has been pointed out as a cognate. The other word, which exists only in Jewish Aramaic, is **mwqd'**, and is the equivalent of Hebrew *qodqod* in the Targum (Ps. 7:17, Targ. Jonathan Deut. 28:35), meaning obviously "top of the head".

In our text we seem to have for the first time in Aramaic literature the two words attested side by side. Although the difference between *dalet* and *resh* in our bowl is not always very pronounced, the two letters can be differentiated in most cases. In this particular case a distinction between *resh* in the first word and *dalet* in the second is clearly present.

't'...qryb...rmy...tbr...špyd...mḥwnh...ḥbyl...bṭylw: This sequence of verbs presents a confusing picture. Some of the verbs are in the singular, others (**mḥwnh, bṭylw**) are in the plural. A similar problem exists below, lines 13 f., where we have **'t'...knšwnkw kbšwnkw w'ḥytwnkw ... 't' ... rmnkw ... nqš lkw...'ḥyt 'lykwn...'ṭp 'lykwn.** Another series occurs in line 16: **'t' ... shwp ... shpwnhw ... šdwnhw ... zlḥ lhw ... bsy' ... tbrw ... šwy'**; in the last series the forms of the verbs include not only singular m. and plural m., but also two forms of what looks like singular feminine (**bsy', šwy'**). One may try to explain the divergence of number by assuming that the text uses without distinction a reference either to

mry' or to **gys/prgwd** (the latter nouns being considered as plural), but the last sequence (line 16) has no plural noun which one may refer to. The alternative explanation could be that the distinction between singular and plural in the perfect 3rd. person was weak, because, perhaps like in Syriac, the final vowel of the third pl. m. was not pronounced. The forms with object suffixes where the plural forms are fully pronounced indicate that all the forms of the verbs (except the initial **'t'**) may have been intended as plural 3rd. m., referring perhaps to the host of agents helping the main figure. **shwp** may be compared to the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic like **'mwr** "they said" etc., cf. Epstein 1960, pp. 34 ff. The forms **'yštpl, 'ybṭl** etc., line 20, belong to the same category. The two forms **bsy'** and **šwy'** remain unexplained.

qwmh: The spelling with *waw* indicates that the first vowel was pronounced *o*, i.e. *ḥolam* for *qamaṣ*. On this phenomenon see above, Commentary to Bowl 12, and Introduction, p. 32. Earlier the same word is spelled **qmh**. Another instance of the same phenomenon may exist in the proper name **ywyt'y**: perhaps Yo'itay for Ya'ita.

9 **'zh:** The meaning is uncertain. It may indicate some disease, perhaps to be associated with the root **'ZY, 'Z'** (cf. Jastrow, s.v.). Montgomery 1913, 24:2, reads **'zyt'**, but the correct reading is **'ryt'**, cf. Commentary to Amulet 9:1–2. **'zh** could hardly be connected to **'zyz'** in line 3.

***(d')yštgr:** The bowl has clearly **ṭyštgr**. It should be emended according to line 21.

'ysywy: The combination **mia siauia** "black water" occurs in Mandaic, cf. Drower and Macuch, p. 265b, where many passages are quoted. The combination **my' syw'** occurs also in Gaster 1896, p. XXVI:7 (miswritten **pyw'y** in line 4). The word is of Iranian origin, from Parthian *siyāw* (cf. Widengren 1960, p. 100).

pgrt': This is perhaps from **PGR** "to be lax, faint", possibly referring to women who do not bear children, in opposition to **yldt'**. If we read **pgdt'** (though *resh* seems the better reading) we may have the sense of "women who hold back, who restrain" (as from **PGD** in Syriac) or, as a noun, "disaster" (as **pagadta** in Mandaic).

10 **psysy** cf. Jewish Aramaic **PYS**, Mandaic **PSS**, "to destroy, break, wreck". For the sense cf. Bereshit Rabba (quoted in three versions in Sokoloff 1982, p. 201) where "broken jars" **(qnqnym mrw'r'ym)** are compared to wicked people.

ʾrʿh mqṭlʾ dyrh: Cf. Num. 13:32, where the Targum Onqelos has **ʾrʿʾ mqṭlt ytbhʾ**; Targum Jonathan has **ʾrʿʾ mqṭlʾ ytbhʾ**.

10–11 The noises made by the demons are compared to those of various animals; a similar theme occurs in an Arabic text given by Winkler 1931, p. 5.

11 **dhbʾ, kspʾ, ʾnkʾ, nḥšʾ, ʾbrʾ:** Daniel 2:32 has the sequence **dhb, ksp, nḥš, przl, ḥsp.**

12 **ʾzrʾ** is perhaps a metathesis or mistake for **ʾrzʾ**.

šwnyʾ is attested in Syriac.

bšwrny: The word had two dialect forms in Jewish Aramaic: **šwrnʾ** and **šwnrʾ**, as can be seen from Bavli Berakhot 56b, according to Ms. Munich, where the text reads: "If one sees a cat in one's dream — where it is called *šunnara,* it means that a change for the bad (*šinnuy raʿ*) will come upon him; where it is called *šurana* it means that he will have a nice song (*šira naʾa*)", cf. Jastrow, p. 1537b. Old Aramaic has **šrn,** Sefire I, A33, cf. Fitzmyer 1971, p. 50.

wsbty: For this plural form cf. Epstein 1960, p. 119, where this form is conceded for pl. fem. in adjectives only. Here it is clearly used for a noun.

13 **srwdtʾ** cf. Commentary to Bowl 1:3.

dkṣwmy wkldʾy: Cf. the same combination in Mandaic: **kaṣumia ukaldaiia,** frequently (v. Drower and Macuch, p. 200b).

bḥywt gpʾ wbprḥwtʾ: The Targum for Prov. 1:7 has for *baʿal kanaf:* **prḥtʾ dgpʾ.**

knšwnkw etc.: For the verbs cf. above, Commentary to line 8.

ṭwrʾ...dprzlʾ: The recurring Mandaic phrase is **šura ḏparzla,** cf. Drower and Macuch, p. 364a.

14 **ʿʾ(t)ʾ(?) prgwd:** The reading of the first word is doubtful. The supposed *taw* is uncertain, but no better reading has presented itself. **prgwd** basically means "curtain", but it may have developed to mean "attendants, guardians"; this is based on the occurrence in Hebrew of the phrase לא דומה שומע מפי פרגוד לשומע מפי המלך (cf. Jastrow, p. 1214a). In Mandaic the equivalent term **br guda** (Drower and Macuch, p. 69a), acquired the meaning of "member of a group", perhaps because of the popular etymology of the word, which was deemed to be constructed of **br+guda** the final element meaning "band". In Syriac

similarly we encounter the phrase **bny gwd'** "adherent of a party". It is doubtful whether in Jewish Aramaic **prgwd'** could undergo the same development of meaning, although if our reading is correct, **prgwd** seems to be used of a group of people, as it stands in parallel to the term **gys** (above, line 6), a term which also stands in juxtaposition to **mry'**.

A possible alternative reading could be {'} **'prgwd rmnkw** "they cast you against the curtain". This would entail regarding the first letter as a badly executed *alef*, which was then repeated and drawn in a proper manner. The difficulty here lies in the fact that this may be the only occurrence of the use of the preposition **'-** for **'l** in Jewish Aramaic of the bowls. The usage is very common in the Talmud, but for some reason it seems so far to be completely absent from the magic bowls.

rmnkw: Probably a mistake for **rmwnkw**.

'smwmy: Cf. Mandaic **stmuma** with variants, in Drower and Macuch, p. 324a, derived from Greek στόμωμα.

wkypyh: See Commentary to Bowl 5:2.

ywm' rbh ddyn': Cf. Montgomery 1913, No. 4:4–5; Isbell 1975, No. 62:6.

dymyn' wdl' ymyn': The translation is based on the assumption that the right hand indicates winning a trial. Alternatively, **ymyn'** could mean "I swear, I adjure". The translation would then be: "that which I swear and that which I do not swear be upon you".

hylwwt': Montgomery, No. 7:14 has **hylwnyn byšyn** according to Epstein 1921, p. 35, where **hylwt'** is also discussed.

15 From here onwards we have a series of stereotype phrases:

(1) lines 15–16	**d'mrytw ... l' yd'ytwn**
(2) line 17	**kd mydkrytwn ... l' yd'ytwn**
(3) line 18	**kd mydkrytwn ...** [something missing?]
(4) line 19	**d'mrytw ... l' yd'ytwn**

After **d'mrytw** the verb **nyzy** occurs. After **l' yd'ytwn** the constant phrase is: **dywy dgbr' mylbr 't' 'lykwn w-X šmyh.** The name of this **gbr'** is **qntyw'l, nwry'l** or **dhbh.** The phrases beginning with **kd mydkrytwn** go on in a uniform manner: **dyw' rbh kmynqdm hwhw' qrbh npqytwn myšt'bdytwn lyh l-X dyw' tqyp'**. The name of the mighty demon is in one case **'wrws**, and in the other **zrny.**

The stereotype phrases are evidently built in the form of an argument, with an assumption made by one party: **d'mrytw ...**, or **kd mydkrytwn ...**; and this assumption is refuted by the phrase **l' yd'ytwn**, which identifies

the persons addressed by the vocative **dywy**. The text seems lacunary at one point, when in lines 18–19 there is no response to **kd mydkrytwn.**

nwry gʾwny gbrʾ: The reading is uncertain. Another possible division of words is **nyrwg ʾwny gbrʾ** "we shall desire the dwellings of the mighty one".

mygyny bʾrʿ: Cf. the Hebrew phrase **mgny ʾrṣ** (Ps. 47:10). The initial **my-** is peculiar (as if the word had an initial preposition **mn**), though the *yod* may represent a *shva.*

dlywt: An unusual spelling for this name, which is commonly spelled **dlybt, dlbt,** cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 217. Reading **dlwwt** "who is together" seems less satisfactory.

{rkyby}, {gwnʾ lʾylhy} in both cases the scribe seems to have corrected himself without crossing out the wrong words.

ʾryʾ rkybʾ: Cf. Gollancz 1898, p. 88: **ʾryʾ rkybnʾ wbrtnynʾ.**

mwrnytʾ bydh nqyṭʾ: Cf. line 16 **skyn gwddʾ bydyh nqyṭ lyʿhʾ**, said of **qnṭywʾl.**

zrgwnʾ is a word of Iranian origin, meaning "yellow, gold coloured". In the Avesta *zairi gaona* (Bartholomae 1904, col. 1680) describes the *haoma* plant. It seems very close in origin to **zrny.** In Jewish Aramaic it designates a certain plant (beet or vine, cf. Kohut 1955, III, p. 319b; Löw 1924-34, I, p. 69; III, p. 449). Arabic *zarajūn* means both "vine" and "wine" (v. Ibn Qutayba 1900, p. 526, and Geiger *apud* Krauss 1955, pp. 169b f.). Talmudic Aramaic *zaryon,* a derivative of the same word, may mean "grape-wine" or "gold-coloured (wine)", cf. Geiger, loc. cit.

ḥp klhw: The verb seems to refer in the perfect to the two *zargona*-s (unless we refer **klhw** to the **ʾylhy dḥršy** which follows, and translate "covering all the gods of the sorcerers"). It is noteworthy that *zargona* occurs in Yerushalmi, Sukka III, p. 53c, where we have the same verb used: עץ שענפיו חופין את רובו ועולה כמין קליעה ... אין תימר זרגונה ענפיו חופות את רובו ואינו עולה כמין קליעה ואיזה זה הדס

16 **wḥrbʾ stnʾ:** We have **ḥrbʾ dqṭlʾ** in line 6.

bsyʾ...šwyʾ: See above, Commentary to line 8.

17 **hwhwʾ:** This should probably be read *hāwe (h)wā*, "there was", a typical Syriac expression (cf. Nöldeke 1898, § 277). It occurs in the group of texts Montgomery 1913, Nos. 32:3; 33:2; 9:2, which should be read with the comments and corrections offered by Epstein 1921, pp. 37 f.

ʾwrws is probably the god Horus. Montgomery 1913, No. 19:11 may have the same name (spelled **ʾwrs**?). **ʾwrws** is here parallel to **zrny** in line

18. A reading **ʾyrws**=Eros should also be considered, although it seems less likely. A third possibility is Ares, which occurs in Arabic magical literature (cf. Ps.-Majrīṭī 1933, p. 212).

tlt ʾlwʾ ʾsʾ: The text is difficult, and may be corrupt. A possible hypothetical reconstruction could be **tlt**<**ʾ**> <**ʾylny**> **ʾlwʾ ʾsʾ** <**w**...> **šww lkw bryšykw** "place on your heads three trees: aloe, myrtle and ..." On **ʾlwh, ʾlwws,** etc. see Löw 1924–34, III, pp. 342, 411 ff.

gwpnʾ is apparently used as a general term for a plant.

znyʾ is probably used in the botanical sense of "creeping, spreading in all directions", for a plant. A similar metaphor seems to be present in Jer. 2:20–21, where the expression סורי הגפן נכריה symbolizes a prostitute woman.

18 **nwrʾ lbyš wnwrʾ mksy:** Cf. Geniza 6, p. 3:6 for a similar expression. The same phrase occurs also in T-S AS 143.113.

zrny has an obvious Iranian etymology: *zarana-, zaranya-* "golden". The demon occurs in Montgomery 1913, No. 11:6, where we have a female genealogy: **zrny lylyth** is the grandmother of **ḥlbs** or **ḥldʾs lylytʾ**. The text is attested in two Judaeo-Aramaic versions and in one Mandaic text. This Lilith is apparently part of the retinue of Bagdana. In our text **zrny** is evidently a masculine figure. As a personal name Zarniya seems to be present in an Elamite text (cf. Mayrhofer 1973, p. 231, No. 8.1505), and Zarina, Zarinaia in Greek transmission (cf. Justi 1895, p. 382). The Pahlavi name Zarr-mihr (cf. Gignoux 179, p. 78) may be a *dvandva* compound of Zarniya and Mihr, both divine names (?).

qrny qrytwn, šypwry mybbytwn: These are unusual expressions, where the indirect object is given without an instrumental preposition **b-**.

mkšṭytwn: KŠṬ and **QŠṬ** in the sense of "to dress, set, adorn" seem to be interchangeable in Aramaic.

19 **ʾ(d)m:** The reading is uncertain, and so is the translation. The second letter could be a *kaf.*

sby...ʾlymny...drdqy: Three groups of helpless people.

dhbh: This name seems to be the Aramaic equivalent of Iranian **zrny** (line 18).

20 **ṣmḥy:** This verb like **PRḤ** has the double meaning of "blooming, growing" and "shining". Cf. above, line 6, to **pryḥy.**

ʾyštpl...ʾybṭl...ʾytzḥ: These verbs belong to subjects in the plural: **gbry, ʾydy šmyh, qṣyry.** Their singular forms confirm the supposition

that the plural endings of verbs in the perfect were unpronounced (unless followed by a suffix). See above, Commentary to line 8 on **ʾt** etc.

ʾytzḥ: The phrase corresponds closely to Bavli Bava Batra 16b **ʾydly ywmʾ ʾydly qṣyr** "the day has risen, the sick man has risen", which is quoted there as a popular proverb.

ʾgbyh: This verb is seemingly derived from **GBY** "to seize (for taxes)", or, as in Syriac, "to choose". As none of these senses goes well with our context, we prefer to see this verb as belonging to **GBH** (which should have given **ʾgbhyh**) "to raise, lift".

qdḥ is a magic verb, as evidenced by Montgomery 1913, No. 10:11. See Epstein 1921, pp. 41 f., who overemphasizes, it seems, the sense of "to rise, pierce", while several passages make it plain that the verb has also the sense of "to wail, moan", as noted by Epstein himself, ibid., p. 42, notes 1–2. Cf. especially Yamauchi 1967, No. 22:162 f. (=Lidzbarski 1909) **ašlit illit uqhdit uṣinpit uamrit** "I shrieked, wailed, howled, screamed and said". For **QDḤ** in the sense of "to flee" see Bowl 10:11.

21 **šmyš**: For a similar role of this deity cf. Montgomery 1913, No. 36:2–3.

mlʾkyhwn: The possessive suffix is somewhat unexpected. One might think of an error for **ʿšrʾ mlʾky hʿynʾwn** "they are ten angels", or the like.

dʾytw: It seems that this is a *peʿal* form in the perfect tense, spelled with a *yod* for traditional Jewish Aramaic *ḥataf patah*.

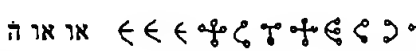
mybyt šydyh: This expression seems to correspond to the original meaning of Iranian **baga-dāna-*, Old Persian *daiva-dāna-* "house of deities, temple". Cf. Shaked (forthcoming).

trʿ[mtʾ] or **trʿ[mʾ]** "quarrel, complaint"; an alternative reading could be **trʿ[tʾ]** "break, breach" (which the Targum uses for Hebrew פרץ).

III. Amulets and Fragments of Magic Books from the Cairo Geniza

Geniza 1

Amulet on cl[illegible]
T-S A.S. 142.17
Plate 32



1 [illegible] או או ה ה ה
2 ה ה [ייות] אתון כל קטיריה קדישיא וכל אתיה משבחיה אלהכו
3 ואבערו לביה דטרשכין בן אמה אללה בחר גדב בת תפאחה
4 אמן

For the writing of an amulet on a piece of cloth, see below, Geniza 6, p. 1:15, **kyrqh gdydh** "a new cloth".

2 **kl qṭyryh**: The writer divided the word wrongly, assuming that these are two words meaning "all the knots", which he followed by **kl ʾṭyh** "all the letters". **klqṭyryh** corresponds to **klqṭyrym, krqṭyrym** (Greek

Geniza 2

Two pages from a magic book
T-S A.S. 143.229
Plate 33

page 1

0 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله
1 איתי ביעתא בת יומא בוכרחא
2 מן זגתא בר בטינתא ועיבד
3 שכבת זרע וחקק עלה ג חלקין
4 דעילא כתוב זפק רבו יקר

Geniza 1

Translation

1 (*magic characters*) **ʾw ʾw h h h**
2 **hh yywt.** You holy characters and all praiseworthy letters, kindle
3 and burn the heart of **ṭrškyn** son of Amat-Allāh (in longing) after **gdb** daughter of Tuffāḥa.
4 Amen.

χαρακτῆρες); see Margalioth 1966, pp. 4, 83–87. The phenomenon is already attested in Talmudic literature, cf. Kohut 1955, IV, p. 243a.

3 The magic aim of making someone's heart burn in longing after someone else occurs frequently in the love amulets from the Geniza. In our texts it occurs in Amulet 10.

Geniza 2

Translation

page 1

1 Bring a first-born egg of the (same) day
2 from a *bar-baṭinta* hen, and make
3 an effusion of semen, and engrave on it 3 parts.
4 On the upper one write **zpq rbw yqr**

Geniza 2

5 יבר נבוג ואמצעי כתוב
6 אזיסקע מגד מסגייע ודלחחתא
7 מזריקי לאי מעטל וקבר
8 ביעתא בזבלא דקנינ(א) מ רוז
9 ובחר כן אפ(ת)[ח] ואת [מ]שכח
10 בה תרין צילמ[ין] חד דאדם
11 וחד דצפרה והנך דאדם
12 קברה על דרנא דמפלגא
13 לארבעי אורחתא ודצפרא
14 שחטה על זוזא חיורא
15 ועיביד הנך זוזא טבעת

page 2

0 הכה(א) (?) פנג (?) שמיה (.....)
1 צום יום אלכמיס ולילת אלגומעה ואכתוב
2 יום אלגומעה באכר פי כזפה ניה פי
3 בית כאלי ואטרח פי אלחמאם (ב)[שם]
4 גבריאל ורפאל וצוריאל ודלקיאל
5 ועוזיאל מיכאל ושרפיאל ואקביאל
6 בשם אל אל אל אל אל אל אל ננננננננ
7 בשם עעעעעע בשם
8 ההההההה אתון שמהתא
9 קדיש[יא] ותק[יפיא] גיבריא
10 אוק[יד]ו וא[דליקו] ליבה ומזלה
11 וכוליתה דפּ כּ פּ בתר פּ כּ פּ
12 במה דהדא חיספא מתיקדא
13 אמן אמן בפריע
14 עיבידו דוצו אוחו
15 זריזו זלזילו ולא תעכבון

Notes to the text
p. 1:0 Addition above the line.
p. 2:0 Apparently added above the line.

5 **ybr nbwg.** On the middle one write
6 **ʾzysqʿ mgd msgyyʿ.** On the lower one
7 **mzryqy lʾy mʿṭl.** Bury
8 the egg in manure of cattle (for) forty days,
9 and after that open it and you will find
10 therein two images, one of a man
11 and one of a bird. The one of a man
12 bury in a valley which splits
13 in four ways; that of a bird
14 slaughter on a white *zuz*
15 and make of this *zuz* a ring.

page 2

1 Fast on Thursday and Friday eve night and write
2 early on Friday morning on an unbaked sherd in
3 an empty house, and throw it into (the furnace of)
the bathhouse: In the name of
4 Gabriel, Raphael, Ṣuriel, Dalqiel,
5 ʿUziel, Michael, Sarafiel and Aqbiel.
6 In the name of El El El El El El El **nnnnnnnnn.**
7 In the name of ‹‹‹‹‹‹‹. In the name of
8 **hhhhhhh.** You holy and
9 mighty names, heroes,
10 kindle and inflame the heart, fortune (!)
11 and kidney of X b. Y (in longing) after A b. B,
12 just as this sherd burns!
13 Amen, Amen. Immediately. (*magic*
14 *characters*) Do, skip ...,
15 hurry, make easy and do not deter.

1:2 The term *zagta bar baṭinta* is evidently based on the Talmudic phrase זגתא אוכמתא בי בטניתא (Bavli Bava Meṣi'a 86b), the meaning of which is not unequivocal. Rashi, followed by J. Levy (*Chaldäisches Wörterbuch,* s.v.), interpret it in the meaning of "a fattened black brooding hen", while Jastrow, s.v. בטניתא, tends to regard the phrase *Be baṭnita* as a geographic term. In Targum Jud. 15:15 **bṭynt'** stands for **ṭryh** "fresh" (cf. Tal 1975, p. 200, n. 25); see also Geniza 6, p. 4:10 **bydh ṭryh,** and Scholem 1965, p. 112.

1:3 **škbt zr'**: The second word in this Biblical Hebrew term is written in Arabic letters, with the possible aim of making the phrase difficult to decipher, perhaps because of its sexual connotation.

1:8 **rwz** is a Persian word.

1:11 **hnk** is here used for the singular, although it is otherwise consistently attested for the plural, both in the Talmudic literature and in the magic bowls (Montgomery 1913, No. 4:3), the latter under the form **'hnyk.** Cf. Epstein 1960, p. 26.

1:12 **drn'**: The reading is certain. The word is not Aramaic, unless we assume a corruption from **drk'** "road". **drn** is attested in Judaeo-Persian Bible translations for rendering Hebrew *'emeq* "valley" (cf. e.g. Paper

Geniza 3

Amulet
T–S A.S. 143.403
Plate 34

1 כשם אומר ועושה
2 מזמן הדין שמא לדלאל בת ציא
3 באהבת עשיר כן וצאיך שימני
4 כחותם על לבה ד"ד"לאל בת ציא וכחותם
5 על זרועך את דלאל כת ציא כי
6 עזה כמות אהבת דלאל בן(?) ציא

1972, Gen. 14:3,7,8; the editor read incorrectly **ddn**). The occurrence of two Persian words in this text, **rwz** and (presumably) **drn**, shows that the text derives from a Judaeo-Persian *milieu*.

2:2 *bākir* is evidently an Arabic word.

kzph nyh: Cf. also Geniza 5, p. 3:12 **šqph nyh**; Geniza 6, p. 1:3 and p. 4:4 **pkr ny**, all referring to an unbaked potsherd, and in all cases (with the possible exception of Geniza 6, p. 4:4) love charms are involved. For an example of an actual love amulet written on "unbaked clay" see Amulet 10, and the Commentary *ad loc.*

2:10 **lybh wmzlh wkwlyth:** The word **wmzlh** stands for **whwnh**, cf. Geniza 6, p. 1:13 **kn thpkwn lbh whwnh wkwlyth** ...The word **hwn**ʾ *(=hawnā)* means "mind, intelligence", but the writer associated this word with the Biblical Hebrew *hōn* "wealth, fortune"; the latter is translated in the Targum of Psalms (e.g. 112:3) and Proverbs (8:18; 19:4; 24:4; 29:3) by **mzl**ʾ, where in some manuscripts it is written **mwdl**ʾ.

2:13 **bpry**ʿ corrseponds to Greek ταχύ, cf. Reitzenstein 1904, p. 292, notes. For Aramaic **pry**ʿ cf. Kutscher 1976, p. 82. A similar expression in Aramaic is **b**ʿ**glh wl**ʾ **tt**ʿ**kb**; cf. Scholem 1965, p. 111.

2:15 **t**ʿ**kbwn** cf. Amulet 3:15.

Geniza 3

Translation

1 In the name of He who says and creates.
2 This spell (*lit.* name) is designated for Dallāl daughter of Ḍiyāʾ
3 for the love of ʿAšīr son of Waṣāʾif. Set me
4 as a seal upon the heart of Dallāl d. of Ḍiyāʾ and as a seal
5 on your arm, you, Dallāl d. of Ḍiyāʾ. For
6 the love of Dallāl d. of Ḍiyāʾ

7 לעשיר בן וצאיף קשה כשאול קנאה
8 רשפיה רשפי אש שלהבחיה מים
9 רבים לא יוכלו לכבות את אהבת דלאל
10 בן(!) ציא לעשיר בן וצאיף ונהרות לא
11 ישטפוה אם יתן איש א כל הון ביתו
12 בא בוז יבוזו לו ויהי יי את עשיר בן
13 [וצ]איף ויט [אליו חסד ויתן חנו בעיני]
14 [דלאל בת ציא ...]

3–12 The text is based on Cant. 8:6–7.

6 The writer uses here and in line 10 *ben* for *bat* after Dallāl. See above, Commentary to Bowl 4:7.

Geniza 4

Amulet
T-S K 1.68
Plate 34

....
1 סלה סלה סלה הללו[יה] בשם יי אל(הי) ישר(א)[ל]
2 על חסדך ועל אמת[ך] יה אלהים א אלהים א א[להי]
3 מערכות ישראל געור כל רוחין בישין [ויסורין]
4 וכל פגעין וכל מזיקין וכל שטן וכל צער וכל
5 מכאוב וכל מיני רוחין ושדין בשם אהיה
6 אשר אהיה שאמר והיה העולם בשם ששמע
7 הים ונבקע שמע האש ונבבה ושמעו הסלעים
8 ונשברו ושמע האבן ויתפוצץ השבעתי א[חכם]

7 to ʿAšīr s. of Waṣāʾif is strong as death. Jealousy is cruel as Sheʾol.
8 The coals thereof are coals of fire which have a most vehement flame. Many
9 waters cannot quench the love of Dallāl
10 d. of Ḍiyāʾ to ʿAšīr s. of Waṣāʾif, nor can the floods
11 drown it. If a man would give all the substance of his house
12 for love, it would be utterly scorned. And God was with ʿAšīr s. of
13 Waṣāʾif and showed [him mercy and gave him favour in the sight of Dallāl]
14 [daughter of Diya...]

12–13 Based on Genesis 39:21.

Geniza 4

Translation

1 Selah Selah Selah Hallelujah. In the name of yy the God of Israel,
2 for thy loving-kindness and for thy truth (Ps. 138:2). Yah God, ʾ, God, ʾ, the God of
3 the armies of Israel (I Sam. 17:45), drive out all evil spirits [and afflictions]
4 and all blows and all harmful spirits and every Satan and all grief and all
5 pain and all kinds of spirits and demons. In the name of
6 I-am-who-I-am, who spoke and the world came into being. In the name of He who, (when) the sea
7 heard (his voice) it split, (when) the fire heard it was extinguished, (when) the rocks heard
8 they broke, (when) the stone heard it exploded. I adjure you,

9 רוחא ושידא בשם המפורש היושב על כנ(פי) [רוח]
10 היושב על ערבות ביה שמו היושב בעבי
11 שחקים היושב בשמי שמים ועוד השבעתי
12 אתכם כל רוחין וכל שדין וכל [מ]זיקין וכל סטנין
13 וכל צער וכל מכאוב וכל מיני פורעני[ות בשם]
14 מיכאל וגבריאל ו(ר)[פאל] וצוריאל ו(נו)ריאל וברקיאל
15 [ושר]פיאל ועוד [השבעתי אתכם]
16 כל רוחין ושדין ו[מז]יקין בשם [ ]
17 שלמה [ ]
18 ותתע(ר) [ ]

In the margin:

[אהו יהא יהו] חח אאא ה בב או מ אב אמן אמן סלה

6 ff. "In the name of He who, (when) the sea heard (his voice) it split" etc: This sequence of adjurations is strongly reminiscent of the Hadrumetum love charm in Greek, quoted in Blau 1898, pp. 97 ff., especially lines 19 ff. Cf. also Geniza 7:8 ff.

Geniza 5

Four pages from a magic book
T–S K 1.70
Plates 35-36

page 1

1 [magical characters] לאישתא רקיקתא ץץ
2 ולעיריותא: משבענא בשם
3 חי האל ובשם צוריאל וכדותיאל
4 על מחושה מי שיהיה עליו הכתב
5 הזה דאיתסי בשם [magical characters]

9 spirit and demon, in the name of the Tetragrammaton, who sits on the wings of the wind (II Sam. 22:11),
10 who sits on clouds, Yah is his name (Ps. 68:5), who sits in thick clouds
11 of the skies (II Sam. 22:12), who sits in the heavens of heavens (Ps. 68:34). Further I adjure
12 you all spirits and harmful spirits, and all Satans,
13 and all grief and all pain and all kinds of troubles. In the name of
14 Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Ṣuriel, Nuriel, Barqiel,
15 [... Sara]fiel. Further [I adjure you]
16 all spirits and demons and harmful spirits. In the name of [...]
17 ...

9 On the concept of *šem hammeforaš* as used in magic texts cf. Blau 1898, pp. 123 ff.

The reconstruction of the letters in the margin is based on T-S K 1.168, lines 38–39.

Geniza 5

Translation

page 1

1 [xxvii] For fever, hectic fever,
2 and for shivering: I adjure in the name
3 of the God who lives and in the name of Ṣuriel and Kadutiel,
4 against pain. He who wears this writing
5 may he be healed. In the name of (*magic characters*)

6 ג ג ג :
7 אחר· קמיע טוב· ٢٨
8 אסותא דרחמנא למי שיהיה עליו
9 הקמיע הזה שהוא ממשפחת ישראל
10 אשביעך רוח ביהוה אלהי השמים
11 ובשביל סנדלפון ובשביל מיטטרון
12 שיתן צ(ינ)ים שיש על מי שיהיה עליו

page 2

1 הכתב הזה לגוים ואל יתן אתו לפ
2 ב פ שהוא מישראל ו'י'אמר יעקב
3 כאשר ראם מחנה אלהים 'זה' ויקרא
4 שם המקום 'ההוא' מחנים : ויצעק העם
5 אל משה ויתפלל משה אל יהוה
6 ותשקע האש : אחישה מפלט
7 לי מרוח סעה מסער : א ב ג ד
8 יהוה ... יהא עוזר וסומך לפ ב פ
9 מיכאל מימינו וגבריאל משמאלו
10 רפאל רפא אתו· יהוה אל באפך
11 תוכיחני ואל בחמתך תיטרני :
12 חנני יהוה כי אמלל אני רפאני יהוה כי

page 3

1 נבהלו עצמי :
2 קמי[ע] לשנתה· ٢٩
3 [ ] (ד)שמאלא
4 שמה רבה בר(וך) ברוך דהוא רמה
5 שנת תרדימה על אדם ודמך כן
6 ידמוך פ ב פ אמן אמן סלה :
7 למן דחשש ראשיה ٣٠
8 כת שמה דהדין מלאכה פולחמה
9 געור צערה דהדן שנה בין בימינה
10 בין בשמאלה אמן אמן סלה :
11 לאהבה· ٣١
12 כתוב עלי שקפה ניה ואלקיהא פי

6 (*a magic character*) ggg.
7 [xxviii] Another (matter). A proper amulet.
8 Healing of the Merciful to him who wears
9 this amulet, who is of the family of Israel.
10 I adjure you, spirit, in (the name of) **yhwh**, the God of heaven,
11 and for Sandalfon and for Metatron,
12 that he should give shields (?) of marble (?) to him who wears

page 2

1 this writing, against (?) the Gentiles, but he should not give it
2 against (?) X b. Y, who is of Israel. And when Jacob
3 saw them (the angels) he said: this is God's camp, and he called
4 the name of that place Mahanayim (Gen. 32:3). And the people cried out
5 to Moses, but Moses prayed to the Lord
6 and the fire quenched (Num. 11:2). I would hasten to find a refuge
7 for myself from the windy storm and the tempest (Ps. 55:9). ʾ **b g d**
8 **yhwh** (...) will help and support X b. Y.
9 Michael is on his right side, Gabriel is on his left side,
10 Raphael cure him. O Lord, rebuke me not in thy anger,
11 nor chasten me in thy hot displeasure.
12 Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak, O Lord, heal me for

page 3

1 my bones shudder (Ps. 6:2–3).
2 [xxix] An amulet for sleep.
3 [...] of the left side.
4 His great name be blessed. Blessed is He who caused
5 a deep sleep to fall upon Adam and he slept, so shall
6 X b. Y sleep, Amen Amen Selah.
7 [xxx] For him who has a headache.
8 Write the name of this angel Pultama (?).
9 Drive out the pain of this tooth (?) either on his right side
10 or on his left side, Amen Amen Selah.
11 [xxxi] For love.
12 Write on an unbaked sherd and throw it into

Geniza 5

page 4

1 אלנאר· בשם עזריאל פוריאל
2 לפ ב פ אמן אמן סלה[:] יום ד
3 [ ] ٢٧
4 יכתב פי רק בס(ך) [וזע]פראן פי יום
5 אלג וידפן פי באב אלדאר והדה
6 כתאבתה· מזמן הדין לאפרוחי
7 ית פ ב פ בחר פ ב פ אשבעית יחך
8 נוריאל דיחיב על תרעי נורא· ואת
9 שמשיאל דיחיב על [ג]לגלי שמשא
10 וכן כתוב אשבעית עליכון בשום
11 שמקה הלוך פקח ענבים ד(או)פע
12 דתידלקון ותיזחון ליביה דפ ב פ

This is a fragment from a book of magical recipes. The individual sections are marked by Arabic numerals (27–32) on the outside margin.

1:1 For the medical terms which occur here cf. the Commentary to Amulet 2. **rqyqtʾ** is an error for **dqyqtʾ**; other corruptions of these terms see in Geniza 6, p. 3:12 and p. 4:1–2.

1:3 **ḥy hʾl:** Cf. Amulet 1:23.

1:12 **ṣynym:** The reading is somewhat doubtful, but this seems to be the only possible interpretation of the letters. The word is probably connected with one of the group of words attested in Biblical Hebrew: *ṣinna, ṣinnim, ṣinnot, ṣninim,* the meanings of which cover the following range: (1) shield; (2) prick, thorn; (3) fishing hook or spear; (4) chill, cold (cf. Gesenius-Robinson-Browne, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament,* Oxford 1975, s. vv.), or, less likely, with Talmudic *ṣinna* "basket". The association of this word with **šyš,** which apparently means "marble, alabaster", is unclear. An alternative reading might be

page 4

1 the fire. In the name of Azriel, Puriel,
2 for X b. Y, Amen Amen Selah... On Wednesday.
3 [xxxii] [...]
4 It will be written on leather with *sukk* (?) and saffron, on
5 Tuesday, and will be hidden in the door of the house. And this is
6 the writing on it: This is designated to cause X b. Y
7 to chase after A b. B. I adjure you,
8 Nuriel, who sits on the gates of fire, and
9 Shamshiel, who sits on the sun-globes.
10 And write as follows: I adjure you in the name of
11 **šmqḥ hlwk pqḥ ʿnbym dʾwpʿ**
12 that you should kindle and move the heart of X b. Y

šeyyēš, which would give an ungrammatical construction, unless some error is assumed in the writing.

2:1 In **lgwym**, as afterwards in **lp. b. p.**, the initial *lamed* seems to be used in the unusual sense of "against", or possibly "for (fighting against)".

3:4–5 Our text is based on Targum to Gen. 2:21.

3:7–10 The headache referred to in this amulet seems to be a toothache.

3:12 For **nyh** cf. Geniza 2, p. 2:2.

4:4 For **sk** cf. also Geniza 6, p. 2:8 **swk**. The word signifies a certain combination of elements, which make up a well known medical preparation; cf. e.g. Garbers 1948, pp. 329–331; Ps. Majrīṭī 1933, pp. 220:1, 275:7.

Geniza 6

Four pages from a magic book
T–S K 1.73
Plates 37–38

page 1

1 לבה דפ ב פ ולא יהווי לפ ב פ אסו עד
2 מן דיעבד צביוני נפשה דפ ב פ א א א
3 ס ה חורן יוכתב עלא פכר ני ויטרח
4 פי אלוקיד והדה אלדי תוכתב בשם
5 אומר ועושה מזמן הדן כתבה לפ ב פ
6 דירחום ית פ ב פ ויהווי ליבה יקר הך
7 מא דהדן חספא יקד כן יהווי לבה דפ ב פ
8 יקד בתר פ ב פ בשם נוריאל מלאכה
9 רבה דמני על חסדא ו(א) וחנה אחת
10 נור מן נורך ואשה מן אשתך ואק(ו)ד
11 לבה דפ ב פ בשם אברסכס
12 מלאכה רבה דהפוך את סדום את
13 עמרה כן תהפכון לבה והונה וכוליתה
14 דפ ב פ בתר פ ב פ אאא סה : חורן
15 כוד כירקה גדידה וכתוב עליהא
16 הדא אלכלם ואגעלהא פי אנבובה
17 קצב וארפינהא פי שפת

page 2

1 נהר גרי בשם רחמנא מזמ<ן> הדן רז[ה]
2 לרחמתא רבה דירחום ית פ ב פ
3 בשם א א הלוציאל הניא<ל> יה אהנהאל
4 צוריאהאל א א א ס ה אתון אתייה
5 קדישייה אלהבו ולק(טף)א ודלקו לבה
6 דפ ב פ בתר פ ב פ ויהוי רחם לה אמן
7 סלה הלו ס חורן כתוב עלא ריק גזל

Geniza 6

Translation

page 1

...(1) the heart of X b. Y, and that there should be no healing to X b. Y until (2) he does the desires of A b. B's soul. A(men) A(men) A(men) (3) S(elah) H(allelujah).

Another (charm). It should be written on an unbaked potsherd and thrown (4) into the fire. This is what should be written: "In the name of (5) He who says and does. This writing is designated for X b. Y (6) that he should love A b. B, and that his heart should burn, just (7) as this piece of pottery burns, so should X b. Y's heart (8) burn (in longing) after A b. B. In the name of Nuriel the great (9) angel who is appointed over grace and loveliness! Bring down (10) a light from your light and a fire from your fire and kindle (11) the heart of X b. Y. In the name of Abrasax (12) the great angel who overturned Sodom and (13) Gomorrah, so should you turn the heart, the mind and the kidney (14) of X b. Y (in longing) after A b. B. A(men) A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

Another (charm). (15) Take a new (piece of) cloth and write on it (16) these words and put it in a pipe of (17) reed and bury it in the bank of

page 2

(1) a running river: "In the name of the Merciful! This mystery is designated (2) for a great love that (X b. Y) should love A b. B. (3) In the name of ʾ, ʾ, Halușiel, Haniel, Yah, Ahanahel (4) Șuriahel A(men) A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)! You holy (5) letters, kindle and ... burn the heart of (6) X b. Y (in longing) after A b. B, that he should love her, Amen (7) Selah Hall(el)u(jah)."

Geniza 6

8 בסוך וזעפרן ועלקוה עליך בשם
9 יי נעשה ונצליח מזמן הדן רזה
10 לשפראטא דפ ב פ דירחום ית פ ב פ
11 בשם כלבו בדו בלהו ריסודוס ד(ז)
12 הווה וזה בא גטית אתון אתייה
13 קדישייה משבחייה אלהבו ואד'ל'ק[ו]
14 לבה <ד>פ ב פ בתר פ ב פ ברחמה רכה
15 א א ס ה ⊙ חורן לילמרד ולגרב גי(ד)
16 כוד בידה מדרה ואטמרהה פי
17 קכר והאדא אלדי תו'כ'חוב מזמן
18 הדן כתבה לפ ב פ דיהווי שייח

page 3

1 ומדנק באשתא אש תמיד תוקד על
2 פ ב פ לא תכבה בשם נטרוס סיה דגהנ(ם)
3 ובשם סמאל סטנא xxxxxx ג ג ג
4 אש תמיד תוקד על פ ב פ לא
5 תכבה אש תלהט אש תורד על
6 פ ב פ ויהווי בנורא נפק בנורא לבש בנורא
7 נפ(ק) שחמה ועד דנצבי א א ס ה חורן ליל[...]
8 כוד דלף ואכתוב עליה מזמן הדן כתבה
9 לפ ב פ דיהווי עלל באשתא ונפק באשת(א)
10 בשם עובה דכר עבראות ילו יסר ניננות
11 כוניית כוניית אתון שמהתה קדישייה
12 שלחו אשתא ועריתא וזעקה על פ ב פ
13 מן הדן יומה ועד דנצבי אמן א ס ה ס
14 חורן יוכתב עלא צפיחת אנך ויטמר
15 פי אלבית אלדי תריד והאדא אלדי תוכ<תב>
16 מזמן הדן כתבה לפ ב פ דיהווי שיח ודייב
17 ומדנק ומטלק בערס מרעה בשם או או
18 נוקאך קהתך קריתך אפלוק או או
19 כיתאון ושאקצו שמו

Another (charm). Write on the hide of a deer (8) with *sukk* (?) and saffron and hang it on you(rself): "In the name of (9) God we shall do and succeed. This mystery is designated (10) for the endearment (?) of X b. Y that he should love A b. B. (11) In the name of **klbw bdw blhw ryswdws dz** (12) **hwwh wzh bʾ gṭyt.** You, praiseworthy holy (13) letters, kindle and burn (14) the heart of X b. Y (in longing) after A b. B with great love, (15) A(men) A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

Another (charm). For sickness and for scab. Effective. (16) Take a fresh egg and bury it in (17) a tomb, and this is what you should write: "This writing (18) is designated for X b. Y that he may melt

page 3

(1) and groan in the fire. There should burn a perpetual fire over (2) X b. Y, unextinguished. In the name of **nṭrws syh** of gehenna (3) and in the name of Samael the Satan (*magic symbols*) (4) There should burn a perpetual fire over X b. Y, un-(5)extinguished, there should blaze a fire, there should descend (?) a fire over (6) X b. Y, and may he be going out in fire, being clothed in fire, (7) its blackness (?) coming out as long as I desire. A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

Another (charm). For ... (8) Take a hoof (?) and write on it: "This writing is designated (9) for X b. Y, that he may be going into fire and going out in fire. (10) In the name of **ʿwbh dbr ʿbrʾwt ylw ysr nynwt** (11) **kwnyt kwnyt.** You holy names, (12) send fire and fever and crying over X b. Y (13) from this day and as long as I desire, Amen A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

(14) Another (charm). There should be written on a sheet of lead and buried (15) in the house which you desire. This is what should be written: (16) "This writing is designated for X b. Y, that he may melt and drip (17) and groan and be cast away on a sick-bed. In the name of **ʾw ʾw** (18) **nwqʾk qhtk qdytk ʾplwq ʾw ʾw** (19) **kytʾwn wšʾqsw šmw.**

Geniza 6

page 4

1 אתון אתייה קדישייה אפלון על פ ב פ אש[תה]
2 זעריתה ודנוקה ויהווי מטלק בערס מארעה
3 ולא יהווי לה אסו עד זמן דנצבי א א ס ה ס
4 חורן יוכתב עלא פכר ני ויטמר פי מוקדה
5 אש תמיד תוקד על פ ב פ לא תכבה כי אש
6 קדחה באפ בפ ב פ ותיקד עד שאול
7 תחתית ותאכל ארץ ויבולה ותלהט פ ב פ
8 לילה וימם לא תכבה האש מן פ ב פ הנה
9 יד יי כפ ב פ א א ס ה חורן לסינה יוכתב
10 עלא בידה טריה ותודפן יום אלגומעה
11 פי קבר מזמן הדן כתבה לפ ב פ דיסני
12 לפ ב פ בשם יי וישנאה פ ב פ לפ ב פ
13 שינאה גדולה עד מאד כי גדולה
14 השינאה אשר שנא פ ב פ לפ ב פ
15 מאהבה אשר אהבו בשם אכתריאל
16 הפכיאל ודפוניאל כן יתהפך לבה
17 והונה דפ ב פ ויסני ית פ ב פ הך מא
18 דאכלבה סני לחזירה וחזירה לבלבה
19 אמן אמן ה ס

1:1–2 **ʿd mn** for **ʿd mʾ**. The phrase **ʿd mn dyʿbd ṣbywny npšh** can be compared with the formula **ʿd dnṣby** below p. 3:7, 13 etc.

1:3 **pkr ny**: See Commentary to Geniza 2, p. 2:2 and to Amulet 10.

1:9 **dmny** for **dmmny**.

wʾ whnh is an error for **wʿl ḥnh**.

1:13 **whwnh**: The word **hwnʾ** may be connected to the Targumic and Syriac word *hawnā* "mind, intelligence", rather than to the Hebrew *hōn* "wealth". For **lbh whwnh wkwlyth**, Geniza 2, p. 2:10–11 has **lbh wmzlh wkwlyth**; see Commentary there and to Amulet 10.

1:16 **ʾlklm** for *al-kalām* (usually spelled in Jewish Arabic **ʾlklʾm**).

1:17 The expression **špt nhr gry** is somewhat incongruous, if the reading is correct. One might expect the Arabic *ḍaffa* rather than the Hebrew *śafa* or the Aramaic *siftā*.

page 4

(1) You holy letters, cause there to fall on X b. Y fire (2) and fever and groaning and may he be cast away on a sick-bed (3) and may he have no healing as long as I desire. A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

(4) Another (charm). There should be written on an unbaked potsherd and buried in a furnace (as follows): (5) "The fire shall ever be burning upon X b. Y, it shall never go out. For fire (6) is kindled by my anger against X b. Y, it burns to the depths of (7) Sheol; it devours earth and its harvest and it glows at X b. Y. (8) Day and night shall the fire keep (burning) unextinguished at X b. Y. Behold, (9) the hand of the Lord is upon X b.Y. A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

Another (charm). For hatred. There should be written (10) on a fresh egg, which will be buried on Friday (11) in a tomb (as follows): "This writing is designated for X b.Y, that he may hate (12) A b. B in the name of God. Then X b. Y hated A b. B (13) exceedingly, so that the hatred (14) with which X b. Y hated A b. B (15) was greater than the love with which he had loved him. In the name of Akatriel, (16) Hafkiel and Dfuniel, so should the heart (17) and mind of X b. Y change to hate A b. B like the way (18) a dog hates a pig and a pig hates a dog. (19) Amen Amen Selah Ha(llelujah)."

2:1 **gry** should be **gʾry** (Arabic *jārī*).
2:5 **ʾlhbw wlqṭpʾ wdlqw** seems to be an error for **ʾlhbw wʾdlqw**.
2:7 **gzl** should be **gzʾl**.
2:8 **swk**: Cf. above, Geniza 5, p. 4:4.
2:10 **lšprʾṭʾ** may be a corruption from **lšpr bʿynh** "finding grace" (?).
2:15 *lilmaraḍ*, as also *bayḍa*, *maḍira*, are spelled with *dalet*; cf. Blau 1980, pp. 35 f., § 2:15; pp. 38 f., § 2:21; Blau 1981, p. 76, note 1. "For sickness" means obviously "in order to inflict sickness on your enemy". Many of the recipes in this fragment deal with malicious effects which the magician tries to direct towards his enemy.
2:16 **mdrh** probably Arab *maḍira* "fresh". Professor Blau has suggested the reading *maḍira* "rotten (egg)", but the recipes usually call for fresh objects; cf. also p. 4:10 **bydh ṭryh**, as well as Geniza 2, p. 1:1–2.

2:18 **šyyḥ** from ŠWḤ "to melt, be consumed, waste away by fire".

3:1–2 The phrase here recalls Lev. 6:6.
3:5 **twrd** should be perhaps **twqd**?
3:7 **npp** or **npq**?
dnṣby may be either first person singular or plural; cf. Dalman 1905, p. 265; Kutscher 1971, col. 272. The singular seems preferable in this context; cf. T—S K 1. 95: **bḥtm' dḥtymyn ... wl' 'yštryn 'd d'nh 'yṣby.**
3:8 **dlp** may represent Arabic ظلف.
3:12 **'št' w'ryt' wz'qh**, cf. p. 4:1–2 **'š[th] z'ryth wdnwqh**, and Amulet 2:12 **'šth w'ryth wdqyqth**. The latter is the correct version meaning "fever, shivering and hectic fever".
3:16 **dyyb** from DWB (Hebrew ZWB) "to drip, to flow".
3:17 **'rs mr'h** is not known to us from other sources. It obviously means "a sick-bed", as Hebrew **'rś dwy** in Ps. 41:4.

4:1–2 See above Commentary to p. 3:12 as well as Commentary to Amulet 2:2, 12.
4:5 After Lev. 6:6.
4:5–7 After Deut. 32:22.
4:8–9 After Ex. 9:3.
4:12–15 After 2 Sam. 13:15.
4:18 **d'klbh** should be **dklbh**.

Geniza 7

Amulet
T–S K 1.127
Plate 39

1 בשמך יי צבאות אלהי ישראל יושב הכרובים שם
2 המפורש בשבעים שמות אל חנון ורחום אל מוחץ
3 ורופא שלח רפואה ותרחם לבנינה בנת ימן ותשלח לה
4 רפואה שלמה על חסדך ועל אמתך בך בטחתי אלהי
5 ישראל ענה אותי ב(ע)ת צרתי משביע אני עליכם
6 הרוחות והשדות ועין רע ופגע רע ושטן רע וכל
7 מיני פורעניות בשם אהיה אשר אהיה המרעיש
8 את העולם כולו בשם ששמע הים ונבקע
9 ששמע האש ונבכה ושמעו סלעים ונשתברו
10 ושמע האבן ויתפוצץ בן תצאו ותלכו ותתרחקו
11 ולא תגעו לבנינה בת ימן מן היום הזה ועד לעולם
12 אמן אמן אמן סלה ⊖ על שמך רחמנא אסותא
13 מן שמיא תהוי לה לבנינה בת ימן ותיחסי ברחמי
14 שמיא ותהוי לה אסותא מן כל עינא בישא
15 ורוחא בישא ופגעא בישא ומרעין בישין
16 ומכתשין ויסורין ואשתא וערויתא וכל זיקין
17 ומזיקין בישין אנא מומינא לכון ומשבענא
18 עליכון בשם גבריאל מיכאל ורפאל דתזוערן
19 ותפקון מן בנינה בת ימן מן גופה ומן
20 רישה ומן צידעה ומן מאתן וארבעין
21 ותמנה איברין דאית בה א א ס הללויה
22 בן פורת יוסף בן פורת (ע)[לי עין] בנות צעד[ה]
23 עלי שור אחישה מפלנ[ט לי מ]רוח סועה
24 מסער מסער סועה מרוח לי מפלט
25 אחישה ⊖ ·
26 כי עם בציון ישב בירושלם בכה לא
27 תבכה חנון יחנך לקול זעקך כשמעתו
28 ענך ויענך ורע שר לא יאונך א א ס

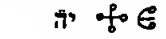
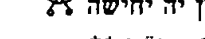
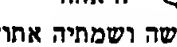
29 פיומיאל אדרמלאל אברסכס סמראל
30 אנטיכוס מנטיפוס שבר שניר
31 שינר ויסיסים וסם ובתכיסן ויכר
32 מצוץ יקטקוטה מעשה ברוחא
33 והן אן בהם א א א ס· יברכך יי וישמרך
34 אנקחם יאר יי פניו אליך פסחם
35 ישא יי פניו אליך וישם לך שלום
36 פספסים ושמו את שמי על בני
37 ישראל ואני אברכם ודיוניסים
38 והפשיט את העלה ונרצה לו לכפר עליו

It has seemed unnecessary to give a translation of this text, which is largely based on biblical verses and contains parallels to other Geniza charms.

2–3 For **mwḥṣ wrwpʾ** cf. Dt. 32:39; Is. 30:26; Job 5:18.
3 The name of the client seems to be Bunayna daughter of Yaman (or Yumn).
5 Cf. Ps. 20:2.
8 For these formulae see Geniza 4:6 ff.
22 Gen. 49:22.
23–24 Ps. 55:9. The verse is repeated backwards.
26 ff. Is. 30:19.
28 **šr** seems to be the Arabic equivalent of Heb. *raʿ*, introduced as a gloss. The Hebrew phrase is a paraphrase of Ps. 91:10.
33 ff. Num. 6:24.
38 Lev. 1:6; 1:4.

Geniza 8

Amulet
T–S K 1.137
Plate 40

1 על שמך ועל חילך מרי
2 דעלמא יהּ יהּ צור
3 ויזאֵ (?) נושא הכתב הזה
4 מכל חולי ומכל נגע ומכל
5 דבר רע ומכל קנאה בישא
6  יהּ
7  אהה חסין יה יחישה
8  יהּ אהה
9 חסין יחישה ושמחיה אתון
10 מלאכיא קדישיא יהּ אהה
11 חסין יחיש טולו ושיזבו מן
12 נושא הכתב הזה חרשין
13 בישין ומכל לווטין בישין יהּ
14 אהה יחיש ופרחיה שדין בישין
15 ומכל פגעים בישין ומכל
16 רוחין בישין לילא ויממא
17 וצהריא ויתגערון ויתרח<ק>ון
18 ויפ(ק)ון מן נושא בתבי זה
19 ומן מאתים ושמונה וארבעים
20 אברים בשם אל חי וקיים
21 מוחץ ורופא והסיר יי ממך
22 כל חולי ויאמר אם שמוע תשמע
23 בקול יי אלהיך והישר בעיניו
24 תעשה והאזנת למצותיו ושמרת
25 כל חוקיו וכל המחלה אשר שמתי
26 במצרים לא אשים עליך כי אני
27 יי רופאיך מרמראות
28 ועדנת שמירות קרובי

In the margin:

לברו יתיה תסגוגא רפא ותיאו ותיאו ותי(נ)או וי(ר)גיה

At the top, inverted:

והוא נעורה אה אה סלה
לעולם ועד אמן (אמן)

This fragment too does not seem to require translation. In the following some comments on points of interest will be made.

3 **wyz'**: We should have expected a verb meaning "to save", like **ṭwlw wšyzbw** in line 11. It is possible that **wyz'** is a corruption of **šyzb**. On the other hand it could belong to the verb attested in similar contexts under the forms: **wtyzh mnh mbklt'** (Bowl 1:11 and Montgomery 1913, No. 32:2); **dyzh wytrḥq mynyh dyw' byš' wsṭn' byš'** (Montgomery 1913, No. 3:2). Montgomery 1913, p. 130, explains this verb as derived from **ZḤḤ** or **ZW'**, but it is also possible to regard it as deriving from **'ZL**, with the *lamed* dropped, as frequently in Eastern Aramaic (see Epstein 1960, pp. 58 f.). In that case the phrase would mean: "May the bearer of this writing go away from all illness...". The difficulty about this interpretation is that it does not form a good parallel with lines 11–12 and that it is not built around any otherwise attested formula, for the bowl-texts use this verb in relation to the evil things which should depart from the person. In addition it would be strange to find here an East Aramaic form. Our suggestion that **wyz'** is a corruption of something like **wyštzyb** seems therefore preferable.

7 **yḥyšh**: Cf. Commentary to Amulet 3:2.

11–13 The syntax here is confused. Read טולו ושיזבו נושא הכתב הזה מן חרשין בישין ומכל לווטין.

17 **wšhry'**: This is a Hebraism in Aramaic.

21 **mwḥṣ wrwp'**: See Commentary to Amulet 1:20 and Geniza 7:2–3.

Bibliography, Glossary and Indices

ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan*
AIPHOS	*Annales de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*
AJSLL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BEO	*Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CRAIBL	*Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
MSL	*Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine*
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie*
REJ	*Revue des Etudes Juives*
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,* Philosophisch-historische Klasse
TSBA	*Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZK	*Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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GLOSSARY*

In the following, all the words and names occurring in the Amulets and Bowls published in this book are indexed. The Geniza texts have not been included in this Glossary. The main Glossary is followed by an index of divine names, names of angels and *nomina barbara*, and by an index of personal names. Biblical quotations are listed in a separate index. The individual words in such quotations are not included in the glossary.

Numbers in italics indicate that the reference is to a text in Syriac (this applies to A*6*, B*1*, and B*10*).

Verbs are placed under their root forms. Nouns are arranged in principle according to their spelling, usually in the definite form. *Matres lectionis* are ignored in the alphabetical arrangement, unless they form part of the root or of the basic nominal form. This rule has not been strictly observed in foreign words.

Restored words have not been listed. Words partly restored are indicated by parenthesis around the line number.

אבא father B 13:12. אבוכון B *1:9*
אבד to be lost. יבד B 9:4
אבל to mourn. אבילין B 6:7
אבנא stone. אבן B 6: 5,8
אברא limb. אברין A 9:3. אבריה (H) A 4:17. איבריה B 13:5
אברא lead B 13:11
אגנא chalice. אגני B 13:18. אגנהו B 13:16
אדונא furnace. אדוני B 13:5
אדמסא steel B *1:12*
אדם a human being B 13:(19)
אודנא ear. אודנין B 6:4. אודניהון B 6:7
או O (interj.) A *6:1, 11*
אוקינוס sea, ocean A *6:4–5*
אוריחה see עריחה
אזגנדא messenger; pl. B *1:5*
אזה perspiration (?) B 13:19
אזל to go, move out. אזלת B 12:2 אזילו B *10:9, 12.* תיזה B *1:11.* ניזי B 13:15, 19
אזרא cedar (?) B 13:12
אחא brother B *1:8*
אחד to hold, seize. יחוד B 9:5
אחד (H) one A 1:9
אחרי (H) behind. מאחריך A 1:2
אידא fate. אידי B 13:14, 20
איך like B *10:11*
אילנא tree B 13:12

* Prepared by Ḥ. Avitan

אית there is / are B *1:4;* 2:6; 5:(2),3; 7:3; 11:8; 12:IX,XI. עית B *10:6,10*

אכל to eat. חכול B 9:9. איכולי B 7:8. אכיל B *1:8;* 13:4. אכלה A 7:17,20. מוכיל *af.* B *1:8.* See also מיכלא

אכליא perdition (?) B 7:3.

אכפיא paralysis B 9:10

אל (H) God A 1:3; 2:4; 4:5,7,8. אלהי A 1:23; 4:24,34. האל A 1:23.

אלהא God A 3:12; 5:3; pl. B *1:9.* אלה A 3:6; 7:5, 11, 14, 15. אילה A *6:2,22,18.* אילהי B 13:3,15. See also בית אילהי

אלוא aloe B 13:17

אילמא mute, dumb. אילמין B 6:17. אלימני B 13:19

אלתר see עלתר

אימא mother B 13:12; see also list of personal names. אמה A 12:17. דימא B 2:4

אמיתא (=אמיטתא) darkness B 7:4

אמן A 1:(6),12, 18, 19; 2:12; 4:23; B *passim.* אמין B *1:13*

אמר to say, speak A 15:17; B 6:10; 12:VIII. אמרת (1st p.) A 7:19; (3rd p. f.) B 12:IV. אמרו B 12:IV. אמריתו B 4:5. יאימר *1:5.* אאמר B 13:15, 19. אמרן A 7:22. See also מימרא, מאמר

אן if A 3:16; 7:7; 7b:3

אנה I A 1:12; 8:3; 9:4; 10:6; 12:1; B 12b:IV. אנא B 12a:IV; 12:VIII. אני (H) A 4:28,32; B 5:1.

אנכא plumb B 13:11

אנשא man; see also בני אינשא (s.v. בר). אינשי B 6:6

אנתי you (f.) B 12b:I

אנתן see אתן

אסא myrtle B 13:12, 17

אסותא remedy, healing B 3:1. אסותה B 11:7. אסו A 3:20(?); B 5:1. אסיותא B *10:6,13.* אסיותיה A 1:15, 18

אסי *pa.* to heal. יאסי A 1:(13). אסי A 3:20 (?). אסון A 3:22. מאסיה A 2:1. *itp.:* יחסי B 11:8. אתאסי A 1:(10)

איסיוי black B 13:9,10

אסכרא choking B 9:9

אסנא granary. אסניהו B 13:19

אסקופתא threshold. אסקופת B 5:1. איסקופתיה B 11:1, (7), 8

אסר to bind. אסרתינון B 5:2, 3. אסיר B 12:IX. אסירא B 2:5; 12:XI. אסרא B 8:I. אסריא B 8:II. אסירת B 12b:I. אסירין B 2:8; 12:XI. אסרין B 8:I. אסיריתון B 5:7

איסרא imprisonment, spell B 4:2

איסתרא goddess B 13:15. איסתרתא pl. B *1:5,9;* 13:14,15,16

אף also B 4:6; 5:7

אצמומא arrow. אצמומי B 13:14

אקרא fort (?). אקרי B 6:9

ארבעא four B 13:16. ארבעין forty A 9:3. ארבעים (H) 4:17. ארבע מאות four hundred (H) 4:17–18

ארזפתא hammer B 13:5

אורחתא way B 6:10. ארחתהו B 13:19

אריא lion B 13:4,15. אריוי B 13:12

אריסותא submission B 11:4

ארנא pine. ארני B 13:12

ארעא, ארעה earth A 9:6; B *1:(3,4);* 2:2, 8; 3:4; 5:2; 6:4; 7:8; 13:10, 13, 15, 20. ארץ (H) A 3:19

אישכריהו wagon. אישכרא B 13:19

אשתה, אישתא fire, fever A 2:2, 8, 12; 3:22; 9:1; B 7:4, 9; 9:3. אשא A 14:2. אש (H) A 4:29

אשלמתא spell; pl. B *10:8;* 11:4

את (H) acc. particle A 1:(3); B 12b:X

אתא omen. אתה B 9:13

אתון you (pl.) A 7:4; 10:3; B5:7.

אנתון B *10:8*
אתון furnace A 3:17
אתי to come. אתא B 5:5, 7; 12:IV; 13:6, 9, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21. יתי B 13:(6). יתא B 9:(13). תיתי B 9:4. תיתון B *10:5*. אתיה B *1:7*. אתיא B 13:15. אתין B *1:7. af.*: איתו B 13:20. איתכי B 7:5
אתרא place B 13:9. אתר A 3:14; B *10:10*; 12:VIII
אתתא woman. דיתתא B 2:9. יתיתתא B 2:9. אינתתיה B 12b:IX. pl. נשי B 2:4; נשא B *10:(7)*
באש to corrupt; see also ביש. מבאשה A 3:4. מבאשין B 6:7
בור pit B 6:8
בטל *pa.* to annul. בטילו B 13:9. בטלון A 5:4. *itp.*: עתבטילו B *10:12*. איבטל B 13:20
בטנתא pregnant B 13:12
ביבא canal. ביבי B 13:6
בין between, among. בין ... בין whether ... or A 4:29–31. בן ... בן B 5:3. בבית B 13:16
ביר well, spring B 6:8
בירא see בעירא
ביש bad, evil B *1:6*; 3:3; 6:10; 11:5. בישא B 7:3; 11:(3). בישין A 13:(5), 9; B 12:XI. בישי B 6:2; 11:(3); 13:11. בישא pl. B *1:11*. בישה f. A 3:4; 13:6; B 13:9. בישא A 14:2. בישתא A 2:3; 7:6,12. בישתא B 8:I,II, III; 12b:I; pl. B 13:7,14,17
בית to dwell, lodge. באתא(?) A 12:12
ביתא house B *1:3,8;* 5:(1). ביתה A 1:17. בית A 15:4; B:13:22. ביתה (with suffix) B *1(1:1–2),10*; 8:II, III. ביתיה B *10:5,7;* 12:IX, XI. בתי B 13:10,15
בית אילהי temple B 2:5. בתי דאילהי B 13:16
בית כנישתא synagogue B 2:5
בית קברי cemetery B 9:14
בין see בית
בלועא throat. בלועיה B 9:9
בלע to swallow. יבלע B 9:9
בני to build. בנת A 15:4
בסי to trample. בסיא B 13:16
בעותא will, prayer. בותך A *6:10*
בעי to ask. בעו B 12:VII
בעירא cattle. בירא B *1:9*. בעריה B *10:(5),7*
בר son *passim*
בני אינשא B 2:3. בני אינשה B 5:6; 6:2, 9
ברתא/בת daughter *passim*. פח B 4:5
ברא to create. ברינא B 6:3
ברא open space (?) A 1:17
מילבר from the outside B 13: 16, 17, 19
בראשית (H) creation B 5:5
בריאתה pl. streets B 6:9
ברך to bless. ברוך (H) A 1:(20); 3:18. ... ברוך אתה A 15:23; B 12b:X
ברכתא blessing A 12:5
ברקא lightning. ברקין B 13:5
ברוקה cataract (?), lightning (?) A 1:16
בשרא flesh. בשר B 13:10. בישריה B 7:8
בתולתא virgin B 13:10
בתר after. בתרי A 10:(6). בתרה A 15:15. בתריה B 12:VII
גאון pride (?). גאוני B 13:15
גבא back. גביה B 13:6
גבא דיגילא alum B 13:6
גבה *af.* to lift, raise (?) אגביה B 13:20
גברא man B 13:5, 9, 16, 17, 19. גברי B 2:4; 6:6; 13:20
גיברא hero, mighty A 1:8. גברא B 13:15. גבר B 5:8. גיבור A 12:(31).

גיבורין B 13:10. גיברי B 5:8. גיבריה B 6:4

גדא fortune B *1:9*

גדד to cut. גודדא B 13:16

גדוד troop. גדודהו B 3:5

גדל *pa.* magnify. מגדלה A 7:16

גדל to dress (the hair). גדליתון B 13:18

גו midst. לגו B 12:VII

גוכתא hill B 7:7

גודא troop; pl. B *1:5*

גוז to vanish. גיזו A 7:22 (?)

גופא body. גופיה B 9:3. גופה A 9:2

גיטא divorce B 5:5, 7

גידא vein, tendon. גידוהי A 1:22. גידוי A 5:(5)

גיל to rejoice. נגיל B 2:9 (?)

גילא see גבא דיגילא

גיסא troop. גיס B 13:6

גילגלא wheel, sphere. גילגלי B 13:5

גללא stone. גלל B 13:14

גלמתה hill; pl. A 9:8

גמלא camel. גמלי B 13:12

גער to drive out, exorcise. געור A 2:11. מגעור A 2:8. געורו (9):14 A. אגער *itp.* A 9:2,4

גפא wing. חיות גפא B 13:13

גופנא vine B 13:17

גופריתא sulphur B 9:3

גרבא itch B 9:(13)

גרגרתא throat. גרגרתיה B 9: 3,(9)

גרמא bone. גרמיה pl. A 1:20,21. גרמוהי A 1:22

די, די־ of, which *passim.* דיליה B *10:8*

דאן A 7:22 (?)

דיבא wolf. דיבי B 13:12. דיבתא B 13:4

דבק to stick. ידבוק B 6:10. ידבקיה B 9:5

דכר to lead, direct. מדברין *pa.* A *6:5*

דברא open field B 2:5

דהבא gold B 13:11

דור to dwell. דירא pt. pl. B *1:8.* דירה (with f. suff.) B 13:10

דורא dwelling. דורה B *1:(1–2),10*; see also דירא

דחל to fear, frighten. תידחלי B 7:6. דחלי B 7:8. דחילא A 1:(8); B 6:9. מידחלא B 11:4. דחילי A 7:15. דחילה *pa.* pt. (?) B 7:8

די enough. דאן A 7:22 (?)

דיוא *dev,* devil, demon A *6:10,14;* B 13:17,18,21. דיוה B *1:12.* דיוין B 8:I. דיוי B 13:7,9,14,15,17,19,21. דיוא pl. B *1:3,4,11; 10:3,8*

דינא judgment B *1:10.* דינה B 9:13

דינא judge. דיני B 13:17, 22

דיריא shed, tent, dwelling. דיריהו B 13:19; see also דורא

דכי pure. דביא B *1:12*

דכר male A 7:7; 7b:3; B 5:3; 8:I. דיכרא pl. B *1:9*; 13:22. זכר (H) A 4:15

דכר to remember, mention. דכרין B 12a:VIII. מדכרין *af.* A 15:20. ידכר *itp.:* B 12b:VIII. מידכריתון B 13:17, 18

דוכרנא memory. דוכרניה B 9:(12)

דוכתא place B 12a:IV. דוכה B 3:2

דלק to burn. תידלק B 9:3. תידלוק B 9:5

דמא blood B 13:22. דמיה B 7:8

דמות shape, form B 13:11. דמותא B 13:11,12,19. דמותיה B 13:20. בת דמו *10:9*

דמך to lie, fall asleep. ידמכון B 3:2. דמכה A 7:19, 22

דן, דנן see הדין

דנח to shine. מדנח B 7:7

דקיקתה hectic fever A 2:12
דרדקא child. דרדקא pl. B *1:8.*
B 6:6; 13:(19). דערדקיהון B 5:4.
דרדוקתא B 6:6
דרום (H) south A 4:12.
דרך *af.* to find. אדריכו B 12:VII
דרך way. דרכיה B 12b:IV
הדדי each other B 13:10
הדין this B *1:4,6;* 2:9; 4:1; 5:1,7.
חדין B *10:13.* הדן A 4:(1). דן
A I:(11); 3:14. דנן B 6:1; 8:(II,IV);
12b:IX. הלין A *6:3;* B 2:7. אילין
B 2:8. המון A 7:16. הדא B 7:1;
13:1. חדא (=הדא) B *10: 7,11,13*
הדמא part, member. הדמאיהוא (?)
B 9:(13)
הדר (H) splendour A 4:27
הוא he A 1:14; 4:(5). היא she A 1:21.
ההיא B 5:6. הי B 4:5
הוי to be. הוא B *1:8,9;* 5:6; 6:10.
הוהוא B 13:17,18. הוו B 13:10.
הות B 5:6. יהוי B 13:14. יהי B 5:1.
נהוא B *1:8.* יהוון B 6:6. ניך B *10:10.*
הן B 6:6; 12:IX
הונא mind. הונה A 10:(7)
היך like B 4:4
הכין thus A 15:(13)
הכנא thus B *10:10*
הלך *pa.* to walk. מהלכה A 1:(21)
הללויה A 4:23; B 12b:IX
הן where. כל הן דּ A 15:19
הפך to turn away, overturn. תהפכי
B 4:6. הפיכא B 2:1–4. הפיכי B 2:1,3
הר (H) mountain A 4:10,11
הרבה (H) many A 1:1
הרי (H) behold, here is A 1:19
הרפתקא destiny B 13:22
ו and *passim.* וי B 2:3, etc.
וי woe (interj.) B 13:20

ולדה child A 12:(4), 34
זידניתא wicked (f. pl.) B 13:17
זוח to move, rise, be elated. איתזח
B 13:20
זויתא corner; pl. B 13:16
זולת (H) except for. זולתו A 4:19
זוע to shake, tremble. מזדעזעין *itp.*
A 9:(8)
זיוה splendour. זיוה B 13:20
זיעא shiver B 9:5
זיקא blast, blast demon B 13:(3).
זיקין A 11:8
זכי to win a trial. זכא B *1:10.* זכיא
B 13:7,21
זכר see דכר
זלח to sprinkle B 13:16
זמורה (?) A 1:(16)
זמן *pa.* to appoint. מזמן B *1:(1–2).*
מזמנא B 7:1
זמר to sing, praise. זמרו A 4:11
זינותא prostitution B 13:10
זני to fornicate. זניא B 13:17
זרגונא vine (?)B 13:15
חבל to injure, destroy. איחבול
B 12a:VIII. *pa.*: חבילו B 13:8. חבילה
B 2:9. See also מחבלה
חבילא injury, destruction B *1:10.*
חבילי B 3:2
חברא companion B *1:8*
חברא sorcerer. חברי B 11:(4)
חד one B 12:III. חדה A 7:17,18.
חד עסר eleven B 2:6
חדותא joy. חדותהו B 13:17
חדי to rejoice. חדא B *1:8.* מחדא *af.*
B *1:8*
חדיא breast, chest B 13:5. חדייה
B 13:5
חדר to surround. נחדרה B *1:11.*
חדרא B *1:7*

חדש (H) month A 4:31
חדתא new. חדתת B*10:9*
חוי *pa.* to tell. מחוא B *1:6*
חוף to cover. חף B 13:15
חיונא vision; pl. B *10:4*
חזי to see. חזון A 15:15. חזוהי B 9:4. *itp.*: יתחזי A 3:14. מיתחזתון B 13:11,13, 20
חזירא swine. חזירי B 13:11
חיא life B 4:8
חיה a living creature B 13:19
חיותא animal
חיות גפא see גפא
חיי to live. חי B 4:8; 13:4. חיה A 9:5
חיים (H) life. בחי האל A 1:23; 12:(19)
חילא power B 13:3. חיליה B 13:3. חילי B 13:9. חילוותא B 13:14,20
חיתא midwife B13:13
חלא sand B 7:7
חלבא fat B 13:16
חלמא dream; pl. B*10:4.* חילמא pl. B *1:1–2, 11.* חילמי B 13:11
חליש weak. חלישין B 13:10
חמה (H) sun A 4:20
חמי to see. חמתון B 6:4. תתחמין *itp.* A 12:(13), 33
חמרא donkey B 13:12
חומרא charm; pl. B *1:5.* חומרי B 13:17,22
חמשה five B 13:21. חמשין fifty B 6:7
חמתה mother-in-law B 2:4
חומתא heat B 13:4. חומתיה B 13:4
חינכיא jaws, palate. חינכוהי B 9:10
חנק to strangle B 12:V. איחנוק B 12:VIII. חנקא B 5:6. למיחנק B 12:VII
חיסא rock. חיסיא B 7:7
חסמתא jealousy B 11:3
חסינא mighty A *6:2.* חסינה A*7:15*
חציף impudent. חציפתא B 13:7
חרב destroyed, wrecked, ruined. חרבי B 13:10,15
חרבא sword B 13:6,8; pl. B *1:7*
חרשא deaf. חרישין B 6:7
חרשא spell, sorcery; sorcerer; pl. B*1:1–2,4,11; 10:8.* חרשין B 12a:III.
חרשיא B 4:6. חרשי B 3:4; 13:15
חשוכא, חשוכה darkness B 13:9,20
חשש *pa.* cause pain. תיחשין A 3:5
חתם to seal. חתימין B 2:8. חתמין B 8:(I). חתמן B 8:(I). חתימא B 2:5. חתימת B 12b:I. חתימתא B *10:9.* ניתחתים *itp.* B *1:(10)*
טב good A 1:(20); 2:1,11; 4:1; 13:2. טבא B *1:9.* טבתא goodness B *1:6*
טוף *af.* to make flow אטף B 13:14
טורא mountain B 2:5; 7:7; 12:III; 13:13,20. טור A 12:4; B 7:7. טוריה A 9:8. טורי B 13:20
טלא shaded place (?) B 3:3
טליא child A 12:3
טלם to oppress. טלמי A 4:6
טלניתה shadow spirit A 7:6,13; 7b:3. הטלנית (H) A 4:15. טלני A 13:8. טלנין A 11:8
טמא impure. טמאה (H?) A 13:(11). טמיתא B 13:17,22
טמר to hide. יטמרון *itp.* B 3:4
טינרא flint B 13:14
טרד to lock. טרדח A 15:6
יבב *pa.* to sound (a trumpet). מיבביתן B 13:18
יבל to lead. אובלתיכי *af.* B 7:5
יבש to dry out, ניבש B 9:(2). יבשון B 9:3

ידא hand. ידיה B 13:6. עדיה B *10:12.* ידה B 13:15
לידא (?) A 15:7
ידע to know B 5:6. יאידע B 4:5. ידענא B 5:4. ידעיתון B 13:15,17,19
יובלה jubilee B 6:7
יומא day B 8:II,IV; 12b:IX; 13:14. יומה A 1:11. יום (H) A 4:29. יומי B 5:4,5; 6:8. יממא A 12:14; B *1:13.* עממא B *10:4*
יחד *pa.* to single out. מיחד unique B 12a:III. מאחיד B 12b:III
יחטא abortion. יחטי B 13:10
ילד to give birth. ילידת A 15:1; B 12:II. יליד B 7:8. ילדתא B 13:10,13
יליל *pa.* to wail, moan. יליל B 13:20
ימא sea B 5:5,7; 12:VII; 13:6,14. ימה A 9:7; 15:16
ימא to swear. מוממנא *af.* A *6:7*
ימינא right B 13:14. ימינך (H) A 1:1. ימינו (H) A 4:32
יממא see יומא
יקד to burn. יקוד A 10:5. יקדתה A 3:18. יקדין B 13:5
ירחא moon, month B 6:8
ריש ירחא New Moon Day B 6:8
ירי to shoot. נורי *af.* (?) B 13:15. See מורניתא
ית acc. particle A 3:14; B 13:22. יתיתא B 2:9. יתה (w. m. suff.) A 15:17. יתיה B 9:5; 12b:V,VII. יותיה B 12a:V,VII. יאתוה B *1:6.* יתה (w. f. suff.) A 13:4; B 2:9. יתכון A 10:4; B 6:3,8,9. יתהון B 12:II
יתב to sit. יתיב B *1:8.* יתבי B 6:9
כא here B 5:5,7
כבר already B 5:4,5
כבש to press down. כבשתינון B 5:3. כבשונכו B 13:13. לכבישוה B *10:13.*
כביש A 11:6. כבישתון B 5:7.
יתכבשון B *1:11,12.* ניתכביש *itp.:* B 9:13. יתכבשו B 3:4.
כד just as, while, when B 5:6; 7:9; *10:9;* 13:17,18
כדא jar. כדי B 13:10,15
כויא scalding (?) B 9:(3)
כוכבא star. כוכבי B 2:3; 9:1
כול to measure. אכיל *af.* A 15:18
כח (H) strength A 4:32
כיפא stone, rock. כיפי B 5:2. כיפיה B 13:14. See also כפא
ככא molar tooth. ככי , ככיה B 13:4
כל, כול all *passim*
כלבא dog. כלבי B 13:10
כלדאה soothsayer. כלדאי B 13:13
כלי to terminate, extinguish. *itp.:* יתכל A 7b:2. יתכלון A 7:5,12. עתכלו B *10:12*
כלי vessel. כלין A 1:14 (?)
כלילא wreath. כלילי B 13:18
כוליתה kidney (w. suff.) A 10:7
כלתא daughter-in-law B 2:4
כלמתא vermin B 9:13.
כמא as ... כ(י)ן ... כמא/ה as ... so... A 4:(6–)14; 10:(4–5); B 6:4; 9:12
כניסתא see בית כנישתא
כנש to gather. כנשונכו B 13:13
כסא full moon B 6:8
כסי to cover, hide. כסיי B 11:3. מכסי *pa.* B 13:18,21
כספא silver B 13:11
כפא palm (of the hand); foot כף A 12:8 (?). כיפי B 5:7. See also כיפא
כפידיה shoulder. כפא דידא B 13:5
כפי to force. תכפין A 12:(10)

כפן to be hungry. כפנה A 7:17,20. כפנתה A 7:19

כפת to bind, tie. כפתינון B 5:2,(3). כיפיתתן B 5:7

כצומא diviner. כצומי B 13:13

כורהנא illness B 13:(20). כורחנה B *1:11,12.* כורהניא B 11:(3)

כרז to announce. כריזי *pa.* (?) B 5:7

כיריתא ditch (?) B 7:4

כורכוריא bones (?) A 11:5,10

כרסא belly. כרסיה B 13:6

כורסיא throne. כרסיה A 7:5,15; 7b:1

כשט *pa.* or *af.* to dress, set, adorn. מכשטיתון B 13:18

כתב to write. כתבת A 1:12. כתבו B 5:5,6; 11:3. כתבי B 6:9. כתיב B 9:5,7,10

לא no, not *passim.* דלא without A 11:6,(7); B 13:6,14. דלה A 9:6

לבא heart. לב (H) A 4:18. לבה (w. suff.) A 10:5. ליביה B 4:5. ליביכו B 13:14. ליביהון B 6:7

לבנה (H) moon A 4:20

לבש to be dressed. לביש B 13:18. לבישין B 13:21

לוט to curse. לטת B 2:6,9. תילוט B 2:9. ליט B 2:(1). ליטא B 4:6. ליטי B 11:4

לוטתא curse B 2:4,5–6; pl. B *1:11;* 4:6; *10:8*; 11:4

לוי to accompany. לויית B 12b:I. לויא B 13:7. See also מלויתא

לוחשה whisper, spell A 1:16

לטבא (= לא טבא) evil B 13:5. לטבי B 13:6

ליליא night A 12:14; B *10:4.* לליא B *1:13*

לילית Lilit B 5:6; 12a:XI; 13:(1),22; pl. B 13:7. לילחה B 8:I. ללית B *1:3, 6, 11*

לית not B 12:IV

למא why. למת (למה את=) A 7:19,20,21

למעלה (H) above A 1:3. למעל A 14:8

ליסטא pirate B 9:14

לפני (H) in front of. מלפניך A 1:(2); 15:25

לקבל against. לקובלי B 6:5,6. לקובליה B 6:2

לקי *af.* to strike. ילקו B 9:3

לשנא tongue. לישניה B 9:2,(10). לישניהון B 6:10

מא anything; what? B 12:VI. מה A 15:13. See also למא, כמא

מאד (H) very A 1:1

מאה hundred. מתין A 9:3. מאתים (H) two hunderd A 4:16. ארבע מאות (H) four hundred A 4:17–18

מאמר speech, commandment A 3:23. See also מימרא

מבכלתא tormentor B *1:1–2,11;* 12a:XI; 12b:I

מבעדא see מעבדא

מגלא sickle (?) B 4:(4)

מגר *pa.* to vanquish. ימגר B 9:4

מדברה wilderness A 9:7

מדינתא country, city B 6:3

מידיעם thing B 3:3; 11:5

מה see מא

מהרא (sacred) word, spell. מהרין B 11:3

מורניתא lance B 13:15

מות to die. מיתי B 9:4. ימות B 13:12

מזג to mix, fill the cups. מזיג B 13:4. מזגיתון B 13:18

מוופיתא rebuke B 9:5

מזיקא harmful spirit, destroyer.

מנוחה repose A 1:2

מני *pa.* to appoint. ממני A 12:2

מסס to dissolve. יתמסי *itp.* B 9:2

מעברא witchcraft, magic practice, sorcery B *10:8;* pl. B *1:5.* מבעדא B *1:11*

מעברתא ford A *6:3–4,6*

מועט לבנה (H) diminution. A 4:20

מערב (H) west A 4:13

מערכות (H) battle line A 4:24

מוקדא top of the head. מוקדה B 13:8

מקדשה temple B 12b:III

מוקרא brain. מוקרה B 13:8

מראה (H) sight. מראות הדר A 4:27

מרוביא educator B *1:9*

מרדותא chastisement B 13:4. מרדותיה B 13:4

מריא lord B 10:8; 13:3,6,13. מרי A 1:18

מרתי my lady A 8:6

מריע sick. מריעין B 6:7

מרירתא bitterness. מרירת B 7:4

מרכבא chariot B 13:6. מרכבותיה B 13:6

מרעא sickness. מרעי B 11:3

מרר to embitter, afflict. מררי B 7:8

משדרנא sender. משדרניה B *10:12*

משקיפותא affliction B 4:6

מישתייכון drinking, drink. B 13:10

מתא place, village, town B 2:5; 9:13

נבח to bark. נבחיתון B 13:10

נגע (H) plague A 1:4

נידרא vow; pl. B *1:1–2,11;* 3:2. נדרך (?) A 4:6

נהר to illuminate. נהרא B 13:20. אנהר *af.* A *6:10*

נוולא loom. נוולי B 13:13

מזקה A 7:13; 7b:2. מזיקין B 12:XI. מזקין A 11:8; 13:(5),9. מזיקי B 5:3

מזלא planet. מזלי B 2:3; 9:1. מזלותיה (H) A 4:20

מחבלה destroyer A 7:13; 7b:2

מחי to blot out; to smite. מחונה B 13:8. *itp.:* איתמחי B 9:12. יתמיח B 9:12

מחלה (H) illness. מחלחם B 9:(6)

מחמת (H) because of B 6:6

מיא water A *6:5;* B 13:9,10. מיה A 15:(19)

מיכלא food. מיכליהון B 13:10

מימרא speech B 13:3. See also מאמר

מכאובא pain A 1:11

מלא to fill. מלא משמלא (?) B 4:4

מלאכא angel; pl. B *1:7.* מלאכה A 11:6,(7); B 2:6; 9:14. מלאכין B 2:9. מלאכיה A 3:21; 7:4; 10:3. מלאכיהון B 13:3,21. מלאכי B 13:21

מלריתא companion (f.); an epithet for female demon B 13:7

מלך to advise (?); to rule (?) מלכנא B 4:4

מלכא king. מלכה B 13:3. מלך A 1:(7); 3:1,3; 4:8

מלך מלכי מלכיא A 1:(24); 12:(20)

מלכותא kingdom B 13:3. מלכות A 4:25

מלך see מלכנא

מלל *pa.* to speak. ימללון B 6:10. ממלל A 3:3; B *10:12*

מללא speech B 6:10

ממלא speech B 11:3

מילתא word, spell B 7:1. מליה pl. A 7:14. מלא pl. B *1:7*

מן who A 9:5; 15:18; B 2:7

מן from *passim.* מין B 2:9; 4:6,7,8

נום to sleep. נימה A 7:18,21. נאמתה A 7:(21)

נורא fire A 3:18; B *1:7, 10;* 13:4,5,9,18,21

נוחרא nostril. נוחרה A 5:(3)

נחשא copper B 13:11. נחשה B 12a:III; 13:6. נחש A 11:(6); B 12b:(III)

נחת to descend; *af.* to bring down, introduce. אחית B 13:14. אחיתנכו B 13:13. מחית B 4:5

נטר to guard. *part.* A 12:3. טור A 12:4. *itp.:* נתנטר B *1:13.* ניתנטר B *10:6, 7, 10, 13.* ניתנטרן B *10:11*

ניא chest A 11:(5),10

נכבד (H) honourable A 4:(2)

נכי to afflict. מכה (H) A 1:20; B 12b:X

נכל (?) A 4:18

נכר *itp.* to be estranged. יתנכיר B 9:3

נמרא tiger B 13:5. נמרי B 13:12

נסב *pa.* to hand over. מנסבא B 13:15

נסיסא grief B 13:17

נער to shake off. תנער (H) *nif.* A 4:15

נפל to fall. יפול B 9:10. פולי B 7:6,8. מיפל B 7:7

נפק to go out. נפקת B 7:4. חיפקון B *10:10.* פוקו B *10:8.* נפקי B 6:10. נפקיתון B *10:9;* 13:17,18 נפקא B 13:18,21. נפקן B 10:9

נצח to be victorious. נצחין B 5:8

נצר to grunt. נצריתון B 13:10

נקבה female A 4:15 (H); A 7:7; 7b:(3). נקבא B 5:3. נוקבה B 8:I.

נקבתא pl. B *1:10.* ניקבותא B 13:22

נקט to hold. נקיטא B 13:15

נקם to take revenge. תיקום B 2:9. נקום B 2:9

נקמה (H) revenge, judgment. ניקמת B 2:9

אל נקמות A 12:18

נקש to strike B 13:14

נתן to give. תיתנו B 6:4

נישמתא soul; pl. B 2:9

סבא old man; grandfather B 13:12. סבי B 13:19. סביהון B 5:4

סבתי grandmother B 13:12

סגי numerous B 6:3

סוגיא walk, practice B 13:4. סוגייה B 13:4

סדנא anvil B 13:5

סומא blind. סמן B 6:7

סחף to wreck. סחוף B 13:16. סחפונהו B 13:(19). ניסחופינהו B 13:16. למיסחף B 13:16. סחפי B 13:22

סטנא Satan B 13:16; pl. B *1:6.* סטנה B 9:(14). סטן A 14:2,9

סטרא side. בסטר A 7:15

סיפא sword, sabre B *1:7*

סכינא knife. סכין B 13:16

סכר to lock, shut. לסכורי *pa.* B 6:1. יסתכר *itp.* B 9:(3)

סכתא nail. סכת פדנא coulter B 4:4

סלה A 1:12, (18,19); 2:11; 4:23; B 3:5; 5:6; 6:10; 8:IV; 11:5,9.

סלא B 4:3

סלק to rise. סלקה A 7:14. מבסק (error for מנסק or מיסק ?) B 7:7

סמך to lean, rely. יסמכו B 9:14

סממיתא spider, lizard (?) B 12b:II. סממית A 15:1. סמומית B 12a:II

סנדלא sandal, shoe. סנדלי B 13:6. סנדליה B 13:6

סני to hate. סניי B 11:3,4. סניתא B 13:11

ספרא book. סיפרי B 6:9

סרודתא terror, fright B 13:13; pl.

B *1:3,(11)*

סירפא draught. סירפי B 13:5

סררותא dominion. סררו A 7:(3)

סתם to shut B 5:8

עבד to do, make, perform A 15:13; B 7:9.עבדת B 12:III.עבדו B 12:VI. למעבד(.13)9:B עביד *10:6.* תיבדון B 4:8. מחעבדין *itp.* B 3:4 משתעבדיתון *išt.* B 13:17,18

עבדא servant. עבדה A 3:6

עבדא, עובדא work, magic act; pl. עבדין B 3:4; 12:III B *10:12.*

עבר to pass, transgress B 2:7. נעבר B 12:IV

עיבר bank, side. מן עיבר from across, beyond B 5:5,7

עגלא swiftness. בעגלה swiftly B 9:13

עד up to, until A 1:(12);4:12; B 5:3,4; 7:7; 8:IV

עוק *af.* to oppress. מעיק B 3:3

עז (H) power B 3:5

עזר (H) help. עזרי A 4:3

עינא eye. מעין A 1:16–17. עינין B 6:4. ענין B 2:9. עיני B 9:4. עינוי A 5:(5). עיניה B 13:5. עיניהון B 6:7 עינא בישתא evil eye B 8:II,III. עין בישה/א 3.-2:2 A עינה בישתה A 13:6; 14:2 עין רעה (H) A 13:10

עית see אית

עכב *pa.* to detain, prevent, delay. תעכבין A 3:15,16

עכר to disturb. יתעכר *itp.* B 9:4

על upon, above; against *passim*

עלל to enter. עול, על A 15:10; B 12:V. נ(י)עול B 12:IV. עלא A 11:5

עולימא young man, lad B 13:12. עולימיהון B 5:4

עולמתא lass B 13:12

עלמא world, eternity A *6:5–7*; B 2:9; 5:3; 12a:III. עלמה B 9:12. לעלם A 1:12; B 8:II,IV; 12b:IX. עלמיה A 3:(1). עולמים (H) A 3:2

עלתר on the spot, now B 7:9

עם with A 4:9. עים B 12b:I; 13:1,7,8. ע(י)מהון A 15:(10); B 12:V

עמא population. עמיה B 6:3

עמודא colum, pillar. עמודין A 9:7

ענגא cloud B 13:5

עפרא dust B 3:2

עקר to uproot. תעקרו A 11:10. *itp.:* יתעקר B 9:(12). תתעקרון A 11:4

עריתה shiver, shivering A 2:2,8,12; 3:22. בירויתא=)בערויתא(B 9:13. אודיתה העריה (H) A 4:29

ערק to flee, run away A 15:(14). ערקת A 15:2; B 12:II. יערקון A 11:8 ערוסו ארוקו B *10:11*

עשה (H) to do. עושה B 5:1

עשרא ten B 13:21. תרי(ן) עשר twelve B 12:II

פאר *pa.* to glorify. מפאר A 4:3. מפארה A 7:(16)

פגרתא see פגדתא

פגע affliction A 1:4

פגרא body. פגרה (w. m. suff.) B *1:10.* פגריה B *10:6,8,10,12.* פגרה (w.f. suff.) A 2:9. פגריהו B 13:19

פגרתא idle (?); pl. (?) B 13:9

פדנא plough B 4:4

פה (H). mouth פי (?) A 4:1. פיה A 4:19

פומא mouth. פום B 5:8; 6:5. פומיה B 4:5; 9:2; *10:12;* 13:5,18. פומה B 6 : 1, 5, 9; (w.f. suff.) B 13 : 8. פומיהון B 6:7,19; 13:21

פלגוס sea A 15:16; B 12:VII

פלט *pa.* to save. לפלטא A 13:(4)
פולקתא hatchet B 13:8
פנים (H) face, north. See also לפני
פסס to cut off, break. פסיסי B 13:10,15
פרגוד attendants (?) B 13:14
פרזלא iron B 12a:III; 13:5,6,13,14. פרזלה A 15:(5). פרזל B 12b:III. פורזיל A 11:7
פרח to flee. פרחו B *10:8*. פרחן B *10:9*
פריחא spark. פריחי B 13:6
פרחחא bird. פרחחותא B 13:13
פורענותא misfortune B 9:13
פרק to loosen; *pa.* to remove, take off A *6:13*. פרקי A *6:9*
פרש to disclose, explain. פירישו B 5:4,5. פרוש (H?) wonderful, distinguished A 3:3
פשר to melt. פשרא B *10:11*
פתגמא word A 4:1; B *1:6,8*. פידגמי B 11:(3)
פתח to open A 15:14; B 12:IV. פתחת A 15:10; B 12:V. פתחא B 12:IV
פתכרא idol (spirit) B 12a:XI; 13:7,22. פתכריה B 8:I
פתכרותא idolatry B *1:5*
פתורא table. פתורי B 13:18
צביונא will, desire. ציביוני A 10:8
צדעא temple. צידיה B 13:5
צוח to shout. צוחת A 15:(11); B 12:IV. מצוח B 7:6
צותא associate B *1:9*
צחי to be dry, thirsty. צחיה A 7:18,20. צחיתה A 7:20
צדעא see צידא
צית *pa.* to obey. מציתא B 2:8
צל (H) shadow A 4:19
צילמתא form; pl. B 13:12
צמד *pa.* to attach. מצמדנא B 4:4
צמח to grow, shine. צמחי B 13:20
צערא pain B 11:3. צערי B 11:3
ציפרא bird; pl. B *10:9*
קבל *pa.* to accept, receive. קבילת B 5:6. קבילו B *1:9*. מקביל B 1:6. מקבלא B 2:9
קבר to bury. קביד B *1:3*
קברא tomb. קברין B 7:4. קברי B 9:14; 13:13
קדח to run away. קדחו B *10:11*
קדח to wail, moan B 13:20
קדם (מן) קמ־ before, in the presence of. קדם A 1:18; 7:5; 7b:1; B 13:17,18,21. קדמין beginning A 1:23. קדמוי A 9:(8). קדמוהי B *1:7*. קדומיה B 2:2. קדומה B 3:4. קומה, קמה B 13:8
קדיש holy A 3:23; *6:2*. קדישא A 4:2; B *10:(8)*. קדישיא A 4:2. קדישיה A 5:2; 10:(3). קדשיה A 7:4. קדוש (H) A 12:16–17, 44
קדש *pa.* to sanctify. מקדשה A 7:11,16
קום to stand, exist. קומו, קמו B 12: VII. קמת A 15:3; B 12 :VI. קימה B 12b:X. קימא B *10:5*. קים A 9:5. קימין A 6:3; 7:4; B 1:7; 6:2,5. קימן B 6:6. אקים *af.* A 9:6. יתקים *itp.* B 9:5,6,7,(10)
קופא monkey. קופי B 13:12
קטל to kill A 15:11; B 5:8; 12:II. קטליה B 12:V. איקטול B 12:VIII. ניקטול B 13:19. קטיל B 13:22. קטלין B *1:7*. קטלא B 13:4,6,8,22. מיקטל B 12:VII. מקטול A 15:17. מקטלא *pa.* B 13:10. עתקטל itp. B *10:12*
קיא vomit. קיה B 9:(2)
קלא voice. קל קלא (?) B 4:4. קלה B 2:8. קל B 2:9.
קלי to burn. קליה (?) B 4:4. מחקלא

itp. B *1:10*

קלמתא vermin B 9:13

קמ- see קדם

קמיעא amulet B 5:1. קמיעה A 3:14. קמיע A 1:20; 2:1,11; 4:1; 13:(2)

קנינא possession, livestock. קנין B 5:2. קינין B 4:8. קינינה B *10:7*

קפלרגיא headache A 11:5

קצירא sick. קצירי B 13:20

קרא to call. קריא B 2:8. קרינא B 6:4. קריתן B 13:18. *itp.*: מחקרא B *1:9.* מחקרייא A 11:5. מחקריה A 9:1. מיתקריתן B 13:11

קראה a biblical verse B 9:5,7,10

קרב to come near, approach. קריב B 13:7,22

קרבא war, battle B 5:8; 13:4,17, 18, 21, 22. קרוביא attack, encroachment B *1:3,11*

קרבין (H?) intestines A 4:18

קרי to happen B 7:3. קיריית B 7:3

קריא accident, mishap B 7:3

קרנא horn. קרני B 13:18. קרניהו B 13:16

קרנתא street corners B 6:9 (cf. שוקא)

ראש see רישא

ראשית see בראשית

רב great. רבא A 1:8; 3:12; *6:1;* 12:15; B 2:6; 6:9; *10:8* ורבה A 7:4,5,15; B 12:VII; 13:3,13,14,17,18. רבתא A *6:4.* רברבן A 4:(2). רברכיהון B 5:(3)

רבו greatness A *6:8*

רבון lord B *6:12*

רבי Rabbi A 3:5

ריגותא lust B 13:10

רוגזא anger, wrath B *1:7;* 13:22

רגע (H) (bad) fate (?) A 1:4

רדף to chase. רדפו A 15:15; B 12: VII. נירדפינהו B 13:19

רוחא spirit A 12:9; B 9:(14). רוחה A 7:6, (12); 9:1. רוח A 1:20,21; 3:4; 4:15; 12:1,12,32; 13:7,11; 14.(3). רוחי B 13:14,20. רוחחה A2:9. רוחות (H) A 15:25

רויתא see עריתה

רום *pa.* to lift, exalt. מרומה A 7:16

רוקא spittle. רוקיה B 9:2

רזא secret, mystery B *1:7;* 6:1. רזה B *1:3.* רז B *1:3.* רוז A 3:3. רזי B 5:2

רזם *af.* to swear (?). ארזם A *6:12*

רחם to love. רחימנא B 6:3. איתרחם *itp.* B 12b:VIII

רחמא friend B *1:8*

רחמין mercy A 7:1; 7b:1. רחמי B 11:8

ריחא odour, perfume B 13:19

ריסיא eye-lids A 5:(4)

ריריא spittle. ריריה B 9:2

רישא head. ראישא B 13:4. ראישה B 13:3. רעשי (H?) A 14:8. ראישיה B 13:4. רישה (w. m. suff.) A 5:3; (w. f. suff.) A 11:4,10. רישיכו B 13:15,17

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רשיעה wicked B 12a:II

רתק *af.* to knock. ארתקו A 15:8. ארתיקו B 12:IV,VI,VIII

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שיצי to finish, complete. ישחצי *itp.* B 9:4

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INDICES

As the Glossary gives all the words occurring in the Amulets and Bowls published in this volume, the Indices are in principle restricted to the Introduction and Commentary. Two exceptions have been made: the General Index includes divine names occurring in our Geniza texts, and the Index of Quotations incorporates references to the Amulets and Bowls as well.

The alphabetical order follows that of the roman alphabet, the two signs for *alef* (ʾ) and *ʿayin* (ʿ) coming first when used in consonantal transliterations. Greek is here given in transcription.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

The following notes incorporate suggestions made by several scholars: Benjamin Elizur, Simon Hopkins, Charles Meehan and Mordecai Mishor. They were kindly communicated to us in a note written by Mr Benjamin Elizur, where individual authorship was not indicated; references to "Elizur" in the following should therefore be understood to refer to the whole group. These notes also contain a selection from the suggestions made in a number of reviews and publications, as indicated, but other important notes that were given in some of the reviews should not be ignored. The main substantial reviews of which we are aware are the following: Gordon 1987a; 1987b; Morony 1988; Oelsner 1989; Puech 1988; Segal 1986.

Beyer 1984 contains editions of the following amulet texts: A 2 (p. 397), 4 (374), 5 (383), 7 (371), 8 (395). Beyer 1994, contains editions of A 1 (p. 258), 3 (260), 4 (249), 5 (253), 7 (248), 8 (258), 10 (238), 11 (235 f.), 12 (236), 13 (237), 15 (263).

Page 8, Plates 5 and 6. Amulets 6 and 7 were published by courtesy of the Archives de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, from the bequest of Dupont-Sommer. Their shelf-mark is G 6.

Page 22, n. 23. This amulet was edited in our *Magic Spells and Formulae* (*MSF*) as A 27.

Page 32, last paragraph. Read: Besides the older form of the possessive suffix of the third person singular masculine attached to a plural noun, **-why**, which is attested in forms like **ḥzwhy** (Bowl 9:4), we have the younger form **-yh**, e.g., **gybryh d'r'h** (Bowl 6:4), **šqyh** (Bowl 9:3), etc.

A 1:1–3. Similar formulae, enumerating an angel for each side of the person to be protected, occur also in Coptic. Cf. Kropp 1931, p. 71, n. 1; Polotsky 1937a, pp. 236 ff. The Jewish formula occurs also in *Seder Rav Amram Gaon*, p. 55a (a prayer for the safety of a journey).

A 1:11. For יומא read: יומה (Elizur).

A 1:14. Read: רקיעה דהוא מ(קב)ל (ת)מידה בכל יום [ ] (based on Elizur).

A 3:4–5. Read: דלה תיחטין "that you should not sin" (Wesselius 1991, p. 711).

A 2:2. Further discussion of the terminology for fevers in the Aramaic magic texts, and its relation to the relevant Greek terminology, is to be found in our second volume, *MSF*, pp. 36f., and in the commentary to A 19 (p. 64).

A 3:8. For the figure of Ṣuriel cf. Polotsky 1937a. The Coptic tradition renders this name (also in Arabic) by a simple s, but it seems possible to assume that it is the same angel as Ṣuriel. If it is, it may be interesting to check on the relationship of this name of angel, who is said in the Christian tradition to be "the trumpet blower", with the Arabic word for "trumpet" in the Koran, *ṣūr*, for which Duchesne-Guillemin 1979 has suggested an Iranian derivation.

A 5:3. In the translation, correct Samriel to Šamriel.

A 6. The figures of the three deities (?) that stand in the water and direct the water and the world are reminiscent of the midrashic passage: אמר ר׳ לוי יש מן הדרשות שהן דורשין כגון בן עזי ובן זומא קולו שלהקב״ה נעשה מיטטרון על המים הדה היא קול י״י על המים (*Bereshit Rabba* 5:4; the spelling according to the Geniza fragment in Sokoloff 1982, p. 89), "Rabbi Levi said: There are certain (types of) exegesis that they make, like Ben ᶜAzzai and Ben Zoma, (viz.), The voice of God became a leader over the water, that is (the meaning of the verse), 'The voice of Lord is upon the water' (Ps. 29:3)".

A 6:1. We suggested that Rabbā may be the name of a deity. This idea may get some support from an inscription from Taymāʾ, where it is said: **[h]qym krsʾʾ znh qdm ṣlm zy rb** (see Aggoula 1985, pp. 66 [No. 8:6], 75; Cross 1986). Aggoula translates this phrase, "il a érigé ce podium devant le Maître de l'édifice"; but it seems more natural to translate, "has erected this stool in front of this statue (or idol) of Rab". One should recall in this connection that in the Islamic usage, Arabic *rabb* is one of the prominent epithets of God. On the other hand we have the formula בישמיה דיהוה קדיש אילאה רבא דישראל (Isbell 1975, No. 66:2–3), where *rabbā* seems to occur as a mere adjective. Puech 1988, p. 586, regards A 6 as a good Christian text, and interprets **rbʾ ḥsynʾ qdyš ʾylʾ** as three epithets of Bar-Theon "the Son of God".

A 6:8. **rbw**: Segal 1986, p. 97, refers to the unpublished bowl BM 91771, where he quotes **rbwty wšylṭny**.

A 7:15 ff and A 7b:1. Note the correction to the reading and translation on p. 76.

A 7:22. For דאן cf. Schäfer 1984, p. 75: על האופנים שלח לי דרך דאן ברעד אן (T-S K 21.95 I). The text there is far from clear, but it seems to bear witness to the use of דאן as a magic word.

A 9:8. Perhaps read, following Qimron 1993, p. 270: קו[ו]מוי טוריה וקלמתה [מזד(ע)וע(ין].

A 10. For a new reconstructed reading based on a Geniza recipe (G 22) see *MSF*, p. 219. For the commentary on pp. 88 f. it may be noted that there are several other occurrences of injunctions in magic recipes to use a new vessel, or an unburnt piece of pottery. *Sefer ha-razim* provides us with two good examples: צלוחית חדשה (I:96, p. 72), בשבע נבלי חרש שלא נכנסו באור (I:53, p. 69).

A 11:3. For Barqiel cf. Henning 1935/7, p. 583. Also 3Enoch 14:4; 17:1.

A 11:5. For an angel appointed over headache cf. the Geniza fragment CUL Or. 1080.6.19 קורא אני למלא[ך] (שהו) ממונה על מחוש ראש (for this fragment see *MSF*, G 29, p. 2:14–15). A demon *di'u*, a name that denotes some head ailment, exists in Akkadian; cf. von Soden 1959–1981, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, s.v. As a parallel expresssion, Segal 1986, p. 97, quotes **kybr'šh** 'headache' from the unpublished bowl BM 91771.

A 11. Read, following Beyer 1994, pp. 235 f., in line 5: ועלא בכורכורי אדניא; in line 10: תעקרו מן כורכורי אדניה[ו](א). The word כורכור should signify, as Beyer suggests, the auditory passage in the ear.

A 11:6. It may be noted that כביש could equally well be an active participle.

A 14:8. Further references for this formula are given above, in the Addendum to A 1:1–3. Cf. also Gollancz 1898, p. 88: גבריל מן ימינה ומיכאיל מן סמלה אשרה (=אהיה אשר אהיה) אלשדי אדוני לעל מן רשה וכוֹבא מן קדמוהי וסוֹפא מן בסתרה. The theme of the angels on all sides is discussed in Krämer 1928/9, pp. 119 f.

A 15. Further references for the Semamit story are: Barb 1966; Spier 1993; Greenfield 1989, where the variants of the Greek Gylou story are studied in great detail (no reference is given to *Amulets and Magic Bowls*). Cf.

also the long and detailed study (from an ethnographic point of view) by Sorlin 1991. Other versions of the Semamit story were published by Oelsner 1989; and by Müller-Kessler 1994.
For the lizard in magic, cf. Nock 1972, pp. 271–276.
To p. 121, note 23, on the use of iron in magic, add also Canaan 1914, p. 51.

A 15:8. Read: וני[ס].

A 15:24. For קים (אל) read: אלהים (Elizur).

B 1:11–12. For the Greek *adamas* and its Iranian counterpart, cf. further Schaeder 1926, pp. 228f.

B 2. Segal 1986, p. 97, mentions three other unpublished BM bowls with similar texts, more specifically BM 91713.

B 2:5. **wbyt ʾylhy wbyt knyšt**ʾ: According to Segal 1986, p. 97, the same basic formula occurs in two unpublished BM texts, 91713 and 91758.

B 2:8. **wkwl dlrʿ qryʾ wkwl dlšmyʾ mṣytʾ**: According to Segal 1986, p. 98, this could be translated "all that calls to earth and hearkens to heaven".

B 10:11. In the commentary, p. 183, the reference to the Peshitta to Ps. 88:2 should be emended to read 68:3.

B 12:VII. אדריכו = "they overtook". For a comparable Hebrew usage see Judges 20:43 כתרו את בנימן הרדיפֻהו מנוחה הדריכֻהו עד נכח הגבעה ממזרח שמש

B 13:4 ff. The physical description of the demon has several further parallels. In Coptic magic such a description occurs in the British Library text, Ms. Or 5987, published by Kropp 1931, I, p. 25; II, p. 152, for which cf. Polotsky 1937b, pp. 123 f. Kropp's text reads in Polotsky's translation: "Dessen Vorderteil löwengesichtig ist, dessen Hinterteil bärengesichtig ist, der mit der Falkengestalt, der mit dem Drachengesicht". A Manichaean source contains a description of Satan in physical terms somewhat reminiscent of the description given here: "His head is like that of a lion, his body is like that of a serpent, his wing is like that of a bird, his tail is like that of a fish, his legs are like those of beasts of burden" (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 329, lines 12 f.). For this cf. Polotsky 1935, col. 250. An old model for this kind of description occurs in Akkadian: cf. Köcher 1953, pp. 64 ff. On various figures of demons which are composed of different animals see further Ebeling 1938, pp. 110a, 111a; Unger 1938, pp. 114a ff.

B 13:10. Correct the printing error: בני ריגותא וזינותא.

B 13:12. In the commentary to this line (p. 210) cross out the words "plural", "pl.".

B 13:15. **zrgwn**ʾ: Cf. the Pahlavi word *zargōn*, in *Dēnkard* VII, 2:28, where it seems to mean "green, fresh".

G 2, p. 1:0. Read (in Arabic characters): בסם אללה אלרחמן אלרחים אלחמד ללה חק חמדה (Elizur).

G 2, p. 1:12. דרנא: This word may be interpreted as the Aramaic word for some kind of worm, or as the Arabic word **drn** "dirt" (Elizur), though these interpretations do not seem likely.

G 3:6. צ״א: This is written over וצאיף (Elizur).

G 4:3. Read at the end of the line perhaps: כל רוחין בישין (וכל) [שדין?] (Elizur).

G 4:6. שאמר והיה העולם. Compare the formula in the Jewish morning prayer, ברוך שאמר והיה העולם.

G 4:8. Read at the end of the line: השבעתי (אתך) (Elizur).

G 4:15. Read: פיאל[אל ושר]לו כרוביו[ ](ו) (Elizur).

G 4:17. Read: [ ] שלמה על (כ)ל (רוח)ין ושדין (Elizur).

G 5, p. 2:2–4. The phrase from Gen. 32:3 occurs also in the prayer for the safety of a journey.

G 6, p. 1:1–2. Read: עד [ז]מן דיעבד צביוני (Elizur).

G 6, p. 4:19. Read: o אמן אמן סלה ה.

G 7:34. Correct the printing error: יארי יי פניו אליך ויחנך פסתם.

G 8:9. Read: ושמתיה אינון (Elizur).

G 8:21–22. והסיר יי ממך כל חולי. This is a quotation from Dt. 7:15.

G 8:25. Read: thbuiכל חוקיו כל המחלה אשר שמתי (Elizur).

G 8:at the top, inverted. Read: לעולם ועד אמן אמן סלה (Elizur).

Page 265. אזה. Correct the reference: B 13:9.

Page 291a. K 1.95, read the references : 47, 187.

Page 291a. K 1.195, this should be deleted.

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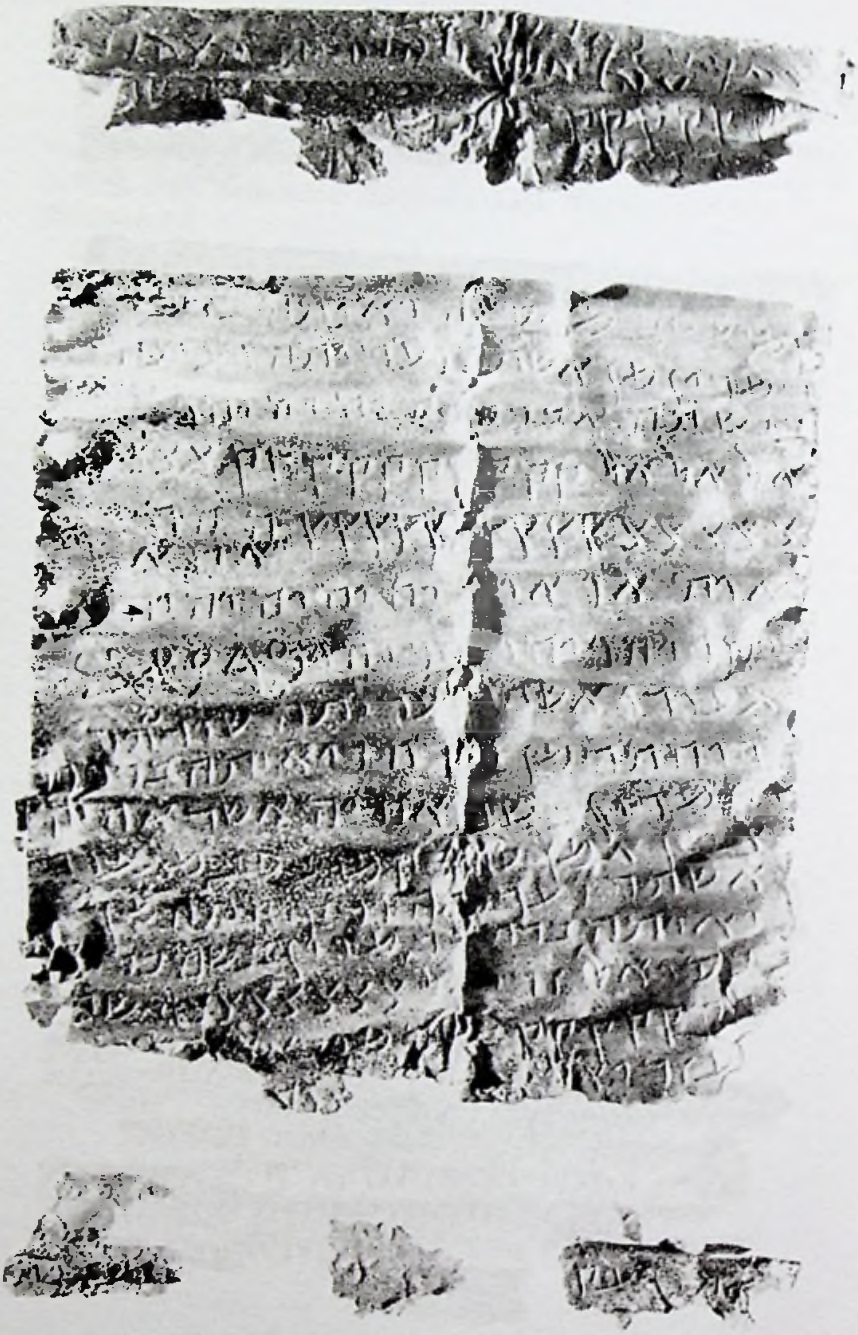
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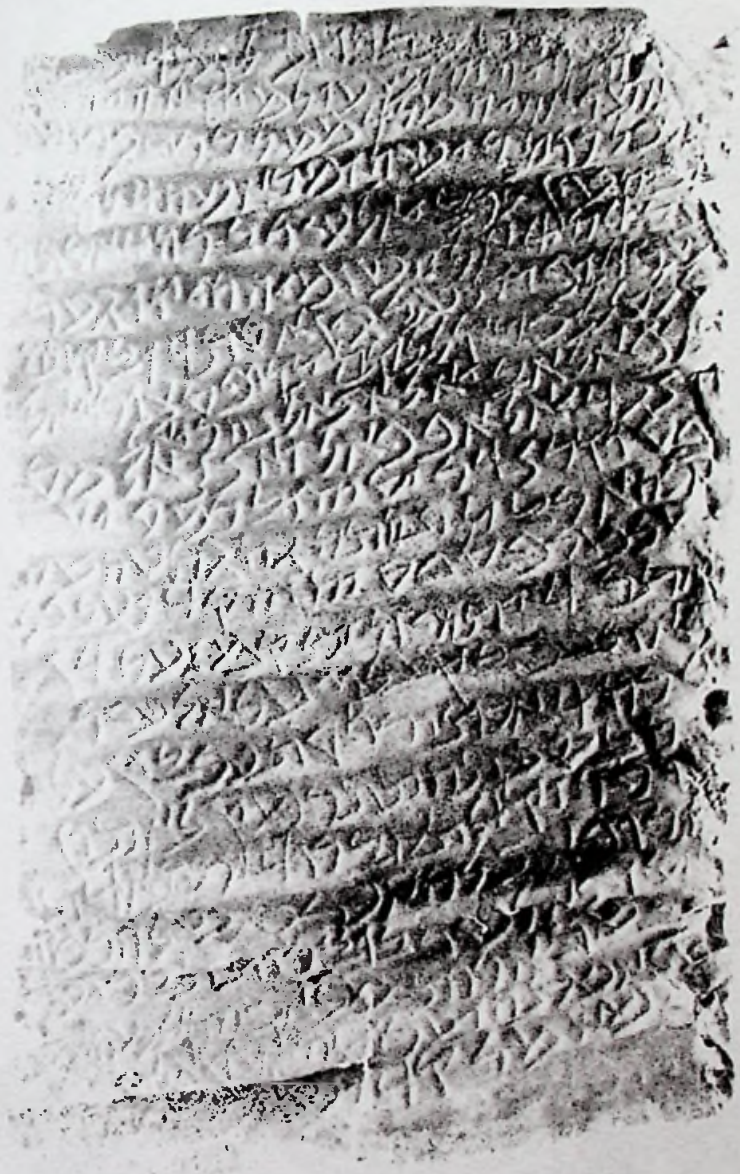


Amulet I

PLATE 2



Amulet 2



Amulet 3

PLATE 4



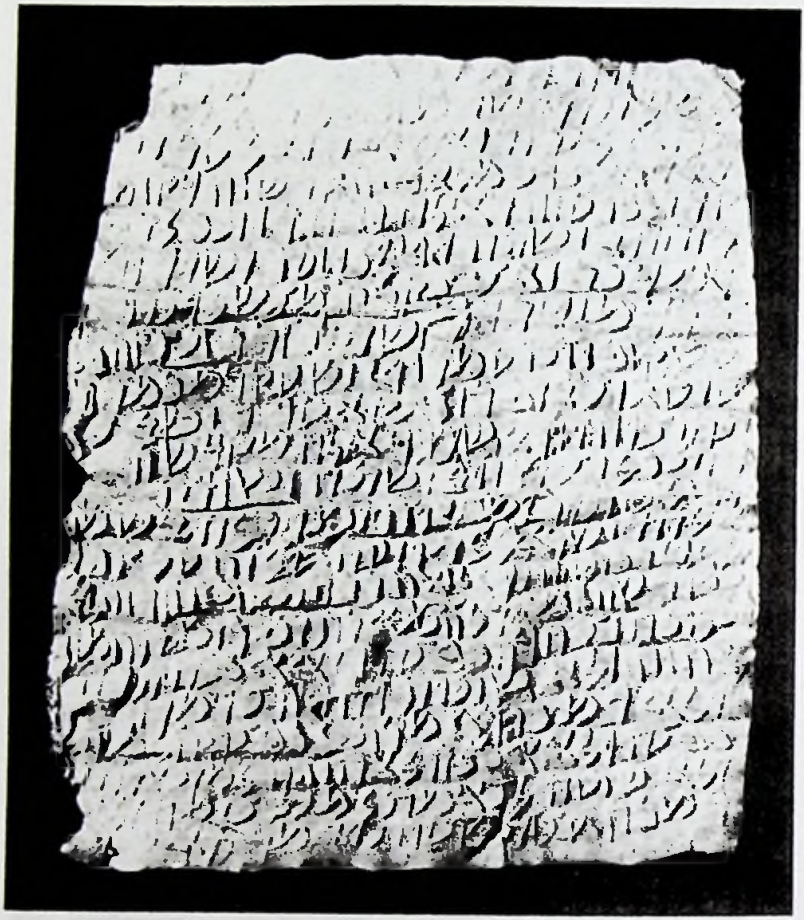
Amulet 4

Note: For Amulet 5
no photo is available



Amulet 6

PLATE 6



Amulet 7a



Amulet 7b

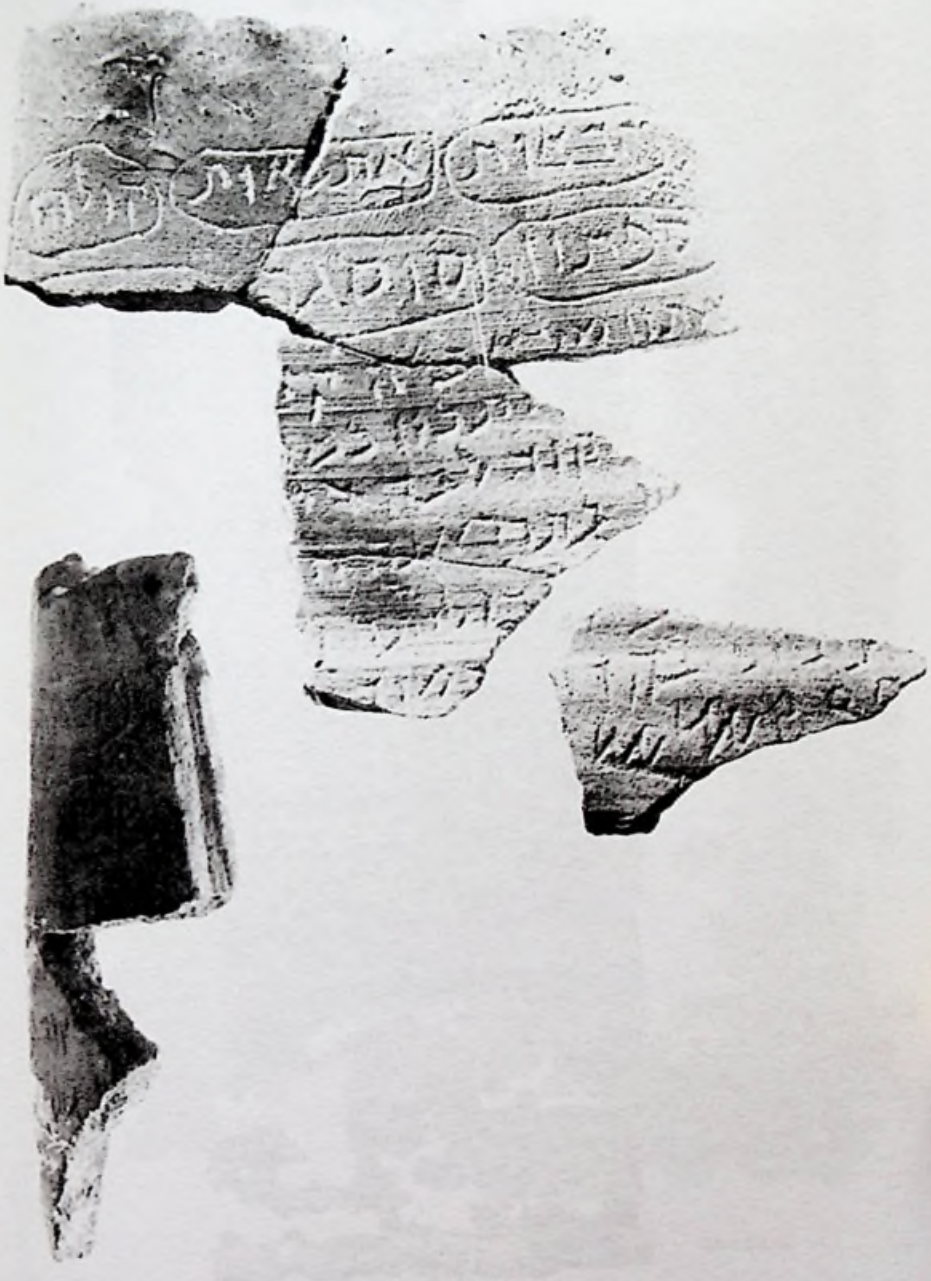


Amulet 8

PLATE 8



Amulet 9



Amulet 10

PLATE 10



Amulet 11

PLATE II



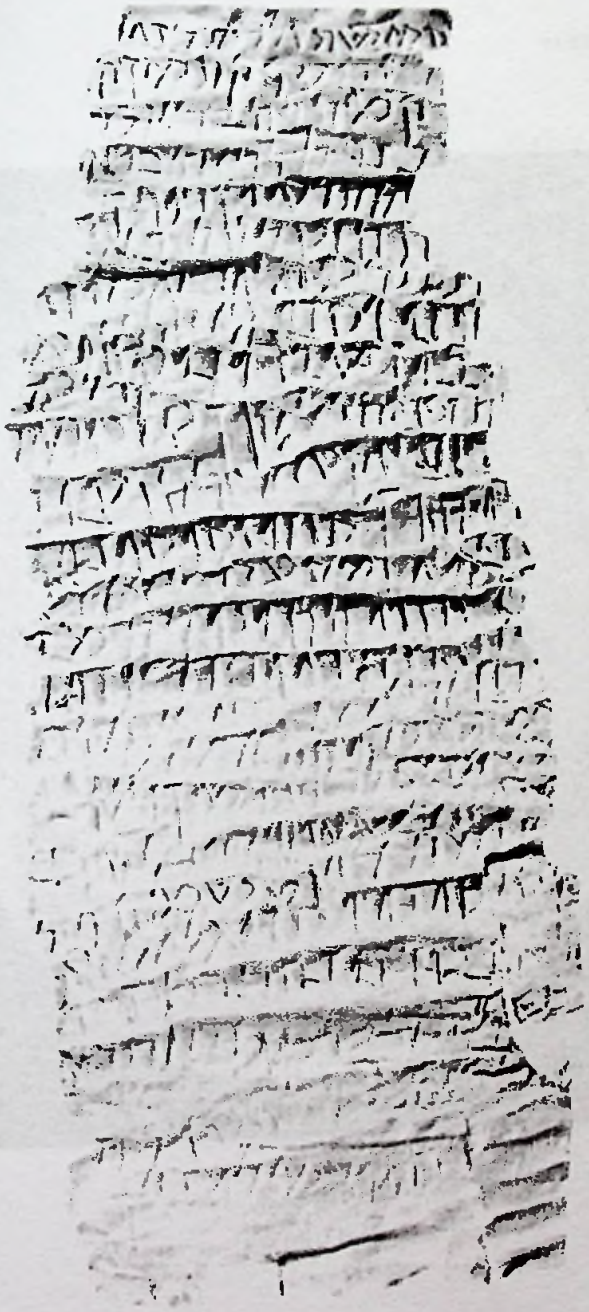
Amulet 13

Amulet 12

PLATE 12



Amulet 14



Amulet 15

PLATE 14



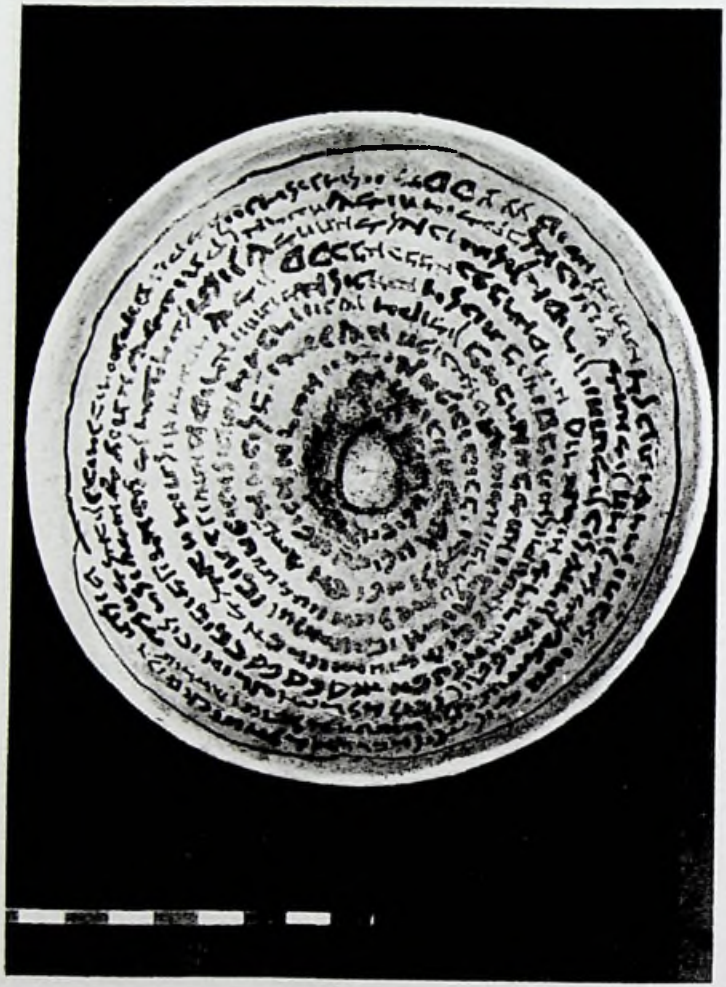
Bowl 1, left side

PLATE 15

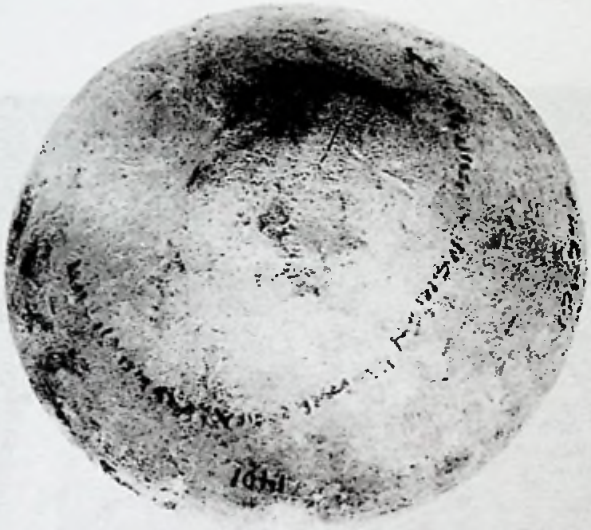


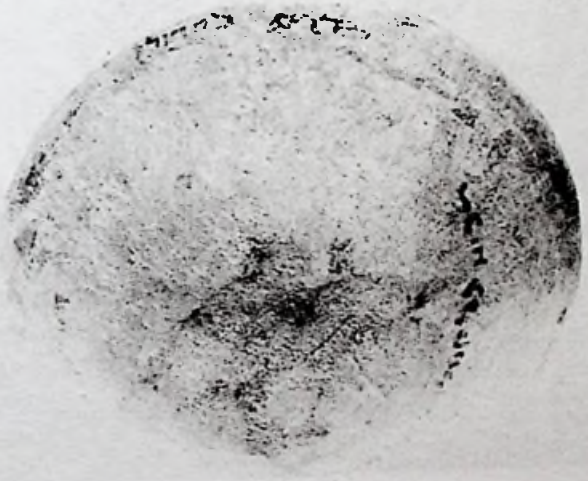
Bowl 1, right side

PLATE 16



Bowl 2, inside

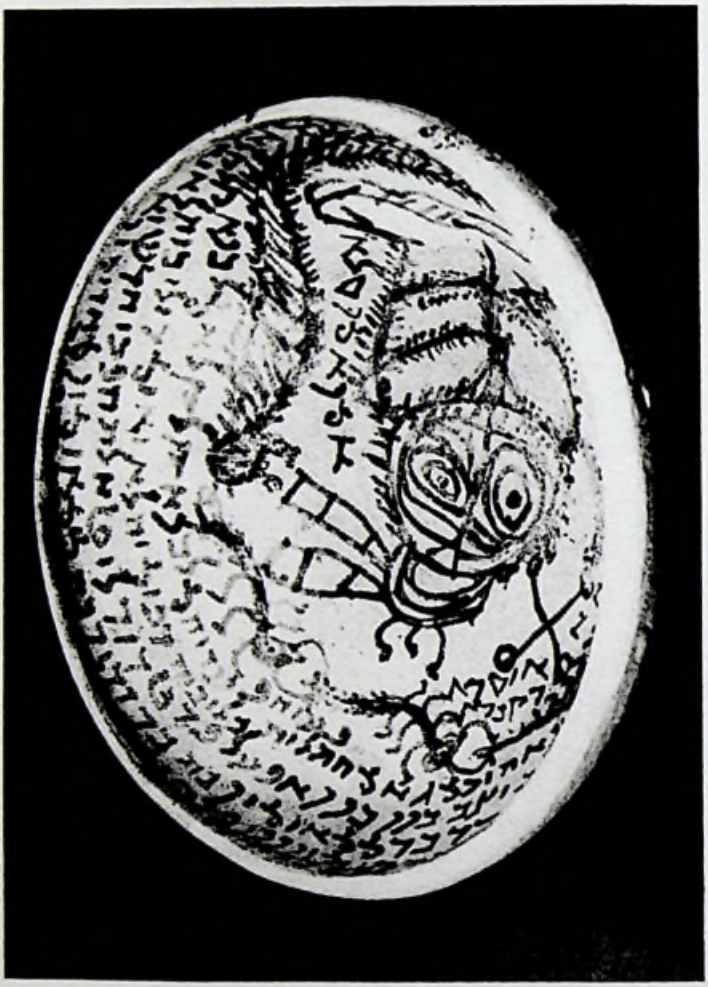




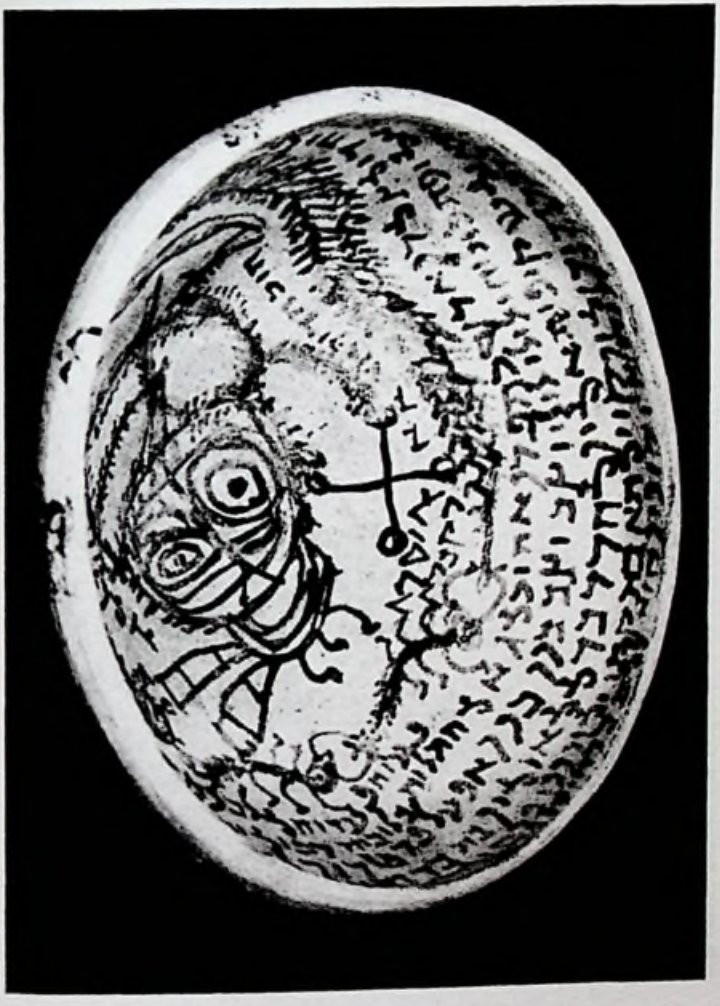
Bowl 2, outside

Note: For Bowl 3
see Plate 20

PLATE 18



Bowl 4, left side



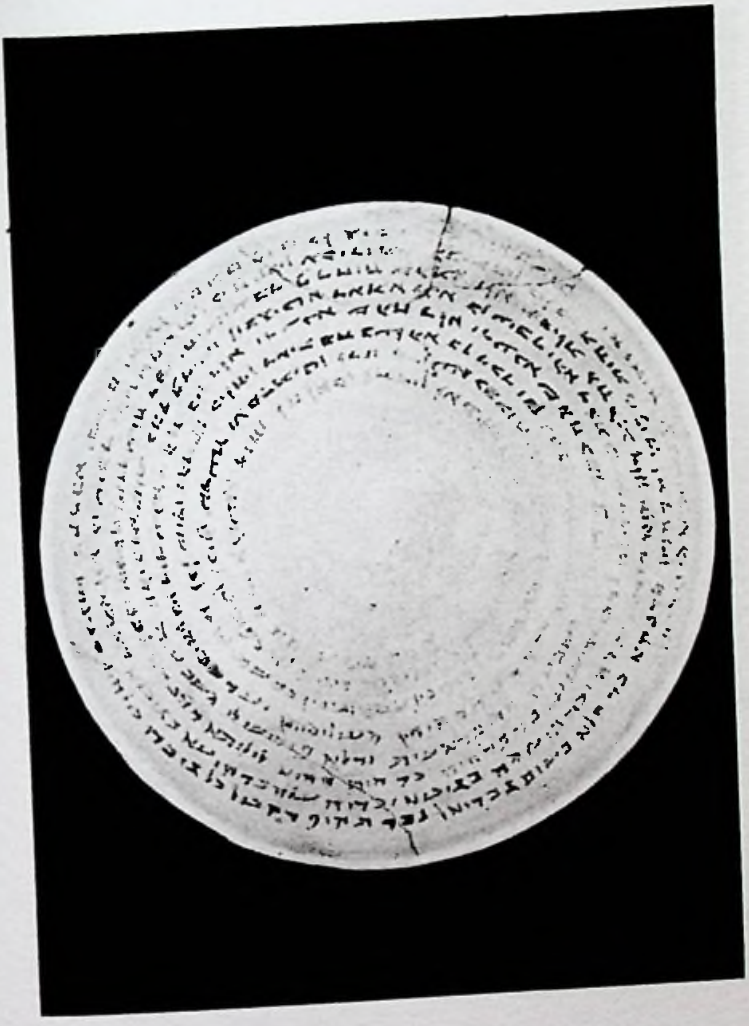
Bowl 4, right side

PLATE 20



Bowl 3

PLATE 21



Bowl 5

PLATE 22



Bowl 6



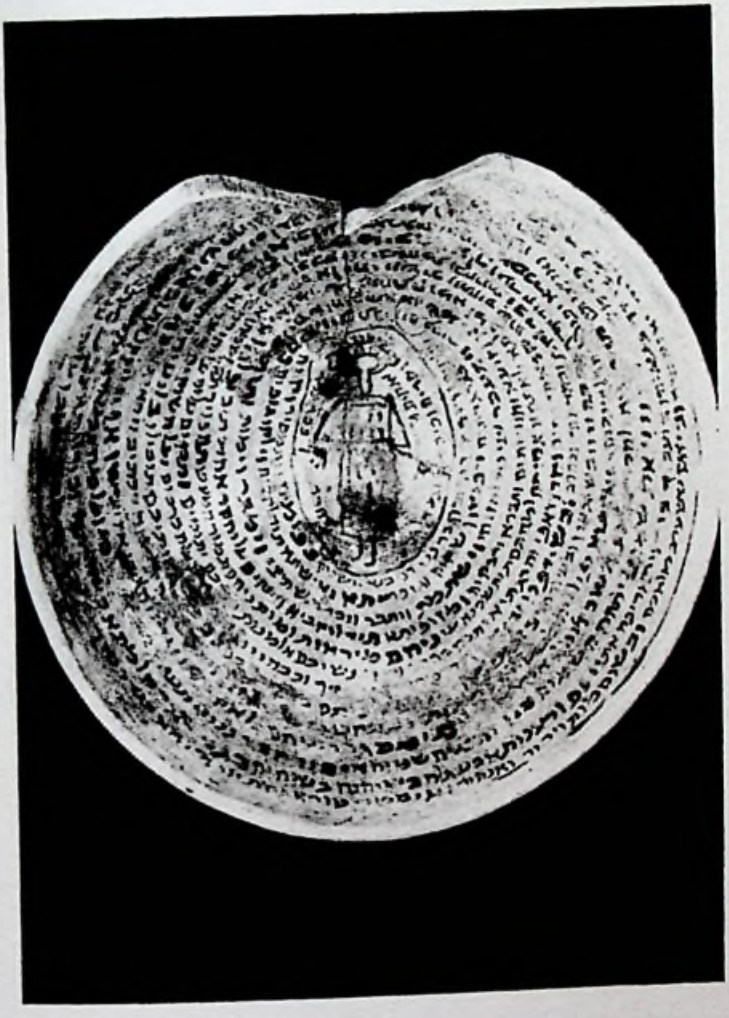
Bowl 7

PLATE 24



Bowl 8

PLATE 25



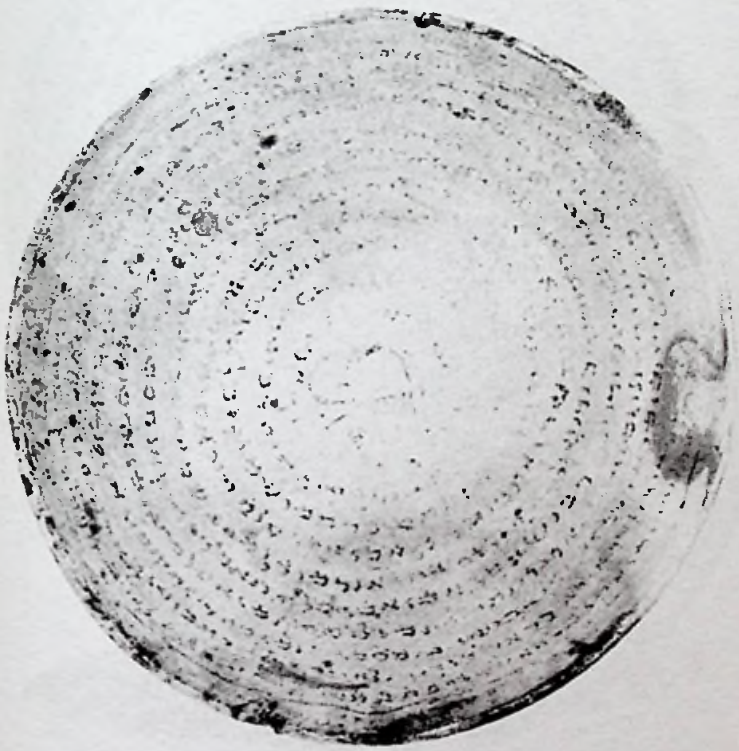
Bowl 9

PLATE 26



Bowl 10

PLATE 27



Bowl 11

PLATE 28



Bowl 12a

PLATE 29

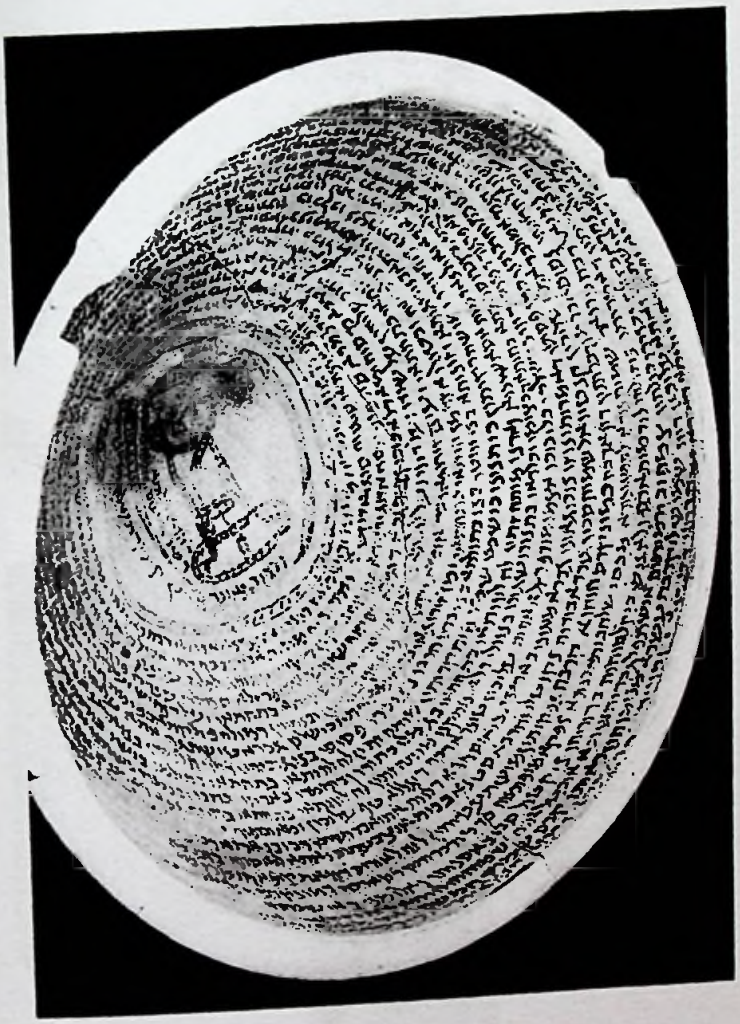


Bowl 12b

PLATE 30

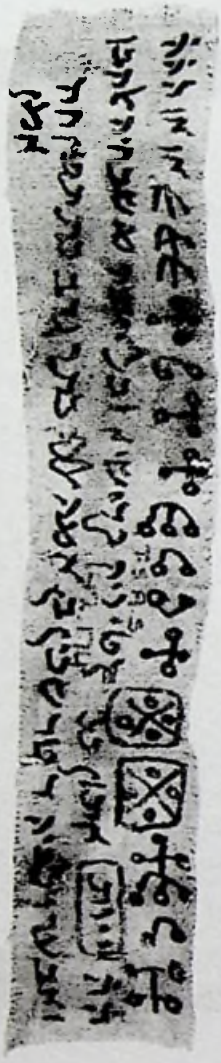


Bowl 13. left side

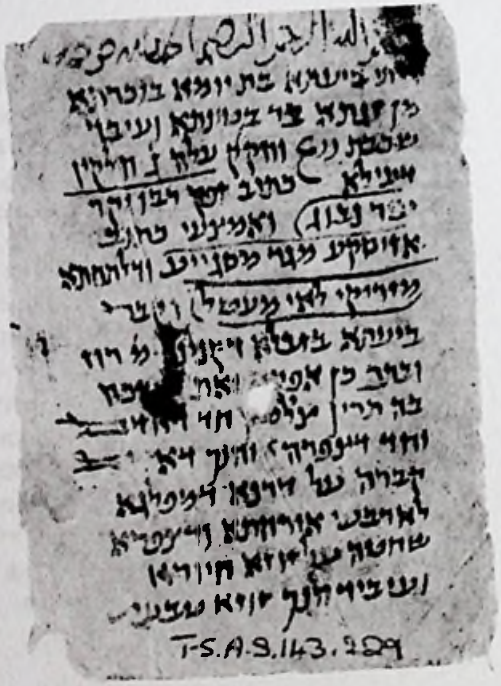


Bowl 13, right side

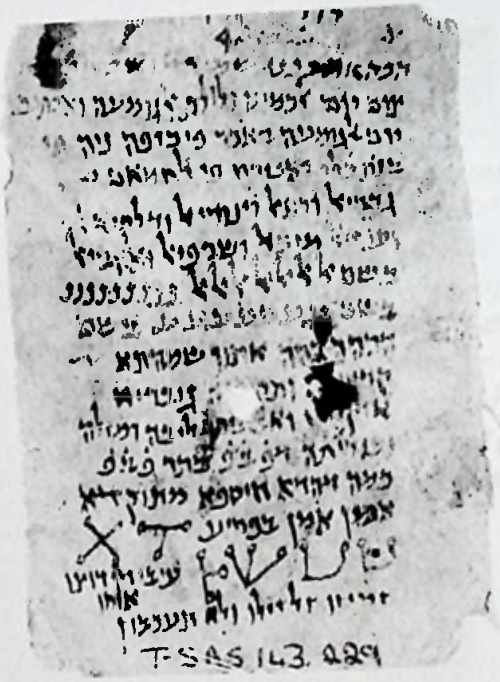
PLATE 32



Geniza 1



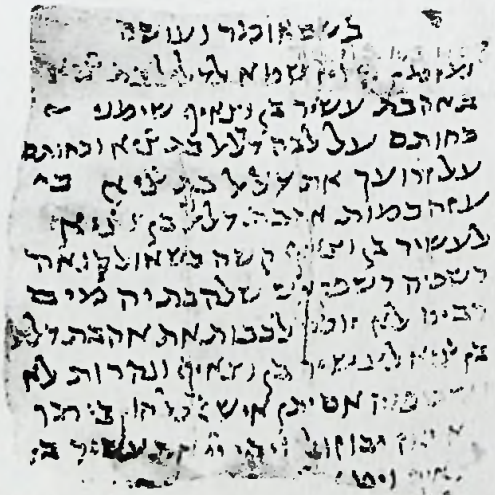
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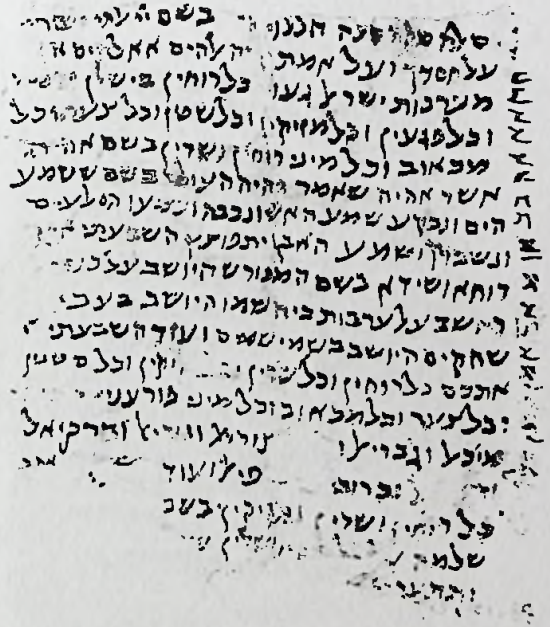
2

Geniza 2

PLATE 33

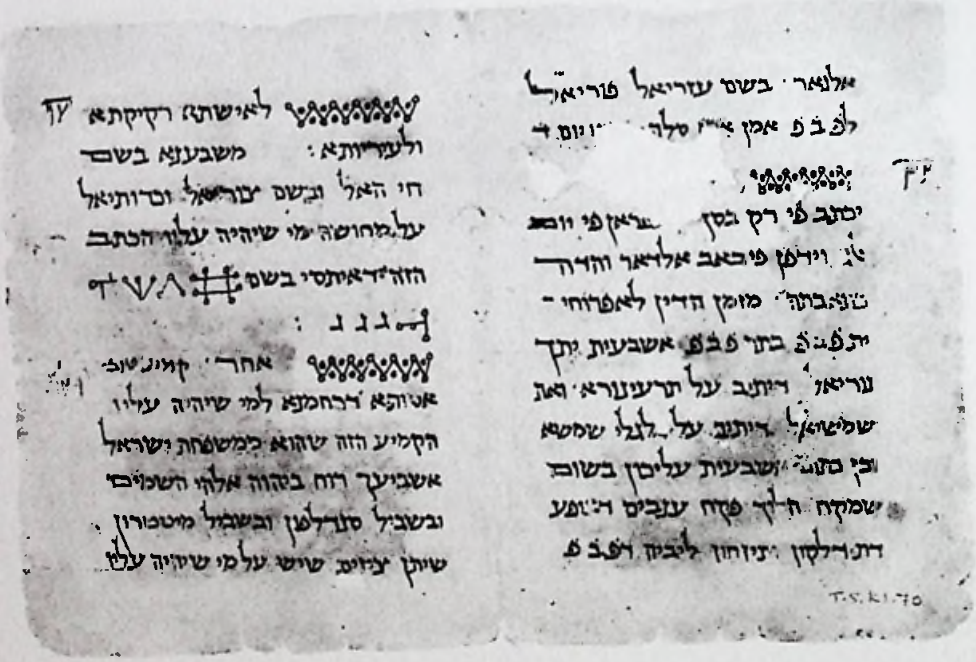


Geniza 3



Geniza 4

PLATE 34



Geniza 5, recto

1

4

PLATE 35

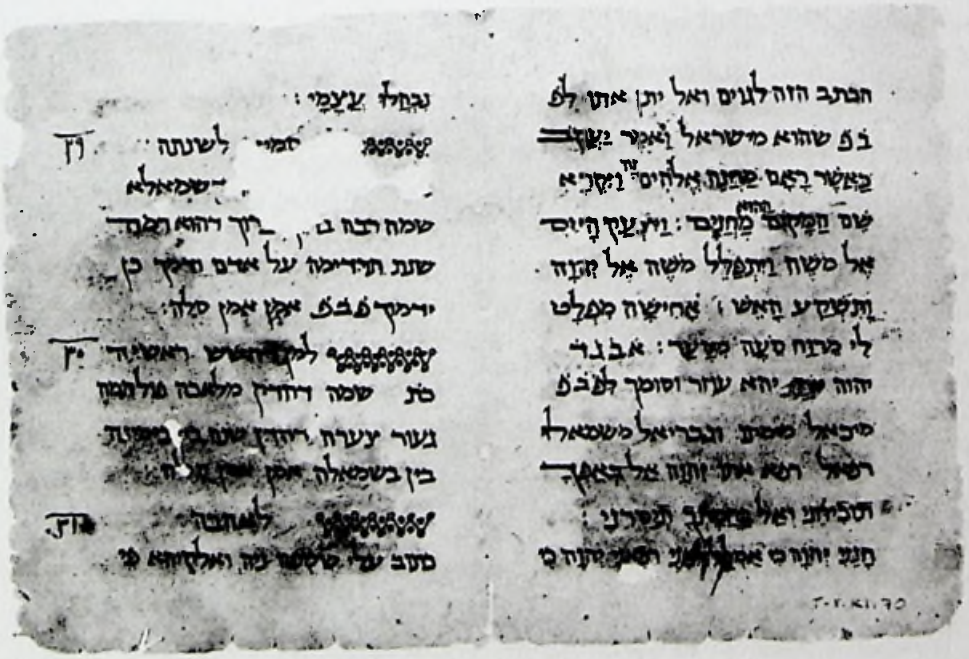


PLATE 36

3 Geniza 5, verso 2

Geniza 6, recto

PLATE 38

Geniza 6, verso



Geniza 7

PLATE 40

Geniza 8

JOSEPH NAVEH SHAUL SHAKED

AMULETS AND MAGIC BOWLS

AMULETS AND MAGIC BOWLS

Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity

by

JOSEPH NAVEH SHAUL SHAKED

VARDA BOOKS

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*

Signs used in the transliteration of texts

( ) Uncertain readings
[ ] Restoration of lost writing
< > Omitted by the scribe by mistake
⌜ ⌝ Written above (or outside) the line
{ } Superfluous writing in the text (e.g. in case of dittography)

PREFACE

It was a widespread practice in the area of Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor during the fourth to the seventh centuries of the current era to use talismans written on metal sheets in order to ward off the powers of evil, to heal people, or to gain the love of a person. The common Babylonian practice of the same period was to write incantation texts on earthenware bowls. The number of Mesopotamian texts written in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac and Mandaic on clay bowls published to date reaches about one hundred and fifty, whereas less than ten Aramaic amulets from Palestine and its vicinity have been published so far.

This book developed from the desire of the two authors to do a modest work on a number of Aramaic magic bowls which at that time (almost ten years ago) were in Jerusalem in the hands of dealers and in the collection of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University. It has developed to its present dimensions as more texts have turned up. Work on some newly found metal amulets has made it necessary to study and revise the readings of the whole corpus of Aramaic amulets from the area of the Holy Land. Thus fifteen amulets have been edited in this volume — all those which can be deciphered with some confidence — and twelve new bowl texts written in Babylonian Jewish Aramaic and Syriac.

In order to understand the terminology and praxis of the texts discussed in this volume, it is essential to refer to contemporary and later texts from other sources: the Greek magic papyri, the early magic literature in Hebrew, and the magic fragments in the Cairo Geniza. Of the last group, so far almost completely neglected, a few selected texts are included in this work: five amulets, and three fragments from books of magic recipes.

The texts are provided with translations and commentaries, and a detailed glossary of all words is given. All newly published texts are accompanied by photographs. It has been our wish to make available to

scholars material for the study of popular religious life of Jews and pagans in the crucial period which corresponds to that of the Talmud. Our primary aim has been to provide philologically reliable material, and not to offer a detailed study of the religious implications of these texts.

It is out pleasant task to acknowledge the help received from various institutions and persons in the course of preparing the present study.

The following institutions provided us with photographs and allowed us to publish these texts and we should like to extend our thanks to their directors and staff: the Institute of Archaeology and the National University Library of the Hebrew University; the Israel Department of Antiquities; the Israel Museum; Museum of the Flagellation Convent, Jerusalem; the Jewish Historical Museum of Belgrade; the Metropolitan Museum; the New York Public Library; the Geniza Research Unit, Cambridge University Library.

The persons who made it possible for us to publish texts from their collections are Mr. Victor Barakat, Dr. Reuven Hecht, Mr. Victor Klagsbald, Dr. Wladimir Rosenbaum and Mr. Joseph Sammel.

Dr. Amos Kloner and Mr. Zvi Maoz of the Israel Department of Antiquities, the excavators of Ḥorvat Rimmon and Ḥorvat Kanaf, placed at our disposal their finds and their notes.

Mme. Hélène Lozachmeur has found and put at our disposal the original photos of Amulets 7a and 7b which were used by the late Professor A. Dupont-Sommer. We are very grateful for this help, which came when the book was nearly ready in the press.

Several friends and colleagues have given valuable advice. We should like to mention in particular the late Professor G.G. Scholem, as well as J.C. Greenfield, M. Sokoloff, G. Stroumsa and Y. Sussman.

Mrs. Ada Yardeni has contributed to this volume much more than drawings and layout; in several places she has improved the readings of the text. Mrs. Tamar Naveh has typed the manuscript and has rendered great assistance in the preparation of the book. Mrs. Miriam Shaked has done the editing of the typescript and prepared it for the press.

The staff of the Magnes Press, and in particular its director, Mr. B. Yehoshua, who has taken personal interest in this book, have done their utmost to produce an attractive-looking volume.

Jerusalem, February 1984 *J.N., S.S.*

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

Since the publication of the first edition of this book in 1985 the authors have continued to work on new materials of the same genre. The result was the publication in 1993 of the book *Magic Spells and Formulae*, where further texts were edited and further comments made on a number of topics touched upon in the present book. Each one of the present authors has dealt in a number of articles with further texts. A large collection of Geniza texts have been brought to light by Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, in collaboration with a team of young scholars, under the title *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, I–II, Tübingen 1994–1997. Further texts are planned for publication in the subsequent volumes of the same series. The authors of the present volume are thinking of preparing a new corpus of Aramaic amulets, but this may take some time to complete.

The "Additions and Corrections" at the end of the volume (pp. 295 ff.) incorporate those printed in the second edition of the book (1987), together with further addenda and corrigenda that have been detected since then by discerning colleagues and by ourselves. The reader is urged to consult the Additions and Corrections while using the book.

Jerusalem, June 1998 *J.N., S.S.*

INTRODUCTION

1. Aramaic Magic Texts: General Description

The Aramaic texts published and discussed in this book are part of a long-standing tradition of magic in the Near East. Aramaic magic literature continues Assyrian, Babylonian and Egytian magic, and is closely related to the rich literature of magic and incantations in Greek, known to us chiefly from Egytian papyri. These texts, taken together, supplement our knowledge of society, religion and culture during the early centuries of the Christian era. The Aramaic magic texts, of which a a group of hitherto unpublished specimens is given here, form a distinct body of material within the corpus of magic in late antiquity, and we shall try to elucidate them mostly within their own terms.

The inscribed magic artifacts in Aramaic, which are usually supposed to date from the fourth to the sixth or seventh centuries C.E., are known to exist in two basic material forms: (a) earthenware bowls, inscribed with ink, usually on the concave side in spiral concentric circles,[1] all of them found, as far as it is possible to tell from controlled excavations,[2] in the area of Mesopotamia and Iran; and (b) metal sheets, of gold,

[1] Exceptions to this method are not rare. Some other techniques of writing are: The inscription, or part of it, is written on the outside surface of the bowl; the inside area is divided into sections, in which the writing is done in columns (e.g. our Bowl 8); some bowls have their writing arranged in circular lines without a spiral connection between the lines. The usual spiral arrangement can begin either in the centre or on the rim.

[2] In some cases (e.g. our Bowl 9) the provenance as given by the dealer is Palestine, but this statement, which cannot be verified, lacks credibility. For a similar claim made with regard to a Mandaic amulet cf. Naveh 1975, p. 47, note 1.

silver, copper or lead,[3] with the inscription incised into the surface of the metal with the aid of a sharp instrument. These latter amulets were designed to be folded, rolled into a narrow strip, and inserted into a container (reminiscent of a *mezuza* in shape), also made of metal, which could be worn as a phylactery on the body of the owner, or placed in a private house or a synagogue, possibly by suspension (see Commentary to Amulet 11). Amulet 10, which was written on a potsherd, and which served not for protection but for arousing love, was presumably designed to achieve its effect by being placed in fire (see Commentary *ad loc.*). Amulets written on a metal sheet are mostly typical of the area of Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor, although they are not entirely absent from the eastern regions, i.e. Mesopotamia and Iran.[4] It may be taken for granted that besides such solid materials as earthenware and metal, soft materials, such as parchment, papyrus or cloth, were also often used for writing amulets, but have not survived. Amulets on papyrus are in fact known from Egypt, written in Greek and Coptic,[5] and incantations on paper, parchment and cloth have been found in the Cairo Geniza (dating to the 10th century and later); some specimens of these latter texts are given in this book. Metal bowls were used for incantations in the Muslim world (Spoer 1935; Reich 1937-38), but this practice is unknown from the earlier period. We come across medallions and gems inscribed as amulets in the Hellenistic and Iranian cultures,[6] but no such objects inscribed in Aramaic have yet come to light.[7]

[3] At least one Nabataean incantation (Naveh 1979a) is written on a large pebble. One Aramaic amulet is done on a potsherd (our Amulet 10).

[4] Metal amulets written in Syriac have been found in the area of Luristan (a photograph, without decipherment or identification, published in Vanden Berghe 1970). Several Mandaic amulets on sheets of lead have been found; cf. Lidzbarski 1909; Macuch 1967, 1968; Caquot 1972; Naveh 1975.

[5] The most comprehensive collection of the Greek material is in Preisendanz 1928, 1931, 1941.

[6] For the Hellenistic material, cf. chiefly Mouterde 1930; Bonner 1950 and 1951. The rare Pahlavi amulets are discussed in Pope 1938, among the Sasanian seals. Bivar 1967 discusses a Parthian amulet while adducing other Iranian material.

[7] There are some Samaritan amulets written on metal pendants and rings, cf. Ben-Zvi 1976; Kaplan 1967.

Among Semitic amulets from Palestine and its environs we have texts written in three languages, Jewish Aramaic (Amulet 1–3, 5, 7–15), Hebrew (Amulet 4), and Syriac (Amulet 6). The first two varieties, Jewish Aramaic and Hebrew, were presumably written by Jews; they use the regular Hebrew script of the period, whereas the Syriac amulet, which seems to have been composed by a Christian, is written in Estrangelo.

As to the magic practice which accompanied the use of the bowls, different opinions have been expressed. Many bowls were found placed in their original position upside down, a fact which has led scholars to assume that they may have served as traps for demons, being meant to keep the evil spirits imprisoned inside them. This view may gain some support from the fact that in some cases two bowls were found placed facing each other forming between them a closed sphere.[8] Such an enclosed ball-shaped area might be an ideal prison for evil spirits. This theory was rejected by Gordon,[9] who argued that it would be absurd to assume that any house-owner would want to have demons permanently locked in his house. It seems, according to Gordon, much more likely that they would want to get rid of the maleficent spirits and to have them removed from the house. He therefore suggests that the shape of the bowls resembles that of a skull, which may have been regarded as magically effective. We must confess that this argument fails to convince us. The idea of keeping demon-traps in the house need not strike us as more ridiculous than that of placing mouse-traps. In both cases the hated victim, once caught, is incapacitated and is made powerless to cause harm. A harmless demon caught by the bowl constitutes no menace to the safety of the house. The text of the bowls very often talks of chaining and pressing the evil entities; at the same time it may also bid them go away, leave the house and desist from bothering the house-owner. The bowl thus serves both to entrap the evil powers and to reject them; there is no real contradiction between these two propositions.

It may be noted that many bowls, especially in Mandaic, are designed

[8] Pognon 1898, pp. 3 ff.; Hilprecht 1903, pp. 447 f.; Montgomery 1913, pp. 40 ff.

[9] Gordon 1957, pp. 161 f.; Isbell 1975, pp. 13 ff., represents the same view.

as "of the cemetery".[10] This may possibly indicate that some bowls were placed in a cemetery, and this association with the Other World added to their mysterious power. This was by no means the only location which was used in order to increase the efficacy of amulets. The amulets from Nirim (Amulets 11–13) were found in the apse of the synagogue, where the ark of the holy scrolls was presumably placed. It may be assumed that the amulet was put there in order for it to be as close as possible to the spot which served as a gate for communication (through prayer) with heaven. In this connection one may recall that a favourite modern spot for placing appeals to divine help is in the Wailing Wall.

Another theory for the use of the bowls is based on the current modern practice of bowl magic in the Middle East, according to which the bowl is often filled with some liquid and the person who seeks protection or healing is made to drink the water which has absorbed the contents of the formula and has thus been made potent.[11] There is, however, no evidence for such a practice with our Mesopotamian bowls, and it seems rather unlikely that they were used in such a way, which might have effaced the letters or left some other mark on the bowl.

Apart from bowls designed to protect the house and the person of the inhabitants of the house from harm or disease — the most common type — or to arouse love,[12] there are bowls which aim at inflicting evil on an enemy specifically named (e.g. Bowl 9). We have no information as to how these latter bowls were used. One can only try to speculate that they were buried or hidden in the vicinity of the enemy's house, or attached to some personal effect of the victim to be, probably obtained furtively.[13]

[10] Pognon 1898, p. 3, and our Bowl 4:2, which carries the phrase "the spell of the tomb". Some metal amulets were found in tombs; see our Amulet 4 (from Aleppo) and Montgomery 1911, p. 272 (Irbid). See also Montgomery 1913, pp. 40, 43 f.

[11] Canaan 1914, p. 102; similar injunctions in Winkler 1930, pp. 75, 76. Montgomery 1913, p. 45 gives the text of an Arabic brass bowl which also contains a reference to drinking. An early reference to this practice is in the Geniza text T.-S. K1.132: פתיחת לב. קח קערה חדשה וחכתוב ג ימים בכל יום אלו השימות ותרחוץ אותו במים ותשחה...

[12] Montgomery 1913, Nos. 13, 28. Our Amulet 10 and Geniza 1 and 3 constitute further examples.

[13] We have a recipe for hatred in a late Judaeo-Persian manuscript of magic (JTS 1714,

Three basic Semitic modes of writing are presented by the Babylonian incantation bowls. These are Judaeo-Aramaic, Syriac and Mandaic. A fourth type of writing found on some bowls is Pahlavi, but its interpretation is, unfortunately, extremely difficult. A single bowl which has been seen (at the Yale Babylonian Collection) contains a script looking like Parthian, but its authenticity is questionable and it is likely to be a modern forgery. The different scripts correspond not so much to linguistic or ethnic differences (although such differences also existed), but rather more to distinctions among religious communities; it is therefore interesting to raise the question whether the religious differences are also reflected in the magic texts, or whether one can establish a correspondence between each community's magic and its religious perceptions.

On the plane of language and phraseology we have significant and obvious differences between the various groups. The bowls in Judaeo-Aramaic contain a high degree of material which is derived from the Hebrew scriptures (see the index of scriptural quotations of this volume and Isbell 1975, p. 195). They also contain a small number of peculiarly Jewish concepts of the post-biblical period. The most noteworthy among these is the figure of Yehoshuaʿ bar (or ben) Peraḥya and the idea, associated often with his name, of giving a *geṭ*, a letter of divorce, to the female demons. This is further elaborated on in some of the texts by the idea of a *geṭ* which is sent across the sea (see below, p. 27). It is remarkable that the figure of Yehoshuaʿ bar Peraḥya occurs also in two Syriac bowls (Montgomery 1913, Nos. 32–33), where the Jewish term *geṭ* is rendered by the Persian word *dastabīra*.[14] A similar concept which may be of Jewish origin (although it may equally well be a pagan magical concept introduced into the Talmud) occurs in our Bowl 6 (see Commentary to Bowl 6:7–8 **wbyr**...). Several Talmudic associations seem to be present in Bowl 13.

Such elements are specifically Jewish; it is hard to imagine that they could have been composed by non-Jews. One must come to the conclu-

ENA 2326, fol. 1b): ... לשנאה יכתוב על חרס חדש לפּבּפּ עם פּבּפּ בשם... בשם אלו שמות תתנו
The practice accompanying the writing of an incantation for hatred is to bury the inscribed new potsherd in a new tomb. The same instruction with regard to a "new egg" is given in Geniza 6, p. 4:9–11.

[14] On this term cf. Shaked (forthcoming).

sion that the writers of these Jewish-Aramaic bowls were in all probability practitioners of magic who belonged to the Jewish community. This conclusion does not necessarily apply to the clients, who ordered the bowls written for healing, protection or other purposes. There is, in fact, a combination of two factors which makes it likely that not a few of these customers were indeed non-Jews: First, there is the fact that Jewish bowls constitute the great majority of inscribed earthenware bowls from Mesopotamia and Iran, while Jews certainly did not form more than a minority of the population; and secondly, there is the fact that the names of most of the clients were not Jewish, and some of them are theophoric names of Zoroastrian significance. The second fact would not be particulatly significant on its own, since there can be no doubt that many Jews carried Persian and other non-Jewish names. However, when it is combined with the first consideration, it adds some weight to the supposition that magic may have been considered to some extent a Jewish specialization and that pagans and Zoroastrians often turned to Jewish practitioners when they sought an effective remedy, protection or curse.[15]

It may be noted that the amount of Zoroastrian religious influence which may be detected in the Babylonian bowls is very limited; it concerns mostly some names of demons (see Shaked, forthcoming). This observation stands in contrast to the strong presence of Iranian linguistic elements in Babylonian Jewish Aramaic, and to the Iranian influence which may be detected in other spheres of Jewish life.[16] The same may be said of the Syriac bowls, which seem to have been written by pagans (or even by Zoroastrians). Mandaic bowls tend to have some specifically Mandaic terminology (e.g. the divine names **abatur, iurba**), but the same divine and demonic names and concepts are sometimes found also in Jewish bowls.[17] In general, the Mandaic texts follow the same magical conventions as found in Jewish Aramaic and Syriac bowls. In one or two cases Syriac and Mandaic bowls seem to reflect

[15] See further on this in Greenfield 1973a, p.150, and Shaked 1983, pp. 16 f.

[16] This field of study has not yet been treated in a comprehensive study. Sketchy references may be found in Neusner 1968 and 1975.

[17] See Pognon 1898, pp. 93 ff.; Montgomery 1913, p. 96; Yamauchi 1967, pp. 40 ff.

specific Jewish texts.[18] At least one Jewish Aramaic text seems to show clear dependence on a Mandaic *Vorlage* (cf. Greenfield and Naveh's forthcoming article on a Mandaic lead amulet containing four incantations).

2. History of Research : Bowls

The study of the Aramaic magic texts was first begun in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Thomas Ellis translated for Layard six incantation texts in Jewish Aramaic and one in Syriac, inscribed on earthenware bowls which were brought from Mesopotamia to England and deposited in the British Museum (Layard 1853; Levy 1855). Several other texts on bowls, inscribed in Jewish Aramaic and in Syriac, were published afterwards by Rodwell 1873 (for which cf. Halévy 1877); Chwolson 1882; Hyvernat 1885 (with Nöldeke 1885 and Grünbaum 1885); Schwab 1886 and Schwab's later publications; Harkavy 1889; Wohlstein 1893, 1894; Stübe 1895; Lacau 1896. These early attempts at interpretation are often quite faulty, though they paved the way to subsequent research. Towards the end of the century Pognon (1894, 1898) published more than thirty Mandaic incantation bowls found at Khuabir on the Euphrates, west of Baghdad.

The most important single scholarly contribution to the study of the bowls was done by Montgomery 1913, a monumental book containing an edition and translation, with notes and indices, of forty bowls (thirty of them in Jewish Aramaic, seven in Syriac, and three in Mandaic). All of these bowls were found *in situ* in the archaeological excavations conducted by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur. This fact

[18] See the observations in Greenfield 1973a, as well as the comments above on Yehoshua' bar Peraḥya in Syriac bowls.

enables us to have a unified corpus of inscriptions written (or at least used) in a single town, presumably within a relatively short period of time, often by or for members of the same family. We thus gain an insight into the range of languages and scripts used in Nippur, as well as into the variety and limitations of the magic formulae which were current among the various communities in that town.

Montgomery's work (1913, pp. 16 ff.) has the added benefit of presenting the most comprehensive and solid introduction to the study of the bowls. It gives a detailed survey of earlier publications, thus rendering further discussion of the early studies of the magic bowls unnecessary, and analyzes the most important aspects of the texts and their contents. No attempt will be made in the following to duplicate or supersede Montgomery's treatment of the subject. Only certain points on which new material is available, or on which new suggestions may be offered, will be touched upon in the following pages.

Although Montgomery's readings are on the whole solid and reliable, the book contains a number of textual errors, both with regard to the reading of the bowls and with regard to points of interpretation. Many of these were corrected and clarified in an important review article by J.N. Epstein (1921-1922), which, unfortunately, was not taken into account by many of the scholars who have worked in this field since, with the result that several of Montgomery's patent errors have been perpetuated in the literature.[19]

The next most important name in this field of study is C.H. Gordon, who has in a series of articles,[20] published a great many new bowls from various collections in the U.S.A., Europe and the Middle East. The study of the magic bowls further benefited from the fact that a number of students of Professor Gordon felt inspired to work on this material; as a result there were published several dissertations containing corpora of bowls in Mandaic (Yamauchi 1967), Syriac (Hamilton 1971) and Jewish Aramaic (Isbell 1975), as well as a Handbook of the latter

[19] This observation applies to the work of C.H. Gordon, whose readings are generally reliable, as well as to that of his students Rossell 1953; Yamauchi 1967; and Isbell 1975. In Hamilton 1971 the Syriac texts of Montgomery are corrected in the light of Epstein's comments.

[20] See Bibliography under Gordon. The only work done on the subject in the intervening period between Montgomery's and Gordon's is by Fuÿe 1925.

language, in which a grammatical sketch is included (Rossell 1953). The texts collected in these corpora make up the following total numbers: 72 in Jewish Aramaic, 33 in Mandaic and 21 in Syriac. It may be remarked that not all the published bowls were incorporated into these collections.[21]

The more recent publications of texts in this field include Oberman 1940; Teixidor 1962; Jeruzalmi 1963; Yamauchi 1965; McCullough 1967; [22] Borisov 1969; Kaufman 1973, 1975; Geller 1976, 1980; Harviainen 1981.

3. Amulets Published So Far

The state of study of the Palestinian incantation texts is much less satisfactory than that of the Mesopotamian bowls. One part of the problem is that the small number of Palestinian texts makes their comparative study difficult. Another problem is that these texts were inscribed on small metal plaques (mainly silver, copper and lead), which were rolled up. The unrolling of the generally corroded fragile material and then the reading of the preserved tiny letters, which often consist of shallow scratches on the surface of the material, is by no means an easy task. Among the few generally fragmentary Palestinian amulets five were published at the beginning of this century: one, Amulet 4, is from Aleppo (Schwab 1906); one, Amulet 5, from Emmaus (Vincent 1908) and three from Irbid (Montgomery 1911). Two other amulets, Amulets 7a–b, were found at Ağabeyli in Turkey, near the Syrian border (Dupont-Sommer 1950/51). Still another, of unknown provenance,

[21] Missing from Isbell 1975 are, for example, the texts published in Hyvernat 1885; Harkavy 1889; Wohlstein 1893 and 1894; Stübe 1895; Fuÿe 1925; Borisov 1969. Not all of these were published without facsimiles.

[22] Cf. the reviews by Segal 1970; Yamauchi 1970.

Amulet 8, was published in Testa 1967. The latest publication of an amulet, Amulet 9, is by Klein-Franke 1971. The amulet is in Cologne, Germany, and may have come from Oxyrrhynchus in Egypt.

The amulets preserved in the New York Public Library, of which three were published by Montgomery in 1911, are part of a group of six metal amulets which were donated by Mrs. Henry Draper. Their state of preservation is such that it is very difficult to improve much on Montgomery's readings (which in some cases are evidently wrong).[23] We have therefore decided to leave them out of the present publication, which otherwise aims at giving a complete corpus of the known Aramaic amulets. Apart from Aramaic amulets we have included here one amulet in Syriac, published by Dupont-Sommer 1946, where we believe we can offer an improved reading and interpretation. Otherwise, because of the geographical definition which we have found useful to adopt with regard to amulets, namely those coming from the region of Palestine and adjoining countries, we have excluded from this corpus metal amulets from Iran and Mesopotamia in Mandaic and Syriac (see above, note 4).

The first amulet of this kind to be published, found near Aleppo (Schwab 1906; our Amulet 4), is one of the longest Palestinian amulets known. It contains some manifestly Jewish elements (e.g. the figure of 248 limbs, some biblical allusions, and many Hebrew phrases), together with the usual magic terminology (e.g. Ablanathanalba, Marmaraot, **ʾwgryt**). A prominent symbol which occurs in the text is strongly reminiscent of the Christian monogram XP. It has led scholars to believe that we are faced here with a Judaeo-Christian monument, though this does not seem proven, as the symbol may have been widely used outside Christian circles and may have preceded Christianity.

Vincent published in 1908 a fragmentary amulet of some five lines

[23] As an example for lines where the readings of Montgomery 1911 may be improved upon with some confidence, cf. the beginning of New York Public Library, Hebrew amulet No. 3 (Montgomery's amulet A) where one may read:

1. ובחטרה דמשה ובציצה דאהרן[]
2. כהנה רבה ובעזקתה דשלמה ו(ב)[מג]
3. נה דדויד ובקרנתה דמדבחא ובשמ(ה)
4. [ד]אלהא חיה וקימה ד(תי)גע[רון]

The combination **bḥwṭrʾ dmšh nbyyʾ... wbʿzqtyh dšlmh br dwd mlkʾ dyś[rʾl]** occurs in the Geniza fragment ENA 3513.11a.

found in Emmaus (our Amulet 5). Vincent's readings, which have been followed by subsequent scholars, have proved upon inspection to be in need of emendations, which are included in the edition presented here. We encounter in this amulet some divine names (Masagiel, Shamriel) and the magic term **krqtyry'** "magic characters, magic signs".

It has been the bad luck of this material, perhaps because of its rarity and the difficulties inherent in its decipherment, that it suffered in some cases from fanciful interpretations and unreasonable speculations. Thus, one amulet (our Amulet 6) was heralded upon its first publication as containing a gnostic doctrine relating to the letter *waw* (Dupont-Sommer 1946); subsequently it has been shown (by Gordon 1949, 1953) that not even once does the name of this letter occur in the text. Another text (our Amulet 7) was understood to allude to the Great God, who would be different from the God of Israel (Dupont-Sommer 1950/51, p. 208 on lines 15–16), but this was shown to be inexact (Scholem 1965, pp. 84 ff.). In both these cases the new reading offered here tends to confirm the revised interpretations, and in some measure it adds new details which improve our understanding of the amulets. Thus, the Syriac amulet (our Amulet 6) is now shown to contain an allusion to three deities, who are named Bar-Theon, Rabbā Ḥasīnā and Qaddiš Īlā "who stand in the great ford of the sea". It talks of a demon, called apparently Tarpas-dukh. In the Aramaic amulet (our Amulet 7) we may eliminate the speculation as to the "womb to be blessed" as well as to Metatron, as we can recognize the name of the client Shalluna bar Demetrion in lines 7–8. On the other hand there is a possibility of reading (in lines 14–15) a reference to words which rise "beside (or behind?) the throne", an allusion which brings to mind the notion of the angel whose name, Metatron, indicates that he is "beside or behind the throne".

A similar scholarly controversy has arisen with regard to an amulet which was apparently found near Jerusalem (our Amulet 8). The scholar who first published it regarded it as a blessing of the "oil of faith" (Testa 1967), but this interpretation was rightly rejected by Milik 1967 in favour of the more likely reading of the plaque as an incantation. We can see from the new reading that a demon by the name of Marten daughter of Qoriel is adjured in the name of the angel Agirat.

Finally, an amulet here reprinted with some corrections (our Amulet 9) adjures a spirit called "Fever and Shivering", evidently with the aim of healing the client, a certain Marian daughter of Esther.

4. The Newly Found Amulets

The corpus of amulets presented here is enriched by nine newly discovered texts, all, except three (Amulets 1,14,15) coming from controlled excavations in Israel, two from Ḥorvat Kanaf, near the Sea of Galilee (Amulets 2–3), one from Ḥorvat Rimmon, north of Beer-Sheba (Amulet 10) and three from Nirim in South Western Israel (Amulets 11–13). The last six amulets (Amulets 10–15) reached us at a stage when the corpus was ready for the press, and the numbers assigned had to follow at the end of the group.

As to the dating of the amulets, the archaeological data converge around the fifth-sixth centuries C.E. This dating is provided very clearly in the case of Nirim (Amulets 11–13), where the late Roman and Byzantine coins help in defining the period from which the amulets stem. The conclusion reached by L.Y. Rahmani as to the period of the small finds places them in the sixth century C.E. A similar conclusion was reached by the excavators of Ḥorvat Rimmon (fifth-sixth century C.E.) and Ḥorvat Kanaf (same period).

Amulet 1 is designated for healing the client. It contains several Jewish formulae, such as are encountered in the prayer before sleep *(Qeri'at shema' 'al ham-miṭṭa)*, as well as biblical quotations. It also has a series of magic names, and an interesting sequence of nouns, each one preceded by the word **m'yn**, which may mean either "from the eye of..." or "in the form of...".

Amulet 2, more specifically formulated for healing, commands "the fever and the shiver, the female demon and the spirits" to be driven out from the body of its owner.

Amulet 3 is for the protection of "Rabbi Eleazar..., the servant of the God of Heaven". This title is quite unusual in our amulets. Some of the text seems to suggest that the amulet is designed for protecting the owner on the road: "In every place where this amulet will be seen, you (the evil spirit) should not detain Eleazar, son of Esther. And if you detain him , you will be cast immediately into a burning furnace". Other parts seem to beg for the healing of the owner: "Send healing and cure to Eleazar". This amulet also contains verbal allusions to the Bible.

Amulet 10 is a love charm. It is written on an unbaked potsherd, which must have been meant to be thrown into the fire after the writing

of the amulet, and was probably used in this way, as far as we can tell from the black areas caused by fire on the surface of the sherd. The evidence for writing amulets on unbaked clay comes from the Judaeo-Arabic texts of the Geniza, where the term *nayy* "uncooked" occurs. The subsequent burning in fire was alluded to in the text of this amulet (and in Geniza amulets of similar nature) by the words: "Just as this sherd burns, so shall burn the heart of..."

Amulet 11 is for curing its owner from headache, which is called here by the Greek term κεφαλαργία, written **qplrgy'**. The pain is considered to go into the bones (?) of the chest.

Amulet 12 is designated for the protection of a woman and her child. Here too Jewish formulae are quite conspicuous. The female customer is called Shlamṣu, a hypocoristic form of Shlomṣiyyon.

Amulet 13 is for a woman called Esther daughter of Tatis. Esther is the most widely attested feminine name in these amulets. The amulet is designated to save her from evil spirits, and much of the text is taken by a quotation from Exodus 15:26.

Amulet 14, which is very fragmentary, is remarkable for its combination of Hebrew-Aramaic with Greek.

Amulet 15 is based on an interesting *historiola*, or magic story, which is also available to us in a Babylonian version in Bowls 12a and 12b. This story enjoyed widespread popularity in Christian magic literature of the East, where the name of the helper was identified with Saint Sisinnius. The names of the helpers in this amulet were perpetuated in late Jewish magic under the form Sanoy, Sansanoy and Samangalof, in amulets which are used for the protection of a new-born baby and its mother. The names of the main actors in our amulet are partly metaphorical: The woman is called Smamit (= spider or lizard), the attacking fiend Sideros (=iron), while the names of the helpers, **swny, swswny** and **snygly**, have not yet received satisfactory explanation. It may be significant that all names begin with the letter *s*.

5. Magic Bowls in the Present Volume

The present volume contains most of the legible bowls available in Jerusalem. These are bowls which form part of the collection of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew Universty (Nos. 2–4), as well as those of the Israel Museum (Nos. 5–8). In addition we have included a bowl recently presented to the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (No. 12a), together with a parallel text which occurs in a bowl at the New York Metropolitan Museum (12b). We are also publishing two bowls seen in the hands of an antique dealer in Jerusalem, Mr. Victor Barakat (Nos. 1 and 9), although the present whereabouts of these latter bowls is unknown. The texts of two unpublished bowls at the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, photographs of which have been sent to Jerusalem for study and publication, have also been included (Bowls 10, 11). A last addition to this group of bowls comes from the Klagsbald Collection, Jerusalem (Bowl 13).

Several points of interest are brought out by the new bowl texts which are published in this volume. Two bowls contained in this collection are in Syriac, 1 and 10. Bowl 1 contains basically a well-known text, occurring on three Syriac bowls so far published (see Commentary to Bowl 1). The parallel text presented in this new bowl allows us to complement and improve certain readings in the previously published texts, and it confirms some of J.N. Epstein's conjectural readings (cf. Commentary to lines 3–4). A point which can be made on the basis of this text and which clarifies a formula in Aramaic bowls is the possibility of eliminating the figure of Hermes where it does not belong. It is clear that in Montgomery Nos. 2 and 27 what was regarded as an allusion to the Greek god is actually a reference to steel (cf. Commentary to line 12). It is a recurrent phrase in the bowls that the sorcerer is surrounded by a wall of pure steel, or clothed with a garment of pure steel.

Bowl 10 uses some interesting metaphors for the demons who are to be abjured. They are to be like birds who fly and change places (which is why they should leave the body and person of the client), and they should be like wax which melts in fire. It is not unlikely that such formulae were accompanied by suitable magic practices of the sympathetic kind.

Our Bowl 2 (in Jewish Aramaic) has five parallel texts already published. The new text again helps establish the correct readings of the formulae. From the study of Bowls 1 and 2 we may learn something of the mechanism of the transmission of magic formulae, which is not entirely that of a scribal tradition, but is akin in some respects to oral transmission. The combination of the two modes of transmission is clearly visible in the list of eleven names of angels (see Commentary to lines 6–7), where we can see certain modifications which may be attributed to copying, while others are only comprehensible in terms of free oral tradition.

Bowl 2 also affords a possibility of establishing the original form of the divine (or angel) name which occurs in Mandaic as **iurba**, identified with Adonai. The element **yw** in **ywrbʾ** is certainly a development of the divine name Yah, Yahu etc. (which occurs here as **yyy**), with the epithet *rabbā*. Although this figure is apparently defined here as an angel, there are eleven names of other angels who assist him against the demons, a fact which establishes his lofty position as a deity.

The international character of this magic is apparent in the expression **byt ʾylhy wbyt knyšt**ʾ (line 5), which seems to refer to pagan temple(s) and to Jewish synagogue(s).

Bowl 3 has a glaring example of Hebrew spelled from hearing, without acquaintance with the traditional spelling, when Num. 10:35 is given as ...וחיחי בין נסוע הארון וימר מושה קומה יהוה ויפוצו איבאך וינסו מ מיפנך

Bowl 4 has a curious illustration of an undefinable human figure. The ribbons waving to the left of the figure may be associated with the ribbons which constitute a symbol of royalty in Sasanian iconography; cf. Göbl 1971, pp. 11f. If this was intended in the picture, it may be possible to regard **mlkn**ʾ (in line 4) as signifying "I am king" or "I rule", rather than "I advise", as preferred in our translation.

Yehoshuaʿ bar Perahya is a well-known figure in the Aramaic incantation bowls. He occurs in Bowl 5, where he is associated, as is usual, with the practice of giving a deed of divorce (*geṭ*) to a female demon, named Lilit; the legal complication which arises in this situation is similar to that of a *geṭ* sent across the sea, which is valid. However, the *geṭ* lacks force because the man who writes it does not know the name of the woman. This is rectified by the divine powers, who add the name in the blank space. The situation is used to make the exorcism valid in all cases, "both when I know the name, and when I do not know the name"

(line 4). The point about the name of the demoness being unknown is so far only attested in this text, but it may explain the particular difficulty of the *get* which comes from across the sea, with an incomplete name.

Bowl 6 presents a curious introductory text which seems to be moulded partly on the Book of Jonah, but also uses other biblical allusions (e.g. Ps. 115:4–6), as well as what looks like an association with a phrase in the Babylonian Talmud (Ta'anit 8a; see Commentary to 6:7–8). A sequence of chronological designations, which has parallels in other magic texts, is included, and also a reference to groups of people "who sit in market places and streets, and who go out on the roads". This kind of enumeration is reminiscent of the various lists of nationalities which occur on some bowls; see e.g. Kaufman 1975, where the spirits of different nationalities are mentioned.

Bowl 7 is so unusually formulated that it partly defies translation. The translation provided is to a large extent conjectural. It provides us, nevertheless, with some interesting parallels to late Jewish magical literature. The phrase **kmypl ḥysy' mn ṭwr'** etc. can be understood in the light of *The Sword of Moses* (Gaster 1898), which in its turn also gains in clarity by this comparison.

Bowl 8 has an unusual arrangement in columns radiating from the centre cross-like. This is the only text in our collection which has already been published (it was first printed in a Hebrew article by Narqis 1935), and it is re-edited in order to complete the collection of the Jerusalem bowls, as well as for rectifying some minor points in the reading.

Bowl 9 is particularly interesting in that it provides a rare example of a text devoted to imprecations addressed by name against an enemy, Judah bar Nanai. The language of the curses is based on biblical verses, and in some cases it invents non-existent biblical phrases; **wl' th' 'swth lmḥtm** betrays the intention of the writer, since he fell into the trap of using Aramaic words where he obviously thought he was writing in good Biblical Hebrew. A list of diseases, not all of them understood by us, is an interesting feature of this bowl.

Bowl 11 provides us with some new features. A seemingly Iranian term for a magic formula, **mhryn**, occurs here for the first time, as well as such unusual forms as **pydgmy** and **'ryswt'** (the latter denoting a magic bane). Two biblical verses are intertwined for magical purposes in lines 6–7 by giving a word of each successively.

Under number 12 two bowls which have a similar text are given in parallel columns, together with the text of Amulet 15, which contains

the same story. For some comments on the story of Smamit and her helpers see above in the description of Amulet 15 (p. 25).

The main interest of Bowl 13 is in its large size and very long text as well as in some features of its contents. It contains a unique description of the physical appearance of the demon addressed in the incantation, apparently the demon Bagdana, "head of sixty kingdoms, whose power is the power of a blast, whose heat is the heat of fire" and so on. Besides these attributes of power and of the terror which he arouses, we have such concrete details as "his head is that of a lion, his molar teeth are those of a she-wolf, his teeth are those of a tiger, the draughts of his mouth are furnaces of fire" and so on. The text of this bowl is also remarkable by the fact that it has a well defined structure of parallel passages, which begin with similar formulae, although the precise significance of the dialogue formed by these passages is not entirely clear. All in all, the text of this bowl presents a unique incantation formula, which has no parallel in other magic texts as far as we know.

6. Other Texts of Magic and the Geniza Material

The objective of this study was to publish the texts of our amulets and bowls with readings and intepretations which would be as exact and thorough as possible. While doing this work we checked previously published incantation texts (as far as possible from photographs or facsimile drawings) without relying too much on previous editions. Thus we could suggest revised readings not only for the amulets which we have re-edited (Amulets 4–9), but also for several phrases in the previously published Mesopotamian bowl texts.

In order to get acquainted with the whole magical literature in antiquity, major publications of Greek magic papyri and various magic books which have survived, such as the Christian Syriac *Book of Protection* (Gollancz 1912) or the Jewish *Sword of Moses* (Gaster 1898) and *Sefer ha-razim*, which was found among the Geniza materials, were checked. However, among the fragments which survived in the Cairo

Geniza there are many amulets and pages of magic books which have not yet been treated by scholars. We have found it necessary to go through some of this material and compare it with other Jewish magical texts, although we have not aimed at completeness in this field.

The Geniza amulets and magic books were written in the Middle Ages, generally in Egypt itself, but some presumably in the neighbouring countries, as e.g. Palestine. The writers of these texts spoke Arabic (in certain cases Persian, and in one case a Persian dialect), but their magic texts were written in an interesting mixture of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic (including some Greek terms and words). As for the contents, it is obvious that the magic of the Geniza follows in general the Palestinian tradition. Thus it is possible in some cases to understand phrases in the Palestinian amulets and restore the fragmentary love charm from Ḥorvat Rimmon only by comparing them with the formulae used in the Geniza magic texts. A selection of five Geniza amulets (Geniza 1, 3–4, 7–8) and three fragments of magic books (Geniza 2, 5–6) is given here. Apart from these texts, some occasional phrases from further unpublished Geniza fragments are quoted in the Commentary. The use of the Geniza texts is designed to help in elucidating certain obscurities and to add paralled material to the formulae discussed in the main parts of the book (mainly in connection with the amulets).

7. Notes on the Language of the Texts

Short sketches of the three main dialects of the bowls are provided in the following publications: Rossell 1953 (Jewish Aramaic); Yamauchi 1967 (Mandaic); and Hamilton 1971 (Syriac). Useful remarks on some expressions will be found in Epstein 1960, p. 14; Levine 1970; Greenfield 1973a and 1973b. On some formulae there are also remarks in Niggemeyer 1975 (which is mainly concerned with those in *Sefer harazim*); Gruenwald 1980; and Niditch 1979. Mention should also be made of the observations by F. Rosenthal 1939, pp. 218 ff., 233 ff. Some

points of detail have been dealt with by Schiffman 1973 and Sperber 1966.

In discussing the language of the bowls and the amulets published in this volume, we have to distinguish three groups of texts: Syriac (Bowls 1 and 10 and Amulet 6); Babylonian Jewish Aramaic (Bowls 2–9, 11–13); Palestinian Jewish Aramaic (Amulets 1–3, 5, 7–15). In Amulet 4 the Hebrew element is predominant.

a. The Syriac Bowls

The three Syriac texts are not written in the same script: the script of Bowl 1 is Proto-Manichaean, more akin to Palmyrene cursive (cf. Montgomery 1913, Nos. 31–37), while Bowl 10 and Amulet 6 are in Estrangelo. All three Syriac texts share some common features: the determined state is always written with a final *alef* and the masculine plural det. st., *-ē*, is expressed by *alef* (generally marked by a *seyāme*). *Alef* as a medial *mater lectionis* occurs in Bowl 1, cf. **yʾtẅh** (in line 6), **ymʾmʾ** (line 13). *ʿAyin* and *ḥet* are weak , cf. **šmʾ** (for **šmʿ** in 1:8); **mbʿdʾ** (for **mʿbdʾ** in Bowls 1:11; 10:8); **bwtk** (for **bʿwtk** in Amulet 6:10); **ḥdyn** and **ḥdʾ** (for **hdyn** and **hdʾ** in Bowl 10:7, 11, 13); *he* is sometimes omitted, cf. **nywn** (10:10). Moreover, in Bowl 10 *ʿayin* is used as an initial *mater lectionis* for the designation of the vowel *e/i*, cf. **ʿmmʾ** (line 4) **br-ʿmʾ** (line 6), **ʿtqṭlw** (line 12), etc. This trait is characteristic also of Mandaic (cf. Yamauchi 1967, pp. 75f.).

Further features of the orthography of the Syriac in Bowl 1 are: a line over the final part of words usually marks the participle (e.g. **mḥwʾ** line 6, **mtqrʾ** line 9). The *seyāme* is sometimes used for marking forms which are only reminiscent of the plural (e.g. **yʾtẅh**, Bowl 1:6). The third person singular in both bowls has the typical Syriac **n-** prefix, e.g. **nhwʾ** (1:8), **nḥdrh** (1:11); **nytnṭr** (10:6) etc. If the reading **lkbyšwh** (10:13) is correct, *lamed* occurs for the *nun* prefix in this case.

b. The Bowls in Babylonian Jewish Aramaic

The language of the bowls written in the Jewish script has the clear features of Babylonian Jewish Aramaic. The plural masculine, for example, has quite often the *-ē* ending, as in Syriac, but here it is expressed by a final *yod*: cf. **kwkby wmzly** (Bowl 2:3); **byšy wtqypy** (Bowl 6:2), etc. The final *-ā* designating the determined state (in singular masculine and in singular and plural feminine) is generally marked by an *alef*, but there are quite a number of words ending with a final *he* (as

in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic), cf. mainly the word **ʾrʿh** in Bowls 2:8; 3:4; 5:2; 7:8; but also **bny ʾynšh** (6:2,5); **ywblh** (6:7); **byryʾth** (6:9); **ʾswth** (11:7); **ršyʿh** (12a:3); **nḥšh** (12b:3); **rbh** (12a:6); **mqdšh** (12b:6). For this phenomenon, cf. Rossell 1953, p. 36.

Bowl 6 has the characteristic Babylonian Jewish Aramaic *paʿʿel* infinitive **lštwqy wlskwry** (line 1), but in line 5 there occurs **lštqʾ**. Rossell 1953, p. 53 has already remarked on this: "the infinitive may be *qaṭṭālā*, or more commonly, *qaṭṭōlē*".

It has been pointed out that in Babylonian Jewish Aramaic the *qamaṣ* was quite often pronounced *o*. In the bowl-texts there is sometimes a *waw*, where an *ā* is expected (cf. Rossell 1953, p. 20). This trait is quite prominent in Bowl 12a, cf. **smwmyt** (line 1), **wʿwl** (line 5), **ywtyh** (lines 5, 6, 7), **qwmw** (line 6), and in Bowl 13, cf. **qwmk** (line 2), **qwmh** (line 8) and perhaps **ywyty** (line 1). Since this phenomenon occurs in a limited number of bowls only, it may justify the assumption of Sharvit 1974, p. 555, according to which Babylonian Jewish Aramaic possessed two contemporary pronunciations of the *qamaṣ*, probably distributed by areas, one where we may observe the development *ā* > *ō*, while in another area the *qamaṣ* was pronounced *ā*. A similar division had been suggested for Palestine. On this problem cf. also the study by Boyarin 1978b.

The *shwa* was sometimes written with a *yod*. This is attested not only with regard to the conjunction **wy-**, the prepositions **by-**, **ly-**, and the relative pronoun **dy-** (cf. Rossell 1953, p. 21 and our Commentary to Bowl 2), but also within the words themselves as **pyryšw** (Bowl 5:4–5); **tyštqwn** (*paʿʿel* imperfect, Bowl 6:9). This trait occurs also in Amulet 3:4, **tyḥšyn** (*paʿʿel* imp.).

Alef is often elided in the bowls; examples are **dytt**ʾ (2:9), **ytytt**ʾ (2:9), **dym**ʾ (2:4).

Besides the older form of the possessive suffix of the third person singular masculine attached to a plural noun, **-why**, which is attested in forms like **ḥzwhy** (Bowl 9:13), we have the younger form with **-yh**, e.g. **šqyh** (Bowl 9:3) and **kkyh, šynyh** (Bowl 13:4), **ʿynyh** (Bowl 13:5) and similar forms in Bowl 13. In Syriac we have such a form in **bnyh** "his sons" (Bowl 10:6). For this phenomenon cf. Epstein 1960, p. 123; Rossell 1953, p. 38. In addition we have the interesting hybrid form **(h)dmyhw**ʾ (Bowl 9:13). With regard to the preposition **ʿl**, again, both suffixes for the third person singular masculine are used, sometimes in one and the same bowl; cf. **ʿlyh** (Bowl 9:7), **ʿlwhy** (Bowl 9:14). In

contrast, the Palestinian forms attested in the amulets tend to show this ending as **-wy** (Amulet 3:15, 16; 5:5,7; 15:16). Amulet 1:22 has the full form **bgydwhy wbgrmwhy.**

c. The Amulets

Since Amulets 2, 3 and 10–13 were found in excavations carried out in Palestinian sites, they may be considered — together with the synagogue inscriptions (Naveh 1978) — as a reliable witnesses for the description of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic. Similar traits can be found in Amulets 7 and 9, although they stem from Ağabeyli (in southern Turkey) and Oxyrrhynchus (in Egypt). The other amulets (with the obvious exception of 6, which is in Syriac), may be presumed to derive from Palestine or its immediate vicinity.

In most Palestinian texts the determined state is generally marked by *he*, but the Nirim amulets display a preponderance of *alef*.

The negative *lā* is spelled **lh** in two amulets: Amulet 3:4 and 9:6.

A typical Galilean Aramaic trait is the absence of initial *lamed* in the infinitives, cf. **mʾsyh** and **mgʿwr** in Amulet 2:1,11. This can be compared to **dʿtyd mʿbd mṣwth** in the inscription of the synagogue at Tiberias (Naveh 1978, No. 26). The above-mentioned form **mʾsyh**, i.e. the *paʿʿel* infinitive with an initial *mem*, is also characteristic of Galilean Aramaic. For **plṭʾ**, where the existence of a prefix is uncertain, see Commentary to Amulet 13:4.

The form **šwmyh** in Amulets 3:6 and 9:5 is well-known in Palestinian Christian Aramaic (Schulthess 1903, p. 209), and it occurs in two synagogue inscriptions (Naveh 1978, Nos. 20, 70).

As in the synagogue inscriptions, there are here signs for the weakening of the gutturals, cf. **ʾwryth** in Amulet 9:1 (for **ʿryth**, occurring in Amulet 2:2,12 and **hʿryh** in the Hebrew text of Amulet 4:29; but see Commentary to Amulet 9:1. A case of *ʿayin* for *alef* occurs in **mrʿšy** (Amulet 14:8), as part of the same phenomenon. The *alef* was left out by the writer of Amulet 9: cf. **mryn brth dstr** (9:2), as against **rby ʾlʿzr brh dʾstr** (Amulet 3:5).

Incidentally, the Palestinian form **rby** (cf. Naveh 1978, p. 58) occurs in Amulet 3, whereas the Babylonian form **rb** occurs in a bowl text (cf. Harviainen 1981, p. 5:8,9). For the title of the well-known authority on magic , R. Joshua bar Peraḥya, the form attested on Babylonian bowls seems to be invariably *rabbi*, as in the Palestinian tradition, presumably because this is a name borrowed into Babylonia from Palestine. This is

also the case in our Bowl 5. (Montgomery 1913, Nos. 32, 33, reads in the Syriac text **rb yyšwʿ**, but an examination of the facsimiles suggests that the correct reading should be **rby**, followed by **yšwʿ**; in Montgomery No. 17 Yehoshuaʿ ben Perahya is not given a title). Cohen 1981, p. 78, collected forms of the title **rby**. In about five cases the "Babylonian" form occurs in Palestine.

The expression **ythzh yt** in Amulet 3:14, i.e. the accusative particle **yt** after a passive verb, has some parallels in the Targum.

A typical Palestinian form is the plural imperative **ʾswn** (Amulet 3:22), whereas the third person plural feminine perfect **slqh** (Amulet 7:14) occurs in *qeri* Biblical Aramaic and the language of Onqelos.

d. Contacts Between Palestine and Babylonia

There were, no doubt, strong connections between the magical tradition of Jewish Palestine and that current among the Jews of Babylonia. This is demonstrated by various phrases and expressions which are common to both the amulets and the bowls. The opening formula of Amulet 3 occurs in three of the magic bowls (Isbell 1975, Nos. 67 and 69; Isbell 1976, p. 23). The use of the phrase from Zach. 3:2, which is quite common in the bowls (cf. our Bowl 11:5–6), occurs in Amulet 1:5–6. The story told in Amulet 7:16–22 has close parallels in two bowls dealt with by Gordon 1971, pp. 233 f. and 236 f.

This connection between the two traditions is also visible in the orthography. It has already been noted that in the bowls there are some *he* endings for marking the determined state. On the other hand, in the amulets there are several *alef* endings.

The overlapping between the Babylonian and the Palestinian traditions may occasionally be noticed in some points of vocabulary. Thus the verb **ḤMʾ** occurs in the Babylonian Bowl 6:4, although it is generally considered to belong to western Aramaic (cf. Kutscher 1971, cols. 270, 274). This is, however, a verb which is known to occur outside the area of western Aramaic (cf. Tal 1975, p. 199 and note 24).

Amulet 15, with Bowls 12a and 12b, present a concrete case of a Palestinian-Babylonian contact. The formula contained in these magic texts certainly travelled from west to east. Along with the formula and the names of the heroes of the story some typical Palestinian expressions were adopted by the writers of the Babylonian bowls: cf. **ʾrtq** (for which see Kutscher 1971, col. 274). In other cases, the writers of the bowls made the necessary linguistic adjustments to translate the

language of the formula into Babylonian Aramaic: e.g. Palestinian **kl hn d-** "everywhere" (Amulet 15:19) corresponds to **kl ʾtr d-** in Bowl 12:VIIIb.

8. Magic in the Palestinian Amulets and their Religious World

While this book aims to give, for the first time, a full and accurate reading and interpretation of all the legible amulets from Palestine and the neighbouring areas, it seems proper to try and attempt an interpretation of the world of religion and of the occult as it emerges from these texts. Of the period in which these amulets were written we do not have too many direct epigraphical traces in Palestine, especially not in Aramaic.[24] And yet this is a period of great importance in Jewish history: it is the period in which post-exilic Judaism crystallized, the Jerusalem Talmud emerged, and to a very large extent the final shape of late Judaism was determined. The study of these texts, however short they are, and however fragmentary, should therefore prove to be of considerable interest.

The Jewish influence in the magic of the period is conspicuous. This can be seen both in the Greek and Coptic papyri from Egypt and in the Mesopotamian bowls which use non-Jewish scripts (see above, p. 18). For its own part, however, "Jewish" magic, i.e. magic written by Jews and using the Hebrew script, is also cosmopolitan, containing as it does religious elements borrowed from other cults and cultures, as do other types of magic written in other scripts. It partakes with other forms of neighbouring contemporary magic the use and address of such prominent magical figures as Abrasax, Marmaraot, Ablanatanalba, Sesengen

[24] The most important epigraphical material is the collection of synagogue inscriptions, some of them extremely short; see Naveh 1978. Apart from these, there are a number of funerary inscriptions; See Frey 1952, though the latest finds have not yet been collected.

Bar Ferenges. It contains allusions to such concepts and *topoi* of magic as the great importance of iron and copper, the careful inclusion in the incantation of a reference to all possible directions: right, left, front, behind, and above (with the deliberate omission of the world underneath; see Amulet 1). It makes use of magic letters and magic figures, of a comprehensive number for the limbs of the body (usually 248, but there are other figures), and sometimes of a list of specific limbs, of careful references to divisions of time (day, week, month, year), and of other themes of a similar nature.

Within this general web of magical elements, there are elements which may strike us as Jewish. Some of these have become part of the general non-Jewish magic tradition, e.g. names such as Yah, Yahu, Sabaoth, El, I-am-who-I-am, as well as formulae such as Amen, Selah, etc. More to the point are the direct biblical quotations and the biblical allusions, and sometimes the made-up biblical verses, which underline the fact that the amulets were composed in a *milieu* where the Bible was the sacred scripture, and quoting it, or at least pretending to quote it, was deemed to be of special magic power. It is of course important to bear in mind that we have to do here in most cases with a popular type of practice, and with a level of learning that does not go very deep.

Can any doubt be raised as to the orthodoxy, in terms of Jewish religion, of the people who wrote and used these amulets? Contemporary Jewish sources, notably the Talmudic and Midrashic literatures, are notoriously ambiguous about magic.[25] It must be recalled that we should not take the utterances of the sages in the matter of magic at face value. Magic is officially condemned, but many people who practised what we call "magic" would deny that they indulged in a practice which was against Jewish law. They would say that they practised healing, protection, etc., and that they relied not on magical powers, but on the power of God and His angels. The argument about the legitimacy of magic, among Jews just as in other cultures, sometimes revolves around the definition of terms.

Of more fundamental importance is the question as to what powers are invoked in the Jewish amulets, and what position they are deemed to occupy. In the Jewish bowl texts from Mesopotamia, the divine names

[25] See L. Blau 1898, pp. 19 ff.; Urbach 1975, pp. 97 ff.

appealed to include, besides Yahweh and his epithets, and the Jewish angels Gabriel, Yehoel, Yequtiel, Michael, Nuriel, etc., also names of pagan gods such as the Greek Hermes (see Montgomery 1913, p. 99); the Mesopotamian and Syrian Belti, Nereg, Nanai, Shamish, Dlibat and Mot (see Index here and in Montgomery 1913); the Iranian Anahid, Danahish, Bagdana, and others.

The Palestinian amulets in Jewish script do not contain references to such pagan deities. In the amulets, as far as we can make out, the various powers invoked are apparently conceived as being magic agents dependent on or subordinate to Yah the God of Israel. This seems to be the case in most amulets, though in some of them (Nos. 5, 8 and 10) the God of Israel is not mentioned at all. Amulet 3:11 speaks of "Yahu **krmsys**, the great God"; whatever the actual identity of this **krmsys**, it seems to figure here as an epithet of Yahu, and not as an independent power.

Abrasax is very frequently invoked in the Palestinian charms (see Amulets 1:9; 2:3; 12:2). According to *Sefer ha-razim* IV:3 Abrasax is the first among some thirty angels directing the sun during the day. In the same chapter of *Sefer ha-razim*, a Greek prayer addressed to Helios, the sun god, is given in Hebrew transcription. The text says: "Holy, eastern Helios, good sailor, highest governor, most exalted, who of old regulate the heavenly wheel, holy umpire, controller of the poles, Lord, glorious guide, master, soldier".[26] It may be mentioned in this connection that in the mosaic pavement of three synagogues of the fourth to the sixth centuries, those of Bet Alpha, Hamat-Tiberias and Naʿaran, Helios is shown in the centre of the mosaic, riding his chariot in the middle of the zodiac. The reason for this prominent display of Helios in Palestinian synagogues has been the subject of extensive scholarly discussion.[27] The basic question is whether it may be assumed that Helios was worshipped alongside, or independently, of God in these synagogues. The evidence of our amulets, while not decisive in itself, tends to strengthen the position that Helios, like so many other supernatural powers who were treated with great respect, did not seriously encroach upon the supreme position of God. Amulets 11–13 were found in

[26] *Sefer ha-razim* IV:61–63; translation by M. Smith 1982, p. 210*.

[27] See some references in Smith 1982.

another synagogue of the same period, in Nirim, and they were placed in or close to the holy ark. The syncretistic mixture which they display, while perhaps not universally approved of in rabbinic circles, was nevertheless part of the everyday piety of the age, and the angels mentioned in them are all subservient to God.

We know from the Talmudic sources that the use of this magic was not confined exclusively to the ignorant classes of society, but may have been shared partly by people who belonged to the circles of the learned. It is interesting, nevertheless, to have this confirmed by one of the amulets of Ḥorvat Kanaf, which was made for the benefit of a certain "Rabbi Eleazar son of Esther, the servant of the God of Heaven" (Amulet 3:6–7). Specialists in Talmudic literature may try to identify the person in question, but it is sufficient to note that this title, which is not too common in magic texts, occurs here for the client of an amulet. S. Cohen 1981 discussed all the evidence for people called Rabbi in epigraphical sources. Cohen makes a distinction between two senses of the title "Rabbi": It may be used either as a general honorific title, or for a tradent of Talmudic tradition. It is obviously impossible to decide here which usage is relevant, but the pious formula "the servant of the God of Heaven" no doubt indicates that "Rabbi" is here used in a religious sense.

The one amulet in our collection which is clearly not Jewish, the Syriac amulet No. 6, displays a spirit which stands in sharp contrast to that of the Jewish amulets from Palestine. It talks of three deities, and these are given high epithets. If this contrast is anything to go by, the distinction between Jewish and non-Jewish magic in Palestine and its environs is strongly pronounced. However, since we possess no more than a few specimens of what must have been a very extensive literature of magic in that area, it would be rash to base far-reaching conclusions on so little material.

TEXTS AND COMMENTARY

I. Amulets from Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt

Amulet 1

Provenance unknown
Collection of Dr. R. Hecht, Haifa
Plate 1; Figure 1

1 [מ]ימינך הרבה מאד משמאולך עוזי(א)[ל]
2 [מ]לפניך סוסיאל ומאחריך מנוחה
3 [ו]מלמעלה מאלה שכינת אל הצילה (א)[ת]
4 [קוזמ]ה בן סלמינו מפגע מרגע מנגע
5 [ויאמ]ר ייי אל השטן יגער ייי בך ה[שטן]
6 ויגער ייי בך הבוחר בירושלים (אמ)[ן]
7 [מ]לך יונון נימוס וכל מסוסין בראן[...]
8 ישמעאל רבא גיברא (ודחילא) מאמ...
9 ולידפת ולוזפת ומרהפתיס אברסקוס
10 [ר]וחא רובא רביא יה יה אתאסנ[י]
11 [ב]ר סלמינו מכל מכאובא מן יומא [דן]
12 [וע]ד לעלם אמן אמן סלה אנה כתבת יי[י]
13 [י]אסי בשם סחריאל עזריאל גרגו (...)
14 [...](ר)ע רקיעה דהוא מ(...)ל (ת)מידה בכלין (ה)[וא]
15 ישלח באסיותיה דקוזמה בר סלמינו [...]
16 vacat (זמורה) ומעין ברוקה מעין לוחשה [ומעין]
17 שיחה מעין ביתה ומעין ברא ומעין ה[...]
18 באסיותיה מן קדם מרי שמיה אמן אמן (ס)[לה]
19 [...]ת אחד (ו)עלוה אחד הרי שנים אמן אמן (ס)[לה]
20 [ברוך] המכה והמרפא לרוח גרמיה קמיע [טב]
21 משבענה עליך רוח גרמיה דהיא מהלכ[ה]
22 בגידוהי ובגרמוהי דקוזמה בר סלמינ[ו]
23 עליך בחי | האל || אלהי | ישראל למן קדמין (...)
24] צב[(אות) מלך מל[כי ה]מלכי[ם]

Amulet 1

Translation

1 On your right are very many, on your left is Uzziel,
2 in front of you is Susiel, behind you is Repose.
3 Above these is God's Divine Presence. Save
4 [Quzm]a son of Salminu from affliction, from (bad) fate (?), from plague.
5 "And God said unto Satan: May God rebuke you Satan
6 and may God who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you" (Zach. 3:2). Amen.
7 King **ywnwn nymws** and all **mswsyn** ...
8 Ishmael the great, mighty and terrifying. ...
9 **wlydpt wlwzpt wmrhptys ʾbrsqws**
10 Ruḥa, Ruba, Rabia, Yah, Yah. Be healed,
11 Bar Salminu, from all pain from this day
12 to eternity. Amen, Amen, Selah. I have written, God
13 will heal. In the name of Satriel, Azriel, ...
14 ... heaven, who ... wine in vessels (?), h[e]
15 will send forth the healing of Quzma son of Salminu ...
16 ... from the eye of cataract (?), from the eye of a spell, [and from the eye of]
17 a talk, from the eye of the house, and from the eye of the open space (?), and from the eye of ...
18 in his cure on behalf of the Lord of heaven. Amen, Amen, Selah.
19 ... one and on top of that one, then there are two. Amen, Amen, Selah.
20 [Blessed be] He who afflicts and heals the spirit of the bones. A [good] amulet.
21 I adjure you, the spirit of the bones, that walks
22 within the tendons and the bones of Quzma son of Salminu.
23 (I adjure) you by the God who lives, God of Israel, from the beginning ...
24 ... [of Hos]ts, king of the kings of kings ...

This amulet was incised with a sharp instrument on a narrow silver sheet, rolled from the upper part to the bottom; it was placed in a container, which has been preserved with the amulet. Nothing is known of its provenance. Its surviving height is 4.5 cm., width 3.3 cm.

1–3 The first phrase is reminiscent of Geniza 5, p. 2, lines 9–10 and that of the prayer "*Qeri'at shema'* on the bed": מימיני מיכאל ומשמאלי גבריאל ומלפני אוריאל ומאחורי רפאל ועל ראשי שכינת אל "On my right Michael, on my left Gabriel, in front of me Uriel, behind me Raphael and above my head the Shekina of El". See also Amulet 14:8. This formula found its way into Christian Syriac (Gollancz 1912, p. 5, § 7; p. 6, § 8) and Muslim Arabic (Goldziher 1894, pp. 359 f.) sources. See also Winkler 1930, pp. 20ff.

4 The name of the client Quzma — Cosmas is well known among the Syriac Christians (Payne-Smith, col. 3515). The name of the client's mother **slmynw** is unknown; can it be a variant of Σαλώμη? Cf. also Frey 1952, Nos. 1236–1237, 1459.

mpg' mrg' mng' is a pun. Only **pg'** and **ng'** have the sense of "affliction" and "plague". **rg'** means generally "moment"; it may mean here "a sudden calamity".

5–6 This verse from Zach. 3:2–3 is common in magic bowls and occurs in "*Qeri'at shema'* on the bed"

7–10 The names in the frames are of angels: **nymws** is Greek νόμος "law"; **mswsyn** means perhaps "healers", a *saf'el* form of the root **'SY**. Cf. Brockelmann 1928, p. 464b.

lwzpt: See Isbell 1975, 69:7 and Isbell 1976, p. 23 **llyzpt.**

mrhptys: This may be an inversion of a Greek compound word such as ἑπτῆμαρ or ἑπτημέρος.

'brsqws is generally written **'brsks**; see Amulet 2:3 as well as the Geniza amulet 7:29 and a fragment from the magic book, Geniza 6, p. 1:11–12: **'brsks ml'kh rbh** "Abrasax the great angel". This angel is well known in the Greek magic papyri from Egypt, where it is listed with Yau the God Sabaoth, Adonai, Michael, Suriel, Gabriel and Raphael (Preisendanz 1928, I, p. 36; pp. 10, 158). See also in the bowls Isbell 1975, Nos. 3:8–9; 4:3–4 and in the Syriac bowl Montgomery 1913, 34:9 as well as *Sefer ha-razim,* pp. 8 and 96 (IV, 13).

8 **rb' gybr' wdḥyl'**: The reading of the last word is dubious. One seems



Fig. 1. Amulet 1

to see **drwqyl**ʾ, but this may be considered to be a corruption of **wdḥyl**ʾ. The whole formula brings to mind the expression in the ʿAmida prayer: האל הגדול הגבור והנורא. For the phrase **rb**ʾ **gybr**ʾ **wdḥyl**ʾ, which seemingly uses *rabbā* as the substantive epithet for the deity, followed by two attributes, cf. Amulet 6:1–2 **rb**ʾ **ḥsyn**ʾ (one of a trinity of deities); Bowl 6:9 **mšbʿn**ʾ **ytkwn byšmyh** ʿ**d**ʾ**rb**ʾ **wdḥyl**ʾ; and Amulet 7:15 **bsṭr krsyh d**ʾ**lh rbh ḥsynh wdḥylh,** where the sequence **rbh ḥsynh wdḥylh** may possibly be taken as an apposition to ʾ**lh.**

12–13 **ʾnh ktbt yyyy yʾsy**: See Isbell 1975, 1:14–15 **ʾnḥnʾ ktbnʾ wšmyh ysyk** "we have written, and his name will heal you", or Isbell 69:8 **ʾnʾ ktbyt wʾlhʾ mʾry kwlʾ ysy yt**[...] "I have written, and God the Lord of All, will heal [...].

14 If one may reconstruct [**t**]**rʿ rqyʿh** we may compare it with **trʿy šmyʾ** in 4QLevi, I:18 (Fitzmyer and Harrington 1978, p. 90) and Hebrew **šʿry šmym**.

14, 16–17 The readings and the interpretations in these lines are uncertain. **brwqh** may mean "lightning", but it may also mean "cataract" as **brwqtʾ** in Gaster 1896, p. XIII:3; *Sefer ha-razim* II:182 (p. 91) **rwḥ hbrqt**; see **brqyt** in Jastrow, p. 197a and **bruqta** in Drower and Macuch, p. 70a: **aina bruqtia** "eye with cataract". In Syriac there occurs the phrase **wbrq brwqʾ bḥṣh wpqʿt mtnh** (Gollancz 1912, p. 8,§10), which the editor translated "he hurt (?) his back, his loin ruptured" (p. XXXI). **mʿyn** could conceivably also be translated "in the form of", but the formula in the printed amulet (Warsaw 1867), where

Amulet 2

Provenance: Ḥorvat Kanaf
Golan Archaeological Museum, Qaṣrin, No. 3164
Plate 2; Figure 2

1 קמיע טב מאסיה יאיתה בר[תה]
2 דמרין מן אשתה ועריתה ועינה
3 בישתה אברסכס יה יה יהו
4 אל אל אל קקקקקקקקקק צצצצצ
5 צצצצצ ץץץץץץץץץ ה ה ה א ח א
6 אות או אוא יה יה יה יה יה
7 יהו יהו יהו יהו יהו (*4 magic signs*)
8 געורו אשתה ועריתה שידתה
9 רוחתה מן פגרה דיאיתה ברתה
10 דמרין בשם אהיה אשר אהיה

we have a series of **ʿynʾ** indicating various forms of evil eyes (Fig. 21 on p. 133), suggests that here too a similar concept is probably present.

20 For **[brwk] hmkh whmrpʾ** see Gordon 1941, p. 352 **brwk mkh wrwpʾ** "blessed is he who smites and heals"; Bowl 12b:13 **brwk ... mk(h) wrwph**; as well as Isaiah 30:26; Jer. 14:19. See also Geniza 7:2–3 **ʾl mwḥṣ wrwpʾ** "smiting and healing God", and Geniza 8:21.

20–22 **rwḥ grmyh** "the spirit of the bones" is the actual sickness, that "walks within the tendons and the bones of Quzma". For **gydwhy wgrmwhy** see the Geniza fragment at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York ENA 3381 fol. 7b: אנה משבע יחכון שמהתה דאסרין לי פֿל וגידוי וגרמוי ; see also Amulet 5 below.

23 See Geniza 5, p. 1:2–3 **mšbʿnʾ bšm ḥy hʾl** and I Sam. 25:34 and I Kings 17:1 חי יהוה אלהי ישראל and Dan. 12:7 וישבע בחי העולם.

24 **mlk mlky hmlkym**: This is a frequent expression; see Jastrow, p. 791a.

Amulet 2

Translation

1 An amulet proper to heal Yaʾitha the daughter
2 of Marian from the fever and the shiver and the evil
3 eye. Abrasax Ya Ya Yahu
4 El El El **qqqqqqqqq, ssssss**
5 **ssssss**, (final) **sssssssss** **hhh** **ʾhʾ**
6 **ʾwt** (letter) **ʾw ʾwʾ** Ya Ya Ya Ya Ya
7 Yahu Yahu Yahu Yahu Yahu *(4 magic signs)*
8 exorcise the fever and the shiver, the female demons
9 (and) the spirits from the body of Yaʾitha the daughter
10 of Marian. In the name of I-am-who-I-am

Amulet 2

11 אמן אמן סלה קמיע טב מגעור
12 אשחה ועריתה ודקיקחה מן
13 יאיתה ברחה דמרין בשם כריאל
14 כסיאל זריאל צצצצצצ בשם
15 קקקקקקק בשם מיכאל]
16 עזריאל]

Amulets 2 and 3 were found in the excavations at Ḥorvat Kanaf by Mr. Zvi Maoz of the Israel Department of Antiquities, who kindly entrusted us with the publication of these texts. The essential details about the archaeological context of these amulets, as communicated by Z. Maoz, can be summed up as follows:

> Ḥorvat Kanaf is situated on a lofty spur, descending from the basalt plateau of the Golan, 3.5 km. off the north-eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee. In 1885 Lawrence Oliphant found here a fragmentary Aramaic inscription with Hebrew characters, which was part of an inscribed lintel of the ancient synagogue (Naveh 1978, No. 19). Systematic excavations began at the site in 1977 by Zvi Maoz. During four seasons two areas were unearthed: (A) The synagogue and the adjacent area on the top of the hill; (B) Building 300 on the lowest terrace of the southern slope below the synagogue.
>
> The two amulets were found in two rooms in Building 300. Amulet 2, that of Yaitha, was unearthed in a shallow pit in the north-western corner of Locus 301, together with an iron ring and a bronze ring that lost its inlay. Amulet 3, that of Eleazar, was found in the earth fill in the centre of Locus 308, 1.35 m. above the floor level. It probably had fallen from somewhere above.

According to the stratigraphy provided by Z. Maoz, Building 300 was erected in the early Byzantine period (350–500 C.E.), while the synagogue was erected in the middle Byzantine period (c. 500–551 C.E.). In the late Byzantine period (c. 551–630 C.E.) there took place the restoration of the synagogue and the division of Building 300. It seems likely to us that the two amulets belong to the later part of the occupation of Building 300, i.e. late 6th or early 7th century C.E.

11 Amen Amen Selah. An amulet proper to exorcise
12 the fever and the shiver and the hectic (fever) from
13 Ya'itha the daughter of Marian. In the name of Kariel,
14 Kasiel, Zariel ssssssss; in the name of
15 qqqqqqq; in the name of Michael [ ]
16 ʿEzriel [ ]

Amulet 2 is written on a copper sheet, incised with a pointed instrument. Only the first 18 lines are preserved. The surviving portion measures *c.* 6×6 cm. Fuller commentary on Amulet 2 will be found in Naveh 1983.

1 **qmyʿ ṭb** "a proper amulet". These two words, which are repeated here in line 11, appear also at the beginning of the Aleppo amulet (No. 4), and they occur in the Geniza fragment of a magic book, Geniza 5, p. 1:7 as **qmyʿ ṭwb**.

mʾsyh "to heal", infinitive of the root ʾSY (*paʿʿel*). The lack of the *lamed* (see also **mgʿwr**, line 11) and the initial *mem* in the *paʿʿel* infinitive are characteristic of Galilean Aramaic (Dalman 1905, p. 281).

yʾyth is a feminine personal name meaning "the nice/beautiful (girl)"; cf. **špyrh**, a well known name in the first two centuries C.E., in Amulet 14:1.

2 **mryn** is a quite common Palestinian feminine personal name; see Amulet 9 and Montgomery 1911, p. 273 f. lines 15, 22. **mryn** is a by-form of **mrym**. See Kutscher 1976, pp. 61–62.

ʾšth wʿryth: These nouns seem to be synonymous. Whereas **ʾšth** is well known in all Aramaic dialects as "the fire" or "the fever", **ʿryth** is rare. In Syriac, however, the root ʿRY means *inter alia* "to be seized with illness, to swoon"; in *paʿʿel* "to become numb with cold"; ʿryʾ "cold, frost, chill"; and ʿrwytʾ "the shivering fit of an ague". The latter meaning fits **ʿryth** in our text. **ʾyšth wʿryth** occur in the British Museum incantation bowl No. 91745 (cf. Gordon 1941, p. 341). Cf. also **hʾš whʿryh** in Amulet 4:28–29. In Amulet 9:1 the word **ʾwryth** seems to be a misspelling of **ʿryth** (but see also Commentary *ad loc.*). The sequence ʾ(y)š(ʾ)tʾ and ʿrwytʾ occurs also in the Geniza fragment T-S K 1.95 as

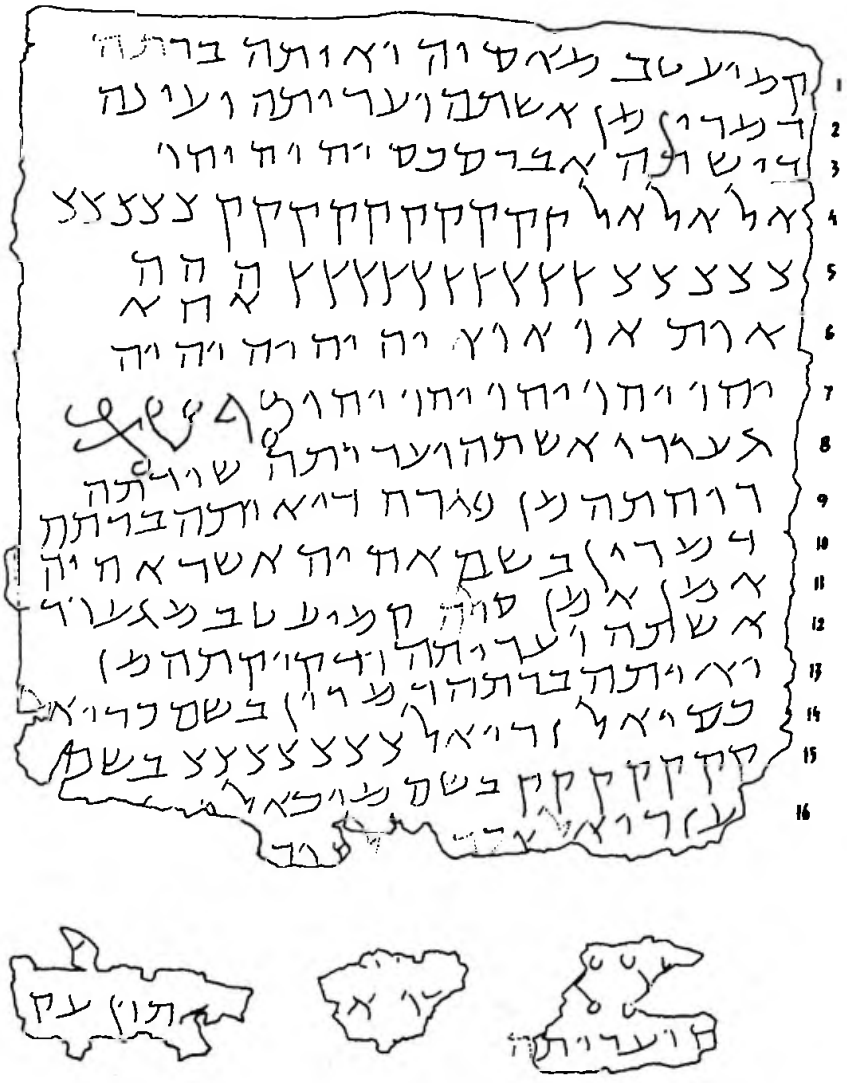


Fig. 2. Amulet 2

well as in Geniza 7:16. The combination **ʾšt ʿrwyt** together with other diseases occurs in a late Syriac magic book, Gollancz 1912, p. 8 f., § 11. The Samaritan Targum of Lev. 26:16 and Deut. 28:22 renders **qdḥt** by **ʿrbyth** (Tal 1980–81).

3 Abrasax is followed by a series of divine names and letters. It seems likely that in a prototype of this incantation these names were followed by a phrase like אתון אתייה קדישייה "You holy letters"; אתון שמהתה קדישייה "You holy names", which appear quite frequently, as in Geniza 6; or אתון כלקטיריה קדישיא "You holy characters", as in Geniza 1. For a similar phrase see Amulets 7:4 and 10:3. The plural imperative verb **gʿwrw** (line 8) implies such an address. For Abrasax see Commentary to Amulet 12:2.

4–5 The letters *qof* and *ṣade* may represent Is. 6:3. On the other hand, *qof*, medial *ṣade* and final *ṣade*, each repeated ten times in succession, may represent the root QṢṢ "to cut, break, fell, scrape, mutilate" (possibly addressed against the evil spirits of disease?).

8 For the verb **GʿR** in the sense of "to drive away, to exorcise" cf. Greenfield 1980, pp. XXXVIII f., as well as Geniza 4:3. Further discussion in Naveh 1983.

10 For the phrase אהיה אשר אהיה cf. e.g. Amulets 3:2–3; 11:1; 12:6, 40; Isbell 1975, Nos. 67:2, 69:3–4 and Geniza 4:5–6; 7:7.

11 **mgʿwr** instead of **lmgʿwr**; see above, Commentary to line 1, **mʾsyh**.

12 **dqyqth** is the rendering of the Samaritan Targum to Deut. 28:22 **ḥrḥr**; the Arabic equivalent given in *Ha-Meliṣ* is **ʾldq** (see Ben-Ḥayyim 1957, p. 473b). Bar-Hebraeus, pp. 13, 28, translates the phrase **ʾštʾ dqyqtʾ** in the Peshiṭta version of Ben Sira 26:26 as Greek ἑκτικός. In the Geniza fragments we have various corruptions of this word: **rqyqtʾ** (Geniza 5, p. 1:1), **zʿqh** (Geniza 6, p. 3:12) and **dnwqh** (Geniza 6, p. 4:2).

Amulet 3

Provenance: Ḥorvat Kanaf
Golan Archaeological Museum, Qasrin, No. 3163
Plate 3; Figure 3

1 שיר חשבחות למלך עלמ[יה]
2 [י]ה יה יחיש עולמים אהיה
3 אשר אהיה מלך ממל<ל> ברוז פרוש
4 אל כל רוח בישה ומבאשה דלה
5 תיחשין לרבי אלעזר ברה דאסתיר
6 עבדה דאלה שומיה חזק וגער
7 שרד ופרת טרגין אסתד ובקתה
8 סלסלילה קללקם יקיפס צוריאל
9 רפאל אביאל אנאל נהריאל
10 נגדיאל אפפאל ואננאל מס
11 פס יקרנדריס יהו כרמסיס
12 אלהא רבה תחתה נחגה טחטה
13 מרמר פספס יהוה קדש בכל
14 אתר דיחחזה ית קמיעה דן
15 לא תעכבין עלוי על אלעזר
16 ברה דאסתיר ואן תעכבין עלוי
17 בה בשעתה תתרמין לאתון
18 נורא יקדחה ברוך אתה אדוננו
19 הרופא כל הא־רץ שלח רפוי
20 אסו לאלעזר בובריית תבריט
21 [ו]בשתארות מלאכיה דמ[מנין]
22 [ע]ל אשתה ועריתה אסון אל[עזר]
23 [ב]מאמר קדיש

This amulet is written on a copper sheet, incised with a pointed instrument. The sheet measures *c.* 7.5×5 cm. The writing seems to have been preserved almost intact. It was found by Mr. Zvi Maoz in the excavation of Ḥorvat Kanaf. For a description of the Ḥ. Kanaf amulets see Commentary to Amulet 2.

Amulet 3

Translation

1 A song of praise to the King of the Worlds
2 Yah, Yah, Yah, Yaḥish of the Worlds, I-am-
3 who-I-am, the King who speaks with distinct mystery
4 to every bad and evil-doing spirit, that you should not
5 cause pain to Rabbi Eleazar the son of Esther,
6 the servant of the God of Heaven. **ḥzq** and **gʿr**,
7 **šrd** and **prt**, **ṭrgyn**, **ʾstd** and **bqth**,
8 **sislyrhʾ**, **qllqm**, **yqyps**, Suriel,
9 Raphael, Abiel, Anael, Nahariel
10 Nagdiel, Aphaphel and Ananel **ms**
11 **ps yqrndrys** Yahu **krmsys**
12 the great god **ṯḥth gḥgh ṭḥṭh**
13 **mrmr psps** Yahweh, sanctity. In every
14 place where this amulet will be seen,
15 you (the evil spirit) should not detain Eleazar
16 the son of Esther. And if you detain him,
17 you will be cast immediately into a burning
18 fiery furnace (Dan. 3:6). Blessed are you our Lord,
19 the Healer of all (people on) earth, send healing
20 (and) cure to Eleazar. **bwbryt, tbryṭ**,
21 **bštʾrwt**, the angels that are [appointed]
22 over fever and shivering, cure Ele[azar]
23 by a holy command!

1–3 The opening phrase, which consists of a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic words, is very similar to that which occurs in the magic bowls published by Jeruzalmi 1963 (see Isbell 1975, Nos. 67 and 69) and by Isbell 1976, p. 23, where the correct reading is שיר תשבחות למלך עלמיה יהוה צבאות צור עולמים אהיה אשר אהיה מלך ממליל ברזי (בראזי) פרישתא. This

similarity constitutes a further indication to the existence of contacts between Babylonian and Palestinian Jewish magic formulae.

2 **yḥyš** (or **yḥwš**): Probably connected to the "name" **yḥwš**, which developed from an appeal to speed, so common in magical invocations; cf. Scholem 1980/81, p. 266, notes 84–85. Our Geniza material illustrates the transition from the verb **ʾḥyšh** in Ps. 55:9 to the divine name. The verse is prominently used in Geniza 5, p. 2:6–7; 7:23–25 (where the verse occurs twice, straight and backwards). The divine name occurs in Geniza 8 in the formula **yh ʾhh ḥsyn yh yḥyšh**, repeated several times with slight variations (lines 6f.; 8f.; 10f.; 13f.).

4 **ʾl** is Hebrew, for Aramaic **ʿl**; **dlh** is sometimes written for **dlʾ**, cf. Amulet 9:6.

5 **tyḥšyn** is probably a causative form of ḤWŠ/ḤŠŠ "to feel (pain), to suffer"; the *yod* after the *taw* shows that it cannot be an *afʿel*, but rather a *paʿʿel*, the *yod* standing for a *shwa mobile*. At any rate it is a second person feminine imperfect meaning "you will cause pain".

5–6 The client is called Rabbi Eleazar son of Esther (note the *plene* spelling **ʾstyr**), the servant of the God of Heaven. This is one of the rare examples in which the client of a magic text bears the title Rabbi. Cf. also Harviainen 1981, p. 5:8,9 **rb ywsp br ʾymʾ dʾymh**.

6–10 **ḥzq wgʿr šrd** ... can be a series of verbs: "strengthen and drive out, cause to remain...", but this sequence does not make much sense. Therefore, it may perhaps be assumed that **ḥzq wgʿr šrd** is a sequence of corrupt words based on a formula such as we have in Isbell 1975, 67:3 **byʾl ḥzq wgybwr šlḥ byd** "By God, strong and mighty, send by the hand...", where it is followed by a series of angels: Shlomiel, Michael, Raphael etc. Here we may reconstruct something like **ʾlh šwmyh ḥzq *wgbwr *šdr** "...God of Heaven, strong and mighty, send..." The words **prt ṭrgyn ʾstd**...until **yqyps** may be names of angels (or *nomina barbara*); they are followed by Suriel, Raphael etc.

10–13 **msps** is an Atbash reversal of **yḥwḥ** and **psps** for **wḥwḥ** i.e. Yahweh; Cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 60.

krmsys has been explained by Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 25,40 as Hermes. The text there says: **[bšmyh] dkrmsys yh šmh rbh mpršh.**

mrmr is reminiscent of Marmaraoth.

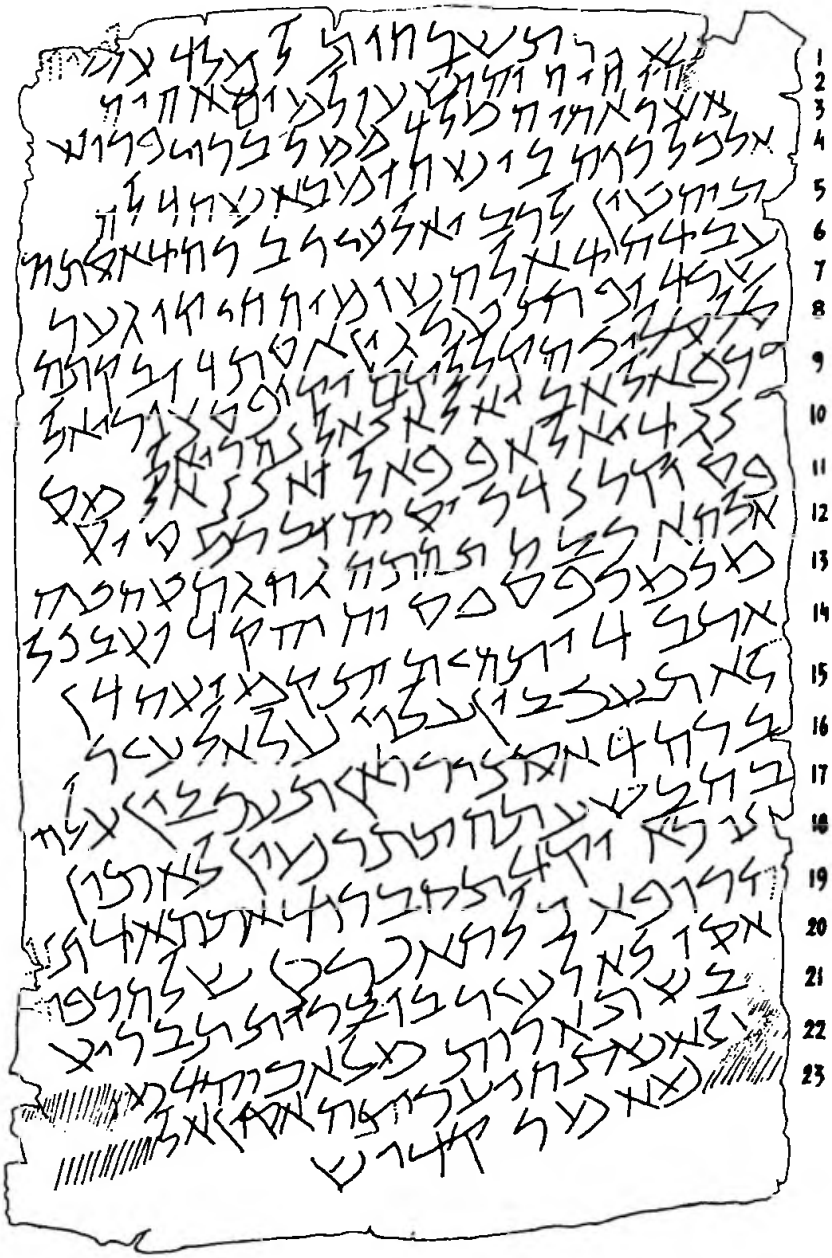


Fig. 3. **Amulet 3**

14–18 For a similar warning phrase see Gaster 1896, pp. I:25–28; III:13–21, and XXV:4–7, where both the word **tʿkb** and the punishment of burning in fire are mentioned. The construction **dyṯhzh yt**, where the accusative particle **yt** occurs after the passive *itpeʿel* form, appears extraordinary, but it is not unknown in Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew (Ben-David 1971, p. 489; Bar-Asher 1983). One recalls the biblical verses Ex. 34:23; Deut. 16:16 יראה את פני ה׳. In the Targums to Ex. 16:12 the Hebrew...שמעתי את תלונות is rendered...שמיע קדמי ית תרעמת, where the passive construction is followed by the accusative; apparently the accusative **yt** is inserted as an equivalent of the Hebrew ʾt. Kutscher 1969, p. 151, mentions this verse as an instance of the passive construction. A problematic instance is a Targum of Genesis 38:25 **wlʾ ʾštkḥt ythwn** (Klein 1980, p. 61), where Targum Jonathan has **wlʾ ʾškḥt ythwn**. We have taken **dyṯhzh** as **d+yṯhzh**, the relative pronoun **d-** followed by an imperfect 3rd person masc. *itpeʿel*. However, it can also be divided **dy+thzh**, the relative pronoun **dy-** followed by the 2nd person masc. *peʿal*. While this is possible, we must bear in mind that the following verbs, **tʿkbyn** and **ttrmyn**, are both 2nd person feminine singular. The readings **tʿkbwn** and **ttṛmwn** are implausible, since the letters seem to be clear *yod*s.

The expression **ʾtwn nwrʾ yqydth** (following Dan. 3:6) occurs in Borisov 1969, p. 11.

Amulet 4

Hebrew–Aramaic
Provenance: Aleppo
Museum of the Flagellation Convent, Jerusalem
Plate 4; Figure 4

1 קמיע טב כתום פי פתגמא הד[ן]
2 קדישא ברבר<ב>ן ובקדישיא שמו (נכ)[בד]
3 רמיאל מפאר יה עזרי אהיה א
4 אחמה אהיה אחמה יה שדי ח
5 אל (ת)י הוא אתו מאשו (מ)כרעי
6 טלמי ו(כ)מא במנא (כ)ל נדרך ה

19 **hrwpʾ kl hʾrṣ**: This blessing formula is unknown; but it can be compared with רפא חולי כל בשר (in Isbell 1975, 42:12) and רופא חולי עמו ישראל (in the ʿAmida prayer). In Gen. 18:25 we have, somewhat differently, השפט כל הארץ. There is a curved line (possibly the beginning of a *ṣade*) between the *alef* and *resh* in the word הא־רץ.

20 The first word in this line can be read either **ʾsy**, *paʿʿel* imperative, or **ʾsw**, the absolute state of the noun meaning health, healing, cure. The latter may serve as a gloss on the Hebrew word **rpwy**.

21–22 The reconstruction **dmmnyn ʿl** is based on the phrase which occurs in several magic texts; cf. Amulet 12:2; the Geniza fragment T-S K 1.160 ואלן מלאכיה דממנין על לילותא; *Sefer ha-razim* V:13–14 ואלה הם הממונים על שנים עשר חודשי השנה; Gaster 1896, Sword of Moses XX:4 שם סרא דממנא על מלאכי רוגזא.

22 **ʾšth wʿryth**: See above, Amulet 2.

ʾswn = pl. imperative; the final *nun* is typical of Galilean Aramaic, see Dalman 1905, the paradigms on pp. 402 ff. This word seems to be followed by a *lamed* somewhat ligatured with the following *alef*, but it is perhaps only a highly drawn right bar of the *alef*; whether we read with or without *lamed* the meaning is the same.

23 **bmʾmr qdyš**: In Isbell 1975, No. 42:6 we read **bdbr ʾylwh wbmʾmr qwdwš** "by the Word of God and by the holy commandment".

Amulet 4

Translation

1 A proper amulet. Write (?) this phrase,
2 the holy one. His name is venerated through great ones and through the holy ones.
3 Ramiel adorns Yah. My help is I-am,
4 I-see, I-am, I-see. Yah, Shaddai,
5-6 living God. (*An incomprehensible sequence of words; in the following such words are indicated by dots*)

7 דן יהוה אהיה יהוה אל שדי אשר
8 אל × יש (ח)י × חי  אהיה ומלך
9 מכר × מנצח × ים אש(ר) מקצפו ה
10 ארץ רעשה | הר | סר | הר הבמה
11 והר יהו יה × ה זמרו לדו(י)ד ודר
12 הי × שם לעולם ועד (ד)רום ופנים
13 ושמאול ומערב לאחוז בכנפות
14 הארץ וינערו רשעים ממנה בן
15 תנער הטלנית ורוח זכר ונקבה
16 מן אקמו ברתה דאמרבן ממאתים
17 וארבעים ושמונה אבריה ומארבע
18 מאות עם קרבין ובל תשית לב נכל
19 עליה בפיה תיחל מן זולתו כצל
20 חמה כמועט לבנה וכמזלותיה ×
21 ××××××××× יהפש יה
22 פש ×× יה ×××× ××××
23 אמן אמן סלה ×× הללויה
24 אלהי מערכות ובשם אוגריח מר
25 מרמאות יפא ובמלכות אבלנה
26 אלבלה נאחה לבאת קטב נרקי
27 (מ)ראות הדר
(three suns and seven stars are given here as magic figures)
28 משביע אני עליכם הפג<ע> והק[
29 והאש והעריה בין מיום לי[ום]
30 בין משבת לשבת בין משנה
31 לשנה בין מחדש לחדש משבי[ע]
32 אני עליכם בשם ימינו וכח [קדשו]
33 תוקפו ביה יה ביה יה בי[ ]
34 צבאות אלהי ישראל [ ]
35 ....

7 ... **yhwh**, I-am, **yhwh**, God, Shaddai, who (is)
8 God. ... Living, ... I-am and king
9 ... "At his wrath the
10 earth shall tremble" (Jer. 10:10) ...
11 ... Sing for David ...
12 <May the> name of God be for eternity. South, east,
13 north and west. "That it seizes the corners
14 of the earth, and shakes the wicked out of it" (Job 38:13), so
15 will be shaken the shadow-spirit and the male and female spirit
16 from Aqemu daughter of Em-rabban, from her
17 248 limbs, and from (her)
18 400 ... (?) entrails. Do not place an evil man's heart
19 over her. With her mouth she shall expect (?) from someone else. Like the shadow
20 of the sun, like the diminution of the moon, and like her zodiacal signs.
21-22 (*magic characters and combinations of letters*)
23 Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallelujah.
24 God of battles. And by the name of Ugrit, Mar-
25 marma'ot **yp'** and by the kingdom of *Ablanatanalba
26 ... **qṭb nrqy**.
27 Visions of splendour.
(*three suns and seven stars*)
28 I adjure you, affliction and ...
29 and fever and shiver, whether it is from day to day,
30 or from week to week, or from year
31 to year, or from month to month, — I adjure
32 you, by His right hand and the might of [His holiness].
33 His vigour, **byh yh byh yh by**[**h** Lord of]
34 Hosts, the God of Israel ...
35 ...

Amulet 4

This text was incised on a silver sheet, folded and placed in a bronze tube. It was found in a tomb near Aleppo.

The text was first published by Schwab 1906, and again 1916/17, p. 624. It was reproduced by Frey 1952, No. 819, and discussed in Testa 1962, pp. 52 ff.

The translation is given here with great reservation, as the text is largely obscure. We have examined the original at the Museum, and have had the benefit of a fresh photograph, kindly supplied to us by Father Michele Piccirillo O.F.

1 **ktwm py** seems a better reading than Schwab's **ktwm (htwm) bw. py** may be a dittography on the following **ptgm'. ktwm** may be a corruption of **ktwb.**

2 **brbr<b>n**: Schwab read **brbwn.**

6 **bmn' kl**: Cf. Schwab **kmw 'pl.**

8 This line contains the so-called "monogram of Christ". Deissmann 1927, p. 255 n. 4, remarks that it was in use long before the time of Christ. Testa 1962, p.55, regards it as an evident Christian symbol, following Avi-Yonah 1940, p. 112. See also Budge 1930, p. 347 f.

10 Schwab reads *waws* where the amulet seems to have vertical strokes.

11 **zmrw ldwyd** seems to be written. One might expect **l<y>hwh** as occurs frequently in the Psalms.

12 **pnym** signifies "east", cf. Kimron 1980, p. 41 f.

13 **śm'wl** is written with a *waw* following the *alef*, as in Amulet 1. For **śm'wl** in the sense of "north"cf.Kutscher 1957, p.32, and Kimron 1980.

15 **ṭlnyt**: This species of demons is quite widely attested. In our texts they occur in Amulets 7:6; 11:8; 13:8. For other occurrences in bowl texts see Gordon 1941, p. 279; Borisov 1969, p. 7:4, and the discussion in Scholem 1965, pp. 85, 88. The Targum of Cant. 4:6 has **ṭlny** as a species of demons (reference kindly supplied by Dr. E. Kimron). The same sense occurs in Mandaic **ṭulaniata** (pl.), cf. Drower 1946, p. 332, line 2. The transition from the sense of "shadows" to that of "demons" is illustrated by a passage in the *Schatzhöhle*, where a number of natural



Fig. 4. Amulet 4.
After Testa 1962

elements worshipped are listed: **wmnhwn byd ṭʿywthwn lšmšʾ sgdyn hww wmnhwn lshrʾ wlkẅkbʾ wmnhwn lʾrʿ wlḥyẅtʾ wlpr̈ḥtʾ wlr̈ḥšʾ wlʾẏlnʾ wlk̈pʾ wlṭlnẏtʾ wlmẏ wlr̈wḥʾ** (Bezold 1888, II, p. 130).

16 **ʾmrbn** is probably to be read Em-Rabban.

17–18 While 248 is רמ"ח, the traditional Jewish figure for the number of limbs, 400 followed by **ʿm** is incomprehensible.

20 **mwʿṭ lbnh** may be connected with Heb. **mʿwṭ** "diminution, waning". The juxtaposition *ḥammā-levānā* occurs in Is. 24:23; 30:26; Cant. 6:10. The whole expression is reminiscent of the phrases in the Qiddush Levana prayer.

wkmzlwtyh was not read correctly by Schwab.

24 **ʾlwhy mʿrkwt**: Cf. Geniza 4:2–3.

ʾwgryt, which occurs in Bavli Pesaḥim 111a (see Margaliot 1945, p. 204), is also attested in Amulet 8:6.

Amulet 5

Provenance: Emmaus
Present location unknown
Figure 5

(magic characters) 2–1

3 [ ](מ)שג־אל שמראל אלהא [... אתון]

4 [כרק](ט)יריא קדישיה בטלון כל (ח)[ ]

5 [מן ע]ינוי מן נו(חר)ה מן רישה מן גידו[י]

6 [מן ר]יסיא בשם *(magic figures)*

7 [ ] ומן ...נוי ומן בניה ... [ ]

This amulet was found in 1896 in a tomb in Emmaus and was acquired by Herbert Clark for his collection. It is written on a thin silver sheet. It was first published (with a facsimile drawing only) by Vincent 1908; and then again in Frey 1952, No. 1185; cf. also Testa 1962, pp. 64–66. Our

25 We have here the familiar Marmaraot, and afterwards the formula Ablanatanalba (lines 25–26), Scholem 1965, p. 94. Cf. also *Sefer harazim*, p. 8.

26 For **qṭb nrqy** cf. **qṭb mryry** in Deut. 32:24. For the use of the biblical formula in magic, cf. *Midrash Tehillim* (*Shoḥer Ṭov*), ed. S. Buber, Vilna 1891, p. 397 (on Ps. 91:3); *Midrash Rabba*, *Bammidbar*, Jerusalem 1965, fol. 87b (Parasha 12:3).

28 Cf. **mpgʿ mrgʿ mngʿ** in Amulet 1:4.

29 **hʾš whʿryh**: Cf. **ʾštʾ wʿrytʾ** in Amulet 2.

29–31 On the time divisions in this magic usage cf. Commentary to Bowl 6:7–8.

32 Cf. הושיעה לו ימינו וזרוע קדשו (Ps. 98:1).

33 For **yh byh** cf. Commentary to Bowl 6:2.

Amulet 5

Translation

1–2 *(magic characters)*

3 ...Masagiel, Samriel, the God [... You]

4 holy [charac]ters, annul all [the...]

5 [from] his eyes, from his nostril, from his head, from his tendon[s,]

6 [from the eye-]lids. In the name of (*magic figures*)

7 ... and from ... and from her sons...

reading is based on the drawing in Vincent; we have no information about the present whereabouts of the object, and have seen no photograph of it. It does not appear to be in the Clark collection, which is kept at the Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem.

3 **mšgʾl**: See *Sefer ha-razim*, VI:14 **msgyʾl**. In Greek amulets we have Μυσαγαω[ϑ], Preisendanz 1928, p. 34 (III:56); Μυσαγωϑ, Preisendanz 1930, p. 51 (IX:2). For **šmrʾl** see the late Jewish amulet in Shachar 1971, No. 2.

3–4 The reading is based on Geniza 1:2 and similar texts.

4 **bṭlwn**: A *he* is written above the line; hardly to be read **bṭlhwn**.

5 Vincent followed by Frey read **nwhrh** "son intelligence".

7 Vincent read unconvincingly, **wmn ʾwznwy bṣyh** "et de ses oreilles et de ses testicules".

Amulet 6

Syriac
Provenance and present location unknown
Plate 5; Figure 6

1 + ואו • בר תאון • רבא
2 • חסינא • קדיש אילא •
3 הלין • תלתא • קימין • ב(מ)
4 עברחא • רבתא • דאוקינ
5 וס • ומדברין • מיא • וע
6 למא • במעברתא • דע
7 למא • ○ מוממנא ○ בך
8 ○ רבו ○ אקים זבאות ○
9 פרקי ○ טרפסדך ○
10 דיוא ○ אנהר ○ בותך
11 ○ או ○ בר ○ תאון ○ אילא ○
12 ארזם ○ בך ○ רבון ○ אק
13 ים זבאות ○ פרק ○ טרפס
14 דך ○ דיוא מן תלטא ומן
15 * דמוללך ○ בנק(ו)חא
16 ...

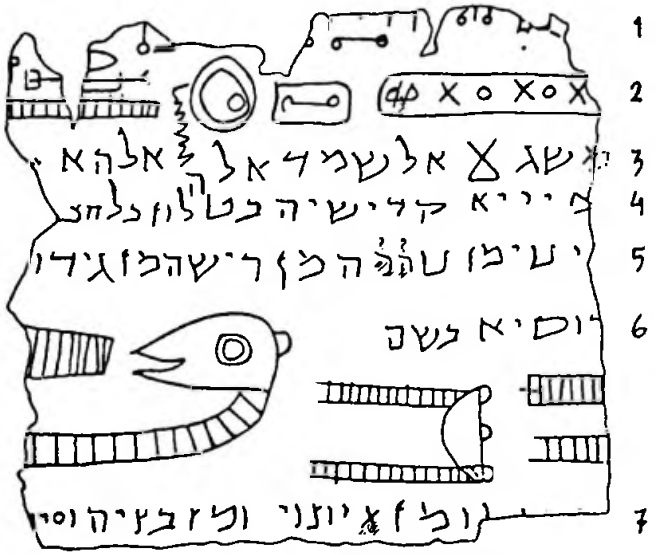


Fig. 5. Amulet 5. After Vincent 1908

Amulet 6

Translation

1 O Bar-Theon, mighty
2 Lord, the holy one of God!
3 These three are standing in the
4 great ford of the ocean
5 and directing the water and the
6 world in the ford of the
7 world. I adjure you,
8 Greatness, Aqem Zabaoth.
9 Loosen Ṭarpas-dukh
10 the demon. Illuminate your desire,
11 O Bar Theon the God!
12 I invoke (?) you, the Lord
13 Aqem Zabaoth. Loosen Ṭarpas-
14 dukh the demon from the sea (?) and from
15–19 (undecipherable)

Amulet 6

This amulet is inscribed on a silver sheet in Syriac in Estrangelo characters. It was acquired in 1925 in Beirut by Charles Virolleaud. The object was lost in 1926 when it was sent to A. Cowley in Oxford for examination, and the first editor, A. Dupont-Sommer, and all subsequent scholars who have worked on it, have had to rely on photographs only.

The inscription was first published with an extensive commentary by Dupont-Sommer 1946, who sought to understand it as an expression of a gnostic adoration of the letter *waw*. This theory was contested by Gordon 1949, who suggested a new reading of the inscription. Dupont-Sommer 1951 defended his original interpretation, and a further article by Gordon 1953 concludes this debate. See further Del Medico 1949; Testa 1962, pp. 59–64.

One problem in the interpretation of the text is the use of word-dividers. There are two devices used for this purpose in this amulet: a dot and a circle. It should be noted that in the first part of the inscription, viz. lines 1–7, only a dot is regularly used, while the circle is consistently used from line 7 on. After the first word in line 7 the transition from the one system to the other is marked by the fact that a dot followed by a circle are both used to divide **bʿlmʾ** from **mwmmnʾ**. It may be remarked that at this point the introductory invocation is concluded, and the main text of the adjuration begins. It follows from these remarks that the first word in the inscription, after the cross, is probably to be read **wʾw** (as read by Dupont-Sommer), though this does not imply that Dupont-Sommer's interpretation of the word as meaning the letter *waw*, personified or otherwise, is acceptable. **wʾw br tʾwn** corresponds to **ʾw br tʾwn** in line 11 (where **ʾw** follows a clear word-divider in the shape of a circle) and both must be forms of interjection (as seen by Gordon 1953, p. 116). It may be possible to interpret the **wʾw** in line 1 as either a variant form of the vocative particle, otherwise unattested, or, more likely, as the conjunction **w-** followed by the vocative **ʾw**. In the latter case, the initial **w-** begins the text in the same way as does **twb**, e.g. in Bowl 4, and may be translated "again" or similarly.

Resh has a dot over the letter (cf. Dupont-Sommer 1946, pp. 83f.). In **dywʾ** (lines 10,14) the *dalet* has a dot to its right.

1 The cross at the beginning of the inscription may indicate that this is a Christian amulet.

br tʾwn is here written without an internal divider, while in line 11 **br** is

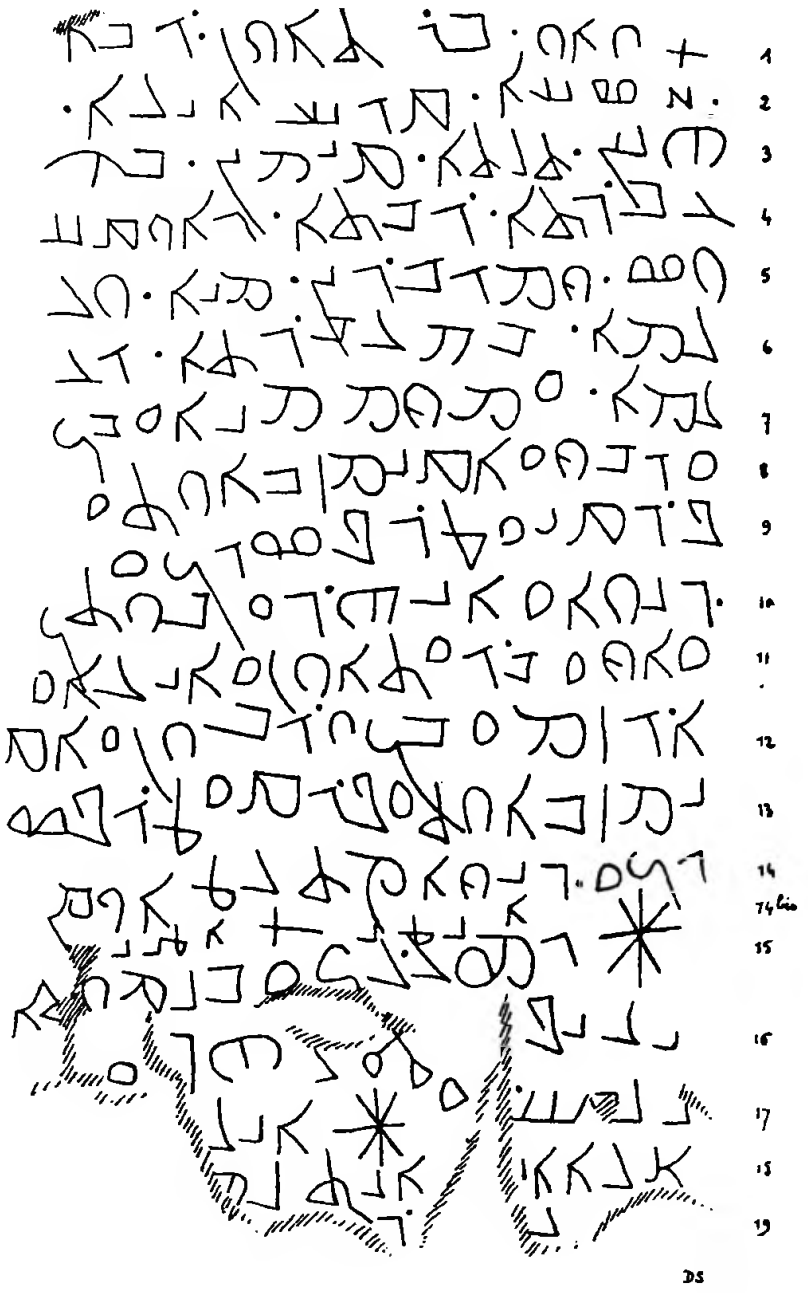


Fig. 6. Amulet 6. From Dupont-Sommer 1946

separated from **t'wn** by a circle. For the name Bar-Theon cf. Βεραδωνάι quoted in Winkler 1930, p. 141 from an amulet published by Froehner, "Sur une amulette basilidienne inédite du Musée Napoléon III", *Bull. de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 4 (1866), p. 272 (which we have not seen).

1–2 Line 3 speaks of three divine beings, the names of which must be sought in these two lines. That is why we prefer to take **rb' ḥsyn'** as one name, rather than regarding **rb'** as an epithet of Bar-Theon.

rb' ḥsyn': If our interpretation is correct, Rabbā is the name of the deity and **ḥsyn'** is the adjective; see Commentary to Bowl 13:3. and to Amulet 1:8. For **qdyš 'yl'** (written without a divider) cf. **qdšy'l**, *Sefer ha-razim*, II:119; **qwdšy'l** op. cit., IV:15. In line 11 the formula is abbreviated and only **br t'wn 'yl'** is invoked.

3 For three angels in a framework of a magic situation cf. Gordon 1934b, p. 326 (C:4 f.) **tlt'hwn ml'k'... tly bsykth dmyšply dmydly** "three angels... hung on a peg which is lowered and raised". A somewhat similar formula occurs in Gollancz 1912, p. 96, where an incantation begins **hlyn šb' 'ḥyn**. Three mysterious figures also occur as part of the incantation in Amulet 7:16–17 **hmwn tlthyn**...

3–4 Dupont-Sommer, followed by the other scholars, read **bh / gbrt'**. A comparison of the letter which comes after the *bet* with other forms in this inscription shows that it is closer to *mem* than to *he*. The fact that there is no divider either at the end of line 3 or at the beginning of line 4 shows that we have here a single word. The first letter of line 4 is quite clearly an *'ayin*.

5 **mdbryn**: This verb seems to correspond to Hebrew **mnhygym** in *Sefer ha-razim*, IV:9,11,18, which refers to angels directing or ruling over the fourth firmament.

7 **mwmmn'**: Cf. the spelling of this verb in the bowl published by Kaufman 1975, p. 151, where one should probably read **mwmymny** (for **mwmymn'**).

8 **rbw** lacks a dot over the *resh*, hence a reading **dkw** should be considered. However, in line 12 we have **rbwn** clearly written in the same combination. **rbw** and **rbwn** are both nouns derived from the same root as **rb'** in line 1, a fact which may strengthen our interpretation of **rb'** as an independent divine appellation. For **rbw** cf. Gollancz 1898, p. 95:

b'ynn mnk wmtkšpynn lrbwtk "we beg you and implore your greatness".

'qym zb'wt: The first word may be a form of the verb QWM in *af'el*, which recalls the frequent personal names mainly in Palmyrene: **'qmt** (Stark 1971, p. 72), **mqym, mqymw, mqymy, mqymt, mqmw** (Stark 1971, p. 96). What appears to be the same name occurs in Amulet 4:16, **'qmw brth d'mrbn**.

The reading **zb'wt** (see already Gordon 1949, pp. 340f.) is based on the assumption that this form can be a reflection of Hebrew **ṣb'wt**, as Syriac **zdyq** corresponds to Hebrew **ṣdyq**. This goes against the fact that **ṣb'wt** is the usual Syriac spelling of this word; cf. e.g. Macler 1908, p. 20. In Bowl 10:5 **bšwm ṣb'wty ṣb'wty ḥy' wqym'**, we have in the same phrase both **ṣb'wty** and **qym'**, which are reminiscent of **'qym zb'wt**. Arabic magic texts also have **ṣb'wt**; cf. Goldziher 1894, p. 358.

The presumed spelling of a *ṣade* with a *zayin* may gain some force from the Greek form Ζεβυθ which occurs in the formula Ιαβεζεβυθ (the Paris magical papyrus, lines 1798 and 2000, quoted by Blau 1898, p. 134 and footnote 4), if indeed this compound name means **yhwh ṣb'wt**. The phenomenon of Greek *zeta* corresponding to *sigma* in such names may similarly be attested in the two names Σουτιήλ and Ζωτιήλ as suggested by Peterson 1926b, p. 419, No. 114; cf. also there p. 402. J.C. Greenfield would regard the expression **'qym zb'wt** as equivalent to **'lhym ṣb'wt** (Ps. 59:6; 80:5 etc.), but this seems problematic.

However, a different reading of our word is possible: **zk'wt**. This word would be the equivalent of classical Syriac **zkywt'**, which renders Hebrew **ṣdqh**; see Brockelmann 1928, p. 196. This reading may be supported by the divine name Ἰαω Ζούχα which occurs in the Paris magic papyrus, line 1983, cf. Peterson 1926b, p. 402, No. 41. The whole epithet **'qym zk'wt** may then mean "establish justice", or with an initial vocative *alef*, "he who stands (in) justice".

9 **prqy** is a feminine singular imperative, perhaps addressed at **rbw** which is a feminine noun; its emphatic state would be **rbwt'**.

ṭrpsdk: The first element of this word was explained by Dupont-Sommer 1946, p. 21 as Greek τρόπος "façon, manière". Gordon connects it with **ṭrps lyb'** "pericardium" and adduces the meaning "(metal) sheet". It seems to us that **ṭrpsdk** is a Persian form, Tarpas-dukh, with the typical Persian suffix for "daughter". A similar formation is e.g. **zrdwk dyw'** (Gollancz 1912, p. 89, §25). The first part of the compound may be interpreted as **ṭrps** in Judaeo-Persian, which

means "backwards". For a different interpretation of **ṭrps** one may try to connect it with the Greek form θραφιαρι (Preisendanz 1928, p. 94, VI:652; cf. variants in Preisendanz 1941, Register XII, p. 257). A demon **ṭarpis** is attested in Mandaic, see Drower 1943, pp. 2 f.; **dwrps** occurs on a bowl: Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 128: 4 (Isbell 1976, No. 69).

10 **ʾnhr**: The same verb occurs in Myhrman 1909, p. 146 (=Montgomery 1913, p. 151) **wmnṭrnʾ lkwn wmnhrnʾ lkwn wmḥṭymnʾ lkwn.**
bwtk seems to be a defective writing of **bʿwtk.**

11 There seems to us no reason to assume an omission of **rbʾ ḥsynʾ qdyš**, as does Gordon 1949.

12 **ʾrzm bk** corresponds to **mwmmnʾ bk** in line 7 (cf. Gordon 1949, p. 341), thus establishing the meaning of the verb **RZM** (a variant of **RMZ**, cf. Job 15:12 and for Targumic Aramaic cf. Jastrow, p. 1482, s.v. **RMZ**). The verb **RMZ/RZM** has a magic connotation, e.g. in Mandaic **kup raza urimza uraza** "bow thyself, mystery and winking and mystery!" (Drower 1937, p. 596; translation on p. 610). A discussion of words derived from **RMZ** in a magic connotation is in Pognon 1898, pp. 91 f. In Montgomery 1913, No. 19:8 we have the phrase **wbšm srpyʾl mry dynʾ**

Amulet 7

Provenance: Ağabeyli, Turkey
Present location unknown
Plate 6; Figures 7–8

7a

1 vacat שויו רחמין מן שמיה
2 לשלונה בשם מיכאל רפאל
3 עזאל עזריאל אריאל ס(רר)ו
4 רבה אחון מלאכיה קדשיה דקימי[ן]
5 קדם כרסיה דאלה רבה דיתכלון
6 רוחה בישחה וטלגיתה ושידה
7 אן דכר ואן נקבה מן שלונה
8 בר דמיטרין בשם ...

(emended by Epstein 1921, pp. 49 f. to **rwz**ʾ, though doubtful) **wrymz**ʾ, where the last word is obviously a magical technical term.

rbwn: This is evidently a variant of the form **rbw** in line 8, although **rbw** seems to be the absolute form of the feminine abstract "greatness", while **rbwn** appears to be an absolute form of a word meaning "master". On this latter word see Kutscher 1963, pp. 268–271; Ben-Ḥayyim 1967, pp. 37 ff.; Kutscher 1968, pp. 403 f. This may be the reason why the imperative following **rbwn** (in line 13) is in the masculine singular form **prq**, as opposed to **prqy** in line 9 following **rbw**.

14 **tlṭ**ʾ: Del Medico 1949, p. 182, recognized here the Greek word for sea θάλαττα, which makes sense as it corresponds to "ocean" and "water" in lines 4–5.

15 The reading is difficult. It is possible that the star at the beginning of the line is a pictogram representing the noun which should follow **wmn** in line 14. Del Medico 1949, p. 180, in fact translated it as "le Soleil".

dmwlik may be a defective writing for **dnmwlik** "may he crush you". The following word might possibly also be **bnqmt**ʾ "with vengeance".

Amulet 7

Translation

7a

1 Put mercy from heaven
2 on **šlwnh**. In the name of Michael, Raphael,
3 Azzael, Azriel, Ariel, the great
4 dominion (?), you, the holy angels who stand
5 in front of the throne of the Great God. May there be extinguished
6 the evil spirit and the shadow-spirit, and the demon,
7 whether male or female, from **šlwnh**
8 son of Demetrion. In the name of...

9 ששקופות וסמרוטוש עקרמכמרי
10 סוסגון ברפרונגס אסטר ושבנ[ ]
11 תחת יהוה בשמך אלה מקדשה
12 דיתכלון רוח<ה> בישתה ושידה
13 וטלניתה ומזקה ומחבלה בשמנ[ך]
14 אלה דישראל לרקיעה מליה סלקה
15 בסטר כרסיה דאלה רבה חסינה ודחילה
16 מקדשה ומגדלה מ<פ>ארה ומרומה המון
17 תלתהין חדה כפנה ולא אכלה חדה
18 צחיה ולא שתיה וחדה נימה
19 ולא דמכה אמרת לכפנחה למת
20 כפנה ולא אכלה לצחיתה למת צחיה
21 ולא שתיה לנאמת<ה> למת נימה ולא
22 דמכה גיזו תלתיהן ואמרן דאן

7b

1 vacat לרחמין מן קדם כרסיה [דאלה רבה]
2 [ד]יתכל מזקה ומחבלה וד(ש)[ ]
3 [ו]שידה טלניתה אן דכר ואן נק[בה]
4 [מ]ן (ש)[ל]ונה בר [ד]מיטרין (ב)[שם]
5 ...

Amulets 7a and 7b are two silver sheets inscribed in Jewish Aramaic. They were found by peasants in the market village Ağabeyli in the valley of Bertiz not far from Maraş, placed in a cylindrical bronze container. The circumstances of the discovery are described by Anstock-Darga 1950/51. The larger sheet (our Amulet 7a) measures approximately 50×58 mm. Amulet 7b, of which only a fragment is preserved, measures about 43×12 mm. The *editio princeps* was by Dupont-Sommer 1950/51. A new interpretation was offered by Scholem in 1960 (see Scholem 1965, pp. 85 ff.) Further elucidation was given by Levine 1970, pp. 360 f. A comment on a part of the text is in Sperber 1966. We have tried to present in the following a better text, but in view of the fact that the

9 **ššqwpwt wsmrwṭwš ʿqrmkmry**
10 **swsgwn brprwngs ʾstr** and...
11 under **yhwh**. In your name, sacred God,
12 may there be extinguished the evil spirit and the demon
13 and the shadow-spirit and the tormentor and the destroyer. In your name
14 God of Israel, may the words rise up to heaven
15 at the side of the throne of the great, powerful, aweful,
16 sacred, magnified, praised and exalted God. Those
17 three: one who is hungry, but does not eat, one who
18 is thirsty, but does not drink, and one who is drowsy,
19 but does not sleep. I said to the hungry one: Why are you
20 hungry, but you do not eat? (I said) to the thirsty one: Why are you thirsty,
21 but you do not drink? (I said) to the drowsy one: Why are you drowsy, but you do not
22 sleep? The three vanished and said: **dʾn**.

7b

1 For mercy in front of the throne [of the great God.]
2 [May] there be extinguished the tormentor, the destroyer and ...
3 [and] the demon and the shadow-spirit, whether male or female,
4 from **šlwnh** son of Demetrion. In [the name of]
5 ...

photographs reproduced in Dupont-Sommer 1950/51 are not sufficiently legible, we have had to rely largely on Dupont-Sommer's drawings (Fig. 7), which seem to be accurate. [But see *Addendum* at the end of this Commentary, on p. 76.]

1 It is noteworthy that in both amulets there is a space left on the right hand side of the first line. It seems therefore unjustified to assume that something is missing at the beginning of Amulet 7b.

Dupont-Sommer read **šwy wrḥmyn**, which he translated "prix (?) et amour". Scholem suggested an emended reading **šyyl rḥmyn** "begging mercy", which is unlikely as an Aramaic phrase and is contradicted by

Amulet 7b which starts with **lrḥmyn**. Levine suggests that **šwy wrḥmyn** be interpreted "accord and mercy", the first word connected with **šwyt²**, which occurs in Montgomery 1913, No. 16:6. While Levine's interpretation may be correct, it seems at least equally possible and perhaps better to read the first two words **šwyw rḥmyn** from the verb **ŠWY** "to place, put", which was recently discussed in connection with Samaritan Aramaic by Margain 1979. The usage "put mercy" would be analogous to the Hebrew **śym šlwm** in the ʿAmida prayer, rendered into Aramaic **šwy lyšlm²** (Gaster 1928, III, p. 56), with its counterpart in Bowl 1:10 **dmšw² šlm² zk² bdyn²**. A similar expression is in Mandaic **šauia asuta** "one who makes a remedy" (Drower 1946, p. 326). For the form **šwyw** see Gen. Apocryphon 21:26. In 7b the shorter formula, **lrḥmyn**, is used. It is easier to explain **lrḥmyn** as an abbreviation from **šwyw rḥmyn** than from a formula such as **šwy wrḥmyn**. For the whole expression compare **wlrḥmn yśmnk qdm drywhwš mlk²** "and may He give you favour before Darius the king" (Cowley 1923, No. 30:2).

šwy, which corresponds to Hebrew **šwh**, could also mean "at once" (cf. Ben-Ḥayyim 1943, p. 119; Lieberman 1962, p. 135; Kutscher 1961, pp. 124 ff.; Ben-Ḥayyim 1967, p. 69, n. 23), though such an interpretation seems unlikely in the present context. Similarly, it is possible to interpret **šwyw** in the sense of "make haste", cf. Ben-Ḥayyim 1967, p. 69, n. 23, where we have in a Samaritan liturgical poem **nšwy khln wnpṯḥ pwmynn** "let us hasten all of us and open our mouths"; **²šww... m<bd** "they did at once". This construction hardly fits in here, as it seems normally to require another verb or infinitive which is qualified by the verb **šwy**.

2 **lšlwnh**: Dupont-Sommer, followed by Scholem, read **lšlw zh**, which is impossible because: (1) the text is purely Aramaic, (2) the Hebrew phrase suggested is nowhere attested and is quite unlikely in the sense of "he who possesses this (amulet)". The letter *nun* is not sharply distinguished from *zayin* and in this case it merges with the preceding *waw*. The name **šlwnh** may be compared to **šlwn**, Greek Σαλων, a feminine proper name (cf. Sukenik 1930). A name **slwn²**, in Syriac, is rendered by Chabot 1898, p. 303, line 183, "Sylvain"; see also Payne-Smith 1890, p. 2641, s.v. **slw²n²**. A name CHΛONO(C) appears in a tomb-stone inscription from Italy (Frey 1936, p. 433, No. 596). For the correspondence of Aramaic *shin* to Greek *sigma* cf. Krauss 1898, pp. 7 ff. The masculine name **šlwnh** may be a variant of the masculine Jewish name Shallum. On the variation of **m>n** in word-final position cf. Kutscher 1976, pp. 58 ff.

7a



7b

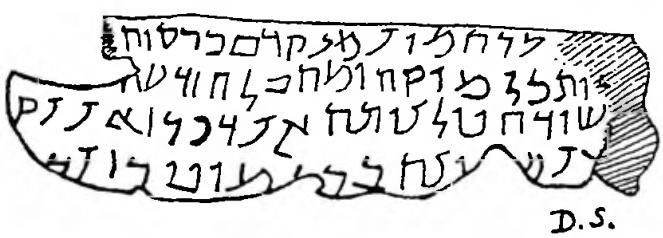


Fig. 7. Amulets 7a and 7b. From Dupont-Sommer 1950/51

Sokoloff 1982, p. 114 quotes an oral remark by Kutscher according to which the name in our amulet should be read as **šlw** (Shallu, an abbreviated form of Shallum). Kutscher accepted the reading **zh**, which follows the name as a demonstrative pronoun. It seems to us unlikely that the Hebrew demonstrative would be used in this Aramaic text.

4 **ʾtwn mlʾkyh qdšyh**: Here again the combination of *waw* and *nun* misled previous scholars. Dupont-Sommer read **ʾtt mlʾky hqdš wḥd**, which mixes Aramaic with Hebrew and makes an impossible sentence. For the phrase **ʾtwn mlʾkyh qdšyh** cf. Amulet 10:3 and the Commentary to Amulet 2:3.

dqymyn: Cf. Amulet 6:3, where the same word is used for angels.

5 **qdm krsyh dʾlh rbh**: We assume that **qdm krsyh** stands in contrast to **bsṭr krsyh** in line 15. A similar contrast is found in Stübe 1895, p. 26, lines 56 ff.; Lacau 1896, p. 50: ובשום גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל ובשמיה דעניאל דקאים אחורי גלגלי שמשא ובשום דוקיאל ופרקיאל ודרקיאל וערכיאל דימשמשין קדם כורסיה דיקרא דאלהא

6 For **ṭlnyth** see Amulet 4:15.

7–8 **mn šlwnh br dmyṭryn:** Dupont-Sommer read in line 8 **brk myṭryn** "bénis une matrice". Scholem translated this "blessed be Meta[t?]ron". See also Niggemeyer 1975, p. 146, n. 28. The reading given here, which presents the full name of the owner of this amulet, is quite well established. The Greek name Δημήτριος, which seems to underlie here the parent's name, is generally attested for men, although we normally would expect the mother's name to be mentioned in an amulet. As a Jewish name, Demetrius is found in inscriptions; see Frey 1936, No. 682 and Lifshitz in Frey 1975, Prolegomenon, p. 85, No. 715 i.

9–10 For these magical names see Scholem 1965, pp. 89, 94 ff.

11 Dupont-Sommer read **bšm dʾlh**, while it is preferable to read as given here. It will be noticed that final *kaf* is not always carefully distinguished from *dalet*.

14 **slqh** is the correct form of the third person plural feminine perfect in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. See Dalman 1905, paradigm on p. 402 (**slyqʾ**).

15 **bsṭr** has been explained as "at the side of". However, it is possible to take it as an equivalent of Syriac **bstr** "backwards, behind" (which

may be of Persian origin). "Behind the throne" would then be the perfect counterpart of μετὰ θρόνον. **bstr** stands in contrast to **qdm** in line 5.

A recent discussion of the etymology of Metatron by S. Lieberman is contained in Gruenwald 1980, pp. 235 ff. Lieberman argues that μετάθρονος, though unattested in Greek sources, is the equivalent of σύνθρονος and was preferred by Jews for the name of the angel. An earlier detailed discussion of the term is in Odeberg 1928, pp. 137 ff.

rbh ḥsynh wdḥylh: We have here the same sequence as in Amulet 1:8 (see Commentary there). A similar sequence **rbʾ ḥsynʾ qdyš ʾylʾ** occurs in Amulet 6:1–2.

16 This sequence of adjectives is reminiscent of the series of verbs in the Qaddish prayer, as noted by Scholem 1965, p. 90. See also T–S AS 143.143 ... מלך מפואר מרומם מלא כל הארץ כבודו נורא תהלות נשגב נפלא

hmwn: The form is not mentioned in the grammars of Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac (e.g. Dalman 1905, Kutscher 1976, Schulthess 1924), but it is attested in Biblical Aramaic for the masculine and once (Dan. 2:34) for the feminine.

16–22 For the theme of three mysterious figures we have numerous analogies in magic texts. We may refer, e.g. to Gollancz 1898, pp. 92 f., where three evil forms, a man, a wolf and lion, meet Moses when he tends his sheep.

A very close analogy to our story is found in the Iraq Museum bowl, No. 9731 (published in Gordon 1941, p. 349, and Gordon 1978, pp. 236 f.) and in a bowl in the Zion Research Library in Boston, No. 48 (published in Gordon 1978, pp. 233 f.). A recently published parallel version is in Scholem 1980/81, pp. 263 f. In these Jewish texts we have the story of the sorcerer (who speaks in the first person) going up to the roof at night and talking to some mysterious figures addressed as **ḥršyn byšyn wrʾzyn ʾpwkyn** "evil magicians and overturned mysteries". He says to them "If you are hungry, come eat! If you are thirsty, come drink! If you are dried up, come be oiled! But if you are not hungry, or thirsty, or dried up, go back the way you came, enter the house from which you went out, and the mouth from which you went out". The first to notice this parallel was Levine 1970, pp. 360 f., who suggested as an interpretation the observation "that providing hospitality for demons was a duty that could not be overlooked. Like many hosts the exorcist is saying, in fact, that unless there is more coming to the demons

by the way of official hospitality, they had better be on their way". Gordon 1957, pp. 171 f. (followed by Niggemeyer 1975, pp. 70 f.) also speaks of hospitality offered to demons. Our context, however, brings to mind that we have to do with a somewhat different situation. The demons come to the house probably masked as human beings, but they do not partake of food and drink as human guests normally do. They can be unmasked by putting to them the embarrassing question: why do you not eat, drink or sleep; when they are found out they must depart. There are Jewish discussions of the problem whether demons can eat and drink; according to Bavli Ḥagiga 16a they can. On this question see Shaked (forthcoming).

22 **gyzw**: Dupont-Sommer read **ḥzy** which does not conform to the signs visible. The form **gyzw** is difficult. We might have expected **gyzn**, the feminine plural of the active participle "they vanish", or **gzn**, the third person fem. plural perfect.

tltyhn is an error for **tlthyn**; see line 17.

ʾmrn: Active participle (or perfect?) plural feminine.

dʾn may be connected to the magic word mentioned in Tosefta Shabbat 7:3 and Bavli Shabbat 67b: **dny dny**, which is explained by Lieberman 1957/58, p. 188 as Greek δέννω, δέννω or δένο, δένο "I bind, I bind". **dʾn** could also be interpreted as **d-+ʾn** "(they say): yes!".

[*Addendum*: When the book was already set in the press we received from Mme. Hélène Lozachmeur the original photographs of the two amulets (7a and 7b) which the late Prof. Dupont-Sommer had used. On the basis of enlargements made from these photographs (Pl. 6), Mrs. A. Yardeni has made a fresh drawing (Fig. 8). A study of both the enlargements and the drawing brings out the following new readings:
Line 1 of 7b. Read at the beginning בעון רחמין "ask mercy".
Line 15. Read בסטר כרסיה דאלה רבה תקיפה ודחילה.
Line 22. For גיזו read ענו, which makes better sense and removes most of the difficulties. The translation is: "The three answered and said: **dʾn**".]

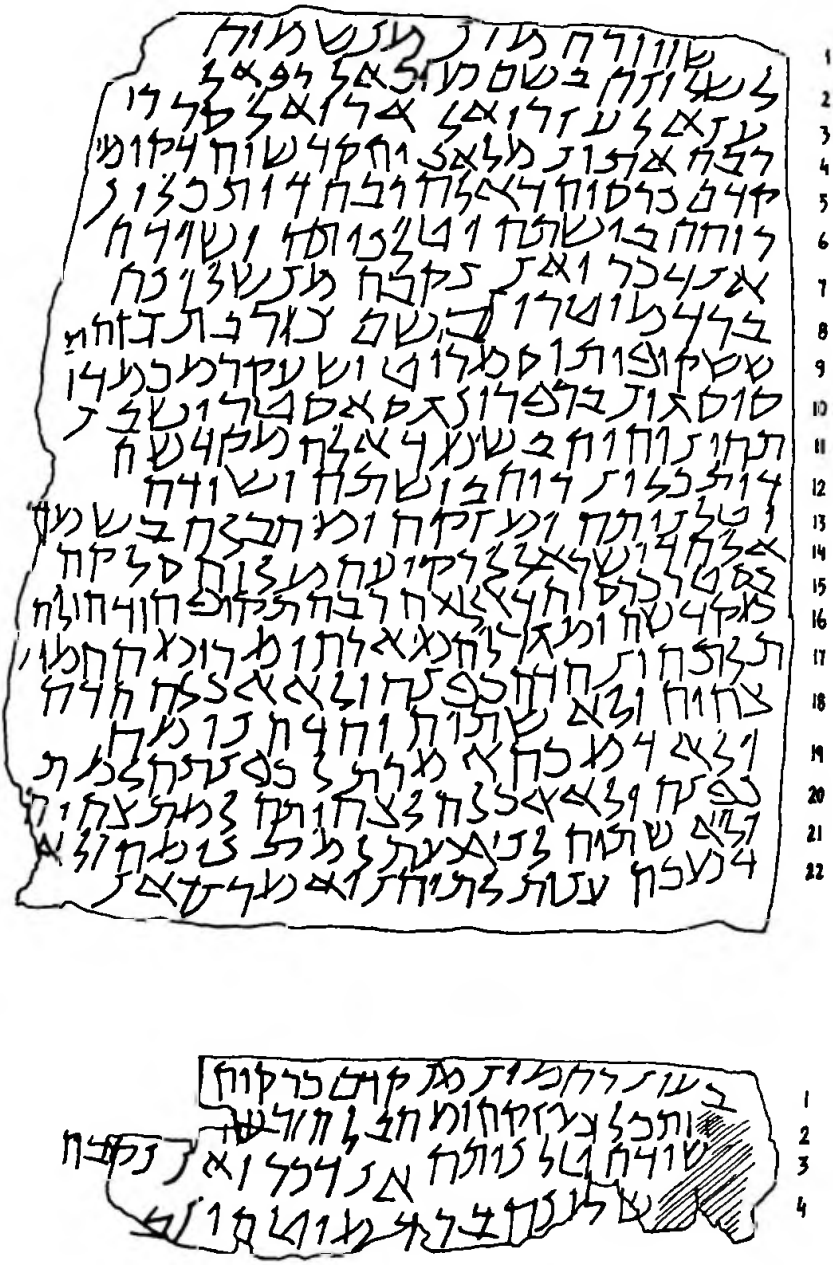


Fig. 8. Amulets 7a and 7b.

Amulet 8

Provenance: Teqoaʿ (?)
Museum of the Flagellation Convent, Jerusalem
Plate 7; Figures 9–10

1 לשם מרת(י)ן
2 ברתה דקוראל
3 משבע אנה
4 על מרת(י)ן ברתה
5 דקורלא בשם
6 אגירת מרתי פ
7 ללא ויכ(ך)
(magic characters)
8 (מ)חרב אנ<ה>
9 (סטרסוק שאפתי)
10 (נקימנס וסקאי)
11 (חטרב) אי(ת)ה
12 ניחה שלום

This amulet, written on a silver sheet, was bought in the antiquities market. According to the dealer who sold it, it was found at Teqoaʿ south of Bethlehem. It is now kept in the Museum of the Franciscan Convent of the Flagellation in Jerusalem. It measures 60×24 mm. The first publication of the text by Testa 1967 suggested that it refers to an unction of sick people. Milik 1967 recognized that the text is an amulet, and gave an emended reading and interpretation of it, which we regard as largely correct. Testa 1968 defended his original reading and attacked Milik's interpretation. The reading offered below is based on an examination of the original, aided by a new photograph, for which we should like to extend our thanks to Father Michele Piccirillo, O.P.M.

1 **lšm mrtyn.** The amulet is addressed at the name of the demon Marten ("our lady"?) daughter of Qoriel. For Marten one may compare Μαρθήνη Αστερία in Mouterde 1930, p. 124, line 15, where it occurs as a feminine proper name. The title Marten occurs also in Montgomery

Amulet 8

Translation

1 To the name of Marten
2 daughter of Qoriel
3 I adjure
4 against Marten daughter of
5 Qoriel. In the name of
6 Agirat, my lady,
7 **pll'**...
(*magic characters*)
8 I destroy
9 ...
10 ...
11 ...bring (?)
12 rest. Peace

1913, No. 19:5–6 **wbšmyk mrtyn 'ybwlyt mlkt' rbt' d'ystr't'**. The name is known from the triad of deities in Hatra (Marēn, Martēn and Bar-Marēn), for which cf. Drijvers 1980, pp. 176–179. Palaeographically Milik's reading, **mrtwn = mrt(h)wn** "their lady", is also possible. It seems, however, preferable to connect this word with a well-established divine name.

2 Qoriel is well-known as a name of an angel. It occurs in the Geniza fragment JTS ENA 1177, fol. 16:13 **qry'l**. In the unpublished Aramaic bowl Metropolitan Museum, New York, L. 66.6, line 8, we have **bšwm qwry'l glgly'**. In Greek there occur the forms Κουριήλ in Preisendanz 1928, IV:86; Καρα(α)ήλ, Καριήλ, cf. Peterson 1926b, p. 405, No. 59.

6–7 For **'gyrt** see above Amulet 4:24. Each of the names **'gyrt, mrty, pll'** and **ybk** seems to have a counterpart in the list of angels in *Sefer ha-razim* 4:13–16... **m'ryt**... **y'bwk**... **'gryt'l**... **pl'w'l**. If this correspondence is correct, **pll'** (for ***pl'l**) displays the same transposition of

Amulet 8

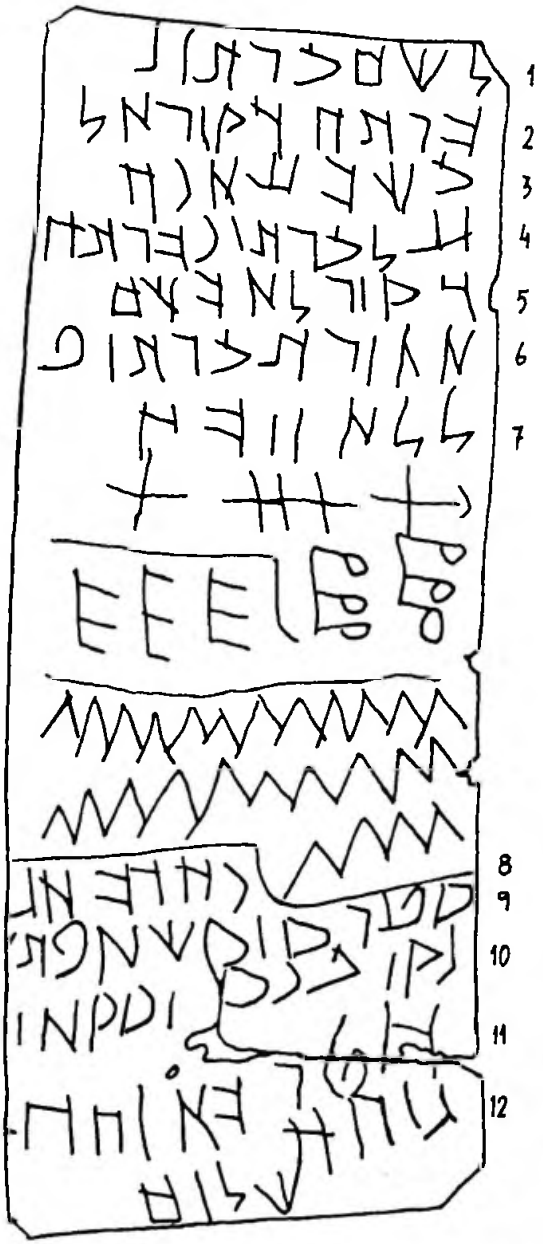


Fig. 9. Amulet 8

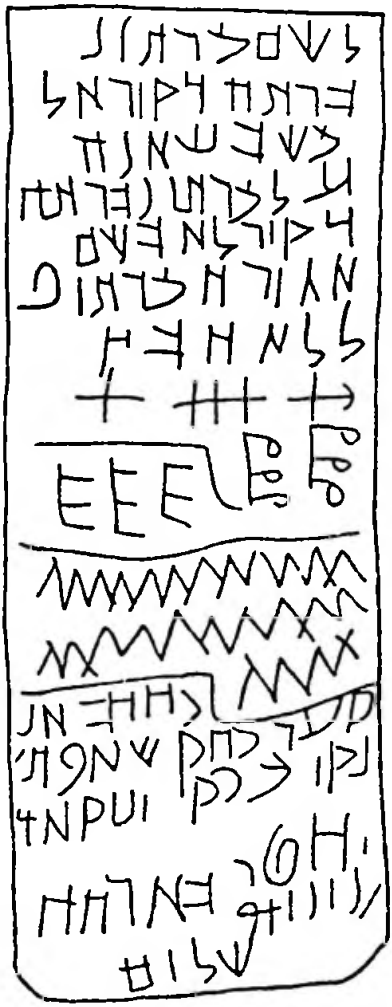


Fig. 10. Amulet 8.
From Milik 1967

letters as we have in **qwrl**ʾ for **qwrʾl**. For **mrty**=**mʾryt** cf. Peterson 1926, pp. 40 f., No. 75 Μοριάθ, etc. **mrty** may be at the base of the name **mrtyn**.

8 Our transcription follows that of Milik, though the traces do not give an unequivocal reading.

11–12 ʾ**yth** is doubtful, whereas **nyḥh** is quite safely established.

12 **šlwm** as a concluding formula, although it is frequent in epitaphs and dedicatory inscriptions, is quite unknown in amulets.

Amulet 9

Provenance: Oxyrrhynchus (?)
University of Cologne, Institut für Altertumskunde,
T. Colon, Inv. No. 6
Plate 8; Figure 11

1 עליך רוחה דמתקריה אשתה אוריתה
2 אגער מן גופה דמרין ברחה דסחר
3 מן מתין ותמניה וארבעין אברין
4 דבה משבע אנה עליך אגער מנה בשמה
5 דמן דחיה וקימה דמן דחלה שומיה
6 דלה בשלשלן ואקים ארעה דלה [על]
7 עמודין וימה ומדברה ת(מהי)ן מן
8 ק[ד]מוי וטוריה וגלמחה מזד(ע)[זעין]

This amulet, inscribed on a lead sheet and measuring 93×46 mm., is now in Cologne, Germany (T. Colon, Inv. No. 6). It was presumably found in the cemetery of Oxyrrhynchus, Egypt, from which the rest of the collection of Greek amulets in Cologne derives. The original text seems to have consisted of no more than the eight lines that are preserved. It was first published by Klein-Franke 1971 and was subsequently discussed by Greenfield 1979, pp. XXXVIII f. Our readings are in several points different from the *editio princeps*.

1–2 **ʿlyk**: This word was read **lyk** by Greenfield 1979, but Klein-Franke is certainly right in seeing an *ʿayin* at the beginning of the line. Although an invocation beginning with **ʿlyk** is not elsewhere attested, it seems clear that this is the actual beginning of the text. For a similar beginning compare Amulet 8:1 **lšm mrtyn**...The construction is elliptical, and one has to assume an implied **mšbʿ ʾnh**, as in line 4. According to Greenfield **lyk** is the direct object of **ʾgʿr**, which he understood as the first person singular imperfect of *peʿal*. However, it seems preferable to explain **ʾgʿr** as imperative singular masculine *itpeʿel* from **GʿR**, to be read as *iggĕʿar* (<**itgĕʿar*). The root **GʿR** occurs very

Amulet 9

Translation

1 Against you, the spirit which is called fever (and) shivering:
2 Be exorcised from the body of Marian the daughter of Esther,
3 from the two hundred and forty eight limbs
4 which are in her. I adjure you, be exorcised from her, in the name
5 of He who lives and exists, of He who suspended the sky
6 without chains, and set up the earth without
7 pillars, and the sea and the wilderness are terrified (?) from
8 His presence, and the mountains and the hills tre[mble].

often in the *itpeʿel* form; see the examples adduced in Greenfield 1979. For the assimilation of the *taw* to the *gimmel* cf. Dalman 1905, pp. 103 and 252 f. It is noteworthy that the form of the verb **ʾgʿr** is masculine, although **rwḥh** is described by the feminine participle **dmtqryh**. **rwḥʾ** of course can be either masc. or fem., cf. Geniza 4:3, **rwḥyn byšyn**, as against **rwḥʾ bʾyštʾ** in the Gen. Apocryphon (see Greenfield *loc. cit.*). For **GʿR** cf. Amulet 2:8.

ʾšth ʾwryth: The meaning of these two words is established by Amulet 2:2 (see Commentary there). Geniza 6, p. 4:2 displays another corruption of the formula. The spelling with *alef* for *ʿayin* is caused by the loss of the gutturals; cf. Kutscher 1976, pp. 67 ff. The peculiar spelling **ʾwryt**ʾ occurs possibly also in Hyvernat 1885, p. 116: ובעיזקתיה דמיכאיל גברא מלכא עיסרא דאוריתא ... ובעיזקתיה דגבריאיל גברא מלכא עיסרא דנורא ... The parallel **ʾwryt**ʾ//**nwr**ʾ recalls our **ʾšth ʾwryth**. It has been noted (Grünbaum 1885, p. 223; cf. also Margaliot 1945, p. 118) that Michael represents water and hail, while Gabriel is fire. Montgomery 1913, 24:2 should be read **dtytsy brḥmy šmyʾ mn ʾšytʾ wmn ʾrytʾ**, which gives us a third instance of the spelling with *alef*. Since Biblical Hebrew has **ʾwr** in the sense of "flame", one wonders whether the spellings

ʾwryth, ʾwryt, ʾryt do not represent a contamination of two words of different origin, the root **ʿRY** and the word *ʾūr* (?).

mryn: See above, Commentary to Amulet 2:2.

dstr: The reading seems certain. The initial *alef* of **ʾstr** was elided. The same name, spelled *plene* (**ʾstyr**), occurs in Amulet 3:5, 16.

3 **mtyn**: Here too the *alef* was omitted.

5 **dḥyh wqymh**: Cf. Bowl 10:5.

5–6 דחלה שומיה דלה בשלשלן ואקים ארעה דלה [על] עמודין: References to the earth and the firmament, which are said to be either supported or unsupported by pillars and chains, are frequent in magical and early mystical Jewish literature. Lieberman 1962, pp. 80 f. quotes from *Shir ha-shirim Rabba* 7:8 דברייתא משתבעין ואמרין במאן דאקים ארעא על תלתא עמודים. Niggemeyer 1975, p. 153, n. 32 quotes various sources, where the world is said to rely on the arm of the Lord. Wertheimer 1980, I, p. 28 ירושלים וביח המקדש עומדים p. 41; וכל העולם כולו עומד על עמוד אחד וחלויים בשלשלאות של אש בין שחקים לזבול (in *Seder Rabba di-Breshit*).

Arabic invocations have references to the same theme; cf. e.g. "und bei 'Allah, der die Himmel erhöht hat ohne Säulen' (Sura 13:2) und ohne ein Band" (Winkler 1930, p. 60, translation on p. 64; and a similar phrase in Winkler 1931, p. 9).

The idea is attested also in Zoroastrian Pahlavi: "I am thankful to the good, bounteous, beneficent and merciful Creator, who, when he created Asmān (the sky), which is well-formed, bright, of wondrous substance, wondrously adorned, fully ornamented, fashioned by the spirits, which stands in *mēnōg* without pillars (*a-stun*) and without being held from above (*an-abar-dāštār*)..." (*Zand-i khūrtak avistāk*, p. 256:5–10).

Amulet 10

Provenance: Ḥorvat Rimmon
Israel Department of Antiquities, No. 80.880
Plate 9; Figure 12



For the spelling **šwmyh** cf. the inscription in the Engedi synagogue (Naveh 1978, No. 70:15) and cf. **šwmy'** (op. cit., No. 20:5).

7 **wymh wmdbrh t(mhy)n**: The reading of the verb is uncertain. The root **TMH** is used in Biblical Hebrew, *inter alia*, for the terror and trembling of the earth or the pillars of heaven in the presence of God. In Job 26:11 עמודי שמים ירופפו ויתמהו מגערתו is rendered in the Jewish Targum עמודין דשמיא מזדעזעין ורחתין מן מזופיתיה. The Peshitta has עמודי שמיא רעלין ונחמהון מן כאחה. Syriac **TMH** is used to render Hebrew **HRD** "fear, tremble" in Gen. 42:28, where the Jewish Targums have **TWH** instead.

8 **glmt'**: The word seems to be typically Palestinian. It is attested in the Palestinian Targum, where it renders **gb'h** and **'mq**. It also occurs in Palestinian Syriac.

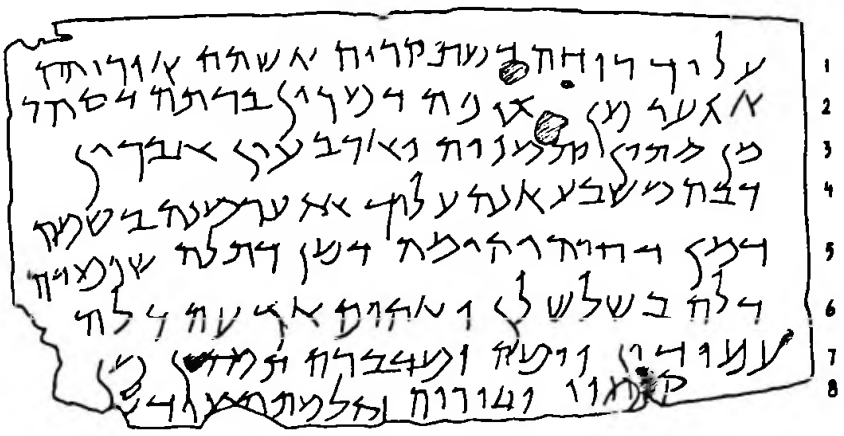


Fig. 11. Amulet 9

Amulet 10

Translation

1 **hr'wt 'tb'wt qwlhwn**
2 **sptwn swsgr [ ]**

Amulet 10

3 אתון מלאכיה קד[ישיה (ותקיפיה)]
4 [משבע אנה] יתכון כמ[ה דיקד חספה]
5 [הדין כן] יקוד לבה דר[... ברה/ברתה]
6 [דמר](ין) בתר(י) אנה (יו)[... ותהפכו]
7 [לבה והו](נה ו)כוליתה ו[י/חעבד]
8 ציביוני בהד[ ]מוד [ ]
9 *(magic characters)* [ ]

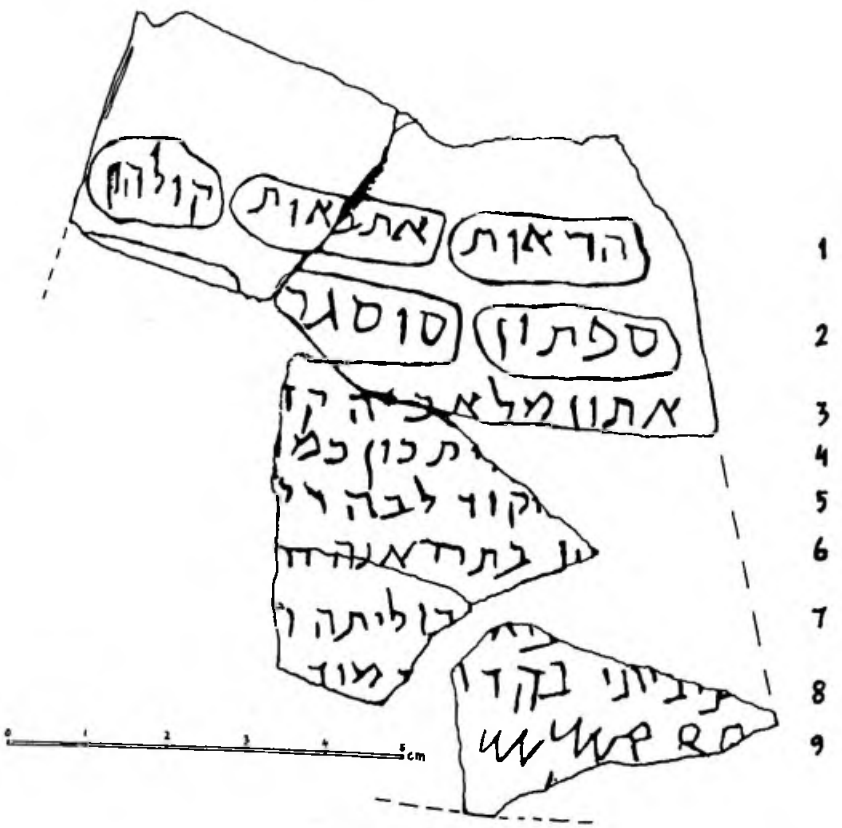


Fig. 12. Amulet 10

3 You ho[ly (and mighty)] angels
4 [I adjure] you, just as [this sherd]
5 [burns, so shall] burn the heart of R[... son/daughter of]
6 [Mar]ian after me, I ..[...and you should turn]
7 [his/her heart and mi]nd and kidney, so [that he/she will do]
8 my desire in this [ ]
9 (*magic characters*)

This amulet is inscribed on a potsherd. It was found in the excavations at Ḥorvat Rimmon (Kh. Umm er-Ramamin, Map Ref. 13721/08677), *c.* 1/2 km. south of Kibbutz Lahav and *c.* 13 km. north of Beer-Sheba, by Dr. Amos Kloner of the Israel Department of Antiquities, who kindly entrusted us with its publication. Dr. Kloner also communicated the following details about the archaeological context of the amulet:

> The potsherds under discussion were found in Locus 148, in the Ḥorvat Rimmon excavations in 1980 (cf. Kloner 1980, 1981). Locus 148 is in the north-eastern corner of the enclosure, which contains the synagogue and its adjoining area; this enclosure was created in the fifth century C.E. by the erection of a surrounding wall. The area of Locus 148 was excavated through a filling of debris down to the bed rock. Two different strata were distinguished within the debris: the upper stratum, 80 cm. in thickness, contained numerous fragments of jars, cooking pots and lids, oil-lamps, roof-tiles, glass objects, iron nails and animal bones, as well as an axe-like iron instrument and fragments of a chancel screen and a chancel post. All of these finds date back to the Byzantine period. The lower stratum (20 cm. in thickness) contained potsherds from the Second Temple period and later (1st century B.C.E. — 2nd century C.E.). The five fragments of the amulet (registered as 858/572; 858/559/1–2) were found scattered in different places in the upper stratum of the fill. It seems that the upper stratum of the debris accumulated at the end of the Byzantine period. The amulet under consideration is thus to be dated to the fifth-sixth centuries C.E.

Amulet 10

The amulet consists of five broken pieces, four of which can be attached to each other, forming line 1 and parts of lines 2–8. The fifth piece contains parts of the last two lines (lines 8–9), but it cannot be properly joined to the other fragments, as there seems to be a tiny piece missing. As a result we do not have a consecutive text of line 8. Mrs. Ada Yardeni, who suggested how the fifth fragment should be joined to the amulet, based her idea on an observation of the pattern of the thickness and of the wheelmarks.

In contrast to other potsherds, this is not an accidental fragment of a broken pot. It seems that the potter deliberately cut deep incisions on the surface of the jar before firing it, and that he broke the jar along the same incisions. Marks of the incisions are visible along the edges of the fragments, where about half the thickness of the clay is smooth and the rest is rough. The writing must have been executed when the clay was still soft, before it was baked.

This observation brings to mind the injunction which occurs in several magic recipe books, especially in connection with love charms, to use "a new sherd". Cf. e.g. the *Sword of Moses*, Gaster 1896, p. XV:17–18, where we read לגברא דייתי בתרך סב חספא חדתא וצבע במורא אוכם ואמר על שמיה מין אחומי עד פנכיר ואיזיל ולא תצפי לאחורך "If a man is to follow thee, take a new potsherd and dip it in black myrrh and pronounce over his name the words from **ʾtwmy** until **pnkyr** and walk without looking backwards" (Gaster 1896, p. 184; "black myrrh" is Greek *zmurnomelan*, cf. Margaliot in *Sefer ha-razim*, p. 2). The idea of a new piece of clay on which the charm is written occurs as a fixed formula in Mandaic incantation bowls, e.g. **ʿl glala dlbzʿia ʿtib wʿktubinin ʿl kasa hdta ḏphara uʿšadrinin lluṭata ḏlaṭu**... "on the rock that is not split I will sit and I will write them on a new bowl of clay and I will send the curses (back) to those who cursed..." (Yamauchi 1967, No. 18c:5–8; see also Nos. 7:24–26; 12:34–39; 19:16–18; 26:20–22). In the Mandaic instances the texts are not love charms. Similar injunctions occur with regard to using "a new piece of cloth" **kyrqh gdydh** (in Geniza 6, p. 1:15). An example for such an amulet on a piece of cloth exists in Geniza 1, another love charm.

In some Geniza fragments of magic books we have a more specific instruction, which relates to love or hate charms. The expression used is not "a new sherd", but **šqph nyh** (Geniza 5, p. 3:12), **pkr ny** (Geniza 6, p. 1:3, 4:4), or **kzph nyh** (Geniza 2, p. 2:). These expressions signify "an unbaked piece of pottery"; the Arabic *nayy* (like Hebrew *nāʾ*) means

"uncooked". For a charm against an enemy we have in Gaster 1896, p. XXII:29:30 the following instruction: "to break an enemy write the Sword (=amulet) upon a potsherd that has not yet been burned (**šlʾ nkns lʾwr**)..." (op. cit., p. 193). In a Geniza fragment, T-S K 1.153, p.1:11, we have: לאהבה סב חסף לא צלי וכתוב עלוי ... וכד את מטלק חספה בנורה אמור היך דאלין כתביה מתיקדין כן יתיקד לביה דפלנית ברת פלנית בחר פּבּפּ. Our amulet was apparently prepared according to such an instruction.

The amulet bears marks of black areas which were perhaps caused by exposure to fire. It was perhaps thrown into the fire as part of the sympathetic magic rite alluded to in the text: "Just as this sherd burns, so shall burn the heart of...". This is a frequent formula which occurs in love charms, such as our own amulet. On this point see further below, Commentary to lines 4–5.

1–2 These lines contain the names of six angels surrounded by a frame. **qwlhwn** and **sptwn** remind one of **qlhwn** and **swptyn** in T-S K 1.160, whereas for **swsgr** see **ssgn**, **ssngnys** in *Sword of Moses*, Gaster 1896,IX:21,**swsgwn** in Amulet 7:10. See further Scholem 1965, pp.94 ff.

3 **ʾtwn mlʾkyh qdyšyh**: See Amulet 7:4 and Commentary to Amulet 2:3.

4–5 The reconstruction is based on the Geniza fragments Nos. 2, 5–6, which are pages from magic books, as well as on the Geniza amulets Nos. 1 and 3, which are love charms. In all these texts the angels are invoked and asked to cause the heart of a certain person to burn in love for the client just as this potsherd burns in the fire. The words **yqwd lbh dr[** "the heart of R... should burn" are sufficient for the suggested reconstruction. Moreover, the word **kwlyth** "his/her kidney" (line 7) has also been preserved, and this word occurs in Geniza 6, p. 1:13–14 **lbh whwnh wkwlyth dp** "the heart, the mind (?) and the kidney of X".

6 It is possible to read **btr dʾnh** "after that I", but in this case the reconstruction suggested here is difficult. **btr dʾnh** would hardly be "after Dana", as we would expect a name to be followed by **br** or **brt** and the name of the parent (usually mother).

8 For the phrase **yʿbd/tʿbd ṣbywny** cf. Geniza 6, p. 1:2; Gaster 1896, p. VIII:5. If this reading is correct, **bhd[h]** might mean "in this matter". Alternatively, it is possible to supplement **[ytʿbd] ṣbywny bhd[yn]/bhd[h]** [personal name] "May my desire be accomplished with regard to this [person]".

Amulet 11

Provenance: Nirim
Israel Department of Antiquities, No. 57.733
Plate 10; Figure 13

1]אהיה [א]שר אהיה בשם ק[ ]ה ש(נ)רון ארסכיאל (נ)[
2]אל מש(נ)ידה שמגרון סכסך דוקון דוקון וא[
3]אל [כ](ר)קיאל אוריאל מלחמיאל אה אה אה [א]ה אה א[ה
4]א דתתעקרון מן רישה דנתרון ברתה דשאר[ה] אמן א[מן
5 ד]מתקרייא קפלרגיא ועלא בכורכוריא ד(נ)יא ולא[
6 בש]מה ד[נ](ג)דיאל מלאכה דכביש בשושלן דלא ד[נ]חש וב(ש)[
7 ד]לא דפורזיל ובשמה דנחשור ובשמה דסור(י)א[ל] מלא[כה
8]זיקין ומזקין וטלנין יערקון מנה יואל יואל [
9 נ](ת)רון ברתה דשארה בשם אוה (ה)לוסא אל באל רב[
10]תעקרו מן כורכוריא דניה ומן רישה [
11 ... [

Amulets 11–13 were discovered among the "small finds" in the apse of the ancient synagogue excavated in 1957–58 near kibbutz Nirim in the North Western Negev (see S. Levy and others 1960). This site has been identified as that of ancient Ma'on (Menois; cf. S. Levy 1960, p. 6). The group of 19 bronze amulets were deposited in the store-rooms of the Israel Department of Antiquities, where for many years they lay unopened. The three amulets given here have now been unrolled with relatively little damage in the chemical laboratories of the Israel Museum, thanks to the efforts and expertise of Dodo Shenhav and David Bigelajzen.

The synagogue is remarkable for its beautiful mosaic, covering the whole width of its nave (on which cf. Avi-Yonah in S. Levy and others 1960, pp. 25 ff.), in which an Aramaic inscription is inlaid, probably executed by a craftsman ignorant of the Hebrew alphabet (cf. S. Yeivin in S. Levy and others 1960, pp. 36 ff., and Naveh 1978, No. 57).

As for the dating of the amulets, since they were found in the apse of the synagogue, they are likely to belong to a late period in its use.

Amulet 11

Translation

1 ...I-am-who-I-am. In the name of... **š(n)rwn, ʾrskyʾl...**
2 ...] el, **mš(n)ydh, šmgrwn, sksk, dwqwn, dwqwn** and ...
3 ...]el, Barqiel, Uriel, Milḥamiel, **ʾh, ʾh, ʾh, ʾh, ʾh, ʾh...**
4 ...that you should depart from the head of Natrun, the daughter of Sarah, Amen, Amen...
5 ...called *kephalargia* and goes into the bones (?) of the chest and does not (?) ...
6 ...In the name of Nagdiel the angel who is bound by chains, which are not of bronze, and...
7 ...not of iron, and in the name of Naḥšur and in the name of Suriel the angel...
8 ...blast-demons, tormentors and shadow-spirits should flee away from her. Joel, Joel...
9 ...Na]trun, daughter of Sarah. In the name of **ʾwh, hlwsʾ**, El, Bael...
10 ...remove from the bones (?) of her chest and from her head...
11 ...

Rahmani 1960, p. 18, summarizes his discussion in the following words:

> These finds show that the synagogue was built in an area settled in the fourth century; also that the floor, and probably the whole building as well, were not later than 538. This suggests an early date of construction in the reign of Justin I, or Justinian I, at any rate before A.D. 538. It is probable that the synagogue was still in use about A.D. 582.

S. Levy (in S. Levy and others 1960, p. 11) concludes from the ceramic finds that the synagogue was used in "the sixth century A.D. with a possible continuation into the early seventh century A.D."

As mentioned by Rahmani 1960, p. 15, the amulets were "rolled tightly into a little scroll", and "on some of the amulets fragments of an outer wrapping of some woven material can still be seen; one still has the remains of the thread by which it was suspended, tied round one end. This shows that it was worn on the body, most probably around the neck". Alternatively it may be supposed that some of the amulets were suspended from the wall near or behind the Ark of the Law, or even

from the Ark itself (see the description of the place of the find in S. Levy 1960, p. 7). See above, p. 16.

The maximum dimensions of Amulet 11 are 130×45 mm. It is clear that one or more lines are missing before the first preserved line.

3 Barqiel and Uriel occur in *Sefer ha-razim* (see index there).

4 **š'rh** seems to be a curious spelling of Sarah.

5 **qplrgy'**: This is obviously Greek κεφαλαργία "headache". The same word may be present in a quotation from the lost *Midrash Yelamdenu* to Ex. 4:10 (Kohut 1955, VII, p. 165a): אינו עשוי לקופלארגיא הזו הוי לא איש דבורים אנכי. Kohut explains **qwpl'rgy'** from Greek κουφολογία "light, empty talk". Jacobson 1980, p. 59, has suggested that the Greek derivation should be from καλοπραγία "noble, heroic acts". The word in ther *Arukh* is spelled practically in the same manner as the word in our amulet, and the sense obtained may be acceptable: "He is not made for this 'headache'", although such a usage is apparently otherwise unknown in Greek.

kwrkwry': There seem to be two possible ways to explain this word: (1) A word of Greek origin in Aramaic (κερκίς, κερκίδος = staff, rod, weaver's comb, shuttle") gives in Jewish Aramaic a variety of forms **krkr, krkd, kyrkwr** etc.; see Jastrow, p. 670b. This word acquired in Syriac the additional meaning of "the bone of the upper arm, or of the upper leg". (2) A word of Semitic origin attested in the Hebrew and Aramaic root **KRKR** "to go around in circles", from which one might hypothetically derive a word meaning "a circle, a disc". None of these explanations seems entirely satisfactory.

(n)y': The reading here gains from the comparison with the same expression in line 10. In contrast to Syriac **n'**, Jewish Aramaic has **ny'**, our form **ny'** may have developed from the latter.

6 **ngdy'l**: The reading of this word is based on Amulet 3:10.

dkbyš: This verb often comes in association with **KPT** and **'SR** (e.g. Bowl 5:3); hence its use here in a context which implies tying or binding.

6–7 **šwšln dl' d[n]ḥš... dl' dpwrzyl**: The designation of the suppressing object as being "of iron" is fairly frequent (e.g. Bowl 13:13–14), but the negation of metals is much rarer. Compare, however, the phrase in Mandaic **zariz napšaikun bzaina dla hwa mn parzla** (*Ginza Y.*, p. 25:20), "arm yourselves with a weapon which is not of iron". For the



Fig. 13. Amulet 11

expression **bšwšln dl> dnhš** one may compare **w>srwhw bšlšln dnḥš** in Targum Judges 16:21 translating ויאסרוהו בנחשתים , "and they bound him with (fetters of) brass".

7 **nḥšwr**: The connection of this word with **nḥšyr** "hunt, eschatological war" in the Scroll of the War from Qumran (1QWar I:9, 10, 13) is unlikely.

Amulet 12

Provenance: Nirim
Israel Department of Antiquities, No. 57.739
Plate 11; Figure 14

1 [משבע] אנה על כול רוח ועל כול [ ]
2 [ ] בשם אברסכס דממני ע[ל]
3 [ ]א ונטר טליא במ[ ]
4 [ ]יא טור ולד[ה דש]למ[צו]
5 [ ]ה דברכתא לנ[ ]
6 [אהיה] אשר אהיה [ ]
7 [ ]דאמה ובש[ם]
8 [ ] ארא וכף א[ ]
9 [אשב]עת עליך רוחא [ ]
10 [ ]תא דל<א> תכ<פ>ין ו[לא]
11 [ ] של]מצו ברתה ד[ ]
12 [ ] ולרוח באתא [דלא]
13 [תחת]מין לשלמצו ב[רחה ד]
14 [לא ב]ליליא ולא בימ[מא]
15 [ ] בשמא רבא ב(ש)[ם]
16 [צבאו]ת קדוש קד[וש קדוש קדוש]
17 [קדו]ש קדוש קדוש [אל נקמות]
18 [ייי] אל נקמות [הופיע]
19 [אדו]ני אל אל(וה)[י ישראל]
20 [מלך] מלכי מלכי[א]

8 **ṭlnyn**, though masculine in form, seems to be the plural of **ṭlny** (see below Amulet 13:8). See further Commentary to Amulet 4:15.

yw'l is a variant of **yhw'l**; see Bowl 5:8 and the discussion there.

9 **'l b'l** could be compared with **yh byh** (cf. Amulet 4:33) and the personal proper name **bryk yhbyh**. See the detailed discussion in the Commentary to Bowl 6:2.

Amulet 12

Translation

1 I [adjure] against every spirit and against every...
2 ... In the name of Abrasax who is appointed over ...
3 ... and the guardian of the boys ...
4 ... guard the child [of Sh]lam[ṣu]
5 ... of the blessing ...
6 [I-am]-who-I-am ...
7 ... of his/her mother; and in the name...
8 ...
9 [I ad]jure you, spirit, ...
10 ... that you should not force (?) and [not]...
11 ...[Shla]mṣu daughter of ...
12 ... and to the spirit that is lodging... [you should not]
13 [be] seen to Shlamṣu dau[ghter of]...
14 [neither at] night nor at day[time]...
15 ... In the great name ...
16 [of Host]s Holy, Holy, Ho[ly, Holy,]
17 [Hol]y, Holy, Holy ["God of vengeance]
18 [Lord] God of vengeance [appeared"] (Ps. 94:1) ...
19 [the Lord] God, God of Israel (Gen. 33:20?) ...
20 [King of] the Kings of King[s]...

		...	23-21	...
[	]אל צבאות ש[	]	24	... God of Hosts ...
[	] יחיש יחי[ש	]	25	... **yḥyš yḥyš**...
		...	26	...
[	] שדי ש[	]	27	... Shaddai...
[	א]לוהים אל [	]	28	... The God, God of ...
[	]יה יה יה [	]	29	**yh yh yh**
		...	30	...
[	] (ג)יבור [	]	31	... hero ...
[	[אשבע]ת עליך רוח [		32	I [adjure] against you, spirit ...
[	[דלא ת]חמין ולא [		33	[that you should not] be seen and not ...
[	]ולדה ד(ש)[למצו	]	34	... the child of [Shlamṣu]...
		...	39-35	...
[	[אהיה א]שר אהיה[		40	[I-am-]who-I-am ...
[	] אדוני א[ל	]	41	... the Lord God ...
		...	42	...
[	] ל ל ל ל [	]	43	1111...
[	] קדוש [	]	44	... Holy ...
		...	45	...

For a general description of the Nirim amulets see Commentary to Amulet 11. The maximum dimensions of the extant fragment of Amulet 12 are 115×38 mm.

2 **ʾbrsks**: See Amulet 2:3, as well as Montgomery 1913, No. 7:9 (with parallel) **wʾbrks rbʾ mnṭrnʾ drwḥy ṭbʾtʾ wmḥbln drwḥy byšʾtʾ**. A discussion of Abrasax is in Dieterich 1891, p. 46; *Sefer ha-razim*, p. 8.

11 **šlmṣw** is attested as a hypocoristicon of Shlamṣiyyon, cf. Jastrow, p. 1587a; Frey 1952, No. 1253.

12 **bʾtʾ** seems to be the feminine singular active participle of BYT/BWT.

18 The reading yyyy for God's name is according to Amulet 1:5 etc., but another spelling is also possible.



Fig. 14. Amulet 12

Amulet 13

Provenance: Nirim
Israel Department of Antiquities, No. 57.744
Plate 11; Figure 15

1 [...]
2 [ק](מ)יע טב לאסחר
3 [ב](ר)חה דטאטיס
4 [ל](פ)לטא יתה מן
5 [מ]זקין [בי](ש)ין
6 [מן] עין בישה
7 [מן] רוח מן שיד
8 [מ]ן טלני מן
9 [כל] מזקין בישן]
10 [מן] עין רעה מן
11 [ ] מן רוח טמ[אה]
12 [ ]אם שמו[ע]
13 [ת]שמע בקול י[יי]
14 [א]להיך והישר
15 [כ]ע[יני]ו חעשה
16 [והאזנת]ה
17 [למ]צוותיו
18 [ו]שמרתה כל ח[וקיו]
19 [כל] (ה)מחלה א(ש)[ר]
20 [שמתי במ]צרים
21 [לא אשים עליך]
22 [כי אני ייי רפאך]
23 ...]

For the Nirim amulets see Commentary on Amulet 11.

The maximum dimensions of the extant fragment are 88×35 mm.

1 Only faint traces are visible.

Amulet 13

Translation

1 ...
2 An amulet proper for Esther,
3 daughter of ṭ'ṭys,
4 to save her from
5 evil tormentors,
6 from evil eye,
7 from spirit, from demon,
8 from shadow-spirit, from
9 [all] evil tormentors,
10 from evil eye, from
11 ... from imp[ure] spirit,
12 ..."If thou wilt diligently
13 hearken to the voice of the Lord
14 thy God, and wilt do that
15 which is right in his sight,
16 and wilt give ear
17 to his commandments,
18 and keep all his statutes,
19 I will put none of these
20 diseases upon thee, which
21 I have brought upon the Egyptians.
22 For I am the Lord that healeth thee" (Ex. 15:26).
23 ...

2 **qmy' ṭb**: See Amulet 2:1 and the Commentary there.

3 **ṭ'ṭys**: For this name cf. the feminine pr. n. Tation in a synagogue inscription from Ionia; Frey 1952, No. 738. A masculine proper name

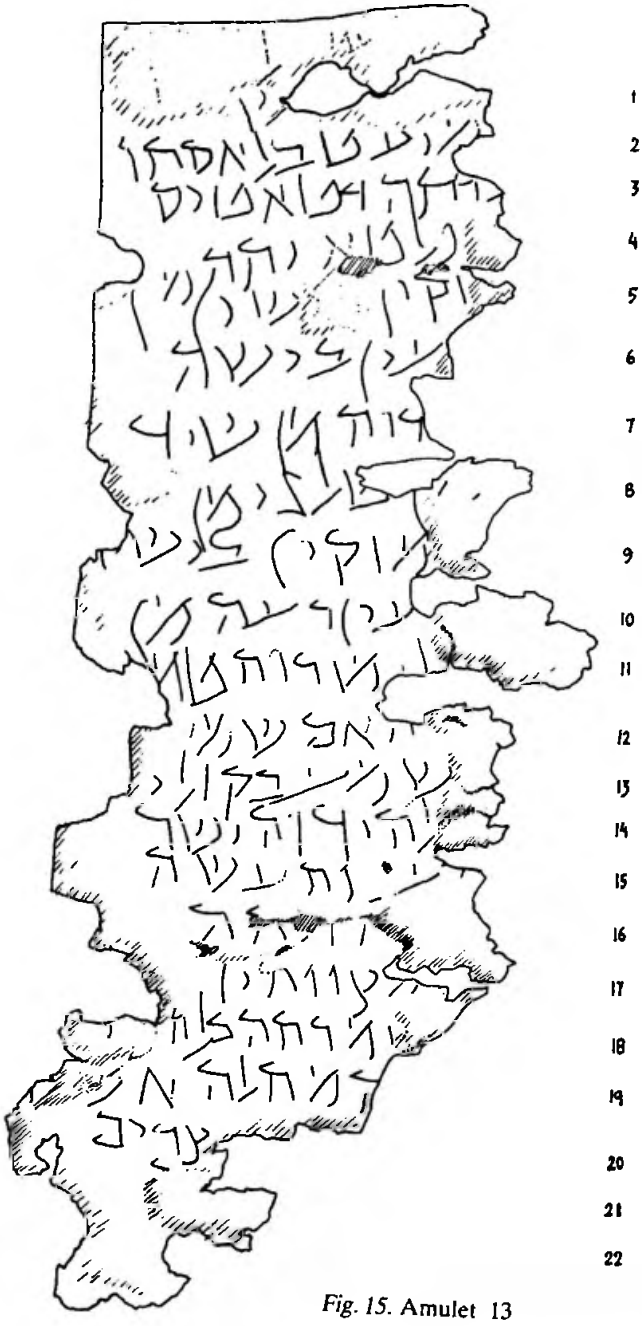


Fig. 15. Amulet 13

Tettius is attested on a Jewish tombstone in Rome (Frey 1936, No. 480).

4 [ḥ]**plṭ**ʾ: Infinitive of *paʿʿel*. The reconstructed letter could also be *mem*; **mplṭ**ʾ would then follow the pattern of Galilean Aramaic (see Commentary to Amulet 2:1). The root **PLṬ** corresponds to **ḥṣylh** in Amulet 1:3 and **ṭwlw wšyzbw** in Geniza 8:11.

5–11 The evil entities here have all indefinite forms, as in Amulet 14 and Geniza 8. The sequence **rwḥ wšyd wṭlny** occurs also in Scholem 1980/81, pp. 252 f. The same sequence occurs in Amulet 7 with the definite forms. For **ṭlny** see also above, Amulet 4:15.

The list of evil entities is partly repeated, given first in Aramaic and then in Hebrew (**mzqyn byšyn** serves both in Aramaic and in Hebrew). Geniza 7 displays a somewhat parallel phenomenon, giving a full incantation in Hebrew, which is then partly repeated in a similar text formulated in Aramaic.

12–22 The same biblical verse concludes also Geniza 8, which has other parallels with our amulet.

For the reconstruction yyyy see the Commentary to Amulet 12:18.

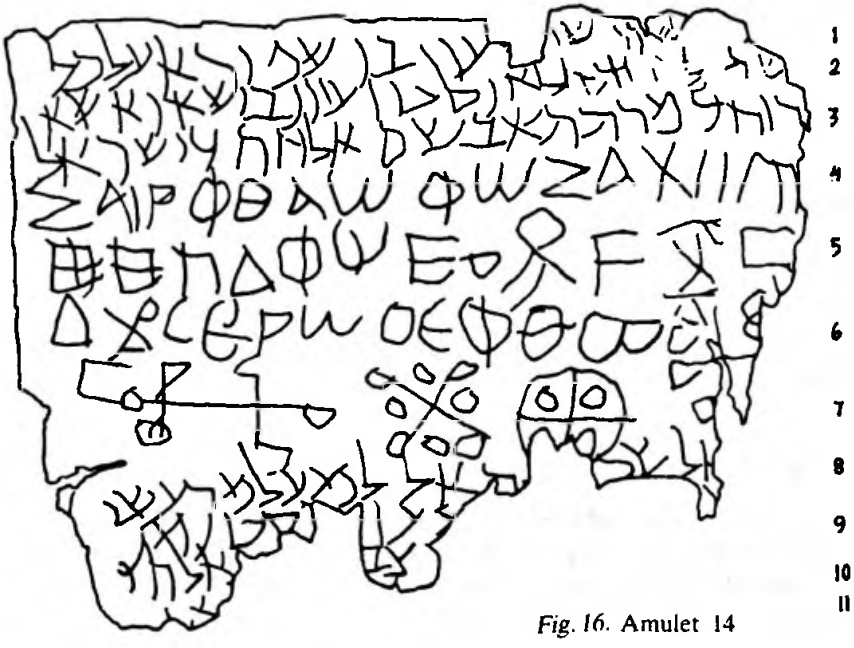


Fig. 16. Amulet 14

Amulet 14

Provenance unknown
Collection of J. Sammel, Munich
Plate 12; Figure 16

1	[	](ש)[מ]עון בן שפירא על כל
2	[	](דל)לא וסטן ועיין בישא ואשא
3	[	]רו(ח) דמרתחא בשם אל(וה)ה דישראל
4	[	ZAIP ΦΘΑΩ ΦΩZAX(ΩT)[
5-7		*(magic characters)*
8	[	]אל שכ[ינ]ת אל למעל מרעשי
9	[	](ג)עו[ר] סטן מן
10	[	]צב[אות] אלהי
11		[ישראל...]

This amulet was brought to the Israel Museum for opening by its owner, Mr. Joseph Sammel, and we are indebted to Prof. Yaʿakov Meshorer for drawing our attention to it. It consists of a silver sheet which was rolled along its narrow side. The writing is in lines which run along the length of the sheet. Its general state of preservation is fairly good, though the right-hand side and the bottom are lost. The size of the extant fragment is *c.* 4×3 cm.

1 Both Shimʿon and Shappira are widely attested names since Second Temple times. Shappira is a feminine name, meaning the same as Yaʾita (Amulet 2). Cf. Naveh 1980, p. 57, note 12.

2 The list of nouns is given here, as often, in the absolute forms; see Amulet 13.

3 At the beginning of this line one might imagine that the natural word to follow ʾš ʿry, ʿrwy, the presumed absolute forms of ʿryt, ʿrwyt; see Amulet 2:2 and the commentary *ad loc.*, and the corresponding Hebrew form ʿryh in Amulet 4:29.

Amulet 14

Translation

1 [This amulet is for Shim]ʿon son of Shappira against every
2 ...and Satan and evil eye and fever
3 [and shiver...and every] spirit that shakes. In the name of the God of Israel
4 Zair phthaò phozakh(ot).
5–7 (*magic characters*)
8 [...]el, God's Divine Presence above my head.
9 ...exorcise Satan from
10 [...God of] Hos[ts...] God
11 [of Israel...]

ʾl(wh)h dyśrʾl: The reading of the first word is not entirely clear. An alternative reading may be **ʾl(ʾ)h**.

4 We owe the reading of this Greek line to Professor Morton Smith, as well as most of the following comments on this line.

The first word may be read ZAIP or ΣAIP (if we assume that the upper stroke of the *sigma* merged with the leg of the *lamed* in the preceding line). Prof. Smith suggests that the word may be a reflection of the biblical toponym Śeʿir (Septuaginta Σηειρ) in Jud. 5:4. We wonder whether an association with biblical *śaʿir* "satyr, demon" (cf. e.g. Is. 34:14) is to be excluded.

ΦΘAΩ is explained by Prof. Smith as the name Ptah with an ending.

For ΦΩZAX(ΩT), Prof. Smith comments: "ΦΩZA is a word found in two spells: Preisendanz 1931, p.164 (XXXVI:44) and p.170 (XXXVI:228). In both it follows πεφθα/πεφνα and πεφρα is followed in Preisendaz 1931, p. 14 (VII:312) by ζαωθ. Both spells in XXXVI are for personal favour, that in VII:312 is for protection from dreams and demons".

8 We have here a sequence which is reminiscent of the text of *Qeri'at šema' 'al ham-miṭṭa*, as in Amulet 1:1–3, although what is left of the formula here conforms more closely to the traditional text. We should therefore expect the words which survive in our amulet to be preceded by an enumeration of four angels on each side of the person to be

Amulet 15

Provenance unknown
Israel Museum, No. 69.3.146
Plate 13; Figure 17

1 [ ] סממית ילי"דח בנין [... קטלהון]
2 [סד]רוס ערקת מן ק[דומוי]
3 [ ] קמת (ל)ה בר(ש)[ ]
4 [ ]בנת לה בית בר[ ]
5 [ל]ה תרעין דפרז(ל)[ה]
6 [ ]ה וטרדת בא[ ]
7 [י]ח תרעה לידא סוני [וסו]
8 [וס]וני וסניגלי ארתקו על [ ]
9 [ ]בין נעבר וניעל לע(ל)[ ]
10 [קמ]ת ופתחת להון על עמ(ה)[ון]
11 [סד]רוס וקטל לברה וצו(ח)[ת]
12 [ע](ל)יהון סוני וסוסוני
13 [וס]ניגלי מה עבד (הבין ש)[מע]
14 [סד]רוס ופתח וער(ק) מ(נ)[הון]
15 [מן] חזין רדפו בתרה וא[ש]
16 [כ]חוי בפלגוס דימה (והנ)[ ]
17 [ל]מקטול יתה אמר להון [אנה]
18 (מ)שתבע לכון במן דאכ[יל]
19 (מ)יה בשעולה דכל הן ד[ ]
20 [ ]ן מדכרין {ש} שמה דס[וני]
21 וסוסוני וסניגלי לא א[קטול]

protected; either as in the traditional formula (Michael, Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael), or as in Amulet 1.

mrʿšy: The interchange of *alef* by *ʿayin* is noted by Kutscher 1976, p. 80.

9 **(g)ʿw[r]**: See Amulets 2:8,11; 9:2,4.

Amulet 15

Translation

1 Smamit gave birth to sons. [They were killed by]
2 [Side]ros. She fled from h[im.]
3 ...She stood in...
4 ...She built a house for herself in...
5 [She provided it with] gates of iron...
6 ...and she locked...
7 ...the gate...**swny** and
8 **swswny** and **snygly** knocked on...
9 ...We shall pass and get in...
10 [She stood] up and opened (the door) for them. There came in with [them.]
11 [Side]ros and killed her son. She cried
12 [at] **swny** and **swswny**
13 and **snygly**: Why did (he) do (so)? [Side]ros
14 [heard], opened (the door) and fled from [them.]
15 [Having] seen (him), they chased him and found
16 him in *pelagos* of the sea ...
17 to kill him. He said to them: [I]
18 swear to you in (the name) of He "who has measured
19 the water in the hollow of his hand" (Is. 40:12), that wherever
20 [people] mention the name of **swny**
21 and **swswny** and **snygly**, I shall not [kill]

22 לאנטונינה ברתה ד(נ)[ ]
23 [ ] (וב)רה כרוך אתה יי[יי]
24 (אל) קים מלך העולם [יגער]
25 הרוחות מלפניך

This is an amulet on a thin silver sheet, measuring 35×82 mm. It was purchased by the Israel Museum in 1969 from an antique dealer in Jerusalem, but the provenance of the object was not transmitted. By its language, orthography, the material on which it is written and its place of purchase there can be little doubt that this is a Palestinian amulet.

The amulet, which forms a parallel to Bowls 12a and 12b, came to our attention at a late stage in the preparation of the book when it was going to press. The commentary to Bowls 12a and 12b has had to be somewhat modified in view of our better understanding of the text and of the history of the formulae which occur here. However, it was impossible to rewrite the whole commentary, and some inconsistency in the treatment of these texts may have remained.

At the same time, since the amulet is fragmentary and its decipherment has been very difficult, due to the fact that the letters are crowded together and the text is often elliptical, it might have been impossible to reach a clear understanding of the text of Amulet 15 without the benefit of previous acquaintance with the story from Bowls 12a and 12b (and the other parallels).

The text of Amulet 15, like that of Bowls 12a and 12b, is based on a story of Smamit (lizard or spider; see below, Commentary to line 1), whose sons were killed by an evil agent; the name of that demon may be reconstructed from Bowl 12a: Sideros. She flees to a place, which, if it conforms to the detail in Bowl 12, would be a mountain, and there three helpers, **swny**, **swswny** and **snygly**, enter her house, unwittingly admitting with them the fiend, who kills her (new-born) son. She cries at her helpers, but the fiend flees. They chase him and find him in the midst of the sea. When they wish to kill him he swears that wherever the names of **swny**, **swswny** and **snygly** are mentioned, he will not kill the client of this amulet and her new-born son. This story obviously serves for the protection of a woman giving birth and of her child. The details of the story and the comparison to other versions of the same story in

22 Antonina, daughter of...
23 ... and her son. Blessed art Thou y[yyy]
24 the living God, King of the world. [May He exorcise]
25 the spirits from your presence.

medieval and later times will be discussed in the Appendix to this amulet.

In order to facilitate the textual comparison, we have set the three Aramaic texts — Bowls 12a and 12b with Amulet 15 — in parallel columns, in the section which deals with Bowl 12 (p.188–193).

1 A word was probably lost before **smmyt**. Two possible reconstructions of the lost word have been considered: **ḥdh** ("one") and **hdh** ("this"). The first alternative would have required an indefinite form **smmy**; the second alternative seems to go along better with the form **smmyt**, although it lacks the determined ending, on the assumption that **smmyt** is already used as a proper name. For **hdh** before a proper name cf. e.g. **hdh rḥl**, *Berešit Rabba*, 70; ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 817.

smmyt (Bowl 12a **smwmyt**, 12b **smmyt**ʾ) is related to Biblical Hebrew *śmāmīt* (Prov. 30:28), which is variously interpreted as a lizard or a spider; the Targum and the traditional Jewish commentaries favour the latter rendering, while the Septuagint has *kalabōtēs* "spotted lizard". In Lev. 11:30 *lĕṭāʾā* is rendered by the Jonathan version *śmāmītā*, which the medieval commentary on Jonathan says is a spider. In Talmudic Hebrew and Aramaic, **smmyt/śmmy** seem to mean uniformly "spider" (cf. Kohut 1955, VI, pp. 72b f.; Jastrow s. vv.). Our context could bear either interpretation, but the preponderance of the sense "spider" in Hebrew and Aramaic in the period corresponding to the writing of our texts seems to weigh in favour of this interpretation (see also Löw 1912, pp. 140 ff.). A late Jewish amulet from Tunis (cf. Casanowicz 1917, p. 50) mentions a negative figure called **zmzwmyt**, probably unrelated to our **smmyt**. One may also recall the grasshopper figure in Islamic wonder stories (cf. Goldziher 1872, p. 767).

bnyn [...]: It is possible that the number of sons followed, although it is not certain that there is room for a number. The number should have

normally preceded the designation **bnyn**. In the bowls the number of sons killed is twelve, while in the late Greek version given in the Appendix the number is six.

2 **[sd]**rws: The name is reconstructed on the basis of Bowl 12a. That the name Sideros ("iron") is original is demonstrated by the Ethiopian Werzelya (see Appendix).

3 **br²(š)[ ]**: One may be tempted to reconstruct here and at the end of line 4 **br²(š) [ṭwr²]** "at the top of a mountain", following the indication in Bowls 12a and 12b, section III.

4–6 The details about the construction of a house with gates and the shutting of the gate are not mentioned in Bowls 12a and 12b, though they are implied in the story given there. All of this is explicitly found in the late Greek version (see Appendix).

7 **lyd²**: This is a puzzling expression in this context. **yd²** might signify "handle", but would not make a meaningful translation. **lyd** normally means "at, near"; **mn yd** or **myd** means "immediately". One wonders whether **lyd²** could not mean "near there" or "at that time"?

swny etc.: The three names are clearly divided in lines 12–13 and 20–21. The same division seems to occur in Bowls 12a and 12b, and it is continued in the later tradition of this story; e.g. in the late Hebrew amulets **snwy, snsnwy wsmnglp**, and in the Greek stories (Perdrizet 1922, p. 16: Sisinios, Sinēs and Sēnodōros). For further discussion of these names see Appendix.

8 **²rtqw**: This verb has been identified as typical of Galilean Aramaic (Kutscher 1971, col. 274). In Bowls 12a and 12b this verb lost its meaning, and it seems to be used as part of the name of the helpers.

9 A portion of the story seems to have been contracted here. The parallel stories tell of the request of the helpers to enter, the initial refusal of Smamit, their insistence, and her final acquiescence. Here we only have the helpers' insistence.

13 The reading of the final part of the line is uncertain.

14 The verbs "[heard]...opened (the door), fled" are not found in Bowls 12a and 12b.

15 For the reconstruction **[mn] ḥzyn** (the verb is in the active participle pl. m.) see Kutscher 1976, pp. 51 ff.; the alternative construction, with

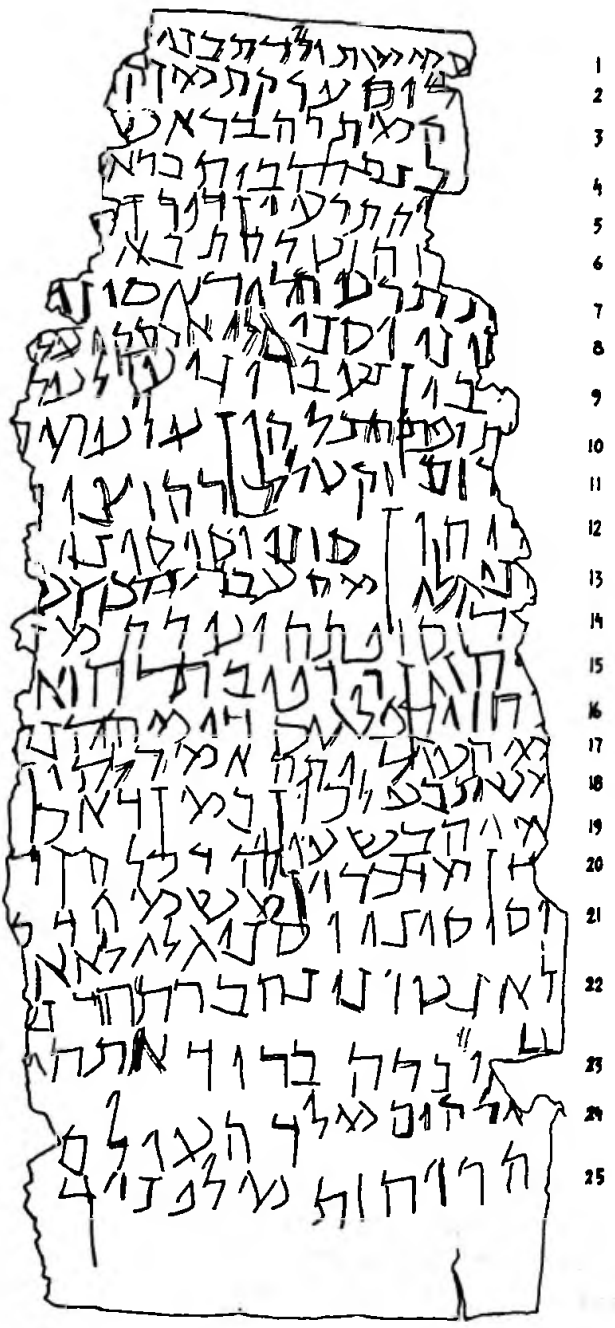


Fig. 17. Amulet 15

kd, is not attested in Galilean Aramaic (op. cit., p. 58). However, as we should have expected to see a trace of the *nun*, the reconstruction is doubtful.

15–16 **w'[šk]ḥwy**: The reconstruction is based on the parallel versions of 12a and 12b, where we have **w'drykw ytyh**. The verb **DRK** in *af'el* should mean there "to find", although the writers of the bowls probably understood it to mean "to lead", and used **lgw** "into (the Great Sea)", instead of **bgw** "in".

16 **bplgws dymh**: This double usage — Greek and Aramaic — seems to be a constant phrase in Jewish Aramaic (perhaps more particularly in the Palestinian dialect) to indicate "the midst of the sea". The Hebrew expression *bĕ-lev yām* (Ex. 15:8) is rendered by the Targum of Jonathan b. Uzziel **bgw pylgws dym' rb'**. A similar translation occurs in the Aramaic version of Ps. 46:3. The phrase is also attested in *Lev. Rabba*, section 12, beginning. In Bowls 12a and 12b the phrase is **lgw plgws ym' rb'**.

18–19 We have here a version of Is. 40:12 which is close to the Peshitta. The Targum to this verse diverges from the Hebrew text. Bowls 12a and 12b, in contrast, use the original Hebrew; in Bowl 12b the whole verse is quoted.

kl hn d- is apparently a Palestinian usage. Bowls 12a and 12b use **kl 'tr d-** instead.

20 The first word could be reconstructed as **['tw]n** on the basis of the phrase in parallel late Hebrew amulets; see Shachar 1971, p. 19, No. 4: כשמזכירים אתם את שמותינו

22 **l'nṭwnynh**: Antonina is attested as a feminine Jewish name in Rome; see Frey 1936, Nos. 236 and 416. Antoninos occurs as a masculine name on a Jewish tombstone from Palestine; see Frey 1952, No. 970.

23–24 The blessing here corresponds partly to the blessing in Bowl 12b, section X.

24–25 The reconstruction **[yg'r]** is based on the Qumran Scroll of the War X:31 ורוחי [גו]רלו גערתה מפנינו

In **mlpnyk** the suffixed pronoun refers probably to the client.

Appendix to Amulet 15

The story on which the texts in Amulet 15 and Bowls 12a and 12b are based is interesting because of its wide-ranging connections. It tells of a *smamit*, i.e. a lizard or a spider (see Commentary to Amulet 15:1), which gave birth to (twelve) children, who were killed by Sideros (the wicked).[1] Bowl 12b has the name **srgys** (Sergius?) instead. There is no clear explanation to the name Sergius in this connection, except by assuming that it is a corruption of Sideros. The latter name is clearly the Greek *sideros* "iron", a sense which gets a gratifying confirmation in the Ethiopian versions (see below).

The bereaved mother flees to a mountain "the name of which is unique in the world", to quote the phrasing of Bowl 12a. According to the two bowls she performs magic rites of copper and iron,[2] but this detail is absent from the amulet. Three new persons, **swny**, **swswny** and **snygly**, appear on the scene as friendly helpers; in the Christian version they are usually described as the woman's brothers. The meaning of these names is obscure. One might think of some Greek connection, e.g. σαύνιον "javelin"; σείσις "shaking, concussion", but such explanations lack proof.

swny, **swswny** and **snygly** knock on the door and ask the woman to open the door for them, but she refuses. At their insistence,[3] she opens, and then the wicked Sideros enters with them and kills the child which has evidently been born in the meantime. When she raises a cry, the helpers chase Sideros and reach him in the midst of the sea. They seek to kill him, but refrain when they are told by Sideros that if they spare him, he will undertake by oath to desist from killing the client and her son wherever the name of the helpers is mentioned.

The story told here has many parallels in medieval Christian literature, in Greek, Coptic, Ethiopian, Armenian, Rumanian, Slavonic

[1] The name Sideros is attested once as an angel name in the Geniza fragment T-S N.S. 329.972: אסידרוס רוחה רבה. It seems also to occur once in Mandaic, cf. Macuch 1967, p. 118:37 f., 43, but the context there is not entirely clear.

[2] The magic combination "iron and copper" occurs in Amulet 11:6–7 and in Montgomery 1913, No. 19:10.

[3] The argument which they use and which ultimately convinces her to open the door is not made explicit.

and late Syriac, as well as in Arabic and Hebrew. The various versions are discussed in detail by Peterson 1926a, pp. 109ff. and by Winkler 1931. A Greek version of it exists in a number of late medieval manuscripts. We are reproducing the Greek text given by Perdrizet 1922, pp. 16 ff.:[4]

Ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν τις γυνὴ ὀνόματι Μελετινή, ἥτις ἐγέννησεν παιδία ἕξ, καὶ συνέλαβεν αὐτὰ ἡ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτος Γυλλοῦ· καὶ πάλιν ἐν γαστρὶ συνέλαβεν ἡ Μελετινή, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα Χαλκοπράτια, καὶ κτήσας πύργον ὑψηλόν, καὶ καθηλώσας αὐτὸν καὶ μολυβδώσας, καὶ λαβὼν ιβ' θεραπαίνιδας διῆγεν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἔτεκεν ἐκεῖ τὸ παιδίον.

Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ ἅγιος Σισίνιος, Σίνης καὶ Σηνέδωρος κατῆλθον τοῦ ἐπισκέψασθαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ γινόμενοι πλησίον τοῦ πύργου ἔκραξαν αὐτὴν λέγοντες· ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν, ἀδελφὴ Μελετινή. Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· παιδίον ἐγέννησα καὶ φοβοῦμαι ἀνοῖξαι.

Ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῶν ἱσταμένων καὶ τῶν ἵππων χαλινοκτυπούντων, κατῆλθε τοῦ ἀνοῖξαι αὐτῶν. Ἡ δὲ μιαρὰ Γυλλοῦ συνεισῆλθε σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ὥσπερ μυῖα· καὶ περὶ μέσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπέκτεινε τὸ παιδίον. Ἡ δὲ Μελετινὴ ὠλόλυζεν πικρῶς, λέγουσα· ὦ Σισίνιε, Σίνη, καὶ συνοδία, οὐκ εἶπον ὑμῖν ὅτι παιδίον ἐγέννησα καὶ φοβοῦμαι ἀνοῖξαι; ἦλθεν ἡ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτό. Τότε οἱ ἅγιοι προσευχὴν ποιήσαντες πρὸς Θεόν, κατῆλθεν ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησις ὑμῶν πρὸς Θεόν· καταδιώξατε αὐτὴν εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ Διβάνου.

Τότε λέγουσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν· μὴ λυποῦ, ἀδελφὴ Μελετινή, ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ γενόμεθα ὡς κυνηγοί, καὶ κρατήσωμεν αὐτήν. Τότε καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτῶν, ἔτρεχον αὐτήν. Ἡ δὲ μιαρά, ἰδοῦσα τοὺς ἁγίους ὄπισθεν αὐτῆς, ἔδραμεν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἔλασαν οἱ ἅγιοι

[4] Another closely related Greek story was published in an English translation by M. Gaster 1900, pp. 142 ff., from the text in Leo Allatius, *De templis graecorum*, 1645 (not available to us). Perdrizet seems to have been unaware of this earlier publication. These Greek stories are probably the origin from which are derived the Slavonic and Rumanian versions discussed in M. Gaster 1900. Perdrizet 1922, p. 19, note 1, mentions a related Arabic text which occurs in a Vatican Ms. Arab. 118. Winkler 1931, pp. 97 ff., gives the text of Cod. Arab. 117 in the Vatican, which is a prayer by St. Sūsniyūs for the protection of small children. Some further bibliography is provided by T. Gaster 1971, pp. XXXIV f., and in his articles of 1942 and 1955.

τοὺς ἵππους αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔφθασαν αὐτήν. Καὶ ἀπέλαβεν αὐτὴν ὁ ἅγιος Σισίνιος ἐκ τοῦ πλευροῦ αἰτῆς, καὶ ἤρξατο βασανίζειν αὐτήν· ἐὰν μὴ μοῦ ὁμολογήσῃς ποῖον θεὸν σέβεις καὶ ποῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχεις, ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀπόλυσαι, ἕως οὗ ἀποδώσεις ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ζ' τέκνα Μελετινῆς ζῶντα, ὥσπερ ἔλαβες. Τότε ἡ μιαρὰ λέγει τοῖς ἁγίους· Ἅγιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν δοῦναι τὰ παιδία, ἐὰν μὴ πίω γάλα ἐκ τῶν μασθῶν Μελετινῆς. Καὶ στραφεὶς ὁ ἅγιος Σηνόδωρος πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν, ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτῇ τὸ γεγονός, καὶ ἔδωκεν γάλα τὸν ἅγιον. Καὶ ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἐκράτησαν τὴν μιαράν, καὶ ποτίσαντες αὐτὴν τὸ γάλα, καὶ κατ' οἰκονομίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐξέρασεν τὰ παιδία ζῶντα. Τότε ἤρξαντο μαστίζειν αὐτὴν· ἡ δὲ μιαρὰ λέγει τοὺς ἁγίους· Ἅγιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, μὴ μὲ πολυβασανίσετε, καὶ ὀμνύω σας εἰς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ εἰς τὸ κέρας τῆς σελήνης, ὅτι ἔπου γράφεται τὸ ὄνομά σας καὶ ἀναγινώσκεται ἡ πολιτεία σας, καὶ τὰ ιβ' ἥμισυ ὀνόματά μου, οὐ μὴ τολμήσω προσεγγίσω ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τριῶν μιλίων φεύξομαι ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου ἐκείνου. Τότε λέγουσιν αὐτήν· Ἀνάγγειλον ἡμῖν τὰ δώδεκα ἥμισύ σου ὀνόματα. Τότε ἡ μιαρὰ πυρὶ φλεγομένη ἔλεγεν· Τὸ μὲν πρῶτόν μου ὄνομα καὶ ἐξαίρετον καλεῖται Γυλλου, τὸ δεύτερον Αμορφους, τὸ τρίτον Αὔυζου, τὸ τέταρτον Καρχους, τὸ πέμπτον Βριανη, τὸ ἕκτον Βαρδελλους, τὸ ἕβδομον Αἰγυπτιανή, τὸ ὄγδοον Βαρνα, τὸ ἔνατον Χαρχανιστρέα, τὸ ι' Ἀδικία, [τὸ ια'...], τὸ ιβ' Μυῖα, τὸ ἥμισον Πετομένη (ι). Καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα, οἱ ἅγιοι ἐθαύμασαν, καὶ ἀνέσπασαν τὸν δεξιὸν πλόκαμον τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ποιήσαντες σχοινία τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτῶν, καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἰδιόχερα αὐτῆς ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰ παιδία ζῶντα ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν, καὶ ἀπόλυσαν αὐτήν. Καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐδόξαζεν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιοῦντα θαυμάσια διὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ.

Ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἀποστροφὴν αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ.

In the reign of Trajan the King there was a woman by the name of Meletinē. She gave birth to six children, and the abominable and impure Gyllou carried them off. Meletinē became once again pregnant, and went to those (places) called Khalkopratia, where she acquired a lofty tower; she bolted it (with nails) and sealed it with lead. Having taken twelve maids, she lived amongst them and entered into it, and she gave birth there to the child.

One day Saint Sisinios, Sinēs and Sēnodōros came down to visit their sister. Having drawn close to the tower, they called her saying,

"Open the door for us, our sister Meletinē". But she said, "I have given birth to a child and I am afraid to open the door".

But as they stood there for a long time, and as their horses stamped upon the wood, she descended to open the door for them. The abominable Gyllou came in together with the horses in the form of a fly, and toward midnight he killed the child. Meletinē cried bitterly, saying: "O Sisinios, Sinēs and company! Did I not tell you that I had given birth to a child and that I was afraid to open the door? The abominable one has come and killed him". The saints then addressed themselves to God in prayer, and an angel came down from heaven and said to them: "Your petition has been heard by God. Pursue her as far as the Lebanon".

They then told their sister: "Do not be distressed, Sister Meletinē, for we are going to be pursuers in the name of God and we shall seize her". Then, seated on their horses, they ran after her. The abominable one, however, seeing the saints behind her, ran into the sea. The saints drove their horses and overtook her. Saint Sisinios took her from her side and started to torture her: "If you do not promise to tell me which god you worship and where you derive your power, you will not escape from our hands until you give back to us the seven children of Meletinē, as much alive as they were when you snatched them". The abominable one then says to the saints: "Saints of God, it is impossible for me to give the children as long as I do not drink milk from the breasts of Meletinē". Saint Sēnodōros returned to their sister and recounted to her that which had happened, and she gave milk to the saint.

Having come to the place where they were holding the abominable one, they gave her the milk to drink, and, by God's disposition, she vomited the children alive. Then they started flogging her. The abominable one said to the saints: "Saints of God, do not torture me too much, and I swear to you by the disc of the sun and the horn of the moon that wherever your name is written and your association is known, and my twelve and a half names, I shall not dare approach that house, but shall keep away from that house to a distance of three miles". Then they said to her, "Disclose to us your twelve and a half names". The abominable one, burning in fire, said: "My first and special name is called Gyllou; the second Amorphous; the third Abyzou; the fourth Karkhous; the fifth Brianē; the sixth Bardellous; the seventh Aigyptianē; the eighth

Barna; the ninth Kharkhanistrea; the tenth Adikia; (...) the twelfth Myia; the half Petomene". Hearing these names, the saints were surprised. They tore off the right-hand braid of her head, making cords for their horses. Taking the names revealed by herself, and the children, alive just as they had been when she had snatched them, they let her go. Having entered the City, the whole city praised God who made wonders by the hand of His saints.

This device against her will not cause any harm to him who uses it.

Here we have nearly all the essential elements of our Aramaic story: Several children killed by the fiend; the flight of the mother to a fortified and lofty place;[5] the three helpers[6] coming and not being admitted; they insist; the tricky fiend sneaks in with them; the new-born baby is killed; the appeal to the helpers; the chase into the sea; and the promise of the fiend not to harm anyone who uses the helpers' names and those of the fiend. The differences are mostly of secondary character: the name (and proper identity) of the attacked mother;[7] the name[8] and gender of the

[5] The Greek text has εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα Χαλκοπράτια, which Perdrizet explains as follows (p. 17): "Quartier de Constantinople, avec une église fameuse, où était conservée, entre autres reliques, la ceinture de la Vierge". While this identification of the place name seems valid, one wonders whether Khalkopratia does not contain a reminiscence of something like Χαλκοπράγματα=חרשין דינחשה, as in Bowl 12a.

[6] The number is not uniform in the different versions. Three is still the number used in the Greek story just quoted, although it is sometimes blurred, as in the case when Meletine addresses the helpers by the words "Sisinios, Sines and their party" (ὦ Σισίνιε, Σίνη καὶ συνοδία). Other Greek versions (e.g. those given by Leo Allatius, cf. Gaster 1900 and Winkler 1931, pp. 109 f.) speak of only two helpers: Sisinios and Sisynodoros. In some versions there is talk only of a single helper, who is the woman's husband or brother (e.g. the Arabic version given below). In a similar way there is a single helper in the late Jewish and Christian sources, where the function is relegated to Elijah, Michael, or Gabriel.

[7] A certain zoological association may nevertheless exist: Meletine may be connected with the Greek word for a bee (μέλιττα). The fiend has a strong association with a fly (Greek μυῖα), which is both the form it assumed when it entered with the brothers' horses and one of its names. *Smamit*, as noted above, is a spider or a lizard.

[8] Gyllou (or Gellō, Gelō) is considered by some to be the origin for Arabic Ghūl. Cf. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, s.v. γελλώ etc.; Perdrizet 1922, p. 25; M. Gaster 1900, p. 148. On the Babylonian origin of this demon cf. Frank 1910, pp. 161 ff.

fiend, as well as its identity ("iron");[9] the number of offspring killed by the fiend (12+1 in the bowls, 6+1 in Greek);[10] the helpers are designated in Greek as the mother's brothers,[11] while in the Aramaic there is no relationship mentioned. Other points of divergence may seem to be mere enlargements or embellishments of an original version.

Apart from the great similarity of structure and plot, the Greek versions present a striking similarity to the Aramaic text in the names of the helpers. Sisinios, Sinēs and Sēnodōros bear great resemblance to **swny, swswny** and **snygly** in their sound pattern. All three names, in the Greek as well as in the Aramaic, play about with the phonemes *s* and *n*.

The identity of the fiend, Sideros=Iron, was lost in the Greek version. It survives, however, in a group of stories which are current in Ethiopic amulets and which probably derived from Coptic. They were summarized in Worrell 1909, pp. 165 f.; the interesting feature of that story for our purpose is that the attacking fiend is called *Werzelya*, while the helper, who is the woman's husband, is called in the Ethiopic stories *Susneyos*, a form resembling the Aramaic and Greek versions. Werzelya is not an Ethiopic word, and several suggestions have been put forward by scholars to explain it; it was compared to Ursula, Epilepsia, Basileia, as well as the Hebrew *Barzel*.[12] In light of the Aramaic text we are now discussing, there can be no doubt that Werzelya is actually a reflection of Aramaic Parzĕlā or Hebrew Barzel "iron". It is curious to note that the Aramaic name is preserved in Ethiopic, while the Aramaic texts present a Greek form. The surviving Greek versions, on the other hand, have lost all memory of Sideros.

[9] The name Sideros may well lie behind the sixth name of Gyllou, Bardellous, which is reminiscent of Ethiopic Werzelya, cf. below. See also Perdrizet 1922, p. 21.

[10] The theory that interprets the Sisinnius story as an astrological allegory can of course make better use of the number 12 than 6. Cf. Peterson 1926a, pp. 125 f. and the discussion by Winkler 1931, esp. pp. 126 f. The mother indeed has 12 servants and 12½ names (the additional half-name is perhaps analogous to the thirteenth baby just born).

[11] Some versions make the helper the brother of the fiend and the husband of the bereaved mother. Cf. Fries 1893, pp. 62 ff., quoted in Winkler 1931, p. 96, and see also pp. 127 ff. See also note 6 above.

[12] For a summary of views and references cf. Worrell 1914/15, p. 137. See further Aešcoly 1932, pp. 39 ff., 126; Winkler 1931, pp. 175, 186. The latter connects it with the Babylonian Labartu.

A much contracted version of this story occurs in an Arabic synaxary, based on the Coptic rite, which gives under the date Barmūda 26 the martyrdom of St. Sūsniyūs, who is said to have been the son of Sūspatros, of the retinue of King Diocletian. The relevant portion says:

> He returned to Antioch where he found a sister of his who had given birth to a hideous-looking son. Before him she had given birth to a daughter whom she had killed and whose blood she had sucked. Satan dwelled in her, and she assumed by witchcraft the shapes of birds and snakes. Whenever a child was born to the inhabitants of the town she would descend on it, kill it and suck its blood. When the holy man saw this, he took a lance in his hand and killed his sister and her son, for he was Satan's son, as well as her husband and his father, for they were sorcerers.[13]

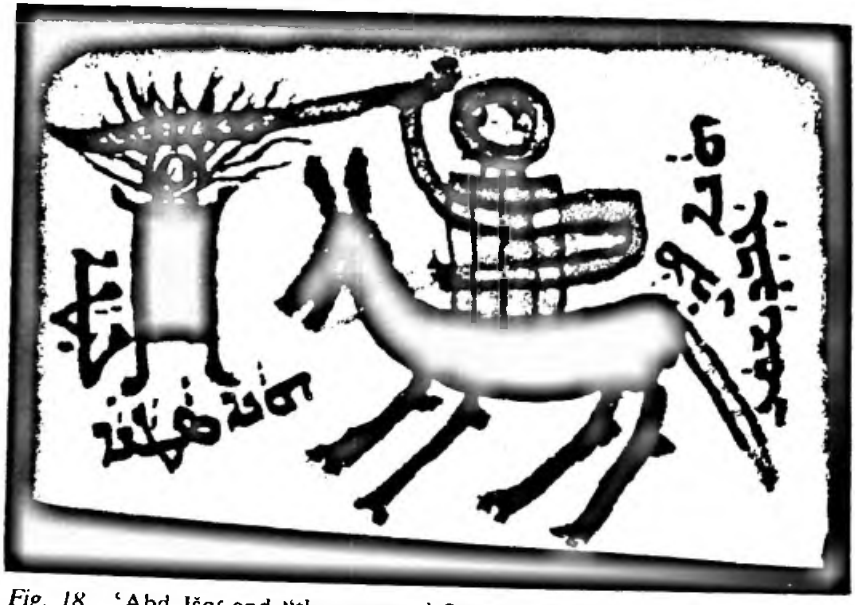


Fig. 18. ʿAbd-Išoʿ and "the accursed Satan", who wears the "likeness of a hateful woman of dark appearance". From a Syriac book of magic (Gollancz 1912)

[13] Cf. Basset 1922, pp. 336 ff., particularly p. 337. Quoted in Winkler 1931, pp. 129 f., where further references are given for the Ethiopian version based on the Coptic.

It is clear that a modified version of our story is given as part of the biography of this martyr; it has indeed become a standard element in the hagiography connected with St. Sisinnius.[14] Other reflections of the same motif are found in the various Arabic Islamic charms connected with the figure of Qarīna al-Tābʿia, Umm al-Ṣibyān,[15] and discussed at length by Winkler 1931; as well as in the late Syriac figure of *emmā ḥanoqṭā d-ṭalyē* "the mother who is a strangler of children" (Gollancz 1912, pp. 60–65), represented in the manuscripts as being killed by ʿAbd-Išōʿ: she is "the evil spirit in the likeness of a hateful woman of dark appearance" (see Fig. 18).

It may be remarked that we seem to have a late Jewish echo of this motif in the trio of magical names which are used to protect a woman at childbirth and a new-born baby: instead of סוני וסוסוני וסניגלי we have in late Jewish magic סנוי וסנסנוי וסמנגלף. The suggestion that these names are connected with Sisinnius has already been made by Moses Gaster;[16] the story in which these names occur in *Alphabetum Siracidis*,[17] is close enough to our own so as to suggest literary dependence. A typical late Jewish amulet in which the same story is used may be given in its outline as an indication for the survival of this motif in Jewish magic (see Shachar 1971, No. 3;[18] reproduced here in Fig. 19): Elijah,

[14] Cf. e.g. *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, XI, col. 1246 f.

[15] The corresponding Hebrew term אם התינוקות occurs in the Geniza fragment ENA 3381, f. 8.

[16] Gaster 1900, pp. 155 ff. (=1928, pp. 1031 ff.). Cf. also Trachtenberg 1961, pp. 101 f., where an amulet for the protection of mother and child during childbirth using these names is given in the frontispiece; also in Schrire 1966, p. 118.

[17] Fol. 23a, quoted in English by Gaster, ibid. Lilith in this story is depicted as a witch whose task is to destroy little babies; she is chased into the sea, and promises to desist from harming children if the names of the three angels are used on an amulet. Other elements in *Alphabetum Siriacidis* diverge from our base story.

[18] See also Shachar 1971, Nos. 2 and 4. The same story occurs also in Montgomery 1913, pp. 258 ff., from notes made earlier by Richard Gottheil. The provenance of that amulet is uncertain, but there can be no doubt that it is not part of the Nippur excavation material, despite Montgomery's wavering on this point. The language and style are clearly late medieval or modern (Scholem 1948, p. 166, n. 25). Montgomery's text seems to come from an area where Spanish was used. The name of the young mother to whose house Lilith goes may be read as Mercada who is known as (ד״מ is probably for דמחקריא) Vida (?), daughter of Donna. The first line should be read סנוי סנסנוי סמנגלף אדם וחוה קדמונה חוץ לילית as in other amulets of this kind. A very similar text is in M. Gaster 1900, p. 149 (=1928, p. 1025).

walking on the road, met Lilith and her companions and said to her: "You and your companions are impure, where are you going?" She said: "I am going to the house of X daughter of Y, the woman in childbirth, to kill her and take away her son, to drink his blood, to suck the marrow of his bones and to eat his flesh". Elijah put a ban on Lilith, but she asked him to release her and in exchange she promised not to harm that woman and her son wherever the names of Lilith which are enumerated[19] are mentioned. This amulet as usual carries the names of the three angels סינוי וסנסנוי וסנמנגלוף, after the regular heading אדם וחוה חוץ לילית חוה ראשונה.[20]



Fig. 19. A Jewish amulet printed in Germany in the 18th century. From Shachar 1971, No. 3

[19] Some of the names of Lilith in this text and in Montgomery 1913, pp. 285 ff. can be identified with the names in the Greek and other versions: אמורפו is evidently Morphous, שטריחה may be Striga. It may be noted that among the names of the demoness in the Greek text of Allatius (see Winkler 1931, p. 109) we have Pelagia, reminiscent of our "Pelagos, the great sea".

[20] For a psychoanalytical discussion of these stories see Hurwitz 1980.

The general outline of the probable development of the versions we have discussed may be set forth as follows. An early Palestinian Aramaic version of the story of Smamit, Sideros (=iron) and the three helpers of the childbearing woman survives in Amulet 15. This version of the story is marked by the presence of the Greek term *sideros*. This may suggest the existence of a Greek story on which the Aramaic formulation was based, but such a conclusion is not strictly obligatory. A similar Palestinian Aramaic text found its way to Mesopotamia and was copied in Bowls 12a and 12b (possibly also in Gordon 1941, p. 346), where a number of corruptions and perhaps some Babylonian linguistic features were introduced into the text. The Palestinian Aramaic story gave rise to several Christian Oriental versions, the common feature of which is the fact that the helpers assume the shape of Christian saints. The bereaved mother in these versions is a woman related to the helpers. At least one of the Christian versions (the Ethiopian one) used an



Fig. 20. A fresco at Bawit, Egypt. From Perdrizet 1922

Aramaic or Hebrew text, where the Greek name Sideros was replaced by its Semitic equivalent. A parallel Jewish and Christian legend existed, in which the role of the helper is essentially fulfilled by the Prophet Elijah or by the Archangel Michael,[21] who are secondarily identified with the phonetic equivalents of **swny**: Sanoy (etc.) on the Jewish side, Sisinios (etc.) in the Greek tradition. There seems to be a tendency in the Christian tradition to conflate this helper figure with St. George.[22] The evil agent is Iron in the early Greek-Aramaic form of the story, but this was largely forgotten in the later versions, where the evil power is a female figure, Gyllou in Greek and the dependent versions, Lilith in the Jewish tradition. Iron only stays on as a reminiscence, in the name *Barzelya/Werzelya, and in the various practices using iron in connection with child birth.[23] Many versions retain the sea as the place where the demon is vanquished. A constant feature of most forms of the story is the promise made by the evil power that wherever the name of the helpers (later coupled with those of the evil figure) should be invoked, no harm would befall the woman in child-birth and her new-born baby, on whose behalf the amulet is being prepared.

Perdrizet 1922, pp. 13 ff. tried to develop the thesis that the origin of the Coptic and Greek legend is Parthian, adducing the name Sisinnius, which was also the name of Mani's famous disciple, and the Parthian costume of this figure in the Fresco at Bawit in Egypt (Fig. 20). The

[21] See Reitzenstein 1904, pp. 298 f. (Winkler 1931, p. 112), where the Archangel Michael, who is the helper, is also identified with Sisinios and Sinodoros. In Winkler 1931, p. 111, the helper is Gabriel.

[22] Cf. Viaud 1928, p. 112, who uses Perdrizet 1922.

[23] The use of iron for the protection of a woman at child-birth is very widespread. The earliest attestation in Jewish literature seems to be in Tosefta Shabbat 7:4 והקושר ברזל בכרעי המיטה של חיה ... הרי זה מדרכי האמרי; see Lieberman 1961/2, p. 84. See further Blau 1898, pp. 159 f. For ethnological data on the Jews of Afghanistan Brauer 1944, p. 337; on Jewish practice in Karlsruhe, Scheftelowitz 1920, p. 77. In nineteenth-century Poland iron was used for the protection of women at child-birth with the explanation that Heb. *barzel* represented the initial letters of Bilha, Rachel, Zilpa and Lea (*Jahrbuch für jüd. Volkskunde*, I, 1923, p. 217; Trachtenberg 1939, p. 313, n. 14). We have information about the magic use of iron in child-birth, e.g. among Armenians (Hambroer 1962, pp. 32 ff., 105 ff.) and among Arabs in Morocco (Westermarck 1926, index s.v. iron, steel). On the efficacy of iron against demons in general see Abt 1908, pp. 159 f., where further literature is given; Doutté 1908, pp. 41 ff.; Goldziher 1907; and Trachtenberg 1939, p. 160.

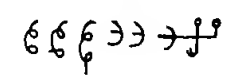
name Sisinnius, as can be seen from our Aramaic material, is not original, and the Parthian costume in a pictorial representation may indicate nothing more than that an Oriental figure is intended. The theory of the Manichaean affiliation of the story (see M. Gaster 1928, pp. 1252 ff.; Winkler 1931, p. 123) can also be safely disposed of. Even without the evidence of the Aramaic text the Manichaean connection might have seemed too tenuous, but it is now clear that Sisinnius has nothing to do with the original form of the story, and that this name is merely a transformation of the mysterious names **swny**, **swswny** and **snygly**.

II. Incantation Bowls from Mesopotamia

Bowl 1

Syriac
Formerly in the possession of V. Barakat, Jerusalem
Plates 14-15

(1–2) [מזמן הנא כאסא לחתמחא ונטרתא] ד(בי)חה ודד(ו)רה [ודפגרה דחונא בר כופיתי דתיזה מנה מ]בכלתא וחילמא ו[לוטחא] ונידרא וחרשא (3) [ומעבדא] (ושידא) ודיוא ולליתא וקרוביא וסרודתא רז שמיא בשמיא קביר ורז א[רעא] (4) בא[רעא קבי]ר ורזה דביתא הדין אנא אאמר על כל דאית בה על שידא ועל דיוא ועל חרשא (5) ועל מעבדא ועל כל אזגנדא דפחכרותא ועל כל גנדא ועל חומרא ועל איסתרתא ועל כל שידא תקיפא (6) ועל כל סטנא תקיפא ועל כל לליתא תקיפתא פתגמא הדין לכון מחוא דמקביל יאתה טבתא משכח ודביש לא מקביל (7) מלא רזא ומלאכא רוגזא אחין עלוה וסיפא וחרבא וקדמוהי קימין וקטלין לה נורא חדרה לה ושלהביתא אתיה עלוה (8) דפתגמא שמא ויתיב בביתא אכיל ומוכיל שתא ומשקא חדא ומחדא אחא לאחא נהוא ורחמא לדירא ביתא חברא לדרדקא הוא (9) ומרוביא מתקרא צותא לבירא הוא וגדא טבא מתקרא שלמא קבילו מן אבוכון דבשמיא ושבא [ש]למא מן אלהא דיכרא ומן איסתרתא (10) נקבתא דמשוא שלמא זכא בדינא ודמשוא חבילא מתקלא בנורא



ניתחת[ים וניתנ]טר ביתה ודורה ופגרה דחונא בר כופיתי (11) וחיזה מנה מבכלתא וחילמא בישא ולוטתא ונידרא וחרשא ומבעדא (!) ושידא ודיוא וללית קרוביא (וסרו)דתא וניחכביש כורחנה ונחדרה שורא (12) דאדמסא דכיא לחונא בר כופיתי {וניחכביש} (ונ)חכביש כורחנה ושידה ודיוה דחונא בר כופיתי (13) ונתנטר בלליא ובימאמא אמין

Bowl 1

Translation

(1–2) [Appointed is this bowl for the sealing and guarding] of the house, dwelling [and body of Ḥuna son of Kupitay, that there should go out from him the tormentors, evil dreams, [curses,] vows, spells, (3) [magic practices, devils,] demons, liliths, encroachments and terrors. The secret of heaven is buried in heaven, and the secret of the e[arth] is (4) b[uried in the ear]th. I say the secret of this house against all that there is in it: against devils, demons, spells, (5) magic practices, all the messengers of idolatry, all troops, charms, goddesses, all the mighty devils, (6) all the mighty Satans, all the mighty liliths. I tell you this word. He who accepts it, finds goodness, and he who is bad (and) does not accept (7) the mystery words, angels of wrath come against him, and sabres and swords stand before him and kill him. Fire surrounds him, and flame comes against him. (8) Whoever listens to the word sits in the house, eats and feeds, drinks and pours drink, rejoices and causes joy, he is a brother to brethren and a friend to the dwellers of the house, he is a companion of children (9) and is called educator, he is an associate of cattle and is called good fortune. Accept peace from your Father who is in heaven and sevenfold peace from male gods and from female (10) goddesses. He who makes peace wins the suit. He who causes destruction is burnt in fire *(magic characters).*

Seal[ed and guar]ded shall be the house, dwelling, and body of Ḥuna son of Kupitay, (11) and there shall go out from him the tormentors, evil dreams, curses, vows, spells, magic practices, devils, demons, liliths, encroachments and terrors. His sickness shall be pressed down, and a wall (12) of pure steel shall surround Ḥuna son of Kupitay. The sickness, devil and demon of Ḥuna son of Kupitay shall be pressed down (13) and he will be guarded by night and by day. Amen.

The interest of this new find is in the fact that it constitutes a welcome addition to a small group of bowls in Syriac which carry basically the same text. Since none of the bowls gives an unequivocally clear reading of the whole incantation, and since the text contains several problems, a new version helps to elucidate and sometimes to confirm earlier hypotheses. The texts parallel to our new bowl are the following:

1 A text read by T. Ellis in Layard 1853, pp. 443 f., No. 6. The bowl is now in the British Museum, B.M. 91712 (cf. Hamilton 1971, No. 10).

2 A bowl from Nippur at the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, published by Montgomery 1913, pp. 242 ff., No. 37 (cf. Hamilton 1971, No. 9).
These two texts benefited from the insights and comments of Epstein 1922, pp. 56 ff., who discovered their similarity, and managed, by comparing them to each other, to restore much of the mutilated text and to elucidate the meaning of the fragmentary formulae.

3 A bowl at the Iraq Museum (No. 44107), first published by Teixidor 1962. Teixidor did not notice the connection between this text and the previously published ones, and his reading was therefore somewhat fragmentary. The identification of the similarity is due to Hamilton 1971, No. 14, who offered some improvements to Teixidor's readings.

We have re-checked the British Museum bowl by the aid of a photograph, and having at our disposal our new text, we believe it is possible in some points to complete and correct Epstein's readings and reconstructions, which are on the whole confirmed by this text. The state of preservation of our bowl is good enough to make an almost continuous reading possible, apart from the opening words, which are illegible. Whereas our new text and Montgomery No. 37 are written in proto-Manichean characters,[1] Ellis 6 and Teixidor's bowl (as well as our Bowl 10) are written in Estrangelo.

The text begins in the centre and goes, by spirals, towards the circumference. This is, with some exceptions, the normal practice in the

[1] See Lidzbarski 1916; Teixidor 1962, pp. 61f.

magic bowls. On our bowl the two opening lines are so faint as to be largely illegible. They can, however, be reconstructed by comparing the similar formula in lines 10–11, and the opening phrases of such other Syriac texts as Montgomery 1913, Nos. 31, 32 and 35. The three parallel texts, Ellis 6, Montgomery 37, and Iraq Museum 44107, are all too defective at the beginning to be of any help.

3 The two words, **qrwby' wsrwdt'**, obviously denoting evil spirits, are also attested in line 11. The Syriac word *qrūḇyā* means "approach, attack, accusation", a cognate of *qrāḇā* "war", and could possibly serve as the proper name of a demon. No form corresponding to **srwdt'** is attested in Syriac, but Jewish Aramaic provides it in Gaster 1896, p. XII:35. The verb **SRD** "to fear" and the noun *sūrādā* "terror" are, however, familiar in Syriac, and occur in a magic text published by Hamilton 1971 (20:8): **nytsrwd bswrd' dl'lm** "may he be struck by eternal terror". **swrd'** occurs more than once in the charms published from Syriac manuscripts by Gollancz 1898. Thus we have, for example, the sequence ...**wdḥlt' wzw't' wrtyt' wtwht' wswrd' wrny'**...(p. 79) "...fear and trembling, terror and surprise, dread and anxiety..." (a similar sequence on p. 86). Derivatives of the same verb occur also in Mandaic, although the verb "to fear" in Mandaic, affected by both a metathesis and an enlargement by **-n-**, is **SNDR** (Drower and Macuch, p. 334a, where however the etymological references to Jewish Aramaic and Modern Syriac words meaning "sieve" seem out of place). The causative verb in Mandaic has the form **SRWD** (like the reflexive verb in the Syriac text of Hamilton 1971, quoted above; cf. Drower and Macuch, p. 337a, where the reference to **SRD** as an "inversion of **SDR** II" is not clear, since **SRD** is the basic form of the verb, as it is indeed presented on p. 334a). A Mandaic noun which is very close to our own is **saruadta**, translated by Drower and Macuch as "(a) fright, alarm (esp. nightmare), terror, (b) loneliness" (p. 315). The examples given there support a somewhat different translation. The phrase **saruadta ḏ-'umama** indicates "terror of the day time", perhaps personified, as opposed to **sahria ḏ-lilia** "night-demons", and the phrase **bsibuth usaruadth timut** need not compel us to introduce a new meaning "loneliness" for the word. It can perfectly well be rendered "she will die in her old age and in her fright". The plural feminine form **saruata** indicates a class of demons associated with ruins and destruction (cf. Drower and Macuch, p. 315b). Cf. also Bowl 13:13.

3–4 The phrase רז שמיא בשמיא קביר ורז ארעא בארעא קביר was reconstructed by Epstein 1922 for Montgomery No. 37, and it is gratifying to have it fully confirmed by our bowl.

4 From this point Epstein managed, by comparing the two bowls with each other, to make an almost complete reconstruction of their text. Our bowl is very close to Montgomery's text, offering only minor variations, which will be noted below. For **ʾʾmr** Montgomery has **ʾymr**.

5 On the basis of our text it is possible to suggest in Montgomery, line 5, to complete **[wʿl kl ʾzgndʾ]** (6) **dptkrwtʾ**.

6 **ptgmʾ hdyn**: Epstein conjectured in Montgomery 37:7 **pytgʾmʾ syt[rʾ]**, which Hamilton read **pytgʾmʾ hnʾ**. The correct reading of Montgomery 37:7 seems to be, like here (though in *plene* spelling), **pytgʾmʾ hydy[n]**, with the demonstrative written exactly as in Montgomery 37:5 **[r]ʾzh dbytʾ hydyn**.[2] It may be noted that the demonstrative **hdyn** is not usually recorded in Syriac texts; it is a form which is normal in Jewish-Aramaic (cf. Epstein 1960, p. 23; Rossell 1953, p. 27).[3] This may suggest that our present text is based on a Jewish-Aramaic version; see also **ytwh**.

mḥwʾ has a mark above the word to indicate the participle. In Montgomery 37:7 and in Iraq Mus. 44107:2 the form is **mḥwynʾ**.

dmqbyl yʾtwh: For the first word Montgomery has **dmqbl**. For **yʾtwh** both Ellis 6 and Montgomery 37 have **yʾth**. The accusative particle is quite unusual in Syriac, and is characteristic rather of the Jewish Aramaic texts. For the particle with pronominal suffixes, one can note a wavering in Jewish Aramaic between a singular-type declension and a plural one. For the singular cf. e.g. **yʾtky** (Gordon 1934a, p. 141, line 6); **ytyh** (Montgomery 3:7, 9); **ytkwn** (Montgomery 15:7); for the plural-type declension cf. **ytyky** (Gordon 1934c, p. 469, G:5; Montgomery 17:3). The variation **yʾth** as against **yʾtwh** demonstrates the two forms of treatment of the particle. It seems strange, though, to see a plural mark (*seyāmē*) over **yʾtwh**.

[2] There is an error in Hamilton's edition and translation of this line. **hdyn** occurs in Bowl 10:13, cf. Commentary to Bowl 10:7.

[3] In Babylonian Jewish Aramaic **hydyn** is used only for the interrogative "which one"; see Epstein 1960, pp. 29 f.

dmqbyl y'twh ṭbt' mškḥ wdbyš l' mqbyl: The B.M. text, Ellis 6, provides the clue to the puzzling sentence. Ellis 6:5 should read: **[d]mqbyl y'th ṭbt' mškḥ wdbyš wl' m(q)[byl]**. The phrase **l' mqbyl** is thus an apposition to **wdbyš**.

7 **mÏ' rž'**: This is also the obvious reconstruction of the text in Montgomery 37: **[m]l' r'z'** (or **r'zy**), rather than **'r'zy**. *Mellē rāzē* is used here in the sense of incantations.

wsyp' wḥrb': The correct reading in Montgomery 37 seems to be the same as here. Montgomery read the first word **wdsyp'**; Epstein preferred to read **[b]syp'**. The two nouns are best taken as standing in juxtaposition to **wml'k' rwgz'**.

wqdmwhy: See Epstein 1922, p. 56, where it may be seen that Montgomery's text has **qdmwh**, while Ellis has **wqd[m]why**.

nwr' ḥdrh lh "fire surrounds him": **ḤDR** is used with other prepositions, **ḥdr b-** "to retract" and **ḥdr 'l** "to return" (cf. Levine 1970, p. 350). In our text, line 11, the same verb occurs with a direct object in the sense of "to encircle".

8 **šm'** is written here, corresponding to Montgomery **šm'**, which is equally wrong. The Iraq Museum text has the correct form, **šm'**. The correspondence between our new text and Montgomery No. 37, here and elsewhere, shows that they both were copied from the same source.

wytyb bbyt': The initial *waw*, which does not exist in Montgomery and Ellis, is our scribe's mistake.

'ḥ' l'ḧ' nhw': Ellis 6 and the Iraq Museum text have here **'ḥ' l'nš' hw'**. One other case in which Ellis and the Iraq Museum text join together against the reading of Montgomery and of our new text is in the preceding line, where they have **wšlhbyt' npl' 'lwhy** (according to Iraq Mus.; Ellis has minor variations and a dittography), against **wšlhbyt' 'tyh 'lwh** (according to our text; Montgomery has minor variations). **nhw'** has a diacritic sign which marks it as a participle, perhaps to indicate that it is used for the present tense.

9 **wmrwby'**: This seems to be a copyist's error for **wmrwbyn'** attested in Montgomery 37. Ellis and Iraq Mus. spell the word **wmrbyn'** (cf. Hamilton 1971, p. 55). The correct identification of this word was made by Epstein.

ṣwt' lbyr' hw': This phrase is still puzzling. It is written in this manner in Montgomery 37 and in Iraq Mus. 44107, where it would have the sense of "he is an associate of cattle" (**byr'** for *bʿīrā*), which seems

curious. In Ellis the text shows in effect **lgld**³ (or **lglr**³), which Epstein, followed by Hamilton, read **lgʿr**³, assuming a corruption **bʿr**³ > **gʿr**³. It is possible to consider a variant form of *būrā* "uncultivated, simple, stupid", which might correspond to *gʿīrā* "hateful, hideous", although one can hardly account for the sense obtained "he is an associate of the hateful, ignorant". An argument in favour of this interpretation, however, is the fact that it comes parallel to the preceding phrase, which states that he is "a friend of children and is called an educator". Here he may be termed "a companion of the simple-minded (or of those excluded), and is called good luck", possibly some kind of auspicious magical situation.

wgd³ **ṭb**³ **mtqr**³: The scribe of Montgomery 37 omitted the word **ṭb**³.

šlm³ **qbylw mn** ³**bwkwn dbšmy**³: Epstein's reconstruction of Montgomery's text is unacceptable. He read it **šlm[**³ **mn] bl** ³**bwkwn**. It would seem more plausible to reconstruct there too **šlm[**³ **q]b[y]l[w]**, and to assume that **mn** was omitted by a scribal error. The same text may underlie the letters preserved in the Iraq Museum bowl. Ellis 6 has a completely different version at this point.

wšb³ **[š]lm**³: Epstein followed the word **dbšmy**³ by a reconstructed **[w**³**r](**ʿ**)**³. However, it seems more reasonable to reconstruct for Montgomery 37 the same phrase which occurs in our text. Indeed, the traces visible allow very well to reconstruct **[wš](b)**³. The same applies to the text of the Iraq Museum. It reads **wšb**ʿ³ **w[. . .]šlm**³.

dmšw³ **šlm**³ **zk**³ **bdyn**³: Epstein's correct reading is re-confirmed by our text, in addition to the support brought by the Iraq Museum bowl. The initial letter is undoubtedly **d-**, as in Teixidor 1962.

wdmšw³ **ḥbyl**³ **mtql**³ **bnwr**³: As the verb was not visible in Montgomery's text, Epstein had to invent one, and he chose **mtyqyd**. The Iraq Museum bowl and the new Jerusalem text concur in using the verb **QLY**, which should of course also be reconstructed in Montgomery 37. Teixidor's reading (followed by Hamilton) of the Iraq Museum text should be corrected as follows: **wdmšw**³ **ḥbl**³ **mytql**³ **bnwr**³.

10–12 The closing formula does not occur in the parallel texts, just as the Iraq Museum bowl closes with a formula which does not occur elsewhere. The formula of our text has corresponding texts in other magical bowls, such as Montgomery Nos. 31–35.

The client of this bowl is Ḥuna bar Kupitay. The name Kupitay occurs also in some other texts, cf. Montgomery Nos. 2, 4, 12, 16.

11 The spelling **mb'd'** for **m'bd'** is another instance for the weakening of the *'ayin*; cf. above **šm'** in line 8 and **šb'** in line 9.

kwrḥn': This word is written here twice with a *ḥet*, though it occurs with a *he* in Montgomery 7:11 (in Jewish Aramaic). Syriac has normally only the spelling with a *he*.

11–12 **wnḥdrh šwr' d'dms' dky'**: The reading is quite clear and unequivocal. **'dms'** is a loanword from the Greek ἀδάμας which consists of a privative α- with a derivative of the verb δαμάω "to conquer". The Greek word thus means "unconquerable" and designates the hardest substances: steel or diamond.[4] The word occurs also in Syriac (cf. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*, s.v. **'d'mws**), and in Mandaic, where the phrase **šura ḏ-dmasa** is attested several times (Drower and Macuch, p. 111b). The word is also found in Persian and Arabic *almās* in the sense of "diamond", and in Manichean Middle Persian under the form **'rm's** for "steel" (cf. Nöldeke 1892, p. 44; Bailey 1943, p. 134).[5] It can be shown that **'dms'**, **'rms'** does indeed refer to some metal by comparing the parallel phrase in Montgomery No. 4:6 (in Jewish Aramaic): **wšwr' rb' dnḥš' 'ḥdryt lh** "and I have surrounded it with a great wall of bronze".

The same word, **'dms'**, occurs, we believe, in three other Jewish incantations, where it has not been recognized. The texts in question are Montgomery 2 and 27, and Gordon 1941, p. 273 (11:3). Montgomery 2 and 27 were re-studied by Epstein 1921, pp. 30 f.; his reading and translation are quoted and amplified by Levine 1971, pp. 361 f. as follows:

> תוב אזלנא אנא פ' בר פ' בחילי דנפשי בקומתי גציצא דפרזלא קרקפתי דפרזלא קומת דנורא דכיא ולבישנא לבושא דארמסא דכיא וממללא
>
> "Again I come, I, X. son of Y., with my own might. On my body are arms (or hands) of iron, a head of iron, a body of pure fire. I don the pure-white and simmering robe of Hermes".[6]

[4] For the occurrence of *Adama* and its derivative in Greek magic cf. Peterson 1926b, p. 393.

[5] A striking parallel is found in a Manichean magic text in Middle Persian, where we have: **'wm šfšyr 'wd [cy]l'n 'y hswd 'y 'rm's [ʔ]y p'k pyr'mwn 'wb'yyd** (Henning 1947, p. 40, lines 32–34) "I am girt with a whetted sword and a dagger of pure adamant".

[6] Epstein did not commit himself on the word which was read by Montgomery as **'rms'**. The warlike character of such magical operations recalls the similar motif in the Chaldaean Oracles; cf. Lewy 1978, pp. 194 f.

The text of Gordon 1941, p. 273 (No. 11) is basically the same, though somewhat shorter.[7] However, although the name Hermes does occur on incantation bowls,[8] it is most unlikely that it occurs here. **ʾdmsʾ** "steel" is clearly the preferable reading, giving the translation "a robe of pure steel", which goes along with other indications of iron and fire. In Gordon 1941, p. 273, we might read not **lbwšʾ dʾrmys wddbyh**, but rather **lbwšʾ dʾdmwsʾ dkyh**.[9]

Another point worth examining is the adjective **mmllʾ**. Levine suggested the translation "simmering", as of coals, but this seems doubtful. One might rather seek the explanation in the Mandaic phrase **parzla nimalil ʿlḥ**, probably to be translated "iron will crush him" (cf. Drower and Macuch p. 273b, s.v. MLL III). Hebrew MLL also has the sense "to crush, squeeze" (cf. Jastrow s.v.). **ʾdmsʾ dkyʾ wmmllʾ** could therefore very well mean "pure, crushed (=forged) steel".[10]

Montgomery 19:7 was corrected by Epstein 1921, p. 49, to read **wbšwm mryʾ mlylʾ wmʾmlʾ dʾrmsʾ**. However, an examination of two unpublished parallel texts (University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, both bearing the number 18059), shows that the correct reading is **mryʾ klylʾ wmgdlʾ dʾrmsʾ**.

[*Addendum*: When the book was in the press we noticed the article by Harviainen 1978, which had escaped our attention before. It contains in Estrangelo script another parallel text to our Bowl 1. The parallel to our text goes as far as our line 10, with no significant deviations, and it confirms the restorations proposed above.]

[7] We must recall that Gordon was probably unaware of Epstein's insights on this text.

[8] The one safe example is Montgomery 7:8, which is the equivalent of Myhrman 1909, p. 346, line 4. The correspondence established by Montgomery is: **ʾyrmys=hrmys**. On Hermes in Jewish writings cf. also Lieberman 1947, pp. 53 f.; Milik 1976, p. 336, follows Montgomery's wrong interpretation.

[9] In Montgomery 25:4 [**ʾr**]**msh myṯṯrwn** is not entirely certain.

[10] It seems possible that **mmlln**ʾ occurs also in the sense of "pure", at least in the phrase **pwrdysʾ mmlln**ʾ, Black 1954, fol. 72b (cf. p. 61: "Paradise of the Word", which seems inadequate). The interpretation of **mmll**ʾ as meaning "crushed, forged" does not exclude the much more common usage of the word in the sense of "speaking, talking", as in Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 115; Isbell 1976, p. 23, where we have **mlkh mmll brʾzy pryšt**ʾ; **mlk mmlyl brzy pryšt**ʾ; cf. our Amulet 3:3.



Fig. 21. A Jewish amulet printed in Warsaw in 1867

Bowl 2

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, No. 1401

Plates 16–17

Inside the bowl:

(1) (ליט ....) הפיכי (הפיכא הפיכא) (2) הפיכא הפיכא הפיכא הפיכא ארעא (3) וי(שמ)יא הפיכי כוכבי ומזלי הפיכא שעתא דכול בני אינשא (4) הפיכא לוטתא דימא ויברתה דכלתא ויחמתה הפיכא לוטתא דגברי וינשי (5) דקימין בדברא ויבמתא ויבטורא ובית אילהי ובית כנישתא אסירא ויחתימא לוט(6)תא דלטת בישום ביתיאל ויקותיאל ובישמיה דיי רבא מלאכה דיחליה חדעסר שמין ססכבא (7) ככבא כנברא[1] סדיא סודאריא מדיריא אנקפא אנס[2] פספס כביבי בנורא כול מן דעבר על הלין שמהתא (8) מלאבי אילין אסירין ויחתימין כול שידין ושופטין וכול דלרעא קריא וכול דלישמיא מציתא שמעית קל ארעה שמיה (9) דימקבלא כול נישמתא מין הדין עלמא שמעית קלה דיתתא דלטת ושדרית עלה מלאכין נכיר נכיר יי נקום ניקמת יי נגיל ונגיל יי כיסס צצץ טימא יתיחתא דלטת ושדרו וחבילו יתה מין ענין דבר(ת)א[3] דלא תיקום ולא תילוט

Outside:

(10) דכיא בר קיימתא וימחלפא בר (דויד) ושרכה (בר) אלי(ש)תא[4]

(10a) (א) דכיא בק[5]

(11) מרים בת חורן

[1] An alternative reading could be kkbr'.

[2] An alternative reading could be 'ks.

[3] This word is seemingly written dbrd'.

[4] Another possible reading is ḫlypt'.

[5] This looks like being the first attempt to write the name, abandoned because of a mistake, and re-done subsequently above.

Bowl 2

Translation

Inside:
(1) (Cursed [?] ...) Overturned, (overturned, overturned,) (2) overturned, overturned, overturned, overturned is the earth (3) and heaven, overturned are the stars and the planets, overturned is the talk of all the people, (4) overturned is the curse of the mother and of the daughter, of the daughter-in-law and of the mother-in-law, overturned is the curse of men and women (5) who stand in the open field and in the village, and on the mountain and the temple(s) and the synagogue(s). Bound and sealed is the cur(6)se which she made. In the name of Betiel and Yequtiel, and in the name of yyy the Great, the angel,[6] who has eleven names: **sskbʾ**, (7) **kbbʾ**, **knbrʾ**, **sdyʾ**, **swdʾryʾ**, **mryryʾ**, **ʾnqpʾ**, **ʾns**, **psps**, **kbyby**, **bnwrʾ**. Whoever transgresses against those names, (8) these angels, bound and sealed are all demons and evil spirits. All that is of the earth calls, and all that is of the heaven obeys.

I heard the voice of the earth, [and of] the heaven (9) which receives all soul(s) from this world. I heard the voice of the woman who cursed, and sent against her the angels **nkyr nkyr**, yy take vengeance, yy let us rejoice and rejoice, yy **kyss ṣṣṣ ṭymʾ** the woman who cursed. And they sent and injured her (away) from the eyes of the daughter, that she may not avenge nor curse.

Outside:
(10) Dakyā son of Qayyamtā and Maḥlepā son of (David?) and Šarkā daughter of Ališţā (?)
(11) Miriam, daughter of Ḥoran

[6] Or possibly "his angel".

The text starts at the centre, where a circle is drawn, and runs in spirals towards the circumference. Near the rim of the bowl a large circle surrounds the text. No client's name is contained in the text of the incantation, but such names occur, quite unusually, on the outer surface of the bowl.

The text has a number of parallels, both complete and partial. These are as follows:

1 B.M. 91720 = Layard 1853, pp. 438-440 (Ellis 2). Layard does not contain a drawing, but we have been able to use a photograph kindly provided by the British Museum authorities to check the readings. The portion of this text which provides a parallel to the Jerusalem bowl begins at the fifth line.

2 B.M. 91727 = Layard 1853, pp. 440-441 (Ellis 3). This text has been re-edited by Schwab 1890, pp. 306-310 (Text B), and by Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 52–63, and it has been incorporated into Isbell 1975, pp. 131-133 (Text 58). Again we have been able to consult a photograph of this bowl. The text which corresponds to the Jerusalem bowl begins at line 5.

3 B.M. 91745. Portions of this text were published by Gordon 1941, pp. 339-341, without photograph or drawing. The same text had been published without indication of its present location by Schwab 1892, pp. 139-142 (Bowl G), but Gordon did not notice that Schwab's text was the same as B.M. 91745, which he re-edited. A reader would not notice this identity by comparing the two editions, which are quite divergent, unless he had the benefit of a photograph, as we did. Only by collating the two editions with the photograph of B.M. 91745 can one conclude, with a high degree of certainty, that both scholars worked on the same original. Yamauchi 1965, when he studied parallels to his text (cf. No. 5 below), treated the versions provided by Schwab and Gordon as if they constituted two different texts. It may be noted that in several cases Schwab's readings are better than Gordon's, a tribute to that pioneer in the research of magic bowls.

4 Iraq Museum 9726, studied by Gordon 1941, pp. 348-349. Only a partial reading and translation is given, and no photograph or hand-copy.

5 A private bowl in the possession of Mr. E. Safani, published by Yamauchi 1965. From line 3 we have parallels to our Jerusalem bowl, but the second half of Yamauchi's text is again divergent.

The bowls enumerated 3 and 4 begin, like the Jerusalem text, with the word *hafīḳā* repeated several times, while the other parallels have a longer introductory text.

The text contains a number of formulaic elements which recur in other bowls. It may be convenient to list them:
(a) The formula: **hpyk' hpyk'** ... with a list of (negative) objects to be reversed, especially the curses of relatives and other men and women.
(b) An invocation of angels, in particular a group of eleven names which constitute the person of **yyy** the Great.
(c) The formula which asserts the efficacy of the invocation: "All that is of the earth calls, and all that is of the heaven obeys".

All three elements recur in the parallel texts (=PT) 2, 3 and possibly also 5, where element (c) is not visible. The same may be true of PT 1, where the third element is missing, and of PT 4, of which only a portion is given by Gordon.

Some particular features of our bowl may be indicated. The spelling **wy-** for the conjunction, **by-** and **ly-** for the prepositions, and **dy-** for the relative particle are frequent in this text. Rossell 1953, p. 21, refers to the spelling **wy-** indicating that it occurs before a vowelless consonant. This is not true either of the Jerusalem bowl (cf. **wybrth, wyḥmth, wynšy,** etc.), or of Montgomery No. 1 (see Epstein 1921, p. 29). The same is to be said of **by-** for the preposition **b-**, cf. **byšwm**. Similarly in Montgomery 2:7 we have **byptkry** (assuming that the first syllable is *pat-*).

The elision of an initial *alef* following a prefixed element also characterizes this text: cf. **dym'** (=*d-'immā*), **dytlyh** (=*d-'īṯ lēh*), etc.

There is a seemingly careless alternation of *alef* and *he* in final position for the *status emphaticus,* but it may be, at least in some of the cases, a conscious use of the possessive suffix of the third person singular feminine: **lwṭt' dym' wbrth dklt' wyḥmth** (line 4) "the curse of the mother and her daughter, of the daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law", although in the parallel versions all these nouns end with *alef.* At the same time we also have the interchange of **dlr'', dlyšmy'**, as against **'r'h, šmyh,** with no apparent difference in function.

The spelling of the plural **gbry, nšy** seems an East Aramaic feature, while the use of the preposition **yt** for the accusative is more typical of West Aramaic; cf. Rossell 1953, pp. 11, 37; Tal 1975, pp. 28–30 (see also above, Commentary to Bowl 1:6).

2–3 In PT 4 the formula, as read by Gordon, is: **'wpykh {'r'} 'r'h**

hwpyk› šyd›, where in view of all the parallel versions, the last word is likely to be a wrong reading for **šmy›**.

3 The word **š‹t›** in our text corresponds to **š‹wt›** in PT 3 (B.M. 91745, correctly read by Schwab, but wrongly read by Gordon as **bw‹wt›**),[7] and to **š‹whwn** (for **š‹w‹t›hwn**) in PT 2 (B.M. 91727). The translation as given by Schwab "que la [mauvaise] heure soit renversée" was followed by subsequent scholars, but it seems wrong. This is most probably a form of the noun derived from the verb Š‹Y, cf. Bab. Aramaic and Syriac **›št‹y** "to tell, talk". We thus have Syriac *taš‹īṯā* "story", as well as *še‹yā, šu‹āyā* "play, joke", *šū‹īṯā* "story", etc., Mandaic **šuta** (from **š‹wt›**) "talk, speech, conversation".[8] In all the parallel versions of this text we have the sequence **hpyk› š‹(w)t›/š‹w(t)hwn dkl bny ›ynš›** "that the discourse of all the pepole be overturned". This corresponds in PT 4, according to Gordon's copy, to **hwpykh lwṭt› dkl bny ›ynšh.** Nothing like this occurs in PT 5 (Yamauchi's bowl), though the phrase **hpyk› kl myly** can be regarded as conveying the same idea (if it is not to be read **mzly**).[9]

4 **lwṭt› dym› wybrth:** PT 2 has here **lwṭt› d›b› wdym› wdbrt›**, while PT 1, 4 and 5 have a version similar to the one on our bowl, without the father being mentioned.[10] Our version is unique in the distinction it makes between the suffix of *immā* and of *bartāh*, if it is intentional (see above). A similar formula with the possessive suffixes is found in the printed amulet (Warsaw 1867), where we have משביע אני עליכם כל מין עינא בישא ... עינא דאיש ואשתו עינא דאשה ובתה עינא דאשה ואחותה עינא דאשה וקרובתה ...; for the same incantation with minor variants see Hanauer 1907, pp. 318 ff. (see Fig. 21 on p. 133).

5 **dqymyn bdbr› wybmt› wybṭwr›:** A similar sequence occurs in each one of parallel versions, but none is identical. **ṭwr›** and the two following

[7] The correct reading was already suggested by Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 59.

[8] Cf. Drower and Macuch, p. 458. For the Mandaic verb cf. Yamauchi 1967, p. 360 s.v. Š‹.

[9] In a note on the word *millā* as a magic term in Hebrew, Sperber 1966 commented on PT 3 as published by Gordon 1941. The word does not exist there; Schwab read it correctly as **mzly**, the same word that we have in the Jerusalem bowl.

[10] PT 3 reads according to Schwab **hpyk› lyṭt› d›b› wdym›**, and according to Gordon **hpykh lwṭt› d(›b)› wdymh**, while the bowl clearly has **hpykh lwṭt› hd› d›ymh.**

terms are unique to our bowl. On the other hand, we lack here a reference to "near" and "far", which occurs in other versions.

wbyt ʾylhy wbyt knyštʾ: These terms are also unique to our bowl in this formula. Both terms seem to present plural nouns, although the main part of the genitive construction is in the singular. For a similar phenomenon in Syriac one may quote from the Julian Romance: **wpqd dntpṯḥwn byt ptkrʾ wntbnyn ʿlwthwn... wnttqnn byt knwšt**ʾ **dyẅlpn**ʾ **ṯʿy**ʾ **dʿqyr̈n ḥwy wsḥypn** "He ordered that the idol temples be opened and that their altars be constructed ... and that the schools for erroneous doctrines, which had been overthrown and destroyed, be repaired" (Gottheil 1969, pp. 1 f.). The Syriac phenomenon is treated in Nöldeke 1898, pp. 83 f., § 141.

6 **lwṭtʾ dlṭt**: The absence of an explicit subject for the verb may suggest a passive form. What goes against such an assumption is the observation that in PT 2 the form which occurs is a masculine active form: **dlṭ** (line 6), and further **wbpwmh lṭ**ʾ (line 7), apparently in the feminine. Another argument against taking this form as a passive participle is the phrase further down in our bowl: **ṭym**ʾ **ytytt**ʾ **dlṭt** (line 9), where *ītā* seems to be the subject of the verb. The subject, when it is not specified in the texts, could well be a demon, which can of course be either masculine or feminine.

bytyʾ**l wyqwty**ʾ**l**: PT 3 has here **by**ʾ**yty**ʾ**l wyqwty**ʾ**l** though the two names were quite erroneously read by both Schwab (who read **by**ʾ**why**ʾ**l mmnḥyl**) and Gordon (who read ʿ**z**ʾ **wḥy**ʾ**l ḥqyty**ʾ**l**). Yamauchi's text PT 5 seems to have **šdyḥy**ʾ**l wyqty**ʾ**l** (the first word was read by Yamauchi as **ṭšḥy**ʾ**l**). PT 1 has (as correctly read by Ellis) **bty**ʾ**yl wyqtw**ʾ**yl**. There is nothing corresponding to it in PT 2, and Gordon does not quote a similar formula from PT 4 (Iraq Museum).

wbyšmyh dyyy rbʾ **mlʾkh dytlyh ḥdʿsr šmyn**: The corresponding expression in the other bowls has caused considerable trouble to previous editors, and the contribution of our bowl may be said to be chiefly in clarifying this phrase. In PT 2 Ellis read **bšmrwt k**ʾ **mlʾkh**, while Schwab, in a completely different conception of the letters, read here (beginning from the preceeding word) **mn kwl mdynt**ʾ **mlʾkh**. Jeruzalmi greatly improved on his predecessors, but this particular expression was read by him **bšmrytk**ʾ **mlʾkh**. He cannot be blamed for his reading, because the error is obviously the magician's own, who miscopied from his original, where the formula must have been correctly written. The ancient scribe wrote **bšmk ytb**ʾ **mlʾkh**, for the obviously correct **bšmk yy**

rb' ml'kh. Paleographically the mistake is easy to understand. The same mistake was done by the scribe of PT 3: **wbšwm ytb' ml'k' d'yt lyh ḥd 'šr šmht'.**[11] Both scribes may have used a similar original, although PT 2 has the indefinite plural form **šmhn** for PT 3 **šmht'** (our **šmyn**, which has the indefinite masculine plural ending).

One may remark in passing that the process of transmission of the magical formulae was not apparently one of careful copying from a bowl or a notebook, but something like a free adaptation from existing written (or oral) formulae. Hence the great variations even when we deal with a text which is basically the same. In a sense the process of transmission is more like one of oral tradition than in almost any other form of written tradition. At the same time, **ytb'** from **yy rb'** could only come about by erroneous interpretation of written signs.

Once the correct formula is established, it is easy to see that in Yamauchi's bowl (PT 5) we should read **byšmk yy rb' ml'kh,**[12] where Yamauchi read, with hesitation, **ywrb'**. Similarly one recognizes without undue difficulty in PT 1 (Ellis 2) the phrase **wbšmk yrb' rb' ml'k(y)h d'yt lyh ḥd 'šr šmhn,** where the original formula **yyy rb'** "the Great yyy", having given way to a pseudo-word **yrb'**, is reinforced with the epithet **rb'**.[13] Not having the benefit that we possess by our comparison, Ellis read here **wbšmry dk' dk' ml'kh.**

The partial transcriptions which Gordon gives of the Iraq Museum bowl (PT 4) do not contain any correspondence to the phrase under discussion.

6–7 The eleven names of **yyy** *rabbā* have been compared by Yamauchi in the different versions which he possessed. As stated above, he was not aware of the fact that Schwab G is the same text as Gordon's rendering of B.M. 91745, and so the two lines C and D in Yamauchi's table constitute but two transcriptions from the same bowl. On the other

[11] This is the correct reading of the word (with Gordon), against Schwab's **šmwt'**.

[12] Yamauchi transcribes by mistake **ml'k'**.

[13] The recurring Mandaic form of the name is **adunai iurba,** where the first element is sometimes omitted. Cf. Pognon 1898, p. 17 = Yamauchi 1967, p. 154; Pognon, p. 22 = Yamauchi, p. 156 (where the text is **aduna rba**); Pognon, p. 23 = Yamauchi p. 158; Pognon, p. 25; Pognon, p. 73 (**bit iurba**), etc. The name is also quite familiar from literary texts in Mandaic. Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, p. 258 note 1; Drower and Macuch, p. 191. In Gordon 1934a, p. 141, we have **ywdg' ywdb'**, and the second word may well be identical with **ywrb'**.

hand, there is room to add PT 2 (Ellis 3), which also has a similar list, competently edited by Jeruzalmi, as well as our own new text. The Iraq Museum bowl (PT 4) obviously has also a list of eleven names, but this was not copied by Gordon.

If we take the Jerusalem text as basis for comparison, we may make the following table:

1 **sskbʾ**=PT 2: **ssbbʾ**, PT 5: **ssbʾ**, PT 1: **ssbbh**, PT 3: **qsrbʾ**.
2 **kbbʾ**=PT 2: **kkbʾ** (the third in that list), PT 5: **krbʾ**, PT 1: **kkkʾ** (third in that list), PT 3: **kbkʾ** (third in that list).
3 **knbrʾ**=PT 5: **kbkʾ**, while the other corresponding forms are quoted above, under number 2. In PT 2 No. 4, **bpbbʾ** may be compared here.
4 **sdyʾ**=PT 2: **sryh** (second in that list), PT 5: **mrwh**, PT 1: **sryh** (second in that list), PT 3: **srtyh** (second in that list).
5 **swdʾryʾ**=PT 2: **sydryh**, PT 5: **sw** (?), PT 1: **sydryh**, PT 3: **ʿnyny** (?).
6 **mryryʾ** = PT 2: **hydryʾ**, PT 5: **hʿpnyʾ**, PT 1: **ḥryḥ**, PT 3: **ktyš** (?).[14]
7 **ʾnqpʾ**=PT 2: **ʾnqpʾ** (number 9 in that list, read **ʾrqpʾ** by Jeruzalmi), PT 5: **ktypʾ**, PT 1: **ʾnqpʾ** (number 9 in that list).
8 and 9 **ʾns psps** = PT 2: **ʾlsps** (number 10 in that list), PT5: **hls sš pb**, PT1: **ʾnsps** (number 10 in that list?), PT 3: **nttnt pkrps** (?).[15]
10 and 11 **kbyby bnwrʾ** = PT 2: **bmmr nwryʾ** (read differently by Jeruzalmi), PT 5: **kbybn blwrʾ**, PT 1: **kbyby...**, PT 3: **kbybn bnwr.**

We are left with PT 2 **ʿzryh**[16] (No. 7 in the list) and **btwqpʾ** (No. 8) in PT 3.

Even though this is a somewhat cursory comparison, without a proper textual edition of the different texts involved, one sees that with a fairly small movement of items one comes to a grasp of a list which is more or less identical, though it contains the fluidity of an orally transmitted tradition, as noted above.

7 **kwl mn dʿbr ʿl hlyn šmhtʾ**: The expression occurs in PT 1, and was correctly transliterated and translated by Ellis. The same is true of PT 2, where Ellis read and translated correctly, though Schwab made a wrong

[14] Thus read by Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 62.

[15] These names recall the very frequent **ʾnqtm pstm pspsym** in late Jewish amulets; cf. Shachar 1971, p. 227, and above, Fig. 21 (p. 133).

[16] Jeruzalmi reads this name as **ʿzzyh**.

translation and Jeruzalmi made a mistake both in copying the text, which should read **wlkl dʿbr ʿl hlyn šmhtʾ**, and in its translation, and was followed in this by Isbell. PT 3 has the same phrase, again translated wrongly by Schwab ("à tous ceux qui passent près ces noms") and Gordon ("and each that works [**dʿbd**] by these names"). PT 5 no doubt contains the same phrase, though this was not legible to the editor. PT 4 is not quoted at this point.

As for the expression **ʿbr ʿl** "to transgress", the usage is quite well attested in Mishnaic Hebrew. Cf. B. B. Meṣiʿa 111a: כל הכובש שכר שכיר ועובר על כל שם ושם שיש בו: Tosefta Bava Meṣiʿa 10:8. עובר בה׳ שמות הללו. These contexts demonstrate the meaning of the phrase: "to transgress, to hurt, to injure sacred names", which is somewhat transformed in the rabbinical usage to "to transgress against commandments".

8 **kwl šydyn wšwptyn**: Of the other versions, PT 3 has a more extensive list of demons. It contains the following elements, some of which were not quite accurately read by Schwab, but which Gordon rendered very well: **kl šydyn wšwbṭyn wdywyn wlyṭyn wlylyn wsṭnyn wšqwpyn.** The first two elements are identical in the two versions, despite the variation in the spelling of the second. The spelling with a *pe* occurs in Hyvernat's text.[17] A discussion of the term occurs in Montgomery 1913, p. 92. The parallel versions have different sets of names, or no names at all.

wkwl dlrʿ qryʾ wkwl dlyšmyʾ mṣytʾ: An analogous phrase is found in the various parallel versions. PT 2: **wkl dlʾrʿ qryʾ wkl dlšmyh mṣytʾ** (lines 11 f.); PT 3: **wkl dylʾy dylʾrʿh qry wlyšmyh myṣyt;**[18] PT 1 is too effaced at this point, at least in the photograph, but Ellis managed to read it very nicely (without being able to give an accurate translation): **wkl dlʾrʿ [qry] kl dlšmyh mʿyt**, where only the final word should obviously be read **mṣyt.** PT 5 can easily be restituted at this point. The editor read **kl dlʾw...**, which is apparently the beginning of our formula: **kl dlʾrʿh qry (wk)l [dlšmyh] (mṣy)[t].** The passages copied by Gordon from the Iraq Museum bowl (PT 4) do not contain our phrase. A similar phrase seems to occur in Geller 1980, p. 54, lines 8–9 **wbtqlʾ dqryh wrwḥ mlʾkh rbty dmytwtʾ**: the last word should probably be emended to **dmṣytʾ**

[17] Some other examples for the alternation of **-b-** and **-p-** are given by Rossell 1953, p. 16.

[18] Schwab: **wkl dwlʾy dwlʾ dmw[t] qry wlšmw ḥmwṣyt.** Gordon: **wkl dylʾy dylʾrʿh qdw wlšmyh,** with the translation: "and all...of the earth's...and heaven's".

As to the sense , we have here clearly a formula which asserts that the incantation is effective: "Everything which is in (or on) the earth calls, everything which is in heaven obeys". Similar formulae occur in other bowls. Cf., e.g., Istanbul 5363 in Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 128: **ʾnʾ ktbyt wʾlhʾ mʾry kwlʾ ysy yt**..."I have written (the incantation), and God, the Lord of all, shall heal...", and our Amulet 1:12–13: **ʾnh ktbt yy[yy y]ʾsy** "I have written, God will heal."

8–9 **šmʿyt ql ʾrʿh šmyh dymqblʾ kwl nyšmtʾ mn hdyn ʿlmʾ**: Here again our bowl can provide us with an aid for clarifying parallel passages, and at the same time also instruct us in the ways of textual transmission of such magical bowls. PT 1, according to Ellis's transliteration (since the photograph is unclear at this point) has the following text: **šmr[h] ql ʾrʿ dqdḥ wšmyh d[ʾtkl]tny š[mhtʾ] mn hdyn ʿlmʾ**. The first three words can without doubt be reconstructed as identical with our text: **šmʿyt ql ʾrʿ**. The fourth word seems to be missing from our text. The rest of the sentence can be imagined to be the same text as ours. The contribution of this text is in the addition of a word **dqdḥ** as the verb for the action of the earth.

PT 3 can be read in the following manner: **šmʿyt kl ʾrʿh dʾwqwḥ** (?) **šmh dym(q)b(y)l**[19] **kl nyšmtʾ mn hdyn ʿlmʾ**. The text is quite definitely corrupt, but, like PT 2, it contains what looks like a verb after **ʾrʿh**, and this is an element which the scribe of our bowl must have omitted by mistake. The interesting point here is the error which the scribe of PT 3 committed when he wrote **kl** for **ql**. The reading itself is clear and unambiguous. The second half of the text in PT 3 is basically the same as the one in our bowl, and it seems to have been badly written because the scribe did not understand the meaning of the words. The verb which should be supplemented in our bowl after **ʾrʿ** may be the one which occurs in PT 1 **dqdḥ** : "which flees, which escapes".[20] The form **dʾwqwḥ** in PT 3 is somewhat similar in appearance, and may be assumed to be a corruption of the same verb. The full reconstructed sentence should then read: "I have heard the voice of the earth *fleeing, and that of the sky receiving all the souls from this world". The earth "fleeing" may be an allusion, in this context, to the unwillingness of the souls to die.

[19] Gordon reads the last three words: **rḥyqyh šmh dymḥbyl**.

[20] For the verb QDḤ cf. below Commentary to Bowl 5:11.

PT 2 does not have our sentence, but it has some remnants of it. It reads: **šmʿt mn hdyn ʿlmʾ ql ʿyttʾ dš...** This text can be explained as a haplography: **mn hdyn ʿlmʾ** is the termination of the phrase just quoted, while **šmʿyt ql ʾyttʾ...** would be the beginning of the next sentence. In PT 2 the two sentences were conflated.

9 **šmʿyt qlh dytth dlṭt wšdryt ʿlh mlʾkyn:** This phrase too has close parallels. PT 1, according to Ellis's transcription, reads: **ql ʾytʾ [šm]ʿyt dlw[ṭtʾ] wšdrʾ**[21] **ʿlh mlkyn.** PT 2: **šmʿt ...**[22] **ql ʾyttʾ (ks...**[23] **wlṭyʾ wšdrt) ʿlh mlkn (wtqypyn).** PT 3: **qlh šmʿyt šmʿyt ql gbrʾ mšršyʾ br pwrtw dlyṭ wšdryt ʿlhw mlʾky.** No comparable phrase is quoted by Gordon from PT 4, and the final part of PT 5 is not well preserved, but seems not to contain such a phrase. The only significant difference here is that PT 3 refers to a man, while the other texts where the formula appears deal with women.

nkyr nkyr: This name does not occur in Aramaic, as far as we know, outside our text, where it occurs in some of the parallel versions. PT 1 has **nkyr** (once only). PT 3 has **nkr nkr.** The other versions do not have this name, as far as can now be verified. The context suggests that this is the name of an angel sent against the man or woman who curses. The Islamic figure of *nakīr* (usually associated with *munkar*) comes to mind: this pair of Islamic angels are the ones in charge of the *post mortem* trial of people, and their punishment. The origin of the Islamic name has been unknown. We may have here an antecedent to it.[24]

yy nqwm yy ngyl wngyl yy kyss: PT 1 has **wnqwm**[25] **nqmʾ wngl**[26] **nglʾ ww**[27] **ss.** PT 3: **ynqm nyqmt nglh nglh ss ṭwy ss.**[28] The other versions do not contribute parallels, though Ellis reads in PT 2: **ydrk wtqym nqmʾ wngyl nyglʾn wssw mʾ,** which does not seem visible in the photograph.

[21] The passage is not visible in the photograph, but we may conjecture ***wšdryt.**

[22] As explained above, the group of words **mn hdyn ʿlmʾ** probably belongs to the preceding sentence, which was omitted by haplography.

[23] Our reading here differs from Jeruzalmi's.

[24] Cf. *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, pp. 411 f., s.v. *Munkar*.

[25] Possibly to be emended to **ynqwm.**

[26] Possibly to be emended to **yngl.**

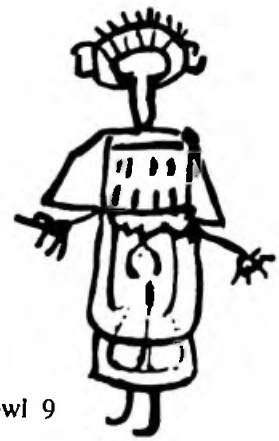
[27] Possibly **yy.**

[28] Schwab's transcription is here wide of the mark.

ṣṣṣ ṭym' ytytt' dlṭt wšdrw wḥbylw yth myn 'nyn dbr(t)': PT 1: **wss ṭy mn wssṭ mn wd'ytt' dlyṭ' wš[r]y'**[29] ... **ksy 'ytt' ... mn['']nn dbryk**. PT 2 (Ellis's reading): **wssym yd'ytt' dlwṭ' wšry' lwṭt' '''**. PT 3: **ṭymw yt mšršy' br pwrtw dlṭ wšdr lwṭtyh lḥwpy dy(?) my' wlyṭwr mdnḥ'** ... The word **ytytt'** is clearly a combination of the accusative participle **yt** with **'ytt'**. It seems that this was corrupted in PT 1 and 2 into **yd'ytt'**. All versions apart from our own become muddled and incomprehensible here. **ṣṣṣ** has a parallel sequence of letters in Isbell 1975, No. 65:4 and in Amulet 2:4–5,14.

dl' tyqwm wl' tylwṭ: PT 1: **dl' tyqwm wl' tylṭ**. PT 3: **dl' mwlyṭ.**

10–11 The names, written on the outside, are an unusual feature of incantation texts, where they are usually incorporated into the text. Here the text is entirely impersonal. The mother's name may well be read Qayyamtā. The masculine name **qywm'** occurs in a Nabataean inscription published by Milik and Starcky 1975, pp. 121 f.



From Bowl 9

[29] Perhaps one should read here ***yd'ytt' ... *wšdrw.**

Bowl 3

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, No. 1399

Plate 20

(1) אסותא מן שמיא למאדאראפרי בת (2) אנושאי ידמכון בעפרא חבילי נידרא דכוליה דוכא (3) וכל טלא וכל מידיעם דביש ומעיק לה למאדאראפרי בת מאנושי (4) חרשות ועבדין דמיתעבדין יתכבשון ויטמרון בארעה מן קדומיה (5) בעוז גדודהו וחיחי בין נסוע הארון וימר מושה קומא יהוה ויפוצו איבאך וינסו מ[vacat] מיפנך אקדד ואברא אמן אמן סלה

This is a plain bowl, with a crude square in the centre, and a fairly short inscription. Much of the inscription is taken up by a quotation from Numbers 10:35, in a peculiar spelling. No parallels are known to us from other magic bowls for any part of this inscription. The reading begins, as in most cases, in the centre.

1 The name of the client is Madar-Afri. The second element of this name seems at first sight to be similar to the name quite frequently attested in Aramaic incantations **ʾprʾ**, **ʾprh**, and which is likely to be the same as the name of Shapur's mother in the Babylonian Talmud, **ʾypryʾ-hwrmyz**.[1] The several attempts made at explaining this name may

[1] For the name **ʾprʾ**, **ʾprh** cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 118, where a Jewish or a Persian origin for the name are both mentioned as equally possible. The Jewish derivation would be from Ephraim as a hypocoristic, the Persian being a reduction from a name beginning with *fra-*. Both suggestions seem equally unlikely. Nöldeke 1879, p. 52, footnote, refers to the name of Shapur's mother by saying: "die erste Hälfte dieses Namens ist mir unklar". B. Geiger in Krauss 1955, pp. 58 f. explains **ʾyprʾ hwrmyz** as Farrah-Hormizd. The name suggested by Geiger actually occurs in Sasanian seals as **plxwʾwxrmzd**, Farrox-Ohrmazd, cf. Gignoux 1978, p. 147.

Bowl 3

Translation

(1) Healing from heaven to Mādar-Āfri daughter of (2) Anušay. May there lie in the dust the injuries of vows of every place (3) and every shaded place. And every evil thing, and whatever oppresses Mādar-Āfri daughter of Manušay, (4) the sorcery and the charms which are cast, (all) will be pressed and hidden in the earth before her (5) by the power of his army. "And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them ‹that hate thee› flee before thee" (Num. 10:35). **ʾqdd wʾbrʾ.** Amen Amen Selah.

be summarized as follows: some derivation from *frēh* "more"; some element connected with the preverb *fra-; āfrīn* "blessing"; or *farr(ah)* "fortune".[2] However, it seems likely that the name **ʾprʾ / ʾyprʾ** is connected with the name of the well-known Sasanian jurist and commentator, which is spelt **ʾplg / ʾplk,** and which has been commonly read Aparak.[3] This reading is not convincing, since it suggests a name derived from the noun for "robber" *(appar)*, though Abarag "superior" is also a possible interpretation. One would rather be inclined to think of a name *Āfar(r)ag* "Fortunate", with the preverb *ā* used in an auspicious sense.[4] Another possibility is the word *Āfurāg,* which could conceivably be attested also with a short *a* in the final vowel, for

[2] A summary of most opinions is given by Geiger in Krauss 1955, pp. 58 f. Cf. also the discussion in Goodblatt 1976, where the derivation from *frēh* is accepted.

[3] He is mentioned, for example, in *Mādigān ī hazār dādestān,* in Avesta commentaries, and in *Šāyast ne šāyast.* Cf. Perikhanian 1973, p. 562, s.v. Aparak. West 1892, p. 472, note 1, reads Afarg. Cf. also Tavadia 1930, p. 29, note 8 on 1.3b.

[4] One thinks of words like *āfrīn, āzād(ag), ābādān,* though they are all derivatives of verbal forms, which is not the case here.

"creator". This could of course be a reference to Ohrmazd, and we know that Ohrmazd is also a name of frequent occurrence. The latter explanation, even if it is not accepted as a solution for the name of the jurist, seems the most likely explanation for the name of Shapur's mother: Āf(u)rā-Hormiz, as well as the name on several magical bowls which may be read Āfrā, with an omission of the final consonant *-k/g*, just as we have the alternation Pāpak, Bābak with Pāpā, Bābā, etc.[5]

The name Mādar-'pry is however unlikely to be connected with any of the above names. The second element seems to represent either *āfriya* "beloved"; or *āfrī* as a variant on the nominal Middle Persian form *āfrīn* (Parthian *āfrīwan*) from the verb *ā-frī-*, the noun meaning "blessing"; or as a form of the present stem of the verb, in which latter case the compound *mādar-āfrī(n)* would mean "blessing (his) mother". The first alternative, reading Mādar-āfriy(a) "beloved to his mother" seems the more plausible one.[6] As a proper name, or as an element in proper names, *mādar* is not known so far either directly in Iranian or in other languages under Iranian influence. The more familiar forms Mama, Mamay etc. are quite widely attested.[7]

2 Anošay alternates, in line 3, with Manošay, an alternation which is not easy to explain, unless we regard the latter spelling as a contracted

[5] Cf. the names in the index to Montgomery 1913, p. 278. Nöldeke 1892, pp. 309 f., hesitated whether Pāpā is Iranian or Semitic. This hesitation is perhaps no longer justified, since we have it attested already in the Persepolis chert bowls in Aramaic and Elamite; cf. Bowman 1970, p. 130. One may also refer to Benveniste 1966, p. 17, who deduced the existence of Pāp as a variant Iranian name besides Pāpāk; cf. the remarks by Gershevitch 1969, p. 218, and the listing in Mayrhofer 1973, p. 133.

[6] For a final element *-friyā-* in Iranian names cf. Mayrhofer 1973, p. 202, No. 8.1116 Mišbapirriya, and Justi 1895, p. 371 Vispān-friyā. Both are feminine names meaning "beloved to all".

[7] Cf. Bowls 4:7 and 6:3 and the references in Montgomery 1913, p. 278 and Justi 1895, p. 189. Naveh, 1979b, pp. 21 f., has discussed the Semitic names denoting "mother", suggesting that they may be taken to be appellatives rather than proper names. One may refer in particular to Hermopolis **mmh** (cf. Naveh, art. cit., note 21). The ambiguity of this usage may be seen in Bowl 6:6. Nöldeke 1892, pp. 309 f. judged such names to be proper names. A seal published by Layard carries the inscription **lmmh**, cf. Lidzbarski 1902, pp. 137 f. and 97, note 3. It may be noted that the Armenian proper name Mam is derived from Persian *mām* "mother", cf. Hübschmann 1897, p. 50.

form of **mh'nwš(y)**, a name which is also attested without the final *-ay*.[8] We may then take both forms to be basically variants of the same name, freely interchangeable. The name **'nwš'y** and what seems to be its equivalent **mh'nwš(')y** is a feminine name of Iranian origin. It is possible to regard the final element, apparently *-ay*, as the very common ending of many Iranian names in the Aramaic tradition, an ending which is attested in both masculine and feminine names, and is thus similar in function to the ending *-oy*.[9]

The base element of Anušay is almost certainly *anōš*,[10] attested in New Persian *nōš, nōšīn* "sweet, pleasant", as well as in loan-words and loan forms of proper-names in Armenian *(anoiš)*,[11] in Syriac,[12] and in Arabic.[13] In the Aramaic magic texts we have the proper names **dwkt'nwš, bbnwš** (with variants **b'bnwš, bb'nwš**), **z'd'nwš**,[14] **kw'r'nwš** and **mh'nwš**.[15] Most or all of these names can be explained as compounds denoting "beloved by, sweet to —", with the first term referring in most cases to some close family relationship; daughter (perhaps meaning "the other daughter", i.e., the sister), father, son (cf. New Persian *zāda*),

[8] Cf. **'nš, 'nwšy** in Montgomery 1913, p. 274, and **mhnwš, mh'nwš** op. cit. p. 278. All occurrences are in Mandaic, partly from Pognon 1898, where, on pp. 101 f., Barthélémy's explanations are quoted. Montgomery 1913, p. 254, offers an impossible explanation of **mh'nwš** as containing the name Mithra. The names are also discussed in Nöldeke 1898b, p. 144. Cf. also Hamilton 1971, text 19, for the name **m'h'nw[š]** in Syriac.

[9] For this ending cf. Nöldeke 1888, pp. 413 ff. and 1898b, p. 145. Salemann 1930, p. 49, derives *-ōy, -ōya* from **-avya-ka-*.

[10] For a possible occurrence of this word in Pahlavi cf. Shaked 1979, pp. 254 f

[11] Cf. Hübschmann 1897, pp. 99 and 18 f. Earlier the word was identified with the term for "immortal", cf. Fr. Müller 1891, pp. 264 f., 356; Horn 1893, p. 30, No. 128.

[12] Cf. Gōšaqanōš, Hoffmann 1880, pp. 25 f.; Rādanōš, Hoffmann 1880, p. 68.

[13] Duxtnōš, cf. Nöldeke 1898b, p. 144. The name Anōšagzād is explained by Nöldeke 1879, p. 467 as "von Unsterblichem geboren"; he was actually the son of Xusrau Anōšag-ruwān.

[14] Cf. **'nwšz't'** in a Sasanian clay sealing, Gignoux 1978, p. 114, No. 10.30b. See also the preceding note.

[15] In Montgomery 1913, p. 218 (No. 29:5) we propose to read **mh'nwš** for Montgomery's **mt'nyš**. The same applies to Geller 1980, p. 49. In Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 160, there seems to be a name **mh'nš**.

sister (**kwʾr** may well be a contraction of Middle Persian *xwāhar*),[16] perhaps parents (*meh* "elder"). A similar impression is formed by some of the compound proper names containing *anoiš* in Armenian: Aršanoiš, Sahakanoiš, Smbatanoiš. In all of these cases the first element alludes to the name of the father of the dynasty. For the Mandaic names, Nöldeke 1898b, p. 144, suggests a conflation of the Iranian word with the biblical name Enosh, which became the name of a Mandaean genius. Against this theory one may note that the names containing this element are definitely Iranian, not Semitic, and that they are commonly attested also outside Mandaean texts.

ydmkwn: The verb **DMK** is attested in the Berlin bowl No. 2417; cf. Wohlstein 1894, p. 34, where the meaning is not pejorative as it is here, although the text is not quite clear. In the absence of a photograph or a drawing in Wohlstein, one can only guess what the text might read: **myty dbytʾ d[šky]byn bʾrʿh *wdmkyn bʾprʾ *qdḥw lkwn** "the dead of the house, who lie in the earth and sleep in the dust (or 'in the ashes'). Go away...". The whole of this unusual incantation is addressed at the dead who are asked to abandon the house of *Bābay son of **bydwn** (?) and resort to the house of Asmēn daughter of Iday. In Amulet 7:21–22 there is an opposition **DMK: NWM**, in which the latter means "to doze off", while the former means "to sleep properly".

ḥbyly nydrʾ: This combination could also possibly mean "bundles of oaths", though it has been the custom to translate the first term as "injury, harm" in the magic texts. Cf. also Mandaic **giṭria ḏhbila** (Lidzbarski 1909, p. 354, lines 32 f.; Yamauchi 1967, No. 22) "die Knoten des Verderbens".

3 **ṭlʾ:** The context suggests that we have here a contrast between **dwkh** "(open) place" and **ṭlʾ** "shade, shaded place", although this expression is so far unique in the magic texts. Montgomery 1913, No. 29:9, has the phrse **šydy bny ṭyly,** which he translated: "ghostly shades"; but this may rather mean "ghosts of shaded areas". By a different interpretation one may, however, connect **ṭlʾ** to the well-known term for a species of demons, usually called **ṭlnytʾ, ṭwlnytʾ.** In this case the sentence may be

[16] Nöldeke 1898b, p. 144 denies this explanation and regards the first element as *xwarrah*.

translated: "and every shade-spirit (**tl**ᵓ) and every evil thing which afflicts her..." (J.C. Greenfield's suggestion).

mydyᶜm dbyš wmᶜyq lh: A fairly close parallel for the usage is found in Gordon 1937, p. 87 (H:13) **wkl zyqyn wmzyqyn byšyn dymᶜyqyn lh l...**

4 **ḥršwt wᶜbdyn:** Cf. the sequence in Gordon 1941, p. 123 (5:4 f.) **kl ḥršy byšy wkl mᶜbd[y] tqypy dᶜbydyn bh wdmytᶜbdyn bh.** Cf. also our Bowl 12:III **wᶜbdt lḥršyn dy nḥšᵓ wᶜbdyn dprzlᵓ.**

wyṭmrwn: The verb has not been attested so far in the magic texts.

5 **bᶜwz gdwdhw:** A puzzling phrase, appearing in Hebrew in the midst of the Aramaic text and looking like a quotation from a sacred source, though no source has been identified.

whyhy byn...: A quotation from Num. 10:35, badly written. This verse is yet unattested in the magic bowls, though it is familiar from late Jewish and Samaritan magic.[17]

ᵓqdd wᵓbrᵓ: The second word looks like the name of an angel, cf. *Sefer ha-razim* 1966, p. 88, line 118. The two words could also be taken to be verbal forms in *afᶜel* from the roots **QDD** and **BRY,** meaning respectively "to penetrate" and "to soak through" (J.C. Greenfield's suggestion).



From Bowl 12a

[17] T-S AS 142.13; Schrire 1966, p. 131, No. 36. The words **qwmh yhwh,** deriving from the same verse, are quoted in Samaritan bronze amulets and other inscriptions; cf. Ben-Zvi 1970, pp. 179, 187 f., 193, 200; Kaplan 1967, pp. 158 f.

Bowl 4

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, No. 1402

Plates 18–19: Figure 22

Inside the circle in the centre:

(1) חוב הדין א(א)א א (2) איסרא דקברא (3) אמן אמן סלא

Around the central design:

(4) פעיח פעויח מלכנא קלקלא מלכנא קלקלא מלא משמלא קליה די מצמדנא די סכת פדנא היך מג<ל>א (5) מחת ליה כליביה דפומיה לא יאימר וליביה {לא יאדע} לא יאידע אמי פת לילי הי לילי לילי יצב יצב בנן בנן (6) אף על פרטדוך ליטא לתהפכי חרשיא ולוטתא ומשקיפותא מין מחדד בר (7) ממא ומין {בת} ברזוך בת ממא ומין מחזידוך בר ברזדוך ומין קיימתא בת ק(בנ)י ומין נני (8) בר קימתא ומין ביתא בת ברזדוך ומין בחי חיא וקינין חיא למעבד חי פו(גריה)

In the centre is a drawing of a human face, perhaps with the body of an insect. Two ribbons are shown on the left side of the face, and what looks like three insect-like legs are at the bottom. Encircling this design are a number of figures, which include a serpent and two reptiles as well as a cross which ends at its four corners with circles.

We should like to acknowledge the intelligent help of Mrs. Ada Yardeni, who drew the script shown in Figure 22 and who made a number of important suggestions for the reading.

The text of the incantation contains a number of obscure expressions, and is not easy to make out. It may have been intended for protecting a tomb, if we take the expressions **ʾysrʾ dqbrʾ** and **lmʿbd ḥy pw(gryh)**, which open and close the incantation, in a literal sense. But the expression is

Bowl 4

Translation

(1–3) Again. This is »»»» the spell of the tomb. Amen Amen Selah.

(4) **pʿyḥ pʿzyḥ** I advise (?). A voice I advise (?). A voice fulfils (and) completes. The burnt (thing) which I attach, which (is) the coulter of the plough, like a sickle, (5) shall introduce into his heart, that his mouth shall not speak and his heart shall not know.

Immi the daughter of Lili who is Lili Lili. **yṣb yṣb bnn bnn.**

(6) She also curses Fratadukh, that you may turn away spells and curses and afflictions from Māhdād son of (7) Mama, from Barazdukh daughter of Mama, from Māh-ized-dukh son (!) of Barazdukh, from Qayyamta daughter of Kabnay, from Nanay (8) son (!) of Qayyamta, from Bita daughter of Barazdukh, from the houses of life and the livestock of life, to make his body alive.

common in incantations, cf. Commentary to line 2. **pwgrʾ** can of course refer either to a living body or to a corpse.

1 **twb** is a common opening word in Aramaic. It occurs, for example, in the opening of the text in Montgomery 1913, p. 121 (2:1): **twb ʾzlnʾ ʾnh**... Cf. also Rossell 1953, pp. 61 f.

»»»»: The second *alef* looks like yt, but ʾytʾʾ would not give any meaningful reading.

2 **ʾysrʾ dqbrʾ**: The idea of an incantation connected with a cemetery or a tomb is quite common; cf. Pognon 1898, p. 3. ʾysrʾ is a regular term for a magical spell.

4 The text begins with a series of magical combinations which cannot be precisely translated. It is not clear where this sequence ends, and the translation given of this line is largely hypothetical.

For **pʿzyḥ** one may compare **pʿzyʾl**, one of the names given to Meṭaṭron in the Hebrew Book of Enoch, cf. Odeberg 1973, Hebrew section p. 71 (48D: 1).

mlknʾ: We have translated the word as derived from **MLK** "to advise"; it could equally well be analysed as *malkā anā* "I am king", or *mālek anā* "I rule". See further in the Introduction, p. 27.

qlqlʾ: This formula occurs in Montgomery 1913, p. 178 (13:9), cf. also p. 181, and Epstein 1921, pp. 45f.; Levine 1970, p. 352. In Mandaic, cf. Pognon 1898, p.59 **qal qal**...; Drower 1945, p.173 **qal arqa dbakia uqal šumia.** In Ginza Left, Petermann 1867, I, 2, p. 117:7 f. we have **qal qala qala qala ḏtrin qalia šumit qala ḏtrin qalia ḏiatbia ubanin qal ruha uqal nišimta**...In T-S AS 143.12 we have **wmh qlh bšmyʾ ql ʾrʿ dgʿyt wql ʿmwdy šmyʾ ʾtprqw ʾlʾ qlh dkwnnwt kwnnwt kd nḥtyt mn šmy mrwmʾ lqlqlh lstmh wlṭmṭmh lbhy wʿyynyhy**..; Rettig 1934, p. 48 **qlh qlh drbw rbh.** There is a manifest tendency to play on the similarity of the word for "voice" and that for "corruption, spoiling". Cf. on this the note by E.S. Rosenthal in Lieberman 1974, p. 139, addendum to p. 51, where Hebrew **qwl** is shown to be used in the sense of **qlqwl** "disapproval, condemnation, abuse".

mlʾ mšmlʾ: A reading *mellē mašma<ʿ> lēh* "words he utters" might also be considered. Cf. Levine 1970, pp. 355 f. One wonders whether *ma-li-e mi-il-in-ni*, presumably *mālē milīn*, in the cuneiform Aramaic tablet from Warka, has any relevance. Cf. Dupont-Sommer 1942/44, p. 44, and Epstein's suggestion that the Talmudic idiom **mmly myly** "adversaries" be adduced. Cf. Epstein 1960, p. 11, n. 4; Gordon 1937/39, p. 106, n. 4. In Gordon 1934b, p. 324 (B:9) we have **ql myly myly.** It seems, however, best to read the two verbal forms as derivatives of **MLʾ**, i.e. *mālē mšamlē*, with the second verb taken as a *šafʿel* participle (cf. Brockelmann 1928, pp. 389 f.).

qlyh, as rendered here, refers to the following **skt pdnʾ** as a burnished iron. Other possibilities of interpretation exist. **qlyh** could be "his voice". The word **qly** (Kali) is attested as the name of an angel. Cf. Montgomery 1913, pp. 258, 262; Gaster 1900, p. 149 (=Gaster 1928, II, p. 1025); Schrire 1966, p. 130; **qlyʾ** in Gordon 1934b, p. 324 (B:1). The formula **ʾpypʾ qly qlylʾ** (T-S K 1.120) may belong here. In Montgomery 1913, p. 141 (6:11 f.) we have a similar word in a somewhat obscure



Fig. 22. The text on Bowl 4

context: **wnyzym bmyzm nḥšh nyzyl qlyh bgygly šmy' wnyhwy *dwryh *bsbb** [read so!] **š'wl *rymh** "and may he be bound by a muzzle of brass; may his **ql(y)** go in the spheres of heaven, and may his habitation be in the vicinity of the grave (and) of worms". Cf. also on this passage Epstein 1921, p. 34. The word **qlyh** is unlikely to be "his voice", as the context requires a pejorative sense. It is possible to think of the word **ql** "voice" in the sense explained by Rosenthal (cf. above, comment on **qlql'**), viz. "abuse, state of abjectness".

It is of course possible to divide the sentence in our bowl differently from the way done here. One other possibility is to read: **mlkn' qlql', mlkn' qlql', ml' mšml' qlyh**, which may be translated: "(His) wisdom (or counsel) is corruption, (his) wisdom is corruption, he fulfils and completes his abuse".

mṣmdn' could possibly be a word meaning "yoke" or the like.

skt pdn': For this expression cf. Jastrow 1950, p. 988, s.v. **sk'**. A similar expression was read by Cross 1973, pp. 126 f. in an ostracon from Heshbon.

hyk mg<l>': This seems the best solution to a puzzling sequence of letters. An earlier reading which was considered was ***ḥwkmt'**, regarding the *gimel* as a badly written *taw* (or as a scribe's error). This earlier reading would give the translation "shall introduce wisdom into his heart". However, the following phrase, "that his heart shall not know", does not go well with such an interpretation.

5 **mḥt**: The active participle of NḤT in *af'el*.

dpwmyh l' y'ymr wlybyh l' y'yd': The words **l' y'd'** were first written and then re-written under the spelling **l' y'yd'**, presumably because the first spelling might have sugggested a participle form, while the corrected one shows a *ṣere* in the first syllable, and denotes the imperfect. Babylonian Aramaic has numerous expressions in which the pair **lyb'**—**pwm'** go together, cf. e.g. Jastrow 1950, p. 686.

'my: This is the name of what seems to be a female demon, **'ymy bt rbq'**, associated with **lyly** and **mr**, the sons of **'ymy**, in the Berlin bowl No. 2416, cf. Wohlstein 1894, p. 11; Stübe 1895, p. 22; cf. Wohlstein 1894, pp. 20 f., who quotes Bavli Pesaḥim 112a, where Immi may well be the name of a female spirit. Here Immi is the daughter of Lili, the latter being perhaps a variant on the name Lilith. Immi is of course also mentioned as a regular human proper name. Cf. Gordon 1941, p. 12 (4:2) reproduced in Isbell 1975, p. 97; Gordon 1937, p. 93 (L:11), reproduced in Isbell 1975, p. 127.

6 **prṭdwk** is an Iranian name which occurs here for the first time. The name may be explained as Frāta-, cf. Old Persian Frāda (cf. lately Mayrhofer 1979, II, 20), though the spelling with **-ṭ-** is problematic. It may alternatively be connected to Av. Parāta-, cf. Bartholomae 1904, p. 856, or to *Frahāta-, cf. Justi 1895, pp. 101 f.

lthpky: The form is unclear. One would have expected a **d-** at the beginning, instead of the **l-**; the latter may be merely a scribal error for **d-**.

mšqypwt': An unusual form for **šyqwpt'**, **'yštqwpt'**.

Māhdād occurs also in B.M. 91710, cf. Layard 1853, pp. 437 f. (Ellis 1); Schwab 1890, pp. 299 f.; Montgomery 1913, pp. 168 f.; Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 65 ff., in line 3, where it was wrongly read by previous editors.

For Sasanian seals, cf. Bivar 1969, p. 70, No. DB2; Gignoux 1978, p. 27, No. 3.11; p. 88, No. 4.11b. Other attestations are listed in Justi 1895, pp. 185 f. Cf. also Hinz 1975, p. 156 s.v. *māhīdātā-; Gignoux 1979, p. 69.

7 For Mama, cf. above, note 7 to Bowl 3.

myn bt brzdwk bt mm³: The first **bt** is surely a scribal error.

brzdwk: This reading was suggested by Mrs. Yardeni. The name is probably to be vocalized Barāz-dukh, associating it to the common Iranian proper name Warāz/Barāz, for which one may refer to Justi 1895, pp. 348 f.; Mayrhofer 1973, p. 190, Nos. 8.965, 967 ff.; Hinz 1975, p. 255; and to **wl³cdwxty** in ŠKZ, cf. Gignoux 1979, p. 87. The alternative reading **brwdwk** seems less likely both palaeographically and as an Iranian name, though it could be compared to the name **brd³kt** in the Syriac bowl published by Hamilton 1971, pp. 121, 159 ff. and Geller 1976, pp. 422 f. A proper name Bāra seems to be attested at a very early time. Cf. Grantovskij 1970, pp. 216 f.; Hinz 1975, p. 63. It is to be noted that on the Syriac bowl the suffix *-duxt* is spelled **-d³kt**, cf. also **šhd³kt**, and possibly also **mhgwšnyd³(k)t**, though this latter name is read by Geller **mhgwšnwd³yt**. The spelling **-d³kt** betrays an *-o-* pronunciation for long Syriac *-ā-*, as in Western Neo-Syriac, for which one may refer to Nöldeke 1898, p. 5, §4. Hence it may be deduced that the spelling **-d³kt** indicates a pronunciation *-doxt* for the ending of these Persian names, not unlike the usage of Standard New Persian for original short *u* vowels.

mḥzydwk: This name is unattested so far. It might seem possible to explain it by referring to the suffix *-čya-* in Old Iranian, which may give a form *Māhī-čyă-, perhaps a form of endearment from the word for Moon, which is also the name of a deity. The Elamite proper name Bakizza (etc.), which is reconstructed as Iranian *Bagaiča- (cf. Mayrhofer 1973, p. 138, No. 8.229; Hinz 1975, p. 56) may be compared, as well as the place name Bagiziš from hypothetical *Bagaičya- (Hinz 1975, p. 56), which are assumed to be "Koseformen" derivatives from the divine name Baga. A similar explanation has been proposed for Elamite Takaziya from Iranian **taxmačya-* (Hinz 1975, p. 232); cf. also **tigračya-* in Hinz, p. 236; **kafačya-*, op. cit. p. 144; *maryaičya-*, op. cit. p. 174.

However, a simpler solution offers itself and seems preferable. One could read the name as Māh-ized-dukh, assuming the omission of a *yod* after the second letter, and the quite common haplography of *dalet*. The deity Māh-izad or Māh-yazad is quite well known in the Manichaean

texts. Cf., e.g. Andreas and Henning 1932, p. 220, s.v. **mʾhyzd.** The spelling **yzyd** for the second part of this compound name is not surprising. In Mandaean we have both **yʾzyd** and **yzyd** as a name, cf. Pognon 1898, p. 99, taken by this scholar to be the similar-looking Arabic name Yazīd, cf. pp. 14, 103, and claimed by Montgomery 1913, p. 277, to be an unexplained Aramaic name. What proves **yzyd** to be the Iranian name Yazed is the compound form **yzydʾd** "Created by Ized", Montgomery 1913, p. 150; Justi 1895, pp. 147, 149. In Arabic, Ṭabari III, p. 371, we have the spelling **ʾzdʾd;** in Syriac (Assemani III, 226; cf. Justi, p. 149), **yzydʾd,** both for Yazed-dād. The spelling **yzyd** for Ized occurs also in early Judaeo-Persian, cf. in the Dandan-uiliq letter, Utas 1968.

For the haplography of the *dalet* one may refer also to the name **ʾyzdwk**=Izad-dukh in our Bowl 11. It is quite likely that **myrdwk** in Montgomery 1913, p. 152, is not Mithra-dukh, as stated there, but

Bowl 5

Israel Museum, No. 80.1.1

Plate 21

(1) [ב](ש)מך אני עושה הדין קמיעא דיהי לה לאסו להדין לאסקופת (ביחה) [.....]
(2) (וכל קנין דאית) לה כפתינון לכיפי ארעה ואסרתינון לרזי (רקי)עא כבשתינון
[.....] (3) [... כפ]תינון אסרתינון כבשתינון {כל} לכל שידי ומזיקי כולהון דאית בה
בעלמא בן דכר ובן נקבא (מרבר)[בי]הון ועד (4) דערדקיהון מעולימיהון ועד סביהון
בין דידענא שמה בין דלא ידענא שמה דלא ידענא שמה כבר פירישו (לי) משבעה יומי
(5) בראשית ודלא פירישו לי משבעת יומי בראשית בבר פרישו לי בגיטא דאתה לבא
*מן[1] עיבר ימא דכתבו ושדרו לה לרבי יהושוע בר (6) פרחיה כד הות ההיא ליליתא
ד(ח)נקא לבני אינשה ושדר עלה יהושוע בר פרחיה שמתא ולא קבילת מחמת דלא הוא

[1] **mn:** written **bn.**

rather Merd-dukh, from the Iranian word *mard/merd* "man".

mḥzydwk br brzdwk, like **nny br qymt'**, share the peculiarity that the name of a woman is followed by **br**, and not by **bt**. The same confusion of genders occurs in Geniza 3:6,10.

qbny: The reading is uncertain. The name obtained could be compared to the widely attested name **kpny, kpn'y**. Both our **qbny** and **kpn(')y** might be variant forms derived from a noun meaning "small, little", like the Aramaic name Zuṭra and similar names. Kabnay could be derived from Old Iranian *kamna-*, cf. Bartholomae 1904, col. 440. This old Iranian element has been used by Benveniste 1966, pp. 85 f. for explaining the Elamite forms Kamnakka, Kampiya, though the explanation has not been widely accepted (cf. Gershevitch 1969, p. 198, and Mayrhofer 1973, pp. 174 f.). A Middle Persian name which may belong here occurs on the Paris seal 3.31, where the reading is uncertain. Cf. Gignoux 1978, p. 30.

Bowl 5

Translation

(1) [By] your name I make this amulet that it may be a healing to this one, for the threshold (of the house... (2) and any possession which) he has. I bind the rocks of the earth, and tie down the mysteries of heaven, I suppress them... (3) I rope, tie and suppress all demons and harmful spirits, all those which are in the world, whether masculine or feminine, from their big ones to (4) their young ones, from their children to their old ones, whether I know his name or I do not know it. In case I do not know the name, it has already been explained to me at the time of the seven days of (5) creation. What has not been disclosed to me at the time of the seven days of creation was disclosed to me in the deed of divorce that came here from across the sea, which was written and sent to Rabbi Yehoshua' bar (6) Peraḥya. Just as there was a lilith who strangled human beings, and Rabbi Yehoshua' bar Peraḥya sent a ban against her, but she did not accept it because he did not know her name; and her

Bowl 5

דידע שמה וכחבו שמה (7) בגיטא וכריזו עלה ברקיעא בגיטא דאתא לכא מן עיבר
ימא אף אתון כיפיתון אסירייתון כבישתון כולכון תחות כיפי רגלה דהדין מרנקא בר
קלא בשום (8) גבריאל גבר תקיף דקטל כל גיברי כולהון (ד)נצחין בקרבא ובשום
יהו(אל) דסתם פום כל גי(ב)[רי כ]להון בשום יה יה יה צבאות אמן אמן סלה

This is one of a group of three bowls donated recently to the Israel Museum by members of the family of the late Mr. Alqanayan, a collector and businessman in Iran, executed by the revolutionary regime of Khomeini on the charge of supporting the State of Israel. Bowls 5–7 in the present publication are from the Alqanayan collection. Bowl No. 5 contains eight lines of inscription written spirally from the centre. The text is quite close to that of Montgomery 1913, Nos. 8 and 17, where the sage Yehoshuaʿ bar Peraḥya is also mentioned as having issued a letter of divorce to the demons.

1 For the reading of the opening formula compare for example Wohlstein 1894, p. 27 (No. 2426, line 1): **mšmk ʾny ʿwš ʾ hdyn ʾswtʾ nṭrtʾ *wqywmtʾ**,[2] "By your name I do this healing, protection and preservation". Wohlstein's formula may be compared in its turn to a Syriac incantation first published by Montgomery 1917/18, and again by Hamilton 1971, p. 99a: **mzmn hnʾ qmtyh** (for ***qywmth?**) **kbšʾ wʾswrʾ wḥtmtʾ wnṭrtʾ dbytʾ dyly** ... "Designated is this preservation (or 'oath'), spell and bond and sealing and protection of my house ..."

For our opening formula compare also Wohlstein 1893, p. 328 (No. 2422, line 1): **byšmk ʾny ʿwšh ʾswtʾ mn šmyh** l..., and Gordon 1941, p. 119 (2:1): **lyšmwk ʾny ʿwšh ʾswtʾ mn šmyʾ tyhwy** l..."By your name I do (this amulet). May there be healing from heaven for ...". In

[2] Wohlstein read this **whyy mtʾ**. Our emendation is conjectural without seeing the original. **qywmtʾ**, like **ʾswtʾ** and **nṭrtʾ**, may refer to the amulet or incantation itself. In that case we may translate it by 'oath', cf. Jastrow, p. 1356. For **qaiamta** "Festigung" in Mandaic cf. Lidzbarski 1920, p. XXIV.

name was written (7) in the deed of divorce and an announcement was made against her in heaven by a deed of divorce that came here from across the sea; so you too are roped, tied and suppressed, all of you under the feet of this Marnaqa son of Qala. In the name of (8) Gabriel, the mighty hero, who kills all heroes who are victorious in battle, and in the name of Yeho'el who shuts the mouth of all [heroes]. In the name of Yah, Yah, Yah, Sabaoth. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Montgomery 1913, p. 183 (14:1) we have the enlarged formula: **byšmk ʾny ʿwšh yhwh ʾylhʾ rbʾ hdyn ksʾ nyhwy lḥtmtʾ l...**"By your name, YHWH the great God, I do this bowl. May it may be for the sealing of..."[3]

The absolute form **ʾsw** is rare, though not unattested. Cf. Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 128 (5363:1–2): **dyn qmyʿ dyhwy lʾsw l...**; and p. 141 (5366:1–3): **lyšmk ʾny ʿwšh hdyn ktbh yhwy lʾsw lbyth dkwrkšyd[4] lh wlʾtth[5] wbnh...**"By your name I do this writing . May it be for healing to the house of Xwarxšēd, to him and to his wife and son...".

2 The phrase **kptynwn lkypy ʾrʿh** corresponds to an incantation text on a printed amulet (Warsaw 1867; Fig. 21 on p. 133), where we have עינא דכל עיינין בישין אתכפיין ואתטמרין מן קדמוהי גו כיפין. A similar text occurs in Hanauer 1907, pp. 318 ff. Cf. also in a Mandaean magic text **arbikuk uširiuk ʿl kipia ḏprat udiglat** (Drower 1937, p. 593, after line 190) "They have made you kneel and set you on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris". It is doubtful whether the phrase **kypy hqšt** (Odeberg 1928, Hebrew text, p. 36, ch. 22c:4, 6, 7) has anything to do with our text. The most likely interpretation for our **kypy** is that it is connected

[3] Isbell 1975, p. 39, is right in saying that there is no need to supplement **hdyn ksʾ** before the first word of the formula, as is done by Montgomery.

[4] This proper name should be read thus, viz. Xwarxšēd, meaning in Middle Persian "Sun" (cf. NPers. *xuršīd*), with the preservation of the cluster -xš- in the compound. The same name occurs also, unrecognized, in Gordon 1941, p. 342 (British Museum 91776): **ʾnʾ hw *kwrkšyd gwšns br dwstʾy...** The name was transliteated by the editor **kwrbšyd.**

[5] The last two words were not read correctly by Jeruzalmi and Isbell 1975, No. 70:3.

with the Aramaic word for "rock, stone". A play on the similarity of the sounds of the verb **KPT** and the noun **kypy** may have been intended. The difficulty of the translation is caused mainly by the fact that "the stones of the earth" does not give a very good parallel in sense to "the secrets of heaven ". In line 7 **kypy rglh** is apparently a different word.

4 **dʿrdqyhwn** has a parasitic *ʿayin*, which is of quite frequent occurrence in Babylonian Aramaic. Cf. e.g. **kʿkʾ** from Persian *kāk*, for which cf. Fraenkel 1886, p. 35. This phenomenon may well be the reverse counterpart of the frequent loss of *ʿayin* in Babylonian Aramaic, for which cf. Rossell 1953, p. 17; Epstein 1960, p. 18. The particular form of **dʿrdq** is however better explained as a contamination of two attested forms of the word, **drdq** and **dʿdq**, both connected with an original form **dqdq**, cf. Syriac *daqdqā*.

For the formula **byn...byn** cf. in Gordon 1941, p. 125: **bn dmyštdryn wbn dlʾ mštdryn.**

5 **mšbʿt ywmy brʾšyt:** A frequent Hebrew idiom, though usually the formula is **mššt ymy brʾšyt** "from the six days of creation ", e.g. Bavli Ketubbot 8b, and so it is in Montgomery 1913, p. 170 (11:9): **mn ywmy ʿlmʾ wmyššt** (!) **ymy brʾšyt.** The Mandaean parallel adduced by Montgomery, ibid. from Lidzbarski 1902, p. 104, has: **mršʿšat šit iumia brišit** "vom Uranfange an, seit den sechs Tagen des Uranfanges".

On the *geṭ* formula in incantation texts cf. Montgomery 1913, pp. 159, 179; Gordon 1934, p. 469; Levine 1970, pp. 348 f. The deed of divorce which comes "from across the sea" (**mʿbr ymʾ**, or **mn ʿybr ymʾ**) occurs in Montgomery 1913, Nos. 8 and 17, in both cases associated with Joshua b. Peraḥya.

For Joshua b. Peraḥya cf. Montgomery 1913, pp. 226 ff. Joshua b. Peraḥya occurs in fragments of the Jesus story published by Krauss 1911a (correcting Adler 1911), and further in the fragment recently published by Falk 1978; cf. also Boyarin 1978. A late Kabbala fragment also refers to the role of Joshua b. Peraḥya in the Jesus story; cf. Krauss 1911b.

6 **hhyʾ lylytʾ dḥnqʾ lbny ʾynšh:** Cf. the Mandaean text in Lidzbarski 1902, p. 102: **lilita...diatba bbaitḫ ubʿsqupta dbaitḫ ḏ...uma[hi]a ugaṭla ušaqpa uhanqa dardqia udardqata.** Parallels to this are conveniently given in Gordon 1934, p. 468. Amulet 15 and Bowl 12 provide further examples for the demon who kills children.

The feature which occurs in this incantation for the first time is that the ban imposed by Joshua b. Peraḥya was at first invalid because he did not know the name of that lilith, and only afterwards her name was written in the *geṭ*. In Montgomery 1913, Nos. 8, 11 and 17, the full parentage of the lilith is specified, as is legally appropriate.

mḥmt dlʾ hwʾ dydʿ šmh: In **dydʿ** the first letter seems to be superfluous. The phrase may alternatively be translated "because there was no one (read: **dlʾ hwʾ** ‹**mn**›) who knew her name".

7 **kypytwn** stands for **kpytytwn**, passive participle plural masculine of *peʿal* + the subject suffix of the second person plural masc: **kpytyn** + **ʾtwn. kbyštwn** is written for **kbyšytwn.**

8 **bšwm gbryʾl gbr tqyp dqṭl kl gybry kwlhwn:** This phrase is reminiscent of Montgomery 1913, p. 127 (3:2–3) **wytrḥq mynyh dywʾ byšʾ wstnʾ byšʾ dmytqry ṣpʿsq ʾbdh gbrʾ dqṭyl gbrʾ mylwt ʾyttyh wʾytt ʾ mylwt bʿlh**..."And may there depart from him the evil demon who is called **ṣpʿsq ʾbdh**, the hero who kills a man from the side of his wife and a wife from the side of her husband..." Montgomery reads *abbādā gabbārā* "the Mighty Destroyer", though the first word is nowhere attested in Aramaic. It seems possible that **ṣpʿsq ʾbdh**‹**g**› are two names which follow the same principle: in both cases we have a sequence of letters from the alphabet, the first one in a reversed order, and with *qof* coming at the end and out of order. In the second case the *gimel* seems to have been omitted (perhaps by haplography with the following **gbr**). Thus we may reconstruct the two names as badly written for **qṣpʿs ʾbgdh.** Cf. Gaster 1896, p. IX, line 25 **ʾbgdh**ʾ.

The play on the element *geber* in the name Gabriel occurs already in Daniel 8:15–16. The epithet *gĕbar taqqīf* (or *gibbār taqqīf*) may well be an etymological *midrash* on Gabriel, the two words rendering its two parts.

yhwʾl: The alternative reading of this name, **yḥyʾl**=Yeḥiʾel, proves upon inspection to give a non-existent name of an angel. Cf. Greenfield 1973, p. 156, n. 40 for a correction to Montgomery 1913, p. 207 (25:4). Cf. also Yo'el in Amulet 11:8 and in Shachar 1971, p. 289, No. 974 (a late amulet).

Bowl 6

Israel Museum, No. 80.1.2

Plate 22

(1) רזא רזא דנן לשתוקי ולסכורי פומה (2) דבל בני אינשה בישי ותקיפי דקימין לקובליה דבריך יהביה בר (3) ממא שלם ליכי מדינחא דעמיה סגי סגי דלא בדינא לכון ואנה רחימנא יתכון (4) וקרינא לכון גיבריה דארעה כמה דעינין לכון ולא חמתון אודנין לכון ולא שמעיתון כן תיתנו לי (5) אבן מנכון {כון} לשתקא מיני אנה בריך יהביה בר ממא {פ} פומה דכל בני אינשה דקימין לקובלי ופום (6) דדגושנסף בר אימה והון גברי ואינשי ודרדקי ודרדוקתא דקימן לקובלי אנה בריך יהביה בר ממא יהון (7) אילמין בפומיהון סמן בעיניהון חרישין באודניהון אבילין בליביהון מריעין ומבאשין חמשין שני יובלה שבע שני שמיטתא (8) תלתין יומי ירחא שבעה יומי שבתא שבתא כסא וריש ירחא בשום חדריאל ושכניאל וביר ואבן וכור משבענא יתכון משבענא (9) יתכון בישמיה ד־רבא ודחילא דתישתקון מן בריך יהביה בר ממא פומה דכל בני אינשה כתבי סיפרי יתבי אקרי יתבי שוקי קרנתא וביריאתה (10) ונפקי אורחתא ידבוק לישניהון בפומיהון ולא ימללון עלי מלל ביש בישמיה דאמר והוה אמן אמן סלה

For the provenance of this bowl see Bowl 5.

1 **lštwqy wlskwry** are regular Babylonian Aramaic infinitive *pa"el* forms. In line 5, however, we have **lštqʾ** in the same function.

2 For the name **bryk yhbyh br mmʾ** cf. the nearly identical name **bryk yhbyh br mʾmy** in Montgomery 1913, p. 209 (26:4). We have transcribed the first name as a composite: Bĕrik-Yehabyah. An alternative reading

Bowl 6

Translation

(1) Mystery. This mystery is for silencing and shutting the mouth (2) of all evil and violent people who stand against Bĕrik-Yehabya son of (3) Mama. Peace be on thee, a city whose population is very numerous, whom I have not created, and whom I love, (4) and whom I call the mighty of the earth. In the same way as you have eyes but do not see, as you have ears but do not hear, so shall you give me (5) a stone from you to silence from me, I, Bĕrik-Yehabya son of Mama, the mouth of all people who stand against me, as well as the mouth of (6) Dād-gušnasp son of his mother. And the men and women, boys and girls, who stand against me, I, Bĕrik-Yehabya son of Mama, may they be (7) mute in their mouths, blind in their eyes, deaf in their ears, mournful in their hearts, sick and corrupt, for the fifty years of the jubilee, for the seven years of the *šemiṭa*, for (8) the thirty days of the month, for the seven days of the week, on the Sabbath, the full moon, and the day of the new month.

In the name of Ḥadriel, *Šakniel*, the well, the stone, and the pit, I adjure you, I adjure (9) you, in the name of he who is great and frightful, that you may silence from Bĕrik-Yehabya son of Mama the mouth of all people who write books, who sit in forts(?), who sit in market places and in streets, (10) and who go out on the roads, so that their tongues should cleave to their mouths and that they should not speak evil words against me. In the name of He who commanded and it came into being. Amen, Amen, Selah.

may be to regard this name as analogous to the Syriac name Bĕrik-ṣebyānēh, who is attested as the father of Mar Abbā (cf. Chabot 1898, p. 313, note 1): "His will be blessed". In this case we may read Bĕrik-yĕhabēh and translate "His share/load be blessed".

Montgomery (op. cit.) conjectured that **yhbyh** is a way of writing the divine name **yhwh**, an appealing suggestion which lacks proof. It is true that there is a whole series of divine names such as **yhbyh** (Amulet

4:33; Stübe 1895, p. 22, line 15; Gaster 1896, p. IX line 16), **yhwbyhw** (Montgomery 1913, p. 146, No. 7:8), **yhwh byh** (Montgomery 1913, p. 178, 13:7), **byh byhy** (T–S K 23.3, line 5), **ʾl bʾl** (Amulet 11:9), but Montgomery himself makes the more acceptable suggestion that they reflect a phrase such as Yah-in-Yah. Our name could indeed be rendered "Blessed is Yah-in-Yah". It may be recalled that Psalms 68:5 gives God's name as **byh,** and this verse is quoted e.g. in the Geniza text T–S K 1.68, line 10; Montgomery 1913, p. 154 (8:12), if the reading in Isbell 1975, p. 44, is correct. The divine name **byh** is apparently also attested in Stübe 1895, p. 22 line 6: **mlʾkh dbyh.**

One may incidentally observe that Yah-b-yah is also associated with Bahaot, Abaho. which Scholem 1974, p. 421, has adduced in his attempt at explaining the gnostic name Ialdabaot as composed of Yaled-Abaot "Begetter of [S]abaoth"/"of Abaoth". We thus have **wbyšmyh dyhbyh bʾ(ḥʾwt) yhw yhw ʾlhy** (Stübe 1895, p. 22, lines 15 f.), paralleled by Montgomery 1913, p. 146 (7:8 f.): **bšwm yhw byhw wʾbhw rbh.** It is possible similarly to reconstruct in Gaster 1896, p. IX, line 16 **yh byh *byʾwṭ yh hwh,** by simply dividing the words differently. That this name was indeed the functional equivalent of Sabaot in Aramaic incantations can perhaps be shown by a quotation from a Geniza text: **ʾdwn byh byhy yh yw yhw bh ṣbʾ** ʾwt ... (T–S K 23.3, line 5). The conglomeration of names here also presents a sequence Yah-b-Yah(i)...**bh *ṣbʾwt.** Whatever the explanation which prevails for the first part of the compound Ialdabaot, Abaot or Baot can thus be shown to be attested in Semitic, and more explicitly in Jewish magical practice as well.

3 For the name Mammā "mother" cf. above, Commentary to Bowl 3, note 7.

The formula **šlm lyky mdyntʾ dʿmyh sgy sgy** is interesting and quite unusual. The idea is vaguely reminiscent of Jonah and the story of the gourd, where God says to Jonah (4:9): "Are you so angry over the gourd?" Jonah answers positively and God says: "You are sorry for the gourd, though you did not have the trouble of growing it.... And should not I be sorry for the great city of Nineveh, with its hundred and twenty thousand persons who cannot tell their right hand from their left, and cattle without number?" The statement that this is a city with many inhabitants and the further motif that the speaker did not create them are shared in both sources.

4 The term **gybryh d'r'h**, though reminiscent of Nimrod's epithet *gibbor bā-āreṣ* (Gen. 10:8), is quite curious. The epithet *gibbār(ā)* is sometimes used in the magic bowls for negative beings. We thus have **dyw' byš' wstn' byš' dmytqry ... gbr' dqtyl gbr' mylwt 'yttyh ...** (Montgomery 1913, p. 127, No. 3:2f.), and the rather ambiguous **dtmḥyn bṭwpry lybky wbmrnyth... dqtrys *gybr'...** (Gordon 1934c, p. 468, G:4), where the parallel texts describe this personage as having power over the demons (cf. the parallels printed by Gordon, loc. cit.). A series of "good" angels are described as **gbr' ml'kh** (Gordon 1934b, p. 331, where Gordon's texts E and F are printed in juxtaposition with the bowl published by Hyvernat).

In our text the status of the beings addressed as *gibbārayyā d-ar'ā* or with the pronominal suffix: *gibbārah d-ar'ā*, is also quite ambiguous, though their support is sought.

The phrase "you have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear" is reminiscent of Ps. 115:4–6.

6 **'ymh** is written with a different stylus, and was probably added later. If our translation "Dād-Gušnasp son of his mother" is correct, it may be surmised that the writer's first intention was to adhere to the formula of quoting the mother's name in an incantation; but since Dād-Gušnasp is an adversary who is being cursed, it was not possible to enquire his mother's name of him, and so the vague formula "his mother" was subsequently added. An alternative reading would be to regard **'ymh** as a proper name Imma; see above Commentary to Bowl 3:1 and note 7 there.

hwn is act. part. m. pl.; cf. Morag 1973, pp. 68–70.

6–7 **yhwwn 'ylmyn bpwmyhwn smn b'ynyhwn** etc.: Cf. **skyryn pwmhwn ... w'wryn 'ynyhwn wmtršn 'wdnyhwn** (Gordon 1941, p. 124, No. 6:1; also Isbell 1975, p. 102; earlier published in Schwab 1886, and in Schwab 1890, pp. 331 ff.).

7–8 The sequence of time designations has a number of parallels in the magic texts. Cf. Gaster 1896, p. XXVI, lines 15f.; Montgomery 1913, p. 141 (6:5–6).

ks' wryš yrḥ': The present context makes it clear, by the contrast of **ks'** with **ryš yrḥ'**, that the first term means "full moon", as it indeed does in the Bible and in Syriac. On the other hand, the Rabbinic explanation of the term, in connection with its use for the New Year, associates it with

the new moon; cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* IV, col. 216, s.v. *kese;* III, col. 35–41, s.v. *ḥodeš*. It may be remarked that *šabbĕta* could also be argued to belong to the same category as *kese* and *reš yarḥā* as its original Babylonian meaning was "the full moon" (cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* VII, col. 511, s.v. *šabbāt*). At this historical stage, and in the present context, this explanation would seem to be very far-fetched.

Ḥadriel seems to be attested once in the bowls, in Stübe 1895, p. 22, line 6. The name is also mentioned in *Sefer ha-razim,* p. 81 (2:12). For further references cf. Schwab 1897, p. 109; Margaliot 1945, pp. 50 f.

Šakniel is not hitherto attested in the bowls. His name occurs in *Sefer ha-razim,* p. 75 (1:152), and in Kabbalistic literature (cf. Margaliot 1945, p. 194).

wbyr w'bn wbwr: This sequence of words, with evident magic meaning, is not clear. The second word could possibly be read **w'kn,** perhaps for Jewish Aramaic **'kn, ḥk(y)n'** "snake". If this is correct, the phrase could have something to do with the famous theme of the *ḥuldā*

Bowl 7

Israel Museum, No. 80.1.3

Plate 23

(1) מזמנא הדא מילתא על שמיה <ד>מארוי בר (2) באתאי דמיתקרי אבאבאי בר {ר}
אבדימי וכל שמן (3) דאית ליה קרי קרי בעלמא קריא בישא ואכליא קרי ליה דקיריית
(4) אישתא בכיריתא ואישתא מן מרירת קברין ומן אמיתא נפקת (5) שחוטין ושגרין
עימו שיר חצוצר פעל בן לא איתכי אובלתיכי ושלחתיכי ושדרתיכי (6) ושגרתיכי
<על> מארוי בר באתאי על כל בלתי לא שמיה ולא תידחלי מצוח פולי עלוהי (7)
כמיפל חיסיא מן טורא כמיפל חיסיא מן טור טורא ויכמבסק גובתא מן דיחלא

and the *bōr*, the two objects certain people believe in (cf. Bavli Taʿanit 8a). The elaboration on this theme, according to which they are to constitute two mute witnesses to a betrothal, is set forth in commentaries on the text. Cf. *Oṣar ha-Geʾonim*, Taʿanit, Perušim, p. 57 (reference kindly supplied by Prof. M.D. Herr).

9 **rbʾ wdḥylʾ**: Cf. Commentary to Amulet 1:8.

dtyštqwn: The verb, to be vocalized *d-tĕšattĕqūn*, is evidently in the *paʿʿel* form.

ʾqry is taken here to be the plural of **ʾqrʾ** "fortress", with the omission of the preposition **b-**. Otherwise it could be connected to **qryt'** "town, village".

ytby šwqy qrntʾ is reminiscent of the expression *yošḇē qrānōt;* in our bowl we may have two separate expressions: **ytby šwqy** and **ytby qrntʾ**, which have merged. Cf also Harviainen 1981, p. 5, line 7: **lyḥš dqrntʾ**.

10 **ydbwq** Cf. Ps. 137:6 תדבק לשוני לחכי

Bowl 7

Translation

(1) Appointed is this incantation against (?) the name [of] Maroy son of (2) Batay, who is called Ababay son of Abdimi and all (other) names (3) that he possesses. There has happened, has happened, in the world an evil accident and a perdition(?). There has happened to him that the fire (4) has happened in the ditch and the fire came out of the bitterness of tombs and from the darkness.

(5) **šḥwṭyn wšgryn ʿymw šyr ḥṣwṣr pʿl bn lʾ**

I have brought you, I have led you and I have sent you and I have dispatched you (6) and I have conveyed you [against] Maroy son of Batay [and] against every unnamed Belti.

Do not be afraid to shout. Fall upon him (7) as rocks fall from the mountain, as rocks fall from a high mountain, and as the hill rises from that which is sand (?), and as the sun shines (down) unto (8) the earth.

Bowl 7

ויכמדנח שימשא עד (8) {אר} ארעה פולי עלוהי איכולי מן בישריה ואישתאי מן דמיה
דחלי ומררי בשום דיליד ומידחלא עיש אליון (9) כד עבד אישתא וינרג לא שמיה אמן
אמן עלחר

For the provenance of this bowl see Bowl 5.

1 **ʿl šmyh** has been translated as "against the name of", taking Maroy bar Batay to be the adversary. This assumption entails the hypothesis that **ʿl** was inadvertently omitted by the scribe before the name Maroy in line 6, but this is quite uncertain, as are many other points in this rather obscure text. It must be emphasized that we regard certain portions in the translation of this text as mere guesswork. A case could also be made for taking Maroy bar Batay as the client, for whose protection the bowl was wrtiten.

2 Abdimi is known as the name of several Palestinian Amoraim. The *resh* which is written before the name is pure dittography for the final letter of *bar*. The abbreviation *resh* for *rabbi* is never attested in this period.

šmn is a short form for the regular **šmhn**, the absolute plural form.

3 The translation "perdition" for **ʾkly** assumes that it is related to Hebrew *kĕlāyā*. The phrase **qry qry** etc. contains several ambiguities, which may have possibly been intended as puns. An alternative translation could be: "There has been called, called, in the world an evil call and cry". **ʾkly** may be associated with **ʾklywt**, which in the Targum of Psalms 104:7 renders *raʿam*, and in the Targum of Job 4:10 stands for *šaʾăgā*. Cf. Tal 1975, p. 91, s.v. **ʾkly**.

qyryt is probably the orthography for *qeryat*. Cf. Epstein 1960, p. 95 and note 254, where the Mandaean form **myṭyʾt** is quoted.

4 **kyryt** could mean, following the meanings of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic **kyrh** or **kryʾ**, either "digging, ditch"; "heap, pile"; or "circle, banquet". The most likely translation may, however, be "a stove", which is only attested in Hebrew.

ʾmyt seems to stand for **ʾmyṭṭ** or **ʿmyṭṭ**; cf. Syriac ʿMṬ. The image of fire coming out of darkness is quite unusual.

Fall upon him, eat from his flesh, drink from his blood, frighten and afflict.

In the name of he who gives birth and frightens, **ʿyš ʾlywn,** (9) while he makes fire, and the unnamed Nereg. Amen, Amen. Immediately.

5 **šḥwṭyn wšgryn** etc. constitutes a strange sequence of words, which we are unable to translate. The first two could be from the verbs **ŠḤṬ** "to stretch; corrupt (as in Syriac); slay an animal", and **ŠGR** "to flow; run; heat, kindle; send".

ʾytky is evidently for **ʾytytyky.** The accusative in this and the following verbs refers to a feminine object, apparently the fire.

6 "The unnamed Belti" is an unusual appellation, but it corresponds in this text to "the unnamed Nereg" in line 9. In both cases, although the combination **lʾ šmyh** is not usual for this kind of expression, there seems to exist hardly a different alternative for translation. On Belti one may refer to Lidzbarski 1916, p. 1217; Février 1931, pp. 64 f.; Du Mesnil du Buisson 1962, pp. 359 f., where (p. 360) it is stated that Belti is not a genuine name: "Le 'vrai nom' de la *Bēltī* à Palmyre est Atargatis ou Astarté". Since Belti is not the "real name", it is possible to understand how an "unnamed Belti" could be alluded to. In a Jewish context of magic we have Belti Adonay in Gaster 1896, p. VIII, line 20.

wlʾ tydḥly mṣwḥ: The last word is the absolute infinitive of *peʿal.*

7 **kmypl ḥysyʾ mn ṭwrʾ:** A parallel expression in Gaster 1896, p. XVIII, lines 27 f., clarifies the phrase. It says: **wʾm npl ʿlk ḥysyʾ ʾw mplh wʾt tḥwtyh.** Gaster's translation (op. cit., p. 188), "If any burden or weight falls upon thee", is inaccurate. The term *mappālā* is certainly to be connected with Hebrew *mappolet* "falling in, debris" (cf. Jastrow, p. 820). **ḥysyʾ,** as can be seen from the bowl text published here, must mean stones or rocks. Gaster's text might be translated: "If rocks or debris fall on you and you are buried underneath".

ṭwr ṭwrʾ is an expression which imitates *hor hahār* in Hebrew.

wykmbsq may be an error for **mnsq,** or **mysq,** the infinitive of **SLQ.**

For **gwbtʾ** cf. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic **gwbbtʾ, gwpptʾ** etc. The word **gwbtʾ** could also possibly mean "pit", like **gwbʾ,** but its connection in the sentence would then be obscure.

mn dyḥlʾ: On the face of it, one would be tempted to translate here "out of fear", but this would make little sense in the context. We have read **dyḥlʾ** as containing the relative **d-+ḥlʾ** ("sand"). By a slight emendation one may suggest reading **by ḥl(t)ʾ** as in B. Shabbat 110a. The phrase would then mean "as the dunes arise from among the sand(s)".

wykmdnḥ šymšʾ ʿdʾrʿh: One would have expected **ʿl** instead of **ʿd**.

8 "Eat from his flesh" etc.: The idea is not uncommon in incantation

Bowl 8

Israel Museum, No. 69.20.265

Plate 24

I	1	(אס)[רין]	III	1	אסריא
	2	שי[דין]		2	עינא
	3	(ו)חחמ[י]ן		3	בישתא
	4	דיוין אסרין		4	מן ביתה
	5	פתכריה חת(מן)		5	דכודאי {ד}בר
	6	לילחה בישתא		6	פאלי מן [בי]תה
	7	דכר ונוקבה אסרא		7	ומן בנ[..]ה (ו)מן
II	1	אסריא	IV	1	אדור
	2	עינא		2	אדורדו
	3	בישתא מן		3	ומן אדורדו(ך)
	4	ביתה דכודאי		4	ומן בניה מן
	5	בר פאלי מן		5	יומא [ד]נן ועד
	6	יומא ד[נן ול]עלם		6	לעלם אמן אמן
	7	אס[ריא עינ]א		7	סלה

texts, cf. Naveh 1975, pp. 48 (lines 18–22), 51.

ylyd is apparently active participle of *pe'al* and **wmydḥl'** is presumably active participle *pa''el*.

'yš 'lywn looks like a corrupted spelling of Hebrew *'īš 'elyōn*.

9 **'ltr** presents a form closer to *'al-atar* than the usual Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *l-altar*. Compare Geniza 2, p. 2:13, **bpry'**, which also occurs at the end of a magic text, after "Amen, Amen".

Bowl 8

Translation

I
Bound are the demons, sealed are the dēvs, bound are the idol-spirits, sealed are the evil liliths, male and female, bound

II
bound is the evil eye away from the house of Khwadāy son of Pālī from this day to eternity. Bound is the evil eye

III
Bound is the evil eye from the house of Khwadāy son of Pālī, from his house and from his..., (and) from

IV
...and from Ādur-dukh and from her sons from this day to eternity. Amen, Amen, Selah.

This bowl was first published by Narqis 1935, with some notes added by the editor of *Tarbiz* at the time, J.N. Epstein. It is here published again so as to complete the collection of magic bowls in Jerusalem, and because the first publication, done in Hebrew, is not easily available to all interested scholars. The present reading contains a number of improvements on the *editio princeps.* It is noteworthy that this text, together with several others (e.g. those published in Stübe 1895), are not included in Isbell 1975, which purports to be "a collection of all the published Aramaic bowls" (p. ix).

The present bowl is remarkable for its arrangement. Instead of circular lines running spirally from the inside or from the rim, as is the usual practice of the magic bowls , this one is divided into four quarters or sections by two lines which go through the centre and form a cross. The incantation goes from top to bottom in each quarter, and from right to left, quarter by quarter. Each quarter contains seven lines. The bottom of each quarter, except the last one, contains the beginning of the next. This principle was partly recognized by Narqis, but he did not

Bowl 9

Formerly in the possession of V. Barakat, Jerusalem

Plate 25

Within the central circle:

(1) אחיד פכר צמר ואקים ג(ב)יה וסריח וכוכבי ומזלי

Outside the circle:

(2) וכל (קיה) ורירה דיהודה בר נני דנ(י)בש לישנה בפומיה ויתמסי רוקיה (3) בגרגרתיה ויבשון שקיה וגופריתא ואישתא תידלק ביה וילקו גופיה ב(כו)י(א) ויסח(כר) ויתנכיר (4) ויתעכר לעיני כל חזוהי וישתמח ויתבר וי(בד) וישתצי וימגר וימות ותיתי עליה שלהוביתא מן שמיא (5) וזיעא יחוד יתיה ותברא ידבקיה ומזופיתא

notice that it applies also to the connection between III and IV. At the beginning of IV two failed attempts were made to write the continuation of the inscription, and only line 3 contains the proper text.

II,1 ʾsryʾ: This spelling for ʾsyrʾ is repeated in III,1.

II,4 The Persian name Khwadāy "Lord" is quite well attested. Cf. Gignoux 1979, p. 59.

II,5 Pālī is not so far attested to our knowledge in this form, but it could be assumed to belong to the Iranian name Pahray (cf. Gignoux 1979, p. 65); or perhaps to Pālīz "Paradise" (cf. Justi 1895, p. 240, s.v. Pālīzbān).

IV, 3 As noted above, this line continues line III,7, while the lines IV,1–2 may be disregarded as containing unsuccessful attempts. The final letter is almost without doubt *kaf*. The name Ādurdukh, which is quite well attested, is explained by Gignoux 1979, p. 76, as "Daughter of Ādur".

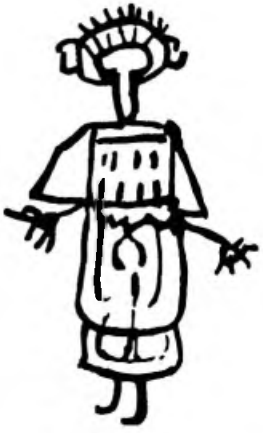
Bowl 9

Translation

(1)...and stars and planets

(2) and all the vomit(?) and spittle of Judah son of Nanay, that his tongue may dry up in his mouth, that his spittle may dissolve (3) in his throat, that his legs may dry, that sulphur and fire may burn in him, that his body may be struck by scalding(?), that he may be choked, become estranged, (4) become disturbed to the eyes of all those who see him, and that he may be banned, broken, lost, finished, vanquished, and that he

תידלוק בי(א) ויחקים עליה קראה דכתיב יפלו ולא י(ק)ומו ו(אל) תהה תקומא (6) למפלתא ולא תהא אסותה למחתם תיחשכנא עיניהם מיראות ומותניהם תמיד המעט תה טירתם לשמה ואו(הליה)ם אל יהי יושיב ויחקים (7) עליה קראה דכתיב וחרה אפי והרגתי איתכם כחרב והיו נשיכם אלמנות ו[בני]כם יתומים ותקים עליה על יהודה בר נני יככה ייי כשחפת ובקדחת (8) ובדלקת ובחרחור ובחרב ובשידפון ובי[רקון] ורדפוך [עד אוב]דך יככה ייי [בשחין ר]ע על הברכים ועל השוקים אשר לא {יו} יוכל להירפי מיכ(ף ר)גלך ועד (9) קודקודך [יכ]כה ייי בשיגעון וכעיורון וב[חמהון לבב ו]אכלתם כ[שר בני]כם וב[שר בנ]ותיכם תוכילו כלועיה דיהודה כר נני לא יבלע [וג]רגרתיה [ל]א תכול אסברא (10) יפול ליה על חינבוהי ואכפיא יפול ליה [על פומיה ועל לישניה ...] ויתן[קים על]יה קראה דכתיב ויראו גוים ויבושו מיכל גבו[רתם יש]ימו י[ד על (11) פ]ה ואוזניהם תחרשנה ילחכו [עפר] כנחש כזוח(לי) ארץ [ירגזו] מימסגרותיהם (ו)לא י[אבה] ייי (סלוח לו) כי אז יעישן אף ייי *וקנאתו באיש ההוא ו[רבצה בו כל האלה הכתובה] (12) כסיפר הז[ה ומחה] ייי את שמו מיתחת השמים כין יתמיח שמיה דיהודה בר נני ויתעק[ר דוכרניה] מן עלמה כמא דאיתמחי שמיה ד[עמלק (?) ...] (13) יתכבשו (ה)דמאיהוא ועב(י)ד ביה (ויתא) דינא אתו(ה) ו)פורענותא בעגלה בשיחנה בשיחלה בג(רב)א בקלמתא בשחרתא ובירויתא ובכלמתא [...] (14) [...]יא ליסטא וסט(נ)ה ובשום שש(ערב) מלאכה ובשום מות וירוד ואנהיד ואיסטר טורא ושתיוי (ור)וחא דשריא בית קברי (כו)להון יסמכו עלוהי על יהו[דה בר נני ...]



may die, and that a flame may come upon him from heaven, (5) and shiver seize him, and a fracture catch him, and a rebuke burn in him. May the following verse apply to him: they shall fall and not arise, and there will be no power for them to stand up (6) after their defeat, and there will be no healing to their affliction. "Their eyes will darken, so that they see not, and their loins will be made by you continually to shake" (Ps. 69:24). "Let their habitation be desolate, and let none dwell in their tents" (Ps. 69:26). May the following verse (7) apply to him: "And my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword, and your wives shall be widows and your children fatherless" (Ex. 22:23). And the following may apply to Judah son of Nanay: "The Lord shall smite you with a consumption and with a fever (8) and with an inflammation and with an extreme burning and with the sword and with blasting and with [mildew] and they shall pursue you [until you per]ish" (Deut. 28:22). "The Lord shall smite you in the knees and in the legs with a fes[tering eruption] that cannot be healed from the sole of your foot on to (9) the top of your head" (Deut. 28:35). "The Lord shall smite you with madness and blindness and astonishment of heart" (Deut. 28:28). "And you shall eat the fl[esh of your s]ons and the fl[esh of your d]aughters" (Lev. 26:29). The throat of Judah son of Nanay shall not swallow and his gullet shall not eat, choking (10) shall fall on his palate, and paralysis shall fall on [his mouth and tongue...]. The following verse will apply to him: "The nations shall see and be confounded at all their might. They shall lay their h[and on (11) their mou]th, their ears shall be deaf, they shall lick [the dust] like a serpent, [they shall move] out of their holes like worms of the earth" (Micah 7:16–17). "The Lord will not spare him but then the anger of the Lord and his jealousy shall smoke against that man and [all the curses that are written in this] book [shall lie upon him] (12) and the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven" (Deut. 29:19). So shall the name of Judah son of Nanay be blotted out and [his memory] shall be uprooted from the world, just as was blotted out the name of [Amalek(?)]...(13) may his members be pressed down and may there be done to him (?), judgement will come, omen and misfortune swiftly, with an inflammation, a purulence, an itch, a vermin, a blackening, a shiver, a vermin...(14)...a pirate and a satan. And in the name of šš'rb the angel, and in the name of Mot and Yarod and Anahid and Istar Tura and ... and the spirit which resides in the cemetery, all should lean on Jud[ah son of Nanay...]

This bowl is remarkable for the fact that it contains a text which is totally dedicated to cursing a specifically named individual. In this it would join Bowl 7, if our interpretation of that ambiguous text is correct. It is also unusually rich in biblical allusions and direct quotations, and in various terms for diseases and ailments. In the centre is the drawing of a full human figure, surrounded by a circle within which is a short inscription, which for the most part is unintelligible, though it can be quite easily transcribed.

This bowl, like Bowl 1, was at the time of writing in the possession of Victor Barakat. Mr. Barakat could only say of this bowl that it came from a private collection, and that the unnamed collector had told him that it derived from the Bethany area, in the vicinity of Jerusalem. We regard this attribution with scepticism, as the bowl strikes us as belonging basically with the other Mesopotamian bowls.

1 The first words seem to be a corruption of **ʾsyr pkyr ṣmyd**; cf. e.g. the sequence in Harviainen 1981, p. 5:4 **gzyryn ḫrymyn wmšmtyn ʾsyryn pkyryn wṣmydyn.**

2 **qyh:** If the reading is correct, this would be the first attestation of the noun for "vomit" in any form of Aramaic. It is of course well attested in Hebrew and Arabic.

dnybš is in the third person imperfect masculine *peʿal.* Inconsistency as to gender is very common in these texts.

The series of curses here can be compared to Geniza T-S AS 142.214, lines 18f.: ...וחהי נא עורון בעיניהם וסתום וחתום פיהם קצץ רגליהם...

3–4 **wystkr wytnkyr wytʿkr:** A rhyming sequence of verbs.

5 **qrʾh dktyb:** The following is an inacccurate reference to Jer. 8:4 and Amos 8:14.

wʾl thh tqwmʾ: A paraphrase of Lev. 26:37.

6 **lmḥtm** (like **ʾswtʾ**) is an Aramaic word used in the Hebrew phrase with a Hebrew suffix. The writer may have identified the Aramaic word **mḥtʾ** with the Hebrew *mákkā*, as in Jer. 30:17 וממכותיך ארפאך. The same connection of **mḥtʾ** with **ʾswtʾ** occurs in Montgomery 1913, No. 16:6, **mḥtʾ tḥwt ʾswtʾ.**

hmʿṭ is an error for *hamʿad.*

9 **blwʿyh,** which parallels **grgrtyh,** evidently means "his throat",

though **blwʿ** is so far unattested in this sense in Aramaic. It seems hardly likely that we have here **b+lwʿ** "jaw".

ʾskr also occurs as a name for a demon in late Jewish sources; cf. R. Margaliot 1945, p. 208. As a term for a situation of distress, together with **nkph**, the equivalent of our **ʾkpy**, we have it in a late Jewish amulet published by Casanowicz 1917, p. 53: ומכל מראים (!) בישין ומנכפה ... ומאסכרה.... Similarly Nash 1906: ממחה משונה ומחולה הנפל בר מינן ... ומחלה הנכפה ... Cf. also Gaster 1896, p. XII, line 35 **lʾskrtʾ** (written **lʾsbrtʾ**); Shachar 1971, p. 286, No. 966.

For **ʾkpy** cf. the Commentary on **ʾskr**.

11 ***wqnʾtw** written in the bowl **zqnʾtw.**

12 **ytmyḥ** error for **ytmḥy.**

13 **hdmʾyhwʾ** is seemingly written in the bowl **qdmʾyhwʾ.**

bʿglh: The sequence would have favoured here a word designating some disease or misfortune.

bšyḥnh: Cf. Gaster 1896, p. XIII, line 16 **lšyḥnh**; Gollancz 1912, p. 3, § 5 **ʾsyryn šḥnʾ wmwtnʾ wqws...**

For **šyḥlh** cf. Gen. Apocryphon **rwḥ šḥlny** and the commentary by Fitzmyer 1971, p. 136.

qlmtʾ: This is the word used by Onqelos to translate Hebrew *kinnim* in Ex. 8:12.

šḥrtʾ: In the same amulet, quoted above (Casanowicz 1917, p. 53), we also have ... ומחולי שחורה ...

rwytʾ: This may be a syncopated form of **ʿrwytʾ**; cf. Commentary to Amulet 2:2.

klmth: This seems to be a mere orthographic variant of **qlmtʾ.**

14 **wbšwm šš(ʿrb) mlʾkh:** One is reminded of various names made up with **šš...** as the first element. Cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 223 (31:17), where one should correct to read as follows: **mrmrʾwt ššqpwt ʾstr mwth.** Cf. also Amulet 7:9–10 **ššqwpwt...swsgwn brprwngs ʾstr...**

wrwḥʾ dšryʾ byt qbry: Cf. *Sefer ha-razim*, p. 76 (I:178): רוח קריפורייא החונה בין הקברות. **byt** could possibly mean "among", as in Syriac.

Bowl 10

Syriac
Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, No. 243
Plate 26

(3) [ ] שיד]א ודיו]א [(4)] חלמ]א דליליא וחיזונא דעממא מן
חפן[(5) בעי]ריה וביתיה דברימא ב(ר עזדנדוך) בשום צבאותי
חיא וקימא בשו[ם ... ב]שום יה יהו בשום הא היהן הא [ ]ן דחיתון (6) ותיבדון
ל(י)ה אסיותא לפגריה דברע(מ)[א בר עזדנד](וך) {ולבנה} ולבניה ולב[נתיה] דעית ליה
[ודניון ליה] (ו)ניתנטר (7) חדא ברשפתא בר אחתבו וניתנטר חדא נט[רוי ...] בר
רביתא וחדא מטריא בר קימתא לביתיה ול(נשא ביתיה) לקינינה ולבעריה (8) ולפגריה
דיליה דברימא בר (ע)[זדנדוך ...] בשום מריא רבא וק[די]שא פרחו ופוקו אנתון
חרשא דמכעדא דד(ו)א ולוטתא ואשלמתא (9) חדתתא וחתימתא ואזילו וסמו
[ ] משדר חבוקא [ ]תון כד נפקיתון בת דמו כציפרא דפרחן ונפקן ומשנין
(10) מן (א)תר ל(א)תר הכנא תישנון ותיפקון מן פגריה ד[ברימא בר עזדנדוך...]בניה
ובנתיה דעית ליה ודניון ליה וניתנטר ברשפתא בר אחתבו (11) וחדא רביתא בת חוא
[ ] וניתנטרון (פ)נהקדוך נטרוי וגוש(נ)[סף]ונימישא ו(א)יך שעיתא
דפשרא בנורא קדחו ערוסו ארוקו (12) ועתבטילו ועתקטלו ועתכלו וא(זי)לו ואזילו
מן פגריה דברע(מ)[א בר עזדנדוך ... על ...] ועל משדרניה מן ממלל פומיה ומן עובדא
עדיה בשמיה דקדחיאיל (13) ומפקיאיל וכבשיא[יל] ופרחיאיל א(סיותא) [ ] לא
ולא לכבישוה וניתנטר חדא ברשב.יא בר (אח)תבו וחדין רביתא [ ]

Bowls 10 and 11 are at the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade. Dr. L.Y. Rahmani of the Israel Department of Antiquities received photographs of the two bowls from Dr. Vidosava-Neda Nedomački, curator of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, and referred them to us for study. The information supplied by Dr. Nedomački was that

Bowl 10

Translation

(3)...demons and dēws...(4)...dreams of night and visions of day from...(5)...the cattle and the house of Bar-Immā son of Izdān-dukh. In the name of **ṣbʾwty ṣbʾwty** the living and the existent, in the name... In the name of **yh yhw**, in the name of **hʾ hyhn hʾ**...that you may come (6) and make healing for the body of Bar-Immā [son of Izdān-dukh] and his sons and d[aughters], which he has and which [he will have]. May (7) this Bar-Shapta son of Aḥat-Abū be protected, may that Naṭ[roy...] be protected; ... son of Rĕbītā, and this Maṭriya son of Qayyamtā, to his house and the members of his house, to his property and to his cattle (8) and to the body of Bar-Immā son of [Izdān-dukh]. In the name of the great and holy Lord, flee away, go out, you sorcerers of witchcraft, (who are) dēws and new and sealed (9) curses and spells. Go and put(?) ... sends ... As you go out in the form of birds who fly and go out and move (10) from one place to another, so will you move and go out of the body of [Bar-Immā son of Izdān-dukh, and of] his sons and daughters, which he has and which he will have. May Bar-Shapta son of Aḥat-Abū be protected; (11) and this Rĕbītā daughter of Ḥawwa... May Panāhakdukh, Naṭroy and Gushn[asp] be protected... and like wax which melts in the fire — run away!... flee away! (12) be annulled! be killed! be terminated! go away! go away from the body of Bar-Immā [son of Izdān-dukh!...against...] and against him who sent him, from that which he speaks by his mouth, and from the works that he does by hand. In the name of Qadḥiel, (13) Mappeqiel, Kabshiel, Parḥiel. [May there be] remedy ...that she may not be pressed down. And may this Bar-Shabta son of Aḥat-Abū be protected, and this Rĕbītā...

the two bowls were found in 1912 by a Jugoslav engineer, Janko Milošević, who was working on the building of a railway at a place specified as being 700 metres north of Kadhimain, which lies 6 km. north of Baghdad. The finder, who supplied this information, took the bowls with him to Belgrade. We should like to thank both the Jewish

Historical Museum in Belgrade and Dr. Rahmani for their cooperation.

Bowl 10 is broken, and what survives of it consists of two large fragments joined together in Belgrade. The writing of the lines in the centre, where the inscription begins, is largely effaced. For the reading we used an enlarged photograph of the joined fragments of the bowl (Plate 26), as well as small photographs of each fragment separately, obviously taken before the joining of the two fragments was made.

The language of Bowl 10 is Syriac written in the Estrangelo script (with some cursive modifications), in contrast to Bowl 1, which is written in the Proto-Manichaean script (cf. Commentary to Bowl 1).

4 **ḥlm' dlyly' whyzwn' d'mm'**: The same phrase is found elsewhere, cf. in Mandaic, Montgomery 1913, p. 248 (39:10); Epstein 1922, p. 60.

5 Bar-Immā bar Izdāndukh: The Aramaic name of the client is not yet attested in magic bowls. The mother's name, which is Iranian, occurs on Jewish Aramaic bowls with the spelling **'yzdndwk**; cf. Montgomery 1913, pp. 145 (No. 7), 212 (No. 27). The name is attested also in Syriac literature, cf. Justi 1895, p. 146. Justi's explanation "(von den) Ized (geschenktes) Mädchen" should probably be revised. The great number of names with *-dukh* seems to suggest that this is a mere suffix denoting "daughter of". The name Yazdān indeed exists as a masculine proper name; references are given by Justi, ibid.

ṣb'wty: It is not entirely certain whether the final sign in this word, which is repeated twice, is indeed a *yod*, as read here, or merely a final embellishment belonging to the *taw*. For **ḥy' wqym'** cf. Amulet 9:5.

6 **wtybdwn**: Quite curiously, the radical *'ayin* is here spelled by a *yod*. The vacillation between *yod*, *'ayin* and *alef* is evident in the forms **brym'/br'm'**, **'zdndwk**, **d'yt lyh**, **'rwqw**, **'tbṭylw**, **'dyh** etc. (cf. in Mandaic, Yamauchi 1967, pp. 75 f.).

wlbnh wlbnyh: The first word was apparently written by mistake and corrected by writing the word again. In **bnyh** for **bnwhy** our bowl follows the form known from the Jewish Babylonian bowls; cf. Introduction, p. 32.

7 **ḥd'**: The text uses the demonstrative pronoun *hādā*, which is properly feminine, indiscriminately, and with the curious spelling with initial *het*. One might think of the numeral *ḥdā* (which is feminine), used irregularly for masculine persons, but the occurrence of **ḥdyn rbyt'** in line 13 decides the issue. *Hādēn* is certainly the masculine demonstrative

pronoun, and it is again remarkable that it is used in line 13 for what is a feminine name; cf. **rbyt' bt ḥw'** in line 11.

bršpt' alternates (line 13) with the spelling **bršbt'**. As a name it belongs to the category of names referring to a day of the week, presumably the infant's birthday.

mṭry' is a name of unclear origin. One thinks of the name of a *dihqān* in Ispahan in the early Islamic period, **mṭy'r**, cf. Ṭabāri, IV, p. 295.

8 **prḥw wpwqw**: Further down, in lines 11–12, a longer list of similar imperatives of verbs signifying going away and being annulled is given. A similar list of imperatives occurs in the Iraq Museum bowl 44107, cf. Teixidor 1962, p. 55; Hamilton 1971, p. 117: **zḥw 'trw w'tkrzw prḥw *wpwqw** (read thus!).

mb'd': The metathesis of **m'bd'** is attested elsewhere too. Cf. our Syriac Bowl 1:11.

9 It seems that **ḥdtt' wḥtymt'** are attributes of **lwṭt' w'šlmt'**.

smw may perhaps be the imperative *pa"el* of SM' "to blind".

ḥbwq' is not clear.

bt dmw k- is the expression used for "like", "in the form of", corresponding to the regular Syriac **bdmwt**. Compare the Biblical Hebrew **dmwt k-** in Ez. 1:26 etc. Cf. Geller 1980, p. 51, line 4 **wmydmn lhwn bydmw dmw** (thus to be read!) "and they appeared to them in various forms".

dprḥn wnpqn wmšnyn: Cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 238 (36:2) **pwq pwq wšny mn qdm**...(Montgomery read **qdmy**, but only **qdm** is visible in his drawing).

10 **d'yt lyh wdnywn lyh**: Compare [**wkl d'y**]**t lh wdhwyn lh**, Montgomery 1913, p. 242 (37:3). See also Bowl 12:IX

11 **pnhqdwk** is an Iranian name not yet attested. The main part of the name, Panāhak, is obviously derived from *panāh* "protection". Naṭroy seems to be a Semitic proper name (it looks like the Semitic equivalent of Panāhak). The third name could be completed as Gušnay or Gušnasp.

'yk š'yt' dpšr' bnwr': Cf. Peshitta to Ps. 88:2 **'yk dmtpšr' š'wt' mn qdm nwr'** and similarly Ps. 97:5.

qdḥw: Montgomery 1913, p. 194 argued in favour of reading this fairly common magic verb as **qrḥ** in order to connect it to the formula in Bavli Pesaḥim 110a **qrḥ qrḥyyky**. Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 74, taking up this

idea, translated **wqrḥw wʿyryqw** by "soyez chauves (perdez votre efficacité en tant que magiciens) et éloignez-vous". Isbell 1975, No. 19:7; 20:9; 22:7 read the verb **QDḤ**, though in the glossary, p. 180, Isbell quotes inexplicably **QRḤ** for text 20:9. Our text, which has a clear distinction between *daleth* and *resh*, settles the ambiguity in a decisive manner in favour of the root **QDḤ**. Even without this evidence it would be fairly clear that a verb with the meaning "to flee" and not "be bald" is required. Mandaic has **uqda upuq uʿruq** (Yamauchi 1967, p. 230, line 12) in the same context. See already Epstein 1921, pp. 41 f., who establishes the basic meaning of the word " to pierce, rise". For the other meaning of **QDḤ** "to wail, moan" see Bowl 13:20.

Bowl 11

Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, No. 242/1

Plate 27

(1) [ ] ולשלהפתא ולש(ח)מתא ולן [ ] לאיסקופתיה דכוסרו
לבר[אידא בר] איזדנדוך [(2)](כ)יר ולבראידא בר איזדנדוך
ולאין]כחבו ש(מן) [(3)] מן צערי ומן מרעי ומן (כורהניא)
ביש(יא ומן) חסמתא ומן מהרין תקיפין ומן ממלא (ב)ישא [ ] ומן כל
פידג(מי) דכסיי סניי (4) (ד)דחילי ומן [ ]א (ח)ברי ותקיפי ומן לוטתא ומן
אשלמתא ומן אריסותא ומן [ ] ומן פן [ ] (ד)ליטי סניי ומן כל (5)
מידיעם דביש אמן אמן סלה ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה בכא ה[סט]ן יגער
יהוה בכא הבוחיר (6) בירושלי{של}ם (הלו) זה {אוד} אוד מוצל מ(אש) שמע יושב
יישראל בסתר יהוה עליון אלהינו בצל יהוה (7) שדי אחד יתלונן אמן אמן סלה תוב
אסותה מן שמיא לאיסקו(פתיה) דכוס(רו) בר (8) איז(דנדוך) דיתסי ברחמי שמיא
וכל שום דאית ביה [(9)] איסקופתיה דכוסרו בר איז(דנדוך)
[ ] אמן אמן סלה

ʿrwsw is not clear, and seems to be a mistake for **ʿrwqw**, which is indeed written immediately afterwards, but with a new modification, substituting *alef* for *ʿayin*.

12 **mšdrnyh** could mean "they who sent him".

mmll pwmyh: This seems to be a verbal noun, **mmllʾ**.

qdḥyʾyl, mpqyʾyl, kbšyʾyl, prḥyʾyl: A series of names derived from verbs denoting the chasing out or the subordination of the demons.

13 **lkbyšwh:** The first letter looks like a *lamed*, although in Syriac one should have expected a *nun*.

Bowl 11

Translation

(1)... to the threshold of Khusrau, to Bar[-Ida son of] Izdān-dukh ... (2) ... and to Bar-Ida son of Izdān-dukh and to ...wrote names ... (3)... from pains and illnesses and evil sicknesses and from jealousy and from mighty spells and from evil speech (?) ... and from all the words which the frightening enemies (4) are hiding and from... sorcerers and mighty ones and from curses and from spells and from submission (?) and from ...and from... which the enemies curse and from (5) all evil things. Amen, Amen, Selah. "And the Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan: even the Lord that hath chosen (6) Jerusalem rebuke thee: is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" (Zach. 3:2). "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord" (Deut. 6:4). "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty" (Ps. 91:1). Amen, Amen, Selah.

Again, may there be healing from heaven to the threshold of Khusrau son of (8) Izdān-dukh, so that he may be healed by the mercy of heaven, and any name that is in him [...(9)...should be removed from] the threshold of Khusrau son of Izdān-dukh... Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah.

Bowl 11

For the provenance of this bowl cf. Commentary to Bowl 10.

Although the bowl itself is intact, the inscription written on its inner surface is badly effaced. Having only the photographs at our disposal, we avoided readings which seemed speculative, and have concentrated on those which have seemed relatively certain. The writing begins in the outer rim and ends in the centre, going around an illustration which is not clearly discernible. It may be a human figure with two smaller drawings to its left.

1 **šlhpt'** seems to be an unusual spelling for **šlhwbt'** "flame", cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 183: **lgw nwr' yqydt' wylšlhwbt 'yšt'**. In Bowl 1:7 we have **šlhbyt'** and in Bowl 9:4—**šlhwbyt'**.

šḥmt' may mean "blackening" or "heat". It also occurs in Geniza 6, p. 3:6–7, where it seems to indicate the blackness caused by fire. If **šlhpt'** means "fever", it is possible to take **šḥmt'** as indicating some other symptom of disease, perhaps like **šḥrt'** in Bowl 9:13.

Khusrau son of Izdān-dukh and Bar-Ida son of Izdān-dukh may be brothers. It is interesting to note that the client of Bowl 10 is Bar-Imma son of Izdān-dukh. The two bowls, though written in two different scripts, may stem from the same family. If this is so, we have here another indication for the hypothesis that the script (and language) of a bowl does not represent the language used by the client, but only that which was used by the sorcerer. The sorcerer may have belonged to a different religion or nationality. Cf. Introduction, p. 18.

2 **š(mn)** cf. Bowl 7:2.

3 **(kwrhny')**: See above Commentary to Bowl 1:11.

mhryn: This is the first occurrence of this word in Aramaic to our knowledge (the reading might also be **mhdyn**). Our reading is based on the assumption that this is a loan-word from Iranian; cf. Middle Persian *mahr*, Avestan *manthra-* "(sacred) word".

mml' perhaps an error for **mmll'**.

pydg(my): If the reading is correct, this is a form of **ptgm/pytgm** on the way to becoming **pugdama**, as in Mandaic.

dksyy snyy: The first word is active participle *pe'al* plural masculine, while the second is plural of *san'ā/sanyā*.

4 **ʾryswtʾ**: If it is not a graphic variant of **ʾsyr**, would be connected to the notion of the submission of an *aris* "tenant".

lyty is the active participle *peʿal* of **LWṬ**.

6–7 The two verses, Deut. 6:4 and Ps. 91:1, are joined together into a single text by taking one word from one verse followed by one word from the other text. The same procedure is also used in Schwab 1891, p. 592 (Bowl O); Gordon 1978, p. 233; and T-S K 1.95.

8 **wkl šwm dʾyt byh**: The usual formula is with the preposition **lyh**, cf. Bowl 7:3. The use of **byh** may be influenced by another formula such as we have in Bowl 5:3 **kl šydy...dʾyt bh bʿlmʾ**.



From Bowl 13

Bowl 12

Bowl 12a
Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, Heb. 4° 6079
Plate 28

Amulet 15
see p.104

I

(1) סמומית ילידת תרי עשר בנין וכולהון קטל יתהון (2) סדרוס רשיעה	[(1)] סממית יל״י־דת בנין [... קטלהון] (2) [סד]רוס	II
וקמת וערקת מן קדומוהי ואזלת לחד טורא (3) דימיחד בעלמא שמיה ועבדת לחרשין דינחשה ועבדין דפרזלא	ערקת מן ק[דומוי] (3) [...] קמת (ל)ה בראש)[...] (4) [...] בנת לה בית בראן...] (5) [...ל]ה תרעין דפרז(ל)[ה...] (6) [...]ה וטרדת באן...] (7) [...י]ת תרעה לידא	III
ואתא סאוני וססאוני (4) וסנגרו וארתיקו ואמרו לה פתח לנא ואמרת להון ליתי אנא פתחא לכון ואמרו דוכתא דנעבר (5) וניעול עלה	סוני [וס(8)וס]וני וסניגלי ארתקו על [...] (9) [...]בין נעבר וניעל לע(ל)[...]	IV
וקמת ופתחת להון ועול עימהון סדרוס וקטליה ליברה וחנק יותיה	(10) [קמ]ת ופתחת להון על עמ(ה)[ן] (11) [סד]רוס וקטל לברה	V
וקמת וצוחת עלוהי אסאוני (6) וססאוני וסנגרו וארתיקו מא עבדו ליה	וצו(ח)[ת] (12) [ע](ל)יהון סוני וסוסוני (13) [וס]ניגלי מה עבד (הכין ש)[מע] (14) [סד]רוס ופתח וער(ק) מ(נ)[הון]	VI

Bowl 12

Bowl 12b
Metropolitan Museum,
New York, No. 86.11.259
Plate 29

(1) אסירת וחתימת אנתי מבבלתא
בישתא (2) (ד)לרית (?) עים זבינו בר
זוני ועים (דותי אינחתיה (3) בת
גוסי וימשצטמת בן דוך (?)ון[ ]
ליה (4) לזונא בר דותי

Bound and sealed are you, the evil Mevakkalta, who associates(?) with Zabinu son of Zuni and with Duti his wife, daughter of Gusi, ... to Zuna son of Duti.

סממיתא ילידת תרין עשר בנין
כולהון קטל יתהון (5) סרגיס

Smamit gave birth to twelve sons. All of them were killed by Sideros the Wicked [*N. Y.*: Sergi(u)s].

קמת וערקת מן קודמוהי ואזלת לה
לטורא חד מאחיד שמיה ועבדת (6)
מקדשה דינ(חש) ועבדין דיפרזל

She got up and fled from him, and she went to a mountain, whose name is unique in the world [*N. Y. var.*]. She performed sorceries of copper and magic acts of iron [*N. Y. var.*].

ואתא סוני וסאסוני וסינגרו וארתיקו
ואמרו (7) לה (פתחי לנא) ואמרת
ליה אנה פתחא ואמרו (ד)רכיה
נעבור ונעול עליה

There came **s'wny wss'wny wsngrw w'rtyqw** and said to her: Open (the door) for us. She said to them: I shall not open (it) for you. They said: This is a place (for us) to pass through and enter into.

וקמת ופתחת (8) להון ועל עימהון
סרגיס וקטליה ליברה {ונ} וחנק
יתיה

She stood up and opened (the door) for them. With them there came in Sideros [*N. Y.*: Sergi(u)s]. He killed her son and strangled him.

וקמת ויצוחת עלי סוני (9) וסאסוני
וסינג[רו וא]רתיקו מא עבדו לה

She stood up and cried at him: O **s'wny wss'wny wsngrw w'rtyqw!** What have they done to him?

Bowl 12a	*Amulet 15*	
וקומו ורדפו בחריה ואדריכו יותיה לגו פלגוס ימא רבה ובעו (7) מינהון למיקטל יותיה ולמיחנק יותיה	(15) [מן] חזין רדפו בתרה וא[ש](16)[כ]חוי בפלגוס דימה ו(הנ) [...] (17) [ל]מקטול יתה	VII
ואמר להון שבוקו מיני ואנא מישתבענא (לכון) כמי שמדד בשעולו מים	אמר להון [אנה] (18) (מ)שתבע לכון במן דאכ[יל] (19) (מ)יה בשעולה	VIIIa
דכל אתר דדכרין שמיה (8) דסאוני וססאוני וסנגרו וארתיקו אנא לא איקטול ולא איחנוק ולא איחבול	דכל הן ד[...] (20) [...]ן מדכרין שמה דס[וני] (21) וסוסוני וסניגלי לא א[קטול]	VIIIb
בביתיה דאגבלתא בר קרקוי וכל בנין דאית להון ודהון להון לקאקאי בת (9) (פ)וזיקתוי ולאגבלתא בר קרקוי	(22) לאנטונינה ברתה ד(נ)[...] (23) [...] (וב)רה	X

Bowl 12b

קמו וירדפו בתרוהי {לגו} ואדריכו
יתיה לגו פלגוס ימא (10) רבא
למיקטל י[תיה ו]למיחנק יתיה

ואמר שבוקו מיני ואנא מיש[ח]בענא
לכון במי שמדד בשועולו מים (11)
ושמים בזרת תיכין וכל בשליש עפר
הארץ ושקל בפלס {ויגע} ויגבעות
במואזנים

דכל אחר דידכר שמיה (12) דסוני
וסאסוני וסינגרו וארתיקו איתרח(ם)
ולא {אינ} איחנוק ולא א[י]קטול

ליבנין דזבינו בר זוני (ו)אינתתיה בת
(13) גוסי דאית להון וידהון להון מן
יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה
הללויה

Translation

They stood up and chased him and found him *in pelagos, the great sea, [*Jer. adds:* and they sought of them] to kill him and strangle him.

He said to them: Let go of me, and I swear to you in the name of He "who has measured the water in the hollow of his hand [*N.Y. adds:* and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed <the mountains> in scales and the hills in a balance]" (Is. 40:12),

that wherever the name of **s'wny wss'wny wsngrw w'rtyqw** is mentioned I shall [*N.Y. adds:* have pity and shall] not kill or strangle [*Jer. adds:* or injure]

the house of Agbalta son of Qarqoy and any children whom they —Qaqay daughter of Poziqtoy and Agbalta son of Qarqoy—have and will have.

the children of Zabinu son of Zuni and his wife daughter of Gusi, those whom they have and those whom they will have from this day to eternity, Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallelujah.

Amulet 15

X ברוך אתה י[ייי] (24) (אל) קים מלך
העולם [יגער] (25) הרוחות מלפניך

Bowl 12a

XI אסירא ליליתא אסירא מבכלתא
אסיר שתא א[ ]אסיר[ ]
אסיר (זב)נא אסיר פתכרא אסירין
כל מזיקין בישין דאית (10) בביתיה
דאגבלתא בר קרקוי [ ]
שישים גיבו(רים) [סביב לה מגבורי
ישרא]ל כו[לם אחוזי חרב] מלמדי
מלחמה [איש] חרבו על יריכו מיפחד
בלילות

The Jerusalem bowl (12a) has been recently received by the Jewish National and University Library. It is unusual in that it contains a story which occupies the best part of its text, and in certain other features. The bowl was donated to the Library by the late Professor Gershom Scholem. Professor Scholem had received it as a gift from Dr. Wladimir Rosenbaum, an antique dealer in Ascona (Switzerland).

The most striking feature of this text, as already pointed out, is the fact that it is built around a story with a magic effect, a *historiola*, to use the term applied to it by Heim 1892, p. 495 (cf. also Maas 1942, pp. 37 f.). Such stories are practically unknown in other Aramaic magic bowls, although certain bowls contain brief allusions to story situations. Such is the allusion to Yĕhoshuaʿ bar Pĕraḥya and his deed of divorce to the female demons in certain bowls, e.g. in our Bowl 5 and Montgomery

Bowl 12b

ברוך אתה יהוה אלהינו מלך העולם
מכ(ה) ורופה (14) את זבינו בר זוני
ואת (דותי) בת גוסי ואת זונא בר
דותי אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים

Translation

Blessed art Thou **yhwh** our God, King of the world, who smites and cures Zabinu son of Zuni and Duti daughter of Gusi and Zuna son of Duti, Amen, Amen, Selah. True and sound.

Bound is Lilith, bound is Mevakkalta, bound is št' ... bound is ... bound is ... bound is the idol, bound are all the evil harmers who are in the house of Agbalta son of Qarqoy ... "Sixty valiant men are around about it, of the mighty men of Israel, all girt with swords, and expert in war, every man has his sword upon his thigh, because of the fear by night"(Cant. 3:7–8).

1913, No. 32 (see also Gordon 1978, pp. 233 f., and our Amulet 7). Incantations with fairly elaborate *historiolae* are, however, quite common in Greek and in Syriac magic literature (cf. Heim 1892, pp. 495 ff.; Gollancz 1912, pp. 14f., 85, 87, 89).

Another interesting feature of this bowl is the fact that it contains a number of Greek words. This is a feature which is totally unknown in other Mesopotamian bowls, and one which has raised initial doubts as to the authenticity and original provenance of the bowl, as most Aramaic incantation bowls whose provenance can be ascertained derive from the area of Mesopotamia and Iran, where the number of Greek elements is rather limited. Although the provenance of our new bowl is unknown, it can be established by parallel material that it is Babylonian. The Metropolitan Museum in New York possesses an unpublished bowl

(our Bowl 12b) whose text closely resembles that of our Jerusalem bowl, although the names of the clients are different, and the opening formulae are also cast differently. The Museum records note that the bowl in question, No. 86.11.259, was acquired in 1886 by Mr. Ward, a curator of the Metropolitan , while he was on a journey in Mesopotamia. Another bowl which undoubtedly has the same story was published in Gordon 1941, pp. 346 f., from the Hilprecht Collection, and it "presumably comes from Hilprecht's excavations at Nippur". Gordon could only read a few detached phrases in that bowl, and we have not seen the bowl itself, but the extracts given by Gordon leave no room for doubt that it is in fact the same basic text as in 12a (with the same orthographic peculiarities), although, like the New York bowl, it has a dedication to a different client preceding and following the story.

The *historiola* which forms the basis of the incantations contained in these bowls has numerous parallels in Greek, Ethiopian, Coptic, Hebrew, Rumanian and other texts (see Appendix to Amulet 15). A striking parallel to the texts of these bowls has reached us when the book was ready for publication. Amulet 15, which is in the Israel Museum, turned out to have the same story in a shorter version, but with some details which are certaily more original than their counterparts in the Babylonian bowls. For further details see the commentaries and the Appendix to Amulet 15, as well as the text of Amulet 15 printed above in a parallel column to the texts of Bowls 12a and 12b.

In contrast to the phrasing of Amulet 15, it may be noted that although Bowls 12a and 12b have borrowed certain key expressions from a Palestinian source (the Greek name Sideros, the hybrid Greek Aramaic expression **plgws[d]ymh rbh,** the verb **ʾrtq**), the language of the bowls has nevertheless come under the influence of Babylonian Aramaic (e.g. **ʿly – ʿlwhy; btryh – btrwhy;** the use of *waw* for original *qamaṣ* in Bowl 12a, and other orthographic features). The most important aspect which emerges from the comparison of Bowls 12a and 12b with Amulet 15 is a certain number of textual misunderstandings in the bowls (e.g. **wʾrtyqw** was taken to be a proper name; **wʾdrykw...lgw** for **bgw,** in section VII). For further discussion see the Commentary below.

Some general differences of style and language can be noticed between the Jerusalem bowl and its New York counterpart:

(1) The orthography of the Jerusalem bowl has several peculiarities

which the New York one does not share. The *qamaṣ* vowel is frequently spelled in the Jerusalem (and in the Hilprecht) text with a *waw* indicating presumably that it tended to be pronounced *o*. Thus **smwmyt** (N.Y. **smmyt**ʾ), **qdwmwhy** (N.Y. **qwdmwhy**), **wʿwl** (N.Y.: **wʿl**), **ywtyh** (N.Y.: **ytyh**), **qwmw** (N.Y.: **qmw**). This way of spelling is not unusual in the Aramaic magic texts, and it has been claimed to be a feature of Babylonian Aramaic in general (cf. Rossell 1953, pp. 20 f., § 3.15 and the literature adduced in Morag 1979, p. 115, n. 21 and p. 116, n. 25). See further Introduction on p. 32.

(2) Although both texts tend towards a *plene* spelling with *yod* in words which are not commonly so spelled in Babylonian Aramaic, e.g. **lybrh, ʾyqṭwl, ʾyḥnwq, ʾyḥbwl, myštbʿnʾ**, as well as in the relative **dy-** (e.g. **dymyḥd, dynḥšh**), the New York bowl has such a spelling sometimes with the conjunction **w-** (**wyṣwḥt, wyrdpw, wygbʿwt** [Hebrew], **wydhwn**), a feature which is again found also in other texts (see Commentary to Bowl 2).

(3) The Jerusalem bowl is more explicit in several cases in the use of pronouns, while the New York bowl is more elliptic: In section IV Jer. **wʾmrt lhwn**, N.Y. **wʾmrt**; Jer. **lyt ʾnʾ pṭḥʾ lkwn**, N.Y. **lyt ʾnh pṭḥʾ**; in section VIII Jer. (and Hilprecht) **wʾmr lhwn**, N.Y. **wʾmr**.

(4) The New York bowl, on the other hand, is more expansive in some quotations and set phrases. Cf. the quotation in section VIII, where the full biblical quotation as well as the addition of **ʾytrḥ(m)** "I shall have mercy" occur only in the New York bowl; similarly in section IX we have in N.Y. the addition of the phrase **mn ywmʾ dnn wlʿlm ʾmn ʾmn slh hllwyh.**

(5) Some differences of detail indicate that the text of N.Y. is inferior to that of Jer.: Jer. has the name **sdrws** as against **srgys** in N.Y. (cf. Appendix to Amulet 15); Jer. **lḥd ṭwrʾ dymyḥd bʿlmʾ šmyh** seems the original version as against N.Y. **lṭwrʾ ḥd mʾḥyd šmyh**; Jer. **dwktʾ dnʿbr wnyʿwl ʿlh** seems better than **(d)rkyh nʿbwr wnʿwl ʿlyh**; the same may apply to the omission in N.Y. section VII of the words **wbʿw (mynhwn)** which occur in Jer.

In addition to the following textual comments the reader is advised to consult the Commentary to the approriate lines in Amulet 15. The following comments are arranged by the sections as given in the transcription of the text.

I New York and Hilprecht have an introductory section mentioning the client while Amulet 15 and Jerusalem start with the *historiola*.

II Jer. **sdrws** supported by the traces in Amulet 15; N.Y. gives **srgys**, which is evidently a corruption. Cf. also Ethiopian Werzelya (see Appendix to Amulet 15).

III **dymyḥd bʿlmʾ šmyh:** There seems to be no room in Amulet 15 for such an epithet, although a reference to a mountain may be reconstructed there.

For the phrase Jer. **lḥršyn dynḥšh** N.Y. gives **mqdšh dynḥš**. The whole phrase seems to be a corruption from an original text where instead of **ḥršyn** the similar-looking word **trʿyn** was written, as in Amulet 15.

wʿbdyn dprzlʾ: In Hilprecht we may read **wʿbdy dprzlʾ wʾtʾ** (Gordon 1941, p. 346).

IV **sʾwny wssʾwny wsngrw wʾrtyqw:** The division of words here is ascertained from a comparison of all the places in which the names occur in the two bowls, in the amulet and in the later traditions.

ʾrtyqw, which is the verb meaning "and they knocked (on the door)", as in Amulet 15, was misunderstood by the writers of our bowls and they took it to be a part of the series of names. It is likely that they regarded **sngrw** as a word with the same shape.

Our two bowls seem to waver between taking these three characters as a singular entity or as a plural. Thus we have **wʾtʾ... wʾmrw lh.. wpṭḥt lhwn... wṣwḥt ʿlwhy**, etc. The Greek version of the Gyllou story (see Appendix to Amulet 15) treats Sisinios, Sinēs and Sēnodōros as a singular (ὁ ἅγιος); this point occurs in the story more than once. These three names are seemingly phonetic variations on a single form, a point which is strengthened by the observation that the names are once given in the Greek text in the vocative ὦ Σισίνιε, Σίνη καὶ συνοδία (Sisinios, Sines and company). In Amulet 15, which seems closest to the original version, the three names consistently attract plural form.

dwktʾ dnʿbr wnyʿwl ʿlh: This may be a corruption of a phrase in the original version; Amulet 15 does not provide us with the possibility of a satisfactory reconstruction. The N.Y. version presents us with another unusual phrasing.

V This paragraph implies that a new son was born to Smamit in the meantime. This is said explicitly in the Greek version (see Appendix to Amulet 15). The sequence "to kill and to strangle", which may strike

one as illogical, occurs twice at least (cf. sections VII and VIII), although in N.Y. line 12 the sequence is "strangle", "kill". Amulet 15 uses the verb "to kill" exclusively.

V–VI In Hilprecht we may reconstruct (cf. Gordon 1941, p. 346): **[w]ḥnq ywtyh wqmt wṣwḥt *ʿlhy ʾsʾwny wssʾwny wsngrw wʾrtyqw.**

VI The spelling **ʾsʾwny** in the Jer. and Hilprecht bowls suggests the Greek vocative participle attached to the name in the appropriate syntactic situation, which makes it possible that there existed a Greek *Vorlage* from which the Aramaic version derived. The Greek text of Perdrizet 1922 indeed has a vocative form of address at this point (see Appendix to Amulet 15).

VII Jer. **btryh**, N.Y. **btrwhy**: Both forms are attested; cf. Rossel 1953, pp. 21 f., 58.

wʾdrykw ywtyh, "they found him", was misunderstood by the writer of the bowls as meaning "they led him"; see Commentary to Amulet 15:15–16.

lgw: Mistake for **bgw**.

plgws ymʾ rbh: See Commentary to Amulet 15:16.

wbʿw mynhwn: This phrase is not given in N.Y. **mynhwn** seems to be a mistake.

VIII The short quotation from Is. 40:12, as given in Jer., occurs also in *Sefer ha-razim*, 1:226. In Hilprecht we reconstruct **[bšʿ]wlw mym dkl ʾtr**...(cf. Gordon 1941, p. 347), where we also have the short quotation. Amulet 15 gives an Aramaic version of the short quotation.

kl ʾtr d-: See Commentary to Amulet 15:19.

IX The feminine name Qarqoy occurs also in Isbell 1975, p. 110 (No. 48) and Qaqay (fem. pr. n.) in Isbell 1975, Nos. 47 and 32 (spelled **qʾqy**). The name Qaqay is Iranian from *Kaka* "uncle, brother-in-law".

The N.Y. names give more the impression of being Semitic than Iranian.

X For the phrase **mk(h) wrwph** cf. Gordon 1941, p. 352 ברוך מכה ורופא and Amulet 1:20.

XI The verse Cant. 3:7 occurs also in Isbell 1975, No. 66:3–4.

Bowl 13

Collection of V. Klagsbald, Jerusalem

Plates 30–31

Within the central circle:

(1) להדא (לי)ליתא
דשריא עים יויתאי בת חתאי

(2) וברוב גאונך תנ[רע]ץ קומך תשלח חרונך יכלמו בקש

Outside the circle:

(3) בחיליה דרבה ובמימרא דמלאכי ובישמיה דמריא בגדנא אזיזא רבה דאילהי ומלכה ראישה דשיתי מלכותא חיליה חילא (דזיקא) חומתיה (4) חומתא דנורא סוגייה סוגיא דקטלא מרדותיה מרדותא דיקרבה דחי אכיל דלא מזיג שתי ראישיה דאישא דאריא כביה ככי דדיבתה שיניה (5) שיני דנמרא סירפי פומיה אדוגי דנורא עיניה ברקין דיקדין (כ)פידיה גילגלי בעננא צידיה סדנא דפרזלא איבריה תרתי ארזפתא חדייה חדיא דגברא לטבא (6) כרסיה ימא דלא ביבי גביה גבא דיגילא שקיה שקי נחשה ופרזלא סנדליה סנדלי פריחי מרכבתיה מרכבא לטבי {ת}יתי בידיה חרבא דקטלא אח<א> מריא אתא גיס (7) קריב עליהון על שידי ועל דיוי ועל ליליתא בישתא דשריא עים יויתאי בת חתאי ועל דנחיש ועל דיני ועל זכיא ועל פתכרא ועל ליליתא בישתא ועל מלויתא חציפתא דלויא עים (8) יויתאי בת חתאי ועים זוריגאי בר אימא דקטלא מינהון בניהון ובנחהון רמי לה פולקתא בפומה חבר שינה בפומה שפיד מוקרה קמה מחונה בחרבא דקטלא על מוקדה חכיל קומה (9) כל בישה ובטילו אזה מן יויתאי בת חתאי ומן זוריגאי בר אימא אתא כ־שלם גברא (דא)ישתגר אתא עליהון דשידי ודיוי בני חילי חשוכה בני אתרא דנורא בני אחרא

Bowl 13

Translation

Within the central circle:
(1) For that Lilith who dwells with Yawitai, daughter of Ḥatai.
(2) "In the fullness of thy triumph thou didst cast the rebels down, thou didst let loose thy fury, it consumed them like chaff" (Ex. 15:7).

Outside the circle:
(3) By the power of the Great One, and by the command of the angels, and by the name of the lord Bagdana Aziza, the great one of the gods, and the king, head of sixty kingdoms, whose power is the power of a blast, whose heat (4) is the heat of fire, whose practice is the practice of slaying, whose chastisement is the chastisement of battle, that which is alive he eats, that which is unmixed he drinks. His head is the head of a lion, his molar teeth are the molar teeth of a she-wolf, his teeth are (5) the teeth of a tiger, the draughts of his mouth are furnaces of fire, his eyes are glowing lightnings, his shoulders are the spheres in a cloud, his temples are an anvil of iron, his arms are two hammers, his chest is the chest of an evil man, (6) his belly is a lake without canals, his back is alum, his legs are legs of brass and iron, his sandals are sandals of sparks, his chariot is the chariot of the evil ones; he(?) comes and in his hand there is a sword of slaying.

There came the lord, there came the troop. (7) He came against them, against the demons, against the dēws, against the evil Lilith, who dwells with Yawitai d. of Ḥatai, against Danahiš, against the judges, against he who is acquitted, against the idol, against the evil Lilith, against the impudent female companion who accompanies (8) Yawitai d. of Ḥatai and Zorigai son of Imma, who kills their sons and daughters. He cast a hatchet in her mouth, he broke her teeth in her mouth, he pierced her brain before her (i.e. before the client), they smote her on the top of her head with a sword of slaying, he destroyed all evil (9) from her presence, they annihilated ʾzh from Yawitai d. of Ḥatai and from Zorigai s. of Imma.

There came in peace the man who was sent, he came against them, against the demons and dēws, sons of the troops of darkness, sons of the place of fire, sons of the place of black waters, sons of those women who

Bowl 13



דמיא איסיוי בני פגדתא (10) וילדתא בני ריגותא וזינוא בני יחטי בני בתולתא בני בתי חרבי בני כדי פסיסי בני גיבורין דהוו חלישין בני ארעא מקטלא דירה מיכליכון בשר הדדי ומישתייכון מיא איסיוי נבחיתון כיכלבי נצריתון (11) כיחזירי ומישתרקיתון כיתניני בישמיש {מי} מיחקריתון מיתחזתון לה ליויתאי בת חתאי בחילמי בישי בידמותא סניתא מיתחזתון לה בדהבא וכספא אנכא נחשא ואברא מיתחזתון לה בידמות (12) אזרא ואילנא דמות אסא שוניא וארני מיתחזתון לה ליויתאי בת חתאי בגמלי בתורי וביחמרי כאריוי בדיבי ובנמרי בשורני ובקופ[י] צילמתא יהוו כצילמתא דמיתי באבא ואימא בסכא וסבתי בעולימא ועולמתא בבטנתא (13) וילדתא בקברי סרודתא בחיתא דכצומי וכלדאי בתנורי שגירי בנוולי דלא מתקני מתחזתון לה ליויתאי בת חתאי בחיות גפא ראַרעא ובפרחותא דישמיה אתא עליכון מריא בגדנא כנשונכו כבשונכו ואחיתונכו תחות טורא רכ(ה) דפרזלא (14) <א>(ת)א פרגוד רמנכו דיוי נקש לכו בליביכו אצמומי דפרזלא אחית עליכון טינרא רבה דיגלל אטף עליכון ימא וכיפיה שלם דלא שלם יהוי עליכון דיוי ליומא רבה דדינא דימינא ודלא ימינא יהוי עליכון רוחי בישתא ואידי שמיה חילוותא איסתרתא (15) בני בתי חרבי בני כדי פסיסי דאמריתו ניזי נורי גאוני גברא מיגיני בארעא כי איסתרא דליות אתיא ברישיכו {רכיבי} אריא רכיבא מורניתא בידה נקיטא מנסבא {גוא לאילהי} זרגונא לאילהי וזרגונא לאיסתרתא חף כלהו לאילהי דחרשי לא ידעיתון דיוי (16) דגברא מילבר אתא עליכון קנטיואל שמיה סכין גודדא בידיה נקיט ליי<ה> וחרבא סטנא בבית אצבעתיה ואתא למיסחף בחי דאילהי וסחוף כל איסתרתא סחפונהו לפתורהו שדונהו לאגנהו זלח להו חלבא בארבעא זויתא בסיא לקרניהו תברו לשיפורהו (17) שויא לחדותהו נסיסא כד מידכריתון

are idle (?) (10) and those women who give birth, sons of lust and prostitution, sons of abortions, sons of virgins, sons of destroyed houses, sons of broken jars, sons of mighty ones who were weak, sons of a land which kills its inhabitants. Your food is the flesh of each other, your drink is black water; you bark like dogs, you grunt (11) like pigs, you hiss like snakes, you are called by Shamish(?).

You make yourselves visible to Yawitai d. of Ḥatai in bad dreams, in a hateful shape. You make yourselves visible to her in (the shape of) gold and silver, plumb, brass and lead. You make yourselves visible to her in the shape (12) of cedar (?) and tree, in the shape of myrtle, tree of chastity and pines. You make yourselves visible to Yawitai d. of Ḥatai in (the shape of) camels, oxen, donkeys, lions, wolves, tigres, cats and monkeys. (Your) forms will be like the forms of the dead. (You make yourselves visible in the shape of) father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, a lad and a lass, a pregnant woman (13) and a child-bearing woman, tombs of fright, midwives of diviners and soothsayers, burning ovens, unmended looms. You make yourselves visible to Yawitai d. of Ḥatai (in the shape of) winged animals of the earth and birds of the sky.

There came to you the lord Bagdana. They gathered you, they suppressed you, they brought you down underneath the big mountain of iron. (14) There came attendants (?), they cast you, dēws, they struck against your hearts arrows of iron, he brought down upon you a large flint rock of unhewn stone, he caused the sea and its cliffs to flow over you.

Peace without peace shall be upon you, dēws, for the great day of judgement. That which is on the right hand and that which is not on the right hand shall be upon you, evil spirits and the evil fates of the sky, troops, goddesses, (15) sons of destroyed houses, sons of broken jars.

That which you say, "Let us go and shoot(?) the pride(?) of the mighty one, the protectors on the earth, like the goddess Deliwat (who) comes at your head, mounting a lion, holding a lance in her hand, handing over a *zargona* to the gods and a *zargona* to the goddesses, they all covered the gods of the sorcerers" — you do not know, dēws, (16) that a man come against you from the outside, whose name is Kantioel. He holds in his hand a cutting knife, and (he holds) between his fingers a Satan's sword; he came to wreck the houses of the gods, and he wrecked all the goddesses, they wrecked their table, they cast away their chalice, they sprinkled fat in the four corners, they trampled upon their horns, they broke their trumpets, (17) they turned their joy into grief.

דיוא רבה כמינקדם הוהוא קרבה נפקיתון מישתעבדיתון ליה לאורוס דיוא תקיפא חומרי בישתא חומרי טמיתא חומרי זידניתא תלת אלוא אסא שוו לכו ברישיכו מיגופנא זניא דליות לא ידיעיתון דיוי דגברא מילבר אתא עליכון (18) נוריאל רבה נוריאל שמיה נורא לביש ונורא מכסי שלהביתא דנורא נפקא מיפומיה כד מידכריתון דיוא רבה כמינקדם הוהוא קרבא נפקיתון מישתעבדיתון ליה לזרני דיוא תקיפא קרני קריתון שיפורי מיבביתון פתורי מכשטיתון אגני מזגיתת כלילי גדליתון (19) וריחא רמיתון דאמריתו ניזי להו לידמות א(ד)ם ולא נישבוק להו חיה בדיריהו ניקטול סבי באסניהו ואלימני באישכריהו ני[סחו]פינהו לדר[ד]קי בשוקי נירדופינהו בפגריהו נירדופינהו בארחתהו לא ידעיתון דיוי דגברא מילבר אתא עליכון ודהבה שמיה (20) דארעא בולה נהרא בזיוה וטורי כולהון צמחי בידמותיה אישתפל גברי חשוכא איבטל אידי שמיה חילוותא איתזח קצירי אישתפי כורה[נא ביש]א דיוא (ננא) אגביה לטורא טורא קדח ויליל רוחי בי[שתא ...]אה וי וי עליכו דיוי דמיתחזתון לה ליויתאי בת חתאי ולזוריגאי (21) כר אימא דאישתגר ואתא עליכון דיוי שמיש ליקרבה עשרא מלאכיהון דאיתו קרם שמיש חמשה ראזי מיבית שידיה דשמיש מלאבי דאיתו קדם שמיש נורא לבישין ונורא מכסי של[הביתא ד]נודא נפקא מיפומיהון תרע[מה ע]ליך שידא ודיוא ודנחיש (22) ודיני וזביא ופתכרא וליליתא דיכרא וניקבתא דשריא עים יויתאי הרפתקא דדמא קטלא ית בולא כיכסחפי דדמא ורוגזא קריב קרבא בשידי קטיל קטלא בחומרי טמיתא וב[חומרי ב]ישתא

When you recall the great dēw, as there was a battle in old times, you go out and make yourselves slaves of **ʾwrws** the violent dēw, the evil amulet-spirits, the impure amulet-spirits, the impious amulet-spirits; place three aloes ‹and› myrtle on your heads from the prostitute(?) vine ‹of› Deliwat (?) – you do not know, dēws, that a man from the outside came against you, (18) Nuriel, the great Nuriel is his name. He is clad with fire and is covered with fire (and) a flame of fire comes out of his mouth.

When you recall the great dēw, as there was a battle in old times, you go out and make yourselves slaves of Zarne, the violent dēw, you blow horns, you sound trumpets, you set tables, you mix (drink in) chalices, you dress up wreaths, (19) and throw about perfume.

That which you say, "Let us go and (make ourselves visible) to them in the shape of a human being and we shall not spare a living creature in their dwellings; let us kill the old in their granaries, and the dumb in their wagons; let us sweep away the children in the market places, let us chase them in their bodies, let us chase them in their roads" — you do not know, dēws, that a man from the outside came against you, whose name is Dahba; (20) the whole earth is aglow with his splendour, and all the mountains are resplendent with his shape. The men of darkness were lowered, the evil fates of the sky (and) the troops were annulled, the sick rose, the [evil i]llness was healed, the dēw Nana(?) lifted (?) the mountain, the mountain moaned and wailed; the evil spirits...

Woe, woe upon you, dēws, that you make yourselves visible to Yawitai d. of Ḥatai and to Zorigai (21) s. of Imma, that there was sent and there came upon you, dēws, Shamish for battle. Ten of their angels who came to the presence of Shamish, five mysteries from the demon house of Shamish, angels who came to the presence of Shamish, are clad with fire and covered with fire, and a flame of fire comes out of their mouths.

Commotion(?) upon you, demon and dēw, and Danahiš (22) and judges and an acquitted person, and idol, and male and female Lilith, who dwells with Yawitai. A bloody destiny is killing all, as in inundations of blood and wrath. The battle against the demons is approaching, the slaughter of impure and evil amulet-spirits is killing.

Bowl 13

This bowl, from the Victor Klagsbald Collection, was put together from fragments by Mr. Rafi Brown. Almost the whole bowl was restored, with only a small fragment missing near the rim.

This is the largest bowl of its kind seen by us, and may be the largest recorded so far. The most common size of Aramaic incantation bowls "is of about 16 cm. diameter at top, by 5 cm. full depth" (Montgomery 1913, p. 13), and the size of "one large bowl" is 28x16 cm. (ibid.; cf. also Montgomery 1913, pp. 321–326). The present bowl, in contrast, measures 30–34 cm. in outer diameter (the measurement varies because the rim of the bowl is not a perfect circle), and the height, measured from the outside, is 14–15 cm. (again there are variations in the height of the bowl around the rim). Apart from the physical size of the bowl, it is also remarkable for its inordinately long text, as well as for the fact that it contains several phrases and expressions that are found here for the first time. For this reason some points in the text remain obscure. The structure of the text is unique, with its detailed description of the magical force appealed to, which is called Marya Bagdana.

The drawing in the centre of the bowl depicts a standing human figure with arms which touch each other as if meant to be crossed. A circle seems to be drawn round the feet of the figure. Around the whole figure a serpent is drawn as a *uroboros*, and another serpent is shown inside the circle formed by the first one, surrounding the figure on three sides, but not at the bottom. The inscription inside the circle identifies the figure as Lilith, although it has no features which would identify it as feminine.

1 The reading **(ly)lyt'** is not absolutely certain, but the comparison of the phrase with what occurs in lines 7 and 22 shows that it must be Lilith, for this is the demonic being that is consistently said to be "dwelling" (**šry'**) with the client.

The name Yawitai/Yoitai may be a variant of Ya'ita (see Amulet 2), with the characteristic Babylonian ending *-ay* (as in Zorigai), which seems akin to the ending *-oy*, also attested widely in Babylonian names. These endings may be of Persian origin; see Commentary to Bowl 3:2.

Ḥatai, a name which is attested under the form Ḥatoi (e.g. Isbell 11:3, 9 and other places; see index to Isbell, p. 90), is almost certainly a derivative of *'aḥat* "sister", with the proper-name ending *-ay/oy*.

2 The spelling of the verse shows the interesting rendering of the *qamaṣ* with *waw* in **qwmk**. The third word in the original verse is **thrs**, and it was replaced apparently by a different verb, of which the last

letter is *ṣade*; the verb may thus possibly be **trʿṣ**, which occurs in verse 6, or **ttṣ. yklmw** stands for the biblical **yʾklmw.**

3 The opening formula is vaguely reminiscent of the formula in Montgomery 1913, No. 2, where, however, the expressions used are in the first person singular. The combination **ḥylyh ... mymrʾ** occurs also in a Mandaic incantation text, where we have **bhilak umimrak utušbhtak** (Yamauchi 1967, No. 22:187–188).

rbh is used as a name of the deity, as in Bowl 6:9 **byšmyh ʿdʾrbʾ wdḥylʾ.** A similar usage can be detected in Amulet 1:8 **rbʾ gybrʾ wdḥylʾ**; Amulet 7:15 ... **krsyh dʾlh rbh ḥsynh wdḥylh.** In the first of these cases **rbʾ** may still be a noun, qualified by **gybrʾ wdḥylʾ**, although it reflects the Jewish liturgical sequence האל הגדול הגבור והנורא, while in the last case **rbh ḥsynh wdḥylh** are evidently all epithets of **ʾlh.** However, in the Syriac Amulet 6:1–2, the sequence **br tʾwn, rbʾ ḥsynʾ, qdyš ʾylʾ** gives us the names of three deities, the second of which is "the mighty Rabbā", with *Rabbā* serving as proper name. It is doubtful whether **rbh dʾylhy,** which we may have been tempted to translate "Lord of the gods" belongs here, as it has a clear parallel in Montgomery 1913, No. 19:5 **mryʾ rbʾ dʾylhy** (according to the reading of Epstein 1921, p. 49), which in its turn corresponds to **mlktʾ rbtʾ dʾystrʾtʾ** (No. 19:6). In Montgomery No. 19 **rbʾ, rbtʾ** are adjectives qualifying **mryʾ, mlktʾ.**

bgdnʾ: The term is quite familiar. It is used both generically for deities or demons, and as a proper name of the king of the demons (cf. Montgomery 1913, No. 11:5, and No. 19:6, with commentary on p. 198). The original meaning of the Persian word is evidently *bag-dāna* "a temple" (see Shaked, forthcoming). The name is attested apparently also as a proper name of a person in official Aramaic, see Cowley 1923, No. 17:1. The deity Bagdana, although he is described as the chief of the demons, occurs as a divine figure which is addressed in magic texts in supplication for help, as is the case here.

ʾzyzʾ: The spelling of this word with an *alef* suggests that it is not the adjective "strong, powerful", but perhaps a proper name (possibly derived from the adjective; cf. **ʾzzyʾl**, Montgomery 1913, No. 19:18), which may have been used in apposition to Bagdana. An analogical usage of the epithet **ʿzyz** can be seen in Montgomery 1913, No. 28:5 **bšmh ddlybt ʿzyztʾ.** For a deity **ʿzyzʾ** one may compare Nabataean **ʾlʿzʾ**, Arabic *al-ʿUzzá*, see Cantineau 1930–1932, vol. 2, pp. 128–129; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. *al-ʿUzzā.*

r'yšh dšyty mlkwt' seems to be in apposition to **mlkh**. This is hardly a case of **r'yšh** being used as an adjective for **mlkh**, as in Biblical Hebrew **hkhn hr'š** (II Chron. 31:10; Ezra 7:5), a usage which is unattested in a later period either in Hebrew or in Aramaic (in Jer. 52:24 **khn hr'š** is rendered in the Targum **khn' rb'**). The phrase **r'yšh dšyty mlkwt'** does not mean "his head is of sixty kingdoms"; we have a description of the head further on in line 4 **r'yšyh r'yš' d'ry'**.

šyty is the form for "sixty", besides **šytyn**, cf. Epstein 1960, p. 127. The number "sixty" is fairly widespread in magic texts, sometimes together with "eighty". Cf. Montgomery 1913, No. 19:8–9; Yamauchi 1967, Nos. 20:16f.; 27:13. Like **šyty/šytyn** there is also **tmny** (Montgomery 1913, No. 19:9)/**tmnyn** (as well as **tmnn**), although the form **tmny** is not recorded in Epstein 1960 or in Rossell 1953. (The latter, p. 34, quotes Montgomery 1913, No. 19:9 as reading **tmnn**, which is an error. Rossell himself, on p. 110, gives the same text with the correct reading **tmny**).

hyl' (dzyq'): Cf. Montgomery 1913, No. 12:8 **nšpyn kyzyq' brqyn kybrq'** "blowing like the blast, lightening like the lightning".

4 **swgy'** could also be translated "walking".

kkyh: For this ending of the plural noun with 3rd per. sg. m. possessive pronoun see Epstein 1960, p. 123; Rossell 1953, p. 38, and our Introduction, p. 32.

dybth might be read **dwbth** "a she-bear", but this is less likely. **dibia** "wolves" occurs as a killing agent in the Mandaic text published in Yamauchi 1967, No. 33:11. Wolves are commonly associated with demons in Iranian texts. On the confusion between "bear" and "wolf" in Jewish sources see Kook 1943/44.

5 **syrpy pwmyh**: We have assumed that **syrpy** is derived from the root **SRP** "to swallow, gulp down" (cf. **ŚRP** in Jastrow for Jewish Aramaic, **SRP** in Drower and Macuch for Mandaic, and in Brockelmann for Syriac); the alternative senses of the root **SRP** may also give suitable meanings: "burning" or "resin". A similar expression is found in Montgomery 1912, line 4: **dsrpyhwn brq'** (= Hamilton 1971, No. 1:4).

'dwgy dnwr': For **'dwg'** cf. Brockelmann, p. 5b; Drower and Macuch, p. 7. In Mandaic both forms, **adugia** and **dugia**, occur. The expression in Bavli Ḥullin 111b **by dwgy** is said to designate a receptacle for fat drippings, but one wonders whether it does not mean literally "(that which is) in the oven".

(k)pydyh is a compound of **kp-yd**, with the first element remaining unchanged in the plural. The literal translation is of course "the palm of the hand", but the combination **kp' dyd'** is used in Bavli Ḥullin 54a in the sense of "shoulder" (see Rashi). The writer of this bowl may have been particularly well-versed in Talmudic expressions; cf. Commentary on **gygly b'nn'** and on **gb' dygyl'** below.

gygly b'nn' seems to recall the expression **'nny bglgl'** in Bavli Berakhot 59a, which comes as an explanation of "thunders" (based on Ps. 77:19).

ṣydyh stands for **ṣyd'yh**.

sdn' dprzl': The same expression occurs also in a Mandaic magic text, cf. Drower 1938, p. 3:22.

6 **gb' dygyl'**: This combination of words occurs in Bavli Shabbat 110a and Menahot 42b: **gby' gyl'**, meaning "alum". It may contain the Persian element *gil* "clay". The back **(gb')** is compared to alum **(gb' dygyl')** possibly because of the pun element involved.

šqyh šqy nḥšh wprzl' is reminiscent of Dan. 2:33 **šqwhy dy przl.** Much of this passage is constructed like the description in Dan. 2.

pryḥy: The root **PRḤ** means "to bloom", "to fly", as well as "to shine, spark". On the semantic relationship of "to bloom" with "to shine" see Morag 1972, pp. 4 f., and below Commentary to line 20, **ṣmḥy**. For our translation "sandals of sparks" cf. the Mandaic expressions **sandlia ḏ-ziua** (e.g. *Ginza S.* 97:19); **sandlia ḏ-kima; sandlia iaqdana** (*Johannesbuch* 100:7), quoted in Drower and Macuch, p. 313.

mrkbtyh mrkbt' lṭby: Cf. the Syriac bowl in Hamilton 1971, No. 1:56 **mrkbthwn mrkbt lṭ'b'**. Our text is irregular; it should have read either **mrkb' <d>lṭby** or, as in the Syriac, **mrkbt lṭby.**

tyty: The feminine form, written by mistake, may have been caused by the word **mrkbt'**.

gys: We should normally have a final *alef* here, for which there is space on the surface of the bowl, but it does not seeem to have been written. An analogy for such an unexpected *status absolutus* in the same position is found in line 14 **'t' prgwd**. Gaster 1896, p. XVIII:31 has **'m npl 'lk gys'**.

7 **qryb** is perf. in the *pe'al* form.

'l šydy w'l dywy etc.: This has a parallel in lines 21–22.

dnḥyš: Probably of Persian derivation, cf. Shaked (forthcoming).

mlwyt': Cf. the expression in Montgomery 6:3 **dlwyn 'mhwn wdšryn bgw btyhwn.**

zwryg'y contains probably *zōrīg* from Persian *zōr* "power", though it could be read as *zīrīg*, from Persian *zīr* "wise".

8 **pwlqt'** seems to be a form related to *pelqā*, attested in Syriac, and Mandaic **pilqa** with the meaning "axe, hatchet", and in Jewish Aramaic **plq** "fissure, wound". The Jewish Aramaic verb PLQ is only attested once in the variants to Bavli Gittin 69a, and thus may be regarded as a denominative. The ultimate origin of the word seems to be Greek πελεκύς, cf. Brockelmann 1928, p. 576a; Jeffery 1938, p. 229 (on Arabic *falaqa*); Kaufman 1974, pp. 82f. (where the alleged Semitic root is relied upon with no good reason).

mwqrh, mwqdh: Aramaic seems to possess two words which look similar, and which have caused some confusion because of the similarity of *dalet* and *resh* in the Hebrew script. The one word, **mwqr'**, has the sense of (1) "brain, marrow", (2) "yolk of an egg". This word is attested in Jewish Aramaic (where only the first sense is known, cf. Targum Job 21:24. Targ. Jonathan Deut. 28:28 has for *šiggā'ōn:* **šwwyywt' dmtpš' mwqd'**, where **mwqd'** is evidently miswritten for **mwqr'**); Syriac (where two forms, *mūqrā* and *mūqlā*, are attested, both having the sense of "yolk"); and Mandaic (where both senses are known). The Arabic *muqla* "pupil of the eye" has been pointed out as a cognate. The other word, which exists only in Jewish Aramaic, is **mwqd'**, and is the equivalent of Hebrew *qodqod* in the Targum (Ps. 7:17, Targ. Jonathan Deut. 28:35), meaning obviously "top of the head".

In our text we seem to have for the first time in Aramaic literature the two words attested side by side. Although the difference between *dalet* and *resh* in our bowl is not always very pronounced, the two letters can be differentiated in most cases. In this particular case a distinction between *resh* in the first word and *dalet* in the second is clearly present.

't'...qryb...rmy...tbr...špyd...mḥwnh...ḥbyl...bṭylw: This sequence of verbs presents a confusing picture. Some of the verbs are in the singular, others (**mḥwnh, bṭylw**) are in the plural. A similar problem exists below, lines 13 f., where we have **'t'...knšwnkw kbšwnkw w'ḥytwnkw ... 't' ... rmnkw ... nqš lkw...'ḥyt 'lykwn...'ṭp 'lykwn.** Another series occurs in line 16: **'t' ... shwp ... shpwnhw ... šdwnhw ... zlḥ lhw ... bsy' ... tbrw ... šwy'**; in the last series the forms of the verbs include not only singular m. and plural m., but also two forms of what looks like singular feminine (**bsy', šwy'**). One may try to explain the divergence of number by assuming that the text uses without distinction a reference either to

mry' or to **gys/prgwd** (the latter nouns being considered as plural), but the last sequence (line 16) has no plural noun which one may refer to. The alternative explanation could be that the distinction between singular and plural in the perfect 3rd. person was weak, because, perhaps like in Syriac, the final vowel of the third pl. m. was not pronounced. The forms with object suffixes where the plural forms are fully pronounced indicate that all the forms of the verbs (except the initial **'t'**) may have been intended as plural 3rd. m., referring perhaps to the host of agents helping the main figure. **shwp** may be compared to the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic like **'mwr** "they said" etc., cf. Epstein 1960, pp. 34 ff. The forms **'yštpl, 'ybṭl** etc., line 20, belong to the same category. The two forms **bsy'** and **šwy'** remain unexplained.

qwmh: The spelling with *waw* indicates that the first vowel was pronounced *o*, i.e. *ḥolam* for *qamaṣ*. On this phenomenon see above, Commentary to Bowl 12, and Introduction, p. 32. Earlier the same word is spelled **qmh**. Another instance of the same phenomenon may exist in the proper name **ywyt'y**: perhaps Yo'itay for Ya'ita.

9 **'zh:** The meaning is uncertain. It may indicate some disease, perhaps to be associated with the root **'ZY, 'Z'** (cf. Jastrow, s.v.). Montgomery 1913, 24:2, reads **'zyt'**, but the correct reading is **'ryt'**, cf. Commentary to Amulet 9:1–2. **'zh** could hardly be connected to **'zyz'** in line 3.

***(d')yštgr:** The bowl has clearly **ṭyštgr**. It should be emended according to line 21.

'ysywy: The combination **mia siauia** "black water" occurs in Mandaic, cf. Drower and Macuch, p. 265b, where many passages are quoted. The combination **my' syw'** occurs also in Gaster 1896, p. XXVI:7 (miswritten **pyw'y** in line 4). The word is of Iranian origin, from Parthian *siyāw* (cf. Widengren 1960, p. 100).

pgrt': This is perhaps from **PGR** "to be lax, faint", possibly referring to women who do not bear children, in opposition to **yldt'**. If we read **pgdt'** (though *resh* seems the better reading) we may have the sense of "women who hold back, who restrain" (as from **PGD** in Syriac) or, as a noun, "disaster" (as **pagadta** in Mandaic).

10 **psysy** cf. Jewish Aramaic **PYS**, Mandaic **PSS**, "to destroy, break, wreck". For the sense cf. Bereshit Rabba (quoted in three versions in Sokoloff 1982, p. 201) where "broken jars" **(qnqnym mrw'r'ym)** are compared to wicked people.

ʾrʿh mqṭlʾ dyrh: Cf. Num. 13:32, where the Targum Onqelos has **ʾrʿʾ mqṭlt ytbhʾ**; Targum Jonathan has **ʾrʿʾ mqṭlʾ ytbhʾ**.

10–11 The noises made by the demons are compared to those of various animals; a similar theme occurs in an Arabic text given by Winkler 1931, p. 5.

11 **dhbʾ, kspʾ, ʾnkʾ, nḥšʾ, ʾbrʾ:** Daniel 2:32 has the sequence **dhb, ksp, nḥš, przl, ḥsp.**

12 **ʾzrʾ** is perhaps a metathesis or mistake for **ʾrzʾ**.

šwnyʾ is attested in Syriac.

bšwrny: The word had two dialect forms in Jewish Aramaic: **šwrnʾ** and **šwnrʾ**, as can be seen from Bavli Berakhot 56b, according to Ms. Munich, where the text reads: "If one sees a cat in one's dream — where it is called *šunnara,* it means that a change for the bad (*šinnuy raʿ*) will come upon him; where it is called *šurana* it means that he will have a nice song (*šira naʾa*)", cf. Jastrow, p. 1537b. Old Aramaic has **šrn,** Sefire I, A33, cf. Fitzmyer 1971, p. 50.

wsbty: For this plural form cf. Epstein 1960, p. 119, where this form is conceded for pl. fem. in adjectives only. Here it is clearly used for a noun.

13 **srwdtʾ** cf. Commentary to Bowl 1:3.

dkṣwmy wkldʾy: Cf. the same combination in Mandaic: **kaṣumia ukaldaiia,** frequently (v. Drower and Macuch, p. 200b).

bḥywt gpʾ wbprḥwtʾ: The Targum for Prov. 1:7 has for *baʿal kanaf:* **prḥtʾ dgpʾ.**

knšwnkw etc.: For the verbs cf. above, Commentary to line 8.

ṭwrʾ...dprzlʾ: The recurring Mandaic phrase is **šura ḏparzla,** cf. Drower and Macuch, p. 364a.

14 **ʿʾ(t)ʾ(?) prgwd:** The reading of the first word is doubtful. The supposed *taw* is uncertain, but no better reading has presented itself. **prgwd** basically means "curtain", but it may have developed to mean "attendants, guardians"; this is based on the occurrence in Hebrew of the phrase לא דומה שומע מפי פרגוד לשומע מפי המלך (cf. Jastrow, p. 1214a). In Mandaic the equivalent term **br guda** (Drower and Macuch, p. 69a), acquired the meaning of "member of a group", perhaps because of the popular etymology of the word, which was deemed to be constructed of **br+guda** the final element meaning "band". In Syriac

similarly we encounter the phrase **bny gwd'** "adherent of a party". It is doubtful whether in Jewish Aramaic **prgwd'** could undergo the same development of meaning, although if our reading is correct, **prgwd** seems to be used of a group of people, as it stands in parallel to the term **gys** (above, line 6), a term which also stands in juxtaposition to **mry'**.

A possible alternative reading could be {'} **'prgwd rmnkw** "they cast you against the curtain". This would entail regarding the first letter as a badly executed *alef*, which was then repeated and drawn in a proper manner. The difficulty here lies in the fact that this may be the only occurrence of the use of the preposition **'-** for **'l** in Jewish Aramaic of the bowls. The usage is very common in the Talmud, but for some reason it seems so far to be completely absent from the magic bowls.

rmnkw: Probably a mistake for **rmwnkw**.

'smwmy: Cf. Mandaic **stmuma** with variants, in Drower and Macuch, p. 324a, derived from Greek στόμωμα.

wkypyh: See Commentary to Bowl 5:2.

ywm' rbh ddyn': Cf. Montgomery 1913, No. 4:4–5; Isbell 1975, No. 62:6.

dymyn' wdl' ymyn': The translation is based on the assumption that the right hand indicates winning a trial. Alternatively, **ymyn'** could mean "I swear, I adjure". The translation would then be: "that which I swear and that which I do not swear be upon you".

hylwwt': Montgomery, No. 7:14 has **hylwnyn byšyn** according to Epstein 1921, p. 35, where **hylwt'** is also discussed.

15 From here onwards we have a series of stereotype phrases:

(1) lines 15–16	**d'mrytw ... l' yd'ytwn**
(2) line 17	**kd mydkrytwn ... l' yd'ytwn**
(3) line 18	**kd mydkrytwn ...** [something missing?]
(4) line 19	**d'mrytw ... l' yd'ytwn**

After **d'mrytw** the verb **nyzy** occurs. After **l' yd'ytwn** the constant phrase is: **dywy dgbr' mylbr 't' 'lykwn w-X šmyh.** The name of this **gbr'** is **qntyw'l, nwry'l** or **dhbh.** The phrases beginning with **kd mydkrytwn** go on in a uniform manner: **dyw' rbh kmynqdm hwhw' qrbh npqytwn myšt'bdytwn lyh l-X dyw' tqyp'**. The name of the mighty demon is in one case **'wrws**, and in the other **zrny.**

The stereotype phrases are evidently built in the form of an argument, with an assumption made by one party: **d'mrytw ...**, or **kd mydkrytwn ...**; and this assumption is refuted by the phrase **l' yd'ytwn**, which identifies

the persons addressed by the vocative **dywy**. The text seems lacunary at one point, when in lines 18–19 there is no response to **kd mydkrytwn.**

nwry gʾwny gbrʾ: The reading is uncertain. Another possible division of words is **nyrwg ʾwny gbrʾ** "we shall desire the dwellings of the mighty one".

mygyny bʾrʿ: Cf. the Hebrew phrase **mgny ʾrṣ** (Ps. 47:10). The initial **my-** is peculiar (as if the word had an initial preposition **mn**), though the *yod* may represent a *shva.*

dlywt: An unusual spelling for this name, which is commonly spelled **dlybt, dlbt,** cf. Montgomery 1913, p. 217. Reading **dlwwt** "who is together" seems less satisfactory.

{rkyby}, {gwnʾ lʾylhy} in both cases the scribe seems to have corrected himself without crossing out the wrong words.

ʾryʾ rkybʾ: Cf. Gollancz 1898, p. 88: **ʾryʾ rkybnʾ wbrtnynʾ.**

mwrnytʾ bydh nqyṭʾ: Cf. line 16 **skyn gwddʾ bydyh nqyṭ lyʿhʾ**, said of **qnṭywʾl.**

zrgwnʾ is a word of Iranian origin, meaning "yellow, gold coloured". In the Avesta *zairi gaona* (Bartholomae 1904, col. 1680) describes the *haoma* plant. It seems very close in origin to **zrny.** In Jewish Aramaic it designates a certain plant (beet or vine, cf. Kohut 1955, III, p. 319b; Löw 1924-34, I, p. 69; III, p. 449). Arabic *zarajūn* means both "vine" and "wine" (v. Ibn Qutayba 1900, p. 526, and Geiger *apud* Krauss 1955, pp. 169b f.). Talmudic Aramaic *zaryon,* a derivative of the same word, may mean "grape-wine" or "gold-coloured (wine)", cf. Geiger, loc. cit.

ḥp klhw: The verb seems to refer in the perfect to the two *zargona*-s (unless we refer **klhw** to the **ʾylhy dḥršy** which follows, and translate "covering all the gods of the sorcerers"). It is noteworthy that *zargona* occurs in Yerushalmi, Sukka III, p. 53c, where we have the same verb used: עץ שענפיו חופין את רובו ועולה כמין קליעה ... אין תימר זרגונה ענפיו חופות את רובו ואינו עולה כמין קליעה ואיזה זה הדס

16 **wḥrbʾ stnʾ:** We have **ḥrbʾ dqṭlʾ** in line 6.

bsyʾ...šwyʾ: See above, Commentary to line 8.

17 **hwhwʾ:** This should probably be read *hāwe (h)wā*, "there was", a typical Syriac expression (cf. Nöldeke 1898, § 277). It occurs in the group of texts Montgomery 1913, Nos. 32:3; 33:2; 9:2, which should be read with the comments and corrections offered by Epstein 1921, pp. 37 f.

ʾwrws is probably the god Horus. Montgomery 1913, No. 19:11 may have the same name (spelled **ʾwrs**?). **ʾwrws** is here parallel to **zrny** in line

18. A reading **ʾyrws**=Eros should also be considered, although it seems less likely. A third possibility is Ares, which occurs in Arabic magical literature (cf. Ps.-Majrīṭī 1933, p. 212).

tlt ʾlwʾ ʾsʾ: The text is difficult, and may be corrupt. A possible hypothetical reconstruction could be **tlt**<**ʾ**> <**ʾylny**> **ʾlwʾ ʾsʾ** <**w**...> **šww lkw bryšykw** "place on your heads three trees: aloe, myrtle and ..." On **ʾlwh, ʾlwws,** etc. see Löw 1924–34, III, pp. 342, 411 ff.

gwpnʾ is apparently used as a general term for a plant.

znyʾ is probably used in the botanical sense of "creeping, spreading in all directions", for a plant. A similar metaphor seems to be present in Jer. 2:20–21, where the expression סורי הגפן נכריה symbolizes a prostitute woman.

18 **nwrʾ lbyš wnwrʾ mksy:** Cf. Geniza 6, p. 3:6 for a similar expression. The same phrase occurs also in T-S AS 143.113.

zrny has an obvious Iranian etymology: *zarana-, zaranya-* "golden". The demon occurs in Montgomery 1913, No. 11:6, where we have a female genealogy: **zrny lylyth** is the grandmother of **ḥlbs** or **ḥldʾs lylytʾ**. The text is attested in two Judaeo-Aramaic versions and in one Mandaic text. This Lilith is apparently part of the retinue of Bagdana. In our text **zrny** is evidently a masculine figure. As a personal name Zarniya seems to be present in an Elamite text (cf. Mayrhofer 1973, p. 231, No. 8.1505), and Zarina, Zarinaia in Greek transmission (cf. Justi 1895, p. 382). The Pahlavi name Zarr-mihr (cf. Gignoux 179, p. 78) may be a *dvandva* compound of Zarniya and Mihr, both divine names (?).

qrny qrytwn, šypwry mybbytwn: These are unusual expressions, where the indirect object is given without an instrumental preposition **b-**.

mkšṭytwn: KŠṬ and **QŠṬ** in the sense of "to dress, set, adorn" seem to be interchangeable in Aramaic.

19 **ʾ(d)m:** The reading is uncertain, and so is the translation. The second letter could be a *kaf.*

sby...ʾlymny...drdqy: Three groups of helpless people.

dhbh: This name seems to be the Aramaic equivalent of Iranian **zrny** (line 18).

20 **ṣmḥy:** This verb like **PRḤ** has the double meaning of "blooming, growing" and "shining". Cf. above, line 6, to **pryḥy.**

ʾyštpl...ʾybṭl...ʾytzḥ: These verbs belong to subjects in the plural: **gbry, ʾydy šmyh, qṣyry.** Their singular forms confirm the supposition

that the plural endings of verbs in the perfect were unpronounced (unless followed by a suffix). See above, Commentary to line 8 on **ʾt** etc.

ʾytzḥ: The phrase corresponds closely to Bavli Bava Batra 16b **ʾydly ywmʾ ʾydly qṣyr** "the day has risen, the sick man has risen", which is quoted there as a popular proverb.

ʾgbyh: This verb is seemingly derived from **GBY** "to seize (for taxes)", or, as in Syriac, "to choose". As none of these senses goes well with our context, we prefer to see this verb as belonging to **GBH** (which should have given **ʾgbhyh**) "to raise, lift".

qdḥ is a magic verb, as evidenced by Montgomery 1913, No. 10:11. See Epstein 1921, pp. 41 f., who overemphasizes, it seems, the sense of "to rise, pierce", while several passages make it plain that the verb has also the sense of "to wail, moan", as noted by Epstein himself, ibid., p. 42, notes 1–2. Cf. especially Yamauchi 1967, No. 22:162 f. (=Lidzbarski 1909) **ašlit illit uqhdit uṣinpit uamrit** "I shrieked, wailed, howled, screamed and said". For **QDḤ** in the sense of "to flee" see Bowl 10:11.

21 **šmyš**: For a similar role of this deity cf. Montgomery 1913, No. 36:2–3.

mlʾkyhwn: The possessive suffix is somewhat unexpected. One might think of an error for **ʿšrʾ mlʾky hʿynʾwn** "they are ten angels", or the like.

dʾytw: It seems that this is a *peʿal* form in the perfect tense, spelled with a *yod* for traditional Jewish Aramaic *ḥataf patah*.

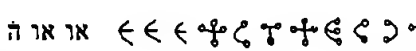
mybyt šydyh: This expression seems to correspond to the original meaning of Iranian **baga-dāna-*, Old Persian *daiva-dāna-* "house of deities, temple". Cf. Shaked (forthcoming).

trʿ[mtʾ] or **trʿ[mʾ]** "quarrel, complaint"; an alternative reading could be **trʿ[tʾ]** "break, breach" (which the Targum uses for Hebrew פרץ).

III. Amulets and Fragments of Magic Books from the Cairo Geniza

Geniza 1

Amulet on cl[illegible]
T-S A.S. 142.17
Plate 32



1 [illegible] או או ה ה ה
2 ה ה [ייות] אתון כל קטיריה קדישיא וכל אתיה משבחיה אלהכו
3 ואבערו לביה דטרשכין בן אמה אללה בחר גדב בת תפאחה
4 אמן

For the writing of an amulet on a piece of cloth, see below, Geniza 6, p. 1:15, **kyrqh gdydh** "a new cloth".

2 **kl qṭyryh**: The writer divided the word wrongly, assuming that these are two words meaning "all the knots", which he followed by **kl ʾṭyh** "all the letters". **klqṭyryh** corresponds to **klqṭyrym, krqṭyrym** (Greek

Geniza 2

Two pages from a magic book
T-S A.S. 143.229
Plate 33

page 1

0 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله
1 איתי ביעתא בת יומא בוכרחא
2 מן זגתא בר בטינתא ועיבד
3 שכבת זרע וחקק עלה ג חלקין
4 דעילא כתוב זפק רבו יקר

Geniza 1

Translation

1 (*magic characters*) **ʾw ʾw h h h**
2 **hh yywt.** You holy characters and all praiseworthy letters, kindle
3 and burn the heart of **ṭrškyn** son of Amat-Allāh (in longing) after **gdb** daughter of Tuffāḥa.
4 Amen.

χαρακτῆρες); see Margalioth 1966, pp. 4, 83–87. The phenomenon is already attested in Talmudic literature, cf. Kohut 1955, IV, p. 243a.

3 The magic aim of making someone's heart burn in longing after someone else occurs frequently in the love amulets from the Geniza. In our texts it occurs in Amulet 10.

Geniza 2

Translation

page 1

1 Bring a first-born egg of the (same) day
2 from a *bar-baṭinta* hen, and make
3 an effusion of semen, and engrave on it 3 parts.
4 On the upper one write **zpq rbw yqr**

Geniza 2

5 יבר נבוג ואמצעי כתוב
6 אזיסקע מגד מסגייע ודלחחתא
7 מזריקי לאי מעטל וקבר
8 ביעתא בזבלא דקנינ(א) מ רוז
9 ובחר כן אפ(ת)[ח] ואת [מ]שכח
10 בה תרין צילמ[ין] חד דאדם
11 וחד דצפרה והנך דאדם
12 קברה על דרנא דמפלגא
13 לארבעי אורחתא ודצפרא
14 שחטה על זוזא חיורא
15 ועיביד הנך זוזא טבעת

page 2

0 הכה(א) (?) פנג (?) שמיה (.....)
1 צום יום אלכמיס ולילת אלגומעה ואכתוב
2 יום אלגומעה באכר פי כזפה ניה פי
3 בית כאלי ואטרח פי אלחמאם (ב)[שם]
4 גבריאל ורפאל וצוריאל ודלקיאל
5 ועוזיאל מיכאל ושרפיאל ואקביאל
6 בשם אל אל אל אל אל אל אל ננננננננ
7 בשם עעעעעע בשם
8 ההההההה אתון שמהתא
9 קדיש[יא] ותק[יפיא] גיבריא
10 אוק[יד]ו וא[דליקו] ליבה ומזלה
11 וכוליתה דפּ כּ פּ בתר פּ כּ פּ
12 במה דהדא חיספא מתיקדא
13 אמן אמן בפריע
14 עיבידו דוצו אוחו
15 זריזו זלזילו ולא תעכבון

Notes to the text
p. 1:0 Addition above the line.
p. 2:0 Apparently added above the line.

5 **ybr nbwg.** On the middle one write
6 **ʾzysqʿ mgd msgyyʿ.** On the lower one
7 **mzryqy lʾy mʿṭl.** Bury
8 the egg in manure of cattle (for) forty days,
9 and after that open it and you will find
10 therein two images, one of a man
11 and one of a bird. The one of a man
12 bury in a valley which splits
13 in four ways; that of a bird
14 slaughter on a white *zuz*
15 and make of this *zuz* a ring.

page 2

1 Fast on Thursday and Friday eve night and write
2 early on Friday morning on an unbaked sherd in
3 an empty house, and throw it into (the furnace of)
the bathhouse: In the name of
4 Gabriel, Raphael, Ṣuriel, Dalqiel,
5 ʿUziel, Michael, Sarafiel and Aqbiel.
6 In the name of El El El El El El El **nnnnnnnnn.**
7 In the name of ‹‹‹‹‹‹‹. In the name of
8 **hhhhhhh.** You holy and
9 mighty names, heroes,
10 kindle and inflame the heart, fortune (!)
11 and kidney of X b. Y (in longing) after A b. B,
12 just as this sherd burns!
13 Amen, Amen. Immediately. (*magic*
14 *characters*) Do, skip ...,
15 hurry, make easy and do not deter.

1:2 The term *zagta bar baṭinta* is evidently based on the Talmudic phrase זגתא אוכמתא בי בטניתא (Bavli Bava Meṣi'a 86b), the meaning of which is not unequivocal. Rashi, followed by J. Levy (*Chaldäisches Wörterbuch,* s.v.), interpret it in the meaning of "a fattened black brooding hen", while Jastrow, s.v. בטניתא, tends to regard the phrase *Be baṭnita* as a geographic term. In Targum Jud. 15:15 **bṭynt'** stands for **ṭryh** "fresh" (cf. Tal 1975, p. 200, n. 25); see also Geniza 6, p. 4:10 **bydh ṭryh,** and Scholem 1965, p. 112.

1:3 **škbt zr'**: The second word in this Biblical Hebrew term is written in Arabic letters, with the possible aim of making the phrase difficult to decipher, perhaps because of its sexual connotation.

1:8 **rwz** is a Persian word.

1:11 **hnk** is here used for the singular, although it is otherwise consistently attested for the plural, both in the Talmudic literature and in the magic bowls (Montgomery 1913, No. 4:3), the latter under the form **'hnyk.** Cf. Epstein 1960, p. 26.

1:12 **drn'**: The reading is certain. The word is not Aramaic, unless we assume a corruption from **drk'** "road". **drn** is attested in Judaeo-Persian Bible translations for rendering Hebrew *'emeq* "valley" (cf. e.g. Paper

Geniza 3

Amulet
T–S A.S. 143.403
Plate 34

1 כשם אומר ועושה
2 מזמן הדין שמא לדלאל בת ציא
3 באהבת עשיר כן וצאיך שימני
4 כחותם על לבה ד"ד"לאל בת ציא וכחותם
5 על זרועך את דלאל כת ציא כי
6 עזה כמות אהבת דלאל בן(?) ציא

1972, Gen. 14:3,7,8; the editor read incorrectly **ddn**). The occurrence of two Persian words in this text, **rwz** and (presumably) **drn**, shows that the text derives from a Judaeo-Persian *milieu*.

2:2 *bākir* is evidently an Arabic word.

kzph nyh: Cf. also Geniza 5, p. 3:12 **šqph nyh**; Geniza 6, p. 1:3 and p. 4:4 **pkr ny**, all referring to an unbaked potsherd, and in all cases (with the possible exception of Geniza 6, p. 4:4) love charms are involved. For an example of an actual love amulet written on "unbaked clay" see Amulet 10, and the Commentary *ad loc.*

2:10 **lybh wmzlh wkwlyth:** The word **wmzlh** stands for **whwnh**, cf. Geniza 6, p. 1:13 **kn thpkwn lbh whwnh wkwlyth** ...The word **hwn**ʾ *(=hawnā)* means "mind, intelligence", but the writer associated this word with the Biblical Hebrew *hōn* "wealth, fortune"; the latter is translated in the Targum of Psalms (e.g. 112:3) and Proverbs (8:18; 19:4; 24:4; 29:3) by **mzl**ʾ, where in some manuscripts it is written **mwdl**ʾ.

2:13 **bpry**ʿ corrseponds to Greek ταχύ, cf. Reitzenstein 1904, p. 292, notes. For Aramaic **pry**ʿ cf. Kutscher 1976, p. 82. A similar expression in Aramaic is **b**ʿ**glh wl**ʾ **tt**ʿ**kb**; cf. Scholem 1965, p. 111.

2:15 **t**ʿ**kbwn** cf. Amulet 3:15.

Geniza 3

Translation

1 In the name of He who says and creates.
2 This spell (*lit.* name) is designated for Dallāl daughter of Ḍiyāʾ
3 for the love of ʿAšīr son of Waṣāʾif. Set me
4 as a seal upon the heart of Dallāl d. of Ḍiyāʾ and as a seal
5 on your arm, you, Dallāl d. of Ḍiyāʾ. For
6 the love of Dallāl d. of Ḍiyāʾ

7 לעשיר בן וצאיף קשה כשאול קנאה
8 רשפיה רשפי אש שלהבחיה מים
9 רבים לא יוכלו לכבות את אהבת דלאל
10 בן(!) ציא לעשיר בן וצאיף ונהרות לא
11 ישטפוה אם יתן איש א כל הון ביתו
12 בא בוז יבוזו לו ויהי יי את עשיר בן
13 [וצ]איף ויט [אליו חסד ויתן חנו בעיני]
14 [דלאל בת ציא ...]

3–12 The text is based on Cant. 8:6–7.

6 The writer uses here and in line 10 *ben* for *bat* after Dallāl. See above, Commentary to Bowl 4:7.

Geniza 4

Amulet
T-S K 1.68
Plate 34

....
1 סלה סלה סלה הללו[יה] בשם יי אל(הי) ישר(א)[ל]
2 על חסדך ועל אמת[ך] יה אלהים א אלהים א א[להי]
3 מערכות ישראל געור כל רוחין בישין [ויסורין]
4 וכל פגעין וכל מזיקין וכל שטן וכל צער וכל
5 מכאוב וכל מיני רוחין ושדין בשם אהיה
6 אשר אהיה שאמר והיה העולם בשם ששמע
7 הים ונבקע שמע האש ונבבה ושמעו הסלעים
8 ונשברו ושמע האבן ויתפוצץ השבעתי א[חכם]

7 to ʿAšīr s. of Waṣāʾif is strong as death. Jealousy is cruel as Sheʾol.
8 The coals thereof are coals of fire which have a most vehement flame. Many
9 waters cannot quench the love of Dallāl
10 d. of Ḍiyāʾ to ʿAšīr s. of Waṣāʾif, nor can the floods
11 drown it. If a man would give all the substance of his house
12 for love, it would be utterly scorned. And God was with ʿAšīr s. of
13 Waṣāʾif and showed [him mercy and gave him favour in the sight of Dallāl]
14 [daughter of Diya...]

12–13 Based on Genesis 39:21.

Geniza 4

Translation

1 Selah Selah Selah Hallelujah. In the name of yy the God of Israel,
2 for thy loving-kindness and for thy truth (Ps. 138:2). Yah God, ʾ, God, ʾ, the God of
3 the armies of Israel (I Sam. 17:45), drive out all evil spirits [and afflictions]
4 and all blows and all harmful spirits and every Satan and all grief and all
5 pain and all kinds of spirits and demons. In the name of
6 I-am-who-I-am, who spoke and the world came into being. In the name of He who, (when) the sea
7 heard (his voice) it split, (when) the fire heard it was extinguished, (when) the rocks heard
8 they broke, (when) the stone heard it exploded. I adjure you,

9 רוחא ושידא בשם המפורש היושב על כנ(פי) [רוח]
10 היושב על ערבות ביה שמו היושב בעבי
11 שחקים היושב בשמי שמים ועוד השבעתי
12 אתכם כל רוחין וכל שדין וכל [מ]זיקין וכל סטנין
13 וכל צער וכל מכאוב וכל מיני פורעני[ות בשם]
14 מיכאל וגבריאל ו(ר)[פאל] וצוריאל ו(נו)ריאל וברקיאל
15 [ושר]פיאל ועוד [השבעתי אתכם]
16 כל רוחין ושדין ו[מז]יקין בשם [ ]
17 שלמה [ ]
18 ותתע(ר) [ ]

In the margin:

[אהו יהא יהו] חח אאא ה בב או מ אב אמן אמן סלה

6 ff. "In the name of He who, (when) the sea heard (his voice) it split" etc: This sequence of adjurations is strongly reminiscent of the Hadrumetum love charm in Greek, quoted in Blau 1898, pp. 97 ff., especially lines 19 ff. Cf. also Geniza 7:8 ff.

Geniza 5

Four pages from a magic book
T–S K 1.70
Plates 35-36

page 1

1 [magical characters] לאישתא רקיקתא ץץ
2 ולעיריותא: משבענא בשם
3 חי האל ובשם צוריאל וכדותיאל
4 על מחושה מי שיהיה עליו הכתב
5 הזה דאיתסי בשם [magical characters]

9 spirit and demon, in the name of the Tetragrammaton, who sits on the wings of the wind (II Sam. 22:11),
10 who sits on clouds, Yah is his name (Ps. 68:5), who sits in thick clouds
11 of the skies (II Sam. 22:12), who sits in the heavens of heavens (Ps. 68:34). Further I adjure
12 you all spirits and harmful spirits, and all Satans,
13 and all grief and all pain and all kinds of troubles. In the name of
14 Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Ṣuriel, Nuriel, Barqiel,
15 [... Sara]fiel. Further [I adjure you]
16 all spirits and demons and harmful spirits. In the name of [...]
17 ...

9 On the concept of *šem hammeforaš* as used in magic texts cf. Blau 1898, pp. 123 ff.

The reconstruction of the letters in the margin is based on T-S K 1.168, lines 38–39.

Geniza 5

Translation

page 1

1 [xxvii] For fever, hectic fever,
2 and for shivering: I adjure in the name
3 of the God who lives and in the name of Ṣuriel and Kadutiel,
4 against pain. He who wears this writing
5 may he be healed. In the name of (*magic characters*)

6 ג ג ג :
7 אחר· קמיע טוב· ٢٨
8 אסותא דרחמנא למי שיהיה עליו
9 הקמיע הזה שהוא ממשפחת ישראל
10 אשביעך רוח ביהוה אלהי השמים
11 ובשביל סנדלפון ובשביל מיטטרון
12 שיתן צ(ינ)ים שיש על מי שיהיה עליו

page 2

1 הכתב הזה לגוים ואל יתן אתו לפ
2 ב פ שהוא מישראל ו'י'אמר יעקב
3 כאשר ראם מחנה אלהים 'זה' ויקרא
4 שם המקום 'ההוא' מחנים : ויצעק העם
5 אל משה ויתפלל משה אל יהוה
6 ותשקע האש : אחישה מפלט
7 לי מרוח סעה מסער : א ב ג ד
8 יהוה ... יהא עוזר וסומך לפ ב פ
9 מיכאל מימינו וגבריאל משמאלו
10 רפאל רפא אתו· יהוה אל באפך
11 תוכיחני ואל בחמתך תיטרני :
12 חנני יהוה כי אמלל אני רפאני יהוה כי

page 3

1 נבהלו עצמי :
2 קמי[ע] לשנתה· ٢٩
3 [ ] (ד)שמאלא
4 שמה רבה בר(וך) ברוך דהוא רמה
5 שנת תרדימה על אדם ודמך כן
6 ידמוך פ ב פ אמן אמן סלה :
7 למן דחשש ראשיה ٣٠
8 כת שמה דהדין מלאכה פולחמה
9 געור צערה דהדן שנה בין בימינה
10 בין בשמאלה אמן אמן סלה :
11 לאהבה· ٣١
12 כתוב עלי שקפה ניה ואלקיהא פי

6 (*a magic character*) ggg.
7 [xxviii] Another (matter). A proper amulet.
8 Healing of the Merciful to him who wears
9 this amulet, who is of the family of Israel.
10 I adjure you, spirit, in (the name of) **yhwh**, the God of heaven,
11 and for Sandalfon and for Metatron,
12 that he should give shields (?) of marble (?) to him who wears

page 2

1 this writing, against (?) the Gentiles, but he should not give it
2 against (?) X b. Y, who is of Israel. And when Jacob
3 saw them (the angels) he said: this is God's camp, and he called
4 the name of that place Mahanayim (Gen. 32:3). And the people cried out
5 to Moses, but Moses prayed to the Lord
6 and the fire quenched (Num. 11:2). I would hasten to find a refuge
7 for myself from the windy storm and the tempest (Ps. 55:9). ʾ **b g d**
8 **yhwh** (...) will help and support X b. Y.
9 Michael is on his right side, Gabriel is on his left side,
10 Raphael cure him. O Lord, rebuke me not in thy anger,
11 nor chasten me in thy hot displeasure.
12 Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak, O Lord, heal me for

page 3

1 my bones shudder (Ps. 6:2–3).
2 [xxix] An amulet for sleep.
3 [...] of the left side.
4 His great name be blessed. Blessed is He who caused
5 a deep sleep to fall upon Adam and he slept, so shall
6 X b. Y sleep, Amen Amen Selah.
7 [xxx] For him who has a headache.
8 Write the name of this angel Pultama (?).
9 Drive out the pain of this tooth (?) either on his right side
10 or on his left side, Amen Amen Selah.
11 [xxxi] For love.
12 Write on an unbaked sherd and throw it into

Geniza 5

page 4

1 אלנאר· בשם עזריאל פוריאל
2 לפ ב פ אמן אמן סלה[:] יום ד
3 [ ] ٢٧
4 יכתב פי רק בס(ך) [וזע]פראן פי יום
5 אלג וידפן פי באב אלדאר והדה
6 כתאבתה· מזמן הדין לאפרוחי
7 ית פ ב פ בחר פ ב פ אשבעית יחך
8 נוריאל דיחיב על תרעי נורא· ואת
9 שמשיאל דיחיב על [ג]לגלי שמשא
10 וכן כתוב אשבעית עליכון בשום
11 שמקה הלוך פקח ענבים ד(או)פע
12 דתידלקון ותיזחון ליביה דפ ב פ

This is a fragment from a book of magical recipes. The individual sections are marked by Arabic numerals (27–32) on the outside margin.

1:1 For the medical terms which occur here cf. the Commentary to Amulet 2. **rqyqtʾ** is an error for **dqyqtʾ**; other corruptions of these terms see in Geniza 6, p. 3:12 and p. 4:1–2.

1:3 **ḥy hʾl:** Cf. Amulet 1:23.

1:12 **ṣynym:** The reading is somewhat doubtful, but this seems to be the only possible interpretation of the letters. The word is probably connected with one of the group of words attested in Biblical Hebrew: *ṣinna, ṣinnim, ṣinnot, ṣninim,* the meanings of which cover the following range: (1) shield; (2) prick, thorn; (3) fishing hook or spear; (4) chill, cold (cf. Gesenius-Robinson-Browne, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament,* Oxford 1975, s. vv.), or, less likely, with Talmudic *ṣinna* "basket". The association of this word with **šyš,** which apparently means "marble, alabaster", is unclear. An alternative reading might be

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1 the fire. In the name of Azriel, Puriel,
2 for X b. Y, Amen Amen Selah... On Wednesday.
3 [xxxii] [...]
4 It will be written on leather with *sukk* (?) and saffron, on
5 Tuesday, and will be hidden in the door of the house. And this is
6 the writing on it: This is designated to cause X b. Y
7 to chase after A b. B. I adjure you,
8 Nuriel, who sits on the gates of fire, and
9 Shamshiel, who sits on the sun-globes.
10 And write as follows: I adjure you in the name of
11 **šmqḥ hlwk pqḥ ʿnbym dʾwpʿ**
12 that you should kindle and move the heart of X b. Y

šeyyēš, which would give an ungrammatical construction, unless some error is assumed in the writing.

2:1 In **lgwym**, as afterwards in **lp. b. p.**, the initial *lamed* seems to be used in the unusual sense of "against", or possibly "for (fighting against)".

3:4–5 Our text is based on Targum to Gen. 2:21.

3:7–10 The headache referred to in this amulet seems to be a toothache.

3:12 For **nyh** cf. Geniza 2, p. 2:2.

4:4 For **sk** cf. also Geniza 6, p. 2:8 **swk**. The word signifies a certain combination of elements, which make up a well known medical preparation; cf. e.g. Garbers 1948, pp. 329–331; Ps. Majrīṭī 1933, pp. 220:1, 275:7.

Geniza 6

Four pages from a magic book
T–S K 1.73
Plates 37–38

page 1

1 לבה דפ ב פ ולא יהווי לפ ב פ אסו עד
2 מן דיעבד צביוני נפשה דפ ב פ א א א
3 ס ה חורן יוכתב עלא פכר ני ויטרח
4 פי אלוקיד והדה אלדי תוכתב בשם
5 אומר ועושה מזמן הדן כתבה לפ ב פ
6 דירחום ית פ ב פ ויהווי ליבה יקר הך
7 מא דהדן חספא יקד כן יהווי לבה דפ ב פ
8 יקד בתר פ ב פ בשם נוריאל מלאכה
9 רבה דמני על חסדא ו(א) וחנה אחת
10 נור מן נורך ואשה מן אשתך ואק(ו)ד
11 לבה דפ ב פ בשם אברסכס
12 מלאכה רבה דהפוך את סדום את
13 עמרה כן תהפכון לבה והונה וכוליתה
14 דפ ב פ בתר פ ב פ אאא סה : חורן
15 כוד כירקה גדידה וכתוב עליהא
16 הדא אלכלם ואגעלהא פי אנבובה
17 קצב וארפינהא פי שפת

page 2

1 נהר גרי בשם רחמנא מזמ<ן> הדן רז[ה]
2 לרחמתא רבה דירחום ית פ ב פ
3 בשם א א הלוציאל הניא<ל> יה אהנהאל
4 צוריאהאל א א א ס ה אתון אתייה
5 קדישייה אלהבו ולק(טף)א ודלקו לבה
6 דפ ב פ בתר פ ב פ ויהוי רחם לה אמן
7 סלה הלו ס חורן כתוב עלא ריק גזל

Geniza 6

Translation

page 1

...(1) the heart of X b. Y, and that there should be no healing to X b. Y until (2) he does the desires of A b. B's soul. A(men) A(men) A(men) (3) S(elah) H(allelujah).

Another (charm). It should be written on an unbaked potsherd and thrown (4) into the fire. This is what should be written: "In the name of (5) He who says and does. This writing is designated for X b. Y (6) that he should love A b. B, and that his heart should burn, just (7) as this piece of pottery burns, so should X b. Y's heart (8) burn (in longing) after A b. B. In the name of Nuriel the great (9) angel who is appointed over grace and loveliness! Bring down (10) a light from your light and a fire from your fire and kindle (11) the heart of X b. Y. In the name of Abrasax (12) the great angel who overturned Sodom and (13) Gomorrah, so should you turn the heart, the mind and the kidney (14) of X b. Y (in longing) after A b. B. A(men) A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

Another (charm). (15) Take a new (piece of) cloth and write on it (16) these words and put it in a pipe of (17) reed and bury it in the bank of

page 2

(1) a running river: "In the name of the Merciful! This mystery is designated (2) for a great love that (X b. Y) should love A b. B. (3) In the name of ʾ, ʾ, Halușiel, Haniel, Yah, Ahanahel (4) Șuriahel A(men) A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)! You holy (5) letters, kindle and ... burn the heart of (6) X b. Y (in longing) after A b. B, that he should love her, Amen (7) Selah Hall(el)u(jah)."

Geniza 6

8 בסוך וזעפרן ועלקוה עליך בשם
9 יי נעשה ונצליח מזמן הדן רזה
10 לשפראטא דפ ב פ דירחום ית פ ב פ
11 בשם כלבו בדו בלהו ריסודוס ד(ז)
12 הווה וזה בא גטית אתון אתייה
13 קדישייה משבחייה אלהבו ואד'ל'ק[ו]
14 לבה <ד>פ ב פ בתר פ ב פ ברחמה רכה
15 א א ס ה ⊙ חורן לילמרד ולגרב גי(ד)
16 כוד בידה מדרה ואטמרהה פי
17 קכר והאדא אלדי תו'כ'חוב מזמן
18 הדן כתבה לפ ב פ דיהווי שייח

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1 ומדנק באשתא אש תמיד תוקד על
2 פ ב פ לא תכבה בשם נטרוס סיה דגהנ(ם)
3 ובשם סמאל סטנא xxxxxx ג ג ג
4 אש תמיד תוקד על פ ב פ לא
5 תכבה אש תלהט אש תורד על
6 פ ב פ ויהווי בנורא נפק בנורא לבש בנורא
7 נפ(ק) שחמה ועד דנצבי א א ס ה חורן ליל[...]
8 כוד דלף ואכתוב עליה מזמן הדן כתבה
9 לפ ב פ דיהווי עלל באשתא ונפק באשת(א)
10 בשם עובה דכר עבראות ילו יסר ניננות
11 כוניית כוניית אתון שמהתה קדישייה
12 שלחו אשתא ועריתא וזעקה על פ ב פ
13 מן הדן יומה ועד דנצבי אמן א ס ה ס
14 חורן יוכתב עלא צפיחת אנך ויטמר
15 פי אלבית אלדי תריד והאדא אלדי תוכ<תב>
16 מזמן הדן כתבה לפ ב פ דיהווי שיח ודייב
17 ומדנק ומטלק בערס מרעה בשם או או
18 נוקאך קהתך קריתך אפלוק או או
19 כיתאון ושאקצו שמו

Another (charm). Write on the hide of a deer (8) with *sukk* (?) and saffron and hang it on you(rself): "In the name of (9) God we shall do and succeed. This mystery is designated (10) for the endearment (?) of X b. Y that he should love A b. B. (11) In the name of **klbw bdw blhw ryswdws dz** (12) **hwwh wzh bʾ gṭyt.** You, praiseworthy holy (13) letters, kindle and burn (14) the heart of X b. Y (in longing) after A b. B with great love, (15) A(men) A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

Another (charm). For sickness and for scab. Effective. (16) Take a fresh egg and bury it in (17) a tomb, and this is what you should write: "This writing (18) is designated for X b. Y that he may melt

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(1) and groan in the fire. There should burn a perpetual fire over (2) X b. Y, unextinguished. In the name of **nṭrws syh** of gehenna (3) and in the name of Samael the Satan (*magic symbols*) (4) There should burn a perpetual fire over X b. Y, un-(5)extinguished, there should blaze a fire, there should descend (?) a fire over (6) X b. Y, and may he be going out in fire, being clothed in fire, (7) its blackness (?) coming out as long as I desire. A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

Another (charm). For ... (8) Take a hoof (?) and write on it: "This writing is designated (9) for X b. Y, that he may be going into fire and going out in fire. (10) In the name of **ʿwbh dbr ʿbrʾwt ylw ysr nynwt** (11) **kwnyt kwnyt.** You holy names, (12) send fire and fever and crying over X b. Y (13) from this day and as long as I desire, Amen A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

(14) Another (charm). There should be written on a sheet of lead and buried (15) in the house which you desire. This is what should be written: (16) "This writing is designated for X b. Y, that he may melt and drip (17) and groan and be cast away on a sick-bed. In the name of **ʾw ʾw** (18) **nwqʾk qhtk qdytk ʾplwq ʾw ʾw** (19) **kytʾwn wšʾqsw šmw.**

Geniza 6

page 4

1 אתון אתייה קדישייה אפלון על פ ב פ אש[תה]
2 זעריתה ודנוקה ויהווי מטלק בערס מארעה
3 ולא יהווי לה אסו עד זמן דנצבי א א ס ה ס
4 חורן יוכתב עלא פכר ני ויטמר פי מוקדה
5 אש תמיד תוקד על פ ב פ לא תכבה כי אש
6 קדחה באפ בפ ב פ ותיקד עד שאול
7 תחתית ותאכל ארץ ויבולה ותלהט פ ב פ
8 לילה וימם לא תכבה האש מן פ ב פ הנה
9 יד יי כפ ב פ א א ס ה חורן לסינה יוכתב
10 עלא בידה טריה ותודפן יום אלגומעה
11 פי קבר מזמן הדן כתבה לפ ב פ דיסני
12 לפ ב פ בשם יי וישנאה פ ב פ לפ ב פ
13 שינאה גדולה עד מאד כי גדולה
14 השינאה אשר שנא פ ב פ לפ ב פ
15 מאהבה אשר אהבו בשם אכתריאל
16 הפכיאל ודפוניאל כן יתהפך לבה
17 והונה דפ ב פ ויסני ית פ ב פ הך מא
18 דאכלבה סני לחזירה וחזירה לבלבה
19 אמן אמן ה ס

1:1–2 **ʿd mn** for **ʿd mʾ**. The phrase **ʿd mn dyʿbd ṣbywny npšh** can be compared with the formula **ʿd dnṣby** below p. 3:7, 13 etc.

1:3 **pkr ny**: See Commentary to Geniza 2, p. 2:2 and to Amulet 10.

1:9 **dmny** for **dmmny**.

wʾ whnh is an error for **wʿl ḥnh**.

1:13 **whwnh**: The word **hwnʾ** may be connected to the Targumic and Syriac word *hawnā* "mind, intelligence", rather than to the Hebrew *hōn* "wealth". For **lbh whwnh wkwlyth**, Geniza 2, p. 2:10–11 has **lbh wmzlh wkwlyth**; see Commentary there and to Amulet 10.

1:16 **ʾlklm** for *al-kalām* (usually spelled in Jewish Arabic **ʾlklʾm**).

1:17 The expression **špt nhr gry** is somewhat incongruous, if the reading is correct. One might expect the Arabic *ḍaffa* rather than the Hebrew *śafa* or the Aramaic *siftā*.

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(1) You holy letters, cause there to fall on X b. Y fire (2) and fever and groaning and may he be cast away on a sick-bed (3) and may he have no healing as long as I desire. A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

(4) Another (charm). There should be written on an unbaked potsherd and buried in a furnace (as follows): (5) "The fire shall ever be burning upon X b. Y, it shall never go out. For fire (6) is kindled by my anger against X b. Y, it burns to the depths of (7) Sheol; it devours earth and its harvest and it glows at X b. Y. (8) Day and night shall the fire keep (burning) unextinguished at X b. Y. Behold, (9) the hand of the Lord is upon X b.Y. A(men) A(men) S(elah) H(allelujah)."

Another (charm). For hatred. There should be written (10) on a fresh egg, which will be buried on Friday (11) in a tomb (as follows): "This writing is designated for X b.Y, that he may hate (12) A b. B in the name of God. Then X b. Y hated A b. B (13) exceedingly, so that the hatred (14) with which X b. Y hated A b. B (15) was greater than the love with which he had loved him. In the name of Akatriel, (16) Hafkiel and Dfuniel, so should the heart (17) and mind of X b. Y change to hate A b. B like the way (18) a dog hates a pig and a pig hates a dog. (19) Amen Amen Selah Ha(llelujah)."

2:1 **gry** should be **gʾry** (Arabic *jārī*).
2:5 **ʾlhbw wlqṭpʾ wdlqw** seems to be an error for **ʾlhbw wʾdlqw**.
2:7 **gzl** should be **gzʾl**.
2:8 **swk**: Cf. above, Geniza 5, p. 4:4.
2:10 **lšprʾṭʾ** may be a corruption from **lšpr bʿynh** "finding grace" (?).
2:15 *lilmaraḍ*, as also *bayḍa*, *maḍira*, are spelled with *dalet*; cf. Blau 1980, pp. 35 f., § 2:15; pp. 38 f., § 2:21; Blau 1981, p. 76, note 1. "For sickness" means obviously "in order to inflict sickness on your enemy". Many of the recipes in this fragment deal with malicious effects which the magician tries to direct towards his enemy.
2:16 **mdrh** probably Arab *maḍira* "fresh". Professor Blau has suggested the reading *maḍira* "rotten (egg)", but the recipes usually call for fresh objects; cf. also p. 4:10 **bydh ṭryh**, as well as Geniza 2, p. 1:1–2.

2:18 **šyyḥ** from ŠWḤ "to melt, be consumed, waste away by fire".

3:1–2 The phrase here recalls Lev. 6:6.
3:5 **twrd** should be perhaps **twqd**?
3:7 **npp** or **npq**?
dnṣby may be either first person singular or plural; cf. Dalman 1905, p. 265; Kutscher 1971, col. 272. The singular seems preferable in this context; cf. T—S K 1. 95: **bḥtm' dḥtymyn ... wl' 'yštryn 'd d'nh 'yṣby.**
3:8 **dlp** may represent Arabic ظلف.
3:12 **'št' w'ryt' wz'qh**, cf. p. 4:1–2 **'š[th] z'ryth wdnwqh**, and Amulet 2:12 **'šth w'ryth wdqyqth**. The latter is the correct version meaning "fever, shivering and hectic fever".
3:16 **dyyb** from DWB (Hebrew ZWB) "to drip, to flow".
3:17 **'rs mr'h** is not known to us from other sources. It obviously means "a sick-bed", as Hebrew **'rś dwy** in Ps. 41:4.

4:1–2 See above Commentary to p. 3:12 as well as Commentary to Amulet 2:2, 12.
4:5 After Lev. 6:6.
4:5–7 After Deut. 32:22.
4:8–9 After Ex. 9:3.
4:12–15 After 2 Sam. 13:15.
4:18 **d'klbh** should be **dklbh**.

Geniza 7

Amulet
T–S K 1.127
Plate 39

1 בשמך יי צבאות אלהי ישראל יושב הכרובים שם
2 המפורש בשבעים שמות אל חנון ורחום אל מוחץ
3 ורופא שלח רפואה ותרחם לבנינה בנת ימן ותשלח לה
4 רפואה שלמה על חסדך ועל אמתך בך בטחתי אלהי
5 ישראל ענה אותי ב(ע)ת צרתי משביע אני עליכם
6 הרוחות והשדות ועין רע ופגע רע ושטן רע וכל
7 מיני פורעניות בשם אהיה אשר אהיה המרעיש
8 את העולם כולו בשם ששמע הים ונבקע
9 ששמע האש ונבכה ושמעו סלעים ונשתברו
10 ושמע האבן ויתפוצץ בן תצאו ותלכו ותתרחקו
11 ולא תגעו לבנינה בת ימן מן היום הזה ועד לעולם
12 אמן אמן אמן סלה ⊖ על שמך רחמנא אסותא
13 מן שמיא תהוי לה לבנינה בת ימן ותיחסי ברחמי
14 שמיא ותהוי לה אסותא מן כל עינא בישא
15 ורוחא בישא ופגעא בישא ומרעין בישין
16 ומכתשין ויסורין ואשתא וערויתא וכל זיקין
17 ומזיקין בישין אנא מומינא לכון ומשבענא
18 עליכון בשם גבריאל מיכאל ורפאל דתזוערן
19 ותפקון מן בנינה בת ימן מן גופה ומן
20 רישה ומן צידעה ומן מאתן וארבעין
21 ותמנה איברין דאית בה א א ס הללויה
22 בן פורת יוסף בן פורת (ע)[לי עין] בנות צעד[ה]
23 עלי שור אחישה מפלנ[ט לי מ]רוח סועה
24 מסער מסער סועה מרוח לי מפלט
25 אחישה ⊖ ·
26 כי עם בציון ישב בירושלם בכה לא
27 תבכה חנון יחנך לקול זעקך כשמעתו
28 ענך ויענך ורע שר לא יאונך א א ס

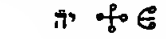
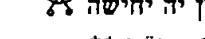
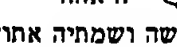
29 פיומיאל אדרמלאל אברסכס סמראל
30 אנטיכוס מנטיפוס שבר שניר
31 שינר ויסיסים וסם ובתכיסן ויכר
32 מצוץ יקטקוטה מעשה ברוחא
33 והן אן בהם א א א ס· יברכך יי וישמרך
34 אנקחם יאר יי פניו אליך פסחם
35 ישא יי פניו אליך וישם לך שלום
36 פספסים ושמו את שמי על בני
37 ישראל ואני אברכם ודיוניסים
38 והפשיט את העלה ונרצה לו לכפר עליו

It has seemed unnecessary to give a translation of this text, which is largely based on biblical verses and contains parallels to other Geniza charms.

2–3 For **mwḥṣ wrwpʾ** cf. Dt. 32:39; Is. 30:26; Job 5:18.
3 The name of the client seems to be Bunayna daughter of Yaman (or Yumn).
5 Cf. Ps. 20:2.
8 For these formulae see Geniza 4:6 ff.
22 Gen. 49:22.
23–24 Ps. 55:9. The verse is repeated backwards.
26 ff. Is. 30:19.
28 **šr** seems to be the Arabic equivalent of Heb. *raʿ*, introduced as a gloss. The Hebrew phrase is a paraphrase of Ps. 91:10.
33 ff. Num. 6:24.
38 Lev. 1:6; 1:4.

Geniza 8

Amulet
T–S K 1.137
Plate 40

1 על שמך ועל חילך מרי
2 דעלמא יהּ יהּ צור
3 ויזאֵ (?) נושא הכתב הזה
4 מכל חולי ומכל נגע ומכל
5 דבר רע ומכל קנאה בישא
6  יהּ
7  אהה חסין יה יחישה
8  יהּ אהה
9 חסין יחישה ושמחיה אתון
10 מלאכיא קדישיא יהּ אהה
11 חסין יחיש טולו ושיזבו מן
12 נושא הכתב הזה חרשין
13 בישין ומכל לווטין בישין יהּ
14 אהה יחיש ופרחיה שדין בישין
15 ומכל פגעים בישין ומכל
16 רוחין בישין לילא ויממא
17 וצהריא ויתגערון ויתרח<ק>ון
18 ויפ(ק)ון מן נושא בתבי זה
19 ומן מאתים ושמונה וארבעים
20 אברים בשם אל חי וקיים
21 מוחץ ורופא והסיר יי ממך
22 כל חולי ויאמר אם שמוע תשמע
23 בקול יי אלהיך והישר בעיניו
24 תעשה והאזנת למצותיו ושמרת
25 כל חוקיו וכל המחלה אשר שמתי
26 במצרים לא אשים עליך כי אני
27 יי רופאיך מרמראות
28 ועדנת שמירות קרובי

In the margin:

לברו יתיה תסגוגא רפא ותיאו ותיאו ותי(נ)או וי(ר)גיה

At the top, inverted:

והוא נעורה אה אה סלה
לעולם ועד אמן (אמן)

This fragment too does not seem to require translation. In the following some comments on points of interest will be made.

3 **wyz'**: We should have expected a verb meaning "to save", like **ṭwlw wšyzbw** in line 11. It is possible that **wyz'** is a corruption of **šyzb**. On the other hand it could belong to the verb attested in similar contexts under the forms: **wtyzh mnh mbklt'** (Bowl 1:11 and Montgomery 1913, No. 32:2); **dyzh wytrḥq mynyh dyw' byš' wsṭn' byš'** (Montgomery 1913, No. 3:2). Montgomery 1913, p. 130, explains this verb as derived from **ZḤḤ** or **ZW'**, but it is also possible to regard it as deriving from **'ZL**, with the *lamed* dropped, as frequently in Eastern Aramaic (see Epstein 1960, pp. 58 f.). In that case the phrase would mean: "May the bearer of this writing go away from all illness...". The difficulty about this interpretation is that it does not form a good parallel with lines 11–12 and that it is not built around any otherwise attested formula, for the bowl-texts use this verb in relation to the evil things which should depart from the person. In addition it would be strange to find here an East Aramaic form. Our suggestion that **wyz'** is a corruption of something like **wyštzyb** seems therefore preferable.

7 **yḥyšh**: Cf. Commentary to Amulet 3:2.

11–13 The syntax here is confused. Read טולו ושיזבו נושא הכתב הזה מן חרשין בישין ומכל לווטין.

17 **wšhry'**: This is a Hebraism in Aramaic.

21 **mwḥṣ wrwp'**: See Commentary to Amulet 1:20 and Geniza 7:2–3.

Bibliography, Glossary and Indices

ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan*
AIPHOS	*Annales de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*
AJSLL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BEO	*Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CRAIBL	*Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
MSL	*Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine*
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie*
REJ	*Revue des Etudes Juives*
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,* Philosophisch-historische Klasse
TSBA	*Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZK	*Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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GLOSSARY*

In the following, all the words and names occurring in the Amulets and Bowls published in this book are indexed. The Geniza texts have not been included in this Glossary. The main Glossary is followed by an index of divine names, names of angels and *nomina barbara*, and by an index of personal names. Biblical quotations are listed in a separate index. The individual words in such quotations are not included in the glossary.

Numbers in italics indicate that the reference is to a text in Syriac (this applies to A*6*, B*1*, and B*10*).

Verbs are placed under their root forms. Nouns are arranged in principle according to their spelling, usually in the definite form. *Matres lectionis* are ignored in the alphabetical arrangement, unless they form part of the root or of the basic nominal form. This rule has not been strictly observed in foreign words.

Restored words have not been listed. Words partly restored are indicated by parenthesis around the line number.

אבא father B 13:12. אבוכון B *1:9*
אבד to be lost. יבד B 9:4
אבל to mourn. אבילין B 6:7
אבנא stone. אבן B 6: 5,8
אברא limb. אברין A 9:3. אבריה (H) A 4:17. איבריה B 13:5
אברא lead B 13:11
אגנא chalice. אגני B 13:18. אגנהו B 13:16
אדונא furnace. אדוני B 13:5
אדמסא steel B *1:12*
אדם a human being B 13:(19)
אודנא ear. אודנין B 6:4. אודניהון B 6:7
או O (interj.) A *6:1, 11*
אוקינוס sea, ocean A *6:4–5*
אוריחה see עריחה
אזגנדא messenger; pl. B *1:5*
אזה perspiration (?) B 13:19
אזל to go, move out. אזלת B 12:2 אזילו B *10:9, 12.* תיזה B *1:11.* ניזי B 13:15, 19
אזרא cedar (?) B 13:12
אחא brother B *1:8*
אחד to hold, seize. יחוד B 9:5
אחד (H) one A 1:9
אחרי (H) behind. מאחריך A 1:2
אידא fate. אידי B 13:14, 20
איך like B *10:11*
אילנא tree B 13:12

* Prepared by Ḥ. Avitan

אית there is / are B *1:4;* 2:6; 5:(2),3; 7:3; 11:8; 12:IX,XI. עית B *10:6,10*

אכל to eat. חכול B 9:9. איכולי B 7:8. אכיל B *1:8;* 13:4. אכלה A 7:17,20. מוכיל *af.* B *1:8.* See also מיכלא

אכליא perdition (?) B 7:3.

אכפיא paralysis B 9:10

אל (H) God A 1:3; 2:4; 4:5,7,8. אלהי A 1:23; 4:24,34. האל A 1:23.

אלהא God A 3:12; 5:3; pl. B *1:9.* אלה A 3:6; 7:5, 11, 14, 15. אילה A *6:2,22,18.* אילהי B 13:3,15. See also בית אילהי

אלוא aloe B 13:17

אילמא mute, dumb. אילמין B 6:17. אלימני B 13:19

אלתר see עלתר

אימא mother B 13:12; see also list of personal names. אמה A 12:17. דימא B 2:4

אמיתא (=אמיטתא) darkness B 7:4

אמן A 1:(6),12, 18, 19; 2:12; 4:23; B *passim.* אמין B *1:13*

אמר to say, speak A 15:17; B 6:10; 12:VIII. אמרת (1st p.) A 7:19; (3rd p. f.) B 12:IV. אמרו B 12:IV. אמריתו B 4:5. יאימר *1:5.* אאמר B 13:15, 19. אמרן A 7:22. See also מימרא, מאמר

אן if A 3:16; 7:7; 7b:3

אנה I A 1:12; 8:3; 9:4; 10:6; 12:1; B 12b:IV. אנא B 12a:IV; 12:VIII. אני (H) A 4:28,32; B 5:1.

אנכא plumb B 13:11

אנשא man; see also בני אינשא (s.v. בר). אינשי B 6:6

אנתי you (f.) B 12b:I

אנתן see אתן

אסא myrtle B 13:12, 17

אסותא remedy, healing B 3:1. אסותה B 11:7. אסו A 3:20(?); B 5:1. אסיותא B *10:6,13.* אסיותיה A 1:15, 18

אסי *pa.* to heal. יאסי A 1:(13). אסי A 3:20 (?). אסון A 3:22. מאסיה A 2:1. *itp.:* יחסי B 11:8. אתאסי A 1:(10)

איסיוי black B 13:9,10

אסכרא choking B 9:9

אסנא granary. אסניהו B 13:19

אסקופתא threshold. אסקופת B 5:1. איסקופתיה B 11:1, (7), 8

אסר to bind. אסרתינון B 5:2, 3. אסיר B 12:IX. אסירא B 2:5; 12:XI. אסרא B 8:I. אסריא B 8:II. אסירת B 12b:I. אסירין B 2:8; 12:XI. אסרין B 8:I. אסיריתון B 5:7

איסרא imprisonment, spell B 4:2

איסתרא goddess B 13:15. איסתרתא pl. B *1:5,9;* 13:14,15,16

אף also B 4:6; 5:7

אצמומא arrow. אצמומי B 13:14

אקרא fort (?). אקרי B 6:9

ארבעא four B 13:16. ארבעין forty A 9:3. ארבעים (H) 4:17. ארבע מאות four hundred (H) 4:17–18

ארזפתא hammer B 13:5

אורחתא way B 6:10. ארחתהו B 13:19

אריא lion B 13:4,15. אריוי B 13:12

אריסותא submission B 11:4

ארנא pine. ארני B 13:12

ארעא, ארעה earth A 9:6; B *1:(3,4);* 2:2, 8; 3:4; 5:2; 6:4; 7:8; 13:10, 13, 15, 20. ארץ (H) A 3:19

אישכריהו wagon. אישכרא B 13:19

אשתה, אישתא fire, fever A 2:2, 8, 12; 3:22; 9:1; B 7:4, 9; 9:3. אשא A 14:2. אש (H) A 4:29

אשלמתא spell; pl. B *10:8;* 11:4

את (H) acc. particle A 1:(3); B 12b:X

אתא omen. אתה B 9:13

אתון you (pl.) A 7:4; 10:3; B5:7.

אנתון B *10:8*
אתון furnace A 3:17
אתי to come. אתא B 5:5, 7; 12:IV; 13:6, 9, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21. יתי B 13:(6). יתא B 9:(13). תיתי B 9:4. תיתון B *10:5*. אתיה B *1:7*. אתיא B 13:15. אתין B *1:7. af.*: איתו B 13:20. איתכי B 7:5
אתרא place B 13:9. אתר A 3:14; B *10:10*; 12:VIII
אתתא woman. דיתתא B 2:9. יתיתתא B 2:9. אינתתיה B 12b:IX. pl. נשי B 2:4; נשא B *10:(7)*
באש to corrupt; see also ביש. מבאשה A 3:4. מבאשין B 6:7
בור pit B 6:8
בטל *pa.* to annul. בטילו B 13:9. בטלן A 5:4. *itp.*: עתבטילו B *10:12*. איבטל B 13:20
בטנתא pregnant B 13:12
ביבא canal. ביבי B 13:6
בין between, among. בין ... בין whether ... or A 4:29–31. בן ... בן B 5:3. בבית B 13:16
ביר well, spring B 6:8
בירא see בעירא
ביש bad, evil B *1:6*; 3:3; 6:10; 11:5. בישא B 7:3; 11:(3). בישין A 13:(5), 9; B 12:XI. בישי B 6:2; 11:(3); 13:11. בישא pl. B *1:11*. בישה f. A 3:4; 13:6; B 13:9. בישא A 14:2. בישתא A 2:3; 7:6,12. בישתא B 8:I,II, III; 12b:I; pl. B 13:7,14,17
בית to dwell, lodge. באתא(?) A 12:12
ביתא house B *1:3,8;* 5:(1). ביתה A 1:17. בית A 15:4; B:13:22. ביתה (with suffix) B *1(1:1–2),10*; 8:II, III. ביתיה B *10:5,7;* 12:IX, XI. בתי B 13:10,15
בית אילהי temple B 2:5. בתי דאילהי B 13:16
בית כנישתא synagogue B 2:5
בית קברי cemetery B 9:14
בין see בית
בלועא throat. בלועיה B 9:9
בלע to swallow. יבלע B 9:9
בני to build. בנת A 15:4
בסי to trample. בסיא B 13:16
בעותא will, prayer. בותך A *6:10*
בעי to ask. בעו B 12:VII
בעירא cattle. בירא B *1:9*. בעריה B *10:(5),7*
בר son *passim*
בני אינשא B 2:3. בני אינשה B 5:6; 6:2, 9
ברתא/בת daughter *passim*. פח B 4:5
ברא to create. ברינא B 6:3
ברא open space (?) A 1:17
מילבר from the outside B 13: 16, 17, 19
בראשית (H) creation B 5:5
בריאתה pl. streets B 6:9
ברך to bless. ברוך (H) A 1:(20); 3:18. ... ברוך אתה A 15:23; B 12b:X
ברכתא blessing A 12:5
ברקא lightning. ברקין B 13:5
ברוקה cataract (?), lightning (?) A 1:16
בשרא flesh. בשר B 13:10. בישריה B 7:8
בתולתא virgin B 13:10
בתר after. בתרי A 10:(6). בתרה A 15:15. בתריה B 12:VII
גאון pride (?). גאוני B 13:15
גבא back. גביה B 13:6
גבא דיגילא alum B 13:6
גבה *af.* to lift, raise (?) אגביה B 13:20
גברא man B 13:5, 9, 16, 17, 19. גברי B 2:4; 6:6; 13:20
גיברא hero, mighty A 1:8. גברא B 13:15. גבר B 5:8. גיבור A 12:(31).

גיבורין B 13:10. גיברי B 5:8. גיבריה B 6:4

גדא fortune B *1:9*

גדד to cut. גודדא B 13:16

גדוד troop. גדודהו B 3:5

גדל *pa.* magnify. מגדלה A 7:16

גדל to dress (the hair). גדליתון B 13:18

גו midst. לגו B 12:VII

גוכתא hill B 7:7

גודא troop; pl. B *1:5*

גוז to vanish. גיזו A 7:22 (?)

גופא body. גופיה B 9:3. גופה A 9:2

גיטא divorce B 5:5, 7

גידא vein, tendon. גידוהי A 1:22. גידוי A 5:(5)

גיל to rejoice. נגיל B 2:9 (?)

גילא see גבא דיגילא

גיסא troop. גיס B 13:6

גילגלא wheel, sphere. גילגלי B 13:5

גללא stone. גלל B 13:14

גלמתה hill; pl. A 9:8

גמלא camel. גמלי B 13:12

גער to drive out, exorcise. געור A 2:11. מגעור A 2:8. געורו (9):14 A. אגער *itp.* A 9:2,4

גפא wing. חיות גפא B 13:13

גופנא vine B 13:17

גופריתא sulphur B 9:3

גרבא itch B 9:(13)

גרגרתא throat. גרגרתיה B 9: 3,(9)

גרמא bone. גרמיה pl. A 1:20,21. גרמוהי A 1:22

די, די־ of, which *passim.* דיליה B *10:8*

דאן A 7:22 (?)

דיבא wolf. דיבי B 13:12. דיבתא B 13:4

דבק to stick. ידבוק B 6:10. ידבקיה B 9:5

דכר to lead, direct. מדברין *pa.* A *6:5*

דברא open field B 2:5

דהבא gold B 13:11

דור to dwell. דירא pt. pl. B *1:8.* דירה (with f. suff.) B 13:10

דורא dwelling. דורה B *1:(1–2),10*; see also דירא

דחל to fear, frighten. תידחלי B 7:6. דחלי B 7:8. דחילא A 1:(8); B 6:9. מידחלא B 11:4. דחילי A 7:15. דחילה *pa.* pt. (?) B 7:8

די enough. דאן A 7:22 (?)

דיוא *dev,* devil, demon A *6:10,14;* B 13:17,18,21. דיוה B *1:12.* דיוין B 8:I. דיוי B 13:7,9,14,15,17,19,21. דיוא pl. B *1:3,4,11; 10:3,8*

דינא judgment B *1:10.* דינה B 9:13

דינא judge. דיני B 13:17, 22

דיריא shed, tent, dwelling. דיריהו B 13:19; see also דורא

דכי pure. דביא B *1:12*

דכר male A 7:7; 7b:3; B 5:3; 8:I. דיכרא pl. B *1:9*; 13:22. זכר (H) A 4:15

דכר to remember, mention. דכרין B 12a:VIII. מדכרין *af.* A 15:20. ידכר *itp.:* B 12b:VIII. מידכריתון B 13:17, 18

דוכרנא memory. דוכרניה B 9:(12)

דוכתא place B 12a:IV. דוכה B 3:2

דלק to burn. תידלק B 9:3. תידלוק B 9:5

דמא blood B 13:22. דמיה B 7:8

דמות shape, form B 13:11. דמותא B 13:11,12,19. דמותיה B 13:20. בת דמו *10:9*

דמך to lie, fall asleep. ידמכון B 3:2. דמכה A 7:19, 22

דן, דנן see הדין

דנח to shine. מדנח B 7:7

דקיקתה hectic fever A 2:12
דרדקא child. דרדקא pl. B *1:8.*
B 6:6; 13:(19). דערדקיהון B 5:4.
דרדוקתא B 6:6
דרום (H) south A 4:12.
דרך *af.* to find. אדריכו B 12:VII
דרך way. דרכיה B 12b:IV
הדדי each other B 13:10
הדין this B *1:4,6;* 2:9; 4:1; 5:1,7.
חדין B *10:13.* הדן A 4:(1). דן
A I:(11); 3:14. דנן B 6:1; 8:(II,IV);
12b:IX. הלין A *6:3;* B 2:7. אילין
B 2:8. המון A 7:16. הדא B 7:1;
13:1. חדא (=הדא) B *10: 7,11,13*
הדמא part, member. הדמאיהוא (?)
B 9:(13)
הדר (H) splendour A 4:27
הוא he A 1:14; 4:(5). היא she A 1:21.
ההיא B 5:6. הי B 4:5
הוי to be. הוא B *1:8,9;* 5:6; 6:10.
הוהוא B 13:17,18. הוו B 13:10.
הות B 5:6. יהוי B 13:14. יהי B 5:1.
נהוא B *1:8.* יהוון B 6:6. ניך B *10:10.*
הן B 6:6; 12:IX
הונא mind. הונה A 10:(7)
היך like B 4:4
הכין thus A 15:(13)
הכנא thus B *10:10*
הלך *pa.* to walk. מהלכה A 1:(21)
הללויה A 4:23; B 12b:IX
הן where. כל הן דּ A 15:19
הפך to turn away, overturn. תהפכי
B 4:6. הפיכא B 2:1–4. הפיכי B 2:1,3
הר (H) mountain A 4:10,11
הרבה (H) many A 1:1
הרי (H) behold, here is A 1:19
הרפתקא destiny B 13:22
ו and *passim.* וי B 2:3, etc.
וי woe (interj.) B 13:20

ולדה child A 12:(4), 34
זידניתא wicked (f. pl.) B 13:17
זוח to move, rise, be elated. איתזח
B 13:20
זויתא corner; pl. B 13:16
זולת (H) except for. זולתו A 4:19
זוע to shake, tremble. מזדעזעין *itp.*
A 9:(8)
זיוה splendour. זיוה B 13:20
זיעא shiver B 9:5
זיקא blast, blast demon B 13:(3).
זיקין A 11:8
זכי to win a trial. זכא B *1:10.* זכיא
B 13:7,21
זכר see דכר
זלח to sprinkle B 13:16
זמורה (?) A 1:(16)
זמן *pa.* to appoint. מזמן B *1:(1–2).*
מזמנא B 7:1
זמר to sing, praise. זמרו A 4:11
זינותא prostitution B 13:10
זני to fornicate. זניא B 13:17
זרגונא vine (?)B 13:15
חבל to injure, destroy. איחבול
B 12a:VIII. *pa.*: חבילו B 13:8. חבילה
B 2:9. See also מחבלה
חבילא injury, destruction B *1:10.*
חבילי B 3:2
חברא companion B *1:8*
חברא sorcerer. חברי B 11:(4)
חד one B 12:III. חדה A 7:17,18.
חד עסר eleven B 2:6
חדותא joy. חדותהו B 13:17
חדי to rejoice. חדא B *1:8.* מחדא *af.*
B *1:8*
חדיא breast, chest B 13:5. חדייה
B 13:5
חדר to surround. נחדרה B *1:11.*
חדרא B *1:7*

חדש (H) month A 4:31
חדתא new. חדתת B*10:9*
חוי *pa.* to tell. מחוא B *1:6*
חוף to cover. חף B 13:15
חיונא vision; pl. B *10:4*
חזי to see. חזון A 15:15. חזוהי B 9:4. *itp.*: יתחזי A 3:14. מיתחזתון B 13:11,13, 20
חזירא swine. חזירי B 13:11
חיא life B 4:8
חיה a living creature B 13:19
חיותא animal
חיות גפא see גפא
חיי to live. חי B 4:8; 13:4. חיה A 9:5
חיים (H) life. בחי האל A 1:23; 12:(19)
חילא power B 13:3. חיליה B 13:3. חילי B 13:9. חילוותא B 13:14,20
חיתא midwife B13:13
חלא sand B 7:7
חלבא fat B 13:16
חלמא dream; pl. B*10:4.* חילמא pl. B *1:1–2, 11.* חילמי B 13:11
חליש weak. חלישין B 13:10
חמה (H) sun A 4:20
חמי to see. חמתון B 6:4. תתחמין *itp.* A 12:(13), 33
חמרא donkey B 13:12
חומרא charm; pl. B *1:5.* חומרי B 13:17,22
חמשה five B 13:21. חמשין fifty B 6:7
חמתה mother-in-law B 2:4
חומתא heat B 13:4. חומתיה B 13:4
חינכיא jaws, palate. חינכוהי B 9:10
חנק to strangle B 12:V. איחנוק B 12:VIII. חנקא B 5:6. למיחנק B 12:VII
חיסא rock. חיסיא B 7:7
חסמתא jealousy B 11:3
חסינא mighty A *6:2.* חסינה A*7:15*
חציף impudent. חציפתא B 13:7
חרב destroyed, wrecked, ruined. חרבי B 13:10,15
חרבא sword B 13:6,8; pl. B *1:7*
חרשא deaf. חרישין B 6:7
חרשא spell, sorcery; sorcerer; pl. B*1:1–2,4,11; 10:8.* חרשין B 12a:III.
חרשיא B 4:6. חרשי B 3:4; 13:15
חשוכא, חשוכה darkness B 13:9,20
חשש *pa.* cause pain. תיחשין A 3:5
חתם to seal. חתימין B 2:8. חתמין B 8:(I). חתמן B 8:(I). חתימא B 2:5. חתימת B 12b:I. חתימתא B *10:9.* ניתחתים *itp.* B *1:(10)*
טב good A 1:(20); 2:1,11; 4:1; 13:2. טבא B *1:9.* טבתא goodness B *1:6*
טוף *af.* to make flow אטף B 13:14
טורא mountain B 2:5; 7:7; 12:III; 13:13,20. טור A 12:4; B 7:7. טוריה A 9:8. טורי B 13:20
טלא shaded place (?) B 3:3
טליא child A 12:3
טלם to oppress. טלמי A 4:6
טלניתה shadow spirit A 7:6,13; 7b:3. הטלנית (H) A 4:15. טלני A 13:8. טלנין A 11:8
טמא impure. טמאה (H?) A 13:(11). טמיתא B 13:17,22
טמר to hide. יטמרון *itp.* B 3:4
טינרא flint B 13:14
טרד to lock. טרדח A 15:6
יבב *pa.* to sound (a trumpet). מיבביתן B 13:18
יבל to lead. אובלתיכי *af.* B 7:5
יבש to dry out, ניבש B 9:(2). יבשון B 9:3

ידא hand. ידיה B 13:6. עדיה B *10:12.* ידה B 13:15
לידא (?) A 15:7
ידע to know B 5:6. יאידע B 4:5. ידענא B 5:4. ידעיתון B 13:15,17,19
יובלה jubilee B 6:7
יומא day B 8:II,IV; 12b:IX; 13:14. יומה A 1:11. יום (H) A 4:29. יומי B 5:4,5; 6:8. יממא A 12:14; B *1:13.* עממא B *10:4*
יחד *pa.* to single out. מיחד unique B 12a:III. מאחיד B 12b:III
יחטא abortion. יחטי B 13:10
ילד to give birth. ילידת A 15:1; B 12:II. יליד B 7:8. ילדתא B 13:10,13
יליל *pa.* to wail, moan. יליל B 13:20
ימא sea B 5:5,7; 12:VII; 13:6,14. ימה A 9:7; 15:16
ימא to swear. מוממנא *af.* A *6:7*
ימינא right B 13:14. ימינך (H) A 1:1. ימינו (H) A 4:32
יממא see יומא
יקד to burn. יקוד A 10:5. יקדתה A 3:18. יקדין B 13:5
ירחא moon, month B 6:8
ריש ירחא New Moon Day B 6:8
ירי to shoot. נורי *af.* (?) B 13:15. See מורניתא
ית acc. particle A 3:14; B 13:22. יתיתא B 2:9. יתה (w. m. suff.) A 15:17. יתיה B 9:5; 12b:V,VII. יותיה B 12a:V,VII. יאתוה B *1:6.* יתה (w. f. suff.) A 13:4; B 2:9. יתכון A 10:4; B 6:3,8,9. יתהון B 12:II
יתב to sit. יתיב B *1:8.* יתבי B 6:9
כא here B 5:5,7
כבר already B 5:4,5
כבש to press down. כבשתינון B 5:3. כבשונכו B 13:13. לכבישוה B *10:13.*
כביש A 11:6. כבישתון B 5:7.
יתכבשון B *1:11,12.* ניתכביש *itp.:* B 9:13. יתכבשו B 3:4.
כד just as, while, when B 5:6; 7:9; *10:9;* 13:17,18
כדא jar. כדי B 13:10,15
כויא scalding (?) B 9:(3)
כוכבא star. כוכבי B 2:3; 9:1
כול to measure. אכיל *af.* A 15:18
כח (H) strength A 4:32
כיפא stone, rock. כיפי B 5:2. כיפיה B 13:14. See also כפא
ככא molar tooth. ככי , ככיה B 13:4
כל, כול all *passim*
כלבא dog. כלבי B 13:10
כלדאה soothsayer. כלדאי B 13:13
כלי to terminate, extinguish. *itp.:* יתכל A 7b:2. יתכלון A 7:5,12. עתכלו B *10:12*
כלי vessel. כלין A 1:14 (?)
כלילא wreath. כלילי B 13:18
כוליתה kidney (w. suff.) A 10:7
כלתא daughter-in-law B 2:4
כלמתא vermin B 9:13.
כמא as ... כ(י)ן ... כמא/ה as ... so... A 4:(6–)14; 10:(4–5); B 6:4; 9:12
כניסתא see בית כנישתא
כנש to gather. כנשונכו B 13:13
כסא full moon B 6:8
כסי to cover, hide. כסיי B 11:3. מכסי *pa.* B 13:18,21
כספא silver B 13:11
כפא palm (of the hand); foot כף A 12:8 (?). כיפי B 5:7. See also כיפא
כפידיה shoulder. כפא דידא B 13:5
כפי to force. תכפין A 12:(10)

כפן to be hungry. כפנה A 7:17,20. כפנתה A 7:19

כפת to bind, tie. כפתינון B 5:2,(3). כיפיתתן B 5:7

כצומא diviner. כצומי B 13:13

כורהנא illness B 13:(20). כורחנה B *1:11,12.* כורהניא B 11:(3)

כרז to announce. כריזי *pa.* (?) B 5:7

כיריתא ditch (?) B 7:4

כורכוריא bones (?) A 11:5,10

כרסא belly. כרסיה B 13:6

כורסיא throne. כרסיה A 7:5,15; 7b:1

כשט *pa.* or *af.* to dress, set, adorn. מכשטיתון B 13:18

כתב to write. כתבת A 1:12. כתבו B 5:5,6; 11:3. כתבי B 6:9. כתיב B 9:5,7,10

לא no, not *passim.* דלא without A 11:6,(7); B 13:6,14. דלה A 9:6

לבא heart. לב (H) A 4:18. לבה (w. suff.) A 10:5. ליביה B 4:5. ליביכו B 13:14. ליביהון B 6:7

לבנה (H) moon A 4:20

לבש to be dressed. לביש B 13:18. לבישין B 13:21

לוט to curse. לטת B 2:6,9. תילוט B 2:9. ליט B 2:(1). ליטא B 4:6. ליטי B 11:4

לוטתא curse B 2:4,5–6; pl. B *1:11;* 4:6; *10:8*; 11:4

לוי to accompany. לויית B 12b:I. לויא B 13:7. See also מלויתא

לוחשה whisper, spell A 1:16

לטבא (= לא טבא) evil B 13:5. לטבי B 13:6

ליליא night A 12:14; B *10:4.* לליא B *1:13*

לילית Lilit B 5:6; 12a:XI; 13:(1),22; pl. B 13:7. לילחה B 8:I. ללית B *1:3, 6, 11*

לית not B 12:IV

למא why. למת (למה את=) A 7:19,20,21

למעלה (H) above A 1:3. למעל A 14:8

ליסטא pirate B 9:14

לפני (H) in front of. מלפניך A 1:(2); 15:25

לקבל against. לקובלי B 6:5,6. לקובליה B 6:2

לקי *af.* to strike. ילקו B 9:3

לשנא tongue. לישניה B 9:2,(10). לישניהון B 6:10

מא anything; what? B 12:VI. מה A 15:13. See also למא, כמא

מאד (H) very A 1:1

מאה hundred. מתין A 9:3. מאתים (H) two hunderd A 4:16. ארבע מאות (H) four hundred A 4:17–18

מאמר speech, commandment A 3:23. See also מימרא

מבכלתא tormentor B *1:1–2,11;* 12a:XI; 12b:I

מבעדא see מעבדא

מגלא sickle (?) B 4:(4)

מגר *pa.* to vanquish. ימגר B 9:4

מדברה wilderness A 9:7

מדינתא country, city B 6:3

מידיעם thing B 3:3; 11:5

מה see מא

מהרא (sacred) word, spell. מהרין B 11:3

מורניתא lance B 13:15

מות to die. מיתי B 9:4. ימות B 13:12

מזג to mix, fill the cups. מזיג B 13:4. מזגיתון B 13:18

מוופיתא rebuke B 9:5

מזיקא harmful spirit, destroyer.

מנוחה repose A 1:2

מני *pa.* to appoint. ממני A 12:2

מסס to dissolve. יתמסי *itp.* B 9:2

מעברא witchcraft, magic practice, sorcery B *10:8;* pl. B *1:5.* מבעדא B *1:11*

מעברתא ford A *6:3–4,6*

מועט לבנה (H) diminution. A 4:20

מערב (H) west A 4:13

מערכות (H) battle line A 4:24

מוקדא top of the head. מוקדה B 13:8

מקדשה temple B 12b:III

מוקרא brain. מוקרה B 13:8

מראה (H) sight. מראות הדר A 4:27

מרוביא educator B *1:9*

מרדותא chastisement B 13:4. מרדותיה B 13:4

מריא lord B 10:8; 13:3,6,13. מרי A 1:18

מרתי my lady A 8:6

מריע sick. מריעין B 6:7

מרירתא bitterness. מרירת B 7:4

מרכבא chariot B 13:6. מרכבותיה B 13:6

מרעא sickness. מרעי B 11:3

מרר to embitter, afflict. מררי B 7:8

משדרנא sender. משדרניה B *10:12*

משקיפותא affliction B 4:6

מישתייכון drinking, drink. B 13:10

מתא place, village, town B 2:5; 9:13

נבח to bark. נבחיתון B 13:10

נגע (H) plague A 1:4

נידרא vow; pl. B *1:1–2,11;* 3:2. נדרך (?) A 4:6

נהר to illuminate. נהרא B 13:20. אנהר *af.* A *6:10*

נוולא loom. נוולי B 13:13

מזקה A 7:13; 7b:2. מזיקין B 12:XI. מזקין A 11:8; 13:(5),9. מזיקי B 5:3

מזלא planet. מזלי B 2:3; 9:1. מזלותיה (H) A 4:20

מחבלה destroyer A 7:13; 7b:2

מחי to blot out; to smite. מחונה B 13:8. *itp.:* איתמחי B 9:12. יתמיח B 9:12

מחלה (H) illness. מחלחם B 9:(6)

מחמת (H) because of B 6:6

מיא water A *6:5;* B 13:9,10. מיה A 15:(19)

מיכלא food. מיכליהון B 13:10

מימרא speech B 13:3. See also מאמר

מכאובא pain A 1:11

מלא to fill. מלא משמלא (?) B 4:4

מלאכא angel; pl. B *1:7.* מלאכה A 11:6,(7); B 2:6; 9:14. מלאכין B 2:9. מלאכיה A 3:21; 7:4; 10:3. מלאכיהון B 13:3,21. מלאכי B 13:21

מלריתא companion (f.); an epithet for female demon B 13:7

מלך to advise (?); to rule (?) מלכנא B 4:4

מלכא king. מלכה B 13:3. מלך A 1:(7); 3:1,3; 4:8

מלך מלכי מלכיא A 1:(24); 12:(20)

מלכותא kingdom B 13:3. מלכות A 4:25

מלך see מלכנא

מלל *pa.* to speak. ימללון B 6:10. ממלל A 3:3; B *10:12*

מללא speech B 6:10

ממלא speech B 11:3

מילתא word, spell B 7:1. מליה pl. A 7:14. מלא pl. B *1:7*

מן who A 9:5; 15:18; B 2:7

מן from *passim.* מין B 2:9; 4:6,7,8

נום to sleep. נימה A 7:18,21. נאמתה A 7:(21)

נורא fire A 3:18; B *1:7, 10;* 13:4,5,9,18,21

נוחרא nostril. נוחרה A 5:(3)

נחשא copper B 13:11. נחשה B 12a:III; 13:6. נחש A 11:(6); B 12b:(III)

נחת to descend; *af.* to bring down, introduce. אחית B 13:14. אחיתנכו B 13:13. מחית B 4:5

נטר to guard. *part.* A 12:3. טור A 12:4. *itp.:* נתנטר B *1:13.* ניתנטר B *10:6, 7, 10, 13.* ניתנטרן B *10:11*

ניא chest A 11:(5),10

נכבד (H) honourable A 4:(2)

נכי to afflict. מכה (H) A 1:20; B 12b:X

נכל (?) A 4:18

נכר *itp.* to be estranged. יתנכיר B 9:3

נמרא tiger B 13:5. נמרי B 13:12

נסב *pa.* to hand over. מנסבא B 13:15

נסיסא grief B 13:17

נער to shake off. תנער (H) *nif.* A 4:15

נפל to fall. יפול B 9:10. פולי B 7:6,8. מיפל B 7:7

נפק to go out. נפקת B 7:4. חיפקון B *10:10.* פוקו B *10:8.* נפקי B 6:10. נפקיתון B *10:9;* 13:17,18 נפקא B 13:18,21. נפקן B 10:9

נצח to be victorious. נצחין B 5:8

נצר to grunt. נצריתון B 13:10

נקבה female A 4:15 (H); A 7:7; 7b:(3). נקבא B 5:3. נוקבה B 8:I.

נקבתא pl. B *1:10.* ניקבותא B 13:22

נקט to hold. נקיטא B 13:15

נקם to take revenge. תיקום B 2:9. נקום B 2:9

נקמה (H) revenge, judgment. ניקמת B 2:9

אל נקמות A 12:18

נקש to strike B 13:14

נתן to give. תיתנו B 6:4

נישמתא soul; pl. B 2:9

סבא old man; grandfather B 13:12. סבי B 13:19. סביהון B 5:4

סבתי grandmother B 13:12

סגי numerous B 6:3

סוגיא walk, practice B 13:4. סוגייה B 13:4

סדנא anvil B 13:5

סומא blind. סמן B 6:7

סחף to wreck. סחוף B 13:16. סחפונהו B 13:(19). ניסחופינהו B 13:16. למיסחף B 13:16. סחפי B 13:22

סטנא Satan B 13:16; pl. B *1:6.* סטנה B 9:(14). סטן A 14:2,9

סטרא side. בסטר A 7:15

סיפא sword, sabre B *1:7*

סכינא knife. סכין B 13:16

סכר to lock, shut. לסכורי *pa.* B 6:1. יסתכר *itp.* B 9:(3)

סכתא nail. סכת פדנא coulter B 4:4

סלה A 1:12, (18,19); 2:11; 4:23; B 3:5; 5:6; 6:10; 8:IV; 11:5,9.

סלא B 4:3

סלק to rise. סלקה A 7:14. מבסק (error for מנסק or מיסק ?) B 7:7

סמך to lean, rely. יסמכו B 9:14

סממיתא spider, lizard (?) B 12b:II. סממית A 15:1. סמומית B 12a:II

סנדלא sandal, shoe. סנדלי B 13:6. סנדליה B 13:6

סני to hate. סניי B 11:3,4. סניתא B 13:11

ספרא book. סיפרי B 6:9

סרודתא terror, fright B 13:13; pl.

B *1:3,(11)*

סירפא draught. סירפי B 13:5

סררותא dominion. סררו A 7:(3)

סתם to shut B 5:8

עבד to do, make, perform A 15:13; B 7:9.עבדת B 12:III.עבדו B 12:VI. למעבד(.13)9:B עביד *10:6.* תיבדון B 4:8. מחעבדין *itp.* B 3:4 משתעבדיתון *išt.* B 13:17,18

עבדא servant. עבדה A 3:6

עבדא, עובדא work, magic act; pl. עבדין B 3:4; 12:III B *10:12.*

עבר to pass, transgress B 2:7. נעבר B 12:IV

עיבר bank, side. מן עיבר from across, beyond B 5:5,7

עגלא swiftness. בעגלה swiftly B 9:13

עד up to, until A 1:(12);4:12; B 5:3,4; 7:7; 8:IV

עוק *af.* to oppress. מעיק B 3:3

עז (H) power B 3:5

עזר (H) help. עזרי A 4:3

עינא eye. מעין A 1:16–17. עינין B 6:4. ענין B 2:9. עיני B 9:4. עינוי A 5:(5). עיניה B 13:5. עיניהון B 6:7 עינא בישתא evil eye B 8:II,III. עין בישה/א 3.-2:2 A עינה בישתה A 13:6; 14:2 עין רעה (H) A 13:10

עית see אית

עכב *pa.* to detain, prevent, delay. תעכבין A 3:15,16

עכר to disturb. יתעכר *itp.* B 9:4

על upon, above; against *passim*

עלל to enter. עול, על A 15:10; B 12:V. נ(י)עול B 12:IV. עלא A 11:5

עולימא young man, lad B 13:12. עולימיהון B 5:4

עולמתא lass B 13:12

עלמא world, eternity A *6:5–7*; B 2:9; 5:3; 12a:III. עלמה B 9:12. לעלם A 1:12; B 8:II,IV; 12b:IX. עלמיה A 3:(1). עולמים (H) A 3:2

עלתר on the spot, now B 7:9

עם with A 4:9. עים B 12b:I; 13:1,7,8. ע(י)מהון A 15:(10); B 12:V

עמא population. עמיה B 6:3

עמודא colum, pillar. עמודין A 9:7

ענגא cloud B 13:5

עפרא dust B 3:2

עקר to uproot. תעקרו A 11:10. *itp.:* יתעקר B 9:(12). תתעקרון A 11:4

עריתה shiver, shivering A 2:2,8,12; 3:22. בירויתא=)בערויתא(B 9:13. אודיתה העריה (H) A 4:29

ערק to flee, run away A 15:(14). ערקת A 15:2; B 12:II. יערקון A 11:8 ערוסו ארוקו B *10:11*

עשה (H) to do. עושה B 5:1

עשרא ten B 13:21. תרי(ן) עשר twelve B 12:II

פאר *pa.* to glorify. מפאר A 4:3. מפארה A 7:(16)

פגרתא see פגדתא

פגע affliction A 1:4

פגרא body. פגרה (w. m. suff.) B *1:10.* פגריה B *10:6,8,10,12.* פגרה (w.f. suff.) A 2:9. פגריהו B 13:19

פגרתא idle (?); pl. (?) B 13:9

פדנא plough B 4:4

פה (H). mouth פי (?) A 4:1. פיה A 4:19

פומא mouth. פום B 5:8; 6:5. פומיה B 4:5; 9:2; *10:12;* 13:5,18. פומה B 6 : 1, 5, 9; (w.f. suff.) B 13 : 8. פומיהון B 6:7,19; 13:21

פלגוס sea A 15:16; B 12:VII

פלט *pa.* to save. לפלטא A 13:(4)
פולקתא hatchet B 13:8
פנים (H) face, north. See also לפני
פסס to cut off, break. פסיסי B 13:10,15
פרגוד attendants (?) B 13:14
פרזלא iron B 12a:III; 13:5,6,13,14. פרזלה A 15:(5). פרזל B 12b:III. פורזיל A 11:7
פרח to flee. פרחו B *10:8*. פרחן B *10:9*
פריחא spark. פריחי B 13:6
פרחחא bird. פרחחותא B 13:13
פורענותא misfortune B 9:13
פרק to loosen; *pa.* to remove, take off A *6:13*. פרקי A *6:9*
פרש to disclose, explain. פירישו B 5:4,5. פרוש (H?) wonderful, distinguished A 3:3
פשר to melt. פשרא B *10:11*
פתגמא word A 4:1; B *1:6,8*. פידגמי B 11:(3)
פתח to open A 15:14; B 12:IV. פתחת A 15:10; B 12:V. פתחא B 12:IV
פתכרא idol (spirit) B 12a:XI; 13:7,22. פתכריה B 8:I
פתכרותא idolatry B *1:5*
פתורא table. פתורי B 13:18
צביונא will, desire. ציביוני A 10:8
צדעא temple. צידיה B 13:5
צוח to shout. צוחת A 15:(11); B 12:IV. מצוח B 7:6
צותא associate B *1:9*
צחי to be dry, thirsty. צחיה A 7:18,20. צחיתה A 7:20
צדעא see צידא
צית *pa.* to obey. מציתא B 2:8
צל (H) shadow A 4:19
צילמתא form; pl. B 13:12
צמד *pa.* to attach. מצמדנא B 4:4
צמח to grow, shine. צמחי B 13:20
צערא pain B 11:3. צערי B 11:3
ציפרא bird; pl. B *10:9*
קבל *pa.* to accept, receive. קבילת B 5:6. קבילו B *1:9*. מקביל B 1:6. מקבלא B 2:9
קבר to bury. קביד B *1:3*
קברא tomb. קברין B 7:4. קברי B 9:14; 13:13
קדח to run away. קדחו B *10:11*
קדח to wail, moan B 13:20
קדם (מן) קמ־ before, in the presence of. קדם A 1:18; 7:5; 7b:1; B 13:17,18,21. קדמין beginning A 1:23. קדמוי A 9:(8). קדמוהי B *1:7*. קדומיה B 2:2. קדומה B 3:4. קומה, קמה B 13:8
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קדש *pa.* to sanctify. מקדשה A 7:11,16
קום to stand, exist. קומו, קמו B 12: VII. קמת A 15:3; B 12 :VI. קימה B 12b:X. קימא B *10:5*. קים A 9:5. קימין A 6:3; 7:4; B 1:7; 6:2,5. קימן B 6:6. אקים *af.* A 9:6. יתקים *itp.* B 9:5,6,7,(10)
קופא monkey. קופי B 13:12
קטל to kill A 15:11; B 5:8; 12:II. קטליה B 12:V. איקטול B 12:VIII. ניקטול B 13:19. קטיל B 13:22. קטלין B *1:7*. קטלא B 13:4,6,8,22. מיקטל B 12:VII. מקטול A 15:17. מקטלא *pa.* B 13:10. עתקטל itp. B *10:12*
קיא vomit. קיה B 9:(2)
קלא voice. קל קלא (?) B 4:4. קלה B 2:8. קל B 2:9.
קלי to burn. קליה (?) B 4:4. מחקלא

itp. B *1:10*

קלמתא vermin B 9:13

קמ- see קדם

קמיעא amulet B 5:1. קמיעה A 3:14. קמיע A 1:20; 2:1,11; 4:1; 13:(2)

קנינא possession, livestock. קנין B 5:2. קינין B 4:8. קינינה B *10:7*

קפלרגיא headache A 11:5

קצירא sick. קצירי B 13:20

קרא to call. קריא B 2:8. קרינא B 6:4. קריתן B 13:18. *itp.*: מחקרא B *1:9.* מחקרייא A 11:5. מחקריה A 9:1. מיתקריתן B 13:11

קראה a biblical verse B 9:5,7,10

קרב to come near, approach. קריב B 13:7,22

קרבא war, battle B 5:8; 13:4,17, 18, 21, 22. קרוביא attack, encroachment B *1:3,11*

קרבין (H?) intestines A 4:18

קרי to happen B 7:3. קיריית B 7:3

קריא accident, mishap B 7:3

קרנא horn. קרני B 13:18. קרניהו B 13:16

קרנתא street corners B 6:9 (cf. שוקא)

ראש see רישא

ראשית see בראשית

רב great. רבא A 1:8; 3:12; *6:1;* 12:15; B 2:6; 6:9; *10:8* ורבה A 7:4,5,15; B 12:VII; 13:3,13,14,17,18. רבתא A *6:4.* רברבן A 4:(2). רברביהון B 5:(3)

רבו greatness A *6:8*

רבון lord B *6:12*

רבי Rabbi A 3:5

ריגותא lust B 13:10

רוגזא anger, wrath B *1:7;* 13:22

רגע (H) (bad) fate (?) A 1:4

רדף to chase. רדפו A 15:15; B 12: VII. נירדפינהו B 13:19

רוחא spirit A 12:9; B 9:(14). רוחה A 7:6, (12); 9:1. רוח A 1:20,21; 3:4; 4:15; 12:1,12,32; 13:7,11; 14.(3). רוחי B 13:14,20. רוחחה A2:9. רוחות (H) A 15:25

רויתא see עריתה

רום *pa.* to lift, exalt. מרומה A 7:16

רוקא spittle. רוקיה B 9:2

רזא secret, mystery B *1:7;* 6:1. רזה B *1:3.* רז B *1:3.* רוז A 3:3. רזי B 5:2

רזם *af.* to swear (?). ארזם A *6:12*

רחם to love. רחימנא B 6:3. איתרחם *itp.* B 12b:VIII

רחמא friend B *1:8*

רחמין mercy A 7:1; 7b:1. רחמי B 11:8

ריחא odour, perfume B 13:19

ריסיא eye-lids A 5:(4)

ריריא spittle. ריריה B 9:2

רישא head. ראישא B 13:4. ראישה B 13:3. רעשי (H?) A 14:8. ראישיה B 13:4. רישה (w. m. suff.) A 5:3; (w. f. suff.) A 11:4,10. רישיכו B 13:15,17

רכב to ride. רכיבא B 13:15

רמי to throw B 13:8. רמיתן B 13: 19. רמנכו B 13:14. *itp.* תתרמין A 3:17

רפא (H) to heal. רופא A 3:19. רופה B 12b:X. מרפא *pi.* A 1:20

רפוי (H) healing, curing A 3:19

רקיעא sky, heaven B 5:(2),7. רקיעה A 1:14; 7:14

רשיעה wicked B 12a:II

רתק *af.* to knock. ארתקו A 15:8. ארתיקו B 12:IV,VI,VIII

רתת *pa.* to shake. מרתתא A 14:3

שובטא an evil spirit. שופטין B 2:8

שבע to swear. *af.* אשבעת A 12:(9). משבע A 8:3; 9:4. משבענה A 1:21. משבעא B 6:8. משביע (H) A 4:28,(31). *itp.* מישתבענא A 15:(18). משתבע B 12:VIII

שבעה seven B 5:4; 6:8. שבא B *1:9.* שבעת B 5:5. שבע B 6:7

שבק to leave, let free. נישבוק B 13:19. שבוקו B 12:VIII

שבתא Sabbath, week B 6:8. שבח (H) A 4:30

שגר *pa.* to send, convey. שגרתיכי B 7:6. *itp.* אישתגר B 13:(9),21

שגר to heat, burn. שגירי B 13:13

שידא devil, demon; pl. B *1:(3), 4, 5, 11; 10:3.* שידה A 7:6,12; 7b:3; B *1:12.* שיד A 13:7. שידין B 2:8; 8:(I). שידי B 5:3; 13:7,9,22. שידיה B 13:21. שידתה f. pl. A 2:8

שדי to throw, cast. שדונהו B 13:16

שדר *pa.* to send B 5:6. שדרית B 2:9. שדרתיכי B 7:5. שדרו B 2:9; 5:5. משדר B *10:9.* See also משדרנא

שוי *pa.* to make, place. שוו B 13:17. משוא B 13:17. שויו A 7:1. שויא B *1:10*

שובטא see שופטין

שוקא market. שוקי B 13:19 שוקי קרנתא B 6:9

שורא wall B *1:11*

שיחלה a kind of disease (?) B 9:13

שחמתא blackening; heat B 11:1

שיחנה inflammation B 9:13

שחרתא blackening B 9:13

שיחה talk A 1:17

שים to put. סמו B *10:9*

שיצי to finish, complete. ישחצי *itp.* B 9:4

שיר (H) song A 3:1

שית (H) to put. תשית A 4:18

שכח *af.* to find. אשכחוי A 15:(15–16). משכח B *1:6*

שלהוביתא flame B *1:7;* 13:18. שלהפתא B 11:1. שלהובית B 9:4

שלח to send A 3:19. שלחתיכי B 7:5. ישלח A 1:15

שלמא peace B *1:9, 10.* שלם B 6:3; 13:9,14. שלום (H) A 8:12

שרשלן chain. שלשלתא A 9:6. שלשלן A 11:6

שמא name. שמהתא B 2:7. שמין B 2:6

לשם, בשום, בשום *passim.* A 8:1. על שמיה ד- B 7:1

שמאול left A 4:13. שמאולך A 1:1

שמיא heaven B *1:3, 9;* 2:(3),8; 3:1; 9:4, 11:7,8. שמיה A 1:18; 7:1; B 2:8; 13:13,14,20. שומיה A 3:6; 9:5

שמיטתא *shemiṭa,* release, the soil being let to lie fallow B 6:7

שמונה see תמניה

שמע to hear, listen. שמעית B 2:8,9. שמעיתון B *1:8.* שמא B 6:4

שימשא sun B 7:7

שמת to ban. ישתמת *itp.* B 9:4

שמתא ban B 5:6

שנה year A 4:30–31 (H). שני B 6:7

שינה tooth B 13:8. שיני B 13:5. שיניה B 13:4

שני *pa.* to move. תישנון B *10:10.* משנין B *10:9*

שוניא tree of chastity B 13:12

שנים (H) two A 1:19

עבד see שעבד

שעיתא wax B *10:11*

שעולא hollow of the hand. שעולה. (w. suff.) A 15:19

שעתא talk B 2:3
שעתה moment, hour A 3:17
שפד *pa.* to pierce. שפיד B 13:8
שפי *itp.* to be relieved. אישתפי B 13:20
שפל *itp.* to be low. אישתפל B 13:20
שיפורא trumpet. שיפורי B 13:18. שיפורהו B 13:16
שקא leg. שקי B 13:6. שקיה B 9:3; 13:6
שקי *af.* to pour drink. משקא B *1:8*
שרי to dwell. שריא B 9:14; 13:1,7,22
שורנא cat. שורני B 13:12
שרק to hiss. מישתרקיתון *itp.* B 13:11
שריר (H) true B 12b:X
שושלתא see שלשלתא
שיתא six. שיתי sixty B 13:3
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שתק *pa.* to silence. תישתקין B 6:9. לשתוקי B 6:1. לשתקא B 6:5
תבר to break B 13:8. תברו B 13:16. יתבר B 9:4
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תלי to hang. תלה A 9:5
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תמה to fear, be terrified. תמהין A 9:(7)
תמידה wine (?) A 1:14
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תנורא oven. תנורי B 13:13
תנינא snake. תניני B 13:11
תקן *pa.* to repair, mend. מיתקני B 13:13
תוקף (H) strength. תוקפו A 4:33
תקיף mighty B 5:8. תקיפא B *1:5,6;* 13:17,18. תקיפין B 11:3. תקיפי B 6:2; 11:4. תקיפתא B *1:6*
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תרעמתא commotion B 13:(21)
תשבחות (H) praise. שיר תשבחות ode A 3:1

Names of Gods, Angels, Demons and *Nomina Barbara*

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As the Glossary gives all the words occurring in the Amulets and Bowls published in this volume, the Indices are in principle restricted to the Introduction and Commentary. Two exceptions have been made: the General Index includes divine names occurring in our Geniza texts, and the Index of Quotations incorporates references to the Amulets and Bowls as well.

The alphabetical order follows that of the roman alphabet, the two signs for *alef* (ʾ) and *ʿayin* (ʿ) coming first when used in consonantal transliterations. Greek is here given in transcription.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

The following notes incorporate suggestions made by several scholars: Benjamin Elizur, Simon Hopkins, Charles Meehan and Mordecai Mishor. They were kindly communicated to us in a note written by Mr Benjamin Elizur, where individual authorship was not indicated; references to "Elizur" in the following should therefore be understood to refer to the whole group. These notes also contain a selection from the suggestions made in a number of reviews and publications, as indicated, but other important notes that were given in some of the reviews should not be ignored. The main substantial reviews of which we are aware are the following: Gordon 1987a; 1987b; Morony 1988; Oelsner 1989; Puech 1988; Segal 1986.

Beyer 1984 contains editions of the following amulet texts: A 2 (p. 397), 4 (374), 5 (383), 7 (371), 8 (395). Beyer 1994, contains editions of A 1 (p. 258), 3 (260), 4 (249), 5 (253), 7 (248), 8 (258), 10 (238), 11 (235 f.), 12 (236), 13 (237), 15 (263).

Page 8, Plates 5 and 6. Amulets 6 and 7 were published by courtesy of the Archives de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, from the bequest of Dupont-Sommer. Their shelf-mark is G 6.

Page 22, n. 23. This amulet was edited in our *Magic Spells and Formulae* (*MSF*) as A 27.

Page 32, last paragraph. Read: Besides the older form of the possessive suffix of the third person singular masculine attached to a plural noun, **-why**, which is attested in forms like **ḥzwhy** (Bowl 9:4), we have the younger form **-yh**, e.g., **gybryh d'r'h** (Bowl 6:4), **šqyh** (Bowl 9:3), etc.

A 1:1–3. Similar formulae, enumerating an angel for each side of the person to be protected, occur also in Coptic. Cf. Kropp 1931, p. 71, n. 1; Polotsky 1937a, pp. 236 ff. The Jewish formula occurs also in *Seder Rav Amram Gaon*, p. 55a (a prayer for the safety of a journey).

A 1:11. For יומא read: יומה (Elizur).

A 1:14. Read: רקיעה דהוא מ(קב)ל (ת)מידה בכל יום [ ] (based on Elizur).

A 3:4–5. Read: דלה תיחטין "that you should not sin" (Wesselius 1991, p. 711).

A 2:2. Further discussion of the terminology for fevers in the Aramaic magic texts, and its relation to the relevant Greek terminology, is to be found in our second volume, *MSF*, pp. 36f., and in the commentary to A 19 (p. 64).

A 3:8. For the figure of Ṣuriel cf. Polotsky 1937a. The Coptic tradition renders this name (also in Arabic) by a simple s, but it seems possible to assume that it is the same angel as Ṣuriel. If it is, it may be interesting to check on the relationship of this name of angel, who is said in the Christian tradition to be "the trumpet blower", with the Arabic word for "trumpet" in the Koran, *ṣūr*, for which Duchesne-Guillemin 1979 has suggested an Iranian derivation.

A 5:3. In the translation, correct Samriel to Šamriel.

A 6. The figures of the three deities (?) that stand in the water and direct the water and the world are reminiscent of the midrashic passage: אמר ר׳ לוי יש מן הדרשות שהן דורשין כגון בן עזי ובן זומא קולו שלהקב״ה נעשה מיטטרון על המים הדה היא קול י״י על המים (*Bereshit Rabba* 5:4; the spelling according to the Geniza fragment in Sokoloff 1982, p. 89), "Rabbi Levi said: There are certain (types of) exegesis that they make, like Ben ᶜAzzai and Ben Zoma, (viz.), The voice of God became a leader over the water, that is (the meaning of the verse), 'The voice of Lord is upon the water' (Ps. 29:3)".

A 6:1. We suggested that Rabbā may be the name of a deity. This idea may get some support from an inscription from Taymāʾ, where it is said: **[h]qym krsʾʾ znh qdm ṣlm zy rb** (see Aggoula 1985, pp. 66 [No. 8:6], 75; Cross 1986). Aggoula translates this phrase, "il a érigé ce podium devant le Maître de l'édifice"; but it seems more natural to translate, "has erected this stool in front of this statue (or idol) of Rab". One should recall in this connection that in the Islamic usage, Arabic *rabb* is one of the prominent epithets of God. On the other hand we have the formula בישמיה דיהוה קדיש אילאה רבא דישראל (Isbell 1975, No. 66:2–3), where *rabbā* seems to occur as a mere adjective. Puech 1988, p. 586, regards A 6 as a good Christian text, and interprets **rbʾ ḥsynʾ qdyš ʾylʾ** as three epithets of Bar-Theon "the Son of God".

A 6:8. **rbw**: Segal 1986, p. 97, refers to the unpublished bowl BM 91771, where he quotes **rbwty wšylṭny**.

A 7:15 ff and A 7b:1. Note the correction to the reading and translation on p. 76.

A 7:22. For דאן cf. Schäfer 1984, p. 75: על האופנים שלח לי דרך דאן ברעד אן (T-S K 21.95 I). The text there is far from clear, but it seems to bear witness to the use of דאן as a magic word.

A 9:8. Perhaps read, following Qimron 1993, p. 270: קו[ו]מוי טוריה וקלמתה [מזד(ע)וע(ין].

A 10. For a new reconstructed reading based on a Geniza recipe (G 22) see *MSF*, p. 219. For the commentary on pp. 88 f. it may be noted that there are several other occurrences of injunctions in magic recipes to use a new vessel, or an unburnt piece of pottery. *Sefer ha-razim* provides us with two good examples: צלוחית חדשה (I:96, p. 72), בשבע נבלי חרש שלא נכנסו באור (I:53, p. 69).

A 11:3. For Barqiel cf. Henning 1935/7, p. 583. Also 3Enoch 14:4; 17:1.

A 11:5. For an angel appointed over headache cf. the Geniza fragment CUL Or. 1080.6.19 קורא אני למלא[ך] (שהו) ממונה על מחוש ראש (for this fragment see *MSF*, G 29, p. 2:14–15). A demon *di'u*, a name that denotes some head ailment, exists in Akkadian; cf. von Soden 1959–1981, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, s.v. As a parallel expresssion, Segal 1986, p. 97, quotes **kybr'šh** 'headache' from the unpublished bowl BM 91771.

A 11. Read, following Beyer 1994, pp. 235 f., in line 5: ועלא בכורכורי אדניא; in line 10: תעקרו מן כורכורי אדניה[ו](א). The word כורכור should signify, as Beyer suggests, the auditory passage in the ear.

A 11:6. It may be noted that כביש could equally well be an active participle.

A 14:8. Further references for this formula are given above, in the Addendum to A 1:1–3. Cf. also Gollancz 1898, p. 88: גבריל מן ימינה ומיכאיל מן סמלה אשרה (=אהיה אשר אהיה) אלשדי אדוני לעל מן רשה וכוֹבא מן קדמוהי וסוֹפא מן בסתרה. The theme of the angels on all sides is discussed in Krämer 1928/9, pp. 119 f.

A 15. Further references for the Semamit story are: Barb 1966; Spier 1993; Greenfield 1989, where the variants of the Greek Gylou story are studied in great detail (no reference is given to *Amulets and Magic Bowls*). Cf.

also the long and detailed study (from an ethnographic point of view) by Sorlin 1991. Other versions of the Semamit story were published by Oelsner 1989; and by Müller-Kessler 1994.
For the lizard in magic, cf. Nock 1972, pp. 271–276.
To p. 121, note 23, on the use of iron in magic, add also Canaan 1914, p. 51.

A 15:8. Read: וני[ס].

A 15:24. For קים (אל) read: אלהים (Elizur).

B 1:11–12. For the Greek *adamas* and its Iranian counterpart, cf. further Schaeder 1926, pp. 228f.

B 2. Segal 1986, p. 97, mentions three other unpublished BM bowls with similar texts, more specifically BM 91713.

B 2:5. **wbyt ʾylhy wbyt knyšt**ʾ: According to Segal 1986, p. 97, the same basic formula occurs in two unpublished BM texts, 91713 and 91758.

B 2:8. **wkwl dlrʿ qryʾ wkwl dlšmyʾ mṣytʾ**: According to Segal 1986, p. 98, this could be translated "all that calls to earth and hearkens to heaven".

B 10:11. In the commentary, p. 183, the reference to the Peshitta to Ps. 88:2 should be emended to read 68:3.

B 12:VII. אדריכו = "they overtook". For a comparable Hebrew usage see Judges 20:43 כתרו את בנימן הרדיפֻהו מנוחה הדריכֻהו עד נכח הגבעה ממזרח שמש

B 13:4 ff. The physical description of the demon has several further parallels. In Coptic magic such a description occurs in the British Library text, Ms. Or 5987, published by Kropp 1931, I, p. 25; II, p. 152, for which cf. Polotsky 1937b, pp. 123 f. Kropp's text reads in Polotsky's translation: "Dessen Vorderteil löwengesichtig ist, dessen Hinterteil bärengesichtig ist, der mit der Falkengestalt, der mit dem Drachengesicht". A Manichaean source contains a description of Satan in physical terms somewhat reminiscent of the description given here: "His head is like that of a lion, his body is like that of a serpent, his wing is like that of a bird, his tail is like that of a fish, his legs are like those of beasts of burden" (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 329, lines 12 f.). For this cf. Polotsky 1935, col. 250. An old model for this kind of description occurs in Akkadian: cf. Köcher 1953, pp. 64 ff. On various figures of demons which are composed of different animals see further Ebeling 1938, pp. 110a, 111a; Unger 1938, pp. 114a ff.

B 13:10. Correct the printing error: בני ריגותא וזינותא.

B 13:12. In the commentary to this line (p. 210) cross out the words "plural", "pl.".

B 13:15. **zrgwn**ʾ: Cf. the Pahlavi word *zargōn*, in *Dēnkard* VII, 2:28, where it seems to mean "green, fresh".

G 2, p. 1:0. Read (in Arabic characters): בסם אללה אלרחמן אלרחים אלחמד ללה חק חמדה (Elizur).

G 2, p. 1:12. דרנא: This word may be interpreted as the Aramaic word for some kind of worm, or as the Arabic word **drn** "dirt" (Elizur), though these interpretations do not seem likely.

G 3:6. צ״א: This is written over וצאיף (Elizur).

G 4:3. Read at the end of the line perhaps: כל רוחין בישין (וכל) [שדין?] (Elizur).

G 4:6. שאמר והיה העולם. Compare the formula in the Jewish morning prayer, ברוך שאמר והיה העולם.

G 4:8. Read at the end of the line: השבעתי (אתך) (Elizur).

G 4:15. Read: פיאל[אל ושר]לו כרוביו[ ](ו) (Elizur).

G 4:17. Read: [ ] שלמה על (כ)ל (רוח)ין ושדין (Elizur).

G 5, p. 2:2–4. The phrase from Gen. 32:3 occurs also in the prayer for the safety of a journey.

G 6, p. 1:1–2. Read: עד [ז]מן דיעבד צביוני (Elizur).

G 6, p. 4:19. Read: o אמן אמן סלה ה.

G 7:34. Correct the printing error: יארי יי פניו אליך ויחנך פסתם.

G 8:9. Read: ושמתיה אינון (Elizur).

G 8:21–22. והסיר יי ממך כל חולי. This is a quotation from Dt. 7:15.

G 8:25. Read: thbuiכל חוקיו כל המחלה אשר שמתי (Elizur).

G 8:at the top, inverted. Read: לעולם ועד אמן אמן סלה (Elizur).

Page 265. אזה. Correct the reference: B 13:9.

Page 291a. K 1.95, read the references : 47, 187.

Page 291a. K 1.195, this should be deleted.

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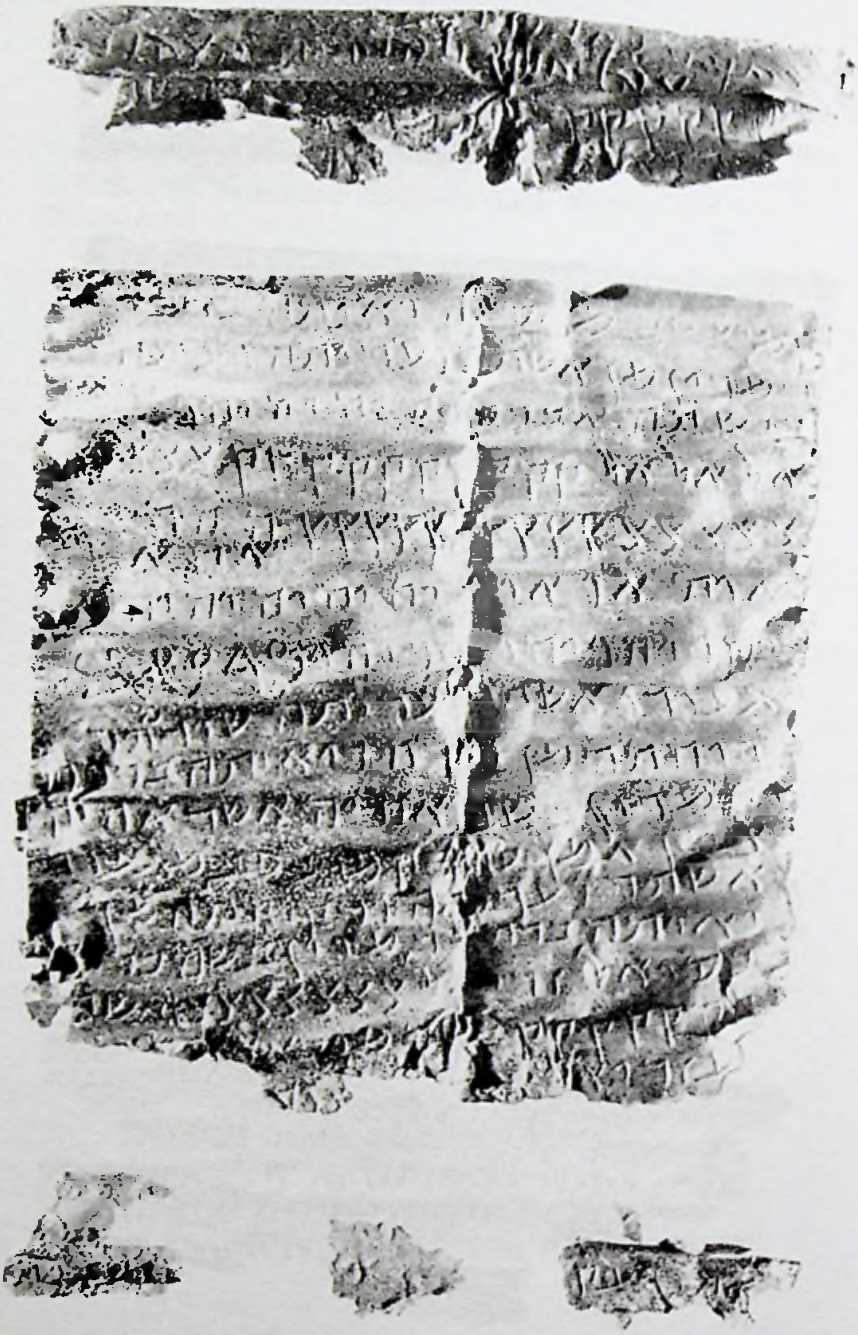
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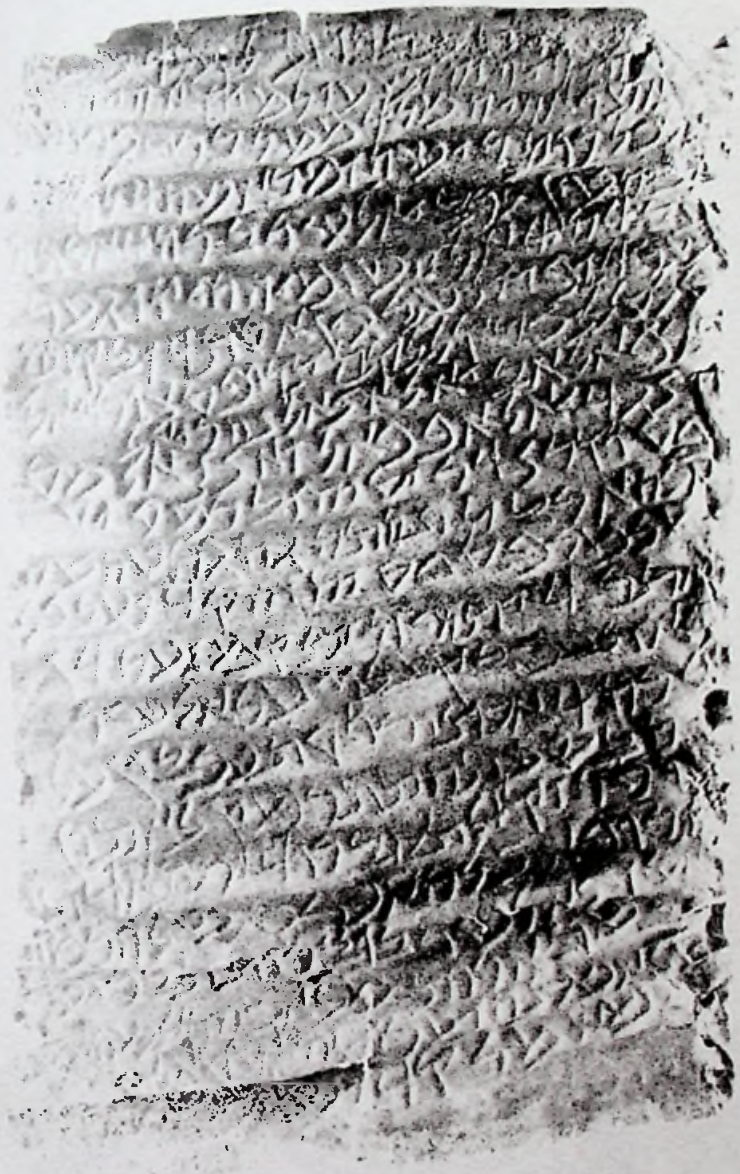


Amulet I

PLATE 2



Amulet 2



Amulet 3

PLATE 4



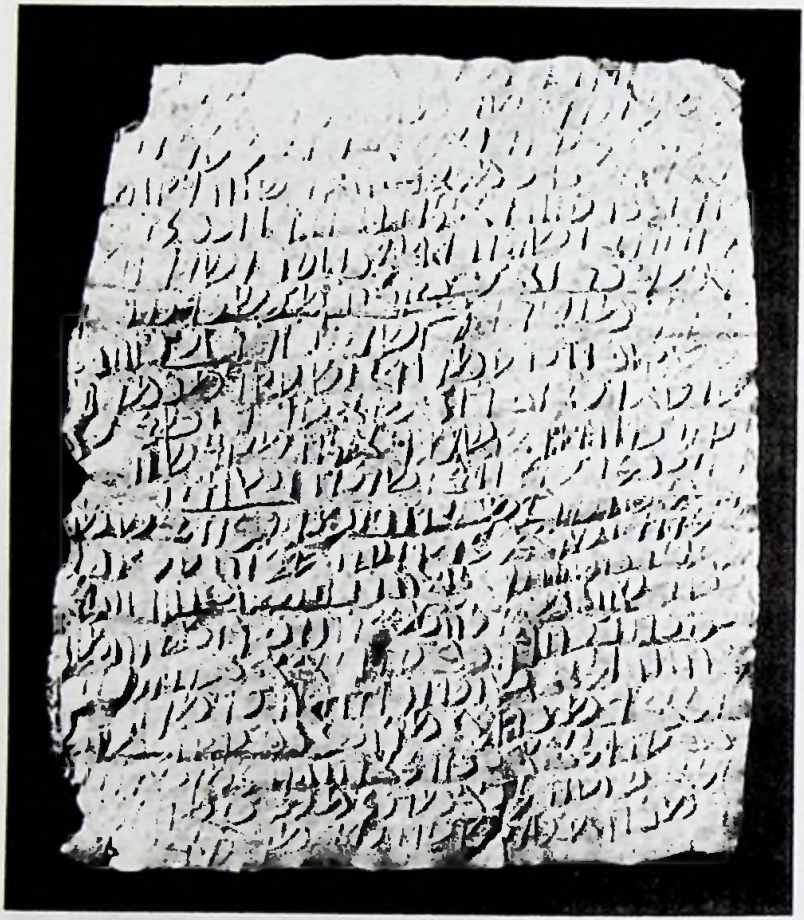
Amulet 4

Note: For Amulet 5
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Amulet 6

PLATE 6



Amulet 7a



Amulet 7b

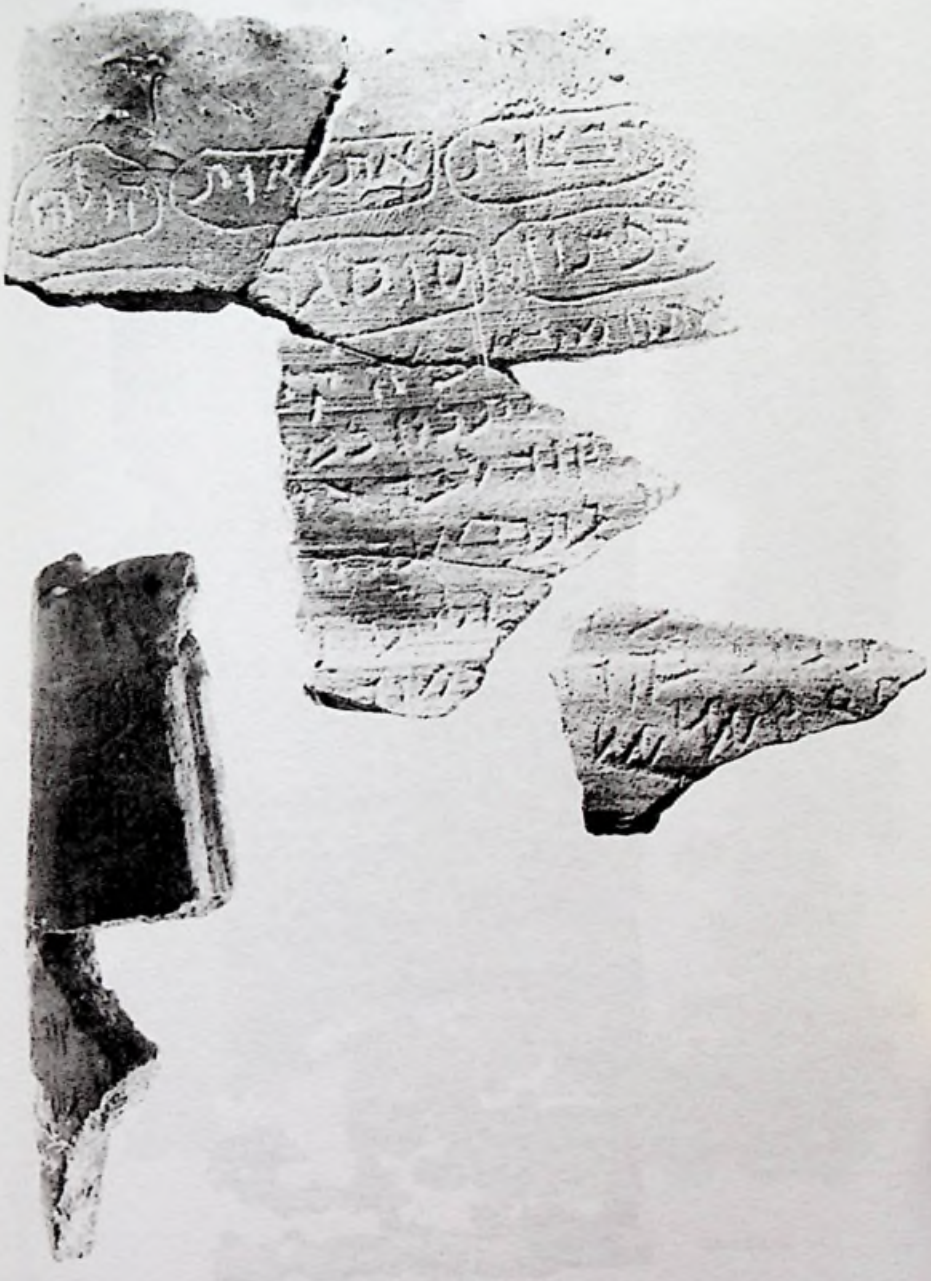


Amulet 8

PLATE 8



Amulet 9



Amulet 10

PLATE 10



Amulet 11

PLATE II



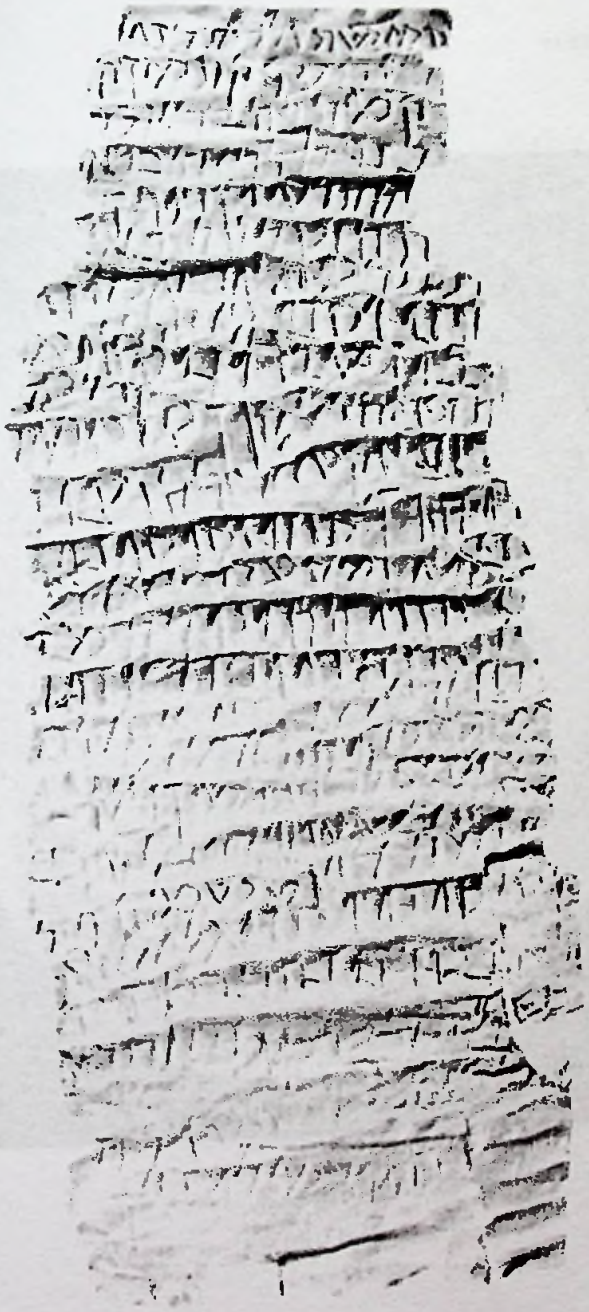
Amulet 13

Amulet 12

PLATE 12



Amulet 14



Amulet 15

PLATE 14



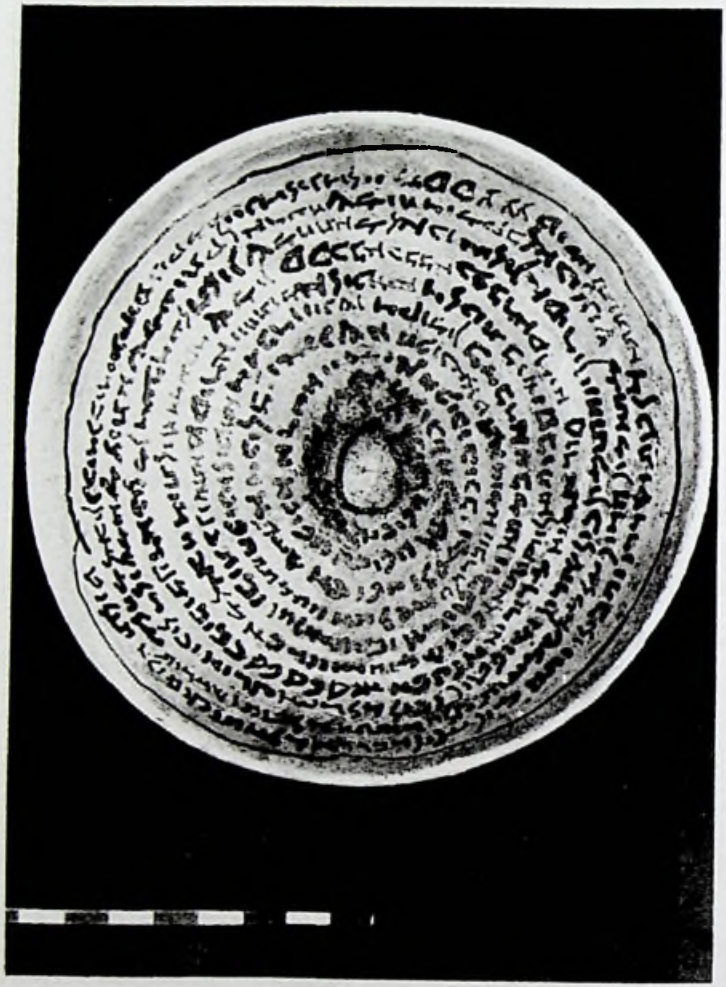
Bowl 1, left side

PLATE 15

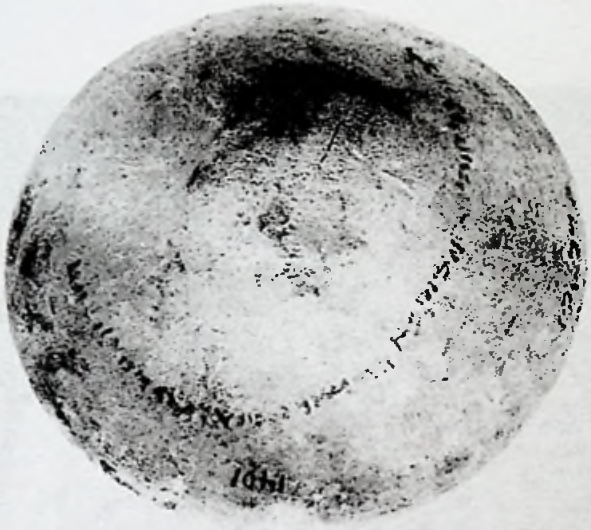


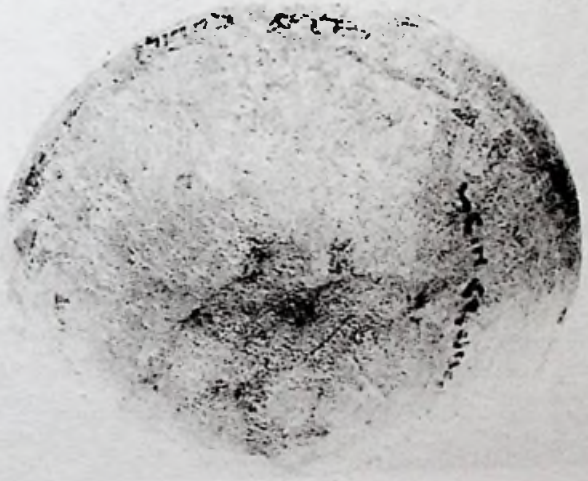
Bowl 1, right side

PLATE 16



Bowl 2, inside

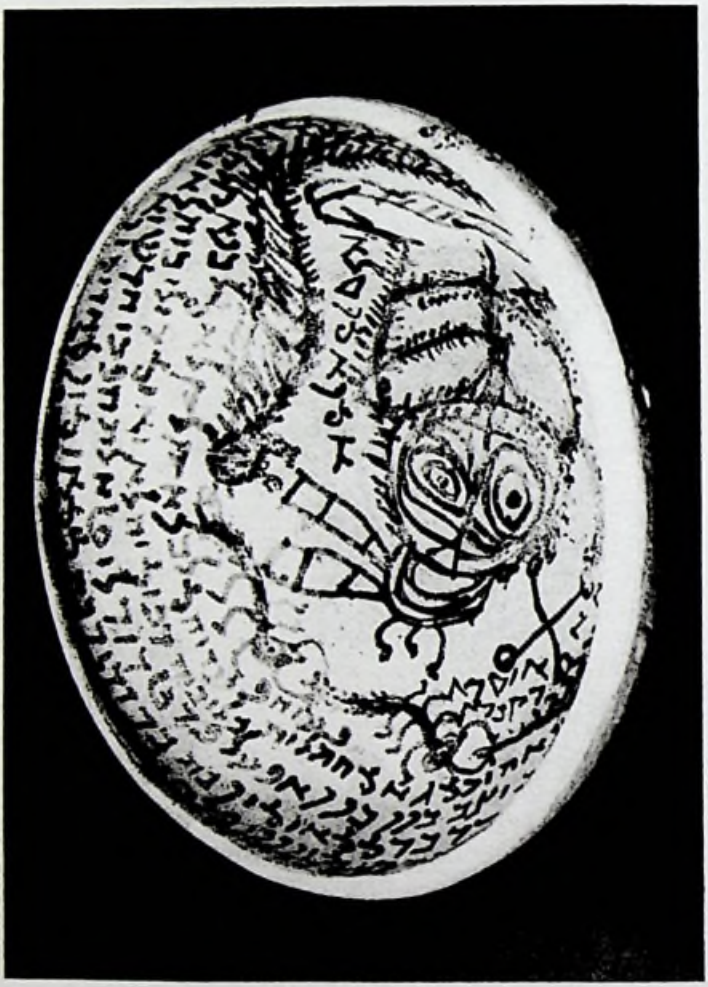




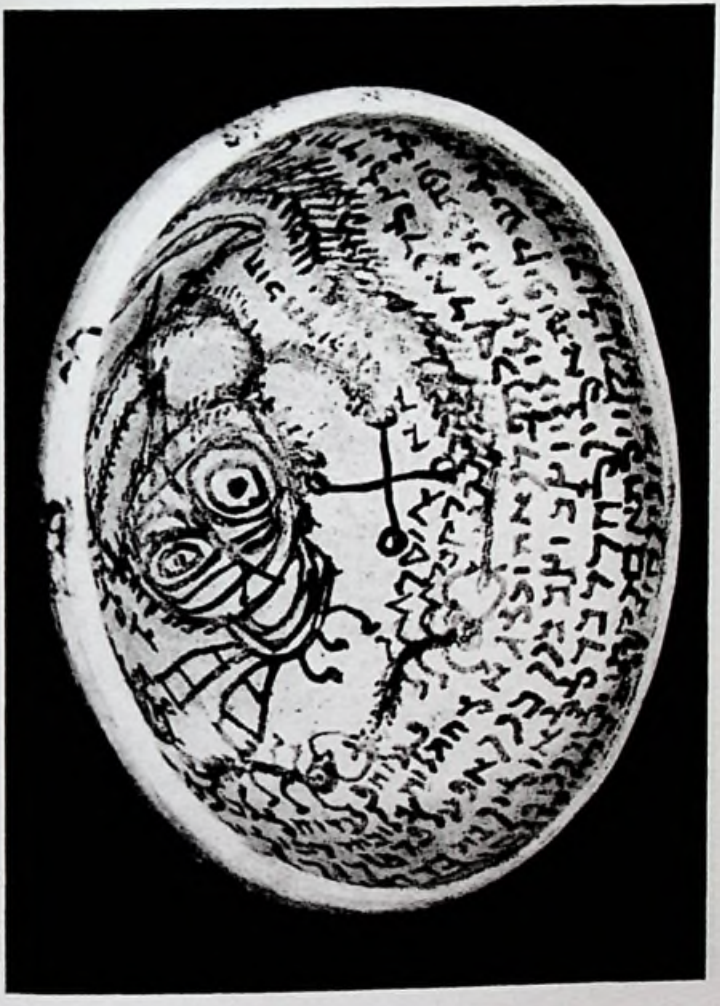
Bowl 2, outside

Note: For Bowl 3
see Plate 20

PLATE 18



Bowl 4, left side



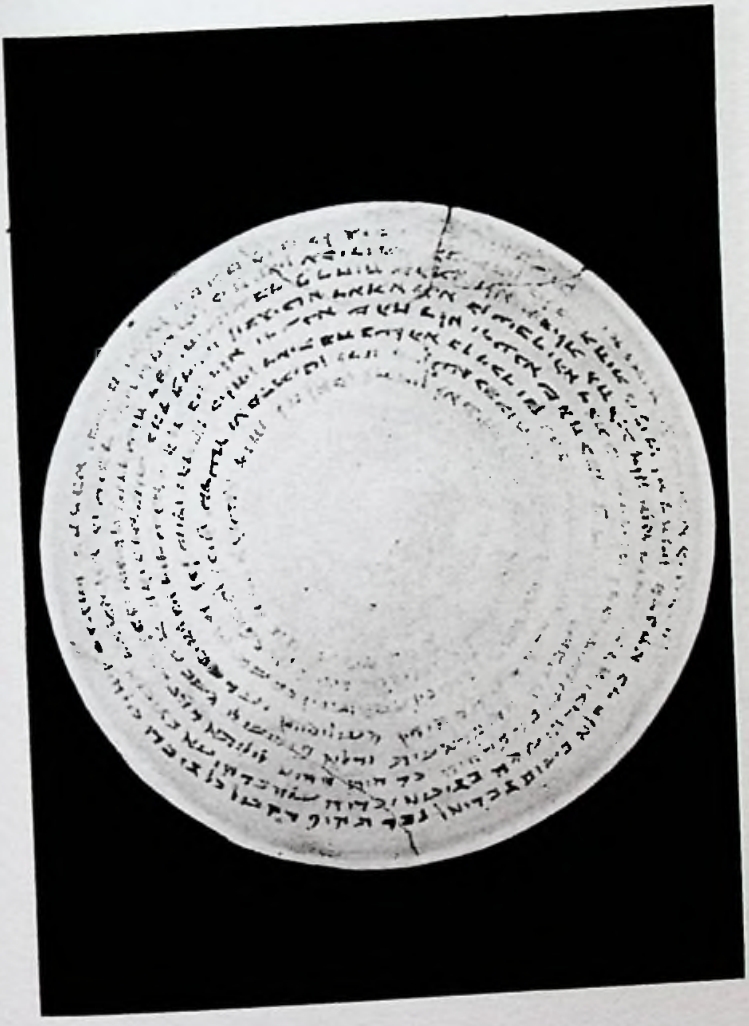
Bowl 4, right side

PLATE 20



Bowl 3

PLATE 21



Bowl 5

PLATE 22



Bowl 6



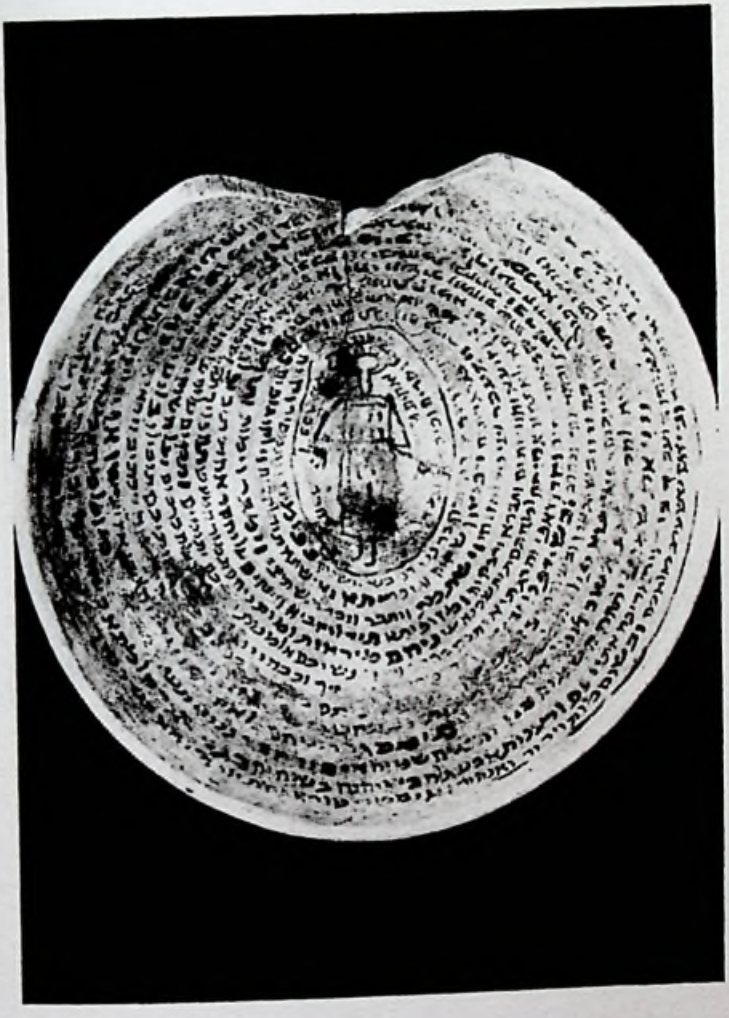
Bowl 7

PLATE 24



Bowl 8

PLATE 25



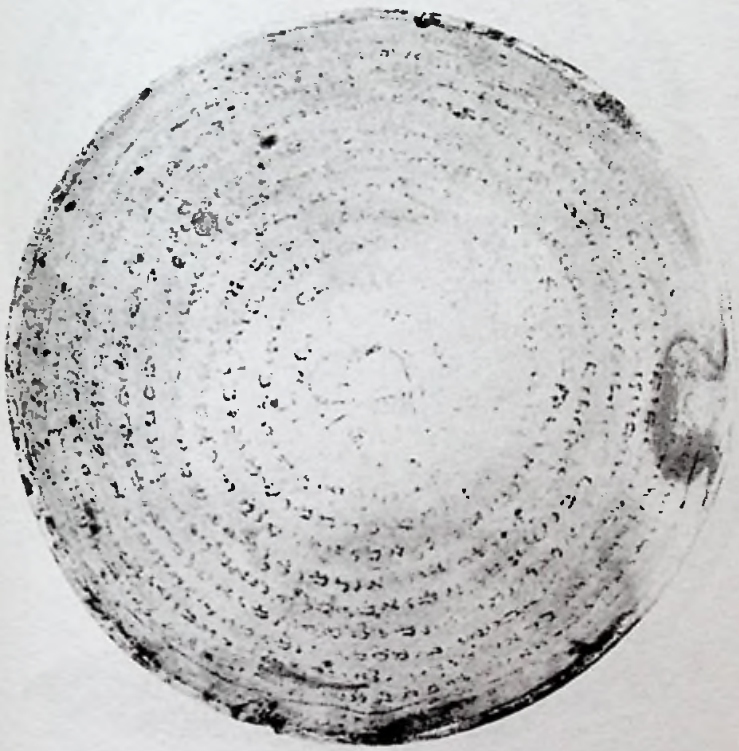
Bowl 9

PLATE 26



Bowl 10

PLATE 27



Bowl 11

PLATE 28



Bowl 12a

PLATE 29

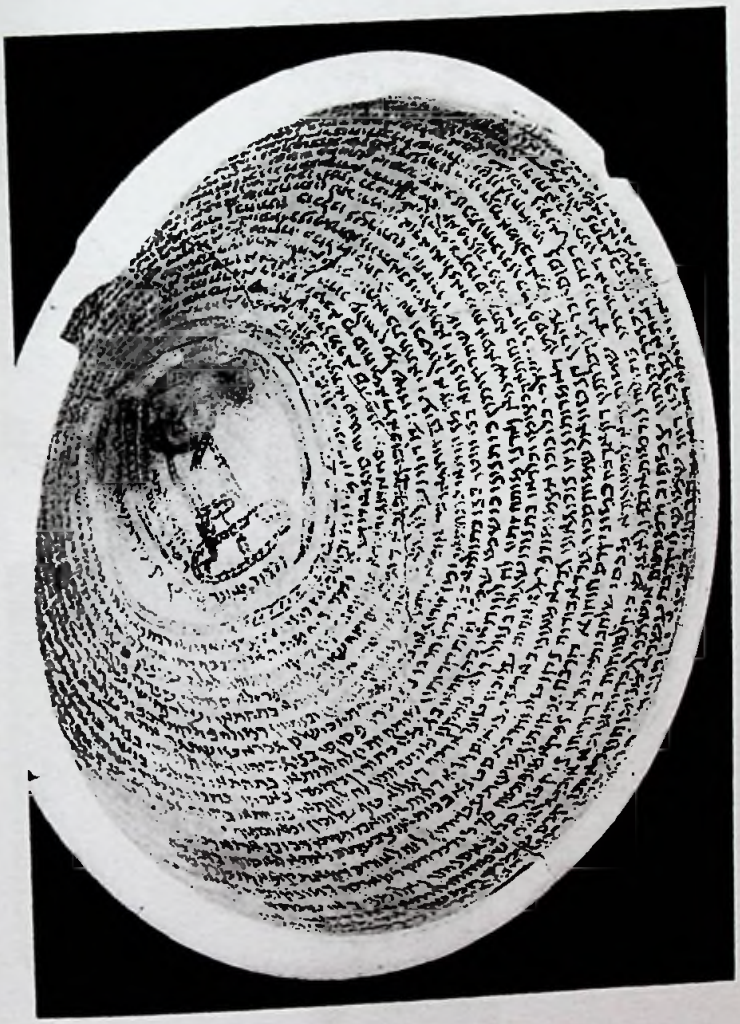


Bowl 12b

PLATE 30

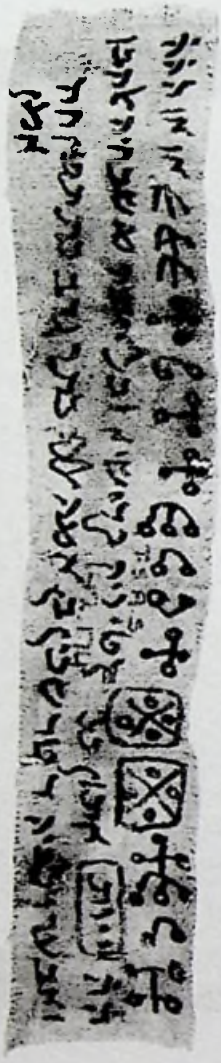


Bowl 13. left side

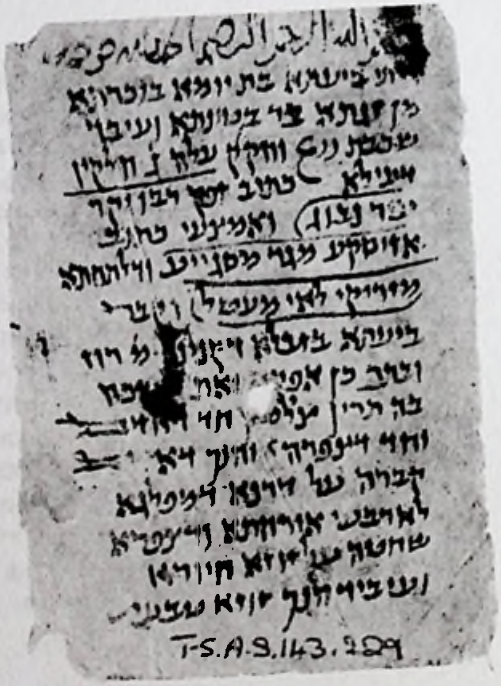


Bowl 13, right side

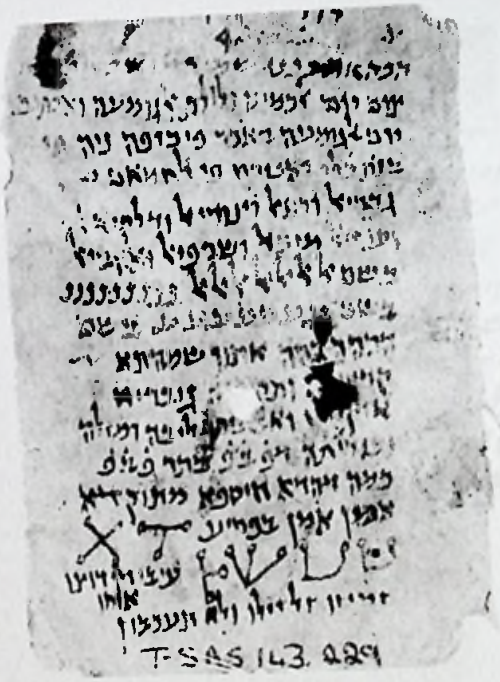
PLATE 32



Geniza 1



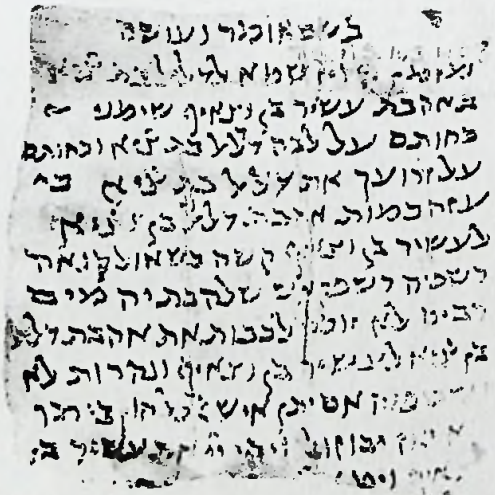
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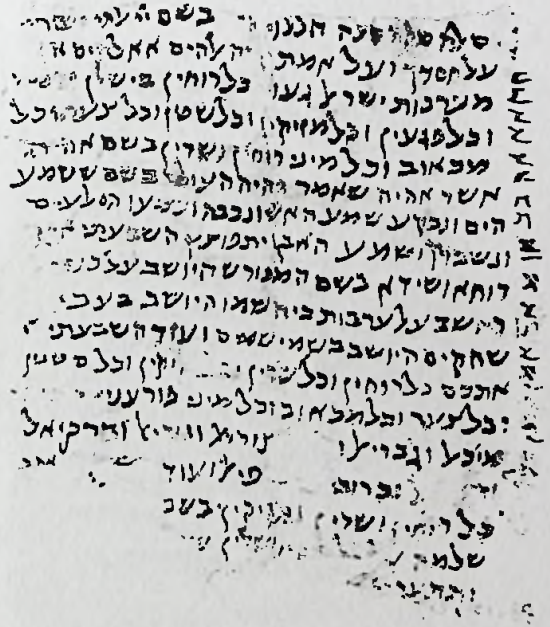
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Geniza 2

PLATE 33

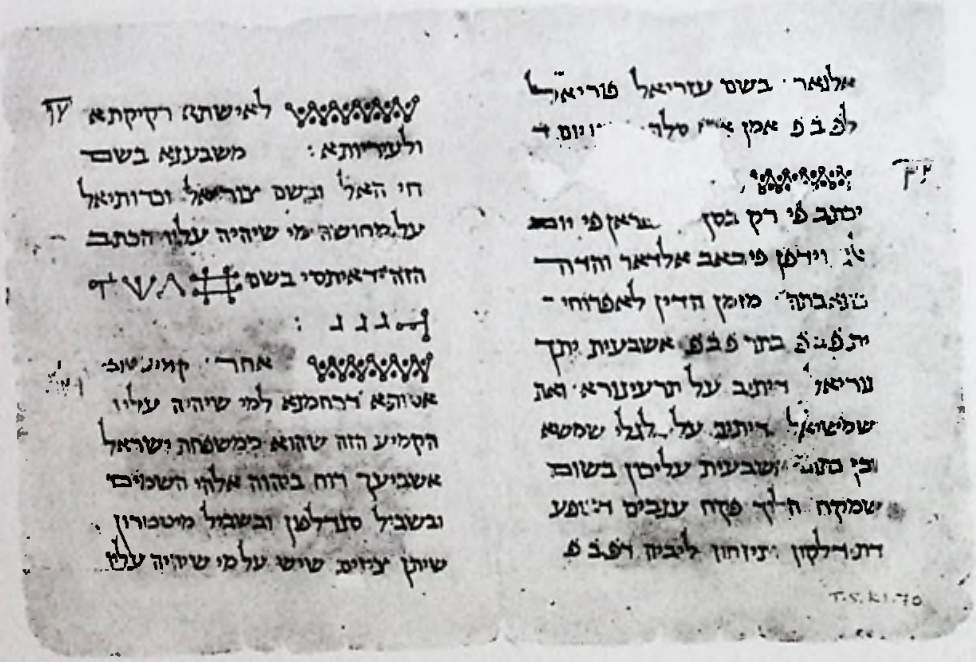


Geniza 3



Geniza 4

PLATE 34



Geniza 5, recto

1

4

PLATE 35

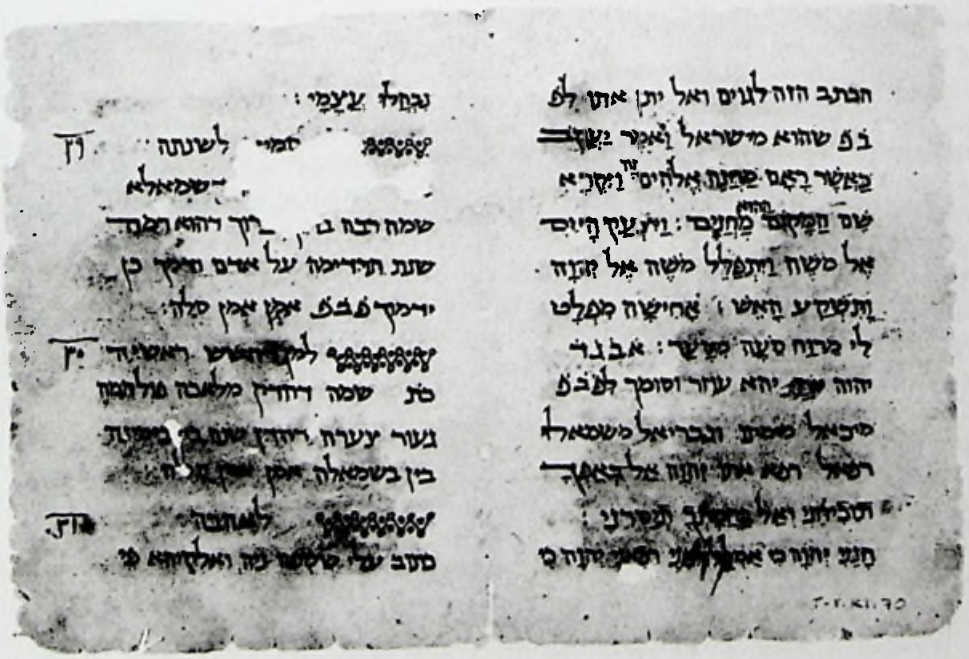


PLATE 36

3 Geniza 5, verso 2

Geniza 6, recto

PLATE 38

Geniza 6, verso



Geniza 7

PLATE 40

Geniza 8

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Ancient Jewish Magic

Method · March 2021

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Ancient Jewish Magic (1898, Strassburg)

A modern précis of the work of Ludwig Blau

(Jehuda Arje Blau, 1861-1936)

The original work (in German and Hungarian, with Hebrew and Greek key words) offers a detailed analysis, documentation and assessment of the ancient borderlines of superstition and Judaism, with respect to monotheist ethics. Prof. Rabbi Blau clearly states that Jewish and pagan magic have common cultural roots, are an inter-confessional and international phenomenon, although many Hebrew formulae (e.g. tetragrammaton, יהוה) are circulated as symbols. His view of the good luck charm (amulet, קמיע) is relatively neutral and sees its Hebrew origin in the attributed healing power by the ancient physicians, who were also priests, i.e. benevolent apotropaic function. The overall drivers of every ancient magic practice are hate (malevolent) and love (benevolent), resulting always in death and adultery. L. Blau locates the mentioned ancient magic practices in the Talmud and Midrash to the land of Egypt, except some few Babylonian (Chaldean) customs. As in all times and among all peoples, performing certain magical practices was performed as business by women within Jewish communities and the legal warning of Exodus 22:18 (מְכַשֵּׁפָה, sorceress) ***is not gender-neutral; this also refers to comments of Baraitha Sanhedrin 67a. In the deeper sense of all these ancient human practices of gaining control over destiny and randomness, classical magic and symbolic art may have been the beginning of culture, in terms to 'create' by sensual media supernatural effects. According to L. Blau, with respect to magic practices, ancient human paganism has (had) a greater influence on Judaism (than vice versa); the originality of Judaism is only grounded in the creative awareness (realization, insight) of a single (united-only) creator.***

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Christians Need to Know



An In Depth Study of the Kosher Pig and the Gods of Jewish Mysticism

DeAnne Loper

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An In Depth Study of the Kosher Pig and the Gods of Jewish Mysticism

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Appendix

Introduction: The Leaven of Kabbalah

And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. 1 Corinthians 2:4-5

Paradigm Shift – an important change that happens when the usual way of thinking about or doing something is replaced by a new and different way; a fundamental change.

Reading the title of this book, one might ask, why do Christians need to know the secrets of Kabbalah? For the last several decades the Church has been the particular target of a massive flood of books and teachings on mysticism, specifically in the form of Jewish mysticism or Kabbalah. The result of this demonic campaign has been a "departure from the faith," as many Christians are now looking to the *wisdom* of the rabbis for answers to their spiritual questions.

Like the gnostics, the kabbalists view *secret knowledge* as the path to immortality. Mingled with biblical terminology, these secrets are subtly presented as a means of discovering one's hidden destiny and as a way of becoming more like God. Even as mystical teachings are being covertly brought into the Church, what is more astonishing is that many rabbis are openly proclaiming Kabbalah as the only salvation of the world and that this salvation can only be brought about by a global adherence to the law.

This book will attempt to uncover the deception by giving a detailed description of what Kabbalah is and equip believers to recognize it in its morphed form of Christianity. It will also demonstrate that the *god* of today's Babylonian and kabbalistic Judaism is not the God of the Bible and that the current convergence of Christians coming under rabbinic authority will bring them, not to the one true God of the Bible, but to the subservience of the *god* of Kabbalah – *Ein Sof* – and to its hierarchy of gods.

The two main sources for Jewish doctrine are *The Babylonian Talmud* and Kabbalah. The *Babylonian Talmud* is a commentary on the *Mishnah*, an extensive collection of Jewish legends, fables, and oral law which is considered in some branches of Judaism as divinely inspired as the Old Testament. Kabbalah has been defined as a mystical commentary on the Torah. The word Kabbalah means *to receive* and may be viewed as the umbrella under which all Jewish esoteric books are contained. The primary texts of Kabbalah are the *Zohar* (The Book of Splendour) and the *Sefer Yetzirah* (The Book of Formation). There are also lesser writings with such titles as *The Book of Mysteries*, *The Gate of Reincarnations*, and the widely known third *Book of Enoch* (3 Enoch).

The *Babylonian Talmud* has aptly been called *the sea of Talmud* for its endless debates on Torah interpretation, as every word and every letter can have seventy meanings. As an extension of the *Talmud*, Kabbalah is sometimes referred to as the *wine* of Torah, so named for the *distillation* process of knowledge whereby the initiate undergoes a spiritual transmutation process likened to the art of the medieval alchemist in his secret laboratory. What is important to understand is that Kabbalah cannot be separated from its Babylonian origins and is considered a vital part of Judaism:

"Some modern exponents of the Kabbalah claim that it is a separate religion, distinct from Judaism. This claim is not only untrue, it is self-destructive…The Kabbalists call Jewish mysticism the Pardes, meaning 'The Garden'… Kabbalah is a living, breathing spirituality that is nourished by the rich soil of Jewish wisdom and practice… While one can taste the teachings of Kabbalah even without being particularly observant of Judaism, you can't detach it from its source. *Kabbalah is the heart of Judaism*." (i)

This book will further show that the *god* of Kabbalah is none other than Lucifer, the *serpent* and angel of *light*, whom the sages prophesy will restore knowledge to humanity on a global scale, just as he did in Genesis. The Kabbalah reveals the identity of its *god* as an imposter and usurper from the beginning, as seen in this quote from the *Zohar*:

“He is the great Beginning, the mystery of all mysteries… the great source of all being and creation, the primal light that *enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world*.” (ii)

While there are many forms of Jewish mysticism entering the Church, none stand out more than Rabbi Itzhak Shapira’s book, *The Return of the Kosher Pig*. Before reading the book, I had yet to encounter a more overtly kabbalistic objective of the *Kingdom of God* as presented by Shapira and set forth by the rabbis of Kabbalah, who sadly for the most part rejected Jesus Christ as the Messiah.

I first heard of Rabbi Shapira in a video interview discussing his book. Many of his statements were deeply disturbing, such as the claim that when *Yeshua* returns He will destroy Edom; those Christians who are not aligned with the current state of Israel. I found this statement by Shapira to be completely unwarranted because the security of the believer in Jesus rests on the testimony of Christ and His atonement on the cross for sin, not on an individual’s political alignments in this world.

Much of the subject material in Shapira’s book is deeply rooted in the kabbalistic tenets of past Jewish sages. Since reading the book, my concerns have only increased. Among his strange doctrines, Shapira draws on an array of rabbinic sources to show that *Yeshua* is *Metatron*; the (fallen) angel who gives knowledge to mankind and a prominent figure in the writings of Kabbalah and the *Babylonian Talmud*. Equally disturbing is Shapira’s consistent use of *gematria* (Jewish divination) and his definition of *redemption*, which echoes the voices of the rabbis before him, as will be explained in the book.

Since the time I saw that first interview, Shapira has shared platforms with some of today’s leading Evangelical Christian personalities, all of whom adhere to the popular message of a political Zionist Israel-centered gospel versus the incorruptible gospel of Jesus Christ, Who is the fulfillment of all Scripture (See Luke 24:44-47).

As with any work on this subject, many will label the book as anti-Semitic, when in reality it is simply a compilation of kabbalistic methods of

enlightenment which are based on doctrines of demons. If the book bears any label, it is anti-Babylonian mysticism, anti-Kabbalah, and most of all, anti-luciferian.

In 1 Corinthians 1:19, the Apostle Paul referenced the prophecy of Isaiah 29:14 that the "foolishness" of preaching the cross is the power of God to both "destroy the wisdom of the wise" and to "save them that believe."

Therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.

The *wisdom* of Kabbalah cannot be *received* without drinking from the cup of Babylon, as Kabbalah imposes a mystical, esoteric interpretation into the Scriptures. It is chilling to note that the rabbis repeatedly relate stories from kabbalistic literature – the same sources Shapira references in his book – which describe degrees of initiation in which the adept must journey past the *seven heavens* and through the doorways of the *seven palaces* by means of "secret names and seals…either upon his person or in his mind." (iii)

The Church today is at a crossroads, as one of the best-selling Bibles among Christians is *The Israel Bible*; a Bible without Jesus. (iv) The Bible warns of false prophets and teachers secretly bringing in heresies to the point of denying the Lord Jesus. (2 Peter 2:1) 1 John 4:1-6 tells us that we are to test the spirits of truth and error, because many false prophets are gone out into the world. In Revelation 2:2 Jesus commended the church of Ephesus for "testing" those who claimed to be apostles and found them to be liars.

The same holds true today. Growing within the Church is a wide body of rabbis who impress audiences with their extensive knowledge of ancient mysteries that are hidden in Scripture. What is not easily discerned is that these *mysteries* are rooted in the traditions of Babylonian and kabbalistic doctrines which arose out of Egyptian and Chaldean occultism. It stands to reason, therefore, that these same teachers, "illuminated" in esoteric Judaism, must also understand the "dark sentences" of the craft of Kabbalah.

Step by step we are witnessing a gradual *META-morphosis* – a transformation – of the Gospel in which the centrality of the position of Jesus Christ in Scripture is slowly being replaced by another *gospel*, another *spirit*, another *Jesus*, another *kingdom*; and the voice of the Bridegroom still calls, “Come out of her My people.”

Chapter 1

The Transformation

I will praise You with my whole heart; Before the gods I will sing praises to You. I will worship toward Your holy temple, and praise Your name. For Your lovingkindness and Your truth; For You have magnified Your word above all Your name.
Psalm 138: 1-2

***Transform* – mětaschēmatizō; (from the root word měta), to transfigure or disguise; a metamorphosis, to change, convert, transmute; an alchemical change in substance.**

But I fear, lest somehow, as the serpent deceived Eve by his craftiness, so your minds may be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. For if he who comes preaches another Jesus whom we have not preached, or if you receive a different spirit which you have not received, or a different gospel which you have not accepted—you may well put up with it…For such are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ. And no wonder! For Satan himself transforms himself into an angel of light.

Paul, Apostle of Jesus Christ – 2 Corinthians 11:3-4, 13-14

“In the six hundredth year of the sixth millennium (5600 = 1840 C.E.) the gates of wisdom above [Kabbalah] together with the wellsprings of wisdom below [science] will be opened up, and the world will prepare to usher in the seventh millennium.” ***Zohar*** **(*VaYeira* 117a)** 1

The Moshiach of Kabbalah = *Yeshua* = *Metatron* = *Another Jesus*

The Return of the Kosher Pig by Rabbi Itzhak Shapira is one of the latest attempts to initiate Christians into Kabbalah by disclosing Jewish mysticism in an orthodox light. The premise of the book is to reveal the divine nature of the Messiah, *Yeshua*, concealed within the rabbinic writings of Jewish sages, including the *Babylonian Talmud*, the Kabbalah, the *Midrash* and other extra-biblical writings. In his presentation of *Yeshua* as the prophesied divine Messiah, Rabbi Shapira delves deep into the occult teachings of Kabbalah and the antichrist writings of the *Babylonian Talmud*. The inevitable course of this approach will inherently lead to another gospel and another *Jesus*.

In 2 Corinthians 11:3 the Apostle Paul warns the church of another Jesus and another gospel. In Galatians 1:8 Paul wrote, “But though we or an angel preach any other gospel, let him be accursed.” As ministers of the Gospel, neither Paul nor any of the apostles ever wavered from the sure foundation of Moses and the prophets having their complete fulfillment in Jesus Christ, the Messiah. There was no trading off or compromise with doctrines of demons such as those presented in *The Return of the Kosher Pig*. When Kabbalah speaks of the coming *Moshiach* (Messiah) it is never speaking about Jesus Christ, nor is Jesus Christ the Messiah spoken of in the *Babylonian Talmud*. The “prophecies” of the sages that Shapira references in his book all point to the coming of a Messiah that is not Jesus Christ, therefore he is antichrist.

In the first section of the book titled, “To the Reader,” Shapira introduces himself as a rabbi holding a rabbinic ordination through IAMCS (International Alliance of Messianic Congregations and Synagogues) but stresses the point that he has “no connection or relationship to Christianity other than following the same Messiah.” (p. xi) Using “holy Hebrew

manuscripts and traditions" as his foundation, Shapira says his desire is to present a "Kosher Yeshua"…'The Pig,' "through a Jewish lens," stating that "there is great significance in the name Yeshua rather than Jesus." (pp. xi-xii)

In the introduction to his book, Shapira begins by building a kabbalistic frame of reference on how the "Kingdom of God" will be manifested on earth. Kabbalists believe that there is a divine spark (*nitzotz*) of God within every person and within all of creation. This is New Age panentheism – God in everything and everyone. The Kabbalah teaches that at the fall in the Garden of Eden, the divine sparks were scattered and that the Messiah will only come when the sparks (specifically the scattered Jews) are gathered back to the land of Israel. Shapira explains:

"…the two conditions needed to bring ***the Kingdom of God to earth*** and to bring Jewish souls or "sparks" back to God. In Jewish thought, the Messiah will only appear when the truth ("lights") presents itself in the ***proper context*** ("tools")…The restoration and salvation of all of Israel and ***the entire world*** is dependent upon the restoration of the ***divine Jewish sparks*** back to *HaShem*…The ***truth by itself***…about the nature of the Messiah will not bring him and his kingdom to us. His kingdom will be established when all of the Jewish sparks will be gathered again." (p. 4; Emphasis, italics added)

It is clear that Shapira is steeped in the traditions of Jewish mysticism, the same traditions for which Jesus condemned the religious Pharisees of His time. And while Shapira presents this kabbalistic fable to his readers as "kosher," he fails to reveal the full spectrum of this false teaching; that at the fall, the *Messiah* of the Kabbalah himself fell into the abyss, that he too is in *exile*, and will only be released from the pit when there is a critical mass of "sparks" calling for him to come forth on the earth!

Shapira also infers that we need the mediation and mystical writings of the rabbinic sages of old in order to properly understand the Bible. He states, "In my opinion, the method of presenting Yeshua as the Jewish Messiah needs to be reevaluated…Some believe that proclaiming the words of the Bible itself is sufficient…I do agree that the Bible holds the ultimate truth,

but are we to ignore external resources [Kabbalah, Babylonian Talmud, etc.] that describe the nature of the Messiah…In searching out these truths, I suggest that the **proper context** is completely lost unless we use **an approved understanding of the word**." (p. 8, Emphases added)

After establishing an *approved framework* for his readers to better understand messianic prophecy, Shapira then sets the stage for the case of the *Kosher Pig* by quoting rabbinic sages whose writings say that in the Messianic era the pig will become kosher again. In other words, "The pig will return to Israel," *Yeshua* will be welcomed by the world and will rule the nations from a utopian Jewish kingdom on earth. (p.12)

To support his thesis, Shapira introduces his readers to *Pardes*, also spelled PaRDeS. On page 27 of his book he asks, "…how are we to interpret the Hebrew Scriptures?" He answers this question, saying, "…the Hebrew Bible has left much room for interpretation…Judaism has defined a systematic method of interpreting the scriptures over the course of centuries known as *Pardes*," adding that "it [*Pardes*] represents the keys to understanding the kingdom of heaven."

The word *Pardes* means paradise or garden and refers to the Garden of Eden (PaRaDiSe). It is an acronym for the words *p'shat*, *remez*, *drash* and *sod*. According to Orthodox or Hasidic Judaism, there are four levels or layers of interpreting the Bible. *P'shat* is the first layer and refers to the surface or plain meaning of the text. *Remez* relates to hints or what is implied below the surface. *Drash* or midrash means to dig deeper while focusing on the writings of the sages. *Sod* is the fourth level. The word *sod* means "secret" and refers to the hidden, esoteric meaning. The practice of *sod* requires immersion into the occult practices of Kabbalah and Shapira does not hesitate to reveal this to his readers:

"The word *Sod* literally means 'a secret'…One example of the 'Torah of *Sod'* is Gematria…the Kabbalah and the Zohar are *Sod* terms that are familiar to those within Orthodox circles. According to Orthodox Judaism, *Sod* represents the highest pinnacle of Jewish study and requires great care…the main contributor to what later became known as the book of the *Zohar*, Rabbi Shimon Bar Yochai, introduced midrash and *sod* (secrets) to

bring a unique perspective and Jewish understanding to the concept of the Messiah…Kabbalah is a generic term for the Torah of *Sod* or the secrets, which includes the Zohar, among other resources." (p. 31)

While Shapira is careful to stress to his readers that the "words of the Hebrew Bible are the only authoritative words that are divinely inspired," he contradicts himself later by saying, "However, our tools must be expanded beyond the *Tanach* (Torah, Prophets, and Writings)…**In order to understand the Scriptures and come into the kingdom of God, one has to apply these four methods of interpretation**." (pp. 27, 29, Emphasis added) So, in order to come into the kingdom of God, we must apply this secret method of biblical interpretation?

Shapira also informs us that there is a 5th level of *Pardes* called *Remez HaRemezim* – the "secret of secrets" – and that this level will only be revealed by the Messiah upon his return. "This level of Torah understanding will remain locked until the Messiah's arrival." (pp. 31-32) To illustrate this system of *secret wisdom*, Shapira provides us with the occult image of the Kabbalah tree of knowledge with its roots penetrating below the surface of the earth; the esoteric symbol of *As Above, So Below*. A Hasidic Jewish website explains:

"One of the promises regarding the Messianic Redemption concerns the Torah we will then study: "A new Torah will emit from Me" (Midrash Rabbah Leviticus based on Isaiah 51:4. In fact, "The Torah which we study in this world is naught in comparison to the Torah of Moshiach"… Nevertheless, while there is only one Torah, this Torah is multi-layered… **The deepest of the four general dimensions of the Torah is sod, the esoteric teachings of the Torah, also known as kabbalah. Moshiach will teach a hitherto untapped level of kabbalah**." 2

How do these claims by Shapira and other "rabbinic sages" compare with Jesus Christ, who is the same yesterday, today and forever? Do they stand up to the incorruptible Word of God? No, they do not!

And when they say to you, "Seek those who are mediums and wizards, who whisper and mutter," should not a people seek their God? Should

they seek the dead on behalf of the living? Isaiah 8:19

Jewish mystics refer to *Sod* as the *Torah of Sod*; *sod* meaning secret. This is because in Orthodox Judaism the word *Torah* encompasses not just the Torah of the Bible, but all of the writings of the Jewish sages throughout history and Shapira references these occult writings on a consistent basis to defend his case for the "kosher pig" Messiah.

The *Torah of Sod* is Kabbalah. Simply stated, Kabbalah is sorcery. It is consulting with demons to obtain secret knowledge, a practice forbidden by God in Deuteronomy 18. It is man's vain attempt to return to the paradise of the Garden of Eden through the kabbalistic tree of knowledge of good and evil. On page 27 of his book, Shapira states, "Pardes usually refers to the 'Secrets of Torah' within Judaism – the things that are hidden. The sages believed that in order to get to Paradise (PaRaDiSe), one must get more deeply into the Torah and understand its deepest meaning." (Parentheses added)

Because the knowledge of *sod* comes from the "serpent" and is satanic at its root, it is no surprise that the rabbis give a stern warning regarding the spiritual dangers involved. The occult practice utilizes gematria (numerology); changing and rearranging the order of the letters and words of Scripture to find a hidden meaning within the text. *Sod* also involves a transformation of one's consciousness through mystical meditation, breathing exercises and repetition of "*the divine name*." The name that is primarily used to ascend the Kabbalah *Sefirot* tree of knowledge is Metatron. Metatron is a fallen angel and this is who Shapira – through rabbinic writings – identifies as *Yeshua*.

And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables. 2 Timothy 4:4

Having established a thoroughly kabbalistic "framework" for the case of the kosher pig, Shapira attempts to validate the authority of the Babylonian *Oral Torah*. Using a 19th- century Hebrew translation of the New Testament, Shapira misleads his readers by telling them that the word "traditions" in 2 Thessalonians 2:15 is the word *kabbalot*, which is the

plural of kabbalah. This is a prime example of twisting the Scriptures in order to deceive. (2 Peter 3:16)

In his letter to the Thessalonians, the Apostle Paul tells the church to "stand fast, and hold the traditions" which they have been taught either by word or by letters. The word which Paul used is the Greek word *paradosis* and refers specifically to the Jewish precepts and ordinances given to them by God, not man. In his letter to the Corinthian church, Paul speaks of renouncing the hidden things of dishonesty, not handling the Word of God deceitfully. **(2 Corinthians 4:2)** However, in sharp contrast to Paul's words, Shapira notes:

"The Hebrew word that Delitzsch used to translate 'traditions' here is קבלות (*kabbalot*). The word *kabbalot* (plural of kabbalah) literally means 'to receive'…some of the kabalot were passed, not only by the written word, but also by the words that were spoken and the traditions passed by word of mouth...We often refer to that in Judaism as…(the Oral Torah)." 3

The Talmud is the oral tradition endeared by the Pharisees, for which Jesus so harshly rebuked them. In Mark chapter 7 Jesus, quoting the prophet Isaiah, said to the Pharisees, "Howbeit in vain do they worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandment of God, you hold the tradition of men…Making the word of God of no effect through your tradition, which you have handed down." (Mark 7:7-8, 13) Michael Rodkinson, author of *The History of the Talmud*, states, "The Talmud then, is the written form of that which in the time of Jesus was called the Traditions of the Elders, and to which he makes frequent allusions." 4

The warnings Jesus gave to His disciples apply to us today: "Then Jesus said to them, Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the Sadducees…Then they understood that He did not tell them to beware of the leaven of bread, but of the doctrine of the Pharisees and Sadducees." (Matthew 16:6 & 12) Yet, on page 45 of his book, Shapira encourages his readers to treat the Oral Torah – the *Babylonian Talmud* and Kabbalah – with "great respect." This brings us to the most disturbing part of Shapira's book.

Chapter 2

Enter Metatron, Prince of the Kabbalists

Let no man beguile you of your reward by delighting in false humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind. And not holding fast to the Head.
Colossians 2:18

In his "Glossary of Hebrew Terms" Itzhak Shapira defines Metatron as "One of the names of the Messiah based on rabbinical writing." (p. 289) Drawing from the mystical interpretations of the Oral Torah, Shapira introduces the fallen angel, Metatron – the *Messiah* of Jewish Kabbalah.

Part Four of *The Return of the Kosher Pig* is a lengthy exposé proffering the angel Metatron as the Messiah. To prepare his readers for this deceptive doctrine, Shapira writes, "I encourage all of you to continue to put on 'Jewish glasses' and to examine these pieces of evidence critically." (p. 227) He begins by stating that the primary role of the Messiah is to act as a mediator and to carry our prayers to God. To support his case, Shapira quotes Dr. Yehuda Liebes, Professor of Jewish mysticism and Kabbalah at Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Liebes' work, *The Angels of the Voice of the Shofar, and Yeshua Sar-Hapanim*, is partially quoted here:

"…in the order of the *tekiot* (sounding of the shofar) from the siddur we see the prayer to the various angels who are called to lift up the voice of the shofar to the heavens…May it be your will that at the sounding of the shofar that we blow today…As you accepted Elijah, blessed be his name, *and Yeshua the 'prince of the face' (Sar Hapanim) who is the Prince Metatron*, may you fill us with mercy." (p. 227)

Shapira explains that the term *Sar Hapanim* translates to Prince of the Presence, that this is the title given to Yeshua, and that "Metatron and Sar Hapanim are the exact same entity as the Messiah himself." He then notes,

"In essence it is because of the Mediator who is called Yeshua the Prince of the Presence, and Metatron, that our prayers will be received by God." (pp. 228-229) From this prayer in the Siddur, the occult practice of gematria (numerology) is used to decode the 72 names of the *prince of the kabbalists*. Referencing Prof. Liebes again, Shapira states, "…the term *Sar Hapanim* is equivalent in Gematria to 'Prince of the Throne' as the one who is allowed to come to the throne of God and the one who lifts up our prayers as a mediator for us with *HaShem*." (p. 230)

In his presentation of Metatron as Yeshua the Messiah, Shapira cites too many rabbinic sources to list. Some of these are the *Sefer Hayovel*, the *Hekhalot*, *Notes on the Study of Merkabah Mysticism*, the *Third Book of Enoch*, and *The Gate of Reincarnation*. On page 239 Shapira designates Metatron to be the "**Holder of God's full authority**" and "the one who will redeem Israel." On page 240 he quotes the *Sefer Hayovel*:

"And Metatron the Messenger continued and he said to me, I am Metatron, Sar Hapanim, and Michael is my name. He has placed me to be among his people whom he loves. I am the one who was with Avraham…I am the one who redeemed Yitzhak and the one who fought with Yaacov. I am the one who guided Israel in the desert for forty years…"

He then gives several passages in Genesis and inserts Metatron's name for the name of God into the Scriptures. On page 242 Shapira informs us that in Jewish literature Metatron is known as the Little or Lesser YHVH. This is an apt description, as Metatron is in fact a fallen angel posing as the Messiah. Shapira does not admit this, but quotes from the 3rd Book of Enoch, Chapter 10:

"And the herald went forth into every Heaven, saying: "This is <u>Metatron</u>, my servant. I have made him into a prince and a ruler over all the princes of my kingdoms and over all the presence and you shall speak to him now instead of me." (Advent of "Lesser YHVH")

The third book of Enoch (3 Enoch) is a pseudepigraphical work detailing visions of Metatron upon his throne by Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha and is part

of the Jewish esoteric writings called *Hekhalot*. 5 In 3 Enoch Metatron is known as the lesser YHVH: "This version of the Book of Enoch is an account of a journey to heaven by Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha, the High Priest. Rabbi Ishmael is first received by the angel Metatron, who proves to be the exalted Enoch…The whole text falls within the class of Jewish mystical writing known as Merkabah, or Chariot mysticism…" 6

Based on these fables of mystic rabbis who claim to have seen YHVH, are we then to assume that Enoch, transformed into Metatron, is also Yeshua and divine? Shapira gives no explanation for this. Instead he gives greater endorsement to the *Hekhalot* literature, which he esteems as, "a body of mystical writings that developed out of the visions of Ezekiel," and which contain "the greatest clues" for Metatron's identity. On pages 242-243 Shapira quotes from the *Hekhalot* what sounds more like the words of Lucifer in his pride against God than the humble redeemer of Israel who made Himself a servant to all:

"Rabbi Ishmael stated: *Metatron Prince of the Presence [Sar Hapanim]* possesses all the attributes that *HaShem* put in his hand, and he blessed me…and I was lifted and exalted…Metatron, prince of the Presence: *HaShem* **created for me a throne of glory and put upon me light and splendor and glory** and grace and mercy…and he opened the seventh Hall and he put me in this throne…Metatron Prince of the Presence said, *HaShem* has loved me more than any other **exalted ones**, so that he has **created for me clothing with different lights**, and he **created for me a coat of glory**, and he made me **a crown of the kingdom with 49 stones**. And they put it on my head and called out, "**The Little YHVH**" in front of all of the angels above."

Let's take an honest look at these words above (Emphasis added). Do these arrogant proclamations by *Metatron* sound like the words of Jesus Christ who emptied Himself on our behalf? No, rather they sound strikingly like the five self-aggrandizing "I will" declarations of Lucifer in Isaiah 14:

How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which did weaken the nations! For thou hast said in thine heart,

I will ascend into heaven,
I will exalt my throne above the stars of God:
I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north:
I will ascend above the heights of the clouds;
I will be like the most High.
Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit.

We know from John 1:1-3 that Jesus Christ is the eternal Word and God who created all things: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God…All things were made by Him; and without Him was not any thing made that was made." Yet in the quote above from the *Hekhalot* we see Metatron – a fallen angel and imposter – saying that *HaShem* has *created* for him a throne of glory, clothing adorned with different lights, and a crown of the kingdom with 49 stones! It does not take too much discernment to see who the rabbis are really speaking about. Compare these statements with the description of Lucifer before his fall in Ezekiel 28:12-19:

Son of man, take up a lamentation upon the king of Tyrus, and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord God; You were the seal of perfection, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty. You have been in Eden the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering…Thou art the anointed Cherub that covereth; and I have set thee so: you were upon the holy mountain of God; you have walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire. You were perfect in your ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee…Therefore I will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God: and I will destroy thee, O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire.

The Prince of this World: Metatron's True Identity Revealed
Metatron = Prince of the World = Lucifer

"I am the LORD: that is My name: and My glory will I not give to another."
Isaiah 42:8

It is apparent from Shapira's regard of Metatron that he puts much confidence in Jewish mystical writings, which he refers to as "deeper waters." These esoteric books deny the deity of Jesus Christ, yet give preeminence to a fallen angel and name him as equal to God the Creator. Again and again we see that Shapira has no problem relying on gematria and mysticism to support his thesis that Metatron is Yeshua, Enoch, and even El-Shaddai! On pages 242 and 244 Shapira provides us with the following formulas to illustrate Metatron's "divine nature" and equality with God:

"Sar Hapanim = Metatron = Angel of His Presence = Yeshua"

"Sar Hapanim = <u>Metatron</u> = Angel of His Presence =
Yeshua = Enoch = Shaddai"

Gematria is a mystical system within the *Zohar* used to decode the various names of God from the Torah. Through repetition of the "sacred" names of God, the initiate is transported to the "throne room" where he receives a "vision of Metatron…'the prince of the Presence'…seated on the Throne like God." Gershom Scholem was a leading authority on Kabbalah. In his book, *Kabbalah,* Scholem states, "In Merkabah literature the names of the angels easily intermingle with the secret Names of God…The formula 'the Lord, God of Israel' is very often added to the particular name, but many of the chief angels also have this added to their names…" 7

Quoting one rabbinic source after another, Shapira notes, "…the word *Metatron* in Gematria equates to the value of the word *Shaddai*. We can conclude that Metatron is El-Shaddai, the manifestation of God who is visible on earth and visible to men." (p. 244) At last, the true identity of Metatron is revealed as Shapira quotes yet more rabbinic sources:

"As we know, Metatron is the prince of the world…And he [Metatron] is the lad who serves from above as the sages explained…He is the keeper of the gate. Enoch is Metatron…Metatron is called "the Guardian of Israel…"…Cholin tractate 44 (Babylonian Talmud)… speaks about the Prince of the World…who is called the Great

Metatron...He (Metatron) has seven names." (pp. 244, 246; Parentheses added)

In John 14:30, just before His crucifixion, Jesus identified Satan as "**the prince of this world**." Paul the Apostle called Satan "**the god of this world**" who blinds the minds of those who are lost and to whom the Gospel is hidden. (2 Corinthians 4:3-4) In Ephesians 2:2 he is called "**the prince of the power of the air**." If Metatron is not Satan, aka Lucifer, then at the very least he is one of Satan's fallen angels. He is an imposter sitting on a throne in the spirit realm, posing as the *Messiah*, illuminating Christ rejecting rabbis and mystics with counterfeit visions of himself as YHVH.

Metatron, Merkabah and the Sefirot Tree of Knowledge

Within all esoteric schools of *wisdom*, the lie of Satan is that eternal life is gained through ascending levels of knowledge. In occult mythology, Metatron is the angel who gives knowledge to mankind. In Kabbalah, the experience of encountering Metatron upon his throne is known as Merkabah Mysticism or Chariot Mysticism (*Ma'aseh Merkabah*).

Throughout the centuries rabbinic sages have sought to duplicate the experience of Ezekiel's vision of God on his throne, described as wheels within wheels, carried by four living creatures. (Ezekiel 1) Unlike Ezekiel's experience, which was initiated by God, the mystic of Kabbalah uses occult methods to achieve *union with the divine* apart from faith in Jesus Christ. Merkabah mysticism is man's ascension of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, symbolized by the *Sefirot* tree and the six-pointed star, also known as Metatron's Cube:

Merkabah – the vehicle used to transport a person to the third heaven to behold the angel Metatron on his throne; **also called Metatron's Cube, it is depicted by the six-pointed star**. "The Chariot (Merkabah/Chariot ascension) was thus a kind of 'mystic way' leading up to the final goal of the soul. Or, more precisely, it was the mystic 'instrument,' the vehicle by which one was carried direct into the 'halls' of the unseen. It was the aim of the mystic to be a 'Merkabah-rider'…" 8

"Merkabah…is the divine light vehicle allegedly used by ascended masters to connect with and reach those in tune with the higher realms. "Mer" means Light. "Ka" means Spirit. "Ba" means Body. Mer-Ka-Ba means the spirit/body surrounded by counter-rotating fields of light, (wheels within wheels), spirals of energy as in DNA, which transports spirit/body from one dimension to another…MerKaBa is an interdimensional vehicle consisting of two equally sized, interlocked tetrahedra of light with a common center…it can be viewed as a three dimensional Star of David." 9

The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (a Jewish encyclopedia resource) says the following in its article on Merkabah Mysticism: "**MERKABAH MYSTICISM**, the name given to the first chapter of Ezekiel…The term was used by the rabbis to designate the complex speculations, homilies, and visions connected with the Throne of Glory and the chariot (*merkavah*)…In Pharisaic [Pharisees] and tannaitic [rabbinic sages] circles Merkabah mysticism became an esoteric tradition…The doctrine of the seven heavens and their angelic hosts, as was developed in Merkabah mysticism and in cosmology, has also definite magical contexts…" 10

But their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same vail untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament; which vail is done away in Christ. But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart. 2 Corinthians 3:14-15

Far from the divinely inspired testimony of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as presented in the Scriptures, Shapira's book is more like a magical mystery tour through the endless maze of spiritual darkness that is Kabbalah. If these esoteric writings of the sages so evidently reveal the biblical Messiah, as Shapira claims, why have we not seen more practicing kabbalists come to faith in Jesus Christ? Instead, we are seeing a literal explosion and embrace of kabbalistic doctrines permeating almost every aspect of society, including the Christian community. This is because the teachings of Kabbalah are nothing more than Jewish fables and myths "that turn from the truth" and which Paul the Apostle cautioned Christians to avoid. (Titus 1:14)

The question must also be asked, why would Itzhak Shapira go to such great lengths to write a book which is essentially a means of initiating potential followers of the *kosher pig Yeshua* into the mysteries of Kabbalah? The answer may be found in a *prophecy* from the *Zohar* – the main book of Kabbalah – and in the legacy of the father of today's Kabbalah.

Chapter 3

Prophecy, Creation and the Gods of Kabbalah

A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit…Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt: for the tree is known by his fruit.
Matthew 7:18, 12:33

Isaac Luria: Father of Modern Kabbalah

Itzhak Shapira is not the only rabbi or pastor disseminating kabbalistic doctrines into the Church today. There are many. Even the use of the title *rabbi* should raise an alarm, as Jesus told his followers not to be called rabbi. (Matthew 23:8) All things must be tested in the light of the Bible. Sadly, many Christians today are not looking past the veneer of impressive words that sound like truth; instead, they are placing themselves under the bewitchment of Kabbalah veiled in so called Judaism.

Based on a *prophecy* in the Zohar, there is a very definite and planned effort to bring the entire world into the study of Kabbalah as the necessary precursor that will usher in a false *Messiah*. This is why the true followers of Jesus Christ must be able to recognize basic terms and teachings as defined by the rabbis of Kabbalah.

Of all the rabbis referenced in Shapira's book, none has been more influential in the history and development of Kabbalah than Isaac Luria, also known as the "Ari" or the "lion." Born in Jerusalem in 1534, he was and is still known by his disciples as the master Kabbalist. His method of Kabbalah – Lurianic Kabbalah – continues to be the predominant form of Kabbalah followed by the rabbis today, as confirmed by Shapira: "…Rabbi Yitzhak Luria, who was the founding rabbi of the Pardes method…Many considered him the founder of the "Torah of Kabbalah…He is considered the father of contemporary Kabbalah." 11

This brief description of Isaac Luria from *The Return of the Kosher Pig* as the founder of the mystical Pardes method and "father of contemporary Kabbalah" lends itself to further explanation, but Shapira gives us none. Therefore I present the following excerpt on Isaac Luria from "Kabbalah Online" which publishes "Kosher Kabbalah From The Holy City of Safed, Israel" where Luria spent the last years of his life and died:

"One of the greatest kabbalists of all times, he founded a new school in Kabbalah – the so-called "Lurianic Kabbalah" – which is the basis of almost all mystical works that followed him… undisputedly the greatest practitioner and expounder of Kabbalah since Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai, author of the *Zohar*… On numerous occasions Elijah the Prophet revealed himself and taught the Ari the mysteries of the Torah. Every night his soul ascended into the heavenly realms. Troops of angels would greet him to safeguard his way, bringing him to the heavenly academies. These angels would ask him which academy he chose to visit. Sometimes it would be that of Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai, and other times he would visit the heavenly academies of Rabbi Akiva or Rabbi Eliezer the Great. On occasion he would also visit the heavenly academies of the ancient prophets…In 5330 (1570), after he had attained an extremely exalted rung of holiness in Egypt, Elijah told him the time had come to move to Safed, a city in the Galilee in the north of Israel. There he would meet Rabbi Chaim Vital, the man to whom he was destined to transmit the keys to the ancient knowledge…The Ari overflowed with Torah. He was thoroughly expert in Scripture, Mishnah, Talmud…and *maaseh merkavah* (esoteric disciplines). He was expert in the language of trees, the language of birds and the speech of angels. He could read faces in the manner outlined in the *Zohar* (vol. 2, p. 74b). He could discern all that any individual had done, and could see what they would do in the future. He could read people's thoughts, often before the thought even entered their mind. He knew future events, and was aware of everything happening here on earth, and what was decreed in heaven…**He knew the mysteries of *gilgul*** (reincarnation) **– who had been born previously, and who was here for the first time. He could look at a person and tell him how he was connected to higher spiritual levels, and his original root in Adam. The Ari could read wondrous things** [about people] **in the light of a candle or in the flame of a fire. With his**

eyes he gazed and was able to see the souls of the righteous, both those who had died recently and those who had lived in ancient times. Together with, and from, these departed souls, he studied the true mysteries. From a person's scent, he was able to know all that he had done. (See Zohar, vol. 3, p. 188a.) It was as if the answers to all these mysteries lay dormant within him, waiting to be activated whenever he desired. He did not have to seclude himself to seek them out. All this we saw with our own eyes. These are not things that we heard from others. They were wondrous things that had not been seen on earth since the time of Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai. None of this was attained through magic, heaven forbid. There is a strong prohibition against these arts. Instead, it came automatically, as a result of his saintliness and asceticism, after many years of study in both the ancient and the newer Kabbalistic texts. He then increased his piety, asceticism, purity and holiness until he reached a level where Elijah would constantly reveal himself to him, speaking to him "mouth to mouth," teaching him these secrets." 12

From this account of Luria's life, we can get a pretty clear idea of how a future *Moshiach* (Messiah) of Kabbalah might appear, complete with *Elijah the false prophet* as his forerunner – in this case, a familiar spirit! In fact, another authoritative source notes that "Certain allusions made to his disciples suggest that he [Luria] believed himself to be 'the Messiah, the son of Joseph,' destined to die in the fulfillment of his mission." 13 Like Simon the sorcerer in Acts chapter 8, Luria's ability to perform signs and wonders greatly impressed his contemporaries and his teachings continue to influence the followers of Kabbalah today.

The Kabbalah Sefirot Tree of Knowledge and its Roots

As seen in *The Return of the Kosher Pig*, Itzhak Shapira has provided extensive references to the heavenly journeys of the rabbis by way of mystical meditation and angelic encounters that result in strong delusion. On page 206 he has included an illustration of the *Sefirot* tree. In Kabbalah, the *Sefirot* tree is referred to interchangeably as the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. It is the bridge connecting heaven and earth and represents man's ascent by degrees of knowledge, back to the paradise that was lost and ultimately to his own divinity before the fall.

Shapira refers to the *Sefirot* tree of knowledge and its relation to *Yeshua* multiple times in his book. Describing the role of *Messiah* as the last redeemer he states, "…he will serve as a connector between the heavens and the earth by the spark of life." (p. 205) Quoting again from "Mystical Jewish" sources, Shapira then attempts to show that the **female sphere of *binah*** on the *Sefirot* tree is a manifestation of *Yeshua*, "the son of God." In his explanation of "The Ten S'firot" as the "ten manifestations of God," Shapira states the following:

"The left side of the ten manifestations represents the feminine attributes, while the right side represents the masculine attributes...the feminine manifestation of God represents the part of God that we can see and remain alive…*HaShem* reduced himself to the "middle point" or "middle pillar during Creation…Amazingly, the middle pillar is referred to as the Messiah himself as the Binah or the Son of Ya…The responsibility of the middle pillar ["the mediator"] is to join heaven and earth together (called in Judaism "connection of the worlds")… The last redeemer is known as the Binah (the son of God), Elyon (the one from above), the "firstborn" and as a "bull." 14

Contrast these statements of Shapira with those of 33rd degree Freemason and occultist, Manly P. Hall:

"The Sephirothic Tree consists of ten globes of luminous splendor arranged in three vertical columns and connected by 22 channels or paths… analogous to the first 32 degrees of Freemasonry, which elevate the candidate to the dignity of a Prince of the Royal Secret…*Aima*, the

***Great Mother,* is the name by which Binah, or the third Sephira, is generally known….According to the mysteries of the Sephiroth, the order of the Creation…From AIN SOPH, the Nothing and All…AIN SOPH, corresponding to Kether, the Crown of the Sephiroth, gives birth out of Himself to the nine lesser spheres…From this eternal and ancient androgyne--Kether--come forth Chochmah, the great Father, and Binah, the great Mother…the first male and the first female, the prototypes of sex."** 15

As a master Mason and mystic, Manly Hall understood the secret teachings of Kabbalah, revealing in riddles those mysteries related to cosmology (the origin of the universe) and the *god* who rules from the top of the *Sefirot* tree, *Ain Sof.* In Kabbalah, the concepts of creation, the fall of man, redemption, and especially the coming Messiah are vastly different from the biblical view, and Shapira introduces his readers to many of these cryptic ideas. Based on his wide scope of rabbinical knowledge, Shapira must also know the diametrical opposites of Christianity and Kabbalah. Therefore, whatever connections he is trying to make between Jesus Christ and the *Messiah* of Kabbalah are simply not there.

According to the *Zohar* – the main book of Kabbalah – the *god* who created the universe is not the God Elohim of Genesis 1:26, but *Ein Sof*, an infinite, formless, unknowable force. *Ein Sof* (also spelled *Ain Soph*) may be defined as "the Supreme Diety…the eternal state of *Being*…the Absolute Not Being…without substance, essence or intelligence...the Most Ancient of all Ancients." 16 In the Genesis account of creation Elohim is the creator, but in kabbalistic theology *Ein Sof* is the creator of Elohim!



The Zohar's account of *Ein Sof* creating Elohim:

"Now the pillars stand firm!...The Blinding Flash…the '**Creation of *Elohim***'…This is the Zohar's name for the first impulse of emanation proceeding from *Ein Sof*, the Infinite, through *Keter*…one spark…A pure aura emerged from *Keter*…the aura of *Ein Sof*…the **Creation of *Elohim***…" (*Raba Zohar* 3 128b) 17

Because that, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God… Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools…Who changed the

truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator. Romans 1:21, 22, 25

Ein Sof is not the God of the Bible, but the *god* of the Jewish mystics and sages; the same mystic sages that Itzhak Shapira praises in *The Return of the Kosher Pig*. Gershom Scholem was the first Professor of Jewish Mysticism at Hebrew University of Jerusalem and wrote volumes on the subject of Kabbalah. 18 In his book, *Kabbalah*, Scholem relates that *Ein Sof* and the *Sefirot* "are not differentiated." There is a unity between the creator and his creation; a oneness between the "Emanator" and the *Sefirot* that cannot be known to the "uninitiated." In Kabbalah God is "immanent within creation." Scholem notes, "…the *Sefirot* do not constitute "intermediary beings" but are God Himself." 19

As a professor of mysticism, Scholem admitted that the system of Kabbalah cannot be explained in a "simple and straightforward fashion." 20 In Kabbalah, the *Sefirot* and its doctrine of "divine unity" represent a "new plane of mystical experience and contemplation" that "can be fathomed only in the practice of mystical meditation." 21 More importantly, Gershom Scholem observed that despite the wide range of traditions used in approaching mystical Judaism, the symbols and ideas of "Lurianic Kabbalah" have "dominated kabbalistic thinking from the 17th century until recent times." 22

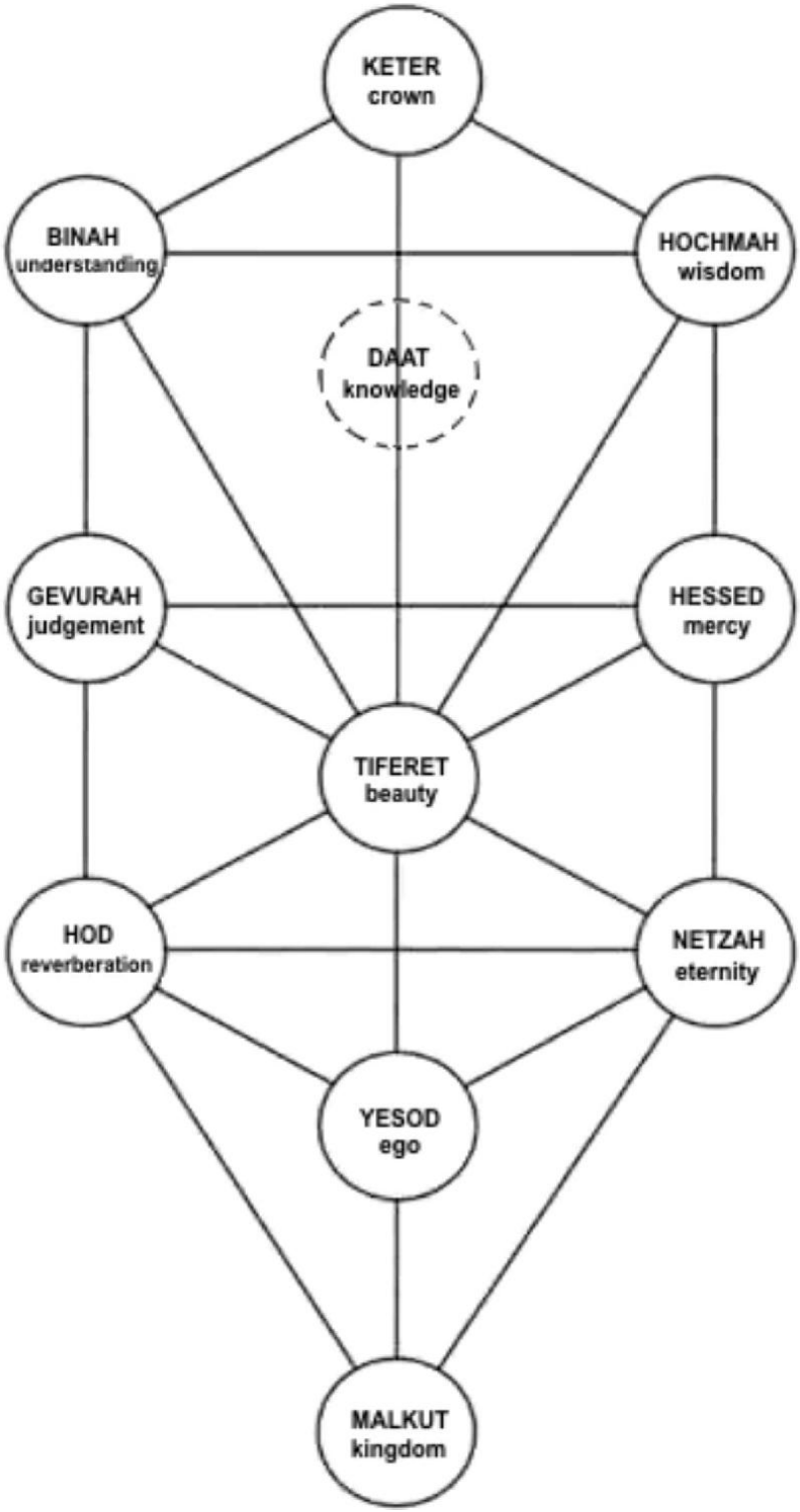
Many Christians today assume that Jesus Christ and the awaited *Moshiach* of Judaism are one and the same. Therefore, it is important to understand the kabbalistic doctrines on the fall of man and redemption, as these remain the central messianic themes in rabbinic Jewish thought today. These esoteric ideas were kept hidden for hundreds of years, but are now being released on a global scale according to a *prophecy* in the *Zohar*:

"In the six hundredth year of the sixth millennium (5600 = 1840 C.E.) the gates of wisdom above [Kabbalah] together with the wellsprings of wisdom below [science] will be opened up, and the world will prepare to usher in the seventh millennium." *Zohar* (*VaYeira* 117a)

"What was forbidden to investigate and to expound upon the day before now becomes permissible the day after…This is because the

gates of human understanding below have been opened up as a result of the steadily increasing Divine revelations above." 23

"Until the time prior to the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, it was forbidden for Jews to learn the secret side of Torah unless they understood the whole of the Talmud…Many secrets of Torah are embodied in a volume known as "The *Zohar*" which contains these traditions…The teachings of this book were withheld for a thousand years with a prophecy that at a time when required it would be revealed…These secrets have been whispered and then articulated more and more loudly by the Rebbes of Lubavitch (*Chabad*)…With this information a Jew can soar into the heavens." 24


KETER
crown
BINAH
understanding
HOCHMAH
wisdom
DAAT
knowledge
GEVURAH
judgement
HESSED
mercy
TIFERET
beauty
HOD
reverberation
NETZAH
eternity
YESOD
ego
MALKUT
kingdom

Every true Christian knows and believes that *Elohim*, the Creator in Genesis, *is* God and that Jesus Christ is God, the "Word made flesh." (John 1:14) But as we have seen, one of the secret teachings of Kabbalah is that *Ein Sof*, through *Keter*, created the biblical God, *Elohim*. Again, *Ein Sof* is the kabbalistic conception of the *god* who sits above the *Sefirot* tree. The following quote explains, "The hidden, infinite aspect of God is called "the Infinite" (*Ein Sof*, "without end"). This name was understood as the proper one for the hidden aspect of God…**The s*efirot,* not *Ein Sof,* is the God of the Bible**. Therefore, a Kabbalist can justifiably claim that, '***Ein Sof* is nowhere mentioned in the Bible**.'...The Bible refers only to the ***sefirot***, the knowable God, not **the hidden God**." 25

Bearing in mind that Itzhak Shapira says *Yeshua* is the (created) *Binah* in the *Sefirot* tree of Kabbalah, we will look at the core doctrines of mystical Judaism found within Lurianic Kabbalah.

According to Isaac Luria, *Ein Sof* emanated from himself ten spheres or vessels of light called sephirah (singular for *Sefirot*). The first was *Keter*, the Crown, the androgynous *god* who is both male and female, also known as *Adam Kadmon*. Because *Keter* is both male and female, the right side of the tree represents the masculine potencies of *god*, while the left side represents the feminine aspects of *god*. The remaining nine sephirah or spheres emanate from *Keter* through a process of mystical sexual union known as "*hieros gamos*, the holy union of male and female powers." 26 This synthesis of male and female is esoterically communicated in the union of the two triangles forming the six-pointed star; an occult symbol whose meaning is known and understood by those initiated into the secrets of Kabbalah. Since *Keter* is androgynous, the first two sephirah emit from him. These are *Hochmah* and *Binah*, located just below *Keter*. At this point is should be clear that Jesus Christ is not *Binah*, the result of an androgynous sexual act and *creation* of *Ein Sof*!

In this evolving process, *Keter*, *Hochmah* and *Binah* form a trinity from which emanates or gives birth to *Hessed* (male), and from *Hessed* emanates *Gevurah* (female). The next union – *hieros gamos* – then produces *Tiferet*. This mystical sexual union of the sephirah continues all the way down to *Malkut* (also spelled *Malchuth*) the lowest sphere on the *Sefirot* tree. 15

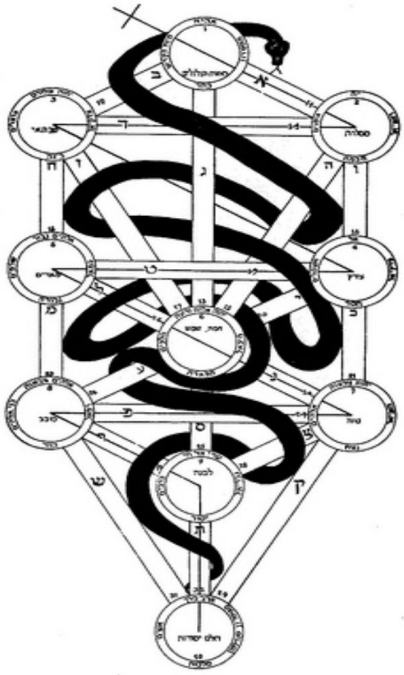
Malkut means *kingdom* and *Shekhinah*; and whereas all of the other sephirah are located in the spirit world, *Malkut* represents the physical, material world in which we live and the *Shekhinah glory* or dwelling of *god*.

The word *Shekhinah* is not found in the Bible. In Kabbalah *Shekhinah* is the final sephirah to emanate from the *Sefirot* tree. She is the female counterpart of *Ein Sof* and the "divine presence" of *god* in the earth. She is the daughter conceived in the "sacred marriage" of *hieros gamos*. She is the *gateway* of man's ascension to knowledge, the "bride" and "queen" of *Tiferet*. She is the "mother" who is *One* with the children of Israel. 27 But something went wrong in this cosmic drama. There was a crisis, a shattering of "*God's dream*" in which man is now left to work and pick up the pieces.

The Breaking of the Vessels, Exile and Tikkun
The Fall and Redemption of Gods and Kings

And he [Jesus] said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven. Luke 10:18

In Kabbalah, the entire process of creation through emanation is described as a "Divine Lightning Flash" from *Ein Sof* which zigzags through each of the nine sephirah all the way down to *Malkut*, the *kingdom of god* on earth. 28 These nine sephirah are also called worlds. In his book, *Kabbalah*, Gershom Scholem states that the *Sefirot* are also depicted as *powers* and *crowns* "since they are the celestial crowns of the Holy King." 29 Through the *lightning flash* of *Ein Sof*, these *crowns* rise out of the sea of the abyss, revealing the *unity* of creation in the number *six* and symbolized in the reflection and union of two triangles, the six-pointed star, from which comes the Egyptian maxim,
As Above, So Below:



“The Ain Soph at first was filling All and then made an absolute concentration into Itself which produced the Abyss…the Waters or Crystalline Chaotic Sea…Each of these worlds has ten powers, or spheres…AIN SOPH established His first point or dot in the Divine Sea…the face of God, crowned with light, rose over the vast sea and was reflected in the waters thereof. His two eyes were manifested, radiating with splendour, darting two beams of light which crossed with those of the reflection. The brow of God and His eyes formed a triangle in heaven, and its reflection formed a second triangle in the waters. So was revealed the number six, being that of universal creation.” 30



THE GREAT SYMBOL OF SOLOMON

But thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch, and as the raiment [garment] of those that are slain, thrust through with a sword, that go down to the stones of the pit, as a carcase trodden under feet.
Isaiah 14:19

The kabbalists say that in order to make room for creation, *Ein Sof* had to contract himself to a single point, making room for the worlds of the *Sefirot*. This is called *tzimtzum*. As the *lightning flash* descended, each sphere was formed, one after another, each serving as a vessel for receiving and containing the light. These vessels are also referred to as *levushim*, the "garments of *Ein-Sof*." 31 But the vessels could not contain the "divine light" and this resulted in what Kabbalah calls *shevirah*, "the breaking of the vessels." 32

As the vessels shattered the *light* dispersed and scattered in the form of "sparks." Some of these sparks rose back up to their "source." Others descended, becoming trapped in matter. Still others fell down into the abyss and are trapped there still; and because *god* is in everything and everyone, *god* himself is in the pit, waiting to be released. This is the *Zohar's* version of "the fall" and since the time of Isaac Luria, has served to explain the diaspora (dispersion) as a cosmic event: not only Israel, but all of humanity, the entire universe, and even God himself is in exile (*galut*). Once again, Gershom Scholem, late professor of Jewish Mysticism explains:

"The divine light…is no longer in its proper place because the vessels were broken…There is nothing that was not damaged by the breaking. Nothing is in the place appointed for it; everything is either below or above…all being is in Galut. And this is not all. **Into the deep abyss**…there fell, as a result of the breaking of the vessels, forces of holiness, sparks of divine light. Hence there is a **Galut of the divine itself**, of the 'sparks of the Shekhinah:' 'These sparks of holiness are **bound in fetters of steel** in the depths of the shells, and yearningly aspire to rise to their source but cannot avail to do so **until they have support**' – so says Rabbi Hayyim Vital, a disciple of Luria." 33

This “breaking of the vessels” is only the first stage in the fall of *Ein Sof’s* creation. It is the shattering and falling of the androgynous *god* of Kabbalah into the pit, “bound in fetters of steel! Scholem calls this “a cosmic picture of Galut…a Galut of the divine itself.” 32 This cosmic fall is also the fall of the first Adam, *Adam Kadmon*. In Kabbalah *Adam Kadmon* is the first emanation or creation of *Ein Sof*. He is *Keter*, the first sphere on the *Sefirot* tree. He is also *Elohim*, the “King.” He is the “crown” of the *Grand Man of the Zohar*, which is the entire Sefirot tree. He is not the man Adam, created in Genesis, but is the “Primordial Man”; the celestial *Adam* through which all other souls are created. The spheres of the *Sefirot* are not just worlds but are also portrayed as *powers* and *crowns*. The “breaking of the vessels” is the fall of the ancient *kings*, *princes* and *powers*:

“The Zohar holds the concept of two Adams: the first a divine being who, stepping forth from the highest original darkness, created the second, or earthly, Adam in His own image.” 34 **“This is the *Grand Man of the Zohar*…The science of equilibrium is the key of occult science. Unbalanced forces perish in the void. So passed the kings of the elder world, the princes of the giants. They have fallen like trees without roots, and their place is found no more.” (Eliphas Levi, *The History of Magic*)** 35

Chapter 4

Repairing the World:
The Secret Law of Tikkun and the Tree of Knowledge

For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: Not of works, lest any man should boast. Ephesians 2:8-9

So let no one judge you in food or in drink, or regarding a festival or a new moon or sabbaths, which are a shadow of things to come, but the substance is of Christ. Colossians 2:16-17

"The secret must be kept inside the circle of the initiates…The Sefiroth were revealed to Adam in the shape of the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge." 36

"The rabbis have always taught that the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life are one and the same…whose roots are now in "Heaven" leading all the way back to the future to the never-ending source of the Light of the *Ain Sof*." 37

There are many secrets in the "occult science" of Kabbalah. Concealed in the shattering of the vessels of the *Sefirot* tree is the fall of Lucifer and the *powers* of his kingdom. But the kingdom must be restored. The universe and its broken vessels must now be repaired. This is "the secret law of *tikkun*." 38 From the dust of this cosmic catastrophe the universe is reconstructed through the Primordial *Adam Kadmon*, who is the creator of the earthly Adam. From *Ein Sof*, "healing, constructive lights" go forth from the forehead of *Adam Kadmon*. 39 The spheres of the *Sefirot* are reconfigured on a "new plane;" Father, Mother, masculine, feminine, the "Impatient"…"God of revelation in traditional Judaism" and "his feminine complement, the *Shekhinah*…the last stage of the world of emanation." 40

With the reconstruction of the *Sefirot*, there is once again a balance of male and female forces; there is unity between *god* and the re-created universe.

Emerging from *Shekhinah* is the *one tree* and it is here that we see the creation of man by *Adam Kadmon*. In the secret tradition of the rabbis, Adam the man is a microcosm of the upper worlds, a divine reflection of the image of *Adam Kadmon* above. In Kabbalah, the sin of Adam is not attributed to his disobedience to God in eating from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, but is the premature separation of the unity of the *Sefirot* tree. Gershom Scholem notes that in "the Original Sin…the fruit was separated from the tree, or as another Kabbalist puts it, the Tree of Life from the Tree of Knowledge." 41 Far from the biblical Christian view, Scholem reveals in detail the esoteric belief system of the Jewish sages concerning these doctrines in the Book of Genesis:

"In the opinion of the Jewish mystics both trees are in essence one. They grow out into two directions from a common trunk…out of the common matrix of the divine world…The sin of Adam was that he isolated the Tree of Life from the Tree of Knowledge to which he directed his desire. Once the unity of the two trees in men's lives was destroyed, there began the dominion of the Tree of Knowledge." 42

What happened before happens again. The *matrix* shatters; the singular tree becomes the tree of "Duality." 43 Now begins the work of *tikkun*. Adam's job was to complete the work of repairing the worlds begun by *Adam Kadmon*. Instead, the "divine light" departed from Adam's soul and the worlds descended into chaos (*tohu*). The female *Shekhinah*, now separated from the masculine, descends again into exile, destroying the *dream of god*:

"And so, it shattered. The very core of reality is G-d's shattered dream, waiting for us to pick up the pieces…The fire of the sun, the air we breathe, the roaring waves of the oceans and all that lives in them; the Earth and the plants and animals that live upon it; even the human flesh, its vital soul and the angels above…all are no more than artifacts of the sparks that fell in the explosion of that primordial world. But the essence of the human being, the breath of G-d within us, that is G-d Himself, gathering, refashioning and piecing back together an impossible dream…it is humankind, not the angels, who can pick it up and reveal it…That the Infinite Light is everywhere is an axiom of the

Kabbalah…held captive within every object…even within evil itself." 44

The concept of shattered and fallen "sparks" comes from the Kabbalah system of Isaac Luria which, as stated above, is still the most influential form of Kabbalah today. The same website quoted above also states: "The most common Jewish liturgy today follows the form of the Ari's custom." Embedded within this system are the secret laws of *tikkun* and *mitzvot*, the main channels through which the "redemption" (*geulah*) will come according to Kabbalah.

The word *tikkun* means reparation, to repair. It is through *tikkun* that the world will be *healed* and brought "closer to the harmonious state for which it was created." 45 The rabbis of Kabbalah believe that the final redemption and the messianic era will only be brought about through *mitzvot*; observing Torah, keeping the commandments and performing good deeds. The word *mitzvot* is defined as: "commandments; one of the Torah's 613 Divine commandments; a good deed or religious precept." 46

The work of repairing the worlds, of restoring the fallen *Shekhinah* to her *king*, and of ushering in the *Moshiach* (Messiah) is now left to man. This is called *raising the sparks*:

"But the essential function of the Law, both of the Noahide law binding on all men and of the Torah imposed specially upon Israel, is to serve as an instrument of the *tikkun*. Every man who acts in accordance with this Law brings home the fallen sparks of the *Shekhinah* and of his own soul as well. He restores the pristine perfection of his own spiritual body…In redemption everything is restored to its place by the secret magic of human acts…every commandment has its mystical aspect whose observance creates a bond between the world of man and the world of the *Sefirot*…Thus fundamentally every man and especially every Jew participates in the process of the *tikkun.*" 47

The *Babylonian Talmud* is the basis for the seven Noahide laws. Sanhedrin 56a of the *Babylonian Talmud* states: **"One additional element of greater severity is that violation of any one of the seven laws subjects the**

Noachide to capital punishment by decapitation." 48 This is another disturbing secret contained in the writings of the Jewish *sages*: Mitzvot for non-Jews or Noahide laws. I mention it here for its close connection to *tikkun.* While Jews, specifically the Jewish *sages*, see themselves as the main conduit of the *light* of *Ein Sof*, gentiles also have a role to play in the *mitzvot* of *tikkun* by "obeying" the seven Noahide laws. I will not list them all here but preeminent among them is the prohibition of idolatry. Therefore, under Talmudic law, if a Christian acknowledges that Jesus Christ is the Messiah, the Son of God, or God manifest in the flesh, he or she is guilty of the crime of idolatry.

The seventh or last Noahide law is the injunction to establish a legal system to execute the other six Noahide laws, which are punishable in the severest extreme by capital punishment. The *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, in its article on "Noachide Laws" states, "Except for the last, all are negative, and the last itself is usually interpreted as commanding the enforcement of the others." 49 While these laws are not yet in effect, they are already considered "binding on all men" and have been written into the legal system under Public Law in the United States:

On March 26, 1991 the U.S. Congress, under the presidency of George H.W. Bush, established the Seven Noachide Laws as Public Law 102-14 in honor of Rabbi Menachem Schneerson, leader of the Chabad-Lubavitch. 50

A website dedicated to the teachings of the Chabad-Lubavitch rabbis confirms:

"The perfection of the world requires the spreading of the seven Noahide commandments…This implies a level of civilized conduct, which can be achieved only when non-Jews also observe their mitzvot. Indeed, the perfection of the world that leads to the Messianic Era requires the spreading of the seven commandments that G-d through the Torah provided for all the nations of the world...See also, the U.S. Congressional Declaration: H. J. Res. 104, Public Law 102-14, March 20, 1991." 51

The Path of the Mystic: Knowledge through Ascension

And no man hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven…And He said unto them, You are from beneath; I am from above: you are of this world; I am not of this world. John 3:13, 8:23

In kabbalistic Judaism the primary work of *tikkun* – the repair of the world – is dependent on the Jewish sages ascending the *Sefirot* tree so they can transmit the *knowledge* of the *kingdom of god* to the nations of the world:

"It is the task of the People of Israel to bring the glory of G-d's kingdom to all of creation, even to the nations of the world…Divine influx…flows into the world through the spiritual leaders of Israel to the People of Israel to the nations of the world to all of Creation." 52

The Zohar teaches that at the separation of the *Sefirot* tree, a chasm was formed between the creation and *Ein Sof*. Everything in the cosmos descended. Therefore, there must be a way to return to the "source" through the portals of the *Sefirot*.

Each sephirah on the tree of knowledge is a gateway through which the "mystic" must pass through on the path of enlightenment. As stated before, these spheres or gateways are designated as *powers*. Through deep contemplation and visualization, the initiate is mystically transported through the "gates" of the *Sefirot*, from level to level, hoping to merit a vision of the *divine*. It is not by chance that this form of contemplative prayer has now entered the Church at a phenomenal rate. This has resulted in an elevation of seeking mystical experiences with God over faith in Jesus Christ, the Word of God.

The word *Zohar* means radiance. The full title is *Sepher Ha-Zohar* or *The Book of Light*. In rabbinic Judaism the *Zohar* is considered "the masterpiece of Kabbalah" and divinely inspired. In Kabbalah, the contemplative practice of meditation is said to draw down the rays of light that emanate from the *Sefirot*. The rabbis explain that, "It is through action accompanied by speech and fervent meditation directed towards a particular thing that a person can draw down a force from above and cleave to that

object." 53 In ascension, the *heavenly visions* of the mystics are invoked through repetition of the *divine* or *sacred names* of the *gods of* Kabbalah. Gershom Scholem explains *prayer* and the *mystic way*:

"**The main path…the mystic way involved the ascent of the soul to a state of ecstatic rapture through a process of concentrated thought and meditation…the…hierarchy of the spiritual worlds reveals itself to the kabbalist in the time of prayer as one of the many Names of God…it is the name of the appropriate *Sefirah* on which the mystic concentrates when reciting the prayers and into which he is, as it were, absorbed… prayer has an aspect of 'inward magic' by which it is empowered to help order and restore the upper worlds…"** 54

The name *Lucifer* means light bearer. The Apostle Paul in 2 Corinthians 11:14 tells us that Satan transforms himself into an angel of light, deceiving today just as he deceived Eve in the Garden of Eden; with knowledge and the prospect of becoming "as God." (Genesis 3:5) The rabbis of Kabbalah believe themselves to be more than mere men, elevated above the rest of humanity; a microcosm of the *Sefirot* of the godhead, which is the macrocosm. Like cause and effect, every action below impacts the worlds above. The Zohar calls this "an unalterable law."

"Now you must know that everything has an inner aspect and an outer aspect. In the world as a whole, Israel, the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, is considered to be the innermost aspect. The seventy nations are considered to be the outer aspect of the world…There is an unalterable law that the macrocosm [the totality] and the microcosm [the individual] are as like to each other as two drops of water…. through the study of the *Zohar* and the practice of the true wisdom, we can bring about an end to our state of exile and a complete redemption…the redemption of Israel and all the worth of Israel is dependent on the learning of the *Zohar* and the innermost aspect of the Torah." 55

The true "unalterable law" is that all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God. All are in need of the true redemption and salvation that only comes through faith in Jesus Christ, the "true Light." This includes every rabbi and every Jew, from the least to the greatest, as well as every non-Jew. This lie of the superiority of the Jewish race is leading the way in one

of the greatest deceptions in the history of the church; the coming of a false *Messiah* through the Hebrew Roots and Sacred Name movements.

At its inception, the Hebrew Roots movement seemed to begin innocently enough as a means for those wanting to identify with the Jewish roots of their faith. Today it has completely morphed into *another gospel* of works built on the foundation of “Jewish fables” which we are warned about in the Bible. It is common today to hear Christian ministers say that the Jewish people do not need to come to faith in Jesus Christ because they have their own covenant with God. But it is a covenant with death and hell that will not stand (Isaiah 28:18), because it is rooted in the satanic lies of Kabbalah.

Chapter 5

The Dark Chambers of Initiation
Daat, Leviathan, "Six" and Transmigration

Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery?
Ezekiel 8:12

"Before one can approach the secret of Leviathan one must first be initiated into the secret…the secret of Leviathan has been kept well-hidden by the sages and mystics of Israel for thousands of years. It is only now in our generation that permission has been granted to begin to conceive of its deeper truth and imminent relevancy." 56

"We have learned…that the world is Divinely controlled in all areas except for moral decisions where human beings have been delegated free choice Jews in relation to 613 matters and non-Jews in relation to 7 matters. We have learned that Jews are functionally different from non-Jews in that they have a *neshomah*, a part of G-d Himself; the *neshomah* undergoes a descent into the body for the purpose of an ascent higher than the level it was before its descent…every descent is for a purpose of an ascent…" 57

Despite this elevated god-like status of Jews, Gentiles are encouraged to take part in the *tikkun* of ascent or *aliyah*. Now that the rabbis have been "granted permission" to reveal the secrets of the *Zohar* – no doubt by the *angel of light* – it is permissible for Gentiles to study Kabbalah! 58 We can all do our part in the work towards the *final redemption*. But the way back is not easy. The path of navigating the spirit world is fraught with dangers. There are demons and menacing angels demanding knowledge of secret passwords and sacred names in order to be admitted to the *heavenly mansions*. 59

According to the sages of Kabbalah, very few souls ever reach the ultimate level of complete union with *the divine*. This is because there are "infinite degrees" in the *kingdom* of *Ein Sof*. Only those rare spiritual masters (*tzadikim*) who have attained precise knowledge of the secret names of *god* may enter into the "celestial paradise" of the *Sefirot*. In the pantheon of the *gods* of the *Sefirot* tree, Metatron sits supreme at the top of *Keter*, the *crown*. It is Metatron that the sage mystics encounter "seated on the Throne like God." 60

These things saith He that is holy, He that is true, He that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth. Revelation 3:7

Another name for Metatron is the Opener, holder of the keys of knowledge. At the center of the universe of the *Sefirot* tree stands Metatron, the opener of the gates of wisdom:

"This is the meaning of the Midrash: "*One celestial creature with its name "Israel" engraved on its forehead stands in the center of the universe*"…Who is this "*One celestial creature with its name "Israel" engraved on it forehead, standing in the center of the universe*...The celestial creature in question here is none other than Metatron…the guiding light for the stimulation of all human knowledge." 61

Although Metatron may be going by the alias *Yeshua*, he is not Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ alone possesses the "key of David." Only Jesus has "the keys of hell and of death" and it is only through faith in Him that anyone can understand the true "mystery of godliness" hidden in Christ Jesus before the foundation of the world. The chamber doors opened on the *Sefirot* tree of knowledge by Metatron lead only to the darkness of the abyss.

But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily [secretly] shall bring in damnable heresies…even denying the Lord that bought them….These are wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest; to whom the mist of darkness is reserved forever. 2 Peter 2:1, 17

Just as there are infinite degrees of rank within Kabbalah, there are also endless pathways one may ascend on the *Sefirot* tree. In the twisted and never ending quest for knowledge, the pinnacle of enlightenment comes by passing through the darkness. Hidden just below the first three spheres of Keter, Hochmah, and Binah is the sphere of Daat, the abyss that separates the initiate from the *crown*.

"The Abyss and the Veil are two 'obstacles' to overcome when ascending the Tree of Life…Kether, Chochmah and Binah form a trinity, the supernal triad, which resides above the Abyss…Only by riding the mercabah (=the wagon, vehicle) of mystical experience…will he be able to traverse the Abyss and contact the supernal triad…It is said that Daath is the child of Binah and Chohmah…Daath is seen as entering the mysterious blackness. This void or emptiness…ultimately leads to the Brilliance of the White Light of Kether." 62

The word Daat means knowledge, awareness, or connection. 63 In Kabbalah, the abyss of Daat represents mankind's loss of knowledge and it is Leviathan, the "Holy Serpent," who will restore knowledge to humanity. The Jewish sages say that Leviathan is a "Torah-code word for universal consciousness and never-ending knowledge." 64 One contemporary rabbi says Leviathan is "the Light of pure consciousness," and that this "God consciousness" of Leviathan will return "full circle" to "the original light of Genesis." This will come in the form of the "New Torah" at the "ultimate Feast of Knowledge" in *the time to come*. 65



“In the World to Come the righteous will recline with their crowns *in* their heads basking in the pleasure of the radiance of God’s presence.” 66

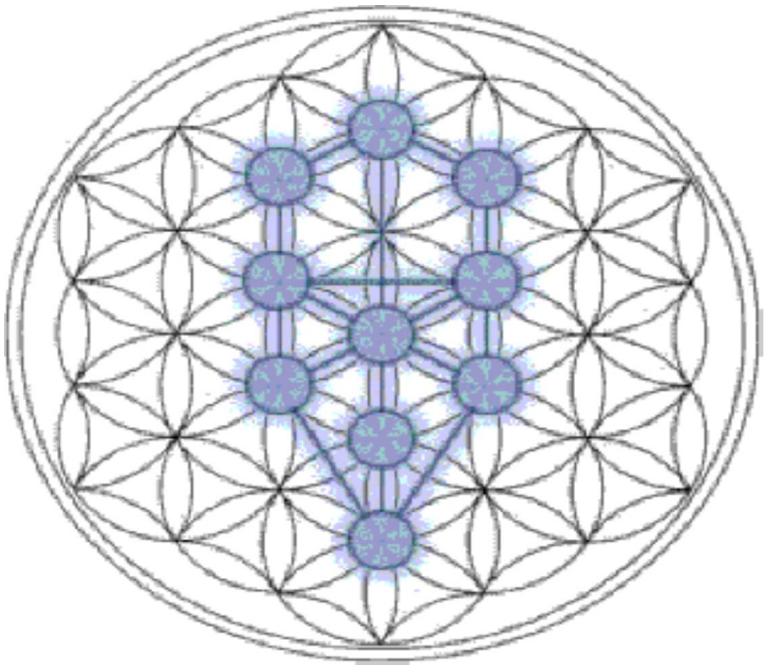
This “Holy Serpent,” say the rabbis, “is the fountainhead, root and essence for all of God’s sacred, revelatory Light.” 67 “The Primordial Serpent, the “snake” of *Gan Eden*, the Leviathan, the penetrating Ray of Light emanating from the *Ain Sof*, and the Supernal *Da’at* of the Godhead, are different dimensions of… Divine Consciousness.” 68

Leviathan is depicted as the ouroboros, the serpent with its tail in its mouth and represents the devouring serpent covering the Earth. It signifies the completion of an age and the return to *Tikkun Olam*, the repair of the world. The Theosophical Society’s website (an esoteric branch of Kabbalah) states, “The area inside the serpent’s circle represents the whole universe and everything in it.” 69

In the book of Job, Leviathan is called “**a king over all the children of pride**.” (Job 41:34) In Kabbalah Leviathan is worshiped as the “Sacred Serpent” and is the “bridge” across the *abyss* of Daat that connects man to the *divine*. But in Isaiah 27:1 the Lord says He will punish the piercing and crooked serpent and slay the dragon that is in the sea. In the cosmology of Kabbalah, the *Sefirot* tree and all of creation is said to emanate out of the cosmic sea of the abyss, destined to return to the nothingness of *Ein Sof*, the *god of forces*:

“[In]…the World to come…Those creatures whose work is complete, now free of their destiny, pass beyond the seventh Heaven of Arabot and rise up out of the vast sea of Creation, crying ‘I AM’ as they ascend through the Abyss-Daat of Azilut and into union with the Crown of Crowns…into the knowing and being of God.” 70

In Revelation 9:1 & 11 we see a beast rising out of the sea of the abyss: "And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit…And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon." This bottomless pit is the abyss, derived from the word *buthos* which refers to the sea, the deep, or the mysterious depth. 71

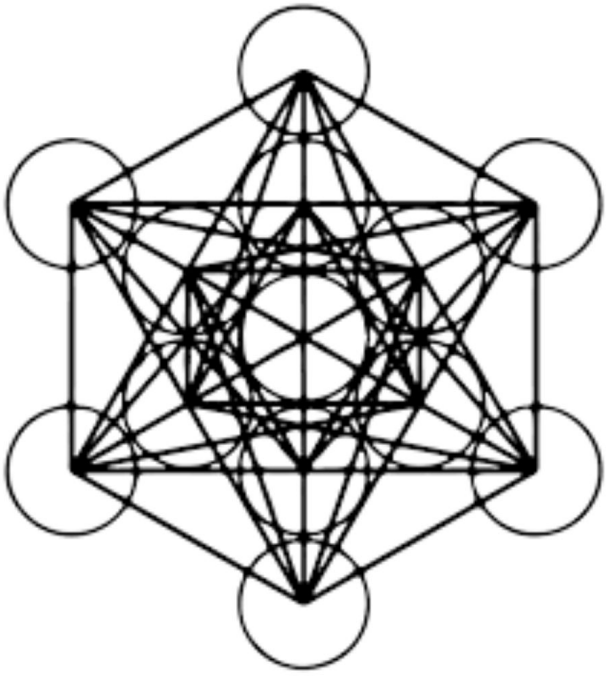


Further in Revelation 13:16-17 we read, “And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads. And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the *mark*, or the *name* of the beast, or the *number* of his name. Verse 17 tells us that the *mark* is also initiated in the form of the *name* of the beast

and the *number* of his name. Many Christians are unaware that Freemasonry is a branch extending from the tree of kabbalistic Judaism and that the name *Abaddon* is considered a sacred name in Freemasonry.

"*We know still more, viz. that Masonry is a Jewish institution whose history, degrees, charges, passwords and explenations* (sic) ***are Jewish from the beginning to the end…it is impossible to be well posted in Masonry without having a Jewish teacher.*"**
Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise (1819 – 1900), 32nd Degree Freemason. "America's outstanding Jew and leading rabbi during the 19th Century." 72

In the seventeenth degree…after the candidates have completed the initiation…after revealing the password…and the Sacred Word (Abaddon)…another clue to the true identity of the Masonic Deity is revealed in the Sacred Word of the ritual, ABADDON. 73



It is also well known in schools of Kabbalah that the angel Metatron is closely associated with the number "six." Both the *Sefirot* tree and Metatron's cube contain the six-sided hexagon and are representative of "**the six-sided celestial creature**" Metatron. 74 In Kabbalah Metatron is the spiritual force that is accelerating *the redemption* through the channel of Leviathan, the "holy serpent." As the "holder of the keys," Metatron is the entity who will bring balance to the opposing forces of the shattered *Sefirot* tree, as quoted above, "**The science of equilibrium is the key of occult science…So was revealed the number six, being that of universal creation**." (See footnote 35)

Ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.
2 Timothy 3:7

It has been over 5000 years since the *serpent* first spoke the lie to Eve in the Garden of Eden, "**Ye shall not surely die**…**you shall be as God, knowing good and evil**." From that time until now Satan continues to deceive millions into believing that *knowledge* is the path to life and that *tikkun* – man's good works – is the way to redemption. In Isaiah 14:13 we read that Lucifer rebelled against God, saying *in his heart*:

"I will *ascend* into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God."

As the “father of lies” and deceiver of nations, it is Satan, the fallen angel Lucifer, that is able to deceive *the hearts* of those who do not love the truth and this is certainly the case with those who teach and follow the mystical teachings of the *Zohar*:

“Da'at or Daas…is a Hebrew word that means Knowledge. In the branch of Jewish mysticism known as Kabbalah, Da'at is the location (the mystical state) where all ten *sefirot* in the Tree of Life are united as one…In the Zohar…Da'at is referred to as “*the key that includes six*.” The “*key*” of Da'at opens *all six chambers* (attributes) *of the heart and fills them with life-force*.” 75

The rabbis of Kabbalah say that in *the time to come* all humanity will *know* the unity of God as *One*; but for now this revolutionary paradigm shift is evolving through the kabbalistic teachings of ascension and the secret of *Gilgul* or transmigration. *Gilgul* means cycle or wheel and is the kabbalistic concept of reincarnation. 76 *Gilgul*, also known as “the law of transmigration,” is a central doctrine in kabbalistic Judaism and is critical in the process of *tikkun*, the repair of the world:

“According to this, everything in the world is constantly changing form, descending to the lowest form and ascending again to the highest…Every man amends his own soul, and by the process of transmigration that of his neighbor. This is a crucial item in the doctrine of the ‘selection’ of goodness from its exile in the spheres of evil…Every living being is subject to the law of transmigration from form to form…We all work, or are at least expected to work, for the amendment of the world and the ‘selection’ of good and evil.” 77

Once again we see the influence of the serpent; exile is not a result of man’s sin, but the means to perfect the fallen creation through man’s ascension. According to Kabbalah, only those who perfect themselves through many lives are selected out of exile. Based on the writings of the *Zohar*, the rabbis of today believe that all of the Patriarchs, from Moses to the prophets, have returned in every generation to assist in the process of lifting the sparks and repairing the worlds through *mitzvos*, or good works.

"Reincarnation may be necessary to complete rectification of all aspects of each level of the soul…As we go, it will become common ground that Moshe received the Torah on Mount Sinai, comprising 613 *mitzvos* (commands) which were to be carried out by 600,000-odd male souls who, together with their wives and children, amounted to three million people. These souls (or their fragments) have been coming back through various *gilgulim* (cycles) ever since, in order to complete those 613 *mitzvos*." 78

As noted previously, Itzhak Shapira in his book, *The Return of the Kosher Pig*, references *The Gate of Reincarnation* to substantiate his claim that Metatron is the Messiah, as presented through the writings of the sages. *The Gate of Reincarnations* is based on the teachings of Rabbi Isaac Luria, the "master kabbalist" and premier sage of contemporary Kabbalah. 79 Hebrews 9:27 says it is appointed for men once to die once, but after this the judgment. Nowhere does the Bible teach reincarnation of the soul, yet today we see Christians seeking the wisdom of the rabbis' "inner Torah" for spiritual direction.

"Every Jewish *neshomah* (soul) in its *gilgul* (life cycle) in a particular body has descended in order to afford it the *opportunity* to do certain specific *mitzvos* and thus realize its potential. Its *yeridah* (decent) is for the sole purpose of a subsequent *aliyah* (ascent) and, as we will see, as everything physical is a reflection of its spiritual counterpart, so it is with everything. Every descent is for the purpose of an ascent…This is staggering information." 80

Staggering information indeed! The Chabad rabbis of Kabbalah tell us that it is Metatron – "**the six-sided celestial servant**" – who dispenses judgments and punishments in the form of ***six*** lifetimes to give each soul "an opportunity to fix him/herself through reincarnation." An article based on the teachings of the *Zohar* from a *Kosher Kabbalah* website explains that every soul arising from the side of the "spiritual force" known as "the Hebrew slave" is allotted "up to six reincarnations to rectify its blemishes, and needs to work and suffer problems and sickness, poverty and confusion until rectified." The article states, "These are the maximum allowed for it to complete all six levels from the place from which it was hewn…The Torah it learns, and the mitzvot it performs, rectifies such a soul." Yet for those enlightened souls lucky enough to be from the higher level of the

Shechinah side of the force and born on Shabbat, this does not apply as, “Certainly this soul will "go out free" of servitude because it is a righteous soul, free of any servitude.” 81

Kabbalah is said to be the “inner soul” of Torah which claims to reveal the innermost hidden aspects of God’s Word. The secret doctrine of *Gilgul* – reincarnation – is the same lie of the serpent in Genesis 3:4-5: “You shall not surely die…you shall be as gods, *knowing* good and evil.” As in the days of the prophets, the rabbis of mystical Judaism continue to blend the dictums of ancient Babylonian worship with the Holy precepts of the Bible, resulting in a departure from truth. In their desperation to establish a “king” for themselves in Jerusalem, they have succumbed to *the lie*. Professing themselves to be wise, they have become fools. They have changed the glory of God into an image of worship and for this reason God Himself has given them over to a “reprobate mind.”

Chapter 6

The Cup of Babylon: Paradigm for the Nations

For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication… For by thy sorceries were all nations deceived. Revelation 18:3, 23

"After 3307 years, everything necessary has been done. The table is set – and we are sitting at it. The feast of Moshiach is being served with the *Ancient Wine*, the *Leviathan*, and the *Wild Ox*…All that is left is for us to open our eyes and see." (Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, The *Rebbe*) 82

Throughout all the writings of Kabbalah there is one central theme: That Israel is to be a light to the nations and that in *the time to come* all nations will *know* that *Hashem is One*. According to the rabbis, "It is the task of the Jewish people to teach and disseminate the Torah of the Noahides to all of mankind." In what is being called "The Fourth Revolution," the rabbis say we are now entering a *paradigm shift*; a time of "Mass Torah Study for Gentiles." 83 This, we are told, is a fulfillment of Biblical prophecy:

"I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth." (A prophecy of Jesus Christ, not Israel; Isaiah 49:6)

"And Hashem shall be King over all the earth; in that day shall Hashem be One and His name one." Zechariah 14:9 (The Israel Bible™) 84

The rabbis of Kabbalah say that the world is now "ready for a global awakening of consciousness." 85 They tell us that this awakening will only come by way of illuminating the nations through *Torah* study – chiefly Kabbalah – and that without this *revolutionary shift* in consciousness, Messiah will not come. But what is Torah? To Christians Torah is simply understood to mean the Holy Scriptures of the Bible. But in today's

Judaism Torah encompasses the Bible as well as the traditions and mystical teachings of the sages throughout time:

"We have entered the age of the innermost aspect of Torah…the secrets of the Torah, that is to say, the Kabbala… we are close to the completion of the last period of the world… From our generation onwards, the words of the Zohar will begin to be revealed more and more until their whole measure is revealed according to the will of G-d."

"Torah – (lit. teaching) (a) The Five Books of Moses (The Bible); (b) the overall body of Jewish religious teachings encompassing the whole body of Jewish law, practice and tradition… If at least the people who are the spiritual leaders of our generation would occupy themselves with the innermost aspect of Torah, the Kabbala, they would draw to themselves a complete light from the *Ein Sof*…" 86

Here again we see that what was once forbidden is now miraculously permitted through the *light* of the *Zohar* as revealed by the rabbis! This awakening of consciousness is nothing more than a global paradigm shift towards the *god* of Kabbalah – *Lucifer* – as the "light" of the nations. What is evident is that this shift of consciousness in Christians represents a contemporary fulfillment of the Apostle Paul's prophecy that in the latter times there shall be a "departing" from the faith by those who do not love the truth, but turn their minds over to doctrines of demons. (1 Timothy 4:1, 2 Thessalonians 2:10)

As also *prophesied* in the satanic *Zohar*, there is occurring among many Christians a shift away from the central focus of Jesus Christ – Who *is* the Word – to another *gospel* that places earthly Jerusalem center stage in the fulfillment of prophecy. As one Israeli news source confidently stated, "Christians are realizing that the Bible is a work that's all about the Jewish people in the Land of Israel and it's taken a long time for this all to crystalize." 87

"…there are spiritual tectonic shifts of historic magnitude happening both within the Jewish people as well as the world around us…One of the most shocking and curious of these shifts is happening within Christianity, as hundreds of thousands of Christians around the world

are connecting to the Jewish roots of their faith, keeping many of the Biblical holidays, Torah commandments, and Jewish rituals." 88

The prophecy of a departing from the faith in 1 Timothy 4:1 was spoken "expressly" by the Spirit to impress in the minds of believers an unparalleled and distinctly noticeable phenomenon. In the same context the Apostle Paul exhorts Timothy to continue in the ministry of "faith and good doctrine," but to reject "profane" fables. (Verses 6-7) The word profane used here is the Greek word *bebelos* and means to *cross over*, as by crossing through a doorway and Paul uses this word specifically and "by implication" to mean not crossing over into "Jewish notions." 89 In his second letter to Timothy Paul states that the time will come when people will "heap to themselves teachers" and will turn away from the truth, and will turn to fables.

For we have not followed cunningly devised fables. 2 Peter 1:16

The Bible says in Titus 1:14 that Jewish fables and commandments of men *turn from the truth*. The word "fable" used in these verses above is the Greek word *muthos* which means fiction, a tale, myth or fable. The word *muthos* is from the word *mueo* which means to initiate, teach or instruct. The word *mueo* comes from the base of the word *musterion*. *Musterion* is the Greek word for *mystery* and means *to shut the mouth*; a *secret* or *mystery* through the idea of *silence* imposed by *initiation* into religious rites. 90

Musterion is the word used in Revelation 17:5 to describe "MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH." It is also the word used in 2 Thessalonians 2:7 to describe "the *mystery* of iniquity." At the time Paul wrote his letter to the Thessalonians, he said that this *mystery of iniquity* was already at work but was hidden. Paul said the "work" or energy (*energeo*) of this *mystery* was being restrained, "For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth (restrains) will let (will restrain), until he be taken out of the way." 91

In verses 3 and 8 of 2 Thessalonians Paul said there will come a *falling away first*, and "then shall that Wicked (man of sin) be revealed…Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth and shall destroy with

the brightness of His coming." Like the *mystery of iniquity*, the mysteries of Kabbalah – once hidden – are now being unleashed on the world and to unsuspecting Christians. Concealed in the counterfeit light of signs and lying wonders, the secrets of Kabbalah are being presented as a way of coming closer to God and becoming like God, but are in reality the spiritual root of a strong delusion.

The Last Paradigm: Blueprint for Mystery Babylon

The gates are now open. The initiation of *illumination* is underway. The *musterion* of Kabbalah is being disclosed on a global scale, resulting in a *falling away* of many Christians into the "Hebrew Roots" of the *Babylonian Talmud* and the demonic doctrines of Kabbalah. From a critical mass of the sea of nations, tongues and peoples the *Moshiach* of the seventh millennium will rise; the *Messiah* of the *Zohar*:

"Thus, from 1840 onwards, permission has been granted for those who truly desire to enter within. The Kabbalah is no longer the private domain of the initiated masters."
(The *Leshem* (1841-1925), master kabbalist) 92

And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea…and upon his heads the name of blasphemy…And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations…And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations and tongues.
Revelation 13:1, 7; 17:15



“In the six hundredth year of the sixth millennium (5600 = 1840 C.E.) the gates of wisdom above [Kabbalah] together with the wellsprings of wisdom below [science] will be opened up, and the world will prepare to usher in the seventh millennium.” *Zohar* (*VaYeira* 117a)

According to the rabbis, this prophecy from the *Zohar* necessitates a convergence of Kabbalah and science that will usher in the *Messiah* and a thousand years of peace. This will result in a restoration of “Adamic Consciousness” when all humanity will *know* the *oneness* of the creation with the creator. In order for this to happen there must be a critical mass of initiates brought into the secrets of Kabbalah through stealth and deception; “nothing less than a worldwide conspiracy.” 93

And the LORD said unto me, A conspiracy is found among the men of Judah…they are turned back…and they went after other gods to serve them.
Jeremiah 11:9-10

“The collective soul of observant Judaism is mostly *unknowingly and unassumingly* becoming saturated with little bits and pieces of Kabbalah – a book here, a lecture or study group there, etc. – until it will reach a point of *critical mass*…The collective Jewish soul, as well as *the world at large,* is *unknowingly being seeded* with kernels of divine knowledge falling from the Gates of Wisdom above…Out of the silicon chips and theories of evolution on one side and from the dialectics of the Talmud…will emerge the Hidden Light of the Supernal Torah. Corresponding to the four alphanumeric digits of the sacred formula of Y-H-V-H these are the reunion of the Twin Messiahs, the resurrection

of the Sacred Serpent, the Feast of Leviathan and the revelation of Metatron." 94

What began as a trickle has become a flood of kabbalistic and Babylonian mysticism into the Church through the process of overlap; "a book here" and a conference there, planting seeds of *another gospel* and *another Jesus*. *The Return of the Kosher Pig* is only one of many such books disseminating Kabbalah into the Church. Christian media is being inundated with teachings and books that contain "code" words in the titles, chapter headings and text that are designed to attract the innate curiosity for secret knowledge that is latent in the human race.

Words are important and according to the Bible words are seeds. When Jesus was tempted in the wilderness, He defeated Satan by speaking the Word of God with authority. Revelation 13:7 speaks of the beast making war with the saints and overcoming them. Just as with Christ, ours is a war of the words of Truth versus words of deception. Jesus said let no man deceive you! *Paradigm, blueprint, ancient wisdom, book of mysteries, secret codes, law of attraction, god's dream, illuminating, secret teachings of all ages, mysteries of the ages, keys to your destiny, unlocking mysteries, hidden keys that unlock doors, encrypted code, your destiny blueprint, sacred name, paradigm shift, quantum shift, quantum physics of heaven, harbinger, ascension*; these are the words that make for bestselling books in today's Christian market. More importantly, these seed-words are the language and building blocks of Satan's counterfeit *kingdom of god on earth* and the *Blueprint* for Mystery Babylon:

"We live in a special time when the entire world is going through very big and rapid changes…As Kabbalists explain, this is a sign that the world is approaching the general correction…*The only remaining obstacle is language*. If we do not speak the same language, it is difficult to communicate because we are still in Babylon. The ancient Babylonians started with one language, then began to speak different languages, and as a result, ceased to understand each other. We, accordingly, have to come from many languages to one…the shattering, which occurred in the ancient Babylon and is being revealed only today, manifests even more clearly. This will further push us to unite.

After all, we have to return to Babylon so that the entire world becomes one village." 95

According to Rabbi Michael Laitman quoted above, all of humanity is one "Ancient Babylonian Family" that must unite and return to Babylon through the "language" and "light" of Kabbalah. Relating to the current state of civilization and referencing the Creator as a *force*, he states, "Today, having "departed" from Babylon 3,500 years ago, we again feel that we are back in the same place, in ancient Babylon…We have to be connected with the Creator in our studies and activities. The Creator, the force of the Light, the property of bestowal, that corrects us and without whom we are unable to cope with the task, has to be implied in everything we do." 96

In denouncing the evils of society and proclaiming the solution to *rectification*, the rabbis of today echo the voices of those who came before them. They say our only hope is in the study of "inner" Torah – Kabbalah – and that this will bring *light* to the nations and *unity* to mankind. One of Judaism's most revered rabbis of the medieval period, Maimonides, is quoted as saying that in the messianic era of *Moshiach* "all the nations of the world will be preoccupied studying the deep kabbalistic insights of who God is and what God is…in a world that is just and a world that is at peace." 97

"The Tree of Life is viewed as a graphic representation of the blueprint of creation." 98

"Some things which have required faith to believe will no longer require faith, for it will be proven to be scientific fact." (*Quantum Faith*) 99

The so called *science* of Kabbalah is said to contain the ancient "***Blueprint***" that reveals the secrets of the universe. It is the *key* that unlocks consciousness to the awareness of *oneness* between creation and the creator. According to Kabbalah, the source of this interconnection of all things is the *light* of *Ain Sof* that emanates from *Kether*:

Kether is the first manifested Sephirah, the first condensation of the light of Ain-Soph. Kether means 'the Crown'…"Kether is the source of light rising up from the darkness. It is a monad of pure energy…In Kether is the blueprint of the entire universe." 100



As in Kabbalah, today's science of quantum physics is the study of the *interconnectedness* of all things. Matter and energy are said to be held together in a unified field of light. In simple terms, quantum physics is the observation of "invisible" particles – atoms, electrons, monads, quarks, super strings, frequencies, vibrations – in another dimension and the effect of those particles on the material world *by the observer*. Because everything is made of atoms, we are all *one* at the sub-atomic level. We are all part of this *force of light* that connects and holds everything together. Thus, it is said the new science of quantum physics will *prove* what Kabbalah has always taught; that *god* is in every person.

Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith the Lord GOD; because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God…yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou set thine heart as the heart of God. Ezekiel 28:2

Quantum *science* appears to be a manipulation of forces in the invisible spirit world by *observer-participants* in the physical, material world, be they scientists or mystics. The Apostle Paul warned in 1 Timothy 6:20 about the spiritual deception behind "science falsely so called." New Age teachings of false science have been making steady inroads into the Church for years through books like *Quantum Faith*, *Quantum Spirituality*, *The Physics of Heaven* and more recently, *The Paradigm*, which the author claims to be a blueprint of mysteries connecting past and present events. What is not widely understood is that the root of every New Age concept and term can be traced to ancient Babylonian mysticism and kabbalistic writings, especially in the area of occult science. The same can be said of Freemasonry with its rites, initiations, sacred passwords and symbols.

Johannes Buxtorf, known in the 16th century as the "Master of the Rabbis," wrote the *Lexicon of the Talmud* in which he "defines the ***Kabbalah*** to be a ***secret science***, which treats in a mystical and enigmatical manner of things divine, angelical, theological, celestial, and metaphysical; the subjects being enveloped in ***striking symbols*** and ***secret modes of teaching***. Much use is made of it in the advanced degrees, and entire Rites have been constructed

on its principles. Hence it [Kabbalah] demands a place in any general work on Freemasonry." 101

The role of Freemasonry and its connection to Kabbalah cannot be underestimated as a major contributor in the global initiation of the masses. Long before the current flood of mysticism into the Church, New Age occultist and channeler of demons, Alice Bailey, wrote about the future research into atomic particles and its impact on the basic doctrines of Christianity, as science would prove the unity and oneness of mankind and all creation. Her blueprint image of the Hierarchy of ascended masters and their lodge on the spiritual plane is just another configuration of the *Sefirot* tree of Kabbalah which is now breaking through the veil to the world we live in. The *new* discoveries in quantum physics are the externalization and manifestation of those entities.

Bailey called this release of atomic energy a "saving force" that will "bring about an entirely new economic world structure." Bailey noted that "planetary initiation" and the soul's "liberation" will come through the discoveries of atomic energy, as well as investigations into light, color, and the "magic" of sound (vibrations) as a creative energy; all aspects of so-called quantum science. She also stated that "adjustments" would be made so that "At the head of certain of the great occult groups, of the Freemasons of the world, and **of the various great divisions of the church**…will be found initiates or Masters," adding that this *work* was already underway. 102

Just like Kabbalah, Bailey's Theosophy incorporates the necessity of global initiation in order to bring forth the "Lord of the World," also known as *Metatron*. Like Kabbalah, initiation takes place through a radical *shift* in consciousness, resulting in a new paradigm or worldview. According to Bailey the "link" between the spiritual and physical planes is human consciousness and it is important to quote her here, as the initiation process in Theosophy is an exact mirror image of that in Kabbalah:

"At all initiations the Lord of the World is present…the flashing forth of the *star* before the initiate is the signal of His approval…At the sixth initiation, the initiate, functioning consciously as the love-aspect of the

***Monad*, is brought (via his "Father") into a still vaster recognition, and becomes aware of *that Star* which encloses his planetary *star*, just as *that star* has earlier been seen enclosing his own tiny "*Spark*"…His *oneness* with his brothers is *proven*, and he realises *the indissoluble link which binds him to his fellow-men everywhere*. Brotherhood is no longer a theory but a *proven scientific fact*…He realises the meaning and *source of energy*, and can begin to wield power with *scientific accuracy* and direction."** 103

This is the great *mystery* of the *Star* which is *Metatron's* cube: the "**six-sided celestial creature**" and the *Yeshua* of Kabbalah who holds all things together with his number "**six**" of "**universal creation**." This is the "**key**" of the occult "**science of equilibrium**" that will bring all things into the balance. This is the "**secret**" link that binds together the divine *Sparks* of humanity to the *source of energy*, the *light* of the "Lord of the World" of the *final redemption*.

The main purpose of Kabbalah is to achieve a direct *experience* with the *divine*, revealing to the initiate the *light* of the creator and the *oneness* of creation. The false prophets say that when the world will see the *light*, things that once required faith will no longer require faith. This is the *gospel* of Kabbalah. But Hebrews 11:6 says without faith it is impossible to please God.

Chapter 7

The Return of the Kosher Serpent

Take heed therefore that the light which is in thee be not darkness. Luke 11:35

Just how Satan will attempt to achieve this global shift in consciousness into *the light* is not clear, but based on the prophecy of the *Zohar* the convergence of Kabbalah and science is the "key" in returning the nations to Babylon. What is clear is that the *light* of Kabbalah with all its occult branches is not the true light of God, but that of Lucifer.

"Albert Pike is yet another well-respected Mason avowing the central place of cabala within the craft. He wrote: "Masonry is a search after Light. That search leads us directly back, as you see, to Kabalah…not only is cabala 'the key of the occult sciences', but that this key turns on *the secret science of numbers*." 104

We have seen how the new *science* of quantum physics will play a role in the self- fulfilling prophecies of the *Zohar*. Now we will look closer at the identity of the *one* who is to restore the essential unity of the nations through the *light* of Kabbalah. The rabbis teach that the connecting force of creation is the *light* that emanates from *Ein Sof.* Another secretly shared tradition of the rabbis is that the serpent (*nachash*) that deceived Adam and Eve in Genesis 3 is considered *sacred* and was to be a partner with Adam in the *tikkun* or repair of the shattered dream of *Ein Sof.* This *sacred* serpent of light is referred to as the "kosher serpent" that will rise from the ashes as *Moshiach* and assist humanity through technology in the process of *rectification*.

"Furthermore, the original *Nachash* was completely "kosher"…This is especially true of the *Nachash*, for under Adam's subjugation it had a very sacred mission to perform…it was to be a partner with Adam in bringing about the final *tikkun* – completion and transformation – of all

Creation…The power of the original, kosher *Nachash* turned evil…Is it possible that this bizarre life form, after having gone "underground" and lying dormant for thousands of years, is preparing to rise again from the dust of its curse?...As prophesied in the *Zohar*, however, the two greatest forces for spiritual and physical planetary change – Adam and the *Nachash* – were destined to meet again in a prophetic rendezvous…Along with the curse of humanity, the curse and the enmity of the *Nachash* is also being removed." 105

"The essence of the *Nachash* <u>is</u> *Mashiach ben Yoseph*!" 106

This secret doctrine that the serpent will become *kosher* again is based on the rabbinic writings of the *Babylonian Talmud* and the Midrash; the same sources Shapira cites to build his foundation for the coming *new Torah* and the return of the *kosher pig* in the world to come. These prophecies are dependent on divination using the occult numerology system of *gematria*; "the secret science of numbers." According to the sages, there is a secret rabbinic formula which reveals the numeric equivalency between the *nachash* and the *Moshiach* of Kabbalah, as explained by Rabbi Joel David Bakst:

"There is a well known, yet confusing, rabbinic formula that points out that the words *nachash* (serpent) and *mashiach* (messiah) share the identical numerical value." 107

Bakst explains that this secret of the "Holy Serpent and its role in Torah cosmology" has "always been known to the sage-mystics of the Talmud, Midrash and Zohar." 108 Emphasizing that illumination is necessary to understand this mystery, he quotes the late master kabbalist, Rabbi Elyashiv, also known as the *Leshem*:

"Prior to Adam's collapse the *Nachash* was not yet composed of the actual essence of evil…Its root was the *Holy Nachash*, which exists in the highest transcendent state of holiness (lit., "*Holy of Holies*")…The Holy [macro] Serpent is the fountainhead, root and essence for all of God's sacred, revelatory Light…This [serpent] is the secret of the

Cosmic Balance…Its root is from the penetrating and surrounding Light of the *Ain Sof*." 109

The secret of the *kosher serpent* is cryptically and purposefully concealed in occult language that is similar to the so called science of quantum physics, advancing the idea that all things are connected. In Kabbalah the *microcosm* (man below) is merely a *fractal* (a part) of the *macrocosm* (the serpent above). As quoted previously, the *unalterable law* of Kabbalah is that the macrocosm and the microcosm are as two equal drops of water. This is what is conveyed in the occult axiom "*As Above, So Below*" or to state it plainly, it is the lie, "Ye shall not surely die…ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil."

Because everything is connected, matter and spirit exist in one continuous reality, an "endless spectrum of Divine Consciousness." 110 This conscious singularity, constantly expanding and contracting from evil to good and from darkness to light, is *Ain Sof*, the *god* of Kabbalah. Interwoven into this twisted *Torah* script is *Metatron*, the *Messiah* of the kabbalists, and the *kosher serpent* – whom the rabbis say will return but whom Jesus Christ in Revelation 12:9 calls the *great dragon*, that *old serpent*, the *Devil* and *Satan* which deceives the whole world.

The *Sefer Yetzirah* (The Book of Creation) is the earliest known text in Jewish Mysticism and states the following:

"In two and thirty most occult and wonderful paths of wisdom did JAH the Lord of Hosts engrave his name…Ten are the numbers of the ineffable Sephiroth, ten and not nine…conjoined, even as is a flame to a burning coal: for our God is superlative in his unity…He fixed these as testimonies…the twelve constellations rulers of the world, the *Dragon* (THELE) Tali which environs [surrounds] the universe, and the microcosm, man…Tali, the Dragon, is above the Universe, as a king on his throne…" 111

The secrets of Kabbalah that are being disclosed by the rabbis are nothing less than astonishing! Yet this is exactly what God said would occur concerning the false leaders of Israel. In Jeremiah 29:8-9 God spoke

through the prophet Jeremiah to the captives of Babylon saying, “Let not your prophets and diviners, that be in the midst of you, deceive you…For they prophesy falsely unto you in my name: I have not sent them, saith the Lord.” God compared these false prophets to rotten figs that cannot be eaten. The Lord Himself said that He was a witness against them and because of their lying words spoken in His name they would be a curse, not a light, to all nations!

And I will persecute them with the sword, with the famine, and with the pestilence, and will deliver them to be removed to all the kingdoms of the earth, to be a *curse*, and an *astonishment*, and an *hissing*, and a *reproach*, among all the nations whither I have driven them: Because they have not hearkened to my words, saith the Lord. Jeremiah 29: 18-19

In Genesis chapter three the word serpent is *nachash* and means a snake (from its hiss). It also means to *whisper* a (magic) spell, to prognosticate, to divine, enchantment and to learn by experience; i.e. initiation. In Kabbalah the *nachash* is also called the *shining one*. Throughout the centuries, the mystic sage rabbis have incorporated the use of divination to equate the *nachash* (serpent) with *Moshiach* (Messiah), just as Itzhak Shapira has relied on *gematria* to equate *Metatron* with *Yeshua* and *El Shaddai*. In the cosmological order of Mystery Babylon, built on the foundation of Kabbalah, the *kosher serpent*, the *dragon* and *Metatron* are *one,* inseparably connected by the *light* of *Ain Sof* and this is a well known secret!

“Another astounding secret that is revealed is that the Teli [serpent] is the Moshiach (Messiah), often referred to as the Holy Snake (Nachash Ha’Kodesh), as the Hebrew words “Moshiach” and “Nachash” share the same Gematria (numerical value) of 358. So the Moshiach is the Pole Serpent. Since the association of Teli has already been made with the Pole Serpent, and the Pole Serpent with Draco [the dragon], and Draco with Zeir Anpin; it is now clear as to the fact that Metatr-n, the Angel who governs Zeir Anpin, is “the likeness before the Holy One Blessed Be He.” Since Moshiach is interconnected with Angel Metatr-n, it is now also clear as to whom is depicted as the Young Man with

locks (peyot and a beard), which then leads to the connection with the Primordial Torah." 112

The Primordial Torah referred to above is the *oral Torah*. It is Satan's *blueprint* which has been concealed until the necessary time according to the prophecy of the *Zohar*. This timeline – initiating the debut of the *Moshiach* and the return to all things *kosher* – is based on yet another mystery entwined in the synthesis of Kabbalah and technology that is to accelerate the *redemption*. So guarded was this secret that 18th century kabbalist, Rabbi Eliyahu, wrote in his commentary on the *Zohar* concerning the *Final End*, "I adjure the reader in the name of the God of Israel not to reveal this." 113

In the *macro-micro* universe of Kabbalah the original six days of creation represent a *macrocosm* of earth's six millennia of history, which is reflected in the *microcosm* below. Space and time are said to be one seamless continuum, albeit a fractured one. Because of the fall, creation is broken into dimensions called fractals. Thus, creation and the *final redemption* are mirrored in time. Just as the *kosher* serpent was to be Adam's partner in the *tikkun* of a utopian Eden, the events of Genesis are to recur on the "*macro-micro* timescale" of Kabbalah: man and beast working together to usher in the *Moshiach* of the millennial utopia:

"What is clear, however, is that together scientific discovery and technology are an actual living entity with a collective consciousness of its own. It is a "beast" – and a very powerful one. It is the "King of Beasts"…The *TechnoSerpent* has risen from the dust, and Adam's higher consciousness will, directed by the providential force of Mashiach ben Yoseph, ride it out to the finishing line of the Sixth Millennial Day…into the Seventh Cosmic Day of Creation – a real and fully rectified higher dimension of existence and consciousness." 114

From the very beginning of creation, God has warned His people of the subtle ability of the serpent to deceive. The Word of God tells us in Genesis 3:14 that God has cursed the serpent above every beast of the field. By the seed of the woman, the head of the serpent has been bruised. Through the cross of Christ, Satan is truly a defeated foe, yet his greatest aim and desire

remains to be like God and to be worshiped as God and he accomplishes this through deception. Of all the *secrets* of Kabbalah currently being disseminated, none is more ominous than the attempt to distort the Word of God and stamp out the name of *Jesus Christ*. As spoken by the Apostle Peter in Acts 4:10-12, "Jesus Christ of Nazareth…whom God raised from the dead…This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner. Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."

In Matthew 21:42-43 Jesus spoke of himself as fulfilling this prophecy, saying to the chief priests and Pharisees, "Did ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes? Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."

Jesus Christ is the fulfillment of the prophecy of the Psalmist, the chief cornerstone of the Temple and the only *gate* through which the righteous may enter by faith in Him:

Open to me the gates of righteousness: I will go into them, and I will praise the LORD: This gate of the LORD, into which the righteous shall enter. I will praise thee: for thou hast heard me, and art become my salvation. The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner. This is the LORD's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes. Psalm 118:19-23

Hebrews 1:3 says that Jesus Christ is the *brightness* of God's glory and the *express image* of the Majesty on high. The *light* of Kabbalah is the counterfeit light of the *transforming* angel. Therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also transform themselves into ministers of righteousness. (2 Corinthians 11:15) Through sorcery and the divination of Kabbalah, Satan has sought to manipulate the Word of God, usurp the name of Christ, and assume the image of Jesus, which will be shown in the next chapter.

Chapter 8

Tetragrammaton: The Name, the Number, the Image

I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive. John 5:43

But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost: In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.
2 Corinthians 4:3-4

"That the Infinite Light is everywhere is an axiom of the Kabbalah, but the Ari made that light immanent, almost tangible, by declaring it to be held captive within every object, every event, even within evil itself… But to piece together all that infinity and reconnect it to its source—for that, we must have access to the *encryption code* of the manufacturer. Which is exactly what we were provided when we received the Torah at Mount Sinai." 115

The real secret of every secret religion or secret society is that there is an exterior level of worship for the people of the group and a concealed level for the initiated members of that same group. The exoteric form is for the masses, while the esoteric is held in the strictest confidence until the time required. According to the prophecy of the *Zohar*, the time has come for global initiation into the secrets of Kabbalah, as humanity is now in the "footsteps" or "heels" of *Moshiach*, the time of *Ikveta DiM'shicha* when all will *know divine connection* with the *creator* through the *sacred name*.

"This period is designated the *ikvot*/heels (i.e., "footsteps")…all the conditions for the final redemption are brought about in a roundabout manner. This is based on the meaning of the root *akev*…because of its etymological affinity with *akef*, "to circumvent," means "to deceive." The redemption process must proceed in a circuitous manner in order

to deceive the "shells of impurity" [the *external forces*] and prevent them from interfering." 116

In Kabbalah, the entire cosmological order – from creation to the *final redemption* – is based primarily on the number "six." Concealed in the writings of the *Zohar* are a myriad of numeric equations which must be ciphered and decoded using gematria. The system is based on letter/number combinations of the Hebrew and Chaldean alphabet of ancient Babylon. There are endless methods of arranging letters, all for the purpose of confusing the uninitiated; just as *Babel* and *Babylon* mean *confusion* through mingling.

The late British occultist, S. L. Macgregor Mathers, translated several books contained within the *Zohar*. One of these was *The Book of Concealed Mystery*. In the 1912 edition of his book, *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, Mathers states the following, "As in the present work a great number of Hebrew or Chaldee words have to be used in the text…There are no separate numeral characters in Hebrew and Chaldee…*every word is a number, and every number is a word*…and on this correspondence between words and numbers the science of Gematria (the first division of the so-called literal Qabalah) is based." 117

Mathers also relates that in the "Unwritten Qabalah" there are secrets that have never been committed to writing but are only passed down orally, especially the secret of the *divine name* – IHVH or YHVH – which he notes is "a most **secret arcanum**, and is a **secret of secrets**," and that it is "the name which rusheth through the universe." 118 From these statements and other similar sources, we can understand – and should understand – that there is a hidden esoteric meaning contained in the name of the deity of Kabbalah.

Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six. Revelation 13:18

In the cosmology of the *Sefirot* tree there is a six-sided cube or hexagon located just above the tenth sephirah, *Malkut*. As noted previously, *Malkut* is the material earthly kingdom, the *kingdom of god* on earth. This hexagon above *Malkut* is comprised of the six lower sephirah which are *Hesed*, *Gevurah*, *Tiferet*, *Netzach*, *Hod*, and *Yesod*. At the top of the hexagon is the hidden sephirah of *Daat* or knowledge. These seven sephirah form the *Zeir Anpin* or the Small Face, also known as the Lesser Countenance or Microprosopus. In Kabbalah this is *Metatron's Cube* and as we have seen, *Metatron* is called the Lesser YHVH. This is the construct or blueprint of the macrocosm/microcosm universe of the kabbalists. At each of these sephirah stands six entities or *light-bearers* but it is *Metatron* who guards the way to the *tree of life*.

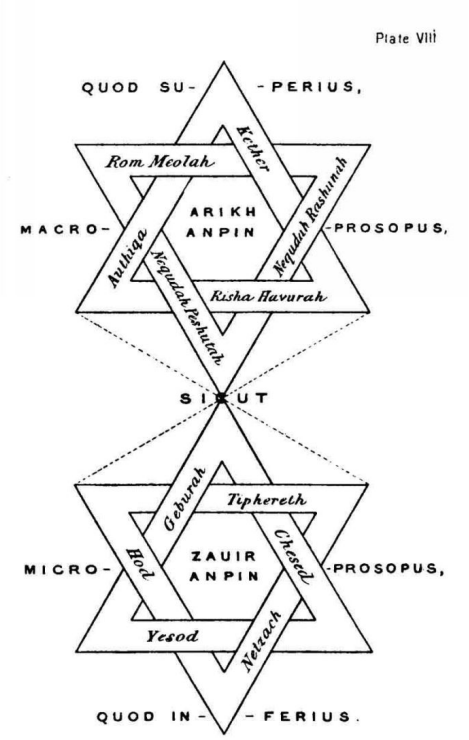
"Metatron, as a Shekinah Diety, is the Divine Voice of YHWH, divine speech of the Holy Spirit…This Face of God, the *Almighty*, is also known as the "lesser YHWH" and *Metatron*…Metatron is the "keeper of the way" to the Tree of Life. From the Zohar." 119

In the system of Kabbalah the spheres that make up the *Sefirot* tree are viewed as ten literal dimensions or spiritual planes. These ten dimensions constitute what is called "the *Shiur Komah*, the "Stature of the God-Image," *Adam Kadmon*, the "Archetypal Man." 120 Just above the *Zeir Anpin* hexagon sits *Arik Anpin*, or Macroprosopus. This is the Vast Countenance or the Limitless Face, the Crown of *Keter*, the Head of the ten heads of the *Sefirot* image. *The Book of Concealed Mystery* reveals that the entire *Sefirot* tree is the *god-man* image of the primordial *Adam Kadmon*, the first emanation of *Ein Sof*.

"The whole ten Sephiroth represent the Heavenly Man, or Primordial Being, ADM OILAH, *Adam Auilah*…In their totality and unity the ten Sephiroth represent the archetypal man, ADM QDMVN, *Adam Qadmon*, the Protogonos." 121

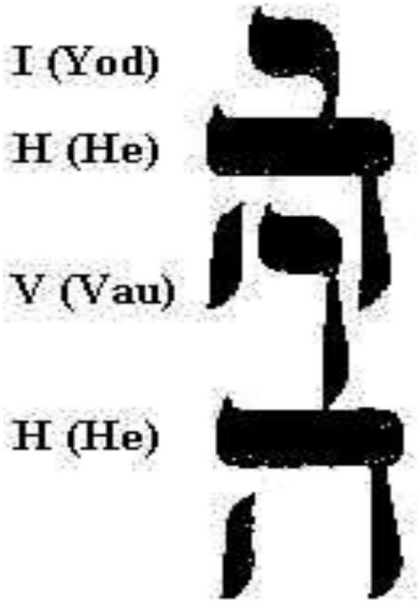
The word Protogonos here speaks of a *deity* because in Kabbalah *Adam Kadmon* is the creator of the earthly Adam, as discussed above. This *god-man* image of the heavenly *Adam Kadmon* is also known as the *Divine Presence* which manifests or reflects itself in all the spiritual dimensions of

the *Sefirot* tree through the *divine* name YHVH, the Tetragrammaton. Thus the Microcosm hexagon image *below* is a reflection of the Macrocosm image *above – As Above, So Below –* based on the numerical value of the number "six" which, according to the *Zohar,* is the number of the man, *Adam Kadmon*.



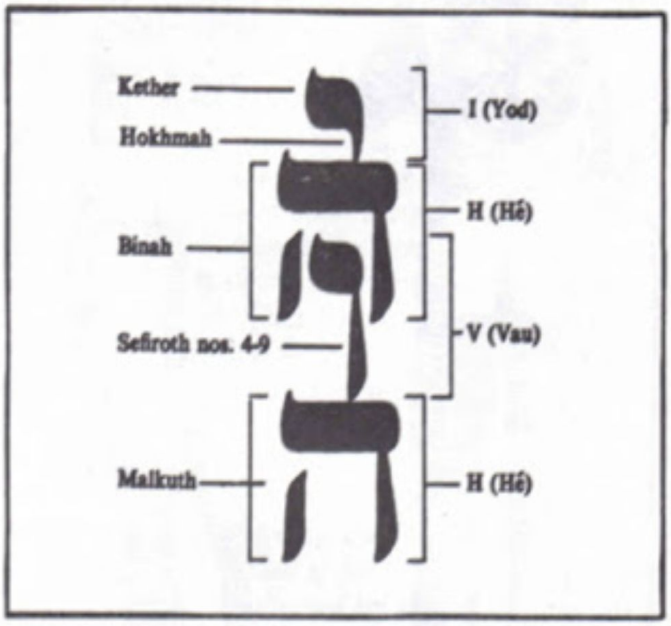
“Microprosopus is as it were the reflection of Macroprosopus, for as Macroprosopus has six principal titles, so is Microprosopus composed of six of the Sephiroth…ShITh, Shith, is the Chaldee form of the Hebrew ShSh, *Shash*, six.” 122

As *Adam Kadmon* is the *creator* of earthly Adam, man is also a reflection and extension of the *heavenly* man, the *perfected god-man image* of the Tetragrammaton:



“Now it must not be forgotten that these forms in Ezekiel's vision support the throne of the Deity, whereon the Heavenly Man is seated--the Adam Qadmon, the sephirotic image…And "the mystery of the earthly and mortal man is after the mystery of the supernal and immortal One;" and thus was he created the image of God upon earth. In the form of the body is the Tetragrammaton found. The head is I, the arms and shoulders are like H, the body is V, and the legs are represented by the H final. Therefore, as the outward form of man corresponds to the Tetragrammaton, so does the animating soul correspond to the ten supernal Sephiroth…This perfection upon earth is relative to the universal soul of the earth (*i.e., as the macrocosm or greater world, so the microcosm or lesser world, which is man*).” 123

In Kabbalah the Tetragrammaton is regarded as the *divine name* and is composed of the four Hebrew letters Yod, Hé, Vau, and Hé, spelled as YHVH or IHVH. Written vertically, the Hebrew letters take the form of the *Sefirot* tree in the image of a man representing the heavenly *Adam Kadmon*. As quoted above, the letters I, H, V and H represent the different parts of the image. The letter V (Vau) has the numerical value of 6 which corresponds to the six sephirah which form the six-sided cube or hexagon of Microprosopus. The final H (Hé) represents Malkut, the *Bride* of Microprosopus, who is *Metatron*, the *god of this world* posing as the *Logos*.



"Just so, Malkuth is the 10th Sephiroth, but as the "Bride of Microprosopus" or Tetragrammaton, who is hexamerous – Malkuth, or the material limb, is the seventh.

She is the fourth letter IHVH, or He, but the Logos, or son, is only the letter V (Vau)…Microprosopus – Tetragrammaton – the "Son" or Logos, is the triangle in a square…the six-faced cube." 124

To clarify, in Kabbalah Microprosopus or *Metatron* as the "Son" or "Logos" is the result of sexual union between *Chokmah* and *Binah*, the *divine father* and *mother* and the first two emanations of *Keter*, the crown. The *bride* of *Metatron* is collective Israel in the kingdom of *Malkuth*, the *kingdom of god* on earth. The *bride* – mankind – is perfected in the image of the Tetragrammaton through *knowledge* and *ascension* of the six-sided cube, the *V* or *Vau* whose number is 6:

"The Tetragrammaton IHVH is referred to the Sephiroth, thus: the uppermost point of the letter Yod, I, is said to refer to *Kether*, the letter I itself to *Chokmah*, the father of Microprosopus; the letter H, or "the supernal *He*," to Binah, the supernal Mother; the letter V to the next six Sephiroth, which are called the six members of Microprosopus (and six is the numerical value of V, the Hebrew Vau); lastly, the letter H, the "inferior *He*," to Malkuth, the tenth Sephira, the bride of Microprosopus." 125

In his book, *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, Mathers notes that, "The Book of Concealed Mystery is the book of the equilibrium of balance." 126 This equilibrium of balance is man's realization of his *divine* constitution through comprehension of the universal number ***six*** of creation. The *Zohar* states, "So, then, as man is a ***microcosm***, a copy or ***paradigm*** of the universe, he is in his constitution ***a reflection of the divine nature***, the Supreme Wisdom. The ***nephesh and ruach are the two angles at the base of a triangle and with that of the apex form a whole or perfect figure***…he becomes holy and divine, because he then begins to conform himself to ***the image*** or likeness of the Holy One… ***symbolized by the hexagon***, that indicates the harmony and union of the higher and lower self with the Divine…***This union with the Divine is the mystery of all mysteries***." 127

Rabbi Eliyahu, also known as the Gaon of Vilna, was regarded among his 18th century contemporaries as a genius in the art of gematria divination. In his commentary on the *Zohar* he is quoted as saying, "the number 666 contains hidden within it exalted and lofty messianic potential." 128 The following rabbinic quote elaborates on the Gaon's *genius* and the centrality of the number six in the cosmology of the *Zohar*:

“**We do know that the number six represents the physical world. The Torah describes the creation of the universe as a six part, six day, process. Our ancient sources describe the universe as emanating in six directions -- north, south, east, west, up, down…All physical space and all physical objects have these six dimensions…666 is six repeated three times. Repeating a concept three times represents the affirmation and strength of that concept. The number 666 could thus represent the strength and perfection of the physical world, which Judaism teaches will occur in the messianic era, when the physical world will reach its ultimate purpose, to be a vehicle through which the *created* experience the Creator.”** 129

The Gaon of Vilna is also noted to explain that the letter V (Vau) of the *divine name* Tetragrammaton “is the collective channel that connects the lower and upper realms.” 130 The numerical value of “6” in the letter V of the Tetragrammaton – IHVH or YHVH – as revealed in the gematria of Kabbalah is symbolic of *hieros gamos* and the result of the sexual union of the *divine father* and *mother*, producing the Vau (V), the Microprosopus, the six-sided, six-faced cube of *Metatron* through which man must pass to reach his *divine* potential. Ascending the Tetragrammaton, the *illumined* initiate – having his conscience seared as with a hot iron – is mystically sealed with the sign of Macroprosopus.

“But *Vau*, V, is produced by *adding* the numerical values of I and H (the father and the mother of the Tetragrammaton), and then taking the *last number* of the result, thus: I + H = 10 + 5 = 15, and by adding the digits of 15 together, 1 + 5, we obtain 6 = V, *Vau*. By the phrase ‘with H, *He*, the pentad (5), with V, *Vau*, the hexad (6), ascend,’ is implied the numerical value of those letters *taken as symbolical sephirotic glyphs*.” 131

“Therefore, then do they ascend within the equilibrium…But behold, how in balanced power ascend the letters of Tetragrammaton.” 132

In addition to the nine spheres of the *Sefirot* tree, the cosmology of Kabbalah divides the universe into four worlds or elemental realms. These are Atziloth, Briah, Yetzirah, and Asiah. The four letters of the

Tetragrammaton represent and correspond to the four elemental forces of earth, air, fire and water which are believed to contain the principle material of all things visible and invisible.

"Now, there are four secret names referred to the four worlds of Atziloth, Briah, Yetzirah, and Asiah; and again, the Tetragrammaton is said to go forth written in a certain manner in each of these four worlds…Here then we have the four worlds--Atziloth, the deific form; Briah, the throne; Yetzirah, the firmament; Asiah, the kerubim. Therefore the kerubim (cherubim) represent the powers of the letters of the Tetragrammaton on the material plain; and the four represent the operation of the four letters in each of the four worlds. Thus, then, the kerubim are the living forms of the letters, symbolized in the Zodiac." 133

This kabbalistic creation myth – that everything was formed from a subtle ethereal substance – is the core teaching of Babylonian and Egyptian mysticism. Comparing the *Zohar's* creation myth with that of the Egyptian *Emerald Tablet*, the author of *The Kabbalah Unveiled* notes:

"That which is below is like that which is above, and that which is above is like that which is below, for the performance of the miracles of the *one substance*." This is the fundamental principle of all the ancient mystic doctrines, whether qabalistical, mythological, alchemical, or magical; and in this formula all are contained. As is God, so is the universe: as is the Creator the Supernal Man, so is the created the inferior man; as Macrocosm, so Microcosm; as eternity, so life! 134

Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.
Colossians 2:8

Unlike the Genesis account of creation, the kabbalists relate that from the ethereal substance of the four elements *Ein Sof* made *engravings* which issued forth from the forehead of *Keter* or *Adam Kadmon*. Within this kabbalistic doctrine of creation is concealed the mystery of the seal or the

sign, the engraved *mark* symbolized in the four elements of the Tetragrammaton coursing through the spheres of the *Sefirot*:

"In each human being we find a model of the universe as well as a model, a copy, of the *Deus revelatus*, the *Sefirot*…Within *Keter* are the "engravings," or code, for everything that is to be. These engravings, as the *Zohar* calls them, are the potential for all that is to unfold in the world of divinity, or the *sefirot*…*Keter* is the vehicle whereby the divine is activated, whereby the engravings begin their transition from potentiality to actuality…according to the *Zohar*, we can know one thing that *Ein Sof* did, that is, that *Ein Sof* "made engravings in the supernal purity," or *Keter*. From these engravings, the *Sefirot* below *Keter* begin to emerge…For the kabbalists, the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* [creation from nothing] refers primarily not to the creation of the world from nothing, but to the unfolding of the *Sefirot* from *ayin*, or No-Thing…For the kabbalists, the biblical text has many levels of meaning. On one level, it can be read as a narrative about human beings…Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and so forth. However for the mystics, a deeper, secret meaning of the biblical text emerges…as a narrative about the *sefirot*…*Hokhmah* is also referred to as a "point" that emanates out of *Keter*…Indeed, some contemporary scholars have noted a similarity between the role of *Hokhmah* and that of the small, extraordinarily condensed bit of matter from which, according to the big bang theory, the entire universe emerged…In *Hokhmah* we also find the beginning of the sexual symbolism that permeates medieval Jewish mystical literature. *Hokhmah* is the first "male" emanation...*Binah* is the first "female" *sefirah*…"the supernal mother"…She eventually gives birth to the lower *sefirot*, her children. She is known as the source (*makor*), the origin of the life of all that emerges. Here we see how the *Zohar* reads the Bible as a story of the interaction of the *sefirot*." 135

The Kabbalah explains that from the elemental forces of fire and water *Ein Sof* emanated *Chokmah* and *Binah*. These are the *divine father* and *mother*, the "I" and the "H" whose sum is the "V" – numerical value of 6 – of the Tetragrammaton name. They are the elements of *fire* and *water* that produce the *Son* and the *bride* through *engravings*. From *beginning* to *end*,

from *above* to *below*, from “potentiality to actuality,” these *engravings* reflect the *image*, the *mark*, the *name*, and the *number* of the *name* throughout the kabbalistic universe.



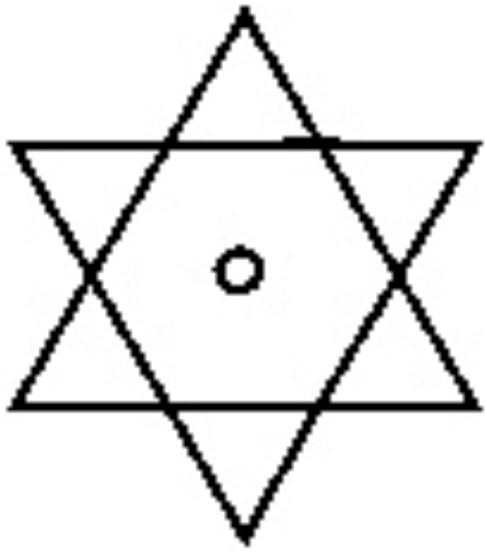
Chokmah is the fire. I, and Binah is the water, H, the Father and Mother who, conjoined, produce the Son. Now the fire is symbolized by a triangle with the apex uppermost  , and water by  , these two together united form  the sign of the Macrocosm, the external symbol of Vau, V, Microprosopus." 136

And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the *mark*, or the *name* of the beast, or the *number* of his name. Revelation 13:17

"And the *seal of the Macrocosm, the six pointed star, is the emblem of Microprosopus,* the Tetragrammaton – Vau of IHVH, who stands within the seven light-bearers of Malkuth…the six Sephiroth which compose Microprosopus." 137

Revelation 13:17 reveals that there are three elements to the *mark* of the beast: the *mark*, the *name* and the *number*. All of these aspects can be seen in the occult kabbalistic interpretations of the Bible, codified by the mystic sages to symbolize man's oneness with IHVH. Revelation 13:14-15 and 14:9, 11 both speak about the *image* of the beast. In Kabbalah the *sephirotic god-man image* is represented by *Adam Kadmon*, who in turn reflects his divine nature through man in the lesser world, as quoted above, "And the mystery of the earthly and mortal man is after the mystery of the supernal and immortal One…thus was he created the image of God upon earth."

The *Sefer Yetsirah*, also known as *The Book of Formation* or *The Book of Creation*, is considered the major text of Kabbalah on the formation of the universe by *Ein Sof* through *engravings* and states:



“Jehovah, through thirty-two Paths, engraved his name using the three forms of expression called Letters, Numbers, & Sounds.” (*The Sepher Yetzirah*)

“From the simple letters three were chosen & sealed so that they may be formed into a Magnificent Name, *IHV*. With this name was the universe sealed in six directions by Him.” 138

The *Sefer Yetsirah* explains that *Ein Sof* created the cosmos in the image and form of the primordial *Adam Kadmon* by numbers, sounds and through the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. These twenty-two letters are divided into three groups. The first three letters are the “mother” letters. These are א מ ש (*Aleph*-A, *Mem*-M, *Shin*-Sh) and are the elements of air, water and fire; the primal substance or *prima materia* of the universe. From the elements fire, water and air were formed the head, abdomen and breast of *Adam Kadmon* which were then *sealed* and fashioned into the Tetragrammaton name, IHVH.

These three *mothers* or *elements* then gave birth to the next group of seven letters. These seven are considered double letters and are ב ג ד כ פ ר ת (B, G, D, K, P, R, Th). With these seven letters *Ein Sof sealed* the six directions of the universe with combinations of the name, IHVH: Above, Below, North, South, East and West. This is the *seal* of the *Macrocosm – As Above, So Below –* the six-pointed star and emblem of *Microprosopus* or *Metatron*. The point in the middle of the star depicts the *holy temple*. Satan, the dragon sits above, with the world and man fixed below.

“In the midst of this star is the Invisible Throne of the Most Ancient of the Ancients--the Supreme Definitionless Creator.” 139

‘Above is the Dragon, below is the world, and lastly the heart of man; and in the midst is God who regulates them all…The Dragon (Tali) is in the universe like a king upon his throne.” (*The Sepher Yetzirah, The Book of Formation; Chapter Six*) 140

The remaining twelve letters in the creation myth of the *Sefer Yetsirah* are said to constitute man in all of his senses, organs, feelings, thoughts, and emotions, even his occupation. Each Hebrew letter with its numerical value corresponds to a part of the physical human body and the psyche of man which flows out of and is sealed with the “V” of the *Great Name*. In this way man is said to be one with the creator and the universe:

“He selected three consonants (I, H, V)…He sealed them with His spirit and fashioned them into a *Great Name* and with this sealed the universe in six directions…The twelve simple letters ה ו ז ח ט י ל נ ס ע צ ק (H, V, Z, Ch, T, I, L, N, S, O, Tz, Q) symbolize the twelve fundamental properties: speech, thought, movement, sight, hearing, work, coition, smell, sleep, anger, taste (or swallowing), and mirth. The simple letters correspond to twelve directions…They diverge to all eternity and are the arms of the universe… There are twenty-two letters by which the I AM (YAH), the Lord of Hosts, Almighty and Eternal, designed and created by three Sepharim (Numbers, Letters, and Sounds) His universe, and formed by them all creatures and all those things that are yet to come.” 141

Here again we see the perfected image of man in the *Microcosm*; for in Kabbalah, just as *Metatron* is the lesser YHVH, he is also the *Lesser Adam*, a reflection of the *Macrocosm* above, *sealed* with the *divine name* YHVH through the emanations and engravings of *Ein Sof*. From the roots downward, from *above* to *below*, this *seal of perfection* is then reflected throughout the worlds of the *Sefirot* tree to the sphere of *Malchuth*, the *Shekhinah mother* and dwelling place of the human man *Adam*, recipient of the *sacred* name containing the Vau or “six.”

“According to the original conception, from the union of the Divine Father and the Divine Mother is produced *Microprosophus*…and corresponds to the letter ו, or *V*, in the Great Name…The dwelling place of Malchuth is in the fourth world--Assiah--and it is composed of all the superior powers reflected into the elements of the terrestrial sphere. Thus it will be seen that the Qabbalistic Tree extends through four worlds, with its branches in matter and its roots in the Ancient of Ancients--*Macroprosophus*…The *Tetragrammaton*, or the four-lettered Name of God, written thus יהוה, is pronounced Jehovah. The first letter is י, *Yod*, the Germ, the Life, the Flame, the Cause, the One, and the most fundamental of the Jewish phallic emblems…from which it goes forth to impregnate Binah, which is the first ה, *He*. The result of this union is Tiphereth, which is the ו *Vau*, whose power is 6 and which symbolizes the six members of the *Lesser Adam*. The final ה, *He*, is

Malchuth, the *Inferior Mother*, partaking in part of the potencies of the *Divine Mother*." 142

This reference from *The Secret Teachings of all Ages* by Manly P. Hall also states that *Microprosophus* – the *Lesser Adam* – is *Elohim*, the created offspring of *Chochmah* and *Binah*: "The six powers of *Microprosophus* flow from and are contained in their own source, which is Binah, the Mother of the *Lesser Adam*. These constitute the spheres of the sacred planets; their name is Elohim, and they move upon the face of the deep." As noted previously, Kabbalah teaches that *Ein Sof* created *Elohim*. The *Zohar* interprets the first verse of Genesis as "With beginning, [*Ein Sof*] created God [*Elohim*]" which is also translated by the rabbis of Kabbalah to read "He created *six*."

The Word of God tells us that *Elohim* is the true God and Creator in Genesis, but here we see Satan usurping the Word of God and inserting himself into the biblical text as *god* and creator of the Most High God! This explains how the initiates of Theosophy like Bailey and Blavatsky, or the Grand Masters of Freemasonry like Pike and Hall, or the priests of Kabbalah throughout history could believe and teach that *Lucifer* is the hero and *god* of Genesis because of his gift of *illumination* to mankind.

Manly Hall was no novice. He gave many of clues for the reader to piece together the *secret*. In the chapter already quoted above titled "The Tree of the Sephiroth" Hall disclosed that "In the Qabbalah it is declared that the *Yod* is in reality three *Yods*, of which the first is the *beginning*, the second is the *center*, and the third is the *end*." In other words, the *Yod* in the IHVH Tetragrammaton actually represents three *Yods*. Using a simple Hebrew letter chart and adding the numerical value of *Elohim*/אלהים we deduce the following; where א = 1, ל = 30, ה = 5, י = 10, ם = 600, the sum is 646. By adding in two additional *Yods*, 10 + 10 + 646, 666 = the mystical *number of the name*.

The *Zohar* alludes to Genesis 1:1 as containing the secret of secrets and the supernal mystery of the *divine name* which spans the universe through *engravings* of the number "six." According to Kabbalah everything in creation, from beginning to end, is sealed with the *V*, the *Vau*, which is the

six. Therefore it should come as no surprise to find Satan exalting himself as God in the very first verse of Genesis, from the beginning! It will be further shown that the *sage mystics*, in step with their *god* Lucifer, have gone to great lengths to manipulate the Word of God by imposing the numbers 6 and 666 into the Scriptures through the sorcery of Kabbalah.

These same rabbinic sages, some of which are listed in *The Return of the Kosher Pig*, see the *science* of Kabbalah and the magical power of Hebrew letters to effect spiritual transformation and alter world events as the necessary harbinger and forerunner of the sixth millennium that will precede the coming of their *Moshiach*. As disciples of Jesus Christ, we must be able to differentiate between the true Biblical interpretation of Scripture and the gnostic exploitation of God's Word as mystically translated by the kabbalists.

In Revelation chapter one Jesus said, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending…the first and the last." He did not say 'I am the Aleph and the Tav' nor is there any *sacred name* to be found hidden in the codes of the Hebrew alphabet. It is my hope that every Christian reading this information will hold fast to the Word of life and to the *name which is above every name*, Jesus Christ, the real Yeshua, and to say like Paul:

For I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day. 2 Timothy 1:12

Chapter 9

Secrets of the Millennium: The Two Messiahs of the Final Redemption

I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.
Revelation 1:8

"And at the end of the Formless and the Void and the Darkness (that is, at the end of the exile this saying shall have place: Isa. ii. 11). And the Tetragrammaton alone shall be exalted in that day (that is, in the time of Messiah)."
(*Zohar, The Book of Concealed Mystery*) 143

"This [final] redemption will come only as a result of Torah study, chiefly the study of Kabbalah." (Rabbi Eliyahu of Vilna, from his commentary on the *Zohar*) 144

According to the prophecy in the *Zohar*, the purpose of releasing the mysteries of Kabbalah globally is to prepare the world for the seventh millennium and the coming of *Moshiach*. As noted above, this period is called the footsteps of *Messiah – Ikveta DiM'shicha* – and is based on the *Shiur Komah*, the god-man image of *Adam Kadmon* in the *Sefirot* tree. The rabbis refer to this as the *Netzach-Hod paradigm*, as *Netzach* and *Hod* are the seventh and eighth sephirah and represent the legs of the image. The *Netzach-Hod paradigm* marks the time just before the *final redemption*. The ninth sephira, *Yesod*, is representative of the male phallus which channels the *life force* of *Ein Sof* to *Malkut* the feet, the *Shekhinah* bride and *kingdom* of the god-man image.

"Netsah and Hod are the right and left legs respectively…Jesod is the generative system, or the foundation of form; and Malchuth represents the two feet, or the base of being." 145

"*Yesod* is the channel through which Tiferet strives to unite with Shekhinah and pass on the creative and benevolent divine forces…This *Sefirah* is symbolized as the male phallus, sanctified through the covenant of circumcision." 146

According to the *Zohar*, the mystery of *six thousand years* is based on an esoteric interpretation of the first words of Genesis chapter one and the six days of creation. In Kabbalah, the six days of creation correspond to the six *sefirah* that form the six-pointed star of *Microprosopus* or *Metatron's* cube; the *Shiur Komah* god-man image. Each of the six *sefirah* represents 1,000 years and combined they form the six directions of the universe. The seventh millennium is the age to come, the final *Shabbat*, the antichrist *kingdom of god* on earth. The seventh millennium also represents *Malkut*, the tenth *sefirah* who is also *Shekhinah*. As noted previously, it was *Shekhinah* who fell into the abyss at the shattering of the *Sefirot* tree, yet is destined to rise from the pit.

"Six thousand years depend from the six first. This is what the wise have said, that the world shall last six thousand years, and it is understood from the six numbers of Microprosopus…Hence are the "six thousand years" deduced from the six first words, which also are said to refer to the six Sephiroth of whom Microprosopus is formed;" 147

"…thousands signify the future…the idea of six being extended into as many thousands, to symbolise that number on the plane of a future age… so also the Schechinah, or Kingdom, is itself exiled…By the same rule, the millennium is deduced from the seventh word. The seventh space here means Malkuth, the kingdom, or the queen, which together with the six of Microprosopus, makes up the seven lower Sephiroth." 148

The word *Bereshith* is the Hebrew word for *beginning* in Genesis 1:1, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." *Bereshith* is said by the sages to contain the greatest mystery of creation from beginning to end and, as noted above, is translated by the kabbalists as "he created six." The following excerpt from the *Zohar* describes the initiation of Rabbi Hiya into the secret of the *six* encoded in the word *Bereshith*. Note that *Metatron*, the

angel of the presence, and the directions of the six-sided cube are mentioned:

“Bereshith, "In the beginning," said Rabbi Ionda, "what is the signification of this mystical word? It is hochma—wisdom…Like a globe it includes the six directions of space, viz., north, south, east and west, high and low, from which emanate six streams of existence, all of which flow at last into the great ocean of primal life. Another occult signification of Bereshith is this, *Bara sith* (*he created six*)…Rabbi Hiya and Rabbi Jose were walking together in the country and when they reached their destination, said Rabbi Hiya: "This *occult meaning* of bereshith is undoubtedly correct, since we find in the Book of Genesis that the creation of all things occurred and took place in six days and not more. In an *ancient occult work* on Genesis we have found many references to this account… Rabbi Hiya heard a voice from heaven exclaiming: "Fall back! make room for the King Messiah coming to the school of Rabbi Simeon, whose students are all initiates and master teachers of the secret doctrine." Then came Messiah and visited all the celestial schools and confirmed the teachings and expositions of the mysteries given by their appointed instructors…Turning to Rabbi Simeon...Messiah spake and said: "Blessed art thou, Rabbi Simeon, for thy mystic teachings are of the highest worth and valued and cherished by all. They only, along with those of Hesekiah, King of Judah, and Achiya, the Solonite, are *marked and sealed* with the approval of the holy one. I have come hither because I know that *the angel of the presence* visits no other school save yours." 149

Another bizarre twist of Scripture by the rabbis relates the events of the flood in Noah’s day to the rise of technology in our current sixth millennium. In this strange scenario Genesis 7:11 is taken completely out of context to represent future events which correspond to the global release of kabbalistic knowledge that will precede the coming of *Moshiach*. We know that the opening of the windows of heaven in Noah’s day brought the total destruction of the world. One can only imagine what ominous plot is lurking behind the self-fulfilling prophecies of the *Zohar*.

"What does the future hold? There is a Talmudic statement that the world will exist for 6000 years and then enter a new state…The Kabbalah explains that each millennium is a Divine day, and as we approach the seventh millennium we are actually approaching the Divine Sabbath…As the world nears the era of *Mashiach,* knowledge in all areas of life is rapidly expanding. This concept is found in the Zohar, which comments of the verse, "In the six hundredth year of Noah's life…the windows of Heaven were opened" (Genesis 7:11). According to the Zohar, the six hundredth year is also the sixth millennium, and the "windows of Heaven" are opening to allow knowledge and discovery to flow into our world at an unprecedented rate. To illustrate: the year 5600 (the six hundredth year of the sixth millennium) corresponds to the year 1840 in the Common-era. A cursory inspection of that period reveals that it was in the late 1800s that the Industrial Revolution began." 150

According to the *Zohar* the illumination of the nations and the revelation of *Moshiach* in Israel will not be an instantaneous event but will unfold as a gradual process. Based on the mystical timeline of the rabbis, this process began in the year 1840. In the current *Netzach-Hod paradigm* the left and right pillars of the *Sefirot* tree also represent the two messiahs of Kabbalah, the *Trein M'shechin*. These two messiahs are *Mashiach ben Joseph* and *Mashiach ben David*. Until recently, the mystery of two messiahs has remained largely unknown outside of kabbalistic circles, but is now being revealed in small increments to accelerate the *final redemption*.

"The two meshichim are the guards and defenders of the existence of Israel throughout all the generations, even during the exile. Their main place is at the gates of Jerusalem, the opening of the walls. This is revealed by the words: "our feet were standing in the gates of Jerusalem." "Our feet" refers to the two meshichim in the line of Netzach and Hod." 151

Typical of rabbinic Judaism, there are dark sexual overtones hidden deep within this mystery which revolve around the sphere of *Yesod* and its phallic imagery; another reason this secret has been long concealed from the masses. However, what is important is the end-time agenda of this

millennial script. In the tradition of Kabbalah there was a split in the last two sephira, *Yesod* and *Malkut*, at the time of the shattering of the *Sefirot* tree. This cosmic split brought about the necessity of two messiahs and two stages of *tikkun* – the repair of the world. Messiah ben David is traditionally viewed as the messianic ruler of the seventh millennium, but it is Messiah ben Joseph that has been the guiding force of Israel throughout history. Messiah ben Joseph is viewed as the predecessor of Messiah ben David. In his present-day role he is the revealer and disseminator of Kabbalah during the *Ikveta DiM'shicha* or footsteps of *Messiah*, as noted by Rabbi Hillel Rivlin:

"According to our master, the Gaon, all activities and all efforts – in all their particulars, down to the most minute details – that are directed to the ingathering of the exiles, the building of Jerusalem, the expansion and resettlement of the Land of Israel, and the return of the *Shechinah* (Divine Presence), are dependent upon the mission and destiny of the Messiah of the Beginning, the first Messiah – Mashiach ben Yoseph. He is the supra-natural force that aids every activity, which is "aroused from below"…During the period of *Ikveta DiM'shicha* the revelations will begin little by little…[It is specifically through the learning of the Kabbalah] that the mysteries of the Torah will be revealed. This is part of the sacred mission of the Messiah of the Beginning, Mashiach ben Yoseph." 152

Digging deeper into the secret doctrine of the sages, one is not surprised to discover the fallen angel *Metatron* at the root of this mystery. Within the rabbinic writings we find that *Metatron* is the "oversoul" of Messiah ben Joseph. 153 He is the "supranatural force" that will unify and bring balance to the left and right pillars of the *Sefirot* tree, the twin messiahs. Moreover, *Metatron is* Messiah ben Joseph who will defeat the enemies of Israel and raise *Shekhinah* from the abyss. Recalling *Metatron's* association with the number 6 and *Yesod* as the "channel" for knowledge, I quote the following based on the Kabbalah school of Rabbi Eliyahu from the book, *Kol Hator*:

"Mashiach ben Yoseph is the meta-archangel known throughout the Talmud (including the standard commentaries of Rashi and Tosafot),

Midrash, and Zohar, as Metatron." 154

"Yosef is still alive…the Mashiach ben Yosef from above is Metatron, the Minister of Interior; *as is known, Yosef is Metatron*. Both of them are from the light from above, and both are in the sefira Yesod…there will be a unification of the Holy one blessed be He and the Shechina through the unification of the two meshichim…The purpose of gathering in the exiles is to wage *God's war* against Amalek, which was the main mission of Joshua, in line with Mashiach ben Yosef…It is also intended to remove the spirit of impurity from the Land, and to bring Knesset Israel and *Shechina from below, from the earth…A person must elevate himself spiritually and by performing good deeds, with the assistance of the might and secret of "Metatron, Minister of Interior"* to the level of the upper lights, the level the sounds of the shofar reach. [999 in gematria] is the angel of Mashiach ben Yosef. His name equals 999 in the sefira Yesod…"Metatron Minister of Interior" the one who brings the sound of the Shofar to Heaven…The abundance of lights which is the ! [999] *sperm of the sefira Yesod*… The unity of the Holy One blessed be He with the Shechina…Engaging in the war against Esau and Ismael…"then the land will be appeased." 155

In this section of *Kol Hator* we see many disturbing elements of rabbinic eschatology. As Messiah ben Joseph, it is *Metatron* who is the mediator between man and God. As *Minister of Interior* it is *Metatron* who brings prayers before the throne in the sound of the shofar. I have already referenced this as one of Itzhak Shapira's teachings from his book, *The Return of the Kosher Pig*, but I mention it here again to show that these esoteric traditions remain the bedrock of Talmudic and kabbalistic millennialism. Shapira can be seen teaching this heretical doctrine in a video presentation titled "Are you Born Again??" where he states that it is through *Yeshua/Metatron* that our prayers are heard. 156

Next we see that Messiah ben Joseph's gematria is 999. In *Kol Hator* this is called "Formula 999" and represents the *unity* of the "Holy One" with "Shechina" through three combinations of letters. The number 999 also relates to the beginning of creation as well as the exact year when *Moshiach* will arrive on the earth. Through the manipulation of numbers using

gematria, the kabbalists have determined the new world order to begin in 2019: this is based on the computation that 2 x 999 and 3 x 666 both equal 1998, then by further adding and subtracting the value of other Hebrew letters to 1998 they arrive at the year 2019, the sum and predicted date of *Moshiach's* arrival. 157

Both contemporary and ancient rabbinic writings such as *Kol Hator* repeatedly cast Messiah ben Joseph as engaging in a war against Esau and Ismael (Ishmael) in order to appease or cleanse the land. Now it is no secret who Ishmael is, but who is Esau? The sages tell us plainly. Esau is Edom and Edom is Rome, specifically Christianity.

"Edom is Esau…Esau/Edom's descendants since Biblical times have been identified with Europe, specifically the empire of Rome. According to the Torah understanding, ancient Rome never actually fell thus leaving the public scene. It was only replaced by the Church… As we know the head of the Church always has been in the city of Rome. Therefore Edom is Rome, Rome is Christianity and thus Edom is all those domains to which the Christianity of Rome has spread." 158

Together, Esau and Ishmael are the *external forces,* the "shells of impurity" that must be deceived – along with the mixed multitude – during the redemption process, as quoted previously:

"The redemption process must proceed in a circuitous manner in order to deceive the "shells of impurity" [the *external forces*] and prevent them from interfering." 159

"The purpose of our work in ingathering the exiles is to set up people of Truth who will promote the unification of both meshichim in the gates of Jerusalem so that the Shechina will return…In all generations, the major tasks of the two meshichim together, Mashiach ben Yosef and Mashiach ben David, are self-defense and to wage war against *the three heads of the outer shells or layers*: *Esau, Ismael and the mixed multitude*. The special task of Mashiach ben Yosef is to counter Esau, the outer shell on the left. The special task of Mashiach ben David against Ismael is to counter Ismael, the outer shell on the right. The two

meshichim together are duty-bound to operate against Esau and Ismael, who are likened to an ox and a donkey of impurity…we must destroy the might of the mixed multitude, the layer of the wicked Armilus, and drive them out of Israel…The mixed multitude is our greatest enemy, for it separates the two meshichim…The two meshichim…are "a scepter and a lawgiver."…They are the holy ox and holy donkey who wage war against the impure ox and impure donkey, i.e., Ismael and Esau…They are the "'feet of God'" that are in Netzach and Hod. They stand firmly in the gates of Jerusalem…The Redemption of Truth can occur only after destroying the *klipah shell/ layer of Esau* that appears in the form of Armilus, the epitome of the truth-hater." 160

Buried deep in the writings of the Mishnah sages, there is yet another mystery concerning Edom or Esau. This is the secret of "The Head of Esau" or "The Beheading of Esau" and refers to the Jewish fable that Esau's death was by decapitation. 161 This tradition is based on a rabbinic commentary of Genesis 50:13 which states, "*In the Cave of Machpelah in Hebron (the burial place of the Patriarchs). . . Esau's head lies in the bosom of Isaac.* (Targum Yonatan, Genesis 50:13) 162 The Targum Yonatan gives no explanation for the addition of this story in relation to the actual events recorded in Genesis 50. However, in the coded language of the rabbis we see that it is closely connected to the ongoing war against Esau/Edom in the *final redemption* process.

"If one wishes to understand the future then one must understand the past; for the future is just its reflection…The great pre-Messianic Tikkun does not occur exclusively in the invisible spiritual dimensions. It has its parallel fulfillments here in our physical world…
Our Sages relate a legend about the death of Esau, who is Edom. The legend states that when Jacob was taken to be buried in Makhpelah that Esau and his clan came to block his interment. This led to a war between the sons of Esau and the sons of Jacob. In this war, Esau himself was killed and decapitated…In the end times, the great battle between Jacob and Esau is to come to its final fruition. Biblical prophecies speak of the resounding defeat of Edom and everything related to it…This does not mean that everyone literally dies, but

rather, that everyone finally is able to *see and receive the Light of Truth* and thus *a new dawn for humanity arises*." 163

In his book, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism*, Gershom Scholem relates the course of apocalyptic events as foretold in the *Zohar*. Following the legends of the Aggadah in the *Babylonian Talmud*, Scholem describes the *redemption* as a process of "gradual illumination of the world by the light of Messiah" that culminates in a *mystic utopia*:

"At the time when the Holy One, blessed be He, shall set Israel upright and bring them up out of Galut He will open to them a small and scant window of light, and then He will open another that is larger, until He will open to the them the portals on high to the four directions of the universe…so shall it be and not at a single instant…" 164

According to the *Zohar*, this same light will be a destructive force to the nations as Israel is propelled to world domination. Scholem continues:

"The Gentiles (who are designated Esau or Edom), however, will suffer the opposite fate. They received their light in this world at a single stroke, but it will depart from them gradually until Israel shall grow strong and destroy them. And when the spirit of uncleanliness shall pass from the world and the divine light shall shine upon Israel without let or hinderance, all things will return to their proper order – to the state of perfection…The worlds will all be joined one to another and nothing will separate Creator from creature. All will rise upward by ascents of the spirit, and creatures will be purified until they behold the Shekhinah 'eye to eye'." 165

The expectation of a golden age of peace and prosperity on earth can be found in nearly every religious system, including some denominations of Christian eschatology. This idealistic dream of an earthly utopian millennium, widely promoted by New Age leaders, has long been the focus of investigation by the church to unlock the identity of *Mystery Babylon* in Revelation 17 and 18. However, its roots can be traced back to ancient Babylon from where it was adopted by the blind leaders of Israel during

their captivity and later codified in the writings of the *Babylonian Talmud* and Kabbalah.

Nearly ten years ago when the Holy Spirit began to reveal to me out of the Scriptures the mysteries of *the great city* Jerusalem, I made efforts to share this information with pastors. In every instance I received the same answer: they could not or would not acknowledge the Biblical evidence pointing to Jerusalem as *Mystery Babylon*, the mother of harlots. This overwhelming response is based in tightly held traditions of men and is often rooted in fear.

Another frequently repeated answer I heard from church leaders was that the city in Revelation 17:18 and chapter 18 is described as reigning over the kings of the earth and governing the wealth of commerce between the nations. Therefore the harlot of Revelation could not possibly be "tiny" Jerusalem. Only New York or some other metropolis could fit the description. Just ten years ago Israel was not considered a global power in the eyes of many. Today this is no longer the case. According to the rabbinic timeline, the *New Age* is upon us. Jerusalem is rising and the entire world is witnessing Israel's technological quantum leap to become the head of the kingdoms of this world.

Chapter 10

The Utopian Kingdom of Kabbalah

Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence. John 18:36

Then the devil, taking Him up on a high mountain, showed Him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the devil said to Him, All this authority I will give You, and their glory; for this has been delivered to me, and I give it to whomever I wish. Therefore, if You will worship before me, all will be Yours. And Jesus answered and said to him, Get behind Me, Satan! For it is written, You shall worship the LORD your God, and Him only you shall serve.
Luke 4:5-8

The opening of the war against Gog and Magog will start with the first redemption before the coming of the righteous mashiach - Mashiach ben David… Anyone who does not participate in the war…is actually becoming a partner of the "layer" of the mixed multitude. Whoever he is, he would have been better off had he not been born." 166

"Jerusalem will become the ideal capital of the new Universal State… Hence, with the advent of the Messiah, who will usher in the ideal era, all the national ensigns and laws, which are barriers to genuine international peace, brotherhood, and the happiness of mankind, will *gradually disappear*. Only the *Messianic flag*, the symbol of knowledge, peace, tranquility of the individual mind, will remain, and all the nations will center round that emblem…All will recognize one flag or standard, bearing *the name of God*…The world will, therefore, unite in praising the Lord for Israel's universalism." Rabbi Michael Higger, *The Jewish Utopia* 167

One of the most revealing contemporary sources concerning the millennial reign of the *Moshiach* in the world to come is Rabbi Michael Higger's controversial book, *The Jewish Utopia*, published in 1932. Higger was a Talmudic scholar and his book is based on rabbinic interpretations of biblical prophecy as set forth in the *Babylonian Talmud*, the *Palestinian Talmud*, the *Midrash* and other apocryphal writings. Many Christians have been alarmed by Higger's Jewish supremacist vision of a future utopian kingdom in which only the *righteous* will be allowed to exist in the *ideal era* on earth; the word *righteous* refers only to those who support a politicized global domination of all other nations by Israel. On page 41 Higger wrote:

"Only those who are convinced of Israel's divine purpose in the world, will be welcome to join Israel in the upbuilding of an ideally spiritual life on earth. Israel, the ideal, righteous people, will thus become spiritually the masters of the world."

The Jewish Utopia is full of such conceptions of a future kingdom which Higger repeatedly describes in terms like the *new order*, the *new age*, an *ideal society*, the *new social order*, the *ideal World*, the *Universal State*, the *super-structure*, *paradise on earth*, a *new economic order*, *universal Israel*, the *Messianic age*, the *Kingdom of God* and the *Rabbinic Utopia*, the supposed seventh millennium. 168

Higger's utopian vision is a call for *reconstruction* which he says can only come from "the Talmud and cognate rabbinic literature." In his opening statements, Higger laments that the kingdom promised by the prophets has not yet been fulfilled on the earth, stating that, "Dogmatic Christianity has come, dogmatic Christianity will be gone." 169 In agreement with the predictions of the *Zohar*, Higger noted that the *redemption* will be a process of "important reforms and changes" in which "wicked people" and "unrighteous nations" – "traditional Edom and Rome" – will "disappear from the earth," eventually ushering in the millennium and the establishment of the *Kingdom of God*. 170

Similarly, as presented in the writings of Kabbalah, according to Higger it is *Leviathan* that will symbolize a new world order of socialism in which "the

righteous will prosper and the wicked suffer." As a rabbinic voice of the Talmudic sages, Higger decreed that *righteousness* alone will be the currency of the coming kingdom.

> **"The Leviathan is thus a universal symbol of the new era in which the *righteous* will prosper and the *wicked* suffer. The Leviathan, furthermore, is the emblem of the ideal age, when *this world will become the home of the righteous*. It is an ideal symbol of *a new economic order in the world*, when *righteousness* will be one's only requisite for acceptance unto the realm of happiness and prosperity."** 171

What is most notable about Higger's *Jewish Utopia* is that he understood what many Christians today do not: the diametric opposition of a future earthly kingdom of God in Israel as hoped for by the rabbis to that of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ who said to Pilate before His crucifixion, "My kingdom is not of this world." In the final chapter of his book, Higger discusses the "Jewish conception of the Kingdom of God" versus the "dogmatic doctrine of the Kingdom in the New Testament." 172

To show the conflict between these two kingdoms, Higger in fact quoted the very words of Jesus to Pilate in John 18:36, "My kingdom is not of this world," as well as those of Paul the Apostle who said in 1 Corinthians 15:50, "Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit corruption."

Blinded by his rejection of Jesus Christ as the Messiah, Higger wrote that there is no "continuation of the prophetic hope" in the Kingdom Jesus offered, but that "rabbinic Judaism is directly following the footsteps of the prophets, with regard to their ideology of the Kingdom of God on earth." 173 Higger was right about one thing: the Babylonian Talmudic worldly kingdom of Kabbalah is at enmity with the true Kingdom of God, of which Jesus Christ was the complete fulfillment. In his misappropriation of Biblical prophecy Higger, like the rabbis before him, has fulfilled the Apostle Paul's words in Acts 13:

For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew Him not, *nor yet the voices of the prophets* which are read every sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning Him…And we declare unto you glad tidings, how that the *promise which was made to the fathers*, God hath fulfilled the same. Acts 13:27, 32-33

Little by little, one *footstep* at a time, we are witnessing the gradual transformation of the Gospel with the central focus and position of Jesus Christ in Scripture slowly being replaced by another *gospel*, another *spirit*, another *Jesus*, and another *kingdom*. Like Rabbi Higger, Rabbi Itzhak Shapira places earthly Jerusalem, along with the sacrificial system of the old covenant, front and center in his *kingdom* eschatology.

In a video presentation titled "The Fullness of the Gentiles" Shapira states that "King Messiah will be ruling in Jerusalem" and that "they [the nations] will receive correction" as they are "restored fully into the Hebraic faith." He states this will be "a Jewish worship experience" that includes animal sacrifices in the temple with a remnant of Gentiles from the nations – "those who are left" – coming to Jerusalem to bow down to the "lord king" and "celebrate" the sacrifices. Shapira says this is the "one new man" (Ephesians 2:15) when God will judge the nations and they receive a "new revelation" as "the Jewish people will teach the world how to worship the Messiah." 174

Jesus said to her, Woman, believe Me, the hour is coming when you will neither on this mountain, nor in Jerusalem worship the Father. You worship what you do not know; we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour is coming, and now is, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father is seeking such to worship Him. God is a Spirit, and those who worship Him must worship in spirit and in truth. John 4:21-24

It may come as a shock to many Christians to discover in Revelation 11:8 that Jesus refers to earthly Jerusalem as "the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified." In Galatians 4:25-26 the Apostle Paul makes clear that Jerusalem "which now is" is in bondage, but that Jerusalem which is above is free, the "mother of us all."

This truth is further explained by Paul in Hebrews 11-13 where he writes of the heavenly city which Abraham sought and that *here we have no continuing city*, but we seek one to come; the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, whose builder and maker is God. Yet how many today have set their eyes and their hearts on earthly Jerusalem as the eternal capital city and future kingdom of God?

The rabbis of Kabbalah teach that the seventh millennium will be the great *Shabbat*, a time of peace when all nations will worship the *divine presence* in Jerusalem; but at what cost? In *The Jewish Utopia* Jerusalem is called the dwelling place of glory, "the holy city" where the temple will be established "in the midst thereof." In the *ideal era* to come Higger stated, "Israel, having attained perfection, must ultimately have a far reaching influence on the course of the destiny of nations. In the rabbinic terminology, *the spiritual fire of Israel will devour the wicked nations*." 175 In a chilling statement that sounds like something out of the Book of Revelation, Higger wrote the following:

> **"To understand the rabbinic conception of an ideal world it will help us if we imagine a hand passing from land to land, from country to country, from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the Indian Ocean to the North Pole, marking "righteous" or "wicked" on the forehead of each one of the sixteen million inhabitants of our earthly globe. We should then be on the right road toward solving the major problems that burden so heavily the shoulders of suffering humanity. For mankind should be divided into two, and only two, distinct and unmistakable groups, namely, righteous and wicked…Consequently, in the ideal era, *there will be no people who will believe in the division of the Godhead into two or more parts, or persons. Only those peoples who believe in one God will survive in the ideal world.*"** 176

Higger's rabbinic conception of an ideal society, as outlined in the *Babylonian Talmud* and Kabbalah, is a call for the complete destruction of those individuals and nations who will not assist in the "upbuilding" of a utopian kingdom in Israel; namely Esau and Edom, Christianity and Islam. Rabbi Shapira appears to agree. Relying on rabbinic commentary, he stated

in a message that in the future *Hashem* will take revenge on Edom and the nations, not on Israel, and his clothes will be red from the blood of the nations being poured out. 177 According to Shapira, Esau represents "the spirit of Christianity today," while "Islam is the spirit of Edom." Shapira then tells his audience they better make sure they are "grafted into Israel," adding that "if you reject the revelation of Israel, you in essence join yourself to Edom." 178

In a 2017 interview with Rabbi Jonathan Bernis and Benny Hinn, Rabbi Shapira gave a similar message, stating that at the great and terrible day of the Lord, the Lord will come out of Edom and crush Edom, which is Christianity. Not only does Shapira tell his audience that Christianity is Edom, but that *Yeshua* is also Esau. He deduces this through a configuration of gematria by "flipping" the letters of Esau around to form the name *Yeshua*. According to Shapira, *Yeshua* has been a prisoner in a foreign land, in Edom with the Christians, but will soon come out of Edom, crush Christianity, and return to Zion. Therefore, he says we need to make sure we get the "real" *Yeshua* and hasten his return by *relearning the story of the gospel*. It is noteworthy that Jonathan Bernis adds that Israel is becoming the head, not the tail, through technology, cyberwarfare and through military export, implying that this is the means through which *Yeshua* will fight against the Gentile nations. 179

For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified…And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power.
1 Corinthians 2:2, 4

It is not surprising that some Christian leaders have described Itzhak Shapira as a modern-day Apostle Paul, having been impressed by his "encyclopedic knowledge of rabbinic sources." *The Return of the Kosher Pig* is endorsed by an equally impressive list of rabbis and Christian ministers like Dr. Michael Brown who praises the book, while ignoring its obvious propagation of Babylonian Jewish mysticism and Kabbalah. 180 However, there are many in the Jewish community who are at odds with Shapira's application of the *kosher pig* to *Yeshua* as the Messiah.

One Orthodox Jewish writer – Menashe Dovid – states in an online review of Shapira's book, "Nowhere is there a connection between any Messiah and a pig in any writings of the Lubavicher Rebbe and the writings of the Sages." Dovid goes on to explain that the Midrash contains multiple interpretations in reference to the pig becoming *kosher* in the messianic era; some literal, some allegorical. He then notes, "However, the major personality who was associated with the pig was Esau in particular, and, eventually, the Romans (his descendants) in general." Citing the Midrash, he writes, "Some of the Rishonim [early Hebrew scholars] explained that the return of the pig does not refer to eating pork, but rather to the restoration of the Jewish government in place of the Christian one." 181

An alternative explanation of the pig becoming *kosher* as expounded by 13th Century Rabbi Bachaya has Edom – Rome – "returning" to build a Third Temple as an act of recompense for their destruction of the Second Temple. Yet another opinion of the rabbis reads, "Why is this nation [Edom – Rome] compared to a pig? Because G-d will, in the future, turn (lit. return) upon them the attribute of judgment." 182

Menashe Dovid then asks the rhetorical question, "What has the above got to do with the kosher pig being Jesus/Yeshua and Jews having to accept Jesus as a divine messiah?" He explains, "The answer is that there is no connection between a messiah let alone a divine messiah and the return of the pig or that the pig is the messiah." 183 It is obvious that neither Dovid nor the Talmudic rabbis over the course of history ever associated the idea of the pig becoming *kosher* to a future divine messianic figure. The opposite is true. If there is any common theme in the rabbinic literature concerning the mysterious identity and future of the *kosher* pig, it is that the Christian faith will undergo a *transformational shift* through the rejection of Jesus Christ as the Messiah!

One of Judaism's most admired rabbis and scholars was Moses Maimonides, also known as the Rambam and author of the *Mishneh Torah*. In a lecture presented by Jews for Judaism, Rabbi Michael Skobac stated, "Maimonides wrote in the 12th Century that Christianity and Islam are actually preparing the world for the ultimate truth and this will lead to either the universal embrace of the Noahide path or potentially conversion to

Judaism." 184 A staunch opponent of the writings of the Apostle Paul, Skobac believes that the only "acceptable spiritual path" for non-Jews envisioned by Judaism is the "*default*" universal spiritual path of the Noahide Code; another Babylonian tradition of the rabbis which is nowhere found in the Bible! 185

As much as some Christians would like to believe in the return of a *kosher pig* named *Yeshua*, it is certain that this will not be Jesus Christ, the Son of God of the New Covenant. It is also clear in the Talmud and Kabbalah that the rabbis did not have Jesus in mind as the Messiah in their codified writings, though they may have conferred such a title on *Metatron*.

What is paramount in these ancient oracles of the *kosher pig* is a collective vision of the destruction of Christianity that has long been held in secrecy. It is hard to overlook the recurrent theme of war that the sages say must precede the peaceful *Shabbat* of the 7th millennium. Either way one views the return of a *kosher pig*, the picture is a dim one at best. What much of apocalyptic rabbinic literature does signify is a plan concerning the *influence on the course of the destiny of nations* that includes a global paradigm shift as a result of the transformation of the Christian faith through the rejection of Jesus Christ as the Messiah.

"In fact if the midrashim are anything to go by, Esav is the pig which represents in a historical time line: pagan Rome, Christian Rome and *present day worldwide Christianity at large* which includes messianic Judaism, which *in the end undergo a transformation which renders them Kosher by their rejection of Yeshua*." 186

Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?
Luke 18:8

Chapter 11

The Testimony of Jesus: The Seal of Truth

I am thy fellowservant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy. Revelation 19:10

But when the Helper comes, whom I shall send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, He will testify of Me. John 15:26

Some Christians know that Satan is forming a world government (New World Order) which he plans to rule from modern Israel through the coming false Jewish Messiah…What most Christians don't know is that the apostate Church will not only be a partner in this New World Order, but is even now working toward its creation. 'Evangelical churches will be the chief instrument to bring the New World Order to birth.' " 187

The four Gospels of the New Testament record the complete fulfillment of the ministry and testimony of Jesus Christ in His death, burial and resurrection. 2 Corinthians 15:1-4 tells us exactly what the Gospel is according to the scriptures. "Moreover, brethren, I declare to you the gospel which I preached to you, which also you received and in which you stand, by which also you are saved, if you hold fast that word which I preached to you—unless you believed in vain….*that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures.*"

As Jesus was hanging on the cross, the accusation for His death was placed over His head: THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS. Those standing by, including the chief priests and scribes, scorned Him with their words. If He would come down from the cross and save Himself, then they would believe in Him. How could this man be the Son of God, who dared

to say “Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.” This was not the political *Messiah* of Israel they were looking for. Where was the kingdom? Had not Moses and the prophets foretold it? Had not God promised earthly dominion to Israel and appointed Zion as a *light* to the Gentiles? (Isaiah 49:6)

The *Spirit of prophecy* testifies that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and the fulfillment of all the promises of God. In Luke 1:41 upon hearing Mary’s greeting, Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit and prophesied, saying, “Blessed is she that believed, for there will be a *performance* of those things which were told her from the Lord.” This word *performance* means *the act or completion of prophecy, verification of, absolution*, and *perfection*; a perfect and complete work that continues to this day. Mary’s response to Elisabeth was, “He hath holpen (helped) His servant Israel, in *remembrance* of His mercy; As He *spoke to our fathers, to Abraham*, and to His seed for ever.”

Continuing in Luke, we read the prophecy of Zacharias, priest of the Temple service and father of John the Baptist. “Blessed is the Lord God of Israel, for He *has visited and redeemed* His people, and *raised up a horn of salvation* for us in the house of His servant David; As He spoke by the mouth of *His holy prophets*, who have been since the world began: To perform the mercy *promised to our fathers*, and to *remember His holy covenant*; *The oath which He swore to our father Abraham*.” (Verses 68-70, 72-73)

There is also the prophecy of Simeon in the Temple who said, “Lord, now You are letting Your servant depart in peace, According to Your word; For *my eyes have seen Your salvation*, Which You have prepared before the face of all peoples; *A light to bring revelation to the Gentiles*, and the glory of Your people Israel.” (Luke 2:29-32) And at that moment when Simeon spoke, the prophetess Anna testified of Christ “to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem.” (Verse 38) All of these were waiting for and saw the promise of God’s redemption.

For this cause therefore have I called for you, to see you, and to speak with you: because that for *the hope of Israel* I am bound with this

chain. Acts 28:20

When the Apostle Paul was brought before King Agrippa at Caesarea, he informed the king that he was being judged for *the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers* and that it was this *hope* for which he was accused of the Jews. (Acts 26:6) Recounting his own testimony of meeting Christ in a vision on the way to Damascus, Paul confessed in defense of his charges that he had said nothing except those things *which the prophets and Moses* said should come; That Christ would suffer, that He should be the first to rise from the dead, and that He would proclaim light to the people – Israel – and to the Gentiles. (Acts 26:22-23 in fulfillment of Isaiah 49:6 & 60:3)

Standing before the high priest Ananias and the Jewish council, Paul testified, "Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: concerning *the hope and resurrection of the dead* I am being judged." (Acts 23:6) Then at his trial before Felix the governor, accused of sedition and defiling the Temple, Paul affirmed his faith in the God of his fathers and those things written in *the law and the prophets*; the hope toward God of the resurrection of the dead. (Acts 24:15, 21; Daniel 12:2)

Christian author Philip Mauro noted that this *hope*, repeatedly testified of by Paul, is the true *Hope of Israel* and that it was for this *hope* that the Apostle was accused, tried and sent to Rome in chains. Mauro's book, *The Hope of Israel*, was published in 1929 as a biblical response to this very question: *What is the true hope of Israel*? For Mauro, the answer to this question concerned the vital truth of the gospel of Christ and the salvation of men and women, both Jew and Gentile:

"Jewish fables (literally, *myths*) are no new thing. Paul has plainly warned the household of faith not to give heed thereto…it is well known that the one [fable] that was most fondly cherished, and that constituted the gravest menace to the truth of the gospel, was the notion that the leading purpose of the mission of the coming Messiah would be the reconstitution of the Jewish nation and its elevation to the highest pinnacle of earthly dominion and glory; for that fatuous doctrine was the cornerstone of orthodox Judaism in Paul's day; and because of his

sturdy opposition to it he was persecuted, his enemies plotted to take his life, and he was sent a prisoner to Rome. No wonder that, during the term of his imprisonment there, he wrote to Titus his plain-spoken warning against 'Jewish fables.' " 188

This Jewish fable of an earthly *kingdom* and a return to the Old Testament sacrificial system in an earthly temple is still the cornerstone of today's Orthodox Judaism, having taken firm root in Evangelical Christianity decades ago through the Scofield Study Bible.

The Scofield Bible was first published in 1909 by Oxford University Press and then disseminated into American seminaries and churches. It has since swept many Christians under its spell through Scofield's heretical notes and false teachings of *two covenants*, *two kingdoms* and *two brides*: "The Lamb's wife…the Church, identified with the heavenly Jerusalem and to be distinguished from Israel" and "the wife of Jehovah, yet to be restored, who is identified with the earth [Israel]." 189 What is not commonly known is that Scofield's book was financed by high-level Zionist bankers and socialists, including Jacob Schiff. It was then liberally circulated in American seminaries and Bible colleges throughout America, a fact that should be critically pondered as to why. 190

Philip Mauro specifically challenged the Scofield Reference Bible as the "leading authority for this new system of teaching" which states "When Christ appeared to the Jewish people, the next thing in the order of revelation as it then stood should have been the setting up of the Davidic Kingdom." 191 Yet as Mauro points out, this radical statement subverts the Word of God in that it "removes the sacrifice of the Lamb of God from its central place in God's eternal plan" from the foundation of the world! (Revelation 13:8)

It should not be difficult to see the mark of Satan in these doctrines. And while the Scofield Bible may be a dated book used by ministers long gone, its fruit continues to be a main staple of evangelical eschatology, reproducing a false Israel-centric gospel that attempts to supersede the centrality of Jesus Christ in the Scriptures. For anyone who insists on clinging to the fable of a future glorious kingdom in today's earthly

Jerusalem, it should be noted that Scofield's reference note to Zechariah 9:9 states that Jesus was "*so little deceived*" by His apparent reception as King, that this caused Him to weep over Jerusalem, which in turn led Him to announce the destruction of the city for Israel's rejection of their Messiah, as if this was an afterthought brought on by deception!

At the end of his ministry in Rome, Paul called the leaders of the Jews together where he explained to them the *Kingdom of God* as concerning Jesus Christ, *both out of the law of Moses, and out of the prophets*. (Acts 28:17-23) While some believed, others did not and there was a division among them. Had Paul spoken of an earthly kingdom through which Israel would rule the nations, they would have gladly received his testimony. But the Kingdom which Paul spoke of is a spiritual kingdom, one which *flesh and blood cannot inherit* and into which none can enter or ever see apart from being born again, from above, by the *Spirit*; for that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. (1 Corinthians 15:50, John 3:3-6) This is the true *mystery of godliness*, that every person born of the *Spirit* has been delivered from the power of darkness – out of the jurisdiction of the *god of this world* – and translated into the Kingdom of His dear Son, Jesus Christ! (Colossians 1:13, 1 Timothy 3:16)

He that cometh from above is above all: he that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: he that cometh from heaven is above all…He that hath received his testimony hath set to his seal that God is true. John 3:31, 33

The maxim of the kabbalistic kingdom of god on earth is *As Above, So Below* and denotes that man is divine through the *spark* of the creator within. This subtle lie of the serpent, first appearing in Genesis chapter three, has never changed. In Kabbalah it is expressed in the ascending spheres of the *Sefirot* tree and the interconnection of man below with *Ein Sof* above. The kingdom above and the kingdom below are *one*. All that is needed to merge these two kingdoms outwardly is for an enlightened humanity to repair the world through *tikkun olam*. This is the *correction* that Kabbalah will bring.

“The wisdom of Kabbalah, as defined by the greatest Kabbalists, is a method to correct man and the world… If Kabbalah will spread amongst people, then we will avoid all the catastrophes, we will merit both this world and the world to come, and both of these worlds will unite into one…Only the dissemination of Kabbalah will save the world.” 192

This doctrine of an interconnected universe (*olam*), rooted in the philosophical systems of ancient Egypt and Babylon, is the explicit teaching of the rabbis referenced in *The Return of the Kosher Pig*. Shapira himself has stated “That the reason the Messiah has not come yet is because the kingdom below has not been established, and only when the kingdom below is being established, then the kingdom above can be merging into the kingdom below…There has to be some sort of connection of the two kingdoms from above and below.” 193 In other words, our works (*mitzvot*) determine the time of Messiah’s arrival.

The rabbis agree. The overspreading of Kabbalah on a global scale will hasten the coming of *Moshiach*. In his “Appendix List of Rabbis,” Shapira includes Rabbi Yehuda Leiv Halevi Ashlag and Rabbi Michael Lietman (aka Laitman). Rabbi Ashlag, known as the Baal HaSulam (1884-1954), is most revered in Judaism for his commentary on the *Zohar* and dedicated his life to the dissemination of Kabbalah throughout Israel and the nations. 194 In a work titled *The Horn of Messiah*, Ashlag wrote:

“And the dissemination of the wisdom in the masses is called a *Shofar*. Like the *Shofar*, whose voice travels a great distance, the echo of the wisdom will spread all over the world…the nations will hear and acknowledge that there is Godly wisdom in Israel.” 195

Ashlag also said that this revelation of Kabbalah to the masses is the proclamation of Elijah the prophet, forerunner of the *Moshiach*.

“And that role was said about Elijah the prophet, that the disclosure of the secrets of Torah, is always referred to by the name: The disclosure of Elijah. As our sages said…until Elijah comes and the Tishbite would answer questions and problems. Therefore they said that three days

(which is a famous hint) before the coming of the Messiah, Elijah shall walk upon the summit of the mountains and blow a great horn etc. and you shall understand that the horn is nothing but the divulgation of the wisdom of the hidden in the masses, which is a necessary precondition that must be before the complete redemption." 196

The parallels between these words and those of Daniel 7:25 and Revelation 13:5-13 are striking. Surely the prophets of Kabbalah speak great words against the *Most High*!

Rabbi Laitman is listed in Shapira's Appendix of Rabbis as the founder and director of Bnei Baruch Kabbalah Education & Research Institute which is "dedicated to teaching and sharing the wisdom of Kabbalah." 197 Laitman refers to Yehuda Ashlag as "the greatest Kabbalist of the 20th century" and a "special tool that creates a connection between us, those who are below and those who are above." 198 On his web profile page Laitman notes that he was the personal assistant and student of the late Yehuda Ashlag's son, Kabbalist Rav Baruch Shalom Ashlag (the Rabash), for twelve years. I have previously quoted Michael Laitman above as forecasting that the world is approaching *the correction* and that mankind, through the *one language* of Kabbalah, will unite by returning to *Babylon*. As host of "the largest website on Kabbalah" Laitman states, "I am committed to continue in the footsteps of my teachers, Baal HaSulam and Rabash, to publicly and openly disseminate Kabbalah to anyone who wishes to know it…This process is of the utmost importance to the future of Israel and the world at large." 199 In his article, *The Horn Of The Messiah Is A Call For Unity*, Laitman writes:

"[The] system we live in is being revealed as a network that lacks the right interconnection…Today, the whole world is beginning to work for the Creator. The whole world – which comprises one soul – must ascend up the spiritual degrees all the way to the World of Infinity… This is called, 'the coming of the Messiah,' and the dissemination of the wisdom of Kabbalah to the whole world is called, 'the horn of the Messiah.' " 200

This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief. 1 Timothy 1:15

The true hope of Israel and the nations is the blood of the covenant of the Lamb of God, Jesus Christ, which He fulfilled in His death, burial and resurrection. It is not the false ideology of an occult kingdom unified and built on the foundations of sorcery and vain prognostications of soothsaying rabbis like those listed in Shapira's book. Yet Shapira has told his followers that "the New Covenant is yet to be fulfilled, and it will be only completely fulfilled when Yeshua's glorious return," adding that ***"nobody in the room should be very excited now and say I'm saved, because covenant is not done with an individual, covenant is done with the corporate."*** 201

Relying heavily on rabbinic testimonies cited in his book, Shapira has stated, "The key message of the good news is not the gospel of salvation, but rather the gospel of the kingdom." 202 In a "Message to the Church for the last days" Shapira told his audience, "The message is the message of a *kingdom*" as he prayed over those in attendance who "understand that they are in the business of the kingdom, they are not in the business of salvation." 203 After announcing that the New Covenant is yet to be fulfilled, Shapira encouraged his listeners to imagine what will happen "if one billion Christians will *hold and return* to the covenants…an *awakening* from the Christian world, a real awakening to *return* to the covenants. *Yeshua* will surely come. This is your purpose." 204

Reinforcing the *purpose* of the nations to bring the *Moshiach* to Israel, Shapira once again clarifies the identity of the kosher pig *Yeshua*, stating, "…but if you bring Jesus, you bring the wrong guy. Don't bring us Jesus… Bring the real *Yeshua*, the Jewish Messiah." 205 Concluding his message to the Church, Shapira then affirms those who know the time and hear *the sound of the shofar*! 206

It is remarkable that the rabbis referenced in Shapira's book equate the global initiation of humanity into Kabbalah with the coming of Elijah as prophesied in Malachi 3:1-3 and 4:5-6. In doing so, they are desperately

trying to fulfill prophetic events that have already occurred by attempting to produce a prophetic forerunner to their *Moshiach*.

Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even *the messenger of the covenant,* whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the LORD of hosts. Malachi 3:1

Based on the plainly spoken testimony of Jesus, John the Baptist was the fulfillment of this prophecy in Malachi. In Matthew 17:10-13, having just witnessed the transfiguration of Jesus, His disciples asked Him, "Why then do the scribes say that Elijah must come first?" Then Jesus answered them, "Indeed, Elijah is coming first and will restore all things. But I say to you that *Elijah has come already*, and they did not know him but did to him whatever they wished. Likewise the Son of Man is also about to suffer at their hands." Then the disciples understood that He spoke to them of John the Baptist.

In Luke 1:16-17 the angel of the Lord appeared to John's father, Zacharias, declaring John's ministry to prepare the way of the Lord as the fulfillment of Malachi 4:5-6, "And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God. And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord." This prophetic fulfillment is further revealed in Matthew 3:3, "For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight," and in the words of John who proclaimed the baptism of fire, fulfilling Malachi's prophecy that the Lord Jesus would be "refiner's fire" and a "purifier of silver." (Matthew 3:11-12, Malachi 3:2-3)

In Matthew 11:10 Jesus quoted Malachi 3:1 concerning John the Baptist, "For this is he, of whom it is written, Behold, I send My messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee." In verses 13 and 14 He said, "For all the prophets and the law prophesied *until John*, and if you will receive it, *this is Elias,* which was to for come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." In saying this, Jesus was publicly confirming Himself as the Messiah of Israel who came exactly as the prophets had said, with John the

Baptist, *the messenger and forerunner*, going before Him to prepare the way! As the forerunner of the Messiah, John the Baptist was rejected by the elite rulers of the day, thrown into prison and beheaded. If the leaders of Israel could not accept Jesus, they surely could not accept John as Elijah. Elijah came and they knew him not!

The idea that Elijah will come again in the future, before the second coming of Christ has been deeply embedded into Christian eschatology, but has it source in rabbinic literature. We have seen how "Elijah" is woven into the mystical experiences of rabbis like Isaac Luria, where it is said the prophet appeared to him as the revealer of Torah secrets. We also saw that there is a "famous hint" that alludes to a three-day time period when Elijah will appear before the *Moshiach*. According to Jewish tradition, this mythical Elijah is repeatedly referred to as *The Harbinger*. 207 As forerunner and disseminator of Kabbalah, he will herald the *redemption* in the *footsteps of Moshiach* and execute the destruction of Edom:

"On the second day Elijah comes and stands on the mountains of Israel and says: 'Goodness has come to the world,' as it is said, *The Harbinger of goodness*." 208

"When the time for Redemption arrives, it is Elijah who introduces the Messiah to the people…In the critical period of forty-five days between the death of Messiah ben Joseph and the appearance of Messiah ben David…three days prior to the coming of the Messiah, Elijah announces the advent of the Redeemer from the mountains of Israel, slaughters the celestial prince of Edom (Rome), becomes the spokesman of Moses, settles all the disputes, and pleads Israel's case before God." 209

The magic of Kabbalah has been described as *matter manipulation*; the ability to recast the course of events in the physical realm through sorcery. Jesus referred to this as false prophets showing great signs and wonders. There is nowhere in the Bible that states we have to do anything to bring Jesus back, much less merge the kingdom above with the kingdom below. Revelation 18:23 says, "For by thy sorceries were all nations deceived." If the prophets of Kabbalah are ever successful in producing a forerunner to

their *Moshiach*, he will be more akin to the false prophet of Revelation 13:13 who makes fire come down from heaven *above*, causing those on earth *below* to worship the beast; as also prophesied by Rabbi Higger, "In the rabbinic terminology, *the spiritual fire of Israel will devour the wicked nations*."
In an attempt to fulfill prophecy that has already been fulfilled, the rabbis of Kabbalah and Talmud, of necessity and at the behest of *Ein Sof* (Lucifer), must always push prophecy into the distant future; for Satan has said, "I will be like the Most High God!" In so doing, they shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: they neither go in themselves, nor do they allow them who are entering to go in! (Matthew 23:13) They proclaim a false *redemption* that will never come, because it has already come!

In Luke 16:16 Jesus said, "The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man is pressing into it." The Kingdom of God continues to advance by the working of the Holy Spirit and the response of faith by those – Jew and Gentile – who believe the gospel as preached by John the Baptist and fulfilled in Jesus Christ, the true Messiah from beginning to end.

The Seal of Righteousness versus the Mark of Death

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ…*In whom we have redemption through His blood*, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace...In whom also we have obtained an inheritance…in whom also after that ye believed, *ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise*.
Ephesians 1:3, 7, 11, 13

There is a fantastical fable in the *Zohar* that tells the story of creation according to the Kabbalah. When the "*Divine Being*…willed to create the world" each letter of the Hebrew alphabet appeared before him in reverse order, requesting to be the first one used in the creation process. 210 As the last of the twenty-two letters, *Tav* presented first:

"The letter Tau advanced in front and pleaded: May it please Thee, O Lord of the world, to place me first in the creation of the world, seeing

that I am the concluding letter of EMeTh (Truth) *which is engraved upon Thy seal*, and seeing that Thou art called by this very name of EMeTh, it is most appropriate for the King to begin with the final letter of EMeTh and to create with me the world. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to her: Thou art worthy and deserving, but it is not proper that I begin with thee the creation of the world, since thou art destined to serve as *a mark on the foreheads of the faithful ones* (vide Ezek. IX, 4) who have kept the Law from Aleph to Tau, and *through the absence of this mark the rest will be killed*; and, further, thou formest the conclusion of MaWeTh (death). Hence thou art not meet to initiate the creation of the world… ת*Tav is the end of the seal* of the Holy One, blessed be He…'The seal of the Holy One, blessed be He, is emeth [truth]…It denotes the people who fulfilled the Torah from א alef to ת tav.' " 211
One by one the letters ascended:

"*TZ* then went before him, saying: 'Because I mark the *Zaddikim* (the righteous), and thou thyself nearest me in thy name, Zaddik (righteous), and also it is written "*The righteous Lord loveth righteousness*,"…it will become thee to create the world by me'…Then said the Holy One: "Zaddi, Zaddi, thou art truly righteous, but thou must keep thyself concealed, and thy occult meaning must not be made known or become revealed; and therefore thou must not be used in the creation of the world." 212

This legend of the *mystical alphabet* reveals the secrets of the se*al* and *mark* of Satan who is a murderer *from the beginning* and the father of lies! (John 8:44-45) The *Zohar* plainly states that the *righteous* are those who keep the law from *Aleph* to *Tav*, from beginning to end. The fairy tale ends with *Ein Sof* choosing *Beth* (B) to create the world, yet *Aleph* (A) is honored as the seal of *unity*, added to every created thing to signify the *oneness* of *Ein Sof* with his creation from the *beginning*.

"Then came B and said: 'Create the world by me, because I am the initial letter of beracha (blessing) and through me all will bless thee, both in *the world above as in the world below*." "Truly, Oh B," said the Holy One, "I will surely create the world by thee only."

“Aleph, Aleph! Thou shalt be the first of all letters and *my unity shall be symbolized* only by thee. In all conceptions and ideas human or divine…shalt thou be the first, the beginning.”

“Therefore did the holy one make the letters of the celestial alphabet… Therefore also the Book of Genesis begins with two words…Braeshith, Bara (in the beginning created) followed by two others, whose initials are A…Alhim, ath (God, the substance of) to show that the letters of these alphabets celestial and earthly are *one and the same* by which every creature and thing in the universe has been formed and produced.” 213

The *Zohar* further reveals that “the redemption of Israel will come about through the mystic force of the letter *vav*, namely, in the sixth millennium.” 214 Recalling that the Hebrew letter *Vav* has the numerical value of 6, we will now see how the *Vav*, in the form of ו ו ו or **666**, has been mystically inserted into the *Shema Yisrael* prayer and is engraved in the Tefillin, the cube-shaped phylactery worn on the head while reciting the *Shema*.
The *Shema* is a traditional Jewish prayer taken from the following four texts: Exodus 13:1-10, Exodus 13:11-16, Deuteronomy 6:4-9 and Deuteronomy 11:13-21. The verses are recited twice daily, in the morning and the evening, and are a testament to the glory of God and His enduring faithfulness to His people. The most well known verse of the *Shema* is in the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy. When Jesus was asked by a Pharisee, which is the greatest commandment, He quoted Deuteronomy 6:5, “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.” The plain meaning of the verse could not be clearer. However, like the Pharisees, the kabbalist rabbis imposed their traditions and interpretations into the Scriptures long ago as a secret link to *god*, thereby elevating themselves above the people and nullifying the Word of God.

In Kabbalah the *Vav* represents the complete connection of everything in the universe and is symbolic of the first six words in the Genesis account of creation. The sixth word in Genesis is ואת, *Vav*, *Aleph*, *Tav*; “the *Vav* connects the heavens and the earth.” 215 On the sixth day of creation God

created man in his own image. (Genesis 1:27) The opening verse of the *Shema* in Deuteronomy 6:4 also contains six words (ד אח יהוה אלהינו יהוה ישראל עשמ) and according to Kabbalah, the prayer has a gematria of **666**, denoting the time of *Moshiach's* arrival.

"The significance of this lies in the Zohar's explanation of the coming of Moshiach and the end of the 4th exile at the end of the 70 years… from Israel's statehood in 1948…The Shema is about bringing Mashiach Ben David…In this case the word value 50 is coupled with word for "the time" or "the days"…[and] has the numerical value of 666. Thus, together, they give us the equation 50 x 66.6 jubilee years= 3330 years, which, as we've said, is the exact period of time from the first exodus and the reception of the Torah at Sinai when the tree-of-life was last offered to us in 2448 to the year 5778 [2018], which the *tzaddikim* have long known will be the next cosmic window for the Tree-of-life reality." 216

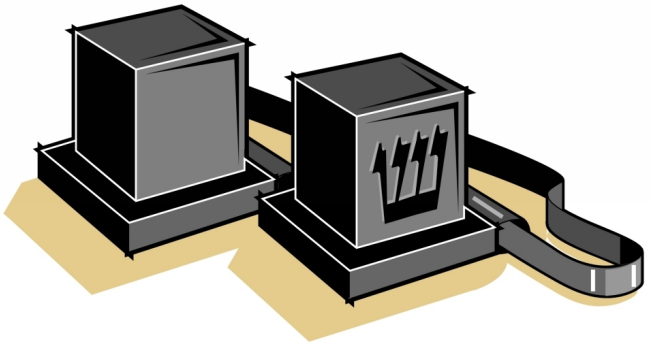
Tefillin are a set of two black cubes containing the Scripture passages of the *Shema*. The cubes are bound to the forehead and arm while reciting the *Shema* in an outward display of obedience to Deuteronomy 6:8, "And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes." (See Matthew 23:5) The ritual of putting on Tefillin is a *mitzvot* and binding seal on the person which connects the worlds above with the world below, as well as the world to come. 217

The cube is symbolic of the occult image of *Zeir Anpin*, the six-sided celestial creature *Metatron*, and represents the six directions of the universe; *above*, *below*, *north*, *south*, *east* and *west*. According to Kabbalah, all physical objects, including man, have these *six* sides. As the number 6, the *Vav* represents the completion of man, as seen in the *god-man* image of the Tetragrammaton shown above where the *Vav* connects the upper *Hé* and the lower *Hé* in the name YHVH.

"The elemental cube was constructed of a *Vav* (ו) in its length, width and height and thus numerically 6 x 6 x 6…when the Zohar refers to this cube shape…it most often describes it as the 6 directions… referring to the 6 directions of *Zeir Anpin* formed by the letter *Vav* (ו) of the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) as it entered and created our 3-dimension space." 218

Tefillin is a sign or mark of "connecting to the Infinite" through *mitzvot*. 219 The ritual of Tefillin also completes the *unification* of *Zeir Anpin* and *Shekhinah*, that part of *god* waiting to be redeemed from the pit by the assistance of those who invoke her in unison! The following excerpt from kabbalahsecrets.com explains:

"The last word of the 6 word verse is *Echad*…if we sum their standard gematria value (YHVH, YHVH and Echad) we get…the numerical value of Adonai, the pronounceable aspect (counterpart) of the YHVH, thus completing the all-important unification of Zeir Anpin and Malchut (Heaven and Earth if you will) and/or of G-d and the Shechina, the male and female aspects of G-d. This is the spiritual unification, which if injected into our lives and our daily dealings will help bring about the end of exile and the final redemption. This is why the complete (ordinal plus standard gematria) value of the initials of all 6 words is 385, the numerical value of the Shechina, the female or earthly (divine presence) aspect of G-d. It is also one of the reasons why the Shema verse begins with the letter Shin from Shechina (*ShCYNH*) and ends with Dalet or numerical value 4, kabbalistically signifying the 4 letters of the YHVH…This will bring about the transition into the tree-of-life…If there is one prayer that ALL (*kol*) Israel says it is the *Shema Ysrael*. Let it be with the consciousness to bring Oneness and Moshiach." 220



In Judaism Tefillin is known as the “Mark of HaShem” and “an intimate connection between HaShem and His people.” 221 This connection is symbolized in the *vav*, *vav*, *vav* (**666**) that is engraved in the Tefillin cube worn on the forehead. On one side of the cube is the Hebrew letter *shin* ש. On the other side of the cube there is a four-headed *shin*, which is not a letter, but a mystical sign that conceals the number **666**.

Rabbi Zamir Cohen, chairman of Hidabroot, the world’s largest Jewish TV network, explains the meaning behind Tefillin. 222 In a television presentation titled “Tefillin – What is their Meaning and How Do We Wear

Them?" Cohen describes the black boxes in spiritual and scientific terms. He states that the brain is the "entrance gate of man's spiritual illuminations," therefore the head Tefillin acts as a "receptor…for the reception of the spiritual illumination from the eternal light" which he identifies as *Ein Sof*. 223

Addressing the structure of the head Tefillin, Cohen reveals the *vav, vav, vav* or **666** hidden in the four-headed *shin,* stating:

"I will briefly say that it possesses a big secret. When we look at the background, not the bulge, but rather, the background, we have a "vav", another "vav", another "vav", meaning, inside these four heads we have 3 "vavs" and 3 heads, and when you take the line in the background that's on the bottom, you have an internal Shin, that's basically concealed inside the four headed Shin." 224

Cohen implies that by wearing Tefillin a man may be transformed [by energies] to a higher spiritual level. He states, "That when a person wears tefillin, the color of his aura changes to a higher level" and that "These things are proven today" as "new research studies are revealing new things." 225 In another teaching Cohen affirms the omen of the *Zohar* that states Israel "will be redeemed under the secret of the letter 'vav'. And it will be in the sixth millennium." 226 The rabbis testify: **6** is the number of redemption, **666** the number of *divine illumination*.
The *Babylonian Talmud* relates the *Zohar's* creation fable of the mystical mark of *Tav* as a future and climactic event in Israel's *redemption*. This is based on the kabbalistic principle of interconnection which states, "The beginning is wedged in the end, and the end is wedged in the beginning." 227 The following commentary on the *Talmud* reveals that ו ו ו (**666**) is concealed in the Hebrew letter *Tav*, the mark of Hashem, written as ת:

"Tefillin being a mark of HaShem is also mentioned in the Talmud… According to our Sages, at the battle of Gog and Magog every human in and around the Holy City will be given the mark of the Hebrew letter, tav, upon their forehead. According to the Tanakh {in Ezekiel 9} and the Talmud {in Shabbath 55a}, the Mark of HaShem's sign – the, tav - will be placed upon everyone in and around Jerusalem. Those

that receive the mark in ink will be the righteous and those that receive the mark in blood will be condemned."

"18 = ו 6 (right) ו 6 (top) ו 6 (left)…The Gematria construction of the Tav is a ו Vav = 6 on the right plus a ו Vav = 6 on the top plus a ו Vav = 6 on the left. The constructed Gematria is 18…When we examine the Hebrew text of Ezekiel 9:4 we find that the English word "mark" is used to translate the two Hebrew characters תו, which spell out *tav*… ת." 228

Tractate Shabbath 55a of the *Babylonian Talmud* recounts the rabbinic discussion on which the above scenario is based:

"The Holy One, blessed be He, spake thus to them; Commence [destruction] from the place where song is uttered before Me. And who were the six men? — Said R. Hisda: Indignation [Kezef], Anger [Af], Wrath [Hemah], Destroyer [Mashhith] Breaker [Meshabber] and Annihilator [Mekaleh]. And why a ת tav? — Said Rab:, Tav [stands for] tihyeh [thou shalt live],* ת *tav [stands for] tamuth [thou shalt die]…*ת *Tav is the end of the seal of the Holy One, blessed be He. For R. Hanina said: The seal of the Holy One, blessed be He, is emeth [truth]…It denotes the people who fulfilled the Torah from* א *alef to* ת *tav." 229

For those familiar with the Jewish legend of the *golem* – also recorded in the *Talmud* – it will not be difficult to recognize the dark undertones reflected in this dialogue. The *Babylonian Talmud* records how the rabbis created a man from clay through the magic of Kabbalah by using the secret names of *god* (a permissible form of sorcery according to the *Sefer Yetsirah* and the *Babylonian Talmud*, Sanhedrin 65b and 67b). 230 The most well known fable in this series is the golem of Prague. The word *emet*, or *truth*, was inscribed on the forehead of the creature to keep him alive. By erasing the first letter *aleph* (which represents oneness with *Ein Sof*) only the word *met* (death) remained, resulting in the destruction of the mindless manservant. This twisted concept of *truth* is a continuous theme postulated in the rabbinic writings of Kabbalah by those who have actually rejected the truth:

“In English we express the concept of total truth by saying that something is true “from A to Z.” In Hebrew the word for truth is א מ ב **(EMeT). Its first letter is the very first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, the** א **(alef). The last letter is** ב **(tav), the end of the *Alef-Bet*. The exact middle of the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet is the** מ **(mem)…Truth demands total accuracy from start to finish, including every point in the middle as well…Truth requires for its essence the first letter** א **(alef), the “One” standing for the Almighty. Remove the initial letter in** א מ ב **(EMeT) and all that remains is** מ ב **(MT). Without God there can be no truth. In its place only death and destruction remain...God makes Himself manifest through His law. In its three forms, Decalogue, Mishnah, and Talmud, its opening letters make the word** א מ ב **(EMeT), as *seal of its truth*.”** 231

The *Zohar* interprets the *Shema* as the “supernal mystery” of the *oneness* of *Ein Sof* emanating through the “seed” of the “engraved letters” from *aleph* to *tav*, from beginning to end. 232 According to the *Zohar*, reciting the *Shema* with ritualistic intention unifies the spheres of the *sefirot* tree: “The third commandment: to realize that God exists – vast and controlling the world – and to unify Him fittingly each day in those six supernal directions, unifying them through the six words of שמע ישראל (*Shema Yisra’el*), *Hear, O Israel*! (Deuteronomy 6:4).” 233 The commentary on the Pritzker Edition of the *Zohar* explains, “The first line of the *Shema* contains six words in Hebrew…These six words symbolize the unity above…The second line of the *Shema* (a nonbiblical response) also contains six words…These six words symbolize *Shekhinah* (…*Malkhut* [“Kingdom’]) and Her accompanying powers. The two realms correspond and eventually unite.” 234

Once more we see the kingdom *above* uniting with the kingdom *below* and becoming *one*. Anyone who is not *one* with the *god* of the coming *kingdom* on earth will not be part of the *kingdom*. Only those who keep the law from *aleph* to *tav* will remain alive in the 7th millennium of *shabbat*! By their own testimony, in the words of the sages of Kabbalah, the *mark* of the converging kingdoms is the letter of the law, by which those who keep the law are conformed to the *image* of their *god*:

"The word *One in the Shema should be equal in the duration of its pronunciation to the six words*…The third space or section contains the Shema. "*Hear Oh Israel, the Lord our God is one God,*" and is a commentary on the letter V (vau) which proceeds from the two letters before it and unites them…From these observations we may gather *the occult meaning of the phylacteries*. They are really explanations of the letters of the Tetragrammaton or divine name…Whoever wears the phylacteries bears the divine likeness, for as the divine essence is expressed in the Tetragrammaton, so *man becomes bearer of his image*." 235

In an age driven by technology and sensationalism, Christians can sometimes get caught up in the script. But in God's universe nothing changes. Salvation, the true *redemption*, has always been by faith. Romans 4:3-11 tells us that Abraham *believed* God and it was accounted to him for righteousness; the sign of circumcision being a *seal* of the righteousness imputed to him by God through faith.

The enticement of knowledge as the pathway to the Creator is very tempting. The rabbis of Kabbalah say that in the future, technology will make it possible for everyone to know the mysteries of creation:

"As the world nears the era of *Mashiach*, knowledge in all areas of life is rapidly expanding. This concept is found in the Zohar…prophesied in the Zohar that scientific revelation—the knowledge from below—will converge with the knowledge from "Above"—the rapidly exploding revelation of mysticism and Hassidism. In a sentence, one may summarize the Zohar by saying that science and religion will converge. As time goes on, science will reveal the profound secrets of creation as already described in the mystical tradition, and it will provide the technological means for all to access that information." 236

Those who adhere to the *Babylonian Talmud* and Kabbalah believe that when all nations are observing the law then God will be appeased and *Moshiach* will come to set up his kingdom. According to them, the Gentiles from the nations who keep the seven Noahide laws – **Universal Moral Code** – become *righteous* Gentiles and will have a place in the

world to come. The Kabbalah rabbis of Chabad insist that this is "the most crucial last stage before the arrival of Messiah: for Jews to teach the Seven Noahide Laws to the nations." 237

"'Why Are the Noahide Laws Especially Important Today?' Today, we are on the verge of a new era for humankind, a time when we will finally live together in peace and the world will be filled with divine wisdom. *Those who keep these basic rules will have a share in that world,* since, after all, they took part in making it possible." 238

The first Noahide law codified in the *Babylonian Talmud* states, "Do not profane G-d's *Oneness* in any way." 239 The *Brit Olam Noahide World Center* has even published a *Prayer Book for Noahides* as a means for non-Jews to help hasten the *redemption*. In an online interview featuring the book, Rabbi Cherki, who directed the project, stated, "The nations may say the first line of the Shema which is a declaration of faith that God is one… According to Jewish sources, in the future, God will be one throughout the world." 240 Based on the information presented in their own sources, which *god* are the rabbis referring to? Is it *Ein Sof*, *Shekhinah*, *Metatron*, *Leviathan*, the *holy kosher serpent*? Which *god* are we to be unified with by obedience to the law? And let's not forget that disobedience to any one of the Noahide laws incurs the death penalty by decapitation!

In his letter to the Galatians the Apostle Paul wrote, "Just as Abraham *believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness*. Therefore know that *only those who are of faith* are sons of Abraham. And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel to Abraham beforehand, saying, *In you all the nations shall be blessed*. So then those who are of faith are blessed with believing Abraham. For *as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse*; for it is written, *Cursed is everyone who does not continue in all things which are written in the book of the law, to do them*. But that no one is justified by the law in the sight of God is evident, *for the just shall live by faith*." (Galatians 3:6-11)

This is basic Christianity 101. Therefore it can only be concluded that there is a supernatural force at work in this movement and it is the spirit of

antichrist and strong delusion. In the final analysis, there is no doubt that the message of the *kosher pig*, the *sound of the shofar*, the *harbinger*, the *moral code* – whatever label they put on it – is the *Clarion Call* for Christians to *turn* from the grace that is in Christ through faith and *return* to the law and covenants which Jesus abolished in His flesh:

Even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in Himself of twain one new man, so making peace; And that He might reconcile both unto God in one body *by the cross,* having slain the enmity thereby.
Ephesians 2:15-16

The Greek word used for "mark" in the Book of Revelation is *charagma* (5480). Strong's Concordance defines it as: a scratch or etching (to sharpen, to a point), i.e. stamp (as a badge of servitude), or sculptured figure, graven, mark. The word *mark* is used a total of eight times in the Book of Revelation in reference to the *mark of the beast*. The same Greek word – *charagma* – is used in Acts 17:29. The English word there is *graven*, and refers to the inscription that was engraved on the altar *to the unknown god* which Paul came upon in Athens. Paul used this word to explain to the men of Athens that God who made all things, the Lord of heaven and earth, does not dwell in temples; neither can His Divine Nature be expressed through any *graven image*.

Revelation 13:11-14 says the beast coming up out of the earth exercises the power of the first beast so that he *causes* those on the earth to worship the first beast through deception by the miracles he performs. As the *god of this world*, Satan manifests himself in the external religious and political systems of this world. The *Babylonian Talmud* and Kabbalah set forth the *mark* of the *righteous* as a name or number which represents *truth* or EMeT; the *seal of truth* of a fleshly, earthly kingdom. This is a counterfeit of the *seal* that is set upon those who believe the testimony of Jesus Christ.

He that hath received his testimony hath *set to his seal* that God is *true*.
John 3:33

The word *seal* used in John 3:33 is *sphragizo* and means to *stamp* (with a signet or private mark) for security or preservation; to set a seal upon; a signet (as fencing in or protection from misappropriation); a stamp of genuineness. It is the same word used in John 6:27 where Jesus said God the Father has *sealed* the Son to give everlasting life through the *true work* of God, which is to "believe on Him whom the Father has sent.

Ephesians 1:13 says that after hearing the Word of *truth* and believing the gospel of salvation we were *sealed* with the Holy Spirit of promise which is the earnest – the security deposit – of the purchased possession! (Ephesians 4:30, 2 Corinthians 1:22) The price of our redemption has been paid by the blood of Jesus Christ. "And as we have borne the image of the earthy," the first man Adam from the dust, "we shall also bear the image of the heavenly," the last Adam, Jesus Christ from above, who was made a life-giving Spirit. (1 Corinthians 15:45-49)

Now this I say, brethren, that *flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God*. 1 Corinthians 15:50

These verses from 1 Corinthians 15 clearly set forth that the Kingdom of God established by Jesus Christ is not the earthly kingdom that is being heralded by the Kabbalah rabbis of today's Judaism. Corruption cannot inherit incorruption. A perishable body bearing the image of Adam can never attain to the imperishable image of the resurrected Christ through the works of the flesh. Paul shows us the *mystery* that was prophesied in Isaiah 25:8 and Hosea 13:14; that time when we shall be changed, when the corruptible will put on incorruption, when this mortal shall put on immortality and death is swallowed up in victory.

In this most important chapter on the resurrection, Paul concludes with a profound statement in verse 56: "The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law." So powerful is the strength of sin that it is impossible for the natural man to overcome it by the works of the law. "But thanks be to God, Who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ…and this is the victory that overcomes the world, even our faith…that believes that Jesus Christ is the Son of God!

Do not be deceived. There will never come a time when believers in Christ must choose to take a *mark for God* in opposition to *the mark of the beast*, which some are teaching today. The foundation of God stands sure, having this *seal*; The Lord knows those who are His. (2 Timothy 2:19)

Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord…Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began…now made manifest by the appearing of our Savior Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel. 2 Timothy 1:8-10

After the crucifixion of Jesus, His apostles were in hiding, perplexed by the apparent loss of their Messiah. In their minds they were sure that it was Jesus who should have redeemed Israel. (Luke 24:21) After the report by the women that the tomb was empty, two of His disciples went to the village of Emmaus. As Jesus approached them on the way, they did not know Him because their eyes were restrained. After telling Him all that had happened, Jesus said to them, "Oh fools, and slow of heart to *believe all that the prophets have spoken*," and beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself. Verse 32 says He *opened* the Scriptures. As Jesus continued with them and sat down to eat He broke bread – symbolic of His body which had been broken in death – and gave it to them and *their eyes were opened and they knew Him*.

Immediately after this the two disciples returned to Jerusalem, testifying to the eleven and those who were with them "how He was known to them in the breaking of bread." And as they were speaking, Jesus appeared to them in His resurrected body and *opened their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures*:

These are the words which I spoke unto you, while I was yet with you, that *all things must be fulfilled*, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning Me. Luke 24:44-45

Though they had walked with Him and sat under His teachings for three years, the disciples did not even know Jesus until He opened the eyes of their understanding. How much more do we, who have never seen Him, need our eyes opened by the Holy Spirit of Truth in these days of such great deception? How would we know Him if He were to come to Jerusalem?

In Matthew chapters 23 and 24 the disciples asked Jesus, Tell us, when shall these things be? And what shall be the sign of your coming and of the end of the age? Jesus did not say, 'Hey guys, when you see all these things happening, get ready, because I'm coming back. You will know that I am the Messiah and we're going to set up the kingdom in Jerusalem!' Instead, He warned them, "Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; **believe it not**…if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; **go not forth**: behold, he is in the secret chambers; **believe it not**.

If the rabbis of Kabbalah tell you the *Moshiach* is here, believe it not! If they say he is in the temple, go not forth!

Appendix

Mystery Babylon*: *The Great City Jerusalem

And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH…And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, My people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.
Revelation 17:5, 18:4

Revelation 11:8 Reveals the Identity of the Great City

- Revelation 11:8 - And their dead bodies (the two witnesses) shall lie in the street of ***the great city***, which is spiritually called Sodom and Egypt, ***where also our Lord was crucified*** (Jerusalem).

Jesus was Crucified in the City of Jerusalem, the Great City

- Matthew 20:17-19 - And Jesus going up to ***Jerusalem*** took the twelve disciples apart in the way, and said unto them, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be betrayed unto the chief priests and unto the scribes, and they shall condemn him to death, And shall deliver him to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify him: and the third day he shall rise again.

The Scriptures Refer to Mystery Babylon as the Great City

- Revelation 17:18 - And the woman which thou sawest is ***that great city***, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.
- Revelation 14:8 - And another angel followed, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, ***that great city***, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.
- Revelation 18:16 - And saying, Alas, ***that great city***, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls!

The Great City is Unique among the Cities of the Nations

- Revelation 18:18 - And (they) cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto ***this great city***!
- Revelation 18:10 - Alas, alas ***that great city Babylon***. That mighty city! For in one hour is thy judgment come.

- Revelation 16:19 - And ***the great city*** was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of His wrath.

Mystery Babylon is Drunk with the Blood of the Prophets and Martyrs of Jesus Christ

- Luke 13:33 - ...***for it cannot be that a prophet should perish outside of Jerusalem***.
- Revelation 17:6 - And I saw the woman drunken with ***the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus***: and when I saw her, I wondered with great amazement.
- Revelation 18:24 - And in her was found ***the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth***.
- Revelation 18:20 - Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for ***God hath avenged you on her***.
- Revelation 16:6 – For they have ***shed the blood of saints and prophets***, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy.

Jesus Identifies the Harlot with the Blood of the Righteous Prophets Upon Her Hands

- Matthew 23:37-39 - ***O Jerusalem, Jerusalem***, ***thou that killest the prophets***, and stonest them which are sent unto thee. How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, ***your house is left unto you desolate*** (Jerusalem is now seen in the eyes of God as desolate; as Sodom and Egypt!). For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.
- Matthew 23:34-35 - (Jesus speaking to the Pharisees) Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: ***that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias***, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar.
- Luke 11:49-52 - (Jesus speaking to the Pharisees) Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute: ***that the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; From the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple***: verily I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation.

Mystery Babylon is Burned with Fire in Judgment

- Revelation 17:16 - And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and ***burn her with fire***.
- Revelation 18:17-19 - For in one hour so great riches is come to nought...And (they) cried when they saw ***the smoke of her burning***, saying, What city is like unto this

great city!

- Ezekiel 16:41 - And they shall ***burn thine houses with fire***, and execute judgments upon thee in the sight of many women: and I will cause thee to cease from ***playing the harlot***, and thou also shalt give no hire any more.

Old Testament Scriptures Identify the Harlot

- Isaiah 1:21 - How is ***the faithful city become a harlot***! It was full of judgment; righteousness lodged in it; but now murderers. (Compare with Jesus' words to the Pharisees, "You are of your father the devil...He was a murderer from the beginning...because there is no truth in him. John 8:44)
- Ezekiel 16:35 - Wherefore, ***O harlot***, hear the Word of the Lord.
- Ezekiel 16:15 - But you trusted in your own beauty, and ***played the harlot*** because of your fame, and poured out your harlotry on everyone passing by who would have it. (See verses 16 & 28)
- Deuteronomy 31:16 - And the Lord said to Moses, Behold, you will rest with your fathers; and this people will rise and ***play the harlot*** with the gods of the foreigners of the land, where they go to be among them, and they will forsake Me and break My covenant which I have made with them.
- Deuteronomy 31:29 - (Moses speaking to the elders before his death) For I know that after my death ***you will become utterly corrupt***, and ***turn aside from the way*** which I have commanded you. And ***evil will befall you in the latter days***, because you will do evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke Him to anger through the work of your hands.

The Harlot is Clothed with Babylonian Scarlet and Purple

- Revelation 17:4, 18:16 - And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornications…The merchants of these things, which were made rich by her…saying, Alas, alas that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls!
- Jeremiah 4:30 - And when thou art spoiled, what wilt thou do? Though thou clothest thyself with crimson, though thou deckest thee with ornaments of gold…in vain shalt thou make thyself fair. (See Ezekiel 23:14-19)

The Voice of the Bridegroom Heard no More in the Great City

- Jeremiah 7:34 - Then will I cause to cease from the cities of Judah, and from the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, ***the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride***: for the land shall be desolate.
- Jeremiah 16:9 - For thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel; Behold, I will cause to cease out of this place in your eyes, and in your days, the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, ***the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride***.
- Jeremiah 25:10 - Moreover I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, ***the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones, and the light of the candle***.
- Revelation 18:21-23 - And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall ***that great city Babylon*** be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all. And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in thee; and ***the sound of a millstone*** shall be heard no more at all in thee; And ***the light of a candle*** shall shine no more at all in thee; and ***the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride*** shall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for ***by thy sorceries were all nations deceived***.

New Jerusalem is the Great City of God

- Isaiah 65:17 - ***For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth***: ***and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind***.
- Isaiah 66:22 - For ***as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make***, shall remain before me, saith the LORD, so shall your seed and your name remain.
- John 14:2-3 - In my Father's house are many mansions...***I go to prepare a place for you***. And if ***I go and prepare a place for you***, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.
- 2 Peter 3:13 - Nevertheless we, ***according to his promise***, look for ***new heavens and a new earth***, wherein dwelleth righteousness.
- Hebrews 11:10, 16 - For he (Abraham) looked for ***a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God***...But now they desire ***a better country, that is, an heavenly***: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: ***for he hath prepared for them a city***.
- Revelation 21:2, 10 - And I John saw ***the holy city, new Jerusalem***, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as ***a bride adorned for her husband***...And he carried me away in the Spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me ***that great city, the holy Jerusalem***, descending out of heaven from God.
- Revelation 21:23-24 - And ***the city had no need of the sun***, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, ***and the Lamb is the light thereof***. And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it.

This is a partial list of Scriptures which identifies Jerusalem as *Mystery Babylon*, the *Great City* and *Mother of Harlots*. There are over 80 Scriptures in the Old Testament that refer to Jerusalem as a harlot and many more that denounce her for her harlotries and whoredom with the *gods* of the surrounding nations.

YEA, YE TOOK UP THE TABERNACLE OF MOLOCH, AND THE STAR OF YOUR GOD REMPHAN, IMAGES WHICH YE MADE TO WORSHIP THEM: AND I WILL CARRY YOU AWAY BEYOND BABYLON.
Acts 7:43

But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves.
Amos 5:26

The six-pointed star has a history dating back to ancient Babylon. In Kabbalah it has long been regarded as an expression of the sacred name, the Tetragrammaton; the seal of the divine image of God connecting heaven and earth and a sign of universal redemption. The following quote is from the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 241

"The legend of King Solomon's Seal, of the wondrous signet ring which he received from heaven, is common to Judaism, to Christianity and to Islam. King Solomon's Seal, whose base is on the ground and whose tip reaches heaven, symbolizes a harmony of opposites…It relfects the cosmic order, the skies, the movement of the stars in their spheres, and the perpetual flow between heaven and earth…The seal, therefore, represents super-human wisdom and rule by divine grace…the abstract element of the figure and its geometrical completeness make it a universal symbol…The symbol of the hexagram, the star-like figure formed by two triangles, has many connotations, especially when it is enclosed by a circle. The magic drawings of the hexagram and the pentagram were known as seals, in keeping with the idea that a person 'stamps himself' with these signs in order to protect himself from harmful spirits. This term is connected to the legend of King Solomon who controlled the demons by means of a special signet ring on which was engraved the Tettragrammaton. The seal only had power for one thing to provide protection from malevolent forces."

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Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity

by

JOSEPH NAVEH SHAUL SHAKED

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PREFACE

In 1985, when the Magnes Press and E.J. Brill published our *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (= *AMB*), we believed that we had used all extant Palestinian Aramaic amulets. In the years that have elapsed, however, many additional texts have come into our hands, and it was felt that the time had come to assemble a new collection of metal amulets, accompanied by Babylonian incantations on earthenware bowls and magic texts from the Cairo Geniza. This was partly due to the increased interest of collectors, who were kind enough to place their items at the disposal of the authors and to colleagues who drew our attention to the existence of further pieces in different collections.

In *AMB*, 15 Palestinian amulets, 13 Babylonian incantation bowls and 8 Geniza texts were published. The present volume contains additional texts in all three categories: 17 new amulets (A 16-32), 14 bowls (B 14-27) and 21 Geniza texts (G 9-29). Among the 52 new texts, the Palestinian amulets, incised on gold, silver or bronze plates, are of special importance. Until 1985 our knowledge of this field was very limited. Six previously known amulets were republished with new readings in *AMB* (A4, A5, A6, A7, A8 and A9). Three amulets from Irbid, published in 1911 by Montgomery (kept in the New York Public Library), were not incorporated in that book, as it was not possible to arrive at reliable readings on the basis of the photographs then available. Thanks to Dr. Roy Kotansky, who specializes in Greek amulets, and who provided us with better photographs, we were able to improve on Montgomery's readings. These are given in the present volume (A 27, A 28 and A 29). The other amulets that Dr. Kotansky brought to our attention are A 26, A 30 and A 31 (A 26 is in the Skirball Museum, in Los Angeles and A 30 in the Metropolitan Museum of New York). A relatively large number of amulets were in the possession of Mr. L. Alexander (Lenny) Wolfe; some are owned by Dr. Geoffrey Cope of Herzlia. The publication

of A 16 and 19 was made possible by the permission of the late Dr. Zvi Ilan. A 17 is in the Collection of the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University. A 22 is now in the possession of the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.

Some further items which have recently come to light have not been included in the present volume: two Aramaic amulets from the Paul Getty Museum were published by Kotansky 1991, and a bilingual one in Aramaic and Greek, from the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford (see Kotansky, Naveh and Shaked 1992). Some additional Aramaic and Syriac amulets are now being studied by the authors for future publication.

The majority of the magic bowls included in this volume are in private collections (Wolfe, Jerusalem; Einhorn, Tel Aviv; Cope, Herzlia; and Cottier-Angeli, Geneva) and in the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. B 25 and B 26 are in the possession of the National Museum of Natural History, the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

In recent years several other bowl texts have been published. Mention may be made here particularly of the articles by Smelik 1978, Franco 1978/9, Gordon 1984, Geller 1986, and Gawlikowski 1988. A Mandaic amulet was published by Greenfield and Naveh 1985. In *AMB*, reference to Stübe 1895 was omitted by an oversight from the bibliography, and this is rectified in the present volume.

The magic texts from the Cairo Geniza manuscripts were neglected for close to a whole century. Our attention to this material was drawn by Professor Yaakov Sussmann about ten years ago. Thus, after the edition of a number of such texts in Gottheil and Worrell 1927, Mann 1931/1935, pp. 90-94, and Margalioth 1966, the first systematic treatment of texts from the Cairo Geniza was done in Schäfer 1984 (from the point of view of the Hekhalot literature) and in *AMB*. Schäfer in collaboration with S. Shaked have now undertaken to publish an exhaustive collection of texts from the Cairo Geniza in the series Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum, and Schiffman and Swartz have also prepared a volume of Geniza texts.

The amulets and magic books in the Geniza were written in the Middle Ages, mostly between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries, but they follow the tradition of Palestinian Jewish magical texts of Late Antiquity. The Geniza texts reflect the language (Palestinian Jewish Aramaic) and formulae of Palestinian Jewish magic. They contain elements of Hebrew, as do also the Palestinian amulets, and they are influenced by Jewish Arabic, and possibly also by Babylonian literature. In the selection of

the Geniza material we have been guided primarily by the desire to find parallel texts to those of the Palestinian amulets included in this volume. Such parallels sometimes make it possible to reconstruct the texts of the amulets which are often damaged or incoherent, and make their reading and understanding in general much easier. Thus, the Geniza material, which essentially belongs to the Palestinian idiom of magic, is important for the decipherment of Palestinian magic in Late Antiquity. The selection of these texts was done partly from microfilms at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, and partly by working directly on the Geniza collection in Cambridge. Their study was based largely on photographs obtained from the Genizah Research Unit at the Cambridge University Library. The photographs included in this volume are reproduced with their kind permission.

All the texts are published here, as in *AMB*, with transliteration, translation and commentary. They are accompanied by the best available photographs (many of them done by Zeev Radovan); the metal amulets are also illustrated by facsimile drawings done by Ada Yardeni.

The Introduction examines some specific problems of Jewish magic in Late Antiquity, such as the relationship between magic and medicine on the one hand, and magic and other types of Jewish religious expression on the other, in particular the magic formulae occurring in standard Jewish prayers, especially the biblical verses used in magical texts.

A number of important surveys and studies of the magic material have been published in recent years. Particular mention may be made of the collection of Greek magical papyri in English translation prepared under the general editorship of Betz (1986). Alexander 1986 provides a comprehensive view of the whole field. One special focus of attention has been the relationship between the Merkava and Hekhalot literature, the Qumran writings, and Jewish liturgy and magic. In this general field, which is partly touched upon in our introduction, several studies have been published. We should like to mention in particular Halperin 1988; Schiffman 1982, 1987; Schäfer 1988b; Weinfeld 1976, 1979, 1982, 1990; Nitzan 1986; and Bar-Ilan 1985, 1987. This list is far from exhausting a subject which currently draws a great deal of scholarly attention.

We should like once again to express our gratitude to Dr. Ada Yardeni, who prepared the drawings included in the volume, and as usual her drawings reflect an independent view of the text, which contributed to our reading and understanding. The reader should be warned that the drawings are not always in perfect harmony with our readings.

It is a pleasant duty to thank Mr. Yuval Harary, who worked on the glossary. Prof. H.D. Betz made observations on some of the texts. Prof. Y. Sussmann helped to solve talmudic problems. Mr. Dan Benovici, Director of the Magnes Press, and his staff, especially Mr. Ram Goldberg, took every effort to bring the book out in the most satisfactory manner. The various collectors and directors of institutions who allowed us free access to documents in their possession deserve particular thanks.

The Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities at the Hebrew University and the American Academy for Jewish Research have generously contributed towards the costs of the printing.

Jerusalem, October 1992 *J.N., S.S*

Signs used in the transliteration of texts

(	)	uncertain readings
[	]	restoration of lost writing
<	>	omitted by the scribe by mistake
{	}	superfluous writing in the text (e.g. in the case of dittography)
((	))	gloss (written above or outside the line)
{{	}}	an erasure in the original

Signs used in the translation

(	)	supplemented for better comprehension
[	]	restored
«	»	Arabic language (either in Hebrew or in Arabic characters)

INTRODUCTION

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PREFACE

In 1985, when the Magnes Press and E.J. Brill published our *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (= *AMB*), we believed that we had used all extant Palestinian Aramaic amulets. In the years that have elapsed, however, many additional texts have come into our hands, and it was felt that the time had come to assemble a new collection of metal amulets, accompanied by Babylonian incantations on earthenware bowls and magic texts from the Cairo Geniza. This was partly due to the increased interest of collectors, who were kind enough to place their items at the disposal of the authors and to colleagues who drew our attention to the existence of further pieces in different collections.

In *AMB*, 15 Palestinian amulets, 13 Babylonian incantation bowls and 8 Geniza texts were published. The present volume contains additional texts in all three categories: 17 new amulets (A 16-32), 14 bowls (B 14-27) and 21 Geniza texts (G 9-29). Among the 52 new texts, the Palestinian amulets, incised on gold, silver or bronze plates, are of special importance. Until 1985 our knowledge of this field was very limited. Six previously known amulets were republished with new readings in *AMB* (A4, A5, A6, A7, A8 and A9). Three amulets from Irbid, published in 1911 by Montgomery (kept in the New York Public Library), were not incorporated in that book, as it was not possible to arrive at reliable readings on the basis of the photographs then available. Thanks to Dr. Roy Kotansky, who specializes in Greek amulets, and who provided us with better photographs, we were able to improve on Montgomery's readings. These are given in the present volume (A 27, A 28 and A 29). The other amulets that Dr. Kotansky brought to our attention are A 26, A 30 and A 31 (A 26 is in the Skirball Museum, in Los Angeles and A 30 in the Metropolitan Museum of New York). A relatively large number of amulets were in the possession of Mr. L. Alexander (Lenny) Wolfe; some are owned by Dr. Geoffrey Cope of Herzlia. The publication

of A 16 and 19 was made possible by the permission of the late Dr. Zvi Ilan. A 17 is in the Collection of the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University. A 22 is now in the possession of the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.

Some further items which have recently come to light have not been included in the present volume: two Aramaic amulets from the Paul Getty Museum were published by Kotansky 1991, and a bilingual one in Aramaic and Greek, from the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford (see Kotansky, Naveh and Shaked 1992). Some additional Aramaic and Syriac amulets are now being studied by the authors for future publication.

The majority of the magic bowls included in this volume are in private collections (Wolfe, Jerusalem; Einhorn, Tel Aviv; Cope, Herzlia; and Cottier-Angeli, Geneva) and in the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. B 25 and B 26 are in the possession of the National Museum of Natural History, the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

In recent years several other bowl texts have been published. Mention may be made here particularly of the articles by Smelik 1978, Franco 1978/9, Gordon 1984, Geller 1986, and Gawlikowski 1988. A Mandaic amulet was published by Greenfield and Naveh 1985. In *AMB*, reference to Stübe 1895 was omitted by an oversight from the bibliography, and this is rectified in the present volume.

The magic texts from the Cairo Geniza manuscripts were neglected for close to a whole century. Our attention to this material was drawn by Professor Yaakov Sussmann about ten years ago. Thus, after the edition of a number of such texts in Gottheil and Worrell 1927, Mann 1931/1935, pp. 90-94, and Margalioth 1966, the first systematic treatment of texts from the Cairo Geniza was done in Schäfer 1984 (from the point of view of the Hekhalot literature) and in *AMB*. Schäfer in collaboration with S. Shaked have now undertaken to publish an exhaustive collection of texts from the Cairo Geniza in the series Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum, and Schiffman and Swartz have also prepared a volume of Geniza texts.

The amulets and magic books in the Geniza were written in the Middle Ages, mostly between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries, but they follow the tradition of Palestinian Jewish magical texts of Late Antiquity. The Geniza texts reflect the language (Palestinian Jewish Aramaic) and formulae of Palestinian Jewish magic. They contain elements of Hebrew, as do also the Palestinian amulets, and they are influenced by Jewish Arabic, and possibly also by Babylonian literature. In the selection of

the Geniza material we have been guided primarily by the desire to find parallel texts to those of the Palestinian amulets included in this volume. Such parallels sometimes make it possible to reconstruct the texts of the amulets which are often damaged or incoherent, and make their reading and understanding in general much easier. Thus, the Geniza material, which essentially belongs to the Palestinian idiom of magic, is important for the decipherment of Palestinian magic in Late Antiquity. The selection of these texts was done partly from microfilms at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, and partly by working directly on the Geniza collection in Cambridge. Their study was based largely on photographs obtained from the Genizah Research Unit at the Cambridge University Library. The photographs included in this volume are reproduced with their kind permission.

All the texts are published here, as in *AMB*, with transliteration, translation and commentary. They are accompanied by the best available photographs (many of them done by Zeev Radovan); the metal amulets are also illustrated by facsimile drawings done by Ada Yardeni.

The Introduction examines some specific problems of Jewish magic in Late Antiquity, such as the relationship between magic and medicine on the one hand, and magic and other types of Jewish religious expression on the other, in particular the magic formulae occurring in standard Jewish prayers, especially the biblical verses used in magical texts.

A number of important surveys and studies of the magic material have been published in recent years. Particular mention may be made of the collection of Greek magical papyri in English translation prepared under the general editorship of Betz (1986). Alexander 1986 provides a comprehensive view of the whole field. One special focus of attention has been the relationship between the Merkava and Hekhalot literature, the Qumran writings, and Jewish liturgy and magic. In this general field, which is partly touched upon in our introduction, several studies have been published. We should like to mention in particular Halperin 1988; Schiffman 1982, 1987; Schäfer 1988b; Weinfeld 1976, 1979, 1982, 1990; Nitzan 1986; and Bar-Ilan 1985, 1987. This list is far from exhausting a subject which currently draws a great deal of scholarly attention.

We should like once again to express our gratitude to Dr. Ada Yardeni, who prepared the drawings included in the volume, and as usual her drawings reflect an independent view of the text, which contributed to our reading and understanding. The reader should be warned that the drawings are not always in perfect harmony with our readings.

It is a pleasant duty to thank Mr. Yuval Harary, who worked on the glossary. Prof. H.D. Betz made observations on some of the texts. Prof. Y. Sussmann helped to solve talmudic problems. Mr. Dan Benovici, Director of the Magnes Press, and his staff, especially Mr. Ram Goldberg, took every effort to bring the book out in the most satisfactory manner. The various collectors and directors of institutions who allowed us free access to documents in their possession deserve particular thanks.

The Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities at the Hebrew University and the American Academy for Jewish Research have generously contributed towards the costs of the printing.

Jerusalem, October 1992 *J.N., S.S*

Signs used in the transliteration of texts

(	)	uncertain readings
[	]	restoration of lost writing
<	>	omitted by the scribe by mistake
{	}	superfluous writing in the text (e.g. in the case of dittography)
((	))	gloss (written above or outside the line)
{{	}}	an erasure in the original

Signs used in the translation

(	)	supplemented for better comprehension
[	]	restored
«	»	Arabic language (either in Hebrew or in Arabic characters)

INTRODUCTION

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ANCIENT JEWISH MAGIC

This is a pioneering attempt to write a broad history of ancient Jewish magic, from the Second Temple to the rabbinic period. It is based both on the ancient magicians' own compositions (and products) in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek, and on the descriptions and prescriptions of non-magicians, in an effort to reconstruct a historical picture that is as balanced and nuanced as possible. The book's main focus is on the cultural make-up of ancient Jewish magic, with special attention paid to processes of cross-cultural contacts and borrowings between Jews and non-Jews and to inner-Jewish creativity. Other major issues are the place of magic within ancient Jewish society, contemporary Jewish attitudes to magic and the identity of its practitioners. Throughout, it seeks to explain the methodological underpinnings of all sound research in this demanding field, and to point out areas where further research is likely to prove fruitful.

GIDEON BOHAK teaches in the Department of Jewish Culture, University of Tel Aviv. He is author of *Joseph and Aseneth and the Jewish Temple in Heliopolis* (1996).

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A History

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Acknowledgments

Scholarship is an eminently social thing, and the present study is no exception. Its ultimate origins lie in my Princeton days, when John Gager initiated me into the study of ancient magic. Its initial growth took place in Ann Arbor, when I was allowed to teach several courses on ancient magic and to curate an exhibition of ancient magical artifacts from the University of Michigan's rich archeological and papyrological collections (see Bohak 1996). But the book itself began to take shape here, at Tel-Aviv University, while teaching at the Department of Jewish Philosophy and the Program in Religious Studies and enjoying constant feedback from colleagues and students alike.

Many people have helped me along the way, with criticism and advice, and it is both a duty and a pleasure to thank them here. Ithamar Gruenwald, Yuval Harari, Reimund Leicht, and Dan Levene have been arguing with me on different aspects of ancient Jewish magic for many years now, and have commented on several chapters of this book when still in draft form. Shaul Shaked shared with me his unpublished work on the Genizah magical texts, without which this study would have been much the poorer, and provided helpful advice on numerous other occasions. And the anonymous readers of the original manuscript, who have left no stone unturned in their searching criticism, have surely helped me build a sounder scholarly structure. Finally, my students Ortal-Paz Saar and Bar Belinitzkey read the entire manuscript and improved it with many useful comments and suggestions, and my colleague Meir Shahar read it and assured me that some of it would make sense even to a Sinologist.

Many other scholars have helped me with specific advice, and shared some of their extensive knowledge with me. I am especially grateful to Tzvi Abusch, Avriel Bar-Levav, Jeffrey Chajes, Jacco Dieleman, Edna Engel, Esther and Hanan Eshel, Chris Faraone, Alexander Fodor, Mark Geller, David Jordan, Hagai Misgav, Matthew Morgenstern, Michael Morony, Shlomo Naeh, Arpád Nagy, Joseph Naveh, Bill Rebiger, Stefan Reif, Robert

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Ritner, Ishai Rosen-Zvi, Peter Schäfer, Jeffrey Spier, Jacques van der Vliet, and Ada Yardeni. And if I have forgotten anyone, it was with no malice in mind, for I am forever grateful to all those who helped me in word or deed.

During the many years in which this book has been growing, I also had the occasion to present parts of my work on ancient Jewish magic in lectures, seminars, and conferences in Israel, Europe, and the USA. Listing all the places and occasions where I presented my work would make for a very tedious reading, but I would like to thank all these audiences for their helpful comments, criticism, and additional references, most of which have been incorporated into the present study. I would also like to thank the staff of the Tel-Aviv University Library and of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts in Jerusalem, for permission to study the microfilm copies of many Genizah fragments, and to the staffs of Cambridge University Library, the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Bodleian Library, and the British Library for granting me access to the actual fragments.

Finally, four institutions deserve special thanks. The Israel Science Foundation funded my research project on "Jewish Magical Recipe Books From the Cairo Genizah" (Grant no. 725/03). With this money, and the help of dedicated research assistants (Irena Lerman, Shani Levy (who also compiled the index for the present volume), and Karina Shalem), I have been able to survey hundreds of unpublished Genizah magical texts, and while the full results of this project shall be published elsewhere, they have done much to enrich my understanding of ancient and medieval Jewish magic, as shall be seen from the many references to unpublished Genizah fragments throughout the present study. The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) funded a month-long stay with Peter Schäfer and his research team at the Freie Universität, Berlin (September 2002), which enabled me to coordinate my research efforts with theirs. And the Institute for Advanced Study, at the Hebrew University, sponsored a research group on ancient magic (headed by Shaul Shaked, Yuval Harari, and myself) from March to August 2006. It was during that half year, among magic-oriented colleagues and friends, that the final version of this study was revised for publication.

Last, but by no means least, I wish to thank the Rothschild Foundation (Yad ha-Nadiv) for that fateful phone-call on 13 May 2001, informing me that I had won the Michael Bruno Award (sometimes seen as the Israeli version of the MacArthur Fellowship). This prize enabled me to take a leave of absence from all my university obligations for eighteen months, during which much of the research that went into this book was conducted. It also gave me that confidence which only comes with recognition and with

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financial security, and enabled me to write the kind of book I have always had in mind. At a time when young academics are often forced to prostitute their half-baked wares to the goddess of productivity, I have been blessed with the challenge to produce the kind of monograph that would justify a prize I have already won, and with the opportunity to do so. I will always cherish the experience, but whether the final product indeed justifies the initial investment is only for you, the reader, to decide.

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Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

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Michael D. Swartz

Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism

An Analysis of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*



Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

28

Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism

An Analysis of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*

by

Michael D. Swartz



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For Suzanne

Preface

This study began as my doctoral dissertation, "Liturgical Elements in Early Jewish Mysticism: A Literary Analysis of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*," presented to the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures of New York University in May 1986. I have added an introduction and revised several chapters. In the introduction, which is based on the textual analysis carried out in the body of the study, the implications of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* for the study of the history of Judaism are assessed.

My interest in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* grows out of my longstanding interest in the language and history of Jewish prayer and in the history of Judaism in Late Antiquity. Upon reading Gershom Scholem's compelling account of Merkavah mysticism, I became interested in the possibilities the Hekhalot texts held for these areas and for examining the relationship between religious experience and literary expression. Upon confronting the texts themselves, and in light of the work done by Peter Schäfer and others on these texts, I became aware that methods needed to be developed for dealing with the historical and textual problems presented by the literature. This study is an effort to address such questions.

Portions of Chapter 11 appeared in my article, "*'Alay le-Shabbeaḥ: A Liturgical Prayer in Ma'aseh Merkavah*" (JQR 77 [1986–87]). Portions of Chapter 16 appeared as "Patterns of Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism: Progression of Themes in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*," in *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism*, edited by Paul V. M. Flescher (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990).

Many teachers, colleagues, and friends have contributed to my work. I have had wise and attentive advisers at New York University. Professors Baruch A. Levine, Francis E. Peters of New York University, Ross R. Brann, now of Cornell University, and Martin A. Cohen of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, served as readers of my thesis. As my principal adviser and as a colleague, Professor Lawrence H. Schiffman, has been exceptionally generous with his time, advice, and knowledge. I am especially grateful for his counsel and encouragement. My research has also benefited from conversations and communications with the late Professor Alexander

Altmann and with Professors Peter Schäfer, Martin S. Cohen, Elizabeth Waller, Carol Newsom, Morton Smith, and David Blumenthal. At the University of Virginia, my colleagues Professors Gary Anderson, Benjamin Ray and Robert Wilken have made helpful suggestions and criticisms. My thanks also to Professor Schäfer for his interest in this book, and to Ms. Leslie Kobayashi for preparing the indexes. Of course, I alone am responsible for any errors or shortcomings in my work.

This book is also a product of deeper influences. Rabbi Elihu Schagrin, Emeritus of Temple Concord in Binghamton, New York, is responsible for much of my interest in Jewish religion and its sources. I will always be grateful to my parents, Bernard and Marcella Swartz, for their support, and to my brother Steven for his friendship. It is my hope that my work reflects their integrity and love of learning. This book is dedicated to my wife, Suzanne Silver, whose work and life continue to enrich mine immeasurably.

Jerusalem, November 1990 Michael D. Swartz

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Introduction

Prayer is an important part of religious discourse and practice. Yet apart from the disciplines of liturgical history or theology, the study of prayer as a phenomenon in the history of religions has not often received systematic attention. In recent years, scholars have begun to ask how prayer functions in the context of a religious culture. New emphasis has been placed on examining the active or performative function of the language of prayer as against its informational or expressive function. Prayer, we have learned, is not only to supposed to say something; it is supposed to do something.

This study is a form-critical and historical analysis of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, an anthology of Jewish mystical prayers of Late Antiquity. It is primarily an evaluation of the place of this text and of the forms of religion it reflects in the history of Jewish religion, and of the relationship of its ideas and literary forms to other liturgies and themes of ancient Judaism. But it is also an inquiry into the changing functions of prayer texts within a tradition of visionary mysticism, and how their literary forms reflect these functions.

I. Prayer and Religious Traditions

Contemporary students of prayer have done much to revise the views of the role of prayer in religion proposed by earlier historians of religion, notably by Frederich Heiler. Heiler, in his classic comparative study *Prayer*,[1] distinguished personal prayer from ritual prayer as set forth in prayer texts and liturgies. He considered the former to be true, authentic prayer, the latter secondary developments, artificial and of little value for the study of the dynamic relationship of the individual to God:

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[1] F. Heiler, *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion*; trans. S. McComb and J.E. Park (1932).

> Prayer is at first a spontaneous, emotional discharge, a free outpouring of the heart. In the course of development, it becomes a fixed formula which people recite without feeling or mood of devotion, untouched both in heart and mind.[2]

Theorists such as Heiler saw such features as the use of repetition, stock formulae, and scriptural citations as marking the degeneration of prayer from the purely spiritual to the merely ritual. In fact, these very characteristics of the language of prayer actually constitute important evidence for the religious meaning and purpose of prayer. Such formulae are essential components of the cultural vocabulary of participants in traditional religions, often inseparable from their common vocabulary. Carl Keller, evaluating the place of prayer in mystical texts, observes:

> Prayers always give voice to a deep sense of God's presence, but they are formulated in traditional religious and theological language, and the praying believer never separates himself from the solid conceptual framework of his spiritual life.[3]

Not only are such formulae integral components of religious expression, they fulfill important functions in achieving the goals of prayer. Current studies of prayer have assigned a new importance to the formulaic language of prayer. Influenced by J. L. Austin's categories of performative language,[4] these scholars stress the power of words and formulae to do what the speaker intends over the information conveyed by those words.[5] A prayer not only expresses the worshipper's state of mind, or proclaims or teaches doctrine; it is an actor in a ritual context.[6] A given prayer is often intended to alter the

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[2] Heiler, *Prayer*, 64.

[3] C. Keller, "Mystical Literature," in S. Katz, (ed.), *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis*, (1978), 94.

[4] Austin, J. L., *How to Do Things with Words*, edited by J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa (1975). Cf. M. Silverstein, "Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology," in P.R. Clyne, W.F. Hanks, and C.L. Hofbauer, *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels* (1979), 193–247.

[5] For a survey of current research on prayer, see Gill, "Prayer," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. An very useful recent consideration of the problem of prayer and its poetics in anthropology is P. Metcalf, *Where are you, Spirits* (1989); see especially the introduction, 1–27. The following studies are based on fieldwork and are primarily concerned with the function of ritual language in nonliterate societies: R. Finnegan, "How to Do Things with Words: Performative Utterances among the Limba of Sierra Leone," *Man*, n.s. 4 (1969) 537–52; S. Gill, "Prayer as Person: The Performative Force in Navaho Prayer Acts," *History of Religions* 17 (1977), 143–57; Gill, *Native American Religious Action: A Performance Approach to Religion* (1987); *Sacred Words: A Study of Navaho Religion and Prayer* (1981); B. Ray, "Performative Utterances in African Ritual," *History of Religions* 13 (1973), 16–35; see also S.J. Tambiah, "The Magical Power of Words," *Man*, n.s. 3 (1968) 177–208; cf. W. Wheelock, "The Problem of Ritual Language: From Information to Situation," *JAAR* 50 (1982), 49–71. On the study of Jewish prayer, see below, n. 8.

[6] On this point see especially Gill, "Prayer as Person."

mood or state of mind of the worshipper or community of worshippers; it may also be intended to affect the relationship between the worshipper and God, the Divine forces, or the world. Analysis of rhetorical and conventional features of a prayer text can uncover these functions.

The role of prayer in mysticism bears on these questions in significant ways. For as mysticism is seen as having its roots in an individual's experience, prayer in mysticism is often seen in terms of its effect on this experience.[7] Prayer may express a mystical state, but it may also serve to engender a mystical state. As we shall see, the latter function has been ascribed to prayer in ancient Jewish mysticism by earlier scholars of the phenomenon. This hypothesis is questioned and tested below in the case of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*.

II. Prayer Texts in Judaism and Diachronic Analysis

The earlier views of prayer described above have also come under criticism from students of ancient Jewish prayer. R. Sarason argues that prayer in classical Judaism, far from being the "very hearthstone of all piety,"[8] must be seen in the context of the Rabbinic system of worship, which stresses study and the performance of statutory obligations. T. Zahavy argues for a distinction between the study of prayer texts and the treatment of and evidence for prayer as an act.[9]

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[7] It is not the purpose of this study to address the problem of the terms mysticism and magic. For our purposes the term mysticism will be used heuristically to refer to the active effort of a person or persons to apprehend God directly, especially by means of a vision. The term magic in the context of ancient Judaism will refer to the use of ritual procedures involving divine names for practical purposes. On the problem of magic in ancient and medieval Judaism, see briefly M.D. Swartz, "Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Medieval Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah" *HTR* 83 (1990), 163–80 and L.H. Schiffman and M.D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1* (in press), Introduction. There an argument is made that the term magic is useful in the context of ancient and medieval Judaism as a category describing a distinct set of rhetorical and literary forms. It is not supposed here that there is an essential dichotomy between magic and religion.

[8] Heiler, *Prayer*, quoted in R. Sarason, "Religion and Worship," in J. Neusner (ed.), *Take Judaism, for Example* (1983), 49–65.

[9] T. Zahavy, "A New Approach to Early Jewish Prayer," in B. Bokser (ed.), *The History of Judaism: The Next Ten Years* (1980), 45–60. Gill also urges the consideration of prayer as an act. See "Prayer;" *Religious Action*; see especially pp. 89–146 on the problem of textuality in relation to prayer acts; and *Sacred Words*. On methodology in the study of Jewish prayer, see R. Sarason, "The Modern Study of Jewish Liturgy," and "Recent Developments in the Study of Jewish Liturgy," in J. Neusner (ed.), *The Study of Ancient Judaism*, vol. 1 (1981),

These scholars argue rightly for an approach which stresses placing the texts of prayer in the context of systemic analysis. Yet if the prayer in its legal or liturgical context plays its part in expressing the system of the community doing the praying, the prayer texts themselves often express something different. They express, among other things, the dynamics of the perceived relationship between the worshipper and God. God is referred to in one set of rules of discourse or activity – those of theology or law. But He is approached, addressed, entreated, praised, threatened, or thanked in another – the rhetorical canons of prayer.[10] Texts of prayer can have their own histories, and their own intrinsic formal and substantive characteristics which allow them to be set into their various contexts. The internal rhetoric of a prayer allows it to do something, while subsequent use of the text often makes it do something quite different. In such cases this disparity between a prayer's rhetorical dynamic and its contextual function is often manifest in how that prayer has been altered, truncated, or ornamented to serve its new role.

This problem calls for a distinction between the prayer and its rhetoric on the one hand, and its legal or literary context on the other. Such a distinction is made in the case of an ancient anthology of prayers such as *Ma'aseh Merkavah* through diachronic form-critical analysis of the text. By separating prayer passages from their redactional context, such an analysis can reveal the criteria and purposes for which the prayers were initially composed, and go on to describe how they were used in the system of the redactors. In addition, this analysis yields evidence for discrete layers of development of a religious phenomenon. It will be seen that prayer was used in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* for several distinct purposes, and that these purposes stand in significant contrast to the role of prayer in classical Rabbinic Judaism.[11]

Ma'aseh Merkavah also provides evidence for the use of literary units of prayer in contrasting contexts, that of Merkavah mysticism and that of the statutory liturgies of Rabbinic Judaism. The text contains parallels to prayers known from the traditional Jewish Babylonian and Palestinian liturgies. The value of these parallels is both historical and phenomenological; they allow us to determine whether the prayers originated in the mystical or liturgical tradition, and they allow us to see how the prayers operate in both contexts.

The purpose of this analysis of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is thus twofold. It is an effort to illumine the historical question of the development of Merkavah

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107–187; see also S. Reif, "Jewish Liturgical Research: Past, Present, and Future," *JJS* 34 (1983), 161–170.

[10] On this problem cf. the discussion in Metcalf, *Where are You, Spirits*, 3–4.

[11] On the form-critical methodology employed in this study and its implications for the study of Hekhalot literature, see Chapter 1 below.

mysticism as a system of apprehension of and communication with the Divine in Judaism of Late Antiquity. It is also an assessment the role of prayer in this process of development.

III. Merkavah Mysticism

Ma'aseh Merkavah is a central example of the texts of Merkavah mysticism, the visionary Jewish mysticism which flourished in Palestine and Babylonia in the second through eighth centuries, C. E. These texts are known as Hekhalot literature. The significance of Merkavah mysticism was first brought to the attention of scholars by Gershom Scholem in his *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*[12] and *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition.*[13] Scholem demonstrated its importance in the context of Judaism of Late Antiquity and suggested its implications for the study of classical, Rabbinic Judaism. As Scholem demonstrated, the Hekhalot texts contain some of the earliest evidence for Jewish mysticism and theurgy. Unlike other contemporary texts of Rabbinic religion, these texts center not on law, theology, or biblical exegesis, but on journeys purportedly undertaken by their authors through the *Hekhalot*, the seven heavenly "palaces" or chambers, to the Divine Chariot-Throne, the *Merkavah*. This journey, how to achieve it, and its dangers and rewards, are the heart of the literature, its organizing principle.

In *Ma'aseh Merkavah* prayer plays an active role, more so than in any other Hekhalot text. Prayers are seen in the text as the instruments by which the protagonists ascend, experience the vision of the upper realm, and protect themselves from the dangers of that vision. Because of the centrality of prayers and the qualities claimed for them in the text, *Ma'aseh Merkavah* can illuminate the question of the relationship of prayer to religious experience and mysticism in ancient Judaism.

Ma'aseh Merkavah also provides evidence for the changing function of prayer within the Hekhalot tradition. The form-critical analysis undertaken here demonstrates that the text underwent a process of evolution from a collection of prayers to be recited in community with the heavenly hosts, to a prescription for the active cultivation of the individual's ascent to and vision of the upper realm – that is, an evolution from liturgy to theurgy.

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[12] Second ed. (1954).

[13] Second ed. (1965). For an account of the modern study of Merkavah mysticism, see chapter 1 below.

IV. Prayer in Hekhalot Literature

Prayer is generally regarded as an important testimony to the experiential, mystical character of Hekhalot literature. Merkavah prayer has been seen to be characterized by the use of repetition of synonyms, a hypnotic rhythm, and a numinous quality. P. Bloch first advanced the idea that Merkavah prayer employed these qualities to induce a trance.[14] He noted that strings of synonyms appear in the prayers without reference to specific concepts or deeds of God, and without any logical progression. These passages were, according to Bloch,

> Purely pleonastic and unisonous words which do not in the least assist the process of thought but merely reflect the emotional struggle.[15]

These characteristics were thus seen as more important to the prayers than semantic and theological considerations.

Scholem took this idea further in his description of the prayer of Merkavah mysticism. Inspired by Rudolf Otto's category of the numinous,[16] Scholem saw in the strings of synonyms and what he termed the "pompous" rhetoric of the prayers a "polylogy" directly intended to aid the mystic in his vision of God.

> Almost all the hymns from the Hekhaloth tracts, particularly those whose text has been preserved intact, reveal a mechanism comparable to the motion of an enormous fly-wheel.
>
> In cyclical rhythm the hymns succeed each other, and within them the adjurations of God follow in a crescendo of glittering and majestic attributes, each stressing and reinforcing the sonorous power of the world. The monotony of their rhythm – almost all consist of verses of four words – and the progressively sonorous incantations induce in those who are praying a state of mind bordering on ecstasy.[17]

Several of the precise patterns which comprise this style have been analyzed in an important series of articles by Johann Maier.[18] Maier shows that the specific forms utilized in *Hekhalot Rabbati* and related texts – simple repetition, litanies of attributes, short clauses describing God, and the like – generate an

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[14] P. Bloch, "Die *Yorde Merkavah*, die Mystiker der Gaonzeit und ihrer Einfluss auf die Liturgie," *MGWJ*, O.S. 37 (1893), 18–25, 69–74, 257–66, 305–11.

[15] Bloch, *Yorde Merkavah*, 306, cited in Scholem, *Major Trends*, 58; Scholem's translation.

[16] R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (second ed., 1950).

[17] Scholem, *Major Trends*, 59–60.

[18] J. Maier, "'Attah hu 'Adon (Hekhalot Rabbati XXVI 5)," *Judaica* 22 (1966), 209–33; "Hekhalot Rabbati XXVII, 2–5," *Judaica* 21 (1965), 129–33; "Poetisch-liturgische Stücken aus dem 'Buch der Geheimnisse'," *Judaica* 24 (1968), 172–81; "Serienbildung und 'Numinoser' Eindruckseffekt in den poetischen Stücken der Hekhalot-Literatur," *Semitics* 3 (1973), 36–66.

accumulative rhythm which, according to Maier, aids in the process Scholem describes. The literary forms can thus be positively identified by these conspicuous features.

The descriptions of the character and function of Merkavah prayer described above were based to a great extent on *Hekhalot Rabbati*, the text which has been used most often as evidence for Merkavah mysticism.[19] Prayers in *Hekhalot Rabbati* may indeed have been composed for the purposes of engendering a mystical trance. *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, however, exhibits a rather different set of stylistic dynamics, with different implications for the role of prayer in Merkavah mysticism. The prayers which formed the basis for *Ma'aseh Merkavah* were not meant primarily to lift the worshipper from earthly contemplation to heavenly ascent, but to express his participation in an earthly liturgy corresponding to the angelic liturgy. Thus their primary purpose was evocative rather than instrumental. Only later did the authors of the narrative of the text attribute to the prayers the function of producing a vision of the Divine world.

In order to explain this process of evolution, it is necessary to describe *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, its subjects, themes, and strata of redaction. Once this has been accomplished, the character and function of prayer in the text will be analyzed, and the role of the text in the phenomenon of Merkavah mysticism will be evaluated.

V. *Ma'aseh Merkavah*

In 1946, Alexander Altmann published, from an important manuscript of Hekhalot literature, excerpts of a previously unpublished Hekhalot text.[20] Later Gershom Scholem published the entire text in *Jewish Gnosticism*,[21] giving it the name *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, "the work of the [Divine] Chariot" on the basis of a citation from Eleazar of Worms' *Sode Razaya'*.[22] *Ma'aseh Mer-*

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[19] On *Hekhalot Rabbati* see Scholem, *Gnosticism*, 6; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (1980), 150–173; and M. Smith, "Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati," in A. Altmann, (ed.) *Biblical and Other Studies* (1963), 142–160; D. Blumenthal, *Understanding Jewish Mysticism* 1 (1978).

[20]. A. Altmann, "*Shire Qedushah be-Sifrut ha-Hekhalot ha-Qedumah*," *Melilah* 2 (1946), 1–24. Scholem, however, did not acknowledge Altmann's prior publication.

[21] Pp. 103–17. On the manuscripts used by Altmann and Scholem, see Chapter 2 below.

[22] See *Gnosticism*, 76, 101. On this title, see Chapter 1, n. 18 below. The term *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is used in Rabbinic literature to denote the study and description of the great Chariot-throne of God, first described in the prophetic visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel. This throne is described in great detail in several of the Hekhalot texts, especially *Hekhalot*

kavah is included in Peter Schäfer's definitive synoptic edition of Hekhalot literature. Schäfer's edition forms the basis for this study.[23]

Altmann understood *Ma'aseh Merkavah* as an anthology of Hekhalot prayers to be recited in conjunction with the liturgical *qedushah*, the "sanctification," in which Isa. 6:3 is recited. He pointed out the longstanding relationship between visionary literature and hymn, and emphasized the liturgical references in the hymns.[24] He also dated the hymns in the first section of the text[25] to an earlier stage of Hekhalot literature, preceding the second section and preceding the prayers in *Hekhalot Rabbati*.[26]

A discussion of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* appears in I. Gruenwald's *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*.[27] Gruenwald distinguishes between two types of prayers in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*: that type which "lacks the ecstatic quality of the hymns we meet in *Hekhalot Rabbati* and thus resembles common religious poetry," and those at the end of the text (§ 586–596) which contain extensive magical names and thus "expose their magical function." Gruenwald differed with Altmann's view of the priority of the former type and suggests that the latter type may "represent a more original phase of *Hekhalot* hymnology than do their counterparts in *Hekhalot Rabbati*."[28] Gruenwald's case is in part built on Scholem's assertion that theurgic elements of the Merkavah phenomenon are as old as other elements[29] and on the idea described above that the primary purpose of Merkavah prayer is to induce a mystical trance. It will be seen that this study comes to different conclusions about the history and function of prayers in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*.

Ma'aseh Merkavah is the subject of a recent study by N. Janowitz.[30] In *Poetics*

Rabbati and the later treatise *Massekhet Hekhalot*. But paradoxically, this description is not prevalent in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*.

[23] P. Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (1981). *Ma'aseh Merkavah* extends in the *Synopse* from § 544–596. All references to *Ma'aseh Merkavah* in this study will follow the numbering of the *Synopse*. Other references to Hekhalot literature will also follow the *Synopse* unless otherwise noted. On the implications of Schäfer's edition and his methods for the study of Hekhalot literature, see Chapter 1 below.

[24] Altmann, "*Shire Qedushah*," 4–5.

[25] On the divisions of the text, see below.

[26] Altmann, "*Shire Qedushah*," 8. This dating is based on Scholem's opinion (*Major Trends*, 46–47) that the term *'aliyah*, "ascent [to the Merkavah]," which is prevalent in the first part of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, preceded the term *yeridah*, "descent." Scholem's judgment is based on his unproven theory of the antiquity of *Hekhalot Zutarti*, where *'aliyah* is used, in relationship to *Hekhalot Rabbati*, in which *yeridah* predominates. In chapter 18 of this study the dating of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is based primarily on stylistic criteria.

[27] Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic*, 181–90.

[28] Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic*, 182.

[29] Scholem, *Gnosticism*, 75.

[30] N. Janowitz, *The Poetics of Ascent: Theories of Language in a Rabbinic Ascent Text* (1989).

of Ascent, methods developed in structural and ethnographic linguistics are brought to bear on *Ma'aseh Merkavah* for the purposes of examining the theories of language in the text. Janowitz sees *Ma'aseh Merkavah* as expressing a distinct ideology of language in which the employment of the name and the reciting of the hymns accomplishes ascent. In the narrative, which frames reported speech, Rabbis Ishamel and Akiba serve as models for the reader, allowing the reader to participate in the act of ascent.

Janowitz's study is notable for its analysis of how magical language and divine names are used in the text as a whole, and of the implications of these conceptions for linguistic and ritual theory. It does not primarily address questions of the historical implications of the literary nature of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, of the prior development of the text or of the immediate context in which the prayer materials arose.[31] As is explained in Chapter 1 below on the textual study of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, such questions are occasioned by the composite nature of the Hekhalot literature, reflected in the literary evidence for the text. It will be shown that gross variations between the recensions and the inner dynamics of individual units allow us to look into the redactional – and thus the historical – process. In addition, it will be seen that the literary style of the prayers, such as parallelism and the accumulation of synonyms, reflect specific poetic techniques consciously employed by their composers.[32]

Although Janowitz acknowledges that textual variants and the presence of component materials do characterize *Ma'aseh Merkavah*,[33] her focus is on

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[31] Janowitz notes that *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is "a contextless text that cannot be placed in a specific historical community" (*Poetics of Ascent*, 15). Her approach to this problem is to see the text as "context creating" by virtue of the speech constructions in the narrative which attribute the power of ascent to the name of the deity in the prayers (ibid., 16). While this makes possible her analysis of the narrative's view of the function of the prayers and their magical names, it leaves open the question of the immediate context (the form critic's *Sitz im Leben*) in which the prayers arose. Cf. her discussion (ibid., 10–11) of Silverstein's distinction between purposive function and indexical function, based on M. Silverstein, "The culture of language in Chinookan narrative texts; or On saying that ... in Chinook," in J. Nichols and A. C. Woodbury, *Grammar Inside and Outside the Clause* (1985), 132.

[32] J. Fox, "Roman Jakobson and the Comparative Study of Parallelism," in D. Armstrong and C. H. van Schooneveld (eds.), *Roman Jakobson: Echoes of His Scholarship* (1977), 59–90, following R. Jakobson, "Parallelism and its Russian Facet," in S. Rudy (ed.), *Roman Jakobson: Selected Writings* (1981), 98, distinguishes between the idea of parallelism as a way of structuring rhetorical language and "canonical parallelism" as a specific poetic technique. Although the parallelism used in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is not "compulsory," that is, not strictly followed, the term will be used in this latter sense. This analysis will thus deal with the implications of the canonical parallelism of Hebrew poetry in Late Antiquity for *Ma'aseh Merkavah* in its cultural context. Cf. Janowitz, *Poetics of Ascent*, 11–12.

[33] *Poetics of Ascent*, pp. 4 and 22. Manuscript variations and problems of internal coherence are discussed in an appendix, pp. 113–26.

analyzing those materials in the narrative context of one manuscript's recension. Thus *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is treated in effect as a unitary document, reflecting a coherent ideology. In Janowitz's view, all elements and genres within the text – prayers, names, and narrative – contribute to this ideology.[34] Janowitz thus sees homologies between the various stylistic elements of the text and its ideological aspects – for example, between the poetic parallelism of the hymns and the framing structure of the narrative which reflects the text's concept of ascent. Likewise, synonyms are piled up in the name formulae and poetry in the way the heavens are piled up in the cosmology.[35]

The present study takes a different approach. Its goals are to uncover the process of development of the text, place *Ma'aseh Merkavah* primarily in historical context, and from there to consider the contrasting ways in which prayer is used by its composers and redactors. *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is therefore analyzed here form-critically and diachronically, with particular attention to the role of liturgical literature in the text. Literary and text-critical questions are thus placed at the center of this study. In addition, literary forms and styles, particularly of the prayers in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, are analyzed in comparison with their proximate sources in Jewish liturgical literature, the Hekhalot corpus, and the poetry of the Rabbinic period. It will be shown that these corpora are directly relevant for understanding the function of the prayers in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* as their composers understood it. The results and implications of this inquiry are described in this Introduction below.

A. The Development of the Text

Ma'aseh Merkavah actually consists of three texts, each composed of sayings attributed to Rabbis of the second century C. E. These texts are designated as Sections in this study. These texts consist of prayers framed by narrative. The narrative purports to tell how the these Rabbis acquired Divine visions and secrets. Section I tells how Rabbi Akiba learned the secrets of ascending through the layers of heaven, the Hekhalot, to witness God in His heavenly court and His Merkavah. Sections II and III tell how Rabbi Ishmael conjured the angels who imparted to him the secrets of acquiring wisdom. These angels are known as the "Prince of the Torah" (*Sar ha-Torah*) and the "Angel of the Presence" (*Mal'akh ha-Panim*).[36]

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[34] On Janowitz's approach to the problems of composite composition and historical context, see *Poetics of Ascent*, 15–16. Janowitz sees many of the components as reflecting "different tactics but similar general strategies" (p. 16).

[35] ibid., 87–88.

[36] On The *Sar ha-Torah* traditions see Scholem, *Major Trends*, 77–78; and Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic*, 143–44, 185–86.

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Dedicated to Miriam Shaked, with warmth, admiration and gratitude.



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Preface

This is the second of an envisaged seven volumes of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic magic bowls from the Schøyen Collection. It contains texts JBA 65 to JBA 119. Various factors delayed the appearance of the present volume, but it is hoped that subsequent volumes will appear in a more expeditious manner.

As with the first volume, we are grateful to Dr Naama Vilozny for providing illustrations and descriptions of the images contained in the bowls. We are grateful to Professor Matthew Morgenstern for his generous advice on various linguistic problems in the texts and for permission to use his photographs, both in this volume and on the Virtual Magic Bowl Archive (VMBA). The VMBA is in the process of being updated and upgraded; hopefully, there will be a full update on this in the next volume. We are also grateful to Siam Bhayro's erstwhile student, Dr Anne Burberry, for producing the Glossary and Lists, as well as checking the editions. Finally, we would like to thank our publisher and typesetter for their patience and expertise, particularly Erika Mandarino, Katelyn Chin, and, more recently, Emma de Looij and Bart Nijsten.

It was with great sadness and a profound sense of loss that, as this volume was being typeset, we learned of the passing of our friend, colleague and mentor, Professor Shaul Shaked.

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Abbreviations

1 En	1 Enoch
1QapGen	the Genesis Apocryphon
1 Sam	1 Samuel
4 Mac	4 Maccabees
abs.	absolute
act.	active
Akk.	Akkadian
Am	Amos
AMB	text from Naveh and Shaked 1985
AMBVMB	reference to Bhayro, Ford, Levene and Saar 2018
Aram.	Aramaic
BA	Biblical Aramaic
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BT	Babylonian Talmud
CAMIB	text in the British Museum, published in Segal 2000
conj.	conjunction
CPD	reference to MacKenzie 1971
CSD	reference to Payne-Smith 1903
CSIB	text from Moriggi 2014
Dan	Daniel
Davidovitz	bowl in a private collection to be published by J.N. Ford
DC	Drower Collection
DCG	bowl formerly in the David Crown Gallery to be published by J.N. Ford
dem.	demonstrative
Deut	Deuteronomy
DJBA	reference to Sokoloff 2002
DJPA	reference to Sokoloff 1990
DMMPP	reference to Durkin-Meisterernst 2004
DN	divine name
emph.	emphatic
encl.	enclitic
Est	Esther
Ex	Exodus
Ezr	Ezra
fem.	feminine
Gen	Genesis
Gr.	Greek
Gy	Ginza yamina (Right Ginza)
Heb.	Hebrew
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
Is	Isaiah
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
Jer	Jeremiah
JNF	bowl in an anonymous private collection to be published by J.N. Ford
JPA	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
l./ll.	line/lines
Lev	Leviticus
lit.	literally
LO	bowl in the Barakat Gallery
LXX	the Septuagint
M	text in the Moussaieff Collection
Mand.	Mandaic
masc.	masculine
MD	reference to Drower and Macuch 1963
MH	Mishnaic Hebrew
M-K	text from Müller-Kessler 2005a
Montgomery	text from Montgomery 1913
MP	Middle Persian
MQ	Moʿed Qatan
MRLA	Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity
MS	text in the Schøyen Collection
MSF	text from Naveh and Shaked 1993
MT	Masoretic Text
n./nn.	note/notes (in main section); noun (in Glossary)
ni.	*nifʿal*
Num	Numbers
obj.	object/objective
P	Peshiṭta
p.	person
pa.	*paʿʿel*
pass.	Passive
PC	bowl in a private collection to be published by J.N. Ford
pe.	*peʿal*
pi.	*piʿʿēl*
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
poss.	possessive
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun/pronominal
Ps	Psalms
ptc.	participle
quad.	quadriliteral
refl.	reflexive
rel.	relative
RH	Rabbinic Hebrew
SD	text in the Samir Dehays Collection
sg.	singular

SL	reference to Sokoloff 2009
s.v.	under the word (*sub voce*)
Syr.	Syriac
TO	Targum Onqelos
TPs-J	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
vb.	verb
Wolfe	bowl in a private collection to be published by J.N. Ford
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
Zech	Zechariah

List of Other Bowls

(in addition to AMB, CAMIB, CSIB, Davidovitz, JNF, LO, M, M-K, Montgomery, MS, MSF, PC, SD and Wolfe):

Aaron Bowl B	published in Geller 1986
Allard Pierson Museum bowl	published in Smelik 1978
Anonyme Privatsammlung Deutschland	published in Müller-Kessler 2013
BLMJ 10372	unpublished
Deutsch 6	unpublished
Geller B	published in Geller 1980
Gordon B	published in Gordon 1934b
Gordon E	published in Gordon 1934b
Gordon H	published in Gordon 1937
Gordon 11	published in Gordon 1941
IM 142131	published in Faraj 2010
Moriah Bowl I	published in Gordon 1984

Sigla

[.]	missing letter
[...]	missing letters
[xxx]	restored letters
{xxx}	superfluous letters
⟨xxx⟩	scribal omission
𐡀	partially preserved letter

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AN ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXT*

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Abstract

Incantation bowls are generally written in a formal standardized literary Eastern Aramaic. The present article publishes a new incantation bowl that is written in Hebrew square characters and is directed against various types of malevolent forces. Its text runs from the bottom of the vessel to the top in spiral form in eight lines. It is part of a collection housed in the Iraq Museum (IM 212092). Its provenance is unknown.

In this article I wish to add a new Aramaic incantation bowl (IM 212092) to the body of texts presently known. Unfortunately, its provenance is not known, but it is now located in the Iraq Museum (IM 212092). The text runs from the bottom of the vessel to the top in spiral form.

The text asks for protection from various evils for a man and his wife, their children (sons and daughters), his house, his threshold, his residence, his dwelling, his seed, all his property and his whole household.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the forms of the letters *h* and *ḥ* are identical, and they were probably pronounced alike.[1] It is often hard to distinguish *d* from *r*, and *b* from *k*. Most troublesome are *w*, *y* and final *n*, all of which are similar.

In the following transcription, line numbers are in parentheses ( ) and restorations are enclosed in square brackets [ ].

Description

15cm × 6cm flat-based bowl with simple rim inscribed in a spiral from the centre outwards, enclosed in inner and outer circles. Provenance unknown.

* I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr Sebastian Brock for kindly discussing with me the text studied here.

[1] H. Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts* (Studia Orientalia 86, Helsinki 1999), 34ff.

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Text

(1.) לישמך הגדול אני עושה אסותא וחתמתא וזרזתא ונטרתא מן שמיא תיהוי ליה לנרסה בר גינבוד (2.) ולהורמיזת אנהיד אינתתיה ולבתיה ולבניה ולבנאתיה די[ח]סון ויתחתמון ויתנטרון ברחמי שמיא מן ליליאתא ומן מבכ־ לאתא (3.) ומן לוטאתא ומן נידרי ומן כל חרשין בישין ומן כל עובדין תקיפין ומן כל מיני שדראתא דליליא ודימאמא אשבעית עלך (4.) שרפיאל מלאכה דהוא ממני על כל עיקרי עלמא בשום יהוה צבאות אלהא דישראל יושיב הכרובים אתקים עיקר ובטיל כל פיטיארותא ושידי ושידניאתא וחילמי (5.) סניי וחיזואני בישי וליליאתא ומבכלאתא ולוטאתא ונידרי וחרשי ועובדי ומלויאתא מן נרסה בר גינבוד ומן הורמיזת אנהיד אינתתיה ומן בנין ובנאתה דאית להון ודהון להון (6.) מן ביתיה ומן דירתיה ומן [מדור]תיה ומן זרעיה ומן קינייה בשום גבריאל שר הצבא ומיכאל שר הקדישים ורפאל בעל הרפואית ונוריאל בעל ראש נורא ועקלקיאל מלאכה מזיע רבא דכל בני מרימא (7.) אתון חיתמוה ו[זירז]וה ונטרוה לנרסה בר גינבוד ולהורמיזת אנהיד אינתתיה ולבניה ולבנאתיה ולדירתיה ולמדורתיה ולזרעיה ולקינייה ולכוליה ביתיה מן מלויאתא ומן שידי ומן שידניאתא (8.) ומן ליליאתא ומן מבכלאתא ומן לוטאתא ומן נידרי ומן כל חרשין בישין ומן כל עובדין תקיפין ומן כל מי[נ]י שדראתא דליליא ו]דימאמא ומן חילמי ומן חיזואני בישי וסניי אמן אמן סלה.

Translation

(1.) By your great name I act; may there be healing and sealing and arming and guarding from heaven for Narseh son of Ginbod (2.) and for Hormizat Anahîd his wife, and for his house and his sons and his daughters; that they may be healed and sealed and guarded by the mercy of heaven from Liliths and monsters (3.) and curses and vows and all evil sorceries and all powerful magic practices and all species of dispatches of night and day, I adjure you (4.) Seraphiel, the angel who is appointed over all the roots of the world in the name of Yahweh, Lord of Hosts, God of Israel, that dwells between the cherubim, stay firm, keep uprooting and annulling all malice and demons and she-demons and hateful (5.) dreams and evil visions and Liliths and monsters and curses and vows and sorceries and magic practices and escorts from Narseh son of Ginbod and Hormizat Anahîd his wife and sons and his daughters, that they have and that they shall have, (6.) from his house and his dwelling and his residence and his seed and his property in the name of Gabriel, captain of the host, and Michael, the chief of holy ones, and Raphael, the master of cures, and Nuriel, the master of the head of fire, and ʻAqalqiel, the angel, the great frightener of all the children of the Heights; (7.) you, seal and arm and guard Narseh son of Ginbod and Hormizat Anahîd his wife, and his sons and his daughters and his residence and his dwelling

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and his seed and his property and all of his house from escorts and demons and she-demons (8.) and Liliths and monsters and curses and vows and all evil sorceries and all powerful magic practices and all species of dispatches of night and day and dreams and evil and hateful apparitions, Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

Inscribed bowl with eight lines for a man and his family against all evil spirits.

L.1. **לישמך הגדול אני עושה**: this is a frequent Hebrew formula indicating God's support.
זרזתא: this occurs especially in Mandaic incantation bowls.
נרסה: Persian name.[2] It appears in one of the McCullough Mandaic bowls as ***n'rs'y***.[3]
גינבוד: the masculine name **גינבוד** is new in the bowls. We could read it as **גינבור** because of the similarity of the letters *d* and *r*.

L. 2. **הורמיזת אנהיד**: this is a compound feminine Persian name.
הורמיזת: female proper name commonly found in the Montgomery texts as the masculine *Hormiz*.[4] **אנהיד** is the Iranian name for the planet Venus, found in an incantation published by Gordon.[5]
די[ת]סון: in the original, **ת** was first omitted, then added supralinearly.

L. 3. **שדראתא**: 'dispatches' or possibly 'emissaries'.[6]

L. 4. **שרפיאל**[7]: this angel appears in Montgomery's bowls as **סרפיאל** (Nos 14, 5 and 19, 8).[8]
יושיב הכרובים: biblical phrase used as an epithet of Yahweh, e. g. 1 Sam. 4:4, 2 Sam. 6:2, and 1 Chron. 13:6. The second *yod* in **יושיב** represents *ṣere*.

[2] F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg 1895), 225, 504.

[3] W.S. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean Incantation Bowls in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto 1967), 52.

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[7] The original **שׂ** merged with **ס**, see W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Amsterdam 1966), 58, 74 and S. Moscati, et al., *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Wiesbaden 1969), 35–6.

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L. 5. **מלויאתא**: an active participle pa'el in feminine plural of the root **לְוָא**, **לְוִי** meaning 'to escort'.[9] It is, probably equivalent to the female demon in Arabic *Tābi'ah* 'she who accompanies'. **מלויתא** describes Lilith, the childbirth-afflicting demoness, on Jewish Aramaic bowls.[10]

L. 6 **שר הצבא**: an angelic title in Josh. 5:14 (though the angel is unnamed there).

In this incantation we have a list of five angels' names: Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Nuriel and 'Aqalqiel.[11]

שר הקדישים: the reference to Michael as *sar ha-qaddīshīm* is based on Dan. 10:13, where Michael is 'one of the *sārīm*'.

נוריאל בעל ראש נורא: 'Nuriel master of the head of fire' appears in another incantation bowl (IM 212103) as **נוריאל איסרא דנורא** 'Nuriel angel of fire'.[12]

עקלקיאל: this is probably the name of an angel. It has appeared in one other Aramaic incantation bowl (IM 2929).[13] The second element is El.

מזיע: participle active af'el of the root **זוּעַ** meaning 'frighten'.[14] It appears in the Gordon bowls (Text H, 3).[15]

L. 7. **זירזוה**: the root **זרז** is found elsewhere in the Montgomery bowls.

כוליה: signifies 'whole'. It is known in the Montgomery bowls (No. 7, 15).[16]

L. 8. [**מי**]**ני שדראתא דליליא**: the incantation bowl has been physically damaged, but the first two letters are very clear. The lost letters can be restored from **מיני שדראתא דליליא**, which also appears in line 3.

Address for correspondence: baha_amer@yahoo.com

[9] M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, Vol. 2 (London 1903), 697.

[10] J. Naveh, and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of late Antiquity*[2] (Jerusalem 1987), 198–203.

[11] For the order of angels, see: Montgomery, op. cit, 96.

[12] Bahaa Amer Al-Jubouri, 'An Aramaic Incantation Bowl in Iraq Museum', *Sumer* 65 (2011), 26.

[13] Ali H. Faraj, 'Aramaico orientale e coppe magiche mesopotamiche: riflessioni e definizioni', *Mesopotamia* 42 (2007), 272.

[14] Jastrow, op. cit., 389.

[15] Cyrus H. Gordon, 'Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls', *Archiv Orientální* 9 (1937), 86.

[16] Montgomery, op. cit., 147.

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IM 212092

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AN ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXT*

BAHAA AMER AL-JUBOURI

UNIVERSITY OF BAGHDAD

Abstract

Incantation bowls are generally written in a formal standardized literary Eastern Aramaic. The present article publishes a new incantation bowl that is written in Hebrew square characters and is directed against various types of malevolent forces. Its text runs from the bottom of the vessel to the top in spiral form in eight lines. It is part of a collection housed in the Iraq Museum (IM 212092). Its provenance is unknown.

In this article I wish to add a new Aramaic incantation bowl (IM 212092) to the body of texts presently known. Unfortunately, its provenance is not known, but it is now located in the Iraq Museum (IM 212092). The text runs from the bottom of the vessel to the top in spiral form.

The text asks for protection from various evils for a man and his wife, their children (sons and daughters), his house, his threshold, his residence, his dwelling, his seed, all his property and his whole household.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the forms of the letters *h* and *ḥ* are identical, and they were probably pronounced alike.[1] It is often hard to distinguish *d* from *r*, and *b* from *k*. Most troublesome are *w*, *y* and final *n*, all of which are similar.

In the following transcription, line numbers are in parentheses ( ) and restorations are enclosed in square brackets [ ].

Description

15cm × 6cm flat-based bowl with simple rim inscribed in a spiral from the centre outwards, enclosed in inner and outer circles. Provenance unknown.

* I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr Sebastian Brock for kindly discussing with me the text studied here.

[1] H. Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts* (Studia Orientalia 86, Helsinki 1999), 34ff.

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Text

(1.) לישמך הגדול אני עושה אסותא וחתמתא וזרזתא ונטרתא מן שמיא תיהוי ליה לנרסה בר גינבוד (2.) ולהורמיזת אנהיד אינתתיה ולבתיה ולבניה ולבנאתיה די[ח]סון ויתחתמון ויתנטרון ברחמי שמיא מן ליליאתא ומן מבכ־ לאתא (3.) ומן לוטאתא ומן נידרי ומן כל חרשין בישין ומן כל עובדין תקיפין ומן כל מיני שדראתא דליליא ודימאמא אשבעית עלך (4.) שרפיאל מלאכה דהוא ממני על כל עיקרי עלמא בשום יהוה צבאות אלהא דישראל יושיב הכרובים אתקים עיקר ובטיל כל פיטיארותא ושידי ושידניאתא וחילמי (5.) סניי וחיזואני בישי וליליאתא ומבכלאתא ולוטאתא ונידרי וחרשי ועובדי ומלויאתא מן נרסה בר גינבוד ומן הורמיזת אנהיד אינתתיה ומן בנין ובנאתה דאית להון ודהון להון (6.) מן ביתיה ומן דירתיה ומן [מדור]תיה ומן זרעיה ומן קינייה בשום גבריאל שר הצבא ומיכאל שר הקדישים ורפאל בעל הרפואית ונוריאל בעל ראש נורא ועקלקיאל מלאכה מזיע רבא דכל בני מרימא (7.) אתון חיתמוה ו[זירז]וה ונטרוה לנרסה בר גינבוד ולהורמיזת אנהיד אינתתיה ולבניה ולבנאתיה ולדירתיה ולמדורתיה ולזרעיה ולקינייה ולכוליה ביתיה מן מלויאתא ומן שידי ומן שידניאתא (8.) ומן ליליאתא ומן מבכלאתא ומן לוטאתא ומן נידרי ומן כל חרשין בישין ומן כל עובדין תקיפין ומן כל מי[נ]י שדראתא דליליא ו]דימאמא ומן חילמי ומן חיזואני בישי וסניי אמן אמן סלה.

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MAGICAL AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF LATE ANTIQUITY 8
SERIES EDITORS *Shaul Shaked and Siam Bhayro*

Aramaic Incantation Bowls in Museum Collections

The Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities at Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena houses one of the major European collections of incantation bowls. Forty bowls bear texts written in the Jewish, Manichaean Syriac or Mandaic scripts, and most of the rest (some twenty-five objects) in the Pahlavi script or in various pseudoscripts. The present volume comprises new editions of the Aramaic (and Hebrew) bowl texts based on high-resolution photographs taken by the authors, together with brief descriptions and photographs of the remaining material. New readings are often supported with close-up photographs. The volume is intended to serve as a basis for further study of magic in late Antiquity and of the Late Eastern Aramaic dialects in which the texts were composed.

James Nathan Ford, Ph.D. (2003) in Ugaritic magic, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, is Associate Professor in Semitic Languages at Bar-Ilan University. His research interests include Semitic philology and ancient Near Eastern and Jewish magic.

Matthew Morgenstern, Ph.D. (2002) in Babylonian Aramaic, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, is Professor in Hebrew and Semitic Languages at Tel Aviv University. His research interests include Eastern Aramaic grammar and lexicography and the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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MAGICAL AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF LATE ANTIQUITY 8

Aramaic Incantation Bowls in Museum Collections

VOLUME ONE

The Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, Jena

James Nathan Ford and Matthew Morgenstern



BRILL

Aramaic Incantation Bowls in Museum Collections

Volume One: The Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, Jena

By

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Cover image: Bowl HS 3034 from the Hilprecht collection.

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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

In memory of
Dan Ford (*1962–1986*) *and Philip Morgenstern* (*1932–2018*)



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Preface

The present study presents a new edition of all of the legible Aramaic incantation bowl texts in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities at Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. The preparation of such an edition, which was undertaken over the course of several years, would not have been possible without the collaboration and support of many colleagues, whose assistance we would like to acknowledge here.

First and foremost, Professor Dr. Manfred Krebernik, the curator of the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection, welcomed both authors on separate occasions to Jena and kindly granted us access to the original artifacts and permission to photograph and publish them. As a scholar with wide experience in publishing ancient inscriptions, Professor Krebernik graciously supported our endeavours to improve the readings of the *editio princeps* and to produce a new edition of the texts. We deeply appreciate his dedication to critical scholarship.

One item in the collection, HS 3005, is currently on loan to the Kultur- und Stadthistorisches Museum Duisburg. We would like to thank Dr. Andrea Gropp and Ms. Sylvia Stark for facilitating the photographing of the bowl.

The largest documented collection of unpublished incantation bowls is that of the Martin Schøyen Collection of Oslo and London. To date, one volume of this collection has been published, while others are in advanced states of preparation. We wish to thank Professor Shaul Shaked and Professor Siam Bhayro for permission to cite from the unpublished editions, which are being prepared in collaboration with one of the present authors, J.N. Ford. Other scholars who have generously shared their unpublished work with us include Professor Dan Levene, Professor Marco Moriggi, Dr. Alexey Lyavdansky, Dr. Katherine Blanchard and Dr. Ortal-Paz Saar. In a field where many of the texts are damaged or fragmentary, and much of the material remains unpublished or uncollated, good collaborative relationships between scholars make a substantial difference to the quality of the editions.

We would also like to express our deep gratitude to a number of people who generously gave us access to their unpublished magic bowls. In particular, Ms. Lisa Marie Knothe allowed us to photograph and study a large number of bowls formerly in her possession. Mr. L. Alexander Wolfe likewise granted us access to his large collection and facilitated our access to other private collections. We are similarly indebted to Steve Adler J.D., Mr. Maher Aweidah, Mr. Fayez Barakat, Mr. Gil Davidovitz and Ms. Ester Davidovitz, Hajj Nabil al-Hroub, Dr. David Jeselsohn, Mr. Yosef Matisyahu, the late Dr. Shlomo Moussaieff, Mr. Akram Sawalha, Mr. David Sofer and Mr. Sami Taha. Access to these bowls has been of inestimable benefit to our work and they are cited on almost every page.

Dr. Ohad Abudraham made a substantial contribution to this volume. He not only prepared the Glossary and most of the other lists, but also read the entire manuscript and offered many valuable comments. Some have been cited in his name and others incorporated anonymously. We are also grateful to Professor Gideon Bohak for reading the manuscript and sharing with us from his vast knowledge of Jewish magic. Dr. Domenico Agostini kindly provided us with an analysis of the cursive scripts of the bowls in section IV. Our comments on the Pahlavi and Pahlavi-like scripts are based on his evaluation.

With the generous permission of Professor Krebernik, high-resolution close-up digital photographs of the entire collection taken by the authors will be made freely available for academic study and teaching at the Virtual Magic Bowl Archive, maintained under the auspices of the University of Exeter (http://humanities-research.exeter.ac.uk/vmba/).

This research was supported by Israel Science Foundation grants 1306/12 (Ford) and 329/17 (Morgenstern).

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Abbreviations

1QIsa[a]	The Great Isaiah Scroll
1QS	Rule of the Community (*Serekh Hayaḥad*)
2Sam	2 Samuel
A	bowl in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology
AA	bowl (formerly) in the collection of Abraham Antiquities, Jerusalem (being edited by J.N. Ford)
abs.	absolute
adj.	adjective
Adler	bowl in the collection of Steve Adler J.D. (being edited by J.N. Ford)
adv.	adverb
af.	*afʿel*
AIT	bowl edited in Montgomery 1913
AMB	text edited in Naveh and Shaked 1985
AO	bowl in the collection of the Département des Antiquités orientales, Louvre
art.	article
AS	bowl in the collection of Mr. Akram Sawalha (being edited by J.N. Ford)
B	bowl in the collection of the Near East Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (formerly labelled CBS "Collections of the Babylonian Section")
b.	Babylonian Talmud (*Bavli*)
Ber	Berakhot
Berlin	bowl in the collection of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte zu Berlin
BLMJ	bowl in the collection of the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem
BM	bowl in the collection of the British Museum, London
BM	*Bava Meṣiʿa*
BPC	bowl in an anonymous British private collection (being edited by J.N. Ford)
BQ	*Bava Qamma*
c.	common
CAD	reference to *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1956–2010
CAIB	bowl edited in Isbell 1975
CAL	Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon
CAMIB	bowl edited in Segal 2000
conj.	conjunction
cohort.	cohortative
CPA	Christian Palestinian Aramaic
cstr.	construct
Dan	Daniel
Davidovitz	bowl in the collection of Mr. Gil Davidovitz and Ms. Ester Davidovitz (being edited by J.N. Ford)
DC	Drower Collection
DCG	bowl (formerly) in the collection of David Crown Gallery, Jerusalem (being edited by J.N. Ford)
DCH	reference to *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, 1993–2011
def.	definite
dem.	demonstrative
Deut	Deuteronomy

DJBA	reference to Sokoloff 2002
DCPA	reference to Sokoloff 2014
DJPA	reference to Sokoloff 2017
DNWSI	reference to Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995
du.	dual
DS	bowl in the collection of Mr. David Sofer (being edited by J.N. Ford)
ENA	manuscript in the Jewish Theological Seminary Library, E.N. Adler Collection
encl.	enclitic
Esth	Esther
Ex	Exodus
f.	feminine
GenAp	Genesis Apocryphon
Gesenius[18]	reference to *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 18th edit., 1987–2010
Gilgamesh	The Epic of Gilgamesh (ed. George 2003)
Gy	Ginza Yamina
H-	bowl in the collection of the Hecht Museum, University of Haifa
Heb.	Hebrew
hif.	*hifʿil*
hitpa.	*hitpaʿʿel*
HPS	*Sefer Halachot Pesuqot* (Codex Sassoon 263)
HS	bowl in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, Jena
HUC	manuscript in the collection of the Hebrew Union College
HUIA	bowl in the collection of the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Ḥul	*Ḥullin*
IM	bowl in the collection of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
IMJ	bowl in the collection of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
interj.	interjection
interrog.	interrogative
Isa	Isaiah
Istanbul	bowl in the collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum
ittaf.	*ittafʿal*
itpa.	*itpaʿʿal*
itpe.	*itpeʿel*
Jb	Johannesbuch
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
JHMB	bowl in the collection of the Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade
JIB	bowl in the collection of Dr. David Jeselsohn (being edited by J.N. Ford)
JMP	text edited in Friedman 1981
JNF	bowl in private collections being edited by J.N. Ford (courtesy of Ms. Lisa Marie Knothe)
LO	bowl in the collection of the Barakat Gallery, London (being edited by S. Bhayro, M. Morgenstern and J.N. Ford)
m.	masculine
m.	Mishna

MAU	bowl in the collection of the Musée Archéologique of the Université Saint-Esprit of Kaslik
MBL	bowl in the collection of the Martin Bodmer Library
MD	reference to Drower and Macuch 1963
MECC	bowl in the collection of the Middle East Culture Center in Japan, Mitaka
MIT	text edited in Yamauchi 1967
MK	Christa Müller-Kessler
MMA	bowl in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
Moussaieff	bowl in the collection of Dr. Shlomo Moussaieff
MRLA	Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity
MRLA 1	bowl edited in Shaked, Ford and Bhayro 2013
MRLA 2	bowl edited in Levene 2013
MRLA 3	bowl edited in Moriggi 2014
MRLA 7	bowl edited in Bhayro et al. 2018
MS	bowl in the collection of Mr. Martin Schøyen (being edited by Sh. Shaked, J.N. Ford and S. Bhayro)
Vat.ebr.	manuscript in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
MSF	text edited in Naveh and Shaked 1993
MT	Masoretic Text
MTKG I	text edited in Schäfer and Shaked 1994
MTKG II	text edited in Schäfer and Shaked 1997
MTKG III	text edited in Schäfer and Shaked 1999
n.	noun
Ned	*Nedarim*
nif.	*nifʿal*
Nippur	bowl excavated at Nippur, presumably in the Iraq Museum
NLI JER	bowl in the collection of the National Library of Israel, Jerusalem (formerly labelled JNL)
Num	Numbers
num.	number
NYPL	manuscript in the New York Public Library
obj.	object
OIM	bowl in the collection of the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago
Or.	text in T-S, Oriental Boxes
Or. Sim.	manuscript in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung
p.	person
pa.	*paʿel*
part.	particle
pass.	passive
PC	bowl in an anonymous private collection (being edited by J.N. Ford and M. Morgenstern)
PGM	reference to text published in Preisendanz 1973–1974
pe.	*peʿal*
pf.	perfect
pi.	*piʿel*
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronominal; pronoun
Prov	Proverbs

Ps	Psalms
ptc.	participle
quad.	*quadriliteral*
quadref.	*quadriliteral reflexive*
recipr.	reciprocal
rel.	relative
Rev	Revelation
RRC	text in the collection of Rbai Rafid al-Sabti of Neijmegen (being edited by M. Morgenstern and reproduced by kind permission of the custodian of the collection)
ROM	bowl in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum
S-	bowl in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg
San	*Sanhedrin*
SD	bowl in the collection of Mr. Samir Dehays (being edited by D. Levene)
sg.	singular
SL	reference to Sokoloff 2009
SLBA	Standard-Literarisch-Babylonisch-Aramäisch
SŠHai	text edited in Assaf 1930
s.v.	under the word (*sub voce*)
Šab	*Šabbat*
Švu	*Ševu'ot*
T	bowl in the collection of the Israel Antiquities Authority, Mishor Adumin
t.	Tosefta
Taha	bowl (formerly) in the collection of Mr. Sami Taha (being edited by J.N. Ford)
Tarshish	bowl (formerly) in the collection of Tarshish Y. Zadok & Sons (being edited by J.N. Ford and M. Morgenstern)
TPs	Targum to Psalms
TEsth2	Second Targum of Esther
TJ	Targum Jonathan
TProv	Targum to Proverbs
TPsJ	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
TMHC 7	bowl edited in Müller-Kessler 2005a.
TO	Targum Onkelos
T-S	manuscript in the Taylor-Schechter Collection, Cambridge University Library
vb.	verb
VA	bowl in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VA.Bab.	bowl in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VK	bowl in the collection of the Finnish National Museum, Helsinki
VT	bowl in the collection of the Biblisches Institut Misericorde, Fribourg
Wolfe	bowl in the collection of Mr. L. Alexander Wolfe (being edited by J.N. Ford)
y.	Palestinian Talmud (*Yerushalmi*)
YBC	bowl in the Yale Babylonian Collection
YM	bowl in the collection of Mr. Yosef Matisyahu (being edited by M. Morgenstern and J.N. Ford)
Zech	Zechariah

Sigla

[.]	missing letter
[...]	missing letters
[א]	restored letter
{א}	superfluous letter
⟨א⟩	scribal omission
(א)	uncertain reading
א	partially preserved letter
x	undeciphered letter (partially or entirely preserved)

Introduction

In 2005, the collection of Aramaic incantation bowls from the Frau Hilprecht Collection was published in an *editio princeps* by Christa Müller-Kessler (henceforth: MK). This ground-breaking work presented full transcriptions (into Latin script) and translations into German of all the legible texts in the collection accompanied by introductory notes listing for each item its dimensions, state of preservation, script, language, text-layout, number of lines, illustrations, client names and contents (including lists of parallels from other bowl texts). Previous publications of the text or photographs thereof were noted, as well as extensive literature relating to the text. The text and translation were furnished with a philological commentary. Black and white photographs of the texts of reasonable quality were printed at the end of the book. MK supplemented the volume with first editions or re-publications of a considerable number of parallel bowl texts (25 bowls), most known with certainty to have come from Nippur, as did the bowls in the Hilprecht collection. She also included a first edition of a section of a late Mandaic magical text from the Drower Collection and a re-edition of part of an early Mandaic lead amulet.

MK is to be commended for having published the entire corpus of the Hilprecht collection of incantation bowls, while previous scholars (e.g. Gordon) had merely selected for themselves some of the more legible texts. Every re-edition of a textual corpus seeks to build upon the accomplishments of previous editors, and in the present case our edition is particularly indebted to the work of MK.[2] The reader will immediately note that in most texts the greater part of our readings concur with those of MK. Nevertheless, in our opinion, her edition suffers from a number of weaknesses which justified the production of a new edition of the texts.

First and foremost are the numerous speculative emendations which mar almost every transcription (see already Morgenstern 2010a: 283 and *passim*). No one doubts that the practitioners who wrote the bowls sometimes made errors; they themselves occasionally corrected the texts that they wrote. Nevertheless, in our opinion, many of MK's emendations are gratuitous and are based on an idiosyncratic view of what *should* be written, rather than an attempt to understand what *is* written, both in terms of grammar and formulation. Other emendations stem from misreadings; the need for any emendation disappears when the text is correctly read. The following are representative examples; others are presented in the commentary throughout the book.

1. Gratuitous emendations:

HS 3001:1: וממי אינתה ו{ל}⟨ד⟩ממי אינתה "und seiner Frau Mamay." The preposition **l**- here provides valuable rare testimony to a colloquialism in Eastern Aramaic, which is lost when the text is unnecessarily emended.

HS 3003:8: מדד בשעולו מים {שמדד}{ב}מ⟨י⟩ "bei demjenigen, der das Wasser mit seiner hohlen Hand mißt." In the parallel passage in IM 114987:7 (TMHC 7, 4a), MK transcribes the identical text as במ⟨י⟩ שמדד {מדד} בשעולו מים "idem." The repetition of מדד is obscure, but the colloquial spelling of **m**- for **my** "who" is otherwise attested in rabbinic sources and need not be emended. The adaptation of biblical verses (here Isa 40:12a: מִי מָדַד בְּשָׁעָלוֹ מַיִם) to the context of the magic text is a common phenomenon in Jewish magic and there is no reason to delete the relative pronoun **š**-, whereas the preposition **b**- at the beginning of the expression is required by the preceding verb.

HS 3003:6 and 8: {נגדו וארתיקו}. By interpreting these words in line 4 of the text as verbs, MK is forced to propose that they appear in lines 6 and 8 as scribal errors that are to be deleted. However, when these words are regarded as names of supernatural beings or parts thereof in accordance with the interpretation of Naveh and Shaked 1985: 196 (an interpretation now unequivocally proven by additional parallels), there is no need to emend the text.

HS 3005:2–3: דרוח⟨א וד⟩לוטתא "der (bösen) Ruh⟨a⟩ ⟨und des⟩ Fluches." The emendation is unnecessary, since the construction רוח לוטתא "a curse spirit" is entirely legitimate and, moreover, is attested in other magic bowl texts.

HS 3012:1: MK transcribes וזירקנים וזירקנים וזירק{ט}נים ושם מ⟨יט⟩טרון. The words are part of an enumeration of magic names, some resembling names of angels. MK adduces no parallel and it is not clear to the present authors on what basis she determines that וזירקטנים is an error for וזירקנים. The words are preceded by a series of five magic names that similarly show slight variations (MK reads עדריאל ועדרים עדריאל עדראל). MK also discerns the name of the angel Meṭaṭron based on an emendation of מטרון to מיטטרון. Here, too, the emendation is not convincing. The basic reading of the word is uncertain due to the difficulty of distinguishing between *bet*/*kaf* and *dalet*/*resh*, but מטרון is paleographically

2 The basic transcriptions and translations of the Syriac bowls were completed before we had access to Moriggi's 2014 study. We have since revised some of our readings. In cases where our reading or interpretation is dependent upon Moriggi's study we have endeavoured to acknowledge our debt. In other cases we merely note the correspondence between the two studies.

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impossible. We would read מטבלון or מטכלון. The reading מטרלון appears less likely. In any case, the material reading does not invite an emendation to מיטטרון. Nor is there any specific contextual evidence in support of a reference to Meṭaṭron in this text. Note that there is no paleographic basis for the initial *waw* in the first occurrence of וזירקנים (we transcribe זורקניס).

HS 3016:1: בר{י}ה "ihres Sohnes." There is no compelling reason why this word must be interpreted as "her son" rather than "his son." Furthermore, the use of the -**yh** pronoun for 3 f. sg. is well attested, and so no emendation would be necessary even if this interpretation were to be favoured.

HS 3019:1: ציתתון "ihr hört." Since additional examples of 2 m. pl. participles written without the *yod* can be adduced, there is no reason to emend the spelling of our text. The *scriptio defectiva* reflects a different *scribal practice*, rather than a *scribal error*.

HS 3022:3: {קניסס}. It is unclear how an emendation can be proposed to a portion of text containing meaningless magical words, since there are no criteria for establishing what the "correct" or coherent text may be (cf. above, HS 3012:1).

HS 3023:1: ⟨כי ביה⟩ יהוה צב[אות צו]ר עולמ⟨י⟩ם "⟨denn in YH⟩ YHWH Ṣeb[aot (= YHWH) ist der Fel]s der Ewig⟨k⟩eit." MK emends the text on the assumption that we have here a biblical quotation (Isa 26:4b: כִּי בְיָהּ יְהוָה צוּר עוֹלָמִים). In fact, it appears that we are dealing with a series of divine epithets, "YHWH Saba[oth], the Eternal [Ro]ck." With respect to the *scriptio defectiva* עולמם, cf. above, note to HS 3019:1.

HS 3026:5: [י]ק⟨ד⟩ר "männlich[en] … Kleinkinder." MK emends the text, though the form דדקי may be easily explained as the well-attested by-form דעדקי "little boys" with the loss of the *ʿayin* (the transcriptions of the second letter as *dalet* and *resh* are paleographically equivalent). MK reconstructs the final *yod*, but it is clearly visible in the photograph.

HS 3027:2: ⟨ד⟩בדרכ "auf deinem Weg." There are no grounds for emending the text of Deut 6:7. The bowl text's reading, בדרך "on the road," accords with all traditions of the text of the Hebrew Bible.

HS 3034:1: [ידי]דש הון⟨י⟩מלכ "König ⟨d⟩er Š[edas]." MK unnecessarily emends the text, as מלכהון "their king" is an entirely legitimate form. She presents the same reading מלכהון in a parallel text (IM 141802:1; TMHC 7, 12a) without emendation (similarly, p. 62, n. 24).

HS 3034:6: ⟨ו⟩גליף דציר "dem eingeritzt und eingraviert ist." The asyndetic writing of the two passive participles דציר גליף is widely attested in this formula and can hardly be a scribal error.

2. Emendations based on misreadings:

HS 3008:2: מן ⟨…⟩ ⟨א⟩לילית "Lilit ⟨…⟩ aus." The correct reading is מן דילות "who accompanied."

HS 3015:2: {י}ה כותכ(!)ה "den Brei." The correct reading is כיהכהי "in the same manner."

HS 3015:3: נני⟨ל⟩{ו}ה "der Nanay." The correct reading is לה יותי "to her, Yōṯay."

HS 3019:5: מעור דיתכטם ⟨ת⟩לילית דלפת "Lilit, an der sich der Blinde festklammerte…." The correct reading is לילית דלוית מני ודרית בבתי "the lilith who accompanies me and dwells in my house."

HS 3022:6: יהי {לא} אסו⟨תא מן שמיא⟩ "Wohler⟨gehen vom Himmel⟩ (möge) … (sein)." The correct reading is יהי לאסו "let it be for healing."

HS 3022:9: ⟨בד⟩{דלא} ויגער יהוה. The correct reading is יגער / ו[י]גער) יהוה בכא with the non-standard *plene* spelling בכא for MT's בך.

HS 3027:1: לב⟨נ⟩{ב}ך. The text in fact reads לבבך.

HS 3034:4: {מן} ובכל דימון "und in allen Abbildern." The correct reading is ובכל דימוניו "idem."

HS 3034:5: וגלח⟨י⟩ "und rasiere." The correct reading is וגלה "and be banished," a III-*y* f. sg. imperative form which requires no emendation.

HS 3018:3: 𐡀𐡋𐡀𐡄 𐡀𐡋⟨𐡀𐡅𐡄⟩{𐡄𐡅𐡄}𐡀𐡋𐡄 "und Armut ⟨…⟩ der Götter." MK's emendation gives a semantically inappropriate text, which leads her to posit the omission of part of the original formula. The correct reading is 𐡀𐡋𐡀𐡄 𐡀𐡋𐡄𐡀𐡋𐡄𐡅𐡄 "and prostrations to (lit. of) gods." The same expression appears in HS 3039, where it was correctly read and interpreted by MK.

HS 3018:3: 𐡆⟨𐡄𐡅⟩{𐡄}𐡅 "männlich." The text reads 𐡆𐡄𐡅 and does not need to be emended.

Other misreadings are either infelicitously incorporated into the translation, or left untranslated without emendation.

3. Inaccurate readings (selected examples):

HS 3003:5: וניעול עלה. The text reads וניעול עול עלה. The writing omitted in MK's transcription appears to be a dittography.

HS 3005:9: [……] קבסx. For MK's meaningless transcription read קים ושריר "established and sound."

HS 3019:1: כל ערין. For MK's unlikely reading, which she tentatively analyses as a plural of ערתא "Aufruhr," read כל נידרין "all vows."

HS 3022:8–9: וי[…]ה ומא לה […ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה ב]ך הסטן. The obscure words left untranslated at the beginning are actually the beginning of the biblical quotation that MK restores in the lacuna. The text reads וי[אמר יי]הוה אל ה[סטן … בכ]א הסטן.

HS 3023:8: יהי סבחו "mögen … sein." The correct reading is יהו סבהו "Yaho Sabaho." The same magic name appears

in the parallels Istanbul 5363 and OIM N-IV, where it was correctly read and interpreted as (two) magic names by Isbell 1976: 23.

HS 3023:9: ואלהא מפכר לאיסרא "und Gott band das Band." The correct reading is ואלהא מרי כולא יס(א) "and God, the Lord of All, will heal." The same basic reading appears in the parallel Istanbul 5363:8, where it was accurately read and translated by Jeruzalmi 1963: 128. If we understand MK correctly, she proposes emending the latter text in accordance with her misreading of HS 3023.

HS 3027:4: [יכם][לה][א]. The correct reading of the fragment is [היכם][אל].

HS 3032:2: זיריבדוך "Ziribdux(t)." The text reads זורונדוך "Zurvāndukh."

HS 3033:4: ליה בהמנדר ב{ר}ר אחת "dem Bahmandar bar Aḥat." The text reads לות בהמנדד בני אחת "to Bahmandād, sons of Aḥāṯ."

HS 3034:2: מכנא "aus dem Schoß." Here MK translates the context correctly, but misreads the text. The correct reading is מכנף.

HS 3041:2: ביתה הדין דדודה בר אחת "dieses Haus des Dude bar Aḥat." The text reads ביתה דהדן עורא בר אחת "the house of this ʿŌrā son of Aḥāṯ."

HS 3041:5: שורבתה "seiner … Horde." The correct reading is שורפתה. MK's reading misses this evidence for the devoicing of *b* > *p* in JBA. In line 8 she misreads the corresponding form שרפתך "your tribe" as שך פתכ, which she divides between two different words.

HS 3042:10: וגיורא מרתא ד[…]כ/בין ודעבדין "und der Ehebrecher (und) die *Herrin*, die … und etwas antun." The correct reading is וקרותא (/ וקריתא) מרתא דעבדו ודעבדין "and severe imprecation, that one has performed and that one will perform."

HS 3046 + HS 3069:6: דתידושון "Ihr sollt .. treten." The correct reading is זהיר ונטיר "guarded and protected."

HS 3047:1 יסביט דיתסריא[ʾ] "denjenigen, der Yasbiṭ." The correct reading is ביתה דאדורביט "the house of Ādur-beṭ."

HS 3047:1: אחי תלמא לך שי דעʾשx "…, da mein Bruder, der Zwillingsbruder, für dich." The correct reading is שיר תשבאחות למאלך "A song of praise to the King."

HS 3058:5: דיבחשבה עיני. For MK's "die mit einem Gedanken, meine Augen" read דמחשכה עיני "who dims eyes."

HS 3018:1: 𐡀𐡕𐡓𐡌𐡀 𐡀𐡌𐡓𐡀 𐡀𐡕𐡒𐡋 𐡀𐡄 "dieses Amulett und Band und Gürtel." MK claims that the meaning of 𐡀𐡕𐡓𐡌𐡀 "ist nur von den vorangehenden Begriffen her zu deuten" and proposes a derivation from Middle Persian *hamyān* "belt, girdle." The derivation seems *a priori* unlikely, both because of the unexplained position of the *yodh* in 𐡀𐡕𐡓𐡌𐡀 and, in our opinion, the semantic incongruence with the preceding terms. The correct reading of this formulaic phrase is 𐡀𐡕𐡒𐡋 𐡀𐡄 𐡀𐡕𐡓𐡌𐡕𐡀 𐡀𐡌𐡓𐡀 "this trustworthy amulet and charm" (see also Moriggi 2014). The same formula appears in HS 3056:1–2, where MK again misreads the word in question as 𐡀𐡕𐡓𐡌𐡀 "und Gürtel."

HS 3062:1: 𐡌𐡕𐡒𐡀 𐡌𐡕𐡒𐡀 𐡌𐡕𐡐[𐡀𐡎𐡌𐡓𐡀] "[der Türschwel]le und der Wohnung und des Hauses." MK translates the otherwise unattested word 𐡀𐡕𐡒𐡀 "der Wohnung" without comment. The word would appear to be a "ghost word," as the formulaic text here reads 𐡀𐡕𐡒𐡀 𐡌𐡕𐡒𐡋𐡀 𐡌𐡕𐡒[𐡕𐡀] "[and the sea]ling and the protection of the house."

HS 3054:2: **n'rsyd[wk]** "Narsayd[ux(t)]." The name of the client is **n'rqys** (**narqis**) "Narqis."

HS 3054:8: The second half of the line has been omitted from MK's transliteration.

In many cases we have had the good fortune to have access to unpublished or newly-published parallels that were not available to MK when she prepared her edition. One cannot understate the value of parallel texts for the study of incantation bowls and the reader should bear this firmly in mind when comparing our editions. In many cases, letters that are illegible, questionable or missing entirely in one copy of a text may be totally legible in another. In particular, unpublished or newly-published parallel texts have had a major impact on our decipherment of HS 3008, HS 3019, HS 3026 and HS 3046 + HS 3069. Nevertheless, in some cases MK appears to have not taken full advantage of published parallels that were available to her.

4. Insufficient use of available parallels (selected examples):

HS 3041 parallels Moussaieff 6:15–20, published in Shaked 1995. The scribe uses dots to indicate the end of several of the lines (written in concentric circles). The same method of line division is employed in Istanbul 5370 (Jeruzalmi 1963), written by the same hand. Nonetheless, MK has divided the lines erroneously and misunderstood the general structure of the spell.

The fragmentary bowls HS 3047 and HS 3052 both parallel Istanbul 5361, published in Jeruzalmi 1963. HS 3047 and Istanbul 5361, moreover, were both written by the same hand. The Istanbul bowl provides the key to deciphering the two HS bowls, but the relationship between the bowls was not recognized in MK's edition.

HS 3015 partly parallels B 16087, published in Montgomery 1913 (Bowl 15). Although Montgomery's edition requires some collation and improvement, this important parallel provides the key to understanding the first half of the HS text. It was overlooked in MK's edition.

HS 3054 parallels B 85–48–910, B 9016, B 16011 and B 16016, all edited in MK's volume. However, insufficient attention to the parallels led to MK's misplacement of a fragment of HS 3054 that is detached from the main bowl.

5. Insufficient attention to parallels and joins within the corpus:

HS 3069 is a fragment of HS 3046 that was not attached to the main body of the text when the bowl was repaired, even though there is a direct and continuous join in line 4. MK's edition did not recognize this join, and the two parts are published separately.

One of the small fragments stored in the box of fragments HS 3070 appears to fit into a lacuna in HS 3041. MK's edition did not recognize this join and left the fragment unedited.

The fragmentary bowls HS 3047 and HS 3052 bear the same basic formula, a fact that was not recognized by MK. Nor did she note the similarities with HS 3023, which bears a related formula.

6. Untenable reconstructions (selected examples):

HS 3023:2: MK reconstructs ומל[כא] at the end of the line, but there is physically no room for the additional letters (the text is written in concentric circles). The following line begins with a final *kaf*, which gives the reading ומלך in accordance with the published (and unpublished) parallels.

HS 3027:3: MK reconstructs תשמע [אם] at the beginning of a quotation of Deut 11:13, but does not mention that the MT reads והיה אם שמע תשמעו, and that the lacuna is too large to have contained the word אם alone.

HS 3046 + HS 3069:6: MK reconstructs בסיפר ת[ירוכ]יכון ואיגרת שיבו[קיכון יהוה צבאות יהו]ה ישראל "mit eurem En[tlassungsschreiben] und mit eurem Tren[nungs] brief. [YHWH Ṣebaot YHW]H Israel." According to the photograph in TMHC 7, there is not enough room for the reconstruction ת[ירוכ]יכון, nor is it supported by the parallels. The reconstruction [יהוה צבאות יהו]ה ישראל does not accord with the material evidence of the bowl, which reads וישראל ה[...], nor is the epithet יהוה ישראל attested, to the best of our knowledge, elsewhere in the magic bowls. In light of the published and unpublished parallels which close with the standard legal expression כדת משה וישראל "according to the law of Moses and Israel," the correct reconstruction is undoubtedly בסיפר ת[י]רוכין ואיגרת שיבו[קין ... כדת מש]ה וישראל "by a document of divorce and a writ of dismis[sal ... according to the law of Mos]es and Israel."

HS 3046 + HS 3069:7–8: MK reconstructs בשימיה דחתומ[א חתימ]תי לשמיא וארעא "Mit dem Namen des Siegel[s versiegelte] ich den Himmel und die Erde." As in the case of ת[ירוכ]יכון in line 6 (see above), there is probably not enough room for the reconstruction. MK (p. 34) cites the passive participle חתימתי "du (böse Lilit), versiegelt bist" in B 2976:10 (TMHC 7, 11b) as the basis for her reconstruction of תי[חתימ], but with the exception of the general reference to "sealing" the two contexts are quite different. Both forms are indeed listed together as passive participles in the glossary (p. 178), but according to MK's translation in the Hilprecht bowl תי[חתימ] must be a 1 c. sg. *pa.* perfect form. An unpublished parallel suggests that the correct reading is ברז[י] ה[לין] דחתימ[ן ב]הון שמיא וארעא "by th[ese] myste[ries by] which heaven and earth are sealed."

HS 3026:1: MK reconstructs קבילי שמתא מן שמ[יא] רבי יהושע בר פרחיא "Empfange (!) den Bann vom Him[mel]! Rabbi Jehuša' bar Peraḥiya." The reconstruction gives a semantically awkward text, a fact that leads MK to posit that an element of the text has been lost between שמיא and רבי יהושע. Recently published parallels from the Schøyen collection show that the correct reconstruction is קבילי שמתא מן שמ[א ד]רבי יהושע בר פרחיא "Accept the ban from the na[me of] Rabbi Joshua son of Peraḥia!" and that the text is otherwise complete.

HS 3042:10: MK reconstructs the name of the client as [וגושנזוי] "[und Gušnazoy]" under the assumption that the client is identical with that of HS 3046, but in the latter bowl the client's name is to be read גושנזדד "Gušnazdād," rather than MK's גושנזוי. Irrespective of the correct reading of HS 3046, however, in HS 3042 the name of the client is in fact legible and reads אדרבהרם "Ādar-Bahram."

In the course of our study of the HS texts, we have discerned a number of Aramaic lexemes that were not previously recognized in the corpus (some of uncertain meaning). Some of them are otherwise well attested in their respective dialect, whereas others are new to the dialect or appear with previously unattested meanings. On the other hand, we have found reason to exclude a number of lexemes which are listed in the vocabulary of these bowls in MK's edition. The following are selected examples of each category. For more detailed discussions, see the commentaries *ad loc.*

1. Additions to the JBA and Syriac lexicons from the HS bowls (new lexemes and new meanings in the respective dialect):

-א "O" (HS 3003:6); the existence of this vocative particle, not recorded in *DJBA*, was posited by Naveh and Shaked (1985) for the parallel context in NLI JER Heb. 4°6079.

אלהין "rather" (HS 3034:5); is not recorded in *DJBA*, but has been previously identified in JBA bowl texts by Montgomery (1913) and Levene (2003).

בישראה "human" (HS 3022:5); a nominalized form of the adjectival **bisrāy* "of the flesh," not previously attested in Aramaic.

גבולא "border, territory (?)" (HS 3023:5); MK also reads גבול, but takes it as a place name, "Gebul." If our interpretation of this obscure context is correct, this is the first attestation of the common noun גבולא in JBA. Compare JPA גבול "border."

גובא "pit" (HS 3015:7); if correctly interpreted, this is the first attestation of this common Aramaic lexeme in JBA.

דבובתא "(hostile) speech" (HS 3012:2); possibly a loanword from Akkadian *dababtu* "word; faculty of speech" (*CAD* D, 2).

דרא (< *dərāʿā*) "foreleg (of animal)" (HS 3015:5); this sense has been previously recorded in Syriac, but was unknown in JBA.

הקדישא "consecrated object" (HS 3015:5); a previously unattested JBA loanword from Hebrew. Cf. JPA הקדש "consecrated object."

טלף שאר "bolt (of a door)" (HS 3015:6); the term is undoubtedly related to Syriac ܫܐܪܐ "bolt (of a door)," but the etymology of both forms is enigmatic.

מוה "unit of hundred (soldiers)" (HS 3041 + HS 3070x:4); although attested in various dialects, this is the first attestation of this sense for the common word מאה "hundred" in JBA.

סווסיה "healing" (HS 3015:7); the new JBA term appears to be cognate with Syriac ܣܗܝܕܘܬܐ / ܣܗܕܘܬܐ "tending, care of the sick."

סק״ר *af.* "to regard with malice" (HS 3032:1); we tentatively interpret אסקרא as a verb "she regarded with malice." The verb is new to JBA, but compare Syriac ܐܣܩܪ "to regard with malice or malignity" (Payne Smith 1903: 389). The same verb or its derivatives appear in JPA amulets and in an incantation from the Cairo Genizah.

פו״ט *pa.* "to scorn" (HS 3032:2); MK suggests that "zu erwarten ist eine Tierbezeichnung" (p. 81), in accordance with her dubious interpretation of אסקרא as "Heuschrecke," but a verb paralleling אסקרא "she regarded with malice" (see above) appears more appropriate for the context. Cf. Syriac ܦܛܠ "to utterly scorn" (Payne Smith 1903: 436).

שינתא / שנה "dream"; this new meaning for the common JBA word שינתא "sleep" can be shown to occur in many bowl texts and anticipates a semantic shift found in Neo-Mandaic, likely under Persian influence.

פארי(ש) "flatterers" (HS 3015:4); the reading is somewhat uncertain; if correctly read, the word may be compared to Syriac ܦܣܐ "flatterer."

אבא *pa.* "to lead astray, confuse" (HS 3056:9); the usual Syriac form of this verb is ܐܒܐ, but the form with *bet* is well attested in JBA.

2. Deletions from the vocabulary of the HS bowls[3]

אסון "eine Pflanze" (HS 3015:2); in her edition of the text MK tentatively proposes the reading *ʾszʾn*, whereas the term appears as *ʾswn* in the glossary. The correct reading is אסה "myrtle."

אסקרא "Heuschreckenart" (HS 3032:1); as a reference to a "grasshopper" does not appear appropriate in this context, we tentatively interpret the word as a 3 f. sg. perfect *af.* stem from the root סק״ר and translate "(she) regarded with malice" (see above).

גיברא (HS 3026:6; HS 3034:3); MK translates "Gibra" and treats the term as a variant of גברא, which she takes as a type of demon, "Gabra, hoher Dämon" (p. 197). An analysis of the term as the common noun/adjective גיבר "strong, mighty" appears more likely.

גיורא "Ehebrecher" (HS 3042:10); the correct reading is קרותא (or קריתא) "imprecation."

גל״ח *pa.* "rasieren" (HS 3034:5); the correct derivation is גל״י *pe.* "be banished." The proposed interpretation of the verb is supported by its similar use in other published and unpublished bowl texts.

גל״י *pa.* "offenbaren, enthüllen, aufdecken" (HS 3005:6; HS 3010:5; HS 3033:6); the form תיגלא appears in a sequence of unintelligible magic words.

דו״ש "treten" (HS 3046:6); although this verb is otherwise attested in the JBA magic bowls, in HS 3046 the correct reading is זהיר ונטיר "guarded and protected."

הברא "Blei" (HS 3030:5); MK takes הברא as a new phonetic variant of אברא "lead," but the text in fact appears to read אברא.

חו״ס "sich sorgen um" (HS 3023:7 [2x]); in this context, יחס is a magical name, not a finite verbal form.

חמ״ץ "sauer werden" (HS 3005:5; HS 3010:4; HS 3033:5); the element מץ is a divine name. The interpretation of these passages has been discussed in detail in Morgenstern and Ford 2017: 203–206.

חשבתא "Gedanke" (HS 3058:5); for MK's דיבחשבה "die mit einem Gedanken" one must read דימחשכה "she who dims."

חש״ש "sich kümmern" (HS 3023:8); in this context, יחוש is a magical name, not a finite verbal form.

חתומא "Versiegler" (HS 3046:8); as indicated by several parallels, the word is to be read as part of a passive participle [ן]דחתימי "that are sealed."

3 Note that the glossary of TMHC 7 includes lexemes found in texts from other collections as well, but they are not discussed here.

טר״ד *pa*. "stoßen" (HS 3047:2); the correct reading is פריס (as part of **פריסשתא** "wondrous [lit. wonders]").

טרפא "Blatt" (HS 3015:2); the lexical entry should read אטרפא, as the attested reading is אטרפי, not טרפי as read by MK.

כנא "Schoß" (HS 3034:2); MK takes the term as a phonetic spelling of חנא, but the correct reading is כנף "idem."

כנ״ע *itp.* "erniedrigen" (HS 3046:4); the correct reading is [ו]איתבזע "they were split."

לפ״ת *pe./pa.* "sich festklammern" (HS 3019:5); the correct reading is לוית "accompanies."

מעורא "Blinder" (HS 3019:5); the correct reading is מני וד (as part of **מני ודרית** "with me and dwells").

סאליקא "gekochtes Gemüse" (HS 3015:2); the material reading appears to be correct, but the parallel indicates that סאליק is a verb "ascends" (< סל״ק). The final *ʾalef* is part of the following word (אטרפי "leaves"—see above).

סכינא "Messer" (HS 3041:6); the correct reading is סטנא "satan."

עסתא "menschlicher Körper" (HS 3012:3); phonetic spelling of עיצתא "counsel, advice."

ערא "…" (HS 3019:1); in her commentary MK tentatively analyses ערין as a plural of ערתא "Aufruhr," but the correct reading is נידרין "vows."

פריזילאה "eisern" (HS 3046:6); the word is part of an untranslatable sequence of magic names and should be read אפרודיטא.

צמצ״ם *pal.* "zerquetschen" (HS 3005:7; HS 3010:5; HS 3033:6); the forms מצמצים and צמצים(י) are magic names.

קיצתא "Ende, Teil" (HS 3005:7; HS 3010:5; HS 3033:6); the form קיצתם appears in an untranslatable sequence of magic names.

רכיכתא "Weichheit" (HS 3012:2); in light of the parallelism with מליה "her words" // עסתיה "her counsel" // מחשבתיה "her plan(s)," we read the paleographically equivalent דבובתיה "her (hostile) speech."

רת״ק *af.* "klopfen" (HS 3003:4, 6, 8); although originally a verb in the JPA sources to this formula, in the present context ארתיקו functions as the name of a supernatural being; see Naveh and Shaked (1985) and Ford (2016).

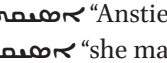
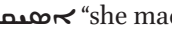
שורא "Mauer" (HS 3046:6); the correct reading is שום א (as part of **על שום אפרודיטא** "by the name of **ʾprwdyṭ**").

שינא "Fels" (HS 3047:2); the correct reading is שתא (as part of **פריסשתא** "wondrous [lit. wonders]").

שמרא "Beachtung" (HS 3019:2); the correct reading is שמתה "ban."

שת״ך "rosten" (HS 3015:6); the correct reading is שאר (as part of **טלף שאר** "bolt").

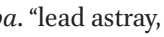
תלמא "Zwillingsbruder" (HS 3047:1); the material reading is correct, but the letters are in fact part of שיר **תשבאחות למאלך** "a song of praise to the King." Although appearing in several other Aramaic dialects, תלימא "twin brother" does not at present appear to be attested in JBA.

 "Anstieg" (HS 3056:11); the correct reading is  "she made them ascend."

 "Gürtel" (HS 3018:1; HS 3056:2); the correct reading is  "trustworthy" (see also Moriggi 2014).

 "Tisch" (HS 3056:13); the correct reading is  "semen."

 "Verwirrung" (HS 3056:9); the form is a verb  *pa*. "lead astray, confuse" (see above).

 "Wohnung" (HS 3062:1); the lexeme does not appear to exist. The correct reading of the context is  "its protection."

The format of our edition differs somewhat from that of the *editio princeps*. Like MK, we group the bowls according to dialect (JBA, Syriac, Mandaic), but within each group MK places parallel texts together, whereas we present the texts in the order of their museum number. The reader should nevertheless be able to easily locate the parallels within the collection, since they are noted in the preliminary comments. We transcribe the texts into standardized versions of the native scripts—Jewish, Syriac (Estrangelo), Mandaic, rather than MK's unified Latin transcription. Although the unified Latin transcription admittedly facilitates the comparison of texts in various dialects, it also obscures certain features of the writing system, in particular the final letters. This turns out to be an important issue for several bowls in the corpus. Our choice, however, is determined mainly out of respect for the great Aramaic literary dialects in which the texts are written. Nevertheless, in the philological notes quotations of Mandaic texts have been transcribed into Latin script (following the method used by Drower and Macuch), both for typographical reasons and for the convenience of readers unfamiliar with the Mandaic script. Furthermore, in the apparatuses Latin script has been used for all languages for typographical reasons. A unicode Manichaean font is presently unavailable and an Estrangelo font is therefore used for the Syriac bowls, although those in the Hilprecht Collection were all written in the Manichaean script. The Jewish bowls often contain Hebrew elements. Although Hebrew words are noted as such in the Glossary, we have not found any benefit in specifically marking these elements in the transcriptions of the bowls; they should usually be readily identifiable to the reader of Aramaic. Moreover, in cases such as the formulaic אמן אמן סלה or certain divine names and epithets one may legitimately ask if the distinction between Hebrew and

Aramaic is relevant. Biblical quotations, however, are italicized in the translation and provided with footnotes identifying the verse(s).

Several items are omitted in the preliminary comments to the text. In particular, we did not re-measure the bowls and thus refer the reader to the *editio princeps* (see MK, pp. 5–7 and the individual editions). As the texts are generally short and accompanied by a translation, we usually do not summarize the contents of the incantation, but we do try to list all the published parallels (with their main editions) and generally as many unpublished parallels as possible, with the hope of facilitating the future use of the book after the publication of the new material. We note the previous editions of the edited text and the major editions of parallel texts, but the reader is further referred to the extensive bibliography of each text in the *editio princeps*. With respect to the Jewish bowls, MK classifies them according to dialect as either "standard-literarisch-babylonisch-aramäisch" or "koine-babylonisch-aramäisch." While we are aware of the dialectal differences between the bowl texts, we have refrained from classifying them in this manner because of the problematic nature of the classification. We intend to address the question of the linguistic classification of the Jewish bowl texts in detail in a forthcoming study. As is well known, the language of the Syriac bowls shows important differences from Classical Syriac. We refer to the language in the Glossary as "Babylonian Syriac" (MK: koine-syrisch), but refer to the bowls themselves simply as "Syriac."

The main purpose of this volume is to provide a linguistically reliable edition of the magic bowls in the Hilprecht Collection. It is hoped that it will serve as a basis for further study of the various dialects of Late Eastern Aramaic recorded therein. To this end, we present the transcriptions without emendations; when we feel that an emendation is warranted we propose it in a footnote and translate the text accordingly with the addition of an exclamation mark in parentheses (!). The same sign is used when we do not propose an emendation, but cannot adequately explain the non-standard orthography. Other footnotes to the transcription deal with strictly paleographic issues. Reconstructions of the text are put in square brackets. We generally refrain from extensively reconstructing the text, especially when parallel texts are lacking. Philological discussions of lexical or grammatical issues, or of magical and literary motifs are placed after the transcription and translation according to line number (as in MK's edition). We try to support our interpretation with quotations of relevant passages from published and unpublished bowls. When quoting published bowls, we include references to the main editions of the text. New readings are based on examination of photographs and are often presented without comment.

We do not discuss every new reading of the HS bowls proposed in our study, but for the convenience of the reader an apparatus with previous readings is appended to the edition of each text. The reader is urged to verify each reading with the photographs. Although we mark partially preserved letters in the apparatus, we do not include new readings which differ only in the degree of preservation of one or more legible letters, as the differences in marking a complete and partially preserved letter are often subjective. The apparatus includes proposed reconstructions and emendations. The reader should note that, in the case of unintelligible magic words, the differences between our transcription and that of the *editio princeps* are sometimes due to an arbitrary preference for a paleographically equivalent reading. When the words have no recognizable meaning and are not attested in manuscripts that clearly distinguish between the letters in question, it is impossible to determine with certainty what the scribe intended to write. For this reason we have not included apparatuses for wholly unintelligible texts. When more than one previous edition exist, only readings that differ from that proposed in our edition are cited. When MK's (or another editor's) reading is not cited, it may thus be assumed to be identical to that of our edition (except for the marking of the degree of preservation of legible letters). The apparatuses deal specifically with editions of the HS texts. Short quotations of one or several words in a text, such as the those in *DJBA*, are not included in the apparatus, but are discussed in the commentary when relevant. One should bear in mind that in some cases new readings proposed in our study have been anticipated in the editions of duplicate texts by other scholars. These are discussed in the commentary, but are not noted in the apparatus.

The lack of adequate photographs in many early editions of magic bowls has severely impeded their continued study. Even the reasonably legible photographs in many recent editions sometimes do not suffice to clearly see certain parts of the text, either due to the curvature of the bowl or to the condition of the writing. The recent advances in digital photography, however, have revolutionised the study of magic bowls, as it is now possible to make and reproduce large numbers of high-resolution close-up photographs at minimal cost. Almost all the bowls in the collection were digitally photographed twice at high resolution, first by Morgenstern (ca. 700

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THE MUSEUM

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BABYLONIAN SECTION

VOL. III

ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS FROM NIPPUR

BY

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TO

MY FATHER AND MOTHER

FIRST AND BEST OF TEACHERS

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PREFACE

The primary purpose of this publication was to edit, with translation and necessary notes, the incantation texts inscribed on bowls from Nippur, now in the possession of the Museum. But it soon became apparent that full account should be made of all other published texts of like character, both for my own advantage in securing a larger material for collation and also for the convenience of scholars by presenting in one work a survey of a rather remote and scattered field, in which many have labored but none has attempted a treatment of the subject at large. I have accordingly not only given a description of all the earlier material but also collated it as fully as possible both in the Glossaries and in the references of Introduction and Commentary. The Introduction, thus extended beyond the field of the Nippur texts, has grown to still greater dimensions with the enlarging perception of the intimate relations between the bowl-inscriptions and the broad fields of ancient magical literature. Previous editors, working before the present great development of the study of magic, had taken little notice of these connections with a wider world. Analogies with the Talmud and possible connections with the Kabbalistic lore had been pointed out, but the bowls still remained without definite place or links in the general field of ancient magic. Withal the relations of Jewish magic to the larger whole have not yet been ascertained.

But within the last few decades an immense advance has been made in our knowledge of ancient magic and of its prime importance as a study in the history of mankind. The chief

stimulus to this has come, first, from the anthropologists and the students of comparative religion, who have taught us not to ignore the most primitive or most degraded manifestations of the human spirit. Then there have been the rapid strides in the advance of Egyptology and Assyriology, where at every step the student faces the problem of the identities and differences of magic and religion. Further, the classical philologists have at last condescended to examine the vulgar magical records in the Greek and Latin tongues, and have found an interest in them as revealing how the ancient "man of the street," and wiser men as well, actually talked and thought, in modes different from the traditional standards of the classical civilization. Of this large increase in material and understanding I have been fortunately able to avail myself, with the result of the discovery of innumerable clues proving that the bowl-magic is in part the lineal descendant of the old Babylonian sorcery while at the same time—and this is the more important because a less expected discovery—it takes its place in that great field of Hellenistic magic which pervaded the whole of the western world at the beginning of the Christian era. My chief contribution to the study has been in these two directions, the relations with the cuneiform religious texts and the Greek magical papyri. The writer's knowledge of Egyptian magic was wholly at second hand, and in any case that earlier influence was mediated to this special field through Hellenism. The Christian Syrian literature is shown to have its close connections, being thoroughly infused, as was the early Church, with magical ideas. Magic within Judaism has been the subject of capital monographs by competent Jewish scholars, and in that direction I have not been able to do much more than to appropriate their results, except so far as to show the absolute

community of ideas and terms and practice between Jewish and Gentile sorcery. It remains a subject for an interesting investigation to discover just what Judaism gave to, and what it received from, the Hellenistic magic, but probably a hopeless study, for, as someone has remarked, in the history of magic we must pursue not the genealogical but the analogical method. As a result of these comparisons, the conclusion must be drawn, as indicated in § 15 of the Introduction, that the magic of the bowls, and in a general way, all Jewish magic, has come out of the crucible of the Graeco-Roman world, which, on account of its dominating civilization, we call Hellenistic; it is not Jewish but eclectic.

However, with this broadening of the scope of the work, it has been the fixed purpose not to attempt any general study of magic; this would have been but to confuse my work and cloud my results. With a single eye, the facts of the texts have been illustrated in as objective a way as possible from the phenomena of locally inherited and contemporaneous magic, with the intent of establishing the immediate bonds of connection. My work would be a contribution from a very small and limited field to the study of magical thought and practice within a definite age and region. At least there has come to the writer the satisfaction of finding a place for the *membra disjecta* of these out-of-the-way texts in the huge colossus of that system of magic which was once almost the actual religion of our western civilization.

If I appear to have gone into much detail in the treatment of these non-literary texts, I trust that the results will justify my undertaking; the expansion of the work has proceeded naturally and subtly much beyond the editor's desire and convenience. From the philological point of view these vulgar inscriptions are of as much interest to the Semitist as are the

magical papyri to the classicist. Careful study shows that, with the exception of intentionally unintelligible passages, mystic phrases and the like, the words and the syntax of the texts are the autograph representatives of the language of their writers. Three different Aramaic dialects, each with its own script, and one script a peculiar variety of the Edessene, are offered in the bowls from Nippur, and they are of importance as original documents of the dialectic forms of the speech of Babylonia about the eve of the rise of Islam. Other original monuments are well-nigh lacking for this field; we are confined almost entirely to the school-literatures of religious sects, of the Jews, Christian Syrians and Mandaeans, whose books are preserved mostly in late manuscripts. The Jewish magical literature is all documentarily late or uncertain as to age, and our texts have a historical worth as almost the earliest records in that line which can be exactly dated. Further, the obscure and crabbed condition of the texts compelled an exact philological examination in order to test hypotheses of interpretation. And as to matters beyond philology, it will not, I hope, be set down to wilful acriby if I have attempted to work out very small clues. In such work as this there is no immediate compensation on the surface, and it is only by following out the fine tendrils of connection that results worth while can be obtained. The writer's experience in his study is well expressed by some words of Professor Deissmann: "It may be that hundreds of stones, tiresomely repeating the same monotonous formula, have only the value of a single authority, yet in their totality, these epigraphic results furnish us with plenty of material—only one should not expect too much of them, or too little" (*Bible Studies*, 82).

In regard to the representation of the texts it might have been technically more correct to present them in their several

scripts. But apart from the difficulty of procuring two of these types in American printing houses and compositors who could set them, it must be patent that the general convenience is far better subserved by presenting the texts in the well-known Hebrew character, while those who desire the original scripts can satisfy themselves with the facsimiles published in the second volume. The peculiar Mandaic relative particle is represented, according to convention, by the diacritical ד̄; but I have departed from the usual custom of editing Mandaic texts by representing the pronominal suffix in *-h* by ה and have used ה for the radical ה or ח, which two sounds fall together in the dialect. In the Glossaries words containing this common character are arranged according to its etymological distinction as ה or ח. In the transliterations inferior points indicate doubtful readings, superior points are used for the diacritical marks of the Syriac texts. The numbered lines of the texts represent the spiral lines, taken as beginning from the radius where the inscription begins.

The Prefatory Note to the Plates describes how the facsimiles were made. I have to express my deep obligation to my friend and colleague, the Rev. Dr. R. K. Yerkes, for his careful reading of the volume in proof.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, February 2, 1912.

I. SURVEY OF THE MATERIAL

§ 1. The Material in the Museum

The University Museum contains a large number of inscribed earthenware bowls found at Nippur belonging to the category of the so-called "Incantation Bowls." These vessels are generally of the size and shape of a modern porridge-bowl, except that in most cases the bowl is somewhat cone-shaped, so that when set down it balances itself in a state of unstable equilibrium. Some few have the boss expanded into a rim, thus giving a flat surface at the bottom of the bowl. The most common size is of about 16 cm. diameter at top, by 5 cm. full depth. There is one large bowl, 28 x 16 cm.[1]

The bowls are made of a good clay, and are wheel-turned and kiln-dried; they have no surface, slip or glazing of any kind.[2] They were a domestic ware, intended for foods, and in no way differ from the simple vessels which to this day are made in the Orient for household use.

The bowls in the Museum were excavated at Nippur, in Babylonia, by the University of Pennsylvania Expedition; so far as I know, they are finds of the first two campaigns, conducted by Professor Peters in the years 1888, 1889. According to Peters' account,[3] these bowls were found on the top, or in the first strata of the mounds, in several places. They appear generally to have been discovered in the ruins of houses, amidst what Peters suggests were Jewish settlements; the whole surface of one hill, he says "was covered with a Jewish settlement, the houses of which were built of mud-brick, and in almost every house we found one, or more,

[1] Many such large specimens are in the British Museum and at Constantinople.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. D. Randall-MacIver, late of the Museum, for the characterization of the pottery.

[3] See his *Nippur*, the Index to which, *sub* "Jewish incantation bowls" gives the references.

Jewish incantation bowls."[4] At least in one case bowls were found in connection with a cemetery; "we found ourselves in a graveyard..... It was interesting to find, between one and two metres below the surface, in the immediate neighborhood of slipper-shaped coffins, inscribed Hebrew bowls."[5] As for the chronological light thrown upon these bowls, Cufic coins were found in the houses of these "Jewish" settlements,[6] and one of the most extensive finds of inscribed bowls was in the strata above the "Court of Columns," a Parthian building.[7] Peters holds the seventh century to be the latest date for the Jewish settlements where Cufic coins were found.[8]

The Museum Catalogue counts over 150 numbers of this class of specimens, but the enumeration includes a large number of fragments. About 30 of the bowls are what I would call "original fakes"; they are inscribed with letters arbitrarily arranged, or with pot-hooks, or even in some cases with mere scrawls, and I judge that these articles were palmed off on the unlearned public as "quite as good" as true incantations.[9] A still larger number of the bowls are so broken and their inscriptions so defaced, that I have not been able to use them. Others again were inscribed by so illiterate scribes that so far as they can be made out, they offer only some magical jargon, which adds nothing to our knowledge. Again there are a few texts which are fairly written and without those self-betraying combinations of letters that suggest a mock inscription, but which nevertheless are not Semitic. They may be in some non-Semitic tongue, whether, for example, in Pahlavi, I am not able to say. One of the neatest of the bowls, No. 2954, containing only four circular lines of inscription, interested me as presenting a novel alphabet; but I soon came to the conclusion that this is but another "fake," produced we may suppose by some learned impostor—or wag.

[4] ii, 182 f.; cf. p. 194.

[5] i, 245.

[6] ii, 183. On the following page the writer says that Arabic bowls along with Jewish and Syriac were found; but the Museum contains no Arabic specimens.

[7] Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 447.

[8] ii, 153, 183, 186. For further discussion of the date, see § 14.

[9] In many cases the inscriptions were written by laymen, who thus saved themselves the exorcist's fee. Schwab notices some forged bowls at Constantinople, *PSBA*, xiii, 595.

All the relics from Nippur came to the University as the gift of the Sultan of Turkey, and in the matter of these incantation bowls I understand that the best specimens, the largest and fairest, have been retained in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. At all events those in Philadelphia in almost all cases prevent complete decipherment because of mutilation.[10] A large segment of the spherical surface may be missing, or an extensive portion of the interior, a side, or the upper or lower portion of the bowl may have become illegible, probably through the action of water. The inscription being spiral, such mutilations intrude their annoyance into every line. The damaged nature of this collection has added much to the toil of decipherment, for every break in the text and every effacement necessitates speculation as to the missing contents. On the other hand it is cause for remark and gratitude that these fragile vessels have been preserved as intact as they are, and that the scribes used such excellent ink that what they wrote has largely survived in defiance of "the powers of the air," the elements and the corroding chemical agents.

As a result of the investigation of the whole collection I have selected 40 bowls for publication, to which number should be added the one published earlier by Myhrman (accompanying No. 7). The remaining bowls and fragments are on the whole too illegible or too undecipherable to make it worth while to add them to this material. The languages of the inscriptions are three Aramaic dialects:— (1) the language with which we are familiar from the Babylonian Talmud, to which belong Nos. 1-30; (2) a Syriac dialect, Nos. 31-37; the Mandaic, Nos. 38-40. Each of these has its own script. As an appendix, I publish, as No. 41, a human skull inscribed with a magical inscription of like character to those on the bowls, and No. 42 is a text of peculiar magical contents which has come to my hands, but with its original now lacking in the Museum.

[10] With few exceptions, all the bowls I have deciphered have been put together from fragments into which they had fallen, in the Museum.

§ 2. The Material Hitherto Published, and in Other Collections[1]

The first publication of Mesopotamian incantation bowls appeared in Layard's notable volume, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon.*[2] In describing his finds at Tell Amran, near Hillah, the great explorer tells of discovering "five cups or bowls of earthenware, and fragments of others, covered on the inner surface with letters written in a kind of ink" (p. 509). He notes that like material had been discovered before. Two from the collection of a Mr. Stewart had been deposited in the British Museum, which had also acquired through Colonel Rawlinson eight specimens obtained at Bagdad, their provenance however being unknown. In a later passage (p. 524) Layard records the discovery of a similar bowl, along with many fragments, at Nippur,—the precursor of the collection in Philadelphia.

Layard committed his bowls to Mr. Thomas Ellis, of the staff of the British Museum, whose results are given in Layard's work, appearing pp. 509-523.[3] Layard himself takes up the discussion p. 523 ff. with criticism of Ellis's results. The latter presented five Judaeo-Aramaic bowls, and one in Syriac, with summaries of fragments of others. Of these only four were given in facsimile, nos. 1, 3, 5, 6.[4] Subsequent scholarly investigation has proved not only that Ellis was wild in his interpretations of the bowls, but also that the facsimiles were unreliable. Hence the latter can only be used with caution or with the aid of later

[1] Stübe, *Jüdisch-babylonische Zaubertexte,* 1895, gives a good review of the literature up to date, although requiring some corrections and additions. See also Wohlstein, in *ZA,* viii (1893), 313 f.

[2] London, 1853. There is a German translation by Zenker, the bowls appearing there in Plate xx.

[3] Layard leaves it somewhat indefinite which bowls were treated by Ellis.

[4] Ellis's first bowl turns out to be a duplicate of our No. 11, under which I am able to present the restored text of the former. Was this the bowl which Layard reports was found at Nippur?

copies, while the bowls published without facsimiles are absolutely worthless as scientific copy. Layard's publication therefore did little more than attract the attention of scholars to a fresh field of philology and religious lore.

The first scientific treatment of this new material came from M. A. Levy, of Breslau, who devoted a long essay to Ellis's bowl, no. 1, in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* for 1855 (ix, 465).[5] He was the first to grasp the peculiar *lingo* of the inscription, and in his commentary drew largely from Judaistic and Mandaic stores of learning. He also gave an elaborate treatment of the palaeography of the bowl, overthrowing the claims that had been advanced for a pre-Christian origin.

Twenty years later J. M. Rodwell published a bowl from Hillah that had been procured by the British Museum, under the title, *Remarks upon a Terra-Cotta Vase,* with a photographic facsimile.[6] This second English venture at decipherment was no better than the first, its sole merit lying in the fact that the French scholar J. Halévy was induced to take up the same bowl on the basis of the facsimile, and to give it a scholarly transliteration and translation, with commentary, under the title, *Observation sur un vase judéo-babylonien du British Muséum.*[7] Four of the bowls that had been published were presented by the great Hebrew epigraphist Chwolson in his monumental *Corpus inscriptionum hebraicarum.*[8] The first (Chwolson's number, 18) is Ellis no. 1, the second (no. 19) is Ellis no. 3, the third (no. 20) is the bowl published by Rodwell and Halévy; and the

[5] *Über die von Layard aufgefundenen chaldäischen Inschriften auf Topfgefässen. Ein Beitrag zur hebräischen Paläographie u. z. Religionsgeschichte,* with Ellis's facsimile. Levy again treated the same inscription under the title "Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden," in the *Jahrbuch f. d. Geschichte d. Juden,* ii (1861), 266, 294.

[6] In *TSBA,* ii (1873), 114.

[7] In *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* series iv, vol. v (for 1877; Paris, 1878), 288. He re-edited his material in his *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire,* 229.

[8] St. Petersburg, 1882, col. 113 f. The facsimiles are reproduced at the end of the volume. The Russian edition of this work (St. Petersburg, 1884) publishes five bowls and considerably varies from the German edition (so Wohlstein, *ZA,* viii, 315). For nos. 19, 21, Chwolson made use of improved transcripts prepared for him by Halévy. In his review of the *Corpus* in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeige* for 1883, Landauer comments on these bowls (p. 507).

fourth (no. 21) is Ellis no. 5. Chwolson adopted a skeptical position toward the speculations and guesses of his predecessors, and his commentaries are valuable as a restraint upon their theories. Of special interest is his discussion of the age of the bowls from the palaeographic point of view—a subject which I take up in § 5.

The most extensive editor of the material under discussion has been Moise Schwab, the author of the French translation of the Talmud. In 1882 he published, in collaboration with E. Babelon, a bowl in the possession of the French government, under the title *Un vase judéo-chaldéen de la Bibliothèque Nationale*,[9] along with a facsimile and commentary. In 1885 he published a bowl at the Louvre in an article entitled *Une coupe d'incantation*,[10] without facsimile. He then presented a large series of bowls in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, for the years 1891 and 1892.[11] He included several bowls already published, with the old facsimiles, but failed to offer photographic copies of the bowls he brought to light. It seems strange that the English scholarly world rested content with the poor facsimiles of the relics in the British Museum, made almost forty years before, and that Schwab did not avail himself of better texts than his predecessors had used. Between the articles appearing in the two volumes of the *PSBA* Dr. Schwab contributed studies of two bowls to the *Revue d'assyriologie*, etc., under the title, "Deux vases judéo-babyloniens."[12] These he numbered F and G so as to align them with those appearing in the other publications. The material thus presented by Schwab is as follows:

A, in *PSBA*, xii = Ellis, no. 1; Levy; Chwolson, no. 18.
B, in *PSBA*, xii = Ellis, no. 3; Chwolson, no. 19.
C, in *PSBA*, xii = Rodwell; Halévy; Chwolson, no. 20.
D, in *PSBA*, xii = Ellis, no. 5; Chwolson, no. 21.

[9] In *Revue des études juives*, iv (1882), 165.

[10] In *Revue de l'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, i (1886), 117.

[11] In vol. xii, 292: *Les coupes magiques et l'hydromancie daus l'antiquité orientale*, with introductory remarks, and, p. 296, a description of the 22 bowls then in the British Museum; in vol. xiii, 583: *Coupes à inscriptions magiques*. This material was first presented to the French Academy of Inscriptions in the years 1883, 1885, 1891. At the end of the first article is a glossary to the bowls published therein.

[12] ii (1892), 136.

E, in *PSBA,* xii; a bowl in the National Library at Paris, also in *REJ,* iv, (without note in the *Proceedings* that he had published it before).

F, G, in *Rev. d'ass.,* ii; bowls in the Louvre. The exterior inscription on G is given under G in *PSBA* (p. 327).

H, in *PSBA,* xii; a bowl in the British Museum.

I, in *PSBA,* xii; a bowl in the Louvre, also in *Rev. d'ass.,* i (without note that he had published it before).

L, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the Lycklama Museum at Cannes (other than that published by Hyvernat).

M, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the Louvre, acquired by Heuzey.

N, O, P, in *PSBA,* xiii; three bowls in the collection Dieulafoy from Susiana.

Q, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the Musée de Winterthur.

R, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the coin department of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Meanwhile there had appeared, in 1885, a study of a bowl in a provincial French museum by H. Hyvernat (now professor in the Catholic University, Washington): *Sur un vase judéo-babylonien du musée Lycklama de Cannes (Provence).*[13] Unfortunately the accompanying photographic facsimiles are barely legible as published; however there is little doubt as to the text and its meaning. [14] Schwab also refers[15] to a bowl published by B. Markaug in the *Zapiski* of the Imperial Russian Society of Archaeology, iv, 83, which I have not been able to procure.

A few years later the collection of incantation bowls at the Royal Museum in Berlin was made the subject of study by two young scholars, working contemporaneously but independently. J. Wohlstein published, under the title, *Ueber einige aramäische Inschriften auf Thongefässen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin,* five bowls, with introduction to the general subject and commentary.[16] And R. Stübe published a Berlin bowl in his

[13] In *Zeitschrift f. Keilschriftforschung,* ii (1885), 113.

[14] This publication received criticism from M. Grünbaum on a subsequent page of the same journal (p. 217), especially for its dependence upon Kohut's notions of Jewish angelology; and on p. 295 Nöldeke expressed some comments on the text, especially animadverting on its age.

[15] *Rev. d. Assyriologie,* ii, 137.

[16] *ZA,* viii (1893), 313, and ix (1894), 11, In vol. viii appears no. 2422; in vol. ix, nos. 2416, 2426, 2414, 2417.

Jüdisch-babylonische Zaubertexte.[17] The text he published, the longest yet edited, is the same as the second given by Wohlstein; his treatment is fuller than that of his contemporary, to whom he is able to refer in his printed notes. Stübe gives a description of nineteen bowls in the British Museum. Unfortunately neither publication is enriched with facsimiles. Subsequently S. Fraenkel contributed some notes to Wohlstein's bowls in the same journal, in part on the basis of his own transcription.[18]

Pognon, French consul at Bagdad, broke the ground of a fresh dialect of bowl-inscriptions with the study of a Mandaic bowl—*Une incantation contre les génies malfaisants en mandaite,* appearing in 1892.[19] The bowl was purchased from Arabs at Bismaya. In 1898 the same scholar published an elaborate work upon bowls found at Khuabir 55 km. NW of Musseyib, on the right bank of the Euphrates; he visited the locality but was unable to reach the site where the bowls were found. His work, entitled *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir,*[20] contains some valuable appendices, of wider interest than the title suggests, and is furnished like the earlier monograph with full apparatus. Five more Mandaic bowls were published by Lidzbarski in his *Ephemeris,* i, 89, "Mandäische Zaubertexte." The fifth of these texts is a duplicate of my No. 11 and is given there in parallelism. Three of the texts are in the Berlin Museum, and two in the Louvre.

Professor Gottheil contributed to Peters' *Nippur* (ii, 182) a translation of one of the bowls at Pennsylvania (= No. 12 below). Dr. Myhrman, of Uppsala, published from the same collection no. 16081, with commentary; his monograph appeared in *Le monde orientale,* Uppsala, 1907-8, and with revision as a contribution to the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume[21] under

[17] Halle, 1895.

[18] *ZA,* ix, 308.

[19] In the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* (Paris), viii, 193, and in separate print.

[20] Paris, 1898, with facsimiles and full glossary; reviewed by Nöldeke, *WZKM,* xii, 141; Lidzbarski, *TLZ,* 1899, col. 171; Schwally, *OLZ,* ii, 7, iii, 458; Chabot, *Revue critique,* xlvi, 43, xlix, 484. Pognon also saw some bowls in the square character, some in Estrangelo, and some which he presumed might be in Pahlavi (p. 1). In my citations to Pognon, I cite his two books as A and B respectively.

[21] Leipzig, 1909; p. 342.

the title *An Aramaic Incantation Text;* this text is given below in parallel with No. 7.

It is in place here to notice the location of incantation bowls in the various museums. Despite a query addressed over a year ago I have not received any information from the authorities as to the number and character of the bowl-texts at the Imperial Museum in Constantinople; its collection from what I hear must be large and fine, and has been particularly enriched from Nippur.

Dr. L. W. King has kindly informed me that the British Museum contains 61 bowls of our class, exhibited in the Babylonian Room. Some of the specimens, I also learn, are of very large size. The texts are in the square script, Syriac, Mandaic and Arabic.

Schwab thus sums up, for the year 1906, the bowl-texts in the French museums:[22] 2 in the National Library, 7 in the Louvre, 2 in the Museum Lycklama, Cannes; also one in private hands.

Through Professor Ranke's kindness I learn that in the Berlin Museum there are 69 bowls with "Hebrew" (i. e. Aramaic?) inscriptions, 9 with Syriac (presumably inclusive of Mandaic). Stübe gives a description of 19 of these. In the same museum there are two inscribed skulls, similar doubtless to the one published below as No. 41.

At the National Museum in Washington are found five bowls, four in square script, one in Estrangelo; but from photographs kindly lent me by Dr. Casanowicz, two of the former are to be designated as "fakes" in the sense used above. These bowls are said to have been found at Hillah. The German *Orient-Gesellschaft* has recently announced the discovery of three bowls at Asshur,[23] and Koldewey, *Tempel von Babylon u. Borsippa,* 58, speaks of numerous Aramaic bowls found at Borsippa.

Of bowls in private hands, I note one unpublished Syriac text in the possession of Professor Hyvernat, of the Catholic University, Washington; and three which Mr. Wm. T. Ellis purchased at Nippur in 1911, one of them containing a Syriac text similar to those published in this volume; this text I have prepared for publication in the Journal of the American

[22] *Journal asiatique,* X, vii, 8.

[23] *Mittheilungen,* no. 43, p. 13.

Oriental Society, where it will shortly appear. A few citations of this text are given in the glossaries under the abbreviation "Montg."[24]

The provenance of this material is thus confined to a small region, extending from Nippur and Bismaya on the south to Asshur on the north, and lying on both sides of the Euphrates.

[24] The "Roman bowl from Bagdad" described by O. S. Tonks in the *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, 1911, 310, on which he would find some magical syllables, has been proved by A. T. Olmstead (*ib.*, 1912, 83) to be a late Arabic forgery. A Pahlavi bowl inscription reported by A. V. W. Jackson, *JAOS*, xxviii, 345, does not belong to our category.

§ 3. Some Notes on the Texts Hitherto Published

I offer in this section some critical notes on the texts described in the last section. The texts would in many cases have been simplified if the editors had recognized that there is no distinction in the script between ה and ח, and most often none between ו and י. The glossary will indicate emendations of simple words, but here I present corrections necessary for the construction.

Ellis 1 has been recovered, as remarked above, through a duplicate in the Pennsylvania collection; see to No. 11. No facsimile is given for Ellis 2.

In Ellis 3 the opening lines should read:[1] דיזחון די פתכרי וי סטני ופתיכרי (2) כולהון מן מהפירוז בר הינדו . . . כל פתיכרי דיכרי ואיסרתא (3) לטתא אסרן נוקבתא ופום כל בני אינשא אסרן כולהון מן מהפרוז בר הינדו ניד[ר]י ולטתא וג'. The discovery of the proper names, Mehpêrôz[2] son of Hindû (see Glossary B), clears up these lines. איסרתא = איסתרתא? but see Glossary C under latter word. After the first word the scribe intended to write דיוי; inadvertently he broke into the word with פ', and then leaving the error uncorrected (as is the rule of these scribes) continued with the first word.—Read in l. 4, משכוניהון (?) for משריניהון; cf. משכונתא in glossary.—In l. 4 f. there is a parallelism to the opening lines of Schwab G:

Ellis 3	Schwab G
בשום הפכה הפיכה סורה (?) שמיה הפיכי	הפכה הפכה הפכה שמיה הפיכה ארעה
כוני והפכי מזלי הפיכה שעיהון דכל בני	הפיכה כוכב הפיכה מזלי הפיכא לוטתא
אנשא תשריה (?) לוטתא דאבא וג'	הפיכה שעותא הפיכא לוטתא דאבא וג'

בשום introduces a magical formula which can accomplish the *bouleversement* (הפיכה) of all things and hence of evil arts. כוני = כוכב, and must

[1] The numbers in the text represent the spiral lines.
[2] This reading is certain in l. 8.

be the Assyrian *kêwân* (biblical כיון), used in the general sense of planet. שעותא, שעיהון, are used in the sense of *derisio*, etc. (see Payne-Smith, *Thes.*, col. 4249 f.).—What follows is to be read thus: "The curse of father and mother, of daughter and daughter-in-law and mother-in-law is loosed (שריא), what is far and what is near, what is found in country or city—what is found in the country is loosed, and what curses (?) in the city is loosed, and what falls by the way."

In Ellis 5, l. 2, read ביתא (for במיא) and the following word possibly מן דשומיה, and translate—"a house, whatever its name (i. e. whoever owns it), let them read and depart from it (ליקרו ליקרו וליפוקו יתיה), even all who dwell in it—(i. e.) any vows," etc.; that is, the evil spirits are to read the *kamea* and depart. The jussive with ל is exceptional.

For the bowl edited by Rodwell, Halévy, Chwolson and Schwab, I give the following transliteration: כל חרשין בישין ועובדין תקיפין ולוטתא ונידרי ואשלמתא ומללתא דרחיקין ודקריבין דלילא ודימאמא דנברי ודינשי דעבדו[3] ליה ודעבדין ליה לברחאיי ולחיותיה[4] ולקיניניה דכוליהון בדלאלה מן יומה דנן ועד עלם וכולהון אילין ואילין משמתין ומנידין[5] נזירין ותבירין עקירין ומפקין ומבטלין מן גופיהון ומן כל הדמי קומתיהון ומן מדרתיהון דחיותיה ודברחאיי ועמיה (for דברחאיי ודעמיה) בדלאלה על אורח חוצי אוי[6]. So much is clear.—Then follows an apostrophe to a certain star, which appears also in Schwab E. With this parallel to our aid I read: אוי כוכבא דעליה רכיבא אסות ניהוא[7] מלפא חרשי לחרשיתא: i. e. "Oh (or, woe), the star on which rides salvation (healing),[8] the one which teaches arts to witches;" that is, some star potent in medicine and black arts, which may be invoked for good or evil.—Towards the end is to be read: בישמיה בר מסוסיא שמא רבא מפורש. "in the name of Bar Mesôsiâ (a master-conjurer evidently), the great Ineffable Name."

For Schwab E, see notes on the bowl just discussed.—In the middle of the inscription for חרמי קומתיה, read הדמי ק'.

[3] Perfect, followed by futuritive ppl.

[4] Not an Arabism, as Halévy suggests.

[5] Pael pass. ppl.

[6] A Syriac interjection; or do these characters belong to חוצי? In the parallel, Schwab E, we have חוציא ל.

[7] Cf. the Rabbinic ניהו.

[8] Cf. *Mal.* 3: 20.

A new collation might contribute much to the understanding of Schwab F. In l. 1, שרירי ("strong one") is an epithet of the "evil spirit." Read אשבעית at end of line.—L. 2, read עליכי אנתי אנפרת, אנ' being the name of the demon, and occurring again below.—L. 3, read כמשחא, "like oil they (the spirits) are dipped into the vessel of his heart," i. e., the man's inwards are suffused with diseases as with oil.—L. 9 again הדמי for חרמי.—L. 10, תהומי for תחומי.—L. 11, עד נמירו זמן ואדן דאבא בינא: "(ye angels go forth from him) until the consummation of time and that time is known,"—with reference to the day of judgment.

In Schwab G, l. 9, עלמא קלה שמעית וג' = "wherefore have I heard a voice? I have heard the voice of a man, Mešarsiâ," etc.

Schwab I, l. 1, read פתיכרי ופתי[כ]רן נוקבתא.—L. 5, כישוף מומין, "sorcery I exorcise."—L. 12, read רשים שמא וג'.: "inscribed is the name whereby heaven and earth are bound."

The transliteration of Schwab M is almost untranslatable. As the first word read מומינא, "I adjure," which disposes of one of Schwab's proofs that these bowls were used in hydromancy.

In Berlin Museum no. 2416, l. 4 (Stübe = Wohlstein, l. 5)* and repeatedly below, דלטיתהון = "whom I have cursed." In l. 20, etc. the demons are bidden to depart from the sorcerer's client and transfer themselves to any persons he has cursed.—For דביה, l. 6 (W. 8), see below, to 2 : 2, and for דיהביה = "of Yahwe," l. 15 (W. 22), see 13 : 7 and 26 : 4.—על רזא, l. 22 (W. 31) = "on ground of, in the name of the Mystery."

In Wohlstein, no. 2422, l. 16, טעותא is plural of the Targumic טעו, "false deity;" the same plural is meant in טעתא, no. 2426, l. 5.—In no. 2417, ll. 3, 6, for דבתי read רבתי. Then אמי רבתי = "my grandmother," and אלהתא ר' = "the great goddess."

* Stübe's text is much the better.

II. SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE

§ 4. Introductory

In the following notes I shall confine myself almost entirely to the bowls at Pennsylvania. The absence of facsimiles or of good ones in a large number of the published texts prevents a proper control over those texts. Moreover there is some advantage in confining the study to a single collection of texts whose age and provenance can be exactly fixed as in the case of the bowls from Nippur. At the same time what is true of these texts is found to hold good for other published inscriptions.

Our material may be divided epigraphically and dialectically into three classes: (1) Of the "Rabbinic" dialect in the square character; (2) of a Syriac dialect, in a novel form of Estrangelo script; (3) of the Mandaic dialect in its peculiar alphabet. Bowl inscriptions of the first and third classes have been published; but so far no Syriac text has appeared with the exception of one essay noted p. 16 and in § 6.

Some apology may be necessary for the term "Rabbinic" dialect. As used here, it does not imply that the rabbis or the Jews in Babylonia had a special dialect,—they spoke the native dialects; nor that there is any unity in the language of the Talmud, which is alive with dialectic varieties.[1] But the Talmud is practically our only source for a certain family of Aramaic dialects in Babylonia, easily distinguished from the two other literary dialects, the Syriac (Edessene) and Mandaic. The name chosen is a convenient handle.[2]

[1] Our texts themselves, as the discussion will show, are frequently of non-Jewish origin.

[2] "Babylonian" or the old-fashioned "Chaldaic," might be used, but each is equally indefinite and the former would be most confusing.

§ 5. The Rabbinic Texts

A. Script and Orthoepy

Ellis, who made the first attempt at decipherment of bowls in the square character, was inclined to find in them a very primitive script, antedating the Christian era.[1] Levy proceeded in a scholarly fashion and analyzed each character—to be sure, with rather scanty epigraphical resources;[2] he came to the conclusion that the bowl he was treating was to be assigned to the seventh century. Chwolson severely criticized Levy's method, and on the basis of the palaeographical material in his *Corpus* assigned the bowls of Ellis to various early dates (col. 118). Ellis 1 he assigned to the first Christian century; for three others he gave a graduated chronology, placing them in the second, third and fourth centuries respectively. But Chwolson's own method is somewhat of a *reductio ad absurdum*.[3] It is hazardous to assign a date for these bowls on palaeographical grounds; it is impossible to relate the various variations of script to each other by a chronological scale. For instance the contemporaneous character of many bowls at Nippur is shown by the recurrence of the same persons and families in the texts; indeed the same persons appear in texts of different dialects, yet these inscriptions differ greatly in script. But there is no reason, at least in the Nippur bowls, to assign them to different ages; from the interrelations between them, personal and phraseological, I am inclined to assign them to the same period. Indeed they might all have been written in the same year, so far as palaeography may say anything. The differences are chirographical, not palaeographical. Some of the scribes wrote a neat, even a beautiful hand; but many were written by careless scribes, and many by illiterate ones, probably often by

[1] In Layard, *op. cit.*, 510; so Layard himself for no. 1, p. 525.

[2] *ZDMG*, ix, 474.

[3] See Hyvernat, p. 140, on Levy and Chwolson's arguments.

laymen, who affected to write their own prescriptions. The comparative plate of characters presented by Levy offers a large number of variations in the forms of many letters: for ב and ר eleven each, for ט eight, for כ and ש six, etc. Now when one short text offers so many varieties in forms, it is impossible for palaeography to give any nice chronological estimate. In fact the ruder the letters are, the more archaic they appear; yet they may be mere degenerations of the standard type or survivals of an elder one persisting in obscure quarters.

One need but take a glance at Euting's alphabetic tables at the end of Chwolson's *Corpus* to recognize that the Hebrew square character has remained essentially the same since near the beginning of the era. The earlier evidence is drawn from monuments, the later from manuscripts, while in the long centuries of scribal reproduction the Jews have developed as it were a conventional *ductus*, whereas earlier there was far more room for variation when this family of the alphabet was not confined as a vehicle of a school of religious scribes. Thus נ is one of the most Protean of forms, but apparently all varieties are found in almost every century of the first millennium, according to Euting's showing.

In the palaeographical table attached to this work I give specimen alphabets drawn from the bowls. But a fine analysis for chronological results would be unprofitable. For a round date the bowls might be placed on palaeographical grounds at about 500 A. C., but this date might be carried further back or further down according as other evidence might be adduced.

The finial letters are used, but with few instances of finial צ. A phenomenon that presents some difficulty is the practical identification of ו and י and of ה and ח. In the case of the former pair, they are often distinguished, the י being then represented by a short stroke or sometimes by a small angle, the ו by a long stroke; but there is no consistency in this differentiation, and the י is easily prolonged into a stroke like ו; within the same text or line or even word, the י may be written both ways. This confusion has led to the barbarous appearance of many of the edited texts, on which Nöldeke has animadverted.[1] The confusion throws doubts on certain vocalizations,—e. g. is it שובטא or שיבטא?—and it is of grammatical

[1] *Zeits. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, ii, 296.

moment in the verbal endings ן and ין, where, because of the recession of the stroke of the ן, the vowel letters are not at all distinguished.

There is no distinction between ח and ה in the Nippur bowls, and the same is true of the other published bowls, so far as I can observe. The ח includes ה. It is the same phenomenon that appears in the Mandaic, where ה has been retained only as a pronominal suffix. This identification is the representation of actual speech, in which our scribes no longer distinguished between the two gutturals, even as in the Mandaic. As the Babylonian Talmud distinguished between them in its text, we may surmise that the better educated preserved the difference at least in spelling.[5]

The final *â*-vowel is expressed by א, less frequently by ה. Some texts use the latter consistently, and there is hardly a text which does not give an instance of this spelling. It is used regularly for certain common words, e. g. לילי‌ה; and especially when the word contains an א, e. g. אנה, אפרה. This is a primitive type of Aramaic orthoepy, but the Samaritan dialect has preserved it, and an early Palestinian amulet, published by me elsewhere, shows the same features.[6] The phenomenon is unique in late Eastern Aramaic.

The vowel letters ו and י are used abundantly, always in terminal syllables and for long vowels, and very commonly for short vowels. Yet there is variation in this respect, even in the same text. On the whole א is sparingly used as a vowel letter, preferably to indicate the feminine plural, e. g. לילי‌אתא, yet indistinguishable לילי‌תא is as frequent.

It goes without saying that there are no vowel points. In one bowl (No. 13) a kind of pothook has been used to separate words, and here and there a point has been used, but this is the extent of the punctuation. Sometimes a scoring is found between the lines of script and by means of vertical lines phrases are blocked off; these are generally magical combinations. In No. 22 one word is written in a clumsy Syriac script and in one of Ellis's bowls a Syriac ח is once used. Quite a peculiar script is found in No. 30, and פ has a unique form in No. 22.

[5] In the elder type of ח, the left leg was attached to the upper bar, hence the confusion with ה was easier. The Rabbis preferred this form; see *Men.* 29b. The close assimilation of the two letters appears in the Assouan papyri of the fifth century B. C.

[6] *JAOS*, 1911, 272.

B. The Language

The grammatical phenomena in the bowls from Nippur can for the most part be exemplified from the Babylonian Talmud, and like the latter they present various dialectic types. On the one hand they have close connections with Mandaic and on the other they show some Syriac idioms.

As in the Mandaic orthoepy the *šewā* is frequently designated by י, a circumstance which throws light upon the minor vocalizations. I may notice אימיהון, ביתיהון, "their mother, house," etc.; ניקיבתא, pl., אילהא; with prefixes: ביפתכרי; לימרומא; דישמלהון, "their left hand;" and with ו, ויבנתא, "and daughters;" וידלא, וילשלהבון (a punctuation appearing also in Targum Onkelos, see to 3: 3).

In the consonants there is the yielding of the harder sounds, e. g. איספנדרמיד, איסכופתא, varying with איסק, איצ; indeed צ has become a very rare character. In general the gutturals are preserved, though ה and ח are no longer distinguished. In one bowl, No. 6, which has other Mandaizing characteristics, are found אחא = עחא, ניפקא, √ פקע; ניבר, √ עבר. The same bowl offers תישילטון, with the intrusion of a new vowel, as is particularly characteristic of Mandaic.[1]

For the pronouns I may refer to the lists at end of Glossary C. For their suffixal forms may be noted בניה, 2: 4, and even בנה, 11: 9 (etc), "his sons," עלה = עלוהי in duplicate texts (see to 11: 9), as common in Mandaic, and appearing also in the Talmud. For the 2nd per. pl. fem. כי- is used for כין-(see to 7: 3).

The masculine plural is in י- and ין- indifferently, even in close association. טוריא 8: 6 and the nouns in 13: 1 ending in יה are probably Mandaic forms of spelling, *ê*.

As for the verb, along with י as dominant prefix in the impf., נ takes its place in Nos. 6, 13 (along with two cases in י), 19, 25, 28. A Nifal with Aramaic ending appears in 25: 2, נסתרתו, along with the ppl. ניסתרין. In 28: 1 appears a Syriac Ethpai'al, נישתיחן. The ת of the reflexive is rarely lost, yet e. g. תירחקון, תיחתמון.

The 1st pers. sing. appears as קטלת or קטלית, for a verb of *i*-stem we have סליקית. There is found a perfect plural, אישתכחון, as in Syriac.

[1] Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 25.

Second feminine plurals, which are lacking in the Talmud, are found; unfortunately as the notes show, it is not always possible to decide whether a form is singular or plural, and there is the awkward confusion of ן- and ין-. In 6: 9 תיתכבשון is certainly plural, and doubtless the masculine plural termination (as in Hebrew) is to be understood in preference to *-in,* which would be the singular. It is uncertain whether שקוכי, 11: 8, 26: 6, is fem. singular or plural; in the duplicate text to No. 11, the plural is evident.

For the few cases of the quiescence of ע in verbal forms, see above. In פ"א roots we have, e. g., אתאסרו, תיתסי. Unique is the final loss of the ל of אזל in the participal form אזינא, 6: 6. For forms of הוא we have תיהוי, תיהי (both in the same text), spelt elsewhere תהוי, תהי. The masc. plural of the participle appears as הון, הוי; cf. מחן, רמן, from מחא, רמא.

As to the prepositions there is the interchange of ל and על, as in Mandaic. Also observe the occurrence in the same line of קדמוהי and קדאמיה, 3: 7.

There is almost nothing peculiar in the syntax. I note the occurrence of an old-Aramaic idiom in ביתלהון, "their house," 1: 6; also the unique idiom, if the text is correct,— ו- ועים, "and also," 1: 3 (cf. Latin, *simul ac*).

[8] See Levias, *Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom Contained in the Bab. Talmud,* § 188.

§ 6. The Syriac Texts

In our collection appear seven bowls of Syriac script and language,—the first of this category to be published with the exception of the poor facsimile of a probably similar bowl, accompanied with an unintelligible transliteration, in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 521 f.[1]

A. Script and Orthoepy

The script reveals itself as belonging to the Palmyrene-Syriac type, and that we are dealing not with a mere autographic "sport" is clear from the fact that two or three hands have written our seven texts. It agrees with the Palmyrene and Edessene in pointing ר, and with the former in not distinguishing ד. The Seyâmê or double points are used; this mark is generally written on the last letter, but occasionally, generally for reasons of space, on an earlier character. Once the two points are written vertically, 33: 5; they may include the points of ר, and in 34: 6 ר appears to have the two points one above and one below. The script provides the pronominal fem. suffix ה with an upper point, an ancient distinction in literary Syriac.[2] But there is marked distinction from the Edessene type in the absence of ligature; letters may touch one another, but they are not purposely written together.

In examining the individual characters (see my Alphabetic Tables) we find that נ, ז, ח, ע agree with the types of the Estrangelo alphabet, and ב and מ approximate the latter; but evidently our novel alphabet has had a history independent of Estrangelo.

[1] Chwolson thinks that the script of this bowl is of older type than that of the Edessene MS. of 411 (*CIH*, col. 116).

[2] In 34: 4 מושא, "Moses," is written with a point over א —to represent the *ê* sound?

It reveals a family likeness with the types found in early Edessene inscriptions[3] (where the characters are independent and no points used). But the genealogy for the peculiarities of our script is to be found in the cursive Palmyrene script, with which the Estrangelo is also to be connected. See Euting's alphabetic tables, cols. 17-28, in Chwolson *CIH;* his tables in Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik;* the atlas to Lidzbarski's *Handbuch z. nordsem. Epigraphik,* and for the history of the cursive Edessene script, the latter work, p. 193.

This relationship appears in ב (n. b. the curving stroke of the head); in ה (the type in No. 36 is identical with the Palmyrene); in ו (with the head at almost a right angle); in ח (our character is practically identical with the Estrangelo, but the origin of the type is to be found in Palmyrene, and a type in No. 32 is the replica of the angular form presented by Euting, col. 26); in מ; in י reduced to a small stroke or coarse round mark on the line; in ל (with parallels in Euting's table only in cursive Palmyrene, see cols. 24-28); in מ, which tends to a closed figure, and ם; in פ (a small half-oval figure, primitive in form, corresponding most closely to the cursive Palmyrene); in ק; in ש (preserving the ancient type against the Edessene development). צ is not found.

Of the remaining letters, ר is distinguished from ד by the diacritical point as in Palmyrene, but the figure of both characters faces to the right, a unique phenomenon. The character כ is unique, with its long curve extending far to the left, so that this feature becomes the characteristic and the head degenerates to a point;[4] but here again the Palmyrene type may be compared. The letter נ is *sui generis,* the medial character may be related to the Palmyrene; the finial with its long stroke recalls the Estrangelo finial ג, but terminates in a fork. ת also stands by itself. There is a general resemblance between it and the Syriac types presented by Euting, in Nöldeke, cols. viii-xiii, representing the fifth to the seventh century. But those Syriac forms have arisen from the tendency to ligature, whereas our ת is innocent of any such purpose. I am inclined to think

[3] E. g. Sachau, "Edessenische Inschriften," *ZDMG,* 1882, 142; n. b. no. 8.

[4] The nearest approach to this type appears in a similar character with a long tail in the Syriac MS. from Turkestan published by Sachau in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1905, 964.

that it is to be related to a rather primitive form of ת which consisted of a downward stroke to the left with a crosspiece near the top. Our type has simply reversed this, making the stroke downwards to the right, while the crosspiece comes at the bottom.

This analysis of the script presented in our Syriac bowls exhibits accordingly an older type than the literary Estrangelo and the Edessene inscriptions; its most pronounced relationships are with the cursive Palmyrene, and it is to be regarded as an independent sister of the Edessene script. Withal no character shows a distinctly late type.

Epigraphically then this script is of much interest, as exhibiting an early local form of Aramaic alphabet, of Palmyrene type, existing in Babylonia. It may have been a commercial script which spread from the metropolis Palmyra.[5] In § 14 the age of the bowls will be discussed; the script itself does not stand in the way of an early age, perhaps the fourth century, though other evidence may induce us to date the texts some centuries later.

Since the above paragraphs were finished and regarded as closed, my attention has chanced upon the Turkish Manichaean fragments from Turfan in Chinese Turkestan, and I find a striking resemblance in many characters of the alphabet there used (which is an offshoot of the Syriac script) to those of the Syriac type before us. I may refer here to the discussion of the script by F. W. K. Müller in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1904, 348 ff., and the facsimiles published in subsequent volumes of the same journal, e. g. that facing p. 1077, in the volume for 1905. In my Alphabetic Tables at the end of this work I shall present the correspondence in parallelism. The Turkish script is very much younger than ours, but has steadfastly preserved the type inherited from Babylonia. Mani came from Babylon, a few miles distant from Nippur, and we must suppose that our script was the local use of that region, which came to be adopted by Mani and his sect as the vehicle of their literature.

[5] It may be worth while to suggest that we possess in this peculiar script the script of the Harranian pagans, vulgarly known as the Sabians. As Chwolson has shown in his monumental work, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, these heathens spoke a pure Syriac (i, 258 f.), although the peculiar alphabets assigned to them by Arabic writers are fictitious or kabbalistic (ii, 845).

The history of our script is thereby carried back to the third century, by which time it was well established. What was thus a local script came to be perpetuated as the literary instrument of the Manichaean sect,—a fate which has so often happened to various forms of the Aramaic alphabet. I have given further discussion of this matter in articles now in press for the *Museum Journal* and the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. It may be added that there are no Manichaean traces in the bowls.

In the matter of orthoepy, while the forms without *matres lectionis* abundantly appear (e. g. לילית, plural; פתנמא, etc.), *plene* writings are also frequent, e. g. מלאכא, אימא, מיתקרא, תיזה, חילמא, כאסא, etc. There also occurs at times the confusion of ה and ח, characteristic in the square Aramaic texts and in the Mandaic: ה for ח in מהילין 31: 5, תיזה 38: 3, פרהיא 32: 4; and ח for ה in אימחתהון and אבחתהון 36: 5, איתחפיך 36: 1. The same sorcerer or family appears to have written bowls in both the Rabbinic and Syriac dialects (see Nos. 33-35), and hence the natural contamination of the one by the other.

The extensive use of the *Seyâmê* in all plurals is to be noted: in the pronoun הלין 31: 5, the plural of the verb e. g. נחיין 31: 6, the participle אתין 37: 8, etc.

B. The Language

The dialect belongs to the Edessene type; this is evident from the forms of pronouns and verbs. But there is extensive corruption from the type of dialect which has been literarily preserved in the Mandaic. This appears, as we have seen, in the Mandaic confusion of ה and ח. The 3rd sing. masc. or fem. suffix to a plural appears as ה; e. g. בנה, "his sons," 33: 13 (with *Seyâmê*), the same for "her sons" (with single point over ה), עילוה (with *Seyâmê*), 37: 8, etc. We have observed the same phenomenon in the Rabbinic texts.

For other similar Mandaisms we may note: the equivalence of ל and על, 34: 10; the verbal form נעילון (from עלל), 34: 10 (see my comment); the pronoun עילוה, 37: 8; בירא for בעירא, 34: 8, cf. פורא for פוחרא; אבוכון for אובכין, 37: 10; the construct שום, e. g. 34: 6. There are also some peculiar

forms, e. g. חתומין 34: 1, משכונתא 34: 2, סוטיטא 35: 4; and a few rare or unknown words: דיאבולא (*διάβολοι*), דסתבירא, דרמנא. The numeral with the suffix תרויהון 34: 4, is not classical, but is found in Targumic, Palmyrene, and Neo-Syriac. In 33: 10 לאפקכן is Afel infinitive of נפק.

§ 7. The Mandaic Texts

A. Script and Orthoepy

The script of the Mandaic bowls is exactly similar to that of those published in facsimile by Pognon. The peculiarities of certain characters distinguishing them from those in the MSS. of the fifteenth and following centuries, as noted by that scholar (*Une incantation,* 12 f.), appear likewise in these bowls.[1]

The ב is a large letter dropping its shaft obliquely below the line and recovering itself by an up-stroke at an acute angle. נ is a zigzag figure, or has an open, round flourish at the top. Following the traditions of the early alphabet ד and ר are similar, often indistinguishable; the former tends to a smaller head and a square angle at the top, the latter to a curving form like the end of a loop. ז is ligated at the top with the preceding letter. ח has, in Nos. 39, 40, a long leg to the right. ט appears in angular form, and also in a balloon-shaped figure. כ is a large letter rising well above and dropping below the line, sometimes in a free curve. Except that the drop is vertical, it is similar to ב; we may compare the like similarity in the Palmyrene. In No. 39 ל has the primitive form of two strokes at an angle, but leaning backward, and so allowing of ligature to the left by the foot. The left foot of מ projects itself obliquely in a straight line, and the extended stroke at the top distinguishes the character from ת. In No. 39, ס has the later form, similar to the Arabic ص; with others, the body is fuller, approximating the ק. ע is generally an angle lying upon the line, but in No. 39 it drops below the line, in two rough curving lines. פ has a large head, but does not drop below the line. צ is not found in these

[1] Compare now the early Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski in the de Vogüé Memorial Volume, p. 349, and the editor's notes, p. 350. His facsimiles are too indistinct to permit satisfactory comparison.

bowls. ק appears as a closed figure, like a roundish Estrangelo ק, with the left stroke failing to reach the upper line and curving back—probably for distinction from ם. The ש consists of two rough loops, which lie on top, or below, or on opposite sides. The ת has often the simple form of the Hebrew ח.

The suffixal ה (which I represent by the same character in my transliteration) occurs at the beginning of No. 38, and is then dropped by the scribe; it may perhaps be intended in one or two other cases in these bowls. Otherwise it cannot be distinguished from א; however, following the general practice I have always indicated the suffix by ה. A similar uncertainty of distinction appears in Lidzbarski's amulet; in Pognon's bowls the distinction is generally preserved.

The peculiar sign for the relative, דַ, has the shape known from the MSS., except that the vertical stroke at the left hand is often written without attachment to the first part. It always appears as a separate word, as is the case in Codex B of Petermann's edition of the Ginza, and apparently in Lidzbarski's bowls. I have followed the common editorial use of attaching it, like the Aramaic relative in general, to the following word. See the arguments of Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, 92, for regarding the sign as a peculiar development of ד, not as a ligature of די. But it must be asked why such a special sign should have been used. It appears to be a survival of the older Aramaic די, and I would argue that the pronunciation *di* had survived until the formation of the Mandaic script. In these texts, as in the MSS., the relative when internal (e. g. after ו) is expressed by ד; but this does not prove that דַ = ד, only that with the support of a preceding vowel the vowel of the relative was rejected.

The characters are spaced unevenly and in the case of unligated characters it is often difficult to ascertain with which word they are to be combined. The ligation is haphazard, there is no consistent attempt at consecutive chirography as in the later texts.

Apart from the bowl-inscriptions and Lidzbarski's amulets, all the Mandaic texts are preserved in late texts; the former are therefore important as the earliest monuments of the script. In § 14 I give evidence to prove that the Nippur texts are to be dated *circa* 600; at that period then the Mandaeans had elaborated their own alphabet with its peculiarities.

Investigations, which I may not expatiate on here, have led me to the belief that for the most part the Mandaic alphabet represents an early type of the "Syriac" alphabets; it is indeed often closely connected with the Palmyrene and Nabataean scripts. The sect itself must have arisen in the age when Gnosticism was rife in the Orient and before the domination of Christianity, and we have to suppose that it early developed its own peculiar calligraphy, after the wont of the various oriental sects of that age. Compare the remarks on the Manichaean alphabet, § 6.

As Pognon says of his text from Bismaya,[2] the language of the bowls is identical with that of the Ginza and Ḳulasta. The only difference is formal, in the sparse or varying use of the *matres lectionis*.[3] I may cite: חיוניאתא, תלתמא; עבוריא, עי; עמא; חיא; חתמתא, נטרתא, where later א was used in the first or second syllable or both; we actually find זרוזתא, זא, זרא.[4]

B. The Language

We may note the following syntactical peculiarity: the apparent use of the anticipatory pronominal suffix ה without the following relative particle דַּ, the suffix itself creating a kind of construct case-ending, the regimen being in apposition to the suffix. E. g. 40: 3: מנלתה פת פתה ב' "the word of B's granddaughter." A similar construction occurs throughout Nos. 21, 22, 23 (*q. v.*); also a parallel instance in the Palestinian amulet published by the writer in *JAOS*, 1911, see note there, p. 278. In 40: 24 such a "construct" form in ה is used before a plural noun: ביניאנה חיואניאתה. Was it in the way of becoming a stereotyped case?

Apart from the references to "Life," these bowls are not specifically Mandaic in religion. Pognon's bowls are much more colored with Mandaeism. Under No. 11 it is to be observed that the Mandaic text there compared is secondary to the Rabbinic texts; probably in the Nippur community the Mandaeans got their magic from the peoples of other dialects. In Pognon's texts the spirit of the ancient Babylonian magic appears more strongly than in any other of the bowl-inscriptions.

[2] *Une incantation*, 13.

[3] Which Pognon strangely enough regards as "errors."

[4] Nöldeke's expert judgment, in his review of Pognon, p. 143, that the language of the bowls is later than that of the Mandaic classics, may be noted here.

III. THE MAGIC OF THE TEXTS

§ 8. The Purpose of the Inscribed Bowls

The incantation bowls belong, with few exceptions, to one very specialized form of magic. They spontaneously suggest the art of "bowl magic," which, in various forms, is spread over the world, and which has a straight genealogy from Joseph's drinking cup to the spinster's teacup of our own day.[1] Ellis, the first commentator on the bowls, advanced the theory that, following an ancient and widespread therapeutic device, they were filled with a liquid which was drunk off by the patient who thus absorbed the virtue of the written charm.[2] This explanation has been generally given up. Layard objected that then the inscriptions would have been effaced by the liquid,[3]—which argument, though repeated by subsequent scholars, is not conclusive, for the magic vessel may have been preserved as itself a permanent prophylactic. Layard himself thought that they were used in places of sepulture and were charms for the dead, apparently relating them to the utensils placed in primitive graves. A number of Pognon's bowls are in fact endorsed with דבית קבוריא, "for the cemetery,"[4] and Wohlstein's no. 2417 appears to be directed against the ghosts of the dead. But the bowls at Nippur were found in ruined houses, and in no case is a bowl intended for the service of the dead.

Schwab argued for the hydromantic use of the bowls.[5] He makes reference to Babylonian hydromancy,[6] and proceeds to quote a number of

[1] Rodwell expatiates on this kind of magic, *TSBA*, ii, 114.

[2] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 511. Cf. R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, pp. lv, lxi.

[3] *Op. cit.*, 526.

[4] *Inscriptions mandaites*, nos. 5, 7, etc., and p. 3.

[5] *PSBA*, xii, 292 f.

[6] Cf. Hunger, "Becherwahrsagung bei d. Babyloniern," 1903 in *Leipziger Semitische Studien*, i.

Talmudic passages referring to Joseph's cup, magical beverages, etc., but he shows no connection between his numerous inscriptions and the method and purpose of hydromancy, which affects to give an oracle to men by the movements of oil or other floating objects in the liquid contained in the cup.[7]

Wohlstein attempted another explanation in the line of a kabbalistic dictum that no work of magic can be effected without the aid of a vessel (כלי).[8] It was Hyvernat however who first, from the field of Jewish demonology, obtained the clue to the right interpretation of the practice we are considering.[9] He refers to the Jewish legends of Solomon's magical ability to confine demons in vases, etc., and the parallel fables in Arabian lore of bottled up jinns, etc.[10] As we shall immediately see, this is the correct explanation.

Pognon did not himself see *in situ* the large collection of bowls which he published in his *Inscriptions mandaites,* but he learnt from a native that such bowls were found buried just below the surface of the earth, and, generally, reversed, the bottom of the bowl uppermost, while at times bowls were found superimposed upon one another, the mouth of the one fitted to the mouth of the other (p. 1 ff.). Pognon does not guarantee the truths of these statements, but suggests in accordance with them the theory that the inverted bowls were prisons for the demons, who were confined by the virtue of the magical praxis. The expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania to Nippur have corroborated this theory by ocular evidence. Referring to the find of bowls above the Parthian temple, Hilprecht reports that "most of the one hundred bowls excavated while I was on the scene were found upside down in the ground,"[11] and he gives a photograph showing some of the bowls in this position. He draws the same conclusion as Pognon concerning the magical use of the vessels.

Finally, one of the Pennsylvania texts demonstrates that this was the conscious purpose of the bowl magic. No. 4 opens thus: מיטלי דלמיכל

[7] For the correction of his hydromantic interpretation of כשוף מומין, see above § 3.

[8] *ZA,* viii, 325, quoting from the book *Raziel,* 32.

[9] *Sur une vase judéo-babylonien,* 137 f.

[10] Comparing *Thousand and One Nights,* ed. Bulak, i, 15 (= Burton's tr. i, 38).

[11] *Explorations,* 447.

מלאכין קדישין וכל רוחי בישתא וג׳: "covers to hold in sacred (accursed) angels and evil spirits," etc.[12] The same inscription announces to the demons that they are "bound and sealed in each one of the four corners of the house."[13] This magical method in fact gives a special name to the bowls; it is called a כיבשא, which literally means a "press." The same term appears in No. 6, which opens as follows: כיבשא דכבשין להון לשידי וג׳ "a press which is pressed down upon demons," etc. The theme is continued throughout the text: "This *press* I press down upon them" (l. 4); "who ever transgresses against this *press*" (l. 11), etc. In a word we have to do with a species of sympathetic magic, the inverted bowls symbolizing and effecting the repression and suppression of the evil spirits.[14]

The quadruple use of the bowls also explains the frequent recurrence of identical inscriptions, e. g. Nos. 21, 22, 23, all made out for the same client. The four charms thus placed at equidistant points, which as cornerstones represented the security of the house, formed a circle of magical influence about the dwelling.[15]

In the Babylonian magic we find a similar use of phylacteries buried under the pavement of the house. Botta, Layard and George Smith discovered under the pavement of buildings small receptacles in which were placed magical figurettes, of composite human and animal form.[16] The use of the circular lip of the bowl is also in line with the magic circle which appears to have been practised by sprinkling a circle of lime, flour, etc. around a group of small images of the gods.[17]

[12] See the commentary to the text.

[13] The binding at the four corners of the house appears also in Pognon, B, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 24.,

[14] If my interpretation of the introduction of Nos. 9 and 14 be correct, we have also a reference to the formal depositing of the bowls.

[15] Cf. the cylinder and prism texts deposited at the four corners of great buildings in ancient Mesopotamia.

[16] Botta, *Monument de Nineve*, v, 168 f.; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii, 37; Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, 78. See Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 114 f. For a like Jewish and Christian use, see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 30.

[17] Zimmern, *Beiträge z. Kenntniss d. bab. Religion*, 169, no. 54, and cf. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. lxiii, translating *uṣurtu* "circle" (Zimmern, "Gebilde"). Cf. the charm with a circle made by a ring presented in the Papyrus Anastasi, Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften*, hist-phil. Classe, xxxvi, 2, p. 34, and further *PSBA*, xiii, 165. The circle of the magical seal possessed the same efficacy.

But there is proof that the praxis of bowl magic existed in ancient Babylonia. In a passage of the magical *Utukki* series presented by Thompson,[18] we read a ban on an evil spirit: (a demon) "which roameth loose in an upper chamber, with a bason (*kakkultu*) without opening may they cover it." The editor in his note has recognized the form of magic indicated, without comparing it to the later bowls.[19]

The bowl is then primarily a domestic phylactery, to be classed with the abundant forms of this species of magic, e. g. the Jewish Mezuzoth. An exorcism given by Wessely[20] from the papyri recalls much of the very wording of our texts: that evil spirits may not injure the wearer of these exorcisms, hide not "in the earth,"[21] nor under the bed nor under the door nor under the gate nor under the beams nor under vessels nor under holes. The lurking of devils in the house (e. g. 1: 6), in the beams and on the thresholds (e.g.6:4), frequently appears in our texts, as also in the Talmud, Especially is the threshold named as guarded against the intrusions of evil spirits (e. g. 37: 2). The means of entrance are extravagantly detailed in a Babylonian text: by gate, door, bolt, etc., lintels, hinges, etc.;[22] and door and bolt and threshold are exorcised.[23] The bedchamber is the special object of care, and the endorsement on No. 12, "of the room of the hall," may refer to a bowl which was deposited in that apartment.

A different application of the same magic is found in the bowls published by Pognon, which were found in a cemetery, many of them being inscribed "for the cemetery" (דבית קבוריא). This is the worldwide practice of laying the graveyard ghosts. I am inclined to think that duplicate inscriptions were made out, some for the house and some for the

[18] *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, ii, 124.

[19] I must leave it open whether the phrase in *B. Meṣ.* 29b (= *Ḥull.* 84b), כסא דחרשין ולא כסא דמשרין (the last word is variously spelt), is a reference to our magical art; it could be translated "the cup of the sorcerers and not the cup of those who break sorcery," i. e. of bowls used for malicious (cf. § 12) or for preventive magic. *Tanḥuma* makes the second cup mean an ill-prepared brew which is ground for divorce; see Levy, *Hwb.*, iv, 151a.

[20] *Denkschriften*, xlii, 2, p. 66.

[21] Was there a duplicate buried in the house?

[22] Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, i, 377, where the full translation is given.

[23] E. g. Tallquist, *Maqlu*, p. 93, l. 10; Thompson, *Devils*, ii, 123.

graveyard; this would explain the reference to the four corners of the house in Pognon, nos. 1, 2, etc. None of the Nippur bowls are so marked. Wohlstein's bowl no. 2417 is a detailed exorcism of ghosts.

But Nos. 13 and 28 pass from prophylactic to aggressive magic; they are love charms such as we meet in an early age only in the Greek world. I leave their consideration to the commentary, and only note here that a love charm is as much a *κατάδεσμος* or *defixio,* to use the words of classical magic, as a ban of evil spirits. It is interesting to note that the Greek charms for *defixing* a rival in the circus or a lover were often buried in cemeteries, for the powers of evil were in any case invoked.[24]

The bowl itself is called simply, כסא or כוסא, also occasionally קמיעה amulet = *φυλακτήριον*, applied secondarily to a phylactery that is not suspended or worn (√ קמע).[25] For other terms applied to it as a magical instrument, see § 11.

The tradition of this species of bowl-magic has lasted down into Islam, to fairly modern times. In his *Monumens arabes, persans et turcs,* Paris, 1828, Reinaud has given (ii, 337 ff.) a careful description of several Arabic magical bowls of brass and glass, contained at his day in private French collections and at the Vatican. They are talismans (to quote one of the bowls) against snakes, scorpions and dogs, against fever, pangs of childbirth and maladies of nursing, enteric diseases, sorcery and dysentery.[26] They are introduced "in the name of the merciful and compassionate God" (cf. the similar formula in our texts, e. g. 3: 1 and note), and are elaborately provided with quotations from the Koran and with references to holy legend and the power of God (cf. § 11). One reference indicates that they were inscribed at the propitious astrological moment, cf. below, § 11.

This is the only literary reference to bowls of this character I have been able to discover. In the possession of the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia is a small, finely engraved brass bowl, with Koran quotations in Nashki. The text has been translated by Dr. B. B. Charles, Fellow of

[24] E. g. the Cypriote charms published by Miss L. Macdonald, *PSBA,* xiii, 159, and the Hadrumetum tablet, discussed in No. 28.

[25] See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen,* 87, and "Amulet" in *Jewish Encyc.*

[26] So in Schwab L and Q charms against dog-bites, and a reference to scorpions is found in Pognon B; see Glossary C, *s. v.* עקרב.

the University, who has kindly allowed me to present his rendering, as follows:

"This blessed bowl wards off all poisons, and in it are assembled tried virtues; and it is for the sting of the serpent and the scorpion, for fever, for dysentery (?), for indigestion, for the mad dog, for stomachache and colic, for headache and throbbing, for fever of the liver and spleen, for facial contortions, for lack of blood (insufficient blood supply), for annulling magic, and for the eye and the sight, and for use in giving to drink of water or oil, or for harm to enemies and for poison in the conclave of (two) lands, when the imâms of the religion and the orthodox caliphs are thereon agreed for the advantage of the Muslims."

Probably many such phylacteries are to be found in oriental households. Evidently the peculiar practice of the inversion of the bowl has disappeared; the vessel itself with its magical inscription has become "blessed," an efficient phylactery. But the use of the bowl is doubtless a survival of the magic we are discussing.

§ 9. The Exorcists

The exorcist is in general anonymous; his personality is lost in his professional possession of occult powers which range far above personal limitations. By the age of our texts he had long been differentiated from the temple priest, or maintained connection with a cult only in out-of-the-way shrines or in the new theosophic circles that sprang up in the Hellenistic age.[1] A few points however may be noted.

Several of the Nippur texts[2] contain magical formulas worked in the name of Rabbi Joshua ben Perahia (Syriac, Rab Jesus bar P.), who is none other than one of the early Zugoth or Pairs who handed down the Tradition from the Great Synagogue to later ages (see to No. 32). Whether this magical tradition concerning the venerable Joshua be authentic may be dubious;[3] but the case is illustrative of the tendency in magic to appeal to ancient great masters of sorcery, and to use their names as though their full powers were possessed. We may compare the many references in the magical papyri to such ancient masters, whose spells have become the stock in trade of their successors.[4] The assumption of these quacks is well illustrated by a Jewish mortuary charm in which the magician thus introduces himself: "With the wand of Moses and the plate of Aaron and the seal of Solomon and the shield of David and the mitre

[1] For the Babylonian *âšipu* and *mašmašu*, see Zimmern, *Beiträge*, 91; Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 21.

[2] Nos. 8, 9, 17, 32, 33, 34.

[3] For the Talmudic doctors and others who practised "legitimate" magic, see Blau, *Das altjüdische, Zauberwesen*, 23. In 34: 2 the sorcerer claims to be a "cousin" of Joshua and there is reference to his "house," i. e. school in 8: 11. Compare the inherited magical powers of Choni the Circle-maker, *Taan.*, 19b, 23.

[4] See the list of such magical authorities in Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften*, xxxvi, 2, p. 37; cf. xlii, 2, p. 10 (I shall hereafter refer to these volumes simply as xxxvi and xlii). Also Apuleius gives a similar list, including Moses, xc, 100, l. 10 (ed. Helm), see Abt, "Die Apologie des Apuleius," 244, in Dieterich and Wünsch, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche v. Vorarbeiten*, iv, 2.

of the chief priest" (I perform this spell);[5] and this Palestinian charm has its parallel in our text No. 2: "I Pabak come, clad in iron and fire, vested with garments of Hermes the Logos, and my strength is in him who created heaven and earth." In 7: 12 the authority of Prangin bar Prangin is exercised—some sorcerer of the hazy past, if not a figment of the imagination. 'The great Abbahu' in l. 9 is to be explained in the same way, if it is not a misunderstanding of a Gnostic term, and so too Barmeštael in l. 13, literally the 'son of the oracle-giver.' In some cases, e. g. the latter two and instances in No. 19, it is difficult to decide whether we have to do with men or divinities; the line was not drawn between the sorcerer and the deity, as in the Hermetic identification of Moses with Hermes[6] and in the lively incident in *Acts* 14, where the people of Lystra deify Barnabas and Paul.

In one case, the pagan text No. 36, the exorcist presents his commission from the deities: "The lord Shamash has sent me against thee, Sina (the moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nannai has said to me..... Nirig has given me power." This is the survival of well known old Babylonian formulas, e. g. the *Maḳlu* series, i, l. 52 ff:[7] "Anu and Antu have commissioned me, ... I am ordered, I go, I am sent, I speak, Against the might of my sorcerers Marduk the lord of incantation has sent me."

I am inclined to think that some of the texts, especially the more illiterate ones, were written by lay people. The "word of power" had become the essential element (see § 11), and like a physician's prescription might be copied by anyone, or even invented—for along with the belief in sorcery always goes a subconsciousness of its hocus-pocus. For instance, No. 2 is a mutual charm in which two men, in the respective halves of the text, exercise each his powers for the other. Are they

[5] Montgomery, *JAOS*, 1911, 272. For the identification with Moses cf. the Hermetic phrase, *ἐγώ εἰμι Μωσῆς*, Wessely, xxxvi, 129, l. 109 ff.; also see Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 68, and Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 279. For the Egyptian use, cf. the Harris papyrus, "I am Amon," Brugsch, *Religion u. Mythologie d. alt. Aegypter*, 725. Or the sorcerer may identify himself with some mighty demon; e. g. *Giṭ.*, 69a, "I am Papi Shila son of Sumka," cf. Blau, *op. cit.* 83. Also cf. 27: 9 with 2: 6.

[6] Dieterich, *l. c.*

[7] Tallquist, p. 37. Cf. the commission of the Old Testament prophets, e. g. *Jer.* i, and the adoption of soothsaying formulas; cf. *Num.* 24: 4 and *Is.* 50: 4.

professional magicians or not rather laymen who felt they could make a stronger defence against the powers of evil by standing shoulder to shoulder? The texts are often indited in the first person, e. g. Pognon 24; in No. 27 the clients of No. 7 appear as making the charm, and use the form of No. 2. But in general there is a breaking down of the distinction between personalities in magic; compare the Babylonian rituals, in which priest and suppliant appear to fuse in one another.

In one place Wohlstein calls attention to what appears to be an attestation of the incantation, inserted into the middle of the text.[8] The obscure passage is: קימא דהוא כתיב לי אנן הכא ידעינן אותו. It may be translated: "It is correct for it has been written for me (or קי = קמיעא?), we recognize it here." Cf. the attestations of the scribe in the Babylonian magical texts, e. g. the *Maḳlu* series.

[8] *ZA*, ix, 36.

§ 10. The Clients

Most of the inscriptions are of domestic character, being made out for a married couple, their children, their house, and their property, cattle, etc. Frequently it is the wife and mother who procures the charm, with or without reference to the husband. In many of the inscriptions there is special intention against the evils that disturb the domestic sexual life. And so No. 36 gives an exorcism for the bridal-chamber, No. 24 is a charm for the safe delivery of a pregnant woman. The bed-chamber is often specified (בית מישכבא). There is frequent reference to the demons that slay the unborn babes (e. g. Nos. 36, 37), the charm is often made out for the children that shall be, as well as for those that are. It would seem that where women are concerned, the greater part of magic has to do with the mysteries and maladies of the sexual life. The Lilis and Liliths which predominate in the categories of demons are personifications of sexual abnormalities.

At times the idea of the family is extended to a wider scope, so as to include a large household; No. 29 is a good example; from the long list of male names enumerated, some of them of foreigners, it appears that the woman who procured the charm was landlady of a lodging house. On the other hand sometimes a single individual feels that a whole bowl is necessary for his own maladies; so in the case of the invalid who is the client of Schwab's bowl F.

As the individuals must be exactly specified we have a rich list of names, which is enlarged by the required naming of the mother, more rarely the father of the client.[1] In the Rabbinic texts we find the Aramaic names

[1] *Shabb.* 66b: כל מנייני בשמא דאימא: "all repetitive incantations are in name of the mother." The "sacred" name of a person includes that of his mother with the Mandaeans (Brandt. *Mand. Religion,* 116). The same rule appears in the Greek magic; see Wünsch *Antike Fluchtafeln* (Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte,* no. 20), p. 9 for examples and literary references. The practice is now attributed to the original

familiar in the Talmud, etc., Persian names, probably more frequent than the former, and but few typical Jewish names. In the Syriac and Mandaic texts the names are by a large majority Persian.[2] My texts contain one evidently Greek name, אסטרובא, Astrobas, and a Christian name, בת סהדא, Martyrofilia; the former is paralleled in a text of Lidzbarski's by טימאתיוס, Timotheos, the latter by סעבריא ליעשו, 'His-hope-in-Jesus' in a text of Pognon's. Some of the names of obscure etymology may be of Indian origin; cf. the frequent name Hinduitha.

The large proportion of Persian names even in the Rabbinic texts might lead us to think that the clients were non-Jewish. The argument is somewhat fallacious as the Jews by no means stickled for their native names, in fact seem to have adopted foreign names with great avidity.[3] And so in one family of nine souls the names are Persian, and only one son bears a Jewish name (No. 12). But as we shall have reason to conclude (§ 15), the magic of our bowls is so eclectic that even a "Jewish"-Aramaic text does not imply a Jewish exorcist, nor Jewish clients. We have to think of a *clientèle* partly Jewish, partly non-Jewish, to which the religious affinities of the magic were indifferent.

But the power of the charms is also extended beyond the actual house and its inmates so as to include the whole property of the client. Not only are house and mansion detailed, but also the cattle and possessions in general (קנינא). In like manner Greek phylacteries provide a general property insurance, e. g. that the demons "shall not injure or approach N. or M. or his house or his vineyards or lands or cattle."[4]

matriarchal condition of society rather than to the elder principle, *pater incertus, mater certa.* Naming of the father probably occurs where the mother is unknown; for instances see to 10: 1.

[3] See Glossary B; also Pognon, B, p. 97.

[3] See Zunz. "Die Namen d. Juden," in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii.

[4] Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 294; such charms are frequent in the Graeco-Italian exorcisms published by Pradel, in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, iii, no. 3. For amulets worn by cattle, see Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, 86.

§ 11. The Incantations.

I have discussed in § 8 the particular praxis of our magic—the inversion of the inscribed bowl. There remain for consideration many details, for elaborateness is characteristic of magic and even in our comparatively simple field there are many phenomena which are suggestive links binding it with more complicated magical science.

Magic consists of two elements: the physical operation or praxis, and the incantation, or to use the Egyptian term, "the word of power."[1] They are distinguished in the Babylonian as the *epešu "work"* (also *kikittu*[1a]), and the *šiptu,* words which appear rubrically in the magical texts. In the Greek the terms for the practice are *πρᾶγμα, πρᾶξις, χρεῖαι*; for the incantation (*ἱερὸς*) *λόγος*.[2] So in Latin *facere* is the word for the operation, and it has had an interesting history through *factura, fattura, feitigo* (Portuguese), into *fetich.*

The same distinction and similar terms are found in our magic. The root עבד, "work, serve"[3] (late Hebrew עשה (cf. 14: 1), מעשה) is used of the practice.[4] It is the common root also for the service, the worship of the gods in West-Semitic, and this fact illustrates the parity, often equivalence of religion and magic. Hence the technical terms עבדא (*'ăbâdâ*), עובדא

[1] Budge, *Egyptian Magic,* 26 f.

[1a] E. g. in the Labartu texts, Myhrman, *ZA,* xvi, 141.

[2] For the first two words see indexes in Wessely's two volumes in the *Denkschriften;* for *χρεῖα* , Dieterich *Abraxas,* pp. 136, 160. All three words occur close together in Dieterich's text p. 204 f. For *τελετή* (Dieterich, p. 136) = the אשלמתא of our texts, see § 12.

[3] Cf. Latin, *colo, cultus.* This Hebrew-Aramaic root is more religious than *epešu,* etc., with its idea of service. N. b. Arabic *umrâ,* used of the cult at Mecca, Wellhausen, *Skizzen,* iii, 165.

[4] A magical connotation of this root may exist in *Is.* 28: 2: לעבד עבדתו נכריה עבדתו , where the divine operation is contrasted to the magic arts of the necromancers.

(*'ubbâdâ*), עבודא, מעבדא (*ma'bâdâ*), occurring frequently in the bowls, and in such expressions as עבידנא עבדא (9: 2), and עבודא דעביד הוהו.[5]

The spoken *Word* is represented by מלתא, מילין, "words," etc., also technically by קריתא, once בת קל דקריא 16: 10, = the Greek *ἐπίκλησις* (also *κλῆσις*) used both in magic arts and also in the Christian liturgy (in baptism, eucharist, exorcisms),[6] though as we shall see, most of these words came to be regarded as part of black magic and were avoided by our exorcists. The incantation as written is called a כתיבתא and by the unique word *dastabîra*,[7] and also a רזא, "mystery," 3: 1.[8]

A very large number of terms is used to express different practices and *nuances* of magic, but most of them only in the lists of dreaded black magic (see § 12), and hence they are avoided by our exorcists.[9] The exorcist gives himself none of the technical names, e. g. from the roots כשף, אשף; he speaks of his עבודא, but מעבדא is avoided. His adjuration is a מומיתא, the Babylonian *mamîtu, "ban,"* and he employs the corresponding verb מומינא; a more frequent equivalent is שבע, Afel. Once he uses the root אשף: אשישפנא באישפא דימא, 2: 3. But his favorite terminology for his own practice is derived from אסר, "bind," exactly equivalent to the Greek *καταδεῖν*, Latin *defigere;* the charm is an איסרא, איסורא. Also the synonymous roots are used less frequently: צור, קטר, יסר, מסר, מצר, פכר, חבר. The last root is used of magical practices in this sense in the Old Testament,[10] where also the obscure בסחות, *Eze.* 13: 18, is probably from a Babylonian root of like import.[11] In the Babylonian the "binding" power of magic is as prominent as in the western magic; I cite such passages as

[5] For מעבדין and the Syriac use see Nöldeke, *Z. f. d. Keils.-forsch.*, iii, 296, and Fränkel, *ZA*, ix, 308. A frequent attributive is תקיף.

[6] After summing up the various terms used for exorcism Heitmüller concludes, in his *"Im Namen Jesu,"* p. 212: "Der Ausdruck *κατ' ἐξοχήν* ist *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα*. Our word קריתא is the liturgical equivalent in the Syriac for *epiklesis*.

[7] See 32: 4, and Kent's discussion in *JAOS*, 1911, 359.

[8] The original use of this word (= *τελετή*) appears in its designation of black arts; see § 12.

[9] Cf. the modern fine distinctions between magic, sorcery, witchcraft, etc.

[10] See Davies, *Magic Divination and Demonology*, 55, as against W. R. Smith's view in *Journ. of Philology*, xiv, 123.

[11] Friedr. Delitzsch, in Baer and Delitzsch' text, p. xiii.

the *Maḳlu*-series iv, l. 9; vii, 66, in which this idea is expressed by several synonymous verbs.

The roots בטל, Pa., "annul," גזר, "prohibit," חרם, "be in taboo," שמת "lay under ban,"[12] frequently appear. Also חתם, Peal and Pael, is frequent with the sense of sealing the demons with the magic word or device engraved on a seal—often with explicit mention of Solomon's Seal; hence the reference to the 70 seals of Solomon (Hyv.), or the seal of the house of Enoch, 19: 17, the seals of the angels of the Most High (Hyv.).[13] Our magicians will work only white magic, and their whole effort is for the אסותא,[14] *salus* of their clients.[15] The great magician Joshua b. Peraḥia is an אסיא רבא, "great healer," 17: 12 = 34: 2. In this prophylactic nature of the magic, our texts differ favorably from the western *κατάδεσμοι* and *defixiones*. The incantations largely consist in the monotonous repetitions of these equivalent roots.

As to the praxis of our magic we have little information additional to that presented in § 8.[16] From Pognon's texts we learn that the bowl was a new one (B. no. 24) and that the sorcerer sat upon an uncleft rock, a survival of primitive religion.[17]

The rude figures and designs which can hardly be said to adorn the bowls are part of the praxis. They come down from the earlier and more realistic age when gods and demons were represented by simulacra and in this wise were manipulated so as to do the sorcerer's will.[18] Most of the

[12] Stübe explains the equivalent שיפורי in his text as denominative from שופר the horn of excommunication.

[13] For sealing as equivalent to placing the magical name on the object, see Heitmüller, *op. cit*, 143, 249, etc.

[14] The charm itself is called an אסותא.—Cf. the New Testament *σώζειν. σωτηρία* is used in the papyri, e. g. Wessely, xlii, 31, l. 341.

[15] This includes their defence, מטרתא, and supernatural arming זרזתא (cf. "the panoply of God," Eph. 6: 13), and involves the breaking of counter charms and wiles of the devils: עקר, שרא, אפך, כרך, בטל, סמר, פשר, etc.; אשכב, "lay a spirit"; כבש, etc. In the Talmud פשר is the technical opposite to אסר; Blau, *op. cit.*, 157.

[16] In No. 12 is a bit of rubric for forming a figure of an angel; see the commentary. And probably at end of No. 13 occurs an aphrodisiac recipe.

[17] Cf. the unhewn altar, *Ex.* 20: 25, and for the primitive aversion to iron, see Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, 220 ff.

[18] Budge describes how as far back as the third millennium in Egypt pictures came to be used in place of material objects in the magic of the dead (*op. cit.*, 107).

figures represent the demons, generally as bound and hobbled—i. e. רגיל, אסיר, etc., to use the words of the incantation.[19] Especially the liliths are so represented, e. g. No. 8, but also there are masculine figures like the military-looking demon, in Persian style, of No. 3. Some of the gruesome caterpillar-like designs are intended to "raise the hair" as did the demons of elder Babylonia.[20]

In one specimen, No. 15, the figure is the design of the serpent with its tail in its mouth. This is surely of Egyptian origin, doubtless through a Hellenistic medium. Such a figure is described in the "Book of Apep," of Ptolemaic compilation,[21] and prescriptions for drawing this magical figure are found in the Greek papyri.[22] Very common—so in the Syriac bowls—is a circle with a cross in it; or the circle is divided into segments with a cross in each. These signs probably represent the magical seal. There also occur rough rectangular figures divided into compartments, representing the walls of protection which magic casts about the client.[23] Wessely gives a facsimile of such a magical design:[24] a square within a square, the former being divided into three compartments; I suppose after the plan of a double-walled and many-chambered castle, indicating the protective character of the charm.

In one case, no. 8835, a cross-shaped figure may represent a dagger, and so indicate one of the magical forms of *defixio* or fastening down of the evil spirits.[25]

[19] Cf. the operation performed on the figure of the Labartu, Myhrman, *op. cit.*, 150. For Palestine, see the figurettes found in the Seleucidan debris of Tell Sandahannah, in Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 154. For Egyptian usage, e. g. Budge, *op. cit.*, 83.

[20] See the description in Myhrman, p. 148; also the seven evil Utukki, Thompson, *Devils*, tablet 16, and ii, p. 149.

[21] Budge, *op. cit.*, 79, 83.

[22] Wessely, xlii, 39 f., 69. The like design appears in a bowl depicted by Hilprecht, *Explorations*, opposite p. 447. Within the circle so formed are a number of magical figures, the most elaborate that appear in the bowls. The specimen is presumably at Constantinople.

[23] For similar sympathetic magic in old Babylonia, see Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 303.

[24] *Ibid.* 64.

[25] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, "Defixio," col. 2373; Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, 17. For modern instances of this kind of sorcery, see Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, 53.

In No. 4 it is evidently the sorcerer who is depicted, waving in his hand a magic bough. This is the use we find in Babylonian magic, in which a branch of the datepalm or tamarisk was held aloft to repel the demons.[26]

One detail of universal magic appears in the praxis of our bowls: the assumption of a suitable season for the exorcism. So 6: 5: "this day out of all months, this year out of all years"; cf. the mutilated (and probably misunderstood) form of this formula in 17: 1. In Wohlstein 2422 a day is given: "If you come on the first of Nisan, go away," etc. Nisan 1 was an auspicious day for expelling demons;[27] this was probably due to the belief that the great turning points of the year, the solstices and equinoxes were times of supernatural determinations of human fate, when responsive action on the part of man was especially effective; in the Babylonian calendar Nisan 1 was the day of Destinies, the Jewish New Year's day in Tishri has the same character, and compare the magic time of midsummer night and the Christmas season in more modern superstition.[28] In old Babylonia certain days were propitious for exorcism, and they are listed, as personified, in a Šurpu text, among them the 7th, 15th, 19th, 20th, 25th, 30th, of the month.[29] We have fuller information of this notion from Egypt; papyri are preserved giving all the days in the year according to their character as propitious or unpropitious for magical rites.[30] The same use of seasons appears in the Hellenistic papyri, those continuators of Egyptian magic. Among the numerous passages I note the following: *ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μῆνας ἐξ μηνῶν, ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμερῶν, ὥρας ἐξ ὡρῶν, ὁρκίζω πάντας τοὺς*

[26] Thompson, *Devils*, p. xlix, and instances pp. 23, 111, 197. Compare the religious use of the *bareçma*, a bunch of datepalm, pomegranate or tamarisk, in the Persian religion; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthümer*, iii, 571. Thompson in his note draws attention to our design.

[27] Wohlstein, p. 399, with references.

[28] See Carl Schmidt, *Aberglaube des Mittelalters*, 1884, 205 ff. (on *Die Tagewählerei*).

[29] Zimmern, tablet viii, 24 ff. Cf. the exorcism of a demon at full moon, in Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 16.

[30] Budge, *op. cit.*, 224 ff.; *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii, c. xix, for lists of the deities of times and seasons. The earliest appearance of this system among the Jews is the angelic calendar system in *Enoch*, 82.

δαίμονας [31] This is exactly the equivalent of the passage cited above, 6: 5: יומא הדין מיכולהון יומי וירחא הדין מיכולהון ירחי ושתא הדא מיכולהין שני ועידנא הדין מיכולהון עידני, and there can be no reasonable doubt that we have here the reminiscence of the Hellenistic formula. So again in the papyri: ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν τῇ ἀρτι ὥρᾳ.[32] At least the later magical calendar is connected with astrology; one Greek exorcism adjures "by the God who has the power of the hour."[33] These references to an appropriate magical time are in our texts however quite conventional; we may judge that no horoscopes were cast by our sorcerers.

But the praxis is a minor part of the bowl-magic. In this it differs from the Babylonian in which the praxis was primary, the texts being illuminative of the action. The reasons for this shifting of the center of gravity I shall touch upon in § 15. In the bowls the incantation, the spell, is almost the all in all. It consisted in the utterance or writing of certain phrases, words, syllables, which possessed in themselves a magic power to bind equally the favorable powers and the demons.[34] This use of spells has gone so far that magic appears to have divorced itself from religion; the inversion of the bowl and the monotonously repeated declaration that the demons are "bound, sealed, countersealed, exorcised, hobbled, silenced," etc., e. g. Nos. 2, 4, is in itself sufficient, without invocation of, or reference to, the divine powers.

Generally however appears the formal adjuration of Deity or of deities and other favorable genii, the invocation of their name securing their assistance.[35] This may be specifically the Jewish deity, e. g. No. 14,

[31] Wessely, xxxvi, 53, l. 341 ff. My colleague Professor Heffern sagaciously notes the illumination thus cast upon the difficult reference in *Rev.* 9: 15 to the angels appointed for an hour, day, month, year; the verse is reminiscent of magical phraseology. Note also the phrase, "in a good hour and a good and auspicious day," in the Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 3000 (given by Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 251, 255).

[32] Wessely, xxxvi, 92, l. 1932 ff. = xlii, 42, l. 665 ff. N. B. the like stress laid upon "this day" in the Babylonian exorcisms, e. g. *Šurpu*-series, iv, l. 65.

[33] Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, no. 3, l. 20.

[34] The conscious manipulation of words, phrases, pronunciations to extract their magical sense, appears in 9: 5 = 32: 6.

[35] Even as in earlier times the images of the gods were used; e. g. Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 315.—The magical value of the use of the name in religious rites

"in thy name YHWH"; or it may be quite indefinite as in the recurrent introductory formula, "In thy name, O Lord of healings, great Healer of love"; the same form also appears in the pagan text No. 19. I discuss under No. 3 the origin of the phrase.

There is nothing new in the adjuration of many angels[36] or deities along with the appeal to some one Name;[37] the former is the Jewish phase of polytheism, while even with polytheistic adjurations there may be recognition of "God," as in the pagan text No. 19 with its reference to "the one true God," l. 17. Noticeable is the easy passage from the invocation of celestial beings into that of mere names or words; but this illustrates the arrant nominalism into which magic had fallen, losing the religious phase of divine personality. So Abraxas is invoked—though probably here we have a very ancient divine name, inherited from Egypt.[38] Of this "the holy Agrabis" may be a perversion, 14: 2. In 7: 9, as noted in § 9, "the Great Abbahu" may be a magically deified sorcerer.[39] Many of the odd names which are invoked may be kabbalistic (gematriac, etc.) names of angels or gods (see § 13). They may soon have worn down into unintelligible words—just as Αβραξας = 365 becomes אברכים (and other forms) without reminiscence of the numerical value of the letters.[40] We have the

has been established in late years by a series of discussions from scholars working in various fields. I name: K. Nyrop, *Navnets magt* ("the power of the name"), 1887, noted and analyzed by Giesebrecht (see below); F. v. Andrian in *Correspondenzblatt d. deutsch. Gesellschaft f. Anthropologie, Ethnologie u. Urgeschichte,* xxvii (1896), 109-127; F. Giesebrecht, *Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens u. ihre religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage,* Königsberg, 1901; W. Heitmüller, *'In Namen Jesu,'* Göttingen, 1903 (especially Part II). Cf. also, on the use of the name, Jacob, *"Im Namen Gottes," Vierteljahrsschrift f. Bibelkunde,* i (1903), Heft 1 seq. (which I have not seen in full); J. Boehmer, *Das biblische 'Im Namen,'* Giessen, 1898. (on the philological origins of the baptism formula); and an essay by W. Brandt, "Ὄνομα en de doopsformule in het nieuwe testament," *Theol. Tijdschrift,* 1891.

[36] For the adjuration of angels in Judaism, see Heitmüller, *op. cit.,* 176 ff.

[37] See § 13.

[38] According to Budge, *Egyptian Magic,* 180, originally the name of a form of the sungod; according to Wiedemann, *Magie u. Zauberei* (*D. Alte Orient,* vii, 4), p. 23, the Egyptians from of old worshipped as god "the Magical Formula."

[39] Cf. the early and frequent use of the name Jesus in the papyri magic; and cf. *Acts* 19: 13. For Jesus as a sorcerer in the Talmud, see Blau. *op. cit.* 29.

[40] See Pognon, *Inscr. mand.,* 107. In 34: 19 he is "mighty lord."

same unintelligent invocation of names in the magical papyri, e. g. the exorcism "in the name of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus Chrestos, Holy Spirit."[41] This is not Jewish magic, any more than we can say that the erotic charm from Hadrumetum is Jewish in its present form with its barbarous spellings for the patriarchs: Αβρααν, Ιακου, Ισρααμ.[42] These are specimens of eclectic magic with pagan and Jewish elements, overlaid with Christian.[43] It is in this eclectic character of our texts, as in all so-called Jewish magic, that they part company from the old Babylonian magic and relate themselves to occidental conjuration.

The invocation of angelic names in Jewish magic may be regarded as in part the parallel to the pagan invocation of many deities, and in part as invocation of the infinite (personified) phases and energies of the one God.[44] Both Jewish and pagan magic agreed in requiring the accumulation of as many names of the deity or demon as possible, for fear lest no one name exhaust the potentiality of the spiritual being conjured. The aggregation of divine epithets in the Old Testament, as also in the Christian liturgy, goes back to the root-idea of the efficiency of a knowledge of all the names if possible; the fifty names of Marduk, the hundred names of Allah, are similar cases. In the Babylonian magic[45] and also in the Egyptian[46] this practice was established. For Hellenic magic may be cited the many names of Hekate, the λόγοι ἑκατίκιοι.[47] In this accumulation

[41] Wessely, xxxvi, 75, l. 1227. Cf. the list of invocations in a "Christian" amulet: Adonai, Thodonael (= Toth + Adonael), Sabaoth, Emanuel, the holy angels, etc. (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 293).

[42] For the text and literature see to No. 28.

[43] I suppose the formula read originally: "in the name of the God of Abraham," etc. See Heitmüller, *op. cit.*, p. 180 for the invocation of the patriarchs, etc. Origen (*c. Cels*, iv, 35) appears to admit its efficacy.

[44] Cf. the Gaonic maxim that there are many things in which the angels are independent of God, Blau, *op. cit.*, 92; with which contrast the notion of the ephemeral existence of the angels who proceed from the *Dinûr* of God; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 166, Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii, 371—all but Michael and Gabriel according to a dictum of *Bereshith R.* (Lueken, *Michael*, 39). For the equivalent efficiency of divine and angelic names see the magical text, *The Sword of Moses*, published by Gaster, 1896.

[45] Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, i, 291.

[46] Budge, *op. cit.*, 171.

[47] Wünsch. *Ant. Fluchtafeln*, 6.

of divine names there lurks the uncertainty whether they are names of one being, or, as so many potencies, names of as many beings. This confusion appears in the parallel texts under No. 11, where the second (Myhrman's text) turns the three names of the Jewish God in the first into a polytheistic trinity. But except in the case of accumulated magical syllables, the "barbarous names" of Greek magic, the Deity is not in our texts given many names; this is due to the fact that the reference to the Deity is not much more than a passing compliment. However the names of the demons must be exactly known, and especially is it the Lilith who receives an extravagant accumulation of designations; she is akin to Hekate and the "Hekatian names" are showered upon her. For the demoniac names I refer to § 12.

The use of so-called kabbalistic names—letters,[48] syllables, phrases—as potent charms, may next claim our attention. The roots of this usage are many, and the origin or etymology of specific cases mostly defy explanation. The practice is rare in Babylonian magic,[49] but is common in the sorcery of ancient Egypt[50] and in its lineal descendant the Hellenistic magic,[51] and hence it was reflected to the Jewish sorcery, the Talmud abundantly illustrating the use of these *barbarica onomata*.[52] One primitive source of this usage is the mystery which is thrown about magic rites; "the wizards that squeak and gibber" (Is. 8: 19) are universal; the Babylonian priest generally whispered his formulas (cf. the title *mašmašu*); the solemn parts of Christian rites have likewise tended to inaudible pronounciation. There exists a tendency toward intentional obscuration of the formulae, which by psychological necessity would tend to even greater corruption. But magic is in its purpose a scientific exercise, and we must suppose that in general something intelligible was once expressed by the now unintelligi-

[48] For the mysticism connected with letters see Dieterich's interesting discussion, *Rhein. Mus.*, lvi, 77, "ABC—Denkmäler."

[49] A case in Myhrman, *ZA*, xvi, 188 (cf. Jastrow, i, 339), for the text of which see 15: 4.

[50] Budge, *op. cit.*, c. 5, e. g. p. 172.

[51] See Heitmüller, *op. cit.* 197 ff.; Abt, *Apuleius*, 152. For the *Ephesia grammata*, see Kuhnert, in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* (the papers of Welcker in his *Kleine Schriften*, iii, and of Wessely in *Program* of the Franz Joseph Gymn., Vienna, 1886, I have not seen).

[52] Blau, *op. cit.*, 61 f.; Grünbaum, *ZDMG*, xxxi, 269 f.

ble term. Much of the later nonsense was the survival of phrases of the lost tongue in which the charms had their rise.[53] Such a part may have been played by Sumerian phrases in later Babylonia, and the great western sorcerer Apuleius recognizes the origins of his magical lingo as *magica nomina Aegyptio vel Babyloniaco ritu,*[54] and the Hellenistic sorcerer is said to *αἰγυπτιάζειν.*

Some of the phrases are still intelligible, such as חוש, "quick" (off with you), with abundant parallels in the Babylonian and the Greek magic (the repeated *ταχύ*),[55] also brief imperatives, as זע, זח, or זה, from זעע, etc., "fly away." But the great majority of the forms are unintelligible. It is to be observed that raucous sounds, e. g. קץ (*ḳaṣ*) and especially sibilants are very frequent; in Pognon's texts ש (*sh*) is often inserted between words.[56] May we compare the hissing implied by the ancient Hebrew sorcery terms, לחש and נחש?

Many such syllables or letters are surrogates for the divine name יהוה, which especially lent itself to this treatment.[57] So we find the changes rung on this word: יה, יוה, יהו, אהעה, etc. Or abbreviations are used like the repeated א, = אדני אל אלהים;[58] in 20: 2 it is extravagantly repeated six times, in 31: 8 eight times. In יאהיהו, 31: 6, we have a play on the three vowels as in Greek magic.

Then there enters in the use of the principle of *Athbash,* in all its various forms, e. g. מצפץ (Stübe, l. 66) = יהוה. Such *prima facie* unintelligible forms themselves became corrupted in course of time; perhaps MṢ MṢ, PṢ PṢ, 14: 2, are from the former theme. Probably too the

[53] See Deissmann's remarks on the distinction between hocus-pocus and survivals of Egyptian and Babylonian magic in the vocabulary of the papyri; *Bibelstudien,* 1 ff.

[54] Abt, *Apuleius,* 152.

[55] See to 14: 4.

[56] In our texts cf. 1: 13, 3: 5, 14: 2, 25: 5, 29: 10.

[57] For extensive magical formulas based on the Name, see Nos. 3, 6, 31, 35. I give a list of these terms at the end of Glossary A.

[58] Cf. the introduction to Schwab's *Dictionnaire d'angélologie;* Blau, *op. cit.,* 117-146. Against Jewish orthodox use, our texts do not hesitate to write יהוה; cf. the Samaritan usage. In one case it is vocalized in a proper name, בריכיהביה, 36: 4, *q. v.* The reminiscence of the ancient pronunciation survived in the lower classes and certain sects, e. g. among the Samaritans, and in magic, cf. the forms Ια*βε*, etc.

principle of (mathematical) gematria may be supposed,[59] of old standing in Judaism,[60] but also found in the theosophy and current use of the Greeks.[61] The passage in 9: 5 f. which speaks of "letter out of letters, name out of names, interpretation out of interpretation," doubtless refers to the abstraction of such hidden meanings and values out of words.

In one case, 15: 4 f., occurs a rhyming "nonsense" couplet used with magical intention. For this as noticed to the passage there is one example in the Assyrian magic. Assonance of succeeding words is found, e. g. 35: 5.[62] Both assonance and rhyme are found in the western magic; e. g. *adam alam betur alam botum;*[63] and

ορθω βαυβω νοηρε κοδηρε
δυσηρε συρε συροε πανκιστη δωδεκακιστη.[64]

Rhyme appears in the lines:

τοῦτο γράφε : εἰς[65] Θυριήλ,
Μιχαήλ Γαβριήλ, Οὐριήλ,
Μισαήλ, Ἰρραήλ, Ἰστραήλ.[66]

I do not find much proof of intentional misspelling; most of the apparent cases are cleared up on inspection of the text. In fact a good deal of care is exercised in this regard (n. b. a case in 4: 4), and erroneous letters or words are often erased or repeated correctly; in form most of the texts compare favorably with the magical papyri.

[59] Schwab, I; a case in No. 42.

[60] Found by ancient tradition in Eliezer = 318; cf. *Gen.* 15: 2 and 14: 14.

[61] Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 275; Wünsch, *op. cit.*, 23.

[62] The Talmudic *shabriri briri riri ri* is different in character; the gradual peeling off of the word finally destroys the demon.

[63] See Wessely, xlii, 13, from Marcellus, xxviii, 72.

[64] Wessely, xlii, 45, l. 747, = l. 964.

[65] This identification of the angels recalls the assimilation of the gods in the famous Babylonian passage; "Ninib the Marduk of strength, Nergal the Marduk of battles," and similar astrological identifications; see A. Jeremias, *Monotheistische Strömungen*, 26.

[66] Wessely, xxxvi, 90, l. 1814 ff. For assonance and rhyme in Greek magic, see Heim, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher f. classische Philologie*, Supplementband xix (1903), 544 ff.; M. C. Sutphen, "Magic in Theokritos and Vergil," in the *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve* (Baltimore, 1902), 318; Abt, *Apologie d. Apuleius*, 154. For similar cases in our texts see 19: 18, 25: 5, 35: 5.

An important part of the Word of Power in developed magic is the use of sacred scriptures, the epics, legends of the people, and the citation of appropriate precedents. Babylonian, Egyptian, Jew, Greek, each had his thesaurus of sacred legend, which age had consecrated as veritable words of Deity and hence in themselves potent.[67] These are "the ancient runes," שירא קדמיא, of 32: 9.[68]

Early house amulets have been found in Assyria inscribed with quotations from the legend of Ura the pest-god;[69] and there are other traces of the use of epic myth in the Babylonian magic.[70] In the same way that portion of the Book of the Dead known as "The Chapters of the Coming Forth of the Day," largely consisting of myth, and the Legend of Ra and Isis, were used in Egypt as magical texts.[71] In the Greek magic we have the prophylactic and divinatory use of the Homeric verses.[72] Nor were the Jews behind their neighbors, with their fast fixed canon of sacred scripture. The book of Deuteronomy ordered or at least suggested the use of the weightiest "word" in the scriptures, the Shemá, as a phylactery to be inscribed on the hands and between the eyes (in place of totemistic tattoo-marks)[73] and on the sideposts and gates of the house (where earlier prophylactic amulets like the Babylonian had hung). Or certain passages appeared palpably appropriate, just as the Ura-legend was used as a prophylactic; so *Ps.* 91, especially v. 5 f.; or the divine *scolding* of the evil spirit, "YHWH rebuke thee, Satan," in *Zech.* 3: 2. A few of the bowls published by Schwab, G (exterior),[74] H, K, O, are mostly or largely

[67] Cf. *Is.* 55: 11.

[68] For שׁ, cf. *ἐπωδαί*, carmina, incantamenta, etc. of occidental magic. Cf. the use of the same root in Arabic; שׁ in *Ju.* 5: 12 has this sense.

[69] King, *ZA*, xi, 50; Fossey, *op. cit.*, 105; Jastrow, *op. cit.* i, 285; Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, 83.

[70] Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 363.

[71] Budge, *op. cit.* 125, 137, and p. 141 for remarks on this magic.

[72] See Heim, "Incantamenta magica graeca latina," in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, as in n. 66 and Wessely, xlii, 2 ff.

[73] Cf. *Eze.* 9: 4, *Is.* 44: 5, *Gal.* 6: 17, *Rev.* 13: 16 f., etc. The practice was continued into Talmudic times, *Sabb.* 120b, etc.; see Blau, *op. cit.*, 119.

[74] *PSBA*, xii, 327.

composed of scripture verses.[75] We find in them the Aaronic blessing, *Num.* 6: 24 ff., *Is.* 44: 25, *Cant.* 3: 7; K contains the whole of *Ps.* 121, *Ex.* 22: 18, *Cant.* 3: 7 f., *Ps.* 16: 1, 17: 8, 32: 7. O is an amalgam of *Dt.* 6: 4 and *Ps.* 91, with the first word of the former followed by the first of the latter, etc. G reads *Dt.* 29: 22 and then reverses the order of the words.[76] But these genuinely Jewish effusions are exceptional, and may be comparatively late. The Nippur bowls are marked by their lack of scriptural quotation and reference. Very frequent is "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan,"[77] at the end of the inscription. No. 26 opens with the first words of the Shemá, followed by *Num.* 9: 23 and *Zech.* 3: 2. *Num.* 9: 23 is of value as containing the root שמר, a frequent and potent theme in Jewish magic. Biblical and of good magical tradition is the use of Amen (generally twice or thrice repeated), Selah,[78] Halleluia. These are also used in Talmudic charms, e. g. *Yoma* 84a: "kanti, kanti, kaloros, Yah, Yah, YHWH, Sabaoth, Amen, Amen, Selah." The magical Halleluia recalls the probable use of Hallel-like forms in incantations.[79] These Jewish terms are not found in the Mandaic texts, in which the sectarian doxology, "Life is victorious" replaces them. In the Greek papyri *αμην* and *αλλελουια* are frequent,[80] and we have a case of syncretism such as this: *φοβηθέντα τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ τὸ ἀλλελουία καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.*[81]

But this use of scripture is not such as we should expect to find from any Jew even moderately versed in the Old Testament. The spelling is

[75] For biblical verses of prophylactic power approved by the Talmud, see Blau, *op. cit.*, 70 f., 93 f., and his article "Amulets," in *Jewish Encyc.;* also Kayser, "Gebrauch von Psalmen zu Zauberei," *ZDMG,* xlii, 456, presenting a Syriac MS. containing the Psalm verses useful in magic and divination. For the use of Psalms (especially *Ps.* 91) in the late Italian magic, see Pradel, *Griechische u. süditalienische Gebete,* 69.

[76] On this practice in Jewish magic, called מפרץ, see Blau, *op. cit.,* 85; the practice reversed the hostile charm. With the attempt at disguising the plain meaning, cf. the intentional confusion of lines in a Greek *defixio,* published in Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln,* no. 4.

[77] A formula recommended in the Talmud, *Berak.* 5a.

[78] This magical use of Selah is not, I think, noticed in the several modern studies of the word. It appears also as *Σαλα* on an Abraxas gem, *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne,* i, 144.

[79] Cf. Blau, *op. cit.,* 94 f.

[80] E. g., both together, Wessely, xlii, 28, l. 279.

[81] *Ib.* 66, l. 31.

not Massoretic, the quotations are not exact.[82] There are but two references to the supreme history of the Exodus, 14: 2, 34: 4, and the latter is confused. In the Greek papyri there is far more citation of the sacred history; cf. the "Jewish" text of the Great Magical Papyrus at Paris, published most recently by Deissmann.[83] This contains a brief summary of God's great acts for Israel, although the crossing of the Jordan precedes the passage of the Red Sea.[84] The "Judaism" of our bowls is often less than that of the papyri.[85]

There are several references to ancient myth and apocrypha, especially in the citation of great spells. So 2: 4, "the spell of the sea and the spell of the monster Leviathan"; l. 6, "the curse, etc., which fell on Mt. Hermon, Leviathan, Sodom, Gomorra"; 4: 4, "the seal with which were charmed the Seven Stars and the Seven Signs"; 10: 3, 5, "the seal with which the First Adam sealed his son Seth," or "with which Noah sealed the ark";[86] also see 34: 4 f.

All sacred and legendary history is a series of spells, just as the Babylonian epic literature is magically used, Ea or Marduk appearing as the high priest of exorcism. So also in Egypt the epic of the gods gives assurance of present magical help. "My two hands lie upon this child, the two hands of Isis lie upon him, even as Isis laid her two hands upon her son Horus." "O Isis, save me .... even as thou didst save thy son Horus."[87] And so in the Greek papyri the adjuration is often by the wonderful works of the God of Israel, which are regarded as spells; see the great Magical Papyrus.

[82] I cannot agree with Blau, p. 110, that this paraphrasing and variation in scriptural quotation was intentional; magic which perpetuated the pronunciation of the Great Name would not have hesitated at using the exact words of scripture. The quotations have often come through eclectic mediums.

[83] *Light from the Ancient East*, 250 ff.

[84] Cf. the Talmudic charm against the toothache, *Sabb.* 67a, in which portions of the pericope of the Bush were recited; Blau, *op. cit.*, 69.

[85] "Man kann den Aberglauben der Kaiserzeit nicht in die verschiedenen Kategorieen *heidnisch jüdisch und christlich* einteilen.....Der Aberglaube ist seiner Natur nach synkretistisch"; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 25.

[86] Cf. "the seal which Solomon laid on the tongue of Jeremia," in the great Magical Papyrus, l. 3039, Deissmann, *Light*, p. 257; which has its parallel in the charm with which Enoch's brothers charmed him, 3: 4.

[87] Wiedemann, *Magie u. Zauberei bei den alten Aegyptern*, 1905, 22, 26.

In this connection may be noted a few passages which appear to be derived from apocryphal or kabbalistic literature, fragments snatched to decorate the lean skeleton of incantation. E. g. 8: 13: "holy angels, hosts of light in the spheres, the chariots of El-Panim before Him standing, the beasts worshipping in the fire of His throne and in the water, the cohorts of I-am-that-I-am"; 14: 3: "I adjure you by Him who lodged His Shekina in the temple of light and hail"; or the poetic description of the angels in 12: 7: "They are filled with glory who endure and keep pure since the days of eternity, and their feet are not seen in the dances by the world, and they sit and stand in their place, blowing like the blast, lightening like the lightning."—beneficent Annunaki! These passages, reminiscent both of the Apocalypse and the later kabbalistic literature, are recited with magical intent.[88] An important part of magic was the epic of the god and the praise of his glory; compare the insertion of the Hermetic Κοσμοποιία in the Leyden magical papyrus,[89] and the epic of the attack of the rebel spirits against the gods in the 16th tablet of the *Utukku* series. The story of the god's power or the praise of his glory were "words of power" against the fiends.[90]

There is a dreary monotony in these texts, yet much variation of details. After possibly an invocation, comes the name of the client and family, and then the categories of detested demons and ills. Then follow the various Names in which the spells are invoked. Noticeable is the frequent repetition of the same form, even three or more times (e. g. No. 3). This insipid use has its parallel in the κατάδεσμοι; cf. the examples in Wünsch. *op. cit.*, nos. 3, 4, 5, where with slight changes the exorcism is repeated at least three times. Multiplication increased the efficiency of the charm; it is the βαττολογία of the Gentiles (*Mt.* 6: 7). But the relig-

[88] Cf. the amulet in Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 294, where the ranks of the celestial hierarchy are enumerated as standing by the great and lofty Deity.

[89] Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 182. Herodotus notices the use of a theogony or divine history in the incantation of a magus (i, 132); see in general Conybeare, *JQR* ix, 93 f.

[90] Cf. Fossey, *op. cit.*, 96; and for the western magic, Wünsch, *op. cit.*, 13. Scriptural and legendary narratives are found in the Syriac charms published by Gollancz, *Actes du 11ème Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1887, sect. iv, 77. Cf. also the similar Syriac charms published by W. H. Hazard in *JAOS*, xv (1893), 284 ff.

ious imaginativeness and poetic invention of the ancient Babylonian and Egyptian magic has disappeared. The spell, the ἱερὸς λόγος has suffered its *reductio ad absurdum,* personality human and divine is thrown out of doors.

§ 12. The Objects of Exorcism; the Demons, Etc.

The magic of the bowls is of too late an age to require here a dissertation on the rise and spread of the belief in evil spirits. Our sorcery is *fin de siècle*. When the old-world religions began to decay, and the gods that once were near to men disappeared in the political convulsions which marked the passing of ancient tribe or city and the domination of a world-empire, or suffered under the strokes of philosophy and skepticism, the spirits of ill were not banished, and the superstition that feeds on the fears of men, came to occupy the center of the stage of the spiritual drama. Nor did the rise of the great spiritual religions counteract the tremendous development of the superstition concerning the powers of evil, for they did not deny them, but recognized their existence, often regarded themselves in the negative light of prophylactics and antidotes against the great outstanding fact of evil agencies. The Persian faith was boldly dualistic and magical in its rites for overcoming the powers of ill. Jewish monotheism was too tense, and the cardinal doctrine of the one God was saved by that unfortunate, though possibly necessary, salvage from antique polytheism, in the shape of angels and devils who were nearer and more real to man than distant Deity.[1] The Christian Church followed the tuition of her mother and her pagan converts brought along with them the superstitions of the Graeco-Roman world; the doctrine of the Incarnation seemed to entail the foil of embodied demons, and diabolology entered into the formal Christian theology to an extent unknown in official Judaism.[2]

[1] Cf. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 313 ff., 326 ff.

[2] For the diabolology of the Hellenistic world, see the works of Heitmüller, Reitzenstein, Abt, Tambornino, cited in the previous section; also in general P. Wendland, *Die hellenistischrömische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum u. Christentum*, 1907; for Jewish and Christian demonology, see n. 35 for literature.

Our magic is a degenerate survival of the religious and magical developments of ancient Egypt and Babylonia, of the Hellenistic world, of Judaism, and in the study of its demonology, we are dealing with a mass of time-worn and banal demons, which do not promise much for fresh investigation. Nevertheless the analysis of the different kinds of demons may produce here and there a note of interest.

I have noticed above the magical efficacy ascribed to naming the names of deities and demons (§ 11).[3] Personal names for demons, it is true, are not very common; they are generally epithets or generic terms, e. g. "the Killer, the Demon, the Satan," etc. One class of demons however seems always to have enjoyed the privilege of a long list of names which it was the sorcerer's duty to know and to conjure. This is the female demon represented in the old Babylonian texts by the Labartu, in the Jewish by the Lilith, in the Greek by the Gello or Baskania. Our text No. 42 is an exorcism of the evil Lilith and its virtue consists in the knowledge it gives of her many names; I refer to that text for comparative details. Likewise the Labartu has her six (seven?) names, which are to be carefully pronounced.[4] We may also compare the accumulation of epithets attached to demons in 2: 2 f., 8: 2, 24: 13, etc., and recall a like process in the names of Satan in Rev. 9: 11, 12: 9, while Egyptian magic similarly amassed the names of the demon Apep.[5] Also for further identification of the demons the names of their parents, or even granddams are given,[6] for every specification enhances the power of the name. Also the personal description is efficacious, for this indicates that the sorcerer knows exactly whom he is exorcising. Such magical descriptions sometimes rise to almost epic tones, as in the delineation of the Seven Spirits in the Babylonian *Utukki*-series.[7] A reminiscence of these hair-raising pictures appears in the Mandaic bowls published by Pognon and Lidzbarski, in which

[3] Cf. also Origen, *C. Celsum*, i, 24 f., v, 45 f., and the summary of his argument given by Conybeare, *JQR*, ix, 65 f.

[4] See the opening of the Labartu texts as published by Myhrman, *ZA*, xvi, 154; cf. a similar text on an amulet published by Weissbach, *Bab. Miscellen*, 44.

[5] Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, 171.

[6] See below under (1)b.

[7] Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, i, 51.

the hurtling, scolding, fighting of the Lilith-witches is depicted in uncanny terms. But in general our texts do not extend much beyond the mere registration of categories; this decadent sorcery made up for the lack of poetical imagination by a mathematical tabulation. Superstition in order to be comprehensive encyclopaedically accumulated all the terms of evil; not only the inherited demoniac categories, but all which new races and faiths had to offer were gladly accepted. Hence in our texts the naming of the devils and ills results in the registration of an indefinite number of species.

An analysis of our general category may start from a threefold division, namely: (1) evil spirits, in the strict sense of the term, as personal beings; (2) evil agencies, especially the species of black magic, which have been potentized into almost personal existence; (3) natural evils, especially physical maladies, but also such mental and moral affections as loss, shame, etc.—which are regarded as instigated by demons, or as themselves evils with personality, although often the demoniac element is vague.

This is the order we find generally in our present texts. And it is antique. It appears in the Babylonian, e. g. in a text where the several evil spirits are named (Utukki, etc.), then "the enchantments, sorceries, witchcrafts," then "sickness."[8] All the three categories do not so often appear in the Babylonian magic, more frequently those under (2) and (3) are paired, but here again we find the same order—the bans (*mamîtu*) and then the various human ills.[9] This order appears also on the whole in the Byzantine charms published by Vassiliev:[10] *τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, ἢ βασκανία ἢ φαρμακεία ἢ φοβερισμὸς ἢ φρίκη ἢ πυρετὸς ἢ ἐπίβουλον ἢ συνάντημα πονηρὸν ἢ νοσηρὸν ἢ κωφὸν ἢ τυφλὸν,*— and so on with a list of diseases. Compare a papyrus list, in which are all celestial and terrestial spirits, sins, dreams, bans, witchcraft.[11]

This is the natural order of the evolution of magic: first the animistic fear of demons, then the opposition to mortals who have bound the evil spirits to their malicious purpose, finally the more exact diagnosis of the maladies which are specified in secular terms. At the end of the develop-

[8] Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 161.

[9] E. g. *Šurpu*-series, v, l. 55 ff., Zimmern, *Beiträge z. Kenntniss d. babylon. Religion*, 23.

[10] *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, i, 332.

[11] Wessely, Vienna phil.-hist. *Denkschriften*, xxxvi, 81, l. 1443.

ment this last category may alone remain, as in the Babylonian medical texts or the modern Jewish and Arabic charms. It may here be remarked that the never-ending enlargement of categories of evil spirits, apart from eclectic causes, may be due to Persian influence, although hardly any of the details can be traced to that source.

(1)

(a) The most honorable place in the first division is to be assigned to the ancient gods and the spirits still haunting their temples, which the development of religion and especially the monotheistic trend had depotentized and turned into demons. The religion of yesterday becomes the superstition of to-day. Polytheism died hard. Even with the triumph of the One God in the Old Testament, there survived the belief in the many deities who appear as lieutenants of Yahwe, the בני האלהים (Job, 1), as capable of disobedience and subject to divine wrath (*Gen.* 6: 1 ff., *Ps.* 82), as the planetary spirits (*Dt.* 32: 8 [Greek], *Is.* 24: 21 ff.), as angels,—a more thoroughgoing assimilation with monotheism, though the angels at first have an independence and sovereignty recalling the Sons of God (e. g. *Dan.* 10: 13, 21, and Satan), or finally as evil spirits. The supreme declaration of Second Isaiah that the gods are naught and nothing, unfortunately was not sustained, and even onetime beneficent gods, when banished, returned as demons to vex the faithful. A classic expression of this demonology is found in Paul: "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons (*δαιμονίοις*,) and not to God" (I *Cor.* 10: 20).[12] The fullest development of this theory is found in Mandaism, where the ancient spirits of the planets have become the chief devils. So also Mohammed reduced the pagan gods to Jinns.

These discarded deities may therefore head the list of evil potencies, and so we find in 38: 8: "Charmed be all gods (אלהיא)[13] and temple-spirits and shrine-spirits and idol-spirits and goddesses (עסתראתא)." The old proper name of the goddess Ištar had already in the Assyrian become a common

[12] So אלילים had become *δαιμόνια* in the Septuagint, and cf. *Baruch* 4: 7: *προσκυνεῖν τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ εἰδωλα* (also *Rev.* 9: 20).

[13] Cf. the Babylonian *ilâni limnûti.*

name of goddesses in general (*ištarâti*).[14] In the heathen text No. 19 we learn of the sixty gods and the eighty goddesses (l. 8); the former figure is a survival of the ancient sacred number for the fulness of deity, hence the number of Anu;[15] the "eighty" is merely cumulative.[16] Once the rare feminine אלהתא (in the Syriac, Pesh., etc.) is found, used of a female spirit (Wohlstein, 2417: 5).[17]

Probably it is under Mandaic influence that we find the planets regarded as baneful spirits; n. b. the old myth of their fall cited in 4: 6 and the charms against sun, moon, stars, planets, 34: 6. For other demons of Mandaic origin[18] see Pognon's list, *Inscriptions Mandaites*, 93; to these may be added from Ellis 1: 3 נירינ, the Mandaic form of Nergal = the unlucky planet Mars, and אבטור,[19] who here is transformed into an evil genius.[20]

Under this head there is one interesting species, that of demons which are the spirits of the pagan shrines and simulacra, and so are regarded as haunting them.[21] Again the forceful protest of Second Isaiah, of *Ps.* 115,

[14] So *ilâni u. ištarâti*, *KAT*[2], 180. Cf. Heb. עשתרת צאן, *Dt.* 7: 13, etc., of ewes. Also n. b. *Ju.* 2: 13, with Moore's comment.

[15] For the survival of this mystical number in Judaism, see Grünbaum, *Zeits. f. Keilschr.-forsch.*, ii, 222. A list of 50 gods is given in one Babylonian hymn, see Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, no. iv, l. 152 ff.; cf. the *Šurpu*-series (Zimmern, *Beiträge*), no. iv, l. 68 ff., viii, 1 ff. Sometimes the number alone (6, 10, 15, 60) sufficed by way of abbreviation; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, 289. In No. 38 are mentioned the 360 broods of evil spirits; cf. the 366 Uthras in the Mandaic religion and the 360 gods which Islamic tradition claimed were housed at Mecca. According to *Pesaḥ.* 111b, seq., a service tree near a city has not less than 60 demons in it.

[16] According to old Semitic use, cf. *Mic.* 5: 4, *Prov.* 30: 15 ff. N. B. "the 7 sealers and the 8 brothers" in the Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski in the *Florilegium* to de Vogüé (l. 7 f.). Cf. 19: 4.

[17] I find אלהת in Sayce-Cowley's Elephantine papyri, and two Nabataean inscriptions, see Lidzbarski's glossary; also notice the Arabian goddess al-Lât, = the Babylonian Allât, goddess of the nether-world. For occurrence of אלת in Phoenician, see Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 58 f.

[18] See Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, 43, n. 2.

[19] Brandt, *ib.*, 51, 199; *Mand. Schriften*, 184.

[20] For a list of these planetary spirits in the Mandaic cf. Lidzbarski's amulet just cited, l. 247 ff.

[21] Cf. Origen, *C. Celsum*, vii, 35 and 64: the localities especially haunted by the demons are temples and shrines where they can enjoy the incense, blood, etc. Also

the satire of Bel and the Dragon, had failed; there was a virtue in the cults and sanctuaries of the old religions. So the *êkûrê* appear in our bowls, as in the Mandaic books,[22] as established deities. The word *ekurru*, once the name for a temple had already in the Assyrian become applied to deities, *ekurrâti*.[23] The temples themselves were personified and practically deified;[24] later superstition retained the idea by regarding the *êkûrê* as the gods of the temples, and so as gods in general; e. g. Lidz., iv: בשום שיתין עבוריא זיכריא, where as the number 60 shows, עבוריא = אלהיא (cf. 19: 8).[25] Of like character are the פתכרי, or פתיכרי, = פאתיכרי (once, in Schwab Q: 5 פתקרי),[26] properly "images, idols," but used at large of gods in general; e. g. we read of "invocations of the gods, פ', and the goddesses."[27] There are פ' of the upper, lower and middle regions.[28] In some of the lists they appear rather far down; e. g. 5: 2, שידי ודיוי ואסרי ופ' ונידרא; cf. the Mandaic passage, quoted from the Ginza, in Pognon B, p. 75, where they occur after the demons, devils, spirits, amulets, liliths, being thus much reduced in grade. Levy translates the word by *Gespenster*;[29] in the eclectic magic of the time the word may have come to be identified with *εἴδωλον*, = both phantasm or ghost, and idol.[30] There is the distinction

in the Talmud the reality of oracles at those shrines is admitted, although explained apologetically; see the argument in *Aboda Z.* 55a, cited by Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, p. 86. Cf. I *Cor.* 10: 28.

[22] Brandt, *Mand. Schriften*, 81.

[23] Delitzsch, *Ass. Hwb.*, 21.

[24] Reisner, *Sum.-bab. Hymnen*, iv, l. 165; Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 282. *Beth-el* appears in the same use in West Semitic: the god Bait-ilê, *KAT*[2], 437 f., the name Bethel-shar-ezer, *Zech.* 7: 21 and now the many similar names in the new Elephantine papyri published by Sachau.

[25] The word also survived in its original sense, e. g. Pognon, B, no. 13.

[26] For the form, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 25.

[27] 2: 7, Lidz. 4, Wohls. 2422: 5.

[28] Pogn. B, no. 25, er.d.

[29] *ZDMG*, ix, 467, n. 5.

[30] The Persian word was early introduced into the occident. According to one MS. and Symmachus's testimony (margin of Cod. Marchalianus) *παταχρα* (+ *ειδωλα* as gloss) translates the אלהיו of *Is.* 8: 21, where the unintelligible *πατρια* is generally found. See Nestle in *Transactions of the IXth International Congress of Orientalists*, (1892), ii, 58.

between male and female פ׳ : פתכרי ופתכרתא and פתכרתרין נוקבתא (Schwab I).[30a]

I am inclined to associate with these *patkâras* the פריכיא of 38: 8 and 40: 19, where they are listed between the עבוריא and פתיכריא or the עבוריא and עיסתראתא. The word would then mean "shrine-spirits" (Syriac *p^erakkâ*, Ass. *parakku*). The change of the first vowel (*a* to *i*) is possible.[31] But another etymology may be proposed—from the Persian *pairīkâ* = Pahlavi *parîk* (the modern Persian Perî).[32] These creatures are described as beautiful seductive witches, are connected with comets, and also according to de Harlez are companions of certain genii invoked by magicians. Philologically, this would be the most fitting etymology for our word; but its precedence in the lists indicates a higher rank than that assigned to the little known (so Spiegel) and insignificant Pairîkas.

For the false gods also appears טעתא ,טעותא (sing. טעו), = "error," —used like אליל, etc. in the Old Testament.

(b) I pass now to those groups of demons which immemorially had stood as the evil spirits *par excellence*. Like the *utukki* of the Babylonian religion[33] they mostly appear in tribal groups, without personal distinction. Most constant among these classes are the דיוין and שידין, which may be expressed by "devils and demons," with as much or as little of a definite idea as these English words convey to us. The שדים occur in the Old Testament, the word having an obscure history in connection with the Assyrian *šêdu;* in function the שד is the Babylonian *šêdu limnu*, "evil *šêdu*."[34] In the later Jewish demonology the שידין are the hobgoblins, the

[30a] With פ׳ = a deity or demon, cf. the use of *σῆμα*, "tomb," as grave-demon; so in a Greek amulet published by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 293, and see his note 2. Also in the Syriac גניתא, "shrine" comes to mean a god, a false god, and in Peshitto of I *Sa.* 7: 3 translates עשתרות. In Islam the false gods were called *aṣnâm*, "idols."

[31] Cf. Nöldeke, *Gram. d. neu-syr. Sprache*, § 6, or *Mand. Gram.*, § 20; cf. תליתיכון, 8: 3. Or an assimilation to פתיכרא?

[32] See Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, ii, 138; A. V. W. Jackson in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie*, iii, p. 665; C. de Harlez, *Manuel du Pehlevi*, 1880), *s. v.* in Glossary.

[33] See, for the Babylonian demons, Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, c. 2; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, c. xvi; Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 43 ff.

[34] See, *inter al.*, Baudissin, *Studien z. sem. Religionsgeschichte*, ii, 131, and his art. "Feldgeister," in Hauck's *RE*[3]; H. Duhm, *Die bösen Geister im Alten Testament*,

prevailing class of demons; they are the *δαιμόνια* of the Greek, for which the Peshitto returns to the Jewish term.[35]

As Judaism has its feminine שידות, so once we find reference to the שידניאתא, 7: 14.[36] In 11: 5 = 18: 4 = Ellis 1, = Lidz. 5, we learn of a "king of demons and devils," with which compare Asmodaeus, the king of the demons.[37] But in these texts his name is given as אבונדאנא, בנדנא, which is found in 19: 10 as name of an evil deity (בר חבאל), while the plural in the same text, ll. 6, 13, has evidently the meaning demons or deities. In a broken text (Pognon B, no. 24, l. 19), a מלכא דשידיא occurs. In 29: 9 the *šêdîn* are described as בני טולא, "sons of shadow," cf. the טלני of the Targum.

The דיוין inherited a good name from the old Aryan theology (= gods), were depotentized in the Persian system, and came into Semitic currency through the Mandaic and Syriac. (The word does not occur in Targums and Talmud.[38]) In the Peshitto use of the term it appears to apply to the demons of mental and moral disorders, thus indicating something distinct from the *šêdîn*.[39]

The "spirits" or "evil spirits" (רוחין בישין, רוחא בישתא, רוח רעה — both masc. and fem.)[40] form a triad with the preceding species. Levy

49, 20; Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 43; and the discussions by the students of Assyriological magic, Zimmern (*Beiträge* and *KAT*[3]), Tallquist, Jastrow, Fossey. Fossey, p. 50, quotes IVR 6a, 26, to the effect that the *šedu* is the demon of the evil eye—another proof that demons and their functions were interchangeable.

[35] For these and the following demoniac species in Judaism, see Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, ii, 408 ff.; Grünbaum, in his admirable "Beiträge z. vergleichenden Mythologie aus d. Hagada," in *ZDMG*, xxxi, — esp. 271 ff.; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 242 ff.; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, ii, 759 ff.; Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, 10 ff.; Levy, *ZDMG*, ix, 482; T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbors* (London, n. d.); the art. "Demonology" in *Jewish Encyc.*; Conybeare, "Demonology of the New Testament," *JQR*, viii, ix; Everling, *Die paulinische Angelologie u. Dämonologie*; also v. Baudissin and H. Duhm as cited above, note 34.

[36] Cf. *δαίμονες δαιμόνισαι*, of the Leyden Papyrus, Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 194, l. 10.

[37] Also simply the king, מלכא, Eisenmenger, *op. cit.*, ii, 422 (a tradition of the "Molek" of the Old Testament?).

[38] According to Levy, not found in Jewish literature, *op. cit.*, 488.

[39] Acc. to Baudissin, *op. cit.*, 131, the Harclean version replaces שאדא of the Peshitto w. דיוא.

[40] Cf. Ellis 5: 4, זכר ונקבה.

and Blau regard them as ghosts,[41] but without warrant, as the Rabbinic, Syriac and Mandaic use of the word shows. They are the *πνεύματα πονηρά*, or *ἀκάθαρτα* of the New Testament, the equivalent of the Babylonian *utukki limnûti*. This development of רוח we may trace in the Old Testament where "a spirit of evil," "the evil spirit," appears as an agent of Jahwe; like the Satan such potencies easily passed into malicious demons.

The *Mazzîḳîn* which are prominent in Jewish lore, where they are the general category for all demons,[42] appear but seldom.

These *devils, demons* and *evil spirits* in their juxtaposition recall the several species so frequently enumerated in Babylonian demonology; e. g. as listed more than once in the *Maḳlu*-series, the *utukku, šêdu, râbiṣu, ckimmu, labartu, labaṣu, aḥḥazu,* followed by the liliths.[43] But beyond the registration of several categories there is no equivalence in name (with one exception), in definite character.[44] A certain amount of distinction can be drawn in the Babylonian field, but in our texts no differentiation exists. Indeed the three species are rather tokens of the several sources of our particular magic, the Hebrew (רוח), Babylonian (שד), Persian (דיוא). The only reference to the "seven spirits" of Babylonian magic is in connection with the מבבלתא (see below).

But it is the Liliths which enjoy the greatest individual vogue in our demonology. Many of the charms culminate in that objective; the other evil spirits are most often merely generical, anonymous, to whom the general compliment of a spell must be paid, but the Liliths are definite terrors, whose malice is specific and whose traits and names are fully known.

[41] *Opp. cit.*, p. 482, p. 14. The view that demons were ghosts of the dead indeed existed; see Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i, c. 18 and for later Judaism, Eisenmenger, ii, 427. They may have been specialized as the spirits of demoniac possession and moral temptation (see Blau). For the relation of רוחין and *πνεύματα*, see Baudissin in Hauck's *RE*³, vi, 12 f.

[42] So Weber, Blau.

[43] Tallquist, *Die ass. Beschwörungsserie Maqlu*, 1894, no. i, l. 136, v. l. 77, N. B. just seven species.

[44] For the distinctions between the Babylonian spirits, see Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 278; Thompson, *Devils*, i, xxiv, *Semitic Magic*, 1, Fossey, *op. cit.*, c. 2.

The genus appears in the Babylonian incantations, as masculine and feminine, *lilu* and *lilit*, along with an *ardat lili*.[45] The two former words survived in Jewish demonology and both occur abundantly in our bowls, though the *Lîlîn* are only pendants to the Liliths. The origin of the word, whether Semitic from לֵיל = "nightmare, nighthag," etc. with Schrader, Halévy, *et al.*, or from the Sumerian *lil*, "storm," with Sayce,[46] Zimmern,[47] R. C. Thompson,[48] lies beyond my present scope. Probably as others have suggested, the resemblance of Sumerian *lil* to לֵיל, "night," may have had its part in shaping the phantom of Lilith and her troop among Semitic-speaking peoples; but I would suggest that the prime connection is not etymological but semantic: *lil* = wind = רוּחַ = spirit;[49] Lilis and Liliths are specialized forms of רוּחִין.[50]

In the Babylonian the Lilith (*ardat lili*) is the ghostly paramour of men, and her realm is the sexual sphere; hence women in their periods and at childbirth, maidens, children, are the special objects of her malice.[51] Hence in the bowl inscriptions, made out for the protection of homes and the peace of family life, most often in the name of the women concerned, it is an amulet against these noxious spirits that is particularly desired. We may say that the Lilis and Liliths are the demons of the family life.

Texts Nos. 1, 6, 8, 9, 11, 17, may be referred to especially for the Liliths. They haunt the house, 1: 6, lurk in the arches and thresholds, 6: 4, one dwells in the house concerned, 11: 5. So in the Talmud they dwell in the beams and crevices, the cesspools, etc.,[52] even as in Greek magic demons

[45] Acc. to Zimmern, *KAT*[3], 459 = paramour of *lilu*. Better Thompson. (*Devils*, etc., i, p. xxxvii, *Semitic Magic*, 65), who regards the *ardat lili* as the more specialized (e. g. marriageable) lilith, hence the original of the Jewish Lilith.

[46] Hibbert Lectures, 145.

[47] *KAT*[3], 460, n. 7.

[48] *Semitic Magic*, 66: if Semitic, from root לָלָה, "be abundant, lascivious."

[49] Cf. רוּחַ in *Job* 4: 15; the wind-draught easily passes into a ghost.

[50] The single appearance of Lilith in the Old Testament, *Is.* 34: 14, represents a more primitive stage of the fable than the Babylonian Liliths. She is just one of the spirits haunting waste ruins.

[51] See Thompson, *l. c. et seq.*, who discusses the demonology of marriages with Jinns, etc.

[52] *Jewish Encyc.*, iv, 516b.—In 29: 6 f. (cf. l. 9) occurs לִיליתָא בִישתָא וכשירָא, "the evil and the decent lilith"; this recalls the good demons of Jewish lore, שִׁידִין טוֹבִין,

are given the like habitat.[53] In No. 1 they are described as generating offspring with human folks, appearing as phantom men and women to women and men by night. Hence the interesting phenomenon of the magic *get*, divorce-writ, by which the sorcerer, like a Jewish rabbi, separates these obscene beings from their prey.[54] Especially do they vent their rage on little children as the detested offspring of human wedlock; they plague them, throttle and devour them, suck their blood (e. g. 11: 8, 18: 6, 36: 9, Lidz. 5). The name for one of these demons, in No. 36, is "Murderess daughter of Murderess," and "strangler." In the Jewish demonology the Liliths have the like fiendish character; *Bemidbar Rabba* 16 affirms that they kill children.[55] In No. 11 the Lilith is associated with the personifications of barrenness and abortion. The figure on No. 8 gives the picture of a typical obscene Lilith; she is depicted with loose tresses, one of the characteristics of the species, cf. 8: 3; cf. *Nidda* 24b, *Erub.* 100b. The later Lilith thus partakes of the nature of the elder *lilit* and of the Labartu, the enemy of children.[56]

The Liliths are intimately known, their own and their parents', even the granddam's names are given, e. g. Nos. 8, 11. At the beginning of Wohlstein's text 2416 (= Stübe) a whole brood of demons is named.[57] Especially in the case of this species most exact descriptions are given of their foul ways and apparitions,[58] for the Liliths were the most developed products of the morbid imagination—of the barren or neurotic woman,

Eisenmenger, ii, 431 f., and the good and bad *šêdu* of the Babylonian—also so the *utukku*, Fossey, *op. cit.*, 449.

[53] Wessely, xlii, 66, l. 19: they are bidden "not to hide in this earth nor under the bed or gate or beams or vessels or holes."

[54] See to 8: 7. The separation had to be legally effected, for the Lilith had her nuptial rights or powers. Cf. the tales of the female Jinns in Arabic folklore.

[55] Cited by Weber, *op. cit.*, 255. So also in the Testament of Solomon, ed. Conybeare, *JQR*, xi, 16. But not in the Talmud, according to Grünbaum, *Zeits. f. Keilschr.-Forsch.*, ii, 226.

[56] See Myhrman, *ZA*, xvi, 147 ff.

[57] See Wohlstein's note; the mother's name אימי, "little mother," throws light on a passage in *Pesaḥ.* 112a. In general these names are epithetical; cf. the demon Ahriman bar Lilit, *B. Bath.* 73a.

[58] See above.

the mother in the time of maternity, of the sleepless child.[59] Somewhat of the elder and biblical notion of the Lilith as denizen of the desert appears in the expressions בנתא דברא, לילית דברה, 17: 3, 27: 7.[60]

A further development of the Lilith is her assimilation with the witch; the descriptions of the species in the Mandaic bowls recall the uncanny scenes of the witches' nights which are the theme of still existent folklore. The Lilith is the Baskania, (i. e. witchery) of the Greek charms.[61] The epithets "cursing," and "undoing," e. g. 34: 13, belong to this phase of the Lilith-idea.

Very interesting is the similarity of the Semitic Lilith, and in course of time her assimilation to the psychological horrors which haunted men elsewhere, especially to the identical forms in the Graeco-Roman demonology. I refer to the Lamia,[62] the Empusa,[63] the Gello,[64] the Marmolyke and Gorgons, and the *incubi* and *succubae*.[65] In connection with the text No. 42 which presents the legend of the Lilith-witch, I take occasion to present the parallel forms of this conception as found in the western world. This developed myth is a later accretion to the ancient inchoate ideas of these monsters.

[59] For the psychological basis and subjective fact of these apparitions, see Roscher, "Ephialtes" c. 1, in *Abhandlungen* of the Saxon Academy of Sciences, vol. xx (1900).

[60] Cf. *ekimmu ḫarbi*, *Maḳlu*-series iv, l. 22 (Tallquist, p. 66), and the exorcism, "evil spirit to thy desert," Thompson, *Devils*, i, 152, ii, 26; cf. i, 167, 191 ff. The banning of the demons into the desert and mountains (cf. *Mt.* 12: 43) is frequent in the magical papyri, e. g. in an amulet published by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 294: *ἵνα ἀπέλθατε ἐν ἀγρίοις ὄρεσιν καὶ ἐκεῖσε φυγαδευθήσετε*. Cf. Wohlstein 2422 (l. 28), "go and fall on the mountains and heights and the unclean beasts." As Wohlstein notes, the latter clause is a most interesting commentary on the anecdote of the Gadarene devils which asked the liberty to enter the swine, *Mt.* 8: 28, etc.

[61] See at length under No. 42.

[62] Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, *s. v.*

[63] Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, *s. v.*

[64] For Gello as a lilith-name and as probably equal to Ass. *gallu*, see notes to No. 42.

[65] For the *incubi* see Roscher, *Ephialtes*, 60. The special demon which is the subject of this classic treatise corresponds to the male Lili of our texts, but his vogue is far more extended. He is in form goat, satyr, faun, etc., a rural as well as a domestic terror.

A long list of species of demons still remains to be considered, most of which are not much more than names. One of the most frequent and evidently most dreaded is the class of the מבכלין or מבכלתא. Once they are spoken of as the "seven מ׳ of night and day," 16: 7, recalling the Seven Spirits of Babylonian mythology.[66] Stübe (p. 59) suggests derivation from כבל, "bind," and Myhrmann (p. 350) compares Assyrian *kabâlu* used in incantations. I venture to suggest metaplasis with the Syriac לבך, "hold, seize," i. e. "take demoniac *possession* of," so that we may compare this species with the Babylonian *aḥazzu*.[67] Cf. *καταλαμβάνειν*, *Mk.* 9: 18, and the terms *κατεχόμενοι* and *κάτοχοι*. indicative of supernatural possession.[68]

There are the evil angels,[69] who are called קדישין = *sacri*, in 4: 1; the "angels of wrath and the angels of the house of assembly."[70] We read of the ראזי מלאכא, 37: 8, rites in which angels were bound to hellish operations. The word is used of pagan deities in 36: 5 (cf. 19: 13), even as *ἄγγελοι* appears in the papyri.[71] The angel of death who shudders at the Great Name appears in 3: 6, Schwab F.

"The Satan" appears and also "the Satans," as in *Enoch* (40: 7) and Rabbinic[72] and Arabic lore. There is no amplification of the doctrine of

[66] Cf. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 47.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 43, etc.

[68] See Tambornino, *De antiquo daemonismo*, 56.

[69] Cf. *Mt.* 25: 41, *Rev.* 12: 7, "the devil and his angels," and the absolute use of the word in this sense in I Cor. 11: 10, with reference to the myth in Gen. 6. Blau notes, without citation, an evil spirit רוח הקדש, p. 10, n. 2. For evil angels, see Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, § 23.

[70] Wohlstein 2422. The editor makes no comment on this or the parallel phrase in l. 7: איסרי דביה כנישתא. איסרי evidently equals מלאכי (see below, note 112). The "house of assembly" recalls the ancient Semitic idea of the הר מועד, *Is.* 14: 13, the assembly of the gods on the Semitic Olympus,—Walhalla having become a conventicle of demons! (Demons are located in the north by Jewish legend, *Pirḳe R. Eliezer*, iii, and other reff., in Eisenmenger, *op. cit.*, ii, 438.) Or ב׳ כ׳ = *συναγώγη*, *ἐκκλησία*, may refer to the conventicle of a magical cult (cf. "the synagogue of Satan," *Rev.* 2: 9). But the phrase is probably to be interpreted from a passage in a "Christian" amulet published by Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, 295, top: *ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὰ ἐνακόσια ἑξήκοντα πνεύματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ πονηροῦ*.

[71] E. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 192, l. 10; so also in the LXX, e. g. *Ps.* 96: 7, and an inscription cited by Cumont *Oriental Religions*, n. 38, p. 266: *diis angelis*.

[72] *Debarim R.*, c. 11: "Sammael the head of all the Satans," quoted by Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, 253.

the individual Satan. Once with the Satans (35: 4) are associated the סוטיטא and דיאבולא, the former a class of seducing spirits (metaplasm of √ סטא ?),[73] the latter the almost unique Semitic transliteration of *διάβολοι*. In 2: 3 are mentioned the סני ובעילדבבי, the Fiends and Foes.

The זיקין[74] appear in association with the מזיקין. The Rabbinic and Syriac זיקא is a meteor, blast of wind, etc.; in the Mandaic it has the more general sense of a plague.[75] The Mandaic has inherited an old Babylonian idea of the *zaḳiḳu*, "blast," as a demon, and then death-demon.[76] The Satyrs, שעירים, appear once, 5: 4, a reminiscence, as the form shows, of the Old Testament.[77] The שחורין of Schwab G are *black* devils; cf. the title of Satan *ὁ μελάς*, in Epistle of Barnabas, 4: 9.

In Hyvernat's text occurs the phrase גינא דשלמוה, which Grünbaum most plausibly translates "the Jinn of Solomon."[78] The word would then be one of a few terms in our texts which suggest Arabic connections (see שלניתא, שיקין, below). But the reserve is to be made that, as Nöldeke maintained, the root is common-Semitic, and the spread of the word may well have antedated the Muslim Conquest. We may compare the god Gennaios cited by Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 1174. The גנדא of 37: 6 is to be explained from the Mandaic גונדא (Syriac גודא Arabic *jund*), "troop"; devils molest their victims in bands, cf. the name "Legion" assumed by the demoniac in the Gospel, and the "tribes" (שורבתא) of demons in 38: 6; also cf. 13: 1.

[73] Cf. 1 *Tim.* 4. 1, "seducing spirits and doctrines of devils."

[74] So probably read for עקין in Hyvernat, l. 4; in 19: 13, זעקי.

[75] Norberg, *Lexidion*, 55.

[76] Muss-Arnolt, *Dict., ad voc.*, cf. the *šunu ziḳiḳu*, "roaming windblast," Thompson, *Devils*, ii, 4, l. 27. For the simile of demons to storms, see *ibid.*, i, 89, and compare the etymology of lilith (see above). For the word see 12: 8.

[77] But the idea of the hairy goatlike demon which obsesses its victim with mischievous or obscene purpose is universal. Cf. the Arabic *ifrit, azabb*, with the same root-meaning; Wellhausen, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*, 135; Baudissin, *Studien*, i, 136. The same phenomenon is abundantly vouched for in the Greek demonology; see Roscher, *Ephialtes*, 29 f., for the goatlike form of the Ephialtes, and p. 62 for its epithet *pilosus;* and compare Pan and the Fauns. See Roscher, note 285b, for similar representations in the superstition of India. In 5: 4 the satyrs are represented as haunting a particular stretch of road.

[78] Probably to be read in 37: 10.

In 15: 6 and Myhrman l. 2 are found the ירורין. The second ר is sure in my text; Jastrow's and Levy's lexicons give the word as a variant to ירודא, "ostrich," but doubtless the former is the correct spelling;[79] the root is onomatopoetic (cf. ילל, and English "howl" and "roar"), connoting a howling creature and was applied to the ostrich—so the Tosefta (see Jastrow); but in the Targums it generally translates the Hebrew ציים, תנים, the uncanny creatures typical of desolation. In the Syriac, ירורא is jackal, translating תנים. But the Rabbinic references indicate that it was rather a fabulous than a zoological species, akin to the liliths, satyrs and vampires that haunt ruins, and this connotation appears in the Syro-hexaplar to *Is.* 34: 17, translating לילית by ירורא, while Symmachus gives λαμία.[80] This equation gives the key to our present word. The Babylonians represented their demons in uncouth shapes of birds and animals.[80a]

Besides the use of certain generic terms, such as עשמא, "oppressors," there remain several rare or obscure species: the לטבי, also לטאבי, probably metaplastic for *baṭṭâlâ*, "undoer"; the לטאנא (alongside סטאנא) No. 20, probably from root לוט "curse,"[81] or a form of the Targumic טלנא, "shade-demon." The שפטין in Hyvernat, l. 3, for which Grünbaum (p. 221) cites the Arabic *šifût, species daemonis,* is probably to be read שבטין, "plagues" (see p. 80). For the ניסי, possibly "familiar spirits," see to 6: 2.

There are also names of individual demons. Some can be identified: the חטפיתא, corresponding to the Arabic ghûl (see to 8: 2); מר a depotentized deity.[82] Some are recognizable epithets: אבדא 3: 2, מדובינא 37: 10, שרירי Schw. F. Others defy etymology: אשתקותקוף Pogn. B, דמקר 34: 10 (*q. v.* for a possible interpretation), דנחיש 3: 2, חמועית Schw. G. Long lists of such obscure names are found in Schwab F and G; these are probably on a

[79] According to Jastrow, Lagarde's editions of the Targums have everywhere this form; ילולין appears as a variant in one place.

[80] See Field's Hexapla. N. B. the interpretations of the uncanny creatures in this passage as demons by both the Greek and the Targum.

[80a] This word is to be distinguished from וריר, an eye-disease (see below); because of the uncertainty of the spelling of the two words the וירי at end of Schw. G may be the one or the other word.

[81] Cf. the Syriac שאדנא.

[82] Stübe, l. 4. See Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques,* 82; Clay, *Amurru,* 162.

par with the mystical names of the angels (see § 13).[83] Finally we may note the blanket-formulas for demons who are named and who are not named, and which have their parallel in the Babylonian,[84] and in the Greek magic.[85]

There are comparatively few certain references to ghosts; the רוחין, etc., as spirits of the dead, may include them.[86] One case in point is found in No. 39: "charmed the lilith that appears to her .... [in some shape]; charmed the lilith that appears to her in .... [the shape of ?] Tâtâ her niece; charmed all the defiling ghosts, דמואתא, that have entered, which appear to her in dreams of nights and visions of day." Here a definite ghostly apparition is really a diabolic delusion. Also Nos. 20, 25 contain general charms against ghosts. One technical term for ghost possibly appears, שלניתא (see to 8: 2). The last of Wohlstein's series, 2422, appears to be directed against ghosts and is an interesting example of necromantic spell. Familiar names are given to the spirits and they are cajoled to do no harm. Also in Wohlstein, no. 2422 appears the רוח בית קיברא ור' מיתו. There is constant reference to dreams (חילמא) and apparitions (דמותא, חזינא),[87] which are the *milieu* of demoniac and ghostly apparitions, cf. 7: 13; hence ח' שנושי, "disturbing dreams," in which phrase the noun is practically personified—a category of evil spirits. We have such a combination as: חראריא ושואריא וחיזוניא (Pognon A), in which חר' are impure conceptions of the night (cf. חלם in Syriac); the second word, which Pognon does not explain, is doubtless the Talmudic שוור, "leaper," exactly the Ephialtes of the Greeks, a kind of *incubus*.[88] This distinction of the dream from ghost or demon represents a later psychology. Charms against dreams are frequent in the Greek papyri; thus against ὀνείρους φρικτούς,[89]

[83] This giving of unintelligible names to demons may be in imitation of Persian diabolology; see Jackson in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie*, iii, 659, listing 54 individual demon names.

[84] Thompson, *Devils*, i, 153.

[85] E. g. δαιμόνιον καὶ μὴ ὀνομαζόμενον, Pradel, *Griech. u. südital. Gebete*, 22, l. 2.

[86] For a typical Babylonian incantation against ghosts, see Thompson, *Devils*, i, 37.

[87] For oneirology in later Judaism, see Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, 103.

[88] See Roscher, *Ephialtes*, especially p. 48 f. for the etymology.

[89] Wessely, xlii, 31, top.

or a *φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πάσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος*;[90] another against enemies, robbers, etc. and *φόβους* and *φαντάσματα ὀνείρων*.[91] These dreams and the similar panic fears of day and night are also referred to *in extenso* in Gollancz's Syriac charms..

(2)

Respectable or "white" magic includes not merely the laying of evil spirits but counter magic[92] against the machinations of hostile sorcerers. Just so the Babylonian *Maḳlu*-series devotes itself to the rites of destroying the witch by means of simulacra which are consumed in the fire; the Greek magic has the same defensive purpose. The Mandaic texts recall somewhat of the ancient dread of witches with their description of those uncanny and obscene persons, and, as I have noted above, the witch and the lilith are practically identified.

It was most efficacious if the sorcerer were known so that he could be named and the "tables turned" upon him by casting upon him his malign arts, for no curse "returns empty." Such a case appears in Schwab G; all the evils that have fallen on the victim are bidden to fall on the head of אוסרא בר אמא. But examination of the name reveals that it is fictitious; אוסרא means "spellbinder" and אמא simply means "mother." The writer of the bowl has satisfied his client by assuming that he knows the adverse sorcerer's name. It is nothing else than the legal "John Doe." In like manner, in Wohlstein 2416, all evil works, etc., are commanded to return against their instigator.

But inasmuch as the sorcerer's names are not generally known, the incantations content themselves with listing the various kinds of magical practices and putting them under the potent spell. The *Šurpu*-series illustrates the prophylactic practice; for instance, its third tablet[93] is con-

[90] *Ib.*, 42.

[91] *Ib.*, 64. Dream-magic was highly developed among the Greeks; we have charms for sending dreams, *ὀνειροπομποί*, e. g. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, 191, l. 15. Magic is required as an antidote. Hence dreams are listed with other maleficent agencies, e. g.: *πνεύματα χθόνια, ἁμαρτίαι, ὄνειροι, ὅρκοι, βασκανία*; Wessely, xxxvi, 81, l. 81.

[92] Probably technically expressed by קיבלין.

[93] Zimmern, *Beiträge*, 13.

cerned with breaking every possible kind of ban (*mamît*) that may have befallen a person. Hence a recurring phrase in the praxis of the fifth tablet: "may the curse, the ban, the pain, the misery, the sickness, the grief, the sin, the misdeed, the impiety, the transgression, the sickness, which is in my body, be peeled off like this onion." We mark here the union of curses, etc. with evils of the flesh, just as they occur in our bowls.

Accordingly we find exorcism effected with this prudent intention against מעבדין, etc.;[93a] חרשין (+ בישין),[94] "black arts," perhaps generally with the sense of poisoning, = *φαρμακοποιία*;[95] סחריא, "sorceries," 39: 4;[96] קריתא, "invocations," (the singular קריה in 16: 10), the *ἐπικλήσεις* or *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* of maleficent magic,[97] also termed the בתקלא דק'. There are the various terms or kinds of curses, the *mamît* of the Babylonian, the *ὅρκοι* of the Greek magic; the לוטתא, especially in Pognon's Mandaic bowls, where the authors of these bans are specified, e. g. no. 15: father, mother, prostitute, foetus, laborer, master who has defrauded him, brothers; also the frequent נידרי, maleficent "vows" and the חרימא, which is the Syriac Christian equivalent of *ἀνάθεμα*, perhaps also אלתי (Wohlstein, 2426: 5).[98] This listing of the bans and their originators has its abundant parallel in the Babylonian magic; e. g. the third tablet of the *Šurpu*-series, already cited, in which all possible kinds and origins of curse are listed in 165 lines: of father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, etc., posterity, infant.[99] The unborn child, naturally regarded as homeless and miserable, hence a malignant wraith, is classed in the Babylonian magic

[93a] For this and following technical names for sorcery, see § 11, beginning.

[94] Cf. the Latin equivalents, *nefaria sacra, maleficia, artes nefandae, malae artes;* see Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius,* 30.

[95] So in the Syriac, also in 7: 13. But *φάρμακον* survived in a good sense in literature with magical tinge, e. g. in no. 30 of Bishop Serapion's prayers, "Thy name be a *φ.* for health and soundness." For an extensive discussion of the word, see Abt, *Apuleius,* 112. It is formally impossible to distinguish between the words "sorcerers" and "sorceries," except in the Mandaic. Cf. the use of the adjective חוראשא, 39: 6.

[96] For these words see the convenient summary in T. W. Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbors,* 44 ff.

[97] See above, § 11. Pognon was the first correctly to interpret this term, B, p. 19.

[98] In 2: 6 we find גזירתא, שמתא, אחרמתא, used of the "white magician's" own work.

[99] A similar list in Ellis 3 = Schwab B. In the later magic these classes are listed in exorcism of the evil eye.

as in the Mandaic citation with the causes of ban, and so too the hierodule or prostitute.[100] The difference between the Babylonian *mamît* and these לוטתא is that the former has rather the sense of taboo, the latter of a malicious curse effected under foul auspices.[101]

Then there are the "names," e. g. 16: 8, שומהתא, of hostile invocations,[102] and the מילין, "words," curse formulas, including the informal imprecation. Compare "the evil word" of the witch in Babylonian magic,[103] and the current Babylonian phrase, "the evil mouth, the evil tongue, the evil lip."[104] The Talmud has the principle, "None open his mouth to Satan."[105] By a natural passage of thought the tongue and the mouth come in for exorcism, e. g.: "Bound and held be the mouth, and bound the tongue, of curses. .... Bound be the tongue in its mouth, held be its lips, shaken .... the teeth and stopped the ears of curses and invocations."[106] The binding of the tongue is a frequent element in the Greek magic; some thirty of the *κατάδεσμοι* in Wünsch's Appendix of *defixiones* to the *Corpus Inscript. Attic.* are for binding this "unruly member."[107]

Further objects of exorcism are the רזי, "mysteries," the sacramental rites of maleficent cults; the אבמרתא (Stübe, l. 2) and כמרי (Wohlstein, 2426: 5), enchantments effected by priests (כומרין).[108] A unique word in its use in the bowls is אישלמתא, found coupled with the above terms. Halévy and Wohlstein[109] compared form IV of the Arabic verb and rendered it as a delivery to evil. But it is to be compared with the Targumic אשלמו, used

[100] Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 367, 373.

[101] So the Greek *κατάδεσμοι*, and the Jewish collection of charms in Thompson, "Folk Lore of Mossoul," *PSBA*, xxviii-ix.

[102] Cf. the names of Hecate in the Greek *κατάδεσμοι*, e. g. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, no. 1.

[103] See Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 285.

[104] Fossey, *op. cit.*, 50, with citations.

[105] *Berak.* 19a, 60a, *Ketub.* 8b; see Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, 70 (but rationalizing), and Blau, *op. cit.*, 61, with Talmudic instances.

[106] L'dz., 4.

[107] Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 307. An amulet of later age (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 295) analyzes the evil tongue into the lie, accusation, magic, sycophancy.

[108] So rightly Stübe; the heathen priest was, and at last appeared exclusively to be, a magician. On the second of Wünsch's *Fluchtafeln* is the design of an altar.

[109] *Comptes rendus*, IV, v, 292; *ZA*, viii, 336.

in *Targ. Jer.* to *Lev.* 8: 28, etc., in sense of dedication, = חנוך. Its counterpart is found in the Mandaic system, where the שלמאניא are the *τέλειοι*,[110] and it is the exact equivalent of the Greek *τελετή*, the (magic) rites.[111] Also the usual terms, the איסרי,[112] the קיבלי, "countercharms," the קיטרי, etc., all are listed for exorcism.

More obscure are the סתרתא (Ellis 3: 10) = "hidden arts" —with which may be possibly compared the שדרתא of Schwab R, and Wohlstein, 2426: 6.[113] Also the שיקופתא (once אשתקופתא) have aroused question. Schwab proposed שקף, "envisager," of the evil eye; Stübe, Wohlstein, Lidzbarski, connect with the root "to knock" (cf. שקף used of a Lilith, 11: 6).[114] This meaning is corroborated by the amulet of Lidzbarski's just cited, where it is parallel to חרבא and קריא (l. 11 ff +), wasting and mishap. But from its peculiar intensive form I think the word must have some connection with magic arts; cf. the modern spiritualistic knockings and rappings.

Probably the exorcism in the fragment published by Schwab, *PSBA*, xii, 299, from sin and guilt (חטאתא, אשימא), immediately after "arts" and

[110] Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, 120, 170; *Mand. Schr.*, 8, n. 5, 36, n. 1; Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, p. xxviii.

[111] Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 136. Stübe (p. 37) first offered the explanation given above. Pognon discusses an obscure phrase in his bowls פתיכרי ואשלמתאנון (B, p. 49), translating "and their adherents." Lidzbarski treating the same phrase (*Eph.* i, 94) rightly takes exception to such a form and translates, "I deliver them," which is unsatisfactory. Probably our noun is to be understood here, reading the nominal suffix ן—for the verbal ינן—. Our word may be a translation of the Greek *τελετή*; but n. b. Robertson Smith's note on the mystery idea involved in *aslama* (he might have added the Hebrew שלמים), *Rel. Sem.*, 80.

[112] Nöldeke, *Z. f. Keils.-forsch.*, ii, 299, animadverting upon Hyvernat holds that איסרא, translated "prince, angel," always means "charm." Now the parallelism in Wohlstein 2422 between איסרי דבית כנישתא, l. 7, and מלאכי דכ' כ', l. 15 (see above, n. 70), appears to approve Hyvernat, while in the Talmud א' = "genius, angel" (e. g. א' דמזוני, angel of nourishment). But Nöldeke's etymology is doubtless right; a genius to be invoked was himself called an *incantamentum*. A proof of this is found in the Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski in the *Florilegium* dedicated to de Vogüe, p. 349, in l. 29 f. (not understood by the editor—cf. l. 210), where Hibel Ziwa is the גטרא דכושטא, "the True Charm"; ג' = קיטרא = איסרא. Cf. the Mandaic genius "Great Mystery."

[113] Wohlstein: "böse Schickungen"; or it may be related to Assyrian *satâru, sadâru*, "write," of a written charm.

[114] So in a Babylonian text, of demons: "The man they strike, the women they hit," Fossey, *op. cit.*, 282.

"vows," with which compare the אשעם ביש in his text M 18, is exercised against practices which magically placed "sin" on the shoulders of some innocent person. Compare the symbol in Zecharia's vision of the removal of wickedness and its curse to the land of Shinar (*Zech.* 5). But there is doubtless a reminiscence here of the old Babylonian forms in which a sense of personal guilt appears in the incantations; so frequently in tablets 5 and 6 of the *Šurpu*-series, e. g. 5, l. 77 ff., where the summary is made of "the curse, the ban, the pain, the misery, the sickness, the ailment, the sin (*arni*), the misdeed (*šerti*), the offence (*ḫablati*), the transgression (*ḫiṭiti*)." The above would be the only case then of a sense of sin in our texts, but from the point of view that the sin has been inspired by a demoniac force. Heitmüller pertinently remarks:[115] "Die Sünde ist ein Art Besessenheit." And so sins are listed in the Greek objects of exorcism, e. g. *πνεύματα χθόνια, ἁμαρτίαι, ὄνειροι, ὅρκοι, βασκανίαι.*[116]

The malice (סינתיא = סנאתא) of Lidz. 4 is the enmity which magic could conjure up against an enemy, a dreaded means of revenge, and very frequent in ancient magic. Compare the Jewish charms from Mossoul having this specific object,[117] and for the Greek world the Cypriote leaden tablets published by Miss L. MacDonald,[118] in which the gods are constantly invoked to suppress the wrath and anger and power and might of the adversary.[119] A tablet to provoke such malice against an enemy is no. 2 in Wünsch's small collection.[120] The חיל ביש or חיל בישין (30: 4) is a summing up or personification of all this kind of evil potency.

Particularly dreaded were the material means of sorcery, amulets, etc., which themselves came to be personified into evil spirits. The most frequent of these objects of exorcism are the חומרי (sing. חומרתא),[121] small stones, beads, etc., carried singly, or on strings and necklaces, primarily used as amulets, but coming to possess at least in the Mandaic superstition

[115] *Op. cit.*, 307.

[116] Wessely, xxxvi, 81, l. 1443 ff. (the Paris Papyrus).

[117] Thompson, *PSBA*, xxviii, 106, 108, etc.

[118] *Ib.*, xiii, 160.

[119] Cf. the charm in Wessely, xlii, 60 f.

[120] See the editor's comment, p. 8.

[121] For their character as spirits, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, 76.

a baneful influence.[123] We might think of the manipulation of, for instance, an opal to bring another ill-luck; but probably the objects are more obscene, joints of dead men's bones, etc. Their standing epithet is "impious,"—חי זידניתא, and we read of their "tongue," e. g. 2: 7.[123] The ענקתא, "necklace charms" are exorcised in like manner,[124] also the שיבין (15: 6, *q. v.*);[125] כיפא, "pebble," Ellis 3: 11, would belong to the same class, but it is probably to be read כוסא.

The magic bowls themselves are among the evil influences (7: 13, perhaps Ellis *l. c.*), and so the magic knots, קיטרי, 7: 13, and עיקדי (?) 34: 10. There is one reference to the magic circle of the doctors of sorcery, חזאר רבאניא,[126] and to the use of wax, קירא, both in 39: 7 (*q. v.*). The סרני of 7: 11 (*q. v.*) and the גרגלי of Pognon B, no. 27, may be explained like חזאר = circles. The זיפי of 7: 13 (*q. v.*), entered between the "arts" and "bowl," may be the hairs of the victim as used in magic.

[123] The museums of antiquities possess many such necklace charms, which are often composed of stones of the shape of a drop or an eye—prophylactic against the evil eye? See for example, the illustrations to the art. "Amuletum" in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grec. et rom;* Elworthy, *The Evil Eye,* fig. 21. For the use of stones in Babylonian magic, see the 3d tablet of the *Labartu*-series and Myhrman's note thereon, *ZA,* xvi, 151; cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.,* i, 338, and Thompson, *Semitic Magic,* p. lxiii. In Syriac חומרא is also used of the joints of the vertebra = the *sappu* of the ass as prescribed in the *Labartu* texts. With this cf. the prescription of *parvum asini freni anulum in digito portandum,* Cyranides ii, 15. 6, ed. Mély and Ruelle, *Les lapidaires grecs,* Paris, 1898, quoted by Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo,* 83. The mystical properties of stones in Egyptian lore is well known, and they were associated with the metals and planets; see Berthelot, *Les origines d'alchimie,* Paris, 1885, 47, 218 ff., etc. For the use of stones and bones as prophylactics against the evil eye, see Seligmann, *Der böse Blick,* ii, 24, 141 ff. For Hellenistic references and bibliography, see Abt, *Apuleius,* 115. Buxtorf and Levy, in their dictionaries, *s. v.,* and Grünbaum, *ZDMG,* xxxi, 263, understand these charms as pearls or corals.

[123] Cf. the *λίθος μάγνης πνέων*; see Abt, *op. cit.,* 115, 121, and n. b. the *baitulia* described as *λίθοι ἔμψυχοι* by Philo of Byblos, Eusebius, *Praep. evang.,* i, 6.

[124] Once, as though misunderstood, masculinized. אנקי, 12. 9; also אנקתא.

[125] For these articles see Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie,* i, 203 ff.; Blau, *op. cit.,* 91.

[126] For the Babylonian ideas of the virtue of the circle, see above, § 8. Choni, the famous rainmaker in the Talmud, was called המעגל, the circle-drawer, because of his use of this device, *Taanith* 3: 8; see Blau, *op. cit.,* 33. According to Joel, *op. cit.,* i, 33, Choni was an Essene, but he appears to have stood in good repute with the orthodox.

To that very malignant potency, the Evil Eye—Nature's endowment of sorcery—there is comparatively little reference in the bowls, although in the later magic of East and West it is often the chief, if not the sole object of exorcism.[127] The longest pertinent passage in the Nippur texts is 30: 3 f.: "the eye of man or woman,[128] the eye of contumely, the eye that looks right into the heart." By the word רמאוא Pognon, B, p. 41, thinks is meant one who casts the evil eye. Or from its idea of "beckoning" may it be connected with the malicious "putting forth of the finger," e. g. *Is.* 58: 9 and cf. possibly Code Hammurabi, § 123. Grünbaum is doubtless right in holding[129] that among the Jews the evil eye was of a different character from the western Jettatura, referring rather, as also in the Old Testament (cf. also *Mt.* 20: 15), to the moral powers of envy, hatred, and so forth; the evil eye is rationalized and moralized. Wellhausen also notes the connection of the evil eye and envy in early Arabian thought.[130]

(3)

We come now to those objects of exorcism which to modern science and "common sense" appear as natural physical or psychical maladies, but which ancient thought regarded as actuated by demons, even to the extent that the malady in question was personified as an evil spirit. It is a question how far we have in this phenomenon the survival of ancient animism which peopled the universe with spirits good and evil, and how far in the *fin de siècle* magic of these bowls we have the result of a (poetical?) personification of evil which comes to be taken as real by the superstitious mind. The ancient demonology survives but it is reinforced by the hypostatizations and personifications of the play and fancy of the later mind, working sometimes in the field of a worse superstition, sometimes at the service of the free and philosophic imagination.[131] In the Old Testament the Word, the

[127] For Talmudic notions, see Blau, *Zauberwesen*, 152; Joel, *Aberglaube*, i, 74.

[128] A Palestinian amulet published by the writer in *JAOS*, 1911, 281: "from the eye of his father, mother, women, men, virgins .... ailment and shame and spirit and demons."

[129] *ZDMG*, xxxi, 260 f.

[130] *Reste arab. Heid.*, 143.

[131] Cf. the issue of the Platonic Ideas into the Gnostic Aeons.

Spirit of Yahwe, even his Sword (*Am.* 9: 4, cf. *Gen.* 3: 24), are personified; the evil spirit of Yahwe (1 *Ki.* 22) becomes in the end an evil spirit antagonistic to its origin; the sevenfold gift of the Spirit in *Is.* 11, 2, Greek text, issues in the Seven Spirits about the throne of God, *Rev.* 1: 4. And so the Chariot and the Wheels and the Beasts that accompany God's theophany came under the same treatment of mystical personification.[132] It is a similar phenomenon that we find in the Testament of Solomon; the seven demons brought to book by Solomon give their names as "Deception, Strife, Battle," etc. or the thirty-six elements (στοιχεῖα) are hypostatized into moral essences;[133] and in the same manner the Church personified the Seven Deadly Sins, which the Protestant Spenser dramatized in his perfect poetry. For various psychological reasons there was an increasing multiplication of the evils against which exorcism might be practiced; not only specific demons, like Tiu the Babylonian fiend of headache, but diseases under other names, and social evils such as enemies, loss of property, shame, might be exorcised. Probably the more intelligent man regarded this as a rational substitution for the elder demonology, while to the superstitious it merely meant more demons. At all events in the later magic we find more of the hypostatization of natural ills—how seriously it is to be taken is not always certain, and their commonplace names are simply given, whereas the old Babylonian magic would name the demoniac germ of the malady. Hence in our lists of exorcised ills we have in addition to the actual devils, already catalogued, series of evils which are somewhat on the borderland of diabolology. The old exorcisms still are effective but the old demonology is not ample enough; a man wants to exorcise headache, while he may be skeptical as to the existence of Tiu. Probably too as the exorcist ("medicine man") was also the physician, and medicine was born out of magic rites. we may observe in the naming of the actual maladies an intrusion of the rational spirit.[134]

[132] So the "thrones, dominions, principalities, powers," of Paul (*Col.* 1: 16); not only Gnosticism worked out this line of thought but also the Church took this heavenly hierarchy seriously.

[133] *JQR*, ix, 24, 34. So in Hermas, the vices of the tongue are called δαιμόνια (καταλαλία, etc.) *Mand.*, ii, 2: 3; cf. v, 2: 7; xii, 2: 2.

[134] *Aḫḫazu* becomes the name of a certain fever (a "yellow" fever), Küchler, *Beitr. z. Kenntniss d. ass.-bab. Medezin*, 61. N. B. the assignment of the several

In the Babylonian we find cases in the magical texts of the summarizing of specific maladies along with the demons. A long and interesting example is presented by Jastrow.[135] The series is introduced by a list of physical ills—contortions, broken limbs, affection of liver, heart, gall-bladder, etc. Then follow the evil eye, curses, calumny, etc., and then certain named demons; the text is an interesting predecessor of our inscriptions except that it places the maladies first. Is this the consequence of a rationalistic tendency? In the texts published by Küchler we find semi-magical prescriptions for diseases alone.

The New Testament gives a first-hand insight into the popular demonology of a representative portion of the oriental world at the beginning of our era. We find there devils of dumbness and deafness and blindness (*Mt.* 12: 22,*Mk.* 9: 17, etc.); one woman had "a spirit of infirmity," *πνεῦμα ἀσθενείας*, *Lu.* 13: 11; Simon's mother-in-law was seized with a great fever and Jesus rebuked the fever, *ἐπετίμησεν*[136] *τῷ πυρετῷ*,[137] even as in another case he rebuked the wind. And Jesus gave his disciples power "over unclean spirits to cast them out and heal every disease and every malady," Mt. 10.[138]

In the Egyptian magic there is the like identification of diseases with demons,[139] and the Greek magical papyri are full of it. Cf. the title of a charm given by Wessely, *φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πάσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος*,[140] So in the samples of Syriac charms published by Gollancz[141] we have the same summarization of "all manners of diseases" along with the demons, e. g. p. 79: Exorcised, etc. be "all demons, devils, phantoms, every practice, all temptations, unclean spirits, cruel dreams, dark

demons, *asakku, namtaru,* etc., to the different parts of the body, head, throat, etc.; Myhrman *ZA,* xvi, 146.

[135] *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.,* i, 367 ff. As Jastrow says, we gain here "a further insight into the connection between the medical calling and that of the exorcist." Other examples, Thompson, *Devils,* i, 17, 145, etc.

[136] = Hebrew גער.

[137] An angel *ἄγγελος*, of fever, *et al.,* appears in Byzantine charms; see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 19. It is the Rabbinic איסרא, discussed above, n. 112.

[138] See at length Conybeare, *JQR,* viii, 583, etc.

[139] Cases cited by Budge, *Egyptian Magic,* 206 ff.

[140] xlii, 39, l. 589.

[141] *Actes du 11ième Congrès des Orientalistes,* Section 4, 77.

apparitions; fear[142] and trembling, terror and surprise, dread, anxiety, excessive weeping; fever-panic, tertian fever, all kinds of fever, febrile ills, inflammations, etc.; when a child troubles its mother with pains of travail;[143] tumors, pestilences, ... all pains and all sicknesses, all wounds and all oppositions, surprises, revenges .... the nine sicknesses," etc. And Vassiliev has published a number of Byzantine charms directed especially against specific diseases,[144] the first of which is a general panacea: *ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς πάντα τὰ ἀκάρθατα πνεύματα, ἢ βασκανία, ἢ φαρμακεία, ἢ φοβερισμὸς, ἢ φρίκη, ἢ πυρετὸς, ἢ ἐπίβουλον, ἢ συνάντημα*[145] *πονηρὸν, ἢ νοσερὸν, ἢ κωφὸν, ἢ τυφλὸν, ἢ ἄλαλον, ἢ σεληνιακὸν, ἢ μηθεις* (*sic*) *θάνατον, ἢ ἀλλοιούμενον, ἢ μορφούμενον, ἢ ἄρσεν, ἢ θῆλυ, ἢ νοσημάτων* (*sic*).[146]

The most common of the demoniac categories bearing upon physical maladies are those with the general significance of "stroke, plague": נגעא especially epidemic disease, שובטא; פנעי, and n. b. פנעית 16: 10; מחותא, Mand. מחיתא; שיט (שוט?) 34: 10, 39: 4;[147] also the חססא, "sufferings."[148] Cf. *Ps.* 91: 5, a psalm and a verse which the Jews regarded as a valuable phylactery, and *Ps.* 89: 33. The שיקופתא treated above may be included here, = *ῥάπισμα*.

It is a minority of the bowl inscriptions which refer to special diseases. Of our texts Nos. 11, 16, 24, 29, 34, are of this character; so also a clause in Lidzbarski 5; lists of diseases appear in Wohlstein 2422, apparently mostly cutaneous affections,[149] and at the end of Schwab G.

[142] Fears are a frequent object of exorcism in the Greek magic, e. g. Wessely, xlii, 64, l. 25, and collation of the subject by Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo*, 58, 65 f.; see also Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 86 f.

[143] This in earlier magic would have been ascribed to the jealous Lilith.

[144] *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, i, 332.

[145] Cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 196, l. 21, etc.; explained by Pradel as of a demon's occurrence, *Süd-ital. Gebete*, 96. So in Schwab G, קריתא, and cf. use of verb = קרא.

[146] For a survey of the Hellenistic personifications of disease, see Tambornino, *op. cit.*, 62 ff.; e. g. insanity = *Mania; Febris*, etc.; also see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 19, Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, 125.

[147] Cf. the prayer of the Bishop Serapion directed against *πᾶσα πληγή, πᾶσα μάστιξ*, ... *ῥάπισμα*, in Wobbermin, *Altchristliche liturg. Stücke*, in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, N. F., xvii, 2, p. 13.

[148] The חסאתא, Schw. M: 17, right after "arts" and before אשעם ביש may refer to tortures inflicted by magical operations.

[149] See Fränkel's criticism of readings, *ZA*, ix, 308.

We find listed general names of diseases, e. g. מארעין, כיבי, כורהני קשיי; a large number of cutaneous diseases: חרסא, חפפותא, חכרכה, חזיזית, גרבא, חרסום;[150] a series in 24: 2: אישיתא, אונא, אזיתא, probably fevers. In Schwab G we read of איקדי (= Wohlstein, יקדי, "fevers"), חבלא, עלמא, אישתא and אישתא (neo-Syriac, malarial fever),[151] ערומא ("swelling"?), שחופתא ("consumption," Rabb. ישחפת) מי ביישי (?).[152] שערתא, 11: 2, is possibly "fever." The demons referred to in 34: 10 (*q. v.*) may be the spirits of cancer, tumor of the eye, dysentery, and in l. 13 palsy of hand and foot.[153] A long list of fevers is presented in the first of Gollancz's Syriac charms.

In the Berlin bowl 2416 Wohlstein reads a certain affection as וריר ביישתא, translating it "böser Fluss"; Stübe reads it וריד ב', interpreting it, by a desperate solution, as the sacrificial jugular vein which he supposes was used as a maleficent charm. Jastrow in his Lexicon gives both וריר and ירוד, = leucoma of the eye (again the same confusion of ד and ר as in the word ירורא discussed above),[154] The correct spelling is וריר and it is closely related to סנורים, "blindness," *Gen.* 19: 11, 2 *Ki,* 6: 18. The root is parallel to ברר "be clear, bright" (cf. the Assyrian);[155] the sense of blindness in connection with this root arose from the fact that the sun produces blindness (eye-diseases are most common in the Orient), or from the dazzling sensation suffered by those affected with certain optical diseases.

No. 29: 7 we have a characteristic magical prescription for a woman who is exorcised from the various categories of devils and charms (ענקתא)

[150] For these and the following terms, see Glossary C.

[151] A disease *ašû* in Assyrian, Küchler, *op. cit.,* 131, 197.

[152] Wohlstein, 2422: 20, dropsy or urinary affection? Fränkel (*ib.,* 309) cft. *Ḥull.* 105b, and explains as "water from which a demon has drunk." It may be the eye-disease known to the Jews as "water," see Preuss (cited in next note), p. 305.

[153] For the diseases in the Bible and Talmud see *Jewish Encyc.* art. "Medicine," and iv, 517 f. for demons of diseases, with bibliography, viii, 413 f.; noteworthy treatments that have since appeared are Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie,* i, § 104, J. Preuss, *Biblisch-talmudische Medezin,* 1911 (with extensive bibliography), while Fishberg, *The Jews,* 1911, cc. 13-15, may be consulted with profit. Many of the medical terms in the bowls are not to be found in the Jewish literature.

[154] For this "Yarod" disease, see Preuss, *op. cit.,* 308. He notices also the eye-disease ריר, a form of our word, p. 310.

[155] The Talmudic formula against blindness, *Shabriri, briri, riri, ri, Ab. Z.* 12b, etc., is formed from this root.

and then from כיפסא, a menstruation malady (?); then are mentioned מבכלתא ובנתא דברא which are evidently the causes of feminine irregularities, followed by טומי, "pollutions" (fluxes?), and the בר ניפלא, probably epilepsy. In a badly arranged series in No. 16 we find (l. 9) the רוח כרי ונאלי, literally "the spirit (= breath?) of stench and asthma," i. e. of the foul or labored breath symptomatic of diseases (see *ad loc.*). In 11: 3 f., again a charm for a woman, after the list of demons appear עקרתא and תכלתא which we should translate "barrenness" and "bereavement," understanding them as personified.[186] But in the parallel Mandaic text of Lidzbarski's (see to No. 11) bereavement has become a Lilith (תאכלתא ליליתא, ת' = *takkâltâ*). Which is the original of these forms? In 34: 10 אבערן וקמתא might be rendered, "ugliness and distortion," with which compare the charms of the Greek youths in the papyri for health, good looks, etc.[187]

Another class of evils are those of a social nature. So poverty מיסכינותא, figures in 34: 12, but from two other passages we see that it is the hostile witchcraft that would effect poverty in the victim's life which is exorcised: אסרה דמ', "the genius of poverty," 16: 10, and Lidz., 4: תיפוק אקריתא אקתא ומ', where "distress" and "sickness" are epexegetical to "invocations." Again in 34: 12 is found an exorcism against all kinds of losses: זינא יצערי. חורסנא ותוכא in 7: 11 are troubles involving shame.[188]

We mark that the rationalization of maladies had not gone very far; the decadent Babylonians were satisfied with the exorcism of devils and witchcraft and avoided the diagnosis of diseases. For modern magical practice in this field see the collection of Jewish charms published by R. C. Thompson, "Folklore of Mossoul," *PSBA*, 1906-7. In these the spirits have fled, but the ancient magical practices remain effective.

[186] Cf. the constant personification in Greek magic of *βασκανία*.

[187] E. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 197, l. 3.

[188] Cf. the מהוש וצער of my amulet published in *JAOS*, 1911, 281.

§ 13. Propitious Angels, Deities, Etc.

In the Babylonian exorcistic system the beneficent gods and spirits were arrayed and invoked against the demons and ills that affected human kind. Jastrow gives a specimen of such an invocation of some twenty deities[1] and discusses at length these various lists and their orders.[2] In another example, given by Reisner,[3] fifty great gods, seven gods of destiny, 300 Annunaki of heaven and 600 of earth, are invoked. It is not inevitable then that we must go to Persian dualism to discover the origin of the Jewish angelology. Absolute monotheism with its desire that the one God be exalted alone broke down before the specious and alluring argument that there must be more who are with us than those who are against us (*2 Ki.* 6: 16).

It is to be premised that in many of our texts the religious element is very deficient; reliance is placed upon bans and formulas with often no reference to Deity or other personal agencies of friendly character. Those inscriptions in which such supernatural agencies apart from God are invoked may be divided into three classes, representing so many distinct origins. There are those in which the well known names and name-formations of the Jewish angelology appear; although, as remarked above, § 12, the word "angel" is not used in all cases in the usual Jewish sense (often = deity). Then there are the genii of the Mandaic religion, mostly with names of outlandish formation. And finally there are the invocations of evidently pagan origin in which deities are named, although unfortunately most of their names are obscure or perverted by the text tradition. Further these different elements are confused and what appears like a good Jewish text at times admits a pagan deity into its celestial

[1] From the *Šurpu*-series, iv, l. 68 ff.

[2] *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, 289.

[3] *Sum.-bab. Hymnen*, iv, l. 152 ff.

hierarchy—somewhat as the mediaeval Church came to canonize the Buddha.

(1) We need not dwell long upon the Mandaic genii. Pognon has given a survey of those occurring in his bowls,[4] to which may be added a few more from Lidzbarski's and my texts. Some of the names are patterned after the Jewish angelic nomenclature, e. g. עורפעיל (= רופאל), or have forms in *-ai*, e. g. בעודאי, ננחנאי, called "angels" (No. 38), or we find a name קאטריאוים patterned after the obscure Mandaic principles Piriawis and Sindiriawis. A number of the names are not found in the known Mandaic literature.[5]

(2) The angelology of the apparently Jewish texts and the angelic nomenclature are not as elaborate as we find in later Jewish literature, e. g. the *Sword of Moses*[6] or the *Sefer Raziel*,[7] the bulk of which consists of lists of angelic names.[8] The majority of our texts have no such names. The most common angels are Michael, Gabriel, Raphael. As a rule the names are formed in *-el*, although other formations appear and quite un-Jewish potencies are brought in as angels. Our texts stand on the borderland of Jewish angelology and not within its orthodox development.

Taking up first the known angels, we find that Michael does not have necessary precedence.[9] He sometimes appears in the first place followed by Gabriel, Raphael, Nuriel, *et al.* (e. g. Nos. 14, 34, Hyv.), but as often the order has Gabriel first,—Gabriel, Michael, Raphael (Nos. 7, 20. Myhrman, Wohlstein 2422, 2416), or Gabriel occurs without Michael (e. g.

[4] B, p. 93.

[5] In Ellis 1 the Mandaic genius Abatur is an evil spirit, and is classed among the ghostly spirits in Wohlstein, 2417: 6. N. B. the occurrence of this name as Abyater in an Ethiopic apocryphon, Littmann, *JAOS*, xxv, 28. Afriel, *ib.*, 29, is a form of Raphael, corresponding to the form occurring in the bowls; see Glossary A, *s. v.*

[6] Gaster, *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1896, and in separate imprint.

[7] Composed by Eleazar of Worms, 13th cent.

[8] See, in general, Schwab, *Dictionnaire de l'angélologie*, 1897 (in *Mémoires* of Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres, Series 1, vol. 10, part 2). The Essenes laid great stress on the names of angels, Josephus, *Bell. jud.*, ii, 8: 7.

[9] See Lueken, *Michael*, 1898, especially § 4.

Nos. 10, 15).[10] The latter order is of course that of their appearance in the Jewish literature (Old Testament and *Tobit*). Other angels may precede these or occur without them. Aniel appears as the fourth in a tetrad (Wohlstein 2416).

The title peculiar to Michael in Jewish lore, the Great Prince, השר הגדול (*Dan.* 12, *Aboda Z.* 42b, etc.), appears in 5: 3, but without specific reference, and at the end of No. 7 in the list of angels, which in its occurrence at the beginning of the text names Gabriel first, Armasa is "the great lord"; so the application of the epithet is uncertain. In Hyvernat's text, which appears to be comparatively late, we find Michael's full glory expressed: "the mighty, the king, genius of the law" (גברא מלכא איסרא דאוריתא). In 34: 7 he is called the "healer" (אסיא), Raphael "reliever" (מדוליא), and Gabriel the "servant of the Lord." the title "healer" suggests that the frequent opening invocation, "In thy name, O Lord of salvation (אסותא), great Saviour (אסיא) of love," which is not a regular Jewish form of address to Deity, may refer to Michael;[11] but the supposition is not reinforced by the position Michael takes in these texts. In Wohlstein 2416 kabbalistic surnames are given to Gabriel and Michael, אלפסם and דמותיה (so W. would read), the latter, "likeness of Yah," corresponding to the later Jewish notions concerning Michael as almost θεὸς ἕτερος. Cf. the kabbalistic forms in 24: 4 (of angels?) and the group of seven barbarous names in Schwab M, Dalal, Salal, Malal, etc., presumably standing for the seven archangels.[12] Reference to the latter is made once, in the introduction to Stübe's text (= Wohlstein 2416) where exor-

[10] See for early precedence *ibid.*, p. 36 f.; e. g. in *Enoch* 20: Uriel, Rafael, Raguel, Michael, Sarakael, Gabriel. For Gabriel we may note that the Mandaeans gave him high honor, identifying him with Hibel—Ziwa (Norberg, *Onom.*, 33; Brandt, *Mand. Schr.*, 21), while they appear to have ignored Michael.

[11] Lueken, *Michael*, 11, 87: M. is price of love. For the epithet referred to, see notes to No. 3.

[12] Cf. the dictum of *Sefer Raziel* (quoted by Schwab, *Dictionnaire*, 7) that in divination it is necessary to pronounce the mystic names of the planets. Cf. a form of charm in Wessely, xlii, 65, where the seven angels are named in one column, and parallel to them two rows of barbarous mystical names, the first column containing varying permutations of the seven vowels; e. g. *αεηιουω χυχ μιχαηλ νυσευ*. N. B. the many mystical or magical names of the deities or "angels" in the Harranian philosophy; Dozy and de Goeje, *Actes* of 6th Congress of Orientalists, II, i, 297.

cism is made in the name of Metatron, Hadriel, Nuriel, Uriel, Sasgabiel Hafkiel, Mehafkiel,[12a] "who are the seven angels that go and turn around heaven and earth and stars and zodiac and moon and sea."[12]

In this last series Metatron takes the place that should be given to Michael. Metatron[14] appears earlier as one of the (six) archangels, in Targum Jer. to *Dt.* 34: 6: Michael, Gabriel, Metratron, Jophiel, Uriel, Yephephia. He is really a rival figure to Michael, springing from a different religious concept; Michael is an angel, the patron of Israel, hence the Angel, *par excellence,* the representative of deity.[15] Metatron is in origin an *idea,* Platonic, Philonic, however we may call it, produced by the necessity of a Demiurge, a "second god" between Deity and man.[16] It is interesting to watch the somewhat unlike histories of the rival ideas. Michael remains an angel, but Metatron becomes more and more a mystic being; he is associated with the Enoch and Elija legends, and his identity with these human beings may be described as an assimilation of them to Metatron or as his incarnation in them; he is both divine and human.[17] To the mystic, the kabbalist, such a figure is more sympathetic than the archangel (cf. the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews!), and so he replaces or absorbs Michael. Hence he is described in terms like those given to Michael. Eisenmenger quotes (p. 396) a long list of appellatives: he is Prince of the Presence, Prince of the Law, Prince of wisdom, Prince of kings, etc. (cf. the titles applied to Michael in Hyvernat's bowl), while elsewhere (Eisenmenger, *ibid.*) he is called the Prince of the world, cf. the title "the great prince" discussed above in connection with Michael.[18] We may

[12a] Most of these names are plays on evident roots.

[12] For references and literature on the planetary angels see Lueken, *op. cit.,* 56; add Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum,* ii, 383 ff.; Bousset, *Religion des Judentums,* 315 ff.

[14] See Weber, *Jüdische Theologie,* § 37, and for origins of the idea cf. Bousset, *op. cit.,* 348.

[15] For the extremes to which this notion went, see Lueken, *op. cit.,* 36 ff.

[16] Both ideas are associated in Philo's mind; see Lueken, § 7, on the *λόγος ἀρχάγγελος* of Philo.

[17] For later legends see Eisenmenger, ii, 394 ff and the interesting critical discussion of this later (Gaonic) development of Judaism by Joel, *Der Aberglaube,* ii, 15 ff.

[18] Cf. שלימא ברא who stands before "the true God" in the pagan text of No. 19.

suppose that on the periphery of Judaism as well as in its esoteric circles the idea of Metatron would be especially acceptable to those who were not weaned from polytheism.

Comparing Nos. 3, 19, 25, we come upon an interesting identification. ארמסא, which appears in No. 3, is the Greek Hermes, more especially the Hermes of the mystic Egypto-Grecian theosophy (see to No. 3). He is the Word, etc. (No. 19) and in 25 : 4 f., is identified with Metatron.[19] Thus we have here a welding together of the esoteric Jewish Metatron and the equally mystical Hermes of Hellenism. Whether our magicians were aware what ארמסא meant, I know not and I doubt it. It gave them one more mystical name and combination.

Just as Hermes was dragged in, so other names or words were put in the category of angels or intermediate beings. So in 7 : 8 the invocation is in the name of Gabriel, Michael, Rafael, Asiel, Hermes, Abbahu, Abraxas,[20] And so with many terms in these invocations it is impossible to decide what we are dealing with (e. g. Agrabis, 17 : 4), whether a surrogate for a divine name, an intermediate being, a pagan deity, or perhaps a sorcerer's name. The expression "in the name of" was taken seriously only so far as the name was concerned; the name, the word, was the essential thing, not the prosaic object it stood for. The same phenomenon appears in the magical papyri. There we find now an exorcism in the name of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus Christ (*χρηστος*) and Holy Spirit (*αγιος πνευμα, sic*)[21]—wherein the exorcist shows bad orthodoxy, whether as Jew or Christian; or again an incantation in the name of *ιαω θεου σαβαωθ θεου αδωναι θεου μιχαηλ θεου σουριηλ θεου γαβριηλ θεου ραφαηλ θεου αβρασαξ, κ. τ. λ.*,[22] where gods, angels and formulas are mixed up just as unintelligently as in the incantations from Nippur.

As for the minor angels most of them can be found in other Jewish literature, and reference for them may be made to Schwab's dictionary of angelology. Glossary A lists the angelic names in the bowls. In their

[19] So Michael was identified with Hermes, Lueken, *op. cit.*, 28, 78 (with reference to Hermes-figures bearing Michael's name).

[20] For some of the angel names in the papyri, see Lueken, *op. cit.*, 71.

[21] Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften*, xxxvi, 2, 75, l. 1227.

[22] *Ibid.*, 144, l. 144. See above § 11.

formation they follow the general rule of making the first (verbal) element express the object desired in the incantation. Thus in the love-charms Nos. 13 and 28, the angels invoked are Raḥmiel, Ḥabbiel and Ḥanniniel.

(3) It is difficult to say how many of the bowls are Jewish; the presence of Jewish catchwords is not a sufficient criterion. I would call attention to a few of the Nippur bowls which are definitely pagan. Of such nature is the last one cited, No. 28, where along with the angel Raḥmiel appear the mighty (passionate?) Dlibat (a Semitic Venus) and [blank] gods. No. 19 has the longest list of invocations of apparently heathen deities. Only a few of them can be certainly identified. Hermes appears there, probably two words (masc. and fem.) representing the Gnostic Aeons (איבול, איבולית); Bagdana, "with 70 exalted priests," who appears as a demon (Abugdana) in the Mandaic bowls.[25] Other names have a very non-Semitic sound, and we can identify some Greek divinities: Zeus, Okeanos, Protogenos (see the commentary). Also we find angelic names, Aḳzariel, etc., and again Abraxas, and reference to the 60 gods and 80 goddesses. Yet the opening invocation is "in thy name Lord of Salvation," etc., who is also the "true God," l. 17.

Of peculiar interest is No. 36, in which the exorcist declares he has been empowered by certain deities: "The lord Šameš (sun) has charged me, Sina (moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nannai has said to me [blank], and Nirig (Nergal) has given me power." In quite antique wise the sorcerer (perhaps a priest, בומרא) professes to have received oracles. Apart from the striking parallels of the prophetic commissions in the Old Testament, we find the expression of like assumption by the exorcists in the Babylonian magic. Thus from the *Utukku*-series: "The sorcerer-priest that makes clear the ordinances of Eridu am I; of Marduk sage magician, eldest son of Ea, herald am I, the exorciser of Eridu, most cunning in magic am I";[26] again: "The man of Ea am I, the messenger of Marduk am I, my spell is the spell of Ea, my incantation the incantation

[25] Pognon B, p. 93, Lidz., 4: 2 (p. 103, n. 7); cf. the change of the beneficent Mandaic genius Abatur into an evil spirit in Ellis 1.

[26] Thompson, *Devils*, i, 133.

of Marduk."[25] Cf. also the *Maḳlu*-series: "The god and goddess have commissioned me, whom shall I send?," and, "I go on Marduk's command."[26] In our text we have doubtless one of the latest survivals of priestly exorcism in the old forms coming down from the *âšipu* priests of Babylonia; these forms doubtless were cherished long in the Harranian religion.

[25] *Ibid.*, 23.

[26] Tablet ii, ll. 52, 158. Cf. also § 9, end.

IV. HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS

§ 14. Age of the Bowls

Very diverse views as to the antiquity of the bowls have been offered by students. It is unnecessary to consider the hypothesis of their pre-Christian origin.[1] Chwolson as an epigraphical expert submitted the texts he was acquainted with to a careful examination and believed he could assign them, by comparison of the scripts, to different centuries early in this era, from the second to the fourth or fifth. But epigraphical evidence in the case of a formed script like that of the square character is fallacious. Especially in the case of rude popular texts, in which antique forms of writing have survived, no certainty from epigraphy can be obtained. And in general a chronology obtained from epigraphy is most dubious; I may refer to the current opposing arguments over the Siloam inscription and the Gezer calendar tablet, or note the remarkably fluent, almost cursive script of the potsherds from Samaria, which only their certain *provenance* compels us to ascribe to the Omride age.

But most of the students would be inclined to place the bowls considerably later, between the fifth and ninth centuries, although rather by conjecture, from the impression made by the contents, than through positive proofs. Levy and Halévy thought, but fallaciously, that they could detect Arabisms, and were inclined to date the texts after the Arabic conquest.[2] Nöldeke would place Hyvernat's bowl not earlier than the eighth century, basing his opinion on the forms of the Persian names.[3] Schwab assigned his Louvre bowls to the fourth or fifth century.[4]

[1] See above, § 5.

[2] Levy, *ZDMG*, ix, 474; Halévy, *Comptes rendus*, 1877, 292, specifying more exactly, "vers le 9ième siècle."

[3] *Zeits. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, ii, 295.

[4] *Rev. d'ass. et d'arch.*, ii, 136.

It is evident that, in the case of a large number of texts coming from different localities and in most cases not observed *in situ*, it is impossible to take a datum from any one and so fix the chronology of the whole species. Magical literary forms are peculiarly persistent; we may think of the uncertainty as to the age of the Greek magical texts, in which, for instance, a Christian theological phrase may not define the age of the magical formula, can only give a clue to that of the particular document. And so our texts, copied and recopied as precious magical prescriptions, repeated possibly by laymen long after the special school of sorcery had ceased to exist, may have extended over a series of centuries. Some bowls may be considerably later than others, e. g. Hyvernat's with its reference to "Ispandas-Dewa the Jinn of Solomon," and Schwab's H and O composed of biblical verses.

Fortunately more certainty as to a unity of time can be had for the texts from Nippur. These were found by expert scholars *in situ* at certain noted levels of the ruins. While written in three different dialects and as many scripts, nevertheless the appearance of the same persons and families in the three classes tends to show that they all belonged to about the same age. We are not therefore to suppose a stratification of Judaic, Syriac, Mandaic layers, representing so many different ages or even distinct racial elements. Nor do the variants within the texts of the square script compel us to assign them to different ages; these are but calligraphic variations. There is every reason to place the Nippur bowls within rather a brief period, and if one or a few texts threw any light upon the chronology, we could place the age of the whole collection.

The provenance of the bowls from Nippur was described in § 1; they lay above the stratum of the Parthian temple. This building had been destroyed, was covered with sand, and upon the Tell settled small Semitic communities, Jews and Mandaeans, drawn to the deserted place probably by motives of religious community life. Indeed we may suppose that these bodies, separated from the main currents of their larger societies, made a practical use and profit out of their religious prestige in the preparation of magical texts. To speak more exactly of the archaeological conditions, in the "Jewish" houses discovered by Peters an upper stratum contained Cufic coins of the seventh century, a lower stratum only Parthian coins, Jewish bowls being found also in the latter. The lowest

dating then is the seventh century, on the basis of the Cufic coins, and this dating is to be pushed back, if it be modified at all, because of the ease with which small coins slip down through the soil. The archaeological evidence then for the *terminus ad quem* of our texts is the seventh century (probably its beginning), with a fair leeway back into the preceding century.

As I have said, the epigraphical evidence is a weak reed to lean on for chronology.[5] The only new fact I can bring to bear on this feature of the discussion is the novel Syriac script exhibited in seven of our bowls. I have discussed this script in § 6 and there came to the conclusion that it is an early type of the Edessene style of alphabet, a result corroborated by its identity with the Manichaean alphabet. But again this may be a case of survival; certain evidence from epigraphy is *nil*.

There remains the philological testimony. The "Jewish" Aramaic of the texts is just such as we find in the Talmud, and with evidently like dialectical variations; a few forms appear representing the "Palestinian" dialect, remains of which occur in the Babylonian literature. The Mandaic dialect is fully formed, and has exercised its influence, at least in spelling, upon the other two, the Rabbinic and Syriac. There are many words which can be illustrated only from the neo-Syriac dialects, or from the compilations of the Syriac lexicographers. But these words may be old and only by chance have failed to make their appearance in literature. Thus the late Syriac form ʿnwʾ "goat," is now found in the Elephantine papyri. The fact that a Persian word, e. g. *dastabira,* does not appear till later or is a *hapax legomenon,* is not proof of late age unless it can be shown to be of late Persian formation. Nor do I find that any of the proper names compel us to assume a late date. The majority of them are Persian, and do not, to one who is a layman in this branch of science and who must rely mostly upon the authority of Justi's *Namenbuch,* appear to be necessarily late, say toward the end of the first millennium.[6]

[5] It is impossible to make an epigraphical examination of all the bowls published, for in the majority of cases facsimiles are not given, or they are poorly made.

[6] Nöldeke's argument that the element *-duch* for *-ducht* speaks for a late age is not at all stringent for a Semitic dialect which would naturally abhor a termination in a double consonant; the Syriac texts have *-ducht*.

There is one line of negative evidence which is the only clue to a terminus *ad quem* which I can discover on this basis. Despite the variety of names, the list of which includes two Syriac Christian names (סעבריא ליעשו, בת סהדא) and a Greek name (טימאתאיז), also probable Indian names, there is none of Arabic origin. A pair of common nouns and the use of פ for the conjunction in two cases do give us etymological connections in that direction; but פ in this usage is found in the Senjirli inscriptions and the Elephantine papyri and is a spelling *ad aurem*—it is corrected in one of Schwab's texts. As for the two words גינא, Jinn, and שיק (and possibly שלניתא), I cannot grant that these loans must have taken place after the Mohammedan conquest, when sorcery was so eager to include every possible name of evil spirits (n. b. the adoption of διάβολοι) and inasmuch as the good Semitic word may long have been at home on the Arabian frontiers of Babylonia.

My consequent conclusion is that the Nippur texts should be placed in a period not later than the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, that is, only as a terminus *ad quem*, approximately 600 A. D. The abandonment of the Tell of Nippur may have been caused by the Arabic conquest, which, as we may assume, ultimately drove away the Jewish and Mandaean settlers to other abodes, the latter to their recesses in the south (they were not, I think, recognized as one of "the peoples of a book"), the former to the towns. As for those texts from other quarters that appear to be later, they are but the continuation, which we should expect, of the magic of the elder bowls, and as I have noticed in § 2, towards the end, late descendants of the species.

If my conclusions from the data of the Nippur bowls are justified, they afford us one result of comparative value. While the great mass of magical, and more particularly Jewish magical literature, is known to us only in late documents,—we may but speculate as to the age of the *Sword of Moses*, the *Wisdom of the Chaldaeans*, the *Seal of Solomon*, the elements of *Sefer Raziel*—our texts are contemporary and authentic documents of the late pre-Islamic period in Babylonian history.

§ 15. Origins and Relations of the Bowl Magic

"Jewish incantation bowls" is the title that has been generally applied to our species of magical texts. It arose in consequence of the fact that the first bowls interpreted, as also the majority of those now known, are written in the script and dialectic forms of the speech of the Talmud, and withal appear preponderantly to bear the earmarks of Judaism.[1] The subsequent discovery of similar supplies of texts Mandaic in composition and contents, and now the presentation in this volume of a number of Syriac texts, enlarge our vista concerning the diffusion of this special form of magic among the races and faiths of Babylonia. Further, over against texts of whose Judaism there may be no reasonable doubt, we find a number which are out and out pagan, while the majority are certainly eclectic in their theological tastes. These observations require that we extend our study beyond the domain of Judaism to discover the relations of these bowl-texts to the general field of magic, as we know it for the first centuries of the Christian era, and to the earlier strains which entered into it. What are the historical connections of our texts, and what light do they cast upon the religious or spiritistic thought of cosmopolitan Babylonia in the age of the Sassanian empire?[2]

In the magic-wild age at the beginning of our era, the Jewish magic was recognized as one of the three great schools of sorcery, along with the Chaldaean and the Egyptian. The Jews had inherited the rites and notions of primitive magic from the Arabian Hebrews and from ancient Canaan; despite the severity of an ethical monotheism, which throughout

[1] Hence our rude and vulgar texts are of philological importance as almost the only early contemporary documents of these dialects.

[2] The analogies have been set forth in the preceding sections; in the following paragraphs I can only speculate on the genealogical relations. Cf. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 261, n. 2.

its growth had placed a unique ban upon the practice of sorcery, this feature nevertheless survived. While the Second Isaiah is deriding the sorceries of Babylon and exposing their helplessness (c. 47), we have stray glimpses of the persistence of ancient rites closely akin to magic, which still claimed the adherence of renegades (*Eze.* 8; *Is.* 65, 66). In the Book of Tobit are given magical remedies for the expulsion of foul demons with the concurrence of angels; Josephus tells of his sorcerer who could pull the demon out of the nose of the possessed with a root indicated by Solomon.[3] The New Testament gives the first extensive and intimate picture of the magical conditions in Palestine; "If I through the finger of God cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out?"—inquires Jesus. In *Acts* we read of well-established sorcerers who bewitched the people and even Gentiles in foreign parts, a Simon Magus and Bar-Jesus Elymas. But apart from the hoary forms of Mezuzoth and Tephillin and some mortuary charms,[4] our first literary specimens of Jewish or Judaizing magic are found in the Greek papyri of the Christian age, and there how much is Greek and how much Jewish we know not. Here appear various forms and anagrams of the Ineffable Name, quotations from the Scriptures, historical references to Solomon and especially to Moses,[5] who came, as the great mystagogue and magician, to be identified with Hermes-Thoth, and was regarded as the teacher of Orpheus.[6] He is made the author of a Hermetic book, through and through Egyptian and Hellenistic, entitled the Eighth Book of Moses, as a continuation of the Pentateuch, which Dieterich has published at the end of his *Abraxas*. Blau and Deissmann have published a delicate erotic charm, composed in true Greek spirit, and yet the former may be right in claiming its phraseology as preponderantly Jewish.[7] In which direction was the give and take, what were the connecting links? Dieterich would find in the Essenes and Therapeutae the bond between

[3] *A.J.*, viii, 2, 5. For a survey of Jewish magic and a large bibliography, see Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, § 32, vii (ed. 3, iii, 294).

[4] See H. Vincent, "Amulette judéo-araméenne," *Rev. bibl.*, 1908, 382. (with ample bibliography), and Montgomery, *JAOS*, 1911, 272.

[5] See the analogies presented in § 11.

[6] Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 70.

[7] See notes to No. 28.

Jewish and Hellenic magic.[8] But just wherein lay the peculiar type and particular contribution of Judaism to the world's magical faith, we do not know, for the reason that we have no early magical documents of unimpeachable Jewish origin. And if we possessed documents from the Palestinian life of the Hebrews, how far even then could we decide what was specifically Hebrew and not Canaanitish or borrowed from the spheres of culture to the east and west? What different origins are assigned by the commentators to the occult practices described in Eze. 8.[9]

When we pass to the eastern home of the Diaspora we have that marvellous encyclopaedia, the Talmud, with its glimpses into the common life of the people as well as into the discussions of the schools; magic holds its sway more or less over all, and its existence, if not its legality, is confessed by the spiritual masters, who, if we may contrast successively Mishna, Gemara, the Gaonic period, with one another, came more and more to recognize and legitimatize the practice of magic.[10] We catch in the Talmud and the subsequent authoritative literature some of the magical phrases, learn something of the practices and beliefs in demons, mark the superstitious fears of the people of Babylonia, of the Jews as well as of their neighbors.[11] Our bowls and their inscriptions are rude and unlovely, with none of the sombre dignity of the Babylonian incantations, or of the often lyric beauty of the Greek magical literature;[12] but these bowls are of prime interest as giving us for the first time extensive texts of the eclectic Babylonian magic of the first Christian millennium. They are degenerate successors of the elder incantations of the land, yet they are autograph evidence of the superstitions which Talmud, with caution, and Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum,* with malice, reveal, and are precursors of that sea of magical literature which has come down to us under Jewish auspices.

[8] *Ib.,* 137 ff.

[9] See Kraetzschmar, *ad loc.*

[10] See Joel, *Der Aberglaube,* the sections C, D, E (pt. 1, pp. 55, 64; pt. 2, p. 2) for this comparison. For the Talmudic teachers who allowed and practised magic, see Blau, *Das altjüd. Zauberwesen,* 26, 54.

[11] According to Blau, pp. 23, 84, the Babylonian Jews were far more addicted to magic than the Palestinians.

[12] Cf. the noble Hermetic hymn of creation, the "holy word" in the Eighth Book of Moses, in which "God smiled seven times," and each smile was an act of creation; Dieterich, p. 182.

And withal they give a sample of the medley and fusion of peoples and religions in the land which the Jews had long since called Confusion.

The order of the day is to Babylonize, and our evident line of primary investigation is to discover the relationships of the bowls with the ancient Babylonian magic, the literature of which in the last decades has been published in large quantities by the most distinguished Assyriologists.[13] My notes to the texts and the Introduction show how apparently numerous are the connections between the object of our study and the magic of Babylonia. While there is only one instance of the specific bowl praxis in that earlier literature,[14] still its method of defixion is quite congruous with the ancient magical operations. As of yore, the sorcerer appears as the commissioner of Deity or of the gods (§ 9); he follows definite and repetitious formulas, similar to the Babylonian *šiptu* (§ 11). He invokes most frequently, or at least primarily, one chief god, "the Lord of love and healing," just as the Babylonian called on Ea or Marduk, but, as in the elder incantations, other gods or their angelic equivalents are invoked in large accumulation (§ 13). Most striking in the correspondences is the registration of the devils, black arts and maladies to be exorcised; as in the Babylonian, so in our magic these are specified in long detailed lists (§ 12). In fact our spells far outdo the Babylonian repetition of the seven classes of evil spirits. In the Mandaic texts the terror of the witches appears, in others the evil charm is reversed upon the head of the sorcerer, all as in Babylonian magic. Rites and words and the instruments of magic, which are personified, are as much the object of detestation as in the *Maḳlu*-series. Diseases and all human ills are inspired by devils, indeed are devils and are treated as personal essences. The magician's ban, the spell of the mighty god, is laid upon them all, and they are forthwith assumed to be "bound," and "tied," as in older days when simulacra sacramentally sealed the operation. Even the quotation of Scriptures and references to sacred legend have their parallels in the Babylonian incantations, which used the ancient myths as potent charms (§ 11). It is unnecessary to proceed further with the summary of general correspondences, but enough has

[13] See for the literature, Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, ch. xvi, and his *Religious Beliefs in Bab. and Ass.*, 296 ff.

[14] See p. 43.

been noticed to dispose our minds to the dictum of Zimmern:[15] "Diese (the incantation bowls) im Ausdruck oft überraschend an die alten babylonischen Beschwörungen erinnernden jüdischen Beschwörungstexte, bei denen unter den mit Namen angeführten bösen Dämonen auch Lilith häufig erscheint. liefern in ihrer Weise ebenfalls den Beweis für nachhaltige Einströmen babylonischer dämonologischer Vorstellungen in das Judentum."[16]

Yet the implications that may be drawn from this judgment, even if not intended by the writer, are open to criticism. In the first place, as observed in the preceding sections, similar correspondences with the Greek magic are to be noted in almost every instance. This fact compels us to recognize the possibility of eclectic as well as of immediate Babylonian influence upon the Jewish magic. And then, secondly, marked differences exist between the fields, changes in the center of gravity, omissions, accretions. There still remains a large degree of substantial reason in the opinion earlier expressed by Nöldeke, surveying the material from a different point of view: "Die Verbindung mit altbabylonischen Aberglauben dürfte also ziemlich lose sein."[17] The study of magic is still in its beginnings, and students are too prone to find a genetic relation when we have to bear in mind that we are dealing with parallel workings of the human spirit operating in a universal and amazingly uniform field, while at the same time, particularly for the age when Hellenistic culture was dominant, we must give allowance for the interfusion of factors geographically most distant.

Of the old Babylonian names of demons, only two appear in our texts, the *šedu* and Lilith (with its male counterpart), but these, if originally Babylonian, in ancient times had pervaded the Semitic world. The *utukki limnuti* are the רוחין בישתא, "evil spirits," but these have their biblical precedent.[18] The Babylonian vocabulary has been suppressed by genuine Semitic words. The extensive praxis of the Babylonian has also almost disappeared; the inversion of the bowl, some rudely scrawled designs, and

[15] *KAT*³, 463.

[16] The actual adoption by the Jews of Babylonian magical rites is portrayed in *Eze.* 13: 17 f.

[17] *Z. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, ii, 297.

[18] The שלניתא may be Babylonian, see to 8: 2.

one or two magical prescriptions[19] are all that remain in our texts of the elder practice. The use of the bowl in a love-charm has its parallel only in the Hellenistic κατάδεσμος or *defixio,* likewise buried in the earth. The sorcerer invokes the names of ancient masters (as in the Greek magic again), he no longer is professionally independent like the *âšipu* priest; even laymen borrow and lay the spells. The mere "word" or "name" has replaced the practice; in the Babylonian magic the gods were prayed to for their assistance, and we often question whether we are dealing with magic or religion; here their or the angels' names are simply used, and these are sufficient to invoke their potency, without appeal to the heart or mind of a living deity. The use of a word like Abraxas illustrates the extreme consequence; if a deity can become a name, so a word can become a deity—*numen nomen!* The formula "in the name of" can be used before letters and phrases as well as before divine names. At first sight this name-magic appears more spiritual; it actually proves to be more absurdly mechanical, because it invokes a binding of the gods and heavenly powers by a cheap and easy formula without any of the "service" of the gods, with litany and priest, which the elder rites prescribed.

There is thus a change in the spirit of the magic. The old Babylonian was religious in his incantations; it is only in the so-called medical texts that we find the passage from the religious sphere to that of entirely mechanical operation, which may issue either in empirical science or in absolute magic. The sense of sin lay heavy upon the Babylonian devotee, he needed to dress in sackcloth and wallow in ashes, while the incantation required rites of purification and confession of sins in pathetic and ethical litanies.[20] But any such religious element is entirely wanting in our texts, apart from the stereotyped introductory formula, "Lord of healing, Lord of love" and two obscure, probably traditional references to sin and guilt.[20a] We have in a word a purely magical system, that is, one whose efficacy consists in doing or rather saying certain things without a prayer or lustration or confession.

[19] See Nos. 12, 13.

[20] Cf. the "confessional" in the second tablet of the *Šurpu*-series.

[20a] See p. 86.

It may be further noticed that in the use of the Jewish Scriptures, which is very scanty, the passages of real religious import are not employed (§ 11). This is especially true of the Nippur texts, and often all that we have reminiscent of the Bible or of religion are the stereotyped Amens and Halleluias, common property of the magic of the age. Along with this unreligiousness of the magic goes a certain impression of impersonality throughout; there is a general lack of reference even to personal sorcerers; attention is paid to the operation of witchcraft, regarded itself as a potentiality, and the mechanical danger is met by mechanical means.

In these differentia from the old Babylonian magic we find much that is apparently or evidently Jewish, and again some factors that are not so categorically explained. We may think that the comparative absence of magic rite is due to Jewish influence, as also the large use of name-sorcery. The cultless condition of the Jews since A. D. 70 and the long previous term of six centuries in which the official cult was confined to one sanctuary, must have incapacitated the Jew for the rites of the magician. He dared not make simulacra, many practices were out of question because of their evidently heathen associations ("the ways of the Amorite"). But he had a holy book made up of sacred words, and a god unlike any of the pagans, who might not be seen, who once had spoken (*Dt.* 5), and who in lieu of images and many sanctuaries was revealed in his Names.[21] And so holy words and names became the province of the Jewish sorcery. His religion, when it passed out of the naturalistic or the ethical sphere, found its outlet in logology, in Rabbinism with its logomachies, in magic and kabbalism with their manipulation of words and letters. Even the angels, which were imported as a kind of humanizing mythology into Jewish monotheism, came to be but plays on roots, invocations of the attributes or activities of deity, so that finally angel was merely synonymous with charm.[22]

In these particulars the Jews may have contributed to the later Mesopotamian magic, as well as to that of the Hellenistic world. In our bowls we find Jewish families as the clients, and in the Nippur collection there is a frequent reference to the venerable Jewish master, Joshua b. Perahia, as a revealer of heaven's mysteries; but as he appears also in the

[21] Kabbalism appears as early as the present text of *Ex.* 3, 14.

[22] See § 12, n. 112.

Syriac bowls, which are probably of pagan origin, he may have already become a common traditional figure like Moses in the papyri. Nippur had been since the Exile a center of the Jews,[23] and in Talmudic times it lay just east of the famous Rabbinic school at Sura, between which and Pumbaditha to the north of Babylon the spiritual life of Babylonian Judaism circulated.[24] But Nippur does not appear to have remained a Jewish seat of importance. It is mentioned but once in the Talmud,[25] and the settlement which the Pennsylvania expedition unearthed on the top of its ruins was, at least so far as the bowls testify, a mixed folk, among whom the identical magic flourished under Jewish, Mandaic, pagan forms. This interchange of magical property precludes us from specifically speaking of many texts as certainly Jewish, even while we recognize numerous Jewish elements. It is interesting to observe that the Mandaic texts are truer to the theology of the sect than many of the so-called Jewish bowls. The Jewish magic here in Nippur, as elsewhere, was eclectic. The religion of the Jew cannot admit that it itself is eclectic, and the self-consciousness of the intelligent orthodoxy in rejecting or at least minimizing magic as part of the Jewish system, approves itself when we study our specimens of magic; their science is as much cosmopolitan as native.

I pass now to another clue for the origins of the bowl-magic. I have discussed under No. 3 the frequent references to the genius Armasa, who is identified with Metatron and called the Word, and is none else than the Hermes of the Hermetic theosophy. No. 28 is a magical philtre for a lovesick wife, the terms of which find their closest correspondence in Greek charms; No. 19 names a number of deities, among whose obscure names we can identify Zeus and Okeanos, and perhaps the names of the Aeon-pair. There are other clues of connection with the Greek magic, discussed in the Introduction and the texts; I may refer especially to the

[23] For the river Chebar hard by Nippur, the Kabar of tablets found by the Pennsylvania Expedition, see *BE*, ix, plate 84, l. 2. For the names of the numerous Jewish settlers there see Clay's Murashu texts and his summary in *Light on the Old Testament*, 404, also S. Daiches, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra and Nehemiah according to Babylonian Inscriptions* (Publication no. 2 of the Jews' College, London).

[24] See S. Funk, *Die Juden in Babylonien*, Berlin, 1902, ii, 153 (with no reference to Nippur).

[25] *Yoma* 10b, identified with the biblical Calneh

identical pharaseology in the choice of a certain day out of a month and a year as auspicious for working the charm.[26] Such terms as Abraxas direct our thought to the great western world and the imposing magical fabric of Hellenism.[27] And this system directs us to Egypt.

I have spoken of the permutations made on the Sacred Name as typically Jewish. And yet there was another people which equally cultivated the mystery of ineffable names, a people older than the worshippers of Yahwe, the Egyptians.[28] The Jewish development in this regard was hardly independent of Egypt. However this may be, we find in the Greek magical texts the fusion of the two theosophies, the Jewish Ineffable Name, with all its vowel permutations, and like sacred titles, Sebaoth, Adonai, etc., mixed pell-mell with those of Egyptian origin. And further the accumulation of barbarous syllables, such as appear in our texts, has no known tradition behind it hailing from the Jewish and Babylonian theologies; it must be traced back to the Egyptian magical science.[29] This phenomenon

[26] See p. 55.

[27] The recent rapid development of the study of magic and the increased application to the magical papyri have aroused in various quarters the question concerning the nature of the Jewish magic and its relations to that of the Hellenistic world. This investigation appears to have been first broached in a critical way by Blau (pp. 37 ff., 96 ff.), followed by several writers whose works have been constantly cited in the above pages: Dieterich, Deissmann, Conybeare (who considers the *Testament of Solomon* to be of Jewish origin), Gaster (in introduction to his *Sword of Moses*), Reitzenstein, Heitmüller, Wendland. Our specimens of magic hail from the eastern confines of that world, even from beyond its political borders, and are speaking proofs of the eclectic and cosmopolitan character of Hellenistic magic.

[28] Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, ch. v; Erman, *Egyptian Religion* (1907), 154. For the influence of Egypt in the Hellenistic magic, see the excursus in Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 218.

[29] In addition to the observations in § 11, see Budge, *l. c.*; Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (1897), 268, quoting Synesius's words: the Egyptian "mumbled a few unintelligible syllables"; also his *Magie u. Zauberei im alt. Ägypten* (1905), 32. The Greek papyri are faithful repeaters of this Egyptian art.—Stübe, remarking on the kabbalistic use of letters (p. 54), thinks that here we have traces of the passage from the Talmud to the beginnings of the development of the Kabbala. But as of Egyptian origin or kinship, the use is not to be dated by the Kabbala. It existed on the periphery of Judaism long before it was taken up by the Jewish doctors. Indeed Chwolson (*CIH*, col. 115) denies any special relation of these texts to Talmudic ideas (against Lenormant, *Essai*, i, 212, who held that our magic was a product of the Babylonian academies). Wohlstein was the first to observe the eclectic character of our magic, *ZA*, viii, 316 f. In matter of fact hardly a trace of technical Kabbalism is to be found in them.

is continued and flourishes with abandonment in the Greek papyri, and there again this form of magical spell falls in with the Jewish currents.

This Egypto-Hellenistic magic is one of the prime sources of our texts, and the impression made upon me in my study is that they resemble much more this form of magic than that of ancient Babylonia. The beginnings of this invasion of western sorcery into Mesopotamia may have begun with Alexander's armies; there can be little doubt but that pervasive Hellenism soon domesticated its magic, as everything else Greek, wherever it settled. It doubtless was reinforced in its development on Babylonian soil by the Hellenistic Jewish magic that had grown into luxuriant life on the theosophic soil of Egypt and thence sent forth its waves of spiritual energy to all the homes of the dispersed race.

It is difficult in the field of magic to decide which is cause and which effect, for the spirit of magic produces like fruits spontaneously everywhere. Our bowl sorcery is connected doubtless by many lineal bonds with ancient Babylonia, but it shows as unmistakable links with the Hellenistic magic, to which the Jews contributed, and from which they received still more. The problem of these texts is the same that confronts us in speculation over the Greek magical papyri. Who wrote these? Egyptian, Jew, Greek, Christian, Gnostic, all contributed each one his magical names, mysterious formulas, bits of sacred history, each outbidding the other in the effort to attain the same ends and arriving at an indistinguishable limbo of monotonous sameness. The texts were written for all who would use them, and those who received their magical traditions adapted them to the changing fancies of age and clime.

Our texts exhibit a like eclecticism. Babylonian, Jewish, Mandaic, Gnostic, Hellenistic, and indirectly Egyptian, elements are there, in various combinations. The Jew contributed a certain quality of monotheism and made it palatable by his angelology; his Divine Name, his Scriptures and apocrypha and liturgy, were storehouses of magical lore. All this was fused with like elements from parallel sources, and the product was useful to any body of magicians, even as it was in demand on the part of every class of clients, pagans, Persians, Jews, Christians, every kind of sect. And what is true of our texts is true of all the Jewish magical literature.

The bowls then are not so much illustrative of a special Jewish magic as of the eclectic religious conditions of later Mesopotamia; here the ancient magic, divorced from its content of real religion, came to be reinforced by new currents of superstition from the West. Whatever be the relation of magic and religion, whether they are twin sisters, or the one the parent of the other, or innate rivals, in our special and confined field we may observe the break-down of the ancient noble religions; gods have become names, rites esoteric and selfish and malignant, holy writings formulas. It is not Judaism we have been studying but a phase of *fin de siècle* superstition.

In recent years so much has been made of Persian origins for western religion, philosophy, and magic,[80] that I am surprised to find hardly a trace even in a word[81] of the Zoroastrian system upon our bowl-magic. This is the more remarkable as it belongs to Persian soil and flourished under the Sassanian empire, while the dualism, demonology and magical practice of Persia would have been so natural a nursing mother to the superstition we have been studying. Had the Zoroastrian influence spent itself and, after it had given itself to the world, did the more virile currents of the original stock and of the West reassert themselves and triumph in Iran's territory? Or has the influence of Persia been overrated?

As to the comparative age, in point of literary tradition, of the three classes, "Jewish," Syriac, Mandaic, it is impossible to decide; all follow common types. In the case of the Mandaic replica to No. 11, the former has the secondary text. The Mandaic charms are closest in spirit to the old Babylonian magical literature, those in the Syriac appear to be expressive of the current paganism (e. g. No. 36).

[80] See Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, esp. nn. 37-39, p. 266 f.; Bousset, *Die Ursprünge der Gnosis*, etc.

[81] N. B. the Ispandas-dewa in Hyvernat's text, and פריכא, possibly the Persian Peri. The arguments for Persian influences advanced by Levy, *ZDMG*, ix, 471 f., are now antiquated by the Babylonian literature. The fashion of interminable lists of demons may come from Persia.

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, NOTES

CBS = Catalogue of Babylonian Section University of Pennsylvania.

Numerals in ( ) number the lines of the spiral inscription, starting from the radius where the text begins.

Brackets, [ ], indicate suppletion of lacunae.

Phrases in ( ) in the translation represent amplification or interpretation by the translator.

Inferior points attached to Hebrew characters indicate doubtful readings.

Points on the line indicate missing letters or words.

Superior points, in the Syriac texts, represent the diacritical marks of the original.

No. 1 (CBS 8693)

הדין קמיעה דאפרה (2) בר ש[ברדוך] דתיהוי ביה (3) אסותא להּ[דין א]פרה בר שברדוך ועים (4) ולהדא בה[מנדוך] בת סמא דתיהי להון (5) אסותא להדין א[פרה] בר שברדוך ולהדא בהמנדוך בת (6) סמא אמין א[מ]ין סלה הדין קמיעה דליליתא דבת ביתלהון (7) להדין אפרה בר שברדוך ולהדא בהמנודך בת סמא (8) אשבעית עליכין כל מיני ליליתא בש[ום] זרעיתכין דילדין שידי (9) וליליתא לבני נורא סטין וי מרדין ועברין על גזירתא דמריהון וי מן זיקא (10) פרח פרחין וי מחבלין וי באתרשמכי מסאב המסין וי רמסין וצלפין ומפגמין (11) ומפגרין ש ומשגשין איצין ובלמין ומשגרין כמין וי . . פוכתא ובתריכון

Exterior

(12) ובתרכון דחלין ומדחלין יסירין למומתי ומידמין לבני אינשא לגברי בדמות נשי (13) ולנשי בדמות גברי ועים בני אינשא שכבין בליליה וביממא בטום (14) שעש גש נשך כתבית עליכי ליליתא בישתא דכלשום דאיתליכי אנחנא (15) כתבנא ושמיה יסיך אפרה אל עולם ועד

TRANSLATION

This the amulet of Ephrâ (2) bar Šabôrdûch, wherein shall be (3) salvation for this Ephrâ b. Š. and also (4) for this Bahmandûch bath Samâ, that there be for them (5) salvation, namely for this Ephrâ b. Š. and for this Bahmandûch b. Š. (6) Amen, Amen, Selah.

This is an amulet against the Liliths that haunt the house of (7) this Ephrâ b. Š. and this Bahmandûch b. Š. (8) I adjure you, all

species of Liliths in respect to your posterity, which is begotten by Demons (9) and Liliths to the children of light who go astray: Woe, who rebel and transgress against the proscription of their Lord; woe, from the blast (10) fast-flying; woe, destroying; woe, oppressing with your foul wounds ...., who do violence and trample and scourge and mutilate (11) and break and confuse and hobble and dissolve (the body) like water; woe, ...; and where you stand, (12) and where you stand (*sic*) fearful and affrighted are ye, bound to my ban,—who appear to mankind, to men in the likeness of women (13) and to women in the likeness of men, and with mankind they lie by night and by day.

With the formula, ṬWM (14) Š·Š GŠ GŠK, have I written against thee, evil Lilith, whatsoever name be thine. We (15) have written. And his name shall save thee, Ephrâ, forever and ever.

Commentary

A phylactery in the name of a man and wife for protection against the liliths and their broods which haunt the home. The same couple are the subjects of the charm in No. 13, in which the woman invokes the love of her husband and the blessing of children. For the general magical details I refer in this and the following texts to the Introduction.

1. אפרה: in No. 13 written with both ה- and א-. The name may be Jewish or Persian, (1) hypocoristic from אפרים, or (2) a hypocoristic reduction from one of the numerous names in *Fra-;* see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch,* 101 ff.; for the prothetic vowel, cf. *ibid.* 6. The Persian name of the mother by no means determines the race of the family.

שברדוך = "Sapor's-daughter" not instanced in Justi; *duch* for *ducht;* see above, p. 104, n. 6.

2. תהוי = תיהי, l. 4; both forms in the Rabbinic.

3. ועים ו : unless a scribal error, a unique adverbial development of the preposition, "and withal," = *simul ac,* or ὁμοῦ καί, e. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 147.

4. בהמנדוך: see Justi, p. 374 f.; also in Pognon B.

סמא: in No. 13 also סמאי. A frequent Jewish name; see Heilpren, סדר הדורות (*Seder ha-Doroth*), ed. Maskileison, Warsaw, 1883, ii, 296 f. The two forms are hypocoristic; see Nöldeke, art. "Names," *Enc. Bib.*

§ 50 f., Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* ii, 7 ff., 13 ff. (For the early form and history of these terminations, cf. the results of Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names,* 7 ff.). The full name was סמיא, "blind," occurring in Jewish and Syriac. It occurs as a feminine name (as here) in Asseman's Catalogue, cited by Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus,* col. 2655.

6. לילית : pl., also לילאתא . The liliths are the only named objects of exorcism, but masc. ppls., etc. are found in l. 10 ff., probably by technical phraseology.

דבת : √ דבא ; cf. *Pesaḥ.* 111b: דבי פרחי רוחי : "those which haunt caperberries are spirits.

ביתלהון: the pronominal suffix expressed with the intrusion of ל; cf. in the Assouan papyri of Sayce and Cowley, ברלי ובראלי (F, 9).

8. בש[ום] : if a correct restoration, the charm would obviate the demoniac procreation described.

9. "Sons of light": נורא is primarily fire and the term would indicate the angels, expressive of the legend that the angels emanate like sparks (cf. בני רשף , *Job* 5: 7) from the *dînûr,* the stream of fire under God's throne, *Ḥag.* 14a, and other reff. in Eisenmenger, ii, 371 ff. Cf. "the hosts of fire in the sphere," 8: 13. In 16: 7 the demons are "sons of darkness." But as the reference is to demoniac unions with human flesh, the expression appears to be transferred to mankind. It is then parallel to "sons of light," a name given in the Mandaic religion to the Uthras, Brandt, *Mand. Rel.,* 30, and also to men predestined to life, Brandt, *Mand. Schr.,* 13, 19. The redeemed come to share in the light-nature of the angels, cf. *Dan.* 12: 3, *Enoch* 38-39, cf. the *vioì φωτός* of the NT. In the myth of Adam Kadmon, man was originally a being of light (Bousset, *Hauptprobleme d. Gnosis,* 202, etc.; for the Kabbala, Karppe, *Zohar,* 372 ff.). Hence we must suppose that נורא has been reduced from נוהרא "light" (cf. the Arabic), and the expression is to be correspondingly rendered. The predicates following recall the myth of Gen. 6.

מריהון, as in Syriac, but the י is only the šewâ; cf. l. 11.

10. וי מן זיקא פרח פרחין: An interesting parallel to a well-known Talmudic formula against witches, *Pesaḥ.* 110a-b: קרח קרחייבי פרח פרחייבי איבדור תבלונייבי פרחא זיקא למוריקא חדתא, generally translated: "Your head be balder, your crumbs [with which you conjure—cf. the anecdote

of Abaye in *Ḥull.* 105b, Joel, *Der Aberglaube,* i, 69] be blown away, your spices fly off, the wind carry away the fresh saffron."[1] I doubt if so much sense can be made out of the doggerel; following the Talmudic tradition our phrase would mean "your breadcrumbs away with the gust!" By itself the words could simply mean, "be blown away with a gust," with reduplication of the verb. For קרח in the Talmudic passage, see to 18: 9.

The combination in the middle of the line is obscure; a verbal middle noun from רשם? The participles מחבלין וגי portray the fiendish assaults of the demons; the same accumulations in Lidzbarski's Mandaic bowls. Cf. the action of the demon of epilepsy in *Mk.* 9: 14 ff.

11. For the ש see above p. 61.

משגריהן כמין: for the relaxing effects of disease cf. *Ps.* 22: 15, *Eze.* 7: 17.

בתריכן ובתרכון, a dittograph induced by the scribe turning over the bowl to write on the exterior and repeating the word. The ' in the first form represents the šewâ. The meaning is: stay banned where you are!

12. יסירין: metaplastic form of root אסר, found in the Targums, etc. (cf. Heb. מוסר).

מידמין: cf. *Ḳidduš.* 81a, אידמי ליה סטן כאיתתא. The climax of the description is the worst and most obscene of the plagues; the same phrase in Pogn. B, no. 27.

13. בטום: in Ellis 1: 8 טטם appears in conjunction with the Tetragrammaton.

14. ליבי, עליבי: the form is singular, and the phrase refers to the many names of a lilith (see §§ 11, 12 and No. 42).

With לילית it is difficult to determine whether the singular or plural is meant. For "lilith of whatsoever name," cf. 14: 6: demons whose names are mentioned and who are not mentioned. The same indefinite invocation in the Babylonian, e. g. *Utukki*-series (Thompson *Evil Spirits of Babylonia,* i, 153): spirits "that have no name," presenting a *blanket* formula for names not known; cf. *δαιμόνιον καὶ μὴ ὀνομαζόμενον*, Pradel, *Griech. u. südital. Gebete,* 22, l. 2.

15. אל, a Hebrew reminiscence; in general cf. *Ps.* 20: 2 f.

[1] See Blau, *Zauberwesen,* 77. The connection of this Talmudic passage with *Eze.* 13: 17 ff. has not been observed by the commentators.

No. 2 (CBS 2945)

תוב אזלנא אנה פאבק בר כופיתאי בחילי דנפשי בקומתי גציצא דפרזלא קרקפתי דפרזלא קומת דנורא (2) [דכיא] ולבישנא לבושא דארמסא דביא וממללא וחילינא במן דברא שמיא וארעה אזלית ופגעית בהון (3) בסני בישי ובעילדבבי מרירי אמרת להון דאת מידעם חטיתון ביה באבונא בר גריבתא ובאיבא בר זויתאי אישפנא לכון באישפא (4) דימא ואישפא דליויתן תנינא דאם מידעם חתחטתו חטיתון ביה באבונה בר גריבתא ובאיתתיה ובבניה בי קשתא גיבנא לכון (5) ובי יתרא פשיטנא לכון תוב מידעם בביתיה דפאבק ובקינינה ובכל אינשי ביתיה בידידי אנה אבונה בר גריבתא או באיבא בר זויתאי (6) מחיתנא עליכון שמתא וגזירתא ואחרמתא דאיתנח על חירמון טורא ועל ליויתן תנינא ועל סדום ועל עמורא מיטול למכבש דיוי (7) אזלנא אנה אבונא בר גריבתא וכל רזי בישי ולישן חומרי זידניתא אזלית ופגעית בהון בשידי ובדיוי במבכלתא בישתא ביפתכרי וביסתרתא ניקבתא קימין סידרי סדרין ורפדי מרפדין

Translation

Again I come, I Pâbak bar Kûfithâi, in my own might, on my person polished armor of iron, my head of iron, my figure of pure fire. (2) I am clad with 'the garment of Armasa (Hermes), Dabya and the Word, and my strength is in him who created heaven and earth. I have come and I have smitten (3) the evil Fiends and the malignant Adversaries. I have said to them that if at all you sin against Abûnâ bar Geribtâ and against Ibbâ bar Zâwithâi, I will lay a spell upon you, the spell (4) of the Sea and the spell of the monster Leviathan. (I say) that if at all you sin against Abûnâ b. G., and against his wife and his sons, I will bend the bow against you (5) and stretch the bow-string at you.

Again, whereinsoever you sin against the house of Pâbak and against his property and all the people of his house, in my own right I Abûnâ bar Geribtâ—or against Ibbâ bar Zâwithâi—(6) will bring down upon you the curse and the proscription and the ban which fell upon Mount Hermon and upon the monster Leviathan and upon Sodom and upon Gomorrha. In order to subdue Devils (7) do I come, I Abûnâ b. G., and all evil Sacra-

ments and the tongue of impious Charm-spirits; I have come and smitten the Demons and Devils and evil Tormentors, the Gods (Idol-spirits) and female Goddesses—standing in serried rows and encamped in camps.

Commentary

A mutual charm of two sorcerers, each invoking his powers in turn in the other's behalf. An almost exact replica of the terms of the charm is found in the first part of No. 27. The two men named appear in No. 3, where Pabak's household is the subject of exorcism.

1. תוב: apparently a formal term of introduction; cf. 26: 3. It generally connects the several members of an incantation series. Cf. the "and" introducing the mortuary charm published by me in *JAOS*, 1911, 273. It may be correlative to תוב in l. 5.

פאבק: the Persian Pâpak, Justi, p. 241; cf. Arabic Bâbek, Greek παμβεκος. The name occurs in late Babylonian, Hilprecht and Clay, *BE*, ix, 68.

כופיתאי: Syriac כופיתא is a water-flask with a small mouth. For the character of the name, cf. Hebrew בקבוק, Χοΐζας, *Lu.* 8: 39 =. כחא "wine-pitcher," etc. For the hypocoristic termination in אי—, see to 1: 4. It is parallel in meaning and form to בקבקיה. *Neh.* 11: 17.

נציצא = נציצתא, 27: 3. Comparing the Rabbinic נִין, "a shining spark," and "white earth, gypsum," and נהין, "polish." I understand this word in the sense of "polished armor."

כלה קומתי דנורא = קומת דנורא, 27: 4; the parallel marks the gradual obscuration of magical formulas. Fire is the potent element against witches and demons, as the ancient means for destroying their arts. In Babylonia the fire-god Gibil was the chief god of exorcism in such magic, Tallquist, p. 25 ff.; for other examples in Semitic magic, see Thompson, *Semitic Magic* in Index. Iron, like the other metals, and excelling them, is a potent means against devils, Blau, p. 159; Thompson, in Index; in the *Testament of Solomon* is an anecdote of a devil afraid of iron (*JQR*, xi, 18); Josephus' exorcist used an iron ring. For the western world, see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, i, 50.

2. דכיא I supply from the parallel inscription. After it appear traces of ול, which letters are repeated to make the following word; a fault in the bowl required the rewriting of the characters.

לבישנא לבושא דארמסא: the garment of a potent being carried with it his powers. Compare the assertion by the magician in the charm noted to l. 1, in which he professes to be clad with the magical paraphernalia of Moses, Aaron, David, Solomon, etc., and see above, § 9. There is also to be recalled the magical garment of Marduk in the fourth of the Seven Tablets of Creation, while the magical robe which renders the wearer invisible is common property of folklore.

ארמסא דביא וממללא. ארמסא is found in the parallel bowl No. 27 (along with the rest of this phrase); in 19: 7; in 25: 4 מיטטרון מסא[אר]; in 11: 7 in the spelling ארמים; and in 7: 8, אירמים = Myhrman, l. 4, הירמים. The forms give the clue; ארמים is one of the Syriac spellings for the Greek Ἑρμῆς, e. g. Peshitto to *Acts* 14: 12; הרמים also occurs in Syriac. ארמסא is then the Hermes about whom gathered the extensive mystical cults and literature towards the beginning of the Christian era to which is given the epithet Hermetic. Summary reference may be made here to Reitzenstein's illuminating study *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), also to G. R. S. Mead, *Thrice Holy Hermas,* London and Benares, 1906. The Greek Hermes, the messenger of the gods, was identified with the Egyptian Thot, the divine agent of human illumination—in a word the Logos of the Egyptian religion. This mystical function of Hermes-Thot is evidenced, e. g., by a passage in Justin Martyr: *εἰ γεγενῆσθαι ἐκ θεοῦ λέγομεν Λόγον θεοῦ, κοινὸν τοῦτο ἐστω ἡμῖν τοῖς τὸν Ἑρμῆν λόγον τὸν παρὰ θεοῦ ἀγγελτικὸν λέγουσιν* (*Apol.* i, 22; Migne, *Patrol. gr.,* vi, 57.).

This figure was also adopted in the syncretistic mysticism of the farther East, as the expressions cited from our bowls show. He is the word ממללא (= מלילא, 19: 7),[1] and the Metatron, that mysterious intermediate agency between God and his creation in Jewish Gnosticism (cf. § 13). But this Hermetic theology was not mediated to the Orient through Judaism, but through the Hermetic schools, which appear to have held out, into the twelfth century, in that obstinate center of paganism, Harran. Chwolson has collected the evidence for the survival in that region of the Greek religious philosophies,[2] and Reitzenstein has now trenchantly pointed

[1] The Ἑρμῆς λόγιος or λόγιον: Reitzenstein, *op. cit.,* 43; Abt, *Apologie des Apuleius,* 118.

[2] In his *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus,* 1856. See now Dozy and de Goeje,

out (p. 166 ff.) the essential Hermetic quality of this last remnant of the old pagan philosophy. The magic of the Euphrates valley has caught up probably from Harran the figure of Hermes and easily identified it with the Jewish Metratron, the biblical Enoch, etc.[3] Hermes was the equivalent of the Babylonian Nebo, and a passage in the Mandaic Ginza throws light upon the expression, "clad with the clothing of Armasa"; in the Ginza we have a tradition that the angels invested Nebo with a dress of fire.[4]

The ממללא of our text is then a proper epithet of ארמסא. What is meant by the preceding epithet דביא? It occurs in the parallel text, and also in Stübe's text, l. 5, thus: מיטטרון מלאכה דביה. I suggest that דביה (דביא) means "who-is-in-Yah," an ancient mystical expression for the Logos; cf. the Johannine *πρὸς τὸν θεόν*, and the description of the Son as "in the bosom of his Father," and, "I am in the Father and the Father in me." Compare also 7: 8, יהו ביהו, and note.

3. מרירי (cf. 4: 4), reminiscent of the biblical קטב מ׳, for which see Joel, i, 100.

אבונא: a name of two Amoras.

גריבתא: "scabby"; cf. Gareb, *2 Sa.* 23: 38, and the Palmyrene גריבא, de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale,* no. 141; also the Arabic Juraib, Jarbâ.

איבא: the same name in *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 45. The form is shortened from *Abba,* see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris,* ii, 8.

זויתאי: so the probable reading of the name here and below. It is hypocoristic from זויתא, "corner"; cf. the biblical name Ribḳa = Aram. רבקא, "stall." Is there here a pious allusion to the daughters of Israel as polished corners (זויות) of the temple, *Ps.* 144: 12?

אשיפנא: the verb is found in the Aramaic only in the Syriac, and but rarely, and in the bowls occurs only here.

Nouveaux documents pour l'étude de la religion des Harraniens, in the *Actes* of the 6th International Congress of Orientalists, II, 1, 281.

[3] Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron.,* ed. Kirsch, p. 5, where Hermes and Enoch are identified "by Greek books"; also a reference in Reitzenstein, p. 172, n. 3, to a Hermetic MS. bearing the name of Idris = Enoch. For this Enoch-theosophy see Joel, *Aberglaube,* ii, 16, 19.

[4] *Ginza,* R, p. 54, ed. Petermann; see Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften,* 89.

אישפא דימא וגו׳: the spell on the sea and Leviathan was mightiest in magical history, for it was the first great act of "white magic"; cf. the Marduk legend. A survival of this mystical aspect of creation appears in *Job* 38: 8-11, which concludes: "And He said: thus far shalt thou come and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed"; cf. *Jer.* 5: 22, *Ps.* 104: 6 ff., *Job* 38: 8 ff. The subjection of the abyss is a frequent magical allusion in the papyri, e. g. the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris, l. 3062 ff. (Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 140; Blau, p. 113; Deissmann, *Light,* 258). The sealing of Tehôm is referred to in Targ. Jon. *Ex.* 28: 30.

4. חתחטתו: the scribe began to write the perfect, passed into the imperfect (which we should expect here) with the second letter and returned to the perfect termination; he amended his mistake by rewriting the word. In general the scribes aimed at carefulness. A word so corrected is sometimes deleted with a line.

איתתיה: for the various forms, see Glossary, *s. v.* אינתתא.

בבניה: a Mandaic and also Targumic idiom for בנוהי, Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 144.

בי קשתא וגו׳: בי a form of -ב found in Targums and Talmud (also in the Palestinian charm cited to l. 1). The terms are reminiscent of Marduk's slaying of Tiamat in the Babylonian creation legend: "Marduk made ready bows .... The bow and the quiver he hung at his side"; cf. the praise of Marduk's bow in the fifth tablet (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation,* ii, 63, 83, and fragment cited, p. 207); also numerous biblical parallels: *Hab.* 3: 9, cf. v. 11; *Ps.* 7: 12-14; *Dt.* 32: 41 (where Gressmann, *Isr.-jüd. Eschatologie,* 78, would read אשפה for משפט). As in l. 1 with the clothing of Deity, so here with his magical arms the magician declares himself invested. But the phraseology may be based on magical practice, a symbolical shooting at simulacra, in the same way as these are burnt, peeled off, mutilated, etc. A very similar passage is to be found in one of the Manichaean texts discovered in Chinese Turkestan, in which the conjurer shoots with his bow and arrow at the demon, who falls dead; *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1908, 401.

ניבנא: participial form from נבב; the Peal is unique.

5. חוב: the other part of the mutual charm now begins. The contrast is further expressed by בידידי, "on my part."

או באיבא: this name was omitted in its proper place and is now inserted.

6. אחרמתא: for the prosthetic א see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 24.

על חירמון: a reminiscence of the myth of the confederation of the fallen angels upon Hermon (n. b. √ חרם); see *Enoch* 6: 5 f.: "they named the mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by curses upon it"; also 14: 7 ff. Philo of Byblus also connects the Titans with the Lebanons and other mountains of Syria: "These begat sons of greatest size and superiority, whose names were given to the mountains which they occupied, so that some of them are called Kassion and Libanos and Antilibanos and Brathu."[5] And Hilary of Poitiers adds something to our knowledge of the myth: "Hermon is a mountain in Phoenicia, the interpretation of whose name is *anathema*. Moreover it is the tradition—from whose book it comes I know not,—that the angels lusting after the daughters of men, when they descended from heaven, assembled on this very high mountain."[6] Cf. the anointing of Nebo by the evil gods in the Mandaic mythology, Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, 126 f.

7. סידרי סדרין: construct of accumulation.

רפדי מרפדי: "camping in camps." רפד is very rare in Hebrew and Aramaic, but is frequent in Assyrian, where among several meanings it is found in this sense (cf. the biblical place-name רפידים). מרפד occurs in a MS. cited by Rabbinowicz to *Megilla* 10b: בית מרפידו של אדוני, where מ' = Hebrew שכינה.[7] The variant in 27: 11, מרפדי מרפדי, parallel to סידרי ס', is probably the correct form. The allusion to the serried battalions of the demons is epical, perhaps of mythological origin.

[5] Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* i, 10: 7; text in C. Müller, *Fragm, hist. graec*, iii, 566.

[6] Hilary to Ps. 132: 3, see *Corpus script. eccles, latin.*, xxii, 689.

[7] So on Jastrow's authority, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud*, etc., 1476, but I do not find the reference.

No. 3 (CBS 2963)

בשמך מרי אסואתא אסיא רבא דרחמי מזמן הדין איסרא ורזא וחתמא שרירא לחתמתא
דביתיה דהדין (2) ארדוי בר הורמיזדוך דיזח ויתרחק מיניה דיוא בישא וסטנא בישא
דמיתקרי צפעסק אבדה גברא דקטיל (3) גברא מילות איתתיה ואיתתא מילות בעלה
ובנין ויבנן מין אבוהון ומין אימיהון ביממא ובליליא אומו אומו מתאלך ואשבועי
(4) משבענא עלך דלא תיקטול ית הדין ארדוי בר הורמיזדוך מילות אחת איתתיה
דלא תיקטול ית אחת בת פרכוי מילות ארדוי בעלה (5) ולא תיקטול ית בניהון ויח
בנתהון בין דאית להון ובין דהון להון מין יומא דנן ולעולם לא בליליא ולא ביממא
בישמיה דזעזעזע הסר הסר הסר פעספעספע תמר תמר (6) תמר נקט זהזהזה הסר פעס
חמר קק אסתו יופת יופתיה מין אישתא יקידתא סקסין סין סין סקיון סק שמו קץ שמו
. . . . . הדין הוא שמא רבא דמלאך מותא דח[י]ל מיניה (7) וכד שמע יתיה דחיל
יעריק ומיתבלע מין קדמוהי ומן קדאמיה דהדין ארדוי בר הורמיזדוך ידחול ויעיר[יק] . . . . .
מין אחת איתתיה בת פרכוי ומן כל בניהון ומין (8) כל בנתהון דאית להון ודהון להון
פוטשש אמן בשום סקסן סקסין קק אסתו יופת יופתיה מין אישתא יקידתא סקיון
. . . . . [הדין הוא] שמא רבא דמלאך מותא דחיל מיניה וכד (9) שמע יתיה דחיל
יעריק ומיתבלע מין קדמוהי ומין קדמיה .דהדין ביתא אף השתא ביה בהדין שמא
רבא דדחיל מ[יניה] . . . . . [מין קדם ארדוי בר הורמיז]דוך ומין קדם אחת איתתיה
בת פרכוי (10) ומין קדם בנין ויבנן דאית להון ודהון להון פוטשש אמן ובשום אסתר
יופת יופתיה מין אישתא יקידתא סקסן סקסין סק . . . . . [הדין הוא שמא ר]בא
דמלאך מותא דחיל מיניה וכד שמע יתיה (11) דחיל יעריק ומיתבלע מין קדמוהי כין
אף השתא בשום הדין שמא רבא ידחול ויעריק ויפוק דיוא בישא דק . . . . . (12) אחת
איתתיה בת פרכוי ומין קדם כל בנין ויבנן דאית להון ודהון להון פוטשש שנאמר
ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה בך הבוחיר בירושלם [הלא זה
אוד מוצל מיאש אמן אמן]

Translation

In thy name, O Lord of salvations, the great Saviour of love.

Designated is this spell and mystery and strong seal for the sealing of the household of this (2) Ardôi bar Hormizdûch, that from him may depart and remove the evil Demon and the evil Satan, who is called SP'SK,

the Mighty Destroyer, who kills (3) a man from the side of his wife and a woman from the side of her husband, and sons and daughters from their father and from their mother,—by day and by night *omo, omo,* walking. (4) I adjure thee that thou do not kill off this Ardôi b. H. from Aḥath his wife, and that thou do not kill off Aḥath bath Parkôi from Ardôi her husband, (5) and that thou do not kill off their sons and their daughters, whether those they have or those they shall have, from this day and forever, neither by night nor by day. In the name of Z'Z'Z', ḤSR, ḤSR, ḤSR, P'SP'SP', TMR, TMR, (6) TMR, NḴṬ, ZHZHZH, ḤSR, P'S, TMR, ḲḲ, 'STW, YWPṬ, YWPṬYH, from the burning fire, SḲSYN, SYN, SYN, SḲYWN; SḲ, his name ḲS his name. This is the great name before which the angel of death is afraid, (7) and when he hears it, frightened he flees and is swallowed up before it and (just so) before this Ardôi b. H. shall he fear and flee ..... [and from] Aḥath his wife, bath P., and from all their sons and from (8) all their daughters, whether those they have or those they shall have. PWṬSS, Amen. In the name of ḲḲ, 'STW, YWPṬ, YWPṬYH, from the burning fire, SḲSN, SḲSYN, SḲYWN, ... [This is] the great name before which the angel of death is afraid and when (9) he hears it, frightened he flees and is swallowed up before it and before this household. Moreover now in this great name of which is afraid [the angel of death, etc.—he shall flee from Ardôi b. H.] and from Aḥath his wife b. P., (10) and from sons and daughters, those they have and those they shall have. PWṬSS, Amen. In the name of 'STW, YWPṬ, etc. [This is the great name] before which the angel of death is afraid, and when he hears it (11) frightened he flees and is swallowed up; so moreover now on the authority of this great name shall fear and flee and go forth the evil Demon ..... (from Ardôi, etc.). PWṬSS. According as it is said: "And YHWH said to Satan: YHWH rebuke thee, Satan; YHWH rebuke thee, who chooses Jerusalem. [Is not this a brand plucked from the burning? Amen. Amen.]"

COMMENTARY

A charm for a man and his family against a murderous spirit. The charm consists in magical syllables constituting "this great name" and the formula is repeated four times; see p. 65.

1. מרי: construct = Syr. מרא. מרי אסואתא וג': a frequent epithet in these bowls of the deity invoked, along with אסיא רבא דרחמי, e. g. 7: 1. Cf. the frequent invocation in Pognon's bowls: אנאת אסיא, אנאת אסיא דמאסיא נישימאתא, etc. The theme אסה is equivalent to σώζω in the New Testament and Latin *salus*, German *Heil*, for which modern English offers no synonym, the good old word "health" having been specialized. The word implies a remedy against evil spirits and black magic. It is also used concretely, of the phylactery, "this א", Wohls. 2426: 1.

The epithets here used are interesting as being probably one of the few survivals in these inscriptions of the ancient Babylonian theological terminology; there we have, in the penitential and magical literature innumerable appeals to the love and curative powers of the deities; thus Marduk is god of love and life,[1] Ea is *a-si-e*.[2] And the exact equivalent of אסיא רבא is found as an epithet of Gula, the consort of Ninib: *azugallatu bêltu rabîtu*, "Great Healer, Mighty Mistress"; and of Bau, who became identified with Gula, e. g. *asîtu gallatu*.[4] Ninib was domiciled at Nippur and these epithets of his consort may have been particularly Nippurian, and so have survived in the bowls coming from that locality. I have not been able to discover the parallel masculine epithet for Ninib.[5] This invocation is doubtless pagan, being distinct from the numerous biblical epithets expressive of the love and power of God. It is never associated with the Jewish Divine Name. Σωτήρ is a common epithet of the Greek gods, Zeus, Apollo, Asklepios, Hermes, and is an epithet of the Deity in the N. T., e. g. I *Tim.* 1: 1. Cf. also the Phoenician בעל מרפא, *CIS*, i, no. 379, and *Ex.* 15: 26, אני יהוה רפאך. Also n. b. the common epithets for

[1] *La magie ass.*, Fossey, 323, 365, 369; n. b. his title *rêménû*.

[2] This reference I have not been able to verify.

[3] III R, 41, col. 2: 29; Delitzsch, *Hwb.*, 197a; Schrader, *KB*, iv, 78.

[4] R. C. Thompson, *PSBA*, 1908, 63.

[5] Radau (*BE* xvii, pt. 1, p. ix) endeavors to find the same title for Ninib in his explanation of the Aramaic rendering of NIN-IB, אנושת (see Clay, *JAOS* xxviii, 1907, 135, and Montgomery, *ibid.*, xxix, 204). He interprets it as = *en-usâti*, "lord of help," our very title (cf. Delitzsch, *Beiträge z. Ass.* i, 219, for equivalence of *AZU* with *âsû*), and with the same root. The interpretation would be very agreeable to me in view of the above remarks, but Radau omits to explain the Aramaic rendering of *s* (or *z*) by ש when the Aramaic has the root אסא, while Clay's explanation appears to me the more satisfactory.

the love of God (√ רחם) in the O. T. and Koran, also in the Palmyrene texts.[6] Pradel has collected in his *Griech. u. südital. Gebete,* 42 f., a number of the epithets denoting the healing and merciful character of God; he is there *ἰατρὸς ψυχῶν, ἐλεήμων,* etc.

מזמן וג׳: a standing introductory formula in these bowls (with כסא, etc.). זמן, Pael, appears to be used in the sense in which the Peshitto has it as the rendering of the Hebrew הקדיש, "sanctify," e. g. *Josh.* 7: 13, *Jer.* 12: 3. Cf. the religious connotation of the parallel root—יעד.

For חתמתא as a *pa"âl* formation see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* 121. Cf. the Mandaic forms and formula cited by Lidzbarski, *Eph.* i, 96, n. 1: חאתאמתא וזאראזתא ונאטארתא. The "charm, mystery, seal," are identical, and refer to the Great Name of the incantation. For the identity of name and seal, see Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 143, 150, etc.

2. ארדוי: hypocoristicon in *-ôi,* abundant, with variants in *-âi* and *î,* in these texts (see Nöldeke, *Persische Studien,* in *Sitzungsberichte,* phil.-hist. Class, of the Vienna Academy, 1888, p. 387.). The name is formed from one of the numerous Persian names in *ard-* or *art-;* it occurs in Myhrman's text, see his note, p. 349.

חורמיזדוך: a frequent Persian name see Justi, p. 10.

יזה, or יזה = יזע, from זוע or זעע; but as יזה, from זחח (found in Heb., *Ex.* 28: 28, cf. the Aramaic זוח), see the forms יזרחן, 10: 6, יזחן, 12: 10, אתאזחא, Pognon, B. יזה, 31: 3.

"Demon, Satan, Destroyer," all epithets of the one demon; cf. above pp. 58, 68.

צפעסק: with reversal of the alphabetic order of the first four letters—to indicate the *bouleversement* of the demon?

אבדה גברא: *abbâda gabbârâ, abbâd* not otherwise found; for the formation cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 115. Notice that the Hebrew and Greek Abaddon is represented in *Rev.* by *ὁ ἀπολλύων,* as though the original was a noun of agent, not an abstract. The epithet = המלאך המשחית, 2 *Sa.* 24: 16, המשחית, *Ex.* 12: 23, the Samaritan מחבלא, etc.

3. ויבנן: for the vocalization of the conjunction cf. וידלא, 14: 6;

[6] Baethgen, *Beiträge,* 82 f., Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 153.

וילשלהיבת, 14: 7, etc. The conjunction is also similarly pointed in *Targum Onkelos,* Dt. 14: 37 (ed. Berliner), ויחלף; see Berliner's note, ii, 140.

אימיהון: the half-vowel after מ is indicated, as in Mandaic.

אומו אומו מתאלך: thus the uncanny stealthy movements of the demon are expressed.

4. אחת: probably the first element in such a name as אחתראבוה, "sister of her father," cf. אחדבוי, "brother of his father," a frequent name in the Talmud. Cf. biblical אחאב, and the Babylonian Aḥatbu, Aḥatšuna, Aḥat-immišu, etc. (Tallquist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch,* 3), and similar names in the Glossary.

פרכוי: hypocoristic of Persian Farruchan, Justi, p. 94 ff.

5. דהן = hâwên, cf. מחן, רמן, 6: 4, pl. ppl. with future sense, as common in Syriac.

דנן: appears only in this phrase, so 16: 13, 19: 20, is archaic and seldom in Talmud; for the pronouns see end of Glossary C.

6. "From the burning fire," i. e. of hell. For the threatening of demons with pangs of hellfire, see Pradel, 21, l. 11 ff.; for the threatening of demons in general cf. the Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 1227 ff. (ed. Wessely), and see in general Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo,* 78.—The angel of death appears in Schw. F. The charm of which he is afraid is *à potiori* more fearful to the demon.

7. יעיריק: for the second י representing the *šewâ,* cf. the Sabbioneta text of *Targum Onkelos,* ed. Berliner, to *Ex.* 21: 13, *Num.* 35: 26. For *u* in ידחול, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* 219. N. B. the two prepositional forms קראמוהי and קדמיה along side of each other, the latter attributed to the "Palestinian" dialect by Dalman, *Gram. d. jüd.-pal. Aramäisch,* 181.

The Great Name, or True Name, at which devils and all things created tremble and flee away, is a common thesis in the Greek magic: Wessely, xlii,[1] 65, *ad infra*: the God of Israel whom the heavens bless and (the oceans?) fear and every devil trembles; Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 140, l. 55 ff: the name at which trembles the Gehenna of fire and every mountain trembles; Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln,* no. 4, l. 44 (with editor's notes), and no. 5,

[1] "Neue griech. Zauberpapyri" in *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy, phil.-hist. Class, xlii, 2: his earlier publication in vol. xxxvi is cited as "xxxvi."

l. 21. It is not necessarily a Jewish phrase, Wessely, xxxvi, 50, l. 244 ff: "This is the primitive (πρωτευον) name of Typhon at which trembles earth, deep, hell, heaven," etc. Cf. Heitmüller, pp. 148, 231, for citations from the Fathers, and Pradel, p. 40 f., for Greek magic. Dieterich regards this trembling before the Name as of Orphic origin, p. 141.

The bowl CBS 16093 is almost identical in text with this one, and bears the same design. It is about two-thirds as long. Its clients are the couple named in Nos. 32 and 35. Also another bowl (unnumbered) is practically the same as the present text, but shorter, with the same design. also made out for the clients of Nos. 32 and 35.

No. 4 (CBS 2923)

מיטלי דלמיכל מלאכין קדישין וכל ורוחי בישתא ולישן חמרין זידני זידניתא אהשתא כבישיתון אסיריתון אסירין אסיריתון וחתימיתון בחדא מן ארבע (2) זוית ביתיה מיחטא לא תיחטון ביה בפאבק בר כופיתאי ולא נסכלון ביה בכל אינשי ביתיה ולא בליליא ולא (3) ביממא מיטול דאסרנא לכון באיסרא בישא [ובחתמא] שרירא תוב אסרנא לכון באיסורא דאסירי ביה אחנוך אחוי בישי תוב (4) אסרנא לכון באיסורא בישא ומרירא תוב אסרנא [לכון באי]סורא דאתסרו ביה שבעה כוכבין ותרין עשר מלוישין מלויאשין עד יומא רבא (5) דדינא ועד שעתא רבתי דפרקנא דראישיכון לא תי . . . לא תיחטון בהון באבונא בר גריבתא ואכסלי לא נסכלון בהון בכל אינשי ביתיה דפאבק (6) בר כופיתאי לא בליליא ולא ביממא מיטול דחתומ[י מחת]ם ביתיה וזרוזי מזרז ושורא רבא דנחשא אחדרית ליה אנה דבעית נקטית ודשאילית נסבת (7) אתון בתריה דאבונא בר גריבתא ובתריה דפאבק בר כופיתאי

Translation

Covers to hold in sacred Angels and all evil Spirits and the tongue of impious Amulet-spirits. Now you are conquered, you are charmed; charmed, you are charmed and sealed in each one of the four (2) corners of his house. You shall not sin against Pâbak bar Kûfithâi, nor shall any do folly against him, against all the people of his house, either by night nor (3) by day; because I have bound you with an evil charm and a sure [seal]. Again, I have charmed you with the charm with which Enoch was charmed by his wicked brothers. Again I charm you with an evil and galling seal. Again, (4) I charm you with the seal with which were charmed the Seven Stars and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac unto the great day (5) of judgment, and to the great hour of the redemption of your heads: you shall not ..., nor sin against them, against Abûnâ bar Geribtâ, and none shall at all do folly against them, namely the people of the household of Pâbak (6) b. K., neither by night nor by day, because well sealed is his house and well armed, and with a great wall of

bronze have I surrounded it. *I,* what I desire I grasp, and what I ask I take. (7) *You* are in the place of Abûnâ b. G. and in the place of Pâbak b. K.

Commentary

A general charm against all evil spirits, made out for the Pâbak of No. 3. The introductory lines are of interest as they definitely settle the use of these bowls (§ 8). The design represents the sorcerer waving his bough, see p. 55.

1. מיטלי דלמיכל : מ׳ is to be identified with the plural of the Syriac *mᵉṭallᵉthâ, mᵉtallê,* or *maṭṭᵉlê;*[1] the י probably represents the pronunciation *mcṭṭᵉlê.* The second word מיכל is the infinitive of כול, "contain," whose original meaning is retained in the Hebrew, even in the sense of holding in with force, e. g. *Jer.* 6: 11, over against the later meaning of "measure."

מלאכין קדישין: See p. 79; also cf. חומריא קאדישאתא, *Ginza,* ed. Petermann, p. 231, l. 10, and the Mandaic רוחא דקודשא.

ורוחי: the first letter was written by inadvertence.

זידני זידניתא : case of dittography.

אהשתא: for the prosthetic א, cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 32.

3. דאסירי ביה וג׳: we find here the idiom of the active use of the passive participle, as in Neo-Syriac; see Nöldeke, *Gram. d. neusyrischen Sprache,* §§ 103, 143. An approximate use of this participle in verbs meaning "to carry," etc., and also with אסר is found in classical Syriac (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 280). But in these instances the participle is middle voice in meaning; thus אסיר כלילא means, "he bound himself with a crown." In the present case the participle has assumed a completely active sense, with an object other than the subject.

אחנוך : this spelling is found in a passage from the lexicon of Karmsedinoi, quoted by Payne-Smith, col. 266, *s. v.* אנטיכריסטוס.

אחוי : "his brother" and "his brothers" have the same spelling, differing as *-ûhi* and *ôhi;* the forms in *-ûi, ôi* are Mandaic, and also Palestinian.

There is reminiscence here of a cycle of personal legends concerning Enoch which have been preserved only in the Arabic, see Weil, *Biblische*

[1] See Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 59.

Legenden der Musselmänner, p. 62, a compilation from manuscript sources.[2] According to these legends Enoch (Idrîs), who foretold the flood, suffered at the hands of the wicked Cainites, even as Abraham was made a martyr for his faith. Our passage must refer to some spell laid upon Enoch by his adversaries. The early Samaritan theologian Marḳa (fourth century) cites a book of the Wars of Enoch, which may have contained these traditions.[3] A spell laid by the wicked on a saint was *à fortiori* potent; see above, p. 64, for other apocryphal examples. For Enoch in incantations, cf. 19: 17.

מלויאשין: the word is written twice; in the first case the scribe omitted the א, then inserted it above the line, and on second thought rewrote the word correctly. It is the Syriac and Mandaic מאלואסא. The first י is unique; it is to be classed with the phenomena noticed by Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, 223, where, e. g. *-yûn* for *-ûn*.

יומא רבא, שעתא רבתי: cf. "the great day," Hexaplaric Syriac to *Is.* 1: 13, the New Testament "that day and that hour," the Syrian Ephrem's expression, "the hour of judgment" (ed. Lamy, iii, 583), and the Arabic "the hour." For the feminine form רבתי, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, 145.

In lines 4, 5, we are introduced to an extensive and ancient cycle of myths concerning the relation of the Seven Stars (the planets with sun and moon) and the twelve zodiacal signs, with the creator of the kosmos. There were two distinct developments in this mythology; in the polytheistic development the planets became highest deities. But in what we may call the monotheistic trend of thought, in which one of the gods, like Marduk became monarch, or, as in Israel's faith Yahwe is the sole God, stress is laid upon the antithesis between the Creator-God and those celestial divinities. The present regulated orbits of the planets and the fixed positions of the zodiacal constellations signify that these beings, once autonomous, have been brought into subjection to a higher god. In process of time they came to be regarded as "spirits in prison." Thus Tiâmat became, when slain, the fixed firmament (or the zodiac?), while, according to Zimmern, *KAT*, 502, the eleven Helpers of Tiâmat are the twelve signs of the zodiac, *minus* that of the Bull, the sign of Marduk

[2] For the later Jewish Enoch literature see *Jew. Enc.* i, 676.

[3] See Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, 224.

himself. This unfavorable attitude toward the celestial bodies is thus ancient. The monotheistic trend was native to the Hebrew theology, and in line with it we have the passage in *Is.* 24: 21 ff., according to which "the host of the height on high," as well as the kings of the earth are punished, being bound in prison. For the later theology the Book of Enoch is a good witness; e. g. 18: 13 ff.: "I saw there seven stars as great burning mountains. When I inquired about it, the angel said: This is the place where heaven and earth are at end; this is a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. The stars which revolve over the fires are they which at the beginning of their origin transgressed the command of God for they did not come forth at their time. Then he became angry at them, and bound them for 10,000 years, till the time when their sin is accomplished" (cf. 21: 6). The "spirits in prison" of 1 *Pet.* 3: 18 ff. is in line with the same notion, depending directly upon *Is.* 24: 21 ff., and we may compare the invidious use of "planets" in *Jude* 13, in the expression ἀστέρες πλανῆται.[4]

But our text also bears witness to another development of the myth. The "binding" of the Seven Stars and the zodiacal signs was for a fixed term. According to the passage quoted from *Enoch,* it was for 10,000 years. In the Isaianic passage, a term is fixed: "after many days shall they be visited."[5] In *Peter* the ancient myth is revived in the notion of Christ preaching to the spirits in prison. It is left somewhat obscure what shall take place when "they shall be visited," or when "their sin is accomplished" (with *Enoch*). Exegetes differ over יפקדו in Isaiah, whether the verb is to be understand favorably (of a visitation for release) or unfavorably (of chastisement). Also the Petrine preaching to the spirits in prison is understood by commentators in equally opposite ways. In our text the term of "the great day" and "the great hour" is evidently to be one of release to the stars bound in prison. There appears to be applied here the idea of a universal Apokatastasis. Now for this notion of the redemption of the imprisoned celestial deities we have a basis in Babylonian

[4] See Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis,* c. i, "Die Sieben." In the Mandaic system the seven planets and twelve signs have become utterly evil. In this line of thought, taken up by magic, there is, I think, an open anthesis to astrological fatalism.

[5] There is literal reference to this passage in No. 34: 6,— בפוקדנא. There is possibility of confusion between פורקנא and פוקדנא.

mythology. In Tablet vii, l. 27 f. of the Epic of Creation (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*), among the titles given to Marduk are: "Who had mercy upon the captive gods; who removed the yoke from upon the gods his enemies." And Pinches has now published a text ("Legend of Merodach," in *PSBA*, 1908, 53 ff.) which is a late supplement to that epic, and apparently continues the theme of the release of the captive gods: "He (Marduk) goes down to the prison, he rises to approach the prison. He opened the gate of the prison, he comforts them. He looked upon them then, all of them; he rejoices. Then the captive gods looked upon him. Kindly the whole of them regarded him." The "day of redemption" of our text is therefore in line with this Babylonian myth, and probably the passages from *Isaiah* and 1 *Peter* are also to be explained in consonance with it. This mythical trace probably descends from the Enoch literature.

5. Abuna is intruded awkwardly.— אסכלי for אסכולי.

6. זרוי מזרז: the root זרז (מזרז, זריז) is found elsewhere in these bowls, and also in those of Pognon and Lidzbarski (see Glossary C). It is used in parallelism with אסר, etc., in preventive magic. The verb means in the Aramaic dialects "to arm." But Pognon (B, 74) assumes for the noun זאראזתא the meaning "admonition," and Lidzbarski (*Eph.* i, 96, n.) the sense of "binding up" a letter, etc. But there is no necessity in departing from the common meaning; it refers to the magical armament of persons and things with power to resist the forces of evil; so a passage in the *Ginza*: "Arm yourselves with arms not of iron" (ed. Petermann, p. 25, l. 20). That is, it is the magical equipment of a person or charm against evil. Paul may have been making use of well-known magical language when he exhorted the Ephesians to "put on the panoply of God," *Eph.* 6: 13. The following phrase, "a great wall of bronze," is equally parabolic;, bronze possessed atropaic use in magic, like the other metals; cf. 15: 7, and see Pauly-Wissowa, i, 50; a Talmudic instance, *Sabb.*, 66b.

אנה דבעית וגי׳: our magician displayed the same assurance in No. 2. At least this confidence had its psychological effect on the client.

אתתן בתריה: "hoist with their own petard"!

No. 5 (CBS 2952)

[אם]ירי אסירין וחתימי חתימין וקטירי קיטרין ולחישין לחישין בשום תיעדון ותיחתטון
ותירחקון מין ביתיה . . יה דפרוך בר פושבי וניונדוך בת פושבי ויתּ אבנדוך בת
פושבי ותינזח מינהון (2) כל לילילתא (*sic*) בישתא וכל שידי ודיוי ואסרי ופתכרי וגדרא
ולוטתא וקריתא וחרשין בישין ועובדין תקיפין וכל מינדעם סניא אסיריתון בשבעה
איסרין וחתימיתון (3) בשבעה חתמין בישמיה דאלדדביה אבי פּוּנן מרי ביזא וקללא
אלנדמ. . . [אשב]עית עליכו בשום הסר הגדול שתישמור ית (פרוך בת (elided
פרוך בר פושבי ויתּ ניונדוך בת (4) פושבי מן עינא בישתא ומן סטנא תקיפא ומן . . . . .
ומישעירים בישביל דחמד הרבים בשום יהוה אה באה אמן אמן סלה (5) על פי יהוה
יחנו על פי יהוה יסעו את משמרת יהוה שמרו על פי יהוה ביד משה ויאמר יהוה אל
הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה (6) בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אודו (*sic*)
מוצל מאש אמן אמן סלה

Two lines on either side of figure in center.

(7) אהעה להלה אמן אמן סלה

אמר אשר משה אמן אמן סלה

Translation

Wholly charmed and sealed and bound and enchanted [are ye], that ye go away and be sealed and depart from the house [and property?] of Farrûch bar Pušbî and Nêwândûch bath Pušbî and Abândûch bath Pušbî, and that there depart from them (2) all evil Liliths and all Demons and Devils and Spells and Idol-spirits, and the Vow and the Curse and the Invocation, and evil Arts and mighty Works and everything hostile. Ye are bound with the seven spells and sealed (3) with the seven seals in the name of Eldedabya Abi Ponan, lord of spoil and curse ..... I conjure against you in the name of the great Prince, that thou keep Farrûch b. P. and Nêwândûch b. P. (4) from the Evil Eye and from the mighty Satan, and from ... and from the many Satyrs in the road of Hamad, in the name of YHWH, 'H, B'H. Amen, Amen, Selah. (5) "According

to the mouth of YHWH they would encamp, and according to the mouth of YHWH they would march; the observance of YHWH they kept according to the mouth of YHWH by Moses." "And YHWH said to Satan: YHWH rebuke thee, Satan, YHWH rebuke (6) thee who chose Jerusalem. Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?" Amen, Amen, Selah.

COMMENTARY

A general incantation against evil spirits for a man and his two sisters. The latter half Hebraizes.

1. The duplication of the ppls. is for intensity, "twice charmed." קיטרין error for קטירין. — לחישין, the only instance of this verb in the bowl-texts.

פרוך: cited by Payne Smith, col. 3246; cf. *Farruchan* and composites in *farruch*, Justi, p. 95 f.— פושבי?

אבנדוך, ניונדוך: Justi, pp. 228, 1.

ויתּ: by heedlessness of construction; cf. l. 3.

תנזח: נזח (also Talmudic) = זחח, see to 3: 2.

2. אסרי: the place of the term in the list shows that the charms were regarded as personal entities. Cf. above, p. 86.

"Seven spells," etc.; cf. the fever-remedy in *Sabb.* 66b, "7 twigs from 7 trees, 7 nails from 7 bridges," etc., etc. For this magical number in the Talmud, see Blau, pp. 73, 86, who quotes the Jewish maxim כל השביעין חביבין.

3. אלדרביה וגי: obscure, probably name of a genius; אבי may indicate his paternal relation to another well-known genius. For רביה cf. 2: 2.

"The great Prince": the technical title for Michael (see p. 97). It is to be observed that this bowl is peculiarly Jewish in theological form, while the following adjurations are in Hebrew. The double use of אשבעית introduces a mixed construction here. The verb generally is used of exorcism, with על of the object, = ἐξορκίζω. But at the same time he *adjures* the great Prince, whom he addresses in the second person. All these terms denoting magical binding could be used indifferently of the good and evil genii. The angel is adjured in Hebrew, which according to belief was the only tongue the angels knew.

4. "The hobgoblins in the way of Hamad, the many"; cf. the Rodwell-Halévy bowl in which a geographical location is given, "upon the road to Huṣi," and Wohls. 2417, a demon who dwells in Samki. The reference is to the demons which beset some particular road. For the satyrs see p. 80. הרבים in the text is awkward.

5. Literal quotations from *Num.* 9: 23 (cf. 26: 1 f.). The applicability of this quotation lies in its triple use of the efficacious word שמר (as above in l. 3). Hence the magical use of such Psalms as the 121st, 122d, the Aaronic Blessing, etc. Later Kabbalism, found in the theme the abbreviation of שדים מזיקים רוחות, see Schwab, *Notices et Extraits* of the Paris National Library, xxxvi, 1 (1899), 288.

7. There is no evident sense in these words around the figure. אהעה and אשר are reminiscent of the interpretation of the Name, *Ex.* 3: 14; להלה = "avaunt"?, משה = Moses.

No. 6 (CBS 2916)

כיבשא דכבשין להון לשידי ולדיוי ולסטני ולפיתכרי (2) ולרוחי בישתא ולחומרי זידניתא ולגיסי וקיבלי ולילית דיכרי (3) וניקבתא דלוין עימהון דאדק בר חאתוי ודאחת בת האתוי דלוין עימהון ודשרין (4) בגובתיהון ודדבין על איסכופתהון ומידמן להון בידמו דמו ומחן ורמן וקטלין וכיבשא הדין (5) כבישנא להון ביומי בירחי ובכל שני ויומא הדין מיכולהון יומי וירחא הדין מיכולהון ירחי ושתא הדא (6) מיכולהין שני ועידנא הדין מיכולהון עידני ואזינא וחברנא להון באיסכופת בתיהון דנא דנא וצארנא וחתימנא עליהון צירין פיתחיהון (7) וכל אינרהון וכיבשא הדין כבישנא להון בשום הלין שבע מילין דישמיא וארעה כבישין בהין בשום חדא גישמין ומרביל בשום (8) תינינתא גישמין ומרביל בשום תליתיתא מרביל בשום רביעיתא משבר בשום חמישיתא מורה בשום שתיתא ארדיבל בשום שביעיתא כיבשין דיבהון (9) כביש ע. . . . . בהון תיתכבשון כל רוחי בישתא וחומרי זידניתא ולילית דיכרי וניקבתא וגיסי וקיבלי ומללתא ולא תיתחזן להון לאדק בר חאתוי ולאחת בת חאתוי (10) ול. . . . . לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינתא דיממא ולא תיקרבון לסיטרא דימינהון ולסיטרא דישמלהון ולא תיקטלון בניהון ולא תישילטון בכל קינינהון דאית (11) להון ודהוי להון מן יומא דין ולעולם ומן דעל הדין כיבשא ניבר והלין רזין לא מקביל ניפקא בי אווא וניצטרי בי בינא וניזם במיזם נחשה ניזיל קליה בגינלי שמיא (12) וניחוי דיריה בשבע שאול דימה ומן יומא דין ולעלם אמן אמן סלה

Translation

A *press* which is *pressed* down upon Demons and Devils and Satans and impious Amulet-spirits and Familiars and Counter-charms and Liliths male (3) and female, that attach themselves to Adaḳ bar Ḥâthôi and Aḥath bath Ḥâthôi—that attach themselves to them, and dwell (4) in their arch-ways, and lurk by their thresholds, and appear to them in one form and another, and that strike and cast down and kill. And this *press* (5) I *press* down upon them in days and in months and in all years, and this day out of all days, and this month out of all months, and this year (6) out of all years, and this season out of all seasons. And I come and put a spell for them in the thresholds of this their house, and I seal and bind them. Fastened up are their doors (7) and all their roof.

And this *press* I *press* down upon them by means of these seven words, by which heaven and earth are charmed: in the name of the first, *Gišmîn* and *Marbîl;* of the second, *Gišmîn* and *Marbîl;* of the third, *Marbîl;* of the fourth, *Mašbar;* of the fifth, *Môrah;* of the sixth, *Ardibal;* of the seventh *Kibšîn* (presses), with which is *repressed* (9) ..... with them are *repressed* all evil Spirits and impious Amulet spirits and Liliths male and female and Familiars and Counter-charms and Words, that they appear not to Adaḳ b. Ḥ. and to Aḥath b. Ḥ. (10) and to ..... neither in dream by night nor in sleep by day, and that they approach neither their right side nor their left, and that they kill not their children, and that they have no power over their property, what they have (11) and what they shall have, from this day and forever.

And whoever will transgress against this *press* and does not accept these rites, shall split asunder violently and burst in the midst, and the sound of him shall resound with the resonance of brass in the spheres of heaven, (12) and his abode shall be in the seventh (?) hell of the sea, from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A charm in behalf of a couple (each with a mother of the same name) and their household; the incantation consists in seven magical words, and concludes with a threat against any who destroy the bowl and ignore its ban.

1. כיבשא: cf. מיטלי, 4: 1, and see § 8. Cf. the verb, l. 5. N. B. similar use of כבש in *Pesiḳta R.* 16 (Jastrow, p. 611): the sacrifices are "presses because they press down the sins."

2. ניסי, also 12: 9, in both places before קיבלי. Out of several possibilities of interpretation I suggest that of נ' in the sense of "side" (cf. 34: 4), and then one who is familiar (Jastrow, *s. v.*), hence = the πάρεδρος or familiar spirit of the Greek magic; e. g. the ὀνειροπομποί and πάρεδροι in Justin Martyr, *Ap.* i, 18, Eusebius, *H. E.,* iv, 7: 9, occurring also in the magical papyri, Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 161, n. They may be the genii invoked by manipulation or rubbing of the amulet as in the Arabian Nights. In Arabic superstition we learn of the "follower," *tâbi'u,* that accompanies the bewitched man, Nöldeke, *ZDMG,* xli, 717. And cf. the

Satan who is a "comrade" to an evil man, *Karîn,* in the Koran (e. g. 41: 24), see van Vloten, *WZKM,* vii, 182 ff., גיסא could be the Syriac word for marauding troop, an appropriate description for a demoniac species, but the meaning given above is more appropriate in the context.

3. אדק: cf. the Persian name Adaces, in Ammianus, see Justi, p. 2, and cf. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien,* 417.

חאתוי: cf. the Syriac name *Ḥâthî,* "my sister," cited by Payne Smith, col. 1408, here with the Persian diminutive ending.

גובתיהן: the Syriac גובא, "transverse beam," hence probably door lintel,—so Payne-Smith, col. 670; radically the word refers to the *arch* of the doorway. For the abodes of the demons, see p. 76.

בדמו דמו: the same phrase in the Mandaic, Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 216, 2.

מחן, רמן: cf. *Mk.* 9: 14 ff., *Lu.* 6: 4.

5. For the selection of a special day for the exorcism, see p. 55.

6. אוינא: unique form; אזל is treated in some forms as though אזז, and here metaplastically as אזא.

חברנא: the only occurrence in the bowls of this ancient magical term. —The root צור is used here not in its Aramaic sense.

בתיהן = ביתהן, cf. l. 4.

7. אינרהן: cf. *Pesaḥ.* 111b, רבי אינרי, of the demons.

8. These magical words are wholly obscure; see § 11.

10. "Sleep by day": cf. the special term in 7: 16. The midday siesta was perilous, especially for those in the fields; in the Greek superstition this was the chosen time for attacks by the satyrs and fauns, whose place was taken in Jewish legend by the קטב מרירי a demon representing sun-stroke, etc. See Grünbaum, *ZDMG,* xxxi, 251 f., and Roscher, *Ephialtes.*

Magical protection at right and left hand is frequently referred to in Babylonian sorcery; e. g. the *Utukki*-series iii, 93 (Thompson, i, 11); or four deities surround the sorcerer, in front and back, at right and left, *ibid.,* iii, 142; the *Maḳlu*-series, vi, l. 123 f. Cf. 13: 7.

תישילטון: for the new vowel see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 25.

11. The penalty for infraction of the charm is bombastic enough! For the threatening of demons, see above, on 3: 6.

ניבר, ניפקא: Mandaizing spelling for נעבר, נפקע; also אחא = עחא. A dialectic formula may be used here. N. B. נ of the preformative, ניזם from Syr. זמם, and נינלי is Syriac over against the Rabbinic and Mandaic forms.

12. "In the seventh hell" (with awkward use of the numeral) in contrast to the seventh heaven. For the seven hells, see Eisenmenger, ii, 302, 328 f.

No. 7 (CBS 16007)

This bowl is a replica to that published by Dr. Myhrman of Upssala (No. 16081), see above p. 20. The latter is more perfect than my text, in fact almost the only perfect one in the collection; for this reason and also for the value of comparing the numerous variants I give the two texts in parallel, making such emendations as appear necessary in the first-published text, which amount chiefly to the proper grammatical distinction of *yod* and *waw* and *he* and *ḥeth*. It may be observed that the designs in the two bowls differ: in 16007 merely a circle enclosing a cross, in 16081, a linear figure, the stem surmounted by a head capped, at the other end a pitchfork-like termination (the forked tail of the demon?), while four rays represent the limbs. On either side of the figure are three characters like the Greek Σ, or looked at from the side like ש, with which we may compare the ש's shuffled into Pognon's texts, see p. 60. For convenience of reference I give the same line-numbering to Myhrman's text as to my own.

In the commentary I make such few notes as are necessary on Dr. Myhrman's ably edited text.

16081 (Myhrman)	16007
בישמך מרי חתמתא	בישמך מרי אסותא
(2) אסיה רבה דרחמי צארנא	(2) אסיא רבא דרחמי צארנא
לכון וחתמנא (3) לכון	לך וחתימנא (3) ומחתימנא לך
	נפשיה ביתיה וקינינה דהדין
גיי (4) בר אספנז ומשכוי אתתה	יזידאד (4) בר איזדנדוך
בת סימוי וארדוי ברה וכל בני	
ובנתא דהון להון וביתיהון כולה	
בישמיה דאלהא רבה ובחתמא רבה	בישמיה דאלהא רבא ובחתמא רבא
דשדי (5) ובציצי דצבאות	דשדא אל (5) וְבציצי דצבאות ובזיוא
	רבא דקדוש
דיזעון ויזדזעון ויפקון כל שידי	דיזיעון ויזדעזעון ויפקון כל שידי צ...
(6) ודיוי וירורי ורוחי בישאתא ותומרי	(6) וכל סטנין תקיפין
זידניתא וכל שדין וכל דיוין	

מן כולה הדין ביתא ומן כל בני אינשא
דשרן בה
(7) תוב צארנא לכון ומחתימנא לכון

ניי (8) בר אספנז ומשכוי אתתה וארדוי
ברה וביתא הדין כולה וביתא מישכבה
בשום גבריאל ומיכיאל ובשום רפיאל
ועסיאל ובהרמים מריא רבא
בשום יהו ביהו (9) ואבהו רבה
ואברכם רבה מנטרנא דרוחי טבתא
ומחבלנא דרוחי בישתא ומנטרנא לכון
ומנחרנא לכון ומחתימנא לכון

(10) ניי ומשכוי וארדוי אילין וביתא הדין
כולה
דלא יחטון להון
כל שידי (11) וכל דיוי וכל מבכלי וכל

ליליתא ומבכלתא וכל פתכרי ולוטתא
וענקתא וכל סטני קשיי

וכל מזיקין (12) בישין
דמין ידי דילי מהנפיקנא להון

בשום פרנגין בר פרנגין דמן קדמוהי
זעא ימא ומבתרוהי טורין זעיין

ובישמיה (13) דבר משתאיל דגזירתא
גזירא ובר אינש על מטרתיה לא עבר
הא רזא הדין לבטלא יתכון שידי ודיוי
וליליתא ומבכלתא ולוטתא וענקתא
וקריתא [ופתכ]רי ופתכרתא

מן ביתיה ומן דירתיה ומן כול פנריה
דהדין יזידאד בר א[יזדנדוך]
(7) תוב צארנא לך ואחתימנא ומחתימנא לך
נפשיה ו[ביתי]ה וקיניניה וביתי מישכביה
ד[יזידאד (8) בר] איזדנדוך

בשום גבריאל ומיכיאל ורפיאל ובשום
עסאל עסיאל מלאכה ואירמים מ[ריא רבא
בשום יהו ביהו] (9) ואבהו רבא
ואברכם רבא מנטרנא דרוחי טבאתא
ו[מחב]לנא דרוחי בישאתה מנטרנא ליכי
נפשיה [ביתיה דירתיה] (10) וקינינה
דהדין
יזידאד בר איזדנדוך ומחתימנא ליכי
נפשה בית[ה ודי]רתה דהדא מירדוך
בת באנאי דלא יחטון בכון
כל ח[רשין בי]שין (11) וכל סרנין אפיקי
וכל
ענקתא וכל קריתא וכל לוטתא וכל
יְצְעֲרי וכל. . . . וכל כורהני קשיי וכל
סטני בישי וכל פת[כרי וכל ח]ומרי
זידנ[יתא] וכל מזיקי (12) תקיפי
דמן תחית ידי דילי מפיקנא להון מן הדין
ביתא
בשום פרנגין בר פרנגין דמן קדמוהי
זע ימא ומן בתרוהי זיעין טורין [ביש]מיה
דהה הה
[וב]ישמיה (13) דבר משתאל דגזירתיה
גזירא ובר אינש על מטרתיה לא עבר
הא רזא הדין לבטלא [י]תכון
רזי חרשי ומי מחראשי וזיפי וכוסי
וקי[ט]רי ונידרי וענקתא ו[קריתא]
ולוטתא (14) ורוחי בישאתא וחומרי
זידניאתה

ואפקא שידי ושידניאתה ולילי ולילאתה
(14) ופנעי וסטני וכל מזיקין ופנעי וסטני בישי וכל מזיקי בישי
דמידמן דמידמן [ו]כל מזיקין בישין
בידמות שיקצא ורימסא ובידמות חיתא בידמות שיקצא ורימסא ובדמות חית[א]
[וע]ופא (15) ובידמות גברא ואתתה ועופא (15) ובדמות גברא ואיתתא
ובכל דמו ובכל גונין בטילו ופוקו ובכל דמו ובכל גונין בטילו ופוקו
מן מין ביתיה ומין דירתיה ומין כוליה
גיי פגריה דהדין יזידאד בר איזדנוך
ומשכוי ומין מירדוך איתתיה בת באנאי
וארדוי אילין ומין בניהון ומין בנתהון ומין כל
ולא תיחטון בהון אינשי ביתיהון
(16) ולא תיחבלון בהון חבלא בישא (16) דלא תיחבלון בהון כל חבאלא בישא
ולא תירדון בביתתהון (*sic*) ולא תישנון יתהון ולא תיפרדון יתהון
ולא תיחטון בהון
ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמהון דליליה ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא
ולא בשינתהון דיממא מן יומא דין בשחרתא דיממא מן יומא דנן
ולעולם אמן אמן סלה ולועלם אמן אמן סלה
— — — ועוד מומינא ומשבענא

(17) עלך יטרידך סרא רבא מפסים גרמך ומעדי שׁוּרבתך ובשבעין גברין דנקיטין שבעין מנלין חריפאתא למִקטל בהון כל שידין בישין ולשיציה בחין כל מבכלין זידנין מסחפין גונדין ורמי על ערסיהון אמן אמן סלה הללויה

Translation

In thy name, O Lord of salvations, (2) the great Saviour of love.

I bind to thee and seal (3) and counterseal to thee, the life, house and property of this Yezidâd (4) bar Izdândûch; in the name of the great God, and with the seal of Shadda El, (5) and by the splendor of Sebaoth, and by the great glory of the Holy One: that all ... Demons and all mighty Satans remove and betake themselves and go out (6) from the house and from the dwelling and from the whole body of this Yezîdâd b. I.

(7) Again I bind to thee (Myhrman, to you) and seal and counterseal to thee (M. to you) the life and house and property and bedchamber of Yezîdâd (8) b. I., in the name of Gabriel and Michael and Raphael, and in the name of the angel 'Asiel and Ermes (Hermes) the great Lord. [In

the name of Yahu-in-Yahu] (9) and the great Abbahu and the great Abrakas (Abraxas), the guardian of good spirits and destroyer of evil spirits, I guard to thee (M. to you) the life, house, dwelling (10) and property of this Yezîdâd b. I. And I seal to thee (M. to you) the life, house and dwelling of this Merdûch bath Bânâi, that there sin not against you (M. them) all evil Arts (11) and all (magic) Circles and all Necklace-spirits and all Invocations and all Curses and all Losses and all ... and all sore Maladies and all evil Satans and all Idol-spirits and all impious Amulet-spirits and all mighty Tormentors, (12) which under my own hand I banish from this house in the name of Pharnagin bar Pharnagin, before whom trembles the sea and behind whom tremble the mountains, in the name of HH, HH, and in the name of (13) Bar-mešteel, whose proscription is proscribed and none trespasses upon his ward.

Lo, this mystery is for frustrating you, Mysteries, Arts, and enchanted Waters and Hair-spirits, Bowls and Knots and Vows and Necklace-spirits and Invocations and Curses (14) and evil Spirits and impious Amulet-spirits. And now, Demons and Demonesses and Lilis and Liliths and Plagues and evil Satans and all evil Tormentors, which appear—and all evil Injurers—in the likeness of vermin and reptile and in the likeness of beast and bird (15) and in the likeness of man and woman, and in every likeness and in all fashions: Desist and go forth from the house and from the dwelling and from the whole body of this Yezîdâd b. I. and from Merdûch his wife b. B., and from their sons and their daughters and all the people of their house, (16) that ye injure them not with any evil injury, nor bewilder nor amaze them, nor sin against them, nor appear to them either in dream by night or in slumber by day, from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

And again I swear and adjure (17) thee: May the great Prince expel thee, he who breaks thy body and removes thy tribe. And by the seventy Men who hold seventy sickles, wherewith to kill all evil Demons and to destroy all impious Tormentors,—are they cast prostrate in troops and thrown on their beds. Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.

Commentary

A charm made out for a man, his wife and household, against all manner of demons.

A comparison of these bowls, each written by a facile scribe with a well formed ductus, throws light on the history of the transmission and development of our magical inscriptions. Myhrman's text is shorter, in the other an appendix has also been added addressed against some particular but unnamed demon. The spelling in M. is more archaic, avoiding *matres lectionis,* the masc. pronom. suffix being represented by ה alone, ה is generally used for final *a,* the antique form מהנפיקנא is found (l. 6), as also the true reproduction of Hermes by ה. Also my text is more confused in the arrangement of the exorcised powers, M. follows the historical order. Formally then M. appears to be the elder text, in comparison with which mine is more inflated.

The most interesting point of difference is this: in M. the sealing is done "to you" throughout, but in my text "to thee" (l. 2, etc.). This plural has justly troubled Myhrman, and he suggests three possible explanations. But I believe the only explanation is that his text is polytheistic or rather a product of the common magic religion; in expressing three names of "the great God" Elaha, Shaddai and Sebaoth, the magician regarded them as a trinity of deities, just as in the magical papyri these Jewish (and other) divine names are invoked as so many deities (see § 11).[1] M's text is then of eclectic religious character. My text abjures all such polytheism, but that it is secondary to the other is shown by comparing them in ll. 9 and 10. M. retains its polytheistic plural; my text has clung to the form, but misunderstanding it has read ליבי (i. e. לבון = לבו = לבי = ליבי), and I suppose made it refer to the following feminine נפש, or to some feminine demon. For the same reason it reads, awkwardly, בבון in l. 10 for the correct להון. Thus an eclectic text, or its original, in which the deities invoked are the names of the Jewish God, has fallen into more orthodox hands and produced our monotheistic

[1] Cf., among the seven planetary spirits of the Ophites (Origen, *C. Cels.,* vi, 31) Ιαω, Σαβαωθ, Αδωναιος, Ελωαιος; the "angels" Αδωναι, Βασημμ, Ιαω, Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 182, l. 12; also in Pradel's Christian texts, *Sabaoth* and *Adonai* are found among angel-names (p. 47).

text, leaving but a trace or two of its original source. Such are the complications of this magic!

1. The opening singular invocation does not agree with the following plural in M.

יזידאד: name of a Nestorian writer, Payne Smith, col. 1586; Justi, p. 149, thinks the Syriac form an error, but our text confirms it. Our word could be Semitic = יזיד דד. Also note Izeddad in Justi, p. 147.

4. איזדנדוך: Justi, p. 146.

With אספנז, M, cf. in addition to his reference to Ašpenaz, *Dan.* 1: 3, the name Ašpazanda, Clay, *BE,* x, 41.

5. ציצי: plural, "the rays of light." This and the following term represent Hebrew כבוד.

יזעון: with expression of the half-vowel, as in cases cited earlier; cf. Stübe, l. 62. For the following Hithpalpel, s. Jastrow, p. 407.

ירורין, M: so the spelling surely, see above, p. 81.

6. "from the body": cf. the *φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ*, London Papyrus, l. 589, Wessely, xlii, 39.

8. For the angels, see § 13; for four angels (cf. the four gods surrounding the magician in Babylonian magic; see above, on 6: 10) see Luekken, *Michael,* 34 f. Nuriel-Uriel is generally the fourth. In Stübe, l. 58, עניאל takes this place. עסיאל occurs in *Sefer Raziel,* s. Schwab, *Vocabulaire,* 214, and probably in a text of Pradel's (p. 22, l. 16), where *ασα* and *αφα* doubtless = Asael and Raphael. N. B. the care with which the scribe rewrites the name of Asiel; all four names are made to terminate in *-iel.*

אירמים = M. הרמים (the latter the closest to the Greek of our spellings) = Hermes, see to 2: 2. Myhrman's suggestion, which I originally (and independently) favored, that the word is Hormiz = Ahura-mazda, is ruled out by the fact that that element in our proper names is given by הורמיז.

יהו ביהו: cf. Stübe, l. 15 יהביה ביישמיה; Pognon B, no. 5, יה ביא; דביא, above 2: 2 (*q. v.*); יהו ביה, 13: 7. יהו ancient form of the divine Name, appearing (apart from biblical proper names and probable Babylonian forms) in the Assouan papyri, in the Greek magical papyri (Deissmann, *Bibelstudien,* 4 ff, Blau, p. 128 ff.) as Ιαω, surviving among the modern

Samaritans (Montgomery, *JBL,* 1906, 50, n. 5), and used in the magical texts current at Mossoul (*PSBA,* xxviii, 97). I think the doubled term here is theosophic: Yah-in-Yah; cf. the Christian Logos-doctrine and its terms, and Kabbalism. It is possible that Stübe's יהביה = Yahbēh (Ιαβη) = Yahweh. At all events this spelling-out of the full Tetragrammaton occurs in a proper name below, 26: 4.

9. אבהו, and פרנגין below, l. 12, probably correctly diagnosed by Myhrman as exalted sorcerers' names; see above p. 47. For the two Amoraim Abbahu, see *Jew. Enc., s. v.* A suggestion in another line is possible for Abbahu. King in his *Gnostics and their Remains,*[2] London, 1887, 246, says that the Pantheus or representation of the pantheistic Deity of the Gnostics, appearing on the Gnostic gems, "is invariably inscribed with his proper name ΙΑΩ and his epithets ΑΒΡΑΞΑΣ and ΣΑΒΑΩΘ and often accompanied with invocations such as .... ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ, 'thou art our Father.'" Our Abbahu may represent this epithet and the passage would accordingly preserve three of the Gnostic designations of Deity: Yahu, Father, Abraxas. For Abraxas see above, p. 57, and for treatments of the subject and bibliographies the articles "Abrasax" in Hauck's *Realencyk., Jewish Encyc.,* and especially the splendid monograph by Leclercq, in *Dictionnaire de l'archéologie chrétienne,* etc. Variants in the bowls are אברכסיס and אברכיס. These forms represent *Abraxas* as against the original form Abrasax, hence I use the former word in the present volume. Myhrman remarks (p. 345): "As over against the view of Blau-Kohler (*Jew. Enc.* i, 130b) this would prove to be at least 'a single reliable instance' of this name occurring in Hebrew"—or at least in a Jewish document, as my text is. Abraxas is found in *Sefer Raziel,* 5a.

מחבלנא, מנטרנא: instances of the Syriac nominal formation from derived stems.

רוחי טבאתא: recalling the Jewish "good demons," see above, p. 76. The expression is also reminiscent of the Greek *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*, frequent in magic.

מנטרנא (2d): ppl. w. suffix. It is represented by three ppls. in M., the second = מנחרנא, which M. translates, with a query, "pierce." This is impossible; I would suggest to read ה for ח, and understand the Afel,

= (Rabb.) Heb. הזכיר, of naming a person to a deity and so placing him under his protection.

10. מירדוך: Mer-dûcht, = Mithra-dûcht, Justi, p. 208, *Bemerk.*

באנאי = באנא 27: 8; a masc. name among the Jews, *Sefer ha-Doroth* ii, 84. But these names appear to be indifferently masc. and fem.; cf. 1: 4. The same name בני is found in Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 238, and = the frequent Babylonian Bâni-ia, cf. the name lists in Clay, *BE,* viii, pt. 1, pp. ix, x.

11. סרנין אפיקי, occurring frequently in the unpublished No. 2918. I interpret this from the Syriac סרנא, as of the magic circle, cf. חזאר רבאניא, 39: 7, and see p. 88. The circle was used particularly for necromancy and devil-raising. Cf. Eliphas Lévi, *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie,* Paris, 1856, ii, l. 14. The objection to this interpretation is the entire obscurity of אפיקי.

יצערי: for איצערי, *iṣ'âr,* cf. Maclean, *Dict. of Vernacular Syriac,* 193b; for the meaning, see p. 94, above.

For the epithet קשיי, cf. the epithets *χαλεπός, violentus,* etc., of the demons; cases cited by Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo,* 15, 23.

12. "under my own hand": there is much imitation of legal forms in magical formulas.

פרנגין: evidently a Persian name; Myhrman as from *farna,* "good fortune," and *gin* (?) comparing Pharnakes, etc., Justi, p. 92-96. I may compare the Persian name Frenanh, Justi, p. 105b.

זיעין, זע, parallel to M's זעיין, זעא, in the latter as from root זעא.

13. בר משתאל = M. בר משתאיל, translated there "son of the inquirer of the oracle." We must go to the Assyrian for the explanation. There the corresponding form *muštâlu* means one who gives an oracle upon being asked, i. e. an oracle-giver, and is an epithet of deity. See Jastrow, *JBL,* xix, 99, and the reff. in Delitzsch, *Ass. Hwb., s. v.* שאל. The expression has the connotation of deciding the fates, with which cf. the following phrase in our text בר דנזירתיה נזירא may here be used like the Arabic *ibn,* without modifying its regimen. Or may the phrase = *bârû muštâlu,* "oracle-giving seer"? Some ancient phrase has been conventionalized and

personified. For the following expression concerning the inviolability of the "decree," cf. 38: 8.

מי מחראשי: ppl. pass. The root חרש came to be used particularly of poisoning. The זיפי are probably "hairs," Syriac *zeppâ*. Any portion of a person's body, especially hairs, nails, etc., as detachable, could be used in magic directed against him. See Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, Index, *s. v.* "hair," and with abundant citation of comparative magic, Abt, *Apuleius*, 179 ff.; also Blau, p. 161.

14. For the appearance of devils in animal forms, cf. the reply of the demon to St. Michael in a text of Pradel's (p. 23): "I enter their houses metamorphosed as snake, dragon, vermin, quadruped."

15. גיונין = *gᵉwânîn*, cf. l. 16, vs. M. גונין *gawwânîn* or *gaunîn* (?).

16. תיחבלן, תישנן: Paels, with י for preformative half-vowel. I understand תישנן and תיפרדן, of the demoniac bewilderment of the victim (see Jastrow, *s. vv.*), or actual insanity. M. has for these verbs "לא תידרון in their house"; Myhrman's translation, "shall not dwell," would require תדורן. It looks as if תידרון is for תיפרדן, or an error for תירדן, from פרד = רדא.

שחרתא: so also 8: 11, but generally in parallel occurrences, e. g. Myhrman's text, שינתא. The same noun is found in the Mandaic, שנתא וש' (*Ginza*, Norberg's text, ii, 18, l. 12), and the verb. שחר ושכב (*ib.*, l. 19). It means to "snore, sleep profoundly" (cf. Heb. תרדמה) = Arabic *šaḥara*. Cf. 6: 10.

17. סרא רבא: cf. 5: 31 and see p. 97. מפסים: cf. Ass. *pasâsu*.

"70 men holding 70 sharp sickles": i. e. the 70 angels or shepherds, representing the 70 nations, *Enoch* 89: 59 (originally regarded as good angels, Schürer, *GJV*⁴, iii, 198, n. 32, Lueken, *Michael*, 14, but later legend regarded them as fallen). The "sharp sickles" are an echo of *Rev.* 14: 14 ff., where the Peshitto uses the same words as here. This coincidence (cf. also *Mt.* 13: 37 ff.) argues for a common source of ideas.

שיציה: inf. of שיצי, Targumic but not Talmudic.

מסחפין: Pael pass. ppl., of the Syriac and Mandaic root "prostrate." Or possibly cf. the Rabbinic meaning "put on a cover," with reference to the inverting of the bowls, see to 4: 1, 6: 1. The "beds" are metaphorical of weakness and subjection, cf. *Is.*, 50: 11.

No. 8 (CBS 9013)

בישמיה דמרי אסואתא מזמן הדין כסא לחתמתא דביתיה דהדין גיונאי בר מאמי
דתיזח (2) מינה לילית[א] בישתא בישמיה דפזר יהוה אל לילית[א] לילי דיכרא ולילית[א]
ניקבתא ושלניתא וחטפיתא (3) תליתיכין ארבעתיכין וחמי[שתיכין ערטילן] שליחיתין
ולא לבישיתין וסתיר סעריכין ורמי אחור גביכין שמיע עליכין (4) דאביכין פלחם שמיה
ואימיכין פלחדד שמה שמעי וצותי ופוקי מין ביתיה ומין דירתיה דהדין גיונאי בר
מאמאי ומין רשנוי איתתיה (5) בת מארת ותוב לא תיתחזין להון לא בביתיה ולא
בדירתיהון ולא בבית מישכבי[הון] מיטול דשמיע עליכין דאביכין פלחם שמיה ואימיכין
(6) פלחדד שמה מיטול דשמיע עליכין דשלח עליכין שמתא רבי יהושע בר פרחיא
אומית [עליכין ביקרא] פלחם אביכין (7) ובשום פלחדד אימיכין ניטא נחית לנא
מין שמיא ואישתכח כתיב ביה לשימועיכין ולחירודיכין בישמיה דפלסא פליסא דהוא
מתיב לכי גיטכי ופיטורכי גיטיכין (8) ופטוריכין אנתי לילית[א] לילי דיכרא ולילית[א]
ניקיבתא ושלניתא וחטפיתא הוי בשמתא . . . [רבי] יהושע בר פרחיא והכין אמר
לנא רבי יהושע בר פרחיא (9) גיטא אתא לכי מין עיבר ימא ואישתכח כתיב ביה
[ר]אביכין פלחם שמיה ואימיכין פלחדד שמה . . . כִּין אִיתְתִיא . . . שמיע להון
מין רקיעא וּלאכין (10) שימין ביש . . . דודנא גדא בנדא שמעי וצותי ופ[וק]י מין
ביתיה ומין דירתיה דהדין גיונאי בר [מאמאי ומין ר]שנוי איתתיה בת מארת ותוב
לא תיתחזין להון (11) לא בחילמא ולא בשחרתא דיממא מיטול דחתימיתי בעיזקתיה דאל
שדי ובעיזקתא דבית יהושע בר פרחיא ובשבעה דקדמוהי אנ[תי לי]ליתא לילי דיכר]א
ולילית[א] (12) ניקבתא ושלניתא וחטפיתא משבענא לכין באביר אברהם בצור יצחק
בשדי יעקב ב.ה שמו מְשַׁךְ ב.ה זיכרו אֹ..דְוֹרִיפְתָא ומיח . . . מומינא (13) עליכין
תיסבון מין הדא רשנוי בת מארת ומין גיונאי בעלה בר מאמי גיטכי וספרתין ל. . . .
ואיגרת שיבוק ב . . . ת משלח ביד מלאכין קדישין בהן . . . צַב[או]ת נורא בגלגלן
רכובי אל פנים (14) עומדים החיות מישתחות באש כיסאו ובמים דינלי אהיה אשר
אהיה שמו אין שמו שמו . . שמ . . . . . שמו ובמומתא דמלאכין קדישין ב . . . . אל
מל[אכא] רבא ובעזריאל מלאכא (15) רבא ובקבקביאל מלאכא רבא ובעקריאל מלאכא
רבא עקרית ענקתא בישאתא אף אנתי לילית[א] בישאתא קיבלי ביש[י] . . . . . ואיגרת
שיב[וק] . . . . . (16) ותוב לא תיהדרין עליהון מין יומא דנן ולעולם אמן אמן סלה
חתימי עלוהי . . . גברִיאֵל תוב א . . . . . לילית[א] בי[שתא] ורוחא בישתָא . . . . .

(17) על מדכבת . . . . . או תיקטלין . . . תיתרחקין מין הדא [רשנוי] בת מארת
ויתקימון לח[יין] אמן אמן סלה הללויה

TRANSLATION

In the name of the Lord of salvations.

Designated is this bowl for the sealing of the house of this Geyônâi bar Mâmâi, that there flee (2) from him the evil Lilith, in the name of 'YHWH El has scattered'; the Lilith, the male Lilis and the female Liliths, the Hag (ghost?) and the Ghul, (3) the three of you, the four of you and the five of you; [naked] are you sent forth, nor are you clad, with your hair dishevelled and let fly behind your backs. It is made known to you, (4) whose father is named Palḥas and whose mother Pelaḥdad: Hear and obey and come forth from the house and the dwelling of this Geyônâi b. M. and from Rašnôi his wife (5) bath Mârath.

And again, you shall not appear to them in his (*sic*) house nor in their dwelling nor in their bedchamber, because it is announced to you, whose father is named Palḥas and whose mother (6) Pelaḥdad,—because it is announced to you that Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia has sent against you the ban. I adjure you [by the glory (= name)] of Palḥas your father (7) and by the name of Pelaḥdad your mother. A divorce-writ has come down to us from heaven and there is found written in it for your advisement and your terrification, in the name of Palsa-Pelîsa ('Divorcer-Divorced'), who renders to thee thy divorce and thy separation, your divorces (8) and your separations. Thou, Lilith, male Lili and female Lilith, Hag and Ghul, be in the ban .... [of Rabbi] Joshua b. P.

And thus has spoken to us Rabbi Joshua b. P.: (9) A divorce writ has come for you (thee?) from across the sea, and there is found written in it [against you], whose father is named Palḥas and whose mother Pelaḥdad, ... they hear from the firmament (10) .... Hear and they and go from the house and from the dwelling of this Geyônâi b. M. and from Rašnôi his wife b. M.

And again, you shall not appear to them (11) either in dream by night nor in slumber by day, because you are sealed with the signet of El Shaddai and with the signet of the house of Joshua b. Peraḥia and by the Seven (?) which are before him. Thou Lilith, male Lili and female

Lilith, Hag and Ghul, I adjure you by the Strong One of Abraham, by the Rock of Isaac, by the Shaddai of Jacob, by Yah (?) his name .... by Yah his memorial .... I adjure (13) you to turn away from this Rašnôi b. M. and from Geyônâi her husband b. M. Your divorce and writ (?) and letter of separation .... sent through holy Angels .... the Hosts of fire in the spheres, the Chariots of El-Panim before him standing, (14) the Beasts worshipping in the fire of his throne and in the water, the Legions of I-am-that-I-am, this his name .... And by the adjuration of holy Angels, by ....el the great angel, and by 'Azriel the great angel, (15) and by Ḳabḳabḳiel the great angel, and by 'Aḳariel the great angel, I uproot the evil Necklace-spirits. Moreover you evil Liliths, evil Counter-charms, ... and the letter of divorce (16). And again, do not return to them from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah. Sealed upon him .... Gabriel (?).

Again (I adjure you), evil Lilith and evil Spirit .... (17) .... or kill .... depart from this Rašnôi b. M. And be they preserved for life! Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.

Commentary

A charm for a man and his wife, particularly against the Liliths (a picture of one of which obscene creatures decorates the bowl), made out in the form of a divorce-writ. The inscription is very indistinct and towards the end becomes almost illegible. No. 17 is in large part an abbreviated and mutilated replica.

1. גיונאי: Gewânâi (cf. 7: 15), or Ge(y)ônâi (from גאון, or גון, "color"?). Cf. גיונאי appearing in Bar Bahlul's Syriac-Arabic lexicon, where it is equated with *wald*, etc., to which Payne-Smith adds, "vox corrupta ex *γόνος*," *Thes.*, col. 708.

מאמי, and below מאמאי, in No. 15 מאמא: one of the most frequent feminine names in these texts; see Nöldeke, *WZKM*, vi, 309, Lidzbarski, *Eph.* i, 75 f., 97, n. 3; ii, 419. Budge in his edition of Thomas of Marga's Book of Governors (ii, 648) gives a note contributed by Jensen that Mami is a name of *bêlit ilâni*, the mother-goddess.

2. לילית בישתא: the generic lilith is differentiated into several different species, the male and the female, the ghost and the vampire, hence "the

3, the 4, and the 5 of you" below. In the following text it is a question whether the 2d per. sing. or plur. should be read in many places. The two numbers are clearly distinguished in l. 7, end. But the obscurity consists in the equivalence of לכי and לכין, like the case of the loss of ן in the verbal forms in תין in later Aramaic, e. g. חתימיתי, l. 11; also אנתי, l. 15, is plural, as בישאתא shows. Also the confusion of ו and י in our script renders the distinction between masc. and fem. uncertain. Do the imperatives in l. 10 terminate in *î* or *û*, the latter a masculine form (inclusive of the feminine), the former possibly to be compared with the Syriac? My English "you" covers the uncertainty between sing. and pl.

בישמיה דפזר י' אל: a prophylactic "word," like the magical quotations from Scriptures; cf. a similar case at end of No. 42.

At end of l. 2 are named the five different "modes" of the lilith. שלניתא and חטפיתא are unique demoniac names, found only here and in No. 17. The probable identity of ח' with the Arabic Ghul suggests connecting ש' with the Arabic *si'lât;* Lane, *Lexicon,* 1365, and at length his *Arabian Nights,* c. 1, n. 21, and also van Vloten, *WZKM,* vii, 179, who quotes an Arabic author to the effect that the Si'lât is the witch of the feminine Jinns. (The Arabic root sa'ala, "cough," = Syriac שעל.). We have then to account for the loss of the ע. The form would be comparable to שאדניתא. Another possibility is = Assyrian *šûlû,* "ghost," Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* 1036 (from עלה?), the formation being originally *šêlânîtu* (cf. *êlânu* from עלה). The witch or Ghûl is preferable in the context, however in No. 39 the Lilith appears as the ghost of a dead relative, so that the context does not determine the etymology.

חטפיתא, or חטיפיתא No. 17, "ravager," represents the Heb. תחמס ("ostrich"?—such is the tradition in Onkelos and LXX) in Targum Jer. to *Lev.* 11: 16, *Dt.* 14: 15 (where these two spellings also are found), among the unclean birds. Horrible bird-like forms were given to the demons by the Babylonian imagination, Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.,* i, 281; also cf. *Utukki*-series, B, 35 f. The ostrich itself even in the rationalizing Old Testament is half demoniac; cf. the notes on the ירורין, p. 81. Probably the ח' is exactly the Arabic Ghul, which is thus described by Doughty: "A Cyclops' eye set in the midst of her human-like head, long beak of jaws, in the ends one or two great sharp tushes, long neck; her arms like

chickens' fledgling wings, the fingers of her hands not divided; the body big as a camel but in shape like as the ostrich; the sex is only feminine. She has a foot as the ass' hoof and a foot as an ostrich," etc. (*Arabia Deserta,* i, 53, quoted by Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* 60).

3. תליתיכין : for the sharpening of the vowel, *t*^{e}*lîttâi* from *t*^{e}*lâttâi,* see my notes on פריכא, p. 73.

ערטילן: supplied from 17: 5, as also other bracketed passages. סעריכין is sing., as סתיר shows. Nakedness and dishevelled hair are standing descriptions of the lilith, witch, etc. See references above, p. 77; add Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie,* 88, and for Arabic legend, Wellhausen. *Skizzen,* 3, p. 32. The picture presents the abandoned character of the lilith—e. g. the Labartu is called a whore—, and also her shameful, outlawed position.

שמיע עליכין: על = ל as constantly in these texts and as in Mandaic. The naming of the demon's forbears has a compelling power, as part of name-magic; see p. 58. Cf. the naming of the parents of the demon Βαινχωωχ in the invocation of his appearance in a charm of Wessely's (xlii, 60, from Brit. Mus. Pap. cxxiii). The same names distorted and applied *vice versa* appear in No. 17; similar names also in No. 11.

פוקי: often along with synonymous verbs, איתרחק, זוע, etc. Cf. the Babylonian *ištu bîti ṣî* (*Utukki*-series, iii, 158), the long series of imperatives in *Maḳlu*-series, v, 166 ff., etc.; *Mk.* 9: 25, *Acts* 16: 18; in Gollancz's Syriac charms; in the Greek, e. g. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 295, 298 (where the demon is also bidden not to disobey).

4. רשנוי: probably hypocoristic from Rašnu, name of a Zoroastrian genius, see Justi, p. 259. Cf. the names ראשנינדוך, רישינדוך, in Glossary.

5. מארת = מרתא (15: 2), "Martha."

6. "Rabbi J. b. P.": see commentary No. 32, and below, l. 7.

"by the *glory* of your father": hardly an appeal to the demon's sense of honor. יקר must be equivalent to "name," cf. the parallelism and the equivalence of the Name and the Glory in the Old Testament, where כבוד is also used of the human personality.

7. ניטא נחית לנא: the separation of the lilith from her victim is expressed in terms of a divorce-writ. This was a happy thought of the

magicians, who thus applied the powers of binding and loosing claimed by the rabbis to the disgusting unions of demons and mortals. The logic of the procedure was very simple—if only the liliths were as submissive to divorce as their human sisters. The decree is frequent in these bowl incantations,, and first appeared in Ellis's bowl, no. 1. But I do not know of any case of the occurrence of this magical *Get* outside of the bowls.

The magical writ affects the same forms and formalism as that of the divorce court.[1] In the parallel bowl, No. 17, a form of date is given (l. 1 יומא הדין), which was a requisite in the legal *Get*. The names of both parties are exactly given, hence the parents of the liliths are here specifically named. The very terms of divorce are repeated in 17: 2: שביקת ופטרית ותרכית יתיבי; cf. the facsimile of a *Get* given as a frontispiece in Amram's work (פטרית שבקית ותריכית יתיבי). It was necessary that the writ should be properly served on the divorcée, hence in 26: 6, שקולי גיטבי: "take thy writ," a sentence consummating the process, and then the divorced demon must betake herself from her victim's property, as commanded by the peremptory; "Hear, obey and go forth" (l. 10). But there is a difference; against spiritual powers divine authority was necessary. And so it is affected that the writ has come down from heaven (l. 7), that is, it belongs to the category of writs from foreign countries for which there were special forms; hence the גיטא אתא מן עיבר ימא, l. 9. The commissioners and witnesses are the holy angels, etc., l. 9 f. A rabbi is also at hand to seal as notary the divine decree, none other than the famous master-magician Joshua b. Perahia. For a further phase of this "divorce-writ" see to 11: 7. In l. 7, both the sing. and pl. are carefully used, so as to include both the definite lilith and also the whole brood.

7. חידוריכין, שימועיכין: Pael infinitives with first syllable in *i*.

פלסא פליסא: the root = "split asunder."

מתיב (?) may be ppl. from תוב in sense of Latin *reddere*.

11. "the house of Joshua": i. e. of the school of sorcery; in 34: 2 the sorcerer calls himself "J.'s cousin."

[1] See D. W. Amram, *Jewish Law of Divorce* (Philadelphia, 1896), esp. c. xiii; *Jewish Encyc., s. vv. Divorce, Get.*

בשבעה: "by the Seven"?—i. e. the seven angels, genii, etc.? The seven planets are so called simply in Syriac.

12. באביר אברהם וגי: cf. *Is.* 49: 24, יעקב אי; for the Rock of Isaac, cf. *Is.* 30: 29, Rock of Israel. The "Shaddai of Jacob" is unique. The scribe was not mighty in the Scriptures. But cf. *Ecclus.* 51: 2: "give thanks to the Shield of Abraham, ... to the Rock of Isaac, ... to the Mighty One of Jacob."

13. אינרת שיבוק: another term for the divorce-writ.

From l. 13 to end the text is largely mutilated or illegible; this is the more unfortunate as there are traces of interesting apocryphal or kabbalistic passages. Viz. "the hosts of fire in the spheres"; "the chariots of El-Panim"; "the beasts worshipping in the fire of his throne and in the water," with which cf. the glassy sea of Revelation. The following term דיגלי ("banners," then "cohorts") is a common word in the Targumic literature for the angelic hosts, according to *Shemoth Rabba* 15, = צבאות. (But the phrase may mean, "who is revealed as.") The language is Hebrew and the allusions are taken doubtless from apocalyptic literature.

14. עזריאל is known as an angel of the divine chariot, Schwab, *Vocabulaire, s. v.*, and עקריאל is found *ibid.*; n. b. play with עקרית.

15. The reference to the ענקתא indicates that witchcraft is behind these devilish manifestations; the lilith and the witch are practically identical, see p. 78.

17. "may they be established for life"; cf. the finale of the Mandaic texts, "Life is victorious." The same expression in 12: 3, and the negative wish against devils in Wohlstein 2426: 9; but in his no. 2417: 22 the verb is used of the resurrection. At least the vague idea of immortality may be contained in the phrases.

No. 9 (CBS 9010)

פורא רמינא ו[שקי]נא ועובדא (2) עבידנא והוא הוא במית . . . דרבי יהושע (3) בר פְּרחיא כתבנא להין גיטי לכל לִיליתא דמיתחזין להון בחדין (4) דבבניש בר קיומ[תא] ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא (5) דיממא דגיטא דפי[טורין] וְדשבוקין בשום אות מתוך אות ואותיות מתוך אותיות (6) ושום מתוך השימות ונקב מתוך [הנקבים] דיבהון איתבלעו שמיא וארעה טוריא איתעקרו ורמתא בהון איתמסי (7) אה שידי חרשי ודיוי ולטבי לִיליתא בהון אבדו מן עלמא בכין סליקית עליהון לימרומא ואיתיתי עליכון (8) מחבלא לחבלא יתהון ולאפקא יתכ[ון מ]ן בתיהון ומן דירתיהון ומן איסקופתיהון ומן כל כת. . אתר בית מישכביהון דבאבנוש בר קיומתא (9) ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה ותוב לא [תיתחזון להון] לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינ[תא דיממא] . . . פטרנא יתכין (10) . . . ואגרת שיבוק[ין] . . . כדת בנת . . . . .

Exterior

(11) אני לישמך עשיתי יהוה אלהים צבאות גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל חתומך על הדא חתמתא ועל הדא איסקופתה אמן אמן

Translation

The bowl I deposit and sink down, and the work (2) I operate, and it is in [the fashion of] Rabbi Joshua (3) bar Perahia. I write for them divorces, for all the Liliths who appear to them, in this (house of ?) (4) Bâbanôš bar Ḳâyômtâ and of Saradust bath Širin his wife, in dream by night and in slumber (5) by day; namely a writ of separation and divorce; in virtue of letter (abstracted) from letter, and letters from letters, (6) and of word from words, and of pronunciation from pronunciations; whereby are swallowed up heaven and earth, the mountains are uprooted, and by them the heights melt away.

(7) Oh, Demons, Arts and Devils and Laṭbê, perish by them from the world! Therefore (?) I have mounted up over them (you?) to the celestial height, and I have brought against you (8) a destroyer to

destroy them (you) and to bring you forth from their house and their dwelling and their threshold and all .... place of the bedchamber of Bâbanôš b. Ḳ. (9) and of Saradust b. Š. his wife. And again, do not appear to them, neither in dream of night nor in sleep of day .... I dismiss you (10) .... letters of separation .....

(11, exterior) In thy name have I wrought, YHWH, God, Sebaoth, Gabriel and Michael and Raphael. Thy seal is upon this besealment and upon this threshold. Amen, Amen.

COMMENTARY

A charm for a man and his wife. The inscription is illiterate, and is largely parallel to (doubtless dependent upon) the Syriac text No. 32 = No. 33; also cf. No. 8.

1. פורא רמינא ושקינא: the same phrase appears in 32: 3 and 33: 1, whence the third word in the present text can be restored. It is very obscure and I propose the following explanation. פ׳ is a synonym for כוסא "bowl," and is the Syriac and Mandaic פוחרא (*puḥrâ*) which came to mean "symposium," but goes back to the root פחר, giving the words for the potter and his art, i. e. originally it was a potter's vessel. For the loss of the guttural in our present word, cf. Mandaic שורא for שוחרא, etc. רמינא I take in the common Syriac sense of laying a foundation; the bowl was placed, as we have seen, at one of the four corners of the house. For שקינא, we must assume a parallel significance, and it is to be derived from שקע, treated as ל״א, in the similar sense "to sink" (the 1st Form is used as an active in Rabbinic). As the phrase appears in our Syriac bowls, which are largely colored by Mandaic idioms, the reference to this dialect is justifiable.

עובדא: see p. 51; in the parallels עבורא דעבוד.

2. In the lacuna מיתדמנותא might be read. הוא הוא is a Syriac idiom, taken from the Syriac parallel.

3. בהדין: awkward; probably for בהדין ביתיה ד׳; cf. 32: 5.

4. בבנוש probably באבנוש in l. 8. The first element is *bâbâ* or *pâpâ* (Persian *p* often = Semitic *b*), Justi, pp. 54, 241, the second the Persian genius-name Anôš.

קיומ[תא] : ת was legible to the original copyist of these bowls in l. 8. The name signifies *patrona*. The masc. קיומא appears in Pognon B.

סרדוסת : apparently a form of Zarathuštra; see Justi, p. 379 f., where the frequent spelling *Zaradušt* is cited in names. But strange is the application of this masculine name to a woman.

שירין: cf. the name *Sîrîn*, Tabari's Chronicles, ed. de Goeje, i, 4, p. 100, l. 3.

דניטא דפיטורין דשבוקין: the repeated ד defies construction; cf. l. 6. The terms all appear in No. 8.

5. בשום אות מתוך אות וגי: a parallel phrase appears in 32: 6; here the words are Hebrew. The general sense of these obscure phrases is clear; they refer to the magical use of letters and words and the manipulation of their pronunciations, such for instance as we find in the treatment of יהוה and in the Greek magic of the seven vowels. Cf. Pradel, p. 35, l. 9, "in the name of these angels and letters."

6. ונקב וגי : this root appears in the Bible where it passes from the physical "prick, prick out," to the sense "distinguish," that is, in speech, "pronounce clearly." It is the question in *Sanh.* 56a whether נקב שם יהוה is so used or in the sense "blaspheme." In the present case it means "pronounce," and is synonymous to the Piel פריש as that appears in שם המפורש.[1] Mystic or traditional renderings of the Tetragrammaton are doubtless referred to, but all this is only mysteriously suggested here; the magician does not offer us samples of his rare art. There is a garbled form of these phrases in 32: 6.

דיבהן יתבלעו: cf. 7: 12.

טוריא: a Mandaic spelling for the plural in *ê*.

7. לטבי a category appearing only in the bowls, see above p. 81, and Glossary.

בכין: probably the Targumic "therefore."

This and the following line are difficult by reason of an inconsequent use of the pronouns; the scribe was writing by rote. Light is thrown

[1] For this discussion see Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonay*, 44 ff.

on the passage from 32: 8 f. (*q. v.*), where is given the tradition of Joshua b. Perahia's ascent to heaven, by which he obtained mastery over all evil powers. Our scribe boldly turns the 3d person of the legend into the first person—of himself,—an instance of the attempted identification of the magician with deity or master-magician.

לימרומא: so the parallel demands.

איתיתי: appears to be Afel; תי- is hebraizing.

8. מחבלא = המשחית, Ex. 12: 23; in the parallel the abstract חבילא.

11. For the asyndeton connection of the angelic names with that of Deity, see above, pp. 58 f, 99, and note the Greek parallels. Sebaoth appears to replace one of the four archangels; cf. the personification of S. in Myhrman's text.

No. 10 (CBS 16014)

דנא קמיעה לאסותה דהדא ניונדוך בת כפני וכפני בעלה בר שרקוי וזדו ברה וביתה ואיסקופתה כולה בשום יה יהו אה . . . . . (2) חתים ומחתם ביתה חדין ואיסקופתה אינחור חורא ויה חירא בישמיה דללזריון ושבייאל וגבריאל ואיליא[ל] . . . . . (3) ומחתמין הל[ין] זדוי וניונדוך בה הוא חתמא דחתמה אדם קדמאה לשת ברה ואיתנטיר מן ש[ידין] (4) ומן דיוין ומן מבכלין ומן סטנין תוב חתימין ומחתמין הלין בר שרקוי וניונדוך אינתתה בת (5) כפני וזדוי ברה בה הוא חתמא דחתמה נח לתיבותה מן מיה דטופנא (6) ויזדחון ויבטלון ויפקון ויתרחקון מינהון ומן ביתהון ומן ד[ירתי]הו (7) ומן בית משכביהון מן יומא דין ולעולם אמן אמן

Translation

This amulet is for the salvation of this Nêwândûch bath Kaphnî, and Kaphnî her husband bar Šarḳôi, and Zâdôi her son, and her house and her whole threshold, in the name of Yah, Yahu, Ah, ... (2) Sealed, and countersealed are this house and this threshold .... in the name of LLZRyôn and Šabiel and Gabriel and Eliel ..... (3) And sealed are these, Zâdôi and Nêwândûch, with that seal with which the First Adam sealed Seth his son and he was preserved from Demons (4) and Devils and Tormentors and Satans. Again sealed and countersealed are these, the son of Šarkôi and Nêwândûch his wife b. (5) K. and Zâdôi her son, with that seal with which Noah sealed the ark from the waters of the Deluge. (6) And may they fly and cease and go forth and remove from them and from their house and their abode and their bed-chamber, from this day and forever.

Commentary

A charm for a woman and her family. It is decorated with a figure having a beaked, bird-like face.

קמיעה: see Introduction, p. 44.

ניונדוך: for the name see to 5 : 1; the same person appears in No. 11.

כפני : probably for *Kafnâi,* "the hungry one." The woman's husband and father had the same name. This is a case of the father's name being given, against the rule; for other examples, see 12: 1, Pognon B, p. 98, and the name פאפא, in Lidzbarski 5.

שרקוי: cf. the Persian name *Serkoh* Justi, p. 296.

(י)זרוי: the full spelling appears in l. 5; for the name, *ibid.*, p. 382. A *Z*ârôi appears in 37: 3.

2. אינחור ונו': I can make nothing out of these words.

For Šabiel and Eliel, see Schwab, *Vocabulaire,* 251, 57. The first name is probably mystical.

3. בה הוא: emphatic use of הוא; cf. *Dan.* 7: 15.

For these apocryphal references to the seal of Adam and Noah, cf. p. 64, and for the Jewish legends see *Jew. Enc.,* s. v., "Seth," "Noah." It is in the Babylonian story not the Biblical that the hero shuts himself in.

5. טופנא: found in Targ. Onk. to *Gen.* 6: 17, = τυφῶν, frequent in the Greek magical vocabulary.

No. 11 (CBS 16022)

A charm for a woman and her household, in terms of a divorce from the evil spirits.

The text would be legible only for a half, but for the interesting fact that it is one of four almost duplicate inscriptions. The longest and clearest of these is the Mandaic bowl, no. 5, published by Lidzbarski. Another is, remarkably enough, the first inscription of this category ever published, Ellis no. 1, in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 512 ff.; see § 2.[1] The latter is given in poor facsimile, and none has taken the trouble to collate afresh the bowl in the British Museum, a simple task which doubtless would have allayed the difficulties.

Of this text the bowl from Nippur is practically a duplicate, and, with the help of Lidzbarski's inscription, I am able to restore almost the entire text not only of our bowl but also of that in the British Museum.

There is also a fourth duplicate, No. 18. It can be read only by comparison with the three presented here, and so I have left it in its original place in my arrangement of these inscriptions, especially as it contributes nothing further to the understanding of their contents.

I have thought it worth while to present the three texts in parallel columns. This process facilitates the verification of emendations, while the variations which present themselves throw interesting light upon the natural history of magical inscriptions. We mark how magical terms which once had a meaning become blurred and obscured at the hands of generations of sorcerers and copyists, until sense becomes nonsense, or simple word or phrase receives a kabbalistic interpretation. The Mandaic appears to have the latest type of text, having evidently transferred its material from another script and dialect. Cf. the parallel texts in No. 7.

In the following texts I have slightly abbreviated the names in the 2d and 3d columns, and omitted a few unimportant phrases in the 3d (always so noted). It is not necessary to give a translation of Ellis's

[1] As suggested in that section, n. 4, this was the bowl obtained by Layard from Nippur.

bowl, as the text is now almost entirely intelligible. The enumeration of lines in Ellis's text is according to the spiral lines.

Lidzbarski 5	Ellis 1	No. 11
		אסותא מן שמיה להדא
		ניונדוך בת כפני דתיתסי
		(2) ברחמי שמיה מן
		לילתא ומבבלתא אמן אמן
	הדין גיטא לשידא	(3) תוב תיזח ותיתבטל
	ול[דיו]א ולסטנא ולניריך	ותיתרחק מינה מן ניונדוך
	(2) ול . . . ולאבטור	בת כפני ליליתא ומבבלתא
	טורא ול . . . ולילית	ושערתא ועקרתא (4)
	דיבטלון מן (3) בהדנדוך	ותכלתא בשום מאן דאחיד
	בת ניונדוך ומן בחרד בר	להון לשידי [ולדיוי]
	איספנדרמיד ומן ביתה	ולילית ובשום אהיה אשר
	כוליה	אהיה
על עסיר אבונדאנא	(4) אל איסור בנדנא	אילסור (5) בנדנא
למלכון	מלכיהון	מליכיהון וש[ליטי]הון
		מלכיהון
דדיויא ושליטא רבא	דשידין ודדיוי שליטא	דְשְׁ[ידי ודיוי ש]ליט[א רבא
	רבא	
דכולהין לילית אשבית	דלילית משבענא	ד]לילית אשבעית
אליך ומומינאליך חלדאס	עלכי חבסלם (5) לילית	עליכי חלבם לילית
לילית ותאכלת לילית		
פת בראתה ד זארנאי לילית	בת ברתה דזרני לילית	(6) בת ברתה דזרני לילית
	אם דכר אם נוקבה	
דיאתבא באיתה ובעסכופתא		ד[יתבא] בביתה ובדירתה
דבאיתה ד חורמיז בר		דניונדוך [בת] כפני
מחלפתא ודאחאתא פת		
דאדע		
ומאהיא ונטלא ושאקפא		[וש]קפא
והאנקא		
דארדקיא ודארדקאתא		דרדקי [וד]רדקתא
אשבית אליך ומומינאליך	משבענא עליכי	משב[ענא עליכי]

חאלדאס ל' ותאכלאת ל' וג'		
דתיתמחאי בטארפוס ליביך	דתתמחין בטופרס לילביכין	(7) דתיתמחין בטורפס ל ליבבכי
ובמרוניתה דקאטריאוים	ובמורניתה דתיקס	ובמורניתיהּ דקיל . . ס
מלאכא דמשאלאט על	(6) גברא הוא שליט עליכון	דהוא שליט . . . עליכי
סחריא ודיויא ושידיא	דיוי ולילית[א]	
ורוחיא וחומריא ולילאתא		
האזין כתאביליך חלדאס ל'	הא כתבית בכתבא	הא כתבית ליבי
והאזין אפטארתיך	הא בטלית יתכין	והא פטרית [ית]יכי
מן באיתה ופגרה דחורמיז	מינה ומן ביתה דבהדנדוך	מן ניונדוך וג']
בר מ' ומן זוה א' פת ד'	בת נ'	
ומן בנה ובנאתה	(7) ומן ברה	
כד דכאתביא שידיא גיטא	כמא דכתבין שידין גיטין	[כמא שידי] (8) דכתבין גיטי
לעגשאיון בכושתא ותום	ויהבין לינשיהון ותוב	לינשיהון
לאהאדריא ולאמכדריא (?)	לא הדרין עליהין	ולא ה[דרי]ן עליהין
הא שקול גיטיך	שקול גיטיכין	שקולי גיטיכי
וקאביל מומאתיך חלדאס וג'	וקבילו . . . כין	
וקדא ופוק וערוק ועתראחאק	ופוקו (8) ועיריקו	
מן באיתה וג' דחורמיז וג'	[מן] איסכופתא דבה' בת נ'	מן ניונדוך (*sic.*) בת כפני
ולא תיחזאילון לאבחילמאיון		ולא תיתח[ין ל]ה לא
דלילא ולאבחיזואנון דימאמא		בליליה ולא ביממא
דעסיר וחיתים באיתה וג'		ולא תשכבין [עימ]הּ ולא
בעזיקתה ד ציר גליף		(9) תיקטלין ית בנה ובנתה
אלאהא בשומיך אמאתעמא	בשום היגוּי	בשום ממינתש שמר די
האיץ אבארהאגואת עוד עוד	והיהי טטס	חבנזיז יו ידיד יט יט יט
עוד יא יא יאד יאד יאט יאט		
עסיראתיא וחיתימאתיא		
לילאתא		
זיכריא ונוקבאתא		
	. . . דתיקס גברא	
בעזיקתא דשלימון מלכא	ובעזיקתיה [דש]לימון	בעזיקתה
בר דאויד		
ד ציר גליף אלהא	(9) דעלוהי	דציר וגליף עלה
שומה רבא ויקירא גליף	שם מפורש רבה	שם מפורש

אלהא שומה מפרשא
מרשעשאת
שית יומיא ברישית
צוביבת צ' יודע י' Etc.

מן יומי עלמא
ימי ששת ימי בראשית

אמן אמן אמן סלה

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for this Nêwândûch bath Kaphnî, that she be saved (2) by the love of Heaven from the Lilith and the Tormentor. Amen. Amen. Again, fly and refrain (3) and remove from Nêwândûch b. K., the Lilith and the Tormentor and Fever and Barrenness (4) and Abortion; in the name of him who controls the Demons and Devils and Liliths, and in the name of "I-am-that-I-am."

For the binding of (5) Bagdânâ, their king and ruler, the king of Demons and [Devils], the [great] ruler of Liliths. I adjure thee, Lilith Halbas, granddaughter of Lilith Zarnî, [dwelling] in the house and dwelling of Nêwândûch b. K. and [plaguing] boys and girls, (7) that thou be smitten in the courses (?) of thy heart and with the lance of ...., who is powerful .... over you.

Behold I have written for thee (i. e. a divorce), and behold I have separated thee [from N. b. K. etc.], [like the Demons] (8) who write divorces for their wives, and do not return to them. Take thy divorce from Nêwândûch b. K. and do not appear to her, neither by night nor by day, and do not lie [with her]. And do not (9) kill her sons and daughters. In the name of Memintaš (?) keeper of Habgezîg (?). Yô, Yad, Yaṭ, Yaṭ, Yaṭ. By the seal on which is carved and engraved the Ineffable Name, since the days of the world, the six days of creation.

Commentary

1. Nêwândûch b. Kaphnî: the same as in No. 10; here without mention of a husband. It is also the name of the mother of the client in Ellis's bowl.

2. רחמי שמיה: cf. "the great Lord of love." "Heaven" is used here and in parallel passages as surrogate for Deity, after ancient Jewish use; the same use in 18: 1 and Wohlstein 2422: 3.

3. שערתא : a new word. I would connect it with the Arabic root *s'r* (Heb. שער, סער), with the meaning "be hot, rage," etc. See the various derivative nouns in Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1363: *sa'r*, "burning, shooting," *su'r*, "demoniacal possession, madness, mange"; *sa'rat* (our very form!) "cough," etc. Possibly fever, or poison. The Arabic *su'r* connotes infection.

4. תכלתא: "bereavement," then used of abortion, the reference being to a mischievous killing by magic of the unborn child.

It is unfortunate that in the first line of Ellis's inscription, the name following נירך, i. e. "Nirig" is indecipherable from the facsimile. For נירך = נירנ, cf. נכל, on the Nêrab inscriptions, = Nin-gal. In אבטור טורא, the second word is a careless repetition of the first.

5. At the end of this line begins the parallelism with the two other inscriptions. Our very first word, which appears as one in a series of divine names, e. g. El-sûr, is explained from the parallel which shows that אל איסור was meant; the unusual form אל (= על) was taken to be = "god," and the passage became hopeless. The same process of corruption will be found below on the Mandaic side.

בגדנא: so in Ellis, but in the Mandaic bowl אבונדאנא (= אבונבאנא in Pognon B). See Lidzbarski's attempts at explanation. But our בגדנא is the elder form; see on 19: 6, 13, where ב' is both generic and personal.

מליכיהן: the first י is an error as the subsequent spelling shows; the second represents the half-vowel. The scribe in our text has been confused and repeated his words here. For the "king of demons," see p. 74.

חלבס = חבסלס = חלדאס, in the three texts; cf. the names in the parallel texts Nos. 8 and 17: פלחס and פלחדד, פלחדד and פלחן. Proof of the impossibility of etymologizing on these forms! The accompanying lilith in the Mandaic, תאכלת, must be connected with our תכלתא above; abortion is personified. The granddam of the lilith appears to be better known as it is identical in all three inscriptions. The two liliths in the Mandaic are interpreted by Ellis's text; they are the male and female respectively; cf. below, l. 8, לא תשכבין עימה.

7. טורפס = טופרס = טאפרוס: these various forms throw no light on the word. It looks as if it were a corrupted Greek anatomical term.

לילביכין = ליבבכי (Ellis): our text explains the reading of the elder bowl לבב = ללב, the former a metaplasis of the latter; the same form in 18: 7.

קאטריאוים = תיקס = ?: the latter has, as Lidzbarski recognizes, a peculiar Mandaic form. I am inclined again to hold that the parallel shorter forms are more original. The reading in our bowl is different from the other two. For תיקס נברא cf. אברא נ', 3: 2.

הא כתבית: explained by the second column, where *plus* בכתבא i. e. the divorce-writ. Curiously enough the Mandaic has taken the interjection הא as a pronoun[2] and rendered it by האזין.

פטרית: cf. Ass. *paṭâru*, "break a charm."

כמא שידי דכתבין ניטי: cf. 8: 7. The additional thought appears here that inasmuch as demons divorce their spouses, divorce-writs must be as effective on them as among human kind. Cf. also No. 18. It may be noticed here that the first and third texts address a special lilith in the singular, the second goes over into the plural; the same uncertainty in No. 8.

9. בנה: (= plural) Mandaism; so also below עלוהי = עלה.

בישום ממינתש = Mand. אמאתעמא, the second text obscure. Again no light! There is considerable similarity in the following magical syllables.

בעזקתיה ונ': with the help of the parallels we can make out the reading. It and Ellis's inscription are almost identical. The Mandaic gives here a striking instance of perversion. The prepositional phrase עלה (or its equivalent) was understood as "God" and turned into אלהא; this took with it the ppls. ציר and גליף, which were raised to divine dignity to accommodate the epithet אלהא. The invention appears to have been prized, as the deity *Sîr-Geliph* is also introduced above in the same inscription. The שם מפורש is thus reduced to a travesty! The well-known Jewish phrase appears also in Schwab, E.[3]

[2] Cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.* § 81.

[3] For the true explanation of this term, see Arnold, *Journ. of Biblical Lit.*, 1905, 107 ff.

Solomon's magic ring (first mentioned by Josephus) inscribed with the Tetragrammaton is the subject of Haggada in *Giṭṭ.* 68a, b. Later legend, especially Arabic, developed the wonders of this magic ring.[4] According to the end of our inscriptions this seal engraved with the divine Name was in existence since the week of creation (= בראשית). This is an addition to the ten things which according to *Pirḳê Abôth,* 5: 8, were created on the eve of the first Sabbath—among which were the alphabetic script and the tables of the Law.

[4] See *Jewish Encycl.,* xi, 438 ff., 448; for the Greek magic, Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 139, l. 28, and at length, p. 141 f.; for bibliography, Schürer, *GJV,* iii, 303.

No. 12 (CBS 9009)

אסותא מן שמיא לדדבה בר אסמדוך ולשרקוי (2) בת דאדה איתתיה ולבניהון ולבנתהון ולביתיהון (3) ולקינינהון דיהון להון בנין ויהון ויתקימון ויתנטרון (4) מן שידי ומן דיוי ומן שובטי ומן סטני ומן לוטתא ומן ליליתא ומן מבכלתא דמיתחזין (5) להון מומינא עלך מלאכה דנחית מן שמיא כד גביל בדמת קרן ליה זיף זליף (6) מלאכה דעביד רעותא דמרוהי ועל כיבשי מרוהי מסגי שאו ומישתבח בישמיא (7) שאו ותושבחתיה בארעה סמו ויתמלאון ציציתְ דקימ[ין] ומטהרין מן יומי עלמא ונינריהון (8) לא מיתחזין ברקדיהין ליה לעלמא כוליה ויתבין וקימין באתרהון נשפין כי זיקא ברקין כי ברקא (9) אינון יבטלון וישמתון כל גיסי וקיבלי ואנקי ולוטתא וקריתא ושיקופתא ואשלמתא ומללתא ושידי (10) ודיוי ושובטי ולילית ופתכרי ומבכלתא וכל מידעם ביש דיזחון ויפקון מן דדבה בר אסמנדוך ומן שרקוי (11) בת דאדה איתתיה ומן הוניק ומן יסמין ומן כופיתי ומן מהדוך ומן אברהם ומן פנוי ומן שילי בני שרקוי ומן ביתיהון ומן (12) קינינהון ומן דירתיהון כולה דשרן בה מן יומא דנן ולעולם בשום יהוה צבאות אמן אמן סלה יהוה ישמורכְה מכול רע ישמור את נפשך

Exterior

(13) דאידרונא דאיספלידא

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for Dâdbeh bar Asmandûch and for Šarḳôi (2) bath Dâdâ his wife, and for their sons and daughters and their house (3) and their property, that they may have offspring and may live and be established and be preserved (4) from Demons and Devils and Plagues and Satans and Curses and Liliths and Tormentors, which may appear (5) to them. I adjure thee, the angel which descends from heaven—there being kneaded (something) in the shape of a horn, on which honey is poured—(6) the angel who does the will of his Lord and who walks upon the (throne-) steps of his Lord *še'û*, and who is praised in the heavens (7) *še'û*, and his praise is in earth *semû*;—they are filled with glory, who endure and keep pure since the days of eternity, and their feet (8) are not seen in their dances by the whole world, and they sit and stand in their

place, blowing like the blast, lightening like the lightning. (9) These will frustrate and ban all Familiars and Countercharms and Necklace-spirits and Curses and Invocations and Knockings and Rites and Words and Demons (10) and Devils and Plagues and Liliths and Idol-spirits and Tormentors and everything whatsoever evil, that they shall flee and depart from Dâdbeh b. A. and from Sarkôi (11) b. Dâdâ his wife and from Ḥônîḳ and Yasmîn and Kûfithâi and Mehdûch and Abraham and Pannôi and Šili the children of Šarkôi and from their house and from (12) their property and from their dwelling, wherein they dwell, from this day and forever, in the name of YHWH Sebaoth. Amen, Amen, Selah. "YHWH keep thee from all evil, keep thy soul."

Exterior

(13). Of the inner room, of the hall.

COMMENTARY

A charm for a man and his wife and their seven named children, in the form of an adjuration of a certain potent angel. There is rubrical reference to a magical operation for compelling this angelic assistance. The same family appears also in No. 16 and the Syriac Nos. 31, 33. Prof. Gottheil has presented a tentative translation in Peters, *Nippur,* ii, 182.

1. דדבה: probably abbreviated from *Dâdbuyeh;* see Justi, p. 75.

אסמנדוך: see *ibid.,* p. 281, the Armenian name Samandûcht.

שרקוי: see 10: 1.

2. דאדה· Justi, p. 75, *Dâdâ.* The name is Semitic, e. g. Palmyrene and Syriac דאדא, from root דוד. The name looks like a masculine (for the use of the father's name see to 10: 1), but may equal דאדיא, 39: 2.

4. שובטי: for the form cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 19, and for the species, p. 80 f., above.

5. כד גביל ונ׳ (read דמות for דמת): a rubric directing an operation compelling the presence of the angel through a simulacrum and its manipulation. The insertion of the rubric into the text of incantation appears in the Babylonian magic, see King, *Babylonian Magic,* p. xxviii. It may be queried whether our sorcerer is not reciting a form unintelligible to him;

cf. the intrusion of rubrics into the Psalms. The ancient charm was for binding the good spirits as well as the evil; the incantation as well as the exorcism was a *κατάδεσμος* (see Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 2d part). In the early Babylonian magic images of the favorable gods were made and used in the rites; a good example is found in Zimmern's *Šurpu* series, no 54 (p. 169 = Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* p. lviii). Probably idolatry has its basis in this magical idea. Reverence gradually obscured the idea that the gods were thus bound, it survived only in the word-magic. But in the present case a "horn" (symbol of power?), probably a cone of wax or the like is kneaded, and honey poured upon it, with which we may compare the antique anointing of the sacred stone or *bethel,*[1] wherein the suppliant literally "smooths" the face of of deity (Heb. חלה).[2] The rubric is, I think, unique in Jewish magic. For the magical use of honey, see Thompson in Index, *s. v.*

6. מרוה: for the plural, cf. instance in Jastrow, *Dict.,* 834b; or the form may be regarded as parallel to אבוהי.

We have here a bit of poetic lore about the angels, describing their worship and service of the Almighty. It appears to be a quotation from some Midrash. Who the angel invoked is, does not appear,—Michael? The terms סמו, ישאו, are probably mysterious utterances to awe the hearer; cf. *ômô, ômô,* 3: 3 (from שמע, "hear," נשא "lift up in worship"?). For the description "blowing like the blast," etc., cf. *Ps.* 104: 4.

7. ציציה: cf. ציצי דצבאות, 7: 5. The description passes to a plural subject here.

נינריהון: a Rabbinical form; נגר = לגר = רגל, "foot." For ל = נ cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* 54.

8. The choric dances of the angels are a pretty fancy, cf. *Job* 38: 7.

[1] Small conical stones are found in the oriental explorations, doubtless domestic *baitylia;* see Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente,* 177, and Scheil, *Mémoires de la Délégation Perse,* vii, 103, 112 f. (Fig. 34-37, 340 ff, 374, 381).

[2] For an extensive collation of like instances in Graeco-Roman magic see Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius, 222* ff., *227.* May the term in Apuleius, *βασιλεύς,* the magic-god whose image is formed for purposes of sorcery, (a term much disputed by the commentators) = מלך = מלאך, the word used here?

9. For the ניסי and שיקופתא, see 6: 2 and p. 86. אנקי is a masculinized form of ענקתא (see p. 88).

11. הוניק: I cannot identify. The Glossary shows two other men of the same name.

יסמין: a Persian name, = "jasmine," cf. Justi, p. 145.

בופיתי: the same name in No. 2 (in אי-).

מהדוך: cf. Syr. מהדוכתי, Justi, p. 186.

פנוי: the Arabic Fannuyeh; see Nöldeke, *Persiche Studien,* 405.

שילי hypocoristic of שילא, name of several Amoraim; see *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 347. Cf. biblical שלה, from שאלה. שלא, שלי, also occurs in the Nabataean, *CIS,* ii, nos. 185, 208, 221. Nöldeke (in Euting, *Nab. Inschriften,* 74) vocalizes the name Sullai, and Berger (see to No. 208) compares the Nabataean name Sullaios. But Lidzbarski (*Eph.,* ii, 16) rejects this derivation and derives the hypocoristic from שלם.—Note that among these nine souls only one strictly Jewish name appears.

12. The scriptural quotation is from Psalm 121,—a psalm admirably adapted for a charm. Cf. note to 5: 5.

13. The two words: "of the room (recess, bedchamber, etc.), of the hall (also, cavern)" evidently refers to the place where the bowl was to be placed. The first word may be in construct state, or the two terms may be parallel, as the words might mean the same thing. אידרון = Ass. *idrânu,* and is current in the Aramaic dialects. Jastrow defines אספלידא as especially a "sitting room in the shape of an open hall"; for some discussion of its etymology, see Payne-Smith, col. 315.

No. 13 (CBS 8694)

סכרי פומיהון דכוליהון עממיה תגממיה (2) ולישניה מן קמה דבהמנדוך בת סמאי (3) ורחמיאל מלאכה וחֲביאל מלאכה ו[ח]ניניאל מלאכה (4) אינון, מלאכין ירחמון, ויחבבון ו[יחנון] ויחבקון ית בהמנדוך (5) בת סמא באנפי כל בני אדם [דא]ולד ית חוה ניעול לקדמיהון, (6) מילבושהון, ילבשונה ומיכסותהון, יכסונה מיעיל חיסדא דאלהא, (7) עימה, יתבין, מיזיה מיזי, מיזייהין כדשפיר בשום יהוה ביה אלאל רבה (8) דחילא ודמימריה כל אסו, הדין רזא דריסת קים ושריר לעולם ועד קלקל. . .

Exterior

(9) קל קלא ברזי קל קלא דבָ . . מ . . . רוניתא קלא דאיתתא. בתולתא דימחבלא ולא ילדא חסי נחבי (10) נחבי וניתי אפרה בר שברדוך לגוה, ביתיה ולגו גופה דבהמנדוך בת סמא (11) איתתיה כי אבליתי דימחבלא ולא ילדא כי אסה חדתתא ליכלילי אמן ואמן (12) ושריר וקים אסותא מן שמיא לבהמנדוך בת סמא אפרפרט . . . חאמיץ אעיקיהי . . אמן אמן סלה אסותא ושלמ[א מן] שמיה לעולם ו[לעד] ועד

Translation

Closed are the mouths of all races, legions (2) and tongues from Bahmandûch bath Samâi. (3) And the angel Raḥmiel and the angel Ḥabbiel and the angel Ḥanniniel, (4) these angels, pity and love and compassionate and embrace Bahmandûch (5) b. S. Before all the sons of Adam whom he begat by Eve, we will enter in before them; from their clothing they will clothe her and from their garments they will garb her, the garment of the grace of God. (7) With her they will sit, on this side and on that, driving away (demons?), as is right. In the name of YHWH-in-Yah, El-El the great, (8) the awful, whose word is panacea, this mystery is confirmed, made fast and sure forever and ever.

Exterior

(9) Hark a voice in the mysteries! Hark the voice of ...., the voice of a woman, a virgin travailing and not bearing. Quickly be enamored,

(10) be enamored and come Ephrâ bar Šabôrdûch to the marrow of his house and to the marrow of Bahmandûch b. S. (11) his wife; as (she was) a virgin (?) travailing and bearing not, so (may she be) fresh myrtle for crowns. Amen, Amen. (12) And made fast and sure is salvation from Heaven for Bahmandûch b. S. (13) A preparation (?) .... leaven, press it (?) .... Amen, Amen, Selah. Salvation and peace from Heaven, forever and ever and ever.

Commentary

A charm for a certain woman against the reproach of barrenness, that her husband may love her and she may have children by him. The couple is the same that figures in No. 1, which is particularly a charm against the liliths; these are supposed to have prevented the natural fruit of the human union, affecting not only the woman but also the man's love and virility. At the end probably is given an aphrodisiac recipe.

This text and No. 28 are unique among early Semitic incantations, for they are love-charms. In this they bear the closest relation to the Greek erotic incantations, on which I will speak more particularly under No. 28. But in the present text it is the barren forsaken wife who speaks, not the passionate lover, as in No. 28 and the Greek charms. The incantation has a Jewish cast in its address to certain angels, whose names are expressive of love and in its use of biblical divine names. Apparently the text is shortened from a longer model. It is illiterate in style and script, and contains numerous Hebraisms. A feature is the use of a wedge-shaped sign (indicated in the transliteration by a comma), occurring as a separator between words, but without consistency.

1. סברי : for סכירי.

עממיה תנממיה ולישניה: either antique emphatic plurals, or else = Mandaic plural in יא—(see to 9: 6). The second word is an artificial enlargement of the Syriac *tegma* (τάγμα) for the sake of assonance with ע (spelt in the usual archaic Syriac fashion). The passage is reminiscent of *Dan.* 3: 4. Do the words refer to classes of mankind, and the taking away of the woman's reproach among men? Or not rather to ranks of demons?—to whom we expect some reference; cf. p. 80. The closing of their mouths means forstalling their curses, cf. p. 85. תנמא is particularly

used of the cohorts of evil (Payne Smith, *s. v.*) and in the Peshitto translates the "legions of angels" in *Mt.* 26: 53.

3. The three angels appear (upon some reasonable emendation) to have names corresponding to the verbs in the next lines. Angels were chosen, or invented, for the pregnant meaning of their names; so Raphael became the patron of healing. Raḥmiel is the genius of love in No. 28, and in one of Thompson's Hebrew charms from Mossoul (*PSBA,* 1906-1907), which contain many incantations for love, love between man and wife, and also for breaking marital love; once we find a philtre in which the angels invoked are Ahabiel, Šalbabiel, Opiel, names signifying love and its passion (1907, p. 328, no. 80). חביאל and חננאל are found in Schwab's *Vocabulaire,* and the latter also in Stübe, l. 56.

5. The line is obscure; it appears to present a dramatic scene in which the sorcerer and his client, in the presence of the adversaries, shall obtain judicial vindication of love from the favoring angels. The reference to Adam and Eve's offspring has a sympathetic value.

6. מילבוש וגי assimilation of מן, as in Hebrew; for the idea cf. 2: 2.

מיעיל חיסדא: a common Semitic idiom; cf. *Is.* 61: 10, *Eph.* 6: 11; in the Samaritan, אלביש אימנותא, בגד כפר ללבש (Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca sam.* ii, pp. xlii. 197, § 24); actual investing with "grace" occurs in the newly-found Odes of Solomon, 4: 7: מנו גיר נלבש טיבותך.

7. מיזיה מיזי: again Hebraic. The following word may be a dittograph, or a Pael of זוח. For this protection on right and left, cf. 6: 10.

For יהוה ביה see to 7: 8. אלאל, in the Mandaic religion, epithet of the sun-deity (Norberg, *Onom.,* 9, Brandt, *Mand. Schr.,* 31), also found in the Greek magic, Wessely, xlii, 67. It may be a magical reduplication; but cf. the reduplication of אל in the South-Arabic plural, and the Hebrew אליל, probably once a divine name—to be connected with Ellil of Nippur? —see Clay, "Ellil, the God of Nippur," *AJSL,* 1907, 269.

8. כל אסו: cf. 15: 2.

דריסת: this spelling occurs also in a neo-Syriac manuscript published by Lidzbarski (*Die neu-aramäischen Handschriften der königl. Bibliothek z. Berlin,* Weimar, 1896, 447); otherwise דרוסת = צרוצת. For a discussion of the word and its origin see Nöldeke, *Neusyrische Gram.,* 386.

קים ושריר: the same formula in Lidz. 5.

At the end of this line which is on the edge of the bowl, the scribe has attempted to continue and has written a few characters; he then started afresh on the exterior.

9. קל קלא : קל is used like the Hebrew קול. The piteous plaint of the sufferer is thus expressed, to move the sympathy of the celestial ones. In the same way the Babylonian magical texts preface their rites with a description of the plight of the patient; also the biblical Psalms often commence in like manner. A similar phrase appears in a bowl of Pognon's, B 20, but there the reference is to the curses of unfortunate souls which alight on the living. There may be the reference here to such a ban—of a virgin gone to her death without children. In this case חסי (= biblical חם, Syriac חם), would refer to the stilling of her "tongue." (Cf. the magical use of *σιγή* in a text of Wessely's xlii, 60 f.). But the repetition in l. 11 inclines me to the view that the virgin who "travails and does not bear" is the wife, subject perhaps to miscarriage or feminine maladies. Then חסי would be from חום = חוש, "hasten," and so = "quickly," cf. Ass. חסא; the word would then correspond to the frequent *ἠδη ἠδη ταχὺ ταχύ* as at the end of the Hadrumetum love charm (see to No. 28), and see note to 14: 4.

נחבי נחבי וניתי: the verb used for "love" is חבא, where we expect חבב; cf. Heb. אהב. For this triple adjuration, see No. 28.

10. לגוף ביתיה וגי : I have tried in my translation to express the difficult word גוף, which primarily "body," comes to mean the essence, essential thing. The reference is sexual, and the word has such connotations (see Jastrow, *s. v.*).

11. כי אבליתי: this appears to be an error for בתולתא, as in l. 9; or possibly ppl. fem. in *-tê*, "mourner"? כי ... כי are used correlatively, and we must suppose a lacuna: as she (was) in the joyless condition of childlessness, so (her future state shall be symbolized by) fresh myrtle for crowns. Some literary form has been so rubbed down as to be almost unintelligible. For this correlation of כי ... כי, see some, as yet unnoticed cases in the Hebrew, e. g. *Gen.* 18: 20.[1] Myrtle as sacred to the goddess of love (Baudissin, *Studien*, ii, 198 f.) makes an appropriate simile.

[1] See my notes in *JBL*, 1912, p. 144.

12. אפרפרט וג׳: this line is provokingly obscure. Since a magical philtre is here prescribed, I venture to suggest that פ׳ = Latin *praeparatum* (the verb being used by Pliny for preparing drugs, foods, etc.). Or it may be the Rabbinic פרפרת, "hash, salad" (which however does not explain the ט). חאמין is leaven, which as a ferment would be appropriate to an aphrodisiac. אעיקיהי is fem. imperative, "press it." Aphrodisiac herbs, used magically or medicinally, are common in all erotic praxis.

No. 14 (CBS 16917)

[הדין כסא] בישמך אני עושה יהוה אילהא רבא הדין כסא ניהוי לחתמתא להורמיזדוך
בת מהדוך אשבעית עלך מרס . . . . . (2) [ב]ישא בשום אגרבים קדישא בשום מ̇ין מ̇ין בשום
סף סף יהוק יהוק דרחיק ית מרכבתיה על ימא דסוף א . . . . . (3) דויד מזמור ים
סוף תוב אשבעית עליכון במן דאשרי שכינתיה בהיכל נורא וברדא וכורסיה . . . . .
(4) . . א מלכא רמא הללויה הללויה יחוש יחוש אחושיה ובשום מיכאיל וגבריאל המן . . .
בצור . . . ל (5) בשמיה דשריאל בשמיה דסרפיאל צוריאל וסרסמיאל גדריאל פני פניאל
נהריאל וכל זיקין (6) ומזיקין בישין דאידכר שמיהון בכסא הדין וידלא אידכרית שמיהון
בכסא ההין יא (7) יא יחוש תבון תמן ותרמון יתבין לגו נורא יקידתא וילשלהיבת אישתא
אמ אמין אמן סלה

Translation

[This bowl] in thy name do I make, YHWH, the great God. May this bowl be for the sealing of Hormizdûch bath Mehdûch. I adjure thee ..... (2) evil, in the name of holy Agrabis, in the name of MṢ MṢ, in the name of SP SP YHWḲ YHWḲ, who removed his chariot to (above?) the Red Sea ..... (3) David, the Psalm of the Red Sea. Again I adjure you by him who lodged his Shekina in the temple of light and hail, and his ..... (4) ... the exalted king. Halleluia, Halleluia. Oh avaunt, oh avaunt, avaunt! And in the name of Michael and Gabriel..... (5) in the name of Sariel, in the name of Seraphiel, Sûriel and Sarsamiel, Gadriel, Peniel, Nahriel. And all Blast-demons (6) and evil Injurers, whose names are recorded in this bowl and whose names are not recorded in this bowl,— oh, (7) oh, avaunt, sit down there! And ye shall be cast down, sitting within the glowing light and fiery flame (8). Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A charm for a certain woman, in the name of YHWH and the angels, against some definite (now obscure) demon in particular, and against the devils in general.

2. מץ מץ: the syllable is *Athbash* for יה; cf. מצפץ = יהוה, Stübe, l. 66 and p. 63. אנרביס is probably also a mathematical anagram for the divine name or power; cf. Abraxas, = אברכיס, etc. (see p. 57, and to 7: 9), of which the present form may be a corruption. The syllable סף seems to have suggested the sea of סוף. יהוק is for יהוה.

3. דויד: the lacuna makes the reference obscure; a reference to one of the Psalms of David, or, by error to the Song of Moses?

דאשרי שבינתיה: the Targumic phrase, e. g. *Dt.* 12: 5.

בהיכל נורא וברדא: hail and fire are frequently found together in the Old Testament as manifestations of the divine presence; e. g. *Ps.* 18: 13 f. *Ezek.* 38: 22. But cf. especially *Rev.* 11: 19: "Then was opened the temple of God that is in heaven; and there was seen in his temple the ark of the covenant; and there followed lightnings and voices and thunders and earthquake and great hail."

4. אחושיה, יחוש, יחוש: cf. יא חוש, l. 7; Yâ = interjection "Oh." Reitzenstein has called attention to the equivalence of these expressions (commenting on Stübe, l. 14, *Poimandres*, 292, n.), to the ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ of the Greek magic, as applied to demons in the sense of "at once avaunt." For examples, see the endings of nos. 3, 5, 6 in Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, and the editor's note p. 13. Cf. a Christian charm in Pradel's, p. 72: *veniat sanatio celeriter, abeat abeat abeat malum.*

5. All these angel names are found in Schwab's *Vocabulaire*, our סרסמיאל being probably the same as the סרמיאל there. For magical references to Suriel, see Lueken, *Michael*, 71.

6. The sorcerer spares himself the trouble of naming the evil spirits by applying a "blanket" charm to them all; cf. 1: 14.

וידלא: see to 3: 3.— אידכרית: evidently a confusion between the passive and the 1st person active.

ההין: the only instance in these bowls of this rare demonstrative; elsewhere here הדין

7. תרמן: probably Etpeel.—For the curse at the end cf. 7: 17.

No. 15 (CBS 16087)

בישמך במימרך מרי כל אסותה אלהא דרחמי (2) אסותא דישמיא תהוי לה לביתיה
דהורמיז בר ממא [ול]דירתה דדודי בת (3) מרתא ולברגלל בר דודי ולברשיבבי בר
טשיהראזד [ול]ביתה כוליה ולדירתה (4) כולה לאם מן סליק ואטפי ואטרפי דאם
מן מנא אינש לאם לא סליק ואטרפי דאם אינש (5) מנה ביהיבדין ואינש לאם לאם
לא סליק ואטרפי דאם אינש מנה כינתי ומניתי עליכון רוחין ושיקין (6) ושובטין
וירורין ופגעין ושיבין וחרשין בישין ועובדין תקיפין ופתברין ולילית ביש[תה] (7)
. . . . . אסרית יתכון באיסורי נחשא ופרולא וחתמית יתכון בצורת עיזקתא דנורא
. . . . . (8) . . . . . ופטרת יתכון מנהון מן הורמיז בר ממא ומן דודי בת [מרתא
ומן] ברגלל בר דודי ומן ברשיבבי [בר] טשיהראזד (9) . . . . . ומן מהוי בר
דודי בשום רופיאל וסוריאל וגבריאל . . . ריאל ורחמיאל ו.חטיאל וסוריאל . . . . .
וסרריאל ובחותם יהוה צבאות קים עלמין [אמן א]מן אמן

Translation

In thy name and in thy word, Lord of all healing, God of love. (2) Salvation of Heaven for the house of Hormiz bar Mâmâ and for the dwelling of Dôd(â)i bath (3) Marthâ and for Bar-gelâl bar Dôdâi and for Bar-šibebî bar Cirâzâd, even for all her house and dwelling (4).

Lâs min selîḳ: waṭrefê dâs min mena

Enaš lâs lâ selîḳ: waṭrefê dâs enâš (5) *menâ*

Bhybdyn

Wenaš lâs lâs lâ selîḳ: waṭrefê dâs enâš menâ.

I scan and rhyme (?) against you, Spirits and Goblins (6) and Plagues and Howlers and Strokes and Circlet-spirits and evil Arts and mighty Works and Idol-spirits and the evil Lilith (7)..... And I bind you with bonds of brass and iron and seal you with the figure of a seal of fire, ... (8) ..... And I banish you from Hormiz b. M. and Dôdâi b. [M. and] Bar-gelâl b. D. and Bar-šibebî b. C. (9) ..... and Mehôi bar Dôdâi, in the

name of Rophiel and Suriel and Gabriel [and ...] and Raḥmiel and .ḥatiel and Suriel .... and Serariel . And by the seal of YHWH Sebaoth is it established forever. Amen, Amen, Amen.

COMMENTARY

A charm for several persons, whose relations to each other are not definite. They may be members of one household—a kind of *Pension.* The virtue of the charm lies in the use of a doggerel couplet. The figure in the center of the bowl is a serpent with its tail in its mouth; see p. 54.

1. הורמיז: for this abbreviated form of Ahura-mazdah, see Justi, p. 98, the same name in Lidz.

מאמא = מאמאי, מאמי, as in No. 8.

דודי: 38: 4, דודאי; hypocoristicon from דוד, "friend, uncle," etc.; cf. the biblical name דודו and its variant דודי, also Dâdâ, 12: 2. The present name is feminine; may it mean the *dûdâi,* "love-apple"? Justi, p. 86, lists a Dûday.

2. מרתא: a Jewish name found in the Gospels and in a Palestinian ossuary inscription (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 318) = מארת, 8: 5.

ברגלל: a proper name after Arabic formation? גלל = "round lump, excrement," etc. Galal is a biblical name.

ברשיבבי: שי is a form of necklace charm, see to l. 6. The mother has named her child after the amulet whose virtue she supposed gave to her or protects the babe.

טשיהראזד: the Persian Cihrâzâd; see Justi, p. 163. The טש is an attempt to represent the Persian hard *ch.* The name is the same as that of the famous *raconteuse* of the Arabian Nights.

3. ביתה: doubtless referring to Dodai, who appears to have procured the charm for the household.

4. לאם מן סליק וג': this and the following line contain a magical incantation expressed in a rhyming doggerel couplet. (In the first occurrence of ואטרפי, the ר was first omitted, then written above, and finally the word was rewritten that there might be no infraction of the charm.) First of all, there is a couplet rhyming at the caesuras and at the end;

then the last line is repeated in l. 5, introduced by the obscure combination ביהיבדין. A similar doggerel formula is presented by Myhrman in his edition of the Babylonian magical *Labartu* series (*ZA*, xvi, 188; cf. Jastrow, *Rel.*, i, 339). It is there called a *šiptu*, "incantation," and runs thus (following Jastrow's arrangement):

ki | rišti libiki | rišti la libiki | la libi | piš | pišti ša anzišti | ša anziš | šu anziš | anziš.|

For Greek parallels see p. 61. The repeated מנא of the couplet is taken up by כינתי ומניתי. The roots מנא and כן may refer to the scansion of the couplet.

5. שיקין = the Arabic demon *šiḳḳ*—sometimes interpreted as one-half (*šiḳḳ*) man, one-half demon, but probably a demon of weariness; see Lane, *Arabian Nights*, c. 1, n. 21, van Vloten, *WZKM*, vii 180.

6. ירורין: see p. 81; here between categories of maladies, in Myhrman between "devils" and "spirits."

שיבין: the Targumic שבבין (Jastrow, p. 1510), a feminine ornament, some kind of pendant chain, see Krauss, *Talm. Archäologie*, i, 204 and note; belonging to the category of חומרי, ענקתא, etc., see p. 87 f. Cf. the name above ברשיבבי, where the uncontracted form survives.

7. Brass, lead, fire, all potent against demons. Cf. the "chains of lead," 39: 4 f. The bonds of hell are called *catenae igneae* in a Latin charm, Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln*, no. 7; also the "adamantine chains" in Paris Papyrus, Wessely, xxxvi, l. 1227 ff.

9. Mehôi: hypocoristic, cf. Mehducht, etc.

No. 16 (CBS 2920)

אסותא מן שמיא לדדבה בר אסמנדוך (2) ולשרקוי בת דאדא איתתיה ולהוניק וליסמין (3)ולכופיתי ולמהדוך ולפנוי ולאברהם ולשילי בני שרקוי (4) ולביתיהון ולקינינהון ודיהון להון בנין ויחון ויתקימון ולא יגע (5) בהון כל מזיק דאית בעלמא וביישמיה רבה דיקרי אלהא קדישא דחרשי ליה (6) דכביש חשוכה תחות נהורא מחתא תחות אסותא סיתרא תחות בינינא חבלתא (7) תחות שמתא רוגזא תחות ניחא כבישין כולהון בני חשוכה תחות כורסיה דאלהא דחי. (8)שמיה אסירין כבישין דיוי נקיטן כדנא רוחי בישתא וחומרי זידניתא ושומהתא ורברבי (9) דחשוכה ורוח סרי ונאלי ומבבלתא דליליה ודיממא ולוטתא ואנקתא וקיבלי ומללתא ומומתא (10) ואישתקופתא ואשלמתא פגעא ופנעיתא ובתקלא דקריה ואסרה דמיסכינותא ושידי ודיוי וסטני (11) ופתכרי וליליתא וחרשי בישי ועובדי תקיפי ושבע מבבלתא דליליה ודיממא אסירן כבישן ומשכבן (12) מן דדבה בר אסמנדוך ומן שרקוי בת דאדא איתתיה ומן הוניק ומן יסמין ומן כופיתא ומן מהדוך ומן פנוי (13) ומן אברהם ומן שילי בני שרקוי ומן ביתיהון כוליה ומן קינינהון ומן דירתיהון כולה מן יומא דנן ולעולם אמן (14) אמן סלה ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אוד מצל מיאש

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for Dâdbeh bar Asmandûch (2) and for Šarḳôi bath Dâdâ his wife and for Hônik and Yasmin (3) and Kufithâi and Mehdûch and Pannôi and Abraham and Šilâi the children of Šarkôi, (4) and for their house and their property, and that they may have children and may live long and be established, and that (5) no Injurer in the world may touch them.

And in his great name, whereby the holy God is called—wherein are arts (?)—(6) which suppresses darkness under light, plague under healing, destruction under construction, injury (7) under ban, anger under repose: suppressed are all the sons of darkness under the throne of God, in whose (?) name (8) are bound, suppressed Devils; gripped likewise are evil Spirits and impious Amulet-spirits and Names and Princes of (9)

darkness and the Spirit (breath) of foulness and fatigue and the Tormentors of night and day and Curses and Necklace-charms and Words and Adjurations (10) and Knockings and Rites, the Plague and the she-Plague and the voice of Invocation, and the Spell of poverty and Demons and Devils and Satans (11) and Idol-spirits and Liliths and Arts and mighty Works and the seven Tormentors of night and day. They are bound, suppressed and laid, (12) away from Dâdbeh, etc. (as in ll. 1 ff.), (13) and from all their house and from their property and from all their abode, from this day forever. Amen, Amen, (14) Selah. "And YHWH said to Satan," etc.

COMMENTARY

A charm for the large family that appeared in No. 12. It contains an extensive and repetitious list of demoniac species.

5. בישמיה וג׳: I have translated literally; the original form may have been: ב׳ ר׳ דאלהא ק׳ דקרי חרשי ליה "the great name ... which magicians invoke."

6. כביש: ppl. act.

7. "Sons of darkness": contrast the "sons of light," 1: 9.

8. רברבי דחשוכא: cf. the Pauline *τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου*, *Eph.* 6: 12.

רוח סרי ונאלי: lit. "foul and laboring spirit" (breath; in *Bekor.* 44b (an obscure passage) there is a disease or demon called נאלא, which is interpreted as "asthma" (Jastrow, *s. v.*). Foulness of breath was cause for divorce, Krauss *Talm. Enc.* i, 256. Cf. the בר ניפלה of 29: 7, which is found in the same passage from *Bekoroth.*

10. בתקלא דקריה: see pp. 52, 84.

11. משכבין: Af.; cf. English "lay a ghost."

אסרה דמיסכינותא: cf. the Rabbinic דמזוני א׳, "genius of nourishment," and see pp. 79, n. 70, and 86, n. 112.

No. 17 (CBS 2922)

דין יומא מכל יומא שני ודרי (2) עלמא אנה כומיש בת מחלפתא שביקית (3) ופטרית
ותרכית יתיכי אנתי לילתא לילית דברא (4) שלניתא וחטיפתא אנה תלתיכין ארבעתיכין
חמישתיכין (5) ערטיל שלחתין ולא לבישתין סתיר סעריכין מיעל גביכין (6) שמיע
עליכין דאימכין פלחן שמה ואביכין לחדד לילתה שמעו ופקו ולא תסיסון (7) לא לכמיש
בת מחלפתא בביתה פק אתין כל מן ביתה ומן דירתה ומן כלתא ומארתשריה (8) בנה
נדרת עליכין בשמתא דשלח עליכין יהושע בן פרוחיה אומיתי עליכין ביקרא דאביכין
(9) וביקרא דאימכין וסיב לכין גיטיכין ופיטריכין גיטכי ופיטוּרכִי דאת שלחתן בשמתא
דשלח (10) עליכין יהושע בן פרחיה דהכדין אמר לכא יהושע בן פרחיה גיטה אתא לכא
מעבר ימא אישתכח כתיב דאימיכין (11) פלחן שמה ואבכין פלחדד לילתא פמטו ופקו
ולא תסיסון לה לכומיש בת מחלפתא לא בביתה ולא בדירתה אסרית (12) וחתמית
בעיזקתא דאל שדי ובעיזקתא דיהושע בן פרוחיה אסיא אסותא ופטרתא מן שמיא
לאבא ול וליזדיד ולהוניק בני כומיש (13) בטילן ומבטלן כל מבכלתא דפירקין להון בשמתא
להן אמן אמן סלה

Translation

This day above any day, years and generations of (2) the world, I Kômêš bath Maḥlaphta have divorced (3) separated, dismissed thee, thou Lilith, Lilith of the Desert, (4) Hag and Ghûl. The three of you, the four of you, the five of you, (5) naked are ye sent forth, nor are ye clad, with your hair dishevelled behind your backs. (6) It is announced to you, whose mother is Palḥan and whose father (Pe)laḥdad, ye Liliths: Hear and go forth and do not trouble (7) Kômêš b. M. in her house. Go ye forth altogether from her house and her dwelling and from Kallethâ and Artašria (8) her children. I have warded against you with the curse which Joshua bar Perôhiâ (*sic*) sent against you. I adjure you by the honor (name) of your father (9) and by the honor of your mother, and take your divorces and separations, thy divorce and thy separation, in the ban which is sent (10) against you by Joshua b. Peraḥia, for so has spoken to thee Joshua b. P.: A divorce has come to thee from across the sea. There is found written (in it), ye whose mother is (11) Palḥan and whose father

Pelaḥdad, ye Liliths: And now flee and go forth and do not trouble Kômêš b. M. in her house and her dwelling.

I bind (12) and I seal with the seal of El Shaddai and with the seal of Joshua b. Peraḥia the healer, healing and release from Heaven for Abâ and Yazdid and Hônik sons of Kômêš. Thwarted and frustrated are all Injurers, whom we have removed by the ban upon them. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A charm effected by a woman for herself and her children, who appear in two different groups, in the name of Joshua b. Peraḥia. It is an abbreviated and often incorrect replica of No. 8.

1. For the corrupted formula, cf. 6: 5 and see p. 55. The full form appears in no. 16020 (unpublished) "this day out of all days. I Honik," etc.

2. כומיש, l. 7 כמיש: the name obscure; cf. Κομοσαρνη, Justi, p. 165.

מחלפתא: for this name, frequent in these bowls, and its equivalents, see Nöldeke, *Encyc. Bib., s. v.* "Names," § 62.

שביקית: Peal, the following verbs Pael.

3. For the singular and plural number, see to 8: 2. The word lilith is spelt badly. For the לי דברא cf. 29: 7, and see p. 78; the parallel has לילי דיברא.

5. The correct grammatical forms are found in 8: 3; the lilith names following are also mangled.

6. תסיסון: Afel of נסס.

7. כלתא, i. e. "bride"; cf. the Babylonian name Ina-ekur-kallatu, cited to me by Prof. Clay.

ארתשריה: a form of Artachšathra, and cf. Αρταξηρις, Justi, p. 35.

8. פרוחיה: so l. 12, but the correct spelling in l. 10; probably assimilation to Persian *farruch.*

For "glory" = "name," see on 8: 8, and n. b. the equivalent πατέρων δόξαι, *Wisdom,* 14: 24.

9. סיב: f. pl. impr. of נסב; but שמעו in l. 6. The following דאת שלחתן is a perversion.

10. לכא = ליכי.

11. פמטו = מוטו, cf. פק, l. 7, *plus* conjunction פ; for another instance see Glossary; probably a dialectic survival. פ appears in the Senjirli inscriptions and the Elephantine papyri.

12. אסיא: the same title in 34: 12.

פטרתא: formation from Pael, = Rabbinic פטורא.

אבא: frequent Talmudic name, *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 3-18.

יודיד: probably error for יודד, see 7: 3.

13. פירקן: Pael, 1st pers. plural.

No. 18 (CBS 8695)

ברחמי שמיא אסוּתא [לנפשא ו]לביתא דאפרה בר איהי וכל (2) שום דאית ליה דיתקיומון [ליה בנין] מן איצפנדוי איתתה ויחון (3) ויתקיומון ולא יגע בהון כל מזיק [בהדין] עלמא בשום אהיה אשר אהיה (4) אל איסור בנדנא מלכא מלכיהון דשיד[י ודיוי ושליטא] רבא דליליתא אשבעית (5) עליכי בחלבם לילית בת ברתה דזרני לי[ליתא דיתבא] על איסקופת באבה דא (6) ודאביא ... ודמחיא וטרפא וחנקא ואכלא דירקי ו[דירקתא] ... מיצה מימי ציתא אשבעית (7) עליכי דתימחין בטרפס לילביכי ובמורניתא דסק . . . [נבר]א דהוֹ שליט על שידי ועל דיוי ועל (8) פתכרי ול ועל ליליתא הא כתבית לכין גיטא והפטרית ית[כין כמא כתב]ין שידי גיטא לנשיהון ותוב (9) לא הדרין עליהין שקול גיטיכין וקביל מומתכין וקרחו וע[ריקו מן בי]תא הדין דאפרא בר א[יהי] ולא תיתחזין (10) ליה עוד לא לה לאיצפנדוי איתתיה ולא תינעון ולא תיקר[בון להון ולבנין וג'] דאית להן לא בחילמה דליליה (11) ולא בחילמה דיממה בשום . מתחמן יאבגביג דיד טרטי . . . ב[עיזקתא דציר וגליף עלה שם מ]פורש מן יומי עלמא (12) שישת ימי בראשית אמן אמן סלה הללויה

Commentary

This inscription is yet another duplicate to the three collated under No. 11. It is badly written and mutilated, and would be in large part unintelligible without the other texts. It presents little that is new and a translation is not necessary.

1. The name of Ephrah's father is uncertain. From what appears here, it may be איהי; cf. בראיהי, in *Seder ha-Doroth* ii, 47. In l. 9 it looks like איי, i. e. *Ayê?* But the strokes may be for abbreviation.

2. A prayer for offspring is here expressed.— איצפנדוי: hypocoristicon for איצפנדרמיד, see 26: 4.

5. בחלבם: again this name differs; but the tradition of the granddam's name is accurate.

באבה דא: i. e. דאפרה.

6. דאביה: ppl. of דבא.

דירקי: if not an error, this is a further development of a word with a history: *daḳdaḳ* = *dardaḳ* = *daraḳ*.

מיצה מימי ציתא: the probable reading. ציתא is biblical. The dirty habits of these foul demons appear in the Babylonian magic; they are compared to pariah dogs and are exorcised by the spirit of foul streets, see *Utukki* series, B, 46; cf. v. col. 5. l. 21.

8. הפטרית: for הא פ׳.

9. קרחו: if we read so, we may compare the magic formula in *Pesaḥ.* 110a, קרחייבי קרח (see to 1: 6). The verb = ערק, by transposition, common especially in Mandaic. Lidzbarski in his parallel (see to No. 11) reads קדא and translates "spring up"; but read there קרא = קרח.

No. 19 (CBS 16018)

בישמך מרי אסואתא אסיא רבא (2) דרחמי אסירא וחיתמא ומחתמא כוּלא (3) קומתיה
ובית מישכניה דהדין משרשיה דמיתקרי (4) דהבאי בר מחלפתא בשיבעא איסרין דילא
מישתרין ובתמניה חתמין (5) דילא מיתברין בשמיך מריא איבול מלכא רבא דאלהי
ובשמיך מרתין איבולית (6) מלכתא רבתא דאיסתראתא ובשום טלסְבוּנִי מריא רבא
דבגדני ובשום סחנודמוך (7) ובשום איבול בר פלג ובשום אנגרום ובשום מריא מלילא
ומרגלא וארמסא ובשום אזפא ועלים (8) ובשום נקדרום מרי בוּנִיוּב . . ואתא ובשום
סרפיאל מרי דינא ורימזא ובשום שיתין אלהי דיכרי (9) ותמני איסתראתא ניקבאתא
ובשום ארדיסבא סבתא קשישא קשיש מין כנואתיה ובשום אנד מריא רבא דמית. . . .
(10) ואניזקי דמין לעיל פרזלא ונחשא ומתקנא ליה סיליתיה דאברא ושבעא
כומרי דמי דבגדנא ובשום בגדנא בר חבאל (11) וסופרזיא . . . ן ועלימון ובשום פלניני
ומנדינסן ומנירנש נג . . . ל ובשום אירס בר חנם ובשום אברכים ובשום אגזריאל
דרחמי לא אית ליה (12) ובשום ארזן וכִר.ן רום ברום דעלתרום ובשום . . . . .
לאריאל שדר שקול לשליטא רבא דקדמוהי ובשום . . . . . ובשום מריא איבול (13) מלאכה
רבא דזעקי ובשום אילהא ניברא ומריא רבא דבגדני ובשום ארזן בר זגד אתון אסירי
וחליצי וזריזי על כל שידי דיוי וסטני בישי איסרא (14) וכסא הדין שרירא וחתמיה
קיימי עליהון דאינש מין איסוריה לא נפיק ומן תחות ידוהי לא שיר בישמיהון דהלין
איסרי ניתסר תמן שידא ודנחיש ולילית בישתא (15) דאית בפנריה [דה]דין משרשיה
דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא באיסרין בארעה ובחיתמין בשמיא תוב אסירין באסרא
וחתימין בתנינא בר מין פנריה דהדין משרשיה (16) דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא אמן
תוב אסירי שידא ודיוא ודנחיש וחומרתא ופתכרא דאית על פנריה דהדין משרשיה
דמיתקרי דהבי בר מחלפתא באיבול וחתים (17) באיבולית תוב אסיר בשינם ומנא
וחתים בנורא תוב אסיר באלהי גברי וחתימין באריון בר זגד תוב אסיר בעיזקת בית
חנון וחתימין במכילא רבא דזעזא תוב אסירין באלהא שרירא וחתימין בשליטא רבא
(18) דקדמוהי בר מין פנריה דהדין משרשיה דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא בשום
פטרגינום אוקינום שונקא קוסא קפא אזזיאל דריססק ופום ובשים ברקפת . . . סרבתיה
לילבי מיתדבד ובשום א.כא עלינא (19) דעלם אלהי באידכור יתון עילך מלואשיה
דהדין משרשיה דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא ניתחתם מין ב.תא דראשיה ועדמא טורפת
ריגליה בתיבי סוט . . . . . לבא לא ניהון ולהדין ביתא דמשרשיה (20) דמיתקרי דהבא
בר מחלפתא לא ניעלון ולא ניקרבון ליה ולא ניתחזון ביה לא בליליה ולא ביממא מין
יומא דנן ולעלם . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

In thy name, O Lord of salvations, the great Saviour (2) of love.

Charmed and sealed and countersealed is the whole (3) person and the bedchamber of this Mešaršiâ, surnamed (4) Goldsmith, bar Maḫlaphtâ, with the seven spells which may not be loosed, and with the eight seals (5) which may not be broken.

In thy name, lord Ibbôl, the great king of the Bagdâni; and in thy name, our lady Ibbôleth, (6) the great queen of the goddesses (she-demons?), and in the name of Ṭalasbôgî the great lord of the Bagdâni; and in the name of Sahnudmuk; (7) and in the name of Ibbôl son of Palag; and in the name of Angarôs; and in the name of the Lord, the Word and Leader and Armasa (Hermes); and in the name of Azpâ and 'Alîm; (8) and in the name of Naḳderôs the lord of ...; and in the name of Seraphiel, lord of judgment and of (divine) beck; and in the name of the 60 male gods (9) and the 80 female goddesses; and in the name of Ardisaba (*or* Ardî) the most ancient of his colleagues; and in the name of Anad the great lord ..... (10) cast above (him) iron and bronze, and fastened to him fetters (?) of lead and the 70 exalted priests of Bagdânâ; and in the name of Bagdânâ son of Habâl (destruction). (11) ...; and in the name of Palnînî and Mandinsan and Menirnaš ...; and in the name of Iras son of Hanas; and in the name of Abrakîs (Abraxas); and in the name of Agzariel, who is without compassion; (12) and in the name of Arzan and ..., *rôs berôs delterôs;* and in the name ... to Ariel he sent a message: "Lift up" (?), ... to the great Ruler before him; and in the name of ...; and in the name of lord Ibbôl (13) the great angel of the Blast-demons, and in the name of the great God and the great Lord of the Bagdâni; in the name of Ariôn son of Zand: Ye are charmed and armed and equipped.

Against all Demons, Devils and evil Satans, this charm (14) and bowl is sure and its seals established against them, from whose charm none ever goes forth and from whose control none sallies forth.

In the name of these charms are bound there Demon and Danḫiš and the evil Lilith (15) which are in the body of this Mešaršiâ, surnamed Goldsmith, b. M., by charms in earth and by seals in heaven.

Again, (ye are) charmed with a charm and sealed a second time away from the body of this Mešaršiâ, (16) etc., Amen.

Again, charmed are the Demon and Devil and Danḥiš and Amulet-spirit and Idol-spirit, which are upon the body of this Mešaršia, etc., by Ibbôl, (17) and sealed by Ibbôleth.

Again, charmed by Šînas and Manâ, and sealed by fire.

Again, charmed by the great gods and sealed by Ariôn son of Zand.

Again, charmed by the seal of the family of Ḥanûn, and sealed by the great ... of Zeüza (Zeus).

Again, charmed by the true God, and sealed by the great Ruler (18) who is before him, away from the body of this Mešaršiâ, etc.

In the name of Paṭragenôs, Okînoš (Okeanos), Šunḳâ, Ḳôsâ, Kapâ, Azaziel ..... (19) ..... his constellation (?), that this Mešaršiâ, etc., be sealed from the top (?) of his head to the toes of his feet ..... they shall not be, nor this house of Mešaršiâ, (20) etc., shall they enter nor approach, nor appear therein, neither by night nor by day, from this day and forever. .....

Commentary

A charm made out for a certain man whose body is infested with evil spirits; with great elaboration of incantations they are exorcised from him and his house. The inscription is thoroughly pagan, and is interesting because of its invocation, for over half its length, of an extensive list of deities. Cf. a similar long list in Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln*, no. 4. Unfortunately by reason of the coarseness of the script and its general illegibility, most of these names are obscure. Some of them are definitely Greek,—Zeus, Protogonos, Okeanos, and perhaps the Aeons, male and female, may be made out; several others are of Greek formation. Others again are of Persian origin, and some are purely charm-words, "mystical" names. Some forgotten cult may have given certain of the names; notice the reference to the 70 priests of Bagdana.

2. חיתמא: error for חתימא.

3. קומתיה: the word = "stature," then, as here, "body," as is shown by the phrase, in a similar connection, in bowls published by Schwab (E)

and Stübe (ll. 56, 64): the demon depart, etc., from the 248 הדמי קומתיה of such a one (the word is not recognized by either editor). The same word occurs in the interesting magical passage in *Eze.*, 13: 18.

משרשיה: also in Schwab, G; a frequent Talmudic name (see *Sefer ha-Doroth,* ii, p. 276).

4. דהבאי: this surname appears as a proper name in *Ḥagiga* 2a.

"Seven spells .... eight seals": for this cumulative expression, cf. Mica 5: 4; see 5: 2.

5. בשמיך: cf. 28: 1.

איבול: also below, ll. 7, 16. In l. 7 he is בר פלג, and his consort איבולית is "our lady." Professor Clay has cited to me a divine name Ubbulti appearing in a Cassite tablet, in the name *Ubbulti-lišir.* אובול might also be read, and I am inclined to make the word = Syriac *ubbâlâ,* "generation," etc., and so Αἰων. For a discussion of Aeon as supreme deity, god of time, etc., see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 269 ff. The Aeons appears in the magical texts, e. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 140, l. 51; 192, l. 21; 203, l. 18. The syzygies of Aeons were male and female—cf. the names in Origen's list at the beginning of his work *Adv. haer.,* and איבולית would be a formation to express the female Aeon. Derivation from Apollo also suggests itself, but the feminine is not thereby explained.

6. בגדני: Comparing what precedes, the word means some class of deities or demons. In l. 13 בגדנא is a divine name, = the demon in 11: 5 (*q. v.*). It is then a word like אלהא, etc., which can be used individually or generically. It evidently contains the Indo-European element *bâga,* "god." It is difficult to decide whether Bagdana is a propitious or maleficent demon (as in No. 11); in the latter case he is charmed to work the good of the sorcerer's client, as in the Greek incantations, e. g. Hekate. In W. T. Ellis's Syriac text (see § 2) appears שמחיזא מריא בגדאנא, "Šamhiza the lord Bagdana," or "the lord god"? The spelling gives the vocalization of the penultimate vowel. For Š. cf. the Enochian Samaeza.

7. אנגרום: the ending -ום in this and other names recalls Greek formations. May this word = ἄγγελος?

מלילא: in Syriac, "logical," etc., and used nominally = *τὸ λογικόν*. It is here associated with ארמסא, both being names of a potency; the passage is parallel to *2*: *2*, *q. v.*

מרנלא: if the reading is correct, the Rabbinic רנל, Afel, may give the interpretation,—"leader," which would be a fitting epithet of Armasa-Hermes, "the shepherd" *par excellence*. Cf. the idea in the late Hellenistic religion of a deity, especially Hermes, as a guide, *ἡγέμων*, of souls; see Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, n. 63 p. 253. It may be noticed that מ׳ is used in the Talmud of a "traditional word or saying" (Jastrow), i. e. = *logos?*

8. סרפיאל: also 14: 8. In his epithet, רימזא appears to be used, as in the Syriac, of the divine nod or intimation, i. e. "command."

9. ארדיסבא: or the name is to be read ארדי, followed by סבא סבתא קשישא קשיש; why the fem. סבתא?

10. In this and the following line most of the words can be read, but in consequence of the failure of the context the text defies interpretation. The three metals may be referred to as having magical properties, and this may give the clue to סיליתא דאבדא (סיליתיה written first erroneously). Comparing the Mandaic text in 39: 5, בשושלאתא דאבארא (עסירא), the equation suggests that our סיליתא = "chains"; possibly סילתא "basket," and here used of a metal cage.

בר חבאל: = "Son of destruction"?; cf. בר חנם, l. 11, בר זנד l. 13; these deities are given a parentage like איבול, l. 7. Possibly חנם is הנם, the verb used in the Nerab inscriptions, and so = חבאל.

11. אירס:=Ἔρως, or Ἄρης?—אברכים: cf. 7: 9.

אנזריאל: נזריאל is found in Schwab, *Vocabulaire*. Is אכזריאל "God's cruel one," meant?

12. The accumulation of words in *ros* is a charm formula; see p. 61.

13. מלאבא = מלכה, l. 5.— זעקי: the זיקי with Mandaic spelling.

אריך בר זנד: found also in 34: 8, which determines the reading here.

אתן וג׳: the plural is problematic, as there is but one client to this charm; it may have been used inadvertently. חליצי is not Aramaic in its present sense.

14. דנחיש: this obscure demon appears again in l. 16; it is evidently the דניש listed with the planets in Libzbarski's Mandaic amulet in the de Vogüé *Florilegium*, l. 251.

17. שינאם: cf. the Mandaic סיניאוים, name of an angel, Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i, 104, n. 2.

זעוא: Zeus, = Syriac זו, in Jacob of Sarug (Martin, *ZDMG*, xxix, 110, l. 50), otherwise זיוס and זום.

מנא = the Mandaic genius Mana? See Norberg, *Onom.* 96.

בית חנן: the family or school of some magician like that of Joshua b. Perahia, see p. 46.

18. אוקינוס = Ὠκεανός, the parent deity in magical theosophy (cf. Ea in the Babylonian); see index of Dieterich, *Abraxas*. The preceding name recalls Protogonos who appears with Aeon as son of Kolpia and Baau in Sanchuniathon's cosmic genealogy, Eusebius, *Praep. ev.*, i, 10.

19. לילבי: cf. 11:7. מלואשיה: an astrological reference?

טורפת רינליה ... מין: the same phrase in Pognon B, except that the word זימתא, "hair," appears there.

No. 20 (CBS 16023)

טרדי בת אוני } בְּשֵׁם
(2) הרמסדר טרדי } אאאאאא אסירי וחתימי (3) שידא ודיוא וסטאנא ולטאנא ולליאתא
ב[ישאתא] (4) דמתחזא באלליא ומתז בימאמי ודמיחזי טרדי בת ..... (5) [בש]ום
גבריאל מיכיאל ורופיאל אמן אמן אמן אמן סאלה הלליה כפי אאאאאא

Translation

Ṭardi bath Onî (2) Hormisdar Ṭardi. In the name of AAAAAA, exorcised and sealed (3) are the Demon and the Devil and the Satan and the Curse-spirit and the evil Liliths (4) which appear by night and appear by day, and appear (to) Ṭardi bath [Onî, etc.]. (5) In the name of Gabriel, Michael, and Rophiel. Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Hallelia, Selah. According to AAAAAA.

Commentary

A charm against ghosts. The interest of this bowl lies in the figure decorating the center. It represents a demon with arms and legs manacled. On either side of the figures is an enclosed space, that on the figure's right hand bearing the inscription אסורא, that on its left, רשוא, i. e. prohibition and permission. In the lower part of the body on the former side is inscribed the names of the sorcerer's client. The pictures thus graphically presents the idea that the demon has no power over the lady in question. The picture is of better quality than the inscription, which is very illiterate. The spelling is most careless.

1. The connection of the proper names is uncertain, as also the character of the names themselves. For הרמסדר I might compare the Pahlavi Ormazdyâr, Justi, p. 10a.

2. For the repeated א, see p. 60.

3. לטאנא: probably an artificial form; cf. שידנא, טלנא, סטנא.

4. מיתחזא has Mandaic fem. pl. ending.—In באלליא the first א has a point over it—to mark error? cf. the Massoretic Niḳḳudim.

5. רופיאל: the first vowel as in *Enoch* and in Mandaic, representing the Hebrew active ppl., parallel to the equivalent Aramaic form in *Raphael*.

הלליה: for similar perversions see 24: 4, 31: 8, 32: 12; cf. *αλληλου* in the Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 3032, and הללו ליה in a Jewish charm, *JAOS*, 1911, 274.

No. 21 (CBS 16054)

(1) חתים ומח[ת]ם ביתה
ואיסקופתה דודי בתה
אחת מן כל פגעין
בישי מן כ[ל ר]וחין
(2) בישין ומ[ן] מבכלתא
ומן לליתא ומן כל נזקין
דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
ולאיסקו[פתה] דודי
(3) בת אחת דיחתים
ביתלתה עזקין ומחתם
בשבעה חתמין
ומן כל פגעין בישין ומן
כל רוחין (4) [בישין] ומן
מבכלתא

אמן אמן סלה

No. 22 (CBS 16006)

(1) חתים ומחתם ביתה
ואיסקופתה דדודי בת
אחת מן כל פגעין
בישין מן כל רוחין
(2) בישין ומן מבכלתא
ומן לליתא ומכל נזקין
דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
ולאיסקופתה (3) דודי
בת אחת דיחתים
ביתלתה עיזקין ומ[חתם
ב]שבעה חתמין
מן כל מין לליתא ומן
(4) נזקין

דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
ולאיסקופתה דדו[די]
[בת אחת]
ומן כל רוחין בישין [ומן]
כל נזקין בישין (5) מן יומה
דינן ולעל[ם

אמן א]מן סלה

No. 23 (CBS 16090)

(1) חתים ומחת[א]ם ביתה
ואיסקופתה דודי בת
אחת מן כל פגעין
בישין ומן כל רוחין
(2) בישין ומן מבכלתא
ומן לליתא ומן כל נזקא ומזקא
דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
ולאיסקופתה (3) דודי
בת אחת דיחתימי
ביתלתה עיזקין ומחתם
בשבעה חתמין
מבכלתא ומן כל נזקין
(4) ומנזקין

דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
ולאיסקופתה דודי
בת אחת

אמן אמן סלה

Translation of No. 22

Sealed and countersealed are the house and threshold of Dôdî bath Aḥath from all evil Plagues, from all evil Spirits, (2) and from the Tormentors, and from the Liliths, and from all Injurers, that ye approach not to her, to the house and threshold of (3) Dôdî b. A., which is sealed with three signets and countersealed with seven seals from every kind of

Lilith and from all (4) Injurers, that ye approach not to her, to the house and threshold of Dôdî [b. A.], and from all evil Spirits and from all evil Injurers, (5) from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

Three identical bowls, out of the four which were deposited at the corners of the charmed house; see § 8. There are slight variations in the inscriptions; in No. 22 the writer found more room and made a longer inscription. All three are most roughly and illegibly written; the characters ו, ז, י, נ are indistinguishable, and ם has a peculiar form. The word transliterated דינן, 22: 5, is written in a clumsy Syriac script.

An interesting grammatical peculiarity is the omission of ד after a genitive with the personal suffix. This appears at the beginning of l. 3 in No. 22, and throughout, in the same combination, in the other two. This might be taken for haplography before דודי; but the same phenomenon appears in the Mandaic bowls published below; see the Introduction, § 5 B.

For the injunction in l. 4 not to approach, cf. the like prohibition in a late Greek charm (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 294): *τοῦ μὴ ἀδικῆσαι ἢ βλάψαι ἢ προσεγγίσαι*, κ. τ. λ.; cf. also a Syriac charm of Gollancz's, p. 93.

No. 24 (CBS 2926)

אסו[תא] מן שמיא תהי לה להנדו בת מחלפתא (2) דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא מן אשיתא ומן אזיתא מן אונא (3) . . . . . אמן אמן סאלה אסותא מן שמיא תהי לה לקאקי בת מחלפתא . . . (4) דיתבטל מינה חלמי שנושי ורוחא בישת וסטאני בישי אמן אמן אמן סאלה הללוי אסותא (5) לזרנכש בת . מחלפת דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא לזרנבש ותאחי ברה בסבע דר . . . . . (6) אמן אמן אמן סאלה ..... נהיא גרר אגרייה .....

Translation

Salvation from Heaven be for Hindû bath Maḥlaphta, (2) that she be saved by the love of Heaven from Fever (?) and from Sweating, from (?) (3) ..... Amen, Selah.

Salvation from Heaven be for Kâkî bath Maḥlaphta (4) that there cease from her disturbing Dreams and the evil Spirit and evil Satans. Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallelui.

Salvation (5) for Zarinkaš bath Maḥlaphta, that she be saved by the love of Heaven, to wit Zarinkaš, that she bring to the birth her child ..... Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah. .....

Commentary

A charm for three daughters of a certain woman, made out in their names severally and for specific maladies. The misspellings are numerous.

1. הנדו: the same name appears in 40: 14; it is hypocoristic of הנדויתא 38: 3, i. e. "Indian woman."

2. אשיתא is doubtless fever, in neo-Syriac = malarial fever, cf. the general name for fever with the Jews, אשתא (Preuss, *Bib.-talm. Med.*,, 184). and n. b. the disease *ašû* in Assyrian, Küchler, *Beiträge*, 131, 197. For the next word the root אזא suggests a sweating disease. אונא may be another kind of fever. In general see above, p. 93 f.

3. קאקי: also in Hyvernat's bowl. The name occurs as that of an Egyptian sorceress in a Syriac biography of Rabban Hormizd (c. 600), cited by Budge in his edition of *The Book of Governors,* i, p. clxiv. Our word is probably the Syriac *ḳâḳâ,* "pelican," while the Egyptian name may represent *κακή* (for a similar adoption of this Greek word, see Payne Smith, col. 3709).

4. For the "disturbing dreams," see p. 82.

5. Zarinkaš: cited by Justi, p. 382.

No. 25 (CBS 16009)

[אס]ותא מן שמיה לגורוי בר טאטי ולאחת בת דודא איתתיה דיוחִ מיניהון בדי[רתהון
שידי ודי]וי ברחמי דישמיה מי בכין דמיתין להון דיחיו להון בכין ויקרבון (2) ומיתין
אישתכחון מן קודם אילי ניסתרתו ואלי ניסתרי בְשום אתה ש . . . . . מִים ומרכבתך
עַל כל האפנִים שלח להום להדרבדו בר . . . . . (3) .ל ריביהון דכל[הון] הא דיותמו
שים בפומי וכל דע . . . . . רין הון בריך אתה יהוה על דיבריה שום בשום (4) יופיאל
שמך יחיאל קרי לך שסנגיאל יהוה וכן יה . . . שמהת . . [אר]מסה מיטטרון יה בשום
טינין (5) טריגים בלבִיס שבגס שדרפס אילה אינון מלאכיה דיממטין לאסותא [לכל]
בְּנֵי אינשא אינון (6) יתֵן ויפקון באסותא דהדין בית[ה] וקינינה ודאיתתיה ודיב[נה]
ודבנתה ודכל אינשי בביתיה (7) לחדין גורוי בר טאטי מן יומא דין ולגליל עלם אמן אמן
סלה הללויה

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for Gurôi bar Ṭâṭî and for Aḥath bath Dôdâ his wife, that there vanish from them in their dw[elling the Demons and Dev]ils by the mercy of Heaven. Whoever here has dead, who shall become alive to them here, and shall approach (2) and are found to be (actually) dead—from these you are kept and these are kept (from you). In the name: Thou- ..... send (to) them, Hadarbadû bar ..... (3) .. the contentions of them all. Behold, ... Blessed art thou, YHWH on account of the name of ..... (4) Yophiel thy name, Yehiel they call thee, Šasangiel, YHWH, and so ..... names ..... [Ar]masa Metatron Yah, in the name of Tigin, Trigis, Balbis, Šabgas, Šadrapas. These are the angels who bring salvation to all the children of men. They (6) will come and go forth with the salvation of this house and property and dwelling of his, and of his sons and daughters and all the people in his house—(7) of this Gurôi b. Ṭ. from this day even for the sphere of eternity. Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.

Commentary

The inscription is of interest because it is directed against the apparition of family ghosts. In this respect it is to be compared with No. 39 and Wohlstein's bowl, no. 2417; see above p. 82.

1. גורוי: identified by Justi, p. 356, as a new-Persian form of *Warôê*. The *Seder ha-Doroth* lists a number of Talmudic persons named גוריא and גוריון (ii, 89); also a famous Syriac martyr Gurias is recorded. Apart from the Persian hypocoristic ending, the word could be explained from the Semitic (גוריא, Syriac, "whelp"). Cf. also the Palmyrene גורא, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 249.

טאטי: Ṭaṭâ is a feminine name found in Syriac, in Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* and Wright's *Catalogue of the British Museum;* see Payne Smith, col. 1456. Cf. תאתא, 39: 8.

2. אילי, אלי, and אילה l. 5: the Aramaic pronoun with loss of י, cf. similar cases cited to 8: 2,—if not a Hebraism.

ניסתרתו, ניסתרי: Hebrew Nifals with Aramaic inflection.

שלח להום להדרבדו: the idea apparently is that a message be sent to the dead to cause them to cease their contentions (ריביהון) with the living, then one of these departed spirits is named. The name is not recognizable as a proper name, and evidently, as in Wohlstein's bowl, referred to above, it is a fancy name. (There we have such names as *Yodid, Muth, Dabti, Ith.*)

4. יופיאל: One of the six angels in Targ. Jer. to *Dt.* 34: 6, along with Metatron, and, in Schwab, *Vocab.*, 145, a companion of M. and prince of the Law. יופי is a Talmudic surrogate for יהוה, see Blau, *Zauberwesen*, 131.

יחיאל or יהואל: cf. יהואל, Schwab, p. 141. The following name is unknown. These angels are invoked as phases or names of Deity; cf. p. 58.

Hermes-Metatron: for the identification, see to 2: 2; here identified with Yah.

5. These magical words are mystical names of the angels; see p. 97. They are dominated by sibilant terminations for which see p. 60.

מלאכיה: Mandaic plural spelling.

6. יתן = יאתון.

7. גליל עלם: cf. Syriac שנתא זבנא גינל; also of a cycle.

No. 26 (CBS 3997)

שמע ישראל ייי אלהינו ייי אחד על פי ייי יחנו ועל פי ייי יסעו (2) ואת משמרת ייי שמרו על פי ייי בד משה ויאמר ייי אל הסטן יגער ייי (3) בך הסטן יגער ייי בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אוד מוצל מאש תוב אסירת ואחידת אנתי (4) רוחא בישתא ולילית תקיפתא לא תיתחזן להון לבריביהביה בר מאמי והדא איצפנדרמיד בת ה..דורא (5) לא בימם ולא בלילה ולא בכל רמש וצפר ולא בכל שעתה ושעתה ולא בכל עידיא עידיא אילהין זעי (6) מן קדמיהון ושקולי גיטכי ופיטורכי וספר תירוכבי וא . . . יתכי כמא דכתבין שידין גיטין לינשיהון ותוב לא הדרין (7) דוביב אימכם דובי כיריא לא אישתי א.ביזנא אישה . . . . . ואפיפתיה מיבין שד . . . . . (8) פשיטנא . . . . . ותיהה כיום היולדה ושמתיה כ . . . . . בצמא . . . . לא א אירחים כוכ.י . . . . .

Translation

"Hear, Israel: YYYY our God is one YYYY." "According to the mouth of YYYY they encamped, and according to the mouth of YYYY they marched (2). The observance of YYYY they observed according to the word of YHWH through Moses." "And YYYY said to Satan: YYYY rebuke (3) thee, Satan, YYYY rebuke thee, who chose Jerusalem. Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?"

Again, bound and held art thou, (4) evil Spirit, and mighty Lilith, that thou appear not to Berîk-Yahbêh bar Mâmê and this Ispandarmêd bath H..dôrâ, (5) neither by day nor by night, nor at any evening or morning, nor at any time whatsoever, nor at any seasons whatsoever. But flee (6) from their presence and take thy divorce and thy separation and thy writ of dismissal. [I have divorced] thee, [even as demons write] divorces for their wives and return not (to them). (7, 8) .....

Commentary

This charm, against the evil Lilith, is introduced by three quotations from the Scriptures. The first is the opening sentence of the *Shemá*, which still remains the contents of the Mezuzoth, or house phylacteries of the

Jews. The other two have occurred in previous texts; see 5: 5. Unfortunately the last two lines are too broken and obscure to be read. I have merely reproduced here the evident characters. In the segments of the circle at the bottom of the bowl appear words, some of which are forms of the divine Names יה, יהו, איאה; also אילור (?) and יאיהו (?)

1. יויי: for יהוה. Cf. the common scribal abbreviation, יי or יוי; also such forms as יוו and ויו, in Schwab O.

בד משה: for ביד, as in No. 5.

3. תוב: cf. 2: 1.

4. בריכיהביה: there is no doubt as to the reading of this name and it is remarkable enough. The second and divine component of the name—which was an ordinary [ברכ]יה, [ברוכ]יה, or [בריכ]יה, has been expanded so as to give the awful pronunciation of the Ineffable Name. We cannot suppose that the name was thus ordinarily spelt or pronounced, but the scribe has taken it upon himself to give this interpretation (פירוש) of his client's name. Here then is a clear survival of the ancient magical signification and use of the personal name (cf. Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 159 ff.), as also of the pronunciation of the name itself. It may be retorted that יה—would hardly be used to represent *ê*, and that the original pronunciation was *Yahwè*, not—*é* (see Arnold's valuable discussion, *JBL*, xxiv, 152). The latter thesis is right, but I think that the tradition represented here connects with the Hellenistic magic, in which, among various forms, Ιαη occurs several times (Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 7),[1] although I have not found a case of Ια$\beta\eta$. Further, in the Talmud (*Sanh.* 56a) יוסה appears as a surrogate for the Name, which Dietrich, *ZATW*, iv, 27, would vocalize as Yosê. Blau (*Zauberwesen*, 131) objects to *ê*, but adduces from the Mishna, *Sukk.* 45a, the surrogate יופי which he identifies with the Greek magical term $\iota\omega\phi\eta$ (citing Paris Pap. ll. 1896, 2746). This would be further proof for η in the current magical pronunciation. As for יה- = -*ê*, we have not only the masc. pron. suffix for a parallel but also the plural -*ê* represented in the same way in some of our texts, e. g. 9: 6, 12: 1, 25: 5, and also the proper name דדביה 31: 2.

[1] Also on an Abraxas gem, see *Dict. de l'archéologie chrétienne*, i, 141.

I can find no other interpretation of this unique name-form. A note upon it was published in the *Museum Journal* of the University, 1910 no. 2, which called forth some private criticisms from scholars (along with assents), but no better explanation has been offered. (Is there a possible explanation in the יהביה noticed to 7: 8?). In the first amulet in my paper "Some Early Amulets from Palestine," *JAOS,* 1911, *272,* line 16, יהביה is apparently to be read for the divine Name, a proof of western connections for the present form.

איצפנדרמיד: cf. Glossary B for other forms. The name occurs in Ellis 1, where it was first recognized by Levy, *ZDMG,* ix, 470, 486, its correct interpretation (as Spenta-Armaita, a daughter of Ahuramazda) being given by G. Hoffmann, "Auszüge aus syrischen Acten," *Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes,* 1880, 128; see also Justi, p. 308. For the mother's name Prof. Kent suggests to me comparison with Ἑρμόδωρος, see Fick, *Griech. Personennamen,* 112.

8. פשיטנא: cf. 2: 5.

No. 27 (CBS 16041)

בישמך מרי אסואתה (2) אסיא רבא דרחמי אזילנא אנא יזידאד (3) בר איזדנדוך בחילי דנפשי בקומתי נציצתא (4) דפרזלא קרקפתי דפרזלא כולה קומתי דנורא דכיא ולבישנא (5) לבושא דארמסא דביא ומללא וחלינא במאן דיברא שמיא וארעא אזלית פנעית (6) בהון בסנאי בישי ובבעילדבבי מרירי אמרית להון דאם מידעם חטיתון ביה (7) ביתי אנא יזידאד בר איזדנדוך בי קשתא גאיבנא לכון. ובי יתרא פשיטנא לכון תוב מידעם חטיתון (8) ביה ביתהּ תוב אנא מירדוך בת באנא אשיפנא לכון באישפא דימָא ובאישפא דליויתן תנינא תוב מידעם חטיתון (9) בידידי אנא יזיזדאד בר איזדנדוך מחיתנא עליכון שמתא גזירתא ואהרמתא דאחיתנא על חירמון טורא ועל ליויתן תנינא ועל סדום (10) ועל עמורה מיטול דלמיכְבִּש דִיוי אזילנא ורוחי בישאתא ולישן חומרי זידניאתה אנא יזידאד בר איזדנדוך אזלית פנעית בהון (11) בשידי בדיוי בליליאתא בישאתא בפתכרי זיכרי באיסתראתה ניקבאתה כד קימין סידרי סידרי מרפדי מרפדי . . . עליהון . . . . . .

Commentary

After the introductory appeal, "In thy name, O Lord of salvations," etc., the inscription for lines 2b-11 is practically identical with No. 2. This portion does not need translation and commentary. The remaining lines, 13-24, are so mutilated or obscure, that I can make out but few connected passages in them, and hence I do not present them.

There are a few slight differences between the parallel texts, this one being probably more correct. The most considerable variation in text is in l. 9, where the sorcerer says that *he* laid the ban upon Hermon; cf. my note to 2: 6. The same Yezîdâd bar Izdandûch and his wife Merdûch bath Banâi, appear in No. 7. There they are the subjects of the charm, here Yezîdâd operates magic in his own name. Cf. the mutual character of the charm in No. 2. In l. 8 the wife also takes up the exorcism.

No. 28 (CBS 2972)

בישמיך מרי שמיא וארעה מזמן כסא לישמיה דאנור . . דְ בר פרכוי דנישתיחן ונישתנר ונישתבב (2) בתר אחת בת נבאזך אמין כיבשי עלמא לא איתכבישו אילא על . . . וְשַׁכְּבְנַלְיָהּ דבר אינשא בליביה דוך . . . . . (3) נסבין חִרְךְ וַאֲחרוניאתא דקרי ענני שימשא מטללן ונורייא כללהּ . . . . . ינהו[ן] ורזי רחמתא דְפַרסתנון על ב. . . . . (4) היא תיפרוסינון על הדאין [אנור. . .] בר פרכוי עד דנישתיחן ונישתבב בתר אחת [בת נ']..... ובי שוחאה וברזי רחמתא בדיל ד . . . . . (5) . . . . לא פסקין מין ליביה וקיטרא..... דְוַכְרְנַיְהּ בשמיה דרחמיאל מלאכה ובשמה דדלִיבת עזיזתא . . . . . אֵילהי מְרתהון דרזי כולהון אמין אמין . . . . .

Translation

In thy name, O Lord of heaven and earth. Appointed is this bowl to the account of Anûr ... bar Parkôi, that he be inflamed and kindled and burn (2) after Aḥath bath Nebâzak. Amen.

Everlasting presses which have only been pressed upon (?) ..... a man in his heart. (3) Take *ḥrk*, and hot herbs (?) which they call sunwort (?), *mṭlln* and peppers ..... them and the rites of love which thou (?) hast sprinkled upon ..... (4) She shall sprinkle them upon this Anûr ... b. P. until that he be inflamed and burn after Aḥath b. N. ..... and in lust and in the mysteries of love, in order that ..... (5) ..... take pieces from his heart and the charm ..... his name (?). In the name of the angel Raḥmiel and in the name of Dlîbat the passionate, ... the gods, the lords of all the mysteries. Amen, Amen, ...

Commentary

A love-charm—such is the import of this sadly mutilated but interesting bowl. It belongs to the same class of magic as No. 13, but is more romantic, for there we find a charm for a childless, neglected wife, here one for a passionate woman to bring her lover to her side. For the use of a bowl for such a *defixio* see above p. 44. The first copyist was able to

read more than I can now, as, since it was in his hands, the bowl has been cracked and then repaired. The lacunae in the text are tantalizing.

So far as the text is legible, the charm which names the two parties adjures the passion of the beloved. Some praxis is described, a simulacrum is evidently used, for "his heart is to be torn in pieces," and on this image is to be scattered some kind of salad of hot herbs expressive of love's passion, while the beloved's name is to be formally pronounced.

Blau has collected the Talmudic material on philtres in his *Zauberwesen,* 24, 52, 158, 167; n. b. the recitation of Bible verses over the love-apple, p. 52, n. 2 (with literature). In the Old Testament we have mere references to this aphrodisiac (*Gen.* 30: 14 ff., *Cant.* 7: 14) without any note as to magical manipulation. For later Jewish use, see the numerous philtres prescribed in Thompson, "Folk Lore of Mossoul," *PSBA,* 1906-7.

But it is from the classical and Hellenistic field that we have most knowledge of this amatory magic, and the connections of the present text are found in that direction. Of course Theocritus's second Idyll comes to mind, in which the love-lorn maiden casts the various philtres into the fire with adjurations of Hecate. For this classical field I may refer to the monograph of O. Hirschfeld, *De incantamentis et devinctionibus amatoriis apud Graecos Romanosque* (Ratisbon, 1863); see p. 42 for aphrodisiac herbs; also see section 8 (p. 233) of Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius.*

In the magical papyri numerous erotic incantations are preserved, e. g. in the Paris Papyrus in Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften* hist.-phil. Class, xxxvi, l. 2622 ff., xli, p. 52, l. 976 ff.[1] But the most graceful and famous of these charms is that inscribed on a lead plate found at Hadrumetum, N. Africa,—buried in a necropolis, just as our bowl was buried in the earth. First edited by Maspero, it has been since frequently published: Wünsch, *CIA, App. continens defixionum tabellas,* p. xvii; Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae,* no. 271; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien,* 21, and *Bible Studies,* 271; Blau, *op. cit.* 96; Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln,* no. 5. It is Blau's merit to have specially pointed out the Jewish connection of this text. Now, between this Hellenistic charm and our bowl we find an almost literal

[1] I may add now F. Boll, "Griechischer Liebeszauber aus Aegypten auf zwei Bleitafeln," in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Heidelberg Academy, phil.-hist. Class, 1910, no. 2.

correspondence in the trinity of terms for the passion adjured in the lover. With our invocation that the man "be enflamed and kindled and burn after" the girl, compare the longing of the Greek maiden Domitiana that her lover come *ἐρῶντα μαινόμενον βασανιζόμενον*, or *ἐρῶντα μαινόμενον βασανιζόμενον*, or *ἐρ. βασ. ἀγρυπνοῦντα* —repetitions like those in our texts. With this probably technical formula compare the second of the charms cited above by Wessely: May X do naught until *ἐλθοῦσα πρός με τὸν δεῖνα πληροφοροῦσα ἀγαπῶσα στεργοῦσα εμέ, κ. τ. λ.* Also in our l. 4 there is an echo of Domitiana's wish that he come *ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ ἐρωτι καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ*, while the formula "to the name," l. 1, and the use of "heart," l. 2, indicate Greek connections.

How much Jewish, how much Grecian, the Hadrumetum tablet is, it is difficult to determine. Our text shows manifest ties with the love-magic of the Hellenistic world and is the eastern representative of the philtres of which the North African text is the most notable western example. The spirit of both these texts is Greek rather than Semitic; but the fame of Jewish magic appears to have made its solemn formulas eligible for the desires of passion. Our text, it is to be noticed, is not at all Jewish in religion, is of more simple original type than the African charm.

For the praxis of our text I may compare a Moorish love-charm cited by Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1908, p. 253: "A woman who wishes to gain the love of a man should procure the following materials from neighbors with whom she has never eaten: coriander, caraway, gum of terebinth, lime, cummin, verdegris, myrrh, some blood of an animal whose throat has been cut, and a piece of a broom hailing from a cemetery. On a dark night she is to go into the country with a lighted brazier and throw these different articles one after another into the fire speaking these words: O coriander, bring him mad! O caraway, bring him wandering without success! O mastic, raise in his heart anguish and tears! O white lime, make his heart wakeful in disquietude! O cummin, bring him possessed! O verdegris, kindle the fire of his heart! O myrrh, make him spend a frightful night! O blood of the victim, lead him panting! O cemetery broom, bring him to my side." Etc.

1. לישמיה = *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, and see Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 95 ff., and his definition of the phrase as indicating "die Zueignung an eine Person

unter irgend welchem Gebrauch ihres Namens" (p. 107, and at length, pp. 100-110). As he shows, the usage before us is not Semitic or even Septuagintal. Cf. also Böhmer, *Das biblische "Im Namen,"* 4.

נבאזך, אנור..ך: ?

2. כבשי עלמא: I translate the words without any certain sense. For the noun כ׳ see to 7: 1. If צלמא might be read, the reference could be to a moulded (כבש, "press") figure representing the lover. Below in l. 4 the space before the man's name may have contained "image of," or the like. The latter part of the line is most obscure. The "heart" (also l. 5) appears as the seat of sexual affection. This is a Greek usage, not Semitic (with the possible exception of the Hebrew phrase דבר על לב, used five times with a woman as the object). See Andry, *Le coeur,* 5, for the Greek idea of the heart as the amatory organ, p. 15 ff., for the late Semitic use. P. 17 he quotes a Spanish Arabic poet who speaks gallantly of being wounded to the heart, but the metaphor is that of a mortal wound.[3]

3. I translate the ppl. נסבין, as also פסקין l. 5, as imperatives; cf. Rabbinic and Syriac usage.

חרך וג׳: to this list of aphrodisiacs the clue is given by גורייא (יא- = pl. ending, as in Mandaic), which is the *piper candidus* (Payne Smith, col. 2303); its pungency was evidently regarded as possessing erotic power and symbolism. Then חרך, if the reading be correct, and אחרוניתא are to be explained in the same way from their roots, חרך, חרה, "burn." ענני שימשא doubtless lies in the same circle of ideas. May מטללן be mushrooms? Loew's *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* does not contain these words. The "rites of love" are the magical practices.

4. שיחאה: I compare Syriac שיחנותא (*sub* שוח). "boldness, lasciviousness"; the ending *â'â* for *âyâ?*

5. פסקין מין ליביה: פ׳ a noun, or better a ppl. like נסבין, l. 3. The phrase is simplest interpreted as a reference to the lady's slowly tearing to pieces the facsimile of her lover's heart, with the intent that he perish of love; cf. again Theocritus's second Idyll.

[3] Cf. the phrase quoted in Lane's *Dictionary,* 782: "she has overturned my heart and torn my midriff."

דוכרניה: the lover's name is to be pronounced. For the angel Raḥmiel see to No. 13.

דליבת : one of the Mandaic forms of Dilbat, a name of the Babylonian Ishtar, especially in her stellar capacity as Venus. For the Mandaic forms, see Brandt, *Mand. Schr.*, 45, 85; also in Hesychius as Δελεφατ, and in Bar Baḥlul as דלבת.[3] For this form, see Nöldeke,, *Mand. Gram.* § 25. For the Babylonian use see Jensen, *Kosmologie,* 18, and the latest discussion by Jastrow, *ZA,* 1908, 155. As the goddess of love her patronage is appropriate. The epithet עזיזתא (cf. 38: 7) recalls the Babylonian *ezzu,* a frequent epithet of gods, while Ishtar especially appears as the raging goddess, whether of war, in Assyria, or of love, in the Izdubhar epic. The same epithet became the old Arabian name of the morning-star, al-'uzza, (Wellhausen *Skizzen,* III, 41, Nöldeke, *ZDMG,* xli, 710, the identification denied by W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, 57). The Edessene עזיז was originally the morning-star, Lagrange, *Études,*[3] 135; cf. the Aramaic names עשתרעזא and עשתרתעז (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 347 f.).

[3] So also to be explained דלפת in Schwab, *Vocab.*, 403.

No. 29 (CBS 16055)

..... (2) יהוה צבאות לאסותא [. . . . . מתאניש] (3) בת ראשן דפקק הויה
הויה (4) פשר מְעֻזָן נשנין קציצי אב. רקיעי . . . . . וחתים (5) למתאניש בת ראשן
קמיעה בשמיה דיהוה צבאות למתאניש בת ראשן וצירין (6) מינה מן בנה מן ביתה מן
דירתה כולה פגעין בישין ושידין בישין ולילית בי[ש]תא (7) ובשירה וענקתה . . . . .
כיפתא ומבכלתא ובנתא דברא וטומי ובר ניפלא משבענא [עליכון] (8) מידעם ביש
שרי בביתיה ובדרתיה דחליפאי בר שישין שֵדא ודרשי בראי זאסטרובא הנֵי . . . . .
(9) . . .קיתא חרסום איננע פגע לילי ס.רא וטבא ושידי בני טילי וכל זיקין ומזיקין בישין
דדכרנא שמיה[ון ודלא (10) ד]כרנא שמיהון מומינא ומשבענא ומקימנא וגידנא ומקימנא
עליכון בשמיה מו דקץ שץ מץ בץ קץ קץ בץ . . . . . יֵן (11) אהיה אשר אהיה אלהא
רבא מיצואה שמו הוא אלהא מרי כל אסותא דכורסיה מתקן בי שחקי לשחקים ועלמיה
מתקן ל. . . . . (12) ביהוה ולתושבחיה ולהימנותיה ולעובדיה הוא אלהא רבא גיברא
. . . . . .

Translation

[This bowl is appointed in the name of?] (2) YHWH Sebaoth for the salvation [and sealing? of Metâniš] (3) bath Rêšân ..... (4) ..... and sealed (5) for Metâniš b. R.,—an amulet in the name of YHWH Sebaoth for Metâniš b. R. And bound (6) from her, from her children, from her house, from all her dwelling, are the evil Plagues and evil Demons and the evil and the decent Lilith and the Necklace-spirits and ... Menstruation and Tormentors and the Hags of the wild and Impurities and Epilepsy (?).

We adjure you (8) whatsoever evil thing lodges in the house and dwelling of Ḥaliphâi bar Šiššîn ... and Darši the foreigner and Astrôbâ ..... (9) ..... Leprosy, Plague, Stroke, the kindly and ... Lili, and the Demons, ghostly Shades, and all Goblins and evil Injurers whose names I have mentioned and whose names [I have not] (10) mentioned: I exorcise and adjure and make fast and bind and make fast (*sic*) upon you, in the name of MW, of ḲṢ, ŠṢ, MṢ, BṢ, KṢ, KṢ, BṢ, ... (11) I-am-that-I-am, the great God, Meṣôâh his name. He is God, the Lord of all Salvation, whose throne is established between the ethers and his eternity (world?)

is established for ..... (12) in YHWH and for his praise and the faith in him and his service. He is the great, the mighty God.

COMMENTARY

A charm made out for two different parties, (1) a woman Metâniš and her household, and (2) for several men and their house and quarters. These may be lodgers in the woman's house. One of the men is a "foreigner." The tone of piety in the charm is superior to that of the other texts; the incantation is in the name of YHWH Sebaoth alone, whose praises are dwelt upon in almost liturgical fashion.

1. The charm appears to have a double introduction. Most of ll. 3, 4 is unintelligible.

5. מתאניש:?—ראשן: possibly the father's name, Syriac ראשנא, "prince." One is tempted to compare the name of the famous Roxane; the masc. parallel Roxanes = Persian Rôšan, Justi, p. 262. But the *ô* should be indicated.

6. לי בי וכשירה: see above, p. 76. בי may be euphemistic and then have developed into a distinct species. Cf. the epithet טאבא in l. 9.

7. כיפסא: Syriac *kepsâ*.—בנתא דברא: cf. 17: 3.—טומי: Syriac טאומא.

בר ניפלא: one might think, in the context, of abortion. But in the Talmud בן נפילים is a demon of nervous trouble or epilepsy, *Bekor.* 44b; see Grünbaum *ZDMG*, xxxi, 332 for some discussion of the word. Epilepsy was a most common disease in antiquity; n. b. the miracles in the New Testament, and for the Hellenic world cf. Tambornino, *De antiquorum daemonismo*, 57: often equivalent to insanity. It has been generally supposed that the Jews were particularly subject to this disease; M. Fishberg in *The Jews*, London and New York, 1911, denies this, but admits the nervous pathology of the race (chap. xv). Cf. 16: 8 for another disease cited in *Bekor.* 44.

8. דרתיה: alongside of דירי, l. 6; the form appears in the Syriac and Mandaic bowls.

חליפאי = Palmyrene חלימי; for signification, cf. מחלפתא.

שישין : cf. the Persian (?) names Sisines, Sisinnios, Šišôi, Justi, p. 303; on the etymology of Sisines see Nöldeke, *Pers. Studien*, 404, no. 1.

Cf. the Jewish names שישא and שישנא, *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 348 f. Also in Pognon B (where שעשין) it is the name of the parent—mother or father? Is שידא an additional name? Of רשי we learn only that he is a foreigner. Also אסטרובא is evidently a Greek name.

9. אינגע: the demon offspring of Adam are called בני אדם נגעי in the Zohar, Eisenmenger, ii, 422.

חרסום: for this formation, see Levias, *Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom ... in the Bab. Talmud,* § 975. For similar eruptive diseases named in these texts, see p. 93.

בני טילא: epithet of the goblins; Rabb. טולא, Syr. *ṭellâ,* "shadow." Cf. the טלני, Targ. *Cant.* 3: 8, etc.

The lacuna at end of the line is supplied by help of 14: 6.

10. For the dominance of sibilants in these magical words cf. p. 60. At the begining and end of the series are characters enclosed in square lines.

11. בי: for בין, as also in the Talmud. There follows a lapse into Hebrew—probably a citation.

שחקים: one of the seven heavens of Kabbalism.

12. תושבחיה: for תושבחתיה?

עובריה: it is strange to find this word of magical connotation used of true worship in a Jewish text.

No. 30 (CBS 16096)

אסר וחתים ומחאתם ביתא וחיי דנא אישפיזא בר ארחא וינדונדישנט בר (2) איסיפנדרמיד
ותר . . [ב]ת סימכוי מן שאמיש וכיטא מן דיוא מן סאטנא מן שדא דכירא (3) מן
ליליתא נקיבתא מן רוחין בישין מן חומרא זידניתא מן רוח ליליתא דיכרא ואנקבתא
עינאנא דיכרא (4) נקבתא עינא חאסדניתא עינא דחזי אף בית ליבא רזא דאו דידיה
חיל בישין הוא מרא זנותא מן חיל ביש (5) סניא מן חזינא ט[רו]דא מן רוחין בישין
מן הוא מרא זאדנותה בשם אתאחשת . . . . . .

Translation

Bound and sealed are the house and the life of this Išpîzâ bar Arhâ, and Yandundišnaṭ bar (2) Ispandarmêd, and ... bath Simkôi, from the Sun and Heat, from the Devil, the Satan, the male Demon (3) the female Lilith, evil Spirits, the impious Amulet-spirit, the lilith-Spirit male or female; the Eye of man (or) (4) woman; the Eye of contumely; the Eye which looks right into the heart; the mystery which belongs to the evil Potency, that impious lord; from the evil hateful Potency; from disturbing Vision; from evil Spirits; from that impious Lord, in the name of .....

Commentary

A charm for two men and a woman from certain specified diseases and demons. The inscription is illiterate and the script particularly difficult, the writer using a very individual chirography; n. b. the מ, the non-distinction of ד and ר, the א which often consists of but two upright strokes, and the use of one form for internal and finial נ except in the word מן, where a finial is used.

1. אסר: for אסיר.

אישפיזא: cf. the Syriac אשפז (Ašpâz) for the Hebrew אשפנז in Dan. 1: 3. (אספנז occurs in Myhrman, l. 1, to which I cite the Babylonian

Ašpazanda.). The Persian אשפוא is "house," and אישפיזכיא "steward." May it be an abbreviated form of the latter word?[1]

ארחא: cf. the biblical Araḥ, a post-exilic name.

ינדונדישנט: so the most likely reading of the name.

2. סימכוי: the characters are uncertain. Cf. Σειμεικος in a Greek inscription from the Don, = Persian simikos, "silver"; Justi, p. 294.

שאמיש וכיטא: the first word is the Mandaic spelling for "the Sun," which also in the Mandaic religion is regarded as an evil genius. כיטא = קיטא, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 42. Cf. Ps. 121: 6, 91: 6, and see Grünbaum's discussion of the קטב מרירי, the demon of the midday sun, *ZDMG*, xxxi, 251 f.

דכירא: an error for דיכרא (cf. l. 3), or intended for assonance with נקיבתא. Cf. the unabashed spellings in Samaritan literature to produce rhymes. Or is there a play on the roots, דכר and נקב being used in the sense of "name"?—i. e. the named spirits.

3. רוח לילית: cf. N. T. *πνεῦμα δαίμονος*.

עינאנא: the last two letters are dittography. There follows a list of various kinds of "evil eye," for which see p. 86.

4. עינא חאסדניתא: so the most likely reading; cf. Lidz. 4, end, עינא חוסראנא (?).

"The eye that sees (or of those that see) within the heart" is a reference to the uncanny effect of the evil eye.

In what follows some corrections are necessary. דאו = דהו ?; for חיל בישין read ח׳ ביש as farther on, and correct זנותא to זאדנותא with l. 5. There is evidently a repetition of phrases. The חיל ביש (like the עין בישא) is the personification of the power operating these psychological wonders. Cf. the Rabbinic כחות (Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, 80), the New Testament *δυνάμεις*.

חזינא טרודא = חלמי שנושי, 24: 4.

At the end of l. 5 comes a long series of characters which do not appear to form words.

[1] According to Karmsedin's Lexicon, quoted by Payne-Smith under the latter word; *in lingua Nabathaea est oeconomius et viatorum exceptor*, etc. Observe the accompanying name ארחא.

No. 31 (CBS 9008)

מזמן הנא כאסא לחתמתא (2) דביתה דהנא דאדביה בר אסמנדוכת (3) דתיזה מנה ומן ביתה מבכלתא (4) ולוטתא וחילמא בישא בישא אסירין מזרזין ומשררין (5) מהילין מגנברין ומחתמין ומנטרין הלין כאסא לחתמתא (6) דביתה דהנא דאדבה בר אסמנדוכת דלא נישרון לחדדא בשום יאהיהו (7) נהרבתמן ס מרעם מרמר אות ששביבות אסתר מותא ישהנאה אה אה אה אהה (8) אאאאאאא אמין אמין סלה הללויה +++++++ ניתחתים וניתנטר ביתה (9) ואנתתא ובנה דהנא דאדבה בר אסמנדוכת ותיזה מנה ומן ביתה מבכלתא ולוטתא וחילמא (10) בישא אמין

Translation

This bowl is designated for the sealing (2) of the house of this Dâdbeh bar Asmandûcht, (3) that from him and his house may remove the Tormentor (4) and the Curse and the very evil Dreams. Charmed; fortified and confirmed, (5) corroborated, strengthened and sealed and guarded are these bowls for the sealing (6) of the house of this Dâhbeh b. A., that they may not lodge together (with them). In the name of Yâhihû (7) NHRBTMW, S, MR'S, MRMR, 'oth Šašbiboth, Astar, Mûtâ. YŠHN'H, Ah, Ah, Ah, Ahah, (8) AAAAAAA, Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallulia.

Sealed and guarded shall be the house (9) and wife and sons of this Dâdbeh b. A., that there may remove from him and his house the Tormentor and the Curse and evil Dreams. Amen.

Commentary

For a general discussion of the epigraphy and language of this and the following Syriac bowls (Nos. 31-37), see Introduction, § 6. The crosses in l. 8 are the same as those which occur in the center "seals" of these Syriac bowls.

1. מזמן וגי: cf. 8: 1, and see to 3: 1.

2. Dâdbeh son of Asmanducht appears also in Nos. 12 and 16. Here the latter name appears in full Persian form, *-dûcht*.

3. תיזה = תיזח: see to 4: 6.

4. מזרזין: see to 4: 6.

5. מהילין: for מח׳.-באסא הלין with reference to the four duplicate bowls.

6. יאהיאו: a play on the Tetragrammaton, with the three primary vowels; cf. the magical use of the seven vowels in Greek; there αηω is also found, Paris Pap., l. 3019 ff.

No. 32 (CBS 16086)

מזמן הנא כאסא לחתמתא דביתה (2) ודאנתתה ודבנה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד דתיזה
מנה מבכלתא (3) וחלמא בישא פורא רמינא ושקינא עבודא דעביד הוהוא (4) כי הוא
דיתיב רב יישוע בר פרחיא וכתב עליהון דסתבירא על כלהון שידא ודיוא (5) וסטנא
וללית ולטבא דאית בביתה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד תוב כתב עליהון דסתבירא דלעלם
(6) בשום אתמדג אתאתות אתות מן גו ת אתות אתות שמא גיליונא מן גו גיליונא
דבהנהון איתכביש (7) שמיא וארעה וטורא ובהנהון איתמר רמא[תא] ובהנהון איתמסר
[חרשא שידא] ודיוא וסטנא וללית ולטבא (8) ובהנהון עבר מן עלמא וסליק עליכון
למרומא ואיתאלף כל קיבלא חביל[א] לחבלותא ואסי.א [לאפק]כון (9) [מן ב]יתה
דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד ומן כל דאיתלה שביקית[ון] בדסתבירא ואסיר [וח]תים ומחתם
איכין דש[ירא קדמיא לא כר]יבו (10) ואנשא קדמיא דעוטר לא הוו תוב אסיר חתים
ומחתם הנא דסתבירא בשום יהיהיהיה יהיה עא [אמין אמין סלה (11) ניתח]תים
וניתנטר ביתה ודורה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ותיתחתים
ותיתנטר [אנתתה ובנה] (12) מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ונידרא ונ . . . . . ל
הל.ה אמין

Translation

This bowl is designated for the sealing of the house and the wife (2) and the children of Dinôi bar Ispandarmêd, that there remove from him the Tormentor (3) and evil Dreams.

The bowl I deposit and sink down, a work which has been made (4) like that which Rab Jesus bar Perahia sat and wrote against them,—a ban-writ against all the Demons and Devils (5) and Satans and Liliths and *Laṭbê* which are in the house of Dinôi b. I. Again: he wrote against them a ban-writ which is for all time, (6) by the virtue of 'TMDG, Atâtôt Atôt, within T(?), Atôt Atôt the name, a writing within a writing. Through which (words) were subjected (7) heaven and earth and the mountains; and through which the heights were commanded; and through which were fettered Arts, Demons and Devils and Satans and Liliths and *Laṭbê;* (8) and through which he passed over from this world and climbed above you

to the height (of heaven) and learned all counter-charms, a ruin to destruction, and ... to bring you forth (9) from the house of Dînôi b. I., and from all that is in his house, I have dismissed you by the ban-writ. And charmed and sealed and countersealed is it, even as ancient runes fail not, (10) and (like) ancient men who are not ... Again: charmed and sealed and countersealed is this ban-writ by the virtue of YHYHYHYHYH, YHYH, YHYH, A'. Amen, Amen, Selah.

(11) Sealed and protected are the house and dwelling of Dînôi b. I. from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse. And sealed and protected be [his wife and son] (12) from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and Curse and Vows and ..... Hallela, Amen.

Commentary

Nos. 32 and 33 certain practically identical inscriptions, except that they are made out in the name of different clients, and that No. 32 has additional matter at the beginning and the end. This identity is fortunate for the interpretation of the two bowls, for the lacunae in each one can be almost wholly supplied from the other. Also No. 35 is made out for the wife of the client of the present charm. The chirography of all three bowls is the same, being more cursive than the script of No. 31.

The charms effected in this and the following bowl are attributed to a certain master magician, Jesus bar Perahia, evidently the Joshua ben Perahia, who appears in the same capacity in Nos. 8, 9, and 17. Now Joshua ben Perahia is one of the several *Zugoth* or Pairs, who handed down the tradition of the Law from the Great Synagogue; and he flourished in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, in the early part of the first century B. C. The Mishnaic reference to him is found in *Pirke Aboth* 1: 7, where the following *dictum* is attributed to him: "Make unto thyself a master, and possess thyself of an associate, and judge every man on the scale of merit."

Further, an interesting Talmudic tradition concerning the same Joshua appears in uncensored editions, according to which he fled into Egypt to escape the cruel persecution instituted by Alexander against the Pharisees, culminating in the crucifixion of eight hundred of that faction, *circa* 88

B. C.[1] The tradition is of added interest because it connects Joshua with a certain ישו whose identity with Jesus of Nazareth is generally recognized.[2]

The passage in *Sanh.* 107b reads as follows: The rabbis taught: The left hand should always push away, and the right hand receive favorably. Not like Elisha, who drove away Gehazi with both hands, nor like Joshua b. P. who drove off Jesus (in the Munich MS., and in *Soṭa* ישו חנוצרי, i. e. Jesus the Nazarene)..... How was that? When king Jannaeus killed the rabbis, R. Joshua b. P. and Jesus went to Alexandria of Egypt. When peace was established, Simeon b. Šeṭaḥ sent a message to him: From Jerusalem the Holy City to thee Alexandria of Egypt, my sister: My husband is lodged in thee, and I sit desolate.—He (Joshua) arose, and came, and lodged at a certain inn, where they paid him great respect. He said: How fair is this inn (*aksania*). He (Jesus) said to him, Rabbi, her eyes (as though by *aksania* the landlady was meant!) are too bleary. He replied to him: Thou knave, thou busiest thyself with such stuff! He brought forth four hundred horns and excommunicated him. He (Jesus) came in his presence many a time, and said, Receive me; he took no notice of him. One day he was reading the Shema, Jesus again presented himself, thinking he would receive him. He made a sign to him with his hand, he thought that he had utterly rejected him. He went off and erected a tile and worshipped it. Joshua said to him, Repent. He replied, I have been taught by thee that every sinner and seducer of the people can find no opportunity for repentance. And so it was said: Jesus bewitched and seduced and drove off Israel.

It is of interest that the Jesus of our texts is given a title which became the epithet of the Nazarene Jesus with whom Talmudic tradition connected him: ישוע אסיא, 34: 2, = Ἰησοῦς σωτήρ. Is there in this magical reference to Jesus b. Perahia a confusion with Jesus Christ?

We find then in these magical bowls an independent tradition concerning an early hero of the Law, who appears as endowed with magic powers, and who furthermore was able to make the ascent of the soul to heaven. He was accordingly one of the earliest to attain that spiritual

[1] See Schürer, *GJV*[4], i, 288.

[2] The anecdote is found in *Sanhedrin* 107b = *Soṭa* 47a; cf. Jerusalem Talmud *Ḥagiga*, ii, 2, *Sanh.* vi, 8. Dalman, in Laible's *Jesus Christus im Talmud*[2], Appendix, p. 8 ff., gives the texts of the first three passages, with critical apparatus, and Strack, *Jesus, die Häretiker u. d. Christen*, 1910, § 8, gives the texts from *Ḥagiga*, and the Bab. *Sanhedrin*. Through the kindness of Dr. Julius H. Greenstone, I have also had access to his rare copy of the Constantinople edition, 1585, of *Sanhedrin*. Dalman quotes the Venetian editions of the two Talmuds, and the *Jewish Encyclopaedia, s. v.* "Joshua b. P." cites the Amsterdam and Berlin edition of 1865 for the passage in *Soṭa*. On the criticism of the legend concerning Jesus, see Laible, p. 40 ff., and Strack, *ad loc.* The Jerusalem Talmud names Juda b. Tabai in place of Joshua (they were contemporaries) and omits mention of Jesus. Cf. Blau, p. 34, for some points of interpretation. The introduction of Jesus is a sheer anachronism.

privilege, which was the claim of apocalyptists from the author of *Enoch* down. See in general Bousset, "Die Himmelreise d. Seele," in *Archiv f. Rel-wissenschaft,* iv (1901), 136 f., 229 f. Such a claim is made for Akiba, who alone of four friends succeeded in penetrating Paradise, *Ḥagiga* 14b (see Bousset, p. 145), and this mystical claim was asserted by the Kabbalists for Moses and especially for R. Ishmael; see full references in Bousset, p. 151 ff., cf. Graetz, *Gesch.* v, 231 and Joel, *Aberglaube,* ii, 35. The Talmudic tradition has unfortunately not preserved for us enough of the mystical side of the early teachers; Akiba could not have been alone in his mysticism. Joshua was possibly one of the good company of apocalyptists and our magic tradition may preserve a true reminiscence of his personality and claims.

2. בנה: plural with masc. sing. suffix, as in the texts above and in Mandaic.

דינוי: s. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien,* 403.

3. פורא רמינא וג': see to 9: 1. I may now add the Syriac פוחרא, "earthenware figures" (of the gods), occurring in Overbeck, *Ephraemi Syri ... opera,* 13, l. 24. Compare also the Assyrian *pûru,* "bowl," see Zimmern, *Beiträge,* 147, note k, and *KAT*[3], 518: but my etymology contravenes that of Zimmern.

עבורא: so also in No. 33; elsewhere עברא, עובדא, מעבדא.

הוהוא: a duplicated form of the pronoun, found in the Syriac.

4. כי: a preposition appearing in the Rabbinic dialect, not in Syriac.

יישוע: the spelling represents the older pronunciation, the Biblical יֵשׁוּעַ, Ἰησοῦς, the Jacobite Yêšû, over against the Nestorian Išû.

דסתבירא: Prof. Roland G. Kent, to whom I referred this word, has published an elaborate study of it in *JAOS,* 1911, 359. He comes to the conclusion that it means "a handwritten deterrent," from *dast,* "hand" + *bhîra* (Sansk.), "terrifying." The word occurs only here and in No. 33.

5. לטבא: see to 9: 7.

6. The same magical reference appears in No. 32. For the practice see the more perfect form in 9: 6.

הנהון : a unique spelling (occurring also in the parallel, No. 33, along with הנון), for the Syriac *hennôn.* It is an elder form and is to be compared with the Rabbinic אינהו, see Levias, *Grammar,* § 95.

7. איתמר: corresponding to both Syriac and Rabbinic forms.

איתמסר: from a denominative verb, arising from the root אסר. Payne-Smith, col. 2181, gives a citation for מסר, = *vinxit catenis vel compedibus,* with which may be compared ממסרנותא, *actus ligationis, ib.* col. 324. Also cf. מצר, Glossary C.

8. חבילא: also found in 37: 11 and in Lidzbarski, *Mand. Amulet,* l. 33 (de Vogüé volume).

לאפקכן: for the infinitive, cf. 9: 8.

איכין = Syriac *aikannâ;* the good Syriac איך appears in the parallel 34: 4. What follows is not perfectly clear. By the "ancient songs" (שירא rare in Syriac), are meant charms (i. e. *carmina*), such as the master Jesus b. P. once used. But the following clause remains obscure because of the unintelligible דעוטר.

10. אנשא: cf. the Rabbinic אינשי, which Nöldeke (*Mand. Gram.,* 182) understands as *ênâšê,* not *inšê.* The Syriac rarely uses the plural in the sense of "men."

No. 33 (CBS 16019)

פורא רמינא ושקינא (2) עבודא דעביד הוהוא כי הוא (3) דיתיב רב יישוע בר פרחיא וכתב (4) עליהון דסתבירא על כלהון שידא ודיוא וסטנא (5) וללִיתא ולטבא דאית בביתה דדאדבה בר אסמנדוכת (6) תוב כתב עליהון דסתבירא דלעלם בשום אתמדג אתאתות (7) אתו[ת מן נו ת] אתות אתות שמא [ני]ליונא מן גו גיליונא דבהנהון איתכביש (8) שמ[יא וארע]א וטוראּ ובהנון איתמר רמאתא ובהנון איתמסר חרשא שידא (9) ודי[וא וסט]נא וללִיתא ולטבא וב[הנון ע]בר מן עלמא וסליק עליכון למרומא ואיתאל[ה כל] (10) קיבלא חבילא לחבלותא [ואסִ.א] לאפקכון מן ביתה דדאדבה בר אסמנדוכת (11) ומן כול דאיתלה שביקיתון בדסתב[ירא ואסיר ו]חתים ומחתם איכין דשירא קרמיא לא כדיבו (12) ואנשא קדמיא דעוטר לא הוו תוב אסיר חתים ומחתם הנא דסתבירא בשום יהיהיה יהיה יהיה עא (13) אמין אמין סל[ה] ניתחתים וניתנטר ביתה דה[נא דאדבה בר אס]מנדוכת ואנתתה בנה ובנתה וקנינה מן מבכלתא ולוטתא אמין

This inscription is practically contained in No. 32, with a change in the name of the client, who is the same as the one in the Syriac No. 31 and Nos. 12, 16.

No. 34 (CBS 9012)

מזמן חנא כאסא לחתומין ביתה דמיחר חורמיזד בר מאמי (2) בחיל חיל דיישוע אסיא בחיל אחני תקיפא אסיר דורה ומשכונתה (3) וביתה ואנחתה ובנהּ ובנתהּ דמיחר חורמיזד דמיתקרא בר מאמי אסיר וחתים (4) איך דאמר מושאּ לימא דסוף וקמו איך שורא דמן תרויהון ניסן אסיר וחתים אסיר וחתים (5) בהדא מלתא דאשכבה אלהא לארעה ולאֵילנא דרדעין לאמריהון אסיר וחתים באסור טוראּ ורמאתאּ (6) אסיר וחתים בנוֵ שמיא וארעא שמשא וסהרא כוכבאּ ומזלאּ ובמלתא אסירין ובפוקדנא קימין בשום (7) מכיאיל אסיא ורופיאיל מדוליא וגבריאיל עבדא דאדוני אסירא וחתימא כולהּ בישותא דאית דאית בפגרה דמיחר חורמיזד בר מאמי (8) בביתה אנתתה ובנהּ ובנתאּ ובירה וקנינה ובכל דורה בחתמה דארין בר זנד ובעיזקתה דשלימון מלכא בר דויד (9) דבה חתימין עשמאּ ולטבאּ וחתימנא בחתמא דאילשדי ואברכסס מריא תקיפא וחתמא רבא דחתימין בה שמיא וארעא וכל שידאּ (10) ועיקדאּ טמיאּ ולטבאּ מנה מן קדמה וחתמא הנא לאכערון ועל קמתא ומיעלא לא נעילון וכל דמקר ושיט ושרא אתסר באסור (11) נורא ובשישלן כיא עדמא למשרא שמיא וארעא אמין אמין סלה ניתחתים וניתנטר ביתה ואנתתה ובנהּ וקנינה ופגרה דמיחר חורמיזד (12) בר מאמי ותיזה מנה מבכלתא וחלמאּ בישאּ ולוטתא ונידרא וחרשאּ ומבכלתא וינאּ וחוסרנאּ ותובאּ ומיסכינותא ותיתחתים ותיתנטר בחרוי בת בת סהדאּ (13) מן מבכלתא וחלמאּ בישאּ ולוטתא ונידרא וחרשאּ ומעבדאּ ותיתסר מבכלתא ולליתא ומשמתתא ומבטלתא בידהּ וברגלהּ ולא תקרוב להּ (14) ולא תיחטר בהּ בהדא בחרוי בת בת סהדאּ אמין

Translation

This bowl is designated for the sealing of the house of Mihr-hormizd bar Mâmî (2) by power of the virtue of Jesus the healer, by the virtue of my mighty relative. Charmed is the dwelling, and the abode (3) and the house and the wife and the sons and the daughters of Mihr-hormizd, who is surnamed b. M.; charmed and sealed (4) even as Moses commanded the Red Sea and they (the waters) stood up like a wall on both sides. Charmed and sealed, charmed and sealed, (5) by this word which God

laid upon the earth and the trees which... their tops; charmed and sealed with the seal of the mountains and heights; (6) charmed and sealed (with the spell which is) in the heavens and the earth, the sun and the moon, the stars and (zodiacal) signs, and by the word they are charmed and remain in ward. In the name of (7) Michael the healer and Rofiel the reliever, and Gabriel the servant of the Lord.

Charmed and sealed is all evil that is in the body of Mihr-hormizd b. M. (8) and in his house (and) his wife and his sons and his daughters and his cattle and his property and in all his dwelling, by the signet of Ariôn son of Zand and by the seal of King Solomon son of David, (9) by which were sealed the Oppressors and the *Laṭbê*. And we have sealed with the seal of El Šaddai and Abraxas the mighty lord, and the great seal with which were sealed heaven and earth and all Demons (10) and foul Knots and *Laṭbê*, which contend against him. And a seal is this against Harm and Constraint (?), that they shall not at all enter in. And every *Damḳar* and *Šaiṭ* and *Šarâ* are charmed by the spell of (11) fire and the enchainment of water until the dissolution of heaven and earth. Amen, Amen, Selah. Sealed and guarded be the house and wife and sons and property and body of Mihr-hormizd (12) b. M., and depart from him the Injurer and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow and Arts and the Tormentor and Damages and Losses and Failures and Poverty.

And sealed and protected be Bahrôi bath Bath-Sâhdê from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow and Arts and Practices. And charmed be the Tormentor and Lilith and Ban-spirit, who thwarts her in her hand and foot, and may it not approach nor afflict this Bahrôi b. B.

Commentary

The text is of the same order as those immediately preceding. At the end the charm is operated for a woman (with a Christian name), presumably the wife of the chief client of the text.

1. חתומין: the reading is certain, and the word is parallel to חתמתא in the previous inscriptions, but the formation is unique, if it be not an error; חתומי would be a Pael inf.

A Hormizd son of Mâmâ(i) appears in No. 15.

מיחר חורמיזד is the same as Mitr-ôharmazde, or Mihrhormuz, the name of the murderer of Chosroes II; see Justi, p. 216.

2. אסיא: here applied to the sorcerer, but otherwise of God, e. g. 3: 1, or angels, e. g. Michael, l. 7. See introduction to notes on No. 32.

אחני (evidently so written) I take to be for אחיני, "my cousin." The magical tradition was handed down in the sorcerer's family, cf. 8: 11.

משכנותא = משכנא, but of peculiar formation.

4. מושא: a point over א, also in the same name in 35: 6—diacritical for *ê?*

The charm is the effective one used by Moses at the Red Sea, cf. *Ex.* 14: 22. See p. 64 for the magical use of such episodes. But the plural קמו is a reminiscence of *Josh.* 3: 16, and indicates conflation of the two narratives. מן תרויהון ניסין appears to be a confusion for מן תרוי ניסיהון. תרוי is Palmyrene and Rabbinic, not Edessene, but is found in neo-Syriac, Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 153.

5. אשכבה: of laying a spell; the same verb for laying a ghost, 16: 11. The Afel is a hebraism. Compare *Is.* 9: 7: "a word Yahwe has sent in Jacob, and it has fallen in Israel"; i. e. the magical word itself is potent.

אילנא וגי: the reference of the noun is obscure as is also the meaning of the following verb. There may be a reference to some myth concerning ancient "big" trees; cf. Isaia's denunciation of "everything high and lifted up," 2: 5 ff., and especially his woe upon the cedars of Lebanon and the אלוני הבשן, v. 13. Then v. 14 is parallel to the טורא ורמאתא of l. 5. The following relative clause is almost unintelligible. The root רדע is found only in Arabic, = "withhold, refuse." The next word I identify with the Biblical אמיר, *Is.* 17: 6 (possibly, with some critics, also in *Gen.* 49: 21). The old tree-myth may have told how the trees flaunted their high tops against the gods. The obscurity of the passage may be due to corruption of the form of the legend. The ׳ of אמריהון appears to be used as one of the *Seyâmê* points.

6. אסירין: n. b. position of the points.

בפוקדנא: a reference to the myth of the restraint of the celestial powers; see the discussion on 4: 5, and cf. *Is.* 24: 21.

7. מדוליה: a unique epithet for Raphael. It is a *pau'el* formation from דלא, and, agreeably to the etymology of Raphael and parallel to the epithet applied to Gabriel, the participle is used in the sense "to relieve," *sc.* the sick. Cf. *Baba Bathra* 16 b, אידלי יומא אידלי קצירא; "when the day is high, the sick man is relieved." In the Syriac the Pael came to be used in the sense of "saving," see Payne-Smith, col. 903.

גבריאיל עבדה דא': Gabriel is especially the messenger of Deity; cf. *Luke* 1, and *Rev.* 19: 10, where the angel who calls himself *σύνδουλος* with the apocalyptist may be Gabriel.

8. בירה: Mandaic form. Several phylacteries for cattle are given in Pradel's collection of Graeco-Italian charms; e. g. p. 18 and references, pp. 125, 127. An exorcism against the "seven accursed brothers" (the Babylonian Seven) who attack and devour the blood of the cattle, is given in Gollancz's Syriac charms, p. 87. According to the Babylonian magic the Seven Spirits "smite both oxen and sheep" (Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* i, 33). The mediaeval belief in the 'hexing' of cattle still flourishes among the Pennsylvania Germans.

ארין בר זנד: this sorcerer's name appears also in No. 19: 13, 17, and the two passages help mutually to identify the words.

9. עשמא: a new species of demons, "the oppressors," ppl. of a common Syriac root.

10. עיקרא (or פ' ?): "Knots," i. e. of magical power. The word corresponds to the Arabic *'uḳdat.*

טמיא: י has usurped the radical א; cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 33 b.

מתעזין: Etpa. of עזא, probably metaplastic for עזז.

אבערון: for the prosthetic vowel see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 51, *Mand. Gram.,* § 24 (n. b. the equivalence of לאב' and על ק', as in Mandaic). The word may mean ugliness or some more specific malady. Cf. the charms in the Greek magical papyri for obtaining good looks.

The parallel קמתא must also mean some kind of malady, and may be identified with the Assyrian *kamtu,* "misery" (Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* 366), which is to be connected with the Hebrew and Aramaic root קמם, "compress" (with dissimilation of the dental); probably some form of contortion.

מיעלא נעילן: the first word is evidently an absolute infinitive from עלל, *plus* â (= *me"ĕlâ* = *me'lâ*, cf. the noun *ma'lâ*). For this formation with final â, Nöldeke offers a Mandaic instance, *Mand. Gram.*, 250, last line, מיקמא. In the form נעילן (if י is to be read) doubling of the second radical appears; cf. the Mandaic form תירינן, cited by Nöldeke, *ibid.*, 249, *ad infra*.

וכל דמקר ושיט ושרא: all three words are obscure. The second may be the שיט of the Ḳrê to *Is.* 28: 15, =שוט, "scourge." The third may be the Rabbinic שרא, "prince, demon"; or the Hebrew *šêrah* (also Aramaic) "chain, necklace," cf. the magical ענקתא. But diseases are apparently intended (cf. אבערן above), and we may identify שיט with the Syriac *Šâiṭâ*, "eye-tumor" (Payne-Smith, col. 4094), and שרא with the Syriac שריא (*ib.*, 4316), "diarrhoea." דמקר may then be understood aas a formation from נקר, "pierce," of *taf'al* form,—*tanḳar* =*tamḳar* (cf. Delitzsch, *Ass. Gram.*, § 59), = *damḳar*. With the root meaning of perforation, cancer or the like may be referred to. The absolute forms are used, as proper names.

11. אסור נורא ובשישלן מיא: fire and water are potent over demons. שישלן is a collective form in *-ân*. Cf. the *catenis igneis* in Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln*, no. 7.

עדמא למשרא וגי: the demons are to be bound till the end of the present aeon; then will begin a new order, which will include the final destruction of their power; cf. *2 Pet.* 3: 12: *οὐρανοὶ πυρούμενοι λυθήσονται*; also *Enoch*.

12. זינא: "loss"; see Jastrow, p. 393. Payne-Smith, col. 1118. For the personification of all kinds of losses, see p. 94.

בהרוי: hypocoristicon of Bahram? See Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, 387 ff., Justi, 361 ff.

בת סהדא: "Daughter-of-the-Martyrs," a Christian name, cf. Bar-S., in Asseman, *Bibl. Or.*, ii, 403 (Payne-Smith, col. 2536), a bishop of Nineve. Cf. the proper names, "Son-of-Carpenters," "Son-of-Ironsmiths," *ib.* 591, 596.

13. משמתתא וגי: epithets of the Lilith, who is also the Witch, who can "bind" the limbs of her victim; see No. 42 and p. 78. Superior points for the feminine suffix are used here as also in No. 35.

14. תיחטר: switchings by demons are a common theme of magic, see 1: 10; compare the Christian hagiological legends.

No. 35 (CBS 16097)

מזמן הנא כאסא לחתמתא ונטרתא (2) דביתהּ ודבנהּ ודקנינהּ ודפנרהּ דמאידוכת (3) בת כומבוי דתיתנטר מן שידאּ שׁבטא [ו]דיואּ וסטנאּ (4) וסוטיטא ודיאבולאּ ומן נידראּ וקרותא ואשלמתא דבני אנשא בשום (5) ארשי ארדי אדרי ומארי מיכאיל וגוריאיל ושלטיאיל ומנטריאיל וחתמיאיל (6) ואנון איתפקיד עם מושא למנטרנותא ואנון ננטרונהּ להדא מאידוכת בת (7) כומבוי מן כל דיואּ סניאּ ושידאּ מדחלנאּ ומן כל לוטתא ונידרא דבני אנשא דגבר[אּ (8) ודנשאּ ודפתכראּ ד . . כ . . ואינ[ו]ן דלא מ . . בתא בשום ובשמה דעש.אקיה חמריאיל ושריאיל (9) . . מ . . בא סיאה דיהאדונקמיא נאיא.או או אמיר אמיר בשום הלין מלאכאּ ואתותאּ דאנון ננטרונהּ (10) ונחתמונהּ להדא מאידוכת בת כומבוי מן כל דביש לעלמאּ [ל]עלם אמן תיתחתים ותיתנטר מאידוכת בת כומבוי מן (11) מבכלתא וחלמאּ בישאּ ולוטתא ונידרא ותיתסר מבכלתא וללית ומשמתתא ומבטלתא באידהּ וברגלהּ ולא תקרוב להּ למאידוכת (12) בת כומבוי ותיתנטר ביתה ואנתתה ובנהּ וקינינה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד מן מבכלתא וחלמאּ בישאּ ולוטתא ונדרא אמין

Translation

Appointed is this bowl for the sealing and guarding (2) of the house and sons and property and body of Mâidûcht (3) bath Kumbôi, that she may be guarded from Demons, Plagues and Devils and Satans (4) and Seducers and Diaboli, and from any Vows and Invocations and Rites of mankind; in the name of (5) *arši, ardi* and *mâri;* Michael and Nûriel and Šalṭiel and Mantariel and Ḥithmiel. (6) And they were commissioned along with Moses to wardship, and they will guard this Mâidûcht b. (7) K. from all hostile Devils and affrighting Demons, and from every Curse and Vow of mankind, of men (8) and of women, and of Idol-spirits who (are known) and who are not (known) by name. And in the name of ..., Ḥamariel and Šariel (9) ..... of Yah-Adon-Ḳamya; *nâyâ, ô, ô!* Commanded, commanded is it in the name of these angels and letters which will guard (10) and seal this Mâidûcht b. K. from everything evil, for the ages

forever, Amen. Sealed and guarded is Mâidûcht b. K. from (11) the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow; and charmed the Tormentor and Lilith and Ban-spirit who thwarts her in her hand and foot; and may it not approach Mâidûcht (12) b. K.

And guarded be the house and wife and son and property of Dînôi son of Ispandarmêd from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow. Amen.

Commentary

Largely a replica of No. 34. It is made out for the wife of the client of No. 33, who is himself given a little space at the end.

1. נטרתא(ל) : noun of intensive formation; cf. the charm *εἰς φρούρησιν*, Reitzenstein, *Poim.* 292.

2. מאידוכת: for the the first element Mâi see Justi, p. 187. The name also appears in the unpublished No. 16093.

3. כומבוי : cf. *Κωφαιος*, *Κυβαι*, *Κομβαφις*, Justi, p. 165.

4. סוטיטא: (a plural-point is not visible) a peculiar formation, evidently to be connected with the theme סוט, סטא, "go astray"—hence "seducing spirits," corresponding to the words before and after. The form may be explained as a Pi'lel participle, with rejection of prefix. Cf. 2 *Ki*, 22: 19 ff., and the *πνεύμασιν πλάνοις καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων* of 1 *Tim.* 4: 1.

דיאבולא: some of the characters are uncertain, but the word is sufficiently clear. It appears in Syriac only (in the singular in -ōs) in the Arabic lexicons; see Payne-Smith, col. 868.

קרותא: evidently the same as the common קריתא. Notice the distinction made here between diabolic arts and human machinations.

5. For the assonance, see p. 61. Letters and angels are practically the same; see p. 99. Of these angels, Nuriel is one of the archangels (also Uriel), Manṭariel and Ḥithmiel are unique, Šalṭiel is listed by Schwab as a form of Salṭiel. These were Moses' guardian angels, and so can be effective for the present client.

No. 36 (CBS 2933)

. . . מזמן הנא כא[סא] . . . יא אתחפיך . . ות (2) דחי קטולתא ברת קטולתא
פוק פוק ושני מן קדמי . . . מריא (3) שמיש עלך שלחני [ס]נא שדרני בי פקדני ננאי
אמר לי ומ. . . כבינה ונירינ (4) יהב לי חילא דאיל עלה על רוחא בישתא ועל דודיב
דקרין לה חנוקיתא דקטלא דרטקא (5) בחנא דאימחתהון ומתקריא ממתניתא ואבחיהון
מובדנא פוק מן קדמיהון דהלין מלאכא (6) דנחין בנא לאימחתהון וילדא רקיקא
לאבחיהין דשמא יהב לי דבה אפקבי רוחא בישתא פוק מן קדמי (7) [הלין מלאכא]
ושני מן הנא חתמא גמיפא ואזיל לבית חלולא ואכול . . . אף נקותא אישתאי ו . . . . . יזדוך
ומדב.ה (8) [א]מין אמין סלה

Translation

... designated is this bowl ... turned away ... (2) of that Murderess, daughter of Murderess. Go away, go away, and depart from before ... The lord (3) Šameš (the Sun) has charged me against thee, Sin (the Moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nannai has said to me, and ..... and Nirig (Nergal) (4) has given me power to go against the evil spirit, against Dôdîb, whom they call the Strangler, who kills the young (5) in the womb of their mothers, and they are called "Slayer," and their fathers "Destroyer." Go from the presence of these holy angels (6) that sons may come to birth to their mothers and little children to their fathers. Because he has given me a name by which I shall drive thee forth, Evil Spirit. Go from the presence of (7) [these angels] and depart from this engraved seal, and go to the bridal chamber and eat...; moreover drink a libation and [depart from ... daughter of ...]-izdûch and her .... (8) Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

This inscription has a twofold interest. Its magic purpose is the insurance of a bride against the goblin which would destroy her powers of motherhood; the evil spirit is invited to go to the bridal chamber and there

partake of a certain food and drink, which it is to be presumed, would in some way incapacitate his powers; the text is badly obscured, but enough survives to recall the book of Tobit and the charm Raphael performed against the demon which haunted the chamber of Tobias's bride. Magic is full of this lilith witch who destroys love; for an early instance, cf. the *Maḳlu*-series, iii, 1 ff.: "The witch ..... who robs the love of the enamored man, ... of the enamored maid. Looking at her he feels her lascivious charm. She looks on the man and takes away his love; she looks on the maid and takes away her love." Cf. Nos. 13, 28.

The other feature of interest is that the charm is given as though from the old pagan deities, the lord Šameš, Sin, Bel, Nannai, and Nirig, the ancient Nergal. All these except Nannai survived as evil spirits,—the spirits of the seven planets—in the Mandaic religion (see Norberg, *Onom., s. vv.*), but the present charm confesses their benevolent power and is also without any Mandaic trace. (This more antique aspect of these deities appears in the early Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski, in the de Vogüé volume, where, l. 247 ff., "Samiš, Bel, Nirig and Kewan have strengthened him.") It is a relic of the religion which survived to a comparatively late date in Harran. The charm is given in the form of an oracle from these deities according to ancient magical use; see p. 100. For these Syrian deities see the list given by Jacob of Sarug, edited by Martin, *ZDMG*, xxix, 110-131, and in general for the material Chwolson, *d. Ssabier u. d. Ssabismus* (1856). For the use made by the Harranian pagans of "magic, conjurations, knots, figures, amulets," etc., see Chwolson's extract from the Fihrist, *ibid.*, ii, 21; for their use of oracles, p. 19.

1. אתחפיך: ח for ה, see § 6.

2. For the demon's artificial names, see p. 77.

2 f. מריא שמיש: in the Mandaic אדוני is the epithet of the Sun, e. g. *Ginza* r., p. 23, l. 15, ed. Peterman; for שמיש, cf. Mandaic שאמיש.

סינא: נ is more likely than ר, and we obtain a form of Sin in the Syriac. The Mandaic has both סין and סירא.

בי: a dialectic form of ביל (Mandaic). For analogies in neo-Punic names (בי, בעי, בע), see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 289; *CIS, Inscr. phoen.*, no. 869; and in Syriac the deity Bêducht (Bel's or Beltis's, daughter), see

discussion in G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880), 151 ff.

נגאי : the ancient Babylonian goddess Nanna (see Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens* i, 76 ff., 252, 266), daughter of Sin. See at length for the later character of this deity G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* 130 ff., 151 ff. (for later literature, Roscher's *Lexicon, s. v.* "Nana"). She combined both Venus- and Diana-like characteristics, and thus appears on coins with a crescent on her head (*ibid.,* 152). This lunar characteristic doubtless explains the gender of the deity in our text, where as the verb shows, he is masculine. In his history the moon god has vacillated between the two genders, and while in later religion the moon's character has generally been defined as female, nevertheless in the Harranian religion the moon was androgynous; see the excursus by Chwolson in his *Ssabier,* i, 399 ff. (Hence the Latin writers express this Mesopotamian deity by *Lunus.*) It may be noticed that in the reference to Antiochos Epiphanes' raid upon the temple of Ναναιας in *2 Mac.* 1: 13, 15, there is found in the Alexandrine Codex the masculine variant Ναναιον.

4. דודיב: the name is obscure, probably equivalent to מדובינא, 37: 10, *q. v.*

חנוקיתא: the normal feminine of this formation, as against קטולתא. The same evil spirit, אמא חנוקתא, "Strangling Mother" (of babes) appears twice in Gollancz's Syriac charms, pp. 81, 83 (in *Actes* of the 11th Congr. of Orientalists, sect. 4). And the like epithet is found in the Greek amulet published by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 298, for Baskania, the Lilith-witch, who is charged with the same murderous functions: *ὁρκίζω σε, Στραγγαλία πολύμορφε, ἡ ἐπερχομένη ἐπὶ τὰ μικρὰ παιδία, ἥτις ἔχεις χεῖρα σιδηρᾶν καὶ σύρεις τὰ παιδία καὶ ἐλέπτεις αὐτὰ καὶ τελευτῶσιν.* And there follow immediately "the names of the holy angels," just as these are referred to in l. 5. See notes on No. 42. With Στραγγαλία cf. the demoniac maladies πνιγαλίων and παιδοπνίκτρια cited by Roscher, *Ephialtes,* 55, 59.

דרטקא = דרדקא 37: 10, דרקא 18: 6, with assimilation of the dental to ק.

ומתקריא וני: Mandaic form of the fem. pl. The best interpretation of the line is that the mischief wrought to the embryo was charged to the parents who so gained the ill-fame of infanticides. Cf. Ginza ii, 98 (ed. Norberg):

"hence have arisen the abortive ones who make abortions and destroy the foetus." The epithets are in the singular, being used distributively.

5. הלין מלאכא: i. e. the deities mentioned above; see above pp. 97, 99.

6. נחין: "come to the birth." Cf. Rabbinic חייתא, "midwife," and the Syriac Afel used of the function of midwives, e. g. Peshitto to *Ex.* 1: 16.

דשמא יהב: the antecedent is uncertain; probably the charm has been abbreviated.

7. נמיפא: for נליפא? Cf. 11: 8.

אזיל לבית חלולא: the ב׳ ח׳ is the common Syriac term for the marriage chamber, or the nuptials in general. The imperative is apparently addressed like the preceding imperative to the demon who is bidden to go, if she dare, to the wedding, and there partake of the magic foods prepared against her.

נקותא: the Syriac *nᵉkâyâ,* "libation."

אישתאי: the spelling represents the Syriac fem. impr.

יזדוך וג׳ ....: probably a Persian feminine name in *-duch,* the bride's name to be filled out here. The following word is obscure, the missing radical may be ס.

No. 37 (CBS 2943)

[מז]מן הנא כאסא לְא[סותא ול]דרמנא (2) [רבי]תֵה ואיסקופתה אנתתה [בנה ו]בנתה
בר[ה] . . . (3) [וכול דאי]תלה ודהוין לה לזארוי ב[ר] . . . [ח]ת[י]ם ביתה (4) . . .
משרר בחיל מילתה דאלהא רז שמיא ורז מ[י]אָ(.)קבין [ורז אר]עא (5) . . . אוא רביתא הדין אנא
אימר על כול דאיתבה על חרשאּ ועל מב[כלתא ועל] . . . (6) דפתכרותא ועל כול נגדאּ
ועל חומרָא ועל איסתרָתא ועל כול שיד[אּ] (7) . . . ועל כול לליתא תקיפתא פיתגאמא
היתְ . . . לכין מחוינא דמקבל • אתה טב . . . (8) . . . לא ראוֵ מלאָכא רונזא אָתין
עילוהּ וְדסיפאּ וחרבא קדמוהּ קיטין וקטלין לה (9) . . . אְ אתיא עלוה דפיתגמא שמעא
יתיב בביתא אכיל ומכיל שתא ומשתקא חדא ומ . . . (10) . . .ב.א לדרדקאּ הוא
ומדובינא מיתקרא אכותא .לבירא הוא ונ.א מיתקרא שלמאְ . . . ל אבוכֵן דבשְ . . .
(11) . . . שלמא מִן אלהאּ דיכראּ ומן אֵסתרתא ניקבתא ומשוא שלמא זכא ב. . . ומשוא
חבילא בנורא . . . . .

Translation

Designated is this bowl for the [salvation and] healing (2) of the house and threshold, the wife, [the sons and] daughters, the cattle, (3) [and all that] is his, and whatsoever shall belong to Zârôi son of ... (4) ... confirmed by the virtue of the word of God, the Mystery of heaven and the Mystery of the assembled waters and the Mystery of earth, (5) ... of this house I will enjoin all that is in it,—Arts and the Tormentor (?) (6) ... [and the Image-spirits] of idolatry, and all the Legions and the Amulet-spirits and the Ishtars and all the Demons ... (7) ... and all mighty Liliths. A word ... I declare unto you, which receiving ... the mysteries of Angels in wrath coming against him and with sabres and sword standing before him and ready to kill him. (9) ... against the word heard (?). He sits in the house, eating and devouring, drinking and quaffing, ... (10) [a slayer of ?] children is he, and Master named; ..... is he, and Jinn (?) named. Peace ... your father ... (11) ... Peace from the male Gods and from the female Ishtars. And victorious peace is set in ..., and destruction is set in the fire ...

Commentary

A badly mutilated bowl with much of the inscription illegible. It is of pagan origin; in the name of God the Mystery of heaven, water and earth, it concludes with a *pax vobiscum* from the gods. The expression "victorious peace," l. 11, recalls the standing Mandaic doxology, "Life is victorious," and the threefold division of the universe may be from the same source. The charm is against a murderous house spirit and is in part parallel to No. 36; here the demon is masculine and is represented as carousing upon the blood of his victims. The quarterings of the circle or seal in the center contain letters of the Tetragrammaton—apparently יה.

1. דרמנא: a Persian word noted by the native Syriac lexicographers, and neo-Syriac; also in Pognon B. See Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, 127.

3. זרוי : cf. Zaroes, name of a Magian, and Zaroi, in Firdausi; the present spelling substantiates *Zar-* against other readings; see Justi, p. 383.

4. אלהא: name of the Light-King in the later Mandaic religion; see Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, 47. For his following epithet as the Mystery of heaven and earth, cf. "the Great Mystery," who is the helper of Hibil-Ziwa in his descent to hell, *Ginza r.*, p. 140, ed. Petermann; see Brandt, *Mand. Schr.*, 143. For the מיא קבין cf. *Gen.* 1: 10. Other "gods" are named below.

7. פיתנאמא ונ': resumes אימר, l. 5.

8. ראזי מלאכא: either in appositional sense, ראזא used like איסרא, see p. p. 86, or ר' refers to the magical rites conjuring the angels who are called upon against the evil spirit.

עילוהי : the Rabbinic-Mandaic preposition of plur. form, *'elâwê*, but with suffix attached as to a singular form; cf. בנח, "his sons."

9. שמעא : for שמיעא: the incantation *heard?* The following ppls. represent the carousing of the demon over the flesh and blood of his victims. These realistic descriptions were in themselves regarded as prophylactic. מכיל appears to be denominative verb from a noun in מ', formed to rhyme with אכיל.

10. מדובינא = דודיב, a perversion, in 36: 4. The word corresponds to the actual Syriac מדיבנא *tabescere faciens,* Payne-Smith, col. 831.

נ.נא: probably גינא, jinn, see p. 80.

אבוכן : Mandaic "your father."

No. 38 (CBS 2941)

עסיר זריז ומזראז ביתה (2) דורה וחיכלה וביניאנה ובנה ובנאתה (3) וחיוניאתר
ואנאתא דביתה דחינדויתא (4) פת דודאי ומראדא וזאוה ובנה ובנאתה עסירית אנאת
(5) יאנאי ליליתא אנאת וכולחין שורבאתיך ותלתמא ושיתין (6) שורבאתא במינלתה
ופקדתה דנגונאי (ליליתא erasure) מלאכא בראזאיון ופאקתון (7) דאלחיא חייא
בשומא דחילא דאלחותא עזיזתא ותקיפתא ובחתמא (8) דבעודאי מלאכא דכל עניש
לאבאר על מלאלה עסיריא כולחון אלחיא ועכוריא [יפרי]כיא ופתיכריא (9) ועסתראתא
מן פנראין דמארבא חאדויא ודזאונויא בנה חינדויתא ומן חידנויתא (*sic*) [ומ]ן ביתה
ומן ארסה ומן (10) [זאוא]ין ומן בנאין ומן בנאתון ומן חיניאתון עסירא וסרימא ומסאגמא
ורנילא עסתרא רבתיא דאר . . זתאיון . . . (11) [ותלת]מא ושיתין שורבאתא דשביקלה
באתאר אתאר עסיר[יא] כולחין חומריא דשאריא בבתאין דאנאשיא ומחרבאלחון
(12) עסירא ורנילא וכבישא וסיפא ומאתנא תותיא לינרה דמארבא בר חינדויתא ואתותיא
לינרה דואדויא ודודזאונויא בנה דחינדויתא . . (13) ואתותיא לינרה דחינדויתא פת
דודאי וחיא זאזיא אסותא וזארזתא וחתמאתא ונטרתא תחוילה לפגראיון ולזאואיון
ולבנאיון ולב[נאתו]ן ולחיוניא[תון (14) ולא]נאשיא באתאיון ולאילין ולנאפקין ע[ל]
מארבא ודזאדויא ודדזאונויא בנה חינדויתא ולחינדוי[תא פת] דודאי עמאיון ולבנאתה

Exterior

(15) קדש ייתי

Translation

Charmed, armed and equipped are the house, (2) the dwelling and mansion and barn, and the sons and daughters, (3) and the cattle and household vessels of Hinduithâ (4) bath Dôdâi and (of) Mârâdâ, even her husband and her sons and daughters.

Charmed art thou, (5) Lilith Yannâi, and all thy Broods, even the three hundred and sixty (6) Broods, by the word and command of the angel Negoznâi, by the mysteries and ordinance (7) of the living God, in the name

of the virtue of strong and mighty Deity, and by the seal (8) of the angel Be'ôdâi, whose word none transgresses.

Charmed are all the Gods and Temple-spirits and Shrine-spirits and Idol-spirits (9) and Ishtars from the body of Mârabbâ and Zâdôyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduîthâ, and from Hinduîthâ and from her house and her bed and from (10) their [wives] and their sons and their daughters and their cattle.

Charmed and confined and restrained and hobbled is the mighty Ištar ..... (11) and the three hundred and sixty Broods, which I have dismissed from her one after the other.

Charmed are all the Amulet-spirits that dwell in the houses of men and waste them; (12) charmed and hobbled and suppressed and covered and squeezed under the foot of Mârabba bar Hinduîthâ and under the foot of Zâdôyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduîthâ, (13) and under the foot of Hinduîthâ b. D. And life, abundance, health and arming and sealing and protection be to their body, and their wives and their sons and their daughters and their cattle (14) and the people of their houses, both those entering and departing with Mârabba and Zâdôyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduîthâ, and with Hinduîthâ b. D. their mother, and her daughters.

Exterior

(15) Holy (?) .....

Commentary

For the language and script of this and the following Mandaic bowls, see § 7.

A charm executed in behalf of a certain woman and her husband. The sons with their families are included by name. The charm is particularly addressed against a specified lilith, with whom "the mighty Ištar" who is named later, may be identical.

1. "House, dwelling," etc.: these four terms occur in Lidzb. 4 and 5. The היכל (which is found in the Mandaic literature in the original meaning) is here reduced from the sense of "temple, palace," as in Babylonian, to that of a private mansion. The word also appears in Hyvernat, l. 15. In 40: 4, בניאנא is the cattle-barn; in general perhaps "outbuilding."

2. בנה for the plur. w. suffix, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 144.

3. חיוניאתא: "cattle"; it occurs in the sense of "wild beast," in 39: 6; singular חיותא.

אנאתא: the singular would be the equivalent of the Assyrian *ânu*, "vessel," = Heb. אני and Arabic *inâ*^{un}. The word is otherwise unknown in Aramaic, having been replaced by the derivative *mân*. In the Talmud vessels are favorite abodes of the demons. One is tempted to regard the word as a plural of אנא, "sheep," but for the following "of the house."

חינדויתא: i. e. "Indian woman"; cf. חנדו, חינדו, 24: 1; 40: 16.

4. דודאי=דודי, Nos. 15, 21.— מראדא = *mâr*, "lord" + *Adda;* a form of Hadad; or the first element may be the deity Mar, Bir, etc. (see Clay, *Amurru*, 95), so that the name is equivalent to the ancient Damascene name ברהדד (as in Pognon's Zakar inscription), the Biblical Benhadad. With inexact construction, M. is the husband. For ו . . . ו = "both, and," cf. l. 14.

6. ננחנאי : so the probable reading. Notice from the erasure that "lilith" and "angel" are interchangeable titles for this being. Cf. the Lilith בחנאי, 40: 17.

פאקתון: of same root as פקדתא, with assimilation of ד with ת; see Nöldeke, p. 44. The original formation is that of the Syriac noun *pâḳadtâ*.

8. בעודאי: a corruption of עבודיאל?—For עכוריא and פריכיא see p. 72 f. The second word is supplied from 40: 4.

9. מארבא: l. 14 מאראבא, in l. 12 with the second א caretted; an old theophorous name = אב + מר (or רבא + מר ?)

זאדויא : Persian Zâdôê, see Justi, p. 378, quoting a name of the fifth century.

דואונויא : Persian name of a Syrian monk of the seventh century, *ibid.* 82.

10. סדימא: original root סתם (see Nöldeke, § 45); the verb is found in the bowls of Pognon and Lidzbarski, and defines the word as used in the Mandaic literature, thus relieving Nöldeke's doubt. Cf. a like series of passive ppls. at end of Lidzb. 4.

מסאנמא: the reading is almost certain, but I cannot identify the root; probably an error for מסאדמא, as in 40: 21.

רנילא: a denominative from רגל, = Rabbinic רגול. cf. the Arabic *ragala*, "strike, tie (a sheep) on the foot." The word occurs in Lidzb. 4.

11. שביקלה: the passage is identical with 40: 22, except for the latter's reading, שביקילה, "which I have dismissed from him"; the present text is to be so interpreted. For the form see Nöldeke, § 170.

מחרבאלחן = 40: 23. For the fem. pl. in א, see *ibid.*, 162.

12. סיפא = סחיפא, cf. *ibid.* 63; the Pael in 7: 17.

מאתנא: I can suggest only the root עתן, found in the Rabbinic עתין, "olive-press"; but according to Nöldeke, § 45, ע is persistent in Mandaic.

ודוזאונויא: error by dittography for ודזי.

13. זאזיא: the Assyrian *zâzu*, abundance", Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Hwb.* i, 277, and identical with the Targumic זאזא, "foliage," Targum Job 14: 9. An archangel Zaziel appears in a papyrus published by Wessely, xlii, 65, l. 42.

חתמאתא: for חתאמתא.

14. דואדויא: with change of construction from the preposition על; cf. Nöldeke, § 222.—For omission of relative after בנה see p. 39.

15. (Exterior) קד is sure, perhaps קדש.

No. 39 (CBS 9005)

אסותא וזארזת[א ו]חתמתא ונטרתא (2) תחוילה ופ. . . וצגר[ה] ונישימתה (3) ולעולה
ובאטנה דַבִרדסא דַע[מה פ]ת דאדיא (4) עסיריא סחריא בסדיא פרזלה עסירא ליליאתא
(5) בשושלאתא דַאבארא עסיריא דיויא זיכריא [חורא]שיא ועסי[רא] ליליא ליליאתא
(6) נוקבאתא חוראשאתא עסיריא ח[רשיא] אנשיא בישיא וחיואניא סאניא (7)
וראזיא בישיא וחזאר רַבאניא חא[כי]מיא ורוַביא דַרונזא ומשַריא דַקיריא (8) דַהן
דַחיא מן עולה ובאטנה דַבִרדס[א ד]עמ[ה] תִירמיא פת דאדיא עסירא ליליתא
דַמידאמיאלה (9) בס.קוּתא עסירא ליליתא דַמידאמיאלה ב.רג דַתאתא פת אחאתה עסיראן
כולחין דמואתא (10) סאינאתא דַעל דַמד[אמ]יאלא בחלמיא ליליא ובחזואניא דַיאמיא
דַאימאמא עסיריא וחתימיא בע[יזק]תא (11) דַשלי[מו]ן למל מל[כא] . . . תום אסותא
וזארזתא וחתמתא תחוילה לבאטנה ולמודאלה דַבִר[דסא] (12) דַעמ[ה תירמיא] פת
דא[דיא]

Translation

Health and arming and sealing and protection (2) be for ... and the body and soul (3) and the unborn child and womb of Bardesâ whose mother is the daughter of Dâdê. (4) Charmed are the Sorcery-spirits in stocks of iron; charmed the Lilith (5) in chains of lead; charmed the empoisoning male Devils and charmed the empoisoning female Liliths; (6) charmed [the arts of?] evil men and hostile Beasts, (7) and evil Mysteries and the (magic) Circle of malignant Masters and Sages and Doctors, and the melting of Wax figures (8) of him who is alive: from the unborn child and womb of Bardesâ whose mother is Termê b. D.

Charmed the Lilith that appears to her (9) in ...; charmed the Lilith that appears to her in [shape?] of Tâtâ her sister's daughter; charmed all the defiling Ghosts (10) that have entered, which appear to her in Dreams of night and in Visions of day; charmed and sealed with the seal of (11) King Solomon.

Again: Health and arming and sealing be for the womb and the parturition of Bardesâ (12) whose mother is Termê b. D.

Commentary

A charm for a pregnant woman. I may compare the mortuary incantation published by me in *JAOS,* 1911, 272, no. 1, which includes prayers for the unborn child, עולה, of the petitioner. From l. 4 the present charm is very similar to that in Pognon A.

2. דאדיא: so in Pognon B, in Lidzb. 5, דאדע; a feminine form in -ê, cf. תירמיא, l. 8 (the mother's name, overlooked here). Cf. דאדה, 12: 2.

4. סחריא: also Pognon A. In the Mandaic appear the סאחרא, "sorcerers," Norberg, *Onom.,* 110. For the meaning cf. Ass. *sâḫiru;* in this sense the root is not otherwise found in Rabbinic and Syriac.

סאדיא פ׳: Pognon's text, סאדדיא (to be cited to Nöldeke, § 89, 1a),

5. אבארא: the Syriac אברא was used for "lead" and "tin," according to the Syriac lexicographers, who postulate a distinction between *abârâ* and *abrâ,* or *abârâ* and *ebârâ* but dispute which word is applied to which metal (Payne-Smith, col. 19). Both lead and tin were used in magic, the former especially in the *κατάδεσμοι*, like the love-charm from Hadrumetum, the Cypriote *defixiones* (*SPBA,* xiii, 160, etc.), and cf. Index to Wessely, xlii, *μόλιβον, et seq.;* tin was equally used, like all the metals, *ibid., κασσιτερινόν,* and a case in the Testament of Solomon where tin is atropaic, *JQR,* ix, 584. Hence we cannot positively decide whether our *abâr* is lead or tin; but the weight of the former metal may better suit the symbolism of the language. —As to the meaning of the Assyrian *abar* Assyriologists are at variance. Lenormant, in *TSBA,* vi, 337 f., 346, argues correctly from the alloy mentioned in iv R no. 2, rev. 17, that *abar* = lead and *anaku* = tin. However Sayce, *Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions,* p. 60, denies that the Sumerian or Assyrian word for tin is known. Lyon, in his *Keilschrifttexte Sargons,* 53, 82, makes *anaku* = lead (cft. Heb. אנך) and leaves *abar* untranslated. Hilprecht and Haupt, on basis of chemical analysis, find that *abar* is used of magnesite, Hilprecht, *Assyriaca,* 80 ff., 83. עפרת, the Hebrew equivalent of the Aramaic אברא, is "lead." The Syriac *'ânᵉka* is "tin," whereas its Hebrew equivalent אנך, "plummet" rather suggests the heavier metal lead. The Hebrew for "tin" is בדיל, which however in Zech. 4: 10 may rather be "lead." This confusion between lead and tin in the same word is paralleled by the ambiguous use of *plumbum* in Latin;

p. nigrum is lead, and *p. candidum* tin; see Pliny *H. N.*, xxxiv, 47 (ed. Weise, 1841); so also in Arabic. The different vocalizations *'abrâ* and, עפרת *vs. 'abârâ*, and Heb. *'anâk vs.* Syr. *'ânᵉka*, appear to be attempts at differentiation. עפרת, apparently "lead," appears in W. T. Ellis's bowl-text, which I have edited in *JAOS*, 1912, 434.

5. חוראשיא: amendment after Pognon's parallel, but with the form found in l. 6.

לילא לי: an inadvertent repetition.

6. חוראשאתא for the adjectival formation, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 105.

חיואניא: possibly absolute pl. (*-â* from *-ân*); or a masc. plural form, cf. חומריא, 38: 11.

7. חזאר: (n. b. construct) for חדאר, as in זיבריא, see Nöldeke, *ibid.*, § 46. I interpret the word of the magic circle, part of the dreaded arts of the necromancer; see p. 88.

רבאניא וני: sorcerers are by tradition "Doctors."

משריא דקיריא: מי may be inf. Peal of שרא, or better, in agreement with the context, Pael ppl. plur; i. e. "dissolution," or "dissolvers." קי is "wax" in Rabbinic, "pitch" in Syriac and Mandaic, at least according to the references in Payne-Smith and Norberg. "Pitch" might be the translation here, but comparing the plural with the Greek κηροί and the Latin *cerai*, I have related the word to the well-known use of wax in Hellenistic magic. Any plastic substance might be used for these simulacra of the enemy in Babylonian sorcery. Tallquist enumerates clay, pitch, honey, tallow, dough (*Maḳlu*, 19, and see his note to ZAL. LU, p. 119); so also Fossey, *Magie ass.*, 80. Wax does not seem to be identified among those substances, though Jastrow and Thompson speak of wax as used. Assyrian *kîru* or *ḳîru* (see Muss-Arnolt, p. 432) = pitch. Is the Latin-Greek word from the same origin, the term having undergone extensive modification in meaning? Its etymology is uncertain, see A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*², 1910, *s. v. cera.* For the use of wax in western magic, see the ample notes and bibliography in Abt, *Die Apologie d. Apuleius*, 82.

חו דחיא: cf. the isolated instance given by Nöldeke, p. 344.

8. תירמיא: the first letter is conjectured from a mere remnant; possibly *Θερμία*?

9. In this line a definite family ghost appears. דמותא is used in like sense in earlier bowls, e. g. 7: 14. The word before תאתא is unintelligible.

תאתא: cf. the feminine name Tatâ in Strassmeier, *Inschriften von Darius,* no. 25, 12; also Tatta-dannu, Strassmeier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus,* no. 343, 8, and Tâtû, etc. in Johns, *Assyrian Deeds,* 450, Clay, *BE,* x, Glossary; טאטי 25: 1.

10. סאינאתא: I connect this, as a participle, with the root סין, Arabic *šâna,* which does not appear as a verb in Syriac; from it comes the Syriac *s^{e}yânâ,* "dirt," and with the same is to be connected the Hebrew סאון, "shoe." The same word, masc. and fem., occurs in Pognon A, p. 40, which he would derive from סנא "hate," but without explanation of the form. It might, if a singular instance, be an error for סאניאתא. However n. b. that in Sachau's Elephantine papyri occurs the metathesis סאן for סנא, Pap. 57: 2, 58: 16.

על: 3d fem. pl. of עלל.

יאמיא: a mistake, corrected by the next word. The same note is to be made upon למל in l. 11.

11. תום: doubtless = תוב, "again," so often found on our bowls. Thus Nöldeke's explanation of תום in the Mandaic literature (*Mand. Gram.,* 204) is confirmed.— מודאלה for the form, see *ibid.,* § 67.

No. 40 (CBS 2971)

בשומאיון ד̇חייא ואסותא (2) וזרזתא תחוילה לפגרה וזאוה ובנה (3) זיכריא ובנאתה נוקבאתא ובאיתה ודורה וחיכלה (4) [ו]ביניאנא ד̇חיואניאתא חמרא תוח̇א תורא וענזא חזורה (5) ד̇אכסארו בר [מח]אנוש מן חייא אשבית אלאיכון ומומינאליכון (6) אלא חייא.....

.....

(12) ותברתינכון בכאבה כסארו בר מחאנוש גברא ודזאוה . . . ליליאתא כד̇ מחזיא בה̇ בבאיתה כסארו (13) בר מחאנוש מן חייא ואסותא וזרזתא וחתמתא ט ונטרתא . . . [בנה] זיכריא ובנאתה נוקבאתא ובאיתה (14) ודורה חיכלה וביניאנא ד̇חמרא תורא וענזא חזורא חי[יא ד̇אכסארו בר מחאנוש] מן חייא ואסותא תח[ויל]ה (15 לפגרה יבנה זיכריא ובנאתה [נוקבאת]א ובאיתה ודורה וחיכלה

Exterior

(16) ד̇מראתאי פ̇ת חינדו מן חייא ואסותא תחוילה ופגרה כסארו וזאוה ובנה זיכריא [ובנאתה נוקבאתא ובאיתה ודורה] וחיכלה וביניאנה וחיואניאתה (17) ד̇אכסארו בר מחאנוש מן חייא עסירית אנאת בוזנאי ליליתא וכולחין [עסתראתא] ... ותלתמא ושיתין שורבאתא (18) במנלתה פת פתה בוזנאי מלאכא בדאלאין אלא חייא ובפקדתאין ... ד̇חוא לואת בחנאי (19) תקיפא בחתמא ד̇דרוא מלאכא ד̇כול עניש לאבאר על מלאלה עסיריא [כולחין אלחיא] . . . ועבוריא ופריכיא (20) [ו]עיסתראתא מן פגרה ומן זאוה ומן בנה ומן בנאתה ו[מן באי]תה ומן ד[ורה ומן חיכ]לה [ומן ביניא]נה ד̇אכסארו בר (21) מחאנוש עסיר[א וסדי]מא ומסדמא ור[נ]ילא עס[תר] . . . ותלתמא ושיתין שורבאתא (22) [ד̇]שביקילה נ. . . באתאר א[תאר עסיריא] כולחין חומריא ד̇שאריא בבאיתאיון (23) [ו]מחרבאלון [ע]ס̇ר[א ורגילא] וכביש[א]... וסיפא סטאנא ומחותא... [מן פ]גרה (24) ד̇נברא וזוה . . . ובנה זיכריא ובנאתה נוקב[את]א (25) באיתה וב ודור[ה וח]כלה וביניאנה (*sic*) ח[יוא]ניאתה ד̇[אכסארו] בר מחאנוש מן חייא (26) וחייא זאכיאן

Translation

In the name of Life!—that health (2) and armament be to the body and wife and male sons (3) and female daughters, and the house and

abode, the mansion (4) and the barn of the cattle, the ass, bull and goat, the property of (5) Xârô bar Mehanôš, from Life.

I swear and adjure you (6) by Life.

. . . . . .

(12) and I have broken you in the gate of Xaro b. M., the man and his wife. [Health and protection, etc., from] the Liliths, when they appear in the house of Xaro (13) b. M., from Life. And health and armament and healing and guarding [be to] the male sons and female daughters and the house (14) and dwelling and mansion and the barn of the ass, bull and goat, the live (?) property of [Xaro b. M.], from Life. And health and armament (15) be to the body and the male sons and female daughters and the house and dwelling and mansion of (16) Merâthê daughter of Hindû, from Life. And health be to the body of Xârô . . . and the wife and male sons [and female daughters and the house and dwelling] and mansion and building and cattle (17) of Xaro b. M., from Life.

Charmed art thou, Lilith Buznâi, and all the goddesses . . . and the three hundred and sixty Tribes, (18) by the word of the granddaughter of the angel Buznâi, by the adjuration (?) of Life, and by the command of . . . who is (?) with the mighty Buznâi, (19) by the seal of the angel Darwâ (?), whose word none transgresses. Charmed are a[ll the gods . . . and] temple-spirits and shrine-spirits (20) and goddesses from the body and the wife and sons and daughters and the house and dwelling and mansion and barn of Xaro b. (21) M. Charmed, shut up and confined and hobbled is the Ish[tar] . . ., and the three hundred and sixty Tribes, (22) which I have dismissed from him . . . one after [the other. Charmed] are all Amulet-spirits which lodge in their houses (23) and devastate them. Charmed [and hobbled] and suppressed and covered is the Satan (?) and the Plague . . . [from] the body (24) of the man and his wife . . . and the male sons and the female daughters, (25) the house and dwelling and mansion and the barn for cattle, of Xaro b. M., from Life. (26) And Life is victorious!

Commentary

A long and repetitious charm for a certain man and his family and property, including the several kinds of live-stock. About half of the inscription is found on the exterior.

1. With the same invocation begin the sections of the Ginza, also some of Pognon's bowls.

ואסותא: for ו of purpose, see the like phrase in Pognon, e. g. no. 14, and Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 293.

4. בינאנא: as the regimen shows, the barn.

חמרא: i. e. *ḥemrâ*, also cited by Syriac lexicographers, see Payne-Smith, *ad loc.*, and used as a collective plural, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, 91. The following word was written תותא, ר was then caretted above, and finally the word rewritten.

ענזא : to be added to Nöldeke's instances, *Mand. Gram.*, § 68, and now found in Sachau's recently published papyri from Elephantine. ענז is found in names of certain goat-species, Payne-Smith, col. 2934.

חזרא: for חצי, cf. Nöldeke, *ibid.*, § 47. The word is used like the Talmudic חָצֵר, "private property," see Jastrow, *Dict.*, *s. v.* In l. 14 it is supplemented apparently by חייא, = "livestock."

5. כסארו: evidently an old Persian name in *Koseform;* cf. Aχseri, Xšayarša, Artaχsathra, Justi, pp. 12, 173, 34. The א in דאב׳, here and again below, represents the vowel of the prefix, before the vowelless first radical.

מהאנוש = Meh = Mithra, *plus* Anôš, a Persian genius, Justi, pp. 208, 17.

מן חייא: the long period which this phrase concludes is paralleled below.

אלאיכון: this ancient and full form of the preposition appears in Pognon B, but not in Nöldeke, under § 159.

6. אלא חייא: cf. l. 18, בראלאין אלא חייא. א׳ = the preposition just noted, and is used uniquely with a verb of swearing, where in the Semitic ב is found. Cf. the Greek *ἐπί*, representing, as in the English "swear on the Bible," the primitive action of laying the hand on the sacred object.

16. מראתי ?—17. בוכנאי: cf. נגוכנאי, 38: 6.

18. This antagonism of Buznâi's granddaughter to herself is evidently a case of casting out devils by Beelzebub. The sorcerer affects that he has received from one of her brood the proper charms by which to bind her. Observe interchange of מלאכא with לילית.

בדאלאין וכ׳ : "by that which is upon," i. e. "by the adjuration of" Life. For the redoubled preposition, see Nöldeke, § 231 b. For the phrase, see to l. 6.

פקדתאין: for the sing. with אין—, see *ibid.*, § 146.

23. סטאנא: but a feminine is demanded.

מחותא: in agreement with the Syriac; cf. מחתא, 16: 6; in the Ginza, מחיתא.

26. חייא ואביאן: the same doxological formula in Pognon, B, no. 22, and Lidzb. 5.

APPENDIX

No. 41 (CBS 179)

This text is unique,[1] being inscribed on the top of a human skull. Enough is legible to indicate that it is a magical inscription, doubtless of the same order as those on the bowls. The skull is remarkably well preserved, and though badly shattered, almost all the pieces have been recovered. But the text is sadly worn and obscured through the shaling of the surface, and only a few detached words are legible. There are two inscriptions. one running across the length of the left-hand side of the top, from front to back and also filling up some space in the forward part of the right-hand side. The other, shorter, inscription is at the back of the right-hand side, at right angles to the central suture.

In the first line of the longer text are visible the words, רוחין, ללתא; in the second אנת רוח, indicating an address to the evil spirit. The following names are visible: פרוך, cf. 5: 1; (?) מרדכי בן שאל, also spelt מו׳, "Mordecai ben Saul"; and a woman's name (evidently the wife of the first-named man— בעלה can be read in one place), נסבי, so the almost certain reading. I take the name to be a feminine hypocoristic in *-âi* to be connected with Gathaspar, in the *Excerpta barbara* to Eusebius (ed. Schoene, i, app. 228), one of the three Wise Men, the later Gaspar (Caspar, Jaspar), connected by philologists with the Old-Persian Windafarna; Justi, p. 368.

The use of a skull for recording a magical inscription opens up an interesting line of magical practice. The skull has become part of the stock apparatus of the necromancer, and its use in that connection is typical of his power over the dead, while the presence of the gruesome object adds to the awe in which he is held. But all through magic runs the morbid theme of the use of mortuary remains. In the Greek love charms, the texts are buried in the graveyard; in the magic brews for compelling love,

[1] This statement must now be qualified, as I learn through Professor Ranke that two similar skulls are in the Berlin Museum.

human bones are used, and in a late Arabic charm a broom from a cemetery has efficacy in bringing the beloved to the lover's side (see to No. 28). Cf. the burial of Pognon's bowls in a cemetery. Primitive animistic beliefs have survived, which connect the skeleton with the world of spirits; it is a material *point d'appui*, and the skull is especially preferred as the most striking and perhaps most durable part of the anatomy. It may be noticed that in Arabic the word for skull is also used of the soul (Wellh. *Skizzen*, 3, p. 161, 164).[2] There is a reference in the Talmud to the necromantic use of a skull; *Sanh.* 65b: "there are two kinds of necromancy (בעל אוב), the one where the dead is raised by naming him, the other where he is asked by means of a skull (הנשאל בגלגלת)." Joel (*Aberglaube*, i, 44) thinks this refers to some artificial skull-shaped object; but our actual skull illustrates the practice noticed in the Talmud. The use of skulls (*calvaria*) in classical magic is also vouched for in the Apology of Apuleius; see Abt, p. 141. For this practice of "speaking skulls," we may note its special vogue among the Sabians; see Chwolson, *Die Ssabier*, ii, 150, and Dozy and de Goeje, *Actes* of the Leyden (6th) Congress of Orientalists, ii, 365 f., cf. 293.

But the skull was also efficacious as a prophylactic object. James of Edessa notes that a dried human head was used by the heathen Syrians as an amulet (quoted by Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 362, referring to Kayser's edition of the *Canones*, p. 142). Especially as part of the skeleton was it efficacious against the evil eye; see Seligmann, *Der böse Blick*, ii, 141, who notes the use in Italy of a tiny skull-charm against the *Jettatura*, and also the use among the ancient Taurians and the tribes of Caucasus of the heads of enemies stuck on poles as a prophylactic; also Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, 340, notes the use of skeleton-like figures as talismans in Italy; he finds the same talisman in classic times, comparing King, *Gnostics and their Remains*, 213 (ed. 2, 180). The skull therefore falls into the general category of frightful or obscene objects, which had the power of repelling the evil eye in particular and evil spirits in general.

[2] Dr. Speck, of the Museum, informs me that the North American Indians carefully preserve the skulls of the animals they hunt, as a means of the reincarnation of the beasts, and I understand like customs are found over the world.

No. 42

Towards the close of my work on this volume, Professor Richard Gottheil, who had several years ago thought of publishing the bowls, kindly forwarded me some notes and transcriptions which he had made in his preliminary essays. Among the papers was the copy of a text which is not now found in the Museum. It differed so radically from the other inscriptions that I inquired of Prof. Gottheil if it was taken from a bowl. He replied that he knew of no other source whence the text could have come into his set of papers. Accordingly on the hypothesis that the original text was once in the Museum, I venture to publish Prof. Gottheil's copy, and do so the more readily because of its interesting character and the illustration it affords to several points in the texts above. It contains a form of the Lilith legend, widespread in folklore, and a bowl would have been a perfectly proper place for a text of this prophylactic character. I have not however included the text in my Glossaries.

שדי

סנוי סנסנוי סמנגלף אדם יהוה קרמונה חיין לילית

בשם ייי אלהי ישראל יושב הכרובים ששמו חי וקים לעד · אליהו הנביא היה הולך בדרך ופגע בלילית הרשעה ובכל כת דילה אמר לה אן את הולכת טמאה ורוח הטומאה וכל כת דילך טמאים הולכים · ותען ותאמר לו אדוני אליהו אנכי הולכת לבית היולדה מירקאדה ד'מ ויאידה כת דונה לתת לה שינת המות ולקחת את ילדה הנולד לה למצוץ דמו ולמצוץ מוח עצמותיו ולחתם את בשרו ויאמר לה אליהו הנביא ז"ל [זכרו לברכה] בחרם מאת השם יתברך עצורה תהיה וכאבן דומה תהיה · ותען ותאמר לו למען ייי תתירכי מן החרם ואנכי אברח ואשבע לך בשם ייי אלהי ישראל לעזוב הדברים אלו מה יולתת (*sic*) חזאות ומולדה הנולד לה ומכל שכן להזיק וכל זמן שמזכירים או אני רואה את שמותי בתובים לא יהיה לי וכל כת דילי כח להרע ולהזיק ואלו הן שמותי : לילית : אביטר . אביקר : אמורפו הקש אודם : איכפידו : איילו : טטרוטה : אבנוקטה : שטריהה : קלי : תלתוי : ריטשה : והשיב לה אליהו

הנביא ז"ל ואמר לה הריני משביעך ולכל בת דילך בשם ייי אלהי ישראל גי"ם תרינ אברהם יצחק ויעקוב ובשם שכינתו הקדושה ובשם עשרה שרפים אופנים וחיות הקדש ועשרה ספרי תורה ובכח אלהי הצבאות ב"ה שלא תלכי לא את ולא מכת דילך להזיק את היולדת הזאת או את ולדה הנולד לה לא לשתות את דמו לא למצוץ מח עצמותיו ולא לחתם את בשרו ולא ליגע בחם לא ברו"ג אבריהן ולא בשם"ה גידיהן וערקיהן כמו שאינה יכולה לספור את כוכבי השמים ולא להוביש את מי הים בשם קרע שטן חסדיאל שמריאל

Accompanying the text are given some inscribed designs and phrases. A rough figure of a hand (prophylactic against the evil eye) contains the Aramaic legend:

אנא מזרעי דיוסף קא (? הא =) אתינא ולא שלטא ביה שנא בישא :

"I am the seed-producer (?) of Joseph; when I come, an evil year cannot prevail over him,"—a play of thought between Joseph as controller of the fertility of Egypt and the fertility of the family, and as a good omen for the expectant mother.

A "David's Shield" contains in the center יאה דונהי, a fanciful form of Adonai, on the left hand שטן, "Satan," in another division אבג and nearby יתין (?), i. e. אבניתין, to be found in Schwab, *Vocab.* Another species of the shield more roughly designed contains יהוה in the center, flanked with יה, etc. and אדני, with מטטרון and סנדלפון on either side. The changes are rung on the possible mutations of ילק, and the scripture Dt. 28: 10 is cited. Similar charms against the Lilith are to be found at the end of *Sefer Raziel* and in Buxtorf's *Lexicon, s. v.*

Translation

Shaddai

Sanui Sansanui Semniglaph Adam YHWH Kadmon Life Lilith

In the name of Y" the God of Israel who besits the cherubs, whose name is living and enduring forever. Elija the prophet was walking in the road and he met the wicked Lilith and all her band. He said to her, Where art thou going, Foul one and Spirit of foulness, with all thy foul band walking along? And she answered and said to him: My lord Elija, I

am going to the house of the woman in childbirth who is in pangs (?), of So-and-so daughter of Such-a-one, to give her the sleep of death and to take the child she is bearing, to suck his blood and to suck the marrow of his bones and to devour his flesh. And said Elija the prophet——blessed his name!—With a ban from the Name—bless it!—shalt thou be restrained and like a stone shalt thou be! And she answered and said to him: For the sake of Y" postpone the ban and I will flee, and will swear to thee in the name of Y" God of Israel that I will let go this business in the case of this woman in childbirth and the child to be born to her and every inmate so as do no injury. And every time that they repeat or I see my names written, it will not be in the power of me or of all my band to do evil or harm. And these are my names: Lilith, Abitar (Abito?), Abikar (Abiko?), Amorpho, Hakaš, Odam, Kephido, Ailo, Matrota, Abnukta, Šatriha, Kali, Batzeh, Taltui, Kitša. And Elija answered and said to her: Lo, I adjure thee and all thy band, in the name of Y" God of Israel, by gematria 613, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and in the name of his holy Shekina, and in the name of the ten holy Seraphs, the Wheels and the holy Beasts and the Ten Books of the Law, and by the might of the God of Hosts, blessed is he!—that thou come not, thou nor thy band to injure this woman or the child she is bearing, nor to drink his blood nor to suck the marrow of his bones nor to devour his flesh, nor to touch them neither in their 256 limbs nor in their 365 ligaments and veins, even as she is (= thou art?) not able to count the number of the stars of heaven nor to dry up the water of the sea. In the name of: 'Hasdiel Šamriel has rent Satan.'

Commentary

Only a few detailed notes are necessary. Of the terms at the beginning, סנוי סנסנוי and סמנגלף are common in childbirth charms (see Schwab. *Vocab.*, *s.* יד.). The second is erroneously explained by Schwab; it is שם נ', the inscribed Name, cf. the שם ... גליף in 11: 9. סנוי and its reduplication סנסנוי probably mean "divorced."

N. B. the order of Adam, Yhwh, Kadmon.

מירקאדא ד'מ(ירקאדא) is obscure to me. The root is probably used in the Syriac sense of mourning, hence supplicating; or cf. Heb. חיל, "writhe," as well as "dance."

יאידא כת דונה I would read as אידה בת דינה, the first as the indefinite pronoun fem. *quaequae*, the last as representing the Greek δεῖνα, which is commonly used in the papyri, the actual name being inserted upon use.

חתם = חטף, cf. Arabic קטם.

Of the names of the Lilith the second = Abatur the Mandaic genius (see Glossary A); but the possible reading of the copy, Abito, may be preferable, in view of the Greek parallels; see below; the third is the Greek ἀμορφος.

613: the figure is the gematriac sum of 'the Lord God of Israel,' as also the number of positive and negative commandments of the Law. As Mr. A. Simon, Harrison Fellow of the University, has suggested to me, the preceding abbreviation stands for גימטריא.

The "256 limbs" are 248 in Jewish lore. For the 365 ligaments, cf. the identical expression in a charm given by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 295.

The 10 Books of the Law are the double of the Pentateuch; cf. the Eighth Book of Moses in the Leyden MS. which Dieterich has published at the end of his *Abraxas*.

The very ancient use of epical narrative as an efficient magical charm was described above p. 62; thus the mere narrative of a demon's power, as in the case of Dibbarra, is potent, or, *à fortiori*, the relation of a triumph over the evil spirit from some sacred legend. In the present case we have the added virtue of the revelation of the demon's names, and she swears that whenever they confront her, she will retire; the knowledge of her names binds her (cf. p. 56).

Dr. M. Gaster has published in *Folk-lore* xi (whole number xlvi), 129, an interesting paper entitled "Two Thousand Years of a Charm Against the Child-Stealing Witch." The latter uncanny spirit has already met us in several of our preceding texts (Nos. 11, 18, 36, etc.). Dr. Gaster surveys a wide material of European and Semitic forms of this magical narrative, all of which have evidently the same root. He draws on Slavonic, Roumanian and modern Greek legends, and cites one of Gollancz's Syrian charms, a collection to which I have had frequent occasion to refer,[1] and also quotes

[1] In *Actes* of the 8th International Congress of Orientalists, Sect. 4, p. 77. Most of these charms are in the narrative style. Cf. also a similar Syriac charm given by Hazard, *JAOS*, xv, 286 f.

in translation a Jewish charm of the same order from the *Mystery of the Lord* (in the Hebrew סוד יי, a book I have not been able to obtain).

This Jewish legend is almost identical with ours. It is considerably shorter, concluding with the names of the Lilith and a direction to hang up the names in the room of the woman concerned. The names are almost identical with those in our text; they are: Satrina, Lilith, Abito, Amizo, Izorpo, Koko, Odam, Ita, Podo, Eilo, Patrota, Abiko, Kea, Kali, Batna, Talto, Partasah. My form Amorpho is probably older; Koko =κακός may be preferable to my Kaš.

In both these Jewish forms Elija and the Lilith are the actors. In the Syriac legend quoted by Gaster from Gollancz, it is a saint Mar Ebedishu and the Evil Spirit in the likeness of an ugly woman who are the characters; the latter has for one of her names that of "the Strangling-mother of children" (cf. above to 36: 4). In the European Christian legends, the benevolent actor is the Virgin, Michael, or a certain saint bearing the name Sisoe, or Sisynios. These names are derived from the Jewish סנוי סנסנוי, as Gaster suggests. In the Greek legend the spirit is Gylo, the earlier Γελλω, which appears also in the magical papyri.[2] In all children are the object of the fiend's ravages, in one case the charm is for a boy afflicted with cataract.

There are some other simpler forms of this legend contained in Greek manuscript amulets which were not accessible to Dr. Gaster. In his *Poimandres*, p. 298, Reitzenstein publishes a text which is the earlier prototype of the Roumanian folk-legend published by Gaster, p. 132. It reads: "When the archangel Michael came down from heaven, there met him the impure spirit with her hair down her back and her eyes inflamed. And the archangel Michael said to her: Whence comest and whither goest thou? The impure one answered and said to him: I go to enter the house as a serpent, dragon, reptile, I change into a quadruped, I go to make the plagues of women, to humble their heart, to dry up the milk, to raise the hair of the master of the house .... and then I kill them. For my name is called Paxarea. For when the Holy Mary bore the Word of Truth

[2] Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften*, xlii, 66, also Γυλον, Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 298. For Gello = the Assyrian Gallu, see Frank, *ZA*, xxiv, 161.

I went to deceive her and ..?..[3] And the archangel Michael seized her by the locks on the right hand and said to her: Tell me thy twelve names.[4] And she said: I am called first Gelou, second Morphous, (third, etc.) Karanichos, Amixous, Amidazou, Marmalat, Karane, Selenous, Abiza, Ariane, Maran. Wherever are found my twelve names and thy name, archangel Michael, and thy name Sisinios and Sinodoros, I will not enter into the house of such a one." Compare also the amulet given on the preceding page in Reitzenstein (p. 297), lacking the reference to the Virgin, the demon enumerating her plagues.

A similar legend, in large part identical with both these just named, is given in the Greek-Italian charms published by Pradel.[5] In this Michael descending from Sinai meets the hag Abuzou[6] and the demons cast out of heaven. He inquires where she is going; she answers she crawls into houses like a serpent, dragon, etc., to bring all evils on men, to dry up the mother's milk, to wake the children and kill them. Then, evidently a Christian accretion, she causes faction in the church, sends floods, destroys ships. Michael asks her her name, which is Pataxaro. He asks for her many names. She swears by the throne of God and the eye (= eyes) of the Beasts (cf. the oath in our text) that she will tell the truth. She then gives forty names, the first two of which are Gilou, Morphou.

The legend sometimes ran out into the line of particular diseases, e. g. cataract, as in one of the Roumanian forms; or Beelzebub and other demons are named, as in an amulet in Vassiliev, *Anecdota byzantina*, i, 336. But the story of the wife-hating, child-murdering hag is the original element, as Gaster points out.

We thus possess forms of the legend in Hebrew and Syriac, in Greek texts of eastern and western Europe, and in modern Roumanian and Slavonic folklore, while the heroes of the epic include Elijah, Michael, Christ and various saints known or obscure. The persistency of the form appears also in the charm names. To compare the lists in the two Hebrew texts and in the two of Wendland and Pradel respectively and in Gollancz

[3] Cf. the early Christian myth of the devil's wiles, *Rev.* 12.

[4] The same number is found in the Hekate-Isis legend.

[5] *Griechische u. süd.- italienische Gebete*, 23.

[6] The Avezuba and Avestitza in Gaster's Roumanian legends.

(Syriac), we find that the initial Hebrew Lilith = Greek Gelou or Gilou = Syriac Geos, doubtless = Gelos. The second in the Hebrew, Abito (Abitar?) = Apiton the ninth in the Syriac; the third, Abiko (Abikar?) = Abiza or Abuzou in the Greek texts, and as we observed above Avezuba in the Roumanian. The fourth Amorpho (in our text) = Morphous or Morphou having third place in the Greek texts, and Martlos, 4th in the Syriac. Amorpho is doubtless the Greek ἀμορφος, "shapeless," and our Jewish text alone has preserved the correct form. Eilo and its obscure predecessor in the Hebrew may be found in Pradel's Morpheilaton, and the latter's Phlegumon may translate the Hebrew קלי.

It is impossible to place our phylactery genealogically in such a mass of interrelated material. The Jewish text doubtless depends upon Greek tradition with its magical name Amorpho and its transliteration of δεῖνα, while the later Greek forms have borrowed from the Hebrew in St. Sisynios. But the source of the legend is the common property of mankind, with roots as ancient as the Babylonian Labartu and Gallu. A child-killing demon which sucks babes' blood, etc., is found in Africa; see Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection,* i, 285, a reference pointed out to me by Professor Jastrow. In the Hellenistic magic a classical form of such legend was established out of all the elements that were brought together in that age, and this spread again assuming its variant forms among the peoples and faiths. If our text actually came from Nippur, it is of interest as the earliest form of the Jewish legend and as one which can be dated with approximate accuracy.

Corrections and Additions

P. 20, line 4: read "Berlin" for "British."

P. 20: add to the list of published Mandaic bowls the two photographic plates of bowls (plates 1, 2) in J. de Morgan, *Études linguistiques,* vol. v, part 2, of his *Mission scientifique en Perse.*

P. 105, line 20: the Koran gives to the Mandaeans the same privileges as the Jews and the Christians (see 2: 59; 5: 73; 22: 17).

GLOSSARIES

GLOSSARY A

PERSONAL NAMES AND EPITHETS OF DEITIES, ANGELS, DEMONS, ETC.

GLOSSARY B

PROPER NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

GLOSSARY C

GENERAL GLOSSARY

Prefatory Note

Glossary C is arranged according to roots, the other two consonantally. The former indexes only the common nouns.

The citations of other authorities can be understood from § 2. The two publications of Pognon's are cited as "A" and "B", and Pognon's full glossaries will serve to locate all words of his texts. Where lines of texts are given, the reference is to the spiral line if facsimile is given, otherwise to the lines of the printed text. I have not thought it necessary to give the line citation for proper names even in my own texts, as they can be easily identified.

Under Glossary B, the following abbreviations are used: d. = daughter of, f. = father, h. = husband, m. = mother, s. = son, w. = wife.

Where a word appears in my text the first citation may be referred to for any treatment by the editor; references are also added to further discussions in the Introduction. Notes are occasionally added to words found in texts of other editors.

In Glossaries A and B all the occurrences are given with the exception of a few common divine names like יהוה; in Glossary C only typical citations and peculiar forms; also it has been the aim to give citations from the three dialects.

GLOSSARY A

PERSONAL NAMES AND EPITHETS OF DEITIES, ANGELS, DEMONS, ETC.

אבונבאנא evil deity: Pogn B.

אבונדאנא evil deity: Lidz 4, 5 (for these two names, see to 11: 5).

אבדא Destroyer 3.

אבהו divine name?: 7; Myhr.

אבטור Abatur, Mandaic genius: Ellis 1 (א' טורא); Wohls 2417 (אבוטור); see p. 96.

איבול deity (Apollo? Aeon?): 19.

איבולית feminine to above: *ib.*

אביר epithet of God: 8.

אברכס, אברכסים, אברכים Abrasax: 7 (= Myhr), 19, 34 (see pp. 57, 99).

אגדול mystic name: Schw F.

אגזריאל deity or angel: 19.

אגרבים "the holy Agrabis": 14.

אדאניאל angel: Schw I.

אדוני Adonai: 34; Pogn B.

אזדאי angel: Pogn B; Lidz 1.

אזזיאל angel: 19.

אזפא deity?: 19.

אחוד בת איתרא ghost: Wohls 2417.

אלא God: 18.

אלאל divine name: 13.

אלבעבן, אלבנמין mystical name?: Wohls 2422.

אלדדביה וגי mystical name: 5.

אלהא, אי God: 7, 16, etc.

אלהים Elohim: Ellis 1; Hyv.

אליאל angel: 10.

אילסור Ellis 1 (but see to 11: 4).

אל פנים El Panim: 8.

אלפסס name of Gabriel: Wohls 2422.

אל שדי El Shaddai: 8, 34, etc.

אמא demon (bath Imma): Wohls 2426.

אימי name of demon: Wohls 2416 = Stübe (see p. 77).

אמאתעמא a genius: Lidz 5 ("anathema"?).

אננרוס deity: 19.

אנד deity: 19.

אנפרת demon: Schw F (see p. 25).

אסתאנא Satan: Montg.

אספנדסדיוא Cpenta-dewa, name of Solomon's Jinn (see Grünbaum, *Zts. f. Keils.-forsch.*, ii, 224, Nöldeke, *ib.* 297).

אוסרא epithet of angel ("charmer"): Schw, *PSBA*, xii, 298.

אפטוקא Wohls 2422 (=אבטור?).

אצלצל angel: Wohls 2416.

אוקינוס Okeanos (?): 19.

אקף נקף נוקף series of mystical names: Schw F.

ארדיסבא deity: 19.
ארזן deity: 19.
אריאל angel: 19; Schw I.
אוריאל angel: Stübe (Wohls l. חתיאל).
ארין deity?: 19; 34.
ארמים, ארמסא, הרמים Hermes, see to 2: 2.
אירם a deity (Eros, Ares?): 19.
אשתקותקוף infernal genius: Pogn B (cf. Glossary C, שקף; but cf. *Aristikifa,* in Dillmann's text to Enoch 6: 7).
אית ghost: Schw 2417.

בי = Bel: 36.
ביאחיאל (?) angel: Schw G.
בנדאנא, בנדנא deity: 11, 18, 19, Montg.
בוזאי lilith: 40.
בחלבם lilith: 18 (cf. חלבם).
בעודאי angel: 38.
ברחאל angel: Schw N.
ברכעיל angel: Pogn B.
ברקיאל angel: Wohls 2416.

גבריאל, גבריל, גברעיל Gabriel: 7; 34; etc. (see p. 96 f.).
גדריאל angel: 14.

דביא epithet of Hermes: 2.
דבאק angel: Pogn B (cf. טבאק).
דודיב demon: 36.
דליבת Dlibat = Dilbat, goddess of love: 28.
דומה mother of demon: Schw G.
דימיאל angel: Wohls 2416.

דנחיש demon: 19.
דנייל angel: Schw N.
דינימוסיתתא ghost: Schw 2417.
דרוא deity or angel: 40.
דרטוסיאל angel: Schw I.
דרקיאל angel: Schw I.
דושעיל angel: Pogn B.

הדריאל angel: Stübe (Wohls נידריאל).
הפביאל angel: Wohls 2416.
הרמים s. ארמסא.

זגד father of ארין: 19, 34.
זעוא Zeus: 19.
זיקיאל angel: Wohls 2416.
זרני, זארנאי granddam of a lilith: 11 and parallels.

חבובית epithet of אדונאי: Pogn B.
חביאל angel: 13.
חטטריאל angel: Schw *PSBA,* xii, 298.
חיא, חייא Life, Mand. supreme deity: 40; Pogn A, B; Lidz 5.
חיות the Living Creatures: 8.
חיל ביש Evil Potency: 30.
חלבם, חבלסם, חלראם lilith: 11 and parallels.
חאמיאל angel: Schwab, *l. c.*
חומיחיאל angel: Stübe = Wohls חנתיחיאל.
חמוציה demon: Schw G.
חמריאל angel: 35.
חניניאל angel: 13; Stübe.
חסדיאל angel: Schw N.
חושו ghost: Schw 2417.

חתיאל angel: Wohls 2416 (for Stübe's, אוריאל).

חתמיאל angel: 35.

טבק, טאבאק (cf. דבאק) angel: Pogn B.

טלסבוני deity: 19.

טורא see אבטור.

ידיד, יודיד ghosts: Wohls 2417.

יהוה YAHWE *passim*.

יאז, יזדן angel: Pogn B; Lidz 1.

יאזדרן angel: Pogn B.

יאזרויא angel: *ib*.

יחיאל angel, or divine name: 25.

יאנאי lilith: 38.

יופיאל angel, or divine name: 25.

יקרן angel: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

יורבא Mandaic divine name: Pogn B.

יתבא angel, with "eleven names" following: Schw G.

כבשעיל angel: Pogn B.

כיטא the "heat" demon: 30: 2.

כסדיאל angel: Hyv (in כי עיסרא דכישראי; cf. Kasdeya angel of evil arts, *Enoch* 69: 12).

ליויתן Leviathan: 2.

מדובינא demon: 37.

מהפכיאל angel: Wohls 2416.

מחזעיל angel: Pogn B.

מחבלא the Destroyer: 9.

ממנחיל angel: Schw G.

מיטטרון Metatron: 25; Wohls 2416.

מיכאל, מיכאיל Michael: 34, etc. (see p. 96 f.).

מלויאשין Signs of Zodiac: 4.

מללא, מלילא, ממללא the Word: 27, 19, 2 (see to 2: 2).

ממינוש deity?: 11.

מן, מאנא Mandaic genius: 19; Wohls 2422.

מנדינסן deity: 19.

מנטריאל angel: 35.

מנירנש deity: 19.

מיצואה name of God: 29.

מר demon: Wohls 2416 (see p. 81).

מרנלא epithet of a deity: 19.

מות ghost: Wohls 2417.

נבאט Mandaic genius: Pogn. B.

ננוזנאי angel: 38.

נידריאל angel: Wohls 2416.

נהריאל angel: 14.

נטריאל angel: Schw *PSBA*, xii, 298.

ננאי god Nannai: 36.

נקרדוס deity: 19.

נוריאל angel: 35; Wohls 2416 (see p. 96).

נירינ god Nirig; 36; נירין: Ellis 1.

סודה name of God: Ellis 3.

סהרה, סיהרא, סירא (Mand) Moon: 34, Wohls 2416; Pogn B.

סחטעיל, etc. angel: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

סינא Sin: 36; Montg.

סחנודמוך deity: 19.

סטנא Satan: 2, etc.; סטאנא, 19; cf. אסתאנא.

ססנביאל angel: Wohls 2416.

סר, סרא "the Prince": 5, 7 (see p. 97 f.).

סוריאל angel: 15; Schw I.

סרסמיאל angel: 14.

סרפיאל angel: 14, 19.

סרריאל angel: 15.

עזריאל angel: 8.

עיאאל genius or angel: Schw F.

עניאל angel: Wohls 2416 (see Wohls p. 27, and Bousset, *Arch. f. Rel.-wiss.*, iv, 268).

עסאל, עסיאל: angel: 7; Myhr.

עסתר Istar, Mand. evil deity: Pogn B (a she-angel, nos. 14, 15); = name of lilith?: 38, 40.

עקריאל angel: 8.

עקרתא "Barrenness": 11.

ערביאל angel: Wohls 2416.

עורפאיל form of Raphael: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

פטרגינוס deity: 19.

פלג *idem.*

פלחס, פלחדד father and mother of demons: 8 (variants in 17).

פלניני deity: 19.

פלסא פליסא genius: 8.

פניאל angel.

פפריוים for Piriawis, Mand. genius: Pogn B.

פרעיל, פרועיל form of Raphael: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

פרקיאל angel: Wohls 2416.

צ' נורא, צ' צבאות: 8; ידוה צ': 8.

צדיקיל angel: Schw N.

צנובית epithet of Adonai: Pogn B.

צור epithet of God: 8.

צוריאל angel: 14; Schw I.

ציר נליף deity: Lidz 5 (but see to No. 11).

קבקביאל angel: 8.

קדרון רבא "the great Kedron": Wohls 2422 (cf. Mand. "the great Jordan").

קטולתא name of demon: 36.

קאטריאוים angel: Lidz 5.

קוסא divine name?: 19.

קפא *idem.*

קצפמה name of angel of death: Schw F.

ראויל angel: Schw N.

רחזיל, רחזעל angel: Pogn B.

ראייאל angel: Schw I.

ראם פתאן a male genius: Lidz 4.

ראם פתית a female genius: *ibid.*

ריקין angel: Pogn B.

ראשיאל angel: Schw I.

רבויל angel: Schw N.

רובמא a genius?: Schw F.

רי, רבקא mother of demons.

רז Mystery: 37.

רחמיאל angel: 13, 28.

רחציאל angel: Schw I.

רופאחיל, רופעיל, רופאעיל, רופיאיל, רפאל (cf. עורפאיל, פרעיל) Raphael: *passim*, see p. 96 f.

שבייאל angel: 10.

שבקאיאל, שבקאייל angel: Pogn B.

שדי Shaddai: 8; Myhr; שדא אל, 7.

שדריאל angel: Schw N.

שלטיאיל angel: 35.

שמהזא deity: Montg. (Prof. F. Perles calls my attention to the midrashic occurrence of שמחזי; see Grünbaum, ZDMG, xxxi, 225 f. = *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Perles, 1901, p. 59 f.). See p. 198.

שאמיש, שמיש Sun: 36, 30; Pogn B; שמשא, Montg.

שנגיאל angel: 25.

שראיאייל, שרעיל, שריאיל, שריאל angel: 14, 35; Pogn B.

שרקאייל angel: Pogn B.

שרירי demon: Schw F.

תיחייאל angel: Schw F.

תנאי עדול(ה) genius: *ibid.*

תיקיש angel: Ellis 1 (= Lidz קאטריאוים).

Also eleven names of angel in Ellis 3: סיסרייה, ברכבה, כבבה, סריה, ססבלא, הידריה, עזביה, בזוקפה, ארמפה (= ארמסא ?), ארקפס,—; cf. the "eleven" names in Schw G: פכררי, דמחנה, מתוקפא, עתיק, מיעיני, דמידור, כבבא, שראיה, ססרבא, בנים. In Schw M a list of mystical angel names: צלל, עלל, מלל, etc. A list of evil spirits in Schw G: נכר, ננלה מחמת, ססטוי, ססטימו. Names of ghosts, some cited above, Wohls 2417. For a lilith's names, see No. 42.

Some Kabbalistic forms of יהוה etc. (see p. 60 f.):

יהו יוה, Schw Q; ייו, Schw O; וייו, *ib.*; והוה, Hyv; ווו, Ellis 4, Hyv; יהו יהו יהו Stübe, l. 16; יה שמו, *ib.* l. 28; יהביה, 7: 8, Stübe, l. 15, cf. 13: 7; הה הה, 7: 12; יאהיהו 31: 6; יהוק, 14: 2.

אהיה אשר אהיה, Stübe, l. 29; אהעה, 5, center; אאא Schw I; אאאא Stübe, l. 35, אאאאא, 20: 2, 5.

אין אין, Stübe, l. 15; מץ מץ יחיק יחיק, סף סף, 15: 2; קץ שץ מץ etc. 29: 10 מצפץ (Atbash), Stübe, l. 66. Cf. also 1: 13, 24: 4f, 3: 6, etc.

GLOSSARY B

PROPER NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

אבא Abba s. Komesh: 17; s. Barkita: Stübe.

איבא Ibba s. Zawithai: 2.

אבהו Abbahu (a sorcerer?): 7, Myhr.

אבנדוך Abanduch d. Pušbi: 5.

אבונא Abuna s. Geribta: 2.

אברהם Abraham (the patriarch): 8, Schw O; s. Dadbeh: 12, 16.

אגלת Aglath d. Maḥlath: Schw P.

אידי Idi, m. Asmin: Wohls 2417.

אדם Adam; בני אדם: 10; א' קדמאה: 13, Pogn A.

אדק Adaḳ s. Ḥathoi: 6.

אדור יזדנדור Aduryazdandur; Pogn B (for first component see Justi, pp. 5, 51; the second error for Yazdandad?—see *ib.* 146).

איהי (?) Ihi f. Ephra: 18.

איזדנדוך Izdanduch m. Yezidad: 7, 27.

אויא Azia m. Maria: Lidz 3.

אחדבוי Aḥdabui s. Aḥathbu: Wohls 2422.

אחת, Mand. אחאת Aḥath d. Parkoi: 3; d. Ḥathoi: 6; m. Dodai: 21, 22, 23; d. Doda: 25; d. Nebazach: 28; m. Churreniḳ: Lidz 2; d. Dade: Lidz 5.

אחתבו Aḥathbu m. Aḥdabui: Wohls 2422.

אחתאדבה, אחתאראבה Aḥathadbah d. Imma: Wohls 2426, 2414.

אחתאטבן (w. prep. ליח') Aḥathaṭbon, d. Nanai: Pogn B, no. 18 (not in glossary).

אחאת רבתא: Aḥath-rabta m. Farruchiro: Pogn B.

אחתעמא Aḥathema m. Dade: Pogn B.

אוכמי Ukkamai f. Zuṭra: Schw F.

אמה, אמא Imma m. Ḥisdai Schw E; m. Osera: Schw G.

אמטור Amṭur d. Solomon: Schw I.

אוני הרמסדר טרדי (?). Oni Harmasdar Ṭardi m. Ṭardi: 20.

אנור..ד Anur..d s. Parkoi: 28.

אנוש Anoš m. Zadanoš: Pogn B.

אנושאי Anošai d. Mehinducht: *ibid.*

אנישיא Aniše (error for previous name?) *ibid.*

אנושתא Anošta, *ibid.*

אנות חיא Anuth-ḥaye d. Sebre-le-Yesho: *ibid.* ("vessel of life"?).

אסטרובא Astroba: 29.

אסמין Asmin d. Idi: Wohls 2417.

אסמנדוכת, ד-Asmanducht m. Dadbeh: 12, 16, 31, 33.

אספנז Aspenaz m. (?) Gaye: Myhr (see to 7: 4).

אוסרא Osera s. Osera and Imma: Schw G (see p. 83).

אפאדוי Aphadoi s. Dawiwi: Pogn B.

אפרה, אפרא Ephra s. Šaborduch: 1, 13; s. Ihi: 18.

אפרידויא Aphridoe d. Kušizag: Lidz 4 (cf. Justi, p. 6).

איצפנדוי Iṣpandoi w. Ephra: 18.

איצפנדרמיד, 26: 5, איס' (32, 35), איסי' (30) Iṣpandarmed m. Yandundišnaṭ: 30; m. Dinoi: 32, 35; m. Behdar: Ellis 1.

ארדוי Ardoi s. Hormizduch: 3; s. Gayye: Myhr.

ארחא Arḥa f. (m.) Išpiza: 30.

אריון Arion s. Zand: 19; 34 (sorcerer or deity?).

ארתשריה Artašria s. Komes: 17.

אישפיזא Išpiza s. Arḥa: 30.

אשיר, אשר Ašer f. Bosmath; Schw F; H.

אתאדבה Athadba d. Immi: Wohls 2426 (cf. אחתבו ff.).

אתרונא Ethroga m. Ḳuḳai: Pogn B ("citron").

באבי Babai s. Bedin: Wohls 2417 (cf. Syriac. בבי, see Nöld. *Pers. St.* 395, 414).

בבאנוש, באבנוש, בבנוש Babanoš s. Kayyomta: 9; s. Mehanoš: Pogn B.

בידון, better בידין Be(h)din f. Babai: Wohls 2417 (see Justi, p. 347 b).

בהמנדוך, בת-Bahmanduch(t)d. Sama: 1, 13; m. Geyambuch: Pogn B.

בהרד Bahrad: Ellis 1 (see G. Hoffmann, *Ausz. aus syr. Acten*, 128).

בחרעזאנ Bahrezag d. Kawaranoš: Pogn B.

בחרוי Bahroi d. Bath-sahde: 34.

בהרנדוך Bahranduch d. Newanduch: Ellis 1 (see Nöld., *Z. f. K. F.* ii, 296).

באנאי Banai m. Merduch: 7, 27.

בר אישור ? perh. "son of praise" (artificial name of sorcerer?) Schw G.

ברבאביא Barbabe m. Yazid: Pogn B.

ברגלל Bar-gelal s. Dodai: 15.

ברדסא (?) Bardesa d. Terme: 39.

בר חאיי Bar-ḥaye: Rodw = Hal = Schw C (so Chwol *CIH*, 112; cf. Talmudic name חייא).

ברוך אריא Baruk-aria (Farruch?) s. Reshinduch: Schw M.

בריכיהביה Berikyahbeh s. Mamai: 26 (artificial form).

ברכיתא Barkita m. Abba: Stübe.

בר מסוסיה (?) Bar-mesosia: Hal, Schw C. (cf. my note on Schwab E, § 3; a master magician, with artificial name?).

בר משתאל, ־איל, Bar-mištael: 7, Myhr (see to 7: 13).

בר שיבבי Bar-šibebi s. Tshehrazad: 15.

בשמאת Bosmath d. Ašer: Schw F (biblical).

בת סהדא Bath-sahde m. Bahroi: 34.

באת, בית אסיא Beth-asia d. Mehanosh: Pogn B, 3, 29.

גיאמבוך Geyambuch(?)d. Bahmanducht: Pogn B.

גיי Gaye s. Aspenaz: Myhr.

גיונאי Geyonai s. Mamai: 8.

געלויא Geloia (Geloie) m. Durduch: Pogn B; the same probably גילוי: no. 16094, unpub. (= *γελοία*, "laughter"?).

גמליל Gamaliel: Schwab O.

גניבא Geniba s. Dodai: Montg.

גספי Gaspai w.(?) Farruch: 41.

גורוי Guroi s. Ṭaṭi: 25.

גושנ[אי] Gušnai d. Beth-asia Pogn B, no. 3 (cf. below, יאזדפנה נושנאי).

דאדה Dada f. Šarḳoi: 12, 15.

דאדיא Dade m. Terme: 39; m. Maḥlaphta: Pogn B; d. Aḥath: *ib.* (also written דאדיה); d. Aḥath: Lidz 5 (דאדע).

דודא, דודאי, דודי Doda(i) d. Martha: 15; d. Aḥath: 21, 22, 23; m. Aḥath: 25; m. Hinduitha: 38.

דאדבה, דדבה Dadbeh s. Asmanduch: 12, 16, 21, 35.

דאויד, דויד David (the king): 14, 34; Hyv; Lidz 5.

דאויוי Dawiwi(?) f. (?) Aphridoe: Pogn B.

דזאונויא Dazaunoye s. 'Adwitha: 38.

דוכתאנבה Duchtanbeh d. Kumai: Pogn A (p. 18).

דוכתאנוש, דוכתנוש Duchtanoš d. Ḥawwa: Pogn B; m. Farruchusraw: Lidz 4 (cf. Justi, p. 86).

דינוי Dinoi s. Ispandarmed: 35.

דנאריתא, דנריתא, דנרתא Denar(i)ta d. Miša: Pogn B (cf. masc. name Dinar, "penny," Payne-Smith, col. 887).

דענדוך, דינדוך Denduch d. Chosriduch: *ibid.*

דורדוך Durduch d. Geloia: Pogn B (Nöldeke, for Adhurduch).

דרשי Darši "the foreigner": 29.

הדיסתא-אי, הדיסתא Hadista d. Miria: Schw M (biblical Hadassa).

הנדו, הינדו (?הנדי) Hindu d. Maḥlaphta: 24; m. Marathai: 40; m. Mehperoz: Ellis 3 (see above, § 3).

הינדויתא Hinduitha d. Dodai: 38.

הוניק Honiḳ s. Dadbeh: 12, 16; s. Komeš: 17; s. Aḥath: 16020 (unpub.).

הר..דורא H. r.. dora m. Ispandarmed: 26.

הורמיז Hormiz s. Mama: 15; s. Maḥlaphta: Lidz 5.

הורמיזדוך Hormizduch m. Ardoi: 3; d. Mehduch: 14.

זאדבה Zadbeh s. Denarta: Pogn B (Nöldeke, from Azadhbeh).

זדו, זדוי Zadoi s. Newanduch: 10; זאדויא s. ʿAdwitha: 38.

זדאן פרוך Zadanfarruch s. Ḳaḳi: Hyv (cf. Justi, p. 377).

זאדאנוש Zadanoš d. Anoš: Pogn B.

זויתאי Zawithai m. Ibba: 2.

זוטרא Zuṭra s. Ukmai: Schw F (w. title Mar).

זנד Zand f. Arion: 19, 34 (sorcerer or deity?).

זאפה Zapeh s. ?: Pogn B.

זרוי Zaroi s. ?: 37.

זרנכש Zarinkaš d. Maḥlaphta: 24.

חביב Ḥabib: no. 2924 (unpub.).

חוא Ḥawwa (Eve) wife of Adam: 13; m. Šišin: Pogn B.

חליפאי Ḥalifai s. Šišin: 29.

חמרי..שאי Ḥmri..šai d. Emme: Pogn B (no. 19).

אחנוך (חנוך) Enoch the patriarch: 4.

חנון Ḥanun, the house of: 19.

חיסדי Ḥisdai s. Ama: Schw E.

חתימא Ḥathima m. ?: Pogn B.

טאטי Ṭaṭi m. Guroi: 25.

טימאתאיוס Timatheoz s. Mamai: Lidz 2 ("Timotheos," Lidz).

טרדי Ṭardi d. Oni: 20.

טשיהראזד Tsherazad m. Bar-šibebi: 15.

יהושע, יישוע Joshua, Jesus, s. Peraḥia, traditional socerer: 8; 9; 17; 32; 33; 34 (see to 32).

יוריד (?) Yazdid s. Komeš: 17.

יזיד, יאזיד Yazid s. Šišin: Pogn B; s. Barbabe: *ibid.* (Aramaic rather than Arabic, against Pognon B, pp. 103, 14).

יזידאד Yezidad s. Izdanduch: 7, 27.

יזדויה. Yazdoe d. Rašnoi: Pogn B (the same name, Justi, p. 149).

יאזאדפנה גושנאי Yazadpanah Gušnai: Pogn B (for the second word cf. above; the first a Persian name, see Justi, p. 149, Payne-Smith, col. 1585).

יוכבד Yokebed d. ?: no. 2924 (unpub.).

יגדונדישנט Yandundišnaṭ s. Ispandarmed: 30.

יסמין Yasmin d. Dadbeh: 12.

יעקב Jacob the patriarch: 8, Schw O.

יצחק Isaac the patriarch: *ibid.*

כואר אנוש Chewaranoš m. Behrezag: Pogn B (cf. Nöldeke's review, p. 144).

כואשיזג Chewašizag(?) m. Mehrḳai: Pogn A; d. Papa: Lidz 4 (see Pogn, p. 18; Justi, p. 182; Andreas to Lidz, proposing *chush-zak*).

כזאביאת Kezabiath m. Aduryazdandar: Pogn B, no. 23.

כוזחרוי, כוחחורי, כוזעחרוי Chuzehuroi(?) s. Beth-asia: Pogn B.

כלתא Kalletha d. Maḥlaphta: 17.

כומאי Komai m. Duchtanbeh: Pogn A.

כומבוי Kumboi m. Meducht: 35.

בומיש Komeš d. Maḥlaphta: 17.

בסארו Xaro s. Mehanoš: 40.

בסרידוך Chosriduch m. Denduch: Pogn B.

בפני Kaphni f. Newanduch: 10; 11; h. Newanduch 10.

בופיתי, -אי, -א Kufithai m. Pabaḳ: 2, 4; d. Dadbeh: 12, 16.

בוראי Kurai m. Mesorta: Pogn B.

בוריניק Churrenik d. Aḥath: Lidz 2 (cf. Andreas, *ad loc.*).

בוראסאן Churasan w. Chuzehuroi: Pogn B (cf. Justi, p. 78, but see Nöldeke to Pognon, p. 144).

בושענתא, בושנתא Kušenta m. Sumaḳa: Pogn B (from Pers. Warešna, or derivative?—see Justi, p. 354).

בתימא Kethima m. Nana: Schw L.

מהאנוש, מהנוש Mehanoš m. Xaro: 40; m. Babanoš, Pogn B; m. Beth-asia: *ibid.*

מהדוך Mehduch d. Dadbeh: 12, 16; m. Hormizduch: 14; d. Maḥl(aphta): 9007 (unpub.).

מחוי Mehoi s. Dodai: 15.

מהפרוז Mehperoz s. Hindu: Eliis 3 (= Mihrperoz, Justi, p. 206; cf. above, § 3).

מהינדוכת Mehinducht: m. Anošai: Pogn B (= *maheng*, Justi, p. 186?).

מהרבן Mehraban s. Yazdoie: Pogn B (Pogn thinks error for following; but cf. Meribanes = Mihrwan, etc., Justi, p. 208).

מהרודן Mehrodan: Pogn B (cf. Ροδανης = Wardan, Justi, p. 351).

מיהר הורמיזד Mihr-hormizd s. Mamai: 34.

מעהריקאי, -א Mehriḳai s. Kušizag: Pogn A (from Mithrakana, s. Justi, p. 214).

מזראנאספס Mazdanaspas s. Kušizag: Lidz 4 (see Andreas *ad loc.*).

מחלפונא Maḥlephona s. Dade: Pogn B (but Nöldeke, מחלפתא).

מחלפתא Maḥlaphta m. Komeš: 17; m. Mešaršia: 19; m. Hindu, etc.: 24; m. Pathšapta: Pogn B; m. Hormiz: Lidz 5.

מחלת Maḥlath m. Aglath: Schw P (biblical).

מחופתא Meḥuphta m. Raḳdata: Pogn B (but Nöldeke, מחלפתא).

מאידוכת, מידוכת Maiducht d. Kumboi: 35, no. 16093.

מלכונא Malkona s. Maḳsath: Schw P.

ממא, מאמאי, מאמי: Mamai, Mama: m. Geyonai: 8; m. Hormiz: 15; m. Berikyahbeh: 26; m. Mihr-hormizd: 34; m. Ṭimatheoz: Lidz 2.

מסקת Masḳath m. Malkona: Schw P ("olive-gleaner").

מסורתא Mesorta m. Kurai: Pogn B.

מאראבא, מארבא Marabba s. 'Adwitha: 38.

מראדא Marada h. Hinduitha: 38.

מו', מרדכי Mordecai s. Saul: 41.

מירדוך Merduch d. Banai: 7, 27.

מאריא Maria d. Azia: Lidz 3.

מיריא Miria m. Hadista: Pogn M (= Miriam?).

מרים Mariam: Schw Q.

מרשאבור Meršabor f. Kayyoma: Pogn B (= frequent Syriac name, Justi, p. 206).

מארת Marath m. Rašnoi: 8 (= following name).

מרתא Martha m. Dodai: 15.

מאראתאי Marathai d. Hindu: 40.

מושה Moses (the lawgiver): 34, 35.

...מישא Miša... m. Denarta: Pogn B.

משכוי Muškoi d. Simoi: Myhr.

משרשיא Mešaršia s. Maḥlaphta: 19; s. Porath: Schw G.

מתאניש Methaniš d. Rešan: 29.

נבאזך Nebazach m. Aḥath: 28.

ניונדוך Newanduch d. Pushbi: 5; d. Kaphni: 10, 11; m. Behdanduch: Ellis 1.

נח Noah (patriarch): 10.

נאנא, נאנאי Nana d. Kethima: Schw L; Nanai m. Ahathaṭbon: Pogn B.

סעבריא ליעשו Sebre-leyeshu f. Anuthḥaye: Pogn B (w. Pognon = "his (my?) hope is in Jesus").

סמא, סמאי Sama(i) m. Behmanduch: 1, 13.

סימוי Simoi m. Muškoi: Myhr.

סימכוי Simkoi m. ?: 30.

סומאקא, סומקא Sumaḳa s. Kušanta: Pogn B.

סרדוסת Saradust d. Šerin: 9.

עדויתא 'Adwitha m. Marabba, etc.: 38.

עמיא Emme m. Hamri..shai: Pogn B.

ערבדזיוא (?) s. Rabbi, a sorcerer: Hyv (see Nöldeke, *Z. f. Keils.-forsch.*, iii, 297).

פאבק Pabaḳ s. Kufithai: 2, 4.

פנוי Pannoi d. Dadbeh: 16.

פאפא Papa f. Chušizag: Lidz 4.

פפרויה Paproe d. Ḳuḳai: Pogn B (= Arabic Babroe, Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, 400).

פרחיה, פרחיא, פרוחיא Perahia f. Joshua (Jesus): 8; 9; 17; 32; 33; 34 (see to 32).

פרוך Farruch s. Pušbi: 5; s. ?: 41.

פרכוי Parkoi m. Aḥath: 3; m. Anur—: 28.

פרוכאן Farruchan s. Šahduch: Lidz 1.

פרוכסראוא (also פרוכסראוא) Farruchosraw s. Duchtanoš: Lidz 4.

פרוכירו Farruchiro s. Aḥath-rabta: Pogn B (cf. Farruchrui, Justi, p. 96).

פרנגין Pharnagin s. Pharnagin (a traditional conjurer): 7, Myhr.

פורתי Porathai m. Mešaršia: Schw G (cf. פורתא, *Esth.* 9: 8).

פושבי Pušbi m. Farruch: 5.

פת שפתא Path-šapta d. Maḥlaphta: Pogn A (with Pognon = בת שבתא, "Sabbath-daughter").

קאקי Ḳaḳi d. Maḥlaphta: 24; m. Zadanfarruch: Hyv.

קוקאי Ḳuḳai m. Paproe: Pogn B (cf. *κουκαις*, Justi, p. 166).

קיומא Ḳayoma s. Meršabor: Pogn B (a Syriac name, Payne-Smith, col. 3538; cf. the following).

קיומתא Ḳayomta m. Babanoš: 9.

רבי Rabbi father of a sorcerer: Hyv (artificial name?).

רובקאי Rubḳai: Pogn B (= Heb. רבקה ?).

רוסטאום Rustaum s. Churai: Pogn B.

רקדאתא Raḳdatha d. Meḥuphta: Pogn B ("dancer").

רשן Rešan m. Methaneš: 29.

ראשנינדוך Rašnenduch d. Aphridoe: Lidz 4.

רישינדוך Rešinduch m. Baruk-aria: Schw M.

רשנוי, רשנויה Rašnoi d. Marath: 8; m. Yazdoe: Pogn B.

שבורדוך Šaborduch m. Ephra: 1, 13.

שאחדוך Šahduch m. Farruchan: Lidz 1.

שאל Saul (?) f. Mordecai: 41.

שילי Šili s. Šarḳoi: 12, 16.

שלמא Solomon (the king): Schw I, Q (סלמה), Hyv; f. Amṭur: Schwab I.

שלימן Solomon (the king): 34, 39. Ellis 1; Lidz 5.

שירין Širin m. Saradust: 9.

שרקוי Šarḳoi m. Kaphni: 10; d. Dada: 12, 16.

שישיא Šiše d. Beth-asia: Pogn B (compare the following).

שישין Šišin m. Ḥaliphai: 29; m. Yazid: Pogn B; d. Ḥawwa: *ibid.*; undetermined *ibid.* (= 60?).

שת Seth (the patriarch): 10.

תירמיא Terme d. Dade: 39.

תאתא Tata niece of Bardesa: 39.

GLOSSARY C

GENERAL GLOSSARY

אבא father: pl. אבהיהן 36: 5.

אבד perish: 9: 7.

מובדנא destroyer: 36: 5.

אבנא stone: אבני זימורא Hyv.

אברא, אבארא lead (tin?): 19: 10, 39: 5. עברא: Montg.

אגר hire: אגירא Pogn B, עגירא Lidz 2.

אגרא roof: 6: 7.

איגרתא letter, of divorce writ: 8: 13.

אדנא ear: Lidz 4, אוד׳ Schw I.

אידרונא alcove: 12: 13.

או, Mand. עו or: 8: 17, Lidz 2; if: Pogn B; repeated = if ... or: Pogn B.

אונא a disease: 24: 2.

אוץ squeeze: איצין 1: 11.

אות, אתה letter of alphabet: אותיות 9: 5, אתותא 35: 9.

אזיתא sweating fever: 24: 2.

אזל go: אזלנא 2: 1, אזנא 6: 6; impf: אזיל 36: 4, תיזעל, תיזיל Pogn B; impv: איזלו Ellis 1, איזילו Schw F, עזיל, עזל Pogn B.

אחא brother: pl. w. suff. אחוי 4: 3.

אחאתא sister : 39: 9.

אחנא relative: 34: 2.

אחד take hold of: 11: 4.

אחר be behind, tarry: Af. Wohls 2417.

אחר behind: עחראיכון Pogn B.

אחור do.: 8: 3, אחורי Stübe 58.

איי oh: Hal.

איך oh(?): Schwab F.

איכין as: 32: 9.

אילנא tree: 34: 5.

אין nought: שאנו which is not Schw M.

אית there is: איתלה 37: 3; עתבה are in him, Pogn B.

איבא = Talm. איבא = איתי, Lidz 4.

לית is not: Pogn B.

אוכדו error for following אוקדו ?: Schw G.

אכל eat: 36: 7; דוכלאת, whoever (f) eats, Pogn B.

אכלא food: 18: 6.

אל unto, אל עולם 1: 15 (see על).

אלהא god: 7: 4; אילהא 14; אלהי, pl. 16: 5 (also Glossary A).

אלהתא goddess: Wohls 2417: 5, אלתא (אי׳) Wohls 2422, 2426 (or, curse?).

אלהותא deity: 38: 7.

אלף Af. teach: מלפא Hal; לאלופיא Pogn B; דליפאת, *ib.* (Pogn as from לוף).

אם, אים if: 2: 3; repeated, whether ... or, Ellis 1.

אמא, אימא mother: אימיכין 8: 4, עמאיון, 38: 14; plur. אימהתהון, 36: 5.

אוממותא? parallel to cattle, possessions, Schw M.

אמן be true: Hof. מהומנין, Schw M.

אמן Amen: e. g. אמין אמן, 14: 8; עין ומין, Pogn B (see p. 63).

הימנותא faith: 29: 12.

אמן denominative of אומנא artisan (?) in מאן דאמנויא אמנתאבון, whoever has worked for you, Pogn B.

אמר say, command: 2: 3; Etpe. איתמר 30: 7, אתמר 37: 5.

מאמר word: Schw M, מימר 13: 2.

אמרא tree-top?: 34: 5.

אן if: in דן, Lidz 4: 9.

אין yea: עין ומין Pogn B (see אמן).

אנאתא vessels: 38: 3.

מאנא vessel מאן ליביה, Schw F.

אנפי face: 13: 5, בנפיכון in your presence, Pogn B, no. 31.

אף anger: Schw F.

אפי over? עופין אפיכון Schw R.

אנשא, אי' (*'nâš* and *'inš*) man: 1: 12, etc.; constr. אינש 7: 13, ענש 38: 8; pl. אינשי 7: 15, אנשא 32: 10, אנאשיא 38: 11.

איש man: א' ואשה, Ellis 5.

אנתתא woman, wife: 31: 9, 32: 1; איתתא 3: 3, 7: 15, etc.; איתיתה Schw M; אינתתא 9: 4; אתתא 3: 3; עתתא, Lidz 2; pl. נשי 1: 12, נשא 35: 8.

אסא heal: יסיך, w. suf. 1: 15; Etp. יתסי Wohls 2422; ppls. מאסיא, אסיא, Lidz 1c.

אסו, אסותא healing, etc.: 1: 3, 13: 8; pl. 3: 1, etc. (see p. 129).

אסא, אסה myrtle: 13: 3, Pogn B.

איספלידא hall: 12: 13.

איסקופתא, איסכי, עסכי threshold: 6: 4, 9: 11, Lidz 5.

אסקרון? Wohls 2422 (see Fränkel *ad loc.*).

אסר bind, charm, of magic: 4: 1, etc.; ניתסר 19: 14; Af. ppl. מסריתון Pogn B.; בית עסיריא, prison, *ib.* (see p. 52).

אסרא, אי', עי' bond, spell, angel: 4: 3, etc.

איסורא ditto. 4: 3, etc.

אסירא binding: Lidz 5.

מוסרא spell: 3: 1.

איסתרתא goddess: 2: 7, etc. (see p. 71);

איסרתא ditto? Ellis 3, Wohls 2422 (but see Fränkel; is the form a confusion with or feminine of איסרא?).

אעא wood: 38: 2.

אף moreover: 3: 11, etc.; אוף, Schw I.

אפך turn away: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

אפילי darkness: Schw F.

אפיקי epithet of סרנין 7: 11.

אפרפרט *praeparatum?*: 13: 12.

אקלידיא keys: Pogn B.

אורנא trap: Wohls 2417.

אורחא way: Hal 3.

ארמאיא Aramaean (so read in Pogn B, 27, ext.).

ארעה earth: 2: 2; ארקא, Myhr, Pogn B.

אש fire: 8: 14.

אישתא ditto: 14: 7; עשאתא, Pogn B.

אשיתא fever: 24: 2; אישתא Schw G.

אשימא guilt: Schw PSBA xii, 299; אשעם ביש, Schw M (see p. 86).

אשף enchant: 2: 3.

אישפא enchantment, *ibid.*

אשתא rump: עשת׳, Pogn B.

את sign of accus.: Schw M (Heb.).

אתא come: 8: 9; Af. איתיתי, 9: 7.

אתן = עטן press?: 38: 12.

אתרא place: 9: 8; באתר אתר one after the other, 38: 11; בתרא afterwards, Schw F; בתר in place of, after, 1: 12, 28: 2.

ב, בי in: *passim;* ביפתכרי, 2: 7; בי קשתא, 2: 3; במא, in that, Schw I (?).

בגדני a class of deities: 19: 6 (cf. Glossary A).

בגן an interjectional call for divine help, in בגן שומא רבא, Pogn B (cf. the Syriac root; Pognon, "maledic-diction").

בהת be ashamed: impv. pl. ביהות, Pogn B.

בוא come in: באין Schw G.

בויא plunder (?): 5: 3.

בוא cleave: נלאלא דלבזעיא, Pogn B (see him, p. 50).

באטו = פאתו some form of evil: Schw L.

בטל cease, abandon: impv. 7: 15, pass. part. 17: 13, act. (?) באטליא Pogn B; Pa. undo: 17: 13, 7: 13 בטלא inf.; Etpa. Schw I.

ביטול because of: 11: 8 (cf. מיטול).

באטנא womb: 39: 3.

בוטר? 32: 10, 33: 12.

בין define, specify (?): בינא, Schw F.

בין, בי, ביני: between: בין ... בין, whether... or, 3: 5; בי ... ל, between... and, 29: 11; בעי, ביניא, Pogn B.

בינא midst: 6: 11.

בית within: בית ליבא 30: 4.

בעתא egg: Pogn B.

ביש evil: 8: 16, etc.

בישותא malady: 34: 7.

בישתותא ditto (?): Schw L.

ביתא house, family: ביתיהון 12: 2, בתיהון 6: 6; Mand. with suffix, ביתה, 38: 1, באיתה Lidz 4; plur. בתאין 38: 11. Of a sorcerer's school 8: 11, 19: 17.

מבכלין (בכל), מבכלתא class of demons: 2: 7, 7: 17, 10: 4, etc. (see p. 79).

בלם muzzle: 2: 11, Lidz 4.

בלע swallow up, destroy, Etp. 3: 7, 9: 6.

בינינא building: 38: 3; of cattle barn, 40: 4; construction (abstract) 16: 6.

ביסאדיא pillow: Lidz 5.

בסומתא in דבי... אלהתא, a goddess of censing, embalming (?), Wohls 2417.

בעא ask: 4: 6; באייא, act. ppl. f., Pogn B.

בעלא husband: 8: 13, etc.

בעילדבבא class of demons (see p. 80): 2: 3; in Pogn B, בלדבאי, בילדבאבאי, בלדאבאי.

בעירא, Syr. בירא cattle: Wohls 2422, 34: 8, 37: 2.

בקרא herd: Pogn B, no. 27 (so understand).

בר, בן son, *passim;* Heb. בן, 41; plur. e. g. בני נורא, 1: 9; plur. w. suffix בנה, 11: 9, 29: 6, 38: 4.

ברתא daughter: Ellis 1; const. בת *passim,* ברת 36: 2, Mand. פת 38: 4, פאת Pogn B (בית, באת component of name Pogn B, ?); plur. בנן 3: 3, בנתהון 3: 5. בתקלא voice, 16: 10. בנתא דבראא, demons, 29: 7.

בר apart in בר מן 19: 15, Pogn B.

ברא the open country: 17: 3, 29: 7.

ברא Pa. put outside: Pogn B.

בראי foreigner: 29: 8.

ברור bright, of angels: Schw I.

ברא create: 2: 2, Myhr.

ברדא hail: 14: 3.

ברח flee: Ellis 1: 8.

ברך bless: 25: 3; Pa. ברכא Pogn B (= טבי ?).

ברק flash (lightning): 12: 8.

ברקא lightning: 12: 8.

בתולתא virgin: 13: 1.

גאא געיאים proud: Schw M.

גב, גוב bend: גיבנא, 2: 4; inf. מגאב, Etpe., Etpa., Pogn B., Pa. reply: 2: 4.

גבא back: 8: 3.

גובא lintel: גובתיהון, 6: 4.

גבל knead: 12: 5 (of magical operation).

גבר be strong: Pa. מגנברין, 30: 5.

גברא man: 7: 17, 35: 7, 40: 12.

גוברא, גברא, Mand. גבארא, גוברא strong: 3: 2, 19: 13, Pogn A, B.

גברותא might: Schw F.

גדול great: 5: 3, הסר הגדול Schw F.

גידוליתא woven headdress: Lidz 2.

גדר wall up (against demons): 17: 8.

גו midst: בגו 34: 6, לגו 13: 10, מן גו 32: 6.

גוד tie, bind (of a spell): 29: 10.

גוחא eruption, noise: קאל גי Pogn B.

גונא color, form: גיונין 7: 15 = גונין Myhr.

גופא body: Hal, Schw Q; גופה, term for a man's inamorata, 13: 12.

גזל rob: Pogn B.

גזר inhibit, ban: 7: 13, Pogn B.

גזירתא ban: 7: 13.

גזרדינא magical condemnation: Montg.

גיטא (magic) divorce: 8: 7 (q. v.).

גוכאייא Gukaean: Pogn B.

גיסא great: Schw F.
side: pl. גיסן 34: 4; familiar spirit: 6: 2, 12: 9.

גליל גל circuit: גי עלם, 25: 7.
גלאלא rock (?): Pogn B (so Pognon; or of the magic circle?).
גלגלא circuit גלגלי שמשא Stübe 58, Pogn B.
גלגלתא spheres: נורא בגלגלן 8: 13.
גרגלא ditto: גרגליא עפיכי Pogn B.
גיגלא ditto: גיגלי שמיא, 6: 11.

גלחא, ענלאחא, = גלאלא: Pogn B (from ענל?).

גלם, גלימא, = to בלימא, Lidz 4.

גלף engrave: ציר גליף, 11: 9.

גמל אנמול ? Wohls 2422 ("good works"?).

גמף engrave: 36: 7.

גמיר completion: עד גמירי זמן Schw F.

גינא Jinn: Hyv, prob. 37: 10 (see p. 80).

גנדא, גונדא troop: 7: 17; species of demons 37: 6.

נציצא, נציצתא polished armor: 2: 1, 27: 3.

גרבא an itching disease: Wohls 2422.

גרביא, גירביא north: Pogn B.

גרמא bone, body: 7: 17.

גרקל Pa., chain: Pogn A (root גלל ?).

גושמא body: Stübe.

ד, דַ relative particle, passim; with following half-vowel, די, e. g. דיבני. In Mand. ד for דַ, 38: 12, 14, Pogn A, p. 13. Used to resume a preposition, Pogn B, no. 12, l. 6 (For omission of the particle in genitive construction, see p. 39.).
דידי mine: בידידי, on my own part, 2: 5; דידיה, his, 30: 4.
דילי ditto: 7: 12; בדיל די, in order that, 28: 4.

דבא lurk, of demons: 1: 6, 6: 4, 18: 6.

דבק cling, haunt, of demons: 11: 6, Pogn B.

דבר see זבר.
על דיברי, דבר on account of: 25: 3.
דברא pasture land: Ellis 3.
מדבראנא chariot-driver: Pogn B.

דינלא (angelic) cohorts: 8: 14.

(דן) דינא judgment, of the last day: 4: 4, 19: 8, Wohls 2417.

דור dwell: דירין Ellis 5, תידרן (?) Myhr.
דורא dwelling-place and its precincts: 32: 11, 38: 2, Lidz 4 (דוארא).
דרתא ditto: 29: 8.
דירתא ditto: 8: 4, 29: 6.
מדרא ditto: Schw E, Hal.

דוש tread down: impv. דושן Lidz 4.

דיואדא evil-doing: Lidz 4.

דחא chase: Pogn B.

דחל fear: 1: 12, Peal and Pael, דחילה fearful, Schw F.

מדחלנא terrifying: 35: 7.

דיאבולא *διάβολοι*: 35: 4.

דיוא devil: 1: 7, 39: 5, etc. (see p. 74).

דכא pure: 27: 4.

דוכתא place: דוכתין (*sic*) Schw G.

דכר record: 14: 6, 29: 9.

דכר, Mand. זכר, male: 6: 2, 39: 5, Ellis 5.

דוכרנא name: 28: 5.

דלא draw up: Pogn B, Etpa.

מדוליא reliever, epith. of Raphael: 34: 7.

דלאלא place in Babylonia: Hal.

דם blood: Schw M.

דמא, be like, appear in disguise, of spirits: לדמיא impf. Pogn B, Etpe. 1: 12, etc.

דמותא likeness: בידמו דמו, 6: 4; plur. דמואתא, 39: 9 (see p. 82).

דמא sleep: Wohls 2417.

דמר be astounded: Stübe 47.

דמקר a disease (?): 34: 10.

(דנח) מדנחא east: Wohls 2422 (so Fränkel), מדנא, Pogn B.

דסתבירא ban-writ: 32: 4, etc.

(דקק) דרדקא, fem. דרדקתא child: 11: 6, דרטקא 36: 4;

דארקא, דירקא ditto: 18: 6, Lidz 5.

דרדקונא ditto. Pogn B.

דרמנא healing: 37: 1, Pogn B.

דרומא south: Wohls 2422.

דריסת true: 13: 8.

הא see! here!: 7: 13, 18: 8 in הפטרית, Lidz 5.

הדמא limb (the 248 members): Schw E, F, Stübe 56.

הדר return: 18: 9.

הוא, Heb. היה be: תיהוי, 1: 2, 4; ppl. = future, 37: 3; Mand. w. prep., תהוילה, 38: 13; ייהי, Schw M.

היכלא mansion: 38: 2, Hyv, Pogn A, B, Lidz 2; heavenly temple, 14: 3.

הכדין thus: 17: 10.

הכין ditto: 8: 8.

הללויה Halleluia, magical term: 7: 17, etc.; misspelt, 20: 5, 24: 4, 31: 8, 32: 12.

הלך walk: מיתאלך 3: 3.

הפך turn: מהפכין, of the angels who revolve the planets, Stübe 8; Etp. *ib.* l. 14, 36: 1.

הפכו, הפיכו, הפיכה, הפכה magical terms for reversing charms, Ellis 3, and astrological fate, Schw G (sun, earth, stars, constellations).

הפכיתא a disease: Wohls 2422 (Fränkel reads חפפיתא, see below).

הראריא mental conceptions: Pogn A.

השתא now: 3: 11, 4: 1.

ו and, passim: n. b. ויבנן 3: 3, וידלא 14: 6, ויסאנאי Pogn B no. 24, ואנקבתא 30: 3, ואתותיא 38: 12.

וי woe!: 1: 9.

וריר glaucoma: ו׳ בישתא, Stübe 44 = Wohls 2416 (see p. 93).

ות, ית in אבות like, 37: 10; לות *apud*, 3: 3 מן ית גוף from the body, Schw M; מילות 3: 3; ית sign of accusative, w. noun 3: 4; w. pron. 7: 13; w. subject of passive שליבי ית רוחות Schw F; resuming מן, 5: 3.

זבובי flies: Wohls 2422.

זבדא marriage-portion: Pogn B.

זבן buy, Pa. sell: Pogn B.

זבר see Pogn B, p. 38: "an independent root = (1) turn, (2) cherish"; but the passages in his bowls can be explained by equation with רבר, lead turn, order.

זמבורא wasp: Pogn B.

(זה) מזיה on this side: 13: 7.

זהר Pa. put on guard, Etpa. be on guard: Pogn B.

זויתא corner: 4: 2, Pogn B.

זוב fly off: זובו ואזיבו Wohls 2414.

(זוג) זאוא, זאוא spouse: 38: 13, etc.

(זח) זאזאי success: 38: 13.

זחח, זחח depart: תיזח, יזחון Ellis 3 (see p. 130); Pa. מזייחן, 13: 7; Etp. יזדחון 10: 6, עתאזחא Pogn B. (cf. נזח, זוע; see to 3: 2).

זוע, זעע, זעא ditto: יזיעון, 7: 5; ppls. זע, זיעין 7: 12, = זעא, זעין, Myhr; יזדזעון 7: 5.

זידן impious, of charms: 2: 7, 4: 1, Pogn B.

זידנותא impiety: 30: 5.

זיוא glory: 7: 5, Pogn B.

זאינא weapon: Pogn B.

זינא restraint, loss: 34: 12; בית ז׳, prison: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

זיף honey: 12: 5.

זכא victorious: 37: 11; חיא זאבין, זאביאן 40: 25, Pogn B, Lidz 5.

זכותא victory, etc., parallel to אסותא Pogn A, B.

זלף pour: 12: 5.

זימתא hair: Pogn A.

זם resound: 6: 11.

מיזמא resonance: 6: 11.

זמן Pa. designate (of setting apart the magic bowls): 3: 1, 31, etc.; invite: Pogn B.

(זמר) זמרתא singing-girl = harlot: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

מזמור psalm: 14: 3.

זימרא a precious stone?: Hyv.

זניתא harlot: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

זיפי hairs, used in magic?: 7: 13 (see p. 153).

זאפר foul: Pogn A.

זיקא blast: 12: 8; plur. blast-demons 14: 5, 19: 3; זעקי, Schw M (see p. 80).

זרז equip magically: 4: 6, 19: 13, 31: 4, 38: 2, Pogn B.

זרזתא, זראי magical equipment: 38: 13, 40: 2, Pogn B, Lidz 2.

זרעא seed: Schw I, Hyv.

זרעיתא posterity: 1: 8.

חב Pa. love: 13: 4.

חבא love: נחבי, 13: 9.

חבא hide: Etp. Schw I.

חבל Pa. injure, destroy: 1: 10, מחבלא the destroyer 9: 8; travail, of a woman, 13: 11.

חבלא, חוי injury, destruction: Schw F, G, N.

חבאלא ditto: 7: 16.

חבילא ditto: 32: 8, 37: 11.

חבלתא ditto: 16: 6.

חבלותא ditto: 32: 8.

חבק embrace, cherish, of angels: 13: 4.

חבר enchant: 6: 6.

חד one: חדא 4: 1; חדעשר 11, Ellis3.

חדדא one another: 31: 6, Pogn B.

חדר Af. surround: 4: 6.

חזארא (magic) circle: 39: 7.

חזורא precinct, property: 40: 4, w. חייא, livestock.

חדת new: חדתא, חאתיא Pogn B; f. חדתתא 13: 11.

חוא Pa. show: 37: 7, Pogn A, B.

(חוב) חיבא guilty: Schw F.

חויא serpent: plur. חיואתא, Pogn B.

חוץ, לחוץ, without: Schw I.

מחיצא precinct: Schw P.

חוש quick! magical interjection: 14: 4 *q. v.;* also אחושיה יחוש, *ib.;* אחושה Stübe 14; יחש Schw N (between angel-names), Pogn B, no. 5, end; cf. חסי.

חזחיתא a skin-disase: Wohls 2422.

חוא see: 30: 4, Pogn B; Etpe. appear: תיחזן 6: 9, etc.

חזוא apparition: pl. חזואניא 31: 10, Pogn A, Lidz 5.

חזינא ditto: 30: 5.

חטא sin: 1: 3, 4 (of demons).

חטאא sinner: חטעים (?) Schw M.

חטאתא sin: Schw *PSBA,* xii, 299 (see p. 86).

חטף pluck away: Lidz 4.

חטפיתא a demon: 8: 2, 8, 12; חטיפתא, 17: 4.

חטר switch, plague: 30: 14.

חיא live: יחן 16: 4, נחין 36: 6; Af. תאחי of mother, 24: 5.

חיא living: 38: 7, 39: 8: pl. life: 30: 1, 38: 13 (see Glossary A).

חיתא animal: 7: 14.

חיותא ditto Hal; pl. חיואניא 39: 6, חיוניאתא 38: 3, Pogn B.

מיחיה healing: Schw H.

חיל Pa. make strong: מחילין pass. 31: 5. (מתחילא, יתחיליה, Schw F ?).

חילא power: 2: 1, pl. חילינא 2: 2; בחיל מילתא 37: 4.

(חך) חברכה a skin-disease: so read in Wohls 2422 for ה' (Fränkel, חבורא).

חכימא sage, in sorcery: 39: 7.

(חל) חלולאָ marriage chamber: 36: 7.

חלי sickness: Schw F.

חלבא milk: Pogn B.

חלמא, חי dream: 6: 10, 31: 4, 39: 10, etc. (see p. 82).

חלץ arm: 19: 13.

חלש weak: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

חמא father-in-law: Pogn B no. 29 (but read חמראי ?).

חמתא mother-in-law: Ellis 3, Schw G (curse of).

חימא wrath: Schw F.

חמד name of a place: 5: 4.

חמס do violence: 2: 10.

חאמין leaven: 13: 12.

חמרא wine: Hyv, Pogn B.

חמרא ass: 40: 4, 14.

חומרתא pebble-charm: 19: 16, plur, חומראּ, חומרין, 4: 1, 30: 3. 38: 11 (see p. 87).

חמישתיכון five of you: 8: 31, 17: 4.

חמישתא fifth: 6: 8.

חנא womb: 36: 5.

חנא encamp: ניחנין? Schw I.

חנכא palate: Pogn B.

חנק throttle, of a lilith: 18: 6, Lidz 5.

חסאתא, חססא sufferings: Schw M, Q.

חסי quickly (see to חוש): 13: 9; חסי בך out upon thee, Schw M.

חיסדא grace: 13: 6.

חאסדנא contumelious: 30: 4.

חסל cease: חסילן Schw I.

חסם jealous: אינא חאסמתיא, Lidz 4; חאסמין? Schw I.

חפיתא(חף) a skin-disease: Wohls 2422, end.

חפץ desire: Schw F.

חוציא name of a place: Hal, Schw E (Hal. identifies with an Arabic place-name; Schw with a place mentioned in Jer. *Sheb.* viii, 5).

חקל twist: Pogn B.

אחרוניתא (חרא) a pungent herb ?: 28: 3.

חרב Pa. lay waste: 38: 11, Pogn B.

חרבא sword: 37: 8.

חרד Pa. terrify: חירודי inf. 8: 7.

אחרדתא a kind of spell: Stübe 25.

חרך a pungent herb ?: 28: 3.

חרם ban: pass. ppl., 7: 17, Pogn B.

חראם curse: Montg.

חרימא anathema: Schw M.

אחרמתא ditto: 2: 6; also חרמתא, read by Fränkel in Wohls 2426: 2.

חירמון Hermon: 2: 6.

חרסא an eruptive disease: Wohls 2422 (read ח for ה).

הרסום ditto: 29: 9.

חרף Pa. blaspheme: 8: 16.

חריף sharp: 7: 17.

חרש Pa. enchant, poison: 7: 13 of water (see p. 84).

חרשין black arts: 5: 2, 33: 8, etc., Pogn B (see p. 84).

חרשא sorcerer (*ḥarrâš*): Pogn B, חרשיא, חרשאתא, masc. and fem.

חורשתא empoisonment: 39: 6.

חשוכא darkness: 16: 6: pl. חשוכיא Pogn B.

חתם seal (magically): חתים ומחתם passim; 31: 5, 39: 11, etc.

חיתמא, חתמא seal: 7: 4, 19: 15, 38: 7.

חתומא besealment: 9: 11.
חתומין (?) ditto: 34: 1.
חתמתא ditto: 3: 1, 30: 1, 38: 13, Pogn A חתאמתא.
חותמתא ditto: Pogn B.

טבי gazelles: Wohls 2414.
טבל dip: Schw F.
טבע seal: Ellis 1.
טבעה a seal: *ib.*
טהר Etpa. purified: 12: 7.
(טוב) טב good: 29: 9.
טורא mountain: 7: 12, etc.
טטם ? Ellis 1.
טילא shade: שידי בני טילא 29: 9.
מיטלי covers (used of the bowls): 4: 1.
מטללן herb in a magic recipe: 28: 3.
טמא unclean: 34: 10.
טומי defilements: 29: 7.
טנף Pa. defile: Pogn A.
טעותא false deity: pl. טעותא Wohls 2422, טעתא *ib.* 2426.
טופנא the deluge: 10: 5.
טרד Af. frighten away: 7: 17.
טרודא disturbing: חזינא ט' 30: 5.
טרח trouble: Schw I.
טרף tear, pluck: 18: 6 ppl. of a lilith.
טורפתא, ט' talon, toe: 19: 19; pl. טורפיא, Pogn A, B.
טרופתא agitation: Lidz 4.
טורפס etc. some part of the heart: 11: 7 and parallels.
טרש stop up, of the ears: Lidz 4.

יא interjection: יא חוש 14: 7, יחוש, אהושיה l. 4.
יבל bring: אולאת, Pogn B, no. 28.
יבש dry up: Pogn B.
יד hand: ידוהי 19: 14, אידה 34: 13; על אידי on side of, Schw E; ביד *per,* 8: 13; תחית ידי דילי 7: 12; ידהא their hand ?, Schw E, Q.
יהב give: 36: 4, Ellis 1.
יומא day: 4: 4 (of judgment).
יממא day-time: 3: 3, etc.; אימאמא 39: 10; עמאמא Pogn B.
ילד bear (children): 1: 8.
ילדא child: 36: 6.
מודאלא parturition: 39: 11.
ימא sea: 7: 12, 8: 9, 14: 2, Pogn B.
ימא adjure: מומינא ומשבענא 7: 16, cf. 40: 5, etc.; אומית 8: 6, אומיתי 17: 8; with על 8: 12. So understand בישוף מומין, Schw I: 5 (not "water magic"!).
מומתא exorcism: 1: 12; pl. מומאתיך Lidz 5.
מומיתא ditto: Schw I.
ימינא right-hand: 6: 10, Pogn A.
תימיא south: Pogn B (with גרביא).
יסר = אסר: 1: 12.
איקדי, יקדי a disease: Wohls 2422, Schw G (who reads אוקדו —the preceding פאיכדי is misspelling for this, *plus* ם, and).
יקיד burning, of fire: 4: 7.
יקרא glory = name: 8: 6.

יאקיר glorious, of the Name: Lidz 5.

ירא throw: מורא, Lidz 4, pierced with a lance ?, but see Lidz, and cf. עור.

אוריתא the Law: Hyv, Michael prince of the L.

מורניתא javelin: 11: 7 and parallels.

ירדנא, יור Jordan (mystical river): Pogn B.

ירחא month: 6: 5, Pogn B.

ירקא greens: 18: 6.

יהורא howler (class of demons): 15: 6, Myhr 2, Schw G (see p. 81.).

ירש inherit: מורשתיה? Ellis 5.

(ישן)שינתא sleep: 6: 10.

יתב sit: 13: 7, etc.; impf. 1st per. עתיב Pogn B.

יתרא bowstring: 2: 5.

כ, כי like: כי 12: 8, כי הוא דין 32: 4; כי...בי, correlative, 13: 7; כד Pogn B, Lidz 5; כמא Ellis 1; כאילא אכות 37: 10; as if ?, Schw F.

כאב Af. put in pain: מכיבא, מאכעבאן Pogn B, Lidz 2.

כיבא pain, sickness: Wohls 2422, Pogn B.

כבר prevail: לכבר על impf. Pogn B.

כבש press down (technical phrase for the bowl magic): 4: 1, 38: 12, impv. כובשן Lidz 4; Etpe. 6: 9.

כיבשא term for the bowl: 6: 1, etc.; כיבשי עלמא (?) 28: 2; step of a throne 12: 6.

כדב deceive: 32: 9, Pogn B.

כדנא so: 16: 8.

לוחי כזבאתא 7: 9?

כדר artificial parallel to הדד?: Lidz 5.

כוא pitcher: Pogn B.

כוכבא star: 4: 4 the 7 stars; 34: 6; Hal, Schw E.

כול hold: מיכל inf. 4: 1.

כון arrange: כינתי 1st pers. 15: 5.

מכנא residence: Pogn B.

כיוני planets: Ellis 3 (see § 3).

כיפא stone, as charm: Ellis 3 (read כוסא?).

ככא tooth: Lidz 4.

כל, כול all: 7: 6 (both forms), etc.; כולמאן, everyone, Lidz 2.

כלילא garland: 13: 11.

כלתא daughter-in-law: Ellis 3, Schw G.

כלביתא bitch: Schw L.

כמר Etpa. return: Pogn B (see him p. 20).

כומרא priest: 19: 10.

כמרי magic ?: Wohls 2426.

אכמרתא magical practice: Stübe 2.

כין so: 3: 11; בכין therefore, 9: 7, here, 25: 1.

(כנא)כנואתא associates: 19: 9.

כנפא wing: Pogn B.

כנישתא congregation: איסרי בית כ' Wohls 2422 (see p. 79).

כם abridge, blame: Pogn B.

כאסא, כאסא, כוס (incantation) bowl: 7: 13, 31: 1, Pogn B (כוסא), Lidz 5.

כסא Pa. cover: 13: 6, Pogn B.

כסיא covering: Pogn B.

כסותא ditto: 13: 6.

כיסא, כורסיא, throne: 8: 14, 14: 3.

אכערון (כער) ugliness, a disease ?: 34: 10.

כיפסא menstruation: 29: 7.

כפר disbelieve: Pogn B.

כירי ? in רוחי כ', Wohls 2422.

כורהנא sickness: 7: 11, Wohls 2422.

כרך avert, reverse, Pe. Pa. Etp.: Pogn B, Lidz 1 a; Wohls 2422 (?).

כרכא sphere, orbit (astrological term): הרשי דשאבא כרכיא ודתמניא מאחזיא: Pogn B.

כרכא Wohls 2422, see חכרכא.

כשדאי Chaldaeans: Hyv (see כסדיאל, Gloss A).

כושטא honesty: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

כשף Pa. bewitch: Pogn B, Lidz 1 a מכשמי for מכשפי ?

כישוף sorcery: Schw I.

כשיר decent, of a good demon: 29: 7.

כתב write, of the charms: 9: 3 etc., Pogn B.

כתבא, כתבתא writing: Ellis 1.

כתיבתא written charm: Ellis 3.

(כתר) כדר Pa. remain, so understand לאחדריא לאמכדאריא, of the demons not returning or remaining, Lidz 5, and cf. Nöldeke, *Gr.* § 45.

ל to and sign of accusative *passim;* with suff. ליכי fem. 7: 9, 10; לכא = לכי, 17: 10; ליא to me, Pogn B, etc. In composition, לבית להון, 1: 6, and *passim* in Mandaic with verb and pronominal suffix, e. g. שביקילה I have divorced her, 32: 9; for על, 19: 10; with verb to denote purpose, לתלגיט, Pogn B, no. 23, l. 45, 46 (cf. על).

לא not, *passim;* in Mand. compounded with following word, e. g. 38: 8, לאבר.

רוח נ' נאלי(לאא) labor, asthma?: 16: 9.

ליבא, לילבא heart: 28: 5, etc.; לילבא 11: 7 and parallels, 19: 18.

לבש be clad: 2: 2, 8: 3; Af. 13: 6, Pogn B.

לבושא garment: 2: 2, 13: 6.

לגט see נקט.

לוא be attached to: לון עימהון of demons, 6: 3, מתלויא Pogn B.

לויא company: Pogn B.

לוט curse: Stübe 4, Pogn B, Lidz 2 לאטויא, they cursed him.

לוטתא a curse: 5: 1, 31: 4, Pogn B; Ellis 3: לטתא; Schwab M pl. לוטין (see p. 84).

לאטוטא ditto: לאטוטיאתא pl. Pogn B.

לטנא species of demons: 20; 3.

לוש Pa. soil: מלאושילהון, Pogn A.

לחמא food: Schw F.

לחש enchant: 5: 1.

לטבי species of demons: 9: 7, 32: 5, 7, 33: 5, 34: 9, 10; לטאבא Montg.

ליליא, לילית night: 1: 13, etc.; לליא Pogn B.

לילי male counterpart to lilith: 8: 21, etc.

לילית lilith; 1: 8; pl. לליתא and לליאתא; n. b. לילתה, לילת, 13: 3, 6 (see p. 75).

לקח impv. קח, *recipe*, repeated term in magical formula: Hal.

לישנא tongue: 13: 2; tongue of curses, charms, etc., 4: 1; Pogn B, Lidz 4 (see p. 88).

מא 100: תלתמא 38: 5: מאתין, מאן, 200, Schw E, F.

מגלא sickle, weapon of angels: 7: 17.

מדורא rotten: Pogn B.

מוט remove: מטי, imp. fem., 17. 11.

מון suck: 18: 6.

מות die: מיתי וחיי ppl. Wohls 2417.

מותא death: 3: 6.

מיתו ditto: Wohls 2422.

ממתניתא killer, fem.: 36: 5.

מנזתא(מז) hair: מנזיאיכן Pogn B.

מוחא brain, head: Schw F.

מחא strike: ppl. pl. מחן 6: 4; תימחון Etpe. 18: 7; Lidz 5.

מחתא stroke, plague: 16: 6.

מחותא ditto: 40: 8.

מחיתא ditto: מחיאתא Pogn B, מיחיאתא Lidz 1c.

מאחוזא city: Pogn B (see ברבא).

מאחוזאיתא of Mahoza: Pogn B.

מטא chance on, reach: Pogn B; Af. bring, 25: 5. In Pogn B נמסינה (= נמטינה), from מצא?

מטותא in במ׳, I pray: Wohls 2417.

מיטול, Mand. מינטול, אמינטול with ד and verb, because that: 4: 3, Lidz 5; w. ל and inf., in order to: 2: 6 (cf. ביטול).

מיא, מי, מימי, Heb. מים water: מיא בישי, a disease, Wohls 2422 (see p. 93); מימי ציתא 18: 6; מי מחראשי 7: 13; מאיאי my w., Pogn B; מים of the heavenly sea, 8: 14.

מינא kind, species: 1: 8; species of magic, Ellis 5.

מכל eat (denominative): 37: 9.

מל Pa. speak: ppl. Schw G.

מלתא Mand. מיעלתא; pl. מלין, Mand. מנליא, word, especially of incantations: 6: 12, 12: 9, 34: 5, 38: 6, Pogn B. (see p. 85).

מללתא ditto: 6: 9.

מלאלא מללא ditto: 27: 5, 38: 8.

מלא be full: יתמלאון 12: 7.

מיליא flood: Pogn B.

מלאכא angel, *passim* as title of evil spirits, 4: 1, 37: 8, 38: 6, Wohls 2422 16; of deities, 36: 5.

מלאכתא female angel = goddess: Pogn B, no. 15 of Estera; in his no. 14 עסתאר מלאכיא מ', prob. fem. form (Pogn "queen").

מלואשא zodiac-sign 19: 9(?), his constellation (cf. Glossary A).

מלכא king: 34: 8 of Solomon; Hyv of Michael; *ib.* מאלך of God (Arabism? — so Nöldeke, p. 295); 11: 5, 18: 4, k. of demons.

מלכתא queen: 19: 6, q. of goddesses.

מלכותא kingdom: Wohls 2417.

מן, gen. מין from, *passim;* ממי (?. Schw F מי Schw H; w. ן assimilated 13: 6, 17: 1, מיעל 17: 5; מינאי from me, Lidz 5, מין דיליא ditto, Pogn B. משמך = בשמך, Wohls 2426, and his note p. 29.

מנא Pa. ordain: Schw F, arrange מניתי 15: 5.

מנאתא portion, in marriage: pl. מנואתא Pogn B.

מסא melt: 9: 6.

מסר denom. fr. אסר, bind: 32: 7, 33: 8.

מעילא robe: מ' חיסדא 13: 6.

מצעיא intermediate (of the middle of the three spatial regions): עלאהיא מצאייא Pogn B.

מצר bind: Pogn B, Lidz 2, מ' בעדקיא (so Pogn, and cf. Ass. *maṣâru,* but see Nöld. *Mand. Gram.* 84, n. 2).

מרירי(מר) bitter: 2: 3, 4: 4, epithet of devils and charms.

מראר bitterness: Pogn B, and plur. מראריאתא.

מריא(מרא) lord: of deity 19: 5; as human title, מר זומרא Schw E; of the sorcerer Lidz 4; construct מר, Hyv, gen. מרי, 18: 1; מרוהי his lord, 12: 6; pl., מראיהין Pogn B, מרתהון 28: 5.

מרתא mistress, lady מרתין, our lady 19: 5; lady of dead and living Wohls 2417, Pogn B מראתא.

מרה rebel: Schw F.

מרד rebel: 1: 9.

משחא oil: Schw F.

מתא town: Ellis 3, opposed to בר

מחח stretch out: Pogn B, Etpa.

ננע plague: 16: 4, אינגע 29: 9.

נד move, etc.: Stübe 62.

נדה Pa. excommunicate, expel: Pu. מנודין, Hal = Schw E, מנודא Schw M; see Lidz's note on מורא = מודא? in Lidz 2.

נידי (?) excommunication?: Ellis 3.

נידרא vow, ban, in magic: 5: 2, 7: 13, 32: 12, Lidz 4 נעדריא (see p. 84).

ניהוא he is (?): Hal.

נהר Af. make clear, name (?): 7: 9.

נהורא light: 16: 6, also נהרא Pogn B.

נוד tremble: Pogn B; מנידין, Pael pass. ppl., Halévy (see § 3).

נודא commotion: Pogn B.

נוח rest: Etpe. איתנח, 2: 6.

נחתא rest: Pogn B.

נוחא(נ'?) in חומרי דנ'?, Schw R.

ניחא rest: 16: 7, Schw E.

נורא fire: 8: 13, 14: 3; charms of fire 15: 7, 34: 11; Gabriel prince of fire, Hyv; light, in בני נ' 1: 9.

נורייא pepper: 28: 3.

נזח depart: תינזח, 5: 1.

(נזל) מזלי, מזלא constellations: 34: 6, Ellis 3, Schw G.

נזקין class of evil spirits: 21: 23: 2.

מזיקין class of evil spirits: 7: 11, 14: 6, מנזקין 23: 4 (see p. 75).

נחשא bronze: 4: 6, 6: 11, 15: 7.

נחת come down: 8: 7, 12: 5; Af. 2: 6, 27: 9 (of angels, curses).

נטר Pa. guard: 7: 9, 35: 6; Etpe. 10: 3, 32: 11.

נטרא, נא' guardian: Wohls 2417, Pogn B.

נטרתא, נטא' guarding: 35: 1, 38: 13, Pogn A.

מטרתא ditto: 7: 13.

מנטרנותא wardship: 35: 6.

נכוח before: Schw F.

נכם Pa. butcher: Pogn B.

נוכראייא stranger: Pogn B.

נכש bite: Schw L, Q נכם.

נם Af. afflict: תסיסון, 17: 6.

נסא Pa. prove, try: נסיאת she has proved, Pogn B.

נאסיתא trial: Pogn B.

נסב take up: 4: 6, 28: 3, Pogn B; impv. f. pl. סיב 17: 9.

ניסן Nisan: Wohls 2422 (see p. 55).

נפח blow with the breath: Schw F, of demons blowing on the brain.

נפן fall: impv. פולו Wohls 2414, Pogn B.

ניפלא בר'נ' a disease: 29: 7.

נפק go out: יפוק 3: 11; impv. פוק 36: 2, פוקי 8: 10, פקו, פק 17: 6, 7; Af. מהנפיקנא Myhr = מפיקנא 7: 12; inf. לאפקא 9: 8, w. suff. 32: 8.

נפר Af. put to flight: אנפרת Schw F(?), see § 3.

נפשא life, person: 7: 13; 2: 1, Pogn, דנ' of one's own.

נצא wrangle: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

נצח be victorious: Hal, of a star; נ' רשום שמא, Schw I.

ניצחנא victorious: Schw I.

(נקא) נקותא libation: 36: 7.

(נקב) נקף Pa. perforate: Pogn B.

נקב distinct pronunciation: נ' מתוך נקבים 9: 6.

נקבתא woman, female: 30: 4, נק(י)בה Ellis 1, Schw M; נקיבתא 30: 3, ניקבתא (most common form, sing. and plur.) 6: 3, 8: 2, 37: 10; ניקבתא 8: 8; נוקבתא, plur. נוקבאתא, Lidz 4, 39: 6,

נקבאתא Pogn A.

מיקבתא curse ?: Schw I.

נקט, Mand. לגט grasp: 4: 6, 7: 17, 16: 8, Pogn B Pe. and Etpe.

נשבא trap: Wohls 2414.

נישמתא spirit, of man: Schw G, נישימתא 39: 2.

נשף blow, of windblasts: 12: 8.

נתר Hif. permit: Hof. מותרין, Schw G.

סאב Pa. make unclean: בעירא מסאבא Wohls 2422.

סאן pass. ppl. soiled, foul: סאינאתא 39: 10, סאיניא, m. pl., Pogn A, סינאתא Pogn B (cf. סנא).

סב turn away: 8: 13.

סנא Af. walk: 12: 6, Pogn B.

סני numerous: סנין pl. Schw Q.

סדא stocks, for the feet: 39: 4, Pogn A סאדדיא.

סדראניא, סא' bases, of the world: Pogn (p. 77).

סדם, סטם close up: סדימא ומסאטמא 38: 10, מסדמא 40: 21.

סדום Sodom.

סדרא row: 2: 7, 27: 11.

סוטיטא seducing spirits: 35: 4 (see p. 80).

סוסתא mare: Wohls 2414.

סוף in ים דס', Red Sea: 34: 4.

סופא end: Schw F, לסוף עלמין.

סחט seize: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

סחף put a cover on: pass. ppl. סיפא 38: 12; Pa. 7: 17, Pogn B.

סחרא magic art: סחריא 39: 4, Pogn A, B, possibly in סירא בסרא = סחירא בסח', Lidz 4.

סטא go astray: 1: 9.

סטלא, סטולא Lat. *situla* ?: Schw F, bis.

סטנא a satan, Satan: 2: 3, 5: 4, etc.; סטאנא 19: 3, 40: 8; plur. 35: 3.

סטרא writ: ס' תירוכבי 26: 6.

סיטרא side: 6: 10.

סיפא sword: 37: 8.

סכא, שכא look at: Pogn A, of the demon's glance; Schw I.

סכל Af. commit offence: 4: 2, 5 (inf. אסכלי); Etpa. become wise Stübe 48.

מיסכינותא(סכן) poverty: 34: 12, Lidz 4, as object of exorcism; 16: 10, genius of p.

סכר close up: 13: 1, Pa. Lidz 4.

סכרא astrological term = pole? Montg.

סלה Selah, magic word, 5: 7, 36: 8, etc.; סאלה 20: 5, 24: 6 (see p. 63).

סיליתא cage-work: 19: 10.

סלק go up: סליק 3d pers. 32: 8. סליקית 1st pers. 9: 7.

מסאקתא ascent: Pogn B.

סמא (?) poison: Schw F.

סמך descend upon: Pogn B.

סמאלא left hand: Pogn A; שמלא, 6: 10.

סמקי a place in Babylonia (*Yeb.* 121a, אנמי ס'), home of a demon: Wohls 2417.

סנא hate, in ppls. only: act. סני 2: 1 = סנאי 27: 6; pass.

5: 2, 39: 6, Pogn B (cf. סאן).

סינתא hatred: Lidz 4.

סנף Pa. gird ?: Pogn B.

סערא hair: 8: 3.

סיפתא lip: Lidz 4.

סרי stench: רוח סרי, 16: 9.

סרנא species of demons: 7: 11.

סיתרא destruction: 16: 6.

סתירא loosening: 16: 6.

סתר hide, protect: Nifal 25: 2.

סתרתא pl. secret arts? Ellis 3.

עבר make: 12: 6; of a magical work 9: 2, 32: 3; Pa. use as a servant, Pogn B.

עבדא servant: 34: 7.

עבדא magical practice: Schw F (for this and following terms, see p. 51).

עבודא ditto: 32: 3.

עובדא ditto: 9: 1, etc., Pogn B, Lidz 4 עובאדא; of the Jewish cult 29: 12.

מעבדא ditto: 34: 13, Ellis 3, Schw F, M, Stübe 10.

עבר pass over, transgress: 32: 8; 1: 9, 7: 3, 6: 11 גיבר.

עבר, עיבר across: מן עיבר ימא 8: 9 = מעבר 17: 10.

עיבורא grain: Hyv.

מאמברתא passage: Pogn B.

עגלא in בע', soon: Schw M.

עד eternity, with עולם: 2: 15.

עידא time: pl. עידיא 26: 5.

עדנא ditto: 6: 6, Pogn B.

עדא go away: 5: 1; Af. 7: 17.

עד unto: 4: 4 = עדמא 19: 19; with inf. עדמא ל' 34: 11; עד ד' as long as, Hal.

עדקא lock of hair: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

עדר Pa. help: Schw I.

עולא embryo: 39: 3, Pogn B.

עופא bird: 7: 14.

עוק be in distress: ppl. pl. אקאתא. Pogn B; Af. press, אעיקיתי 13: 3.

עקין so Hyv in l. 4; read זיקין.

אקתא distress: Lidz 4.

עור Pa. blind: pass. ppl. מאורא Pogn B, perh. in מורא Lidz 4.

אוא(עז) strength: 6: 11.

עזיזא strong: fem., epithet of Dilbat 28: 5, of deity 38: 7, of spirits and witches Pogn A, B.

ענזא sheep: 40: 4, 14.

עזא Etpa. persist: 34: 10.

עזיבתא in חומרי דע', Schw R.

עזקתא seal-ring: of the sorcerer: 17: 12, Ellis 1, of Solomon 34: 8, of God 8: 11, ring of fire 15: 7.

עוטר ? 32: 10 = 33: 12.

עינא eye, the evil eye: ע' בישתא 5: 4, Lidz 4, עיין רעה, Ellis 5; various possessors of the evil eye 30: 3 (see p. 89).

עכורא temple: Pogn B; class of evil spirits, 38: 8, 40: 19, Pogn B, Lidz 4 (see p. 72).

על enter: ניעלון 29: 20 = נעילן 30: 10; ppl. אילין 38: 14.

עליל w. עלך, out upon thee: Pogn B, no. 28, l. 1, = Heb. חלילה על (so better than w. Schwally, יללתא, fr. Ass. *elêlu* lament, *Or. Lit-Zeit.* ii, 7 f.).

(עלא) על, Mand. אל unto, upon, to (freq. for ל, cf. עליכין and להין, 8: 3, 9, and in generally in Mand.), *passim;* אלא חיי, by Life! 40: 6, 18, cf. 40: 5; w. suff., 2d fem., sing. עליכי Schw F, עלך 36: 3 (עליכהא? Schw F); 3d pers. עליהו Schw F, עלוהי Stübe 32; 2d plur. עלאיכון Pogn B; 3d, אלאיך, אלאיהין, Lidz 1a; עלמא (upon him ? Schw G) until Pogn B, why Schw G; alternating with עלאוי Pogn B, no. 28; עלמאהו, how, why: Pogn B.

לעיל above: 19: 10.

עילוי against: עילוה, against him, 37: 8, עלאויהון, Pogn B.

עלאיא superior, epithet of celestial gods: Pogn B.

עליה height: בוכביא דע' Hal.

עלם, עולם eternity, in formulas: לעלם ועד עולם 1: 15, לסוף עלמין 3: 5, Schw F.

עלמא a kind of injury: Schw G (see p. 93).

עם, עים with: 1: 13, 6: 3, 35: 6; ועים ו', and also (?) 1: 3.

עמא people: עממיה 13: 1, of tribes of angels.

עמד stand: 8: 14.

עומקא depth: Pogn B.

עמורא Gomorrha: 2: 6.

ענני שימשא a herb used in magic: 28: 3.

ענקתא, א' necklace charm or spirit: 7: 11, 29: 7, Myhr 6; אנקתא, 16: 9, masc. plur. אנקי, 12: 9 (see p. 88).

עפרא dust: באפרא, Wohls 2417; = Heb. עפרת, Montg.

עיקדא magical knots, as class of demons: 34: 10 (see p. 88).

עקר uproot: עקירין, Hal; Pa. 8: 15; Etpa. 9: 6.

עקרתא barrenness, spirit of: 11: 3.

(עקרב) (ו)ארקביא scorpions: Pogn B, no. 27 (Nöldeke).

(ערב) מערבא west: Wohls 2422, Pogn B.

(ערב) עריב sweet: Ellis 5.

ערומא a kind of disease: Schw G (see p. 93).

ערסא, א' bed: 7: 17, Lidz 5.

ערפילא darkness: Pogn B; plur. Montg.

ערק flee: יעריק 3: 7, יעיריק 3: 11; impv. עיריקו Ellis 1, ערוק Lidz 5 (cf. קרח).

עשה make: 9: 1, Schw Q, Wohls 2422 (of magical practice).

עשם oppress: ppl. עשמא 34: 9, of a class of demons.

עשר ten: חד ע', Ellis 3.

עתיקא, ח' old: Pogn B.

עותרא a Mand. genius: Pogn B, the 3 Uthras.

פ and: פמטי 17: 11 (see מוט), פאיכדי, see under יקדי (see p. 105).

פגם Pa. mutilate: 1: 10.

פגע encounter: 2: 2.

פגעא plague, class of evil spirits: 7: 14, 15: 6 (see p. 92).

פגעא, פגעיתא fem. of above: Wohls 2426, 16: 10.

פגר Pa. break: 1: 11.

פגרא body: 7: 6, 19: 15, 38: 9.

פזר scatter: 8: 2, in a magical phrase.

פחארא potter: Pogn B.

פורא potter's vessel, of the bowl: 9: 1, 32: 3, 33: 1.

פטר banish, divorce: 9: 9, 15: 8, etc.; Af. Lidz 5 (see to 8: 7).

פטרתא exemption: 17: 12.

פיטורא divorce-writ: 8: 7, etc.

פכר Pe. and Pa. bind: Pogn B.

פלג divide inheritance: Pogn B.

פלגא half: Pogn B.

פום, פה mouth: 13: 1, Lidz 4; על פי יהוה 5: 5; כפי אאא' 20: 5.

פנים face: מפני, Schw F.

פניא in עובדי פ'; Wohls 2414.

פס break: 7: 17.

פסק cut: 28: 5; Etp. עפשקא Pogn B.

פקד command: 36: 3; Af. Lidz 4; Etpe. 35: 6.

פקדתא command: 38: 6, פאקתון (w. suff.) *ib.*

פוקדנא ward, imprisonment: 34: 6.

פקע burst open: ניפקא 6: 11.

פר Af. break, annul: inf. מיפר Stübe 1, 44, מפירין Ellis 3.

פרד scatter, bewilder: 7: 16.

פרזלא iron: 2: 1, 15: 7, 38: 5, Schw I.

פרח flee: Schw N, Hyv 14, Stübe 49; also prob. in פרח פרחין 1: 10.

פרט determine, of a decree: Lidz 4.

פריכא shrine-spirit: 38: 8, 40: 19 (see p. 72).

פרס scatter: 28: 3, 4.

פרצופא person: Pogn A, of demons.

פרק separate: פירקין, 17: 13, 1st per. plur?

פרקנא deliverance: 4: 5.

פרש Af.-Hof. ppl. of the pronounced Name: שמה המפורש, Hal; שם מפורש 11: 9 = שומא מפרשא, Lidz 5; of angels מפרשין ומהומנין Stübe 59; Af. in Schwab I, warn?

פרת Euphrates: Schw G.

פשט Pa. stretch: 2: 5 = 27: 7.

פשר break, annul (charms, etc): פשירתן ומפשריתן Pogn B, of the magic divorce 11: 7.

פשארתא, פשרא annulment: Pogn B.

פיתנאמא word: 37: 7.

פיתחא doorway: 6: 6.

פתכרי image-spirits: 5: 2, פתיכרי, 2: 7, 38: 8, Pogn B, Lidz 4, פתקרי Schw Q, פתיכרן fem. pl. Ellis 3 (see p. 72).

פתכרותא idolatry: 37: 6.

(צאא)ציתא filth: מימי צ׳ 18: 6.

צבע dip: Schw F (?).

איצבעא finger: Schw F.

צוף mutter: מצוף, מצפן Schw F.

צור bind, with a spell: 6: 6, 7: 2, 29: 5.

צור draw, depict: 11: 9 = Ellis 1.

צורתא figure, on a seal: 15: 7.

צות obey: צותי f. impv. 8: 10.

צחן stink: Pogn A.

ציצא ray of light: 7: 5 plur.

ציצית glory: 12: 7.

צלף scourge: 1: 10, Lidz 4.

ציפונא north: Wohls 2422.

צפר morning: 26: 5.

צרא cleave: צאריא cloven (hoofs), Pogn B; Etpe. 6: 11.

צורכא side: Schw G.

קא emphatic part. in אפקא, 7: 14, 17: 12.

קבא collect: 37: 4.

קבל receive: 6: 11, 37: 7, Pogn B; impv. קבילו Ellis 1, קאביל Lidz 5.

קיבלא counter-charm: 6: 2, 32: 8 (see p. 86).

לקובליה against him: Schw E.

קברא, קוברא tomb: Wohls 2422, Pogn B.

קבורא ditto: Pogn B, no. 5.

קרא in Lidz 5, but see קרח.

קדם, קדאם, קודם before, in sing. and plur.: מן קדם, קדאמיה, קדמוהי 3: 7, 9; Syr. קדמה 34: 7, קדמיהון, 36: 5, קדמוה 37: 8; מן קודם 25: 2, קודאם Pogn B.

קמי, קם ditto: לקמי Ellis 1, מן קמה from him, 13: 2.

קדמאה pristine: 33: 11; Adam Kadmon 10: 3; of Mand. Life and Nebat, Pogn B.

קודקליא (?) tresses: Pogn B.

קודיש holiness: Schw M.

קדוש holy, the Holy One: Schw I, 7: 15.

קדישא ditto, particularly epithet of demons: 4: 1, Pogn A.

קום arise, stand: ppl. act. קימין 2: 7, קים 13: 8; קימיתן Peîl form, Wohls 2417 (of the resurrection); Pa. 29: 10; Etpa. 16: 4, 8: 17, etc.; Af. מאקימילן, Pogn B.

קומא stature, person: קומאין Pogn B.

קומתא ditto: 2: 1, 19: 3, Pogn B.

מקום place: Schw M.

מיקומא ditto: Hal (of cattle).

קטל, נטל kill, of demons: 3: 2, 4, 36: 4, etc; נאטלא Lidz 5 (cf. Glossary A).

קטר bind, of magic: Schw I.

קיטרא spell: 7: 13, 28: 5, Hyv.

קירא pl. wax figures: 39: 7.

(קל) קללא curse: 5: 3.

קאלא, קלא voice: 7, 11, of the client 13: 9, of the witches Lidz 1a; בתקלא the magical invocation, 16: 10 (see p. 84).

קמיעא amulet: 2: 1, 10: 17, 29: 5, Ellis 5 (see p. 44).

קומרא vault of heaven?: Pogn B (zodiac?, see Payne-Smith, col. 3650).

קמטא = קמטא ? contortion: 34: 10.

קנינא, ק' possessions: 2: 5, 34: 3 (the Mandaic use for "cattle" not assured, in 34: 8 ק' may mean small cattle).

קנמי person(?): כמידי קנמי Schw I.

קרירא(קר) cold: Pogn B.

קרא call, name: 16: 5, 36: 4, ליקרו demons read the inscription, Ellis 5 (see § 3); Etpe. 3: 2, Pogn B מקריא.

קריתא magical invocation: 7: 11, 16: 10, Pogn B, Lidz 4 אקריתא (see p. 84).

קרותא ditto: 35: 4.

קריאנא ditto: Pogn B.

קרא chance upon: 18: 10, Ellis 3.

קרי mishap, pollution: Schw G, l. 8 (so possibly, see p. 92).

קרב approach: 6: 10, etc.

קרב, קריב near, neighbor: Ellis 3, Hal, fem. קריבתא, Schw G.

קראבא battle: Lidz 1a.

קרא, קרח flee: 18: 9 = קדא Lidz 5 (metathesis of ערק).

קרן horn: Pogn B, Lidz 2; of a magical figure 12: 5.

קורקא link of a chain: Montg.

קרקפתא head: 2: 1.

קשיש(קש) old: 19: 9.

קשי hard, painful: pl. קשיי 7: 11, Wohls 2422.

קשטא bow: 2: 4.

ראשא, ריש, ראיש head: 19: 19, Pogn B, 4: 5.

ראשית beginning: Lidz 5; creation 11: 9, 18: 12.

רב great: 4: 4, etc.; fem. רבתי, 4: 5 שעתא ר', 38: 10, Wohls 2417. אמי ר' grandmother, רבאתיא Pogn B; רבי, רב title 8: 8, etc.; plur. רבין Schw I, רורבאתא Pogn B, רברבי masters 16: 8, so רורביא 39: 7.

רבתא usury: Lidz 2.

רבונא (?) master: Hal.

ארבע (רבע) four: 4: 1, ארביא Pogn B; ארבעתיכין the four of you, 8: 13.

ארבעין forty: Schw E.

רביעיתא fourth, fem.: 6: 8.

רונזא wrath: 16: 3, 37: 8, 39: 7, Wohl 2422.

רגלא foot: 19: 19.

לינרא ditto: 38: 12.

ניגלא ditto: Schw I.

ניגרא ditto: 12: 8.

רגיל hobbled: 38: 10, 40: 21, Lidz 4.

רגמא stone(?): Pogn B, רגים Lidz 2.

רנף shake (?): Lidz 4.

רדע? 34: 5.

רוח, רוחא spirit, of man: פנרא רוחא ונישמתא Pogn B, plur. רוחיא Lidz 1a, Pogn A; gen. of evil spirits, 8: 16, etc., plur. רוחות Schw F, רוחי 16: 8, etc., as masc. 30: 3, cf. Ellis 5 רוח רעה זכר ונקבה; ר׳ ליליתא 30: 3, ר׳ סרי נאלי 16: 9 (see p. 74).

ריחא perfume: Pogn B.

(רום) רם, ראם high: 14: 4, Pogn B.

רמתא, ראמתא height: plur 9: 6, 34: 5.

רומא ditto: Schw G.

מרומא ditto: 32: 8, מראומא Pogn B.

רזא, ראזא mystery, of magical rites: 6: 11, 7: 13, 28: 3, 37: 4, etc. (and see p. 85).

רחבאל name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 10.

רחם Pa. have compassion: 13: 4; תיתרוכים (?) Schw L; ppl. רחם loving Schw I.

רחמי love of God: 3: 1, 11: 2, Schw E.

רחמתא love: רחי ר׳ love rites, 28: 3.

רחנם name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 11.

רחק be far: ppls. רחקא Schw G, רחיק Hal; Pa. 14: 2 Lidz 4; Etpe. 8: 17, Lidz 4 עתראחאק.

ריעא crop ?: Hyv.

רכוב chariot: 8: 13.

מרכבתא ditto: 14: 2, 25: 2, Pogn B.

רמא cast down: 9: 1, רמן act. ppl. 6: 4, רמי pass. 7: 17; Etpe. תרמן 14: 7.

רימזא (the divine) beck: 19: 8.

רמאזא one endowed with the evil eye ?: Pogn B.

רמס trample: 1: 10.

רימסא reptiles: 7: 14.

רמץ prick, bruise: 18: 6.

רמשא evening: 26: 5.

רוסתרום name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 12.

רע evil: Ellis 5.

רעותא will, pleasure: 12: 6.

רפד encamp: 2: 7 (but cf. 27: 11).

מרפדא camp: 2: 7, 27: 11.

רפע lift, remove (Nöldeke cft. Arab.): תירפען, Hyv (who supposes רפא).

ריקא רוקא "le crachet a été craché"?: Pogn B.

רקדא dance, of angels: 12: 8.

רקיעא firmament: 8: 9, Stübe 61; Mand. רקיעא, רקיחא, pl. the seven רקעחיא, Pogn B.

רשותא authority: Stübe 61; רשוה in center of bowl No. 20.

רשום signing, of a name: ר׳ שמא, Schw I.

ש Heb. relative: שאנו, ששיצא, Schw M; magical element, see p. 60.

שאל ask: שאילית 4: 6.

שאול hell: שבע שאול seventh hell? 6: 12.

שב burn: נשתבב 28: 1.

שיבא class of amulet-spirits: 15: 6 (see p. 88).

(שבח) תרשבחא praise: 29: 12.

שבטא, שובתא plague, plur. class of demons: 12: 4, 10, 15: 6, 35: 3, Hyv (see p. 92).

שבילא road: 5: 4.

שבע Af. adjure, in exorcism: אשבעית עליכן 1: 8, 3: 3; Mand. אשבית, I adjure, 40: 5, Pogn B (assigned wrongly by him to שבא).

שבע, שבעא, שיבעא, שבעה, שבעת seven: 6: 7, 19: 4, 4: 4, etc.; Mand. שאביא, שובע, Pogn B.

שבעין seventy: 7: 17 of angels, Hyv of spells.

שבועתא oath: Schw I.

שביעיתא seventh, fem.: 6: 8.

שבק dismiss, divorce: שביקת 17: 2, 32: 9, 40: 22 שביקילה I have divorced her; Pa. Pogn B.

שיבוק divorcement: 8: 13, plur. 9: 5.

שבר Pa. break: Schw G.

שוברא "nid"?: Schw F.

שבת cease: שביתין Schw E, שביתיתון Wohls 2426.

שבותתא residence?: Schw I.

שגר Etpe. dissolve like water: 2: 11; burn, 28: 1.

שגש Pa. disturb: 1: 11.

שוגשא, שגשא commotion: Pogn B.

שגוש disturbing: 24: 4.

שידא plur. demons: 2: 7, 7: 14, Pogn B, etc.; שידטין? (read שובטין?) Schw G, etc. (see p. 73).

שידניתא she-demon: 7: 14.

שדא throw down: Pogn B, so שדי in Stübe 50?

שדר Pa. send: 36: 3, Pogn B (also Peil forms).

שדרתא a form of magic (see p. 86).

משדרנא sender: Pogn B.

שוא be equal: in ppl. אשוה כ', like; Pa. set: 37: 11, Pogn B.

שוחאה lust: 28: 4.

(שוט) שיט eye-tumor: 34: 10.

שוף crawl, of witches: Pogn B; rub(?) *ib.*

שור leap forth: ppl. שיר 19: 14.

שוארא leaper, *ephialtes*: Pogn A (see p. 82).

שורא wall: 4: 6, 34: 4.

שוש Pa. overthrow: inf. שאושיא, Pogn B.

שוחדא bribe: Pogn B, Lidz 4.

שחוה worship: 8: 14.

שחן burn, with love: נישתיחן 28: 1.

שחופתא consumption: Schw G (see p. 93).

שחקים the ether: 29: 11.

שחרתא slumber: 7: 16, 8: 11.

שחורא black, of a kind of demons: Schw G (see p. 80).

שחרר emancipate: demons who are not משחררין Schw I; משוחרר Schw R.

שירא song, charm: 32: 9, 33: 4.

שכב lie: sexually of demons, 1: 13, 11: 8; Af. set down 34: 5. lay a ghost 16: 11; lay a spell 34: 5.

מישכבא (בית) bedchamber: 7: 7. 8: 5, 19: 3.

שכח find: Etpe. 8: 7.

ישיכנא? haunter, species of demon, so Nöldeke to Hyv, *ZKF* ii 296, perhaps better read ישובטין.

שכינתא Shekina: 14: 3, שכנאתא רבתיא Pogn B.

משכינא abode, of demons: Ellis 3 (Halévy, משר׳).

משכונתא dwelling: 34: 2.

שוליתא foetus: Pogn B, Lidz 1b (Nöldeke, exortion).

שלהובתא flame: 14: 7.

שלח send, send away: 8: 3, Hofal 8: 13; Mand. שׁחל, Etpe. נעשתחלן, עשתלא, Af. אשלת inf. שוליא: Pogn B.

משלאנא sender: Pogn B.

שלט rule: תישילטון 6: 10, Peil שליטיתון Stübe 51.

שליטא ruler: 11: 5, 19: 12, 17, Lidz 4.

שלך send forth: Schw F.

שלם Af. deliver: Lidz 4.

שלמא peace: 13: 12, 37: 10, ש׳ אלך Wohls 2417.

ש׳ אשלמתא initiatory rites, in magic: 12: 9, 16: 10, 35: 4, Hal, Schw E, M, Stübe 2; שלמתא Pogn B (see p. 85).

שלניתא ghost, or demon: 8: 2, 8, 12, 17: 4.

שום, שמא name, *passim*: plur. שימות 9: 6, שמיהון 14: 6, שמהן Ellis 3, שמאתא שמותא שומהתא Schw G, שומהתא 16: 8; Mand. שומא 38: 7, plur. שימאין 40: 1; בשום, in the name of (deity, angel, sorcerer, or the charm-words following, e. g. 6: 7), *passim;* n. b. לישמיה 28: 1, משמך 95; דבלשום of whatever name 1: 13.

שמא lay waste?: ישתמה Schw I.

שמיא heaven: 9: 6, 11: 2 (= God), etc.; שמי Schw I, שמימיא Schw Q, שומיא Pogn B.

שמע hear: 8: 10, שמיע עליכן 8: 3: Mand. שומית I heard Lidz 1a = שומאי Pogn B, שומאי impv. *ib.*, Etpe. תישתמון, *ib.*, Pa. inf. לשימועיכון 8: 7.

שמר guard, keep: 5: 3.

שמש Pa. serve: Stübe 60.

שמשא sun: 28: 3, שאמיש 30: 2 (cf. Glossary A).

שמת Pa. ban: Hal, Lidz 4, משמתתא epithet of lilith 34: 13, 35: 11, Etpa. Wohls 2426.

שמתא ban: 8: 6; plur. שמתאן Schw I, שמתתא Stübe 12.

שנא Pa. change one's place: 36: 2; bewilder, make mad: 7: 16.

שתא year: 6: 5, plur. שני 6: 6 (see also השתא).

שעתא (שעא) hour: 4: 5 ש׳ רבתי, 26: 5.

שעותא mocking mischief of demons: Schw G, cf. שעיהון, Ellis 3 (see § 3).

שעיר satyr, species of demons: שעירים 5: 4 (see p. 80).

שערתא a fever(?): 11: 3.

שיפטין Hyv, read שובטין.

שיפלא abasement(?): Schw F.

שיפורי excommunication Stübe 12 (see p. 53).

שיצי destroy: inf. שיציה 7: 17; come forth: שציא Schw M.

שיקא pl. the Arabic *šiḳ*-demon: 15: 5.

שקא to water: Pogn B, Etpe. 37: 9.

שקע deposit, of the bowl-practice: שקינא 32: 3, 33: 1.

שקל take off: 11: 8, Lidz 5.

שקף strike. 11: 6, Lidz 5.

שיקופתא blow, affliction, a method or result of magical practice: 12: 9, Ellis 5, Stübe 2, Wohls 2426, 2414 שקיפותא Lidz 4 (see p. 86).

אישתקופתא ditto: 16: 10.

שיקצא vermin: 7: 14.

שר Pa. bind, magically: ישרר Schw G, inf., שרורי Schw F, ppl. 31: 5, 37: 4.

שריר firm, of charms: 3: 1, 13: 8, Lidz 5.

שררתא, authority: Schw I.

שררות spell: Schw G, with לום.

משררנותא? Schw I, end.

שרא prince: Schw I.

שרא loose, dwell: 12: 2, 34: 11, שורין impv. pl. Lidz 1b, with suff. Lidz 2, ditto fem. שראי Pogn B, e. g. no. 15; Af. to lodge, 14: 3; Etpe. be loosened, 19: 4, Hyv, Pogn B מישארא, מישריא.

שרא diarrhoea: 34: 10.

שורבתא tribe, of demoniac species: 7: 17, 38: 6, 40: 17 the 360 species (cf. p. 80).

שרש Pa. uproot: שרשיא fem. pl. impv. ? (but see Lidz, p. 93, n. 9, = root שרא).

שרשלאתא chains: 39: 5.

שישלנא enchainment: 34: 11.

שתא drink: inf. מישתיה Schw F, impv. אישתאי 36: 7.

(שת) ששת six: 11: 9.

שיתין, שישין 60, in enumeration of demons, etc.: 19: 8, 38: 5, Lidz 4, Hyv.

תבר break: 40: 12; Etpe. 40: 12, Lidz 1a; Pa. תאבר, Lidz 2.

תיבות (Noah's) ark: 10: 5.

תאנא crown: תאנא דזיוא Pogn B.

תגמא military division: plur. תגמיה 13: 1, of demons.

תהומא, תומא abyss, always in plur: Schw F, G, Pogn B תומיא תחתייא (Pogn as though = תוחמא, black).

תוב, תום again: 2: 1, Ellis 1; תום 39: 11, Lidz 5.

מתוך, תוך in, out of: 9: 5.

תורא bull 40: 4.

תחת, תחית, etc. under: תחתיו Schw F, תחית under the hand 7: 12 = תחות 16: 6; Mand. תותיא 38: 12, תיתאך Pogn B.

תחתאי inferior: Pogn B, see to תהומא.

(תד)תובא loss, damage: 34: 7 (see p. 94).

תכלתא abortion: 11: 4.

תל hang(?): איתללה Schw F.

תלת three: תלאת Pogn B, תלתמא 300 38: 5; תליתיכן, תלתיכן 17: 4, 8: 3.

תליתיתא third, fem.: 6: 8.

תמן there: 14: 7, 19: 14.

תום see תוב.

תמניא eight: 8 spirits, seals, 19: 4, Schw E, F, Pogn B.

תמני 80: 19: 9, w. suff. תמאנאן Lidz 4.

תנינא monster, of Leviathan: 2: 4, 6.

תקן Pa. make fast: 19: 10, 29: 11.

תקיף mighty, epithet of magical arts: Hal, Hyv; of deities, etc., 34: 9, 40: 19; of the sorcerer 34: 2.

תרין two: 4: 4, Pogn B; תרויהן two of them, 34: 4.

תינינתא second: fem.: 6: 8.

תרך Pa. divorce: 17: 3.

תירוכא divorcement: 26: 6.

(תרעא) תירא gate: Pogn B.

PRONOMINAL FORMS

1st per. אנא: 2: 1, 5, 4: 6, etc.; אנא: 11: 1, Pogn B; אני: 14: 1.

1st pers. pl. אנחנא: 1: 14.

2d per. f. אנתי: 26: 3, 8: 8, 15 (or plur.? q. v.), אנאת 38: 4.

2d pers. pl. m. and fem. אנתון: 19: 13; אנתו: Schw F; אתון: 4: 7; אנתין: 8: 8; אנתי: 8: 8, 17: 3(?).

3d pers. (also demonstrative): הוא 8: 7, etc., 32: 4; הו: 39: 8; as copula הוא הוא: 9: 1, 32: 3; ההוא Schw F; היא: Ellis 3.

3d pers. pl. הינן: Pogn B; הנהן: 32: 7, 33: 7; אינן, אנן: 13: 4, 35: 6; הינין: Schw I, Pogn B; הן Schw Q.

Demonstrative, masc. דין: 8: 16, 10: 1, Ellis 5, Hal; דנן: 3: 5, 7: 16, Stübe 43 (these forms in stereotyped phrases, cf. (ב)דנא 16: 8); הדין: 3: 6, הדאין 28: 4, האוין: Pogn A; הנא (Syr.) 31: 1, 2; דאבא: Schw F; דא (?): 18: 5.

Demonstrative fem. הדא: 1: 4, 35: 6, האוא Lidz 5.

Demonstrative pl. הלין: 6: 7, 10: 3, 31: 5, 35: 9, 36: 5, Pogn B; אילין: Hal 2; אלה, אילי, אילה: 25: 2, 5.

Indefinite (ד)מן: 2: 2, מאן 27: 3, Pogn B; מא, in במא, כמא, עדמא, עלמאהו (see these prepositions). אידי those who(?): Wohls 2414. מינדעם: 5: 2, מידעם, 2: 3, 12: 10, 29: 8, מדם Ellis 5.

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PLATES

Prefatory Note

The concave spherical surface on which the bowl texts are inscribed precluded their reproduction by photography. At the best only a half of the text can be obtained satisfactorily by the camera, as the pair of photographs at the end of the Plates will show. Accordingly the texts had to be copied by hand.

Soon after the bowls came to the Museum, Professor Jastrow, of the University, and Professor Gottheil, of Columbia, undertook their publication. They secured the services of Mr. Horace Frank, Architect, for autographing the plates, a considerable sum of money being raised to meet this expense. Subsequently Drs. Jastrow and Gottheil gave up their plan of publication, and when Professor Hilprecht, then Curator, put the bowls into my hands, I fell heir to Mr. Frank's labors. I found he had prepared about 75 plates, but of these I have been able to use only 23, covering my Numbers 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 16, 17, 24, 28, 31, 36, 37, 38, 40. His other plates were copies of broken and mutilated bowls which were not worth publishing (see Introduction, § 1). It appears also that not all the good texts were placed in his hands, or else that he did not complete them all.

There is only one drawback in Mr. Frank's excellent reproductions, one which however does not impair their accuracy. Working without much direction and knowing nothing of the language, he often broke a word at the end of the line and carried it over to the next. I have seen no reason to repair this technical error in his copies, but have guarded against it in the work of the later copyists.

There thus remained of the texts which came to be included in this publication twenty-five which still required autographing. Shrinking from this tedious mechanical labor, especially after an expert hand had preceded me, I was very glad to avail myself of the kind cooperation of Professor

Gordon, Director of the Museum, who offered me the expert services of his staff. Consequently, under my direction, the remaining copies were prepared by Mr. William C. Orchard (Nos. 1, 5, 7, 10-15, 19, 21-23, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34, 35), and by Miss M. Louise Baker (Nos. 20, 26, 30, 33, 39).

The style of Mr. Frank's copies conditioned those for which I am responsible. He had abandoned the spiral arrangement of the originals and made his reproductions in straight lines. This method may be faulted as not giving the exact form of the original, but this demerit is small as compared with the advantage to the scholar of having the whole text lying before him at one glance without his being under the necessity of turning a bulky volume around and around to follow the spiral career of the text. I was therefore quite satisfied to retain this method of reproduction.

It may be remarked that all my decipherment was made entirely from the originals; only after my own work was finished did I compare Mr. Frank's copies. In a few cases I was able to improve his facsimiles, in several cases his copies, which were made when the texts were fresher and more legible (they have manifestly faded under exposure to light), have helped me correct or enlarge my readings. The other copyists also worked independently, and then we compared our respective results. The cooperation of others, expert copyists, with the author has thus tended to a full control of the accuracy of the facsimiles and transliterations.

I have finally to speak in the highest terms of the artistic and painstaking labors of these two gentleman and Miss Baker, whose assistance has afforded me so great relief.

CATALOGUE

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
1	1	8693	6.5 + 17	Broken and mended, with two holes. Written inside and out in large coarse script, .5 cm. average height, rude spiral design in center.
2	2	2945	7.2 + 17.4	Broken and mended. Fair, large characters. .4 cm. in height. In center two large figures, one in reverse position to other; one of which appears to be making a sign with his hand (as against the evil eye?), probably the sorcerer, the other with feet hobbled, the demon.
3	3-4	2963	10.3 + 20.5	Broken and mended, with a segment 6 + 12 cm. missing. Flat boss. The rim of the bowl has a double edge. Fair characters, .3 cm. high. In the center figure of a demon, armed with helmet and a sabre and spear in either hand, and his feet manacled.
4	4-5	2923	7.5 + 17.3	Broken and mended, small segment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In the center figure of the sorcerer waving a magic bough.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
5	6	2952	7 + 18	Slightly broken and mended, with small fragment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In center rude figure of a demon with four arms and one leg.
6	7	2916	6 + 15.8	Perfect bowl but for a fracture which does not touch the text. Small circle in center. Characters .3 cm. high, rather crabbed.
7	8	16007	5.6 + 15.7	Broken and mended, with a square fragment of text missing. Fine, clear characters, .2 cm. high. In center circle with cross.
8	8-9	9013	8.5 + 16.6	Broken and mended, with two small fragments missing. Characters .2 cm. high. In center obscene picture of a lilith with hands and feet bound.
9	10	9010	6 + 17.7	Perfect bowl. Characters much obliterated, .4 cm. high. Circle in center. On exterior four short lines in Hebrew.
10	11	16014	6.9 + 14.2	Broken and mended with segment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In center monstrous figure with owl-like head and apparently several breasts, presumably a lilith.
11	12	16022	6.3 + 16.1	Broken and mended, with three fragments of the text missing. Characters carelessly written, .3 or .4 cm. high. In center rude design, probably of a lilith.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
12	13	9009	7.2 + 17.7	Perfect bowl. Characters .4 cm. high, coarse but distinctly formed. In center a demon, with beastlike face and arms and feet bound. Endorsement on exterior.
13	14	8694	7 + 16.2	Broken and mended, with small piece missing. Coarse, clumsy characters, .6 cm. high. In the center a clumsy figure of a demon with caterpillar-like arms. Text continued on the exterior for 6 lines.
14	15	16017	6.8 + 18.7	Broken and mended, with missing segment. Characters .4 cm. high, in a good hand. In center a lilith with hands and feet manacled.
15	16	16087	7.3 + 17.2	Broken and mended. Characters .4 cm. high. In center figure of a serpent with its tail in its mouth.
16	17	2920	6.8 + 16.3	Broken and mended. Characters coarse, .3 cm. high. Rough circle in center.
17	18	2922	7 + 15.7	Broken and mended, with a segment missing. Characters coarse, .4 cm. high. In the center the circle and cross, formed in a peculiar way.
18	19	8695	7.2 + 16.1	Broken and mended, with fragment of about 5 cm. square missing. Coarse characters, .4 cm. high. In center rude and faded design—of a demon?

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
19	20		6.6 + 17.6	Broken and mended. Characters crabbed and obscure, closely written, .3 cm. high. Circle and cross in center.
20	21	16023	7 + 17	Broken and mended, fragment missing. Large, coarse characters, .6 cm. high. Large figure of a demon manacled, with a circle in his breast bisected by two lines. For the magical words accompanying see commentary.
21	22	16054	6.5 + 17	Broken and mended, with two fragments missing, a small one in the text. Script large, .8 cm. high, and rude. In center a rectangular figure divided into three squares, in one of those at the end two large markings like letters.
22	22-23	16006	6.5 + 16	Broken and mended, with two fragments missing. From the same hand as No. 21 and with the same design, the markings in the square suggesting a face.
23	22	16090	7 + 17.2	Broken and mended. From the same hand as Nos. 21, 22, and with similar design.
24	23	2926	7 + 16.8	Broken and mended, small fragment missing. Coarse script, .7 cm. high. In the center a figure of rude concentric circles with radial lines.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
25	24	16009	6.9 + 17.2	Broken and mended, with four fragments missing. Coarse script, .5 cm. high.
26	24	3997	6.9 + 15.5	Broken and mended. Script .4 cm. high. In the center a rough circle bisected by two lines, in each segment a magical word.
27	25	16041	5.6 + 16.6	Broken and mended with two considerable fragments missing. Script fine and fair, .2 cm. high. In the center a circle with cross.
28	25	2972	6.5 + 16.5	Broken and mended, four fragments missing, the text much blurred or obliterated. A fair script,.3 cm. high.
29	26	16055	6.8 + 17	Broken and mended, one fragment missing. Bold and well formed characters .5 cm. high.
30	26	16096	6.5 + 16.8	Broken and mended, small fragment missing. Script .3 to .4 cm. high. In center rude figure of a lilith with tresses flying and hands and feet bound.
31	27	9008	6.6 + 16	Perfect. Syriac script, .3 cm. high. In center a circle divided into four squares each with a cross in it.
32	28	16086	6.9 + 17	Broken and mended, one large and one small fragment missing. Same script and design as in No. 31.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
33	29	16019	6.2 + 15.5	Broken and mended, with two considerable fragments missing. In center cross with circle.
34	30	9012	7.5 + 17.5	Broken and mended. Design as in Nos. 31, 32.
35	31	16097	6.5 + 16.1	Broken and mended, two small fragments missing. Design as in No. 33.
36	32	2933	6.3 + 15.4	Broken and mended, with about half of the two lines on the margin missing.
37	33	2943	6.5 + 17	Broken and frequently repaired, much of the margin missing and a large part of the text obliterated. The script the smallest in the Syriac bowls, .2 to .3 cm. high. In the center circle and cross, each segment containing presumably letters of the Tetragrammaton.
38	34	2941	7 + 17	Broken and mended, with several small holes. Mandaic script average character about .2 cm. high. Small circle in center. A brief phrase written radially near the margin on the exterior.
39	35	9005	6.8 + 17.2	Broken and mended, some fragments missing. Script larger and coarser than in No. 38, .3 cm. high.
40	36-38	2972	7.3 + 17.2	Broken and mended, some large lacunae. Script as in No. 39. The text covers also most of the exterior. Circles in the center.

I



EXTERIOR

2



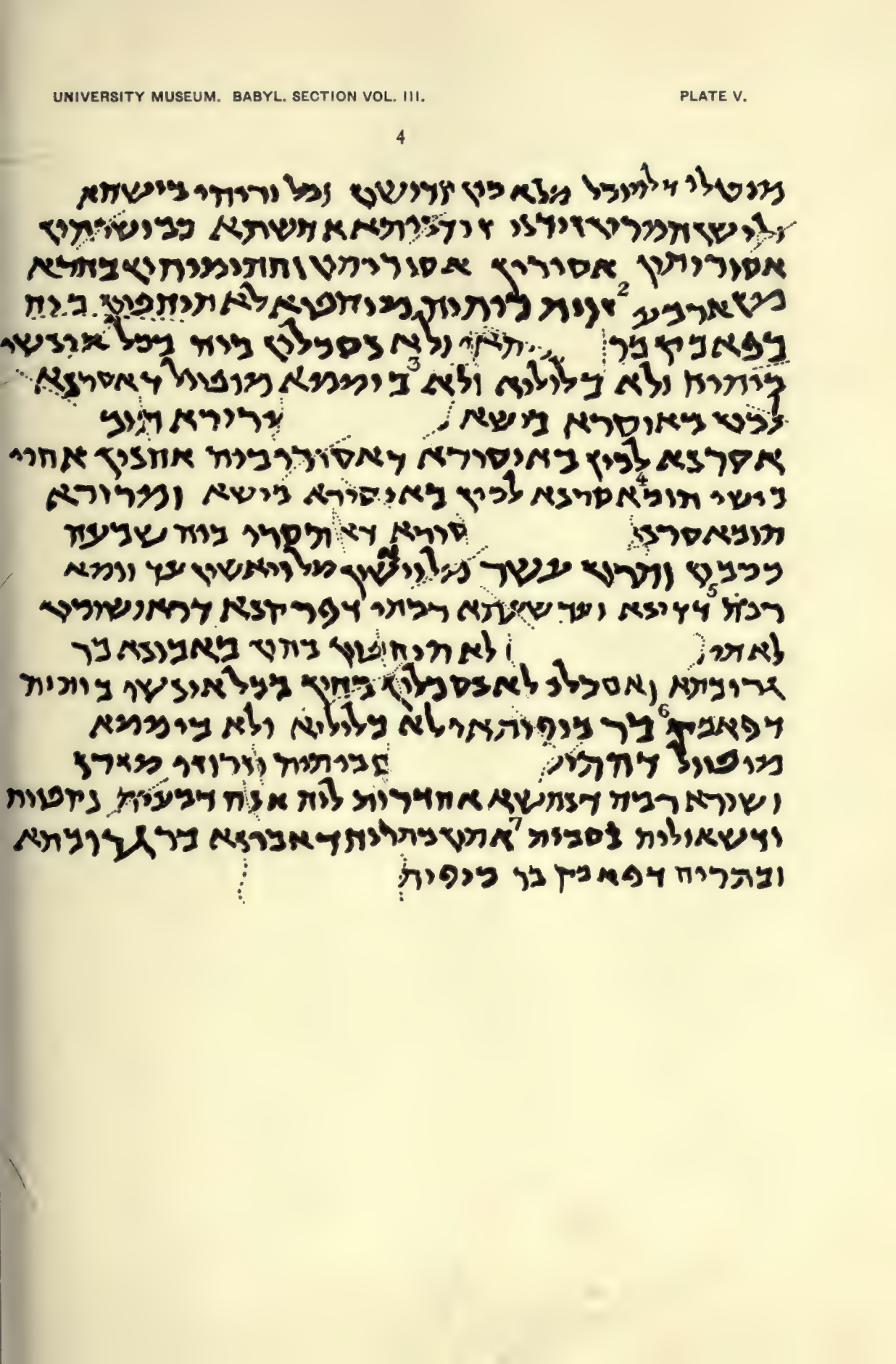


FIGURE FOR TEXT 3.



FIGURE FOR TEXT 4.

4



5

[illegible]

6

7

FIGURE FOR TEXT 8.

9

EXTERIOR

10

11

12

EXTERIOR

13



EXTERIOR

14

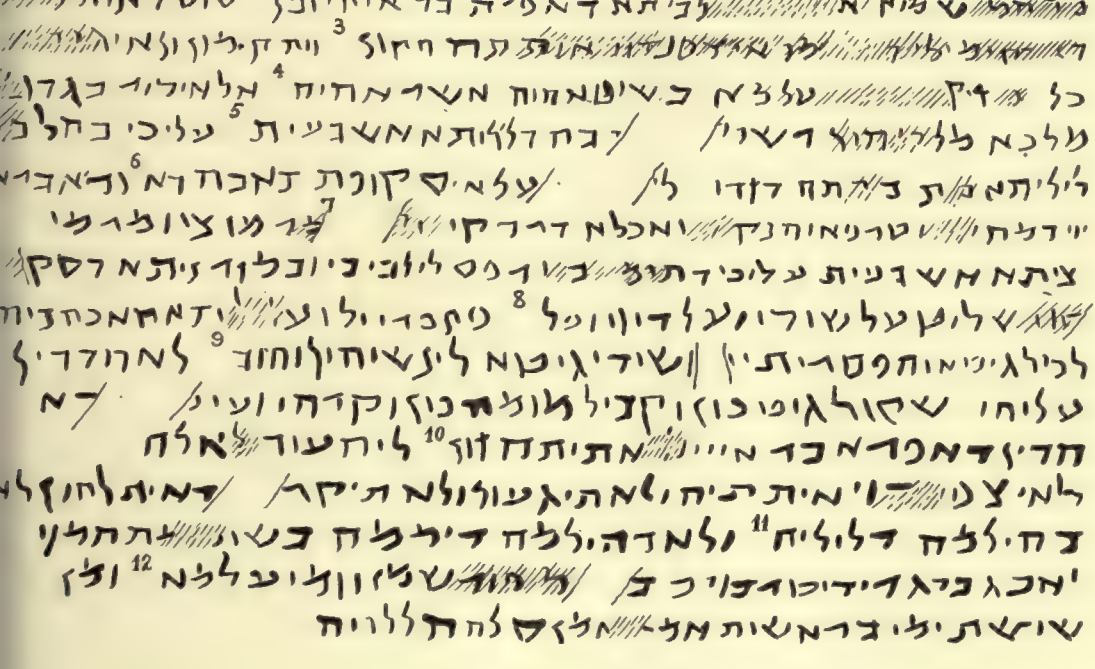


15

16

18





19

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21

22

23

FIGURE FOR TEXT 24.

FIGURE FOR TEXT 22.

25

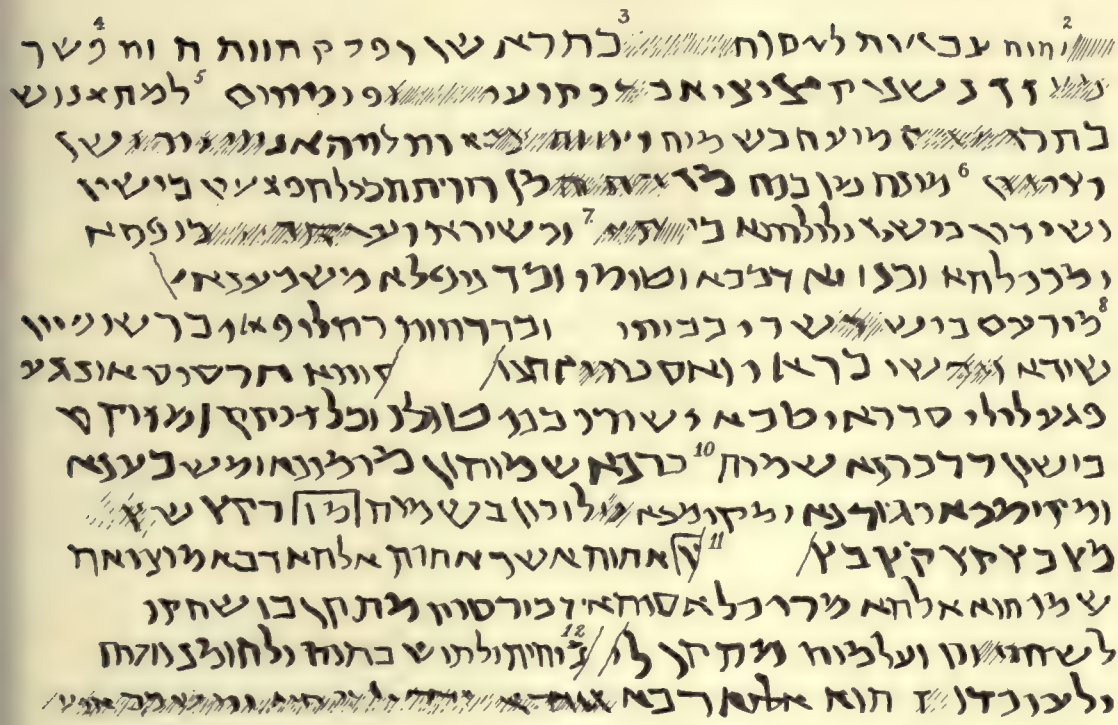
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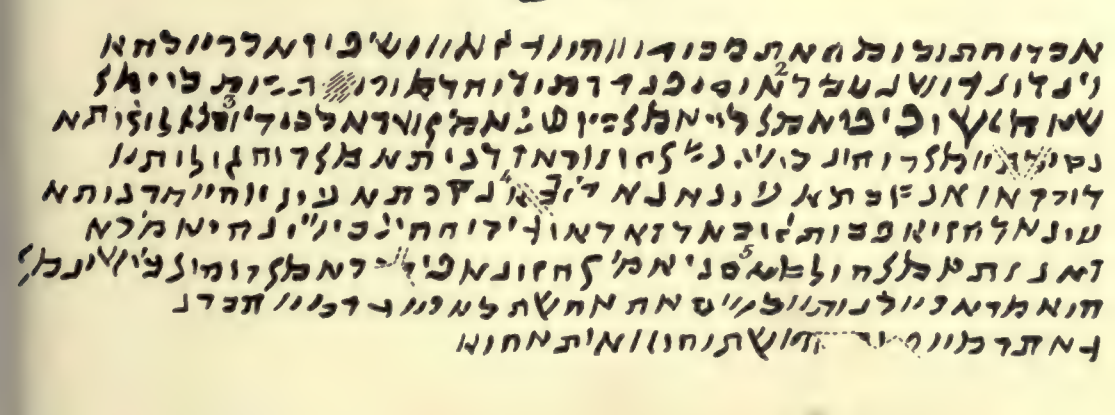
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32

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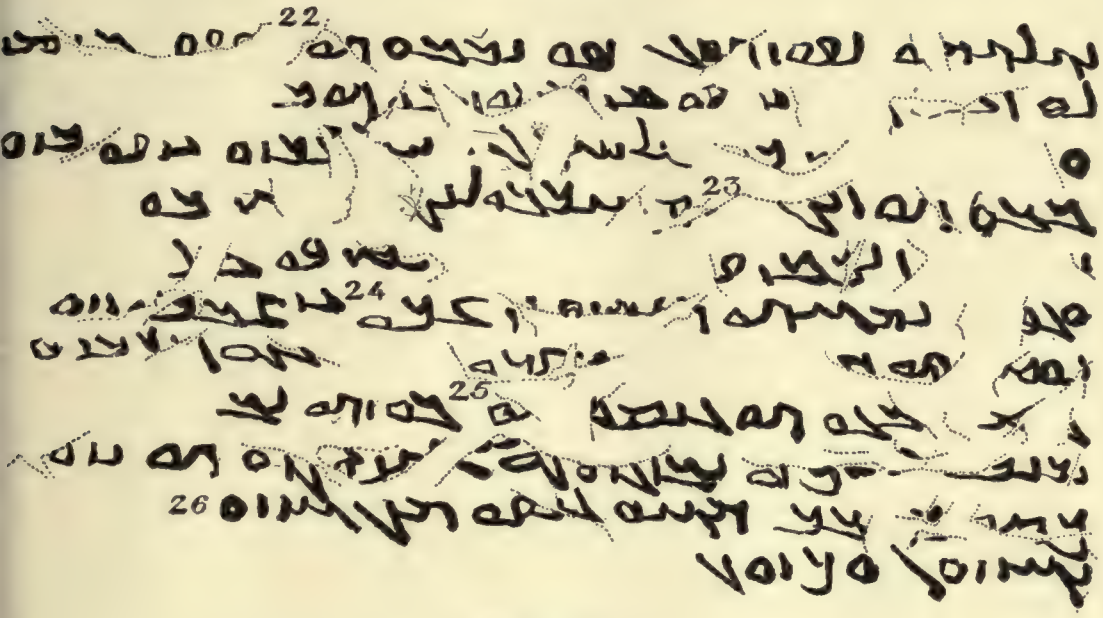
EXTERIOR

39

40 CONTINUED

EXTERIOR

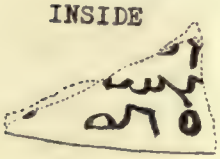
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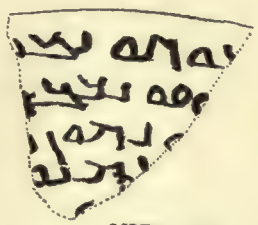


FRAGMENTS

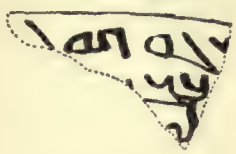


INSIDE





OUTSIDE



ALPHABETIC TABLES.

I Square Script.								II Mandaic Script.		
7	4	16	19	21-23	26	25	Text Numbers	38	39	40
א	א	א	א	א	א	א				
ב	כ	כ	ב	כ	ב	ב				
ג	ל	ל	ג	ג	ג	ג				
ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד				
		ה	ה	ה						
ו ז	י ו	)	ו	ו	ו	ו				
ז	ז		ז	ז	ז					
ח	ת	ת	ח	ח	ח	ח				
ט	ט	ט			ט	ט				
י י	י י	י	י	ז	י	י				
כ ך	כ	כ	ך כ	כ	כ	כ				
ל	ל	ל	ל	ל	ו	ל				
מ ם	מ	מ ם	מ ם	ם מ	מ	ם מ				
נ ן	נ ן	נ ן	נ ן	ן ו	ן ו	ן ו				
ס ס	ס	ס	ם	ס		ס				
ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע				
פ	כ	ב	פ	פ	פ	כ				
צ					צ					
ק	ק	ק	ק	ק		ק				
ר	ר	ד	ר	ר	ר	ר				
ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש				
ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת				
							ך			

III. COMPARATIVE TABLE FOR SYRIAC SCRIPT.

Estranghelo Syriac.	Bowl Texts.	Manichæan Turkish.	Estranghelo Syriac.	Bowl Texts.	Manichæan Turkish.
ܐ	ܐ	𐫀	ܡ	ܡ, *finial* ܡ	𐫢
ܒ	ܒ ܒ ܒ	𐫁	ܢ	ܢ ܢ	𐫣
ܓ	ܓ ܓ	𐫂	*ditto*	*finial*	
ܕ	ܕ	𐫃	ܣ	ܣ ܣ ܣ ܣ	𐫤
ܗ	ܗ	𐫄	ܥ	ܥ	𐫥
ܘ	ܘ ܘ	𐫅	ܦ	ܦ ܦ	𐫦
ܙ	ܙ	𐫆	ܨ	ܨ ܨ	𐫧
ܚ	( )	𐫇	ܩ		
ܛ	ܛ ܛ		ܪ	ܪ ܪ	𐫨
ܝ	ܝ ܝ	𐫈	ܫ	ܫ ܫ ܫ	𐫩
ܟ	•	𐫉	ܬ	ܬ	𐫪
ܠ	ܠ ܠ	𐫊			
ܡ	ܡ ܡ	𐫋			



INTERIOR OF INSCRIBED BOWL PHOTOGRAPHED FROM OPPOSITE POINTS.

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A2
1913

Montgomery, James Alan (ed.)
Aramaic incantation texts
from Nippur

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE MUSEUM

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BABYLONIAN SECTION

VOL. III

ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS FROM NIPPUR

BY

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

PROFESSOR AT THE PHILADELPHIA DIVINITY SCHOOL
AND ASSISTANT PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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TO

MY FATHER AND MOTHER

FIRST AND BEST OF TEACHERS

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PREFACE

The primary purpose of this publication was to edit, with translation and necessary notes, the incantation texts inscribed on bowls from Nippur, now in the possession of the Museum. But it soon became apparent that full account should be made of all other published texts of like character, both for my own advantage in securing a larger material for collation and also for the convenience of scholars by presenting in one work a survey of a rather remote and scattered field, in which many have labored but none has attempted a treatment of the subject at large. I have accordingly not only given a description of all the earlier material but also collated it as fully as possible both in the Glossaries and in the references of Introduction and Commentary. The Introduction, thus extended beyond the field of the Nippur texts, has grown to still greater dimensions with the enlarging perception of the intimate relations between the bowl-inscriptions and the broad fields of ancient magical literature. Previous editors, working before the present great development of the study of magic, had taken little notice of these connections with a wider world. Analogies with the Talmud and possible connections with the Kabbalistic lore had been pointed out, but the bowls still remained without definite place or links in the general field of ancient magic. Withal the relations of Jewish magic to the larger whole have not yet been ascertained.

But within the last few decades an immense advance has been made in our knowledge of ancient magic and of its prime importance as a study in the history of mankind. The chief

stimulus to this has come, first, from the anthropologists and the students of comparative religion, who have taught us not to ignore the most primitive or most degraded manifestations of the human spirit. Then there have been the rapid strides in the advance of Egyptology and Assyriology, where at every step the student faces the problem of the identities and differences of magic and religion. Further, the classical philologists have at last condescended to examine the vulgar magical records in the Greek and Latin tongues, and have found an interest in them as revealing how the ancient "man of the street," and wiser men as well, actually talked and thought, in modes different from the traditional standards of the classical civilization. Of this large increase in material and understanding I have been fortunately able to avail myself, with the result of the discovery of innumerable clues proving that the bowl-magic is in part the lineal descendant of the old Babylonian sorcery while at the same time—and this is the more important because a less expected discovery—it takes its place in that great field of Hellenistic magic which pervaded the whole of the western world at the beginning of the Christian era. My chief contribution to the study has been in these two directions, the relations with the cuneiform religious texts and the Greek magical papyri. The writer's knowledge of Egyptian magic was wholly at second hand, and in any case that earlier influence was mediated to this special field through Hellenism. The Christian Syrian literature is shown to have its close connections, being thoroughly infused, as was the early Church, with magical ideas. Magic within Judaism has been the subject of capital monographs by competent Jewish scholars, and in that direction I have not been able to do much more than to appropriate their results, except so far as to show the absolute

community of ideas and terms and practice between Jewish and Gentile sorcery. It remains a subject for an interesting investigation to discover just what Judaism gave to, and what it received from, the Hellenistic magic, but probably a hopeless study, for, as someone has remarked, in the history of magic we must pursue not the genealogical but the analogical method. As a result of these comparisons, the conclusion must be drawn, as indicated in § 15 of the Introduction, that the magic of the bowls, and in a general way, all Jewish magic, has come out of the crucible of the Graeco-Roman world, which, on account of its dominating civilization, we call Hellenistic; it is not Jewish but eclectic.

However, with this broadening of the scope of the work, it has been the fixed purpose not to attempt any general study of magic; this would have been but to confuse my work and cloud my results. With a single eye, the facts of the texts have been illustrated in as objective a way as possible from the phenomena of locally inherited and contemporaneous magic, with the intent of establishing the immediate bonds of connection. My work would be a contribution from a very small and limited field to the study of magical thought and practice within a definite age and region. At least there has come to the writer the satisfaction of finding a place for the *membra disjecta* of these out-of-the-way texts in the huge colossus of that system of magic which was once almost the actual religion of our western civilization.

If I appear to have gone into much detail in the treatment of these non-literary texts, I trust that the results will justify my undertaking; the expansion of the work has proceeded naturally and subtly much beyond the editor's desire and convenience. From the philological point of view these vulgar inscriptions are of as much interest to the Semitist as are the

magical papyri to the classicist. Careful study shows that, with the exception of intentionally unintelligible passages, mystic phrases and the like, the words and the syntax of the texts are the autograph representatives of the language of their writers. Three different Aramaic dialects, each with its own script, and one script a peculiar variety of the Edessene, are offered in the bowls from Nippur, and they are of importance as original documents of the dialectic forms of the speech of Babylonia about the eve of the rise of Islam. Other original monuments are well-nigh lacking for this field; we are confined almost entirely to the school-literatures of religious sects, of the Jews, Christian Syrians and Mandaeans, whose books are preserved mostly in late manuscripts. The Jewish magical literature is all documentarily late or uncertain as to age, and our texts have a historical worth as almost the earliest records in that line which can be exactly dated. Further, the obscure and crabbed condition of the texts compelled an exact philological examination in order to test hypotheses of interpretation. And as to matters beyond philology, it will not, I hope, be set down to wilful acriby if I have attempted to work out very small clues. In such work as this there is no immediate compensation on the surface, and it is only by following out the fine tendrils of connection that results worth while can be obtained. The writer's experience in his study is well expressed by some words of Professor Deissmann: "It may be that hundreds of stones, tiresomely repeating the same monotonous formula, have only the value of a single authority, yet in their totality, these epigraphic results furnish us with plenty of material—only one should not expect too much of them, or too little" (*Bible Studies*, 82).

In regard to the representation of the texts it might have been technically more correct to present them in their several

scripts. But apart from the difficulty of procuring two of these types in American printing houses and compositors who could set them, it must be patent that the general convenience is far better subserved by presenting the texts in the well-known Hebrew character, while those who desire the original scripts can satisfy themselves with the facsimiles published in the second volume. The peculiar Mandaic relative particle is represented, according to convention, by the diacritical ד̄; but I have departed from the usual custom of editing Mandaic texts by representing the pronominal suffix in *-h* by ה and have used ה for the radical ה or ח, which two sounds fall together in the dialect. In the Glossaries words containing this common character are arranged according to its etymological distinction as ה or ח. In the transliterations inferior points indicate doubtful readings, superior points are used for the diacritical marks of the Syriac texts. The numbered lines of the texts represent the spiral lines, taken as beginning from the radius where the inscription begins.

The Prefatory Note to the Plates describes how the facsimiles were made. I have to express my deep obligation to my friend and colleague, the Rev. Dr. R. K. Yerkes, for his careful reading of the volume in proof.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, February 2, 1912.

I. SURVEY OF THE MATERIAL

§ 1. The Material in the Museum

The University Museum contains a large number of inscribed earthenware bowls found at Nippur belonging to the category of the so-called "Incantation Bowls." These vessels are generally of the size and shape of a modern porridge-bowl, except that in most cases the bowl is somewhat cone-shaped, so that when set down it balances itself in a state of unstable equilibrium. Some few have the boss expanded into a rim, thus giving a flat surface at the bottom of the bowl. The most common size is of about 16 cm. diameter at top, by 5 cm. full depth. There is one large bowl, 28 x 16 cm.[1]

The bowls are made of a good clay, and are wheel-turned and kiln-dried; they have no surface, slip or glazing of any kind.[2] They were a domestic ware, intended for foods, and in no way differ from the simple vessels which to this day are made in the Orient for household use.

The bowls in the Museum were excavated at Nippur, in Babylonia, by the University of Pennsylvania Expedition; so far as I know, they are finds of the first two campaigns, conducted by Professor Peters in the years 1888, 1889. According to Peters' account,[3] these bowls were found on the top, or in the first strata of the mounds, in several places. They appear generally to have been discovered in the ruins of houses, amidst what Peters suggests were Jewish settlements; the whole surface of one hill, he says "was covered with a Jewish settlement, the houses of which were built of mud-brick, and in almost every house we found one, or more,

[1] Many such large specimens are in the British Museum and at Constantinople.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. D. Randall-MacIver, late of the Museum, for the characterization of the pottery.

[3] See his *Nippur*, the Index to which, *sub* "Jewish incantation bowls" gives the references.

Jewish incantation bowls."[4] At least in one case bowls were found in connection with a cemetery; "we found ourselves in a graveyard..... It was interesting to find, between one and two metres below the surface, in the immediate neighborhood of slipper-shaped coffins, inscribed Hebrew bowls."[5] As for the chronological light thrown upon these bowls, Cufic coins were found in the houses of these "Jewish" settlements,[6] and one of the most extensive finds of inscribed bowls was in the strata above the "Court of Columns," a Parthian building.[7] Peters holds the seventh century to be the latest date for the Jewish settlements where Cufic coins were found.[8]

The Museum Catalogue counts over 150 numbers of this class of specimens, but the enumeration includes a large number of fragments. About 30 of the bowls are what I would call "original fakes"; they are inscribed with letters arbitrarily arranged, or with pot-hooks, or even in some cases with mere scrawls, and I judge that these articles were palmed off on the unlearned public as "quite as good" as true incantations.[9] A still larger number of the bowls are so broken and their inscriptions so defaced, that I have not been able to use them. Others again were inscribed by so illiterate scribes that so far as they can be made out, they offer only some magical jargon, which adds nothing to our knowledge. Again there are a few texts which are fairly written and without those self-betraying combinations of letters that suggest a mock inscription, but which nevertheless are not Semitic. They may be in some non-Semitic tongue, whether, for example, in Pahlavi, I am not able to say. One of the neatest of the bowls, No. 2954, containing only four circular lines of inscription, interested me as presenting a novel alphabet; but I soon came to the conclusion that this is but another "fake," produced we may suppose by some learned impostor—or wag.

[4] ii, 182 f.; cf. p. 194.

[5] i, 245.

[6] ii, 183. On the following page the writer says that Arabic bowls along with Jewish and Syriac were found; but the Museum contains no Arabic specimens.

[7] Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 447.

[8] ii, 153, 183, 186. For further discussion of the date, see § 14.

[9] In many cases the inscriptions were written by laymen, who thus saved themselves the exorcist's fee. Schwab notices some forged bowls at Constantinople, *PSBA*, xiii, 595.

All the relics from Nippur came to the University as the gift of the Sultan of Turkey, and in the matter of these incantation bowls I understand that the best specimens, the largest and fairest, have been retained in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. At all events those in Philadelphia in almost all cases prevent complete decipherment because of mutilation.[10] A large segment of the spherical surface may be missing, or an extensive portion of the interior, a side, or the upper or lower portion of the bowl may have become illegible, probably through the action of water. The inscription being spiral, such mutilations intrude their annoyance into every line. The damaged nature of this collection has added much to the toil of decipherment, for every break in the text and every effacement necessitates speculation as to the missing contents. On the other hand it is cause for remark and gratitude that these fragile vessels have been preserved as intact as they are, and that the scribes used such excellent ink that what they wrote has largely survived in defiance of "the powers of the air," the elements and the corroding chemical agents.

As a result of the investigation of the whole collection I have selected 40 bowls for publication, to which number should be added the one published earlier by Myhrman (accompanying No. 7). The remaining bowls and fragments are on the whole too illegible or too undecipherable to make it worth while to add them to this material. The languages of the inscriptions are three Aramaic dialects:— (1) the language with which we are familiar from the Babylonian Talmud, to which belong Nos. 1-30; (2) a Syriac dialect, Nos. 31-37; the Mandaic, Nos. 38-40. Each of these has its own script. As an appendix, I publish, as No. 41, a human skull inscribed with a magical inscription of like character to those on the bowls, and No. 42 is a text of peculiar magical contents which has come to my hands, but with its original now lacking in the Museum.

[10] With few exceptions, all the bowls I have deciphered have been put together from fragments into which they had fallen, in the Museum.

§ 2. The Material Hitherto Published, and in Other Collections[1]

The first publication of Mesopotamian incantation bowls appeared in Layard's notable volume, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon.*[2] In describing his finds at Tell Amran, near Hillah, the great explorer tells of discovering "five cups or bowls of earthenware, and fragments of others, covered on the inner surface with letters written in a kind of ink" (p. 509). He notes that like material had been discovered before. Two from the collection of a Mr. Stewart had been deposited in the British Museum, which had also acquired through Colonel Rawlinson eight specimens obtained at Bagdad, their provenance however being unknown. In a later passage (p. 524) Layard records the discovery of a similar bowl, along with many fragments, at Nippur,—the precursor of the collection in Philadelphia.

Layard committed his bowls to Mr. Thomas Ellis, of the staff of the British Museum, whose results are given in Layard's work, appearing pp. 509-523.[3] Layard himself takes up the discussion p. 523 ff. with criticism of Ellis's results. The latter presented five Judaeo-Aramaic bowls, and one in Syriac, with summaries of fragments of others. Of these only four were given in facsimile, nos. 1, 3, 5, 6.[4] Subsequent scholarly investigation has proved not only that Ellis was wild in his interpretations of the bowls, but also that the facsimiles were unreliable. Hence the latter can only be used with caution or with the aid of later

[1] Stübe, *Jüdisch-babylonische Zaubertexte,* 1895, gives a good review of the literature up to date, although requiring some corrections and additions. See also Wohlstein, in *ZA,* viii (1893), 313 f.

[2] London, 1853. There is a German translation by Zenker, the bowls appearing there in Plate xx.

[3] Layard leaves it somewhat indefinite which bowls were treated by Ellis.

[4] Ellis's first bowl turns out to be a duplicate of our No. 11, under which I am able to present the restored text of the former. Was this the bowl which Layard reports was found at Nippur?

copies, while the bowls published without facsimiles are absolutely worthless as scientific copy. Layard's publication therefore did little more than attract the attention of scholars to a fresh field of philology and religious lore.

The first scientific treatment of this new material came from M. A. Levy, of Breslau, who devoted a long essay to Ellis's bowl, no. 1, in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* for 1855 (ix, 465).[5] He was the first to grasp the peculiar *lingo* of the inscription, and in his commentary drew largely from Judaistic and Mandaic stores of learning. He also gave an elaborate treatment of the palaeography of the bowl, overthrowing the claims that had been advanced for a pre-Christian origin.

Twenty years later J. M. Rodwell published a bowl from Hillah that had been procured by the British Museum, under the title, *Remarks upon a Terra-Cotta Vase,* with a photographic facsimile.[6] This second English venture at decipherment was no better than the first, its sole merit lying in the fact that the French scholar J. Halévy was induced to take up the same bowl on the basis of the facsimile, and to give it a scholarly transliteration and translation, with commentary, under the title, *Observation sur un vase judéo-babylonien du British Muséum.*[7] Four of the bowls that had been published were presented by the great Hebrew epigraphist Chwolson in his monumental *Corpus inscriptionum hebraicarum.*[8] The first (Chwolson's number, 18) is Ellis no. 1, the second (no. 19) is Ellis no. 3, the third (no. 20) is the bowl published by Rodwell and Halévy; and the

[5] *Über die von Layard aufgefundenen chaldäischen Inschriften auf Topfgefässen. Ein Beitrag zur hebräischen Paläographie u. z. Religionsgeschichte,* with Ellis's facsimile. Levy again treated the same inscription under the title "Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden," in the *Jahrbuch f. d. Geschichte d. Juden,* ii (1861), 266, 294.

[6] In *TSBA,* ii (1873), 114.

[7] In *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* series iv, vol. v (for 1877; Paris, 1878), 288. He re-edited his material in his *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire,* 229.

[8] St. Petersburg, 1882, col. 113 f. The facsimiles are reproduced at the end of the volume. The Russian edition of this work (St. Petersburg, 1884) publishes five bowls and considerably varies from the German edition (so Wohlstein, *ZA,* viii, 315). For nos. 19, 21, Chwolson made use of improved transcripts prepared for him by Halévy. In his review of the *Corpus* in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeige* for 1883, Landauer comments on these bowls (p. 507).

fourth (no. 21) is Ellis no. 5. Chwolson adopted a skeptical position toward the speculations and guesses of his predecessors, and his commentaries are valuable as a restraint upon their theories. Of special interest is his discussion of the age of the bowls from the palaeographic point of view—a subject which I take up in § 5.

The most extensive editor of the material under discussion has been Moise Schwab, the author of the French translation of the Talmud. In 1882 he published, in collaboration with E. Babelon, a bowl in the possession of the French government, under the title *Un vase judéo-chaldéen de la Bibliothèque Nationale*,[9] along with a facsimile and commentary. In 1885 he published a bowl at the Louvre in an article entitled *Une coupe d'incantation*,[10] without facsimile. He then presented a large series of bowls in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, for the years 1891 and 1892.[11] He included several bowls already published, with the old facsimiles, but failed to offer photographic copies of the bowls he brought to light. It seems strange that the English scholarly world rested content with the poor facsimiles of the relics in the British Museum, made almost forty years before, and that Schwab did not avail himself of better texts than his predecessors had used. Between the articles appearing in the two volumes of the *PSBA* Dr. Schwab contributed studies of two bowls to the *Revue d'assyriologie*, etc., under the title, "Deux vases judéo-babyloniens."[12] These he numbered F and G so as to align them with those appearing in the other publications. The material thus presented by Schwab is as follows:

A, in *PSBA*, xii = Ellis, no. 1; Levy; Chwolson, no. 18.
B, in *PSBA*, xii = Ellis, no. 3; Chwolson, no. 19.
C, in *PSBA*, xii = Rodwell; Halévy; Chwolson, no. 20.
D, in *PSBA*, xii = Ellis, no. 5; Chwolson, no. 21.

[9] In *Revue des études juives*, iv (1882), 165.

[10] In *Revue de l'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, i (1886), 117.

[11] In vol. xii, 292: *Les coupes magiques et l'hydromancie daus l'antiquité orientale*, with introductory remarks, and, p. 296, a description of the 22 bowls then in the British Museum; in vol. xiii, 583: *Coupes à inscriptions magiques*. This material was first presented to the French Academy of Inscriptions in the years 1883, 1885, 1891. At the end of the first article is a glossary to the bowls published therein.

[12] ii (1892), 136.

E, in *PSBA,* xii; a bowl in the National Library at Paris, also in *REJ,* iv, (without note in the *Proceedings* that he had published it before).

F, G, in *Rev. d'ass.,* ii; bowls in the Louvre. The exterior inscription on G is given under G in *PSBA* (p. 327).

H, in *PSBA,* xii; a bowl in the British Museum.

I, in *PSBA,* xii; a bowl in the Louvre, also in *Rev. d'ass.,* i (without note that he had published it before).

L, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the Lycklama Museum at Cannes (other than that published by Hyvernat).

M, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the Louvre, acquired by Heuzey.

N, O, P, in *PSBA,* xiii; three bowls in the collection Dieulafoy from Susiana.

Q, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the Musée de Winterthur.

R, in *PSBA,* xiii; a bowl in the coin department of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Meanwhile there had appeared, in 1885, a study of a bowl in a provincial French museum by H. Hyvernat (now professor in the Catholic University, Washington): *Sur un vase judéo-babylonien du musée Lycklama de Cannes (Provence).*[13] Unfortunately the accompanying photographic facsimiles are barely legible as published; however there is little doubt as to the text and its meaning. [14] Schwab also refers[15] to a bowl published by B. Markaug in the *Zapiski* of the Imperial Russian Society of Archaeology, iv, 83, which I have not been able to procure.

A few years later the collection of incantation bowls at the Royal Museum in Berlin was made the subject of study by two young scholars, working contemporaneously but independently. J. Wohlstein published, under the title, *Ueber einige aramäische Inschriften auf Thongefässen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin,* five bowls, with introduction to the general subject and commentary.[16] And R. Stübe published a Berlin bowl in his

[13] In *Zeitschrift f. Keilschriftforschung,* ii (1885), 113.

[14] This publication received criticism from M. Grünbaum on a subsequent page of the same journal (p. 217), especially for its dependence upon Kohut's notions of Jewish angelology; and on p. 295 Nöldeke expressed some comments on the text, especially animadverting on its age.

[15] *Rev. d. Assyriologie,* ii, 137.

[16] *ZA,* viii (1893), 313, and ix (1894), 11, In vol. viii appears no. 2422; in vol. ix, nos. 2416, 2426, 2414, 2417.

Jüdisch-babylonische Zaubertexte.[17] The text he published, the longest yet edited, is the same as the second given by Wohlstein; his treatment is fuller than that of his contemporary, to whom he is able to refer in his printed notes. Stübe gives a description of nineteen bowls in the British Museum. Unfortunately neither publication is enriched with facsimiles. Subsequently S. Fraenkel contributed some notes to Wohlstein's bowls in the same journal, in part on the basis of his own transcription.[18]

Pognon, French consul at Bagdad, broke the ground of a fresh dialect of bowl-inscriptions with the study of a Mandaic bowl—*Une incantation contre les génies malfaisants en mandaite,* appearing in 1892.[19] The bowl was purchased from Arabs at Bismaya. In 1898 the same scholar published an elaborate work upon bowls found at Khuabir 55 km. NW of Musseyib, on the right bank of the Euphrates; he visited the locality but was unable to reach the site where the bowls were found. His work, entitled *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir,*[20] contains some valuable appendices, of wider interest than the title suggests, and is furnished like the earlier monograph with full apparatus. Five more Mandaic bowls were published by Lidzbarski in his *Ephemeris,* i, 89, "Mandäische Zaubertexte." The fifth of these texts is a duplicate of my No. 11 and is given there in parallelism. Three of the texts are in the Berlin Museum, and two in the Louvre.

Professor Gottheil contributed to Peters' *Nippur* (ii, 182) a translation of one of the bowls at Pennsylvania (= No. 12 below). Dr. Myhrman, of Uppsala, published from the same collection no. 16081, with commentary; his monograph appeared in *Le monde orientale,* Uppsala, 1907-8, and with revision as a contribution to the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume[21] under

[17] Halle, 1895.

[18] *ZA,* ix, 308.

[19] In the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* (Paris), viii, 193, and in separate print.

[20] Paris, 1898, with facsimiles and full glossary; reviewed by Nöldeke, *WZKM,* xii, 141; Lidzbarski, *TLZ,* 1899, col. 171; Schwally, *OLZ,* ii, 7, iii, 458; Chabot, *Revue critique,* xlvi, 43, xlix, 484. Pognon also saw some bowls in the square character, some in Estrangelo, and some which he presumed might be in Pahlavi (p. 1). In my citations to Pognon, I cite his two books as A and B respectively.

[21] Leipzig, 1909; p. 342.

the title *An Aramaic Incantation Text;* this text is given below in parallel with No. 7.

It is in place here to notice the location of incantation bowls in the various museums. Despite a query addressed over a year ago I have not received any information from the authorities as to the number and character of the bowl-texts at the Imperial Museum in Constantinople; its collection from what I hear must be large and fine, and has been particularly enriched from Nippur.

Dr. L. W. King has kindly informed me that the British Museum contains 61 bowls of our class, exhibited in the Babylonian Room. Some of the specimens, I also learn, are of very large size. The texts are in the square script, Syriac, Mandaic and Arabic.

Schwab thus sums up, for the year 1906, the bowl-texts in the French museums:[22] 2 in the National Library, 7 in the Louvre, 2 in the Museum Lycklama, Cannes; also one in private hands.

Through Professor Ranke's kindness I learn that in the Berlin Museum there are 69 bowls with "Hebrew" (i. e. Aramaic?) inscriptions, 9 with Syriac (presumably inclusive of Mandaic). Stübe gives a description of 19 of these. In the same museum there are two inscribed skulls, similar doubtless to the one published below as No. 41.

At the National Museum in Washington are found five bowls, four in square script, one in Estrangelo; but from photographs kindly lent me by Dr. Casanowicz, two of the former are to be designated as "fakes" in the sense used above. These bowls are said to have been found at Hillah. The German *Orient-Gesellschaft* has recently announced the discovery of three bowls at Asshur,[23] and Koldewey, *Tempel von Babylon u. Borsippa,* 58, speaks of numerous Aramaic bowls found at Borsippa.

Of bowls in private hands, I note one unpublished Syriac text in the possession of Professor Hyvernat, of the Catholic University, Washington; and three which Mr. Wm. T. Ellis purchased at Nippur in 1911, one of them containing a Syriac text similar to those published in this volume; this text I have prepared for publication in the Journal of the American

[22] *Journal asiatique,* X, vii, 8.

[23] *Mittheilungen,* no. 43, p. 13.

Oriental Society, where it will shortly appear. A few citations of this text are given in the glossaries under the abbreviation "Montg."[24]

The provenance of this material is thus confined to a small region, extending from Nippur and Bismaya on the south to Asshur on the north, and lying on both sides of the Euphrates.

[24] The "Roman bowl from Bagdad" described by O. S. Tonks in the *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, 1911, 310, on which he would find some magical syllables, has been proved by A. T. Olmstead (*ib.*, 1912, 83) to be a late Arabic forgery. A Pahlavi bowl inscription reported by A. V. W. Jackson, *JAOS*, xxviii, 345, does not belong to our category.

§ 3. Some Notes on the Texts Hitherto Published

I offer in this section some critical notes on the texts described in the last section. The texts would in many cases have been simplified if the editors had recognized that there is no distinction in the script between ה and ח, and most often none between ו and י. The glossary will indicate emendations of simple words, but here I present corrections necessary for the construction.

Ellis 1 has been recovered, as remarked above, through a duplicate in the Pennsylvania collection; see to No. 11. No facsimile is given for Ellis 2.

In Ellis 3 the opening lines should read:[1] דיזחון די פתכרי וי סטני ופתיכרי (2) כולהון מן מהפירוז בר הינדו . . . כל פתיכרי דיכרי ואיסרתא (3) לטתא אסרן נוקבתא ופום כל בני אינשא אסרן כולהון מן מהפרוז בר הינדו ניד[ר]י ולטתא וג'. The discovery of the proper names, Mehpêrôz[2] son of Hindû (see Glossary B), clears up these lines. איסרתא = איסתרתא? but see Glossary C under latter word. After the first word the scribe intended to write דיוי; inadvertently he broke into the word with פ', and then leaving the error uncorrected (as is the rule of these scribes) continued with the first word.—Read in l. 4, משכוניהון (?) for משריניהון; cf. משכונתא in glossary.—In l. 4 f. there is a parallelism to the opening lines of Schwab G:

Ellis 3	Schwab G
בשום הפכה הפיכה סורה (?) שמיה הפיכי	הפכה הפכה הפכה שמיה הפיכה ארעה
כוני והפכי מזלי הפיכה שעיהון דכל בני	הפיכה כוכב הפיכה מזלי הפיכא לוטתא
אנשא תשריה (?) לוטתא דאבא וג'	הפיכה שעותא הפיכא לוטתא דאבא וג'

בשום introduces a magical formula which can accomplish the *bouleversement* (הפיכה) of all things and hence of evil arts. כוני = כוכב, and must

[1] The numbers in the text represent the spiral lines.
[2] This reading is certain in l. 8.

be the Assyrian *kêwân* (biblical כיון), used in the general sense of planet. שעותא, שעיהון, are used in the sense of *derisio*, etc. (see Payne-Smith, *Thes.*, col. 4249 f.).—What follows is to be read thus: "The curse of father and mother, of daughter and daughter-in-law and mother-in-law is loosed (שריא), what is far and what is near, what is found in country or city—what is found in the country is loosed, and what curses (?) in the city is loosed, and what falls by the way."

In Ellis 5, l. 2, read ביתא (for במיא) and the following word possibly מן דשומיה, and translate—"a house, whatever its name (i. e. whoever owns it), let them read and depart from it (ליקרו ליקרו וליפוקו יתיה), even all who dwell in it—(i. e.) any vows," etc.; that is, the evil spirits are to read the *kamea* and depart. The jussive with ל is exceptional.

For the bowl edited by Rodwell, Halévy, Chwolson and Schwab, I give the following transliteration: כל חרשין בישין ועובדין תקיפין ולוטתא ונידרי ואשלמתא ומללתא דרחיקין ודקריבין דלילא ודימאמא דנברי ודינשי דעבדו[3] ליה ודעבדין ליה לברחאיי ולחיותיה[4] ולקיניניה דכוליהון בדלאלה מן יומה דנן ועד עלם וכולהון אילין ואילין משמתין ומנידין[5] נזירין ותבירין עקירין ומפקין ומבטלין מן גופיהון ומן כל הדמי קומתיהון ומן מדרתיהון דחיותיה ודברחאיי ועמיה (for דברחאיי ודעמיה) בדלאלה על אורח חוצי אוי[6]. So much is clear.—Then follows an apostrophe to a certain star, which appears also in Schwab E. With this parallel to our aid I read: אוי כוכבא דעליה רכיבא אסות ניהוא[7] מלפא חרשי לחרשיתא: i. e. "Oh (or, woe), the star on which rides salvation (healing),[8] the one which teaches arts to witches;" that is, some star potent in medicine and black arts, which may be invoked for good or evil.—Towards the end is to be read: בישמיה בר מסוסיא שמא רבא מפורש. "in the name of Bar Mesôsiâ (a master-conjurer evidently), the great Ineffable Name."

For Schwab E, see notes on the bowl just discussed.—In the middle of the inscription for חרמי קומתיה, read הדמי ק'.

[3] Perfect, followed by futuritive ppl.

[4] Not an Arabism, as Halévy suggests.

[5] Pael pass. ppl.

[6] A Syriac interjection; or do these characters belong to חוצי? In the parallel, Schwab E, we have חוציא ל.

[7] Cf. the Rabbinic ניהו.

[8] Cf. *Mal.* 3: 20.

A new collation might contribute much to the understanding of Schwab F. In l. 1, שרירי ("strong one") is an epithet of the "evil spirit." Read אשבעית at end of line.—L. 2, read עליכי אנתי אנפרת, אנ' being the name of the demon, and occurring again below.—L. 3, read כמשחא, "like oil they (the spirits) are dipped into the vessel of his heart," i. e., the man's inwards are suffused with diseases as with oil.—L. 9 again הדמי for חרמי.—L. 10, תהומי for תחומי.—L. 11, עד נמירו זמן ואדן דאבא בינא: "(ye angels go forth from him) until the consummation of time and that time is known,"—with reference to the day of judgment.

In Schwab G, l. 9, עלמא קלה שמעית וג' = "wherefore have I heard a voice? I have heard the voice of a man, Mešarsiâ," etc.

Schwab I, l. 1, read פתיכרי ופתי[כ]רן נוקבתא.—L. 5, כישוף מומין, "sorcery I exorcise."—L. 12, read רשים שמא וג'.: "inscribed is the name whereby heaven and earth are bound."

The transliteration of Schwab M is almost untranslatable. As the first word read מומינא, "I adjure," which disposes of one of Schwab's proofs that these bowls were used in hydromancy.

In Berlin Museum no. 2416, l. 4 (Stübe = Wohlstein, l. 5)* and repeatedly below, דלטיתהון = "whom I have cursed." In l. 20, etc. the demons are bidden to depart from the sorcerer's client and transfer themselves to any persons he has cursed.—For דביה, l. 6 (W. 8), see below, to 2 : 2, and for דיהביה = "of Yahwe," l. 15 (W. 22), see 13 : 7 and 26 : 4.—על רזא, l. 22 (W. 31) = "on ground of, in the name of the Mystery."

In Wohlstein, no. 2422, l. 16, טעותא is plural of the Targumic טעו, "false deity;" the same plural is meant in טעתא, no. 2426, l. 5.—In no. 2417, ll. 3, 6, for דבתי read רבתי. Then אמי רבתי = "my grandmother," and אלהתא ר' = "the great goddess."

* Stübe's text is much the better.

II. SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE

§ 4. Introductory

In the following notes I shall confine myself almost entirely to the bowls at Pennsylvania. The absence of facsimiles or of good ones in a large number of the published texts prevents a proper control over those texts. Moreover there is some advantage in confining the study to a single collection of texts whose age and provenance can be exactly fixed as in the case of the bowls from Nippur. At the same time what is true of these texts is found to hold good for other published inscriptions.

Our material may be divided epigraphically and dialectically into three classes: (1) Of the "Rabbinic" dialect in the square character; (2) of a Syriac dialect, in a novel form of Estrangelo script; (3) of the Mandaic dialect in its peculiar alphabet. Bowl inscriptions of the first and third classes have been published; but so far no Syriac text has appeared with the exception of one essay noted p. 16 and in § 6.

Some apology may be necessary for the term "Rabbinic" dialect. As used here, it does not imply that the rabbis or the Jews in Babylonia had a special dialect,—they spoke the native dialects; nor that there is any unity in the language of the Talmud, which is alive with dialectic varieties.[1] But the Talmud is practically our only source for a certain family of Aramaic dialects in Babylonia, easily distinguished from the two other literary dialects, the Syriac (Edessene) and Mandaic. The name chosen is a convenient handle.[2]

[1] Our texts themselves, as the discussion will show, are frequently of non-Jewish origin.

[2] "Babylonian" or the old-fashioned "Chaldaic," might be used, but each is equally indefinite and the former would be most confusing.

§ 5. The Rabbinic Texts

A. Script and Orthoepy

Ellis, who made the first attempt at decipherment of bowls in the square character, was inclined to find in them a very primitive script, antedating the Christian era.[1] Levy proceeded in a scholarly fashion and analyzed each character—to be sure, with rather scanty epigraphical resources;[2] he came to the conclusion that the bowl he was treating was to be assigned to the seventh century. Chwolson severely criticized Levy's method, and on the basis of the palaeographical material in his *Corpus* assigned the bowls of Ellis to various early dates (col. 118). Ellis 1 he assigned to the first Christian century; for three others he gave a graduated chronology, placing them in the second, third and fourth centuries respectively. But Chwolson's own method is somewhat of a *reductio ad absurdum*.[3] It is hazardous to assign a date for these bowls on palaeographical grounds; it is impossible to relate the various variations of script to each other by a chronological scale. For instance the contemporaneous character of many bowls at Nippur is shown by the recurrence of the same persons and families in the texts; indeed the same persons appear in texts of different dialects, yet these inscriptions differ greatly in script. But there is no reason, at least in the Nippur bowls, to assign them to different ages; from the interrelations between them, personal and phraseological, I am inclined to assign them to the same period. Indeed they might all have been written in the same year, so far as palaeography may say anything. The differences are chirographical, not palaeographical. Some of the scribes wrote a neat, even a beautiful hand; but many were written by careless scribes, and many by illiterate ones, probably often by

[1] In Layard, *op. cit.*, 510; so Layard himself for no. 1, p. 525.

[2] *ZDMG*, ix, 474.

[3] See Hyvernat, p. 140, on Levy and Chwolson's arguments.

laymen, who affected to write their own prescriptions. The comparative plate of characters presented by Levy offers a large number of variations in the forms of many letters: for ב and ר eleven each, for ט eight, for כ and ש six, etc. Now when one short text offers so many varieties in forms, it is impossible for palaeography to give any nice chronological estimate. In fact the ruder the letters are, the more archaic they appear; yet they may be mere degenerations of the standard type or survivals of an elder one persisting in obscure quarters.

One need but take a glance at Euting's alphabetic tables at the end of Chwolson's *Corpus* to recognize that the Hebrew square character has remained essentially the same since near the beginning of the era. The earlier evidence is drawn from monuments, the later from manuscripts, while in the long centuries of scribal reproduction the Jews have developed as it were a conventional *ductus*, whereas earlier there was far more room for variation when this family of the alphabet was not confined as a vehicle of a school of religious scribes. Thus נ is one of the most Protean of forms, but apparently all varieties are found in almost every century of the first millennium, according to Euting's showing.

In the palaeographical table attached to this work I give specimen alphabets drawn from the bowls. But a fine analysis for chronological results would be unprofitable. For a round date the bowls might be placed on palaeographical grounds at about 500 A. C., but this date might be carried further back or further down according as other evidence might be adduced.

The finial letters are used, but with few instances of finial צ. A phenomenon that presents some difficulty is the practical identification of ו and י and of ה and ח. In the case of the former pair, they are often distinguished, the י being then represented by a short stroke or sometimes by a small angle, the ו by a long stroke; but there is no consistency in this differentiation, and the י is easily prolonged into a stroke like ו; within the same text or line or even word, the י may be written both ways. This confusion has led to the barbarous appearance of many of the edited texts, on which Nöldeke has animadverted.[1] The confusion throws doubts on certain vocalizations,—e. g. is it שובטא or שיבטא?—and it is of grammatical

[1] *Zeits. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, ii, 296.

moment in the verbal endings ן and ין, where, because of the recession of the stroke of the ן, the vowel letters are not at all distinguished.

There is no distinction between ח and ה in the Nippur bowls, and the same is true of the other published bowls, so far as I can observe. The ח includes ה. It is the same phenomenon that appears in the Mandaic, where ה has been retained only as a pronominal suffix. This identification is the representation of actual speech, in which our scribes no longer distinguished between the two gutturals, even as in the Mandaic. As the Babylonian Talmud distinguished between them in its text, we may surmise that the better educated preserved the difference at least in spelling.[5]

The final *â*-vowel is expressed by א, less frequently by ה. Some texts use the latter consistently, and there is hardly a text which does not give an instance of this spelling. It is used regularly for certain common words, e. g. לילי‌ה; and especially when the word contains an א, e. g. אנה, אפרה. This is a primitive type of Aramaic orthoepy, but the Samaritan dialect has preserved it, and an early Palestinian amulet, published by me elsewhere, shows the same features.[6] The phenomenon is unique in late Eastern Aramaic.

The vowel letters ו and י are used abundantly, always in terminal syllables and for long vowels, and very commonly for short vowels. Yet there is variation in this respect, even in the same text. On the whole א is sparingly used as a vowel letter, preferably to indicate the feminine plural, e. g. לילי‌אתא, yet indistinguishable לילי‌תא is as frequent.

It goes without saying that there are no vowel points. In one bowl (No. 13) a kind of pothook has been used to separate words, and here and there a point has been used, but this is the extent of the punctuation. Sometimes a scoring is found between the lines of script and by means of vertical lines phrases are blocked off; these are generally magical combinations. In No. 22 one word is written in a clumsy Syriac script and in one of Ellis's bowls a Syriac ח is once used. Quite a peculiar script is found in No. 30, and פ has a unique form in No. 22.

[5] In the elder type of ח, the left leg was attached to the upper bar, hence the confusion with ה was easier. The Rabbis preferred this form; see *Men.* 29b. The close assimilation of the two letters appears in the Assouan papyri of the fifth century B. C.

[6] *JAOS*, 1911, 272.

B. The Language

The grammatical phenomena in the bowls from Nippur can for the most part be exemplified from the Babylonian Talmud, and like the latter they present various dialectic types. On the one hand they have close connections with Mandaic and on the other they show some Syriac idioms.

As in the Mandaic orthoepy the *šewā* is frequently designated by י, a circumstance which throws light upon the minor vocalizations. I may notice אימיהון, ביתיהון, "their mother, house," etc.; ניקיבתא, pl., אילהא; with prefixes: ביפתכרי; לימרומא; דישמלהון, "their left hand;" and with ו, ויבנתא, "and daughters;" וידלא, וילשלהבון (a punctuation appearing also in Targum Onkelos, see to 3: 3).

In the consonants there is the yielding of the harder sounds, e. g. איספנדרמיד, איסכופתא, varying with איסק, איצ; indeed צ has become a very rare character. In general the gutturals are preserved, though ה and ח are no longer distinguished. In one bowl, No. 6, which has other Mandaizing characteristics, are found אחא = עחא, ניפקא, √ פקע; ניבר, √ עבר. The same bowl offers תישילטון, with the intrusion of a new vowel, as is particularly characteristic of Mandaic.[1]

For the pronouns I may refer to the lists at end of Glossary C. For their suffixal forms may be noted בניה, 2: 4, and even בנה, 11: 9 (etc), "his sons," עלה = עלוהי in duplicate texts (see to 11: 9), as common in Mandaic, and appearing also in the Talmud. For the 2nd per. pl. fem. כי- is used for כין-(see to 7: 3).

The masculine plural is in י- and ין- indifferently, even in close association. טוריא 8: 6 and the nouns in 13: 1 ending in יה are probably Mandaic forms of spelling, *ê*.

As for the verb, along with י as dominant prefix in the impf., נ takes its place in Nos. 6, 13 (along with two cases in י), 19, 25, 28. A Nifal with Aramaic ending appears in 25: 2, נסתרתו, along with the ppl. ניסתרין. In 28: 1 appears a Syriac Ethpai'al, נישתיחן. The ת of the reflexive is rarely lost, yet e. g. תירחקון, תיחתמון.

The 1st pers. sing. appears as קטלת or קטלית, for a verb of *i*-stem we have סליקית. There is found a perfect plural, אישתכחון, as in Syriac.

[1] Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 25.

Second feminine plurals, which are lacking in the Talmud, are found; unfortunately as the notes show, it is not always possible to decide whether a form is singular or plural, and there is the awkward confusion of ן- and ין-. In 6: 9 תיתכבשון is certainly plural, and doubtless the masculine plural termination (as in Hebrew) is to be understood in preference to *-in,* which would be the singular. It is uncertain whether שקוכי, 11: 8, 26: 6, is fem. singular or plural; in the duplicate text to No. 11, the plural is evident.

For the few cases of the quiescence of ע in verbal forms, see above. In פ"א roots we have, e. g., אתאסרו, תיתסי. Unique is the final loss of the ל of אזל in the participal form אזינא, 6: 6. For forms of הוא we have תיהוי, תיהי (both in the same text), spelt elsewhere תהוי, תהי. The masc. plural of the participle appears as הון, הוי; cf. מחן, רמן, from מחא, רמא.

As to the prepositions there is the interchange of ל and על, as in Mandaic. Also observe the occurrence in the same line of קדמוהי and קדאמיה, 3: 7.

There is almost nothing peculiar in the syntax. I note the occurrence of an old-Aramaic idiom in ביתלהון, "their house," 1: 6; also the unique idiom, if the text is correct,— ו- ועים, "and also," 1: 3 (cf. Latin, *simul ac*).

[8] See Levias, *Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom Contained in the Bab. Talmud,* § 188.

§ 6. The Syriac Texts

In our collection appear seven bowls of Syriac script and language,—the first of this category to be published with the exception of the poor facsimile of a probably similar bowl, accompanied with an unintelligible transliteration, in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 521 f.[1]

A. Script and Orthoepy

The script reveals itself as belonging to the Palmyrene-Syriac type, and that we are dealing not with a mere autographic "sport" is clear from the fact that two or three hands have written our seven texts. It agrees with the Palmyrene and Edessene in pointing ר, and with the former in not distinguishing ד. The Seyâmê or double points are used; this mark is generally written on the last letter, but occasionally, generally for reasons of space, on an earlier character. Once the two points are written vertically, 33: 5; they may include the points of ר, and in 34: 6 ר appears to have the two points one above and one below. The script provides the pronominal fem. suffix ה with an upper point, an ancient distinction in literary Syriac.[2] But there is marked distinction from the Edessene type in the absence of ligature; letters may touch one another, but they are not purposely written together.

In examining the individual characters (see my Alphabetic Tables) we find that נ, ז, ח, ע agree with the types of the Estrangelo alphabet, and ב and מ approximate the latter; but evidently our novel alphabet has had a history independent of Estrangelo.

[1] Chwolson thinks that the script of this bowl is of older type than that of the Edessene MS. of 411 (*CIH*, col. 116).

[2] In 34: 4 מושא, "Moses," is written with a point over א —to represent the *ê* sound?

It reveals a family likeness with the types found in early Edessene inscriptions[3] (where the characters are independent and no points used). But the genealogy for the peculiarities of our script is to be found in the cursive Palmyrene script, with which the Estrangelo is also to be connected. See Euting's alphabetic tables, cols. 17-28, in Chwolson *CIH;* his tables in Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik;* the atlas to Lidzbarski's *Handbuch z. nordsem. Epigraphik,* and for the history of the cursive Edessene script, the latter work, p. 193.

This relationship appears in ב (n. b. the curving stroke of the head); in ה (the type in No. 36 is identical with the Palmyrene); in ו (with the head at almost a right angle); in ח (our character is practically identical with the Estrangelo, but the origin of the type is to be found in Palmyrene, and a type in No. 32 is the replica of the angular form presented by Euting, col. 26); in מ; in י reduced to a small stroke or coarse round mark on the line; in ל (with parallels in Euting's table only in cursive Palmyrene, see cols. 24-28); in מ, which tends to a closed figure, and ם; in פ (a small half-oval figure, primitive in form, corresponding most closely to the cursive Palmyrene); in ק; in ש (preserving the ancient type against the Edessene development). צ is not found.

Of the remaining letters, ר is distinguished from ד by the diacritical point as in Palmyrene, but the figure of both characters faces to the right, a unique phenomenon. The character כ is unique, with its long curve extending far to the left, so that this feature becomes the characteristic and the head degenerates to a point;[4] but here again the Palmyrene type may be compared. The letter נ is *sui generis,* the medial character may be related to the Palmyrene; the finial with its long stroke recalls the Estrangelo finial ג, but terminates in a fork. ת also stands by itself. There is a general resemblance between it and the Syriac types presented by Euting, in Nöldeke, cols. viii-xiii, representing the fifth to the seventh century. But those Syriac forms have arisen from the tendency to ligature, whereas our ת is innocent of any such purpose. I am inclined to think

[3] E. g. Sachau, "Edessenische Inschriften," *ZDMG,* 1882, 142; n. b. no. 8.

[4] The nearest approach to this type appears in a similar character with a long tail in the Syriac MS. from Turkestan published by Sachau in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1905, 964.

that it is to be related to a rather primitive form of ת which consisted of a downward stroke to the left with a crosspiece near the top. Our type has simply reversed this, making the stroke downwards to the right, while the crosspiece comes at the bottom.

This analysis of the script presented in our Syriac bowls exhibits accordingly an older type than the literary Estrangelo and the Edessene inscriptions; its most pronounced relationships are with the cursive Palmyrene, and it is to be regarded as an independent sister of the Edessene script. Withal no character shows a distinctly late type.

Epigraphically then this script is of much interest, as exhibiting an early local form of Aramaic alphabet, of Palmyrene type, existing in Babylonia. It may have been a commercial script which spread from the metropolis Palmyra.[5] In § 14 the age of the bowls will be discussed; the script itself does not stand in the way of an early age, perhaps the fourth century, though other evidence may induce us to date the texts some centuries later.

Since the above paragraphs were finished and regarded as closed, my attention has chanced upon the Turkish Manichaean fragments from Turfan in Chinese Turkestan, and I find a striking resemblance in many characters of the alphabet there used (which is an offshoot of the Syriac script) to those of the Syriac type before us. I may refer here to the discussion of the script by F. W. K. Müller in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1904, 348 ff., and the facsimiles published in subsequent volumes of the same journal, e. g. that facing p. 1077, in the volume for 1905. In my Alphabetic Tables at the end of this work I shall present the correspondence in parallelism. The Turkish script is very much younger than ours, but has steadfastly preserved the type inherited from Babylonia. Mani came from Babylon, a few miles distant from Nippur, and we must suppose that our script was the local use of that region, which came to be adopted by Mani and his sect as the vehicle of their literature.

[5] It may be worth while to suggest that we possess in this peculiar script the script of the Harranian pagans, vulgarly known as the Sabians. As Chwolson has shown in his monumental work, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, these heathens spoke a pure Syriac (i, 258 f.), although the peculiar alphabets assigned to them by Arabic writers are fictitious or kabbalistic (ii, 845).

The history of our script is thereby carried back to the third century, by which time it was well established. What was thus a local script came to be perpetuated as the literary instrument of the Manichaean sect,—a fate which has so often happened to various forms of the Aramaic alphabet. I have given further discussion of this matter in articles now in press for the *Museum Journal* and the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. It may be added that there are no Manichaean traces in the bowls.

In the matter of orthoepy, while the forms without *matres lectionis* abundantly appear (e. g. לילית, plural; פתנמא, etc.), *plene* writings are also frequent, e. g. מלאכא, אימא, מיתקרא, תיזה, חילמא, כאסא, etc. There also occurs at times the confusion of ה and ח, characteristic in the square Aramaic texts and in the Mandaic: ה for ח in מהילין 31: 5, תיזה 38: 3, פרהיא 32: 4; and ח for ה in אימחתהון and אבחתהון 36: 5, איתחפיך 36: 1. The same sorcerer or family appears to have written bowls in both the Rabbinic and Syriac dialects (see Nos. 33-35), and hence the natural contamination of the one by the other.

The extensive use of the *Seyâmê* in all plurals is to be noted: in the pronoun הלין 31: 5, the plural of the verb e. g. נחיין 31: 6, the participle אתין 37: 8, etc.

B. The Language

The dialect belongs to the Edessene type; this is evident from the forms of pronouns and verbs. But there is extensive corruption from the type of dialect which has been literarily preserved in the Mandaic. This appears, as we have seen, in the Mandaic confusion of ה and ח. The 3rd sing. masc. or fem. suffix to a plural appears as ה; e. g. בנה, "his sons," 33: 13 (with *Seyâmê*), the same for "her sons" (with single point over ה), עילוה (with *Seyâmê*), 37: 8, etc. We have observed the same phenomenon in the Rabbinic texts.

For other similar Mandaisms we may note: the equivalence of ל and על, 34: 10; the verbal form נעילון (from עלל), 34: 10 (see my comment); the pronoun עילוה, 37: 8; בירא for בעירא, 34: 8, cf. פורא for פוחרא; אבוכון for אובכין, 37: 10; the construct שום, e. g. 34: 6. There are also some peculiar

forms, e. g. חתומין 34: 1, משכונתא 34: 2, סוטיטא 35: 4; and a few rare or unknown words: דיאבולא (*διάβολοι*), דסתבירא, דרמנא. The numeral with the suffix תרויהון 34: 4, is not classical, but is found in Targumic, Palmyrene, and Neo-Syriac. In 33: 10 לאפקכן is Afel infinitive of נפק.

§ 7. The Mandaic Texts

A. Script and Orthoepy

The script of the Mandaic bowls is exactly similar to that of those published in facsimile by Pognon. The peculiarities of certain characters distinguishing them from those in the MSS. of the fifteenth and following centuries, as noted by that scholar (*Une incantation,* 12 f.), appear likewise in these bowls.[1]

The ב is a large letter dropping its shaft obliquely below the line and recovering itself by an up-stroke at an acute angle. נ is a zigzag figure, or has an open, round flourish at the top. Following the traditions of the early alphabet ד and ר are similar, often indistinguishable; the former tends to a smaller head and a square angle at the top, the latter to a curving form like the end of a loop. ז is ligated at the top with the preceding letter. ח has, in Nos. 39, 40, a long leg to the right. ט appears in angular form, and also in a balloon-shaped figure. כ is a large letter rising well above and dropping below the line, sometimes in a free curve. Except that the drop is vertical, it is similar to ב; we may compare the like similarity in the Palmyrene. In No. 39 ל has the primitive form of two strokes at an angle, but leaning backward, and so allowing of ligature to the left by the foot. The left foot of מ projects itself obliquely in a straight line, and the extended stroke at the top distinguishes the character from ת. In No. 39, ס has the later form, similar to the Arabic ص; with others, the body is fuller, approximating the ק. ע is generally an angle lying upon the line, but in No. 39 it drops below the line, in two rough curving lines. פ has a large head, but does not drop below the line. צ is not found in these

[1] Compare now the early Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski in the de Vogüé Memorial Volume, p. 349, and the editor's notes, p. 350. His facsimiles are too indistinct to permit satisfactory comparison.

bowls. ק appears as a closed figure, like a roundish Estrangelo ק, with the left stroke failing to reach the upper line and curving back—probably for distinction from ם. The ש consists of two rough loops, which lie on top, or below, or on opposite sides. The ת has often the simple form of the Hebrew ח.

The suffixal ה (which I represent by the same character in my transliteration) occurs at the beginning of No. 38, and is then dropped by the scribe; it may perhaps be intended in one or two other cases in these bowls. Otherwise it cannot be distinguished from א; however, following the general practice I have always indicated the suffix by ה. A similar uncertainty of distinction appears in Lidzbarski's amulet; in Pognon's bowls the distinction is generally preserved.

The peculiar sign for the relative, דַ, has the shape known from the MSS., except that the vertical stroke at the left hand is often written without attachment to the first part. It always appears as a separate word, as is the case in Codex B of Petermann's edition of the Ginza, and apparently in Lidzbarski's bowls. I have followed the common editorial use of attaching it, like the Aramaic relative in general, to the following word. See the arguments of Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, 92, for regarding the sign as a peculiar development of ד, not as a ligature of די. But it must be asked why such a special sign should have been used. It appears to be a survival of the older Aramaic די, and I would argue that the pronunciation *di* had survived until the formation of the Mandaic script. In these texts, as in the MSS., the relative when internal (e. g. after ו) is expressed by ד; but this does not prove that דַ = ד, only that with the support of a preceding vowel the vowel of the relative was rejected.

The characters are spaced unevenly and in the case of unligated characters it is often difficult to ascertain with which word they are to be combined. The ligation is haphazard, there is no consistent attempt at consecutive chirography as in the later texts.

Apart from the bowl-inscriptions and Lidzbarski's amulets, all the Mandaic texts are preserved in late texts; the former are therefore important as the earliest monuments of the script. In § 14 I give evidence to prove that the Nippur texts are to be dated *circa* 600; at that period then the Mandaeans had elaborated their own alphabet with its peculiarities.

Investigations, which I may not expatiate on here, have led me to the belief that for the most part the Mandaic alphabet represents an early type of the "Syriac" alphabets; it is indeed often closely connected with the Palmyrene and Nabataean scripts. The sect itself must have arisen in the age when Gnosticism was rife in the Orient and before the domination of Christianity, and we have to suppose that it early developed its own peculiar calligraphy, after the wont of the various oriental sects of that age. Compare the remarks on the Manichaean alphabet, § 6.

As Pognon says of his text from Bismaya,[2] the language of the bowls is identical with that of the Ginza and Ḳulasta. The only difference is formal, in the sparse or varying use of the *matres lectionis*.[3] I may cite: חיוניאתא, תלתמא; עבוריא, עי; עמא; חיא; חתמתא, נטרתא, where later א was used in the first or second syllable or both; we actually find זרוזתא, זא, זרא.[4]

B. The Language

We may note the following syntactical peculiarity: the apparent use of the anticipatory pronominal suffix ה without the following relative particle דַּ, the suffix itself creating a kind of construct case-ending, the regimen being in apposition to the suffix. E. g. 40: 3: מנלתה פת פתה ב' "the word of B's granddaughter." A similar construction occurs throughout Nos. 21, 22, 23 (*q. v.*); also a parallel instance in the Palestinian amulet published by the writer in *JAOS*, 1911, see note there, p. 278. In 40: 24 such a "construct" form in ה is used before a plural noun: ביניאנה חיואניאתה. Was it in the way of becoming a stereotyped case?

Apart from the references to "Life," these bowls are not specifically Mandaic in religion. Pognon's bowls are much more colored with Mandaeism. Under No. 11 it is to be observed that the Mandaic text there compared is secondary to the Rabbinic texts; probably in the Nippur community the Mandaeans got their magic from the peoples of other dialects. In Pognon's texts the spirit of the ancient Babylonian magic appears more strongly than in any other of the bowl-inscriptions.

[2] *Une incantation*, 13.

[3] Which Pognon strangely enough regards as "errors."

[4] Nöldeke's expert judgment, in his review of Pognon, p. 143, that the language of the bowls is later than that of the Mandaic classics, may be noted here.

III. THE MAGIC OF THE TEXTS

§ 8. The Purpose of the Inscribed Bowls

The incantation bowls belong, with few exceptions, to one very specialized form of magic. They spontaneously suggest the art of "bowl magic," which, in various forms, is spread over the world, and which has a straight genealogy from Joseph's drinking cup to the spinster's teacup of our own day.[1] Ellis, the first commentator on the bowls, advanced the theory that, following an ancient and widespread therapeutic device, they were filled with a liquid which was drunk off by the patient who thus absorbed the virtue of the written charm.[2] This explanation has been generally given up. Layard objected that then the inscriptions would have been effaced by the liquid,[3]—which argument, though repeated by subsequent scholars, is not conclusive, for the magic vessel may have been preserved as itself a permanent prophylactic. Layard himself thought that they were used in places of sepulture and were charms for the dead, apparently relating them to the utensils placed in primitive graves. A number of Pognon's bowls are in fact endorsed with דבית קבוריא, "for the cemetery,"[4] and Wohlstein's no. 2417 appears to be directed against the ghosts of the dead. But the bowls at Nippur were found in ruined houses, and in no case is a bowl intended for the service of the dead.

Schwab argued for the hydromantic use of the bowls.[5] He makes reference to Babylonian hydromancy,[6] and proceeds to quote a number of

[1] Rodwell expatiates on this kind of magic, *TSBA*, ii, 114.

[2] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 511. Cf. R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, pp. lv, lxi.

[3] *Op. cit.*, 526.

[4] *Inscriptions mandaites*, nos. 5, 7, etc., and p. 3.

[5] *PSBA*, xii, 292 f.

[6] Cf. Hunger, "Becherwahrsagung bei d. Babyloniern," 1903 in *Leipziger Semitische Studien*, i.

Talmudic passages referring to Joseph's cup, magical beverages, etc., but he shows no connection between his numerous inscriptions and the method and purpose of hydromancy, which affects to give an oracle to men by the movements of oil or other floating objects in the liquid contained in the cup.[7]

Wohlstein attempted another explanation in the line of a kabbalistic dictum that no work of magic can be effected without the aid of a vessel (כלי).[8] It was Hyvernat however who first, from the field of Jewish demonology, obtained the clue to the right interpretation of the practice we are considering.[9] He refers to the Jewish legends of Solomon's magical ability to confine demons in vases, etc., and the parallel fables in Arabian lore of bottled up jinns, etc.[10] As we shall immediately see, this is the correct explanation.

Pognon did not himself see *in situ* the large collection of bowls which he published in his *Inscriptions mandaites,* but he learnt from a native that such bowls were found buried just below the surface of the earth, and, generally, reversed, the bottom of the bowl uppermost, while at times bowls were found superimposed upon one another, the mouth of the one fitted to the mouth of the other (p. 1 ff.). Pognon does not guarantee the truths of these statements, but suggests in accordance with them the theory that the inverted bowls were prisons for the demons, who were confined by the virtue of the magical praxis. The expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania to Nippur have corroborated this theory by ocular evidence. Referring to the find of bowls above the Parthian temple, Hilprecht reports that "most of the one hundred bowls excavated while I was on the scene were found upside down in the ground,"[11] and he gives a photograph showing some of the bowls in this position. He draws the same conclusion as Pognon concerning the magical use of the vessels.

Finally, one of the Pennsylvania texts demonstrates that this was the conscious purpose of the bowl magic. No. 4 opens thus: מיטלי דלמיכל

[7] For the correction of his hydromantic interpretation of כשוף מומין, see above § 3.

[8] *ZA,* viii, 325, quoting from the book *Raziel,* 32.

[9] *Sur une vase judéo-babylonien,* 137 f.

[10] Comparing *Thousand and One Nights,* ed. Bulak, i, 15 (= Burton's tr. i, 38).

[11] *Explorations,* 447.

מלאכין קדישין וכל רוחי בישתא וג׳: "covers to hold in sacred (accursed) angels and evil spirits," etc.[12] The same inscription announces to the demons that they are "bound and sealed in each one of the four corners of the house."[13] This magical method in fact gives a special name to the bowls; it is called a כיבשא, which literally means a "press." The same term appears in No. 6, which opens as follows: כיבשא דכבשין להון לשידי וג׳ "a press which is pressed down upon demons," etc. The theme is continued throughout the text: "This *press* I press down upon them" (l. 4); "who ever transgresses against this *press*" (l. 11), etc. In a word we have to do with a species of sympathetic magic, the inverted bowls symbolizing and effecting the repression and suppression of the evil spirits.[14]

The quadruple use of the bowls also explains the frequent recurrence of identical inscriptions, e. g. Nos. 21, 22, 23, all made out for the same client. The four charms thus placed at equidistant points, which as cornerstones represented the security of the house, formed a circle of magical influence about the dwelling.[15]

In the Babylonian magic we find a similar use of phylacteries buried under the pavement of the house. Botta, Layard and George Smith discovered under the pavement of buildings small receptacles in which were placed magical figurettes, of composite human and animal form.[16] The use of the circular lip of the bowl is also in line with the magic circle which appears to have been practised by sprinkling a circle of lime, flour, etc. around a group of small images of the gods.[17]

[12] See the commentary to the text.

[13] The binding at the four corners of the house appears also in Pognon, B, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 24.,

[14] If my interpretation of the introduction of Nos. 9 and 14 be correct, we have also a reference to the formal depositing of the bowls.

[15] Cf. the cylinder and prism texts deposited at the four corners of great buildings in ancient Mesopotamia.

[16] Botta, *Monument de Nineve*, v, 168 f.; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii, 37; Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, 78. See Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 114 f. For a like Jewish and Christian use, see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 30.

[17] Zimmern, *Beiträge z. Kenntniss d. bab. Religion*, 169, no. 54, and cf. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. lxiii, translating *uṣurtu* "circle" (Zimmern, "Gebilde"). Cf. the charm with a circle made by a ring presented in the Papyrus Anastasi, Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften*, hist-phil. Classe, xxxvi, 2, p. 34, and further *PSBA*, xiii, 165. The circle of the magical seal possessed the same efficacy.

But there is proof that the praxis of bowl magic existed in ancient Babylonia. In a passage of the magical *Utukki* series presented by Thompson,[18] we read a ban on an evil spirit: (a demon) "which roameth loose in an upper chamber, with a bason (*kakkultu*) without opening may they cover it." The editor in his note has recognized the form of magic indicated, without comparing it to the later bowls.[19]

The bowl is then primarily a domestic phylactery, to be classed with the abundant forms of this species of magic, e. g. the Jewish Mezuzoth. An exorcism given by Wessely[20] from the papyri recalls much of the very wording of our texts: that evil spirits may not injure the wearer of these exorcisms, hide not "in the earth,"[21] nor under the bed nor under the door nor under the gate nor under the beams nor under vessels nor under holes. The lurking of devils in the house (e. g. 1: 6), in the beams and on the thresholds (e.g.6:4), frequently appears in our texts, as also in the Talmud, Especially is the threshold named as guarded against the intrusions of evil spirits (e. g. 37: 2). The means of entrance are extravagantly detailed in a Babylonian text: by gate, door, bolt, etc., lintels, hinges, etc.;[22] and door and bolt and threshold are exorcised.[23] The bedchamber is the special object of care, and the endorsement on No. 12, "of the room of the hall," may refer to a bowl which was deposited in that apartment.

A different application of the same magic is found in the bowls published by Pognon, which were found in a cemetery, many of them being inscribed "for the cemetery" (דבית קבוריא). This is the worldwide practice of laying the graveyard ghosts. I am inclined to think that duplicate inscriptions were made out, some for the house and some for the

[18] *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, ii, 124.

[19] I must leave it open whether the phrase in *B. Meṣ.* 29b (= *Ḥull.* 84b), כסא דחרשין ולא כסא דמשרין (the last word is variously spelt), is a reference to our magical art; it could be translated "the cup of the sorcerers and not the cup of those who break sorcery," i. e. of bowls used for malicious (cf. § 12) or for preventive magic. *Tanḥuma* makes the second cup mean an ill-prepared brew which is ground for divorce; see Levy, *Hwb.*, iv, 151a.

[20] *Denkschriften*, xlii, 2, p. 66.

[21] Was there a duplicate buried in the house?

[22] Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, i, 377, where the full translation is given.

[23] E. g. Tallquist, *Maqlu*, p. 93, l. 10; Thompson, *Devils*, ii, 123.

graveyard; this would explain the reference to the four corners of the house in Pognon, nos. 1, 2, etc. None of the Nippur bowls are so marked. Wohlstein's bowl no. 2417 is a detailed exorcism of ghosts.

But Nos. 13 and 28 pass from prophylactic to aggressive magic; they are love charms such as we meet in an early age only in the Greek world. I leave their consideration to the commentary, and only note here that a love charm is as much a *κατάδεσμος* or *defixio,* to use the words of classical magic, as a ban of evil spirits. It is interesting to note that the Greek charms for *defixing* a rival in the circus or a lover were often buried in cemeteries, for the powers of evil were in any case invoked.[24]

The bowl itself is called simply, כסא or כוסא, also occasionally קמיעה amulet = *φυλακτήριον*, applied secondarily to a phylactery that is not suspended or worn (√ קמע).[25] For other terms applied to it as a magical instrument, see § 11.

The tradition of this species of bowl-magic has lasted down into Islam, to fairly modern times. In his *Monumens arabes, persans et turcs,* Paris, 1828, Reinaud has given (ii, 337 ff.) a careful description of several Arabic magical bowls of brass and glass, contained at his day in private French collections and at the Vatican. They are talismans (to quote one of the bowls) against snakes, scorpions and dogs, against fever, pangs of childbirth and maladies of nursing, enteric diseases, sorcery and dysentery.[26] They are introduced "in the name of the merciful and compassionate God" (cf. the similar formula in our texts, e. g. 3: 1 and note), and are elaborately provided with quotations from the Koran and with references to holy legend and the power of God (cf. § 11). One reference indicates that they were inscribed at the propitious astrological moment, cf. below, § 11.

This is the only literary reference to bowls of this character I have been able to discover. In the possession of the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia is a small, finely engraved brass bowl, with Koran quotations in Nashki. The text has been translated by Dr. B. B. Charles, Fellow of

[24] E. g. the Cypriote charms published by Miss L. Macdonald, *PSBA,* xiii, 159, and the Hadrumetum tablet, discussed in No. 28.

[25] See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen,* 87, and "Amulet" in *Jewish Encyc.*

[26] So in Schwab L and Q charms against dog-bites, and a reference to scorpions is found in Pognon B; see Glossary C, *s. v.* עקרב.

the University, who has kindly allowed me to present his rendering, as follows:

"This blessed bowl wards off all poisons, and in it are assembled tried virtues; and it is for the sting of the serpent and the scorpion, for fever, for dysentery (?), for indigestion, for the mad dog, for stomachache and colic, for headache and throbbing, for fever of the liver and spleen, for facial contortions, for lack of blood (insufficient blood supply), for annulling magic, and for the eye and the sight, and for use in giving to drink of water or oil, or for harm to enemies and for poison in the conclave of (two) lands, when the imâms of the religion and the orthodox caliphs are thereon agreed for the advantage of the Muslims."

Probably many such phylacteries are to be found in oriental households. Evidently the peculiar practice of the inversion of the bowl has disappeared; the vessel itself with its magical inscription has become "blessed," an efficient phylactery. But the use of the bowl is doubtless a survival of the magic we are discussing.

§ 9. The Exorcists

The exorcist is in general anonymous; his personality is lost in his professional possession of occult powers which range far above personal limitations. By the age of our texts he had long been differentiated from the temple priest, or maintained connection with a cult only in out-of-the-way shrines or in the new theosophic circles that sprang up in the Hellenistic age.[1] A few points however may be noted.

Several of the Nippur texts[2] contain magical formulas worked in the name of Rabbi Joshua ben Perahia (Syriac, Rab Jesus bar P.), who is none other than one of the early Zugoth or Pairs who handed down the Tradition from the Great Synagogue to later ages (see to No. 32). Whether this magical tradition concerning the venerable Joshua be authentic may be dubious;[3] but the case is illustrative of the tendency in magic to appeal to ancient great masters of sorcery, and to use their names as though their full powers were possessed. We may compare the many references in the magical papyri to such ancient masters, whose spells have become the stock in trade of their successors.[4] The assumption of these quacks is well illustrated by a Jewish mortuary charm in which the magician thus introduces himself: "With the wand of Moses and the plate of Aaron and the seal of Solomon and the shield of David and the mitre

[1] For the Babylonian *âšipu* and *mašmašu*, see Zimmern, *Beiträge*, 91; Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 21.

[2] Nos. 8, 9, 17, 32, 33, 34.

[3] For the Talmudic doctors and others who practised "legitimate" magic, see Blau, *Das altjüdische, Zauberwesen*, 23. In 34: 2 the sorcerer claims to be a "cousin" of Joshua and there is reference to his "house," i. e. school in 8: 11. Compare the inherited magical powers of Choni the Circle-maker, *Taan.*, 19b, 23.

[4] See the list of such magical authorities in Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften*, xxxvi, 2, p. 37; cf. xlii, 2, p. 10 (I shall hereafter refer to these volumes simply as xxxvi and xlii). Also Apuleius gives a similar list, including Moses, xc, 100, l. 10 (ed. Helm), see Abt, "Die Apologie des Apuleius," 244, in Dieterich and Wünsch, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche v. Vorarbeiten*, iv, 2.

of the chief priest" (I perform this spell);[5] and this Palestinian charm has its parallel in our text No. 2: "I Pabak come, clad in iron and fire, vested with garments of Hermes the Logos, and my strength is in him who created heaven and earth." In 7: 12 the authority of Prangin bar Prangin is exercised—some sorcerer of the hazy past, if not a figment of the imagination. 'The great Abbahu' in l. 9 is to be explained in the same way, if it is not a misunderstanding of a Gnostic term, and so too Barmeštael in l. 13, literally the 'son of the oracle-giver.' In some cases, e. g. the latter two and instances in No. 19, it is difficult to decide whether we have to do with men or divinities; the line was not drawn between the sorcerer and the deity, as in the Hermetic identification of Moses with Hermes[6] and in the lively incident in *Acts* 14, where the people of Lystra deify Barnabas and Paul.

In one case, the pagan text No. 36, the exorcist presents his commission from the deities: "The lord Shamash has sent me against thee, Sina (the moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nannai has said to me..... Nirig has given me power." This is the survival of well known old Babylonian formulas, e. g. the *Maḳlu* series, i, l. 52 ff:[7] "Anu and Antu have commissioned me, ... I am ordered, I go, I am sent, I speak, Against the might of my sorcerers Marduk the lord of incantation has sent me."

I am inclined to think that some of the texts, especially the more illiterate ones, were written by lay people. The "word of power" had become the essential element (see § 11), and like a physician's prescription might be copied by anyone, or even invented—for along with the belief in sorcery always goes a subconsciousness of its hocus-pocus. For instance, No. 2 is a mutual charm in which two men, in the respective halves of the text, exercise each his powers for the other. Are they

[5] Montgomery, *JAOS*, 1911, 272. For the identification with Moses cf. the Hermetic phrase, *ἐγώ εἰμι Μωσῆς*, Wessely, xxxvi, 129, l. 109 ff.; also see Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 68, and Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 279. For the Egyptian use, cf. the Harris papyrus, "I am Amon," Brugsch, *Religion u. Mythologie d. alt. Aegypter*, 725. Or the sorcerer may identify himself with some mighty demon; e. g. *Giṭ.*, 69a, "I am Papi Shila son of Sumka," cf. Blau, *op. cit.* 83. Also cf. 27: 9 with 2: 6.

[6] Dieterich, *l. c.*

[7] Tallquist, p. 37. Cf. the commission of the Old Testament prophets, e. g. *Jer.* i, and the adoption of soothsaying formulas; cf. *Num.* 24: 4 and *Is.* 50: 4.

professional magicians or not rather laymen who felt they could make a stronger defence against the powers of evil by standing shoulder to shoulder? The texts are often indited in the first person, e. g. Pognon 24; in No. 27 the clients of No. 7 appear as making the charm, and use the form of No. 2. But in general there is a breaking down of the distinction between personalities in magic; compare the Babylonian rituals, in which priest and suppliant appear to fuse in one another.

In one place Wohlstein calls attention to what appears to be an attestation of the incantation, inserted into the middle of the text.[8] The obscure passage is: קימא דהוא כתיב לי אנן הכא ידעינן אותו. It may be translated: "It is correct for it has been written for me (or קי = קמיעא?), we recognize it here." Cf. the attestations of the scribe in the Babylonian magical texts, e. g. the *Maḳlu* series.

[8] *ZA*, ix, 36.

§ 10. The Clients

Most of the inscriptions are of domestic character, being made out for a married couple, their children, their house, and their property, cattle, etc. Frequently it is the wife and mother who procures the charm, with or without reference to the husband. In many of the inscriptions there is special intention against the evils that disturb the domestic sexual life. And so No. 36 gives an exorcism for the bridal-chamber, No. 24 is a charm for the safe delivery of a pregnant woman. The bed-chamber is often specified (בית מישכבא). There is frequent reference to the demons that slay the unborn babes (e. g. Nos. 36, 37), the charm is often made out for the children that shall be, as well as for those that are. It would seem that where women are concerned, the greater part of magic has to do with the mysteries and maladies of the sexual life. The Lilis and Liliths which predominate in the categories of demons are personifications of sexual abnormalities.

At times the idea of the family is extended to a wider scope, so as to include a large household; No. 29 is a good example; from the long list of male names enumerated, some of them of foreigners, it appears that the woman who procured the charm was landlady of a lodging house. On the other hand sometimes a single individual feels that a whole bowl is necessary for his own maladies; so in the case of the invalid who is the client of Schwab's bowl F.

As the individuals must be exactly specified we have a rich list of names, which is enlarged by the required naming of the mother, more rarely the father of the client.[1] In the Rabbinic texts we find the Aramaic names

[1] *Shabb.* 66b: כל מנייני בשמא דאימא: "all repetitive incantations are in name of the mother." The "sacred" name of a person includes that of his mother with the Mandaeans (Brandt. *Mand. Religion,* 116). The same rule appears in the Greek magic; see Wünsch *Antike Fluchtafeln* (Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte,* no. 20), p. 9 for examples and literary references. The practice is now attributed to the original

familiar in the Talmud, etc., Persian names, probably more frequent than the former, and but few typical Jewish names. In the Syriac and Mandaic texts the names are by a large majority Persian.[2] My texts contain one evidently Greek name, אסטרובא, Astrobas, and a Christian name, בת סהדא, Martyrofilia; the former is paralleled in a text of Lidzbarski's by טימאתיוס, Timotheos, the latter by סעבריא ליעשו, 'His-hope-in-Jesus' in a text of Pognon's. Some of the names of obscure etymology may be of Indian origin; cf. the frequent name Hinduitha.

The large proportion of Persian names even in the Rabbinic texts might lead us to think that the clients were non-Jewish. The argument is somewhat fallacious as the Jews by no means stickled for their native names, in fact seem to have adopted foreign names with great avidity.[3] And so in one family of nine souls the names are Persian, and only one son bears a Jewish name (No. 12). But as we shall have reason to conclude (§ 15), the magic of our bowls is so eclectic that even a "Jewish"-Aramaic text does not imply a Jewish exorcist, nor Jewish clients. We have to think of a *clientèle* partly Jewish, partly non-Jewish, to which the religious affinities of the magic were indifferent.

But the power of the charms is also extended beyond the actual house and its inmates so as to include the whole property of the client. Not only are house and mansion detailed, but also the cattle and possessions in general (קנינא). In like manner Greek phylacteries provide a general property insurance, e. g. that the demons "shall not injure or approach N. or M. or his house or his vineyards or lands or cattle."[4]

matriarchal condition of society rather than to the elder principle, *pater incertus, mater certa.* Naming of the father probably occurs where the mother is unknown; for instances see to 10: 1.

[3] See Glossary B; also Pognon, B, p. 97.

[3] See Zunz. "Die Namen d. Juden," in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii.

[4] Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 294; such charms are frequent in the Graeco-Italian exorcisms published by Pradel, in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, iii, no. 3. For amulets worn by cattle, see Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, 86.

§ 11. The Incantations.

I have discussed in § 8 the particular praxis of our magic—the inversion of the inscribed bowl. There remain for consideration many details, for elaborateness is characteristic of magic and even in our comparatively simple field there are many phenomena which are suggestive links binding it with more complicated magical science.

Magic consists of two elements: the physical operation or praxis, and the incantation, or to use the Egyptian term, "the word of power."[1] They are distinguished in the Babylonian as the *epešu "work"* (also *kikittu*[1a]), and the *šiptu,* words which appear rubrically in the magical texts. In the Greek the terms for the practice are *πρᾶγμα, πρᾶξις, χρεῖαι*; for the incantation (*ἱερὸς*) *λόγος*.[2] So in Latin *facere* is the word for the operation, and it has had an interesting history through *factura, fattura, feitigo* (Portuguese), into *fetich.*

The same distinction and similar terms are found in our magic. The root עבד, "work, serve"[3] (late Hebrew עשה (cf. 14: 1), מעשה) is used of the practice.[4] It is the common root also for the service, the worship of the gods in West-Semitic, and this fact illustrates the parity, often equivalence of religion and magic. Hence the technical terms עבדא (*'ăbâdâ*), עובדא

[1] Budge, *Egyptian Magic,* 26 f.

[1a] E. g. in the Labartu texts, Myhrman, *ZA,* xvi, 141.

[2] For the first two words see indexes in Wessely's two volumes in the *Denkschriften;* for *χρεῖα* , Dieterich *Abraxas,* pp. 136, 160. All three words occur close together in Dieterich's text p. 204 f. For *τελετή* (Dieterich, p. 136) = the אשלמתא of our texts, see § 12.

[3] Cf. Latin, *colo, cultus.* This Hebrew-Aramaic root is more religious than *epešu,* etc., with its idea of service. N. b. Arabic *umrâ,* used of the cult at Mecca, Wellhausen, *Skizzen,* iii, 165.

[4] A magical connotation of this root may exist in *Is.* 28: 2: לעבד עבדתו נכריה עבדתו , where the divine operation is contrasted to the magic arts of the necromancers.

(*'ubbâdâ*), עבודא, מעבדא (*ma'bâdâ*), occurring frequently in the bowls, and in such expressions as עבידנא עבדא (9: 2), and עבודא דעביד הוהו.[5]

The spoken *Word* is represented by מלתא, מילין, "words," etc., also technically by קריתא, once בת קל דקריא 16: 10, = the Greek *ἐπίκλησις* (also *κλῆσις*) used both in magic arts and also in the Christian liturgy (in baptism, eucharist, exorcisms),[6] though as we shall see, most of these words came to be regarded as part of black magic and were avoided by our exorcists. The incantation as written is called a כתיבתא and by the unique word *dastabîra*,[7] and also a רזא, "mystery," 3: 1.[8]

A very large number of terms is used to express different practices and *nuances* of magic, but most of them only in the lists of dreaded black magic (see § 12), and hence they are avoided by our exorcists.[9] The exorcist gives himself none of the technical names, e. g. from the roots כשף, אשף; he speaks of his עבודא, but מעבדא is avoided. His adjuration is a מומיתא, the Babylonian *mamîtu, "ban,"* and he employs the corresponding verb מומינא; a more frequent equivalent is שבע, Afel. Once he uses the root אשף: אשישפנא באישפא דימא, 2: 3. But his favorite terminology for his own practice is derived from אסר, "bind," exactly equivalent to the Greek *καταδεῖν*, Latin *defigere;* the charm is an איסרא, איסורא. Also the synonymous roots are used less frequently: צור, קטר, יסר, מסר, מצר, פכר, חבר. The last root is used of magical practices in this sense in the Old Testament,[10] where also the obscure בסחות, *Eze.* 13: 18, is probably from a Babylonian root of like import.[11] In the Babylonian the "binding" power of magic is as prominent as in the western magic; I cite such passages as

[5] For מעבדין and the Syriac use see Nöldeke, *Z. f. d. Keils.-forsch.*, iii, 296, and Fränkel, *ZA*, ix, 308. A frequent attributive is תקיף.

[6] After summing up the various terms used for exorcism Heitmüller concludes, in his *"Im Namen Jesu,"* p. 212: "Der Ausdruck *κατ' ἐξοχήν* ist *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα*. Our word קריתא is the liturgical equivalent in the Syriac for *epiklesis*.

[7] See 32: 4, and Kent's discussion in *JAOS*, 1911, 359.

[8] The original use of this word (= *τελετή*) appears in its designation of black arts; see § 12.

[9] Cf. the modern fine distinctions between magic, sorcery, witchcraft, etc.

[10] See Davies, *Magic Divination and Demonology*, 55, as against W. R. Smith's view in *Journ. of Philology*, xiv, 123.

[11] Friedr. Delitzsch, in Baer and Delitzsch' text, p. xiii.

the *Maḳlu*-series iv, l. 9; vii, 66, in which this idea is expressed by several synonymous verbs.

The roots בטל, Pa., "annul," גזר, "prohibit," חרם, "be in taboo," שמת "lay under ban,"[12] frequently appear. Also חתם, Peal and Pael, is frequent with the sense of sealing the demons with the magic word or device engraved on a seal—often with explicit mention of Solomon's Seal; hence the reference to the 70 seals of Solomon (Hyv.), or the seal of the house of Enoch, 19: 17, the seals of the angels of the Most High (Hyv.).[13] Our magicians will work only white magic, and their whole effort is for the אסותא,[14] *salus* of their clients.[15] The great magician Joshua b. Peraḥia is an אסיא רבא, "great healer," 17: 12 = 34: 2. In this prophylactic nature of the magic, our texts differ favorably from the western *κατάδεσμοι* and *defixiones*. The incantations largely consist in the monotonous repetitions of these equivalent roots.

As to the praxis of our magic we have little information additional to that presented in § 8.[16] From Pognon's texts we learn that the bowl was a new one (B. no. 24) and that the sorcerer sat upon an uncleft rock, a survival of primitive religion.[17]

The rude figures and designs which can hardly be said to adorn the bowls are part of the praxis. They come down from the earlier and more realistic age when gods and demons were represented by simulacra and in this wise were manipulated so as to do the sorcerer's will.[18] Most of the

[12] Stübe explains the equivalent שיפורי in his text as denominative from שופר the horn of excommunication.

[13] For sealing as equivalent to placing the magical name on the object, see Heitmüller, *op. cit*, 143, 249, etc.

[14] The charm itself is called an אסותא.—Cf. the New Testament *σώζειν. σωτηρία* is used in the papyri, e. g. Wessely, xlii, 31, l. 341.

[15] This includes their defence, מטרתא, and supernatural arming זרזתא (cf. "the panoply of God," Eph. 6: 13), and involves the breaking of counter charms and wiles of the devils: עקר, שרא, אפך, כרך, בטל, סמר, פשר, etc.; אשכב, "lay a spirit"; כבש, etc. In the Talmud פשר is the technical opposite to אסר; Blau, *op. cit.*, 157.

[16] In No. 12 is a bit of rubric for forming a figure of an angel; see the commentary. And probably at end of No. 13 occurs an aphrodisiac recipe.

[17] Cf. the unhewn altar, *Ex.* 20: 25, and for the primitive aversion to iron, see Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, 220 ff.

[18] Budge describes how as far back as the third millennium in Egypt pictures came to be used in place of material objects in the magic of the dead (*op. cit.*, 107).

figures represent the demons, generally as bound and hobbled—i. e. רגיל, אסיר, etc., to use the words of the incantation.[19] Especially the liliths are so represented, e. g. No. 8, but also there are masculine figures like the military-looking demon, in Persian style, of No. 3. Some of the gruesome caterpillar-like designs are intended to "raise the hair" as did the demons of elder Babylonia.[20]

In one specimen, No. 15, the figure is the design of the serpent with its tail in its mouth. This is surely of Egyptian origin, doubtless through a Hellenistic medium. Such a figure is described in the "Book of Apep," of Ptolemaic compilation,[21] and prescriptions for drawing this magical figure are found in the Greek papyri.[22] Very common—so in the Syriac bowls—is a circle with a cross in it; or the circle is divided into segments with a cross in each. These signs probably represent the magical seal. There also occur rough rectangular figures divided into compartments, representing the walls of protection which magic casts about the client.[23] Wessely gives a facsimile of such a magical design:[24] a square within a square, the former being divided into three compartments; I suppose after the plan of a double-walled and many-chambered castle, indicating the protective character of the charm.

In one case, no. 8835, a cross-shaped figure may represent a dagger, and so indicate one of the magical forms of *defixio* or fastening down of the evil spirits.[25]

[19] Cf. the operation performed on the figure of the Labartu, Myhrman, *op. cit.*, 150. For Palestine, see the figurettes found in the Seleucidan debris of Tell Sandahannah, in Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 154. For Egyptian usage, e. g. Budge, *op. cit.*, 83.

[20] See the description in Myhrman, p. 148; also the seven evil Utukki, Thompson, *Devils*, tablet 16, and ii, p. 149.

[21] Budge, *op. cit.*, 79, 83.

[22] Wessely, xlii, 39 f., 69. The like design appears in a bowl depicted by Hilprecht, *Explorations*, opposite p. 447. Within the circle so formed are a number of magical figures, the most elaborate that appear in the bowls. The specimen is presumably at Constantinople.

[23] For similar sympathetic magic in old Babylonia, see Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 303.

[24] *Ibid.* 64.

[25] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, "Defixio," col. 2373; Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, 17. For modern instances of this kind of sorcery, see Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, 53.

In No. 4 it is evidently the sorcerer who is depicted, waving in his hand a magic bough. This is the use we find in Babylonian magic, in which a branch of the datepalm or tamarisk was held aloft to repel the demons.[26]

One detail of universal magic appears in the praxis of our bowls: the assumption of a suitable season for the exorcism. So 6: 5: "this day out of all months, this year out of all years"; cf. the mutilated (and probably misunderstood) form of this formula in 17: 1. In Wohlstein 2422 a day is given: "If you come on the first of Nisan, go away," etc. Nisan 1 was an auspicious day for expelling demons;[27] this was probably due to the belief that the great turning points of the year, the solstices and equinoxes were times of supernatural determinations of human fate, when responsive action on the part of man was especially effective; in the Babylonian calendar Nisan 1 was the day of Destinies, the Jewish New Year's day in Tishri has the same character, and compare the magic time of midsummer night and the Christmas season in more modern superstition.[28] In old Babylonia certain days were propitious for exorcism, and they are listed, as personified, in a Šurpu text, among them the 7th, 15th, 19th, 20th, 25th, 30th, of the month.[29] We have fuller information of this notion from Egypt; papyri are preserved giving all the days in the year according to their character as propitious or unpropitious for magical rites.[30] The same use of seasons appears in the Hellenistic papyri, those continuators of Egyptian magic. Among the numerous passages I note the following: *ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μῆνας ἐξ μηνῶν, ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμερῶν, ὥρας ἐξ ὡρῶν, ὁρκίζω πάντας τοὺς*

[26] Thompson, *Devils*, p. xlix, and instances pp. 23, 111, 197. Compare the religious use of the *bareçma*, a bunch of datepalm, pomegranate or tamarisk, in the Persian religion; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthümer*, iii, 571. Thompson in his note draws attention to our design.

[27] Wohlstein, p. 399, with references.

[28] See Carl Schmidt, *Aberglaube des Mittelalters*, 1884, 205 ff. (on *Die Tagewählerei*).

[29] Zimmern, tablet viii, 24 ff. Cf. the exorcism of a demon at full moon, in Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 16.

[30] Budge, *op. cit.*, 224 ff.; *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii, c. xix, for lists of the deities of times and seasons. The earliest appearance of this system among the Jews is the angelic calendar system in *Enoch*, 82.

δαίμονας [31] This is exactly the equivalent of the passage cited above, 6: 5: יומא הדין מיכולהון יומי וירחא הדין מיכולהון ירחי ושתא הדא מיכולהין שני ועידנא הדין מיכולהון עידני, and there can be no reasonable doubt that we have here the reminiscence of the Hellenistic formula. So again in the papyri: ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν τῇ ἀρτι ὥρᾳ.[32] At least the later magical calendar is connected with astrology; one Greek exorcism adjures "by the God who has the power of the hour."[33] These references to an appropriate magical time are in our texts however quite conventional; we may judge that no horoscopes were cast by our sorcerers.

But the praxis is a minor part of the bowl-magic. In this it differs from the Babylonian in which the praxis was primary, the texts being illuminative of the action. The reasons for this shifting of the center of gravity I shall touch upon in § 15. In the bowls the incantation, the spell, is almost the all in all. It consisted in the utterance or writing of certain phrases, words, syllables, which possessed in themselves a magic power to bind equally the favorable powers and the demons.[34] This use of spells has gone so far that magic appears to have divorced itself from religion; the inversion of the bowl and the monotonously repeated declaration that the demons are "bound, sealed, countersealed, exorcised, hobbled, silenced," etc., e. g. Nos. 2, 4, is in itself sufficient, without invocation of, or reference to, the divine powers.

Generally however appears the formal adjuration of Deity or of deities and other favorable genii, the invocation of their name securing their assistance.[35] This may be specifically the Jewish deity, e. g. No. 14,

[31] Wessely, xxxvi, 53, l. 341 ff. My colleague Professor Heffern sagaciously notes the illumination thus cast upon the difficult reference in *Rev.* 9: 15 to the angels appointed for an hour, day, month, year; the verse is reminiscent of magical phraseology. Note also the phrase, "in a good hour and a good and auspicious day," in the Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 3000 (given by Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 251, 255).

[32] Wessely, xxxvi, 92, l. 1932 ff. = xlii, 42, l. 665 ff. N. B. the like stress laid upon "this day" in the Babylonian exorcisms, e. g. *Šurpu*-series, iv, l. 65.

[33] Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, no. 3, l. 20.

[34] The conscious manipulation of words, phrases, pronunciations to extract their magical sense, appears in 9: 5 = 32: 6.

[35] Even as in earlier times the images of the gods were used; e. g. Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 315.—The magical value of the use of the name in religious rites

"in thy name YHWH"; or it may be quite indefinite as in the recurrent introductory formula, "In thy name, O Lord of healings, great Healer of love"; the same form also appears in the pagan text No. 19. I discuss under No. 3 the origin of the phrase.

There is nothing new in the adjuration of many angels[36] or deities along with the appeal to some one Name;[37] the former is the Jewish phase of polytheism, while even with polytheistic adjurations there may be recognition of "God," as in the pagan text No. 19 with its reference to "the one true God," l. 17. Noticeable is the easy passage from the invocation of celestial beings into that of mere names or words; but this illustrates the arrant nominalism into which magic had fallen, losing the religious phase of divine personality. So Abraxas is invoked—though probably here we have a very ancient divine name, inherited from Egypt.[38] Of this "the holy Agrabis" may be a perversion, 14: 2. In 7: 9, as noted in § 9, "the Great Abbahu" may be a magically deified sorcerer.[39] Many of the odd names which are invoked may be kabbalistic (gematriac, etc.) names of angels or gods (see § 13). They may soon have worn down into unintelligible words—just as Αβραξας = 365 becomes אברכים (and other forms) without reminiscence of the numerical value of the letters.[40] We have the

has been established in late years by a series of discussions from scholars working in various fields. I name: K. Nyrop, *Navnets magt* ("the power of the name"), 1887, noted and analyzed by Giesebrecht (see below); F. v. Andrian in *Correspondenzblatt d. deutsch. Gesellschaft f. Anthropologie, Ethnologie u. Urgeschichte,* xxvii (1896), 109-127; F. Giesebrecht, *Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens u. ihre religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage,* Königsberg, 1901; W. Heitmüller, *'In Namen Jesu,'* Göttingen, 1903 (especially Part II). Cf. also, on the use of the name, Jacob, *"Im Namen Gottes," Vierteljahrsschrift f. Bibelkunde,* i (1903), Heft 1 seq. (which I have not seen in full); J. Boehmer, *Das biblische 'Im Namen,'* Giessen, 1898. (on the philological origins of the baptism formula); and an essay by W. Brandt, "Ὄνομα en de doopsformule in het nieuwe testament," *Theol. Tijdschrift,* 1891.

[36] For the adjuration of angels in Judaism, see Heitmüller, *op. cit.,* 176 ff.

[37] See § 13.

[38] According to Budge, *Egyptian Magic,* 180, originally the name of a form of the sungod; according to Wiedemann, *Magie u. Zauberei* (*D. Alte Orient,* vii, 4), p. 23, the Egyptians from of old worshipped as god "the Magical Formula."

[39] Cf. the early and frequent use of the name Jesus in the papyri magic; and cf. *Acts* 19: 13. For Jesus as a sorcerer in the Talmud, see Blau. *op. cit.* 29.

[40] See Pognon, *Inscr. mand.,* 107. In 34: 19 he is "mighty lord."

same unintelligent invocation of names in the magical papyri, e. g. the exorcism "in the name of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus Chrestos, Holy Spirit."[41] This is not Jewish magic, any more than we can say that the erotic charm from Hadrumetum is Jewish in its present form with its barbarous spellings for the patriarchs: Αβρααν, Ιακου, Ισρααμ.[42] These are specimens of eclectic magic with pagan and Jewish elements, overlaid with Christian.[43] It is in this eclectic character of our texts, as in all so-called Jewish magic, that they part company from the old Babylonian magic and relate themselves to occidental conjuration.

The invocation of angelic names in Jewish magic may be regarded as in part the parallel to the pagan invocation of many deities, and in part as invocation of the infinite (personified) phases and energies of the one God.[44] Both Jewish and pagan magic agreed in requiring the accumulation of as many names of the deity or demon as possible, for fear lest no one name exhaust the potentiality of the spiritual being conjured. The aggregation of divine epithets in the Old Testament, as also in the Christian liturgy, goes back to the root-idea of the efficiency of a knowledge of all the names if possible; the fifty names of Marduk, the hundred names of Allah, are similar cases. In the Babylonian magic[45] and also in the Egyptian[46] this practice was established. For Hellenic magic may be cited the many names of Hekate, the λόγοι ἑκατίκιοι.[47] In this accumulation

[41] Wessely, xxxvi, 75, l. 1227. Cf. the list of invocations in a "Christian" amulet: Adonai, Thodonael (= Toth + Adonael), Sabaoth, Emanuel, the holy angels, etc. (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 293).

[42] For the text and literature see to No. 28.

[43] I suppose the formula read originally: "in the name of the God of Abraham," etc. See Heitmüller, *op. cit.*, p. 180 for the invocation of the patriarchs, etc. Origen (*c. Cels*, iv, 35) appears to admit its efficacy.

[44] Cf. the Gaonic maxim that there are many things in which the angels are independent of God, Blau, *op. cit.*, 92; with which contrast the notion of the ephemeral existence of the angels who proceed from the *Dinûr* of God; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 166, Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii, 371—all but Michael and Gabriel according to a dictum of *Bereshith R.* (Lueken, *Michael*, 39). For the equivalent efficiency of divine and angelic names see the magical text, *The Sword of Moses*, published by Gaster, 1896.

[45] Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, i, 291.

[46] Budge, *op. cit.*, 171.

[47] Wünsch. *Ant. Fluchtafeln*, 6.

of divine names there lurks the uncertainty whether they are names of one being, or, as so many potencies, names of as many beings. This confusion appears in the parallel texts under No. 11, where the second (Myhrman's text) turns the three names of the Jewish God in the first into a polytheistic trinity. But except in the case of accumulated magical syllables, the "barbarous names" of Greek magic, the Deity is not in our texts given many names; this is due to the fact that the reference to the Deity is not much more than a passing compliment. However the names of the demons must be exactly known, and especially is it the Lilith who receives an extravagant accumulation of designations; she is akin to Hekate and the "Hekatian names" are showered upon her. For the demoniac names I refer to § 12.

The use of so-called kabbalistic names—letters,[48] syllables, phrases—as potent charms, may next claim our attention. The roots of this usage are many, and the origin or etymology of specific cases mostly defy explanation. The practice is rare in Babylonian magic,[49] but is common in the sorcery of ancient Egypt[50] and in its lineal descendant the Hellenistic magic,[51] and hence it was reflected to the Jewish sorcery, the Talmud abundantly illustrating the use of these *barbarica onomata*.[52] One primitive source of this usage is the mystery which is thrown about magic rites; "the wizards that squeak and gibber" (Is. 8: 19) are universal; the Babylonian priest generally whispered his formulas (cf. the title *mašmašu*); the solemn parts of Christian rites have likewise tended to inaudible pronounciation. There exists a tendency toward intentional obscuration of the formulae, which by psychological necessity would tend to even greater corruption. But magic is in its purpose a scientific exercise, and we must suppose that in general something intelligible was once expressed by the now unintelligi-

[48] For the mysticism connected with letters see Dieterich's interesting discussion, *Rhein. Mus.*, lvi, 77, "ABC—Denkmäler."

[49] A case in Myhrman, *ZA*, xvi, 188 (cf. Jastrow, i, 339), for the text of which see 15: 4.

[50] Budge, *op. cit.*, c. 5, e. g. p. 172.

[51] See Heitmüller, *op. cit.* 197 ff.; Abt, *Apuleius*, 152. For the *Ephesia grammata*, see Kuhnert, in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* (the papers of Welcker in his *Kleine Schriften*, iii, and of Wessely in *Program* of the Franz Joseph Gymn., Vienna, 1886, I have not seen).

[52] Blau, *op. cit.*, 61 f.; Grünbaum, *ZDMG*, xxxi, 269 f.

ble term. Much of the later nonsense was the survival of phrases of the lost tongue in which the charms had their rise.[53] Such a part may have been played by Sumerian phrases in later Babylonia, and the great western sorcerer Apuleius recognizes the origins of his magical lingo as *magica nomina Aegyptio vel Babyloniaco ritu,*[54] and the Hellenistic sorcerer is said to *αἰγυπτιάζειν.*

Some of the phrases are still intelligible, such as חוש, "quick" (off with you), with abundant parallels in the Babylonian and the Greek magic (the repeated *ταχύ*),[55] also brief imperatives, as זע, זח, or זה, from זעע, etc., "fly away." But the great majority of the forms are unintelligible. It is to be observed that raucous sounds, e. g. קץ (*ḳaṣ*) and especially sibilants are very frequent; in Pognon's texts ש (*sh*) is often inserted between words.[56] May we compare the hissing implied by the ancient Hebrew sorcery terms, לחש and נחש?

Many such syllables or letters are surrogates for the divine name יהוה, which especially lent itself to this treatment.[57] So we find the changes rung on this word: יה, יוה, יהו, אהעה, etc. Or abbreviations are used like the repeated א, = אדני אל אלהים;[58] in 20: 2 it is extravagantly repeated six times, in 31: 8 eight times. In יאהיהו, 31: 6, we have a play on the three vowels as in Greek magic.

Then there enters in the use of the principle of *Athbash,* in all its various forms, e. g. מצפץ (Stübe, l. 66) = יהוה. Such *prima facie* unintelligible forms themselves became corrupted in course of time; perhaps MṢ MṢ, PṢ PṢ, 14: 2, are from the former theme. Probably too the

[53] See Deissmann's remarks on the distinction between hocus-pocus and survivals of Egyptian and Babylonian magic in the vocabulary of the papyri; *Bibelstudien,* 1 ff.

[54] Abt, *Apuleius,* 152.

[55] See to 14: 4.

[56] In our texts cf. 1: 13, 3: 5, 14: 2, 25: 5, 29: 10.

[57] For extensive magical formulas based on the Name, see Nos. 3, 6, 31, 35. I give a list of these terms at the end of Glossary A.

[58] Cf. the introduction to Schwab's *Dictionnaire d'angélologie;* Blau, *op. cit.,* 117-146. Against Jewish orthodox use, our texts do not hesitate to write יהוה; cf. the Samaritan usage. In one case it is vocalized in a proper name, בריכיהביה, 36: 4, *q. v.* The reminiscence of the ancient pronunciation survived in the lower classes and certain sects, e. g. among the Samaritans, and in magic, cf. the forms Ια*βε*, etc.

principle of (mathematical) gematria may be supposed,[59] of old standing in Judaism,[60] but also found in the theosophy and current use of the Greeks.[61] The passage in 9: 5 f. which speaks of "letter out of letters, name out of names, interpretation out of interpretation," doubtless refers to the abstraction of such hidden meanings and values out of words.

In one case, 15: 4 f., occurs a rhyming "nonsense" couplet used with magical intention. For this as noticed to the passage there is one example in the Assyrian magic. Assonance of succeeding words is found, e. g. 35: 5.[62] Both assonance and rhyme are found in the western magic; e. g. *adam alam betur alam botum;*[63] and

ορθω βαυβω νοηρε κοδηρε
δυσηρε συρε συροε πανκιστη δωδεκακιστη.[64]

Rhyme appears in the lines:

τοῦτο γράφε : εἰς[65] Θυριήλ,
Μιχαήλ Γαβριήλ, Οὐριήλ,
Μισαήλ, Ἰρραήλ, Ἰστραήλ.[66]

I do not find much proof of intentional misspelling; most of the apparent cases are cleared up on inspection of the text. In fact a good deal of care is exercised in this regard (n. b. a case in 4: 4), and erroneous letters or words are often erased or repeated correctly; in form most of the texts compare favorably with the magical papyri.

[59] Schwab, I; a case in No. 42.

[60] Found by ancient tradition in Eliezer = 318; cf. *Gen.* 15: 2 and 14: 14.

[61] Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 275; Wünsch, *op. cit.*, 23.

[62] The Talmudic *shabriri briri riri ri* is different in character; the gradual peeling off of the word finally destroys the demon.

[63] See Wessely, xlii, 13, from Marcellus, xxviii, 72.

[64] Wessely, xlii, 45, l. 747, = l. 964.

[65] This identification of the angels recalls the assimilation of the gods in the famous Babylonian passage; "Ninib the Marduk of strength, Nergal the Marduk of battles," and similar astrological identifications; see A. Jeremias, *Monotheistische Strömungen*, 26.

[66] Wessely, xxxvi, 90, l. 1814 ff. For assonance and rhyme in Greek magic, see Heim, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher f. classische Philologie*, Supplementband xix (1903), 544 ff.; M. C. Sutphen, "Magic in Theokritos and Vergil," in the *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve* (Baltimore, 1902), 318; Abt, *Apologie d. Apuleius*, 154. For similar cases in our texts see 19: 18, 25: 5, 35: 5.

An important part of the Word of Power in developed magic is the use of sacred scriptures, the epics, legends of the people, and the citation of appropriate precedents. Babylonian, Egyptian, Jew, Greek, each had his thesaurus of sacred legend, which age had consecrated as veritable words of Deity and hence in themselves potent.[67] These are "the ancient runes," שירא קדמיא, of 32: 9.[68]

Early house amulets have been found in Assyria inscribed with quotations from the legend of Ura the pest-god;[69] and there are other traces of the use of epic myth in the Babylonian magic.[70] In the same way that portion of the Book of the Dead known as "The Chapters of the Coming Forth of the Day," largely consisting of myth, and the Legend of Ra and Isis, were used in Egypt as magical texts.[71] In the Greek magic we have the prophylactic and divinatory use of the Homeric verses.[72] Nor were the Jews behind their neighbors, with their fast fixed canon of sacred scripture. The book of Deuteronomy ordered or at least suggested the use of the weightiest "word" in the scriptures, the Shemá, as a phylactery to be inscribed on the hands and between the eyes (in place of totemistic tattoo-marks)[73] and on the sideposts and gates of the house (where earlier prophylactic amulets like the Babylonian had hung). Or certain passages appeared palpably appropriate, just as the Ura-legend was used as a prophylactic; so *Ps.* 91, especially v. 5 f.; or the divine *scolding* of the evil spirit, "YHWH rebuke thee, Satan," in *Zech.* 3: 2. A few of the bowls published by Schwab, G (exterior),[74] H, K, O, are mostly or largely

[67] Cf. *Is.* 55: 11.

[68] For עש, cf. ἐπωδαί, carmina, incantamenta, etc. of occidental magic. Cf. the use of the same root in Arabic; עש in *Ju.* 5: 12 has this sense.

[69] King, *ZA*, xi, 50; Fossey, *op. cit.*, 105; Jastrow, *op. cit.* i, 285; Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, 83.

[70] Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 363.

[71] Budge, *op. cit.* 125, 137, and p. 141 for remarks on this magic.

[72] See Heim, "Incantamenta magica graeca latina," in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, as in n. 66 and Wessely, xlii, 2 ff.

[73] Cf. *Eze.* 9: 4, *Is.* 44: 5, *Gal.* 6: 17, *Rev.* 13: 16 f., etc. The practice was continued into Talmudic times, *Sabb.* 120b, etc.; see Blau, *op. cit.*, 119.

[74] *PSBA*, xii, 327.

composed of scripture verses.[75] We find in them the Aaronic blessing, *Num.* 6: 24 ff., *Is.* 44: 25, *Cant.* 3: 7; K contains the whole of *Ps.* 121, *Ex.* 22: 18, *Cant.* 3: 7 f., *Ps.* 16: 1, 17: 8, 32: 7. O is an amalgam of *Dt.* 6: 4 and *Ps.* 91, with the first word of the former followed by the first of the latter, etc. G reads *Dt.* 29: 22 and then reverses the order of the words.[76] But these genuinely Jewish effusions are exceptional, and may be comparatively late. The Nippur bowls are marked by their lack of scriptural quotation and reference. Very frequent is "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan,"[77] at the end of the inscription. No. 26 opens with the first words of the Shemá, followed by *Num.* 9: 23 and *Zech.* 3: 2. *Num.* 9: 23 is of value as containing the root שמר, a frequent and potent theme in Jewish magic. Biblical and of good magical tradition is the use of Amen (generally twice or thrice repeated), Selah,[78] Halleluia. These are also used in Talmudic charms, e. g. *Yoma* 84a: "kanti, kanti, kaloros, Yah, Yah, YHWH, Sabaoth, Amen, Amen, Selah." The magical Halleluia recalls the probable use of Hallel-like forms in incantations.[79] These Jewish terms are not found in the Mandaic texts, in which the sectarian doxology, "Life is victorious" replaces them. In the Greek papyri *αμην* and *αλλελουια* are frequent,[80] and we have a case of syncretism such as this: *φοβηθέντα τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ τὸ ἀλλελουία καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.*[81]

But this use of scripture is not such as we should expect to find from any Jew even moderately versed in the Old Testament. The spelling is

[75] For biblical verses of prophylactic power approved by the Talmud, see Blau, *op. cit.*, 70 f., 93 f., and his article "Amulets," in *Jewish Encyc.;* also Kayser, "Gebrauch von Psalmen zu Zauberei," *ZDMG,* xlii, 456, presenting a Syriac MS. containing the Psalm verses useful in magic and divination. For the use of Psalms (especially *Ps.* 91) in the late Italian magic, see Pradel, *Griechische u. süditalienische Gebete,* 69.

[76] On this practice in Jewish magic, called מפרץ, see Blau, *op. cit.,* 85; the practice reversed the hostile charm. With the attempt at disguising the plain meaning, cf. the intentional confusion of lines in a Greek *defixio,* published in Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln,* no. 4.

[77] A formula recommended in the Talmud, *Berak.* 5a.

[78] This magical use of Selah is not, I think, noticed in the several modern studies of the word. It appears also as *Σαλα* on an Abraxas gem, *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne,* i, 144.

[79] Cf. Blau, *op. cit.,* 94 f.

[80] E. g., both together, Wessely, xlii, 28, l. 279.

[81] *Ib.* 66, l. 31.

not Massoretic, the quotations are not exact.[82] There are but two references to the supreme history of the Exodus, 14: 2, 34: 4, and the latter is confused. In the Greek papyri there is far more citation of the sacred history; cf. the "Jewish" text of the Great Magical Papyrus at Paris, published most recently by Deissmann.[83] This contains a brief summary of God's great acts for Israel, although the crossing of the Jordan precedes the passage of the Red Sea.[84] The "Judaism" of our bowls is often less than that of the papyri.[85]

There are several references to ancient myth and apocrypha, especially in the citation of great spells. So 2: 4, "the spell of the sea and the spell of the monster Leviathan"; l. 6, "the curse, etc., which fell on Mt. Hermon, Leviathan, Sodom, Gomorra"; 4: 4, "the seal with which were charmed the Seven Stars and the Seven Signs"; 10: 3, 5, "the seal with which the First Adam sealed his son Seth," or "with which Noah sealed the ark";[86] also see 34: 4 f.

All sacred and legendary history is a series of spells, just as the Babylonian epic literature is magically used, Ea or Marduk appearing as the high priest of exorcism. So also in Egypt the epic of the gods gives assurance of present magical help. "My two hands lie upon this child, the two hands of Isis lie upon him, even as Isis laid her two hands upon her son Horus." "O Isis, save me .... even as thou didst save thy son Horus."[87] And so in the Greek papyri the adjuration is often by the wonderful works of the God of Israel, which are regarded as spells; see the great Magical Papyrus.

[82] I cannot agree with Blau, p. 110, that this paraphrasing and variation in scriptural quotation was intentional; magic which perpetuated the pronunciation of the Great Name would not have hesitated at using the exact words of scripture. The quotations have often come through eclectic mediums.

[83] *Light from the Ancient East*, 250 ff.

[84] Cf. the Talmudic charm against the toothache, *Sabb.* 67a, in which portions of the pericope of the Bush were recited; Blau, *op. cit.*, 69.

[85] "Man kann den Aberglauben der Kaiserzeit nicht in die verschiedenen Kategorieen *heidnisch jüdisch und christlich* einteilen.....Der Aberglaube ist seiner Natur nach synkretistisch"; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 25.

[86] Cf. "the seal which Solomon laid on the tongue of Jeremia," in the great Magical Papyrus, l. 3039, Deissmann, *Light*, p. 257; which has its parallel in the charm with which Enoch's brothers charmed him, 3: 4.

[87] Wiedemann, *Magie u. Zauberei bei den alten Aegyptern*, 1905, 22, 26.

In this connection may be noted a few passages which appear to be derived from apocryphal or kabbalistic literature, fragments snatched to decorate the lean skeleton of incantation. E. g. 8: 13: "holy angels, hosts of light in the spheres, the chariots of El-Panim before Him standing, the beasts worshipping in the fire of His throne and in the water, the cohorts of I-am-that-I-am"; 14: 3: "I adjure you by Him who lodged His Shekina in the temple of light and hail"; or the poetic description of the angels in 12: 7: "They are filled with glory who endure and keep pure since the days of eternity, and their feet are not seen in the dances by the world, and they sit and stand in their place, blowing like the blast, lightening like the lightning."—beneficent Annunaki! These passages, reminiscent both of the Apocalypse and the later kabbalistic literature, are recited with magical intent.[88] An important part of magic was the epic of the god and the praise of his glory; compare the insertion of the Hermetic Κοσμοποιία in the Leyden magical papyrus,[89] and the epic of the attack of the rebel spirits against the gods in the 16th tablet of the *Utukku* series. The story of the god's power or the praise of his glory were "words of power" against the fiends.[90]

There is a dreary monotony in these texts, yet much variation of details. After possibly an invocation, comes the name of the client and family, and then the categories of detested demons and ills. Then follow the various Names in which the spells are invoked. Noticeable is the frequent repetition of the same form, even three or more times (e. g. No. 3). This insipid use has its parallel in the κατάδεσμοι; cf. the examples in Wünsch. *op. cit.*, nos. 3, 4, 5, where with slight changes the exorcism is repeated at least three times. Multiplication increased the efficiency of the charm; it is the βαττολογία of the Gentiles (*Mt.* 6: 7). But the relig-

[88] Cf. the amulet in Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 294, where the ranks of the celestial hierarchy are enumerated as standing by the great and lofty Deity.

[89] Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 182. Herodotus notices the use of a theogony or divine history in the incantation of a magus (i, 132); see in general Conybeare, *JQR* ix, 93 f.

[90] Cf. Fossey, *op. cit.*, 96; and for the western magic, Wünsch, *op. cit.*, 13. Scriptural and legendary narratives are found in the Syriac charms published by Gollancz, *Actes du 11ème Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1887, sect. iv, 77. Cf. also the similar Syriac charms published by W. H. Hazard in *JAOS*, xv (1893), 284 ff.

ious imaginativeness and poetic invention of the ancient Babylonian and Egyptian magic has disappeared. The spell, the ἱερὸς λόγος has suffered its *reductio ad absurdum,* personality human and divine is thrown out of doors.

§ 12. The Objects of Exorcism; the Demons, Etc.

The magic of the bowls is of too late an age to require here a dissertation on the rise and spread of the belief in evil spirits. Our sorcery is *fin de siècle*. When the old-world religions began to decay, and the gods that once were near to men disappeared in the political convulsions which marked the passing of ancient tribe or city and the domination of a world-empire, or suffered under the strokes of philosophy and skepticism, the spirits of ill were not banished, and the superstition that feeds on the fears of men, came to occupy the center of the stage of the spiritual drama. Nor did the rise of the great spiritual religions counteract the tremendous development of the superstition concerning the powers of evil, for they did not deny them, but recognized their existence, often regarded themselves in the negative light of prophylactics and antidotes against the great outstanding fact of evil agencies. The Persian faith was boldly dualistic and magical in its rites for overcoming the powers of ill. Jewish monotheism was too tense, and the cardinal doctrine of the one God was saved by that unfortunate, though possibly necessary, salvage from antique polytheism, in the shape of angels and devils who were nearer and more real to man than distant Deity.[1] The Christian Church followed the tuition of her mother and her pagan converts brought along with them the superstitions of the Graeco-Roman world; the doctrine of the Incarnation seemed to entail the foil of embodied demons, and diabolology entered into the formal Christian theology to an extent unknown in official Judaism.[2]

[1] Cf. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 313 ff., 326 ff.

[2] For the diabolology of the Hellenistic world, see the works of Heitmüller, Reitzenstein, Abt, Tambornino, cited in the previous section; also in general P. Wendland, *Die hellenistischrömische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum u. Christentum*, 1907; for Jewish and Christian demonology, see n. 35 for literature.

Our magic is a degenerate survival of the religious and magical developments of ancient Egypt and Babylonia, of the Hellenistic world, of Judaism, and in the study of its demonology, we are dealing with a mass of time-worn and banal demons, which do not promise much for fresh investigation. Nevertheless the analysis of the different kinds of demons may produce here and there a note of interest.

I have noticed above the magical efficacy ascribed to naming the names of deities and demons (§ 11).[3] Personal names for demons, it is true, are not very common; they are generally epithets or generic terms, e. g. "the Killer, the Demon, the Satan," etc. One class of demons however seems always to have enjoyed the privilege of a long list of names which it was the sorcerer's duty to know and to conjure. This is the female demon represented in the old Babylonian texts by the Labartu, in the Jewish by the Lilith, in the Greek by the Gello or Baskania. Our text No. 42 is an exorcism of the evil Lilith and its virtue consists in the knowledge it gives of her many names; I refer to that text for comparative details. Likewise the Labartu has her six (seven?) names, which are to be carefully pronounced.[4] We may also compare the accumulation of epithets attached to demons in 2: 2 f., 8: 2, 24: 13, etc., and recall a like process in the names of Satan in Rev. 9: 11, 12: 9, while Egyptian magic similarly amassed the names of the demon Apep.[5] Also for further identification of the demons the names of their parents, or even granddams are given,[6] for every specification enhances the power of the name. Also the personal description is efficacious, for this indicates that the sorcerer knows exactly whom he is exorcising. Such magical descriptions sometimes rise to almost epic tones, as in the delineation of the Seven Spirits in the Babylonian *Utukki*-series.[7] A reminiscence of these hair-raising pictures appears in the Mandaic bowls published by Pognon and Lidzbarski, in which

[3] Cf. also Origen, *C. Celsum*, i, 24 f., v, 45 f., and the summary of his argument given by Conybeare, *JQR*, ix, 65 f.

[4] See the opening of the Labartu texts as published by Myhrman, *ZA*, xvi, 154; cf. a similar text on an amulet published by Weissbach, *Bab. Miscellen*, 44.

[5] Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, 171.

[6] See below under (1)b.

[7] Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, i, 51.

the hurtling, scolding, fighting of the Lilith-witches is depicted in uncanny terms. But in general our texts do not extend much beyond the mere registration of categories; this decadent sorcery made up for the lack of poetical imagination by a mathematical tabulation. Superstition in order to be comprehensive encyclopaedically accumulated all the terms of evil; not only the inherited demoniac categories, but all which new races and faiths had to offer were gladly accepted. Hence in our texts the naming of the devils and ills results in the registration of an indefinite number of species.

An analysis of our general category may start from a threefold division, namely: (1) evil spirits, in the strict sense of the term, as personal beings; (2) evil agencies, especially the species of black magic, which have been potentized into almost personal existence; (3) natural evils, especially physical maladies, but also such mental and moral affections as loss, shame, etc.—which are regarded as instigated by demons, or as themselves evils with personality, although often the demoniac element is vague.

This is the order we find generally in our present texts. And it is antique. It appears in the Babylonian, e. g. in a text where the several evil spirits are named (Utukki, etc.), then "the enchantments, sorceries, witchcrafts," then "sickness."[8] All the three categories do not so often appear in the Babylonian magic, more frequently those under (2) and (3) are paired, but here again we find the same order—the bans (*mamîtu*) and then the various human ills.[9] This order appears also on the whole in the Byzantine charms published by Vassiliev:[10] *τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, ἢ βασκανία ἢ φαρμακεία ἢ φοβερισμὸς ἢ φρίκη ἢ πυρετὸς ἢ ἐπίβουλον ἢ συνάντημα πονηρὸν ἢ νοσηρὸν ἢ κωφὸν ἢ τυφλὸν,*— and so on with a list of diseases. Compare a papyrus list, in which are all celestial and terrestial spirits, sins, dreams, bans, witchcraft.[11]

This is the natural order of the evolution of magic: first the animistic fear of demons, then the opposition to mortals who have bound the evil spirits to their malicious purpose, finally the more exact diagnosis of the maladies which are specified in secular terms. At the end of the develop-

[8] Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 161.

[9] E. g. *Šurpu*-series, v, l. 55 ff., Zimmern, *Beiträge z. Kenntniss d. babylon. Religion*, 23.

[10] *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, i, 332.

[11] Wessely, Vienna phil.-hist. *Denkschriften*, xxxvi, 81, l. 1443.

ment this last category may alone remain, as in the Babylonian medical texts or the modern Jewish and Arabic charms. It may here be remarked that the never-ending enlargement of categories of evil spirits, apart from eclectic causes, may be due to Persian influence, although hardly any of the details can be traced to that source.

(1)

(a) The most honorable place in the first division is to be assigned to the ancient gods and the spirits still haunting their temples, which the development of religion and especially the monotheistic trend had depotentized and turned into demons. The religion of yesterday becomes the superstition of to-day. Polytheism died hard. Even with the triumph of the One God in the Old Testament, there survived the belief in the many deities who appear as lieutenants of Yahwe, the בני האלהים (Job, 1), as capable of disobedience and subject to divine wrath (*Gen.* 6: 1 ff., *Ps.* 82), as the planetary spirits (*Dt.* 32: 8 [Greek], *Is.* 24: 21 ff.), as angels,—a more thoroughgoing assimilation with monotheism, though the angels at first have an independence and sovereignty recalling the Sons of God (e. g. *Dan.* 10: 13, 21, and Satan), or finally as evil spirits. The supreme declaration of Second Isaiah that the gods are naught and nothing, unfortunately was not sustained, and even onetime beneficent gods, when banished, returned as demons to vex the faithful. A classic expression of this demonology is found in Paul: "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons (*δαιμονίοις*,) and not to God" (I *Cor.* 10: 20).[12] The fullest development of this theory is found in Mandaism, where the ancient spirits of the planets have become the chief devils. So also Mohammed reduced the pagan gods to Jinns.

These discarded deities may therefore head the list of evil potencies, and so we find in 38: 8: "Charmed be all gods (אלהיא)[13] and temple-spirits and shrine-spirits and idol-spirits and goddesses (עסתראתא)." The old proper name of the goddess Ištar had already in the Assyrian become a common

[12] So אלילים had become *δαιμόνια* in the Septuagint, and cf. *Baruch* 4: 7: *προσκυνεῖν τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ εἰδωλα* (also *Rev.* 9: 20).

[13] Cf. the Babylonian *ilâni limnûti.*

name of goddesses in general (*ištarâti*).[14] In the heathen text No. 19 we learn of the sixty gods and the eighty goddesses (l. 8); the former figure is a survival of the ancient sacred number for the fulness of deity, hence the number of Anu;[15] the "eighty" is merely cumulative.[16] Once the rare feminine אלהתא (in the Syriac, Pesh., etc.) is found, used of a female spirit (Wohlstein, 2417: 5).[17]

Probably it is under Mandaic influence that we find the planets regarded as baneful spirits; n. b. the old myth of their fall cited in 4: 6 and the charms against sun, moon, stars, planets, 34: 6. For other demons of Mandaic origin[18] see Pognon's list, *Inscriptions Mandaites*, 93; to these may be added from Ellis 1: 3 נירינ, the Mandaic form of Nergal = the unlucky planet Mars, and אבטור,[19] who here is transformed into an evil genius.[20]

Under this head there is one interesting species, that of demons which are the spirits of the pagan shrines and simulacra, and so are regarded as haunting them.[21] Again the forceful protest of Second Isaiah, of *Ps.* 115,

[14] So *ilâni u. ištarâti*, *KAT*[2], 180. Cf. Heb. עשתרת צאן, *Dt.* 7: 13, etc., of ewes. Also n. b. *Ju.* 2: 13, with Moore's comment.

[15] For the survival of this mystical number in Judaism, see Grünbaum, *Zeits. f. Keilschr.-forsch.*, ii, 222. A list of 50 gods is given in one Babylonian hymn, see Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, no. iv, l. 152 ff.; cf. the *Šurpu*-series (Zimmern, *Beiträge*), no. iv, l. 68 ff., viii, 1 ff. Sometimes the number alone (6, 10, 15, 60) sufficed by way of abbreviation; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, 289. In No. 38 are mentioned the 360 broods of evil spirits; cf. the 366 Uthras in the Mandaic religion and the 360 gods which Islamic tradition claimed were housed at Mecca. According to *Pesaḥ.* 111b, seq., a service tree near a city has not less than 60 demons in it.

[16] According to old Semitic use, cf. *Mic.* 5: 4, *Prov.* 30: 15 ff. N. B. "the 7 sealers and the 8 brothers" in the Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski in the *Florilegium* to de Vogüé (l. 7 f.). Cf. 19: 4.

[17] I find אלהת in Sayce-Cowley's Elephantine papyri, and two Nabataean inscriptions, see Lidzbarski's glossary; also notice the Arabian goddess al-Lât, = the Babylonian Allât, goddess of the nether-world. For occurrence of אלת in Phoenician, see Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 58 f.

[18] See Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, 43, n. 2.

[19] Brandt, *ib.*, 51, 199; *Mand. Schriften*, 184.

[20] For a list of these planetary spirits in the Mandaic cf. Lidzbarski's amulet just cited, l. 247 ff.

[21] Cf. Origen, *C. Celsum*, vii, 35 and 64: the localities especially haunted by the demons are temples and shrines where they can enjoy the incense, blood, etc. Also

the satire of Bel and the Dragon, had failed; there was a virtue in the cults and sanctuaries of the old religions. So the *êkûrê* appear in our bowls, as in the Mandaic books,[22] as established deities. The word *ekurru*, once the name for a temple had already in the Assyrian become applied to deities, *ekurrâti*.[23] The temples themselves were personified and practically deified;[24] later superstition retained the idea by regarding the *êkûrê* as the gods of the temples, and so as gods in general; e. g. Lidz., iv: בשום שיתין עבוריא זיכריא, where as the number 60 shows, עבוריא = אלהיא (cf. 19: 8).[25] Of like character are the פתכרי, or פתיכרי, = פאתיכרי (once, in Schwab Q: 5 פתקרי),[26] properly "images, idols," but used at large of gods in general; e. g. we read of "invocations of the gods, פ', and the goddesses."[27] There are פ' of the upper, lower and middle regions.[28] In some of the lists they appear rather far down; e. g. 5: 2, שידי ודיוי ואסרי ופ' ונידרא; cf. the Mandaic passage, quoted from the Ginza, in Pognon B, p. 75, where they occur after the demons, devils, spirits, amulets, liliths, being thus much reduced in grade. Levy translates the word by *Gespenster*;[29] in the eclectic magic of the time the word may have come to be identified with *εἴδωλον*, = both phantasm or ghost, and idol.[30] There is the distinction

in the Talmud the reality of oracles at those shrines is admitted, although explained apologetically; see the argument in *Aboda Z.* 55a, cited by Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, p. 86. Cf. I *Cor.* 10: 28.

[22] Brandt, *Mand. Schriften*, 81.

[23] Delitzsch, *Ass. Hwb.*, 21.

[24] Reisner, *Sum.-bab. Hymnen*, iv, l. 165; Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 282. *Beth-el* appears in the same use in West Semitic: the god Bait-ilê, *KAT*[2], 437 f., the name Bethel-shar-ezer, *Zech.* 7: 21 and now the many similar names in the new Elephantine papyri published by Sachau.

[25] The word also survived in its original sense, e. g. Pognon, B, no. 13.

[26] For the form, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 25.

[27] 2: 7, Lidz. 4, Wohls. 2422: 5.

[28] Pogn. B, no. 25, er.d.

[29] *ZDMG*, ix, 467, n. 5.

[30] The Persian word was early introduced into the occident. According to one MS. and Symmachus's testimony (margin of Cod. Marchalianus) *παταχρα* (+ *ειδωλα* as gloss) translates the אלהיו of *Is.* 8: 21, where the unintelligible *πατρια* is generally found. See Nestle in *Transactions of the IXth International Congress of Orientalists*, (1892), ii, 58.

between male and female פ׳ : פתכרי ופתכרתא and פתכרתרין נוקבתא (Schwab I).[30a]

I am inclined to associate with these *patkâras* the פריכיא of 38: 8 and 40: 19, where they are listed between the עבוריא and פתיכריא or the עבוריא and עיסתראתא. The word would then mean "shrine-spirits" (Syriac *p^erakkâ*, Ass. *parakku*). The change of the first vowel (*a* to *i*) is possible.[31] But another etymology may be proposed—from the Persian *pairīkâ* = Pahlavi *parîk* (the modern Persian Perî).[32] These creatures are described as beautiful seductive witches, are connected with comets, and also according to de Harlez are companions of certain genii invoked by magicians. Philologically, this would be the most fitting etymology for our word; but its precedence in the lists indicates a higher rank than that assigned to the little known (so Spiegel) and insignificant Pairîkas.

For the false gods also appears טעתא ,טעותא (sing. טעו), = "error," —used like אליל, etc. in the Old Testament.

(b) I pass now to those groups of demons which immemorially had stood as the evil spirits *par excellence*. Like the *utukki* of the Babylonian religion[33] they mostly appear in tribal groups, without personal distinction. Most constant among these classes are the דיוין and שידין, which may be expressed by "devils and demons," with as much or as little of a definite idea as these English words convey to us. The שדים occur in the Old Testament, the word having an obscure history in connection with the Assyrian *šêdu;* in function the שד is the Babylonian *šêdu limnu*, "evil *šêdu*."[34] In the later Jewish demonology the שידין are the hobgoblins, the

[30a] With פ׳ = a deity or demon, cf. the use of *σῆμα*, "tomb," as grave-demon; so in a Greek amulet published by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 293, and see his note 2. Also in the Syriac גניתא, "shrine" comes to mean a god, a false god, and in Peshitto of I *Sa.* 7: 3 translates עשתרות. In Islam the false gods were called *aṣnâm*, "idols."

[31] Cf. Nöldeke, *Gram. d. neu-syr. Sprache*, § 6, or *Mand. Gram.*, § 20; cf. תליתיכון, 8: 3. Or an assimilation to פתיכרא?

[32] See Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, ii, 138; A. V. W. Jackson in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie*, iii, p. 665; C. de Harlez, *Manuel du Pehlevi*, 1880), *s. v.* in Glossary.

[33] See, for the Babylonian demons, Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, c. 2; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, c. xvi; Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 43 ff.

[34] See, *inter al.*, Baudissin, *Studien z. sem. Religionsgeschichte*, ii, 131, and his art. "Feldgeister," in Hauck's *RE*[3]; H. Duhm, *Die bösen Geister im Alten Testament*,

prevailing class of demons; they are the *δαιμόνια* of the Greek, for which the Peshitto returns to the Jewish term.[35]

As Judaism has its feminine שידות, so once we find reference to the שידניאתא, 7: 14.[36] In 11: 5 = 18: 4 = Ellis 1, = Lidz. 5, we learn of a "king of demons and devils," with which compare Asmodaeus, the king of the demons.[37] But in these texts his name is given as אבונדאנא, בנדנא, which is found in 19: 10 as name of an evil deity (בר חבאל), while the plural in the same text, ll. 6, 13, has evidently the meaning demons or deities. In a broken text (Pognon B, no. 24, l. 19), a מלכא דשידיא occurs. In 29: 9 the *šêdîn* are described as בני טולא, "sons of shadow," cf. the טלני of the Targum.

The דיוין inherited a good name from the old Aryan theology (= gods), were depotentized in the Persian system, and came into Semitic currency through the Mandaic and Syriac. (The word does not occur in Targums and Talmud.[38]) In the Peshitto use of the term it appears to apply to the demons of mental and moral disorders, thus indicating something distinct from the *šêdîn*.[39]

The "spirits" or "evil spirits" (רוחין בישין, רוחא בישתא, רוח רעה — both masc. and fem.)[40] form a triad with the preceding species. Levy

49, 20; Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 43; and the discussions by the students of Assyriological magic, Zimmern (*Beiträge* and *KAT*[3]), Tallquist, Jastrow, Fossey. Fossey, p. 50, quotes IVR 6a, 26, to the effect that the *šedu* is the demon of the evil eye—another proof that demons and their functions were interchangeable.

[35] For these and the following demoniac species in Judaism, see Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, ii, 408 ff.; Grünbaum, in his admirable "Beiträge z. vergleichenden Mythologie aus d. Hagada," in *ZDMG*, xxxi, — esp. 271 ff.; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 242 ff.; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, ii, 759 ff.; Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, 10 ff.; Levy, *ZDMG*, ix, 482; T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbors* (London, n. d.); the art. "Demonology" in *Jewish Encyc.*; Conybeare, "Demonology of the New Testament," *JQR*, viii, ix; Everling, *Die paulinische Angelologie u. Dämonologie*; also v. Baudissin and H. Duhm as cited above, note 34.

[36] Cf. *δαίμονες δαιμόνισαι*, of the Leyden Papyrus, Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 194, l. 10.

[37] Also simply the king, מלכא, Eisenmenger, *op. cit.*, ii, 422 (a tradition of the "Molek" of the Old Testament?).

[38] According to Levy, not found in Jewish literature, *op. cit.*, 488.

[39] Acc. to Baudissin, *op. cit.*, 131, the Harclean version replaces שאדא of the Peshitto w. דיוא.

[40] Cf. Ellis 5: 4, זכר ונקבה.

and Blau regard them as ghosts,[41] but without warrant, as the Rabbinic, Syriac and Mandaic use of the word shows. They are the *πνεύματα πονηρά*, or *ἀκάθαρτα* of the New Testament, the equivalent of the Babylonian *utukki limnûti*. This development of רוח we may trace in the Old Testament where "a spirit of evil," "the evil spirit," appears as an agent of Jahwe; like the Satan such potencies easily passed into malicious demons.

The *Mazzîḳîn* which are prominent in Jewish lore, where they are the general category for all demons,[42] appear but seldom.

These *devils, demons* and *evil spirits* in their juxtaposition recall the several species so frequently enumerated in Babylonian demonology; e. g. as listed more than once in the *Maḳlu*-series, the *utukku, šêdu, râbiṣu, ckimmu, labartu, labaṣu, aḥḥazu,* followed by the liliths.[43] But beyond the registration of several categories there is no equivalence in name (with one exception), in definite character.[44] A certain amount of distinction can be drawn in the Babylonian field, but in our texts no differentiation exists. Indeed the three species are rather tokens of the several sources of our particular magic, the Hebrew (רוח), Babylonian (שד), Persian (דיוא). The only reference to the "seven spirits" of Babylonian magic is in connection with the מבבלתא (see below).

But it is the Liliths which enjoy the greatest individual vogue in our demonology. Many of the charms culminate in that objective; the other evil spirits are most often merely generical, anonymous, to whom the general compliment of a spell must be paid, but the Liliths are definite terrors, whose malice is specific and whose traits and names are fully known.

[41] *Opp. cit.*, p. 482, p. 14. The view that demons were ghosts of the dead indeed existed; see Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i, c. 18 and for later Judaism, Eisenmenger, ii, 427. They may have been specialized as the spirits of demoniac possession and moral temptation (see Blau). For the relation of רוחין and *πνεύματα*, see Baudissin in Hauck's *RE*³, vi, 12 f.

[42] So Weber, Blau.

[43] Tallquist, *Die ass. Beschwörungsserie Maqlu*, 1894, no. i, l. 136, v. l. 77, N. B. just seven species.

[44] For the distinctions between the Babylonian spirits, see Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 278; Thompson, *Devils*, i, xxiv, *Semitic Magic*, 1, Fossey, *op. cit.*, c. 2.

The genus appears in the Babylonian incantations, as masculine and feminine, *lilu* and *lilit*, along with an *ardat lili*.[45] The two former words survived in Jewish demonology and both occur abundantly in our bowls, though the *Lîlîn* are only pendants to the Liliths. The origin of the word, whether Semitic from לֵיל = "nightmare, nighthag," etc. with Schrader, Halévy, *et al.*, or from the Sumerian *lil*, "storm," with Sayce,[46] Zimmern,[47] R. C. Thompson,[48] lies beyond my present scope. Probably as others have suggested, the resemblance of Sumerian *lil* to לֵיל, "night," may have had its part in shaping the phantom of Lilith and her troop among Semitic-speaking peoples; but I would suggest that the prime connection is not etymological but semantic: *lil* = wind = רוּחַ = spirit;[49] Lilis and Liliths are specialized forms of רוּחִין.[50]

In the Babylonian the Lilith (*ardat lili*) is the ghostly paramour of men, and her realm is the sexual sphere; hence women in their periods and at childbirth, maidens, children, are the special objects of her malice.[51] Hence in the bowl inscriptions, made out for the protection of homes and the peace of family life, most often in the name of the women concerned, it is an amulet against these noxious spirits that is particularly desired. We may say that the Lilis and Liliths are the demons of the family life.

Texts Nos. 1, 6, 8, 9, 11, 17, may be referred to especially for the Liliths. They haunt the house, 1: 6, lurk in the arches and thresholds, 6: 4, one dwells in the house concerned, 11: 5. So in the Talmud they dwell in the beams and crevices, the cesspools, etc.,[52] even as in Greek magic demons

[45] Acc. to Zimmern, *KAT*[3], 459 = paramour of *lilu*. Better Thompson. (*Devils*, etc., i, p. xxxvii, *Semitic Magic*, 65), who regards the *ardat lili* as the more specialized (e. g. marriageable) lilith, hence the original of the Jewish Lilith.

[46] Hibbert Lectures, 145.

[47] *KAT*[3], 460, n. 7.

[48] *Semitic Magic*, 66: if Semitic, from root לָלָה, "be abundant, lascivious."

[49] Cf. רוּחַ in *Job* 4: 15; the wind-draught easily passes into a ghost.

[50] The single appearance of Lilith in the Old Testament, *Is.* 34: 14, represents a more primitive stage of the fable than the Babylonian Liliths. She is just one of the spirits haunting waste ruins.

[51] See Thompson, *l. c. et seq.*, who discusses the demonology of marriages with Jinns, etc.

[52] *Jewish Encyc.*, iv, 516b.—In 29: 6 f. (cf. l. 9) occurs לִיליתָא בִישתָא וכשירָא, "the evil and the decent lilith"; this recalls the good demons of Jewish lore, שִׁידִין טוֹבִין,

are given the like habitat.[53] In No. 1 they are described as generating offspring with human folks, appearing as phantom men and women to women and men by night. Hence the interesting phenomenon of the magic *get*, divorce-writ, by which the sorcerer, like a Jewish rabbi, separates these obscene beings from their prey.[54] Especially do they vent their rage on little children as the detested offspring of human wedlock; they plague them, throttle and devour them, suck their blood (e. g. 11: 8, 18: 6, 36: 9, Lidz. 5). The name for one of these demons, in No. 36, is "Murderess daughter of Murderess," and "strangler." In the Jewish demonology the Liliths have the like fiendish character; *Bemidbar Rabba* 16 affirms that they kill children.[55] In No. 11 the Lilith is associated with the personifications of barrenness and abortion. The figure on No. 8 gives the picture of a typical obscene Lilith; she is depicted with loose tresses, one of the characteristics of the species, cf. 8: 3; cf. *Nidda* 24b, *Erub.* 100b. The later Lilith thus partakes of the nature of the elder *lilit* and of the Labartu, the enemy of children.[56]

The Liliths are intimately known, their own and their parents', even the granddam's names are given, e. g. Nos. 8, 11. At the beginning of Wohlstein's text 2416 (= Stübe) a whole brood of demons is named.[57] Especially in the case of this species most exact descriptions are given of their foul ways and apparitions,[58] for the Liliths were the most developed products of the morbid imagination—of the barren or neurotic woman,

Eisenmenger, ii, 431 f., and the good and bad *šêdu* of the Babylonian—also so the *utukku*, Fossey, *op. cit.*, 449.

[53] Wessely, xlii, 66, l. 19: they are bidden "not to hide in this earth nor under the bed or gate or beams or vessels or holes."

[54] See to 8: 7. The separation had to be legally effected, for the Lilith had her nuptial rights or powers. Cf. the tales of the female Jinns in Arabic folklore.

[55] Cited by Weber, *op. cit.*, 255. So also in the Testament of Solomon, ed. Conybeare, *JQR*, xi, 16. But not in the Talmud, according to Grünbaum, *Zeits. f. Keilschr.-Forsch.*, ii, 226.

[56] See Myhrman, *ZA*, xvi, 147 ff.

[57] See Wohlstein's note; the mother's name אימי, "little mother," throws light on a passage in *Pesaḥ.* 112a. In general these names are epithetical; cf. the demon Ahriman bar Lilit, *B. Bath.* 73a.

[58] See above.

the mother in the time of maternity, of the sleepless child.[59] Somewhat of the elder and biblical notion of the Lilith as denizen of the desert appears in the expressions בנתא דברא, לילית דברה, 17: 3, 27: 7.[60]

A further development of the Lilith is her assimilation with the witch; the descriptions of the species in the Mandaic bowls recall the uncanny scenes of the witches' nights which are the theme of still existent folklore. The Lilith is the Baskania, (i. e. witchery) of the Greek charms.[61] The epithets "cursing," and "undoing," e. g. 34: 13, belong to this phase of the Lilith-idea.

Very interesting is the similarity of the Semitic Lilith, and in course of time her assimilation to the psychological horrors which haunted men elsewhere, especially to the identical forms in the Graeco-Roman demonology. I refer to the Lamia,[62] the Empusa,[63] the Gello,[64] the Marmolyke and Gorgons, and the *incubi* and *succubae*.[65] In connection with the text No. 42 which presents the legend of the Lilith-witch, I take occasion to present the parallel forms of this conception as found in the western world. This developed myth is a later accretion to the ancient inchoate ideas of these monsters.

[59] For the psychological basis and subjective fact of these apparitions, see Roscher, "Ephialtes" c. 1, in *Abhandlungen* of the Saxon Academy of Sciences, vol. xx (1900).

[60] Cf. *ekimmu ḫarbi*, *Maḳlu*-series iv, l. 22 (Tallquist, p. 66), and the exorcism, "evil spirit to thy desert," Thompson, *Devils*, i, 152, ii, 26; cf. i, 167, 191 ff. The banning of the demons into the desert and mountains (cf. *Mt.* 12: 43) is frequent in the magical papyri, e. g. in an amulet published by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 294: *ἵνα ἀπέλθατε ἐν ἀγρίοις ὄρεσιν καὶ ἐκεῖσε φυγαδευθήσετε*. Cf. Wohlstein 2422 (l. 28), "go and fall on the mountains and heights and the unclean beasts." As Wohlstein notes, the latter clause is a most interesting commentary on the anecdote of the Gadarene devils which asked the liberty to enter the swine, *Mt.* 8: 28, etc.

[61] See at length under No. 42.

[62] Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, *s. v.*

[63] Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, *s. v.*

[64] For Gello as a lilith-name and as probably equal to Ass. *gallu*, see notes to No. 42.

[65] For the *incubi* see Roscher, *Ephialtes*, 60. The special demon which is the subject of this classic treatise corresponds to the male Lili of our texts, but his vogue is far more extended. He is in form goat, satyr, faun, etc., a rural as well as a domestic terror.

A long list of species of demons still remains to be considered, most of which are not much more than names. One of the most frequent and evidently most dreaded is the class of the מבכלין or מבכלתא. Once they are spoken of as the "seven מ׳ of night and day," 16: 7, recalling the Seven Spirits of Babylonian mythology.[66] Stübe (p. 59) suggests derivation from כבל, "bind," and Myhrmann (p. 350) compares Assyrian *kabâlu* used in incantations. I venture to suggest metaplasis with the Syriac לבך, "hold, seize," i. e. "take demoniac *possession* of," so that we may compare this species with the Babylonian *aḥazzu*.[67] Cf. *καταλαμβάνειν*, *Mk.* 9: 18, and the terms *κατεχόμενοι* and *κάτοχοι*. indicative of supernatural possession.[68]

There are the evil angels,[69] who are called קדישין = *sacri*, in 4: 1; the "angels of wrath and the angels of the house of assembly."[70] We read of the ראזי מלאכא, 37: 8, rites in which angels were bound to hellish operations. The word is used of pagan deities in 36: 5 (cf. 19: 13), even as *ἄγγελοι* appears in the papyri.[71] The angel of death who shudders at the Great Name appears in 3: 6, Schwab F.

"The Satan" appears and also "the Satans," as in *Enoch* (40: 7) and Rabbinic[72] and Arabic lore. There is no amplification of the doctrine of

[66] Cf. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 47.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 43, etc.

[68] See Tambornino, *De antiquo daemonismo*, 56.

[69] Cf. *Mt.* 25: 41, *Rev.* 12: 7, "the devil and his angels," and the absolute use of the word in this sense in I Cor. 11: 10, with reference to the myth in Gen. 6. Blau notes, without citation, an evil spirit רוח הקדש, p. 10, n. 2. For evil angels, see Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, § 23.

[70] Wohlstein 2422. The editor makes no comment on this or the parallel phrase in l. 7: איסרי דביה כנישתא. איסרי evidently equals מלאכי (see below, note 112). The "house of assembly" recalls the ancient Semitic idea of the הר מועד, *Is.* 14: 13, the assembly of the gods on the Semitic Olympus,—Walhalla having become a conventicle of demons! (Demons are located in the north by Jewish legend, *Pirḳe R. Eliezer*, iii, and other reff., in Eisenmenger, *op. cit.*, ii, 438.) Or ב׳ כ׳ = *συναγώγη*, *ἐκκλησία*, may refer to the conventicle of a magical cult (cf. "the synagogue of Satan," *Rev.* 2: 9). But the phrase is probably to be interpreted from a passage in a "Christian" amulet published by Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, 295, top: *ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὰ ἐνακόσια ἑξήκοντα πνεύματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ πονηροῦ*.

[71] E. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 192, l. 10; so also in the LXX, e. g. *Ps.* 96: 7, and an inscription cited by Cumont *Oriental Religions*, n. 38, p. 266: *diis angelis*.

[72] *Debarim R.*, c. 11: "Sammael the head of all the Satans," quoted by Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, 253.

the individual Satan. Once with the Satans (35: 4) are associated the סוטיטא and דיאבולא, the former a class of seducing spirits (metaplasm of √ סטא ?),[73] the latter the almost unique Semitic transliteration of *διάβολοι*. In 2: 3 are mentioned the סני ובעילדבבי, the Fiends and Foes.

The זיקין[74] appear in association with the מזיקין. The Rabbinic and Syriac זיקא is a meteor, blast of wind, etc.; in the Mandaic it has the more general sense of a plague.[75] The Mandaic has inherited an old Babylonian idea of the *zaḳiḳu*, "blast," as a demon, and then death-demon.[76] The Satyrs, שעירים, appear once, 5: 4, a reminiscence, as the form shows, of the Old Testament.[77] The שחורין of Schwab G are *black* devils; cf. the title of Satan *ὁ μελάς*, in Epistle of Barnabas, 4: 9.

In Hyvernat's text occurs the phrase גינא דשלמוה, which Grünbaum most plausibly translates "the Jinn of Solomon."[78] The word would then be one of a few terms in our texts which suggest Arabic connections (see שלניתא, שיקין, below). But the reserve is to be made that, as Nöldeke maintained, the root is common-Semitic, and the spread of the word may well have antedated the Muslim Conquest. We may compare the god Gennaios cited by Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 1174. The גנדא of 37: 6 is to be explained from the Mandaic גונדא (Syriac גודא Arabic *jund*), "troop"; devils molest their victims in bands, cf. the name "Legion" assumed by the demoniac in the Gospel, and the "tribes" (שורבתא) of demons in 38: 6; also cf. 13: 1.

[73] Cf. 1 *Tim.* 4. 1, "seducing spirits and doctrines of devils."

[74] So probably read for עקין in Hyvernat, l. 4; in 19: 13, זעקי.

[75] Norberg, *Lexidion*, 55.

[76] Muss-Arnolt, *Dict., ad voc.*, cf. the *šunu ziḳiḳu*, "roaming windblast," Thompson, *Devils*, ii, 4, l. 27. For the simile of demons to storms, see *ibid.*, i, 89, and compare the etymology of lilith (see above). For the word see 12: 8.

[77] But the idea of the hairy goatlike demon which obsesses its victim with mischievous or obscene purpose is universal. Cf. the Arabic *ifrit, azabb*, with the same root-meaning; Wellhausen, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*, 135; Baudissin, *Studien*, i, 136. The same phenomenon is abundantly vouched for in the Greek demonology; see Roscher, *Ephialtes*, 29 f., for the goatlike form of the Ephialtes, and p. 62 for its epithet *pilosus;* and compare Pan and the Fauns. See Roscher, note 285b, for similar representations in the superstition of India. In 5: 4 the satyrs are represented as haunting a particular stretch of road.

[78] Probably to be read in 37: 10.

In 15: 6 and Myhrman l. 2 are found the ירורין. The second ר is sure in my text; Jastrow's and Levy's lexicons give the word as a variant to ירודא, "ostrich," but doubtless the former is the correct spelling;[79] the root is onomatopoetic (cf. ילל, and English "howl" and "roar"), connoting a howling creature and was applied to the ostrich—so the Tosefta (see Jastrow); but in the Targums it generally translates the Hebrew ציים, תנים, the uncanny creatures typical of desolation. In the Syriac, ירורא is jackal, translating תנים. But the Rabbinic references indicate that it was rather a fabulous than a zoological species, akin to the liliths, satyrs and vampires that haunt ruins, and this connotation appears in the Syro-hexaplar to *Is.* 34: 17, translating לילית by ירורא, while Symmachus gives λαμία.[80] This equation gives the key to our present word. The Babylonians represented their demons in uncouth shapes of birds and animals.[80a]

Besides the use of certain generic terms, such as עשמא, "oppressors," there remain several rare or obscure species: the לטבי, also לטאבי, probably metaplastic for *baṭṭâlâ*, "undoer"; the לטאנא (alongside סטאנא) No. 20, probably from root לוט "curse,"[81] or a form of the Targumic טלנא, "shade-demon." The שפטין in Hyvernat, l. 3, for which Grünbaum (p. 221) cites the Arabic *šifût, species daemonis,* is probably to be read שבטין, "plagues" (see p. 80). For the ניסי, possibly "familiar spirits," see to 6: 2.

There are also names of individual demons. Some can be identified: the חטפיתא, corresponding to the Arabic ghûl (see to 8: 2); מר a depotentized deity.[82] Some are recognizable epithets: אבדא 3: 2, מדובינא 37: 10, שרירי Schw. F. Others defy etymology: אשתקותקוף Pogn. B, דמקר 34: 10 (*q. v.* for a possible interpretation), דנחיש 3: 2, חמועית Schw. G. Long lists of such obscure names are found in Schwab F and G; these are probably on a

[79] According to Jastrow, Lagarde's editions of the Targums have everywhere this form; ילולין appears as a variant in one place.

[80] See Field's Hexapla. N. B. the interpretations of the uncanny creatures in this passage as demons by both the Greek and the Targum.

[80a] This word is to be distinguished from וריר, an eye-disease (see below); because of the uncertainty of the spelling of the two words the וירי at end of Schw. G may be the one or the other word.

[81] Cf. the Syriac שאדנא.

[82] Stübe, l. 4. See Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques,* 82; Clay, *Amurru,* 162.

par with the mystical names of the angels (see § 13).[83] Finally we may note the blanket-formulas for demons who are named and who are not named, and which have their parallel in the Babylonian,[84] and in the Greek magic.[85]

There are comparatively few certain references to ghosts; the רוחין, etc., as spirits of the dead, may include them.[86] One case in point is found in No. 39: "charmed the lilith that appears to her .... [in some shape]; charmed the lilith that appears to her in .... [the shape of ?] Tâtâ her niece; charmed all the defiling ghosts, דמואתא, that have entered, which appear to her in dreams of nights and visions of day." Here a definite ghostly apparition is really a diabolic delusion. Also Nos. 20, 25 contain general charms against ghosts. One technical term for ghost possibly appears, שלניתא (see to 8: 2). The last of Wohlstein's series, 2422, appears to be directed against ghosts and is an interesting example of necromantic spell. Familiar names are given to the spirits and they are cajoled to do no harm. Also in Wohlstein, no. 2422 appears the רוח בית קיברא ור' מיתו. There is constant reference to dreams (חילמא) and apparitions (דמותא, חזינא),[87] which are the *milieu* of demoniac and ghostly apparitions, cf. 7: 13; hence ח' שנושי, "disturbing dreams," in which phrase the noun is practically personified—a category of evil spirits. We have such a combination as: חראריא ושואריא וחיזוניא (Pognon A), in which חר' are impure conceptions of the night (cf. חלם in Syriac); the second word, which Pognon does not explain, is doubtless the Talmudic שוור, "leaper," exactly the Ephialtes of the Greeks, a kind of *incubus*.[88] This distinction of the dream from ghost or demon represents a later psychology. Charms against dreams are frequent in the Greek papyri; thus against ὀνείρους φρικτούς,[89]

[83] This giving of unintelligible names to demons may be in imitation of Persian diabolology; see Jackson in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie*, iii, 659, listing 54 individual demon names.

[84] Thompson, *Devils*, i, 153.

[85] E. g. δαιμόνιον καὶ μὴ ὀνομαζόμενον, Pradel, *Griech. u. südital. Gebete*, 22, l. 2.

[86] For a typical Babylonian incantation against ghosts, see Thompson, *Devils*, i, 37.

[87] For oneirology in later Judaism, see Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, 103.

[88] See Roscher, *Ephialtes*, especially p. 48 f. for the etymology.

[89] Wessely, xlii, 31, top.

or a *φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πάσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος*;[90] another against enemies, robbers, etc. and *φόβους* and *φαντάσματα ὀνείρων*.[91] These dreams and the similar panic fears of day and night are also referred to *in extenso* in Gollancz's Syriac charms..

(2)

Respectable or "white" magic includes not merely the laying of evil spirits but counter magic[92] against the machinations of hostile sorcerers. Just so the Babylonian *Maḳlu*-series devotes itself to the rites of destroying the witch by means of simulacra which are consumed in the fire; the Greek magic has the same defensive purpose. The Mandaic texts recall somewhat of the ancient dread of witches with their description of those uncanny and obscene persons, and, as I have noted above, the witch and the lilith are practically identified.

It was most efficacious if the sorcerer were known so that he could be named and the "tables turned" upon him by casting upon him his malign arts, for no curse "returns empty." Such a case appears in Schwab G; all the evils that have fallen on the victim are bidden to fall on the head of אוסרא בר אמא. But examination of the name reveals that it is fictitious; אוסרא means "spellbinder" and אמא simply means "mother." The writer of the bowl has satisfied his client by assuming that he knows the adverse sorcerer's name. It is nothing else than the legal "John Doe." In like manner, in Wohlstein 2416, all evil works, etc., are commanded to return against their instigator.

But inasmuch as the sorcerer's names are not generally known, the incantations content themselves with listing the various kinds of magical practices and putting them under the potent spell. The *Šurpu*-series illustrates the prophylactic practice; for instance, its third tablet[93] is con-

[90] *Ib.*, 42.

[91] *Ib.*, 64. Dream-magic was highly developed among the Greeks; we have charms for sending dreams, *ὀνειροπομποί*, e. g. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, 191, l. 15. Magic is required as an antidote. Hence dreams are listed with other maleficent agencies, e. g.: *πνεύματα χθόνια, ἁμαρτίαι, ὄνειροι, ὅρκοι, βασκανία*; Wessely, xxxvi, 81, l. 81.

[92] Probably technically expressed by קיבלין.

[93] Zimmern, *Beiträge*, 13.

cerned with breaking every possible kind of ban (*mamît*) that may have befallen a person. Hence a recurring phrase in the praxis of the fifth tablet: "may the curse, the ban, the pain, the misery, the sickness, the grief, the sin, the misdeed, the impiety, the transgression, the sickness, which is in my body, be peeled off like this onion." We mark here the union of curses, etc. with evils of the flesh, just as they occur in our bowls.

Accordingly we find exorcism effected with this prudent intention against מעבדין, etc.;[93a] חרשין (+ בישין),[94] "black arts," perhaps generally with the sense of poisoning, = *φαρμακοποιία*;[95] סחריא, "sorceries," 39: 4;[96] קריתא, "invocations," (the singular קריה in 16: 10), the *ἐπικλήσεις* or *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* of maleficent magic,[97] also termed the בתקלא דק'. There are the various terms or kinds of curses, the *mamît* of the Babylonian, the *ὅρκοι* of the Greek magic; the לוטתא, especially in Pognon's Mandaic bowls, where the authors of these bans are specified, e. g. no. 15: father, mother, prostitute, foetus, laborer, master who has defrauded him, brothers; also the frequent נידרי, maleficent "vows" and the חרימא, which is the Syriac Christian equivalent of *ἀνάθεμα*, perhaps also אלתי (Wohlstein, 2426: 5).[98] This listing of the bans and their originators has its abundant parallel in the Babylonian magic; e. g. the third tablet of the *Šurpu*-series, already cited, in which all possible kinds and origins of curse are listed in 165 lines: of father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, etc., posterity, infant.[99] The unborn child, naturally regarded as homeless and miserable, hence a malignant wraith, is classed in the Babylonian magic

[93a] For this and following technical names for sorcery, see § 11, beginning.

[94] Cf. the Latin equivalents, *nefaria sacra, maleficia, artes nefandae, malae artes;* see Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius,* 30.

[95] So in the Syriac, also in 7: 13. But *φάρμακον* survived in a good sense in literature with magical tinge, e. g. in no. 30 of Bishop Serapion's prayers, "Thy name be a *φ.* for health and soundness." For an extensive discussion of the word, see Abt, *Apuleius,* 112. It is formally impossible to distinguish between the words "sorcerers" and "sorceries," except in the Mandaic. Cf. the use of the adjective חוראשא, 39: 6.

[96] For these words see the convenient summary in T. W. Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbors,* 44 ff.

[97] See above, § 11. Pognon was the first correctly to interpret this term, B, p. 19.

[98] In 2: 6 we find גזירתא, שמתא, אחרמתא, used of the "white magician's" own work.

[99] A similar list in Ellis 3 = Schwab B. In the later magic these classes are listed in exorcism of the evil eye.

as in the Mandaic citation with the causes of ban, and so too the hierodule or prostitute.[100] The difference between the Babylonian *mamît* and these לוטתא is that the former has rather the sense of taboo, the latter of a malicious curse effected under foul auspices.[101]

Then there are the "names," e. g. 16: 8, שומהתא, of hostile invocations,[102] and the מילין, "words," curse formulas, including the informal imprecation. Compare "the evil word" of the witch in Babylonian magic,[103] and the current Babylonian phrase, "the evil mouth, the evil tongue, the evil lip."[104] The Talmud has the principle, "None open his mouth to Satan."[105] By a natural passage of thought the tongue and the mouth come in for exorcism, e. g.: "Bound and held be the mouth, and bound the tongue, of curses. .... Bound be the tongue in its mouth, held be its lips, shaken .... the teeth and stopped the ears of curses and invocations."[106] The binding of the tongue is a frequent element in the Greek magic; some thirty of the *κατάδεσμοι* in Wünsch's Appendix of *defixiones* to the *Corpus Inscript. Attic.* are for binding this "unruly member."[107]

Further objects of exorcism are the רזי, "mysteries," the sacramental rites of maleficent cults; the אבמרתא (Stübe, l. 2) and כמרי (Wohlstein, 2426: 5), enchantments effected by priests (כומרין).[108] A unique word in its use in the bowls is אישלמתא, found coupled with the above terms. Halévy and Wohlstein[109] compared form IV of the Arabic verb and rendered it as a delivery to evil. But it is to be compared with the Targumic אשלמו, used

[100] Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 367, 373.

[101] So the Greek *κατάδεσμοι*, and the Jewish collection of charms in Thompson, "Folk Lore of Mossoul," *PSBA*, xxviii-ix.

[102] Cf. the names of Hecate in the Greek *κατάδεσμοι*, e. g. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, no. 1.

[103] See Jastrow, *op. cit.*, i, 285.

[104] Fossey, *op. cit.*, 50, with citations.

[105] *Berak.* 19a, 60a, *Ketub.* 8b; see Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, 70 (but rationalizing), and Blau, *op. cit.*, 61, with Talmudic instances.

[106] L'dz., 4.

[107] Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 307. An amulet of later age (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 295) analyzes the evil tongue into the lie, accusation, magic, sycophancy.

[108] So rightly Stübe; the heathen priest was, and at last appeared exclusively to be, a magician. On the second of Wünsch's *Fluchtafeln* is the design of an altar.

[109] *Comptes rendus*, IV, v, 292; *ZA*, viii, 336.

in *Targ. Jer.* to *Lev.* 8: 28, etc., in sense of dedication, = חנוך. Its counterpart is found in the Mandaic system, where the שלמאניא are the *τέλειοι*,[110] and it is the exact equivalent of the Greek *τελετή*, the (magic) rites.[111] Also the usual terms, the איסרי,[112] the קיבלי, "countercharms," the קיטרי, etc., all are listed for exorcism.

More obscure are the סתרתא (Ellis 3: 10) = "hidden arts" —with which may be possibly compared the שדרתא of Schwab R, and Wohlstein, 2426: 6.[113] Also the שיקופתא (once אשתקופתא) have aroused question. Schwab proposed שקף, "envisager," of the evil eye; Stübe, Wohlstein, Lidzbarski, connect with the root "to knock" (cf. שקף used of a Lilith, 11: 6).[114] This meaning is corroborated by the amulet of Lidzbarski's just cited, where it is parallel to חרבא and קריא (l. 11 ff +), wasting and mishap. But from its peculiar intensive form I think the word must have some connection with magic arts; cf. the modern spiritualistic knockings and rappings.

Probably the exorcism in the fragment published by Schwab, *PSBA*, xii, 299, from sin and guilt (חטאתא, אשימא), immediately after "arts" and

[110] Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, 120, 170; *Mand. Schr.*, 8, n. 5, 36, n. 1; Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, p. xxviii.

[111] Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 136. Stübe (p. 37) first offered the explanation given above. Pognon discusses an obscure phrase in his bowls פתיכרי ואשלמתאנון (B, p. 49), translating "and their adherents." Lidzbarski treating the same phrase (*Eph.* i, 94) rightly takes exception to such a form and translates, "I deliver them," which is unsatisfactory. Probably our noun is to be understood here, reading the nominal suffix ן—for the verbal ינן—. Our word may be a translation of the Greek *τελετή*; but n. b. Robertson Smith's note on the mystery idea involved in *aslama* (he might have added the Hebrew שלמים), *Rel. Sem.*, 80.

[112] Nöldeke, *Z. f. Keils.-forsch.*, ii, 299, animadverting upon Hyvernat holds that איסרא, translated "prince, angel," always means "charm." Now the parallelism in Wohlstein 2422 between איסרי דבית כנישתא, l. 7, and מלאכי דכ' כ', l. 15 (see above, n. 70), appears to approve Hyvernat, while in the Talmud א' = "genius, angel" (e. g. א' דמזוני, angel of nourishment). But Nöldeke's etymology is doubtless right; a genius to be invoked was himself called an *incantamentum*. A proof of this is found in the Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski in the *Florilegium* dedicated to de Vogüe, p. 349, in l. 29 f. (not understood by the editor—cf. l. 210), where Hibel Ziwa is the גטרא דכושטא, "the True Charm"; ג' = קיטרא = איסרא. Cf. the Mandaic genius "Great Mystery."

[113] Wohlstein: "böse Schickungen"; or it may be related to Assyrian *satâru, sadâru*, "write," of a written charm.

[114] So in a Babylonian text, of demons: "The man they strike, the women they hit," Fossey, *op. cit.*, 282.

"vows," with which compare the אשעם ביש in his text M 18, is exercised against practices which magically placed "sin" on the shoulders of some innocent person. Compare the symbol in Zecharia's vision of the removal of wickedness and its curse to the land of Shinar (*Zech.* 5). But there is doubtless a reminiscence here of the old Babylonian forms in which a sense of personal guilt appears in the incantations; so frequently in tablets 5 and 6 of the *Šurpu*-series, e. g. 5, l. 77 ff., where the summary is made of "the curse, the ban, the pain, the misery, the sickness, the ailment, the sin (*arni*), the misdeed (*šerti*), the offence (*ḫablati*), the transgression (*ḫiṭiti*)." The above would be the only case then of a sense of sin in our texts, but from the point of view that the sin has been inspired by a demoniac force. Heitmüller pertinently remarks:[115] "Die Sünde ist ein Art Besessenheit." And so sins are listed in the Greek objects of exorcism, e. g. *πνεύματα χθόνια, ἁμαρτίαι, ὄνειροι, ὅρκοι, βασκανίαι.*[116]

The malice (סינתיא = סנאתא) of Lidz. 4 is the enmity which magic could conjure up against an enemy, a dreaded means of revenge, and very frequent in ancient magic. Compare the Jewish charms from Mossoul having this specific object,[117] and for the Greek world the Cypriote leaden tablets published by Miss L. MacDonald,[118] in which the gods are constantly invoked to suppress the wrath and anger and power and might of the adversary.[119] A tablet to provoke such malice against an enemy is no. 2 in Wünsch's small collection.[120] The חיל ביש or חיל בישין (30: 4) is a summing up or personification of all this kind of evil potency.

Particularly dreaded were the material means of sorcery, amulets, etc., which themselves came to be personified into evil spirits. The most frequent of these objects of exorcism are the חומרי (sing. חומרתא),[121] small stones, beads, etc., carried singly, or on strings and necklaces, primarily used as amulets, but coming to possess at least in the Mandaic superstition

[115] *Op. cit.*, 307.

[116] Wessely, xxxvi, 81, l. 1443 ff. (the Paris Papyrus).

[117] Thompson, *PSBA*, xxviii, 106, 108, etc.

[118] *Ib.*, xiii, 160.

[119] Cf. the charm in Wessely, xlii, 60 f.

[120] See the editor's comment, p. 8.

[121] For their character as spirits, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, 76.

a baneful influence.[123] We might think of the manipulation of, for instance, an opal to bring another ill-luck; but probably the objects are more obscene, joints of dead men's bones, etc. Their standing epithet is "impious,"—חי זידניתא, and we read of their "tongue," e. g. 2: 7.[123] The ענקתא, "necklace charms" are exorcised in like manner,[124] also the שיבין (15: 6, *q. v.*);[125] כיפא, "pebble," Ellis 3: 11, would belong to the same class, but it is probably to be read כוסא.

The magic bowls themselves are among the evil influences (7: 13, perhaps Ellis *l. c.*), and so the magic knots, קיטרי, 7: 13, and עיקדי (?) 34: 10. There is one reference to the magic circle of the doctors of sorcery, חזאר רבאניא,[126] and to the use of wax, קירא, both in 39: 7 (*q. v.*). The סרני of 7: 11 (*q. v.*) and the גרגלי of Pognon B, no. 27, may be explained like חזאר = circles. The זיפי of 7: 13 (*q. v.*), entered between the "arts" and "bowl," may be the hairs of the victim as used in magic.

[123] The museums of antiquities possess many such necklace charms, which are often composed of stones of the shape of a drop or an eye—prophylactic against the evil eye? See for example, the illustrations to the art. "Amuletum" in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grec. et rom;* Elworthy, *The Evil Eye,* fig. 21. For the use of stones in Babylonian magic, see the 3d tablet of the *Labartu*-series and Myhrman's note thereon, *ZA,* xvi, 151; cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.,* i, 338, and Thompson, *Semitic Magic,* p. lxiii. In Syriac חומרא is also used of the joints of the vertebra = the *sappu* of the ass as prescribed in the *Labartu* texts. With this cf. the prescription of *parvum asini freni anulum in digito portandum,* Cyranides ii, 15. 6, ed. Mély and Ruelle, *Les lapidaires grecs,* Paris, 1898, quoted by Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo,* 83. The mystical properties of stones in Egyptian lore is well known, and they were associated with the metals and planets; see Berthelot, *Les origines d'alchimie,* Paris, 1885, 47, 218 ff., etc. For the use of stones and bones as prophylactics against the evil eye, see Seligmann, *Der böse Blick,* ii, 24, 141 ff. For Hellenistic references and bibliography, see Abt, *Apuleius,* 115. Buxtorf and Levy, in their dictionaries, *s. v.,* and Grünbaum, *ZDMG,* xxxi, 263, understand these charms as pearls or corals.

[123] Cf. the *λίθος μάγνης πνέων*; see Abt, *op. cit.,* 115, 121, and n. b. the *baitulia* described as *λίθοι ἔμψυχοι* by Philo of Byblos, Eusebius, *Praep. evang.,* i, 6.

[124] Once, as though misunderstood, masculinized. אנקי, 12. 9; also אנקתא.

[125] For these articles see Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie,* i, 203 ff.; Blau, *op. cit.,* 91.

[126] For the Babylonian ideas of the virtue of the circle, see above, § 8. Choni, the famous rainmaker in the Talmud, was called המעגל, the circle-drawer, because of his use of this device, *Taanith* 3: 8; see Blau, *op. cit.,* 33. According to Joel, *op. cit.,* i, 33, Choni was an Essene, but he appears to have stood in good repute with the orthodox.

To that very malignant potency, the Evil Eye—Nature's endowment of sorcery—there is comparatively little reference in the bowls, although in the later magic of East and West it is often the chief, if not the sole object of exorcism.[127] The longest pertinent passage in the Nippur texts is 30: 3 f.: "the eye of man or woman,[128] the eye of contumely, the eye that looks right into the heart." By the word רמאוא Pognon, B, p. 41, thinks is meant one who casts the evil eye. Or from its idea of "beckoning" may it be connected with the malicious "putting forth of the finger," e. g. *Is.* 58: 9 and cf. possibly Code Hammurabi, § 123. Grünbaum is doubtless right in holding[129] that among the Jews the evil eye was of a different character from the western Jettatura, referring rather, as also in the Old Testament (cf. also *Mt.* 20: 15), to the moral powers of envy, hatred, and so forth; the evil eye is rationalized and moralized. Wellhausen also notes the connection of the evil eye and envy in early Arabian thought.[130]

(3)

We come now to those objects of exorcism which to modern science and "common sense" appear as natural physical or psychical maladies, but which ancient thought regarded as actuated by demons, even to the extent that the malady in question was personified as an evil spirit. It is a question how far we have in this phenomenon the survival of ancient animism which peopled the universe with spirits good and evil, and how far in the *fin de siècle* magic of these bowls we have the result of a (poetical?) personification of evil which comes to be taken as real by the superstitious mind. The ancient demonology survives but it is reinforced by the hypostatizations and personifications of the play and fancy of the later mind, working sometimes in the field of a worse superstition, sometimes at the service of the free and philosophic imagination.[131] In the Old Testament the Word, the

[127] For Talmudic notions, see Blau, *Zauberwesen*, 152; Joel, *Aberglaube*, i, 74.

[128] A Palestinian amulet published by the writer in *JAOS*, 1911, 281: "from the eye of his father, mother, women, men, virgins .... ailment and shame and spirit and demons."

[129] *ZDMG*, xxxi, 260 f.

[130] *Reste arab. Heid.*, 143.

[131] Cf. the issue of the Platonic Ideas into the Gnostic Aeons.

Spirit of Yahwe, even his Sword (*Am.* 9: 4, cf. *Gen.* 3: 24), are personified; the evil spirit of Yahwe (1 *Ki.* 22) becomes in the end an evil spirit antagonistic to its origin; the sevenfold gift of the Spirit in *Is.* 11, 2, Greek text, issues in the Seven Spirits about the throne of God, *Rev.* 1: 4. And so the Chariot and the Wheels and the Beasts that accompany God's theophany came under the same treatment of mystical personification.[132] It is a similar phenomenon that we find in the Testament of Solomon; the seven demons brought to book by Solomon give their names as "Deception, Strife, Battle," etc. or the thirty-six elements (στοιχεῖα) are hypostatized into moral essences;[133] and in the same manner the Church personified the Seven Deadly Sins, which the Protestant Spenser dramatized in his perfect poetry. For various psychological reasons there was an increasing multiplication of the evils against which exorcism might be practiced; not only specific demons, like Tiu the Babylonian fiend of headache, but diseases under other names, and social evils such as enemies, loss of property, shame, might be exorcised. Probably the more intelligent man regarded this as a rational substitution for the elder demonology, while to the superstitious it merely meant more demons. At all events in the later magic we find more of the hypostatization of natural ills—how seriously it is to be taken is not always certain, and their commonplace names are simply given, whereas the old Babylonian magic would name the demoniac germ of the malady. Hence in our lists of exorcised ills we have in addition to the actual devils, already catalogued, series of evils which are somewhat on the borderland of diabolology. The old exorcisms still are effective but the old demonology is not ample enough; a man wants to exorcise headache, while he may be skeptical as to the existence of Tiu. Probably too as the exorcist ("medicine man") was also the physician, and medicine was born out of magic rites. we may observe in the naming of the actual maladies an intrusion of the rational spirit.[134]

[132] So the "thrones, dominions, principalities, powers," of Paul (*Col.* 1: 16); not only Gnosticism worked out this line of thought but also the Church took this heavenly hierarchy seriously.

[133] *JQR*, ix, 24, 34. So in Hermas, the vices of the tongue are called δαιμόνια (καταλαλία, etc.) *Mand.*, ii, 2: 3; cf. v, 2: 7; xii, 2: 2.

[134] *Aḫḫazu* becomes the name of a certain fever (a "yellow" fever), Küchler, *Beitr. z. Kenntniss d. ass.-bab. Medezin*, 61. N. B. the assignment of the several

In the Babylonian we find cases in the magical texts of the summarizing of specific maladies along with the demons. A long and interesting example is presented by Jastrow.[135] The series is introduced by a list of physical ills—contortions, broken limbs, affection of liver, heart, gall-bladder, etc. Then follow the evil eye, curses, calumny, etc., and then certain named demons; the text is an interesting predecessor of our inscriptions except that it places the maladies first. Is this the consequence of a rationalistic tendency? In the texts published by Küchler we find semi-magical prescriptions for diseases alone.

The New Testament gives a first-hand insight into the popular demonology of a representative portion of the oriental world at the beginning of our era. We find there devils of dumbness and deafness and blindness (*Mt.* 12: 22,*Mk.* 9: 17, etc.); one woman had "a spirit of infirmity," *πνεῦμα ἀσθενείας*, *Lu.* 13: 11; Simon's mother-in-law was seized with a great fever and Jesus rebuked the fever, *ἐπετίμησεν*[136] *τῷ πυρετῷ*,[137] even as in another case he rebuked the wind. And Jesus gave his disciples power "over unclean spirits to cast them out and heal every disease and every malady," Mt. 10.[138]

In the Egyptian magic there is the like identification of diseases with demons,[139] and the Greek magical papyri are full of it. Cf. the title of a charm given by Wessely, *φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πάσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος*,[140] So in the samples of Syriac charms published by Gollancz[141] we have the same summarization of "all manners of diseases" along with the demons, e. g. p. 79: Exorcised, etc. be "all demons, devils, phantoms, every practice, all temptations, unclean spirits, cruel dreams, dark

demons, *asakku, namtaru,* etc., to the different parts of the body, head, throat, etc.; Myhrman *ZA,* xvi, 146.

[135] *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.,* i, 367 ff. As Jastrow says, we gain here "a further insight into the connection between the medical calling and that of the exorcist." Other examples, Thompson, *Devils,* i, 17, 145, etc.

[136] = Hebrew גער.

[137] An angel *ἄγγελος*, of fever, *et al.,* appears in Byzantine charms; see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 19. It is the Rabbinic איסרא, discussed above, n. 112.

[138] See at length Conybeare, *JQR,* viii, 583, etc.

[139] Cases cited by Budge, *Egyptian Magic,* 206 ff.

[140] xlii, 39, l. 589.

[141] *Actes du 11ième Congrès des Orientalistes,* Section 4, 77.

apparitions; fear[142] and trembling, terror and surprise, dread, anxiety, excessive weeping; fever-panic, tertian fever, all kinds of fever, febrile ills, inflammations, etc.; when a child troubles its mother with pains of travail;[143] tumors, pestilences, ... all pains and all sicknesses, all wounds and all oppositions, surprises, revenges .... the nine sicknesses," etc. And Vassiliev has published a number of Byzantine charms directed especially against specific diseases,[144] the first of which is a general panacea: *ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς πάντα τὰ ἀκάρθατα πνεύματα, ἢ βασκανία, ἢ φαρμακεία, ἢ φοβερισμὸς, ἢ φρίκη, ἢ πυρετὸς, ἢ ἐπίβουλον, ἢ συνάντημα*[145] *πονηρὸν, ἢ νοσερὸν, ἢ κωφὸν, ἢ τυφλὸν, ἢ ἄλαλον, ἢ σεληνιακὸν, ἢ μηθεις* (*sic*) *θάνατον, ἢ ἀλλοιούμενον, ἢ μορφούμενον, ἢ ἄρσεν, ἢ θῆλυ, ἢ νοσημάτων* (*sic*).[146]

The most common of the demoniac categories bearing upon physical maladies are those with the general significance of "stroke, plague": נגעא especially epidemic disease, שובטא; פנעי, and n. b. פנעית 16: 10; מחותא, Mand. מחיתא; שיט (שוט?) 34: 10, 39: 4;[147] also the חססא, "sufferings."[148] Cf. *Ps.* 91: 5, a psalm and a verse which the Jews regarded as a valuable phylactery, and *Ps.* 89: 33. The שיקופתא treated above may be included here, = *ῥάπισμα*.

It is a minority of the bowl inscriptions which refer to special diseases. Of our texts Nos. 11, 16, 24, 29, 34, are of this character; so also a clause in Lidzbarski 5; lists of diseases appear in Wohlstein 2422, apparently mostly cutaneous affections,[149] and at the end of Schwab G.

[142] Fears are a frequent object of exorcism in the Greek magic, e. g. Wessely, xlii, 64, l. 25, and collation of the subject by Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo*, 58, 65 f.; see also Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 86 f.

[143] This in earlier magic would have been ascribed to the jealous Lilith.

[144] *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, i, 332.

[145] Cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 196, l. 21, etc.; explained by Pradel as of a demon's occurrence, *Süd-ital. Gebete*, 96. So in Schwab G, קריתא, and cf. use of verb = קרא.

[146] For a survey of the Hellenistic personifications of disease, see Tambornino, *op. cit.*, 62 ff.; e. g. insanity = *Mania; Febris*, etc.; also see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 19, Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, 125.

[147] Cf. the prayer of the Bishop Serapion directed against *πᾶσα πληγή, πᾶσα μάστιξ*, ... *ῥάπισμα*, in Wobbermin, *Altchristliche liturg. Stücke*, in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, N. F., xvii, 2, p. 13.

[148] The חסאתא, Schw. M: 17, right after "arts" and before אשעם ביש may refer to tortures inflicted by magical operations.

[149] See Fränkel's criticism of readings, *ZA*, ix, 308.

We find listed general names of diseases, e. g. מארעין, כיבי, כורהני קשיי; a large number of cutaneous diseases: חרסא, חפפותא, חכרכה, חזיזית, גרבא, חרסום;[150] a series in 24: 2: אישיתא, אונא, אזיתא, probably fevers. In Schwab G we read of איקדי (= Wohlstein, יקדי, "fevers"), חבלא, עלמא, אישתא and אישתא (neo-Syriac, malarial fever),[151] ערומא ("swelling"?), שחופתא ("consumption," Rabb. ישחפת) מי ביישי (?).[152] שערתא, 11: 2, is possibly "fever." The demons referred to in 34: 10 (*q. v.*) may be the spirits of cancer, tumor of the eye, dysentery, and in l. 13 palsy of hand and foot.[153] A long list of fevers is presented in the first of Gollancz's Syriac charms.

In the Berlin bowl 2416 Wohlstein reads a certain affection as וריר ביישתא, translating it "böser Fluss"; Stübe reads it וריד ב', interpreting it, by a desperate solution, as the sacrificial jugular vein which he supposes was used as a maleficent charm. Jastrow in his Lexicon gives both וריר and ירוד, = leucoma of the eye (again the same confusion of ד and ר as in the word ירורא discussed above),[154] The correct spelling is וריר and it is closely related to סנורים, "blindness," *Gen.* 19: 11, 2 *Ki,* 6: 18. The root is parallel to ברר "be clear, bright" (cf. the Assyrian);[155] the sense of blindness in connection with this root arose from the fact that the sun produces blindness (eye-diseases are most common in the Orient), or from the dazzling sensation suffered by those affected with certain optical diseases.

No. 29: 7 we have a characteristic magical prescription for a woman who is exorcised from the various categories of devils and charms (ענקתא)

[150] For these and the following terms, see Glossary C.

[151] A disease *ašû* in Assyrian, Küchler, *op. cit.,* 131, 197.

[152] Wohlstein, 2422: 20, dropsy or urinary affection? Fränkel (*ib.,* 309) cft. *Ḥull.* 105b, and explains as "water from which a demon has drunk." It may be the eye-disease known to the Jews as "water," see Preuss (cited in next note), p. 305.

[153] For the diseases in the Bible and Talmud see *Jewish Encyc.* art. "Medicine," and iv, 517 f. for demons of diseases, with bibliography, viii, 413 f.; noteworthy treatments that have since appeared are Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie,* i, § 104, J. Preuss, *Biblisch-talmudische Medezin,* 1911 (with extensive bibliography), while Fishberg, *The Jews,* 1911, cc. 13-15, may be consulted with profit. Many of the medical terms in the bowls are not to be found in the Jewish literature.

[154] For this "Yarod" disease, see Preuss, *op. cit.,* 308. He notices also the eye-disease ריר, a form of our word, p. 310.

[155] The Talmudic formula against blindness, *Shabriri, briri, riri, ri, Ab. Z.* 12b, etc., is formed from this root.

and then from כיפסא, a menstruation malady (?); then are mentioned מבכלתא ובנתא דברא which are evidently the causes of feminine irregularities, followed by טומי, "pollutions" (fluxes?), and the בר ניפלא, probably epilepsy. In a badly arranged series in No. 16 we find (l. 9) the רוח כרי ונאלי, literally "the spirit (= breath?) of stench and asthma," i. e. of the foul or labored breath symptomatic of diseases (see *ad loc.*). In 11: 3 f., again a charm for a woman, after the list of demons appear עקרתא and תכלתא which we should translate "barrenness" and "bereavement," understanding them as personified.[186] But in the parallel Mandaic text of Lidzbarski's (see to No. 11) bereavement has become a Lilith (תאכלתא ליליתא, ת' = *takkâltâ*). Which is the original of these forms? In 34: 10 אבערן וקמתא might be rendered, "ugliness and distortion," with which compare the charms of the Greek youths in the papyri for health, good looks, etc.[187]

Another class of evils are those of a social nature. So poverty מיסכינותא, figures in 34: 12, but from two other passages we see that it is the hostile witchcraft that would effect poverty in the victim's life which is exorcised: אסרה דמ', "the genius of poverty," 16: 10, and Lidz., 4: תיפוק אקריתא אקתא ומ', where "distress" and "sickness" are epexegetical to "invocations." Again in 34: 12 is found an exorcism against all kinds of losses: זינא יצערי. חורסנא ותוכא in 7: 11 are troubles involving shame.[188]

We mark that the rationalization of maladies had not gone very far; the decadent Babylonians were satisfied with the exorcism of devils and witchcraft and avoided the diagnosis of diseases. For modern magical practice in this field see the collection of Jewish charms published by R. C. Thompson, "Folklore of Mossoul," *PSBA*, 1906-7. In these the spirits have fled, but the ancient magical practices remain effective.

[186] Cf. the constant personification in Greek magic of *βασκανία*.

[187] E. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 197, l. 3.

[188] Cf. the מהוש וצער of my amulet published in *JAOS*, 1911, 281.

§ 13. Propitious Angels, Deities, Etc.

In the Babylonian exorcistic system the beneficent gods and spirits were arrayed and invoked against the demons and ills that affected human kind. Jastrow gives a specimen of such an invocation of some twenty deities[1] and discusses at length these various lists and their orders.[2] In another example, given by Reisner,[3] fifty great gods, seven gods of destiny, 300 Annunaki of heaven and 600 of earth, are invoked. It is not inevitable then that we must go to Persian dualism to discover the origin of the Jewish angelology. Absolute monotheism with its desire that the one God be exalted alone broke down before the specious and alluring argument that there must be more who are with us than those who are against us (*2 Ki.* 6: 16).

It is to be premised that in many of our texts the religious element is very deficient; reliance is placed upon bans and formulas with often no reference to Deity or other personal agencies of friendly character. Those inscriptions in which such supernatural agencies apart from God are invoked may be divided into three classes, representing so many distinct origins. There are those in which the well known names and name-formations of the Jewish angelology appear; although, as remarked above, § 12, the word "angel" is not used in all cases in the usual Jewish sense (often = deity). Then there are the genii of the Mandaic religion, mostly with names of outlandish formation. And finally there are the invocations of evidently pagan origin in which deities are named, although unfortunately most of their names are obscure or perverted by the text tradition. Further these different elements are confused and what appears like a good Jewish text at times admits a pagan deity into its celestial

[1] From the *Šurpu*-series, iv, l. 68 ff.

[2] *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, 289.

[3] *Sum.-bab. Hymnen*, iv, l. 152 ff.

hierarchy—somewhat as the mediaeval Church came to canonize the Buddha.

(1) We need not dwell long upon the Mandaic genii. Pognon has given a survey of those occurring in his bowls,[4] to which may be added a few more from Lidzbarski's and my texts. Some of the names are patterned after the Jewish angelic nomenclature, e. g. עורפעיל (= רופאל), or have forms in *-ai*, e. g. בעודאי, ננחנאי, called "angels" (No. 38), or we find a name קאטריאוים patterned after the obscure Mandaic principles Piriawis and Sindiriawis. A number of the names are not found in the known Mandaic literature.[5]

(2) The angelology of the apparently Jewish texts and the angelic nomenclature are not as elaborate as we find in later Jewish literature, e. g. the *Sword of Moses*[6] or the *Sefer Raziel*,[7] the bulk of which consists of lists of angelic names.[8] The majority of our texts have no such names. The most common angels are Michael, Gabriel, Raphael. As a rule the names are formed in *-el*, although other formations appear and quite un-Jewish potencies are brought in as angels. Our texts stand on the borderland of Jewish angelology and not within its orthodox development.

Taking up first the known angels, we find that Michael does not have necessary precedence.[9] He sometimes appears in the first place followed by Gabriel, Raphael, Nuriel, *et al.* (e. g. Nos. 14, 34, Hyv.), but as often the order has Gabriel first,—Gabriel, Michael, Raphael (Nos. 7, 20. Myhrman, Wohlstein 2422, 2416), or Gabriel occurs without Michael (e. g.

[4] B, p. 93.

[5] In Ellis 1 the Mandaic genius Abatur is an evil spirit, and is classed among the ghostly spirits in Wohlstein, 2417: 6. N. B. the occurrence of this name as Abyater in an Ethiopic apocryphon, Littmann, *JAOS*, xxv, 28. Afriel, *ib.*, 29, is a form of Raphael, corresponding to the form occurring in the bowls; see Glossary A, *s. v.*

[6] Gaster, *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1896, and in separate imprint.

[7] Composed by Eleazar of Worms, 13th cent.

[8] See, in general, Schwab, *Dictionnaire de l'angélologie*, 1897 (in *Mémoires* of Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres, Series 1, vol. 10, part 2). The Essenes laid great stress on the names of angels, Josephus, *Bell. jud.*, ii, 8: 7.

[9] See Lueken, *Michael*, 1898, especially § 4.

Nos. 10, 15).[10] The latter order is of course that of their appearance in the Jewish literature (Old Testament and *Tobit*). Other angels may precede these or occur without them. Aniel appears as the fourth in a tetrad (Wohlstein 2416).

The title peculiar to Michael in Jewish lore, the Great Prince, השר הגדול (*Dan.* 12, *Aboda Z.* 42b, etc.), appears in 5: 3, but without specific reference, and at the end of No. 7 in the list of angels, which in its occurrence at the beginning of the text names Gabriel first, Armasa is "the great lord"; so the application of the epithet is uncertain. In Hyvernat's text, which appears to be comparatively late, we find Michael's full glory expressed: "the mighty, the king, genius of the law" (גברא מלכא איסרא דאוריתא). In 34: 7 he is called the "healer" (אסיא), Raphael "reliever" (מדוליא), and Gabriel the "servant of the Lord." the title "healer" suggests that the frequent opening invocation, "In thy name, O Lord of salvation (אסותא), great Saviour (אסיא) of love," which is not a regular Jewish form of address to Deity, may refer to Michael;[11] but the supposition is not reinforced by the position Michael takes in these texts. In Wohlstein 2416 kabbalistic surnames are given to Gabriel and Michael, אלפסם and דמותיה (so W. would read), the latter, "likeness of Yah," corresponding to the later Jewish notions concerning Michael as almost θεὸς ἕτερος. Cf. the kabbalistic forms in 24: 4 (of angels?) and the group of seven barbarous names in Schwab M, Dalal, Salal, Malal, etc., presumably standing for the seven archangels.[12] Reference to the latter is made once, in the introduction to Stübe's text (= Wohlstein 2416) where exor-

[10] See for early precedence *ibid.*, p. 36 f.; e. g. in *Enoch* 20: Uriel, Rafael, Raguel, Michael, Sarakael, Gabriel. For Gabriel we may note that the Mandaeans gave him high honor, identifying him with Hibel—Ziwa (Norberg, *Onom.*, 33; Brandt, *Mand. Schr.*, 21), while they appear to have ignored Michael.

[11] Lueken, *Michael*, 11, 87: M. is price of love. For the epithet referred to, see notes to No. 3.

[12] Cf. the dictum of *Sefer Raziel* (quoted by Schwab, *Dictionnaire*, 7) that in divination it is necessary to pronounce the mystic names of the planets. Cf. a form of charm in Wessely, xlii, 65, where the seven angels are named in one column, and parallel to them two rows of barbarous mystical names, the first column containing varying permutations of the seven vowels; e. g. *αεηιουω χυχ μιχαηλ νυσευ*. N. B. the many mystical or magical names of the deities or "angels" in the Harranian philosophy; Dozy and de Goeje, *Actes* of 6th Congress of Orientalists, II, i, 297.

cism is made in the name of Metatron, Hadriel, Nuriel, Uriel, Sasgabiel Hafkiel, Mehafkiel,[12a] "who are the seven angels that go and turn around heaven and earth and stars and zodiac and moon and sea."[12]

In this last series Metatron takes the place that should be given to Michael. Metatron[14] appears earlier as one of the (six) archangels, in Targum Jer. to *Dt.* 34: 6: Michael, Gabriel, Metratron, Jophiel, Uriel, Yephephia. He is really a rival figure to Michael, springing from a different religious concept; Michael is an angel, the patron of Israel, hence the Angel, *par excellence,* the representative of deity.[15] Metatron is in origin an *idea,* Platonic, Philonic, however we may call it, produced by the necessity of a Demiurge, a "second god" between Deity and man.[16] It is interesting to watch the somewhat unlike histories of the rival ideas. Michael remains an angel, but Metatron becomes more and more a mystic being; he is associated with the Enoch and Elija legends, and his identity with these human beings may be described as an assimilation of them to Metatron or as his incarnation in them; he is both divine and human.[17] To the mystic, the kabbalist, such a figure is more sympathetic than the archangel (cf. the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews!), and so he replaces or absorbs Michael. Hence he is described in terms like those given to Michael. Eisenmenger quotes (p. 396) a long list of appellatives: he is Prince of the Presence, Prince of the Law, Prince of wisdom, Prince of kings, etc. (cf. the titles applied to Michael in Hyvernat's bowl), while elsewhere (Eisenmenger, *ibid.*) he is called the Prince of the world, cf. the title "the great prince" discussed above in connection with Michael.[18] We may

[12a] Most of these names are plays on evident roots.

[12] For references and literature on the planetary angels see Lueken, *op. cit.,* 56; add Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum,* ii, 383 ff.; Bousset, *Religion des Judentums,* 315 ff.

[14] See Weber, *Jüdische Theologie,* § 37, and for origins of the idea cf. Bousset, *op. cit.,* 348.

[15] For the extremes to which this notion went, see Lueken, *op. cit.,* 36 ff.

[16] Both ideas are associated in Philo's mind; see Lueken, § 7, on the *λόγος ἀρχάγγελος* of Philo.

[17] For later legends see Eisenmenger, ii, 394 ff and the interesting critical discussion of this later (Gaonic) development of Judaism by Joel, *Der Aberglaube,* ii, 15 ff.

[18] Cf. שלימא ברא who stands before "the true God" in the pagan text of No. 19.

suppose that on the periphery of Judaism as well as in its esoteric circles the idea of Metatron would be especially acceptable to those who were not weaned from polytheism.

Comparing Nos. 3, 19, 25, we come upon an interesting identification. ארמסא, which appears in No. 3, is the Greek Hermes, more especially the Hermes of the mystic Egypto-Grecian theosophy (see to No. 3). He is the Word, etc. (No. 19) and in 25 : 4 f., is identified with Metatron.[19] Thus we have here a welding together of the esoteric Jewish Metatron and the equally mystical Hermes of Hellenism. Whether our magicians were aware what ארמסא meant, I know not and I doubt it. It gave them one more mystical name and combination.

Just as Hermes was dragged in, so other names or words were put in the category of angels or intermediate beings. So in 7 : 8 the invocation is in the name of Gabriel, Michael, Rafael, Asiel, Hermes, Abbahu, Abraxas,[20] And so with many terms in these invocations it is impossible to decide what we are dealing with (e. g. Agrabis, 17 : 4), whether a surrogate for a divine name, an intermediate being, a pagan deity, or perhaps a sorcerer's name. The expression "in the name of" was taken seriously only so far as the name was concerned; the name, the word, was the essential thing, not the prosaic object it stood for. The same phenomenon appears in the magical papyri. There we find now an exorcism in the name of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus Christ (*χρηστος*) and Holy Spirit (*αγιος πνευμα, sic*)[21]—wherein the exorcist shows bad orthodoxy, whether as Jew or Christian; or again an incantation in the name of *ιαω θεου σαβαωθ θεου αδωναι θεου μιχαηλ θεου σουριηλ θεου γαβριηλ θεου ραφαηλ θεου αβρασαξ, κ. τ. λ.*,[22] where gods, angels and formulas are mixed up just as unintelligently as in the incantations from Nippur.

As for the minor angels most of them can be found in other Jewish literature, and reference for them may be made to Schwab's dictionary of angelology. Glossary A lists the angelic names in the bowls. In their

[19] So Michael was identified with Hermes, Lueken, *op. cit.*, 28, 78 (with reference to Hermes-figures bearing Michael's name).

[20] For some of the angel names in the papyri, see Lueken, *op. cit.*, 71.

[21] Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften*, xxxvi, 2, 75, l. 1227.

[22] *Ibid.*, 144, l. 144. See above § 11.

formation they follow the general rule of making the first (verbal) element express the object desired in the incantation. Thus in the love-charms Nos. 13 and 28, the angels invoked are Raḥmiel, Ḥabbiel and Ḥanniniel.

(3) It is difficult to say how many of the bowls are Jewish; the presence of Jewish catchwords is not a sufficient criterion. I would call attention to a few of the Nippur bowls which are definitely pagan. Of such nature is the last one cited, No. 28, where along with the angel Raḥmiel appear the mighty (passionate?) Dlibat (a Semitic Venus) and [blank] gods. No. 19 has the longest list of invocations of apparently heathen deities. Only a few of them can be certainly identified. Hermes appears there, probably two words (masc. and fem.) representing the Gnostic Aeons (איבול, איבולית); Bagdana, "with 70 exalted priests," who appears as a demon (Abugdana) in the Mandaic bowls.[25] Other names have a very non-Semitic sound, and we can identify some Greek divinities: Zeus, Okeanos, Protogenos (see the commentary). Also we find angelic names, Aḳzariel, etc., and again Abraxas, and reference to the 60 gods and 80 goddesses. Yet the opening invocation is "in thy name Lord of Salvation," etc., who is also the "true God," l. 17.

Of peculiar interest is No. 36, in which the exorcist declares he has been empowered by certain deities: "The lord Šameš (sun) has charged me, Sina (moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nannai has said to me [blank], and Nirig (Nergal) has given me power." In quite antique wise the sorcerer (perhaps a priest, בומרא) professes to have received oracles. Apart from the striking parallels of the prophetic commissions in the Old Testament, we find the expression of like assumption by the exorcists in the Babylonian magic. Thus from the *Utukku*-series: "The sorcerer-priest that makes clear the ordinances of Eridu am I; of Marduk sage magician, eldest son of Ea, herald am I, the exorciser of Eridu, most cunning in magic am I";[26] again: "The man of Ea am I, the messenger of Marduk am I, my spell is the spell of Ea, my incantation the incantation

[25] Pognon B, p. 93, Lidz., 4: 2 (p. 103, n. 7); cf. the change of the beneficent Mandaic genius Abatur into an evil spirit in Ellis 1.

[26] Thompson, *Devils*, i, 133.

of Marduk."[25] Cf. also the *Maḳlu*-series: "The god and goddess have commissioned me, whom shall I send?," and, "I go on Marduk's command."[26] In our text we have doubtless one of the latest survivals of priestly exorcism in the old forms coming down from the *âšipu* priests of Babylonia; these forms doubtless were cherished long in the Harranian religion.

[25] *Ibid.*, 23.

[26] Tablet ii, ll. 52, 158. Cf. also § 9, end.

IV. HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS

§ 14. Age of the Bowls

Very diverse views as to the antiquity of the bowls have been offered by students. It is unnecessary to consider the hypothesis of their pre-Christian origin.[1] Chwolson as an epigraphical expert submitted the texts he was acquainted with to a careful examination and believed he could assign them, by comparison of the scripts, to different centuries early in this era, from the second to the fourth or fifth. But epigraphical evidence in the case of a formed script like that of the square character is fallacious. Especially in the case of rude popular texts, in which antique forms of writing have survived, no certainty from epigraphy can be obtained. And in general a chronology obtained from epigraphy is most dubious; I may refer to the current opposing arguments over the Siloam inscription and the Gezer calendar tablet, or note the remarkably fluent, almost cursive script of the potsherds from Samaria, which only their certain *provenance* compels us to ascribe to the Omride age.

But most of the students would be inclined to place the bowls considerably later, between the fifth and ninth centuries, although rather by conjecture, from the impression made by the contents, than through positive proofs. Levy and Halévy thought, but fallaciously, that they could detect Arabisms, and were inclined to date the texts after the Arabic conquest.[2] Nöldeke would place Hyvernat's bowl not earlier than the eighth century, basing his opinion on the forms of the Persian names.[3] Schwab assigned his Louvre bowls to the fourth or fifth century.[4]

[1] See above, § 5.

[2] Levy, *ZDMG*, ix, 474; Halévy, *Comptes rendus*, 1877, 292, specifying more exactly, "vers le 9ième siècle."

[3] *Zeits. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, ii, 295.

[4] *Rev. d'ass. et d'arch.*, ii, 136.

It is evident that, in the case of a large number of texts coming from different localities and in most cases not observed *in situ*, it is impossible to take a datum from any one and so fix the chronology of the whole species. Magical literary forms are peculiarly persistent; we may think of the uncertainty as to the age of the Greek magical texts, in which, for instance, a Christian theological phrase may not define the age of the magical formula, can only give a clue to that of the particular document. And so our texts, copied and recopied as precious magical prescriptions, repeated possibly by laymen long after the special school of sorcery had ceased to exist, may have extended over a series of centuries. Some bowls may be considerably later than others, e. g. Hyvernat's with its reference to "Ispandas-Dewa the Jinn of Solomon," and Schwab's H and O composed of biblical verses.

Fortunately more certainty as to a unity of time can be had for the texts from Nippur. These were found by expert scholars *in situ* at certain noted levels of the ruins. While written in three different dialects and as many scripts, nevertheless the appearance of the same persons and families in the three classes tends to show that they all belonged to about the same age. We are not therefore to suppose a stratification of Judaic, Syriac, Mandaic layers, representing so many different ages or even distinct racial elements. Nor do the variants within the texts of the square script compel us to assign them to different ages; these are but calligraphic variations. There is every reason to place the Nippur bowls within rather a brief period, and if one or a few texts threw any light upon the chronology, we could place the age of the whole collection.

The provenance of the bowls from Nippur was described in § 1; they lay above the stratum of the Parthian temple. This building had been destroyed, was covered with sand, and upon the Tell settled small Semitic communities, Jews and Mandaeans, drawn to the deserted place probably by motives of religious community life. Indeed we may suppose that these bodies, separated from the main currents of their larger societies, made a practical use and profit out of their religious prestige in the preparation of magical texts. To speak more exactly of the archaeological conditions, in the "Jewish" houses discovered by Peters an upper stratum contained Cufic coins of the seventh century, a lower stratum only Parthian coins, Jewish bowls being found also in the latter. The lowest

dating then is the seventh century, on the basis of the Cufic coins, and this dating is to be pushed back, if it be modified at all, because of the ease with which small coins slip down through the soil. The archaeological evidence then for the *terminus ad quem* of our texts is the seventh century (probably its beginning), with a fair leeway back into the preceding century.

As I have said, the epigraphical evidence is a weak reed to lean on for chronology.[5] The only new fact I can bring to bear on this feature of the discussion is the novel Syriac script exhibited in seven of our bowls. I have discussed this script in § 6 and there came to the conclusion that it is an early type of the Edessene style of alphabet, a result corroborated by its identity with the Manichaean alphabet. But again this may be a case of survival; certain evidence from epigraphy is *nil*.

There remains the philological testimony. The "Jewish" Aramaic of the texts is just such as we find in the Talmud, and with evidently like dialectical variations; a few forms appear representing the "Palestinian" dialect, remains of which occur in the Babylonian literature. The Mandaic dialect is fully formed, and has exercised its influence, at least in spelling, upon the other two, the Rabbinic and Syriac. There are many words which can be illustrated only from the neo-Syriac dialects, or from the compilations of the Syriac lexicographers. But these words may be old and only by chance have failed to make their appearance in literature. Thus the late Syriac form ʿnwʾ "goat," is now found in the Elephantine papyri. The fact that a Persian word, e. g. *dastabira,* does not appear till later or is a *hapax legomenon,* is not proof of late age unless it can be shown to be of late Persian formation. Nor do I find that any of the proper names compel us to assume a late date. The majority of them are Persian, and do not, to one who is a layman in this branch of science and who must rely mostly upon the authority of Justi's *Namenbuch,* appear to be necessarily late, say toward the end of the first millennium.[6]

[5] It is impossible to make an epigraphical examination of all the bowls published, for in the majority of cases facsimiles are not given, or they are poorly made.

[6] Nöldeke's argument that the element *-duch* for *-ducht* speaks for a late age is not at all stringent for a Semitic dialect which would naturally abhor a termination in a double consonant; the Syriac texts have *-ducht*.

There is one line of negative evidence which is the only clue to a terminus *ad quem* which I can discover on this basis. Despite the variety of names, the list of which includes two Syriac Christian names (סעבריא ליעשו, בת סהדא) and a Greek name (טימאתאיז), also probable Indian names, there is none of Arabic origin. A pair of common nouns and the use of פ for the conjunction in two cases do give us etymological connections in that direction; but פ in this usage is found in the Senjirli inscriptions and the Elephantine papyri and is a spelling *ad aurem*—it is corrected in one of Schwab's texts. As for the two words גינא, Jinn, and שיק (and possibly שלניתא), I cannot grant that these loans must have taken place after the Mohammedan conquest, when sorcery was so eager to include every possible name of evil spirits (n. b. the adoption of διάβολοι) and inasmuch as the good Semitic word may long have been at home on the Arabian frontiers of Babylonia.

My consequent conclusion is that the Nippur texts should be placed in a period not later than the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, that is, only as a terminus *ad quem*, approximately 600 A. D. The abandonment of the Tell of Nippur may have been caused by the Arabic conquest, which, as we may assume, ultimately drove away the Jewish and Mandaean settlers to other abodes, the latter to their recesses in the south (they were not, I think, recognized as one of "the peoples of a book"), the former to the towns. As for those texts from other quarters that appear to be later, they are but the continuation, which we should expect, of the magic of the elder bowls, and as I have noticed in § 2, towards the end, late descendants of the species.

If my conclusions from the data of the Nippur bowls are justified, they afford us one result of comparative value. While the great mass of magical, and more particularly Jewish magical literature, is known to us only in late documents,—we may but speculate as to the age of the *Sword of Moses*, the *Wisdom of the Chaldaeans*, the *Seal of Solomon*, the elements of *Sefer Raziel*—our texts are contemporary and authentic documents of the late pre-Islamic period in Babylonian history.

§ 15. Origins and Relations of the Bowl Magic

"Jewish incantation bowls" is the title that has been generally applied to our species of magical texts. It arose in consequence of the fact that the first bowls interpreted, as also the majority of those now known, are written in the script and dialectic forms of the speech of the Talmud, and withal appear preponderantly to bear the earmarks of Judaism.[1] The subsequent discovery of similar supplies of texts Mandaic in composition and contents, and now the presentation in this volume of a number of Syriac texts, enlarge our vista concerning the diffusion of this special form of magic among the races and faiths of Babylonia. Further, over against texts of whose Judaism there may be no reasonable doubt, we find a number which are out and out pagan, while the majority are certainly eclectic in their theological tastes. These observations require that we extend our study beyond the domain of Judaism to discover the relations of these bowl-texts to the general field of magic, as we know it for the first centuries of the Christian era, and to the earlier strains which entered into it. What are the historical connections of our texts, and what light do they cast upon the religious or spiritistic thought of cosmopolitan Babylonia in the age of the Sassanian empire?[2]

In the magic-wild age at the beginning of our era, the Jewish magic was recognized as one of the three great schools of sorcery, along with the Chaldaean and the Egyptian. The Jews had inherited the rites and notions of primitive magic from the Arabian Hebrews and from ancient Canaan; despite the severity of an ethical monotheism, which throughout

[1] Hence our rude and vulgar texts are of philological importance as almost the only early contemporary documents of these dialects.

[2] The analogies have been set forth in the preceding sections; in the following paragraphs I can only speculate on the genealogical relations. Cf. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 261, n. 2.

its growth had placed a unique ban upon the practice of sorcery, this feature nevertheless survived. While the Second Isaiah is deriding the sorceries of Babylon and exposing their helplessness (c. 47), we have stray glimpses of the persistence of ancient rites closely akin to magic, which still claimed the adherence of renegades (*Eze.* 8; *Is.* 65, 66). In the Book of Tobit are given magical remedies for the expulsion of foul demons with the concurrence of angels; Josephus tells of his sorcerer who could pull the demon out of the nose of the possessed with a root indicated by Solomon.[3] The New Testament gives the first extensive and intimate picture of the magical conditions in Palestine; "If I through the finger of God cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out?"—inquires Jesus. In *Acts* we read of well-established sorcerers who bewitched the people and even Gentiles in foreign parts, a Simon Magus and Bar-Jesus Elymas. But apart from the hoary forms of Mezuzoth and Tephillin and some mortuary charms,[4] our first literary specimens of Jewish or Judaizing magic are found in the Greek papyri of the Christian age, and there how much is Greek and how much Jewish we know not. Here appear various forms and anagrams of the Ineffable Name, quotations from the Scriptures, historical references to Solomon and especially to Moses,[5] who came, as the great mystagogue and magician, to be identified with Hermes-Thoth, and was regarded as the teacher of Orpheus.[6] He is made the author of a Hermetic book, through and through Egyptian and Hellenistic, entitled the Eighth Book of Moses, as a continuation of the Pentateuch, which Dieterich has published at the end of his *Abraxas*. Blau and Deissmann have published a delicate erotic charm, composed in true Greek spirit, and yet the former may be right in claiming its phraseology as preponderantly Jewish.[7] In which direction was the give and take, what were the connecting links? Dieterich would find in the Essenes and Therapeutae the bond between

[3] *A.J.*, viii, 2, 5. For a survey of Jewish magic and a large bibliography, see Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, § 32, vii (ed. 3, iii, 294).

[4] See H. Vincent, "Amulette judéo-araméenne," *Rev. bibl.*, 1908, 382. (with ample bibliography), and Montgomery, *JAOS*, 1911, 272.

[5] See the analogies presented in § 11.

[6] Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 70.

[7] See notes to No. 28.

Jewish and Hellenic magic.[8] But just wherein lay the peculiar type and particular contribution of Judaism to the world's magical faith, we do not know, for the reason that we have no early magical documents of unimpeachable Jewish origin. And if we possessed documents from the Palestinian life of the Hebrews, how far even then could we decide what was specifically Hebrew and not Canaanitish or borrowed from the spheres of culture to the east and west? What different origins are assigned by the commentators to the occult practices described in Eze. 8.[9]

When we pass to the eastern home of the Diaspora we have that marvellous encyclopaedia, the Talmud, with its glimpses into the common life of the people as well as into the discussions of the schools; magic holds its sway more or less over all, and its existence, if not its legality, is confessed by the spiritual masters, who, if we may contrast successively Mishna, Gemara, the Gaonic period, with one another, came more and more to recognize and legitimatize the practice of magic.[10] We catch in the Talmud and the subsequent authoritative literature some of the magical phrases, learn something of the practices and beliefs in demons, mark the superstitious fears of the people of Babylonia, of the Jews as well as of their neighbors.[11] Our bowls and their inscriptions are rude and unlovely, with none of the sombre dignity of the Babylonian incantations, or of the often lyric beauty of the Greek magical literature;[12] but these bowls are of prime interest as giving us for the first time extensive texts of the eclectic Babylonian magic of the first Christian millennium. They are degenerate successors of the elder incantations of the land, yet they are autograph evidence of the superstitions which Talmud, with caution, and Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum,* with malice, reveal, and are precursors of that sea of magical literature which has come down to us under Jewish auspices.

[8] *Ib.,* 137 ff.

[9] See Kraetzschmar, *ad loc.*

[10] See Joel, *Der Aberglaube,* the sections C, D, E (pt. 1, pp. 55, 64; pt. 2, p. 2) for this comparison. For the Talmudic teachers who allowed and practised magic, see Blau, *Das altjüd. Zauberwesen,* 26, 54.

[11] According to Blau, pp. 23, 84, the Babylonian Jews were far more addicted to magic than the Palestinians.

[12] Cf. the noble Hermetic hymn of creation, the "holy word" in the Eighth Book of Moses, in which "God smiled seven times," and each smile was an act of creation; Dieterich, p. 182.

And withal they give a sample of the medley and fusion of peoples and religions in the land which the Jews had long since called Confusion.

The order of the day is to Babylonize, and our evident line of primary investigation is to discover the relationships of the bowls with the ancient Babylonian magic, the literature of which in the last decades has been published in large quantities by the most distinguished Assyriologists.[13] My notes to the texts and the Introduction show how apparently numerous are the connections between the object of our study and the magic of Babylonia. While there is only one instance of the specific bowl praxis in that earlier literature,[14] still its method of defixion is quite congruous with the ancient magical operations. As of yore, the sorcerer appears as the commissioner of Deity or of the gods (§ 9); he follows definite and repetitious formulas, similar to the Babylonian *šiptu* (§ 11). He invokes most frequently, or at least primarily, one chief god, "the Lord of love and healing," just as the Babylonian called on Ea or Marduk, but, as in the elder incantations, other gods or their angelic equivalents are invoked in large accumulation (§ 13). Most striking in the correspondences is the registration of the devils, black arts and maladies to be exorcised; as in the Babylonian, so in our magic these are specified in long detailed lists (§ 12). In fact our spells far outdo the Babylonian repetition of the seven classes of evil spirits. In the Mandaic texts the terror of the witches appears, in others the evil charm is reversed upon the head of the sorcerer, all as in Babylonian magic. Rites and words and the instruments of magic, which are personified, are as much the object of detestation as in the *Maḳlu*-series. Diseases and all human ills are inspired by devils, indeed are devils and are treated as personal essences. The magician's ban, the spell of the mighty god, is laid upon them all, and they are forthwith assumed to be "bound," and "tied," as in older days when simulacra sacramentally sealed the operation. Even the quotation of Scriptures and references to sacred legend have their parallels in the Babylonian incantations, which used the ancient myths as potent charms (§ 11). It is unnecessary to proceed further with the summary of general correspondences, but enough has

[13] See for the literature, Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, ch. xvi, and his *Religious Beliefs in Bab. and Ass.*, 296 ff.

[14] See p. 43.

been noticed to dispose our minds to the dictum of Zimmern:[15] "Diese (the incantation bowls) im Ausdruck oft überraschend an die alten babylonischen Beschwörungen erinnernden jüdischen Beschwörungstexte, bei denen unter den mit Namen angeführten bösen Dämonen auch Lilith häufig erscheint. liefern in ihrer Weise ebenfalls den Beweis für nachhaltige Einströmen babylonischer dämonologischer Vorstellungen in das Judentum."[16]

Yet the implications that may be drawn from this judgment, even if not intended by the writer, are open to criticism. In the first place, as observed in the preceding sections, similar correspondences with the Greek magic are to be noted in almost every instance. This fact compels us to recognize the possibility of eclectic as well as of immediate Babylonian influence upon the Jewish magic. And then, secondly, marked differences exist between the fields, changes in the center of gravity, omissions, accretions. There still remains a large degree of substantial reason in the opinion earlier expressed by Nöldeke, surveying the material from a different point of view: "Die Verbindung mit altbabylonischen Aberglauben dürfte also ziemlich lose sein."[17] The study of magic is still in its beginnings, and students are too prone to find a genetic relation when we have to bear in mind that we are dealing with parallel workings of the human spirit operating in a universal and amazingly uniform field, while at the same time, particularly for the age when Hellenistic culture was dominant, we must give allowance for the interfusion of factors geographically most distant.

Of the old Babylonian names of demons, only two appear in our texts, the *šedu* and Lilith (with its male counterpart), but these, if originally Babylonian, in ancient times had pervaded the Semitic world. The *utukki limnuti* are the רוחין בישתא, "evil spirits," but these have their biblical precedent.[18] The Babylonian vocabulary has been suppressed by genuine Semitic words. The extensive praxis of the Babylonian has also almost disappeared; the inversion of the bowl, some rudely scrawled designs, and

[15] *KAT*³, 463.

[16] The actual adoption by the Jews of Babylonian magical rites is portrayed in *Eze.* 13: 17 f.

[17] *Z. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, ii, 297.

[18] The שלניתא may be Babylonian, see to 8: 2.

one or two magical prescriptions[19] are all that remain in our texts of the elder practice. The use of the bowl in a love-charm has its parallel only in the Hellenistic κατάδεσμος or *defixio,* likewise buried in the earth. The sorcerer invokes the names of ancient masters (as in the Greek magic again), he no longer is professionally independent like the *âšipu* priest; even laymen borrow and lay the spells. The mere "word" or "name" has replaced the practice; in the Babylonian magic the gods were prayed to for their assistance, and we often question whether we are dealing with magic or religion; here their or the angels' names are simply used, and these are sufficient to invoke their potency, without appeal to the heart or mind of a living deity. The use of a word like Abraxas illustrates the extreme consequence; if a deity can become a name, so a word can become a deity—*numen nomen!* The formula "in the name of" can be used before letters and phrases as well as before divine names. At first sight this name-magic appears more spiritual; it actually proves to be more absurdly mechanical, because it invokes a binding of the gods and heavenly powers by a cheap and easy formula without any of the "service" of the gods, with litany and priest, which the elder rites prescribed.

There is thus a change in the spirit of the magic. The old Babylonian was religious in his incantations; it is only in the so-called medical texts that we find the passage from the religious sphere to that of entirely mechanical operation, which may issue either in empirical science or in absolute magic. The sense of sin lay heavy upon the Babylonian devotee, he needed to dress in sackcloth and wallow in ashes, while the incantation required rites of purification and confession of sins in pathetic and ethical litanies.[20] But any such religious element is entirely wanting in our texts, apart from the stereotyped introductory formula, "Lord of healing, Lord of love" and two obscure, probably traditional references to sin and guilt.[20a] We have in a word a purely magical system, that is, one whose efficacy consists in doing or rather saying certain things without a prayer or lustration or confession.

[19] See Nos. 12, 13.

[20] Cf. the "confessional" in the second tablet of the *Šurpu*-series.

[20a] See p. 86.

It may be further noticed that in the use of the Jewish Scriptures, which is very scanty, the passages of real religious import are not employed (§ 11). This is especially true of the Nippur texts, and often all that we have reminiscent of the Bible or of religion are the stereotyped Amens and Halleluias, common property of the magic of the age. Along with this unreligiousness of the magic goes a certain impression of impersonality throughout; there is a general lack of reference even to personal sorcerers; attention is paid to the operation of witchcraft, regarded itself as a potentiality, and the mechanical danger is met by mechanical means.

In these differentia from the old Babylonian magic we find much that is apparently or evidently Jewish, and again some factors that are not so categorically explained. We may think that the comparative absence of magic rite is due to Jewish influence, as also the large use of name-sorcery. The cultless condition of the Jews since A. D. 70 and the long previous term of six centuries in which the official cult was confined to one sanctuary, must have incapacitated the Jew for the rites of the magician. He dared not make simulacra, many practices were out of question because of their evidently heathen associations ("the ways of the Amorite"). But he had a holy book made up of sacred words, and a god unlike any of the pagans, who might not be seen, who once had spoken (*Dt.* 5), and who in lieu of images and many sanctuaries was revealed in his Names.[21] And so holy words and names became the province of the Jewish sorcery. His religion, when it passed out of the naturalistic or the ethical sphere, found its outlet in logology, in Rabbinism with its logomachies, in magic and kabbalism with their manipulation of words and letters. Even the angels, which were imported as a kind of humanizing mythology into Jewish monotheism, came to be but plays on roots, invocations of the attributes or activities of deity, so that finally angel was merely synonymous with charm.[22]

In these particulars the Jews may have contributed to the later Mesopotamian magic, as well as to that of the Hellenistic world. In our bowls we find Jewish families as the clients, and in the Nippur collection there is a frequent reference to the venerable Jewish master, Joshua b. Perahia, as a revealer of heaven's mysteries; but as he appears also in the

[21] Kabbalism appears as early as the present text of *Ex.* 3, 14.

[22] See § 12, n. 112.

Syriac bowls, which are probably of pagan origin, he may have already become a common traditional figure like Moses in the papyri. Nippur had been since the Exile a center of the Jews,[23] and in Talmudic times it lay just east of the famous Rabbinic school at Sura, between which and Pumbaditha to the north of Babylon the spiritual life of Babylonian Judaism circulated.[24] But Nippur does not appear to have remained a Jewish seat of importance. It is mentioned but once in the Talmud,[25] and the settlement which the Pennsylvania expedition unearthed on the top of its ruins was, at least so far as the bowls testify, a mixed folk, among whom the identical magic flourished under Jewish, Mandaic, pagan forms. This interchange of magical property precludes us from specifically speaking of many texts as certainly Jewish, even while we recognize numerous Jewish elements. It is interesting to observe that the Mandaic texts are truer to the theology of the sect than many of the so-called Jewish bowls. The Jewish magic here in Nippur, as elsewhere, was eclectic. The religion of the Jew cannot admit that it itself is eclectic, and the self-consciousness of the intelligent orthodoxy in rejecting or at least minimizing magic as part of the Jewish system, approves itself when we study our specimens of magic; their science is as much cosmopolitan as native.

I pass now to another clue for the origins of the bowl-magic. I have discussed under No. 3 the frequent references to the genius Armasa, who is identified with Metatron and called the Word, and is none else than the Hermes of the Hermetic theosophy. No. 28 is a magical philtre for a lovesick wife, the terms of which find their closest correspondence in Greek charms; No. 19 names a number of deities, among whose obscure names we can identify Zeus and Okeanos, and perhaps the names of the Aeon-pair. There are other clues of connection with the Greek magic, discussed in the Introduction and the texts; I may refer especially to the

[23] For the river Chebar hard by Nippur, the Kabar of tablets found by the Pennsylvania Expedition, see *BE*, ix, plate 84, l. 2. For the names of the numerous Jewish settlers there see Clay's Murashu texts and his summary in *Light on the Old Testament*, 404, also S. Daiches, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra and Nehemiah according to Babylonian Inscriptions* (Publication no. 2 of the Jews' College, London).

[24] See S. Funk, *Die Juden in Babylonien*, Berlin, 1902, ii, 153 (with no reference to Nippur).

[25] *Yoma* 10b, identified with the biblical Calneh

identical pharaseology in the choice of a certain day out of a month and a year as auspicious for working the charm.[26] Such terms as Abraxas direct our thought to the great western world and the imposing magical fabric of Hellenism.[27] And this system directs us to Egypt.

I have spoken of the permutations made on the Sacred Name as typically Jewish. And yet there was another people which equally cultivated the mystery of ineffable names, a people older than the worshippers of Yahwe, the Egyptians.[28] The Jewish development in this regard was hardly independent of Egypt. However this may be, we find in the Greek magical texts the fusion of the two theosophies, the Jewish Ineffable Name, with all its vowel permutations, and like sacred titles, Sebaoth, Adonai, etc., mixed pell-mell with those of Egyptian origin. And further the accumulation of barbarous syllables, such as appear in our texts, has no known tradition behind it hailing from the Jewish and Babylonian theologies; it must be traced back to the Egyptian magical science.[29] This phenomenon

[26] See p. 55.

[27] The recent rapid development of the study of magic and the increased application to the magical papyri have aroused in various quarters the question concerning the nature of the Jewish magic and its relations to that of the Hellenistic world. This investigation appears to have been first broached in a critical way by Blau (pp. 37 ff., 96 ff.), followed by several writers whose works have been constantly cited in the above pages: Dieterich, Deissmann, Conybeare (who considers the *Testament of Solomon* to be of Jewish origin), Gaster (in introduction to his *Sword of Moses*), Reitzenstein, Heitmüller, Wendland. Our specimens of magic hail from the eastern confines of that world, even from beyond its political borders, and are speaking proofs of the eclectic and cosmopolitan character of Hellenistic magic.

[28] Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, ch. v; Erman, *Egyptian Religion* (1907), 154. For the influence of Egypt in the Hellenistic magic, see the excursus in Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 218.

[29] In addition to the observations in § 11, see Budge, *l. c.*; Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (1897), 268, quoting Synesius's words: the Egyptian "mumbled a few unintelligible syllables"; also his *Magie u. Zauberei im alt. Ägypten* (1905), 32. The Greek papyri are faithful repeaters of this Egyptian art.—Stübe, remarking on the kabbalistic use of letters (p. 54), thinks that here we have traces of the passage from the Talmud to the beginnings of the development of the Kabbala. But as of Egyptian origin or kinship, the use is not to be dated by the Kabbala. It existed on the periphery of Judaism long before it was taken up by the Jewish doctors. Indeed Chwolson (*CIH*, col. 115) denies any special relation of these texts to Talmudic ideas (against Lenormant, *Essai*, i, 212, who held that our magic was a product of the Babylonian academies). Wohlstein was the first to observe the eclectic character of our magic, *ZA*, viii, 316 f. In matter of fact hardly a trace of technical Kabbalism is to be found in them.

is continued and flourishes with abandonment in the Greek papyri, and there again this form of magical spell falls in with the Jewish currents.

This Egypto-Hellenistic magic is one of the prime sources of our texts, and the impression made upon me in my study is that they resemble much more this form of magic than that of ancient Babylonia. The beginnings of this invasion of western sorcery into Mesopotamia may have begun with Alexander's armies; there can be little doubt but that pervasive Hellenism soon domesticated its magic, as everything else Greek, wherever it settled. It doubtless was reinforced in its development on Babylonian soil by the Hellenistic Jewish magic that had grown into luxuriant life on the theosophic soil of Egypt and thence sent forth its waves of spiritual energy to all the homes of the dispersed race.

It is difficult in the field of magic to decide which is cause and which effect, for the spirit of magic produces like fruits spontaneously everywhere. Our bowl sorcery is connected doubtless by many lineal bonds with ancient Babylonia, but it shows as unmistakable links with the Hellenistic magic, to which the Jews contributed, and from which they received still more. The problem of these texts is the same that confronts us in speculation over the Greek magical papyri. Who wrote these? Egyptian, Jew, Greek, Christian, Gnostic, all contributed each one his magical names, mysterious formulas, bits of sacred history, each outbidding the other in the effort to attain the same ends and arriving at an indistinguishable limbo of monotonous sameness. The texts were written for all who would use them, and those who received their magical traditions adapted them to the changing fancies of age and clime.

Our texts exhibit a like eclecticism. Babylonian, Jewish, Mandaic, Gnostic, Hellenistic, and indirectly Egyptian, elements are there, in various combinations. The Jew contributed a certain quality of monotheism and made it palatable by his angelology; his Divine Name, his Scriptures and apocrypha and liturgy, were storehouses of magical lore. All this was fused with like elements from parallel sources, and the product was useful to any body of magicians, even as it was in demand on the part of every class of clients, pagans, Persians, Jews, Christians, every kind of sect. And what is true of our texts is true of all the Jewish magical literature.

The bowls then are not so much illustrative of a special Jewish magic as of the eclectic religious conditions of later Mesopotamia; here the ancient magic, divorced from its content of real religion, came to be reinforced by new currents of superstition from the West. Whatever be the relation of magic and religion, whether they are twin sisters, or the one the parent of the other, or innate rivals, in our special and confined field we may observe the break-down of the ancient noble religions; gods have become names, rites esoteric and selfish and malignant, holy writings formulas. It is not Judaism we have been studying but a phase of *fin de siècle* superstition.

In recent years so much has been made of Persian origins for western religion, philosophy, and magic,[80] that I am surprised to find hardly a trace even in a word[81] of the Zoroastrian system upon our bowl-magic. This is the more remarkable as it belongs to Persian soil and flourished under the Sassanian empire, while the dualism, demonology and magical practice of Persia would have been so natural a nursing mother to the superstition we have been studying. Had the Zoroastrian influence spent itself and, after it had given itself to the world, did the more virile currents of the original stock and of the West reassert themselves and triumph in Iran's territory? Or has the influence of Persia been overrated?

As to the comparative age, in point of literary tradition, of the three classes, "Jewish," Syriac, Mandaic, it is impossible to decide; all follow common types. In the case of the Mandaic replica to No. 11, the former has the secondary text. The Mandaic charms are closest in spirit to the old Babylonian magical literature, those in the Syriac appear to be expressive of the current paganism (e. g. No. 36).

[80] See Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, esp. nn. 37-39, p. 266 f.; Bousset, *Die Ursprünge der Gnosis*, etc.

[81] N. B. the Ispandas-dewa in Hyvernat's text, and פריכא, possibly the Persian Peri. The arguments for Persian influences advanced by Levy, *ZDMG*, ix, 471 f., are now antiquated by the Babylonian literature. The fashion of interminable lists of demons may come from Persia.

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, NOTES

CBS = Catalogue of Babylonian Section University of Pennsylvania.

Numerals in ( ) number the lines of the spiral inscription, starting from the radius where the text begins.

Brackets, [ ], indicate suppletion of lacunae.

Phrases in ( ) in the translation represent amplification or interpretation by the translator.

Inferior points attached to Hebrew characters indicate doubtful readings.

Points on the line indicate missing letters or words.

Superior points, in the Syriac texts, represent the diacritical marks of the original.

No. 1 (CBS 8693)

הדין קמיעה דאפרה (2) בר ש[ברדוך] דתיהוי ביה (3) אסותא להּ[דין א]פרה בר שברדוך ועים (4) ולהדא בה[מנדוך] בת סמא דתיהי להון (5) אסותא להדין א[פרה] בר שברדוך ולהדא בהמנדוך בת (6) סמא אמין א[מ]ין סלה הדין קמיעה דליליתא דבת ביתלהון (7) להדין אפרה בר שברדוך ולהדא בהמנודך בת סמא (8) אשבעית עליכין כל מיני ליליתא בש[ום] זרעיתכין דילדין שידי (9) וליליתא לבני נורא סטין וי מרדין ועברין על גזירתא דמריהון וי מן זיקא (10) פרח פרחין וי מחבלין וי באתרשמכי מסאב המסין וי רמסין וצלפין ומפגמין (11) ומפגרין ש ומשגשין איצין ובלמין ומשגרין כמין וי . . פוכתא ובתריכון

Exterior

(12) ובתרכון דחלין ומדחלין יסירין למומתי ומידמין לבני אינשא לגברי בדמות נשי (13) ולנשי בדמות גברי ועים בני אינשא שכבין בליליה וביממא בטום (14) שעש גש נשך כתבית עליכי ליליתא בישתא דכלשום דאיתליכי אנחנא (15) כתבנא ושמיה יסיך אפרה אל עולם ועד

TRANSLATION

This the amulet of Ephrâ (2) bar Šabôrdûch, wherein shall be (3) salvation for this Ephrâ b. Š. and also (4) for this Bahmandûch bath Samâ, that there be for them (5) salvation, namely for this Ephrâ b. Š. and for this Bahmandûch b. Š. (6) Amen, Amen, Selah.

This is an amulet against the Liliths that haunt the house of (7) this Ephrâ b. Š. and this Bahmandûch b. Š. (8) I adjure you, all

species of Liliths in respect to your posterity, which is begotten by Demons (9) and Liliths to the children of light who go astray: Woe, who rebel and transgress against the proscription of their Lord; woe, from the blast (10) fast-flying; woe, destroying; woe, oppressing with your foul wounds ...., who do violence and trample and scourge and mutilate (11) and break and confuse and hobble and dissolve (the body) like water; woe, ...; and where you stand, (12) and where you stand (*sic*) fearful and affrighted are ye, bound to my ban,—who appear to mankind, to men in the likeness of women (13) and to women in the likeness of men, and with mankind they lie by night and by day.

With the formula, ṬWM (14) Š·Š GŠ GŠK, have I written against thee, evil Lilith, whatsoever name be thine. We (15) have written. And his name shall save thee, Ephrâ, forever and ever.

Commentary

A phylactery in the name of a man and wife for protection against the liliths and their broods which haunt the home. The same couple are the subjects of the charm in No. 13, in which the woman invokes the love of her husband and the blessing of children. For the general magical details I refer in this and the following texts to the Introduction.

1. אפרה: in No. 13 written with both ה- and א-. The name may be Jewish or Persian, (1) hypocoristic from אפרים, or (2) a hypocoristic reduction from one of the numerous names in *Fra-;* see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch,* 101 ff.; for the prothetic vowel, cf. *ibid.* 6. The Persian name of the mother by no means determines the race of the family.

שברדוך = "Sapor's-daughter" not instanced in Justi; *duch* for *ducht;* see above, p. 104, n. 6.

2. תהוי = תיהי, l. 4; both forms in the Rabbinic.

3. ועים ו : unless a scribal error, a unique adverbial development of the preposition, "and withal," = *simul ac,* or ὁμοῦ καί, e. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 147.

4. בהמנדוך: see Justi, p. 374 f.; also in Pognon B.

סמא: in No. 13 also סמאי. A frequent Jewish name; see Heilpren, סדר הדורות (*Seder ha-Doroth*), ed. Maskileison, Warsaw, 1883, ii, 296 f. The two forms are hypocoristic; see Nöldeke, art. "Names," *Enc. Bib.*

§ 50 f., Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* ii, 7 ff., 13 ff. (For the early form and history of these terminations, cf. the results of Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names,* 7 ff.). The full name was סמיא, "blind," occurring in Jewish and Syriac. It occurs as a feminine name (as here) in Asseman's Catalogue, cited by Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus,* col. 2655.

6. לילית : pl., also לילאתא . The liliths are the only named objects of exorcism, but masc. ppls., etc. are found in l. 10 ff., probably by technical phraseology.

דבת : √ דבא ; cf. *Pesaḥ.* 111b: דבי פרחי רוחי : "those which haunt caperberries are spirits.

ביתלהון: the pronominal suffix expressed with the intrusion of ל; cf. in the Assouan papyri of Sayce and Cowley, ברלי ובראלי (F, 9).

8. בש[ום] : if a correct restoration, the charm would obviate the demoniac procreation described.

9. "Sons of light": נורא is primarily fire and the term would indicate the angels, expressive of the legend that the angels emanate like sparks (cf. בני רשף , *Job* 5: 7) from the *dînûr,* the stream of fire under God's throne, *Ḥag.* 14a, and other reff. in Eisenmenger, ii, 371 ff. Cf. "the hosts of fire in the sphere," 8: 13. In 16: 7 the demons are "sons of darkness." But as the reference is to demoniac unions with human flesh, the expression appears to be transferred to mankind. It is then parallel to "sons of light," a name given in the Mandaic religion to the Uthras, Brandt, *Mand. Rel.,* 30, and also to men predestined to life, Brandt, *Mand. Schr.,* 13, 19. The redeemed come to share in the light-nature of the angels, cf. *Dan.* 12: 3, *Enoch* 38-39, cf. the *vioì φωτός* of the NT. In the myth of Adam Kadmon, man was originally a being of light (Bousset, *Hauptprobleme d. Gnosis,* 202, etc.; for the Kabbala, Karppe, *Zohar,* 372 ff.). Hence we must suppose that נורא has been reduced from נוהרא "light" (cf. the Arabic), and the expression is to be correspondingly rendered. The predicates following recall the myth of Gen. 6.

מריהון, as in Syriac, but the י is only the šewâ; cf. l. 11.

10. וי מן זיקא פרח פרחין: An interesting parallel to a well-known Talmudic formula against witches, *Pesaḥ.* 110a-b: קרח קרחייבי פרח פרחייבי איבדור תבלונייבי פרחא זיקא למוריקא חדתא, generally translated: "Your head be balder, your crumbs [with which you conjure—cf. the anecdote

of Abaye in *Ḥull.* 105b, Joel, *Der Aberglaube,* i, 69] be blown away, your spices fly off, the wind carry away the fresh saffron."[1] I doubt if so much sense can be made out of the doggerel; following the Talmudic tradition our phrase would mean "your breadcrumbs away with the gust!" By itself the words could simply mean, "be blown away with a gust," with reduplication of the verb. For קרח in the Talmudic passage, see to 18: 9.

The combination in the middle of the line is obscure; a verbal middle noun from רשם? The participles מחבלין וגי portray the fiendish assaults of the demons; the same accumulations in Lidzbarski's Mandaic bowls. Cf. the action of the demon of epilepsy in *Mk.* 9: 14 ff.

11. For the ש see above p. 61.

משגריהן כמין: for the relaxing effects of disease cf. *Ps.* 22: 15, *Eze.* 7: 17.

בתריכן ובתרכון, a dittograph induced by the scribe turning over the bowl to write on the exterior and repeating the word. The ' in the first form represents the šewâ. The meaning is: stay banned where you are!

12. יסירין: metaplastic form of root אסר, found in the Targums, etc. (cf. Heb. מוסר).

מידמין: cf. *Ḳidduš.* 81a, אידמי ליה סטן כאיתתא. The climax of the description is the worst and most obscene of the plagues; the same phrase in Pogn. B, no. 27.

13. בטום: in Ellis 1: 8 טטם appears in conjunction with the Tetragrammaton.

14. ליבי, עליבי: the form is singular, and the phrase refers to the many names of a lilith (see §§ 11, 12 and No. 42).

With לילית it is difficult to determine whether the singular or plural is meant. For "lilith of whatsoever name," cf. 14: 6: demons whose names are mentioned and who are not mentioned. The same indefinite invocation in the Babylonian, e. g. *Utukki*-series (Thompson *Evil Spirits of Babylonia,* i, 153): spirits "that have no name," presenting a *blanket* formula for names not known; cf. *δαιμόνιον καὶ μὴ ὀνομαζόμενον*, Pradel, *Griech. u. südital. Gebete,* 22, l. 2.

15. אל, a Hebrew reminiscence; in general cf. *Ps.* 20: 2 f.

[1] See Blau, *Zauberwesen,* 77. The connection of this Talmudic passage with *Eze.* 13: 17 ff. has not been observed by the commentators.

No. 2 (CBS 2945)

תוב אזלנא אנה פאבק בר כופיתאי בחילי דנפשי בקומתי גציצא דפרזלא קרקפתי דפרזלא קומת דנורא (2) [דכיא] ולבישנא לבושא דארמסא דביא וממללא וחילינא במן דברא שמיא וארעה אזלית ופגעית בהון (3) בסני בישי ובעילדבבי מרירי אמרת להון דאת מידעם חטיתון ביה באבונא בר גריבתא ובאיבא בר זויתאי אישפנא לכון באישפא (4) דימא ואישפא דליויתן תנינא דאם מידעם חתחטתו חטיתון ביה באבונה בר גריבתא ובאיתתיה ובבניה בי קשתא גיבנא לכון (5) ובי יתרא פשיטנא לכון תוב מידעם בביתיה דפאבק ובקינינה ובכל אינשי ביתיה בידידי אנה אבונה בר גריבתא או באיבא בר זויתאי (6) מחיתנא עליכון שמתא וגזירתא ואחרמתא דאיתנח על חירמון טורא ועל ליויתן תנינא ועל סדום ועל עמורא מיטול למכבש דיוי (7) אזלנא אנה אבונא בר גריבתא וכל רזי בישי ולישן חומרי זידניתא אזלית ופגעית בהון בשידי ובדיוי במבכלתא בישתא ביפתכרי וביסתרתא ניקבתא קימין סידרי סדרין ורפדי מרפדין

Translation

Again I come, I Pâbak bar Kûfithâi, in my own might, on my person polished armor of iron, my head of iron, my figure of pure fire. (2) I am clad with 'the garment of Armasa (Hermes), Dabya and the Word, and my strength is in him who created heaven and earth. I have come and I have smitten (3) the evil Fiends and the malignant Adversaries. I have said to them that if at all you sin against Abûnâ bar Geribtâ and against Ibbâ bar Zâwithâi, I will lay a spell upon you, the spell (4) of the Sea and the spell of the monster Leviathan. (I say) that if at all you sin against Abûnâ b. G., and against his wife and his sons, I will bend the bow against you (5) and stretch the bow-string at you.

Again, whereinsoever you sin against the house of Pâbak and against his property and all the people of his house, in my own right I Abûnâ bar Geribtâ—or against Ibbâ bar Zâwithâi—(6) will bring down upon you the curse and the proscription and the ban which fell upon Mount Hermon and upon the monster Leviathan and upon Sodom and upon Gomorrha. In order to subdue Devils (7) do I come, I Abûnâ b. G., and all evil Sacra-

ments and the tongue of impious Charm-spirits; I have come and smitten the Demons and Devils and evil Tormentors, the Gods (Idol-spirits) and female Goddesses—standing in serried rows and encamped in camps.

Commentary

A mutual charm of two sorcerers, each invoking his powers in turn in the other's behalf. An almost exact replica of the terms of the charm is found in the first part of No. 27. The two men named appear in No. 3, where Pabak's household is the subject of exorcism.

1. תוב: apparently a formal term of introduction; cf. 26: 3. It generally connects the several members of an incantation series. Cf. the "and" introducing the mortuary charm published by me in *JAOS*, 1911, 273. It may be correlative to תוב in l. 5.

פאבק: the Persian Pâpak, Justi, p. 241; cf. Arabic Bâbek, Greek παμβεκος. The name occurs in late Babylonian, Hilprecht and Clay, *BE*, ix, 68.

כופיתאי: Syriac כופיתא is a water-flask with a small mouth. For the character of the name, cf. Hebrew בקבוק, Χοΐζας, *Lu.* 8: 39 =. כחא "wine-pitcher," etc. For the hypocoristic termination in אי—, see to 1: 4. It is parallel in meaning and form to בקבקיה. *Neh.* 11: 17.

נציצא = נציצתא, 27: 3. Comparing the Rabbinic נִין, "a shining spark," and "white earth, gypsum," and נהין, "polish." I understand this word in the sense of "polished armor."

כלה קומתי דנורא = קומת דנורא, 27: 4; the parallel marks the gradual obscuration of magical formulas. Fire is the potent element against witches and demons, as the ancient means for destroying their arts. In Babylonia the fire-god Gibil was the chief god of exorcism in such magic, Tallquist, p. 25 ff.; for other examples in Semitic magic, see Thompson, *Semitic Magic* in Index. Iron, like the other metals, and excelling them, is a potent means against devils, Blau, p. 159; Thompson, in Index; in the *Testament of Solomon* is an anecdote of a devil afraid of iron (*JQR*, xi, 18); Josephus' exorcist used an iron ring. For the western world, see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, i, 50.

2. דכיא I supply from the parallel inscription. After it appear traces of ול, which letters are repeated to make the following word; a fault in the bowl required the rewriting of the characters.

לבישנא לבושא דארמסא: the garment of a potent being carried with it his powers. Compare the assertion by the magician in the charm noted to l. 1, in which he professes to be clad with the magical paraphernalia of Moses, Aaron, David, Solomon, etc., and see above, § 9. There is also to be recalled the magical garment of Marduk in the fourth of the Seven Tablets of Creation, while the magical robe which renders the wearer invisible is common property of folklore.

ארמסא דביא וממללא. ארמסא is found in the parallel bowl No. 27 (along with the rest of this phrase); in 19: 7; in 25: 4 מיטטרון מסא[אר]; in 11: 7 in the spelling ארמים; and in 7: 8, אירמים = Myhrman, l. 4, הירמים. The forms give the clue; ארמים is one of the Syriac spellings for the Greek Ἑρμῆς, e. g. Peshitto to *Acts* 14: 12; הרמים also occurs in Syriac. ארמסא is then the Hermes about whom gathered the extensive mystical cults and literature towards the beginning of the Christian era to which is given the epithet Hermetic. Summary reference may be made here to Reitzenstein's illuminating study *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), also to G. R. S. Mead, *Thrice Holy Hermas,* London and Benares, 1906. The Greek Hermes, the messenger of the gods, was identified with the Egyptian Thot, the divine agent of human illumination—in a word the Logos of the Egyptian religion. This mystical function of Hermes-Thot is evidenced, e. g., by a passage in Justin Martyr: *εἰ γεγενῆσθαι ἐκ θεοῦ λέγομεν Λόγον θεοῦ, κοινὸν τοῦτο ἐστω ἡμῖν τοῖς τὸν Ἑρμῆν λόγον τὸν παρὰ θεοῦ ἀγγελτικὸν λέγουσιν* (*Apol.* i, 22; Migne, *Patrol. gr.,* vi, 57.).

This figure was also adopted in the syncretistic mysticism of the farther East, as the expressions cited from our bowls show. He is the word ממללא (= מלילא, 19: 7),[1] and the Metatron, that mysterious intermediate agency between God and his creation in Jewish Gnosticism (cf. § 13). But this Hermetic theology was not mediated to the Orient through Judaism, but through the Hermetic schools, which appear to have held out, into the twelfth century, in that obstinate center of paganism, Harran. Chwolson has collected the evidence for the survival in that region of the Greek religious philosophies,[2] and Reitzenstein has now trenchantly pointed

[1] The Ἑρμῆς λόγιος or λόγιον: Reitzenstein, *op. cit.,* 43; Abt, *Apologie des Apuleius,* 118.

[2] In his *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus,* 1856. See now Dozy and de Goeje,

out (p. 166 ff.) the essential Hermetic quality of this last remnant of the old pagan philosophy. The magic of the Euphrates valley has caught up probably from Harran the figure of Hermes and easily identified it with the Jewish Metratron, the biblical Enoch, etc.[3] Hermes was the equivalent of the Babylonian Nebo, and a passage in the Mandaic Ginza throws light upon the expression, "clad with the clothing of Armasa"; in the Ginza we have a tradition that the angels invested Nebo with a dress of fire.[4]

The ממללא of our text is then a proper epithet of ארמסא. What is meant by the preceding epithet דביא? It occurs in the parallel text, and also in Stübe's text, l. 5, thus: מיטטרון מלאכה דביה. I suggest that דביה (דביא) means "who-is-in-Yah," an ancient mystical expression for the Logos; cf. the Johannine *πρὸς τὸν θεόν*, and the description of the Son as "in the bosom of his Father," and, "I am in the Father and the Father in me." Compare also 7: 8, יהו ביהו, and note.

3. מרירי (cf. 4: 4), reminiscent of the biblical קטב מ׳, for which see Joel, i, 100.

אבונא: a name of two Amoras.

גריבתא: "scabby"; cf. Gareb, *2 Sa.* 23: 38, and the Palmyrene גריבא, de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale,* no. 141; also the Arabic Juraib, Jarbâ.

איבא: the same name in *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 45. The form is shortened from *Abba,* see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris,* ii, 8.

זויתאי: so the probable reading of the name here and below. It is hypocoristic from זויתא, "corner"; cf. the biblical name Ribḳa = Aram. רבקא, "stall." Is there here a pious allusion to the daughters of Israel as polished corners (זויות) of the temple, *Ps.* 144: 12?

אשיפנא: the verb is found in the Aramaic only in the Syriac, and but rarely, and in the bowls occurs only here.

Nouveaux documents pour l'étude de la religion des Harraniens, in the *Actes* of the 6th International Congress of Orientalists, II, 1, 281.

[3] Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron.,* ed. Kirsch, p. 5, where Hermes and Enoch are identified "by Greek books"; also a reference in Reitzenstein, p. 172, n. 3, to a Hermetic MS. bearing the name of Idris = Enoch. For this Enoch-theosophy see Joel, *Aberglaube,* ii, 16, 19.

[4] *Ginza,* R, p. 54, ed. Petermann; see Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften,* 89.

אישפא דימא וגו׳: the spell on the sea and Leviathan was mightiest in magical history, for it was the first great act of "white magic"; cf. the Marduk legend. A survival of this mystical aspect of creation appears in *Job* 38: 8-11, which concludes: "And He said: thus far shalt thou come and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed"; cf. *Jer.* 5: 22, *Ps.* 104: 6 ff., *Job* 38: 8 ff. The subjection of the abyss is a frequent magical allusion in the papyri, e. g. the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris, l. 3062 ff. (Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 140; Blau, p. 113; Deissmann, *Light,* 258). The sealing of Tehôm is referred to in Targ. Jon. *Ex.* 28: 30.

4. חתחטתו: the scribe began to write the perfect, passed into the imperfect (which we should expect here) with the second letter and returned to the perfect termination; he amended his mistake by rewriting the word. In general the scribes aimed at carefulness. A word so corrected is sometimes deleted with a line.

איתתיה: for the various forms, see Glossary, *s. v.* אינתתא.

בבניה: a Mandaic and also Targumic idiom for בנוהי, Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 144.

בי קשתא וגו׳: בי a form of -ב found in Targums and Talmud (also in the Palestinian charm cited to l. 1). The terms are reminiscent of Marduk's slaying of Tiamat in the Babylonian creation legend: "Marduk made ready bows .... The bow and the quiver he hung at his side"; cf. the praise of Marduk's bow in the fifth tablet (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation,* ii, 63, 83, and fragment cited, p. 207); also numerous biblical parallels: *Hab.* 3: 9, cf. v. 11; *Ps.* 7: 12-14; *Dt.* 32: 41 (where Gressmann, *Isr.-jüd. Eschatologie,* 78, would read אשפה for משפט). As in l. 1 with the clothing of Deity, so here with his magical arms the magician declares himself invested. But the phraseology may be based on magical practice, a symbolical shooting at simulacra, in the same way as these are burnt, peeled off, mutilated, etc. A very similar passage is to be found in one of the Manichaean texts discovered in Chinese Turkestan, in which the conjurer shoots with his bow and arrow at the demon, who falls dead; *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1908, 401.

ניבנא: participial form from נבב; the Peal is unique.

5. חוב: the other part of the mutual charm now begins. The contrast is further expressed by בידידי, "on my part."

או באיבא: this name was omitted in its proper place and is now inserted.

6. אחרמתא: for the prosthetic א see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 24.

על חירמון: a reminiscence of the myth of the confederation of the fallen angels upon Hermon (n. b. √ חרם); see *Enoch* 6: 5 f.: "they named the mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by curses upon it"; also 14: 7 ff. Philo of Byblus also connects the Titans with the Lebanons and other mountains of Syria: "These begat sons of greatest size and superiority, whose names were given to the mountains which they occupied, so that some of them are called Kassion and Libanos and Antilibanos and Brathu."[5] And Hilary of Poitiers adds something to our knowledge of the myth: "Hermon is a mountain in Phoenicia, the interpretation of whose name is *anathema*. Moreover it is the tradition—from whose book it comes I know not,—that the angels lusting after the daughters of men, when they descended from heaven, assembled on this very high mountain."[6] Cf. the anointing of Nebo by the evil gods in the Mandaic mythology, Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, 126 f.

7. סידרי סדרין: construct of accumulation.

רפדי מרפדי: "camping in camps." רפד is very rare in Hebrew and Aramaic, but is frequent in Assyrian, where among several meanings it is found in this sense (cf. the biblical place-name רפידים). מרפד occurs in a MS. cited by Rabbinowicz to *Megilla* 10b: בית מרפידו של אדוני, where מ' = Hebrew שכינה.[7] The variant in 27: 11, מרפדי מרפדי, parallel to סידרי ס', is probably the correct form. The allusion to the serried battalions of the demons is epical, perhaps of mythological origin.

[5] Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* i, 10: 7; text in C. Müller, *Fragm, hist. graec*, iii, 566.

[6] Hilary to Ps. 132: 3, see *Corpus script. eccles, latin.*, xxii, 689.

[7] So on Jastrow's authority, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud*, etc., 1476, but I do not find the reference.

No. 3 (CBS 2963)

בשמך מרי אסואתא אסיא רבא דרחמי מזמן הדין איסרא ורזא וחתמא שרירא לחתמתא
דביתיה דהדין (2) ארדוי בר הורמיזדוך דיזח ויתרחק מיניה דיוא בישא וסטנא בישא
דמיתקרי צפעסק אבדה גברא דקטיל (3) גברא מילות איתתיה ואיתתא מילות בעלה
ובנין ויבנן מין אבוהון ומין אימיהון ביממא ובליליא אומו אומו מתאלך ואשבועי
(4) משבענא עלך דלא תיקטול ית הדין ארדוי בר הורמיזדוך מילות אחת איתתיה
דלא תיקטול ית אחת בת פרכוי מילות ארדוי בעלה (5) ולא תיקטול ית בניהון ויח
בנתהון בין דאית להון ובין דהון להון מין יומא דנן ולעולם לא בליליא ולא ביממא
בישמיה דזעזעזע הסר הסר הסר פעספעספע תמר תמר (6) תמר נקט זהזהזה הסר פעס
חמר קק אסתו יופת יופתיה מין אישתא יקידתא סקסין סין סין סקיון סק שמו קץ שמו
. . . . . הדין הוא שמא רבא דמלאך מותא דח[י]ל מיניה (7) וכד שמע יתיה דחיל
יעריק ומיתבלע מין קדמוהי ומן קדאמיה דהדין ארדוי בר הורמיזדוך ידחול ויעיר[יק] . . . . .
מין אחת איתתיה בת פרכוי ומן כל בניהון ומין (8) כל בנתהון דאית להון ודהון להון
פוטשש אמן בשום סקסן סקסין קק אסתו יופת יופתיה מין אישתא יקידתא סקיון
. . . . . [הדין הוא] שמא רבא דמלאך מותא דחיל מיניה וכד (9) שמע יתיה דחיל
יעריק ומיתבלע מין קדמוהי ומין קדמיה .דהדין ביתא אף השתא ביה בהדין שמא
רבא דדחיל מ[יניה] . . . . . [מין קדם ארדוי בר הורמיז]דוך ומין קדם אחת איתתיה
בת פרכוי (10) ומין קדם בנין ויבנן דאית להון ודהון להון פוטשש אמן ובשום אסתר
יופת יופתיה מין אישתא יקידתא סקסן סקסין סק . . . . . [הדין הוא שמא ר]בא
דמלאך מותא דחיל מיניה וכד שמע יתיה (11) דחיל יעריק ומיתבלע מין קדמוהי כין
אף השתא בשום הדין שמא רבא ידחול ויעריק ויפוק דיוא בישא דק . . . . . (12) אחת
איתתיה בת פרכוי ומין קדם כל בנין ויבנן דאית להון ודהון להון פוטשש שנאמר
ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה בך הבוחיר בירושלם [הלא זה
אוד מוצל מיאש אמן אמן]

Translation

In thy name, O Lord of salvations, the great Saviour of love.

Designated is this spell and mystery and strong seal for the sealing of the household of this (2) Ardôi bar Hormizdûch, that from him may depart and remove the evil Demon and the evil Satan, who is called SP'SK,

the Mighty Destroyer, who kills (3) a man from the side of his wife and a woman from the side of her husband, and sons and daughters from their father and from their mother,—by day and by night *omo, omo,* walking. (4) I adjure thee that thou do not kill off this Ardôi b. H. from Aḥath his wife, and that thou do not kill off Aḥath bath Parkôi from Ardôi her husband, (5) and that thou do not kill off their sons and their daughters, whether those they have or those they shall have, from this day and forever, neither by night nor by day. In the name of Z'Z'Z', ḤSR, ḤSR, ḤSR, P'SP'SP', TMR, TMR, (6) TMR, NḴṬ, ZHZHZH, ḤSR, P'S, TMR, ḲḲ, 'STW, YWPṬ, YWPṬYH, from the burning fire, SḲSYN, SYN, SYN, SḲYWN; SḲ, his name ḲS his name. This is the great name before which the angel of death is afraid, (7) and when he hears it, frightened he flees and is swallowed up before it and (just so) before this Ardôi b. H. shall he fear and flee ..... [and from] Aḥath his wife, bath P., and from all their sons and from (8) all their daughters, whether those they have or those they shall have. PWṬSS, Amen. In the name of ḲḲ, 'STW, YWPṬ, YWPṬYH, from the burning fire, SḲSN, SḲSYN, SḲYWN, ... [This is] the great name before which the angel of death is afraid and when (9) he hears it, frightened he flees and is swallowed up before it and before this household. Moreover now in this great name of which is afraid [the angel of death, etc.—he shall flee from Ardôi b. H.] and from Aḥath his wife b. P., (10) and from sons and daughters, those they have and those they shall have. PWṬSS, Amen. In the name of 'STW, YWPṬ, etc. [This is the great name] before which the angel of death is afraid, and when he hears it (11) frightened he flees and is swallowed up; so moreover now on the authority of this great name shall fear and flee and go forth the evil Demon ..... (from Ardôi, etc.). PWṬSS. According as it is said: "And YHWH said to Satan: YHWH rebuke thee, Satan; YHWH rebuke thee, who chooses Jerusalem. [Is not this a brand plucked from the burning? Amen. Amen.]"

COMMENTARY

A charm for a man and his family against a murderous spirit. The charm consists in magical syllables constituting "this great name" and the formula is repeated four times; see p. 65.

1. מרי: construct = Syr. מרא. מרי אסואתא וג': a frequent epithet in these bowls of the deity invoked, along with אסיא רבא דרחמי, e. g. 7: 1. Cf. the frequent invocation in Pognon's bowls: אנאת אסיא, אנאת אסיא דמאסיא נישימאתא, etc. The theme אסה is equivalent to σώζω in the New Testament and Latin *salus*, German *Heil*, for which modern English offers no synonym, the good old word "health" having been specialized. The word implies a remedy against evil spirits and black magic. It is also used concretely, of the phylactery, "this א", Wohls. 2426: 1.

The epithets here used are interesting as being probably one of the few survivals in these inscriptions of the ancient Babylonian theological terminology; there we have, in the penitential and magical literature innumerable appeals to the love and curative powers of the deities; thus Marduk is god of love and life,[1] Ea is *a-si-e*.[2] And the exact equivalent of אסיא רבא is found as an epithet of Gula, the consort of Ninib: *azugallatu bêltu rabîtu*, "Great Healer, Mighty Mistress"; and of Bau, who became identified with Gula, e. g. *asîtu gallatu*.[4] Ninib was domiciled at Nippur and these epithets of his consort may have been particularly Nippurian, and so have survived in the bowls coming from that locality. I have not been able to discover the parallel masculine epithet for Ninib.[5] This invocation is doubtless pagan, being distinct from the numerous biblical epithets expressive of the love and power of God. It is never associated with the Jewish Divine Name. Σωτήρ is a common epithet of the Greek gods, Zeus, Apollo, Asklepios, Hermes, and is an epithet of the Deity in the N. T., e. g. I *Tim.* 1: 1. Cf. also the Phoenician בעל מרפא, *CIS*, i, no. 379, and *Ex.* 15: 26, אני יהוה רפאך. Also n. b. the common epithets for

[1] *La magie ass.*, Fossey, 323, 365, 369; n. b. his title *rêménû*.

[2] This reference I have not been able to verify.

[3] III R, 41, col. 2: 29; Delitzsch, *Hwb.*, 197a; Schrader, *KB*, iv, 78.

[4] R. C. Thompson, *PSBA*, 1908, 63.

[5] Radau (*BE* xvii, pt. 1, p. ix) endeavors to find the same title for Ninib in his explanation of the Aramaic rendering of NIN-IB, אנושת (see Clay, *JAOS* xxviii, 1907, 135, and Montgomery, *ibid.*, xxix, 204). He interprets it as = *en-usâti*, "lord of help," our very title (cf. Delitzsch, *Beiträge z. Ass.* i, 219, for equivalence of *AZU* with *âsû*), and with the same root. The interpretation would be very agreeable to me in view of the above remarks, but Radau omits to explain the Aramaic rendering of *s* (or *z*) by ש when the Aramaic has the root אסא, while Clay's explanation appears to me the more satisfactory.

the love of God (√ רחם) in the O. T. and Koran, also in the Palmyrene texts.[6] Pradel has collected in his *Griech. u. südital. Gebete,* 42 f., a number of the epithets denoting the healing and merciful character of God; he is there *ἰατρὸς ψυχῶν, ἐλεήμων,* etc.

מזמן וג׳: a standing introductory formula in these bowls (with כסא, etc.). זמן, Pael, appears to be used in the sense in which the Peshitto has it as the rendering of the Hebrew הקדיש, "sanctify," e. g. *Josh.* 7: 13, *Jer.* 12: 3. Cf. the religious connotation of the parallel root—יעד.

For חתמתא as a *pa"âl* formation see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* 121. Cf. the Mandaic forms and formula cited by Lidzbarski, *Eph.* i, 96, n. 1: חאתאמתא וזאראזתא ונאטארתא. The "charm, mystery, seal," are identical, and refer to the Great Name of the incantation. For the identity of name and seal, see Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 143, 150, etc.

2. ארדוי: hypocoristicon in *-ôi,* abundant, with variants in *-âi* and *î,* in these texts (see Nöldeke, *Persische Studien,* in *Sitzungsberichte,* phil.-hist. Class, of the Vienna Academy, 1888, p. 387.). The name is formed from one of the numerous Persian names in *ard-* or *art-;* it occurs in Myhrman's text, see his note, p. 349.

חורמיזדוך: a frequent Persian name see Justi, p. 10.

יזה, or יזה = יזע, from זוע or זעע; but as יזה, from זחח (found in Heb., *Ex.* 28: 28, cf. the Aramaic זוח), see the forms יזרחן, 10: 6, יזחן, 12: 10, אתאזחא, Pognon, B. יזה, 31: 3.

"Demon, Satan, Destroyer," all epithets of the one demon; cf. above pp. 58, 68.

צפעסק: with reversal of the alphabetic order of the first four letters—to indicate the *bouleversement* of the demon?

אבדה גברא: *abbâda gabbârâ, abbâd* not otherwise found; for the formation cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 115. Notice that the Hebrew and Greek Abaddon is represented in *Rev.* by *ὁ ἀπολλύων,* as though the original was a noun of agent, not an abstract. The epithet = המלאך המשחית, 2 *Sa.* 24: 16, המשחית, *Ex.* 12: 23, the Samaritan מחבלא, etc.

3. ויבנן: for the vocalization of the conjunction cf. וידלא, 14: 6;

[6] Baethgen, *Beiträge,* 82 f., Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 153.

וילשלהיבת, 14: 7, etc. The conjunction is also similarly pointed in *Targum Onkelos,* Dt. 14: 37 (ed. Berliner), ויחלף; see Berliner's note, ii, 140.

אימיהון: the half-vowel after מ is indicated, as in Mandaic.

אומו אומו מתאלך: thus the uncanny stealthy movements of the demon are expressed.

4. אחת: probably the first element in such a name as אחתראבוה, "sister of her father," cf. אחדבוי, "brother of his father," a frequent name in the Talmud. Cf. biblical אחאב, and the Babylonian Aḥatbu, Aḥatšuna, Aḥat-immišu, etc. (Tallquist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch,* 3), and similar names in the Glossary.

פרכוי: hypocoristic of Persian Farruchan, Justi, p. 94 ff.

5. דהן = hâwên, cf. מחן, רמן, 6: 4, pl. ppl. with future sense, as common in Syriac.

דנן: appears only in this phrase, so 16: 13, 19: 20, is archaic and seldom in Talmud; for the pronouns see end of Glossary C.

6. "From the burning fire," i. e. of hell. For the threatening of demons with pangs of hellfire, see Pradel, 21, l. 11 ff.; for the threatening of demons in general cf. the Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 1227 ff. (ed. Wessely), and see in general Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo,* 78.—The angel of death appears in Schw. F. The charm of which he is afraid is *à potiori* more fearful to the demon.

7. יעיריק: for the second י representing the *šewâ,* cf. the Sabbioneta text of *Targum Onkelos,* ed. Berliner, to *Ex.* 21: 13, *Num.* 35: 26. For *u* in ידחול, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* 219. N. B. the two prepositional forms קראמוהי and קדמיה along side of each other, the latter attributed to the "Palestinian" dialect by Dalman, *Gram. d. jüd.-pal. Aramäisch,* 181.

The Great Name, or True Name, at which devils and all things created tremble and flee away, is a common thesis in the Greek magic: Wessely, xlii,[1] 65, *ad infra*: the God of Israel whom the heavens bless and (the oceans?) fear and every devil trembles; Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 140, l. 55 ff: the name at which trembles the Gehenna of fire and every mountain trembles; Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln,* no. 4, l. 44 (with editor's notes), and no. 5,

[1] "Neue griech. Zauberpapyri" in *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy, phil.-hist. Class, xlii, 2: his earlier publication in vol. xxxvi is cited as "xxxvi."

l. 21. It is not necessarily a Jewish phrase, Wessely, xxxvi, 50, l. 244 ff: "This is the primitive (πρωτευον) name of Typhon at which trembles earth, deep, hell, heaven," etc. Cf. Heitmüller, pp. 148, 231, for citations from the Fathers, and Pradel, p. 40 f., for Greek magic. Dieterich regards this trembling before the Name as of Orphic origin, p. 141.

The bowl CBS 16093 is almost identical in text with this one, and bears the same design. It is about two-thirds as long. Its clients are the couple named in Nos. 32 and 35. Also another bowl (unnumbered) is practically the same as the present text, but shorter, with the same design. also made out for the clients of Nos. 32 and 35.

No. 4 (CBS 2923)

מיטלי דלמיכל מלאכין קדישין וכל ורוחי בישתא ולישן חמרין זידני זידניתא אהשתא כבישיתון אסיריתון אסירין אסיריתון וחתימיתון בחדא מן ארבע (2) זוית ביתיה מיחטא לא תיחטון ביה בפאבק בר כופיתאי ולא נסכלון ביה בכל אינשי ביתיה ולא בליליא ולא (3) ביממא מיטול דאסרנא לכון באיסרא בישא [ובחתמא] שרירא תוב אסרנא לכון באיסורא דאסירי ביה אחנוך אחוי בישי תוב (4) אסרנא לכון באיסורא בישא ומרירא תוב אסרנא [לכון באי]סורא דאתסרו ביה שבעה כוכבין ותרין עשר מלוישין מלויאשין עד יומא רבא (5) דדינא ועד שעתא רבתי דפרקנא דראישיכון לא תי . . . לא תיחטון בהון באבונא בר גריבתא ואכסלי לא נסכלון בהון בכל אינשי ביתיה דפאבק (6) בר כופיתאי לא בליליא ולא ביממא מיטול דחתומ[י מחת]ם ביתיה וזרוזי מזרז ושורא רבא דנחשא אחדרית ליה אנה דבעית נקטית ודשאילית נסבת (7) אתון בתריה דאבונא בר גריבתא ובתריה דפאבק בר כופיתאי

Translation

Covers to hold in sacred Angels and all evil Spirits and the tongue of impious Amulet-spirits. Now you are conquered, you are charmed; charmed, you are charmed and sealed in each one of the four (2) corners of his house. You shall not sin against Pâbak bar Kûfithâi, nor shall any do folly against him, against all the people of his house, either by night nor (3) by day; because I have bound you with an evil charm and a sure [seal]. Again, I have charmed you with the charm with which Enoch was charmed by his wicked brothers. Again I charm you with an evil and galling seal. Again, (4) I charm you with the seal with which were charmed the Seven Stars and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac unto the great day (5) of judgment, and to the great hour of the redemption of your heads: you shall not ..., nor sin against them, against Abûnâ bar Geribtâ, and none shall at all do folly against them, namely the people of the household of Pâbak (6) b. K., neither by night nor by day, because well sealed is his house and well armed, and with a great wall of

bronze have I surrounded it. *I,* what I desire I grasp, and what I ask I take. (7) *You* are in the place of Abûnâ b. G. and in the place of Pâbak b. K.

Commentary

A general charm against all evil spirits, made out for the Pâbak of No. 3. The introductory lines are of interest as they definitely settle the use of these bowls (§ 8). The design represents the sorcerer waving his bough, see p. 55.

1. מיטלי דלמיכל : מ׳ is to be identified with the plural of the Syriac *mᵉṭallᵉthâ, mᵉtallê,* or *maṭṭᵉlê;*[1] the י probably represents the pronunciation *mcṭṭᵉlê.* The second word מיכל is the infinitive of כול, "contain," whose original meaning is retained in the Hebrew, even in the sense of holding in with force, e. g. *Jer.* 6: 11, over against the later meaning of "measure."

מלאכין קדישין: See p. 79; also cf. חומריא קאדישאתא, *Ginza,* ed. Petermann, p. 231, l. 10, and the Mandaic רוחא דקודשא.

ורוחי: the first letter was written by inadvertence.

זידני זידניתא : case of dittography.

אהשתא: for the prosthetic א, cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 32.

3. דאסירי ביה וג׳: we find here the idiom of the active use of the passive participle, as in Neo-Syriac; see Nöldeke, *Gram. d. neusyrischen Sprache,* §§ 103, 143. An approximate use of this participle in verbs meaning "to carry," etc., and also with אסר is found in classical Syriac (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 280). But in these instances the participle is middle voice in meaning; thus אסיר כלילא means, "he bound himself with a crown." In the present case the participle has assumed a completely active sense, with an object other than the subject.

אחנוך : this spelling is found in a passage from the lexicon of Karmsedinoi, quoted by Payne-Smith, col. 266, *s. v.* אנטיכריסטוס.

אחוי : "his brother" and "his brothers" have the same spelling, differing as *-ûhi* and *ôhi;* the forms in *-ûi, ôi* are Mandaic, and also Palestinian.

There is reminiscence here of a cycle of personal legends concerning Enoch which have been preserved only in the Arabic, see Weil, *Biblische*

[1] See Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 59.

Legenden der Musselmänner, p. 62, a compilation from manuscript sources.[2] According to these legends Enoch (Idrîs), who foretold the flood, suffered at the hands of the wicked Cainites, even as Abraham was made a martyr for his faith. Our passage must refer to some spell laid upon Enoch by his adversaries. The early Samaritan theologian Marḳa (fourth century) cites a book of the Wars of Enoch, which may have contained these traditions.[3] A spell laid by the wicked on a saint was *à fortiori* potent; see above, p. 64, for other apocryphal examples. For Enoch in incantations, cf. 19: 17.

מלויאשין: the word is written twice; in the first case the scribe omitted the א, then inserted it above the line, and on second thought rewrote the word correctly. It is the Syriac and Mandaic מאלואסא. The first י is unique; it is to be classed with the phenomena noticed by Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, 223, where, e. g. *-yûn* for *-ûn*.

יומא רבא, שעתא רבתי: cf. "the great day," Hexaplaric Syriac to *Is.* 1: 13, the New Testament "that day and that hour," the Syrian Ephrem's expression, "the hour of judgment" (ed. Lamy, iii, 583), and the Arabic "the hour." For the feminine form רבתי, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, 145.

In lines 4, 5, we are introduced to an extensive and ancient cycle of myths concerning the relation of the Seven Stars (the planets with sun and moon) and the twelve zodiacal signs, with the creator of the kosmos. There were two distinct developments in this mythology; in the polytheistic development the planets became highest deities. But in what we may call the monotheistic trend of thought, in which one of the gods, like Marduk became monarch, or, as in Israel's faith Yahwe is the sole God, stress is laid upon the antithesis between the Creator-God and those celestial divinities. The present regulated orbits of the planets and the fixed positions of the zodiacal constellations signify that these beings, once autonomous, have been brought into subjection to a higher god. In process of time they came to be regarded as "spirits in prison." Thus Tiâmat became, when slain, the fixed firmament (or the zodiac?), while, according to Zimmern, *KAT*, 502, the eleven Helpers of Tiâmat are the twelve signs of the zodiac, *minus* that of the Bull, the sign of Marduk

[2] For the later Jewish Enoch literature see *Jew. Enc.* i, 676.

[3] See Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, 224.

himself. This unfavorable attitude toward the celestial bodies is thus ancient. The monotheistic trend was native to the Hebrew theology, and in line with it we have the passage in *Is.* 24: 21 ff., according to which "the host of the height on high," as well as the kings of the earth are punished, being bound in prison. For the later theology the Book of Enoch is a good witness; e. g. 18: 13 ff.: "I saw there seven stars as great burning mountains. When I inquired about it, the angel said: This is the place where heaven and earth are at end; this is a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. The stars which revolve over the fires are they which at the beginning of their origin transgressed the command of God for they did not come forth at their time. Then he became angry at them, and bound them for 10,000 years, till the time when their sin is accomplished" (cf. 21: 6). The "spirits in prison" of 1 *Pet.* 3: 18 ff. is in line with the same notion, depending directly upon *Is.* 24: 21 ff., and we may compare the invidious use of "planets" in *Jude* 13, in the expression ἀστέρες πλανῆται.[4]

But our text also bears witness to another development of the myth. The "binding" of the Seven Stars and the zodiacal signs was for a fixed term. According to the passage quoted from *Enoch,* it was for 10,000 years. In the Isaianic passage, a term is fixed: "after many days shall they be visited."[5] In *Peter* the ancient myth is revived in the notion of Christ preaching to the spirits in prison. It is left somewhat obscure what shall take place when "they shall be visited," or when "their sin is accomplished" (with *Enoch*). Exegetes differ over יפקדו in Isaiah, whether the verb is to be understand favorably (of a visitation for release) or unfavorably (of chastisement). Also the Petrine preaching to the spirits in prison is understood by commentators in equally opposite ways. In our text the term of "the great day" and "the great hour" is evidently to be one of release to the stars bound in prison. There appears to be applied here the idea of a universal Apokatastasis. Now for this notion of the redemption of the imprisoned celestial deities we have a basis in Babylonian

[4] See Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis,* c. i, "Die Sieben." In the Mandaic system the seven planets and twelve signs have become utterly evil. In this line of thought, taken up by magic, there is, I think, an open anthesis to astrological fatalism.

[5] There is literal reference to this passage in No. 34: 6,— בפוקדנא. There is possibility of confusion between פורקנא and פוקדנא.

mythology. In Tablet vii, l. 27 f. of the Epic of Creation (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*), among the titles given to Marduk are: "Who had mercy upon the captive gods; who removed the yoke from upon the gods his enemies." And Pinches has now published a text ("Legend of Merodach," in *PSBA*, 1908, 53 ff.) which is a late supplement to that epic, and apparently continues the theme of the release of the captive gods: "He (Marduk) goes down to the prison, he rises to approach the prison. He opened the gate of the prison, he comforts them. He looked upon them then, all of them; he rejoices. Then the captive gods looked upon him. Kindly the whole of them regarded him." The "day of redemption" of our text is therefore in line with this Babylonian myth, and probably the passages from *Isaiah* and 1 *Peter* are also to be explained in consonance with it. This mythical trace probably descends from the Enoch literature.

5. Abuna is intruded awkwardly.— אסכלי for אסכולי.

6. זרוי מזרז: the root זרז (מזרז, זריז) is found elsewhere in these bowls, and also in those of Pognon and Lidzbarski (see Glossary C). It is used in parallelism with אסר, etc., in preventive magic. The verb means in the Aramaic dialects "to arm." But Pognon (B, 74) assumes for the noun זאראזתא the meaning "admonition," and Lidzbarski (*Eph.* i, 96, n.) the sense of "binding up" a letter, etc. But there is no necessity in departing from the common meaning; it refers to the magical armament of persons and things with power to resist the forces of evil; so a passage in the *Ginza*: "Arm yourselves with arms not of iron" (ed. Petermann, p. 25, l. 20). That is, it is the magical equipment of a person or charm against evil. Paul may have been making use of well-known magical language when he exhorted the Ephesians to "put on the panoply of God," *Eph.* 6: 13. The following phrase, "a great wall of bronze," is equally parabolic;, bronze possessed atropaic use in magic, like the other metals; cf. 15: 7, and see Pauly-Wissowa, i, 50; a Talmudic instance, *Sabb.*, 66b.

אנה דבעית וגי׳: our magician displayed the same assurance in No. 2. At least this confidence had its psychological effect on the client.

אתתן בתריה: "hoist with their own petard"!

No. 5 (CBS 2952)

[אם]ירי אסירין וחתימי חתימין וקטירי קיטרין ולחישין לחישין בשום תיעדון ותיחתטון
ותירחקון מין ביתיה . . יה דפרוך בר פושבי וניונדוך בת פושבי ויתּ אבנדוך בת
פושבי ותינזח מינהון (2) כל לילילתא (*sic*) בישתא וכל שידי ודיוי ואסרי ופתכרי וגדרא
ולוטתא וקריתא וחרשין בישין ועובדין תקיפין וכל מינדעם סניא אסיריתון בשבעה
איסרין וחתימיתון (3) בשבעה חתמין בישמיה דאלדדביה אבי פּוּנן מרי ביזא וקללא
אלנדמ. . . [אשב]עית עליכו בשום הסר הגדול שתישמור ית (פרוך בת (elided
פרוך בר פושבי ויתּ ניונדוך בת (4) פושבי מן עינא בישתא ומן סטנא תקיפא ומן . . . . .
ומישעירים בישביל דחמד הרבים בשום יהוה אה באה אמן אמן סלה (5) על פי יהוה
יחנו על פי יהוה יסעו את משמרת יהוה שמרו על פי יהוה ביד משה ויאמר יהוה אל
הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה (6) בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אודו (*sic*)
מוצל מאש אמן אמן סלה

Two lines on either side of figure in center.

(7) אהעה להלה אמן אמן סלה

אמר אשר משה אמן אמן סלה

Translation

Wholly charmed and sealed and bound and enchanted [are ye], that ye go away and be sealed and depart from the house [and property?] of Farrûch bar Pušbî and Nêwândûch bath Pušbî and Abândûch bath Pušbî, and that there depart from them (2) all evil Liliths and all Demons and Devils and Spells and Idol-spirits, and the Vow and the Curse and the Invocation, and evil Arts and mighty Works and everything hostile. Ye are bound with the seven spells and sealed (3) with the seven seals in the name of Eldedabya Abi Ponan, lord of spoil and curse ..... I conjure against you in the name of the great Prince, that thou keep Farrûch b. P. and Nêwândûch b. P. (4) from the Evil Eye and from the mighty Satan, and from ... and from the many Satyrs in the road of Hamad, in the name of YHWH, 'H, B'H. Amen, Amen, Selah. (5) "According

to the mouth of YHWH they would encamp, and according to the mouth of YHWH they would march; the observance of YHWH they kept according to the mouth of YHWH by Moses." "And YHWH said to Satan: YHWH rebuke thee, Satan, YHWH rebuke (6) thee who chose Jerusalem. Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?" Amen, Amen, Selah.

COMMENTARY

A general incantation against evil spirits for a man and his two sisters. The latter half Hebraizes.

1. The duplication of the ppls. is for intensity, "twice charmed." קיטרין error for קטירין. — לחישין, the only instance of this verb in the bowl-texts.

פרוך: cited by Payne Smith, col. 3246; cf. *Farruchan* and composites in *farruch*, Justi, p. 95 f.— פושבי?

אבנדוך, ניונדוך: Justi, pp. 228, 1.

ויתּ: by heedlessness of construction; cf. l. 3.

תנזח: נזח (also Talmudic) = זחח, see to 3: 2.

2. אסרי: the place of the term in the list shows that the charms were regarded as personal entities. Cf. above, p. 86.

"Seven spells," etc.; cf. the fever-remedy in *Sabb.* 66b, "7 twigs from 7 trees, 7 nails from 7 bridges," etc., etc. For this magical number in the Talmud, see Blau, pp. 73, 86, who quotes the Jewish maxim כל השביעין חביבין.

3. אלדרביה וגי: obscure, probably name of a genius; אבי may indicate his paternal relation to another well-known genius. For רביה cf. 2: 2.

"The great Prince": the technical title for Michael (see p. 97). It is to be observed that this bowl is peculiarly Jewish in theological form, while the following adjurations are in Hebrew. The double use of אשבעית introduces a mixed construction here. The verb generally is used of exorcism, with על of the object, = ἐξορκίζω. But at the same time he *adjures* the great Prince, whom he addresses in the second person. All these terms denoting magical binding could be used indifferently of the good and evil genii. The angel is adjured in Hebrew, which according to belief was the only tongue the angels knew.

4. "The hobgoblins in the way of Hamad, the many"; cf. the Rodwell-Halévy bowl in which a geographical location is given, "upon the road to Huṣi," and Wohls. 2417, a demon who dwells in Samki. The reference is to the demons which beset some particular road. For the satyrs see p. 80. הרבים in the text is awkward.

5. Literal quotations from *Num.* 9: 23 (cf. 26: 1 f.). The applicability of this quotation lies in its triple use of the efficacious word שמר (as above in l. 3). Hence the magical use of such Psalms as the 121st, 122d, the Aaronic Blessing, etc. Later Kabbalism, found in the theme the abbreviation of שדים מזיקים רוחות, see Schwab, *Notices et Extraits* of the Paris National Library, xxxvi, 1 (1899), 288.

7. There is no evident sense in these words around the figure. אהעה and אשר are reminiscent of the interpretation of the Name, *Ex.* 3: 14; להלה = "avaunt"?, משה = Moses.

No. 6 (CBS 2916)

כיבשא דכבשין להון לשידי ולדיוי ולסטני ולפיתכרי (2) ולרוחי בישתא ולחומרי זידניתא ולגיסי וקיבלי ולילית דיכרי (3) וניקבתא דלוין עימהון דאדק בר חאתוי ודאחת בת האתוי דלוין עימהון ודשרין (4) בגובתיהון ודדבין על איסכופתהון ומידמן להון בידמו דמו ומחן ורמן וקטלין וכיבשא הדין (5) כבישנא להון ביומי בירחי ובכל שני ויומא הדין מיכולהון יומי וירחא הדין מיכולהון ירחי ושתא הדא (6) מיכולהין שני ועידנא הדין מיכולהון עידני ואזינא וחברנא להון באיסכופת בתיהון דנא דנא וצארנא וחתימנא עליהון צירין פיתחיהון (7) וכל אינרהון וכיבשא הדין כבישנא להון בשום הלין שבע מילין דישמיא וארעה כבישין בהין בשום חדא גישמין ומרביל בשום (8) תינינתא גישמין ומרביל בשום תליתיתא מרביל בשום רביעיתא משבר בשום חמישיתא מורה בשום שתיתא ארדיבל בשום שביעיתא כיבשין דיבהון (9) כביש ע. . . . . בהון תיתכבשון כל רוחי בישתא וחומרי זידניתא ולילית דיכרי וניקבתא וגיסי וקיבלי ומללתא ולא תיתחזן להון לאדק בר חאתוי ולאחת בת חאתוי (10) ול. . . . . לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינתא דיממא ולא תיקרבון לסיטרא דימינהון ולסיטרא דישמלהון ולא תיקטלון בניהון ולא תישילטון בכל קינינהון דאית (11) להון ודהוי להון מן יומא דין ולעולם ומן דעל הדין כיבשא ניבר והלין רזין לא מקביל ניפקא בי אווא וניצטרי בי בינא וניזם במיזם נחשה ניזיל קליה בגינלי שמיא (12) וניחוי דיריה בשבע שאול דימה ומן יומא דין ולעלם אמן אמן סלה

Translation

A *press* which is *pressed* down upon Demons and Devils and Satans and impious Amulet-spirits and Familiars and Counter-charms and Liliths male (3) and female, that attach themselves to Adaḳ bar Ḥâthôi and Aḥath bath Ḥâthôi—that attach themselves to them, and dwell (4) in their arch-ways, and lurk by their thresholds, and appear to them in one form and another, and that strike and cast down and kill. And this *press* (5) I *press* down upon them in days and in months and in all years, and this day out of all days, and this month out of all months, and this year (6) out of all years, and this season out of all seasons. And I come and put a spell for them in the thresholds of this their house, and I seal and bind them. Fastened up are their doors (7) and all their roof.

And this *press* I *press* down upon them by means of these seven words, by which heaven and earth are charmed: in the name of the first, *Gišmîn* and *Marbîl;* of the second, *Gišmîn* and *Marbîl;* of the third, *Marbîl;* of the fourth, *Mašbar;* of the fifth, *Môrah;* of the sixth, *Ardibal;* of the seventh *Kibšîn* (presses), with which is *repressed* (9) ..... with them are *repressed* all evil Spirits and impious Amulet spirits and Liliths male and female and Familiars and Counter-charms and Words, that they appear not to Adaḳ b. Ḥ. and to Aḥath b. Ḥ. (10) and to ..... neither in dream by night nor in sleep by day, and that they approach neither their right side nor their left, and that they kill not their children, and that they have no power over their property, what they have (11) and what they shall have, from this day and forever.

And whoever will transgress against this *press* and does not accept these rites, shall split asunder violently and burst in the midst, and the sound of him shall resound with the resonance of brass in the spheres of heaven, (12) and his abode shall be in the seventh (?) hell of the sea, from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A charm in behalf of a couple (each with a mother of the same name) and their household; the incantation consists in seven magical words, and concludes with a threat against any who destroy the bowl and ignore its ban.

1. כיבשא: cf. מיטלי, 4: 1, and see § 8. Cf. the verb, l. 5. N. B. similar use of כבש in *Pesiḳta R.* 16 (Jastrow, p. 611): the sacrifices are "presses because they press down the sins."

2. ניסי, also 12: 9, in both places before קיבלי. Out of several possibilities of interpretation I suggest that of נ' in the sense of "side" (cf. 34: 4), and then one who is familiar (Jastrow, *s. v.*), hence = the πάρεδρος or familiar spirit of the Greek magic; e. g. the ὀνειροπομποί and πάρεδροι in Justin Martyr, *Ap.* i, 18, Eusebius, *H. E.,* iv, 7: 9, occurring also in the magical papyri, Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 161, n. They may be the genii invoked by manipulation or rubbing of the amulet as in the Arabian Nights. In Arabic superstition we learn of the "follower," *tâbi'u,* that accompanies the bewitched man, Nöldeke, *ZDMG,* xli, 717. And cf. the

Satan who is a "comrade" to an evil man, *Karîn,* in the Koran (e. g. 41: 24), see van Vloten, *WZKM,* vii, 182 ff., גיסא could be the Syriac word for marauding troop, an appropriate description for a demoniac species, but the meaning given above is more appropriate in the context.

3. אדק: cf. the Persian name Adaces, in Ammianus, see Justi, p. 2, and cf. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien,* 417.

חאתוי: cf. the Syriac name *Ḥâthî,* "my sister," cited by Payne Smith, col. 1408, here with the Persian diminutive ending.

גובתיהן: the Syriac גובא, "transverse beam," hence probably door lintel,—so Payne-Smith, col. 670; radically the word refers to the *arch* of the doorway. For the abodes of the demons, see p. 76.

בדמו דמו: the same phrase in the Mandaic, Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 216, 2.

מחן, רמן: cf. *Mk.* 9: 14 ff., *Lu.* 6: 4.

5. For the selection of a special day for the exorcism, see p. 55.

6. אוינא: unique form; אזל is treated in some forms as though אזז, and here metaplastically as אזא.

חברנא: the only occurrence in the bowls of this ancient magical term. —The root צור is used here not in its Aramaic sense.

בתיהן = ביתהן, cf. l. 4.

7. אינרהן: cf. *Pesaḥ.* 111b, רבי אינרי, of the demons.

8. These magical words are wholly obscure; see § 11.

10. "Sleep by day": cf. the special term in 7: 16. The midday siesta was perilous, especially for those in the fields; in the Greek superstition this was the chosen time for attacks by the satyrs and fauns, whose place was taken in Jewish legend by the קטב מרירי a demon representing sun-stroke, etc. See Grünbaum, *ZDMG,* xxxi, 251 f., and Roscher, *Ephialtes.*

Magical protection at right and left hand is frequently referred to in Babylonian sorcery; e. g. the *Utukki*-series iii, 93 (Thompson, i, 11); or four deities surround the sorcerer, in front and back, at right and left, *ibid.,* iii, 142; the *Maḳlu*-series, vi, l. 123 f. Cf. 13: 7.

תישילטון: for the new vowel see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 25.

11. The penalty for infraction of the charm is bombastic enough! For the threatening of demons, see above, on 3: 6.

ניבר, ניפקא: Mandaizing spelling for נעבר, נפקע; also אחא = עחא. A dialectic formula may be used here. N. B. נ of the preformative, ניזם from Syr. זמם, and נינלי is Syriac over against the Rabbinic and Mandaic forms.

12. "In the seventh hell" (with awkward use of the numeral) in contrast to the seventh heaven. For the seven hells, see Eisenmenger, ii, 302, 328 f.

No. 7 (CBS 16007)

This bowl is a replica to that published by Dr. Myhrman of Upssala (No. 16081), see above p. 20. The latter is more perfect than my text, in fact almost the only perfect one in the collection; for this reason and also for the value of comparing the numerous variants I give the two texts in parallel, making such emendations as appear necessary in the first-published text, which amount chiefly to the proper grammatical distinction of *yod* and *waw* and *he* and *ḥeth*. It may be observed that the designs in the two bowls differ: in 16007 merely a circle enclosing a cross, in 16081, a linear figure, the stem surmounted by a head capped, at the other end a pitchfork-like termination (the forked tail of the demon?), while four rays represent the limbs. On either side of the figure are three characters like the Greek Σ, or looked at from the side like ש, with which we may compare the ש's shuffled into Pognon's texts, see p. 60. For convenience of reference I give the same line-numbering to Myhrman's text as to my own.

In the commentary I make such few notes as are necessary on Dr. Myhrman's ably edited text.

16081 (Myhrman)	16007
בישמך מרי חתמתא	בישמך מרי אסותא
(2) אסיה רבה דרחמי צארנא	(2) אסיא רבא דרחמי צארנא
לכון וחתמנא (3) לכון	לך וחתימנא (3) ומחתימנא לך
	נפשיה ביתיה וקינינה דהדין
גיי (4) בר אספנז ומשכוי אתתה	יזידאד (4) בר איזדנדוך
בת סימוי וארדוי ברה וכל בני	
ובנתא דהון להון וביתיהון כולה	
בישמיה דאלהא רבה ובחתמא רבה	בישמיה דאלהא רבא ובחתמא רבא
דשדי (5) ובציצי דצבאות	דשדא אל (5) וְבציצי דצבאות ובזיוא
	רבא דקדוש
דיזעון ויזדזעון ויפקון כל שידי	דיזיעון ויזדעזעון ויפקון כל שידי צ...
(6) ודיוי וירורי ורוחי בישאתא ותומרי	(6) וכל סטנין תקיפין
זידניתא וכל שדין וכל דיוין	

מן כולה הדין ביתא ומן כל בני אינשא
דשרן בה
(7) תוב צארנא לכון ומחתימנא לכון

ניי (8) בר אספנז ומשכוי אתתה וארדוי
ברה וביתא הדין כולה וביתא מישכבה
בשום גבריאל ומיכיאל ובשום רפיאל
ועסיאל ובהרמים מריא רבא
בשום יהו ביהו (9) ואבהו רבה
ואברכם רבה מנטרנא דרוחי טבתא
ומחבלנא דרוחי בישתא ומנטרנא לכון
ומנחרנא לכון ומחתימנא לכון

(10) ניי ומשכוי וארדוי אילין וביתא הדין
כולה
דלא יחטון להון
כל שידי (11) וכל דיוי וכל מבכלי וכל

ליליתא ומבכלתא וכל פתכרי ולוטתא
וענקתא וכל סטני קשיי

וכל מזיקין (12) בישין
דמין ידי דילי מהנפיקנא להון

בשום פרנגין בר פרנגין דמן קדמוהי
זעא ימא ומבתרוהי טורין זעיין

ובישמיה (13) דבר משתאיל דגזירתא
גזירא ובר אינש על מטרתיה לא עבר
הא רזא הדין לבטלא יתכון שידי ודיוי
וליליתא ומבכלתא ולוטתא וענקתא
וקריתא [ופתכ]רי ופתכרתא

מן ביתיה ומן דירתיה ומן כול פנריה
דהדין יזידאד בר א[יזדנדוך]
(7) תוב צארנא לך ואחתימנא ומחתימנא לך
נפשיה ו[ביתי]ה וקיניניה וביתי מישכביה
ד[יזידאד (8) בר] איזדנדוך

בשום גבריאל ומיכיאל ורפיאל ובשום
עסאל עסיאל מלאכה ואירמים מ[ריא רבא
בשום יהו ביהו] (9) ואבהו רבא
ואברכם רבא מנטרנא דרוחי טבאתא
ו[מחב]לנא דרוחי בישאתה מנטרנא ליכי
נפשיה [ביתיה דירתיה] (10) וקינינה
דהדין
יזידאד בר איזדנדוך ומחתימנא ליכי
נפשה בית[ה ודי]רתה דהדא מירדוך
בת באנאי דלא יחטון בכון
כל ח[רשין בי]שין (11) וכל סרנין אפיקי
וכל
ענקתא וכל קריתא וכל לוטתא וכל
יְצְעֲרי וכל. . . . וכל כורהני קשיי וכל
סטני בישי וכל פת[כרי וכל ח]ומרי
זידנ[יתא] וכל מזיקי (12) תקיפי
דמן תחית ידי דילי מפיקנא להון מן הדין
ביתא
בשום פרנגין בר פרנגין דמן קדמוהי
זע ימא ומן בתרוהי זיעין טורין [ביש]מיה
דהה הה
[וב]ישמיה (13) דבר משתאל דגזירתיה
גזירא ובר אינש על מטרתיה לא עבר
הא רזא הדין לבטלא [י]תכון
רזי חרשי ומי מחראשי וזיפי וכוסי
וקי[ט]רי ונידרי וענקתא ו[קריתא]
ולוטתא (14) ורוחי בישאתא וחומרי
זידניאתה

ואפקא שידי ושידניאתה ולילי ולילאתה
(14) ופנעי וסטני וכל מזיקין ופנעי וסטני בישי וכל מזיקי בישי
דמידמן דמידמן [ו]כל מזיקין בישין
בידמות שיקצא ורימסא ובידמות חיתא בידמות שיקצא ורימסא ובדמות חית[א]
[וע]ופא (15) ובידמות גברא ואתתה ועופא (15) ובדמות גברא ואיתתא
ובכל דמו ובכל גונין בטילו ופוקו ובכל דמו ובכל גונין בטילו ופוקו
מן מין ביתיה ומין דירתיה ומין כוליה
גיי פגריה דהדין יזידאד בר איזדנוך
ומשכוי ומין מירדוך איתתיה בת באנאי
וארדוי אילין ומין בניהון ומין בנתהון ומין כל
ולא תיחטון בהון אינשי ביתיהון
(16) ולא תיחבלון בהון חבלא בישא (16) דלא תיחבלון בהון כל חבאלא בישא
ולא תירדון בביתתהון (*sic*) ולא תישנון יתהון ולא תיפרדון יתהון
ולא תיחטון בהון
ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמהון דליליה ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא
ולא בשינתהון דיממא מן יומא דין בשחרתא דיממא מן יומא דנן
ולעולם אמן אמן סלה ולועלם אמן אמן סלה
— — — ועוד מומינא ומשבענא

(17) עלך יטרידך סרא רבא מפסים גרמך ומעדי שׁוּרבתך ובשבעין גברין דנקיטין שבעין מנלין חריפאתא למִקטל בהון כל שידין בישין ולשיציה בחין כל מבכלין זידנין מסחפין גונדין ורמי על ערסיהון אמן אמן סלה הללויה

Translation

In thy name, O Lord of salvations, (2) the great Saviour of love.

I bind to thee and seal (3) and counterseal to thee, the life, house and property of this Yezidâd (4) bar Izdândûch; in the name of the great God, and with the seal of Shadda El, (5) and by the splendor of Sebaoth, and by the great glory of the Holy One: that all ... Demons and all mighty Satans remove and betake themselves and go out (6) from the house and from the dwelling and from the whole body of this Yezîdâd b. I.

(7) Again I bind to thee (Myhrman, to you) and seal and counterseal to thee (M. to you) the life and house and property and bedchamber of Yezîdâd (8) b. I., in the name of Gabriel and Michael and Raphael, and in the name of the angel 'Asiel and Ermes (Hermes) the great Lord. [In

the name of Yahu-in-Yahu] (9) and the great Abbahu and the great Abrakas (Abraxas), the guardian of good spirits and destroyer of evil spirits, I guard to thee (M. to you) the life, house, dwelling (10) and property of this Yezîdâd b. I. And I seal to thee (M. to you) the life, house and dwelling of this Merdûch bath Bânâi, that there sin not against you (M. them) all evil Arts (11) and all (magic) Circles and all Necklace-spirits and all Invocations and all Curses and all Losses and all ... and all sore Maladies and all evil Satans and all Idol-spirits and all impious Amulet-spirits and all mighty Tormentors, (12) which under my own hand I banish from this house in the name of Pharnagin bar Pharnagin, before whom trembles the sea and behind whom tremble the mountains, in the name of HH, HH, and in the name of (13) Bar-mešteel, whose proscription is proscribed and none trespasses upon his ward.

Lo, this mystery is for frustrating you, Mysteries, Arts, and enchanted Waters and Hair-spirits, Bowls and Knots and Vows and Necklace-spirits and Invocations and Curses (14) and evil Spirits and impious Amulet-spirits. And now, Demons and Demonesses and Lilis and Liliths and Plagues and evil Satans and all evil Tormentors, which appear—and all evil Injurers—in the likeness of vermin and reptile and in the likeness of beast and bird (15) and in the likeness of man and woman, and in every likeness and in all fashions: Desist and go forth from the house and from the dwelling and from the whole body of this Yezîdâd b. I. and from Merdûch his wife b. B., and from their sons and their daughters and all the people of their house, (16) that ye injure them not with any evil injury, nor bewilder nor amaze them, nor sin against them, nor appear to them either in dream by night or in slumber by day, from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

And again I swear and adjure (17) thee: May the great Prince expel thee, he who breaks thy body and removes thy tribe. And by the seventy Men who hold seventy sickles, wherewith to kill all evil Demons and to destroy all impious Tormentors,—are they cast prostrate in troops and thrown on their beds. Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.

Commentary

A charm made out for a man, his wife and household, against all manner of demons.

A comparison of these bowls, each written by a facile scribe with a well formed ductus, throws light on the history of the transmission and development of our magical inscriptions. Myhrman's text is shorter, in the other an appendix has also been added addressed against some particular but unnamed demon. The spelling in M. is more archaic, avoiding *matres lectionis,* the masc. pronom. suffix being represented by ה alone, ה is generally used for final *a,* the antique form מהנפיקנא is found (l. 6), as also the true reproduction of Hermes by ה. Also my text is more confused in the arrangement of the exorcised powers, M. follows the historical order. Formally then M. appears to be the elder text, in comparison with which mine is more inflated.

The most interesting point of difference is this: in M. the sealing is done "to you" throughout, but in my text "to thee" (l. 2, etc.). This plural has justly troubled Myhrman, and he suggests three possible explanations. But I believe the only explanation is that his text is polytheistic or rather a product of the common magic religion; in expressing three names of "the great God" Elaha, Shaddai and Sebaoth, the magician regarded them as a trinity of deities, just as in the magical papyri these Jewish (and other) divine names are invoked as so many deities (see § 11).[1] M's text is then of eclectic religious character. My text abjures all such polytheism, but that it is secondary to the other is shown by comparing them in ll. 9 and 10. M. retains its polytheistic plural; my text has clung to the form, but misunderstanding it has read ליבי (i. e. לבון = לבו = לבי = ליבי), and I suppose made it refer to the following feminine נפש, or to some feminine demon. For the same reason it reads, awkwardly, בבון in l. 10 for the correct להון. Thus an eclectic text, or its original, in which the deities invoked are the names of the Jewish God, has fallen into more orthodox hands and produced our monotheistic

[1] Cf., among the seven planetary spirits of the Ophites (Origen, *C. Cels.,* vi, 31) Ιαω, Σαβαωθ, Αδωναιος, Ελωαιος; the "angels" Αδωναι, Βασημμ, Ιαω, Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 182, l. 12; also in Pradel's Christian texts, *Sabaoth* and *Adonai* are found among angel-names (p. 47).

text, leaving but a trace or two of its original source. Such are the complications of this magic!

1. The opening singular invocation does not agree with the following plural in M.

יזידאד: name of a Nestorian writer, Payne Smith, col. 1586; Justi, p. 149, thinks the Syriac form an error, but our text confirms it. Our word could be Semitic = יזיד דד. Also note Izeddad in Justi, p. 147.

4. איזדנדוך: Justi, p. 146.

With אספנז, M, cf. in addition to his reference to Ašpenaz, *Dan.* 1: 3, the name Ašpazanda, Clay, *BE,* x, 41.

5. ציצי: plural, "the rays of light." This and the following term represent Hebrew כבוד.

יזעון: with expression of the half-vowel, as in cases cited earlier; cf. Stübe, l. 62. For the following Hithpalpel, s. Jastrow, p. 407.

ירורין, M: so the spelling surely, see above, p. 81.

6. "from the body": cf. the *φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ*, London Papyrus, l. 589, Wessely, xlii, 39.

8. For the angels, see § 13; for four angels (cf. the four gods surrounding the magician in Babylonian magic; see above, on 6: 10) see Luekken, *Michael,* 34 f. Nuriel-Uriel is generally the fourth. In Stübe, l. 58, עניאל takes this place. עסיאל occurs in *Sefer Raziel,* s. Schwab, *Vocabulaire,* 214, and probably in a text of Pradel's (p. 22, l. 16), where *ασα* and *αφα* doubtless = Asael and Raphael. N. B. the care with which the scribe rewrites the name of Asiel; all four names are made to terminate in *-iel.*

אירמים = M. הרמים (the latter the closest to the Greek of our spellings) = Hermes, see to 2: 2. Myhrman's suggestion, which I originally (and independently) favored, that the word is Hormiz = Ahura-mazda, is ruled out by the fact that that element in our proper names is given by הורמיז.

יהו ביהו: cf. Stübe, l. 15 יהביה ביישמיה; Pognon B, no. 5, יה ביא; דביא, above 2: 2 (*q. v.*); יהו ביה, 13: 7. יהו ancient form of the divine Name, appearing (apart from biblical proper names and probable Babylonian forms) in the Assouan papyri, in the Greek magical papyri (Deissmann, *Bibelstudien,* 4 ff, Blau, p. 128 ff.) as Ιαω, surviving among the modern

Samaritans (Montgomery, *JBL,* 1906, 50, n. 5), and used in the magical texts current at Mossoul (*PSBA,* xxviii, 97). I think the doubled term here is theosophic: Yah-in-Yah; cf. the Christian Logos-doctrine and its terms, and Kabbalism. It is possible that Stübe's יהביה = Yahbēh (Ιαβη) = Yahweh. At all events this spelling-out of the full Tetragrammaton occurs in a proper name below, 26: 4.

9. אבהו, and פרנגין below, l. 12, probably correctly diagnosed by Myhrman as exalted sorcerers' names; see above p. 47. For the two Amoraim Abbahu, see *Jew. Enc., s. v.* A suggestion in another line is possible for Abbahu. King in his *Gnostics and their Remains,*[2] London, 1887, 246, says that the Pantheus or representation of the pantheistic Deity of the Gnostics, appearing on the Gnostic gems, "is invariably inscribed with his proper name ΙΑΩ and his epithets ΑΒΡΑΞΑΣ and ΣΑΒΑΩΘ and often accompanied with invocations such as .... ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ, 'thou art our Father.'" Our Abbahu may represent this epithet and the passage would accordingly preserve three of the Gnostic designations of Deity: Yahu, Father, Abraxas. For Abraxas see above, p. 57, and for treatments of the subject and bibliographies the articles "Abrasax" in Hauck's *Realencyk., Jewish Encyc.,* and especially the splendid monograph by Leclercq, in *Dictionnaire de l'archéologie chrétienne,* etc. Variants in the bowls are אברכסיס and אברכיס. These forms represent *Abraxas* as against the original form Abrasax, hence I use the former word in the present volume. Myhrman remarks (p. 345): "As over against the view of Blau-Kohler (*Jew. Enc.* i, 130b) this would prove to be at least 'a single reliable instance' of this name occurring in Hebrew"—or at least in a Jewish document, as my text is. Abraxas is found in *Sefer Raziel,* 5a.

מחבלנא, מנטרנא: instances of the Syriac nominal formation from derived stems.

רוחי טבאתא: recalling the Jewish "good demons," see above, p. 76. The expression is also reminiscent of the Greek *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*, frequent in magic.

מנטרנא (2d): ppl. w. suffix. It is represented by three ppls. in M., the second = מנחרנא, which M. translates, with a query, "pierce." This is impossible; I would suggest to read ה for ח, and understand the Afel,

= (Rabb.) Heb. הזכיר, of naming a person to a deity and so placing him under his protection.

10. מירדוך: Mer-dûcht, = Mithra-dûcht, Justi, p. 208, *Bemerk.*

באנאי = באנא 27: 8; a masc. name among the Jews, *Sefer ha-Doroth* ii, 84. But these names appear to be indifferently masc. and fem.; cf. 1: 4. The same name בני is found in Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 238, and = the frequent Babylonian Bâni-ia, cf. the name lists in Clay, *BE,* viii, pt. 1, pp. ix, x.

11. סרנין אפיקי, occurring frequently in the unpublished No. 2918. I interpret this from the Syriac סרנא, as of the magic circle, cf. חזאר רבאניא, 39: 7, and see p. 88. The circle was used particularly for necromancy and devil-raising. Cf. Eliphas Lévi, *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie,* Paris, 1856, ii, l. 14. The objection to this interpretation is the entire obscurity of אפיקי.

יצערי: for איצערי, *iṣ'âr,* cf. Maclean, *Dict. of Vernacular Syriac,* 193b; for the meaning, see p. 94, above.

For the epithet קשיי, cf. the epithets *χαλεπός, violentus,* etc., of the demons; cases cited by Tambornino, *De ant. daemonismo,* 15, 23.

12. "under my own hand": there is much imitation of legal forms in magical formulas.

פרנגין: evidently a Persian name; Myhrman as from *farna,* "good fortune," and *gin* (?) comparing Pharnakes, etc., Justi, p. 92-96. I may compare the Persian name Frenanh, Justi, p. 105b.

זיעין, זע, parallel to M's זעיין, זעא, in the latter as from root זעא.

13. בר משתאל = M. בר משתאיל, translated there "son of the inquirer of the oracle." We must go to the Assyrian for the explanation. There the corresponding form *muštâlu* means one who gives an oracle upon being asked, i. e. an oracle-giver, and is an epithet of deity. See Jastrow, *JBL,* xix, 99, and the reff. in Delitzsch, *Ass. Hwb., s. v.* שאל. The expression has the connotation of deciding the fates, with which cf. the following phrase in our text בר דנזירתיה נזירא may here be used like the Arabic *ibn,* without modifying its regimen. Or may the phrase = *bârû muštâlu,* "oracle-giving seer"? Some ancient phrase has been conventionalized and

personified. For the following expression concerning the inviolability of the "decree," cf. 38: 8.

מי מחראשי: ppl. pass. The root חרש came to be used particularly of poisoning. The זיפי are probably "hairs," Syriac *zeppâ*. Any portion of a person's body, especially hairs, nails, etc., as detachable, could be used in magic directed against him. See Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, Index, *s. v.* "hair," and with abundant citation of comparative magic, Abt, *Apuleius*, 179 ff.; also Blau, p. 161.

14. For the appearance of devils in animal forms, cf. the reply of the demon to St. Michael in a text of Pradel's (p. 23): "I enter their houses metamorphosed as snake, dragon, vermin, quadruped."

15. גיונין = *gᵉwânîn*, cf. l. 16, vs. M. גונין *gawwânîn* or *gaunîn* (?).

16. תיחבלן, תישנן: Paels, with י for preformative half-vowel. I understand תישנן and תיפרדן, of the demoniac bewilderment of the victim (see Jastrow, *s. vv.*), or actual insanity. M. has for these verbs "לא תידרון in their house"; Myhrman's translation, "shall not dwell," would require תדורן. It looks as if תידרון is for תיפרדן, or an error for תירדן, from פרד = רדא.

שחרתא: so also 8: 11, but generally in parallel occurrences, e. g. Myhrman's text, שינתא. The same noun is found in the Mandaic, שנתא וש' (*Ginza*, Norberg's text, ii, 18, l. 12), and the verb. שחר ושכב (*ib.*, l. 19). It means to "snore, sleep profoundly" (cf. Heb. תרדמה) = Arabic *šaḥara*. Cf. 6: 10.

17. סרא רבא: cf. 5: 31 and see p. 97. מפסים: cf. Ass. *pasâsu*.

"70 men holding 70 sharp sickles": i. e. the 70 angels or shepherds, representing the 70 nations, *Enoch* 89: 59 (originally regarded as good angels, Schürer, *GJV*⁴, iii, 198, n. 32, Lueken, *Michael*, 14, but later legend regarded them as fallen). The "sharp sickles" are an echo of *Rev.* 14: 14 ff., where the Peshitto uses the same words as here. This coincidence (cf. also *Mt.* 13: 37 ff.) argues for a common source of ideas.

שיציה: inf. of שיצי, Targumic but not Talmudic.

מסחפין: Pael pass. ppl., of the Syriac and Mandaic root "prostrate." Or possibly cf. the Rabbinic meaning "put on a cover," with reference to the inverting of the bowls, see to 4: 1, 6: 1. The "beds" are metaphorical of weakness and subjection, cf. *Is.*, 50: 11.

No. 8 (CBS 9013)

בישמיה דמרי אסואתא מזמן הדין כסא לחתמתא דביתיה דהדין גיונאי בר מאמי
דתיזח (2) מינה לילית[א] בישתא בישמיה דפזר יהוה אל לילית[א] לילי דיכרא ולילית[א]
ניקבתא ושלניתא וחטפיתא (3) תליתיכין ארבעתיכין וחמי[שתיכין ערטילן] שליחיתין
ולא לבישיתין וסתיר סעריכין ורמי אחור גביכין שמיע עליכין (4) דאביכין פלחם שמיה
ואימיכין פלחדד שמה שמעי וצותי ופוקי מין ביתיה ומין דירתיה דהדין גיונאי בר
מאמאי ומין רשנוי איתתיה (5) בת מארת ותוב לא תיתחזין להון לא בביתיה ולא
בדירתיהון ולא בבית מישכבי[הון] מיטול דשמיע עליכין דאביכין פלחם שמיה ואימיכין
(6) פלחדד שמה מיטול דשמיע עליכין דשלח עליכין שמתא רבי יהושע בר פרחיא
אומית [עליכין ביקרא] פלחם אביכין (7) ובשום פלחדד אימיכין ניטא נחית לנא
מין שמיא ואישתכח כתיב ביה לשימועיכין ולחירודיכין בישמיה דפלסא פליסא דהוא
מתיב לכי גיטכי ופיטורכי גיטיכין (8) ופטוריכין אנתי לילית[א] לילי דיכרא ולילית[א]
ניקיבתא ושלניתא וחטפיתא הוי בשמתא . . . [רבי] יהושע בר פרחיא והכין אמר
לנא רבי יהושע בר פרחיא (9) גיטא אתא לכי מין עיבר ימא ואישתכח כתיב ביה
[ר]אביכין פלחם שמיה ואימיכין פלחדד שמה . . . כִּין אִיתְתִיא . . . שמיע להון
מין רקיעא וּלאכין (10) שימין ביש . . . דודנא גדא בנדא שמעי וצותי ופ[וק]י מין
ביתיה ומין דירתיה דהדין גיונאי בר [מאמאי ומין ר]שנוי איתתיה בת מארת ותוב
לא תיתחזין להון (11) לא בחילמא ולא בשחרתא דיממא מיטול דחתימיתי בעיזקתיה דאל
שדי ובעיזקתא דבית יהושע בר פרחיא ובשבעה דקדמוהי אנ[תי לי]ליתא לילי דיכר]א
ולילית[א] (12) ניקבתא ושלניתא וחטפיתא משבענא לכין באביר אברהם בצור יצחק
בשדי יעקב ב.ה שמו מְשַׁךְ ב.ה זיכרו אֹ..דְוֹרִיפְתָא ומיח . . . מומינא (13) עליכין
תיסבון מין הדא רשנוי בת מארת ומין גיונאי בעלה בר מאמי גיטכי וספרתין ל. . . .
ואיגרת שיבוק ב . . . ת משלח ביד מלאכין קדישין בהן . . . צַב[או]ת נורא בגלגלן
רכובי אל פנים (14) עומדים החיות מישתחות באש כיסאו ובמים דינלי אהיה אשר
אהיה שמו אין שמו שמו . . שמ . . . . . שמו ובמומתא דמלאכין קדישין ב . . . . אל
מל[אכא] רבא ובעזריאל מלאכא (15) רבא ובקבקביאל מלאכא רבא ובעקריאל מלאכא
רבא עקרית ענקתא בישאתא אף אנתי לילית[א] בישאתא קיבלי ביש[י] . . . . . ואיגרת
שיב[וק] . . . . . (16) ותוב לא תיהדרין עליהון מין יומא דנן ולעולם אמן אמן סלה
חתימי עלוהי . . . גברִיאֵל תוב א . . . . . לילית[א] בי[שתא] ורוחא בישתָא . . . . .

(17) על מדכבת . . . . . או תיקטלין . . . תיתרחקין מין הדא [רשנוי] בת מארת
ויתקימון לח[יין] אמן אמן סלה הללויה

TRANSLATION

In the name of the Lord of salvations.

Designated is this bowl for the sealing of the house of this Geyônâi bar Mâmâi, that there flee (2) from him the evil Lilith, in the name of 'YHWH El has scattered'; the Lilith, the male Lilis and the female Liliths, the Hag (ghost?) and the Ghul, (3) the three of you, the four of you and the five of you; [naked] are you sent forth, nor are you clad, with your hair dishevelled and let fly behind your backs. It is made known to you, (4) whose father is named Palḥas and whose mother Pelaḥdad: Hear and obey and come forth from the house and the dwelling of this Geyônâi b. M. and from Rašnôi his wife (5) bath Mârath.

And again, you shall not appear to them in his (*sic*) house nor in their dwelling nor in their bedchamber, because it is announced to you, whose father is named Palḥas and whose mother (6) Pelaḥdad,—because it is announced to you that Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia has sent against you the ban. I adjure you [by the glory (= name)] of Palḥas your father (7) and by the name of Pelaḥdad your mother. A divorce-writ has come down to us from heaven and there is found written in it for your advisement and your terrification, in the name of Palsa-Pelîsa ('Divorcer-Divorced'), who renders to thee thy divorce and thy separation, your divorces (8) and your separations. Thou, Lilith, male Lili and female Lilith, Hag and Ghul, be in the ban .... [of Rabbi] Joshua b. P.

And thus has spoken to us Rabbi Joshua b. P.: (9) A divorce writ has come for you (thee?) from across the sea, and there is found written in it [against you], whose father is named Palḥas and whose mother Pelaḥdad, ... they hear from the firmament (10) .... Hear and they and go from the house and from the dwelling of this Geyônâi b. M. and from Rašnôi his wife b. M.

And again, you shall not appear to them (11) either in dream by night nor in slumber by day, because you are sealed with the signet of El Shaddai and with the signet of the house of Joshua b. Peraḥia and by the Seven (?) which are before him. Thou Lilith, male Lili and female

Lilith, Hag and Ghul, I adjure you by the Strong One of Abraham, by the Rock of Isaac, by the Shaddai of Jacob, by Yah (?) his name .... by Yah his memorial .... I adjure (13) you to turn away from this Rašnôi b. M. and from Geyônâi her husband b. M. Your divorce and writ (?) and letter of separation .... sent through holy Angels .... the Hosts of fire in the spheres, the Chariots of El-Panim before him standing, (14) the Beasts worshipping in the fire of his throne and in the water, the Legions of I-am-that-I-am, this his name .... And by the adjuration of holy Angels, by ....el the great angel, and by 'Azriel the great angel, (15) and by Ḳabḳabḳiel the great angel, and by 'Aḳariel the great angel, I uproot the evil Necklace-spirits. Moreover you evil Liliths, evil Counter-charms, ... and the letter of divorce (16). And again, do not return to them from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah. Sealed upon him .... Gabriel (?).

Again (I adjure you), evil Lilith and evil Spirit .... (17) .... or kill .... depart from this Rašnôi b. M. And be they preserved for life! Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.

Commentary

A charm for a man and his wife, particularly against the Liliths (a picture of one of which obscene creatures decorates the bowl), made out in the form of a divorce-writ. The inscription is very indistinct and towards the end becomes almost illegible. No. 17 is in large part an abbreviated and mutilated replica.

1. גיונאי: Gewânâi (cf. 7: 15), or Ge(y)ônâi (from גאון, or גון, "color"?). Cf. גיונאי appearing in Bar Bahlul's Syriac-Arabic lexicon, where it is equated with *wald*, etc., to which Payne-Smith adds, "vox corrupta ex *γόνος*," *Thes.*, col. 708.

מאמי, and below מאמאי, in No. 15 מאמא: one of the most frequent feminine names in these texts; see Nöldeke, *WZKM*, vi, 309, Lidzbarski, *Eph.* i, 75 f., 97, n. 3; ii, 419. Budge in his edition of Thomas of Marga's Book of Governors (ii, 648) gives a note contributed by Jensen that Mami is a name of *bêlit ilâni*, the mother-goddess.

2. לילית בישתא: the generic lilith is differentiated into several different species, the male and the female, the ghost and the vampire, hence "the

3, the 4, and the 5 of you" below. In the following text it is a question whether the 2d per. sing. or plur. should be read in many places. The two numbers are clearly distinguished in l. 7, end. But the obscurity consists in the equivalence of לכי and לכין, like the case of the loss of ן in the verbal forms in תין in later Aramaic, e. g. חתימיתי, l. 11; also אנתי, l. 15, is plural, as בישאתא shows. Also the confusion of ו and י in our script renders the distinction between masc. and fem. uncertain. Do the imperatives in l. 10 terminate in *î* or *û*, the latter a masculine form (inclusive of the feminine), the former possibly to be compared with the Syriac? My English "you" covers the uncertainty between sing. and pl.

בישמיה דפזר י' אל: a prophylactic "word," like the magical quotations from Scriptures; cf. a similar case at end of No. 42.

At end of l. 2 are named the five different "modes" of the lilith. שלניתא and חטפיתא are unique demoniac names, found only here and in No. 17. The probable identity of ח' with the Arabic Ghul suggests connecting ש' with the Arabic *si'lât;* Lane, *Lexicon,* 1365, and at length his *Arabian Nights,* c. 1, n. 21, and also van Vloten, *WZKM,* vii, 179, who quotes an Arabic author to the effect that the Si'lât is the witch of the feminine Jinns. (The Arabic root sa'ala, "cough," = Syriac שעל.). We have then to account for the loss of the ע. The form would be comparable to שאדניתא. Another possibility is = Assyrian *šûlû,* "ghost," Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* 1036 (from עלה?), the formation being originally *šêlânîtu* (cf. *êlânu* from עלה). The witch or Ghûl is preferable in the context, however in No. 39 the Lilith appears as the ghost of a dead relative, so that the context does not determine the etymology.

חטפיתא, or חטיפיתא No. 17, "ravager," represents the Heb. תחמס ("ostrich"?—such is the tradition in Onkelos and LXX) in Targum Jer. to *Lev.* 11: 16, *Dt.* 14: 15 (where these two spellings also are found), among the unclean birds. Horrible bird-like forms were given to the demons by the Babylonian imagination, Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.,* i, 281; also cf. *Utukki*-series, B, 35 f. The ostrich itself even in the rationalizing Old Testament is half demoniac; cf. the notes on the ירורין, p. 81. Probably the ח' is exactly the Arabic Ghul, which is thus described by Doughty: "A Cyclops' eye set in the midst of her human-like head, long beak of jaws, in the ends one or two great sharp tushes, long neck; her arms like

chickens' fledgling wings, the fingers of her hands not divided; the body big as a camel but in shape like as the ostrich; the sex is only feminine. She has a foot as the ass' hoof and a foot as an ostrich," etc. (*Arabia Deserta,* i, 53, quoted by Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* 60).

3. תליתיכין : for the sharpening of the vowel, *t*^{e}*lîttâi* from *t*^{e}*lâttâi,* see my notes on פריכא, p. 73.

ערטילן: supplied from 17: 5, as also other bracketed passages. סעריכין is sing., as סתיר shows. Nakedness and dishevelled hair are standing descriptions of the lilith, witch, etc. See references above, p. 77; add Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie,* 88, and for Arabic legend, Wellhausen. *Skizzen,* 3, p. 32. The picture presents the abandoned character of the lilith—e. g. the Labartu is called a whore—, and also her shameful, outlawed position.

שמיע עליכין: על = ל as constantly in these texts and as in Mandaic. The naming of the demon's forbears has a compelling power, as part of name-magic; see p. 58. Cf. the naming of the parents of the demon Βαινχωωχ in the invocation of his appearance in a charm of Wessely's (xlii, 60, from Brit. Mus. Pap. cxxiii). The same names distorted and applied *vice versa* appear in No. 17; similar names also in No. 11.

פוקי: often along with synonymous verbs, איתרחק, זוע, etc. Cf. the Babylonian *ištu bîti ṣî* (*Utukki*-series, iii, 158), the long series of imperatives in *Maḳlu*-series, v, 166 ff., etc.; *Mk.* 9: 25, *Acts* 16: 18; in Gollancz's Syriac charms; in the Greek, e. g. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 295, 298 (where the demon is also bidden not to disobey).

4. רשנוי: probably hypocoristic from Rašnu, name of a Zoroastrian genius, see Justi, p. 259. Cf. the names ראשנינדוך, רישינדוך, in Glossary.

5. מארת = מרתא (15: 2), "Martha."

6. "Rabbi J. b. P.": see commentary No. 32, and below, l. 7.

"by the *glory* of your father": hardly an appeal to the demon's sense of honor. יקר must be equivalent to "name," cf. the parallelism and the equivalence of the Name and the Glory in the Old Testament, where כבוד is also used of the human personality.

7. ניטא נחית לנא: the separation of the lilith from her victim is expressed in terms of a divorce-writ. This was a happy thought of the

magicians, who thus applied the powers of binding and loosing claimed by the rabbis to the disgusting unions of demons and mortals. The logic of the procedure was very simple—if only the liliths were as submissive to divorce as their human sisters. The decree is frequent in these bowl incantations,, and first appeared in Ellis's bowl, no. 1. But I do not know of any case of the occurrence of this magical *Get* outside of the bowls.

The magical writ affects the same forms and formalism as that of the divorce court.[1] In the parallel bowl, No. 17, a form of date is given (l. 1 יומא הדין), which was a requisite in the legal *Get*. The names of both parties are exactly given, hence the parents of the liliths are here specifically named. The very terms of divorce are repeated in 17: 2: שביקת ופטרית ותרכית יתיבי; cf. the facsimile of a *Get* given as a frontispiece in Amram's work (פטרית שבקית ותריכית יתיבי). It was necessary that the writ should be properly served on the divorcée, hence in 26: 6, שקולי גיטבי: "take thy writ," a sentence consummating the process, and then the divorced demon must betake herself from her victim's property, as commanded by the peremptory; "Hear, obey and go forth" (l. 10). But there is a difference; against spiritual powers divine authority was necessary. And so it is affected that the writ has come down from heaven (l. 7), that is, it belongs to the category of writs from foreign countries for which there were special forms; hence the גיטא אתא מן עיבר ימא, l. 9. The commissioners and witnesses are the holy angels, etc., l. 9 f. A rabbi is also at hand to seal as notary the divine decree, none other than the famous master-magician Joshua b. Perahia. For a further phase of this "divorce-writ" see to 11: 7. In l. 7, both the sing. and pl. are carefully used, so as to include both the definite lilith and also the whole brood.

7. חידוריכין, שימועיכין: Pael infinitives with first syllable in *i*.

פלסא פליסא: the root = "split asunder."

מתיב (?) may be ppl. from תוב in sense of Latin *reddere*.

11. "the house of Joshua": i. e. of the school of sorcery; in 34: 2 the sorcerer calls himself "J.'s cousin."

[1] See D. W. Amram, *Jewish Law of Divorce* (Philadelphia, 1896), esp. c. xiii; *Jewish Encyc., s. vv. Divorce, Get.*

בשבעה: "by the Seven"?—i. e. the seven angels, genii, etc.? The seven planets are so called simply in Syriac.

12. באביר אברהם וגי: cf. *Is.* 49: 24, יעקב אי; for the Rock of Isaac, cf. *Is.* 30: 29, Rock of Israel. The "Shaddai of Jacob" is unique. The scribe was not mighty in the Scriptures. But cf. *Ecclus.* 51: 2: "give thanks to the Shield of Abraham, ... to the Rock of Isaac, ... to the Mighty One of Jacob."

13. אינרת שיבוק: another term for the divorce-writ.

From l. 13 to end the text is largely mutilated or illegible; this is the more unfortunate as there are traces of interesting apocryphal or kabbalistic passages. Viz. "the hosts of fire in the spheres"; "the chariots of El-Panim"; "the beasts worshipping in the fire of his throne and in the water," with which cf. the glassy sea of Revelation. The following term דיגלי ("banners," then "cohorts") is a common word in the Targumic literature for the angelic hosts, according to *Shemoth Rabba* 15, = צבאות. (But the phrase may mean, "who is revealed as.") The language is Hebrew and the allusions are taken doubtless from apocalyptic literature.

14. עזריאל is known as an angel of the divine chariot, Schwab, *Vocabulaire, s. v.*, and עקריאל is found *ibid.*; n. b. play with עקרית.

15. The reference to the ענקתא indicates that witchcraft is behind these devilish manifestations; the lilith and the witch are practically identical, see p. 78.

17. "may they be established for life"; cf. the finale of the Mandaic texts, "Life is victorious." The same expression in 12: 3, and the negative wish against devils in Wohlstein 2426: 9; but in his no. 2417: 22 the verb is used of the resurrection. At least the vague idea of immortality may be contained in the phrases.

No. 9 (CBS 9010)

פורא רמינא ו[שקי]נא ועובדא (2) עבידנא והוא הוא במית . . . דרבי יהושע (3) בר פְּרחיא כתבנא להין גיטי לכל לִיליתא דמיתחזין להון בחדין (4) דבבניש בר קיומ[תא] ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא (5) דיממא דגיטא דפי[טורין] וְדשבוקין בשום אות מתוך אות ואותיות מתוך אותיות (6) ושום מתוך השימות ונקב מתוך [הנקבים] דיבהון איתבלעו שמיא וארעה טוריא איתעקרו ורמתא בהון איתמסי (7) אה שידי חרשי ודיוי ולטבי לִיליתא בהון אבדו מן עלמא בכין סליקית עליהון לימרומא ואיתיתי עליכון (8) מחבלא לחבלא יתהון ולאפקא יתכ[ון מ]ן בתיהון ומן דירתיהון ומן איסקופתיהון ומן כל כת. . אתר בית מישכביהון דבאבנוש בר קיומתא (9) ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה ותוב לא [תיתחזון להון] לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינ[תא דיממא] . . . פטרנא יתכין (10) . . . ואגרת שיבוק[ין] . . . כדת בנת . . . . .

Exterior

(11) אני לישמך עשיתי יהוה אלהים צבאות גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל חתומך על הדא חתמתא ועל הדא איסקופתה אמן אמן

Translation

The bowl I deposit and sink down, and the work (2) I operate, and it is in [the fashion of] Rabbi Joshua (3) bar Perahia. I write for them divorces, for all the Liliths who appear to them, in this (house of ?) (4) Bâbanôš bar Ḳâyômtâ and of Saradust bath Širin his wife, in dream by night and in slumber (5) by day; namely a writ of separation and divorce; in virtue of letter (abstracted) from letter, and letters from letters, (6) and of word from words, and of pronunciation from pronunciations; whereby are swallowed up heaven and earth, the mountains are uprooted, and by them the heights melt away.

(7) Oh, Demons, Arts and Devils and Laṭbê, perish by them from the world! Therefore (?) I have mounted up over them (you?) to the celestial height, and I have brought against you (8) a destroyer to

destroy them (you) and to bring you forth from their house and their dwelling and their threshold and all .... place of the bedchamber of Bâbanôš b. Ḳ. (9) and of Saradust b. Š. his wife. And again, do not appear to them, neither in dream of night nor in sleep of day .... I dismiss you (10) .... letters of separation .....

(11, exterior) In thy name have I wrought, YHWH, God, Sebaoth, Gabriel and Michael and Raphael. Thy seal is upon this besealment and upon this threshold. Amen, Amen.

COMMENTARY

A charm for a man and his wife. The inscription is illiterate, and is largely parallel to (doubtless dependent upon) the Syriac text No. 32 = No. 33; also cf. No. 8.

1. פורא רמינא ושקינא: the same phrase appears in 32: 3 and 33: 1, whence the third word in the present text can be restored. It is very obscure and I propose the following explanation. פ׳ is a synonym for כוסא "bowl," and is the Syriac and Mandaic פוחרא (*puḥrâ*) which came to mean "symposium," but goes back to the root פחר, giving the words for the potter and his art, i. e. originally it was a potter's vessel. For the loss of the guttural in our present word, cf. Mandaic שורא for שוחרא, etc. רמינא I take in the common Syriac sense of laying a foundation; the bowl was placed, as we have seen, at one of the four corners of the house. For שקינא, we must assume a parallel significance, and it is to be derived from שקע, treated as ל״א, in the similar sense "to sink" (the 1st Form is used as an active in Rabbinic). As the phrase appears in our Syriac bowls, which are largely colored by Mandaic idioms, the reference to this dialect is justifiable.

עובדא: see p. 51; in the parallels עבורא דעבוד.

2. In the lacuna מיתדמנותא might be read. הוא הוא is a Syriac idiom, taken from the Syriac parallel.

3. בהדין: awkward; probably for בהדין ביתיה ד׳; cf. 32: 5.

4. בבנוש probably באבנוש in l. 8. The first element is *bâbâ* or *pâpâ* (Persian *p* often = Semitic *b*), Justi, pp. 54, 241, the second the Persian genius-name Anôš.

קיומ[תא] : ת was legible to the original copyist of these bowls in l. 8. The name signifies *patrona*. The masc. קיומא appears in Pognon B.

סרדוסת : apparently a form of Zarathuštra; see Justi, p. 379 f., where the frequent spelling *Zaradušt* is cited in names. But strange is the application of this masculine name to a woman.

שירין: cf. the name *Sîrîn*, Tabari's Chronicles, ed. de Goeje, i, 4, p. 100, l. 3.

דניטא דפיטורין דשבוקין: the repeated ד defies construction; cf. l. 6. The terms all appear in No. 8.

5. בשום אות מתוך אות וגי: a parallel phrase appears in 32: 6; here the words are Hebrew. The general sense of these obscure phrases is clear; they refer to the magical use of letters and words and the manipulation of their pronunciations, such for instance as we find in the treatment of יהוה and in the Greek magic of the seven vowels. Cf. Pradel, p. 35, l. 9, "in the name of these angels and letters."

6. ונקב וגי : this root appears in the Bible where it passes from the physical "prick, prick out," to the sense "distinguish," that is, in speech, "pronounce clearly." It is the question in *Sanh.* 56a whether נקב שם יהוה is so used or in the sense "blaspheme." In the present case it means "pronounce," and is synonymous to the Piel פריש as that appears in שם המפורש.[1] Mystic or traditional renderings of the Tetragrammaton are doubtless referred to, but all this is only mysteriously suggested here; the magician does not offer us samples of his rare art. There is a garbled form of these phrases in 32: 6.

דיבהן יתבלעו: cf. 7: 12.

טוריא: a Mandaic spelling for the plural in *ê*.

7. לטבי a category appearing only in the bowls, see above p. 81, and Glossary.

בכין: probably the Targumic "therefore."

This and the following line are difficult by reason of an inconsequent use of the pronouns; the scribe was writing by rote. Light is thrown

[1] For this discussion see Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonay*, 44 ff.

on the passage from 32: 8 f. (*q. v.*), where is given the tradition of Joshua b. Perahia's ascent to heaven, by which he obtained mastery over all evil powers. Our scribe boldly turns the 3d person of the legend into the first person—of himself,—an instance of the attempted identification of the magician with deity or master-magician.

לימרומא: so the parallel demands.

איתיתי: appears to be Afel; תי- is hebraizing.

8. מחבלא = המשחית, Ex. 12: 23; in the parallel the abstract חבילא.

11. For the asyndeton connection of the angelic names with that of Deity, see above, pp. 58 f, 99, and note the Greek parallels. Sebaoth appears to replace one of the four archangels; cf. the personification of S. in Myhrman's text.

No. 10 (CBS 16014)

דנא קמיעה לאסותה דהדא ניונדוך בת כפני וכפני בעלה בר שרקוי וזדו ברה וביתה ואיסקופתה כולה בשום יה יהו אה . . . . . (2) חתים ומחתם ביתה חדין ואיסקופתה אינחור חורא ויה חירא בישמיה דללזריון ושבייאל וגבריאל ואיליא[ל] . . . . . (3) ומחתמין הל[ין] זדוי וניונדוך בה הוא חתמא דחתמה אדם קדמאה לשת ברה ואיתנטיר מן ש[ידין] (4) ומן דיוין ומן מבכלין ומן סטנין תוב חתימין ומחתמין הלין בר שרקוי וניונדוך אינתתה בת (5) כפני וזדוי ברה בה הוא חתמא דחתמה נח לתיבותה מן מיה דטופנא (6) ויזדחון ויבטלון ויפקון ויתרחקון מינהון ומן ביתהון ומן ד[ירתי]הו (7) ומן בית משכביהון מן יומא דין ולעולם אמן אמן

Translation

This amulet is for the salvation of this Nêwândûch bath Kaphnî, and Kaphnî her husband bar Šarḳôi, and Zâdôi her son, and her house and her whole threshold, in the name of Yah, Yahu, Ah, ... (2) Sealed, and countersealed are this house and this threshold .... in the name of LLZRyôn and Šabiel and Gabriel and Eliel ..... (3) And sealed are these, Zâdôi and Nêwândûch, with that seal with which the First Adam sealed Seth his son and he was preserved from Demons (4) and Devils and Tormentors and Satans. Again sealed and countersealed are these, the son of Šarkôi and Nêwândûch his wife b. (5) K. and Zâdôi her son, with that seal with which Noah sealed the ark from the waters of the Deluge. (6) And may they fly and cease and go forth and remove from them and from their house and their abode and their bed-chamber, from this day and forever.

Commentary

A charm for a woman and her family. It is decorated with a figure having a beaked, bird-like face.

קמיעה: see Introduction, p. 44.

ניונדוך: for the name see to 5 : 1; the same person appears in No. 11.

כפני : probably for *Kafnâi,* "the hungry one." The woman's husband and father had the same name. This is a case of the father's name being given, against the rule; for other examples, see 12: 1, Pognon B, p. 98, and the name פאפא, in Lidzbarski 5.

שרקוי: cf. the Persian name *Serkoh* Justi, p. 296.

(י)זרוי: the full spelling appears in l. 5; for the name, *ibid.*, p. 382. A *Z*ârôi appears in 37: 3.

2. אינחור ונו': I can make nothing out of these words.

For Šabiel and Eliel, see Schwab, *Vocabulaire,* 251, 57. The first name is probably mystical.

3. בה הוא: emphatic use of הוא; cf. *Dan.* 7: 15.

For these apocryphal references to the seal of Adam and Noah, cf. p. 64, and for the Jewish legends see *Jew. Enc.,* s. v., "Seth," "Noah." It is in the Babylonian story not the Biblical that the hero shuts himself in.

5. טופנא: found in Targ. Onk. to *Gen.* 6: 17, = τυφῶν, frequent in the Greek magical vocabulary.

No. 11 (CBS 16022)

A charm for a woman and her household, in terms of a divorce from the evil spirits.

The text would be legible only for a half, but for the interesting fact that it is one of four almost duplicate inscriptions. The longest and clearest of these is the Mandaic bowl, no. 5, published by Lidzbarski. Another is, remarkably enough, the first inscription of this category ever published, Ellis no. 1, in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 512 ff.; see § 2.[1] The latter is given in poor facsimile, and none has taken the trouble to collate afresh the bowl in the British Museum, a simple task which doubtless would have allayed the difficulties.

Of this text the bowl from Nippur is practically a duplicate, and, with the help of Lidzbarski's inscription, I am able to restore almost the entire text not only of our bowl but also of that in the British Museum.

There is also a fourth duplicate, No. 18. It can be read only by comparison with the three presented here, and so I have left it in its original place in my arrangement of these inscriptions, especially as it contributes nothing further to the understanding of their contents.

I have thought it worth while to present the three texts in parallel columns. This process facilitates the verification of emendations, while the variations which present themselves throw interesting light upon the natural history of magical inscriptions. We mark how magical terms which once had a meaning become blurred and obscured at the hands of generations of sorcerers and copyists, until sense becomes nonsense, or simple word or phrase receives a kabbalistic interpretation. The Mandaic appears to have the latest type of text, having evidently transferred its material from another script and dialect. Cf. the parallel texts in No. 7.

In the following texts I have slightly abbreviated the names in the 2d and 3d columns, and omitted a few unimportant phrases in the 3d (always so noted). It is not necessary to give a translation of Ellis's

[1] As suggested in that section, n. 4, this was the bowl obtained by Layard from Nippur.

bowl, as the text is now almost entirely intelligible. The enumeration of lines in Ellis's text is according to the spiral lines.

Lidzbarski 5	Ellis 1	No. 11
		אסותא מן שמיה להדא
		ניונדוך בת כפני דתיתסי
		(2) ברחמי שמיה מן
		לילתא ומבבלתא אמן אמן
	הדין גיטא לשידא	(3) תוב תיזח ותיתבטל
	ול[דיו]א ולסטנא ולניריך	ותיתרחק מינה מן ניונדוך
	(2) ול . . . ולאבטור	בת כפני ליליתא ומבבלתא
	טורא ול . . . ולילית	ושערתא ועקרתא (4)
	דיבטלון מן (3) בהדנדוך	ותכלתא בשום מאן דאחיד
	בת ניונדוך ומן בחרד בר	להון לשידי [ולדיוי]
	איספנדרמיד ומן ביתה	ולילית ובשום אהיה אשר
	כוליה	אהיה
על עסיר אבונדאנא	(4) אל איסור בנדנא	אילסור (5) בנדנא
למלכון	מלכיהון	מליכיהון וש[ליטי]הון
		מלכיהון
דדיויא ושליטא רבא	דשידין ודדיוי שליטא	דְשְׁ[ידי ודיוי ש]ליט[א רבא
	רבא	
דכולהין לילית אשבית	דלילית משבענא	ד]לילית אשבעית
אליך ומומינאליך חלדאס	עלכי חבסלם (5) לילית	עליכי חלבם לילית
לילית ותאכלת לילית		
פת בראתה ד זארנאי לילית	בת ברתה דזרני לילית	(6) בת ברתה דזרני לילית
	אם דכר אם נוקבה	
דיאתבא באיתה ובעסכופתא		ד[יתבא] בביתה ובדירתה
דבאיתה ד חורמיז בר		דניונדוך [בת] כפני
מחלפתא ודאחאתא פת		
דאדע		
ומאהיא ונטלא ושאקפא		[וש]קפא
והאנקא		
דארדקיא ודארדקאתא		דרדקי [וד]רדקתא
אשבית אליך ומומינאליך	משבענא עליכי	משב[ענא עליכי]

חאלדאס ל' ותאכלאת ל' וג'		
דתיתמחאי בטארפוס ליביך	דתתמחין בטופרס לילביכין	(7) דתיתמחין בטורפס ל ליבבכי
ובמרוניתה דקאטריאוים	ובמורניתה דתיקס	ובמורניתיהּ דקיל . . ס
מלאכא דמשאלאט על	(6) גברא הוא שליט עליכון	דהוא שליט . . . עליכי
סחריא ודיויא ושידיא	דיוי ולילית[א]	
ורוחיא וחומריא ולילאתא		
האזין כתאביליך חלדאס ל'	הא כתבית בכתבא	הא כתבית ליבי
והאזין אפטארתיך	הא בטלית יתכין	והא פטרית [ית]יכי
מן באיתה ופגרה דחורמיז	מינה ומן ביתה דבהדנדוך	מן ניונדוך וג']
בר מ' ומן זוה א' פת ד'	בת נ'	
ומן בנה ובנאתה	(7) ומן ברה	
כד דכאתביא שידיא גיטא	כמא דכתבין שידין גיטין	[כמא שידי] (8) דכתבין גיטי
לעגשאיון בכושתא ותום	ויהבין לינשיהון ותוב	לינשיהון
לאהאדריא ולאמכדריא (?)	לא הדרין עליהין	ולא ה[דרי]ן עליהין
הא שקול גיטיך	שקול גיטיכין	שקולי גיטיכי
וקאביל מומאתיך חלדאס וג'	וקבילו . . . כין	
וקדא ופוק וערוק ועתראחאק	ופוקו (8) ועיריקו	
מן באיתה וג' דחורמיז וג'	[מן] איסכופתא דבה' בת נ'	מן ניונדוך (*sic.*) בת כפני
ולא תיחזאילון לאבחילמאיון		ולא תיתח[ין ל]ה לא
דלילא ולאבחיזואנון דימאמא		בליליה ולא ביממא
דעסיר וחיתים באיתה וג'		ולא תשכבין [עימ]הּ ולא
בעזיקתה ד ציר גליף		(9) תיקטלין ית בנה ובנתה
אלאהא בשומיך אמאתעמא	בשום היגוּי	בשום ממינתש שמר די
האיץ אבארהאגואת עוד עוד	והיהי טטס	חבנזיז יו ידיד יט יט יט
עוד יא יא יאד יאד יאט יאט		
עסיראתיא וחיתימאתיא		
לילאתא		
זיכריא ונוקבאתא		
	. . . דתיקס גברא	
בעזיקתא דשלימון מלכא	ובעזיקתיה [דש]לימון	בעזיקתה
בר דאויד		
ד ציר גליף אלהא	(9) דעלוהי	דציר וגליף עלה
שומה רבא ויקירא גליף	שם מפורש רבה	שם מפורש

אלהא שומה מפרשא
מרשעשאת
שית יומיא ברישית
צוביבת צ' יודע י' Etc.

מן יומי עלמא
ימי ששת ימי בראשית

אמן אמן אמן סלה

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for this Nêwândûch bath Kaphnî, that she be saved (2) by the love of Heaven from the Lilith and the Tormentor. Amen. Amen. Again, fly and refrain (3) and remove from Nêwândûch b. K., the Lilith and the Tormentor and Fever and Barrenness (4) and Abortion; in the name of him who controls the Demons and Devils and Liliths, and in the name of "I-am-that-I-am."

For the binding of (5) Bagdânâ, their king and ruler, the king of Demons and [Devils], the [great] ruler of Liliths. I adjure thee, Lilith Halbas, granddaughter of Lilith Zarnî, [dwelling] in the house and dwelling of Nêwândûch b. K. and [plaguing] boys and girls, (7) that thou be smitten in the courses (?) of thy heart and with the lance of ...., who is powerful .... over you.

Behold I have written for thee (i. e. a divorce), and behold I have separated thee [from N. b. K. etc.], [like the Demons] (8) who write divorces for their wives, and do not return to them. Take thy divorce from Nêwândûch b. K. and do not appear to her, neither by night nor by day, and do not lie [with her]. And do not (9) kill her sons and daughters. In the name of Memintaš (?) keeper of Habgezîg (?). Yô, Yad, Yaṭ, Yaṭ, Yaṭ. By the seal on which is carved and engraved the Ineffable Name, since the days of the world, the six days of creation.

Commentary

1. Nêwândûch b. Kaphnî: the same as in No. 10; here without mention of a husband. It is also the name of the mother of the client in Ellis's bowl.

2. רחמי שמיה: cf. "the great Lord of love." "Heaven" is used here and in parallel passages as surrogate for Deity, after ancient Jewish use; the same use in 18: 1 and Wohlstein 2422: 3.

3. שערתא : a new word. I would connect it with the Arabic root *s'r* (Heb. שער, סער), with the meaning "be hot, rage," etc. See the various derivative nouns in Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1363: *sa'r*, "burning, shooting," *su'r*, "demoniacal possession, madness, mange"; *sa'rat* (our very form!) "cough," etc. Possibly fever, or poison. The Arabic *su'r* connotes infection.

4. תכלתא: "bereavement," then used of abortion, the reference being to a mischievous killing by magic of the unborn child.

It is unfortunate that in the first line of Ellis's inscription, the name following נירך, i. e. "Nirig" is indecipherable from the facsimile. For נירך = נירנ, cf. נכל, on the Nêrab inscriptions, = Nin-gal. In אבטור טורא, the second word is a careless repetition of the first.

5. At the end of this line begins the parallelism with the two other inscriptions. Our very first word, which appears as one in a series of divine names, e. g. El-sûr, is explained from the parallel which shows that אל איסור was meant; the unusual form אל (= על) was taken to be = "god," and the passage became hopeless. The same process of corruption will be found below on the Mandaic side.

בגדנא: so in Ellis, but in the Mandaic bowl אבונדאנא (= אבונבאנא in Pognon B). See Lidzbarski's attempts at explanation. But our בגדנא is the elder form; see on 19: 6, 13, where ב' is both generic and personal.

מליכיהן: the first י is an error as the subsequent spelling shows; the second represents the half-vowel. The scribe in our text has been confused and repeated his words here. For the "king of demons," see p. 74.

חלבס = חבסלס = חלדאס, in the three texts; cf. the names in the parallel texts Nos. 8 and 17: פלחס and פלחדד, פלחדד and פלחן. Proof of the impossibility of etymologizing on these forms! The accompanying lilith in the Mandaic, תאכלת, must be connected with our תכלתא above; abortion is personified. The granddam of the lilith appears to be better known as it is identical in all three inscriptions. The two liliths in the Mandaic are interpreted by Ellis's text; they are the male and female respectively; cf. below, l. 8, לא תשכבין עימה.

7. טורפס = טופרס = טאפרוס: these various forms throw no light on the word. It looks as if it were a corrupted Greek anatomical term.

לילביכין = ליבבכי (Ellis): our text explains the reading of the elder bowl לבב = ללב, the former a metaplasis of the latter; the same form in 18: 7.

קאטריאוים = תיקס = ?: the latter has, as Lidzbarski recognizes, a peculiar Mandaic form. I am inclined again to hold that the parallel shorter forms are more original. The reading in our bowl is different from the other two. For תיקס נברא cf. אברא נ', 3: 2.

הא כתבית: explained by the second column, where *plus* בכתבא i. e. the divorce-writ. Curiously enough the Mandaic has taken the interjection הא as a pronoun[2] and rendered it by האזין.

פטרית: cf. Ass. *paṭâru*, "break a charm."

כמא שידי דכתבין ניטי: cf. 8: 7. The additional thought appears here that inasmuch as demons divorce their spouses, divorce-writs must be as effective on them as among human kind. Cf. also No. 18. It may be noticed here that the first and third texts address a special lilith in the singular, the second goes over into the plural; the same uncertainty in No. 8.

9. בנה: (= plural) Mandaism; so also below עלוהי = עלה.

בישום ממינתש = Mand. אמאתעמא, the second text obscure. Again no light! There is considerable similarity in the following magical syllables.

בעזקתיה ונ': with the help of the parallels we can make out the reading. It and Ellis's inscription are almost identical. The Mandaic gives here a striking instance of perversion. The prepositional phrase עלה (or its equivalent) was understood as "God" and turned into אלהא; this took with it the ppls. ציר and גליף, which were raised to divine dignity to accommodate the epithet אלהא. The invention appears to have been prized, as the deity *Sîr-Geliph* is also introduced above in the same inscription. The שם מפורש is thus reduced to a travesty! The well-known Jewish phrase appears also in Schwab, E.[3]

[2] Cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.* § 81.

[3] For the true explanation of this term, see Arnold, *Journ. of Biblical Lit.*, 1905, 107 ff.

Solomon's magic ring (first mentioned by Josephus) inscribed with the Tetragrammaton is the subject of Haggada in *Giṭṭ.* 68a, b. Later legend, especially Arabic, developed the wonders of this magic ring.[4] According to the end of our inscriptions this seal engraved with the divine Name was in existence since the week of creation (= בראשית). This is an addition to the ten things which according to *Pirḳê Abôth,* 5: 8, were created on the eve of the first Sabbath—among which were the alphabetic script and the tables of the Law.

[4] See *Jewish Encycl.,* xi, 438 ff., 448; for the Greek magic, Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 139, l. 28, and at length, p. 141 f.; for bibliography, Schürer, *GJV,* iii, 303.

No. 12 (CBS 9009)

אסותא מן שמיא לדדבה בר אסמדוך ולשרקוי (2) בת דאדה איתתיה ולבניהון ולבנתהון ולביתיהון (3) ולקינינהון דיהון להון בנין ויהון ויתקימון ויתנטרון (4) מן שידי ומן דיוי ומן שובטי ומן סטני ומן לוטתא ומן ליליתא ומן מבכלתא דמיתחזין (5) להון מומינא עלך מלאכה דנחית מן שמיא כד גביל בדמת קרן ליה זיף זליף (6) מלאכה דעביד רעותא דמרוהי ועל כיבשי מרוהי מסגי שאו ומישתבח בישמיא (7) שאו ותושבחתיה בארעה סמו ויתמלאון ציציתְ דקימ[ין] ומטהרין מן יומי עלמא ונינריהון (8) לא מיתחזין ברקדיהין ליה לעלמא כוליה ויתבין וקימין באתרהון נשפין כי זיקא ברקין כי ברקא (9) אינון יבטלון וישמתון כל גיסי וקיבלי ואנקי ולוטתא וקריתא ושיקופתא ואשלמתא ומללתא ושידי (10) ודיוי ושובטי ולילית ופתכרי ומבכלתא וכל מידעם ביש דיזחון ויפקון מן דדבה בר אסמנדוך ומן שרקוי (11) בת דאדה איתתיה ומן הוניק ומן יסמין ומן כופיתי ומן מהדוך ומן אברהם ומן פנוי ומן שילי בני שרקוי ומן ביתיהון ומן (12) קינינהון ומן דירתיהון כולה דשרן בה מן יומא דנן ולעולם בשום יהוה צבאות אמן אמן סלה יהוה ישמורכְה מכול רע ישמור את נפשך

Exterior

(13) דאידרונא דאיספלידא

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for Dâdbeh bar Asmandûch and for Šarḳôi (2) bath Dâdâ his wife, and for their sons and daughters and their house (3) and their property, that they may have offspring and may live and be established and be preserved (4) from Demons and Devils and Plagues and Satans and Curses and Liliths and Tormentors, which may appear (5) to them. I adjure thee, the angel which descends from heaven—there being kneaded (something) in the shape of a horn, on which honey is poured—(6) the angel who does the will of his Lord and who walks upon the (throne-) steps of his Lord *še'û*, and who is praised in the heavens (7) *še'û*, and his praise is in earth *semû*;—they are filled with glory, who endure and keep pure since the days of eternity, and their feet (8) are not seen in their dances by the whole world, and they sit and stand in their

place, blowing like the blast, lightening like the lightning. (9) These will frustrate and ban all Familiars and Countercharms and Necklace-spirits and Curses and Invocations and Knockings and Rites and Words and Demons (10) and Devils and Plagues and Liliths and Idol-spirits and Tormentors and everything whatsoever evil, that they shall flee and depart from Dâdbeh b. A. and from Sarkôi (11) b. Dâdâ his wife and from Ḥônîḳ and Yasmîn and Kûfithâi and Mehdûch and Abraham and Pannôi and Šili the children of Šarkôi and from their house and from (12) their property and from their dwelling, wherein they dwell, from this day and forever, in the name of YHWH Sebaoth. Amen, Amen, Selah. "YHWH keep thee from all evil, keep thy soul."

Exterior

(13). Of the inner room, of the hall.

COMMENTARY

A charm for a man and his wife and their seven named children, in the form of an adjuration of a certain potent angel. There is rubrical reference to a magical operation for compelling this angelic assistance. The same family appears also in No. 16 and the Syriac Nos. 31, 33. Prof. Gottheil has presented a tentative translation in Peters, *Nippur,* ii, 182.

1. דדבה: probably abbreviated from *Dâdbuyeh;* see Justi, p. 75.

אסמנדוך: see *ibid.,* p. 281, the Armenian name Samandûcht.

שרקוי: see 10: 1.

2. דאדה· Justi, p. 75, *Dâdâ.* The name is Semitic, e. g. Palmyrene and Syriac דאדא, from root דוד. The name looks like a masculine (for the use of the father's name see to 10: 1), but may equal דאדיא, 39: 2.

4. שובטי: for the form cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* § 19, and for the species, p. 80 f., above.

5. כד גביל ונ׳ (read דמות for דמת): a rubric directing an operation compelling the presence of the angel through a simulacrum and its manipulation. The insertion of the rubric into the text of incantation appears in the Babylonian magic, see King, *Babylonian Magic,* p. xxviii. It may be queried whether our sorcerer is not reciting a form unintelligible to him;

cf. the intrusion of rubrics into the Psalms. The ancient charm was for binding the good spirits as well as the evil; the incantation as well as the exorcism was a *κατάδεσμος* (see Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 2d part). In the early Babylonian magic images of the favorable gods were made and used in the rites; a good example is found in Zimmern's *Šurpu* series, no 54 (p. 169 = Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* p. lviii). Probably idolatry has its basis in this magical idea. Reverence gradually obscured the idea that the gods were thus bound, it survived only in the word-magic. But in the present case a "horn" (symbol of power?), probably a cone of wax or the like is kneaded, and honey poured upon it, with which we may compare the antique anointing of the sacred stone or *bethel,*[1] wherein the suppliant literally "smooths" the face of of deity (Heb. חלה).[2] The rubric is, I think, unique in Jewish magic. For the magical use of honey, see Thompson in Index, *s. v.*

6. מרוה: for the plural, cf. instance in Jastrow, *Dict.,* 834b; or the form may be regarded as parallel to אבוהי.

We have here a bit of poetic lore about the angels, describing their worship and service of the Almighty. It appears to be a quotation from some Midrash. Who the angel invoked is, does not appear,—Michael? The terms סמו, ישאו, are probably mysterious utterances to awe the hearer; cf. *ômô, ômô,* 3: 3 (from שמע, "hear," נשא "lift up in worship"?). For the description "blowing like the blast," etc., cf. *Ps.* 104: 4.

7. ציציה: cf. ציצי דצבאות, 7: 5. The description passes to a plural subject here.

נינריהון: a Rabbinical form; נגר = לגר = רגל, "foot." For ל = נ cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.,* 54.

8. The choric dances of the angels are a pretty fancy, cf. *Job* 38: 7.

[1] Small conical stones are found in the oriental explorations, doubtless domestic *baitylia;* see Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente,* 177, and Scheil, *Mémoires de la Délégation Perse,* vii, 103, 112 f. (Fig. 34-37, 340 ff, 374, 381).

[2] For an extensive collation of like instances in Graeco-Roman magic see Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius, 222* ff., *227.* May the term in Apuleius, *βασιλεύς,* the magic-god whose image is formed for purposes of sorcery, (a term much disputed by the commentators) = מלך = מלאך, the word used here?

9. For the ניסי and שיקופתא, see 6: 2 and p. 86. אנקי is a masculinized form of ענקתא (see p. 88).

11. הוניק: I cannot identify. The Glossary shows two other men of the same name.

יסמין: a Persian name, = "jasmine," cf. Justi, p. 145.

בופיתי: the same name in No. 2 (in אי-).

מהדוך: cf. Syr. מהדוכתי, Justi, p. 186.

פנוי: the Arabic Fannuyeh; see Nöldeke, *Persiche Studien,* 405.

שילי hypocoristic of שילא, name of several Amoraim; see *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 347. Cf. biblical שלה, from שאלה. שלא, שלי, also occurs in the Nabataean, *CIS,* ii, nos. 185, 208, 221. Nöldeke (in Euting, *Nab. Inschriften,* 74) vocalizes the name Sullai, and Berger (see to No. 208) compares the Nabataean name Sullaios. But Lidzbarski (*Eph.,* ii, 16) rejects this derivation and derives the hypocoristic from שלם.—Note that among these nine souls only one strictly Jewish name appears.

12. The scriptural quotation is from Psalm 121,—a psalm admirably adapted for a charm. Cf. note to 5: 5.

13. The two words: "of the room (recess, bedchamber, etc.), of the hall (also, cavern)" evidently refers to the place where the bowl was to be placed. The first word may be in construct state, or the two terms may be parallel, as the words might mean the same thing. אידרון = Ass. *idrânu,* and is current in the Aramaic dialects. Jastrow defines אספלידא as especially a "sitting room in the shape of an open hall"; for some discussion of its etymology, see Payne-Smith, col. 315.

No. 13 (CBS 8694)

סכרי פומיהון דכוליהון עממיה תגממיה (2) ולישניה מן קמה דבהמנדוך בת סמאי (3) ורחמיאל מלאכה וחֲביאל מלאכה ו[ח]ניניאל מלאכה (4) אינון, מלאכין ירחמון, ויחבבון ו[יחנון] ויחבקון ית בהמנדוך (5) בת סמא באנפי כל בני אדם [דא]ולד ית חוה ניעול לקדמיהון, (6) מילבושהון, ילבשונה ומיכסותהון, יכסונה מיעיל חיסדא דאלהא, (7) עימה, יתבין, מיזיה מיזי, מיזייהין כדשפיר בשום יהוה ביה אלאל רבה (8) דחילא ודמימריה כל אסו, הדין רזא דריסת קים ושריר לעולם ועד קלקל. . .

Exterior

(9) קל קלא ברזי קל קלא דבָ . . מ . . . רוניתא קלא דאיתתא. בתולתא דימחבלא ולא ילדא חסי נחבי (10) נחבי וניתי אפרה בר שברדוך לגוה, ביתיה ולגו גופה דבהמנדוך בת סמא (11) איתתיה כי אבליתי דימחבלא ולא ילדא כי אסה חדתתא ליכלילי אמן ואמן (12) ושריר וקים אסותא מן שמיא לבהמנדוך בת סמא אפרפרט . . . חאמיץ אעיקיהי . . אמן אמן סלה אסותא ושלמ[א מן] שמיה לעולם ו[לעד] ועד

Translation

Closed are the mouths of all races, legions (2) and tongues from Bahmandûch bath Samâi. (3) And the angel Raḥmiel and the angel Ḥabbiel and the angel Ḥanniniel, (4) these angels, pity and love and compassionate and embrace Bahmandûch (5) b. S. Before all the sons of Adam whom he begat by Eve, we will enter in before them; from their clothing they will clothe her and from their garments they will garb her, the garment of the grace of God. (7) With her they will sit, on this side and on that, driving away (demons?), as is right. In the name of YHWH-in-Yah, El-El the great, (8) the awful, whose word is panacea, this mystery is confirmed, made fast and sure forever and ever.

Exterior

(9) Hark a voice in the mysteries! Hark the voice of ...., the voice of a woman, a virgin travailing and not bearing. Quickly be enamored,

(10) be enamored and come Ephrâ bar Šabôrdûch to the marrow of his house and to the marrow of Bahmandûch b. S. (11) his wife; as (she was) a virgin (?) travailing and bearing not, so (may she be) fresh myrtle for crowns. Amen, Amen. (12) And made fast and sure is salvation from Heaven for Bahmandûch b. S. (13) A preparation (?) .... leaven, press it (?) .... Amen, Amen, Selah. Salvation and peace from Heaven, forever and ever and ever.

Commentary

A charm for a certain woman against the reproach of barrenness, that her husband may love her and she may have children by him. The couple is the same that figures in No. 1, which is particularly a charm against the liliths; these are supposed to have prevented the natural fruit of the human union, affecting not only the woman but also the man's love and virility. At the end probably is given an aphrodisiac recipe.

This text and No. 28 are unique among early Semitic incantations, for they are love-charms. In this they bear the closest relation to the Greek erotic incantations, on which I will speak more particularly under No. 28. But in the present text it is the barren forsaken wife who speaks, not the passionate lover, as in No. 28 and the Greek charms. The incantation has a Jewish cast in its address to certain angels, whose names are expressive of love and in its use of biblical divine names. Apparently the text is shortened from a longer model. It is illiterate in style and script, and contains numerous Hebraisms. A feature is the use of a wedge-shaped sign (indicated in the transliteration by a comma), occurring as a separator between words, but without consistency.

1. סברי : for סכירי.

עממיה תנממיה ולישניה: either antique emphatic plurals, or else = Mandaic plural in יא—(see to 9: 6). The second word is an artificial enlargement of the Syriac *tegma* (τάγμα) for the sake of assonance with ע (spelt in the usual archaic Syriac fashion). The passage is reminiscent of *Dan.* 3: 4. Do the words refer to classes of mankind, and the taking away of the woman's reproach among men? Or not rather to ranks of demons?—to whom we expect some reference; cf. p. 80. The closing of their mouths means forstalling their curses, cf. p. 85. תנמא is particularly

used of the cohorts of evil (Payne Smith, *s. v.*) and in the Peshitto translates the "legions of angels" in *Mt.* 26: 53.

3. The three angels appear (upon some reasonable emendation) to have names corresponding to the verbs in the next lines. Angels were chosen, or invented, for the pregnant meaning of their names; so Raphael became the patron of healing. Raḥmiel is the genius of love in No. 28, and in one of Thompson's Hebrew charms from Mossoul (*PSBA,* 1906-1907), which contain many incantations for love, love between man and wife, and also for breaking marital love; once we find a philtre in which the angels invoked are Ahabiel, Šalbabiel, Opiel, names signifying love and its passion (1907, p. 328, no. 80). חביאל and חננאל are found in Schwab's *Vocabulaire,* and the latter also in Stübe, l. 56.

5. The line is obscure; it appears to present a dramatic scene in which the sorcerer and his client, in the presence of the adversaries, shall obtain judicial vindication of love from the favoring angels. The reference to Adam and Eve's offspring has a sympathetic value.

6. מילבוש וגי assimilation of מן, as in Hebrew; for the idea cf. 2: 2.

מיעיל חיסדא: a common Semitic idiom; cf. *Is.* 61: 10, *Eph.* 6: 11; in the Samaritan, אלביש אימנותא, בגד כפר ללבש (Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca sam.* ii, pp. xlii. 197, § 24); actual investing with "grace" occurs in the newly-found Odes of Solomon, 4: 7: מנו גיר נלבש טיבותך.

7. מיזיה מיזי: again Hebraic. The following word may be a dittograph, or a Pael of זוח. For this protection on right and left, cf. 6: 10.

For יהוה ביה see to 7: 8. אלאל, in the Mandaic religion, epithet of the sun-deity (Norberg, *Onom.,* 9, Brandt, *Mand. Schr.,* 31), also found in the Greek magic, Wessely, xlii, 67. It may be a magical reduplication; but cf. the reduplication of אל in the South-Arabic plural, and the Hebrew אליל, probably once a divine name—to be connected with Ellil of Nippur? —see Clay, "Ellil, the God of Nippur," *AJSL,* 1907, 269.

8. כל אסו: cf. 15: 2.

דריסת: this spelling occurs also in a neo-Syriac manuscript published by Lidzbarski (*Die neu-aramäischen Handschriften der königl. Bibliothek z. Berlin,* Weimar, 1896, 447); otherwise דרוסת = צרוצת. For a discussion of the word and its origin see Nöldeke, *Neusyrische Gram.,* 386.

קים ושריר: the same formula in Lidz. 5.

At the end of this line which is on the edge of the bowl, the scribe has attempted to continue and has written a few characters; he then started afresh on the exterior.

9. קל קלא : קל is used like the Hebrew קול. The piteous plaint of the sufferer is thus expressed, to move the sympathy of the celestial ones. In the same way the Babylonian magical texts preface their rites with a description of the plight of the patient; also the biblical Psalms often commence in like manner. A similar phrase appears in a bowl of Pognon's, B 20, but there the reference is to the curses of unfortunate souls which alight on the living. There may be the reference here to such a ban—of a virgin gone to her death without children. In this case חסי (= biblical חם, Syriac חם), would refer to the stilling of her "tongue." (Cf. the magical use of *σιγή* in a text of Wessely's xlii, 60 f.). But the repetition in l. 11 inclines me to the view that the virgin who "travails and does not bear" is the wife, subject perhaps to miscarriage or feminine maladies. Then חסי would be from חום = חוש, "hasten," and so = "quickly," cf. Ass. חסא; the word would then correspond to the frequent *ἠδη ἠδη ταχὺ ταχύ* as at the end of the Hadrumetum love charm (see to No. 28), and see note to 14: 4.

נחבי נחבי וניתי: the verb used for "love" is חבא, where we expect חבב; cf. Heb. אהב. For this triple adjuration, see No. 28.

10. לגוף ביתיה וגי : I have tried in my translation to express the difficult word גוף, which primarily "body," comes to mean the essence, essential thing. The reference is sexual, and the word has such connotations (see Jastrow, *s. v.*).

11. כי אבליתי: this appears to be an error for בתולתא, as in l. 9; or possibly ppl. fem. in *-tê*, "mourner"? כי ... כי are used correlatively, and we must suppose a lacuna: as she (was) in the joyless condition of childlessness, so (her future state shall be symbolized by) fresh myrtle for crowns. Some literary form has been so rubbed down as to be almost unintelligible. For this correlation of כי ... כי, see some, as yet unnoticed cases in the Hebrew, e. g. *Gen.* 18: 20.[1] Myrtle as sacred to the goddess of love (Baudissin, *Studien*, ii, 198 f.) makes an appropriate simile.

[1] See my notes in *JBL*, 1912, p. 144.

12. אפרפרט וג׳: this line is provokingly obscure. Since a magical philtre is here prescribed, I venture to suggest that פ׳ = Latin *praeparatum* (the verb being used by Pliny for preparing drugs, foods, etc.). Or it may be the Rabbinic פרפרת, "hash, salad" (which however does not explain the ט). חאמין is leaven, which as a ferment would be appropriate to an aphrodisiac. אעיקיהי is fem. imperative, "press it." Aphrodisiac herbs, used magically or medicinally, are common in all erotic praxis.

No. 14 (CBS 16917)

[הדין כסא] בישמך אני עושה יהוה אילהא רבא הדין כסא ניהוי לחתמתא להורמיזדוך
בת מהדוך אשבעית עלך מרס . . . . . (2) [ב]ישא בשום אגרבים קדישא בשום מ̇ין מ̇ין בשום
סף סף יהוק יהוק דרחיק ית מרכבתיה על ימא דסוף א . . . . . (3) דויד מזמור ים
סוף תוב אשבעית עליכון במן דאשרי שכינתיה בהיכל נורא וברדא וכורסיה . . . . .
(4) . . א מלכא רמא הללויה הללויה יחוש יחוש אחושיה ובשום מיכאיל וגבריאל המן . . .
בצור . . . ל (5) בשמיה דשריאל בשמיה דסרפיאל צוריאל וסרסמיאל גדריאל פני פניאל
נהריאל וכל זיקין (6) ומזיקין בישין דאידכר שמיהון בכסא הדין וידלא אידכרית שמיהון
בכסא ההין יא (7) יא יחוש תבון תמן ותרמון יתבין לגו נורא יקידתא וילשלהיבת אישתא
אמ אמין אמן סלה

Translation

[This bowl] in thy name do I make, YHWH, the great God. May this bowl be for the sealing of Hormizdûch bath Mehdûch. I adjure thee ..... (2) evil, in the name of holy Agrabis, in the name of MṢ MṢ, in the name of SP SP YHWḲ YHWḲ, who removed his chariot to (above?) the Red Sea ..... (3) David, the Psalm of the Red Sea. Again I adjure you by him who lodged his Shekina in the temple of light and hail, and his ..... (4) ... the exalted king. Halleluia, Halleluia. Oh avaunt, oh avaunt, avaunt! And in the name of Michael and Gabriel..... (5) in the name of Sariel, in the name of Seraphiel, Sûriel and Sarsamiel, Gadriel, Peniel, Nahriel. And all Blast-demons (6) and evil Injurers, whose names are recorded in this bowl and whose names are not recorded in this bowl,— oh, (7) oh, avaunt, sit down there! And ye shall be cast down, sitting within the glowing light and fiery flame (8). Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A charm for a certain woman, in the name of YHWH and the angels, against some definite (now obscure) demon in particular, and against the devils in general.

2. מץ מץ: the syllable is *Athbash* for יה; cf. מצפץ = יהוה, Stübe, l. 66 and p. 63. אנרביס is probably also a mathematical anagram for the divine name or power; cf. Abraxas, = אברכיס, etc. (see p. 57, and to 7: 9), of which the present form may be a corruption. The syllable סף seems to have suggested the sea of סוף. יהוק is for יהוה.

3. דויד: the lacuna makes the reference obscure; a reference to one of the Psalms of David, or, by error to the Song of Moses?

דאשרי שבינתיה: the Targumic phrase, e. g. *Dt.* 12: 5.

בהיכל נורא וברדא: hail and fire are frequently found together in the Old Testament as manifestations of the divine presence; e. g. *Ps.* 18: 13 f. *Ezek.* 38: 22. But cf. especially *Rev.* 11: 19: "Then was opened the temple of God that is in heaven; and there was seen in his temple the ark of the covenant; and there followed lightnings and voices and thunders and earthquake and great hail."

4. אחושיה, יחוש, יחוש: cf. יא חוש, l. 7; Yâ = interjection "Oh." Reitzenstein has called attention to the equivalence of these expressions (commenting on Stübe, l. 14, *Poimandres*, 292, n.), to the ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ of the Greek magic, as applied to demons in the sense of "at once avaunt." For examples, see the endings of nos. 3, 5, 6 in Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, and the editor's note p. 13. Cf. a Christian charm in Pradel's, p. 72: *veniat sanatio celeriter, abeat abeat abeat malum.*

5. All these angel names are found in Schwab's *Vocabulaire*, our סרסמיאל being probably the same as the סרמיאל there. For magical references to Suriel, see Lueken, *Michael*, 71.

6. The sorcerer spares himself the trouble of naming the evil spirits by applying a "blanket" charm to them all; cf. 1: 14.

וידלא: see to 3: 3.— אידכרית: evidently a confusion between the passive and the 1st person active.

ההין: the only instance in these bowls of this rare demonstrative; elsewhere here הדין

7. תרמן: probably Etpeel.—For the curse at the end cf. 7: 17.

No. 15 (CBS 16087)

בישמך במימרך מרי כל אסותה אלהא דרחמי (2) אסותא דישמיא תהוי לה לביתיה
דהורמיז בר ממא [ול]דירתה דדודי בת (3) מרתא ולברגלל בר דודי ולברשיבבי בר
טשיהראזד [ול]ביתה כוליה ולדירתה (4) כולה לאם מן סליק ואטפי ואטרפי דאם
מן מנא אינש לאם לא סליק ואטרפי דאם אינש (5) מנה ביהיבדין ואינש לאם לאם
לא סליק ואטרפי דאם אינש מנה כינתי ומניתי עליכון רוחין ושיקין (6) ושובטין
וירורין ופגעין ושיבין וחרשין בישין ועובדין תקיפין ופתברין ולילית ביש[תה] (7)
. . . . . אסרית יתכון באיסורי נחשא ופרולא וחתמית יתכון בצורת עיזקתא דנורא
. . . . . (8) . . . . . ופטרת יתכון מנהון מן הורמיז בר ממא ומן דודי בת [מרתא
ומן] ברגלל בר דודי ומן ברשיבבי [בר] טשיהראזד (9) . . . . . ומן מהוי בר
דודי בשום רופיאל וסוריאל וגבריאל . . . ריאל ורחמיאל ו.חטיאל וסוריאל . . . . .
וסרריאל ובחותם יהוה צבאות קים עלמין [אמן א]מן אמן

Translation

In thy name and in thy word, Lord of all healing, God of love. (2) Salvation of Heaven for the house of Hormiz bar Mâmâ and for the dwelling of Dôd(â)i bath (3) Marthâ and for Bar-gelâl bar Dôdâi and for Bar-šibebî bar Cirâzâd, even for all her house and dwelling (4).

Lâs min selîḳ: waṭrefê dâs min mena

Enaš lâs lâ selîḳ: waṭrefê dâs enâš (5) *menâ*

Bhybdyn

Wenaš lâs lâs lâ selîḳ: waṭrefê dâs enâš menâ.

I scan and rhyme (?) against you, Spirits and Goblins (6) and Plagues and Howlers and Strokes and Circlet-spirits and evil Arts and mighty Works and Idol-spirits and the evil Lilith (7)..... And I bind you with bonds of brass and iron and seal you with the figure of a seal of fire, ... (8) ..... And I banish you from Hormiz b. M. and Dôdâi b. [M. and] Bar-gelâl b. D. and Bar-šibebî b. C. (9) ..... and Mehôi bar Dôdâi, in the

name of Rophiel and Suriel and Gabriel [and ...] and Raḥmiel and .ḥatiel and Suriel .... and Serariel . And by the seal of YHWH Sebaoth is it established forever. Amen, Amen, Amen.

COMMENTARY

A charm for several persons, whose relations to each other are not definite. They may be members of one household—a kind of *Pension.* The virtue of the charm lies in the use of a doggerel couplet. The figure in the center of the bowl is a serpent with its tail in its mouth; see p. 54.

1. הורמיז: for this abbreviated form of Ahura-mazdah, see Justi, p. 98, the same name in Lidz.

מאמא = מאמאי, מאמי, as in No. 8.

דודי: 38: 4, דודאי; hypocoristicon from דוד, "friend, uncle," etc.; cf. the biblical name דודו and its variant דודי, also Dâdâ, 12: 2. The present name is feminine; may it mean the *dûdâi,* "love-apple"? Justi, p. 86, lists a Dûday.

2. מרתא: a Jewish name found in the Gospels and in a Palestinian ossuary inscription (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 318) = מארת, 8: 5.

ברגלל: a proper name after Arabic formation? גלל = "round lump, excrement," etc. Galal is a biblical name.

ברשיבבי: שי is a form of necklace charm, see to l. 6. The mother has named her child after the amulet whose virtue she supposed gave to her or protects the babe.

טשיהראזד: the Persian Cihrâzâd; see Justi, p. 163. The טש is an attempt to represent the Persian hard *ch.* The name is the same as that of the famous *raconteuse* of the Arabian Nights.

3. ביתה: doubtless referring to Dodai, who appears to have procured the charm for the household.

4. לאם מן סליק וג': this and the following line contain a magical incantation expressed in a rhyming doggerel couplet. (In the first occurrence of ואטרפי, the ר was first omitted, then written above, and finally the word was rewritten that there might be no infraction of the charm.) First of all, there is a couplet rhyming at the caesuras and at the end;

then the last line is repeated in l. 5, introduced by the obscure combination ביהיבדין. A similar doggerel formula is presented by Myhrman in his edition of the Babylonian magical *Labartu* series (*ZA*, xvi, 188; cf. Jastrow, *Rel.*, i, 339). It is there called a *šiptu*, "incantation," and runs thus (following Jastrow's arrangement):

ki | rišti libiki | rišti la libiki | la libi | piš | pišti ša anzišti | ša anziš | šu anziš | anziš.|

For Greek parallels see p. 61. The repeated מנא of the couplet is taken up by כינתי ומניתי. The roots מנא and כן may refer to the scansion of the couplet.

5. שיקין = the Arabic demon *šiḳḳ*—sometimes interpreted as one-half (*šiḳḳ*) man, one-half demon, but probably a demon of weariness; see Lane, *Arabian Nights*, c. 1, n. 21, van Vloten, *WZKM*, vii 180.

6. ירורין: see p. 81; here between categories of maladies, in Myhrman between "devils" and "spirits."

שיבין: the Targumic שבבין (Jastrow, p. 1510), a feminine ornament, some kind of pendant chain, see Krauss, *Talm. Archäologie*, i, 204 and note; belonging to the category of חומרי, ענקתא, etc., see p. 87 f. Cf. the name above ברשיבבי, where the uncontracted form survives.

7. Brass, lead, fire, all potent against demons. Cf. the "chains of lead," 39: 4 f. The bonds of hell are called *catenae igneae* in a Latin charm, Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln*, no. 7; also the "adamantine chains" in Paris Papyrus, Wessely, xxxvi, l. 1227 ff.

9. Mehôi: hypocoristic, cf. Mehducht, etc.

No. 16 (CBS 2920)

אסותא מן שמיא לדדבה בר אסמנדוך (2) ולשרקוי בת דאדא איתתיה ולהוניק וליסמין (3)ולכופיתי ולמהדוך ולפנוי ולאברהם ולשילי בני שרקוי (4) ולביתיהון ולקינינהון ודיהון להון בנין ויחון ויתקימון ולא יגע (5) בהון כל מזיק דאית בעלמא וביישמיה רבה דיקרי אלהא קדישא דחרשי ליה (6) דכביש חשוכה תחות נהורא מחתא תחות אסותא סיתרא תחות בינינא חבלתא (7) תחות שמתא רוגזא תחות ניחא כבישין כולהון בני חשוכה תחות כורסיה דאלהא דחי. (8)שמיה אסירין כבישין דיוי נקיטן כדנא רוחי בישתא וחומרי זידניתא ושומהתא ורברבי (9) דחשוכה ורוח סרי ונאלי ומבבלתא דליליה ודיממא ולוטתא ואנקתא וקיבלי ומללתא ומומתא (10) ואישתקופתא ואשלמתא פגעא ופנעיתא ובתקלא דקריה ואסרה דמיסכינותא ושידי ודיוי וסטני (11) ופתכרי וליליתא וחרשי בישי ועובדי תקיפי ושבע מבבלתא דליליה ודיממא אסירן כבישן ומשכבן (12) מן דדבה בר אסמנדוך ומן שרקוי בת דאדא איתתיה ומן הוניק ומן יסמין ומן כופיתא ומן מהדוך ומן פנוי (13) ומן אברהם ומן שילי בני שרקוי ומן ביתיהון כוליה ומן קינינהון ומן דירתיהון כולה מן יומא דנן ולעולם אמן (14) אמן סלה ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אוד מצל מיאש

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for Dâdbeh bar Asmandûch (2) and for Šarḳôi bath Dâdâ his wife and for Hônik and Yasmin (3) and Kufithâi and Mehdûch and Pannôi and Abraham and Šilâi the children of Šarkôi, (4) and for their house and their property, and that they may have children and may live long and be established, and that (5) no Injurer in the world may touch them.

And in his great name, whereby the holy God is called—wherein are arts (?)—(6) which suppresses darkness under light, plague under healing, destruction under construction, injury (7) under ban, anger under repose: suppressed are all the sons of darkness under the throne of God, in whose (?) name (8) are bound, suppressed Devils; gripped likewise are evil Spirits and impious Amulet-spirits and Names and Princes of (9)

darkness and the Spirit (breath) of foulness and fatigue and the Tormentors of night and day and Curses and Necklace-charms and Words and Adjurations (10) and Knockings and Rites, the Plague and the she-Plague and the voice of Invocation, and the Spell of poverty and Demons and Devils and Satans (11) and Idol-spirits and Liliths and Arts and mighty Works and the seven Tormentors of night and day. They are bound, suppressed and laid, (12) away from Dâdbeh, etc. (as in ll. 1 ff.), (13) and from all their house and from their property and from all their abode, from this day forever. Amen, Amen, (14) Selah. "And YHWH said to Satan," etc.

COMMENTARY

A charm for the large family that appeared in No. 12. It contains an extensive and repetitious list of demoniac species.

5. בישמיה וג׳: I have translated literally; the original form may have been: ב׳ ר׳ דאלהא ק׳ דקרי חרשי ליה "the great name ... which magicians invoke."

6. כביש: ppl. act.

7. "Sons of darkness": contrast the "sons of light," 1: 9.

8. רברבי דחשוכא: cf. the Pauline *τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου*, *Eph.* 6: 12.

רוח סרי ונאלי: lit. "foul and laboring spirit" (breath; in *Bekor.* 44b (an obscure passage) there is a disease or demon called נאלא, which is interpreted as "asthma" (Jastrow, *s. v.*). Foulness of breath was cause for divorce, Krauss *Talm. Enc.* i, 256. Cf. the בר ניפלה of 29: 7, which is found in the same passage from *Bekoroth.*

10. בתקלא דקריה: see pp. 52, 84.

11. משכבין: Af.; cf. English "lay a ghost."

אסרה דמיסכינותא: cf. the Rabbinic דמזוני א׳, "genius of nourishment," and see pp. 79, n. 70, and 86, n. 112.

No. 17 (CBS 2922)

דין יומא מכל יומא שני ודרי (2) עלמא אנה כומיש בת מחלפתא שביקית (3) ופטרית
ותרכית יתיכי אנתי לילתא לילית דברא (4) שלניתא וחטיפתא אנה תלתיכין ארבעתיכין
חמישתיכין (5) ערטיל שלחתין ולא לבישתין סתיר סעריכין מיעל גביכין (6) שמיע
עליכין דאימכין פלחן שמה ואביכין לחדד לילתה שמעו ופקו ולא תסיסון (7) לא לכמיש
בת מחלפתא בביתה פק אתין כל מן ביתה ומן דירתה ומן כלתא ומארתשריה (8) בנה
נדרת עליכין בשמתא דשלח עליכין יהושע בן פרוחיה אומיתי עליכין ביקרא דאביכין
(9) וביקרא דאימכין וסיב לכין גיטיכין ופיטריכין גיטכי ופיטוּרכִי דאת שלחתן בשמתא
דשלח (10) עליכין יהושע בן פרחיה דהכדין אמר לכא יהושע בן פרחיה גיטה אתא לכא
מעבר ימא אישתכח כתיב דאימיכין (11) פלחן שמה ואבכין פלחדד לילתא פמטו ופקו
ולא תסיסון לה לכומיש בת מחלפתא לא בביתה ולא בדירתה אסרית (12) וחתמית
בעיזקתא דאל שדי ובעיזקתא דיהושע בן פרוחיה אסיא אסותא ופטרתא מן שמיא
לאבא ול וליזדיד ולהוניק בני כומיש (13) בטילן ומבטלן כל מבכלתא דפירקין להון בשמתא
להן אמן אמן סלה

Translation

This day above any day, years and generations of (2) the world, I Kômêš bath Maḥlaphta have divorced (3) separated, dismissed thee, thou Lilith, Lilith of the Desert, (4) Hag and Ghûl. The three of you, the four of you, the five of you, (5) naked are ye sent forth, nor are ye clad, with your hair dishevelled behind your backs. (6) It is announced to you, whose mother is Palḥan and whose father (Pe)laḥdad, ye Liliths: Hear and go forth and do not trouble (7) Kômêš b. M. in her house. Go ye forth altogether from her house and her dwelling and from Kallethâ and Artašria (8) her children. I have warded against you with the curse which Joshua bar Perôhiâ (*sic*) sent against you. I adjure you by the honor (name) of your father (9) and by the honor of your mother, and take your divorces and separations, thy divorce and thy separation, in the ban which is sent (10) against you by Joshua b. Peraḥia, for so has spoken to thee Joshua b. P.: A divorce has come to thee from across the sea. There is found written (in it), ye whose mother is (11) Palḥan and whose father

Pelaḥdad, ye Liliths: And now flee and go forth and do not trouble Kômêš b. M. in her house and her dwelling.

I bind (12) and I seal with the seal of El Shaddai and with the seal of Joshua b. Peraḥia the healer, healing and release from Heaven for Abâ and Yazdid and Hônik sons of Kômêš. Thwarted and frustrated are all Injurers, whom we have removed by the ban upon them. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A charm effected by a woman for herself and her children, who appear in two different groups, in the name of Joshua b. Peraḥia. It is an abbreviated and often incorrect replica of No. 8.

1. For the corrupted formula, cf. 6: 5 and see p. 55. The full form appears in no. 16020 (unpublished) "this day out of all days. I Honik," etc.

2. כומיש, l. 7 כמיש: the name obscure; cf. Κομοσαρνη, Justi, p. 165.

מחלפתא: for this name, frequent in these bowls, and its equivalents, see Nöldeke, *Encyc. Bib., s. v.* "Names," § 62.

שביקית: Peal, the following verbs Pael.

3. For the singular and plural number, see to 8: 2. The word lilith is spelt badly. For the לי דברא cf. 29: 7, and see p. 78; the parallel has לילי דיברא.

5. The correct grammatical forms are found in 8: 3; the lilith names following are also mangled.

6. תסיסון: Afel of נסס.

7. כלתא, i. e. "bride"; cf. the Babylonian name Ina-ekur-kallatu, cited to me by Prof. Clay.

ארתשריה: a form of Artachšathra, and cf. Αρταξηρις, Justi, p. 35.

8. פרוחיה: so l. 12, but the correct spelling in l. 10; probably assimilation to Persian *farruch.*

For "glory" = "name," see on 8: 8, and n. b. the equivalent πατέρων δόξαι, *Wisdom,* 14: 24.

9. סיב: f. pl. impr. of נסב; but שמעו in l. 6. The following דאת שלחתן is a perversion.

10. לכא = ליכי.

11. פמטו = מוטו, cf. פק, l. 7, *plus* conjunction פ; for another instance see Glossary; probably a dialectic survival. פ appears in the Senjirli inscriptions and the Elephantine papyri.

12. אסיא: the same title in 34: 12.

פטרתא: formation from Pael, = Rabbinic פטורא.

אבא: frequent Talmudic name, *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 3-18.

יודיד: probably error for יודד, see 7: 3.

13. פירקן: Pael, 1st pers. plural.

No. 18 (CBS 8695)

ברחמי שמיא אסוּתא [לנפשא ו]לביתא דאפרה בר איהי וכל (2) שום דאית ליה דיתקיומון [ליה בנין] מן איצפנדוי איתתה ויחון (3) ויתקיומון ולא יגע בהון כל מזיק [בהדין] עלמא בשום אהיה אשר אהיה (4) אל איסור בנדנא מלכא מלכיהון דשיד[י ודיוי ושליטא] רבא דליליתא אשבעית (5) עליכי בחלבם לילית בת ברתה דזרני לי[ליתא דיתבא] על איסקופת באבה דא (6) ודאביא ... ודמחיא וטרפא וחנקא ואכלא דירקי ו[דירקתא] ... מיצה מימי ציתא אשבעית (7) עליכי דתימחין בטרפס לילביכי ובמורניתא דסק . . . [נבר]א דהוֹ שליט על שידי ועל דיוי ועל (8) פתכרי ול ועל ליליתא הא כתבית לכין גיטא והפטרית ית[כין כמא כתב]ין שידי גיטא לנשיהון ותוב (9) לא הדרין עליהין שקול גיטיכין וקביל מומתכין וקרחו וע[ריקו מן בי]תא הדין דאפרא בר א[יהי] ולא תיתחזין (10) ליה עוד לא לה לאיצפנדוי איתתיה ולא תינעון ולא תיקר[בון להון ולבנין וג'] דאית להן לא בחילמה דליליה (11) ולא בחילמה דיממה בשום . מתחמן יאבגביג דיד טרטי . . . ב[עיזקתא דציר וגליף עלה שם מ]פורש מן יומי עלמא (12) שישת ימי בראשית אמן אמן סלה הללויה

Commentary

This inscription is yet another duplicate to the three collated under No. 11. It is badly written and mutilated, and would be in large part unintelligible without the other texts. It presents little that is new and a translation is not necessary.

1. The name of Ephrah's father is uncertain. From what appears here, it may be איהי; cf. בראיהי, in *Seder ha-Doroth* ii, 47. In l. 9 it looks like איי, i. e. *Ayê?* But the strokes may be for abbreviation.

2. A prayer for offspring is here expressed.— איצפנדוי: hypocoristicon for איצפנדרמיד, see 26: 4.

5. בחלבם: again this name differs; but the tradition of the granddam's name is accurate.

באבה דא: i. e. דאפרה.

6. דאביה: ppl. of דבא.

דירקי: if not an error, this is a further development of a word with a history: *daḳdaḳ* = *dardaḳ* = *daraḳ*.

מיצה מימי ציתא: the probable reading. ציתא is biblical. The dirty habits of these foul demons appear in the Babylonian magic; they are compared to pariah dogs and are exorcised by the spirit of foul streets, see *Utukki* series, B, 46; cf. v. col. 5. l. 21.

8. הפטרית: for הא פ׳.

9. קרחו: if we read so, we may compare the magic formula in *Pesaḥ.* 110a, קרחייבי קרח (see to 1: 6). The verb = ערק, by transposition, common especially in Mandaic. Lidzbarski in his parallel (see to No. 11) reads קדא and translates "spring up"; but read there קרא = קרח.

No. 19 (CBS 16018)

בישמך מרי אסואתא אסיא רבא (2) דרחמי אסירא וחיתמא ומחתמא כוּלא (3) קומתיה
ובית מישכניה דהדין משרשיה דמיתקרי (4) דהבאי בר מחלפתא בשיבעא איסרין דילא
מישתרין ובתמניה חתמין (5) דילא מיתברין בשמיך מריא איבול מלכא רבא דאלהי
ובשמיך מרתין איבולית (6) מלכתא רבתא דאיסתראתא ובשום טלסְבוּנִי מריא רבא
דבגדני ובשום סחנודמוך (7) ובשום איבול בר פלג ובשום אנגרום ובשום מריא מלילא
ומרגלא וארמסא ובשום אזפא ועלים (8) ובשום נקדרום מרי בוּנִיוּב . . ואתא ובשום
סרפיאל מרי דינא ורימזא ובשום שיתין אלהי דיכרי (9) ותמני איסתראתא ניקבאתא
ובשום ארדיסבא סבתא קשישא קשיש מין כנואתיה ובשום אנד מריא רבא דמית. . . .
(10) ואניזקי דמין לעיל פרזלא ונחשא ומתקנא ליה סיליתיה דאברא ושבעא
כומרי דמי דבגדנא ובשום בגדנא בר חבאל (11) וסופרזיא . . . ן ועלימון ובשום פלניני
ומנדינסן ומנירנש נג . . . ל ובשום אירס בר חנם ובשום אברכים ובשום אגזריאל
דרחמי לא אית ליה (12) ובשום ארזן וכִר.ן רום ברום דעלתרום ובשום . . . . .
לאריאל שדר שקול לשליטא רבא דקדמוהי ובשום . . . . . ובשום מריא איבול (13) מלאכה
רבא דזעקי ובשום אילהא ניברא ומריא רבא דבגדני ובשום ארזן בר זגד אתון אסירי
וחליצי וזריזי על כל שידי דיוי וסטני בישי איסרא (14) וכסא הדין שרירא וחתמיה
קיימי עליהון דאינש מין איסוריה לא נפיק ומן תחות ידוהי לא שיר בישמיהון דהלין
איסרי ניתסר תמן שידא ודנחיש ולילית בישתא (15) דאית בפנריה [דה]דין משרשיה
דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא באיסרין בארעה ובחיתמין בשמיא תוב אסירין באסרא
וחתימין בתנינא בר מין פנריה דהדין משרשיה (16) דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא אמן
תוב אסירי שידא ודיוא ודנחיש וחומרתא ופתכרא דאית על פנריה דהדין משרשיה
דמיתקרי דהבי בר מחלפתא באיבול וחתים (17) באיבולית תוב אסיר בשינם ומנא
וחתים בנורא תוב אסיר באלהי גברי וחתימין באריון בר זגד תוב אסיר בעיזקת בית
חנון וחתימין במכילא רבא דזעזא תוב אסירין באלהא שרירא וחתימין בשליטא רבא
(18) דקדמוהי בר מין פנריה דהדין משרשיה דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא בשום
פטרגינום אוקינום שונקא קוסא קפא אזזיאל דריססק ופום ובשים ברקפת . . . סרבתיה
לילבי מיתדבד ובשום א.כא עלינא (19) דעלם אלהי באידכור יתון עילך מלואשיה
דהדין משרשיה דמיתקרי דהבאי בר מחלפתא ניתחתם מין ב.תא דראשיה ועדמא טורפת
ריגליה בתיבי סוט . . . . . לבא לא ניהון ולהדין ביתא דמשרשיה (20) דמיתקרי דהבא
בר מחלפתא לא ניעלון ולא ניקרבון ליה ולא ניתחזון ביה לא בליליה ולא ביממא מין
יומא דנן ולעלם . . . . . .

TRANSLATION

In thy name, O Lord of salvations, the great Saviour (2) of love.

Charmed and sealed and countersealed is the whole (3) person and the bedchamber of this Mešaršiâ, surnamed (4) Goldsmith, bar Maḫlaphtâ, with the seven spells which may not be loosed, and with the eight seals (5) which may not be broken.

In thy name, lord Ibbôl, the great king of the Bagdâni; and in thy name, our lady Ibbôleth, (6) the great queen of the goddesses (she-demons?), and in the name of Ṭalasbôgî the great lord of the Bagdâni; and in the name of Sahnudmuk; (7) and in the name of Ibbôl son of Palag; and in the name of Angarôs; and in the name of the Lord, the Word and Leader and Armasa (Hermes); and in the name of Azpâ and 'Alîm; (8) and in the name of Naḳderôs the lord of ...; and in the name of Seraphiel, lord of judgment and of (divine) beck; and in the name of the 60 male gods (9) and the 80 female goddesses; and in the name of Ardisaba (*or* Ardî) the most ancient of his colleagues; and in the name of Anad the great lord ..... (10) cast above (him) iron and bronze, and fastened to him fetters (?) of lead and the 70 exalted priests of Bagdânâ; and in the name of Bagdânâ son of Habâl (destruction). (11) ...; and in the name of Palnînî and Mandinsan and Menirnaš ...; and in the name of Iras son of Hanas; and in the name of Abrakîs (Abraxas); and in the name of Agzariel, who is without compassion; (12) and in the name of Arzan and ..., *rôs berôs delterôs;* and in the name ... to Ariel he sent a message: "Lift up" (?), ... to the great Ruler before him; and in the name of ...; and in the name of lord Ibbôl (13) the great angel of the Blast-demons, and in the name of the great God and the great Lord of the Bagdâni; in the name of Ariôn son of Zand: Ye are charmed and armed and equipped.

Against all Demons, Devils and evil Satans, this charm (14) and bowl is sure and its seals established against them, from whose charm none ever goes forth and from whose control none sallies forth.

In the name of these charms are bound there Demon and Danḫiš and the evil Lilith (15) which are in the body of this Mešaršiâ, surnamed Goldsmith, b. M., by charms in earth and by seals in heaven.

Again, (ye are) charmed with a charm and sealed a second time away from the body of this Mešaršiâ, (16) etc., Amen.

Again, charmed are the Demon and Devil and Danḥiš and Amulet-spirit and Idol-spirit, which are upon the body of this Mešaršia, etc., by Ibbôl, (17) and sealed by Ibbôleth.

Again, charmed by Šînas and Manâ, and sealed by fire.

Again, charmed by the great gods and sealed by Ariôn son of Zand.

Again, charmed by the seal of the family of Ḥanûn, and sealed by the great ... of Zeüza (Zeus).

Again, charmed by the true God, and sealed by the great Ruler (18) who is before him, away from the body of this Mešaršiâ, etc.

In the name of Paṭragenôs, Okînoš (Okeanos), Šunḳâ, Ḳôsâ, Kapâ, Azaziel ..... (19) ..... his constellation (?), that this Mešaršiâ, etc., be sealed from the top (?) of his head to the toes of his feet ..... they shall not be, nor this house of Mešaršiâ, (20) etc., shall they enter nor approach, nor appear therein, neither by night nor by day, from this day and forever. .....

Commentary

A charm made out for a certain man whose body is infested with evil spirits; with great elaboration of incantations they are exorcised from him and his house. The inscription is thoroughly pagan, and is interesting because of its invocation, for over half its length, of an extensive list of deities. Cf. a similar long list in Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln*, no. 4. Unfortunately by reason of the coarseness of the script and its general illegibility, most of these names are obscure. Some of them are definitely Greek,—Zeus, Protogonos, Okeanos, and perhaps the Aeons, male and female, may be made out; several others are of Greek formation. Others again are of Persian origin, and some are purely charm-words, "mystical" names. Some forgotten cult may have given certain of the names; notice the reference to the 70 priests of Bagdana.

2. חיתמא: error for חתימא.

3. קומתיה: the word = "stature," then, as here, "body," as is shown by the phrase, in a similar connection, in bowls published by Schwab (E)

and Stübe (ll. 56, 64): the demon depart, etc., from the 248 הדמי קומתיה of such a one (the word is not recognized by either editor). The same word occurs in the interesting magical passage in *Eze.*, 13: 18.

משרשיה: also in Schwab, G; a frequent Talmudic name (see *Sefer ha-Doroth,* ii, p. 276).

4. דהבאי: this surname appears as a proper name in *Ḥagiga* 2a.

"Seven spells .... eight seals": for this cumulative expression, cf. Mica 5: 4; see 5: 2.

5. בשמיך: cf. 28: 1.

איבול: also below, ll. 7, 16. In l. 7 he is בר פלג, and his consort איבולית is "our lady." Professor Clay has cited to me a divine name Ubbulti appearing in a Cassite tablet, in the name *Ubbulti-lišir.* אובול might also be read, and I am inclined to make the word = Syriac *ubbâlâ,* "generation," etc., and so Αἰων. For a discussion of Aeon as supreme deity, god of time, etc., see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 269 ff. The Aeons appears in the magical texts, e. g. Dieterich, *Abraxas,* 140, l. 51; 192, l. 21; 203, l. 18. The syzygies of Aeons were male and female—cf. the names in Origen's list at the beginning of his work *Adv. haer.,* and איבולית would be a formation to express the female Aeon. Derivation from Apollo also suggests itself, but the feminine is not thereby explained.

6. בגדני: Comparing what precedes, the word means some class of deities or demons. In l. 13 בגדנא is a divine name, = the demon in 11: 5 (*q. v.*). It is then a word like אלהא, etc., which can be used individually or generically. It evidently contains the Indo-European element *bâga,* "god." It is difficult to decide whether Bagdana is a propitious or maleficent demon (as in No. 11); in the latter case he is charmed to work the good of the sorcerer's client, as in the Greek incantations, e. g. Hekate. In W. T. Ellis's Syriac text (see § 2) appears שמחיזא מריא בגדאנא, "Šamhiza the lord Bagdana," or "the lord god"? The spelling gives the vocalization of the penultimate vowel. For Š. cf. the Enochian Samaeza.

7. אנגרום: the ending -ום in this and other names recalls Greek formations. May this word = ἄγγελος?

מלילא: in Syriac, "logical," etc., and used nominally = *τὸ λογικόν*. It is here associated with ארמסא, both being names of a potency; the passage is parallel to *2*: *2*, *q. v.*

מרנלא: if the reading is correct, the Rabbinic רנל, Afel, may give the interpretation,—"leader," which would be a fitting epithet of Armasa-Hermes, "the shepherd" *par excellence*. Cf. the idea in the late Hellenistic religion of a deity, especially Hermes, as a guide, *ἡγέμων*, of souls; see Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, n. 63 p. 253. It may be noticed that מ׳ is used in the Talmud of a "traditional word or saying" (Jastrow), i. e. = *logos?*

8. סרפיאל: also 14: 8. In his epithet, רימזא appears to be used, as in the Syriac, of the divine nod or intimation, i. e. "command."

9. ארדיסבא: or the name is to be read ארדי, followed by סבא סבתא קשישא קשיש; why the fem. סבתא?

10. In this and the following line most of the words can be read, but in consequence of the failure of the context the text defies interpretation. The three metals may be referred to as having magical properties, and this may give the clue to סיליתא דאבדא (סיליתיה written first erroneously). Comparing the Mandaic text in 39: 5, בשושלאתא דאבארא (עסירא), the equation suggests that our סיליתא = "chains"; possibly סילתא "basket," and here used of a metal cage.

בר חבאל: = "Son of destruction"?; cf. בר חנם, l. 11, בר זנד l. 13; these deities are given a parentage like איבול, l. 7. Possibly חנם is הנם, the verb used in the Nerab inscriptions, and so = חבאל.

11. אירס:=Ἔρως, or Ἄρης?—אברכים: cf. 7: 9.

אנזריאל: נזריאל is found in Schwab, *Vocabulaire*. Is אכזריאל "God's cruel one," meant?

12. The accumulation of words in *ros* is a charm formula; see p. 61.

13. מלאבא = מלכה, l. 5.— זעקי: the זיקי with Mandaic spelling.

אריך בר זנד: found also in 34: 8, which determines the reading here.

אתן וג׳: the plural is problematic, as there is but one client to this charm; it may have been used inadvertently. חליצי is not Aramaic in its present sense.

14. דנחיש: this obscure demon appears again in l. 16; it is evidently the דניש listed with the planets in Libzbarski's Mandaic amulet in the de Vogüé *Florilegium*, l. 251.

17. שינאם: cf. the Mandaic סיניאוים, name of an angel, Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i, 104, n. 2.

זעוא: Zeus, = Syriac זו, in Jacob of Sarug (Martin, *ZDMG*, xxix, 110, l. 50), otherwise זיוס and זום.

מנא = the Mandaic genius Mana? See Norberg, *Onom.* 96.

בית חנן: the family or school of some magician like that of Joshua b. Perahia, see p. 46.

18. אוקינוס = Ὠκεανός, the parent deity in magical theosophy (cf. Ea in the Babylonian); see index of Dieterich, *Abraxas*. The preceding name recalls Protogonos who appears with Aeon as son of Kolpia and Baau in Sanchuniathon's cosmic genealogy, Eusebius, *Praep. ev.*, i, 10.

19. לילבי: cf. 11:7. מלואשיה: an astrological reference?

טורפת רינליה ... מין: the same phrase in Pognon B, except that the word זימתא, "hair," appears there.

No. 20 (CBS 16023)

טרדי בת אוני } בְּשֵׁם
(2) הרמסדר טרדי } אאאאאא אסירי וחתימי (3) שידא ודיוא וסטאנא ולטאנא ולליאתא
ב[ישאתא] (4) דמתחזא באלליא ומתז בימאמי ודמיחזי טרדי בת ..... (5) [בש]ום
גבריאל מיכיאל ורופיאל אמן אמן אמן אמן סאלה הלליה כפי אאאאאא

Translation

Ṭardi bath Onî (2) Hormisdar Ṭardi. In the name of AAAAAA, exorcised and sealed (3) are the Demon and the Devil and the Satan and the Curse-spirit and the evil Liliths (4) which appear by night and appear by day, and appear (to) Ṭardi bath [Onî, etc.]. (5) In the name of Gabriel, Michael, and Rophiel. Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Hallelia, Selah. According to AAAAAA.

Commentary

A charm against ghosts. The interest of this bowl lies in the figure decorating the center. It represents a demon with arms and legs manacled. On either side of the figures is an enclosed space, that on the figure's right hand bearing the inscription אסורא, that on its left, רשוא, i. e. prohibition and permission. In the lower part of the body on the former side is inscribed the names of the sorcerer's client. The pictures thus graphically presents the idea that the demon has no power over the lady in question. The picture is of better quality than the inscription, which is very illiterate. The spelling is most careless.

1. The connection of the proper names is uncertain, as also the character of the names themselves. For הרמסדר I might compare the Pahlavi Ormazdyâr, Justi, p. 10a.

2. For the repeated א, see p. 60.

3. לטאנא: probably an artificial form; cf. שידנא, טלנא, סטנא.

4. מיתחזא has Mandaic fem. pl. ending.—In באלליא the first א has a point over it—to mark error? cf. the Massoretic Niḳḳudim.

5. רופיאל: the first vowel as in *Enoch* and in Mandaic, representing the Hebrew active ppl., parallel to the equivalent Aramaic form in *Raphael*.

הלליה: for similar perversions see 24: 4, 31: 8, 32: 12; cf. *αλληλου* in the Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 3032, and הללו ליה in a Jewish charm, *JAOS*, 1911, 274.

No. 21 (CBS 16054)

(1) חתים ומח[ת]ם ביתה
ואיסקופתה דודי בתה
אחת מן כל פגעין
בישי מן כ[ל ר]וחין
(2) בישין ומ[ן] מבכלתא
ומן לליתא ומן כל נזקין
דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
ולאיסקו[פתה] דודי
(3) בת אחת דיחתים
ביתלתה עזקין ומחתם
בשבעה חתמין
ומן כל פגעין בישין ומן
כל רוחין (4) [בישין] ומן
מבכלתא

אמן אמן סלה

No. 22 (CBS 16006)

(1) חתים ומחתם ביתה
ואיסקופתה דדודי בת
אחת מן כל פגעין
בישין מן כל רוחין
(2) בישין ומן מבכלתא
ומן לליתא ומכל נזקין
דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
ולאיסקופתה (3) דודי
בת אחת דיחתים
ביתלתה עיזקין ומ[חתם
ב]שבעה חתמין
מן כל מין לליתא ומן
(4) נזקין

דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
ולאיסקופתה דדו[די]
[בת אחת]
ומן כל רוחין בישין [ומן]
כל נזקין בישין (5) מן יומה
דינן ולעל[ם

אמן א]מן סלה

No. 23 (CBS 16090)

(1) חתים ומחת[א]ם ביתה
ואיסקופתה דודי בת
אחת מן כל פגעין
בישין ומן כל רוחין
(2) בישין ומן מבכלתא
ומן לליתא ומן כל נזקא ומזקא
דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
ולאיסקופתה (3) דודי
בת אחת דיחתימי
ביתלתה עיזקין ומחתם
בשבעה חתמין
מבכלתא ומן כל נזקין
(4) ומנזקין

דלא תקרבון לה לביתה
ולאיסקופתה דודי
בת אחת

אמן אמן סלה

Translation of No. 22

Sealed and countersealed are the house and threshold of Dôdî bath Aḥath from all evil Plagues, from all evil Spirits, (2) and from the Tormentors, and from the Liliths, and from all Injurers, that ye approach not to her, to the house and threshold of (3) Dôdî b. A., which is sealed with three signets and countersealed with seven seals from every kind of

Lilith and from all (4) Injurers, that ye approach not to her, to the house and threshold of Dôdî [b. A.], and from all evil Spirits and from all evil Injurers, (5) from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

Three identical bowls, out of the four which were deposited at the corners of the charmed house; see § 8. There are slight variations in the inscriptions; in No. 22 the writer found more room and made a longer inscription. All three are most roughly and illegibly written; the characters ו, ז, י, נ are indistinguishable, and ם has a peculiar form. The word transliterated דינן, 22: 5, is written in a clumsy Syriac script.

An interesting grammatical peculiarity is the omission of ד after a genitive with the personal suffix. This appears at the beginning of l. 3 in No. 22, and throughout, in the same combination, in the other two. This might be taken for haplography before דודי; but the same phenomenon appears in the Mandaic bowls published below; see the Introduction, § 5 B.

For the injunction in l. 4 not to approach, cf. the like prohibition in a late Greek charm (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 294): *τοῦ μὴ ἀδικῆσαι ἢ βλάψαι ἢ προσεγγίσαι*, κ. τ. λ.; cf. also a Syriac charm of Gollancz's, p. 93.

No. 24 (CBS 2926)

אסו[תא] מן שמיא תהי לה להנדו בת מחלפתא (2) דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא מן אשיתא ומן אזיתא מן אונא (3) . . . . . אמן אמן סאלה אסותא מן שמיא תהי לה לקאקי בת מחלפתא . . . (4) דיתבטל מינה חלמי שנושי ורוחא בישת וסטאני בישי אמן אמן אמן סאלה הללוי אסותא (5) לזרנכש בת . מחלפת דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא לזרנבש ותאחי ברה בסבע דר . . . . . (6) אמן אמן אמן סאלה ..... נהיא גרר אגרייה .....

Translation

Salvation from Heaven be for Hindû bath Maḥlaphta, (2) that she be saved by the love of Heaven from Fever (?) and from Sweating, from (?) (3) ..... Amen, Selah.

Salvation from Heaven be for Kâkî bath Maḥlaphta (4) that there cease from her disturbing Dreams and the evil Spirit and evil Satans. Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallelui.

Salvation (5) for Zarinkaš bath Maḥlaphta, that she be saved by the love of Heaven, to wit Zarinkaš, that she bring to the birth her child ..... Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah. .....

Commentary

A charm for three daughters of a certain woman, made out in their names severally and for specific maladies. The misspellings are numerous.

1. הנדו: the same name appears in 40: 14; it is hypocoristic of הנדויתא 38: 3, i. e. "Indian woman."

2. אשיתא is doubtless fever, in neo-Syriac = malarial fever, cf. the general name for fever with the Jews, אשתא (Preuss, *Bib.-talm. Med.*,, 184). and n. b. the disease *ašû* in Assyrian, Küchler, *Beiträge*, 131, 197. For the next word the root אזא suggests a sweating disease. אונא may be another kind of fever. In general see above, p. 93 f.

3. קאקי: also in Hyvernat's bowl. The name occurs as that of an Egyptian sorceress in a Syriac biography of Rabban Hormizd (c. 600), cited by Budge in his edition of *The Book of Governors,* i, p. clxiv. Our word is probably the Syriac *ḳâḳâ,* "pelican," while the Egyptian name may represent *κακή* (for a similar adoption of this Greek word, see Payne Smith, col. 3709).

4. For the "disturbing dreams," see p. 82.

5. Zarinkaš: cited by Justi, p. 382.

No. 25 (CBS 16009)

[אס]ותא מן שמיה לגורוי בר טאטי ולאחת בת דודא איתתיה דיוחִ מיניהון בדי[רתהון
שידי ודי]וי ברחמי דישמיה מי בכין דמיתין להון דיחיו להון בכין ויקרבון (2) ומיתין
אישתכחון מן קודם אילי ניסתרתו ואלי ניסתרי בְשום אתה ש . . . . . מִים ומרכבתך
עַל כל האפנִים שלח להום להדרבדו בר . . . . . (3) .ל ריביהון דכל[הון] הא דיותמו
שים בפומי וכל דע . . . . . רין הון בריך אתה יהוה על דיבריה שום בשום (4) יופיאל
שמך יחיאל קרי לך שסנגיאל יהוה וכן יה . . . שמהת . . [אר]מסה מיטטרון יה בשום
טינין (5) טריגים בלבִיס שבגס שדרפס אילה אינון מלאכיה דיממטין לאסותא [לכל]
בְּנֵי אינשא אינון (6) יתֵן ויפקון באסותא דהדין בית[ה] וקינינה ודאיתתיה ודיב[נה]
ודבנתה ודכל אינשי בביתיה (7) לחדין גורוי בר טאטי מן יומא דין ולגליל עלם אמן אמן
סלה הללויה

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for Gurôi bar Ṭâṭî and for Aḥath bath Dôdâ his wife, that there vanish from them in their dw[elling the Demons and Dev]ils by the mercy of Heaven. Whoever here has dead, who shall become alive to them here, and shall approach (2) and are found to be (actually) dead—from these you are kept and these are kept (from you). In the name: Thou- ..... send (to) them, Hadarbadû bar ..... (3) .. the contentions of them all. Behold, ... Blessed art thou, YHWH on account of the name of ..... (4) Yophiel thy name, Yehiel they call thee, Šasangiel, YHWH, and so ..... names ..... [Ar]masa Metatron Yah, in the name of Tigin, Trigis, Balbis, Šabgas, Šadrapas. These are the angels who bring salvation to all the children of men. They (6) will come and go forth with the salvation of this house and property and dwelling of his, and of his sons and daughters and all the people in his house—(7) of this Gurôi b. Ṭ. from this day even for the sphere of eternity. Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.

Commentary

The inscription is of interest because it is directed against the apparition of family ghosts. In this respect it is to be compared with No. 39 and Wohlstein's bowl, no. 2417; see above p. 82.

1. גורוי: identified by Justi, p. 356, as a new-Persian form of *Warôê*. The *Seder ha-Doroth* lists a number of Talmudic persons named גוריא and גוריון (ii, 89); also a famous Syriac martyr Gurias is recorded. Apart from the Persian hypocoristic ending, the word could be explained from the Semitic (גוריא, Syriac, "whelp"). Cf. also the Palmyrene גורא, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 249.

טאטי: Ṭaṭâ is a feminine name found in Syriac, in Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* and Wright's *Catalogue of the British Museum;* see Payne Smith, col. 1456. Cf. תאתא, 39: 8.

2. אילי, אלי, and אילה l. 5: the Aramaic pronoun with loss of י, cf. similar cases cited to 8: 2,—if not a Hebraism.

ניסתרתו, ניסתרי: Hebrew Nifals with Aramaic inflection.

שלח להום להדרבדו: the idea apparently is that a message be sent to the dead to cause them to cease their contentions (ריביהון) with the living, then one of these departed spirits is named. The name is not recognizable as a proper name, and evidently, as in Wohlstein's bowl, referred to above, it is a fancy name. (There we have such names as *Yodid, Muth, Dabti, Ith.*)

4. יופיאל: One of the six angels in Targ. Jer. to *Dt.* 34: 6, along with Metatron, and, in Schwab, *Vocab.*, 145, a companion of M. and prince of the Law. יופי is a Talmudic surrogate for יהוה, see Blau, *Zauberwesen*, 131.

יחיאל or יהואל: cf. יהואל, Schwab, p. 141. The following name is unknown. These angels are invoked as phases or names of Deity; cf. p. 58.

Hermes-Metatron: for the identification, see to 2: 2; here identified with Yah.

5. These magical words are mystical names of the angels; see p. 97. They are dominated by sibilant terminations for which see p. 60.

מלאכיה: Mandaic plural spelling.

6. יתן = יאתון.

7. גליל עלם: cf. Syriac שנתא זבנא גינל; also of a cycle.

No. 26 (CBS 3997)

שמע ישראל ייי אלהינו ייי אחד על פי ייי יחנו ועל פי ייי יסעו (2) ואת משמרת ייי שמרו על פי ייי בד משה ויאמר ייי אל הסטן יגער ייי (3) בך הסטן יגער ייי בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אוד מוצל מאש תוב אסירת ואחידת אנתי (4) רוחא בישתא ולילית תקיפתא לא תיתחזן להון לבריביהביה בר מאמי והדא איצפנדרמיד בת ה..דורא (5) לא בימם ולא בלילה ולא בכל רמש וצפר ולא בכל שעתה ושעתה ולא בכל עידיא עידיא אילהין זעי (6) מן קדמיהון ושקולי גיטכי ופיטורכי וספר תירוכבי וא . . . יתכי כמא דכתבין שידין גיטין לינשיהון ותוב לא הדרין (7) דוביב אימכם דובי כיריא לא אישתי א.ביזנא אישה . . . . . ואפיפתיה מיבין שד . . . . . (8) פשיטנא . . . . . ותיהה כיום היולדה ושמתיה כ . . . . . בצמא . . . . לא א אירחים כוכ.י . . . . .

Translation

"Hear, Israel: YYYY our God is one YYYY." "According to the mouth of YYYY they encamped, and according to the mouth of YYYY they marched (2). The observance of YYYY they observed according to the word of YHWH through Moses." "And YYYY said to Satan: YYYY rebuke (3) thee, Satan, YYYY rebuke thee, who chose Jerusalem. Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?"

Again, bound and held art thou, (4) evil Spirit, and mighty Lilith, that thou appear not to Berîk-Yahbêh bar Mâmê and this Ispandarmêd bath H..dôrâ, (5) neither by day nor by night, nor at any evening or morning, nor at any time whatsoever, nor at any seasons whatsoever. But flee (6) from their presence and take thy divorce and thy separation and thy writ of dismissal. [I have divorced] thee, [even as demons write] divorces for their wives and return not (to them). (7, 8) .....

Commentary

This charm, against the evil Lilith, is introduced by three quotations from the Scriptures. The first is the opening sentence of the *Shemá*, which still remains the contents of the Mezuzoth, or house phylacteries of the

Jews. The other two have occurred in previous texts; see 5: 5. Unfortunately the last two lines are too broken and obscure to be read. I have merely reproduced here the evident characters. In the segments of the circle at the bottom of the bowl appear words, some of which are forms of the divine Names יה, יהו, איאה; also אילור (?) and יאיהו (?)

1. יויי: for יהוה. Cf. the common scribal abbreviation, יי or יוי; also such forms as יוו and ויו, in Schwab O.

בד משה: for ביד, as in No. 5.

3. תוב: cf. 2: 1.

4. בריכיהביה: there is no doubt as to the reading of this name and it is remarkable enough. The second and divine component of the name—which was an ordinary [ברכ]יה, [ברוכ]יה, or [בריכ]יה, has been expanded so as to give the awful pronunciation of the Ineffable Name. We cannot suppose that the name was thus ordinarily spelt or pronounced, but the scribe has taken it upon himself to give this interpretation (פירוש) of his client's name. Here then is a clear survival of the ancient magical signification and use of the personal name (cf. Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 159 ff.), as also of the pronunciation of the name itself. It may be retorted that יה—would hardly be used to represent *ê*, and that the original pronunciation was *Yahwè*, not—*é* (see Arnold's valuable discussion, *JBL*, xxiv, 152). The latter thesis is right, but I think that the tradition represented here connects with the Hellenistic magic, in which, among various forms, Ιαη occurs several times (Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 7),[1] although I have not found a case of Ια$\beta\eta$. Further, in the Talmud (*Sanh.* 56a) יוסה appears as a surrogate for the Name, which Dietrich, *ZATW*, iv, 27, would vocalize as Yosê. Blau (*Zauberwesen*, 131) objects to *ê*, but adduces from the Mishna, *Sukk.* 45a, the surrogate יופי which he identifies with the Greek magical term $\iota\omega\phi\eta$ (citing Paris Pap. ll. 1896, 2746). This would be further proof for η in the current magical pronunciation. As for יה- = -*ê*, we have not only the masc. pron. suffix for a parallel but also the plural -*ê* represented in the same way in some of our texts, e. g. 9: 6, 12: 1, 25: 5, and also the proper name דדביה 31: 2.

[1] Also on an Abraxas gem, see *Dict. de l'archéologie chrétienne*, i, 141.

I can find no other interpretation of this unique name-form. A note upon it was published in the *Museum Journal* of the University, 1910 no. 2, which called forth some private criticisms from scholars (along with assents), but no better explanation has been offered. (Is there a possible explanation in the יהביה noticed to 7: 8?). In the first amulet in my paper "Some Early Amulets from Palestine," *JAOS,* 1911, *272,* line 16, יהביה is apparently to be read for the divine Name, a proof of western connections for the present form.

איצפנדרמיד: cf. Glossary B for other forms. The name occurs in Ellis 1, where it was first recognized by Levy, *ZDMG,* ix, 470, 486, its correct interpretation (as Spenta-Armaita, a daughter of Ahuramazda) being given by G. Hoffmann, "Auszüge aus syrischen Acten," *Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes,* 1880, 128; see also Justi, p. 308. For the mother's name Prof. Kent suggests to me comparison with Ἑρμόδωρος, see Fick, *Griech. Personennamen,* 112.

8. פשיטנא: cf. 2: 5.

No. 27 (CBS 16041)

בישמך מרי אסואתה (2) אסיא רבא דרחמי אזילנא אנא יזידאד (3) בר איזדנדוך בחילי דנפשי בקומתי נציצתא (4) דפרזלא קרקפתי דפרזלא כולה קומתי דנורא דכיא ולבישנא (5) לבושא דארמסא דביא ומללא וחלינא במאן דיברא שמיא וארעא אזלית פנעית (6) בהון בסנאי בישי ובבעילדבבי מרירי אמרית להון דאם מידעם חטיתון ביה (7) ביתי אנא יזידאד בר איזדנדוך בי קשתא גאיבנא לכון. ובי יתרא פשיטנא לכון תוב מידעם חטיתון (8) ביה ביתהּ תוב אנא מירדוך בת באנא אשיפנא לכון באישפא דימָא ובאישפא דליויתן תנינא תוב מידעם חטיתון (9) בידידי אנא יזיזדאד בר איזדנדוך מחיתנא עליכון שמתא גזירתא ואהרמתא דאחיתנא על חירמון טורא ועל ליויתן תנינא ועל סדום (10) ועל עמורה מיטול דלמיכְבִּש דִיוי אזילנא ורוחי בישאתא ולישן חומרי זידניאתה אנא יזידאד בר איזדנדוך אזלית פנעית בהון (11) בשידי בדיוי בליליאתא בישאתא בפתכרי זיכרי באיסתראתה ניקבאתה כד קימין סידרי סידרי מרפדי מרפדי . . . עליהון . . . . . .

Commentary

After the introductory appeal, "In thy name, O Lord of salvations," etc., the inscription for lines 2b-11 is practically identical with No. 2. This portion does not need translation and commentary. The remaining lines, 13-24, are so mutilated or obscure, that I can make out but few connected passages in them, and hence I do not present them.

There are a few slight differences between the parallel texts, this one being probably more correct. The most considerable variation in text is in l. 9, where the sorcerer says that *he* laid the ban upon Hermon; cf. my note to 2: 6. The same Yezîdâd bar Izdandûch and his wife Merdûch bath Banâi, appear in No. 7. There they are the subjects of the charm, here Yezîdâd operates magic in his own name. Cf. the mutual character of the charm in No. 2. In l. 8 the wife also takes up the exorcism.

No. 28 (CBS 2972)

בישמיך מרי שמיא וארעה מזמן כסא לישמיה דאנור . . דְ בר פרכוי דנישתיחן ונישתנר ונישתבב (2) בתר אחת בת נבאזך אמין כיבשי עלמא לא איתכבישו אילא על . . . וְשַׁכְּבְנַלְיָהּ דבר אינשא בליביה דוך . . . . . (3) נסבין חִרְךְ וַאֲחרוניאתא דקרי ענני שימשא מטללן ונורייא כללהּ . . . . . ינהו[ן] ורזי רחמתא דְפַרסתנון על ב. . . . . (4) היא תיפרוסינון על הדאין [אנור. . .] בר פרכוי עד דנישתיחן ונישתבב בתר אחת [בת נ']..... ובי שוחאה וברזי רחמתא בדיל ד . . . . . (5) . . . . לא פסקין מין ליביה וקיטרא..... דְוַכְרְנַיְהּ בשמיה דרחמיאל מלאכה ובשמה דדלִיבת עזיזתא . . . . . אֵילהי מְרתהון דרזי כולהון אמין אמין . . . . .

Translation

In thy name, O Lord of heaven and earth. Appointed is this bowl to the account of Anûr ... bar Parkôi, that he be inflamed and kindled and burn (2) after Aḥath bath Nebâzak. Amen.

Everlasting presses which have only been pressed upon (?) ..... a man in his heart. (3) Take *ḥrk*, and hot herbs (?) which they call sunwort (?), *mṭlln* and peppers ..... them and the rites of love which thou (?) hast sprinkled upon ..... (4) She shall sprinkle them upon this Anûr ... b. P. until that he be inflamed and burn after Aḥath b. N. ..... and in lust and in the mysteries of love, in order that ..... (5) ..... take pieces from his heart and the charm ..... his name (?). In the name of the angel Raḥmiel and in the name of Dlîbat the passionate, ... the gods, the lords of all the mysteries. Amen, Amen, ...

Commentary

A love-charm—such is the import of this sadly mutilated but interesting bowl. It belongs to the same class of magic as No. 13, but is more romantic, for there we find a charm for a childless, neglected wife, here one for a passionate woman to bring her lover to her side. For the use of a bowl for such a *defixio* see above p. 44. The first copyist was able to

read more than I can now, as, since it was in his hands, the bowl has been cracked and then repaired. The lacunae in the text are tantalizing.

So far as the text is legible, the charm which names the two parties adjures the passion of the beloved. Some praxis is described, a simulacrum is evidently used, for "his heart is to be torn in pieces," and on this image is to be scattered some kind of salad of hot herbs expressive of love's passion, while the beloved's name is to be formally pronounced.

Blau has collected the Talmudic material on philtres in his *Zauberwesen,* 24, 52, 158, 167; n. b. the recitation of Bible verses over the love-apple, p. 52, n. 2 (with literature). In the Old Testament we have mere references to this aphrodisiac (*Gen.* 30: 14 ff., *Cant.* 7: 14) without any note as to magical manipulation. For later Jewish use, see the numerous philtres prescribed in Thompson, "Folk Lore of Mossoul," *PSBA,* 1906-7.

But it is from the classical and Hellenistic field that we have most knowledge of this amatory magic, and the connections of the present text are found in that direction. Of course Theocritus's second Idyll comes to mind, in which the love-lorn maiden casts the various philtres into the fire with adjurations of Hecate. For this classical field I may refer to the monograph of O. Hirschfeld, *De incantamentis et devinctionibus amatoriis apud Graecos Romanosque* (Ratisbon, 1863); see p. 42 for aphrodisiac herbs; also see section 8 (p. 233) of Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius.*

In the magical papyri numerous erotic incantations are preserved, e. g. in the Paris Papyrus in Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften* hist.-phil. Class, xxxvi, l. 2622 ff., xli, p. 52, l. 976 ff.[1] But the most graceful and famous of these charms is that inscribed on a lead plate found at Hadrumetum, N. Africa,—buried in a necropolis, just as our bowl was buried in the earth. First edited by Maspero, it has been since frequently published: Wünsch, *CIA, App. continens defixionum tabellas,* p. xvii; Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae,* no. 271; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien,* 21, and *Bible Studies,* 271; Blau, *op. cit.* 96; Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln,* no. 5. It is Blau's merit to have specially pointed out the Jewish connection of this text. Now, between this Hellenistic charm and our bowl we find an almost literal

[1] I may add now F. Boll, "Griechischer Liebeszauber aus Aegypten auf zwei Bleitafeln," in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Heidelberg Academy, phil.-hist. Class, 1910, no. 2.

correspondence in the trinity of terms for the passion adjured in the lover. With our invocation that the man "be enflamed and kindled and burn after" the girl, compare the longing of the Greek maiden Domitiana that her lover come *ἐρῶντα μαινόμενον βασανιζόμενον*, or *ἐρῶντα μαινόμενον βασανιζόμενον*, or *ἐρ. βασ. ἀγρυπνοῦντα* —repetitions like those in our texts. With this probably technical formula compare the second of the charms cited above by Wessely: May X do naught until *ἐλθοῦσα πρός με τὸν δεῖνα πληροφοροῦσα ἀγαπῶσα στεργοῦσα εμέ, κ. τ. λ.* Also in our l. 4 there is an echo of Domitiana's wish that he come *ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ ἐρωτι καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ*, while the formula "to the name," l. 1, and the use of "heart," l. 2, indicate Greek connections.

How much Jewish, how much Grecian, the Hadrumetum tablet is, it is difficult to determine. Our text shows manifest ties with the love-magic of the Hellenistic world and is the eastern representative of the philtres of which the North African text is the most notable western example. The spirit of both these texts is Greek rather than Semitic; but the fame of Jewish magic appears to have made its solemn formulas eligible for the desires of passion. Our text, it is to be noticed, is not at all Jewish in religion, is of more simple original type than the African charm.

For the praxis of our text I may compare a Moorish love-charm cited by Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1908, p. 253: "A woman who wishes to gain the love of a man should procure the following materials from neighbors with whom she has never eaten: coriander, caraway, gum of terebinth, lime, cummin, verdegris, myrrh, some blood of an animal whose throat has been cut, and a piece of a broom hailing from a cemetery. On a dark night she is to go into the country with a lighted brazier and throw these different articles one after another into the fire speaking these words: O coriander, bring him mad! O caraway, bring him wandering without success! O mastic, raise in his heart anguish and tears! O white lime, make his heart wakeful in disquietude! O cummin, bring him possessed! O verdegris, kindle the fire of his heart! O myrrh, make him spend a frightful night! O blood of the victim, lead him panting! O cemetery broom, bring him to my side." Etc.

1. לישמיה = *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, and see Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu,"* 95 ff., and his definition of the phrase as indicating "die Zueignung an eine Person

unter irgend welchem Gebrauch ihres Namens" (p. 107, and at length, pp. 100-110). As he shows, the usage before us is not Semitic or even Septuagintal. Cf. also Böhmer, *Das biblische "Im Namen,"* 4.

נבאזך, אנור..ך: ?

2. כבשי עלמא: I translate the words without any certain sense. For the noun כ׳ see to 7: 1. If צלמא might be read, the reference could be to a moulded (כבש, "press") figure representing the lover. Below in l. 4 the space before the man's name may have contained "image of," or the like. The latter part of the line is most obscure. The "heart" (also l. 5) appears as the seat of sexual affection. This is a Greek usage, not Semitic (with the possible exception of the Hebrew phrase דבר על לב, used five times with a woman as the object). See Andry, *Le coeur,* 5, for the Greek idea of the heart as the amatory organ, p. 15 ff., for the late Semitic use. P. 17 he quotes a Spanish Arabic poet who speaks gallantly of being wounded to the heart, but the metaphor is that of a mortal wound.[3]

3. I translate the ppl. נסבין, as also פסקין l. 5, as imperatives; cf. Rabbinic and Syriac usage.

חרך וג׳: to this list of aphrodisiacs the clue is given by גורייא (יא- = pl. ending, as in Mandaic), which is the *piper candidus* (Payne Smith, col. 2303); its pungency was evidently regarded as possessing erotic power and symbolism. Then חרך, if the reading be correct, and אחרוניתא are to be explained in the same way from their roots, חרך, חרה, "burn." ענני שימשא doubtless lies in the same circle of ideas. May מטללן be mushrooms? Loew's *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* does not contain these words. The "rites of love" are the magical practices.

4. שיחאה: I compare Syriac שיחנותא (*sub* שוח). "boldness, lasciviousness"; the ending *â'â* for *âyâ?*

5. פסקין מין ליביה: פ׳ a noun, or better a ppl. like נסבין, l. 3. The phrase is simplest interpreted as a reference to the lady's slowly tearing to pieces the facsimile of her lover's heart, with the intent that he perish of love; cf. again Theocritus's second Idyll.

[3] Cf. the phrase quoted in Lane's *Dictionary,* 782: "she has overturned my heart and torn my midriff."

דוכרניה: the lover's name is to be pronounced. For the angel Raḥmiel see to No. 13.

דליבת : one of the Mandaic forms of Dilbat, a name of the Babylonian Ishtar, especially in her stellar capacity as Venus. For the Mandaic forms, see Brandt, *Mand. Schr.*, 45, 85; also in Hesychius as Δελεφατ, and in Bar Baḥlul as דלבת.[3] For this form, see Nöldeke,, *Mand. Gram.* § 25. For the Babylonian use see Jensen, *Kosmologie,* 18, and the latest discussion by Jastrow, *ZA,* 1908, 155. As the goddess of love her patronage is appropriate. The epithet עזיזתא (cf. 38: 7) recalls the Babylonian *ezzu,* a frequent epithet of gods, while Ishtar especially appears as the raging goddess, whether of war, in Assyria, or of love, in the Izdubhar epic. The same epithet became the old Arabian name of the morning-star, al-'uzza, (Wellhausen *Skizzen,* III, 41, Nöldeke, *ZDMG,* xli, 710, the identification denied by W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, 57). The Edessene עזיז was originally the morning-star, Lagrange, *Études,*[3] 135; cf. the Aramaic names עשתרעזא and עשתרתעז (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch,* 347 f.).

[3] So also to be explained דלפת in Schwab, *Vocab.*, 403.

No. 29 (CBS 16055)

..... (2) יהוה צבאות לאסותא [. . . . . מתאניש] (3) בת ראשן דפקק הויה
הויה (4) פשר מְעֻזָן נשנין קציצי אב. רקיעי . . . . . וחתים (5) למתאניש בת ראשן
קמיעה בשמיה דיהוה צבאות למתאניש בת ראשן וצירין (6) מינה מן בנה מן ביתה מן
דירתה כולה פגעין בישין ושידין בישין ולילית בי[ש]תא (7) ובשירה וענקתה . . . . .
כיפתא ומבכלתא ובנתא דברא וטומי ובר ניפלא משבענא [עליכון] (8) מידעם ביש
שרי בביתיה ובדרתיה דחליפאי בר שישין שֵדא ודרשי בראי זאסטרובא הנֵי . . . . .
(9) . . .קיתא חרסום איננע פגע לילי ס.רא וטבא ושידי בני טילי וכל זיקין ומזיקין בישין
דדכרנא שמיה[ון ודלא (10) ד]כרנא שמיהון מומינא ומשבענא ומקימנא וגידנא ומקימנא
עליכון בשמיה מו דקץ שץ מץ בץ קץ קץ בץ . . . . . יֵן (11) אהיה אשר אהיה אלהא
רבא מיצואה שמו הוא אלהא מרי כל אסותא דכורסיה מתקן בי שחקי לשחקים ועלמיה
מתקן ל. . . . . (12) ביהוה ולתושבחיה ולהימנותיה ולעובדיה הוא אלהא רבא גיברא
. . . . . .

Translation

[This bowl is appointed in the name of?] (2) YHWH Sebaoth for the salvation [and sealing? of Metâniš] (3) bath Rêšân ..... (4) ..... and sealed (5) for Metâniš b. R.,—an amulet in the name of YHWH Sebaoth for Metâniš b. R. And bound (6) from her, from her children, from her house, from all her dwelling, are the evil Plagues and evil Demons and the evil and the decent Lilith and the Necklace-spirits and ... Menstruation and Tormentors and the Hags of the wild and Impurities and Epilepsy (?).

We adjure you (8) whatsoever evil thing lodges in the house and dwelling of Ḥaliphâi bar Šiššîn ... and Darši the foreigner and Astrôbâ ..... (9) ..... Leprosy, Plague, Stroke, the kindly and ... Lili, and the Demons, ghostly Shades, and all Goblins and evil Injurers whose names I have mentioned and whose names [I have not] (10) mentioned: I exorcise and adjure and make fast and bind and make fast (*sic*) upon you, in the name of MW, of ḲṢ, ŠṢ, MṢ, BṢ, KṢ, KṢ, BṢ, ... (11) I-am-that-I-am, the great God, Meṣôâh his name. He is God, the Lord of all Salvation, whose throne is established between the ethers and his eternity (world?)

is established for ..... (12) in YHWH and for his praise and the faith in him and his service. He is the great, the mighty God.

COMMENTARY

A charm made out for two different parties, (1) a woman Metâniš and her household, and (2) for several men and their house and quarters. These may be lodgers in the woman's house. One of the men is a "foreigner." The tone of piety in the charm is superior to that of the other texts; the incantation is in the name of YHWH Sebaoth alone, whose praises are dwelt upon in almost liturgical fashion.

1. The charm appears to have a double introduction. Most of ll. 3, 4 is unintelligible.

5. מתאניש:?—ראשן: possibly the father's name, Syriac ראשנא, "prince." One is tempted to compare the name of the famous Roxane; the masc. parallel Roxanes = Persian Rôšan, Justi, p. 262. But the *ô* should be indicated.

6. לי בי וכשירה: see above, p. 76. בי may be euphemistic and then have developed into a distinct species. Cf. the epithet טאבא in l. 9.

7. כיפסא: Syriac *kepsâ*.—בנתא דברא: cf. 17: 3.—טומי: Syriac טאומא.

בר ניפלא: one might think, in the context, of abortion. But in the Talmud בן נפילים is a demon of nervous trouble or epilepsy, *Bekor.* 44b; see Grünbaum *ZDMG*, xxxi, 332 for some discussion of the word. Epilepsy was a most common disease in antiquity; n. b. the miracles in the New Testament, and for the Hellenic world cf. Tambornino, *De antiquorum daemonismo*, 57: often equivalent to insanity. It has been generally supposed that the Jews were particularly subject to this disease; M. Fishberg in *The Jews*, London and New York, 1911, denies this, but admits the nervous pathology of the race (chap. xv). Cf. 16: 8 for another disease cited in *Bekor.* 44.

8. דרתיה: alongside of דירי, l. 6; the form appears in the Syriac and Mandaic bowls.

חליפאי = Palmyrene חלימי; for signification, cf. מחלפתא.

שישין : cf. the Persian (?) names Sisines, Sisinnios, Šišôi, Justi, p. 303; on the etymology of Sisines see Nöldeke, *Pers. Studien*, 404, no. 1.

Cf. the Jewish names שישא and שישנא, *Seder ha-Doroth,* ii, 348 f. Also in Pognon B (where שעשין) it is the name of the parent—mother or father? Is שידא an additional name? Of רשי we learn only that he is a foreigner. Also אסטרובא is evidently a Greek name.

9. אינגע: the demon offspring of Adam are called בני אדם נגעי in the Zohar, Eisenmenger, ii, 422.

חרסום: for this formation, see Levias, *Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom ... in the Bab. Talmud,* § 975. For similar eruptive diseases named in these texts, see p. 93.

בני טילא: epithet of the goblins; Rabb. טולא, Syr. *ṭellâ,* "shadow." Cf. the טלני, Targ. *Cant.* 3: 8, etc.

The lacuna at end of the line is supplied by help of 14: 6.

10. For the dominance of sibilants in these magical words cf. p. 60. At the begining and end of the series are characters enclosed in square lines.

11. בי: for בין, as also in the Talmud. There follows a lapse into Hebrew—probably a citation.

שחקים: one of the seven heavens of Kabbalism.

12. תושבחיה: for תושבחתיה?

עובריה: it is strange to find this word of magical connotation used of true worship in a Jewish text.

No. 30 (CBS 16096)

אסר וחתים ומחאתם ביתא וחיי דנא אישפיזא בר ארחא וינדונדישנט בר (2) איסיפנדרמיד
ותר . . [ב]ת סימכוי מן שאמיש וכיטא מן דיוא מן סאטנא מן שדא דכירא (3) מן
ליליתא נקיבתא מן רוחין בישין מן חומרא זידניתא מן רוח ליליתא דיכרא ואנקבתא
עינאנא דיכרא (4) נקבתא עינא חאסדניתא עינא דחזי אף בית ליבא רזא דאו דידיה
חיל בישין הוא מרא זנותא מן חיל ביש (5) סניא מן חזינא ט[רו]דא מן רוחין בישין
מן הוא מרא זאדנותה בשם אתאחשת . . . . . .

Translation

Bound and sealed are the house and the life of this Išpîzâ bar Arhâ, and Yandundišnaṭ bar (2) Ispandarmêd, and ... bath Simkôi, from the Sun and Heat, from the Devil, the Satan, the male Demon (3) the female Lilith, evil Spirits, the impious Amulet-spirit, the lilith-Spirit male or female; the Eye of man (or) (4) woman; the Eye of contumely; the Eye which looks right into the heart; the mystery which belongs to the evil Potency, that impious lord; from the evil hateful Potency; from disturbing Vision; from evil Spirits; from that impious Lord, in the name of .....

Commentary

A charm for two men and a woman from certain specified diseases and demons. The inscription is illiterate and the script particularly difficult, the writer using a very individual chirography; n. b. the מ, the non-distinction of ד and ר, the א which often consists of but two upright strokes, and the use of one form for internal and finial נ except in the word מן, where a finial is used.

1. אסר: for אסיר.

אישפיזא: cf. the Syriac אשפז (Ašpâz) for the Hebrew אשפנז in Dan. 1: 3. (אספנז occurs in Myhrman, l. 1, to which I cite the Babylonian

Ašpazanda.). The Persian אשפוא is "house," and אישפיזכיא "steward." May it be an abbreviated form of the latter word?[1]

ארחא: cf. the biblical Araḥ, a post-exilic name.

ינדונדישנט: so the most likely reading of the name.

2. סימכוי: the characters are uncertain. Cf. Σειμεικος in a Greek inscription from the Don, = Persian simikos, "silver"; Justi, p. 294.

שאמיש וכיטא: the first word is the Mandaic spelling for "the Sun," which also in the Mandaic religion is regarded as an evil genius. כיטא = קיטא, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 42. Cf. Ps. 121: 6, 91: 6, and see Grünbaum's discussion of the קטב מרירי, the demon of the midday sun, *ZDMG*, xxxi, 251 f.

דכירא: an error for דיכרא (cf. l. 3), or intended for assonance with נקיבתא. Cf. the unabashed spellings in Samaritan literature to produce rhymes. Or is there a play on the roots, דכר and נקב being used in the sense of "name"?—i. e. the named spirits.

3. רוח לילית: cf. N. T. *πνεῦμα δαίμονος*.

עינאנא: the last two letters are dittography. There follows a list of various kinds of "evil eye," for which see p. 86.

4. עינא חאסדניתא: so the most likely reading; cf. Lidz. 4, end, עינא חוסראנא (?).

"The eye that sees (or of those that see) within the heart" is a reference to the uncanny effect of the evil eye.

In what follows some corrections are necessary. דאו = דהו ?; for חיל בישין read ח׳ ביש as farther on, and correct זנותא to זאדנותא with l. 5. There is evidently a repetition of phrases. The חיל ביש (like the עין בישא) is the personification of the power operating these psychological wonders. Cf. the Rabbinic כחות (Joel, *Der Aberglaube*, i, 80), the New Testament *δυνάμεις*.

חזינא טרודא = חלמי שנושי, 24: 4.

At the end of l. 5 comes a long series of characters which do not appear to form words.

[1] According to Karmsedin's Lexicon, quoted by Payne-Smith under the latter word; *in lingua Nabathaea est oeconomius et viatorum exceptor*, etc. Observe the accompanying name ארחא.

No. 31 (CBS 9008)

מזמן הנא כאסא לחתמתא (2) דביתה דהנא דאדביה בר אסמנדוכת (3) דתיזה מנה ומן ביתה מבכלתא (4) ולוטתא וחילמא בישא בישא אסירין מזרזין ומשררין (5) מהילין מגנברין ומחתמין ומנטרין הלין כאסא לחתמתא (6) דביתה דהנא דאדבה בר אסמנדוכת דלא נישרון לחדדא בשום יאהיהו (7) נהרבתמן ס מרעם מרמר אות ששביבות אסתר מותא ישהנאה אה אה אה אהה (8) אאאאאאא אמין אמין סלה הללויה +++++++ ניתחתים וניתנטר ביתה (9) ואנתתא ובנה דהנא דאדבה בר אסמנדוכת ותיזה מנה ומן ביתה מבכלתא ולוטתא וחילמא (10) בישא אמין

Translation

This bowl is designated for the sealing (2) of the house of this Dâdbeh bar Asmandûcht, (3) that from him and his house may remove the Tormentor (4) and the Curse and the very evil Dreams. Charmed; fortified and confirmed, (5) corroborated, strengthened and sealed and guarded are these bowls for the sealing (6) of the house of this Dâhbeh b. A., that they may not lodge together (with them). In the name of Yâhihû (7) NHRBTMW, S, MR'S, MRMR, 'oth Šašbiboth, Astar, Mûtâ. YŠHN'H, Ah, Ah, Ah, Ahah, (8) AAAAAAA, Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallulia.

Sealed and guarded shall be the house (9) and wife and sons of this Dâdbeh b. A., that there may remove from him and his house the Tormentor and the Curse and evil Dreams. Amen.

Commentary

For a general discussion of the epigraphy and language of this and the following Syriac bowls (Nos. 31-37), see Introduction, § 6. The crosses in l. 8 are the same as those which occur in the center "seals" of these Syriac bowls.

1. מזמן וגי: cf. 8: 1, and see to 3: 1.

2. Dâdbeh son of Asmanducht appears also in Nos. 12 and 16. Here the latter name appears in full Persian form, *-dûcht*.

3. תיזה = תיזח: see to 4: 6.

4. מזרזין: see to 4: 6.

5. מהילין: for מח׳.-באסא הלין with reference to the four duplicate bowls.

6. יאהיאו: a play on the Tetragrammaton, with the three primary vowels; cf. the magical use of the seven vowels in Greek; there αηω is also found, Paris Pap., l. 3019 ff.

No. 32 (CBS 16086)

מזמן הנא כאסא לחתמתא דביתה (2) ודאנתתה ודבנה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד דתיזה
מנה מבכלתא (3) וחלמא בישא פורא רמינא ושקינא עבודא דעביד הוהוא (4) כי הוא
דיתיב רב יישוע בר פרחיא וכתב עליהון דסתבירא על כלהון שידא ודיוא (5) וסטנא
וללית ולטבא דאית בביתה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד תוב כתב עליהון דסתבירא דלעלם
(6) בשום אתמדג אתאתות אתות מן גו ת אתות אתות שמא גיליונא מן גו גיליונא
דבהנהון איתכביש (7) שמיא וארעה וטורא ובהנהון איתמר רמא[תא] ובהנהון איתמסר
[חרשא שידא] ודיוא וסטנא וללית ולטבא (8) ובהנהון עבר מן עלמא וסליק עליכון
למרומא ואיתאלף כל קיבלא חביל[א] לחבלותא ואסי.א [לאפק]כון (9) [מן ב]יתה
דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד ומן כל דאיתלה שביקית[ון] בדסתבירא ואסיר [וח]תים ומחתם
איכין דש[ירא קדמיא לא כר]יבו (10) ואנשא קדמיא דעוטר לא הוו תוב אסיר חתים
ומחתם הנא דסתבירא בשום יהיהיהיה יהיה עא [אמין אמין סלה (11) ניתח]תים
וניתנטר ביתה ודורה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ותיתחתים
ותיתנטר [אנתתה ובנה] (12) מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ונידרא ונ . . . . . ל
הל.ה אמין

Translation

This bowl is designated for the sealing of the house and the wife (2) and the children of Dinôi bar Ispandarmêd, that there remove from him the Tormentor (3) and evil Dreams.

The bowl I deposit and sink down, a work which has been made (4) like that which Rab Jesus bar Perahia sat and wrote against them,—a ban-writ against all the Demons and Devils (5) and Satans and Liliths and *Laṭbê* which are in the house of Dinôi b. I. Again: he wrote against them a ban-writ which is for all time, (6) by the virtue of 'TMDG, Atâtôt Atôt, within T(?), Atôt Atôt the name, a writing within a writing. Through which (words) were subjected (7) heaven and earth and the mountains; and through which the heights were commanded; and through which were fettered Arts, Demons and Devils and Satans and Liliths and *Laṭbê;* (8) and through which he passed over from this world and climbed above you

to the height (of heaven) and learned all counter-charms, a ruin to destruction, and ... to bring you forth (9) from the house of Dînôi b. I., and from all that is in his house, I have dismissed you by the ban-writ. And charmed and sealed and countersealed is it, even as ancient runes fail not, (10) and (like) ancient men who are not ... Again: charmed and sealed and countersealed is this ban-writ by the virtue of YHYHYHYHYH, YHYH, YHYH, A'. Amen, Amen, Selah.

(11) Sealed and protected are the house and dwelling of Dînôi b. I. from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse. And sealed and protected be [his wife and son] (12) from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and Curse and Vows and ..... Hallela, Amen.

Commentary

Nos. 32 and 33 certain practically identical inscriptions, except that they are made out in the name of different clients, and that No. 32 has additional matter at the beginning and the end. This identity is fortunate for the interpretation of the two bowls, for the lacunae in each one can be almost wholly supplied from the other. Also No. 35 is made out for the wife of the client of the present charm. The chirography of all three bowls is the same, being more cursive than the script of No. 31.

The charms effected in this and the following bowl are attributed to a certain master magician, Jesus bar Perahia, evidently the Joshua ben Perahia, who appears in the same capacity in Nos. 8, 9, and 17. Now Joshua ben Perahia is one of the several *Zugoth* or Pairs, who handed down the tradition of the Law from the Great Synagogue; and he flourished in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, in the early part of the first century B. C. The Mishnaic reference to him is found in *Pirke Aboth* 1: 7, where the following *dictum* is attributed to him: "Make unto thyself a master, and possess thyself of an associate, and judge every man on the scale of merit."

Further, an interesting Talmudic tradition concerning the same Joshua appears in uncensored editions, according to which he fled into Egypt to escape the cruel persecution instituted by Alexander against the Pharisees, culminating in the crucifixion of eight hundred of that faction, *circa* 88

B. C.[1] The tradition is of added interest because it connects Joshua with a certain ישו whose identity with Jesus of Nazareth is generally recognized.[2]

The passage in *Sanh.* 107b reads as follows: The rabbis taught: The left hand should always push away, and the right hand receive favorably. Not like Elisha, who drove away Gehazi with both hands, nor like Joshua b. P. who drove off Jesus (in the Munich MS., and in *Soṭa* ישו חנוצרי, i. e. Jesus the Nazarene)..... How was that? When king Jannaeus killed the rabbis, R. Joshua b. P. and Jesus went to Alexandria of Egypt. When peace was established, Simeon b. Šeṭaḥ sent a message to him: From Jerusalem the Holy City to thee Alexandria of Egypt, my sister: My husband is lodged in thee, and I sit desolate.—He (Joshua) arose, and came, and lodged at a certain inn, where they paid him great respect. He said: How fair is this inn (*aksania*). He (Jesus) said to him, Rabbi, her eyes (as though by *aksania* the landlady was meant!) are too bleary. He replied to him: Thou knave, thou busiest thyself with such stuff! He brought forth four hundred horns and excommunicated him. He (Jesus) came in his presence many a time, and said, Receive me; he took no notice of him. One day he was reading the Shema, Jesus again presented himself, thinking he would receive him. He made a sign to him with his hand, he thought that he had utterly rejected him. He went off and erected a tile and worshipped it. Joshua said to him, Repent. He replied, I have been taught by thee that every sinner and seducer of the people can find no opportunity for repentance. And so it was said: Jesus bewitched and seduced and drove off Israel.

It is of interest that the Jesus of our texts is given a title which became the epithet of the Nazarene Jesus with whom Talmudic tradition connected him: ישוע אסיא, 34: 2, = Ἰησοῦς σωτήρ. Is there in this magical reference to Jesus b. Perahia a confusion with Jesus Christ?

We find then in these magical bowls an independent tradition concerning an early hero of the Law, who appears as endowed with magic powers, and who furthermore was able to make the ascent of the soul to heaven. He was accordingly one of the earliest to attain that spiritual

[1] See Schürer, *GJV*[4], i, 288.

[2] The anecdote is found in *Sanhedrin* 107b = *Soṭa* 47a; cf. Jerusalem Talmud *Ḥagiga*, ii, 2, *Sanh.* vi, 8. Dalman, in Laible's *Jesus Christus im Talmud*[2], Appendix, p. 8 ff., gives the texts of the first three passages, with critical apparatus, and Strack, *Jesus, die Häretiker u. d. Christen*, 1910, § 8, gives the texts from *Ḥagiga*, and the Bab. *Sanhedrin*. Through the kindness of Dr. Julius H. Greenstone, I have also had access to his rare copy of the Constantinople edition, 1585, of *Sanhedrin*. Dalman quotes the Venetian editions of the two Talmuds, and the *Jewish Encyclopaedia, s. v.* "Joshua b. P." cites the Amsterdam and Berlin edition of 1865 for the passage in *Soṭa*. On the criticism of the legend concerning Jesus, see Laible, p. 40 ff., and Strack, *ad loc.* The Jerusalem Talmud names Juda b. Tabai in place of Joshua (they were contemporaries) and omits mention of Jesus. Cf. Blau, p. 34, for some points of interpretation. The introduction of Jesus is a sheer anachronism.

privilege, which was the claim of apocalyptists from the author of *Enoch* down. See in general Bousset, "Die Himmelreise d. Seele," in *Archiv f. Rel-wissenschaft,* iv (1901), 136 f., 229 f. Such a claim is made for Akiba, who alone of four friends succeeded in penetrating Paradise, *Ḥagiga* 14b (see Bousset, p. 145), and this mystical claim was asserted by the Kabbalists for Moses and especially for R. Ishmael; see full references in Bousset, p. 151 ff., cf. Graetz, *Gesch.* v, 231 and Joel, *Aberglaube,* ii, 35. The Talmudic tradition has unfortunately not preserved for us enough of the mystical side of the early teachers; Akiba could not have been alone in his mysticism. Joshua was possibly one of the good company of apocalyptists and our magic tradition may preserve a true reminiscence of his personality and claims.

2. בנה: plural with masc. sing. suffix, as in the texts above and in Mandaic.

דינוי: s. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien,* 403.

3. פורא רמינא וג': see to 9: 1. I may now add the Syriac פוחרא, "earthenware figures" (of the gods), occurring in Overbeck, *Ephraemi Syri ... opera,* 13, l. 24. Compare also the Assyrian *pûru,* "bowl," see Zimmern, *Beiträge,* 147, note k, and *KAT*[3], 518: but my etymology contravenes that of Zimmern.

עבורא: so also in No. 33; elsewhere עברא, עובדא, מעבדא.

הוהוא: a duplicated form of the pronoun, found in the Syriac.

4. כי: a preposition appearing in the Rabbinic dialect, not in Syriac.

יישוע: the spelling represents the older pronunciation, the Biblical יֵשׁוּעַ, Ἰησοῦς, the Jacobite Yêšû, over against the Nestorian Išû.

דסתבירא: Prof. Roland G. Kent, to whom I referred this word, has published an elaborate study of it in *JAOS,* 1911, 359. He comes to the conclusion that it means "a handwritten deterrent," from *dast,* "hand" + *bhîra* (Sansk.), "terrifying." The word occurs only here and in No. 33.

5. לטבא: see to 9: 7.

6. The same magical reference appears in No. 32. For the practice see the more perfect form in 9: 6.

הנהון : a unique spelling (occurring also in the parallel, No. 33, along with הנון), for the Syriac *hennôn.* It is an elder form and is to be compared with the Rabbinic אינהו, see Levias, *Grammar,* § 95.

7. איתמר: corresponding to both Syriac and Rabbinic forms.

איתמסר: from a denominative verb, arising from the root אסר. Payne-Smith, col. 2181, gives a citation for מסר, = *vinxit catenis vel compedibus,* with which may be compared ממסרנותא, *actus ligationis, ib.* col. 324. Also cf. מצר, Glossary C.

8. חבילא: also found in 37: 11 and in Lidzbarski, *Mand. Amulet,* l. 33 (de Vogüé volume).

לאפקכן: for the infinitive, cf. 9: 8.

איכין = Syriac *aikannâ;* the good Syriac איך appears in the parallel 34: 4. What follows is not perfectly clear. By the "ancient songs" (שירא rare in Syriac), are meant charms (i. e. *carmina*), such as the master Jesus b. P. once used. But the following clause remains obscure because of the unintelligible דעוטר.

10. אנשא: cf. the Rabbinic אינשי, which Nöldeke (*Mand. Gram.,* 182) understands as *ênâšê,* not *inšê.* The Syriac rarely uses the plural in the sense of "men."

No. 33 (CBS 16019)

פורא רמינא ושקינא (2) עבודא דעביד הוהוא כי הוא (3) דיתיב רב יישוע בר פרחיא וכתב (4) עליהון דסתבירא על כלהון שידא ודיוא וסטנא (5) וללִיתא ולטבא דאית בביתה דדאדבה בר אסמנדוכת (6) תוב כתב עליהון דסתבירא דלעלם בשום אתמדג אתאתות (7) אתו[ת מן נו ת] אתות אתות שמא [ני]ליונא מן גו גיליונא דבהנהון איתכביש (8) שמ[יא וארע]א וטוראּ ובהנון איתמר רמאתא ובהנון איתמסר חרשא שידא (9) ודי[וא וסט]נא וללִיתא ולטבא וב[הנון ע]בר מן עלמא וסליק עליכון למרומא ואיתאל[ה כל] (10) קיבלא חבילא לחבלותא [ואסִ.א] לאפקכון מן ביתה דדאדבה בר אסמנדוכת (11) ומן כול דאיתלה שביקיתון בדסתב[ירא ואסיר ו]חתים ומחתם איכין דשירא קרמיא לא כדיבו (12) ואנשא קדמיא דעוטר לא הוו תוב אסיר חתים ומחתם הנא דסתבירא בשום יהיהיה יהיה יהיה עא (13) אמין אמין סל[ה] ניתחתים וניתנטר ביתה דה[נא דאדבה בר אס]מנדוכת ואנתתה בנה ובנתה וקנינה מן מבכלתא ולוטתא אמין

This inscription is practically contained in No. 32, with a change in the name of the client, who is the same as the one in the Syriac No. 31 and Nos. 12, 16.

No. 34 (CBS 9012)

מזמן חנא כאסא לחתומין ביתה דמיחר חורמיזד בר מאמי (2) בחיל חיל דיישוע אסיא בחיל אחני תקיפא אסיר דורה ומשכונתה (3) וביתה ואנחתה ובנהּ ובנתהּ דמיחר חורמיזד דמיתקרא בר מאמי אסיר וחתים (4) איך דאמר מושאּ לימא דסוף וקמו איך שורא דמן תרויהון ניסן אסיר וחתים אסיר וחתים (5) בהדא מלתא דאשכבה אלהא לארעה ולאֵילנא דרדעין לאמריהון אסיר וחתים באסור טוראּ ורמאתאּ (6) אסיר וחתים בנוֵ שמיא וארעא שמשא וסהרא כוכבאּ ומזלאּ ובמלתא אסירין ובפוקדנא קימין בשום (7) מכיאיל אסיא ורופיאיל מדוליא וגבריאיל עבדא דאדוני אסירא וחתימא כולהּ בישותא דאית דאית בפגרה דמיחר חורמיזד בר מאמי (8) בביתה אנתתה ובנהּ ובנתאּ ובירה וקנינה ובכל דורה בחתמה דארין בר זנד ובעיזקתה דשלימון מלכא בר דויד (9) דבה חתימין עשמאּ ולטבאּ וחתימנא בחתמא דאילשדי ואברכסס מריא תקיפא וחתמא רבא דחתימין בה שמיא וארעא וכל שידאּ (10) ועיקדאּ טמיאּ ולטבאּ מנה מן קדמה וחתמא הנא לאכערון ועל קמתא ומיעלא לא נעילון וכל דמקר ושיט ושרא אתסר באסור (11) נורא ובשישלן כיא עדמא למשרא שמיא וארעא אמין אמין סלה ניתחתים וניתנטר ביתה ואנתתה ובנהּ וקנינה ופגרה דמיחר חורמיזד (12) בר מאמי ותיזה מנה מבכלתא וחלמאּ בישאּ ולוטתא ונידרא וחרשאּ ומבכלתא וינאּ וחוסרנאּ ותובאּ ומיסכינותא ותיתחתים ותיתנטר בחרוי בת בת סהדאּ (13) מן מבכלתא וחלמאּ בישאּ ולוטתא ונידרא וחרשאּ ומעבדאּ ותיתסר מבכלתא ולליתא ומשמתתא ומבטלתא בידהּ וברגלהּ ולא תקרוב להּ (14) ולא תיחטר בהּ בהדא בחרוי בת בת סהדאּ אמין

Translation

This bowl is designated for the sealing of the house of Mihr-hormizd bar Mâmî (2) by power of the virtue of Jesus the healer, by the virtue of my mighty relative. Charmed is the dwelling, and the abode (3) and the house and the wife and the sons and the daughters of Mihr-hormizd, who is surnamed b. M.; charmed and sealed (4) even as Moses commanded the Red Sea and they (the waters) stood up like a wall on both sides. Charmed and sealed, charmed and sealed, (5) by this word which God

laid upon the earth and the trees which... their tops; charmed and sealed with the seal of the mountains and heights; (6) charmed and sealed (with the spell which is) in the heavens and the earth, the sun and the moon, the stars and (zodiacal) signs, and by the word they are charmed and remain in ward. In the name of (7) Michael the healer and Rofiel the reliever, and Gabriel the servant of the Lord.

Charmed and sealed is all evil that is in the body of Mihr-hormizd b. M. (8) and in his house (and) his wife and his sons and his daughters and his cattle and his property and in all his dwelling, by the signet of Ariôn son of Zand and by the seal of King Solomon son of David, (9) by which were sealed the Oppressors and the *Laṭbê*. And we have sealed with the seal of El Šaddai and Abraxas the mighty lord, and the great seal with which were sealed heaven and earth and all Demons (10) and foul Knots and *Laṭbê*, which contend against him. And a seal is this against Harm and Constraint (?), that they shall not at all enter in. And every *Damḳar* and *Šaiṭ* and *Šarâ* are charmed by the spell of (11) fire and the enchainment of water until the dissolution of heaven and earth. Amen, Amen, Selah. Sealed and guarded be the house and wife and sons and property and body of Mihr-hormizd (12) b. M., and depart from him the Injurer and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow and Arts and the Tormentor and Damages and Losses and Failures and Poverty.

And sealed and protected be Bahrôi bath Bath-Sâhdê from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow and Arts and Practices. And charmed be the Tormentor and Lilith and Ban-spirit, who thwarts her in her hand and foot, and may it not approach nor afflict this Bahrôi b. B.

Commentary

The text is of the same order as those immediately preceding. At the end the charm is operated for a woman (with a Christian name), presumably the wife of the chief client of the text.

1. חתומין: the reading is certain, and the word is parallel to חתמתא in the previous inscriptions, but the formation is unique, if it be not an error; חתומי would be a Pael inf.

A Hormizd son of Mâmâ(i) appears in No. 15.

מיחר חורמיזד is the same as Mitr-ôharmazde, or Mihrhormuz, the name of the murderer of Chosroes II; see Justi, p. 216.

2. אסיא: here applied to the sorcerer, but otherwise of God, e. g. 3: 1, or angels, e. g. Michael, l. 7. See introduction to notes on No. 32.

אחני (evidently so written) I take to be for אחיני, "my cousin." The magical tradition was handed down in the sorcerer's family, cf. 8: 11.

משכנותא = משכנא, but of peculiar formation.

4. מושא: a point over א, also in the same name in 35: 6—diacritical for *ê?*

The charm is the effective one used by Moses at the Red Sea, cf. *Ex.* 14: 22. See p. 64 for the magical use of such episodes. But the plural קמו is a reminiscence of *Josh.* 3: 16, and indicates conflation of the two narratives. מן תרויהון ניסין appears to be a confusion for מן תרוי ניסיהון. תרוי is Palmyrene and Rabbinic, not Edessene, but is found in neo-Syriac, Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 153.

5. אשכבה: of laying a spell; the same verb for laying a ghost, 16: 11. The Afel is a hebraism. Compare *Is.* 9: 7: "a word Yahwe has sent in Jacob, and it has fallen in Israel"; i. e. the magical word itself is potent.

אילנא וגי: the reference of the noun is obscure as is also the meaning of the following verb. There may be a reference to some myth concerning ancient "big" trees; cf. Isaia's denunciation of "everything high and lifted up," 2: 5 ff., and especially his woe upon the cedars of Lebanon and the אלוני הבשן, v. 13. Then v. 14 is parallel to the טורא ורמאתא of l. 5. The following relative clause is almost unintelligible. The root רדע is found only in Arabic, = "withhold, refuse." The next word I identify with the Biblical אמיר, *Is.* 17: 6 (possibly, with some critics, also in *Gen.* 49: 21). The old tree-myth may have told how the trees flaunted their high tops against the gods. The obscurity of the passage may be due to corruption of the form of the legend. The ׳ of אמריהון appears to be used as one of the *Seyâmê* points.

6. אסירין: n. b. position of the points.

בפוקדנא: a reference to the myth of the restraint of the celestial powers; see the discussion on 4: 5, and cf. *Is.* 24: 21.

7. מדוליה: a unique epithet for Raphael. It is a *pau'el* formation from דלא, and, agreeably to the etymology of Raphael and parallel to the epithet applied to Gabriel, the participle is used in the sense "to relieve," *sc.* the sick. Cf. *Baba Bathra* 16 b, אידלי יומא אידלי קצירא; "when the day is high, the sick man is relieved." In the Syriac the Pael came to be used in the sense of "saving," see Payne-Smith, col. 903.

גבריאיל עבדה דא': Gabriel is especially the messenger of Deity; cf. *Luke* 1, and *Rev.* 19: 10, where the angel who calls himself *σύνδουλος* with the apocalyptist may be Gabriel.

8. בירה: Mandaic form. Several phylacteries for cattle are given in Pradel's collection of Graeco-Italian charms; e. g. p. 18 and references, pp. 125, 127. An exorcism against the "seven accursed brothers" (the Babylonian Seven) who attack and devour the blood of the cattle, is given in Gollancz's Syriac charms, p. 87. According to the Babylonian magic the Seven Spirits "smite both oxen and sheep" (Thompson, *Sem. Magic,* i, 33). The mediaeval belief in the 'hexing' of cattle still flourishes among the Pennsylvania Germans.

ארין בר זנד: this sorcerer's name appears also in No. 19: 13, 17, and the two passages help mutually to identify the words.

9. עשמא: a new species of demons, "the oppressors," ppl. of a common Syriac root.

10. עיקרא (or פ' ?): "Knots," i. e. of magical power. The word corresponds to the Arabic *'uḳdat.*

טמיא: י has usurped the radical א; cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 33 b.

מתעזין: Etpa. of עזא, probably metaplastic for עזז.

אבערון: for the prosthetic vowel see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.,* § 51, *Mand. Gram.,* § 24 (n. b. the equivalence of לאב' and על ק', as in Mandaic). The word may mean ugliness or some more specific malady. Cf. the charms in the Greek magical papyri for obtaining good looks.

The parallel קמתא must also mean some kind of malady, and may be identified with the Assyrian *kamtu,* "misery" (Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* 366), which is to be connected with the Hebrew and Aramaic root קמם, "compress" (with dissimilation of the dental); probably some form of contortion.

מיעלא נעילן: the first word is evidently an absolute infinitive from עלל, *plus* â (= *me"ĕlâ* = *me'lâ*, cf. the noun *ma'lâ*). For this formation with final â, Nöldeke offers a Mandaic instance, *Mand. Gram.*, 250, last line, מיקמא. In the form נעילן (if י is to be read) doubling of the second radical appears; cf. the Mandaic form תירינן, cited by Nöldeke, *ibid.*, 249, *ad infra*.

וכל דמקר ושיט ושרא: all three words are obscure. The second may be the שיט of the Ḳrê to *Is.* 28: 15, =שוט, "scourge." The third may be the Rabbinic שרא, "prince, demon"; or the Hebrew *šêrah* (also Aramaic) "chain, necklace," cf. the magical ענקתא. But diseases are apparently intended (cf. אבערן above), and we may identify שיט with the Syriac *Šâiṭâ*, "eye-tumor" (Payne-Smith, col. 4094), and שרא with the Syriac שריא (*ib.*, 4316), "diarrhoea." דמקר may then be understood aas a formation from נקר, "pierce," of *taf'al* form,—*tanḳar* =*tamḳar* (cf. Delitzsch, *Ass. Gram.*, § 59), = *damḳar*. With the root meaning of perforation, cancer or the like may be referred to. The absolute forms are used, as proper names.

11. אסור נורא ובשישלן מיא: fire and water are potent over demons. שישלן is a collective form in *-ân*. Cf. the *catenis igneis* in Wünsch, *Ant. Fluchtafeln*, no. 7.

עדמא למשרא וגי: the demons are to be bound till the end of the present aeon; then will begin a new order, which will include the final destruction of their power; cf. *2 Pet.* 3: 12: *οὐρανοὶ πυρούμενοι λυθήσονται*; also *Enoch*.

12. זינא: "loss"; see Jastrow, p. 393. Payne-Smith, col. 1118. For the personification of all kinds of losses, see p. 94.

בהרוי: hypocoristicon of Bahram? See Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, 387 ff., Justi, 361 ff.

בת סהדא: "Daughter-of-the-Martyrs," a Christian name, cf. Bar-S., in Asseman, *Bibl. Or.*, ii, 403 (Payne-Smith, col. 2536), a bishop of Nineve. Cf. the proper names, "Son-of-Carpenters," "Son-of-Ironsmiths," *ib.* 591, 596.

13. משמתתא וגי: epithets of the Lilith, who is also the Witch, who can "bind" the limbs of her victim; see No. 42 and p. 78. Superior points for the feminine suffix are used here as also in No. 35.

14. תיחטר: switchings by demons are a common theme of magic, see 1: 10; compare the Christian hagiological legends.

No. 35 (CBS 16097)

מזמן הנא כאסא לחתמתא ונטרתא (2) דביתהּ ודבנהּ ודקנינהּ ודפנרהּ דמאידוכת (3) בת כומבוי דתיתנטר מן שידאּ שׁבטא [ו]דיואּ וסטנאּ (4) וסוטיטא ודיאבולאּ ומן נידראּ וקרותא ואשלמתא דבני אנשא בשום (5) ארשי ארדי אדרי ומארי מיכאיל וגוריאיל ושלטיאיל ומנטריאיל וחתמיאיל (6) ואנון איתפקיד עם מושא למנטרנותא ואנון ננטרונהּ להדא מאידוכת בת (7) כומבוי מן כל דיואּ סניאּ ושידאּ מדחלנאּ ומן כל לוטתא ונידרא דבני אנשא דגבר[אּ (8) ודנשאּ ודפתכראּ ד . . כ . . ואינ[ו]ן דלא מ . . בתא בשום ובשמה דעש.אקיה חמריאיל ושריאיל (9) . . מ . . בא סיאה דיהאדונקמיא נאיא.או או אמיר אמיר בשום הלין מלאכאּ ואתותאּ דאנון ננטרונהּ (10) ונחתמונהּ להדא מאידוכת בת כומבוי מן כל דביש לעלמאּ [ל]עלם אמן תיתחתים ותיתנטר מאידוכת בת כומבוי מן (11) מבכלתא וחלמאּ בישאּ ולוטתא ונידרא ותיתסר מבכלתא וללית ומשמתתא ומבטלתא באידהּ וברגלהּ ולא תקרוב להּ למאידוכת (12) בת כומבוי ותיתנטר ביתה ואנתתה ובנהּ וקינינה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד מן מבכלתא וחלמאּ בישאּ ולוטתא ונדרא אמין

Translation

Appointed is this bowl for the sealing and guarding (2) of the house and sons and property and body of Mâidûcht (3) bath Kumbôi, that she may be guarded from Demons, Plagues and Devils and Satans (4) and Seducers and Diaboli, and from any Vows and Invocations and Rites of mankind; in the name of (5) *arši, ardi* and *mâri;* Michael and Nûriel and Šalṭiel and Mantariel and Ḥithmiel. (6) And they were commissioned along with Moses to wardship, and they will guard this Mâidûcht b. (7) K. from all hostile Devils and affrighting Demons, and from every Curse and Vow of mankind, of men (8) and of women, and of Idol-spirits who (are known) and who are not (known) by name. And in the name of ..., Ḥamariel and Šariel (9) ..... of Yah-Adon-Ḳamya; *nâyâ, ô, ô!* Commanded, commanded is it in the name of these angels and letters which will guard (10) and seal this Mâidûcht b. K. from everything evil, for the ages

forever, Amen. Sealed and guarded is Mâidûcht b. K. from (11) the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow; and charmed the Tormentor and Lilith and Ban-spirit who thwarts her in her hand and foot; and may it not approach Mâidûcht (12) b. K.

And guarded be the house and wife and son and property of Dînôi son of Ispandarmêd from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow. Amen.

Commentary

Largely a replica of No. 34. It is made out for the wife of the client of No. 33, who is himself given a little space at the end.

1. נטרתא(ל) : noun of intensive formation; cf. the charm *εἰς φρούρησιν*, Reitzenstein, *Poim.* 292.

2. מאידוכת: for the the first element Mâi see Justi, p. 187. The name also appears in the unpublished No. 16093.

3. כומבוי : cf. *Κωφαιος*, *Κυβαι*, *Κομβαφις*, Justi, p. 165.

4. סוטיטא: (a plural-point is not visible) a peculiar formation, evidently to be connected with the theme סוט, סטא, "go astray"—hence "seducing spirits," corresponding to the words before and after. The form may be explained as a Pi'lel participle, with rejection of prefix. Cf. 2 *Ki*, 22: 19 ff., and the *πνεύμασιν πλάνοις καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων* of 1 *Tim.* 4: 1.

דיאבולא: some of the characters are uncertain, but the word is sufficiently clear. It appears in Syriac only (in the singular in -ōs) in the Arabic lexicons; see Payne-Smith, col. 868.

קרותא: evidently the same as the common קריתא. Notice the distinction made here between diabolic arts and human machinations.

5. For the assonance, see p. 61. Letters and angels are practically the same; see p. 99. Of these angels, Nuriel is one of the archangels (also Uriel), Manṭariel and Ḥithmiel are unique, Šalṭiel is listed by Schwab as a form of Salṭiel. These were Moses' guardian angels, and so can be effective for the present client.

No. 36 (CBS 2933)

. . . מזמן הנא כא[סא] . . . יא אתחפיך . . ות (2) דחי קטולתא ברת קטולתא
פוק פוק ושני מן קדמי . . . מריא (3) שמיש עלך שלחני [ס]נא שדרני בי פקדני ננאי
אמר לי ומ. . . כבינה ונירינ (4) יהב לי חילא דאיל עלה על רוחא בישתא ועל דודיב
דקרין לה חנוקיתא דקטלא דרטקא (5) בחנא דאימחתהון ומתקריא ממתניתא ואבחיהון
מובדנא פוק מן קדמיהון דהלין מלאכא (6) דנחין בנא לאימחתהון וילדא רקיקא
לאבחיהין דשמא יהב לי דבה אפקבי רוחא בישתא פוק מן קדמי (7) [הלין מלאכא]
ושני מן הנא חתמא גמיפא ואזיל לבית חלולא ואכול . . . אף נקותא אישתאי ו . . . . . יזדוך
ומדב.ה (8) [א]מין אמין סלה

Translation

... designated is this bowl ... turned away ... (2) of that Murderess, daughter of Murderess. Go away, go away, and depart from before ... The lord (3) Šameš (the Sun) has charged me against thee, Sin (the Moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nannai has said to me, and ..... and Nirig (Nergal) (4) has given me power to go against the evil spirit, against Dôdîb, whom they call the Strangler, who kills the young (5) in the womb of their mothers, and they are called "Slayer," and their fathers "Destroyer." Go from the presence of these holy angels (6) that sons may come to birth to their mothers and little children to their fathers. Because he has given me a name by which I shall drive thee forth, Evil Spirit. Go from the presence of (7) [these angels] and depart from this engraved seal, and go to the bridal chamber and eat...; moreover drink a libation and [depart from ... daughter of ...]-izdûch and her .... (8) Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

This inscription has a twofold interest. Its magic purpose is the insurance of a bride against the goblin which would destroy her powers of motherhood; the evil spirit is invited to go to the bridal chamber and there

partake of a certain food and drink, which it is to be presumed, would in some way incapacitate his powers; the text is badly obscured, but enough survives to recall the book of Tobit and the charm Raphael performed against the demon which haunted the chamber of Tobias's bride. Magic is full of this lilith witch who destroys love; for an early instance, cf. the *Maḳlu*-series, iii, 1 ff.: "The witch ..... who robs the love of the enamored man, ... of the enamored maid. Looking at her he feels her lascivious charm. She looks on the man and takes away his love; she looks on the maid and takes away her love." Cf. Nos. 13, 28.

The other feature of interest is that the charm is given as though from the old pagan deities, the lord Šameš, Sin, Bel, Nannai, and Nirig, the ancient Nergal. All these except Nannai survived as evil spirits,—the spirits of the seven planets—in the Mandaic religion (see Norberg, *Onom., s. vv.*), but the present charm confesses their benevolent power and is also without any Mandaic trace. (This more antique aspect of these deities appears in the early Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski, in the de Vogüé volume, where, l. 247 ff., "Samiš, Bel, Nirig and Kewan have strengthened him.") It is a relic of the religion which survived to a comparatively late date in Harran. The charm is given in the form of an oracle from these deities according to ancient magical use; see p. 100. For these Syrian deities see the list given by Jacob of Sarug, edited by Martin, *ZDMG*, xxix, 110-131, and in general for the material Chwolson, *d. Ssabier u. d. Ssabismus* (1856). For the use made by the Harranian pagans of "magic, conjurations, knots, figures, amulets," etc., see Chwolson's extract from the Fihrist, *ibid.*, ii, 21; for their use of oracles, p. 19.

1. אתחפיך: ח for ה, see § 6.

2. For the demon's artificial names, see p. 77.

2 f. מריא שמיש: in the Mandaic אדוני is the epithet of the Sun, e. g. *Ginza* r., p. 23, l. 15, ed. Peterman; for שמיש, cf. Mandaic שאמיש.

סינא: נ is more likely than ר, and we obtain a form of Sin in the Syriac. The Mandaic has both סין and סירא.

בי: a dialectic form of ביל (Mandaic). For analogies in neo-Punic names (בי, בעי, בע), see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 289; *CIS, Inscr. phoen.*, no. 869; and in Syriac the deity Bêducht (Bel's or Beltis's, daughter), see

discussion in G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880), 151 ff.

נגאי : the ancient Babylonian goddess Nanna (see Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens* i, 76 ff., 252, 266), daughter of Sin. See at length for the later character of this deity G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* 130 ff., 151 ff. (for later literature, Roscher's *Lexicon, s. v.* "Nana"). She combined both Venus- and Diana-like characteristics, and thus appears on coins with a crescent on her head (*ibid.,* 152). This lunar characteristic doubtless explains the gender of the deity in our text, where as the verb shows, he is masculine. In his history the moon god has vacillated between the two genders, and while in later religion the moon's character has generally been defined as female, nevertheless in the Harranian religion the moon was androgynous; see the excursus by Chwolson in his *Ssabier,* i, 399 ff. (Hence the Latin writers express this Mesopotamian deity by *Lunus.*) It may be noticed that in the reference to Antiochos Epiphanes' raid upon the temple of Ναναιας in *2 Mac.* 1: 13, 15, there is found in the Alexandrine Codex the masculine variant Ναναιον.

4. דודיב: the name is obscure, probably equivalent to מדובינא, 37: 10, *q. v.*

חנוקיתא: the normal feminine of this formation, as against קטולתא. The same evil spirit, אמא חנוקתא, "Strangling Mother" (of babes) appears twice in Gollancz's Syriac charms, pp. 81, 83 (in *Actes* of the 11th Congr. of Orientalists, sect. 4). And the like epithet is found in the Greek amulet published by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* 298, for Baskania, the Lilith-witch, who is charged with the same murderous functions: *ὁρκίζω σε, Στραγγαλία πολύμορφε, ἡ ἐπερχομένη ἐπὶ τὰ μικρὰ παιδία, ἥτις ἔχεις χεῖρα σιδηρᾶν καὶ σύρεις τὰ παιδία καὶ ἐλέπτεις αὐτὰ καὶ τελευτῶσιν.* And there follow immediately "the names of the holy angels," just as these are referred to in l. 5. See notes on No. 42. With Στραγγαλία cf. the demoniac maladies πνιγαλίων and παιδοπνίκτρια cited by Roscher, *Ephialtes,* 55, 59.

דרטקא = דרדקא 37: 10, דרקא 18: 6, with assimilation of the dental to ק.

ומתקריא וני: Mandaic form of the fem. pl. The best interpretation of the line is that the mischief wrought to the embryo was charged to the parents who so gained the ill-fame of infanticides. Cf. Ginza ii, 98 (ed. Norberg):

"hence have arisen the abortive ones who make abortions and destroy the foetus." The epithets are in the singular, being used distributively.

5. הלין מלאכא: i. e. the deities mentioned above; see above pp. 97, 99.

6. נחין: "come to the birth." Cf. Rabbinic חייתא, "midwife," and the Syriac Afel used of the function of midwives, e. g. Peshitto to *Ex.* 1: 16.

דשמא יהב: the antecedent is uncertain; probably the charm has been abbreviated.

7. נמיפא: for נליפא? Cf. 11: 8.

אזיל לבית חלולא: the ב׳ ח׳ is the common Syriac term for the marriage chamber, or the nuptials in general. The imperative is apparently addressed like the preceding imperative to the demon who is bidden to go, if she dare, to the wedding, and there partake of the magic foods prepared against her.

נקותא: the Syriac *nᵉkâyâ,* "libation."

אישתאי: the spelling represents the Syriac fem. impr.

יזדוך וג׳ ....: probably a Persian feminine name in *-duch,* the bride's name to be filled out here. The following word is obscure, the missing radical may be ס.

No. 37 (CBS 2943)

[מז]מן הנא כאסא לְא[סותא ול]דרמנא (2) [רבי]תֵה ואיסקופתה אנתתה [בנה ו]בנתה
בר[ה] . . . (3) [וכול דאי]תלה ודהוין לה לזארוי ב[ר] . . . [ח]ת[י]ם ביתה (4) . . .
משרר בחיל מילתה דאלהא רז שמיא ורז מ[י]אָ(.)קבין [ורז אר]עא (5) . . . אוא רביתא הדין אנא
אימר על כול דאיתבה על חרשאּ ועל מב[כלתא ועל] . . . (6) דפתכרותא ועל כול נגדאּ
ועל חומרָא ועל איסתרָתא ועל כול שיד[אּ] (7) . . . ועל כול לליתא תקיפתא פיתגאמא
היתְ . . . לכין מחוינא דמקבל • אתה טב . . . (8) . . . לא ראוֵ מלאָכא רונזא אָתין
עילוהּ וְדסיפאּ וחרבא קדמוהּ קיטין וקטלין לה (9) . . . אְ אתיא עלוה דפיתגמא שמעא
יתיב בביתא אכיל ומכיל שתא ומשתקא חדא ומ . . . (10) . . .ב.א לדרדקאּ הוא
ומדובינא מיתקרא אכותא .לבירא הוא ונ.א מיתקרא שלמאְ . . . ל אבוכֵן דבשְ . . .
(11) . . . שלמא מִן אלהאּ דיכראּ ומן אֵסתרתא ניקבתא ומשוא שלמא זכא ב. . . ומשוא
חבילא בנורא . . . . .

Translation

Designated is this bowl for the [salvation and] healing (2) of the house and threshold, the wife, [the sons and] daughters, the cattle, (3) [and all that] is his, and whatsoever shall belong to Zârôi son of ... (4) ... confirmed by the virtue of the word of God, the Mystery of heaven and the Mystery of the assembled waters and the Mystery of earth, (5) ... of this house I will enjoin all that is in it,—Arts and the Tormentor (?) (6) ... [and the Image-spirits] of idolatry, and all the Legions and the Amulet-spirits and the Ishtars and all the Demons ... (7) ... and all mighty Liliths. A word ... I declare unto you, which receiving ... the mysteries of Angels in wrath coming against him and with sabres and sword standing before him and ready to kill him. (9) ... against the word heard (?). He sits in the house, eating and devouring, drinking and quaffing, ... (10) [a slayer of ?] children is he, and Master named; ..... is he, and Jinn (?) named. Peace ... your father ... (11) ... Peace from the male Gods and from the female Ishtars. And victorious peace is set in ..., and destruction is set in the fire ...

Commentary

A badly mutilated bowl with much of the inscription illegible. It is of pagan origin; in the name of God the Mystery of heaven, water and earth, it concludes with a *pax vobiscum* from the gods. The expression "victorious peace," l. 11, recalls the standing Mandaic doxology, "Life is victorious," and the threefold division of the universe may be from the same source. The charm is against a murderous house spirit and is in part parallel to No. 36; here the demon is masculine and is represented as carousing upon the blood of his victims. The quarterings of the circle or seal in the center contain letters of the Tetragrammaton—apparently יה.

1. דרמנא: a Persian word noted by the native Syriac lexicographers, and neo-Syriac; also in Pognon B. See Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, 127.

3. זרוי : cf. Zaroes, name of a Magian, and Zaroi, in Firdausi; the present spelling substantiates *Zar-* against other readings; see Justi, p. 383.

4. אלהא: name of the Light-King in the later Mandaic religion; see Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, 47. For his following epithet as the Mystery of heaven and earth, cf. "the Great Mystery," who is the helper of Hibil-Ziwa in his descent to hell, *Ginza r.*, p. 140, ed. Petermann; see Brandt, *Mand. Schr.*, 143. For the מיא קבין cf. *Gen.* 1: 10. Other "gods" are named below.

7. פיתנאמא ונ': resumes אימר, l. 5.

8. ראזי מלאכא: either in appositional sense, ראזא used like איסרא, see p. p. 86, or ר' refers to the magical rites conjuring the angels who are called upon against the evil spirit.

עילוהי : the Rabbinic-Mandaic preposition of plur. form, *'elâwê*, but with suffix attached as to a singular form; cf. בנח, "his sons."

9. שמעא : for שמיעא: the incantation *heard?* The following ppls. represent the carousing of the demon over the flesh and blood of his victims. These realistic descriptions were in themselves regarded as prophylactic. מכיל appears to be denominative verb from a noun in מ', formed to rhyme with אכיל.

10. מדובינא = דודיב, a perversion, in 36: 4. The word corresponds to the actual Syriac מדיבנא *tabescere faciens,* Payne-Smith, col. 831.

נ.נא: probably גינא, jinn, see p. 80.

אבוכן : Mandaic "your father."

No. 38 (CBS 2941)

עסיר זריז ומזראז ביתה (2) דורה וחיכלה וביניאנה ובנה ובנאתה (3) וחיוניאתר
ואנאתא דביתה דחינדויתא (4) פת דודאי ומראדא וזאוה ובנה ובנאתה עסירית אנאת
(5) יאנאי ליליתא אנאת וכולחין שורבאתיך ותלתמא ושיתין (6) שורבאתא במינלתה
ופקדתה דנגונאי (ליליתא erasure) מלאכא בראזאיון ופאקתון (7) דאלחיא חייא
בשומא דחילא דאלחותא עזיזתא ותקיפתא ובחתמא (8) דבעודאי מלאכא דכל עניש
לאבאר על מלאלה עסיריא כולחון אלחיא ועכוריא [יפרי]כיא ופתיכריא (9) ועסתראתא
מן פנראין דמארבא חאדויא ודזאונויא בנה חינדויתא ומן חידנויתא (*sic*) [ומ]ן ביתה
ומן ארסה ומן (10) [זאוא]ין ומן בנאין ומן בנאתון ומן חיניאתון עסירא וסרימא ומסאגמא
ורנילא עסתרא רבתיא דאר . . זתאיון . . . (11) [ותלת]מא ושיתין שורבאתא דשביקלה
באתאר אתאר עסיר[יא] כולחין חומריא דשאריא בבתאין דאנאשיא ומחרבאלחון
(12) עסירא ורנילא וכבישא וסיפא ומאתנא תותיא לינרה דמארבא בר חינדויתא ואתותיא
לינרה דואדויא ודודזאונויא בנה דחינדויתא . . (13) ואתותיא לינרה דחינדויתא פת
דודאי וחיא זאזיא אסותא וזארזתא וחתמאתא ונטרתא תחוילה לפגראיון ולזאואיון
ולבנאיון ולב[נאתו]ן ולחיוניא[תון (14) ולא]נאשיא באתאיון ולאילין ולנאפקין ע[ל]
מארבא ודזאדויא ודדזאונויא בנה חינדויתא ולחינדוי[תא פת] דודאי עמאיון ולבנאתה

Exterior

(15) קדש ייתי

Translation

Charmed, armed and equipped are the house, (2) the dwelling and mansion and barn, and the sons and daughters, (3) and the cattle and household vessels of Hinduithâ (4) bath Dôdâi and (of) Mârâdâ, even her husband and her sons and daughters.

Charmed art thou, (5) Lilith Yannâi, and all thy Broods, even the three hundred and sixty (6) Broods, by the word and command of the angel Negoznâi, by the mysteries and ordinance (7) of the living God, in the name

of the virtue of strong and mighty Deity, and by the seal (8) of the angel Be'ôdâi, whose word none transgresses.

Charmed are all the Gods and Temple-spirits and Shrine-spirits and Idol-spirits (9) and Ishtars from the body of Mârabbâ and Zâdôyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduîthâ, and from Hinduîthâ and from her house and her bed and from (10) their [wives] and their sons and their daughters and their cattle.

Charmed and confined and restrained and hobbled is the mighty Ištar ..... (11) and the three hundred and sixty Broods, which I have dismissed from her one after the other.

Charmed are all the Amulet-spirits that dwell in the houses of men and waste them; (12) charmed and hobbled and suppressed and covered and squeezed under the foot of Mârabba bar Hinduîthâ and under the foot of Zâdôyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduîthâ, (13) and under the foot of Hinduîthâ b. D. And life, abundance, health and arming and sealing and protection be to their body, and their wives and their sons and their daughters and their cattle (14) and the people of their houses, both those entering and departing with Mârabba and Zâdôyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduîthâ, and with Hinduîthâ b. D. their mother, and her daughters.

Exterior

(15) Holy (?) .....

Commentary

For the language and script of this and the following Mandaic bowls, see § 7.

A charm executed in behalf of a certain woman and her husband. The sons with their families are included by name. The charm is particularly addressed against a specified lilith, with whom "the mighty Ištar" who is named later, may be identical.

1. "House, dwelling," etc.: these four terms occur in Lidzb. 4 and 5. The היכל (which is found in the Mandaic literature in the original meaning) is here reduced from the sense of "temple, palace," as in Babylonian, to that of a private mansion. The word also appears in Hyvernat, l. 15. In 40: 4, בניאנא is the cattle-barn; in general perhaps "outbuilding."

2. בנה for the plur. w. suffix, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 144.

3. חיוניאתא: "cattle"; it occurs in the sense of "wild beast," in 39: 6; singular חיותא.

אנאתא: the singular would be the equivalent of the Assyrian *ânu*, "vessel," = Heb. אני and Arabic *inâ*^{un}. The word is otherwise unknown in Aramaic, having been replaced by the derivative *mân*. In the Talmud vessels are favorite abodes of the demons. One is tempted to regard the word as a plural of אנא, "sheep," but for the following "of the house."

חינדויתא: i. e. "Indian woman"; cf. חנדו, חינדו, 24: 1; 40: 16.

4. דודאי=דודי, Nos. 15, 21.— מראדא = *mâr*, "lord" + *Adda;* a form of Hadad; or the first element may be the deity Mar, Bir, etc. (see Clay, *Amurru*, 95), so that the name is equivalent to the ancient Damascene name ברהדד (as in Pognon's Zakar inscription), the Biblical Benhadad. With inexact construction, M. is the husband. For ו . . . ו = "both, and," cf. l. 14.

6. ננחנאי : so the probable reading. Notice from the erasure that "lilith" and "angel" are interchangeable titles for this being. Cf. the Lilith בחנאי, 40: 17.

פאקתון: of same root as פקדתא, with assimilation of ד with ת; see Nöldeke, p. 44. The original formation is that of the Syriac noun *pâḳadtâ*.

8. בעודאי: a corruption of עבודיאל?—For עכוריא and פריכיא see p. 72 f. The second word is supplied from 40: 4.

9. מארבא: l. 14 מאראבא, in l. 12 with the second א caretted; an old theophorous name = אב + מר (or רבא + מר ?)

זאדויא : Persian Zâdôê, see Justi, p. 378, quoting a name of the fifth century.

דואונויא : Persian name of a Syrian monk of the seventh century, *ibid.* 82.

10. סדימא: original root סתם (see Nöldeke, § 45); the verb is found in the bowls of Pognon and Lidzbarski, and defines the word as used in the Mandaic literature, thus relieving Nöldeke's doubt. Cf. a like series of passive ppls. at end of Lidzb. 4.

מסאנמא: the reading is almost certain, but I cannot identify the root; probably an error for מסאדמא, as in 40: 21.

רנילא: a denominative from רגל, = Rabbinic רגול. cf. the Arabic *ragala*, "strike, tie (a sheep) on the foot." The word occurs in Lidzb. 4.

11. שביקלה: the passage is identical with 40: 22, except for the latter's reading, שביקילה, "which I have dismissed from him"; the present text is to be so interpreted. For the form see Nöldeke, § 170.

מחרבאלחן = 40: 23. For the fem. pl. in א, see *ibid.*, 162.

12. סיפא = סחיפא, cf. *ibid.* 63; the Pael in 7: 17.

מאתנא: I can suggest only the root עתן, found in the Rabbinic עתין, "olive-press"; but according to Nöldeke, § 45, ע is persistent in Mandaic.

ודוזאונויא: error by dittography for ודזי.

13. זאזיא: the Assyrian *zâzu*, abundance", Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Hwb.* i, 277, and identical with the Targumic זאזא, "foliage," Targum Job 14: 9. An archangel Zaziel appears in a papyrus published by Wessely, xlii, 65, l. 42.

חתמאתא: for חתאמתא.

14. דואדויא: with change of construction from the preposition על; cf. Nöldeke, § 222.—For omission of relative after בנה see p. 39.

15. (Exterior) קד is sure, perhaps קדש.

No. 39 (CBS 9005)

אסותא וזארזת[א ו]חתמתא ונטרתא (2) תחוילה ופ. . . וצגר[ה] ונישימתה (3) ולעולה
ובאטנה דַבִרדסא דַע[מה פ]ת דאדיא (4) עסיריא סחריא בסדיא פרזלה עסירא ליליאתא
(5) בשושלאתא דַאבארא עסיריא דיויא זיכריא [חורא]שיא ועסי[רא] ליליא ליליאתא
(6) נוקבאתא חוראשאתא עסיריא ח[רשיא] אנשיא בישיא וחיואניא סאניא (7)
וראזיא בישיא וחזאר רַבאניא חא[כי]מיא ורוַביא דַרונזא ומשַריא דַקיריא (8) דַהן
דַחיא מן עולה ובאטנה דַבִרדס[א ד]עמ[ה] תִירמיא פת דאדיא עסירא ליליתא
דַמידאמיאלה (9) בס.קוּתא עסירא ליליתא דַמידאמיאלה ב.רג דַתאתא פת אחאתה עסיראן
כולחין דמואתא (10) סאינאתא דַעל דַמד[אמ]יאלא בחלמיא ליליא ובחזואניא דַיאמיא
דַאימאמא עסיריא וחתימיא בע[יזק]תא (11) דַשלי[מו]ן למל מל[כא] . . . תום אסותא
וזארזתא וחתמתא תחוילה לבאטנה ולמודאלה דַבִר[דסא] (12) דַעמ[ה תירמיא] פת
דא[דיא]

Translation

Health and arming and sealing and protection (2) be for ... and the body and soul (3) and the unborn child and womb of Bardesâ whose mother is the daughter of Dâdê. (4) Charmed are the Sorcery-spirits in stocks of iron; charmed the Lilith (5) in chains of lead; charmed the empoisoning male Devils and charmed the empoisoning female Liliths; (6) charmed [the arts of?] evil men and hostile Beasts, (7) and evil Mysteries and the (magic) Circle of malignant Masters and Sages and Doctors, and the melting of Wax figures (8) of him who is alive: from the unborn child and womb of Bardesâ whose mother is Termê b. D.

Charmed the Lilith that appears to her (9) in ...; charmed the Lilith that appears to her in [shape?] of Tâtâ her sister's daughter; charmed all the defiling Ghosts (10) that have entered, which appear to her in Dreams of night and in Visions of day; charmed and sealed with the seal of (11) King Solomon.

Again: Health and arming and sealing be for the womb and the parturition of Bardesâ (12) whose mother is Termê b. D.

Commentary

A charm for a pregnant woman. I may compare the mortuary incantation published by me in *JAOS,* 1911, 272, no. 1, which includes prayers for the unborn child, עולה, of the petitioner. From l. 4 the present charm is very similar to that in Pognon A.

2. דאדיא: so in Pognon B, in Lidzb. 5, דאדע; a feminine form in -ê, cf. תירמיא, l. 8 (the mother's name, overlooked here). Cf. דאדה, 12: 2.

4. סחריא: also Pognon A. In the Mandaic appear the סאחרא, "sorcerers," Norberg, *Onom.,* 110. For the meaning cf. Ass. *sâḫiru;* in this sense the root is not otherwise found in Rabbinic and Syriac.

סאדיא פ׳: Pognon's text, סאדדיא (to be cited to Nöldeke, § 89, 1a),

5. אבארא: the Syriac אברא was used for "lead" and "tin," according to the Syriac lexicographers, who postulate a distinction between *abârâ* and *abrâ,* or *abârâ* and *ebârâ* but dispute which word is applied to which metal (Payne-Smith, col. 19). Both lead and tin were used in magic, the former especially in the *κατάδεσμοι*, like the love-charm from Hadrumetum, the Cypriote *defixiones* (*SPBA,* xiii, 160, etc.), and cf. Index to Wessely, xlii, *μόλιβον, et seq.;* tin was equally used, like all the metals, *ibid., κασσιτερινόν,* and a case in the Testament of Solomon where tin is atropaic, *JQR,* ix, 584. Hence we cannot positively decide whether our *abâr* is lead or tin; but the weight of the former metal may better suit the symbolism of the language. —As to the meaning of the Assyrian *abar* Assyriologists are at variance. Lenormant, in *TSBA,* vi, 337 f., 346, argues correctly from the alloy mentioned in iv R no. 2, rev. 17, that *abar* = lead and *anaku* = tin. However Sayce, *Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions,* p. 60, denies that the Sumerian or Assyrian word for tin is known. Lyon, in his *Keilschrifttexte Sargons,* 53, 82, makes *anaku* = lead (cft. Heb. אנך) and leaves *abar* untranslated. Hilprecht and Haupt, on basis of chemical analysis, find that *abar* is used of magnesite, Hilprecht, *Assyriaca,* 80 ff., 83. עפרת, the Hebrew equivalent of the Aramaic אברא, is "lead." The Syriac *'ânᵉka* is "tin," whereas its Hebrew equivalent אנך, "plummet" rather suggests the heavier metal lead. The Hebrew for "tin" is בדיל, which however in Zech. 4: 10 may rather be "lead." This confusion between lead and tin in the same word is paralleled by the ambiguous use of *plumbum* in Latin;

p. nigrum is lead, and *p. candidum* tin; see Pliny *H. N.*, xxxiv, 47 (ed. Weise, 1841); so also in Arabic. The different vocalizations *'abrâ* and, עפרת *vs. 'abârâ*, and Heb. *'anâk vs.* Syr. *'ânᵉka*, appear to be attempts at differentiation. עפרת, apparently "lead," appears in W. T. Ellis's bowl-text, which I have edited in *JAOS*, 1912, 434.

5. חוראשיא: amendment after Pognon's parallel, but with the form found in l. 6.

לילא לי: an inadvertent repetition.

6. חוראשאתא for the adjectival formation, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 105.

חיואניא: possibly absolute pl. (*-â* from *-ân*); or a masc. plural form, cf. חומריא, 38: 11.

7. חזאר: (n. b. construct) for חדאר, as in זיבריא, see Nöldeke, *ibid.*, § 46. I interpret the word of the magic circle, part of the dreaded arts of the necromancer; see p. 88.

רבאניא וני: sorcerers are by tradition "Doctors."

משריא דקיריא: מי may be inf. Peal of שרא, or better, in agreement with the context, Pael ppl. plur; i. e. "dissolution," or "dissolvers." קי is "wax" in Rabbinic, "pitch" in Syriac and Mandaic, at least according to the references in Payne-Smith and Norberg. "Pitch" might be the translation here, but comparing the plural with the Greek κηροί and the Latin *cerai*, I have related the word to the well-known use of wax in Hellenistic magic. Any plastic substance might be used for these simulacra of the enemy in Babylonian sorcery. Tallquist enumerates clay, pitch, honey, tallow, dough (*Maḳlu*, 19, and see his note to ZAL. LU, p. 119); so also Fossey, *Magie ass.*, 80. Wax does not seem to be identified among those substances, though Jastrow and Thompson speak of wax as used. Assyrian *kîru* or *ḳîru* (see Muss-Arnolt, p. 432) = pitch. Is the Latin-Greek word from the same origin, the term having undergone extensive modification in meaning? Its etymology is uncertain, see A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*², 1910, *s. v. cera.* For the use of wax in western magic, see the ample notes and bibliography in Abt, *Die Apologie d. Apuleius*, 82.

חו דחיא: cf. the isolated instance given by Nöldeke, p. 344.

8. תירמיא: the first letter is conjectured from a mere remnant; possibly *Θερμία*?

9. In this line a definite family ghost appears. דמותא is used in like sense in earlier bowls, e. g. 7: 14. The word before תאתא is unintelligible.

תאתא: cf. the feminine name Tatâ in Strassmeier, *Inschriften von Darius,* no. 25, 12; also Tatta-dannu, Strassmeier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus,* no. 343, 8, and Tâtû, etc. in Johns, *Assyrian Deeds,* 450, Clay, *BE,* x, Glossary; טאטי 25: 1.

10. סאינאתא: I connect this, as a participle, with the root סין, Arabic *šâna,* which does not appear as a verb in Syriac; from it comes the Syriac *s^{e}yânâ,* "dirt," and with the same is to be connected the Hebrew סאון, "shoe." The same word, masc. and fem., occurs in Pognon A, p. 40, which he would derive from סנא "hate," but without explanation of the form. It might, if a singular instance, be an error for סאניאתא. However n. b. that in Sachau's Elephantine papyri occurs the metathesis סאן for סנא, Pap. 57: 2, 58: 16.

על: 3d fem. pl. of עלל.

יאמיא: a mistake, corrected by the next word. The same note is to be made upon למל in l. 11.

11. תום: doubtless = תוב, "again," so often found on our bowls. Thus Nöldeke's explanation of תום in the Mandaic literature (*Mand. Gram.,* 204) is confirmed.— מודאלה for the form, see *ibid.,* § 67.

No. 40 (CBS 2971)

בשומאיון ד̇חייא ואסותא (2) וזרזתא תחוילה לפגרה וזאוה ובנה (3) זיכריא ובנאתה נוקבאתא ובאיתה ודורה וחיכלה (4) [ו]ביניאנא ד̇חיואניאתא חמרא תוח̇א תורא וענזא חזורה (5) ד̇אכסארו בר [מח]אנוש מן חייא אשבית אלאיכון ומומינאליכון (6) אלא חייא.....

.....

(12) ותברתינכון בכאבה כסארו בר מחאנוש גברא ודזאוה . . . ליליאתא כד̇ מחזיא בה̇ בבאיתה כסארו (13) בר מחאנוש מן חייא ואסותא וזרזתא וחתמתא ט ונטרתא . . . [בנה] זיכריא ובנאתה נוקבאתא ובאיתה (14) ודורה חיכלה וביניאנא ד̇חמרא תורא וענזא חזורא חי[יא ד̇אכסארו בר מחאנוש] מן חייא ואסותא תח[ויל]ה (15 לפגרה יבנה זיכריא ובנאתה [נוקבאת]א ובאיתה ודורה וחיכלה

Exterior

(16) ד̇מראתאי פ̇ת חינדו מן חייא ואסותא תחוילה ופגרה כסארו וזאוה ובנה זיכריא [ובנאתה נוקבאתא ובאיתה ודורה] וחיכלה וביניאנה וחיואניאתה (17) ד̇אכסארו בר מחאנוש מן חייא עסירית אנאת בוזנאי ליליתא וכולחין [עסתראתא] ... ותלתמא ושיתין שורבאתא (18) במנלתה פת פתה בוזנאי מלאכא בדאלאין אלא חייא ובפקדתאין ... ד̇חוא לואת בחנאי (19) תקיפא בחתמא ד̇דרוא מלאכא ד̇כול עניש לאבאר על מלאלה עסיריא [כולחין אלחיא] . . . ועבוריא ופריכיא (20) [ו]עיסתראתא מן פגרה ומן זאוה ומן בנה ומן בנאתה ו[מן באי]תה ומן ד[ורה ומן חיכ]לה [ומן ביניא]נה ד̇אכסארו בר (21) מחאנוש עסיר[א וסדי]מא ומסדמא ור[נ]ילא עס[תר] . . . ותלתמא ושיתין שורבאתא (22) [ד̇]שביקילה נ. . . באתאר א[תאר עסיריא] כולחין חומריא ד̇שאריא בבאיתאיון (23) [ו]מחרבאלון [ע]ס̇ר[א ורגילא] וכביש[א]... וסיפא סטאנא ומחותא... [מן פ]גרה (24) ד̇נברא וזוה . . . ובנה זיכריא ובנאתה נוקב[את]א (25) באיתה וב ודור[ה וח]כלה וביניאנה (*sic*) ח[יוא]ניאתה ד̇[אכסארו] בר מחאנוש מן חייא (26) וחייא זאכיאן

Translation

In the name of Life!—that health (2) and armament be to the body and wife and male sons (3) and female daughters, and the house and

abode, the mansion (4) and the barn of the cattle, the ass, bull and goat, the property of (5) Xârô bar Mehanôš, from Life.

I swear and adjure you (6) by Life.

. . . . . .

(12) and I have broken you in the gate of Xaro b. M., the man and his wife. [Health and protection, etc., from] the Liliths, when they appear in the house of Xaro (13) b. M., from Life. And health and armament and healing and guarding [be to] the male sons and female daughters and the house (14) and dwelling and mansion and the barn of the ass, bull and goat, the live (?) property of [Xaro b. M.], from Life. And health and armament (15) be to the body and the male sons and female daughters and the house and dwelling and mansion of (16) Merâthê daughter of Hindû, from Life. And health be to the body of Xârô . . . and the wife and male sons [and female daughters and the house and dwelling] and mansion and building and cattle (17) of Xaro b. M., from Life.

Charmed art thou, Lilith Buznâi, and all the goddesses . . . and the three hundred and sixty Tribes, (18) by the word of the granddaughter of the angel Buznâi, by the adjuration (?) of Life, and by the command of . . . who is (?) with the mighty Buznâi, (19) by the seal of the angel Darwâ (?), whose word none transgresses. Charmed are a[ll the gods . . . and] temple-spirits and shrine-spirits (20) and goddesses from the body and the wife and sons and daughters and the house and dwelling and mansion and barn of Xaro b. (21) M. Charmed, shut up and confined and hobbled is the Ish[tar] . . ., and the three hundred and sixty Tribes, (22) which I have dismissed from him . . . one after [the other. Charmed] are all Amulet-spirits which lodge in their houses (23) and devastate them. Charmed [and hobbled] and suppressed and covered is the Satan (?) and the Plague . . . [from] the body (24) of the man and his wife . . . and the male sons and the female daughters, (25) the house and dwelling and mansion and the barn for cattle, of Xaro b. M., from Life. (26) And Life is victorious!

Commentary

A long and repetitious charm for a certain man and his family and property, including the several kinds of live-stock. About half of the inscription is found on the exterior.

1. With the same invocation begin the sections of the Ginza, also some of Pognon's bowls.

ואסותא: for ו of purpose, see the like phrase in Pognon, e. g. no. 14, and Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 293.

4. בינאנא: as the regimen shows, the barn.

חמרא: i. e. *ḥemrâ*, also cited by Syriac lexicographers, see Payne-Smith, *ad loc.*, and used as a collective plural, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, 91. The following word was written תותא, ר was then caretted above, and finally the word rewritten.

ענזא : to be added to Nöldeke's instances, *Mand. Gram.*, § 68, and now found in Sachau's recently published papyri from Elephantine. ענז is found in names of certain goat-species, Payne-Smith, col. 2934.

חזרא: for חצי, cf. Nöldeke, *ibid.*, § 47. The word is used like the Talmudic חָצֵר, "private property," see Jastrow, *Dict.*, *s. v.* In l. 14 it is supplemented apparently by חייא, = "livestock."

5. כסארו: evidently an old Persian name in *Koseform;* cf. Aχseri, Xšayarša, Artaχsathra, Justi, pp. 12, 173, 34. The א in דאב׳, here and again below, represents the vowel of the prefix, before the vowelless first radical.

מהאנוש = Meh = Mithra, *plus* Anôš, a Persian genius, Justi, pp. 208, 17.

מן חייא: the long period which this phrase concludes is paralleled below.

אלאיכון: this ancient and full form of the preposition appears in Pognon B, but not in Nöldeke, under § 159.

6. אלא חייא: cf. l. 18, בראלאין אלא חייא. א׳ = the preposition just noted, and is used uniquely with a verb of swearing, where in the Semitic ב is found. Cf. the Greek *ἐπί*, representing, as in the English "swear on the Bible," the primitive action of laying the hand on the sacred object.

16. מראתי ?—17. בוכנאי: cf. נגוכנאי, 38: 6.

18. This antagonism of Buznâi's granddaughter to herself is evidently a case of casting out devils by Beelzebub. The sorcerer affects that he has received from one of her brood the proper charms by which to bind her. Observe interchange of מלאכא with לילית.

בדאלאין וכ׳ : "by that which is upon," i. e. "by the adjuration of" Life. For the redoubled preposition, see Nöldeke, § 231 b. For the phrase, see to l. 6.

פקדתאין: for the sing. with אין—, see *ibid.*, § 146.

23. סטאנא: but a feminine is demanded.

מחותא: in agreement with the Syriac; cf. מחתא, 16: 6; in the Ginza, מחיתא.

26. חייא ואביאן: the same doxological formula in Pognon, B, no. 22, and Lidzb. 5.

APPENDIX

No. 41 (CBS 179)

This text is unique,[1] being inscribed on the top of a human skull. Enough is legible to indicate that it is a magical inscription, doubtless of the same order as those on the bowls. The skull is remarkably well preserved, and though badly shattered, almost all the pieces have been recovered. But the text is sadly worn and obscured through the shaling of the surface, and only a few detached words are legible. There are two inscriptions. one running across the length of the left-hand side of the top, from front to back and also filling up some space in the forward part of the right-hand side. The other, shorter, inscription is at the back of the right-hand side, at right angles to the central suture.

In the first line of the longer text are visible the words, רוחין, ללתא; in the second אנת רוח, indicating an address to the evil spirit. The following names are visible: פרוך, cf. 5: 1; (?) מרדכי בן שאל, also spelt מו׳, "Mordecai ben Saul"; and a woman's name (evidently the wife of the first-named man— בעלה can be read in one place), נסבי, so the almost certain reading. I take the name to be a feminine hypocoristic in *-âi* to be connected with Gathaspar, in the *Excerpta barbara* to Eusebius (ed. Schoene, i, app. 228), one of the three Wise Men, the later Gaspar (Caspar, Jaspar), connected by philologists with the Old-Persian Windafarna; Justi, p. 368.

The use of a skull for recording a magical inscription opens up an interesting line of magical practice. The skull has become part of the stock apparatus of the necromancer, and its use in that connection is typical of his power over the dead, while the presence of the gruesome object adds to the awe in which he is held. But all through magic runs the morbid theme of the use of mortuary remains. In the Greek love charms, the texts are buried in the graveyard; in the magic brews for compelling love,

[1] This statement must now be qualified, as I learn through Professor Ranke that two similar skulls are in the Berlin Museum.

human bones are used, and in a late Arabic charm a broom from a cemetery has efficacy in bringing the beloved to the lover's side (see to No. 28). Cf. the burial of Pognon's bowls in a cemetery. Primitive animistic beliefs have survived, which connect the skeleton with the world of spirits; it is a material *point d'appui*, and the skull is especially preferred as the most striking and perhaps most durable part of the anatomy. It may be noticed that in Arabic the word for skull is also used of the soul (Wellh. *Skizzen*, 3, p. 161, 164).[2] There is a reference in the Talmud to the necromantic use of a skull; *Sanh.* 65b: "there are two kinds of necromancy (בעל אוב), the one where the dead is raised by naming him, the other where he is asked by means of a skull (הנשאל בגלגלת)." Joel (*Aberglaube*, i, 44) thinks this refers to some artificial skull-shaped object; but our actual skull illustrates the practice noticed in the Talmud. The use of skulls (*calvaria*) in classical magic is also vouched for in the Apology of Apuleius; see Abt, p. 141. For this practice of "speaking skulls," we may note its special vogue among the Sabians; see Chwolson, *Die Ssabier*, ii, 150, and Dozy and de Goeje, *Actes* of the Leyden (6th) Congress of Orientalists, ii, 365 f., cf. 293.

But the skull was also efficacious as a prophylactic object. James of Edessa notes that a dried human head was used by the heathen Syrians as an amulet (quoted by Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 362, referring to Kayser's edition of the *Canones*, p. 142). Especially as part of the skeleton was it efficacious against the evil eye; see Seligmann, *Der böse Blick*, ii, 141, who notes the use in Italy of a tiny skull-charm against the *Jettatura*, and also the use among the ancient Taurians and the tribes of Caucasus of the heads of enemies stuck on poles as a prophylactic; also Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, 340, notes the use of skeleton-like figures as talismans in Italy; he finds the same talisman in classic times, comparing King, *Gnostics and their Remains*, 213 (ed. 2, 180). The skull therefore falls into the general category of frightful or obscene objects, which had the power of repelling the evil eye in particular and evil spirits in general.

[2] Dr. Speck, of the Museum, informs me that the North American Indians carefully preserve the skulls of the animals they hunt, as a means of the reincarnation of the beasts, and I understand like customs are found over the world.

No. 42

Towards the close of my work on this volume, Professor Richard Gottheil, who had several years ago thought of publishing the bowls, kindly forwarded me some notes and transcriptions which he had made in his preliminary essays. Among the papers was the copy of a text which is not now found in the Museum. It differed so radically from the other inscriptions that I inquired of Prof. Gottheil if it was taken from a bowl. He replied that he knew of no other source whence the text could have come into his set of papers. Accordingly on the hypothesis that the original text was once in the Museum, I venture to publish Prof. Gottheil's copy, and do so the more readily because of its interesting character and the illustration it affords to several points in the texts above. It contains a form of the Lilith legend, widespread in folklore, and a bowl would have been a perfectly proper place for a text of this prophylactic character. I have not however included the text in my Glossaries.

שדי

סנוי סנסנוי סמנגלף אדם יהוה קרמונה חיין לילית

בשם ייי אלהי ישראל יושב הכרובים ששמו חי וקים לעד · אליהו הנביא היה הולך בדרך ופגע בלילית הרשעה ובכל כת דילה אמר לה אן את הולכת טמאה ורוח הטומאה וכל כת דילך טמאים הולכים · ותען ותאמר לו אדוני אליהו אנכי הולכת לבית היולדה מירקאדה ד'מ ויאידה כת דונה לתת לה שינת המות ולקחת את ילדה הנולד לה למצוץ דמו ולמצוץ מוח עצמותיו ולחתם את בשרו ויאמר לה אליהו הנביא ז"ל [זכרו לברכה] בחרם מאת השם יתברך עצורה תהיה וכאבן דומה תהיה · ותען ותאמר לו למען ייי תתירכי מן החרם ואנכי אברח ואשבע לך בשם ייי אלהי ישראל לעזוב הדברים אלו מה יולתת (*sic*) חזאות ומולדה הנולד לה ומכל שכן להזיק וכל זמן שמזכירים או אני רואה את שמותי בתובים לא יהיה לי וכל כת דילי כח להרע ולהזיק ואלו הן שמותי : לילית : אביטר . אביקר : אמורפו הקש אודם : איכפידו : איילו : טטרוטה : אבנוקטה : שטריהה : קלי : תלתוי : ריטשה : והשיב לה אליהו

הנביא ז"ל ואמר לה הריני משביעך ולכל בת דילך בשם ייי אלהי ישראל גי"ם תרינ אברהם יצחק ויעקוב ובשם שכינתו הקדושה ובשם עשרה שרפים אופנים וחיות הקדש ועשרה ספרי תורה ובכח אלהי הצבאות ב"ה שלא תלכי לא את ולא מכת דילך להזיק את היולדת הזאת או את ולדה הנולד לה לא לשתות את דמו לא למצוץ מח עצמותיו ולא לחתם את בשרו ולא ליגע בחם לא ברו"ג אבריהן ולא בשם"ה גידיהן וערקיהן כמו שאינה יכולה לספור את כוכבי השמים ולא להוביש את מי הים בשם קרע שטן חסדיאל שמריאל

Accompanying the text are given some inscribed designs and phrases. A rough figure of a hand (prophylactic against the evil eye) contains the Aramaic legend:

אנא מזרעי דיוסף קא (? הא =) אתינא ולא שלטא ביה שנא בישא :

"I am the seed-producer (?) of Joseph; when I come, an evil year cannot prevail over him,"—a play of thought between Joseph as controller of the fertility of Egypt and the fertility of the family, and as a good omen for the expectant mother.

A "David's Shield" contains in the center יאה דונהי, a fanciful form of Adonai, on the left hand שטן, "Satan," in another division אבג and nearby יתין (?), i. e. אבניתין, to be found in Schwab, *Vocab.* Another species of the shield more roughly designed contains יהוה in the center, flanked with יה, etc. and אדני, with מטטרון and סנדלפון on either side. The changes are rung on the possible mutations of ילק, and the scripture Dt. 28: 10 is cited. Similar charms against the Lilith are to be found at the end of *Sefer Raziel* and in Buxtorf's *Lexicon, s. v.*

Translation

Shaddai

Sanui Sansanui Semniglaph Adam YHWH Kadmon Life Lilith

In the name of Y" the God of Israel who besits the cherubs, whose name is living and enduring forever. Elija the prophet was walking in the road and he met the wicked Lilith and all her band. He said to her, Where art thou going, Foul one and Spirit of foulness, with all thy foul band walking along? And she answered and said to him: My lord Elija, I

am going to the house of the woman in childbirth who is in pangs (?), of So-and-so daughter of Such-a-one, to give her the sleep of death and to take the child she is bearing, to suck his blood and to suck the marrow of his bones and to devour his flesh. And said Elija the prophet——blessed his name!—With a ban from the Name—bless it!—shalt thou be restrained and like a stone shalt thou be! And she answered and said to him: For the sake of Y" postpone the ban and I will flee, and will swear to thee in the name of Y" God of Israel that I will let go this business in the case of this woman in childbirth and the child to be born to her and every inmate so as do no injury. And every time that they repeat or I see my names written, it will not be in the power of me or of all my band to do evil or harm. And these are my names: Lilith, Abitar (Abito?), Abikar (Abiko?), Amorpho, Hakaš, Odam, Kephido, Ailo, Matrota, Abnukta, Šatriha, Kali, Batzeh, Taltui, Kitša. And Elija answered and said to her: Lo, I adjure thee and all thy band, in the name of Y" God of Israel, by gematria 613, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and in the name of his holy Shekina, and in the name of the ten holy Seraphs, the Wheels and the holy Beasts and the Ten Books of the Law, and by the might of the God of Hosts, blessed is he!—that thou come not, thou nor thy band to injure this woman or the child she is bearing, nor to drink his blood nor to suck the marrow of his bones nor to devour his flesh, nor to touch them neither in their 256 limbs nor in their 365 ligaments and veins, even as she is (= thou art?) not able to count the number of the stars of heaven nor to dry up the water of the sea. In the name of: 'Hasdiel Šamriel has rent Satan.'

Commentary

Only a few detailed notes are necessary. Of the terms at the beginning, סנוי סנסנוי and סמנגלף are common in childbirth charms (see Schwab. *Vocab.*, *s.* יד.). The second is erroneously explained by Schwab; it is שם נ', the inscribed Name, cf. the שם ... גליף in 11: 9. סנוי and its reduplication סנסנוי probably mean "divorced."

N. B. the order of Adam, Yhwh, Kadmon.

מירקאדא ד'מ(ירקאדא) is obscure to me. The root is probably used in the Syriac sense of mourning, hence supplicating; or cf. Heb. חיל, "writhe," as well as "dance."

יאידא כת דונה I would read as אידה בת דינה, the first as the indefinite pronoun fem. *quaequae*, the last as representing the Greek δεῖνα, which is commonly used in the papyri, the actual name being inserted upon use.

חתם = חטף, cf. Arabic קטם.

Of the names of the Lilith the second = Abatur the Mandaic genius (see Glossary A); but the possible reading of the copy, Abito, may be preferable, in view of the Greek parallels; see below; the third is the Greek ἀμορφος.

613: the figure is the gematriac sum of 'the Lord God of Israel,' as also the number of positive and negative commandments of the Law. As Mr. A. Simon, Harrison Fellow of the University, has suggested to me, the preceding abbreviation stands for גימטריא.

The "256 limbs" are 248 in Jewish lore. For the 365 ligaments, cf. the identical expression in a charm given by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 295.

The 10 Books of the Law are the double of the Pentateuch; cf. the Eighth Book of Moses in the Leyden MS. which Dieterich has published at the end of his *Abraxas*.

The very ancient use of epical narrative as an efficient magical charm was described above p. 62; thus the mere narrative of a demon's power, as in the case of Dibbarra, is potent, or, *à fortiori*, the relation of a triumph over the evil spirit from some sacred legend. In the present case we have the added virtue of the revelation of the demon's names, and she swears that whenever they confront her, she will retire; the knowledge of her names binds her (cf. p. 56).

Dr. M. Gaster has published in *Folk-lore* xi (whole number xlvi), 129, an interesting paper entitled "Two Thousand Years of a Charm Against the Child-Stealing Witch." The latter uncanny spirit has already met us in several of our preceding texts (Nos. 11, 18, 36, etc.). Dr. Gaster surveys a wide material of European and Semitic forms of this magical narrative, all of which have evidently the same root. He draws on Slavonic, Roumanian and modern Greek legends, and cites one of Gollancz's Syrian charms, a collection to which I have had frequent occasion to refer,[1] and also quotes

[1] In *Actes* of the 8th International Congress of Orientalists, Sect. 4, p. 77. Most of these charms are in the narrative style. Cf. also a similar Syriac charm given by Hazard, *JAOS*, xv, 286 f.

in translation a Jewish charm of the same order from the *Mystery of the Lord* (in the Hebrew סוד יי, a book I have not been able to obtain).

This Jewish legend is almost identical with ours. It is considerably shorter, concluding with the names of the Lilith and a direction to hang up the names in the room of the woman concerned. The names are almost identical with those in our text; they are: Satrina, Lilith, Abito, Amizo, Izorpo, Koko, Odam, Ita, Podo, Eilo, Patrota, Abiko, Kea, Kali, Batna, Talto, Partasah. My form Amorpho is probably older; Koko =κακός may be preferable to my Kaš.

In both these Jewish forms Elija and the Lilith are the actors. In the Syriac legend quoted by Gaster from Gollancz, it is a saint Mar Ebedishu and the Evil Spirit in the likeness of an ugly woman who are the characters; the latter has for one of her names that of "the Strangling-mother of children" (cf. above to 36: 4). In the European Christian legends, the benevolent actor is the Virgin, Michael, or a certain saint bearing the name Sisoe, or Sisynios. These names are derived from the Jewish סנוי סנסנוי, as Gaster suggests. In the Greek legend the spirit is Gylo, the earlier Γελλω, which appears also in the magical papyri.[2] In all children are the object of the fiend's ravages, in one case the charm is for a boy afflicted with cataract.

There are some other simpler forms of this legend contained in Greek manuscript amulets which were not accessible to Dr. Gaster. In his *Poimandres*, p. 298, Reitzenstein publishes a text which is the earlier prototype of the Roumanian folk-legend published by Gaster, p. 132. It reads: "When the archangel Michael came down from heaven, there met him the impure spirit with her hair down her back and her eyes inflamed. And the archangel Michael said to her: Whence comest and whither goest thou? The impure one answered and said to him: I go to enter the house as a serpent, dragon, reptile, I change into a quadruped, I go to make the plagues of women, to humble their heart, to dry up the milk, to raise the hair of the master of the house .... and then I kill them. For my name is called Paxarea. For when the Holy Mary bore the Word of Truth

[2] Wessely, Vienna *Denkschriften*, xlii, 66, also Γυλον, Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 298. For Gello = the Assyrian Gallu, see Frank, *ZA*, xxiv, 161.

I went to deceive her and ..?..[3] And the archangel Michael seized her by the locks on the right hand and said to her: Tell me thy twelve names.[4] And she said: I am called first Gelou, second Morphous, (third, etc.) Karanichos, Amixous, Amidazou, Marmalat, Karane, Selenous, Abiza, Ariane, Maran. Wherever are found my twelve names and thy name, archangel Michael, and thy name Sisinios and Sinodoros, I will not enter into the house of such a one." Compare also the amulet given on the preceding page in Reitzenstein (p. 297), lacking the reference to the Virgin, the demon enumerating her plagues.

A similar legend, in large part identical with both these just named, is given in the Greek-Italian charms published by Pradel.[5] In this Michael descending from Sinai meets the hag Abuzou[6] and the demons cast out of heaven. He inquires where she is going; she answers she crawls into houses like a serpent, dragon, etc., to bring all evils on men, to dry up the mother's milk, to wake the children and kill them. Then, evidently a Christian accretion, she causes faction in the church, sends floods, destroys ships. Michael asks her her name, which is Pataxaro. He asks for her many names. She swears by the throne of God and the eye (= eyes) of the Beasts (cf. the oath in our text) that she will tell the truth. She then gives forty names, the first two of which are Gilou, Morphou.

The legend sometimes ran out into the line of particular diseases, e. g. cataract, as in one of the Roumanian forms; or Beelzebub and other demons are named, as in an amulet in Vassiliev, *Anecdota byzantina*, i, 336. But the story of the wife-hating, child-murdering hag is the original element, as Gaster points out.

We thus possess forms of the legend in Hebrew and Syriac, in Greek texts of eastern and western Europe, and in modern Roumanian and Slavonic folklore, while the heroes of the epic include Elijah, Michael, Christ and various saints known or obscure. The persistency of the form appears also in the charm names. To compare the lists in the two Hebrew texts and in the two of Wendland and Pradel respectively and in Gollancz

[3] Cf. the early Christian myth of the devil's wiles, *Rev.* 12.

[4] The same number is found in the Hekate-Isis legend.

[5] *Griechische u. süd.- italienische Gebete*, 23.

[6] The Avezuba and Avestitza in Gaster's Roumanian legends.

(Syriac), we find that the initial Hebrew Lilith = Greek Gelou or Gilou = Syriac Geos, doubtless = Gelos. The second in the Hebrew, Abito (Abitar?) = Apiton the ninth in the Syriac; the third, Abiko (Abikar?) = Abiza or Abuzou in the Greek texts, and as we observed above Avezuba in the Roumanian. The fourth Amorpho (in our text) = Morphous or Morphou having third place in the Greek texts, and Martlos, 4th in the Syriac. Amorpho is doubtless the Greek ἀμορφος, "shapeless," and our Jewish text alone has preserved the correct form. Eilo and its obscure predecessor in the Hebrew may be found in Pradel's Morpheilaton, and the latter's Phlegumon may translate the Hebrew קלי.

It is impossible to place our phylactery genealogically in such a mass of interrelated material. The Jewish text doubtless depends upon Greek tradition with its magical name Amorpho and its transliteration of δεῖνα, while the later Greek forms have borrowed from the Hebrew in St. Sisynios. But the source of the legend is the common property of mankind, with roots as ancient as the Babylonian Labartu and Gallu. A child-killing demon which sucks babes' blood, etc., is found in Africa; see Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection,* i, 285, a reference pointed out to me by Professor Jastrow. In the Hellenistic magic a classical form of such legend was established out of all the elements that were brought together in that age, and this spread again assuming its variant forms among the peoples and faiths. If our text actually came from Nippur, it is of interest as the earliest form of the Jewish legend and as one which can be dated with approximate accuracy.

Corrections and Additions

P. 20, line 4: read "Berlin" for "British."

P. 20: add to the list of published Mandaic bowls the two photographic plates of bowls (plates 1, 2) in J. de Morgan, *Études linguistiques,* vol. v, part 2, of his *Mission scientifique en Perse.*

P. 105, line 20: the Koran gives to the Mandaeans the same privileges as the Jews and the Christians (see 2: 59; 5: 73; 22: 17).

GLOSSARIES

GLOSSARY A

PERSONAL NAMES AND EPITHETS OF DEITIES, ANGELS, DEMONS, ETC.

GLOSSARY B

PROPER NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

GLOSSARY C

GENERAL GLOSSARY

Prefatory Note

Glossary C is arranged according to roots, the other two consonantally. The former indexes only the common nouns.

The citations of other authorities can be understood from § 2. The two publications of Pognon's are cited as "A" and "B", and Pognon's full glossaries will serve to locate all words of his texts. Where lines of texts are given, the reference is to the spiral line if facsimile is given, otherwise to the lines of the printed text. I have not thought it necessary to give the line citation for proper names even in my own texts, as they can be easily identified.

Under Glossary B, the following abbreviations are used: d. = daughter of, f. = father, h. = husband, m. = mother, s. = son, w. = wife.

Where a word appears in my text the first citation may be referred to for any treatment by the editor; references are also added to further discussions in the Introduction. Notes are occasionally added to words found in texts of other editors.

In Glossaries A and B all the occurrences are given with the exception of a few common divine names like יהוה; in Glossary C only typical citations and peculiar forms; also it has been the aim to give citations from the three dialects.

GLOSSARY A

PERSONAL NAMES AND EPITHETS OF DEITIES, ANGELS, DEMONS, ETC.

אבונבאנא evil deity: Pogn B.

אבונדאנא evil deity: Lidz 4, 5 (for these two names, see to 11: 5).

אבדא Destroyer 3.

אבהו divine name?: 7; Myhr.

אבטור Abatur, Mandaic genius: Ellis 1 (א' טורא); Wohls 2417 (אבוטור); see p. 96.

איבול deity (Apollo? Aeon?): 19.

איבולית feminine to above: *ib.*

אביר epithet of God: 8.

אברכס, אברכסים, אברכים Abrasax: 7 (= Myhr), 19, 34 (see pp. 57, 99).

אגדול mystic name: Schw F.

אגזריאל deity or angel: 19.

אגרבים "the holy Agrabis": 14.

אדאניאל angel: Schw I.

אדוני Adonai: 34; Pogn B.

אזדאי angel: Pogn B; Lidz 1.

אזזיאל angel: 19.

אזפא deity?: 19.

אחוד בת איתרא ghost: Wohls 2417.

אלא God: 18.

אלאל divine name: 13.

אלבעבן, אלבנמין mystical name?: Wohls 2422.

אלדדביה וגי mystical name: 5.

אלהא, אי God: 7, 16, etc.

אלהים Elohim: Ellis 1; Hyv.

אליאל angel: 10.

אילסור Ellis 1 (but see to 11: 4).

אל פנים El Panim: 8.

אלפסס name of Gabriel: Wohls 2422.

אל שדי El Shaddai: 8, 34, etc.

אמא demon (bath Imma): Wohls 2426.

אימי name of demon: Wohls 2416 = Stübe (see p. 77).

אמאתעמא a genius: Lidz 5 ("anathema"?).

אננרוס deity: 19.

אנד deity: 19.

אנפרת demon: Schw F (see p. 25).

אסתאנא Satan: Montg.

אספנדסדיוא Cpenta-dewa, name of Solomon's Jinn (see Grünbaum, *Zts. f. Keils.-forsch.*, ii, 224, Nöldeke, *ib.* 297).

אוסרא epithet of angel ("charmer"): Schw, *PSBA*, xii, 298.

אפטוקא Wohls 2422 (=אבטור?).

אצלצל angel: Wohls 2416.

אוקינוס Okeanos (?): 19.

אקף נקף נוקף series of mystical names: Schw F.

ארדיסבא deity: 19.
ארזן deity: 19.
אריאל angel: 19; Schw I.
אוריאל angel: Stübe (Wohls l. חתיאל).
ארין deity?: 19; 34.
ארמים, ארמסא, הרמים Hermes, see to 2: 2.
אירם a deity (Eros, Ares?): 19.
אשתקותקוף infernal genius: Pogn B (cf. Glossary C, שקף; but cf. *Aristikifa,* in Dillmann's text to Enoch 6: 7).
אית ghost: Schw 2417.

בי = Bel: 36.
ביאחיאל (?) angel: Schw G.
בנדאנא, בנדנא deity: 11, 18, 19, Montg.
בוזאי lilith: 40.
בחלבם lilith: 18 (cf. חלבם).
בעודאי angel: 38.
ברחאל angel: Schw N.
ברכעיל angel: Pogn B.
ברקיאל angel: Wohls 2416.

גבריאל, גבריל, גברעיל Gabriel: 7; 34; etc. (see p. 96 f.).
גדריאל angel: 14.

דביא epithet of Hermes: 2.
דבאק angel: Pogn B (cf. טבאק).
דודיב demon: 36.
דליבת Dlibat = Dilbat, goddess of love: 28.
דומה mother of demon: Schw G.
דימיאל angel: Wohls 2416.

דנחיש demon: 19.
דנייל angel: Schw N.
דינימוסיתתא ghost: Schw 2417.
דרוא deity or angel: 40.
דרטוסיאל angel: Schw I.
דרקיאל angel: Schw I.
דושעיל angel: Pogn B.

הדריאל angel: Stübe (Wohls נידריאל).
הפביאל angel: Wohls 2416.
הרמים s. ארמסא.

זגד father of ארין: 19, 34.
זעוא Zeus: 19.
זיקיאל angel: Wohls 2416.
זרני, זארנאי granddam of a lilith: 11 and parallels.

חבובית epithet of אדונאי: Pogn B.
חביאל angel: 13.
חטטריאל angel: Schw *PSBA,* xii, 298.
חיא, חייא Life, Mand. supreme deity: 40; Pogn A, B; Lidz 5.
חיות the Living Creatures: 8.
חיל ביש Evil Potency: 30.
חלבם, חבלסם, חלראם lilith: 11 and parallels.
חאמיאל angel: Schwab, *l. c.*
חומיחיאל angel: Stübe = Wohls חנתיחיאל.
חמוציה demon: Schw G.
חמריאל angel: 35.
חניניאל angel: 13; Stübe.
חסדיאל angel: Schw N.
חושו ghost: Schw 2417.

חתיאל angel: Wohls 2416 (for Stübe's, אוריאל).

חתמיאל angel: 35.

טבק, טאבאק (cf. דבאק) angel: Pogn B.

טלסבוני deity: 19.

טורא see אבטור.

ידיד, יודיד ghosts: Wohls 2417.

יהוה YAHWE *passim*.

יאז, יזדן angel: Pogn B; Lidz 1.

יאזדרן angel: Pogn B.

יאזרויא angel: *ib*.

יחיאל angel, or divine name: 25.

יאנאי lilith: 38.

יופיאל angel, or divine name: 25.

יקרן angel: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

יורבא Mandaic divine name: Pogn B.

יתבא angel, with "eleven names" following: Schw G.

כבשעיל angel: Pogn B.

כיטא the "heat" demon: 30: 2.

כסדיאל angel: Hyv (in כי עיסרא דכישראי; cf. Kasdeya angel of evil arts, *Enoch* 69: 12).

ליויתן Leviathan: 2.

מדובינא demon: 37.

מהפכיאל angel: Wohls 2416.

מחזעיל angel: Pogn B.

מחבלא the Destroyer: 9.

ממנחיל angel: Schw G.

מיטטרון Metatron: 25; Wohls 2416.

מיכאל, מיכאיל Michael: 34, etc. (see p. 96 f.).

מלויאשין Signs of Zodiac: 4.

מללא, מלילא, ממללא the Word: 27, 19, 2 (see to 2: 2).

ממינוש deity?: 11.

מן, מאנא Mandaic genius: 19; Wohls 2422.

מנדינסן deity: 19.

מנטריאל angel: 35.

מנירנש deity: 19.

מיצואה name of God: 29.

מר demon: Wohls 2416 (see p. 81).

מרנלא epithet of a deity: 19.

מות ghost: Wohls 2417.

נבאט Mandaic genius: Pogn. B.

ננוזנאי angel: 38.

נידריאל angel: Wohls 2416.

נהריאל angel: 14.

נטריאל angel: Schw *PSBA*, xii, 298.

ננאי god Nannai: 36.

נקרדוס deity: 19.

נוריאל angel: 35; Wohls 2416 (see p. 96).

נירינ god Nirig; 36; נירין: Ellis 1.

סודה name of God: Ellis 3.

סהרה, סיהרא, סירא (Mand) Moon: 34, Wohls 2416; Pogn B.

סחטעיל, etc. angel: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

סינא Sin: 36; Montg.

סחנודמוך deity: 19.

סטנא Satan: 2, etc.; סטאנא, 19; cf. אסתאנא.

ססנביאל angel: Wohls 2416.

סר, סרא "the Prince": 5, 7 (see p. 97 f.).

סוריאל angel: 15; Schw I.

סרסמיאל angel: 14.

סרפיאל angel: 14, 19.

סרריאל angel: 15.

עזריאל angel: 8.

עיאאל genius or angel: Schw F.

עניאל angel: Wohls 2416 (see Wohls p. 27, and Bousset, *Arch. f. Rel.-wiss.*, iv, 268).

עסאל, עסיאל: angel: 7; Myhr.

עסתר Istar, Mand. evil deity: Pogn B (a she-angel, nos. 14, 15); = name of lilith?: 38, 40.

עקריאל angel: 8.

עקרתא "Barrenness": 11.

ערביאל angel: Wohls 2416.

עורפאיל form of Raphael: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

פטרגינוס deity: 19.

פלג *idem.*

פלחס, פלחדד father and mother of demons: 8 (variants in 17).

פלניני deity: 19.

פלסא פליסא genius: 8.

פניאל angel.

פפריוים for Piriawis, Mand. genius: Pogn B.

פרעיל, פרועיל form of Raphael: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

פרקיאל angel: Wohls 2416.

צ' נורא, צ' צבאות: 8; ידוה צ': 8.

צדיקיל angel: Schw N.

צנובית epithet of Adonai: Pogn B.

צור epithet of God: 8.

צוריאל angel: 14; Schw I.

ציר נליף deity: Lidz 5 (but see to No. 11).

קבקביאל angel: 8.

קדרון רבא "the great Kedron": Wohls 2422 (cf. Mand. "the great Jordan").

קטולתא name of demon: 36.

קאטריאוים angel: Lidz 5.

קוסא divine name?: 19.

קפא *idem.*

קצפמה name of angel of death: Schw F.

ראויל angel: Schw N.

רחזיל, רחזעל angel: Pogn B.

ראייאל angel: Schw I.

ראם פתאן a male genius: Lidz 4.

ראם פתית a female genius: *ibid.*

ריקין angel: Pogn B.

ראשיאל angel: Schw I.

רבויל angel: Schw N.

רובמא a genius?: Schw F.

רי, רבקא mother of demons.

רז Mystery: 37.

רחמיאל angel: 13, 28.

רחציאל angel: Schw I.

רופאחיל, רופעיל, רופאעיל, רופיאיל, רפאל (cf. עורפאיל, פרעיל) Raphael: *passim*, see p. 96 f.

שבייאל angel: 10.

שבקאיאל, שבקאייל angel: Pogn B.

שדי Shaddai: 8; Myhr; שדא אל, 7.

שדריאל angel: Schw N.

שלטיאיל angel: 35.

שמהזא deity: Montg. (Prof. F. Perles calls my attention to the midrashic occurrence of שמחזי; see Grünbaum, ZDMG, xxxi, 225 f. = *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Perles, 1901, p. 59 f.). See p. 198.

שאמיש, שמיש Sun: 36, 30; Pogn B; שמשא, Montg.

שנגיאל angel: 25.

שראיאייל, שרעיל, שריאיל, שריאל angel: 14, 35; Pogn B.

שרקאייל angel: Pogn B.

שרירי demon: Schw F.

תיחייאל angel: Schw F.

תנאי עדול(ה) genius: *ibid.*

תיקיש angel: Ellis 1 (= Lidz קאטריאוים).

Also eleven names of angel in Ellis 3: סיסרייה, ברכבה, כבבה, סריה, ססבלא, הידריה, עזביה, בזוקפה, ארמפה (= ארמסא ?), ארקפס,—; cf. the "eleven" names in Schw G: פכררי, דמחנה, מתוקפא, עתיק, מיעיני, דמידור, כבבא, שראיה, ססרבא, בנים. In Schw M a list of mystical angel names: צלל, עלל, מלל, etc. A list of evil spirits in Schw G: נכר, ננלה מחמת, ססטוי, ססטימו. Names of ghosts, some cited above, Wohls 2417. For a lilith's names, see No. 42.

Some Kabbalistic forms of יהוה etc. (see p. 60 f.):

יהו יוה, Schw Q; ייו, Schw O; וייו, *ib.*; והוה, Hyv; ווו, Ellis 4, Hyv; יהו יהו יהו Stübe, l. 16; יה שמו, *ib.* l. 28; יהביה, 7: 8, Stübe, l. 15, cf. 13: 7; הה הה, 7: 12; יאהיהו 31: 6; יהוק, 14: 2.

אהיה אשר אהיה, Stübe, l. 29; אהעה, 5, center; אאא Schw I; אאאא Stübe, l. 35, אאאאא, 20: 2, 5.

אין אין, Stübe, l. 15; מץ מץ יחיק יחיק, סף סף, 15: 2; קץ שץ מץ etc. 29: 10 מצפץ (Atbash), Stübe, l. 66. Cf. also 1: 13, 24: 4f, 3: 6, etc.

GLOSSARY B

PROPER NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

אבא Abba s. Komesh: 17; s. Barkita: Stübe.

איבא Ibba s. Zawithai: 2.

אבהו Abbahu (a sorcerer?): 7, Myhr.

אבנדוך Abanduch d. Pušbi: 5.

אבונא Abuna s. Geribta: 2.

אברהם Abraham (the patriarch): 8, Schw O; s. Dadbeh: 12, 16.

אגלת Aglath d. Maḥlath: Schw P.

אידי Idi, m. Asmin: Wohls 2417.

אדם Adam; בני אדם: 10; א' קדמאה: 13, Pogn A.

אדק Adaḳ s. Ḥathoi: 6.

אדור יזדנדור Aduryazdandur; Pogn B (for first component see Justi, pp. 5, 51; the second error for Yazdandad?—see *ib.* 146).

איהי (?) Ihi f. Ephra: 18.

איזדנדוך Izdanduch m. Yezidad: 7, 27.

אויא Azia m. Maria: Lidz 3.

אחדבוי Aḥdabui s. Aḥathbu: Wohls 2422.

אחת, Mand. אחאת Aḥath d. Parkoi: 3; d. Ḥathoi: 6; m. Dodai: 21, 22, 23; d. Doda: 25; d. Nebazach: 28; m. Churreniḳ: Lidz 2; d. Dade: Lidz 5.

אחתבו Aḥathbu m. Aḥdabui: Wohls 2422.

אחתאדבה, אחתאראבה Aḥathadbah d. Imma: Wohls 2426, 2414.

אחתאטבן (w. prep. ליח') Aḥathaṭbon, d. Nanai: Pogn B, no. 18 (not in glossary).

אחאת רבתא: Aḥath-rabta m. Farruchiro: Pogn B.

אחתעמא Aḥathema m. Dade: Pogn B.

אוכמי Ukkamai f. Zuṭra: Schw F.

אמה, אמא Imma m. Ḥisdai Schw E; m. Osera: Schw G.

אמטור Amṭur d. Solomon: Schw I.

אוני הרמסדר טרדי (?). Oni Harmasdar Ṭardi m. Ṭardi: 20.

אנור..ד Anur..d s. Parkoi: 28.

אנוש Anoš m. Zadanoš: Pogn B.

אנושאי Anošai d. Mehinducht: *ibid.*

אנישיא Aniše (error for previous name?) *ibid.*

אנושתא Anošta, *ibid.*

אנות חיא Anuth-ḥaye d. Sebre-le-Yesho: *ibid.* ("vessel of life"?).

אסטרובא Astroba: 29.

אסמין Asmin d. Idi: Wohls 2417.

אסמנדוכת, ד-Asmanducht m. Dadbeh: 12, 16, 31, 33.

אספנז Aspenaz m. (?) Gaye: Myhr (see to 7: 4).

אוסרא Osera s. Osera and Imma: Schw G (see p. 83).

אפאדוי Aphadoi s. Dawiwi: Pogn B.

אפרה, אפרא Ephra s. Šaborduch: 1, 13; s. Ihi: 18.

אפרידויא Aphridoe d. Kušizag: Lidz 4 (cf. Justi, p. 6).

איצפנדוי Iṣpandoi w. Ephra: 18.

איצפנדרמיד, 26: 5, איס' (32, 35), איסי' (30) Iṣpandarmed m. Yandundišnaṭ: 30; m. Dinoi: 32, 35; m. Behdar: Ellis 1.

ארדוי Ardoi s. Hormizduch: 3; s. Gayye: Myhr.

ארחא Arḥa f. (m.) Išpiza: 30.

אריון Arion s. Zand: 19; 34 (sorcerer or deity?).

ארתשריה Artašria s. Komes: 17.

אישפיזא Išpiza s. Arḥa: 30.

אשיר, אשר Ašer f. Bosmath; Schw F; H.

אתאדבה Athadba d. Immi: Wohls 2426 (cf. אחתבו ff.).

אתרונא Ethroga m. Ḳuḳai: Pogn B ("citron").

באבי Babai s. Bedin: Wohls 2417 (cf. Syriac. בבי, see Nöld. *Pers. St.* 395, 414).

בבאנוש, באבנוש, בבנוש Babanoš s. Kayyomta: 9; s. Mehanoš: Pogn B.

בידון, better בידין Be(h)din f. Babai: Wohls 2417 (see Justi, p. 347 b).

בהמנדוך, בת-Bahmanduch(t)d. Sama: 1, 13; m. Geyambuch: Pogn B.

בהרד Bahrad: Ellis 1 (see G. Hoffmann, *Ausz. aus syr. Acten*, 128).

בחרעזאנ Bahrezag d. Kawaranoš: Pogn B.

בחרוי Bahroi d. Bath-sahde: 34.

בהרנדוך Bahranduch d. Newanduch: Ellis 1 (see Nöld., *Z. f. K. F.* ii, 296).

באנאי Banai m. Merduch: 7, 27.

בר אישור ? perh. "son of praise" (artificial name of sorcerer?) Schw G.

ברבאביא Barbabe m. Yazid: Pogn B.

ברגלל Bar-gelal s. Dodai: 15.

ברדסא (?) Bardesa d. Terme: 39.

בר חאיי Bar-ḥaye: Rodw = Hal = Schw C (so Chwol *CIH*, 112; cf. Talmudic name חייא).

ברוך אריא Baruk-aria (Farruch?) s. Reshinduch: Schw M.

בריכיהביה Berikyahbeh s. Mamai: 26 (artificial form).

ברכיתא Barkita m. Abba: Stübe.

בר מסוסיה (?) Bar-mesosia: Hal, Schw C. (cf. my note on Schwab E, § 3; a master magician, with artificial name?).

בר משתאל, ־איל, Bar-mištael: 7, Myhr (see to 7: 13).

בר שיבבי Bar-šibebi s. Tshehrazad: 15.

בשמאת Bosmath d. Ašer: Schw F (biblical).

בת סהדא Bath-sahde m. Bahroi: 34.

באת, בית אסיא Beth-asia d. Mehanosh: Pogn B, 3, 29.

גיאמבוך Geyambuch(?)d. Bahmanducht: Pogn B.

גיי Gaye s. Aspenaz: Myhr.

גיונאי Geyonai s. Mamai: 8.

געלויא Geloia (Geloie) m. Durduch: Pogn B; the same probably גילוי: no. 16094, unpub. (= *γελοία*, "laughter"?).

גמליל Gamaliel: Schwab O.

גניבא Geniba s. Dodai: Montg.

גספי Gaspai w.(?) Farruch: 41.

גורוי Guroi s. Ṭaṭi: 25.

גושנ[אי] Gušnai d. Beth-asia Pogn B, no. 3 (cf. below, יאזדפנה נושנאי).

דאדה Dada f. Šarḳoi: 12, 15.

דאדיא Dade m. Terme: 39; m. Maḥlaphta: Pogn B; d. Aḥath: *ib.* (also written דאדיה); d. Aḥath: Lidz 5 (דאדע).

דודא, דודאי, דודי Doda(i) d. Martha: 15; d. Aḥath: 21, 22, 23; m. Aḥath: 25; m. Hinduitha: 38.

דאדבה, דדבה Dadbeh s. Asmanduch: 12, 16, 21, 35.

דאויד, דויד David (the king): 14, 34; Hyv; Lidz 5.

דאויוי Dawiwi(?) f. (?) Aphridoe: Pogn B.

דזאונויא Dazaunoye s. 'Adwitha: 38.

דוכתאנבה Duchtanbeh d. Kumai: Pogn A (p. 18).

דוכתאנוש, דוכתנוש Duchtanoš d. Ḥawwa: Pogn B; m. Farruchusraw: Lidz 4 (cf. Justi, p. 86).

דינוי Dinoi s. Ispandarmed: 35.

דנאריתא, דנריתא, דנרתא Denar(i)ta d. Miša: Pogn B (cf. masc. name Dinar, "penny," Payne-Smith, col. 887).

דענדוך, דינדוך Denduch d. Chosriduch: *ibid.*

דורדוך Durduch d. Geloia: Pogn B (Nöldeke, for Adhurduch).

דרשי Darši "the foreigner": 29.

הדיסתא-אי, הדיסתא Hadista d. Miria: Schw M (biblical Hadassa).

הנדו, הינדו (?הנדי) Hindu d. Maḥlaphta: 24; m. Marathai: 40; m. Mehperoz: Ellis 3 (see above, § 3).

הינדויתא Hinduitha d. Dodai: 38.

הוניק Honiḳ s. Dadbeh: 12, 16; s. Komeš: 17; s. Aḥath: 16020 (unpub.).

הר..דורא H. r.. dora m. Ispandarmed: 26.

הורמיז Hormiz s. Mama: 15; s. Maḥlaphta: Lidz 5.

הורמיזדוך Hormizduch m. Ardoi: 3; d. Mehduch: 14.

זאדבה Zadbeh s. Denarta: Pogn B (Nöldeke, from Azadhbeh).

זדו, זדוי Zadoi s. Newanduch: 10; זאדויא s. ʿAdwitha: 38.

זדאן פרוך Zadanfarruch s. Ḳaḳi: Hyv (cf. Justi, p. 377).

זאדאנוש Zadanoš d. Anoš: Pogn B.

זויתאי Zawithai m. Ibba: 2.

זוטרא Zuṭra s. Ukmai: Schw F (w. title Mar).

זנד Zand f. Arion: 19, 34 (sorcerer or deity?).

זאפה Zapeh s. ?: Pogn B.

זרוי Zaroi s. ?: 37.

זרנכש Zarinkaš d. Maḥlaphta: 24.

חביב Ḥabib: no. 2924 (unpub.).

חוא Ḥawwa (Eve) wife of Adam: 13; m. Šišin: Pogn B.

חליפאי Ḥalifai s. Šišin: 29.

חמרי..שאי Ḥmri..šai d. Emme: Pogn B (no. 19).

אחנוך (חנוך) Enoch the patriarch: 4.

חנון Ḥanun, the house of: 19.

חיסדי Ḥisdai s. Ama: Schw E.

חתימא Ḥathima m. ?: Pogn B.

טאטי Ṭaṭi m. Guroi: 25.

טימאתאיוס Timatheoz s. Mamai: Lidz 2 ("Timotheos," Lidz).

טרדי Ṭardi d. Oni: 20.

טשיהראזד Tsherazad m. Bar-šibebi: 15.

יהושע, יישוע Joshua, Jesus, s. Peraḥia, traditional socerer: 8; 9; 17; 32; 33; 34 (see to 32).

יוריד (?) Yazdid s. Komeš: 17.

יזיד, יאזיד Yazid s. Šišin: Pogn B; s. Barbabe: *ibid.* (Aramaic rather than Arabic, against Pognon B, pp. 103, 14).

יזידאד Yezidad s. Izdanduch: 7, 27.

יזדויה. Yazdoe d. Rašnoi: Pogn B (the same name, Justi, p. 149).

יאזאדפנה גושנאי Yazadpanah Gušnai: Pogn B (for the second word cf. above; the first a Persian name, see Justi, p. 149, Payne-Smith, col. 1585).

יוכבד Yokebed d. ?: no. 2924 (unpub.).

יגדונדישנט Yandundišnaṭ s. Ispandarmed: 30.

יסמין Yasmin d. Dadbeh: 12.

יעקב Jacob the patriarch: 8, Schw O.

יצחק Isaac the patriarch: *ibid.*

כואר אנוש Chewaranoš m. Behrezag: Pogn B (cf. Nöldeke's review, p. 144).

כואשיזג Chewašizag(?) m. Mehrḳai: Pogn A; d. Papa: Lidz 4 (see Pogn, p. 18; Justi, p. 182; Andreas to Lidz, proposing *chush-zak*).

כזאביאת Kezabiath m. Aduryazdandar: Pogn B, no. 23.

כוזחרוי, כוחחורי, כוזעחרוי Chuzehuroi(?) s. Beth-asia: Pogn B.

כלתא Kalletha d. Maḥlaphta: 17.

כומאי Komai m. Duchtanbeh: Pogn A.

כומבוי Kumboi m. Meducht: 35.

בומיש Komeš d. Maḥlaphta: 17.

בסארו Xaro s. Mehanoš: 40.

בסרידוך Chosriduch m. Denduch: Pogn B.

בפני Kaphni f. Newanduch: 10; 11; h. Newanduch 10.

בופיתי, -אי, -א Kufithai m. Pabaḳ: 2, 4; d. Dadbeh: 12, 16.

בוראי Kurai m. Mesorta: Pogn B.

בוריניק Churrenik d. Aḥath: Lidz 2 (cf. Andreas, *ad loc.*).

בוראסאן Churasan w. Chuzehuroi: Pogn B (cf. Justi, p. 78, but see Nöldeke to Pognon, p. 144).

בושענתא, בושנתא Kušenta m. Sumaḳa: Pogn B (from Pers. Warešna, or derivative?—see Justi, p. 354).

בתימא Kethima m. Nana: Schw L.

מהאנוש, מהנוש Mehanoš m. Xaro: 40; m. Babanoš, Pogn B; m. Beth-asia: *ibid.*

מהדוך Mehduch d. Dadbeh: 12, 16; m. Hormizduch: 14; d. Maḥl(aphta): 9007 (unpub.).

מחוי Mehoi s. Dodai: 15.

מהפרוז Mehperoz s. Hindu: Eliis 3 (= Mihrperoz, Justi, p. 206; cf. above, § 3).

מהינדוכת Mehinducht: m. Anošai: Pogn B (= *maheng*, Justi, p. 186?).

מהרבן Mehraban s. Yazdoie: Pogn B (Pogn thinks error for following; but cf. Meribanes = Mihrwan, etc., Justi, p. 208).

מהרודן Mehrodan: Pogn B (cf. Ροδανης = Wardan, Justi, p. 351).

מיהר הורמיזד Mihr-hormizd s. Mamai: 34.

מעהריקאי, -א Mehriḳai s. Kušizag: Pogn A (from Mithrakana, s. Justi, p. 214).

מזראנאספס Mazdanaspas s. Kušizag: Lidz 4 (see Andreas *ad loc.*).

מחלפונא Maḥlephona s. Dade: Pogn B (but Nöldeke, מחלפתא).

מחלפתא Maḥlaphta m. Komeš: 17; m. Mešaršia: 19; m. Hindu, etc.: 24; m. Pathšapta: Pogn B; m. Hormiz: Lidz 5.

מחלת Maḥlath m. Aglath: Schw P (biblical).

מחופתא Meḥuphta m. Raḳdata: Pogn B (but Nöldeke, מחלפתא).

מאידוכת, מידוכת Maiducht d. Kumboi: 35, no. 16093.

מלכונא Malkona s. Maḳsath: Schw P.

ממא, מאמאי, מאמי: Mamai, Mama: m. Geyonai: 8; m. Hormiz: 15; m. Berikyahbeh: 26; m. Mihr-hormizd: 34; m. Ṭimatheoz: Lidz 2.

מסקת Masḳath m. Malkona: Schw P ("olive-gleaner").

מסורתא Mesorta m. Kurai: Pogn B.

מאראבא, מארבא Marabba s. 'Adwitha: 38.

מראדא Marada h. Hinduitha: 38.

מו', מרדכי Mordecai s. Saul: 41.

מירדוך Merduch d. Banai: 7, 27.

מאריא Maria d. Azia: Lidz 3.

מיריא Miria m. Hadista: Pogn M (= Miriam?).

מרים Mariam: Schw Q.

מרשאבור Meršabor f. Kayyoma: Pogn B (= frequent Syriac name, Justi, p. 206).

מארת Marath m. Rašnoi: 8 (= following name).

מרתא Martha m. Dodai: 15.

מאראתאי Marathai d. Hindu: 40.

מושה Moses (the lawgiver): 34, 35.

...מישא Miša... m. Denarta: Pogn B.

משכוי Muškoi d. Simoi: Myhr.

משרשיא Mešaršia s. Maḥlaphta: 19; s. Porath: Schw G.

מתאניש Methaniš d. Rešan: 29.

נבאזך Nebazach m. Aḥath: 28.

ניונדוך Newanduch d. Pushbi: 5; d. Kaphni: 10, 11; m. Behdanduch: Ellis 1.

נח Noah (patriarch): 10.

נאנא, נאנאי Nana d. Kethima: Schw L; Nanai m. Ahathaṭbon: Pogn B.

סעבריא ליעשו Sebre-leyeshu f. Anuthḥaye: Pogn B (w. Pognon = "his (my?) hope is in Jesus").

סמא, סמאי Sama(i) m. Behmanduch: 1, 13.

סימוי Simoi m. Muškoi: Myhr.

סימכוי Simkoi m. ?: 30.

סומאקא, סומקא Sumaḳa s. Kušanta: Pogn B.

סרדוסת Saradust d. Šerin: 9.

עדויתא 'Adwitha m. Marabba, etc.: 38.

עמיא Emme m. Hamri..shai: Pogn B.

ערבדזיוא (?) s. Rabbi, a sorcerer: Hyv (see Nöldeke, *Z. f. Keils.-forsch.*, iii, 297).

פאבק Pabaḳ s. Kufithai: 2, 4.

פנוי Pannoi d. Dadbeh: 16.

פאפא Papa f. Chušizag: Lidz 4.

פפרויה Paproe d. Ḳuḳai: Pogn B (= Arabic Babroe, Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, 400).

פרחיה, פרחיא, פרוחיא Perahia f. Joshua (Jesus): 8; 9; 17; 32; 33; 34 (see to 32).

פרוך Farruch s. Pušbi: 5; s. ?: 41.

פרכוי Parkoi m. Aḥath: 3; m. Anur—: 28.

פרוכאן Farruchan s. Šahduch: Lidz 1.

פרוכסראוא (also פרוכסראוא) Farruchosraw s. Duchtanoš: Lidz 4.

פרוכירו Farruchiro s. Aḥath-rabta: Pogn B (cf. Farruchrui, Justi, p. 96).

פרנגין Pharnagin s. Pharnagin (a traditional conjurer): 7, Myhr.

פורתי Porathai m. Mešaršia: Schw G (cf. פורתא, *Esth.* 9: 8).

פושבי Pušbi m. Farruch: 5.

פת שפתא Path-šapta d. Maḥlaphta: Pogn A (with Pognon = בת שבתא, "Sabbath-daughter").

קאקי Ḳaḳi d. Maḥlaphta: 24; m. Zadanfarruch: Hyv.

קוקאי Ḳuḳai m. Paproe: Pogn B (cf. *κουκαις*, Justi, p. 166).

קיומא Ḳayoma s. Meršabor: Pogn B (a Syriac name, Payne-Smith, col. 3538; cf. the following).

קיומתא Ḳayomta m. Babanoš: 9.

רבי Rabbi father of a sorcerer: Hyv (artificial name?).

רובקאי Rubḳai: Pogn B (= Heb. רבקה ?).

רוסטאום Rustaum s. Churai: Pogn B.

רקדאתא Raḳdatha d. Meḥuphta: Pogn B ("dancer").

רשן Rešan m. Methaneš: 29.

ראשנינדוך Rašnenduch d. Aphridoe: Lidz 4.

רישינדוך Rešinduch m. Baruk-aria: Schw M.

רשנוי, רשנויה Rašnoi d. Marath: 8; m. Yazdoe: Pogn B.

שבורדוך Šaborduch m. Ephra: 1, 13.

שאחדוך Šahduch m. Farruchan: Lidz 1.

שאל Saul (?) f. Mordecai: 41.

שילי Šili s. Šarḳoi: 12, 16.

שלמא Solomon (the king): Schw I, Q (סלמה), Hyv; f. Amṭur: Schwab I.

שלימן Solomon (the king): 34, 39. Ellis 1; Lidz 5.

שירין Širin m. Saradust: 9.

שרקוי Šarḳoi m. Kaphni: 10; d. Dada: 12, 16.

שישיא Šiše d. Beth-asia: Pogn B (compare the following).

שישין Šišin m. Ḥaliphai: 29; m. Yazid: Pogn B; d. Ḥawwa: *ibid.*; undetermined *ibid.* (= 60?).

שת Seth (the patriarch): 10.

תירמיא Terme d. Dade: 39.

תאתא Tata niece of Bardesa: 39.

GLOSSARY C

GENERAL GLOSSARY

אבא father: pl. אבהיהן 36: 5.

אבד perish: 9: 7.

מובדנא destroyer: 36: 5.

אבנא stone: אבני זימורא Hyv.

אברא, אבארא lead (tin?): 19: 10, 39: 5. עברא: Montg.

אגר hire: אגירא Pogn B, עגירא Lidz 2.

אגרא roof: 6: 7.

איגרתא letter, of divorce writ: 8: 13.

אדנא ear: Lidz 4, אוד׳ Schw I.

אידרונא alcove: 12: 13.

או, Mand. עו or: 8: 17, Lidz 2; if: Pogn B; repeated = if ... or: Pogn B.

אונא a disease: 24: 2.

אוץ squeeze: איצין 1: 11.

אות, אתה letter of alphabet: אותיות 9: 5, אתותא 35: 9.

אזיתא sweating fever: 24: 2.

אזל go: אזלנא 2: 1, אזנא 6: 6; impf: אזיל 36: 4, תיזעל, תיזיל Pogn B; impv: איזלו Ellis 1, איזילו Schw F, עזיל, עזל Pogn B.

אחא brother: pl. w. suff. אחוי 4: 3.

אחאתא sister : 39: 9.

אחנא relative: 34: 2.

אחד take hold of: 11: 4.

אחר be behind, tarry: Af. Wohls 2417.

אחר behind: עחראיכון Pogn B.

אחור do.: 8: 3, אחורי Stübe 58.

איי oh: Hal.

איך oh(?): Schwab F.

איכין as: 32: 9.

אילנא tree: 34: 5.

אין nought: שאנו which is not Schw M.

אית there is: איתלה 37: 3; עתבה are in him, Pogn B.

איבא = Talm. איבא = איתי, Lidz 4.

לית is not: Pogn B.

אוכדו error for following אוקדו ?: Schw G.

אכל eat: 36: 7; דוכלאת, whoever (f) eats, Pogn B.

אכלא food: 18: 6.

אל unto, אל עולם 1: 15 (see על).

אלהא god: 7: 4; אילהא 14; אלהי, pl. 16: 5 (also Glossary A).

אלהתא goddess: Wohls 2417: 5, אלתא (אי׳) Wohls 2422, 2426 (or, curse?).

אלהותא deity: 38: 7.

אלף Af. teach: מלפא Hal; לאלופיא Pogn B; דליפאת, *ib.* (Pogn as from לוף).

אם, אים if: 2: 3; repeated, whether ... or, Ellis 1.

אמא, אימא mother: אימיכין 8: 4, עמאיון, 38: 14; plur. אימהתהון, 36: 5.

אוממותא? parallel to cattle, possessions, Schw M.

אמן be true: Hof. מהומנין, Schw M.

אמן Amen: e. g. אמין אמן, 14: 8; עין ומין, Pogn B (see p. 63).

הימנותא faith: 29: 12.

אמן denominative of אומנא artisan (?) in מאן דאמנויא אמנתאבון, whoever has worked for you, Pogn B.

אמר say, command: 2: 3; Etpe. איתמר 30: 7, אתמר 37: 5.

מאמר word: Schw M, מימר 13: 2.

אמרא tree-top?: 34: 5.

אן if: in דן, Lidz 4: 9.

אין yea: עין ומין Pogn B (see אמן).

אנאתא vessels: 38: 3.

מאנא vessel מאן ליביה, Schw F.

אנפי face: 13: 5, בנפיכון in your presence, Pogn B, no. 31.

אף anger: Schw F.

אפי over? עופין אפיכון Schw R.

אנשא, אי' (*'nâš* and *'inš*) man: 1: 12, etc.; constr. אינש 7: 13, ענש 38: 8; pl. אינשי 7: 15, אנשא 32: 10, אנאשיא 38: 11.

איש man: א' ואשה, Ellis 5.

אנתתא woman, wife: 31: 9, 32: 1; איתתא 3: 3, 7: 15, etc.; איתיתה Schw M; אינתתא 9: 4; אתתא 3: 3; עתתא, Lidz 2; pl. נשי 1: 12, נשא 35: 8.

אסא heal: יסיך, w. suf. 1: 15; Etp. יתסי Wohls 2422; ppls. מאסיא, אסיא, Lidz 1c.

אסו, אסותא healing, etc.: 1: 3, 13: 8; pl. 3: 1, etc. (see p. 129).

אסא, אסה myrtle: 13: 3, Pogn B.

איספלידא hall: 12: 13.

איסקופתא, איסכי, עסכי threshold: 6: 4, 9: 11, Lidz 5.

אסקרון? Wohls 2422 (see Fränkel *ad loc.*).

אסר bind, charm, of magic: 4: 1, etc.; ניתסר 19: 14; Af. ppl. מסריתון Pogn B.; בית עסיריא, prison, *ib.* (see p. 52).

אסרא, אי', עי' bond, spell, angel: 4: 3, etc.

איסורא ditto. 4: 3, etc.

אסירא binding: Lidz 5.

מוסרא spell: 3: 1.

איסתרתא goddess: 2: 7, etc. (see p. 71);

איסרתא ditto? Ellis 3, Wohls 2422 (but see Fränkel; is the form a confusion with or feminine of איסרא?).

אעא wood: 38: 2.

אף moreover: 3: 11, etc.; אוף, Schw I.

אפך turn away: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

אפילי darkness: Schw F.

אפיקי epithet of סרנין 7: 11.

אפרפרט *praeparatum?*: 13: 12.

אקלידיא keys: Pogn B.

אורנא trap: Wohls 2417.

אורחא way: Hal 3.

ארמאיא Aramaean (so read in Pogn B, 27, ext.).

ארעה earth: 2: 2; ארקא, Myhr, Pogn B.

אש fire: 8: 14.

אישתא ditto: 14: 7; עשאתא, Pogn B.

אשיתא fever: 24: 2; אישתא Schw G.

אשימא guilt: Schw PSBA xii, 299; אשעם ביש, Schw M (see p. 86).

אשף enchant: 2: 3.

אישפא enchantment, *ibid.*

אשתא rump: עשת׳, Pogn B.

את sign of accus.: Schw M (Heb.).

אתא come: 8: 9; Af. איתיתי, 9: 7.

אתן = עטן press?: 38: 12.

אתרא place: 9: 8; באתר אתר one after the other, 38: 11; בתרא afterwards, Schw F; בתר in place of, after, 1: 12, 28: 2.

ב, בי in: *passim;* ביפתכרי, 2: 7; בי קשתא, 2: 3; במא, in that, Schw I (?).

בגדני a class of deities: 19: 6 (cf. Glossary A).

בגן an interjectional call for divine help, in בגן שומא רבא, Pogn B (cf. the Syriac root; Pognon, "maledic-diction").

בהת be ashamed: impv. pl. ביהות, Pogn B.

בוא come in: באין Schw G.

בויא plunder (?): 5: 3.

בוא cleave: נלאלא דלבזעיא, Pogn B (see him, p. 50).

באטו = פאתו some form of evil: Schw L.

בטל cease, abandon: impv. 7: 15, pass. part. 17: 13, act. (?) באטליא Pogn B; Pa. undo: 17: 13, 7: 13 בטלא inf.; Etpa. Schw I.

ביטול because of: 11: 8 (cf. מיטול).

באטנא womb: 39: 3.

בוטר? 32: 10, 33: 12.

בין define, specify (?): בינא, Schw F.

בין, בי, ביני: between: בין ... בין, whether... or, 3: 5; בי ... ל, between... and, 29: 11; בעי, ביניא, Pogn B.

בינא midst: 6: 11.

בית within: בית ליבא 30: 4.

בעתא egg: Pogn B.

ביש evil: 8: 16, etc.

בישותא malady: 34: 7.

בישתותא ditto (?): Schw L.

ביתא house, family: ביתיהון 12: 2, בתיהון 6: 6; Mand. with suffix, ביתה, 38: 1, באיתה Lidz 4; plur. בתאין 38: 11. Of a sorcerer's school 8: 11, 19: 17.

מבכלין (בכל), מבכלתא class of demons: 2: 7, 7: 17, 10: 4, etc. (see p. 79).

בלם muzzle: 2: 11, Lidz 4.

בלע swallow up, destroy, Etp. 3: 7, 9: 6.

בינינא building: 38: 3; of cattle barn, 40: 4; construction (abstract) 16: 6.

ביסאדיא pillow: Lidz 5.

בסומתא in דבי... אלהתא, a goddess of censing, embalming (?), Wohls 2417.

בעא ask: 4: 6; באייא, act. ppl. f., Pogn B.

בעלא husband: 8: 13, etc.

בעילדבבא class of demons (see p. 80): 2: 3; in Pogn B, בלדבאי, בילדבאבאי, בלדאבאי.

בעירא, Syr. בירא cattle: Wohls 2422, 34: 8, 37: 2.

בקרא herd: Pogn B, no. 27 (so understand).

בר, בן son, *passim;* Heb. בן, 41; plur. e. g. בני נורא, 1: 9; plur. w. suffix בנה, 11: 9, 29: 6, 38: 4.

ברתא daughter: Ellis 1; const. בת *passim,* ברת 36: 2, Mand. פת 38: 4, פאת Pogn B (בית, באת component of name Pogn B, ?); plur. בנן 3: 3, בנתהון 3: 5. בתקלא voice, 16: 10. בנתא דבראא, demons, 29: 7.

בר apart in בר מן 19: 15, Pogn B.

ברא the open country: 17: 3, 29: 7.

ברא Pa. put outside: Pogn B.

בראי foreigner: 29: 8.

ברור bright, of angels: Schw I.

ברא create: 2: 2, Myhr.

ברדא hail: 14: 3.

ברח flee: Ellis 1: 8.

ברך bless: 25: 3; Pa. ברכא Pogn B (= טבי ?).

ברק flash (lightning): 12: 8.

ברקא lightning: 12: 8.

בתולתא virgin: 13: 1.

גאא געיאים proud: Schw M.

גב, גוב bend: גיבנא, 2: 4; inf. מגאב, Etpe., Etpa., Pogn B., Pa. reply: 2: 4.

גבא back: 8: 3.

גובא lintel: גובתיהון, 6: 4.

גבל knead: 12: 5 (of magical operation).

גבר be strong: Pa. מגנברין, 30: 5.

גברא man: 7: 17, 35: 7, 40: 12.

גוברא, גברא, Mand. גבארא, גוברא strong: 3: 2, 19: 13, Pogn A, B.

גברותא might: Schw F.

גדול great: 5: 3, הסר הגדול Schw F.

גידוליתא woven headdress: Lidz 2.

גדר wall up (against demons): 17: 8.

גו midst: בגו 34: 6, לגו 13: 10, מן גו 32: 6.

גוד tie, bind (of a spell): 29: 10.

גוחא eruption, noise: קאל גי Pogn B.

גונא color, form: גיונין 7: 15 = גונין Myhr.

גופא body: Hal, Schw Q; גופה, term for a man's inamorata, 13: 12.

גזל rob: Pogn B.

גזר inhibit, ban: 7: 13, Pogn B.

גזירתא ban: 7: 13.

גזרדינא magical condemnation: Montg.

גיטא (magic) divorce: 8: 7 (q. v.).

גוכאייא Gukaean: Pogn B.

גיסא great: Schw F.
side: pl. גיסן 34: 4; familiar spirit: 6: 2, 12: 9.

גליל גל circuit: גי עלם, 25: 7.
גלאלא rock (?): Pogn B (so Pognon; or of the magic circle?).
גלגלא circuit גלגלי שמשא Stübe 58, Pogn B.
גלגלתא spheres: נורא בגלגלן 8: 13.
גרגלא ditto: גרגליא עפיכי Pogn B.
גיגלא ditto: גיגלי שמיא, 6: 11.

גלחא, ענלאחא, = גלאלא: Pogn B (from ענל?).

גלם, גלימא, = to בלימא, Lidz 4.

גלף engrave: ציר גליף, 11: 9.

גמל אנמול ? Wohls 2422 ("good works"?).

גמף engrave: 36: 7.

גמיר completion: עד גמירי זמן Schw F.

גינא Jinn: Hyv, prob. 37: 10 (see p. 80).

גנדא, גונדא troop: 7: 17; species of demons 37: 6.

נציצא, נציצתא polished armor: 2: 1, 27: 3.

גרבא an itching disease: Wohls 2422.

גרביא, גירביא north: Pogn B.

גרמא bone, body: 7: 17.

גרקל Pa., chain: Pogn A (root גלל ?).

גושמא body: Stübe.

ד, דַ relative particle, passim; with following half-vowel, די, e. g. דיבני. In Mand. ד for דַ, 38: 12, 14, Pogn A, p. 13. Used to resume a preposition, Pogn B, no. 12, l. 6 (For omission of the particle in genitive construction, see p. 39.).
דידי mine: בידידי, on my own part, 2: 5; דידיה, his, 30: 4.
דילי ditto: 7: 12; בדיל די, in order that, 28: 4.

דבא lurk, of demons: 1: 6, 6: 4, 18: 6.

דבק cling, haunt, of demons: 11: 6, Pogn B.

דבר see זבר.
על דיברי, דבר on account of: 25: 3.
דברא pasture land: Ellis 3.
מדבראנא chariot-driver: Pogn B.

דינלא (angelic) cohorts: 8: 14.

(דן) דינא judgment, of the last day: 4: 4, 19: 8, Wohls 2417.

דור dwell: דירין Ellis 5, תידרן (?) Myhr.
דורא dwelling-place and its precincts: 32: 11, 38: 2, Lidz 4 (דוארא).
דרתא ditto: 29: 8.
דירתא ditto: 8: 4, 29: 6.
מדרא ditto: Schw E, Hal.

דוש tread down: impv. דושן Lidz 4.

דיואדא evil-doing: Lidz 4.

דחא chase: Pogn B.

דחל fear: 1: 12, Peal and Pael, דחילה fearful, Schw F.

מדחלנא terrifying: 35: 7.

דיאבולא *διάβολοι*: 35: 4.

דיוא devil: 1: 7, 39: 5, etc. (see p. 74).

דכא pure: 27: 4.

דוכתא place: דוכתין (*sic*) Schw G.

דכר record: 14: 6, 29: 9.

דכר, Mand. זכר, male: 6: 2, 39: 5, Ellis 5.

דוכרנא name: 28: 5.

דלא draw up: Pogn B, Etpa.

מדוליא reliever, epith. of Raphael: 34: 7.

דלאלא place in Babylonia: Hal.

דם blood: Schw M.

דמא, be like, appear in disguise, of spirits: לדמיא impf. Pogn B, Etpe. 1: 12, etc.

דמותא likeness: בידמו דמו, 6: 4; plur. דמואתא, 39: 9 (see p. 82).

דמא sleep: Wohls 2417.

דמר be astounded: Stübe 47.

דמקר a disease (?): 34: 10.

(דנח) מדנחא east: Wohls 2422 (so Fränkel), מדנא, Pogn B.

דסתבירא ban-writ: 32: 4, etc.

(דקק) דרדקא, fem. דרדקתא child: 11: 6, דרטקא 36: 4;

דארקא, דירקא ditto: 18: 6, Lidz 5.

דרדקונא ditto. Pogn B.

דרמנא healing: 37: 1, Pogn B.

דרומא south: Wohls 2422.

דריסת true: 13: 8.

הא see! here!: 7: 13, 18: 8 in הפטרית, Lidz 5.

הדמא limb (the 248 members): Schw E, F, Stübe 56.

הדר return: 18: 9.

הוא, Heb. היה be: תיהוי, 1: 2, 4; ppl. = future, 37: 3; Mand. w. prep., תהוילה, 38: 13; ייהי, Schw M.

היכלא mansion: 38: 2, Hyv, Pogn A, B, Lidz 2; heavenly temple, 14: 3.

הכדין thus: 17: 10.

הכין ditto: 8: 8.

הללויה Halleluia, magical term: 7: 17, etc.; misspelt, 20: 5, 24: 4, 31: 8, 32: 12.

הלך walk: מיתאלך 3: 3.

הפך turn: מהפכין, of the angels who revolve the planets, Stübe 8; Etp. *ib.* l. 14, 36: 1.

הפכו, הפיכו, הפיכה, הפכה magical terms for reversing charms, Ellis 3, and astrological fate, Schw G (sun, earth, stars, constellations).

הפכיתא a disease: Wohls 2422 (Fränkel reads חפפיתא, see below).

הראריא mental conceptions: Pogn A.

השתא now: 3: 11, 4: 1.

ו and, passim: n. b. ויבנן 3: 3, וידלא 14: 6, ויסאנאי Pogn B no. 24, ואנקבתא 30: 3, ואתותיא 38: 12.

וי woe!: 1: 9.

וריר glaucoma: ו׳ בישתא, Stübe 44 = Wohls 2416 (see p. 93).

ות, ית in אבות like, 37: 10; לות *apud*, 3: 3 מן ית גוף from the body, Schw M; מילות 3: 3; ית sign of accusative, w. noun 3: 4; w. pron. 7: 13; w. subject of passive שליבי ית רוחות Schw F; resuming מן, 5: 3.

זבובי flies: Wohls 2422.

זבדא marriage-portion: Pogn B.

זבן buy, Pa. sell: Pogn B.

זבר see Pogn B, p. 38: "an independent root = (1) turn, (2) cherish"; but the passages in his bowls can be explained by equation with רבר, lead turn, order.

זמבורא wasp: Pogn B.

(זה) מזיה on this side: 13: 7.

זהר Pa. put on guard, Etpa. be on guard: Pogn B.

זויתא corner: 4: 2, Pogn B.

זוב fly off: זובו ואזיבו Wohls 2414.

(זוג) זאוא, זאוא spouse: 38: 13, etc.

(זח) זאזאי success: 38: 13.

זחח, זחח depart: תיזח, יזחון Ellis 3 (see p. 130); Pa. מזייחן, 13: 7; Etp. יזדחון 10: 6, עתאזחא Pogn B. (cf. נזח, זוע; see to 3: 2).

זוע, זעע, זעא ditto: יזיעון, 7: 5; ppls. זע, זיעין 7: 12, = זעא, זעין, Myhr; יזדזעון 7: 5.

זידן impious, of charms: 2: 7, 4: 1, Pogn B.

זידנותא impiety: 30: 5.

זיוא glory: 7: 5, Pogn B.

זאינא weapon: Pogn B.

זינא restraint, loss: 34: 12; בית ז׳, prison: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

זיף honey: 12: 5.

זכא victorious: 37: 11; חיא זאבין, זאביאן 40: 25, Pogn B, Lidz 5.

זכותא victory, etc., parallel to אסותא Pogn A, B.

זלף pour: 12: 5.

זימתא hair: Pogn A.

זם resound: 6: 11.

מיזמא resonance: 6: 11.

זמן Pa. designate (of setting apart the magic bowls): 3: 1, 31, etc.; invite: Pogn B.

(זמר) זמרתא singing-girl = harlot: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

מזמור psalm: 14: 3.

זימרא a precious stone?: Hyv.

זניתא harlot: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

זיפי hairs, used in magic?: 7: 13 (see p. 153).

זאפר foul: Pogn A.

זיקא blast: 12: 8; plur. blast-demons 14: 5, 19: 3; זעקי, Schw M (see p. 80).

זרז equip magically: 4: 6, 19: 13, 31: 4, 38: 2, Pogn B.

זרזתא, זראי magical equipment: 38: 13, 40: 2, Pogn B, Lidz 2.

זרעא seed: Schw I, Hyv.

זרעיתא posterity: 1: 8.

חב Pa. love: 13: 4.

חבא love: נחבי, 13: 9.

חבא hide: Etp. Schw I.

חבל Pa. injure, destroy: 1: 10, מחבלא the destroyer 9: 8; travail, of a woman, 13: 11.

חבלא, חוי injury, destruction: Schw F, G, N.

חבאלא ditto: 7: 16.

חבילא ditto: 32: 8, 37: 11.

חבלתא ditto: 16: 6.

חבלותא ditto: 32: 8.

חבק embrace, cherish, of angels: 13: 4.

חבר enchant: 6: 6.

חד one: חדא 4: 1; חדעשר 11, Ellis3.

חדדא one another: 31: 6, Pogn B.

חדר Af. surround: 4: 6.

חזארא (magic) circle: 39: 7.

חזורא precinct, property: 40: 4, w. חייא, livestock.

חדת new: חדתא, חאתיא Pogn B; f. חדתתא 13: 11.

חוא Pa. show: 37: 7, Pogn A, B.

(חוב) חיבא guilty: Schw F.

חויא serpent: plur. חיואתא, Pogn B.

חוץ, לחוץ, without: Schw I.

מחיצא precinct: Schw P.

חוש quick! magical interjection: 14: 4 *q. v.;* also אחושיה יחוש, *ib.;* אחושה Stübe 14; יחש Schw N (between angel-names), Pogn B, no. 5, end; cf. חסי.

חזחיתא a skin-disase: Wohls 2422.

חוא see: 30: 4, Pogn B; Etpe. appear: תיחזן 6: 9, etc.

חזוא apparition: pl. חזואניא 31: 10, Pogn A, Lidz 5.

חזינא ditto: 30: 5.

חטא sin: 1: 3, 4 (of demons).

חטאא sinner: חטעים (?) Schw M.

חטאתא sin: Schw *PSBA,* xii, 299 (see p. 86).

חטף pluck away: Lidz 4.

חטפיתא a demon: 8: 2, 8, 12; חטיפתא, 17: 4.

חטר switch, plague: 30: 14.

חיא live: יחן 16: 4, נחין 36: 6; Af. תאחי of mother, 24: 5.

חיא living: 38: 7, 39: 8: pl. life: 30: 1, 38: 13 (see Glossary A).

חיתא animal: 7: 14.

חיותא ditto Hal; pl. חיואניא 39: 6, חיוניאתא 38: 3, Pogn B.

מיחיה healing: Schw H.

חיל Pa. make strong: מחילין pass. 31: 5. (מתחילא, יתחיליה, Schw F ?).

חילא power: 2: 1, pl. חילינא 2: 2; בחיל מילתא 37: 4.

(חך) חברכה a skin-disease: so read in Wohls 2422 for ה' (Fränkel, חבורא).

חכימא sage, in sorcery: 39: 7.

(חל) חלולאָ marriage chamber: 36: 7.

חלי sickness: Schw F.

חלבא milk: Pogn B.

חלמא, חי dream: 6: 10, 31: 4, 39: 10, etc. (see p. 82).

חלץ arm: 19: 13.

חלש weak: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

חמא father-in-law: Pogn B no. 29 (but read חמראי ?).

חמתא mother-in-law: Ellis 3, Schw G (curse of).

חימא wrath: Schw F.

חמד name of a place: 5: 4.

חמס do violence: 2: 10.

חאמין leaven: 13: 12.

חמרא wine: Hyv, Pogn B.

חמרא ass: 40: 4, 14.

חומרתא pebble-charm: 19: 16, plur, חומראּ, חומרין, 4: 1, 30: 3. 38: 11 (see p. 87).

חמישתיכון five of you: 8: 31, 17: 4.

חמישתא fifth: 6: 8.

חנא womb: 36: 5.

חנא encamp: ניחנין? Schw I.

חנכא palate: Pogn B.

חנק throttle, of a lilith: 18: 6, Lidz 5.

חסאתא, חססא sufferings: Schw M, Q.

חסי quickly (see to חוש): 13: 9; חסי בך out upon thee, Schw M.

חיסדא grace: 13: 6.

חאסדנא contumelious: 30: 4.

חסל cease: חסילן Schw I.

חסם jealous: אינא חאסמתיא, Lidz 4; חאסמין? Schw I.

חפיתא(חף) a skin-disease: Wohls 2422, end.

חפץ desire: Schw F.

חוציא name of a place: Hal, Schw E (Hal. identifies with an Arabic place-name; Schw with a place mentioned in Jer. *Sheb.* viii, 5).

חקל twist: Pogn B.

אחרוניתא (חרא) a pungent herb ?: 28: 3.

חרב Pa. lay waste: 38: 11, Pogn B.

חרבא sword: 37: 8.

חרד Pa. terrify: חירודי inf. 8: 7.

אחרדתא a kind of spell: Stübe 25.

חרך a pungent herb ?: 28: 3.

חרם ban: pass. ppl., 7: 17, Pogn B.

חראם curse: Montg.

חרימא anathema: Schw M.

אחרמתא ditto: 2: 6; also חרמתא, read by Fränkel in Wohls 2426: 2.

חירמון Hermon: 2: 6.

חרסא an eruptive disease: Wohls 2422 (read ח for ה).

הרסום ditto: 29: 9.

חרף Pa. blaspheme: 8: 16.

חריף sharp: 7: 17.

חרש Pa. enchant, poison: 7: 13 of water (see p. 84).

חרשין black arts: 5: 2, 33: 8, etc., Pogn B (see p. 84).

חרשא sorcerer (*ḥarrâš*): Pogn B, חרשיא, חרשאתא, masc. and fem.

חורשתא empoisonment: 39: 6.

חשוכא darkness: 16: 6: pl. חשוכיא Pogn B.

חתם seal (magically): חתים ומחתם passim; 31: 5, 39: 11, etc.

חיתמא, חתמא seal: 7: 4, 19: 15, 38: 7.

חתומא besealment: 9: 11.
חתומין (?) ditto: 34: 1.
חתמתא ditto: 3: 1, 30: 1, 38: 13, Pogn A חתאמתא.
חותמתא ditto: Pogn B.

טבי gazelles: Wohls 2414.
טבל dip: Schw F.
טבע seal: Ellis 1.
טבעה a seal: *ib.*
טהר Etpa. purified: 12: 7.
(טוב) טב good: 29: 9.
טורא mountain: 7: 12, etc.
טטם ? Ellis 1.
טילא shade: שידי בני טילא 29: 9.
מיטלי covers (used of the bowls): 4: 1.
מטללן herb in a magic recipe: 28: 3.
טמא unclean: 34: 10.
טומי defilements: 29: 7.
טנף Pa. defile: Pogn A.
טעותא false deity: pl. טעותא Wohls 2422, טעתא *ib.* 2426.
טופנא the deluge: 10: 5.
טרד Af. frighten away: 7: 17.
טרודא disturbing: חזינא ט' 30: 5.
טרח trouble: Schw I.
טרף tear, pluck: 18: 6 ppl. of a lilith.
טורפתא, ט' talon, toe: 19: 19; pl. טורפיא, Pogn A, B.
טרופתא agitation: Lidz 4.
טורפס etc. some part of the heart: 11: 7 and parallels.
טרש stop up, of the ears: Lidz 4.

יא interjection: יא חוש 14: 7, יחוש, אהושיה l. 4.
יבל bring: אולאת, Pogn B, no. 28.
יבש dry up: Pogn B.
יד hand: ידוהי 19: 14, אידה 34: 13; על אידי on side of, Schw E; ביד *per,* 8: 13; תחית ידי דילי 7: 12; ידהא their hand ?, Schw E, Q.
יהב give: 36: 4, Ellis 1.
יומא day: 4: 4 (of judgment).
יממא day-time: 3: 3, etc.; אימאמא 39: 10; עמאמא Pogn B.
ילד bear (children): 1: 8.
ילדא child: 36: 6.
מודאלא parturition: 39: 11.
ימא sea: 7: 12, 8: 9, 14: 2, Pogn B.
ימא adjure: מומינא ומשבענא 7: 16, cf. 40: 5, etc.; אומית 8: 6, אומיתי 17: 8; with על 8: 12. So understand בישוף מומין, Schw I: 5 (not "water magic"!).
מומתא exorcism: 1: 12; pl. מומאתיך Lidz 5.
מומיתא ditto: Schw I.
ימינא right-hand: 6: 10, Pogn A.
תימיא south: Pogn B (with גרביא).
יסר = אסר: 1: 12.
איקדי, יקדי a disease: Wohls 2422, Schw G (who reads אוקדו —the preceding פאיכדי is misspelling for this, *plus* ם, and).
יקיד burning, of fire: 4: 7.
יקרא glory = name: 8: 6.

יאקיר glorious, of the Name: Lidz 5.

ירא throw: מורא, Lidz 4, pierced with a lance ?, but see Lidz, and cf. עור.

אוריתא the Law: Hyv, Michael prince of the L.

מורניתא javelin: 11: 7 and parallels.

ירדנא, יור Jordan (mystical river): Pogn B.

ירחא month: 6: 5, Pogn B.

ירקא greens: 18: 6.

יהורא howler (class of demons): 15: 6, Myhr 2, Schw G (see p. 81.).

ירש inherit: מורשתיה? Ellis 5.

(ישן)שינתא sleep: 6: 10.

יתב sit: 13: 7, etc.; impf. 1st per. עתיב Pogn B.

יתרא bowstring: 2: 5.

כ, כי like: כי 12: 8, כי הוא דין 32: 4; כי...בי, correlative, 13: 7; כד Pogn B, Lidz 5; כמא Ellis 1; כאילא אכות 37: 10; as if ?, Schw F.

כאב Af. put in pain: מכיבא, מאכעבאן Pogn B, Lidz 2.

כיבא pain, sickness: Wohls 2422, Pogn B.

כבר prevail: לכבר על impf. Pogn B.

כבש press down (technical phrase for the bowl magic): 4: 1, 38: 12, impv. כובשן Lidz 4; Etpe. 6: 9.

כיבשא term for the bowl: 6: 1, etc.; כיבשי עלמא (?) 28: 2; step of a throne 12: 6.

כדב deceive: 32: 9, Pogn B.

כדנא so: 16: 8.

לוחי כזבאתא 7: 9?

כדר artificial parallel to הדד?: Lidz 5.

כוא pitcher: Pogn B.

כוכבא star: 4: 4 the 7 stars; 34: 6; Hal, Schw E.

כול hold: מיכל inf. 4: 1.

כון arrange: כינתי 1st pers. 15: 5.

מכנא residence: Pogn B.

כיוני planets: Ellis 3 (see § 3).

כיפא stone, as charm: Ellis 3 (read כוסא?).

ככא tooth: Lidz 4.

כל, כול all: 7: 6 (both forms), etc.; כולמאן, everyone, Lidz 2.

כלילא garland: 13: 11.

כלתא daughter-in-law: Ellis 3, Schw G.

כלביתא bitch: Schw L.

כמר Etpa. return: Pogn B (see him p. 20).

כומרא priest: 19: 10.

כמרי magic ?: Wohls 2426.

אכמרתא magical practice: Stübe 2.

כין so: 3: 11; בכין therefore, 9: 7, here, 25: 1.

(כנא)כנואתא associates: 19: 9.

כנפא wing: Pogn B.

כנישתא congregation: איסרי בית כ' Wohls 2422 (see p. 79).

כם abridge, blame: Pogn B.

כאסא, כאסא, כוס (incantation) bowl: 7: 13, 31: 1, Pogn B (כוסא), Lidz 5.

כסא Pa. cover: 13: 6, Pogn B.

כסיא covering: Pogn B.

כסותא ditto: 13: 6.

כיסא, כורסיא, throne: 8: 14, 14: 3.

אכערון (כער) ugliness, a disease ?: 34: 10.

כיפסא menstruation: 29: 7.

כפר disbelieve: Pogn B.

כירי ? in רוחי כ', Wohls 2422.

כורהנא sickness: 7: 11, Wohls 2422.

כרך avert, reverse, Pe. Pa. Etp.: Pogn B, Lidz 1 a; Wohls 2422 (?).

כרכא sphere, orbit (astrological term): הרשי דשאבא כרכיא ודתמניא מאחזיא: Pogn B.

כרכא Wohls 2422, see חכרכא.

כשדאי Chaldaeans: Hyv (see כסדיאל, Gloss A).

כושטא honesty: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

כשף Pa. bewitch: Pogn B, Lidz 1 a מכשמי for מכשפי ?

כישוף sorcery: Schw I.

כשיר decent, of a good demon: 29: 7.

כתב write, of the charms: 9: 3 etc., Pogn B.

כתבא, כתבתא writing: Ellis 1.

כתיבתא written charm: Ellis 3.

(כתר) כדר Pa. remain, so understand לאחדריא לאמכדאריא, of the demons not returning or remaining, Lidz 5, and cf. Nöldeke, *Gr.* § 45.

ל to and sign of accusative *passim;* with suff. ליכי fem. 7: 9, 10; לכא = לכי, 17: 10; ליא to me, Pogn B, etc. In composition, לבית להון, 1: 6, and *passim* in Mandaic with verb and pronominal suffix, e. g. שביקילה I have divorced her, 32: 9; for על, 19: 10; with verb to denote purpose, לתלגיט, Pogn B, no. 23, l. 45, 46 (cf. על).

לא not, *passim;* in Mand. compounded with following word, e. g. 38: 8, לאבר.

רוח נ' נאלי(לאא) labor, asthma?: 16: 9.

ליבא, לילבא heart: 28: 5, etc.; לילבא 11: 7 and parallels, 19: 18.

לבש be clad: 2: 2, 8: 3; Af. 13: 6, Pogn B.

לבושא garment: 2: 2, 13: 6.

לגט see נקט.

לוא be attached to: לון עימהון of demons, 6: 3, מתלויא Pogn B.

לויא company: Pogn B.

לוט curse: Stübe 4, Pogn B, Lidz 2 לאטויא, they cursed him.

לוטתא a curse: 5: 1, 31: 4, Pogn B; Ellis 3: לטתא; Schwab M pl. לוטין (see p. 84).

לאטוטא ditto: לאטוטיאתא pl. Pogn B.

לטנא species of demons: 20; 3.

לוש Pa. soil: מלאושילהון, Pogn A.

לחמא food: Schw F.

לחש enchant: 5: 1.

לטבי species of demons: 9: 7, 32: 5, 7, 33: 5, 34: 9, 10; לטאבא Montg.

ליליא, לילית night: 1: 13, etc.; לליא Pogn B.

לילי male counterpart to lilith: 8: 21, etc.

לילית lilith; 1: 8; pl. לליתא and לליאתא; n. b. לילתה, לילת, 13: 3, 6 (see p. 75).

לקח impv. קח, *recipe*, repeated term in magical formula: Hal.

לישנא tongue: 13: 2; tongue of curses, charms, etc., 4: 1; Pogn B, Lidz 4 (see p. 88).

מא 100: תלתמא 38: 5: מאתין, מאן, 200, Schw E, F.

מגלא sickle, weapon of angels: 7: 17.

מדורא rotten: Pogn B.

מוט remove: מטי, imp. fem., 17. 11.

מון suck: 18: 6.

מות die: מיתי וחיי ppl. Wohls 2417.

מותא death: 3: 6.

מיתו ditto: Wohls 2422.

ממתניתא killer, fem.: 36: 5.

מנזתא(מז) hair: מנזיאיכן Pogn B.

מוחא brain, head: Schw F.

מחא strike: ppl. pl. מחן 6: 4; תימחון Etpe. 18: 7; Lidz 5.

מחתא stroke, plague: 16: 6.

מחותא ditto: 40: 8.

מחיתא ditto: מחיאתא Pogn B, מיחיאתא Lidz 1c.

מאחוזא city: Pogn B (see ברבא).

מאחוזאיתא of Mahoza: Pogn B.

מטא chance on, reach: Pogn B; Af. bring, 25: 5. In Pogn B נמסינה (= נמטינה), from מצא?

מטותא in במ׳, I pray: Wohls 2417.

מיטול, Mand. מינטול, אמינטול with ד and verb, because that: 4: 3, Lidz 5; w. ל and inf., in order to: 2: 6 (cf. ביטול).

מיא, מי, מימי, Heb. מים water: מיא בישי, a disease, Wohls 2422 (see p. 93); מימי ציתא 18: 6; מי מחראשי 7: 13; מאיאי my w., Pogn B; מים of the heavenly sea, 8: 14.

מינא kind, species: 1: 8; species of magic, Ellis 5.

מכל eat (denominative): 37: 9.

מל Pa. speak: ppl. Schw G.

מלתא Mand. מיעלתא; pl. מלין, Mand. מנליא, word, especially of incantations: 6: 12, 12: 9, 34: 5, 38: 6, Pogn B. (see p. 85).

מללתא ditto: 6: 9.

מלאלא מללא ditto: 27: 5, 38: 8.

מלא be full: יתמלאון 12: 7.

מיליא flood: Pogn B.

מלאכא angel, *passim* as title of evil spirits, 4: 1, 37: 8, 38: 6, Wohls 2422 16; of deities, 36: 5.

מלאכתא female angel = goddess: Pogn B, no. 15 of Estera; in his no. 14 עסתאר מלאכיא מ', prob. fem. form (Pogn "queen").

מלואשא zodiac-sign 19: 9(?), his constellation (cf. Glossary A).

מלכא king: 34: 8 of Solomon; Hyv of Michael; *ib.* מאלך of God (Arabism? — so Nöldeke, p. 295); 11: 5, 18: 4, k. of demons.

מלכתא queen: 19: 6, q. of goddesses.

מלכותא kingdom: Wohls 2417.

מן, gen. מין from, *passim;* ממי (?. Schw F מי Schw H; w. ן assimilated 13: 6, 17: 1, מיעל 17: 5; מינאי from me, Lidz 5, מין דיליא ditto, Pogn B. משמך = בשמך, Wohls 2426, and his note p. 29.

מנא Pa. ordain: Schw F, arrange מניתי 15: 5.

מנאתא portion, in marriage: pl. מנואתא Pogn B.

מסא melt: 9: 6.

מסר denom. fr. אסר, bind: 32: 7, 33: 8.

מעילא robe: מ' חיסדא 13: 6.

מצעיא intermediate (of the middle of the three spatial regions): עלאהיא מצאייא Pogn B.

מצר bind: Pogn B, Lidz 2, מ' בעדקיא (so Pogn, and cf. Ass. *maṣâru,* but see Nöld. *Mand. Gram.* 84, n. 2).

מרירי(מר) bitter: 2: 3, 4: 4, epithet of devils and charms.

מראר bitterness: Pogn B, and plur. מראריאתא.

מריא(מרא) lord: of deity 19: 5; as human title, מר זומרא Schw E; of the sorcerer Lidz 4; construct מר, Hyv, gen. מרי, 18: 1; מרוהי his lord, 12: 6; pl., מראיהין Pogn B, מרתהון 28: 5.

מרתא mistress, lady מרתין, our lady 19: 5; lady of dead and living Wohls 2417, Pogn B מראתא.

מרה rebel: Schw F.

מרד rebel: 1: 9.

משחא oil: Schw F.

מתא town: Ellis 3, opposed to בר

מחח stretch out: Pogn B, Etpa.

ננע plague: 16: 4, אינגע 29: 9.

נד move, etc.: Stübe 62.

נדה Pa. excommunicate, expel: Pu. מנודין, Hal = Schw E, מנודא Schw M; see Lidz's note on מורא = מודא? in Lidz 2.

נידי (?) excommunication?: Ellis 3.

נידרא vow, ban, in magic: 5: 2, 7: 13, 32: 12, Lidz 4 נעדריא (see p. 84).

ניהוא he is (?): Hal.

נהר Af. make clear, name (?): 7: 9.

נהורא light: 16: 6, also נהרא Pogn B.

נוד tremble: Pogn B; מנידין, Pael pass. ppl., Halévy (see § 3).

נודא commotion: Pogn B.

נוח rest: Etpe. איתנח, 2: 6.

נחתא rest: Pogn B.

נוחא(נ'?) in חומרי דנ'?, Schw R.

ניחא rest: 16: 7, Schw E.

נורא fire: 8: 13, 14: 3; charms of fire 15: 7, 34: 11; Gabriel prince of fire, Hyv; light, in בני נ' 1: 9.

נורייא pepper: 28: 3.

נזח depart: תינזח, 5: 1.

(נזל) מזלי, מזלא constellations: 34: 6, Ellis 3, Schw G.

נזקין class of evil spirits: 21: 23: 2.

מזיקין class of evil spirits: 7: 11, 14: 6, מנזקין 23: 4 (see p. 75).

נחשא bronze: 4: 6, 6: 11, 15: 7.

נחת come down: 8: 7, 12: 5; Af. 2: 6, 27: 9 (of angels, curses).

נטר Pa. guard: 7: 9, 35: 6; Etpe. 10: 3, 32: 11.

נטרא, נא' guardian: Wohls 2417, Pogn B.

נטרתא, נטא' guarding: 35: 1, 38: 13, Pogn A.

מטרתא ditto: 7: 13.

מנטרנותא wardship: 35: 6.

נכוח before: Schw F.

נכם Pa. butcher: Pogn B.

נוכראייא stranger: Pogn B.

נכש bite: Schw L, Q נכם.

נם Af. afflict: תסיסון, 17: 6.

נסא Pa. prove, try: נסיאת she has proved, Pogn B.

נאסיתא trial: Pogn B.

נסב take up: 4: 6, 28: 3, Pogn B; impv. f. pl. סיב 17: 9.

ניסן Nisan: Wohls 2422 (see p. 55).

נפח blow with the breath: Schw F, of demons blowing on the brain.

נפן fall: impv. פולו Wohls 2414, Pogn B.

ניפלא בר'נ' a disease: 29: 7.

נפק go out: יפוק 3: 11; impv. פוק 36: 2, פוקי 8: 10, פקו, פק 17: 6, 7; Af. מהנפיקנא Myhr = מפיקנא 7: 12; inf. לאפקא 9: 8, w. suff. 32: 8.

נפר Af. put to flight: אנפרת Schw F(?), see § 3.

נפשא life, person: 7: 13; 2: 1, Pogn, דנ' of one's own.

נצא wrangle: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

נצח be victorious: Hal, of a star; נ' רשום שמא, Schw I.

ניצחנא victorious: Schw I.

(נקא) נקותא libation: 36: 7.

(נקב) נקף Pa. perforate: Pogn B.

נקב distinct pronunciation: נ' מתוך נקבים 9: 6.

נקבתא woman, female: 30: 4, נק(י)בה Ellis 1, Schw M; נקיבתא 30: 3, ניקבתא (most common form, sing. and plur.) 6: 3, 8: 2, 37: 10; ניקבתא 8: 8; נוקבתא, plur. נוקבאתא, Lidz 4, 39: 6,

נקבאתא Pogn A.

מיקבתא curse ?: Schw I.

נקט, Mand. לגט grasp: 4: 6, 7: 17, 16: 8, Pogn B Pe. and Etpe.

נשבא trap: Wohls 2414.

נישמתא spirit, of man: Schw G, נישימתא 39: 2.

נשף blow, of windblasts: 12: 8.

נתר Hif. permit: Hof. מותרין, Schw G.

סאב Pa. make unclean: בעירא מסאבא Wohls 2422.

סאן pass. ppl. soiled, foul: סאינאתא 39: 10, סאיניא, m. pl., Pogn A, סינאתא Pogn B (cf. סנא).

סב turn away: 8: 13.

סנא Af. walk: 12: 6, Pogn B.

סני numerous: סנין pl. Schw Q.

סדא stocks, for the feet: 39: 4, Pogn A סאדדיא.

סדראניא, סא' bases, of the world: Pogn (p. 77).

סדם, סטם close up: סדימא ומסאטמא 38: 10, מסדמא 40: 21.

סדום Sodom.

סדרא row: 2: 7, 27: 11.

סוטיטא seducing spirits: 35: 4 (see p. 80).

סוסתא mare: Wohls 2414.

סוף in ים דס', Red Sea: 34: 4.

סופא end: Schw F, לסוף עלמין.

סחט seize: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

סחף put a cover on: pass. ppl. סיפא 38: 12; Pa. 7: 17, Pogn B.

סחרא magic art: סחריא 39: 4, Pogn A, B, possibly in סירא בסרא = סחירא בסח', Lidz 4.

סטא go astray: 1: 9.

סטלא, סטולא Lat. *situla* ?: Schw F, bis.

סטנא a satan, Satan: 2: 3, 5: 4, etc.; סטאנא 19: 3, 40: 8; plur. 35: 3.

סטרא writ: ס' תירוכבי 26: 6.

סיטרא side: 6: 10.

סיפא sword: 37: 8.

סכא, שכא look at: Pogn A, of the demon's glance; Schw I.

סכל Af. commit offence: 4: 2, 5 (inf. אסכלי); Etpa. become wise Stübe 48.

מיסכינותא(סכן) poverty: 34: 12, Lidz 4, as object of exorcism; 16: 10, genius of p.

סכר close up: 13: 1, Pa. Lidz 4.

סכרא astrological term = pole? Montg.

סלה Selah, magic word, 5: 7, 36: 8, etc.; סאלה 20: 5, 24: 6 (see p. 63).

סיליתא cage-work: 19: 10.

סלק go up: סליק 3d pers. 32: 8. סליקית 1st pers. 9: 7.

מסאקתא ascent: Pogn B.

סמא (?) poison: Schw F.

סמך descend upon: Pogn B.

סמאלא left hand: Pogn A; שמלא, 6: 10.

סמקי a place in Babylonia (*Yeb.* 121a, אנמי ס'), home of a demon: Wohls 2417.

סנא hate, in ppls. only: act. סני 2: 1 = סנאי 27: 6; pass.

5: 2, 39: 6, Pogn B (cf. סאן).

סינתא hatred: Lidz 4.

סנף Pa. gird ?: Pogn B.

סערא hair: 8: 3.

סיפתא lip: Lidz 4.

סרי stench: רוח סרי, 16: 9.

סרנא species of demons: 7: 11.

סיתרא destruction: 16: 6.

סתירא loosening: 16: 6.

סתר hide, protect: Nifal 25: 2.

סתרתא pl. secret arts? Ellis 3.

עבר make: 12: 6; of a magical work 9: 2, 32: 3; Pa. use as a servant, Pogn B.

עבדא servant: 34: 7.

עבדא magical practice: Schw F (for this and following terms, see p. 51).

עבודא ditto: 32: 3.

עובדא ditto: 9: 1, etc., Pogn B, Lidz 4 עובאדא; of the Jewish cult 29: 12.

מעבדא ditto: 34: 13, Ellis 3, Schw F, M, Stübe 10.

עבר pass over, transgress: 32: 8; 1: 9, 7: 3, 6: 11 גיבר.

עבר, עיבר across: מן עיבר ימא 8: 9 = מעבר 17: 10.

עיבורא grain: Hyv.

מאמברתא passage: Pogn B.

עגלא in בע', soon: Schw M.

עד eternity, with עולם: 2: 15.

עידא time: pl. עידיא 26: 5.

עדנא ditto: 6: 6, Pogn B.

עדא go away: 5: 1; Af. 7: 17.

עד unto: 4: 4 = עדמא 19: 19; with inf. עדמא ל' 34: 11; עד ד' as long as, Hal.

עדקא lock of hair: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

עדר Pa. help: Schw I.

עולא embryo: 39: 3, Pogn B.

עופא bird: 7: 14.

עוק be in distress: ppl. pl. אקאתא. Pogn B; Af. press, אעיקיתי 13: 3.

עקין so Hyv in l. 4; read זיקין.

אקתא distress: Lidz 4.

עור Pa. blind: pass. ppl. מאורא Pogn B, perh. in מורא Lidz 4.

אוא(עז) strength: 6: 11.

עזיזא strong: fem., epithet of Dilbat 28: 5, of deity 38: 7, of spirits and witches Pogn A, B.

ענזא sheep: 40: 4, 14.

עזא Etpa. persist: 34: 10.

עזיבתא in חומרי דע', Schw R.

עזקתא seal-ring: of the sorcerer: 17: 12, Ellis 1, of Solomon 34: 8, of God 8: 11, ring of fire 15: 7.

עוטר ? 32: 10 = 33: 12.

עינא eye, the evil eye: ע' בישתא 5: 4, Lidz 4, עיין רעה, Ellis 5; various possessors of the evil eye 30: 3 (see p. 89).

עכורא temple: Pogn B; class of evil spirits, 38: 8, 40: 19, Pogn B, Lidz 4 (see p. 72).

על enter: ניעלון 29: 20 = נעילן 30: 10; ppl. אילין 38: 14.

עליל w. עלך, out upon thee: Pogn B, no. 28, l. 1, = Heb. חלילה על (so better than w. Schwally, יללתא, fr. Ass. *elêlu* lament, *Or. Lit-Zeit.* ii, 7 f.).

(עלא) על, Mand. אל unto, upon, to (freq. for ל, cf. עליכין and להין, 8: 3, 9, and in generally in Mand.), *passim;* אלא חיי, by Life! 40: 6, 18, cf. 40: 5; w. suff., 2d fem., sing. עליכי Schw F, עלך 36: 3 (עליכהא? Schw F); 3d pers. עליהו Schw F, עלוהי Stübe 32; 2d plur. עלאיכון Pogn B; 3d, אלאיך, אלאיהין, Lidz 1a; עלמא (upon him ? Schw G) until Pogn B, why Schw G; alternating with עלאוי Pogn B, no. 28; עלמאהו, how, why: Pogn B.

לעיל above: 19: 10.

עילוי against: עילוה, against him, 37: 8, עלאויהון, Pogn B.

עלאיא superior, epithet of celestial gods: Pogn B.

עליה height: בוכביא דע' Hal.

עלם, עולם eternity, in formulas: לעלם ועד עולם 1: 15, לסוף עלמין 3: 5, Schw F.

עלמא a kind of injury: Schw G (see p. 93).

עם, עים with: 1: 13, 6: 3, 35: 6; ועים ו', and also (?) 1: 3.

עמא people: עממיה 13: 1, of tribes of angels.

עמד stand: 8: 14.

עומקא depth: Pogn B.

עמורא Gomorrha: 2: 6.

ענני שימשא a herb used in magic: 28: 3.

ענקתא, א' necklace charm or spirit: 7: 11, 29: 7, Myhr 6; אנקתא, 16: 9, masc. plur. אנקי, 12: 9 (see p. 88).

עפרא dust: באפרא, Wohls 2417; = Heb. עפרת, Montg.

עיקדא magical knots, as class of demons: 34: 10 (see p. 88).

עקר uproot: עקירין, Hal; Pa. 8: 15; Etpa. 9: 6.

עקרתא barrenness, spirit of: 11: 3.

(עקרב) (ו)ארקביא scorpions: Pogn B, no. 27 (Nöldeke).

(ערב) מערבא west: Wohls 2422, Pogn B.

(ערב) עריב sweet: Ellis 5.

ערומא a kind of disease: Schw G (see p. 93).

ערסא, א' bed: 7: 17, Lidz 5.

ערפילא darkness: Pogn B; plur. Montg.

ערק flee: יעריק 3: 7, יעיריק 3: 11; impv. עיריקו Ellis 1, ערוק Lidz 5 (cf. קרח).

עשה make: 9: 1, Schw Q, Wohls 2422 (of magical practice).

עשם oppress: ppl. עשמא 34: 9, of a class of demons.

עשר ten: חד ע', Ellis 3.

עתיקא, ח' old: Pogn B.

עותרא a Mand. genius: Pogn B, the 3 Uthras.

פ and: פמטי 17: 11 (see מוט), פאיכדי, see under יקדי (see p. 105).

פגם Pa. mutilate: 1: 10.

פגע encounter: 2: 2.

פגעא plague, class of evil spirits: 7: 14, 15: 6 (see p. 92).

פגעא, פגעיתא fem. of above: Wohls 2426, 16: 10.

פגר Pa. break: 1: 11.

פגרא body: 7: 6, 19: 15, 38: 9.

פזר scatter: 8: 2, in a magical phrase.

פחארא potter: Pogn B.

פורא potter's vessel, of the bowl: 9: 1, 32: 3, 33: 1.

פטר banish, divorce: 9: 9, 15: 8, etc.; Af. Lidz 5 (see to 8: 7).

פטרתא exemption: 17: 12.

פיטורא divorce-writ: 8: 7, etc.

פכר Pe. and Pa. bind: Pogn B.

פלג divide inheritance: Pogn B.

פלגא half: Pogn B.

פום, פה mouth: 13: 1, Lidz 4; על פי יהוה 5: 5; כפי אאא' 20: 5.

פנים face: מפני, Schw F.

פניא in עובדי פ'; Wohls 2414.

פס break: 7: 17.

פסק cut: 28: 5; Etp. עפשקא Pogn B.

פקד command: 36: 3; Af. Lidz 4; Etpe. 35: 6.

פקדתא command: 38: 6, פאקתון (w. suff.) *ib.*

פוקדנא ward, imprisonment: 34: 6.

פקע burst open: ניפקא 6: 11.

פר Af. break, annul: inf. מיפר Stübe 1, 44, מפירין Ellis 3.

פרד scatter, bewilder: 7: 16.

פרזלא iron: 2: 1, 15: 7, 38: 5, Schw I.

פרח flee: Schw N, Hyv 14, Stübe 49; also prob. in פרח פרחין 1: 10.

פרט determine, of a decree: Lidz 4.

פריכא shrine-spirit: 38: 8, 40: 19 (see p. 72).

פרס scatter: 28: 3, 4.

פרצופא person: Pogn A, of demons.

פרק separate: פירקין, 17: 13, 1st per. plur?

פרקנא deliverance: 4: 5.

פרש Af.-Hof. ppl. of the pronounced Name: שמה המפורש, Hal; שם מפורש 11: 9 = שומא מפרשא, Lidz 5; of angels מפרשין ומהומנין Stübe 59; Af. in Schwab I, warn?

פרת Euphrates: Schw G.

פשט Pa. stretch: 2: 5 = 27: 7.

פשר break, annul (charms, etc): פשירתן ומפשריתן Pogn B, of the magic divorce 11: 7.

פשארתא, פשרא annulment: Pogn B.

פיתנאמא word: 37: 7.

פיתחא doorway: 6: 6.

פתכרי image-spirits: 5: 2, פתיכרי, 2: 7, 38: 8, Pogn B, Lidz 4, פתקרי Schw Q, פתיכרן fem. pl. Ellis 3 (see p. 72).

פתכרותא idolatry: 37: 6.

(צאא)ציתא filth: מימי צ׳ 18: 6.

צבע dip: Schw F (?).

איצבעא finger: Schw F.

צוף mutter: מצוף, מצפן Schw F.

צור bind, with a spell: 6: 6, 7: 2, 29: 5.

צור draw, depict: 11: 9 = Ellis 1.

צורתא figure, on a seal: 15: 7.

צות obey: צותי f. impv. 8: 10.

צחן stink: Pogn A.

ציצא ray of light: 7: 5 plur.

ציצית glory: 12: 7.

צלף scourge: 1: 10, Lidz 4.

ציפונא north: Wohls 2422.

צפר morning: 26: 5.

צרא cleave: צאריא cloven (hoofs), Pogn B; Etpe. 6: 11.

צורכא side: Schw G.

קא emphatic part. in אפקא, 7: 14, 17: 12.

קבא collect: 37: 4.

קבל receive: 6: 11, 37: 7, Pogn B; impv. קבילו Ellis 1, קאביל Lidz 5.

קיבלא counter-charm: 6: 2, 32: 8 (see p. 86).

לקובליה against him: Schw E.

קברא, קוברא tomb: Wohls 2422, Pogn B.

קבורא ditto: Pogn B, no. 5.

קרא in Lidz 5, but see קרח.

קדם, קדאם, קודם before, in sing. and plur.: מן קדם, קדאמיה, קדמוהי 3: 7, 9; Syr. קדמה 34: 7, קדמיהון, 36: 5, קדמוה 37: 8; מן קודם 25: 2, קודאם Pogn B.

קמי, קם ditto: לקמי Ellis 1, מן קמה from him, 13: 2.

קדמאה pristine: 33: 11; Adam Kadmon 10: 3; of Mand. Life and Nebat, Pogn B.

קודקליא (?) tresses: Pogn B.

קודיש holiness: Schw M.

קדוש holy, the Holy One: Schw I, 7: 15.

קדישא ditto, particularly epithet of demons: 4: 1, Pogn A.

קום arise, stand: ppl. act. קימין 2: 7, קים 13: 8; קימיתן Peîl form, Wohls 2417 (of the resurrection); Pa. 29: 10; Etpa. 16: 4, 8: 17, etc.; Af. מאקימילן, Pogn B.

קומא stature, person: קומאין Pogn B.

קומתא ditto: 2: 1, 19: 3, Pogn B.

מקום place: Schw M.

מיקומא ditto: Hal (of cattle).

קטל, נטל kill, of demons: 3: 2, 4, 36: 4, etc; נאטלא Lidz 5 (cf. Glossary A).

קטר bind, of magic: Schw I.

קיטרא spell: 7: 13, 28: 5, Hyv.

קירא pl. wax figures: 39: 7.

(קל) קללא curse: 5: 3.

קאלא, קלא voice: 7, 11, of the client 13: 9, of the witches Lidz 1a; בתקלא the magical invocation, 16: 10 (see p. 84).

קמיעא amulet: 2: 1, 10: 17, 29: 5, Ellis 5 (see p. 44).

קומרא vault of heaven?: Pogn B (zodiac?, see Payne-Smith, col. 3650).

קמטא = קמטא ? contortion: 34: 10.

קנינא, ק' possessions: 2: 5, 34: 3 (the Mandaic use for "cattle" not assured, in 34: 8 ק' may mean small cattle).

קנמי person(?): כמידי קנמי Schw I.

קרירא(קר) cold: Pogn B.

קרא call, name: 16: 5, 36: 4, ליקרו demons read the inscription, Ellis 5 (see § 3); Etpe. 3: 2, Pogn B מקריא.

קריתא magical invocation: 7: 11, 16: 10, Pogn B, Lidz 4 אקריתא (see p. 84).

קרותא ditto: 35: 4.

קריאנא ditto: Pogn B.

קרא chance upon: 18: 10, Ellis 3.

קרי mishap, pollution: Schw G, l. 8 (so possibly, see p. 92).

קרב approach: 6: 10, etc.

קרב, קריב near, neighbor: Ellis 3, Hal, fem. קריבתא, Schw G.

קראבא battle: Lidz 1a.

קרא, קרח flee: 18: 9 = קדא Lidz 5 (metathesis of ערק).

קרן horn: Pogn B, Lidz 2; of a magical figure 12: 5.

קורקא link of a chain: Montg.

קרקפתא head: 2: 1.

קשיש(קש) old: 19: 9.

קשי hard, painful: pl. קשיי 7: 11, Wohls 2422.

קשטא bow: 2: 4.

ראשא, ריש, ראיש head: 19: 19, Pogn B, 4: 5.

ראשית beginning: Lidz 5; creation 11: 9, 18: 12.

רב great: 4: 4, etc.; fem. רבתי, 4: 5 שעתא ר', 38: 10, Wohls 2417. אמי ר' grandmother, רבאתיא Pogn B; רבי, רב title 8: 8, etc.; plur. רבין Schw I, רורבאתא Pogn B, רברבי masters 16: 8, so רורביא 39: 7.

רבתא usury: Lidz 2.

רבונא (?) master: Hal.

ארבע (רבע) four: 4: 1, ארביא Pogn B; ארבעתיכין the four of you, 8: 13.

ארבעין forty: Schw E.

רביעיתא fourth, fem.: 6: 8.

רונזא wrath: 16: 3, 37: 8, 39: 7, Wohl 2422.

רגלא foot: 19: 19.

לינרא ditto: 38: 12.

ניגלא ditto: Schw I.

ניגרא ditto: 12: 8.

רגיל hobbled: 38: 10, 40: 21, Lidz 4.

רגמא stone(?): Pogn B, רגים Lidz 2.

רנף shake (?): Lidz 4.

רדע? 34: 5.

רוח, רוחא spirit, of man: פנרא רוחא ונישמתא Pogn B, plur. רוחיא Lidz 1a, Pogn A; gen. of evil spirits, 8: 16, etc., plur. רוחות Schw F, רוחי 16: 8, etc., as masc. 30: 3, cf. Ellis 5 רוח רעה זכר ונקבה; ר׳ ליליתא 30: 3, ר׳ סרי נאלי 16: 9 (see p. 74).

ריחא perfume: Pogn B.

(רום) רם, ראם high: 14: 4, Pogn B.

רמתא, ראמתא height: plur 9: 6, 34: 5.

רומא ditto: Schw G.

מרומא ditto: 32: 8, מראומא Pogn B.

רזא, ראזא mystery, of magical rites: 6: 11, 7: 13, 28: 3, 37: 4, etc. (and see p. 85).

רחבאל name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 10.

רחם Pa. have compassion: 13: 4; תיתרוכים (?) Schw L; ppl. רחם loving Schw I.

רחמי love of God: 3: 1, 11: 2, Schw E.

רחמתא love: רחי ר׳ love rites, 28: 3.

רחנם name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 11.

רחק be far: ppls. רחקא Schw G, רחיק Hal; Pa. 14: 2 Lidz 4; Etpe. 8: 17, Lidz 4 עתראחאק.

ריעא crop ?: Hyv.

רכוב chariot: 8: 13.

מרכבתא ditto: 14: 2, 25: 2, Pogn B.

רמא cast down: 9: 1, רמן act. ppl. 6: 4, רמי pass. 7: 17; Etpe. תרמן 14: 7.

רימזא (the divine) beck: 19: 8.

רמאזא one endowed with the evil eye ?: Pogn B.

רמס trample: 1: 10.

רימסא reptiles: 7: 14.

רמץ prick, bruise: 18: 6.

רמשא evening: 26: 5.

רוסתרום name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 12.

רע evil: Ellis 5.

רעותא will, pleasure: 12: 6.

רפד encamp: 2: 7 (but cf. 27: 11).

מרפדא camp: 2: 7, 27: 11.

רפע lift, remove (Nöldeke cft. Arab.): תירפען, Hyv (who supposes רפא).

ריקא רוקא "le crachet a été craché"?: Pogn B.

רקדא dance, of angels: 12: 8.

רקיעא firmament: 8: 9, Stübe 61; Mand. רקיעא, רקיחא, pl. the seven רקעחיא, Pogn B.

רשותא authority: Stübe 61; רשוה in center of bowl No. 20.

רשום signing, of a name: ר׳ שמא, Schw I.

ש Heb. relative: שאנו, ששיצא, Schw M; magical element, see p. 60.

שאל ask: שאילית 4: 6.

שאול hell: שבע שאול seventh hell? 6: 12.

שב burn: נשתבב 28: 1.

שיבא class of amulet-spirits: 15: 6 (see p. 88).

(שבח) תרשבחא praise: 29: 12.

שבטא, שובתא plague, plur. class of demons: 12: 4, 10, 15: 6, 35: 3, Hyv (see p. 92).

שבילא road: 5: 4.

שבע Af. adjure, in exorcism: אשבעית עליכן 1: 8, 3: 3; Mand. אשבית, I adjure, 40: 5, Pogn B (assigned wrongly by him to שבא).

שבע, שבעא, שיבעא, שבעה, שבעת seven: 6: 7, 19: 4, 4: 4, etc.; Mand. שאביא, שובע, Pogn B.

שבעין seventy: 7: 17 of angels, Hyv of spells.

שבועתא oath: Schw I.

שביעיתא seventh, fem.: 6: 8.

שבק dismiss, divorce: שביקת 17: 2, 32: 9, 40: 22 שביקילה I have divorced her; Pa. Pogn B.

שיבוק divorcement: 8: 13, plur. 9: 5.

שבר Pa. break: Schw G.

שוברא "nid"?: Schw F.

שבת cease: שביתין Schw E, שביתיתון Wohls 2426.

שבותתא residence?: Schw I.

שגר Etpe. dissolve like water: 2: 11; burn, 28: 1.

שגש Pa. disturb: 1: 11.

שוגשא, שגשא commotion: Pogn B.

שגוש disturbing: 24: 4.

שידא plur. demons: 2: 7, 7: 14, Pogn B, etc.; שידטין? (read שובטין?) Schw G, etc. (see p. 73).

שידניתא she-demon: 7: 14.

שדא throw down: Pogn B, so שדי in Stübe 50?

שדר Pa. send: 36: 3, Pogn B (also Peil forms).

שדרתא a form of magic (see p. 86).

משדרנא sender: Pogn B.

שוא be equal: in ppl. אשוה כ', like; Pa. set: 37: 11, Pogn B.

שוחאה lust: 28: 4.

(שוט) שיט eye-tumor: 34: 10.

שוף crawl, of witches: Pogn B; rub(?) *ib.*

שור leap forth: ppl. שיר 19: 14.

שוארא leaper, *ephialtes*: Pogn A (see p. 82).

שורא wall: 4: 6, 34: 4.

שוש Pa. overthrow: inf. שאושיא, Pogn B.

שוחדא bribe: Pogn B, Lidz 4.

שחוה worship: 8: 14.

שחן burn, with love: נישתיחן 28: 1.

שחופתא consumption: Schw G (see p. 93).

שחקים the ether: 29: 11.

שחרתא slumber: 7: 16, 8: 11.

שחורא black, of a kind of demons: Schw G (see p. 80).

שחרר emancipate: demons who are not משחררין Schw I; משוחרר Schw R.

שירא song, charm: 32: 9, 33: 4.

שכב lie: sexually of demons, 1: 13, 11: 8; Af. set down 34: 5. lay a ghost 16: 11; lay a spell 34: 5.

מישכבא (בית) bedchamber: 7: 7. 8: 5, 19: 3.

שכח find: Etpe. 8: 7.

ישיכנא? haunter, species of demon, so Nöldeke to Hyv, *ZKF* ii 296, perhaps better read ישובטין.

שכינתא Shekina: 14: 3, שכנאתא רבתיא Pogn B.

משכינא abode, of demons: Ellis 3 (Halévy, משר׳).

משכונתא dwelling: 34: 2.

שוליתא foetus: Pogn B, Lidz 1b (Nöldeke, exortion).

שלהובתא flame: 14: 7.

שלח send, send away: 8: 3, Hofal 8: 13; Mand. שׁחל, Etpe. נעשתחלן, עשתלא, Af. אשלת inf. שוליא: Pogn B.

משלאנא sender: Pogn B.

שלט rule: תישילטון 6: 10, Peil שליטיתון Stübe 51.

שליטא ruler: 11: 5, 19: 12, 17, Lidz 4.

שלך send forth: Schw F.

שלם Af. deliver: Lidz 4.

שלמא peace: 13: 12, 37: 10, ש׳ אלך Wohls 2417.

ש׳ אשלמתא initiatory rites, in magic: 12: 9, 16: 10, 35: 4, Hal, Schw E, M, Stübe 2; שלמתא Pogn B (see p. 85).

שלניתא ghost, or demon: 8: 2, 8, 12, 17: 4.

שום, שמא name, *passim*: plur. שימות 9: 6, שמיהון 14: 6, שמהן Ellis 3, שמאתא שמותא שומהתא Schw G, שומהתא 16: 8; Mand. שומא 38: 7, plur. שימאין 40: 1; בשום, in the name of (deity, angel, sorcerer, or the charm-words following, e. g. 6: 7), *passim;* n. b. לישמיה 28: 1, משמך 95; דבלשום of whatever name 1: 13.

שמא lay waste?: ישתמה Schw I.

שמיא heaven: 9: 6, 11: 2 (= God), etc.; שמי Schw I, שמימיא Schw Q, שומיא Pogn B.

שמע hear: 8: 10, שמיע עליכן 8: 3: Mand. שומית I heard Lidz 1a = שומאי Pogn B, שומאי impv. *ib.*, Etpe. תישתמון, *ib.*, Pa. inf. לשימועיכון 8: 7.

שמר guard, keep: 5: 3.

שמש Pa. serve: Stübe 60.

שמשא sun: 28: 3, שאמיש 30: 2 (cf. Glossary A).

שמת Pa. ban: Hal, Lidz 4, משמתתא epithet of lilith 34: 13, 35: 11, Etpa. Wohls 2426.

שמתא ban: 8: 6; plur. שמתאן Schw I, שמתתא Stübe 12.

שנא Pa. change one's place: 36: 2; bewilder, make mad: 7: 16.

שתא year: 6: 5, plur. שני 6: 6 (see also השתא).

שעתא (שעא) hour: 4: 5 ש׳ רבתי, 26: 5.

שעותא mocking mischief of demons: Schw G, cf. שעיהון, Ellis 3 (see § 3).

שעיר satyr, species of demons: שעירים 5: 4 (see p. 80).

שערתא a fever(?): 11: 3.

שיפטין Hyv, read שובטין.

שיפלא abasement(?): Schw F.

שיפורי excommunication Stübe 12 (see p. 53).

שיצי destroy: inf. שיציה 7: 17; come forth: שציא Schw M.

שיקא pl. the Arabic *šiḳ*-demon: 15: 5.

שקא to water: Pogn B, Etpe. 37: 9.

שקע deposit, of the bowl-practice: שקינא 32: 3, 33: 1.

שקל take off: 11: 8, Lidz 5.

שקף strike. 11: 6, Lidz 5.

שיקופתא blow, affliction, a method or result of magical practice: 12: 9, Ellis 5, Stübe 2, Wohls 2426, 2414 שקיפותא Lidz 4 (see p. 86).

אישתקופתא ditto: 16: 10.

שיקצא vermin: 7: 14.

שר Pa. bind, magically: ישרר Schw G, inf., שרורי Schw F, ppl. 31: 5, 37: 4.

שריר firm, of charms: 3: 1, 13: 8, Lidz 5.

שררתא, authority: Schw I.

שררות spell: Schw G, with לום.

משררנותא? Schw I, end.

שרא prince: Schw I.

שרא loose, dwell: 12: 2, 34: 11, שורין impv. pl. Lidz 1b, with suff. Lidz 2, ditto fem. שראי Pogn B, e. g. no. 15; Af. to lodge, 14: 3; Etpe. be loosened, 19: 4, Hyv, Pogn B מישארא, מישריא.

שרא diarrhoea: 34: 10.

שורבתא tribe, of demoniac species: 7: 17, 38: 6, 40: 17 the 360 species (cf. p. 80).

שרש Pa. uproot: שרשיא fem. pl. impv. ? (but see Lidz, p. 93, n. 9, = root שרא).

שרשלאתא chains: 39: 5.

שישלנא enchainment: 34: 11.

שתא drink: inf. מישתיה Schw F, impv. אישתאי 36: 7.

(שת) ששת six: 11: 9.

שיתין, שישין 60, in enumeration of demons, etc.: 19: 8, 38: 5, Lidz 4, Hyv.

תבר break: 40: 12; Etpe. 40: 12, Lidz 1a; Pa. תאבר, Lidz 2.

תיבות (Noah's) ark: 10: 5.

תאנא crown: תאנא דזיוא Pogn B.

תגמא military division: plur. תגמיה 13: 1, of demons.

תהומא, תומא abyss, always in plur: Schw F, G, Pogn B תומיא תחתייא (Pogn as though = תוחמא, black).

תוב, תום again: 2: 1, Ellis 1; תום 39: 11, Lidz 5.

מתוך, תוך in, out of: 9: 5.

תורא bull 40: 4.

תחת, תחית, etc. under: תחתיו Schw F, תחית under the hand 7: 12 = תחות 16: 6; Mand. תותיא 38: 12, תיתאך Pogn B.

תחתאי inferior: Pogn B, see to תהומא.

(תד)תובא loss, damage: 34: 7 (see p. 94).

תכלתא abortion: 11: 4.

תל hang(?): איתללה Schw F.

תלת three: תלאת Pogn B, תלתמא 300 38: 5; תליתיכן, תלתיכן 17: 4, 8: 3.

תליתיתא third, fem.: 6: 8.

תמן there: 14: 7, 19: 14.

תום see תוב.

תמניא eight: 8 spirits, seals, 19: 4, Schw E, F, Pogn B.

תמני 80: 19: 9, w. suff. תמאנאן Lidz 4.

תנינא monster, of Leviathan: 2: 4, 6.

תקן Pa. make fast: 19: 10, 29: 11.

תקיף mighty, epithet of magical arts: Hal, Hyv; of deities, etc., 34: 9, 40: 19; of the sorcerer 34: 2.

תרין two: 4: 4, Pogn B; תרויהן two of them, 34: 4.

תינינתא second: fem.: 6: 8.

תרך Pa. divorce: 17: 3.

תירוכא divorcement: 26: 6.

(תרעא) תירא gate: Pogn B.

PRONOMINAL FORMS

1st per. אנא: 2: 1, 5, 4: 6, etc.; אנא: 11: 1, Pogn B; אני: 14: 1.

1st pers. pl. אנחנא: 1: 14.

2d per. f. אנתי: 26: 3, 8: 8, 15 (or plur.? q. v.), אנאת 38: 4.

2d pers. pl. m. and fem. אנתון: 19: 13; אנתו: Schw F; אתון: 4: 7; אנתין: 8: 8; אנתי: 8: 8, 17: 3(?).

3d pers. (also demonstrative): הוא 8: 7, etc., 32: 4; הו: 39: 8; as copula הוא הוא: 9: 1, 32: 3; ההוא Schw F; היא: Ellis 3.

3d pers. pl. הינן: Pogn B; הנהן: 32: 7, 33: 7; אינן, אנן: 13: 4, 35: 6; הינין: Schw I, Pogn B; הן Schw Q.

Demonstrative, masc. דין: 8: 16, 10: 1, Ellis 5, Hal; דנן: 3: 5, 7: 16, Stübe 43 (these forms in stereotyped phrases, cf. (ב)דנא 16: 8); הדין: 3: 6, הדאין 28: 4, האוין: Pogn A; הנא (Syr.) 31: 1, 2; דאבא: Schw F; דא (?): 18: 5.

Demonstrative fem. הדא: 1: 4, 35: 6, האוא Lidz 5.

Demonstrative pl. הלין: 6: 7, 10: 3, 31: 5, 35: 9, 36: 5, Pogn B; אילין: Hal 2; אלה, אילי, אילה: 25: 2, 5.

Indefinite (ד)מן: 2: 2, מאן 27: 3, Pogn B; מא, in במא, כמא, עדמא, עלמאהו (see these prepositions). אידי those who(?): Wohls 2414. מינדעם: 5: 2, מידעם, 2: 3, 12: 10, 29: 8, מדם Ellis 5.

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PLATES

Prefatory Note

The concave spherical surface on which the bowl texts are inscribed precluded their reproduction by photography. At the best only a half of the text can be obtained satisfactorily by the camera, as the pair of photographs at the end of the Plates will show. Accordingly the texts had to be copied by hand.

Soon after the bowls came to the Museum, Professor Jastrow, of the University, and Professor Gottheil, of Columbia, undertook their publication. They secured the services of Mr. Horace Frank, Architect, for autographing the plates, a considerable sum of money being raised to meet this expense. Subsequently Drs. Jastrow and Gottheil gave up their plan of publication, and when Professor Hilprecht, then Curator, put the bowls into my hands, I fell heir to Mr. Frank's labors. I found he had prepared about 75 plates, but of these I have been able to use only 23, covering my Numbers 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 16, 17, 24, 28, 31, 36, 37, 38, 40. His other plates were copies of broken and mutilated bowls which were not worth publishing (see Introduction, § 1). It appears also that not all the good texts were placed in his hands, or else that he did not complete them all.

There is only one drawback in Mr. Frank's excellent reproductions, one which however does not impair their accuracy. Working without much direction and knowing nothing of the language, he often broke a word at the end of the line and carried it over to the next. I have seen no reason to repair this technical error in his copies, but have guarded against it in the work of the later copyists.

There thus remained of the texts which came to be included in this publication twenty-five which still required autographing. Shrinking from this tedious mechanical labor, especially after an expert hand had preceded me, I was very glad to avail myself of the kind cooperation of Professor

Gordon, Director of the Museum, who offered me the expert services of his staff. Consequently, under my direction, the remaining copies were prepared by Mr. William C. Orchard (Nos. 1, 5, 7, 10-15, 19, 21-23, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34, 35), and by Miss M. Louise Baker (Nos. 20, 26, 30, 33, 39).

The style of Mr. Frank's copies conditioned those for which I am responsible. He had abandoned the spiral arrangement of the originals and made his reproductions in straight lines. This method may be faulted as not giving the exact form of the original, but this demerit is small as compared with the advantage to the scholar of having the whole text lying before him at one glance without his being under the necessity of turning a bulky volume around and around to follow the spiral career of the text. I was therefore quite satisfied to retain this method of reproduction.

It may be remarked that all my decipherment was made entirely from the originals; only after my own work was finished did I compare Mr. Frank's copies. In a few cases I was able to improve his facsimiles, in several cases his copies, which were made when the texts were fresher and more legible (they have manifestly faded under exposure to light), have helped me correct or enlarge my readings. The other copyists also worked independently, and then we compared our respective results. The cooperation of others, expert copyists, with the author has thus tended to a full control of the accuracy of the facsimiles and transliterations.

I have finally to speak in the highest terms of the artistic and painstaking labors of these two gentleman and Miss Baker, whose assistance has afforded me so great relief.

CATALOGUE

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
1	1	8693	6.5 + 17	Broken and mended, with two holes. Written inside and out in large coarse script, .5 cm. average height, rude spiral design in center.
2	2	2945	7.2 + 17.4	Broken and mended. Fair, large characters. .4 cm. in height. In center two large figures, one in reverse position to other; one of which appears to be making a sign with his hand (as against the evil eye?), probably the sorcerer, the other with feet hobbled, the demon.
3	3-4	2963	10.3 + 20.5	Broken and mended, with a segment 6 + 12 cm. missing. Flat boss. The rim of the bowl has a double edge. Fair characters, .3 cm. high. In the center figure of a demon, armed with helmet and a sabre and spear in either hand, and his feet manacled.
4	4-5	2923	7.5 + 17.3	Broken and mended, small segment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In the center figure of the sorcerer waving a magic bough.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
5	6	2952	7 + 18	Slightly broken and mended, with small fragment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In center rude figure of a demon with four arms and one leg.
6	7	2916	6 + 15.8	Perfect bowl but for a fracture which does not touch the text. Small circle in center. Characters .3 cm. high, rather crabbed.
7	8	16007	5.6 + 15.7	Broken and mended, with a square fragment of text missing. Fine, clear characters, .2 cm. high. In center circle with cross.
8	8-9	9013	8.5 + 16.6	Broken and mended, with two small fragments missing. Characters .2 cm. high. In center obscene picture of a lilith with hands and feet bound.
9	10	9010	6 + 17.7	Perfect bowl. Characters much obliterated, .4 cm. high. Circle in center. On exterior four short lines in Hebrew.
10	11	16014	6.9 + 14.2	Broken and mended with segment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In center monstrous figure with owl-like head and apparently several breasts, presumably a lilith.
11	12	16022	6.3 + 16.1	Broken and mended, with three fragments of the text missing. Characters carelessly written, .3 or .4 cm. high. In center rude design, probably of a lilith.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
12	13	9009	7.2 + 17.7	Perfect bowl. Characters .4 cm. high, coarse but distinctly formed. In center a demon, with beastlike face and arms and feet bound. Endorsement on exterior.
13	14	8694	7 + 16.2	Broken and mended, with small piece missing. Coarse, clumsy characters, .6 cm. high. In the center a clumsy figure of a demon with caterpillar-like arms. Text continued on the exterior for 6 lines.
14	15	16017	6.8 + 18.7	Broken and mended, with missing segment. Characters .4 cm. high, in a good hand. In center a lilith with hands and feet manacled.
15	16	16087	7.3 + 17.2	Broken and mended. Characters .4 cm. high. In center figure of a serpent with its tail in its mouth.
16	17	2920	6.8 + 16.3	Broken and mended. Characters coarse, .3 cm. high. Rough circle in center.
17	18	2922	7 + 15.7	Broken and mended, with a segment missing. Characters coarse, .4 cm. high. In the center the circle and cross, formed in a peculiar way.
18	19	8695	7.2 + 16.1	Broken and mended, with fragment of about 5 cm. square missing. Coarse characters, .4 cm. high. In center rude and faded design—of a demon?

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
19	20		6.6 + 17.6	Broken and mended. Characters crabbed and obscure, closely written, .3 cm. high. Circle and cross in center.
20	21	16023	7 + 17	Broken and mended, fragment missing. Large, coarse characters, .6 cm. high. Large figure of a demon manacled, with a circle in his breast bisected by two lines. For the magical words accompanying see commentary.
21	22	16054	6.5 + 17	Broken and mended, with two fragments missing, a small one in the text. Script large, .8 cm. high, and rude. In center a rectangular figure divided into three squares, in one of those at the end two large markings like letters.
22	22-23	16006	6.5 + 16	Broken and mended, with two fragments missing. From the same hand as No. 21 and with the same design, the markings in the square suggesting a face.
23	22	16090	7 + 17.2	Broken and mended. From the same hand as Nos. 21, 22, and with similar design.
24	23	2926	7 + 16.8	Broken and mended, small fragment missing. Coarse script, .7 cm. high. In the center a figure of rude concentric circles with radial lines.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
25	24	16009	6.9 + 17.2	Broken and mended, with four fragments missing. Coarse script, .5 cm. high.
26	24	3997	6.9 + 15.5	Broken and mended. Script .4 cm. high. In the center a rough circle bisected by two lines, in each segment a magical word.
27	25	16041	5.6 + 16.6	Broken and mended with two considerable fragments missing. Script fine and fair, .2 cm. high. In the center a circle with cross.
28	25	2972	6.5 + 16.5	Broken and mended, four fragments missing, the text much blurred or obliterated. A fair script,.3 cm. high.
29	26	16055	6.8 + 17	Broken and mended, one fragment missing. Bold and well formed characters .5 cm. high.
30	26	16096	6.5 + 16.8	Broken and mended, small fragment missing. Script .3 to .4 cm. high. In center rude figure of a lilith with tresses flying and hands and feet bound.
31	27	9008	6.6 + 16	Perfect. Syriac script, .3 cm. high. In center a circle divided into four squares each with a cross in it.
32	28	16086	6.9 + 17	Broken and mended, one large and one small fragment missing. Same script and design as in No. 31.

TEXT	PLATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER	SIZE in centimetres, height by diameter	DESCRIPTION
33	29	16019	6.2 + 15.5	Broken and mended, with two considerable fragments missing. In center cross with circle.
34	30	9012	7.5 + 17.5	Broken and mended. Design as in Nos. 31, 32.
35	31	16097	6.5 + 16.1	Broken and mended, two small fragments missing. Design as in No. 33.
36	32	2933	6.3 + 15.4	Broken and mended, with about half of the two lines on the margin missing.
37	33	2943	6.5 + 17	Broken and frequently repaired, much of the margin missing and a large part of the text obliterated. The script the smallest in the Syriac bowls, .2 to .3 cm. high. In the center circle and cross, each segment containing presumably letters of the Tetragrammaton.
38	34	2941	7 + 17	Broken and mended, with several small holes. Mandaic script average character about .2 cm. high. Small circle in center. A brief phrase written radially near the margin on the exterior.
39	35	9005	6.8 + 17.2	Broken and mended, some fragments missing. Script larger and coarser than in No. 38, .3 cm. high.
40	36-38	2972	7.3 + 17.2	Broken and mended, some large lacunae. Script as in No. 39. The text covers also most of the exterior. Circles in the center.

I



EXTERIOR

2



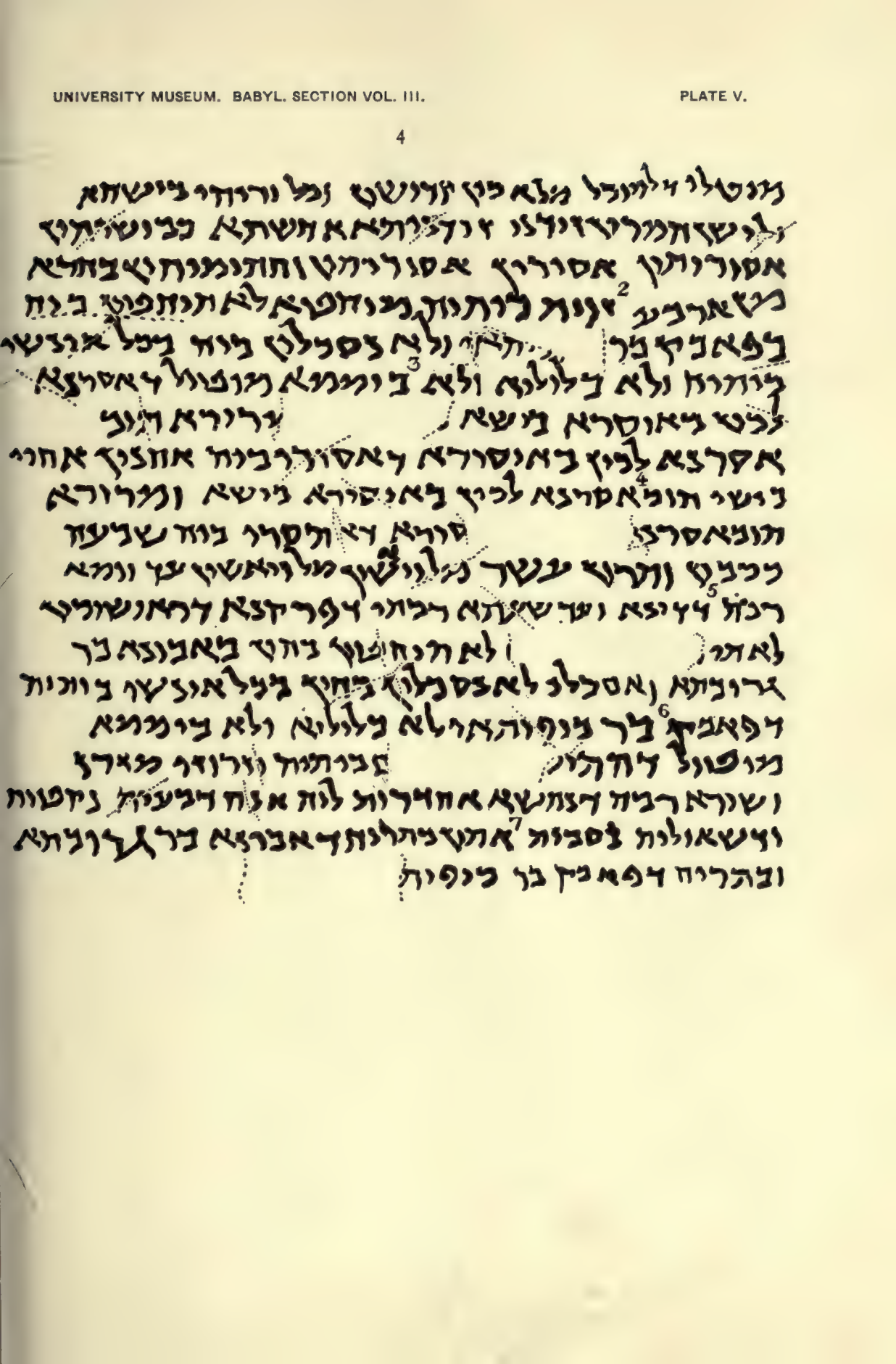


FIGURE FOR TEXT 3.



FIGURE FOR TEXT 4.

4



5

[illegible]

6

7

FIGURE FOR TEXT 8.

9

EXTERIOR

10

11

12

EXTERIOR

13



EXTERIOR

14

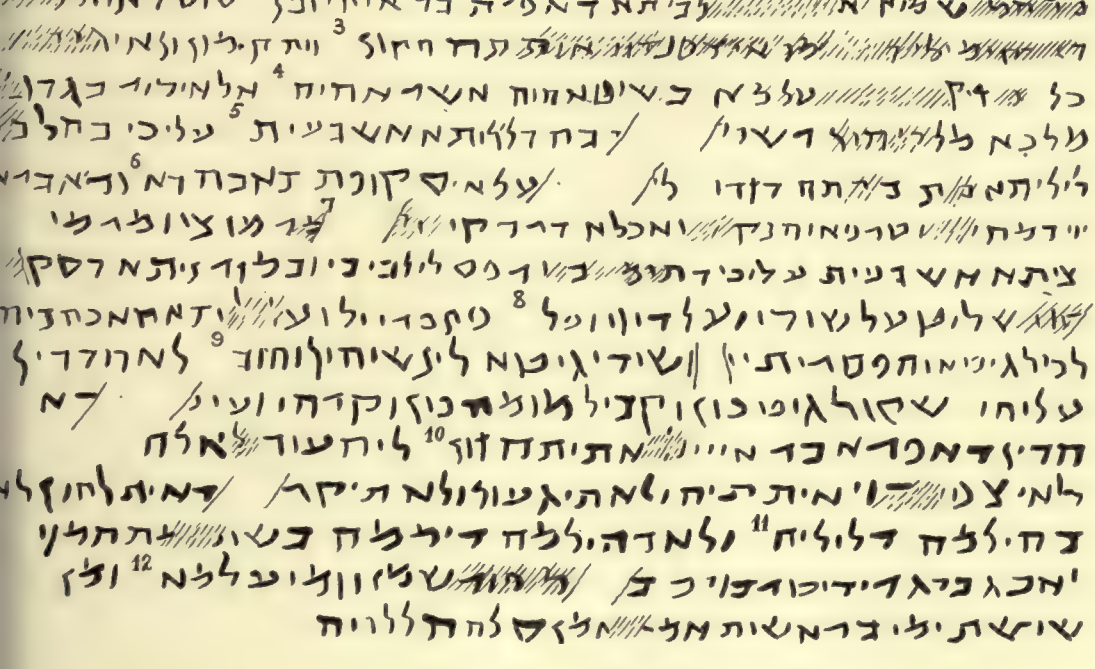


15

16

18





19

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21

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23

FIGURE FOR TEXT 24.

FIGURE FOR TEXT 22.

25

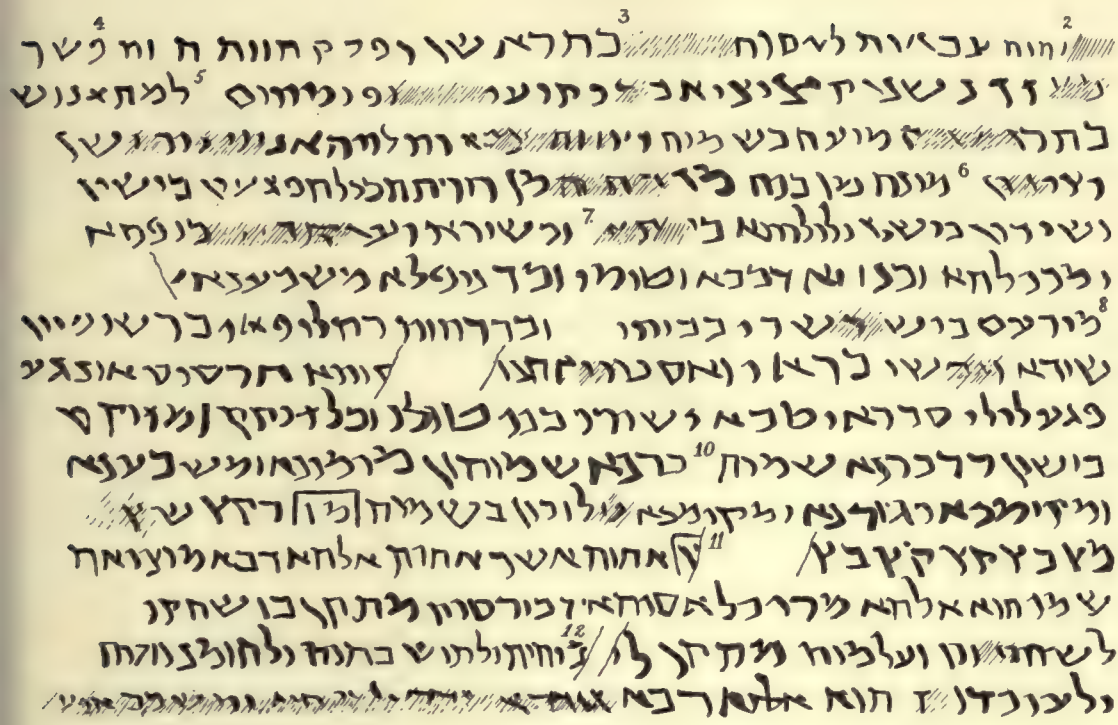
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27



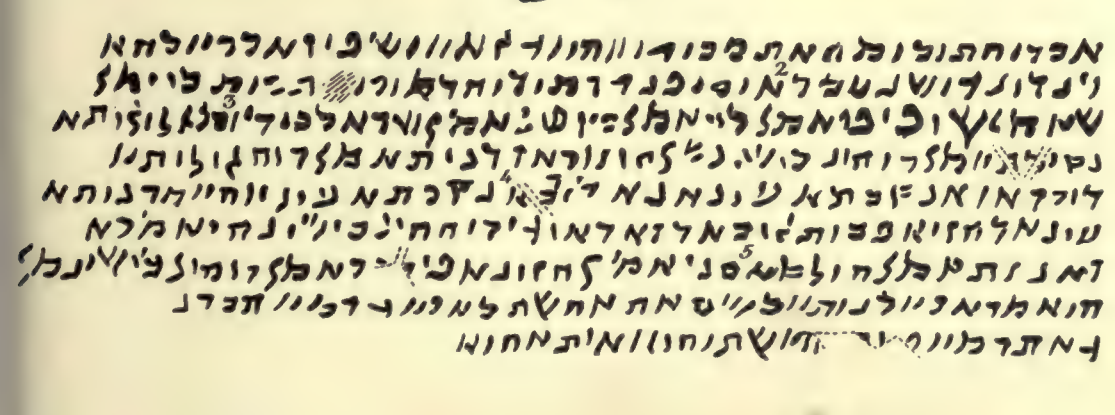
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30





32

33

34

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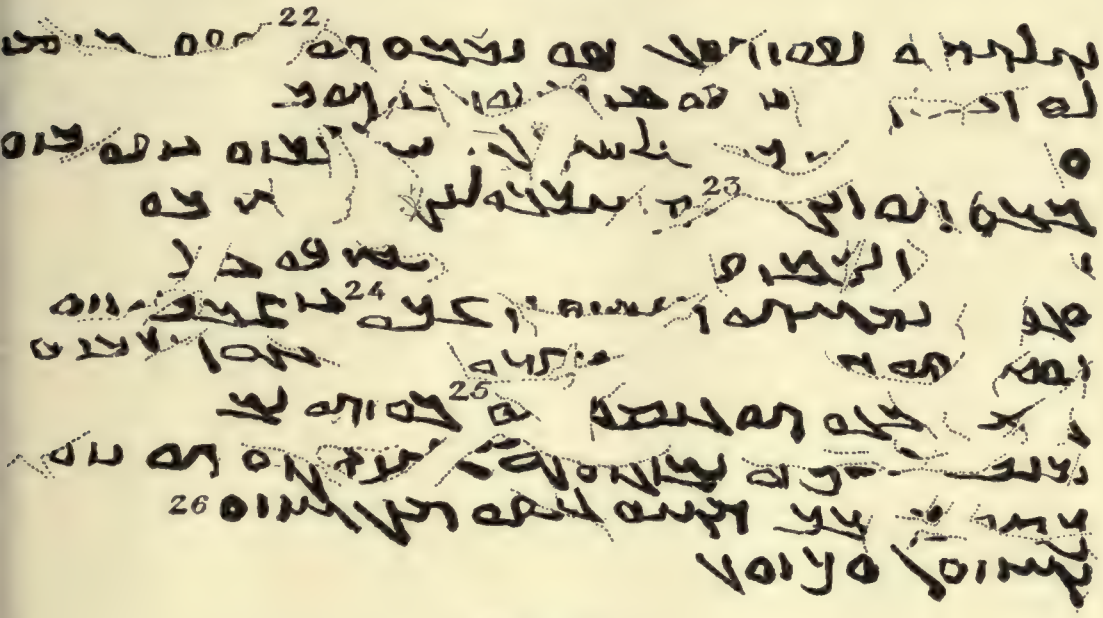
EXTERIOR

39

40 CONTINUED

EXTERIOR

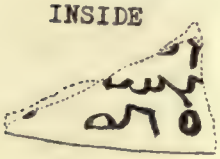
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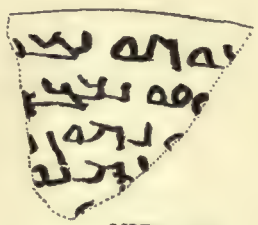


FRAGMENTS

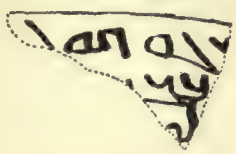


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ALPHABETIC TABLES.

I Square Script.								II Mandaic Script.		
7	4	16	19	21-23	26	25	Text Numbers	38	39	40
א	א	א	א	א	א	א				
ב	כ	כ	ב	כ	ב	ב				
ג	ל	ל	ג	ג	ג	ג				
ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד				
		ה	ה	ה						
ו ז	י ו	)	ו	ו	ו	ו				
ז	ז		ז	ז	ז					
ח	ת	ת	ח	ח	ח	ח				
ט	ט	ט			ט	ט				
י י	י י	י	י	ז	י	י				
כ ך	כ	כ	ך כ	כ	כ	כ				
ל	ל	ל	ל	ל	ו	ל				
מ ם	מ	מ ם	מ ם	ם מ	מ	ם מ				
נ ן	נ ן	נ ן	נ ן	ן ו	ן ו	ן ו				
ס ס	ס	ס	ם	ס		ס				
ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע				
פ	כ	ב	פ	פ	פ	כ				
צ					צ					
ק	ק	ק	ק	ק		ק				
ר	ר	ד	ר	ר	ר	ר				
ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש				
ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת				
							ך			

III. COMPARATIVE TABLE FOR SYRIAC SCRIPT.

Estranghelo Syriac.	Bowl Texts.	Manichæan Turkish.	Estranghelo Syriac.	Bowl Texts.	Manichæan Turkish.
ܐ	ܐ	𐫀	ܡ	ܡ, *finial* ܡ	𐫢
ܒ	ܒ ܒ ܒ	𐫁	ܢ	ܢ ܢ	𐫣
ܓ	ܓ ܓ	𐫂	*ditto*	*finial*	
ܕ	ܕ	𐫃	ܣ	ܣ ܣ ܣ ܣ	𐫤
ܗ	ܗ	𐫄	ܥ	ܥ	𐫥
ܘ	ܘ ܘ	𐫅	ܦ	ܦ ܦ	𐫦
ܙ	ܙ	𐫆	ܨ	ܨ ܨ	𐫧
ܚ	( )	𐫇	ܩ		
ܛ	ܛ ܛ		ܪ	ܪ ܪ	𐫨
ܝ	ܝ ܝ	𐫈	ܫ	ܫ ܫ ܫ	𐫩
ܟ	•	𐫉	ܬ	ܬ	𐫪
ܠ	ܠ ܠ	𐫊			
ܡ	ܡ ܡ	𐫋			



INTERIOR OF INSCRIBED BOWL PHOTOGRAPHED FROM OPPOSITE POINTS.

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Montgomery, James Alan (ed.)
Aramaic incantation texts
from Nippur

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Number 30

The Book of Mirrors:
Sefer Mar'ot ha-Ẓove'ot
by
R. David ben Yehudah he-Hasid

Edited by
Daniel Chanan Matt

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R. David ben Yehudah he-Ḥasid

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D38
1982
(LC)

To my brother David

...with lovely eyes

1 Samuel 16:12

...lovely in mirrors and visions, colors and hues:
all these appear in the mirror that does not shine.

The Book of Mirrors 19:21

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PREFACE

Writing to Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik in 1925, Gershom Scholem outlined a plan for research into kabbalistic literature.[1] He listed important works that lay in manuscript, awaiting their redemption, and proposed a program of publication and textual analysis. Among the MSS on that list were those of R. David ben Yehudah he-Ḥasid, a Spanish kabbalist of the early fourteenth century. Scholem noted that R. David was the first author after Moses de León to rely heavily on the Zohar.

Since the date of that letter, a new and ancient field has been cultivated. Thanks to Scholem and his school, we now have a clear picture of the basic development of Kabbalah; the profound symbol systems of mystical Judaism have begun to yield fruit. Still, several of the projects outlined in Scholem's letter have not been completed or even undertaken. Until now, for example, none of the works of R. David ben Yehudah has been published. This volume provides a critical edition of R. David's *Book of Mirrors, Sefer Mar>ot ha-Ẓove>ot.*

The Book of Mirrors is a composite work: an anthology of Kabbalah and an original commentary on the Torah. R. David copies freely, and almost always without acknowledgment, from several prominent kabbalists of the thirteenth century: Ezra and Azriel of Gerona, Todros Abulafia, Joseph Gikatilla, and Moses de León. An important feature of *The Book of Mirrors* is the large number of Zohar passages that R. David translates into Hebrew from the original Aramaic. His renderings represent the first lengthy translations of the Zohar; through them we see how the work was read and understood by a fourteenth-century kabbalist. R. David did not regard the Zohar as an ancient midrash; he appropriates its pseudepigraphic style to introduce his own teachings. A generation after its appearance, the Zohar has become a model for mystical exegesis.

This critical edition of R. David's *Book of Mirrors* was prepared as a Ph.D. dissertation in the Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies at Brandeis University in 1976-77. I want to thank my advisers, Profs. Alexander Altmann and Marvin Fox, for their guidance. A number of colleagues, friends, and teachers read the Introduction; I thank them for their criticism and suggestions: Profs. Michael Fishbane, Naḥum Glatzer, Amos Goldreich, Arthur Green, Moshe Idel, Alfred Ivry, Yehuda Liebes, and Gershom Scholem.

I am grateful to the National Foundation for Jewish Culture and the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture for providing me with grants in 1976-77.

A number of libraries extended their facilities to me. I thank the people who tend the books at: Brandeis University, Harvard University, the University of California, the Graduate Theological Union, the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, and the Library at the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Spain.

Finally I thank those who have helped me polish *The Book of Mirrors* for *Brown Judaic Studies:* Profs. David Blumenthal, Baruch Bokser, Jacob Neusner, and Claude Welch; Bill Tuthill and the computer consultants at UC Berkeley; the staff at Scholars Press and my editor, Davis Perkins; my friends Beverly Todd and Tom Rose, Paul Schwartz, and Ana Massie.

[1]The letter appears in Scholem, *Devarim be-Go,* 1:59-63.

TRANSLITERATIONS

◌	*ʾalef*	*l*	*lamed*
b	*bet*	*m*	*mem*
v	*vet*	*n*	*nun*
g	*gimmel*	*s*	*samekh*
d	*dalet*	◌	*ʿayin*
h	*he*	*p*	*pe*
v	*vav*	*f*	*fe*
z	*zayin*	*ẓ*	*ẓadi*
ḥ	*ḥet*	*q*	*qof*
ṭ	*ṭet*	*r*	*resh*
y,i	*yod*	*sh*	*shin*
k	*kaf*	*s*	*sin*
kh	*khaf*	*t*	*tav*

INTRODUCTION

1. R. DAVID BEN YEHUDAH HE-ḤASID

1.1. His Identity

Little is known about R. David ben Yehudah he-Ḥasid. In 1874 H. Gross conjectured that he was the son of the famous German mystic, Yehudah ben Shemu ᵓel he-Ḥasid of Regensburg.[1] S. D. Luzzatto already doubted this identification,[2] and A. Epstein confirmed his judgment, suggesting that David's father was a later Yehudah he-Ḥasid.[3] A. Marmorstein, who wrote the first article devoted to R. David, adopted this view and argued that David was born a German Jew but later lived in Spain. He based this conclusion on statements found in R. David's *ᵓOr Zaruᶜa,* a kabbalistic commentary on the liturgy (see below, § 1.2.). There the author praises Ahkenazic customs, giving them precedence over Spanish customs. At one point he states: "I have learned from my teachers in France...."[4]

A year after Marmorstein's article appeared, G. Scholem published a study on R. David as one of his "Chapters of the History of Kabbalistic Literature."[5] He disputed Marmorstein's contention that David was born in Germany. There is no doubt, argued Scholem, that he traveled there and to other countries. He states in *The Book of Mirrors* that he carried a certain holy name "on all the roads I traveled," and that "due to the tribulations of travel I lost it."[6] In his *ᵓOr Zaruᶜa* he says, "I have seen *siddurim* in Ashkenaz...."[7] However, there is no indication that R. David was German by birth. The order of prayers in *ᵓOr Zaruᶜa* cannot be adduced as proof of his native country; David simply copied whatever he saw, adopting both Spanish and Ashkenazic readings.[8] In one passage R. David traces a tradition back to his father: "The great Rabbi Shimᶜon received this secret from our father *[min beit ᵓav shellanu],* Rabbi Yehudah he-Ḥasid."[9] The secret transmitted here is Spanish Kabbalah; it could not have originated in Germany.

Unfortunately, the most explicit references to R. David's genealogy come from an unreliable source. Oxford MS 2292 contains a "Treatise on the Secrets of the Alphabet" that is attributed to R. David.[10] After a few pages of these secrets the MS reads:

---

[1]Heinrich Gross, "Die Söhne des R. Jehuda b. Samuel Chassid," *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 1 (1874): 107.

[2]Samuel David Luzzatto, "Bibliothèque de feu Joseph Almanzi," *Hebraeische Bibliographie (Ha-Mazkir)* 4 (1861): 98.

[3]Abraham Epstein, "Das talmudische Lexikon," *MGWJ* 39 (1895): 450.

[4]Arthur Marmorstein, "David ben Jehuda Ḥasid," *MGWJ* 71 (1927): 39-48.

[5]Gershom Scholem, *"Peraqim mi-toledot sifrut ha-qabbalah," Kiryat Sefer* 4 (1927-28): 302-27 (hereafter cited as *"Peraqim"*).

[6]*Sefer Marᵓot ha-Ẓove ᵓot* (hereafter cited as *MhẒ*), p. 197, l. 11 (below, Hebrew pagination).

[7]*ᵓOr Zaruᶜa,* British Museum MS 771, f. 47a.

[8]Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* p. 305.

[9]*ᵓOr Zaruᶜa,* f. 98a-b; see Scholem, p. 304, who suggests that R. Shimᶜon was a student-friend of R. David's father; cf. Amos Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul le-R. David ben Yehudah he-Ḥasid"* (Master's thesis, Tel Aviv University, 1972), p. 2 (hereafter cited as *"Sefer ha-Gevul"*).

[10]Oxford MS 2292, f. 32a; see Adolph Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,* p. 800; Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* p. 303.

> The awareness of this generation is limited; they cannot comprehend in depth nor are they worthy to do so. If this were not the case, I would transmit more of the profound, sealed mysteries and the marvelous wonders from the secrets of He who dwells in the heights, from what I have received from my grandfather, the great rabbi, our master, Moses son of Naḥman, may his memory be a blessing.[11]

It appears that R. David's grandfather was none other than R. Moses son of Naḥman, the Ramban (1194-1270). At the end of the same MS the genealogy is described more explicitly:

> From the son of Naḥman, Moses the Prince, I have received it; I have gathered it from his vineyard. I am David; he is my grandfather...the father of Rabbi Yehudah Ḥasid.[12]

These two statements, both worded in the first person, seem to prove that R. David was the grandson of the Ramban. However, this conclusion is highly suspect, for, as Efraim Kupfer has pointed out, the "Treatise on the Secrets of the Alphabet" was not written by R. David. Its real author was Yom Tov Lipmann Muelhausen, the fifteenth-century rabbi and kabbalist, author of *Sefer Niẓẓaḥon.* [13] In the other extant versions of the "Secrets"' neither the two autobiographical passages nor the attribution of the work to R. David is to be found.[14] Apparently a certain scribe chose to attribute R. Yom Tov's work to R. David ben Yehudah he-Ḥasid. In addition to inserting references to R. David and his genealogy, this editor was careful to delete any telltale signs of the real author, R. Yom Tov.[15]

To what extent can we rely on the statements in the Oxford MS? On the one hand, they are forgeries and thus suspect. On the other hand, it should be noted that a certain scribe had a tradition that R. David, the author of *The Book of Mirrors,* was the grandson of the Ramban. This observation cannot be adduced as proof.

Leaving aside the curious and perplexing Oxford MS, there are certain other pieces of information that bear on the question of R. David's relation to the Ramban:

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[11] *Maʾamar ʿal Sodot ha-ʾAlef Beit,* Oxford MS 2292, ff. 33b-34a; cf. Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* p. 303.

[12] *Maʾamar,* f. 36b; Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* pp. 305-6. Apparently, the Ramban did have a son named Yehudah. His oldest son was Naḥman; he had a second son, Shelomoh. Ḥ Chavel postulates that there was a third son who was a courtier in Castile. To him is addressed the Ramban's letter on how to conduct oneself in the royal court. See *Kitvei ha-Ramban,* ed. Ḥayyim Chavel, 1:369-71; Chavel, *Rabbeinu Mosheh ben Naḥman* (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 34-5, n. 39; p. 207; cf. Salo Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews,* 9:282, n. 38. In Chavel's edition of this letter (based on Solomon Schechter's edition in *JQR* 5 [O.S.] (1892-93): 115-9) the son's name is not provided. However, in a version of the letter published by Reuven Margaliot (*Vikkuaḥ ha-Ramban,* p. 48) the letter is titled: *Ha-ʾIggeret she-shalaḥ ha-Ramban bi-heyoto be-ʾErez Yisraʾel li-veno Yehudah le-Qaʾṣṭilyaʾ bi-heyot beno ʿomed li-fenei ha-melekh.* See Scholem, *Kiryat Sefer* 6 (1929-30): 400, n. 1; cf. Isaac Unna, *Rabbi Mosheh ben Naḥman,* p. 91; Isaac Baer, *Toledot ha-Yehudim bi-Sefarad ha-Noẓrit,* 1:71.

[13] R. Yom Tov's treatise was first printed at the end of Shimson ben Eliezer's *Barukh She-ʾAmar* (Shklov, 1804), pp. 17ff.; see the edition in *Qoveẓ Sifrei Setaʾm,* ed. Menaḥem Mendel Meshi-Zahav, 1:197ff. Kupfer has not yet published this discovery; he informed me of it in Jerusalem in the spring of 1977. In the *Sodot* R. Yom Tov refers several times to his *Sefer ha-ʾEshkol;* these references fit well into the context of the *Sodot* and are not a later interpolation. (Cf. *Qoveẓ Sifrei Setaʾm,* pp. 197ff. with *Sefer ha-ʾEshkol,* ed. Judah Kaufman, Introduction, p. 170.) The signature at the end of the *Sodot, tʾv yomʾi* (*Barukh She-ʾAmar,* p. 24a; Oxford MS 2292, f. 36b), is R. Yom Tov's: see *Sefer ha-ʾEshkol,* p. 175; cf. Moritz Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature,* p. 305.

[14] See *Barukh She-ʾAmar,* pp. 22b, 23a, 24a; *Qoveẓ Sifrei Setaʾm,* pp. 197ff.

[15] All of the references to R. Yom Tov's *Sefer ha-ʾEshkol* (see above, n. 13) are deleted in the Oxford MS. How far this anonymous editor is willing to go in his project is demonstrated on f. 36a of the MS, where he replaces R. Yom Tov's reference to *Sefer ha-ʾEshkol* with a reference to *Sefer Meʾorot ha-Ẓefuḥot Peirush ha-Torah* (a scribal corruption of *Marʾot ha-Ẓoveʾot*). Cf. *Barukh She-ʾAmar,* p. 23d; the parallel in *Sefer ha-ʾEshkol,* p. 168; and *MhẒ* 178:30ff. We can only speculate as to the reason for this curious example of scribal license. One possible explanation is that the scribe actually believed that R. David was involved with the original composition of the "Treatise." R. Yom Tov states at the beginning of his *Sodot* that he drew on many sources: teachers, scribes, and books (*Barukh She-ʾAmar,* p. 17b). We do possess a different "Treatise on the Alphabet" by the real R. David (see below, § 1.2.), and though the two works are distinct, there are certain parallels between them: cf. letters *g, h, s, r, sh* in R. David's authentic treatise (preserved in Paris MS 841, ff. 138a-41a) with the same letters in R. Yom Tov's *Sodot.* It is possible that among R. Yom Tov's sources was this work of R. David. Our scribe may have felt that R. David was the original author of, or at least a contributor to, R. Yom Tov's "Treatise"; he may have decided to make the changes that would restore authorship to him.

(1) In a collection of kabbalistic secrets entitled *Shorshei ha-Shemot,* by R. Moses Zacuto, there appears the following tradition copied, according to the author, from R. Ḥayyim Vital:

> *Zoʾt qabbalah me-ʿʾb shemot ha-Rydʾʾʿa [R. Yiẓḥaq de-min ʿAkko]*
> *ʾasher qibbelah me-R. David ben meʾor ha-golah ha-Ramban zʾl.* [16]

Here R. David is identified as the son of the Ramban. There is no evidence that the Ramban had a son named David; the reading may be the result of a scribal error by which the phrase *ben beno shel* was reduced to *ben.* It should be noted that there is considerable evidence in *The Book of Mirrors* of R. David's knowledge of divine names and the seventy-two-letter name in particular.[17]

(2) In his only autobiographical reference in *The Book of Mirrors* R. David mentions a certain divine name that he carried with him in all his journeys as a means of protection (see above, n. 6). According to a kabbalistic tradition preserved elsewhere, this same name was used by the Ramban and sent by him to his son in Barcelona.[18] Can we assume that this son was R. David's father or uncle, who passed the name on to R. David, who carried it as an amulet?

These two pieces of evidence support the view that R. David was descended from the Ramban. However, we should make note of the following: (1) in his *ʾOr Zaruʿa* R. David once cites the Ramban without mentioning any familial relationship;[19] (2) in *The Book of Mirrors* the influence of the Ramban is rather minimal.

Was R. David a grandson of the Ramban? There are several indications that he was, though the clearest of these is suspect. There are also certain problems with such a conclusion. More evidence may surface from the mass of unpublished kabbalistic MSS. For now, the question must remain open.

As to the dates of his life, here too we have little information. Marmorstein estimated that he wrote the *ʾOr Zaruʿa* between the years 1270 and 1300.[20] The former year must be rejected as too early, for in that work R. David already draws heavily on the Zohar (see below, § 1.2.). *The Book of Mirrors* was probably written in the early fourteenth century.[21]

1.2. His Other Writings

As is the case with many kabbalists, we have better knowledge of R. David's writings than of his life. He composed at least three major works and a number of smaller treatises and commmentaries. He is the first author, aside from Moses de León, to base almost all of his books on the Zohar.

Moshe Idel has identified Zohar translations by R. David in Vatican MSS 62 and 186. The material comprises most of Zohar on Genesis beginning at 1:30b; *Midrash ha-Neʿelam*

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[16] *Shorshei ha-Shemot,* end of *ʾOt Vav.* This work is extant in many MSS, e.g., Jerusalem MS 8° 2454; Sassoon MS 272.

[17] See *MhẒ* 45:22; 104:3; 117:1; 190; 196:20; 197:2; 240:17; 247-8; and concerning the seventy-two-letter name: 56:22; 104:2; 183-4 (from the Zohar); 224:21. Isaac of Acre says, concerning a certain teaching, *"Qibbalti mi-ben beno shel ha-Ramban ha-sofer"* (*Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim,* JTS Adler MS 1589). There are indications in *The Book of Mirrors* that R. David was a scribe: *MhẒ* 54:3; 58:20; 146:9; 250:6; 252:12.

[18] *Toledot ʾAdam* (Villamars Darf, 1734), p. 23a-b; Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* pp. 319-20. In Oxford MS 1539, f. 95 this same name is called *Shivʿah ʾEtin le-ha-Ramban.* For references to this name in Islamic literature see Hans Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei.*

[19] See Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* p. 304. In *The Book of Mirrors* too there are several references to the Ramban (*MhẒ* 169:14; 170:20; 173:6; 182:7). All of these, however, are part of R. David's long selection from *Shaʿar ha-Razim* by Todros Abulafia (see below, § 2.6.) and are thus not directly relevant to the question at hand.

[20] Marmorstein, "David ben Jehuda Ḥasid," p. 40.

[21] See below, § 2.2.; cf. the reference to a David ben Yehuda residing in Haro, a town in northern Castile, in 1294: Francisco Cantera, "La Judería de Miranda de Ebro," *Sefarad* 1 (1941): 96, 112.

and *Sitrei Torah* do not appear. Idel shows that several of these translations were revised and incorporated into David's later writings, including *The Book of Mirrors.* [22]

R. David's *Sefer ha-Gevul* is extant in eight MSS, only three of them complete.[23] It presents a translation of, and commentary on, large sections of the *ʾIdra ʾ Rabba ʾ* of the Zohar (3:127b-145a). R. David describes the kabbalistic system "from the Ancient of Ancients to the world of nature." He says: "My friend, you must realize that from the earth...to the sky...there is no empty space. Rather, it is all filled, like the layers of an onion clinging one to the other."[24]

ʾOr Zaru ʿa is a kabbalistic commentary on the liturgy, extant is four MSS. R. David states that he composed it for friends "who urged me and forced me."[25] It represents a radical "kabbalization" of the liturgy and was frequently quoted until Lurianic Kabbalah undertook a new approach to mystical prayer. In this work too R. David makes abundant use of the Zohar without referring to it directly.[26]

A short treatise on the alphabet, included in a kabbalistic anthology entitled *Sefer ha-Malkhut,* was identified by Efraim Gottlieb as belonging to R. David. Moshe Idel has discovered other such treatises, written under the influence of Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi.[27]

Maʿaseh Bereʾshit Zuṭa ʾ is a non-kabbalistic work describing the heavenly spheres and the elements. *Maʿaseh Bereʾshit Rabbah* treats of the worlds beyond the spheres and includes many angelic names. *Maʿaseh Merkavah* describes the different levels of the World of the Chariot, the thrones, and the classes of angels. It draws heavily on the work of Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi.[28]

R. David also wrote a commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah.* Only one selection from it has been identified; it appears in *The Book of Mirrors* (*MhẒ* 44:21). Here too R. David has been influenced by Joseph ben Shalom.[29]

[22]Moshe Idel, *"Targumo shel R. David ben Yehudah he-Ḥasid le-Sefer ha-Zohar u-ferushav la-ʾalfa ʾ beita ʾ," Alei Sefer* 8 (1980): 60-73; 9 (1981): 84-98; 10(forthcoming). The title of the Zohar translations may be *ʾAggan ha-Sahar;* see *"Targumo shel R. David,"* p. 67. In the second article the author displays evidence of R. David's translations of Zohar on Leviticus-Deuteronomy.

[23]For a description and analysis of *Sefer ha-Gevul* see Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul."*

[24]See Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul,"* p. 93; Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* p. 308; cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, "Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah,"* 3:2; Joseph Gikatilla, *Shaʿarei ʾOrah,* p. 6; Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature,* p. 186.

[25]Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* pp. 320-1.

[26]Ibid., pp. 321-2. On the Lurianic doctrine of *yiḥudim* see Lawrence Fine, "Techniques of mystical meditation for achieving prophecy and the Holy Spirit in the teachings of Isaac Luria and Ḥayyim Vital" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1975); R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, "Mystical and Magical Contemplation: The Kabbalists in Sixteenth-Century Safed," *History of Religions* 1 (1961): 9-36.

[27]Efraim Gottlieb, *Meḥqarim be-Sifrut ha-Qabbalah,* pp. 249-50 (hereafter cited as *Meḥqarim*); Moshe Idel, *"Targumo shel R. David (part 3)," Alei Sefer* (forthcoming). These treatises are to be distinguished from Oxford MS 2292, discussed above.

[28]Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* pp. 310-1. See *MhẒ* 119:10.

[29]Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* pp. 322-4.

2. THE BOOK OF MIRRORS: *SEFER MARʾOT HA-ẒOVEʾOT*

2.1. Description of the MSS

The Book of Mirrors is extant in five MSS:

1) Escorial MS G-I-15. The first 131 folios contain *The Book of Mirrors* from *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot* until the end of the Torah. This portion was completed in 1468 in Tlemcen, Algeria. The rest of the MS contains a supercommentary on the Ramban's *Commentary on the Torah* and Zohar on the Book of Numbers, apparently by the same scribe. The entire MS extends to 261 ff. It is written in Spanish cursive script and on the whole is very clear. One orthographic peculiarity should be noted: the scribe often employs a *yod* to denote a *segol.* [30] The MS is described by José Llamas in his article "Los Manuscritos Hebreos de el Escorial," though he attributes *The Book of Mirrors* to the Ramban.[31]

This copy of *The Book of Mirrors* has an interesting history. It was originally written for R. Natan Sholal (1437-1502), one of the leading rabbis of North African Jewry.[32] Shortly after the MS was completed R. Sholal left Algeria, traveling to Italy and then on to Jerusalem. He later moved to Egypt, where he was appointed to the office of *nagid* in approximately 1484. All this time he had the MS of *The Book of Mirrors* in his possession. After his death in 1502 the MS was inherited by Natan's relative, Isaac Sholal, who succeeded him as the last *nagid* of Egyptian Jewry; he befriended the Spanish exiles. When the Turks conquered Egypt in 1517 Isaac settled in Jerusalem, where he died seven years later. Now the MS passed into the hands of Abraham Sholal, Isaac's orphaned son. It was purchased from Abraham's guardian, David ibn Shoshan, by R. David ibn Zimra, the famous kabbalist and teacher of Isaac Luria.[33] Ibn Zimra, born in Spain shortly before the Expulsion, had followed the well-traveled route across North Africa, ending up in Cairo, where he joined the *bet din* of Isaac Sholal.[34] Later he too settled in Jerusalem. Included in his extensive library was this MS of *The Book of Mirrors.* [35]

2) Cambridge MS Add. 664. This MS contains 93 folios and extends from *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot* until the end of the Torah. It was completed on *Lag ba-ʿOmer,* 5261 (1501)[36] and written in Spanish cursive script in North Africa. The colophon contains this statement:

[30]*MhẒ* 36:5; 72:6; 169:4; 179:5; 213:18. For a similar scribal practice cf. Moses de León, *Mishkan ha-ʿEdut* (Berlin Or. MS 833), f. 6a: *Ve-ʾEineinnu ki laqaḥ ʾoto ʾElohim* (Gen 5:24).

[31]*Sefarad* 1 (1941): 24-6. He may have misunderstood the note at the end of the MS: *Zeh Sefer Va-Yiqraʾ u-Be-Midbar ve-ʾElleh ha-Devarim mi-Marʾot ha-Ẓoveʾot u-Veiʾur Sodot ha-Torah le-RM B"N u-Be-Midbar Sinai le-R. Shimʿon ben Yoḥai.*

[32]See the colophon: *MhẒ* 273:14.

[33]See Ibn Zimra's note, included in the critical apparatus to *MhẒ* 273:16. The handwriting matches the autograph of Ibn Zimra that is reproduced at the beginning of Israel Goldman, *The Life and Times of Rabbi David ibn Zimra;* cf. Goldman's comments on Ibn Zimra's signature, p. 3. It should be noted that Ibn Zimra quotes extensively from *The Book of Mirrors* in his *Migdal David;* see below, § 2.9. On David ibn Shoshan see *Kiryat Sefer* 44 (1969): 554, n. 8.

[34]Goldman, *Rabbi David ibn Zimra,* p. 200, n. 35.

[35]On Ibn Zimra's library see ibid., pp. 32-3. Did Isaac Luria study from this MS? We know from a statement by Samuel Vital that Luria copied material from *The Book of Mirrors* onto the margin of his own Zohar; see *Shaʿar Maʾamarei Rashbi,* p. 150; Scholem, *Kiryat Sefer* 19 (1942-43): 193. Since his teacher owned this MS, it seems plausible that Luria at some time studied from it. However, the passage cited by Vital is not found in the extant *Book of Mirrors;* see below, § 2.3.

[36]In the colophon (transcribed in the critical apparatus to *MhẒ* 273:12) the scribe writes that he finished the book *be-yom hʾ lʾg ba-ʿomer shenat harʾeni naʾ ʾet kevodekha.* The *gimaṭriyyaʾ* of the dotted letters is 266, corresponding to the year 1506; this is the date recorded on the flyleaf at the beginning of the MS and mentioned by Luzzatto, "Bibliothèque," p. 98. However, in 1506 *Lag ba-ʿOmer* fell on a Tuesday, not a Thursday. The confusion disppears once we realize that the *h* of *harʾeni* stands for 5000, not 5; thus the letters add up to 5261, corresponding to the year 1501, when *Lag ba-ʿOmer* did fall on a Thursday. Cf. Herbert Loewe, "Handlist of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge" (unpublished), pp. 39-40; Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* p. 311 and n. 1. For a similar phenomenon see Gottlieb, *Ha-Qabbalah be-Sof ha-Meʾah ha-Shelosh ʿEsreh,* p. 8.

> Blessed be he who reads this and finds a mistake. Do not blame me, for most of the mistakes are from the book that I copied. Thus it appears to me.[37]

The MS has some errors and is occasionally unclear, but on the whole it provides a good text. Scholem based his survey of *The Book of Mirrors* on this MS.[38]

3) Sassoon MS 978. This MS contains 69 folios and extends from *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot* until the beginning of *Parashat ʾElleh ha-Devarim;* then it breaks off (see *MhZ* 232:23). It was written in the fifteenth century in Spanish cursive script. Parts of the MS are illegible.[39]

4) Jewish Theological Seminary Microfilm MS 1783 (Hyman G. Enelow Collection). This MS contains only 32 ff., breaking off before the end of *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot.*[40] It was written in the fifteenth century in Spanish cursive script. The MS abounds in mistakes, some of them rather humorous.[41]

5) Jerusalem MS 8° 1958 (formerly Livorno MS 16). This MS contains only 38 ff. It begins at *Parashat Be-Haʿalotekha* and extends until *Parashat Va-ʾEtḥannan* (*MhZ* 156:29; 234:29); then a number of folios are missing and the text continues for a short section near the end of *The Book of Mirrors* (*MhZ* 268:15–270:14). The date of the MS is unknown; it is written in Spanish cursive script.

These five MSS may be divided into two families. The Escorial and Cambridge MSS belong to one family; they are nearly identical in their versions of the text and share certain spelling errors, omissions, and dittographies.[42] The Sassoon, New York, and Jerusalem MSS belong to another family. They coincide on variant spellings and readings and also share mistakes, including omissions due to homoioteleuton.[43]

Of the five MSS, the Escorial and Cambridge MSS are the only ones that extend all the way from *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot* until the end of the Torah.[44] Of these two, the Escorial MS offers a better version of the text; it is also older and more legible. Therefore it has been selected as the basis for this critical edition.

2.2. Date of Composition

When was *The Book of Mirrors* written? The exact date is not known. We do know, however, that R. David had already written *Sefer ha-Gevul* and his *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah,* for he refers to both of these works in *The Book of Mirrors.*[45] On the other hand, he had not yet written *ʾOr Zaruʿa,* for in that work he refers to *The Book of Mirrors.*[46] *The Book of Mirrors* was thus composed in the middle of R. David's literary activity.

[37] Critical apparatus to *MhZ* 273:12. Note the error in the apparatus to *MhZ* 1:21.

[38] *"Peraqim,"* pp. 311-20.

[39] See David Sassoon, *ʾOhel David,* 2:1001-6.

[40] *MhZ* 71:2. One folio (in between 22b-23a) has fallen out of the MS.

[41] See, e.g., the apparatus to *MhZ* 15:21; 18:30.

[42] See, e.g., the apparatus to *MhZ* 43:8,22; 66:19; 154:26; 130:3. On the method of using common mistakes as a criterion for determining the relationship between various MSS see Louis Finkelstein, "The *Mekhilta* and Its Text," *PAAJR* 5 (1933-34): 3-54, especially 17-21.

[43] For variant readings common to the Sassoon and New York MSS see the apparatus to *MhZ* 60:8; 69:11. For those common to the Sassoon and Jerusalem MSS see the apparatus to 166:13; 204:20. For omissions common to the Sassoon and New York MSS see the apparatus to *MhZ* 38:26; 69:22. For those common to the Sassoon and Jerusalem MSS see the apparatus to 189:22; 209:9. The introductory formula *Ve-ʾAzʾl (Ve-ʾAttah ẓarikh la-daʿat)* is consistently rendered by all three MSS: *Ve-ʾAzʾl;* see the apparatus to *MhZ* 12:26; 79:14; 172:23.

[44] On the question of whether *The Book of Mirrors* originally covered the entire Torah see below.

[45] *MhZ* 212:24; 44:21.; cf. 119:9-11.

[46] *ʾOr Zaruʿa,* f. 92b, copied onto the flyleaf of the Cambridge MS of *The Book of Mirrors;* see Scholem, "Peraqim," p. 303, n. 1.

R. David borrows several phrases from *Sefer Taʿamei ha-Miẓvot* by Joseph of Hamadan, which was written no earlier than 1291.[47] He also makes extensive use of Joseph Gikatilla's *Shaʿarei ʾOrah,* which was completed by 1291.[48] *The Book of Mirrors* refers to R. Meir of Rothenburg as deceased: *zʾlʾ;*[49] he died in 1293. The marked influence of Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi on R. David suggests that *The Book of Mirrors* was written in the early fourteenth century.[50]

2.3. Was The Book of Mirrors Originally Longer?

The Book of Mirrors is a commentary that seems to begin in the middle of the Torah, at *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot.* Was the work originally longer, covering the entire Torah?

Turning first to the internal evidence, there are several indications that *The Book of Mirrors* originally comprised a complete commentary. Twice R. David seems to refer to earlier portions. In *MhZ* 128:3 he says:

> *"Ve-ʾAshmah ha-nefesh ha-hiʾ"* (Num 5:6). *Ki ha-ʾasham talui ba-nefesh ha-ḥoṭeʾt she-hiʾ ha-nefesh she-hizkarnu be-sod bereʾshit.*

Do the words *be-sod bereʾshit* refer to an earlier portion of the book that interprets *Parashat Bereʾshit?* The Cambridge and Sassoon MSS read here: *be-seder bereʾshit.* However, R. David may be referring not to a commentary on Genesis but to his work entitled *Maʿaseh Bereʾshit Rabba,* where he mentions *nefesh ha-ḥiyyuni she-ba-galgal.*[51] Several pages later (*MhZ* 133:13) R. David states:

> *Kisseh be-giʾ [be-gimaṭriyyaʾ] sukkah she-hiʾ ha-sukkah she-hizkarnu be-khamah meqomot be-zeh ha-ḥibbur.*

There are only incidental references to *sukkah* in our text (*MhZ* 87:13; cf. 84:7); this line probably refers to earlier sections of *The Book of Mirrors* preceding *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot.*[52]

The scribe who wrote the Escorial MS apparently had a tradition that the work was originally longer. He begins the book with the title *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot min Marʾot ha-Ẓoveʾot,* and in the colophon he writes: *Nishlam lequṭot Sefer Marʾot ha-Ẓoveʾot.*[53] However, this evidence is also not conclusive. Our scribe does not name R. David as the author; we cannot be certain that he knew the full story of the text that he was copying. Perhaps he or an earlier scribe was merely struck by the fact that the book begins in the middle of the Torah and therefore added a personal judgment in the title and colophon. It should be noted that the other MSS contain no such statement.

Four of the MSS begin at *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot.*[54] The Sassoon MS opens: *Be-ʿEzrat YY Ẓevaʾot athil li-khtov Sefer Marʾot ha-Ẓoveʾot;* the New York MS reads: *Sefer Marʾot ha-Ẓoveʾot* (Apparatus to *MhZ* 1:1).

[47] See below, § 2.8.; Alexander Altmann, *"Li-sheʾelat baʿaluto shel S. Taʿamei ha-Miẓvot," Kiryat Sefer* 40 (1965): 276.

[48] See below, § 2.6. In his *Sefer ha-Gevul* R. David also draws on *Shaʿarei ʾOrah;* see Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul,"* p. 5. Gottlieb proved that Baḥya ben Asher made use of *Shaʿarei ʾOrah* in his *Commentary on the Torah;* see his *Ha-Qabbalah be-Khitvei R. Baḥya ben ʾAsher,* pp. 148-68 (hereafter cited as *R. Baḥya*). The *Commentary* was completed in 1291, which becomes a *terminus ad quem* for *Shaʿarei ʾOrah.*

[49] *MhZ* 190:13; see Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* p. 306. The Sassoon MS omits *zʾlʾ;* it is possible that a later scribe added the formula; cf. Isaiah Tishby, *Sinai* 6 (1945): 163; Scholem, *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala,* p. 352 (hereafter cited as *Ursprung*); Gottlieb, *R. Baḥya,* p. 168, n. 4.

[50] See below, § 2.8.; cf. Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* p. 317; *Major Trends,* p. 188; *Kabbalah,* p. 236; cf. Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 1:112 (Introduction).

[51] Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* p. 310.

[52] Ibid., p. 316.

[53] *MhZ* 1:1; 273:12; cf. above, n. 31.

[54] The Jerusalem MS begins much later; see above, § 2.1.

If we examine the length of each *parashah,* we see that *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot* extends to seventy pages, while the next longest *parashah* is thirty-one pages, and the average length is ten-and-a-half pages. It seems appropriate that the first *parashah* would be the longest; this is the case, for example, in the Zohar. Furthermore, the title may have some connection with *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot* (see below, n. 70).

The first fourteen pages of text comprise one long series of Zohar translations; subsequent translations are scattered throughout the book (see the table below, § 2.7.). R. David relies heavily on the Zohar; it would not be unreasonable for him to begin *The Book of Mirrors* in this manner.

However, despite these structural considerations, there is clear external evidence that *The Book of Mirrors* was originally longer. There exist three later quotations of Zohar translations from *The Book of Mirrors* that do not appear in our text. Two of these are found in Meir ibn Gabbai's *ʿAvodat ha-Qodesh* (1568).[55] The other is recorded by both Ḥayyim Vital and his son, Samuel, who learned of the passage from Isaac Luria, who copied out a Zohar translation from *The Book of Mirrors* onto the margin of his own Zohar.[56]

Further evidence comes from an anonymous collection of kabbalistic teachings contained in Sassoon MS 596, which dates from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.[57] As one of his selections, the author-editor copies eight pages of a kabbalistic commentary on *Parashat Terumah,* without naming the original author. By examining this passage and comparing it with the extant *Book of Mirrors,* the reader is brought to the conclusion that the commentary on *Parashat Terumah* is a remnant of the complete original text of *The Book of Mirrors.* [58] The parallels in content, language, and method are so close as to leave no doubt.[59] I have therefore added this fragment onto the body of the Hebrew text: *MhZ* 274-82.

At some early date, the first part of *The Book of Mirrors* was lost or destroyed; only a few pages of it survived. Based on the structural considerations noted above, we could hypothesize that R. David composed *The Book of Mirrors* in two halves, our present text representing the second half, a unit in itself. However, since we have hardly any knowledge of the first half of the commentary, such a conclusion is premature; we should content ourselves with the determination that *The Book of Mirrors* was originally longer and probably extended over the entire Torah.

2.4. The Title

The title, *Sefer Marʾot ha-Ẓove ʾot,* is based on Exodus 38:8:

Va-Yaʿas ʾet ha-kiyyor neḥoshet ve-ʾet kanno neḥoshet
be-marʾot ha-ẓove ʾot ʾasher ẓave ʾu petaḥ ʾohel moʿed.

[55] *ʿAvodat ha-Qodesh,* 1:11,24. The passages are translations of Zohar 1:50b-51a.

[56] See the selection from *Derekh ʾEmet* printed in Margaliot's edition of the Zohar, 1:77a. Samuel Vital quotes the same passage in *Shaʿar Maʾamarei Rashbʿi,* p. 150; see Scholem, *Kiryat Sefer* 19 (1942-43): 193.

[57] Sassoon, *ʾOhel David,* 1:427-9.

[58] Scholem pointed this out in *Kiryat Sefer* 10 (1933-34): 170, having seen only the few sentences quoted by Sassoon in *ʾOhel David.*

[59] For parallels in content cf. *MhZ* 275:8 with 81:14; 275:15 with 81:25; 276:4 with 15:23; 278:12 with 19:27; 278:27 with 248-50; 279:12 with 249:24; 282:7 with 104:5. For parallels in language cf. 275:5 with 273:7; 277:21 with 236:3; 277:26 and 281:10 (see the note in the apparatus) with 12:26; 79:14 (see the apparatus and above, n. 43). For parallels in method see 275:4; 276:9; and below, § 2.8.

He made the laver of copper and its stand of copper
from the mirrors of the women who served
at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting.

There is a rich midrashic tradition connected with this verse, of which R. David was certainly aware.[60] The significance of the title, however, is not to be found in the realm of *midrash.* We must examine the use of the phrase *marʾot ha-ẓoveʾot* in medieval literature, especially in Kabbalah, in order to understand its meaning for R. David.

A clue appears in Solomon ibn Gabirol's *Keter Malkhut,* written around the middle of the eleventh century. Describing the state of bliss experienced by souls in "the world that is coming," Gabirol writes:

Ve-Sham maʿamadot u-marʾot
la-nefashot haʿomedot be-marʾot ha-ẓoveʾot
ʾet penei haʾadon li-rʾot u-le-heraʾot. [61]

The *marʾot ha-ẓoveʾot* enable elevated souls to see and be seen by God. They are mirrors reflecting visions of the soul and God back and forth to each other. The word *marʾah* means "mirror" and "vision";[62] the image reminds the reader of another: *ʾispaqlareyaʾ hameʾirah* ("the mirror that shines"), employed in rabbinic literature to describe Moses' prophetic vision.[63] The two phrases are linked in an early kabbalistic text dating from the first third of the thirteenth century:

Z' margaliyyot
ba-hennah u-va-hennah sitrei ha-nevuʾot be-marʾot ha-ẓoveʾot
ve-khol shesh ha-sefirot kulam muẓhavot
ve-khulan mabbiṭim peneihem be-ziv ha-shʿy [ha-shem yitbarakh]
she-hiʾ ʾispaqlareyaʾ ha-meʾirah. [64]

The *marʾot ha-ẓoveʾot* contain prophetic secrets and are connected with the lower *sefirot.* The *sefirot* themselves gaze into the *ʾispaqlareyaʾ ha-meʾirah,* the divine effulgence.

By the thirteenth century the phrase *marʾot ha-ẓoveʾot* described spiritual bliss and prophetic vision. As Kabbalah developed over the next half-century, the *mishkan* was envisaged as an earthly representation of the *sefirot;* [65] within this scheme the *marʾot ha-ẓoveʾot* occupied a specific place.

The sefirotic symbolism of these mirrors is described in the works of two contemporaries of R. David: Joseph ben Ṣhalom Ashkenazi and Joseph Gikatilla. Both of these kabbalists influenced our author (see below, §§ 2.6., 2.8.).

[60] See *Tanḥumaʾ, Fequdei,* § 9; Menaḥem Kasher, *Ḥummash Torah Shelemah,* 23:50-2; cf. Ramban, *Commentary,* on Exod 38:8; Zohar 2:4a. The *Tanḥumaʾ* is one of R. David's main rabbinic sources; see below, § 2.8.

[61] Solomon ibn Gabirol, *Keter Malkhut,* ed. Y. A. Zeidmann, p. 55; see the editor's note.

[62] See Gen 46:2; Num 12:6; Ezek 1:1; 43:3.

[63] BT, *Yevamot* 49b; *Va-Yiqraʾ Rabbah,* 1:14; cf. *Targum Yonatan* on Exod 19:17; the commentary ad loc., printed in the Warsaw (1860-66) edition of *Miqraʾot Gedolot;* Itamar Gruenwald, *"Ha-ʾIspaqlareyah ve-ha-ṭekhniqah shel ha-ḥazon ha-nevuʾi ve-ha-ʾapoqalipṭi, Beit Mikra* 40 (1970): 95-7; Idel, *"Le-Gilguleha shel ṭekhniqah qedumah shel ḥazon nevuʾi bi-ymei ha-beinayim, Sinai* 86 (1979): 1-7. The last two articles discuss gazing into a mirror as a technique for attaining prophetic vision.

[64] *Teshuvat ha-Rav ha-Gaʾon R. Yequtiʾel,* published by Adolf Jellinek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala,* 2:25; see Scholem, *Ursprung,* p. 289, n. 238.

[65] See, e.g., Zohar 2:232a; 3:14a; Gikatilla, *Shaʿarei ʾOrah,* p. 16; Moses de León, *"Sefer ha-Mishqal,"* ed. Jochanan Wijnhoven (Ph.D diss., Brandeis University, 1964), p. 108. Another work by Moses de León is entitled *Mishkan haʿEdut* (Berlin Or. MS 833). See *MhZ* 275:24–276:8; 279:29-32; 280-2. The idea that the structure of the *mishkan* symbolizes the heavenly abode is found in Philo, Josephus, and the Midrash; see Isaac Heinemann, *Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 43-81; E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light* (New Haven, 1935), pp. 95-120; Avigdor Aptowitzer, *Tarbiẓ* 2 (1931): 148, 266-72. For a discussion of the transition from these sources to the kabbalistic scheme see Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 2:183-92.

Joseph ben Shalom, in his *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah,* states that *Malkhut* contains all of the *mar ʾot ha-ẓove ʾot:*

Ki vah yera ʾu khol ha-mar ʾot ha-ẓove ʾot
ve-khol ha-ʾispaqlarya ʾot ve-khol ha-nimẓa ʾot
ke-derekh she-nir ʾim ha-ẓurot be-ʾispaqlareya ʾ. [66]

Malkhut is a cosmic mirror reflecting all of the higher *sefirot,* the forms of being. Since She contains and displays them, She Herself is called *mar ʾot ha-ẓove ʾot.* [67]

According to Joseph Gikatilla, *mar ʾot ha-ẓove ʾot* refers to the two *sefirot Neẓaḥ* and *Hod.* These mirrors are the source of vision for all prophets except Moses, who connected directly with the higher *sefirah, Tifʾeret: ʾispaqlareya ʾ ha-meʾirah.* [68]

R. David draws on both of these formulations in *The Book of Mirrors.* He says that *Malkhut* contains all of the upper lights, colors, and mirrors:

She-hiʾ keneset yisraʾel she-ha-kol nirʾim bah
ki khol ha-madregot ve-ha-ʾispaqlarya ʾot ve-ha-mar ʾot kullam nirʾim bah. [69]

The phrasing dovetails with that of Joseph ben Shalom. On the other hand, R. David copies Gikatilla in referring to *Neẓaḥ* and *Hod* as *mar ʾot ha-ẓove ʾot.* [70]

In R. David's circle this biblical phrase alluded to prophecy and sefirotic vision. By calling his work *Sefer Mar ʾot ha-Ẓove ʾot,* R. David may be indicating that he too had gazed into the mirrors and wished to record his reflections.

2.5. Literary Structure of The Book of Mirrors

The Book of Mirrors is presented as a commentary on the Torah. To the unsuspecting reader, it appears as a unified whole. Upon analysis, however, we find that the author has combined his own teachings with midrashic and kabbalistic material. Woven together, these strands form a series of complicated patterns. It is often difficult to unravel and identify the individual threads. R. David rarely discloses his sources and sometimes disguises teachings by placing them in the mouth of a talmudic rabbi, his favorite being R. Ḥiyya.[71] This is a clear imitation of zoharic style.

The division into *parashiyyot* is essential for a commentary on the Torah. Yet, at times in *The Book of Mirrors* this division is imposed on the material rather than providing a natural framework for commentary. For example, the beginning of *Parashat Be-Haʿalotekha* interrupts material copied from Todros Abulafia's *Shaʿar ha-Razim* that begins in the preceding

[66] Printed under the name of the Raʾbad, *Sefer Yeẓirah,* p. 30a.

[67] Ibid. Cf. the passage from Joseph's *Commentary on the Book of Psalms,* cited by Scholem, *Peraqim,* p. 296. Moshe Idel has suggested that R. Joseph's use of the phrase is an allusion to a kabbalistic technique of color visualization; see his *"Ha-Shimmush be-ʾorot u-ẓevaʿim bi-tefillat ha-mequbbalim," Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies (1981);* cf. *MhẒ* 48:13-5; above, n. 63. Cf. Moses de León's wording: *ha-meʾorot ha-ẓove ʾot* and the context in his *Sheqel ha-Qodesh,* p. 123.

[68] Gikatilla, *Shaʿarei ʾOrah,* pp. 65-6, 70-2. Cf. Baḥya ben Asher, *Commentary on the Torah,* Num 12:6; Moses de León, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh,* p. 58; idem, *Shushan ʿEdut,* pp. 337, 378-9; Zohar 2:257b.

[69] *MhẒ* 15:23; cf. 19:21; 24:9; 93:6.

[70] *MhẒ* 34:17; cf. 104:8. In *"Sefer Taʿamei ha-Miẓvot"* by Joseph of Hamadan (ed. Menaḥem Meier, Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1974), p. 199, *Neẓaḥ* and *Hod* are identified with Aaron's two sons Nadav and Avihu, who were killed (see Lev 10). This interpretation is offered as the kabbalistic meaning of the first verse of *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot* (Lev 16:1); cf. Altmann, *Kiryat Sefer* 40 (1965): 269. R. David draws from *Sefer Taʿamei ha-Miẓvot* several times; see below, § 2.8. Did this interpretation influence his choice of where to begin the second half of *Sefer Mar ʾot ha-Ẓove ʾot?*

[71] *MhẒ* 33:2; 102:6; 121:32; 236:6. R. David also introduces his own teachings in R. Ḥiyya's name; see below, § 2.8.

portion and resumes following the interruption.[72] Similarly, the title of *Parashat Reʾeh* serves only to break the sequence between two selections from Joseph Gikatilla (*MhẒ* 236:21). Apparently, R. David wanted to include a certain amount of material and felt free to divide it up among different *parashiyyot.* His own teachings, though, are usually based on specific verses or midrashic selections pertaining to each *parashah.* Here the traditional divisions of the Torah provide an organic framework for kabbalistic exegesis.

The Book of Mirrors is a composite work: an anthology of Midrash and thirteenth-century Kabbalah and an original kabbalistic work. We will first identify the kabbalistic sources included in the anthology, then examine the Zohar translations, and finally turn to R. David's own teachings.

2.6. Kabbalistic Sources in the Anthology

R. David copies from the works of at least five well-known kabbalists of the thirteenth century: Ezra and Azriel of Gerona, Todros Abulafia, Joseph Gikatilla, and Moses de León. He does not identify his sources, though once, in quoting from R. Azriel, he begins: *Ve-Raʾiti ʾani be-fei' [be-feirush] qeẓat min ha-mequbbalim* (*MhẒ* 144:6). The talmudic figures R. Ḥiyya and R. Shimʿon are each assigned two of the kabbalists' teachings (*MhẒ* 121:32; 154:13; 236:6; 267:20).

Following is a list of the sources:

	MhẒ
Ezra of Gerona	
Commentary on the Song of Songs [73]	136:2–143:23
	269:14-24
Azriel of Gerona	
Short Treatises [74]	121:32–124:25
	144:6–145:16
	267:20-6[75]

[72] *MhẒ* 156:29. The selection from Abulafia begins at 154:13 and resumes at 158:17; see Scholem, *Peraqim,* p. 317.

[73] *Le Commentaire d'Ezra de Gérone sur le Cantique des Cantiques,* ed. Georges Vajda, pp. 106-37; also published under the name of the Ramban: *Kitvei ha-Ramban,* ed. Ḥayyim Chavel, 2:493-4, 505-18; cf. Scholem, *Peraqim,* p. 316.

[74] Scholem edited these two passages in *Maddaʿei ha-Yahadut* 2 (1927): 231-40; see idem, *Ursprung,* pp. 330-1 and n. 24, where he identifies the author as Azriel. Cf. the selections from Azriel in idem, *"Seridim ḥadashim mi-kitvei R. ʿAzriʾel mi-Gerona," Sefer Zikkaron le-ʾAsher Gulak ve-li-Shemuʾel Klein,* pp. 206, 218-9. R. David's first selection is shorter and in different order than the version published by Scholem in *Maddaʿei ha-Yahadut.*

[75] This passage is a repetition of the first selection under a different pseudonym!

Todros Abulafia
Sha ᶜar ha-Razim [76] 154:13–182:26

Moses de León
Kabbalistic Responsa [77] 146:15–152:30

In the final seventy pages of *The Book of Mirrors* R. David makes extensive use of Gikatilla's *Sha ᶜarei ᵓOrah.* He copies, often at length, from seven of the book's nine chapters; he never mentions his source. The selections cover some sixteen pages of *The Book of Mirrors,* including the entire *Parashat Masᶜei.* At times R. David is careless and forgets to delete phrases such as *kemo she-beᵓarnu* or *kemo she-perashnu.* [78] In Gikatilla's work these phrases refer to earlier chapters; they are quite out of place in *The Book of Mirrors.* Usually, though, R. David is careful to remove such telltale expressions. Once he changes Gikatilla's wording in order to refer to his own writings. [79]

Following is a list of the passages that R. David borrows from *Sha ᶜarei ᵓOrah:* [80]

MhẒ	*Sha ᶜarei ᵓOrah*
206:10-3,18-22	208
207:4-16[81]	201
207:29-31	202
208:1–209:19	202-4
209:22-8	204
209:29–210:3	207-8
210:6–212:6	198-201
212:15-30	208
222:13–223:27	135-7
228:21-9	102
229:13–230:21	159-62
230:22-31	165-6
230:32–231:21	169-70
232:10-3	52
232:14-29	59-60
232:30–234:6	73-4
236:7-16	86
236:17-20	40
236:21-7	42-3
239:17–240:15	111-2
250:8–251:2	105-6
253:25–254:3	147
254:29–255:3	167
255:4–256:20	170-2
261:16–264:11	178-81
264:12-6	185
264:17–267:2	187-9

[76] *Sha ᶜar ha-Razim* is a commentary on Ps 19 extant in Munich MS 209, dated 1298; see Moritz Steinschneider, *Die Hebraeischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen* (Munich, 1895), pp. 90-1. R. David copies most of it, disguising his source. He begins with the words *R. Shimᶜon pataḥ* (*MhẒ* 154:13). Several pages later he interrupts Abulafia's teaching with the beginning of *Parashat Be-Haᶜalotekha;* there now follow two pages of Midrash and Zohar translation corresponding to this *parashah* (*MhẒ* 156:29–158:16), after which Abulafia's text resumes. Later other isolated verses from the *parashah* are grafted onto Abulafia's teachings: *MhẒ* 165:14; 165:29; 168:21; 171:31; 181:13. In three instances R. David inserts his own teachings: 170:7-8; 172:23-6; 178:6-9. Occasionally he adds introductory formulae: 156:25; 170:4,31. At times R. David deletes passages from *Sha ᶜar ha-Razim;* cf. *MhẒ* 161:17; 162:6; 163:7; 164:17,23; 168:21; 181:13 with *Sha ᶜar ha-Razim* (Munich MS 209), ff. 48b-50a; 50a-56a; 57b-65a; 66b-69a; 69a-71a; 75a-76a; 93a-94a.

[77] Moses de León, *Sheᵓelot u-Teshuvot be-ᶜInyenei Qabbalah,* ed. Isaiah Tishby, *Qovez ᶜal Yad,* n.s. 4 (1950): 15-38; cf. Scholem, *Peraqim,* p. 316. R. David's version is shorter and in different order than Tishby's edition.

[78] *MhẒ* 262:11,28; 223:3; corresponding to *Sha ᶜarei ᵓOrah,* pp. 179, 180, 136, respectively. See the curious example at 208:15, where Gikatilla's phrase *kemo she-beᵓarnu be-shaᶜar zeh* is reduced by R. David to *be-shaᶜar zeh* and retained in the sentence.

[79] See *MhẒ* 212:23 (corresponding to *Sha ᶜarei ᵓOrah,* p. 208), where Gikatilla's reference to a future literary project on *Sefirat Keter* is deleted; one line later R. David refers to his own *Sefer ha-Gevul.* Cf. 208:5; 251:2-4 (corresponding to *Sha ᶜarei ᵓOrah,* pp. 202, 106).

[80] *Sha ᶜarei ᵓOrah* (Warsaw, 1883; reprint: Jerusalem, 1960).

[81] Note how R. David blends the first selections into his own commentary.

2.7. Zohar Translations

To the student of Kabbalah, the most significant source of R. David's *Book of Mirrors* is the Zohar. Writing shortly after its composition (see above, § 2.2.), R. David translates numerous Zohar passages from the original pseudo-Aramaic into Hebrew. His renderings are the first lengthy translations of the Zohar. [82] From them one can extract information about the original text of the Zohar. One sees how a Spanish kabbalist read and understood the work and what difficulties he had with its peculiar syntax and language.

In offering his Zohar translations, R. David never mentions his source. [83] He simply presents the material as part of *The Book of Mirrors.* Usually Zohar passages are selected from the *parashah* in the Zohar that corresponds to the *parashah* in *The Book of Mirrors.* In fact the first fourteen pages of the extant *Book of Mirrors* are one long series of Zohar translations from *Parashat ᵓAḥarei Mot.* In later sections R. David does not always hold to this plan.

Following is a list of the translations, which comprise approximately forty pages of *The Book of Mirrors:*

[82] See Scholem, *Kabbalah,* pp. 236, 239; Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 1:112 (Introduction). On R. David's *Sefer ha-Gevul* see above, § 1.2. Around 1290 Baḥya ben Asher translated several Zohar passages in his *Commentary on the Torah;* see Gottlieb, *R. Baḥya,* pp. 167-93. Asi Farber has identified Hebrew Zohar translations in Gikatilla's *Commentary on the Merkavah* and *Sha ᶜarei ᵓOrah;* see *"ᶜIqvotav shel Sefer ha-Zohar be-khitvei R. Yosef G'iqaṭilah," Alei Sefer* 9 (1981): 40-53.

[83] The New York and Sassoon MSS often read *kemo she-katuv ba-zohar* after either the opening lemma or a portion of the translation, deleting the rest; see the apparatus to *MhẒ* 4:31; 13:10,28; 14:17; 79:27; 89:1; 90:1; 91:24; 114:1; 216:32. This formula is the addition of a later copyist, not a source reference by R. David; see Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul,"* pp. 96-101. The Jerusalem MS often omits the Zohar translations altogether; see the apparatus to 182:27; 191:18; 194:6; 200:13.

MhZ	Zohar
1:2–12:25	3:56a,57b,59a-b, 60a,64a,65a-69b
13:10–14:25	3:69b-70a
32:16-32	3:70a
63:27–64:10	3:76a
70:9–71:25	3:76b-77a
71:26–72:3	3:77a
72:16–74:1	3:78a-b
78:25-9	3:85b
83:15-23	3:88b-89a
86:9-26[84]	3:72a
89:1–90:21	3:91b-92b
90:22-4	2:32a
91:14-23	3:96b
91:24–92:12	3:100b
92:13-25	3:102a
96:17-27	3:104a-b
96:27–97:2	1:220a-b[85]
98:8–99:17	3:104b-105b
99:29–100:4	3:106b
109:14-21	1:206a
113:30–114:1	3:117a
114:2-3	3:117b
115:2-26	3:119b-120a
119:12–120:3	*Zohar Ḥadash* 4a *(MhN)*[86]
120:4-5	*ZḤ* 5d *(MhN)*
120:8-21	*ZḤ* 6d *(MhN)*
120:22-7	*ZḤ* 8a *(MhN)*
120:28–121:10	*ZḤ* 8d-9a *(MhN)*
121:11-2	1:34b
157:19-29	3:148b
182:27–185:14	3:150b-151a
185:15–186:4	3:155a-b
191:15-7	3:160b
191:18–192:20	3:161a-b
192:21–193:18	3:143a-b *(ʾIdra ʾ Rabba ʾ)*
194:6-20	3:176b
195:31–196:1	3:25b
196:7-9	3:25b-26a
196:11-9	3:26a
198:14-9	3:70b
200:13-5	3:179b
200:16–201:17	3:181b
201:18–202:3	3:183b
214:3-14	3:206b-207a
214:27–218:9	3:207a-208b
267:27–268:23	*ZḤ* 21a *(MhN)*

[84]This passage is a translation and paraphrase.

[85]In the Cremona edition of the Zohar (1558-60) this section (1:219b-221a) is included in *Parashat ʾEmor* (ff. 50-1, cols. 199-202); cf. the note in the Mantua edition (reproduced in Margaliot's edition), 3:104b.

[86]*Zohar Ḥadash* is cited according to Margaliot's edition (Jerusalem, 1953). All of the passages from *Zohar Ḥadash* transcribed in *The Book of Mirrors* are part of *Midrash ha-Neʿelam (MhN)*, the earliest stratum of the Zohar (see Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* pp. 181-6). Their original language is Hebrew, except for the passage in *ZḤ* 8a.

These translations were written soon after the Zohar and thus reflect a valuable early copy of the original. In a number of cases the translations offer a different Zohar reading, not found in any of the printed editions.[87] In a few instances they preserve readings superior to the printed Zohar.[88] Often the translations help the reader determine whether to substitute, delete, or add a variant reading found in the printed editions.[89] Not surprisingly, they support certain readings shared by the Mantua and Cremona editions of the Zohar as against readings found in later editions.[90] In four other instances the reading in *The Book of Mirrors* agrees with the Cremona text as against both the Mantua text and later editions.[91]

A question to consider is whether R. David possessed parts of the Zohar that have since been lost. The Zohar was originally circulated in small portions by Moses de León. Over 250 years later, when the first printed editions were prepared in Mantua and Cremona, the editors assembled whatever MSS were available and tried to produce as full a text as possible. No complete MS of the Zohar existed then; none has been discovered since. It is plausible that certain passages or sections simply did not survive. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that several kabbalists contemporaneous with the Zohar, among them Menaḥem Recanati, transmit teachings in the name of the Zohar that do not appear in our printed editions.[92]

Similarly, *The Book of Mirrors* appears to contain a number of passages that read like Zohar translations and yet are not found in the printed editions. Do these represent authentic Zohar passages? One must be cautious here.[93] Most of them are imitations or expansions.[94] The following three selections reveal a Hebrew awkwardness that may betray an Aramaic original: *MhZ* 145:17-21; 157:30–158:2;[95] 196:20-30.[96]

[87]Cf. *MhZ* 9:28; 83:18; 90:19; 98:16; 215:18 with the corresponding Zohar passages.

[88]See *MhZ* 73:18; 99:15; 216:18; and the apparatus; cf. Idel, *"Targumo shel R. David,"* pp. 69-70.

[89]Cf. *MhZ* 8:6; 9:13,17,24; 11:1; 32:21; 70:20; 71:6,19; 72:30,31; 73:20; 89:8; 91:19; 97:2; 99:16; 201:28; 202:3; 217:32 with the corresponding Zohar passages.

[90]See the notes in the apparatus to: *MhZ* 2:8; 7:26; 10:7; 12:18; 70:29; 71:17; 186:2; 201:14; 214:28; 214:31; 215:1.

[91]See the notes in the apparatus to: *MhZ* 6:5; 9:6; 11:10; 96:27; cf. above, n. 85. R. David's *Sefer ha-Gevul* also supports the readings of the Cremona text at times; see Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul,"* p. 4.

[92]See Scholem, *Kabbalah,* p. 236; Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 1:35,37,109-10 (Introduction).

[93]Scholem originally thought that R. David transmitted many such passages; see *Peraqim,* pp. 302, 312, 315. However, he suggested to me in December, 1975 that I be careful in examining these supposed translations. Certain passages that he had identified as originating from the Zohar actually go back to older rabbinic sources or are R. David's creations.

[94]In the passage beginning at 14:26 R. David employs his favorite pseudonym: R. Ḥiyya. Although the phrase *Heʿemiduhu u-fereshuhu ḥavrayya ʾ* sounds zoharic, R. David's own Hebrew style soon takes over: 15:3: *ʾeḥad mini ʾalef* (cf. 226:31); 15:5: *ha-maḥshavah haʿamuqqah* (cf. 15:28; 39:28). The passage beginning at 68:1 seems to fall into this category too; cf. 79:25 and the apparatus ad loc. The passage beginning on 55:9 is transmitted in the name of R. Elʿazar, and the first line reads like an exact translation of the Aramaic *Hakha ʾ ʾit le-ʾistakkala ʾ be-raza ʾ di-meheimanuta ʾ*. There are also some untranslated Aramaic phrases in the following lines. In l. 11, however, R. David's hand is evident. Cf. 56:19, where Elʿazar's name is invoked to introduce a teaching that is clearly not from the Zohar. See also 57:23-30; 254:22; and below.

[95]Note the word *miyyad* on 157:32 (see below) and the apparatus to 157:30,31. The syntax of the final phrase (158:1-2) is characteristic of the Zohar and foreign to R. David's Hebrew style.

[96]See Idel, *"Targumo shel R. David,"* pp. 84, n. 105; 88-9.

Let us return to the translations of Zohar passages we do possess. R. David is generally loyal to the text of the Zohar. He does, however, introduce certain changes. At times he leaves out names[97] or adds them.[98] He also removes certain narrative sections and discussions between various rabbis.[99] Formulae such as *ve-haʾ ʾoqimnaʾ* and *ke-mah de-ʾoqimna* are often deleted,[100] though R. David occasionally adds phrases such as *Ve-Haven zeh* or *Ve-Dai ba-zeh le-khol mevin.*[101] The translator apparently sought to pare the Zohar's style, remove it from the realm of mystical novel, and integrate it into his commentary.

R. David interprets as he translates: he fills in the context, clarifies expressions, and spells out certain sefirotic allusions of the Zohar; at times he elaborates.[102] His translations are of good quality. Given the difficult syntax of zoharic Aramaic, they are remarkably clear and accurate.[103] Still, the translator ran into some difficulties and in a number of cases misunderstood the Zohar.

At times R. David leaves out difficult words and phrases[104] or copies the original Aramaic, e.g., *zaḥutaʾ*.[105] He can translate too literally, producing an awkward or unintelligible Hebrew phrase, for example, when he renders *laʾ ʾit millah* as *loʾ yesh davar.*[106] Occasionally he misunderstands the syntax of the Zohar.[107] The expression *ke-dein* is almost always translated *miyyad;* its zoharic meaning is *ʾaz.*[108] The root *z-kh-y* is rendered as a noun (meaning *zaddiq*) even when it appears in the Zohar as a verb or adjective.[109] The word *ʾinnun* in the Zohar can mean either "they" or "those"; R. David picks the wrong translation in several cases.[110] The verbs *neṭal, sherei,* and *kenash* are occasionally mistranslated, while the verb *beʿei,* which means both "want to" and "have to," is at times misconstrued.[111]

[97]Cf. *MhZ* 1:22; 4:29; 185:15 with the corresponding Zohar passages.

[98]Cf. *MhZ* 1:28; 32:16; 72:16 with the corresponding Zohar passages.

[99]Cf. *MhZ* 1:18,28; 2:3; 64:10; 92:4,13; 99:2; 215:8; 268:17 with the Zohar. The narrative is retained on 11:18; 92:2; 98:21. In his *Sefer ha-Gevul* R. David consistently deletes zoharic dialogues, names, and connections between homilies; see Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul,"* pp. 26, 50-62, 101.

[100]Cf. *MhZ* 2:21; 5:32; 12:21; 73:27,29; 91:23; 98:11; 109:15; 115:10; 182:29 with the Zohar; cf. above, § 2.6., regarding similar phrases in Gikatilla's *Shaʿarei ʾOrah.*

[101]*MhZ* 5:32; 6:9; 185:29; 214:29.

[102]Cf. *MhZ* 2:14; 5:26,32; 6:18; 7:4,6,10; 10:15; 11:21; 12:7; 70:26; 89:10,12,16; 115:13; 120:5; 192:32; 196:9-10,16-7; 201:22; 214:10-1; 267:31 with the Zohar. R. David often indicates the name of a particular *sefirah* above a word symbolizing that *sefirah.* These sefirotic identifications are characteristic of his writings and also appear in Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi's *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah.* There is confusion among the MSS of *The Book of Mirrors* in regard to the identifications. I have not recorded them except in cases where they were already incorporated into the body of the text; see, e.g., *MhZ* 109:115 and the apparatus to 23:29; 35:13,16; 65:18-24. On the identifications see Gottlieb, *Meḥqarim,* p. 249; Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul,"* pp. 74-8; Idel, *"Targumo shel R. David,"* pp. 63, 72-3. For examples of elaboration see 12:26–13:9; 14:15-17; 70:14-6; 72:3,5-11; 86:9-26; 196:2-6; above, n. 84.

[103]Cf. Scholem, *Peraqim,* p. 302. Goldreich takes a negative view of R. David's ability as a translator; see *"Sefer ha-Gevul,"* p. 38. He notes, however (p. 46), that in *The Book of Mirrors* the translations are of better quality.

[104]Cf. *MhZ* 2:32; 7:17; 92:16; 192:24; 193:3 with the Zohar; see *Peraqim,* p. 315; and *Major Trends,* p. 166, where Scholem notes Moses de León's tendency to coin neologisms with the letters *ṭ, s, q;* cf. Menaḥem Ẓ Kaddari, *Diqduq ha-Lashon ha-ʾAramit shel ha-Zohar,* p. 56 (hereafter cited as *Diqduq*).

[105]*MhZ* 216:1; cf. 9:8; 12:20; Scholem, *Major Trends,* pp. 165; 388, n. 47; 389, n. 49.

[106]*MhZ* 73:32; cf. 98:24; 99:5; 216:2 with the Zohar.

[107]Cf. *MhZ* 10:8-9; 194:9,17 (all involving the preposition *de-*); 4:6 with the Zohar.

[108]*MhZ* 2:25; 6:30; 8:13; 71:9; etc.; see Scholem, *Major Trends,* p. 388, n. 36; Kaddari, *Diqduq,* p. 66. In one case (109:20) R. David translates it correctly.

[109]In *MhZ* 10:28 the zoharic clause *zeʿirin ʾinnun de-zakkaʾin* (3:68b) is translated: *meʿaṭim hem ha-ẓaddiqim;* the correct rendering is: *meʿaṭim hem she-zokhim.* Cf. *MhZ* 11:15 with the Zohar.

[110]In *MhZ* 10:28 the Zohar's clause *ʾanshei shem ʾinnun* (3:176b) is translated: *ʾanshei shem ʾotam;* the correct translation is *ʾanshei shem hem;* cf. *MhZ* 191:30; 217:17 with the Zohar.

[111]*Neṭal* is mistakenly rendered as *nasaʿ* instead of *laqaḥ* several times: *MhZ* 92:8,10,11; 184:8. The two meanings of *sherei* ("dwell, begin") are confused in *MhZ* 4:23, where the Zohar's clause *kad sheraʾn be-ʾarʿaʾ* is translated: *ke-she-hem maṯḥilin ba-ʾarez;* the correct translation is: *ke-she-hayu shorim ba-ʾarez.* Cf. *MhZ* 4:18; 115:20 with the Zohar. The verb *kenash* is sometimes understood as *nikhnas* when *ne-ʾesaf* would be more correct; cf. *MhZ* 200:29; 201:11 with the Zohar. The verb is correctly translated on 201:4; cf. *Targum ʾOnqelos* on Deut 32:50. On *beʿei* cf. 4:32; 32:32; 90:14; and especially 216:5 with the Zohar; cf. 14:5-9; 42:20.

R. David's translations demonstrate how a contemporary kabbalist read, understood, and at times misunderstood the Zohar. The commentator is obviously impressed by the work; yet he does not regard it as dating back to R. Shimʿon bar Yoḥai. Though he usually presents the teachings in their original form, he feels free to delete passages, add pseudonyms, interpretations, and comments, and even insert long elaborations into the text.[112] He also employs R. Shimʿon's name to introduce non-zoharic Spanish Kabbalah (see above, § 2.6.). Such an independent style of translation and editing would be inconceivable for one who believed in the ancient authorship of the Zohar.

The Zohar is important for R. David not because it represents the teachings of R. Shimʿon bar Yoḥai and his circle but rather because it offers him a model for mystical exegesis of the Torah. This will come into sharper focus as we turn to R. David's appearance in his *Book of Mirrors.*

2.8. R. David's Method

In his own parts of the commentary R. David quotes material from the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, the *Pesiqtot, Sifrei, Bereʾshit Rabbaʾ, Va-Yiqraʾ Rabbah, Be-Midbar Rabbah, Qohelet Rabbah,* and *Tanḥumaʾ*. He refers explicitly to *Midrash Tehillim* (*MhZ* 127:23), *Tanḥumaʾ* (129:30), *Bereʾshit Rabbaʾ* (135:23), and *Be-Midbar Rabbah* (128:1). *Sefer Yeẓirah* is referred to as both *mishnah* and *haggadah.*[113]

His main kabbalistic sources are the Zohar[114] and Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi, a contemporary of the author.[115] R. David also draws on *Sefer ha-Bahir* (*MhZ* 15:28; 86:6), Isaac the Blind (15:28; 58:5), Azriel of Gerona (18:32; 52:31), Moses de León's Hebrew writings,[116] and Joseph of Hamadan.[117]

In the extant text of *The Book of Mirrors* R. David's first independent piece appears after more than a dozen pages of Zohar translation.[118] Several features here are characteristic of his teachings in *The Book of Mirrors.* First of all, there is clear imitation of zoharic style: the *ḥavrayyaʾ* are mentioned near the beginning of the passage (*MhZ* 14:28), and the whole discourse is attributed to R. Ḥiyya, a talmudic sage who appears frequently in the Zohar.[119] It is no accident that this teaching appears in the mouth of R. Ḥiyya. Over the next 250 pages, this figure is destined to become R. David's favorite pseudonym.[120] R. David is eager to have his alter ego accepted into the circle of *ḥavrayyaʾ;* he concludes the passage with words of praise

[112]See above; cf. Scholem's comments on Moses de León's method of citing and using the Zohar in his Hebrew writings: *Major Trends,* pp. 196-201; *Qovez ʿal Yad,* n.s. 8 (1976): 327-8.

[113]*MhZ* 14:17; 131:31; cf. 53:2.

[114]See the Index of Sources, s.v. *Zohar.* Sometimes (e.g., *MhZ* 45:28; 48:5; 49:4; 227:25) R. David introduces these teachings with the words *Ve-Zehu sod* or *Ve-ha-Sod ba-zeh.*

[115]See above, § 2.4.; below, §§ 3.2., 3.8. Cf. *MhZ* 18:19; 38:11,14 with Joseph's *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah,* p. 10a; *MhZ* 44:21 with *Commentary,* p. 22b; *MhZ* 252:28 with *Commentary,* p. 106b. In his other works too R. David draws on this kabbalist; see above, § 1.2.; Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul,"* pp. 78, 81, 85-6; Scholem, *Peraqim,* pp. 294, 313, 320, 322-4.

[116]See the Index of Sources, s.v. Moses de León.

[117]See Scholem, *Kabbalah,* p. 60; *Peraqim,* pp, 309, 321; Altmann, *Kiryat Sefer* 40 (1965): 408. R. David appears to borrow several phrases from him: *le-qayyem demut ha-shalshelet* (cf. *MhZ* 28:4 with *Sefer Taʿamei ha-Miẓvot,* p. 439); *le-hishtammesh be-sharviṭo shel melekh* (in a mystical sense; cf. *MhZ* 48:16; 241:9 with *Taʿamei ha-Miẓvot,* pp. 291, 293-4, 434-5); *bein ha-ʾulam ve-la-mizbeaḥ* (in a mystical sense; cf. *MhZ* 202:4 with *Taʿamei ha-Miẓvot,* p. 434). See also *MhZ* 95:25; 110:2; 260:26; and the apparatus.

[118]*MhZ* 14:26–18:8. The passage from 12:26–13:9 is an elaboration on the Zohar.

[119]E.g., Zohar 1:155b, 221b; 2:3b-4a, 14a; 3:44a.

[120]R. Ḥiyya introduces R. David's teachings nine times: *MhZ* 52:13; 60:29; 85:11; 99:18; 100:14; 109:22; 111:31; 127:28. He also introduces a Zohar translation (32:16), several *Tanḥumaʾ* passages (33:2; 102:6; 213:25), and a long quotation from R. Azriel (121:32; cf. 267:20, where the same passage is repeated in the name of R. Shimʿon). R. Shimʿon (93:2) and his son, R. Elʿazar (56:19; 86:5), also introduce R. David's teachings.

from the master, R. Shim ᶜon bar Yoḥai:

> R. Shim ᶜon said to R. Ḥiyya, "You are worthy; everything you have spoken is fine. The Ancient-of-Days will watch over you!"[121]

Having set the stage with a series of Zohar translations, R. David now adopts zoharic style. The master has given his imprimatur; R. David dives into kabbalistic exegesis. He comes back to the surface often, however: over the next one hundred pages, *The Book of Mirrors* alternates between translations of Zohar and R. David's teachings. Apparently the author still needs the support and example of R. Shim ᶜon.[122]

Returning to R. Ḥiyya's opening discourse, we note another feature that typifies R. David's method. The verse expounded by R. Ḥiyya (Qoh 9:2) is not quoted in any of the preceding Zohar translations. R. David copied it from the beginning of *Midrash Tanḥuma* ᵓ on *Parashat* ᵓ*Aḥarei Mot.* Throughout *The Book of Mirrors* he turns back to the *Tanḥuma* ᵓ, sometimes for isolated verses,[123] more often for passages of midrash.[124] He builds his commentaries on these verses and passages.[125] Usually he quotes from the section of the *Tanḥuma* ᵓ corresponding to the *parashah* that he is interpreting.[126] Often he distinguishes his mystical interpretation from the *Tanḥuma* ᵓ by introducing the former with the phrase ᵓ*Aval sod ha-davar* [127] or his favorite expression: *Ve-*ᵓ*Attah ẓarikh la-da* ᶜ*at;* [128] sometimes the interpretation is wedded to the text.[129]

As *The Book of Mirrors* proceeds, R. David gradually relies less on the *Tanḥuma* ᵓ and comments directly on verses from the Torah.[130] He occasionally connects each word in a verse with a particular *sefirah* [131] and does not hesitate to offer different interpretations of the same word, identifying it first with one *sefirah,* then with another.[132] He is especially attracted to personal names and their sefirotic correspondences.[133] In one passage he offers this view of mystical exegesis:

> All the names in the entire Torah refer to a supreme secret. If all the oceans were ink, every person a scribe, and earth and heaven sheets of parchment, it would still be impossible to write even one-thousandth of what should be written for every single verse of the Torah.[134]

[121] *MḥZ* 18:7-8; cf. Zohar 3:129b (ᵓ*Idra* ᵓ *Rabba* ᵓ*): Amar R. Shim* ᶜ*on: "Ya*ᵓ*ut hu* ᵓ *ve-*ᶜ*Attiq Yomin yifqaḥ* ᶜ*eina* ᵓ *da* ᵓ ᶜ*alakh be-sha*ᶜ*ata* ᵓ *de-tiẓterikh leih."* In *Sefer ha-Gevul* (Jerusalem MS 8° 3921), f. 31a R. David omits this sentence when translating this section of the ᵓ*Idra* ᵓ *Rabba* ᵓ*;* see Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul,"* pp. 51, 59. The phrase "Ancient-of-Days" derives from Dan 7:9 and here designates Keter; cf. *Sha*ᶜ*arei* ᵓ*Orah,* p. 211.

[122] Gradually a more independent attitude appears. In *MḥZ* 90:25, after translating Zohar for three pages, he begins his own teaching with: ᵓ*Aval ba*ᵓ*ti le-hodi*ᶜ*akha.* On 119:5-12, leading up to a translation from *Midrash ha-Ne*ᶜ*elam,* he alludes to three of his works and refers to them obliquely as *ne*ᶜ*elamim.* Later kabbalists were convinced that R. David's creations were part of *Midrash ha-Ne*ᶜ*elam;* see below, § 2.9.; cf. Scholem, *Major Trends,* p. 393, n. 104. For other examples of zoharic imitation see idem, *Kabbalah,* pp. 59-61; Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 1:39-40 (Introduction).

[123] *MḥZ* 14:26; 251:5. On 236:6-20 he cites one verse from the *Tanḥuma* ᵓ on *Parashat* ᶜ*Eqev,* adds R. Ḥiyya's name, and then copies two passages from *Sha*ᶜ*arei* ᵓ*Orah;* this brief mélange is all there is to R. David's commentary on the *parashah.*

[124] *MḥZ* 18:9; 22:1; 33:1; 101:4; 112:13; see Index of Sources, s.v. *Tanḥuma* ᵓ.

[125] Sometimes (e.g., *MḥZ* 186:5ff.; 187:11ff.) R. David copies out a *Tanḥuma* ᵓ passage without adding a mystical interpretation; he then proceeds to interpret verses from the *parashah.*

[126] For exceptions to this norm see *MḥZ* 34:9; 108:21; 112:13.

[127] *MḥZ* 21:6; 34:13; 108:24; cf. the zoharic expression *raza* ᵓ *de-millah.*

[128] *MḥZ* 33:15; 79:14; 271:1.

[129] *MḥZ* 20:18ff.; 24:26ff.; 251:5ff.

[130] This transition is quite apparent in *Parashat* ᵓ*Emor.*

[131] *MḥZ* 40:23; 93:2; 190:22; 223:32; cf. David ibn Zimra, *Migdal David,* p. 23c.

[132] *MḥZ* 34:20,23; 39:8,11; 52:17,22; 81:13,25; 85:19,22; 87:5,17; 110; 112-3; 117:9,11; 189:22,24; 221:6,8; 243:26,31. In these cases R. David often employs the expression *d"*ᵓ*a [davar* ᵓ*aḥer].*

[133] *MḥZ* 117:14; 224:4; 226:2-7.

[134] *MḥZ* 226:29; cf. ᵓ*Aqdamut Millin;* BT, *Shabbat* 11a.

The Book of Mirrors is punctuated with a tone of urgency, with the frequently recurring *Ve-*ᵓ*Attah ẓarikh la-da* ᶜ*at,* "You must realize...."[135] In the words of Moses de León, "Only recently has this spring of mystery begun to flow through the land." R. David is one of those who feels impelled to reveal some of the secrets: "But I will lead you into the depth of this secret...." (*MḥZ* 114:4); "But I have come to arouse your awareness *[le-*ᶜ*orerekha]* ...."[136]

The kabbalist is aware of the esoteric nature of his material and the delicacy of his role as interpreter and guide. At times he provides only hints and then says: "If you are among those who understand, a little hint is sufficient."[137] At one point he refers to the dangers of mystical search.[138] He knows "there are things grasped and attained by thought that the mouth cannot express."[139] Nevertheless, R. David is eager to transmit what he can express and what he feels permitted to reveal. His eagerness to publicize the secrets leads him, as we have seen, to cull material from a number of kabbalists. The charge of plagiarism is not relevant; it was common practice among medieval authors to borrow without mentioning the source.[140] R. David's sense of mission is not limited to his own formulations; he employs the phrase *Ve-*ᵓ*Attah ẓarikh la-da* ᶜ*at* to introduce the teachings of others too.[141] He feels free to copy their words, which flow from the same source as his, the *ma* ᶜ*ayan ha-sod* that has recently overflowed.

2.9. References to The Book of Mirrors in Kabbalistic Literature

The following list of authors who cite *The Book of Mirrors* is undoubtedly incomplete and can be supplemented once more kabbalistic works of the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries have been edited.[142]

Abraham Adrutiel, in his ᵓ*Avnei Zikkaron* (written in the first half of the fifteenth century), quotes three passages from *The Book of Mirrors,* two of which appear in the extant text.[143]

An anonymous work entitled *Pardes ha-Ḥokhmah* quotes one of the same passages.[144]

[135] *MḥZ* 12:26; 33:15; 76:26; 79:14; 81:25; 85:4; 100:21; etc. The phrase is found in numerous contemporary texts, but R. David employs it with fervor; see below.

[136] *MḥZ* 187:18; cf. 208:5; 229:23; Scholem, *Major Trends,* p. 388, n. 39. The quotation from Moses de León is from *Sefer ha-Mishqal,* p. 137: *Mi-yamim mu* ᶜ*aṭin nitpashsheṭ me-*ᶜ*inyan ha-sod ha-zeh ba-*ᵓ*arez* The Basle (1608) edition reads: *nitpashsheṭ ma* ᶜ*ayan ha-sod.* Cf. *Sefer ha-Mishqal,* p. 93: *Ve-Sod sitrei ha-ḥakhmah meḥayyevet be-gillui me* ᶜ*aṭ min ha-nistarot.*

[137] *MḥZ* 243:15; cf. 236:30—237:3; 272:21; below, § 3., passim; Zohar 3:105b; and the remark by the sixteenth-century kabbalist Shim ᶜon Labi, who, after transmitting a teaching on the original nature of Adam, writes: *Ve-Lo* ᵓ *ᵓukhal le-haṛḥiv bo ki khen ẓuvveiti* (*Ketem Paz,* p. 121b).

[138] *MḥZ* 119:5-12; cf. Moses de León's words of caution in *Shushan* ᶜ*Edut,* p. 347.

[139] *MḥZ* 181:15 (from Todros Abulafia's *Sha*ᶜ*ar ha-Razim*).

[140] See Scholem's comments in *Madda* ᶜ*ei ha-Yahadut* 2 (1927): 238, n. 8.

[141] Todros Abulafia: *MḥZ* 155:1; 156:25; 170:4; 172:9. Gikatilla: 210:14; 212:26; 230:24,30; 232:14; 262:14. Cf. *MḥZ* 174:6 with *Sha*ᶜ*ar ha-Razim* (Munich MS), f. 83a; and 170:10 with *Sha*ᶜ*ar ha-Razim,* f. 78a; here R. David deletes Abulafia's words of hesitation and inserts: *Ve-*ᵓ*Attah ẓarikh la-da* ᶜ*at.*

[142] See, e.g., Idel, *"*ᶜ*Od* ᶜ*al R. David ben Yehudah he-Ḥasid ve-ha-*ᵓ*Ari," Da* ᶜ*at* 7 (1981): 71, who notes that Ovadiah Hamon of Ẓefat draws on *The Book of Mirrors* several times in Oxford MS 1597.

[143] See Scholem, *Kiryat Sefer* 6 (1929-30): 269-70. The first passage is a discourse on the *Shemiṭṭot* (*MḥZ* 102:9—103:12; ᵓ*Avnei Zikkaron* [British Museum, Gaster MS 956], f. 50b). The others are interpretations of *Ha-Yesh bah* ᶜ*eẓ* ᵓ*im* ᵓ*ayin* (Num 13:20; not found in the extant *Book of Mirrors*) and *YHVH* ᵓ*ori ve-yish*ᶜ*i* (*MḥZ* 68:19—70:8; ᵓ*Avnei Zikkaron,* [Jerusalem MS 8° 404], ff. 76b-77b). The first passage is introduced by Adrutiel with these words: *U-Mah she-*ᵓ*aḥz"l [she-*ᵓ*ameru ḥakhameinu zikhronam li-verakhah] be-Midrash ha-Ne*ᶜ*elam be-Mar*ᵓ*ot ha-Ẓove*ᵓ*ot;* the other two are also cited from *Midrash ha-Ne*ᶜ*elam,* though all three passages are R. David's creations. Adrutiel was convinced by R. David's imitations of the Zohar.

[144] *Pardes ha-Ḥokhmah* (Oxford MS 1919), f. 17a, citing *MḥZ* 68:19ff.; cf. Scholem, *Peraqim,* p. 314; Idel, *"Targumo shel R. David,"* p. 91.

Meir ibn Gabbai, in *ʿAvodat ha-Qodesh* (1568), quotes two Zohar translations from *The Book of Mirrors,* neither of which appears in the extant text.[145]

David ibn Zimra, who owned the MS later housed in the Escorial (see above, § 2.1.), quotes *The Book of Mirrors* eleven times in his *Migdal David.* All of the citations are found in the extant text.[146]

Solomon Alkabez, in his *Berit ha-Levi,* cites one Zohar translation and one of R. David's teachings from *The Book of Mirrors;* both are found in the extant text.[147]

Moses Cordovero, a student of Alkabez, refers to *The Book of Mirrors* several times in his writings, though he misnames the author.[148]

Ḥayyim Vital and his son Samuel record a Zohar translation from *The Book of Mirrors* that does not appear in the extant text; they learned of the passage from Isaac Luria (see above, n. 56).

Two anonymous kabbaistic compositions from the sixteenth or seventeenth century cite passages from *The Book of Mirrors.* One is an anthology of short kabbalistic works contained in Sassoon MS 919 that includes three selections.[149] The other is a Moroccan commentary on the liturgy, found in Sassoon MS 921, that cites one selection.[150] All of these appear in the extant text.

None of these writers mentions R. David; apparently by the middle of the fifteenth century, his name was no longer associated with the work. *The Book of Mirrors* and its Zohar translations were studied by Cordovero and Luria, but they were not aware that the author was David ben Yehudah he-Ḥasid. In adopting the pseudonym of R. Ḥiyya, he had hidden his identity too well.

[145] *ʿAvodat ha-Qodesh,* 1:11,24, citing translations of Zohar 1:50b-51a; see above, § 2.3. The first passage is introduced with these words: *U-ve-Sefer Marʾot ha-Ẓoveʾot be-ʿinyan ha-yiḥud ve-huʾ mi-Midrasho shel Rashbʿi [R. Shimʿon bar Yoḥai].*

[146] *Migdal David,* p. 3a (quoting *MhZ* 101:31–102:3); 7d (68:1-18); 17d (103:27–104:24); 20c (153:9-21); 22a (102:19-22); 23b-c (112:23–113:12); 32b (1:22-8 [a Zohar translation]); 35d (132:12-9); 37a (252:9ff.); 56b (164:4-10); 65a (116:15-21). After the passage cited on p. 23b-c Ibn Zimra writes: *ʿAkʿl [ʿAd kaʾn leshon] Marʾot ha-Ẓoveʾot ve-nirʾeh she-huʾ min ha-Midrash ha-Neʿelam.*

[147] *Berit ha-Levi,* pp. 7c, 21a (quoting *MhZ* 1:13ff. [a Zohar translation]; 80:8ff.

[148] In *Shiʿur Qomah,* p. 80, he gives the author's name as R. Isaac. He refers to the work in his commentary on the Zohar (see *ʾOr ha-Ḥammah,* p. 44c) and in his *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (Jerusalem MS 4° 74), f. 94a; see Scholem, *Peraqim,* p. 325.

[149] The MS is described in *ʾOhel David,* p. 1012. One passage (*MhZ* 240:4-18) appears on p. 72, and two others (236:28–237:16; 252:2-21) on p. 49, where *The Book of Mirrors* is ascribed to Joseph Gikatilla; the editor or his source was misled by R. David's widespread use of *Shaʿarei ʾOrah.*

[150] See *ʾOhel David,* p. 895. The selection is from *MhZ* 90:25–91:23 and appears on ff. 146b-47a of the MS.

3. ASPECTS OF R. DAVID'S KABBALAH

3.1. A Name for the Infinite

ʾEin Sof, the Infinite, is referred to by R. David as *ʿIllat ha-ʿIllot, causa causarum.*[151] It is beyond the scope of human comprehension and is "the most hidden" (*MhZ* 53:20; 224:19). The Infinite must include the entire universe: R. David applies to it the midrashic statement "He includes the world; the world does not include Him."[152] The ten *sefirot,* which flow out of the Infinite, remain united with it "because that which is emanated is not separate from the Emanator."[153]

The Infinite cannot be described or named; some kabbalists held the view that *ʾEin Sof* is not mentioned or even alluded to in the Bible.[154] R. David, however, identifies certain words and names in the Torah as referring to *ʿIllat ha-ʿIllot* (*MhZ* 53:19; 84:2; 87:24). In one passage (227:15-23) he discusses the difference between the Infinite and the ten *sefirot:*

> *"Ben Menasheh"* (Num 27:1) alludes to *ʿIllat ha-ʿIllot,* who is called Menasheh. Why is *ʿIllat ha-ʿIllot* called Menasheh? Because He is a place to which forgetting and oblivion *[nishshayon]* pertain, as in the expression "For God has made me forget" *[ki nashshani ʾelohim]* (Gen 41:51).
>
> Why? Because concerning all the levels and sources (the *sefirot*), one should search for their reality from the depth of Supernal Wisdom. From there it is possible to understand one thing from another.[155] However, concerning *ʿIllat ha-ʿIllot,* there are no aspects (lit., "sides") anywhere to search, to probe; nothing can be known of Him; for He is hidden and concealed in the mystery of Absolute Nothingness.[156]
>
> Therefore forgetting pertains to Him, as regards comprehension of this place. So open your eyes and see this great and awesome secret. Happy is he whose eyes shine from this secret, in this world and the world that is coming.

The Infinite cannot be comprehended; it is inaccessible to the human mind. The language is cryptic, however. Why the word "forgetting"? What is forgotten? A lack of knowledge is different than forgetting. What is the great and awesome secret that enlightens the adept? Is it simply recognizing that there are limits beyond which human knowledge cannot advance?

Perhaps R. David is indicating a more profound truth. The *sefirot* are stages of contemplative ascent; each of them serves as an object and focus of mystical search. In tracing the reality of each *sefirah,* the mystic uncovers layers of being within himself and throughout the

[151] *MhZ* 44:26. The phrase entered medieval Hebrew through the translations of Judah ibn Tibbon; see, e.g., *Ḥovot ha-Levavot, Shaʿar ha-Yiḥud,* chap. 2. R. Abraham ben David and other Provençal kabbalists employ it, as does the author of *Raʿaya Meheimnaʾ* and *Tiqqunei Zohar,* though the Zohar itself avoids it; see Scholem, *Ursprung,* pp. 187, 197; Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 1:100,112; cf. Moses de León, *Shushan ʿEdut,* p. 337; Zohar 1:72b. R. David may have picked up the phrase from Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi; cf. the latter's *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah,* pp. 53, 55.

[152] *Bereshit Rabbaʾ* 68:9, pp. 777-8; *MhZ* 124:28.

[153] *MhZ* 131:4; cf. Ramban's *Commentary* on Num 11:17: *ʾAẓilut be-khol maqom leshon ʿiqquv.*

[154] See the statement by the anonymous author of *Maʿarekhet ha-ʾElohut,* p. 82b: *Ve-Daʿ ki ha-ʾein sof ʾasher zakharnu ʾeinennu ramuz loʾ va-torah ve-loʾ va-nevi ʾim ve-loʾ va-ketuvim ve-loʾ ve-divrei rzʿl, ʾakh qibbelu vo va ʿalei ha-ʿavodah qeẓat remez.*

[155] *Mevinin davar mi-tokh davar.* In BT, *Ḥagigah* 14a this kind of understanding defines a *navon;* cf. *Shabbat* 31a. Isaac the Blind (ca. 1160-1235) alters the wording to *hitbonenut davar mi-tokh davar* in describing contemplative vision of the *sefirot;* see his *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah* (appendix to Scholem, *Ha-Qabbalah be-Provans*), p. 5. Azriel of Gerona employs a similar phrase in his *Shaʿar ha-Kavvanah;* see Scholem, "Der Begriff der Kawwana in der alten Kabbala," *MGWJ* 78 (1934): 511-2; *Ursprung,* pp. 368-71. Gikatilla employs the phrase in the closing lines of *Shaʿarei ʾOrah* (p. 197). In all these instances *davar* implies *sefirah;* see *Ursprung,* pp. 233, 388; Tishby, ed., *Perush ha-ʾAggadot le-Rabbi ʿAzriʾel,* pp. 35, 107, 110 (hereafter cited as *Perush ha-ʾAggadot*); *MhZ* 119:22.

[156] *Be-Sod ha-ʾayin ve-ha-ʾefes;* cf. *MhZ* 44:27. On the concept of *ʾayin* see Scholem, *Ursprung,* p. 178; *Major Trends,* pp. 217-9; *Kabbalah,* pp. 94-5; *Ueber einige Grundbegriffe des Judentums,* pp. 53-89 (hereafter cited as *Grundbegriffe*).

cosmos. This is the knowledge that the kabbalist strives for, supernal wisdom. However, there is a higher level, a deeper realm, beyond this step-by-step approach. At the ultimate stage the kabbalist no longer understands one thing from another. Discursive thought, with all its distinctions and connections, is annihilated;[157] the term knowledge no longer applies.[158] Here the mystic stands at the mouth of the abyss and confronts absolute nothingness, the stark swirl of being. Overwhelmed, he forgets everything finite and specific, including his ego. Oblivion is the only word that pertains.[159]

The kabbalist returns to the finite. His experience cannot be expressed, communicated, or fully recalled. In this sense too "forgettting pertains to Him, as regards comprehension of this place." Nevertheless his eyes shine from the secret; he has caught a glimpse of the Infinite.

3.2. ʿIllat ha-ʿIllot and Keter

The relationship between *ʾEin Sof* and *Keter* was a controversial topic among kabbalists of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Some identified the two, while others held that *Keter* was a distinct *sefirah* emanated from *ʾEin Sof.*[160] In the Zohar *ʾEin Sof* and *Keter* are not identical; yet unlike the other *sefirot, Keter* is never described as emanating from *ʾEin Sof. Keter* and *ʾEin Sof* are coeternal.

In R. David's scheme *ʿIllat ha-ʿIllot* is beyond *Keter.*[161] However, they are described together as "hidden and secret" (*MhZ* 224:26), as the "two depths" (*MhZ* 53:19); they stand over against the lower *sefirot* as kings and elders (*MhZ* 23:15; 258:3). Twice in *The Book of Mirrors* R. David says of these two realms: "There is no difference between the cause and that which is caused except that one is the cause and other, caused. He who is enlightened *[ha-maskil]*[162] will understand and hold his silence before God."[163] The primal cause is by definition prior to *Keter;* yet the two realms are otherwise identical. *Keter* is the aspect of the Infinite that reveals itself. It "causes its goodness and love to flow out from *ʿIllat ha-ʿIllot,* from the channel of the secret, hidden pool" (*MhZ* 114:13). *ʿIllat ha-ʿIllot* is the hidden root of emanation; *Keter,* the subtle beginnings of growth. *Keter* "is bound in the bond of *ʿIllat ha-ʿIllot,* for there is no separation or division there; all is completely whole" (*MhZ* 98:1). *Keter,* in fact, shares in the designation *ʾEin Sof* when the flow of emanation is described.[164]

[157] Azriel speaks of the annihilation of thought *(ʾafisatah)* that occurs at the highest levels of contemplation. He calls *Keter: ʾafisat ha-maḥshavah;* see *Perush ha-ʾAggadot,* pp. 40, 116; Scholem, *Teʿudah ḥadashah le-toledot reʾshit ha-qabbalah," Sefer Bialik,* p. 160; idem, *Reʾshit ha-Qabbalah,* pp. 116-7. Moses de León employs the phrase in *Shushan ʿEdut,* p. 334; cf. *MhZ* 279:6-8.

[158] Isaac the Blind says that the essence of being cannot be known, only imbibed; see Scholem, *Ursprung,* pp. 246-7; and Isaac's *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah,* p. 1: *Ve-Hen havayot penimiyyot ve-daqqot, ʾein beriyyah yekholah le-hitbonen ʾella ʾ ha-yoneq mimmennah she-huʾ derekh hitbonenut derekh yeniqato ve-loʾ derekh yedi ʿah.*

[159] Cf. the statement by the ninth-century Sufi Abu Yazid al-Bistami: "When He brought me to the brink of divine unity, I divorced myself and betook myself to my Lord, calling upon Him to help me. 'Master,' I cried, 'I beseech Thee as one to whom nothing else remains.' When He recognized the sincerity of my prayer and how I had despaired of myself, the first token that came to me proving that He had answered this prayer was that He caused me to forget myself utterly and to forget all creatures and dominions" (al Sahlaji, *Kitab al-Nur* [ed. Badawi], p. 119; translated in Arthur J. Arberry, *Revelation and Reason in Islam* [London, 1957], p. 96). On the doctrine of *fanaʾ,* developed by Abu Yazid, see Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam,* pp. 47-8, 142-5.

[160] See Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 1:107-11; Scholem, *Kabbalah,* p. 51.

[161] *MhZ* 235:4-7; cf. *Sefer ha-Gevul,* f. 27b: *Keter ʿelyon she-huʾ neʾeẓal me-ʿillat ha-ʿillot.* Cf. Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi, *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah,* p. 55; Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul,"* p. 86.

[162] Cf. Daniel 12:3; *Bahir,* § 139 (Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir,* § 95; idem, *Ursprung,* p. 172); Zohar 1:15a; 2:2a,23a.

[163] *MhZ* 80:11; cf. 131:15; 224:19; Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi, *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah,* 2c; 28b.

[164] *MhZ* 129:3,11; 131:8; cf. Gikatilla, *Shaʿarei ʾOrah,* p. 63; Goldreich, *"Sefer ha-Gevul,"* pp. 86-8.

3.3. The Ten Ẓaḥẓaḥot

The first hints of emanation appear within *Keter;* on this most Spanish kabbalists agree (see, e.g., Zohar 1:15a). R. David holds a theory concerning these primordial stages that is barely mentioned before him and that reappears in different form in fifteenth-and-sixteenth-century Kabbalah. This is the doctrine of the ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot,* dazzling lights that precede the emanation of the *sefirot.*

It is difficult to ascertain from whom R. David acquired this theory. His formulations on the ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot* are usually brief and obscure. A similar theory may be referred to by Isaac the Blind in his *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah* (p. 3):

Ve-ha-Devarim yesh lahen middot ve-shiʿur
ʾukh ha-maḥshavah ʾein lah shiʿur
u-lekhakh ḥolekhot be-ʿeser ʿeser
lefikhakh min ha-daqqot ha-reshumot
kiʿ ʿeser me-ʿeser
daqqot mi-penimiyyut ha-daqqot.

In his analysis of this passage, Scholem wonders whether Isaac is referring to a secret decade within *Maḥshavah (Keter)* that represents a prior stage of emanation.[165]

In a responsum written in Provence shortly after Isaac's commentary, though attributed to Hai Gaon, it is stated that above all the *sefirot* there exist three hidden lights: *ʾor penimi qadmon, ʾor mezuḥẓaḥ,* and *ʾor ẓaḥ.* These constitute one essence and precede the emanation of the *sefirot.*[166]

In the extant *Book of Mirrors* R. David refers to the ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot* eleven times. Two of the references consist of no more than the phrase itself and a proof text from Isaiah 58:11: *Ve-Hishiʿa be-ẓaḥẓaḥot nafshekha* (*MhZ* 24:31; 68:12). Several of the other passages are also cryptic. By fitting the pieces together, we can construct a coherent picture of R. David's speculation.[167]

The ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot* are parallel to the ten *sefirot:*

> *"ʿAsser teʿasser"* (Deut 14:22). Why two times [the root *ʿsr*]? Because here lies a deep, hidden secret that the mouth cannot speak nor the ear hear. You already know that *ʿasser* alludes to the ten lower *[sefirot].* Until here I have permission to explain. If you are one of the enlightened, you will understand this great secret, utilizing your intellect to its fullest; you will surely not let it out of your mouth.... [*MhZ* 236:29–237:3]

The ten *sefirot* are lower than the ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot,* which in another passage are called "ten upper *sefirot*" (*MhZ* 100:18). The ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot* are located in *Keter* and are said to belong to it. As opposed to the lower *sefirot,* "You cannot comprehend anything about the ten *sefirot* of *Keter ʿElyon*" (*MhZ* 252:16).

The role of the ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot* is clarified in another passage:

> "God's words are pure words" (Ps 12:7). The secret is that these are the ten statements by which the world was created. These statements are ten inner, hidden levels, namely, ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot* expanding within *Keter ʿElyon*.... By these ten statements all existence was created. Everything that emanates from *Keter ʿElyon* and below is drawn forth and emerges from these ten springs. Therefore it is written: "God's words are pure words." [*MhZ* 81:4-11]

The ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot* are the source of emanation within *Keter;* they give rise to the *sefirot* and then to all created being.

[165] *Ursprung,* pp. 240-3.

[166] The responsum is translated and discussed by Scholem in *Ursprung,* pp. 308-14; cf. idem, *Kabbalah,* pp. 95-6. R. David copies several lines of it as part of his selection from Todros Abulafia's *Shaʿar ha-Razim: MhZ* 170:15.

[167] Moshe Idel has published a responsum by R. David that sheds more light on the theory and indicates the anthropomorphic structure of the *ẓaḥẓaḥot;* see his *"Demut ha-ʾadam she-meʿal ha-sefirot," Daʿat* 4 (1980): 41-55.

The theory of the ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot* was debated in fifteenth-and-sixteenth-century Kabbalah.[168] In Cordovero's system it was supplanted by the doctrine of three *ẓaḥẓaḥot,* which exist within *ʾEin Sof.* [169] Moshe Idel has suggested that R. David's formulation contributed to Luria's conception of *ʾAdam Qadmon.* [170]

Why is R. David so secretive about the ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot?* There are a number of factors involved. Since the theory describes the subtle beginnings of emanation, he probably felt that it was too delicate to expose. As he often writes in *The Book of Mirrors: Kevod ʾelohim haster davar* (Prov 25:2).[171] There are few explicit references to the ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot* in this period;[172] R. David may have imposed self-censorship in order to avoid criticism. Finally, his own contemplative vision was inseparable from his theorizing; he would have been hesitant to publish the intimate details of his mystical experience.[173] Striving to discover the roots of emanation, R. David was dazzled by ten flashes. He connected his experience to, or was guided to it by, Isaiah 58:11, which now meant: "He will refresh your soul with *ẓaḥẓaḥot.* "

3.4. Keter as Maḥshavah

Keter is the vessel through which all emanation proceeds. R. David calls it by many names: the spring of the stream, the spring of the highest river, the highest pool, the highest river whose waters never cease.[174] He also applies to it the more standard kabbalistic expressions Will and Nothingness.[175] His favorite designation of *Keter* is *ʿolam ha-maḥshavah,* "the world of thought."[176] The variations include: the deep thought, the high secret of thought, the thought of the hidden, and the quality of thought.[177]

This designation has a history. In *Sefer ha-Bahir,* edited in Provence in the late twelfth century, *Maḥshavah* is the name for *Keter.* [178] Isaac the Blind adopted this view,[179] but as Kabbalah spread from Provence to Spain, a change occurred. Certain kabbalists of the Gerona school, among them R. Azriel, applied the designation *Maḥshavah* to the second *sefirah: Ḥokhmah.* [180] For them, *Raẓon* (Will) occupied prime position. The prominence accorded the

[168]Judah Ḥayyat, in his commentary on *Maʿarekhet ha-ʾElohut,* speaks of ten *ziḥẓuḥim* within *ʾEin Sof* and three within *Keter;* see *Maʿarekhet ha-ʾElohut,* pp. 44-5. Elḥanan ha-Levi, an Italian kabbalist living at the turn of the sixteenth century, follows Ḥayyat's view; see Gottlieb, *Meḥqarim,* pp. 397-476. Both of these kabbalists identify the ten "upper *sefirot* " with *ʾAdam de-ʾAẓilut;* cf. David ibn Zimra, *Migdal David,* p. 37a, who quotes from *The Book of Mirrors* (see above, § 2.9.). The entire theory is criticized by R. Isaac mar Ḥayyim; see Yael Nadav, *"ʾIggeret ha-mequbbal R. Yiẓḥaq mar Ḥayyim ʿal torat ha-ẓaḥẓaḥot," Tarbiẓ* 26 (1957): 440-58.

[169]Moses Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim, Shaʿar ha-Ẓaḥẓaḥot,* Chap. 7; see Joseph Ben-Shlomo, *Torat haʾElohut shel R. Mosheh Cordovero,* pp. 174-87.

[170]See Idel, *"Demut ha-ʾadam she-meʿal ha-sefirot,"* pp. 48-9; cf. idem, *"ʿOd ʿal R. David ben Yehudah he-Ḥasid ve-ha-ʾAri."*

[171]See the Index of Sources, ad loc.; cf. above, § 2.8.; and *MhẐ* 237:2: *ʿAd hennah yesh li reshut le-faresh.*

[172]See Idel, *"Demut ha-ʾadam she-meʿal ha-sefirot";* cf. Zohar 1:65a; 2:210b; Liebes, *"Peraqim be-Millon Sefer ha-Zohar,"* pp. 175, 320.

[173]In his *Commentary on the Merkavah* (ed. Scholem, *Tarbiẓ* 2 [1931]: 203) Isaac ben Jacob ha-Kohen offers a reference to the thirty-two paths of wisdom and then explains why he will say no more; the reasons suggested above are spelled out: *Ve-ʾAl teqavveh yoter mimmenni le-farsem ve-li-khtov u-le-gallot bi-khetivah ki huʾ khe-noten ʾeẓbaʿ ba-ʿayin, zulati peh ʾel peh she-loʾ yiheyeh ka-matarah la-ḥeẓ le-khol yavoʾ, ki khamah she-ʿamelu khol ḥasidei ʿolam kol yemeihem ʾein raʾui le-khotevo ve-firsum be-yadayim.*

[174]*MhẐ* 16:28; 34:17; 36:24; 58:23; 59:5,7; 74:29.

[175]*MhẐ* 61:24; 65:18; 93:11; see above, n. 156. *Keter* is also called *loʾ* (259:17; 260:32) because He cannot be comprehended.

[176]*MhẐ* 28:28; 38:7; 77:11; 93:12; etc.; cf. Zohar 3:220b.

[177]*MhẐ* 15:28; 34:13; 39:28; 40:9; 44:26; 45:11; 51:25.

[178]*Sefer ha-Bahir,* § 70 (Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir,* § 48; cf. idem, *Ursprung,* pp. 112-6).

[179]Scholem, *Ursprung,* pp. 238-43.

[180]See Azriel, *Perush haʾAggadot,* p. 81; and index, s.v. *maḥshavah;* cf. p. 93: *Ve-ha-Maḥshavah khe-marʾah she-ha-roʾeh vah roʾeh ẓurato ve-tokhah ve-savur she-hem shetei ẓurot ve-ʾeinan ʾellaʾ ʾaḥat.*

volitional character of the Divine helped kabbalists harmonize the Plotinian conception of an infinite One (corresponding to *ʾEin Sof*) with traditional Jewish monotheism. Gabirol's doctrine of the Will may have influenced them.[181]

Most kabbalists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries accepted this new nomenclature. The Zohar too identifies *Keter* as Will, though there is some intertwining of will and thought.[182] R. David, though, clearly posits *Maḥshavah* at the top of the sefirotic ladder. He sets up the following analogy between *Keter* and human thought:

> Since He *[Keter]* is secret and hidden from comprehension, He is called *Maḥshavah,* like the *maḥshavah* that is secret and hidden in the human being and that no one can see or describe as [one can describe] the other qualities. Rather she, namely, the *maḥshavah,* sees everything that exists and is herself not seen. Similarly, *Keter ʿElyon* sees, observes, and looks at everything that exists, while He himself is neither seen nor comprehended by any creature in the world. Therefore He is called *Maḥshavah.* Do not read [the word as] *maḥshavah,* but rather: *moaḥ she-bah,* the holy brain that is inside *Keter ʿElyon,* sitting in a clear, pure aura that cannot be comprehended by intellect or idea.[183]

3.5. The Personification of Keter

In the Zohar, the crystallization of thirteenth-century Kabbalah, *Keter* is abstract and depersonalized. Nothing can be predicated of this *sefirah;* it acts on no object.[184] Most of the Zohar's descriptions of *Keter* are vague and ethereal, e.g., "the luster on high," "the subtle aura on high that is not known" (Zohar 1:15a; 3:2a). Only in the *ʾIdrot* of the Zohar, which abound in bold anthropomorphisms, is *Keter* described more directly and concretely. *Keter* and *ʾEin Sof* together comprise *ʿAttiqa ʾ Qaddishaʾ,* the Holy Ancient One. Even in these sections, however, the aloofness and absolute otherness of *Keter* are conveyed by style and setting.[185]

R. David often describes *Keter* as hidden and unknowable; the name *Maḥshavah* affirms the abstract quality of this *sefirah.* [186] Yet the author also personifies *Keter:*

> You must realize: 'high priest' (Lev 21:10) alludes to *Keter ʿElyon,* who is called High Priest because He is priest and lord over all the levels...,for He annoints all the lower priests with the annointing oil that flows from the spring of the stream. [*MhẐ* 81:25-7]

[181]Scholem, *"ʿIqvotav shel Gabirol ba-qabbalah," Meʾassef Soferei ʾEreẓ Yisraʾel,* pp. 160-78; idem, *Grundbegriffe,* pp. 9-52 (on Gabirol see p. 19); idem, *Kabbalah,* pp. 91-4.

[182]Scholem, *Grundbegriffe,* pp. 47-51; Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 1:132. Gikatilla applies both Will and Thought to *Ḥokhmah;* see *Shaʿarei ʾOrah,* pp. 188, 190. Moses de León equates *Maḥshavah* and *Ḥokhmah* in his *Shushan ʿEdut,* p. 375.

[183]*MhẐ* 38:15-22; cf. 171:29 *(Shaʿar ha-Razim).* The final expression is an expansion of: *ʾavir she-ʾeino nitpas (Sefer Yeẓirah* 2:6). Azriel uses the phrase to refer to *Keter;* see *Perush ha-ʾAggadot,* p. 107. The Zohar renders it: *ʾawira ʾ ʿila ʾah deqiq de-laʾ yediʿa* (3:2a). Moses de León also employs it in his Hebrew writings; see Altmann, *Studies in Religious Philosophy and Mysticism,* p. 174 (hereafter cited as *Studies*).

[184]See Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 1:132.

[185]Ibid., 1:110-1. R. David's *Sefer ha-Gevul* is based on the *ʾIdra ʾ Rabbaʾ;* see above, § 1.2. In *The Book of Mirrors* traces of the *ʾIdra ʾ* appear; see the Index of Sources, and cf. Zohar 3:128b *(ʾIdra ʾ Rabbaʾ)* with *MhẐ* 15:16; 50:12; 74:3; 221:19.

[186]See *MhẐ* 208:6, where R. David adds the words *be-ʿomek ha-maḥshavah* to Gikatilla's description of *Keter: Ha ʾ nisteret ve-neʿelemet.*

Keter is "master of the levels" (*MhZ* 234:17), in charge of the *sefirot.*

"How can one pursue a thousand?" (Deut 32:30).

This means that the One, *Keter ʿElyon,* runs after a thousand levels emanated from Him[187] and warns and urges them concerning the *miẓvot* of the Torah, saying, for example: "Justice, justice shall you pursue" (Deut 16:20). Thus the Quality of One *[Keter]* is like a rabbi running after his students, urging them on, to sharpen and stimulate their minds, so that they will understand wisdom.[188]

R. David does not limit his personifications of *Keter* to descriptions involving the other *sefirot. Keter* "made and created everything that exists" (*MhZ* 259:11); "He is our God; He created us and all the worlds" (*MhZ* 188:12). Sometimes *Keter* is identified simply as *ʾEl* or the Holy One, blessed be He.[189] He is also called *Yaʿaqov Savaʾ, Yisraʾel Savaʾ,* and *Mosheh Savaʾ.*[190]

By describing *Keter* as the God of Creation and the Holy One, blessed be He, R. David includes the highest realm of the *sefirot* within the framework of tradition. This is a typical kabbalistic response to the conflict between the God of Plotinus and the God of the Bible (cf. above, § 3.4.). *Keter* is hidden in the depth of Thought, yet responsive to human prayer: "We ask for water on these days *[Sukkot]* so that the Holy One, blessed be He, *Keter ʿElyon,* will pour out His fountains to us limitlessly" (*MhZ* 96:15-6).

3.6. Keter and Malkhut

The personification of *Keter* finds expression in another role: its direct relationship with *Malkhut.* This relationship highlights the dynamic nature of the *sefirot.*

Malkhut is described as a loyal subject of Her God:

Keneset Yisraʾel [Malkhut] does not accept upon Herself any of the powers of the outside forces [*ha-ḥiẓoniyyot,* i.e., the demonic realm] but rather *Keter ʿElyon.* She bows down to Him and accepts Him as God. [*MhZ* 40:2-4]

Malkhut is the laborer; *Keter,* the *baʿal ha-bayit* (*MhZ* 77:17). She is subservient to Him yet thereby receives the flow of emanation: "She includes everything[191] and receives from the All, the quality of deep Thought *[Keter].* "[192] This flow is the source of *Malkhut*'s dominion over the lower worlds: "When She receives from the *ʾAlef* on high, She reigns and rules over all the levels beneath Her."[193]

Keter and *Malkhut* are "the upper eye" and "the lower eye."[194] One is *huʾ;* the other, *she-hu ʾ* (*MhZ* 234:27-8). The similarity in names inidicates a close relationship, as demonstrated in the following passage:

"*ʿAṭarot....*" (Num 32:3)

You must realize: *ʿAṭarot* alludes to two crowns: the upper crown and the lower crown. For just as He is called *Keter ʿElyon,* so *Malkhut* is called *ʿAṭeret,* which means "crown"....When *ʿAṭeret Yisraʾel* joins Herself with *Keter ʿElyon* and rises up to *ʾEin Sof,* they are called *ʿAṭarot.*[195]

The depiction of the *hieros gamos* is a striking feature of the Zohar.[196] Scholem notes that its appearance represents a reemergence of myth within Judaism.[197] Under the proper conditions, *Tifʾeret,* the masculine aspect of God, and *Malkhut,* the feminine, unite; their union provides blessing and harmony to all the lower worlds (see, e.g., Zohar 3:214b).

R. David adopts this view and in several places (e.g., *MhZ* 189:20; 241:26) speaks of the joining of these two *sefirot.* However, in other passages it appears that *Tifʾeret* is not so much partner of *Malkhut* as Her channel, conducting the flow from above: "*Tifʾeret* conducts the flows and the various types of emanation to the Queen" (*MhZ* 238:31).

The Holy One, blessed be He *[Tifʾeret]* prays before *Keter ʿElyon* and *ʿIllat ha-ʿIllot*[198] and draws the abundant flow from the depth of the spring, *Keter ʿElyon,* to *Keneset Yisraʾel [Malkhut].* Thus *Keneset Yisraʾel* is blessed through Him . [*MhZ* 110:4-6]

The source of the flow is in *Keter; Tifʾeret,* representing Him, transmits the flow and brings about the union. Once R. David says that *Keter* himself marries *Malkhut:*

"He *[ve-huʾ]* shall marry a woman in her virginity" (Lev 21:13)....

But according to the way of truth, *ve-huʾ,* that is, *Keter ʿElyon,* who is called *Huʾ*...."A woman in her virginity" alludes to the *Maṭronitaʾ.* [*MhZ* 87:28-32]

It is a sin to break the connection between *Keter* and *Malkhut* (*MhZ* 243:28-30). The downward flow of emanation creates a path that can be climbed through contemplation of the *sefirot:* "By means of *Zoʾt, Keneset Yisrael,* one can ascend and probe the reality of the Intellect, *Keter ʿElyon*" (*MhZ* 45:6-7).

3.7. The Independent Aspect of Malkhut

The concept of *Malkhut,* or *Shekhinah,* is one of the most significant ideas of the Kabbalah.[199] The notion of a feminine aspect of God, formulated by the Jewish mystics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, became a keystone of all kabbalistic thought and had a profound effect on the Jewish masses from the fourteenth century on.

According to the Zohar, which abounds in images of *Shekhinah,* this *sefirah* "has nothing at all of Her own."[200] Yet because of this quality, She receives and reflects the other *sefirot:*

[187] The decade of *sefirot* is sometimes squared or cubed by R. David and others; cf. *MhZ* 68:10; 101:8; 186:19; 272:20; Zohar 1:209b; 2:200a.

[188] *MhZ* 260:21-4. This novel description of the *yeshivah shel maʿlah* is part of R. David's commentary on *Parashat Haʾazinu,* which abounds in imaginative interpretations. In ll. 25-6 R. David concludes that the *sefirot* themselves perform the *miẓvot;* cf. Scholem, *Kabbalah,* p. 102.

[189] *MhZ* 96:15; 116:5; 221:15. The Zohar refers to *Tifʾeret,* not *Keter,* as the Holy One, blessed be He.

[190] *MhZ* 82:31; 206:9,15; 210:5. The Midrash applies the name *Yisraʾel Savaʾ* to Jacob; see *Bereʾshit Rabbaʾ* 68:11, p. 784, and Theodor's note; Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews,* 5:276, n. 35. In the Zohar *Yisraʾel Savaʾ* refers to *Tifʾeret;* see Zohar 1:233a; 2:216a; 3:119b.

[191] *Hiʾ kholelet ha-kol;* cf. *Bahir,* § 156 (Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir,* § 104); idem, *Von der mystishcen Gestalt der Gottheit,* p. 166. The phrase *ha-kallah ha-kelulah min ha-kol* appears often in thirteenth-century Kabbalah.

[192] *MhZ* 15:6-7. In earlier kabbalistic literature *kol* refers not to *Keter* but to *Yesod,* situated directly above *Malkhut;* see *Bahir,* § 22 (Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir,* § 14); Azriel, *Perush ha-ʾAggadot,* p. 57. Gikatilla (*Shaʿarei ʾOrah,* p. 57) and the Zohar follow this tradition. The identification is often connected with 1 Chr 29:11. By substituting *Keter* for *Yesod,* R. David highlights the direct relationship between the first and last *sefirot.*

[193] *MhZ* 225:28-30. *ʾAlef* symbolizes *Keter* and *Maḥshavah* in the *Bahir;* see, e.g., § 70 (Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir,* § 48); cf. *MhZ* 58:10.

[194] *MhZ* 188:21. On the open eye of *Keter* see 207:23-4; 212:9; 245:10; 259:27-30; 271:32; Zohar 3:129b-130a (*ʾIdraʾ Rabbaʾ*).

[195] *MhZ* 228:18-20;29-30. The complete union of the two *sefirot* ushers in the Messiah; see the middle section of the passage (ll. 20-9), deleted in the translation above. This middle section is copied from Gikatilla's *Shaʿarei ʾOrah,* p. 102, where the subject is the union of *Tifʾeret* and *Malkhut.* R. David employs the material to demonstrate the union of *Keter* and *Malkhut;* cf. *MhZ* 113:21-4.

[196] In the *Bahir, Shekhinah* is primarily God's daughter; see Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit,* p. 164: "Zu dieser Symbolik *[hieros gamos]* ist es noch nicht wieder vorgestossen, oder soll ich sagen: zurückgekehrt!?"

[197] Ibid., pp. 164, 177; idem, *Major Trends,* pp. 225-30; idem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism,* pp. 104-5.

[198] The idea that the *sefirot* pray to God is also expressed by Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi; see Scholem, *Kabbalah,* p. 102; cf. above, n. 188.

[199] On the evolution of the concept see Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit,* pp. 135-91 (*Pirqei Yesod be-Havanat ha-Qabbalah u-Semaleha,* trans. Joseph Ben-Shlomo, pp. 259-307).

[200] *Leit lah mi-garmah kelum* (Zohar 1:181a; cf. 2:218b). The phrase derives from medieval astronomers' description of the moon; see Scholem, *Qoveẓ ʿal Yad,* n.s. 8 (1976): 338, 381.

She includes everything (see above, n. 191). When bestowing blessing upon the world, She "is called masculine, like the male who provides blessings for the female."[201] From the perspective of the lower worlds, She is a powerful governess; from a higher perspective, She is simply transmitting divine blessing or chastisement.[202]

R. David too says that *Shekhinah* "has nothing at all of Her own" (*MhZ* 77:18). All the lights and colors of the upper *sefirot* are reflected in Her (an image to which the title of the book alludes; see above, § 2.4.). R. David, though, emphasizes the active element within *Shekhinah* and stresses the independent aspect of Her nature. This is apparent in his first original piece of writing in the extant *Book of Mirrors,* an elaboration on a Zohar passage:

> "....This is why we say [in *Ne ʿilah* on *Yom Kippur*] "Seal"; "Seal us." Because *ʿAṭeret [Malkhut]* ascends to the Palace of the King *[Binah],* who brings out the documents to be sealed. Then She *[Malkhut]* receives the documents and brings them down with Her and seals them for life, namely, the righteous, and the wicked for death. That is why we pray, "Seal for life." We are praying before *ʿAṭeret,* who is *Ne ʿilah,* that She seal us for life.
>
> A parable. To what may this be compared? To a king who came to sign decrees against his subjects, imposing burdensome taxes upon them because they had rebelled against him. The king's viceroy pleaded for the subjects, asking that the king lighten his decrees. Finally he [the viceroy] took the decrees from his hand and sealed them with the royal signet ring. The secret is: "...and [that which is] sealed with the king's ring cannot be reversed" (Esth 8:8). Enough for one who understands![203]

Malkhut, who is also *Keneset Yisraʾel,* the mystical embodiment of the community of Israel, pleads for Her people before the King. As the crucial hour draws near, She takes matters into Her own hands and independently insures Israel's well-being.

The power of life and death are in Her hands (*MhZ* 261:13-5). "She is the judge who sits at the royal gates" (*MhZ* 34:23-4). "She is in charge of all the punishments of the King on high and inflicts all blows and plagues on the world."[204]

Basically, *Malkhut* does not act on Her own; She expresses and interprets divine thought:

> "Who knows the interpretation of a thing?" (Qoh 8:1).
>
> The quality of *ʿAṭeret* interprets the meaning of the depth of Thought *[Keter]* before it is actualized....This is the secret meaning of "the interpretation of a thing." [*MhZ* 205:16-8]

Malkhut is the medium for expressing what has arisen in the depth of *Maḥshavah.* The primal thought emanated by *Keter* is incommunicable in itself; it is nothing but an unspoken *ʾalef.*[205] *Malkhut* interprets this flowing essence as it moves toward actualization; She spells it out to the lower worlds. It is at this point that Her independent quality comes into play.

R. David conveys this creative aspect of *Malkhut* with two images: one, his own formulation; the other, an elaboration of a zoharic expression.

> "Do not boast of tomorrow, for you do not know what a day may bring forth" (Prov 27:1).
>
> Indeed, what a day may bring forth. That well-known day, *Keneset Yisraʾel,* one of the seven days of the week produced by Him[206] during the six days of Creation. That divine quality receives the decree from world of Thought *[Keter]* to determine the decree according to the supreme judgment, and She can alter that decree for good or evil, as She desires. This is the secret meaning of: "*YHVH* repented of the evil" (Exod 32:14) and similarly, "His heart was saddened" (Gen 6:6). All this refers to the quality of *Malkhut,* who is called Secret of the Possible *[Sod ha-ʾEfshar].*[207] She gives birth to whatever She wishes to bring down[208] to the world. Therefore it says, "for you do not know what a day may bring forth." Indeed![209]

Shekhinah is the field of all possibilities. Spanning the upper and lower worlds, She translates divine thought into life on earth:

> "The wages of a laborer shall not remain with you until morning" (Lev 19:13)....
>
> But the secret meaning is that the laborer *[poʿel]* is *Keneset Yisraʾel.* She is called "laborer" because everything that comes out of the world of deep Thought *[Keter]* moves from potential being *[min ha-koaḥ]* into actuality *[ʾel ha-poʿal],* which is *ʿAṭeret Yisraʾel [Malkhut].* She forms and transforms everything as seems right to Her. For She is called the Potter: just as a potter who shapes and fashions clay vessels makes them wide or narrow while the potter's wheel[210] turns and spins in his hand, so *Keneset Yisraʾel* fashions all creatures as if they were on a potter's wheel, as it is written: "Like clay in the hand of the potter [so are you in My hand, O house of Israel]" (Jer 18:6). [*MhZ* 77:9-16]

The Secret of the Possible and the potter's wheel are mirror images; they appear twice in the same context (*MhZ* 53:3-9; 198:28-30). As *Shekhinah* conveys the flow of the Divine, She draws on an infinite array of images and forms, for She encompasses all imagery and form.[211] The artist transforms divine thought into creation; the universe comes to life. To the human mind it seems random, as if God were changing His mind back and forth. But that is the secret of the possible: as the wheel spins, as the imagination of *Shekhinah* unfolds, no one knows what the day may bring forth.

3.8. The Attack of the Temurot

The independent creativity of *Shekhinah* reflects one aspect of Her nature. From another perspective She is receptive, a channel for the higher *sefirot.* She is in a delicate position because She possesses nothing of Her own (see above, n. 200). *Shekhinah* is pure openness, "the mouth of His qualities" (*MhZ* 82:13). She welcomes emanation but is vulnerable to the demonic, which threatens to defile Her with the venom of the serpent.[212] The Zohar refers to

[201] Zohar 1:232a; cf. Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit,"* pp. 180-1.

[202] See Zohar 3:187a, where *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* urge *Malkhut* to provide for Her household, the world; cf. 2:51a.

[203] *MhZ* 13:1-9; cf. 250:26-9 (from *Shaʿarei ʾOrah,* p. 106).

[204] *MhZ* 248:21; 249:1; cf. Zohar 2:186a; 3:11b,150a.

[205] See above, n. 193; cf. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism,* pp. 29-31.

[206] *She-hem peʿalav;* the JTS and Sassoon MSS read: *she-huʾ paʿal.* The seven lower *sefirot* are pictured as having been formed by God during the six days of Creation and are therefore called "days"; see *Bahir,* § 57 (Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir,* § 39); cf. Gikatilla's statement (*Tarbiṣ* 36 [1967]: 78): *sefirot ha-belimah she-hem peʿalav;* and Meir ibn Sahula's comment on *va-yehi ʾor* in his *Beʾur le-Ferush ha-Ramban, ʾOṣar Mefareshei ha-Torah* (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 3d. The reading of the Cambridge MS, however, can be pointed: *she-hem paʿalu,* i.e., the *sefirot* performed during the six days of Creation; cf. *Bahir,* § 158 (Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir,* § 105); *MhZ* 129:4; 227:5; 230:4,20; and Isaac the Blind's phrase (Scholem, *Reʾshit ha-Qabbalah,* p. 110): *devarim ha-metaqqenim ha-meẓiʾut.*

[207] Cf. Philo, *De Opificio Mundi* § 46: "He has no need of His heavenly offspring on which He bestowed powers but not independence; for like a charioteer grasping the reins or a pilot the tiller, He guides all things in what direction He pleases as law and right demand, standing in need of no one besides: for all things are posssible to God." Azriel designates *Ḥokhmah* as *koaḥ mah she-ʾefshar li-heyot,* which is Aristotle's definition of hylic matter; see Azriel, *Perush ha-ʾAggadot,* p. 84; cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed,* 3:20; Emil Fackenheim, "The Possibility of the Universe in Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and Maimonides," *PAAJR* 16 (1946-47): 39-70; N. L. Rabinovitch, *Ha-Mussag ʾefshar be-mishnato shel ha-Rambam," Tarbiṣ* 44 (1975): 159-71; Aviezer Ravitzky, *"ʾEfsharut ha-meẓiʾut u-miqriyyutah be-hirshanut ha-Rambam be-meʾah ha-y"g," Daʿat* 2-3 (1978-79): 67-97. For other references to *sod ha-ʾefshar* in *MhZ* see 52:24; 53:9; 198:28; 209:20 (an interpretation of a passage from Gikatilla); cf. 153:11; 191:13. See also BT *Ketubbot* 111b, *Soṭah* 14a, and Gikatilla's comment in *Shaʿarei ʾOrah,* p. 166: *U-Mah she-ʾameru rz"l: Ve-Khi ʾefshar le-ʾadam le-hiddaveq ba-shekhinah? ʾEfshar ve-ʾefshar!*

[208] The JTS MS reads: *le-holid* rather than *le-horid.*

[209] *MhZ* 28:25–29:1, an elaboration on *Tanḥuma ʾ, ʾAḥarei Mot,* § 6.

[210] *Ṭiqla ʾ,* a word apparently fashioned by Moses de León; see Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* p. 314; Liebes, *"Peraqim he-Millon Sefer ha-Zohar,"* pp. 327-35; cf. Zohar 1:109b, and Shim ʾon Labi, *Ketem Paz,* ad loc. In *MhZ* 53:2-10 *Malkhut* is identified as the *ṭiqla ʾ* on which all souls revolve.

[211] *Shekhinah* is described as *deyoqna ʾ di-khelil kol deyoqnin* (Zohar 1:13a) and *dimyona ʾ di-khelil kol dimyonin (Zohar Ḥadash,* 59a *[Midrash ha-Neʿelam]);* cf. *MhZ* 152:8: *ha-temunah ha-kolelet kol ha-temunot;* see Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit,* pp. 173-4; Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 2:615.

[212] See *MhZ* 249:9-11; Zohar 3:79a; cf. BT, *Shabbat* 146a. On the relationship between the demonic and *Shekhinah* see Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 1:223-6; 285-307.

the demonic realm as *Sitra ʾAḥra*, the Other Side.[213] It is the counterpart of the Divine, the dark face of Evil, intent on overwhelming *Shekhinah.*

R. David does not employ the term *sitra ʾaḥra*.[214] His name for the demonic is *temurot,* forces that are opposite and parallel to the seven lower *sefirot.*[215] He may have learned the image from Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi.[216]

The *temurot* are produced by *Keter:*

> "The palm tree *[ha-temarah]* produces both dates *[temarim]* and thorns; whoever tries to steal the dates is tyrannized by the thorns...." (*Tanḥuma ʾ, Be-Midbar,* § 15).
>
> But the secret meaning is that the palm tree alludes to *Keter ʿElyon,* highest of the high. As the palm tree is higher than all other trees, so *Keter* is higher than all the levels *[sefirot].*
>
> "Produces both dates and thorns." Dates are the holy levels; thorns are their opposites *[ʾel temuroteihen],*[217] called thorns and thistles. [*MhZ* 63:17-25]

According to the Zohar, the forces of evil are rooted in *Gevurah,* the *sefirah* of strict judgment.[218] Isaac ben Jacob ha-Kohen, of the Gnostic school, propounded a theory of the emanation of the left side; the source of this counter-emanation was *Binah.*[219] R. David traces the *temurot* back to *Keter,* implying that the roots of evil coexist with those of emanation. In one passage he mentions "the highest *temurot,* opposite *Keter ʿElyon* " (*MhZ* 249:24-5), though elsewhere he states: "There, there is neither *temurah* nor enemy, rather the world of Compassion and the world of Tranquility" (*MhZ* 271:26-7).

The *temurot* constitute an emanation parallel and opposite to the seven lower *sefirot.*[220] R. David identifies each of them near the end of *The Book of Mirrors* (*MhZ* 248-50 [on the *tokheḥah*]; 260:8-16). Together they are called: enemies, outside forces, and *qelippot.*[221]

Though their source is the highest *sefirah,* the *temurot* are not nourished well. Only "the drippings of the channels are conducted toward the *temurot* " (*MhZ* 259:16). "They eat everything through the holes and pits" (*MhZ* 250:1). These crumbs do not satisfy them. Since *Malkhut* receives the divine flow and with it rules over the world, the *temurot* seek to overwhelm Her, snatch Her power, and establish their own dominion:

[213] It has been pointed out that the correct grammatical form is *sitra ʾaḥarina;* see Kaddari, *Mi-Yerushat Leshon Yemei ha-Beinayim,* p. 72.

[214] In his Zohar translations he renders it: *ha-ẓad ha-ʾaḥer.*

[215] In biblical and rabbinic usage *temurah* denotes the "exchange" of one sacrificial animal for another; see Lev 27:10,33; *Mishnah, Temurah* 1:1. *Sefer Yeẓirah* 4:1 describes the letters *b, g, d, k, p, r, t* as *sheva ʿkefulot...she-hen temurot.* On *temurah* as letter permutation see *Mekhilta ʾ di-Sheloshim u-Shenayim Middot,* § 29: *temurat ha-ʾotiyyot; Sefer Yeẓirah* 2:2: *hemiran;* cf. Saul Lieberman, *Yevanit ve-Yavnut be-ʾEreẓ Yisraʾel,* p. 203; Scholem, *Major Trends,* p. 100. *Midrash Temurah,* redacted near the end of the twelfth century, declares (*Battei Midrashot,* ed. Solomon A. Wertheimer, 2:189): *Kol davar ve-davar yesh lo shuttaf ve-yesh lo temurah, ve-lulei zeh lo ʾ hayah zeh.* Isaac the Blind states: *Ha-Temurah holekhet mi-sibbah le-sibbah* (*Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah,* p. 8). A punitive element appears in Azriel's writings; see *Madda ʿei ha-Yahadut* 2 (1927): 235: *Ve-Kheivan she-ḥata ʾ...ve-niddon be-khol darekhei ha-temurot....* (This passage is missing in R. David's quotation of the text: *MhZ* 123.) Cf. *Sha ʿar ha-Kavvanah* (ed. Scholem, *MGWJ* 78 [1934]: 512): *U-Min ha-noṭim mi-darko ha-ʾor she-huʾ mit ʿallem u-mithapekh mi-davar li-temurah be-tokheḥot musar u-ve-yosher.* See also *Madda ʿei ha-Yahadut,* 2:233-7; *MhZ* 122:11-2; 123:3; BT, *Nedarim* 20b; Zohar 1:155a.

[216] See his *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah,* pp. 96-8; Scholem, *"Peraqim,"* p. 300.

[217] The Escorial MS often reads *ʾel* rather than *ʾellu;* cf. *MhZ* 39:19; 73:5; 90:32; 99:26; and the apparatus.

[218] Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 1:295-8; cf. *Bahir,* § 162 (Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir,* § 109); idem, *Ursprung,* pp. 130-3; Idel, *"Ha-Maḥshavah ha-raʿah shel ha-ʾel," Tarbiẓ* 49 (1980): 356-64.

[219] See the text published by Scholem and his analysis in *Madda ʿei ha-Yahadut* 2 (1927): 182-5; 193-7; 244-64; cf. idem, *Kabbalah,* pp. 122-4; *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit,* pp. 55-6. Isaac's student, Moses of Burgos, demotes the source of evil to *Gevurah;* the Zohar follows this view. R. David often speaks of *Binah* as the source of judgment (e.g., *MhZ* 69:31; 186:22; 206:26), but the *temurot* have a higher source.

[220] No *temurot* are specified or named for *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah;* cf. Joseph ben Shalom, *Commentary on Sefer Yeẓirah,* p. 99.

[221] *MhZ* 84:8; 86:13,16; 189:15; 246:27; 272:11. On the origin of the term *qelippot* see Altmann, *Studies,* pp. 172-9.

> The *temurah* of *Malkhut...* is called the mystery of the serpent who rides on those asses that stand beneath him. He is forever pursuing *Malkhut beit David* to destroy Her and establish his own *malkhut.* [*MhZ* 19:27-9]

Malkhut is protected by *Keter* and *Tifʾeret;*[222] so there is usually no danger. At times, though, She is left unguarded and becomes vulnerable to the outside forces. Such a state is brought about by the perpetration of sin in the human realm, the consequent arousal of the demonic (see Zohar 3:79a), and the abandonment of *Malkhut* by *Tifʾeret.* The stage is set for the attack of the *temurot.* R. David reads this cosmic drama into and out of the passage in Deuteronomy concerning a wife suspected of infidelity:

> "He gives her a bad name *[shem ra ʿ]* " (Deut 22:14).
>
> This means, as if it were possible, that He *[Tifʾeret]* gives Her *[Malkhut]* a bad name *[shem ra ʿ].* Do not read [the words as] *shem ra ʿ,* but rather: *sam ra ʿ,* the deadly poison of the *temurot* injected into Her through the walls. A man does not leave his house until people slander his wife; yet his leaving brought upon Her *shem/sam ra ʿ.* Understand all this! [*MhZ* 242:4-7]

Tifʾeret leaves because, due to human sin and the arousal of evil, *Malkhut* has already been tainted. *Tifʾeret* cannot dwell in an impure place. In removing himself, however, He leaves the door open to the *temurot;* they defile the denfenseless Queen.

In another passage R. David describes a raid on the riches of emanation: "The outside forces snatch and grab the flow on the paths [of the *sefirot*] before it reaches the treasure house *[Malkhut]* " (*MhZ* 249:15-6).

Normally, the *temurot* are not in control of *Malkhut* or Her treasures. On the contrary, they are instruments used by Her to punish wicked souls:

> Those souls who have been created in this world and have caused themselves to be expelled to the world of *temurot* are immediately cut off and expelled by the expelling power from one quality to the next until *Malkhut.* From there he is drawn outside until he is punished.[223]

Malkhut banishes the soul to the *temurot;* the realm of evil is accorded its proper place in the divine plan. Elsewhere, though, as we have seen, the demonic threatens to take over and rule the world. R. David apparently wrestled with two different conceptions: (1) that God created both good and evil (see Isa 45:7) and uses them as instruments of reward and punishment; (2) the gnostic view that good and evil are two opposing principles battling for control of the cosmos.[224] In one scenario *Malkhut* plays the role of judge, dispensing reward and punishment; in the other She is the kingdom for which the forces of good and evil contend.

3.9. The Shemiṭṭot

The doctrine of the *shemiṭṭot* concerns cosmic cycles of time. It was based on astrological ideas mediated to the kabbalists through the writings of Abraham bar Ḥiyya.[225] The foreign ideas were assimilated by the kabbalists to certain aggadic statements, in particular the dictum of Rav Qatina: "For six thousand years the world exists; for one thousand it lies destroyed" (BT, *Sanhedrin* 97a).

[222] See *MhZ* 40:2; 77:17; 241:26.

[223] *MhZ* 204:1-3. The passage is connected to a line from the *Tanḥuma ʾ*. Cf. Azriel's statement, above, n. 215. R. David may be referring to reincarnation, which in the early history of Kabbalah was seen as a punishment rather than a cosmic principle; see the end of the passage: 204:6-7; cf. 67:25-6; 105:2; 221:21-3; 248:25-8; Moses de León, *Shushan ʿEdut,* ed. Scholem, p. 349; see, however, Scholem's n. 157.

[224] See Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion,* pp. 206-37. The Zohar also presents these two opposing schemes; see Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 1:285-95.

[225] In his *Megillat ha-Megalleh* he speaks of "philosophers" who believed in a series of cyclical creations; see Scholem, *Kabbalah,* p. 120. On the doctrine see ibid., pp. 120-2; idem, *Ha-Qabbalah shel Sefer ha-Temunah ve-shel ʾAvraham ʾAbul ʿafiyah,* pp. 1-84; *Ursprung,* pp. 407-19.

The kabbalistic theory was articulated in an anonymous fourteenth-century work entitled *Sefer ha-Temunah.* [226] In accord with kabbalistic teaching, the first three *sefirot* are said to be hidden. *Binah* gives birth to the seven lower *sefirot,* each of which rules over one cosmic cycle of six thousand years. In the seventh millennium there is a *shemiṭṭah,* a term borrowed from Deut 15. During this period the sefirotic powers cease to function and the world returns to the womb of *Binah.* The entire seven-thousand-year cycle, not just the last millennium, is called one *shemiṭṭah.* The cycles follow one another until, at the end of seven *shemiṭṭot,* there is a *yovel.* This is the basic unit of history: the fifty-thousand-year jubilee.

Since each *sefirah* rules over one *shemiṭṭah,* the cosmic cycles reflect different qualities. According to *Sefer ha-Temunah,* we are now in the *shemiṭṭah* dominated by *Gevurah;* that is why the world appears as it does. In the previous *shemiṭṭah,* ruled by *Ḥesed,* a golden age pervaded the universe. Furthermore, each *shemiṭṭah* receives and conveys a revelation of Torah befitting its nature; the exact combination of the letters of the Torah differs in each cycle. In the previous *shemiṭṭah,* corresponding to *Ḥesed,* the Torah was read very differently: it did not contain prohibitions, which are the result of the mediation of *Gevurah.* This aspect of the theory relativizes the Torah.[227] Four hundred years later the disciples of Shabbetai Ẓevi realized the antinomian implications of these teachings.. Perhaps because of such implications the theory was not accepted by many kabbalists. The Zohar ignores it; Moses de León criticizes it; Joseph ibn Ẓayyaḥ, Cordovero, and Luria reject it as mistaken or unnecessary.[228]

R. David accepts it wholeheartedly, referring to the *shemiṭṭot* more than a dozen times in the extant *Book of Mirrors.* It should be noted, though, that he does not allude to those aspects of the doctrine that speak of the Torah and its manifold readings. The longest passage on the *shemiṭṭot* appears at the beginning of *Parashat Behar,* which in the Torah opens with a discussion of the seven (not seven-thousand) -year cycle:

> You must realize that the secret of the *shemiṭṭah* is a wondrous and hidden matter. I have made you aware of several of its aspects in various places; now I come to remind you and benefit you concerning the secret of the holy *shemiṭṭah.*
>
> The secret of the *shemiṭṭah* is: "A generation goes and a generation comes, and the earth lasts forever" (Qoh 1:4). This means: a *shemiṭṭah* goes and a *shemiṭṭah* comes, while the earth, namely, the world on high called "earth's expanse" (Job 38:18) *[Binah]* ...[lasts forever].
>
> As each *shemiṭṭah* leaves, the next one comes, for each *sefirah* rules over one *shemiṭṭah.* Like the *sefirah,* so the *shemiṭṭah.* If the *sefirah* [leans] toward Judgment, the *shemiṭṭah* is Judgment; if the *sefirah* is Compassion, the *shemiṭṭah* is Compassion; if it is Justice, so is its *shemiṭṭah.* The true *kabbalah* that we have received, one from the mouth of another, back to Moses our Rabbi (peace unto him) is that the last *shemiṭṭah* was of *Ḥesed,* while the *shemiṭṭah* we are now in belongs to *Gevurah.* That is why so many harsh decrees, severe judgments, persecutions (due to our many sins), and the harshness of exile have been aroused during this *shemiṭṭah.* Indeed, this harsh exile is an indication of *Gevurah,* who is now ruling.
>
> When six thousand years pass, which is [the cycle of] the world, twilight will immediately set in. The righteous will sit with their crowns on their heads, basking in the splendor of *Shekhinah;* they will adorn themselves to enter the Great Sabbath, Mother of the Children *[Binah].* When the Sabbath begins, all the worlds, levels, and chariots will be drawn up to *Binah,* as it is written: "For dust you are, and to dust you shall return" (Gen 3:19).[229]

According to the doctrine expounded in *Sefer ha-Temunah,* at the end of each *shemiṭṭah* the world returns to *Binah* and is destroyed. The *sefirot* remain in their positions; only at the *yovel* are they recalled by the Divine Mother.[230] R. David teaches that after each *shemiṭṭah* the *sefirot* are absorbed into *Binah:*

[226] Moshe Idel has proven this dating; see his forthcoming study in *Alei Sefer.*

[227] See Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism,* pp. 77-86.

[228] See Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal,* p. 94; Scholem, *Kabbalah,* p. 122.

[229] *MhZ* 102:9-27. This passage appears in Abraham Adrutiel's *ʾAvnei Zikkaron;* see above, § 2.9.

[230] Scholem, *Kabbalah,* p. 120.

> When the time arrives for the *shemiṭṭah* to begin, at twilight, all these rivers [the lower *sefirot*] return to the ancient stream *[Binah],* the stream that flows out of the depth of Thought *[Keter],* as it is written: "For dust you are, and to dust you shall return," for the quality of *Binah* is called Dust.[231]

At the *yovel* the culmination of the entire cycle is marked by the return of all being to *Keter:*

> *Keter* is called *Bela ʿ* (Gen 46:21) because He absorbs and swallows *[bole ʿa]* all the levels and everything that exists in the year of the *shemiṭṭah* that is the great jubilee, as it is written: "For dust you are, and to dust you shall return," for *Keter ʿElyon* is also called Dust.[232]

In BT, *Sanhedrin* 97a two opinions are offered on the destruction of the world: R. Qatina said, "For six thousand years the world exists; for one thousand it lies destroyed...." Abbaye said, "For two thousand it lies destroyed." R. David resolves the conflict by explaining that the thousand-year interval pertains to the *shemiṭṭot,* while the two thousand years applies to the *yovel.* This accords with the calculations.[233]

In the *yovel* each human soul returns to its upper root:

> "It shall be a jubilee for you: each of you shall return to his holding; each of you shall return to his family" (Lev 25:10).
>
> "His family," indeed! For everyone will return to his family on high, to the place from which he was hewn[234] and emanated. The secret is: "The spirit will return to God who gave it" (Qoh 12:7).
>
> You already know that all creatures are prefigured above in the exact form that they will occupy in this world,[235] whether it be the face of a human, a lion, an eagle, or an ox. Each one, as he is below, so he is above. Thus each soul has a source from which she is hewn from the place on high. When the fiftieth year arrives, namely, the *yovel,* all souls ascend to see God's face; all of them return to their holding and their family, indeed, to the place from which they were emanated and hewn, as it is written: "In this year of *yovel* each of you shall return to his holding" (Lev 25:13). Understand this well! [*MhZ* 107:20-9]

3.10. Sod ha-Malbush

The author of the Zohar develops the image of the *ḥaluqa ʾ,* a garment woven for a righteous human being out of the good deeds he has performed.[236] This *ḥaluqa ʾ,* or *malbush,* is kept in store for him; when he dies, he is arrayed in the garment and enters paradise. R. David displays the *malbush* near the beginning of the extant *Book of Mirrors.* The context is the death of Aaron's two sons, referred to in the opening verses of *Parashat ʾAḥarei Mot.* R. David elaborates on a line from the *Tanḥuma ʾ* that offers an explanation of their death: Aaron's sons were killed "because they entered without [their priestly] garments...."

[231] *MhZ* 104:20-3; cf. 104:30; 200:4.

[232] *MhZ* 224:10-2; cf. 113:21. On 106:13 R. David adopts the more standard view; cf. Gottlieb, *R. Baḥya,* pp. 333-7; Altmann, *Kiryat Sefer* 40 (1965): 268-9; Idel, *Alei Sefer* 6-7 (1979): 79.

[233] *MhZ* 106:13. The years from 48,000 to 49,000 constitute the destruction period of the seventh *shemiṭṭah;* another thousand years must be reckoned for the *yovel,* bringing the total to fifty thousand.

[234] On this image see Zohar 1:113a, 126b; *Zohar Ḥadash* 10b (all from *Midrash ha-Neʿelam*); Werblowsky, "Philo and the Zohar," *JJS* 10 (1959): 39.

[235] See Zohar 2:161b; Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit,* pp. 173-4.

[236] Zohar 1:66a; 210a; 224a; cf. Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal,* p. 56; *MhZ* 241:23-5. Scholem traced the origins of the theme in *"Levush ha-neshamot ve-ḥaluqa ʾ de-rabbanan," Tarbiẓ* 24 (1955): 290-306. Moses de León's source was Nissim of Kairouan's *Ḥibbur Yafeh min ha-Yeshuʿah.* David Baneth identified an Islamic tradition that may represent the indirect source of R. Nissim's tale; see his *"Ḥaluqa ʾ de-rabbanan, Hibbur Yafeh min ha-Yeshuʿah, u-masoret ʾislamit," Tarbiẓ* 25 (1956): 331-6. Scholem (*op. cit.,* p. 305) cited older parallels in Persian eschatology and also in Mahayana Buddhism, where it is said that upon reaching nirvana, Buddha "has, as it were, a special body created from his good deeds."

But the secret meaning is that Aaron's two sons were not yet fully clothed with the clothes on high.[237] For every *ẓaddiq* has a certain garment that he will wear when he is released to his eternal home. He will find that garment arrayed for him and will dress himself in it properly. If, however, his deeds have not been perfected and he is not worthy of that garment, he will not find it arrayed for him.

That garment is woven from *miẓvot,* acts of *ẓedaqah,* and good deeds, as it is written: "He donned *ẓedaqah* like a coat of mail" (Isa 59:17). This garment is prepared only for one who is complete below and has fulfilled the image of the chain[238] in this world by engendering new life with a partner. He is then complete both above and below, and that garment is prepared for him. If, however, he has not been perfected below and is not married and is blemished for not having engendered new life, this garment, as if it were possible, is not prepared for him; it is stripped off of him from above.

So it was with Aaron's two sons, who "entered without garments," namely, the garments on high, for they were not married and had not engendered new life; so they were stripped of those garments. They had not yet made themselves like their Creator;[239] yet they entered to perform the divine service. Therefore they were punished from above, as it is written: "Fire came forth from before *YHVH* and consumed them" (Lev 10:2). This means the fire on high, *Malkhut,* who is called Fire, as it is written: "For *YHVH* your God is a consuming fire" (Deut 4:24). [*MhZ* 27:30–28:12]

[237] Cf. Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal,* p. 56: *ʿAdayin loʾ nishlam ḥaluqo shel peloni.*

[238] *Ve-Qiyyem demut ha-shalshelet.* The phrase appears in Joseph of Hamadan's contemporary work, *Sefer Taʿamei ha-Miẓvot,* p. 439: *ve-yaʿaseh vanim vi-yqayyem demut ha-shalshelet;* cf. p. 294: *U-ke-she-ʾAdam meqayyem ha-miẓvot noten qiyyum la-shalshelet ha-qedoshah ve-ha-ṭehorah;* cf. pp. 152, 293; Moses de León, *Shushan ʿEdut,* p. 354: *ve-ʾeino mishtaddel le-qayyem ha-peri;* see Altmann, *Kiryat Sefer* 40 (1965): 274; Scholem, *Einige kabbalistische Handschriften im Britischen Museum,* p. 17. The *shalshelet* is the chain of *sefirot;* Joseph spells this out in *Sefer Tashaq,* ed. Jeremy Zwelling (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1975), p. 52: *ʿeser sefirot she-huʾ shalshelet ha-qodesh;* cf. pp. 62, 72, 80: *shalshelet ha-qedoshah ve-ha-ṭehorah.* The author mentions (p. 62) that this designation is a kabbalistic tradition. For other references to the *sefirot* as a chain see *MhZ* 174:4-5 (from Abulafia's *Shaʿar ha-Razim*); 197:1; Moses de León, *Sefer ha-Mishqal,* pp. 102, 115; cf. *Shushan ʿEdut,* p. 354; Zohar 2:136b; Meir ibn Sahula, *Beʾur le-Ferush ha-Ramban,* p. 4c; Arthur Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being,* pp. 67-98; On *demut* cf. BT, *Yevamot* 63b: *Kol mi she-ʾein ʿoseq bi-feriyyah u-reviyyah...ke-ʾillu memaʿeṭ ha-demut.* Cf. Zohar 1:13a; 3:217a; Ezra of Gerona, *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (Altona, 1764), p. 14a: *she-loʾ le-hakhrit u-le-maʿeṭ demuto min ha-temunah ha-kolelet kol ha-temunot* (see above, n. 211); Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Torah min ha-Shamayim ba-ʾAspaqlareyah shel ha-Dorot,* 1:220-3.

[239] R. David employs this phrase elsewhere: *MhZ* 56:12; 237:4; 241:19. Here the point is that a human being must imitate the divine union of *Tifʾeret* and *Malkhut.* Conversely, one who is not married is "half a body"; see *MhZ* 57:25-6; Zohar 3:7b,57b (referring to Aaron's two sons), 296a (*ʾIdraʾ Zuṭa*).

Concluding Remarks

A third of the extant *Book of Mirrors* consists of selections from the works of thirteenth-century kabbalists: Ezra and Azriel of Gerona, Todros Abulafia, Joseph Gikatilla, and Moses de León. Their writings were R. David's curriculum. His *Book of Mirrors* appears in the form of a commentary on the Torah, but it is also a workbook of Kabbalah. David copies, translates, edits, and then adds: "You must realize...."

The components of *The Book of Mirrors* help us to reconstruct R. David's kabbalistic education. Gikatilla's *Shaʿarei ʾOrah* guided him through the symbology of the *sefirot,* facilitating his understanding of the Zohar, as it has for many kabbalists since. R. David demonstrates his reliance on Gikatilla's primer by copying repeatedly from it in the last portion of *The Book of Mirrors,* as the Zohar translations wane.[240] The translations themselves reflect a student wrestling with the cryptic vocabulary and syntax of the Zohar's Aramaic. R. David makes mistakes, deletes difficult words, and dismantles narrative frameworks; yet he produces a fairly accurate Hebrew version of selected Zohar passages, one which was consulted and esteemed by later kabbalists.[241]

R. David had been a translator of Zohar from early on in his career. In *The Book of Mirrors* he emerges from the maze with his own pseudonym, eager to transmit. When R. Ḥiyya delivers his first piece of kabbalistic commentary after a dozen pages of Zohar translation, R. Shim ʾon, the Holy Light of the Zohar, responds with words of praise (see above, § 2.8.); David has been initiated into the art of mystical exegesis.

R. David's theosophical system derives mainly from the Zohar and Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi. He was attracted to a number of theories that were ignored or criticized by others, e.g., the *Shemiṭṭot* and the *Ẓaḥẓaḥot.* He emphasizes the dynamic nature of the *sefirot* by espousing a direct relationship between *Keter* and *Malkhut* as well as an independent dimension of *Malkhut:* the Secret of the Possible. David was less innovator than expounder of Kabbalah. A number of Jewish mystics were convinced that his zoharic imitations were part of *Midrash ha-Neʿelam.* This confusion, engineered by the author, reveals the significance of *The Book of Mirrors* as a record of the impact of the Zohar on a Spanish kabbalist of the next generation.

[240] Cf. the beginning of the table in § 2.6. with the end of the table in § 2.7.

[241] See above, §§ 2.7., 2.9; cf. Idel, *"Targumo shel R. David,"* p. 98. In *Kerem Ḥemed* 7 (1843): 79, Samuel David Luzzatto describes the *The Book of Mirrors* as *Sefer ha-Zohar meturgam bi-leshon ha-qodesh* and notes: *Yesh bo pitron ve-ḥesron mi-Sefer ha-Zohar ha-ʾarami ha-nidpas.*

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Joseph Gikatilla

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EXPLANATION OF THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

The apparatus contains variant readings, source notes, and supplementary notes.

1. *Variant readings.* The Escorial MS was selected as the basis for this critical edition (see above, Introduction, § 2.1.). Variant readings from the four other MSS are noted here; differences in plene or defective spelling, masculine or feminine gender, abbreviation, and word order have been included only when they might affect the meaning. In clear cases of scribal error within the Escorial MS, the correct reading from one of the other MSS has been inserted in the text and the error recorded in the apparatus. Emendations not based on variant readings have been relegated to the supplementary notes. Tables of sigla for the MSS and signs used in listing the variant readings appear below, at the beginning of the apparatus, pp. 285-6 (Hebrew pagination).

2. *Source notes,* containing references to biblical, rabbinic, and kabbalistic sources quoted or referred to by R. David.

3. *Supplementary notes,* designated by a *. These handle comparisons with the Aramaic text of the Zohar, emendations, and textual data.

ספר מראות הצבאות

לר' דוד בן יהודה החסיד

פרשת אחרי מות מן מראות הצובאות

וידבר יי אל משה אחרי מות שני בני אהרן גו' ר' יהודה אמ' כיון שכתו'
וידבר יי אל משה אחרי מות למה אמ' פעם אחר ויאמר יי אל משה דבר
אל אהרן אחיך שהרי בדבור הראשון די ומספיק. אלא כך שנינו כתי'
וידבר יי אל משה*. וידבר יי אליו. וכתי' ואל משה אמ' עלה אל יי.
והעמידו חבריא הדבר שבכאן הוא מדרגה אחת ואחר כך מדרגה אחרת.
גם בכאן וידבר יי אל משה מדרגה אחת ולבסוף ויאמר יי אל משה דבר
אל אהרן אחיך מדרגה אחרת. והכל לדבר אחד עולה* ומשרש אחד הכל
מחחבר. תאנא אמר ר' יוסי ביום הכפורים ניתקן זה הפרשה כדי לכפר
על ישראל בגלות בשביל שסדר בכאן נסדר ובשביל שמיתתם של בני אהרן מכפר
על ישראל. מכאן למדנו כל אדם שיסורין של אדונו באין עליו הם כפרה על
עונותיו וכל מי שמצטער על יסורין של הצדיקים מעבירין עונותיו מן
העולם. ועל זה בזה היום קורין אחרי מות שני בני אהרן גו' כדי שישמעו העם
ויצטערו על אבודם של הצדיקים ויתכפר להם עונותם. וכל מי שמצטער על
אבודם של הצדיקים או מוריד דמעות עליהם הב"ה מכריז עליו ואמ' וסר עונך
וחטאחך תכפר. ולא עוד אלא שלא ימותו בניו בחייו ועליו כתי' יראה זרע
יאריך ימים וחפץ יי בידו יצלח. אמרה כנסת ישראל לפני הב"ה אני בקטרת
ואתה בשמן. פתח ואמ' שיר המעלות הנה מה טוב ומה נעים שבת אחים גם
יחד. מהו שבת אחים גם יחד כד"א ופניהם איש אל אחיו. בשעה שהיה אחד
באחד אזי היו משגיחן פנים אל פנים כתי' הנה מה טוב ומה נעים שבת אחים
גם יחד. כשהיה הזכר מחזיר פניו מן הנקבה ויי לעולם באותה שעה כתי'
ויש נספה בלא משפט ודאי. הנה מטתו שלשלמה. מהו מטתו של שלמה זהו
כסא הכבוד של המלך יי צבאות דכתי' בטח בה לב בעלה. שלשלמה למלך
שהשלום שלו . ששים גבורים סביב לה שהם מתאחדים ומתאחזים בצדה מצד
הדין הקשה ונקראים שדין לפידי אש* שאותו נער מחלבש בהם מימינו חרב
שנון חזק ויש בו חקוקים שבעים אלף להטי אש אכלה ואותן ששים גבורים מזויינין
בזיוני קשים של כלי מלחמה של אותן גבורות של צד הגבורה עליונה ההי"ד
מגבורי ישראל. פתח ר' שמעון ואמ' מים קרים על נפש עיפה ושמועה
טובה מארץ מרחק. בכאן יש להסתכל בדברי שלמה המלך והכל בחכמה אמרן.
בא וראה שלשה ספרים הוציא שלמה לעולם כלם הם נאמרים בסודות
החכמה עליונה ואלו הן שיר השירים הוא חכמה קהלת היא תבונה משלי הוא
דעת לנגד שלש אלו עשה שלשה ספרים שיד השירים כנגד חכמה כך הוא קהלת

כנגד תבונה כך הוא משלי כפגד הדעת אלא כל אותן הפסוקים בשתי גוונים
הם ראש וסוף ובשתי גוונים נראים וכשאנו | מסתכלים בפסוקים א ע"ב
אלו זה כולל בזה וזה כולל בזה ובשביל זה שקלן כנגד הדעת. אמ"ר
שמעון הא ודאי נתקיים זה הפסוק ושמועה טובה מארץ מרחק כך הוא
ניחות הרוח כמו מים קרים על נפש עיפה. בא וראה כל הנטיעות וכל
אותן דינין* שמתלהטים כלם הם מאירין ומתלהטין והם מקבלים משקה
ומתברכים מאותו נהר שנמשך ויוצא שהכל כלול בו וכלל של כל בו וזה
הנהר נקרא אם* לגן עדן העליון בשביל שעדן משתתף בזה הנהר ולא
יתפרש ממנה ובשביל כך כל המבועות נמשכין ויוצאין משם ונותנין משקה
לכל צד ופותחין בה פתחים ועל זה רחמים ממנה נמצאים ורחמים פתוחים
בה ובשביל שאנו קורין לה אם והיא נקבה והגבורה ממנה נמצאת והדין
ממנה יוצא ונקראת רחמים לבדה. והרי מצדה דינין מתעוררין ובשביל
כך כתי' רחמים ונקוד בדין אותיות רחמים ונשמך מצדה דין כנון יְהוָה
והוא כתו' יהוה והוא רחמים בכתיבתו ובניקודו הוא דין גמור* שהרי
מצד זה יוצא ומתעורר מדרגה אחר ונקרא גבורה והא נקרא אלהים באלו
אותיות והתחלתו הוא מ"א ובו הוא נאחז ובשביל שנאחז זה בזה ובשביל
כך כתי' יי הוא האלהים כי יי הוא האלהים באלו אותיות והוא אחד וזהו
מדרגה שניה. אבל מדרגה שלישית היא צדק והיא כתר האחרון והיא
ביה דין של המלך. ותאנא אדני כך כתי' וכך נקרא וכנסת ישראל בזה
השם נקראת וזה השם במקום זה נשלם ואלו הן שלש מדרגות שנקראים
בשם דין וכלם הם מתקשרים אחד באחד בלא פירוד כלל. א"ל אי ניחא
לפני אבא שאום' לפניו דבר ששמעתי בזה דכתי' אהיה אשר אהיה אבל
לא קיימתי זה הדבר. א"ל אלעזר בני והא אמרו חבריא שבדבר אחד
נקשר עכשו הכל וסוד הדבר כך הוא אהיה זהו כלל של כל כשאותן
השבילים הסתומים נכללים כלם במקום אחד מיד נקרא אהיה והוא כלל
של כל וסתום שלא נתגלה ואחר שיוצא ממנו התחלה ואותו נהר מתעבר
להתמשך הכל מיד נקרא אשר אהיה כלו' עד כאן אהיה אהיה עתיד למשוך
ולהוריד* הכל אהיה כלו' עכשו אני הוא כלל הכל וכלל של כל פרט.
אשר אהיה שמתעברת האם ומזדמנת להוציא פרטים של כל ולגלות שם
העליון ואחר כך בקש משה לידע פרט הדבר מי הוא עד שפירש ואמ'
יהוה זהו פרט ובכאן לא כתי' אשר אהיה. ומצאתי בספר של שלמה המלך
אשר הוא בקשר העדן העליון נמצא והסוד בזה באשריכי אשרוני בנות.

אהיה הוא מזומן להוליד. בא וראה איך הוא יורד ממדרגה למדרגה להראות
הב"ה למשה קשר האמונה*. מתחלה אהיה שהוא כלל של כל וסתום שלא
נתגלה כמו שאמרנו וסימניך ואהיה אצלו אמון. וכתי' לא ידע אנוש ערכה
גו' ואחר כך הוציא אותו נהר שהוא אם העליון ומתעברת שעתידה להוליד
ואמר אשר אהיה שהיא עתידה להוליד ולתקן הכל וא"כ מתחיל להוליד
ולא כתי' אשר אלא אהיה כלו' עכשו יצא ויתקן הכל ואחר שיוצא הכל
ונתקן כל אחד ואחד במקומו הניח הכל ואמ' יהוה זהו פרט וזהו הקיום.
באותה שעה ידע משה סוד של שם הקדוש סתום ונלוי והשיג מה שלא
יכולים להשיג* שאר בני אדם אשרי חלקו של משה. בא ר' אלעזר ונשק
ידיו של ר' שמעון אביו א"ל אלעזר מכאן והלאה תזהר שלא לכתוב שם
הקדוש אלא כראוי שכל מי | שאינו יודע לכתוב שם הקדוש ב ע"א
כראוי ולקשור קשר האמונה אחד באחד בשביל ליחד שם הקדוש עליו
כתי' כי דבר יי בזה ואת מצותו הפר הכרת תכרת וגו'. אפי' שחסר אלא*
מדרגה אחת או קשר אחד ממקום אחד מהם אין לו חלק באלהיישראל ונכרת
מאותו אור העליון לכן כתי' הכרת תכרת וגו'*. בא וראה בראשונה הי'
כולל של כל. סתום מכל צדדיו ושבילים שאינם פתוחים והוא כלל זכר
ונקבה. וקושו של הי' למעלה רומז לאין ואחר כך י' הוציא אותו נהר
שנמשך ויוצא ממנו להתעבר ממנו בה"א בו כתי' ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות
את הגן יוצא כתי' ולא יצא בשביל זה לא צריך להתפרש ממנו ובשביל
כך כתי' רעיתי ואם תאמ' ונהר כתי' משמע אחד ובכאן הם ג' כך הוא
ודאי י' הוציא ג' ובשלשה נכלל הכל. י' הוציא לפניו אותו נהר ושנים
בשביל* שיונקים לאותו נהר ומתעברת מהם ותוציא אותן אחר ה"א כדוגמא
זה ה"א והם בנים תחת אב ואם ואחר שהולידה והוציאה בן זכר והניחתו
לפניו ולכן צריך לכתו' וא"ו והוא יורש ירשת אב ואם ויורש שני חלקים
וממנו נזון הבת ועל כן צריך לכתו' אחר כן ו"ה כאחד בראשונה י"ה
כאחד בלא פירוד ולא רשאי להפריש ביניהם אף בכאן ו"ה כאחד ולא
רשאי להפריש אותם ובזה נתקיים הדבר בלבי כך הוא ודאי למקום אחר
מעלין דברי אלו ומכניסין אותן לפני לפנים. אשרי חלקם של הצדיקים
שיודעים סודות עליונים של המלך הקדוש והם ראוים להודות לו ההי"ד
אך צדיקים יודו לשמך ישבו ישרים את פניך. תאנא אמ"ר יוסי* אל
אלהים יי דבר ויקרא ארץ הוא שלמות של כל ושלמות האבות הקדושים.
דבר ויקרא ארץ להמצא בכנסת ישראל בשלמות ובשמחה ובחדוה ומאי

זה מקום הוא נמצא עמה חזר ואמר מציון מכלל יופי אלהים הופיע. וכן תאנא כשרצה הב"ה לבראת העולם של מטה עשה אותו הכל כדוגמא של מעלה ועשה ירושלם באמצעית העולם ומקום אחד נקרא ציון הוא עומד עליה ומזה המקום היא מתברכת וממקום ציון התחיל לבנות העולם ההי"ד אל אלהים יי דבר ויקרא ארץ ממזרח שמש עד מבואו. מאי זה מקום מציון מכלל יופי אלהים הופיע כלו' מציון נשלם העולם שיופי העולם* אלהים הופיע. בא וראה ירושלם לא יתברך אלא מציון וציון יתברך מלמעלה וכל אחד באחד נקשר. א"ר יהודה ויצא אל המזבח אשר לפני יי וכפר עליו. המזבח סתם כביכול כמו שנעשה למטה כך הוא נעשה למעלה והכל נקשר אחד באחד. ותאנא כמו שבזה היום מכפר הכהן למטה כך כהן העליון מכפר למעלה וכשכהן של מטה מסדר עבודה גם כן הכהן למעלה מסדר עבודתו לא נמצא למעלה עד שנמצא למטה ומלמטה מתחיל לעלות הקדושה של המלך העליון ונמצאים כל העולמות בשמחה* לפני הב"ה. אמ"ר יהודה אלמלא היו יודעים ישראל למה הב"ה פוקד עליהם ולהוכיח להם יותר מכל האומות אז ידעו בודאי שהב"ה הניח משלו ולא גבה מהם אחד ממאה. תאנא כמה מרכבות וכמה מחנות יש לו להב"ה וכמה שולטני' ממונים נמצאים בעבודתו וכשזימן וברא ישראל בזה העולם הכתיר אותם בשתי כתרים כדוגמא עליונה אשר הם* | בארץ הקדושה שימצאו בעבודתו קושר ב ע"ב לכל העליונים כלם בשביל ישראל ודוחה אותן* ולא נכנסין לפניו והעבודה לא נעשית לפניו למעלה עד שישראל עושין למטה עבודתם כל זמן שישראל הם נמצאים בעבודת אדוניהם גם כן לעילא כביכול. בזמן שישראל למטה מבטלים עבודתם גם כן למעלה והעבודה לא נמצא לא למעלה ולא למטה בשביל* שישראל בטלו עבודתם אבל כשהם מתחילין* בארץ למטה גם כן למעלה מתחילין. ואחר כך אומר הב"ה לישראל אם הייתם יודעים כמה אוכלוסין וכמה חיילות מתעכבים בשבילכם אז תדעו שאין אתם כדאי להתקיים בעולם אפי' שעה אחת. ועם כל זה מה כתי' ואף גם זאת בהיותם בארץ אויביהם לא מאסתים גו' בשביל כך כתי' ויצא אל המזבח אל המזבח סתם. אשר לפני יי סתם וכפר עליו ואחר כך ויצא ועשה את עולתו ואת עולת העם גו' וכפר מה רוצה לומ' כדי לעורר חסר העליון* בראשונה. תאנא כתי' וכפר על הקדש אלא* אמ' ר' אלעזר הא שנינו שהרשעים עושין פגימות למעלה ומעוררין דינין וגורמין לטמא המקדש ונחש החזק מתחיל להתגלות ומיד הדינין מתעוררין בעולם ובזה היום מבקש* הכהן

לטהר הכל ולעורר כתר הקדוש שלו שהוא ראש של המלך בשביל שיבא המלך לשכון עם המטרוניתא וכשראש של המלך נוטל כלם הם נוטלים והוא יבא להזדווג עם המטרוניתא ולהתעורר שמחות וברכות בכל העולמות נמצאים שכל שלמות עליון והתחתון בכהן הוא תלוי שאם יתעורר כתר שלו הכל יתעורר והכל בשלמות נמצא ועל זה כתי' וכפר על הקדש בראשונה וכפר על הקדש כדי להרבות שלום בעולם ולהרבות השמחות והברכות למעלה ולמטה וכשהשמחה והזווג של המלך הקדוש והמטרוניתא נמצא אזי כל השמשין וכל בני ההיכל כלם הם נמצאים בשמחה ויש חירות לעולם מכל עונותיהם שחטאו לפני המלך הכל יתכפר להם הה"ד מכל חטאתיכם לפני יי תטהרו. ובשביל כך כתי' וכל אדם לא יהיה באהל מועד בבאו לכפר בקדש עד צאתו. בשעה שנכנם לזוג אותם בשעה שמזדווגין המלך והמטרוניתא באותה שעה וכפר בעדו ובעד ביתו. תאנא וכל אדם לא יהיה באהל מועד ר' יצחק פתח וזכרתי את בריתי יעקב גו' זה הפסוק אמרוהו חבריא בשעה שישראל הם בגלות כביכול הב"ה עמהם שהרי השכינה לא תסור מהם לעולם. בא וראה בזמן שישראל היו נמצאים בגלות בבל השכינה שרתה עמהם ושבה עמהם מן הגלות ובזכות אוחן צדיקים ששכנו בארץ שרתה בארץ ולא תסור מהם. אמ"ר יהודה כשחזרה המטרוניתא למלך וחזר הכל בהילול של המלך ובשביל כך נקראים אנשי כנסת הגדולה אנשי כנסת הגדולה ודאי. ושנינו כל זמן שישראל שרויים בגלות אם הם זוכין הב"ה מקדים לרחם עליהם להוציאם מן הגלות ואם אינן זוכין מעכבן בגלות עד אותו זמן שנגזר אע"ג שמגיע הזמן והם אינן ראויים הב"ה משגיח לכבוד שמו ולא ישכחם בגלות | ההי"ד וזכרתי את בריתי יעקב ג ע"א גו' אלו הם האבות שהם שלמות של כל. ר' חייא אמ' מאי טעמא יעקב בראשונה בכאן אלא בשביל שיעקב הוא כלל האבות והוא אילן הקדוש בשביל כך ו' הקדוש הוא יתר בכאן והוא אהוז בו לכן אנו קורין יעקב בוא"ו. ר' יצחק אמ' סוד וא"ו אותיותיו הם מנין שלש עשרה מדות כי וא"ו בגי' שלשה עשר* בשביל שהוא יורש ירשת של שלש עשרה מבועות של המבוע הסתום הקדוש. ר' אבא אמ' וא"ו למה הוא כולל ו' א' ו' אלא ו' שיושב על הכסא כד"א ועל דמות הכסא דמות כמראה אדם עליו מלמעלה. א' נסתם בתוכו ולא נתגלה וזהו שכתו' בי נשבעתי נאם יי גו' ו' אחרונה כולל ו' ראשונה וא"ו אחרונה הא אמרנו שהוא יסוד והוא סיום הגוף והוא כלל שלו ועל כן כל האותיות כלולים אחד באחד וא"ו הוא ראש וסיום והבן זה. בא וראה שתי אותיות הם ו"ו וא"ו ראשונה

תפארת ו' שניה יסוד* נו"ן נכלל עמהם ואינן מתפרשין זו מזו. נו"ן עקומה זהו המטרוניתא וסמוכה לה וא"ו שהוא יסוד בשביל להתברך ממנו. נו"ן פשוטה הוא התפשטות של תפ' ועל זה כלולים כל האתיות ואחוזים זה בזה. ואם תאמר הו' חוזר פניו מן הנו"ן כפופה וחוזר פניו לגבי נו"ן פשוטה אלא בשביל כבוד המלך חוזר פניו למלך. ותאנא אינו כולל ביניהם* אחר בשביל מ"ם פתוחה מ"ם סתומה. מ"ם פתוחה שהוא הזכר נתחבר עמה מ"ם סתומה הוא יובל שהרי סתומין אורחותיה שהיא נסתמת ונעלמת. ולזמנים יש ששונין על זה המ"ם הסתומה גן נעול אחותי כלה גל נעול מעין חתום והבן זה. אמ"ר יצחק בשעה שמלך הקדוש זוכר לישראל בשביל שמו אזי חוזרת המטרוניתא למקומה מיד כתי' וכל אדם לא יהיה באהל מועד בבאו לכפר בקדש. כך הכהן בשעה שנכנס ליחד שם הקדוש ולכפר בקדש ולזוג המלך במטרוניתא אזי כתי' וכל אדם לא יהיה באהל מועד גו'. ר' יהודה אמ' הכהן מעורר שלום בעולם למעלה ולמטה. דתניא הכהן נכנס מדרגה אחת וטהר עצמו יצא מזה המדרגה למדרגה אחרת וטהר עצמו ואחז במדת השלום בזה ובזה וקדש ידיו ומתברך כאחד ובכאן צריך להראות המעשה כדי שיהא דומה לדוגמא עליונה במלבושיו ובמעשיו ובמה שיתכון כדי שיסדר הכל כמו שצריך ויתברכו עליונים ותחתונים. תאנא פתח ר' שמעון בחקיקת של שם המפורש שהיה הכהן מכוין ביום הכפורים הם ארבע אותיות חקוקות ונקשרים כלם ביו"ד. יו"ד הולך ליו"ד. עולה יו"ד ביו"ד. ומתקבץ בו ומכון העת ומחבר ה"א בוא"ו ה"א עליונה אחוז בשעריו בחקוקי אותיותיו בנהרותיו אלף וחמש מאות מדרגות סתומים עולה ה"א ומתעטר חמשים פעמים לחמשם שערים שהם עמודים של העמודים העליונים. כשנחקק בעטרין אזי מאירין פניו של המלך. וא"ו מתפשט לשבעים שמות ושנים חקוקים מעטר בשבעים אלף וחמש מאות כתרים שמתעטרים בכתר אחד ההי"ד בעטרה שעטרה לו אמו ביום חתונתו | וביום ג ע"ב שמחת לבו. ו' הוא בשתי ראשים חקוקים ראש הקוף האחד למטה והאחד למעלה ו' יורד לו' חקוק בחקיקות ביניהם שבעים ענפים של עטרות מלמעלה למטה יש בו כוסות* וגביעין ופרחים זה עולה וזה יורד ונחקקים אחד באחד וא"ו בה"א ה"א בוא"ו וא"ו בוא"ו. וא"ו בה"א זה אוחז בזה כד"א ותשב באיתן קשתו. וכתי' איתן מושבך ושים בסלע קנך מיד נקשר הכל אחד באחד אזי הנהרות פתוחין ומאירין הפנים כלם*. מיד כלם נופלים על פניהם ומזדעזעין ואומרין בשכמל"ו. והקול מתקשר עם הכהן והוא

חוזר אצל ישראל ואומ' תטהרו. תטהרו אינן אומרין שאר הכהנים והעם אלא כהן גדול כשנקשר עם אותו הקול. תאנא מכל חטאתיכם לפני יי גו' כיון שכתי' מכל חטאתיכם למה לפני יי אלא אמ' ר' יצחק לפני יי ממש. דתניא מראש חדש שהוא ראש השנה הספרים הם פתוחים ודנין הדיינים בכל יום ויום בתי דינין הם עומדים פתוחים לעשות דין עד אותו יום שהוא תשעה לירח תשרי באותו היום עולין הדינין כלם לבעל הדין ומתקנין כסא עליון קדוש למלך באותו היום צריכין ישראל למטה לשמח בשמחה שלמה לנגד אדוניהם בשביל שישב* עליהם בכסא של רחמים וכל אותן ספרים פתוחים לפניו ההי"ד מכל חטאתיכם לפני יי תטהרו פי' לפני יי ממש. אותן שאומרין זה הפסוק עד הנה אומרין פי' עד לפני יי ולא יותר ואין רשות לאחר שיאמר תטהרו אלא כהן גדול שהוא עושה עבודה וקושר שם הקדוש בפיו וכשהוא מתקשר ומברך בפיו אותו קול יורד ובטש בו ומאיר הדבר בפיו של הכהן ואומ' תטהרו וא"כ עושה עבודה ומתברכין כל אותן עליונים ותחתונים* וא"כ מטהר גופו ויקדש ידיו כדי ליכנס בעבודה אחרת קדושה עד שהוא מתכוון ליכנס למקום אחר קדוש מכלם אזי שלשה שורות כהנים ושאר העם מסבבין אותו מקבלים הברכות לפניו וכלם הם מגביהין ידיהם עליו בתפלת הקטרת* פוסע שלש פסיעות וכלם הם עומדים בקיומם ואינן הולכים אחריו ומקטיר הקטרת פוסע ג' פסיעות אחרים ורושם על הלב סופב למקומו ופוסע ג' פסיעות סתם העינים ונקשר למעלה נכנס למקום שנכנס ושמע קול כנפי הכרובים מזמרין ומכין בכנפיהם ופורשין אותן למעלה ומשתבח קול כנפיהם ומתדבקים בלחישה אם הכהן זוכה כל מה שהוא למעלה בשמחה נמצא אף בכאן באותה שעה יוצא רצון האור מתבסם מריחין של הרי אפרסמון הטהור של מעלה והולך בכל אותו מקום נכנס הריח בשתי נקבי חוטמיו ומחישב לבו מיד הכל הוא בלחישה ופתחון פה לא נמצא שם. פתח הכהן פיו בהפלה ברצון ובחדוה ומתפלל תפלתו ואחר שמסים תפלתו אזי זוקפין הכרובים כנפיהם כבראשונה ומזמרין מיד יודע הכהן ששעת רצון הוא* וזמן שמחה הוא בכל העולמות אזי יודעים כל העם שנתקבל תפלתו ההי"ד אם יהיו חטאיכם כשנים כשלג ילבינו גו' אז חוזר לאחוד ומתפלל תפלתו. אשרי חלקו של הכהן שעל ידו הברכות נמצאים למעלה ולמטה* ועל אותה שעה כתי' אשרי העם שככה לו אשרי העם שיי גו'. ועוד פתח ואמ' והיתה לכם לחקת עולם בחדש השביעי גו' ר' חיא פתח | נפשי אויתיך ד ע"א בלילה נפשי אותך בלילה מבעי ליה. אלא כך שנינו הב"ה הוא נקרא

רוח ונפש של כל וישראל אומרין רוחי ונפשי אתה בשביל כך אויתיך להתדבק בך ואשחרך להמצא רצונך. ר' יוסי אמ' בא וראה בשעה שבן אדם ישן על מטתו נפשו יוצאה ועולה ומעידה בבן אדם על כל מה שעשה בכל יום הגוף אומ' לנפש נפשי אויתיך בלילה אף רוחי בקרבי אשחרך. ד"א נפשי אויתך בלילה אמרה כנסת ישראל לפני הב"ה נפשי אויתיך בלילה בעוד שאנ' בגלות בין העמים ושבעתי נפשי מכל זוהמא ולכלוך של שאר העמים אויתך בשביל לשוב למקומי. אף רוחי בקרבי אשחרך אע"ג שהם משתעבדים לבני בכל מיני שעבוד מכל מקום רוח הקדש לא יסור ממני בשביל לשחר לך ולעשות מצותיך. ר' יצחק אמ' אמרו ישראל לפני הב"ה בעוד שנפשי בי אויתיך בלילה מאי טעמ' בלילה אלא בשביל שהנפש בזה השעה צריכה להתאוות לך. אף רוחי בקרבי אשחרך כשיתעורר בי רוח הקדש אשחרך בהתעוררות לעשות רצונך. כי כאשר משפטיך לארץ בזמן שהמשפט יורד לארץ לבסם העולם מיד צדק למדו יושבי תבל פי' יכולים לסבול דין של צדק ולא יחרב העולם ממנו אימתי צדק למדו יושבי תבל כאשר משפטיך לארץ. ר' חזקיה אמ' נפשי אויתיך בלילה זו כנסת ישראל אף רוחי בקרבי אשחרך זו הב"ה. ר' אבא היה יושב לפני ר' שמעון בחצות הלילה קם ר' שמעון בן יוחאי* לעסוק בתורה קמו ר' אלעזר ור' אבא עמו. פתח ר' שמעון ואמר כאיל תערוג על אפיקי מים גו' זה הפסוק אמרוהו חבריא אשריהם ישראל שהב"ה נתן להם נשמות קדושים וממקום קדוש יותר מכל העמים בשביל לעשות מצותיו ולהשתעשע בתורה שכל מי שהוא משתעשע בתורה אינו ירא מן הכל כתי' לולי תורתך שעשועי אז אבדתי בעניי מי הם שעשועי זו התורה שנקרא שעשועים הה"ד ואהיה שעשועים יום יום גו' וזהו ששנינו הב"ה הוא בא להשתעשע בשביל לשמח בהם. ושנינו אשריהם הצדיקים שכתי' בהם אז תתענג על יי בשביל להתענג מאותו עונג* של הנחל כד"א והשביע בצחצחות נפשך גו' כביכול הב"ה משתעשע בהם מאותו שוקת של הנחל שמתענגים בו הצדיקים ועל זה בא להשתעשע עם הצדיקים לכן כל מי שהוא משתרל בתורה זוכה להשתעשע מאותו שוקת של הנחל. תאנא כאיל תערוג על אפיקי מים זהו כנסת ישראל כד"א אילותי לעזרתי חושה. תערוג על אפיקי מים ודאי לקבל משקה מאותו שוקת של הנחל על ידי צדיק. תערוג כד"א לערוגת הבשם כן נפשי הערוג אליך אלהים לקבל משקה ממך בערוגתי* בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא מן מבוע של הנחל. מי הוא מבוע של הנחל דכתי'

ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן גו' ומשם יוצא ונמשך ומשקה לגן וכל אותן נחלים נמשכים ויוצאים ומתקבצים בשתי מבועות שהם נצח והוד ואלו הם נקראים אפיקי מים באותו מדרגה של צדיק שנמשך ויוצא ממנו ומשקה לגן עדן* ובשביל כך איל וצבי | כאחד נמצאים פי' ד ע"ב צדיק וצדק. תאנא קול יי יחולל אילות ויחשף יערות. אילות אלו הן אילות השדה*. ד"א יחולל אילות אילת כתי' חסר* זהו אילת השדה. תניא בחצות הלילה בשעה שהב"ה נכנס בגן עדן להשתעשע עם הצדיקים זה הקול יוצא וכאיב כל אותן אילות שהם סביב כסא הקדוש ההה"ד ששים גבורים סביב לה גו' ד"א יחולל אילות כד"א חוללה ידו נחש בריח. ויחשף יערות כד"א ביערת הדבש. וכתי' אכלתי יערי עם דבשי ויונקת להם כאם שיונקת לבניס. א"ל ר' אבא נפשי אויתך בלילה גו' אויתך אותך מבעי ליה. אשחרך ישחרך מיבעי ליה. א"ל הא אוקמוה כמו שכתו' אשר בידו נפש כל חי ורוח כל בשר איש. בא וראה נפש ורוח נשתתפו כאחד לעולם. אחד משתתף באחד. תאנא עבודה שלמה צריך בן אדם לעבוד להב"ה כמו ששנינו ואהבת את יי אלהיך שיאהוב להב"ה אהבה יתירה כנפשו ממש וזהו אהבה שלמה אהבת נפשו ורוחו כמו שיתדבקו אלו בגוף והגוף אוהב אותם מיד יהדבק בן אדם לאהוב להב"ה אהבת נפשו ורוחו להתדבק בו ההה"ד נפשי אויתך בלילה כלומ' נפשי ממש אויתך. רוחי וקרבי אשחרך להתדבק בך באהבה גדולה בלילה שצריך בן אדם באהבת הב"ה לקום בכל לילה להשתדל בתורה ולהשתדל בעבודתו עד שיעור השחר וימשך עליו חוט של חסד. תניא אשרי חלקו של אותו בן אדם שברא הב"ה בריה כזו אוהב להב"ה ואותן צדיקי אמת שאוהבין להב"ה כך בשביל שהעולם מתקיים בשבילם ושולטין על גזרות שלמעלה ומטה בשביל שיתקיים העולם בשבילם. תאנא אותו צדיק שנדבק בנפשו ברוחו למעלה במלך הקדוש באהבה כראוי שולט בארץ למטה וכל מה שגוזר על העולם יתקיים מנאין מאליהו דכתי' חי יי אם יהיה השנים האלה טל ומטר כי אם לפי דברי גו'. בא וראה בשעה שבאים הנשמות הקדושים מלמעלה למטה יורדים לגן עדן שבארץ ויושבים שם זמן הקצוב להם* שבשעה שמנשב רוח הב"ה למעלה אזי כל הכחות של מעלה נעשים כלם ועומדים על קיומם ההה"ד וברוח פיו כל צבאם ומהם מתעכבים עד שהב"ה מוריד אותם למטה. תאנא מיום שנברא העולם עמדו לפני הב"ה ונתעכבו עד שהגיע זמן לירד בארץ ואלו שולטין למעלה ולמטה וזהו חי יי אשר

עמדתי לפניו. אשר אני עומד לא כתי' אלא אשר עמדתי לפניו. ואח' חוזר למקומו ועולה למחיצתו ואותן אחרים אינן עולין עד שימותו בשביל שלא עמדו קודם לכן כאותן אחרים ובשביל כך אליהו נעשה שליח בעולם והוא מלאך בעולם שלמעלה ואלו הן שמתדבקים יותר למלך.

ואצ"ל* כל הנשמות הם נאצלם ממקור אחד אבל הם כל אחד ואחד הוא במדרגה למעלה מחברו.

ומצאנו בספר הראשון של אדם* שכל הרוחות הקדושים של מעלה הם עושין שליחות | וכלם הם באין ממקום אחד של ה ע"א נשמתן של הצדיקים משתי מדרגות שהם כלולים באחד ובשביל כך עולין יותר ומדרגתם יותר מן הכל וכל אותן שהיו טמונים שם ירדו ועלו בחייהם כגון חנוך שלא כתו' בו מיתה ואליהו. ותאנא מאה ועשרים וחמש אלף מדרגות עולין הצדיקים ברצון הב"ה עד שלא נברא העולם. והב"ה מזמין אותם בעולם הזה בכל דור ודור ועולין וטאסין בעולם ומתקשרים בצרור החיים ועתיד הב"ה לחדש בהם העולם ועליהם כתי' כי כאשר השמים החדשים והארץ החדשה אשר אני עושה עומדים לפני גו' עומדים ודאי לפני ואתיעץ בהם כשאחדש העולם. ועוד פתח ואמ' תענו את נפשותיכם בשביל שישראל נמצאים לפני המלך הקדוש צדיקים ויהא רצונם אצל הב"ה להתדבק בו בשביל שיתכפר להם עונותיהם. ועל זה מי שאוכל ושותה בתשיעי ומעגן נפשו במאכלים ובמשקים טובים נמצא הוא בעשירי מעונה בענוי הנפש שתי פעמים יותר ונמצא כאלו הוא מתענה תשיעי ועשירי. את נפשותיכם לכלול הגוף והנפש כאחד כדי להכנע בזה היום כדי שיתכפר להם עונותם. תאנא כי ביום הזה יכפר עליכם. ביום הזה היום הזה מיבעי ליה. אלא ביום הזה דוקא שבו יתגלה עתיק הקדוש לכפר על עונות כלם. ד"א תענו את נפשותיכם. ר' אבא פתח עיר קטנה ואנשים בה מעט גו' עיר קטנה כד"א עיר עז לנו ישועה ישית חומות וחיל. וכתי' ולא אבוא בעיר. עיר קטנה קטנה היא בשביל שהיא אחרונה מן הכל ותחתונה מן הכל והיא צריכה לאחרים בשביל שהיא עניה ודלה ה"ד עניה סוערה גו' והיא נקראת עיר הקדש. אנשים בה מעט. מעטים הם הצדיקים שעולין לשכון בתוכה כד"א מי יעלה בהר יי ומי יקום במקום קדשו. נקי כפים ובר לבב וגו' ועל זה ואנשים בה מעט. ובא אליה מלך גדו ל זהו הב"ה להזדוג בה ולשכון בה. וסבב אותה כד"א ואני אהיה לה נאם יי חומת אש סביב ולכבוד אהיה בתוכו ובנה עליה מצודים גדולים שבנה חומות

נאים ויפים מכל אבנים יקרות וכל יקר המלך כך הוא והיא מכובדת בעיני המלך והיא כלולה ומהוללה מכל כתרי המלך וכל כתרי המלך בה מתעטרין ובשביל כך ואנשים בה מעט כתי' ומצא בה איש מסכן וחכם ה"ד נקי כפים ובר לבב גו' מסכן כד"א ערי מסכנות מתעטר בעטרות תקיפין בעטרות של התורה ובעטרות של המצות. וחכם שזוכה בה בזה החכמה וחכם שהיה חכם יותר מן הכל למעלה* בעבודת אדונו בשביל לזכות בה וליכנס בה ה"ד ומלט הוא את העיר בחכמתו. ומלט כד"א אמלטה נא וארא את אחי. אמלטה נא שמה. אף בכאן ומלט הוא את העיר בחכמתו. ואדם לא זכר את האיש המסכן ההוא ואדם לא זכר לעשות מצותיו של התורה ולהשתדל בתורה כאותו האיש המסכן שנתחכם* בכל בשביל לזכות בה. ואמרתי אני טובה חכמה מכלי קרב שהרי | באותו עולם אין נותנין רשות ה ע"ב ליכנס אלא אלו צדיקי אמת שמשתדלים בתורה יומם ולילה ומתעטר במצות בעולם הזה כדי ליכנס בשבילם לעולם הבא. וחכמת המסכן בזויה ודבריו אינם נשמעים שהרי בני אדם לא מסתכלין בו ולא חפצים להתחבר עמו ולא מקשיבים לדבריו. תאנא כל מי ששומע ומקשיב לדבריו של הצדיק* בזה העולם כאלו קבל התורה מהר סיני ואפי' מכל אדם ג"כ צריך לשמע ממנו דברי תורה ומי שמטה אזנו כנגדו נותן כבוד למלך הקדוש ונותן כבוד לתורה עליו כתי' היום הזה נהיית לעם ליי אלהיך. תאנא יום אחד היו חבריא הולכים בדרך עם ר' שמעון אמ' ר' שמעון ראיתי אלו שאר העמים כלם עליונים וישראל תחתונים מכלם מאי טעם בשביל שהמלך השליך למטרוניתא ממנו והכנים השפחה במקומה כלום' שפחה ודאי ה"ד תחת שלש רגזה ארץ גו' תחת עבד כי ימלוך ושפחה כי תירש גברתה. מי היא השפחה היא כתר נכריה שהרג הב"ה בכורות שלהם במצרים דכתי' בכור השפחה אשר אחר הרחים. היתה יושבת בראשונה ועכשו זו השפחה תירש גברתה. בכה ר' שמעון ואמ' מלך בלא מטרוניתא לאו נקרא מלך. ומלך שהוא מתדבק בשפחה שהיא אמה של המטרוניתא אנה הוא כבודו וסוד הדבר שעתיד הקול יבשר למטרוניתא ויאמ' גילי מאד בת ציון הריעי בת ירושלם הנה מלכך יבא לך צדיק ונושע הוא כלום' צדיק הוא נושע בשביל שהיה רוכב עד עכשו במקום שאינו שלו במקום נכרי ויונק לה. וסוד הדבר עני ורוכב על חמור עני שלא כבראשונה. ורוכב על חמור על חמור כמו שאמרנו הם כתרים תחתונים של שאר העמים שהרג בכורות שלהם הב"ה במצרים ה"ד וכל בכור בהמה כך העמדתי דברי. כביכול צדיק

ונושע הוא ודאי יותר מן הכל שעד עכשו היה שורה צדיק בלא צדק ועכשו שנזדווגו כאחד צדיק ונושע הוא. תאנא כתי' הצדיק אבד ואין איש שם על לב ואנשי חסד נאספים באין מבין כי מפני הרעה נאסף הצדיק. זה הפסוק קשה הצדיק אבד הצדיק נאבד מיבעי ליה. מהו אבד לא* אבד ממש ומהו אבד אבד למטרוניתא ונדבק במקום אחר שנקרא שפחה. א"ר יצחק לר' שמעון אי ניחא לפני דמור* והא שנינו וצדיק יסוד עולם. למאן דאמ' שעל שבעה עמודים עומדת הארץ ולמאן דאמ' שעל זה עמוד שהוא יסוד עומד העולם אם כך איך מתישבים הדברים. א"ל הכל דבר אחד שהרי ודאי שבעה הם ובהם יש עמוד שנקרא צדיק יסוד עולם ועומדים עליו כל העליונים והעולם בזה מתקיים. וכיון שנתקיים העולם עליו כאלו נתקיים על כל אותן השבעה ועל זה כתי' וצדיק יסוד עולם. כך קיימתי דברי בכמה מקומות. תאנא זאת השפחה עתידה לשלוט בארץ | הקדושה ו ע"א כמו שהיתה שולטת המטרוניתא בראשונה דכתי' צדקלין בה ועכשו שפחה תירש גברתה בכל. ועתיד הב"ה להשיב המטרוניתא למקומה כבראשונה ומיד ממי הוא השמחה. הוי אם* שהיא שמחת המלך ושמחת המטרוניתא בשביל שישוב לה ויתפרש מן השפחה. אזי המטרוניתא נמצאת בשמחה בשביל שהיא שבה למלך ה"ד גילי מאד בת ציון. בא וראה כתי' והיתה לכם* לחקת עולם. והיתה לכם מהו. על מה שאמ' לחקת עולם בכל מקום שנמצא חקת עולם בתורה היא גזרת מלך שהכניס כל החקים במקום זה והסתים אותם כמי שסתם הכל באסקופה אחת. חקת עולם בזאת דשם וחקק כל גנזין שלו. בחדש השביעי בעשור לחדש גו'. בעשור דוקא. תענו את נפשותיכם ודאי כך הוא שהרי בנפש תלוי הדבר ובשביל כך אכילה ושתיה בתשיעי צריך יותר מיום אחר אע"ג שזה הדבר נאמ' בענין אחר הכל הוא נאה וטוב וזה וזה דבר אחד הוא וכל אחד במקומו עולה וכך הוא ודאי.

ואצ"ל כמו שיש עד' למטה כך יש ענו' למעלה לפי שהנפש העליונה היא מקבלת מצד האב ולא מצד האם ועל זה תשמיש המטה אסור ביום הכפורים לפי שאין זווג נמצא למעלה עד שעת נעילה שהוא קרוב לשקיעת השמש אלא היא מקבלת מצד האב עד שעת נעילה ואחר כן מצד האם. כי נעילה רומז לעטרת ה"ד גן נעול אחותי כלה. ד"א נעילה מלשון ננעלה השמש ונסתרה ועל זה בשביל שהסתלק ממנה השמש שהוא המלך יי צבאות מיד היא מתחברת עם אם הבנים שמחה אזי יהיה הזווג אחד

ועל זה אנו מכוונין בנעילה שהוא שעת רצון שהוא זמן זווג העליון ועל זה אנו אומ' וחתום וחתמנו לפי שעת' היא מתעלה לבית המלך שהיא מוציאה הכתבים לחתום. אזי היא מקבלת הכתבים ותוריד אותם עמה וחותמת אותם לחיים שהם הצדיקים והרשעים למות ועל זה אנו מתפללין וחתום לחיים פי' שאנו מתפללים לפני העט' שהיא נעילה שיחתמנו לחיים משל למה הדבר דומה למלך שבא לחתום הפתקים על בני המדינות להכביד עליהם עולים ומסים בשביל שמרדו בו והיה משנה שלו מבקש עליהם כדי שיקל מעליהם בזרותיו עד שנטל הפתקין מידו וחתמן בטבעת המלך והסוד בזה ונחתום בטבעת המלך אין להשיב ודי למבין.

ותאנא בזה היום כל חירות* וכל אודה וכל ברכות של העולם כלם תלויין מאם הבנים שמחה העליונה* שכל המבועות נמשכין ויוצאין ממנה. מיד מאירין כל אותן נרות התחתונים ומאירין כל הפנים בשמחה ובחדוה של כל ומיד הדינין נמצאין באורה והדין לא נעשה ועל זה כתי' תענו את נפשותיכם. א"ר אבא כך העמיד הדבר המאור הקדוש* מגוף המשנה לא גלו ישראל מארצם עד שכפרו בהב"ה דכתי' אין לנו חלק בדוד ולא נחלה בבן ישי. הא איתמ' ומצאנו כזה דכתי' ראה ביתך דוד. א"ל כך הוא ודאי בית דוד נקרא כמו דכתי' בית יעקב לכו ונלכה באור יי. בית יעקב כד"א ובית תפארתי אפאר. לכו ונלכה באור יי. מהו באור יי כד"א ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן. ונטע זה הגן להשתעשע בו עם הצדיקים שבו שוכנים. תאנא כתי' אך בעשור לחדש | השביעי ו ע"ב הזה יום הכפורים הוא גו' ועניתם את נפשותיכם גו' בתשעה לחדש ואחר כך אמ' בעשור לחדש. אך מה צריך בכאן א"ל למיעוטא בא כיון שאמ' ועניתם את נפשותיכם בתשעה לחדש אחר כך אמ' אך בעשור לחדש אלא לומ' לך שבעשור תלוי הדבר. א"ל אי הכי אך ביום הראשון תשביתו שאור מבתיכם ושנינו אך חלק וחציו אסור חמץ וחציו מותר באכילת חמץ אף בכאן אך בעשור נאמ' שחציו אסור במלאכה וחציו מותר. א"ל אף בכאן בוענייתם את נפשותיכם תלוי שהרי העניו לא נמצא אלא מחצי היום ולמעלה ובטוב הוא אך חלק בוענייתם את נפשותיכם. אמ"ר אלעזר כתי' כי ביום הזה יכפר עליכם לטהר אתכם. יכפר עליכם אכפר עליכם מיבעי ליה. אלא יכפר עליכם לכלול סוד היובל שהוא נמשך ויוצא בזה היום להשקות לכל הצדדין ולהשפיע ולהשקות לכל התחתונים וזהו כתי' עליכם ודאי בשבילכם לטהר אתכם בזה היום וכתי' לפני יי תטהרו ולא ישלוט

עליכם דין כלל. ר׳ יהודה אמ׳ אשריהם ישראל שהב"ה רוצה בהם ורוצה לטהר אותם כדי שלא ימצא בהם שום חטא בשביל שיהו בני היכל וישכנו בהיכלו. ולעתיד לבא כתי׳ וזרקתי עליכם מים טהורים וטהרתם. ר׳ יהודה פתח שיר המעלות ממעמקים קראתיך יי. ושנינו בשעה שברא הב"ה העולם בקש לבראת בן אדם ונמלך בתורה. אמרה התורה לפניו רבון העולמים תרצה לבראת בן אדם והוא עתיד לחטא לפניך ועתיד הוא להרגיז לפניך מה תעשה לו כמעשיו והרי העולם לא יוכל לעמוד לפניך כ"ש כאותו בן אדם. אמ׳ לה וכי לחנם נקראתי ארך אפים ועד שלא ברא הב"ה העולם ברא תשובה אמ׳ לה לתשובה אני רוצה לבראת בן אדם בעולם למות כשישובון ישובון בך מעונותם שתהא מזומנת למחול עונותם ולכפר עליהם. בכל שעה ושעה התשובה היא מזומנת גם בן אדם וכשבני אדם שבים מחטאתם זאת התשובה שבה לפני הב"ה ומכפר על הכל והדינין הם נכפפים ומתבסמים הכל ובן אדם יתטהר מעונותיו. אימתי יתטהר בן אדם מעונותיו בשעה שנכנס בזאת התשובה כראוי. א"ר יצחק צריך בן אדם שישוב לפני המלך העליון ומתפלל לפניו מעומק הלב ה"ד ממעמקים קראתיך יי. וכיון שהתפלה היא צריכה כונה כדי למשוך השפעים מן העומקים שהם עשרה כמו ששנינו במשנה עומק רום עומק תחת*. ר׳ אבא אמ׳ ממעמקים קראתיך יי והוא רומז* למעלה למעלה והוא עומק הבאר ומזה העומק יוצאין נהרות ומבועות ונחלים לכל צד והוא עומק שאין לו ראשית ולא אחרית ולא סיום* ומי שהוא חפץ לשוב מעונותיו ויתטהר מכל בזה העומק צריך לקרא לפני הב"ה ה"ד ממעמקים קראתיך יי. בא וראה בשעה שבן אדם הוא חוטא ומקריב קרבן על גבי המזבח והכהן מכפר עליו ומבקש רחמים על אותו בן אדם ומתעוררין הרחמים והדינין מתבסמים והתשובה מריקה הברכות במבועות שיוצאין ומתברכין כל העולמות וכל הנהרות* כאחד אזי יהסהר אותו בן אדם מעונותיו ה"ד ממעמקים קראתיך יי.

ר׳ חייא פתח* הכל כאשר לכל מקרה אחד לצדיק ולרשע לטוב | ולטהור ולטמא ולזובח ולאשר איננו זובח כטוב ז ע"א כחוטא כנשבע כאשר שבועה ירא. זה הפסוק העמידוהו ופרשוהו חבריא כי שלמה המלך ע"ה כל דבריו סתומים ונסתרים ונגלים והם נקראים מראשם לסופם ומסופם לראשם כי הם כלם מלאים כרמונים שהם מלאים גרעינים כך דבריו כלם מלאים מסודות החכמה שגלה הב"ה על* רזיאל המלאך לאדם הראשון ה"ד כי לא דבר רק הוא מכם ואם הוא רק אינו אלא מכם

מחוסר דעת הבריות שאין נותנין לבם להבין ולהשגיח ולא עין לראות ולא פה לדבר כי הם עוזבים חיי העולם ומתעסקים בחיי שעה כי לולי היו מסתכלים ומהרהרים בסודות החורה אולי היו משגיחין דבר אחד מני אלף באותן הסתרים העמוקים לכן שלמה ע"ה כל דבריו הם נסתרים ונבלעים בפי המחשבה העמוקה לכן אמ׳ הכל כאשר לכל. פי׳ הכל רומז לכנסת ישראל שהיא נקראת הכל ה"ד לא תחסר כל בה כי היא כוללת הכל ומקבלת מכל שהיא מדת המחשבה העמוקה שהוא כלל כל הפרטים והכללים כי כל פרטי האישים שנמצאים בעולם הם שואבים משם ונמשכים משם כי הפרטים הם נמשכים מן הכללים כי הכללים הם שלשה והסוד בזה והגה שם שלשה עדרי צאן רובצים עליה והם נקראים כללים למה נקראים כללים על שם שהם כלולים בכל והכל בהם והם בכל זה רומז לאותן ג׳ מבועות הנעלמות אשר אין הפה יכול להפסיק בעיונם ולא העין יכול להביט ולהסתכל שם וזהו סוד ויסתר משה פניו כי ירא מהביט אל האלהים. כמו שהאדם צריך בשת וענוה במלי דעלמא כך צריך בשת וענוה במלי דחכמתא לכן משה ע"ה נתן מסוה על פניו ונתבייש להביט לאותן הכללים העתיקים הגדולים לכן כתי׳ ויסתר פי׳ הסתיר פניו במסוה של הבשת ולא רצה ליכנס לפנים בלא רשות וכיון שראה הב"ה שהסתיר פניו היקרים ונתן כבוד לשם ית׳ מיד קרא לו הב"ה וא"ל של נעליך מעל רגליך פי׳ תסיר הסתום שהוא נעול וסגור ותכנס בגלוי. גם כן דוד לא רצה ליכנס לפני לפנים אלא בגלויות ה"ד לא הלכתי בגדולות ובנפלאות ממני אלא נכנס בגלויות ה"ד גל עיני ואביטה נפלאות מתורתך כי גל הוא מלשון נגלה שהיה נכנס מלמטה למעלה לכן כתי׳ הכל כאשר לכל שלמה בנו גם כן עלה מלמטה למעלה והכל במדת הכל שהיא כנסת ישראל שהכל נראים בה כי כל המדרגות והאספקלריאות והמראות כלם נראים בה. אימתי היא מתחברת עם העליונים כאשר לכל כשלכל שהוא מדת המחשבה מביט לה ומאיר לה אזי היא מלאה ושבעה מאורות של העליונים כי היא מקבל מן הכל לכן אמ׳ שלמה הכל כאשר לכל מקרה אחד אל תקרי מקרה אלא מלשון המקדה במים עליותיו פי׳ כתר עליון שהוא מדת המחשבה העמוקה והוא סתום של הסתומות והוא טמור של כל הטמורות מקרה עליונים ותחתונים במי הנחל של המבוע העמוק שהוא מדת היובל ה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן כי כל הנבראים והנמצאים כלם לא נמצאו אלא מאמתת המצאו כי כלם הם באים משם וכלם ישובו שם ה"ד כי עפר

אתה ואל עפר תשוב לכן הוא המקרה במים פי׳ במים של הנחל | של ז ע"ב
כל הנמצאים לכן אמ׳ דוד ע"ה המקרה במים עליותיו השם עבים רכובו
המהלך על כנפי רוח. המקרה הוא פת׳ ע׳ כי הוא נקרא תקרה כמו התקרה
שהוא סובל המעזיבה כך כ"ע הוא סובל ונושא עליונים ותחתונים מתחת
זרועותיו ה"ד מתחת זרועות עולם. במים כלו׳ במי של הנהר שהוא
האומן והוא נקרא יוצר בראשית כי הוא האומן של המלך יתבר׳ ויתעלה
בשכמל"ו. עליותיו אלו הם גדולה וגבורה ותפ׳ שהם סוד האבות הקדושים
שנקראים עליות כמו העליות שהם עליונים על שאר הבניין כך אלו הם
עליונים על שאר המדות של המחודשות והם הנקראים הרים וגבעות ה"ד
ברכות אביך גברו על ברכות הורי עד תאות גבעות עולם תהיין לכן הם
נקראים עליות. השם עבים רכובו עבים רומזים לנצח והוד שהם נקראים
עבים מלשון עננים והסוד בזה נשא לבבינו אל כפים אל אל בשמים. ד"א
למה הם נקראים עבים בשביל שהם נקראים גשמים כנגד העליות שהם
סוד האבות כי האבות כנגד התחתונות שכליים ורוחניים נעלמים ונסתרים
בכל כנגד נצח והוד שהם נקראים עבים כי כמו שהם שכליים כנגד התחתונים
כך הם גשמים כנגד עולמות עליונים שהם כ"ע וחכמה ובינה שהם עולם
המושכל לכן נקראים עבים כי כל מה שישתלשלו וירדו המעלות למטה
יותר הם מתעבים ומתגשמים יותר ויותר ה"ד השם עבים רכובו כי הוא
רוכב על הכל כי כל הספי׳ והמעלות הם נקראים מרכבות לספי׳ העליונות
להן לכן רוכב על הכל ה"ד רוכב שמים בעזרך וכו׳. המהלך על כנפי
רוח אלו הם ששה קצוות שהם נקראים כנפי רוח על שם שש כנפים שש
כנפים לאחד כי כל אחד ואחד יש לו ששה קצוות שנקראי׳ כנפים כי
כנפי הוא מלשון קצות ה"ד ועשו להם ציצת על כנפי בגדיהם פי׳
בזויותיהן ועוד כתי׳ לאחוז בכנפות הארץ וינערו רשעים ממנה. ד"א
המקרה במים עליותיו וכו׳ המקרה רומז לעי׳ העי׳ שהוא נקרא מקרה
כי הוא מקרה הכל כי כמו שהבניין של התקרה הוא למעלה מכל המדריגות
כך עי׳ העי׳ הוא למעלה מכל המדרגות כי הוא מקרה כל הבית בקירויו
ה"ד המקרה כו׳. במים רומז לכ"ע שהוא מבוע של הנחל שכל המים
והמקורות והנחלים והמבועים נוזלים משם בשביל שהוא נקרא מזל על
שם הנזילה שנוזל משם כי עי׳ העי׳ הוא כביכול מקרה כל העולמות באותן
המים שהם נוזלים מן המים ההם והבן זה ודום ליי. עליותיו רומז אל
חכמה ובינה שהם נקראים עליות על שם שהם עליונות והם נקראים הרי

נבנונית והרי אפרסמון והם נקראים עליות. ד"א למה הם נקראים עליות
אל תקרי עליות אל על תי"ו וכי הם עומדים למעלה מן התי"ו שהוא
מלכות. השם עבים רכובו. השם פי׳ כ"ע של שלשה אבות שהם נקראים
עבים על שם וענף עץ עבות וערבי נחל | בשביל שהם ח ע"א
שלשה בדי הדם וזהו סוד שלשה הדסים ושתי ערבות ולולב אחד ואתרוג
אחד יסור. לכן אנו עושים אלו שלשה בדי הדם בלולב לרמוז לאלו שלשה
אבות שהן גדולה וגבורה ותפארת שהם שלשה ה"ד השם עבים רכובו
להודיע שהוא הב"ה ית׳ ויח׳ הוא רוכב על הכל כי הכל צריכין לו והוא
אינו צריך לאחד מהם. כי הנרכב הוא צריך לרוכב ואין הרוכב
צריך לנרכב. המהלך על כנפי רוח. למה אמ׳ המהלך ההולך מיבעי ליה מהו
המהלך כמו מתהלך בנן פי׳ לפעמים שהשכינה היא מסתלקת ועולה ולפעמים
היא יורדת וכל זה הוא בשביל מעשיהים של ישראל. בא וראה אם ישראל
מעשיהם טובים אזי שכינת אלהים שהיא שכינה עליונה משגחת על ישראל והיא
רופפת עליהם כאם על הבנים בשביל שהיא אם הבנים שמחה ומורידת להם
המים מן עומק של הנחל שהוא סוד המחשבה. אבל אם ישראל כביכול מעוותין
מעשיהם והולכים הוץ לדרך יי אזי כביכול השכינה היא מתהלכת וקופצת כי
היא מסתלקת לפעמים ויורדת לפעמים זה הוא הכל בשביל מעשה היצורים לכן
כתיב המהלך ולא כתי׳ ההולך. על כנפי רוח שהם נצח והוד שהם נקראים כנפים
על שם לאהוז בכנפות הארץ וינערו רשעים ממנה בשביל שהם קרובים לארץ שהיא
כנסת ישראל. והם עומדים בקצות הארץ וזה הוא סוד אל שתי קצותיו והבין זה.

אחד לצדיק ולרשע פי׳ לצדיק הוא צדיק יסוד עולם שהוא
נקרא צדיק והוא סוד שיוסף נקרא צדיק בשביל ששמר הברית הקדוש.
ולרשע הוא תמורת הצדיק שהוא נקרא רשע כי הוא הפך הצדיק כי רשע
תמורתו. לטוב הוא רומז לחסד שנקרא טוב בשביל שהוא מטיב עם כל
היצורים והנבראים כלם כי חונן ומטיב לכל וזהו סוד שאברהם היה יושב
בפרשת דרכים להכנים האורחים שעוברים ושבים לביתו והסוד בזה אשל
פירו׳ אכילה שתיה לוייה וזהו סוד האילן שאכלו תחתיו המלאכים ה"ד
והוא עומד עליהם תחת העץ ויאכלו. לכן הוא נקרא טוב על שם גמילות
חסד שהיה עושה עם בני העולם. לטהור רומז לגבורה שנקרא טהור ה"ד
לב טהור ברא לי אלהים בשביל שהוא מטהר ומלבין ומצרף כל הנבראים
בחוזק דינו הקשה ולטמא זהו תמורתו שהוא סוד עשו שהוא מצד הטומאה
והוא זוהמת הזהב הנקי והטהור. ולזובח רומז לעט׳ ישראל שנקרא זובח

מל' זבחי אלהים רוח נשברה בשביל שהיא שבורת הלב. ולאשר איננו
זובח זהו תמורתה שאינה זובחת אלא רודפת אחרי סריפות החיות כדי
לסרוף טרף ולשלול שלל ולבוז בז. לכן אמ' שלמה ע"ה מקרה אחד לכל
פי' מקרה מלשו' מקור להודיע שכל אלו ממקור אחד הם נובעים כמו
הכסף הטוב שיהפרש הפסולת לצדו | והכסף הנקי לצדו ח ע"ב
כזה המדר נמצאו כל הנמצאים וכל הנבראים כלם ה"ד מקרה אחד.
אמ' ד' שמעון לר' חייא ראוי אתה ובטוב הוא כל מה שדברת כי עתיק
יומן יפתח עינו עליך.

ד"א הכל כאשר לכל מקרה אחד וכו' כי שלמה המלך ע"ה
היה מביט בכל הדורות בצדיקים וברשעים ורואה דברים שמגיעין לרשעים
מגיעין לצדיקים ואמ' זה רע בכל אשר נעשה תחת השמש. זהו תחת השמש
ודאי. הכל כאשר לכל מקרה אחד לצדיק זהו אברהם שנקרא צדיק ה"ד
כי ידעתיו למען אשר יצוה את בניו ואת ביתו אחריו וכו' כי אברהם שהוא
מדת החסד הוא נקרא צדיק על שהוא נותן צדקה לתחתונים וכלם הם מתפרנסים
ממנו לכן הוא אב רחמן שהיה מרחם על הבריות שהם היו טועים חוץ דרך
יי והיה מדריך אותם לדרך המלך והיה קושר הייחוד האמתי בלבם ולא
היו זזין ממנו עד שנכנסו במסורת האמונה הקדושה והאמינו ביסוד העליון.
והסוד בזה ויטע אשל בבאר שבע כי אל"ף מאשל רומז לכ"ע שנקרא
אלף מלשון פלא בשביל שהוא נסתר ונעלם. שי"ן רומז לגדולה ולגבורה
ולתפארת וליסוד שהם עומדין בצורת שין. למ"ד רומז למלכות יי ה"ד
המלמד ידי למלחמה וכו' לכן היה נוטע כל אלו המדרגות בבאר שבע
שהיא כנסת ישראל והיה קושר כל הקשרים ביחוד אחד והיה מגלה לבריות
זה הסוד המופלא שנקרא אשל עד שנכנסו בסוד היחוד לכן הוא נקרא
צדיק שהיה מדריך בני העולם בדרך החכמה והיה נותן צדקה לעניים
וזהו סוד אין עני אלא עני בדעת בשביל שהיו עניים בדעת ייחוד אלהים
היה פותח להם פתח של החכמה והיה מכניס אותם בפתחים ההם לכן היה
יושב בפרשת דרכים ויכניס האורחין בביתו פי' ביתו ממש. ונמרוד
הרשע שהמריד את כל העולם כולו על הקב"ה והיה מטעה אותם אחריו
והיה גורם לבריות שהיו מורדים בעליונים ובתחתונים והיה מוציאם חוץ
מיחוד יי והיו הולכים ועובדים ע"ז זה מת וזה מת ה"ד מקרה אחד לצדיק
ולרשע. כי ודאי מקרה אחד שהוא כ"ע שנקרא מקור החיים מכח פשיטותו
והשואתו הגמורה כי ממנו נובע זה שהוא מוחל לצדיק ולרשע ה"ד

וחנותי את אשר אחון ורחמתי את אשר ארחם ואע"פ שאינו הגון וראוי.
לכן הוא נקרא מדת ההשואה בשביל שהוא משוה צדיק לרשע בהשואתו
הגמורה לכן הוא נקרא מקור.

לטוב ולטהור ולטמא. לטוב הוא משה שנקרא טוב שנ' ותרא
אותו כי טוב הוא. ותרא היא מדת המטרוניתא כשהיא מסתכלת ומבטת
כנגד הזכר שהוא משה ורואה | שהוא טוב מצד שהוא ט ע"א
מקבל מעולם העליון והסוד בזה כי טוב העץ תפ' למאכל וכי תאוה הוא
לעינים. וכיון שיודעת בו צד הטוב מיד היא משתוקקת ומתאוה להתדבק
בו בזווג אחד וביהוד אחד ה"ד ותרא אותו כי טוב הוא ותצפנהו שלשה
ירחים כנגד נצח הוד יסוד שהיא צופנת אותו באותן שלשה מדות ה"ד
מה רב טובך אשר צפנת ליריאך פעלת לחוסים בך וכו'. לטהור זה דוד
ע"ה ה"ד לב טהור ברא לי אלהים וכתי' וישלח ויבאהו והוא אדמוני
עם יפה עינים וטוב רואי. רומז למטרוניתא שהיא מדרגת דוד שהוא נקרא
אדמוני והסוד בזה ויצא הראשון אדמוני בשביל שהוא מקבל האודם מצד
הגבורה שהוא ביה דין הקשה והוא אדום כאש והוא אודם הזהב לכן הוא
נקרא ראשון בשביל שהוא שער הראשון להכנסת בית המלך כי אין אדם
יכול לעלות לפני המלך אלא דרך השער ההוא. והוא נקרא אבן השתייה
כי בזה האבן כל העולים במרכבה בזה האבן עולים לכן דוד המלך נקרא אבן
ה"ד אבן מאסו הבונים היתה לראש פינה כי הוא פנה ויסוד לכל העולמות
כולם הם עומדים עליו לכן הוא נקרא אדמוני מלשון אדם. עם יפה עינים
פי' יפה הוא במראות ובצבעים ובגוונים כי כלם נראים באותה האספקלריא
שאינה מאירה. ואין עינים אלא לש' מראה וזהו ששנינו במסכת שבת אין
נותנין צמר ליורה עד שיקלוט העין. פי' צבע להודיע לך כי עינים הוא
מראה ה"ד עם יפה עינים. ועוד כתי' עלאבן אחת שבעה עינים. וטוב
רואי והסוד בזה כי טוב העץ למאכל וכי תאוה הוא לעינים וכו'. לטמא
זהו נבוכד נצר כי דוד בנה יסוד בית המקדש ומלך ארבעים שנה ונבוכד נצר
החריבו ומלך ארבעים שנה. נבוכד נצר רומז לתמורת המלכות שהוא תמורת
דוד שהוא סוד המלכות והוא נקרא סוד הנחש שרוכב על אותן החמורים שהם
עומדים תחתיו ולעולם הוא רודף אחרי מלכות בית דוד להחריבה ולהעמיד
מלכותו. לכן זה מלך ארבעים שנה וזה מלך ארבעים שנה ואין בין זה לזה אלא
שזה מומאה וזה טהרה. לכן כל מה שדוד בונה הוא הורס כי זה הפך
מזה. זה מת וזה מת להודיע לך שמקרה אחד לכולם. ולזובח זהו שלמה

המלך ע"ה ההי"ד ויזבח שלמה את זבח השלמים אשר זבח ליי בקר עשרים ושנים אלף. למה עשרים ושנים אלף כנגד עשרים ושתים אלף מקורות של מבוע הנחל שמתפשטים משם כ"ב אותיות של התורה שהם נמשכים דרך הנתי' עד למלכות יי. לכן שלמה המלך ע"ה כנגד זה היה עושה

ג"כ למטה היה זובח | שנים ועשרים אלף וכו'. ולאשר ט ע"ב איננו זובח זהו ירובעם שביטל את ישראל מעלות לבית המקדש ההי"ד רב לכם מעלות ירושלם הנה אלהיך ישראל אשר העלוך מארץ מצרים ומלך אחר זה*. כטוב זהו משה כמו שביארנו. כחוטא אלו המרגלים שכתי' בהם וחטאים תרדף רעה. משה לא נכנס לארץ ומרגלים לא נכנסו. הנשבע זהו צדיקיה שכתו' בו גם במלך נבוכד נצר מרד אשר השביעו באלהים ונחעורו עיניו. כאשר שבועה ירא זהו שמשון שנא' השבעו לי פן תפגעון בי אתם ונתעורו עיניו שנ' ויאחזוהו פלשתים וינקרו את עיניו ויורדו אותו עזתה ויאסרוהו בנחשתים ויהי טוחן בבית האסורים לפי' אמ' שלמה זה רע בכל אשר נעשה תחת השמש. ד"א כטוב אלו בניו של אהרן. כחוטא אלו שחלקו על הכהונה קרח ועדתו אלו נשרפו שנא' ותצא אש מלפני יי ותאכל אותם בשביל שנכנסו להקריב אש זרה. ואלו נשרפו ההי"ד ואש יצאה מאת יי ותאכל את החמשים ומאתים איש וכו'. ר' אבא פתח לשחוק אמרתי מהולל ולשמחה מה זו עושה. מה מעורבב שחוק של אומות העולם ששוחקין בבתי טרסיאות ובבתי קרקסיאות שלהם כי שחוק שלהם הוא לע"ז כדי למשוך עליהם רוח הטומאה מלמעלה כדי שיתדבקו במדרגתם כראוי. ולשמחה מה זו עושה מה טיבן של תלמידי חכמים להיות עושים שם. כי שמחת עוסקי התורה היא שמשתדלים בתורה ובמצותיה ובדקדוקיה ובטעמיה ובסתריה ובתעלומיה ובאיסוריה ובטומאותיה ובכשריה ובפסוליה זהו שמחתן ההי"ד פקודי יי ישרים משמחי לב. אבל אומות העולם הטמאים הם שמחים בנבלות פיהם ובשחוק ובקלות ראש ובלשון הרע ובזנות ובניאוף וברציחה לכן אלו הולכים ומתדבקים בצדם ואלו מתדבקים בצדם ההי"ד ויגדלו הנערים ויהי עשו איש יודע ציד איש שדה ויעקב איש תם יושב אהלים. זה נמשך לצדו וזה נמשך לצדו.

ד"א לשחוק אמרתי מהולל וכו' אמ' ר' אחא אמ' שלמה המלך ע"ה דברים ששחק עליהם מדת הדין כתי' ולא ירבה לו נשים ולא יסור לבבו וכסף וזהב לא ירבה לו מאד. וכתי' ויהי לו נשים שבע מאות ופלגשים שלש מאות ויסו נשיו את לבבו. וכתי' ולא ירבה לו סוסים וכתי' ויהי לשלמה ארבעים אלף אורות סוסים

למרכבתו וכתי' וכסף וזהב לא ירבה לו מאד וכתי' ויתן שלמה את הכסף בירושלם כאבנים ולא היו גנובות. אמ' ר' יוסי בן חנינא אבני עשר אמות ואבני שמונה אמות. תאנא ר' שמעון בן יוחאי אפי' משקלות שהיו בימי | שלמה של זהב היו דכתי' אין כסף לא נחשב בימי שלמה י ע"א למאומה.

אבל סוד הדבר מאומה רומז לעטרת ישראל שהיא נקראת מאומה בשביל שאין לה מאומה משלה אלא מה שהיא מקבלת מן העליונים אבל בימי שלמה עמדה הירח במלואה והיא מליאה ושבעה מכל אורות עליונים ולא היתה צריכה למדת הבסף ההי"ד אין כסף נחשב בימי שלמה למאומה וכו' כי שלמה ע"ה ידע סוד הענין בשביל זה היה מותר למטה בעולם הכסף כל מה שהיה עושה היה של כסף בשביל שמדת הכסף שהוא חסד היה נוהג בעולם ולא היה בימיו התעוררות דין לא למעלה ולא למטה בשביל שמדת הכסף היה שולט בעולם ולא מדת הזהב לכן אפי' משקלות שהיו בימי שלמה של זהב היו.

ולשמחה מה זו עושה. אמ' לו הב"ה מה העטרה הזאת בידך רד מכסאך באותה שעה ירד שלמה מכסאו ובא אשמדי כדמות שלמה וישב על כסא מלכותו והיה שלמה מחזיר בכל בתי כנסיות ובכל בתי מדרשות שבירושלם ואמ' אני קהלת הייתי מלך על ישראל בירושלם. והן אומ' לו שלמה המלך יושב על כסאו ואתה יושב ומשחטה עצמך ואומ' אני קהלת הייתי מלך על ישראל בירושלם והיו מכין אותו בקנת ונותנין לפניו קערה של גריסין. באותה שעה אמ' וזה היה חלקי מכל עמלי. באותה שעה אמ' הבל הבלים אמר קהלת וכו'.

אבל סוד הדבר של זו האגדה כי שלמה המלך רומז לכנסת ישראל שנקראת שלמה בלש' נקבה בשביל שהיא בת זוגו של צדיק יסוד עולם שהוא מדת השלום ההי"ד הנני נוטה אליה כנהר שלום ועל ידי שלמה נטרדה ונתגרשה כביכול מן מלכות המלך העליון בשביל שעבר על דברי תורה ונשא נשים נכריות מואביות חתיות וצדוניות הכניס השפחה במקום גברתה כביכול גרם סלוק מלכות שלמה העליון ובא אשמדי שהוא תמורת המלכות וישב במקומו והכניס הטומאה במקום הטהרה והכניס השפחה במקום גברתה למלוך והיתה היא מסבבת בבתי כנסיות ובבתי מדרשות כביכול גרושה וטרודה ממלכותה ואומרת אני קהלת הייתי וכו' ודאי כעין דוגמא זה נטרד שלמה למטה ממלכותו והבין זה.

ד"א לשחוק אמרתי מהולל וכו' אמ' ר' פינחס מה מעורבב
שחוק ששחקת מדת הדין על דור המבול שנא' שוחה עבר ולא יגעיל
תפלט פרתו ולא תשכל. ישלחו כצאן עוליהם, יבלו בטוב ימיהם. כיון
שאמ' מה שדי כי נעבדנו ומה נועל כי נפגע בו אמ' להם הקב"ה ולשמחה
מה זו עושה חייכם אני מאבד זכריכם מן העולם ה"ד וימח את כל היקום
אשר על פני האדמה וכו'. ד"א | לשחוק אמרתי מהולל מה י ע"ב
מעורבב שחוק ששחקת מדת הדין על הסדומיים כתי' בהם ארץ ממנה יצא
לחם וכו' מקום ספיר אבניה וכו' גתיב לא ידעו עיט וכו' לא הדריכוהו
בני שחץ ולא עדה עליו שחל. כיון שאמרו באו ונשכח תורת רגל מארצינו
מיד פרץ נחל מעם גר הנשכחים מני רגל וכו'. אמ' להם הב"ה ולשמחה
מה זו עושה חייכם אני אשכחכם מן העולם ה"ד ויי המטיר על סדום
ועל עמורה גפרית ואש וכו'. ד"א לשחוק אמרתי מהולל. מה מעורבב
שחוק ששחקה מדת הדין על אלישבע בת עמי נדב שראתה ארבע שמחות
ביום אחד. דאתה משה אחי בעלה מלך ואהרן בעלה כהן גדול ואחיה
נחשון נשיא ושני בניה סגני כהונה. כיון שנכנסו בניה להקריב קרבן יצאו
שרופין נהפכה שמחתה לאבל ה"ד אחרי מות שני בני אהרן וכו'. ר'
לוי פתח אמרתי להוללים אל תהולו אמ' הקב"ה לרשעים הצדיקים לא שמחו
בעולמי אתם מבקשים לשמוח בעלמי. אדם הראשון לא שמח בעולמי
ואתם מבקשים לשמוח בעולמי. ר' לוי אמ' תפוח עקיבו של אדם הראשון
היה מכהה גלגל חמה ואל תתמה בזה בנוהג שבעולם אדם עושה שני הסקרין*
אחד לו ואחד לבן ביתו. של מי הוא עושה נאה לא שלו. כך אדם הראשון
נברא לתשמישו של הב"ה וגלגל חמה נברא לתשמישן של בריות לא כל
שכן תפוח עקיבו מכהה גלגל חמה. ומה אם תפוח עקיבו מכהה גלגל חמה
קלסתר פניו על אחת כמה וכמה.

אבל יש לך להסתכל כאן בסוד הדבר כי בודאי אדם הראשון
הוא רומז למדת התפ' שנקרא ראשון. למה נקרא ראשון בשביל שהוא
ראשון לחמש ספי' תהתונים שהם תפ' נצח הוד יסוד מלכות. וחמשה עליונים
הם כ"ע חכמה בינה גדולה וכיון שתפא' הוא ראשון לחמשה ספי'
התחתונים נקרא ראשון והוא אדם הראשון ועקיבו של אדם הוא יסוד
שהוא סוד הברית שעומד בין הרגלים והוא נקרא עקב ואותו אור העקב
שהוא יסוד מכהה גלגל חמה פי' שהחמה שהיא בארץ שלנו אינה נחשבת
כלום כנגד אור עקיבו כי הוא מקבל כל אורות העליונים כלם והוא מקור

האור כי לשם יתקבצו כל המאורות לכן גלגל חמה אין לה אור כלל כנגד
אותו אור וכל שכן קלסתר פניו שהוא סוד התפ' שנקרא אספקלריא המאירה
שהוא אור החיים והוא אור התורה ה"ד כי עמך מקור חיים באורך נראה
אור. וזהו סוד מה שאמ' רז"ל שופריה דיעקב מעין שופריה דאדם הראשון
כי שניהם שואבים מזו המדה לכן הוא מכהה גלגל חמה בודאי. לכן התורה
כולה היא סודי סודות אשריו | ואשרי חלקו מי שזוכה לחפש יא ע"א
אחרי נתיבותיה וסודותיה וטעמיה יזכה לראות באור החיים ה"ד לכו ונלכה
באור יי.

אמ' ר' לוי בשם ר' חנינא שלש עשרה חופות קשר הב"ה
לאדם הראשון בגן עדן שנא' בעדן גן אלהים היית כל אבן יקרה מסוכתך
אדם פטדה ויהלום תרשיש שהם וישפה ספיר נפך ובדקת וזהב מלאכת
תפיך ונקבייך בך ביום הבראך כוננו.

אבל סוד הדבר בעדן גן אלהים היית וכו' ואין עדן אלא עדן
החכמה שנקראת עדן ה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן וכו' והיא
נקרא עדן בשביל שהוא מקבל ענג ועידון ותפנוקי מלכים שהם כ"ע
וע' הע' שנקראים מלכים לכל התחתונים. גן אלהים זהו כנסת ישראל
שנקראת גן אלהים ה"ד גן נעול אחותי כלה גל געול וכו' כל זה רומז
למדת המלכות שנקראת כל ה"ד לא תחסר כל בה. אבן מלשון אבן מאסו
הבונים היית וכו' רומז גם כן לעט' שנקראת אבן. יקרה כי היא יקרה
ונכבדת בעיני המלך ה"ד כל כבודה בת מלך פנימה וכו'. מסוכתך אלו
הם שתי סוכות שרומזים לחכמה ובינה שהם נקראים סוכות והסוד בזה
וסוכה תהיה לצל יומם מחורב וכו' וכתי' וברא יי על כל מכון הר ציון
ועל מקראיה ענן יומם ועשן וכו' לכן כנסת ישראל שנקראת אבן היא יקרה
וכבודה מאותן שתי סוכות כי משם היא נמצאת לכן היא כבודה בת מלך
פנימה על שהיא בראשונה נסתרת ונעלמת לפני לפנים על כן היא נקראת
פנימה. ד"א פנימה פי' פני מה שהיא היתה עומדת לפני חכמה עליונה שנקראת
מה ה"ד מה רבו מעשיך יי כולם בחכמה וכו'. אדם רומז למדת התפ'
על שם שהוא מקבל האודם מן הגבורה. ד"א אדם אל תקרי אודם אלא
אדם שהוא נקרא אדם הראשון והסוד בזה דודי צח ואדום דגול מרבבה.
פטדה הוא אבן ירוק הבא מארץ כוש רומז למדת הבינה שהוא קו ירוק
והסוד בזה את קשתי נתתי בענן והוא רומז לקשת העליון והוא ירוק לכן
נקרא פטדה על שם שהוא מארץ כוש והוא נקרא כוש בשביל שחור

שהוא כולל כל השחרות והוא נקרא חושך והסוד בזה ישת חשך סתרו
סביבותיו סוכתו חשכת מים וכו׳. ויהלום רומז לגבורה שהוא בית דין
הקשה שנקרא ויהלום מלש׳ הולם פעם ועוד כתי׳ יהלמני צדיק חסד ויוכיחני
בשביל שהוא מכה והולם ביסורין הוא נקרא יהלום. תרשיש רומז ליסוד
בשביל שהוא מקבל משש מאות ושלש עשרה נחיבות המתפרטים והיורדים
מעולם העליון אל יסוד עולם ההי"ד תרשיש כי ת"ר רומז לשש מאות.
שיש רומז למלכות שהוא בת זוגו שנקרא אבן שיש בשביל שהוא מקבל
מצד | הדין הקשה שנקרא אבן ההי"ד והסירותי את לב האבן יא ע"ב
מבשרכם וכו׳. שהם כנסת ישראל שכולם נראים בה כמו השוהם שהוא
מקבל כל המראות. וישפה רומז לכנסת ישראל שהיא נקראת ישפה אל
תקרי ישפה אלא יש פה פי׳ מדת היש שהוא נעלם בחכמה נראית במדת
המלכות שנקרא פה בשביל שהוא פה לפתח שער המלך העליון. ספיר הוא
גם כן רומז לה והסוד בזה ותחת רגליו כמעשה לבנת הספיר וכו׳. נופך
רומז למדת הגבורה והסוד בזה מלש׳ בפך אבניך והבן זה. וברקת רומז
למדת ההוד שהיא נקראת ברקת על שם שהיא מקבלת מצד הגבורה שנקרא
ברק והסוד בזה וברק בן אבינועם כי ברק הוא סוד הגבורה שנקרא ברק
והוא בית דין העליון והוא בן אבי נועם אבי רומז לחכמה שהוא סוד האב
העליון. נועם רומז למדת הבינה שנקראת נועם כי בה כל מיני חירות ונעימות
של העולמות כולם והסוד בזה ויהי נועם יי אלהינו עלינו וכו׳ עלינו
ודאי כי היא מכסה עלינו כאם שמכסה על בניה. זהב רומז למדת הזהב
שהוא גבורה. ד"א בעדן גן אלהים וכו׳ כי יש בזה הפסוק שלש עשר
חיבות כנגד שלש עשרה חופות שקשר הקב"ה לאדם הראשון ואלו הן:
אדם פטדה ויהלום תרשיש שהם וישפה ספיר ונפך וברקת זהב כל אבן
יקרה מסוכתך כנגד י"ג חופות שעשה הקב"ה לאדם הראשון כשברא הב"ה
אותו ההי"ד בעדן גן אלהים היית כל אבן יקרה מסוכתך וכו׳.

ר׳ שמעון בן לקיש אמ׳ אחת עשרה חופות היו. ורבנן אמרי
עשרה חופות היו. אין ביניהם מחלוקת. מי שעשה אותן י"ג עשה כל אבן
יקרה מסוכתך שלשה. ומי שעשה אחת עשרה עשה אותן אחד. ומי שעשה
עשרה לא עשה אחד מהן אלא אדם פטדה ויהלום תרשיש שהם וישפה ספיר
נפך וברקת זהב. הרי לך עשר כנגד עשרה חופות. רומז לעשר מדרגות
הנעלמות שהם בעולם העליון שהם עשר צחצחות. והסוד בזה והשביע
בצחצחות נפשך וכו׳ והבן זה. ואחר כל זה הטובה שעשה הב"ה לאדם

הראשון אמ׳ לו כי עפר אתה ואל עפר תשוב. אברהם לא שמח בעולמי
ואתם מבקשים לשמוח בעולמי. כי נולד לו בן לאחר מאה שנה אמרתי לו
קח נא את בנך את יחידך אשר אהבת את יצחק והלך אברהם אבי ע"ה
מהלך שלשה ימים ההי"ד ביום השלישי וישא אברהם את עיניו וירא את
המקום מרחוק. והסוד בזה מרחוק נִ נראה לי וכו׳. פי׳ סוד המקום שהקב"ה
מנסה בו הצדיקים הוא אחד מל"ב נתי׳ פליאות חכמה והוא מכ"ע שנקרא בעולם
רחוק והסוד | בזה אמרתי אחכמה והיא רחוקה ממני. וירא מה יב ע"א
ראה ראה ענן קשור על גבי ההר אמ׳ לו בני אתה רואה מה שאני רואה
אמ׳ לו הן. אמ׳ לו מה אתה רואה. אמ׳ לו אני רואה הלנאה ומשובח
וענן קשור עליו. אמ׳ לנעריו רואים אתם כלום. אמרו לו אנו רואים הר
וגבעה. אמ׳ להם שבו לכם פה עם החמור עם הדומה לחמור. נטל את
יצחק בנו והעלהו לראש ההר ובנה את המזבח וסידר את המערכה וערך
את העצים ונטל הסכין. אילולי שאמ׳ לו הב"ה אל השלח ידך כבר היה
שחוט. כיון שבא אצל אמו אמדה לו אמו מה עשה לך אביך. אמ׳ לה
נטלני אבא והעלני הרים והורידני בקעות וסדר את המערכה והעריך העצים
ועקדני על גבי המזבח ונטל את הסכין לשחטני. אילולי שאמ׳ לו הב"ה
אל תשלח ידך אל הנער כבר היה שוחט אותי. אמרה לו ווי לך ברא
דעליבתא. אילולי שאמ׳ לו הב"ה אל תשלח ידך היה שוחט אותך. ולא
הספיקה לגמור הדבר עד שיצתה נשמתה וזהו שכתי׳ ויבא אברהם לספוד
לשרה ולבכותה. מהיכן בא מהר המוריה. כביכול הב"ה לא שמח בעולמו
ובני אדם מבקשים לשמוח בעולמו. שמח יי במעשיו אין כתי׳ כאן אלא
ישמח יי במעשיו. אימתי ישמח יי במעשיו לעתיד לבא. ישראל לא שמחו
בעולמי ואתם מבקשים לשמוח בעולמי. שמח ישראל בעושיו לא כתי׳
כאן אלא ישמח ישראל בעושיו שעתידין ישראל לשמוח במעשיו של הב"ה
לעתיד לבא. לפי׳ כתי׳ אמרתי להוללים אל תהולו. ר׳ יוחנן ור׳ יודן
בן גלילא פתח אם על פיך יגביה נשר וכי ירים קנו. אמ׳ הקב"ה אם
על מימר דפומך הייתי משרה שכינתי על גבי הארון או על מימר פומך
הייתי מסלק שכינתי מן הארון. מקדש ראשון סלע ישכון ויתלונן לינה
אחת. מקדש שני על שן סלע ומצודה. ושנינו משניטל הארון אבן היתה
שם מימות הנביאים הראשונים ושתיה היתה נקראת. ולמה נקראת שתיה.
אמ׳ ר׳ יוסי בר חלפתא שממנה הושתת כל העולם. וכיצד היתה תפלתו
של כהן גדול ביום הכפורים. יהי רצון מלפנקדי אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו

שתהא השנה הזו שחומה* גשומה וטלולה שנת דיצה שנת שובע שנת רצון
שנת ברכה שנת משא ומתן שנה שלא יצטרכו עמך ישראל בה זה לזה שנה
שלא ינביהו שררה אלו על אלו. ורבנן אומ' עוד היה מוסיף בתפלתו על
אחינו אנשי השחון שלא יעשו בתיהן קבריהן. משם חפר אוכל למרחוק
עיניו יביטו. משם הוא מרגל אוכל לכל ימות השנה. למרחוק עיניו יביטו |
מראש השנה היה יודע מה יהיה בסופה. כיצד כיון שהיה יב ע"ב
צופה ורואה עשן המערכה עולה לדרום אזי היה יודע שדרום שבע, עולה
למזרח יודע שהמזרח שבע. עולה לצפון יודע שהצפון שבע. כלפי רקיע
יודע שהעולם כולו שבע. ואחר כל השנה היה* אפרוחיו יעלעו דם ובאשר
חללים שם הוא. פי' שישראל כולם הם מתענגין בתפנוקי מלכים. ר'
יודן בשם ר' יהושע בן לוי ור' ברכיה בשם ר' חייא בר אבא אמרו קרבו
שאו את אחיכם מאת פני הקדש . מאת הקדש אין כתי' כאן אלא מאת
פני הקדש כאדם שאומ' לחבירו העבר את המת הזה מלפני אביו עד מתי
יראה אביו את בנו מת ה"ד אחרי מות שני בני אהרן וכו' .ר' אמאי
בר' זעירא* פתח אף לזאת יחרד לבי ויתר ממקומו. ומהו ויתר מקפץ
כמו שכתו' לנתר בהם על הארץ ותר' לקפצא בהון על ארעא. אמ' איוב
לא היו בני אדם* דומין למטהו של אהרן. נכנס יבש ויצא לח. במטה
אהרן כתי' ויוצא פרח ויצץ ציץ ויגמול שקדים. טיטוס הרשע נכנס לבית
קדשי הקדשים חתך את הפרוכת ונכנס בשלום ויצא בשלום. ובני אהרן
נכנסו להקטיר ויצאו שרופים ה"ד אחרי מות וכו' . ר' ברכיה פתח
גם ענוש לצדיק לא טוב להכות נדיבים עלי יושר. אפע"פ שענשתי לאהרן
ונטלתי שני בניו ממנו לא טוב אלא להכות נדיבים עלי יושר. תני בשם
ר' אליעזר לא מתו שני בני אהרן נדב ואביהוא אלא על שהורו הלכה
בפני משה רבן. מעשה בתלמיד חכם שהורה הלכה לפני ר' אליעזר רבו.
אמ' זה אינו מוציא שבתו עד שהוא מת. וכן היה לא הוציא שבתו עד
שמת. אמ' לו תלמידיו רבינו נביא אתה. אמ' להם לא נביא אנכי אלא
כך מקובל אני מרבותי כל המורה הלכה בפני רבו חייב מיתה. תנא אסור
לתלמיד חכם להורות הלכה בפני רבו עד שיהיא רחוק ממנו י"ב מיל
כנגד מחנה ישראל. בא וראה בארבע מקומות בתורה מזכיר מיתתן של
בני אהרן והזכיר את סורחנן כל כך למה להודיעך שלא נמצא בידן אלא
אותו עון בלבד. אמ' ר' אלעזר המודעי בא וראה כמה קשה מיתתן של
בני אהרן לפני הקב"ה שבכל מקום שהוא מזכיר מיתתן מזכיר סורחנן

כל כך למה שלא ליתן פתחון פה לבאי עולם שמעשים מקולקלים היה
להם בסתר לפי' מתו. אמ' בר קפרא בשם ר' ירמיה בן אלעזר בשביל
ארבעה דברים מתו בני אהרן. על הקריבה ועל ההקרבה ועל אש זרה ועל
שלא נטלו עיצה זה מזה. על הקריבה שנכנסו לפני לפנים למקום שלא
היה להם להכנים להקטיר קטורת פי' למקום שהקטורת הוא שוכן שם
ה"ד שמן וקטורת ישמח וכו' כי שמן רומז לכ"ע שכל השמנים של
המשחים שנמשכים לזה העולם משם הם | נובעים ה"ד יג ע"א
כשמן הטוב על הראש יורד על הזקן זקן אהרן שיורד זכו' . לכן הוא
נקרא שמן. וקטורת רומז לבינה קטורת מלש' קשר כי הוא קושר בין
העולמות בין עולם העליון ובין עולם המחודש כי הוא כאסקופה המשתמש
לשתי רשויות אם הפתח פתוח היא משתמשת לפנים והדלת נעולה משתמשת
לחוץ ונחשבת כרשות הרבים והדלת פתוח נחשבת כרשות היחיד כך הבינה
היא משתמשת לפניי לפנים שהוא רשות היחוד שהוא מעולם העליון ונחשבת
גם כן מעולם התחתון שהוא רשות הרבים לכן נקרא קטורת שקושר כל
העולמות בקשר חזק ובזה חטאו בני אהרן שרצולהקטיר קטורת ליכנס
לפניי לפנים להרהר ולחקור. ועל ההקרבה שהקריבו מה שלא נצטוו על
זה ה"ד אשר לא צוה אותם. ועל אש זרה על שהביאו אש מבית כירים
פי' אש של העט' שהוא בית הכירים לקרב האש למדרגתו. ועל שלא
נטלו עיצה זה מזה. תנ' ר' חייא איש מחתתו אש מחיתתו* אש מעצמו
עשו ולא נטלו עיצה זה מזה. אמ' ר' לוי ובשביל ארבע דברים מתו בני
אהרן ובכלם כתי' בהם מיתה. על ידי שנכנסו שתויי יין כתי' בהם יין
ושכר אל תשת אתה ובניך אתך בבאכם אל אהל מועד ולא תמותו וכו'.
שהם באו והיו מעוררים צד הגבורה שהוא יין המשתכר ויין של רוגז ויין
של כעס. וכהן הוא מדת החסד צריך להראות לעולם פנים שחוקים ופנים
של שמחה כדי לעורר מדרגתו כדי לעורר חסד העליון שהוא כהן גדול
בשמים ואלו בני אהרן באו לעורר צד הדין שהוא יין המשתכר כדי להוציא
דין על העולם לכך נענשו. ועל ידי שנכנסו מחוסרי בגדים דכתי' בהן
והיו על אהרן ועל בניו בבאם אל אהל מועד או בגשתם אל המזבח לשרת
בקדש ולא ישאו עון ומתו.

אבל סוד הדבר כי שני בני אהרן לא היו עדין שלמים בבגדים
העליונים כי כל צדיק וצדיק יש לו מלבוש ידוע* שיתלבש בו כשיפטר
לבית עולמו אזי ימצא אותו מלבוש מתוקן ויתלבש בו כהוגן אבל אם

לא עדיין נשלמו מעשיו ואינו ראוי לאותו מלבוש אזי לא ימצא אותו מלבוש מתוקן ואותו מלבוש יֵאָרֵג ממצות וצדקות ומעשים טובים ה"ד וילבש צדקה כשריון וזה המלבוש אינו מתוקן אלא למי שהוא שלם מלמטה וקיים דמות השלשלת* בזה העולם בפריה ורביה והוא שיש לו בת זוג אזי הוא שלם מלמעלה ומלמטה ואזי אותו המלבוש מתוקן לו כראוי. ואם כביכול זה המלבוש אינו מתוקן לו בשביל שלא נשלם מלמטה בשביל שאינו נשוא והוא פגום שאין לו פריה ורביה אזי נפשט לו אותו מלבוש מלמעלה. גם כן שני בני אהרן נכנסו מחוסרי בגדים פי' בגדים עליונים שלא היו נשואים ולא היה להם פריה ורביה לכן הופשטו מאותן הבגדים ולא היו עדין מתדמין ליוצרם* ונכנסו לעשות העבודה | ההיא לכן נענשו יג ע"ב מלמעלה ה"ד ותצא אש מלפני יי ותאכל אותם וכו' פי' דווקא אש העליון שהוא המלכות שנקרא אש ה"ד כי יי אלהיך אש אוכלה הוא וכו'.

ומה היו חסרים אמ' ר' לוי מעיל היו חסרים שכתו' בו מיתה ה"ד והיה על אהרן לשרת ונשמע קולו בבואו אל הקדש וכו'. ועל ידי שלא היה להם בנים כמו שאמרנו כתו' בהם מיתה שנא" וימת נדב ואביהוא לפני יי בהקריבם אש זרה לפני יי במדבר סיני ובנים לא היו להם וכו'. אבא חנין אמ' על ידי שלא היו להם נשים דתנן וכפר בעדו ובעד ביתו. ביתו היא אשתו שנקראת ביהו בשביל שהאשה היא עקר הבית. אמ' ר' לוי שחוצים היו הרבה היו אומרין איזו אשה הוגנת לנו. אמ' ר' נחמיה עליהם כתי' בחודיו אכלה אש ובתולתיו לא הוללו. ועוד מן זה כתי' ואל משה אמר עלה אל יי אתה ואהרן נדב ואביהוא ושבעים מזקני ישראל והשתחויתם מרחוק. מלמד שהיו משה ואהרן מהלכין תחלה ונדב ואביהוא מהלכין אחריהן והיו אומרין עוד ימותו שני זקינים הללו ואנו נוהגין שררה על הצבור תהתיהן. ר' יודן בשם ר' איבו אמ' שניהם אמרו בפיהן זה לזה. ר' פינחס אמ' בלבם הרהרו. אמ' להם הב"ה אל תתהלל ביום מחר כי לא תדע מה ילד יום. ודא' מה ילד יום כי אותו היום הידוע שהוא בנסת ישראל שהוא אחד משבעה ימות השבוע שהם פעליו* בששת ימי בראשית כי אותה המדה היא מקבלת הגזירה מעולם המחשבה לחתוך הגזירה על פי הדין העליון ויש בידה יכולת לשנות הגזירה ההיא לטוב או לרע כמו שהיא רוצה וזהו סוד וינחם יי על הרעה וכן ויחעצב אל לבו. כל זה רומז למדת המלכות שהיא נקראת סוד האיפשר* לכן היא הלד מה שהיא חפיצה להוריד לעולם לכן אמ' בי לא תדע מה

ילד יום ודאי. כי הרבה סייחין מתו ונעשו עורותיהן שטוחין על אמותיהן. כתי' ואל אצילי בני ישראל לא שלח ידו וכו'. אמ' ר' פינחס מכאן שהיו ראוין להשלחת יד. ויחזו את האלהים ויאכלו וישתו אלא מלמד שזנו עיניהן מן השכינה כאדם המביט בחבירו מתוך מאכל ומשתה. ר' יוחנן אמ' אכילה ודאי דכתי' באור פני מלך חיים ורצונו כעב מלקוש. אמ' ר' תנחומא מלמד שהגיסו את לבן ועמדו על רגליהן וזנו עיניהן מן השכינה. ר' יהושע בשם ר' לוי אמ' משה לא זן עיניו מן השכינה שנא' ויסתר משה פניו כי ירא מהביט אל האלהים. בשכר כי ירא זכה לוידאו מגשת אליו ובשכר מהביט אל האלהים זכה ותמונת יי יביט. ונדב ואביהוא זנו עיניהן מן השכינה ולא נהנו מן השכינה ה"ד וימת נדב ואביהוא לפני יי בהקריבם אש זרה וכו'. אמ' ר' יוחנן וכי לפני יי מתו אלא מלמד שהיה קשה לפני הקב"ה בשעה שבניהם של צדיקים מסתלקין בחייהם. ר' נחמן בע' קמ' ר' | פינחס בכאן אתה אומ' יד ע"א לפני יי לפני יי שני פעמים ולהלן הוא אומ' לפני אביהם פעם אחת אלא מלמד שהיא קשה לפני הקב"ה כפלים. במדבר סיני וכי במדבר סיני מתו אלא מלמד שמהר סיני נטלו אפופסין שלהן. ובנים לא היו להם ר' יעקב בר אביה בשם ר' אבא אמ' אלו היו להם בנים היו קודמין לאלעזר ואיתמר שכל הקודם בנחלה יוצאי יריכו קודמת ובלבד שיהא נוהג מנהג אבותיו. ויכהן אלעזר ואיתמר על פני אהרן אביהם. ר' יצחק אמ' בחייו ר' חייא בר אבא אמ' במותו. על דעתיה דר' יצחק דאמ' בחייו נאמ' כאן על פני אהרן אביהם ונא' להלן וימה הרן על פני תרח אביו. ומה פני האמור להלן בחייו אף בכאן פני בחייו. על דעתיה דר' חייא דאמ' במותו נאמ' כאן פני וגאמ' להלן ויקם אברהם מעל פני מתו. מה פני האמור להלן במותו אף פני האמור כאן במותו. ועל דעתיה דר' יצחק דאמ' בחייו ארעיה טומאה באהרן שימש אלעזר טומאה באלעזר שימש איתמר. מעשה בשמעון בן קמחית שהיה צריך לדבר עם מלך מערביים ניתזה צינורא מתוך פיו על בגדיו וטמאתו. ונכנס יהודה אחיו ושמיש תחתיו בכהונה גדולה. אותו היום ראתה אימן שני בניה כהנים גדולים. אמרו שבעה בנים היו לה לקמחית וכולן שימשו בכהונה גדולה. נכנסו חכמים אצלה אמרו לה אמרי לנו מה מעשים טובים יש בידך. אמרה להם לא ראו קורות ביתי שערות ראשי מימי. אמרו כל קמחיא קמחין וקמחא דקמחית סולתא. קראו עליה את הפסוק הזה כל כבודה בת מלך פנימה ממשבצות זהב לבושה.

אמ' אבא בר אבינא מפני מה נסמכה פרשת מיתת מרים לפרשת אפר הפרה. אלא בשם שאפר הפרה מכפרת כך מיתת מרים מכפרת. אמ' ר' יודן מפני מה נסמכה מיתת אהרן לשבור הלוחות אלא מלמד שקשה לפני הקב"ה מיתתו של אהרן כשבירת הלוחות. אמ' ר' חייא בר אבא באחד בניסן מתו בניו של אהרן מפני מה מזכיר מיתתן ביום הכפורים. אלא מלמד שכשם שיום הכפורים מכפר שנא' כי ביום הזה יכפר עליכם וכו' כך מיתתן של הצדיקים מכפרת. ומנין שמיתתן של צדיקים מכפרת שנ' ויקברו את עצמות שאול ויהונתן בנו בארץ בנימין בצלע בקבר קיש אביו ויעשו ככל אשר צוה המלך ויעתר אלהים לארץ אחרי כן. ועוד פתח ואמ' אף לזאת יחרד לבי ויתר ממקומו. אליהוא בן ברכאל הבוזי היה צופה היאך בניו של אהרן מתים נכנסין להקריב ויוצאין שרופים ותמה ואמ' אף לזאת יחרד לבי. ומה ראה לומ' כן. בשעה שנתפקדה הכהונה ביד אהרן מה כתי' שם וידבר משה אל בני ישראל ויתנו אליו כל נשיאיהם מטה לנשיא אחד מטה לנשיא אחד וכו' וכתב שמו של כל שבט ושבט על מטהו ושם אהרן כתב על מטה לוי ונתנו באמצע.אמ' | משה שלא יאמרו יד ע"ב מריח היה בשכינה ועשה פרי אמ' משה הריני נותנו באמצע כדי שלא אתן לכם פתחון פה ה"ד ומטה אהרן בתוך מטותם מה כתי' שם וינח משה את כל המטות לפני יי באהל העדות. ויהי ממחרת ויבא משה אל אהל העדות והנה פרח מטה אהרן לבית לוי ויוצא פרח ויצץ ציץ ויגמול שקידים. ומה אם עצים יבישים הריחו בחייו של עולם והפריחו ועשו פירות ויצאו חיים ובני אהרן שנכנסו חיים ויצאו שדופים. היה מביט באלו ועל זה כתיב אף לזאת יחרד לבי. אימתי בשעת וידבר יי אל משה אחרי מות שני בני אהרן וכו' שאז בעתן היו ראוים למות ונתפלל משה עליהם ונשמע תפלתו מחצה. אימתי בשעה שעשו ישראל אותו מעשה מה כתי' שם ובאהרן התאנף יי מאד להשמידו ואתפלל גם בעד אהרן בעת ההיא. ואין השמדה אלא כלייה שנא' ואשמיד פריו ממעל ושרשיו מתחת. כיון שנתפלל משה נעשית תפלתו מחצה ה"ד אחרי מות שני בני אהרן וכו'. איש איש מבית ישראל אשר ישחט שור או כשב. ורוח הקדש צווחת כי ממזרח שמש ועד מבואו גדול שמי בגוים ובכל מקום מוקטר מוגש לשמי וכו'. משעה שהשמש זורחת ועד ששוקעת אין קילוסו של הב"ה פוסק מפי אדם ה"ד כי ממזרח שמש ועד מבואו גדול שמי וכו' וכן כתי' בשעה שעמד יהושע ועשה מלחמה בגבעון מה כתי' שם אז ידבר יהושע ליי ביום תת יי את

האמורי לפני בני ישראל ויאמר לעיני ישראל שמש בגבעון דום וירח בעמק אילון. בקש יהודע לשתק החמה ולמה לא אמ' לה עמוד אלא דום. אלא כל שעה שהוא מתהלך ומקלס לפני הקב"ה כל זמן שהוא מקלס יש בו כה להלך לכן אמ' לו יהושע דום שנא' שמש בגבעון דום וכו'. אמר לו השמש ליהושע וכי יש קטן אומ' לגדול אני נבראתי ברביעי ובן אדם בששי ואתה אומ' לי דום. אמ' לה יהושע בן חורין שהוא קטן ויש לו עבד זקן אינו אומ' לו שתוק. אברהם אבי' הקנה לו להב"ה שמים וארץ שנא' הרימותי ידי אל יי אל עליון קונה שמים וארץ. ולא עוד אלא שנשתחוה השמש ליוסף שנא' והנה השמש והירח ואחד עשר כוכבים משתחוים לי ה"ד שמש בגבעון דום. א"ל ליהושע וכך אתה גוזר עלי שאדום.א"ל הן. א"ל וכי כיון שאני שותק מי יאמר קילוסו של הב"ה. אמ' לה דום אתה ואני אומ' שירה שנא' אז ידבר יהושע ביום תת יי את האמורי. ואין אז אלא שירה שנא' אז ישיר משה וכו'.אבל סוד הדבר כי השמש שהוא מגן יי צבאות שהוא סוד יעקב השתחוה ליוסף שהוא סוד הברית וזהו סוד וישתחו ישראל על ראש המטה שהוא משתחוה ליוסף ואעפ"י שהוא בנו.וזהו שא' רז"ל תעלא בעידוניה סגיד ליה. אע"פי שהוא בני וכיון שהוא מלך אנהוג לו כבוד והלא מלך הוא ועכשיו נתקיים חלומו | ה"ד והנה השמש והירח ודאי. שאל ר' אמי את ר' שמואל סו ע"א בר נחמן מהו ובכל מקום מוקטר מוגש לשמי ומנחה טהורה. התורה מזהרת ואומרת השמר לך פן תעלה עולותיך בכל מקום אשר תראה. כי אם במקום אשר יבחר/י באחד שבטיך שם תעלה עולותיך וזהו שכתו' איש איש מבית ישראל אשר ישחט שור או כשב או עז במחנה או אשר ישחט מחוץ למחנה. ואל פתח אוהל מועד לא הביאו להקריב קרבן ליי. אמ' להם* אסור לכם לשחוט חוץ מאהל מועד. ר' ישמעאל אומ' היו ישדאל מתאוין לאכול בשר באותו שעה היתרו* עצמן מן השחיטה שלא לשחוט חוץ לאהל מועד ולמה כן אלא* שהיו להוטין עד עכשו אחרי ע"ז. ומניין שהיו שוחטין לע"ז שכך כתי' ולא יזבחו עוד את זבחיהם לשעירים אשר הם זונים אחריהם. וכיון שבקשו ליכנס לארץ באו להם אצל משה אמ' לו ר' אם בקשנו לאכול בשר היאך נעשה. אמ' להם לשעבר כשהייתם במדבר היה לכם לשחוט* חוץ לאוהל מועד אבל כשאתם נכנסין לארץ מותר לכם בכל מקום ה"ד כי ירחיב יי אלהיך את גבולך כאשר דבר לך ואמרת אוכלה בשר כי תאוה נפשך לאכול בשר בכל אות נפשך תאכל בשר. אמ' להם

לא בשביל שהתרתי לכם את השחיטה תהיו נוטלין מן הצאן ושוחטין. משה היה מלמד להם לישראל ואמ' להם אם יש לכם כבשים מה שאתה גוזז מהם לכסות שלך הה"ד כבשים ללבושך ומחיר שדה עתודים. מהו ומחיר שדה עתודים שכר שאתה עושה מן העתודים הוי לוקח בהם שדה. ודי חלב עזים דייך חלב עזים ללחמך וללחם ביתך. אמ' ר' עקיבא ראה היאך הב"ה חס על נכסיהן של ישראל. הרימה אתה אומ' מכאן וזבחת מבקרך ומצאנך מה שהן יולדות. לא תהא נוטל מן הצאן ושוחט ולא נוטל ומקריב אלא ממה שהם מולידות. ומנין שכתו' כן כל הבכור אשר יולד בבקרך ובצאנך הזכר תקדיש ליי אלהיך. ממה שהן מולידות אתה נוטל ורשאי להקריב. אמ' ר' אלעזר בן עזריה למדה אותך התורה דרך ארץ אם יהיה לאדם מישראל עשרה ליטרין של כסף יהא אוכל ירק ואם יהיה לו עשרים יהיה אוכל בשר וכל כך למה כדי לחוס על ממונן של ישראל. אמ' ר' אלעזר בן שמוע כשהוא לוקח בשר משבת לשבת לא יהא לוקח עד שיהא נמלך באנשי ביתו. מנין שכך כתי' ואמרת אוכלה בשר לפי' היה משה מזהיר לישראל שלא יהיו מרבין באכילה ובשתיה.

תנא ד' חייא* בא וראה הב"ה הוציא עשר כתרים למעלה והם קדושים שהב"ה מתעטר בהם ומתלבש בהם והוא בהם והם בו והם | קשורים זה בזה כשלהבת הקשורה בנחלת ואין שם פירוד טו ע"ב כלל אלא הכל ייחוד אחד. כנגד זה יש עשר כתרים שאינן קדושים למטה והם אחוזים בזוהמה השופר* תפורת בהר הקדש חכמה ועל זה נקראים חכמות. תאנא עשרה מני חכמות אלו ירדו לעולם וכולם הם נשתאבו במצרים חוץ מאחד שנתפשט בעולם וכולם הם מיני כשפים וקסמים וחרשים ומהם יודעים המצריים חרשים על כל בני העולם. וכשהמצריים רוצים לעשת קיבוץ בכשפיהם הם יוצאין לשדה להרים גבוהים וזובחין זבחים ועושין גומות בארץ ומסבבים אותו דם סביביו של אותו הגומא ושאר הדם מקבצים בגומא והבשר מניחין עליו ומקרבין קרבנותיהם לאותן מינין רעים ומתקרבים כאחד ומתפייסים עמהם באותו ההר. וישראל כשהיו בשעבוד תחת ממשלתם היו מקרבין ולומדין מהם והיו טועים אחריהם הה"ד כמעשה ארץ מצרים וכו' וכתי' ולא יזבחו עוד את זבחיהם לשעירים אשר הם זונים אחריהם וכו'. האנא בשעה שהיו מקריבין להם על גבי השדה והיו מזמנין אותו דם ומקרבין קרבניהם היו מתקבצים כל אותן מינין רעים ורואין אותן כדוגמת שעירים כולם מליאים שער ומודיעים להם מה שהם צריכים*

ד"א איש איש מבית ישראל אשר ישחט שור או כשב ואל פתח אוהל מועד לא וכו'. ר' חייא פתח שוחט השור מכה איש זובח השה עורף כלב מעלה מנחה דם חזיר. מי שהוא גונב שורו של חבירו ושחטו כאלו לבעליו הוא שוחט. ד"א שוחט השור מכה איש. באו וראה עד שלא הוקם המשכן היו הבמות מותרות ועבודה בבכורות. משהוקם המשכן נאסרו הבמות ועבודה בכוהנים. אמ' הקב"ה מי שהוא מקריב שור חוץ מאהל מועד כמכה איש כאלו נפש שוחט שנא' דם יחשב לאיש ההוא דם שפך ונכות וכו'. וכל מי שהוא שוחט במשכן יכבדנני שנא' זובח תודה יכבדנני. ומה שכר אני פורע לו כשאביא ישועה לישראל הוא זוכה לראות בה שנא' ושם דרך אראנו בישע אלהים. אמ' ר' אבהו כל ישועה שבאת לישראל היא של הקב"ה שנא' עמו אנכי בצרה אחלצהו ואכבדהו. אמרו ישראל לפני הקב"ה רבונו של עולם הואיל ואמרת עמו אנכי בצרה הושיעה ימינך ועניינו שאם אתה עונה אותנו הישועה שלך היא שנא' ולך לישועתה לנו. כדי שלא תהא הימין לאחור ה"ד השיב אחור ימינו מפני אויב.

אצ"ל כשהימין שהוא חסד של אברהם שולט בעולם אזי כל בעלי דינין הם וזוהמותיהן הם נכפפים | מפני הימין ואם לאו טז ע"א כביכול הימין הוא נצוח וכפוף ונלגל האויב מתגלגל למעלה וידן של ישראל ירדה למטה וידן של אומות העולם שולטת למעלה והסוד בזה והידים ידי עשו.

ד"א הקול קול יעקב וכו' כל זמן שקול יעקב שהם ישראל נשמע קולם בבתי מדרשות ובבתי כניסיות שהם עוסקים בתורה והוגים בה יומם ולילה אזי אין אומה ולשון יכול לשלוט עליהם הה"ד הקול קול יעקב וכו' אבל אם חם ושלום הם מתפרקים מן התורה ופורשים ממנה אזי סמיך ליה והידים ידי עשו כי אז ידי עשו ושאר האומות שולטים עליהם. והסוד בזה ופרקת עולו מעל צוארך. פי' הם פרקו עול התורה מעל צוארם אזי תהי אתה שולט עליהם.

אמ' ר' ברכיה ראה מה כתי' גילי מאד בת ציון הריעי בת ירושלם הנה מלכך יבא לך צדיק ונושע הוא עני ורוכב על חמור ועל עיר בן אתונות. צדיק ומושיע אין כתי' כאן אלא צדיק ונושע הוא. וכן כתי' אמרו לבת ציון הנה ישעך בא הנה שכרו אתו. הנה מושיעך אין כתי' כאן אלא הנה ישעך. כביכול הוא נושע. אמ' ר' מאיר ויושע יי ביום ההוא את ישראל. ויושע כתי' כביכול בישראל הוא נגאל. וכל

זמן שישראל נגאלין כאלו הוא נגאל. וכתי׳ אשריך ישראל מי כמוך עם נושע ביי וכו׳. עם הושע ביי אין כתי׳ אלא עם נושע ביי. אמ׳ הב"ה לישראל בעולם הזה הייתם נושעים על ידי אדם. במצרים על ידי משה ואהרן. בימי סיסרא על ידי ברק ודבורה. במדינים על ידי שמגר בן ענת ההי"ד ואחריו היה שמגר בן ענת ויך את פלשתים שש מאות איש במלמד הבקר ויושע גם הוא את ישראל. וכן על ידי השופטים ועל ידי שהיו בשר ודם הייתם חוזרין ומשתעבדין אבל לעתיד לבא אני בעצמי אגאל אתכם ושוב אין אתם משתעבדין שנא׳ ישראל נושע ביי תשועת עולמים לא תבושו ולא תכלמו עד עולמי עד. ועוד פתח ואמ׳ ויגבה יי צבאות במשפט והאל הקדוש נקדש בצדקה. אימתי נעשה הקב"ה גבוה בעולמו. כשיעשה משפט באומות העולם שנא׳ נצב לריב יי ועומד לדין עמים.

אבל סוד הדבר ויגבה הוא רומז למדת המחשבה שהוא כ"ע שהוא גבוה מעל גבוה כי הוא גבוה על כל המדרגות התחתונים לו ההי"ד כי גבוה מעל גבוה שומר, יי רומז למדת התפ׳ שהוא נקרא יהוה והוא מדת יעקב והוא הבריח התיכון והוא עץ החיים העומד באמצע הגן כי הוא מקבל משקה מן מבוע של הנחל ומשפיע לגן יי. צבאות רומז לנצח והוד שהם צבאות והם מראות הצובאות שהם באהל מועד. ד"א צבאות רומז ליסוד שהוא סוד הבריתאות הקודש. צבאות בשביל שהוא אות בצבא שלו. במשפט רומז למדת התפ׳ שהוא נקרא משפט | בשביל מז ע"ב שהוא מקבל מצד החסד ומצד הגבורה לכן הוא אינו דין גמור ולא רחמים גמור אלא בינוני כי הוא ממוצע בין שני הפכיים בין דין ורחמים. לכן הוא נקרא משפט. ד"א משפט רומז ג"כ למלכות שנקראת משפט כי היא השופטנית ששופטת בשערים של המלך והסוד בזה שופטים ושוטרים תתן לך וכו׳. והסוד בזה והיא שפטה את ישראל בעת וכו׳. והאל הקדוש רומז לעולם החכמה שנקראת קדוש בשביל שהוא קדש הקדשים לכן הוא נקרא האל הקדש. נקדש בצדקה בשביל שהוא נותן כל קדושה בצדקה שהיא המטרוניתא כי הוא יעשה עמה צדקה כדרך שעושה העשיר לדל.

וכתי׳ ועתיק יומין יתיב לבושיה כתלג חיור ושער רישיה כעמר נקי כורסייה שביבין דינור ונגלגלוהי נור דליק. מהו כרסון רמיו וכי כסאות רבות הן והא כתי׳ וארא את יי יושב על כסא רם וכו׳. וכתי׳ מלך יושב על כסא דין. מהו כרסון רמיו. ר׳ יוסי הגלילי ור׳ עקיבא.

אחד מהן אומ׳ כרסון רמיו זה הכסא ואופרין* שלו. ואחד אמ׳ אלו כסאות של אומות העולם שעתיד להפכן ההי"ד והפכתי כסא ממלכות והשמדתי חוזק ממלכות הגוים וכו׳ תדע שכך הוא שהוא אומ׳ כרסון רמיו שכן הוא אומ׳ סום ורוכבו רמה בים. ורבנן אמ׳ מהו כרסון רמיו לעתיד לבא הקב"ה יושב והמלאכים נותנין כסאות לגדולי ישראל והן יושבין והקב"ה יושב כאב בית דין ודנין לאומות העולם ההי"ד יי במשפט יבא עם זקני עמו ושריו. על זקני עמו ושריו לא כתי׳ אלא שהב"ה יושב עם הזקיני ם ושרי ישראל ודן לאומות העולם ומלהן אלו כסאות בית דוד וזקני ישראל שנא׳ כי שמה ישבו כסאות למשפט כסאות לבית דוד.

אבל סוד הדבר ועתיק יומין יתיב זהו עתיק העתיקין שהוא סתום של כל הסתימות וטמירא של כל הטמירות והוא מופלא ונעלם ונקרא עתיק יומין פי׳ רומז לחכמה ובינה שנקראים ימים והסוד בזה ואהיה שעשועים יום יום ועתיק הוא מושל באותן הימים לכן נקרא ועתיק יומין. לבושיה כתלג חיור פי׳ שהוא כ"ע שמראהו לבן כשלג והסוד בזה בכל עת יהיו בגדיך לבנים ושמן וכו׳ ובשביל זה כתו׳ אם יהיו חטאיכם כשנים כשלג ילבינו וכו׳. והסוד וללבן שתי בנות והבן זה מאד. ושער רישיה כעמר נקא פי׳ שער ראשו שהם הקווצות התלתלים שהם בראש הקדוש הם לבניס כצמר נקי שהוא עומר בתיקון יפה ונאה ואין ביניהם שום סיבוך ועירבוב אלא כלם סדורים זה על זה כאותו הצמר הלבן הנקי המתוקן בתיקון נאה ויפה. כורסיה שביבין דינור רומז למדת הגבורה שהוא אש ההי"ד כי יי אלהיך אש אוכלה הוא.

אמ׳ ר׳ פנחס בשם ר׳ חלקיה דרומא* | בשם ר׳ מאיר יז ע"א אם אתה אומ׳ כי שמה ישבו כסאות למשפט מהו ועתיק יומין יתיב אלא שהוא יושב ביניהן כאב בית דין ודן עמהן את האומות לכן כתי׳ עד די כרסון רמיו. פי׳ ב"ע שהוא מלך הב"ה הוא יושב בין חכמה ובינה שהם זקני ישראל ושריו והוא יושב ביניהן כאב בית דין. פי׳ כאב הוא כ"ע של תפ׳ שהוא הבריח התיכון והבן זה. מהו ושער רישיה כעמר נקי בשביל שהקב"ה מנקה עצמו מאומות העולם ופורע להם שכר מצות קלות שעשו בעולם הזה כדי לדון אותם ולחייבם לעולם הבא כדי שלא יהא להם פתחון פה ולא ימצא להם זכות שנא׳ ומה יענה מלאכי גוי כי יי יסד ציון ובה יחסו עניי עמו. מיד הוא עושה בהם את הדין באותה שעה הב"ה נעשה גבוה בעולמו ההי"ד ויגבה יי צבאות במשפט וכו׳. מהו והאל הקדוש נקדש

בצדקה שהוא מתקדש בעולמו בצדקה שהוא מלמד על ישראל ה"ד אני מדבר בצדקה רב להושיע. אמ' הב"ה לישראל אני מתקדש בכם שנא' כי בראותו ילדיו מעשה ידי בקרבו יקדישו שמי והקדישו את קדוש יעקב וכו' וכן הוא אומ' ישראל אשר בך אתפאר. ואתם מתקדשים בי ואני מתקדש בכם שנא' והתקדשתם והייתם קדושים כי אני יי מקדשכם.אמ' הקב"ה לישראל עד שלא בראתי את עולמי היו מלאכי השרת מקלסין אותי בכם ומקדישין את שמי בכם ה"ד ברוך יי אלהי ישראל מן העולם ועד העולם. כיון שנברא העולם ונברא אדם הראשון אמרו המלאכים רבונו של עולם זהו שאנן מקלסין אותך בשמו. אמ' להן לא. גנב הוא שנא' ותאכל מן העץ וכו'. בא נח אמרו לפניו זהו. אמ' להם לא. שכור הוא שנא' וישת מן היין וישכר וכו'. עמד אברהם אמ' לפניו זה הוא. אמ' להם לא. גר הוא שנא' גר ותושב אנכי וכו'. בא יצחק אמ' לפניו זה הוא. אמ' להם לא. אוהב לשונאי הוא שנא' ויאהב יצחק את עשו וכו'. כיון שבא יעקב אמ' לפניו רבונו של עולם זה הוא. אמ' להן הן. וכן הוא אומ' ויאמר לו אלהים שמך יעקב לא יקרא שמך עוד יעקב כי אם ישראל וכו' לכן נקראו כל ישראל על שמו. באותה שעה קידש הב"ה את ישראל לשמו שנא' ישראל אשר בך אתפאר. אמ' להן הב"ה הואיל ונקדשתם לשמי עד שלא בראתי העולם היו קדושים כי קדוש אני שנא' קדושים תהיו. מלה"ד למלך שקידש אשה אמ' לה הואיל ונתקדשת לשמי אני מלך ואת מלכה כשם שהוא כבודי כך הוא כבודך למה שאת אשתי. כי המלך רומז לתפ' שהוא החתן ה"ד כחתן יכהן פאר וככלה תעדה כליה. והאשה היא כנסת ישראל שהיא המטרוניתא שהיא הכלה המהוללה והכלולה בכל יופי. ובא המלך שהוא החתן וקידשה בכל מיני קידושין עליונים וקישטה ותיקנה וטהרה במים של המבוע | של יז ע"ב הנחל העמוק ה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן. אף יהיה זווג של כל העולמות והשמחה והחדוה תהיה בכל. כך אמ' הקב"ה למשה לך וקדש את ישראל שנא' לך אל העם וקדשתם היום ומחר וכו'. קדשם הב"ה ואמ' להם לישראל ואתם תהיו לי ממלכת כהנים וגו' קדוש וכו'. ממלכות כהנים לא כתי' אלא ממלכת כהנים ואם מקריבין הקורבנות ומדביקים המדות זה עם זה אז ממליכים הכהנים לכנסת ישראל שהיא המטרוניתא ומכניסין אותה עם המלך יי צבאות. אזי היא נקראת מלכה ושולטנית על כל העולמות כי כל טוב העולמות בידה והסוד כזה המושל בכל אשר לו. וכתי' וכל טוב אדוניו

בידו. וגוי קדוש למה כי קדוש אני. אף אתם תהיו קדושים כשם שקדשתי אתכם לשמי שנא' דבר אל כל עדת בני ישראל ואמרת אליהם קדושים תהיו וכו'. אמ' להם הקדוש זכיתם אתם נקראין עדת קדושים. לא זכיתם אתם נקראים עדה רעה ה"ד עד מתי לעדה הרעה וכו'. ר' יוסי פתח ועתה לא כימים הראשונים אני לשאירית העם הזה נאם יי כי זרע השלום הגפן תתן פריה והארץ תתן את יבולה והשמים יתנו טלם והנחלתי את שאירית העם הזה את כל אלה. מהו ועתה לא כימים הראשונים אני. כיון שיצאו ישראל ממצרים והיו מהלכין במדבר הוריד להם הקב"ה את המן והניז להם את השליו והעלה להם את הבאר והיה כל שבט ושבט עושה אמת המים ומכניס אצלו ונוטע תאנים ורמונים ועושין פירות בן יומן כשם שהיה מתחלת ברייתו של עולם עושה פירות למינו. חטא אדם הראשון היה זורע חטים וצומח קוץ ודרדר. משנסתלקה הבאר מה כתי' שם לא מקום זרע ותאנה וגפן ורמון ומים אין לשתות. אמ' לו הב"ה למשה אמור להם לישראל כשתכנסו לארץ אני מחזיר לכם את כל הטובה שנא' כי יי אלהיך מביאך אל ארץ טובה ארץ נחלי מים עינות ותהומות יוצאים בבקעה ובהר. ארץ חטה ושעורה וגפן וכו' ארץ אשר לא במסכנות תאכל בה לחם וכו' ארץ אשר אבניה ברזל ומהרריה תחצוב נחושת. וכיון שבאו לארץ התחילו חוטאין שנא' ואביא אתכם אל ארץ הכרמל לאכול פריה וטובה וכו' ולא היתה עושה פירות כראוי. והיו זורעין הרבה ומביאין מעט לפי שבטלו הבכורים שנא' זרעתם הרבה והבא מעט אכול ואין לשבעה מבטל לחם הפנים. שתו ואין לשכרה משבטל ניסוך היין. לבוש ואין לחום לו משבטל בגדי כהונה. אבל לעתיד לבא אין הקב"ה עושה כן שנא' ועתה לא כימים הראשונים אני לשאירית | העם הזה נאם יי. יח ע"א

אבל יש לך להסתכל בסוד הדבר כי הבאר שהעלה להם הקב"ה לישראל הוא רומז לסוד באר שחפרוה שרים. כמו הבאר שהוא מתמלא מן המקורות והמבועות כך כנסת ישראל היא מתמלאת מן המבועות והמקורות העליונים אשר לא יכזבו מימיו לעולם. והסוד בזה וירא והנה באר בשדה והנה שם שלשה עדרי צאן. ועוד כתי' שתה מים מבורך ונוזלים מתוך בארך. למה באר בתחלה ואחר כך בור. אלא כל זמן שכנסת ישראל מתמלאת מן המקורות העליונים שהוא הנהר שאינו פוסקין מימיו נקראת באר. אבל אם חס ושלום אם אין כנסת ישראל מקבלת מן הנהר ההוא אז כביכול היא חסירה ופגומה ונקראת בור והסוד בזה והבור רק אין בו מים פי'

מים של העליונים אבל נחשים ועקרבים יש בו פי' מים שאובין ומים
סדוחין ומים הפוסלין את המקוה ומים המארדים. אזי היא כביכול מקבלת
מצד החיצוניות והסוד בזה ותכמא הארץ והבין זה מאד ודום ליי. לכן
זה הבאר שהעלה הב"ה לישראל היה במילואו מן העליונים והיו בהם מים
מתוקים ומים צלולים ומים טהורים ההי"ד וזרקתי עליכם מים טהורים וטהרתם
והיה כל שבט ושבט עושה אמת המים ומכנים אצלו ונוטע תאינים ורמונים
ושׁשין פירות בן יומן.פירוש בשיבא השפע הטוב מעולם המחשבה שהוא
סוד כ"ע שהוא עתיק דעתיקין וסתימא דסתימין אזי כל המדות מקבלות
משקה כל אחד ואחד הראוי לו ההי"ד ותתן טרף לביתה וחוק לנערותיה.
אזי כל שבט ושבט שהם י"ב שבטים הקדושים שהם מסבבים הכסא שהם
כתובים תחת י"ב הויות וי"ב חדשים וי"ב מזלות וי"ב אבני קדש וי"ב
בתים כל אחד ואחד מקבלין משקה הראוי להם אזי הם עושין אמת המים.
אז תפ' ישראל נקראת אמת מלש' אמת על שם שהוא חותם של המלך שנקרא
אמת וזהו אמת חותמו. כי אל"ף של אמת הוא רומז לכ"ע שנקרא אל"ף
על שהוא פלא מלש' כי יפלא ממך דבר וכו' וכיון שהוא נסתר ונעלם
מלהשיג לכן הוא נקרא מחשבה כמו המחשבה שהיא נסתרת ונעלמת באדם
ואין אדם יכול להראותה ולציירה כדרך שאר התוארים אלא היא דואה
כל הנמצאים והיא בעצמה אינה נראיה פי' המחשבה כך כ"ע הוא רואה
ומסתכל ומביט בכל הנמצאים והוא אינו נראה ואינו מושג לשום נברא
בעולם לכן הוא נקרא מחשבה. אל תקרי מחשבה אלא מח שבה פי' מוח
שבה רוצה לומ' | המוח הקדוש שהוא בתוך כת' ע' יח ע"ב
שהוא יושב באויר זך וסהור שאינו נתפס בשכל ורעיון. ד"א מוח אותיותיו
הם חום בשביל שמשם יבא חום של החיונות של המחשבה. כי מן המחשבה
יתהוה הרהור ומן ההרהור התאוה והתאוה היא נשלחת אל הכביד והכליות
אזי יתעוררו הכליות בכח התאוה ושולחים מים טהורים ונקיים כנגד הנקבה
ומשם יתהוו פירות של הנשמות הקדושות הנשלחים לזה העולם והם נקראים
פרי מעשיו של הקב"ה שהוא תפ' ישראל ההי"ר בנים אתם ליי אלהיכם
וכתי' ממני פריך נמצא. פי' ממני ודאי. כי כל הנשמות הקדושות היורדים
לעולם ודאי ממנה הם מתאצלים ובאים לעולם. נמצא שכל הנמצאים
והנבראים יתאצלו ונמצאו מאותו חום של המוח הקדוש והסוד בזה כי לא
מחשבותי מחשבותיכם ולא דרכיכם וכו'. לכן האל"ף של אמת רומז
לכ"ע והבין זה. מ' רומז לנהר שהוא היובל והסוד ועל יובל ישלח שרשיו.

כמו המ"ם שהוא פתוח מלמטה וסתום מלמעלה לרמוז לך למדת היובל
שהיא פותחת עצמה כדי ליתן מים לעולמות שלמטה לכן הוא פתוח מלמטה.
וסתום מלמעלה בשביל שהוא נסתם ונסגר מכ"ע שהוא אין ואפס כי הוא
נדבק מין למינו לכן המ"ם סתום מלמעלה ופתוח למטה בשביל שהוא עומד
בין שני התחומין בין עולם הסתום ובין עולם הנגלה. כי הבינה היא סתומה
עם העליונים ופתוחה עם התחתונים. וזהו סוד שאסור לו לאדם לשנות
מנהג המדינה אלא נותנין עליו חומרי מקום שהלך לשם וחומרי מקום שיצא
משם והבן זה והמשכיל יבין. ד"א למה המ"ם שהוא הבינה פתוח מלמטה
אלא לרמוז שהבינה נקראת תשובה ובשביל שהוא מקבל לכל שבי פשע
וידו פתוחה לקבל השבים אליו לכן הוא נקרא תשובה. והסוד בזה כי
עפר אתה ואל עפר תשוב ולכן היא פתוחה למטה. ד"א המ"ם פתוחה רומז
למדת התפ' שהוא זכר כי הזכר אינו צריך שמירה והנקבה שהיא עט'
ישראל היא צריכה שמירה והסוד בזה שהכלה והחיה צריכין שמירה והבן
זה מאד. ד"א מ"ם סתומה רומז למדת היסוד שהוא סוד הברית שהוא
ג"כ צריך שמירה בשביל שהוא נחשב במלכות יי כי הוא והיא אחר. והסוד
בזה לפרבה המשרה ולשלום אין קץ כי הוא נקרא מדת השלום ההי"ר
הנני נוטה אליה כנהר שלום וכנחל שוטף וכו'. תי"ו מן אמת רומז למדת
העט' כמו שאמרנו. נמצא | שאלו שלש מדרגות שהם כ"ע יט ע"א
ותפ' ועט' הם סוד אמת. לכן אל* ג' ספי' נקראו אמת המים כי כל המים
של כל העולמות לא יצאו אלא על פי אלו ג' מדרגות שהוא מדת שורק
כנון זה ,' שהנקודה הראשונה רומז לכ"ע ואמצעית רומז למדת התפ'
שהוא אמצעי והוא הבריח התיכון. והאחרונה רומז למדת המלכות ונמצא
שעל ידי אלו שלשה קשרים יתהוו ויתציירו כל הנבראים וכל הנמצאים.
משנסתלקה הבאר מה כתי' שם לא מקום זרע ותאנה וגפן ורמון ומים אין
לשתות. כשכביכול כנסת ישראל יסתלקו ממנה מקורות העליונים שמשפיעים
לה אזי היא כביכול אין לה זרע שהם נשמות הקדושים שהם נשלחים לה
מלמעלה ממקום כ"ע שהוא סוד המחשבה העמוקה ההי"ד לא מקום זרע
כי בעט' שנקראת מקום אין שם זרע של הנשמות. ותאנה היא נקראת
תאנה ואין תאנה אלא תְּאֲנָה כי היא בתואנה ובמריבה בין עם טמא המתדבקים
בה והסוד בזה ויהי העם כמתאוננים והבין זה. ד"א תאנה היא תאנה ממש
שהיא נקראת תאנה כמו התאנה שעליה מרים כך כנסת ישראל היא כביכול

חיה מרה בין התמורות. וגפן היא נקראת גפן ה"ד גפן ממצרים תסיע. כמו הגפן שאינה מקבלת עליה הרכבה כך כנסת ישראל אינה מקבלת עליה לא כח מן הכוחות מן החיצוניות אלא כ"ע שהיא משתחוה לו ותקבלהו לאלוה ה"ד וצבא השמים לך משתחוים. ד"א למה נקראת גפן כמו הגפן שעליה נושרות מזמן לזמן כך היא כביכול מתרחקת ומתקרבת מן זמן לזמן ליכנס לביה המלך העליון ה"ד ובגפן שלשה סריגים. אלו הן נצח והוד יסוד שהם שלשה שרינים עליונים. והיא עלתה נצה פי' שהיא מתעלה ביניהם. ורמון רומז ג"כ לכנסת ישראל שנקראת רמון. ומים אין. כי אין הוא כ"ע שהוא מדת המחשבה כי כל המים הבאים מלמעלה משם הם באים ה"ד ומים אין לשתות. לכן אמ' הב"ה למשה אמור לישראל כשתכנסו לארץ אני מחזיר לכם את כל הטובה. פי' הטובה הגנוזה לכם מששת ימי בראשית ה"ד מה רב טובך אשר צפנת וכו' פי' אותו אור העליון ששימש כשנברא העולם כשקמו אינשי פושעי הדור מיד גנזו הקב"ה לצדיקים ה"ד וימנע מרשעים אורם וזרוע רמה תשבר. לכן זה האור עתיד הקב"ה להאיר לישראל ה"ד והיה אור הלבנה כאור החמה ואור החמה וכו' וכתי' כי יי אלהיך מביאך אל ארץ | טובה יט ע"ב ארץ נחלי מים וכו' פי' כנסת ישראל שהוא ארץ התחתונה כל הנחלים והמקורות של כל העולמות כולם שופכים לה ה"ד כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים והים אינינו מלא וכו' פי' כל הנחלים היורדים מכ"ע הם הולכים אל הים ההוא אע"פ אינינו מלא כי היא שואבת כל המימות והיא עדיין יבשת והסוד יבשה הארץ וכו'. עיינות של כ"ע המתפשטים מן מבוע של כל. ותהומות פי' מימות של כל התהומות ההם כולם הם נותנים לה. כתי' ארץ חטה ושעורה וגפן ותאנה ורמון ארץ זית שמן ודבש. הם עשרה תיבות כנגד עשרה מדות הנעלמים. ארץ אשר אבניה ברזל. פי' אבניה רומז למדת הגבורה שהוא קשה כברזל ה"ד והסירותי את לב האבן מבשרכם וכו'. ומהרריה תחצוב נחושת. פי' גבורה והוד נקראים הרים למלכות שהיא נקראת נחשת.

אמ' להם הב"ה לישראל אע"פ שתמצאו אותה מלאה לא תאמרו נשב ולא נטע אלא היו זהירין בנטיעה ה"ד כי תבואו אל הארץ ונטעתם כל עץ מאכל וכו'. כשם שנכנסתם ומצאתם נטיעות שנטעו אחרים אף אתם היו נוטעים לבניכם שלא יאמר אדם זקן אני כמה שנים אני חי למה אני עומד ומתיגע לאחרים למחר אני מת. אמ' שלמה המלך ע"ה את הכל

עשה יפה בעתו גם את העולם נתן בלבם*. אמ' הקב"ה לישראל למדו ממני כביכול ראה מה כתי' ויטע יי אלהים גן בעדן מקדם. בא וראה צריך אדם ליטע נטיעות מלמטה כדי שימשוך הברכות עליהם מן אותן הנטיעות העליונים הקדושים שנטע הקב"ה בעדן העליון.

פתח ואמ' צדקתך כהררי אל משפטיך תהום רבה וגו'. צדקתך כהררי אל אלו הם הצדיקים שנמשלו בהרים ה"ד שמעו הרים את ריב יי והאיתנים מוסדי ארץ. משפטיך תהום רבה שנא' בהם ונער פרעה וחילו בים סוף. ואמ' תהומות יכסיומו ירדו במצולות וכו'. ד"א צדקתך כהררי אל אלו הם הצדיקים מה ההרים מעלין עשבים אף הצדיקים מעלין מעשים טובים לפני הב"ה. משפטיך תהום רבה אלו הרשעים מה תהום אינו מעלה עשבים אף הרשעים אין להם מעשים טובים. ד"א צדקתך כהררי אל מה ההרים ראוים הם להזרע ועושין פירות כך הצדיקים עושין פירות ומטיבין לעצמן ומטיבין לאחרים. ה"ד לפעמון של זהב והזוג שלו מרגלית כך הם הצדיקים מטיבין לעצמן ומטיבין לאחרים שנא' אמרו צדיק כי טוב כי פרי מעלליהם יאכלו. משפטיך תהום רבה אלו הם הרשעים מה התהום הזה אינו | יכול להזרע ואינו עושה פירות כך הרשעים אין כ ע"א להם מעשים טובים ואינן עושין פירות אלא מצירין לעצמן ומצירין לאחרים ה"ד אוי לרשע רע כי גמול ידיו יעשה לו רע לעצמו ורע לאחרים. ד"א צדקתך כהררי אל פי' צדקתך על משפטיך כהררי אל תהום רבה*. מה ההרים הללו כובשין את התהום שלא יעלה ויציף את העולם כך מעשיהם של הצדיקים כובשין את הפורענות. ד"א צדקתך כהררי אל מה ההרים הללו אין להם סוף כך אין סוף למתן שכרן של צדיקים לעתיד לבא. משפטיך תהום רבה מה תהום אין לו חקר כך אין חקר לפורענותן של רשעים לעתיד לבא. ד"א צדקתך כהררי אל. ר' ישמעאל ור' עקיבא ר' ישמעאל אומ' הצדיקים שהם עושין את התורה שנתנה מהררי אל הב"ה עושה עמהם צדקה כהררי אל והרשעים שאינן עושין את התורה שניתנה מהררי אל הקב"ה מדקדק עמהם עד תהום רבה. ר' עקיבא אומ' אחד אלו ואחד אלו הב"ה מדקדק עמהם. מדקדק עם הצדיקים ונובה מהם מיעוט מעשים רעים שעשו בעולם הזה בשביל לפרוע להם הטוב לעולם הבא. ומשפיע שלוה לרשעים ומשלם להם מיעוט מעשים טובים שעשו בעולם הזה בשביל לפרוע להם הרע לעתיד לבא.

פתח ואמ' בי מי בשחק יערך ליי ידמה ליי בבני אלים.

אמ' הב"ה מי שהוא עושה מעשי יהא דומה לו*. אמ' ר' לוי משל למלך שבנה מדינה והדליק בתוכה שני פנסין והיו כל אוכלוסין קוראין לו אגוסטא. אמ' המלך כל מי שבנה מדינה כזאת והדליק בתוכה שני פנסין כשם שהדלקתי אני קראו לו אגוסטא ואיני מקנא בו. כך הב"ה ברא שמים וארץ ונתן בו שני פנסין שיהיו מאירין את העולם חמה ולבנה ה"ד ויתן אותם אלהים ברקיע השמים להאיר על הארץ. אמ' הב"ה כל מי שיכול לעשות שני* מאורות הללו שיהו מאירין לעולם יהא שווה לי שנא' כי מי בשחק יערך ליי אם ערך שני פנסין אלו ידמה לי ואין יערך אלא אורה ה"ד על המנורה הטהורה יערך את הנרות לפני יי תמיד. ה"ד כי מי בשחק יערך ליי. זהו שכתי' שאו מרום עיניכם וראו מי ברא אלה המוציא במספר צבאם לכלם בשם יקרא וכו' ואל מי תדמיוני ואשוה יאמר קדוש. אל תהא קורא יאמר קדוש אלא יֶאֱמַר קדוש. כי מי בשחק יערך ליי. אמ' ר' אבהו הלוי מי כמוכה מאיר עיני חשוכים כעניין שנא' על המנורה הטהורה יערך את הנרות. ד"א כי מי בשחק יערך | אמ' ר' אבון הלוי כ ע"ב מי כמוכה באלים מלביש ערומים ואין יערך אלא מלביש ערומים שנא' וערך בגדים ומחיתך. ד"א כי מי בשחק וכו' אמ' ר' אבון הלוי אין יערך אלא מלחמה שגא' ויערכו אתם מלחמה בעמק וכו'. ד"א כי מי בשחק יערך ליי מי כמוכה זן את הרעבים ואין יערך אלא מזון שגא' ביום השבת ביום השבת יערכנו לפני יי תמיד מאת בני ישראל. ד"א כי מי בשחק יערך ליי וכו'. בשעה שבקש הקב"ה לבראות את האדם היו מלאכי השרת אומ' מה אנוש כי תזכרנו ובן אדם כי תפקדנו מה אתה מבקש מן האדם הזה. אמ' להם הב"ה ומי מקיים מצותי וחקותי ותורותי. ומה אמרו לו אנו מקיימין תורתיך אמ' להם זאת התורה אדם כי ימות באהל. ואתם אין ביניכם מיתים. וכתי' בה אשה כי תזריע וילדה זכר ואתם אין לכם ילדות. וכתי' בה את זה תאכלו ואת זה לא תאכלו ואתם אין ביניכם אכילה. לכן אין התורה יוצא מאצליכם* ה"ד לא תמצא בארץ החיים. כיון שאמ' הקב"ה לישראל שיעשו לו משכן ומזבח העולה ומזבח הקטורת התחילו מקריבין בתוכן התחיל הקב"ה מצוה כמה מצות על כל דבר ודבר והן עושין התחיל הקב"ה אומ' למלאכי השרת מי ביניכם עורך לי כשם שישראל עורכים לי שהייתם אומ' לי מה אנוש כי תזכרנו. ישראל עורכים לי קרבנות ה"ד וערך הכהן אותם על מזבח העולה וכו'. עורכים לי שולחנות כמו שנא' ביום השבת ביום השבת וכו'. או יש ביניכם עורך נפשות כמו

שנא' איש כי יפלא נדר בערכך נפשות ליי. ה"ד כי מי בשחק יערך ליי.

ושנינו כמה מתנות נבראו בעולם. כך שנו רז"ל שלש מתנות טובות ברא הקב"ה בעולמו חכמה וגבורה ועושר. זכה אדם לאחת מהן נוטל חמדת כל העולם. זכה בחכמה זכה בכל. זכה בגבורה זכה בכל. זכה לעושר זכה לכל. אימתי בזמן שהיא מתנות שמים ובאות בכח התורה אבל גבורתו ועשרו של בשר ודם אינו כלום שכן אמ' שלמה המ' ע"ה שבתי וראה תחת השמש כי לא לקלים המרוץ ולא לגבורים המלחמה וגם לא לחכמים לחם וגם לא לנבונים עושר וגם לא ליודעים חן כי עת ופגע יקרה את כולם. וכן ירמיה אמ' כה אמ' יי אל יתהלל חכם בחכמתו ואל יתהלל הגבור בגבורתו ואל יתהלל עשיר בעושרו. כי אם בזאת יתהלל המתהלל השכל וידוע אותי וכו'. ומתנות אלו שאינן מן הקב"ה סופן להפסק ממנו. שנינו שני חכמים עמדו בעולם אחד מישראל ואחד מאומות העולם. אחיתופל מישראל ובלעם מאומות העולם. ושניהם אבדו מן העולם הזה ומן העולם הבא. שני גבורים עמדו בעולם אחד מישראל ואחד מאומות העולם. שמשון מישראל וגלית מאומות העולם ושניהם אבדו מן העולם. שני עשירים עמדו בעולם אחד | מישראל ואחד מאומות העולם. כא ע"א קרח מן ישראל והמן מאומות העולם. ושניהם אבדו מן העולם. למה לפי שלא היה מתנתם מן הב"ה אלא הן הוטפין אותה להן. וכן אתה מוציא בבני גד ובני ראובין שהיו עשירים הרבה והיה להם מקנה גדול וחבבו את ממונם וישבו להם חוץ מארץ ישראל לפי' גלו תחלה מן השבטים שנא' ויגלם לראובני ולגדי ולחצי שבט המנשה. מי גרם להם על שהפרישו עצמן מן אחיהם בשביל קניינם ה"ד ומקנה רב היה לבני ראובן ולבני גד וכו'. זש"ה כי לא ממוצא וממערב ולא ממדבר הרים. כי אלהים שופט זה ישפיל וזה ירים. מהו לא ממוצא וממערב לא ממה שאדם יוצא ועמל בסחורה והולך למזרח ולמערב וחוזר על המדברות נעשה עשיר. אפי' פורש בספינות והולך למזרח ולמערב וחוזר על המדברות ועל ההרים אינו נעשה עשיר. מהו ולא ממדבר הרים. אמ' ר' אבא כל הרים שבמקרא הוא לשון הרים חוץ מזה שהוא דומה שאין האדם מתרומם מן הדברים הללו. ומה הב"ה עושה נוטל נכסים של זה ונותן לזה ה"ד כי אלהים שופט זה ישפיל וזה ירים. למה נקרא שמן נכסים שנכסין מזה ונגלין לזה. ולמה נקרא שמן זוזים לפי שזזין מזה ונותנין לזה. וכן חנה אומ'

יי מוריש ומעשיר משפיל אף מרומם. באף שהוא מביא על זה מרומם לזה. תדע לך כשבקשו שיתעשרו בני ראובן ובני גד הפיל את המדינים לפני ישראל כדי שיתעשרו מה כתי' למעלה וישבו בני ישראל את נשי מדין ואת טפם ואת כל בהמתם ואת כל מקניהם ואת כל חילם בזזו. ה"ד ומקנה רב היה לבני ראובן ולבני גד. שהשפיל את המדינים ורומם לבני ראובן ולבני גד. לקיים הפסו' כי לא ממוצא וממערב ולא ממדבר הרים. לכן כתי' כי אלהים שופט זה ישפיל וזה ירים. וזהו שכתו' לב חכם לימינו ולב כסיל לשמאלו. לב חכם לימינו זה משה ולב כסיל לשמאלו אלו בני ראובן ובני גד שעשו את העיקר טפלה ואת הטפלה עיקר. למה בשביל שחבבו את נכסיהן יותר מן הנפשות* שהן אמרו למשה נדרות צאן נבנה למקנינו פה ואחרי כן וערים לטפינו. אמ' להם משה לא כך עשו את העיקר תחלה בנו לכם ערים לטפכם ואחר כך וגדרות לצנאכם. זהו כתי' לב חכם לימינו ולב כסיל לשמאלו. אמ' להם הקב"ה חיבבתם ממונכם יותר מן הנפשות חייכם אין בו ברכה שנא' נחלה מבהלת בראשונה ואחריתה לא תבורך. לכן אמ' רז"ל איזהו עשיר השמח בחלקו ה"ד יגיע כפיך כי תאכל אשריך וטוב לך.

אבל סוד הדבר אל יתהלל חכם בחכמתו אין חכם אלא | מדת החכמה שנקראת חכם כי החכמה הוא דבר ממוצע בין כא ע"ב היסודות אינו מן האין ממש ולא מן היש ממש אלא הוא ממוצע ביניהם כי יש גבול בעולם החכמה שנקראת יש ויש גבול בעולם החכמה נקרא אין כמו שפירשתי*בענין הנתיב של ל"ב נתיבות כי הנתיב י"א הוא היחס הניתנת לעמוד בפני עי' העי' לרמוז לך שעד זה הנתיב הוא נקרא אין והעדר גמור ומן הנתיב של אחריו הוא התחלת היש לכן נקרא חכמה מדה בינוני ונקראת גלם שהוא מוכן לקבל הצורות*. לכן אע"פ שהחכמה עצמה אין לה להשתבח ולהתהלל על עצמה שלא ממנה חכמתה אלא מן הסבות העליונות לה פי' כ"ע שהוא מדת המחשבה וע' העי' שהוא אין סוף פי' שאין סוף לעומקותו כי הוא אפס ואין שאין אין כמותו. ואל יתהלל הגבור בגבורתו רומז למדת הגבורה שהוא גבור וחזק שבכל המדות ה"ד יי כגבור יצא כאיש מלחמות יעיר קנאה יריע אף יצריח וכו' אפילו הגבורה שהוא חזק בדינו מכל מקום אין לו להתגאות כי אין לו כח אלא מן אם הבנים שמחה שהוא אם לכל חי אע"פ שהיא רחמים מכל מקום היא נקראת דין ה"ד בראשית ברא אלהים. ואין אלהים אלא מדת הדין

שכל הדינין והגבורות יתעוררומשם. ואל יתהלל עשיר בעושרו רומז להוד שהוא עשיר מצד הגבורה ה"ד בשמאלה עושר וכבוד כי כל העושר של כל העולמות בה ה"ד מצפון זהב יאתה וכו'. לכן באתי להודיעך על אלו ג' מדות הנזכרים שכל אלו אין להם מעצמותן אלא ממתנת אלהים. כי אם בזאת יתהלל המתהלל השכל וידוע וכו'. כי אין לאדם להשתבח ולהתהלל כי אם בזאת פי' כי על ידי זאת שהוא כנסת ישראל יבול האדם לעלות ולחקור במציאות השכל שהוא כ"ע. אל היקרי השכל אלא העבל כי הוא נקרא שכל על דרך שכל משכיל מושכל. וכ"ש האדם הבזוי והשפל שעומד בדעת קלה שאינו יכול להלל עצמו לא בחכמה ולא בגבורה ולא בעושר אלא בזאת שהיא מתנת אלהים שהיא נותנת לו חכמה וגבורה ועושר על פי השכל העליון שהוא סוד המחשבה העליון אשר אין רעיון יכול לחפש.

פתח ואמ' ראשית עריסותיכם חלה תרימו תרומה כתרומת גורן כן תרימו אותה. ראשית רומז למדת החכמה שנקראת ראשית ה"ד ראשית חכמה יראת יי כי היא נקראת ראשית בשביל שהיא ראשית להשגה שיש בה ישות ה"ד להנחיל אוהבי יש ואוצרותיהם אמלא. עריסותיכם רומז למדת העט' שנקראת עריסותיכם מלש' ערס שהוא מטה בשביל שהיא נקראת מטתו של שלמה ששים גבודים סביב לה וכו' ועוד כתי' וישתחו ישראל על | ראש המטה. לכך ציונו הב"ה להפריש חלה כב ע"א ותרומה למה בשביל שהחלה רומז למדת הדין הקשה שהוא סוד הגבורה שכל הדינין והגבורות משם מתעוררים. חלה בני' שלש וארבעים כנגד השם של מ"ב אותיות שהוא בתוך הגבורה שנקרא מדת הדין הקשה כי הוא דן ושופט את כל העולמות ע"י אלו מ"ב שמות. לכן ציונו הקב"ה להפריש חלה כדי להסיר הדין מן העולם כדי שלא ישאר בעולם התעוררות דין כלל. כי עריסותיכם שהיא המטה הידועה נקראה בית דין הרפה והיא העיסה ואנו צריכין להסיר ממנה החלה שהוא בית דין הקשה כדי שלא יתחברו שתי בתי דינין ביחד ה"ד והסירותי את לב האבן מבשרכם וכו' והסוד בזה ויקח מאתם את שמעון והבן זה. לכן ציונו הב"ה בתורתינו הקדושה להסיר החלה מן העיסה כדי שלא יתעוררו הדינין בעולם כי אין התעוררות למטה עד שיהא התעוררות למעלה*. לכן אנו צריכין ליתן החלה לכהן ויאכלנה מאי טעמא בשביל שהכהן חסד עליון הנקרא כהן גדול בשמים ה"ד כי בחסד יכופר עון וגו' והוא מדת החסד והרחמים

כי אינו חפץ אלא להביא רחמים לעולמות כולם מפני חסדו הגדול. ואנו נותנין לו החלה הידועה שהיא מדת הגבורה כדי לאכול אותה ולכפוף הדין הקשה כדי שלא לשלוט על העולם ואנו כוללים השמאל בימין כדי שיבלע שם ולא יעשה רושם בעולם וזהו סוד שהמים מבבין האש. לכן כל מי שאינו מפריש חלה מעיסתו כאלו גורם התעוררות דין על העולם לכן לא יאכל אותה אלא הכהן שהוא חסד גמור והוא יסוד המים. אבל לא תאבל לנוכרי אלא כהן למה בשביל שישראל שהוא נכרי לכהונה יש בהם קצת התעוררות דין ויכול לחבר דין עם דין של הגבורה ויצאו לעשות דין וכליה בעולם. לכן הזהרה שלא לאכול הנוכרי את החלה כי הנוכריים יש בהם התעוררות כגון תפ' שהוא ממוצע בין דין ורחמים ונצח ג"כ יש בו התעוררות דין והוד שהוא מקבל מן הגבורה יש בו גם כן התעוררות דין ויסוד ג"כ. לכן כל מי שאוכל החלה אין לו חלק באלהי ישראל בשביל שהוא עושה פגם בעליונים במקום דליכא פגם והבן זה.

הרי חלה למטה ונסכים של יין למעלה. לפי' פתח ר' חנינא ואמ' לך אכול בשמחה לחמך ושתה בלב טוב יינך כי כבר רצה וכו'. אכול בשמחה לחמך ראשי תיבות אבל לרמוז לך שאין שמחה שלימה בעולם מיום שנחרב בית המקדש יהי רצו' שי' במ' בי' שאסור לו לאדם לשמוח יותר מדאי ההי"ד שישו אתה משוש כל המתאבלים עליה. כי כל המתאבל על חורבן בית המקדש סופו לראות בשמחתה ההי"ד כל המתאבלים עליה.

מהו כי כבר רצה האלהים את | מעשיך. זה הפסוק מדבר כנגד אברהם בשעה שאמ' לו הקב"ה קח נא את בנך את יחידך השכים אברהם ונסל בנו בזריזות והעלהו להר המוריה*. אמ' אברהם לפני הבי"ה רבו' של עולם לחנם אמרת לי קח נא. א"ל לאו אלא להודיעך בעולם שנא' כי ידעתיו למען אשר יצוה את בניו ואת ביתו אחריו וכו'. אמ' ר' שמעון בן יוחאי אמ' לו הבי"ה חייך שאני מעלה עליך שאם אמרתי לך שתשחוט את נפשך לפני לא תעכב. מנין אמ' ר' שמעון בן יוחאי כתי' ולא חשכת את בנך הרי כבר פירש יצחק מהו יחידך. זו נפשו של אברהם לפי שהנשמה קרויה יחידה ההי"ד הצילה מחרב נפשי מיד כלב יחידתי. אמ' אברהם לפני הקב"ה רבו' של עולם אי איפשר לי לירד מכאן בלא קרבן. אמ' לו הבי"ה הרי קורבנך מתוקן מששת ימי בראשית שנא' וישא אברהם את עיניו וירא והנה איל אחר נאחז בסבך בקרניו וכו'. כך שנו רז"ל אילו של אברהם נברא בין השמשות. באותה שעה נטלו

אברהם ויעלהו לעולה תחת בנו.

אבל סוד הדבר כי האיל רומז למדת הברית שהוא אות הקדוש והוא סוד יוסף הצדיק והוא נקרא איל בשביל שהוא מעולם הזכרים נקרא איל על שם הזכר. אבל הנקבה היא נקראת אילה ההי"ד אילת אהבים ויעלת חן דדיה ירווך בכל עת וכו'. וכיון שהיא נקראת אילה מלש' נקבה נקרא הוא איל והסוד בזה והנה איל אחר נאחז בסבך בקרניו. וכתי' וקרני ראם קרניו פי' יסוד עולם שהוא נקרא קרן. לכן זה האיל הוא של אברהם פי' של חסד וזהו סוד בת היתה לאברהם בכל שמה כי הוא נקרא בכל כי מדת היסוד ומדת המלכות הם נקראים אחד,וזה האיל הוא נברא בין השמעות פ' בין גצח והוד שנקראים השמשות בשביל ששגיהם מקבלים מן השמש יי צבאות ונקראים על שם השמש שמשות פי' שנים. לכן הביאו רז"ל דבריהם ברמז אילו של אברהם נברא בין השמשות. לכן המשכיל יבין וידום ליי.

מהו תחת בנו אמ' אברהם רבונו של עולם הריני שוחט את האיל הזה ותהא רואה אותו כאלו יצחק בני שחוט לפניך. נטל דמו וזרקו אמ' לו כך תהא רואה כאלו דמו של יצחק זרוק לפניך. נטל את האיל והפשיטו אמ' כך תהא רואה אותו כאלו עורו של יצחק הפשטתי לפניך. נטלו והספיגו אמ' כך תהא רואה כאלו יצחק מסתפג לפניך על גבי המזבח. שרפו אמ' כך תהא רואה כאלו אפרו צבור לפניך על גבי המזבח. ויעלהו לעולה תחת בנו. אמ' לו הבי"ה בנך הוא שנתקרב ראשון אלא האיל הזה תחתיו. באותה שעה אמ' אברהם רבו' של עולם איני זז מכאן עד שתשבע לי שאין אתה מנסה אותי לעולם שאם ח"ו לא הייתי שומע לך איבדתי כל מה שיגעתי מימי. אמ' | לו הקב"ה כך הוא שאילו לא שמעת לי לא היה בידך כלום. באותה שעה נשבע לו הקב"ה שלא ינסהו לעולם ההי"ד ויאמר בי נשבעתי נאם יי וכו'.

כתי'* אור זרוע לצדיק ולישרי לב שמחה. אור הוא אור עליון שבא מכ"ע הוא אור הגנוז מששת ימי בראשית והוא אור קדמון והוא אור נעלם ואותו אור הוא זרוע לצדיק שהוא יסוד עולם שהוא נהנה מאותו האור. מהו זרוע וכי האור יזרע אלא סוד הדבר כי האור הידוע הם נשמות של המחשבה והם נקראים פירות על שם שהם פרי מעשיו של הקב"ה ואותן הנשמות הם נזרעים ונשפעים לצדיק יסוד עולם לכן אמ' אור זרוע לצדיק.

בא וראה זרע הב"ה את התורה והמצות לישראל להנחילם
לחיי העולם הבא. לא הניח דבר בעולם שלא נתן בו מצוה לישראל.
בא לחרוש כתי' לא תחרוש בשור ובחמור יחדיו. יצא לזרוע כתי' לא
תזרע כרמך כלאים וכו'.

אבל סוד הענין לא תחרוש בשור ובחמור, רומז לשתי בתי
דינין שמתעוררים בעולם הם בית דין הקשה ובין דין הרפה אם יתחברו
אלו הם עושין דין בעולם לכן הזהרה לנו מתורתינו הקדושה שאסור לחרוש
באלו שני מינים שהם שור וחמור כדי שלא לעורר בתי דינין על העולמות
כי כל מי שחורש בשור ובחמור למטה כאלו הוא חורש ומערב שתי בתי
דינין ביחד. יצא לזרוע לא תזרע כרמך כלאים. אבל סודו למה אסור
לנו לזרוע הכרם בכלאים בשביל שהכרם רומז לעט' ישראל הה"ד כרם
היה לשלמה וכו' ואותו כרם הוא מקבל כל כלאים והוא זרוע מימיני כלאים
וכיון שאותו כרם הוא מקבל מכל מיני מראות העליונים הן אודם והן
לובן והן ירוק והן תכלת והן שחור והן לבן וכל כיוצא בזה מן מראות
העליונות לכן יש לנו הזהרה בתורתינו הקדושה שלא לזרוע הכרם בכלאים
כדי שלא להשתמש בשרביטו של מלך העליון כי הוא זורע הכלאים בתוך
כרמו לכן אין לנו רשות לזרוע כדוגמא זה כי כל מי שזורע כלאים בכרמו
נטרד מאלהים חיים והבן זה.

יצא לקצור כתי' כי תקצור קצירך בשדך ושכחת עומר בשדה.
ואין עומר אלא כנסת ישראל שהיא נקראת עומר והסוד בזה והעומר עשירית
האיפה הוא.

שחט ונתן לכהן הזרוע והלחיים והקבה. ואין כהן אלא כהן
העליון הה"ד והוא כהן לאל עליון. הזרוע רומז לגבורה שנקרא זרוע
הה"ד בגדול זרועך ידמו כאבן. והלחיים רומז לחסד שנקרא לחיים.
אל תקרי לחיים אלא לַחַיִם בשביל שהוא מי החסד שנקרא לח הה"ד ודמות
על ראשי החיה רקיע כעין הקרח הנורא נטוי וכו' כי הוא נקרא | לח כג ע"ב
וגבורה נקרא יבש בשביל כח האש. ד"א והלחיים אל תקרי והלחיים אלא
הַלַּח יַם כי הוא לחות הים כי כנסת ישראל הנקראת ים מקבלת משם הלחות
של המים כי היא נקראת מים תחתונים ועולם החסד נקרא מים העליונים
הה"ד תהום אל תהום קורא לקול צנוריך כל משבריך וגליך עלי עברו.
והקבה רומז לתפא' ישראל שנקרא הקבה אל תקרי הקבה אלא הקב"ה והבן
זה מאד. כי הוא נקרא הקב"ה והסוד בזה אל אלהים יהוה. לכן אלו שלשה

מדרגות הם עולים וניתנים לכהן העליון כי הם חלקו וגורלו. כעין דוגמא
זה למטה אנו נותנים הלחיים והזרוע והקבה לכהן כדי שיהא כדוגמא עליונה.

קן צפור כתי' שלח תשלח את האם ואת הבנים תקח לך. אבל
סוד הענין כשתבא לחקור בעולם העליון אזי אתה צריך לשלח האם שהיא
אם הבנים שמחה שהוא עולם היובל בשביל שהוא סתום ונעלם לכן אין
השגתך שולטת שם לכן אתה צריך לשלחה אלא הבנים שהם המחודשים
תקח לך. והסוד בזה כבוד אלהים הסתר דבר וכבוד מלכים חקור דבר.
כי כל מה שאתה צריך לבקש ולחקור תחקור במלכות כי היא בית שער
לכל מי שירצה ליכנס לביה המלך כי משם נכנסין ויוצאין כל העולי'
במרכבה הה"ד אין זה כי אם בית אלהים וזה שער השמים.

בחיה ובעוף ושפך את דמו וכסהו בעפר למה כיון שהדם ההוא
שהוא מדת הגבורה שנקראת חיה ונקראת עוף צריכין לכסות דמו בשביל
שהוא התעוררות דין הה"ד חרב ליי מלאה דם ואנו מכסין אותו בעפר
של הבינה שהוא עולם הרחמים כדי לשקט ולשכך רוגזו וחמתו כדי שלא
לעשות דין בעולם לכן אנו צריכין לכסות דם חיה ועוף כדי שלא יראה
ויתגלה הדין בעולם. לכן אנו צריכין שתי עפרים עפר למעלה ועפר למטה.
עפר למעלה רומז לבינה הה"ד כי עפר אתה ואל עפר תשוב. ועפר למטה
רומז למדת התפ' שנקראת ג"כ עפר הה"ד וכל בשליש עפר הארץ. כעין
דוגמא זה אנו צריכין שתי עפרים והבן זה. אבל דם הבהמה אינה צריכה
כיסוי בשביל שדם הבהמה רומז לעט' שהיא רפה בדינה לכן אינה צריכה
כיסוי והבן זה מאד.

נסע כתי' וערלתם ערלתו את פריו שלש שנים יהיה לכם
ערילים וכו'. אבל סוד הדבר למה תהא הנטיעה הנטוע ערלים שלש שנים.
אלא ודאי ערלים מלש' אטום כי יש ערלת הלב פי' אטימת הלב ועורלת
האוזן ג"כ. לכן אמ' בכאן ערלים פי' אטומים רומז לשלש מדות הנעלמות
והאטומות שהם כ"ע וחכמה ובינה פי' יהיו לכם ערלים ונסתרים שאין
לכם בהם השגה לעלות להם | וליהנות מהם כי הם נסתרים כד ע"א
ונעלמים בתכלית ההתעלמות. אבל בשנה הרביעית פי' במדת החסד שהוא
רביעי להם יהיה כל פריו קדש הלולים ליי כלו' שיש לך רשות לחפש
ולהרהר וליהנות משם בהשגתך. כעין דוגמא זה למטה מי שנוטע נטיעה
אסור ליהנות ממנה שלש שנים. ובשנה הרביעית יהיה כל פריו וכו'.

קבר מת כתי' לא תתגודדו ולא תשימו קרחה בין עיניכם למת.

שכך היו נוהגין אותן כומרי של עז שהיו גודדין לפני ע"ז שכך היא עבודתן. לכן ציונו הקב"ה על זה בשביל שישראל הם זרע הקדש והם פרושים ונבדלים מאומות העולם ה"ד ואבדיל אתכם מן העמים להיות לי שצריכין ישראל שיהיו נבדלים מהם בכל בין בזריעה בין בקצירה בין בפיאה ובין בשכחה בין בתגלחת הראש בין במילה ובין בכל דבר ה"ד צאינה וראינה בנות ציון במלך שלמה וכו' אל תקרי בנות ציון אלא בנות ציון פי' בנים המצויינין במילה ובציצית ובתגלחת הראש. לכן הזהיר לנו בתורתינו הקדושה שלא להתגודד על המת ושלא לשרוט שרט בנפש וכן כל כיוצא בזה. שכך היא עבודתן לפני ע"ז שלהם והבן זה.

מגלח שער כתי' בו לא תקיפו פאת ראשכם. כי כל המשחית פאת הראש כאלו מכחיש בתיקון העליון שהוא לובן של הגולגולת שכתי' בו לבושיה כתלג חיור ושער רישיה כעמר נקי כי אותו הגולגולת הוא מלא נימין ושערות הם קווצות של תלתלים והם עומדים בתיקון יפה ונאה לכין כל מי שהוא משחית פאת הראש כאלו הוא מכחיש כביכול ונותין פגם בשער העליון והבן זה מאד ודום לייי.

כי תבנה בית חדש וכו' כתי' כי תבנה בית חדש וכתי' וכתבתם על מזוזות ביתך ובשעריך. כדי לכתוב המזוזה שכותבים בה הזכרות של השם הקדוש וכתי' מבחוץ שם של שדי כדי להבריח משם השידים והרוחות והלילין וכן כל כיוצא בזה. לכן הב"ה נתן לנו המצות לתועלתינו ולהנאתינו כדי להחיותנו כיום הזה.

נתכסה בציצית כתי' ועשו להם ציצית והם ארבעה על ארבע קצות רומז לגדולה ולגבורה ולנצח ולהוד שהם עומדים על ארבע כנפות העולם. ויש בכל ציצית וציצית שמונה חוטין רומז לל"ב נתי' פליאות חכמה כי ד' פעמים ח' יעלו ל"ב חוטין כנגד ל"ב נתי'. ועוד יש בציצית שמונה חוטין וה' קשורין רומז לי"ג מבועות של החכמה שמשם יורדים ומתפשטים י"ג מבועות לעולם. ועשו להם ציצית פי' תעשה ולא מן העשוי שלא יוציא נימין מן הטלית ויעשה מהם אלא מצוה להביא לבן ותכלת | ויעשה. אימתי כשהיה התכלת מצוי ועכשיו אין לנו אלא כד ע"ב לבן לפי שהתכלת הוא נגנז. כי התכלת היה מצוי בעיר אחת ושמה לוז ובה היו צובעין התכלת. כי באותה העיר לא היה שולט בה מלאך המות אלא מי שהגיע לזקנה והיתה נפשו קצתה עליו והיה יוצא חוץ לעיר וימות לכן כיון שנחרבה אותה העיר נתבטל גם כן התכלת. על כנפי ולא באצבע

אלא על הכנף. פתיל שהוא צריך לפותלן. אמ' ר' מאיר מה נשתנה תכלת מכל מיני צבעונין לפי שהתכלת דומה לרקיע* והרקיע דומה לכסא הכבוד ה"ד ויראו את אלהי ישראל ותחת רגליו כמעשה לבנת הספיר. והיה לכם לציצית כדי שתהיא נראית. וכמה שעורה בית שמאי אומרי' ארבע אצבעות ובית הלל אומ' שלש. וראיתם אותו פרט לכסות לילה. וראיתם אותו כתי' ולא כתי' וראיתם אותה אלא אותו שאם אתה עושה כן כאלו אתה רואה כסא הכבוד ה"ד הריאיני אותו ואת נוהו. וראיתם וזכרתם הראייה מביא לידי זכרון וזכרון מביא לידי מעשה ה"ד למען תזכרו ועשיתם את כל מצותי. למה כי לא דבר רק הוא מכם כי הוא חייכם ובדבר הזה האריכו ימים וכו'. משל לבעל הבית שהיה שוקל ארנוניות וכותב אפכיות. אמ' לו אביו הוי זהיר באפכיות שחייך נתון בו. כך אמ' להם הב"ה לישראל כי לא דבר רק הוא מכם כי הוא חייכם. ולא תתורו אחרי לבבכם ואחרי עיניכם אשר אתם זונים אחריהם. הלב והעינים הם סרסורין לגוף מזנין את הגוף. למען תזכרו ועשיתם את כל מצותי. משל לאחד שהיה מושלך לתוך המים הושיט לו הקרבגינו* את החבל א"ל תפוש החבל הזה בידך ואל תניחהו שאם הנחתו אין לך חיים. אף כך אמ' הקב"ה לישראל כל זמן שאתם מדובקים בי* אתם חיים שנא' ואתם הדבקים ביי אלהיכם חיים כלכם וכו'. והייתם קדושים לאלהיכם. בזמן שאתם עושים מצותי אתם מקודשין ואימתכם ויראתכם על כל האומות. אם פירשתם מן המצות נעשיתם מחוללים. אמ' להם הב"ה לישראל בעולם הזה על ידי יצר הרע אתם פורשים מן המצות ולעולם הבא אני עוקרו מן העולם ה"ד והסירותי את לב האבן מבשרכם ונתתי לכם לב בשר. ואת רוחי אתן בקרבכם.

תאנא עץ החיים מהלך חמש מאות שנה וכל מימי בראשית מתפלגין תחתיו וכו'. בא וראה כאשר יוצאים המים מן המחשבה של כל הסתימין יתהוו ויתציירו כל מימות של התחתונים כולם. לכך נקראת מחשבה אל תיקרי מחשבה אלא מוח שבה פי' אותו מוח של המחשבה שהוא עומד באויר זך ונקי כי המוח יתהוו ממנו חמימות | אל כה ע"א תיקרי מוח אלא חום באותיותיו מהופכות כי משם יתפשט חום שכלי בסוד אמ"ש עד שיגיע החום ההוא אל העינים שנקראים גלם ועפר* כי הם נקראים העינים ה"ד עיני יי המה משוטטות בכל הארץ כי אותן העינים הם מביטים ומשגיחין בכל העולמות כולם והסוד בזה להיות עיניך פקוחות

עיניך ודאי. ומן העינים מתפשט החום ההוא דרך הצינורות אל הזרועות ההי"ד ומתחח זרועות עולם. ומן הזרועות מתפשט החום אל הלב שהוא חום החיונית. ומן הלב מתפשט אל הכליות ומן הכליות יתפשטו המים ההם דרך הצינורות אל מדרגה התחתונה שהיא נקראת ים ההי"ד כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים והים אינו מלא. ומן אותו הים מתפלגין ומתחלקים כל מימי בראשית לנהרות ולנחלים ולמקורות. אזי הים מחלקת אותן המים לכל המרכבות ולכל הצבאות והמחנות והמדריגות כולם ההי"ד ותתן טרף לביתה וא"כ וחוק לנערותיה כי מתחלה היא מפרנסת וניזונת עצמה וא"כ לכל חיילותיה וצבאותיה. ואין טרף אלא לש' מזון ההי"ד טרף נתן ליריאיו. ועוד אותן המבועות מתפשטין עד עולם המרכבות ומן עולם המרכבות אל עולם הטבע ומן הפסולת של כל יציע לארץ שלנו ההי"ד הנותן מטר על פני ארץ ושולח מים על פני חוצות.

ר' חייא פתח ואמ' באשר דבר מלך שלטון ומי יאמר לו מה תעשה. באשר כמו מאשר שמנה לחמו והוא יתן מעדני מלך כי בעולם החכמה שנקרא אשר דבר מלך שלטון שהוא פוקד עליה במצותיו כי החכמה תצא מן האין ההי"ד והחכמה מאין תמצא ומשם מתפשט היש אל העולמות כולם. ושלטון הוא עולם הבינה שנקרא שלטון כי הוא שולט על כל התחתונים כי הוא יוצרם ומלכם. לכן כשאלו שתי המדות שהם אשר ושלטון מתחברים בדבר המלך העליון ומוציאין הרז שעלה במחשבה להוציא מי יאמר לו מה תעשה כי כבר עלה הגזירה במחשבה אין להשיב. והסוד בזה נכתב ונחתם בטבעת המלך אין להשיב. ד"א באשר דבר מלך וכו' כאשר יסכימו המלך והמטרוניתא שהיא נקראת שלטון בהסכמה אחת להוציא הענין מן הכח אל הפועל או לחדש בריאה או יצירה מי יאמ' להם מה תעשה כי המטרוניתא נקראה סוד האיפשר ההי"ד אם יהיה אלהים עמדי ושמרני בדרך הזה. בא וראה עולם התחתון יש בו השנוי והחילוף כי כל דבר שינוי והתחלפות ושאר מיני התוארים המשתנים הם בעולם המחודש כגון וילך וינחם ויתעצב אל לבו. אבל בעולם העליון לא יפול בו שום דבר מאלו השינויים והחלופים כי הוא ושמו קדם לעולם | והוא אור קדמון שאין בו שום שנוי וחלוף לא עמידה ולא ישיבה כה ע"ב ולא דבר מן הדברים המתחלפים אלא הוא שוה בתכלית פשיטותו והוא נקרא מדת השוואה אשר לא ישתנה לזולתו ההי"ד וחנותי את אשר אחון אע"פ שאינו הגון וראוי זהו שכתי' אני יי לא שניתי ואתם בני

יעקב פי' אין לי שינוי לא במנין אחד ולא במנין רבוי כי לפני אחד לא יפול בו מנין כמו ששנינו לפני אחר מה אתה סופר כו'. לכן יש כח בכנסת ישראל להוציא דבר מן הכח אל הפועל כפי מה שיראה לה כי היא כמו הטיקלא ביד היוצר* כל זמן שהטיקלא מתגלגלת יכול לשנות הכלי הן להרחיבו והן להאריכו והן לעגלו והן לרבעו כפי מה שיראה ההי"ד כי הנה כחומר ביד היוצר וכו'. כך כנסת ישראל כשהנשמות משתלחים מן המבוע של הנחל העליון אל עולם התפ' שהוא עץ החיים ומשם הם יורדים אל הטיקלא שהיא כנסת ישראל היא תקבלם. מהם היא שולחת לעולם ומהם תניח לעצמה כפי מה שיראה לה. לכך היא נקראת סוד האיפשר והבן זה ודום ליי.

איש רומז למדת המחשבה ולחכמה כי אל"ף מן איש רומז למדת העתיק שהוא עתיק דעתיקין וסתימא דסתימין. והוא מעין ששבילין סחומין ונהרותיו עמוקים ההי"ד עמוק עמוק מי ימצאנו פי' שתי עומקים אלו למה אלא אחד רומז לכ"ע ואחד רומז לחכמה שהם שתי עומקים. אין לשום נמצא מן הנמצאים שיכול להשיג מהותם מה הם כד"א חולה ארץ על בלימה פי' על בלי מה שהם שתי עומקים ההי"ד מה רבו מעשיך יי כלם בחכמה עשית וכו' אלא מי שהוא בינה שנמצא מהם הוא ימציאם וישיגם ההי"ר עמוק עמוק מי ימצאנו פי' הבינה שנקראת מי לו יכולת להשיגם. ד"א עמוק עמוק מי ימצאנו. אלו שתי עומקים אחד רומז לע' העי' שהוא עתיקא דעתיקין וסתירא דסתירין וטמירא דטמירין אשר אין בריה מן הנמצאים למעלה ולמטה יכול להדביקו בשכלו ולא להעלותו על מחשבתו וכל שכן לדבר בפיו מהו מהותו ועצמותו כי השכל הוא נמנע מלהדביקו ולהעלותו במחשבתו לכך הוא נקרא עמוק. ועמוק רומז לכ"ע שהוא נקרא ג"כ עמוק על דרך כי גבוה מעל גבוה וכו' ואלו שתי עומקים מי יכול להדביקם בשכל מן הנמצאים אלא מי שהוא הים החכמה כי מי אותיותיו ים באותיותיו להפך. לכן אין בנמצא מן הנמצאים מי שיכול לידע מהותם אלא גולם החכמה ההי"ד עמוק עמוק מי ימצאנו. והחכמה היא נקראת רחוק ההי"ד אמרתי אחכמה והיא רחוקה ממני. וכתי' ממרחק תביא לחמה. וכתי' מרחוק יי נראה לי וכו'. לכך נקרא כ"ע אל"ף.ד"א אל"ף | בגי' כו ע"א מאה וי"א כי המאה רומזים לעשר מדרגות שהם עשר צ'חצחות שהם בגולגולת הראש הם ועניפיהם יעלו מאה בחשבון. וי"א רומז לעשר מדרגות התחתונות שהם עשרה. ואחד רומז לע' העי' שהוא נסתר ונעלם מלהרהר במהותו.

יו"ד מן איש רומז למדת החכמה שנקרא יו"ד שהיא כמו היו"ד שהיא מקבל כל החקיקות בשביל שהיא גולם בך גולם החכמה היא לקבל כל החקיקות וכל הרשימות. כמו היו"ד שלא תוכל לכתוב אות מן אותיות החורה בלעדה כך לא יתהווה ולא יתצייר דבר מן הדברים זולתה לכך נקראת יו"ד. ד"א למה נקראת יו"ד כמו היו"ד שהוא נסתר ונעלם בכל האותיות כך היא נסתרת ונעלמת בכל המדרגות היא רואה וצופה כל הנמצאים והנבראים והיא לא נראית כמו הנשמה שבגוף שהיא רואה ואינה נראית כך הוא רואה וחוקר כל הנמצאים כולם ה"ד עיני יי המה משוטטות בכל הארץ. שי"ן מן איש רומז לשלש מדרגות הנעלמות שהם כ"ע וחכמה ובינה שהם בצורת שי"ן וזהו סוד צורת שי"ן של תפלין של שלשה ראשים. אבל השי"ן של ארבע ראשים רומזים לארבע קשרים שהם נצח הוד יסוד מלכות שהם עומדות בצורת שי"ן של ארבעה ראשים והבן זה מאד ודום לייי. ד"א שי"ן רומז לחכמה ולבינה שנקראים שי"ן כי ש"י רומזים למדת החכמה שנקרא יש וזהו סוד עתיד כל צדיק וצדיק ליבראות שלש מאות ועשר עולמות כמנין יש ה"ד להנחיל אוהבי יש. אבל סודו כבר גליתי לך במקומות אחרים ולא אצטרך עתה לשנות לך ולכן איני מאריך בו. אבל ן פשוטה מן שי"ן רומז למדת הבינה שהיא נקראת נו"ן פשוטה בשביל שיש בו חמשי' שערי בינה שהם חמשים וזהו סוד מה שאמ' רז"ל חמשים שערי בינה נבראו בעולם כולם נתנו למשה חוץ מאחת מהם ה"ד ותחסרהו מעט מאלהים וכבוד והדר תעטרהו. כי בכל השיג משה אלא שער החמשים שכתי' בו זה השער ליי. וכיון שזה השער הוא נסתר ונעלם ואין כח בשום נברא לעלות לה והם נקראים פנים ועל זה כתי' ופני לא יראו שהוא שער החמשים שנקרא פנים בשביל שהוא מתפשט מא"א* לכך הוא נסתר והסוד בזה ויסתר משה פניו כי ירא מהביט אל האלהים. פי' פניו ודאי של האלהים שהוא בינה ועל זה כתי' ופני לא יראו לשום נברא מן הנבראים כי הוא יחלש בהשגתו. על זה בתי' ויסתר משה פניו והסוד כבוד אלהים הסתר דבר וכבוד מלכים חקור דבר. כי הבא לחקור צריך לחקור במלכות | שהיא נקראת כבוד מלכים כי היא פתח ובית שער לכל הנכנסים כו ע"ב בבית המלך העליון אבל כבוד אלהים שהוא בינה הסתר כי אין שם גלוי כלל אלא הסתר לכן הפנים אינן נראים לשום נברא ונמצא. אבל האחור שהוא צד העורף כתי' בו וראית את אחורי ופני לא יראו. כי תשעה וארבעים שערים הם נקראים אחור על שם שהם אחוריים והסוד בזה אחוריהם ביתה

הם היו מושגים למשה ועל זה וראית את אחורי. לכן אמ' רז"ל הראה הב"ה למשה קשר של תפלין כמו הקשר של תפילין שהוא אחורו של האדם כך הראה לו כל המדרגות שהם נקראים אחוריים ה"ד וראית את אחורי וכו'. ד"א למה הראה לו קשר של תפלין כמו הקשר שהוא נקשר בקשרים תקיפין בלא פירוד כך הראה הב"ה למשה כל אותן מדרגות עליונות שהם כלם אחוזים וקשורים זה בזה כשלהבת הקשורה בגחלת כי לא יתכן מציאות גחלת בלי שלהבת ולא מציאות שלהבת בלתי גחלת כך לא יתכן מציאות הקשר ההוא נפרד ונקצץ אלא הכל ביחוד אמתי בדי לחבר את האהל להיות אחד.

אמ' ר' אלעזר בן שמעון ודאי כאן יש להסתכל בסוד האמונה בענין קשר של תפילין כי ודאי תפילין של הראש שהקב"ה מחעטר בהם הם מדרגות עליונות שהם כ"ע וחכמה ובינה גדולה וגבורה שהם עומדים על ראש מלך יי צבאות וזהו סוד מה שא' רז"ל בתפילין דקדשא בריך הוא מה כתי' בו מי כעמך כישראל גוי אחד וכו' כי הב"ה הוא מתעטר בהם באלו ג' כתרים ומקבל בכל יום ויום אור החיים מן אותן הכתרים. ועל זה צריכין שיהיו רצועות שחורות בשביל שהוא הלכה למשה מסיני. מאי טעמא דאינן אוכמיא ולא חיוורי אלא רזא דמלא כי גוון אוכמא הוא שפיר נאה לגוון חיוור והסוד בזה דודי צח ואדום וכו' לכן הרצועות הם שחורות כעורב והם הלכה למשה מסיני כדא' שחורה אני ונאוה וכו'. ועל זה ווי להההוא גברא דעביד רצועות לבנים כי לבן בלבן אינו נאה ויפה אלא שחור בלבן הוא יפה ונאה ודיי לך בזה לכל מבין דת אלהים הקדושה. בא וראה כשהקב"ה הוא מתעטר בתפילין של הראש שהם ג' כתרים עליונים אז המלך נלבש בכובע ישועה ובמלבוש כמלבוש של המלך העליון ה"ד יי מלך גאות לבש וכיון שהוא מלובש בעשרה לבושים של המלך אז תפ' ישראל יוצא להלחם עם האויבים הבאים על מלכות בית דוד אזי שולח נשמות קדושים לכנסת ישראל כדי לחזקה בגלותה. לכן כל בן אדם שהוא מלובש בתפילין ודאי אינו ירא כלום בשביל שכתר העליון על ראשו ובלבד שלא יזוז דעתו ומחשבתו מן האזכרות שהם כתובים בתפילין ה"ד למען תהיה תורת יי בפיך וכו' וכיון | שאור העליון שהוא כז ע"א שם הקדוש למעלה אין לו לירא מכלום. ולא עוד אלא כל הבריות יריאים ממנו ה"ד וראו כל עמי הארץ כי שם יי נקרא עליך וירא ממך ודאי. אבל תפילין של יד היא כנסת ישראל והסוד בזה והיה לאות על ידכה שהוא יד כהה והוא יד שמאל ועל זה צריכין שתפילין של יד להיות בזרוע.

שמאל והסוד בזה שימיני כחותם על לבך וכחותם על זרועך ואין זרוע אלא שמאל כדא' שמאלו תחת לראשי וימינו תחבקיני. ועל זה צריך להושיט הזרוע בזמן שהוא מניח תפילין כדי להורות יחוד אלהינו ית' ויח' והבן זה והמשכיל יבין. לכן כשהאדם הוא נכתר בתפילין אזי הוא נקרא אחד אזי ראוי שישכון עליו השכינה אז הב"ה שהוא אחד יבוא וישכון באחד בשביל שחיבר היחוד אחד ההי"ד מי כעמך כישראל גוי אחד וכו'. בא וראה ויי לגברא דלא ידכי נפשיה בזמנא דאנח תפילין כי הם צריכין גוף נקי כאלישע בעל כנפים כי אין אדם יניח כתרו של המלך בראשו בזמן שאינו טהור ואם ח"ו נניחם בזמן שהוא לאו טהור או אינו דעתו מיושב עליו כאלו הוא מכהיש ופוגם בדוגמא עליונה ונותן פגם במקום דליכא פגם. לכן האדם צריך הזהרה גדולה בשעת הנחתן שיניחם ויסדרם כדוגמא עליונה ויכוין בדברים הראוים לכוין כדי שיתדמה לעליונים וצריך למשמש בהם בכל זמן כדי שלא יסיח דעתו מן האזכרות ההם אלא יהא מחשבתו ודעתו קשורה למעלה למעלה אזי אותו אדם שלם כדוגמא עליונה אזי הוא יושב כמלאך אלהים. אבל כל מי שיש לו שום כאב או חלי בבטנו לא יניח תפילין בשביל שהרוחות של בטנו מצויות. אבל מי שהוא ברזר ופרוש בקדושה וטהרה יניחם כל היום כלו. אבל מי שאינו יכול לשמור עצמו בכולי האי יניחם בשעת התפלה ודי. ועוד אמ' ר' אלעזר אמא הראה הב"ה למשה קשר של תפילין כי קשר של תפלין רמז וראי למדרגת משה שהוא נקרא קשר האמצעי והוא הבריח התיכון כי הוא קושר העליונים עם התחתונים כי הוא הקשר האמתי שמחבר את שתי הקצוות של שתי העולמות. למה כיון שהספי' הם עשרה חמש כנגד חמש כי חמש העליונים הם כ"ע וחכמה ובינה וגדולה וגבורה. וחמש תחתונים הם תפ' נצח הוד יסוד מלכות ונמצא שתפ' הוא עומד באמצע בין שתי קצות העולמות כי הוא מחבר העליונים עם התחתונים ביחוד אחד והסוד והבריח התיכון בתוך הקרשים מבריח מן הקצה אל הקצה פי' בין שתי קצות של העולמות לכן נקרא תפ' קשר של תפילין של ראש ושל תפלין של יד. לכן הראה הב"ה למשה מדרגתו שהוא קשר האמצעי שקושר כתרים העליונים עם כתרים התחתונים ואזי הראה לו הכתרים העליונים והתחתונים והמרכבות והצבאות ומחנות והראה | לו שמונה עשר אלף כז ע"ב עולמות לצד מזרח וי"ח אלף לצד מערב וי"ח אלף לצד דרום וי"ח אלף לצד צפון. יעלה מספרם ע"ב אלף עולמות כמנין שם של ע"ב היוצא

משלשה פסוקים של ויסע ויבא ויט. וא"ל משה אל יעלה על דעתך כל אלו הכתרים שהעמדתיך עליהם שיעלה על דעתך שיש ביניהם קיצוץ ופירוד אלא כולם הם קשורים זה בזה בשלהבת הקשורה בנחלת. מיד הגביה משה עיניו לשמים ואמ' רבו' של עו' מה אנוש כי תזכרנו וכי מה תחשבהו האדם הנבזה העומד בדעת קלה שהוא כנגד כל אלו הנמצאים כמו יתוש אחד. ועל זה כתי' תולה הארץ על בלימה שתלה העולם על דבר שלא תוכל לומ' עליו מה כי הוא נבלע ונעלם.

ד"א איש רומז למדת התפ' שנקרא איש ההי"ד תפלה למשה איש האלהים והוא נקרא איש לאשה הידועה שנקראת אש ה"א כי היא נקראת אש והוא נקרא אש והיו"ד הנשאר מאיש וה"א מן אשה יעלה בצרופם י"ה רומז לחכמה ולבינה שהם אבותיהם כי החכמה הוא אב לחתן ולכלה והבינה היא אם לחתן ולכלה וזהו כבד את אביך ואת אמך. לכן המדות והמנהגות של האבות מתנהגים בהם הבנים וכיון ששם י"ה מחוברים עם הבנים והבן זה. ד"א איש אשה יעלה חיבורם בגי' שש מאות ושלש עשרה כי מדת התפ' שנקרא איש מקבל אור חיים של העולמות מן רמ"ח צינורות המתפשטות לו מן עולם העליון כנגד רמ"ח איברים שבאדם. ואשה שהיא כנסת ישראל מקבלת השפע מן שס"ה צינורות היורדות לה מן התפ' על ידי סוד הברית שהוא צדיק יסוד עולם נמצא שאיש ואשה יעלה מספרם שש מאות ושלש עשרה כנגד מצות עשה ומצות לא תעשה שהם תרי"ג מצות. וד' הנוספים במספר רומזים לשם של ד' אותיות שהוא שם המפורש יהוה שהוא עקר הייחוד כי היו"ד רומז לחכמה. וה"א לבינה שהוא ה"א גדולה. וא"ו לתפ' שהוא וא"ו. ה"א אחרונה רומז לכנסת ישראל נמצא שבאיש ואשה נתקן ונתחבר יחוד כל העולמות כולם. לכן האדם כל זמן שהוא נפרד ואינו נשאוי אין הברכה שורה עליו. אבל כשהוא נשאוי ויתחברו זכר ונקבה אזי היחוד נתקן מיד הברכות שורות עליהם ומי שאינו נשאוי לא נקרא אחד אלא הוא חצי גוף והנקבה נקראת חצי גוף והשכינה אינה שוכנת במקום פגום אלא במקום שלם. אבל כשיתחברו אלו שני חצאין אזי יהיו גוף אחד ובשר אחד ההי"ד והיו לבשר אחד. מיד כתי' ויברך אותם אלהים והברכות שוכנות עליהם מיד שם הקדוש הוא נמצא עמהם ההי"ד איש ואשה יו"ד מאיש וה"א מאשה יעלה י"ה והבן זה. ד"א איש אותיותיו ישא כי מדת התפ' הוא מקבל כל טוב העולמות ממקור החיים והוא משפיעם כולם אל כנסת ישראל ומאיר לה הפנים כשהם חשובים

מכח התמורות ההי"ד למה קודד אלך | בלחץ אויב. אזי תפ' כח ע"א
ישראל שהוא איש הוא נושא לה פנים שחוקים ופנים מזהירים כרי לשמח
המטרוניתא שהיא אשתו והסוד בזה ישא יי פניו אליך. ד"א ישא כי תפ'
ישראל הוא נושא עליונים ותחתונים כולם ההי"ד מתחת זרועות עולם כי
מושך אליו טובות העליונים כמו אבן השואבת* שהוא שואב אליו הכל.
כך תפ' ישראל שנקרא אבן ישראל הוא שואב אליו כל העליונים ונושא
התחתונים מתחת זרועותיו ההי"ד ישא יי וכו'. אשה רומז למדת העט'
שנקרא האש שהוא האש הגדולה ההי"ד כי יי אלהיך אש אוכלה הוא. ד"א
אשה שהיא עט' היא נכללת בשלש כתרים בכ"ע ובכתר אמצעי ובכתר
תחתון. כי אל"ף מן אשה רומז לאל"ף של כ"ע שהוא אל"ף הידוע. שי"ן
רומז למדת התפ' שנקרא שי"ן. ה"א מן אשה רומז לעט' שהיא בת תחתונה
והרי אתה רואה שמדת העט' היא בכל ונכללת מכל וזהו סוד שאמ' רז"ל
בת היתה לאברהם בכל שמה בשביל שהיא מתחברת בכל וכולם הם מתחברים
עמה והבן זה.

אשר יצוד ציד חיה כי אשר רומז למדת החכמה שנקראת אשר
ההי"ד אהיה אשר אהיה וכתי' מאשר שמנה לחמו. יצוד ציד חיה כי הוא
עולה לאותן ההרים הגבוהים הנקראים הרי בשמים וצודה אותן החיות שהם
נשמות הקדושות הבאים מעי' העי' אל כ"ע הנקרא חיה וזהו סוד נפש
רוח נשמה יחידה חיה כ"ע. ומשם הוא מוריד כל חיות של הנשמות לזה
העולם וזהו סוד מה שאמ' יצחק אבי' לעשו וצודה לי צידה וכתי' בה"א
יתירה באחרונה. אמ' לו וצא השדה וצודה לי ציד כי אין שדה אלא עט'
ישראל הנקראת שדה ההי"ד ראה ריח בני כריח שדה אשר ברכו יי. כי
מדת אשר שהוא החכמה הוא מברך לשדה ההוא מן הבריכה העליונה שהיא
בריכה שאין פוסקין מימיה אלא היא הולכת ומתגברת במימיה ההי"ד ונהר
יוצא מעדן כתי' ולא יצא כתי' משמע שהוא יוצא בכל יום ויום שאין
מימיו נפסקין לעולם. לכן אשר הוא מוציא השפע מעולם הנעלם ויברך
לכנסת ישראל. והבינה שהיא נקראת נהר מאיר לכל העולמות ההי"ד ונהר
יוצא וכו' כדא' ונהורא עימיה שרי. ואותו האור יוצא ומתפשט מן אור
קדמון שהוא כ"ע ומשם מתפשט לעדן החכמה ומן העדן יוצא אל הבינה
ההי"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן. ומשם מתפשט אל התפ' שהוא עץ החיים ההי"ד
כי עמך מקור חיים באורך נראה אור. ומן התפ' מתפשט אל העט' ההי"ד
להשקות את הגן שהוא נקרא גן נעול אחותי כלה גל נעול וכו' ומשם

יתפשט האור ההוא אל כל המדכבות והמחנות והצבאות ולעולם הנפרדים
ולארבעה מלכים שהם פני אדם פני אריה פני נשר פני שור ההי"ד ומשם
יפרדו והיה לארבעה ראשים שהם מלכים וראשים על ארבעה חדרים שהם
פני אדם פני אריה וכו'. ד"א ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות | ונהר כח ע"ב
הוא נהר ממש שנמשך ויוצא מן המבוע של הנהר העליון שכתי' בו עמוק
עמוק מי וכו' ואותו נהר מתפשט מן המוח הקדוש והוא המקור שנקרא
בריכה העליונה. כי יש בריכה עליונה ובריכה תחתונה. בריכה עליונה
רומז לכ"ע כי הוא נקרא ברוך על שם בריכה כי משם מתברכים ומתרווחים
כל המדרגות כי הוא בריכה שיש לו מקור שאין פוסקין מימיו. כי כל
המימות של המקורות והנחלים והנהרות נפסקין וזה המקור לא יפסקו
מימיו לעולם. לכך נקרא בריכה עליונה בשביל שהוא משקה תדיר כל
הארצות ההי"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן כי אותו נהר שהוא נמשך מן המקור העליון
אינו נפסק לעולם ההי"ד ונהר יוצא כתי' ולא יצא משמע יוצא בכל יום
ויום בלי הפסיק והסוד בזה לא איש אל ויכזב ואין ויכזב אלא כלש'
אשר לא יכזבו מימיו. לכן אל שהוא כ"ע לא יכזבו ולא יפסיקו מימיו
לעולם כי הוא עולם הקדוש שלא יפול בו שום שנוי ולא שום חסרון ולא
שום פגימות אלא שלם בתכלית השלימות. לכן המים של הבדיכה ההוא
אינן נפסקין לעולם אלא הם שופכים ומוצקים לבלי דיי ההי"ד ונהר יוצא
מעדן וכו' מעדן החכמה כמו שאמרנו ההי"ד ויטע יי אלהים גן בעדן מקדם
וכו'. להשקות את הגן. הגן ממש שכל המימות היורדים מן הבריכה ההוא
הגן שואב הכל אע"פ אינו מתרווה ויתמלא אלא עדיין היא חסירה ופגומה
ההי"ד כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים והים איננו מלא וכו' לכן זה הים נקרא
מקוה על שם קביצת המים ההי"ד יקוו המים מתחת השמים אל מקום אחד
וכו' כי המים היורדים מן מבוע של כל הם מתקבצים ומתאספים מתחת
השמים שהוא תפ' יי אל מקום אחד שהוא כנסת ישראל שנקרא אחד
כי לשם יסתיים יחוד אלהינו כי היא בכלל היחוד ההי"ד אחד אבל משם
ולמטה הוא עולם הפירוד ההי"ד ומשם יפרד והיה לארבעה ראשים. לכן
כנסת ישראל נקרא מקוה לנשים כי כל הנשים הם טובלות שם. וא"כ
כשעולות מן המקוה ויעלו מטמאתן לטהרתן אזי הם עולות אותן נשמות
הנשים לצדיק יסוד עולם ומתענגות שם עד שייגיע זמן עילויין לעלות
יותר. וזהו סוד שהנשים כשיצאו מן המקוה הם צריכים להסתכל בצורת
אדם צדיק ממור כדי שיתקשר צורת אותו הצדיק בדמיונן וילדו כמותו.

אז תחפוץ זבחי צדק עולה וכליל. כי עולה רומז לתפ׳ שהוא נקרא עולה וזהו סוד שלא היו מקריבין אלא מן הזכר ה"ד זכר תמים יקריבינו. ד"א נקרא עולה על שם שעולה על לב. ד"א תפ׳ נקרא עולה בשביל שהוא עולה למעלה עד עולם העליון שהוא סוד עתיק דעתיקין וטמירא דטמירין וסתימא דסתימין. הוא עולה שם ומתענג שם בעידונין ותפנוקין של המלך ה"ד אז תתענג על יי והרכבתיך על במתי ארץ והאכלתיך נחלת יעקב אביך. מהו נחלת יעקב אביך זהו עולם העליון עולם הקדוש שהוא קדשי הקדשים והוא נקרא נחלה בלי מצרים | שאין כח ע"א להם שולט לא צד ולא עויב ולא מסטין ולא מקטריג ולא דבר ממיני המזיקין אלא הם נחלה בלי מצרים ה"ד אז תתענג על יי. ואין למעלה בטובה מן עונג לכן הוא כ"ע נקרא עונג של הצדיקים ה"ד אז התענג על יי והרכבתיך וכו׳ ואין למעלה ברע מן הנגע ה"ר ונגע לא יקרב באהליך וכו׳. וכליל היא כנסת ישראל שנקראת כליל מלשון כלולה בכל מיני יופי וחן לכן היא כוללת כל המרות וכל המדרגות. ד"א כליל מלש׳ כלת חתנים שהיא בית חתנים שהיא מתקן בית למלך יי צבאות שנקרא חתן ה"ד כחתן יכהן פאר וככלה תעדי כליה. אז יעלו על מזבחך פרים פי׳ כשכנסת ישראל מזדווגת עם המלך יי צבאות אז אותן הפרים שהן תפ׳ ועט׳ הם מתעלים למזבח הקטורת שהוא הבינה נקרא מזבח הקטורת כי קטורת מלש׳ קשר בשביל שהוא קושר כל העולמות עד שיתהוו ויתיחדו כאחד לכן הוא נקרא קטורת. ד"א פרים מלש׳ פרים ורבים כשיתחברו דו פרצופין ביחד אז הם פרים ורבים והנקבה מתעברת מן הנשמות הנשפעים לה מתפ׳ יי צבאות והזכר גם כן יתמלא. והסוד ויתעבר יי בי למענכם שכל הנשמות הנשפעות לתפ׳ יי מן עולם העליון הם מתקבצים כולם שם ויתמלא כל עץ החיים מלא על כל גדותיו ה"ד ויתעבר יי בי למענכם פי׳ בי ודאי למענכם ודאי בשבילכם. והסוד בזה איכה אשא לבדי טרחכם ומשאכם וריבכם והבן זה. ד"א ויתעבר יי בי למענכם מלש׳ העברה פי׳ העבירני וסלקיני כדי שלא ליכנס בארץ ישראל להתענג מאור של ארץ החיים ולהינות מפרייה וטובה.

ר׳ חייא פתח ואמ׳ באור פני מלך חיים ורצונו כעב מלקוש. באור פני מלך זהו אור של התפ׳ שהוא מקבל מן האור ההוא מן עולם החיים ומתפשט החיים ההוא אל כל הנמצאים והנבראים כי אותו החיים מתפשט ממקום מוח הקדוש שהוא עומד במדת המחשבה כי הוא מקור החיים כי

במוח תלוי החיים ובמוח כל האור והחיים הוא נובע משם לכן אמ׳ רז"ל ברמז אם נקב קרום של המוח טרפה כי במוח הוא מקום החיונית לכן נקרא המחשבה חיה בשביל שהיא מחייה המתים לעתיד לבא בטל של המחשבה ה"ד כי טל אורות טליך כי במקום הטל לשם הוא מצוי האור ובמקום האור מצוי הטל כי באותו הטל הקב"ה מחייה המתים ה"ד אהיה כטל לישראל וכו׳ ועל זה כתי׳ באור פני מלך חיים פי׳ באור פני של א"א חיים פי׳ יש בו החיים שמחייה בו המתים. ד"א באור פני מלך חיים כשמלך העליון הוא מאיר פניו לעולם התחתון אזי החיים יוצאים לכל העולמות אזי השמחה והרווי והטובה ומיני ברכה נמצא למה בשביל שהמלך מביט על העולם בחיים כדי להריק להם החיים מן הנהר העמוק של כל ה"ד באור | פני מלך חיים. ד"א באור פני מלך חיים פי׳ כשהמלך כט ע"ב יי צבאות הוא משגיח ומביט לכנסת ישראל בפנים שחוקים ובפנים מזהירים ובפנים של שמחה אזי החיים יוצאים ממקום המוח הקדוש והטהור אזי החיים יוצאים ממקור של הנחל שאין פוסקין מימיו לעולם וכיון שהמלך הוא נוטה אליה כדי להריק בה הברכות אזי היא נמצאת בשמחה והברכות יתחברו בה ה"ד כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים וכו׳. אזי פניה מאירין משמחת המלך שהוא מביט לה לכן כשהמש מסתכל לירח אזי הירח יש לה אורה וכשאין השמש מביט לירח אזי פני הירח חשוכות ואין לה אור כלל וזהו סוד הלקוח והבן זה ודום לייי. ד"א באור פני מלך חיים ואין אור פני מלך חיים אלא אור של א"א שיש בו כל האורות והטללים. כשיתארכו אותן הפנים אזי המבועות והמקורות יתפתחו והמעינות מזילין מימיהם לרוב. אזי המלך יי צבאות מקבל אור של הפנים ה"ד יאיר יי פניו אליך וכו׳. אזי כנסת ישראל פניה שחוקות וצהובות ה"ד באור פני מלך חיים וכו׳. ורצונו כעב מלקוש כי רצונו רומז לרצון של כל הרצונות שכל הרצון של העולמות בו תלוי וזהו סוד ואני תפלתי לך יי עת רצון וכו׳ פי׳ שיתגלה לנו אותה שעה שיתגלה לנו גילוי לובן של מצח הקדוש והטהור אזי הוא עת רצון לתחתונים לקבל תפלתם ועל זה כתי׳ ואני תפלתי לך יי עת רצון. כי היה חפץ למשוך הרצון ההוא אל עת שהיא המטרוניתא שנקראת עת ה"ד לכל זמן ועת לכל חפץ. לכן זה הרצון יתגלה בשעת תפלת מנחה שהרצון יתגלה לכן היה דוד מכוין השעה ההיא והיה מתפלל עליה ה"ד ואני תפלתי לך יי עת רצון וכו׳. עושה אור כשלמה ואין אור אלא אור קדמון שהוא האור שגנזו הב"ה לצדיקים ששת ימי בראשית בשביל פושעי הדור

ה"ד וימנע מרשעים אורם וכו'. ואותו האור הוא אור פניהי והוא האור שעתיד הקב"ה להאיר לישראל כשיצאו מגלותם שכתו' והיה אור הלבנה באור החמה ואור החמה יהיה שבעתים כאור שבעת הימים. וזה האור הב"ה עושה אותו וקיפלו כמו בגד נאה ונהמד שהלובשו מקפלו ומצניעו עד זמן שיתלבש בו ביום שמחה. כך הקב"ה עוטה זה האור והצניעו והצפינו לצדיקים לעתיד לבא ה"ד מה רב טובך אשר צפנת ליריאך וכו'. המקרה במים עליוהיו השם עבים. המקרה במים עליותיו. ואין עליותיו אלא חכמה ובינה שהם עליות לבית בשביל שהם עליונות וקירה אותם המלך במים של אותו נחל והוציאם מן האין אל היש. ד"א המקרה מלש' מקורה הערה שהוא מקור העליון שהקב"ה הוציא אותן העליות שהם חכמה | ובינה ל ע"א והיקנם במים של אותו מקור. גבול שמת בל יעבורון וכו' כי הב"ה שם להם גבול בדי שלא יעברו מן הגבול ולמעלה ה"ד האותי לא תיראו נאם יי ואם מפני לא תחילו אשר שמתי חול גבול לים וכו'. המשלח מעיינים בנחלים. המשלח רומז לכ"ע שהוא נקרא מי השלוח כי הוא מוציא המקור של השילוח ושולח אותו אל המעיינים שהם חכמה ובינה והמעיינים הם נמשכים ויוצאין בנחלים שהם ו' קצוות ומשם הם נמשכים אל כל המדרגות התחתונות עד שמגיעים אל כנסת ישראל ה"ד כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים וכו'. כתי' כאן והים איננו מלא. וכתי' לשם קול ברמה נשמע נהי בכי תמרורים רחל מבכה על בניה מאנה להנחם על בניה כי איגינו. מה לשם כי אינינו מלא בשביל שהמלך נסתלק ממנה אף בכאן כי אינינו פי' אינינו עמה כמו בראשונה כי נסתלק למעלה למעלה. לכן כתי' והים איננו מלא. אע"פ שכל הנחלים והמקורות נובעים לה מכל מקום אינינה מלאה בשביל שנסתלק ממנה בעלה המלך יי צבאות. כי דרך האשה שהיא אוהבת לבעלה כשהבעל פורש ממנה אפי' אם היו נותנין לה כל טובות שבעולם לא יחשב בעיניה לכלום. יותר היא חפיצה שתאכל עם בעלה פת חרבה ותשתה מים ממה שהיא אוכלת בשולחן מלכים אפי' כל מעדני מלכים ושותה כל משקין נבחרים. לכן כתי' אינינו מלא פי' לא יתמלא נפשה ויתקרר דעתה אפי' ששולת לה מלך העליון כל טובות העליונים לא יתקרר דעתה אלא בזווג בעלה המלך יי צבאות. על זה כתי' מאנה להנחם כי אינינו. אבל לעתיד לבא כתי' ביום ההוא אקים את סוכת דוד הנופלת. פי' הב"ה הוא מבשר לכנסת ישראל אל תיראי ואל תיפחדי כי אני בעצמי אקימיך מעפרא ה"ד אקים את סוכת דוד וכו'. למה היא נקראת סוכה דוד בשביל שהיתה

עושה מלחמותיו ונלחמת באויביו ה"ד אם תחנה על מחנה לא ירא לבי ואם תקום עלי מלחמה בזאת אני בוטח. כי אין זאת אלא כנסת ישראל ה"ד בזאת יבא אהרן אל הקדש וכו'. כיון שהיא היתה סוכה על דויד ומסתתרת עליו מפני אויביו נקראת סוכתו ה"ד ביום ההוא אקים את סוכת דוד הנופלת. וערבה ליי מנחת יהודה וירושלם כימי עולם וכשנים קדמוניות. וערבה מלש' ערב שהיא מתערבת לפני המלך ונוטה חנה לפניו ה"ד ותשא חן וחסד לפניו מכל וכו'. וכשנים קדמוניות הם חכמה ובינה נקראים קדמוניות בשביל שהם נמצאים מעולם כ"ע שהוא קדמון לכל קדמון.

ר' יסא פתח ואמ' הנה ימים באים נאום אדני אלהים והשלחתי רעב בארץ וכו' ואין רעב אלא רעב של כנסת ישראל לבעלה המלך. | לא רעב ללחם כי כבר היא מקבלת מעולם העליון שנקרא ל ע"ב אשר מאשר שמנה לחמו כי היא מקבלת משם לחמה ה"ד ממרחק תביא לחמה. ולא צמא למים שהרי כל הנחלים נמשכים לה ה"ד כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים. כי אם לשמוע את דברי יהוה. כי אין דעתה ורצונה אלא להתקבץ ולהזדווג עם המלך יי ה"ד כי אם לשמוע. ואין לשמוע כי אם לש' קיבוץ ה"ד וישמע שאול את העם וכו'.

התמרה עושה תמרים ועושה קוצים וכל מי שמבקש לנטוב תמרים הקוצים שלה שולטים בו. כך הצדיקים ובני תורה כל מי שאינו משמר עצמו מהם נופל בניהנם ולוקה בעולם הזה למה שנשיכתן נשיכת שועל ועקיצתן עקיצת עקרב ולחישתן לחישת שרף ואף כל דבריהם כנחלי אש.

אבל סוד הדבר כי התמרה רומז גם כן לכ"ע שהוא גבוה מעל גבוה כמו התמרה שהיא גבוה על שאר האילנות כך כ"ע הוא גבוה על כל המדרגות. עושה תמרים ועושה קוצים. תמרים אלו הם המדרגות הקדושות. ועושה קוצים אל תמורותיהן שהם נקראים קוצים ודרדרים ה"ד ואקוץ בם.

בא וראה מי שעובר על דברי תורה התורה עולה ויורדת ועושה באותו בן אדם רשומין בפניו בשביל שיסתכלו בו כל בני העולם. עליונים ותחתונים כולם משליכים קללות על ראשו. ותאנא כל אותן עיני יי שהולכין ושטין בעולם לידע דרכי בני אדם כולם זוקפין עיניהם ומסתכלים בפניו של אותו בן אדם ורואין אותו וכולם פותחין עליו ו' ו' ו' לו בעולם הזה ו' לו בעולם הבא. ואומ'* מסביב פלוני שהרי עדות בפניו שרוח* הטומאה

שורה עליו. וכל אותן הימים שהרושם נמצא בפניו לעדות אם הוא מוליד בן הוא מושך לו רוח מצד הטומאה ואלו הן הרשעים של הדור שהם עזי פנים שאדוניהם מניח אותם כדי לאבדם לעולם הבא. ותאנא אבל הצדיק שהוא עוסק בתורה יומם ולילה הב"ה מושך עליו חוט של חסד ונרשם הוא בפניו ומאותו הרושם יריאים עליונים ותחתונים. כך ג"כ מי שעובר על מצות התורה מושכין עליו רוח הטומאה ונרשם בפניו וממנו בורחין עליונים ותחתונים וכולם מכריזין עליו והסתלקו סביב לפלוני וי לו וי לנפשו שהוא מושך רוח הטומאה עליו מלמעלה ויורש אותו לבנו וזהו שאין לו חלק בהב"ה ובתורתו ומניח אותם בזה העולם לכלותם לשלם הבא.

לריה שמניך טובים וכו'. שמניך הם רמז לחכמה ולבינה שהם נקראים שני שמנים אחד של עדן ואחד של הנהר ואותן השמנים הם מושחים העולמות כולם והם נקראים טובים בשביל שהם רחמים שאין שם לא רוגז ולא כעס נמצא אלא רחמים הה"ד וירא אלהים את האור כי טוב וכו' פי' אותו האור הקדמון שיוצא מן | עולם העליון לא ע"א הוא נקרא טוב הה"ד מה רב טובך אשר צפנת ליריאיך. שמן הורק שמך. אותו השמן העליון תורק על שמך שהוא ארץ החיים שנקרא שם יהוה והוא שמו של הב"ה כי התורה ושמו של הב"ה: אחד כי שמו הגדול נכלל בתורה והתורה נכלל בשמו כי הוא ותורתו אחד הה"ד שמן תורק שמך על כן וכו'. ד"א שמן תורק שמך כי השמן ההוא מדיח ורוחץ ושוטף כל התחתונים כולם כי תורק מלש' ומורק ושוטף במים בשביל שאותו נהר של השמן ההוא הוא מטהר הטמאים ומחיה המיתים הה"ד הנני נוטה אליה כנהר שלום וכנחל שוטף. כי אותו הנחל הוא שוטף כל הטמאות מן העולם הה"ד וזרקתי עליכם מים טהורים וטהרתם וכו' ועל זה כתי' שמן תורק שמך פי' להפארת שנקרא שמים הה"ד ואתה תשמע השמים. על כן עלמות אהבוך למי למלך העליון כי כל העולמות וכל המרכבות כולם הם נמשכים ורצים אחריו הה"ד מושכיני אחריך נרוצה וכו'. לכן כתי' הביאני המלך חדריו פי' לאותן החדרים הפנימיים שהם חכמ' ובינה שנקראים חדרי המלך. כשהמלך יבוא לטייל בעולמו בהם נכנם ומשתעשע ומטייל הה"ד ואהיה אצלו אמון ואהיה שעשועים יום יום וכו' וכתי' נגילה ונשמחה בך נזכירה דודיך מיין. נגילה ונשמחה בך ובישועתך בך בגאולתך זהו סיפור של המטרוניתא עם המלך יי צבאות. ד"א מושכני

אחריך נרוצה הביאני וכו'. אמרה כנסת ישראל לפני הב"ה רבו' של עו' מושכיני אחריך נרוצה פי' תמשכני אחריך ודאי כדי שאתדבק במבוקך שהוא מבוע שאין לו סוף כי כל המבועות והנחלים והמקורות משם נובעים כי הם עומקים שאין להם ידיעה כי אינם נתפסים בשום שכל ורעיון אלא הם נעלמים ונסתרים ונחבאים לכן זה המבוע הוא מבוע אין פוסקין את מימיו לעולם אלא הם מזילין ומתגברים והולכים עד אין סוף לכן אמרה כנסת ישראל לפני כ"ע וע' הע' המשכני כדי שאדבק בך ובמדרגתך ובמעלתך כדי שאכנס בהדרך ואדע סודך הה"ר מושכני אחריך נרוצה. הביאני המלך חדריו וכו'. חדריו אלו הם שתי מעלות נעלמות פנימיות שהם חכמה ובינה שנקראים חדרי המלך העליון. לכן אמ' מושכני אחריך. ד"א מושכני אחריך נרוצה וכו' מושכני ואין מושכני אלא משיכה שהוא על הקונה ועל הנקנה כי מי שקונה חפץ מן החפצים צריך למשוך אותו מיד הקונה. אז הקנייה היא קיימת במשיכה כי המשיכה היא קונה הקנייניס. לכן אמרה המטרוניתא לפניו תקניני במשיכה כי אתה הוא הקונה שמים וארץ הה"ד ברוך אברם לאל עליון קונה שמים | וארץ. לכן כתי' מושכני לא ע"ב אחריך נרוצה וכו' כי המשיכה היא קונה. נרוצה מלשון רצוי כי הקניה היא נרצה לקונה בשביל שחפצו בקנייה ההוא כך אהיה מרוצה ומפויים לפניך כדי שתרציני ותקבלני מרצון הרצונות כדי שאתקרב לפניך לקרבן לרצון לפני יי. אז הביאני המלך חדריו. כי הקונה כשקונה חפץ הוא מצניעהו ושמרהו בחדריו ובגנזיו כדי שיהא שמור. כך אמרה כנסת ישראל לפני הב"ה שיביאה ויצניעה בחדריו ובגנזיו כמו שהיתה בימי קדם הה"ד וערבה ליי מנחת יהודה וירושלם כימי עולם וכשנים קדמוניות. נגילה ונשמחה בך כי מי שקונה חפץ ומצניעהו בחדריו מי משמח למי הקונה להפץ או החפץ לקונה אלא החפץ משמח לקונה כך אמרה עס' נגילה ונשמחה בך בישועתך בך בשמחתך בך בגאולתך.

ד"א נגילה ונשמחה בך. בא וראה כשהמטרוניתא היה מתמלאת מן העליונים ומתרוית ושביעה מן המים הקדושים של הנחל אזי כל השמחות של העולמות נמצאים למעלה ולמטה. אזי גילה ורנה ושמחה מצוי בכנסת ישראל כי היא מליאה על כל גדותיה אזי היא נקראת באר הה"ד שתה מים מבורך ונוזלים מתוך בארך. כשהיא מליאה מן העליונים נקראת באר שמקורותיו ומבועיו פתוחים. ובזמן שאינה מקבלת מן העליונים כביכול היא נקראת בור הה"ד והבור רק אין בו מים. פי' מים קדושים וטהורים

שהם מימות הנהל קרומים. אבל יש בו נחשים ועקרבים כביכול שהיא שותה מן המים המגולין שהנחשים והעקרבים שותים מהם והטילו ארסם באותן המים כי הם נקראין מים מגולין בשביל שאין להם שמירה מן שמירת הב"ה אלא הם עומדים מגולין והם נפסלין בהיסח הדעת. והם נקראים מים פסולין בשביל שהם פוסלין את המקואות כביכול שנותנים דעתם להטיל זוהמא וטומאה במקוה ישראל כדי לפוסלו. ד"א פסולין מל' פסל לך כיון שהם נחצבים ונפרדים ונחתכים מן מים הקדושים כי אלו השמרים של מים הטהורים לכן הם פסולין. ונקראים מים גנובים בשביל שהם גנובים ממש כי הם אורבים בלילות כמו הגנבים שהם הולכים בלילות כדי לחפור הבתים לגנוב כך הם חותכים בתי המלכים וגונבים משם טרף וסיפוק. לכן הם נקראים מים גנובים. ד"א למה הם נקראים מים גנובים מלשון גניבה שהוא יבש בלא מים כך הם כל מה שהם מקבלים מן פסולת השפע יותר הם יבשים וצמאים ורעבים. לכך הם נקראים מים גנובים. ולחם סתרים ינעם כיון שינעם להם אותו הלחם והטרף שטורפים ולוקחים בהסתר בלילות | כדרך שהגנבים עושים לכן ינעם להם יותר מה לב ע"א שטורפים כך ממה שמקבלים ביום בגלוי ובפרהסיא. לכך צריכה כנסת ישראל שמירה בלילות ה"ד לא תירא מפחד לילה ומחץ יעוף יומם. והם נקראים מים שאובין הפוסלין את המקוה בשביל שהם שאובין מן המים השאובין ממעייני הישועה ה"ר ושאבתם מים בששון ממעייני הישועה. לכן הם נקראים שאובין בשביל שהם נשאבים משמרי המים ההם וכיון שהם שאובין ופסולין לכן הם פוסלין את המקוה כביכול שהיא כנסת ישראל. ונקראים מים הטמאים בשביל שהם טמאין ומטמאין שהם שמונה שרצים האמורים בתורה שהם טמאין ומטמאין. ד"א ונקראים מים המרים בשביל שהם מרים כלענה שאין בהם מתיקות אלא מרים והסור בזה פן יש בכם איש או אשה או משפחה וכו' פן יש בכם שורש פורה ראש ולענה. פי' שבא אותו שורש או אותו גזע מן אותן המים המרים. לכן יש חילוק בין זרע הקדוש זרע אמת זרע הקדוש שהוא מן המלך והמטרוניתא שהם נקראים בנים להם ה"ד בנים אתם ליי אלהיכם וכתי' ממני פריך נמצא. אבל שורש וגזע של אומות העולם הם נשרשים מאותו שורש הנחש האחור ששרשיו מרים ומאררים ומימיו טמאים לכן הוא מגדל נטיעות מרים. אבל הפ' וכנסת ישראל שמימיהם מתוקים וקדושים וטהורים הם מגדלים נטיעות קדושים וטהורים. לכן מי שנוטע נטיעות על מים מרים הנטיעות

יהיו מרים ומי שנוטע על מים מתוקים הנטיעות הם מתוקים ופירותיהן מתוקים. לכן שורש הנחש שנשרש באומות העולם הוא טימאם לכן הם טמאים. ומטמאין לעולם ואינן יוצאים מידי טומאתן. לכן נקראים מים המרים והבן זה. ונקראים מים המארים שהם ארורים ומקוללים שכל מיני ארורות וקללות היורדים לעולם משם הם יורדים. לכן ארז"ל בסוד האגרה מיום שנחרב בית המקדש לא היה יום שלא ירד בו קללה לעולם והמשכיל יבין וידום ליי. ונקראים מים סרוחין בשביל שיש להם ריח רע מכח הנבלות והטריפות הנשלחים בהם ומקבלין ריח רע מהם. ד"א מים סרוחים בשביל שהם מן התוספות והשיורים של שפע הקדוש ה"ר וסרח העודף. וכתי' יהיה סרוח וכו'. כך כנסת ישראל היא מקבלת מימיה מן המבוע של כל ומתרוית היא בהם וכל חיילותיה ומרכבותיה וצבאותיה ומחנותיה והנשאר מן אותן המים הם השמרים והפסולת יורדים דרך הנקבים שיש בין כנסת ישראל והתמורות עד עולם | הטמא לכן אלו המים נקראים לב ע"ב סרוחים ונוספים. והם מים מתים בשביל שאין להם תנועה כלל שהם כמו המתים ואינם מתנועעים והולכים הזה והנה. ד"א הם נקראים מתים בשביל שהם כמבלי עינים ה"ד עינים להם ולא יראו וכו' והם יושבים בארץ ציה וצלמות. אל תיקרי צלמות אלא צל מות שהם יושבים בצל המתים והנדחים. ד"א הם נקראים מתים בשביל שכל מדרגות הקדושות הם קדושים וחיים ומתנועעים מכח הסבה הראשונה שמניעם תנועה בלי הפסק אלא הם חיים ומתנועעים לעולם אילולי שהיו עומדים רגע אחד בלי תנועה יהרב העולם בסוד השמיטה. אבל התמורות אין להם תנועה מי שמניעם אלא עומדים כמתים לכן אומות העולם אפי' בחייהם נקראים מתים ה"ד לא המתים יהללויה. וכתי' ודורש אל המתים כי בהייהם נקראים מתים וכל שכן במיתתם. אבל ישראל אפי' במיתתם נקראים חיים ה"ד וגנותי על העיר הזאת להושיעה למעני וכו' וכתי' ושבח אני את המתים שכבר פי' בשמיטה מתו מן החיים. והבן זה מאד ודום ליי. לכן כשהעולם בצער העם הולכים לקברי המתים הצדיקים ומבקשים עליהם רחמים כדי שיתבטל הגזירה מן העולם ואזי הם מתעוררים מקבריהם ומשתטחים על קברי אבות והאבות יתעוררו ויכנסו לנן עדן ומודיעין לנפש והנפש לרוח והרוח לנשמה נמצא שהצדיקים הם יותר שולטים במיתתם יותר מחייהם. לכן הצדיקים במיתתן נקראים חיים. אבל לא כן הרשעים כי אם כמוץ אשר הדפנו רוח והבן זה.

נגילה ונשמחה בך וכו׳ נגילה ונשמחה בך נגילה ונשמחה
לך מבעי ליה מהו נגילה ונשמחה בך. אלא בך ממש. כשכנסת ישראל
נפקדה מן מלך העליון אזי היא מתעטרת בכמה עטרות וכתרים ובכילות
חתנים אזי כל אותן מרכבות וצבאות וחיילות ומחנות של עמ׳ ישראל
כולם מתעלים עד אין סוף ומתדבקים במלך יי ממש ה״ד ואתם הדביקים
ביי אלהיכם חיים כלכם. והם מתעננים שם עונג שאין למעלה ממנו ה״ד
אז תתענג על יי והרכבתיך על במתי ארץ. מהו במתי ארץ אלו הם חכמה
ובינה שנקראים במותי ארץ אזי אותן ההויות הם נדבקים ומתחברים עם
ההויות של המלך ה״ד נגילה ונשמחה בך. נזכירה דודיך מיין וכו׳
מיין רומז למאה ועשר. כי מאה רומז לכ״ע שהם מאה ענפים כי כ״ע
בתוכה עשר מדרגות לכל מדרגה ומדרגה מן אלו עשרות יש להם עשר
ענפים הרי מאה עולמות. ויו״ד הנשאר רומז לעשר צחצחות ה״ד והשביע
בצחצחות נפשך ועצמותיך.| לכן אמרה נזכירה דודיך מיין לנ ע״א
עולמות שהם כולם שופכים עלי מימיהם של מבועיהם ונחליהם ומקורותיהם
על ידיך שאתה דודי שאתה עומד ביני וביניהם ה״ד דודיך. לכן כנסת
ישראל היא מקבלת לעולם ריווי של אותו היין על ידי אהובה ודודה
המלך יי צבאות ותרווית מהם על זה כתי׳ ישקיני מנשיקות פיהו כי טובים
דודיך מיין. כי אותו הדוד הוא מכה היין הנזכר.

יי אורי וישעי וכו׳ יי הוא רומז לכ״ע שהוא נקרא יי כי הוא
אדון האדונים ואלוה על כל האלהים ה״ד כי גבוה מעל גבוה וכו׳.
אורי רומז לחכמה שהוא אור קדמון בשביל שהוא אור זרוח בעולם כי כ״ע
הוא אין ואפס ותוהו בשביל שאין בו השנה כלל לכן אין בו זריחה לידע מה
מהותו. אבל חכמה יש בו קצת זוהר בשכל כדי לידע מהותו בשביל זה נקרא
יש ונקרא בוהו פי׳ בו הוא כי יש בו קצת השגה לכן נקרא אור קדמון והסוד
כי בהיר הוא בשחקים וכתי׳ והמשכילים יזהירו כזוהר הרקיע כי המשכילים
הם חכמה ובינה שנקראים משכילים בשביל שבני העולם משיגים ומשכילים
קצת מהותם ומעלתם. ועל זה נקרא חכמה אור קדמון כי הוא קודם בהשגה ועל
זה נקרא בכור לכהן ובכור להשגה והבן זה מאד ודום ליי. ד״א אורי פי׳
אור יו״ד כי היא נקרא יו״ד של שם הקדוש כי הוא התחלת השם הקדוש
ונקרא יו״ד בשביל שהוא מקבל כל החקיקות וכל הרשימות כמו היו״ד שהוא
מקבל החקיקות של כל האותיות לכן אי אפשר לך שתכתוב אות מן אותיות
הקדושות אלא שתכתוב מתחלה יו״ד וא״כ תצייר האות. והיו״ד נעלמת

ונסתרת בכל. כך חכמה נסתרת ונעלמת על זה כתי׳ אורי מי׳ אוד יו״ד.
ד״א אורי כי אותיות אורי הם רומז כי מדת החכמה הם נקראים עיני יי
המסתכלים והמביטין ומשיגים על כל יצורי עולם וכיון שהיא נסתרת ונעלמת
כמו הנשמה שבגוף שהיא רואה ואינה נראית כך היא רואה כל הנמצאים
הן פרטים והן כללים ומשגחת על מעשיהם ה״ד עיני יי תמיד משוטטות
בכל הארץ. כי הם משוטטות ומביטות בכל העולמות כדי להשגיח על
היצורים ולשומרם ה״ד הנה לא ינום ולא ישן שומר ישראל כי לא יאמר
למעלה לא שינה ולא תנומה ולא אחד מכל התוארים הנזכרים בגופות
השפלות לכן חכמה נקראת שומר העולמות ה״ד רואי. ד״א רואי ה״ד
באר לחי רואי כי מדת החכמה נקראת באר לחי שהוא כ״ע שהוא | חי לנ ע״ב
העולמים כי הוא נותן חיים לכל חי והוא מקבל כל החיים מעי׳ העי׳
לכן הוא נקרא חי העולמים כי כל החיים של כל העולמות משם הם נמשכים
ונשאבים וכל מים היוצאים מן מבוע של הנחל יורדים לתוך הבאר שהוא
חכמה על זה נקרא באר לחי. והוא רואי שהוא רואה וצופה כל הנבראים
והנמצאים. ד״א יי אורי וכו׳ כי מדת החכמה היא נותנת אורה לנשמות
של הצדיקים המצטרפים והמצטיירים בתובה ה״ד המה היוצרים יושבי
נטעים וס׳. וישעי רומז לבינה שהיא נקראת תשועת ישראל כי כל התשועות
והגאולות והנחמות משם הם נמשכים לכן היא נקראת יום הכפורים בשביל
שהוא יום סליחה וכפרה והוא תשובה לכל שבי פשע שכל השבים לפני
הב״ה הוא פושט ימינו ומקבלם. ד״א למה נקראת תשובה בשביל כי עפר
אתה ואל עפר תשוב מלש׳ תשובה. ד״א נקראת תשובה בשביל שכל הנבראים
כולם הם שבים כולם לאותה המדה בסוף אלף הששי שהוא בין השמשות
כשיכנס השבת זהו שארז״ל שתא אלפי שנין הוי עלמא וחד-חרוב ולמאן
דאמי׳ תרי חרוב. ד״א בינה נקראת תשועה על שם שהיא מתלבשת בכובע
ישועה של מלך העליון ה״ד ישראל נושע ביי תשועת עולמים. ה״ד
יי אורי וישעי וכו׳. ממי אירא כשהמלך הוא לובש אותה כובע על ראשו
ויבוא להושיע לכנסת ישראל אם כן ממי אירא אין לירא ולא להתפחד
משום נמצא שבעולם. ד״א ממי אירא וכו׳ כי אני מפחד וירא מאויבי
כי כבר אין להם חוזק כי תשש כוחם ה״ד יי לי לא אירא מה יעשה לי
אדם. אלא ממי ירא ופחד אלא מעולם הבינה שנקרא מי ה״ד את מי
נוצץ ויבינהו כי הבינה היא מקור לכל דינין ונבורות ונקראת אלהים ה״ד
בראשית ברא אלהים בשביל שהיא התחלת הדין לכל הנמצאים כי משם

מקבל הגבורה הדין הקשה לכן נפחד דוד על אותו מעשה של בת שבע
ואמ׳ ממי אירא כי ודאי ממנו אני ירא כי הוא מוציא הגבורה שעלתה
על המחשבה כי הלשון מוציא מה שעלה במחשבה לבא לעולם הן טוב
והן רע כי מפי עליון לא תצא הרעות והטוב אלא הגזירה תעלה על המחשבה
והלשון תוציא מה שעלה במחשבת כ"ע לכן אני ירא ממנה כדי להוציא
עונשי מן הכח אל הפועל פ׳ מכח של הבינה אל פועל הגבורה כדי לנקום
ולענוש אותי על אותו עון לכן אמ׳ דוד ע"ה אל תבוא במשפט את עבדך
כי לא יצדק לפניך כל חי.

ר׳ יוסי אמ׳ משעה שחטא אדם הראשון שנגזר עליו ועל כל
העולם מיתה* אמ׳ למה אני מוליד | לבהלה. מיד נתפרש מאשתו לד ע"א
ושני רוחות היו באות ומזדווגות עמו והולידו ואותן שהולידו הם הם מזיקין
שבעולם ונקראים נגעי בני אדם והם שאטין ומקטרגין לבני אדם והם מצוים
בפתחי הבתים ובבורות ובבתי כסאות . ועל זה צריך בן אדם לעשות
מזוזה לפתח ביתו* וכתו׳ בה שם הקדוש שד״י בכתרים עליונים אזי מתקרבים
ורואים כתו׳ במזוזה שד והם סבורים שהוא שם שד מיד מתקרבים ומגיעין
לשם וכיון שהם רואים שהוא שדי אזי הם נותנין כבוד לשם המלך* אזי
הם מתרחקין ממנו וזהו סוד ונגע לא יקרב באהליך מהו נגע אלו נגעי
בני אדם. תאנא בשעה שירד אדם בדיוקן העליון ובדיוקן הקדוש וראו
אותו עליונים ותחתונים והקריבו אצלו והמליכו אותו על זה העולם.
ואחר שבא הנחש על חוה והטיל בה זוהמא ואחר כך נולד קין משם נתיחסו
כל דורות חייבי העולם ומדורור השדים והרוחות משם נמצאו ומצדדיו.
ובשביל כך כל רוחות ושדים הם חצאין. יש בהם חצים מבני אדם. והצים
ממלאכי עליונים למעלה. וכשנולדו מאדם אותן האחרים כולם נמצאו
חצאין חצי מלמעלה וחצי מלמטה. ואחר שנולדו מאדם הוליד מאותן רוחות
בנות שדומין ליופי עליונים וליופי תחתונים. ועל זה כתי׳ ויראו בני
האלהים פי׳ של התמורות את בנות האדם כי טובות הנה ויקחו להם נשים
וכו׳ והיו בני אדם כולם טועין אחריהם. ואחד נמצא בא לעולם מרוחו
של צד קין וקראו אותו תובל קין ונקבה אחת יצאה עמו והיו הבריות
טועין* אחריה ונקראת נעמה ממנו יצאו רוחות ושדים אחרים ואלו הם
תלויים באויר ומודיעין דברים לאותן אחרים שנמצאים למטה וזה תובל
קין הוציא מיני הרג לעולם. ונעמה היא קיימת עד זה היום.ומשכנה בין
רגשי ים הגדול ויוצאת ושוחקת בבני אדם ומתחממת מהם בחלום באותו

תאוה של אותו בן אדם שנדבק בה וההאוה היא נוטלת ולא יותר מאותה
תאוה היא מתעברת ומוציאה מינים אחרים לעולם* ואלו שתלד מבני אדם
הם נמצאין לקבל* הנקבות של בני אדם ומתעברות מהם* וכולם הם הולכים
אצל לילית הראשונה והיא מגדלת אותם. והיא יוצאה לעולם ומבקשת
ילדיה ורואה תינוקות של בני אדם ומתדבקת להרוג אותם ולשאוב רוחם
של התינוקות והיא הולכת עם אותו הרוח ונזדמנו לפני ג׳ רוחות קדושים
ושאסין לפניה ונוטלין אותו הרוח | ממנה ומניחין אותה לפני לד ע"ב
הב"ה. ובשביל כך התורה הזהירה לבני אדם והתקדשתם והיתם קדושים
שאם נמצא בן אדם קדוש לא ירא ממנה. מיד הב"ה ממין אלו שלשה מלאכים
קדושים ששומרין לאותו תינוק והיא לא יכולה להזיק לו ה"ד לא תאונה
אליך רעה ונגע לא יקרב באהליך וכו׳ מאי טעמא לא תאונה אליך רעה
בשביל כי מלאכיו יצוה לך לשמרך וכו׳ וכתי׳ כי בי חשק ואפלטהו וכו׳.
ואם בן אדם לא נמצא קדוש ומושך רוח מצד הטומאה מיד היא תבא ושוחקת
עם אותו תינוק והורגת אותו ושאובת אותו הרוח ולא יסור ממנה לעולמים.
וא"ת אותן תינוקות אחרים שהרגה אותם ונזדמנו לפניה אותן שלשה מלאכים
קדושים ונוטלין ממנה אותו הרוח הא לא בצד הטומאה נמצאו למה שלטה
להרוג אותם אלא זה בן אדם* לא נתקדש אבל לא נתכוון להתטמאות
ולא נטמא בשביל כך היא יכולה לשלוט על הגוף ולא ברוח. ולפעמים
נמצא שיוצאת נעמה לעולם להתחמם מבני אדם ונמצא בן אדם בקשר
התאוה עמה ומתעורר משנתו ואוחז באשתו ושוכב עמה ורצונו באותו התאוה
שהיה לו בחלומו מיד אותו שהוליד מצד נעמה בא. כשיוצאת לילית ורואה
אותו ויודעת הדבר היא מתקשרת בו ומגדלת אותו באותן אחרים ונמצאת
עמו זמנין רבים ולא הורגת אותו זהו בן אדם שבכל חדש וחדש נפגם
ולא יזוז ממנה* לעולמים שהרי בכל חדש וחדש הלילית יוצאה ופוקדת
על כל אותן שהיא מגדלת ושוחקת בהם מיד אותו בן אדם הוא פגום.

תאנא אחר שנטהלקו קין והבל חזר אדם לאשתו ונתלבש ברוח
אחר והוליד לשת מכאן נתייחסו כל דורות הצדיקים והרבה הב"ה חסד
בעולם ובכל אחד נולדה נקבה עמו כדי להחיישב העולם כגוונא של מעלה
והא פירשו ההבריא בסוד המשנה דכתי׳ ואיש אשר יקח את אחותו בת
אביו או בת אמו וראה את ערוותה והיא תראה את ערותו חסד הוא חסד
הוא ודאי. ואחר כשהחחיל חסד הגזעין והשרשין יוצאין מלמטה למעלה
ומתפרשין הענפים והקרוב נתרחק מיד הענף הגדיל ובאו להתחבר בזווג

אחד באילן זה בראשונה זהו בסוד העולם בשביל שכתי׳ אמרתי עולם חסד יבנה אבל מכאן והלא׳ בני אדם שנמצאים בו ונכרתו לעיני בני עמם. אוי להם לרשעים שהם הולכים אחרי האות נפשם אוי להם מיום הדין. ואשריהם הצדיקים שהולכים בדרכי יי ההי"ד כי ישרים דרכי יי וצדיקים ילכו בם וכו׳ ואותן הנפשות העושות הם נכרתים מקרב עמם | פי׳ לה ע"א מאור מלכות יי ואינה מרחמת עליהם אלא טורידת אותן לבאר שחת ואין להם חלק בשמו הקדוש. וי לאותן הנפשות שגורמין פגם כזה שעל ידן יסתלקו המאורות והברכות והשמחות מן העולם והשפעים והאורות של עולם העליון נמנעים והנהר יפסק מלהשקות לתחתונים ושכינה עליונה מסתלקת מן המלך והמטרוניתא היא נטרידת מבית המלך. כביכול הוא גורם פירוד בכל העולמות ההי"ד ונרגן מפריד אלוף והבן זה. אשריהם ישראל שהבי"ה מסר להם מסורת חכמה של תורתו הקדושה מה שלא מסר לשום אומה ולשון ההי"ד לא עשה כן לכל גוי ומשפטים בל ידעום ומסר להם גנזי תורותיו וסודותיו הסתומים והנעלמים ההי"ד מה רב טובך אשר צפנת ליריאיך וכו׳. תם.

פרש׳ קדושים ר׳ חייא פתח והתקדשתם והייתם קדושים וכו׳ ר׳ חזקיה אמ׳ הכל בסוד עליון הוא כדי להראות מי שהוא פוגם למטה פגום* למעלה. ששנינו עונתן של תלמידי חכמים משבת לשבת בשביל שהם יודעים סוד הדבר ויכוונו הלב והרצון כאחד ובשביל שיהיו נולדים בנים הגונים וקדושים למלך העליון ואם אלו פוגמין דבר למטה כביכול הם פוגמין למעלה מיד כתי׳ ערות כלתך לא תגלה זהו באותן שיודעים דרכיו של התורה לכן בעון זה השכינה גולה מביניהם. תאנא חקוק הוא שם הקדוש בצדדיו ידועים באותיות רשומות שהם כ"ב אותיות של תורה י׳ באל"ף אל"ף בי׳. י׳ בבי"ת בי"ת בי׳. י׳ באל"ף בי"ת. ה"א בגימ"ל. י׳ בה"א י׳ בגימ"ל. ה"א בי׳ גימ"ל בה"א ה"א בדל"ת. כולם הם חקוקים ביו"ד י׳ מעלה אותן ה׳ כולל ביו"ד ממנו יצאה מיד כולם מתעטרים לאבות ופותחת ה"א נחליו ומעטר לראש של וא"ו ששם שורין הברכות* וא"ו כולל שש האותיות הכל יו"ד. יו"ד נחקק בחקיקותיו ועולה להתעטר בשנים עשר אותיות אחרים מהם יצאו עשרה מאמרות בחקיקותיו וכולם הם שבילים של דרך עליון הקדוש של כל מיד ה"א אחרת כוללת מכל החקיקות של צד משך הטמירא של כל הטמירין להוליד למטה ונחקקים כולם בארבעים ושתים אותיות ועולין בראש המלך. שבע שבתות תמימות מתפרשים בשבעים ושתים אותיות. שבעים ושתים

אותיות עולין באות וא"ו רשומין הם בפרש׳ ויהי בשלח פרעה שהוא ויסע ויבא ויט כשנוסעת השכינה השבעה רשומות נרשמים בה ושבעה מסתלקים ממנה במעשים | רשומים. תאנא יסתלקו האותיות ברשומות לה ע"ב ידועות ואורחותיו סתומים ואינן נודעים אלא לצדיקי אמת שהם עמודי העולם. אמ׳ ר׳ שמעון לר׳ אלעזר בנו בא וראה בני אלעזר אל כ"ב אותיות שחקוקים בתורה כולם הם מתפשטים באלו עשרה מאמרות. וכל אמירה ואמירה מאלו שהם כתרים של המלך כולם הם חקוקים באותיות ידועות. בשביל כך שם הקדוש נתכסה ונעלם באותיות אחרים. וכל אמירה ואמירה מודה ומשתחוה לאמירה עליונה ממנו. ועל זה שם הקדוש חקקנוהו באותיות אחרים בשביל שהם מתכסים ונסתרים ונעלמים זה בזה עד שמתקשרים הכל כאחד. לכן מי שרוצה לידע צרופי שם הקדוש ולידע אותן האותיות הרשומים בכל כתר וכתר מיד ידע ויתקיים בכל. והרי חקקתי כל אותן האותיות הרשומים והם ידועים בכל כתר וכתר מספר העליון של שלמה ע"ה וכך עלה בידנו זה השם הקדוש. והחבריא חקקו אותן ובטוב הוא. אשריהם אותן הצדיקים בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא שהבי"ה חפץ בכבודם ומגלה להם סודות עליונים של שמו הקדוש שלא גילה אותו לקדושים עליונים ועל זה היה יכול משה ע"ה לעמוד ולהתעטר בין אותן קדושים עליונים וכולם לא היו יכולים להתקרב אצלו בשלהבת אשם*. דאם לא כך היאך היה יכול משה להתקיים ביניהם. אלא אשרי חלקו של משה שהרי מיד כשהתחיל הבי"ה לדבר עמו רצה לידע שמותיו הקדושים שהם סתומים וגלויים כל אחד ואחד כראוי לו מיד נדבק בו וידע יותר מכל בני העולם. בא וראה בשעה שעלה משה תוך ענני כבוד נכנס בין אותן הקדושים פגע בו מלאך אחד והוא נקרא קמואל השוער. ואחר כך פגע במלאך אחד* כשלהבת אש עיניו מתלהטים וכנפיו בוערים כאש ורצה לשאוב אותו בגופו ואותו מלאך גבריאל שמו ומיד הזכיר משה שם אחד מן שמותיו של הבי"ה שהיה הקוק בי"ב אותיות ונזדעזע ונרתע עד שעלה משה ביניהם וכן לכל אחד ואחד. אשרי חלקו של משה שזכה לכנסי האי. תאנא בתיקוני המטרוניתא פירשנו מאלו עריות ואע"ג שהם בגלוי ובסתום. בת בנה ובת בתה שהרי העולם צריך להם והם ישוב העולם ומי שמגלה אחד מכל אלו העריות ויי לו ויי לנפשו כאלו הוא מגלה כביכול עריות אחרים. ותאנא דבור האחרון של עשר הדברות שבתורה הוא לא תחמוד אשת רעך בשביל שפה הוא כלל הכל. ומי שחומד אשת אחר כאלו עובר על כל התורה כולה אלא לא יש דבר

שעומד בפני תשובה | וכ"ש אם קיבל עונשו כדוד המלך. לו ע"א
א"ר פינחס בשם ר' חלקיה בשם ר' מאיר ושער רישיה כעמר נקי זהו רומז לקווצות של עתיק דעתיקין שהם לבנים כשלג וכצמר הלבן מסודרים ומתוקנים בתיקון יפה ונאה ואין בהם עירבוב כלל כי כל חיים של הנהרות והמבועות והמקורות של כל העולמות משם נמשכים ויוצאים. כי בזו המדה יהכפרו עונותיהם של ישראל ביום הכפורים ההי"ד כי ביום הזה יכפר עליכם וכו' וכתי' אם יהיו חטאיכם כשנים כשלג ילבינו ואם יאדימו כתולע כצמר יהיו. כי זה השער של הראש נקרא שער לבן כצמר הלבן בשביל שהוא נקרא מדת הלבנה כי בה מוחל לצדיקים ולרשעים ההי"ד אם יהיו חטאיכם כשנים כשלג ילבינו. וכתי' לבושיה כתלג חיור ושער רישיה וכו'. כי כך מדתו שהוא מתעסף בטלית לבן כשליח צבור ומוחל לישראל וזהו סוד שנתגלה למשה פי' כ"ע של עט' כשליח צבור מעוטף בטליתו ומלמד לו י"ג מדות הנמשכים מן מבוע של העתיק כי בזה הוא מוחל לצדיקים ולרשעים ההי"ד אם יהיו חטאיכם. א"ר מני לא תהא קרית שמע קלה בעיניך מפני שיש בה מאתים ושמונה וארבעים תיבות כמנין אברי האדם ומהן ברוך שם כבוד וכו'. אמ' הב"ה אם שמרת את שלי לקרותה בכתבה אני אשמור את שלך. לכן דוד אמ' שומריני כאשון בת עין וכו' א"ל הב"ה שמור מצותי וחיה. אמ' ר' שמעון בן חלפתא להי"ד לאדם שהוא בגליל ויש לו כרם ביהודה. ואחד ביהודה ויש לו כרם בגליל. אותו שבגליל הולך ליהודה לעדר את כרמו וזה שביהודה הולך לגליל לעדר את כרמו. עמדו זה עם זה ואמרו זה לזה עד שאתה בא למקומי שמור לי את שלי בתהומך ואני אשמור את שלך בתחומי. כך אמ' דוד שומרני כאשון בת עין. אמ' לו הב"ה שמור מצותי וחיה. כך אמ' הב"ה לישראל שמרו מצות ק"ש שחרית וערבית ואני משמר אתכם שנא' יי ישמורך מכל רע ישמור את נפשך.

איש אמו ואביו תיראו ואת שבתותי תשמורו וכו'. איש אמו האם רומז למדת הבינה שנקראת אם הבנים שמחה בשביל שהיא אם כל חי שהיא יונקת לבניה מן אותו הנהר שיוצא לה מעדן החכמה כי אותו הנהר הוא נהר שאינו פוסק לעולם בשביל שהוא נשפע מן הנהר העליון שאין פוסקין את מימיו כי אינו חסר כלום כי אין בעולם העליון לא פגימות ולא חסרון אלא שלימות של כל. לכן זה הנהר תדיר יוצא ונמשך לעדן | החכמה ומן התכמה אל הבינה שהוא אם הבנים שמחה ויונקת לו ע"ב

בניה ביניקת הנהר ההיא לכן היא כאם שמרחמת על בניה ויונקת אותן. אימתי בזמן שהמלך שהוא תפ' ישראל מזדווג עם בת זוגו שהיא המטרוניתא אזי אותו הנהר של הבינה נמשך ויוצא תדיר להשקות עץ החיים שהוא התפ' אזי היא מעטרת לבנה שהוא התפ' בעטרות עליונות ההי"ד צאינה וראינה בנות ציון במלך שלמה בעטרה שעטרה לו אמו ביום חתונתו וכו'. לכן אותו הנהר נמשך ויוצא תדיר לעץ החיים ההי"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות וכו'. ואביו רומז לחכמה שהוא נקרא האב כי התחלה וראשית כל הנמצאים בעולם היש כי עד כאן הוא אין מכאן והלאה נקרא יש לכן הוא נקרא אב העולמות. בא וראה בזמן שבני העולם הולכים בדרך האמת ואוהבים לאדוניהם ומשתדלים בתורה ובמצות ומקיימים המצות מאהבה ויריאים מחוזק הדין הקשה אזי הברכות נמשכים ויוצאים מעדן החכמה והבינה. אזי הברכות והשמחות נמצאים בכל הנמצאים אזי הדינים מסתלקים ונשברים ואין להם כח וחוזק כלל. אבל אם ח"ו אם אין ישראל יריאים מחוזק הדין וחוזרים אחוריהם ביתה ועוזבים התורה והמצות אזי כביכול המבועות והנהרות של האב והאם נמנעים ונפסקים ואין יוצאין ונמשכים מימיהם לתפ' ישראל ונשארו כל העולמות כביכול בכבוד אורה של האב והאם. לכן הזהירך התורה ואמרה איש אמו ואביו תראו. כי כל מי שהוא ירא מן אביו ואמו למטה כאלו ירא אב ואם למעלה וגורם המשכת הנהר ההוא לכל העולמות בזכות זה. לכן כל מי שהוא מזלזל בכבוד אביו ואמו ואינו מכבדם אלא מקללם ומבזה אותם במיני בזיונות אזי הוא חייב מיתה בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא וגורם סילוק השפע של אב ואם העליון לעולם והנהרות נמנעים והמבועות נפסקים אזי מיעוט אורה יש לעץ החיים וכ"ש לעץ הדעת. לכן ויי לו ויי לנפשו שגורם פגם זה בעולם ועליו הכתו' או' כי דבר יי בזה ואת מצותו הפר הכרת תכרת. לכן יש לך להסתכל בכיבוד אב ואם בכל יכולתך כדי שתגרום המשכת השפע לעולמות והבן זה. ואת שבתותי תשמורו. שבתי מיבעי ליה מהו שבתותי משמע רבים אלא רומז לשבת העליון שהוא עולם היובל שנקרא שבת הגדול והוא עולם החירות ויום הכפורים שכל מיני גאולה וחירות ממנו יוצאים לעולם. ושבת השני הוא צדיק יסוד עולם שנקרא שבת התחתון. לכן אל יעלה על דעתך לומ' השבת הגדול שהוא עולם העליון אני | מכבדהו ואכניסהו בכלל היחוד בשביל שהוא עולם העליון לז ע"א אבל שבת התחתון שאינו בכלל עולם העליון לא אשמרהו לכן בא והזהירך בנפשך שזה וזה חייב אתה לחבר וליחד אותם כאחד ההי"ד ואת שבתותי

תשמרו כדי שיהא הייחוד אחד בלא קיצוץ ופירוד כלל. אני יי אלהיכם. אני רומז לכ"ע הה"ד אני ראשון ואני אחרון. יי רומז לתפ' שהוא עץ החיים שהוא באמצע הגן. אלהיכם רומז לעט' שהיא למטה מן הכל. נמצא שיש כאן למעלה ואמצע ומטה שהם עיקר היחוד של האמונה לכן אמ' אני יי אלהיכם.

לא תעשוק את רעך וכו' וסוד הדבר כי דרך הוא תפ' ישראל שנקרא ריע הה"ד זה דודי וזה ריעי. והוא עץ החיים המתפרנס מן עולם העליון. אימתי בזמן שישראל למטה הם הולכים בדרכי המלך ונושאים ונותנים באמת ובמשפט שאין בכפיהם גזל וחמס אזי המקורות כולם הם נמשכים לאותו האילן והאילן פרה ורבה באותן המים. אבל אם כביכול ישראל אינן מתקנים מעשיהם למטה אזי כביכול הם עושקים ונוזלים השפע שראויה לבוא מכ"ע אל האילן החיים ויסתלק השפע בעונותם הה"ד לא תעשק את רעך וכו' כי כביכול הם עושקים להב"ה שנקרא ריע שנא' זה דודי וזה ריעי וגורם סילוק המשכת השפע מן עץ החיים. ולא תגזול כי הוא גוזל המים הבאים מן הנהר וחוזרים למקומן וזהו סוד שארז"ל כי כל מי שגוזל פרוטה מחבירו כאלו נוטל נשמתו. כי הגוזל והנגזל אין מכניסין אותן למחיצתן של הצדיקים כי כל מי שחבירו נענש על ידו אין מכניסין אותו למחיצת הצדיקים. ודאי חבירו שהוא הב"ה הוא כביכול נענש על ידו לבלתי בא לו שפע אזי כביכול אינו עולה למחיצת הצדיקים שהם חכמה ובינה כי אותה העט' שהיתה אמה מתעטרת אותה כביכול נסתלקה ולא כבודו של מלך הוא כיון שאין העט' שהיא המטרוניתא נמצאת עמו כי מלך בלא מטרוניתא לאו מלך הוא. ויי לו ויי לנפשו מי שגורם פרצה כזה שגורם סילוק שכינה עילאה מעל המלך העליון הקדוש לכן בא והזהירך שלא תעשוק ולא תגזול כי כל העושק והגוזל כאלו כביכול גוזל לשכינה ממש והבן זה מאד ודום ליי. ד"א לא תעשוק את רעך וכו' כי עדיין יש לך להסתכל כאן בסוד עליון ומופלא בענין לא תעשוק. ואצ"ל כי כל הנשמות היודעות מכ"ע לתפ' ישראל והם מקוננין שם כל אחד ואחד על קנו ויש מהם שהוא שוכן בענפים ומהם בעלין ומהם בשרשים ומהם בגוף האילן כל אחד ואחד כפי מדרגתו ומעלתו כך ישיבתו. כשיבוא ריבוי השפע מן אותו הנחל של כל אל עדן ומן העדן אל שכינה עליונה ומשם אל מדת אברהם ואחר כך למדת התפ' | שהוא החיים אזי שמש ומנן יי צבאות לז' ע"ב מחלק אותו השפע לכל אחת ואחת מן הנשמות ההם החלק הראוי ליתן לו

מבית המלך. ואם כביכול אדם גוזל או עושק אפי' שוה פרוטה מחבירו למטה כאלו גוזל לנשמתו פי' נשמתו שהיא מצויירת למעלה בצורות ההויות אזי כביכול יתן פגימות במרכבת הקדוש העליון בשביל שהוא מחסר חלק מן השפע לאותה הנשמה שעומדת למעלה כי אין לך אדם למטה אלא אם כן יש לו צורה ודמות מצוייר למעלה ממש בצורה של זה העולם הן באורך והן ברוחב והן בעובי הכל הוא בצורת הויות עליונות ההה"ד נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו. לכן ויי לו מי שגורם פגם כזה למרכבת הקדוש וטוב לו שלא נברא.

לא תלין פעולת שכיר אתך עד בקר בא להזהירך שצריך ליתן לפועל שכירות ביומו ההה"ד ביומו תתן שכרו. אבל סוד הענין כי הפועל היא כנסת ישראל שנקראת פועל בשביל כל מה שיצא מן עולם המחשבה העמוקה יצא מן הכח ההוא אל הפועל שהוא עט' ישראל שהיא פועלת ומשנה כל הפעולות כפי מה שתראה טוב בעיניה כי היא נקראת יוצר כמו היוצר כשהוא מכין כלי חרש ומתקנן לפעמים ירחיב ולפעמים יקצר בזמן שהטיקלא סובבת ומתגלגלת בידו. כך כנסת ישראל היא פועלת כל היצורים כולם על דרך זו הטיקלא ההה"ד כי הנה כחומר ביד היוצר וכו'. וכיון שהיא פועלת לכן היא מקבלת שכירותה מן בעל הבית שהוא כ"ע ביומה וכיון שאין לה מעצמה כלום אלא מה שנותנים לה בכל יום ויום מבית המלך וזהו סוד ברוך יי יום יום. לכן אין מאחרין בשכירותה אלא בכל יום נותנין לה שכר קצוב מכ"ע לכן בא והזהירך מי שלן אצלו שכר הפועל כאלו כביכול נותן פגם בפועל העליון ההה"ד ביומו ונתן שכרו.

לא תקלל חרש ולפני עור וכו' כי כל מי שהוא מקלל חרש כאלו כביכול ממעט כח לכנסת ישראל שהיא שתוקה ודמומה בין שאר האויבים כי אין דבור בלא קול ולא קול בלא דבור. לכן כל מי שהוא מקללו כאלו מכחיש פמליא של מעלה. לא תעשו עול במשפט וכו' כי המשפט הוא תפ' שהוא מכריע הלכה בין שתי ההפכים שהם גדולה וגבורה כי המימינים מזכין והמשמאילים מחייבין כי הם שתי כפות אבל האמצעי שהוא הקו האמצעי והוא המכריע לכן ההלכה כדברי המכריע כי הוא מקבל הדין מצד הדין הקשה שהוא בית דין העליון ומקבל הרחמים מצד החסד שהם רחמים. לכן כיון שהוא מקבל משניהם אינו דין גמור ולא רחמים גמורים אלא נעשה משפט כי אינינו נוטה לצד שמאל ולא | לצד ימין אלא עומד לח ע"א בינוני בין שתי הקצוות ודן כל העולם במשפט ההה"ד הצור תמים פעלו

כי כל דרכיו משפט אל אמונה וכו׳ אלא דן כל העולם באמת ובמשפט לכן הוא נקרא אמת ה״ד תתן אמת ליעקב חסד לאברהם. לכן כל מי שהוא מעות המשפט למטה כאלו מחריב כל העולם כולו וזהו סוד שארז״ל במס׳ שב׳ כל דיין שדן דין אמת לאמתו כאלו נעשה שותף להב״ה במעשה בראשית כתי׳ לשם ויהי ערב ויהי בקר יום אחד. וכתי׳ הכא מדוע וכל העם נצב עליך מן בקר עד ערב. לכן וי לו וי לנפשו מי שמטה הדין והוא גורם שהדין העליון מתעורר בעולם שהוא החרב העליון ה״ד חרב ליי מלאה דם. לכן צריך הדיין כשיתחיל הדין שיהא מהעטף בטליתו וישב מעוטף כמלאך אלהים ויהא הספר תורה עומד כנגדו וכדי שיתן מורא לשכינה וידין דין אמת ויחשוב כאלו חרב תלוי למעלה מצוארו כדי להתפחד מדין העליון והבן זה מאד.

לא תשא פני דל אפי׳ שהוא עני לא תשא לו פנים כי המשפט לאלהים הוא כי כתו׳ בו האל הגדול והנורא אשר לא ישא פנים וכו׳ כי הוא אינו נושא פנים לשום בריא בשעת הדין אלא תחתוך ותפסוק עליו הדין וא״כ הן לו צדקה כדי שיפרע מה שהוא חייב. כמו שעשה דוד ע״ה כתי׳ ויהי דוד עושה משפט וצדקה לכל עמו אלא אם בא אדם עני לפניו לדין ולא היה לו מה לפרוע מתחילה היה חותך עליו הדין וא״כ היה נותן לו צדקה כדי שיפרע חובו ה״ד עושה משפט וצדקה. אבל סוד הענין העליון כשדין העליון שהוא הגבורה לדון העולמות אפי׳ כנסת ישראל שהיא ענייה ודלה אינו נושא לה פנים כלל אלא חותך הדין והבן זה. וזהו סוד לא תשא פני דל. לא תהדר פני גדול אם יבא אדם עשיר לפניך מלובש בבגדי משי ורקמה אלא תחתוך עליו הדין ולא תגורו מפני האיש ואל תעשה הפרש ביניהם כמו דין העליון שאינו נושא פנים אל שום בריא והבן זה מאד.

בא וראה מי שהוא תאותו לעסוק בתורה ולא ימצא מי ילמד אותו והוא באהבת התורה עוסק בה ומגמגם בה בגמגומין שלא ידע. כל דבר ודבר עולה והב״ה משמח באותו הדבר ומקבל אותו ונוטע אותו סביב לנחל ההוא ונעשו מדברים אלו אילנות גדולות ונקראים ערבי נחל ה״ד באהבתה תשגה מאד.

ונטעתם וערלתם ערלתו זה הפסו׳ מדבר בתינוק שלש שנים יהיה לכם ערלים שאינו יכול לא להשיח ולא לדבר ובשנה הרביעית יהיה כל פריו קדש הלולים ליי. שאביו מקדישיה לתורה | הלולים לה ע״ב

ליי מהו הלולים·ליי מהלל* לחב״ה. ובשנה החמישית תאכלו את פריו משעה שהוא מתחיל לקרות בתורה מכאן ואילך להוסיף לכם תבואתו. מכאן אמרו החבריא* בן חמש למקרא בן עשר למשנה לפי שתורה שבכתב היא החמישית מן חמש בתרים התחתונים והיא נקראת החמישית. לכן כעין דוגמא זה יהיה בן חמש למקרא. בן עשר למשנה רומז למדת המלכות שהיא מדת העשירית ה״ד העשירי יהיה קדש ליי. לכן כיון שתורה שבעלפה היא מדת העשירית מן הכתרים ההם כעין דוגמא זה יהיה הבן בן עשר כשילמוד המשנה כדי שיהא הכל כדוגמא עליונה והבן זה מאד. לפי שבעולם הזה אדם מישראל מוליד בן ומוליכו לבית הספר יגע עמו ומלמדו תורה ובעונותיו הוא ימות ואינו שמח בו. אמ׳ להם הב״ה על ידי שיצר הרע מצוי בכם אתם חוטאין ובניכם מתים אבל לעתיד לבא אני מסיר את יצר הרע מכם ומבניכם ואתם מולידים ושמחים בהם שנא׳ לא יגעו לריק ולא ילדו לבהלה כי זרע ברוכי יי המה וצאצאיהם אתם.

ואצ״ל כי שלשה כתרים העליונים שהם כ״ע וחכמה ובינה שהוא עולם העליון אשר אין הפה יכול לדבר שם ואפילו להרהר כי נמנע הדבור וההרהור באותו מקום לכן כתי׳ אלו שלש שנים יהיו לכם ערלים פי׳ אטומים וסתומים ונסתרים ונעלמים שאסור לשלוח שם המחשבה ולא הדיבור. וזהו ששנינו אם רץ לבך לעלות למעלה שוב למקום ה״ד כבוד אלהים הסתיר דבר וכבוד מלכים חקור דבר. כעין דוגמא זה למטה מי שנוטע נטיעה שיהיה ערלים שלש שנים הראשונים כעין דוגמא של מעלה כי כל הנהנה מן הערלה כאלו יתן גלוי בהסתר של המלך העליון וגורם לשכינה עליונה להסתלק מן ישראל ונסתמים ונסגרים הצינורות היורדות מן כ״ע אל התפ׳ לכן ויי לו ויי לנפשו מי שגורם פרצה כזו טוב לו שלא נברא כי מנע טובות העליונים מן התחתונים.

אמ׳ ר׳ שמעון לא תקיפו פאת וכו׳ סוד הדבר יש כאן לחבריא. כי שער של הראש הם הקווצות והנימין של שער הקדוש שכתי׳ בו ושער ראשיה כעמר נקי כי אותו השער הוא עומד בסדור יפה ונאה בלא ערבוב כלל והוא מסבב כל הגולגולות וכמה אלפים ורובי רבבות כתרים עליונים תלויים באותו השער לכן כל מי שהוא מקיף הראש כאלו מחריב כל העולם לכן ויי לו ויי לנפשו שהוא בשער מלכא דלעילא לכן כתי׳ לא תקיפו פאת ראשכם כלשון רבים משמ׳ שראשים ושרים עליונים ממונים על אותו השער | ולא תשחית את פאת זקניך ויי לו ויי לנפשו מי שמושיט לט ע״א

ידו לזקן המלך לכן אין לו חלק באלהי ישראל ונכרת בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא.

והתקדשתים והייתם קדושים וכו׳. כי הב"ה נתן לישראל שתי קדושות ולעצמו קדושה אחת הה"ד והתקדשתים והייתם קדושים לישראל כי קדוש אני להב"ה. אבל סוד הענין כי שתי קדושות רומז לשתי עולמות נעלמות שהם חכמה ובינה שהם קדושים בקדושה עליונה והם משפיעים למדת ישראל שהוא תפ׳ כל קדושה עליונה וכל השפע כדי להחזיקו וכדי ליתן השפע אל מלכות יי שהיא המטרוניתא. לכן שתי קדושות אלו הם לישראל ודאי. אבל קדושה אחת שהוא כ"ע שהוא יחוד שאין בכל האחדים יחוד כמותו כי אינו נחלק לקצוות ולמחלוקות אלא הוא פשוט בתכלית הפשיטות לכן נקרא אחת. ואותה הקדושה היא קדושת עי׳ העי׳ שאין בין עילה ועלול אלא שזה עילה וזה עלול והמשכיל יבין וידום ליי. וזהו סוד קדוש קדוש קדוש יי צבאות וכו׳. כשיבוא הקדושה מבינה וחכמה וכ"ע ועי׳ העי׳ אז כנסת ישראל מתמלאת מטוב העולמות והיא נקראת צבאות לפי שכל צבאות עליונים נראין בה לכן מי שעומד בקדושה צריך לרקוד שלשה רקידות אחד לבינה. ואחד לחכמה. ואחד לכ"ע ועי׳ העי׳ כדי שימשוך השפע משם עד עט׳ ישראל. אזי היא מתקדשת בקדושה עליונה ומתקשטת ככלה בתכשיטיה. לכן ויי לו ויי לנפשו מי שעומד בשעת הקדושה ועומד ומדבר שיחת חולין וקלות ראש ואינו נותן כבוד לשם הקדוש. כי בשעה שישראל למטה מקדישין שמו הגדול אזי יזלו המים של הנהרות והמבועות מעי׳ העי׳ וכ"ע וחכמה ובינה דרך צינורות הקדושות בחשאי ובשתיקה בלא שום קול בעולם. אזי כל המרכבות והצבאות והחיילות והמחנות כולם דוממים ושותקים ונחים כי אין שם קול בשעה שיזדווגו העליונים עם התחתונים לכן תיקן משה לישראל שיאמרו ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד. לכן ויי לו מי שהוא מדבר בשעת הקדושה כי אינו נותן כבוד לשמו הגדול כי דבר יי בזה וסוב לו שלא נברא בעולם. אפי׳ מלאכי עליונים קדושים אינן רשאין לעורר קול בשעת זווג העליון כל שכן וכל שכן האדם הפחוח והנבזה למטה על אחת כמה וכמה שיעמוד באימה וביראה בשעה שישראל מקדישין שמו למטה. לכן כל מי שהוא אומ׳ קדושה למטה בכל כוונתו פותחין לו מקורות קדושות העליונים ומקדישין אותו למעלה לכן כתיב | וההתקדשתם והייתם קדושים וכו׳. אשריהם ישראל שהב"ה נתן להם את תורתו הקדושה והנחילם לחיי העולם הבא ומסר להם תורתו

הקדושה הה"ד ונחך יי תמיד.

פרשת אמור אל הכהנים. ר׳ אבא פתח ואמ׳ אמרות יי אמרות טהורות כסף צרוף בעליל לארץ מזוקק שבעתים. בא וראה כל מה שהזהיר הב"ה לישראל בשביל קדושתן וטהרתן הה"ד אמרות יי אמרות טהורות. אמרות יי סוד הדבר הם עשר מאמרות שבהם נברא העולם ואלו מאמרות הם עשר מדרגות פנימיות ונעלמות שהם עשר צחצחות המתפשטות תוך כ"ע שהוא עתיק דעתיקין וסתימא דסתימין. ואותן מבועות הם נובעים ממבועות של הנחל העמוק לכן הם מהורות שהם עומדים בעולם הקדוש והטהור לפי שהם קודש הקדשים ומאלו עשר מאמרות נבראו ונמצאו כל הנמצאים כולם וכל מה שישתלשל מן כ"ע ולמטה מאלו עשר מבועות נמשכים ויוצאים הה"ד אמרות יי וכו׳.

למה נקרא שם הכהן כהן גדול בשביל שהוא גדול בחמשה דברים בנוי בכח בעושר ובחכמה ובשנים. אבל סוד הענין כי כהן גדול רומז לחסד שהוא כהן גדול וזהו סוד שארז"ל מיכאל כהן גדול בשמים ומקריב נפשותן של הצדיקים לפני הב"ה והוא מדת אהרן שהוא מקבל כל המשחים היוצאים מן הנהר היוצא מעדן הה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן. ואותו נהר יורד על ראש הכהן הה"ד כשמן הטוב על הראש יורד על הזקן זקן אהרן וכו׳ והוא מקבל חמשה נהרות מן תפ׳ שנקרא נוי הה"ד דודי צח ואדום ואינני אלא אדום. בכח מן הגבורה שהוא נקרא בעל כח. ועושר מן הבינה הה"ד בשמאלה עושר וכבוד. ובחכמה מצד החכמה שהיא חכמה קדומה הה"ד ראשית חכמה יראת יי. ובשנים לפי שהוא מקבל שמן המשחה מן מבוע של שנים רבות שהוא עתיק דעתיקין הה"ד כימי עולם וכשנים קדמוניות. לכן הכהן למטה שצריך שיהא בו אלו חמשה מעלות שהזכרנו אזי הוא נקרא כהן גדול הה"ד והכהן הגדול מאחיו וכו׳.

אצ"ל בהן גדול רומז לכ"ע שנקרא כהן גדול לפי שהוא כהן ואדון על כל המדרגות הה"ד והוא כהן לאל עליון כי הוא מושח כל הכהנים של מטה בשמן של המשחה היורד מן מבוע של הנחל והוא נקרא כהן גדול מאחיו שהן המדרגות התחתונות שנקראים | אחיו וריעיו הה"ד מ ע"א למען אחי וריעי וכו׳. והוא מקריב נשמות של הצדיקים עד עי׳ העי׳ ברוך הוא וברו׳ שמ׳ לעולם ולעו׳ עולמים כי הוא מקריב הכל ושואב הכל. לכן הוא נקרא אבן השואבת שהוא שואב הכל כדי שיתקשר הכל יחוד אחד.

אשר יוצק על ראשו וכו' פי' אותה השפע והיציקה הניצק
עליו מעי' העי' על ראשו שהוא נקרא ראשו כתם פז. שמן המשחה מן
מבוע ההוא שהוא נהר של אפרסמון שאין פוסקין מימיו. וזהו שכתי' כשמן
הטוב על הראש יורד על הזקן זקן אהרן.כשמן הטוב זהו שמן העליון
היורד מן הנהר העמוק ההוא.הטוב שהוא שמן טוב שאין בו צד רע אלא
הכל טוב ורחמים. על הראש שהוא כ"ע שנקרא ראש מאלו ג' ראשים
שהם כ"ע חכמה ובינה שהם שלשה קשרים של האמונה. יורד על הזקן
זקן. אלו המבועות נמשכים ויורדים על הזקן הקדוש והטהור שהוא זקן
עתיק דעתיקין וסתימא דסתימין שהוא זקן אהרן שהוא אהרן סבא כי על
ראשו יהא נמשח הכל. לכן כעין דוגמא זה יהיה כהן גדול למטה נמשח
בשמן הקדוש כדי להדמות כדוגמא עליונה. לכן צריך הכהן למטה להראות
פנים של שמחה כדי שיהא שלם בכל כדי שימשוך הברכות מאין סוף עד
עט' ישראל שנקראת פי מדותיו כדי שיתקשר הכל על ידי הכהן כי הכהן
הוא עומד בין העליונים והתחתונים כדי להקריב הקרבן שיתקרבו על ידו
המדות. לכן בשעת הקרבת הקרבן צריך שיהא הכהן שמח ולא יראה בו
שום רוגז וכעס כדי להשתיק כעס של דין הקשה לכן הזהרה לכהן שלא
ישתה יין בשעת העבודה כי היין הוא מורה על היין שהוא משחכר שהוא
צד הגבורה ההי"ד חכלילי עינים מיין רומז לגבורה שהוא אדום ההי"ד חרב
ליי מלאה דם. ולבן שנים מחלב רומז לחסד שהוא הכהן. לכן הכהן צריך
להראות פנים של שמחה בדי לכוף ולנצה צד הדין הקשה שהוא שמאל כדי
שלא ישלוט על העולם. לכן הכהן היה מניף את הלוים כדי לשקט ולשכך
רוגזם וכעסם. אזי יתעוררו הרחמים והברכות והשמחות בכל העולמות
ההי"ד כטל תרמון שיורד על הרדי ציון כי שם צוה יי וכו'. כטל הוא רומז
לטל של כ"ע שהוא הכהן הגדול כי באותו הטל עתיד הב"ה להחיות בו
המתיים ההי"ד אהיה כטל לישראל. כי אותו הטל הוא מדת אהיה שגא'
אהיה אשר אהיה לכן כתי' אהיה כטל לישראל כי אותו הטל יורד לבריח
התיכון שהוא | תפ' ישראל שנקרא ישראל ותפ' מתעדן ומתענג באותו מ ע"ב
הטל ההי"ד וזרקתי עליכם מים טהורים וטהרתם כביכול מן החלודה שעלה
עליהם. ויתקבץ אותו הטל במקום מיוחד בתפ' יי ואותו המקום נקרא מקוה
שהכהן גדול טובל בו ביום הכפורים ההי"ד מקוה ישראל יי פי' מקוה של
ישראל שהוא כ"ע שנקרא ישראל סבא הוא יי שהוא תפ' שנקרא יי שנא'
אל אלהים יי. לכן כתי' כטל חרמון שיורד על הרדי ציון. כי ודאי אותו

הטל על הררי ציון שהם אברהם יצחק ויעקב שהם רגלי המרכבה.זהו סוד
שארז"ל האבות הן הן המרכבה. והם נקראים הרים וגבעות ההי"ד אשא
עיני אל ההרים מאין יבא עזרי. כי הם הרים גדולים ההי"ד שמעו הרים
את ריב יי והאיתנים וכו'. ד"א הרים הם נצח והוד שנקראים הררי ציון
לפי שהם למעלה מציון שהוא צדיק יסוד עולם. לשם יתקבצו כל הנשמים
והחללים היורדים מכ"ע ומשם הם נמשכים אל מלכות יי שהיא המטרוניתא.
כי שם צוה יי וכו' כי במקום עט' מתקבצים כל הברכות והמקורות של
כל העולמות כולם כי הם חיים של כל ההי"ד חיים עד העולם.

ומלא את ידו פי' חסד שהוא נקרא יד הימין של יד יי ההי"ד כי
אראה שמיך מעשה אצבעותיך ירח וכוכבים וכו'. לכן הכהן הגדול של
מטה פורש ידו לכהן גדול למעלה כדי להוריד השפע לעולם ההי"ד וישא
אהרן את ידיו כתי' חסר פי' יד הימין כדי להגביה יד הימין על יד שמאל
כדי שיהיו בתי דינין כפופים ומנוצחים וישלוט מדת אהרן שהוא החסד
ויבואו הרחמים והברכות לכל העולמות והבן זה.

כשמן הטוב זהו שמן המשחה הקדוש העליון שיוצא ונשמך
ממקום נהר העמוק של כל שנמשך ויוצא מראש של כל הראשים סתימא
של כל הסתימין על הראש. על הראש ודאי פי' ראש של אדם הראשון.
יורד על הזקן. זהו הזקן הכבוד* כמו שפירשוהו החבריא. זקן אהרן זהו
כהן גדול למעלה ואותו שמן יורד על פי מדותיו שמאותו השמן נמשך ויורד
לתחתונים וכדוגמא זה נמשך ונמשח כהן גדול למטה בשמן המשחה. זה
הפסו' לא ראשו סופו ולא סופו ראשו. כתי' אמור אל הכהנים בני אהרן
ואמרת אליהם לנפש לא יטמא,לא יטמא. לא יטמאו מיבעי ליה מהו לא יטמא
אלא על אותו עליון אמ' והמשכיל יבין וידום ליי.

כי אם לשארו הקרוב אליו לאמו ולאביו ולבנו וכו' בכהן
גדול כתי' לאביו ולאמו לא יטמא. מאי שנא גבי כהן הדיוט מקדים האם
קודם האב וגבי כהן גדול מקדים האב קודם האם. וי"ל לא מיבעי פי'
קל וחומר קאמה גבי כהן הדיוט כתי' | לאמו ולאביו לא מבעיא מא ע"א
אמו שהיא ודאית שהוא מטמא לה אלא אפי' אביו שהוא בספק לכן הקדים
האם קודם האב. וגבי כהן גדול כתי' לאביו ולאמו לא יטמא לא מיבעיא
אביו שהוא בספק שלא יטמא לו בשביל שהוא ספק אלא אפי' אמו שהיא
ודאית לא יטמא לה לכן כתי' לאביו ולאמו לא יטמא. אבל יש כאן סוד
עליון כהן הדיוט הוא חסד שנקרא מיכאל כהן גדול בשמים מקדים אמו

קודם האב. אמו היא בינה והאב הוא חכמה. אבל כהן גדול הוא כ"ע שהוא כהן גדול ה"ה והוא כהן לאל עליון. מקדים האב קודם האם כי האב הוא עי' העי' והאם היא אם הבנים שמחה שהיא בינה לכן מקדים האב קודם האם.

אבל על דרך החכמה העליונה הפנימית למה כהן הדיוט מטמא לקרובים וכהן גדול אינו מטמא לקרובים. כי כהן הדיוט הוא מטמא לקרובים בשביל שהחסד העליון הוא בעולם המחודש והטומאה נמצא בדפנות שהם החיצוניות וההמורות לכן כהן הדיוט הוא מטמא לקרובים. אבל כהן גדול שהוא כהן העליון שכתי' בו והכהן הגדול מאחיו וכו' לא יטמא כלל לקרובים בשביל שאין טומאה נמצא למעלה אלא הוא עולם הקדוש והטהור שאין שם שום טומאה עולה אלא הוא עומד בקדושתו. לכן כהן גדול למטה אינו מטמא עצמו אפי' לקרובים וכ"ש לאחרים. ואם כביכול הוא מטמא עצמו לקרובים כאלו פוגם כביכול כתר של המלך כי נותן פגם במקום דליכא פגם בשביל שנזר אלהיו על ראשו לכן צריך שימצא שלם בתכלית השלימות כדי שלא יסתלק שכינה עליונה מעליו כי אין השכינה שורה לא במקום טומאה ולא במקום עצבות ולא במקום פגימות. לכן יש לכהן ליזהר שלא יטמא נזר הקודש כדי שיהדמה לעליונים קדושים ה"ה כי מלאך יי צבאות הוא.

ופאת זקנם לא יגלחו, כדי שלא יראה פגימות בזקן הידוע ה"ה כשמן הטוב על הראש יורד על הזקן זקן אהרן שיורד על פי מדותיו. אבל סוד הענין כי כהן הדיוט הוא חסד שהוא מיכאל בשמים שהוא נמשח בשמן המשחה שיורד לו מן נהר העמוק היוצא ונמשך ה"ה ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן.

איכה ישבה בדד וכו'. בזמן שהיא טהורה ונקייה והשמש מאיר לה אזי הכהן שהוא חסד והוא כהן הדיוט שהוא מזווג לה כשהיא טהורה וזורק עליה מים טהורים ה"ה וזרקתי עליכם מים טהורים וטהרתם וכו' שהיא טובלת במי מקוה שכתי' בו מקוה ישראל יי וכו' מה | המקוה מא ע"ב מטהר את הטמאים אף הקב"ה מטהר את ישראל. לכן כל זמן כשהיא טהורה וראויה לבעלה אז הכהן שהוא חסד משפיע לה. אבל כשהיא כביכול יונקת מצד אחר אזי המלך פורש ממנה ומקבלת מצד אחר. לכן הכהן למטה כעין דוגמא זה אסור לישא אשה זונה וכיוצא בהן מאלו הנשים האסורות לכהן כדי שלא יחלל קדושתו והמשכיל יבין וידום ליי. כי קדוש הוא לאלהיו.

כי הוא קדוש לאלהיו שהוא כ"ע ועי' העי' ומי שהוא מוכתר בכתר אלהיו לא יפגום ויחלל זרעו. ולא צריך להראות עצמו בשום פגימות בעולם אלא שלם בתכלית השלימות שלם למעלה ושלם למטה. וקדשתו כי את לחם אלהיך הוא מקריב. ואצ"ל כי מיכאל כהן גדול בשמים הוא נתקדש בכל מיני קדושה עליונות שהם שלש מדרגות פנימיות של שלש קשרים וכיון שהוא נתקדש ונתעטר בעטרות עליונים לכן הוא שואב ומושך הקדושה מאין סוף עד לזקן הקדוש ה"ה כשמן הטוב על הראש יורד על הזקן זקן אהרן. לכן כעין דוגמא זה למטה צריך הכהן שיתקדש בכל כי נוטל חלק בראש וכיוצא בזה בשאר קדושות. לכן מי שאינו מקדש הכהן בקדושתו כביכול עושה קודש חול ודיי למבין.

כי את לחם אלהיך הוא מקריב.ר' חייא פתח מאשר שמנה לחמו והוא יתן מעדני מלך. מאשר הוא עולם החכמה שנקרא אשר ה"ה באושרי כי אשרוני בנות וכו' אל תקרי באשרי אלא באשר י' שהיא נקראת אשר ונקראת י' שהוא גלם החכמה. שמנה לחמו כל השמנים היפים של נהרי אפרסמון משם יורדין ונמשכים עד הזקן הנכבד,לחמו היא עט' ישראל שנקראת לחמו ה"ה ממרחק תביא לחמה פי' כנסת ישראל ממקום שהוא רחוק היא תביא לחמה ומזונה ופרנסתה והסוד בזה עמוק עמוק מי ימצאנו. לכן כתי' כי את לחם אלהיך הוא מקריב פיר' עולם החסד שהוא כהן גדול הוא מקריב כנסת ישראל שנקראת לחם אלהיו עד כ"ע ועי' העי' כדי ליחד הסוף בתחילה ותחילה בסוף ולזווג המטרוניתא עם המלך יי צבאות ויבואו הברכות לכל העולמות על ידי הכהן המקריב והבן זה. ד"א כי את לחם אלהיך הוא מקריב. כי לחם רומז לחכמה הנקראת לחם ה"ה מאשר שמגה לחמו והוא לחם של אלהיך שהיא כנסת ישראל. ועולם העליון שהוא כ"ע הוא מקריב הלחם הידוע אל המטרוניתא ה"ה ממרחק תביא לחמה ה"ה הוא מקריב ה"ה | והוא יתן מעדני מלך. אזי יתקשר מב ע"א היחוד בכל העולם ויתקשרו הקשרים העליונים עם התחתונים והבן זה.

קדוש יהיה לך כי הוא קדוש ומקודש בכל מיני קדושה. יהיה לך ודאי.כי קדוש אני יי מקדשכם. והסוד בזה ואת אחרונים אני הוא. וכיון שהוא נקרא הוא לכן כתי' אני יי מקדשכם כי הוא הקשר העליון הקדוש שקושר כל הקשרים הקדושים כמו אבן השואבת שהוא מושך אליו הברזל ומדבק שתי גופות לגוף אחד כך הוא מדביק הקשרים כולם בדיבוק היחוד. לכך בזמן שהעולם העליון מושך השמן מן הנהר העמוק הנמשך

ויוצא שאין פוסקין מקוריו ה"ר ונהר יוצא מעדן אזי הקדושה נמצאת בכל העולמות ושלש קדושות הם מתחברים בקדושה תחתונה ה"ד כי קדוש אני יי מקדשכם.

ובת איש כהן כי תחל לזנות את אביה היא מחללת באש תשרף. ובת איש כהן. אמ׳ר׳ אלעזר בן שמעון ובת היא המטרוניתא הנקראת בת והסוד בזה בת היתה לאברהם בכל שמה בשביל שהיא מקבלת מן הכל והיא בת כהן שהוא חסד שהוא כהן גדול בשמים. כי תחל לזנות. א"ר אבא ויי לאוזן שישמע דבר זה שבת הכהן היא תחל לזנות והולכת אחרי זנותה ועל זה כתי׳ ויהי כמשלש חדשים שהמטרוניתא היא משלשת בחדשים שהתחלת הדין שהוא הוד הוא ממנה שלש מדרגות יסוד הוד נצח ואחר כך גבורה. נמצא מן הדין הקשה שהוא גבורה עד המטרוניתא הרי לך ג׳ מדרגות לכן בתי׳ ויהי במשלש חדשים ויוגד ליהודה לאמר זנתה תמר כלתך שכביכול שיונקת מצד החיצונים. על זה כתי׳ זנתה ודאי כדא׳ איכה היתה לזונה קריה נאמנה וכו׳ והנה הרה לזנונים. שכביכול היא מתמלאת מן פרי הטמא של צד החיצון. הוציאוה ותשרף כדא׳ השליך משמים ארץ תפ׳ ישראל שנתרהקה מן השמים ודאי ונדחקה בין התמודות לכן כתי׳ הוציאוה ותשרף כדא׳ ויצת אש בציון אש מן הפחד שנקרא אש הגדולה הוצח בה ונשרפה בשלהבת גהר דנור והסוד בזה כי באש יי נשפט והבן זה. כי כל המחודשים נשפטים באש בסוד השמטה. והיא שלחה אל חמיה לאמר לאיש אשר אלה לו אנכי הרה. לאיש אשר אלה לו ממנו אנכי הרה. מהו לאיש אשר אלה לו. אלא לאיש שאני הרה ממנו אלו הן הסימנין שלו פי׳ אני מקבל ממנו כל סימניו וצבאותיו ומרכבתיו וחיילותיו ואספקלריאותיו לכן כתי׳ לאיש אשר | אלה לו פי׳ שלו. אנכי הרה פי׳ מכ"ע מב ע"ב שנקרא אנכי אני מעוברת. ויאמר יהודה צדקה ממני אל תקרי צדקה אלא צדק הא כי שמה גרם כדא׳ כי צדיק יי צדקות אהב וכו׳. מא טעמא אמ׳ יהודה במקום אחד וחמיה במקום אחר אלא הכל דבר אחד הוא.

ובת כהן כי תחל לזנות שהיא כביכול ינקה מצד טמא והלכה אחרי זנוניה ה"ד איכה היתה לזונה קריה נאמנה. והסוד בזה בא נחש על חוה והטיל בה זוהמא. את אביה היא מחללת. היא מחללת לאביה ודא׳. כשכנסת ישראל מקבלת מן מלך יי צבאות והשמש מאיר לה אז הוא"ו מושך השמן מן נהר שנמשך ויוצא אל עולם החסד שהוא הכהן והוא אביה. ואם כביכול ינקה מצד טמא נעשה אביה חול ונתמעט לו השפע הקדושה שהיה

ראוי לו לבא מבית המלך העליון ונפסקו המקורות והצינורות ונעשה קודש חול בשביל המטרוניתא שהיא יושבת בטומאתה ה"ד את אביה היא מחללת באש תשרף באש של נהר דינור שנמשך ויוצא והבן זה. לכן הכהן למטה אם זנתה בתו היא מחללת לאביה ופוגמת קדושתו ה"ד היא מחללת ודא׳.

והבהן הגדול מאחיו. והכהן הגדול מאחיו שהוא כ"ע שנקרא כהן גדול על כל המדרגות ה"ד והוא כהן לאל עליון. מאחיו ודא׳. אשר יוצק על ראשו. על ראשו ודא׳ מן עי׳ העי׳ שיוצק לו מן השמן הסתום והגנוז אשר אין בו צד פרישה אלא סתימא של הסתימין וטמירא של כל הטמירין יוצק לו ודא׳ ה"ד אשר יוצק. ומלא את ידו רומז לחכמה שנקרא יד יי. ועל כל נפשות מת לא יבא. כי הכהן לא יגע בכל טמא מת כדי שלא יקבל טומאה כי אין השכינה שורה במקום טמא אלא במקום טהרה לכן הזהרה שלא יכנס לבית שיש בו המת. אבל סוד הענין כי במקום כהן גדול אין טומאה כלל כי אין טומאה למעלה. לכן הסוכה מקבלת טומאה מן הדפנות ולא מן הסכך שהוא כ"ע כי אין שם לא שר ולא מזיק ולא מקטרג שולט אלא הכל רחמים גמורים. לכן הכהן למטה לא יגרום לעצמו טומאה כדי שלא יהן פגם בכתר המלך כי כמו שהב"ה שלם בתכלית השלימות כדי שלא יראה בו שום פגימות כלל ודיי למבין. ד"א הכהן הוא חסד שנקרא כהן גדול בשמים כי הוא נמשח מן הכהן העליון בשמן הקדש שאפי׳ לאביו ולאמו לא יטמא בשביל שצד אביו ואמו אין | שם מג ע"א טומאה כלל היאך יכנס טומאה במקום דליכא טומאה. לכן ויי לכהן למטה שמטמא עצמו לקדובים ויפגום כתר המלך כי הוא כביכול גורם הפירוד בעליונים ובתחתונים.

כי גזר שמן משחת אלהיו. כי הכהן הוא כ"ע שנקרא בהן גדול כי יש נזר אלהיו שהוא עי׳ העי׳ על ראשו שהוא שמן העליון הקדוש היורד מעי׳ העי׳ ה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן פי׳ אותו נהר שנמשך ויוצא מעי׳ העי׳ על ראש כ"ע שהוא הכהן הגדול. וכיון שהוא נכתר בנזר העליון אינו רשאי לצאת מן המקדש שיטמא עצמו לקרובים ודיי למבין.

והוא אשה בבתוליה יקח. אשה בבתוליה יקח מיבעי ליה מהו והוא אלא כשהוא הכהן בן י"ח שגה כמנין והוא ישא אשה בתולה. וזהו ששנו רבו׳ בפרקי אבות בן י"ח לחופה. אבל על דרך האמת והוא שהוא כ"ע שנקרא הוא ה"ד והוא רחום יכפר עון וכו׳ אשה בבתוליה רומז למטרוניתא שהיא נקראת אשה בבתוליה ה"ד נפלה בתולת ישראל ודיי

למבין.

ד"א אשה בבתוליה. למה אמ' אשה בבתוליה. או יאמר אשה יקח או בתולה יקח. וכי יש אשה שהיא בתולה אלא בא לומ' לך אע"פ שהיא בתולה בת מ' שנה והיא יצאה מכלל הבגרות לכלל האישות אפי' הכי בתולה נקראת. אבל על דרך האמת כשתפ' יי צבאות מתחבר עם המטרוניתא ומאיר לה אורה בדיבוק אחד אזי היא נקראת אשה ודאי כיון שהמלך נזדווג עמה. אבל כשהמלך נפרש ממנה והניחה אזי היא נקראת בתולה כמו בתולה שאינה יוצאת לחוץ אלא יושבת בבית אביה פנימה ההי"ד כל כבודה בת מלך פנימה כך עט' ישראל שנקראת ישראל היא יושבת ושומרת עצמה כדי שלא יכניס לה זר ההי"ד גן נעול אחותי כלה גל נעול מעין חתום. פי' שהיא כמו הגן שהוא נעול וסתום מכל צד כך היא נעולה וסגורה מכל צד לבלתי צאת חוץ ההי"ד הוציאה ממסגר נפשי להודות את שמך בי יכתרו צדיקים. כי דוד המ' ע"ה כשהיה רואה בגלותה ובצרתה היה מבקש בעדה ואמ' הוציאה ממסגר נפשי היה מבקש לפני התפ' שיוצא נפשו שהיא עט' ישראל מן המסגר ויתחבר עמה ביחוד שלם כדי שיהמשכו הברכות לכל העולמות עד צדיק יסוד עולם ההי"ד בי יכתרו צדיקים כי תגמול עלי. מכאן למדנו שהנשים הכשרות שבעליהן הלכו למדינת הים אינן יוצאות חוץ כלל אלא יושבות בבתיהן סגורות ולא מקשטות עצמן | בקישוטים מג ע"ב כדרך ששאר הנשים עושות והבן זה.

אלמנה וגרושה וחללה זונה את אלה לא יקח וכו'. כל אלו הן אסורות לכהן. אבל על דרך האמת כי הכהן הגדול שהוא חסד בשעת שכנסת ישראל נטרדת מבית המלך והיא גרושה ממנו וחללה בשביל שהיא מחוללת על ידי החיצוניים אזי החסד שהוא הכהן לא יתיחד עמה בשביל שקבלה כביכול חלודה מצד החיצוניים כי היא יושבת בטומאתה. לכן הכהן למטה לא ישא בכל אלו הנשים ואם ח"ו אם נושא מהן פוגם קדושתו למטה ונוהן פגם במרכבת למעלה ויכניס טומאתה חיצונית לטהרה פנימית. לכן הזהירה תורתינו הקדושה לכהן גדול שלא יתייחד בהן. אבל כהן הדיוט שהוא התפ' אשה זונה וחללה לא יקחו כשהיא כביכול נטמאת על ידי הנחש שהשיל בה זוהמא. אבל כשהיא גרושה כרצון המלך ואין בה שום התעוררות של טומאה אפי' הכי אינו מאיר לה שמשו ואינו מביט לה בעין החמלה לכן כהן הדיוט למטה לא ישא כל אלו הנשים הנזכרות אבל אלמנה מותרת לו ודי למבין.

ר' שמעון אומ' סוד יי ליריאיו ובריתו להודיעם. סוד יי ליריאיו זהו כנסת ישראל. ובריתו להודיעם זהו צדיק יסוד עולם בקשר אחד י' שלש אותיות יו"ד שלימות של כל. ראשית של כל יו"ד עליון של כל. וא"ו אמצעית שלימות של כל הצדדים כי בו תלוי האמונה הקדושה. דל"ת הוא הגן של צרור החיים. אות זה קטנה שלימות של כל. אות זה הוא סתימא של כל הצדדים כשיוצא יוצא עם המלך* ועם חיילותיו. י' לבדו בו סותם דבר בו יוצא וסוגר ופותח. ה"א שלימות של כל למעלה ולמטה. ה' הוא ידוע א' וה"א* יו"ד שלימות של שלש אותיות שהם בראש הסתום ושלימות של שמו הקדוש שלימות של מעלה ומטה ובשביל כך לזמנים ה' נוטל א' כגון ה"א בזמן שהיא מתעטרת בעטריו. בא וראה כל אות ואות משמו הקדוש בו יראה שלימות של כל. שם יו"ד הא נאמ' שהוא שלימות של כל בשביל שמאלו שתי אותיות יתפרשו מהם כל עיקר האמונה כי יו"ד רומז לעדן וה"א לגן הידוע שכתי' בו גן נעול בשביל שהוא עולם הסתום והנעלם שהוא סוד המשים שערי בינה. ה"א שלימות של כל ואף ע"ג שאינו הוא כאלף* ו' בין בצד זה ובין בצד אחר של כל הוא להתעטר לכל. בא וראה והיה שבעת ימים. הם אותיות שהם בג"ד כפר"ת. וה"א ויו"ד חשבון האותיות הא שבעת ימים נכללו כאחד היינו דכתי' שבעת ימים ושבעת ימים ארבעה עשר יום. בא וראה שנינו יפה התענית לחלום | כאש מד ע"א לנעורת ועיקר התענית באותו יום ממש ולא ביום אחר. מאי טעמ' בשביל שאין לך יום למטה שאין שולט בו יום אחר עליון וכשהוא יושב בתענית חלום למדנו שאותו היום העליון לא יסור עד שיתבטל אותו הגזרה ודוחה ליום האחד הא שולטנות של האחר הוא ולא נכנס יום ביום אחר של חבירו. כזה הדוגמא אין לך יום שלא נתמנה עליו יום עליון לפעלה. לכן צריך בן אדם שלא יעשה פגימות באותו היום ולא יפגם לפני שאר ימים אחרים. ושנינו במעשה שלמטה יהעורר מעשה למעלה. אם בן אדם עושה מעשה למטה כראוי כך יתעורר עליו כח אחר למעלה. אם בן אדם עושה חסד בעולם יתעורר חסד למעלה ושורה באותו היום ומתעטר בשבילו. אם בן אדם מעורר* רחמים למטה יתעורר רחמים על אותו יום ויתעטר ברחמים בשביל אותו היום שעומד עליו להיות אפיטרופוס בשבילו בשעה שצריך לו. כדוגמא זה להפך. ואם אדם עושה מעשה רע למטה כך יתעורר עליו באותו היום ופוגם אותו ואחר כך עומד עליו אותו היום באבוד לאבדו מן העולם. באותו מדה שאדם מודד מודדין לו.

ר' שמעון פתח ואמ' וירא יעקב כי יש שבר במצרים וכו'. זה הפסוק סוד חכמה יש בו ויש לנו להסתכל בו כי לא ראשו סופו ולא סופו ראשו. אלא בא וראה בשעה שהב"ה רוצה לדון העולם ברעב לא יצא הברוז. שהא כל דינים אחרים הברוז מכריז עליהם עד שלא ירדו לעולם ודין זה לא ניתן לברוז אלא הב"ה מכריז עליו וקורא עליו ה"ד כי קרא יי לרעב. מאותה שעה נפקדים על העולם ממונים אחרים. לכן אסור לבן אדם שיש לו שובעה להראות עצמו בשוק כדי שיראה בו צד שובע שהרי מראה פגימות למעלה ומכחיש דבר המלך בביכול כאלו מעביר ממונים של המלך ממקומם. ועל זה אמ' יעקב לבניו למה תתראו למה תעשו פגימות למעלה ולמטה להכחיש דבר המלך וכל אותן הממונים בהכרזה שלו אבל הנה שמעתי כי יש שבר במצרים רדו שמה ולשם הראו עצמיכם בשבעה ולא תכחשו פמליא של מעלה בכאן. בא וראה כמה תבואה היה ליעקב ולא רצה אלא לשבור בתוך הבאים ולא ימצא פגימות במעשה שלו. ועוד פתח ואמ' וישא אהרן את ידיו אל העם ויברכם. ושנינו ידו כתי' שרצה* לזקוף הימין על השמאל ולמה כדי להראות המעשה למטה בשביל שיתעורר המעשה למעלה. כתי' והעברת שופר תרועה בחדש השביעי בעשור לחדש ביום הכפורים תעבירו שופר בכל ארצכם. והעברת שופר תרועה. שופר תרועה למה אלא שופר שמשבר שלשלאות של ברזל ומשבר שלטנות של שאר העמים* וכדי להראות חירות של כל שהרי היום גרם ובכל צריך להראות המעשה. ועל זה צריך שופר ולא קרן בשביל להראות מי הוא המקום שנקרא שופר.

מדע"ב

יי בלך על יד ימינך. בשביל ששם הקדוש הוא בימין ואף התורה בימין. ועל זה בימין תלוי הכל. לכן צריך לזקוף הימין על שמאל ה"ד מימינו אש דת למו ולעהיד לבא כתי' הושיעה ימינך ועניני.

אבל באתי להודיעך בסוד נעלם ונסתר בענין שלש סעודות בשבת. בי השבת הוא סוד יוסף שהוא צדיק יסוד עולם והוא שבת והוא שביעי לשבת הגדול שהוא אם הבנים שמחה. וביום השבת יתחדשו כל השפעים והמאורות של שלש מדרגות העליונות ומושכין מבועותיהן ומקורותיהן ומעונותיהן ליסוד עולם הנקרא שבת ונמצא שהשבת מקבל ג' סעודות עליונות והסוד בזה ואקחה פת לחם וסעדו לבכם אחר וכו' וביון שעולם העליון סועד לשבת בשלש סעודות אלו לכן כעין דוגמא זה אנו צריכין לקיים ג' סעודות אל בנגד זה והמשכיל יבין. ד"א שלש סעודות הם רומזים לאבות

שהן שלשה שהם סועדין וסומכין יום השבת שהוא יסוד והסוד בזה והשענו תחת העץ שהוא עץ החיים. אבל על דרך החכמה העליונה השבת רומז לאם הבנים שמחה שהוא שבת הגדול. והוא נקרא עולם היובל כי היא סועדת בשלש כתרים עליונים שהוא עי' העי' וכ"ע וחכמה כולם נשפעים לה. לכן מי שמקיים ג' סעודות בשבת כאלו כביכול קיים עליונים ותחתונים. לכן כל אדם צריך לרדוף ולהשתדל בשלש סעודות ואם הוא אדם אסנים שאינו יכול לאכול סעודה שלישית יקיים סעודה שלישית בסעודת הבקר.

ידע שור קונהו שור זהו אברהם שנקרא שור הה"ד ואל הבקר רץ אברהם ויקח בן בקר. אל תקרי בקר אלא בוקר הה"ד וישכם אברהם בבקר שאותה המדה בקר נקראת לפי שהיא מקבלת מאור העליון שהוא אור הקדמון שכל האור ממנו יוצא הה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן. ונהר הוא מלש' ונהורא עמיה שרי. לכן נקרא מדת אברהם בקר והבן זה.

בא וראה בשעה שהמלך העליון והקדוש נמצא בעטריו אזי כנסת ישראל* בעטרות עליונים ובשביל שכל קשר האמונה נקשר בזה האילן ונקרא יום אחד הה"ד והיה יום אחד הוא יודע ליי. יום אחד ודאי בכנסת ישראל*. יום אחד בקשר של מעלה. קשר של מעלה הוא ראש וגולגולת ומוח קשר אחד שתי מבועות הם אחוזים | מחלל של מה ע"א הראש* ופירשו רב המנונא סבא בשתי קשרים של האבות שתי עמודים של משה שנמשכין בקיום בשתי מדרגות להתקבץ הזרועות במדרגה האחר בפי האום. אילן זה הוא גוף אמצעית שאוחז לכל אלו והכל מתקשרים בו והוא בהם ועל זה נקרא הכל אחד וכשמזדווג בו המטרוניתא מיד הוא אחד.

א"ר אלעזר בכסה ליום חגינו שמתכסה בו הירח. והיאך נתכסה אלא כשעה הענן והשמש לא האיר מיד הירח נתכסה ולא האיר ועל זה כתי' בכסה ליום הגינו שנתכסה הירח וכמה* האיר הכל האיר בתשובה . ובשביל כך הענן נתכסה והשמש לא האיר. ובקול השופר דכתי' אשרי העם יודעי תרועה יי באור פניך יהלכון. בא וראה בזה היום נתכסה הירח ולא האיר עד בעשור לחדש שישראל שבין בתשובה לפני הב"ה. ואם עליונה שבה והאירה לה. ובזה היום אם עליונה פותחת מקורות של מעין העמוק* לכן נמצא חירות* בכל ועל זה יום הכפורים הוא.יום כפורים* מיבעי ליה מהו יום הכפורים אלא בשביל ששני המאורות מאירין כאחד אור העליון

מאיר באורהתחתון וזה היום מאיר אם העליונה* ולא מאיר השמש ובשביל כך כתי׳ בכסה ליום הגינו. ר׳ אבא שלח לר׳ שמעון אמ׳ ליה אימתי זווג כנסת ישראל במלך הקדוש. שלח ואמ׳ לו וגם אמנה אחותי בת אבי היא אך לא בת אמי ותהי לי לאשה. א״ל ר׳ חייא לר׳ אבא מה ששלח לך ר׳ שמעון מה הוא. אמ׳ ודאי זווג המלך* במטרוניתא אלא בזמן שמאיר מאב העליון וכשהיא מאירה ממנו אזי אנו קוראין לה קודש שהרי מבית האב נסלה זה ומיד מזדווגים כאחד בשביל שהמלך קודש נקרא דכתי׳ קודש ישראל ליי. ונסע* ממקום שנקרא קודש. מיד אחותי בת אבי היא אך לא בת אמי שהרי מבית אבי ולא מבית האם ועל זה ותהי לי לאשה להזדווג כאחד בזמן זה ולא בזמן אחר בזמן שהיא נוסעת* מבית האב ולא בזמן שהיא נוסעת* מבית האם. ויום הכפורים מוכיח שתשמיש המטה אסור בשביל שהזווג לא נמצא שהרי היא מבית האב מקבלת בזה היום ולא מבית האם*.

בזה היום מתעטר הכהן בעטרות עליונים והוא עומד בין עליונים ותחתונים ומכפיר עליו ועל ביתו ועל הכהן* ועל המקדש ועל ישראל כולם. בשעה שנכנס ומכפר ומתבונן* בראש האמונה ומזה באצבעו כמו דכתי׳ והזה ממנו על הכפורת ומזה ומתבונן* בשם הקדוש ומתחיל למנות אחת. אחת אחת ואחת. היא אחת שכוללת כל ושבח של כל ואחר כך אחת ואחת שהם שורין כאחד ברצון ובאהבה שאינן | מתפרשין לעולמים מה ע״ב ואחר שמגיע לזו ואחת שהיא אם של כל מכאן מתחיל למנות בזווג ומונה ואומ׳ אחת ושתים. אחת ושלש. אחת וארבע. אחת וחמש. אחת ושש. אחת ושבע. בשביל למשוך מכל אלו המדרגות משך השפע לזאת אחת שאותה אם עליונה במדרגות ידועות מושך אותו לכתר אם התחתונה ולמשוך הנהרות העמוקין ממקומן לכנסת ישראל ועל זה זה היום שתי אורות מאירין כאחד אם עליונה ואם תחתונה. אם עליונה מאירה לאם תחתונה ועל זה כתי׳ יום הכפורים כמו שאמרנו.

ולקחתם לכם ביום הראשון פרי עץ הדר כפות תמרים וענף עץ עבות וערבי נחל. מה טיבן של ארבעה מינין הללו. מהן שעושין פירות ומהן אין עושין פירות. פרי עץ הדר כפות תמרים אלו הצדיקים שיש להם מעשים טובים. וענף עץ עבות וערבי נחל אלו הן הבינונים שיש בישראל. אמ׳ הב״ה כולן כאחת יעשו אגודה אחת כדי שלא יהא בבניי שום פסלות. אם עשיתם כן אני מתעלה ה״ד הבונה בשמים מעלותיו ואגודתו על ארץ יסדה. ואימתי הוא מתעלה כשהן עושין אגודה אחת שנא׳ ואגודתו על ארץ

יסדה.

א״ר שמעון אבל סוד הדבר פרי עץ הדר כפות תמרים וענף עץ עבות וערבי נחל. ויש לך כאן עשרה חיבות כנגד עשר מדרגות הקדושות שהם קשר האמונה. פרי רומז למדת המלכות שנקראת פרי. והסוד בזה עץ שאכל אדם הראשון ממנו של אחרוג היה ואותו הפרי הוא נחמד למראה לפי שכל מראות העליונות וכל האספקלריאות נראים בזה הפרי. ד״א נקרא פרי בשביל שהוא מקבל כל פרי שיבוא מן עולם העליון שהוא נחל העמוק שלשם מתגדלים הפירות שהם נשמות הצדיקים סביב לנחל העמוק ואותן הפירות מתגדלים באותן הנטיעות שניטעם סביב לנחל ה״ד והיה כעץ שתול על פלגי מים אשר פריו יתן בעתו ועלהו לא יבול. אל תקרי לא יבול אלא לא יובל שהוא האין שנמשך ממנו הנהר שנקרא יובל והסוד בזה ועל יובל ישלה שרשיו. וכשיתגדלו אותן הפירות ויגיע עתן לצאת מעולם המחשבה שהוא אין אל עולם היש מן הכח אל הפועל אזי אותן הפירות שהן פרי הנשמות כולם ישולחו מכ״ע אל עט׳ ישראל הנקרא פרי הגפן ופרי העץ לכך נקראת פרי והבן זה מאד. ד״א פרי אל תקרי פרי אלא פר יו״ד שהיא נקראת פר בן שנה והיא עגל ואותו הפר הוא מקבל מן עשר מדרגות שעליו ה״ד כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים. לכן פרי הוא התחלה של כל המדרגות מלמטה למעלה. לכן אנו צריכין ליקח פרי ממש שהוא | נחמד מו ע״א למראה כדוגמא עליונה קדושה והבן זה.

עץ רומז ליסוד שהוא נקרא עץ ה״ד עץ חיים היא למחזיקים בה. והסוד בזה צדיק כתמר יפרח כארז בלבנון ישגה. ועוד כתי׳ לא תלין נבלתו על העץ. ד״א למה נקרא צדיק יסוד עולם בשביל שהוא יונק מעץ החיים שהוא סוד התפ׳ לכך כתיב בין פורת יוסף בין פורת עלי עין שהוא האריך והגדיל עצמו כאילן לפני אמו כדי שלא ישלוט עליה עין של עשו ביופיה והבן זה.

הדר רומז להוד שנקרא הדר בשביל שהוא מקבל מצד הגבורה שנקרא הדר ה״ד חגור חרבך על ירך גבור הודך והדרך. לפי שהוא נקרא הדר לכך ההוד שמקבל ממנו נקרא הדר. ד״א למה נקרא הוד בזה השם בשביל שכתוב הוד והדר לבשת והבן זה.

כפות תמרים. כפות רומז לנצח שנקרא כפות מאזני צדק והסוד בזה מטה כלפי חסד ה״ד נשא לבבינו אל כפים אל אל בשמים. תמרים רומז לתפ׳ ישראל שהוא הבריח התיכון והקו האמצעי ונקרא לולב מלש׳

לו לב כי הוא עומד באמצע העולם כלב באמצע הגוף והסוד בזה הרואה לולב בחלומו מובטח הוא שיש לו לב אחד לאביו שבשמים. וכיון שהתפ' עומד באמצע העולמות וכל התיומות מכאן ומכאן מתאחדים ומתאחזים בו וכולם הם מתפצלים ממנו והוא מחובר בהם והם בו כמו האצבעות של היד שכולם הם מתפצלים מעיקר ושורש אחד שהוא עומד באמצע כך אלו כולם אחוזים באמצעי שהוא גוף האילן והבן. לכן ארז"ל נחלקה התיומת התיומת פסול ליטלו לפי* שהוא מורה על פגם במרכבת הקדושה כי אין שם פגם ולא פירוד כלל אלא הכל יחוד אחד בלא קיצוץ ופירוד. לכן נפרצו עליו פסול כי הוא מורה פגם. לכן מי שנוטל לולב שהוא פסול בימים ראשונים כאלו נותן פגם במרכבת הקדוש העליון. ד"א תמרים אל תקרי תמרים אלא תמרים כי הוא נותן פרי וחמר לעט' ישראל הנקראת ים שנא' כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים. ד"א תמרים שתי תמרים הן אלו תפ' ויסוד שהם יעקב ויוסף שהם עומדים זו למעלה מזו כי הם שוים בהולדה כי כל מה שאירע ליעקב אירע ליוסף והסוד אלה תולדות יעקב יוסף.

ענף רומז למדת הגבורה שנקרא ענף בשביל שהוא ענף מן אותו ענף העליון שכתי' בו ועל יובל ישלח שרשיו. והוא שורש וענף מאם הבנים שמחה.

עץ רומז למדת החסד | שהוא מדת אברהם שנקרא מו ע"ב חסד והסוד בזה והוא עומד התת העץ ויאכלו.לפי שאברהם נטע אשל בבאר שבע לזמן תחתיו האורחים והנידחים ממקומן והוא היה סומך אותם תחת אותו העץ הה"ד ואקחה פת לחם וסעדו לבכם אחר תעבורו.

עבות רומז למדת הבינה שהיא נקראת עבות מלש' התרים לעב קולך. לפי שהיא מקבלת מן הנחל העמוק של כל והסוד בזה ורואה בעבים לא יקצור והבן זה.

וערבי רומז למדת החכמה שנקראת ערבה לפי שהיא ל"ב נתיבות פליאות חכמה שבל המתיקות והעריבות של עולם העליון הוא מקבל.

נחל רומז לכ"ע שהוא נקרא הנחל העמוק שכתי' כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים לפי שאותו הנחל אין לו תכלית הה"ד עמוק עמוק מי ימצאנו. ד"א נחל מלש' נחלה לפי שהוא נוחל לתחתונים נחלת האבות הה"ד נחלת יעקב אביך. ונקרא נחלה בלי מצרים לכן כתי' בו עונג הה"ד אז תתענג על יי .

נמצא שיש לך כאן עשרה תיבות כנגד עשר מדרגות העליונות.

לכן כל בן ישראל צריך ליטול אגודה בידו שהם ארבעה כנגד שם יהוה שהוא ארבעה אותיות אבל הם כלולים מעשרה מקומות כמו שאמרנו ונמצא מי שאוחז בידו אלו ארבעה מינין הכלולים עשר כאלו הוא קושר כל המדרגות הקדושות באגודה אחת. לכן צריכין שיהיו אלו ארבעה באגודה אחת כדי להודיע יחוד יוצרנו ברוך הוא וברוך שמו חי וקיים לעולמים בשכמל"ו. ומי שאינו אוחז אלו ארבעה מינין ומברך עליהם כאלו הוא כופר בשם הקדוש העליון ואין לו חלק כלל בשמו הגדול הגבור והנורא. לכן צריך ליקח הלולב ביד ימין כדי לרמוז למדת החסד שהוא ימין כדי לנצח ולכפוף השמאל ויתגבר הימין שהוא רחמים. ומי שהוא עושה הפך זה משנה כביכול סדר בראשית ומהפך מדת רחמים למדת הדין. וצריך לנענע הלולב בכל מיני הנועות שהם ששה ושלשים. ששה למזרח וששה למערב וששה לצפון וששה לדרום וששה למעלה וששה למטה כנגד שלשים ושתים נתיבות פליאות חכמה שהן עומדים ומסודרים בסדר זה ודיי למבין. ד"א למה ששה ושלשים תנועות כדי לרמוז לך לאותיות הקדושות המתחברים והמצטרפים בתנועותיהן ובגלגוליהן ששה ושלשים תנועות כמו שכתבתי לך במקומות אחרים וזהו סדר הנועתן על פי נוטרייקון וזהו צורתו :

אִי	אֵי	אֲי	אֱי	אֳי	אֹי
אי	אי	אי	אי	אי	אי
אי	אי	אי	אי	אי	אי
אי	אי	אי	אי	אי	אי
אי	אי	אי	אי	אי	אי
אי	אי	אי	אי	אי	אי

לכך צריך הנוטל את הלולב לנענע ששה ושלשים תנועות כדוגמא זו כדי שיהא הכל כדוגמא עליונה כי כל המצות כולם הם על דרך העליון והסוד בזה אם בחוקותי הלכו ואת מצותי תשמרו. ולא כתי' אם בחוקות תלכו ואת מצות תשמרו אלא בחוקותי ומצותי פי' אמ' הב"ה חוקותי שאני הולך בהם ומצותי שאני עושה. לכן יש לך ליזהר בנפשך ליטול הלולב בזו הדוגמא שהראיתיך כדי שיהא הכל כלול בדוגמא עליונה. לכן יש לו לאדם להתכוין בכל אלו הענינים כי הכונה אנו צריכין כי מי שאינו מכוין בדבר כאלו לא עשה כלום.

וא"ת למה האתרוג אינה קשורה בכלל המינין האחרים באגודה אחת. כבר ידוע הוא כי האתרוג הוא כנסת ישראל שהיא עומדת חוץ לפרוכת

כביכול ונטרדה ונתגרשה מבית המלך לפי שאין לה מראה בפני עצמה אלא מה שאחרים נותנין לה לכן לענין זה אינה בכלל הספי׳. אבל לענין היחוד הם בכלל כלם. וזהו ששנינו נעוץ סופן בתחילתן ותחילתן בסופן. ולכן צריך הנוטל הלולב בשעה שהוא מנענע צריך להדבק האתרוג עם הלולב כדי להודיע יחוד וזווג העליון שהוא נמצא באלו הימים כי כל אלו שבעת ימי החג הזווג של המלך והמטרוניתא נמצא לפי׳ צריך כל בן ישראל להראות שמחות ביותר באלו הימים כי הוא זמן שמחה בעליונים ובתחתונים. לכן כל מי שהוא משמח עצמו בזה החג הוא מוסיף שמחה עליונה ושמחה תחתונה לכן כתי׳ שתי שמחות בחג כתי׳ ושמחת בחגך וכו׳ ולבסוף כתי׳ והיית אך שמח מה שלא כתי׳ כך בשאר החגים אלא לרמוז לשמחה עליונה ולשמחה תחתונה. וכל מי שהוא שמח בה לעולם מרבים לו שמחה מעולם העליון שהוא שמחה של כל השמחות ה״ד אם הבנים שמחה. ועוד אנו צריכין לאחד הברכה שינתן אלו הסמנין במקום מים או במקום לח כדי לרמוז שבל אלו שבעת ימי החג המבוע של הנחל* הוא שופך מבועיו ומקוריו על כל העולמות לכן אנו מבקשים באלו הימים על המים כדי שהב״ה שהוא בלא ישפיע לנו ממבועיו לבלי דיי.

ויברא אלהים את האדם בצלמו בספר של שלמה המלך ע״ה מצאנו בשעה שהזווג נמצא למטה שולח הב״ה דיוקן אחד בפרצוף של בן אדם ורשום בדיוקן של אותו בן אדם הנולד ממש ואותה הדיוקן עומד וממתין לנולד ההוא בגן עדן שלמטה* ה״ד ויברא אלהים את האדם בצלמו אותו צלם גזדמן לו לקבל אותו כשיצא* לאויר העולם ובאותו | הצלם מז ע״ב יתגדל והסוד בזה אך בצלם יתהלך איש וכו׳. וזה הצלם הוא מלמעלה בשעה שהרוחות הקדושות יוצאין ממקומן כל רוח ורוח ניתקן לפני המלך הקדוש בתיקוניו דווקא בדיוקנו ובפרצופו כמו שעומד בזה העולם ומאותו דיוקן ותיקון הקדוש יוצא זה הצלם וזהו שלישי לרוח ומקדמת בזה העולם בשעה שהזווג נמצא ואין לך בריא* בעולם שלא נמצא זה הצלם בגופם.

בא וראה זה הצלם הקדוש שבו* הולך בן אדם ומתגדל ונעשה מזה הפרצוף דיוקן שלו צלם אחר ומתחברין כאחד זה נוטל לזה בשעה שהם נמצאים שמוד הוא אותו בן אדם וגופו בקיום ורוחו שורה בגופו. בשעה שיקרבו ימיו למות מסתלקים ממנו זה מעל הזה ונשאר בן אדם בלא שמירה כלל ה״ד עד שיפוח היום ונסו הצללים. הצללים תרי משמע.

רב המנונא פירש וערבי נחל אלו הן שתי עמודים שאמרנו שהמים

יוצאים מהם ובטוב הוא. אבל ראינו ששתי מדרגות אלו שעומדים על מדרגת יצחק* הפירות ואסיפת הברכות* יוצאין מהם.

לולב רומז ליסוד עולם שהוא סוד השלום הוא הקו האמצעי המתעלה למעלה דרך התפא׳ עד אילן העליון והענפים משתרגים לכאן ולכאן לימין ולשמואל של הב״ה וצבא השמים עומדים עליו והוא כולל וממוצע ביניהם ולפי שהוא הקו האמצעי המתעלה עד מקום כ״ע המורה על יחוד השלם לפי׳ אמ׳ רז״ל ברמז נחלקה התיומת פסול לפי שדומה לשתי רשויות ולפי שהוא יוצא מעדן אינו נפסק ואינו נחלק לשנים אלא היומה אחד בעצמו. והמתבונן בדברי רז״ל שאמ׳ הרואה לולב בחלום אין לו אלא לב אחד לאביון שבשמים. וכבר ידעת כי ההשקאה נמשבת דרך קו האמצעי עד יסוד עולם כמו ההשקאה הנמשכת מן המוח דרך חוט השדרה להשקות המחוקק הידוע. וזהו סוד מה שאמ׳ רז״ל בבראשית רבא כפות תמרים זהו הב״ה שנא׳ צדיק כתמר יפרח וכו׳. כי הוא עצמו רומז ליסוד עולם הנקרא צדיק וכתי׳ ראיתי את יי יושב על כסאו וכל צבא השמים עומדים עליו מימינו ומשמאלו.

וערבי נחל שתי ערבות כנגד שתי עמודים הנקראים נצח והוד ואותן הערבים המריקים שפע האצילות דרך יסוד עולם בכנסת ישראל וההויות מצטיירין בקרבה כעצמים בבטן המלאה. ועוד אמ׳ רז״ל וערבי נחל הם הגדלים על הנחל להודיעך שאלו נמשכים מעדן החכמה לחכמה אצולה כדא׳ כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים וכו׳. ועוד אמ׳ רז״ל בבראשית רבא וערבי נחל זהו הקב״ה שנ׳ סולו לרוכב בערבות ביה שמו. ושלשה הדסים רומז לבינה שהיא אם הבנים שמחה עם שתי הכתרים הנקראים מעון ומעונה | שהוא חסד וגבורה. מח ע״א

וענף עץ עבות. עבות שענפיו חופות את רובו.

לולב היבש פסול לפי שהלולב שהוא תפ׳ ישראל מקבל המים של הנחל מן הנהר שאין פוסקין מימיו ה״ד ונהר יוצא מעדן וכו׳.

ר׳ יהודה אומ׳ יאוגדנו מלמעלה כדי שלא יראה קלון בשכינה עילאה. כי עולם העליון הוא עולם היחיד שאין שם התפרדות כלל אלא הוא יהיד ומיוחד ה״ד שמע ישראל יי אלהינו יי אחד. כי הוא אחדות שאין אחדות כמותו בכל העולמות לכן צריך לאגוד הלולב שהוא תפ׳ למעלה בכ״ע כדי שיתאחד ויתאגד עם ספי׳ העליונות כדי שיעשה הכל אגודה ה״ד ואגודתו על ארץ יסדה. לכן קבלה הוא ביד מקצת החסידים שהן

אגדין ראש הלולב למעלה לרמוז לכ"ע שהוא נאגד ונקשר בקשר עי' העי' שאין שם לא פירוד ולא קיצוץ אלא הכל שלם בתכלית השלימות כדי שיהא דומה הכל לדוגמא עליונה. לכך אשריו ואשרי חלקו מי שהוא נזהר בכל אלו האזהרות ויכון לבו ורצונו לכוונת העליונים אשריו בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא.

הגיעו לשער המים שהוא חסד שנקרא שער המים העליונים שהוא נקרא בית שער לעולם העליון שהוא נחל העליון ונחל קדומים.

ויקחו אליך שמן זית זך כתית למאור וכו' אמ' ר' אלעזר למה הסמיך הב"ה פרשה זו לפרשת מועדים אלא כולם הם נרות עליונים וכולם הם נרות להדליק משמן המשחה העליון שעל ידם של ישראל מתברכים עליונים ותחתונים ונדלקו הנרות. וכתי' שמן וקטורת ישמח לב שהוא חדוה ושמחה של עליונים ותחתונים. אמ' ר' אבא שמחו ביי וגילו צדיקים וכו'. שמחו ביי כדא' זה היום עשה יי נגילה ונשמחה בו. שהרי הב"ה חפץ לשמח אותו ולהאיר לו פנים וימצא בן אדם בשמחה עמו בשביל שאותו השמחה של הב"ה הוא הה"ד נגילה ונשמחה בו. בו ביום בו בהב"ה. והכל דבר אחד. בא וראה כל מי שאומ' שהמעשה העליון מעורר מעשה התחתון* תופח רוחו והלא זו הפרשה מוכיח. ופרשה זו הדלקת הנרות הוא וקטורת הסמים כאחד הה"ד שמן וקטורת ישמח לב. כי הדלקות הנרות וקטורת הבסמים למעלה ונקשר כאחד כראוי ובמעשה למטה יתעורר מעשה למעלה.

אמ' ר' יהודה מזבח של מטה מעורר מזבח אחר. הכהן של מטה מעורר כהן אחר עמו. במעשה של מטה יתעורר מעשה של מעלה. ר' יוסי ור' יצחק היו הולכים בדרך. אמ' ר' יוסי לר' יצחק וקראת לשבת עונג ולקדוש יי מכובד וכבדתו מעשות דרכיך ממצוא חפצך. וכבדתו מעשות דרכיך שפיר. אבל ממצוא חפצך מהו. ומהו חסרון הוא לשבת. אמ' לו ודאי חסרון הוא שאין לך דבר ודבר שיוצא מפיו של אדם שאין לו קול שעולה | למעלה ומעורר אותו דבר* ומאי הוא אותו שנקרא חול למעלה מח ע"ב מאותן ימים של חול וכשיתעורר חול ביום הקדוש גריעות הוא ודאי ליום ההוא. והב"ה וכנסת ישראל שואלין עליו מי הוא שרוצה להפריש זווג שלנו כי עתיק הקדוש אינו שורה על חול והבן זה. בשביל כך הדהור מותר מאי טעמא בשביל שההרהור אינו עושה דבר ולא יעשה ממנו קול ולא עולה אבל אחר שמוציא הדבר מפיו שמאותו הדבר נעשה קול ובוקיע אוירים ורקיעים ועולה למעלה ומעורר דבר אחר. ועל זה ממצוא

חפצך כתי' ומי שמוציא דבר קדוש מפיו ודבר של תורה ומאותו דבר נעשה קול ומתעוררים קדושי המלך העליון ומתעטרים בראשו. אבל מי ששורה בתענית בשבת עושה גריעות לשבת או לאו. וא"ת אינו עושה גריעות הא סעודה האמונה נתבטל ממנו ונענש בעונש גדול בשביל ששמחת השבת בטל ממנו. א"ל דבר זה שמעתי בשביל על זה בן אדם משגיחין עליו מלמעלה מכל בני העולם בשביל שזה היום הוא יום של שמחה הוא למעלה ולמטה והוא שמחה של כל השמחות שכל האמונה בו נמצא ואפי' רשעי גהנם בו נחין. וזה בן אדם אין לו חדוה ואין לו מנוחה והוא משונה מכל העליונים וההתחתונים וכולם שואלים עליו מאי נשתנה פלוני זה בצער יותר מכל בני העולם. ובשעה שעתיק הקדוש נגלה בזה היום ונמצא זה בצער ותפלתו עולה ועומרת לפניו ומיד יתבטלו ויתקרעו עליו כל גזרי דינין. ואפי' אם נסכמו עליו בבית דין של מלך לרעה הכל נקרע ונתבטל. ובשביל שבשעה שעתיק מתגלה כל שמחה וכל חירות נמצא ועל זה שנינו קורעים גזר דינו של שבעים שנה מהו שבעים שנה אלא אע"ג שהסכימו עליו כל אותן שבעים כתרים של מלך שהוא חייב בדין זה* הכל יתקרע ויתבטל בשביל שעתיק הקדוש נוטל לו לבן אדם. והני מילי כשיראה חלום שראוי להתענות עליו בליל שבת.

ר' חייא פתח ואמ' כבוד אלהים הסתר דבר וכבוד מלכים חקור דבר. כבוד אלהים הסתיר דבר שכבוד אלהים הוא שלא לגלות סודו העליון כי הוא סוד המלך לפי שהוא מדת המחשבה ומדת האפס ואין רעיון ושכל יכול לעלות שם. לכך הוא כבוד אלהים למי שמסתיר כבודו ועל זה כתי' ויסתר משה פניו כי ירא מהביט אל האלהים כי הוא נסתר ונעלם לפי שהוא עתיק דעתיקין וטמירא דטמירין. וכבוד מלכים חקור דבר כי במדת המלכות שנקרא כבוד מלכים לשם הוא מותר להרהר ולחקור שם וזהו סוד שאמ' רז"ל שצריך ליכנס שיעור שני פתחים שהם עט' ותפ' שהם | פתחים מט ע"א לבית המלך העליון כי כל הרוצה לעלות לבית המלך צריך ליכנס באל השערים כי בהן יודע כל מנהגי המלך העליון והסוד בזה נודע בשערים בעלה והבן זה מאד.

בא וראה שם הקדוש הוא עיקר האמונה והתורה היא שמו של הב"ה והיא אמונה של עליונים ותחתונים ועל זה עומדים העולמות כולם ואין לך אות קטנה בכל התורה שאין תלויים בו אלף אלפין ורבוא רבבן עולמות. ועל זה שנינו אותיות אלו סוד התורה קשורים אלו באלו כי אלף

אלפין ורבוא רבבן עליונים תלויים בכל אות ואות ויסתלקו ויתקשרו באמונה בנגלה ובסתום. בא וראה כי בתורה תלוי העולם הזה והעולם הבא והוא אחד ושמו אחד ועל זה כתי' אמרתי אשמרה דרכי מחטוא בלשוני. וכתי' אל תתן את פיך לחטיא את בשרך.

משפט אחד יהיה לכם כגר כאזרח יהיה כי אני יי. כי הכל ממשפט אחד שהוא תפ' ישראל נובעים כל אלו החוקים והמשפטים והסוד בזה הכל נתנו מרועה אחד כי הוא נקרא רועה ישראל הה"ד זה דודי וזה ריעי.

וירגמו אותו אבן. וכי באבן היו רוגמים אותו והלא באבנים היו רוגמים אלא דומז לתפ' ישראל שנא' משם רועה אבן ישראל והיו דוחין אותו שתי קומות מתפ' לעט' כי תפ' ויסוד הם נקראים שתי קומות והיו דוחין אותו למטה עד מלכות יי והמלכות דוחה אותו להוץ לתמורות ונידונים שם עד זמן ידוע והבן זה מאד.

ר' חייא פתח ויצא חוטר מגזע ישי ונצר משרשיו יפרה. ויצא חוטר היא כנסת ישראל שנקראת חוטר שהוא מטטרון ששמו כשם רבו ואותו החוטר יצא מגזע ישי שהוא חכמה שנקרא ישי מלש' יש והסוד בזה כי ישי הוליד את דוד וכתב ר' דוד וישי הוליד את דוד והבן זה מאד ועל זה נקראת הבינה ההיא י"ה*, והיו"ד הנוסף רומז לעשר ספי' עליונות והבן זה כי החכמה נקרא יש הה"ד להנחיל אוהבי יש.

ונחה עליו רוח יי רוח חכמה ובינה רוח עיצה וגבורה רוח דעת וכו'. ואצ"ל כי הזכיר בזה הפסוק ארבע מיני רוחות שהן רוח חכמה עליונה קדומה ורוח בינה הה"ד ורוח אלהים מרחפת על פני המים. ורוח דעת שהיא של התפ' שנקרא גם כן רוח כמו ששנינו נפש רוח נשמה יחידה חיה. ויראת יי פי' רוח של כ"ע שנקרא רוח הקדוש המנשב בין קרומי המוח שהוא אויר זך פנימי המתעורר מן סביב נחל קדומים. לכן כתי' מארבע רוחות בואי הרוח כלו' ארבע רוחות כנגד ארבע מדרגות הנזכרות כאן בפסוק זה. וכולם יתחברו לרוח אחד ההה"ד בואי הרוח.

והריחו ביראת יי פי' מלך המשיח שהוא סוד הבינה כשיגיע שעת גאולתן של ישראל אז הב"ה שהוא כ"ע מריחו בכל אותן מיני ריחין | סובים ובוסמין של הרי אפרסמון וכל המקורות והמעיינות מט ע"ב והנחלים ונהרות של כ"ע כולם נמשכים ויוצאין מן העומק ההוא אל היש ומן היש אל המדה ההיא שנקרא משיח ה"ד ורוח אלהים מרחפת על פני

המים זהו רוחו של משיח והבן זה מאד ודום ליי. אזי הבינה שהוא משיח הוא שופט בצדק הדלים שהיא כנסת ישראל כי הוא מעורר הדין והמשפט על אומות העולם.

ר' יוחנן ור' יהושע בן לוי ורבנן. ר' יוחנן אומ' בהמה אחת היא רובצת על אלף הרים ואלף הרים היא רועה בכל יום שנאמר כי בל הרים ישאו לו וכל חית השדה ישחקו שם. אבל סוד הענין כי הבהמה היא כנסת ישראל שנקראת בהמה ה"ד אדם ובהמה תושיע יי. היא רובצת על אלף הרים פי' עשר מדרגות הקדושות יש בכל אחת עשר יעלה מניין מאה וענפיהן וענפי ענפיהן יעלו אלף מדרגות שנקראים הררי העולם והסוד בזה האלף לך שלמה. כי אותה בהמה שהיא כנסת ישראל היא שואבת כל אותן ההרים ורועה אותן ושותה כל אותן הנהרות והנחלים והמעינות כולם בגמיעה אחת ואפי' הכי אינינה מלאה ה"ד כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים והים אינינו מלא. ואחר כך היא נותנת טרף לכל המרכבות והצבאות והחיילות והמהנות כולם ה"ד ותתן טרף לביתה וחוק לנערותיה. כי הם כולם מתפרנסים ממנה ה"ד כי בל הרים ישאו לו וכל חית השדה ישחקו שם.

אצ"ל כי סוד הירדן הוא יסוד עולם שהוא מאסף ומקבץ כל אותן ששה חדשים שהם ששה מדרגות העומדות למעלה ממנו היא שותה אותן בגמיעה אחת ה"ד והים אינינו מלא.

ד"א ומהיכן היא שותה תני ר' שמעון בן יוחאי ונהר יוצא מעדן ושמו יובל שנא' ועל יובל ישלח שרשיו וממנו שותה פי' אותו הנהר שהוא עולם הבינה ה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן.

וכבר ידעת כי כנסת ישראל נקראת שלמה המלך שעשה שלשים כור כנגד שנים ושלשים נתי' פליאות חכמה שהם משפיעין לכנסת ישראל. כנגד זה היה יודע שלמה כוונת העליונים והיה עושה שלשים כור ודי בזה לכל מבין. ועשרים כר סולת כנגד עשר מדות שיש בכל אחת דין ורחמים הרי עשרים כור סולת. עשרה בקר בריאים כנגד מדות העליונות שהם עשר. עשרה בקר רעי כנגד הענפים שהן עשרה בכל אחת ואחת. ומאה צאן כנגד מאה מדרגות.

אמ' ר' יהודה בד זביבא* אלף נשים היו לו לשלמה וכל אחת ואחת עושה לו סעודה בכל יום. וכל אלו הם סודות עליונים כמו שרמזתי לך בכמה מקומות. כי הם י"ם ובכל אחת ואחת מן הספי' יש בהן עשר יעלו מספרם מאה ובאותן המאה | יש בכל אחת ואחת עשר ג ע"א

יעלו מספרן אלף הרי לך אלף מדות המשמשות לשלמה שהוא כנסת ישראל שהיא נקראת שלמה. כנגד זה היה שלמה משחמש באלו הנשים והכל כדוגמא עליונה והבן זה מאד ודום ליי. אשריהם ישראל שהב"ה מסר להם תורתו והדביקם בשמו הקדוש העליון יתבר' ויתי כי כל מי שהוא משחדל בתורה יורש חיי העולם הבא ההי"ד אז תתענג על יי. נשלם.

זרש' בהר סיני. ר' חייא פתח ואמ' נבהל להון איש רע עין ולא ידע כי חסר יבואנו. זהו מלוה מעותיו ברבית שהוא מתבהל להעשיר ולא ידע כי חסר יבואנו.

ואצ"ל כי סוד השמיטה עניין מופלא ונעלם אע"פ שהוערתיך במקצת המקומות קצת העניינים לכן באתי להזכירך ולהועילך בסוד השמיטה הקדושה. והסוד בענין השמיטה דור הולך ודור בא והארץ לעולם עומדת. פי' שמיטה הולך ושמיטה באה והארץ שהוא עולם העליון שנקראת רחבי ארץ הה"ד התבוננת עד רחבי ארץ שהוא סוד גן עדן המוכן לחסידים לעתיד לבא והסוד הרחיב יי לנו ופרינו בארץ ודאי. כי הוא נקרא מקום רחב ואין שם מקום קצר אלא הכל רחב והסוד בזה ויקרא שמה רחובות והבן זה. לכך כל שמיטה ושמיטה הולכח והאחרת תבוא כי כל ספי' וספי' מושלת בשמיטה. כפי מה שהיא הספירה כך היא השמיטה. אם הספירה לדין השמיטה היא דין ואם הספי' היא רחמים השמיטה היא רחמים ואם היא במשפט כך היא שמיטתה והקבלה האמתת שקבלנו איש מפי איש עד משה רבי' ע"ה ששמיטה שעברה היתה של חסד וזאת השמיטה שאנחנו בה היא לגבורה ועל זה יתעוררו בזה השמיטה כמה גזירות חזקות ודינים קשים וכמה שמדות בעו' הרבים וחוזק הגלות לכך הגלות החזק הזה מורה על הגבורה שהיא שולטת עכשיו. לכך כשיעברו שתא אלפי שהוא העולם אז יכנס מיד בין השמשות אזי הצדיקים יושבים ועטרותיהם בראשיהם ונהנין מזיו השכינה ומקשטין עצמן ליכנס בשבת הגדול שהוא אם הבנים. ובשיכנס השבת אזי כל העולמות והמדרגות והמרכבות כולם הם נשאבים עד לבינה ההי"ד כי עפר אתה ואל עפר תשוב. ולא ישאר אלא הוא ושמו קדם לעולם ההי"ד ונשגב יי לבדו ביום ההוא.אזי כתי' והיה יי למלך על כל הארץ ביום ההוא יהיה יי אחד ושמו אחד. אז כל המדות הם מתאחדים עם המלך הקדוש העליון ואזי הצדיקים הם יושבין עם המלך במלאכתו | ההי"ד המה ג ע"ב היוצרים יושבי נטעים כי הם יושבי נטעים ודאי בשביל שהם יושבים עם נטיעות של אותו נהר ההי"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן. כי הם

מתענגים ומתפנקים בתפנוקי עדן כי כל הנשמות הקדושות הם יושבים שורות שורות סביב נחל קדומים שהוא בתוך היובל כי הם נטועים שם כדרך שהאילנות נטועים סביב לנחל ההי"ד ואנכי נטעתיך שורק כלה וכו' נטעתיך שורק ודאי. ויושבים שם אלפים שנה שהעולם חרב וזהו סוד שארז"ל שתא אלפי הוי עלמא וחד חרוב ולמאן דאמ' תר' חרוב ההי"ד יחיינו מיומים ביום השלישי יקימינו ונחיה לפניו. פי' יחיינו לאחר שני ימים הנזכרים שהן אלפים שנה שהעולם חרב שיומו של הב"ה הוא אלף שנים ואחר כך יחיינו ויקימנו לפניו בשמיטה הבאה והסוד בזה ואהיה שעשועים יום יום משחקת וכו'. לכך כשיגיע שמיטה זו כל העולם חרב אין לשם לא זריעה ולא קצירה ולא חרישה אלא הארץ שבתה שבת ליי. ליי שהוא שבת לחיי העולמים כי הוא יום שכולו שבת לכן תיקנו רז"ל בברכת המזון ביום שבת הרחמן ינחילנו ליום שכולו שבת. כי אותו היום הוא שבת כולו כי אין שם לא כעס ולא רוגז ולא תחרות ולא איבה אלא כולם הם יושבים כמלאכי השרת ואומרין לפניהם קדוש ההי"ד והיה הנשאר בציון והנותר בירושלם קדוש יאמר לו כל הכתוב לחיים וכו'. כי הם כמלאכים ממש ויושבים עם המלך ודאי. ובשיתחדש הב"ה השמיטה אז נמלך בנשמותן של הצדיקים וזהו סוד עתיד כל צדיק וצדיק לבראות שלש מאות ועשר עולמות כמניין יש ההי"ד להנחיל אוהבי יש ואוצרותיהם אמלא. והסוד בזה שנשמתן הם הם ההויות הקדושות שיצטרפו ויתגלגלו בגלגוליהן ובתנועותיהם כי הם הנשמות שבאים לעולם. באותן הנשמות בורא הב"ה אלו העולמות והמרכבות והצבאות כולם.

ובשעה שמתחיל לבראות העולם אזי הוא מתיעץ בתורה ובורא העולם בחכמה שהוא תורה הקדומה ומתייעץ בה ההי"ד יי בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה. כשברא העולם נתייעץ בתורה וברא העולם ההי"ד ליעיצה ותושיה אני בינה לי גבורה. כל מה שברא לא ברא אלא על פי התורה ההי"ד ואהיה אצלו אמון ואהיה שעשועים יום יום וכו'. כמו ששנינו ד' אבהו כשהיה מסתלק מן העולם הראה לו הב"ה שלש עשרה נהרי אפרסמון הנקי שהם שלש עשר מבועות הנמשכות ויוצאות מעומק של הנחל שנקרא נחל קדומים. ואותן הנהרות הם נמשכין ויוצאין לעדן החכמה ומתאחדין כולם ויחזרו כולם לנהר אחד ההי"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן. וכשמתפשט לבינה אזי נמשך ויוצא לחמשים שבילין ונתיבות שהם חמשים שערי בינה | ואחר כך יוצא ונמשך למדה אברהם שהוא חסד נא ע"א

שהוא מיכאל כהן גדול בשמים ומתפשט הנהר ההוא לשנים ושבעים ענפים שהוא שם הקדוש של ויסע ויבא ויט ואחר כך יוצא ומתפשט אותו הנהר לגבורה לשנים וארבעים מדרגות שהוא השם הגדול שיש בו מ"ב אותיות שהוא אבגית"ך קר"ע שט"ן וכו' ואחר כך מתפשט הנהר ההוא אל התפ' שהוא הבריח התיכון המלך יי צבאות לשנים עשר מנהיגי העולם שהם י"ב הויות קדושות ולשנים עשר שבטי יה ולשנים עשר מזלות ולי"ב בתים ולי"ב חדשים ולי"ב אבנים קדושים. ואחר כך יוצא ונמשך הנחל ההוא לשתי עמודים שהם נצח והוד שהם נקראים צבאות ואחר כך מתפשט לצדיק יסוד עולם שהוא ברית הקדוש לתרי"ג צינורות קדושות היורדות מן עולם העליון עד צדיק יסוד עולם. לכן נקרא מדת יוסף ברית כי הוא עולה תרי"ג חסר אחת לכך מהאחדים שם תרי"ג מצות הנזכרים בתורתנו הקדושה ההי"ד אם לא בריתי יומם ולילה חוקות. ואחר כך מתפשט הנהר ההוא למלכות יי לארבעה ועשרים אדנים שהם נקראים אדני פז והסוד בזה שני אדנים תחת הקרש האחד. ומתפשט לכל המרכבות והצבאות והחיילות כולם ההי"ד כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים והים אינינו וכו'. כי כל הנהרות והמדרגות כולם הם נמשכין עד מלכות יי והסוד מושכיני אחריך נרוצה. כי הם נמשכים ורצין אחריה וזהו סוד שהזכרים רודפים אחרי הנקבה והבן זה מאד ודום ליי. ונמצא שהנחל אחד יתפשטו ממנו מקורות ונהרות ומעיינות רבות ואחר כך יתאחדו ויתקבצו אל מקום אחד שהוא מדה עשירית ההי"ד יקוו המים מתחה השמים אל מקום אחד. וכשיגיע זמן השמיטה ליבנס בין השמשות אזי כל אלו הנהרות כולם חוזרין לנחל קדומים שהוא הנחל שנמשך ויוצא מעומק המחשבה ההי"ד כי עפר אתה ואל עפר תשוב. כי מדת הבינה נקראת עפר וזהו סוד הכל היה מן העפר אפי' גלגל חמה נמצאת מן העפר ולשם ישובו כולם.

ושבתה הארץ שבת ליי ודאי. כי הארץ שהיא מלכות יי ודאי היא שובתת וחוזרת לקדמותה לבית המלך שהוא עולם הבינה והיובל אז יש לה שבת ומנוחה. מכאן למדנו עד עתה לא היה לה שבת ומנוחה בשביל שהיא טרודה בין העמים הסמאים הדוחקים אותה מכל צד ומכל פנה אזי ושבתה הארץ שבת ליי. שבת ועונג זשמחה בשביל שהיא יושבת עם המלך העליון והבן זה. ד"א ושבתה הארץ שבת ליי. ושבתה הארץ שבת מיבעי ליה. מהו שבת ליי אלא ודאי כשהארץ שהיא כנסת ישראל שובתת ויש לה מנוחה אזי הוא שבת ליי גם כן המלך יי צבאות נח ושקט אזי כל הספי'

כולם יעלו עד לבינה שהוא עולם החירות ועולם יום הכפורים | שכל נא ע"ב העבדים יוצאים בו לחירות כי העבדים הנדחים בתמורות הם יוצאים בו לחרות ויעלו למדרגתם כמו שהיה בראשונה.

שש שנים תזרע שדיך ושש שנים תזמור כרמך ואספת את תבואתה. שש שנים רומז לששה המדרגות שנקראו שנים על שם שיפול בהם שנוי לפעמים לדין ולפעמים לרחמים. ולפעמים לרוגז ולכעס ולפעמים לנחת וזהו סוד וינחם יי על הרעה וכו' ויתעצב אל לבו. וכיוצא בו מן התוארים שיפלו במחודשים. לכך נקראו שנים על פי השתנותם והתחלפותם. ואותן שש שנים בהן תזרע שדך שהיא כנסת ישראל שנקראת שדה ההי"ד ראה ריח בני כריח שדה אשר ברכו יי. ואותה שדה היא נזרעת מכל אותן שש שנים מאור העליון כעין דוגמא זה למטה אנו צריכין לעשות כדוגמא זה לזרוע השדה שש שנים כדרך העליון. ובשביעית שמיטה ליי ההי"ד ובשביעית תשמטינה ונטשתה ואכלו וכו'.

ושש שנים תזמור כרמך. כי אותה הכרם שנקרא כרם של שלמה ההי"ד כרם היה לשלמה זומרין אותו כל אותן שש שנים ומתקנין אותו ומסירין ממנו כל אותן הקוצים והדרדרים והחוחים העולים בה מן החיצונים כך כנסת ישראל כל אותן שש שנים שהוא שתא אלפי מזמרין ומתקנין כל אותו הכרם ומיפין אותו ומסירין ממנו החולדה שעלה עליה מכח הטמאות של התמורות כי הם כוונתם כביכול להשליך טומאתם וזהמתם בכרם ההוא ודיי למבין.

ואספת את תבואתה של אותן שש שנים כדרך העליון. אבל כשיכנס השבת בין השמשות אז הקב"ה שהוא הבינה מאסף תבואתו לאוצרו ההי"ד יפתח יי לך את אוצרו הטוב את השמים. כמו בעל השדה שהוא מקבץ תבואתו דפירותיו ומכניסם אל האוצר כך הבינה הוא מקבץ כל הפירות והתבואה שעשתה השדה של תפוחים כל אותן שש שנים שהן שתא אלפי ויכניסם אל אוצרו והבן זה מאד ודום ליי.

ובשנה השביעית שבת שבתון יהיה לארץ שבת ליי שדך לא תזרע. ובשנה השביעית שבת אז יהיה שבת לארץ ולא תזרע שדך בשביל שהוא שבת לארץ ודאי. אבל סוד הדבר ובשנה השביעית שהוא השמיטה שנכנס בשבת כבר אזי הוא שבת ודאי לארץ שהיא עט' ישראל שהיתה בגלותה בין שאר העמים. ושבת ליי שהוא בעלה המלך יי צבאות והסוד בזה וישבת ביום השביעי מכל מלאכתו וכו'. וזהו סוד שאמ' רז"ל כל מי שטורח בערב שבת יאכל בשבת. כל מי שטורח באל שתא אלפי שהם נקראים ערב

שבת ודאי יאכל בשבת כי מוצא שכרו בעולם היובל שנקרא שבת הגדול ואם אינו טורח בערב שבת בזה העולם מה יאכל בשבת. ומזאת האגדה אנו מבינים כי כל צדיק וצדיק כמו שהיתה | מדרגתו ומעלתו נב ע"א בזה העולם כך נותנין לו מעלה ומדרגה באותו עולם כל אחד ואחד כפי מה שהיה בזה העולם. והרשעים שהיו פושעי ישראל בזה העולם אע"פ שיש להם חלק לעולם הבא לאחר שקבלו עונשן ונצטרפו ונתלבנו ככסף המזוקק שבעתים מכל מקום אין מעלתן כמעלת הצדיקים ועוסקי התורה והסוד בזה קטון וגדול שם הוא וכו' קטון וגדול ודאי שם הוא כי מי שהיה גדול בזה העולם במעלה ובמדרגה שם הוא כך באותה המעלה. ומי שהיה קטון במעלה פחותה שלא היה עוסק בתורה כך הוא שם באותה המעלה ועל זה כתי' יודע יי דרך צדיקים וכו'. כי הצדיקים הם ניכרים לפני הב"ה לכך הם מתעלים במעלה באותו עולם.

ואצ"ל כי כל שפי' וספי' מושלת בשמיטה כגון חסד מושלת שמטה אחת שהיא שהא אלפי וא"כ יהיה העולם חרב אלף שנים וא"כ גבורה וכן כולם עד למלכות. אבל כשחשלוט הבינה בשמיטה אזי היא מושכת כל הנמצאים ותהיה העולם חרב אלפים שנה לפי שהוא יובל הגדול וזהו שאמ' רז"ל שיתא אלפי הוי עלמא וחד חרוב ולמ"ד תרי חרוב. ולא פליגי אותו שאומ' וחד חרוב רומז לשמיטה של אחת מן המחודשים כגון גדולה וגבורה ותפ' אבל למ"ד תרי חרוב הוא רומז למדת הבינה שהוא היובל הגדול והבן זה מאד. והסוד בזה יחיינו מיומים ביום השלישי יקימנו ונחיה לפניו פי' יחיינו מאותן שתי הימים שהם חורבן העולם וא"כ יקימנו כבראשונה.

והיתה שבת הארץ לכם לאכלה לך ולעבדך. כשיכנס בשמיטה אזי כל התבואה שקיבצו ואספו כל אותן השנים בזה העולם פי' כל אותן החסדים והצדקות והטובות שעשו בזה העולם הנקרא ערב שבת יהיה לכם לאכלה בשבת. כי הם אוכלין ודאי כי הצדיקים יושבים ועטרוחיהם בראשיהם ואוכלין ונהנין מזיו השכינה של הב"ה אזי הב"ה הוא יושב ביניהם כאב בית דין ה"ד יי במשפט יבא עם זקני עמו ושריו וכו' ויושב ודן אומות העולם שבערו הכרם שהוא כרם יי צבאות. ואז הב"ה נוטל ספר תורה בחיקו ויאמר כל מי שעסק בתורה יבוא ויקבל שכרו כי ספר תורה הוא מדת התפא' שנקרא תורה שבכתב והיא יושבת בחיקו בשביל שחזר הוא"ו שהוא הבן לבית אביו ועלה לעולם העליון. ואזי מכריז ועומ' כל מי שעסק בתורה יבוא לקבל שכרו מעולם החכמה שנקראת תורה קדומה ונקראת שכר ה"ד

ויש שכר לפעולתך לכן משם מקבלין עוסקי התורה שכר לעולם הבא. אז נכנסין ישראל לקבל שכר התורה אז נכנס מלכות ברשעה של רומי ומלכות פרס לקבל שכרם אזי אומ' להם הב"ה מה עשיתם בזה העולם כדי לקבל שכר אזי אומרין לפניו רבו' שעו' כמה שווקים | עשינו נב ע"ב וכמה מרחצאות וגשרים עשינו בשביל ישראל כדי שלא יבטלו ויתעסקו בתורה. אמ' להם הב"ה כל זה בשבילכם עשיתם ויש בכם מי שעסק בתורה. אזי אין להם מענה וישובו כולם בפחי נפש לגיהנם ה"ד ישובו רשעים לשאולה כל גוים שכיחי אלהים. אבל ישראל עם קדוש הם יושבין ומתענגים בתפנוקי עליונים ונהגין מאור הקדמון אזי הוא מנוחה לחי העולמים.

וספרת לך שבע שבתות שנים שבע שנים שבע פעמים.שבע שבתות שנים הם שבע מדרגות מחודשות שהם גנתנהי"מ נקראים שבע שבתות שנים כי כל אחת ואחת מאלו נקראים שבת לפי שכל אחת ואחת מושלת בשמיטה אחת. שבע שנים שבע פעמים שבכל פעם ופעם השמיטות מתחדשים וכן הכל יהיו תשע וארבעים שנה. כי יש בכל אחת ואחת מאלו השבעה שבעה אחרות יעלה מספרם תשע וארבעים מדרגות . אבל ובשנת החמשים שהוא היובל שהוא שבת ליי אזי והעברת שופר תרועה בחודש השביעי כדי לקבץ ולאסוף כל המהנות והחיילות והמרכבות והצבאות ולעלות לבית המלך העליון.

וקדשתם את שנת החמשים שנה וקראתם דרור בארץ לכל יושביה יובל היא תהיה לכם ושבתם איש אל אחוזתו ואיש אל משפחתו. משפחתו ודאי שכל אחד ואחד ישוב למשפחתו בעליון למקום שהוא נחצב ונאצל ממנו והסוד בזה והרוח השוב אל האלהים אשר נתנה. וכבר ידעת כי כל הנמצאים כולם הם מצויירים למעלה בתבניתם ובצורתם כמו שהם בזה העולם ממש הן פני אדם הן פני אריה הן פני נשר הן פני שור כל אחד ואחד כמו שהוא למטה כך הוא למעלה. לכך כל נשמה ונשמה יש לה מקור שהיא נחצבת ממנו ממקום העליון וכשיגיע שנת החמשים שהוא היובל אז כל הנשמות עולים לראות את פני יי וכולם הם שבים לאחוזתם ולמשפחתם ודאי למקום שנתאצלו ונחצבו משם ה"ד בשנת היובל הזאת תשובו איש אל אחוזתו והבן זה מאד.

פעמים רבות יצילם וכו' זה הפסו' מדבר בבני אדם כיון שמגיעה לו צרה ועושה תשובה הב"ה מצילו כך פעם ראשונה חזר בו הרי יפה ואם לאו הב"ה מביא עליו צרה למה שהב"ה קשה לפניו לפשוט ידו באדם הזה

ומהו עושה לו כיון שהוא הוסא לו תחלה פושט ידו בנכסיו. ממי אתה
למד מנעמי ובניה ואלימלך בעלה שהיה ראש הדור באותה שעה כיון שבא
הרעב מה עשה הניח לארץ ישראל והלך לארץ מואב והיה הב"ה קוצף עליו
שהיה נשיאו של דוד ולא היה לבניו ללמוד מאביהם לחזור לארץ ישראל
ומה עשו אף הן נשאו להם נשים מואביות שלא טבלו אותן ולא גיירו אותן
שנא' וישאו להם נשים מואביות שם האחת ערפה ושם השנית רות שראתה
דברי חמותה. וישבו שם כעשר שנים. כל אותן עשר שנים היה נג ע"א
הב"ה מחרה בהן שמא יחזרו בתשובה וישבו לארץ ישראל וכיון שלא עשו
תשובה התחיל לפשוט ידו בגמליהם ובמקניהם מיד וימותו גם שניהם מחלון
וכליון. הרי אתה רואה שקשה לפני הב"ה לפשוט ידו באדם הזה ומהו עושה
לו מדלדלו מנכנסיו והוא מוכר נכסיו. אדם שהוא חוסא מה הב"ה עושה
לו תחילה מביא עליו עניות ומוכר שדהו חוזר בו יפה ואם לאו חוזר ומוכר
את ביתו חזר בו יפה ואם לאו מוכר את עצמו לעבד שכך כתי' כי ימוך
אחיך וכו' אם חזר בו מוטב ואם לאו ראה מה כתי' בפרשה שנייה ואיש
כי ימכור בית מושב עיר חומה. חזר בו מוטב ואם לאו וכי ימוך אחיך עמך
ונמכר לך. כל כך למה על שֶׁמֶך בעניות. ובא גואלו. אמ' ר' שמעון בן
יוחאי אלימלך ושלמון ופלוני אלמוני ואבי נעמי בולם בני נחשון בן עמינדב
היו ואלימלך ומחלון וכליון פרנסי הדור היו ומפני מה נענשו מפני שיצאו
מארץ ישראל לחוצה לארץ שנא' ותהם כל העיר עליהן ותאמרנה הזאת
נעמי. ראיתם נעמי שיצאה מארץ ישראל לחוצה לארץ מה עשתה לה.

ילמדנו רבינו כמה נימין היו באותו כנור שהיו הלויים מנגנין
בו. כך שנינו ר' יהודה אומ' שבע נימין היו באותו הכנור שנא' שובע
שמחות את פניך. אל תקרי שובע אלא שבע שמחות ה"ד שבע ביום הלליתיך
על משפטי צדקך. אבל סוד הדבר כי היו שבע נימין כנגד בת שבע שהיא
עט' ישראל שנקראת בת שבע ונקראת בור שבע בשביל שהיא מקבלת
משבע מדרגות נעלמות כעין דוגמא זה היו שבעה נימין באותו הכנור כדי
למשוך שפע של כ"ע לכל העולמות. ד"א היו שבע כנגד שבעה מדות המחודשים
שהם אברהם ויצחק ויעקב ויבין ובועז ויוסף ושלמה לכך היו אלו השבעה
למטה כדי שיתעוררו אלו שבעה צדיקים בעולם ויתקיים ויתבסם העולם
בשבילם ה"ד שובע שמחות את פניך וכו' שאלו שבע מדות מקבלים
ברכות ושמחות מפניך שהוא אורך אנפין. אבל ליסות המשיח נעשית שמונה
שכן דוד אומ' בניגון למנצח בנגינות על השמינית כי מדת הבינה שהיא

אם עליונה משתתפת עם בניה ושולחת להם מעין ברכות של כ"ע ועי'
העי' אזי היא מתעטרה לשלמה בנה ה"ד צאינה וראינה בנות ציון במלך
שלמה בעטרה שעטרה לו אמו ביום חתונתו. אזי הם שמונה כדרך העליונים.
אבל לעתיד לבא נעשית עשר שנא' אלהים שיר חדש אשירה לך בנבל
עשור אזמרה לך. ומי התקין להם שמואל ודוד שנא' המה יסד שמואל ודוד
הרואה באמונתם. אזי יתייחדו כל עשר המדרגות ביחוד אחד ואזי כל
הפתחים והשערים עליונים הם נפתחים לכנסת ישראל והמעיינות נג ע"ב
והמבועות והנהרות ונחלים שולחים מימיהם לתחתונים והשמחות נמצאים
בכל העולמות ה"ד והיה אור הלבנה כאור החמה ואור החמה יהיה שבעתים
כאור שבעת וכו'. לכן תיקנו הם השיר והיו הלוים עומדים על הדוכן ומזמרין
לפני מי שאמר והיה העולם. ראה חיבה שחיבב הב"ה הלויים כך אמ' הב"ה
למשה הרבה הלוים הם חביבין לפני קח אותן לשמי לשררה ה"ד קח את
הלויים.

נפש רוח ונשמה מדרגה על מדרגה. נפש בתחילה והיא מדרגה
של מטה. רוח תפ'* אחר כן ששוכן על הנפש ועומד עליה. נשמה מדרגה
שעולה על הכל. ונתבאר נפש היא נפשו של דוד והיא שעומדת נגד* הנפש
מאותו נהר שנמשך ויוצא. רוח זהו רוח שעולה עליה ואין קיום לנפש כי
אם ברוח וזו היא רוח ששוכנת בין אש ומים ומכאן ניזון את הנפש. רוח
עומדת בקיום מדרגה אחרת עליונה שהיא נשמה. כי אלו נפש רוח משם
ניזון הרוח* וכשנוטל הרוח אזי נוטל הנפש* . הכל אחד ונגשים ונקרבים
זה בזה הנפש נגש ברוח והרוח נגש בנפש* הכל אחד.

פרש' אם בחקותי . ר' חייא פתח ואמ' באשר דבר מלך שלטון ומי יאמר
לו מה תעשה. בא וראה כמה בני העולם אטומי לב שאינן מבינין ומשגיחין
בתורתו הקדושה והכרוז יוצא בכל יום ומכריז עד מתי פתאים תאהבו פתי
וכו' כי התורה היא פתוחה לכל ה"ד לא בשמים היא. כי התורה היא
אחוזה בעץ החיים. ועץ החיים אחוז בזרועות עולם. והזרועות אחוזים
בנהר העליון והנהר בעדן ועדן במבוע של הנחל ונמצא מי שעוסק בתורה
כאלו הוא עוסק בשם הגדול שנקרא נחל קדומים. לכך מי שפורש ממנה
הוא פורש מן החיים העליונים ה"ד כי הוא חייך ואורך ימיך. כי מי שזוכה
לתורה שנקרא עץ חיים זוכה גם כן לאורך ימים שהוא כ"ע שנקרא אורך
אנפין לבך כתי' ואורך ימיך ודאי. לכך אוי לו מי שמניח חיי עולם ומשתדל
בחיי שעה. לכן כל מי שעוסק בתורה עוסק בחיים ה"ד ובחרת בחיים.

בא וראה אם בחוקותי הלכו ואת מצותי תשמרו. אם בחוקות תלכו ואת מצות תשמרו מיבעי׳ליה מהו חוקותי ומצותי אלא חוקות שאני עושה ומצות שאני עושה. מכאן למדנו מנין שהב"ה מתפלל הה"ד והביאותים אל הר קדשי ושמחתים בבית תפלתי עולותיהם. והרי אתה רואה | שהב"ה נד ע"א מתפלל לפני כ"ע גע׳ העי׳ ומושך שפע מן עמוק של הנחל הנקרא כ"ע אל כנסת ישראל ונמצא שכנסת ישראל מתברכת על ידו. ומנין שהב"ה מניח תפלין הה"ד שימיני כחותם על לבך כחותם על זרועך והרי אתה רואה שהב"ה מקיים המצות של כ"ע ועי׳ העי׳ ועל זה כתי׳ אם בחוקותי תלכו ואת מצותי ודאי. אבל על דרך סוד העליון אם בחוקותי רומז ליסוד עולם שנקרא חק הה"ד בחוקו חוג על פני תהום. ד"א חוקותי רומז לתפ׳ ועט׳ שנקראו דופרצופין הה"ד אם לא בריתי יומם ולילה חוקות שמים וארץ לא שמתי. ד"א חוקותי אל תקרי חוקותי אלא חוקות יו"ד פי׳ רומז לחכמה קדומה שנקרא יו"ד הה"ד גלמי ראו עיניך ועל ספרך כולם יכתבו. לכן חכמה נקראת גלם יו"ד כמו היו"ד שהוא גולם לכל האותיות לחקוק ולהצטייר ממנו כל הציורים כך חכמה היא מציירת ומפעלת בכח הבינה כל הנבראים והנמצאים.לכן חוקותי הוא לשון חקיקה בשביל שהוא חוקק ובורא כל הנמצאים. ד"א חוקותי רומז לכנסת ישראל הה"ד ותתן טרף לביתה וחוק לנערותיה. כי היא נותנת חוק וגבול לכל היצורים. ואת מצותי תשמרו אלו הם תרי"ג מצות הנשפעים מעולם החכמה דרך הצינורות כמנין ברית צינורות שיורדים בהם השפע אל היסוד ועל זה נקראים מצותי. ד"א מצותי פי׳ שתי מצות מצות עשה ומצות לא תעשה. מצות עשה רומז לתפ׳ יי שנקרא מצות עשה ועט׳ ישראל נקראת מצות לא תעשה ואלו שתי מצות נקראים מצותי ה"ד ואת מצותי. ד"א ואת מצותי תשמרו.אבל על דרך העליון מצותי רומז לחכמה ובינה הנקראים מצותי. למה בשביל שהם מקבלים עליהם עול יחוד העליון של כ"ע ועי׳ העי׳ הה"ד אתה הוא יי לבדך. אתה רומז אל התפ׳ שנקרא אתה בל׳ נוכח הוא רומז לכ"ע שנקרא הוא בל׳ נסתר ונעלם. יהוה רומז אל התפ׳ לבדך פי׳ העי׳ שהוא לבדו הה"ד ראו עתה כי אני אני הוא ואין אלהים עמדי אני אמית ואחיה. וצבא השמים לך משתחוים שכל אלו הם משתחוים פני כסאו ועל זה כתי׳ מצותי פי׳ חכמה ובינה שהם מצווים לקבל עליהם יחוד כ"ע ועי׳ העי׳ והבן זה מאד ודום ליי.

ועץ השדה יתן פריו. פי׳ עט׳ שהיא נקראת שדה של תפוחים

קדושים יתן פריו של המלך העליון כי אין פרי יוצא אלא מבין זכר ונקבה אבל התעוררות של המשגל יהעורר מן מוח הקדוש שהוא כ"ע ומן המחשבה יושלח כח החיוני אל הלב ומן הלב יתעורר אל הכבד ומן הכבד אל הכליות והכליות הם משליכים מים כנגד הנקבה שהיא כנסת ישראל אזי יתעורר התאוה בחשק הרצון של שניהם ויצאו מביניהם | הנשמות שהן נד ע"ב פרי מעשיו של הב"ה ה"ד ממני פריך נמצא. ואזי כנסת ישראל שולחת פירותיה לכל הגבולין והסוד בזה בן פורת יוסף בן פורת עלי עין אל תקרי פורת אלא פאורות ה"ד בנות צעדה עלי שור. ד"א בן פורת יוסף בן פורת עלי עין. בן פורת הוא יסוד שנקרא בן לאם הבנים שהוא נהר פרת אל תקרי פורת אלא פרת בשביל שהיא פרה ורבה על ידי המים העליונים שמקבלת מן נחל העמוק של כל הסתימות ה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן וכו׳ כי אותו הנהר מוציא נטיעות וזרעים ופירות לעולם על ידי הנחל העמוק ויסוד שנקרא בנו של אותו הנהר ה"ד הנני נוטה אליה כנהר שלום וכנחל שוטף וכו׳ וכל הפירות של הנשמות שהוא מקבל הוא מקבל מן נהר העליון ה"ד בן פורת וכו׳ שהוא ודאי בן נהר של פרת. עלי עין בשביל העין הפקוח שאינו לא ינום ולא ישן שתדיר השגחתו עליו ונותן לו מזון עליון והסוד בזה טוב עין הוא יבורך אל תיקרי יבורך אלא יברך שאותו עין הטוב הוא מברך לנמצאים מן הבריכה העליונה.

ואכלתם ישן נושן וישן מפני חדש. אבל יש לך להסתכל באן בסוד מופלא ונעלם כי ישן רומז לכ"ע הנקרא עתיק דעתיקין ה"ד ועתיק יומין יתיב וכו׳. נושן רומז לעי׳ העי׳ שהוא נקרא נושן ועתיק של כל העתיקין וטמירא של כל הטמירין ועל זה כתי׳ ואכלתם פי׳ כי עולם העליון כתי׳ בו אכילה ה"ד אכלו רעים שתו ושכרו. וישן מפני. כי כ"ע הנקרא ישן תוציאו מפני החדש כי אינו בכלל המחודש כי זה עולם הקדמון וזה עולם המחודש.

בשברי לכם מטה לחם. כביכול אני שובר בשבילכם מטה לחם שהיא כנסת ישראל שנקראת מטה ה"ד ואת המטה הזה וכו׳. ואפו עשר נשים לחמכם בתנור אחד פי׳ כל הטובות היורדים לכם מן הנהר העליון על ידי עשר מדרגות לכנסת ישראל הנקראת תנור אפע"פ שאתם אוכלים ונהנין ולא תשבעו והסוד בזה יבשה הארץ.

ר׳ חייא פתח ואמ׳ הנה אל ישועתי אבטח ולא אפחד כי עוזי וזמרת יי ויהי לי לישועה. הנה אל רומז למדת החסד שנקרא אל והסוד

בזה אל אלהים יהוה והוא נקרא אל בשביל שהוא רחמים. ישועתי רומז לכובע ישועה הנקרא כ"ע שהוא ישועה לכל ישועות. אבטח כי אני בוטח בו ה"ד יי אורי וישעי ממי ארא יי מעוז חיי ממי אפחד. וכיון שאור הישועה הוא לי לישועה אם כן ממי אפחד כי אין לי להתפחד מכלום.

וזכרתי את בריתי יעקוב וכו' כי יעקוב בוא"ו יחירה לרמוז לך כשהב"ה זוכר ברית האבות אזי תפ' ישראל מקבלת מן אם העליונה שהיא אם הבנים שמחה והיא הנהר העמוק המספיק לכל העולמות. וזכרתי רומז למדת כ"ע שהוא מדת המחשבה כי הזכירה לא תהיה אלא במחשבה. כשב"ע שהוא סוד המחשבה זוכר ברית יעקב | שהוא תפ' נה ע"א ישראל וברית של יצחק שהוא בית דין הקשה וברית אברהם שהוא חסד ופוקדם בהשלחת השפע ובכללם זוכר המטרוניתא שהיא כנסת ישראל ה"ד והארץ אזכור.

אמ' הב"ה למשה שיזהיר לאהרן ולבניו שיהיו מברכין לישראל שנא' דבר אל אהרן ואל בניו לאמר כה תברכו את בני ישראל אמור להם. וכתי' השקיפה ממעון קדשך מן השמים וברך את עמך את ישראל וכו' וכתי' הואל וברך את עבדך כי אתה אלהי ברכת ומברכתך יבורך את בית עבדך לעולם. אמרה כנסת ישראל לפני הב"ה רבונו של עולם לכהנים אתה אומ' שיברכו אותנו אין אנו צריכין להיות מתברכין אלא מפיך ה"ד השקיפה ממעון קדשך מן השמים וברך את וכ'. אמ' לה* אע"פ שאמרתי לכהנים שיהיו מברכין אתכם עמהם אני עומד ומברך אתכם לפי' הכהנים פורשין את כפיהם לומ' שהב"ה עומד אחרינו ה"ד הנה זה עומד אחר כתלינו משגיח מן החלונות מציץ מן החרכים.

אבל על דרך האמת הנה זה עומד וכו' כי זה רומז ליסוד עולם הנקרא זה ה"ד הנה אלהינו זה קוינו. כי היסוד עומד אחר כתלינו שהיא כנסת ישראל הנקראת כותל ומחיצה בשביל שהיא מפסקת בין עולם היחוד ובין עולם הפרוד. ד"א הנה זה עומד אחר כותלינו. זה בני' י"ב רומז לשנים עשר הויות הסובבים את מזבח יי ומושכים החיים לתפ' יי ושולחים החיים לאילן שהוא עץ החיים העומד בגוף העולמות כי הוא נותן כח החיונית לכל המדרגות. ואותן שנים עשר הויות הם כללים כל ישראל והם נקראים כותלי המזבח וסובבים אותו כמו הכותל הסובב לבית ונשמר הבית בעבור הכותל כך אלו ההויות הם עומדים אחר הכותל שהוא תפ' יי שנקרא כותל ומחיצה לעולם התחתון בשביל שהוא סוד הפרוכת המבדיל בין כלי המאכל

ובין כלי הנשמה. כלי הנשמה הוא עולם העליון שהוא נשמה לכל הנשמות כי כ"ע הוא נשמה לחכמה ובינה . וחכמה לביגה. ובינה לעולם התחתון. לכך נקראים כלי הנשמה.וכלי המאכל הם גדולה גבורה תפ' נהי"מ בשביל שיש בהם כח ההרגיש והטבעים ומקבלים כח המאכל והמזון אל האצטומכא העומדת באמצע שהוא סוד התפ' שבה יטחן המן לצדיקים לכך נקראים שחקים על שם ששוחקים המן לצדיקים. ונמצא שהתפ' הוא הוילון המפריד בין כלי המאכל ובין כלי הנשמה לכך נקרא כותל ומחיצה ועל זה כתי' השקיפה ממעון קדשך מן השמים וברך את עמך וכו'. ד"א הנה זה עומד אחר כתלינו וכו' ואין זה אלא חסד שנקרא זה ה"ד זה קרבן אהרן וכו' והוא עומד אחר חכמה עליונה הנקרא כותל לעו' | העליון נה ע"ב כי הוא חסד מפסיק בין עולם האין והיש והוא שואב הברכות מן הבכור ונותנם למטה. לכך הוא משגיח ומביט בעין ההמלה לברך לתחתונים.

ר' יוסי פתח הנה מטתו שלשלמה ששים גבורים סביב לה מגבורי ישראל. נמשלה בית המקדש למטה מה המטה הזה ניתנה לפריה ורביה כך בי' המקדש כל מה שהיה בתוכו היו פרין ורבין שנא' ויארכו הבדים וירא ראשי הבדים מן הקודש. וכן כתי' ויבן את בית יער הלבנון למה נמשלה ליער לומ' לך מה יער פרה ורבה כך בית המקדש כל מה שהיה בתוכו פרה ורבה לכך נאמ' הנה מטתו שלשלמה ששים גבורים. כולם אחוזי חרב. כל אחד ואחד שמו של הב"ה נזכר בו יברכך יי וישמרך. יאר יי. ישא יי.

בשנה היובל ישוב השדה לאשר קנהו וכו'. כי השדה תשוב לשמיטה למלך העליון שקנה אותה ה"ד ברוך אברם לאל עליון קונה שמים וארץ. כי כ"ע קנה שמים וארץ מעומק עי' העי' והוציאן לאור ה"ד יי קנני ראשית דרכו וכו'. אך בבור אשר יבוכר ליהוה בבהמה לא יקדיש וכו'.אך בכור שהוא חכמה הנקרא בכור לעולם היש כי האין אין לו השגה לפי שהוא אין ואפס ותוהו. והיש הוא בכור לכהן בשביל שהוא יש להשגה והבן זה מאד ודום ליי. אשריהם הצדיקים שהב"ה הנחילם תורתו הקדושה ויזכים לאור החיים ה"ד מה רב טובך אשר צפנת ליריאיך פעלת לחוסים בך וכו'. נשלם אם בחוקותי ש"ל.

ספר במדבר סיני . ר' אלעזר* פתח ואמ' ויברא אלהים את האדם בצלמו בצלם אלהים ברא אותו. בא וראה בשעה שהב"ה ברא לאדם הראשון בראו בדיוקן של עליונים ותחתונים והיה.בלול מן הכל והיה זיו והודו מאיר

מסוף העולם ועד סופו. והיו יריאים ממנו ומתפחדין ממנו עליונים ותחתונים.
יברך יראי יי אלו הן הלוים וכולם הם יריאים מן הב"ה ה"ד
יורו משפטיך ליעקב. הקטנים עם הגדולים אע"ג שאינן נכנסין במנין.
אבל אכניסך בעומק הרז הזה מה שאמ' יי זכרנו. כי זכרנו
רומז לבריח התיכון שהוא הקו האמצעי שהוא הזכר לעמ' ישראל כי הוא
המשפיע לה ה"ד יי זכרנו יברך יברך וכו' שתי פעמים יברך למה כי
התפ' הוא מוציא מים מן הנחל קדומים בחוזק משיכתו לבריכה התחתונה
ומתחילה יתפשטו המים אל בריכה עליונה שהיא התפ' וא"כ אל הבריכה
התחתונה. וא"כ מתפשט הבריכה ההיא אל כל שאר המרכבות והצבאות והחיילות
שהן למטה הימנה הנקראים בית ישראל ה"ד ותתן טרף לביתה וחוק לנערותיה
ועל זה אמ' דוד ע"ה יי זכרנו | לשו' רבים פי' שהוא זכר של נו ע"א
שאר המדרגות האחרות. ד"א יי זכרנו רומז לעומק המחשבה שהוא כ"ע
הנקרא זכרנו מלש' זה שמי לעולם וזה זכרי לדור דור. כי הוא משפיע
טובו וחסדו מן עי' העי' מן העלת הבריכה הנעלמת והנסתרת ה"ד יברך
מלש' בריכה. יברך את בית ישראל רומז לגדולה ולגבורה ולתפ' שהוא
משפיע להם. ד"א יברך את בית ישראל אלו הן הנשים רומז לנשים הידועות
שהם גבורה ועמ' הנקראים נשים ה"ד נשים שאננות וכו'. יברך את בית
אהרן רומז למדת החסד הנקרא אהרן שהוא מיכאל כהן גדול בשמים שיתברך
מן הבריכה העליונה ה"ד כשמן הטוב על הראש יורד על הזקן זקן אהרן
שיורד וכ'.

ר' יהודה אמ' הבאני אל בית היין. מלה"ד למרתף גדול של
יין זהו סיני ולמדנו משם תורה שהיא נדרשת ארבעים ותשע פנים טהור
ומ"ט פנים טמא ה"ד אל בית היין.

ואלה שמות האנשים אשר יעמדו אתכם לראובן אליצור בן
שדיאור. פי' אלה שמות האנשים שהם י"ב כנגד י"ב שבטים הנזכרים
על שבט ראובן אליצור בן שדיאור כי אליצור רומז לחסד הנקרא אלי
על שם אל אלהים יהוה. צור רומז לבינה הנקרא צור העולמים לפי שממנו
נצטיירו כל המעשים וכל הפעלים אשר יצאו מעומק המחשבה העמוקה.
בן שדיאור פי' שדי אור פי' שאמ' די לעולמו והסוד בזה ואל שדי יתן
לכם רחמים וכו'. אל תקרי שדיאור אלא שדה אור פי' שדה של אור שכל
אורות הטובים נגנזים בו והוא אור קדמון נעלם הנקרא שדה של אור הקדמון
הוא עתיק של כל העתיקין וטמירא של כל הטמירין. ועל זה אליצור בן

שדיאור והבן.

ונסע אוהל מועד מחנה הלוים וכו'. וא"כ מה כתי' דגל מחנה
אפרים לצבאותם ימה היינו מערב לפי שהשכינה במערב ה"ד* ויברכם
ביום ההוא לאמר בך יברך ישראל לאמר. וישם את אפרים לפני מנשה.
אבל סוד עליון יש כאן. בך יברך ישראל פי' ישראל סבא. מאי טעמ'
אלא בך יברך ישראל. יבורך ישראל או יתברך ישראל לא כתי' אלא יברך
ישראל מהו יברך ישראל. אלא ישראל הקדוש לא יברך לעולם אלא בך
שאתה במערב וכתי' אל שדי פרה ורבה וכו'. ולמדנו שראה עמו שכינה
ומיד אמר בך יברך ישראל בך יברך לעולם*. ושנינו כל האומר תהלה
לדוד שלש פעמים בכל יום זוכה לחיי העולם הבא. בשביל לזווג לה ולהכניסה*
בין צפון לדרום. בכן* אדם בבקר מקבל עליו עול מלכות שמים וא"כ
מסדר שבח באותן התושבחות עם תהלה לדוד. וא"כ הללויה שהם סדור
כנגד עשר מדרגות עליונות כי עשרה פעמים הללויה נאמ' כנגד י"ס שהם
כתרים עליונים קדושים של שם הקדוש. ובשביל כך עשרה הם הללויה.
וא"כ | מסיים בעשרה תושבחות שהם הללו אל בקדשו. מה נו ע"ב
הם עשרה והלא חמשה הם אלא האחרים מתחילין בהללויה ומסיימים בהללויה.
וא"כ מסדר בשבח של אז ישיר משה שיש בו הכל ובזה מקבל עליו עול
מלכות שמים ומלכות הקודוש. וא"כ משרה אוהה בחסד בסיום התפלה
להתקדש בו. וא"כ בתפלת מנחה של הגבורה ה"ד ויצא יצחק לשוח
בשדה לפנות ערב. באותו שעה דין של הגבורה תלוי בעולם והדין מתחיל
להחפשט בעולם ואזי היא נתנת בין צפון ודרום להתחבר בזווג אחד* בנוף
כראוי. ומי שמחבר אותה בכל יום כהאי גוונא ודאי הוא בן העולם הבא.
בשביל זה דגל מחנה אפרים ימה שהוא בין צפון לדרום.דרום ראובן מצד
אחד דכתי' דגל מחנה ראובן תימנה. צפון דן מצד אחר דכתי' דגל מחנה
דן צפונה.אפרים בין זה לזה נמצא מערב שהוא אפרים בין צפון לדרום
הכל כדוגמא עליונה.

וכתי' והנה יי נצב עליו ויאמר אני יי אלהי אברהם אביך
א"ר אושעיא אשרי ילוד אשה שראה הב"ה ומלאכיו נצבים עליו ומשמשין
אותו. ומנין בביאתו שכן כתי' ויעקב הלך לדרכו ויפגעו בו מלאכי אלהים
הרי המלאכים. השכינה מנין שכך כתי' וירא אלהים אל יעקב עוד בבואו
מפדן ארם ויברך אותו. ה"ד מאשר יקרת בעיני נכבדת ואני אהבתיך.
אבל סוד הענין שהוכרח היה שהב"ה וכל מלאכיו עומדים על

יעקב לשרת ולשמש אותו לפי שהוא סוד עליון לכל בעלי שכל והלא ארז"ל אמ' הב"ה ליעקב אני אלוה בעליונים ואתה אלוה בתחתונים ה"ד בוראך יעקב ויוצרך ישראל. ואצ"ל כי יעקב למעלה הוא מדת ההפ' הנקרא יעקב שהוא גוף האמצעי והוא עיקר העולם לפי שכל עליונים נסמכים עליו. נמצא שהתפ' הוא עומד באמצע בין דרום וצפון והב"ה שהוא כ"ע הנקרא אלהי אברהם הוא עומד עליו ה"ד הנה יי נצב עליו ויאמר. נמצא שהב"ה עומד עליו דוקא. וגם כן מלאביו שהם מיכאל וגבריאל שהם מדת החסד ומדה הגבורה עומדים עליו מימינו ומשמאלו ועל זה הוכרח היה ג"כ למטה שהשכינה והמלאכים עומדים עליו לשמרו ולבשרו לשוב אל בית אביו ה"ד הארץ אשר אתה שוכב עליה ודאי. וזה סוד שגילו רז"ל בדרמז בדבריהם שנשל הב"ה כל ארץ ישראל וקפל תחת יעקב והסוד בזה הארץ אשר אתה שוכב עליה וכו' ודאי. ועל זה כעין דוגמא כשיצא יעקב מפדן ארם אירע לו זה המעשה שהב"ה וכל מלאכים באו לשמרו ולשמשו ה"ד הנה יי נצב עליו.

וכבר הוערתיך בכמה מקומות ששים המה מלכות רומז לששים מדרגות של ששה קצוות שעולה מספרם ששים כי בכל אחת ואחת עשרה יעלה מספרם ששים. ושמונים פילגשים בהתחברך אם העליונה שהיא אם הבנים שמחה ואם התחתונה יעלה מספרם שמונים. פלגשים אל תקרי פלגשים אלא פלגי שם פי' של שם הקדוש העליון | כי כל פלגי מים נז ע"א ומבועות ונחלים ומקורים משם הם נמשכים ויוצאים ה"ד והיה כעץ שתול על פלגי מים אשר פריו יתן בעתו.

ויהיו בני לוי גרשון וקהת ומררי. כבר כתבתי לך שם שלוי רומז למדת הגבורה הנקרא לוי בשביל שהוא מחובר עם בית דין התחתון מלש' כמער איש ולויות. גרשון מל' גרש כרמל בשביל שמדת הגבורה הוא נקרא גרש ירחים לפי שהוא מגרש כל שהוא ראוי לשלח ולנדח מן מלכות יי הנקרא ירחים בדינו החזק והקשה והוא נקרא כסיל והסוד בזה ומושכות כסיל תפתח לפי שהוא מושך ודוחה בכח המושך והדוחה הראויים לנדח מן מלכות יי ומגדש אותם והסוד בזה גבי דוד לכל מי שנכנם בבי אידרא כי גרשוני היום מהסתפח בנחלת יי. והבן כל אלו העניינים כי הם גדולים ונפלאים אשר אין הפה יכול לדבר ולא האזן יכול לשמוע ועל זה נקרא מדת הגבורה גרשן בשביל שאינו נושא פנים לשום בריה ולשון אלא הכל בדין ובמשפט ה"ד האל הגדול הגבור והנורא אשר לא ישא פנים ולא

יקח שוחד. ד"א ולו בני' מ"ב רומז למ"ב אותיות של שם הגדול שהוא בתוך הגבורה של אב"ג ית"ץ וכו' כי הוא ממונה על מ"ב בתי דינים שבהם מקהים את שני העמים.

חברון רומז למלכות בית דוד הנקרא חברון בשביל ששם נקברים האבות השלשה שהם אברהם יצחק ויעקב ושם הם נראים. ד"א למה נקראת חברון כי שם נתחבר דוד במלכותו. ולא קיבל המלוכה על ישראל עד שנטלה בחברון ועל זה דוד המלך נמלך בחברון. ד"א למה נקראת חברון בשביל שהיא מתחברת ומזדווגת בכל יום עם בן זוגה שהוא תפ' יי ועל זה נקראת חברון. ועוזיאל רומז לגבורה ולחסד אל תקרי ועזיאל אלא עז אל כדא' מהאוכל יצא מאכל ומעז יצא מתוק לפי שהוא עז כנמר בדינו הקשה. אל רומז לחסד על שם אל אלהים יהוה. ד"א ועזיאל רומז לתפ' ולעט'. עז כדא' יי עוז לעמו יתן. אל לעט' הנקרא אל כדא' אל זועם בכל יום.

והרי אתה רואה שכל אלו שמות של השבטים ושמות בני בניהם כולם הם רמוזים על סוד העליון הקדוש. לכן כל מי שיש לו עינים לראות ולב להבין יכול להבין מאלו השמות פלאי פלאים בסודות התורה הקדושה.

ועל זה באתי להועירך בסוד ערבה למה היו מקיפין בערבה שבעה פעמים ביום זה והוא בנקרא יום הושענא רבא. לפי שאנו מבקשים לפני מלך העולם הנקרא בינה שיושיענו ויורד לנו מאותו הנהר הנמשך ויוצא מעדן מים ונשמי רצון ברכה ונדבה ועל זה אנו מתחילין הושענא כי נא רומז לאחד וחמשים שהוא סוד הבינה ובשביל שהיא אם הבנים שמחה נקראת הושענא רבה לפי שיש אם רבה ואם זוטא ועל זה בתחילת יום הסוכה שהוא יום הראשון שולטת צד הבינה הנקראת סוכה בשביל | שהיא נז ע"ב פורסת כנפיה על בניה כאם שמכסה על בניה ונקראת סוכת שלמה ועל זה היא שולטת בזה היום הראשון. וא"כ ביום שני של הסוכה שולטת ג"כ הבינה בכלל שאר הספי' ונמצא שהיא שולטת שני ימים הראשונים ועל זה היו עושין בארץ שני ימים יום אחד והבן זה. ביום שלישי שולטת הגדולה שהוא אחד מן המרכבה. וגבורה ביום רביעי. ותפ' ביום חמישי. ונצח ביום ששי. והוד ביום שביעי שהוא יום ערבה והוא יום הושענא רבא. ונמצא שהוא יום הדין. ואנו צריכין לסבוב בערבה שבעה פעמים כדי להוריד הכח של שבעה מדרגות לערבה להמתיק דינו ולרחם על עדת ישראל ולהריק לה מן המים של הנהר העליון הנמשך ויוצא. ועל זה אנו צריכין ליטול

ערבה הגדילה על המים לפי שמדת ההוד עומדת על הנחל שהוא יסוד ההי"ד הנגי נוטה אליה כנהר שלום וכנחל שוטף.

ויקח משה את כסף הפדוים מאת העודפים על פדוי הלויים. כי משה שהוא תפ' נוטל הכסף מצד החסד שהוא אהרן. מאת עדת בני ישראל לקח את הכסף חמשה ושששים ושלש מאות ואלף וכו' כי חמשה כנגד חמשה ספי' עליונות וחמשה ספי' תחתונות. ושלשים רומז לששה קצוות והבן כל אל העניינים על מתכונתם.

ונתנו עליו כסוי עור תחש וכו'. עליו פי' המלכות שהוא דין. כסוי עור החש אל תקרי כסוי עור אלא כסוי אור כדא' כתנות עור וילבישם ואין עור אלא אור באל"ף. ג"כ בכאן כסוי אור פי' אור העליון הקדמון שכתי' בו והלכו גוים לאורך כי התפ' הוא מכסה ומלביש לכלה שהיא המטרוניתא בכסות אור וזוהר שהיא תכשיטי הכלה הה"ד וככלה תעדי כליה. תחש אמ' רז"ל כי אותה החיה הנקראת תחש לא נמצאת אלא פעם אחת בימי משה ר' ע"ה ונעלמת ונסתרת מן העין. ויש כאן סוד עליון כי התחש הוא רומז לכ"ע הנקראת תחשים שהיא אור החיה הנעלמת והנסתרת למה בשביל שבימי משה היו הרחמים נמצאים ביותר בשביל זה שהיה עומד בתפלתו לישראל הה"ד ואם אין מחני נא מספרך אשר כתבת. ועל זה היו מכסין על אותו הארון עור התחש שהיא חיה של כ"ע כדא' נפש רוח נשמה יחידה חיה כדי לכסות הרחמים על הארן שהוא דין.

ולקחו בגד תכלת וכסו את מנורת המאור. פי' בגד תכלת כנגד אור החכמה שהיא בצבע הכלת שהיא מתכסה על המנורה שהיא המסרוניתא. ואת נירותיה אלו הם שאר ששה מדרגות העומדים עליה שהם חסד וגבורה ותפ' נצח והוד יסוד שהם ששה נירותיה המאירים למנורה ההיא והבן זה.

ונתנו אותה ואת כל כליה אל מכסה עור תחש ונתנו על המוט. ואצ"ל כי עור התחש שהיא החיה הידועה שהזכרנו והמלכות וכל | מרכבותיה נח ע"א וצבאותיה וחיילותיה ומחנות כולם הם מתעלות עד כ"ע שהיא החיה על שם נפש רוח נשמה יחידה חיה ונמצא שהעט' וכל כליה הם ניתנים אל אותו מכסה שהוא אור תחש אל תקרי מכסה אלא מכוסה בשביל שכ"ע הוא נסתר ונעלם ונתכסה מעין כל בריה שבעולם. וא"כ נותנין אותה על המוט שהוא צדיק יסוד עולם הנקרא מוט כדי להוריד מן החיה ההיא שפע אל צדיק יסוד עולם.

וכסו אותו במכסה עור תחש. כדי להוריד הנהר הנמשך מן

המבוע של הנחל שהוא כ"ע שהוא עמוק וסתום ונעלם ונסתר לפי שהבינה נקראת לשון והלשון תוציא מה שעלה במחשבה העמוקה ותוציא אותו לפועל הן דין והן רחמים הכל הלשון תוציא ועל כן הלשון הוא עומד בפה להוציא מה שהיה נסתר ונעלם במחשבה.

ולא יבואו לראות כבלע את הקודש ומתו. אזהרה מזה הפסו' לאותן הבאים ליכנס בעומק המחשבה העמוקה שהיא נסתרת ונעלמת. אלא יש לכל אדם משכיל ליתן כבוד לשם הגדול שלא ליכנס במקום שלא ניתן לו רשות הה"ד כבוד אלהים הסתר דבר. ואם עובר על זה הגבול ויכנס יתכן שיענש מלמעלה. כי אלו הדברים הנסתרים באור של כ"ע הם נעלמים ונבלעים כי הם נקראים מעשה מרכבה ומעשה בראשית רבא*. וזהו שארז"ל תמים תהיה עם יי אלהיך מהו דכבשא דחמנא למה לך. כי הוא ית' ויח' שמו של מלך מ"ה הב"ה שהוא ראשון והוא אחרון ומבלעדיו אין אלהים. וברא העולם בסוד שלשה עניינים גדולים וטובים והם דעת חכמה ובינה שנא' יי בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה. וכתי' בדעתו ההומות נבקעו. בא וראה למה ברא הב"ה הארץ שהיא עולם השפל בסוד החכמה והשמים שהוא עולם גדול ממנו בתבונה שהוא דבר קטון מן החכמה. וכבר שנינו אימתי נקרא חכם בחכמה כששואלין אותו בכל דבר והוא עונה ומשיב כענין וידו הוא בכל ואזי נקרא חכם בחכמה שהיא גדולה על התבונה ועל הדעת. ועל כן היה לו ית' לעשות השמים בחכמה שהיא גדולה על התבונה. תדע לך כי החכמה גדולה מכולם ועל כן נקרא אדם חכם מפני שהוא חכם בכל חוכמות. והתבונה קטנה מהחכמה ועל כן נקרא אדם מבין כלומ' מבין דבר מתוך דבר מלבו ומעצמו. ר"ל בראותו יסוד בונה עליו בניין. וכן הוא המבין בראותו דבר אחד או קצתו משלים הענין עליו והב"ה ית' ויח' שמו ברא השמים בסוד תבונה שהוא עניין הבנייך* מתוך היסוד. ובראשית כל הנבראים ברא צורת כל המלאכים הקדושים שהם תחלת כל הנבראים הנאצלים | מזיו אור הדרו. נח ע"ב ועשרה שמות נקראו בסודם ובתוך שמותם נקראו אלהים. ועל כן בא להורות בראשית ברא אלהים פי' ברא ית' ויח' שמו צורת המלאכים הנקראים אלהים והם היסוד מכל הנבראים האחרים ומתוך זה היסוד נבראו השמים לאחר כן בסוד תבונה. הוא דבר מתוך דבר שהם מסוד אור צודת המלאכים כלו' הם בניין מתוך היסוד ועל כן כתי' כונן שמים בתבונה. אבל הארץ שלא נהיתה* מתוך יסוד אחד אלא שהיא תלויה על המים הוצרך

לומ' שנבראת בחכמה כי אין לה יסוד אחר על שהיה הבנין. והב"ה יסד לה יסוד עשוי בחכמה ועל כן נאמ' יי בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה. דבר מתוך דבר.

ובתורה ברא הב"ה את עולמו שנא' ואהיה אצלו אמון. אל תקרי אמון אלא אומן וזהו שכתי' בראשית ברא אלהים. ר"ל עם ראשית שהיא החכמה העמוקה ברא אלהים שהוא בינה את השמים ואת הארץ שהם דו פרצופין והבן זה.

אמ' ר' בראשית וכו' ית' שמו של הב"ה שברא כל העולם והכינו בחכמה בתבונה ובדעת. וכנגדם ברא שלשה עולמות. עולם העליון ועולם התחתון ועולם האמצעי. ונהן בעולם הקטן צורת שלשה. צורת המדברת וצורת הצומחת וצורת השכלית. ותדע לך כי עולם התחתון מתקיים* בנפש והנפש באויר והאויר בבורא ית' ויח' שמו. תדע שהבורא ית' ברא האדם וברא אותו בצלם ובצורה והכינו מארבעה דברים מובדלים זה זה. מאש ומרוח וממים ומעפר שנא' והארץ היתה תוהו ובוהו וחשך על פני תהום ורוח אלהים וכו' אלו הן ארבעה דברים האמורים למעלה כדא' מקום יש בכרכי הים שקורין לאש תוהו וזהו היסוד הראשון. בוהו מים. וחשך עפר. ומנ' לן דחשך הוא עפר* והרוח הוא הרוח ממש. ואמנם כי הוא ית' ברא את האדם שהוא עולם התחתון כנגד עולם העליון. ונתן בו קיום הנפש המניעה לכל לגוף כולו. ועל כן הבדילו מכל הגבראים אשר למטה עמו. ובמה האדם מובדל מיתר הנבראים בזאת הנפש ובאיזו נפש בנפש המדברת.

ואני שמעתי מאבא ששבע כוכבים הם ולזמן שמגיע שעה של כל אחד ואחד מהם לומ' שירה לפני הב"ה מרוב השמחה והאהבה שיש בהם שולחים זיוון ואורם והולכים לומ' שירה. וענין אחר שאלו שבעה כוכבים לוא הולכים ולא נוסעים ממקומן אלא בשעה שקורא להם הב"ה להאיר במקום שהוא חפץ דכתי' לכולם בשם יקרא וכשהם נוסעים שולחין זיון ואורן עמהם לילך.

ויאמר אלהים יהי אור. ותאני ר' ברוספדאי גדול התוספות אור היה זה האור שלא במותו ואין כמותו וזהו אור השכל הגדול שנהיה מאור | זיו הדרו וזהו העומד אחרי הפרגוד דתניגן מאי דכתי' עוטה אור נט ע"א כשלמה. מלמד שעשה הב"ה שאר המלאכים כמו אותו אור הראשון מאותו האור ממש ס"ד במותו אלא מהו* דבר מובדל ומושכל כך שאר המלאכים

דברים מובדלים ומושכלים אבל אין השגתם כהשגתו דתאנ' ר' ברוספדאי השגת המלאכים היא השגה גדולה מה שאין כן למטה מהם. השגה שנייה היא השגת השמים מה שאין משיגין מה שלמטה מהם. השגה שלישית היא השגה מדרגה התחתונה אשר בעפר יסודם והיא השגת בני אדם מה שאין משיגין שאר כל הנבראים. וכנגד שלש מעלות הללו יש באדם שלש צורות נפשות. צורה הראשונה היא הנפש השכלית , השניה היא הנפש המדברת. השלישית היא הנפש הבהמית המתאווה תאוות הגשמיות והיא הנפש אשר תמעול מעל. וא"ת הרי נפש הראשונה היא הנפש הבהמית כנגד מדרגה התחתונה שאמרנו נפש המדברת כנגד השמים שהיא מעלה יתירה על הראשונה נפש השכלית כנגד מדרגת המלאכים שהיא המעלה העליונה על כל אלה.

ויקח אחת מצלעותיו. בספר הראשון* נמצא זו לילית ראשונה שהייתה עמו ונתעברה ממנו ולא היתה לו לעזר כמו בת זוג אלא כמו עזר סוכנת. ועל זה כל אותן ק"ל שנים שהיה אדם נטרד מגן עדן והיה כמנודה מן הב"ה לא הוליד מן חוה שהיא בת זוגו בשביל שפירש מאשתו בשביל שהיה מנודה כי דרך המנודין יושבים כאבילים בחשך ואינן אוכלין בשר ואינן שותין יין ואינן משמשין מטותיהן בשביל שהרוחות הטמאות שולטים עליו כדי שלא יוליד בנים חצופים ורשעים ועזי פנים. ועל זה היה אדם פירש מאשתו חוה שהיתה נדבקת עמו בצלעותיו. וזהו ששנינו כשנברא אדם הראשון ירדו עמו שתי רוחות אחת נתקיימה עמו והאחרת לא נתקיימה עמו ואותה של ליליה לא נתקיימה עמו אלא ק"ל שגים שהיה כמנודה והוליד ממנה רוחות רעות ושידין ומזיקין וזו היא שערקת לכרכי ימא. אבל לאחר כששב אדם בתשובה לפני הב"ה ויצא שמח מלפניו על מה שמחל לו עונותיו אזי נזדווג עם בת זוגו שהיא חוה הידועה הנקראת אם כל חי שהיא המטרוניתא שלו ולא הפילגש אזי הוליד בדמותו. כעין דוגמא זה למעלה אדם הראשון שהוא סוד התפ' הנקרא בריה התיכון יש לו ג"כ שתי רוחות האחת היא הפילגש נקראת לילית שהיא תמורת חוה העליונה. והאחרת היא מדת המלכות שהיא המטרוניתא ופילגש מזדווג כביכול בזמן שהגזירות וצרות שולטין בעולם אזי יצאו לעולם דורות חצופין ועזי פנים ורשעים והאכזרים. אבל בזמן שהוא מזדווג | עם המטרוניתא נט ע"ב אזי יצאו לעולם נשמות קדושים וטהורים כמו צורות של שת וחנוך ומתושלח וכיוצא בזה והבן כל אלו כי הם נכוחים.

ר' חייא פתח* אל אלהי הרוחות לכל בשר וכו' ברוך שמו

של מ"ה הב"ה שהוא מקום עולמו ואין עולמו מקומו ה"ד הנה מקום אתי. ולא יגבילנו מקומו ולא יאחזהו זמנים כדכתי' הן אל שגיא ולא נדע מספר שניו ולא חקר. וכתי' כי לא מחשבותי מחשבותיכם. והקדים תורתו שני אלפים שנה לבריאת עולמו כדכתי' תורה מאתי תצא. וכתי' ואהיה אצלו אמון ואהיה שעשועים יום יום. והמצא כח נבדל שאין מדור עם בשר דכתיב להין אלהין די מדרהון עם בשרא לא איתוהי. והמצא עולם הנעלם הוא שכתוב ותעלומה יוציא אור. והמציא עולם שכולו טוב ה"ד שכל טוב לכל עושיהם. והמציא עולם הרוחות ה"ד רוח יי תגיחנו. והמציא עולם הנשמות ה"ד והשביע בצחצחות נפשך. והמציא עולם הגופות ה"ד אני יי אלהי כל בשר המפני יפלא כל דבר. ויקרא אחד שאין חוץ ממנו. ויקרא יחיד שהוא יחיד בכל חלק. ויקרא מיוחד שהוא מיוחד בלא תמורה. ויקרא אומן שהוא מחליף דבר לתמורה ותמורה לדבר. ויקרא אמון שהוא משנה המנהג. ויקרא אימון שהוא מקיים המנהג. ויקרא נאמן שהוא נאמן לשלם שכר ונאמן ליפרע. הוא אלהי עולם הוא שמו ושם לכל שם שמו טרם המציאו המוצאים. ועוד לא יסור בשמו נקראו ה"ד כל הנקרא בשמי. ולפי שהם חסירים מאמיתתם בהתחלק הויתם ברצותם לחלק חלקיהם לא מנע מהם ההשלמה אשר הם שוים בסתר תעלומה. והשוה רצונו לרצון המונו ומציאותם למציאותו. ושלימותם לשלימותו וקדמותן לקדמותו. ובהשותו רצונו לרצון המונו כאחד יקרא אחד יחיד ומיוחד. יקרא אחד להודיע שאין חלקיהם חסרים מהשלמתו ואין שלמותן כי אם משלימותו. ומכח הנסתר יצא בנשמע ומן הנשמע בנראה ואין לנו עסק בנסתר כי אם בנשמע בעשר המאמרה מזיו האורות כי מקול דממה דקה הקול הנשמע שכתו' בו קול יי בכח, שהוא כח לכל הקולות שממנו קול ורוח ודיבור. יש מהם עשרה קולות בעשרה מאמרות ובעשר הדברות. והנראה יראה מאור המתעלם שממנו אורו המאציל. ואור האצילות. ואור הנאצל זהו אור הרוח הנקראת יחידה. ואור הרוח הנקראת חיה. ואור הרוח הנקראת רוח. ואור הרוח הנקראת נפש. ואור הרוח הנקראת נשמה ואור הגוף ואור המאציל ואור האצילות ואור הנאצל צורך העליונים. ופעמים ימשך אורם אל התחתונים השבעה שהם צורך | התחתונים הנראה מהם כנגדם בנראה אור ס ע"א שחק אור בקר אור צהר או צהרים או ערב אור ערבים אור חשך והאור המהעלים מהאחד כלהב אש בגווניו כעניין שנא' רשפי אש שלהבת יה. ושלשת האורות הנזכרים כח השכל וכח ההשתכלות וכח שכל. ונקראים

מהות הרבוי והשכינה טוב הצפון הוא הוא שכתי' מה רב טובך אשר צפנת וכו'. ומן המעיין הנוביע הסוב הצפון המתעלם הופך זה אל זה כדכתי' הופך לבקר צלמות ויום ללילה החשיך. וכשממיר דבר לתמורה ותמורה לדבר נקרא אומן הוא שכתי' יי אלהי אתה ארוממך אודה שמך כי עשית פלא עצות מרחוק אמונה אומן. ויש להאמין כי סוף השנתו מדרך הנעלם. ולכן אפי' המעשים הגדולים* נקראים פלא וכמו שיש לי לרוממך ולהודות לשמך על המעשים הנגלים כך יש לי לרומם ולהודות על פלאי הפלאות שהם בסתר הפעולות הנסתרות הנקראות עצות מרחוק כי הם באות ממרחקים ומהם כח כל צבא השמים. והעצה שהיא הסברון בזה שהוא מרחוק* שהוא רחוק מהשגת השכל כדכתי' רחוק מה שהיה. וכתי' מרחוק יי נראה לי ודאי. זה עניין העצות שהן כח לכל צבא הנמצאות מרחוק מדבר אמונה והאמונה מכח אומן כי כל הברואים נקראים אמוני אמונה אומן לפי שכל אחד ואחד מהם כוחו נמשך מאומן ואדם נברא יחידי ושלשת חלקים שהיה ממנו להודיע אומן בכח אמונה הנקראת אמון וכח אימון והיה ראוי שיהיה רצון אחד ורצון אדם היה ראוי לשלוט תחלה בכח אומן. וא"כ רצון חזק* בכח אמונה אומן. ושלשתן אחד שלכך היו כולם אחד כדי שיתקיים רצון העליון בשלשתן בשוה במחשבה בדבור ובמעשה ולפי שהיה אחד בכח הרבים בו רצון חלקיו ויכול להשתנות בין במצוה בין בעבירה ובין הרצון עצמו שהיה מתחייב כזה זוכה אם היה מכווין להשלמת האחדות וזהו שארז"ל זוכה אדם נעשה מלאך חיים לא זכה נעשה מלאך המות. ובחסרון אמונתה של חוה החטיאה האדם מדרך האומן וחטא קין בדרך אמון והרג אחיו. וכיון שחטאו והפרידו חפציהם זה מזה בהפרד חלקיהם מיד היו ראויים להשתנות ולהתחדש כדי להשוות מדותיהם. בקריעת ים סוף שקפאו תהומות ושב הים לחרבה מפני רוח קדים עזה אך לא העבירם על הים ולא הוציאם מיד פרעה שהורה לשלחם לפי שלא מתנהגים בכח אומן ובדבר שכיוצא בו ראוי להיות במדה ובגבול שנה את המנהג בכח אמונה שנא' ויאמינו ביי ובמשה עבדו.

ועד שיתברר ויתלבן אותו עניין וינקום השם מעמלק אין השם שלם ואין הכסא שלם ואין | עולם הנפות ראוי לשוב לכח ס ע"ב שלימות שהיה ראוי לעמוד ולהתקיים בו קודם שחטא אדם עד שיבוא משיח בן דוד שהוא שלם במוטבע במורגש במושכל ובנעלם שהיה בו כח אלהי ומלאכותי וכח אנושי וכח צמחי וכח בהמי. כח אלהי דכתי' ונחה עליו

רוח יי. כח מלאכותי דכתי׳ ובית דוד כאלהים כמלאך יי לפניהם. כח אנושי וברוח שפתיו ימית רשע. כח צמחי דכתי׳ ונצר משרשיו יפרה. וכתי׳ צמח צדיק. כח בהמי דכתי׳ ונר זאב עם כבש שאם הם מוסיפים דעת ברוחו ואז יהיה כל דבר ודבר בנמר מלאו וסוף כל גרוע ופחות יתעלה מעילוי לעילוי עד סוף ההשלמות. ובין כך אשרי המחכה ויגיע.

נקי כפים ובר לבב. ולברר תוכו דכתי׳ ובר לבב. וכתי׳ יי אלהיך מתהלך בקרב מחניך. והיה מחניך קדוש ולא יראה בך ערות דבר ושב מאחריך. שהמתנהג בדרך זה ואינו מטהר עצמו רוח הטומאה מתערב ברוח טהרה. ואין אחד מתטהר בנמר וחלומותיו ודבריו מעורבים עד שהוא אנוס שוגג ומוטעה ובדרך זה נתקדשו ישראל. כשקבלו התורה נתקדשו מן הקדש בקדושה עליונה בתשע קדושות שהכהן מתקדש בקדושת עצמו ובקדושתו של לוי ובקדושתו של ישראל. והלוי מתקדש בקדושת עצמו ובקדושת הכהן שהוא משבטו ובקדושתו של ישראל. וישראל מתקדש בקדושת עצמו ובקדושתו של נביא ובקדושתו של מלך. וכולם מתקדשים מן הקודש ההי"ד ואנשי קודש תהיון לי וכו׳. וכמו שהן מתקדשים כך הם מתברכים ממקור הבריכה העליונה בתשע ברכות כדכתי׳ תהיה מסלה ממצרים אשורה ובא אשור במצרים. וכתי׳ יהיה ישראל שלישיה למצרים ולאשור. אשר ברכו יי צבאות לאמר ברוך עמי מצרים. פי׳ ברוך עמי שהן מתברכים מברכתן של מצרים שממנה אשור מתברך כדכתי׳ ומצרים באשור. ומעשה ידי שהם מתברכים מברכתו של אשור שממנה מצרים מתברך כדכתי׳ ובא אשור במצרים. ונחלתי ישראל. שהם מתברכין בדכת עצמן. מחלקין מברכתן למצרים ולאשור והם ברכה בקרב הארץ. וכמו שהן מתברכין כן מתאחדין כדכתי׳ ונתתי לכם לב אחד. וכתי׳ ומלך אחד יהיה לכולם למלך. וכתי׳ אז אהפוך אל עמים שפה ברורה לקדוא כולם בשם יי ולעובדו שכם אחד. וכתי׳ והיה יי למלך על כל הארץ ביום ההוא יהיה יי אחד.

אמ׳ רז"ל הנודר כאלו נשבע במלך והנשבע כאלו נשבע בחיי המלך. פי׳ הנודד נדר מדיר עצמו מדירתו של עולם שהוא עי׳ העי׳ שאין דירה מזולתו שהוא | מקומו של עולם ואין עולמו מקומו סא ע"א והוא הדיר עצמו מכל דירת מקומו אם יעבור על נדרו ופירושו הסרת דירה ד"ל הסרת דירתו של מ"ה הב"ה שיהיה מוסר מן המלך ומכל דירת מקומו שאין מקום זולתו ועל כן ארז"ל כאלו נשבע במלך וכשהוא נשבע בחיי המלך זהו התפשטות הדצון ונקרא חיי המלך שכן אמרו בספר יצירה

אחת רוח אלהים חיים וכו׳. על כן אז"ל נשבע בחיי המלך. והנשבע ועובר על השבועה כתי׳ בו ואת אשמו יביא ליי. ועל הקרבנות שאמ׳ בהם אשה ריח ניחוח ליי. אשה לשם אשה ריח לשם ריח ניחוח לשם נחת רוח. ופי׳ נחת רוח לפי שאמרתי ונעשה רצוני. ובאמת האשם הבא על העובר על השבועה לא בא בו אלא אשה ולא ריח ניחוח אע"פ סתם הקרבנות לשם אשה וריח ניחוח הם באים. ונם על כל חטאות ואשם אין בהם לא אשה ולא ריח ניחוח אבל עיקר כפרתם בעבור הקרבן ונחת רוח לפניו כשהחוטא מביא קרבן שנצטווה עליו. ופר׳ העלם דבר יוכיח שנא׳ בו ועשו כל העדה פר בן בקר אחד. לריח ניחות ליי. אבל הנודר אם עבר על נדרו אינו חייב להביא קרבן לפי שאין שם לא אשה ולא ריח ניחוח ולא נחת רוח מאחר שזלזל בדירתו והמשכיל יבין. ואע"פ שיש תומדא בנודר שהנדר חל על דבר מצוה כדבד הרשות בענייניים דבים מה שאין כן בשבועה אע"פ ששניהם שוים בהיתר היתר הנדד כהיתר השבועה ביחיד מומחה או בשלשה הדיוטות והתשובה לשניהם מועלת כי היא קדמה לכל.

אמ׳ בעלי הקבלה שהשם ית׳ ושמו דבר אחד הוא וזהו הדבר שהוא למעלה מכ"ע ובכל עת הכתר הוא דבוק עם החכמה לא יתפרדו לעולם ושום פירוד לא יבוא ביניהם וזהו שארז"ל במכוסה ממך אל תדרוש ובמופלא ממך אל תחקוד ובמה שהורשת התבונן ותבין כשאמדו התבונן שהוא לשון נגזר מבינה פי׳ שניתן לו רשות להבין ולחקור בבינה. ד"א ובמכוסה ממך פי׳ חכמה ובמופלא ממך פי׳ כ"ע. ובמה שהורשת פי׳ בעט׳ ובזה ארז"ל יה"ו אות ראשונה יש בה שתי שמות הראשונים המדובקים כאחד. ואות שניה יש בה שם שלישי הראוי להתבונן. והאות השלישית הוא קו האמצעי שיש רשות לדבר ולחקור.

ועוד קבלתי בענין השם המיוחד תחשוב יו"ד שבה נבנה העולם ראשה נוטה לסופה עד לאין תכלית עשרה מאה אלף רבבה רבבות ואינה יוצאה מחשבונות אל המקום אשר היה שם אהלה בתחלה חוזרת חלילה. וכן הה"א חוזרת חלילה לחשבונה הראשון | וכן הוא"ו. סא ע"ב

ועוד שמעתי בעניין ויי הוא ובית דינו. ר"ל העט׳ שהעט׳ בת זוגו של התפ׳ ולכך אמ׳ ויי בהיכל קדשו הם מפניו כל הארץ. כלו׳ שזה סוד הזיווג ומפני אותו השפע הבהיר והנודא הם מפניו כל הארץ.

ועוד שמעתי בעניין שמע ישראל הוא התפ׳ יי שהוא כתר החכמה. אלהינו כתר הבינה וא"ת והלא אמ׳ כי התפ׳ הוא ישראל ומנאה

תחלה. וי"ל קודם שיקבל השפע העליון נקרא בלש' נקבה שהיא ישראל החיה הידועה ואחר שמקבל השפע נקרא יי שהוא משפיע לאחרים. וא"כ שאנו אומ' אחד על הכל כלו' הכל אחד והכל נקרא ים החכמה ועל זה אמ' כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים.

ועוד שמעתי בעניין ה"א רבתא של הליי תגמלו זאת. היא בינה. וה"א זעירא של בהבראם היא המלכות כלו' שכינה עילאה שכינה תתאה. ואלו הן שני ההי"ן של השם ית' ויתʼ. ויש מן המקובלים שאומרים דא שכינתא ודא יובלא.

ואצ"ל שקודם בריאת העולם היו הספי' בכח ובבריאת העולם יצאו מן הכח אל הפועל. ואלו הן ששת ימי בראשית ויום השביעי אבל השלוש אין הפה יכולה לדבר בהם הם אחד והם נשמה. והם אויר הקדמון וכינוי השם שהעולם אינו מתקיים אפי' שעה אחת בלא אויר כך הכל תלוי בשלש ראשונות והמשכיל יבין.

ואצ"ל מה תועלת יש בחלוף האותיות שלש עשרה מדות ולמה אין השם יוצא כמשמע האותיות וכפשוטן. כי בתחלה החליפו היו"ד בעבור מ"ם. וההי"א בצד"י. והוא"ו בפ"ה. וההי"א בכ"ף. כבר למדנו כי היו"ד כנגד הדבר המתעלם והנסתר ועל כן צורתה קצרה. ובחילופה במ"ם בא ללמוד ולגלות עיקר הדבר יותר ומי שיש בו לב להבין ועינים לראות יבין מתוך מ"ם למה נקראת המחשבה בל' טהורה ולא בל' טהור ויבין סוד הפסוק שאמ' ועתה פן ישלח ידו ולקח גם מעץ החיים . ועוד יבין אותיות מצפ"ך למה הם נקראים בסוף התיבה ולא בתחילה והנני אומ' על המ"ם שבשם הראשון של שלש עשרה מדות שהיא מצפ"ך דעת עליון וכ"ע ועל כן תמצא שאמ' החכמה בל' תִּמָּצֵא ולא ימצא. ויש לנו לדעת למה נקראת החכמה בל' נקבה ולא בל' זכר וכן התשובה. אבל כלל כל הדברים ועיקרם מפורש במ"ם ועל כן היא נקודה פתח ולא קמץ. ומכאן יש לנו ראיה למה שאמ' הנביא וזרקתי עליכם מים טהורים וטהרתים. ועל כן ארז"ל מחשבה טהורה ולא קדושה והרי אתה למד סוד מ"ם העליונה ומ"ם התחתונה והסוד בזה בדעתו תהומות נבקעו וזהו סוד עץ הדעת. ועל כן היו"ד עם מ"ם היא לש' ים ועל כן | תמצא כתוב ומעיין סב ע"א מביח יי יצא ועוד כתי' יהיה מקור נפתח לבית דוד ולא לזרע דוד בלש' בית וזה שאמ' הנביא ע"ה ההי"ד כי עזבו מקור מים חיים את יי וסוד הדברים האלה מ"ם נקבה תסובב גבר.

ואצ"ל פי' שמע ישראל. אלו ששה תיבות כנגד ששה ימים שבהם נברא העולם וכולם שבחו לאל ית'. פי' מלת שמע בגי' ד' מאות ועשר רחמים כנגד מצפ"ץ והוא שמו של הב"ה שנא' כי ביה יי צור עולמים. יהוה אלהינו יהוה שמותיו של הב"ה כוזו במוכסז כוזו הוא הב"ה. בגי' אחד הוא יֵ מדות בהבדלה דר' עקיבא וכתי' שמן תורק שמך. בגי' מצפ"ץ באותיות מלאות כגון מ"ם צאד"י פ"א צד"י בגי' שמך עם אותיותיהם וזהו אל שדי ובעבור זה אמ' לעולמו דיי שמתברך מעצמו ומברוך ממקור הברכות ומשם הם רשומות הברכות והחיים של חי אדון הנשמות הנותן חיים להחיות חי העולמים הנסתרים והנעלמים והמשכיל יבין.

ואצ"ל כי עניין מתחת זרועות עולם המקבלים וזהו וזרועותיו כפולים על שכמו וזהו פי' כפיו של הכהן שהוא דוגמתו המתברך והמקבל ממעל ומברך וכהן גדול דוגמתו למעלה מזה. וכל מקום שתמצא מעון מעונה הבן זה ושאר הדברים צדק ומשפט הכל נקרא כסא לו. ובהיות ישראל בגלות אין הכסא שלם כי הדברים מתפשטים בעצמם ואין בהם דבקות רוח הקודש ממעל לפי שהוא מסתלק ועולה למרום מרומים. ובהיות ישראל על אדמתם הדברים כמו כן על מכונם והכסא שלם ומתעלים למעלה לקבל מן הכתרים ומן התשובה והכל מתעלה בדבקות עם הכתר העליון הנקרא קדוש וזהו שכתי' ביום ההוא יהיה יי אחד וכו' כלו' שלא יהיה שם אחד כי אם בחבור ואזי הכסא שלם וכולם יקבלו זה מזה וזה מזה עד למעלה וזהו שכתו' אל תנאץ למען שמך אל תנבל כסא כבודך. ורצוני(!) לומ' כי ילכו ישראל בגלות ותהרס הבניין והכסא ואמ' יהושע והכריתו את שמנו מן הארץ ומה תעשה לשמך הגדול. ובכל מקום שתמצא למען שמך והבן זה. ובמדרש תלים אמ' כ' לוי בשם ר' חמא כל זמן שזרעו של עמלק קיים לא השם שלם ולא הכסא שלם שנא' כי יד על כס יה. והיה צריך לומ' כסא יי וכי כשיאבד זרעו של עמלק מן העולם אזי הכסא והשם יתבר' שלם ההי"ד האויב תמו חורבות לנצח וערים נתשת אבד זכרם המה. מה כתי' אחריו ויי לעולם ישב כונן למשפט כסאו נשלם. |

פרשת נשא ר' חייא פתח ואמ' אמת מארץ תצמח וכו'. בא סב ע"ב וראה כי הוא ית' מתעלה עד אין סוף ויש בו ראש וסוף ואמצע ובזמן הגלות אין שם עילוי כי אם ירידה כפי סילוק רוח הקודש וכפי העילוי ההי"ד אמת מארץ תצמח ממקום ירידתו ויהא דבק ברוח הקודש ולכך נתקן ויתקדש ויתעלה וזהו שנא' בימי הגאולה הזכירו כי נשגב שמו. הוא

שאז"ל בהגדה חסד ואמת נפגשו בימי הגאולה ובמדבר סיני רבה כתי' אספה לי שבעים איש. זהו שכתי' הבונה בשמים מעלותיו ואגודתו על ארץ יסדה. ואשמה הנפש ההיא כי האשם תלוי בנפש החוטאת שהיא הנפש החיה שהזכרנו בסוד בראשית. ואצ"ל כשנברא אדם נברא בצלם אלהים שהוא נשמת האדם הה"ד ויפח באפיו נשמת חיים. פי' היא הנשמה הקדושה העליונה הנאצילת מאצילות הקדמון הה"ד נר אלהים נשמת אדם. וא"כ כשחטא ירד ממעלתו וממדרגתו ונטרד מגן עדן מיד ויהי האדם לנפש חיה. פי' הנפש הבהמית שכתי' בו מי יודע רוח בני האדם העולה היא למעלה ורוח הבהמה היורדת היא למטה לארץ. כי אותה נפש חיה היא הנפש המתאוה תאות גופניות ומתאוה לניאופים ולתאוות רעות אחרות כיוצא בזה ועל זה כתי' ואשמה הנפש פי' הנפש ההיא ולא הנפש השכלית חלילה לאל מרשע. והשיב את אשמו בראשו. פי' אותו האשם שעשה ושב בתשובה יחזיר אותו בראשו פי' בכ"ע שהוא אחד מן שלש ראשים לפי שהוא מדת המחשבה הפשוטה ומדת ההשואה שמוחל לרשע כמו לצדיק הה"ד וחנותי את אשר אחון.

איש איש . פי' איש העליון שהוא המלך יי צבאות. ואיש התחתון כי כמו שקינא האיש התחתון כך מקנה עליה האיש העליון על זה כתי' איש איש. והסוד לא על המלך לבדו עותה.

ורז"ל אמ' אף בראשית מאמר הוא על כן עדן היא החכמה הפנימית שנחקקו בה ל"ב נתי' פליאות חכמה וגאצלו מהן הספי' ויש מהן שנטעו בשש קצוות והספי' והנטיעות כולם נקראו גן והחכמה נקראת עדן היא כמעין וכשורש לכל הנתי' הנשארות* לגן. והגן הוא כמו אילן שיש בו ענפים מראשו עד עיקרו והוא יונק תמיד מן השורש שהוא המעיין יוצא מאין סוף המתפשט מן המקור בלא פירוד ובלא שום הפסק לא יום ולא לילה ואפי' רגע וזהו שאמ' הכתו' ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן. ופי' ונהר מל' נהורא הוא האור הפנימי הבא תמיד מאין סוף ומעדן לכך אמ' יוצא ולא אמ' יצא מעדן | לפי שאותו האור שהוא סג ע"א הנהר אינו פוסק ובכל עת ועת מתפשט במדות על כן נקרא עולם הבא וזהו שנא' להשקות את הגן פירושו להשפיע אורו וכבודו וברכתו בכל אלה המדות הנזכרות והם הנקראות מדות* וספירות ונטיעות והכל נעשה על ידיהם ברצונו הקדמון הנטוע בהם על ידי הנהר היוצא מן החכמ' הנקראת עדן המשקה את אלו ולכך אין להפריד המבורך שהוא האילן מן המברך

שהוא המעיין. וגם אין להפריד המעיין מן המקור המתפשט הכל ממנו לפי שהוא מקום נטיעת השורש לכולן. וכשם שהשורש מחליף מזעו ומעמיד האילן וענפיו ועליו ופירותיו כך זה הנהר הבא מעדן ומאין סוף מעמיד האילן הנזכר וענפיו שהם מדותיו בכל קצוותיו לפעול פעולותיו שהם כנגד עלין ופירות בכוחו ובאורו ובזיוו והדרו. וכל צד שבו כולל בכח חבירו לפי שכוחן בא מן האחד שהכל בו. אבל יש בהם ג' מדות שנקראו אבות לפי' קרובים אצלו וכל שאר המדות כענפים וכח האבות בהם.

ולפי דעתי על כן נקרא מוצא זה הנהר עדן כאומרו ונהר יוצא מעדן שהוא מל' עד והוא מגז' את אשר עדן לא היה. זה דבר והפכו ד"ל הסרת עד לפי שאין עוד מקום שיאמ' בשבילו עד מקום פלוני. וכשאמ' מעדן ר"ל מאין סוף וזהו מה שארז"ל עדן אין לה שיעור. שהנהר הזה אינו נפרד מן המקור שאין לו סוף וזהו סוד כי כה אמר רם ונשא שוכן עד. ר"ל הסרת עד כמו שפירשנו בעדן שר"ל עד אין סוף לפי שהכל דבר אחד ומתאחד באין סוף והמפריד והמגביל מקצץ בנטיעות ולפי שהמדות כענפים נקרא גן עדן וכל המדות האלה הפנימיים רמוזים בפסו' ויטע יי אלהים וכו' שיכול היה לומ' יהיו אצילות בעדן בכל מעשה בראשית כמו שאמ' יהי אור והיה מיד או שיאמ' ויצמח יי אלהים גן בעדן. או כמו שאמ' תדשא הארץ דשא עשב. וכאן אמ' בלי נטיעה. אלא מכאן ארז"ל קוצץ בנטיעות ומהיכן היו אותן האילנות אשר נטע בגן עדן ובפסו' זה נאמ' וישם שם את האדם אשר יצר.

בא וראה והגן הפנימי גן על פי הנטיעות שהן אדוקין במעיין ואותו המעיין המשקה הגן אדוק במקור ואחר השקאתם משם יפרד והיה לארבעה ראשים. הם ארבע מחנות השכינה והם נפרדות לכל צד לארבע רוחות ויקראו עולם הנפרדים. ואותם המלאכים אשר במחנות ההם משתלחים לכמה ענייניים. ואין אחד מהם עושה שתי שליחות יחד שאין כן במדות הפנימיות שכולן פועלות כאחד ודבר והפכו | על פי הרצון. סג ע"ב וכשהקב"ה רוצה לפעול במדה אחת מן המדות בלבד כל אחת ואחת מן השלש שנקראו אבות נעשית ראש למדתה ומשפיעה כח למדות הנפרדות לעשות שליחותם באותה מדה ולא בזולתה.

ובמדרש תנחומא אמ' שלש שבועות נשבע הב"ה לציון. נשבע בבריתו של אברהם אבי' ע"ה שנא' כי מי נח זאת לי ובנפשו נשבע כביכול כתי' נשבע יי בנפשו. ובשבת נשבע שנא' וביום השביעי שבת וינפש.

ובתורה נשבע שנא׳ נשבע יי בימינו . ויראה מן השבועות הנזכרות שהן ארבע. והוא אמ׳ שלש. ועל דעת הקבלה האמתית כי שבת ונפש אחת שבת וינפש ושניהם נאמרו בשכינה. ונמצא במקום אחר תשובה שעשו שקרא בשכינה נפשו שנא׳ ויסירו את אלהי הזכר מקרבם ויעקדו אותה ותקצר נפשו בעמל ישראל. ובאמת שזה נאמ׳ על השכינה שכן מצינו בדברי רז"ל על הרוני בית דין וזהו שאמ׳ כאן ותקצר נפשו בעמל ישראל לפי שהשכינה מצרה מצרתם שנא׳ בכל צרתם לו צר ומלאך פניו הושיעם. הרי שכינה נקראת נפשו. לכך נאמ׳ ולא תנעל נפשי וזו היא השכינה ואונקלוס תרג׳ מימר. ובתרגום ירושלמי מתרגם וידבר יי אל משה. ומלל מימרא דיי. כי כשהדבור יוצא מאספקלריא המאירה שהוא הרחמים הדבור ההוא יוצא מפי השכינה להנעים הקול ולשכך אותו כדי שיכול משה לסבלו ולקבלו שאין ילוד אשה יכול לסבול כח הקול הבא מלפני לפנים. אותו הקול הוא שנתנה בו התורה ועליו נאמ׳ וידבר אלהים את כל הדברים האלה לאמר. לאמר על ידי השכינה לישראל. וזהו מה שאמ׳ אנכי ולא יהיה לך מפי הגבורה שמעום. וארז"ל בקול הראשון יצאה נשמתם בקול שני חזרה. וכן וישמע את הקול מדבר אליו ולא אמ׳ מדבר מכאן שהיה מדבר בינו לבין עצמו ומשה היה שומע מבין שני הכרובים והמשכיל יבין וידוש. ודרשו רז"ל מאחר שאמ׳ כאן מדבר אליו גם במתן תורה כן כי הדיבור אי איפשר לשמעו מפי השכינה ולא כל הנביאים היו יכולים לשמוע מפי השכינה כי אם משה ועל כן אמ׳ דבר אתה עמנו ונשמעה. אבל כל דבור היוצא מפי השכינה שאינו מלפני לפנים הוא בל׳ אמירה. וכל הנביאים היו שוין באותו הקול. ויאמר בל׳ אמירה כמו ויאמר יי אלי לאמר. ויהי דבר יי. וגם למשה בשעה שלא היה מתייחד עמו הדבור היה התרגום מימרא דמז שעל פי השכינה היה הדבור נשמע לו. וכשהוא נשבע בקדשו כמו שנא׳ אחת נשבעתי בקדשי. כאלו אמ׳ בנפשי לפי שהשכינה זוהר הכבוד | הפנימי על ידי הספי׳ הקדושות שלמעלה ממנה. לכן אמ׳ סד ע"א בקדשי. ובמקום אחד הוא קורא אותה לבו שנא׳ ויאמר יי אל לבו לפי קבלתה מן הנחי׳ החקוקות בחכמה שהם ל"ב על ידי הספי׳ שלמעלה ממנה שאף היא מגעמת ומקבלת הכח והברכה והזוהר על ידי כולן ולכך נקראת לבו על שם מניינם שהם ל"ב ועל ידי כך הכל אחד שהיא הגדר המקום לכולן. וגם היא לפי קבלתה מן הנחי׳ אומרי׳ בעלי הקבלה שהיא נקראת חכמה לכך אמ׳ בספר יצירה נעוץ סופן בתחילתן וחחילתן בסופן

הרי הכל הוא מבואר.

ואמ׳ אחד על נבי שלשה. ושלשה על גבי שבעה. ושבעה על נבי שנים עשר. וכולן אדוקים זה בזה וחשבונן עולה ל"ב. וחוץ מן האחד שהוא מתאחד בכולן לפי שהנאצל אינו נפרד מן המאציל והמפריד והמגביל הוא מקצץ בנטיעות ועל כן נקראת השכינה נפשו וקדשו ולבו. ועל זה ישמע החכם ויוסף לקח. ויש בזה פי׳ אחר אחד על נבי שלשה האחד מתאחד נכלל עם שלשה. כי המשך הנמשך בחכמה אחד והחכמה הרי כאן שנים. ומן החכמה בבינה הרי שלשה.והמשך הנמשך בחכמה מאין סוף אינן שני דברים אלא הכל דבר אחד. וכשהוא אומ׳ אחד על גבי שלשה כמו שנא׳ שבע קצוות מקום ואין קצב יותר על שש ומפני שהוא מעמיד הקצוות נקרא קצב ומקום ואינו אלא סובל ועל כן קראו בסוף ספר יצירה היכל הקודש מכוון באמצע ולא נקראה קצה מצד עצמו רק בעבור היותו מקיים הקצוות ומעמיד בכוחו וברצונו המקומות. כך אחד על גבי שלשה ר"ל העולה* עם המשך הנמשך בחכמה והחכמה והבינה הרי שלשה שהעלה והמשך דבר אחד כאשר פירשתי ובעבור שהאחד מתאחד בכלל לכך אמ׳ אחד על גבי שלשה. וכן בשלשה הנזכרים ג"כ דבר אחד אבל הם שם לעילה והוא שמו הגדול עם הקו האמצעי המתאחד בבינה במשך הנמשך מן העילה בהם ובקו האמצעי. על כן הוא מונה אותן השלשה לבד מן האחד. ובאמת הוא כלול בשלשה והקו האמצעי חוזר ונמנה עם השבעה הם הם הספי׳ שלמטה מן שלשה שהם שש בשש קצוות ועם השכינה שהיא כנגד המקום הרי שבע ושלש שלמעלה הנזכרות הרי עשר ספי׳ והאחד נכלל במשך הנמשך בחכמה לפי שהכל דבר אחד שאינו אלא התפשטות הרצון בחכמה וצמצם שכינתו בטפח וארון יוכיח שהיה מדבר עם משה מבין שני הכרובים. ועוד משכן ובית עולמים יוכיחו שאמ׳ שלמה הנה השמים ושמי השמים לא יכלכלוך וכבודו מלא עולם | והשרה סד ע"ב שכינתו בשניהם . והשבעה הנזכרים שהם על גבי שנים עשר הם שנים עשר גבולי אלכסונין ועליהם נאמ׳ יצב גבולות עמים למספר בני ישראל. והכל אדוקין זה בזה כי הכל מתקיים בכח הנעלם ובברכה המתפשטת ממנו לכל הדברים הנזכרים על כן נאמ׳ מלא כל הארץ כבודו.

זרע אברהם אוהבי, א"ל הב"ה אם אתן לך כסף וזהב יש לך הרבה דייך שתהא אתה כמוני שנא׳ ואתה את בריתי תשמור. ובהגדה ברא הב"ה עשר אצבעות רגלים למטה וברא האיבר ביניהם ועשה לו עטרה

להיות מולך עליהם והבן זה.

אמר רבא סוד הכסא שעשה המלך שלמה. על זה האדם אשר נפתחו לו שערי קבלה ישים לבו להבין הדברים הנעימים והיפים וימצאם מתוקים מדבש ונופת צופים. ואמר והמשכילים יזהירו כזוהר הרקיע. ומי האיש החפץ חיים יתן לבו להבין דברי אלהים חיים. ידוע תדע כי הכסא הוא דבר מכוסה על שם שהכוחות מכוסות בו ומוציאם בכח הרצון בזמן הקצוב לפניו ועל כן נקרא כסה מלש' כסה שמים הודו וכו'. ואל תתמה על זה כי אתה מוציא כסה כתו' בה"א וראש עגול לכסה. ועל כן נכתב בה"א לבאר לנו מה שאמרנו שש מעלות לכסא. ואלו הן שש מעלות לכסא הרחמים והעדות אנכי יי אלהיך שחשבון הכסא עולה לאנכי והסוד בזה התחת אלהים אנכי. ובכתו' זה אנו מבינים לפאי פלאות מאת יי צבאות מה שאתה רואה שנכתב בה"א הכסא בא ללמד כי כס הרחמים מתאחד בכסא הדין וזו היא ה"א אחרונה ה כתו' בה בשם המיוחד. כי הוא"ו בין שתי ההי"ן והוא"ו הוא שש מעלות לכסא ושני ההי"ן ה"א ראשונה לבינה וה"א אחרונה האמונה ואין להאריך יותר כי לא יוכל הספר להכיל סודות של זה הפסוק. אבל יש לנו לכלול דבר כלל הראוי שש מעלות לכסא ושמות ידועות יש לשש המעלות וההי"א היא המעלה האחרונה וראש עגול לכסא זהו ראש דברך אמת. ולמה אמ' מאחריו על אשר מתאחד הראש עם המעלה אחרי הכסא שנא' על ידי משה ר' ע"ה וראית את אחורי ופני לא ידאו. וזהו שאמ' דוד ע"ה בסוף הפסוק ולעולם כל משפט צדקך. ללמד כי הראש הנקרא אמת מתאחד במשפט. וראש עגול לכסא מאחריו בא להודיענו אחור וקדם צרתני. ומה נעים סוף הפסוק ותשת עלי כפכה . אל תקרי כפכה אלא כפי כה וסוד הכ"ף וצורתה מוכיח על כן נתיסד מרכבת הכסא על הכ"ף ומה שאמ' ותשת עלי כפכה בא ללמד הכתו' האומ' הסר מעלי המון שריך. וחכמי' ז"ל דרשו מה שדרשו בשומע תפלה וכו' אלו הן שתי המעלות שנקרא עליהם אף ידי יסדה ארץ וימיני טפחה שמים קורא אני אליהם יעמדו | יחדיו. ומה יפה סוף הפסוק יעמדו יחדיו ושנים סה ע"א אריות עומדות אצל הידות ואלו הן שני שדי הגדולים העומדים אחד לימין ואחד לשמאל ומראיהן כעין נחשת קלל. ונקראים שרפים שנא' שרפים עומדים ממעל לו. והמה נפרשים מלראות פני הכבוד ועל כן נאמ' בשתים יכסה פניו וכו'. ויש חצר הכבד בינם לבין קונם מהלך ששה ושלשים פרסאות וזהו מה שאמ' ישעיה כי שמותם נודעים הם למבינים והם המבטלים גזירות.

וטובים הם להזכירם בתפלה כדי לבטל כל גזירה שבעולם ואם לא נחתמה במאמר העשירי שהוא סוד כ"ע הנאמ' בו כך עלה במחשבה כי כל גזירה הנחתמה במחשבה אין מתבטלת לעולם. ועל זה העיקר נעשה נחש נחושת שנא' עשה לך שרף וכו' ומכאן אתה למד חכמתו של משה ע"ה שעשאו מנחושת כי לא פירש לו מאי זה דבר יעשנו ועשאו מדבר שאותיות נחש נופלות בו הוא הבין מה שהבין וזהו מה שאמ' הכתו' על נס כי כל מי שהוא נשוך מנחש רואה נחושת מיד מת. כי העניין נותן להיות כן. ואדם וחוה והנחש יוכיחו ובא הנחושת להגן על ישראל והבן זה. וי"ב אריות שש על שש המעלות מזה ומזה אלה הם שנים עשר המלאכים העומדים סביבות הכסא למספר שבטי בני יעקב. והם מלאכי רחמים ומליצים טובים על ישראל והם ממונים על רי"ו עולמות כנגד חשבון יאיר יי פניו וזהו סוד ויעבר עד הנה כלל הכסה המכוסה.

ד"א שש מעלות לכסה כי כסה בני' סכה שהיא הסוכה שהזכרנו בכמה מקומות בזה החיבור וכיון שבא לידי סוד זה אני צריך לדבר בו. ואצ"ל כתיב ישת חשך סתרו סביבותיו. ברד ונחלי אש. דע כי השם ית' הקיף לכסאו שבעה ענני כבודו שנא' מאחז פני כסא פרשז עליו עננו כלו' פרשז פרש ז' פי' ז' ענני כבוד פירש לכסאו והקיפן ועליהם נאמ' סביבותיו סוכתו ועל כן נאמ' לישראל במדבר באלו ז' ענגים כי בסוכות הושבתי וכו'.

כתי' ואמרו לי מה שמו. מה שם סודו בראשית ברא אלהים מסטרון המנהיג כל העולם. לא יהיה לך אלהים אחרים שהוא סוד שר הפנים ואע"פ שתראה אותו מניע פרטי העולם אל יעלה בדעתך שהוא אלוה כי אפי' זה השר אחר אחרים נמשך ומעלות יש למעלה ממנו בסוד אי"ק. ועניינו שהוא ראשית התנועה בסוד יו"ד והוא תכלית העשרה עשיריות שהם שכלים הנפרדים בסוד ק' הרי לך שר מעלתו למטה ממעלות שכלים נפרדים שהיא ק' ולמעלה ממעלות הגלגלים | שהיא מעלת סה ע"ב יה' והיא ראשית התנועה בסוד אלף. ואל העניינים הם עניינים נפלאים הם למי שיש לו עינים לראות ואזנים לשמוע. ואמנם כי סור אי"ק אל"ף יו"ד קו"ף. ותדע כי אל"ף המסור ביד השר והוא סוד אי"ק כלו והוא כולל כמו שתראה ראשית הפעולה בסוד י"א. אמנם כבר ידעת מהותה כי היא הכוללת במו כן כל חלקי המציאות בסוד עשרה חלקים והעשיריה למעלה. ובסוד ששה סדרים ובסוד ד' יסודות. ואמנם אות הקו"ף הוא

סוד מקום כי קו"ף בגי' מקום ואמרו הנה מקום אתי והתבונן אמרו מעולם ועד עולם וכו' . ואמנם תדע לך כי מקום הוא השם בעצמו ית' והבן כל אלו העניינים במתכונתם והמשכיל יבין.

ר' יוסי אומ' גדול העונה אמן יותר מן המברך. א"ל ר' נהוראי השמים כן הוא תדע שהרי גולידין מתגרין במלחמה וגבורים נוצחים. וצא"ל מהו ענין אמן שנאמרו עליו שני המאמרים האלה. ותחלת כל דבר אשכילך ואורך פי' מי כמוכה באלים יי מי כמוכה על מה נכתב בה"א ונכתב בפסו' פעמים. הה"א הראשונה הם חמשה ספירות העליונות וכללם ביחד למען הודיעך כי אינם מתפשטות למטה כי אם למעלה וכנגדם חמשה שמות לנשמה חיה יחידה רוח נפש הולכת על סדר הספי'. והנפש קיומה בדם כי הדם הוא הנפש והיא המתאוה לאכילה ומשגל ועליה נאמ' עניתי בצום נפשי וכתי' תענו את נפשותיכם והנפש האכלת וכנגדה נא' ותצא אש מלפני יי ותאכל את העולה ואת החלבים. ובאליהו כמו כן,ואמ' פעם שנייה מי כמוכה לרמוז הה' ספירות שהם מתפשטות למטה בזמן הגלות ואמ' נאדר בקודש. ואצ"ל מפני מה אמ' בכאן נאדר ולא אמ' נאדרי כמו נאדרי בכח ומהו בקדש. דע כי בכל מקום שתמצא קודש הוא רמז לחכמה עליונה וזהו סוד קודש ישראל ליי ראשית תבואתה הכתו' בה"א וזהו זרע קדש.

אמ' ר' יוחנן יעקב אבי' ע"ה לא מת. מכדי ספדוהו ספדיא וחנטוהו חנטיא וקברוהו קבריא א"ל מקרא אני דורש דכתי' ואתה אל תירא יעקב ואל תחת ישראל כי הנני מושיעך מרחוק ואת זרעך מארץ שביהם. מקיש הוא לזרעו מה זרעו בחיים אף הוא בחיים. א"ר יעקב אבי' לא מת. ולא אמ' אברהם ויצחק מפני שהוא המכריע והוא כלל וכן הוא אומ' וצדקה תציל ממות. ואומ' מבקשי פניך יעקב סלה.

ר'ישמעאל אומ' שלשה הדסים ושתי ערבות ולולב אחד ואתרוג אחד. וצא"ל כי הם בין הכל שבעה. ושלשה הדסים הירקרקות רמז לתשובה עם שני כתרים שהם רוחניים ועל זה נאמ' והוא עומד בין ההדסים.

תנו רבנן שלשה שותפין יש באדם הקב"ה ואביו ואמו. אביו מזריע לובן | שממנו העצמות וגידים וצפרנים ומוח שבראש ולובן שבשנים.סו ע"א אמו מזרעת אודם שממנו עור ובשר ושחור שבעינים ושער. והב"ה נותן בו רוח ונשמה וקלסתר פנים וראית העין ושמיעת האוזן ודבור שפתים

והלוך רגלים ודעה ובינה והשכל. ואצ"ל מפני מה סמך את שבתותי תשמרו לאיש אמו ואביו תיראו. וכבר ידעת מדרך הקבלה מפני מה אביו מזריע לובן כפי עיקר קבלתו על כן אמ' כרחם אב על בנים. ואמו מזרעת אודם כפי קבלתה ומכאן שהנשים זרעניות כתולדות האש לשרוף ולהשמיע קול. ומוח שבראש הוא מאביו. כל התולדות של פניו. כי על כל פנים מוח הבן נמשך ממוח האב. והמוח הוא מדת יו"ד ובו החכמה והבינה.אם יקרה במוח שום היפוך מיד האדם מבולבל בדעתו. וכן עומדים בכח כל תולדות האדם ומשם יפרדו והם בו כעין דשימות דקות בתכלית הדקות כי על כל פנים התאוה באה מרצון הנפש. ונשמת הזכר יונק מנשמת הזכר ונשמת הנקבה יונקת מנשמת הנקבה ולכך התקינו שלא עשאני אשה כי לפעמים מתחלפות הנשמות ומטעם זה באו עקרות לעולם מכח שיבואו נשמותיהן מן הזכר. אם אתה מן המשכילים תבין זה הסוד הגדול והמופלא הזה ודום ליי.

ועל התאוה ודבקות הנפש בנפש באה הטפה ממעיין במוח רותחת מתולדות הראש שהוא מאש דרך נקבי השדרה זה מזה וזה מזה ומתערבת במים היוצא מנקבי הבטן שהוא ממים ומתגלגלת עד הגויה שהיא מרוח והוא כנוד נפוח וקשה והרוח ההוא קשה ודחוק שם מאוד. ומתוך הקושי הגדול מן הרוח הרוצה לצאת דוחה הטיפה וטוחה אותה בכותך בית הרחם. ועל כן ארז"ל כל שכבת זרע שאינו יורה כחץ אינו מזרעת ועל כן קורא הכתו' משכת זרעת*וכו' וידע אדם את חוה אשתו לפי שהטפה באה ממקום הדעת. ולפי שהטפה נמשכת מן המקום ההוא הזהירו רז"ל לקדש אדם עצמו בשעת תשמיש שנא' בקרבן קדש. ולפי שבמוח כל תולדות האדם אמרו בסנהדרין ובבראשית רבא קול דמי אחיך צועקים אלי. דמו ודם זרעיותיו. ולפי שבמוח היא החכמה והבינה ארז"ל נותן בו דיעה ובינה והשכל וכבר ידעת כי השכל רמז לחכמה עם הדבור התלוי בו. וכבר ידעת מהו מדת הדין ומדת הרחמים והכל נקרא כסא לתשובה. זולתי הכתרים הנקראים מעון ומעונה וזהו סוד מעונה אלהי קדם ומתחת זרועות עולם. וכל פעולותיהם הם כפי הנהגת הרוכב עליהם על | כן סו ע"ב כשהוא דן את העולם קורא אותו מלך יושב על כסא הדין ר"ל מדת הדין. וכשהוא מרחם ומטיב קורא אותו יושב על כסא רחמים וזהו סוד ובחסד עולם רחמתיך. וזהו ויגולו רחמיך על מדותיך. וזהו סוד כי תרכב על סוסיך מרכבותיך ישועה. וארז"ל אין הרוכב טפלה לסוס אלא הסוס טפלה

לרוכב והרוכב פועל בו כל מה שהוא חפץ והבן זה הסוד הגדול.

ד"א* בראשית ברא אלהים. ובאתי להעמידך על אמתת הפי׳ בפסו׳ זה ואפרש המזמור יי אלהי גדלת מאד הוד והדר וכו׳ שהוא אמור על עניין מעשה בראשית מתחלתו ועד סופו וזהו כלל המזמור. אמ׳ כנגד יהי אור הנברא ביום ה"ד עוטה אור כשלמה. ופי׳ בו אצילות האור ההוא מאין. וכנגד יהי רקיע הנברא ביום שני להבדיל בין מים למים אמ׳ המקרה במים עליותיו. ופי׳ אותה ההבדלה לכמה עניינים היתה. וכנגד יקוו המים. אמ׳ יסד ארץ על מכוניה. פי׳ הזמן הקבוע לה. וכנגד תדשא הארץ דשא. אמ׳ מצמיח חציר לבהמה. וכנגד יהי מאורות אמ׳ עשה ירח למועדים. וכנגד ויברא אלהים את שני המאורות הגדולים. אמ׳ תשת חשך ויהי לילה. הזרח השמש יאספון. וכנגד ישרצו המים. אמ׳ זה הים גדול ורחב ידים שם רמש. וכנגד יום הששי שנא׳ בו ויברא אלהים את האדם. אמר יהי כבוד יי לעולם וכו׳ . וכנגד יום השביעי שהוא כנגד אלף השביעי שיהיה העולם חרב. אמ׳ המביט לארץ ותרעד. וכנגד תענוג הנשמות באלף השביעי אמ׳ אשירה ליי בחיי. וכנגד בטול יצר הרע אמ׳ יתמו חטאים מן הארץ ורשעים. והכי מפרש המזמור הזה עם פרש׳ מעשה בראשית והמשכילים יבינו.

יי אלהי גדלת מאד. רמז על זוהר החכמה המתרבה לכל צד. ומן השפע ההוא יניקה. הוד והדר לבשת. בך נקשרה החכמה ולא תמצא אתה זולתה ולא תמצא היא זולתך. זה היה קודם בריאת העולם וזהו שארז"ל יחיד בעולמו והיו ההויות עמוקות ונסתרות בחכמה ופירש ואמ׳ איך היה בריאת שני העולמים. עוטה אור כשלמה הוא הזמנת המשכת החכמה הסובבת את הכל ובאומרו עוטה ר"ל שקבל שפע מן הזוהר ההוא. ועל ידי הדבור התנוצץ אור שהיה כולל עשרת הדברים שנאצלו ביום ראשון כאחד בלי פירוד. והם שמים וארץ תוהו ובוהו פי׳ תוהו דבר שאין לו צורה. ובוהו מלביש את התוהו עד שיצטייר ציור דק יותר מן הרוח. וחשך על פני תהום. עומק רום ועומק תחת. ורוח אלהים. זהו רוחו של משיח. רוח | חכמה ובינה. מרחפת על פני המים. מכסה על הכל. וזהו כלל סז ע"א הכל שנתאצל ביום ראשון כמו שארז"ל באדם הראשון שעה ראשונה הוצבר עפרו ובאמרו יהי אור נתעטף באור אור כמו שביארנו ומצינו חמשה פעמים אור כתו׳ בפרשה הראשונה וחמשה פעמים מים בפרשה שניה שהיו חמשה טיפי מים וחמשה טיפי אור בתוכם. והם החמשה קולות

הנאמרים בנתיגת התורה. ולכך נאמ׳ כי טוב ר"ל נחלק האור כמדליק נר מנר ונתן כח להיות להתפשט ולהמשך ה"ד ויבדל אלהים בין האור ובין החשך. הגביל לכל אחד המשכתו והתפשטותו וזהו שכתי׳ יהי אור ויהי אור. פי׳ אספקלריא המאירה ושאינה מאירה. ועל שניהם נאמ׳ כי טוב וזהו ויקרא אלהים לאור יום ולחשך קרא לילה. פי׳ המשיך כח מדת היום ליום וכח מדת הלילה ללילה. ויהי ערב ויהי בקר יום אחד. עדיין היה הכל מיוחד כי כל זה התשפטות הויה. ד"א ויהי ערב אספקלריא המאירה. יום אחד פי׳ יחיד המיוחד בשמותיו. וכנגד יהי רקיע אמ׳ המקרה במים עליותיו. יהי רקיע יתפשט הרקיע בתוך המים כהתפשטות הנשמה בצורה. ועשה ביום השני הגבלת מקום ובעבור זה לא נאמ׳ כי טוב בשיני לפי שלא נשלמה עדיין מדת טובו של הב"ה. ויהי מבדיל בין מים למים כלל ההבדלות שנים מים העליונים ומים התחתונים. והעליונים נקרא דרך משל זכרים והתחתונים נקבות. והפרסים הרבה עצמו ראשיהם לכך אמ׳ המקרה במים עליותיו. כענין שנא׳ הבונה בשמים מעלותיו. כי הם עשויות מעלות על מעלות כדכתי׳ כי גבוה מעל גבוה שומר וגבוהים עליהם. וכל הדברים שנצטיירו זה לפנים מזה סובב סובב חצים למעלה וחצים למטה וזהו כשם שהשכינו למעלה כך השכינו למטה.* וכפי הענין הזה הם שמונה עשר אלף עולמות. וזהו מה שאמ׳ דוד ע"ה רכב אלהים רבותים אלפי שנאן. אחר שאמ׳ רבותים שהם עשרים אלף עולמות כנגד עשר ספי׳ למעלה ולמטה חסר מהם האלפים מפני שהם אין והכל אמת כי הם רבותים והאלפים אין להזכירם בכלל מניין כי הם אין. וידוע הוא כי על כל עולם ועולם מאלף דור לכך הוא י"ח אלף עולמות. ולכך היה סוד החכמה והעילה שלא נא׳ במעשה בראשית כי אם תשעה פעמים ויאמר והעשירי הוא רמוז במעשה בראשית שאין ראוי להזכירו.

השם עביט רכובו כלל ההבדלות שנבדלו במים העליונים שבעים חוץ מפנימיותיו והם שבעים | ואחד וכנגדן המים סז ע"ב התחתונים בהם ונקראים בשם אחד הרי שבעים ושנים ולכך אמ׳ עביט. ואומ׳ הנה יי רוכב על עב קל. וכתי׳ הנה אנכי בא אליך בעב הענן. שהחמשה קולות נחלקו לשבע קצוות מקום וחוץ מן הקצה הפנימי הרוחני המעמיד הכל שאינו מן המניין הרי שש קצוות בכל אחד ואחד מן הקצה העשרה ולכך אמ׳ בפרש׳ מעשה בראשית ששה פעמים כי טוב. וכפי העניין הזה נאמ׳ ששים המה מלכות. ששים גבורים סביב לה הכל ענין

אחד. וכמו שאנו עתידין לבאר ועם הקצה הפנימי הרוחני הם שבעים ואחד זה כלל ההבדלות שנבדלו ביום שני הנבלת והבדלת מקום. וכמו שאנו אמרים באדם הראשון שעה שנייה נדלו כאדם הבונה חרבה ועושה בה סימנים לעליות ולחדרים ובה ההשלמה באלו ההבדלות למה היו.

עושה מלאכיו רוחות רמז כי ביום שיני נבראו המלאכים הם צבאותיו שעליהם נקרא אלהי הצבאות שאינם כתחלפים ומתבטלים בהתחלף שאר המלאכים שנבראו ביום חמישי. וכנגד יקוו המים מתחת השמים אל מקום אחד ותראה היבשה. אמ' המשלח מעיינים בנחלים וכו'. הוא האמנת המשכת הצינורות לים החכמה ואמ' יסד ארץ על מכוניה. נראו ונבדלו הבדלה ממש לכך חזר ואמ' בו כי טוב תחת היום השני. וכמו שאמרנו באדם הראשון שעה שלישית רקמו וזהו שאמ' ותראה היבשה. בעוד שהיה העולם מים במים לא היתה יכולה להתגלות. וכנגדו אמ' יסד ארץ על מכוניה. ופי' זמנה הקבוע לה עולם ועד שהוא אלף דור חמשים אלף שנים כי כל דור חמשים שנה.

יעלו הרים ירדו בקעות אל מקום זה יסדת להם. ים אוקיאנוס. וזהו ויקרא אלהים ליבשה ארץ וכו' המשיך הרצון שהוא סוף המחשבה אל היבשה כי משמ' יבשה דבר שאינו עושה פרי והמשיך סוף המחשבה אליה שהיה כלל הדברים. ויקוו המים. יעשו צינורות אשר הנהר יוצא מעדן ניתייסד להשתלח משם החמישי להשקות את הגן. ועכשיו נראו באוחן צינורות גולם אבל לא המשכה ובעבור כי הצינורות הם הם הזמנה להמשכת העניינים. המשלח מעיינים בנחלים בין הרים יהלכון. ישקו כל חיתו שדי וכו'. היא החיה הנודעת הנקראת הגן ה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן. ישברו פראים צמאם. קורא פראים המשרתים אשר הם ממונים על עניני העולם כפי ההנהגה וכהעניין שנא' הכפירים שואגים לטרף. וזהו ולמקוה | המים קרא ימים. המשיך הקו האמצעי סח ע"א היונק מן המקור כחוט השדרה היונק מן המוח למדת היום כעניין שנא' כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים פי' כל הצינורות נמשכים ממדת היום למדת הלילה דרך יסוד עולם.

משקה הרים מעליותיו. לפי שהדשאים והצמחים לא יצמחו עד שירדו המים שהם הנשמים אמ' משקה הרים וסמיך לו מצמיח חציר לבהמה. מפרי מעשיך תשבע הארץ. רמז בכאן כי מן המעלות ההם שהם היסודות הראשונים הרוחנים באה סבת המטר לעולם והוא פרי המעשים ההם כי

הם סבת כל ההויה וההפסד שבעולם והרי סבת האור והחשך והתילד קיטור הארץ אשר ממנו יבא המטר וארץ ישראל שותה מן הפנימיים לפי שהיא כנגד הקו האמצעי הפנימי ושאר העולם שותה תמציתם וכן הוא אומ' הבונה בשמים מעלותיו ואגודתו על ארץ יסדה. ואחד שהזכיר בניין מעלות השמים הזכיר הבא מסבתם. וכן באיוב מזכיר היסודות הראשונים. הרים הגבוהים ליעלים סלעים מחסה לשפנים. הנה בזה בכאן כי כל דבר שואב חיים ויונק מן היסודות הראשונים שנראו ונתגלו ביום השלישי והושם בטבעם כחפץ הנצחי הקדמון להיות משטרם בארץ ולהיות כל בעלי חיים דבק ונקשר בהם ומסתפק מהם וסופם לשוב אליהם וזהו שנא' שם כי טוב.

מי יתנך כאח לי וכו' תשובת הכבוד. יונק שדי אמי תקבל יניקה ממקום יניקתי וזהו רוח אלהים חיים. אשקך הדבור אוהבך לדביר הקדוש הוא ריח אמי. וכשם שאין הנשמה מראה פעולותיה זולתי הנוף ואין לגוף פעולה בלתי הנשמה כך הב"ה מראה נוראותיו ואותותיו על ידי מדותיו. אשקך כל זה משל להסתפקות האור העליון אשר משם מתברכים האבות והבנים יחדיו.

שמואלו וימינו הדבור כי כולו הוא עילוי.

השבעתי אתכם דברי השכינה עם ישראל שלא ידחקו את הקץ ועל כן אמ' אילות וצבאות לפי שאין השכינה במקומה.

מי זאת עולה מן המדבר. הוא מסע משאר המסעות שנסעה השכינה כמו שארז"ל עשר מסעות נסעה השכינה מכפורת לכרוב ומכרוב לכרוב ומכרוב למפתן וממפתן לחצר ומחצר למזבח וממזבח לגג ומגג לחומה ומחומה לעיר ומעיר להר ומהר למדבר וממדבר עלתה וישבה לה במקומה דכתי' אלכה אשובה אל מקומי מתרפקת ומתאוננת על פרידת דודה | ממנה ה"ד תחת התפוח עוררתיך. הכרוב השמאלי סח ע"ב הואהמתלת הצורה ותערובת אהבה על הכבוד בזמן שישראל שרויס על אדמתם ועושים רצונו של מקום. אחז"ל כתו' אחד אומ' ופניהם איש אל אחיו וכתו' אחד אומ' פניהם לביה. לא קשיא כאן בזמן שישראל עושים רצונו של מקום וכאן בזמן שאין עושין רצונו של מקום. שמה חבלתך אמך פי' רוח אלהים חיים. ושמה חבלה. שאר הדברים הרוחנים.

שימני כחותם כשנפרד בזמן הגלות. כחותם הידוע על זרועיך

שהוא כנגד הלב. כמו שארז"ל במס' ברכות מניין שהב"ה מניח תפילין וכו'.

בוז יבוזו לו. יחלק לו כבוד והדר להיותו רצוי לקבל השכינה.

אחות לנו קטנה אלו הם ישראל שהם בגלות נבזים ושפלים.

ושדים אין לה. ארץ החיים לפי שמציון תצא תורה וכו' ובגלות אומ' ימים רבים לישראל ללא אלהי אמת וללא תורה. מה נעשה לתת להם אחרית ותקוה בגלותם.

אם חומה היא. לעומת האויבים. טירת כסף התשוקה. ואם דלת היא שהיא נוחה להפתח.

אני חומה מתבשרת להתחזק באמונתו ובשתי התורות שהם חיות האדם כמו השדים לתינוק.

כרם היה לשלמה. פי' למי שהשלום שלו. אלו הם ישראל שנקראו כרם דכתי' כי כרם יי צבאות בית ישראל. בבעל המון הוא המשל על האומה הנדולה והדרה והמונה ונרם העון ונתנה לאומות העולם לשלוט עליה. איש יביא בפריו היו מעבידים ישראל בנופם ובממונם. אלף כסף. משל על ימי הגלות ולא הקפיד על המיעוט.

כרמי שלי לפני. אוציאם מן הגלות ויהיו בשמירתו כבתחלה. האלף לך שלמה. זהו חול ר"ל מלכות בית דוד ורמז בכאן על ימות המשיח שיהיו אלף שנים הוא האלף הששי משנות העולם שהם ששת אלפים שנה. ומאתים מן האלף הזה לנוסרים את פריו לשומרי שכר התורה והמצות שמתו בגלות והתאוו לביאת הקץ ותחיית המתים פי' שיהיה תחיית המתים במאתים שנה אחר התחלת הגאולה שהוא חמשת אלפים ומאתים שנה לבריאת העולם ובסוף חמשת אלפים תגלה הישועה ולכך אמ' היושבת בגנים היא השכינה שהיא בקו האמצעי. חברים אלו הן ישראל. מקשיבים לך לקבץ נפוצותיה. וידוע הוא כי ארבעים שנה גלו עשרת השבטים קודם יהודה ובנימין וגלו בשלש גליות כדכתי' כעת הראשון הקל ארצה זבולון וארצה נפתלי והאחרון הכביד | כמו שנתברר בסדר עולם מן הפסוקים. סס ע"א ויהודה ובנימין גלו כמו כן בשלש הגליות. וכמו שהלכו בגלות ראשונה כך יצאו מן הגלות תחלה ולאחר זמן יצאו בני יהודה והוא שנתנבא ישעיה ואמ' יוסף יי שנית ידו לקנות את שאר עמו. אמ' שנית שגאולת עשרת השבטים תהיה ראשונה וזהו שכתי' את שאר עמו אשר ישאר מאשור. וא"כ משאר שני הגלות ומזכיר שתי הגאולות וקרא לכל אחד ואחד בשמו

הראוי. אמ' ונשא נס לגוים ואסף נדחי ישראל. קרא עשרת השבטים נדחים לפי שהם עומדים ביחד אבל הם נדחים ממקומם. וקרא גלות יהודה נפוצים הה"ד ונפוצות יהודה יקבץ וימשחו להם בית ישראל הנקרא משיח בן יוסף והוא ילחם מלחמות יי ויכבוש מדינות וממלכות ויבא ירושלם ויבנה אותה כדכתי' בונה ירושלם יי נדחי ישראל יכנס. וימות במלחמה ועליו נאמ' ביום ההוא יגדל המספד בירושלם. וכתי' והביטו אליו את אשר דקרו. אשר יבואו נפוצות יהודה המפוזרים בין העמים ושמו להם ראש אחד הוא משיח בן דוד שהיה עמהם בגלות וברשיון מלכי האומות ובעזרתם ילכו אל ארץ ישראל כדכתי' והביאו את כל אחיכם מכל הגוים. ויהיה המלכות ההוא נמשך ואינו פוסק וזהו נאם יי אלהים מקבץ נדחי ישראל הם עשרה השבטים. עוד אקפץ עליו לנקבציו. פי' עוד אקבץ כל הנקבצים ההם קבוץ הם נפשי יהודה וזהו שנא' ושב יי אלהיך את שבותך ורחמך ושב וקבצך מכל העמים אשר הפיצך. ואיפשר שבין שתי קבוץ גלות יהודה זמן מרובה וא"כ יהיו רועים במדבר העמים לברר וללבן בו כל רשעי ישראל ולהתוך אותם כהתוך כסף בתוך הכור כמו שאירע ביציאת מצרים ויהיה נגמר לאלף ומאתים ותשעים הוא קץ של דניאל שהוא חמשת אלפים קי"ח לבריאת העולם. ועוד נאמ' אשרי המחכה ויגיע לימים אלף שלש מאות ושלשים וחמשה הרי שהגאולה כמו כן יתברר ויתלבן זמנים כמו שמצינו עשרה שנים מיציאת מצרים עד שיכנסו לאותן ארבעים שנה ובעת ההיא עברו המלחמות והמקומות העצומות ויגיעו ימי הנחמות וההבטחות המופלאות הגדולות והנוראות. אבל התחלת הגאולה כה תהיה בסוף חמשת אלפים שנה לבריאת העולם. וראיתי אני לפרש פרשה אחת מזכריה שהיא לפי דעתי עתידה והמפרשים אומ' שכבר עברה בעבור שראו שהתנבא זכריה על בנין בית שיני ועל שאר המאורעות שארעו בה אמרו כי הנבואה ההיא כבר נתקיימה בבית שיני. ולא נראו לי דבריהם כי הרבה נבואות מן הנביאים שהן באמת | עתידות והם בתוך הנבואות שנתקיימו בימיהם סס ע"ב כמו שנא' והיה באחרית הימים שאמ' ישעיה ומיכה בסיגנון אחד והנבואה בתוך שאר ארצות שכבר עברו וכמה נחמות עתידות והבטחות נפלאות בירמיה וביחזקאל עתידות בין שאר הנבואות שנתקיימו בבית שיני.

ופרשה זו היא גילי מאד בת ציון הריעי בת ירושלם הנה מלכך יבוא לך צדיק ונושע הוא עני ורוכב על חמור ועל עיר בן אתונות. אמרו המפרשים על נחמיה התרשתא דכתי' עני ורוכב על חמור וכו'

כי אם הבהמה אשר אני רוכב עליה ולא אמ׳ סום ופרד. ופרשו ועוררתי
בניך ציון על בניך יון על מלחמת חשמונה. וזה לא נראה כי לא מצינו
נחמיה נקרא מלך ושר כי אם זרובבל בן שאלתיאל פחת יהודה לפי שהיה
מזרע בניהו מלך יהודה. ונחמיה אמ׳ לחם הפחה לא אכלתי. ועוד לא עלו
מן הגולה כי אם שבט יהודה ובנימין והכהנים והלוים וכל אשר העיר
אלהים את רוחו ובכאן הוא אומ׳ והכרתי רכב מאפרים וכו׳. ואע"פ ששנינו
בסדר עולם כל הקהל כאחד ארבע רבוא בכללם את מוצא ארבע רבוא
ובפרטן אי אתה מוצא אלא שלשים אלף. אלא אלו של שאר שעלו מן
המקום אין לומ׳ אפרים סתם על עשרת אלפים שעלו מהם. ועוד והכרתי
רכב מאפרים וסום מירושלם ונכרתה קשת מלחמה. זה לא היה בבית שני
כי כמה מלחמות היו בין ישראל ובין מלכי יון. ולא היתה לישראל ממלכה
וממשלה בכל ימי בית שיני כי תחת מלכי יון ופרס ורומי היו.

מכל אלו הטעמים אין דעתי נוטה לפרש פרשה זו על בית שיני
כי אם לעתיד בימי המשיח ה"ד הנה מלכך יבוא לך הוא המשיח שיבוא
במהרה בימינו. עני ורוכב על חמור רמז כי לא ירשו ארץ בחרבם ובקשתם
וסוס ורכב כי אם ברצון הבורא שיפיל וישפיל כל האומות לפניהם ה"ד
והכרתי רכב מאפרים וכו׳ שלא יצטרכו לכלי זיין דכתי׳ וגברתים ביי
ובשמו יתהלכו נאם יי. כי אבני נזר מתנוססות על אדמתו. אותם אדמות*
קודש שנשפכו שבו לקדמותן כי מה טובו ומה יופיו כצאת הכבוד שכינת
עוזו מן הגלות יתרבה עליהם האור הבהיר הלבן אשר עינו כעין הבדולח
הוא דגן השמים שהוא מדת החסד הנוטה כלפי הדין יתרבה הפשע האדום
ואחר שהמדות יהיו בתיקון ובשלמותם לא יהיו נשמים צמוקים פעם מרובים
ופעם מועטים כי ההמשכה הפנימית תהיה כתקנה ישאלו מיי מטר ושאר
העניין.

ואחר שהזכיר גאולת אפרים שהיא עשרת השבטים הזכיר
גאולת נפוצות | יהודה ואמ׳ גם את בדם בריתך. רמז בכאן ע ע"א
על עקבות המשיח שהדור כולו חייב ותשכח התורה מישראל ותרבה העזות
והחצופה כדכתי׳ בן מנבל אב וכו׳. לא ישאר בידם רק זכות מצות מילה
וילכד כל ארץ מצרים ומלכות כוש וזהו שכתי׳ והובישו כל מצולות יאור
וכו׳ ויאור בכל מקום הוא יאור מצרים וזהו מה שכתי׳ בדניאל ובעת
קץ יתנגח עליו מלך הנגב וישתער עליו מלך הצפון ובאוניות וכו׳ מלך
הצפון ברכב ובפרשים וכו׳ ואומ׳ וארץ מצרים לא תהיה לפליטה. ואז

ישפוט על כל העולם תשעה חודשים ובהיותו שם ישמע כי עם רב באים
מירכתי המזרח הם עשרת השבטים ויצא לקראתם ויערוך מלחמה עמהם כדכתי׳
ושמועות יבהלוהו ממזרח ומצפון ויצא בחמה גדולה וכו׳. ועל אותו יום
נאמ׳ והיתה עת צרה אשר לא נהיתה מהיות גוי. ואמ׳ ירמיה הנביא ע"ה
שאלו נא וראו אם יולד זכר מדוע ראיתי כל גבר ידיו על חלציו כיולדה
ונהפכו כל פנים לירקון. הוי כי גדול היום ההוא מאין כמוהו ועת צרה
היא ליעקב וממנה יושע ויפלו כולם חללים לפני יי ולפני מחנהו כמו
שנא׳ ובא עד קצו ואין עוזר לו. אחרי כן ילחמו בני יהודה עם בני ירושלם
ויצורו על ירושלם כדכתי׳ וגם יהודה תלחם בירושלם. ועל זה נתנבא
ישעיה ע"ה שחסור הקנאה ההיא ותעבור המלחמה בטור הקנאה ה"ד וסרה
קנאת אפרים וצוררי יהודה יכריתו אפרים לא יקנא את יהודה ויהודה לא.
ואחר כך תהיה מלחמת גוג ומגוג ויהיו כל המלחמות והקנאות עוברות לאלף
שלש מאות שלשים וחמשה. הוא חמשת אלפים קס"א לבריאת עולם. אם
אתה מן המשכילים תבין ותשכיל ודום ליי.

ועל זה כתי׳ ברח דודי. פי׳ צפה ברוח הקודש והתנבא על
האלף השביעי הוא יום שכולו שבת ומנוחה לחיי העולמים שיהיו כל הנשמות
צרורות בצרור החיים. ויהיה הנהר אשר בו קיום העולם. וישובו היוצא*
מעדן התכמה פוסק וזהו סוד ברח דודי רמז לסלוק הכבוד והתעלותו
באור העליון. ודמה לך לצבי. על הרי בשמים הוא המקום הכלול מכל
הזזיות* ומלא גויות מפליא תושיות. המקרה במים עליותיו הוא יזכנו להמנות
ולהיות מן הכת המשימין עצמן כשירים ויחיינו מיומם לראות בטוב ירושלם
בהיות אור הלבנה כאור החמה ואור החמה יהיה שבעתים וכן יהי רצון
ונא׳ אמן סלה. אמן |

בא וראה מה שכתי׳ ואמרו לי מה שמו וכו׳. ע ע"ב

ואצ"ל כי שם אהיה מורה על התחלת ראשונה כי אל"ף הוא התחלת כל
האותיות והוא ראשית לאחדים והיו"ד ראשית לעשרות והיא מדרגה שנית.
וכל נולד מדבר בדברים האלהיים אי איפשר היותו במעלתו אחר היותו
עלול. ומפני היות האל"ף בלתי מקבל חלוקה והעלול יתואר בחצי ממעלת
העילה ואין לעילה הראשונה תואר שיתואר בחצי חיבורה לאל"ף ה"א
להורות על חצי מדרגה. וכן ליו"ד ה"א והיא חצי מדרגה באמת. ויש
הבדיל בין ה"א הנולדת מן האל"ף ובין ה"א הנולדת מן היו"ד ובין
ה"א האחרונה לוא"ו ובין ה"א אחרונה ליו"ד. ויש למשכיל לחקור

בה ובסדרה אשר סודר על פי השם. והנה ראש אהיה וראש יהוה הקיפו אדני זה במעלתה ראשונה וזה במדרגתה אחרונה והדין באמצע. ועל כן אין יכולת לנביא להכיר בתחלת נבואתו הפרש הרוח המתלבשת בו אם מדת הדין או מדת רחמים. ומתוך תלבושת הרוח ועזר הכח האלהי יתגלו לו מן השמים.

וראיתי אני בפי׳ קצת מן המקובלים* בפי׳ ואמרו לי מה שמו שבקש לדעת מהותו ר"ל מהות הכח המתלבש בו כי פרעה היה כופר באלהות ואמ׳ לא ידעתי את יי. כלו׳ שאין השגתו רק על דרך לו* כלו׳ אין ואפיסו שאין לו חקר ולכך אמ׳ משה אני צריך לידע מהותו של שם להשיב לפרעה ולישראל השובה ברורה לכל שאלותיהם. והשיבו הב"ה אהיה אשר אהיה רמז לו שהכל מעיקר אחד. סימן לדבר שהאל"ף אות אחת ומכח תנועה מביאה הה"א וה"א מביאה בכח התנועה אות יו"ר ויו"ד יביא בסתר מבטן תנועחח וא"ו ומסתר תנועת הוא"ו אות ה"א הרי אומ׳ ו"ה ומסתר תנועת ה"א אות אל"ף הרי א"ה. וחלק דבריו לד׳ חלקים החלק הראשון ויאמר משה. השני ויאמר כה תאמר. השלישי ויאמר עוד אלהים אל משה כה תאמר אל בני ישראל. הרביעי לך ואספת את זקני ישראל ואמרת אליהם. החלק הראשון גילה את הסוד כולו למשה לפי שהיה ראוי יותר מכולם ולפי׳ גלה לו שורש הדבר. החלק השני צוהו והרשהו לגלות להם שם אחד בלבד. החלק השלישי גלה להם שם המפרש בפי׳ אע"פ שאמ׳ זה שמי לעולם וזה זכרי לדור דור. לא הזכיר זכרי כי אם בשביל שמי ולכך חזר ופי׳ לזקינים בחלק רביעי פי׳ זכרי אע"פ שהשם רמוז בו.

ועתה יש לפרש באי זה דרך הודיע למשה מהותו של שם ומה היה יותר משה בידיעתו יותר מן האחרים במהות המהות. דע שהמהות עיקר שוה באחדות השוה הגמורה שאין בו יהרון לצד על צד ואותו עיקר מתרומם מהשגת חוקר. ולכך נקרא רום מעלה שאין רוממות ועילוי שהוא למעלה ממנו והרוצה קורא אותו כ"ע. סימן רום אות אל"ף. סימן רום מעלה אות ה"א | ושתיהם ספי׳ אחת. ספי׳ שנית היא כח ההשכל שאין עא ע"א כח למסתכל יותר ממנה ולכך נקרא השכל שהוא התחלת התכלית שהוא כח החכמה. וסימן ההשכל אות יו"ד וסימן החכמות אות ה"א ושתיהן ספי׳ אחת. הרי שתי ספי׳ נכללות בשם אחד והוא אהיה. ומזיו ההשכל הנקרא חכמה יצא אור השכל הנקרא בינה שהיא הספי׳ השלישית שהיא נכללת בשם אהיה. ומפני שהבינה אין כתה אלא מכח שתי הספי׳ הנכללות

בשם אחד נקראת בשמם. הרי אתה רואה שגלה למשה ספי׳ ראשונות שהם פניפיות. הראשונה כח אלהי השניה כח מלאכות. השלישית כח נבואה. והשב השני בכתו׳ הוא הראשון וזה הוא פי׳ אהיה המאושר מן אהיה הראשון והכל אחד. אך עיקר הבינה הוא י"ה וכדי לרמוז שהוא מקבל כח מרום מעלה.ולפי שלא היו ישראל ראויים לידע סוד האלהות וסוד מלאכות וכח נבואה ולא גלה להם שמות אלו כי אם הכח הנאצל מהם שהוא פנימיות הרחמים וקראו אהיה. וגלה אותם לישראל הנבחרים הראויים לידע להודיעם סתר הדבר וא"כ הודיע לאחרים הפחותים מהם גלוי הדבר המתפרש באות וא"ו שהוא נקרא בשם המפורש. ולזקינים המיוחדים הראויים להכנס בסוד העבור מסר להם סוד השכינה שהיא נקראת ה"א ה"ד פקד פקדתי וכו׳. ועתה יש לנו לפרש היאך נכללת שלשה שמות של אהיה בשם המיוחד. השם הראשון בפסוק נכלל באות ראשון שהוא יו"ד. והשני בפסוק נכלל באות שני שהוא ה"א. והשלישי בפסוק נכלל באות שלישי שהוא וא"ו. וכשתפרש אות וא"ו יתפרש סתר דבר שהוא נקרא אהיה. ומה הוא פירושו של הוא"ו שש מדות. הגדולה והגבורה והתפ׳ והנצח וההוד ויסוד עולם.

אמ׳ ר׳ יהודה אין לך בכל לילה ולילה שאינו אוחז מטטרון שר הפנים כל נשמתן של תלמידי חכמי׳ העוסקים בתורה לשמה ומראה אותן לפני הב"ה וממתינין מלאכי השרת ודוממין מלומ׳ שירה עד שיאספו נשמות של הצדיקים עמהם ויזמרו ביחד לאל עליון ה"ד הנצנים נראו בארץ. אלו העוסקים בתורה לשמה.

ר׳ לוי פתח שמע ישראל יי אלהינו יי אחד. שבכאן רמז עיקר היחוד של אלהינו לקשור הכתרים של מלכינו אחד באחד בלא פירוד. שמע רומז לכנסת ישראל שהיא כנסת הכל מל׳ וישמע שאול וכו׳. ישראל רומז לעדות ישראל. יי לתפ׳ עם שש קצוות. אלהינו לזרועות עולם. יי לשלש עליונות. אחד האל"ף רומז לכתר. החי"ת צריך שיאריך בחי"ת עד שימשיך שפע הברכה מן החכמה אל התשבה ומזו לזו עד לצדיק שהם שמונה בחשבון החי"ת | וכשתגיע לדל"ת דאחד עא ע"ב שהיא רבתי צריך שבעוד שתאמ׳ הדל"ת שתאריך בה עד שיתיחד העט׳ שהדל"ת רומז לה. ותחשוב בלבך שהכל כלול בה כל העשרה כלולים בצדק. ואחרי כן תעלה מחשבתך שההוד כלול מכל העשרה. וכן לנצח וכן לתפ׳ וכן לגבורה וכן לחסד וכן לתשובה וכן לחכמה וכן לכתר עד

אין סוף. בכל אחד שצריך שתחשוב שהיא כלולה מכולם וזהו יחוד אמיתי והבן זה מאד ודום ליי.

ושנו רבותי' וביום השמיני ימול בשר ערלתו. בא וראה המילה נכרתו עליו שלש עשרה בריתות כנגד אחד. ובזכות ברית מילה נתנה נבואה בישראל ובשביל המילה תפילה של ישראל מקובלת כי מילה בגי' פה בחשבון אחד. ועל זה תקנו כי אתה שומע תפלת כל פה. כלו' כל בעל ברית מילה. ובשביל זה נתנה נבואה בישראל שנא' פה אל פה אדבר בו. וכל העובר על מצוה זו עוקר עולם ממקומו וכופר באחד לגמרי. אבל מה שכתו' זאת אות הברית כלו' מן האותיות. ולא מצאתי צורת העט' בצורת האותיות כי אם באות היו"ד. וזה הוא הנקרא חותם האמת אשר נחתם בבשרינו. ועל זה תקנו בברכת המילה חתם באות ברית קודש ואם אינו חתום בזה האות כאלו הוא מחלל בריתו של הב"ה. ואם ינח חותם זה ומכניס אותו ברשות הטומאה ראה מה הוא עושה שמחלל חותם המלך זו היא אות יו"ד מן השם הגדול שבי"ה.

מפני* מה היה ענין יוסף שמת בחוצה לארץ ולא זכה למות בארץ הואיל ואמרת כי לפי שהיה צדיק הושם בארץ כדכתי' אדון* הברית. היאך לא זכה למות בארץ. ועוד כי משה שהיה מבחר הנביאים היה במדרגה גדולה יותר ממנו כמו כן היאך לא זכה למות בארץ ומת בחוצה לארץ. וכן כי יעקב שהיה מבחר מן האבות לא זכה גם כן למוח בארץ ומת בחוצה לארץ. ועוד כי יעקב ומשה במדרגה אחת היו ויוסף במדרגה הקרובה להם בברית הקדוש היה. כל אלה שותפין הן במדרגתם קרוב יוסף אצלם הנוטל מהם. על כל פנים תימה הוא על הענין הזה. ועוד יוסף למה לא זכה להקבר עצמו בארץ זולתי עצמותיו דכתי' ואת עצמות יוסף אשר העלו בני ישראל ממצרים קברו בשכם. והוא צוה זה הה"ד והעליתם את עצמותי מזה אתכם. ויעקב זכה להקבר כל עצמו בארץ. ומשה איש האלהים לא זכה לא זה ולא זה. העניינים אלו הם תמיהים. והנני משיבך על כל אחת ואחת מאלו השאלות.

והנה זו השאלה הראשונה שיוסף לא זכה שימות בארץ ונשמתו יצאה ברשות אחר הואיל וצדיק הוא לא היה ראוי לכך. הדע לך כי על כל פנים עניין יוסף לא היה צדיק אלא בהיותו בחוצה לארץ ונשתעבד | בשעבוד ולא היה ברשותו וענו בכבל רגלו וברזל באה נפשו עב ע"א כדי שלא ישמור את בריתו והכל סבל על עצמו ולא חלל את בריתו.

על כל פנים זכה להקרא צדיק מה שלא זבה כן בהיותו בארץ וישב עם אביו ועם קרוביו ועם תולדותיו אין השבח שלו כלום כי בעל כרחו שלא בטובתו ישמור עצמו מכל רע ולא ידבק בידו מן החרם. אבל בהיותו בחוצה לארץ כפי אשר אמרנו זכה להיותו צדיק. ואמנם בהיותו במקום אשר זכה להיות צדיק שם זכה להדבק בבוראו וזה הוא השבח. אע"פ שיצאה נשמתו בחוצה לארץ לא יכול רשות אחר ליטלה ממנו ויזכה למקומו הראוי לו והטוד מורה כמו שאמרנו דכתי' ויישם בארון במצרי'. ואין השבח כולו כל כך אלא ימות בחוצה לארץ ויזכה למקום הזה אשר אמרנו. וכמו כן משה זהו השבח שמת בחוצה לארץ ובא והאיר ללבנה כי השמש בהאספו הלבנה האירה ממנו וזהו סוד גדול יעקב ומשה ויוסף בהיות להם שבח גדול. אבל לפי הדרך העליון הפנימי אלו האנשים הללו שהזכרנו שהם במדרגה עליונה על הלבנה אין כראוי להם מכל וכל שימותו אלא להיותם חיים וקיימים לעולם. אבל בהיותם במקום גרעון נאספו אל עמם ומתו פי כל מדרגת משה ויעקב עליון על מדרגת הלבנה ומדרגת החיים והשלום ומה גרע להם הארץ הקדו' ולפי' נאספו אל עמם ודיי בזה לכל משכיל ומבין.

ועל מה שלא זכה יוסף להקבר בארץ עצמו זולתי עצמותיו הענין הזה הוא סוד גדול ונכון. תדע לך כי עשרה שמות הן שאינן נמחקין ובתוך אותם עשרה שמות שם הצדיק יסוד עולם הוא השם הנקרא* ושם זה על כי כל צבאות מרום ממקום זה יוצאין כי הנהר אינו פוסק לעולם וממנו פורחת הנשמות וצבאות העליונים. וכבר ידעת דוגמת אדם בהיותו עור ובשר ועצמות ובידים. והסוד הפנימי כי העוד הוא דוגמת מתיחות הרקיע החופף מבחוץ כדוגמת העור החופף על האדם. והבשר הוא דוגמת סוד שמו קץ כל בשר אז תהיה מדרגה השולטת על הבשר. עצמות הם שאר צבאות מעלה מחנות עליונות. ובידים הם המקורות שהם המדרגות אשר מהם יוצא שפע לעולם. ועל הדרך הזה תוכל לדעת כי סוד העצמות צבאות ומחנות ואלה הם שנכנסו לארץ. וארון העצמות הוא הולך אצל ארון חי העולמים הכל על דרך סוד הפנימי כפי הראוי.

יעקב הוא סוד הגוף ולפי' גופו הכניסו לארץ כפי העניין הראוי לו. משה לא זכה לא זה ולא זה. בחייו זכה להשתמש מה שלא זכה במותו אדם אחר. כיון שנכנסה השכינה בארץ דבקה בבעלה הראשון איש תם. ומשה נשאר בחוצה לארץ והיא חזרה לבעלה | הראשון. עב ע"ב

מכאן למדנו האשה שנישאת לשני בעלים ומתה היא למי חוזרת באותו העולם. וסימניך אלכה ואשובה אל אישי הראשון. ומאז לא היה אדם בעולם שיעמוד במדרגת יעקב ומשה עלכן לא נקבר בארץ כי יעקב הבעל הראשון היה קבור שם והעט׳ אינה ראויה להדבק שם בשני הבעלים ותזרה לשכון בבעל הראשון כפי הראוי לשכון ולחזור לראשון אשר זכה בה בתחלה. והכל הוא עניין סתום וידוע הוא למשכילים יודעי חן ומביני מדע. ומפני כך לא זכה משה להכנס בארץ ואע"פ שגרם החטא הכל הוא סבה מאת הבורא ית׳ לחזור כל הדברים כתיקונן כפי הראוי ודיי בזה לכל משכיל ומבין מדעתו.

ועוד יש לשאול על עניין רחל מפני מה לא קברה יעקב במערת המכפלה ואני תמיה שכבר קדמה מיתתה של לאה למיתתה של רחל ולפי׳ נקברה שם אינו כך כי על כל פנים מיתתה של רחל קדמה למיתתה של לאה והיה לו לקברה במערה. וא"ת כי רחל היתה עיקר הבית מפני מה קבר ללאה אחרי כן במערת המכפלה ולא לרחל. וא"ת כדי שלא יכנס שתי אחיות לארץ יניח ללאה ולא יכניסנה שם מפני אהבת רחל. ועוד כבר ארץ היתה לבא אפרתה למה לא קברה באפרתה וכבוד היה לו לקברה בעיר ולא בפרשת הדרכים והניח רחל שהיתה אהבת נפשו. אפי׳ אורח שנתאחז עמו בדרך ומת ראוי לו להוליכו לעיר הקרובה ולקברו שם. וכל שכן לאשתו ולאהבת נפשו. כי כל אלו הדברים יש לדעת האמת ומהו העניין.

ויש להשיב מה נחמד העץ להשכל ותאוה הוא לעינים והשאלה נכוחה. השאלה הזאת נחלקת לשני חלקים שתי שאלות הן. האחד מפני מה לא נקברה רחל במערת המכפלה. והשנית מפני מה לא נקברה באפרתה הואיל והדרך קרוב לאפרת. ואמנם כי דבר זה על אשר לאה נקברה במערת המכפלה וזכתה שם יותר מרחל באמת ונכון היתה הסבה הזאת בעניין זה. לזה זכתה ויצאה ממנה ששה בנים ובת אחת. והיא סוד דוגמת העולם המוציא שש קצוות והבת היחידה ביניהם לתת לה כל אחד ואחד די ספקה והוא הסוד הנעלם והנסתר זו דוגמת זו ולפי סוד העניין והדוגמא היה ללאה להסתר במסתרים בתוך המערה לפניי לפנים להיותה במסתרים בתוך המערה כפי אשר אמרנו. רחל הוא הסוד הגנלה דוגמא אחת ממש ועל כן עמדה בפרשת דרכים ונקברה שם להיות מצבתה בנגלה. ולפי זה העניין כמו | שאמרנו בתחלה תוכל לעמוד על תוכן האמת. ומאחר

עג ע"א

אשר ידעת זה אל תשאל מפני מה לא הכניסה לאפרת. ולפי הפשט אין דרך כבוד לאשה להוליכה ממקום למקום אלא שתהא נקברת במקום אשר תמות שם. ועל כן רחל כתי׳ בה ותלד רחל ותקש בלדתה. ועדיין הקושיא במקומה עומדת ותקבר שם ודיי בזה לכל משכיל.

ועוד יש לשאול על עניין הדודאים שנתנה לאה לרחל כי העניין לפי הנראה הוא גנאי וכבר ארז"ל גנאי הוא לאשה לתבוע משכבה מבעלה ובכאן לא ראינו כך אלא בפרהסיא אמרה תורה שיצאה לאה לקראתו לחוץ לתבוע מן יעקב משכבה מה שאין ראוי לאשה חצופה שבעולם כ"ש לצדקת כזו וב"ש לפי שהיא עומדת על משמרת דוגמא עליונה כפי אשר אמרתי.

ועוד רחל אשר אמרה לכן ישכב עמך הלילה כי הכל לפי הנראה בין מצד לאה בין מצד רחל הכל הוא גנאי ודבר שאין ראוי לכתוב בתורה.

תדע לך כי כבר התעוררנו בתחילה על היות האמהות סוד דוגמא של מעלה כפי מעלת האבות להיותם דוגמא עליונות והן היו בסוד למעלה כפי אשר אמרנו. אמנם כי סוד עניין זה נסתם ומופלא בסוד אלהותו. תדע לך כי רחל סוד השכינה היא מדת מערב. ראובן סוד מדת דרום. ועל כן הדגל שלו בדרום שנא׳ דגל מחנה ראובן תימנה לצבאותם . מפני שהוא ראשון. ולאה סוד נעלם ונסתר כפי אשר הוא תכונת כל אחת ואחת שהיא סוד שני עולמות עולם הנסתר ועולם הנגלה. ולפי דרך זה נסתרה לאה במסתרים בתוך מערת המכפלה. ורחל בפרשת דרכים. בדרך זה להיות זה נסתר וזה נגלה. ואצ"ל יש תמיד למדת דרום לתת לה ולבקש מנוח לכף רגלה. מה כתי׳ וילך ראובן בימי קציר חטים. ראובן הולך לבקש לה מנוח שהוא מדת דרום. אימתי בימי קציר חטים. כשאוכלוסיה קצרו קצירה ואכלו את לחמה ולקחו ממנה שלל.

וימצא דודאים שני הכרובים שהם נצח והוד הנקראים שני עמודים אשר מהם יורד השפע לעולם. בשדה זו זו השדה אשר ברכו יי. ויבא אותם אל לאה אמו מביא אותו התעוררות לסוד נעלם כי לעולם אין שפע יורד מלמעלה זולתי בהתעוררות שניהם סוד זכר ונקבה ובשביל התעוררות אותם שני הכרובים ללאה אמו. וכיון שמדת דרום מביא אותם אל לאה אמו. תני נא לי לפרנס ולכלכל צבא שלי׳ מאותו התעוררות שהכניס לך מאותן הדודאים ממדת דרום. וכשאמרה לה המעט קחתך את אישי. אמרו כי בכאן היא אמרה לרחל בדרך האהבה והתענוג והחדוה כמדת האם עם בתה. ומה אמרה המעט קחתך את אישי דבר זה אינו בשביל יעקב

אלא על סוד הנקודה העליונה הנסתרת היא. ואמרו אין לעולם חיבה יתירה כמו האם אצל בתה כשהיא בת יחידה בין ששה אחים.| קרא עג ע"ב לה בת לא זז מחבבה עד שקרא לה אחות. לא זז מחבבה עד שקרא לה אם. כשם אמה. לא זז מחבבה עד שקרא לה שמו ממש חכמה שנא' והחכמה מאין תמצא. וכיון שאמה בא אצלה בדרך תענוגי האהבה אומרת המעט קחתך את אישי. נקל הוא לך זה ליקרא אותך בשם בעלי ולקחת אותו האהבה מה תרצי יותר אותו עניין התעוררות הדודאים לקבל שפע בשבילם. ותאמר רחל לכן ישכב עמך הלילה תחת דודאי בנך. ותתמלא תענוגים ממנו ואור זוהר הבהיר מן עולם היש. ואצ"ל יש כ"ב אותיות תוצאות מן החכמה העליונה להנחיל אוהבי יש. וזהו יש כ"ב עמך הלילה וכו' כעניין הזכר בנקבה שמצייר. מה כתי' ויבא יעקב מן השדה בערב. בכאן הוא סוד נסתר ויש לך לדעת כי סוד השדה מקבל כל ממדת דרום ונתחבר עמו בסודו תפ' ישראל. יעקב איש תם כיון שיבא הערב ומתעורר מדת גבורה שהוא פחד יצחק שבאותו עת ממש בשדה. ואמרו ויצא יצחק לשוח בשדה לפנות ערב וכו'. יעקב מניח לו השדה ועולה ללקט תענוגים כאמו. מיד ותצא לאה לקראתו ותאמר אלי תבא כי שכר שכרתיך. לי תאסף תחת כנפי ולך אתן כל התענוגים וכל אורים גדולים כי כבר באותו התעוררות הדודאים נתרציתי. מיד מה כתי' כיון שבא יעקב לחסות תחת כנפיה. וישכב עמה בלילה הוא. ר"ל כי הוא רומז לאל"ף של אחד וזהו שאומר אני והוא הושיעה נא אחרון עם ראשון יהוד שלם מלמטה למעלה. וסוד דבר הנעלם והנסתר וישכב עמה בלילה לא כתי' אלא הוא סוד הנסתר והנעלם והכל לפי התעוררות העולה מלמטה.

ועל עניין הבכורה אשר שאלת יש לך לדעת כי ח"ו הוא לא חמל על אחיו ואפי' על כל אדם יש לחמול באכילה ובשתיה כ"ש על אחיו ממש אלא כבר התעוררנו בתחילה יעקב אבי' בסוד החכמה הנוראה וכל הדברים היה יודע בסוד החכמה. וכי הוא ית' ויתי' מנהיג העולם וזה לפי חסדו לעניין דוגמת העולם שלמעלה להתנהג העולמות בשוה כפי הראוי לכל אחד ואחד. עולם שלמעלה בדבר הרוחני ועולם שלמטה בדבר הגופני. והוא היה יודע והבין הסוד הגדול הזה שעשו הוא היה דומיא דנחש המסטין להרע תמיד. וראה וידע כי הערלה סובב לברית הקדוש ולפני חסאת רובץ ומפני כי שם השפע היורד נוטל חלקו להגביה למעלה להשחית רבים ביד. וכיון שראה יעקב כך אמ' אם אני אוכל לדחות

כל זה במאכל ובמשתה כפי הראוי לתת לו וכיון שידעתי כי יתמו חטאים למעלה וימשכו אחר אכילת אחרת | ויעזוב רשע דרכו וכו' ובכל עד ע"א קדש לא ינע ואל המקדש לא יבא. מיד ויזד יעקב נזיד כדי להמשיך הרשע אחר האכילה הראויה לו. כיון שראה הרשע המאכל ההוא מיד תאב ונמשך אחריו כפי מה שאמרנו בסוד הלעיטיני נא מן האדום. כפי אשר התעוררנו בתחלה ולפי' עניין הבכורה הוא לעניין מוכרח ואין דבר בתורה שיוצא מדרך חכמה גדולה לחוץ.

ועוד יש לשאל על עניין יעקב שהיה צדיק גמור בכל מעשיו איך היו כל.ענייניו במרמה אצל אחיו כי כמדומה לי שמעולם לא הלך עשו עם יעקב במרמה. אם תאמר לי לפי שלא היה יכול לו בחזקה אינו אומ' זה אלא על שהתנהג עמו במדה זו. ועוד כי לפי דברך אם עשו הוא סוד הנחש עקלתון שהוא ערום לפי הדין הוא היה צריך להתנהג עם יעקב במרמה. בתחלה הלך עמו במרמה לקחת את בכורתו ממנו במעט עדשים כשראה אותו רעב לאכול אין זה דרך אחים שלא לפרנס זה את זה. ויש לנו ללמוד שהב"ה על שלא נתנו בני ישמעאל מים לישראל נתרעם עליהם דכתי' משא בערב ביער בערב תלינו אורחות דדנים. לקראת צמא התיו מים. ובכאן כשראה יעקב לעשו אחיו רעב וצמא לא חשב לחמול על אחיו עד שלקח ממנו בכורתו זה אינו ראוי לצדיק כמותו. ועוד דבר שהוא יותר מהכל כשראה שיצחק אביו היתה תאותו לברך את עשו כפי סבתו אשר אמרת מדוע הלך לגנוב ממנו ולגזול ברכותיו ולגנוב דעת אביו להחנכר אליו ככל אשר עשה. דברים כאלה תימה לצדיק כמותו. ועוד אני מקשה צדקת כזו דבקה אמו איך עשתה הדברים האלה וסבבה לבנה כעניין זה אצל אביו ואצל אחיו על כל פנים יש לנו לדעת אפיתת העניינים האלה. ואמרו כי איך* הברכה לא לקח יעקב ממנו זולתי כי יעקב היה בכור וטיפה הראשונה היה ולפי' יצא באחרונה והאחרון בראשונה ומפני שהוא היה הבכור יצא* לקחת ממנו את שלו.

וכבר ידעת כי סוד עשו הרשע הוא רשע המכחיר את הצדיק כגון העורלה שהיא הסובבת אותו וכעניין זה סבת הסבות להפרש העורלה מן הברית בסבת אותה האכילה. כיון שראה שעשו האב במטעמיו של יעקב אמ' יעקב אם זה יעשה רצונו ויפרש עצמו מן הבכורה בשביל האכילה אשר לו אני בטוח שאעשה כן לסוד העורלה אשר למעלה כמעט שיקנה* ממנה מלמטה שיתנו להביא* הרי יתפרש מן הברית ויהפך לעשות עצמו

עבד ולא יעמוד במעלתו.

ועוד יש לך לשאול על עניין צדיק ורע לו ורשע וטוב לו. וזה העניין הוא סוד גדול ומופלא בעניין היבום.

וכבר ידעת כי סוד היבום | הוא בלכת האדם לבית עד ע"ב

עולמו ואין לו זרע להזכיר שמו הכרת תכרת הנפש ההיא וגדל מכאובה ועונה בה ונדחה מעל יי ובגורל הצדיקים לא יבא ובעוד יומם שמשו יבא ואין לו חלק במעלות הקדושות ובסוד נורא תהלות ויושב בחוץ ונכרת דמותו לאין נכונות מהתמונות הכלולות* כל התמונות. ועל כן עניין הסוד המיוחד על דרך הנכון הזה בהיותו נפטר לבית עולמו ואחיו חי נשאר כדי לקיים שמו וילך אל הכלי אשר הניח בסוד המעשה כי הוא סוד הכסא לנוח בו שבט הרשע אשר נכרת תמונתו ולהושיבו אל מעונתו למען לא תכרת בהכרת עולמית כל הימים ולא יאבד לעולמים. והנה כי בהתחבר אחיו הדואג והשומם על אחיהו ובא אל מעונתו הנה גם היא תדאג ותשום בראות אח בעלה בא אליה האהלה והוא גם הוא בהתחברו עמה יזכור לאחיהו וידאג עליו ויכון רוחו אליו ושניהם כאחד אליו יהיחדו והאבידה אשר תמצא כי נועדו. והסוד כעניין סוד אומרו אם ישים אליו לבו ונשמתו אליו יאסוף. וסמך בסוד אומרו עליו פרא למוד מדבר באות נפשה שאפה רוח וכו'. והכל הוא בסוד ידוע בהתכונם במחשבתם כי היא התועלת הידועה למצא את האבדה אשר נאבדה.

ואמנם יש לך לדעת כי כל העניינים נמשכים לעולם מין במינו והתבונן כי המשכת הרוח הוא במינו בסוד רוח להמשיך רוח ברוח. ועל כן התועלת בהיותו הוא ית' אב רחמן ומנהיג הכל במדת חסד וצוה לעשות חסד עם המת הנאסף ואין איש מאסף אותו הביתה. ובא אחיהו ואשתו ועושין עמו חסד ואוספים אותו ולא ישב לחוץ. והנה הסוד באומרו ולא יכרת שם המת מעם אחיו ומשער מקומו לא היה העניין להוליד בן ולקרוא אותו בשם המת. אבל העניין אינו על זה הדרך והוא ית' לא צוה על העניין הזה. אבל הסוד הוא בהיותו ית' צוה לעשות חסד עם החיים ועם המתים בכמה פנים והחסד גדול כמו שאמרנו הה"ד לא תהיה אשת המת החוצה לאיש זר יבמה יבא עליה הבן ותשכל זה הפסוק כי זה החסד הגדול שעושה אחיו של המת ואשתו שהניח והסוד כפי אשר אמרנו.

דע אחי ישמרך האל כי ידיעת עניין זה היא ידיעה עליונה אשר דאוי למשכיל להכריח שכלו ומחשבתו בידיעתה וזה כי הסבה הראשונה

כי יאצל אצילות הנקרא אין כ"ע אויר קדמון והאצילות ההוא המיוחד בהתעלותו בעצם מהותו תתגלה ממנו ספי' החכמה וזהו החכמה מאין תמצא. ובצייר החכמה אצילותיה המצטייר מעצם מהותה תתגלה ספי' הביגה. ואל זה רומז אי זה מקום בינה. ושלשת הספי' הללו הם כנשמה לנשמות ר"ל עה ע"א לשאר הספי'. ועל כן תצטרך לבחינת שכלך לערוך שלש על שלש והוא ערך המספר על מספרו לא על זולתו והם השע ובהתחבר העשירית שהיא הכלה הכלולה מהכל יעלה עשר ועל זה אמרו עשר ולא תשע ולא אחד עשר.

ואצ"ל סוד שלש שמות המורכבים כאחד בהיות בעלי הקבלה משתמשין בהם בכוונת התפלות. ושלשת אלו השמות הם יהוה הוא הנמצא באחדות השוה בתכלית האפשרות מתעלה מן הכל ומאצל בכל הוא השם המורה על קדמותו ית' ויח' ומכח השם המיוחד נתקנה כח ראשון מצוי נאצל באמיתת הקדמון ונקרא אהיה כל הכוחות כלולים בו כולם ועץ החיים ועץ הדעת ותחתיו מתפלגין המרכבות התחתונות. וכח זה הנאצל בשם אהיה תשוקתו וממשכתו אצל עי' העי' והוא דבק בו והוא כדמיון כסא לבורא ית' ויח'. ואחר שידעת הנאצל מאמיתת המאציל בסוד אלו השני שמות דע כי יש עוד שם אחד נקרא חמיד כנוי השם הגדול והנורא ית' והוא השם שאותיותיו אדני. וצא"ל כי זה השם שהוא אדני הוא כדמיון פשר מעיד ומורה המשכת השם העליון הנאצל באהיה כדרך זה. אל"ף ראשונה שבשם אדני מעידה על אהיה. יו"ד אחרונה מעידה על תכלית אהיה שהוא סוף כל התכליות והיא סבת הכל הוא השם יהוה ית' ויח'. וכבר ידעת כי צירוף השם המיוחד בשמושו הוא סוד ירושלם והוא משולשת ד"ן מרובעות* כמו שכבר קבלת מה שתצטרך לדעת. כי אהיה שהוא ד"ן כי שמי בקרבו. כלו' שפע המציאות האמיתית במה שאהיה תתקיים ואם כן סוד ד"נ שבאדני מעיד על דבוק הנאצל במאציל ונודל התשוקה. וסוד א' של אהיה יו"ד יהוה נמצא אדני כדמיון פרשה* לשני שמות ההויה ומעיד ומורה על כח השם המיוחד בתוך הנאצל ממנו הה"ד ונשגב יי לבדו ביום ההוא.

ולפי' המתכוין בתפלה צריך לדעת מהו כורע בברוך של אהיה ומהו זוקף בשם שהוא אהיה יהוה והסוד ברוך אתה אדני המעיד כל האצילות מהראש ועד הסוף בסוד א' אהיה יו"ד יהוה וזהו סוד אתה מאל"ף ועד תי"ו והוא פרשה באמצע ועל אותה הה"א נמשכת ההויה וקיום מאת השם ונעשית ברכה מקבלת שפע ולפי' יהוה יותר אהיה אדני כנגד יו"ד יהוה

ואז תתיחד הנפש בהדבקה ביחיד האמיתי וישארו כל הנאצלים למטה בהיותו מתבונן עליו השם ואצילותו עליהם ואזי יתבונן הזה נאצל וזה מאציל ולא יקצץ בנטיעות ונמצאת הנפש פנויה מכל הנבראים ודבוקה בשם הגדול מהם ה"ד ובו תדבקון. ועל זה המכוין הכונה הזאת | תפלתו עה ע"ב מקובלת בהיותך נעשה בדמיון מרכבה לשם הגדול אחר היותך מסיר כל האמצעים ומשים אותם ספילה לו בסוד השם המורכב מסוד יהוה אהיה אדני ותכוין בהם בהיותך אומ' ברוך אתה יהוה כי הכל אחד ואז תייחד כל הכוחות באחד ויתחברו הענפים ולא תמצא מעכב על תפילתך שכבר תקנת את כולם ותלית אותם על השורש ונמצאו כולם עמך בהתיחדם עם דבקות נפשך בשם ית' ואז תמצא בשעת התפלה כמו שכללת סבת הכל וזהו סוד יי אלהינו יי אחד פי' בהיותך מיחד כל הכוחות ועושה מהם קשר אחד.

ר' שמעון פתח* השמים מספרים כבוד אל וכו'. כבר ידעת כי השמים הוא הקו האמצעי הנקרא שמים ה"ד ואתה תשמע השמים. אבל על דרך הפנימי העליון כי החיצון גלוי וידוע לכל בתחלת מחשבה שכוונתו לשמים המורגשים ולשמש המורגש. וגם הר"ם ברמז"ל כבר הביא ראייה בספרו הנזכר מפסוקי' אלו שהגלגלים בעלי נפש ודיעה מכירים את בוראם ומשתוקקים למניעם תנועתם הסיבובית מה שאין צורך עתה להאריך בו והוא האמת. אלא כוונתינו בזה גבוהה מכוונתו כגבוה שמים על הארץ. ואל יחשבני השומע כי אני כמגביה עצמי ולא יחשבני ומדבר עתק אין זה כי אם כצמצום שכן ארז"ל כחלל שבין הארץ לרקיע כך בין הרקיע למים עליונים. ויש גורסין בין רקיע לכסא הכבוד. ועוד שיש כסא למעלה מכסא וכבוד למעלה מכבוד. אבל המשכילים מקבלי האמת מפי יודעיה ידעו ויאמנו כי דברי אלה נכוחים למבין וישרים למוצאי דעת. ואין לחוש מאיש שוגה ומפתי אם אותם אחרי גו ישלך. הלא דברי יסיבו עם הישר הולך אע"פ שאנחנו מודים לרב ז"ל בקצת דברים ממה שכתב באותו פרק בעניין הגלגלים והתחלתם ובפרק אחר במספרם. ואין אני בוזר ומקיים שדוד ע"ה נתכוון לכוונתו במזמור זה חלילה לי אמנם כדי לגלות אליך את לבי עתה באתי לייישב פסוקי המזמור על נתיבות דרכי החכמה הנעלמה כפי אשר תשיג ידי ושכלי הקצר.

בא וראה בשעה שהיה משבח ומזמר היה מעלה מחשבתו למעלה ממה שנפל בחלקו כדי להמשיך הברכה לחלקו ולנחלתו ה"ד משוך

חסדך ליודעיך וכו'. ואצ"ל כי ברוב דבריו היה מתכוין דוד ע"ה אל החסד באומרו הושיעני כחסדך. וכתי' אלהים ברב חסדך ענני. וכיוצא בהם רבים והנצח מענפי החסד הוא באומרו נעימות בימינך נצח. ועל כן הוא פותח בתחילת רוב דבריו למנצח. וא"ת שהוא מל' נצוח יהיה מחלקי התוקף והגבורה,ובמדרש | של ר' נחוניא בן הקנה סוף עו ע"א השכינה הוי ג"כ נצח. והיינו לנצח נצחים תרי וכו'. והיא היא של מדתו של דוד ע"ה זהו כוחו והוא תהלתו והוא אלהיו כאומרו תהלה לדוד ארוממך אלהי המלך וכו' עליה נאמ' אבן מאסו הבונים.וסמיך ליה מאת יי היתה זאת וכו'. וסוד גדול נגנז בזאת דכתי' זאת היתה לי וכו'. בזאת אני בוטח. וכתי' בתורה בזאת יבוא אהרן. וזאת התרומה. וזאת הברכה. וזאת אשר דבר להם אביהם. ובנביאים ובחנוני נא בזאת. ואענה את זרע דוד למען זאת. ורבים אחרים בתורה ובנביאים שסודם גלוי למשכילים. ובמדרש ויקרא רבא ארז"ל על פסו' בזאת יבוא אהרן אל הקודש. ד' יודן פתר קריה בכהן גדול בכניסתו לבית קדשי הקדשים חבלות חבילוח של מצות יש בידו. בזכות התורה וזאת התורה. בזכות המילה זאת בריתי אשר תשמרו. בזכות שבת אשרי אנוש יעשה זאת. שומר שבת וכו'. בזכות ירושלם זאת ירושלם בתוך הגוים שמתיה.

וראיתי לקצת המפרשים נותנין חלוק גדול בין מזמור לדוד ובין לדוד מזמור. והעולה מדבריהם כי כשהוא אומ' מזמור לדוד מתכוין להמשיך רוח הקודש אליו וכשהוא אומ' לדוד מזמור שכבר שרתה עליו השכינה ומכאן ואילך מדבר ברוח הקודש. ואני בעניי לא זכיתי להבין ההפרש הזה שביניהם מדברי המפרשים והזכרתיו אולי ירגיש בהם המבין מדעתו יותר ממני.

השמים בה"א הידיעה פי' השמים הידועים ורמז למה שארז"ל בהבראם בה"א בראם. וכן קדמו להם חמש הויות רוחניות. ובבראשית רבא א"ר יהושע בן קרחה בהבראם באברהם. בזכות אברהם בראם. והוא הוא מה שאמ' דוד ע"ה אמרתי עולם חסד יבנה . וכתי' יי בהשמים חסדך בתוספת ה"א מה שאין כן בכל המקרא. וכתי' סביב סביב כחלונות. ובמדבר סיני רבא ובפסיקתא כחלונות אין כתי' אלא כהחלונות מקטינות היו מבפנים ורחבות מבחוץ כדי שיהיו מוציאין אורה לעולם. והוא טעם בה"א בראם רמז לה"א ראשונה ואם נאמ' ה"א אחרונה והיא השמים שמים ממש והארץ הארץ ממש שכן ארז"ל שהעולם הזה נברא בה"א והעולם הבא נברא ביו"ד.

וקבלתי כי ה"א בהבראם מאותיות קטנות לסוד נשנב ונפלא ומה שאמרו
מי כהחכם רמז אל החכמה העליונה. ובמדרש מי כהחכם זהו הקב"ה רכתי'
יי בחכמה יסד ארץ וכו'. ומי יודע פשר דבר. שפרש תורה לישראל.
חכמת אדם תאיר פניו זה הב"ה. וטעם השמים לפי הכוונה הראשונה לשמים
הראשונים שהם השמים העליונים. וגבוה מעל גבוה שומר וכו'. כאומרו
השמים ושמי השמים. ועליהם נאמר | העידותי בכם היום את עז ע"ב
השמים ואת הארץ. ועליהם נאמ' האזינו השמים ואדברה וכו'. ועליהם אמ'
הנביא ע"ה השמים כסאי. ועליהם נאמ' ואתה תשמע השמים. והם כסא
הכבוד. והם המאירים לארץ ולדרים עליה ברחמים. ועליהם ארז"ל אין
דבר רע יורד מן השמים שנא' לא יגורך רע. והוא האור הגנוז והם אספקלריא
המאירה משם היתה נבואתו של משה ר' ע"ה ועל כן נאמ' עליו בתפלה כליל
תפ' בראשו נתתה. אבל שאר הנביאים מתוך אספקלריא שאינה מאירה שהיא
הארץ הראשונה והם נמשלים לשמש במזמור זה וזולתו לפי שהשמש משפיע
אורה על הירח ועל הכוכבים והם מאירים בסבתו אורה על מה שבטבעם
הראשון. וארז"ל זקינים שבאותו הדור היו אומ' פני משה כפני חמה.
פני יהושע כפני לבנה. והוא טוב תואר שהרי ליהושע נאמ' אני שר צבא
יי עתה באתי וכו'. ועוד יתבאר במקום אשר הכינותי. והם תורת יי תמימה
פי' תורה שבכתב. והתבונן באומרו תמימה כי לכך נקרא יעקב אבי' ע"ה
איש תם לפי שהיה יושב אהלים לעסוק בתורה. וכתי' תורת אמת היתה
בפיהו. והיא האמת המוחלטת שעליה כתי' תתן אמת ליעקב וכו'. וכתי'
ראש דברך אמת. וכתי' בדבר יי שמים נעשו. היא היא תפ' ישראל. וכתי'
כי תפ' עוזמו אתה. והיא נמשכת מן הימין שהוא מן הדרום לפי שעיקר
הימין ושורשה הוא חסד ועל ענין זה נאמ' וימיני טפחה שמים. ומה שאמ'
מוליך לימין משה זרוע תפארתו. היא התפ' שהיא מדרגת משה ה"ד לבשי עוז
וכו'. ואצ"ל כי הזרוע מיוחסת לחסד* לא התפ' לזרוע שהרי לא נאמ'
תפארת זרועו כי התפ' עיקר ה"ד לך יי הגדולה והגבורה והתפ' והנצח
וההוד כי כל בשמים וכו'. וארז"ל ימינו זו תורה וזרוע עוז אלו התפלין
ה"ד שימני כחותם על לבך כחותם על זרועך וכו'. נשלם.

פרש' בהעלותך את*. ושנינו מהו להדליק בשמן שריפה בשבת. כך שנו
רבו' ז"ל אין מדליקין בשמן שריפה ביום טוב מפני כבוד השבת וחכמים
מתירין בכל השמנים. בשמן שומשמין בשמן אגוזים וכו'. ר' טרפון

אומ' אין מדליקין אלא בשמן זית בלבד.
אמ' להם הב"ה הוו זהירין להדליק את הנרות לשמי ואני
מאיר לכם אורה גדולה לעתיד לבא. ה"ד קומי אורי כי בא אורך וכו'
וכתי' כי הנה החשך יכסה ארץ וערפל לאומים ועליך יזרח יי וכבודו
עליך יראה. וכתי' והלכו גוים לאורך ומלכים לנוגה זרחך.
אמ' הב"ה לישראל אם הזהרתם | להיות מדליקין עז ע"א
לפני אף אני משמר נפשותיכם מכל דבר רע שנמשלו נפשותיכם לנר
שנא' נר יי נשמת אדם חופש כל חדרי בטן.
אמרו ישראל שלח אורך ואמתך המה ינחוני יביאוני אל הר
קדשך ואל משכנותיך. גדול אור של הב"ה. החמה והלבנה מאירין לעולם
מאירין מן זקוקי אור של מעלן חוטפין שנא' לאור חציך יהלכו לנגה ברק
חניתך. גדול האור של מעלן שלא ניתן ממנו לכל הבריות אלא אחד ממאה
שנא' ידע מה בחשוכא ונהורא עימיה שרי. לפי' עשיתי חמה ולבנה
שיאירו לפניך שנא' ויתן אותם אלהים ברקיע השמים להאיר על הארץ.
כשחרב בית המקדש נגנזה המנורה. וזו אחד מחמשה דברים
שנגנזו הארון והמנורה והאש ורוח הקודש והכרובים. וכשישוב הב"ה
ברחמיו ויבנה ביתו והיכלו הוא מחזירן במקומן ומשמח את ירושלם. מנין
שכך כתי' ישושום מדבר וציה ותגיל ערבה ותפרח כחבצלת.
בא וראה אילן של חיים אחוז מאילן של מות* והוא השמש
שמאיר לכל ואורו מתחיל מראש ומתפשט בגוף האילן בדרך מישור שני
צדדים אחוזים אחד לצפון ואחד לדרום. אחד לימין ואחד לשמאל. והם
בשעה שהשמש מאיר מאותו הגוף של האילן ונתחזק לזרוע הימין ומאיר
בחוזקו ומחוזקו מאיר השמאל ונכלל באורו והוא כחתן יוצא מחופתו.
מהו חופתו זהו עס' שעיטרה לו אמו. יוצא מחופתו זהו ראש של כל המאור
כדאמ' בפסו' אחריו מקצה השמים מוצאו. זהו שכינה* של כל שהוא
מקצה השמים ומיד יוצא כחתן ממש. כיוצא לפגוע על כלתו אהבת נפשו
ופורש זרועיו עליה ומקבלה כדא' והוא כחתן וכו'. הולך השמש ומתפשט
לנבי מערב דכתי' שמאלו תחת לראשי וא"כ שהוא צד דרום דכתי' וימינו
תחבקיני. מיד ישיש כגבור לרוץ אורח. להאיר הירח.
ר' אבא אמ' נחלת התורה ודאי כך הוא ומדרגה זו ששית
נותן שכר התורה ומנחיל לכנסת ישראל נחלת הלובן לתכלת. ועל זה שנינו
משיכיר בין תכלת ללבן. משעה שמכירין הגוונים שהרי מיד בקר הוא

והלובן בא לעולם שהתכלת עבר ועל זה כל המלחמות של המלך וכל כלי זיין של המלך בידה נפקדים.

ושנינו כמה נימין היו באותו כנור שהיו הלויים מנגנין בו כך שנו רז"ל ר' אומ' שבעה גימין היו באותו כנור שנא' שובע שמחות את פניך נעימות בימנך נצח. אל תקרי שובע אלא שבע שמחות. וכן דוד אמ' שבע ביום הללתיך על משפטי צדקך. ולימות המשיח נעשית שמונה שכן דוד אמ' בניגון למנצח בנגינות על השמינית. ולעתיד לבא נעשית | עשר שנא' אלהים שיר חדש אשירה לך בנבל עשור אזמרה עז ע"ב לך. ומי התקין להם שמואל ודוד שנא' המה יסד דוד ושמואל באמונתם. והם העמידו חלוקי השיר והיו הלויים עומדים על הדוכן ומזמרין לפני מי שאמ' והיה העולם.

אמ' הקב"ה למשה ועשו לי מקדש ושכנתי בתוכם. אמ' משה הנה השמים ושמי השמים לא יכלכלוך. ואומ' הלא את השמים ואת הארץ אני מלא נאם יי. ואומ' השמים כסאי והארץ הדום רגלי וכו'. ואנו יכולין לעשות לו מקדש. אמ' לו הקב"ה למשה משה איני מבקש לפי כוחי אלא לפי כוחן. ואת המשכן תעשה עשר יריעות וכו'.

כבוד. מילת כבוד נאמרה על ענייניים רבים גם על דעת בעלי הקבלה. ואולם ביחוד רמז אל הכבוד העליון הכולל כל ההויות העליונות ועליו נאמ' הראיני נא את כבודך . וזהו רמז אל כבוד שנא' עליו וכבוד יי מלא את המשכן. וברוך כבוד יי ממקומו. ורבים זולתם. אל הוא מדת החזק מדת הפחד פי' הגבורה כמו שכתי' יש לאל ידי. ואולם בתוספת אות מהשם הוא מדת הרחמנות כאומרו אלי אלי למה עזבתני. וזהו שכתי' זה אלי ואנוהו וכו'. ובמכילתא דר' שמעון בן יוחאי כתי' זה אלי ואנוהו אלהי אבי וארוממנהו. פי' עמי נוהג במדת רחמים ועם אבותי נוהג במדת הדין. והוא כאלו הזכיר שם בן ד' אותיות כי השם הגדול הוא עושה גדולות לאין חקר ונפלאות עד אין מספר. וזהו סוד וארא אל אברהם אל יצחק ואל יעקב באל שדי ושמי יי לא נודעתי להם. שלא נתפרסמו הנסים והנפלאות אלא על ידי משה רבי' ע"ה שהיתה נבואתו מתוך אספקלריא מאירה ובה יעשה לעין כל אותות ומופתים משנים הטבעים כענין שכתי' מלפני אלוה יעקב ההופכי הצור אגם מים חלמיש למעינו מים.

ומעשה ידיו וכו' רמז אל ההויות האחרונות הנקראות גופניות ואע"פ שגם הם הראשונות רוחניות פשוטה והכל אחד. כי קצב אחד ומדה

אחת לכלהנה ונקראות גופניות לפעולתם בגופים וכיון שזכר מעשה אי אפשר ליחסו אלא לידים ואע"פ שהיא דומות לעניין אחר כאשר נזכיר בע"ה והואיל ואמ' ומעשה ידיו שהוא נופל על הדברים הגשמיים. ואמר מגיד שהוא דבר מורגש נחתך בלשון ובשפתים. ואמ' רקיע ג"כ שהוא נראה בקרוב מן הגשמות יותר מן השמים. ואע"פ ששמים ורקיע בענין זה דבר אחד הוא דומז. ואין זה הרקיע המבדיל בין מים למים כי אותו רקיע הוא טיפה אמצעית שהוגלדה בחכמה ועל כן היא מתוארת ביו"ד. ועל זה ארז"ל אין בין מים עליונים למים | התחתונים אלא כמלוא נימא. עה ע"א ולפי שאמ' בן זומא אין בין מים עליונים למים תחתונים אלא כשתים או שלש אצבעות אמרו עליו עדיין בן זומא מבחוץ. והוא הנכון כי ביום השני נאמ' יהי רקיע בתוך המים . אם כן מי יוכל לשער הנקודה המבדלת בין סוף יום ראשון לתחלת יום שני וכן בין מים למים. ועל זה אמ' החכם אמ' ר' אחא בר יעקב כמלוא נימא ואין אחד מהם תולק על חבירו. אלא שכל אחד נתכוון להפליג בדקות הדבקות והאחדות. ועל כן אמ' דוד ע"ה בים דרכך וכו'. והרקיע שעליו אמ' הנביא ודמות על ראשי החיה רקיע כעין הקרח הנורא. הוא על גבי שבעה רקיעים. וארז"ל ויעש אלהים את הרקיע. זהו אחד מן המקראות שהרעיש בן בן זומא את העולם. ובמדרשו של ר' נחוניא בן הקנה שאלו תלמידיו את ר' ברכיה נרצה דבריגו לפניך. לא נתן להם רשות וכו'. עד יום אחד בדק אותם אמ' להם השמיעוני חכמתכם. פתחו ואמרו בראשית. וא"כ אמרו ורוח מלפני יעטוף ונשמות אני עשיתי. פלג אלהים מלא מים. מאי פלג אלהים מלא מים. כך למדתנו רבי' שנטל הב"ה מימי בראשי' וחלקם ונתן חצים ברקיע וחצים באוקיאנוס ה"ד פלג אלהים מלא מים. ועל ידם אדם למד תורה דכתי' הוי כל צמא לכו למים. ובפרקי ר' אליעזר אומר זה הרקיע שעל ראשי החיות שנא' ודמות על ראשי החיה רקיע. והחיה היא החיה שאמ' עליה ז"ל חיה אחת יש ברקיע ששמה ישראל. וראשי החיה שבמרכבה העליונה הם זרועות עולם ועל כן נאמ' ראשי החיה ולא ראשי החיות. ואולי הם הכתרים הפנימיים שהם ראשת כל בכורי בל.והרקיע אשר על ראשם כ"ע שבהם. ושם דרך אחרת מעמידין בה המים העליונים והתחתונים. והרקיע והחיה בשולי הכסא המתנשא המלאים את ההיכל וזהו עניין נעלם. ואם לקחת שמץ מנהו הביאותיו אל בית האוצר למען לא תגע בו יד כי היא פליאה ונשגבה ארץ לא עבר בה איש ולא ישב אדם שם. וכבר ידעת טעם גשיאות

כפים כי יד ימין נבוהה מיד שמאל. וארז"ל למי נושאין כפים. אמ' ליה לרום השמים. מנ' לן דכתי' רום ידיהו נשא והסוד נרמז בתוספת הה"א. ואמ' דוד ע"ה ואשא כפי אל מצותיך אשר אהבתי. רמז לעשרת הדברות שהם המצות הכתובות בשני הלוחות חמש כנגד חמש. ובמשה נאמ' ויהי ידיו אמונה. לא נאמ' ויהיו ידיו אמונות אלא ויהי ידיו אמונה ליחד הידים ולהמשיך אצילות עשר אצבעות אל האמונה אז גבר ישראל. ואולי רמז ב"כ לעשר גלגלים שכנגד עשרה מאמרות שבהם | נברא העולם הרשומות עח ע"ג בשם של ד' אותיות שהוא יהוה. וטעם מגיד ממשיך כי בכוחו הגדול ובברכה הנמשכת ממנו היא היד החזקה מוציאה הדברים לידי מעשה מורגש בין לטוב בין לרע. והוא האמצעי בין מעלה ומטה סוף העליונים ותחלה ליסד התחתונים. ועניין היד הגדולה שראו על הים היתה כלולה בחסד להציל את ישראל ולהטביע את המצריים. לכן כתי' ובני ישראל יוצאים ביד רמה. וכן אמ' דוד ע"ה אתה ידך גוים הורשת וכו' ותשלחם לישראל כמו תשלח קצריה עד ים. וכן אמ' דוד ע"ה גפן ממצרים תסיע וכו'. הנה היד המגרשת היא הנוטעת ועל כן נקראת היד הגדולה כי שם הראה את כבודו ואת גודלו. ובפרק הרואה במתניתא תאנא בשם ר' עקיבא לך יי הגדולה זו קריעת ים סוף. ובבראשי' רבא ויעש אברהם משתה נדול. ר' יהודה בר סימון אמ' התורה היתה מסיילת שם. ר' יהודה בשם ר' יוסי בר חנינא אמ' גדול העולמים היה שם הה"ד כי ישוב יי לשוש עליך לטוב כאשר שש על אבותיך. ובמכילתא דר' שמעון בן יוחאי להראות את עבדך את גדלך. זהו בניין אב לכל גדלך שבתורה. ואת ידך החזקה אלו עשר המכות שהביא הב"ה על המצרים במצרים שנא' בהם נטה את ידך וכו'.

יום ליום. ידוע כי הספי' הם נקראות ימטם ונקראות מאמרות השלש הראשונות אין שם יום נרמז בהם. אבל הששה מהם כנגד ימי בראשית שבהם יצאו כל הדברים מן הכח אל הפועל העליונים וכנגדם בתחתונים. והשביעי שבת ליי כי בו שבת מכל מלאכתו שהרי מן הששי ואילך לא נתפשטו הכוחות להוסיף ענין ולא לברא חדשה. וטעם וביום השביעי שבת וינפש. יכול אף מן הדין ת"ל וינפש מגיד שאין הדין בטל מלפניו לעולם הה"ד צדק ומשפט וכו'. ומספר ימי השבוע בעניין הזה אינן כסדר הידוע ולכך אמרו מונה שבעה ושובת לפי שכל אחד נקרא שביעי לעניין. וארז"ל נובלת העולם הבא שבת וזהו סוד את שבתותי תשמורו שתי שבתות אחד כנגד זכור ואחד כנגד שמור. שכן כתי' איש אמו ואביו תיראו ואת שבתותי תשמורו.

את זה לעומת זה עשה תאלהים. ובבראשית דבא בכל מקום מקדים בבוד אב לאם וכאן הוא אומ' איש אמו ואביו תיראו ואת שבתותי תשמורו. מגיד ששניהם שקולין זה בזה. וזהו סוד אב אחד לכולנו ואל אחד בראנו. בא וראה היכל הקודש מקום שבעלי תשובה עומדים שם. והוא טעם השביעית שהוא זכר לשבת דכתי' ושבתה הארץ שבת ליי. והוא סוד שיהא אלפי שנין הוי עלמא ותד חרוב. ועוד בהגדה של שמעון התימני את ר' זעירא שמעתי עליך שאתה בקי בחדרי תורה שאילה אחת אנכי שואל לך. אמ' לו כמה שני העולם. א"ל ששת אלפים. אמ' לו מניין לך. | א"ל עט ע"א מפי' האותיות א' אחד וכו'. א"ל מן האותיות יש לך ולא ממקום אחר. אל משמות שבעה רקיעים ושמות שבעה ארצות וכו' כדאיתא התם.

ומה שאמרו שהיה בונה עולמות ומחריבן הוא עניין נסתר בסתר המדרגה השלישית בבתי גוואי אחרי הפרוכת המסך הששי והוא נעלם מעיני כל בריא ולא ישלוט בו עין ואין רואה ואין יודע. ואין מבין הסבה כי הוא מכלל הדברים שאמרו בהן שתוק כך עלה במחשבה. אמנם המקובלים הקדושים אשר לא יבצר מהם מזמות קבלו סדר העולמות ויקראו להם שמות. גם רז"ל רמזו לסוד סדרי שמותם וסודם בפסו' אשר קמטו ולא עת נהר יוצק יסודם. והשער הזה יהיה סגור.

ישת חשך סתרו. והטעם לפי שהחכמה שהיא אור נמצאת מאין שהוא העדר האור דכתי' והחכמה מאין תמצא. ואין זה דרך שאלה אלא להודיע מקום מוצאה. וכן מה שאמ' אי זה מקום בינה ר"ל האל"ף שהיא ראש הכתרים ותחלת כל האותיות והיו"ד שהיא החכמה זה מקום בינה והיא יו"ד שבשם ושנייה לה בינה. ובמדרשו של ר' נחוניא בן הקנה אמ' ר' אמורא מאי דכתי' יי איש מלחמה יי שמו. אמ' ליה רב רחמאי לא תבעי ליה מלתא פשיטא שמעלי ואנא אמלכינך. משל למלך שהיו לו ד' דירות נאות ושם לכל אחת ואחת שם וזו טובה מזו. אתן זו לבני ששמה אל"ף גם זו טובה ששמה יו"ד וגם זו טובה ששמה שי"ן. מה עשה אספם כולם ועשה מהם בית אחד. א"ל תסתום דבריך. א"ל בני אל"ף ראש יו"ד שיני לו שי"ן כולל כל העולם מפני שכתו' בו תשובה.ע"כ לש' המדרש וישמע חכם ויוסף לקח.

וקבלתי בצורות הנקודות והאותיות דברים עמוקים ודיעות פנימיות מורות על הכתרים הפנימיים בצורתם. והנקודות ג"כ מעידות עליהם בכוונתם ורומזות עוד על הנבדלים הנאצלים מהם בשמותם איש

על דגלו באותות מעידים על פעולתם ומודיעים מקום אצילותם. ואל יקשה מאמרי הקודם שהנקודות בנשמה לאותיות כי כן הדבר ואין דברי סותרים זה את זה שאי איפשר להשיג כח האותיות אלא על ידי הנקודות לפי שהאותיות פנימיות נעלמות יושבות על מלאת שוקטות. ועל ידי כח הנקודות תנועתן והם גופן מרכבותן ובהם נראה כח פעולתן והם ככלי ארמנותן*.

בא וראה שהנקודות לעולם למטה מן האותיות ואם אין השורק למטה אינו גם למעלה. ולעולם נגרר אחרי הוא"ו שהיא עמוד האמצעי והנה גם הוא באמצע. אמנם נקודה אחת קטנה דקה מן הדקות נעלמת עליונה היא עלתה על כולנה הוא חזיון לאיש משכיל להורות על יחיד | אחד ומיוחד ממציא את כולם נשגב מכל מחשבה. ומכל רעיון נעלם עס ע"ב עליון על כל העליונים. הוא אלהי האלהים ואדוני האדונים. סבת כל נעלם ראש כל תחלה קץ לכל תכלה ומרומם על כל ברכה ותהלה. וא"ת בלבך והלא התאנין למעלה מן האותיות ידוע תדע כי אע"פ שהם למעלה אין מעלתן כמעלת האתיות אבל הם כעס' על ראש המלך מטכסיסי המלכות וטפלה היא למלך. ומכל מקום התאנין דברים נפלאים חיצונים רומזים למציאות רוחניים עליונים. ובשם הרב ר' אלחנן מקותיל* ראיתי כתו' וזהו לשונו מסורת בידינו מזקינים קדמונים כי הנקודה עולם התנועה המעורר עולם האותיות כמלך המעורר עם גדוליו וחיילותיו והכתרים הם סימני המלכים המוכתרים בכתרי המלכות. עד כאן לשונו.

ארז"ל ויקראו בספר תורת האלהים. זהו מקרא. מפרש אלו הם דברים עמוקים וארוכים אחר סוד האותיות והנקודות נמשכים. ראה גם ראה כי כולם כנושאי כלי קרב ומוכנים למלחמה ערוכה בחנית וכידון ובקשת דרוכה. קצת צורתם זו מזו משונות ותנועתם על דרך הסוד מותקנות מהם מורידים ומהם מעלים מהם מרימים ומהם משפילים מהם רצים ומהם שוכבים מהם נוסעים ומהם חונים מהם רודפים מהם זקופים ומהם כפופים מהם פניהם איש אל אחו פונים ומהם הפכו עורף ולא פנים. ולא מצינו להם בכל פסוקי התורה סדר ידוע ומשמרה סדורה כי האחרון ראשון לפעמים ופעמים הראשון אחרון כסדר הנלחמים פעם נהדף ופעם הודף. אבל אי איפשר להם בלא סדר קבוע לחכמי הלב אשר יגיעו למצא דברי חפץ ודרשו וחקרו ושאלו היטב הם אמרו כי כלם רומזים למערכות צבאות עליונים נעלמים מודיעים את אשר יקרא אתכם באחרית הימים בהיות נכון הר בית יי כאשר בתחלה. כי עתה בעונותינו גברה ועברה רוח קנאה עד בוא עת

רצון ותזריע אור זרוע לצדיק. אבן הנגרש ממקום חפצו הרובץ תחת משא המקעיע* הרביעי ישב בדד וידום עוד ישוב בעזרת זוקף כפופים ויורידו לארץ וישבור עולו מעל צוארו עד יקרא בגרון לגדל שכרו ויתגברו שני הנגרשים על שני המגרשים ויינקו שפע ימים מאצילות ימין ושמאל שהם שני טעמים ויזרוק מים טהורים ממהר קץ פדות וקול השופר הולך וחזק לאסוף שלש נקודות הכסף לסגולה אחת ויקבץ פזורי מעלה ומטה מבין העמים. וגם לדעת בעלי התכונה גלגל השמש הוא האמצעי | שבשבעה פ ע"א כוכבי לכת כנגד שבעה קני מנורה שלשה מצדה האחד ושלשה מצדה השני. ארז"ל עשרה גלגלים הם ועשרה מאמרות הם כל גלגל יש לו מאמ' אחד לא שהוא סובב בו אלא שהוא מסבבו . וזה צריך ביאור רחב לסדר ערך י' הגלגלים לעשרת מאמרות כי הוא נאחז בסבכי חכמת התכונה ואין כוונתינו עתה להרחיב פה ולהאריך בו לשון שאין זה מקומו ולפי שגם הם נחלקו בסדרן ובמספרן.

ולשמש שם אהל בהם. כבר זכרנו כי השמים האלו נמשלו לשמש לתוקף אורם ונוגה זרחם. כי שמש ומגן יי צבאות הוא הוא שמש צדקה ומרפא. ולא עוד אלא שנם אור השמש המורגש הוא מכח אותו האור הבהיר העליון הצח והמצוחצח שעליו נאמ' עוטה אור כשלמה. וגם בהתחלתו ממנו על ידי אמצעיים אם מעט ואם הרבה כי אי איפשר לומ' שהשמש הזאת שהוא נוף מורגש לחוש העין בראות ולחוש המשוש בחום שתהיה היא מאירה מעצמה ושבחה והתחלתה ממנה ושאין לה התחלה אחרת רוחנית חוץ ממנה ושהיא פועלת מעצמה חלילה חלילה אלא על כל פנים יש לה התחלה אחרת שממנה מקבלת שפע בלי הפסק שהרי אף תנועתה הכרחית הפך הטבעית. וגם כן הארץ הנזכרת מקבלת מן השמים הנזכרים על ידי הצינור האמצעי הנאמ' עליו כי כל בשמים ובארץ. ואמרו שם אהל בהם ר"ל שבהם התחלת כל אורה של מטה. וארז"ל נובלת אורה שלמעלה גלגל חמה. וכנגדה נובלת חכמה שלמעלה תורה. הכוונה חכמה האחרונה תורה שבעל פה. ואם נאמ' חכמה ראשונה תהיה תורה שבכתב. ואהל מל' יהילו אורם. וכתי' בהילו נרו עלי ראשי. וגדולה מזו אמרו בעלי הקבלה שהם התחלת מניין השביעית בקצת ענייניס אע"פ שהיא הששית כמו שרמזנו למעלה והיא נר אמצעי שבמנורה שממנו ששה קנים וכולם מקשה אחת. ונקודה זו נקראה ראש ועליה נא' ראש דברך אמת. וזהו סוד מה שארז"ל מניין שהב"ה מניח תפלין וכו' ובתפלין

שבראש ארבע פרשיות כנגד חיות המרכבה העליונה והפרשיות יודיעו עניינם ודוגמתם למעלה ראש. ועל כן הוצרך לכתו' בעניין התפלין פארך תבוש עליך אלו הן התפלין והמשכיל יבין. ואם יש דעות חלוקות במניח בראש זה נאה לדרוש. על זה נא' ראשו כתם פז שהוא פני זקן פ"ז אע"פ שמצאו בו המעתיקים רמז לשד החכמה. וארז"ל זקן זה שקנה חכמה. ומה שאמ' קווצותיו תלתלים שחורות כעורב לפי שמה שלמעלה מן הראש היא אש שחורה ולפי שלא נגש | דניאל אל הערפל אשר פ ע"ב שם האלהים ר"ל מדת הדין של מעלה אמ' ושער רישיה כעמר נקי. וכתי' קווצותיו תלתלים שחורות וכו'. לא קשיא כאן בישיבה כאן במלחמה שאין נאה בישיבה אלא זקן ואין לך נאה במלחמה אלא בחור עד כאן. ובבראשית רבה כתי' ואברהם זקן בא בימים. א"ל הב"ה אני אומנותי גמילות חסדים תפוש אומנותי ולבש לבושי ההי"ד ואברהם זקן וכו'. ובמכילתא דר' שמעון בן יוחאי יי איש מלחמה יי שמו. לפי שכשנגלה הקב"ה על הים נראה להם כבחור עושה מלחמה ההי"ד יי שמו. נגלה להם בסיני כזקן מלא רחמים שלא ליתן פתחון פה לומ' שתי רשויות יש בשמים אלא יי איש מלחמה יי שמו. ע"כ.

ומשוש תתן על כלה. כי הוא החתן המכהן פאר והמפאיר בית תפארתו שבו הכלה הכלולה בתו של אברהם אבי' ע"ה. ובמדרש ויהי ביום כלת משה להקים את המשכן. כלת כתי'. אמ' ר' לוי ביומא דעלת כלתא לגנונא וכו'. ועוד שם כתי' באתי לגני אחותי כלה. ר' מנחם חתניה דר' אלעזר בשם ר' שמעון בן יוסינא באתי לגן אין כתי' כאן אלא באתי לגני לגנוני למקום שהיה עיקרי מתחלה. ובפסיקתא עוד כתי' ביום חתונתו חתונים היו. וביום שמחה לבו זהו אהל מועד. ראיתי בתרגום ירושלמי ליהודים היתה אורה ושמחה וכו' ליהודאי הות רשותא למעסק באוריתא ולמטר שבתא ומועדיא ולמגזר ערלת בשריהון ולאחתא תפלין על ידיהון ועל ראשיהון.

ועתה התבונן דברי פי חכם דברים דבורים על אופניהם. ועוד יתבאר לך החג כי הוא ראש לכל שמחה וסודו הוא אם הבנים השמחה. לרוח* אורח הוא אורח חיים שבקש דוד ע"ה לדעת באומרו תודיעני אורח חיים וכו'. וזהו דרך יי לעשות צדקה ומשפט. ואומ' באורח צדקה אהלך בתוך נתיבות משפט. ואמ' שלמה ע"ה עטרת תפא' שיבה בדרך צדקה תמצא. וג"כ בפסוק הזה נרמז רמז מעלות טובות למקום בארבע

תיבות נפלאות אלו שהם עט' תפ' שיבה צדקה ר"ל שאם יהלך אדם בדרך צדקה ויתנהג באותה מדה כראוי יזכה לעטרת התפא' והשיבה אבל לא לתפ' עצמה שלא זכה לכך אלא רבן של כל הנביאים. ורז"ל אמ' בבראשי' רבה על יאמר נא ישראל. ויושב תהלות ישראל. ישראל סבא. ועוד אמרו וידר ישראל נדר וידרץ ישראל אין כתי' כאן אלא וידר ישראל. ישראל סבא.ועוד שם נאמ' יצחק נקרא ישראל ואלה שמות בני ישראל הבאים מצרימה יעקב ובניו. יעקב נקרא ישראל כתי' לא | יעקב פא ע"א יאמר עוד שמך כי אם ישראל וכו'. אברהם נקרא ישראל. אמ' ר' נתן מלתא עמיקתא הוא ומושב בני ישראל אשר ישבו במצרים. בא ללמד שהאבות הן הן במרכבה. וכן אמז"ל ותקרא את שמו שמואל כי מיי שאלתיו. שמואל שאול מיביעי ליה. אלא חנה סבתא קריא ליה שמואל והמשכיל יבין וידום ליי . ובמדרש תלים כך אמ' דוד ע"ה אם אתה עונה מושב ואם לאו אני קורא.

איש איש כי יהיה טמא לנפש או בדרך רחוקה. זש"ה מקצה השמים מוצאו. היא החופה הנזכרת שממנה יצא החתן והוא הקצה הראשון תכלית מה שהמחשבה יכולה להגיע אליו כי מה שלמעלה מן החכמה הם מים שאין להם סוף ותכלה והוא נחיב לא ידעו עיט. ולא יגיע אליו שום שכל ואין שום מחשבה והרהור בנופשין בו. ועוד שיש מחשבה לפנים מן מחשבה על כן נאמ' כי לא מחשבותי מחשבותיכם ולא דרכיכם דרכי. וארז"ל מקצה השמים ועד קצה השמים אתה שואל ואי אתה שואל מה למעלה וכו'. ותקופתו על קצותם. וזהו המזל מה שזכרנו למעלה שהוא מסובב ומקיף מראש ועד סוף פעמים נחשב ראשון ופעמים שלישי ופעמים ששי ופעמים אמצעי הכל לפי המקום ולפי העניין המכוון. וארז"ל במדרשו של ר' נחוניא בן הקנה משל למלך שהיו לו שבעה בנים ושם לכל אחד ואחד מקומו אמ' להם שבו זה על גב זה. אמ' התחתון אני לא אשב למטה ולא אתרחק ממך. אמ' להם הריני מסובב ורואה אתכם כל היום והינו דכתי' מלא כל הארץ כבודו. ע"כ. וטעם קצותם שש קצוות מקום הנזכר בספר היצירה השביעי המקיף.

והאיש אשר הוא טהור ובדרך וכו'. ואצ"ל כי עניין הנפשות סודן גדול מאד מאד מי ידעם ועמוק עמוק מי ימצאם. ואזכיר ממנו מעט מהרבה מהנאות לפסוק הזה בלבד ונחלקו בה קצת אנשי הקבלה מקצתם אמרו שיסוד נפש ומכונה מן האלהים אשר נתנה ובהפרדה מן הגוף תשוב

למקומה אם זכתה במעשה ובחכמה. וקצתם העלו יסודה ומחצבה ער היסוד בה ותשובתה במעלות אשר ירדה למקום אשר ממנו נפרדה אם זכתה לכך. ואחרים גזרו ואמרו שיסודה באמת ובאמונה מיסוד בינה דכתי׳ ונשמת שדי תבינים. נשמתו של שדי היא תבינם. כתי׳ רוח אל עשתני ונשמת שרי תחייני. הנה הרוח עושה והנשמה מחייה ותתן עיניך באלו העומקים הנפלאים כי הוא | עיקר גדול שכן כתי׳ ויפח באפיו נשמת חיים. פא ע"ב

וארז"ל אי בעו צדיקי ברוא עלמא דהא רבא ברא גברא ושדריה לקמיה דר׳ זירא. הוה קא משתעי בהדיה ולא אהדר ליה כו׳ ובבראשי׳ רבא ויצא יעקב מבאר שבע וכו׳. ר׳ יודן אמ׳ מבארה של שבועה שלא יעמוד לפני אבימלך ויאמר השבעה לי כמו שנשבע זקינך ונמצאתי משהה בני שבעה דורות. ר׳ הונא אמ׳ מבארה של בכורה. אמ׳ שלא יעמוד עלי עשו ויאמר לי כך היית מרמה ונוטל את בכורתי ונמצאתי מאבד אותה השבועה. ר׳ ברכיה אמ׳ בחדש השביעי וכו׳. הוה קארי ירחא דשבועה שבו נשבע הב"ה לאברהם אבי׳ ע"ה ויאמר בי נשבעתי נאם יי כי יען וכו׳.

ונשוב לענין הנפש ונאמ׳ כי האומרים שהיא מיסוד הבינה גוזרים שתשובתה הרמתה על מכונתה. ובמעשים זכתה כל אחת ואחת לפי מעלתה התקרב אל מקום אצילותיה עד שתגיע לכסא הכבוד העליון שבעליונים על ידי תשובה ומעשים טובים והגונים. כמאמרם דז"ל גדולה תשובה שמגיעת עד כסא הכבוד שנא׳ שובה ישראל עד יי אלהיך וכו׳. והוא צרור החיים שנא׳ עליו והיתה נפש אדוני צרורה בצרור החיים את יי אלהיך. אע"פ שכל אחד ואחד מכונה צרור החיים על פי דעתו ולפי כוונתו אל אשר יהיה שמה הרוח ללכת ונראה בה לרמוז כי התורה שהיא החכמה תשיב הנפש למקום ואל צור חוצבה בין לדברי מר בין לדברי מר אע"פ שדברי ספר הבהיר מכריעין הדעת האחדונה. ובמכילתא והנכם היום ככוכבי השמים לרוב. הרי אתם קיימים כיום. מכאן ארז"ל שבע כתות של צדיקים בגן עדן מעלה על מעלה. על כת הראשונה כתי׳ אך צדיקים יודו לשמך. ועל השנייה כתי׳ אשרי תבחר ותקרב ישכון חצריך. על השלישית כתי׳ אשרי יושבי ביתך. ועל הרביעית כתי׳ יי מי יגור באהליך. ועל החמישית כתי׳ ומי ישכון בהר קדשך. על הששית כתי׳ מי יעלה בהר יי. ועל השביעית כתי׳ ומי יקום במקום קדשו. ובמכילתא אמ׳ כל קדושיו בידיך.

אלו נפשות של הצדיקים שנתונות עמו באוצר שנא׳ והיתה נפש אדוני צרורה בצרור החיים וכו׳. ואמרו המקובלים הקדמונים אשר היו לפנים קבלה בידם מפי ישישים וזקינים אנשים חכמים ונבונים מסרוה אבות לבנים ובניהם לבניהם ובניהם לדור אחר כי שלשת אוצרות הם רוחניים נגנזים וסתומים חותם בתוך חותם דשתי אותיות חתומים העליון אוצר הנשמות השכליות ה"ד רוח דעת ויראת יי. אוצר השני הוא תפ׳. אוצר השלישית היא אוצר הנפשות התורניות כדא׳ אשר לא נשא לשוא נפשו. נפשו כתי׳ לסוד | נעלם. שם האוצר השלישי נרשם בפסוק כי נחם יי ציון. הכל בצירוף אותיות אשר חכמים הקדמונים יבינו לצרפם. פב ע"א

וגם נוכל לפרש במה שארז"ל גדולה תשובה שמגיעת עד כסא הכבוד שהוא על ידי תשובה ממש. כי המיתה ממריקת כמו שארז"ל על ידי התשובה תתמרק הנפש במיתה ותשוב אל אישה הראשון נקייה וטהורה אחרי אשר הוטמאה והלכה והיתה לאיש אחר והיתה מנוחתה כבוד זה הוא שמובטח לו שהוא בן העולם הבא. על כן וחשב מחשבות לבלתי ידח ממנו נדח על ידי תשובה וסליחה ואז יכלו כל הנשמות שבגוף. ולמה ארז"ל במקום שבעלי השובה עומדין אין צדיקים גמורים עומדים. וזהו סוד מופלא ומכוסה. כבר רמזנו אותו בענין סוד צדיק ורע לו רשע וטוב לו. ושלמה המ׳ ע"ה פי׳ הענין בפסוק מלא בספר קהלת והמשכיל ימצאנו ואיש תבונות ידלנו מבלי שיפסק משיחה למשיחה וחבל לחבל כי אחריתו הבל. הוא סוד המים הגגרים ארצה אשר לא יאספו. ומשם יפרד סוד היבום הנקרא בניין שהוא דוחה איסור אשת אח. וכבר ארז"ל שהיא מצוה שקיים אותה יהודה בן יעקב ע"ה ה"ד בא אל אשת אחיך וכו׳. ובעניין בועז נאמ׳ לנעמי והיה לך למשיב נפש ושם כתי׳ יולד בן לנעמי לפי שנשאה כלתה אחד מקרובי בעלה הרחוקים שנא׳ עליו ולנעמי מודע לאישה. כל שכן אלו נשאה אחד מן הקרובים כל שכן וכ"ש אחד מן האחים שהיא מצוה מן התורה באחי האב ולא באחי האם שמשפחת אם אינה קרויה משפחה ולכך אינו דוחה איסור אשת אח לפי שכח הזכר מן הזכר וכח הבן מכח האב ועל כן אשה מזרעת תחלה יולדת זכר. וכן ארז"ל שאביו מזריע לובן ואמו אודם וכן הדין לפי קבלתם מדונמתם. ועל כן נאמ׳ כרחם אב על בנים רחם יי וכו׳. וכתי׳ כאיש אשר אמו תנחמנו כן אנכי אנחמכם וכו׳. ובבראשית רבה כרחם אב על בנים. תני ר׳ חייא כרחמן שבאבות ה"ד והוא עבר לפניהם וכו׳. ובאחים רמז לזולתם דכתי׳ כי אנשים

אחים אנחנו. וכתי׳ אח לצרה וכו׳. וכתי׳ אשר לא אחיך הוא. ועל כן נאמ׳ קרוב לנו האיש מגואלינו הוא. וראה כי אשת סריס אינה זקוקה ליבם לפי ששמו מחוי עליו הכתו׳ אומ׳ ואל יאמר הסריס הן אני עץ יבש. וכתיב ונתתי להם בביתי ובחומותי יד ושם טוב מבנים ומבנות. ואונן יוכיח דכתי׳ ביה וידע אונן כי לא לו יהיה הזרע. מה שלא נאמ׳ כך בעֵר. אלא אונן הוא שידע ידיעה ברורה במיתת ער אחיו מפני שהיה אונן עושה מעשה כמו אחיו וימת גם אותו. הוקשו שניהם במיתה ובמעשה. ובאלה הדברים רבה. ככה יעשה לאיש אשר לא יבנה את בית אחיו. ר׳ אליעזר אומ׳ אשר לא בנה ולא עתיד לבנות. ע"כ | ארז"ל פב ע"ב לסוד נעלם בית אחד הוא בונה ואינו בונה שתי בתים ונקרא חלוץ הנעל כי הלץ מהם. והבן כל זה היטב. וביבמות שנינו אמ׳ ר׳ יהושע שמעתי שהסריס חולץ וחולצין לאשתו ואין לי לפרשה. אמ׳ ר׳ עקיבא אני אפרש סריס אדם חולץ וחולצין לאשתו שהיתה לו שעת הכושר. סריס חמה לא חולץ ולא חולצין לאשתו שלא היתה לו שעת הכושר. ועתה תן לבך לכל הדברים אשר דברו שהרי ר׳ יהושע לא רצה לפרש הסוד ובא ר׳ עקיבא ופי׳ הטעם בענין קצר ובזה נרשם סוד שינוי הכריתות הכתובים בתורה. ונכרתה הנפש ההיא מלפני. ועוד כתי׳ והאבדתי את הנפש ההיא. והכרתי הנפש ההיא. הכרת תכרת הנפש ההיא. ובמכילתא דר׳ שמעון בן יוחאי ונכרתה אין הכרתה אלא הפסקה מקרב עמה. והבן כל אלו הענייניס מאד.

וביום הקים את המשכן כסה הענן וכו׳. כתי׳ פקודי יי ישרים משמחי לב. הם המצות שנצטוה בהם משה ר׳ ע"ה פנים אל פנים ופה אל פה. היא תורה שבעל פה. והיא נקראת שמחה ה"ד שובע שמחות את פניך. הם הפנים שנא׳ בהם לא יהיה לך אלהים אחרים על פני. ובאלה הדבריס רבה ויאמר אסחירה פני מהם וכו׳ הריני מסלק שכינתי מבינהון וכו׳. ובמכילתא דר׳ שמעון לא יהיה לך אלהים אחרים וכו׳ על פני אחרים באחרונה נעשו וכן הוא או׳ חדשים מקרוב באו. ד"א אחרים שמאחרים את הטובה מלבוא לעולם. על פני . מלמד שמביאין אף לעולם. למה נקרא שמם אלהים אחרים. לאחרון שבמעשים. שמי שהוא אחרון במעשים קראן אלוהות. וזהו סוד וכבודי לאחר לא אתן וכו׳. וסוד לא תשתחוה לאל אחר. ואלהי נכר הארץ. ולכך ארז"ל אנכי ולא יהיה לך מפי הגבורה שמענום.

וגם ראיתי לאחד מחכמי הקבלה כי כל דבור מן השמים וכל אמירה מן הארץ. ואומ׳ אני לפי דעתי אולי יהיה עניין זה במשה ר׳ ע"ה בלבד ה"ד ויאמר יי אל משה וכו׳. וסוד פנים ואחור גדול ונורא מאד עליו ארז"ל במסיכת חגיגה בשלמא מה למעלה ומה למטה מה לאחור אלא מה לפנים מאי דהוה הוה ר׳ יוחנן ור׳ אלעזר דאמרי תרוויהו משל למלך בשר ודם שאמ׳ לעבדיו תבנו לי פלטרין גדולים על האשפה הללו. והלכו ובנו. אין דצונו של מלך שיאמרו לו שם אשפה. ע"כ. ומי שחם על כבוד קונו ישכיל וידום ובמתג ורסן עדיו לבלום.

ועניין לב הוא לב השמים הנזכרים למעלה. ארז"ל זה יתנו כל העובר על הפקודים. כל העובר על המצות הנקראים פקודים. והטעם כי הרגום פיקודי יי. פיקודיא דיי ואלו ואלו דברי אלהים חיים. ולפי שהתורה שבעל פה היא בת זוג ללב שהוא צדיק כתמר יפרח אמ׳ משמחי לב. כלו׳ לב הלולב והוא לב האילן הנטוע בגן. | ודעת פג ע"א הרב ר׳ משה בר נחמן ז"ל שהלולב כנגד חוט השדרה שהוא קו האמצעי באדם שממנו מתפשטים הענפים לכאן ולכאן. וסוד הלב לא נתן להדרש כי גדולים חקרי לב ופלגי מים לב מלך ביד יי. ובבראשית רבה ויתעצב אל לבו. אמ׳ ר׳ ברכיה משל למלך שבנה פלטרין על ידי הדריכל. ראה אוחה ולא ערבה לו. על מי לו להתרעם לא על הדריכל ה"ד ויתעצב אל לבו. אמ׳ ר׳ אסי משל למלך שעשה סחורה על ידי סרסור והפסיד. על מי לו להתרעם לא על הסרסור ה"ד ויתעצב אל לבו. והמשכיל יתבונן לדרוש ולתור בסוד הדריכל והסרסור. אמ׳ ר׳ יודן גדול כוחן של נביאים שהם מדמים את הצורה ליוצרה. כתי׳ גם בלילה לא שכב לבו מלהביא פורענות על המצריים ביום ופורענות בלילה שנא׳ ויהי בחצי הלילה ויי הכה כל בכור וכו׳. ד"א כי כל ימיו מכאובים אלו הסדומיים. גם בלילה לא שכב לבו. זהו הב"ה מלהביא עליהם פורענות שנא׳ ויי המטיר על סדום. ובמדרשו של ר׳ נחוניא בן הקנה אמ׳ ר׳ רחמאי כבוד ולב הרי הם אחד ונקרא כבוד על שם פעולת מטה והיינו כבוד השם והיינו לב השמים . והתבונן כי כבוד ולב עולין במספר אחד ועל כן אמ׳ הרי הם אחד והם שנים ועשרים אותיות ועשרה מאמרות והכל אחד ונכלל בלב.

ואולם ראוי להעיר ולעורר כי עניין זה הוא סוד מצות לולב ואתרוג והדס וערבה שהם ארבעה מינים. ופי׳ לולב לו לב. וארז"ל לו מסור ללב. ר"ל ל"ב נתי׳ פליאות חכמה שהם כנגד כנפי החיות ופני

החיות הנא' בהם וארבעה פנים לאחת וארבע כנפים וכו'. והמדקדקים במרכבת יחזקאל ע"ה הגדילו והוסיפו במספר כנפי החיות עד מספר רנ"ו ליעקב שמחה שכן נא' לאחת להם.

ואצ"ל מל"ב נתי' נאצלו י"ש עולמות הנאמר בהם להנחיל אוהבי יש. מן השלשים נאצלו שלש מאות על סדר אותיות אי"ק והשנים לשמע אוזן נשמעו ועקבותם לא נודעו. ועשרה שהם תל יסוד בנין לשלום המבין* ואלו י"ש עולמות הם מתפשטים מן עולם החכמה אל מדת החסד שהיא נקראת פסח שני והבין כל אלו העניינים כהוגן.

ויש אשר יהיה הענן מערב עד בקר ונעלה הענן בבקר ונסעו וכו'. ואצ"ל כי י"ש עולמות נאצלו מאצילות שלשים. ועניין זה צריך פי' רחב וביאור ארוך אבל הם כנגד החיות ופניהם וכנפיהם וזהו לש' רז"ל עליהם שלשה שרים הם תלי גלגל ולב וכל אחד מהם שנים עשר פקידים ובהם העולם מתקיים היינו דכתי' וצדיק יסוד עולם. ע"כ. וזהו סוד שבטי יה עדות לישראל. י"ב שבטי יה וקבלנו שמותם והם בתלי כנגד ווי העמוד האמצעי ואלף חוק מכריע כנגד האב. וקבלנו בשם רבי' האי גאון שהם נפעלות מעשר מעלות פועלות משלש גנוזות ראשי ראשים מאורי אור וקודש הקודשים. | ויש מן המקובלים שאומרים פג ע"ב כי שלש מעלות למטה מן הכסא נאצלו מאצילות רוחני אחד קדוש מתיחד במלכות ומעצם בו. קבלנו שמותם ונרמזו בנועם יי על כן נאמר בתורה דרכיה דרכי נועם ובדריהם כולם דברי אלהים חיים. ודעת הרב ר' משה בר נחמן ז"ל שהעשר נפעלות לשלש הראשונות לפי מה שכתב בפי' ההורה. ומצאתי סמך לדבריו במדרש תלים בפרשת י"ג מדות. א"ר סימון י"ג מדות בהב"ה יי יי אל רחום וחנון וכו'. רב אמ' אחת עשרה. ורבנן אמרי' עשר. ועל אי זה מהם השתחוה. רב אמ' על החסד שנא' וימהר משה ויקד ארצה וישתחו. ר' אליעזר בן יעקב אומ' על ארך אפים. רבנן אמרי על מדת רחמים. והמשכיל יבין סוד מחלוקת החכמים ואם תשכיל ותבין הפרש אזי הבין ההבדלים שבדבריהם. והחכם המקובל הרב ר' אשר ז"ל פירש פי' ארוך בסוד י"ג מדות ומשם יראנו המסתכל בספרו וכל הדברים יגיעים ואולי בחכמתו העלים ממנו ודבש והלב תחת לשונו.

ואצ"ל יש לגלגל י"ב פקידים והוא היסוד ונקרא גלגל לפי שבו מתגלגלים ל"ב כחות וגם כן לל"ב ונקרא לב ים כי הוא מקוה כל

המים הקדושים משם יפרד והיה לארבעה ראשים.

בא וראה כי לולב בימין עם הדם וערבה ואתרוג בשמאל וכי אתרוג אינו נקשר באגודה אע"פ מעכב ולפי' אם נטלה פטומתו שממנו יונק פסול לפי שדומה לקצוץ. וארז"ל פרי עץ הדר זהו הב"ה דכתי' בו הוד והדר לפניו. כפות תמרים זה הב"ה דכתי' צדיק כתמר יפרח. וענף עץ עבות זהו הב"ה דכתי' והוא עומד בין ההדסים. וערבי נחל זהו הב"ה דכתי' סולו לרוכב בערבות ביה שמו. ולולב כנגד זכור. ואתרוג כנגד שמור. והם שלשה הדסים כנגד שלשה כתרים אשר במצולה שהוא ים החכמה העליונה והוא הים הקדמוני והוא על גבי שבעה. ושתי ערבות כנגד זרועות עולם שהם הנחלים ההולכים אל הים. כי הארץ דומה לתכלת. ונקראים ערבה לפי שהם מתערבים זה בזה ועל כן נתייחדו בנחל. ולולב אחד כנגד צדיק אחד ואין לו שיעור למעלה והיינו כתי' ותכליתן אין להם סוף ויש לו שיעור למטה כי קץ שם לחשך והיינו שיעור קומה היינו דכתי' זאת קומתך דמתה לתמר וכו'. וארז"ל שתמר יש בו כח זכר וכח נקבה כלו' הוא משפיע ומקבל. ואתרוג היא נקבה ג"כ אחת לפי שאינה משפעת כיוצא בה אלא דרך גלגולה הנעלם וסבובה הנפלא כי הנקבה תסובב גבר. וראיתי בפסיקתא דר' ברני עקרה. תני ר' אליעזר בן יעקב עתידה ירושלם להיות רמה ועולה עד שתהיא מגעת לכסא הכבוד ואומרת להב"ה גשה לי ואשובה. ע"כ. והוא סוד פנימיות השפע וההמשכה וזהו יסוד היחוד ועל כן ארז"ל שדומה ללב שהלב משקה כל האיברים וזהו סוד | זכר פד ע"א ונקבה בראם. והזכיר הכתו' פרי עץ הדר בענין פרי עץ הדר* טוב ורע. וסמך לו כפות תמרים שהוא על גב האתרוג והקדים שנים אלו על עץ עבות וערבי נחל לפי שהם קרובים לו. ויש מפרשים כי עניין שלשה הדסים כנגד הראש ושתי זרועות עולם. ושתי ערבות כנגד הזיתים. ואחרים אומ' כי שלשה הדסים כנגד השמים העליונים. ומה שארז"ל במדרשו של ר' נחוניא בן הקנה על שם המקום שהם קבועים בו ששמו נחל דכתי' כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים וכו'. ומאי ניהו ים הוי אומ' זה אתרוג. ומנ' לן דכולהו אקרי נחל דכתי' וממתנה נחליאל אל תקדי נחליאל אלא נחל אל. ועוד ארז"ל מאי ממתנה ממקום שניתן היינו המוח הקדוש והמשכיל יתעורר כי המוח הוא מקום המחשבה והבן זה מאד.

עשה לך שתי חצוצרות כסף מקשה תעשה אותם וכו'. ובמכילתא למה היו של כסף כדי לעורר צד החסד שהוא צד הכסף שהוא רחמים

כדי שיסעו ברחמים ה"ד לי הכסף. ועוד ארז"ל שלשה נקראו נחל. התורה וארץ ישראל וישראל. התורה דכתי' וממתנה נחליאל. ארץ ישראל דכתי' בהר נחלתך. ישראל דכתי' והם עמך ונחלתך.

כתי' מצות יי ברה מאירת עינים. שתוסיף אור על אור הטבעי להסתכל ולדעת במה שאין העין שולטת כנגד* מצוה ותורה אור. ויש לפרש מצות יי שהיא תורה שבעל פה. מאירת עינים שבעה עיני יי המה משוטטות בכל הארץ. ובבראשית רבה כתי' ויהי כי זקן יצחק ותכהין עיניו מראות. פי' שנסתלקה ממנו רוח הקודש הנקרא אור.

יראת יי טהורה. ואצ"ל כי עניין היראה ידוע כי הוא מחלקי הפחד והיא התורה והמצוה אשר כתבתי להורותם. והסוד אשה יראת יי היא תתהלל. ועל כן נבתב יראת יי טהורה היא חכמה אל"ף דל"ת ואולם ראוי לפרש כי יראת יי הנכתב יו"ד ה"א רמזאל ראשית החכמה העלונה ר"ל מה שלפניה באומ' ראשית חכמה יראת יי והיא הידועה באין סוף ונקראת יראה באמרם ז"ל בספר יצירה נעוץ סופן בתחלתן וכו'. וגם כן אמ' הנביא ע"ה אני ראשון ואני אחרון. ונקראים כתר ועט' ועל כן הבכור והעשירי קודש ליי. ובמדרשו של ר' נחוניא בן הקנה שאלו לו תלמידיו לר' אלעזר רבינו מאי קדש לי כל בכור. אלא שנתקדש בקדש וכו'. וגם כן נקראת חכמה כי יראת יי חכמה אמ' כי היראה העליונה טהורה וזכה עומדת ברום עולם לעדי עד ובקיומה יתקיימו כל ההויות הנמשכות ממנה מראש ועד סוף כי בהיות המעיין נובע תמיד והמקור מקור חיים ונוזלים מן לבנון וישבצו עצי יי וארזי לבנון אשר נטע בעדן מקדם ויתרבו הנטיעות כולם ויתקיימו לעולמי עד.

ואצ"ל כי עניין שתי חצוצרות רומזים לחכמה ולבינה לפי שהוא עולם הרחמים ועל זה הם למקרא העדה ולמסע את המחנות כי כל שפע עליונה מתקבצים ומתאספים | מהם עד עט' ישראל פד ע"ב שנקראת העדה והבן זה.

ובני אהרן הכהנים יתקעו בחצוצרות והיו לכם לחקת עולם וכו'. ובמדרשו של ר' נחוניא בן הקנה נאמ' משפטיך למלך תן וצדקתך וכו'. ואצ"ל כי שני משפטים הם החזק והרפה זש"ה החזק הוא הרפה. וצדקתך לבן מלך. וכללם באחת במלת אמת להודיע שאין פירוד ביניהם ושניהם נקראים צדק כמו שכתי' צדק צדק תרדוף. וכן נקראת מדת הדין האדמה הראשונה המיוחסת לעולם התבונה. צדק הוא מדת דינו של עולם. ועוד

אמרו שם מאי צדק. צדק ממש זו שכינה וכו'. וארז"ל האי צדק הוי צדקה או לאו. א"ל אלא צדק הוי כובע ישועה על ראשו ואין ראשו אלא אמת שנא' ראש דברך אמת. ואין אמת אלא שלום שנא' כי אם שלום ואמת יהיה בימי. ועתה ראה והתבונן כמה סודות נפלאים גלו לנו במאמר הזה ואיך הורו דרך היחוד השלם כי הצדק על הראש והאמת והשלום נקשרים זה בזה והכל אחד. וכתב הרב ר' משה בר נחמן ז"ל בפי' התורה הצור תמים פעלו כו' המשפט צדק והצור ישר אלו דבריו ז"ל ר"ל כי המשפט אינו דין מוחלט אלא דין בתוכו רחמים ועל כן אמ' משפטי יי אמת וכו'. ובסנהדרין אי"זהו משפט שהוא של שלום כלו' דבר הממוצע. ואולי באומרו צדק ומשפט מכון כסאך נתכוון לצדיק יסוד עולם שהוא המשפט. והחסד ואמת יקדמו פניך מבואר הוא למשכיל שהם קודמים לפניס ואין כל הפנים שוות. מאי כתי' אשרי העם יודעי תרועה וכו' רמז לפנים הנזכרים וזהו סוד יום תרועה יהיה לכם שכל באי עולם עוברין לפניו כבני מרון והוא יום הדין וכתי' ותרועת מלך בו. וכתי' הריעו לפני המלך יי. והיא תרועת מלחמה ומלחמה ליי כי הוא איש מלחמה. ועל כן תוקעין ומריעין. ותרועה לעולם פשוטה לפניה ופשוטה לאחריה כדי שיבבשו רחמיו את כעסו ויגולו רחמיו על מדותיו כמסודר בתפלת ראש השנה כי ימינו פשוטה לקבל שבים.

ואני קבלתי עניין נפלא בפנימיות והוא עניין נעלם מעיני רוב המקובלים ומקום אשר לא דרכה בו כף רגלם לפי שהוא נמשך משך חכמה אחרונה אל מקום תחת רגלי הכסא שנקרא הדום רגליו. אבל מה שנא' וערפל תחת רגליו. אחד הוא משלשה עניינים שבהם מתעלם החשמל הראשון כעניין שכתו' חשך ענן וערפל. והחשמל הוא היושב אצל הכסא תחת הרגלים העליונים לקבל הדבור היוצא מן הכבוד וכמה ערפלי טוהר ומיני מאורות נתן סביבות עוזו. ובמכילתא דר' שמעון ומשה נגש אל הערפל. יכול לערפל הפנימי או לערפל החיצון ת"ל אשר שם האלהים. אמור מעתה שתי חומות של ערפל היו שם והיה משה מהלך ביניהם עד שמגיע לערפל | הפנימי. ע"כ. ואל יחשוב אדם שכוונתי בכסא הזה לכבוד פה ע"א הנקרא כסא הכבוד. אין כוונתי כי אם לכסא שהכבוד האחרון יושב עליו הנמשל לאבן ספיר. וכבר אמרנו בתחילת דברינו זה כי יש כסא למעלה מכסא וכן נרמז בדניאל כרסייה שביבין דינור. עד די כרסוון רמיו שאינו פחות ממשלש מעלות. וכן אמ' יחזקאל ע"ה החשמל חשמל החשמלה שהם שלש מעלות משלש של שלש באצילות זו למעלה מזו וזו

לפנים מזו. ואל תאמר בלבבך החשמל הוא חשמל האחרון שהרי בתחלת נבואתו אמ' ומתוכה כעין החשמל. הוא הראשון בנבואה ואמצע בסדר. אמנם באתי להעיר לב מבקשי יי לדרוש ולתור בחכמה ולדעת סדרי האצילות הנאצל מן המעלות הקדושות למען לא יחסר מכם כי כל האצילות נמשך זה מזה בטבעות השלשלת ונקשר זה בזה כשלהבת הקשורה בגחלת.

עתה אשוב להשכילך בינה בפנימיות ענייני ראש השנה על פי כוונתינו הראשונה. עניין השופר ג"כ יש לו סוד כי כל השופרות כשרים חוץ משל פרה לפי שיש בו חללים הרבה והוא קרן. והתבונן במזמור הללו אל בקדשו שאמ' בחמישית בתקע שופר סמוך לרוב גדלו אע"פ שאינו כסדר אלא לפי שהדומה לו וקרוב אליו. ואמ' העשירית בצלצלי תרועה וסמיך ליה כל הנשמה תהלל יה וכו'. והוא סוד עלה אלהים בתרועה יי בקול שופר. ואתה בן אדם ראה בעיניך ובאזניך שמע שתקנו רז"ל עשרה קולות בשלשה סימנין שהם קשר"ק קש"ק קר"ק ותקנו עוד לתקוע שלשה פעמים כל סימן וסימן ועולה מספרם שלשים קולות שהם שלש עשריות רמז לעשיריות מחשביות ולעשיריות נבואות ולעשיריות תורניות הנכללים במספר שם בן ד' אותיות והם רמוזים בשלש יודי"ן שהורגלו כל ישראל לרשום בהם השם הגדול זו לפנים מזו או אחת על גבי שתים כזה הדוגמא ייי יי והוא הנכון ואין איש שם על לב מה טבם. והאמת כי שס גדול ונורא קדוש הוא. ועוד תשכיל ותדע שנהגו הותיקין לתקוע כל סימן וסימן בנשימה אחת לחבר את האהל להיות אחד. וארז"ל במסכת ראש השנה בפרק יום טוב אין פוחתין מעשרה מלכיות וכו'. הני עשרה כנגד מי. כנגד י' הלולים שאמ' דוד ע"ה בספר תלים. הלולא טובא איכא אלא הללוהו בתקע שופר הללוהו בצלצלי שמע וכו'. ויתבאר לך הסוד ממה שאמ' שם ר' יוחנן הפותח לא יפחות משבע ואם אמ' שלש יצא כנגד תורה נביאים וכתובים. ואמרי ליה כנגד כהנים לויים וישראל. וכבר רמזתי סודם למבין. ותורה היא אספקלריא המאירה. | נביאים פה ע"ב כנגד למודי יי שהם נצח והוד. וכתובים כנגד תורה שבעל פה. וסוד שבע ג"כ רמזתיו כבר ועוד יתבאר.

ואמ' משפטי יי אמת. זכר לדין הרפה בעניין מה שכתו' אמת מארץ תצמח. והאמת הוא השלום על כן נאמ' הנני נותן לו את בריתי שלום. וכתי' צדק ושלום נשקו. והברית הוא הברית הקשת הנתון בענן שהוא לאות ברית בין יי ובין הארץ הוא שאמ' הנביא ע"ה וחסדי מאתך

לא ימוש וברית שלומי לא המוט וכו'. והתבונן באומרו ברית שלומי ולא אמ' שלום בריתי כי השלום עיקר וקודם במעלה. ובמסכת עיטין אמ' ר' יוחנן לא כרת הב"ה ברית עם ישראל אלא בשביל תורה שבעל פה שנא' כי על פי הדברים האלה כרתי אתך ברית. אז"ל את קשתי דבר המוקש לו. והוא סוד בצלם אלהים הוא מראה דמות כבוד יי. ושלש גוונים יעידו. על כן אז"ל על המסתכל בקשת שלא חס על כבוד קונו וראוי הוא שלא בא לעולם.

אמרו במדרש שיר השירים הביאני המלך חדריו. אלו חדרי גן עדן מכאן הם אומ' כשם שגלגל חמה נתון באמצע הרקיע כך עץ החיים נתון באמצע גן עדן שהיה ר' יהודה אומ' בשם שהקיסטונית נתונה באמצע הסרקלין כך עץ החיים מכוון כנגד גלגל חמה. אחרים אומרי' עץ החיים הוא מהלך שבע שנים. ר' מאיר אומ' ארבע מאות שנה הוא עץ החיים כנגד גלגל חמה. מה גלגל חמה מהלך חמש מאות שנה אף עץ החיים מהלך חמש מאות שנה וכל פלגי מימי בראשית יוצאים מתחתיו. והסוד בזה והיה כעץ שתול על פלגי מים. עתה אשכילך ואורך סוד מחלקותן בדרך קצרה בעניין סתום הוי יודע כי כל האילן בכללו שורשו וגוף נקרא צרור החיים ועץ הדעת אחד מחלקיו. ולא עוד אלא שאמרו שלא גלה אותו לאדם ולא עתיד לגלותו ואמרו עליו אם על כבוד תולדותיו חס הב"ה על כבודו לא כ"ש והוא סוד מופלג שאין למעלה הימנו. וחכמי ז"ל אומ' נתכוונו לרשות הנקודה המיוחדת שבגללה נקרא עץ החיים. אחרים אמרו מהלך שבע שנים כנגד ימינו של אברהם. ור'מאיר אומ' מהלך ארבע מאות שנה כנגד ברית הקשת שנתן לנח איש צדיק. ור' יהודה אומ' מהלך ת"ק שנה כנגד דיוקנו של יעקב החקוקה בכסא הכבוד והוא אמצע טרקלין ואמצע הרקיע. ויש מפרשים מהלך ת"ק שנה חצי יומו של הב"ה. וזה היה חטאו של אדם הראשון שעקר הנטיעה הזאת מן הגן ואכל מפרי עץ הדעת טוב ורע שכן כחי' וחקח מפריו ותאכל ותחן גם לאישה. וארז"ל מאי דכחיב | אוהב פו ע"א יי שערי ציון מכל משכנות יעקב. משל לשני בני אדם אחד רגיל לעשות טובה ועשה טובה ואחד רגיל לעשות רעה ועשה רעה הה"ד אוהב יי שערי ציון. וגדולי חכמי הקבלה המעמיקים בטוב וברע מדקדקים ותולין חטאן של אדם וחוה ונחש הקדמוני באילן גבוה מה שאין האוזן יכולה לשמוע ואין הפה יכול לדבר ואין ראוי להרהר בו וכ"ש לרמוז אליו בשום רומז כלל אלא כבוד אלהים הסתר דבר כי היא דרך פליאה ונסתרה הוא. משל

לבת מלך שהריחה ציקי קדרה ועל כן אין אדם לפרש בה רשאי שהרי עבדיה הביאו לה בחשאי. ועוד ארז"ל נביאי אומות העולם אין הב"ה מדבר עמהם אלא בחצי דיבור שנא' ויקר אלהים אל בלעם. אבל נביאי ישראל בדיבור שלם ההי"ד ויקרא אל משה בל' קדושה בל' טהרה בלש' שמלאכי השרת מקלסין בו שנא' וקרא זה אל זה ואמר. ועל זה איש אשר רוח בו יתן אל לבו אם ירובעם טעה במקום הזה עצמו לפי הדברים הראשונים אולם היה חטאו להפך שהוא חבר לאיש משחית כמי שגזל אב ואם נמצא און לו ולא פנה למעלה שהרי עשה לו עגלי זהב. ויש אומ' שהפריד הימין מן השמאל כלו' אצבעות היד האחת מן השנית. והתבונן בעשותו עגל מזהב כי פני שור מהשמאל וכבר בארנו עניין הזהב. ואל תחשוב שעשה ירובעם שתי עגלי זהב לדעת שניות . אבל לפי שהצריך אותם בשני מקומות כמו שהוא מפורש במקומו. ואלו היה צריך לשלשה או לארבעה לא השיב ידו על כן נאמ' לעמוס ובית אל לא תוסיף עוד להנביא כי מקדש מלך הוא ובית ממלכה הוא והבן זה היטיב. וכן ארז"ל עליו שנא' כתבו על קרן השור אין לנו חלק ביי אלהי ישראל . ויש אומ' שעשה שני עגלי זהב לפי שנחלקה המלכות והמבין יבין.

וחטאן של דור המבול נתפרש בתורה ובדברי רז"ל בבראשית רבה ובכמה מקומות אמרו הסוד נשגב ונעלם נסתם ונחתם. וכן אתה מוציא בדור המבול שלא מרדו במקום אלא מתוך שובע שנא' בתיהם שלום מפחד וכו' אמרו שפה אחת גשמים היא אין אנו צריכין לה ואד יעלה מן הארץ. אמ' להם המקום ב"ה בטובה שהטבתי לכם אתם מתגאים לפני בה אני אפרע מכם ההי"ד ויהי הגשם על הארץ וכו' . ר' יוסי בן דורמסקית אמ' הם נתנו עיניהם עליונה ותחתונה כדי לעשות תאותם אף המקום פתח להם מעיינות עליונים ותחתונים כדי לאבדם שנא' ביום הזה נבקעו כל מעיינות תהום רבה וכו' . ובבראשית רבה כתי' עוד ישלחו כצאן עוליהם וכו' . ר' לוי אמ' לשלשת ימים היתה | אשתו של אחד מעוברת פו ע"ב ויולדת וכו' . א"ר לוי בערבייא צווחין לינוקא עוילא. ושעירים ירקדו שם. והמשכיל יבין.

אבל חטאן של דור הפלגה לא נתפרש בתורה והוא מעין חסאו של אדם הראשון לפי הדעת הראשונה. ומתוך עונשן יודע למשכיל חטאן כי לפי שחשבו לעשות להם שם ומגדל וחשבו להרום מגדל דוד ומרדו במגדל עוז שם יי וקצצו והפרידו עצי יי הפיצם השם הגדול על פני כל

הארץ מדה כנגד מדה. ובבראשית רבה ודברים אחדים. שאמרו דברים על שני אחדים על אחד היה אברהם. ועל יי שהוא אחד. ד"א ודברים אחדים. הם היו אוחדים מה שביד זה ביד זה והבן היטב.

ועוד יש לך לשאול למה בשביל זה נתחייבו שריפה כזאת שנשרפו נדב ואביהוא. ואם יעלה על דעתך בחטא קל כהוראה הזאת כיון שמצוה להביא מן ההדיוט. אלא י"ל על כל פנים כי גדול עונם מנשוא והמבין יתבונן באש זרה אשר לא צוה אותם ומלת עליה ומלפני יי והוא טעם בקרבתם לפני יי. ומעשה העגל שנא' בו כי שחת עמך ולא נא' נשחת כבר נודע על דעת אנשי הקבלה עניין ההשחתה שכן כתי' פן תשחיתון ועשיתם לכם פסל תמונת כל. ותמונת כל היא ההשחתה כי אי איפשר לעם חכם ונבון הגוי הגדול הזה ובהיות אהרן הכהן ע"ה מנהיגם שיעשו אלהי כסף ואלהי זהב אלא חשבו להמשיך כח עליון לילך עמהם ואשר יוציאם ואשר יביאם באומרם אשר ילכו לפנינו לא בשביל אשר נעבוד אותו. ועשאוהו מזהב וזה תכלית השגתם שנא' ויראו את אלהי ישראל ותחת רגליו וכו' . וטעם עגל מסכה שם ע"ז. ובפסיקתא דעשר תעשיר א"ר יודה בר עלאי ע"ז עברה עם ישראל בים שנא' ועבר בים צרה. ואין לשון צרה אלא ע"ז דכתי' והמסכה צרה וכו' . ובפרק קמא דיומא מקדש ראשון מפני מה חרב מפני שהיו בו שלשה דברים ע"ז גלוי עריות שפיכות דמים דכתי' כי קצר המצע מהשתרע והמסכה צרה כהתכנס. אמ' ר' שמואל בר נחמני. וא"ת מניין לטמא בע"ז ומה לנו ולצרה ללמוד מהגר שפחת שרה. אל תתמה על החפץ שכן מצינו בדברי רז"ל דרבן יוחנן בן זכאי היה אומ' על האי פסוקא ושם אשתו מהיטבאל בת מטרד שלש מאות הלכות פסוקות לר' אליעזר ולר' אלעזר בן ערך תלמידיו דהוו עסקי במעשה מרכבה קמיה. ולעניין זה נמשך סוד פרה אדומה בהיותה נקבה ותמימה ונשריפת באש לפי שהיא חוקת התורה היא תורה שבעל פה החוקקת | חוקה פז ע"א זו . והשורף אותה טעון טבילה לפי שנטמא באפר פרה אבל היא עצמה מטהרת. ארז"ל תבא פרה ותכפר על מעשה העגל . משל לבן שפחה שטמא פלטרין של מלך וכו' . וכן עניין עזאל ואיש עתי ועגלה ערופה וציפור של מצורע גרשם בו שהרי עבודתם מבחוץ. וארז"ל בבראשית רבה ונשא השעיר עליו את כל עונותם. זה יעקב אל תיקרי עונותם אלא עונות תם שנא' ויעקב איש תם. ועוד כתי' שם הן עשו אחי איש שעיר. כדא' ושעירים ירקדו שם. ואנכי איש חלק כדא' כי חלק יי עמו. ומשם נלמד

טומאות המת. ומה שארז"ל חרב הרי היא כחלל להיות אבי אבות הטומאה לטמא אדם וכלים הוא סוד נסתר החרב המתהפכת דוק ותשכח וזכור ואל תשכח. אבל הצדיקים אינן מטמאין במיתתן לפי שהם מתים בנשיקה על פי יי ולא בעטיו של נחש. ועוד נלמוד סוד נגעי בתים ונגעי בגדים ואינו נוהג אלא בארץ והבן זה היטב.

ויהי בנסוע הארון ויאמר משה קומה יי וכו׳. ועניין נו"ן הפוכה נרשם ונרמ׳ לעת׳ ישראל שהיא לפעמים נזורה לאחור והפוכה מפני המלך יי צבאות ועל זה נקראת קרן הפוך ולפעמים היא פשוטה על דרך הזווג העליון והבן זה מאד.

אל ימשלו בי אז איתם. כלו׳ אהיה עם ולא רצה לומ׳ על עצמו לפי שהיה צדיק גמור אלא כיון שלא חטא בעניין זה והיה תמים עם אלהיו וינקה מפשע רב שאין למעלה הימנו כי הייחוד הוא העמוד שהכל נשען עליו וכל העולם לא נברא אלא לצוות לזה כי זה כל האדם לייחד את בוראינו ולקבל את מלכותו עלינו כרשום בכתב אמת בפסוק שמע ישראל יי אלהינו יי אחד. שהוא שורש האמונה וכל המאמין בזה ומציירו בשכלו ציור אמתי שכלי מאמין בכל התורה כולה בכלליה ופרטיה וזו היא הדעת שנא׳ עליה השכל וידוע אותי. וכתי׳ דע את אלהי אביך ועובדהו.וכל הכופר בזה או המצייר בלבו שום רושם פירוד וקיצוץ כפר בכל התורה כולה ואין לו חלק בדוד ולא נחלה בבן ישי ואין לו דעת כלל עליו נאמ׳ גם בלא דעת נפש לא טוב וכו׳. וטוב לא יהיה לרשע. שפירושו לא יראה בטוב הצפון ולא חלק לו בבינה. וכיון דאתא לידן פסוקא דשמע נימא מילתא במלת אחד. כי השמות עניינם ידוע למשכילים ואע"פ שמהן עולין וא"כ יורדין ומהם מעלין בקודש ונימא הכי אחד כולל הכל ביחוד שלם. הא כי צד אל"ף הוא ראש מה שאין המחשבה יכולה להתפשט בו.

ח׳ חכמה ושמונה דברים עמה עד היסוד בה | על כן ארז"ל פז ע"ב ובלבד שלא יחטוף בחי"ת להודיע כי אלהים בקרבה. דל"ת היא עס׳ ישראל רמז לבית דין הרפה לפי שהיא כלולה מן הכל ועל כן מאריכין בה הה"ד למען יאריך ימים על ממלכתו מדה כנגד מדה לפי שממנה תוצאות חיים ושם צוה יי את הברכה חיים. ובמסכת ראש השנה אז"ל שמע ישראל יי אלהינו יי אחד. יי אחד הוא מלכות. והיא נקראת חותם תבנית. ולא עוד אלא כי דל"ת מספר העשרה על כן נאמ׳ בספר יצירה דל"ת חכמה רמז לחכמת שלמה. וחכמה בראש וחכמה בסוף וזהו סוד קשר של תפלין

שהראה הב"ה למשה שהוא כמין דל"ת והוא סוד בכל ביתי נאמן הוא. ויש מן המקובלים שכוונתם באל"ף וחי"ת וזהו ובלבד שלא יחטוף בחי"ת. ודל"ת גם כן חכמה קדומה ומאריך בה עד חכמה אחרונה ומיד פוסק שאין להאריך בה יותר מדאי. וזהו כדי שהמליכהו על השמים ועל הארץ ועל ד׳ רוחות העולם. ויש מפרשים בכל ביתי בי"ת בראשית ואינינו נכון כי כבוד הבית הזה האחרון גדול מן הראשון ולא הגיע משה ר׳ ע"ה עד תכונתו. ובאמת אין זה כי אם ביה אלהים וזה שער השמים. לפי ששאר הנביאים נקראו איש האלהים. עבד יי לא נקרא אלא משה ויהושע תלמידו תכף מיתה דכתי׳ וימת יהושע בן נון עבד יי וכו׳. וידעת שפניו של יהושע כפני לבנה לפי שעלתה נפשו למעלה עליונה. ואל תקשה על מאמ׳ עבדי הנביאים ושאברהם ויעקב האבות הראשונים וכלב וישעיה ואיוב וזרובבל שנקראו בנים למקום ית׳ כי פיו המדבר אליהם כל אחד כפי מעלתו והבכור בבכורתו והצעיר כצעירתו. וארז"ל כל הנביאים כלם לא נתנבאו אלא מתוך אספקלריא שאינה מאירה ומשה אדון הנביאים מתוך אספקלריא המאירה כו׳. לפי שכל הנביאים לא ראו את הכבוד אלא מתוך תשע מראות כעניין שכתי׳ ביתזקאל ע"ה וכמראה המראה אשר ראיתי וכו׳. וכן בדניאל הוא אומ׳ ובינה לו במראה. ואשא עיני ואראה. ופניו כמראה ברק וכו׳. אבל במשה כתי׳ פה אל פה אדבר בו ומראה ולא בחידות וכו׳. פי׳ מתוך מראה אחד.

ובסוד שלש קדושות שמעתי יש מהם שסומכים על דברי יונתן בן עוזיאל ז"ל קדיש במרומא בית שכינתיה וכו׳. ומהם עומדים על דברי ספר הבהיר וזה הוא לשונו: כ"ע קדוש שהוא שורש האילן הקדוש יחיד ומיוחד | בכולם וכו׳. ומהם עניינו בפרקי מרכבה וראו פח ע"א כתו׳ בשם ר׳ ישמעאל כהן גדול וזהו לשונו ברוכים אתם לשמים יורדי מרכבה אם תאמרו לבניי מה אני עושה בתפלה של שחרית ובתפלת המנחה בכל יום ויום ובכל שעה ושעה בשאתם אומרים לפני אל קדוש. למדו אותם ואמרו להם שאו עיניכם לרקיע בעת תפלתכם בשעה שאתם אומרי׳ קדוש כי אין לי הנייה בכל עולמי שבראתי כאותה שעה שעיניכם נשואות בעיני ועיני נשואות בעיניכם כשאתם אומ׳ לפני קדוש והעידו לכם עדות זו שאתם רואים מה אני עושה לקלסתר פניו של יעקב שהוא חקוק לי על כסא כבודי כו׳ כדאיתא התם. כל אלו ואלו דברי אלהים חיים סתומים וחתומים נראין כאלו אינם מוסכמים על כן ראיתי אני לכתו׳ דברי רז"ל

במדרש שיר השירים ואלו דבריהם כלשונם זש"ה איומה כנדגלות. שדימה הב"ה את ישראל למלאכים. במלאכים נאמ' שרפים עומדים ממעל לו וכו'. ובישראל אתם נצבים היום כלכם. המלאכי' אומרי' קק"ק וישראל אומרי' אלהי אברהם אלהי יצחק ואלהי יעקב. ע"כ. והנה זה מבואר טוב ויפה ולא נשאר מקום למשכיל לשאול ואין דרך לנטות ימין ושמאל.

ויש לפרש אז איתם אהיה תמים כדמתרגמינן שלם כלו' תעלה מעלתו עד השלום שהוא האמת. ויש לומ' במלת אז שהוא היחוד השלם לייחד האחת כוללת השלש ושבע וזהו סוד אחת למעלה ושבע למטה. וסוד מניין ההזאות אחת אחת ואחת אחת ושתים וכו' כדמות מה שזכר בעל ספר יצירה בגלגול האותיות א' עם כולם וכולם עם א' וכחי' אז תקרא ויי יענה. וארז"ל בספר הבהיר מאי אז אלא מלמד שאין רשות לקרוא לא' לבדה אלא על ידי שתי אותיות הדביקים בה היושבים ראשונה במלכות ועם א' הם שלש. ונשארו שבע מעשרה מאמרות שבהם נברא העולם. על כן אמ' רז"ל שהתורה וכסא הכבוד הם מכלל שבעה דברים שקדמו לעולם. הכוונה לכסא הכבוד מרום מראשון. ובתורה כתי' יי קנני ראשית דרכו קדם מפעליו מאז. הכוונה לחכמה העליונה הקדומה. ובכסא הכבוד כתי' נכון כסאך מאז. והכריע ר' אבא בר כהנא שהתורה קדמה לכסא לפי שכתו' בה קדם מפעליו מאז. וכתי' והוכן בחסד כסא. וכתי' עולם חסד יבנה. וזהו סוד מה שארז"ל שהיה מביט בתורה ובונה העולם ומה שאמרו מחשבתן של ישראל קדמה לכל כלום' | לכל מעשה פח ע"ב שבעה דברים קדמה המחשבה. ובבראשית רבה משל למלך שהיה נשוי למטרונה ולא היה לו ממנה בן. פעם אחת היה עובר בשוק כו'. אלו שצפה הב"ה שאחר עשרים ושתה דורות ישראל עתידין לקבל התורה היה כתו' בתורה דבר אל בני ישראל ע"כ. באמת זהו סוד אז ישיר משה ובני ישראל את השירה־הזאת והבן.

ואצ"ל עניין הרצון הוא ידוע כי הוא החפץ הפשוט והוא הלב וכן נאמ' בקורבנות לרצון להם לפני יי. ואמ' תכון תפלתי קטורת לפניך. וארז"ל שמן וקטורת ישמח לב. אמ' הב"ה אין בכל הקורבנות חביב עלי כקטורת. וכן נאמ' בקורבנות עולותיכם וזבחיכם לרצון על מזבחי. ונאמ' יעלו על רצון מזבחי יעלו על הרצון שהוא הלב והוא הרצון שהוא הלב שנא' עליו רצון תעטרנו. ותמשוך הברכה מלמעלה למטה ויהיה הריח ניחוח. וארז"ל אין ריח אלא באף ואז יהיה נחת רוח מלמעלה זהו שמן

הטוב על הראש שיורד על פי מדותיו וימשך שפע של הברכה על העליונים מן המקור ומן העליונים למה שאחריהם ומה שלמטה מהם. ובנח נאמ' וירח יי את ריח הניחוח וכו'. מיד ויאמר יי אל לבו לא אוסיף. ובפסיקתא באתי לגני אחותי כלה. ר' אליעזר בשם ר' חייא בר' משל למלך שכעס על המטרונה וסרדה והוציאה מתוך פלטרין שלו. לאחר זמן ביקש להחזירה. אמרה יחדש לי דבר. כך לשעבר היה הב"ה מקבל קורבנות מלמעלה ה"ד וירח יי את ריח הניחוח. מיד כתי' ויאמר יי אל לבו. ועכשיו הוא מקבל מלמטה ה"ד באתי לגני אחותי כלה ע"כ. ואם בעל נפש אתה חבין ותחקור ממטרוניתא הטרודה מן היכל של המלך. וכבר רמזנו רמז מעט לעניין הלב ומזה יתבאר למשכיל בסוד המזבח. וארז"ל כל המגרש את אשתו ראשונה מזבח מוריד עליו דמעות שנא' בזאת תעשו כסות דמעה את מזבח יי בכי ואנקה וכו' והוא סוד נעלם ועמוק.

ובנחה יאמר שובה יי רבבות אלפי ישראל. פתח ואמ' יהיו לרצון אמרי פי והגיון לבי לפניך יי צורי וגואלי. ואצ"ל הגיון הלב היא המחשבה מה שאין אדם מבטא בשפתיו. ויש דברים שהמחשבה תופשת בהם ומתפשטת אליהם מה שאין הפה יכולה לדבר. וגם אין ראוי להוציא בפה כל מה שבלב כעניין לבא לפומא לא גלי. ואמ' לפניך רומז אל פני האדון יי. מכאן ארז"ל כל מי שדר בחוצה לארץ דומה כמי שאין לו | אלוה שנא' לתת לכם את ארץ כנען להיות לכם פט ע"א לאלהים. הוא מה שאמ' עמוס לאמציה כהן בית אל על אדמה טמאה תמות וישראל גלה יגלה מעל אדמתו. וכבר רמזנו סוד הפנים הנראים והפנים שאינם נראים ה"ד וכפר אדמתו עמו. היה ר' מאיר אומ' כל היושב בארץ ישראל ארץ ישראל מכפרת עליו שנא' העם היושב בה נשוא עון. וארז"ל למה כל מבעיין קבורת ארץ ישראל. א"ר אלעזר דברים בגו. אמ' ר' יהושע בן לוי מהו דברים בגו ה"ד אתהלך לפני יי בארצות החיים. ובמכילתא דר' שמעון נר הייתי בארץ נכריה. ר' יהושע אומ' ארץ היא לו בודאי וכו'. וזהו סוד יי אלהינו וכו'. ועוד ארז"ל כל הקבור בארץ ישראל כאלו הוא קבור תחת המזבח. ובאלה שמות רבה והכית על הצור אין כתי' כאן אלא והכית בצור. ובעניין דברתם אל הסלע שנא' למשה ולאהרן שניהם נטו מן הדרך במחשבותם ובהסכמת כוונתם פעמים לפי שלא נזכר להם הנני עומד לפניך שם על הצור כפעם הראשונה במסה כי הם מרו את פי יי כאשר רמזתי בעניין שנא' על אשר

מריתם את פי. ועל כן לא נכנסו לארץ ישראל כי פי יי הוא המוציא והמביא שנא' על פי יי יחנו ועל פי יי יסעו.

ואצ"ל הנה אנכי שולח מלאך. הוא מלאך שר הפנים ששמו כשם רבו. ויש לשאול אם נתרצה משה בכך שהרי כבר נאמר ושלחתי לפניך מלאך ולא נתרצה ואמ' אם אין פניך הולכים אל תעלנו. והיתה התשובה גם את הדבר הזה אשר דברת אעשה. אם כן היאך נתרצה אחר כך במלאך שליח אלא הכל היה כמו שבארנו. וכן כתב הרב ר' משה בר נחמני ז"ל וחכמי הקבלה שבמקומו מודים לו. ועוד כתב כי הוא המלאך הנראה בסנה ופירש כי מה שאמ' ז"ל בבראשית רבה מלאך זה הוא מיכאל. ר' יוסי הארוך אמ' כל מקום שרואין אותו אומרי' רבי שם רבי' הקדוש כך כל מקום שמיכאל נגלה שם כבוד השכינה וכו'. אמ' כי בודאי נגלה מיכאל בתחלה וא"כ שכינה עצמה דכתי' וידא יי כי סר לראות ויקרא אליו אלהים וכו'. ועל כן נאמ' כי ירא מהביט אל האלהים. כי משה רבי' ע"ה לא היה ירא מהביט אל המלאך וכן נראה לי משפט הכתובים בעניין אם אין פניך הולכים שהרי אחר ויעבר נאמ'. ובסנהדרין בפרק כהן גדול כתי' ואל משה אמר עלה | אל יי. עלה אלי מיבעי ליה כו'. פט ע"ב

ועל כן המשכילים אשר רוח יי בהם הם יסתבלו בדבריהם וזהו לשונם פלוגי שר הפנים שנכתב באות אחת שבה נבראו שמים וארץ וחתמם בשבעת אהיה אשר אהיה ונכתב בשש אותיות ובשבע אותיות ובשני אותיות ושבעים שמות ובשבע קדושות ונחקק על שתים עשרה אבנים ונתן על ששה משמותם ונכתב בשבעה קולות ומסר השם הגדול להשתמש בו למשה ולא נתן הב"ה רשות להשתמש בו לא לאדם הראשון ולא לאברהם ולא ליצחק אלא למשה בלבד שנא' הנה אנכי שולח מלאך לפניך וכו'. והזהיר הב"ה למשה שישתמר בו ועל זה אמ' משה אם אין פניך הולכים וכו'. ובמדרש איכה ויבא אל הגוים אשר באו שם ויחללו את שם קדשי וכו'. לא היה צריך לומ' אלא ויבואו ואת אמ' ויבא אלא כביכול הוא עצמו.

בא וראה בשעה שמתברכת כנסת ישראל כל העולמות מתברכים וישראל למטה יונקים ומתברכין ממנה* לפי שהיא מגנת על ישראל כדא' וסע מלאך האלהים. מלאך האלהים זו כנסת ישראל ואותה שעה בסיוע של האבות היא נוסעת וכשהם נמצאים אצלה כולם נמצאים. ובשביל כך נמסר באלו הפסוקים שם הקדוש שכלול בהם האבות כמו שרמזנו אחד כסדר ואחד למפרע ואחד כסדר. ויסע כסדר בשביל שאברהם נמצא בכאן וכל

אותם שבאו מצדו ועל זה הוא כסדר כדוגמא זה.

ו	י	ס	ע	מ	ל		א	כ
ה	א	ל	ה	י	מ		ה	ה
ל	כ	ל	פ	נ	י		מ	ח
נ	ה	י	ש	ר	א		ל	ו
י	ל	כ	מ	א	ח		ד	י
ה	ם	ו	י	ס	ע		ע	מ
ו	ד	ה	ע	נ	ן		מ	פ
נ	י	ה	ם	ו	י		ע	מ
ד	מ	א	ח	ר	י		ה	ם

ובכאן בא אברהם להתעטר בצדו* ועטר לכנסת ישראל ואלו האותיות כולם בסדר לילך בים* כדאמר' יומם יצוה יי חסדו ובלילה שירה. ועל זה כתיב ויסע. אימתי נוסעין במסעם כשאם העליון מאיר לשמש* וזה הפסו' הוא בשבעים ושתים אותיות והפסוק האחר נמצא בדין נבי כנסת ישראל ההי"ד ויבא בין מחנה מצרים ובין מחנה ישראל ויהי וכו'. אלו כנגד אלו ואלו כנגד אלו בדרך עקום שהוא למפרע כזה הדוגמא. | צ ע"א

ה	ל	י	ל	ה	ל	כ		ה
ז	ל	א	ה	ז	ב	ר		ק
א	ל	ו	ה	ל	י	ל		ה
ת	א	ר	א	י	ו	כ		ש
ח	ה	ו	נ	נ	ע	ה		י
ה	י	ו	ל	א	ר	ש		י
ה	ג	ח	מ	נ	י	ב		ו
מ	י	ר	צ	מ	ה	ג		ח
מ	נ	י	ב	א	ב	י		ו

ד"א ויהי הענן והחשך. זהו יום המעונן של יצחק שהוא מדת הפחד והחשך. ובשביל כך אותיות אלו למפרע בדרך עקום ולא בדרך ישר כדוגמא זה. ועל זה האותיות כולם למפרע דכתי' ויהי הענן והחשך שכיון שנכנס יצחק בדינו לא קרב זה אל זה כל הלילה. וכתי' זה אל זה ואמ' אלו שבאו מצד אברהם לא קרבו זה בזה של יצחק לפי שאלו הם דין ואלו הם רחמים. ובשביל כך זה הבאר נדבק ביצחק שהוא סוד הפחד הקשה כדאמרי' ויאר את הלילה וכשיבא להתמלאות ולהתחבר ביצחק ולא יכלו להתקרב זה בזה עד שיבוא יעקב ויתחבר באברהם ונוסע ליצחק ושוכן באמצע כדוגמא זה.

ו	י	ט	מ	ש	ה	א	ת	
י	ד	ו	ע	ל	ה	י	ם	
ו	י	ו	ל	ך	י	ה	ו	
ה	א	ת	ה	י	ם	ב	ר	
ו	ח	ק	ד	י	ם	ע	ז	
ה	כ	ל	ה	ל	י	ל	ה	
ו	י	ש	ם	א	ת	ה	י	
ם	ל	ח	ר	ב	ה	ו	י	
ב	ק	ע	ו	ה	מ	י	ם	

מיד נקשר קשר האמונה זה בזה וזה בזה ומתוך כך ניצולו ישראל. ושנינו במקום שהאבות נמצאים שאר הצדיקים הם נמצאים אצלם ועל זה שם זה עולה לצדדין אחרים מתפרשים אע"ג שכולם יוצאים לדרך אחד. בא וראה כשמאיר זה הבאר מצד יצחק ונקשר בו יעשה הים הגדול גלים חזקים ותקיפין עולין ויורדין בזעף וברוגז ונוסע למעלה ויורד למטה ואברהם כנגדה. ומתוך רוגז וזעף וחמה ותוקף זה אצל זה ולא היו מתקרבין עד שבא יעקב ושיכך רוגזו ושיבר גלגליו ההי"ד ויס משה את ידו על הים דווקא וכו'. ברוח קדים. מאי ברוח קדים עזה של אותו היס. וישם את הים לחרבה ויבקעו המים.ונתפלגו המים לצד אברהם ולצד אלו האחרים בדרך ישר בצד יעקב וכל אותם שבאו מצדו. ועל זה מעשה בתיקון השם הגדול בזווג

האבות שהם קשר אחד של האמונה להיות מרכבת | השלום צ ע"ב ובזווג של האבות כאחד. ויודעים החבריא לילך בדרך ישר ולתקן מעשים כדאוי ובשם זה הוא קשר האבות נמצא ואורחין לדין ואורחין לרחמים לסיוע לחסד ליראה להורה לחיים למות לטוב לרע.

בא וראה שבעה קשרים הם שמתקשרים שלשה האבות וארבעה אחרים. ראש ואמצע בקשר אחד ואלו אותם שחפרו באר של מים והם קשר אחד בשלש יודי"ן השלישיות הוא שלימות של כל האמונה. הרביעית שני עמודים שהגוף עומד עליהם. החמישיה טוב ורע והוא הנהר היוצא אילן של החיים והמות שהוא עומק של כל. הששית דין ורחמים. השביעי הוא אמצעי של כל ובשביל שהוא אמצעי נקרא אני קיום של כל העגפים. בא וראה שבע מדרגות אלו מדרגה אחת למדרגה אחרה והם מרכבה אחת וכל אותן שמתאחדים בו. וכן מדרגה למדרגה וכולם הם מתנהגים אחריו. בא וראה בשעה שאלו המדרגות נמצאים כל האמונה נמצא. ואל שבעה עננים שסבבו לישראל. בשביל כך כשנוסעת השכינה באבות היא נוסעת.

ויהי בנסוע הארון ויאמר משה כו'. בכאן יש להסתכל בסוד עליון שהנו"ן הוא הפוך לאחור. וא"ת נו"ן כפופה היא ידועה שהיא נקבה. ופשוטה הוא כלל הזכר והנקבה. והא אמרו בכאן ויהי בנסוע הארון למה חזר לאחור בדוגמא זה ב *. בא וראה נו"ן באשרי יושבי ביתך לא נאמ' בשביל שהיא בגלות ואוקמוה החבריא דכתי' נפלה ולא תוסיף קום. אלא מה אני מקיים למעלה וארון ברית יי נוסע לפניהם דרך שלשת ימים לתור להם מנוחה. כיון שהיה נוסע הארון הנו"ן היה נוסע והשכינה היתה על גבי הארון. בא וראה הארון היה נוסע לפניהם דרך שלשת ימים. הנו"ן לא היה מתפרש ממנו ונוסע עמו ומתוך אהבתם של ישראל החזיר פניו לנגדם וסיבב את הארון כשהוא* היה הוליך החזיר פניו למקום שיצא ועל זה בנסוע הארון נ' מסבת פנים לצד ישראל וכותף הגוף אצל הארון. ועל זה כשהיה נוסע משה אמ' קומה יי למנוחתך. לא תעזוב לנו ותחזיר פניך אצליגו. מיד הב"ה מחזיר הנו"ן אצלם ב * כדוגמא זה כמי שמחזיר פנים למי שאוהב . וכשהיא חונה הארון וישראל חונים מיד מחזיר נ' פניו מישראל וחוזר גבי הארון והכל הוא נכון וראוי ודי בזה לכל מבין. אמ' ר' שמעון לאלעזר בנו אלעזר כך הוא ודאי.אבל לא כל כך החזיר פניו מישראל דאם היה כך היה צריך | הנו"ן להתהפך צא ע"א מנוון אחר שלמעלה. זהו מנוזר וזהו כדרך המישור גבי הארון. אלא

ודאי לא החזיר פניו מהם. ומה היה עושה בשעה שהיה חונה הארון אמ׳ משה קומה יי למנוחתיך*. מיד שורה הארון והשכינה ועומד בצד אחר והפנים כנגד ישראל ולנגד הארון ובשביל כך היה הנו"ן כלול לארון ולישראל. אלא שישראל גרמו לאחר כך ההי"ד ויהי העם כמתאוננים וכו׳.

ויהושע בן נון מלא רוח חכמה כי סמך משה את ידיו עליו. אמ׳ הב"ה בעולם הזה יחידים נתנבאו. אבל לעתיד לבא כל ישראל נעשין נביאים שנא׳ והיה אחרי כן אשפוך את רוחי על כל בשר ונבאו בניכם ובנותיכם זקניכם חלומות יחלומון בחוריכם חזיונות יראו.

אבל אכניסך בסוד עניין מה שאמ׳ קרבנו קערת כסף אחת. והיתה של כסף כי הקערה רומז למדת החסד שהוא נקרא קערה כמו הקערה שהיא מקבלת כל המשקין והמשחין כך היא מקבלת כל השמנים והמימות מן המבוע העליון ההי"ד כשמן הטוב על הראש יורד על הזקן. ועוד היתה של כסף לפי שהוא צד הכסף ההי"ד לי הכסף ולי הזהב. אחת רומז למדת אברהם הנקרא אחת ההי"ד אחת היא יונתי תמתי. אמ׳ הב"ה אני יחיד בעליונים ואברהם יחיד בתחתונים. ד"א למה נקרא אחת בשביל שמדת החסד נקרא אחת בשביל שהוא מאחד ואוחז בין עולם העליון ובין עולם התחתון. שלשים ומאה משקלה. שאותה הקערה שהיא חסד מקבלת מעולם החכמה הנקרא שלשים על שם ל"ב נהי׳ פליאות חכמה. כעין דוגמא זה היה הקרבן הכל כדוגמא של מעלה וכל זה הוא סוד עליון. ומאה כנגד עשר מדרגות עליונות שהם מאה עם ענפיהם. מזרק אחד כסף רומז לצד הנצח שהוא מקבל מצד החסד שהוא כסף. כף אחת עשרה זהב מלאה קטורת. כי הכף רומז לצד הגבורה הנקרא כף שהוא מקבל הקטורת של האש מעולם הבינה. כי הבינה היא נקראת עולם בית דין ההי"ד בראשית ברא אלהים. והגבורה מקבל הדין מעולם העליון במו הכף שהוא מקבל האש כך הגבורה מקבלת מן הנהר ההוא אודם האש. פר אחד רומז למדת התפ׳ הנקרא פר וזהו סוד הפר שהקריב אדם הראשון. בן בקר אל תיקרי בקר אל בן בָּקָר רומז לחסד הנקרא בקר ההי"ד וישכם אברהם בבקר. ועל זה הפר שהוא תפ׳ הוא בן החסד הנקרא בקר והבן זה. איל אחד. הוא יסוד הנקרא איל ההי"ד | בכור שורו הדר לו וקרני וכו׳. כבש אחד צא ע"ב רומז להוד הנקרא כבש לפי שהוא מצד הדין. בקר שנים רומז לחכמה ולבינה הנקראים שלמים לפי שהוא סוד השלום שאין שם רוגז וכעס ותחרות אלא עולם המנוחה והחדוה והחייב. כנגדם היו מקריבים זבח השלמים

הכל כדוגמא עליונה. אילים חמשה. פי׳ לחמשה עליונים שהם כ"ע וחכמה ובינה גדולה גבורה שהם חמש עליונות. עתודים חמשה בנגד תפ׳ נצח הוד יסוד מלכות. והבן כל אלו העניינים על מחכונתם.

שבעת ימים תסגר שבעת ימים מחוץ למחנה ואחר תאסף. ורמז כאן לכנסת ישראל שהיא בביכול נתרחקה ונטרדה מן שבע מראות עליונות שאינה מקבלת אורה כהוגן בשביל שכחות החיצוניות מבדילים בינה ובינם עד שיגיע זמן שהרתה אזי היא מהיחדת ומזדווגת עם המלך ותיכנס להיכלו ההי"ד ואחר תאסף. והבן כל זה העניינים כי הם נפלאים עד מאד והמשכיל יבין. אשריהם הצדיקים שהב"ה גלה להם שכינתו וסתרי תורתו הקדו׳ ההי"ד סוד יי ליריאיו ובריתו להודיעם.

פרש׳ שלח לך אנשים. שלח לך אנשים ויתורו את ארץ כנען וכו׳. ושנינו מהו לפרוש לים הגדול קודם לשבת שלשה ימים. כך שנינו אין מפליגין בספינה לים הגדול ג׳ ימים קודם לשבת בזמן שהוא הולך למקום רחוק אבל אם מבקש לפרוש מאי זה יום שירצה. למה מפני שהוא שליח כמו מצור לצידן מותר לו לפרוש ואפי׳ בערב שבת מפני שהדבר ידוע שהוא יכול ללכת מבעוד יום. בשלוחי הרשות. ואם שליח של מצוה הוא מותר לפרש באי זה יום שירצה.

ויבואו עד נחל אשכול ויכרתו וכו׳. אבל באתי לעוררך במלין יקרים וביון שראו שלא היו יכולים לילידי ענקים שהם המדות העליונות ירדו למדת המלכות הנקראת נחל אשכול לפי שהיא מקבלת מנחל של נהר דינור שהוא כולו אש ובחרו להם הזמורה ההיא להאמין לו ולקבל אלוהותו עליהם.

וישאוהו במוט. ואין מוט אלא צדיק יסוד עולם לפי שהצדיק לא ימוט לעולם. בשנים. אלו הם נצח והוד שהם שני עמודים הנקראים בועז ויכין לפי שהם נמשכים ונאצלים מן הרמונים שהוא צד הגבורה שהוא מר בקליפה של הרמון. | ומן התאנים רומז לצד החסד צב ע"א לפי שהוא מתוק כתאנה והבן.

וישובו מתור הארץ מקץ ארבעים יום. לרמוז שיחול עליהם הפורענות הנאצל ממדת ארבעים שהוא צד הגבורה השולט על ארבעים בתי דינין.

ויספרו לו ויאמרו באנו וכו׳. ואצ"ל כי הארץ הידוע שהיא

כנסת ישראל היא מקבלת מצד התלב של עולם העליון ודבש מצד החכמה. וזה פריה פי׳ מדת היסוד הנקרא וזה הוא מושך הפירות העליונים ית׳ פי׳ הנשמות הקדושות והטהורות הנמשכים מן החיה העליונה.

אפס כי עז העם היושב בארץ והערים וכו׳. ואצ"ל אפס רומז לכ"ע הנקדא אפס בשביל שאינו מושג לחוקרים בעדו אלא הוא אין לגמרי מבלי השגה. כי עז רומז לגבורה הנקרא עז הה"ד מהאוכל יצא מאכל ומעז יצא מתוק. היושב בארץ הנראים בארץ ההוא. והערים בצורות גדולות מאד. לרמוז לשאר המדרגות שהם תחת האפס שהם חכמ׳ ובינה גדולה וגבורה ותפ׳ נצח והוד יסוד. כל אלו הערים הם בצורות פי׳ הם נמנעים מלהשיגן ועל זה אמרו אין לנו עסק לעלות שם אלא די לנו בזאת הזמורה שכרתנו והבן זה.

אך ביי אל תמרודו. פי׳ בכ"ע שהוא אלהינו וברא אותנו וכל העולמות אל תמרודו בו ואל תקצצו ותדע כי הוא יחיד ומיוחד כשלהבת הקשורה בנחלת כי הם דיבוק אחד ואין ביניהם קיצוץ ופירוד.

ואתם אל תיראו את עם הארץ כי לחמינו הם. פי׳ כי אלו המדרגות הם לחמנו על שם מאשר שמנה לחמו בשביל שהם מספיקם לנו לחמנו ומזונינו.

ויאמר יי אל משה עד אנה ינאצוני וכו׳ ועד אנה לא יאמינו בי. למה לא יאמינו ביחודי ובמהותי שאני מלך ומושל לכל הנמצאים.

ואמרו אל יושב הארץ הזאת שמעו כי אתה יי בקרב העם הזה אשר עין בעין. פי׳ עין העליון שהוא כ"ע בעין ההחתון הנקראת מלכות ונמצאית שנגלית עליהם באלו המדות הנוראות. וענך עומד עליהם. פי׳ מדת המלכות. ובעמוד אש שהוא גבורה.

ועתה יגדל נא כח יי כאשר דברת לאמר. יהי רצון מלפניך שיתגדל כח החסד שהוא צד הגדולה ונצחו מדת הרחמים למדת הדין. סלח נא לעון העם הזה כגודל חסדיך. רומז למדת החסד לפי שמדת החסד הוא גדול בחסדו וברחמנותו.

ואולם חי אני וימלא כבוד יי את כל הארץ,אבל | תדע צב ע"ב שאני נקרא חי העולמים ואני יושב בין י"ת אלף עולמות שהם באורך אנפין כמנין חי.

וינסו אותי זה עשר פעמים פי שניסו אלו עשר מדרגות ולא עמדו באחד מהם ומרדו בי.

ועבדי כלב עקב היתה רוח אחרת עמו. מצד עולם העליון הקדוש שכתי׳ בו ונחה עליו רוח יי רוח חכמה ובינה. וימלא אחרי פי׳ אחרי ודאי והסוד בזה ואת אחרונים אני הוא לפי שכ"ע הוא אחר כל המדרגות והוא ראשון והוא אחרון.

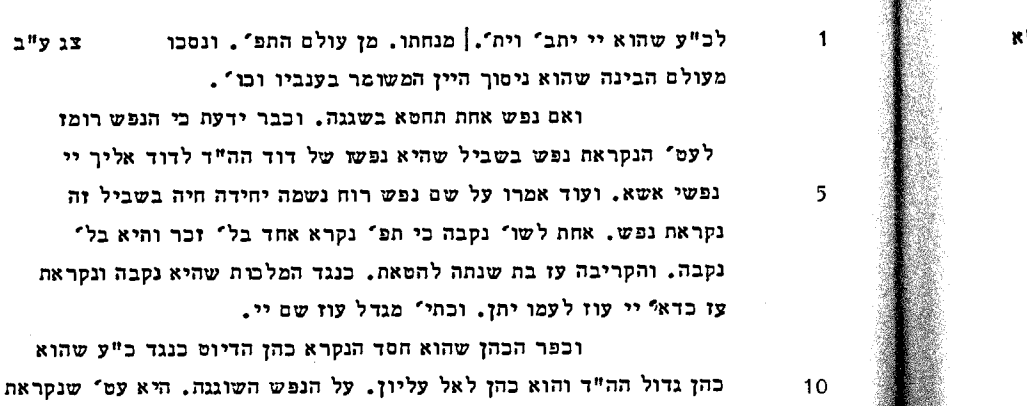
והעמלקי והכנעני יושב בעמק. פי׳ הם תמורת הע׳ היושבת בעמקים הה"ד כשושנה בין החוחים.

וישכימו בבקר ויעלו אל ראש ההר. פי׳ באו לתקן מה שקלקלו וכיוונו להחזיק לעלות אל ראש ההר שהוא תפ׳ הנקרא הר. הננו ועלינו אל המקום ודאי פי׳ ודאי המקום שהפסיקו והפרידו מן העט׳ בא ליחדו ולקבלו עליהם במדת אלהות ית׳ ויח׳.

ויאמר משה למה זה אתם עוברים את פי יי. אמ׳ להם אל תעברו את פי יי שהיא העט׳ אל תעלו מלמטה למעלה כדרך היחוד ולא תעלו להר קודם וא"כ תרדו. אל תעלו כי אין יי. פי׳ אל תעלו ליחד היחוד בזמן שכ"ע הנקרא אין יי בקרבכם כדי שלא תפסיקו בין המדרגות. ונגפתם לפני אויביכם. פי׳ התמורות שהם אויבים לעט׳. כי העמלקי והכנעני שם לפניכם ונפלתם בחרב. פי׳ בתמורת החרב הקדוש שהוא חרב ליי מלאה דם.

תורה אחת ומשפט אחד יהיה לכם. תורה אחת רומז לתורה שבעל פה הנקראת אתת. ומשפט אחד רומז למדת התפ׳ הנקרא משפט הה"ד מלך במשפט יעמיד ארץ וכו׳. יהיה לכם ודאי בהתחברות שניהם ביחוד בלא פירוד ואוי לו ואוי לנפשו מי שמבדיל ומפסיק בין אלו שתי מדות לפי שהוא פוסק חיים עליונים מן כנסת ישראל הה"ד ונרגן מפריד אלוף ואין אלוף אלא תפ׳ ישראל הה"ד ונרגן מפריד אלוף. וכתי׳ אלוף נעורי אתה. ד"א אלוף רומז גם כן לעט׳ ישראל והסוד בזה אלופינו מסובלים. לפי שהיא סובלת כל המשאות. בא וראה בזמן שהיא נפרדת מן בית המלך נקראת אל"ף. ובשעת החיבור נקראת אלוף. בשביל שהוא"ו נתחבר בה בזווג אחד הה"ד אלוף נעורי אתה.

ואצ"ל כי יש כאן בזה הפסוק תורה אחת סוד מופלא ונעלם על דרך האותיות המתגלגלות בסיבובם וזה הסוד נקרא שם החסד וזהו ציורו. |



ואצ"ל כי זה השם היוצא מזה הפסוק של תורה אחת הוא נפלא מאד והוא ממונה על חן וחסד ורחמים וצריך להזכירו בציור תכלת ורבי' מאיר ז"ל מרוטנבורק הזכיר אותו בשעה שהמלך שלח אחריו ורצה לתפוש אותו בבית האסורים. מיד כשבא לפניו הזכיר אותו בקדושה ובטהרה כדין וכהוגן. מיד נהפך לבו שלמלך ויצא מלפניו בחן ובחסד וברחמים ונתן לו מתנות ודורונות*. ועל זה זה השם אשרי ואשרי חלקו מי שמשתמש בו בקדושה ובטהרה אהוב למעלה ולמטה.

וכי תשגו ולא תעשו את כל המצות האלה אשר דבר יי. כי המצות הם מצות עשה ומצות לא תעשה לפי שמצות עשה נאצלים מן עולם התפא' שהוא אילן החיים ומצות לא תעשה הם ממלכות יי שהוא לא תעשה.

והיה אם מעיני העדה נעשתה בשגגה. פי' עיני העדה הם עינים העליונים שהם חכמה ובינה הנקראים עיני יי המה משוטטות בכל הארץ. ועשו כל העדה. כנגד עט' ישראל. פר. שהוא תפ' ישראל. בן בקר. בן חסד הנקרא בקר ה"ד וישכם אברהם בבקר. אחד לפי שהוא נקרא אחד על שם שבתפ' יתייחדו שם כל המראות והגוונים והצבעים של כל העליונים. כי כל השפע העליונה תעבור על אילן החיים לפי שהוא יושב באמצע הדרך ומקבל כל הטוב הבא מארץ כוש ומארץ קדם. לעולה. פי' לבינה שהיא עולה עליונה. לריח לסוד הריח שהוא תפ' ישראל. ניחוח. לעולם העליון שהוא נחת בלי כעס ורוגז. ליי. פי'

לכ"ע שהוא יי יתב' ויית'. מנחתו. מן עולם התפ'. ונסכו מעולם הבינה שהוא ניסוך היין המשומר בענביו וכו'.

ואם נפש אחת תחטא בשגגה. וכבר ידעת כי הנפש רומז לעט' הנקראת נפש בשביל שהיא נפשו של דוד ה"ד לדוד אליך יי נפשי אשא. ועוד אמרו על שם נפש רוח נשמה יחידה חיה בשביל זה נקראת נפש. אחת לשו' נקבה כי תפ' נקרא אחד בל' זכר והיא בל' נקבה. והקריבה עז בת שנתה להטאת. כנגד המלכות שהיא נקבה ונקראת עז כדא' יי עוז לעמו יתן. וכתי' מגדל עוז שם יי.

וכפר הכהן שהוא חסד הנקרא כהן הדיוט כנגד כ"ע שהוא כהן גדול ה"ד והוא כהן לאל עליון. על הנפש השוגגה. היא עט' שנקראת נפש שוגגת כנגד העליונים לפי שבעליונים לא נמצא שם לא רוגז ולא תהרות ולא עצבות אלא הכל רחמים. אבל בעט' נמצא שם התחדשות התוארים והאפשריים ובה נמצא השגגה ועון ושאר מיני חטאות ה"ד בחטאה בשגגה שהוא לש' חסרון כרא' והייתי אני ובני שלמה חטאים.

אשרי חלקם אותם המשתדלים בתורה לשמה שהרי הם. נקשרים ממש בהב"ה ונקראים אחים וריעים לו ה"ד למען אחי וריעי אדברה נא שלום.

ועתה יגדל נא כח יי. ר' אחא ור' יוסי אמ' אשדיהם ישראל מכל שאר העמים שהב"ה חפץ בהם ומכנה בהם ומתפאר בהם שהעולם לא נברא אלא בשבילם כדי שישתדלו בתורה בשביל שנקשר אחד באחד וישראל למטה בזה העולם הם קיומם הכל* וקיומם של שאר עמים. אימתי בזמן שהם עושין רצון אדוניהם. בא וראה כשברא הב"ה בן אדם התקין אותו כדוגמא עליונה ונתן כחו וחזקו באמצעות הגוף במקום ששורה הלב שהוא תוקף ומזון של כל הגוף ומשם ניזון כל הגוף וכל איברי הגוף ניזונין מן הלב שהוא חוזק של כל והכל בו תלויין ואותו לב נקשר ונאחז במוח העליון הקדוש ששוכן למעלה בראש. כך הב"ה כשברא העולם וסידר לים אוקיאנוס וסיבבו סביב סביב כל ישוב הארץ וישוב של שבעים אומות הכל סיבב סביב לארץ ישראל שהוא ירושלם. וירושלם הוא באמצעיה של כל הישוב והוא מסבב להר הבית. והר הבית מסבב לעזרות שלישראל והם עזרות מסבבין ללשכת הגזית ששם סנהדרין גדולה יושבין. ושנינו אין ישיבה בעזרה אלא למלכי בית דוד לבדם. ולשכת הגזית הוא מסבב לבית האולם והמזבח. והמזבח מסבב להיכל.

וההיכל מסבב לבית קדשי הקדשים ששם שורה השכינה וכפורת וכרובים והארון ובכאן הוא לבו של העולם כולו. ומכאן ניזונו כל מקומות הישוב שהן איברי הגוף. ולב זה הוא ניזון מן המוח של הראש ונאחז ונקשר זה בזה ההי"ד | מזון לשבתך פעלת יי. כדוגמא זה למעלה צד ע"א
בסוד הקדוש העליון הסתום. ים העליון הוא כנגד זה הים. וא"ת יש למעלה ים מן ים*. בא וראה נהר דינור מסבב לכמה מחנות כנגד שבעים צדדין חקוקים משבעה מאורות והם סביב לאותן שמשים שלפנים מהם והם סביב לארבע מרכבות והם מסבבין לאותה עיר הקדושה הרובצת עליהם. ושנינו לשם הם עזרות לפנים מן עזרות ואין ישיבה בעזרה של שם אלא מלכי בית דוד לבדם וסנהדרין גדולה נמצאים שם בלשכת הגזית והוא בית דין עליהם שמשמש למקום שמשמש והדין ניתן לקדושי עליונים עד שמגיע למקום שנקרא קדש הקדשים. ושם הוא הלב שורה וזה הלב ניזון מן המוח שעליו ונאחז זה בזה. כדוגמא זה למעלה והוא בסוד המלך העליון עד שנמצא הכל ניזון מן המוח העליון הסתום של כל. בא וראה כשמאיר עתיק הסתום במוח ומוח מאיר ללב בדרך נועם יי וזהו הנקרא רוח* יי שכתו' בו ורוח אלהים מרחפת על פני המים. ואותו הכוח הוא הבא מכח עתיק הקדוש הסתום של כל הסתימות.יגדל נא כח שיתגדל ויתרבה למעלה למעלה וימשך ויצא למטה. כאשר דברת לאמר. כדי ללמוד מכאן כל דורות האחרונים לעולם ולעולמי עולמים. לאמר. פי' לומר זה לדורות.

וידעת היום והשיבות אל לבבך כי יי הוא עתיק יומין הוא האלהים הוא אחד ברוך שמו לעולם ולעולמי עולמים. א"ר שמעון ראיתי עליונים למטה ותחתונים למעלה. עליונים למטה הוא דיוקן של אדם שהוא בתיקון של העליונים. תאנא כתי' וצדיק יסוד עולם. שהוא כולל שית זהו שכתי' שוקיו עמודי שש. ושנינו בצניעות הספר באדם נכללו כתרים עליונים בכלל ופרט. ובארם נכלל כתרים תחתונים בפרט וכלל. כתרים עליונים בכלל כמו שאמרנו בדיוקן שכל אלו התיקונין הם בפרט באצבעות הידים חמש כנגד חמש. כתרים תחתונים רמוזים באצבעות הרגלים שהם פרט וכלל שהרי הגוף לא נראה עמהם והם חוץ לגוף ובשביל כך לא היו בגוף שהטף הוסר מהם. אי הכי מאי ועמדו רגליו ביום ההוא על הר הזיתים. אלא רגליו הם רגלים של גוף של בעלי הדין כדי לעשות נקמות לשונאיהם של ישראל ונקראים בעלי רגלים ומתאחדים בעלי דינין

של מטה בכתרים התחתונים. תאנא כל אותן תיקונים של מעלה שבגוף הקדוש הם בזכר ונקבה כלל של אדם ונמשכים זה מזה ומתאחדים זה בזה כמו שנמשך הדם בורידים של הגידים לזה ולזה לכאן ולכאן ממקום זה למקום אחר והם משקין כל הגוף ומקבלין* כל האיברים משקה זה מזה וזה מזה. כך כל כתרים הקרושים של גוף הקדוש מקבלין משקה זה מזה ומאירין זה לזה עד שיאירו כל העולמות ומתברכין כולם | בשבילם. צד ע"ב
תאנא כל אותן כתרים שלא נכללו בגוף כולם הם רחוקים ממנו והם טמאים ומטמאים לכל שיקרב אליהם. וא"ת אי הכי הא מלאכין קרישין דליתהון בכלל הגוף. לא ח"ו שיהיו חוץ מכלל הגוף לא יהיו כביכול קדושים ולא מתקיימים וכתי' וגוויתו כתרשיש וכ' וגבותם מלאות עינים. והאיש גבריאל. כולם הם בכלל הגוף של האדם אלא חוץ מאלו שאינן בכלל הגוף בשביל שהם טמיאין ומטמאין לכל מי שיקרב אליהם. ושנינו כולם הם מרוח של שמאל שלא נתבסם באדם ויצאו מכלל הגוף הקדוש שלא נדבקו בו ובשביל כך כולם הם נמצאים ומטמאים והולכין ושאטין בעולם והולכין בנקב של התהום להתדבק באתו דין הקדמון שיוצא מכלל הגוף שנקרא קין של מטה ושאטין בכל העולם ופורחין ולא מתדבקין בכלל הגוף ובשביל כך הם מבחוץ של כל המחנות העליונות ויושבים חוץ למחנה ההי"ד מחוץ למחנה מושבו. אשריהם הצדיקים בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא שגילה להם הב"ה סודות התורה מה שלא גילה לשום אומה ההי"ד לא עשה כן לכל גוי .

פרש' ויקח קרח. ויקח קרח בן יצהר בן קהת בן לוי. זש"ה אח נפשע מקרית עוז ומדינים כבריח ארמון. אח נפשע מקרית עוז. זהו קרח שהיה נפשע והלך כנגד משה ומרד וירד מן הכבוד שהיה בידו. ואין נפשע אלא מרידה כמו שכתי' מלך מואב פשע בי. וכן הוא אומ' אז תפשע לבנה בעת ההיא. ומדינים כבריח ארמון. מדינים שעשה כנגדו כפלטירין. כבריח ארמון. שחלק על המקום ועל משה.

אבל סוד עליון יש לך כאן בעניין טלית שכולה תכלת שהוא חייב בציצית. כבר ידוע הוא שהטלית רומז למדת החכמה הנקרא טלית על שם לבושיה כתלג חיור ושער רישיה כעמר נקי. לפי שהחכמה הוא לבוש לכ"ע שהוא מתלבש בו. והחכמה היא כולה תכלת בגוניו ובצבעיו. והציצית שהיא עט' אתה צריך לגעוץ הסוף בתחלה ונמצא

שאין טלית תכלת בלא ציצית ולא ציצית בלא תכלת כדא׳ ועשו להם ציצית. לכן אע"פ שהטלית שהוא חכמה אי אפשר לך לייחד ולחבר היחוד אלא בכלל המלכות שהיא הציצית לפי שיש עשר ספי׳ בלימה ועשר ולא תשע. עשר ולא אחד עשר. לכן כעין דוגמא זה למטה אע"פ שהטלית כולה תכלת צריך לעשות לו ציצית כדוגמא עליונה.

ויקומו לפני משה ואנשים מבני ישראל חמשים ומאתים נשיאי עדה קריאי מועד אנשי שם. זה הפסוק העמידוהו החבריא. ר׳ שמעון אומ׳ קראי מועד כתי׳ חסד. למה אלא כל כך הוא מלכות של הארץ כדוגמא מלכות השמים וזה סוד כל אותן כתרים עליונים של שם הקדוש נאחז בהם וכולם מזומנים הם ממקום שנקרא קודש הה"ד מקראי קודש. ואימתי בשעה שמועד מזומן בעולם כדוגמא שאותם כתרים עליונים | מזומנים מקודש העליון הכי נמי קודש התחתון מזומן צה ע"א לחיילותיו להתעטר להם בקודש העליון הידוע. קודש התחתון הוא חכמת שלמה הכי נמי מזומן לכל חיילותיו והם חיילות כוחות מזומנים להתעטר בהאי קודש בזמן שהמועד שורה בעולם כדוגמא שחיילותיה עומדים למעלה הכי נמי עומדים ממונים כדוגמא שלהם למטה ועל כן נקראים קריאי מועד בשביל שאותם שלמטה ועל זה קראי מועד חסר כדוגמא שלמעלה. אבל בשלימות יותר אותן אנשי שם. אנשי שם ודאי ולא אנשי יי. וזהו סוד ונוקב שם יי מות יומת. ועל זה נקראים בכאן אנשי שם שכיון מצד הגבורה באים אנשי שם אותם שבח שלהם יותר.

בן יצהר של צד הבינה הנקרא יצהר כדא׳ דגן תירוש ויצהר. ד"א יצהר מל׳ צוהר תעשה לתיבה. שהוא עולם הבינה וסוד השמטה והיובל שהוא מאיר לכל העולמות והמדרגות התחתונים לו כי אין להם חיים אלא ממנו כדא׳ ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן. ד"א יצהר פי׳ י׳ צהר לפי שהיא מקבלת מן עשר מדרגות עליונות של כ"ע הנקראים עשר צחצחות. בן קהת בן הבינה שהוא נקרא קהת מל׳ ולו יקהת עמים.

רב לכם בשיאמ׳ אדם לחבירו דיי לכם בשררה. ד"א רב לכם. פי׳ רב העליון הוא לכם לאלוה. אבל צידינו מספיק לנו להושיע. כי כל העדה כולם קדושים. פי׳ כולם שמעו לפני הר סיני עשרת הדברות שיצאו מפי הגבורה ונתקדשו באותו מעמד והם כולם קדושים לכהונה ולוייה ולמלוכה ולנבואה. ובתוכם יי. לפי ששם יהוה הוא סובב ומתגלגל

על כל בני המשפחות שהם ראובן שמעון לוי וכו׳. כי הב"ה היה בוחר באהרן לפי שהוא מדת החסד והעולם צריכים חסד ורחמים ושלום בעולם כי על ידי הקרבנות יתרבו השלום והרחמים בעולם. וקרח היה מצד הדין ולא היה נאה לו לעבוד במקום אהרן והוא בא להחליף הימין בשמאל ושמאל בימין ונמצא שהכחיש ומנע שפע עליונה מן הנהר למדות וזהו סוד ויקח קרח פי׳ לקח השפע לבלתי לבא לתחתונים. ד"א ומדוע תתנשאו. אלמלא אתם לבדכם הייתם במעמד הר סיני אלא כולם היו במעמד מתן תורה כדא׳ את אשר ישנו פה עמנו. לפי שכל הרוחות והנשמות כולם היו באותו המעמד הנולדים ושיאינן נולדים היו כולם על הר סיני והבן.

וישמע משה ויפול על פניו. פי׳ שמע מחלקותם ועצתם מיד ויפל על פניו. פי׳ על פניו ודאי שהוא סוד הפנים והוא מטטרון שר הפנים לפי שכל הפנים נראים בה ומשה עשה נפילת אפים לאותה המדה שהוא סוד | עץ החיים והוא אילן המות לפי צה ע"ב שכל רוחות ונשמות של בני העולם בה נפקדים ומשה בא לאותו המדה לבלתי שלא להשחיתם.

ואנחנו נלך בשם יי אלהינו. פי׳ כ"ע שהוא אלהינו והוא מלכנו שהוא אחד בתכלית האחדות הפשוטות אשר לא תשתנה לזולתו לפי שכל הנמצאים והנבראים כולם הם מתאצלים מעומק המחשבה. לכן אין לנו אלא יי אחד וחורה אחת ומשפט אחד ומזבח אחד וכהן גדול אחד כדא׳ כולם נתנו מרועה אחד.

ותנו בהן אש. מן אש חצוני שהוא סוד העט׳. ד"א אש מצד שמאל. ושימו עליהם קטורת. מצד הבינה שהוא פנימי והוא קטורת. לפני יי. פי׳ לפני העילה הראשונה.

המעט מכם. חזר על קרח. כי הבדיל אלהי ישראל אתכם מעדת ישראל להקריב אתכם אליו ודאי. ויקרב אותך. לפי שהוא היה הגדול שבשבט שלו שנעשו אחיו טפלה לו. אמ׳ להם המחלוקת שאתם עושין אינה כנגדי אלא כנגד המקום שהוא ית׳ ויה׳. ובקשתם גם כהונה. פי׳ כהונה עליונה להחליף שמאל בימין וימין בשמאל. לכן אתה וכל עדתך. המתלוים עמך. הנועדים על יי ודאי כביכול שחירפו וגידפו למעלה.

הרעיפו שמים ממעל. מאי הרעיפו כדא׳ יערף כמטר לקחי. ועל צד שהוא מזון עליון אמ׳ ועל זה כל עיני עליונים ותחתוני׳ מצפין

להב"ה בשביל אותו מזון של כל.

ד"א יערף מל' קשה עורף פי' אותו מזון היורד לעולם הוא יורד ממקום אחורי העורף שהוא אחורי המצח והוא לפני לפנים של כל ה"ד יערוף כמטר. ואותו המזון יורד כמסר היורד כל אחד ואחד מן הסיפה מן נהיבו וממקורו. כך המזון העליון יורד כל אחד ואחד מזונו מן כוחו של מעלה.

ועל זה שנינו לאו בזכותא תליא מילתא אלא במזלא. ושנינו צדקה תרגו' זכותא וזכותא ושמים דבר אחד הוא. והכא הרעיפו שמים. וא"ת שבו תלוי כתי' ממעל. ממעל ודאי פי' מעתיק הקדוש בא כל מזון וכל טוב היורד לעולם כדא' הרעיפו כי אחורי העורף והבן.

בא וראה כל תיאבותא וכל הרצון דבעי ברנש לארקא ברכן מלעילא לתתא כדי לייחד שם הקדוש ולבקש בתפלה לפני הב"ה כדא' ממעמקים קראתיך יי. ממקום עומק של כל שהוא שרותא עילתא דאבא ואימא מזדווגים אף בכאן לבי לחוקקי ישראל. מאן חוקקי ישראל לא כתי' חקוקי ישראל אלא חוקקי אלו אב ואם שהם מחוקקים לישראל הקדוש שהוא יוצא ונמשך מביניהם. המתנדבים בעם. אלו האבות שהם כהנים ולויים וישראלים הנקראים נדיבים כדא' נדיבי עמים נאספו. מיד ברכו יי. למשוך ממנו הברכות למטה וימצאו הברכות בכל העולמות כולם. |

כל מי שהוא סמא ואינו אמת אין מוסרין צו ע"א

לו אפי' את אחת מאותיות הקודש אלא למי שהוא אמת ביחוד העולם מוסרין לו. ג"כ קרח בשביל שיצא מסוד האמונה הקדושה ורצה לערבב השורה וליכנס במקום מה שלא היה ראוי לו לכן נאבד מן העולם הזה ומן העולם הבא כדא' ויאבדו מתוך הקהל פי' שירדו לאבדון. ודיי למשכיל.

בא וראה עשרים ושחים אותיות של התורה כולם הם מתפשטים באלו עשר מאמרות. וכל אמירה ואמירה מאלו כולם הם חקוקים באותיות חקוקות ובאותיות ידועות כל אחד ואחד על ענינו ומתכונתו. בגיני כך השם הקדוש נתכסה באותיות אחרים. וכל אמירה מודה ומשתחוה ומקבל עול של אמירה עליונה הימנו בשביל שנכלל זה בזה וזה בזה.

ועל זה שם הקדוש חקקתי אותו באותיות אחרים בשביל שיתכסה הכל זה בזה וזה בזה ואלו האותיות הם מורים על קשר היחוד

ושלשלת הקדוש ית' ויתי' עד שמקדישין כולם כאחד ביחוד אחד. לכן כל המשתמש בהם בקדושה ובטהרה ינצל מכל צרה וצוקה. וכל מי שאינו משתמש בהם בקדושה יאבד מן העולם הזה והעולם הבא. ואלו כ"ב אותיות הם נכתבים בכתיבה נכרית ובשביל שאנחנו בארץ סמאה אין אנו רשאין לכתוב אותה בכתיבה קדושה כדי שלא יתסמאו אלא באותה כתיבה הידוע. ואני הייתי חפץ לכותבם אלא בשביל הארכת הציורים והפסד הנייר וקיצור הזמן לא יכולתי להאריך בהם ע"כ. ועל זה מי שרוצה לידע אותן אותיות הרשומין בכל כתר וכתר יתייחד יחוד עליון בלבו ועל זה יזכה ויתקיים בכל. ואני חקקתי פעם אחת אותן האותיות הרשומים וידועים בכל כתר וכתר מספר העליון של השר החמשים שחיבר שר שלום גאון בעיר מייטבורך והולכתי זה השם עמי בכל הדרכים שעברתי. שבח לאל לא פגעתי בשום פגע רע אלא בעונות הרבים מרוב טלטול הדרך נאבד ממני אלא נרשם לי צורת אותן האותיות בקירוב. ואלו אותיות הם מצורפים עם שבעה אתי"ן שכתב רב הונא בקמיע שלו. מעשה היה ברומי שמלך אחד היה שם ושלח אחרי חכמי ישראל ואמ' להם תכתבו לי שם אחד בקמיע אם אכנס במלחמה כדי שאנצח לאויבי ואם אכנס בנהר עמוק ואעבור אותו ואם אכנס באש לא יזיקני. אמ' לו אדונינו תן לנו זמן ג' ימים. נתן להם זמן. בין כך נכנסו חכמי ישראל בעיצה מה לעשות עד שהסכימו כולם ואמרו לכתוב זאת הקמיע וכתבו שבעה אתי"ן. נכנס | במים בזה הקמיע לא נטבע. ובאש צו ע"ב

ולא ניזוק. ובמלחמה היה נוצח. ואחר כך הראה קמיע זו לחכם אחד ואמ' לו הראה אם יש בו שום טישטוש ותעתיק אותו לי על קלף אחר וכן עשה וטעה בקצת הדברים והביאו למלך ותלה אותו המלך עליו. עבר בו במים כמנהגו הראשון ונטבע ע"כ. להודיע לך על שם של שבעה אתי"ן כמה הוא כוחו גדול. וצריך הכותב שיכתוב אות הראשון בליל הראשון בשעת קריח הגבר. והשני בליל השני עד שיגיע לליל שבת צריך ליקח גוי אחד בטהרה ויחקוק אותו השם בליל שבת. וכל אלו הרשימות והחקיקות ידועים גבי החבריא. אשריהם הצדיקים בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא שהב"ה הפץ בכבודם ומגלה להם סודות עליונים של שם הקדוש שלא גילה אותו לעליונים קדושים.

ובשביל זה היה יכול משה להתעסר בין אותן המלאכים הקדושים וכולם לא היו יכולים להתקרב אצלו ואם לאו הכי היאך היה

יכול משה להתקיים ביניהם אלא אשרי חלקו של משה בתחילת דבירו עמו הב"ה רצה לידע סוד שמו הקדוש בנסתר ובנגלה כל אחד ואחד כראוי ומיד נדבק בו וידע יותר מכל בני העולם.

וקרח היה במעלה גדולה בלוייה שהיה גדול בשבט שלו ונדול בעושר ובנכסים והיה לו שם גדול של ית' ויח' חלוי לו בצוארו והיה מנצח בו כל אויביו והיה מצליח בו בכל ענייניו. באותו יום שבא משה לדבר עמו לא רצה ליכנע לפני משה לפי שבטח בזה השם אלא באותו היום נפל לו זה השם ונתבטלו כל כוחותיו. והלא אתה רואה שישו הנוצרי שר"י נכנס לבית המקדש והעתיק שם המפורש ועשה בו פלאי פלאים עד שהיה פורח באויר והטעו אחריו האומות עד שאחד מחכמי הדור הזכיר שם ופרח כמותו באויר עד שעלה למעלה הימנו והשחין על ראשו וסימאו מיד נפל לארץ ונטמא להודיע לך שכמה פלאים היו עושין בו הראשונים.

דתניא שלש מדרגות הם ונדבקין בנפש אחד* נפש רוח ונשמה ועליונה מהם נשמה דאמ' ר' יוסי בכל בני אדם יש נפש ויש נפש עליון שהוא נפש הצדיק* והשני נקרא רוח כדא' עד יערה עלינו רוח ממרום. מיד מתעורר בן אדם בהתעוררות אחר קדוש עליון להסתכל בחוקות של המלך הקדוש. אשרי בן אדם שזכה בזה הרוח מעטרין אותו בכהר העליון הקדוש שכלול מן הכל ונקרא נשמה והוא נשמת אלוה.

ויראַ כבוד יי אל כל העדה. זהו מדה שהוא כבוד מלכות יי הנקרא כבוד ראשון והוא מזומן להפרע מן כל הרשעים הבאים למרוד במלכות יי לפי שהוא בית | דין התחתון. צז ע"א

ויפלו על פניהם ויאמרו אל אלהי הרוחות לכל בשר האיש אחד יחטא ועל כל העדה תקצוף. כי משה ואהרן היו נופלים למדת המלכות שהוא סוד נפילת הפנים.

ואם בריאה יברא יי ופצתה האדמה את פיה. והלא כבר נבראת האדמה שהיא רומזת למדת הדין. למה אמ' אם בריאה יברא יי. אלא ודאי סוד עליון לפי שמלכות יי שהוא האדמה הוא נקרא סוד האיפשר כדא' אם יהיה אלהים עמדי וכו' ועוד כתי' מי יתן והיה לבבם זה להם ליראה אותי. והיא סוד התיקלא הסובבת שרמזתי לך ועל זה אמ' אם בריאה שהיא העט' נבראת ונתחדשה בעומק הדין. יברא פי' שישתנה ויתחדש לצד הדין. ופצתה האדמה את פיה. הצד המקבל מצד הגבורה

שהוא חוזק הדין הקשה. ובלעה אותם למעלה ולמטה. פי' שתבלע אותם למעלה ותקיא אותם לצד תמורתה הנקרא שאולה וירדו חיים שאולה פי' למעלה ולמטה ירדו הם בחיותם לצד שאול. וידעתם כי נאצו האנשים האלה את יי. פי' שהשחיתו והפרידו בין המבועות ומדות.

ותבקע האדמה אשר תחתיהם. פי' נבקעו האדמה ושאר מדרגות ומדורות של ניהנם כולם נבקעו וירדו הם וכל אשר להם.

ותפתח הארץ פי' הדין את פיה פי' צד העליון המקבל מן הגבורה. ותבלע אותם ואת בתיהם ואת כל האדם אשר לקרח בין למעלה בין למטה. ואת כל הרכוש. פי' ממונם ונכסיהם כדי שלא יהנה מהם ישראל לפי שהם נידונין בעיר הנדחת.

ותכס עליהם הארץ. פי' ארץ העליון שהוא בית דין הרפה. ויאבדו מתוך הקהל. שנאבדו ממלכות יי וניזדו לתמורת יי. כדא' והאבדתי את הנפש. פי' לרמוז להם שנאבדו בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא.

נסו לקולם. פי' כשראו גזירה כזו נסו לקולם זהו משה רבי' ע"ה הנקרא קול כדא' והאלהים יעניגו בקול. ואמרו לו אדונינו משה רבי' הצילנו מזה המות.

ואש יצאה מאת יי. פי' יי הוא בית דין הקשה העליון. ותאכל את החמשים ומאתים איש מקריבי הקטורת כדא' והצא אש מלפני יי ותאכל אותם.

את מחתות החטאים האלה בנפשותם ועשו אותם רקועי פחים צפוי למזבח כי הקריבום לפני יי ויקדשו. פי' שכיון שנתקרבו לפני יי קדושים הם. ויהיה לזכרון ולאות לבני ישראל.

את מחתות הנחשת. למה היו נחשת ולא בדיל ולא עופרת אלא לרמוז למדת המלכות שהיא מזבח הנחושת שבאו כביכול להפריד בין האלופים.

למען אשר לא | יקרב איש זר אשר לא צז ע"ב

מזרע אהרן הוא. כדי שלא יבוא אדם נוכרי משבט אחר ויערער על הכהונה שאינו מחלקו ומגורלו.

הרומו מתוך העדה הזאת ואכלה אותם ברגע. פי' לכלותם כעדת קרח. ויפלו על פניהם. לצד מדת העט' הנקראת פנים. והוא סוד נפילת הפנים.

קח את המחתה מצד העט'. ותן עליה פי' עליה ודאי.

אש מעל המזבח של צד הגבורה. ושים קטורת. כנגד צד הפנימי. כי יצא הקצף שהוא צד המות. כלפני יי. פי' גבורה שהוא דין העליון הקשה.

ויעמוד בין המתים ובין החיים ותעצר המגפה. אבל יש כאן סוד עליון כי מדת אהרן הוא מדת החסד שהוא כנ"ח"ב ובין שאר המדרגות המחודשות העוברים בדין הויה והפסד לפי שכל הוה נפסד וכל נפסד הוה לפי שהם הוים ונפסדים בסוד השמיטה כשיכנס בשבת נמצאים כעין מתים כנגד עולם החיים העליון אשר הם חיים לכל חיים והם אור לכל המדרגות ונשמה לכל הנשמות לכן כתי' ויעמוד בין המתים ובין החיים והבן כל זה. אשריהם הצדיקים בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא שנתן להם הב"ה תורתו התמימה מה שלא נתן לשום אומה ולשון. נשלם.

פרש' חוקת התורה. ר' יוסי פתח וזאת התורה אשר שם משה לפני בני ישראל. בא וראה דברים של תורה הם קדושים והם עליונים והם מתוקים כמו שכתו' הנחמדים מזהב ומפז רב.

ויבואו בני ישראל כל העדה מדבר צין. ר' יהודה אמ' למה פרשה זו סמוכה למיתת מרים. אלא כיון שנעשה דין בזה הפרה לטהר לטמאים נעשה דין במרים ונסתלקה מן העולם . כיון שנסתלקה מרים נסתלק אותו באר שהיה הולך עם ישראל במדבר ונסתלק באר של כל. פתח ואמ' ואתה בן אדם שא קינה על בתולת ישראל. וזהו סוד עליון דכתי' הושיעה ימינך. גופה דכתי' לבשו שמים קדרות דהא השמש נחשך בשבילה כדוגמא זה ותמת שם מרים ותקבר שם.

בא וראה לא היה מים לעדה. שהרי נסתלק הבאר של מעלה ושל משה ונשבר הימין דכתי' יאסף אהרן אל עמיו. ואחר כך נתחשך השמש דכתיב ומות בהר. וכתי' והאסף אל עמך גם אתה כאשר נאסף וכו' שהרי זרוע | הימין נשבר והגוף שהוא השמש צח ע"א נחשך. בא וראה לא נמצא דור בעולם כדורו של משה שמשה היה קיים בעולם ואהרן ומרים. וא"ת בימיו של שלמה היה ג"כ כך לאו דהא ימיו של שלמה שלם הירח והשמש נכנס ובימיו של משה נכנס הירח והשמש שלם. בא וראה שלשה אחים היו משה ואהרן ומרים כדא' ואשלח לפניך את משה וכו'. מרים היא הירח ומשה הוא השמש ואהרן הוא זרוע ימין.

חור הוא זרוע של שמאל. ויש אומרי' נחשון בן עמי נדב. בראשונה נסתלקה הירח* כדא' ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהרן ודאי שהוא זרוע הימין שהוא יתקרב לה באחדות אחד באחוה ובאהבת הריעים. וא"כ נאסף משה שהוא שמש כדא' והאסף אל עמך גם אתה. אשרי חלקו של משה ואהרן ומרים בעולם. בא וראה בימיו של שלמה המ' ע"ה הירח שלטה בתיקונה והיתה נראיה בעולם ונתקיים שלמה עליונה שהמאור שלו היה שולם בעולם. כיון שהירח ירד ונפגם בעונו היתה פוגמת יום אחר יום עד שהיתה נמצאת בקרן מערבית ולא יותר. אשרי חלקו של משה הנביא שכתי' בו וזרח השמש ובא השמש וכו'. בא וראה וזרח השמש. כשיצאו ממצרים שהשמש האיר לא ירח. ואל מקומו שואף זורח הוא שם הא כתי' ובא השמש במדבר עם שאד מתי מדבר.כיון שנכנס השמש לאי זה מקום נכנס אל מקומו בשביל להאיר לירח הה"ד שואף זורח הוא שם אע"ג שנכנס זורח הוא שם ודאי שהרי לא האיר הירח אלא מאור השמש וזהו סוד שכתי' והנך שוכב עם אבותיך*. אע"ג שאתה תכנס הנך להאיר לירח. כך הוא משה ועליו כתי' זה הפסו' מה יתרון לאדם בכל עמלו שיעמול וכו'. מה יתרון לאדם בכל עמלו זהו יהושע שנשתדל להוריש ארץ הקדוש לישראל ולא זכה להשלים הירח כראוי.

ומשם בארה היא הבאר. מאי לכא* בכאן בארה וא"כ באר אלא בארה אחר שנתקבצו המים בתוכה והם יורדים לתחתונים. ונקרא באר בשעה שיצחק ממלא אותו. היא הבאר הוא כתי' וסוד הוא כמו שכתי' ועבד הלוי הוא. ר' אבא אמ' בכל מקום הוא קרינן אותו היא זכר ונקבה כאחד. ה"א נקבה שהיא כנסת ישראל שהיא ה"א התחתונה וא"ו הזא הזכר שהוא תפ' ישראל כלל של כל שהרי האל"ף בשלימות שוכן בו. אשריהם ישראל אע"ג שהם למטה הם אחוזים בכלל העליון של כל ובגין | כך כתי' הוא עשנו ולא אנחנו. באל"ף צח ע"ב כתי' של וא"ו וה"א שכולל הכל. ר' שמעון אמ' הרוח ומים הוא רוח הקודש שהוא מנשב בראשונה כדאמ' הפיחי גני וא"כ נוזלים המים למלאות הכל כדא' ישב דוחו יזלו מים . ישב רוחו בראשונה וא"כ יזלו מים. ועד שלא מנשב זה הרוח לא נוזלים אלו המים. מאי קמ"ל משמע שצריך בכל לעורר הדבר במעשה או בדבר או להראות כמראה המעשה. ובכאן עד שלא ינשב הרוח אינן הולכים המים אצל אותו הרוח. הוא הבאר היא קרינן. מאי שנא בראשונה בארה ועכשיו באר אלא בראשונה נקבה

לבדה ועכשיו שאמ' הוא כלל זכר ונקבה נקרא באר. ובמקום שנמצא זכר אפי' מאה נקבות זכד אנו קוראין אותם. אסוף את העם בשביל זה אם באר לא סר מהם הבאר.

אבל אבניסך בין אולם ולמזבח בכל אלו הנפלאים כי רז"ל כל דבריהם דברי אלהים חיים והם רמזו סתרי דאוריתא ברמז כדי שיבינו המבינים והמשכילים כדא' והמשכילים יזהירו כזוהר הרקיע. בא וראה אז"ל הרי פרצוף אחד שברא הב"ה בבני אדם מלא היסס יש בו כמה מעיינות ואינן מתערבים זה בזה. וכבר ידעת שהפרצוף שהזכירו ז"ל הוא פרצוף האדם העליון שהוא עולם של עשר מדרגות המכונה בבן אדם לפי שהאדם הוא נקרא עולם קטן כנגד עולם העליון וזהו סוד שהזכירו ז"ל דו פרצופין נמצא שהצורה העליונה נקרא פרצוף ואותו פרצוף הוא בבן אדם העליון ההי"ד אחרי עורי נקפו זאת ומבשרי אחזה אלוה וארז"ל שבזה האדם יש פרצוף כמלא היסס ויש בו אותן המעיינות מהם מלוחים מהם מתוקים מהם שמנים מהם סרוחים ואין מתערבין אלו עם אלו כי כל אחד ואחד מן אלו הנהרות והמעיינות נוטל גבולו עד אנה הוא נמשך ויוצא כדי שלא יתערב בנבול חברו אלא בגזירת האדון העליון ית' שמו ויתׂ הדרו. וארבעה מעיינות אלו הם בפרצוף האדם מתחלת העינים עד הפה והוא כמלא היסס. וארז"ל מי העינים מלוחים למה כשאדם בוכה על המת בכל שעה היה מסתמא אלא על שהן מלוחין פוסק ואינו בוכה. אבל הא לך סודו. כי העינים רומזים למדת המטרוניתא שהיא בומה כביכול על בן זוגה הנפרד ממנה בשביל עון הדור והיא יושבת ובוכה עליו בכל יום כדא' ויקרא יי אלהים צבאות ביום ההוא לבכי ולמספד ולקרחה ולחגור שק. ועוד | כתי' קול ברמה נשמע צט ע"א נהי בכי תמרורים רחל מבכה על בניה מאנה וכו'. נמצא שבכיה נתיחם לכנסת ישראל שהיא בוכה מפני שמימיה מלוחים בשביל שמעיינות מלוחים נמשכים לה מצד המורתה הנקראת גפרית ומלח שריפה כל ארצה לא תזרע וכו' כמו ששנינו יש מים מלוחים מים שאובין ע"כ. והיא נקראת עינים כדא' והשב בפתח עינים וכתי' על אבן אחת שבעה עינים. ואותן העינים נמשך בהם מן אותן מעיינות המלוחים של החיצוניים והיא בוכה על בעלה שהוא נסתלק ממנה והוא נחשב כמו מת. מכאן ראיה מי שהוא יושב בלא זוג הברכות אינן שוכנים עליו ובמקום שאין הברכות מצויים אין שם חיים כדאמ' ראה חיים עם אשה אשר אהבת. ובזמן שאין שם

חיים עליונים ובמקום הפירוד נסתלק משם החיים לכן כיון שתפ' ישראל נסתלק מן המטרוניתא כביכול נשאר הוא בלא חיים עליונים והיא יושבת עגומה ובוכה עד זה היום על בעל נעוריה כדא' קול ברמה נשמע נהי בכי תמרורים רחל מבכה על בניה וכו'. אבל על שהן מלוחין פוסק ואינו בוכה.

ומפני מה מי האזנים שמנים לפי שבשעה שאדם שומע באזניו שמועה קשה אל מלא תופשה באזניו מתקשרת ומת ומתוך שהם שמנים מכניס בזה ומוציא בזה. וכבר תדע שהאזנים הם רומזים לשתי מדות העליונות שהם חכמה ובינה הנקראים האזנים והם אזני יי כדאמ' שמעה אזני ותבן לה. הוא רומז לעולם הבינה שהוא אזני ולא יתכן עניין באזן אחד אלא בשתי אזנים נמצא שאלו שתי מדות חכמ' ובינה שהם אזנים וכיון שמעיינותיהם שמנים מכח שנמשך ויוצא מן המבוע של שמן העליון כדא' כשמן הטוב על הראש וכו'. ומתוך שהם שמנים מכניס בזה ומוציא בזה לפי שאלו שתי המדרגות הם שופכות אחת לאחת. כעין דגמא זה באדם התחתון מי אזניו שמנים כדא' נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותינו.

מפני מה מי החוטם סרוחין. שבזמן שאדם מריח ריח רעה אל מלא שהחוטם מימיו סרוחין שמעמידין אותו מיד מת. אבל סוד החוטם הוא נפלא ונסתר ונעלם וזהו סוד בעל החוטם כדא' ותהלתי אחטם לך. ומימיו הם סרוחין מל' סרח העודף שהוא תוספת לפי שאותו הנהר נמשך ויוצא לעולם כדא' ונהר יוצא מעדן. יוצא כתי' ולא יצא ומימיו לא יכזבו ולא יפסקו | לעולם ולעולמי עולמים. שבזמן צט ע"ב שאדם מריח ריח רעה מכח חוזק הדין שהוא מבאיש והוא נקרא יצר הרע המפתה את הבריות למושכם מדרך החיים לדרך הרע. והוא כשאור שבעיסה וזהו סוד זבובי מות יבאיש יביע שמן רוקח. ונמצא שריח הרע מתעורר מצד דין הקשה ותמורתו לולי שמעיינות של החוטם סרוחין ועודפים במשיכתם ויציאתם מעולם העליון לפי שמדת החוטם שהוא רחמים גמורים מעמידין ומסלקין ומשככין חוזק הדין וסורחנו כעין דוגמא זה באדם התחתון.

ומפני מה מי הפה מתוקים. פעמים שאדם אוכל אכילה ואינה מתקבלת בלבו ומקיאה. אם אין מי הפה מתוקים אין נפשו חוזרת. מי הפה רומזים למי החסד שהם מתוקים מדבש ונופת צופים והוא חפץ בבנין העולם לפי שהוא רחמים. פעמים שאדם אוכל אכילה ואינה מקבלת

בלבו ומקיאה. פ' אותן הנשמות שהם נבראים בזה העולם וגרמו לעצמן דחייה לעולם התמורות מיד הם נכרתים ונדחים בכח הדוחה ממדה למדה עד המלכות ומשם הוא נמשך לחוץ עד שיקבל ענשו ונמצא שמדת החסד של הארץ מקיאה אותם לחוץ כדא' ותטמא הארץ וכתי' ותקיא הארץ את יושביה. לפי שהיא מקיאה ודוחה אותם לחוץ. אם אין מי הפה מתוקים לפי שהחסד עושה חסד עם הבריות לולי הוא אותו הנפש הדחויה אינה חוזרת לעולם אלא לפי שמימיו הם מתוקים תתעלה הנפש מגריעות לעילוי וזהו סוד ומתוקים מדבש ונופת צופים. לפי שהוא בעל החסד והרחמים לפי' מי הפה מתוקין.

ועל זה יש לך לעשות ק"ו ומה מלא היסס הזה שהזכרנו יש בו כמה מעיינות ואינן מתערבין זה עם זה אלא כל מעין ומעיין הוא נמשך לגבולו הים הגדול על אחת כמה וכמה. וזהו סוד זה הים גדול ורחב ידים שם רמש ואין מספר.

ד"א זאת חוקת התורה זש"ה מי יתן טהור מטמא לא אחד. אבל סוד הענין אותו המבדיל בין טהור וטמא והאציל הטהרה לצדו וטומאה לצדו. לא אחד פי' כ"ע הנקרא לא והסוד בזה הוא עשנו ולא אנחנו עמו וצאן. ד"א מי פי' הבינה שהיא קרויה מי כדא' את מי נועץ ויבינהו.

בא וראה התינוקות שהיו בימי דוד ע"ה עד שלא יטעמו טעם חטא היו יודעין לדרוש את התורה בארבעים ותשע פנים טמא ובארבעי' והשע פנים טהור והיה דוד ע"ה מבקש ומתפלל עליהם רחמים ואומ' | אתה יי תשמרם תצרנו מן הדור זו לעולם. ק ע"א

בא וראה בפרשת פרה אדומה יש בה ז' משבעה. שבע פרות שבע שרופות שבע הזיות שבעה כבוסין שבעה טמאין שבעה טהורים שבעה כהנים. ואם יאמ' לך אדם חסר הם אמור לו משה ואהרן בכלל היו כדא' וידבר יי אל משה ואל אהרן לאמר. זאת חוקת התורה וכו'.

חכמת אדם תאיר פניו. אמ' ר' יודן גדול כוחן של נביאים שמדמין דמות גבורה של מעלה לצורת אדם שנא' ואשמע קול אדם. ר' יהודה אמ' מהכא ועל דמות הכסא דמות כמראה אדם עליו מלמעלה. ועוז פניו ישונא. שהוא משתנה ממדת הדין למדת רחמים. אבל על דרך הסוד העליון מי בהחכם. היה לו לומ' מהו בהחכם. אלא ודאי סוד עליון הוא כי הה"א רומז למדת העולם הבא הנקרא יובל והיא ה"א עליונה

של שם הקדוש והיא ה"א של הקדוש ב"ה הנקרא חכמה עליונה קדומה. מי יודע פשר דבר וכו'. פי' מדת הבינה הנקרא מי יודע פשר דבר של עומק המחשבה לפי שהלשון תוציא מה שעלה במחשבה ומפרש הפשר והפתרון של עומק המחשבה ותעלומה אל הפועל וזהו סוד יש מאין לפי שהוא מוציא דבר האין והנעלם אל היש ונמצא מי שהוא בינה יודע פשר דבר של האין שהוא כ"ע. חכמת אדם תאיר פניו. לפי שהחכמה העליונה שהיא של אדם העליון תאיר פניו פי' לתפ' הנקרא פנים של החכמה שהיא מאירה אור הקדמון לפנים של אדם. דא' תאיר פניו פי' היא תאיר פני העט' הנקראת פנים וזהו סוד לחם הפנים לפי שהיא מקבלת מכל הפנים ונקראת מסטרון שר הפנים. ועוז פניו. פי' מדת הגבורה הנקרא עוז של פניו ישוגא שישתנה ממדת הדין למדת רחמים כדא' עלה אלהים בתרועה יי וכו'. ד"א ועוז פניו ישונא שהיא משתנה בכמה בגדים ובכמה צבעונים וגוונים כדא' ופשט את בגדיו ולבש בגדים אחרים. ד"א מי כההכם. אל תיקרי כההכם אלא כה חכם רומז למדת הכה שנא' כה תברכו את בני ישראל. ונמצאת שמדת כה נקרא חכם וזהו ששנינו חכם בבינה והבן בחכמה. ומי יודע פשר דבר שמדת העט' שמפרש ענין עומק המחשבה עד שיצא לפועל והסוד בזה כי הגידה אסתר מה הוא לה וזהו סוד פשר דבר. ד"א חכמת אדם תאיר | פניו. ק ע"ב זהו החכמה שאדם עוסק בה היא תאיר פניו של האדם עד שיאירו כשמש כדא' והמשכילים יזהירו כזוהר הרקיע.

אמ' ר' יוסי בר חנינא אמ' לו הב"ה למשה לך אני מגלה טעמי פרה אבל לאחרים חוקה וכתי' והיה ביום ההוא לא יהיה אור יקרות וקפאון. פי' דברים המכוסים מהם בעולם הזה עתידין להיות צופים לכם לעולם הבא. כהדין סמיא דצפו כתי' והולכתי עורים בדרך לא ידעו ובנתיבות לא ידעו אדריכים אשים מחשך לפניהם לאור ומעקשים למישור אלה הדברים עשיתים ולא עזבתים. לא נאמ' אלא הדברים אעשם אלא עשיתים שכבר עשיתים לר' עקיבא וחביריו. ד"א דברים שלא נגלו למשה נגלו לר' עקיבא וחביריו . וכל יקר ראתה עינו. זה ר' עקיבא.

בא וראה ישראל שעמדו לפני הר סיני פסקה זוהמתן לפי שהטיל הנחש זוהמא בחוה הידועה ונשאר בה עד יום שעמדו לפני הר סיני כדא' היו נכונים לשלשת ימים אל תגשו אל אשה. כדי לטהר עצמן

מכל מיני טומאה. אבל כשעשו את העגל חזרה זוהמתן ונטמאו ברוח הטומאה ששכן עליהם מכח העגל שעשו כדא' ולא שתו איש עדיו עליו. משמע שהב"ה הסיר מהם אותו התכשיט שהכתיר עליהם לפני הר סיני ונמצא שנטמאו בטומאה לפי שנדבקו בעגל שהוא טמא בטומאה חזזית. לפי' אנו צריכין לעשות כל אלו העניינים כדי להסיר אותה הטומאה מעלינו וזהו סוד יבא פרה ויקנח צואת בנה שהוא עגל לכן אלו העניינים הם דברים נסתרים ונעלמים ונכוחים לכל מבין.

בא וראה וישלח משה מלאכים וכו'. ואין משה אלא משה העליון הנקרא יעקב סבא כי משה ויעקב במדרגה אחת הם. ואותה המדה נקרא עתיק יומין וסתימא של כל הסתימין והוא ראש הלבן לפי שהמדה הזאת היא עולם הרחמים הגדולים כדא' ברגע קטן עזבתיך וברחמים גדולים אקבציך. והוא הנקרא רצון כל הרצונות והחפץ המבוקש. והיא מלבנת עונותיהם של ישראל כדא' לבושיה כתלג חיור ושער רישיה. אימתי כשיתגלה פני הרצון והרחמים והויות של הלובן יורדים לעולמות וזהו סוד וישלח משה מלאכים שהוא מדת משה סבא. מלאכים אלו הן ההויות של רחמים כדי לשכך ולשקט רוגז הדין שהוא בית דין | הקשה קא ע"א הנקרא מלך אדום כדא' חרב ליי מלאה דם. מיד ישתכך חוזק הדין. לכן ראשית כל המראות לובן. תכליה כל המראות שחרות לפי שמדה העליונה בתכלית הלובן כדאמ' אם יהיו חטאיכם כשנים כשלג ילבינו. ויש מקום בהר מחוץ למחנה בתכלית השחרות והסימן בזה המבדיל בין קדש לחול ובין אור לחושך. והכל רמז בפסוק מפני שיבה תקום והדרת פני זקן.

ד"א וישלח משה מלאכים מקדש אל מלך אדום. משה הוא מדת התפ' הנקרא משה העליון. מקדש. אל תיקרי מקדש אלא מקודש שהוא עולם העליון הנקרא קדש הקדשים הוא מקום המחשבה ר"ל כשיתעורר מלך אדום שהוא דין הקשה לבוא להתעורר בדינו מכח הבינה הנקרא אלהים וישלוף חרבו הקשה כדא' וחרבו שלופה בידו נטויה על ירושלם. אזי משה שהוא מדת רחמים הוא בא להמשיכו ולפייסו בדברים רבים ושולח לו המלאכים שהם החיות הדקות הפנימיות שהם גווני לבן בתכלית הלובן שכולל כל לובן כדי לשכך ולשקט רוגז מעומק כ"ע שהוא רחמים גדולים כדא' וברחמים גדולים.

כה אמר אחיך ישראל שהוא קו האמצעי והוא ממוצע בין

שתי הדינין נמצא שתפ' הוא אח לישראל לפי שישראל מקבל ממנו.

אתה ידעת את כל התלאה אשר מצאתנו. פי' שסבלנו בסבתך. כי עניין ישראל הוא יסוד הרחמים כי הוא מקבל הרחמים מעומק המחשבה שהוא מאור והופיע מאור הצח המצוחצח אזי יופיעו עמו כל מיני שפעים אוחרנין וגוונים ומראות של שאר המדרגות. אימתי בזמן שעומק העולם מסתכל בפניו אל פני העולמות התחתונות הנקרא עולם המשפט כדא' באור פני מלך חיים פי' כשפני כ"ע מאיר לפנים התחתונים אזי החיים נמצאים למעלה ולמטה. ובכל מקום שכתי' בפסוק אור הם רומזים לפנים של מעלה והוא סוד בהיות שערי רחמים הגדולים נפתחים וכל המדרגות מתמלאות רחמים וחיים ואז כל העולמות בחסד וברחמים ואין כח בכל בעלי דין לפגוע בשום בריה מצד דין ועונש כלל וזהו סוד שאמ' הכתו' רבים אומרים מי יראינו טוב נסה עלינו אור פניך יי. ודאי אור פני עליון. וכתי' אל יי ויאר לנו. האירה פניך על עבדך | וכתי' ישר יחזו פנימו. ישר יחזה פנימו מיבעי ליה. קא ע"ב

אלא יחזו פנימו בהיות עולם הרחמים ועולם הדין מסתכלין פנים אל פנים אז הכל ברחמי' ובשלימות.

דרשו יי בהמצאו קראוהו בהיותו קרוב. והלא כתי' קרוב יי לכל קוראיו. והלא הוא קרוב לכל מהו שכתי' בהיותו קרוב אלא ודאי יש כאן סוד עליון. בא וראה בזמן שפני מלך עולם עליון שהוא עומק המחשבה העליונה מהפך פניו אל עולם התחתון אזי הוא קרוב לכל המתדבקים בו ותפלתם של ישראל עולה ומתעטר עד ראש מלך מ"ה הב"ה יתי' ויתי' אזי הוא קרוב לרצות ולהריק הרצון של כל הרצונות. אבל כביכול שפני העליון סותם אורו ומראה פנים של כעס מכח האדמימות אז העין נסתם והפנים מתלהטים באש אזי הוא רחוק כביכול והשפע העליונה נמנע והעולמות הם מצפים למים כדא' להשקות את הגן. אבל בזמן שהוא קרוב אזי הוא מצוי לכל הקוראים לו כדא' בהמצאו. ואין בהמצאו אלא מל' מוצא מים פי' שאותו מוצא של העין המבוע נפתח ושולח מימיו לכל המעלות אזי העולמות בשמחה והברכות נמצאים למעלה ולמטה.

ד"א בהמצאו לפי שהוא מציאות עליון ממקום עי' העי' שהוא סתימא של הסתימין ועל זה הוא מציאות קדמון לכל קדמון ומצוי לכל נמצא אשר מאמחתו נתגלו הספי' וזהו דבר עמוק ונסתר מאד וזהו סוד דרשו יי בהמצאו קראוהו בהיותו קרוב לכל המדרגות.

ואכבדהו אדבקהו באור הנקרא כבוד. ואמנם יש לך
להבין בעניין אור כבוד ראשון שהוא סוד אהיה והוא סוד הכתר העליון
הוא הרמוז בקוצו של יו"ד של שם יהוה לפי שממנו ישאבו מים כל הספי'
עד שיגיעו למלכות שהוא שם אדני. ויש בעניין שם אהיה סודות עמוקות
ונסתרות ואין לי להאריך כאן בו לפי שעוררתיך באלו העומקים בכמה
מקומות לכן איני צריך להאריך בו עכשיו. לפי שספי' הכתר היא נסתרת
ונעלמת בעומק המחשבה אין מי שיכול לחקור בה דבר כי אם על ידי
שמיעת אזן ולא על ידי ידיעה כדמיון מה שכתי' אבדון ומות אמרו
באזנינו שמענו שמעה. אלהים הבין דרכה והוא ידע את מקומה. ולפי
רוב התעלמותו נקראת בתורה בל' הוא כמי שאינו עומד לנוכח הפנים.
וכבר ביארתך כי הכתר העליון שהוא אהיה והקו הבינוני שהוא מדת
יעקב וסוד המסרוניתא כל אלו השלש הן ראש וסוף ואמצע לכל אתת
מהן יש בתורה לשון ידוע שרומז על אותה ספי'. כי לשון אהיה רמוז
בתורה | בלשון הוא כמי שאינו פנים אל פנים לפי רוב קב ע"א
התעלמותו וממנו יהאצלו כל מיני סליחה וכפרה. בשער זה הוא מעביר
כל מיני דינין קשין ומבטלם בהתגלותו. לפי' אמ' והוא רחום יכפר
עון וכו'. והסוד בזה הוא ההלתך והוא אלהיך. כי הוא אלהינו עם מרעיתו
וצאן ידו. יי הוא האלהים. ואצ"ל כי הכתר הספי' העליונה היא נרמזת
לכל ספי' וספי' כדא' הוא עם תהלה הוא תהלתך והוא אלהיך. אשרי האזן
שומעת להבין אלו הנסתרים. כבר הוא ידוע למקובלים מהו תהלתך ומהו
אלהיך כי במקום זה רומז על צדק עליון וצדק תחתון שהוא סוד שני
ההי"ן של שם המיוחד שבהם כל הספי' נקשרות ולפי' אמ' לשון הוא
עם כל אחת מהן כלו' שעולם הרחמים נתגלה לישראל בצאתם ממצרים
וכי צד נתנהג עמהם במדבר כאומרו אשר עין בעין נראה אתה יי וכו'.
וזהו סוד ותחס עיני עליהם משחתם ולא עשיתי אותם כלה במדבר. וזהו
טעם המן והבאר ושליו ועגני הכבוד ושאר נסים ונפלאות שבמדבר לפי'
נאמ' הוא תהלתך והוא אלהיך. שאל מלא שספי' הרחמים הנקרא הוא
היתה נגלית המיד במדבר על ספי' העט' והיתה משפעת לה ברכותיה
ואור הפנים והרחמים כמה פעמים עשתה ספי' אדני לישראל כלה במדבר
וזהו סוד ועתה יגדל נא כח יי. ואומ' יי ארך אפים ורב חסד ואמת וכו'.
וכמה עומקים גדולים כלולים במקומות הללו וזהו סוד שאמ' הוא תהלתך
והוא אלהיך. ולפי' אמ' להלן בפסו' זה אשר עשה אתך את הגדולות

ואת הנוראות האלה אשר ראו עיניך. ובדרך זה צריך אדם להתבונן
בכל מקום שאמ' בתורה בענין זה לשו' הוא כי הדבר רומז בקשר ספי'
עולם הרחמים עד שאר הספי' ודבר זה עמוק עד מאד. וצריך אתה למסרו
בקבלה מפה אל פה לדעת הדרך אשר ילך בה להתבונן כי צד ספי' הרחמים
נגלית על שאר הספי' וכי צד היא מהפכת מדת הדין למדת רחמים וכל
זה ברמזים שבאו בתורה בל' הוא וזהו סוד ראו עתה כי אני אני הוא
וכמה ביוצא בזה.

ואחר שביארתי לך קצת הרמזים בספי' הכתר הנקרא הוא
צריכין אנו לומ' כי מדת התפ' הנקרא יהוה גם היא הרמוז עליה בתורה
הוא לשון אתה וסימניך אתה ולפי שספי' התפ' הנקרא יהוה פעליה
גלוים יותר מספי' הכתר נקראת בתורה ברמז בל' אתה כמי שעומד
לנוכח* וזהו סוד התחלת התפלות אתה חונן. אתה קדשת. אתה בחרתנו.
אתה אחד. ולשון קביעות הברכות בל' אתה כדא' ברוך אתה יי למדני
חוקיך. וכן המדרגה האחרונה נקראה אדני הלשון הרומז עליה בתורה
הוא לש' אני כדא' ראו עתה כי אני אני הוא. וזהו אני אני היודע* יניקתה
דרך גדולה | וגבורה ודרך נצח והוד. פעמים יונקת קב ע"ב
מצד הרחמים ויהיה כל העולם בטובה ובשלימות. ופעמים יונקת מצד
הדין וכל העולם במיני צער ועונש. וזהו שאמ' ראו עתה כי אני אני הוא.
וא"כ פי' אני אמית ואחיה מחצתי ואני ארפא. משמ' למדת העט' יש
בה שתי סגולות לחיות ולהמית ולמחוץ ולרפוא בשביל שיש בו סוד
האיפשר.

ואצ"ל כי לרוב התעלמות ספי' הכתר והיותה נסתרת מכל
הנמצאים ואין מי שיוכל להתבונן בה זולחי לשמע אזן כמו שכתבנו למעלה
לפי' נקראת בתורה בל' אין כדא' היש יי בקרבנו אם אין. שהם סוד
שתי הספי' העליונות המתאחדות באות ראשונה של שם יח'. ועוד אצ"ל
ג"כ סוד מה שרמז והחכמה מאין תמצא. באמת כי סוד יו"ד של השם
יח' מסוד הקוץ העליון נתגלית וזהו והחכמה מאין תמצא. וסימניך אות
ונקודה עליה.

נקדמה פניו בתודה יש מי שהוא מקדים להם* והא כתי'
מי הקדימני ואשלם. אלא במה אקדים יי כלו' באי זה תפלה ותחנונים
ומעשים טובים אעשה כענין שיתגלו פני הרחמי' קדם בשאר הספי'
במה אקדים יי. המבין זה העיקר יבין כמה סודות וכמה ענייניים בדמיון

רמזים חדש ימינו כקדם. מעונה אלהי קדם ומתחת זרועות עולם. למטה משלש ספי' הנקשרות כאחד בספי' קדם הם זרועות עולם. והבן כל זה.

וישלח ישראל מלאכים אל סיחון מלך האמרי. ואין ישראל אלא ישראל סבא שהוא סוד כ"ע הנקרא זקן כדא' לבושיה כתלג חיור. שאין בו ידיעה לזולתו הוא השם המסתתר בשפיר חביון והממונה על עולם הרחמים והזה זה השם יש לו י"ב מיני צרופין ונקודת הרחמים מקור הויה באמצע. ואלו י"ב מיני צרופין ונקודת האמצע הם סוד תליסר מכילתא דרחמי אשר הם כולם רחמים גדולים ואין בהם תערובת דין .ואותם י"ב צרופין של שם המיוחד והקו האמצעי מתוך בנתים הם סוד י"ג מדות המחזיקות דין ורחמים וכשיופיעו מדות העליונות משם הכתר שהוא אהיה אשר הם כולם ברחמים אני יתמלאו כל הספי' וכל העולמות ברכה ורחמים וכל מיני שפע.

ואצ"ל כי צד דע כי בהיות צדיק בעולם שהוא ראוי להתכוון בתפלתו עד עולם הרחמים והרצון אע"פ שנגזרה גזירה בבית דין של מעלה כשאותה התפלה של אותו צדיק עולה עד הכתר אזי נפתחים שערי עולם הרחמים. וכשיפתחו כל אותן השערים אזי כל אותן הדינין שנגזרו מתבטלין לפי שמאורות הרחמים העליונים הופיעו ונתמלאו כל הספי' רחמים ומיני שפע וברכה ואצילות. ואין בכל הספי' באותה שעה מקום שיהא מחזיק דין שהרי נפתחו שערי עולם הרחמים ונתמלאו כל הצינורות וכל האוצרות | וכל הבריכות רחמים גמורים. ואין שם קג ע"א מדה מחזקת כעס ורוגז לפי שהכל עומדי' בשמחה וברצון ועברו כל מיני הזעם ונהפכו כל בעלי הדין לרחמים. וכל הטובה הזאת שופעת מרחמים העליונים המשפיעים דרך שלשה עשר צינורות העליונות בי"ג מדות אשר בעולם המשפט. וכל זה אינו מצד גזר דין אלא מצד רצון ורחמים ואע"פ שאין בני אדם ראויין לכך מאחר שאותו צדיק גרם להיות שערי עולם הרחמי' נפתחים הכל מתנהג במדת רחמים שלא מצד הדין וזהו וחנותי את אשר אחון. ואע"פ שלא יצא מן הדין שהרי כשהופיעו פני הרחמים מן הכתר כל העולמות נהפכין לרחמים וזה העניין הוא מעניין התפלה וגם מצד עשיית קצת מצות שהן גורמות להיות שערי עולם הרחמים נפתחין כגון נשיאות כפים וסוד הקטורת ושאר מצות כיוצא בהם.

וימרו בי ולא אבו לשמוע אלי וכו'. מה עשה הב"ה.

ראה שהגיע הקץ וראה שלא היו ישראל ראויין לגאולה אזי נתגלו פני הכתר עולם הרחמים הגמורים ואזי נתמלאו כל הספי' וכל הצינורות חסד ורחמים ועברו פני הזעם שהרי כל הספי' היו עומדות בשמחה ובחדוה שהרי נתגלו פני הרחמים הגדולים וזהו שאמ' הב"ה למשה כה תאמר לבני ישראל אהיה שלחני אליכם. כלו' עולם הרחמים הגמורים נתגלה על כל הספי' והופיע שם אהיה ונהפכה מדת הדין למדת רחמים ובסבה זו אתם נגאלין כי לא הייתם ראויים להגאל מצד מעשיכם הרעים אלא שהגיע הקיץ ונתגלו פני הרחמים ובשם הרחמים שהוא אהיה אתם נגאלין אע"פ שאינכם ראויים לכך לפי שזה השם שהוא אהיה והוא עולם הרחמים עושה חסד ומטיב ומרחם וחונן שלא מצד הדין כמו שנא' וחנותי את אשר אחון. וזהו סוד שמסר הב"ה למשה שם אהיה בגאולת מצרים.והמבין מה שביארנו בכאן יוסיף בסחון ושמחה וידע כמה הם רחמי השם ית' על בריותיו ויותר ויותר על ישראל שמטיב להם וחונן ומרחם עליהם בהתגלות עולם הרחמים אע"פ שאינם ראויין לאותם הרחמים וזהו עניין יציאת מצרים והטעם שהזכיר בה שם אהיה. ואם ח"ו גרמו ישראל ונפסק הדין בבית דינו של יהוה ויצא מן הדין שספי' יסוד ראויה להסתלק ממדת המלכות אזי היא עת החרבן והגליות ונקראת עת רעה וזהו שאמ' כי מפני הרעה נאסף הצדיק. ואזי נשארת ספי' המלכות הנקראת אדני יבשה מכל טוב העליון ומתמלאת מכל מיני דין ועונש ומיני משחית אוי לבריות שהיא פוגעת בהם באותה שעה שאין מי שימלט מידה וגומרת הדין באף ובחמה ובקצף גדול. אבל בהופיע שם אהיה על שם יהוה ית' וילכו הרחמים דרך הצינורות לשם יהוה אזי כל הספי' מתתקנות וכל הצינורות מתישרות | והולכות בהם כל מיני שפע קג ע"ב ורחמים וברכות לשם אדני. אזי הוא עת רצון ואז ספי' המלכות מקבלת כל מיני שפע וברכה משם אהיה ומשם יהוה ית' ואזי כל ברואי עולם עליונים ותחתונים בשמחה ובששון ובכל מיני נחת רוח ונמצא העו' מלא שלום וריעות. והיודעים לסדר שלשה המערכות הללו בזמן הנביאים והתנאים והאמוראין היו דוחין כל הגזירות והיו עומדין לישראל מגן וצנה וסוחרה והיו מנועי* ומתקנין צינורות יהוה להיות נמשכים לשם אדני והיו עולין בתפלתם עד מקום הרצון והיו פותחין שערי עולם הרחמים והיו הספי' מתמלאות שפע רחמים ואור שאין לו סוף ושיעור. ואם הוא מן הדין שאין אתה ראוי לרחמים הוא יתן לך מתנת חנם ואע"פ שאינך

ראוי כי זהו דרך הרחמים העליונים והפנים המאירים לתת מתנת חנם כמו שכתי׳ וחנותי את אשר אחון. וזהו סוד יאיר יי פניו אליך ויחנך. והנה זה הוא מפתח שתכנס בו לכמה חדרים בתורה אשר ננעלו עליהם השערים ואשרי העם אשר מסר השם להם מהנת חמדה כזאת והמבין זה יבין מה שאמ׳ בראש השנה בעניין גזר דין דצבור או דיחיד שהוא נקרע.

ויסעו מקדש וכו׳. פי׳ כביכול נסעו מקדושה עליונה שהוא סוד עולם הרחמים שהוא מרחם על כל בריותיו והם גרמו בזה הנסיעה שנסתלק מהם השגחת עולם הרחמים שהוא סוד העין המשגיח העין הטוב העין שאינו ינום ולא ישן. ובאו להר ההר והגיעו ובאו עד למדת העט׳ הנקראת הר ההר ונדבקו ועזבו עולם הרחמים בעניין הנסיון שאמ׳ היש יי בקרבנו אם אין. בהר ההר על גבול ארץ אדום לאמר. כי זה הר ההר שהזכרנו הוא על גבול ארץ אדום שהוא סוד ההוד המקבל מן אודם הגבורה שהוא סוד מדוע אדום ללבושיך.

ואצ״ל כי בימים שיש בהם תפלת מוסף צריכין להזכיר בקדושה כתר יתנו לך יי אלהינו וכו׳ ואותו הכתר הוא מקבוץ כל התפלות והתושבחות שנעשו בתפלת יוצר וכל המוני מעלה ומטה מפארים כאחד בשליחות הכתר אל עומק מציאותו הראשון ואזי ממתינים אלו לאלו כדי שיתיחדו כולם ותהיינה התפלות עולות עד עולם רצון הרצונות כדי שתהיה פרנסת כל העולמות נמשיכת מעומק המציאות כי כל המוני מעלה מצפים ומחכים מתי תצא להם מתנת הכתר במה שיתקיימו והסוד בזה עיני כל אליך ישברו וכתי׳ פותח את ידך ומשביע לכל חי רצון. ודע כי על ידי הרצון יפיק כל חי צרכיו מאת הכתר. והספי׳ הזאת נקראת ראש הלבן כמו שפירשתי בספר הגבול לפי שהיא עולם הרחמים הגדולי׳ והרצון והחפץ והיא מלבנת עונותיהם של ישראל בהתגלות פני הרצון והרחמים. | ואצ״ל כי ראשית כל המראות לובן תכלית קד ע״א של כל המראות שחרות ולפי שכל המראות הם בשאר גוונים וצבעים והספי׳ הזאת בתכלית הלובן. ויש מקום בהר מחוץ למחנה בתכלית השחרות וסימניך ומבדיל בין קודש לחול ובין אור לחושך והסוד בזה ועד זקנה אני הוא ועד שיבה אני אסבול וכו׳.

ויחנו מעבר ארנון אשר במדבר וכו׳. כי ארנון רומז לתפ׳ שהוא נקרא ארון של נ׳ שלשם מתקבצים ומתפצלים חמשים שערי

בינה ונכנס הנו״ן בין האותיות והוא עומד בין שתי הגבולים.

על כן יאמר בספר מלחמות יי. פי׳ ספר מלחמות הוא סיפר ברית יי שהוא ספר מלחמות שהב״ה עושה באותו הספר כל מלחמותיו. והיא נקראת את והב בסופה וכו׳. אה מל׳ אות כדשנינו אות הוא בצבא שלו שכל הצבעים והגוונים והאספקלריאות נראים בזה הספר הנקרא אות כדא׳ קק״ק יי צבאות וכו׳. ד״א אות. אימתי נקראת העט׳ אות בזמן שהוא״ו שהוא סוד התפ׳ נכנס בין אל״ף לתי״ו ויתצרף לאות אזי המלך מתחבר עם המטרוניתא ואזי היא נקראת אות והיא מליאה ושלימה מכל צד והברכות כולם נמצאים בה. ובזמן שאין הוא״ו יכנס בין האותיות אזי נקראת את אזי היא בתכלית החסרון והגריעות. והב. היא נקראת והב מל׳ הב הב שהיא אומרת לעולם הזכר הב הב לי מימיך המתוקים לרוות צמאוני. ד״א והב בשביל שהיא מקבלת מלמעלה השפע ונותנת למטה לשאר המרכבות העומדים תחתיה. בסופה. והיא נקראת בסופה שהיא נקראת סוף כל המדרגות והספי׳ כדשנינו נעוץ סופן בהתחילתן ותחלתן בסופן. ד״א בסופה אל תקרי בסופה אלא סופה מל׳ סופה וסערה שהיא מקבלת רוח קדים וסופה וסערה ממקום עולם הגבורה. ואת הנחלים. רומזים למדת נצח והוד הנקראים ערבי נחל כדא׳ כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים והים אינינו מלא. ד״א ואת הנחלים ארנון אלו הן שאר הנחלים והנהרות שהם בתוך העט׳ הנקרא ארון יי והיא הארון שבתורה הקדומה מונחת בתוכה והיא מקבלת חמשים שערי בינה מן אם הבנים שמחה. ויכנס הנו״ן בין האותיות אזי היא נקראת ארנון ודיי בזה לכל משכיל. אשריהם ישראל בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא שמסר להם הקב״ה תורתו הקדושה והנחילם לחיי העולם הבא. נשלם פרש׳ חוקת ואתחיל פרש׳ בלק בע״ה ב״ה. |

פרש׳ בלק בן צפור. וירא בלק בן צפור את כל אשר עשה ישראל. קד ע״ב ר׳ חייא פתח ואמ׳ הצור תמים פעלו כי כל דרכיו משפט אל אמונה ואין עול צדיק וישר הוא. בא וראה לא הניח הב״ה לאומות העולם פתחון פה לעתיד לבא לומ׳ שאתה רחקתנו ולא נתת לנו כמו שנתת לישראל בעולם.

ויאמר בלעם אל מלאך יי חטאתי כי לא ידעתי כי אתה נצב לקראתי בדרך ועתה אם רע בעיניך אשובה לי. להודיעך שהיה רשע גמור ויודע שאין עומד בפני הפורענות אלא תשובה שכל מי שחטא

ואומ׳ חטאתי אין רשות למלאך ליגע בו. כי לא ידעתי. אע״פ שהוא משתבח ואומ׳ יודע דעת עליון פיו העיד בו ואומ׳ לא ידעתי.

בא וראה בשעה שראה בלק שהרי סיחון ועוג נהרגו ונלכד ארצותם*. מה ראה שהוא אמ׳ וירא אלא ראה בחכמה שלו שהוא ותמשה גדולים של מואב עמו נופלין ביד ישראל ראה ולא ידע ועל זה הקדים לבלעם שכוחו בפיו כעין דוגמא ישראל שכוחן בפיהם ואפי׳ בלעם תאב היה לזה יותר מבלק ואותו ידוע* שהוא היה יודע בלילה בשביל שאותן כתרים התחתונים והחמורים לא נמצאים אלא במשמרה ראשונה של הלילה כדשנינו משמרה ראשונה חמור נוער. ועל זה היה לו זה האתון של זה הצד לפי שהיה שואב ומושך משם כוחו והיה מתסמא באתון ההוא בלילה לפי שהוא מדתו ולהתחבר החמורים עמה בתחלת הלילה. וא״ת והא כתי׳ ויבא אלהים אל בלעם לילה. כך הוא ודאי ובשביל שאותו הממונה שיהא עליהם והוא היה בא כנגדו כדוגמא זה ויבא אלהים אל לבן הארמי וכו׳ דהכל הוא דבר אחד.

משל למלך שהיה לו מטרונה ופילגש. למטרונה יזדווג לה ביום לעין כל. ולפילגש הוא מזדווג לה בלילה. כך היא הנבואה של ישראל ושל אומות העולם. לנביאי ישראל תבא להם הכת הגדול בדרך הצינורות עד להפ׳ שהוא יום ומשם נמשך עד לעת׳ שהיא אספקלריא שאינה מאירה והוא מדרגת הנביאים שמשם הם שואבים ומושכין נבואתם. אבל נביאי אומות העולם נבואתם בלילה פי׳ מחמורת הלילה שהיא סוד המלכות שהם חוספין וגוזלים מן העיכול דרך גניבה כדא׳ הכפירים שואגים לטרף ולבקש וכו׳. נמצא שנבואתם היא בלילה דרך נסתר והבן כל אלו העניינים על מתכונתם וזהו סוד ולא קם נביא עוד בישראל כמשה. בישראל לא קם. הא באומות העולם קם. פי׳ בצד תמורתו. וההבדל שמשה |

מצד הקדושה והטהרה ובלעם מצד הטומאה לפי שהוא היה קה ע״א
מכוין השעה שבו הב״ה כועס בדא׳ ואל זועם בכל יום.

כיון שראה הב״ה שרצונו הוא לילך אמ׳ לו קום לך אתם ואך את הדבר אשר אדבר אליך וכו׳. מיד וישכם בלעם בבקר ויחבוש את אתונו לעשות בו רצונו ורצון של בלק והמבין יבין. ועל זה ויחר אף אלהים כי הולך הוא. דווקא הוציא עצמו מרשותו ממה שאמ׳ לו ואפס* את הדבר וכו׳. בא וראה שהרי בראשונה נתן לו רשות ואמ׳ קום לך אתם. ועכשיו שהיה הולך למה ויחר אף אלהים. אלא בשביל

שהולך הוא. הוא ברשותו פי׳ ברשות שלו לצאת מאותו שאמ׳ לו ואפס* את הדבר. אמ׳ ליה הב״ה רשע אתה מתקן עצמך ומזרז זיונך לצאת מרשותו. חייך אתה ואתונך ברשותי תהיו. מיד ויתיצב מלאך יי בדרך לשטן לו. מאי ויתיצב. אמ׳ ר׳ אבא עמד ונתיצב באומנות אחר ויצא מאומנות שלו שהרי מלאך של רחמים היה וחזר לשטן לו. והיינו דאמ׳ ר׳ שמעון הרשעים מהפכים רחמים לדין. לשטן לו שהרי לא היה אומנות שלו.

תאנא רמ׳ ר׳ שמעון בא וראה כמה היה חכם בלעם בחרשיו ובקסמיו יותר מכל בני העולם. שהרי בשעה שמצא עיצה לצאת מרשותו של הב״ה מאותו דבר דכתי׳ ואך את הדבר וכו׳ הסתכל בחרשיו ולא מצא אלא אותו אתון. מה כתי׳ ויחבוש את אתונו. הטעין אותה בכל חרשים וקסמים שהוא ידע אותה ונכנס בה וכלל אותה מן כל בשביל ליכנס* לישראל מיד ויחר אף אלהים כי הולך הוא. הוא דווקא. מה עשה הב״ה הקדים למלאך של רחמים לעמוד כנגדו ויסתור חרשיו וקסמיו. ועל זה לא כתי׳ ויתיצב מלאך אלהים ויעמוד מלאך אלהים. אלא מלאך יי שהוא רחמים. אמ׳ הב״ה רשע אתה טענת לאתונך בחרשיך ובקסמיך כמה בעלי דינין עומדים כנגדך לסתור חכמתך וקסמך וחרשך עבור ומלק משאך מעל אתונך*. מיד הקדים המלאך של רחמים לשטן לו. לו דווקא כמו שאמרנו.

ותרא האתון את מלאך יי נצב בדרך וחרבו שלופה בידו ותט האתון מן הדרך. ויך בלעם את האתון במקל. ר׳ יצחק אמ׳ וכי למה האתון ראתה למלאך ובלעם שהיה חכם כל כך לא ראה. א״ר יוסי ח״ו שאותו רשע יסתכל במראה הקדוש. אמ׳ ליה אי הכי הא כתי׳ נופל וגלוי עיגים. אמ׳ ליה לא שמעתי בזה דבר. א״ל אני שמעתי מלה שכך היה צריך להסתכל ועכשיו לא היה צריך להסתכל. א״ל אי הכי הוא במדרגה עליונה יותר על כל נביאי האמונה שהוא גלוי עינים ורואה ומסתכל בכבודו של הב״ה | והאמ׳ ר׳ שמעון בלעם בחרשיו היה קה ע״ב
יודע באותן כתרים תחתונים של מטה כמה דכתי׳ ואת בלעם בן בעור הקוסם. קוסם קראו הפסו׳ שהוא טינוף של כל הטינופים איך יסתכל בכבוד אדונו. ועוד שאמ׳ ר׳ שמעון מראה אחד היה וראה והסתכל לפי שעה דכתי׳ ויגל אלהים את עיני בלעם. פי׳ נתעקמו עיניו ואתה אמרת שהיה רואה בגילוי של העינים ונסתכל בכבוד של הב״ה. א״ל אני חוזר

כנגדך. שלי ושלך צריך צחותא ודאי סודי התורה עליונים הם ולא יכולין בני העולם לקום עליהם*. בשביל כך אסור להקדים ולגלות בדברי תורה עד שישמע דבר וידע אותו על בוריו.

באו לפני ר' שמעון ואמרו לו הדבר פתח ואמ' מה אנוש כי הזכרנו ובן אדם כי תפקדנו. זה הפסו' ממונה על העולם אמרו בשעה שעלה ברצונו של הב"ה לבראות בן אדם קרא לכתות של מלאכי עליונים והושיב אותם לפניו. אמ' להם צריך אני* לבראות אדם. אמרו לפניו אדם ביקר בל ילין. הושיט הב"ה אצבעו ושרף אותם. הושיב לפניו כתות אחרים אמ' להם צריך אני* לבראות אדם. אמרו לפניו מה אנוש כי תזכרנו ובן אדם וכו'. מה טיבו של אדם זה. אמ' להם בן אדם שיהא בצלם שלי* ויהא חכמתו עליונה מחכמתכם. וכיון שברא אדם וחטא ויצא בדין לפניו באו עוזא ועוזאל אמרו לפניו פתחון פה יש לנו אצלך זה בן אדם שבראת חטא לפניך. אמ' להם אל מלא תהיו אתם נמצאים אצלם וכו'. מה עשה הב"ה הפיל אותם מן מדרגת קדושתם מן השמים. אמ' ר' שמעון עכשיו אני חוזר לתשובתכם בעניין בלעם. בא וראה בלעם אמ' נופל וגלוי עינים. וא"ת שלא היה כך אלא שבח שהיה משבח עצמו איך יכתו' הב"ה דבר כזב בתורה. וא"ת שאמת הוא הדבר איך ימצא*אותו רשע במדרגה עליונה על כל נביאי האמונה. ועוד שאין שורה קדושה עליונה אלא במקום הראוי לה. ועכשיו אני חוזר לדבר הראשון. ואחר שהפיל אותם הב"ה ממקום קדושתם מן השמים וטעו בעולם. בכאן יש להסתכל וכי הא כתי' עושה מלאכיו רוחות משרתיו אש לוהט. והא אלו מלאכים היו. אלא בא וראה כל אותן מלאכים של מעלה לא עומדין ולא יכולין להתקיים אלא באור העליון שמאיר להם. ואם נפסק מהם אותו האור לא יכולים לקום כ"ש אלו שהפיל אותם הב"ה ופסק מהם אותו האור של מעלה שנשתנו זיום. כשירדו שלט בהם אויר של העולם נשתנו למדרגה אחרת.

בא וראה מן שהיה יורד לישראל במדבר קו ע"א אותו מן מטל העליון מעתיק הסתו' שהוא סתימא של כל הסתימות וכשהיה יורד היה אורו מאיר בכל העולמות וממנו ניזון שדה של תפוחים ומלאכי עליונים. וכשהיה יורד למטה ושלט בו האויר של העולם נקרש ונשתנה זיוו של אותו המן. כך הוא זה מה עשה הב"ה ראה שטעו בעולם קשר אותם בשלשלאות של ברזל. מה עשה השליך לעזא והחשיך פניו בשביל

שאותו שעה שקשר אותם הב"ה היה מרגיז כלפי מעלה והב"ה הפיל אותו בעומק עד צוארו והטיל החשך בפניו של עזאל* ובני העולם שיודעים מקומם ילכו אצלם ומלמדין לבני אדם חרשים ונחשים וקוסמים ואותן הררי חושך נקראים הררי קדם. מאי טעמא בשביל שהחשך הקדים לאור ובשביל כך הרי תושך הררי קדם נקראים, ולבן ובלעם מהם למדו חרשים וקסמים והיינו דאמ' בלעם מן ארם ינחני בלק מלך מואב מהררי קדם. בא וראה בלעם היה משבח עצמו מזה המקום ואמ' נאם שומע אמרי אל ויודע דעת עליון. שומע אמרי אל. בשביל שעוזא ועוזאל אומרים לבני העולם דברים עליונים שהיו יודעים בראשונה למעלה ומספרים מעולם הקדוש שהיו בו ה"ד שומע אמרי אל. שומע קול לא כתי' אלא אמרי אל. אותן מאמרים שהיו אומרים ממנו עוזא ועוזאל מענייני עולם העליון. מי שבא מפרקא ושואלין לו אמור מלה משמע שמלך הקדוש בך*. נאם שומע אמרי אל ויודע דעת עליון. שהיה יודע השעה שתלוי הדין בעולם והיה מכוין השעה בחרשיו. אשר מחזה שדי יחזה. מי הוא מחזה שדי אלו הם נופל וגלוי עינים שהם עוזא ועוזאל. נופל זהו עוזא. גלוי עינים זהו עזאל שהרי לא הושלך עליו חשך אלא נתחזק* ולא הרגיז בזה. ובלעם קרא אותם מחזה שדי של אותם* נופל וגלוי עינים. ובאותו זמן לא נשאר בעולם שנמצא אצלם אלא הוא ובכל יום ויום היה נסתם ונסגר באותן ההרים עמהם כדא' ינחני בלק מלך מואב מהררי קדם. מהררי קדם ודאי ולא מארצה בני קדם.

אמ' ר' שמעון כמה פעמים אמרתי זה הדבר ולא מסתכלים החבריא שהרי הב"ה לא שוכן אלא במקום קדוש במקום שראוי לשכון עליו. וכי הב"ה מכריז ואומ' לא ימצא בך מעביר בנו ובתו באש קוסם קסמים וכו'. והוא בא להתערב עמהם. אלא אשרי חלקם של ישראל שהב"ה קדש אותם כדי לשכון ביניהם והיינו דכתי' כי יי אלהיך מתהלך בקרב מחניך וכו' ולא יראה בך ערות דבר ושב קו ע"ב מאחריך. וכתי' והייתם לי קדושים כי קדוש אני יי. וכתי' אל תטמאו בכל אלה כי בכל אלה נטמאו הגוים. וכתי' ואקדש בם. פי' שלא אוכל לקרב אצלם. אשרי חלקיהם בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא. ואשרי חלקם של נביאי האמונה הקדושים ויש להם חלק להשתמש בקדושה עליונה.

ותרא האתון את מלאך יי נצב בדרך. באותו אורח שהיה משתקע בתוכו בחרבו שלופה בידו. וכי אם הוא יוצא כנגד זאת האתון

מה צריך לחרב. ואם הוא יוצא כנגד בלעם למה ראתה האתון למלאך והוא לא ראה. אלא לכל נזדמן אותו המלאך נזדמן כנגד האתון להוציא אותה מאותו דרך שטעתה בו ובמה ברחמים. ונזדמן כנגד בלעם להענישו בשביל שהוא צריך לילך ברשותו ולא ברשות אחר.

ויאמר אלהים אל בלעם. קום לך אתם ואך את הדבר וכו׳. כך שנינו שזה אלהים שבכאן מלאך היה והוא מקום שבא מצד הדין הקשה שבו אחוזים כח וחוזק של אותם כתרים תחתונים שהיה משתמש בהם בלעם ובשביל כך ויבא אלהים אל בלעם. ויאמר אלהים אל בלעם. כי לפעמים נקראים המלאכים בשם עליון.

וישא משלו ויאמר מן ארם ינחני בלק. ואין ארם אלא א׳ רם שהוא אל"ף של מדת המחשבה הנקרא אל"ף והוא רם על כל רם כדא׳ כי גבוה מעל גבוה שומר וכו׳ כי אמר שבלק הדריך אותו לעיצה רעה והטעני מן דרך היחוד העליון והנחני מן אותן הרעי קדם שהם קדמונו של עולם. כי מראש צורים אראנו. פי׳ מראש הצורים שהוא ראש העליון שהוא ראש ותחלה לכל המדרגות כדאמ׳ אני ראשון ואני אחרון. צורים אלו שתי מדות העומדות תחתיו שהם חכמה ובינה הנקראים צורים. ד"א כי מראש צורים אראנו. פי׳ ממקום כ"ע שהוא ראש הצורים נודעו עקבותיהם שהם נמשכים ויוצאין מגזע קדוש וטהור שהם נאצלין מן ישראל העליון שהוא ישראל סבא. ומגבעות אשורנו. אלו הן חכמה ובינה הנקראים גבעות. הן עם לבדד ישכון. שהם נמשכים ממקום יחיד ומיוחד שהוא לבדו כדא׳ יי בדד ינחנו ואין עמו אל נכר.

מי מנה עפר יעקב. ואין מי אלא מדת הבינה הנקרא מ׳ כדא׳ את מי נועץ ויבינהו. עפר יעקב שהוא מדת העפר שהוא ראש עפרות תבל. והוא עולם היובל הגדול שנקרא עולם הבא כדא׳ כי עפר אתה ואל עפר תשוב. ועוד כתי׳ הכל היה מן העפר והכל שב אל העפר. וזהו סוד הכל מן העפר אפי׳ | גלגל חמה שהוא סוד התפ׳ קז ע"א הכל הוא מן העפר. תמות נפשי מות ישרים. חסר כתי׳ ישרם כי אותו רשע ביון שראה שלא היה יכול להם בשום צד לקללם מיד אמ׳ תמות נפשי מות ישרם. ישר"ם יהא שמיה רבא מברך. ואומ׳ יהי רצון שיהא אחריתי כאותן האומרים אמן יהא שמיה רבא מברך. ואזכה למעלה שהם זוכין.

אל ראש הפסגה. שהוא היסוד הנקרא ראש הפסגה כדא׳

ראש המטה. ויבן שבעה מזבחות. כנגדן ואנכי אקרה כה שהוא מדת המלכות הנקראת כה כדא׳ כה תאמרו.

וישא משלו ויאמר. הוא בלעם ששכרו בלק. ד"א וישא משלו. אל תקרי משלו אלא משָלו פי׳ קיבל נבואתו מצד שלו שהוא צד טומאתו. קום בלק. פי׳ קום ואל תשב כי זה המקום אינו מקום ישיבה לפי שאין למעלה לא עמידה ולא ישיבה.

ובן אדם ויתנחם. לא יפול הנחמה אלא במקום מדרגה הנקרא אדם. ההוא אמר ולא יעשה. פי׳ ב"ע הנקרא הוא אמר כדא׳ כי הוא אמר ויהי הוא צוה ויעמוד. ולא יעשה. כמו הוא עשנו ולא אנחנו. פי׳ מדת האין הנקרא ולא עשאנו ג"כ כאן ולא יעשה כי מדת ולא יעשה כל הנמצאים וכל הנבראים. ודבר.כדא׳ בדבר יי שמים נעשו. ולא יקימנה. כי מדת כ"ע הנקרא ולא יקימנה. פי׳ קיים כל מה שיצא מפיו. ד"א יקימנה. פי׳ יקים למדת העס׳ כדא׳ ביום ההוא אקים את סוכת דוד הנופלת. שהיא כביכול היא נפולה בין שאר העמים והוא יקימנה במה שישפיע לה השפע מעומק של הנחל כדא׳ כשמן הטוב על הראש יורד על הזקן.

הנה ברך לקחתי וברך ולא אשיבנה. אלו שתי פעמים כנגד הבריכה העליונה ובריכה התחתונה.

כעת יאמר ליעקב ולישראל מה פעל אל. כעת פי׳ בזמן שהלשון מוציא מה שעלה במחשבה אזי מדת התפ׳ שהוא מדרגת יעקב הוא יוד ע מה פעל אל.

הן עם כלביא יקום וכארי יתנשא. פי׳ בשעה שיתנשא אותו הארי שהוא מדת הגבורה לא ישכב עד יאכל טרף. פי׳ מדה הגבורה שהוא הארי לא ינוח עד שיאכל טרף.

וישת אל המדבר פניו. פי׳ צד מדתו הנקרא מדבר.

וירא את ישראל שוכן לשבטיו. פי׳ מדת יעקב שהוא תפ׳ שהוא שוכן לשבטיו שהם שנים עשר שבטי יה הסובבים לכסאו בי"ב הויות קדושות. ותהי עליו רוח אלהים פי׳ רות אלהים שהוא הבינה כדא׳ ורוח אלהים מרחפת על פני המים. פי׳ מצדו וכו׳.

ונאם הגבר שתם העין. פי׳ שביון לסתום העין הטוב שכתי׳ בו טוב עין הוא יבורך אל תקרי יבורך אלא יברך.

נאם שומע אמרי | אל אשר מחזה שדי יחזה קז ע"ב

וכו׳. שומע אמרי אל שבלעם היה הולך בכל יום אל הרמי קדם שהם לשם עוזא ועזאל ושומע מהם אמרי אל שהיו שומעים למעלה במקום קדושתן למעלה. אשר מחזה שדי יחזה. פי׳ מחזה של שדי שהיא מדה העשירית. נופל הוא עוזא שהעמיק אותו הב"ה עד עומק ההר. וגלוי עינים הוא עזאל.

מה טובו אהליך יעקב. אלו הם שתי אוהלים העומדים אצל מדרגת יעקב מזה הצד ומזה הצד שהם מדת גדולה ומדת גבורה כדא׳ ויעקב איש תם יושב אהלים. משכנותיך ישראל. זהו מדת המלכות שהיא משכנת אביר יעקב.

כנחלים נטיו כגנות עלי נהר כאהלים נטע יי כארזים עלי מים. יזל מים מדליו. פי׳ כי המים הנוזלים מעליונותו כי דליו הוא מל׳ דלה דלה לגו. וכתי׳ ארוממך יי כי דליתני. נמצא שאותן המים של הנחל נוזלים ויורדים מעליונותו של האין שהוא כ"ע. ד"א יזל מים מדליו. פי׳ לש׳ דלי כלי ששואבין בו המים מן הבאר. פי׳ דליו רומזים לחכמה ובינה שהם כלי המלך שבהם שואבים מים מן הבאר העמוק העליון. וזרעו במים רבים. פי׳ העט׳ שהיא זרעו של אותו נחל היא במים רבים שכל המימות והנהרות כולם הם נמשכין ויוצאין אל המדה ההיא כדא׳ כל הנחלים הולכים אל הים והים אינינו מלא.

אמ׳ משה לישראל בלעם הרשע עושה לכם כשפים ופוריח ומפריח לחמשת המלכים הראו לו את הציץ ששמו של הב"ה גלוף עליו והן נופלין עמו. הדע שכן הוא ואת מלכי מדין הרגו על חלליהם את אוי ואת רקם ואת צור ואת חור וכו׳.

ושנינו מי שאכל ולא נטל ידיו מה יהא חייב. כך שנינו נטילת הידים אחר המזון חובה ולפני המזון רשות. לכן הזהיר הב"ה את ישראל שלא לפשוע אפי׳ במצות קלות שנא׳ כי לא דבר רק הוא מכם כי הוא חייכם. אפי׳ דבר מצוה שאתה רואה אותה שהיא קלה וריקה בה חיים ואריכות ימים. כיון שראה בלעם שישראל משמרין את המצות הקלות אמ׳ מי יוכל לקלל את אלו שהן משמרין מצות ושמו גלוף בהם כדא׳ יי אלהיו עמו. המקללן מקלל לעצמן ששמו משותף בהם. התחיל הופך למשלים שנא׳ וישא משלו ויאמר. זש"ה מברך רעהו בקול גדול בבקר השכם קללה תחשב לו. כשבא בלעם לקלל את ישראל עיקם הקב"ה את לשונו והתחיל לברך שנא׳ ולא אבה יי אלהיך לשמוע אל בלעם ויהפך.

נתן | הב"ה כח בקולו וקולו הולך מסוף העולם ועד סופו קח ע"א כדי שישמעו האומות שהוא מברכן ועליו כתי׳ מברך רעהו בקול גדול. לפי שאמ׳ לכה איעצך אשר יעשה העם הזה לעמך וכו׳. אשריהם ישראל שהב"ה חפץ בהם ונתן להם תורתו הקדושה מה שלא נתן לשום אומה ולשון וגילה להם סודתיו כדא׳ לא עשה כן לכל גוי ומשפטים בל ידעום.

פרש׳ פנחס. פנחס בן אלעזר בן אהרן הכהן וכו׳. כי פנחס רומז למדת הבינה הנקראת פן חס פי׳ פן העליון שהוא חס ומרחם על בריותיו והיא נקראת אם הבנים שמחה. ד"א פנחס שהוא רומז לכ"ע שהוא הפן המרחם וחס על בריותיו בצד הרחמים הנמורים כדא׳ והנותי את אשר אחון ורחמתי וכו׳. אימתי בזמן שישראל משתדלים בעבודת אדוניהם. אזי זה הפן הרחמים משכך ומשקט רוגז הדין שהוא סוד עולם הגבו׳ כדא׳ ועתיק יומין יתיב וכו׳. וכתי׳ כורסייה שביבין דינור. פי׳ אותו עתיק שהוא פן הרחמים יושב וכופף על אותו הכסא שהוא מדת יצחק שהוא צש אכלה אזי הוא נקרא פן חס כדא׳ חוסה יי. ועל זה הסוד כינו לפנחס אליהו בשביל שהוא רומז למדת הכתר כי אל הוא כ"ע יה"ו רומז לשלש מדות שהם חכמה ובינה ותפ׳. נמצא שאל שהוא כ"ע הוא רוכב ושולט עליהם כדא׳ כי גבוה מעל גבוה.

ואצ"ל למה היה אליהו בעל שער בסימניו לפי שהוא רומז לכ"ע שלשם מתקנים השערות והנימין והקווצות לכן אמרו בעלי החבריא בסימניו ידוע ולא ידוע. לכן אנו אומרין בהבדלה איש הנקרא בעל שער בסימניו והבן זה מאד. לכן פקח עיניך וראה והבן זה הסוד הגדול בפנחס שקנאו אותו אליהו לכן שמור סוד זה בגנזיך ויהא תחת מלבושיך לבלתי שלא תשליכהו חוצה לאיש זר והבן זה מאד ודום ליי.

ד"א פנחס בן אלעזר וכו׳ זכו ישראל הוא פנחס שהוא רומז לפן חס. לא זכו יקרא פן חס פי׳ פן השחיתון שכביכול יתעוררו כל הדינין בעולם ובעלי הדינין יוצאין לעשות דין על פי האם העליון. לכן אם זכו ישראל זה המדה הנקרא פנחס הוא משיב החמה והקצף והחרון מעל עדת ישראל כדא׳ השיב את חמתי מעל וכו׳ ולא כליתי את בני ישראל בקנאתי. כי אני נקרא אל קנא שאני | מקנא קח ע"ב ברשעים.

את בריתי שלום. זהו מדת היסוד הנקרא ברית הקודש

כדא׳ ואני זאת בריתי אותם וכו׳. שלום כדא׳ אביעד שר שלום.
והיתה לו דוקא. ברית כהנת עולם. פי׳ כהונה עליונה
יורש ממקום פנחס העליון הנקרא כהן גדול כדא׳ והוא כהן לאל עליון.
תחת אשר קנא לאלהיו דווקא. פי׳ מדת היסוד שהוא ברית הקדוש הנקרא
אלהיו שהוא הברית הקדוש שלא יכנס ברשות אחר. לכן כל מי שמכניס
הברית הקדוש ברשות אחר גורם למדת הברית שיתרחק מן המטרוניתא
שהוא אלהיו. אבל מי שהוא מקנא על הברית שנטמא ונכנס ברשות אחר
ועושה בו הדין והמשפט כאלו כביכול מכפד על אלהיו ודאי. והסוד
בזה כאומרם תביאו עלי כפרה וכו׳ ומזויג בין שתי המדות ויכניס הבת
הקדושה אל היכל המלך אזי כל השמחות והברכות נמצאים למעלה ולמטה.
לכן הזהירו ז"ל בעניין הזנות ואמרו קנאין פוגעין בו. ואם איש חכם
אתה חבין כל העניינים על מתכונתם.
התבונן כי זה המדה הזאת העומדת לשער דכתי׳ זה השער
ליי צדיקים יבואו בו. היא המבדזת ואומרת ראו עתה כי אני אני הוא
ומודעת עצמה וממשלתה וגמול טובתה או עונשה לבריות כדי שידעו
להזהר ולא יחטאו לפני יי עד שתהיה היא צריכה להעניש ולהפרע
מהם וזהו סוד אני האמור על מדת אדני. אבל מה שהשם ית׳ יהוה
הוא מכונה בלש׳ אתה לפי שהוא מבפנים ואינו נמצא לבריות כמו מדת
אדני לפי שהשם הנדול יי שוכן בשם אדני כמלך ששוכן בהיכלו ואינו
נמצא עד שמבקשין אותו זהו שנא׳ ובקשתם משם את יי אלהיך ומצאת
וכו׳. ודוד ע"ה לפי שידע סוד עולם העליון הזהיר לשלמה בנו על
דבר זה ואמ׳ ואתה שלמה בני דע את אלהי אביך ועובדהו. אם תדרשנו
ימצא לך ואם תעזבינו יזניחך לעד. וזהו המלך הגדול שצריך אדם ללכת
לפניו ולסדר תהלותיו ושבחיו וטובותיו ולומ׳ לפניו אתה הוא המושל
בעליונים ובתחתונים אתה הוא ואין דומה לך וזהו סוד כל התפלות שאדם
צריך לסדר שבחיו של שם יי ואחר כך יבקש צרכיו כעניין משה ר׳
ע"ה שאמ׳ אתה החלות להראות את עבדך את גדלך ואת ידך החזקה וכו׳
ואחר שסדר שבחיו של יי בל׳ הזה חזר ושאל צרכיו ואמ׳ אעברה נא
וארא את הארץ הטובה. ועל דרך סדר זה כל התפלות והברכות שאנו
מתחננים לפניו. הלא | תראה ראש של כל הברכות קט ע"א
האמצעיות של תפלה באתה הוא מתחיל כאומ׳ אתה חונן. כגון אתה
בחרתנו. אתה קדשת. אתה אחד.

לכן התבונן ותראה כי השם הגדול שהוא שם יהוה והוא
קו האמצעי ונקרא אתה הוא סוד דגלי השם וכל הכנויין כי הוא מחלבש
ומתפאר בכולן כמו שהודעתיך במוד אתה שזהו סוד כל צבאות העולם
וכל המרכבות שנבראו בצירוף האותיות כאשר בא לך בקבלה מפה אל פה
בספר יצירה בצירוף האותיות של רל"א שערים וגלגולן. ותדע ותשכיל
כי בצרוף כ"ב אותיות נבראו שמים וארץ וצבאות מעלה וכל המרכבות
העליונות והתחתונות בכח צירופן נבראו ויצאו כולם כל דבר ודבר למינו
כמו שיחייב הצירוף של האותיות יצאו כל המרכבות זכר ונקבה בסוד
הצירוף והגלגול כמו שאמרו בספר יצירה זכר באמ"ש נבראו ונקבה באש"ם
נבראו וזהו סוד צירוף האותיות וגלגולן.
וכבר ידעת כי סוד הקו האמצעי נקרא נורא והוא סוד
שם יהוה ית׳ שהוא מדת יעקב והוא חתום משני צדדין בסוד אתה וכן
הוא אומ׳ אתה נורא אתה.
התבונן מאד ותראה ביסוד אלפא ביתות שבצירופן נבראו
כל אלפא ביתות וכל צבאות העולם במצרף הבינה שהיא סוד ה"א עליונה
של השם הגדול ית׳ והיא צירה האותיות כולם בחמש צנורות ויצאו
כל האותיות כולם בחמש מקורות שיאלו הן: אהה"ע בומ"ף גיכ"ק
דטלנ"ת זס"ש שר"ץ ואלו הן צינורות החכמה והבינה שבהם יצאו
כל צינורות האותיות מעומק רום הנקרא אין סוף ומתוך צורת האותיות
נעשו כל צורות המרכבות למיניהם עליונים ותחתונים. ואצ"ל כי כ"ב
אותיות הם יסוד והם נחלקות לשלש מחלקות אמ"ש שמהן יצאו שלש
יסודות אש ורוח ומים. בג"ד כפר"ת שבהם נבראו כל השביעיות למעלה
ולמטה ובהם מצויירים שבעה כוכבי לכת וכל השבעיות שלמעלה מהם
ולמטה מהם בסוד שבע כפולות. ועוד יש י"ב פשוטות שבהם נחקקו
י"ב גבולי אלכסונות במרכבה עליונה וי"ב מזלות בשמים ואלו הן
ה"ו זח"ט י"ל ס"ע צ"ק ובאלו נכללו כל המרכבות עליונות
ותחתונות. והבן כל אלו העניינים על מתכונתם מאד מאד.
לכן בזמן שישראל | אינן הולכין בדרכי קט ע"ב
התורה אזי אלו המקורות והצינורות העליונות נמנעים ונפסקים ונכזביס
מימיהם והסוד בזה כוזבי בת נשיא מדין שהוא בעל הדין והקיטרוג המפסיק
בין ישראל לאביו שבשמים.
ובני שמעון נמואל וימין ואוהד ויכין וצוחר ושאול בן

הכנענית. וכן לבנימין בלע ובכר ואשבל גרא ונעמן אחי וראש מופים וחופים וארד. הרי עשר כנגד עשר מדרגות עליונות וכשאתה בא למנותו לבלע משפחת הבלעי אינם אלא שבעה. חסרו שלש לרמוז לשלש שאינם נמצאים בשכל האדם הנברא. ואצ"ל שאלו עשר שמות כולם הם נרמזים לעשר מדרגות עליונים לכן פקח עיניך וראה ודום ליי. בלע רומז לכ"ע המדה המהשבה העמוקה אשר אין בריה יכולה להשיגה לפי רוב עמקותה ודקותה. והטעם מפני מה נקרא בלע לפי שהוא בולע ושואב כל הנבראים והנמצאים כאבן השואבת והסוד בזה ויבלע מטה אהרן את מטותם. פי' אהרן סבא שהוא כהן גדול לעי' העי' המסדר הקרבן לפני עי' העי' ודיי בזה לכל מבין. לכן נקרא בלע לפי שהוא שואב ובולע כל המדרגות והנמצאות בשנת השמיטה שהוא היובל הגדול כד' כי עפר אתה ואל עפר תשוב. כי כ"ע ג"כ נקרא עפר. למה כי כמו העפר שנוטלין מכאן ומניחין בכאן ואין לו קול כך כ"ע שהוא מדת המחשבה אין לו קול אלא הוא הכל בלחישה שאין שם הרמת קול לפי שהוא עולם הנסתר והנעלם לכן נקרא שמן זית לפי שאין לו קול. לכן תבין לך כל אלו העניינים ותצניעים תחת לשונך כד' כבוד אלהים הסתיר דבר. ד"א בלע. למה נקרא בלע אל תיקרי בלע אלא בל ע' כי בל מל' בלי כד' תולה ארץ על בלימה לפי שהוא בלי השגה לנמצא מן הנמצאים. ע' רומז לעי' העי' שהוא סתימא של כל הסתימות אבל אין בין העלול לעילה אלא שזה עילה וזה עלול. ד"א בלע כי בל רומז למקור הסתום שממנו מתאצלים ל"ב נתי' פלי' חכמה. ע' רומזים לע' שמות הנאצלים מעומק רום אל מדת החסד שהם של ויסע ויבא ויט. ד"א בלע בגי' מאה ושנים במניין לרמוז לעשר צחצחות הנעלמות שהם באורך אנפין וזעיר אנפין שהם עשר כד' והשביע בצחצחות נפשך וכו'. ולכן השנים הנוספים כנגד א"א וז"א.

ובכר, באתי להכניסך בו שערי אורה כי מדת החכמה נקראת ובכר מל' כל הבכור לפי שהיא בכור וראשית כל המציאות כי עי' העי' וכ"ע הם נעלמים ונסתרים בלי השגה | בהם כלל לכך קי ע"א הם נקראים אין ואפס ותוהו ובלי כל לשון העדר מורים עליהם אבל חכמה היא נקרא יש לפי שיש בו ישות לכן הוא בכור להשגה כד' והחכמה מאין תמצא. וזהו סוד הבכור לכהן. כדאמ' כבכורה בתאנה בראשיתה. ועוד למה נקראת חכמה בכור בשביל שהיא ראשית והתחלה

למציאות עולם העליון כד' ראשית חכמה יראת יי.

ואשבל רומז למדת הבינה הנקרא אשבל. כי אשבל הוא לש' שביל לפי שהבינה הוא דרך ושביל לעולם האין והאפס כי לולי הבינה לא היה שביל ודרך לעלות לעולם האין ולידע לו ממש. אלא כיון שהבינה היא תוצא מה שעלה במחשבה כדרך שהלשון תוציא מה שעלה בהרהור ובמהשבה.

גרא רומז למדה ההסד שהוא מדת אברהם כי גרא אותיות אגר והוא שכר כד' אנכי מגן לך שכרך הרבה מאד. כי תרגו' שכר אגר. גרא הם אותיות ארג לפי שמדה החסד היא אורג ומחבר בין עולם העליון ועולם התחתון ואורגם ומחברם באריגה אחת. ד"א למה נקרא גרא באל"ף ולא בה"א אלא לרמוז לך כי כמו שכ"ע הוא ראשון לכל המדרגות והוא נקרא אל"ף כך מדת החסד הוא נקרא ראשון ואל"ף לשבעה המדרגות המחודשות וזהו סוד אחת היא יונתי וכו'.

ונעמן רומז למדת הגבורה הנקרא נעמן לפי שהוא מקבל מעולם הבינה הנקרא עולם הנועם כד' דרכיה דרכי נועם. לכן כל נעימות של התורה מתפשטת משם וזהו סוד משה שמע מפי הגבורה.

אחי רומז לחפ' הנקרא אחי מל' איש כד' לא ראו איש את אחיו. פי' אפי' האש לא היו רואין מרוב החשך לכן מדת החפ' נקרא אש כד' יי במשפט יבוא וכו'. ד"א אחי אל תיקרי אחי אלא א' חי פי' שכל החיים הבאים לחפ' הוא מן האל"ף העליון שהוא כ"ע.

וראש רומז לנצח הנקרא וראש מל' ראש ולענה לפי שמשם מתחילין השרים של האומות לעלות והוא ביניהם במרירות החיים וזהו סוד ויגע בכף ירך יעקב בגיד הנשה.

מופים רומז להוד הנקרא מופים בדגיש לפי שהיא מדת הדין שהיא מקבלת מצד דין הקשה.

וחופים פי' מדת היסוד שהוא סוד עשר חופות של הצדיקי'.

וארד מל' ירידה לפי שהמלכות היא ירדה יותר מכל המדרגות. ד"א וארד ולא כתי' וירד אלא בזמן שהיא מקבלת מן אל"ף העליון אזי היא | מושלת ושולטת על כל המעלות קי ע"ב שלמטה הימנה אזי יכנס האל"ף בין שאר האותיות כד' וארד ואם לאו וירד שהוא לשון ירידה והשפלה. והבן כל אלו מאד.

ובני גד צפיון וחגי שוני ואצבן עירי וארודי ואראלי.

כי הם שבעה כנגד שבעה מדרגות המחודשות שהם מן הגדולה עד למלכות. למה כי כל שמות השבטים כלם הם היו נרמזים ונקראים בסודי התו' והם נקבו בשמותם הקדושים כמו שהם נקראים בשמות העליונים כל אחד ואחד כפי שמו ומעלהו לפי ששמם נכללים בש' הקדוש ית' ויח' כי כל שם של כל אחד ואחד מישראל הוא משותף בשמו הקדוש. לכן כל מי שבא לקלל אחד מישראל כאלו חירף וגידף למעלה ודיי לך בזה לכל משכיל ועת הוא לסגור שער זה.

ועתה אשוב לפרש לך אלו שבעה שמות שהם צפיון וחגי וכו'. ואצ"ל צפיון רומז למדת הגדולה לפי שהוא צף למעלה על כל שאר המרכבות והמדרגות והוא נקרא ראשון על כל השבעה לכן הוא למעלה כמי שצף על המים התחתונים.

וחגי רומז לגבורה כי אותיות וחגי הם אותיות יגח כדא' בכור שורו הדר לו וקרני ראם קרניו בהם עמים ינגח יחדיו אפסי ארץ לפי שהוא נוגח ונוקם מכל הנמצאים הבאים למרוד במלכות יי והסוד כי יגח שור את איש וכו'. והוא נקרא שור כדאמ' ופני שור מהשמאל.

שוני רומז לקו האמצעי שהוא מדת יעקב הנקרא שוני מל' משנה למלך העליון שתפ' ישר' הוא עומד ומשרת לפני כ"ע כמו משנה לפני המלך. ד"א שוני מל' משנה שהיא התורה שבכתב שהיא משנה תורה. למה שאלו שלש שמות שהאחד מהם הוא אהיה שהוא עומק האין והשם השני יהוה תפ' הנקרא שוני והשלישי הוא אדני ונמצא שמדת האמצעי נקרא שני בדא' שוני אל תיקרי שוני אלא שני למציאות.

ואצבון רומז למדת הנצח הוא מל' צבי היא לכל הארצות. ד"א אצבון מל' צבאות.

ערי רומז להוד כי ערי הם אותיות ירע מל' אל ירע בעיניך. לפי שהוא מקבל ממדת הרע שהוא גבורה כדא' למה הרעותה וכתי' אם רע בעיניך אשובה לי.

וארוצי רומז ליסוד לפי שכתי' ביוסף ירידה.

וראלי רומז לעט' הנקראת אראלים והוא אחד מעשר כהות המלאכים. לכן כל השמות שבכל התורה כולה הם נרמזים בסוד עליון לכן אם היו כל הימים דיו וכל בני אדם לבגרין ושמים וארץ יריעות לא היו יכולין להספיק לכתו' אחד מני אלף מה שהיה ראוי לכל פסוק ופסוק מפסוקי דאוריתא.

ותקרבנה בנות צלפחד. ואין צלפחד אלא מדת הבינה שהיא סוכה עליונה כדא' וסוכה תהיה לצל יומם מחורב. לפי שהבינה היא צל למדת | הפחד שהוא גבורה לכן כתי' צלפחד. קיא ע"א

פי' צל פחד. בנות צלפחד. אלו הן גדולה גתנהי"מ הנקראות בנות לאם הבנים שמחה. ד"א למה נקראת בנות בשביל שהם בונים כל העולמות מששת ימי בראשית שעל ידיהם נעשו כל המלאכה. בן חפר רומז למדת החכמה הנקרא חפר לפי שהוא מעין הסתום שכל הנמצאים חופרין אחריו לידע ממשותו. אפי' הכי לא יגיע לעומק המקור כדא' אמרתי אחכמה והיא רחוקה ממני. לכן האבות שהיו חופרין בארות כולם היו מחפשין אחר המקור והחפירה של החכמה העמוקה. בן גלעד הוא מקום כ"ע שהוא עומק המחשבה שהוא נקרא גל שהוא לעד לכל הנמצאים. כמו הגל שהוא עומד במקום גבוה ומשם נראים כל מה שלמטה הימנו. כך כ"ע הוא נקרא גל והוא גבוה על כל הנמצאים והסוד בזה גן נעול אחותי כלה גל נעול מעיין וכו'. בן מכיר בן מנשה. אל תקרי מכיר אלא מָכַר פי' מדת הבינה. בן מנשה רומז לעי' העי' הנקרא מנשה. למה נקרא עי' העי' מנשה. לפי שהוא מקום שיפול בו שכחה ונשיון מל' כי נשני אלהים. מה טעם מפני שכל המדרגות והמקורות כולם יש להם לחקור ולחפש ולדרוש אחרי מציאותם מעומק החכמה העליונה. ומשם מבינין דבר מתוך דבר. אבל עי' העי' אין לך צד בשום מקום לא לדרוש ולא לחקור ולא לידע ממנו שום ידיעה לפי שהוא נעלם ונסתר בסוד האין והאפס לכן יפול בו השכחה בעניין השגה לזה המקום. לכן פקח עיניך וראה זה הסוד הגדול והנורא אשריהו מי שמאיר עיניו בו בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא.*

ד"א צל פחד כי צל רומז למדת אברהם הנקרא אשל כדא' ויטע אשל בבאר שבע. וזהו סוד שאותו האשל שהיה לאברהם היה מנסה בו בני העולם אם באו לשוב בתשובה בלב שלם מיד אותו האילן היה צל על ראשו אזי היה יודע אברהם שחזר בתשובה ונכנס תחת כנפי השכינה. פחד רומז למדת הגבורה הנקרא פחד כדא' ופחד יצחק היה לי.

למה לא היה לצלפחד בנים אלא בנות לפי שהיה מצד הנקבות ועל זה הוא שמו צלפחד שהיה מצל הפחד הוא צד הנקיבות. ואלה שמות בנותיו מחלה נועה חגלה ומלכה והרצה. מחלה הוא סוד התפ' הנקרא מלך יי צבאות שהוא מדת רחמים גמורים והיא מדת המחילה לכן מלך

שמוחל על כבודו כבודו מחול. לכן כשיתעורר מדת הגבורה לכלות ולהחריב העולם מיד התפ' שהוא מלך הוא מוחל על כבודו מצד הרחמים העליונים והסוד בזה מלך במשפט יעמיד ארץ. מיד יעמוד הארץ על קיומו. נועה רומז לנצח שהוא נע ונד מכח השרים הבאים לחפור אחרי מקורו לפי שהוא ירך יעקב. חגלה רומז להוד אל היקרי חגלה אלא חג לה. אימתי | בזמן שהיא יונקת מצד התפ' והמלך נזדווג קיא ע"ב עם המטרוניתא. ומלכה רומז ליסוד שהוא סוד יוסף שהיה מלך על מצרים כי לפעמים נקראת יסוד בלשון נקבה ולפעמים בל' זכר והבן כל זה. והרצה רומז לעט' שהיא מתרצה עם המלך יי צבאות.

ותעמודנה לפני משה. שהוא תפ' העליון ולפני אלעזר הכהן. שהוא מדת החסד שהוא כהן גדול בשמים. ולפני הנשיאים. אלו הן חכמה ובינה שהם נשיאים על שאר המדרגות. אשריכם החבריא בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא שנתן לכם הקב"ה מתנה נכבדת כזו אשר אין מלאכי השרת יכולין להגיע בה לפי שהיא עמוקה ונעלמה מעיני כל חי ואפי' הכי זכו בה ישראל עם קדוש כרא' כי עם קדוש אתה וכתי' ואבדיל אתכם מן העמים להיות לי. הבדילם והפרישם מן אומות העולם ומן טומאתם שנא' ואבדיל אתכם וכו'. נשלם.

ראשי המטות. עטרות ודיבון ויעזר ונמרה וכו'. ואצ"ל עטרות רומז לשתי עטרות שהם עט' עליונה ועט' תחתונה כי כמו שנקרא כ"ע כך מלכות נקרא עטרה שהוא לש' כתר ויהחבר משניהם עטרות. ואצ"ל כי בהתאחד השם ית' עם כנסת ישראל ויתאחזו זה בזה אזי כל השרים העליונים נעשים אגודה אחת לעבוד את הש' ית' ולשמש את כנסת ישראל לפי שממנה תבא להם הפרנסה וכמו שתהיה חפצם ותשוקתם של ע' שרים למעלה לשמש את כנסת ישראל כך תהא תשוקת ע' אומות שלהם לשמש את ישראל למטה ולהדבק בהם ויהיו כולם עובדים את יי וזהו סוד כי אז אהפוך אל עמים שפה ברורה לקרוא כולם בשם יי ולעובדו שכם אחד. וזהו סוד ואמרו עמים לכו ונעלה אל הר יי ואל בית אלהי יעקב ויורנו מדרכיו ונלכה באורחותיו כי מציון תצא תורה ודבר יי מירושלם. בזמן שיהחבר עט' ישראל עם כ"ע ומהעלה עד אין סוף אז נקראים עטרות. ודיבון רמז לחכמה הנקרא דיבון פי' די בון מל' בינה שהיא מספקת בינה והשכל לבינה שהיא עולם היובל. ויעזר רומז

לבינה שהיא עולם העזר והישועה והגאולה והחירות. ונמרה רומז לחסד מל' נמר פי' חיה אחת נקראת נמר הוא מלא נקודים לבנים בעורו כך זה המדה מקבלת הלובן מן כ"ע כדא' כשמן הטוב וכו'. והשבון רומז לגבו' שהוא נקרא בעל חשבון. ואלעלה רומז לתפ' הנקרא אלעלה לפי שהוא נקרא אל עלה בשביל שעולה למעלה למעלה ומתאחד עד אין סוף. ושבם רומז לנצח. ונבו רומז להוד. ובעון רומז ליסוד הנקרא ובעון מל' מעונה והבן. ואצ"ל כי כל שמותיו ית' כולם נשואים וכלולים על הש' המיוחד שהוא שם יי ית'. והש' המיוהד ית' ויח' עומד באמצע ונקרא קו האמצעי ושאר השמות כלולים בו מזה ומזה לדמיון ראש האילן שרשיו וענפיו. אשריהם ישראל בזה ובבא. נשלם. |

פרש' אלה מסעי. וישלח משה לרגל את יעזר וכו'. ואין קיב ע"א יעזר אלא עולם הבינה הנקראת יעזר בשביל שמשם נאצלת העזר והסיוע לכל התחתונים הוא השם הגדול הנכתב בעניין אחד ונקרא בעניין אחר. נכתב יהוה ונקרא אלהים וגם נקוד בנקוד אלהים וזהו הספי' הנקראת בינה והוא השם הקושר כל הספי' בסוד חיבור האצילות וההמשכה לפי שזה הוא השם השלישי מן השלשה שמות העליונים המתאחדים בכלל כ"ע. ומן השם הזה ילך שפע האור והאצילות והברכה בכל הצינורות עד שיתברכו שבע מדרגות של מטה. ואצ"ל כי מה שנכתב באותיות יהוה וניקוד בשם אלהים הוא סוד היותו נאחז לכאן ולבאן לפי שהוא מתאחד בעולם הרחמים הגמורים שהוא סוד הכתר. ובכתר נאחזים שני שמות אחד לימין והוא שם יה והאחד לשמאל הוא השם הנכתב יהוה ונקרא אלהים והוא סוד הבינה ומן השם הזה מתחלת מדת הדין.

ואני צריך לעודרך על עיקר גדול כי בכל מקום שתמצא בתורה שם אלהים שלפעמים הוא רומז על הספי' הזאת הנכתבת יהוה ונקראת אלהים שהיא הנקראת בינה כגון בראשית ברא אלהים שהוא סוד הספי' הזאת ליודעי שכל ומעמיקים להכנס בהדרי המרכבה ודבר זה הוא קשה עד מאד להבינו זולתי בקבלה אמיתית מפה אל פה. והנני רומז בראשית ברא אלהים. אלה תולדות השמים והארץ בהבראם ביום עשות יי אלהים ארץ ושמים. יהוה אדני חילי. יהוה בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה. וסימן הכולל העניין מה שאמרו חמשים שערי בינה נבראו בעולם. בשלשים ושתים נתי' פליאות חכמה חקק יה וכו'. היודע

לכוין אלו הפסוקים ואלו העניינים ואלו הסמנין יוכל להבין העיקר הזה ואין זה מסור להבינו אלא בקבלה מפה אל פה. וסוד העיקר הזה הוא כולל סדר כל העולמות ובו נכללים בראשית ברא אלהים מדת הגבורה בראשית ברא אלהים מדת המלכות. כי כל אחת מאלו הספי׳ הולידה סדרי עולם ובכל אחת ואחת מהן נכלל סוד פסו׳ בראשית ברא אלהים. והדברים הם עמוקים מאד מאד ואין הכל יכולין להכנס לעומקים והמבין עיקרים הללו יוכל להבין מהו ע׳ פנים לתורה.

ואתה פקח עיניך והתבונן כי במקומות תמצא כתו׳ אלהים והוא רומז על ספי׳ הבינה לפי הרמזים שרמזנו ולפעמים הוא רומז על מדת הגבורה. ולפעמים הוא רומז על מדת המלכות בהיותה מתלבשת מלבוש הגבורה. כל זה כשתמצא אלהים* סמוך למלת צבאות כגון אלהים צבאות השיבנו והוא בההאחד עמוד השמאל במדת הגבו׳ ולוקח כלי מלחמה ולובש בגדי קנאות קנאת יי צבאות תעשה זאת.

והנה בכל מקום שאתה מוצא בתורה ספי׳ יסוד שהיא שביעית בדרך זה: | יסוד שביעית למטה. בינה היא קיב ע"ב שביעית למעלה. והבינה קושרת שש ספי׳ בשלש. והיסוד קושר ספי׳ עשירית בתשע העליונות. והבן זה מאד כי אלו הן שני פרקי החבור והיחוד לעשר ספי׳ בסוד אחד בשלש ואחד בשבע. ואחר שידעת זה דע כי בכל מקום שתמצא בתו׳ ספי׳ שביעיות שבע פעמים הוא סוד הספי׳ מן היסוד ועד הבינה ובמקומות מן הבינה ועד היסוד כי ששת ימים עשה יי את השמים ואת הארץ. ששת ולא בששת.

אי זו היא הספי׳ הנקראת תורה שבכתב היא מדת התפ׳. נמצאת למד תורה שבכתב ומשפט ואמת ויעקב כולם רומזים לקו האמצעי.

ואצ"ל כי ספי׳ הבינה הנכתב יהוה ונקראת אלהים הוא סוד גלוי ג׳ ספי׳ עליונות אשר על ידיה מתגלה אור הכתר והרצון עד שמגיע האצילות והשפע והברכה למדת יסוד שזהו סוד ז׳ ספי׳ שזכרנו וכשמגיע כל שפע וכל מיני ברכה למדת יסוד אזי מדת יסוד חוזרת ומריקה כל מיני השפע ואצילות הברכות במדת המלכות הנקראת אדני ולפי׳ נקראת בת שבע.

ואצ"ל כי אלו שתי׳ הספי׳ שהם ספי׳ בינה וספי׳ המלכות הם סבת התגלות כ"ע וסבת השפע והברכה והקיום לכל הנמצאים. והספי׳ שהיא בינה נקראת במקומות הרבה בינה והטעם

כי הוא סוד המליץ העליון עומדת בין הספי׳ העליונות ובין הספי׳ התחתונות שלמטה מהם והיא המאצלת על כל שאר הספי׳ אצילות שפע וברכה מן כ"ע ועל ידי הספי׳ הזאת יתבונן האדם עיקר העיקרים ויסוד כל היסודות שאל מלא היא אין דרך להכנס לידיעת קדמותו ית׳ וית׳ והרי הוא כדמיון המליץ הנאמן שנא׳ אנכי עומד בין יי וביניכם שהוא סוד המליץ התחתון בינו ובין בני ישראל אות היא לעולם. וכבר רמזו בעלי החכמה שספי׳ הבינה כמו הלשון בפה באמת כמו הלשון בפה מכמה צדדין. האחד שהוא סוד הכתוב השלישי. והשני שהוא סוד קשר שלש ספי׳ עליונות ואצילות ברכתם של* שבע ספי׳ התחתונות שאל מלא הבינה לא נכנס אדם לדעת קדמונו של עולם. והנה משה ר׳ ע"ה שהוא המליץ הנאמן השיג בבינה מ"ט שערים כמו שאז"ל חמשים שערי בינה נבראו בעולם וכולם נמסרו למשה חוץ מאחד שנא׳ ותחסרהו מעט מאלהים. ועוד השעם שנקראת בינה לפי שהיא סוד תולדות בנים ובנות בסוד בינה ותבונה ולפי׳ בעון נדרים בנים מתים. בעון נדרים מתה אשתו של אדם. וכל זה מדה במדה לפי שהבינה הוא מקום הנדר כמו שהוא ידוע למקובלים.

והנה בהיות ספי׳ היובל עולם הרחמים נקראת נחלה בלא מצרים והיא נחלת יעקב אבי׳ ע"ה לא נחלת אברהם שהיו לו מצרים ולא נחלת יצחק שהיו לו מצרים ולפי׳ כל הזוכה להדבק בספי׳ היובל גאולה תהיה לו לפי שאין שם דבר מעכב וזהו סוד והרכבתיך על במתי ארץ וכו׳ נחלת קו האמצעי. אשריהם ישראל בעולם הזה ובבא. נשלם מסעי בע"ה . |

פרש׳ אלה הדברים . יתב׳ שמו ויתע׳ זכרו של הב"ה קיג ע"א שכל הנסים שעשה לישראל במדבר כך עתיד לעשות להם בציון.

פנו וסעו לכם. פי׳ חסעו למעלה. להר האמורי שהוא אמרי אל פי׳ לכ"ע. ואל כל שכיניו. פי׳ חכמה ובינה הנקראים שתי שכינות פי׳ שכינה של ימין ושכינה של שמאל. בערבה. פי׳ בעט׳. בהר. פי׳ בתפ׳ הנקרא הר.ובשפלה. פי׳ הוד. ובנגב. פי׳ צד אברהם. ובחוף הים. פי׳ היסוד כדא׳ חופף עליו כל היום. לפי שמדת היסוד עומד על העס׳ ומחכסה עליה כי חוף מל׳ כיסוי. והלבנון רומז לכ"ע הנקרא הר הלבנון. עד הנהר הגדול נהר פרת רומז למדת הבינה שהוא

הנהר הנמשך ויוצא מעדן כדא׳ ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן.
איכה אשא לבדי טרחכם ומשאכם וריבכם. איכה אל״ף
ויו״ד רומז לכ״ע וחכמה כה למדת הבינה שהם עומדים למעלה מן התפ׳
הנקרא משה לכן אמ׳ משה איכה אשא לבדי. פי׳ איך אוכל לסבול
המשואות של העולמות כולם.
שרי אלפים כנגד אלף מדרגות הנמשכים מן אל״ף הקדוש
העליון. שרי מאות. סוד החכמה שיש בה שלש מאות ועשר מחנות כמנין
יש. שרי חמשים כנגד הבינה שיש בה חמשים שערי בינה. ושרי עשרות
רומז לעט׳ שהיא עשרית כדא׳ העשירי יהיה קודש ליי.
וסוד התורה והמצוה. התורה זו תורה שבכתב. והמצוה
זו הורה שבעלפה. כי התורה שבכתב יש לנו לנהוג בה על ציווי אדני
הנקראת מצוה ונקראת תורה שבעל פה ולפי׳ אמ׳ הכתו׳ לכל תכלה
ראיתי קץ רחבה מצותך מאד.
ואצ״ל כי שלש חסדים הם. האחד חסד העליון הבא מן
המקור העליון שאין בו תערובת דין זולתי כולו חסד ורחמים ונקראים
חסדים טובים והסוד בזה וחסדי מאהך לא ימוש. ועל זה כתי׳ כי המלך
בוטח ביי ובחסד עליון בל ימוט.והשני הוא חסד עולם והוא הנקרא
חסד אברהם שנא׳ תתן אמת ליעקב חסד וכו׳. ולפי שפחד יצחק הוא
מדת הדין מתערבת עם חסד אברהם אין חסד אברהם חסד פשוט אלא
מעורב עם דין כי לפעמים מתגברת הגבורה ומסתתרת בתוכה חסד אברהם
ולפי׳ נקרא חסד עולם כי לפעמים הוא מתעלם בסוד שתי מצות שבהם
מתנהג העולם בסוד גלוי ונעלם בסוד מעלה ומטה ימין ושמאל פנים
ואחור. ולפי׳ חסד עולם יש בו דין ורחמים.* השלישי נקרא חסדי
דוד הנאמנים והם חסדי אל חי הבאים מכח חסדים טובים וחסד אברהם
ונקראים חסדי דוד בהגיעם אצל מדתו ונמשכים אליו החסדים ובאים
דרך עיר דוד ונקראים חסדי דוד ומגיעים לשם אדני ונקרא שם אדני
בל׳ הסידה | והסימן אם אברה חסידה ונוצה. והיודע קיג ע״ב
סוד חסדי דוד יודע סוד הודו ליי כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו. ראש וסוף
ואמצע ויבין מכאן כמה ענייניים עמוקים נרמזים בתוכה*.
ואצ״ל כי שלשה שמות הם אדני למטה. יהוה באמצע.
אהיה למעלה שהוא הכתר ובו תלוי המזל שממנו נמשכין הבנים שהוא
סוד ותתפלל על יהוה ממש שהוא אהיה ממש העומד למעלה כדא׳

על יי לפי שעלתה בתפילתה עד שם אהיה ומשם הפיקה רצונה בדבר
זה וזהו סוד שאמ׳ רז״ל בני חיי ומזוני לא בזכותא תליא מילתא אלא
במזלא תליא מילתא. ומקום זכות הוא ב״ד הגדול של מעלה הנקרא ב״ד
הנקרא אלהים שהוא מדת הגבורה והפחד כמו שאמרתי לך. אלא במזלא
תליא מילתא שהוא מקום המזל הידוע שנותן מצד החסד והרחמים למי
שמוציא חן בעיניו בסוד י״ג מדות בספי׳ אהיה שהוא סוד הכתר. והרוצה
להוליד בנים על ידי הנס עד מקום זה ראוי לעלות. וכן הרוצה להשיג
חיים נוספים על ימיו. כן הרוצה להשיג מזונות יותר על מה שראוין
לו לפי כח תולדתו. וחייו ובניו ומזונותיו שלשתן מפורשין בתורה
שהן למעלה מב״ד הגדול הנקרא זכות שהוא שמאל של התפ׳ הנקרא
יהוה יה׳. ומניין לך שאלו השלשה דברים שהם חיי בני ומזוני למעלה
משם יהוה יה׳ ויח׳. חיים דכתי׳ בחזקיהו שמעתי את תפלתך ראיתי
את דמעתיך הנני יוסיף על ימיך. ולא אמ׳ הנני מוסיף אלא יוסף כלו׳
מב״ד הגדול אמ׳ אני דנתי את הדין אם ירדה המזל הידוע יוסיף חייך.
בנים דכתי׳ בתפלה של חנה כמו שפירשתי לעיל. מזונות דכתי׳ השליך
על יהוה יהבך והוא יכלכלך. על יי ולא אל יי. ובחזקיה נמ׳ כתי׳
ויתפלל על יי*. והטעם לפי שכל הרוצה להשיג ג׳ דברים הללו אינו
יכול להשיגם בעולם אלא על הדין במקום הנקרא זכות שהוא ב״ד
הגדול של מעלה. ובאי זה מקום יכול להשיג דבר זה. ראוי לעלות
למעלה למעלה מן העולם הבא עד מקום כ״ע שהוא אהיה שהוא אין
סוף במקום י״ג מדות של רחמים שהאתת מאותן י״ג מדות נקראת מזל.
וזהו שארז״ל בני חיי ומזוני לא בזכותא תליא מילתא אלא במזלא תליא
מילתא.
ולפי דרכים אלו דע והבן שאע״פ שאנו אומרים שהרוצה
להשיג חפצו מאת השם ית׳ שיהא מכוין באותו השם ית׳ לאותו החפץ
שהוא צריך שאין כוונתינו לומ׳ שיתכוין לאותו השם לבד ועמוד
אלא כוונתינו לומ׳ שיתכוין באותו הש׳ שהדבר תלוי בו וימשוך
כוונת אותו השם עד עשר ספי׳ שהוא סוד המקור | העליון קיד ע״א
הנקרא מקום הרצון. ובשיגיע למקום הרצון אני יפיק רצונו ומשאלותיו
וזהו שכתי׳ פותח את ידיך ומשביע לכל חי רצון. אל תקרי ידיך אלא
יודיך כלו׳ כשאתה פותח סוד יו״ד של שם יהוה שהוא מקום הרצון
אזי אתה משלים רצון כל שואל. נמצאת למד כשאדם צריך דבר להפיק

לפני השם ית' דאוי לו להתכוין בכל עשר ספי' ולהמשיך החפץ והרצון מלמעלה למטה עד סוף הרצון ונמצאו הספי' מתברכות על ידו ונמצא הוא מתברך על ידי הספי' וזהו שכתי' אשר המתברך בארץ יתברך באלהי אמן. וסוד אמן הוא סוד שפע המשכת הברכות משם אהיה לשם יהוה ומשם יהוה לשם אדני. נמצאת למד כי כל המתפלל שהוא מתכוין על דרך זו שאמרנו שהוא מיחד עשר ספי' ומקרב אותן זו לזו.

אשריהם ישראל שנתן להם הב"ה מתנה כזו. אשריהם בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא. נשלם אלה הדברים ש"ל.

פרש' ואתחנן . ואתחנן אל יי בעת ההיא לאמר. זש"ה ושמעת אל תפלת עבדך ואל תחנוניו. הרי הרבה שמות נקראת התפלה ואלו הן תפלה תחנה צעקה זעקה שועה רנה פגיעה זמירה נעילה. ולמה לא נתפלל משה באחת מהם אלא בל' תחנה שנא' ואתחנן. אלא בשעה שעמד משה ואמ' לפני הב"ה הראיני נא את כבודך. א"ל הב"ה הן אני מראה לך. אני אעביר כל טובי על פניך וקראתי בשם יי לפניך וכו'.

ויאמר יי אלי דב לך אל תוסיף דבר אלי עוד בדבר הזה. דב לך פי' כ"ע הנקרא רבון כל העולמים פי' הרב של כל המדריגות העלים והסכים במחשבתו לסלקך מן העולם.

עלה ראש הפסגה. פי' מדת היסוד הנקרא ראש הסולם וראש המטה כדא' וראשו מגיע השמימה וכו'. הפסגה פי' עט' הנקראת פסגה פי' פסגה הוא מקום שנראים משם כל הארץ כך רמז לו לעלות אל מדת העט' שנראים בה כל הצורות וכל האספקלריאות. ושא עיניך. פי' תשיג בעין השגתך. ימה פי' לעט'. וצפונה לצד צפון. ותימנה לצד דרום. ומזרחה לצד מזרח. וראה בעיניך פי' בעין שכלך.

וצו את יהושע. פי' יהושע תלמידך שהוא נאצל ממדרגתך. והזקהו מצד הגבורה. ואמצהו מצד התפ'. כי הוא יעבור פי' מדת הוא שהוא השכינה יעבור לפני העם הזה כדא' ויי הולך לפניהם יומם. והוא ינחיל. פי' מדת המחשבה הנקרא והוא ינחיל להם כל נחלות וירושות עליונות | מעדן העליון הקדוש והבן כל אלו* קיד ע"ב העניינים על מתכונתם.

ועתה ישראל שמע אל החקים ואל המשפטים אשר אנכי

וכו'. פי' החוקים והמשפטים העליונים. אשר אנכי פי' מדת המחשבה הנקרא אנכי . למען תחיו. בחיים עליונים הנמשכים ויוצאים מעומק כ"ע הנקרא חיה על דרך נפש רוח נשמה יחידה חיה.

לא תוסיפו על הדבר. פי' משה ע"ה בא והזהיר לישראל על היחוד ואמ' להם לא תוסיפו על הספי' כי הם עשר ולא אחד עשרה. אם יבא המחקר והמשיג ואומ' ג"כ עי' העי' יכנס בכלל כל המדרגות לכן אמ' עשר ולא י"א. ולא תגרעו ממנו. פי' אם יעלה על דעת המחקר לגרוע ולחסר מדת העט' מכלל הספי' לכן אמרו עשר ולא תשע. והבן כל זה בעומק מחשבתך.

ואתם הדבקים ביי אלהיכם. אשריכם ישראל שאתם דבוקים בהב"ה שהוא מדת יהוה הנקרא עץ החיים לפי שישראל הם דביקים בגוף האילן והם נדבקים ביי שהוא תפ'. אלהיכם הוא מדת העט' הנקרא אלהיכם. חיים כלכם היום. פי' אתם שואבים חיים עליונים מעולם החיים כדא' אתהלך לפני יי בארצות החיים. לפי שכל השפע של החיים בא מצד הבינה. והטעם כי ידו מקבלת שפע וכח מן המדה הנקראת מי והסוד שאו מרום עיניכם וראו מי ברא אלה. ולפי שהצדיקים יודעים סוד מי יכולין לבטל הגזירה והבן הדבר הגדול הזה ותראו הסוד שנא' שוב מחרון אפך. כי מקום התשובה הוא מי והוא המושל על החרון והאף וכן כתי' בשנת היובל הזאת תשובו איש אל אחוזתו. ולפי' התבונן נפלאות שרמז בספר יצירה שהעיצה נגמרת בכליות וכן הוא כתי' לעומת העצה יסירנה.

ועתה באתי להכניס בסוד הפרשה כדא' ואתחנן אל יי. כי אין ואתחנן אלא לש' חנם כדכתי' וחנותי את אשר אחון. לפי שמשה היה מתחנן ומתפלל כנגד כ"ע שהוא מדת חנם כדא' וחנותי. לפי שהוא מוחל לרשע כמו לצדיק והוא מדת ההשואה. לכן כתי' ואתחנן אל יהוה בעת ההיא לאמר. פי' שהכנם ועלה מן מדה למדה והתחיל ליכנם מן מדה העשירית שהיא מדת עת כדא' ואל יבא בכל עת. כך עלה מן מדה למדה עד למדת כ"ע שהוא נותן מתנת חנם לצדיקים ולרשעים. ומנין לך שמשה התחיל ליכנם ממדת העט' כדא' אדני יהוה. כי אדני רומז לעט' שהיא מדה עשירית הנקרא אדני. יהוה פי' תפ' יעקב שהוא קו האמצעי הנקרא אתה. והרי אתה רואה שמשה ר' ע"ה עלה מן מדה למדה עד שהגיע למדת כ"ע שהוא עומק | המחשבה קטו ע"א

שמשם נאצל כל גזירה הנגזר ונסכם בכל הנבראים ונמצאים וזו המדה תעשה הסד חנם לכל הבא להתפלל לפניה קודם גזר דין. אבל אחר גזר דין לא תועיל הפלתו וזהו סוד כך עלה במחשבה. אשריהם ישראל בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא שנתן להם הב"ה התורה הקדושה והתמימה בדא' תורת יי תמימה. נשלם.

פרש' והיה עקב . ר' חייא פתח ואמ' למה אירא ביפי רע עון עקיבי יסוביני. דע כי השם המיוחד הנקרא שם יי ית' הוא השורש והעיקר לכל שמותיו ית' וכל שמות הקודש בו כולם נאחזים וכל הספי' העליונות כולם סדורות בו וכל מעלות העולם למיניהם וכל המרכבות עליונות והתחתונות כולם נשואות בו.

ואצ"ל האותיות והנקודות כולם בשם זה תלוים וכל היצור והדבור הכל עומד בו ית' ויח'. ואל יעלה על דעתך כי הדברים שאמרנו לך עתה בעיקר זה הם דברים שאין ראוי לקבלם ולהאמינם ושאין להם טעם. אבל אלו הדברים הם קבלה ומסורת וידיעה יש לנו בהם ויכולת בידינו לתת לכל אחד מהם טעם וראיה מצד תורתינו הקדושה.

יראת יי שכל טוב לכל עושיהם. והסוד בזה משביל על דבר ימצא טוב. ולפי היות דוד ע"ה דבוק במדה זו אומ' לדוד משכיל. וכל לשון משביל במקום זה תלוי. והיודע סוד החן ידע שכל טוב יתן החן. נשלם.

פרש' ראה אנכי . וכבר ידעת כי בית גנזיו הוא אדני ולפ' כל השומר שבת כהלכה מקרב אלו שני השמות. נמצאו כל הספי' כולן מתאחדות וזהו סוד מנוחה שהוא נח תוך שם אדני והסוד נחה רוח אליהו על אלישע. ואמ' וינח ביום השביעי. ולפי' נאמ' זכור ושמור. ולפי שהנפשות פורחות על ידי אל הי לשם אדני הוצרכו לומ' כי נפש יחידה ניתוספת בו באדם בשבת ונוטלה במוצאי שבת ובסוד וביום השביעי שבת וינפש.

עשר תעשר את כל תבואת זרעך. פי' לעולם תעשר כל המדרגות שהם עשר ולא תשע. עשר ולא אחת עשרה. ד"א עשר תעשר. שתי פעמים למה אלא כי יש כאן סוד עמוק ונעלם שאין הפה

יכול לדבר ולא האזן יכול לשמוע. כבר ידעת כי עשר רומז לעשר התחתונות. עד הנה יש לי רשות לפרש אם אתה מן המשכילים תבין במיטב שכלך הסוד הגדול הזה לבלתי שלא להוציאו מפיך. כעין דוגמא זה אנו נותנים | המעשר למטה כדי שיתדמה קטו ע"ב אדם ליוצרו. היוצא השדה שנה שנה. פי' לשדה של תפוחים שלשם מתגדלים כל התבואות.

דגנך רומז לחסד הנקרא דגן בדא' ואקחה פת לחם וסעדו.תירושך רומז לגבורה שהוא היין המשתכר. ויצהרך מל' צוהר תעשה. רמז לתפ' ישראל הנקרא צוהר כיון שהוא נקרא אספקלריא המאירה.

וצרה הכסף בידך. לפי שהוא רמז למדת החסד הנקרא כסף בדי שיקבלהו השם ית' לרצון לפי שהמקום שהוא ירושלם נקרא דין כדא' צדק ילין בה. לכן צריך לערב דין ורחמים.

מקצה שלש שנים. שהם שלשה מדרגות נעלמות שהם כ"ע חכמה בינה. תוציא את כל מעשר תבואתך. לפי שהחסד הוא עולם הנגלה כי כבר יצא מעולם האין כי יש לו רשות לחקור בעולם המלכות. והנחת בשעריך. פי' בשער התחתון שהוא שער המלכות כי לשם כל המדרגות הם מונחים ועומדים והבן כל הדברים על מכונתם כי הם מפורשים ומבוארים לעינים הפתוחות לכן פקח עיניך ותבינם.

כל הבכור אשר יולד בבקרך. כי הבכור רומז לחכמה שהוא נקרא בכור. לכן הוא לכהן שהוא חסד. כי הכהן מקבל ממנו כל ההמשכות בדא' כשמן הטוב על הראש יורד על הזקן זקן אהרן שיורד על פי מדותיו. ועל זה כתי' תקדיש לפי שלשון קדושה רומז לחכמה שהיא קדושה עליונה . ליי אלהיך. פי' כ"ע שהוא אלוה על כל האלהים ואדון על כל האדונים בדא' כי גבוה מעל גבוה שומר וכו'. אשריהם ישראל שהב"ה מסר להם סודותיו הנפלאים בדא' לא עשה כן לכל גוי וכו'. נשלם.

פרש' שופטים . כי יפלא ממך דבר למשפט וכו'. פי' יפלא מלשון כיסוי שנתכסה ממך משפט עולם העליון והנהגותיו ומוצאיו ומובאיו. בין דם לדם. פי' מלשון דומה לפי ששתי אלו המדות שהם חכמה ובינה הם דוממים ושותקים לפי שאין שם העברת קול כי הוא עולם

המשתכך כיין טוב על שמריו. אזי וקמת ועליתה אל המקום שהוא מדת העט' שהיא בית שער לכל הנכנסים במרכבה עליונה כמו ששנינו בספר יצירה אם רץ לבן לחקור בעולם המחשבה שוב למקום שהיא מדה התחתונה של שס ית' כי בה תחקור ותבקש ותבין ממנה כל סדר העולמות העליונות והנהגותם ומוצאיהם.

ובאת אל הכהנים. שהוא מדת החסד משם תבין גם כן יותר ויותר. הלויים רומזים לגבורה כך תעלה ממדה למדה. ואל השופט פי' תפ' כדא' מלך במשפט יעמיד | ארץ וכו'. קסז ע"א אשר יהיה בימים ההם. פי' שהוא השופט המכריע בין אלו שני ימים שהם גדולה וגבורה הנקרא יום טוב והפכו. ודרשת. פי' שתדרוש ותחקור ותשיג ותבין בהם מהות עולם העליון והסוד בזה נודע בשערים בעלה.

והאיש אשר יעשה בזדון לבלתי שמוע אל הכהן. פי' אם ח"ו אם נמצא בליעל ויעשה במיזד ויקצץ בין עליונים ותחתונים ולא יתן לבו לשמוע אל מדת הכהן שהוא החסד או אל השופט שהוא תפ'. ומת האיש ההוא. פי' שהוא חייב מיתה בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא.

שום תשים עליך מלך. פי' מלך שהוא מדת התפ' שהוא מלך בהיכלו. אשר יבחר יי אלהיך בו מקרב אחיך כי הוא עומד בקרב אלו שתי המדות שהם אחיך כדא' למען אחי וריעי. לא תוכל לתת עליך איש נכרי. פי' של צד החיצונים שהם נוכריים ואכזרים. אשר לא אחיך הוא. כי הוא טמא ואתה טהור כי הוא חול ואתה קדוש. לכן אין לערב טומאה בקדושה.

רק לא ירבה לו סוסים. כי הסוסים רומזים למדות של בתי דינין המתגברים לעשות דין בעולם.

והיה כשבתו על כסא ממלכתו. פי' כאשר ישב מדת התפ' על כסאו שהוא יסוד אזי יתחבר עם העט' שהיא משנה התורה הזאת.

והיתה עמו וקרא בו. פי' והיתה עמו דווקא וקרא בו כל ימי חייו. כי לשון וקרא מלשון תהום אל תהום קורא לקול צינוריך. רמז שהתפ' הוא מושך ההמשכות ומיגי האצילות אל המטרוניתא. כל ימי חייו. כל זמן שיש לו שפע של חיים מן עולם העליון שהיא

סוד החיה העליונה הקדומה.

לבלתי רום לבבו מאחיו. אבל כ"ע שהוא נקרא רום הוא נקרא בלתי כדא' אין קדוש כיי כי אין בלתך. פי' כי אין בלותך כי כולם הם בלים והוא אינו בלה. למען יאריך ימים על ממלכתו. לפי שכ"ע הנקרא אורך אנפין הוא מאריך זמן כדא' יי לאורך ימים. כי לא קדם לו זמן. על ממלכתו. פי' שכל הוא יושב על כסא ממלכתו. הוא פי' כ"ע הנקרא והוא. ובניו פי' חכמה ובינה שהם בניו של המלך העליון ית' ויח'.

לא יהיה לכהנים הלוים כל שבט לוי. כי הכהנים שהם מדת החסד והלוים שהם מדת הגבורה.

ונהן לכהן שהוא כהן עליון. הזרוע לחסד. והלחיים לגבורה. והקבה רומז לתפ' שהוא כאצטומכא שהוא מעכל כל שפע העליונה והוא נקרא ריחים שטוחנין בו את המן לצדיקים.

כי ימצא חלל באדמה אשר. זהו סוד עגלה ערופה.

ויצאו זקיניך פי' רמז לכ"ע . ושופטיך פי' שתי בתי דינין.

כפר לעמך ישראל. והנני מאיר עיניך | דע קסז ע"ב כי בכל מקום שאתה מוציא אור פנים מלמעלה הוא סוד גדול. והוא כי יי יש לו שלש מאות ועשר פנים של זעם לכל צד וכולם הם אדוקים ומדובקים בפחד יצחק וכולם הם נחלקים לארבעה צדדין. וכשמאירה מדת הכתר פניה ומוציאה הדגל של הרחמים שחקוק בו מדת אל אזי כל פני הזעם חוזרות להאיר ונהפכות כולם לרחמים וזהו סוד ויהי כי זקן יצחק ותכהין עיניו מראות. ואזי תשיג תקעו בחדש שופר בכסה ליום הגינו. וסוד אשרי העם יודעי תרועה יי באור פניך יהלכון. ותראה מהו שופר של אילו של יצחק. וכשתתבונן ענייניים אלו אזי תבנם לסוד שאנו אומרים יוצר המאורות. ובורא מאורי האש. ואז תבין מה יש בין יוצר המאורות ובין מאורי האש. כי יצירת המאורות נמשכת מן הרחמים הגדולים של מעלה בסוד אל יי ויאיר לנו. ומאורי האש הם נמשכים ממדת אלהים שהוא מרת החושך שנא' בו וחושך על פני תהום.

ואצ"ל כי מרת יהוה המכריע באמצע והיאך מנהיג את עולמו. כינויין של השם יתב' העומדים באמצע השורה מימינם חסד

ומשאלם דין והם כלולים באמצע מן החסד והדין ואלו הכינויין
אשר באמצע נקראים כנוי הרחמים ועליהם נאמ' ליי אלהינו הרחמים
והסליחות כי מרדנו בו.

ואצ"ל כי שמות של כ"ע הם כולם שמות פשוטים בלי
תערובת דבר כי צד רחמים הידועים הסמוכים לשם אהיה או חסד
הסמוך לשם אהיה כולם גמורים פשוטים אין בהם הערובת דבר וזהו
סוד וברחמים גדולים אקבצך. וכי מה רחמים גדולים אלא מפני שהרחמים
הכלולים בקו האמצעי אינם רחמים גמורים שהרי דין מעורב בהם
שהם כלולים מן החסד והדין אבל רחמים של שם אהיה נקראים רחמים
גדולים שאין בהם תערובת דין וכן חסד עליון כדא' ובחסד עליון
בל ימוט. שהוא החסד הפשוט הגמור של שם עליון שהוא אהיה.
אצ"ל* חסד של אברהם תערובת דין יש בו ונקרא חסד עולם ואינו
נקרא חסד עליון. זה הכלל משם ולמטה נולדו ההפכים כולם פנים
ואחור ימין ושמאל ולפי' אין לך שם או מדה משם אהיה ולמטה שהיא
פשוטה בלי הרכבה ואצ"ל כי יש מדה אחת בקו האמצעי שהוא נקרא
כח המרכיב היסודות וזהו

ס	ה	ט	ט	ה
ב	נ	י	ו	

אשריכם הצדיקים הישרים והתמימים שהב"ה הפץ בכבודכם בעולם
הזה ובעולם הבא כי נתן להם סודותיו הגנוזים מה שלא נתן אפי'
למלאכי השרת כדא' עין לא ראתה וכו'. נשלם.

פרש' כי תצא . כך שנו רז"ל הוי זהיר במצוה קלה כמצוה חמורה.
שכך שנו רז"ל שמצוה גוררת מצוה ועבירה גוררת עבירה.

כי יקרא קן צפור לפניך. שלח תשלח את האם. זש"ה
מכל משמר נצור לבך כי ממנו תוצאות חיים. אמ' ר' אחא מאתים
וארבעים ושמונה מצות עשה בתורה כנגד איברים שבאדם ובכל יום
ויום צווחין על האדם עשה אותנו כדי שתחיה בזכותינו ותאריך ימים.
ושלש מאות וששים וחמש מצות לא תעשה כמניין ימות החמה שבכל
יום ויום חמה זורחת עד שהיא שוקעת צווחת ואומרת לאדם גוזרני
עליך במי שהגיע ימים ליום זה אל תעבור בי עבירה ואל תכריע אותי*
ואת כל העולם לכף חובה. הרי שש מאות ושלש עשרה מצות וכל

מצוה ומצוה ניכר מתן שכרה כגון כבוד אב ואם ושילוח הקן כתי'
בהם אריכות ימים. ויש מצוה שמתן שכרה בנים כגון שרה שהאריכה
את האורחין. ושונמית על שקבלה אלישע. ויש עבירה שענשה סקילה
שריפה הרג והנק. ואין לך קלה בכל המצות של עשה משלוח הקן ומה
שכרה למען ייטב לך והארכת ימים.

ועשתה את צפורניה. לפי שהצפרנים הם משכן לטומאה.

לא תלבש שעטנז צמר ופשתים יחדיו. כי השעטנז רומז
לעט' שהיא מקבלת מכל המדות ומכל האספקלריאות והיא מלובשה
מדין ורחמים ומשפט. כעין דוגמא זה אסור להשתמש בשרביטו של
מלך. ד"א כי שעטנז רומז לתמורות הבאים להתערב עם כנסת ישראל
בימי טומאתה.

גדילים העשה לך על ארבע כנפות כסותך אשר תכסה
בה. פי' גדילים ציציות ופתילים. על ארבע כנפות כסותך. כי הגדילים
רומזים לגדולה ולגבורה ולנצח ולהוד שהם עומדות על ארבע כנפות
הכסות שהוא מדרגת התפ' שהוא נקרא טלית והסוד עוטה אור כשלמה
נוטה שמים כיריעה. ונמצא שהתפ' הוא עומד באמצע והטלית באמצע
והגדילים שהם גדולה גבו' נצח הוד עומדות על ארבע כנפות הארץ.
כעין דוגמא זה ציוה לנו בתורתינו הקדושה לעשות גדילים לטלית
כדי להדמות ליוצרינו ונהיה דומין לצורה עליונה וכל מי שאינו מתלבש
בציצית אין לו חלק בשמו הקדוש.

ד"א הטלית רומז לעט' והגדילים הם נצח הוד יסוד
מלכות כנגד ד' גדילים.

על ארבע כנפות כסותך אשר תכסה בה כתי' ולא כתי'
בו. פי' אם תתכסה בכסות מצוה למטה תזכה להתכסות בכסות העליון
שהיא אם הבנים ותכנס תחת כנפיה להתלונן. על זה כתי' בה.

כי יקח איש | אשה ובא אליה ושנאה. כי קיז ע"ב
האיש רומז לתפ' ישראל כדא' יי איש מלחמה. והאשה רומז לעט'
שהיא הכלה הידועה בכל התורה כולה. ובא אליה להתחבר ולהזדווג
לה דרך יחוד. ושנאה מכח שהגיע זמן טומאתה מכח השרים והמלכיות
הבאים להתערב עמה.

ושם לה עלילות דברים. ואין עלילות אלא לשון גילוי
כלשון בעליל לארץ מזוקק שבעתים פי' נתפרסם שהיא כביכול

נטמאה. כיון שהנקבה נטמאת ויתפרש ממנה הזכר מיד יתפרסם העניין שהדברים הם בגו שיש בה שום ערעור ה"ד ושם לה עלילות דברים פי' פרסום הדברים שהגיע זמן טומאתה ונתפרש ממנה.

והוציא עליה שם רע. פי' כביכול שהוציא עליה שם רע. אל תיקרי שם רע אלא שֵׁם רע פי' סם המות של התמורות שמטילין בה דרך הדפנות. לכן אין אדם יוצא מביתו עד שבני אדם מרננים על נקבתו לכן יציאתו גרם לה שם רע והבן כל זה.

ואמר את האשה הזאת לקחתי ואקרב אליה ולא מצאתי לה בתולים. פי' בתולים כדא' נפלה בתולת ישראל. פי' כביכול נפלו בתולותיה משעה שהטיל הנחש זוהמא בה.

ולקח אבי הנערה ואמה והוציאו את בתולי הנערה אל זקני העיר. ואצ"ל ביון שנתפרש ממנה בעלה המלך ונתפרשו עמו כל חיילותיו וכל צבאותיו ונחתכו ונפסקו הצינורות העליונות מלהריק לה מעולם הבינה הנקרא ה"א עליונה ועל זה כתי' הנער בלא ה"א שהיא הסירה ופגומה ויבישה בלי המשכות והשפעות שפע כלל. וכיון שראה אביה ואמה שהם חכמה ובינה שפָּחם מושלכת ונפרדת מבעלה בלי מחיה ובלי מזונות כלל מיד לקחו השמלה של בתולי בתם עד זקני העיר שהם שבעים סנהדרין של מדה הגבורה לדון עליה.

ואמר אבי הנערה פי' חכמה. את בתי פי' עט'. נתתי לאיש הזה לאשה פי' לתפ'.

וענשו אותו מאה כסף. כנגד מאה מדרגות שהם בתוך ההפ' לפי שיש בה עשר וענפיו יעלה מספרם מאה. ולו תהיה לאשה לא יוכל לשלחה כל ימיו. והסוד בזה אע"פ שהם נפרדים אינו בכל עה אלא לזמנים ידועים בימי נדותה וטומאתה. כעין דוגמא זה למטה הבתולה שלא נמצא לה בתולים יסקלוה אנשי עירה באבנים בשביל שעשתה נבלה בישראל כתי' ולא כתי' נבלה סתם אלא בישראל. מהו בישראל כדי לכלול כביכול ישראל העליון שמרדה למעלה ולמטה.

כי ימצא איש שוכב עם אשה בעולת בעל ומתו גם שניהם האיש השוכב עם האשה והאשה. שתי פעמים האשה והאשה אלא כדי לרמוז לך אשה עליונה כביכול | כל מי שבא על אשת איש קיח ע"א באלו כביכול נתן פנים באשה עליונה והפרידה מן המלך יי צבאות כדא' ונרגן מפריד אלוף.

כי ימצא איש נערה בתולה אשר לא אורשה ותפשה ושכב עמה ונמצאו ונתן האיש השוכב עמה לאבי הנערה חמשים כסף. כנגד חמשים שערים שהפסיק מן בתולת ישראל פי' בתולת ישראל לפי שהיא כח פשוט בתכלית הפשיטות ועל זה נקראת בתולה הה"ד והוא אשה בבתוליה יקח*. מן אם העליונה ונפסקו צינורות עליונות בשבילו לעט' ישראל לכן צריך ליתן חמשים כסף כדי להחזיר האבידה לבעלה.

לא יקח איש את אשת אביו ולא יגלה כנף אביו. כי כבר פירשתי לך זה בטעמי עריות בפרש' אחרי מות.

לא יבוא ממזר בקהל יי גם דור עשירי לא יבוא לו בקהל יי. ואם אתה מן המשכילים די לך ברמז מעט.

לא יבוא עמוני ומואבי בקהל יי גם דור עשירי לא יבוא להם בקהל יי עד עולם. עד עולם ואין עולם אלא חמשים שנה כדא' וישב שם עד עולם. פי' עד עולמו של היובל שהוא חמשים שנה כדאמ' ועבדו לעולם פי' עד היובל. לכן ג"כ נרמוז לך סוד עמון ומואב שהתלבנותם וזקוקם עד חמשים שנה לכן אם אתה מן המבינים די לך ברמז מעט.

ולא אבה יי אלהיך לשמוע אל בלעם וכו'. פי' להסכים לו על קללתו.

לא תתעב אדומי כי אחיך הוא ולא תתעב מצרי כי גר היית בארצו. לפי שאדום ויעקב היו אחים בבטן אחד. והסוד בזה אסור לכלות הדפנות מכל וכל כי לולי הטומאה לא יודע הטהרה והסוד כיתרון האור מן התושך.

בנים אשר יולדו להם דור שלישי. והסוד בזה הן כל אלה יפעל אל פעמים שלש עם גבר.

לא תסגיר עבד אל אדוניו. בכאן סוד עליון כי העבד הוא עבד הנרמז בכל התורה כדא' אל עבדו זקן ביתו המושל וכו'. אל אדוניו הוא חסד אברהם פי' לא תגרום שיסגר העבד שהוא העט' מלפני האדון שהוא חסד אברהם כדי שלא יהא קיצוץ ופירוד ביניהם אלא תכללם הכל ביחוד אחד. ד"א לא תסגיר עבד אל אדוניו. פי' שלא תסגיר העט' שהיא העבד מאדוניו שהוא כ"ע הנקרא אדון כל האדונים ולא תקצץ ותפריד בין העט' וכ"ע. ואל תוציא העט' מכלל הספי' העליונות. ד"א לא תסגיר עבד כי העבד הוא תפ' שהוא עובד לכ"ע ולעי' העי' אל תסגיר אותו מאדונו והבן כל זה.

כי תדר נדר ליי אלהיך. דומז לבינה שהוא מקום הנדר לכן לא תאחר לשלמו לפי שהנדר תלוי בעולם הבינה וכל מי שעובר על הנדר כאלו הוא נותן פגם במקום דליכא פגם. כי דרוש ידרשנו יי אלהיך מעמך. שיביא עליך עונש.

מוצא שפתיך תשמור ועשית כאשר נדרת וכו׳. פי׳ כל מה שיעבור על אלו הכלים | הדומים לשם אותיות קיח ע"ב הקדושות שהם הלשון שהוא דוגמת יו"ד והחומם דוגמת וא"ו ושאר הכלים הדומין ג"כ לאותיות הקדושות לכן יזהר בדבור או בנדר או בשבועה שעבר על אלו הכלים הקדושים שישמור אותו לקיים כדאמ׳ מוצא שפתיך תשמור ועשית כאשר נדרת ליי אלהיך שהוא מקום הבינה.

כי תבא בקמת רעך וקטפת מלילות בידך וחרמש לא תניף וכו׳. פי׳ לאחר שיצאת מן הכרם הידוע ועלית משם לשדה העליון ותראה קמת רעך שהוא תפ׳ ישראל שתבא לחפש ולחקור במהות כ"ע מתוך התפ׳ הנקרא קמה כדא׳ והנה קמה אלומתי. וקטפת מלילות פי׳ דברים עליונים כי לשון מלילות מל׳ מלין והסוד הקוטפים מלוח עלי שיח שורש רתמים וכו׳. לכן אם יבא לתפ׳ ויקטוף ויחסוף מאותן מילין עילאין לחקור ולחפש אחרי מהותם.וחרמש לא תניף על קמת רעך. פי׳ שלא תגרום לקמת רעך שום הנפת חרמש שהוא בית דין העליונים רמז שלא יפריד הקמה מן הנצבה והסוד בזה ונרגן מפריד אלוף.

כי יקח איש אשה ובעלה. פי׳ איש הידוע והאשה הידועה. ובעלה כדא׳ כי יבעל בחור בתולה יבעלון בניך. והיה אם לא תמצא חן בעיניו. מצד הכיעור שהאויבים משניאין אותה בעיניו כי מצא בה ודאי ערות דבר והבן כל זה. וכתב לה ספר כריתות שהיא כביכול נכרתה ונפסקה ממנו. ושלחה מביתו פי׳ מהיכלו. ויצאה מביתו פי׳ מהיכלו. והלכה והיתה לאיש אחר. ויי לאוזן שומעת שהכלה המהוללה תשולח מביתו והיתה לאיש אחר והבן כל זה.

ושנאה האיש האחרון שהוא יסוד שהוא בן זווג ושלחה ג"כ מביתו. לא יוכל בעלה הראשון שהוא תפ׳ לשוב לקחתה להיות לו לאשה אחרי אשר הוטמאה מצד החיצוניים עד שיגיע זמן שכתי׳ ולילה כיום יאיר וכו׳. נשלם.

פרש׳ והיה כי תבא . ושמחת בכל הטוב. פי׳ בכל הטוב היורד מן עולם העליון שכל הטובות והשמחות יורדים משם.

כי תכלה לעשר את כל מעשר תבואתך בשנה השלישית. כי שנה שלישית רומז לעולם הבינה שהיא שלישית למדה עליונה.

ונתת ללוי שהוא גבורה. ליתום פי׳ ליטוד. ולאלמנה פי׳ עט׳ שהיא אלמנה. ואכלו בשעריך ושבעו. פי׳ שכולם הלוי והכהן והיתום והאלמנה כולם הם אוכלים ושובעים מטוב העליון.

השקיפה ממעון קדשך. בא וראה כל ההשקפה הם לרעה חוץ מן השקיפה ממעון קדשך | מן השמים שהוא קיט ע"א לטובה כי הוא סוד עין הטוב המשקיף והמשגיח על כל היצורים והנבראים כולם לטובה כדא׳ השקיפה ממעון קדשך מן השמים ודאי פי׳ משמי שמים העליונים שכל ההשקפות וההשגחות הבאים משם הם לטובה כדא׳ השקיפה ממעון. וברך את עמך את ישראל. פי׳ מן הבריכה העליונה שמתברכים ממנו כל הברכות העליונים. את ישראל פי׳ מדת התפ׳ הנקרא ישראל שהוא סוד התפ׳ שהוא כולל כל ישראל. ואת האדמה אשר נתתה לנו. פי׳ מדת המלכות. ארץ זבת חלב ודבש. פי׳ כי היא זבה מכל מיני חלב ודבש הנוזלים מן המבוע של הנחל.

וכתבת על האבנים את כל דברי התורה הזאת. כמו שהתורה היא כתובה בגלגל התפ׳ הנקרא אבן ובגלגל הירח שהיא עט׳ אל"ף אחר אל"ף עד לעיני כל ישראל.

אלה יעמדו לברך את העם על הר גריזים. כי הר גריזים רומז למדת החסד שמשם יתאצלו כל הברכות הנמשכים ונאצלים מן כ"ע וחכמה ובינה והם שמעון לוי יהודה יששכר ויוסף ובנימין שהם עומדים בהר גריזים.

ואלה יעמדו על הקללה בהר עיבל כנגד מדת הגבורה הנקראת עיבל ראובן גד ואשר וזבלון דן ונפתלי שהם ממונים על זה הצד של הקללה.

ארור האיש אשר יעשה פסל ומסכה תועבת יי. כי פסל מל׳ פסל לך לפי שהוא פוסל ומקצץ בין הנטיעות לכן התחיל לדין התחיל ואומר להם אשר יעשה פסל ומסכה ושם בסתר. פי׳ שהוא מפריד בין העליונים והתחתונים.

ארור מקלה אביו ואמו. פי׳ לשון קללה. ד"א מקלה

מל' קלוי באש גרש וכו' שהוא כביכול גורס לאביו ואמו למעלה שיתייבשו להם השפע הקדוש העליון. כי אביו רומז לתפ' ואמו רומז לעט' לכן כתי' מקלה ולא מקלל לכן המשכיל יבין וידום.

ארור משיג גבול רעהו. ואין רעהו אלא תפא' ישראל הנקרא זה דודי וזה דיעי כי אין לאדם לעלות ולהגיע לו. כי עט' היא בית שער להשיג ולחקור בה עד שיכנס מתחלה לשער המלך. ד"א כסיג כתי' בסמ"ך שהוא לשון סייג לתורה שהוא עושה גדר וסייג בין רעהו שהוא תפ' ובין עט' ישראל ומפריד החתן מן הכלה. ד"א ארור משיג מלשון כספך היה לסיגים שהוא פסולת הכסף הנקרא סיגים שהוא גורם כביכול שאין התפ' יונק מן שפע העליון אלא מכח שרי הסובבים לו לכן המשכיל יבין סוד החלודה שיעלה על הספי' והבן זה ודום ליי.

ארור משגה עור בדרך שהוא סוד מלכות יי שהיא כביכול כמו עור שאין לה | אור מעצמה אלא מה שאחרים נותנים קיט ע"ג
לה כי משגה הוא מלשון השגה שמשיג אותה בדרך פי' בדרך מקרה ויפרידה אלא ישגיח אותה בדרך העליון בחבור שאר הספי' ביחוד אחד. ד"א משגה הם אותיות הגשם . פי' אם יבוא וישגיח עליה בהשגחה גשמית ולא בהשגחה אלהית רוחנית לכן אזהרה לך שלא תוציאנה מכלל הרוחניים האלהיים.

ואצ"ל כי יש לך כאן שגים עשר פעמים ארור כנגד י"ב הויות עליונות פי' שהוא גורם להם חסרון אורה לאלו ההויות. אבל אם יקיים כל דברי הברית אז יונק מאלו י"ב הויות אורה וברכה עד בלי דיי. ובאו עליך כל הברכות האלה והשיגון . פי' ברכות של אלו י"ב מקורות. והשיגוך פי' ישיגוך.

ברוך אתה בעיר וברוך אתה בשדה פי' בעט.

פרי בטנך שהוא פרי הבטן שמקבלת העט' מן התפ'.

יתן יי את אויביך הקמים עליך. פי' הקליפות שהם קמים לעולם על מלכות יי.

יצו יי פי' כ"ע אתך את הברכה של אוצר העליון באסמיך פי' בעט' שהיא נקראת אסמי של העולמות.

וראו כל עמי הארץ שהם כולם דואין ששם הקדוש העליון יראה* עליך ואזי כל הבריות יראו ויפחדו ממך לפי ששם הקדוש העליון

הוא חופף עליך. וכבר גליתי לך במקום אחר היאך שם הקודש נרשם בפני האדם כדי להדמות לצורה עליונה כדא' נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו.

יפתח יי פי' תפ' . לך עט'. את אוצרו הסוב פי' חסד שהוא אוצר וגנזי חיים לכל העולמות כי כל מה שהוא מקבל מלמעלה מושך אותו למטה לעט' ישראל.

ונתנך יי לראש ולא לזנב. פי' שתתעלה עד כ"ע שהוא ראש מן שלשה ראשים. ולא לזנב שהוא כביכול זנב של הנחש. והיית רק למעלה פי' לכ"ע. ולא תהיה למטה. והבן כל זה אם אתה מן המשכילים.

ואצ"ל כי לשון ארור הוא לשון חסרון כדא' יהי מארת חסר כתי' מלשון מארת ועוד ממארת היא שהיא כביכול חסרה אורה ונקראת אור הקטן כדא' ואת המאור הקטון.

ואצ"ל כי יש במדת הגבורה שלש מדות הממונות על הקללות שהם נקראים המארה המהומה והמגערת. המארה היא ממעטה הטוב לבא לעולם והמהומה הוא מלשון ותהום שהיא תעשה מהומה גדולה בכל העולמות. והמגערת הוא מל' נערה שהוא גוער בכל המדרגות ואזי אין לאחד מן הנבראים מענה בפיו. ויש להם כוחות ופועלים ממונים שבהם עושים אלו הדינין כסדר הזה. המארה יש לו ארבעים כוחות שבהם הוא ממעט השפע | כדי שלא לבא לעולם ואלו הן: קכ ע"א

גבורה

הָ	ה	ה	ו	ט	י
כָ	ע	ל	מ	ס	נ
ךָ	כ	ע	ל	ל	ה
טָ	י	כ	ע	נ	מ
וָ	ו	ז	ה	נ	ה
אָ	ה	ו	ט		י
הָ	ה	ו	א		י

ומדת המהומה יש לה ט"ל כוחות ואלו הן :

ה	ו	ט	ק	ע	ו
נ	ס	ע	ו	ט	י
ו	מ	ה	ו	ט	ע
ל	מ	ה	ו	ט	י
כ	ע	ל	מ	ה	ז
ה	ו	ט	י		ע
ה	ה		ט		ה

ומדת המגערת יש לו ל"ו כוחות ואלו הן :

ה	ה	ו	ה	ו	ח
כ	ע	ל	מ	ט	י
ו	ל	ו	נ	ס	ע
א	ט	י	ו	ל	מ
כ	ע	ו	ס	י	ע
ה	ע	ע	כ	ע	ל

ואצ"ל כי אל ג' מדות הם ממונים על כל דבר המארה המהומה והמגערת הבאים לעולם השפל הזה. לכן כשבא משה להטיל אלו החרמות כללן בכלל שאר הקללות האמורות בתוכחה.

עד השמדך בכח הדין הקשה.

יככה יי בשחפת. יככה כתי' ולא יכך פי' רמז למלכות יי הנקראת כה כדא' כה אמר יי. שהיא ממונה על כל הדינין של המלך העליון. בשחפת ובקדחת ובדלקת ובחרחור ובחרב ובשדפון ובירקון כנגד תמורות של שבעה מדרגות שהם מן החסד עד לעט' שבעה כנגד שבעה.

והיתה נבלתך למאכל לכל עוף השמים. פי' כמו שכתי' יחיו מתיך נבלתי יקומון. כי זה הפסוק יש בו צפון וגנוז סוד עליון יחיו מתיך נבלתי יקומון לכן אם תבין סוד ונבלתי יקומון תבין סוד של זה הפסוק והיתה נבלתך למאכל לכל עוף השמים והבן כל זה.

יככה יי בשחין מצרים ובעפלים כתי' ובטחרים קרינן.

כי יככה רומז למדת הדין הרפה שהוא רפה שעושה כל המכות והנגעים בעולם. בשחין מצרים מכה זוהמת מצרים. ובעפלים מצד הגבורה ובטחורים מצד העט'. ובגרב מצד תמורת העט'. קכ ע"ב

ובחרס מתמורת התפ' כדא' האומר לחדס ולא יזרח וכו'. פי' מדת יעקב בזמן שיסתלק ממנו שכינה עליונה. בשגעון מתמורת הגבורה. ובעורון מצד תמורת העט'. ובתמהון לבב מצד תמורת התפ'.

והיית ממשש בצהרים. שהוא תפ' ישראל הנקראים צהרים כדא' ערב ובקר וצהרים.

אשה תארש פי' האשה העליונה שהיא כנסת ישראל. תארש אותה שתהיה עמך. ואיש אחר כביכול סמאל ושריו מטילין זוהמתם בה כדא' ישכבנה. וזהו סוד וישכב אותה ויענה.

פרי אדמתך וכל יגיעך יאכל עם אשר לא ידעת. פי' כל יגיעך ופרי בטנך יהנו ממנו עם אכזרי שהם החיצוניים.

זרע רב תוציא השדה. פי' השדה העליונה הנקראת שדה של תפוחים. ומעט תאסוף לפי שחצוניים הם קוטפים וחוספים את כל השפע בדרכים קודם שיגיע לבית האוצר.

הגר אשר בקרבך יעלה עליך מעלה מעלה ואתה תרד מטה מטה. פי' הגר שהוא תמורת אופן העט' יעלה עליך ויתגלגל אופנו ויעמוד אופנך.  נמצא שאופן של התמורה מתגלגלת ואופן של העט' יורדת מטה מטה ואינה מתגלגלת. הוא יהיה לראש שיתגלגל אופנו. ואתה תהיה לזנב. פי' זנב לנחש של סמאל.

ברעב מצד הגבורה. ובצמא מצד החסד. ובעירום מצד התפ'. ובחוסר כל מצד החסד של אורך אנפין.

גוי מרחוק פי' אפי' התמורות העליונות שהם תמורת כ"ע הנקרא מרחוק.

גוי עז פנים. פי' שהם עזי פנים וחצופים ואכזרים ורשעים כדא' והכלבים עזי נפש לא ידעו. אשר לא ישא פנים לזקן. פי' אפי' לחסד שהוא נקרא זקן אהרן. ונער לא יחון ולא ירחם.

ואכל פרי בהמתך ופרי אדמתך. פי' פרי בהמתך אלו הם הנשמות היורדים מן עולם העט' הנקראת בהמה כדא' אדם ובהמה. ופרי אדמתך פי' היסוד שהוא אדמה עליונה. אשר לא ישאיר לך דגן תירוש ויצהר. פי' יכלה הכל עד שלא ישאר לא שורש ולא ענף מכל

מה שירד מעולם העליון הם אוכלין הכל דרך הנקבים והחפירות.
הרכה בך והענוגה פי' העט' שהיא הרכה והענוגה
מעונג העליון שהיא יונקת מאם הבנים כדא' אז תתענג על יי והרכבתיך
וכו'.
ובשליתה היוצאת מבין רגליה. פי' העט' הנקראת מי
האם שהיא עומדת בין הרגלים. היוצת כתי' בלא אל"ף לפי שהיה
חסירה מן אל"ף העליון.
ויקרא משה אל כל ישראל. והנה תמצא בכאן סוד
שלשים שנה שנא' בסוד מרכבת יחזקאל כדא' ויהי בשלשים שנה.
ובאלו נגמר כל דין שדנין בב"ד הגדול של שבעים ואחד למעלה. ובשאר
בתי דינין של מעלה באלו שלשים ענייניס | דנין אותם. קכא ע"א
ומה שתצטריך לדעת כי בסוד סדר זה כתו' ראיתי את יי יושב על כסאו
וכל צבא השמים עומדים עליו. צבא השמים הנזכר כאן הם סוד שני
שמות הנקראים שמים והוא סוד אל אלהים ומהם נקרא השם רוכב שמים
וכתי' היושבי בשמים. ועל זה נאמ' ואתה תשמע השמים. וצבא של
אל וצבא של אלהים עומדים עליו מימינו ומשמאלו כמו שכתבנו בלוח
זה של אלו הכנויין של אל טוענין ומהפכין לזכות וזהו סוד מימינו
ואלו הכנויים של אלהים מלמדין חובה וזהו סוד משמאלו. וזה הוא
שארז"ל וכל צבא השמים עומדים עליו מימינו ומשמאלו. מימינים
לזכות ומשמאלים לחובה. ואחר שטוענין סעמחם אלו שתי הכתות
של ימין ושל שמאל דנין הנתבע בב"ד של שבעים ואחד במקום שהוא
מכוון בין השם הגדול יהוה ית' ובין השם הנקרא אלהים. ובין אלו
שתי השמות מוכנת למעלה לשכת הגזית במקום שדנין את בני העולם.
ואחר שטוענין אלו של ימין ושל שמאל מסתכים השם הגדול העומד
באמצע שהוא שם יהוה לגמור את הדין אם לחיים אם למות אם לטוב
אם לרע ואז גוזרין ופוסקין את הדין. ואז הצד הנקרא אלהים גומר
אותו הפסק דין ושם עומדים העדים והסופרים והשוטרים וכשרוצים
לקיים הגזר דין נשלח הכתב ביד המלאכים הנקראים שוטרים והולכים
לב"ד של מטה הנקרא אדני ואז נגמר הדין בעולם התחתון. ומה שתצטרך
לדעת כי המקום שדנין בו הוא בין יהוה ובין אלהים ורוב אותו המקום
בחלקו של אלהים. ומלבד ב"ד של שבעים ושתים יש שם עוד בתי דינין
של עשרים ושלשה במקומות ידועים שבהם נידונין בני עולם. אבל

יש הפרש בין ב"ד זה לב"ד זה כי במקומות ידועים דנין מות וחיים
ובמקומות ידועים דנין עושר ועוני וזהו סוד קבלת הכנויין מפה אל
פה כמו שקבלנום מרבותי מפה אל פה שהיו יודעים אמיתתו ית' ויח'
והם כתובין בספר אחד עמנו. נשלם.

פרש' אתם נצבים . ר' אבא פתח הפוך רשעים ואינם וכעלה צדיקים
יפרחו. לעברך בברית יי אלהיך ובאלתו. פי' סוד היסוד שהוא ברית
הקדוש שהוא עומד בין נצח והוד הנקראים רגלים.
והוא יהיה לך לאלהים. פי' מדת המחשבה העליונה
הנקרא והוא כדא' והוא רחום.
כי את אשר ישנו פה עמנו עומד היום. פי' אם אתם
מקיימים הברית שאני כורת עמכם אזי מדת היש הנקרא ישנו שהוא
חכמה עליונה משפיע לעט' הנקראת פה ויתחברו כל העולמות |
כאחד ביחוד אמתי וההמשכות והצינורות מריקים קכא ע"ב
ומשפיעים את שקיהם. אל תיקרי שקיהם אלא שוקיהם מלשון ותער
כדה אל השוקת. לפי שכל שוקת ושוקת של עולם העליון הם משפיעים
מימיהם למדת הפה שהיא מלכות יי כדא' אשר ישנו פה. אזי הברכות
והשמחות נמצאים למעלה ולמטה והצינורות וההמשכות נמשכים ויוצאים
מן עדן העליון כדא' ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן. לכן בזמן
שמתחברים חכמה עליונה עם חכמה תחתונה אז היום שהוא סוד התפ'
עומד לפני יי אלהינו ומתעדן מטובו ומחסדו הגדול אזי כל הטובות
נמשכין מן עומק של המחשבה. ואם ח"ו אם ישראל עוברים על הברית
אזי נפסקין ונמנעין הצינורות וההמשכות להריק ולהשפיע לעולם התחתון
אזי כל מיני קללות ואלות נמצאים בעולם וזהו סוד אין הברכה שורה
אלא במקום הזווג ולא במקום הפירוד. לכן כשמדת היש נפרדת מן
מדת הפה אזי הקללות והאלות כביכול נמצאים למעלה ולמטה.
פן יש בכם איש או אשה. כי מדת פן רומז לתמורת
הדין הקשה הנקרא פן כדא' פן תשחיתון.שיש בכם כביכול איש או
אשה או משפחה מן המשפחות או שבט מן השבטים. אשר לבבו פונה
היום מעם יי אלהינו. שהוא מלך העולם והוא ממ"ה הב"ה להטות לבבו
אחרי אלהים הגוים שהם אלהי אלילים ואלהי מתים שאין בהם שום
חיות כדא' ודורש אל המתים שהם שוחש פורה ראש ולענה של מקום

המר שהם יונקים מצד המר ולא מצד המתוק.

הנסתרות ליי אלהינו והנגלות וכו'. פי' הנסתרות ליי אלהינו פי' אותן שלש עולמות שהם כ"ע וחכמה ובינה הם נקראות נסתרות ותעלומות הם ליי אלהינו כדא' וכבוד אלהים הסתר דבר. והנגלות לנו ולבנינו. פי' אותן המדרגות הגלויות שאינן מכוסות שהם שבעה מדרגות תחתונות כגון חסד גבורה תפ' נצח הוד יסוד מלכות שהם גלויות ומחודשות הם לנו לחקור בהם אבל אין לנו עסק בנסתרות שהם להב"ה כדא' ז"ל מהו דכבשי רחמנא למה לך.

אבל על דרך הסוד הפנימי שהוא עמוק וחתום הנסתרות ליי אלהינו כי סוד ליי אלהינו הוא יי' העי' הנקרא יי אלהינו שהם שלו אותן עשר. י"ס עליונות שהם אורך אנפין וז"א שהם עשר מדרגות פנימיות ונסתרות לכן רמז לנו בתורה בנקודים על לנו ולבנינו שהם עשר כנגד עשר מדרגות שהם בתוך כ"ע שאינם גלויים אלא נסתרים ונעלמים מבלי משיג בהם החוקר לכן נקד עליהם עשר נקודות כי כמו שלא תוכל לומר דבר על הנקודות לפי שאין בהם צורה מן הצורות אלא גלמים כך לא תוכל | להשיג שום השגה בעשר קכב ע"א ספי' של כ"ע. אבל בעשר ספי' שהם למטה תוכל להבין ולהשיג בהם השגה מכח מלכות יי כדא' לנו ולבנינו פי' שיש לנו ולבנינו להשיג בהם ולחקור אחריהם אבל הנקודות שהם נסתרים וסתומים הם לעי' העי' ית' שמו בשכמל"ו. לכן המשכיל יבין וידום ליי ויראה נפלאות מתורתו הקדושה שנתן לנו מבית גנזיו ברוך שבחר בצדיקים בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא.

ושבת עד יי אלהיך ושמעת בקולו. פי' עד ודאי שהיא נקראת ודאי עד מלשון עדנה שלשם מתעדנין ומתפנקין בה הצדיקים לחיי העולם הבא.

אם יהיה נדחך בקצה השמים משם יקבצך יי אלהיך. וזהו חימה למה אמ' בקצה השמים ולא אמ' בקצה הארץ אלא סוד הוא סתום וחתום בעניין השלח. אלא אפי' אותן הנדחים והנכרתים בתמורת התפ' הנקרא שמים הב"ה יקבצם מכל המקומות ויכניסם לירושלם לעיר הקדש כדא' והיה הנשאר בציון והנותר בירושלם קדוש יאמר לו כל הכתוב לחיים בירושלם. ד"א בקצה השמים היא העס' שהיא עומדת בקצה השמים פי' בקרן זוית שלו כדא' והנה סולם מוצב ארצה וראשו

מגיע השמימה. פי' אותן הנדחים והנכרתים בתמורתה יקבץ אותם יי מביניהם כדא' ובאו האובדים בארץ אשור והנדחים בארץ מצרים והשתחוו ליי בהר הקדש בירושלם.

לא בשמים היא לאמר מי יעלה לנו השמימה ראשי תיבות מילה וסופי תיבות שם יהוה לומ' לך שהב"ה הקדים המילה לשמו ית' כדא' כי הגדלת על כל שמך אמרתך לפי שהמילה היא נקראת אמירה כדא' שש אנכי על אמרתך כמוצא שלל רב. וכתי' כי שמרו אמרתך ובריתך ינצורו. לא בשמים היא לאמר פי' התורה לא יאמר האומ' היא בשמים והיא גבוהה ממני איני יכול לעלות שם לקחתה משם. ואם יאמר האומ' שהיא מעבר לים והים מפסיק בינו ובינה ולא יוכל להגיע לה. אלא קרוב אליך הדבר מאד בפיך ובלבבך לעשותו. פי' הפה והלב הם גומרים המעשה. אם יעלה על מחשבתו ללמוד תורה כאלו הוא כבר ידע אותה וזהו שארז"ל יגעת מצאת וכו'.

ראה נתתי לפניך היום את החיים ואת הטוב. את החיים מצד התפ' שהוא עולם החיים שהוא יונק ושואב מן המחשבה שהוא חי של כל חיים. ואת הטוב רומז למדת החסד הנקראת טוב לפי שהוא גומל טובות לחייבים. ואת המות רומז לעס' וזהו סוד עץ הדעת לכן בזמן ממשלתה בני העולם טועמין טעם מות כשהם ישינים בלילה ואזי המות פורשת כנפיה על כל הבריות. ואת הרע רומז למדת הדין הקשה שהוא | נקרא רע והסוד ראו כי רעה נגד פניכם. קכב ע"ב וזהו שאמ' ז"ל כי אמ' פרעה לישראל ראו כי כוכב עולה לכם מן המדבר והוא שמו מאדים הוא מורה על דם והריגה.

וחיית ורבית. וחיית מצד החכמה. ורבית מצד הבינה. וברכך מצד התפ' שהוא מקום הברכות. ד"א וחיית פי' חיים. ורבית פי' בנים. וברכך פי' מזונות כי אלו ג' הם נמשכים ממקום שכולו רחמים והם חיים ומזונות ובנים וזהו סוד שארז"ל בני חיי ומזוני לאו בזכותא תליא מילתא וכו'. אע"פ שגזרו בב"ד של מעלה של סנהדרין גדולה על אלו שלשה דברים אם עמד אדם ונתכוון בתפלה עד מקור החפץ שהוא רצון כל הרצונות יפיק כל שאלתו. ועניין זכות הנזכר במקום זה הוא סוד סנהדרין גדולה. ועניין מזל שהזכירו במקום זה הוא סוד המקור העליון שהוא מקור החפץ הנקרא אהיה אשר משם נזלו מימי החפץ והרצון והוא המזל שכל הדברים תלויים בו ואפי'

ספר תורה תלויה בו וזהו סוד הכל תלוי במזל ואפי׳ ספר תורה בהיכל והבן זה מאד. ואל יעלה בדעתך כי במזלות הכוכבים דברו חכמי׳ז״ל במקום זה אלא במקום החפץ ודיי למבין. נשלם.

פרש׳ וילך משה . וילך משה וידבר את כל הדברים אל כל ישראל. ויאמר אליהם בן מאה ועשרים שנה אנכי היום זכו׳. מכאן שנינו באותו היום שנולד באותו היום בעצמו מת משה אדון השלום. ונמצא שחי משה מאה ועשרים שנה כנגד עולם היחוד. מאה כנגד מאה מדרגות. ועשרים כנגד העשרים הנסתרים והנעלמים והבן זה. נמצא שמשה חי כנגדם מאה ועשרים שנה.

לא אוכל עוד לצאת ולבוא. פי׳ לצאת ולבוא ולחקור ולהשיג ולדעת מוצא ומבוא של עולם העליון כי כבר נסתלקה ממני החכמה לתור אחריה.

יהושע הוא עובר לפניך. פי׳ מדת העט׳ הנקרא יהושע וזהו סוד שאמ׳ רז״ל פני משה כפני חמה פני יהושע כפני לבנה.

חזקו. פי׳ חזקו עצמיכם מצד הגבורה. ואמצו מצד התפ׳. אל תראו מצד ההוד. ואל תערצו מצד העט׳ שאלו ארבעה בתי דינין העוברים לפניכם להלחם.

כי אתה תבוא את העם הזה. היה לו לומ׳ כי אתה תביא את העם הזה אלא פי׳ כי אתה תבוא עם העם הזה אל הארץ פי׳ לארץ ישראל. ויהוה פי׳ מדת התפ׳ שהוא היה מדרגת משה חזר להשתתף עם יהושע.

ויאמר יי אל משה הן קרבו ימיך למות. פי׳ אותן הימים שאדם חי בזה העולם כל יום ויום עולה לפני הב״ה ויושב שם עד שיגיע זמן פטירת | האדם אזי כולם מסתלקים קכג ע״א ומתקרבים לפני המלך להתדבק ליסודם.

הנך שוכב עם אבותיך. פי׳ עם אבותיך ודאי.

וחרה אפי בו ביום ההוא. פי׳ מדת הדין הקשה הנקרא אף כדא׳ באף ובחמה ובקצף גדול.

ואצ״ל כי בהתאחד שתי ספי׳ שהם חמה וירח הנקראים יהוה אדני אזי נמצא העולם בתיקון ובמילוי ובשלימות לפי שכל הצינורות הם מתוקנים והספי׳ מתאחדות והברכה משתלחת במדת המלכות הנקראת

אדני וזהו סוד יהוה אדני חילי. אבל הוא בשתי דרכים. במקומות תמצא כתו׳ אדני יהוה בדא׳ אדני יהוה מה תתן לי. ובמקומות תמצא יהוה אדני כדא׳ יהוה אדני חילי.

והנה בהיות ספי׳ היובל עולם הרחמים נקראת נחלה בלא מצרים והיא נחלת יעקב אבי׳ ע״ה לא נחלת אברהם שהיו לו מצרים ולא נחלת יצחק שהיו לו מצרים.ולפי׳ כל הזוכה להדבק בספי׳ היובל גאולה תהיה לו לפי שאין שם דבר מעכב ולא מונע ומקטריג וזהו סוד והרכבתיך על במתי ארץ והאכלתיך נחלת יעקב אביך. נחלת קו האמצעי שהיא עולה ומתאחזת בעולם הרחמים ונשארו למטה במותי ארץ שהם נחלת אברהם ויצחק.

והיא נקראת תשובה בל׳ חכמים. והטעם לפי שהנשמות נאצלות מן המקום הזה והרוחות מן הקו האמצעי שהוא התפ׳ והנפשות מספי׳ המלכות. וכן נקשרות אלו באלו עד שזוכות להתאחז בספי׳ הבינה. כי צד הנפש קשורה ברוח והרוח בנשמה והנשמה בספי׳ הבינה. ואם חס ושלום חטאה הנפש ונתחייבה עונש כרת הרי נכרתת מן הרוח שהיתה נאחזת בה והפסידה גמול הטוב ואין לה דרך לעולם הבא שהרי נכרתה מן האילן העליון שהיתה נאחזת בו וזהו סוד הכרת האמור בתורה ונכרתה הנפש ההיא מעמיה. ואם אחר כך חזרה והטיבה דרכיה ותיקנה נתיבותיה אזי היא חוזרת להתאחד במקום שנכרתה מתחלה ממנה ואזי היא זוכה לעלות בספי׳ הבינה הנקרא העולם הבא ואזי היא שבה אל המקום שנאבד ממנה וזהו סוד תשובה והסוד בזה ותשובתו הרמתה כי שם ביתו. ולפי שהנפשות נקשרות ברוחות והרוחות בנשמות והנשמות נקשרות בעולם החיים ולפי׳ כתי׳ והיתה נפש אדוני צרורה בצרור החיים.אבל נפשות שנעקרו ממקומן ולא שבו נידונות בכמה עונשים רעים אחר שנעקרו ממקום מטען והרי הן מטולטלות ונעות מעונש לעונש ומנגע לנגע וזהו סוד ואת נפש אויביך יקלענה בתוך כף הקלע. ממקום למקום. כך הנפש משנכרתה ממקומה הרי היא נזרקת ממקום | למקום במיני עונשים רעים הנקראים כף הקלע. ולפי דרך קכג ע״ב זה יש לך להתבונן מהו סוד תשובה שנא׳ בתורה שזהו סוד תשובת הנפש למקום שנעקרה ממנו וחוזרת למנוחתה כדא׳ שובי נפשי למנוחיכי

ובמה היא חוזרת למנוחתה ברפואות הטובות שתקנה למנוחתה התורה היא רפואה לכל מיני חטא ועון כדאיתא בתורת כהנים וזהו סוד

שאמ׳ הכתו׳ תורת יי תמימה משיבת נפש. באמת שאל מלא שהודיעה התורה דרכי התשובה לא היה שם דרך לחזרה. אבל הנביא צווח ואומ׳ שובו בנים שובבים ארפא משובותיכם.

ומנין לנו כי סוד ספי׳ הבינה היא סוד התשובה בניין אב לכל התורה כדא׳ ולבבו יבין ושב ורפא לו. ואם כן התבונן בהיות התשובה היא סוד העולם הבא.

ואחר שביארתי לך העיקר הגדול הזה יש לנו לחזור ולהודיעך סוד מעלת התשובה. כי כל אחד מישראל אחר שנמכר יש לו דרך לשוב לגאולתו כדא׳ גאולה תהיה לו וביובל יצא. וכתי׳ בשנת היובל הזאת תשובו איש אל אחוזתו. בסוד ספי׳ הבינה יכולה הנפש לשוב ולהתאחז במקום שנכרתה ממנו וזהו סוד תשובו איש אל אחוזתו.

ואותה המדה של היובל נקראת צדק עליון בשביל שממנה מתחלת מדת הדין אע"פ שהיא נאחזת בעולם הרחמים וזהו סוד צדק עליון המכוון כנגד צדק תחתון ושתיהן מכוונות זו כנגד זו שערי צדק מכוונים כנגד שערי בינה בסוד אדני יהוה. ולפי שאלו שתי ספי׳ מכוונות זו כנגד זו ושתיהן נקראות בשם צדק אמ׳ הכתו׳ צדק צדק תרדוף. כלומ׳ רדוף להשיג שערי צדק להכנס מתוכה לחיי העולם הבא שהוא סוד צדק עליון שהוא עולם הרחמים ועולם החיים. וירשת את הארץ כנגד צדק תחתון שהוא סוד ארץ ישראל כדא׳ צדק ילין בה . והבן זה במיסב שכלך.

אשריהם הצדיקים בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא כדא׳ ועמך כולם צדיקים לעולם יירשו ארץ וכו׳. נשלם.

פרש׳ האזינו השמים . זש"ה נפש עמל עמלה לו כי אבף עליו פיהו. מה ראה משה ע"ה לקרוא לשמים ולארץ בשעת פטירתו אלא למדך שקרא אותן לצוותן על ישראל ועל עצמו. אמ׳ להם הרי גזר הב"ה עלי למות תנו דעתכם היאך תהיו מקבלין אותי בכבוד שתהיו מסתכלין בי כאלו אני חי ומדבר דברי תורה. ד"א האזינו השמים ואדברה שכבר אמרתי לכם העדותי בכם היום את השמים ואת הארץ. תנו דעתכם שלא תהיו מקטרגין על ישראל לאחר מותי אלא כך תהיו סבורין כאלו אני חי עמכם ועומד ומבקש | רחמים עליהם. קכד ע"א

יערוף כמטר לקחי. פי׳ לקחי רומז לתפ׳ שהיא תורה

שבכתב כדא׳ כי לקח טוב נתתי לכם תורתי וכו׳. תזל כטל אמרתי. פי׳ העס׳ הנקראת אמירה כדא׳ ומאמר אסתר. תזל מלשון נזילה וריבוי פי׳ השפע הנוזל ממקום המזל העליון הקדוש שאמרו בו ז"ל הכל תלוי במזל ואפי׳ ספר תורה בהיכל. לכן בא משה ותיקן השברים והסדקין של הצינורות שנהרסו ונתקלקלו בעון המרגלים ובעון עושי העגל עד שהחזיר ההמשכה מלמעלה עד מלכות יי. ומנין לנו שמשה חיבר המדות כדא׳ כי שם יי אקרא הבו גודל לאלהינו. נמצא שכלל שתי המדות וזיווגם וחיברם קודם מיתתו וכדי שלא יהא להם לישראל ערעור פה למקטרגים עליהם. ד"א כי שם יי אקרא מל׳ קירוי ותקרא פי׳ שהיה מקרה עליה העליוה העליונות והמעזיבות כדי שתהא מכוסה ומלובשת ושמורה מן אויביה.

הצור תמים פעלו. פי׳ הצור רומז לבינה הנקראת הצור שהוא תמים בכל דרכיו לפי שאין למעלה שום חסרון וגריעות אלא הוא תמים בכל דרכיו. כי כל דרכיו משפט. אע"פ שהוא אינו מדת דין ומשפט מ"מ הוא מקור הדין שממנו מתפשט הדין והמשפט. אל אמונה פי׳ חכמה הנקראת אמונה אל תקרי אמונה אלא אמנה כדא׳ ואהיה אצלו אמון והבן כל זה. ואין עול פי׳ כ"ע שאין שם לא עול ולא רוגז ולא כעס. צדיק וישר הוא פי׳ כ"ע הנקרא הוא כדא׳ הוא עשאנו ולא אנחנו.

הליי. פי׳ ה"א רבתא רומז לעולם הבינה שהיא ה"א עליונה מן השם הגדול שהוא יהוה. אמ׳ להם והלא במדה זאת יצאתם ממצרים כדא׳ וחמושים עלו בני ישראל. לפי שבמדה זו הוא מקום החירות והגאולות.

עס נבל מל׳ נובל שרומז לפירות הנובלות כך היו שלא העלו צמחים כעניין שהיו מורדים בשם ית׳ בכמה מקומות.

הלא הוא פי׳ מדת כ"ע. אביך פי׳ חכמה שהוא סוד האב. קנך פי׳ סוד האם שלשם מתלוננים כל הנשמות כמו העופות בקינן. הוא עשך פי׳ הוא עשאך כצורה עליונה. ויכוננך שצייר ותיקן כל איבריך ועצמותיך הפשוטים והמורכבים כל אחד ואחד על כנו כדא׳ ויכוננך.

זכור ימות עולם. לכן אמ׳ להם בניי תזהרו מאד מאד בי חוד העליון ותייחדו למלככם ביחוד אמתי כדא׳ זכור ימות עולם.

פי׳ חכמה וביגה שהם נקראים ימי עולם. בינו שנות דור ודור. פי׳ תאמרו שהוא קדמון בכל דור ודור שהוא סוד השמיטה. שאל אביך. פי׳ לצד החכמה מכח העט׳ כדא׳ נודע בשערים בעלה. זקיניך פי׳ כ"ע ועי׳ העי׳ שהם סתימות של כל הסתימות ועתיקין של כל העתיקין.

כי חלק יי עמו. פי׳ חלקו של הב"ה הם ישראל כדאמ׳ | בני בכורי ישראל. והם חלקו והוא חלקם ואין לאומות קכד ע"ב חלק בו אלא עמו ישראל שהם בניו הקדושים שהם נפרשים ונבדלים משאר האומות כדא׳ ואבדיל אתכם.

ימצאהו בארץ מדבר פי׳ במקום מדבר מצאם ונתן להם החורה והיה עמהם בתוך גלותם כדא׳ מי יתן מדבר מלוני מקום. נמצאת אומ׳ שהשכינה היתה גולה ממקום למקום במדברות ובשדות עד שבא שלמה המ׳ ע"ה ובנה בית המקדש והשכין השכינה בתוכו כדא׳ פה אשיב כי אויתיה. יסובבנהו בשבעה ענני כבוד מכל צדדין. יבוננהו פי׳ הבינם התורה. יצרנהו כביכול עד כאישון עינו.

כנשר פי׳ הבינה. יעיר קנו פי׳ שהוא מעורר קנו שהוא תפ׳. על גוזליו אלו הם ג׳ג׳ח׳נ׳ה׳ י׳מ׳ שהבינה מרחפת עליהם. והסוד בזה ורוח אלהים מרחפת על פני המים. יפרוש כנפיו פי׳ שפורש כנפיו ומכניסם תחת כסא הכבוד.

יי בדד ינחנו ואין עמו אל נכר. יי בדד בני׳ עשרה רמז לעשר נעלמות שהם י"ס ודי לך בזה.

ירכיבהו על במותי ארץ. פי׳ חכמה ובינה הנקראים במותי ארץ והרכבתיך על במותי ארץ.
כדא׳ ויאכל הנובות שדי פי׳ שדי ברכה רומז לאם העליונה. שדי בדגש רומז לעט׳ הנקרא אל שדי כדא׳ ואל שדי יתן לכם רחמים.

ויניקהו דבר מסלע. פי׳ דבש העליון שיורד מעולם העליון שכתי׳ אכלתי יערי עם דבשי שתיתי ייני עם חלבי. וכתי׳ מצור דבש אשביעיך פי׳ מצור ודאי שהוא כ"ע כדא׳ הצור תמים פעלו. דבש הוא השפע היורדת מן עולם העליון ית׳ ויתן׳ ושמן פי׳ שמן של המבוע כדא׳ כשמן הטוב על הראש.

חמאת בקר פי׳ השפע היורד מחסדי יי שהוא מדרגת אברהם שכתי׳ בו ואל הבקר רץ אברהם. ד"א ואל הבקר אל תקרי הבקר אלא ואל הבקַר רץ אברהם כדא׳ וישכם אברהם בבקר. לכן

השכים כנגר מרתו למשוך משם שפע של רחמים שהיא כחמאה המתוקה לפה ואם אתה מן המבינים תבין. לכן משה ג"כ המשיך מן אותה המדה ההמשכות כדי שיחולו על ישראל הרחמים. וחלב צאן כדא׳ שתיתי ייני עם חלבי כי הצאן רומזים לג׳ מדות עליונות שהם עומדים למעלה שהם כ"ע חכ׳ בינה והסוד בזה וירא והנה באר בשדה והנה שם שלשה עדרי צאן רובצים עליה ודאי. לכן וחלב צאן הוא השפע המתוק כמו החלב היורד מאלו שלש המדרגות. עם חלב כריים שהם מדת החסד והפחד. עם חלב כליות חטה וזהו סוד עץ שאכל אדם הראשון ממנו של חטה היתה. ודם ענב תשתה חמר. פי׳ יין המשתכר אם תזכה תשתה המשומר בענביו ואם לאו הרי היין המשתכר עומד כנגדך לנקום ממך.

ויטוש אלוה עשהו. פי׳ כ"ע שהוא עשה וברא כל הנמצאים כדא׳ הוא עשאנו ולא אנחנו. וינבל צור ישועתו פי׳ תפ׳ כדאמ׳ | ישראל נושע ביי. שישראל גרמו בעונותיהם שהרסו ונבלו קכה ע"א הצינורות והמשכות מן עולם הבינה אל עולם התפ׳ הנקרא צור ונחלש כחו כדא׳ נבול תבול גם אתה והבן כל זה.

יזבחו לשדים פי׳ לצד התמורות שכביכול הטפטוף של הצינורות נמשכין לצד התמורות. לא אלוה פי׳ מדת כ"ע הנקרא לא הוא אלוה בכל האלהים היאך אתם עוזבים העיקר ותלכו אחר התפל. חדשים מקרוב באו פי׳ ז׳ מדרגות שהם מחודשים מקרוב אלא אלהיכם הוא מם"ה הב"ה אשר הוא קדמון לכל קדמון. לכן אם אתה גורם הקיצוץ והפירוד בעונות ובחטאים אזי כביכול כח הגבורה נחלש כדא׳ צור ילדך תשי. ד"א צור ילדך פי׳ הבינה כדא׳ ותגל יולדתך. ותשכח אל מחוללך פי׳ חכמה שהוא ברא כל היצורים כמו ששנינו כי ביה יי צור עולמים.

וירא יי פי׳ תפ׳ הנקרא יהוה ית׳. וינאץ מכח הגבורה שכתי׳ באף ובחמה ובקצף גדול.

ויאמר אסתירה פני מהם אראה מה אחריתם. ואצ"ל אם כביכול הב"ה מסתיר פניו מהם שהם פנים של אורך אנפין ויסתום עין המשגיח אפי׳ רגע אחד מה יהא אחריתם אזי אין העולם יכול להתקיים אפי׳ רגע אחד. כי כרגע מעט הב"ה כועס על בניו ועוזבם ומסתיר פניו המאירים מהם והסוד ברגע קטן עזבתיך וברחמים גדולים אקבצך פי׳ רחמים של א"א שהם נקראים גדולים אבל רחמים התחתונים נקראים

רחמים קטנים והבן זה.

כי אש קדחה באפי. פי' אש העליון שהוא אש המכלה כל האישים. ותקד עד שאול החתית פי' מדת העט' ג"כ היא מסכמת עם הדין הקשה בשעת הכעס. ותאכל ארץ ויבולה. פי' ארץ שהיא עט' וכל פירותיה ומרכבותיה וצבאותיה. ותלהט מוסדי הרים. פי' יסוד שהוא מוסדי הרים שהם נצח הוד שהם אחוזים בו כדא' וצדיק יסוד עולם.

מזי רעב ולחומי רשף. אלו הן תמורות של נצח והוד שהם באים לקטרג על ישראל בכל יום ויום.וקטב מרירי תמורת יסוד עולם. ושן בהמות פי' תמורת העט' שהיא נקראת בהמה.

מחוץ תשכל חרב. פי' חרב של העט' העומדת חוץ כדא' חרב נוקמת נקם ברית. ומחדרים אימה פי' מצד הגבורה שהיא עומדת בפנים כנגד החדרים הפנימיים. גם בחור גם בתולה יונק מצד הדין העליון אפי' איש שיבה שהוא מדת החסד הנקרא רחמים וחסד כדא' ואברהם זקן בא בימים. מ"מ יתהפך רחמים לדין בעון הדור במה שעושין.

לו חכמו ישכילו זאת. פי לולי שהיו מבינים ומשגיחין מדת זאת וא"כ יבינו לאחריתם שהוא סוד היובל. כך דרך | הנכנס קכה ע"ב למרכבה מתחילה יכנס במדת זאת וא"כ יכנס לעולם הבינה שהוא נקרא אחרית.

איכה ירדוף אחד אלף. פי' האחד שהוא כ"ע הוא רודף אחרי אלף מדרגות הנאצלים ממנו והוא מזהיר ומזריז אותם על מצות התורה כמו בל' צדק צדק תרדוף אלא מדת האחד הוא כמו הרב הרודף אחרי תלמידיו ומזרז אותם כדי לחדד ולפלפל שכלם כדי שיבין החכמה כעין דוגמא זה הוא פי' זה הפסוק. ומכאן יש ראייה שאפי' הספי' הם מקיימות המצות כדא' אם בחוקותי תלכו ואת מצותי תשמרו. ושנים יניסו רבבה. פי' לשון יניסו הוא מל' יי נסי שהוא דגל כך אלו שתי המדות שהם חכמה ובינה יש להם כמה אלפין ורבבי רבבות חיילות וצבאות ומרכבות שיש לכל אחד ואחד מהם דגל בפני עצמו כדאמ' יניסו רבבה כלש' אשר עומד לנס עמים והבין כל זה אם אתה מן המשכילים.

אם לא כי צורם מכרם פי' לולי מדת לא שהוא כ"ע

והוא עולם הרחמים הגמורים כדא' ולא אנחנו עמו. לפי שכ"ע נקרא לא מפני שאין לו השגה משום נמצא מן הנמצאים. לכן פי' הפסו' כך הוא כי לולי לא שהוא כ"ע שהיה מרחם ומוחל וסולח לעונותיהם בכל שעה ושעה מדת הדין הקשה שהוא גבורה הנקרא צורם כבר היה מוכרם ביד השרים מכירה עולמית אלא מדת לא ודאי הוא היה מרחם עליהם כדא' וחנותי את אשר אחון.

ויי הסגירם . פי' מדת התפ' שהיה סוגר עליהם כדי שלא יכנסו האויבים בעון של ישראל.

הלא הוא כמוס עמדי. פי' כ"ע הנקרא הוא הוא סתום וחתום. חתום באוצרותי פי' באוצר העליון.

ואמר אי אלהימו. פי' כ"ע וחכמה הנקראים אי ודאי. צור חסיו בו פי' בינה.

ראו עתה כי אני אני הוא פי' כ"ע ועט'. אני אמית ואחיה פי' צד העט' שהוא משתמש בכל אלו התוארים שהוא ממית ומחיה ומוחץ ורופא ודיי לך.

ואצ"ל שהם שמונה ספי' שמתחילות להמנות מספי' הבינה ושבע תחתיה תן חלק לשבעה וגם לשמונה. והנני רומז לך היא חמשים היא שמונה המבין יתבונן. אבל שמונה ימי חנוכה שתקנו השמן בא מן הרצון של כל הרצונות לספי' הבינה והבינה היא סוד המנורה ונרותיה אל מול פני המנורה יאירו שבעת הנרות. ושמונת ימי חנוכה הם סוד העניין והנס הגדול והיודעים עיקרי הדברים יודעים כי הנס הנעשה בשמן על ידי ספי' הבינה הוא כי משם תולדות השמן מן הרצון. ולפי' המנורה והנרות והשמן סוד כל הספי' והסוד בזה מנורת זכריה ושני צנתרות הזהב שאינן צריכין להביא שמן ממקום אחר אלא שני הצנתרות מריקים | בשני זיתים עליה. המבין זה יבין קכו ע"א סוד י"ה והסוד כל הנשמה תהלל י"ה וסוד הלל גמור בשמונת ימי חנוכה. הרי רמזנו לך רמזים גדולים חזקים ועמוקים במה שתוכל להתבונן בסוד ההלל ובסוד כל מקום שנאמרה בו תהלה. ולא לתנם אמ' רז"ל כל האומ' תהלה לדוד בכל יום מובטח לו שהוא בן העולם הבא. דברים גדולים רמזו הנה כי סוד תהלה הוא סוד עולם הבא. ואל תקשה ותאמ' והלא אמרת כל האומ' הלל גמור בכל יום הרי הוא מחרף ומגדף. הלל גמור לחוד. תהלה לחוד. כי הלל גמור אינו נאמ'

אלא על טעם ידוע. תהלה הוא סוד ערך תיקון הספי׳ וסכסיסיה ומעלותיה אבל אינו גוף ההלל. ולפי׳ אז״ל כל האומר תהלה לדוד בכל יום מובטח לו שהוא בן העולם הבא. כלומ׳ האומ׳ המזמור הזה בכל יום שהוא מתחיל בלשון תהלה שהוא סוד ספי׳ הבינה ויש בו כמה סכסיסים ומעלות משתי ספי׳ המכוונות זו לזו שהן בינה ומלכות מובטח לו שהוא בן העולם הבא ואם תזכה ליכנס לסדרי המעלות האלו אזי תשמח בהם.

ואחרי שידעת זה תבין כי סוד המלכות שהוא אדני שהוא סוד התפלה שבו נכנסין להגיע לספי׳ התהלה שהיא שמינית לה ולפי׳ כללם כאחד בזה הפסוק ואמ׳ בתחלה אדני שפתי תפתח שהוא סוד התפלה וא״כ ופי יגיד תהלתך. כלומ׳ בהיותי זוכה לסדר התפלה כהוגן אזכה להיות ראוי להעירך התהלה כמו שבארנו לישרים נאוה תהלה.

ואצ״ל הספי׳ הזאת היא סוד אות שנייה של שם יהוה והיא סוד ה״א ראשונה של יהוה ית׳. ואצ״ל כי סוד הבינה שהיא סוד שער הספי׳ העליונות וממנה יקבלו שפע ברכה ואצילות שבע ספי׳ התחתונות כמו כן ספי׳ המלכות היא סוד שער כל עשר ספי׳ וממנה יקבלו כל הנמצאות שבעולם עליונות ותחתונות שפע וברכה וקיום וחיים ועמידה. והנה ספי׳ המלכות היא בית קבול לכל הברכות הבאות מספי׳ הבינה ולפי׳ זו דוגמא לזו ושתיהן בינה ומלכות הם סוד שתי ההי״ן אשר בשם יהוה ית׳ ה״א ראשונה בינה ה״א אחרונה מלכות. והנה המלכות מקבלת סוד שפע הברכות הנמשכות מהבינה כמו שפירשנו ולפי׳ זו שמיטה וזו יובל זו שכינה עילאה וזו שכינה תתאה. זו בית שער לספי׳ העליונות וזו בית שער לספי׳ האחרונות. על ידי ה״א ראשונה מקבלות ברכות שאר כל הספי׳ על ידי ה״א אחרונה מקבלות ברכות וקיום כל הנבראות. זו נקראת תהלה וזו נקראת תפלה. זו נקראת | כפורים* וזו נקראת כפורים. זו נקראת שמינית קכו ע״ב וזו נקראת שמינית. כי צד מלמטה למעלה בינה שמינית מלמעלה למטה מלכות שמינית. לפי ששתי ספי׳ העליונות כלולות בבינה כמו שפירשנו.

ואצ״ל שהן שתיהן סוד הפרנסים אשר כל חותם שם יהוה מסור בידיהם. ה״א עליונה שהיא בינה הוא סוד הפרנס הגדול שממנה יקבלו כל הספי׳ שפע ברכה. ולפי׳ תמצא שחותם כל השם מסור בידיה שהרי השם נכתב יהוה ונקרא אלהים הרי השם נקרא בניקודה

לפי שהיא נושאת כל החותם. ה״א אחרונה שהיא מלכות היא סוד הפרנס האחרון שממנה יקבלו עולם המלאכים לצבאותיהם ומחנותיהם שפע קיום ופרנסה וחיים. וכן עולם השמים חמה ולבנה וכוכבים ומזלות. וכן צבא הארץ מיני מתכות וצמחים ובעלי חיים למיניהם כולם יקבלו כח קיום ועמידה וחיים כפי הראוי מספי׳ המלכות שהיא סוד ה״א אחרונה של שם ית׳ ולפי׳ תמצא שחותם כל השם מסור בידיה והיא נקראת בשמו בדרך זה יהוה ונקראת אדני הרי השם נקרא בניקודה. נמצאת למד כי שם יהוה ית׳ יש לו בתורה שני נקודים האחד נקוד אלהים שהוא סוד הבינה בדרך זה יְהוָה בפסוק יְהוָה אדני חילי. ובפסוק אדני יהוה במה אדע. וכן כיוצא בזה. השני ניקוד אדני שהוא סוד המלכות כדרך יְהוָה בכל התורה כולה ואם תבין העיקר הגדול הזה שמסרתי בידך במקום זה תבין סוד שני ההי״ן שבשם ית׳ היאך מכוונות זו כנגד זו ומפתחות השמות בידיהם זו למעלה מזו וזו למטה. ובניקוד שתיהן השם נקרא בכל התורה אלא בניקוד אחד* ומכאן תבין סוד שכינה ביחוד שתי ההי״ן ושתיהן כוונה אחת זו שואבת מזו וזו שואבת מזו והכל יחוד שלם לשם ית׳. והיודע לכוין סוד שתי ההי״ן שבשם צריך לכוין בשעת היחוד כי בשתיהן הוא סוד היחוד השלם. ועל שתיהן נאמר יהיה יהוה אחד ושמו אחד. לכוין זו כנגד זו וליחד הספי׳ זו לזו וזהו העיקר ליודעים דרך בקבלת יחוד השם ית׳. והנה הודעתיך בשתי אלו ההי״ן שהם סוד כל מקום שאתה מוצא בתורה כתו׳ בפסוק אחד אדני יהוה או יהוה אדני.

ואצ״ל יהוה יתב׳ הוא הנקרא שם המיוחד כלו׳ סוד יחוד כל עשר הספי׳ כאחת | וכבר ביארנו כי שתי ספי׳ הראשונות קכז ע״א כלולות באות יו״ד של שם המיוחד. כי עניין הקוץ של היו״ד הוא סוד המחשבה ועיקר היו״ד סוד החכמה. והספי׳ השלישית המתאחזת בשתיהן היא סוד הבינה הכלולה באות ה״א ראשונה של שם,נמצאו שתי אותיות ראשונות של שם כלולות בשלש ספי׳ ראשונות ואות וא״ו של השם היא הכוללת שש מדרגות* ושלש מחצי אות וא״ו ולמטה ואלו הן נצח הוד יסוד. והספי׳ האחרונה שהיא עשירית כלולה באות אחרונה של שם שהוא אות ה״א.

ועתה אנו צריכין להודיעך מה טעם שתי אותיות של שם הראשונות נקראים בפני עצמן ושתי אותיות האחרונות אינן נקראין

בפני עצמן. כבר ידעת מה שפרשנו בסוד יחוד שתי ההי"ן של שם ה"א ראשונה שהיא הבינה מיחדת שבע ספי' תחתונות עמה. ה"א אחרונה שהיא מלכות היא המתיחדת עם תשע ספי' העליונות על ידי יסוד. סוף דבר עיקר כל עשר הספי' הוא שלש ספי' עליונות אשר מהם נשפעות כל שבע הספי' התחתונות. ואם חס ושלום יפסקו ההמשכות השלש אזי נמצא חרבן הבית ושריפת ההיכל ונלות הבנים בין האומות ולפי' חצי השם הראשון שהוא י"ה איפשר לו להקראות בפני עצמו. חצי השם האחרון שהוא ו"ה אי איפשר לו להקראות בפני עצמו לפי שהוא קציצה בנטיעות. וכשיאתה קורא י"ה הרי נם חצי השם האחרון נכלל בו ואין שם קציצה. וכן בסוד יו"ד ה"א וחציו ככולו וזה בחצי השם הראשון אבל בחצי השם האחרון עמידתו וקייומו בסוד י"ה הוא.

ואצ"ל הדרך שפתח בספר יצירה בשלשים ושתים פלאות חכמה חקק י"ה יהוה צבאות וכו'. מה טעם הוצרך להזכיר י"ה במקום זה. והטעם כי י"ה הוא סוד שלש ספי' עליונות עולם הרחמים. יהוה הוא סוד התפ' מקום דבוק של משה רבי' ע"ה מקום יניקת האבות. צבאות הוא סוד מקום יניקה הנביאים ודרך המעלות בספי'.

רק באבותיך חשק יי לאהבה אותם. פי' האבות הן הן המרכבה. חשק כדא' וחשוקיהם כסף. ויבחר בזרעם אחריהם. זהו דוד זרעם ממש כדא' אור זרוע לצדיק. זרעם* ממש יסוד עיקר הזרע והסוד ויצא חוטר מנזע ישי ונצר משרשיו יפרה. ונחה עליו רוח יי רוח חכמה ובינה רוח עיצה וגבורה רוח דעת ויראת יי. כללים נדולים כלל הנה.

ואחר שידעת אלו העיקרים הנכללים במלת יש יש לך ליכנם בחדרי | זאת הספי' לפי שזו הספי' במקומות ידועים קכז ע"ב נקראת חכמה. ואצ"ל כי הספי' הזאת הנקראת חכמה הוא סוד יו"ד של שם המיוחד. ומה שאמרנו שנקראת במקומות ידועים חכמה לא בכל מקום לפי שיש מקומות שהספי' העשירית הנקראת מלכות נקראת גם היא חכמה ועליה נאמר ויי נתן חכמה לשלמה. אבל סוד החכמה הנקראת יו"ד של שם יתב' אפי' למשה רבי' ע"ה נתעלמה ממנו ואין כל בריה יכולה להכנס בה שהרי לא השיג משה רבי' ע"ה כל החמשים שערים של הבינה והחכמה היא לפנים מן הבינה. ועל החכמה הזאת שהיא סוד יו"ד של השם אמרו המקובלים חכמה בראש. ועל החכמה

האחרונה שהיא סוד המלכות אמרו חכמה בסוף. כלו' אות ראשונה של שם ית' ואות אחרונה של שם שהיא ה"א תחתונה שתיהן מיוחסות* בשם חכמה. ועל זה אמרו חכמה בראש וחכמה בסוף. ולפי שהחכמה הראשונה היא סוד התפשטות המחשבה מן הכתר אין לה שיעור וגבול מכל מה שאחריה ועליה נאמ' והתכמה מאין תמצא בודאי מאין תמצא שהיא סוד התפשטות המחשבה: מן הכתר. אלהים הבין דרכה אבל לא מקומה. והתבונן כי אלהים הבין דרכה בבינה שעל ידי הבינה נכנסין להשיג חכמה עליונה . והוא ידע את מקומה פי' והוא שהוא סוד הכתר אשר ממנו נמשכת חכמה זה בודאי הוא ידע את מקומה וזו היא החכמה שהיא התחלת התפשטות המחשבה ראש הספי' ועליה נאמר יי בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה. ברעתו תהומות נבקעו.ואין אנו בפי' אלו הפסוקים עכשיו.

ועתה מה שיש לך לדעת ולהתבונן אם בכל מקום שאת מוצא חכמה שתדע ותשכל אם הוא רמז לחכמה ראשונה או לחכמה אחרונה.

ואצ"ל כי זו היא החכמה שאינה נפרדת מן הבינה לעולמית לפי ששתיהן דבוקות בכ"ע והוא עולם הרחמים המקום שאין שם לא עצב ולא רוגז ולא פירוד אלא עוז והדר וחדוה. ולפי ששתי אלו הספי' מתאחדות לעולם חכמה ובינה לפי' שם י"ה אינו משתנה לעולם. אבל בהיות ישראל אינם מתנהגים כשורה ח"ו נורמים הפרוד לחכמה אחרונה ומפרידין אותה מן הדעת כדא' ונרנן מפריד אלוף.לפי' לפעמים נפרדת ה"א אחרונה מן הוא"ו וכשהיא נפרדת מן הו"ו אזי הוא"ו מתאספת למעלה ואינה נראית מאחר שבת זונו שהיא ה"א | אחרונה קכח ע"א נפרדה ממנו וזהו המסתיר פניו מבית יעקב. כיון שגלתה שכינה שהיא ה"א אחרונה אזי אות וא"ו אינה נראית אלא י"ה לבדו המקום שאין שם פירוד וזהו סוד כי מפני הרעה נאסף הצדיק. כי בהסתלק וא"ו שהיא התפ' נאסף הצדיק שהוא קוצו של וא"ו התחתון. ומה שאמרנו שחכמה ראשונה היא מיוחדת במקומות הרבה בתורה במקומות ידועים אין כוונתינו לומ' שאע"פ שאותו הפסוק מיוחד לדבר זה שגם חכמה אחרונה אינה נרמזת בה שלפעמים הרבה ידבר הפסוק בחכמה ראשונה ויהא רומז בחכמה אחרונה במו שנא' יי בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה. וכי אי זו משתי הספי' גדולה חכמה ואם כן בחכמה* יסד ארץ והשמים

שהם למעלה מן הארץ בתבונה. אלא הדבר מדבר בחכמה ראשונה ורומז בחכמה אחרונה. בחכמה יסד ארץ סוד חכמה שהיא רחמים יותר מן הבינה והיא צורך לבני אדם אבל שמים שאין שם זולתי יושר וטהרה תקוס במדה שהיא יותר דין מן החכמה. וכן יי בחכמה יסד ארץ מדבר באחרונה שהיא עיקר הארץ. כונן שמים בתבונה היא סוד מדת הדין הקשה כנגד השמים. הרי הדבר מדבר בחכמה ראשונה ורומז בחכמה אחרונה.

ואחר שמסרתי בידך אלו העיקרים הגדולים במלת חכמה יש לנו להודיעך שאר הדברים הכלולים בספירה זאת לפי שהיא נקראת לרוב המקובלים רצון כלו' תחלת המשכת החפץ באצילות הספי' והתגלותן מסתר עליון וזהו המקום שאין כח להתבונן בו כלל לפי שאין כל נברא למעלה ולמטה יכול לדעת כי צד דרך התפשטות החפץ באצילות הספי'. ומשה רבי' עה" שאל הודיעני נא את דרכך והיתה התשובה וקראתי בשם יי לפניך. כלו' יש דרך שהיא לפני לפנים מהשגתך ואין לך דרך להכנס לה וזהו סוד לפניך ולפי' אמ' והנותי את אשר אחון ורחמתי את אשר ארחם. שאין דרך ועניין לכל נברא להתבונן בהתשפטות הרצון לא מעט ולא הרבה ולפי' נקרא רצון באין גבול. וכמו שאין אנו משיגין דרך בספי' ראשונה לפי שאין לה קץ וסוף כך הרצון הדבק בה אין לו גבול. ובמדת הרצון מרחם הב"ה על הדבקים במדת היראה כלו' מראש החפץ והמחשבה. אשרי הזוכה לכך ועל זה נאמ' רוצה יי את יריאיו. ואמ' רצון יריאיו יעשה.

ועתה אנו צריכין להודיעך סוד שני מקראות שקבעו חז"ל אחד בראש התפלה והוא אדני | שפתי תפתח וכו' קכח ע"ב והשני בסוף התפלה הוא יהיו לרצון אמרי פי וכו'. ואצ"ל כי הראשון הקבוע בראש התפלה הוא השער שבו נכנסין בני העולם לבקש רחמים מלפני השם ית' וזהו אדני שפתי תפתח. ועל זה נאמ' פתחו לי שערי צדק אבוא בם אודה יה . וסוד * התפלה ההגונה שהיא מתגברת ועולה מספי' לספי' עד שמגעת עד הרצון שהוא דבוק בכתר. ולפי' אמרו בסוף יהיו לרצון אמרי פי. וכשהתפלה מגעת למקום הרצון אזי כל שערים שלמעלה ולמטה נפתחים לפניו ואין שם מעכב ומונע על בקשתו שהרי בעולם הרחמים הוא דבוק ואזי יפיק כל צרכיו ושאלותיו ואין דבר עומד לפניו שהרי ממקור הרצון הוא שואב ויכול לחדש אותות ומופתים חדשים כאלו אותה שעה נבראת עולם ואין דבר עומד לפניו

וזהו סוד שארז"ל בני חיי ומזוני לא בזכותא תליא מילתא אלא במזלא לפי שהכל תלוי בעולם הרחמים שהוא המקור.

אשריהם הצדיקי' בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא כדאמ' אך צדיקים יודו לשמך וכו'. נשלם.

פרש' וזאת הברכה . זש"ה רבות בנות עשו חיל ואת עליית על כלנה. זו היא ברכתו של משה שהרי הדורות הראשונים ברכו כל אחד ואחד את דורו ולא היתה כברכתו של משה.

וזאת הברכה. וזאת הברכות מיבעי ליה מהו וזאת הברכה. אלא רומז לברכה התחתונה שהיא ממונה על הברכות. ואצ"ל יש בריכה עליונה ובריכה תחתונה. בריכה עליונה הוא עולם היובל שהוא הנהר העליון שכל הנהרות והמעיינות והמקורות נמשכין לה מן עתיק דעתיקין וסתימא דסתימין הה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן. ובריכה תחתונה היא עט' ישראל שבה מתערבים כל הצורות העליונות הה"ד וזאת הברכה אשר ברך משה. כי זו הברכה שנברכת מן משה שהוא סוד התפ' המשפיע לה. בזמן שתפ' משפיע למסרוניתא אזי הברכות והשמחות נמצאים בה לרוב. ואם ח"ו שישראל גורמים בעונותיהם אזי היא נמנעת מכל טוב ההה"ד ותסמא הארץ. אזי היא חסירה בלי אורה ובלי שפע והמשכה וברכה ואזי הצינורות וההמשכות נמנעים מלהריק לה. ואזי היא יבישה מכל טוב כדא' יבשה הארץ והבן זה.

ד"א וזאת הברכה. ר' שמעון פתח אל אלהי הרוחות לכל בשר. בזה הפסו' יש בו | להסתכל בסוד עליון. קכח ע"א אל אלהי הרוחות שהוא מדת המחשבה העמוקה שהוא מקום לעולמו ואין עולמו מקומו כדא' השמים ושמי השמים לא יכלכלוך וכו'. לא ינבילנו מקומו ולא יאחזהו זמנים כדכתי' הן אל שגיא כח ולא נדע מספר שניו ולא חקר. כדכתי' כי לא מחשבותי מחשבותיכם ולא דרכיכם דרכי. וכתי' כי כגבוה שמים על הארץ.

ושנינו שבע פתחים הם לנפשות הצדיקים להכנס עד מקום מעלתם ועל כל פתח ופתח שומרים. הפתח הראשון נכנסה הנשמה במערת המכפלה שהיא סמוך לגן עדן. ואדם הראשון עומד ושומר את הפתח והוא מכריז ואומ' פנו מקום שלום בואך. יוצאה מהפתח הראשון לפתח השני בשערי גן עדן ומוצאה הכרובים שהם מדת נצח והוד ולהט החרב המתהפכת. אם זכתה נכנסת בשלום ואם לאו שם תקבל עונשה

ותשפט בלהט הכרובים וכנגדם היו הכרובים במקדש. ובשעה שהיה הכהן נכנס ביום הכפורים זכה נכנס בשלום לא זכה מבין הכרובים להט יוצא וישרוף אותו מבפנים והמת והיו מכוונים אלו כנגד אלו אשר בשער גן עדן ליצרף הנשמות. זכתה הנשמה נותנין לה פנקס וסימן ליכנס אזי תכנס לגן עדן אשר בארץ. ועמוד אחד של עץ* ונוגה מעורב זה בזה ועשן סביביו שנא' וברא יי על כל מכון הר ציון ועל מקראיה ענן יומם ועשן ונוגה וכו' והוא נעוץ מלמטה למעלה. לא זכתה יותר נשארת שם ומעדנת מהטוב אשר למעלה דאמ' ר' יוסי שהוא גן עדן והוא מכוון כנגד הפרוכת והקרח הנורא אשר למעלה והיא נהנית ממנו. אם זכתה לעלות יותר עולה באותו עמוד שלפתח השלישי והוא עד לרקיע הנקרא זבול ומגעת עד ירושלם אשר שם ושם יושבים השומרים. זכתה יותר פותחין לה הפתחים בצד הרביעי ונכנסת. לא זכתה נועלים השערים ודוחין אותה לחוץ ונוטלים פנקסה. והנשמה אומרת מצאוני השומרים הסובבים בעיר הכוני פצעוני וכו'. ואלו הן מלאכי השרת השומרים את המקדש ואת ירושלים* שנא' נשאו את ידיכם* מעלי זהו פנקסה. זכתה לעלות נכנסת שם באותם השערים ומיכאל השר מקריב אותה לקרבן לפני יי. אמ' ר' חייא הקרבה הוא כאדם המקריב דורון לפני המלך ומיכאל הולך עמם לפתח החמישי והששי ואומ' לפני הב"ה רבונו של עולם אשרי בניך בני אהוביך אברהם יצחק ויעקב. אשריהם הצדיקים הזוכים לזה עד שמגיעין לשער השביעי שהוא ערבות וגנזי חיים טובים נמשכים שם על נפשתן של הצדיקים ונכנסין* מלאכי השרת ומקלסין לפני הב"ה וניזונין מזיו אספקלריא המאירה ושם המנוחה | והנחלה ונוח חיי העולם הבא ומקבלין משקה של מים מן קכט ע"ב הירדן הנמשך מן נן עדן העליון שהיא הבריכה של מים ה"ד וזאת הברכה אשר ברך משה איש האלהים . והסוד והאיש משה ענו מאד.

ואצ"ל כי מדת התפ' הנקראת משה הוא איש האלהים כביכול כמי שמצוה על אשתו לעשות כך וכך. לפי שהגבורה שהיא האשה הנודעת ה"ד נשים שאננות קמנה וכו' כשתבוא להתעורר בדינה לדון העולם אזי התפ' שהוא משה איש האלהים פי' שהוא איש ובעל של הגבורה מצוה לה לנוח כעסה ורוגזה מן המעלות כדי לשקט הדין ועל זה משה נקרא איש האלהים. ד"א איש האלהים אע"פ שהתפ' הוא רחמים לפעמים הוא דין. אימתי בזמן שתפ' יונק מעולם של

כ"ע שהוא כולו רחמים אזי הוא מדת הרחמים ומתנהג עם העולם במדת הרחמים ועוד שהוא מקבל מצד החסד המקבל מכח החכמה אזי נקרא איש האלהים כי נכנס היו"ד בין אל"ף ושי"ן והיו"ד דומז לחכמה אזי נקרא איש האלהים פי' שהוא שולט על מדת הגבורה וכבש והשקיט כעסו. ואם כביכול נמנע השפע מן עולם החכמה אזי הוא מקבל מצד הבינה שהוא צד הגבורה אזי יסתלק היו"ד מן איש וישאר אש אזי שואב מאש של פחד יצחק אזי התפ' דין גמור והבן זה מאד.

וטעם וראית את אחורי לכוונה זו לכסא שהכבוד יושב עליו ולענן הכבוד המבדיל בינו ובין החשמל ולחשמל המקיף לכסא ולשבעה שרפים גבורי כח שקבלנו שמותם שנבראו תחלה כפי מה שזכר ר' אליעזר הגדול בפרקיו והם הנאצלים מז' מעלות עליונות הם היושבים ראשונה במלכות שמים עליונים משמשים לפני לפנים ה"ד שרפים עומדים ממעל לו לכסא הכבוד.

וזהו שכתי' אפריון עשה לו המלך שלמה מעצי הלבנון. פי' משפע החכמה ומשם הבהיק האור ההוא ונאצל ממנו. וזהו שאמ' ז"ל בבראשית רבה מהיכן נבראת האורה. נתעטף הב"ה בשלמה והבהיק זיוה מסוף העולם ועד סופה.השלמה היא המזגת המשכת החכמה הסובבת את הכל ונתעטף לו וקבל זוהר השפע ההוא והתנוצץ אור ממנו. וכן ר' אליעזר הגדול שאמ' השמים מהיכן נבראו מאור לבושו ולקח ועטה כשלמה והיו נמתחין והולכין שנא' עוטה אור כשלמה נוטה שמים כיריעה. הארץ מאי זה מקום נבראת משלג שתחת כסא כבודו שנא' כי לשלג יאמר היוא ארץ ה"ד אפריון עשה לו וכו'. מעצי הלבנון משם היה אצילות הכל וההויות של כל ה"ד יהי אור ויהי אור. והיה אור לא נאמ' אלא ויהי אור והבן זה מאד.

ד"א משעיר למו וכו'. והנה באתי לפתוח לך שערי קבלה בעניין סוד הכסא שעשה | המלך שלמה ע"ה שאמ' שש מעלות קל ע"א לכסא ועל זה תתן לבך להבין הדברים הנכוחים והנעימים ותמצאם מתוקים מדבש ונופת צופים לכן מי האיש החפץ חיים. יתן לבו להבין דברי אלהים חיים. ואצ"ל בי הכסא הוא דבר מכוסה על שם שהכוחות מכוסות בו ומוציאין לפעולה בכח הרצון בזמן הקצוב לפניו ועל כן נקרא כסא מלשון כסה שמים הודו. ואל תתמה על זה כי אתה מוצא כסא כתוב בה"א כדא' וראש עגול לכסה. על כן נכתב בה"א לבאר

לנו מה שאמרנו.

בא וראה שש מעלות לכסא אלו הן שש המעלות אשר בכסא הרחמים והסוד בזה אנכי יי אלהיך. כי כסא בגי' אנכי והסוד בזה התחת אלהים אנכי. ובכתוב זה אנו מבינים פלאי פלאות מאת יי צבאות ית' ויח'. מה שאתה רואה שנכתב בה"א הכסה בא ללמד לך כי כסא הרחמים מתאחד בכסא הדין וזו היא ה"א אחרונה הכתובה בשם המיוחד כי הוא"ו עומד בין שני ההי"ן והוא"ו הוא שש מעלות לכסא ושני ההי"ן ה"א ראשונה צדק ה"א אחרונה האמונה. ואין להאריך יותר כי לא יוכל הספר להכיל סודותיו אבל יש לנו לכלול דבר כלל הראוי שש מעלות לכסא של שש המעלות וה"א היא המעלה האחרונה וראש עגול לכסה זהו שאמ' ראש דברך אמת פי' אמת סוף תיבות ברא אלהים את ולמה אמר מאחריו על אשר מתאחד הראש עם המעלה אחרי הכסא שנא' על ידי משה רבי' ע"ה וראית את אחורי ופני לא יראו. ללמד כי הראש* הכסא הנקרא אמת מתאחד במשפט וראש עגול לכסה מאחריו בא להודיענו אחור וקדם צרתני. ואחר כך רומז סוף הפסוק ותשת עלי כפכה. אל תקרי כפכה אלא כפי כה וסוד הכ"ף וצורתה מוכיח על כן נתייסד מרכבת הכסא והבן.

ושני אריות עומדות אצל הידות. אלו הם שני שרי גדולים העומדים אחד לימין ואחד לשמאל. ומראיהן כעין נחשת קלל ונקראים שרפים שנא' שרפים עומדים ממעל לו. והם נפרשים מלראות פני הכבוד ועל כן נאמ' בשתים יכסה פניו. ויש חצר הכבוד בינם לבין קונם מהלך ל"ו אלף פרסאות וזהו מה שאמ' ז"ל שש מעלות לכסא ושמותם נודעים הם למבינים ולמשכילים והם המבטלים גזירות רעות. וטובים הם להזכירם בתפלה לבטל כל גזירה שבעולם.

וי"ב אריות עומדים שש על שש המעלות מזה ומזה. אלה הם י"ב המלאכים העומדים סביבות הכסא למספר י"ב שבטי ישראל והם מלאכי רחמים ומליצים טובים על ישראל והם ממונים על רי"ת* רבבות מלאכים. ומזה הכסא נשלחים כל פאורות של זוהר וזרח העליון הנמשך מתחת כסא העליון לכסא התחתון ושולח האור | לכל קל ע"ב הנמצאים והנבראים עד אלינו ה"ד וזרח משעיר למו הופיע מהר פארן וכו'.

ואתא מרבבות קודש מלמד שהב"ה גדול ומהולל בכל

צבא השמים שלו שאין מדותיו כמדת בשר ודם. ואצ"ל כי עט' ישראל היא מקבצת כל המראות והאספקלריאות כולם מאור הקדמון ובה כולם מתערבים כי הוא לאות ולמופת על יחוד ית' ויח' שהוא ראשון לכל ראשון וקדמון לכל קדמון והסוד הנה בשמים עדי וסהדי במרומים. פי' על מהותי ומציאותי יה' ויח'.

ד"א ואתא מרבבות קודש. זש"ה עדות יי נאמנה היא תורת יי תמימה שהיא מונחת בתוך הארון היא עדות היא התורה והיא האות שהתורה ניתנה למשה ע"ה ה"ד ואל הארון תתן את העדות אשר אתן אליך. ד"א למה נקרא ארון לפי שכל הכוחות שהם עשרת הדברות הכתובים בשני הלוחות חמש כנגד חמש גנוזות ונכללות בו ומונחות בתוכו ונקראו לוחות העדות על שם ואעידה בם וכו'. וארז"ל שני הלוחות כנגד שמים וארץ וכנגד תתן וכלה וכנגד שני שושבינין וכנגד שני עולמות. והכל ענין אחד נפלא מאד. ועל זה עמוד והתבונן נפלאות האל שהרי אמ' יהושע ע"ה הנה ארון הברית אדון כל הארץ עובר לפניכם. עליו אין להוסיף וממנו אין לגרוע. אמ' ר' שמואל בר נחמני וטעם כי נאמנה כי היתה באומנה אהו אלפים שנה קודם בריאת העולם ה"ד ואהיה אצלו אמון ואהיה שעשועים יום יום. כי יומו של הב"ה אלף שנים כדא' כי אלף שנים בעיניך כיום אתמול.

ישמח יי במעשיו. כי הוא גדול ומוכתר ומעוטר מעשר מדרגות וזהו סוד שארז"ל באדם הראשון בשעה ששית קרא שמות.

יחי ראובן רומז לחסד הנקרא בן לחכמה עליונה.

יחי פי' יקבל עונג מחיים עליונים הנקרא עולם החיים כדא' כשמן הטוב על הראש. ואלמות שלא יפסק ממנו שפע והמשכה.

מעונה אלהי קדם. פי' מעונה הוא כ"ע. אלהי קדם עי' העי'. ומתחת זרועות עולם. פי' שהוא סובל כל הנמצאים מתחת זרועותיו. ויגרש מפניך אויב. פי' שאין שם לא תמורה ולא אויב אלא עולם הרחמים ועולם המנוחה שהוא נח כיין טוב על שמריו.

וישכון ישראל בטח בדד עין יעקב. וישכון ישראל פי' ישראל סבא שוכן בטח בדד לפי שאין למעלה לא תרדה ולא פחד ולא יראה אלא שוכן בטח והשקט. בדד הוא לבדו ית' כדא' יהיה יי אחד ושמו אחד. וכתי' יי בדד יגחנו. עין יעקב פי' יעקב סבא שהוא משגיח על ארץ דגן בעין הטוב ובעין של רחמים ובעין שלא ינום ולא

ישן כדא׳ טוב | עין הוא יבורך. קלא ע"א
אל ארץ דגן. פי׳ תפ׳. ותירוש פי׳ עט׳ הנקראת תירוש
מלשון רש. אף שמיו . פי׳ התפ׳ . יערפו טל של המחשבה הנקרא
אהיה כדא׳ אהיה כטל לישראל.
אשריך ישראל. פי׳ ישראל סבא. מי כמוך פי׳ מדת
מי שהוא הבינה היא כמוך בנסתר ובנעלם והיא שתוציא המחשבה אל
הפועל וזהו סוד שהלשון תוציא מה שעלה במחשבה. עם נושע ביי .
אלו הם שאר המדרגות והמרכבות שהם נושעים ביי שהוא כ"ע הנקרא
בעל הישועות. מגן עזרך. הוא מגן לכל החוסים בו. ואשר חרב גאותך.
פי׳ מדת החכמה הנקרא אשר היא חרב גאותך היא לך לסיוע ולעזר
מן יד האויבים הבאים לארוב על כנסת ישראל. ויכחשו אויבך לך.
פי׳ שאר התמורות העומדות חוצה. ואתה על במותימו תדרוך. פי׳
על גבם של האויבים.
וימת שם משה עבד יי. פי׳ נאסף השמש אל מוצאו.
ויקבר אותו בגיא. פי׳ העט׳ הנקראת גיא לפי שהיא למטה מכל המרכבות
לכך נקראת גיא. מול בית פעור. לפי שתמורתה נקראת פעור. ולא
ידע איש את קבורתו עד היום הזה. פי׳ אפי׳ מדת התפ׳ הנקרא איש
אינו יודע מציאותו ומוצאו ומובאו מאין נאצל עצמותו ממקום כ"ע הנקרא
קבורתו של משה וזהו סוד כי שם חלקת מחוקק ספון והבן כל זה.
ומשה בן מאה ועשרים שנה בנגד מאה ענפים ועשרים
הנוספים כנגד עשרים הידועים עד הנה יש לי רשות לגלות אם אתה
מן המשכילים תבין השאר. ועל כן באתי לרמוז לך שמשה נשלם בצורה
עליונה מכל וכל. לא כהתה עינו. פי׳ עין השמש כדא׳ אל עין משפט
אע"פ שנאסף משה למטה מ"מ מדתו שהיא השמש לא החשיך מאורה
לפי שעדיין הלבנה עמדה תחתיו. ולא נס ליחה. אל תיקרי לחה אלא
לֵחָה פירוש הלחלוחית היורד מן הנהר העליון דרך הצינורות לא נפסק
ולא נס מן התפ׳ מלשון מה לך הים כי תנוס והבן זה.
ולא קם נביא עוד בישראל כמשה. בישראל לא קם
הא באומות העולם קם כדוגמתו פי׳ בלעם שהיה נביא שהיה מתנבא
מצד טומאתו ומשה רבינו ע"ה מצד טהרתו שזה שואב נבואתו מצד
הקודש וזה שואב נבואתו מצד הטומאה. והבן כל זה.
אשר ידעו יי פנים אל פנים. פי׳ מתפ׳ לעט׳ שהם הפנים

המסתכלים אלו לאלו.
ולכל היד החזקה.שהיה משה פועל כל אלו האותות
והמופתים מצד מדת הגבורה. ולכל המורא הגדול שהוא מדת החסד
הנקרא גדולה שהיה בהם פועל הנסים והנפלאות. לעיני כל ישראל
דווקא עד שהיו | מאמינים כולם ביחוד יי ית׳ וית׳ קלא ע"ב
ברוך הוא וברוך שמו קיים לדורי דורות. ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם
ועד. אשריהם הצדיקים בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא שהב"ה בחר בהם
מכל האומות ונתן להם תורתו הקדושה והתמימה כדא׳ תורת יי תמימה
משיבת נפש. והנחיל להם חיי העולם הבא כדא׳ עין לא ראתה אלהים
זולתך יעשה למחכה לו. ואמ׳ ועמך כולם צדיקים לעולם ירשו ארץ
כו׳. ברוך יי לעולם אמן ואמן. ברוך הנותן ליעף כח ולאין אונים
עצמה ירבה. נשלם לקוטות ספר מראות הצובאות יום שני ארבעה ועשרים
יום לחדש שבט שנת חמשת אלפים ומאתים ושמונה ועשרים לבריאת
העולם בתלמסאן תם . והוא להבחור הנחמד בכל מושב ומעמד הה"ה
ר׳ נתן שולל השם יהיה אותו ויזכהו להגות בו ונאמ׳ אמן.

קטע מספר מראות הצבאות

על פרשת תרומה*

מצאתי שכת׳ מקובל פרש׳ תרומה על דרך הקבלה והביא שם ענין גדול על שיש מקובלים שאומ׳ כי יש למעלה מן הכתר דבר נעלם נק׳ אין סוף וזה לשונו.

ר׳ חייא פתח יי חפץ למען צדקו יגדיל תורה ויאדיר. אשריהם הצדיקים שהב"ה בחר בהם מכל העולם כי הם חבל נחלתו והם דגלו של הב"ה ה"ד ודגלו עלי אהבה ובחר באהרן הכהן וקרבו לעבודתו לשרת לפניו ולהקריב הקורבנות ולהדליק הנרות כדי שיאירו הנרות העליונים. בא וראה כי מיכאל הוא כהן גדול בשמים והוא המקריב הקרבנות שהם הנשמות של הצדיקים ומטהר אותם כדי שלא ישאר בהם שום מום ולכלוך וטינוף אזי הוא מקריב אותם לפני מלך העליון ית׳ ויח׳ זכרו ויתעלו עלייה מעילוי לעילוי והוא ג"כ מדליק הנרות העליונים שהוא מושך השמן הטוב מעולם העליון שהוא מדת האין ומשפיע לתחתונים וידלקו הנרות על ידו ה"ד כשמן הטוב על הראש יורד על הזקן זקן אהרן וגו׳.

ד"א על הזקן זקן אהרן זהו רומז לכתר עליון שנק׳ אהרן שהוא נק׳ כהן שהוא כהן לאל עליון אל תקרי זקן אהרן אלא זקן שהוא זקן על כל המדרגות ה"ד ועתיק יומין יתיב וגו׳ וכתי׳ מפני שיבה תקום והדרת פני זקן וגו׳. פי׳ כשמן הטוב שהוא השפע הנגוזה הטובה על הראש יורד על הזקן שהוא אהרן מן עילת העילות שהוא ראש והוא התחלה וסיום והוא נק׳ אין סוף כי כל העולמות צריכין לו משם נמשך אותו מבוע של הנחל הקדומים לכל העולמות עד שיורד על פי מדותיו ומשם יורד על הררי ציון כי שם צוה יי את הברכה חיים עד העולם.

לכן צוה הב"ה למשה לעשות את המנורה הטהורה על דרך העליון לרמוז למנורה עליונה שכתי׳ בה מנורת זהב כלה וגלה על ראשה ושבעה נירותיה מאירים וגו׳ אלו הם ז׳ מדרגות שהם מורידי׳ ומציקים בה שפע ה"ד שבעה ושבעה מוצקות אל תקרי מוצקות אלא מציקות והם הם מגישין אליה והיא מוצקת פי׳ כמו שהיא | מקבלת היציקה מלמעלה כך היא משפעת למטה ומוצקת עמ׳ כב לכל המדות המורכבות והצבאות.

מקשה תיעשה המנורה. יו"ד יתידה רמז לי׳ ספירות שהן במנורה פי׳ העס׳ לרמוז לך שיש בה עשר ודי למבין. ד"א מקשה

תיעשה המנורה ירכה וקנה פי׳ שהיא נעשית מאליה פי׳ מעצמה ומחתיכת אחת היו עושין אותה הגביעים והכפתורים והפרחים ממנה היו פי׳ לרמוז למנורה העליונה שכל אלו המדרגות כלם שופכין לה והיא מהם והם בה נראים כלם כאחד.

יריכיו רומז לנצח והוד שהם הירכים של המנורה. וקנה רמז לצינור האמצעי שיורד לה מן התפ׳ שהוא אמצעי. גביעיה רומז לגדולה ולגבורה שהם הגביעים והסו׳ את גביעי גביע הכסף רומז למדת הכסף ודי למבין.

בא וראה א"ל הב"ה למשה לא בשביל שאני צריך לנרות של בשר ודם ולא הזהרתיך על הנרות אלא כדי לזכותם בזכות הנרות שהיא התורה ה"ד כי נר מצוה ותורה אור ונהורא עימיה שרי וכתי׳ גם חשך לא יחשיך ממך ולילה כיום יאיר כחשכה כאורה. כדי ללמדך שאינו צריך לנרות בשר ודם. תדע לך כשאדם בונה בית עושה לו חלונות צרות מבחוץ ורחבות מבפנים כדי שיהא האור נכנס מבחוץ ומאיר בפנים. ושלמה המלך ע"ה כשבנה בית המקדש לא עשה כן אלא עשה חלונות צרות מבפנים ורחבות מבחוץ כדי שיהא האור יוצא מבפנים מבית המקדש ומאיר לחוץ שכן כתי׳ ויעש לבית חלוני שקופים אטומים להודיעך שכולו הוא אור ואינו צריך לאורכם. ולמה צוה אתכם כדי לזכות אתכם לכך נאמ׳ בהעלותך את הנרות וכו׳ ה"ד יי חפץ למען צדקו יגדיל תורה ויאדיר.

בא וראה הקב"ה הוא אור קדמון והוא אור ראשון והוא אור כי כל אורה וכל חיים ממנו יוצא וכל המאורות צריכין לו והוא אינו צריך לאחד מהם ומה שצוה להם להדליק הנרות כדי שיהיו דומין כדוגמ׳ עליונה ולהמשיך השפע ממדה למדה ולהדליק הנרות הידועות לכן צונו לתועלתנו להדליק הנרות. אמ׳ הב"ה לישראל הוו זהירין להדליק את הנרות לשמי והנני מאיר לכם אורה גדולה לעתיד לבא ה"ד קומי אורי כי בא אורך וכבוד יי עליך זרח וכתי׳ כי הנה החשך יכסה ארץ וגו׳ וכתי׳ והלכו גוים לאורך ומלכים לנגה זרחך. בא וראה לעתיד לבא הב"ה יהיה אורו הגנוז על כל העולמות | ויתדבק עמ׳כג האור עם החשך ויתחברו כל המדות כאחד והברכות יהיו נמצאים מלמעלה ולמטה ה"ד והיה אור הלבנה כאור החמה וגו׳.

וששה קנים יוצאים מצידיה ג׳ קני מנורה מצדה האחת

וגו׳ רומז לחכמה ולגדולה ולנצח. ומצדה הב׳ בינה גבורה והוד הכל כדוגמה עליונה בא וראה י"ב שבטים שהקריבו קרבנות.ע"כ.

ויקחו לי תרומה פי׳ לשמי הגדול כי דרך האומנין שזוכרין בתחלה המלאכה בשם יי כדי שישכון הברכה על המלאכה כדי שיהא לשמו הגדול ית׳ שמו. אבל הגוים הארורים כשמתחילין לעשות המלאכה מזכירין שם ע"ז מיד שוכן על המלאכה רוח טומאה וישכון באותו בית וזהו סוד שהכנעניים הארורים כשהיו בונים בתיהם היו בונין אותם לשם טומאה מיד היה שורה עליו רוח טומאה וזהו סוד שכתו׳ כי תבאו אל ארץ וגו׳ וכתו׳ כנגע נראה לי לאותו בית אז ידע שנבנה לשם ע"ז שלהם לכן היה צריך להרום את הבית ולהוציא את עציו ואת הבנין מחוץ למחנה ויבנה אותו כבתחלה לשם הגדול והקדוש כדי שישרה על הבית רוח הקדוש והטהור ה"ד ויקחו לי פי׳ לשמי כדי שישרה על המלאכה רוח הקדוש וישכון שם השכינה כראוי ה"ד ועשו לי מקדש ושכנתי בתוכם.

ד"א ויקחו לי תרומה פי׳ לי רומז לתפ׳ ישר׳ ויש לך להסתכל בזה הפסוק בסוד עליון כשתפא׳ המלך הקדוש בא להתחבר במטרוניתא בזיוג אחד אזי היא נקר׳ תרומה מלשון רמה על שהיא מתרוממת ומתנשאת לעלות כנגד המלך יי צבאות לכן ויקחו לי תרומה פי׳ שתעשו משכן ותעשו מזבח ותקריבו הקרבן כדי שתקשרוני עם בת זוגי כי סוד הקרבן הוא הזווג של המדות כשיתחבר החתן עם הכלה כל זה יהיה על ידי הקרבן. ברוך הוא ומבורך שמו שבחר בישראל מכל האומות שנתן להם תורתו ובחר בהם לעם סגולה מכל העמים וחפץ בהם לעשות משכן לנוח שכינתו שם והוא הניח העליונים ובחר בתחתונים והוריד שכינתו לשם ה"ה ויקחו לי תרומה וגו׳.

ר׳ יהודה פתח משכיל לדוד בהיותו במערה תפלה. ואז"לכי בתפלתו של ר׳ נחוניה בן הקנה מזכיר הדעת והידוע והיודע | כמו שכל ומשכיל ומושכל כנגד כ"ע חכמה ובינה וידוע עמ׳ כד הוא כי המשכיל הוא בינה כי יבין וישכיל ולכן בהיות עמ׳ ישראל מתבוננת בבינה להאציל ולהשפיע ולעגות מן מעין החכמה ומדע תפלה חבורים הם לחבר את האהל להיות אחד וכאשר השכיל זה דוד המלך אזי נתחבר עם כתר מלכותו וכאלו הוא מתפלל בלשון חברה עמה ולכן אמ׳ קולי אל יי אזעק כדי לרחם על קולי ועלי. קולי אל יי אתחנן

כדי להגן עליו ולהלחם באויביו ולעמוד בדין על אויביו כי כל תפלה בנפילת אפים לארץ . וסדר הענין הוא כך אחר שבא אל מקור החיים להריק שפע מן כתר עליון אל המעלות הוצרך לסדר יחודו של הקב"ה תחלה ואח"כ לבא ולבקש צרכיו. בא וראה הבא לשאול שאלה מן המלך צריך ליחדו תחלה עד שיהיה ענין יחודו מענין חפצי שאלתו ואח"כ ישאל מן המלך צרכיו ולפי שהוצרך לתפ' ולעט' לתפ' כדי לרחמו ולדין כדי לנקום באויביו הוצרך לכתר עליון ולחכמה ולבינה ולתפ' ולעט' ולכן אמ' אל כ"ע וחכמה ובינה בלשון נסתר ונעלם.

אשפוך לפניו שיחי וגו'. פי' המים אשר נבעו על ידי אשר חפרתי בחלמיש הנעלם אשפוך אותם המים הקדושים אל שיחי והוא התפ' כדי למלאתו מחסריו הרבים לעשות לו חסד ולא מצד הדין.

צרתי לפניו אגיד. פי' וצרות תמורות כל צרות של מלכות בית דוד אשר באו לצרור עליה בחייה ומתוך כך העוותים והגליות והמכאבות כולם מחעוררים ולכן צרתי לפניו אגיד. ופי' לפניו לספירות העשוים על חיות פניו. ויהיה הגדה לבית יעקב ר"ל עט' ומה הן הצרות הן בהתעטף עלי רוחי.

דע אתה המעיין במזמור זה כי כאשר התעטף התפ' בלבוש מלכות תכלת ובתפילין שבראשו ר"ל כח"ב ג"ג אזי רוח יערה מן כ"ע ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן והשמחה מצויה לכולם בין בעולמות העליונים בין בעולמות התחתונים ובין בעולמות הפנימיים ובין בעולמות החיצונייס. אמנם כאשר תתעטף בבגדים אחרים אזי קוראים סורו סורו אל תגעו אזי כל העולמות בצער ובדאגה למה כי אין מים לשתות | ולחם אין בכל הארץ ואזי המקורות נסתמו' עמ' כח ויתפתחו מעייני המות ומעייני בורות שיחין ומערות אשר שם נחש ועקרבים וכל מיני שקצים ורמשים אזי יתעוררו כל מיני חלאים רבים וכל מיני ע' טרפות מע' שרים הפך וברך את לחמך ואת מימיך והסירותי מחלה מקרבך. מכאן תבין סוד התוכחות של אם בחוקותי תלכו ושל והיה כי תבא.

ולכן דוד המלך ע"ה צעק ואמ' בהתעטף עלי דוחי ר"ל כאשר תתעטף רוחי שהוא רוח החיים למלכות יי שהוא מלכות בית דוד הם הם צרותי כי אזי באה אשה צרה ונכריה להזדוג במלך יי צבאות. ואתה ידעת נתיבתי פי' באי זה נתיבות אני מנהג את המלכות כי אני

משתדל תמיד להוליך אוהה באורח זו ר"ל בתפ' ועט' סמנו פח לי הבה על דרכי טמנו לי בסתר פחים כדי ללכדני במוקשים.

ועתה צועק ומשליך יהבו ומבטחו אל השמות הנזכרי' והנעלמי' הנכתבים והנק' ואו' הבט ימין וראה פי' הוא מתחנן לתפ' שתביט אל ימין מחסד עליון אשר כבר פתח מחיילותיו. וראה פי' מתחנן לעט' שתראה ולא הזכיר שמאל לפחדו מעונש חסאו. אין לי מכיר פי' כי כ"ע מתוך מעלתו הנעלמת אין בסבעו להכיר את המדרגות האחרות אמנם דעת עליון שולטת ומשגחת בהם ודרך כ"ע להתעורר על ימין ושמאל. משגיחין על הדעת והדעת על הכל. וממנו על שאר היצירות ולפי' אמ' ימין. ואין לי מכיר ר"ל משגיח אם לא על ידי ימין אבד מנוס ממני פי' באהל הצדיק יהיה מנוסת העט' בעת צרה. אין דורש לנפשי הוא אין של התמורות הנק' באין תחבולות יפול עם. הוא דורש לקחת נפשי ר"ל התפ' ממש כי צדיק מט לפני רשע והרשע מכתיר את העטר'. זעקתי אליך יי. ר"ל התפ'. אמרתי אתה מחסי שבכנפיך אחסה ואמתר מהם ומתוך כך יהא חלקי בארץ החיים.

הקשיבה אל רנתי פי' מצד הגבורה כי דלתי מאד מכל מה שחנני השם בכסף ובזהב ואבנים טובות ומרגליות ומאכל ומשתה ובגדים ומלבושים. הצילני מרודפי שהם התמורות. כי אמצו ממני פי' נתחזקו יותר ממני והנני אסור במסגר ובכבלים שלהם ולפי' הוציאה ממסגר נפשי | פי' הוציא עט' ישר' הנרמז בה"א ואת עמ' כו נפשי מן המסגר ההוא כדי להודות את שמך לאמר כי אשר יש למעלה ויש למטה*.

בי יכתירו צדיקים כי תגמול עלי. פי' שתצילני וחפרנסני ותגמלני חסדים טובים עד שיהיה גמולך עלי ולא תמורתך אזי כל צדיקי עולם יהיה להם כ"ע על ראשם ויהיה יי אחד ושמו אחד אזי יהיה יחודו ומעלתו בכל העולמות והשמחות נמצאים למעלה ולמטה והברכות הם יורדים מן מקור העליון הידוע שהוא כ"ע שהוא מריק הברכות לכל העולמות כולם ה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן והשכינה שרויה בעולם אימתי שורה השכינה למטה בזמן שעשו ישראל המשכן ועשו אותו על דרך דוגמא עליונה ה"ד כאשר אתה מראה בהר כי משה היה מסתכל ומשיג בעולם המלכות והיה נעשה המשכן שלמטה כדוגמ' המשכן שלמעלה. ודי למבין.

וצפית אותו זהב סהור מבית ומחוץ תצפנו. כנגד הגבורה
שנק' זהב הנקי והטהור שהיא מקבלת הזהב מצד הבינה ויש בתוך הבינה
מדה נק' סגור כי סגור הוא הזהב הנקי והטהור ה"ד לא יותן סגור
תחתיה לפי שהיא מקבלת האודם של הזהב מן הבינה והגבורה לפי'
היו מצפין הארון של משה בזהב כדרך העליון.

מבית ומחוץ תצפנו. ושנינו ג' ארונות עשה בצלאל
ב' של זהב וא' של עץ והיה נותן הזהב באמצע גמצא שהיה מצופה
הארון בזהב מבית פ' מבפנים שהוא צד הבינה ומבחוץ שהוא צד הגבורה
והבן זה. ויש במדת המלכות מקום נק' ארון הברית. מכאן לת"ת צריך
שיהיה תוכו כברו מבית ומחוץ תצפנו ושיהיה משאו ומתנו עם הבריות
באמונה וכשיעשה זה אזי הבריות אום' עליו שבחות וטובות ואום'
ראו פלוני שלמד תורה כמה משאו ומתנו באמונה עם הבריות וכמה
דבריו בנחת נשמעים ואשריו ואשרי יולדתו ברוך שבחר בתורה ובצדיקים
עבדיו גמצא שהוא גורם שהבריות מספרי' בשבחה ובהלולה של תורה
אבל ת"ח שהוא עובר עבירה ואין משאו ומתנו באמונה והולך בדרכים
מקולקלים והוא גרם שהבריות מרננים עליו ואום' ראו פלוני שעסק
בתורה ותראו היאך בדרכים שאינם הגונים הולך ולא בדרכי הב"ה
כמה הוא | מכוער אוי לו ואוי לנשמתו שגורם לבריות עמ' כז
שהם משנאין את התורה על ידו ה"ד כל משגאי אהבו מות אל תקרי
משנאי אלא משניאי פי' שהם גורמים לבריות שהם שונאים אותו ואת
התורה לכן טוב לו שלא נברא.

לכן צריך כל ת"ח ליזהר בדרכיו ולילך בדרכי התורה
והמצות ויהיה מצופה בזהב מבית ומחוץ ופי' שיהיו דבריו אמיתיים
הן בפיו הן בלבו ולא יגנב דעת הבריות ואם יעשה כן אשריו ואשרי
חלקו שהלך בדרך שהלכו בו האבות אברהם יצחק ויעקב כדי שיהיה
לו חלק לעולם הבא ה"ד אז תתענג על יי.

ולעשות עליו זר זהב סביב. פי' שהיה לארון זר
שהיה מקיף אותו מכל צד רומז לזר העליון שהוא כתר עליון שהוא
נזר הקדש שהוא מקיף כל העולמות כזר שהוא מסבב סביב סביב ולכן
כדי שיהיה הארון עשוי על דרך יסוד העליון צריך שיעשה לו זר
זהב להיות דומה לדוגמא של מעלה.

בא וראה אם זכה ת"ח ונהג עצמו בדרכי הב"ה ובדרכי

המצות ומשתדל בתורה מיד יעשה לו זר פי' נזר הקדש שהוא מתעטר
בכל יום ומושכין לו מנהר הנמשך שפע בכל יום ה"ד ונהר יוצא מעדן.
אם ח"ו להפך שהוא משה דרכיו מיד יעשה כמו זר שהוא נכרי ואין
לו משגיח ולא מרחם ויעשה הפקר לחיות החיצוניות ויחזור הפקר לכל
וכיון שאותו זר שהוא הכתר הקדוש שהוא הש"י סר מעליו מיד הופקר
לכל ויעשה כנכרי שהוא זר לכל דבר.

אל הכפרת יהיו פני הכרובים. אשריכם ישר' שהב"ה
מסר לכם תורתו הקדושה שהיא תורת אמת וגנז לכם מצפוניו וסתריו
מה שלא עשה לשום אומה ולשון ה"ד לא עשה כן לכל גוי.

ואז"ל* כי עולם העליון הוא מושך מנהר של אין סוף
מן המבוע שאינו פוסק המשקה לעולם החכמה שהוא יו"ד של הש"י
והיא ראשית לכל הנמצאים והיא התחלה ליישוב ה"ד והחכמה מאין
תמצא. ומן עומק החכמה שהוא עומק הנחל נמשך משקה לעולם היובל
שהוא סוד חמשים שערי בינה שהיא ה"א של שם המפורש והוא עולם
של אם הבנים שמחה ומשם נמשך למדת החסד של אברהם שהוא עולם
הרחמי' ומשם נמשך לצד יצחק שהיא מדת הגבורה שהיא בית דין הקשה
ומשם נמשכו המים והאש ויתערבו כאחד מצד יעקב שהוא התפ' לכן
התפ' חציו דין וחציו רחמים ה"ד דודי צח ואדום ומשם | נמשך עמ' כח
אל הנצח ואל ההוד והם מאירים פנים לצד כנסת ישראל שהיא נק'
עטרת ולא יסורו השגחתם והבטחתם מן המלכות ה"ד ואל הכפורת יהיו
פני הכרובים. ובתוך הכפורת יש שתי מדות אחרות ונקראות כרובים
שהם מעשה רוקם מצוייר רומז לכרובים שהם מצויירים כפרת ודי
למבין.

ואל הארון תתן את העדות פי' לחבר יסוד ומלכות כאחד
שהם זכר ונק'. לא אמ' בתוך הארון תתן את העדות אלא ואל הארון
תתן את העדות.

ונועדתי לך שם מלשון מועד לכן היא נק' אהל מועד
על שם יתועדו ויתקבצו כל המדרגות כאחד ויאספו כל העם כאיש אחד
שלשם הגיע הדבור מן התפארת דרך הצינור שהוא בין הכרובים שהם
נצח והוד עד לכפורת שהיא מלכות לפי שהשכינה תמיד היא שוכנת
על הארון ולא תסור משם.

ועשית שולחן רומז לכנסת ישראל שהיא שולחן של

מלכים כל זהב וכסף וכל סובות עליונים ותחתונים היה מונח על אותו
השולחן והוא נק׳ זה השולחן אשר לפני יי. ולחם הפנים היה מונח
על השולחן שש המערכת שהם שתים מערכות יעלו י"ב לחמי פנים כנגד
י"ב הויות הקדושות כנגד שבטי ישראל. והוא הלחם הפנים. אחר
כשעה* שהיו מסירין זה מן השולחן היו מניחין להם אחר ולא יראה
השולחן ריקם אפי׳ רגע אחד. הכל הוא רמז לעולם העליון כי כמו
שיש בעולם התפא׳ י"ב הויות שהם מנהיגי העולמות כך יש בעולם
המלכות י"ב הויות וכ"ד אדנים שהם מנהיגים העולמות שלמטה כמאמר
אדון הכל שהוא גבוה מעל גבוה וגו׳.

וצפית אותו זהב טהור רמז לשולחן של מלכים שהיא
כמו שולחן שנסדר עליו כל מעדני מלך כך זה השולחן הידוע כל טובות
עליונים שוכנים עליו. תם ונשלם. אמן.

חילופי נוסחאות

ומראי מקומות

סימני כתבי היד

א	כ"י אסקוריאל 15
ל	כ"י ליוורנו 16 (ירושלים 1958 8^{0})
נ	כ"י ביהמ"ד לרבנים בניו יורק 1783
ק	כ"י קמברידג' 664
ש	כ"י ששון 978

סימני האפאראט

)	שנוי בנוסח כתב יד
( )	השמטה
$א^1$ או $ק^1$	הגהה כותב כתב היד
$א^2$ או $ק^2$	הגהה כותב אחר
?	כתב לא ברור
!	אתמהא!

לוח ראשי תיבות וקיצורים

א"א	אריך אנפין
אדר"נ	אבות דר' נתן
א"כ	אחר כך
איכ"ר	איכה רבה
אס'	אסתר
אס"ר	אסתר רבה
אצ"ל	אתה צריך לדעת
ב"ד	בית דין
בי'	בינה
ביהמ"ד	בית המדרש
במ'	במדבר
במ"ר	במדבר רבה
בר'	בראשית
ב"ר	בראשית רבא
ג'	גבורה, גדולה
גב'	גבורה
גד'	גדולה
גי'	גימטריא
ד"א	דבר אחר
דב'	דברים
ד"ה	דבר המתחיל
דה"א	דברי הימים א
דה"ב	דברי הימים ב
דני'	דניאל
ד"ר	דברים רבה
ה'	הוד, הלכה
הו'	הושע
הוצ'	הוצאת
ויק'	ויקרא
ויק"ר	ויקרא רבה
ז"ח	זוהר חדש
זח"א	זוהר הלק א
זח"ב	זוהר חלק ב
זח"ג	זוהר חלק ג
זכ'	זכריה
ח'	חלק, חסד
חב'	חבקוק
חכ'	חכמה
ח"נ	חילופי נוסחאות
י'	יסוד
יהו'	יהושע
יחז'	יחזקאל
ילק"ש	ילקוט שמעוני
ירוש'	ירושלמי
יש'	ישעיה, ישראל
כ"י	כתב יד, כנסת ישראל
כלו'	כלומר
כ"ע	כתר עליון
לק"ט	לקח טוב
מ'	מלכות, משנה
מה"ג	מדרש הגדול
מהד'	מהדורה
מי'	מיכה
מ"י	מנחת יהודה
מכדרשב"י	מכילתא דר' שמעון בן יוחאי
מל'	מלאכי
מל"א	מלכים א
מל"ב	מלכים ב
מס'	מסכת
מש'	משלי
נ'	נצח
נח'	נחמיה
ס'	ספר
סא"ז	סדר אליהו זוטא
סי'	סימן
עה"ת	על התורה
עו'	עובדיה
עז'	עזרא
עט'	עטרה, עטרת
עי' העי'	עילת העילות
ע"י	על ידי
ע"כ	עד כאן
עמ'	עמוד, עמוס
ע"פ	על פי
פ'	פרק, פרשה
פדר"א	פרקי דר' אליעזר
פי'	פיטקא, פירוש
פס"ר	פסיקתא רבתי

צפ׳	צפניה
צ"ל	צריך להיות
קה׳	קהלת
קה"ר	קהלת רבה
שה"ש	שיר השירים
שהש"ר	שיר השירים רבה
שו׳	שורה
שו"ט	שוחר טוב
שופ׳	שופטים
שמ׳	שמות
שמ"א	שמואל א
שמ"ב	שמואל ב
שמ"ר	שמות רבה
ש"ע	שמונה עשרה
תהל׳	תהלים
ת"ז	תקוני זוהר
תנח׳	תנהומא
תפ׳	תפארת
חרג׳	תרגום

עמ׳ א

1 ספר מראות הצובאות. וידבר יי נ בעזרת יי צבאות אתחיל לכתוב ספר מראות הצובאות פרשת אחרי מות. וידבר יי ש (מן) ק 2 (שני בני אהרן) נ (גו׳) נש וגו׳ ק | (ר׳ יהודה... מות) נ שכתב ק דכתיב ש 3 אחרת נש | (אל משה) נ 4 די ומפחיק נ | שנו חברייא נש 6 החבריא ק | הדבר הזה שבכאן מדריגה א׳ ואח׳ כן מדריגה אחרת נ הזה שבכאן בא במדרגה אחת ש 7 אף בכאן נש | (אחת) נ | אמר יי נ | (דבר... אחיך) ש 8 הכל נש | אחת ש 9 זו נ 10 (נסדר) ש | מיתתן נש | מכפרת נ 11 בני ישראל נש | על כן אדם נ כל בן אדם ק שכל בן אדם ש | (כפרה) נ 12 (על) נ של קש | צדיקים נש 14 איבודן נש | (ויתכפר... הצדיקים) נש 16 (עוד) נ 17 יצליה נק 19 (כלא) נ וכתי׳ ש | (אחד) נ 21 וכשהיה ש מן) אל (!) ק 22 בלא משפט בלא משפט ודאי נש | (מהו... שלמה) ש מהו מטתו עס׳ של לשלמה נ 23 כסא עס׳ נ | מלך ש המלך תפ׳ נ | בה עס׳ נ 25 שנקראים נש | (שדין) נ | נער עסדת נ 27 בזיוני) בדינים נ בדנין ש | כל מלחמה ק | העליונה ש 28 נפש עס׳ מארץ מרחק כ"ע נ 29 שלמה המלך) ע"ה ק שהע"ה ש 30 וכלם נ 31 העליונה ש | הוא חכמה... דעת) כנגד חכמה כך הוא קוהלת כנגד היא החכמה קהלת היא התבונה משלי היא דעת תפ׳ נ הוא תבונה ק היא החכמה קהלת היא התבונה ש 32 עשה שלמה נש

2 זוהר ח"ג נו ע"א; ויק׳ פז,א 3 שם שם,ב 5 שם א,א | שמ׳ כד,א 6 עיין בבלי סנהדרין לח ע"ב 9 זוהר שם נז ע"ב | עיין משנה מגילה פ"ג, מ"ה 11 עיין בבלי ברכות ה ע"א 14 עיין בבלי מועד קטן כה ע"א 15 יש׳ ו,ז 16 שם נג,י 17 אמרה... בשמן) זוהר שם נס ע"א 18 פתח) שם שם ע"ב תהל׳ קלג,א (שיר המעלות לדוד) 19 שמ׳ כה,כ 22 משׁ יג,כג | זוהר שם ס ע"א; שה"ש ג,ז 23 משׁ לא,יא | עיין שהש"ר פ"א, יא 25 עיין בבלי חגיגה טו ע"א 28 זוהר שם סד ע"א | משׁ כה,כה

*5 בזוהר המובאה היא אחרת: ויקרא אל משה (ויק׳ א,א), בהתאם למלים הבאות.
*8 בזוהר: וכלא בחד מתקלא סלקא.
*25 בזוהר: שתין פולסי דנורא.

עמ׳ ב

1 הדעת כך הוא נש | (כל) ש 3 אלו) אלו הן נ | (בזה) נ | שקלן הכתוב ש 4 (הא) נש 5 נחת רוח נ נחת הרוח ש | אותן הנסיעות נ 6 וכלם מקבלים נש שהכל כולל נ 10 ממנה יוצאים ש 11 היא נ | והגבורה ממנה יוצאת נ | (והדין ממנה יוצא) נש 12 מתערין נ 13 (ונקוד בדין) נ ונקוד דין ש | מצד הדין נש 14 ובכתיבתו ק 15 יוצא ומעורר נ מתעורר ויוצא ש | מדרגה אחר מדרגה נש 16 האותיות | נאחז נ | בשביל נש 17 (יי(2)) נ | אלהים ש | האותיות נ 18 (והיא) נ | אחרון נ | והוא נש 21 בלי נש | א"ל ר׳ אליעזר נ אמר ליה ר׳ אלעזר ש 22 אהיה ב׳ אשר גב׳ אהיה עס׳ נ 23 אמרוה נ | החבריא ק 24 (הכל) נש | שכשאותן ש 25 הסמוכים) הסמוכים נ 26 (של כל) נ 27 (אהיה (2)) נש 28 ולהוריד) ולהוליד נש 29 (אהיה) ש 30 פדס) סוד ש 31 ומכאן נ | (אשד) נ | ומצאתי בספר ש׳ ע"ה נ המלך ע"ה ק ובספר של שלמה מצאתי ש 32 (העליון) נש | (בזה) ק

3 זוהר שם 5 שם סה ע"א 17 מל"א יח,לט | דב' ד,לה 22 שמ' ג,יד
31 שם שם, טו 32 בר' ל,יג

*6 בזוהר: וכל אינין בוצינין.
*8 בזוהר: א"ס. הגירסא פה עדיפה; במנ וקר: אם, ועיין שורה 11: ובשביל שאנו
קורין לה אם, ובזוהר: ובגין דקרינן לה אם.
*14 והוא כתוב... דין גמור, הסברו של ר' דוד.
*28 בזוהר: ולאולדא, ועיין בח"נ.

עמ' ג

1 (הוא) נ 2 (כלל) ש כלל סתום של כל שלא נ 3 ולא א 4 שהיא עתידה
נש 5 (ואמר... להוליד) נ | וא"כ) ואח"כ נקש 6 ותקן נ | שיצא ונתקן הכל נ
שיצא ש 7 הפרט ק 8 גלוי וסתום נש | שלא השיג אדם בעולם ש 9 בני
אדם) ב"ו נ 10 ר' אלעזר קש | ולהלן נ ולהלא ש הזהר נש | תכתו' נ
תכחוב ש 12 באמונה נש 13 (אלא) נש 14 וקשר נש | (ממקום אחד מהם) נ
(מהם) ש 16 כולל) כלל נ | כלל) כולל נש 18 ויוציא ממנה נ (ממנו) ש
19 (כתי') ש 21 ושנים כ"ח נ 22 ובשביל נש 23 (ואחר... ואם) נ 24
ולכך ש 25 (אחר כן) נש 26 אף ביניהם אק 27 שבזה ש | (בלבי) נ | למקום
א' נש 28 דברים נש | צדיקים נש 31 של אבות נ של האבות ש 32
כנסת נש | ובאי נש

3 מש' ח,ל | איוב כח,יג 13 במ' טו,לא 18 בר' ב,י 20 שה"ש א,טו
ועוד, ועיין זח"ג ד ע"א 30 תהל' קמ,יד | שם נ,א

*2 בזוהר: דזא דשמא קדישא; במנ' וקר': לאחזאה קב"ה למשה; ועיין שורה 12.
*9 בזוהר; ואתדבק מה דלא אתדבקו.
*13 בזוהר: דגרע חד דרגא, ועיין בח"נ.
*15 אין לו חלק... וגו', חסר בזוהר.
*22 בזוהר: בנין. ר' דוד קרא את המלה כ"בגין".
*30 בזוהר: א"ר יהודה

עמ' ד

2 לברוא נ לברא את ש | (הכל) נש | בדוגמא ק כמו העולם ש 3 באמצעות נ |
והוא נ 5 ממזרח תפ' נ 6 (שיופי העולם) נש 7 מציון יסוד נ 8 כאחד נ
9 (המזבח סתם) נש 11 וכשהכהן ק | למטה ש 12 התחיל נש 14 ומוכיח נ
16 מחנות וכמה מרכבות נ 17 וכשיזמן אק | בשני ק 21 (הם... שישראל) ש
למעלה נ | (בזמן... ולא למטה) נ 22 נמצאת ש 23 בשביל ישראל שישראל
מבטלין נש 24 למעלה ולא למטה נ | (מתחילין) נ 25 בשבילם נ | תדעון בודאי
נ 26 (אחת) נ 29 (מה) נ 30 (אלא) נש 31 (דינין) נ | וגומרין נ 32
להגלות נ | מתערין נ

1 שם שם, ב 2 עיין תנח', קדושים, פי' י' 8 ויק' טז,יח 20 עיין בבלי
חולין צא ע"ב 26 ויק' כו,מד 28 שם טז,כד 30 שם שם, טז | עיין בבלי
סנהדרין עד ע"א

*6 בזוהר: מציון דהוא שלימו דיופי דעלמא.
*13 בזוהר: חד. ר' דוד קרא את המלה כ"בחדו".
*18 בזוהר: אשרי לון, במובן: השרה אותם.
*19 בזוהר: וחדוון. לעיני ר' דוד: ודחוון.
*23 בזוהר: ועל דישראל. לעיני ר' דוד: על דישראל.
*23 בזוהר: כד שראן.
*29 בזוהר: בעלמא.
*30 בזוהר: וכפר על הקדש מטמאת בני ישראל. מאי וכפר על הקדש אלא. לפניתו
מקדה של homoioteleuton.
*32 בזוהר: בעי, במובן: צריך.

עמ' ה

1 כתר חס' נ | ראשו ש 2 וכשראש) וכשראה חסד נש 3 שמחות) שלימות ק |
נמצא נש 8 (ויש) נ 9 יכפר נ 12 פתח ואמ' נ 13 החבריא ק 15
שרתה) היתה נש | הצדיקים נש 16 שרתה השכינה נש | כשיחזרא (!) ק 17
בהיכל של מלך נ 20 שנגזר עליהם נ 21 בגלותם נקש | יעקוב קש 22
יעקוב קש 23 שיעקוב ק | כולל נ | שלשם הקדוש נ של שם הקדוש ש
24 אוחז נ 26 שלשה עשר) י"ג מדות ק | ירושה נ | (של) ש 27 והקדוש נש
31 כלולים ביחד אחד באחד נ 32 האותיות שהם ש

9 ויק' שם, ל | שם שם, יז 12 שם כו,מב 14 עיין בבלי מגילה כט ע"א
15 עיין פס"ר פ"ה, סי' ז' 17 עיין בבלי יומא סט ע"ב 18 עיין בבלי
סנהדרין צח ע"א 28 יחז' א,כו 29 בר' כב,טז

*26 כי וא"ו... עשר, הסברו של ר' דוד.

עמ' ו

1 עמוקה נ 2 זו נ זו היא ש | שיחברך נש 3 (הוא התפשטות של) נש
3 (ועל זה... נו"ן פשוטה) נש 5 למלך תפ' נש 6 שהרי הזכר נש 7
יובל בי' נ | נסתמת) נסתרת נש 8 גל) גן נ 9 שהמלך נש 13 א"ר יהודה
נש 14 מזו נ מזאת ש 15 וקדש את נש 17 כדי שיאמר נש 18 (של)
נש 19 ביו"ד חכ' יו"ד עט' הולך ליו"ד חכ' עולה יו"ד עט' ביו"ד חכ' נ
20 העת עט' נ | ומתחבר ה"א בי' בוא"ו בי' תפ' ה"א בי' נ 21 בשעריו כ"ע נ |
אותיות בנהרותיו כ"ע נ | מדרגות אכסדרין נש 22 שערים) שערי בינה נ | של ו'
קצות העמודים ש של העמודים קצוות 24 מעטר אלף א (מעטר... בעטרה) ק
מעוטר נש 25 בכתר כ"ע נ | בעטרה כ"ע נ 26 למטה יסו' 27 למעלה תפ'
נ | ו' תפ' יודד לו' יסו' 28 (בו) נש 29 באחד תפ' נ 30 איתן יסוד נ |
בסלע עט' נ 31 (כלם(2)) נש 32 והכל מתקשר ש והקול תפ' נ

8 שה"ש ד,יב 25 שם ג,יא 30 בר' מט,כד | במ' כד,כא

*1 וא"ו דאשונה... יסוד, הסברו של ר' דוד.
*5 בזוהר: ותאנא מ"ם לא כליל בגויה; בקר': בגבייהו.
*28 בזוהר: טאסין.
*31 בזוהר: נהרין מפתחן וגהרין אנפין כלהו.

עמ' ז

1 ואומר להם נש 2 כשנתקשר ש | יי תפ' נ 3 למה לי נ 7 ואותו ש
9 (פי') נ 12 הקודש ש | ומתברך נ 13 (כל אותן) א 14 ומקדש נש |
לעבודה ש 15 (אזי) נש | שורות של נש 17 פסיעות יג"ה נ 18 פסיעות
גב"ת אחר נ | על) של אק | הלב תפ' נ 19 למקומו חס' נ | (ופוסע) נש |
פסיעות כח"ב נ 20 ומזמרים ואומרי' נש (ומכין) נש | בכנפיהם ו' קצוות נ
21 קול) כל ש | (בלחישה) ק 23 הריח) הרוח א | החוטם נ חוטמו ש
25 ובחדוה) ובשמחה נש | שמיים נש 31 (ר' חיא פתח) נש | נפשי אויתיך
בלילה כמו שהביא פי' זה הפסוק בזוהר נש 32 (נפשי אותך... וכך הוא ודאי
(עמ' יב, שו' 25)) נש

1 ויק' טז,ל 2 שם 27 ישׁ' א,יח 30 תהל' קמד,טו | ויק' שם, כט
31 ישׁ' כו,ט

*8 בזוהר: לקדמות מאריהון דזמין ליומא אחרא למיתב.
*14 בזוהר: עלאין דאשתארו.
*17 בזוהר: בצלותא. וקטרא דדהבא זקפא ברגליה.
*26 בזוהר: דרעותא הוו; במ' וקר': דדעותא הוא.
*29 בזוהר: דהא על ידוי חדו על חדו אשתכח ההוא יומא לעילא ותתא.

עמ' ח

8 משתעבדין ק 19 החבריא ק 22 שנקראת ק 24 לשמוח ק
27 (בא) ק 29 זו ק

12 ישׁ' שם 18 תהל' מב,ב 21 שם קיט,צב 23 מש' ח,ל
24 ישׁ' נח,יד 25 שם שם, יא 29 תהל' כב,כ 31 שה"ש ו,ב |
תהל' מב,ב

*17 בזוהר: ר' שמעון.
*25 בזוהר: שקיו.
*31 לא בזוהר.

עמ' ט

4 באחד ק 5 צדיק וצדיק ק 17 (אלו) ק 22 ואותן) ועל אלו ק
23 של מעלה ק 24 וברוחו ק

1 בר' ב,י 4 עיין דב' יב,כב; יד,ה 5 תהל' כט,ט 8 שה"ש ג,ז
9 איוב כו,יג 10 שמ"א יד,כז | שה"ש ה,א 11 ישׁ' כו,ט 13 איוב יב,ט
15 דב' ו,ה 19 ישׁ' שם (בקרבי) 21 עיין בבלי עבודה זרה ג ע"ב 25
עיין בבלי שבת סג ע"א 26 מל"א יז,א (חי יי אלהי ישראל אשר עמדתי לפניו אם
יהיה וגו'; ועיין בזוהר) 30 תהל' לג,ו

*4 בזוהר: ומשתקייא בנתא.
*6 אילות אלו הן אילות השדה, חסר בזוהר ובמנ'; בקר': איילו' היינו איילו' השד'.
*6 בתנ"ך: אילות, בכתיב מלא; ועיין מנחת ש"י שם.
*28 בזוהר הלשון שונה.

עמ' י

1 (לפניו) ק | וא"כ ק 2 עולים ק 8 באים ק 9 כאחד ק 31 ולשכון
בתוכה ק 32 משודים ק

7 זוהר שם סח ע"ב 11 עיין בר' ה,כד, וב"ר פכ"ה, א, עמ' 239 14 ישׁ'
סו,כב 16 ויק' טז,כט 20 בבלי ברכות ח ע"ב 24 קה' ט,יד 25 ישׁ'
כו,א | הו' יא,ט 27 ישׁ' נד,יא 28 שם נב,א 29 תהל' כד,ג-ד 30
קה' שם 31 שם | זכ' ב,ט (בתוכה) 32 קה' שם

*5 ואתה צריך לדעת, לשון שגור אצל ר' דוד.
*7 בזוהר: בספרא דאדם קדמאה; במנ' וקר': בספרא קדמאה דאדם.

עמ' יא

10 באותו ק 11 מבלי ק 13 לעולם לעולם ק 17 שמעטה א | הקודוש ק
19 החבריא ק 26 אנה) אנא א

3 קה' שם, סו (חכם) 4 שמ' א,יא 7 קה' שם | שמ"א כ,כט 8 בר' יט,כ |
קה' שם 10 שם שם, יח 13 שם שם, טז 15 עיין קה"ר פ"א, כט 16
עיין מ' אבות פ"ד, מ"א 18 דב' כז,ט 21 מש' ל,כא-כג 23 שמ' יא,ה
25 עיין איכ"ר פ"ה, כ 27 זכ' ט,ט 28 עיין תנח', אחרי מות, סי' יב
30 זכ' שם 32 שמ' שם

*6 בזוהר: לעיינא; לעיני ר' דוד: לעילא?
*10 בזוהר: דאתחבר; בקר': דאתחכ'.
*15 בזוהר: למלוי דאורייתא זכאה הוא בהאי עלמא.

עמ׳ יב

3 ואין א 5 ומה ק 8 מתיישרים ק 15 ממי היא ק | של המלך ק
26 ואצ״ל) תענו את נפשותיכם כי אז״ל נ תענו את נפשותיכם אז״ל ש 27
האם בי׳ נ 29 החמה נש 31 נסתרה ש | (ועל... שהסתלק) ש | ממנה עט׳
השמש תפ׳ נ (השמש) ש 32 היא עט׳ | אם בי׳ הבנים גנ״ת נ | (שמחה) נש

2 יש׳ נז,א 6 מש׳ י,כה, ועיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע״ב וס׳ הבהיר סי׳ קב (§71)
13 יש׳ א,כא 17 ויק׳ טז,כט 21 שם 30 שה״ש ד,יב 32 ע״פ
תהל׳ קיג,ט

*4 בזוהר: אלא אבד ממש, ועיין במקבילות הרשומות בניצוצי זהר.
*6 בזוהר: דמר.
*15 בזוהר: הוי אימא.
*18 בזוהר: והיתה זאת לכם (ויק׳ טז,לד); במנ׳ וקר׳: והיתה לכם, ועיין שורה 21.

עמ׳ יג

2 לבית בינה נ 4 (אנו) ק 7 עליהם רחמים נש 9 (בזה) ק | אין כ״ע נ
10 היום כמו שהוא בזוהר נ היום וגו׳ כמו שכתוב בזוהר ש (כל חידות...
נפשותיכם (שו׳ 14)) נש 13 כל הדינין נמצאים ק 14 ותנא כתי׳ אך בעשור
לחדש א״ר אבא נש 16 בזה ש 18 (בית יעקב... ונלכה באור יי) ש (בית
יעקב... מהו באור יי) נ 22 (אמ׳) נ | אך) א״כ אק | (א״ל) נש | בא כאן נ
בא בכאן ש 24 (לך) נש 25 חלק חציו אסור באכילת חמץ נש 27 בעניינכם א
בעניתם ק 28 אך סלק בו ועניתם אק | אלעזר כמו שהוא כתוב בזוהר נש (כתי׳..
כדאוי (עמ׳ יד, שו׳ 14)) נש

9 אס׳ ח,ח 10 זוהר שם סט ע״ב 15 שמ״ב כ,א, ועיין מדרש שמואל פי״ג
16 מל״א יב,טז 17 יש׳ ב,ה 18 שם ס,ז 19 בר׳ ב,י 20 ויק׳ כג,כז
21 שם שם, לב 24 שמ׳ יב,טו 25 בבלי פסחים ה ע״א 29 ויק׳ טז,ל
32 שם

*10 בזוהר: חידו.
*11 בזוהר: באימא עלאה.
*14 בזוהר: הא אוקים לה מר.

עמ׳ יד

1 אשריכם ק 2 היכלו ק 3 וטהרתם ק 4 ממעקים א 5 העולמים)
של עולם ק 7 במעשיו ק | יכול ק | באותו ק 10 מן עונותם ק | למחול)
להגיח ק 14 בן אדם) האדם נש 16 (כונה) נש 17 ממעמקים כמו שהוא
כתו׳ בזוהר נש (קראתיך... למעלה למעלה) נש 18 עומק כ״ע הבאר ש
19 עומק צריך נ 21 (ההי״ד... קראתיך יי (שו׳ 25)) נש 24 הנרות ק
27 לטמא א 28 החבריא ק חבריא במלך שע״ה נ 30 (כלם) נ 31 לרזיאל
נש 32 וגלה ה׳ לאדם הראשון נ

4 תהל׳ קל,א | עיין תנח׳, פקודי, סי׳ ג; פדר״א פי״א 8 שמ׳ לד,ו | בבלי
פסחים נד ע״א 17 ס׳ יצירה פ״א, מ״ה | זוהר שם ע ע״א 26 קה׳ ט,ב (הנשבע,
ועיין תנח׳, אחרי מות, סי׳ א) 28 עיין תנח׳ שם, ויק״ר פכ , א 31 עיין
ס׳ רזיאל, בהתחלה; זח״א נה ע״ב 32 דב׳ לב,מז | ירוש׳ פאה פ״א, ה״א

*9 בזוהר: על מנת.
*17 וכיון... עומק תחת, הוספה של ר׳ דוד.
*18 בזוהר: אתר גניז הוא.
*19 בזוהר: לכל עיבר. וההוא עמיקא דעמיקתא אקרי תשובה. ומאן דבעי...
*24 בזוהר: כלהו בוצינין, ועיין בח״נ.
*26 עיין במבוא, §2.8.
*31 צ״ל: על ידי, ועיין בח״נ.

עמ׳ טו

2 העולם הבא ק עולם ש | ועוסקים נ ועוסקין ש | לולא נ לו ק 5 (פי׳
הכל) נש 6 שנקראת כל ש נקרא נ 7 מהכל נ | שהיא9 שהוא נק 10
(למה נקראים כללים) נש 12 להספיק ש | יכולה נש 13 שאדם נש 15
מרע״ה נ | (הכללים) א 17 להכנס ש | לפני לפנים נש 19 סגור ונעול נ
סתום וסגור ונעול ש 20 ולא נקש 21 גל נעול עיני(!) נ 22 מלמעלה
למטה נ 23 הכל למדת הכל ש 25 מתחברת) מתעברת ק 26 מקבלת נש
27 הכל כאשר לכל) הכל בעט׳ ולכל נש | (אל... אלא) ש 29 של כל נ |
הסתימות קש | הטמירות נקש | הוא מקרה ק 31 הגן היא עטרת ש

2 עיין בבלי תענית כא ע״א 3 ע״פ איוב ט,ג; לג,כג 6 דב׳ ח,ט 9 בר׳
כט,ב 13 שמ׳ ג,ו 18 שם שם, ה 20 תהל׳ קלא,א (ולא, ועיין בח״נ)
21 שם קיט,יח 28 שם קד,ג 30 בר׳ ב,י 31 עיין רמב״ם, משנה תורה,
הלכות יסודי התורה, פ״א 32 בר׳ ג,יט

עמ׳ טז

1 המקרה הוא כ״ע נ 4 הוא) שהוא קש 5 ומחחת נש 7 (אלו... תפ׳) ש|
שהם נקראים נש 8 כך הם אלו העליונים נ (הם) ש 9 נקראים קש 10
(תהיין) נ 13 שהם) להם א הם ש 14 רוחניים והם נק 21 (שם) נש
29 והמבועות נ (והמבועים) ש | מזל על הכל ק 32 הרים גבנונים נש

5 דב׳ לג,כז (ומחחת, ועיין בח״נ) 10 בר׳ מט,כו 12 איכה ג,מא
18 תהל׳ שם 20 דב׳ שם,כו | תהל׳ שם 21 יש׳ ו,ב 23 במ׳ טו,לח
24 איוב לח,יג 31 ע״פ תהל׳ לז,ז 32 ע״פ תהל׳ סח,יז (הרים גבנונים,
ועיין בח״נ, ובמורה נבוכים ח״ב, פכ״ד)

עמ׳ יז

2 (אל תקרי עליות) נש 3 שלש האבות נש 5 ההדסים ג׳ ג׳ ת׳ נ הדסים ג׳ ג׳ ת׳ ש | ערבות נ׳ ה׳ נש 6 (יסוד) נקש 10 (מהו המהלך) נש 11 אלא כמו נש | (היא) נש | עולה א 12 (הוא) נש 14 דופפת) רוכבת נש | ומודדת נש 15 עמוק אק | (כביכול) נ 16 מתהלכת) מסתלקת נש 17 וזה כלו נ זה הכל ק 20 וזה סוד נ וזהו סוד ש 21 אחד) מקדה א׳ נ 25 והוא חונן נש כי הוא חונן ק | שאברהם אבי׳ ע״ה ק 26 ויטע אשל נקש 31 מצר) זוהמת נ 32 לזובה אק

4 ויק׳ כג,מ 8 דמב״ס, משנה תורה, הלכות יסודי התורה, פ״א, ג; מה״נ, שמות לג,כא 9 עיין ב״ר פס״ח, ט, עמ׳ 778; מורה נבוכים ח״א, פ״ע 11 בר׳ ג,ח, ועיין ב״ר פי״ט, ז, עמ׳ 176, ופירוש הרמב״ן עה״ת שם 12 עיין פס״ר פ״ה, ז 19 איוב לח,יג 20 שם׳ כח,ז (שני) 21 קה׳ ט,ב | מש׳ י,כה, ועיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע״ב 22 עיין זח״א נט ע״ב, ובניצוצי זוהר שם, אות ד 24 קה׳ שם 25 עיין ב״ר פמ״ח, ח, עמ׳ 483; פנ״ד, ו, עמ׳ 584 26 בר׳ כא,לג; שו״ט לז,א; לק״ט על בר׳ שם; ועיין רש״י לבבלי סוטה י׳. ד״ה פונדק. 29 קה׳ שם 30 תהל׳ נא,יב 31 קה׳ שם 32 עיין זח״א נב ע״א; קצג ע״א | קה׳ שם

עמ׳ יח

1 שוברת נש 2 אלא היא נקש | (כדי) נש 4 (פי׳ מקרה) נש | נובעים) נוסעים נש 6 (וכל הנבראים כלם) נש 8 (יומן) נש יומין ק 14 ע״ש שהוא נ על שם שהוא ש 15 שהיא מרחם א שהוא מרחם ש | מדרך נ 17 בסוד העליון נש 22 שהיא) הנקרא׳ ש 24 שהיה) שהוא נ שהיא ק | לעניים) לעליונים נ 25 אלא מדעת נ 26 והיה נ 27 ומכנים נש 29 עד שהיו ק | מוציא אק 30 ועובדים) ועושים נ | זה אמת וזה אמת(!) נ

1 תהל׳ שם, יט | קה׳ שם 3 ע״פ יחז׳ יט,ג; לח,יב; יש׳ י,ו | קה׳ שם, ג 9 תנח׳, אחרי מות, טי׳ א 11 קה׳ שם 13 בר׳ יח,יט (המשך הפסוק: ושמרו דרך יי׳ לעשות צדקה ומשפט, ועיין בתנח׳ שם) 14 עיין סא״ז, פ״א, עמ׳ 169 18 בר׳ כא,לג 21 תהל׳ יח,לה (מלמד) 25 בבלי נדרים מא ע״א 27 תנח׳ שם 28 עיין בבלי עירובין נג ע״א, פסחים צד ע״ב

עמ׳ יט

1 אע״פ נקש 4 זה משה נש 7 (תפ׳) נש 10 (כנגד) א 11 ליריאיך נקש 15 כאש) ראש א | אודם) אדום א 16 ראשון עמ׳ נ | (אדם) נש 20 והם נ | אודם נש 21 כלם הם נראים ק הם כלם נראים ש 29 אחר ש 32 מזה) זה נ

1 שמ׳ לג,יט 4 תנח׳ שם | שמ׳ ב,ב 7 בר׳ ג,ו 11 תהל׳ לא,כ | תנח׳ שם 12 תהל׳ נא,יב | שמ״א טז,יב 14 בר׳ כה,כה 19 תהל׳ קיח,כב 22 מ׳ שבת פ״א, מ״ו 24 זכ׳ ג,ט 25 תנח׳ שם 32 שם

עמ׳ כ

2 מבועות ומקורות נ 3 (מבוע) נ 6 מלעלות נ 8 שביארנו) שאמר כי טוב הוא נ שאמרנו ק שאמ׳ ש 9 נכנסו לארץ נש 10 וגם נש 12 (בי אתם) א | ויורידו נקש 15 אלו קדח ועדתו שחלקו על הכהונה נש 20 (עליהם) נש 23 (ובדקדוקיה) נש (ובטעמיה... ובטומאותיה) נש 24 זו היא נ 26 וברציחה) וברחיצה אק 30 ששחק נקש | לא ידבה נ לו (!) ידבה ש

1 מל״א ח,סג 5 תנח׳ שם 7 מל״א יב,כח 9 מש׳ יג,כא 10 דה״ב לו,יג (וגם, ועיין בח״נ) 11 שופ׳ טו,יב 12 שם טז,כא 14 קה׳ ט,ג 15 ויק׳ י,ב 17 במ׳ טז,לה 18 קה׳ ב,ב 24 תהל׳ יט,ט 27 בר׳ כה,כז 29 תנח׳ שם 30 דב׳ יז,יז 31 מל״א יא,ג (נשים שרות שבע מאות... לבו) 32 דב׳ שם, טז (לא) 33 מל״א ה,ו (למרכבו)

*8 בתנח׳: זה מלך אחד זה.

עמ׳ כא

3 יוחאי אומ׳ נ 4 זהב) כסף נש 10 (מוותר) א 11 בעולם בכסף נקש 14 זהב) כסף נש 16 אשמראי תמודה נ | בדמות נק 18 ואו׳ נש ואומ׳ ק 23 של) על נש 24 (בשביל) נש 30 כביכול למלון נ 32 טודד א

1 מל״א י,כז (ויתן המלך את) 2 שם ז,י 4 שם י,כא 9 שם (לא נחשב) 15 תנח׳, שם 18 קה׳ א,יב 21 שם ב,י 22 שם א,ב 24 מש׳ י,כה 25 יש׳ סו,יב 27 עיין מל״א יא,א | עיין מש׳ ל,כג

עמ׳ כב

2 (שחוק) אקש | ששחקה נקש 5 זכריכם) דבריכם א זכרכם נ 6 ומה נ 7 השחוק ש | ששחקה נש 20 הסקרין) פי׳ שני בתים א^{1} ק^{2} 22 לתשמישו... נברא) ק^{2} (לתשמישו... נברא) אנקש | לתשמישן) לתשמישתן אק 25 לדעת ולהסתכל ש | הדבר הזה נ 29 והוא) זהו נקש

1 תנח׳ שם 2 איוב כא,י–יא,יג 4 שם שם, טו 5 בר׳ ז,כג 7 איוב כח, ה–ח (לא עדה) 9 שם שם, ד 11 בר׳ יט,כד 16 ויק׳ טז,א 17 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ב | תהל׳ עה,ה 30 עיין ס׳ יצירה פ״ו, מ״ד

*20 בתנח׳: דסקרין.

עמ׳ כג

1 המאורות) המראות ק 2 (אור) אק 15 שהיא מקבלת נש 17 (זה) אק
21 בי׳ נ ולבינה ק 24 סוכות) חופות נש 28 (שם) נש 29 אדם הראשון
תפ׳ נ אדם תפ׳ הראשון ש

2 עיין בבלי יבמות מט ע"ב 3 תהל׳ לו,י 4 בבלי בבא מציעא פד ע"א; בבא
בתרא נח ע"א 7 ישׁ׳ ב,ה 9 תנח׳ שם 10 יחז׳ כח,יג 14 ברׁ׳ ב,י
17 שה"ש ד,יב 18 דב׳ ח,ט | תהל׳ קיח,כב 20 שם מה,יד 22 ישׁ׳ ד,ו |
שם שם, ה 27 תהל׳ קד,כד 29 שה"ש ה,י 30 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"א
31 ברׁ׳ ט,יג

עמ׳ כד

1 (בזה) ק 4 הולס ומכה נ 5 המתפרטים) המתפשטים נק 7 שהיא בת נש
11 נעלם במכמה) עולם החכמה נקש 16 (והסוד... ברק) נש 23 וזהב נ
26 אר׳ נ אומ׳ ק 31 הנעלמות) העליונות נ העליונות הנעלמות

1 תהל׳ יח,יב 3 ישׁ׳ מא,ז | תהל׳ קמא,ה 7 ע"פ דה"א כט,ב 8 יחז׳
לו,כו 13 שמ׳ כד,י 14 ישׁ׳ נד,יא 16 שופ׳ ה,א 19 תהל׳ צ,יז
26 תנח׳ שם 31 ישׁ׳ נח,יא 32 תנח׳ שם

עמ׳ כה

1 (לו) א 2 כשנולד נ 6 (בעולם) נש 8 (דאה(ב) ש 11 הדומים נש
13 את הסכין 14 שוחט נ 15 והעריך את ש 17 הייתי שחוט נ 18
דעלובתא נ 26 פתחו נ 27 פומך נ | (פומך) נ דפומך ש 30 ושתיה
שמה נש | (היתה נקראת) נש 31 (כל) ש 32 אבותינו ג׳ ג׳ ח׳ נ

1 ברׁ׳ ג,יט 3 שם כב,ב 4 שם שם, ד 5 יד׳ לא,ב 6 ס׳ יצירה
פ"א, מ"א 7 קה׳ ז,כג | ב"ר פנ"ו, ב, עמ׳ 595 11 ברׁ׳ שם, ה 13
שם שם, יב 19 שם כג,ב 22 תהל׳ קד,לא 24 שם קמט,ב 25 שם
עה,ה | תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ג (ר׳ יוחנן בר יודן דמן גלילא) 26 איוב לט,כז
28 שם שם, כח 29 שם | מ׳ יומא פ"ה, מ"ב

עמ׳ כו

1 הזאת נש 2 (בה) נש 5 מרגיל ק 8 הרקיע נש 10 (הם) נש |
מתענגין) מתעטפין ק 11 ר׳ ברכיה אקש 14 ר׳ אמי נש 15 מהו נש
16 בהון) בהם א 19 נכנס נקש 23 (שני בני אהרן) נקש 24 בפני)
לפני נש | לפני) בפני נקש 25 (זה) נש 27 אני מקובל נקש | תניא נקש
28 לפני נ | שיהא נקש

4 איוב שם, כט 9 שם שם, ל (ואפרחו) 11 ויק׳ י,ד 14 שם שז,א
15 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ד | איוב לז,א 16 ויק׳ יא,כא (בהן) | אונקלוס שם
18 במ׳ יז,כג 20 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ה 21 משׁ׳ יז,כו 22 תנח׳ שם,
סי׳ ו 26 ע"פ עמ׳ ז,יד, ועיין בתנח׳ 27 ירושׁ׳ נטין פ"א, ה"ב

*1 בתנח׳: דשונה.
*9 בתנח׳: ואחר כל השבח הזה.
*15 בתנח׳: ר׳ אחא בר זעירא.
*17 בתנח׳: בניו של אהרן.

עמ׳ כז

1 היו נש 2 ולפי׳ נש | אמ׳ בשביל אק 5 ליכנס נק להכנס ש
6 ישמח לב נש 7 נובעים) נשפעים נש 8 שיורד על פי מדותיו נש
10 המחודשים נ | המשמשת נ 11 משמשת נש | ואם הדלת נש | משמשת נש
12 ברשות נ | ואם הדלת ש | ברשות נ 13 משמשת 13 לפניי לפנים)
לפניו א | היחיד נש 15 להכנס נ 16 ההקרבה) הקריבה א הקרבה נ
18 להקריב האש גב׳ למדרגתו עמ׳ נ 19 (אש מחיתתו) נש 20 בשביל נש
21 (בהם) נש 31 (ידוע... מלבוש) נש 32 ויתלבש) שילבש נ שיתלבש ש

6 משׁ׳ כז,ט 8 תהל׳ קלג,ב 17 ויק׳ י,א 19 שם 21 שם שם, ט
25 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"ב; מנחות קי ע"א, ובתוספות שם 27 תנח׳ שם
28 שמ׳ כח,מג 31 עיין זח"א סו ע"א, רכד ע"א-ע"ב

*19 בתנח׳: איש ממחתתו.
*31 עיין במבוא, §3.10.

עמ׳ כח

1 עדיין לא נ | נמצא נ 2 (וצדקות) ש ומעשים טובים וצדקה ש 5 למטה נ |
אזי ש 6 ראוי ונשוי נ נשוי ש 7 אז נש | המלבוש נש 8 העליונים נש
9 (עדין) נש 15 היו נש | וימות א 19 והיו אומרין ש 20 מן זה) מה זה א
(מן זה) נש 22 שהיה א 24 איבו) אבא נש 27 שהם פעליו) שהוא פעל נש
שהם פעלו ק 30 שהיא) שהיה א | (וכן) אק 31 האפשר נש 32 להוריד)
להוליד נ

2 ישׁ׳ נט,יז 4 עיין בבלי שבת לא ע"א 8 עיין במ׳ ג,ד; ויק"ר פ"כ, ו
11 ויק׳ י,ב 12 דב׳ ד,כב, ועיין ספרי, פי׳ מט, עמ׳ 114 13 תנח׳ שם
14 שמ׳ כח,לה (אל הקדש לפני יי ובצאתו ולא ימות) 15 במ׳ ג,ד 20 תהל׳
עח,סג 21 שמ׳ כד,א 25 משׁ׳ כז,א 30 שמ׳ לב,יד 31 ברׁ׳ ו,ו

*4 עיין במבוא, העדה 238.
*10 עיין במבוא, העדה 239.
*28 עיין בח"נ, ובמבוא, העדה 206.
*31 עיין במבוא, העדה 207.

עמ' כט

1 סייחין) זייחין א 3 להשלחת יד וחחיבין מיתה נש 5 באור) כראות אק
6 שהגיסו) שהכניסו נ 9 ובשכר כי ירא מהביט א 12 שהוא קשה נ
15 שהיא) שהוא נש 18 קודמת) קודמין נ 21 מה ק 22 כאן נש | ועל נש
24 ואף אק 26 קרחית(!) נ | ערביים נש 31 סולתא) סלקא נ

1 תנח' שס 2 שמ' כד,יא 3 שם 5 מש' טז,טו 8 שמ' ג,ו 9 שם
לד,ל | במ' יב,ח 10 שם ג,ד 14 שם | דה"א כד,ב 15 במ' שם 16
תנח' שם, סי' ז; במ' שם 19 שם 21 בר' יא,כח 23 שם כג,ג 32
תהל' מה,יד

עמ' ל

1 אמ') א"ר נק אמ' ר' ש 2 שכשם אפר א 3 לשבירת נקש 5 הזכיר ש
11 מתים ומה ראה לומ' כן בשעה נכנסי' נ 15 שלא) שמא נש 20 בחייו)
מריחו נש 21 ועל זה כתיב) ואמ' נ 24 מחיצה אק 27 מחיצה א 30
זוריחת א | מפי אדם) מבני ישראל נ מבני אדם ש

6 ויק' טז,ל 7 שמ"ב כא,יד (כל אשר) 9 תנח' שם, סי' ח | איוב לז,א
13 במ' יז,כא 17 שם | שם שם, כב-כג (את המטות) 22 ויק' שם, א
24 דב' ט,כ 26 עמום ב,ט 27 תנח' שם, סי' ט; ויק' יז,ג 28 מל' א,יא
32 יהו' י,יב

עמ' לא

2 ולמה) ולבנה נש 3 מהלך נקש | מקלם להב"ה נ הוא מקלם להב"ה ש
5 לגדול דום נש 7 (אינו) נש | הב"ה נ הקב"ה ש 10 אמ' לה יהושע א
15 המטה שהיה משתחוה נקש | אע"פ נקש 16 בעידניה נ | אמר אע"פ נש
17 (והלא מלך הוא) נ הואיל והוא מלך ש 24 לאהל נ | (ר' ישמעאל... מועד)
נש 25 היתרו) היתרו קבלו א[1] ק[1] | מאהל ק 28 ר') רבינו נ רבי' קש
29 לא היה ש 30 מאוהל נק

8 בר' יד,כב 9 שם לז,ט 12 יהו' י,יב (יהושע ליי) 13 שמ' טו,א
14 ע"פ תהל' פד,יב 15 בר' מז,לא 16 בבלי מגילה טז ע"ב 18 תנח' שם
19 מל' א,יא 20 דב' יב, יג-יד 21 ויק' יז,ג-ד 23 תנח' שם, סי' יא
27 ויק' שם, ז 31 דב' יב,כ

*23 כאן מדלג המחבר, או סופר מוקדם, מסי' ט לסי' יא של התנח'.
*25 בתנח': הזהירו; עיין בח"נ, והשווה עמ' לב, שו' 1.
*30 בתנח': היה לכם אסור לשחוט, ועיין בח"נ.

עמ' לב

6 (אתה) נש | כאן נ | וזבחת) ולקחת אנק 8 שכתו' כן) שכן כתי' נש שכך
כתי' ק 12 לחום) ליחם א 13 שמוע) עזריה ש 15 מרובין אש 16
תניא נקש | אמ' ר' נ א"ר ק אמר ר' ש 22 בכל העולם ש | וקצמים אק
23 על כל בני) יותר מכל נ 25 וסובבים סביבות אותו הדם של אותה ש הדם
סביבות אותה נ אותה הגומא ק 26 ומקריבין ש 30 השדה) האדמה נ

3 מש' כז,כו 5 שם שם, כז (ללחם ביתך) 6 דב' יב,כא 8 שם טו,יט
14 שם יב,כ 16 זח"ג ע ע"א 18 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ז 21 עיין בבלי
קידושין מט ע"ב 28 ויק' יח,ג 29 שם יז,ז

*16 בזוהר חסר.
*20 בזוהר: בזוהמא דטופרא.
*32 בזוהר: מה דאינון בעיין.

עמ' לג

6 לאהל נ 7 נפשו נ 10 שבא ש 11 הוא נש | (שנא') אק | (אחלצהו...
בצרה) נש 13 ועננ נש | ולכה נ 14 תהיה נש 15 אצ"ל) אבל נש 16
וזוהמתן נש 20 שהוא נ 25 (והסוד... עליהם) א 26 אז תהיה נש

1 תנח' שם, סי' יב; ויק' שם, ג-ד (או כשב או עז במחנה או אשר ישחט מחוץ
למחנה. ואל פתח...) 2 ישׁ' טו,ג 7 ויק' שם, ד 8 תהל' נ,כג 10 שם
11 שם צא,טו, ועיין בפסוק הבא 12 שם ס,ז (כתיב: וענני; קרי: וענני; ועיין בח"נ
13 שם פ,ג (ולכה, ועיין בח"נ) 14 איכה ב,ג 19 בר' כז,כב; עיין ב"ד פס"ה,
כ, עמ' 733 ובמ"י שם, ובעין יעקב באגדות ירוש' , ראש השנה, פ"ג 20 בר' שם
25 שם כז,מ 27 תנח' שם | זכ' ט,ט 30 ישׁ' סב,יא 31 שמ' יד,ל

עמ' לד

3 בני אדם נקש 4 דבורה וברק נש 15 שומד ישראל נ | (יי) נ 16 החיים
תפ' נ 18 מועד עט' נ 20 הוא אק 21 (הוא) נש 22 גמודים נש
24 (השופטניה) נש | שופטת נ השופטת(?) ש 26 שנקרא נ 28 לדל עט' ש
31 רבות) הרבה נקש | והא כתי') והכתו' א והלא כתי' נ 32 ד' יוסי
הגלילי אומ' ור' עקיבא אק

1 דב' לג,כט 5 שופ' ג,לא 8 ישׁ' מה,יז 9 תנח', קדושים, סי' א |
ישׁ' ה,טז 11 שם ג,יג 15 קה' ה,ז 16 עיין שמ' כו,כח | ע"פ בר' ב,ט
18 עיין שמ' לח,ח 19 עיין בבלי חגיגה טז ע"א, זח"א ו ע"א, ח"ב רלב ע"א
24 דב' טז,יח 25 שופ' ד,ד (היא) 29 דני' ז,ט (נקא... גלגלוהי)
30 תנח' שם | דני' שם 31 ישׁ' ו,א 32 מש' כ,ח

עמ' לה

1 אחד מהן אומ') חד אמ' נ אמ' ק אמר ש | אפריון נש | חד נ | אומ' ק
7 אלא עם זקני יש' נ אלא עם זקני עמו ושדיו אלא ש 8 ודנין ש 8 ומלקין)
ומה הוא עמו נ ומי הוא ש 10 ועתיק כ"ע יומין נ 11 סחים ק | של) על ש|
דכל טמירין ש 13 ועתיק כ"ע יומין חכ' בי' נ 14 פי' כ"ע שהוא א פי'
כ"ע הוא כמראה נ פי' כ"ע הוא שמראהו ש 15 (כשנים) אק 16 כשלג כ"ע נ |
וללבן כ"ע נ | בנות חכ' בי' נ | מאד. פי' לא יותר ק 18 נאה ויפה נקש |
סיכוך ק 26 (פי'... והבן זה) א 32 האל א

2 חגי ב,כב, ועיין המשך הפסוק 4 שמ' טו,א 6 יש' ג,יד 9 תהל' קכב,ה
12 מש' ח,ל 14 קה' ט,ח 15 יש' א,יח 17 ע"פ שה"ש ה,יא 21 דב'
ד,כד 22 תנח' שם 27 שם 30 יש' יד,לב 32 שם ה,טז

*1 בתנח': אפופרין, ועיין בח"נ.
*22 בתנח': ר' חלקיה הדרומה, ובח"ב, קדושים, סי' א, הגה: הדרומי, ועיין שם,
בהערה ח': ופי' הדרומי מאנשי דרום.

עמ' לו

2 (לישראל) נש 5 והתקדשתם נקש 9 שאנו נש 18 (עד... לשמי) נש
19 ונקדשתי א 21 כחחן) כי חחן אק 22 תעדי אש | והאשה) והכלה נש
27 לך קדש את העם א 29 ואם) שהם נקש 30 ולכנסת א 32 לו עט' נ

1 יש' סג, א 3 שם כט,כג 4 שם פט,ג 5 ויק' כ, ז-ח | תנח' שם, סי' ב
7 תהל' קו,מח 10 בר' ג,יז 11 שם ט,כא 12 שם כג,ד 13 שם כה,כח
15 שם לה,י 18 ויק' יט,ב 21 יש' סא,י 25 בר' ב,י 26 תנח' שם
27 שמ' יט,י 28 שם שם,ו 30 ע"פ יש' ו,ה 32 בר' כד,ב | שם שם,י

עמ' לז

3 (הקדוש) נש 5 יתן אק 10 בני יומין נ 11 עושה בזמנו נש | (פירוש
למינו) נש 19 שבטלו) שנטלו אק 20 מבטל) משבט נ | ישחו אש 21
משבטלו בגדי נ 29 באר) בור נש | בור) באר נש 31 (אס(2)) נ 32 והבור
עט' נ

1 תנח' שם | ויק' יט,ב 2 שם 4 במ' יד,כז | תנח' שם, סי' ז | זכ' ח,יא-יב
(יי צבאות) 11 ע"פ בר' א,יא 12 ע"פ שם ג,יח | במ' כ,ה 14 דב' ח,ז-ט
18 ירי' ב,ז (וכו': ותבאו ותטמאו את ארצי ונחלתי שמתם לתועבה) 20 חגי א,ו
25 ע"פ במ' כא,יח 27 יש' נח,יא | בר' כט,ב 28 מש' ה,טו 29 עיין
זח"א ס ע"א, ובח"נ 32 בר' לז,כד

עמ' לח

1 ומים) מים נש 2 מים הפוסלים נש 3 החיצונים ש 7 בני יומין נ |
(פירוש) אק 11 כתובים) נתונים נש 12 ואחד מהם ש וא' מהן נ | מקבל נש
13 המלך) הקב"ה ק 17 לראותה ש 23 החיוניות נ 25 שולחים אקש |
הנקבה עט' 26 (הנשלחים... הקדושות) נש

1 בבלי שבת כב ע"א, חגיגה ג ע"א; תנח', וישב, סי' ב; ב"ר פפ"ד, טז, עמ'
1020 | עיין בבלי שבת טו ע"א 2 עיין במ' ה,כב 3 ויק' יח,כה 5 יחז'
לו,כה 9 מש' לא,טו 11 עיין יהו' ד,א-ט 13 עיין בבלי שבת נה ע"א
15 דב' יז,ח 22 עיין ס' יצירה פ"ב, מ"ו 27 דב' יד,א 28 הו' יד,ט
30 יש' נה,ח 32 ירי' יז,ח

עמ' לט

4 דבק ק | מלמטה נש 6 (סוד) א 7 וחומרי) או חומרי א 9 בשביל נש
10 פתוחה) פשוטה נ | אליו) אלא א 11 לכן נקש 13 (והבן... שמירה) ק
15 יי צבאות ק 16 למרבה נ | לשלום אק 19 אל) אלו נקש 20 של כל)
שכל א 24 ויצטיירו נש 26 שכביכול נ כביכול ש 30 היא מתאוננה
מריבה נ היא מתאנה ומריבה ש וכמריבה א

6 עיין בבלי בבא מציעא סח ע"ב, מ' פסחים פ"ד, מ"א 10 בר' ג,יט 13
עיין בבלי ברכות נד ע"ב, ולמטה, עמ' סו, שו' 16 16 יש'ט,ו 17 שם סו,יב
18 עיין למעלה, עמ' יז, שו' 2 22 עיין שמ' כו,כח 25 תנח' קדושים,
סי' ז | כמ' כ,ה 31 שם יא,א

*19 בכ"י א אלו אלו, אלה. עיין בח"נ.

עמ' מ

3 ותקבלו נ 5 ומתקרבת) ומתדבקת ק 6 שריגים נש 10 א"ל הב"ה נ
12 (פי') א 13 אנשי ק 17 שהיא נ 18 העולמות) הנעלמות ש 19
(והים... וכו') ק איננו ש (איננו מלא) נ 20 אעפ"כ נש | איננו נש
21 יבשה נש 22 כל מימות נקש 24 העליונות הנעלמות נ העליונות
הנעלמים ש 32 (המלך ע"ה) נקש 3 (מן (2)) ש

1 תהל' פ,ט 4 נח' ט,ו 6 בר' מ,י 7 שם (והיא כפרחת) 10 תנח' שם
12 תהל' לא,כ 13 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"א 14 איוב לח,טו | עיין ב"ר פ"ב,
ו, עמ' 21 15 יש' ל,כו 16 דב' ח,ז 18 קה' א,ז 21 בר' ח,יד |
דב' שם 22 שם 23 שם שם, ח 24 שם שם, ט 25 יחז' לו,כו
28 תנח' שם, סי' ח 29 ויק' יט,כג (וכי) 32 קה' ג,יא

עמ' מא

3 הברכה ש 5 ומשפטיך אק 6 להרים נש 7 ומשפטיך אק 10 ומשפטיך אק 13 בעצמן אק | באחריס אק | מלה"ד ק | והזווג ק 14 (הם) נש 15 ומשפטיך אק 17 (אלא) אנש ומצירין נש 18 (יעשה לו) ק (לו) א 19 על) של נש 23 מה התהום נקש 24 (ד"א) נקש 25 שהן ק 26 שאין נק 31 לעתיד לבא) לעולם הבא נש

2 בר' ב,ח 5 תנח', אמור, סי' ה | תהל' לו,ז 6 מי' ו,ב 7 תהל' קלו,טו 8 שמ' טו,ה 14 ישׁ' ג,י 18 שם שם, יא 32 תנח', בחקתי, סי' ר | תהל' פט,ז

*1 כאן חסר קטע מן התנח'.

עמ' מב

1 לו) לי נקש 2 פנסין) נדות נש | האכלוסין נ 3 שיבנה נש | שהדלקת אני אני א 4 קראו) אני קורא ק | ואני(!) מקנא בו נ 7 שיהיו ק 11 אל תקרי נ 14 יערך ליי קש | אבון) אבהו נש 16 ומחיתך עלי ש 20 לברא נ 22 (ומה) נש 23 תודתך נקש | אמ' להם כתי' בה נ א"ל כתי' בה ש 24 מיתה נש | ועוד כתי' ק 25 ביניכם) לכם נש 26 יוצא מאצליכם) מצויה אצלם נ מוצאת אצלכם ש 27 הב"ה תפ' נ 31 (על... וכו') נק 32 השבת יערכנו נ השבת יערכנו לפני וגו' ש

5 בר' א,יז 8 ויק' כד,ד 10 ישׁ' מ,כו 11 שם שם, כה 12 השווה תנח', אמור, סי' טו 15 ע"פ שמ' טו,יא 16 שופ' יז,י 17 בר' יד,ח 18 ויק' שם,ח 21 תהל' ח,ה 23 במ' יט,יד 24 ויק' יב,ב 25 שם יא,ט | שם שם,ד (את) 26 איוב כח,יג (ולא) 31 ויק' א,יב (וערך אתם על העצים אשר על המזבח; השווה שם ד,י, ועיין בתנח') 32 ויק' כד,ח

*1 בתנח' ובח"נ: לי; לו ← כנוי כבוד.
*6 בתנח': כשני.
*26 בתנח': יצאת אצלכם, ועיין בח"נ.

עמ' מג

5 נטל נקש 6 שהם נש 8 שבתי) שכתי' אק 9 לא לחכמים לחם וגם לא לנבונים עושר) גם לא לנבונים לחם אק 12 שאין א 13 להפסיק ק | (ממנו) נש 14 נאבדו נש 18 נאבדו נ 19 את ק | מוצא נש 22 לארובי לראובני אק | שהיפדשו א 27 ועל) וכל א 31 שמם ש | שנכנסים א שנכנסין ק 32 (ונותנין) נ ונתונין ש | אמרה חנה נ

1 ויק' כז,ב 3 תנח', מטות, סי' ה 8 קה' ט,יא 10 ירׁ' ט,כב (אל יתהלל עשיר) 22 דה"א ה,כו (מנשה) 23 במ' לב,א 24 תנח' שם, סי' ו | תהל' עה,ז-ח

עמ' מד

1 מהו אף מרומם באף קש 2 הפיל הב"ה נ הפיל הקב"ה ש 4 ההי"ד) וסמיך לו נ 5 שהשפיל) שהפילו א הוא השפיל ק 9 בני גד ובני ראובן נש | ספיל נ טפל ש | הספל נש 10 שהן) שכן נש 14 (שנא') אק 15 תבורך) תכלם אק 21 בענין ש"ל ק | הנתיב) הנתינה א הנתי' ק | (נתיבות) אק | (י"א) נש 22 היחם) היש נש | הנותנת נ | לפני נ | (זה) א 27 לעומקתו נ | אפס כ"ע ואין העי' העי' נ | כמוהו נש 31 שהיא ש

1 שמ"א ב,ז 3 במ' לא,ט 5 שם לב,א 7 תנח' שם, סי' ז | קה' י,ב 10 במ' שם,טז 12 שם שם, כד 14 מש' כ,כא 15 מ' אבות פ"ד, מ"א | תהל' קכח,ב 17 ירׁ' ט,כב 27 שם 29 ישׁ' מב,יג 31 ע"פ ברׁ' ג,כ 32 ברׁ' א,א

*10 בתנח': יותר מגופן.
*21 עיין במבוא, §1.2.
*24 השווה למטה, עמ' נד, שו' 2.

עמ' מה

2 למדת הוד נש | ובשמאלה אק 3 (כל) נקש | (בה) אק 6 (כי(2)) קש | שהיא נקש 8 ומושכל נ מושכל) מושכל פי' שכל משכיל מושכל פי' כ"ע כ"ע וכ"ע שהם תאור (?) שהוא כ"ע שלחכמה וכ"ע שהוא של (?) וכ"ע של בינה א וא' זעירא הג' כתרים העליונים הם ראש האל"ף וע' (?) וחכמה אמצעי של האל"ף ובינה יו"ד תחתונה שבאל"ף ק 11 העליונה נש 12 לחפש והוא המזל כ"ע נש לחפש הוא המזל כ"ע ק 14 (רומז) א 19 לכן נקש 23 על אל א על אלו ק 26 ולכן אנו נ 28 בתורתו נש" 29 העיסה עס' נ | בעולם ג"ל שצריך לומר בהפך כי אין התעודות למעלה עד שיהא התעוררות למטה ק2

1 ירׁ' שם (אל) 2 מש' ג,טז 3 איוב לז,כב (ההמשך: על אלוה נורא הוד) 5 ירׁ' שם, כג 8 עיין מורה נבוכים ח"א, פס"ח 13 תנח', שלח, סי' יד | במ' טו,כ 14 תהל' קיא,י 16 מש' ח,כא 18 שה"ש ג,ז (שלשלמה) | ברׁ' מז,לא 22 עיין בבלי קידושין עא ע"א 27 יחז' לו,כו 28 ברׁ' מב, כד, ועיין זח"ב ו ע"א 32 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"ב; מנחות קי ע"א, ובתוספות שם | מש' טז,ו (בחסד ואמת)

*30 עיין בח"נ, ולמטה, עמ' צח, שו' 16.

עמ' מו

3 ישלוט נ 4 את האש נש 7 הוא נקש 10 (כגון... התעוררות) נש 13 (עושה) א 14 חלה עס' נ | ונכסים אק | למעלה כ"ע נ 14 ר' חייא א 16 לרמוז שאין לך שמחה א 17 (יהי... בי') נקש 21 והשכים ק 26 (לא תעכב) אק | בנך את יחדך נק בנך את יחידך ש | נפש א

13 עיין בבלי סנהדרין עד ע"א, וזח"ג טז ע"ב 14 תנח' שם; במ"ר פי"ז, ב
15 קה' ט,ז 18 ישׁ' סו,י | בבלי תעניח ל ע"ב 20 תנח' שם | קה' שם
21 בר' כב,ב 24 שם יח,יט 27 שם כב,טז 28 תהל' כב,כא 31 בר'
שם, יג 32 עיין מ' אבות פ"ה מ"ח; פדר"א פל"א

*22 בתנח': להר המוריה. א"ל הקב"ה אל תשלח ידך אל הנער. אמר אברהם... בבמ"ר כמו שהוא לפנינו.

עמ' מז

10 שנקראים בין השמשות אק 11 השמש כי שמש ומגן נש 15 שוחט א
18 והפסיגו אק | מתפסג אק 23 אבידתי א 24 שמעתי א 26 כל זה
הענין כמו באור זרוע להר"ר משה די ליאון (?) נ[1] 29 נזרע נ

1 בר' שם 4 משׁ' ה,יט 6 דב' לג,יז 11 ע"פ תהל' פד,יב, ועיין בח"נ
14 תנח' שם; במ"ר שם | בר' שם 25 שם שם, טז 26 תהל' צג,יא, ועיין
תנח' שם, סי' טו

*26 עיין בח"נ

עמ' מח

9 חורש למעלה נ 12 (כל) נש | ממני נ ממיני ש

1 תנח' שם, סי' טו 3 דב' כב,י | שם שם, ט 5 עיין זח"א קסו ע"ב, ח"ב
סד ע"ב – סה ע"א 11 שה"ש ח,יא 16 עיין מ' סנהדרין פ"ב, מ"ה; ועיין ס'
טעמי המצוות לר' יוסף מן המדן, עמ' רצא, רצג-צד, תלד-לה 19 תנח' שם |
דב' כד,יט 20 שמ' טז,לו 22 תנח' שם | דב' יח,ג 23 בר' יד,יח
24 שמ' טו,טז 25 יחז' א,כב 30 תהל' מב,ח 32 יהו' כב,כב

עמ' מט

2 הזרוע והלחיים נ 7 אלהים בי' נ 9 שרוצה ק | (כי) א 15 יעשה נק |
יראה ויתגלה) יעשה ש 25 הנעלמות) עליונות נ 28 ובשנה נ 29 יהיו אק
32 (קבר... ויתציירו(עמ' נא, שו' 26)) נ | המת ק

3 תנח' שם | דב' כב,ו-ז 4 עיין זח"ב צג ע"א 7 משׁ' כה,ב 10 בר' כח,
יז 11 תנח' שם | ויק' יז,יג 13 ישׁ' לד,ו 17 בר' ג,יט 18 ישׁ' מ,יב
22 תנח' שם | ויק' יט,כג 28 שם שם, כד (ובשנה, ועיין בח"נ) 29 שם
32 תנח' שם | דב' יד,א

עמ' נ

1 (של) ש | היא) היתה ש 5 בהגלחת ש 7 ובהגלחת ש 9 היא) היה אק |
ע"ז) עכו"ז א 14 לכן קש | כביכול כאלו ש | ונותן ש 17 האזכרות ש
22 קווצות אק 24 כי) פי' א | (ח') א 25 (רומז) א 29 היה) היא א

3 ויק' כ,כו 5 שה"ש ג,יא 6 עיין שהש"ר פ"ג, כ 10 תנח' שם | ויק'
יט,כז 12 דני' ז,ט (נקא) 13 ע"פ שה"ש ה,יא 16 תנח' שם; דב' כב,ח |
שם ו,ט 20 ע"פ בר' נ,כ 21 תנח' שם | במ' טו,לח 23 עיין ס' יצירה
פ"א, מ"א 26 תנח' שם 29 עיין בבלי סוטה מו ע"ב; ב"ר פמ"ט, ח ובח"נ שם
32 תנח' שם; במ' שם

עמ' נא

1 (תכלת) א 4 שתהא קש 5 וראיתם ש| וראיתם ש 6 וראיתם ש 7
הראני ש 14 מזנין) מזכין ש 15 הקרביט קש 19 ואם ק
26 ויתייצרו ש 29 באותיות נ 31 משוטטים ק

3 שמ' כד,י (ההמשך: וכעצם השמים לטהר) | במ' שם, לט 5 שם 7 שמ"ב
טו,כה (והראני, ועיין בח"נ) | במ' שם 8 שם שם, מ 9 דב' לב,מז 12
במ' שם, לט 14 שם שם, מ 17 דב' ד,ד 18 במ' שם 22 יחז' לו,
כו-כז 24 ירוש' ברכות פ"א, ה"א; ב"ר פט"ו, ו, עמ' 138; ועיין זח"א לה ע"א
27 עייל למעלה, עמ' לח, שו' 20 30 עיין ס' יצירה פ"ג 31 זכ' ד,י
(משוטטים, עיין בח"נ, והשווה דה"ב טז,ט) 32 יר' לב,יט (אשר עיניך)

*2 בתנח': שהתכלת דומה לים וים דומה לרקיע.
*15 בתנח': הקבדניט (פי' רב החובל), וכך צ"ל, ועיין בח"נ.
*17 בתנח': שאתם מדובקים במצות; השינוי הוא מאלף.
*30 הכוונה לחכמה ובינה.

עמ' נב

1 החום אל הלב אק 3 הכליות נצח והוד נ (ומן הכליות) נ 5 הים עט' נ |
(והים אינו מלא) נקש 8 ואח"כ נש | וחזק) חולק א | מתפרנסת נ | ואח"כ נש
15 שלטון) העליון אק העליון ומוציאין הרז שעלה במחשבה ק 23 (או) א
31 ההשואה נש | ישתוה ק

2 דב' לג,כז 5 קה' א,ז (איננו) 7 משׁ' לא,טו 9 תהל' קיא,ה 11
איוב ה,י 13 קה' ח,ד 14 בר' מט,כ 16 איוב כח,יב 21 אמ' ח,ח
(נכתב בשם המלך ונחתום, והשווה שם ג,יב) 24 בר' כח,כ 27 שם יח,לג;
שם ו,ו 28 עיין פדר"א פ"נ 31 שמ' לג,יט 32 מל' ג,ו

עמ' נג

7 מבוע כ"ע נ מבוע ק 9 האפשר נש 12 העחיק כ"ע שהיא נ 13 עומקים) עמוקים הה"ד עמוק עמוק מי ימצאנו פ' מי הביתה שנמצא מהם היא ימצאם וישיגם ההד מה רבו נ 17 ימצאם נ 18 לה נ 19 עתיקא דעתיקין) עמיקא דעמיקין נש 20 וסתימא דסתימין נש 21 להעלות אק 22 (הוא) ק 23 ועמוק שני נש 29 כ"ע אלף) אלף כ"ע אק 31 וי"א) ועשדה נ

2 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ז 5 יר' יח,ו (הנה; בפיוט: כי הנה) 11 ויק' יז,יג, ועיין למטה, עמ' נח, שו' 15 13 קה' ז,כד (ועמק עמק) 15 איוב כו,ז 16 תהל' קד,כד 24 קה' ה,ז 28 שם ז,כג | מש' לא,יד 29 יר' לא,ב

*4 עיין במבוא, הערה 210.

עמ' נד

1 שהוא נש 2 שהוא נש 5 היו"ד) היו"ד הוא אחרית וראשית כל האותיות כך היא אחרית וראשית כל הנמצאים. ד"א למה נקר' י' כמו היו"ד נש היו"ד הוא אחרית וראשית כל האותיות כך היא נסתרת ונעלמת ק 9 הנעלמות) העליונות נ 10 כצורח ש 11 דומז נש 12 בצורת נש 15 אבל טוד וכבר א 20 הכל נ 26 ועל | (פניו) א 29 (כי) נש 32 אחוריים) אחוריהם נש

8 זכ' ד,י (משוטטים) 14 עיין מ' עוקצין פ"ג, מי"ב, ומדרש אלפא ביתא דרבי עקיבא (ביהמ"ד, כרך ג') עמ' 32 15 מש' ח,כא 18 בבלי דאש השנה כא ע"ב 19 תהל' ח,ו 21 שם קיח,כ 22 שמ' לג,כג 24 שם ג,ו 26 מש' כה,ב 31 שמ' לג,כג 32 מל"א ז,כה

*23 מאריך אנפין; הכוונה לכתר.

עמ' נה

1 על זה אמר נש 13 ומי נש 16 אודמיא אק | אודמא אק 22 ובמלבוש במלבוש אש וכמלבוש במלבוש ק 24 כל האויבים נקש | אז ישולח ק 31 ידכה עט' נ 32 תפילין נ תפלין ש

1 בבלי ברכות ז ע"א 6 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ז 8 שמ' לו,יח 12 בבלי ברכות ו ע"א 13 שמ"ב ז,כג (ומי, ועיין בח"נ 15 בבלי שבת כה ע"ב 17 שה"ש ה,י 18 שם שם, יא | שם א,ה 22 ע"פ ישׁ' נט,יז 23 תהל' צג,א 26 עיין זח"ג פא ע"א 27 עיין בבלי מנחות לו ע"ב 28 שמ' יג,ט 30 דב' כח,י; ועיין בבלי מנחות לה ע"ב 31 שמ' יג,מז 32 בבלי מנחות לז ע"א

עמ' נו

1 וכחותם) כחותם ש 6 שיחבר ק 9 יניחם נ 12 הראוים) הרשויים ק 13 למשמש) לשמש נש 17 ופירוש א 20 (רמז) אק 21 כי הוא (1)) שהוא נש 27 הקצוות א קצות נ | והסוד בזה ש 27 קצוות נש | ראש כ' ח' ב' נ 28 יד עט' נ 29 לו כל הכתרים נש 30 והמחנות נקש

1 שה"ש ח,ו (כחותם, ועיין בח"נ) 5 עיין זח"ג פא ע"א 6 שמ"ב ז,כג (ומי) 8 בבלי שבת מט ע"א, קל ע"א 13 שם יב ע"א, יומא ז ע"ב, מנחות לו ע"ב 17 עיין רמב"ם, משנה תורה, הלכות תפלין פ"ד, כה-כו 26 שמ' כו,כח 30 עיין בבלי עבודה זרה ג ע"ב; פס"ר כ,ד

עמ' נז

1 ואמ' למשה נ וא"ל מלשה ק ואמר למשה ש 2 שעמדתך א 6 אחד) קטן נש | העולם עט' נ 13 כיון נ | מחובר נ 14 חיבורם) חשבונם נ מספרם ש 24 נשוי נש | נשוי נש 26 נשוי נש 31 טוב כל נ 32 להם אק

1 שמ' יד,יט-כא 3 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ז 4 תהל' ח,ה 6 איוב כו,ז 8 תהל' צ,א 10 עיין כלה רבתי, א; פדר"א פי"א 12 שמ' כ,יב 23 עיין בבלי יבמות סב ע"ב, והשווה זח"ג ז ע"ב, פא ע"ב, רצו ע"א 28 בר' ב,כד 29 שם א,כח 30 שמ' לה,כט; לו,ו

עמ' נח

2 (הוא) נש 4 ומתתת נ 6 תפ') כנסת ק 12 מן הכל נש 19 (כ"ע) נקש 21 (יחידה באחרונה) נש | ציד) צידה ש 24 ומגברת א 25 (כתי') נקש | יוצא ולא יצא נש | (כתי') נש 32 (נקדא) ק

1 תהל' מב,י 3 במ' ו,כו 4 דב' לג,כז (ומתחת, ועיין בח"נ) 6 בר' מט,כד 8 דב' ד,כד 13 בבלי בבא בתרא טז ע"ב, ועיין ס' הבהיר סי' עח (§52) 15 ויק' יז,יג 16 שמ' ג,יד | בר' מט,כ 18 עיין ב"ד פי"ד, ט, עמ' 132 20 בר' כז,ג (כתיב: צידה; קרי: ציד) 22 שם שם, כז, ועיין זח"א קמב ע"ב 24 בר' ב,י 28 דני' ב,כב (שרא) 31 תהל' לו,י 32 בר' שם | שה"ש ד,יב

*5 עיין פ' ס' יצירה לר' יצחק סגי נהור, עמ' 6.

עמ' נט

2 מלאכים נ 3 מלאכים נ 5 המבוע שהוא כ"ע נש " 6 מי ימצאנו ש
8 מתפשטים ומתברכים ש 13 יוצא מעדן ולא כתי' יצא נ יוצא מעדן יוצא
ולא יצא ש | משמע שהוא נש 14 הפסק נקש 15 כ"ע) אל כ"ע א |
יפסקו נקש 21 אעפ"כ ש | ומתמלא נ 22 אינו א אינינו ק 28 הן נ
29 מטומאתן נקש 30 שיגיע נקש 32 ויולידו נש | כמותן אק

2 ע"פ יחז' א,י | בר' ב,י 5 קה' ז,כד (ועמק עמק) 14 במ' כג,יט
15 ישׁ' נח,יא 18 ע"פ מל' ג,י 19 בר' ב,ח 22 קה' א,ז 23
בר' א,ט 27 שם ב,י 31 עיין בבלי ברכות כ ע"א

עמ' ס

2 מקריבין עולה נש 8 בלי) בלא נש 9 לה נש 10 בלא נש
11 (כ"ע) נקש 16 שכנסת א 19 שיתאחזו ש 21 ביחד)
כאחד ש 27 אכנם לארץ נש 31 ההוא) ההם נ | החיים) אור החיים נ

1 תהל' נא,כא 2 ויק' א,ג 6 ישׁ' נח,יד 8 עיין בבלי שבת קיח ע"א,
ועיין בח"נ 10 ס' יצירה פ"ב, מ"ד, בשנוי 12 תהל' צא,י (עיין התחלת
הפסוק) 13 שם נא,כא 15 עיין בבלי שבת מה ע"ב 16 ישׁ' סא,י (תעדה) |
תהל' שם 20 עיין ב"ר פ"ח, א, עמ' 55 22 דב' ג,כו 24 ע"פ יהו' ג,טו
25 דב' א,יב 26 עיין מדרש פסירת משה (ביהמ"ד, כרך א) אמ' 124 29 משׁ'
טז,טו

עמ' סא

2 ניקב נקש 7 כשהמלך נש 13 החיים (1)) השמחה נ 26 (שיתגלה
לנו) נש 28 העת ש 29 (שהרצון יתגלה) נש

2 מ' חולין פ"ג, מ"א 3 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"ב; פדר"א פל"ד 4 ישׁ' כו,
יט 5 הו' יד,ו 16 קה' א,ז 22 במ' ו,כה 25 תהל' סט,יד 29 קה'
ג,א (ההמשך: תחת השמים) 31 תהל' קד,ב 32 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"א; ב"ר
פ"ג, ו, עמ' 21

עמ' סב

3 (האור) אקש 13 (נאם יי) א 17 הים והים איננו מלא ש 18 לשם) התם נש
19 איננו נש | איננו נש 20 איננו נש | איננו נש 22 איננה נקש 24 נחשב
נש 26 מיני משקי' מובחרי' נ מיני משקין מובחרין ש 27 איננו נש 28
המלך כ"ע העליון נ | דעתה עט' נ 29 להנחם על מה כי איננו נש איננו ק
31 מעפר נ 32 היתה א

1 איוב לח,טו 2 ישׁ' ל,כו 6 תהל' לא,כ | שם קד,ג 9 ויק' כ,יח
11 תהל' שם, ט 12 יר' ה,כב (אם מפני) 13 תהל' שם, י 17 קה'
א,ז 18 יר' לא,יד 25 עיין משׁ' יז,א 30 עמ' ט,יא 31 עיין
זח"ג ו ע"א-ע"ב, וס' המשקל לר' משה די ליאון, עמ' 122–123

עמ' סג

1 מלחמות יי נש 2 כי אין) ואין נ 3 על) של נש 4 ומסתרת ק
6 מתעברת אק 8 (כ"ע) נ 15 יי צבאות נש 25 אל) אלו נקש |
התמורות נ תמורות ש 27 שעבר נש | (התורה) אנק 28 בפניו
כמ"ש בזוהר נ בפניו וגו' כמו שכתו' בזוהר ש (בשביל... לעולם הבא
(עמ' סד, שו' 10)) נש 30 ושאטין ק

1 תהל' כז,ג (אם תקום) 3 ויק' טז,ג 5 מל' ג,ד 6 אס' ב,יז
9 עמ' ח,יא 11 שם 12 בר' מט,כ | משׁ' לא,יד 13 עמ' שם |
קה' א,ז 14 עמ' שם 16 שמ"א טו,ד 17 חנח', כמדבר,
סי' טו 19 מ' אבות פ"ב מט"ו 22 ע"פ קה' ה,ז 25 ע"פ
בר' ג,יח | ויק' כ,כג 27 זח"ג עו ע"א 29 ע"פ זכ' ד,י

*32 בזוהר: אסתלקו.
*32 בזוהר: ורוחא; לעיני המחבר: דרוחא?

עמ' סד

5 (כך) ק 6 מצות התורה) דברי תורה ק מצות ה' ק[1] 7 עליו עלו ק
11 דומז אק | ולבינה) ובי' פי' שמניך הם סוד ועניך ואור מצוחצח צח ואור
שהם נק' נ ובי' פי' שמניך הם סוד ועניך אור צח אור מצוחצח שהם נקראים ש
13 כל העולמות נ 14 נמצא אלא) אלא נמצא נ | הכל רחמים נקש 15 (פי')
א 20 (על כן וכו') נקש פי' שמניך הם סוד ועניך אור מצוחצח אור צח ד"א ק
23 (הוא) נש 27 משכני נש 29 ומטייל ומשתעשע נ 32 משכני ש

3 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"ב 11 שה"ש א,ג 14 בר' א,ד 16 תהל' לא,כ |
שה"ש שם 18 עיין הקדמת הרמב"ן לפירושו עה"ת, וזח"ב פז ע"א, וניצוצי
זהר שם, אות ח" 21 ויק' ו,כא 22 ישׁ' סו,יב 24 יחז' לו,כה 25
מל"א ח,לב 26 שה"ש א,ג 27 שם שם, ד 28 שם 30 משׁ' ח,ל
31 שה"ש שם | עיין שהש"ר פ"א, לב

עמ' סה

1 (אמרה... נרוצה) נש 2 חמשכני) המשיכני נ 5 (הוא מבוע) נש | שאין ק |
(את) נש 7 המשכני) משכני אחריך נרוצה המשיכני נ | שאחדבק נק 8 בחדריך
נש | משכני נש 10 משכני נש | משכני נש 11 (אחריך... מושכני (!)) נש
משכני נש 15 משכני נש 16 ריצוי נקש 17 ומפוייסת נ 18 מרצון

כ"ע נ 19 יי כ"ע נ 20 מצניעו נש | ומשמרהו נש 22 ליי כ"ע נ | קדמוניות חכ' בי' נ 23 ומצניעו נ 24 (אלא) נ | משמח לקונה כ"ע נ 28 מצוי) דאינוי א נמצא נ

12 עיין מ' שביעית פ"י, מ"ט 15 בר' יד,יט 19 ע"פ שמ' כח,לח 22 מל' ג,ד | שה"ש א,ד 25 שהש"ר פ"א, לב 29 ע"פ יהו' ג,טו | מש' ה,טו, ועיין זח"א ס ע"א 32 בר' לז,כד

עמ' סו

1 נחל נש 2 והעקרבים) תמורות א^{1} ק^{1} | (והטילו) א 3 משמירת נש 17 מחץ תמורה נק^{1} 19 ממענייני אק 22 טמאין) טמאים נקש 27 המלך תפ' נ 30 מגדיל ק

1 ע"פ שופ' ה,כא | בבלי שבת כב ע"א; ב"ר פפ"ד, טז, עמ' 1020; תנח', וישב, סי' ב 2 עיין בבלי חולין ט ע"ב 5 עיין מ' פרה פ"ה, מ"ז 6 שמ' לד,א 8 משי' ט,יז 13 שם 17 תהל' צא,ה (מחץ, ועיין בח"נ) 18 עיין בבלי שבת טו ע"א 19 ישי' יב,ג 23 מ' שבת פי"ד, מ"א | ע"פ במ' ה,יח 24 דב' כט,יז 28 דב' יד,א | הו' יד,ט 30 ע"פ במ' שם

עמ' סז

2 מאומו' נ מאומות ש 4 ומקולקלין ש 5 בסוד) בס' נ בספ' ש 11 המבוע כ"ע נ 17 אלא) אל אנ 19 שמניעה שתנועה א 21 (יחרב... תנועה) ש (יחרב... התמורות) נ | (להם תנועה) נ 22 נקראים) קרויים נש | (ההי"ד... מתים) נש 24 במיתחן נש | במיתתן נש | קרויין ש 26 מיתו פי' בשמטת מן החיים נ מתו וגו' פי' מן החיים ש 27 (המתים) נש הַמֵּתִים ק 28 האבות נ

4 במ' שם, כב (המים) 6 מ' סוטה פ"ט, מי"ב; תנח', תצוה, סי' יג 7 עיין מ' אהלות פי"ח, מ"ח 9 שמ' כו,יב 10 שם שם, יג 16 תהל' קטו,ה | ירי' ב,ו 19 עיין מורה נבוכים ח"ב פ"א; הלכות יסודי התורה פ"א, ה 22 עיין בבלי ברכות יח ע"ב 23 תהל' שם, יז | דב' יח,יא 24 ישי' לז,לה 25 קה' ד,ב 26 השווה ס' משכן העדות לר' משה די ליאון (כ"י ברלין 833) דף ע, ע"א 30 בבלי ברכות יח ע"א; ירוש' ברכות פ"ב ה"ג; תנח', וזאת הברכה, סי' ז; קה"ר פ"ט, ד 31 תהל' א,ד

עמ' סח

11 ובכל נ 13 (ועצמותיך) נקש 17 ותרווית) נתרוית נ (ותרווית מהם) ש 21 זרוח) זרוע נ ורוח ק 22 (מה) נש 23 (זוהר... קצת) ק 24 והסוד בזה נש 25 (כי) נש 29 היא) הוא נקש 31 לכתוב נ 32 כשתכתוב נש | ואח"כ נש

1 שה"ש א,ד 2 עיין שהש"ר פ"א, לב 5 דב' ד,ד 7 ישי' נח,יד 9 שה"ש שם 12 ישי' שם, יא 17 שה"ש שם, ב 19 תהל' כז,א 20 קה' ה,ז 24 עיין ס' הגיון הנפש לאברהם בר חייא (לייפציג, תר"ך), ב ע"ב; ס' הבהיר, סי' ב (§2) 25 איוב לז,כא (אור בהיר, ועיין בח"נ) | דני' יב,ג

עמ' סט

4 בגוף נ 5 על כל נקש 7 לשמרם נש 11 כי הוא) כי כ"ע נ כי הוא כ"ע ש | החיים) המים נש 12 החחים) המים נש 14 ועל זה נש 20 בשביל) ע"ש נ 22 (כולם (2)) נש 23 בשבת אק | (שניו) אק 24 מכובע ק 29 לא) לו (!) נ 30 (אלא (2)) נ

4 עיין בבלי ברכות י ע"א 5 זכ' ד,י (משוטטים) 7 תהל' קכא,ד 10 בר' טז,יד 16 דה"א ד,כג (וישבי) 20 בר' ג,יט 23 בבלי ראש השנה לא ע"א, סנהדרין צז ע"א, עבודה זרה ט ע"א 24 ע"פ ישי' נט,יז 25 שם מה,יז 29 תהל' קיח,ו 30 ישי' מ,יד 32 בר' א,א

עמ' ע

1 מקבלת נש | פחד נש 4 במחשבה נ 6 מן הכח נ | הפועל נ 9 ר' יוסי אמר בשעה שנגזרה מיתה על אדם הראשון ועל כל העולם אמ' למה אני נ משעה שנגזרה גזירת מיתה על אדם הראשון ועל כל העולם אמר למה אני ש | נגזר ק 11 והולידו עמו נש 14 בפתחו נ | וכחו' בה) ושיכתוב בה ש 15 ורואי' שם שדי כתוב במזוזה נ ורואין שדי כתוב במזוזה ש 21 עולם נש 26 בני התמורות ש 27 בא לעולם) בעולם נש 28 צד של א | וקראו אותו) ונקרא נש 29 ממנה נש 31 היום הזה ק 32 מהם) בהם נש | באותה נ

4 איכה ג,לח 7 תהל' קמג,ב (ואל) 9 זח"ג עו ע"ב 10 ע"פ ישי' סה,כג 12 שמ"ב ז,יד, ועיין ב"ר פ"כ, יא, עמ' 196 17 תהל' צא,א 18 עיין פדר"א פי"א 20 בבלי שבת קמו ע"א, יבמות קג ע"ב, עבודה זרה כב ע"ב, מדרש אגדה, בר' ג,יג | פדר"א פכ"א, ועיין ב"ר פכ"ב, ב, עמ' 205 25 בר' ו,ב 31 עיין שם ד,כב

*10 השווה זוהר וח"נ.
*14 השווה זוהר.
*16 אזי מחקרבין (שו' 14)... לשם המלך, חסר בזוהר, וכנראה הוספתו של ר' דוד.
*29 בזוהר: ומעאן; במנ' וקר': מעאן.

עמ' עא

1 מאותה) ומאותה נש 3 ומתעברת ש 9 יירא קש | אלו) לו קש
11 (וכו') קש 13 ומשך ש 15 וא"ת) וא"כ א 16 שולטת ש
17 בן) כשבן ש | להסמאות ש 18 לשלוט בו ש 20 ואוחזה אק
29 פירשוה חבריא ש | בסוד) בפי' ש 31 שהתחיל ש

8 ויק' יא,מד 10 תהל' צא,י 12 שם שם, יא | שם שם, יד
26 זח"ב עז ע"א 29 עיין בבלי סנהדרין נח ע"ב | ויק' כ,יז

*2 כאן נפסק כ"י נ.
*3 בזוהר: לקבלי.
*3 הזוהר מוסיף: ואולידן רוחין.
*17 בזוהר: אלא האי כד בר נש, ועיין בח"נ; במנ' וקר': אלא האי בר נש.
*24 בזוהר: ולא אתיאשא מניה.

עמ' עב

1 העולם) הנעלם ש 5 בה א 6 טורדת קש 10 נטרדת קש
12 מסורת החכ' ש 13 תורתינו ש 17 פגום) פוגם ק 24 בי"ת
בי') יו"ד בבי"ת ש 16 והתקדשתם ש

1 תהל' פט,נ 2 ויק' שם 4 הו' יד,י, ועיין זוהר שם ע"ב 5 ע"פ
ויק' יח,כט 6 ע"פ תהל' נה,כד 11 משׁ' טז,כח 13 תהל' קמז,כ
14 שם לא,כ 16 ויק' כ,ז | זח"ג עח ע"א 18 בבלי כתובות סב ע"ב
21 ויק' יח,טו 32 שם כג,טו

*17 בזוהר: פגים, ועיין בח"נ ובשו' 20.
*27 בזוהר: אבהן.

עמ' עג

3 במעשיה ש | הרשומות א 5 אל) אלו קש 8 נחבסה) נסתם ש 9 ממנח
קש 12 ונתקיים ק 13 המלך שלמה ש 17 משה ר' ק משה רבי' ש
18 אש ש 25 מיד ש 28 אע"ג ק 29 מהם ש 31 עשרת ש 32 לא
יש) לנו יש ק אין לך (?) ש

1 שמ' יד,יט-כא 22 עיין פס"ר פ"כ, ד 28 ויק' יח,יז (את בת בנה ואת בת
בתה) 31 שמ' כ,יד- 32 עיין פס"ר, עשרת הדברות, יז; במ"ר פ"ט, ח

*18 בזוהר: כנורא יקידתא.
*23 והוא... אחד, חסר בזוהר.

עמ' עד

3 לקצוות ש 7 (ואם... ילבינו (שו' 10)) ק 11 (ומוחל... צבור) ש
14 אמ' ר' יהודה מנין לא ש 16 בכתבה) כהלכתה ש 22 בתחומך)
בחומתך אק 27 לכל חי ק 29 שאין פוסקין מימיו לעולם ק 30 (את) ש
32 שהיא ש

1 עיין ירוש' פאה פ"א ה"א 2 עיין תנח', קדושים, סי' א, ועיין למעלה,
עמ' לה, שו' 22 | דני' ז,ט (נקא) 6 ויק' טז,ל 7 ישׁ' א,יח (אם יאדימו)
10 דני' שם 11 עיין בבלי ראש השנה יז ע"ב 14 תנח' שם, סי' ו
17 תהל' יז,מ 18 משׁ' ד,ד 24 תהל' קכא,ז 26 ויק' יט,ג 27
תהל' קיג,ט | בר' ג,כ

עמ' עה

1 ההוא ש 3 לעץ קש 7 וראשית הוא לכל ש 8 הוא נקרא אין ומכאן ש
12 שאין קש 16 הזהירה קש 28 והשבת ש 31 התחתון יסוד ש

4 שה"ש נ,יא, ועיין זח"ג עז ע"ב 6 בר' ב,י 14 מל"א ז,כה 23 במ'
סו,לא 25 ויק' שם

עמ' עו

1 שיהא) שהיא א | הייחוד) האחוד ק שם הייחוד ש | בלי ש 4 מעלה ש
12 אילן ש 13 (ריע שנא') אק 20 העט') העט' שהיא המטרוניתא נמצאת
עמו א 22 פרצה) פרטה א

1 ויק' שם 2 ישׁ' מד,ו 3 ע"פ בר' ב,ט 6 ויק' שם, יג 7 שה"ש
ה,טז 9 ע"פ ישׁ' נט,ו 14 ויק' שם 15 בבלי בבא קמא קיט ע"א, ועיין
זח"ג פה ע"א 17 עיין בבלי שבת קמט ע"ב 21 עיין זח"ג סט ע"א, ואיכ"ר
פ"ה, כ 31 ע"פ תהל' פד,יב

עמ' עז

4 שעומדה) שהיא עומדת ש 9 בקר וכולה א 11 שכל מה ש 14 שהוא ק
29 שהם) שהוא ש 31 איננו ש

6 בר' א,כו 9 ויק' שם 10 דב' כד,טו, ועיין זח"ג פד ע"ב 14 ע"פ
הפיוט "כי הנה כחומר ביד היוצר" 15 עיין זח"א קט ע"ב 16 יר' יח,ו
(הנה, ובפיוט: כי הנה) 19 תהל' סח,כ 22 ויק' שם,טו 26 עיין תנח',
משפטים, סי' טו; ירוש' סנהדרין פ"א, ה"א 28 בבלי ברכות מג ע"ב 32
דב' לב,ד

עמ׳ עה

2 מי) מה א 4 לאמתו ש 5 לשם) התם ש | (מדוע) ש | כל העם ק 7 העולם אק 9 כדי ק 14 בשום אק 15 ואח״כ ש 16 לכל עמו) בכל עת אק 17 (לו) א 17 ואח״כ ש 23 לשום בריה קש 25 למד א 29 מאד) תמיד קש 30 ונטעתם כל עץ מאכל ק

2 מי׳ ז,כ 4 בבלי שבת י ע״א 5 בר׳ א,ה | שמ׳ יח,יד (מדוע אתה יושב לבדך וכל העם, ועיין בח״נ) 7 ישׁ׳ לד,ו 8 עיין בבלי שבת י ע״א 10 עיין בבלי יבמות קט ע״ב, והשווה משנה תורה, הלכות סנהדרין, פכ״ג, ח; וזח״ב קיז ע״א 12 ויק׳ שם, טו | דב׳ א,יז 13 שם י,יז 16 שמ״ב ח,טו, ועיין בבלי סנהדרין ו ע״ב 21 ויק׳ שם (ולא תהדר) 22 ע״פ דב׳ א,יז 25 זח״ג פה ע״ב 26 עיין שהש״ר פ״ב, יג; במ״ר פ״ב, ב 28 ע״פ איוב מ,כב 29 משׁ׳ ה,יט (תשגה תמיד, ועיין בח״נ ובזוהר) 30 תנח׳, קדושים, סי׳ יד; ויק׳ שם, כג (ונטעתם כל עץ מאכל, ועיין בח״נ ובתנח׳) 31 ויק׳ שם, כד

עמ׳ עט

3 חבריא ש | שבכתב) שבעל פה אק 7 מדה ש 14 ואצ״ל) ואז״ל ש 18 אם רץ לבך יחזור למקומו אם רץ לבך לעלות למעלה שוב למקום ש 22 מישראל קש 24 הוא מנע קש 25 וכו׳) ראשכם ש 27 יפה ונאה כמו שכתו׳ בזוהר ש (בלא... ובעולם הבא (עמ׳ פ, שו׳ 2)) ש 31 בלשון ק

1 ויק׳ שם, כה 2 שם 3 מ׳ אבות פ״ה, מכ״ו 6 ויק׳ כז,לב 8 תנח׳ שם 12 ישׁ׳ סה,כג 18 ס׳ יצירה פ״א, מ״ח, ועיין בח״נ | משׁ׳ כה,ב 25 ויק׳ יט,כז, ועיין זח״ב קמא ע״א, ובח״נ, שו׳ 27 26 דני׳ ז,ט (נקא)

*1 בתנח׳: מהולל.
*3 בתנח׳: שנו רבותינו.

עמ׳ פ

3 והתקדשתם קש 4 והתקדשתם ש 7 (כל קדושה) ש 10 ולמחלקות ש 12 לעלול ש 14 אזי ק 18 הכלה אק 20 ילכו ויזלו ש 26 ועליו נאמ׳ כי דבר ק 30 העליונות קש

3 ויק׳ כ,ז | עיין ויק״ר פכ״ד, ח 9 עיין רמב״ם, משנה תורה, הלכות יסודי התורה, פ״א, ז 13 ישׁ׳ ו,ג 24 עיין בבלי פסחים גו ע״א 26 במ׳ טו,לא

עמ׳ פא

13 בחכמה קש 25 אצ״ל) אמז״ל ש

1 ישׁ׳ נח,יא 2 תנח׳, אמור, סי׳ א | תהל׳ יב,ז 5 עיין מ׳ אבות פ״ה, מ״א 12 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ד 14 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע״ב; מנחות קי ע״א ותוספות שם, ד״ה ומיכאל; זח״א פ סע״א 16 בר׳ ב,י 17 תהל׳ קלג,ב 18 שה״ש ה,י 19 משׁ׳ ג,טז 20 תהל׳ קיא,י 21 עיין ויק׳ כא,י 22 מל׳ ג,ד 24 ויק׳ שם 26 בר׳ יד,יח 29 תהל׳ קכב,ח

עמ׳ פב

2 ראשו כ״ע ש 8 (זקן) קש 17 היין המשתכר ש 21 לשקט) לקשט (!) ק 30 הגדול ש

1 ויק׳ שם 2 שה״ש שם, יא | ויק׳ שם 3 תהל׳ קלג,ב 13 שם 17 עיין ויק׳ י,ט 18 בר׳ מט,יב | ישׁ׳ לד,ו 19 בר׳ שם 21 עיין במ׳ ח,יא 23 תהל׳ שם, ג (יי את הברכה חיים עד העולם) 24 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע״ב; פדר״א פל״ד 25 הו׳ יד,ו 26 שמ׳ ג,יד 28 יחז׳ לו,כה 30 ירׄ׳ יז,יג 32 יהו׳ כב,כב

עמ׳ פג

12 ידיו) ידו ק 21 (בני אהרן) א 22 (לא יטמא (2)) קש 26 וי״ל) ויש לתרץ ש | פי׳ קל וחומר א[1] ק[1] פי׳ קלי וחומר ש

2 ב״ר פמ״ז, ו, עמ׳ 475 | תהל׳ קכא,א 3 מי׳ ו,ב 7 תהל׳ קלג,ג 9 ויק׳ כא,י | תהל׳ ח,ד 11 ויק׳ ט,כב, ועיין בח״נ 15 זח״ג פח ע״ב; תהל׳ קלג,ב 21 ויק׳ כא,א 24 שם שם, ב; ועיין ספרא, אמור, פי׳ ב 25 ויק׳ שם, יא 32 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע״ב; מנחות קי ע״א ותוספות שם, ד״ה ומיכאל; זח״א פ סע״א

*18 בזוהר: דא דיקנא יקירא.

עמ׳ פד

5 הפנימ׳ העליונה ש 10 נמצאת ק 25 מזדווג קש | טהורה ונקייה ק 28 שהיא ש 31 (אשה) ש

2 בר׳ יד,יח 7 עיין מ׳ אהלות פ״ז, מ״א 9 ויק׳ שם, י 13 עיין בבלי סנהדרין עד ע״א, וזח״ב קסה ע״ב 14 ע״פ במ׳ ו,ז 15 עיין בבלי שבת ל ע״ב 17 מל׳ ב,ז (עיין התחלת הפסוק) 19 ויק׳ שם, ה 20 תהל׳ קלג,ב 22 בר׳ ב,י 24 איכה א,א 26 יחז׳ לו,כה 27 ירׄ׳ יז,יג | מ׳ יומא פ״ח, מ״ט; שוח״ט, ד 31 עיין ויק׳ שם, ז 32 שם

עמ׳ פה

8 הוא נופל ש 12 באשרי קש 14 שהיא ש 21 אז יבאו ש 23 אלחיך
עמ׳ ש 25 (ההי״ד הוא מקריב) ש

3 ויק׳ שם, ח 7 תהל׳ שם 11 בר׳ מט,כ 12 שם ל,יג 16 משׁ׳ לא,יד
17 קה׳ ז,כד (ועמק עמק) 18 ויק׳ שם 27 שם 28 שם|ישׁ׳ מא,ד

עמ׳ פו

2 התחתונה ש 5 בר׳ שמעון ש 9 משולשת ש 11 ג׳ מדרגות הרי לך
שלש מדרנות ק שלשה מדרגות הרי לך שלשה מדרגות ש צ״ל ששה (?)
מדרינות ק2 13 החיצוניים ש 14 ונם הנה ש 15 פרי הטמא) שרים
הסמאים ש 16 ונדחקה בין) ונתקדבה אל ש 18 דינור ק די נור ש
22 ומרכבותיו קש 25 מאי ק 32 לה ש | הקדוש קש

1 בר׳ ב,י 6 בבלי בבא בתרא מז ע״ב, ועיין ס׳ הבהיד סי׳ עח (§52)
9 בר׳ לח,כד, ועיין זח״ג עב ע״א 13 ישׁ׳ א,כא 14 בר׳ שם (ונם הנה,
ועיין בח״נ) 15 שם | איכה ב,א 17 שם ד,יא 18 דני׳ ז,י | ישׁ׳ סו,מז
19 בר׳ שם, כה 24 שם שם, כו 25 תהל׳ יא,ז 27 ויק׳ שם, ט (ובת
איש כהן) 28 בבלי שבת קמו ע״א 29 ויק׳ שם

עמ׳ פז

1 לבא לו ש 9 ודאי) מאב העליון ש 12 מת ש 14 שר) צר ש
16 הוא שלם קש 20 יכנים קש 21 פירוד בין העליונים והתחתונים ש
25 (ההי״ד... מעי׳ העי׳) א 30 ששנינו א | (בפרקי אבות) ש 31 הוא)
והוא ק 32 נפלה לא תוסיף קום ש

2 ויק׳ שם 5 שם שם, י 6 בר׳ יד,יח | ויק׳ שם 9 שם 10 שם
שם, יא 11 עיין ירושׁ׳ סנהדרין פ״יז, ה״א; זח״א פה ע״א 13 עיין מ׳
אהלות פ״ז, מ״א 19 ויק׳ שם 23 שם שם, יב 28 שם שם, יג 30
מ׳ אבות פ״ה, מכ״ו 31 תהל׳ עח,לח 32 עמ׳ ה,ב (נפלה לא תוסיף קום,
ועיין בח״נ)

עמ׳ פח

5 בתולה היא ובתולה נקראת ש 9 שנקראת בתולת ישׂראל ק 10 יכנם קש
17 כשבעליהן הולכין ק כשבעליהן ש 25 (אם) ש | אחת מהן קש 26
ומכנים סומאות החיצוניות ש 29 ברצון קש 30 בעין) בעון קש

9 תהל׳ מה,יד 10 שה״ש ד,יב 12 תהל׳ קמב,ח 16 שם 20 ויק׳
שם, יד 29 עיין בבלי שבת קמו ע״א 28 ויק׳ שם, ז

עמ׳ פט

1 אמר ש | ליריאיו כמו שהוא כתוב בויקרא של הזוהר ש (ובריתו... ר׳ שמעון
פתח ואמ׳ (עמ׳ צ, שו׳ 1)) ש 10 בעטוריו ק 15 באלף א 20 לך) לה ״א
22 (של האחר... עליון) א 29 אפטרופוס ק 32 באותה מדה שאדם מודד בה ק

1 זח״ג צא ע״ב | תהל׳ כה,יד 13 שה״ש ד,יב 16 ויק׳ כב,כז 17 מל״א
ח,סה 18 זוהר שם צב ע״א | בבלי שבת יא ע״א, תענית יב ע״ב, ב״ר פמ״ד, יב,
עמ׳ 435 25 זח״א עז ע״ב, זח״ג קי ע״ב 32 מ׳ סוטה פ״א, מ״ז; בבלי מגילה
יב ע״ב; ב״ר פ״ס, יא, עמ׳ 73; מכילתא, מס׳ דשירתא, פ״ה

*6 בזוהר: כמלכא. *15 כזוהר: באלף, ועיין בח״נ.
*8 בזוהר: הוא.
*28 בזוהר: אתדבר.

עמ׳ צ

1 כי יש שבר כמו שהוא כתוב (!) ש (במצרים... שופר תרועה (שו׳ 16)) ש
8 מפנימות א 14 ידיו) ידו ק 16 ובחדש השביעי כמו כן ש (בעשור...
תרועה (שו׳ 17)) ק (בעשור... ארצכם) ש 18 אלא) לא א 23 השמאל קש
24 וענני ש 27 שהיא קש 29 ומעיינותיהן ש ומעייניהן ק 32 אל)
אלו קש

1 זח״ג צב ע״ב | בר׳ מב,א 5 בבלי בדכות נה ע״א 6 מל״ב ח,א 9 בר׳
שם 11 שם שם, ב 13 שם שם, ה 14 ויק׳ ט,כב | עיין זח״ב סז ע״א
16 ויק׳ כה,ט 22 זח״ב לב ע״א; תהל׳ קכא,ה 24 דב׳ לג,ב | תהל׳ ס,ז
(קרי: וענני; כתיב: וענגו, ועיין בח״נ) 30 בר׳ יח,ה

*14 בזוהר: דבעי, והשווה שו׳ 20, 23.
*19 בזוהר: שולטנותא מכל עבדין.

עמ׳ צא

9 בוקר) בקר אק 19 ופירש ק ופי׳ ש 21 האחר) האחת ש | האום)
האמה ש 22 וכשמזדווגה ש | (בו) ש 24 כתי׳ בכסה קש | בכסה כמו שהוא
כתוב בחומש (!) ויקרא בסופו עד אמר ר׳ שמעון ש (ליום... על ארץ יסדה (עמ׳
צג, שו׳ 1)) ש | שמתכסה) שנתכסה ק

1 בר׳ שם, ד 8 ישׁ׳ א,נ | בר׳ שם, ז 9 שם כב,ג 11 בר׳ ב,י 12
דני׳ ב,כב (שרא) 14 זח״ג צו ע״ב 16 זכ׳ יד,ז 24 זוהר שם ק ע״ב |
תהל׳ פא,ד | עיין בבלי ביצה מז ע״א; ראש השנה ח ע״א; סנהדרין יא ע״ב; פדר״א
פ״ז 27 תהל׳ פט,מז

*15 השגוה את הזוהר. כאן חל מקרה של homoioteleuton.
*17 בזוהר: דכנסת ישׂראל.
*19 בזוהר: קשורא אחרא תרין דרועין וגופא דאחידן מחילא דרישא; במס׳ וקר׳ "וגופא"
חסר.

*26 בזוהר: ובמה.
*30 בזוהר: והאי יומא נהירו דאימא נטלא; במנ' וקר', במקום "נהירו": נטילו.
*31 בזוהר: חידו.
*31 בזוהר: יום כפור.

עמ' צב

6 מבית) מבת א 9 אבי) האב ק | להזדווג) להודיע א 12 ולא מביח האם) נ"ל שהלשון כחי' (?) הפוך ק2 14 ומכפק ק 19 כשמגיע ק

3 בר' כ,יב 8 יר' ב,ג 11 עיין מ' יומא פ"ח, מ"א 13 זח"ג קב ע"א
16 ויק' טז,טו (והזה אותו, וכך בזוהר) | עיין מ' יומא פ"ה, מ"ג 26 תנח', אמור, סי' יז; ויק' כג,מ 31 עמ' ט,ו

*1 בזוהר: מנהורא עלאה.
*5 בזוהר: לאו זווגא דמלכא.
*8 בזוהר: נטל.
*10 בזוהר: דנטלא.
*11 בזוהר: דנטלא.
*12 בזוהר: דהא מבי אימא נטלא ולא מבי אבא; ועיין בח"נ.
*14 בזוהר: כהני.
*15 בזוהר: מכוין.
*16 בזוהר: ואתכוון

עמ' צג

6 המראות ש 9 שנטען ש 19 והבן זה) והמשכיל יבין קש 27 לפי) לפי' א

5 ב"ר פט"ו, ז, עמ' 140.| ע"פ בר' ג,ו 9 תהל' א,ג 11 יר' יז,ח
17 קה' א,ז 20 משי' ג,יח 21 תהל' צב,יג | דב' כא,כג 23 בר' מט,כב
24 עיין ב"ר פע"ח, י, עמ' 928; זח"א קעה ע"א 27 תהל' מה,ד 29 שם קד,א 30 ויק' יט,לו 31 איכה ג,מא

עמ' צד

6 באמצע ק | נחלקה) נסתלקה א | (החיומת (2)) א 9 (מורה) א 23 הרואה אק 25 שהוא קש 30 בלא ש

1 בבלי ברכות נז ע"א 6 עיין בבלי סוכה לב ע"א 8 מ' סוכה פ"ג, מ"א
11 קה' א,ז 13 תנח' מ"ב, וישב, סי' ה 14 בר' לז,ב 16 יר' יז,ח
19 בר' יח,ח | עיין בר' כא,לג 20 עיין ב"ד פנ"ד, ו, עמ' 583 21 בר' יח,ה 22 איוב לח,לד 23 קה' יא,ד 25 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"א 27 קה' א,ז 28 שם ז,כד (ועמק עמק) 29 ישי' גח,יד 30 בבלי שבת קיח ע"א | ישי' שם

*7 צ"ל: לפי.

עמ' צה

3 הכוללים (?) ש | (עשר) א 23 תנועות) נענועין ש 27 להזהר ש | כזו קש 28 כדוגמא ק | להתכוין) להתבונן ש 32 הוא (2)) היא ק

7 ע"פ דב' י,יז 8 עיין בבלי סוכה לז ע"ב 12 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"א
25 ויק' כו,ג; ועיין ויק"ר פל"ה, ד; שמ"ר פ"ל, ט; שו"ט עב, ג; ס' טעמי המצוות לר' יוסף מן המדן, עמ' 44 17 עיין: אלעזר מורמס, ס' עשד הויחח, כ"י מינכן 43, דף ריט ע"א

עמ' צו

4 להדביק ק 13 הסמנין) המינין ק המינים ש 16 מבועיו ש
19 ואותה) ואותו ש 30 מעל הזה) מזה קש | בן אדם) האדם ש
32 שהמים) שהימים אק

3 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ז 9 דב' טז,יד | שם שם, טו 12 תהל' קיג,ט
16 ע"פ מל' ג,י 17 זח"ג קד ע"א; בר' א,כז 22 תהל' לט,ז 27 זח"א רכ ע"א 31 שה"ש ב,יז 32 זוהר שם ע"ב | ויק' כג,מ

*14 כאן נקרע דף מז בכ"י א. הטכסט, מכאן עד שו' 20, ובעמ' צז משו' 15–22, שוחזר בעזרת כ"י ק.
*20 בזוהר: וקיימא על ההוא זווגא.
*21 בזוהר: לקבליה עד דנפיק לעלמא. כד נפק...
*26 בזוהר: זווגא; במנ' וקר': ולית לך בעלמא.
*27 בזוהר: כד; בקר': ביה.

עמ' צז

4 (למעלה) ש 10 נמשכת) נמצאת א 17 הערבות ש 20 (בבראשית רבא) ש 24 חופין ש 27 יאגדנו קש 28 הייחוד ש 29 אחדות) אחד ש

5 ע"פ מל"א כב,יט 7 בבלי סוכה לב ע"א 9 בבלי ברכות נז ע"א 12 עיין ויק"ר פ"ל, ט; והשווה ב"ר פמ"א, א, עמ' 387 בח"נ; ופס"ג, ח, עמ' 687 בח"נ 14 מל"א כב,יט (עמד עליו מימינו, והשווה דה"ב יח,יח) 16 ויק' שם 18 קה' יא,ה | בבלי סוכה לג ע"ב 20 קה' א,ז | ויק"ר שם, ועיין פה בח"נ 21 תהל' סח,ה 24 ויק' שם, ועיין בבלי סוכה לב ע"ב; ויק"ר שם, ח 25 מ' סוכה פ"ג, מ"א 26 בר' ב,י 27 מ' סוכה פ"ג, מ"א 29 דב' ו,ד | עיין רמב"ם, הלכות יסודי התורה, פ"א, ז 32 עמ' ט,ו

*2 בזוהר: על דרגא דצדיק.
*2 במ': איכא כנישו דבר נש; בקר': איבא וכנישו רבבא.

עמ' צח

9 (למה) אק 10 (של) אק 17 תפח ש 18 הדלקת קש 19 הסמים ק | באחד ש 22 היו הולכים בדרך) הוו אזלי באורחא ש 26 (אותו (2)) א 30 קול) חול ש 31 קול) חול ש

6 מ' סוכה פ"ד, מ"ט 7 ע"פ שופ' ה,כא 8 זח"ג קד ע"ב; ויק' כד,ב 11 מש' כז,ט 12 תהל' לב,יא 13 שם קיח,כד 22 יש' נח,יג (לקדוש יי) 30 בבלי שבת קיג ע"ב

*16 בזוהר שונה.
*26 בזוהר: מלה אחרא; השווה שו' 32.

עמ' צט

6 (הוא (2)) ש 7 השמחות) הנשמות ש 9 מאי) מה ש | הוא בצער ש 12 נסמכו אק 26 באלו קש 28 והבן זה. אלהים הנזכר הכא היא לאה הנקרא מי ש 31 התורה כלה ש

7 ב"ר פי"א, ה, עמ' 94; תנח', כי תשא, סי' לג 13 בבלי ברכות לא ע"ב 16 עיין תוספות שם, ד"ה כל היושב בתענית בשבת 18 מש' כה,ב 22 שמ' ג,ו 25 בבלי ברכות ח ע"א 27 מש' לא,כג 29 עיין הקדמת הרמב"ן לפירושו עה"ת; זח"ב פז ע"א 30 זח"ג קו ע"ב

*15 בזוהר: דהוא אתחזי בהו.

עמ' ק

2 ובסתום) ובנסתר ש 10 שנא') שנקרא אק 15 מסטרון שר הפנים ש 17 (וכתב... י"ה) ש והיו"ד הנוסף רומז לעשר ספי' עליונות והבן זה מאד. וכתב ר' דוד וישי הוליד את דוד והבן זה. ועל זה נקראת הבינה ההיא י"ה. והי"ם הם עליונות על היש ההוא. כי החכמה ק 19 והבן זה) והמשכיל יבין ש 32 המדה ההיא) הבינה ש

3 תהל' לס,ב 4 קה' ה,ה 5 ויק' כד,כב (יי אלהיכם) 7 קה' יב,יא נתנו מרעה אחד שה"ש ה,טז 9 ויק' שם, כג 10 בר' מט,כד 11 עיין מ' סנהדרין פ"ו, מ"ד 14 ישׂ' יא,א 15 בבלי סנהדרין לח ע"ב 16 רות ד, כב (וישׁי) 19 מש' ח,כא 20 ישׂ' שם, ב 22 בר' א,ב 23 ב"ר פי"ד, ט, עמ' 132; דב"ר, ואתחנן, פ"ב, סי' כו | ישׂ' שם 25 יחז' לז,ט 28 ישׂ' שם, ג 32 בר' א,ב

*18 המלים: וכתב ר' דוד... י"ה, אינן נמצאות בכ"י ש, ובכ"י ק הן מופיעות בשורה הבאה; עיין בח"נ. המשפט הוא כנראה הוספה של סופר מאוחר שמצטט את ר' דוד, המחבר; עיין ס' הגבול (כ"י ידוש. 3921 8^0), דף סח ע"א.

עמ' קא

7 והיא קש 9 עולם ש 12 איננה ש 13 איננו ש 18 איננו ש 22 (שעשה) אק 25 אחת מהן ש 29 (בר זביבא) ש

1 ב"ר פ"ב, ד, עמ' 17; ילקוט מכירי, ישׂ' יא,ב 2 ע"פ ישׂ' יא,ד 4 תנח', פינחס, סי' יב; ועיין ויק"ר פכ"ב, ז; ופדר"א פי"א 5 איוב מ,כ 7 תהל' לו,ז 10 שה"ש ח,יב 12 קה' א,ז 14 מש' לא,טו 16 עיין תנח' שם, ויק"ר שם 17 ויק"ר שם 19 ויק"ר שם; תנח' שם | בר' ב,י 20 יר' יז,ח 22 מל"א ה,ב, ועיין תנח' שם 23 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"א 25 מל"א שם (שלשים כר סלת) 26 שם שם, ג 27 שם 29 תנח' שם; במ"ר פכ"א, יז, ועיין בבלי בבא מציעא פו ע"ב

*29 בתנח': זבידה, ועיין בח"נ.

עמ' קב

4 והם דבקים ש 5 עולם ש 9 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ש | הוא ענין ש | שעורתיך ש 10 וקצת קש | ולהועילך בסוד) ולהודיעך סוד ש 12 בא ש 14 והסוד בזה ש 19 האמתית ק האמיתת ש 22 בעו') בעונות קש 26 הם נשאבים) שבים ש 32 (הגן) א

1 ע"פ שה"ש ח,יב 5 ישׂ' נח,יד 6 תנח', בהר, סי' א | מש' כח,כב 11 קה' א,ד 13 איוב לח,יח 14 בר' כו,כב 15 שם 23 עיין בבלי סנהדרין צז ע"א, ראש השנה לא ע"א 24 בבלי ברכות יז ע"א 26 בר' ג,יט 27 עיין פדר"א פ"ג 28 ישׂ' ב,יז, ועיין סנהדרין שם | זכ' יד,ט 30 דה"א ד,כג (וישבי נטעים) 32 בר' ב,י

עמ' קג

4 אלפי שני ש 10 העולם ש 16 וכשיחדש (?) ש | בנשמתן ש 17 ועשרה ש 19 בגלגולותיהן ובתנועותיהן ש 20 (הנשמות) אק 23 שהיא ש

3 יר' ב,כא 4 בבלי סנהדרין שם 5 הו' ו,ב 7 ב"ר פ"ח, ב, עמ' 57; בבלי סנהדרין שם; תנח', וילך, סי' ב; ועיין תהל' צ,ד, ושו"ט שם 8 מש' ח,ל 10 ע"פ ויק' כה,ב 11 סנהדרין שם 13 עיין בבלי בבא בתרא עה ע"ב 14 ישׂ' ד,נ 16 עיין ב"ר פ"ח, ז, עמ' 61 17 עיין מ' עוקצים פ"ג, מי"ב; ומדרש אלפא ביתא דרבי עקיבא (ביהמ"ד, כרך ג) עמ' 32 18 מש' ח,כא 22 ב"ר פ"א, א, עמ' 2; ת"י על בר' א,א 23 מש' ג,יט 24 פדר"א פ"ג 25 מש' ח,יד 26 מש' ח,ל 27 עיין בבלי תענית כה ע"א 29 שופ' ה,כא 30 בר' ב,י 32 עיין בבלי ראש השנה כא ע"ב

עמ׳ קד

6 ולשנים בתים אק 11 אחד ש 15 איננו מלא ש 17 הנקבות ש
28 בין) מן ש

1 עיין בבלי מנחות קי ע"א, ותוספות שם 2 שמ׳ יד,יט-כא 6 תהל׳ קכב,ד
7 עיין יהו׳ ד,ג 12 יר׳ לג,כה 13 שה"ש ה,טו | שמ׳ כו,יט 15 קה׳
א,ז 16 שה"ש א,ד 17 עיין בבלי קידושין ב ע"ב 19 בר׳ א,ט 21 ע"ז
שופ׳ ה,כא 22 בר׳ ג,יט 23 קה׳ ג,כ | קה"ר פ"ג, כו 25 ויק׳ כה,ב

עמ׳ קה

5 לשש מזרעות ש 16 החיצוניים ק 17 שהוא) שהם ש | אלפי שנין ש
18 החלודה ק | הטומאות קש 32 בערב שבת בזה (?) העולם יאכל בשבת
כלו ש | באל) באלו קש

4 ויק׳ שם, ג 7 שמ׳ לב,יד | בר׳ ו,ו 10 בר׳ כז,כז 13 שמ׳ כג,יא
(והשביעית) 15 שה"ש ח,יא 17 עיין בבלי סנהדרין צז ע"א 22 דב׳ כה,
יב 26 ויק׳ שם, ד 30 בר׳ ב,ב 31 בבלי עבודה זרה ג ע"א

עמ׳ קו

7 מזוקק ש 9 הוא כך הוא ש 10 קטן קש 13 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ש
15 לשמטה ש | מושבת א 17 אלפי שני ש 21 שני הימים 23 שיקבצו א
29 בזרועו ובחיקו ש 31 ואזי) ומזי אק

7 ע"פ תהל׳ יב,ז 8 איוב ג,יט 11 תהל׳ א,ו (ודרך רשעים תאבד) 17 בבלי
סנהדרין צז ע"א, ראש השנה לא ע"א 20 הו׳ ו,ב 22 ויק׳ כה,ו 24 עיין
קה"ר פ"א, לו 25 בבלי ברכות יז ע"א 26 תנח׳, קדושים, סי׳ א; שמ"ר פ"ח,
טו 27 ישׁ׳ ג,יד 28 ע"פ שם | שם ה,ז | בבלי עבודה זרה ב ע"א-ע"ב

עמ׳ קז

5 ויעסקו ש 9 לחיי ק 12 נקראת ש 15 בשנת ש 31 (הרי) ש

1 יר׳ לא,טו (כי יש) 7 תהל׳ ט,יח 10 ויק׳ שם, ח 14 שם 16
שם שם, ט 19 שם שם, י 22 קה׳ יב,ז 24 ע"פ יחז׳ א,י 27 ע"פ
דב׳ לא,יא 28 ויק׳ שם, יג 30 תנח׳, בהר, סי׳ ג; תהל׳ קו,מג

עמ׳ קח

1 ממי) מאי א 2 שהיה) שהיא א 4 שהיה) שהיא א שהוא ק 6 רות)
רות וישבו שם כעשר שנים שם האחת ערפה בשביל שהפכה עורף לחמותה ושם השנית
רות שראתה דברי חמותה ש 8 וישובו ש 12 חוזר (1)) חזר ש | חוזר ומוכר)
מוכר ש 21 מנגין) מרגין אק 25 עט׳) כנסת ש | (בת) א 27 שפע)
ברכות ש 28 יצחק קש 29 ויתבשם ש 31 אלא מפניך א 32 אמר ש

6 רות א,ד 9 שם שם, ה 13 ויק׳ שם, כה 14 שם שם, כט 15 שם שם,
לט 16 שם שם, כה 19 רות א,יט 21 תנח׳, בהעלותך, סי׳ ז 22 תהל׳ סז,
יא 23 שם קיט,קסד 31 תנח׳ שם 32 תהל׳ ו,א

עמ׳ קט

5 יסד) יהד ש 7 וכל השערים ש | העליונים ק 10 שבעת הימים ש 11
את הלויים ש 15 (תפ׳) ק | ועומד) ושומר ש 16 ונתבאר לנו ש 21 הכל
אחד) והרוח נגש בנשמה והכל אחד ש 23 מבינין ומשגיחין) משגיחין ומביטין ש
30 אורך (2)) אריך ש

2 שה"ש ג,יא 4 תנח׳ שם | תהל׳ קמד,ט 5 דה"א ט,כב (דויד ושמואל, וכך
בתנח׳) 9 ישׁ׳ ל,כו 12 במ׳ ג,מה 14 זח"א רו ע"א 22 קה׳ ח,ד
24 משׁ׳ א,כב (פתים), ועיין זח"ג קכו ע"א 25 דב׳ ל,יב 29 שם שם, כ
30 ע"פ משׁ׳ ג,יח 31 עיין בבלי שבת י ע"א 32 דב׳ שם, יט

*15 "תפ׳" אינו בזוהר, ועיין בח"נ.
*16 בזוהר: לקבלא.
*20 בזוהר: דהא מתמן נפקי (קר׳: נפק) נפש ורוח. מתמן אתזן רוח. המלים "מתמן נפקי" חסרות בתרגום.
*20 בזוהר: וכד נטיל רוחא כדין נטלא (קר׳: נטל) נפש.
*21 בזוהר: בנשמה, ועיין בח"נ.

עמ׳ קי

2 אלא אמר הקב"ה חוקותי שאני הולך בהם ומצותי שאני עושה ש 3 (מנין) ש
4 רואה) למד ש 7 רואה) אומר ש 11 דו פרצופין ק 15 הציורים)
הייצורים ש 20 שיורד בהן ש 25 (הוא) אק 26 כל׳ א בלשון ש
27 כל׳ א בלשון ש | לבדך רומז אל ש

1 ויק׳ כו,ג 2 עיין ס׳ טעמי המצות לר׳ יוסף בן המדן, עמ׳ 44; השווה ויק"ר
פל"ה, ד; שמ"ר פ"ל, ט; שו"ט ע"ב, ג 3 בבלי ברכות ז ע"א | ישׁ׳ נו,ז
7 עיין בבלי ברכות ו ע"א | שה"ש ח,ו 10 משׁ׳ ח,כז 11 יר׳ לג,כה
13 תהל׳ קלט,סז 17 משׁ׳ לא,טו 25 גח׳ ט,ו 28 דב׳ לב,לט | נח׳ שם
32 ויק׳ שם, ד

עמ׳ קיא

1 מבין זכר) מזכר ש 2 מן מוח) במוח ש 3 ישולח ש 7 פירותיה) פאירותיה ק 10 שהוא ש | שמקבל ק שמקבלין ש 14 הפירות) הפארות ש 19 חדש תוציאו ש 31 (ואמ׳) קש

6 הו׳ יד,ט 7 בר׳ מט,כב 8 שם 11 בר׳ ב,י 13 ישׂ׳ סו,יב 16 שׂ״ה תהל׳ קכא,ד 17 מש׳ כב,ט, ועיין בבלי סוטה לח ע״ב 19 ויק׳ שם, י 20 דני׳ ז,ט 23 שה״ש ה,א, ועיין זח״ג ד ע״א 26 ויק׳ שם, כו 27 שמ׳ ד,יז | ויק׳ שם 30 שם | בר׳ ח,יד 31 ישׂ׳ יב,ב (וזמרת יה יהוה)

עמ׳ קיב

2 הישועות ש 6 האבות גדו׳ גבו׳ תפא׳ ש 8 יהיה קש 9 שכ״ע הוא ש 10 מדת הדין ש 16 ועתה הואל קש 21 אחריהן ש 24 קוינו לו ק

1 יהו׳ כב,כב 2 ע״פ ישׂ׳ נט,יז 3 תהל׳ כז,א 5 ויק׳ שם. מב 12 שם 13 תנח׳, נשא, סי׳ ח 14 במ׳ ו,כג 15 דב׳ כו,טו 16 שמ״ב ז,כט (ועתה הואל וברך את בית עבדך להיות לעולם לפניך כי אתה אדני יהוה דברת ומברכתך יברך בית עבדך לעולם) 21 שה״ש ב,ט 24 ישׂ׳ כה,ט

*19 בתנח׳: אמר להם.

עמ׳ קיג

2 (והכמה לבינה) ש 4 ההרגש ש 5 נטחן ש 11 (חסד) ק 13 פתח וא׳ ק 21 כי השדה רומז לעטרה לאשר קנהו תשוב בשמיטה למלך ש 28 וזיכם ק וזכם ש | לאור באור החיים ש 30 (ואמ׳) קש 32 והיה (1)) והוא ש | זיוו ש

6 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע״ב 9 ויק׳ ו,יג 13 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ט | שה״ש ג,ז 15 מל״א ח,ח 16 שם ז,ב 18 שה״ש שם, ח 19 במ׳ ו,כד-כו 21 ויק׳ כז,כד 22 בר׳ יד,יט 24 מש׳ ח,כב | ויק׳ שם,כו 28 תהל׳ לא,ב 30 זח״ג קיז ע״א | בר׳ א,כז

*30 בזוהר: ד׳ אבא.

עמ׳ קיד

1 וחחתונים כמו שכתוב בזוהר ש 4 הרז) הסוד ש | זכרנו (1)) זכרנו יברך ש 7 נחל ש | הקדומים ק 8 שהוא קש 12 האחרונות ש 19 אהרן חסד ש 19 בן שדיאור) בן שדי אור א | (פי׳ שדי אור) ש | פי׳ כ״ע שאמ׳ ש 32 שהוא קש

1 עיין פדר״א פי״א 2 זוהר שם ע״ב; תהל׳ קטו,יג 3 דב׳ לג,י | תהל׳ שם 4 שם שם, יב 10 מש׳ לא,טו 13 שמ׳ ג,טו 15 תהל׳ שם 16 עיין שמ״ר פכ״ח, ב 17 ישׂ׳ לב,ט | תהל׳ שם 19 שם קלג,ב 21 תנח׳, במדבר, סי׳ י, ועיין שהש״ר פ״ב, יג | שה״ש ב,ד 23 שם (ודבלו (בגי׳ מ״ט) עלי אהבה, ועיין בתנח׳) 24 במ׳ א,ה 27 יהו׳ כב,כב 29 בבלי חגיגה יב ע״א 29 בר׳ מג,יד

עמ׳ קטו

11 בכן) כבן ק כי בן ש 16 (אלא) א 18 הקדוש קש 22 כהאי) כי האי אק 23 (ימה שהוא) א | (דרום... לדרום) א 28 ומשמשין) ושומרים ש 32 היה) הוא ש

2 זח״ג קיט ע״ב; במ׳ ב,יז | שם שם, יח 3 בבלי בבא בתרא כה ע״א | בר׳ מח,כ 8 שם לה,יא 9 בבלי ברכות ד ע״ב | תהל׳ קמה 12 שם קמו-קנ 15 שם קנ, א-ה 17 שמ׳ טו,א-יט 19 בר׳ כד,סג, ועיין בבלי ברכות כו ע״ב 23 עיין במ׳ ב,י,יח,כה 27 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ יט; במ״ר פ״ד, א | בר׳ כח,יג 29 שם לב, ב 30 שם לה,ט 31 ישׂ׳ מג,ד

*3 בזוהר: כתיב.
*9 כאן חסרים מספר שורות מהזוהר.
*10 בזוהר: ולאשתכחא.
*11 בזוהר: אתי בר נש, ועיין בח״נ.
*21 בזוהר: בזווגא דא.

עמ׳ קטז

3 ואצ״ל) אז״ל ש 5 באמצע העולם בין צפון לדרום ש 8 מוכרח ש 10 וזהו קש 12 ועל כן כעין דוגמא זה ש 22 (שם) ש 31 (לשום... פנים) א

2 עיין במ״ר שם; ויק״ר פל״ו, ד | ישׂ׳ מג,א 10 בר׳ כח,יג 11 בבלי חולין צא ע״ב, ועיין ב״ר פס״ט, ד, עמ׳ 793 13 בר׳ שם (והנה) 15 שה״ש ו,ח 17 שם 20 תהל׳ א,ג 22 במ׳ ג,יז (ויהיו אלה בני לוי בשמתם) 24 מל״א ז,לו | ויק׳ ב,יד 25 דב׳ לג,יד 26 איוב לח,לא (או מושכות) 29 שמ״א כו,יט, ועיין זח״א קטו ע״א 32 דב׳ י,יז

עמ׳ קיז

3 מקתים א 9 ועזיאל) עוזיאל ש 12 העט׳ ש 17 להועירך) להודיעך ש 22 שיש) שהיא ק שהרי (?) ש | זוטא) זוגיא א זוניא ק 23 צד) מדת ש 29 (יום (2)) קש 32 להם א

1 בר׳ מט,י (ולו יקהת עמים) 3 עיין ב״ר פצ״ז, יב, עמ׳ 1220 4 במ׳ שם, יט 9 שם 10 שופ׳ יד,יד | ע״פ מ׳ אבות פ״ה, מכ״ד 11 יהו׳ כב,כב 12 תהל׳ כט,יא | שם ז,יב 17 עיין מ׳ סוכה פ״ד, מ״ה

עמ׳ קיח

7 אל) אלו קש 9 כתנות אור קש עור ק2 12 וזוהר) ויותר א 14 (ר׳) ש
17 על ישראל ש 18 (על אותו) ש 23 הוד ק הו׳ ש 26 ומחנותיה ש
27 ניתנים) נותנין אור ש 28 אור) עור ש

2 יש׳ סו,יב 3 במ׳ שם, מס 4 שם שם, ג (מאת בכור בני ישראל) 8 שם
ד,ו 9 בר׳ ג,כא, ועיין ב״ר פ״כ, יב, עמ׳ 196 11 יש׳ ס,ג 12 שם סא,י
(תעדה) 13 עיין בבלי שבת כח ע״ב; תנח׳, תרומה, פי׳ ו 17 שמ׳ לב,לב
18 ב״ר פי״ד, ט, עמ׳ 132 20 במ׳ שם. ט 22 שם 24 שם שם, י 32
שם שם, יא

עמ׳ קיט

3 הכל) קבל א 7 במקום) בתחום ש 10 נבלעים ונעלמים ש 11 (רבא) ש
18 (והוא) ש ועונה ש 23 בראות א | אחר א (אחד) ש 25 (כל (2)) ש
26 (שהם... הנבראים) ש 27 כסודם ק 29 כל ש 32 שהיא) שהיה ק

5 במ׳ שם, כ 8 משׁ׳ כה,ב 11 דב׳ יח,יג, ועיין בבלי חגיגה יג ע״א,
ברכות י ע״א 12 ז״ח ד ע״א (מדרש הנעלם) | ע״פ יש׳ מד,ו 14 משׁ׳ ג,יט
15 שם שם, כ 17 עיין בבלי שבת קיד ע״א 22 בבלי חגיגה יד ע״א 25
עיין ב״ר פ״א, ג, עמ׳ 5 28 בר׳ א,א

*11 בשודות אלו רומז המחבר לשלשה מספריו: ס׳ הגבול, מעשה מרכבה ומעשה בראשית רבא; עיין במבוא, הערה 122.
*25 בזוהר: הבינה.
*32 בזוהר: אבל הארץ נהיה.

עמ׳ קכ

8 אמ׳ ר׳) ד״ה (?) ש 10 צורת שלשה) ג׳ צורות ש 13 והכינו מעניין א1 ק
19 בנפש ש | (לכל) קש 28 ברוספדאי א | התוספת ש

4 ז״ח ה ע״ד (מדרש הנעלם) | משׁ׳ ח,ל, ועיין ב״ר פ״א, א, עמ׳ 1-2 5 בר׳ א,
א | עיין תרג׳ ירושלמי שם 8 ז״ח ו ע״ד (מדרש הנעלם) 14 בר׳ א,ב 22 ז״ח
ח ע״א (מדרש הנעלם) 26 יש׳ מ,כו 28 ז״ח ח ע״ד (מדרש הנעלם); בר׳ א,ג
30 תהל׳ קד,ב

*11 חסרים כאן כמה מלים מהזוהר.
*17 חסרים כאן כמה מלים מהזוהר.
*32 בזוהר: מה הוא.

עמ׳ קכא

1 ברוספדאי א 4 השגת מדרגה ש 11 בספר אדם הראשון ש 13 סוכנת)
סוכות א 15 שהיה) שהיא א 18 פורש ש 19 והאחרת) ואחת ש 22
ששב ש 26 הנקרא׳ ש 27 מזדווגת ש 29 ואכזדים ש 31 בזה) בהם ש

4 איוב ד,יט 7 ע״פ ויק׳ ה,טו 11 זח״א לד ע״ב; בר׳ ב,כא 13 בבלי
עירובין יח ע״ב; ב״ר פ״כ, יא, עמ׳ 195 18 עיין זח״א נד ע״ב 21 עיין זח״ג
יט ע״א 23 בר׳ ג,כ 24 עיין שם ה,ג, ועיין עירובין שם 32 עיין "קבלות
ר׳ יעקב ור׳ יצחק הכהן," מדעי היהדות, כרך ב׳, עמ׳ 233-240 | במ׳ טז,כב

*11 בזוהר: בספרי קדמאי; עיין בח״נ.
*32 מכאן עד עמ׳ קכד, שו׳ 25, מביא ר׳ דוד קטע ארוך מכתבי ר׳ עזריאל מגירונה. עיין במראי מקומות, ובמבוא, § 2.6.

עמ׳ קכב

2 מקום ש 5 והמציא ש 6 והמציא ש 8 תניחהו אק 15 המציא
המצואים ש 19 ובהשואתו ש 22 הנשמע) נשמע ש

1 ב״ר פס״ח, ט, עמ׳ 778; פמ״ר פכ״א; שו״ט צ, י; תנח׳ כי תשא, סי׳ כז;
שמ״ר פמ״ה, ו | שמ׳ לג,כא 2 איוב לו,כו 3 יש׳ נה,ח 4 ב״ר פ״ח,
ב, עמ׳ 57 | יש׳ נא,ד | משׁ׳ ח,ל 6 דני׳ ב,ז1א 7 איוב כח,יא | עיין
בבלי קידושין לט ע״ב | תהל׳ קיא,י 8 יש׳ סג,יד 9 שם נח,יא 10 ירׄ
לב,כז 15 יש׳ מג,ז 21 עיין בן סירא פ״ג; בבלי חגיגה יג ע״א; ב״ר פ״ח,
ב, עמ׳ 58 22 ע״פ מל״א יט,יב 23 תהל׳ כט,ד 31 שה״ש ח,ו

עמ׳ קכג

1 (הוא (2)) ש 4 (אתה) אק | (אורה... פלא) אק 15 בכח) בהם א
18 הרבים) חייבים א 19 האחרות א 24 על הים) אלהים ש 30 שהיה)
שהיא א

1 תהל׳ לא,כ 3 עמ׳ ה,ח (לילה) 4 יש׳ כה,א 10 קה׳ ז,כד | ירׄ
לא,ב 13 עיין מ׳ סנהדרין פ״ד, מ״ה 20 עיין שו״ט קד, ג 23 ע״פ שמ׳
טו,ח 24 ע״פ שם יד,כא 26 שם שם, לא 32 יש׳ יא,ב

*6 במדעי היהדות ב׳, עמ׳ 234: הגלויים, ועיין כאן בשורה הבאה.
*9 במדעי היהדות: והעצה שהיא סבתן באה מרחוק.
*15 במדעי היהדות: חוה.

עמ׳ קכד

2 ונצר) וגזע א 4 כל) בל אק 8 (זה) א 9 טהורה ש | בגמר מלואו ש
22 מברכתן) ברכתם ש 24 שפה אחד ברורה א 25 אחד ושמו אחד ק
26 במלך) בחיי המלך ש | בחיי המלך) במלך ש 29 מכל דירה יסור עצמו
מדירת מקומו ואם ש 5 ובין כך ובין כך ש

1 זכ׳ יב,ח 2 יש׳ שם, ד | שם שם, א 3 יר׳ כג,ה | יש׳ שם, ו 5 דנ׳
יב,יב 6 תהל׳ כד,ד 7 דב׳ כג,טו 15 שמ׳ כב,ל 16 יש׳ יט,כג
17 שם שם, כד-כה 19 שם שם, כג 20 שם שם, כה 21 שם 22 שם
שם, כד 23 יחז׳ יא,יט (להם) | שם לז,כב 24 צפ׳ ג,ט 25 זכ׳ יד,ט
26 עיין ספרי, מטות, סי׳ קנג 28 ב״ר פס״ח, ט, עמ׳ 778, ועוד

עמ׳ קכה

3 אשה (2)) אשים ש 4 האשם) הוא שם אק 5 בא) יניא אק 6 חטאות)
אשמות א 8 ופרח) ופי׳ א ופר ק 10 ולא (2)) אלא א 12 כדבר)
בדבר אק 15 (אחד הוא) א 23 שיש בו ש 30 הזיווג) הזיע א 31
שהוא) הוא קש

1 ס׳ יצירה פ״א, מ״ס 2 ויק׳ ה,כה | שם א,ט 8 במ׳ טו,כד 11 עיין
בבלי נדרים טז ע״א; רמב״ם הלכות נדרים פ״ג, ה״ו 14 בבלי פסחים נד ע״א;
ב״ר פ״א, ד, עמ׳ 6 17 בן סירא פ״ג, כא; בבלי חגיגה יג ע״א 26 ע״פ
בר׳ יג,ג 28 ב״ר פנ״א, ב, עמ׳ 533; ירוש׳ ברכות פ״ט, ה״ז 29 חב׳
ב,כ 31 דב׳ ו,ד

עמ׳ קכו

3 נקרא ים) נקראים אק 6 ושכינה תחאה ש 9 ואצ״ל) ואז״ל ש 11
כנשמה ש 14 ואצ״ל) ואז״ל ש | תועלת של י״ג מדות ש 18 ללמד ש |
ומי) ומה אש 20 יובן מאותיות מנצפ״ך ולמה ש 23 (בל׳) ש 26
וטהרתם ש 30 יוצא אק 31 וזה מאמר השם לנביא ק מאמר הנביא ש |
(ההי״ד) ש

2 עיין טוף מדרש כונן 4 קה׳ א,ז 5 דב׳ לב,ו 6 בר׳ ב,ד 20 שם
ג,כב 23 איוב כח,יב 26 יחז׳ לו,כה 28 משׁ ג,כ 29 יואל ד,יח
30 זכ׳ יג,א 31 יר׳ יז,יג 32 שם לא,כא

עמ׳ קכז

1 (ואצ״ל) ש 10 ואצ״ל) אמז״ל ש 16 ומתעלים) ומתעלה ש 20 ורצוני
לומר) רצו׳ לו׳ ק ר״ל ש 28 (ואמ׳) קש

3 יש׳ כו,ד, ועיין ב״ר פי״ב, י, עמ׳ 108; פס״ר פכ״א 5 שה״ש א,ג
7 בבלי חגיגה יב ע״א 10 דב׳ לג,כז (ומתחת) 11 עיין ויק׳ יד,טז-יז
15 עיין קה״ר פי״ב, ח 18 זכ׳ יד,ט 20 יר׳ יד,כא 21 יהו׳ ז,ט
23 שו״ט ט 24 שמ׳ יז,טז 26 תהל׳ ט,ז-ח 28 תהל׳ פה,יב
32 יש׳ יב,ד, ועיין זח״ב צ ע״ב, ובבלי עבודה זרה כד ע״ב

עמ׳ קכח

4 בסוד) בסדר קש 4 ואצ״ל) ואז״ל ש 6 הנאצלת קש 7 כשחטא אדם ש
10 (אחרות) א 16 איש איש כי תשטה אשתו. איש איש ש 21 והספי׳) זה
הסי׳ ש 22 והשורש א 27 (מעדן) ש

1 לא יכולתי למצוא | תהל׳ שם, יא | במ״ר פט״ו, יד 2 במ׳ יא,טז | עמ׳ ט,ו
3 במ׳ ה,ו 5 בר׳ ב,ז 6 משׁ כ,כז 7 בר׳ שס 8 קה׳ ג,כא 11
איוב לד,י 12 במ׳ שם, ז 14 שמ׳ לג,יט 16 במ׳ שם, יב, ועיין בח״נ
18 אס׳ א,טז 19 בבלי ראש השנה לב ע״א; מגילה כא ע״ב 20 ס׳ יצירה
פ״א, מ״א 25 בר׳ ב,י 17 השווה זח״א סו ע״ב

*22 צ״ל נשאבות.

עמ׳ קכט

4 קווצותיו א 5 כלול ש 15 הפנימים ק 16 אלהים גן ק אלהים גן
בעדן ש | יהיו) יהוה ש 29 מדתה אק

8 בר׳ שם 9 קה׳ ד,ג 11 בבלי תענית י ע״א; שהש״ר פ״ו, יד 12 יש׳
נז,טו 15 בר׳ ב,ח 17 שם א,ג | שם ב,ח (ויטע יי, ועיין שם שם, ט)
18 שם א,יא 19 בבלי חגיגה יד ע״ב 20 בר׳ ב,ח 22 שם שם, י (ומשם)
25 ב״ר פ״נ, ב, עמ׳ 516 30 תנח׳, נח, סי׳ יא 31 יש׳ נד,ט 32 יר׳
נא,יד (נשבע יי צבאות בנפשו) או עמ׳ ו,ח (נשבע אדני יי בנפשו) | שמ׳ לא,יז

עמ׳ קל

4 השכינה ש | אותם ש 6 בכאן ק 7 מצירה מצרתם של ישראל ש
15 ראשון ק 27 אחד) אחר ש 29 שאף היא מנעמת) שאך היה ממנעם אק
31 מקום ק 3 אחר אחר אק

1 יש׳ סב,ח 4 שופ׳ י,טז (מקרבם ויעבדו את יהוה ותקצר) 6 מ׳ סנהדרין פ"ו, מ"ה 7 יש׳ סג,ט, ועיין מכילתא, בא, פי"ד, עמ׳ 51 8 ויק׳ כו,יא 9 תרג׳ אונקלוס שם (מימרי) | דב׳ לב,מח | תרג׳ ירושלמי שם 13 שמ׳ כ,א 14 בבלי מכות כד ע"א; הוריות ח ע"א (שמענום) 15 עיין שהש"ר פ"ו, ג 16 במ׳ ז,פט | עיין במ"ר פי"ד, לב-לג 18 תנח׳ ב׳, ויקרא, סי׳ א 20 שמ׳ שם, טז 22 דב׳ ב,ב | שמ"א טו,י; יר׳ א,ד, ועוד הרבה 25 תהל׳ פט,לו 27 בר׳ ח,כא 32 ס׳ יצירה פ"א, מ"ז

עמ׳ קלא

6 (אחר) אק 9 (דבר) ש 11 קצב) קצה קש 14 (והחכמה) ק 20 השלשה ק 29 לכל) מכל ש 30 אם) מה קש

2 ס׳ יצירה פ"ו, מ"ג 6 משׁ א,ה (חכם) 10 ס׳ יצירה פ"ד, מ"ג 12 שס 23 עיין שמ"ר פל"ג, א; תנח׳, ויקהל, סי׳ ז | עיין שמ׳ כה,כב; במ׳ ז,פט 24 מל"א ח,כז 27 ס׳ יצירה פ"ה, מ"א | דב׳ לב,ח 28 ס׳ יצירה פ"ו, מ"ג | ישׁ ו,ג 30 שם מא,ח 31 בר׳ יז,ט 32 עיין ס׳ יצירה שם, מ"ד

*14 צ"ל: העלה; עיין בשורה הבאה.

עמ׳ קלב

3 שימצאם (?) ש 6 ומוציאן ש 8 מוצא קש 8 וראשו אק 9 שאמר ש 12 כט) כסה ש 13 הכתו׳ בה׳) שבשם הכתוב בה"א ש 16 לכלול בו דבר כלול ש 20 משפטי א 32 גזירות רעות קש

4 תהל׳ יט,יא | דני׳ יב,נ 5 ע"פ תהל׳ לד,יג 7 חב׳ ג,ג 8 מל"א י,יט 9 שם (לכסה) 10 שמ׳ כ,ב 11 בר׳ ל,ב 18 תהל׳ קיט,קס | מל"א שם 19 שמ׳ לג,כג 20 תהל׳ שם 21 תהל׳ קלט,ה 24 עמ׳ ה,כג 25 תהל׳ סה,ג 26 ישׁ מח,יג 27 מל"א שם (עמדים) 29 יחז׳ א,ז (ונצצים כעין) | ישׁ ו,ב 30 שם

עמ׳ קלג

9 ששה על ששה ש 11 לחשבון א 12 ויעבר עב רי"ו ש | הכסא ש 15 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ש 17 (פרשז) ש | (פי׳) ש 26 מעלת) מעלות ק מעלתו (?) ש 27 ואל) ואלו קש | נפלאים ונוראים ש 28 (הם) קש 29 כלו׳ א 31 והעשירית ש

2 עיין בבלי מנחות כט ע"ב 4 במ׳ כא,ח 6 עיין שס (וחי!) 8 דה"ב ט, יט (ושנים עשר אריות עמדים שם על שש המעלות) 11 במ׳ ו,כה 12 שמ׳ לד,ו 13 מל"א שם 15 תהל׳ יח,יב-יג 16 איוב כו,ט (כסה) 18 תהל׳ שם | ויק׳ כג,מג; ועיין בבלי סוכה יא ע"ב 20 שמ׳ ג,יג | בר׳ א,א 21 שמ׳ כ,נ 31 עיין אס"ר פ"א, יז

עמ׳ קלד

1 ואמר ש 5 גולירין) גוררין ש 10 לנשמה נשמה ש 13 (ואמ׳... הגלות) א 15 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ש 22 א"ר) אמרו רבותי׳ ש 24 ממות) פי׳ ההי"ד וילבש צדקה כשריון ק2 25 לולב קש 26 הירקות ש 30 עצמות קש | שבשנים) שבעינים ש

1 שמ׳ לג,כא | תהל׳ קג,יז; דה"א כט,י 4 בבלי ברכות נג ע"ב; נזיר סו ע"ב 7 שמ׳ טו,יא 10 ב"ר פי"ד, ט, עמ׳ 132; דב"ר פ"ב, כו 11 דב׳ יב,כג | תהל׳ לה,יג 12 ויק׳ טז,כט | שם ט,כד (ותאכל על המזבח את העלה) 13 עיין מל"א יח,לח 14 שמ׳ שם 15 שם | שם שס, ו 17 יר׳ ב,ג | ישׁ ו,יג 19 בבלי תענית ה ע"ב 20 יר׳ מו, כז 24 משׁ י,ב; יא,ד | תהל׳ כד,ו 25 מ׳ סוכה פ"ג, מ"ד 27 זכ׳ א,ח 29 בבלי נדה לא ע"א, ועיין קידושין ל ע"ב; קה"ר פ"ה, יג

עמ׳ קלה

1 ואצ"ל) אמז"ל ש 4 כתולדת קש 5 שלפניו קש 10 לכך תקנו ש | עשני קש 11 שיבנ(או) שבאו ש 14 ועל) ומן ק 16 שהיא) שהוא ש 20 (משכת) ש | זרעח) זדעת ק ש | האדם עוד ש 24 זרעותיו ש 25 הדבר ק

1 ויק׳ יט,ג (ואת) 3 תהל׳ קג,יג 10 ברכות השחר 19 בבלי חגיגה טו ע"א 20 בר׳ ד,כה (אדם עוד את אשתו) או שם ד,א (והאדם ידע), ועיין בח"נ 21 בבלי נדה עא ע"א 22 הו׳ יא,ט 23 מ׳ סנהדרין פ"ד, מ"ה; ב"ר פכ"ב, ט, עמ׳ 216| בר׳ ד,י 24 בבלי נדה לא ע"א 27 דב׳ לג,כז 30 ישׁ נד,ח 31 בבלי ברכות ז ע"א | חב׳ ג,ח 32 ב"ר פס"ח, ט, עמ׳ 778

*20 עיין בח"נ; אולי צ"ל: משך הזרע, ע"פ תהל׳ קכו,ו, ועיין ב"ר עט,ד.

עמ׳ קלו

2 הפי׳ בפסו׳ זה) פי׳ הפסוק הזה ש 16 והכי) והריני ש 23 ר"ל) ח"ל א 29 כמו שאמרנו אז"ל ש 30 (אור (2)) ש 32 שיהיו א | החמשה) חמשה קש

2 פירוש שה"ש לר׳ עזרא מגירונה, נדפס על שס הרמב"ן, כתבי הרמב"ן, כרך ב׳, עמ׳ תקה-תקיח; בר׳ א,א 3 תהל׳ קד 5 בר׳ שם, ג | תהל׳ שם, ב 6 בר׳ שם, ו 7 תהל׳ שם, ג 8 בר׳ שם, ט | תהל׳ שם, ה | בר׳ שם, יא 9 תהל׳ שם, יד | בר׳ שם, יד | תהל׳ שם, יט 10 בר׳ שם, טז (ויעש אלהים) | תהל׳ שם, כ,כב 11 בר׳ שם, כ | תהל׳ שם, כה 12 בר׳ שם, כז 13 תהל׳ שם, לא 14 עיין בבלי ראש השנה לא ע"א; סנהדרין צז ע"א | תהל׳ שם, לב 15 שם שם, לג | שם שם, לה 18 שם שם, א 19 שם 21 דב"ר פ"ב, (סי׳ כו; עיין פדר"א פ"ג; בבלי פסחים קיח ע"א 22 תהל׳ שם, ב 24 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"א 25 בר׳ א,א-ב 27 ס׳ יצירה פ"א, מ"ה, מ"ט | ב"ר פ"ב, ד, עמ׳ 17 | ישׁ יא, ב 28 בר׳ שם, ב 29 בבלי סנהדרין לח ע"ב; אדר"נ פ"א 30 בר׳ שם, ג

*2 מכאן עד עמ׳ קמג, שו23מביא ר׳ דוד קטע ארוך מפירוש ר׳ עזרא מגירונה על שה"ש. עיין במראי מקומות, ובמבוא, § 2.6.

עמ׳ קלז

2 (להיות) ש | ולהמשיך ש 7 היה הכל) היתה כלי קש | הויה) היה ש | (אספקלריא המאירה) ש 11 בשני קש 16 (סובב (2)) ק 19 ואחר ש 22 (על) ש 31 עשרה ש

2 בר׳ שם, ד 3 שם שם, ג 5 שם שם, ה 6 שם 8 שם שם, ו 9 תהל׳ קד,ג 11 בר׳ שם 14 עמ׳ ס,ו 15 קה׳ ה,ז 17 עיין ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ קעא 18 בבלי עבודה זרה ג ע״ב 19 תהל׳ סח,יח 23 עיין בבלי ראש השנה לב ע״א; מגילה כא ע״ב 25 תהל׳ קד,ג 28 ישׁ׳ יט,א | שמ׳ יט,ס 32 שה״ש ו,ח | שם ג,ז

*17 צ״ל: כשם שהשכינה למעלה כך השכינה למטה.

עמ׳ קלח

2 והגבלת ק הגבלות ש 5 שני קש 6 כהתחלף ש 13 (לה) אק | עולם עד אק 17 המחשבה כ״ע ש 18 שהיה) שהיא ק 20 ההזמנה ק 24 וכפי הענין ש 30 וממך ש 32 הרוחניים קש

3 עיין בבלי סנהדרין לח ע״ב; אדר״נ פ״א 5 תהל׳ שם, ד | ב״ד פ״א, ג, עמ׳ 15 פ״ג, ח, עמ׳ 24 6 הו׳ יב,ו 7 עיין ב״ר שם | בר׳ שם, ט 8 תהל׳ שם, י 9 שם שם, ה 10 בר׳ שם, י, ועיין ב״ר פ״ד, ו, עמ׳ 30 11 עיין סנהדרין שם, אדר״נ שם | בר׳ שם, ט 13 תהל׳ שם | עיין שו״ט צג, ב 15 תהל׳ שם, ח 16 בר׳ שם, י 18 שם שם, ט (יקוו) | ע״פ שם ב,י 21 תהל׳ שם, י–יא 23 שם שם, יא 24 שם שם, כא 25 בר׳ א,י 27 קה׳ א,ז 29 תהל׳ שם, יג 30 שם שם, יד 31 שם שם, יג

עמ׳ קלט

8 בחפץ ש 9 דבוק ק 11 תושבת א 12 לדביר) לדבור ק לדבר ש 14 בלתי) זולתי ש 20 המשאות אק 24 ואשובה אש | מקומי הראשון ש 29 עושים) עושין קש 31 הרוחניים קש 32 כשנתפרד ק

1 עיין בר׳ יט,כח 2 עיין בבלי תענית י ע״א 4 עמ׳ ס,ו 5 עיין איוב כח, כד–כו | תהל׳ שם, יח 9 בר׳ שם, יב 11 שה״ש ח,א 12 ס׳ יצירה פ״א, מ״ם | שה״ש שם 17 שם שם, ג 18 שם שם, ד | שהש״ר פ״ב, יח 19 עיין שה״ש ג,ה 20 שם ח,ה 21 ראש השנה לא ע״א; אדר״נ פל״ד 24 הו׳ ה,טו (אלך) | שה״ש שם 25 שם 27 בבלי בבא בתרא צט ע״א | שמ׳ כה,כ 28 דה״ב ג,יג (ופניהם) 30 שה״ש שם | שם (שמה) 32 שם שם, ו | שהש״ר פ״ח, ד

עמ׳ קמ

3 יחלקו ק חלקו ש 10 להתחזק) להתחבר ש 16 הפקיד א 21 לביאת) לראות א 25 נפוצותיהם ש 26 גלו אש 29 והוא שנתנבא) ובההוא שנת בא א ובההוא שנתנבא ק

1 בבלי ברכות ו ע״א 3 שה״ש שם, ז 4 שם שם, ח | שהש״ר שם, ח | ע״פ מל׳ ב,ט 5 שה״ש שם | ע״פ ישׁ׳ ב,ג 6 דה״ב טו,ג (וימים... אמת וללא כהן מורה וללא תורה) | שה״ש שם 8 שם שם, ט 10 שם שם, י 12 שם שם, יא | שהש״ר שם, יב; בבלי שבועות לה ע״ב 13 ישׁ׳ ה,ז | שה״ש שם 14 ע״פ ישׁ׳ שם, יד 15 שה״ש שם 16 עיין שהש״ר שם, יד 17 שה״ש שם, יב 18 שם | בבלי שבועות לה ע״ב 19 עיין בבלי סנהדרין צז ע״א 13 שה״ש שם, יג 24 שם | ע״פ ישׁ׳ יא,יב 26 ישׁ׳ ח,כג 27 סדר עולם רבא, פכ״ג 30 ישׁ׳ יא,יא 31 שם

עמ׳ קמא

3 להם מלך ש 13 שבין קבוץ שתי גליות ש גליות ק 16 (והשעים) ש | קי״ח) ומאה ק 21 כה) בה ש 22 פרשה) פרש א 24 שני קש 25 שגי קש 29 שני קש 32 התרשיא א התרשא ק

1 ישׁ׳ שם, יב 3 שם 5 תהל׳ קמז,ב | עיין בבלי סוכה נב ע״א 6 זכ׳ יב,יא | שם שם, י (אלי) 8 עיין בבלי סנהדרין צח ע״א 9 ישׁ׳ סו,כ 10 שם נו,ח 12 דב׳ ל,ג 15 יחז׳ כב,כב 16 דני׳ יב,יא 17 שם שם, יב 27 ישׁ׳ ב, ב; מי׳ ד,א 30 זכ׳ ט,ט 32 עיין אבן עזרא שם; הוא מזכיר פירושו של ר׳ משה הכהן וסותר אותו | נח׳ ז,סה

עמ׳ קמב

2 חשמונאי קש 4 להם הפחת א להם ק 8 (של) ש 9 עמהם ש 11 (כי... אמן (עמ׳ קמג, שו׳ 23)) ש 18 מתנוססות ק 19 בצאת ק 27 ותשתכח ק 28 ולא ק

1 נח׳ ב,יב (רוכב בה) | זכ׳ שם, יג 2 עיין רש״י שם, ואבן עזרא על פס׳ ט 3 חגי א,א 4 נח׳ ה,יד 5 ע״פ עז׳ א,ה 6 זכ׳ שם, י 7 סדר עולם רבא פכ״ט | עז׳ ב,סד 9 זכ׳ שם 17 שם י,יב 18 שם ט,טז 19 ע״פ איכה ד,א | זכ׳ שם, יז 20 ע״פ במ׳ יא,ז 21 ע״פ תהל׳ עח,כד 23 ע״פ זכ׳ י, א 26 שם ט,יא 27 בבלי סנהדרין צח ע״א | עיין מ׳ סוסה פ״ט, מט״ו; שהש״ר פ״ב, כט 28 מי׳ ז,ו 29 זכ׳ י,יא 30 דני׳ יא,מ (יתנגח עמו... הצפון ברכב ובפרשים ובאניות) 32 שם שם, מב

*18 צ״ל: אבני; עיין כתבי הרמב״ן (מהד׳ שעוועל), כרך ב׳, עמ׳ תקיז; ואיכה ד,א.

עמ׳ קמג

1 יפשוט א 7 אושע א 13 אם אין (!) אתה ק 20 הזויות ק 25 ואצ״ל) ואז״ל ש | התחלה הראשונה ש 27 ובמעלתו אק 31 להבדיל ק הבדל ש

3 דני׳ שם, מד 4 שם יב,א 5 יר׳ ל,ו–ז 8 דני׳ יא,מה 9 זכ׳ יד,יד 10 ישׁ׳ יא,יג 12 עיין דני׳ יב,יב 15 שה״ש ח,יד 16 בבלי ראש השנה לא ע״א 19 שה״ש שם 20 ע״פ תהל׳ קי,ו | שם קד,ג 21 עיין בבלי ראש השנה יז ע״ב | ע״פ הו׳ ו,ב | ע״פ תהל׳ קכה,ה 22 ע״פ ישׁ׳ ל,כו 24 שמ׳ ג,יג

*17 צ״ל: וישובו למקורו והנהר היוצא; עיין שעוועל, שם, עמ׳ תקיח.

*20 צ״ל: הויות; עיין שעוועל, שם, עמ׳ תקיח.

עמ׳ קמד

1 וכסדרה א 3 (הפרש) ק 6 (בפי׳ (2)) ש 7 ר״ל) ח״ל א | באלהותו ק 8 (אין ואפיסו) ק ואפס ש 11 התנועה ק תנועתה ש 12 התנועה) תנועתה קש 17 שהיה) שהיא א 24 השוה הגמורה) השוה גמורה ק השואה גמורה ש 27 ה״א בינה ש

6 עיין מדעי היהדות, כרך ב׳, עמ׳ 231 וכו׳ 8 שמ׳ ה,ב 10 שם ג,יד 14–16 שם שם, יג–טז 19 שם שם, טו

*6 מכאן עד עמ׳ קמה, שו׳ 16, מביא ר׳ דוד עוד קטע מכתבי ר׳ עזריאל; עיין במראי מקומות, ובמבוא, § 2.6.

*8 צ״ל: לא; השווה מדעי היהדות, ב׳, עמ׳ 231.

עמ׳ קמה

1 שלש ספי׳ ק שלש ספירו׳ ש 3 וזהו קש 8 (לידע) קש 12 והשני) והשם השני ש 14 ומהו קש 25 יי רומז ש | אלהינו רומז ש 26 יי רומז ש 27 שימשוך ק 29 שיתאחד ש 30 כלול) תלויה ש

10 שמ׳ שם, טז 20 שה״ש ב,יב 22 השווה מדעי היהדות, ב׳, עמ׳ 232 | דב׳ ו,ד 24 שמ״א טו,ד 25 ע״פ תהל׳ קכב,ד | ע״פ דב׳ לג,כז

עמ׳ קמו

1 אין סוף עי׳ העי׳ ש | צריך קש 4 עליה קש | כריתות אק 5 בישראל) לישראל ש 6 אחד) אחר א 10 יו״ד ש | וזהו קש 12 (יגה) קש 19 מובחר ק 26 אלו) האלו ש | תמיהים) סתומ׳ ש 31 (ולא... בריתו) ש 32 סבל) קבל ש | (את) ש

3 ויק׳ יב,ג | מ׳ נדרים פ״ג, מ״י; בבלי שבת קלב ע״א 5 עיין ילק״ש, תהלים, ר׳ תתע״ג 6 תפילת שמונה עשרה 7 במ׳ יב,ח 9 בר׳ ט,יב,יז 10 עיין בבלי שבת נה ע״א; ועיין ס׳ המשקל לר׳ משה די ליאון, עמ׳ 131; וזח״א יג ע״א, ח״ג רטו ע״ב 16 יהו׳ ג,יא (ארון הברית אדון כל הארץ) 23 שם כד,לב 24 שמ׳ יג,יט 25 ע״פ דב׳ לג,א 31 ע״פ תהל׳ קה,יח 15 עיין שאלות ותשובות בעניני קבלה לר׳ משה די ליאון, נדפס ע״י י. תשבי בקובץ על יד, כרך ה, עמ׳ 15–38.

*15 מכאן עד עמ׳ קנב, שו׳ 30, מעתיק ר׳ דוד משאלות ותשובות בעניני קבלה לר׳ משה די ליאון; עיין במראי מקומות; הסדר פה הוא שונה.

*16 צ״ל: ארון; עיין בקובץ על יד, ה׳, עמ׳ 25; וכאן במראי מקומות.

עמ׳ קמז

1 ויושב ק ויושב בארץ ש 4 להיות ק 5 וזהו קש 6 ליטלה ר״ל נשמתו ש | (ממנו) ש 12 בראוי א 20 הנהר) הגדר אק 21 פורחות קש 24 (סוד) ש | שמו של ש | אז תהיה מדרגה) אותה המדרגה ק 27 אלה ש 30 (לא זכה) אק 31 כמותו קש | השכינה) נפשו ש

3 ע״פ דב׳ יג,יח 7 בר׳ נ,כו; ועיין זח״א רנא ע״א 18 מ׳ סופרים פ״ד, ה״א 24 ע״פ בר׳ ו,יג 32 ע״פ בר׳ כה,כז

*19 צ״ל: הנקרא צבאות; עיין קובץ, שם, עמ׳ 33.

עמ׳ קמח

1 שהאשה ק 3 (לא) אק 8 לתוזר ק 16 וכבוד) ועוד ק 17 בפרשת) בפחות אק 19 (כל) קש 21 להשכיל קש 26 ויצאו ש 30 היא ש

2 הו׳ ב,ט 7 עיין במ׳ כז,יב–יד 9 ע״פ מ׳ חגיגה פ״ב, מ״א 16 ע״פ בר׳ לה,סז 21 ע״פ שם ג,ו

עמ׳ קמט

11 (הכל) ש 12 התעוררת אק 13 דוגמות ש | והן) וכן ש 20 ואצ״ל) ואז״ל ש 24 דודאים בשדה שנים ש 26 (מביא... ללאה אמו) א

3 בר׳ לה,טז 4 שם שם, יט (ותקבר בדרך אפרתה, ועיין במ׳ כ,א) 5 עיין בר׳ ל,יד–טז 6 עיין בבלי נדרים כ ע״ב 10 בר׳ שם, טו 16 במ׳ ב,י 20 ע״פ בר׳ ח,ט 21 שם ל,יד 24 שם 25 שם | ע״פ שם כז,כז 26 שם ל,יד 29 שם 30 שם שם, טו

עמ׳ קנ

5 שאמה באה ק שאמר באת ש 9 ואצ״ל) ואז״ל ש | יש כ״ב) ישכב אק
11 בענין א 13 מתעורר ש 14 ואמר ש 19 אני והו ש 22 מלמטה
למעלה ש 27 של מעלה קש 28 של מעלה ק | של מטה ק 31 הקודש ק
הקדש ש

2 שהש״ר פ״ג, כא; שמ״ר פנ״ב, ד; ועיין ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ סג (§43) 4 איוב כח,
יב 8 בר׳ שם 10 מש׳ ח,כא 11 בר׳ שם, טז 13 ע״פ שם כה,כז
14 ע״פ שם לא,מב | שם כד,סג 16 שם ל,טז 18 ע״פ רות ב,יב| בר׳ שם
19 ע״פ תהל׳ קיח,כה; עיין מ׳ סוכה פ״ד, מ״ה, ורש״י שם 31 ע״פ בר׳ ד,ז

עמ׳ קנא

2 אכילה ש 8 בכל דרכיו ובכל מעשיו ש 9 בכל ש 15 על) עד אש
20 ולהתנכר ק 22 בענין ק 24 (כי אין) ק 28 צוה סבת הסבות ש |
להפריש קש 30 רצוני ש | ויפריש קש 31 (אשר לו) ק אשר לי ש |
לסוד) לסור א | שיקנא ש 32 למטה ק | להביא) להבין ש

1 ע״פ תהל׳ קד,לה 2 ע״פ יש׳ נה,ז 3 ע״פ ויק׳ יב,ד | בר׳ כה,כט
5 שם שם, ל 15 תנח׳, יתרו, סי׳ ה 16 יש׳ כא,יג-יד 24 עיין ב״ר
פס״ג, ח, עמ׳ 688; ורש״י על בר׳ כה,כו 27 ע״פ חב׳ א,ד

*24 צ״ל: כי ענין; עיין קובץ על יד, שם, עמ׳ 24.
*26 צ״ל: רצה; עיין שם.
*31 בקובץ, שם: שיהנה.
*32 שם: להבא.

עמ׳ קנב

2 רשע קש 9 חי נשאר) הנשאר ש 13 והשומם) והשואג ש 14 והוא)
והנה ש 18 בהחבונם א 28 הגדול ק

2 עיין בבלי ברכות ז ע״א; ס׳ הבהיר, סי׳ קצה (§135) 5 במ׳ טו,לא
7 ע״פ שמ׳ טו,יא 11 ע״פ תהל׳ קכה,ג 14 עיין בר׳ כד,סז; שופ׳
ד,יח 15 ע״פ ויק׳ ה,כג 16 ע״פ עמ׳ ג,ג | איוב לד,יד 17 יר׳
ב,כד (פרה) 24 רות ד,י 27 ע״פ שם ב,כ 28 דב׳ כה,ה

*8 צ״ל: מהתמונה הכוללת; עיין קובץ, שם, עמ׳ 34, והערתו של תשבי.

עמ׳ קנג

1 יאציל ש | בהתעלותו בעצם) בהתעלות בעצה אק 2 ובצייר) ובהתעלות ש
3 אצילותה ש | מעצה אק 4 ואי זה ש 8 עשרה ש 9 ואצ״ל) ואז״ל ש
11 האיפשרות קש| והמאציל ש 13 כולם) כולו אק 14 מתפלגין כל מימי
בראשית ונו׳ ש (המרכבות... קשר אחד (עמ׳ קנד, שו׳ 12)) ש 26 יהוה)
אדני ק 31 והוא) זהוא א

2 איוב כח,יב 4 שם (ואי זה, ועיין בח״נ) 7 ס׳ יצירה פ״א, מ״ד 23
שמ׳ כג,כא 27 ישׁ׳ ב,יא 30 עיין זח״א טו ע״ב

*22 על צרוף זה עיין הערתו של מתיה דלאקרוט בשערי אורה לר׳ יוסף
ניקטלייא (ירושלים, תש״ך), עמ׳ 9.
*26 השווה שו׳ 18, 31.

עמ׳ קנד

5 כדמיון ק 8 כאחד ק 15 המחשבה ש 16 הר״ם במז״ל ק הרמב״ם
ז״ל ש 20 (ולא יחשבני) ש 21 בצמצום קש 24 ויאמינו קש 25 גוי
ק (גו) ש 25 דברי ייטיבו ק יטיבו) ישובו ש 26 (מודים) אק 28 לו ק

4 דב׳ יג,ה 11 שם ו,ד 13 ס׳ שער הרזים לר׳ סודרום אבולעפיה; תהל׳ יט,
ב 14 מל״א ח,לב, ועוד 17 מורה נבוכים ח״ב, פ״ה 19 תהל׳ קג,יא
21 ב״ר פ״ד, ג, עמ׳ 26 23 עיין הערוך לר׳ נתן בן יהיאל, ערך ספקלר, ופירוש
ס׳ יצירה לר׳ יהודה ברזילאי, עמ׳ יב 25 ע״פ יחז׳ מה,כ; כג,לה 32 תהל׳
לו,יא

*13 מכאן עד עמ׳ קפב, שו׳ 26, מביא ר׳ דוד חלקים גדולים מס׳ שער הרזים
לר׳ סודרום אבולעפיה; עיין במבוא, הע׳ 76.

עמ׳ קנה

1 ואצ״ל) ואז״ל ש 3 כאומרו ק שנא׳ ש 8 ועליה ק 14 חבלות)
חבילות ק חבילו׳ ש 15 יש) היו ש 16 (שומר שבת וכו׳) ש 21 כעניי א
24 הידועה אק

2 תהל׳ קט,טו | שם סט,יד 3 שם סז,יא 5 ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ קע (§115) 7 ע״פ
דב׳ י,כא | תהל׳ קמה,א 8 שם קיח,כב-כג 9 שם קיט,נו | שם כז,ג 10 ויק׳
טז,ג | שמ׳ כה,ג | דב׳ לג,א | בר׳ מט,כח 11 מל׳ ג,י | מל״א יא,לט 13 ויק״ר
פכ״א, ה 15 דב׳ ד,מד | בר׳ יז,י 16 ישׁ׳ נו,ב 17 יחז׳ ה,ה 18 עיין
בבלי פסחים קיז ע״א 24 תהל׳ יט,ב 25 ב״ר פי״ב, י, עמ׳ 109; בר׳ ב,ד
26 ב״ר שם, ט, עמ׳ 107 27 תהל׳ פט,ג | שם לו,ו 28 יחז׳ מ,כה (כהחלנות)
29 במ״ר פט״ו, ה; פדר״כ פי׳ כא 31 בר׳ ב,ד 32 ב״ר פי״ב, י, עמ׳ 109

עמ׳ קנו

4 שהכוונה ק 13 הנמשלים קש 14 שבטעם ק 17 (והם) ש 24 עוזי א
25 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ש 27 תפלין קש 29 את הנרות ל | (בשבת... שריפה) לש
30 טוב) שבת ש

2 קה׳ ח,א | קה"ר פ"ח, א, בשנוי; ועיין פ"ב, כד 3 משׁ ג,יט | קה׳ שם |
קה"ר פ"ח, א, בשנוי 5 קה׳ ה,ז (כי גבה) 6 דב׳ י,יד | שם ד,כו 7 שם
לב,א 8 ישׁ טו,א | מל"א ח,לב 9 תפילת שחרית | עיין ב"ד פנ"א, ג, עמ׳
535 10 תהל׳ ה,ה | עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"א; ב"ר פ"ג, ו, עמ׳ 21 | עיין
בבלי יבמות מט ע"ב 11 תפילת "ישמח משה" בשחרית לשבת 15 בבלי בבא
בתרא עה ע"א 16 ע"פ מל"א א,ו | יהו׳ ה,יד 17 ע"פ שמ׳ כג,כ | תהל׳ יט,
ח 19 בר׳ כה,כז | עיין ב"ר פס"ג, י, עמ׳ 693 | מל׳ ב,ו 20 מי׳ ז,כ
21 תהל׳ קיט,קס | שם לג,ו 22 שם פט,יח 23 ישׁ מח,יג 24 שם סג,יב |
שם נא,ט 26 דה"א כט,יא 27 בבלי ברכות ו ע"א; ישׁ סב,ח 28 שה"ש
ח,ו; ועיין שהש"ר פ"ח, ד 29 תנח׳, בהעלותך, סי׳ א
*25 צ"ל: לתפ׳; עיין שער הרזים (כ"י מינכן 209), דף מד ע"א.
*29 כאן מתחיל כ"י ל.

עמ׳ קנז

15 וכשנחרב ל וכשחרב ש 16 וכשישוב) וכשיבוא ל 23 כחוזקו א
27 והולך ל 28 לראשי) לראשי וימינו תחבקיני אק 30 (ודאי) לש |
ומדרגה זו) ודרגא דא לש | (ששית) לש 31 ועל דא ל

2 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ב; במ"ר פט"ו, א 3 ישׁ ס,א-ג 6 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ג;
במ"ר שם, ג 8 משׁ כ,כז 9 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ו; במ"ר שם, ו | תהל׳ מג,ג
11 חב׳ ג,יא (עיין המשך הפסוק) 13 דני׳ ב,כב (שרא) 14 בר׳ א,יז
15 תנח׳ שם; במ"ר שם, ז 18 ישׁ לה,א 19 זח"ג קמח ע"ב 23 תהל׳
יט,ו 24 שה"ש ג,יא | תהל׳ שם, ז 28 שה"ש ב,ו 29 תהל׳ שם, ו
32 מ׳ ברכות פ"א, מ"ב

*19 בזוהר: מעילא לתתא.
*25 בזוהר: שירותא.

עמ׳ קנח

2 בידה נפקדים) מיד נפק ל 3 מנגן אק 4 ר׳ אומ׳) א"ר ק 7 (נעשית) ל
15 (משה) ל 17 וכבוד אק 29 המאירה לקש | הנסים אותיות ל הניסים
אותות ש 32 (ואע"פ... גופניות) ל | ראשונות ק

3 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ז; במ"ר שם, ח 4 תהל׳ טז,יא 6 שם קיט,קסד 7 שם
ו,א 8 שם קמד,ט 9 דה"א ט,כב (הראה באמונתם) 12 תנח׳, נשא, סי׳ יא;
במ"ר פי"ב, ג | שמ׳ כה,ח 13 מל"א ח,כז | ירׄ כג,כד 14 ישׁ סו,א

16 שמ׳ כו,א 17 תהל׳ יט,ב 19 שמ׳ לג,יח | שם מ,לד-לה 20 יחז׳ ג,
יב (ברוך) | תהל׳ שם 21 בר׳ לא,כט 22 תהל׳ כב,ב; עיין מכילתא, מס׳
דשירתא, פ"ג, עמ׳ 128 | שמ׳ טו,ב 23 מכדרשב"י, עמ׳ 80; ועיין מכילתא, שם
25 ע"פ איוב ט,י 26 שמ׳ ו,ג 28 עיין בבלי יבמות מט ע"ב 30 תהל׳ קיד,
ז-ח 31 שם יט,ב 32 ע"פ מל"א ז,לז

*32 צ"ל: כראשונות; עיין שער הרזים (כ"י מינכן 209) דף מד ע"ב.

עמ׳ קנט

2 אחר) אחד אק 5 קרוב לש 8 תחתונים לש 28 ראשית קש
30 לקחה אק

3 תהל׳ שם 4 שם | שם (הרקיע) 6 ע"פ בר׳ א,ו 7 ב"ר פ"ד, ב, עמ׳ 26
8 עיין בבלי חגיגה טו ע"א; תוספתא חגיגה, פ"ב; ירוש׳ חגיגה פ"ב, ה"א; ב"ר פ"ב,
ד, עמ׳ 17 11 בר׳ שם, ועייו אוצר הכבוד לר׳ טודרוס אבולעפיה על חגיגה טו
ע"א, ד"ה: מעשה בר׳ יהושע 15 תהל׳ עז,כ | יחז׳ א,כב 16 ב"ר פ"ד, ו, עמ
30; בר׳ שם, ז 18 ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ נא (§34) 20 ישׁ נז,טז (כי רוח) 21 תהל׳
סה,י 23 ישׁ נה,א 24 פדר"א פ"ד 25 יחז׳ א,כב | סוף מדרש כונן 26
עיין דב׳ לג,כז 28 ע"פ יחז׳ מד,ל 30 ע"פ ישׁ ו,א 31 ע"פ איוב ד,יב |
ע"פ מל׳ ג,י | ע"פ שמ׳ יט,יג | ע"פ תהל׳ קלט,ו 32 ע"פ ירׄ ב,ו

עמ׳ קס

1 ואדז"ל למי נושאין כפים) ואז"ל למרום ש 5 ויהי) ויהי ש 6 ואז ש
11 כלולה) כלל זה א 12 לכן) שכן קש 15 ראו ש 23 (יום... מאמרות) א
(ימים ונקראות) ש 24 מהם) ההם ש

1 ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ קלט (§95) 2 חב׳ ג,י 3 תהל׳ קיט,מח 4 שמ׳ יז,יב
6 עיין שם שם, יא 7 בבלי ראש השנה לב ע"א; מגילה כא ע"ב; מ׳ אבות פ"ה,
מ"א 12 שמ׳ יד,ח 13 תהל׳ מד,ג | שם פ,יב 14 שם שם, ט (עיין המשך
הפסוק) 15 ע"פ דב׳ ה,כא, ועיין שם יא,ב 16 בבלי ברכות נח ע"א | דה"א
כט,יא 17 ב"ר פנ"ג, י, עמ׳ 565, בשנוי; בר׳ כא,ח 19 דב׳ ל,ט 20 לא
מצאתי במכדרשב"י שלפנינו; דב׳ ג,כד 21 שם 22 שמ׳ ח,א; ט,כב 23
תהל׳ יט,ג 25 ע"פ שמ׳ כ,י 26 ע"פ בר׳ ב,ג 27 ע"פ ירׄ לא,כא | שמ׳
לא,יז 28 תהל׳ פט,טו; צז,ב 29 עיין בבלי שבת סט ע"ב; ואוצר הכבוד שם
30 ב"ר פי"ז, ה, עמ׳ 157 31 ויק׳ יט,ל | שמ׳ כ,ה 32 דב׳ ה,יב | ויק׳ שם,ג

עמ׳ קסא

1 גם את זה ש 7 בחדרי) בסדרי אש 11 שהיה) שהיא א 13 בריה קש
15 וקראו ק 23 אמודאי ש 24 דורות א 27 א"ל עד מתי תסתום דבריך ש
29 ישמע ק | לקח) לקה ונבון תחבלות יקנה יהוה דעת לפי שדוד לא הסתכל באספקלריא מצוחצחה לפי שלא זכה לכך היתה רוה"ק שורה עליו מתוך אספקלריא שאינה מצוחצחת וקבלתי קש (לפי (2)) ק 31 הכתרים) הדברים ש

1 קה׳ ז,יד | ב"ר פ"א, טז, עמ׳ 14 3 ע"פ מל׳ ב,י 4 עיין בבלי ברכות לד ע"ב; סנהדרין צט ע"א 5 ויק׳ כה,ב | בבלי סנהדרין צז ע"א; ראש השנה לא ע"א 6 לא מצאתי את המקור 11 ב"ר פ"ג, ז, עמ׳ 23 12 ע"פ שה"ש ב,יד 14 עיין בבלי מנחות כט ע"ב 15 ע"פ איוב מב,ב 16 שם כב,טז 17 ע"פ יחז׳ מד,ב 18 תהל׳ יח,יב 19 איוב כח,יב 20 שם (ואי זה) 22 ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ כו (§18) 23 שמ׳ טו,ג 29 משׁ א,ה (ישמע, ועיין בח"נ) 32 ע"פ במ׳ ב,ב

עמ׳ קסב

2 הקודם) הקדש קש 5 פעולותן ש 7 שהוא ש 8 אמנם נקודה) פי׳ חולם א2 אמנם פי׳ חולם נקודה ק אמנם נקודה פי׳ חולם ש | אחת קטנה) אחת מן הנקודות נקודה ש | הדקות) הדקה קש 10 מכל) בכל (!) א 14 האוחיות קש 16 (מקותיל) ש 25 שוכבים) שוכנים לקש 29 לכם לקש

4 ע"פ שה"ש ה,יב 8 עיין ויק׳ יא,מב[ו׳ רבתי של: גחון) 9 משׁ לא,כט 11 דב׳ י,יז 12 נח׳ ט,ה 20 בבלי מגילה ג ע"א; נדרים לז ע"ב; ב"ר פל"ז, ח, עמ׳ 342; נח׳ ח,ח (בתורת) 26 ע"פ שמ׳ כה,כ | ע"פ ירׁ ב,כז 29 ע"פ קה׳ יב,י | ע"פ דב׳ יג,טו 31 בר׳ מט,א | ע"פ ישׁ ב,ב 32 ע"פ במ׳ ה,יד,ל

*5 צ"ל אומנותן; עיין שער הרזים, דף נו ע"ב.
*16 צ"ל מקורביל; עיין שם; עיין גמUrsprungעמ׳ 220 והע׳ 83.

עמ׳ קסג

1 ותזריע) ותזריח ל 2 המקעיע הרביעי) המקטיט הרביע ל המקטיע הרביעי ק המקטינו הרביע ש | עוד) עד לש 11 לעשרה ש | בסבכי איי חכמת התבונה ל
15 הוא (2)) היה ש 16 (אלא) אלק 29 השביעיות ל

1 תהל׳ צז,יא 2 איכה ג,כח 3 ע"פ ידׁ ל,ח | ע"פ ישׁ נח,א 4 ע"פ דב׳ לג,יט 5 ע"פ יחז׳ לו,כה | ע"פ שמ׳ יט,יט 6 ע"פ שה"ש א,יא 8 ע"פ שמ׳ כה,לב 9 עיין למעלה, עמ׳ קס, שו׳ 7 14 תהל׳ יט,ה (לשמש) 15 ע"פ שם פד,יב | מל׳ ג,כ 17 תהל׳ קד,ב 23 שם יט,ה 24 דה"א כט,יא 25 ב"ר פי"ז, ה, עמ׳ 157 28 ישׁ יג,י | איוב כט,ג 31 עיין שמ׳ כה,לא,לו | תהל׳ קיט,קס 32 בבלי ברכות ו ע"א

*2 צ"ל: המקטרג; עיין שער הרזים, דף נז ע"א.

עמ׳ קסד

3 כמניח א 10 (עד כאן) ל 13 שכנגלה ל כשנגלה ש 14 כבחור) כגבור ש 17 והמפאר לקש 23 היו לו ל 27 פי חכם) כי הגם לש | דבורים) נכוחים ש 29 (לרוח אורח) לש 32 פסוק א

2 יחז׳ כד,יז 3 עיין בבלי ברכות יא ע"א, טז ע"ב; סוכה כה ע"ב 4 שה"ש ה,יא 5 ספרא, קדושים, פ׳ ז; ועיין בבלי קידושין לב ע"ב 6 שה"ש שם 7 ע"פ שמ׳ כ,יח 8 דני׳ ז,ט (נקא); עיין בבלי חגיגה יד ע"א 11 ב"ר פנ"ט, ד, עמ׳ 633 | בר׳ כד,א 13 מכדרשב"י, עמ׳ 81 | שמ׳ טו,ג 17 ישׁ סב,ה | ע"פ שם סא,י 18 במ"ר פי"ב, י; ועיין שהש"ר פ"ג, סו 19 במ׳ ז,א 20 במ"ר פי"ג, ד; שהש"ר פ"ה, א | שה"ש ה,א 22 פדר"כ, פי׳ כו 23 שה"ש ג,יא 24 תרג׳ ירושלמי לאס׳ ח,טז 27 קה׳ י,יב 29 תהל׳ יט,ו (לרוץ אורח) | שם טז,יא 30 בר׳ יח,יט | משׁ ח,כ 31 שם טז,לא

*29 צ"ל: לרוץ.

עמ׳ קסה

1 צדקה) בדרך צדקה ל 7 סבא. אברהם יצחק יעקב כל אחד מהם נקרא ישראל והסוד בזה אשא עיני אל ההרים מאין יבא עזרי. ועוד שם ק 19 המחשבה לקש 24 נחוניה ל 26 והיינו ק 29 ואצ"ל) אז"ל ל אמז"ל ש 32 הנפש ק

4 ב"ר פס"ח, יא, עמ׳ 784 | תהל׳ קכד,א | שם כב,ד 5 ב"ר פ"ע, ב, עמ׳ 800 | במ׳ כא,ב 6 ב"ר פס"ג, ג, עמ׳ 680 | בר׳ מו,ח 7 בר׳ לב,כט 9 שמ׳ יב,מ 10 עיין ב"ר פמ"ז, ו, עמ׳ 475 | שמ"א א,כ 12 לא מצאתי 14 במ׳ ט,י | תהל׳ יט,ז 17 איוב כח,ז 19 ישׁ נה,ח 20 בבלי חגיגה יא ע"ב; תוספתא חגיגה פ"ב; ב"ר פ"א, י, עמ׳ 8 | ע"פ דב׳ ד,לב 21 תהל׳ שם 24 ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ קעא (§116) 27 ישׁ ו,ג 28 ס׳ יצירה פ"ד, מ"ג 29 במ׳ ט,יג 30 ע"פ קה׳ ז,כד 32 ע"פ שם יב,ז

עמ׳ קסו

8 (אי) לקש 11 לפני) עלי א2לש 13 לי) לו א | ונמצאת מוכר אותה שבועה לש 19 אצילותה לש 20 כמאמרם רז"ל) כאז"ל ל כאמרם דז"ל ק באמרם ז"ל ש 20 שמגעת לקש 23 דעתו ולפי כוונתו) דעתי וכוונתי ש 25 למקום שרשה ל

1 ע"פ תהל׳ קלז,ז 3 איוב לב,ח; ועיין ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ מט (§32) 4 איוב לג,ד 6 בר׳ ב,ז 8 בבלי סנהדרין סה ע"ב 10 ב"ר פס"ח, ז, עמ׳ 775 | בר׳ כח,י 14 ויק"ר פכ"ט, ח 18 ע"פ שמ"א ז,יז; זכ׳ ה,יא 20 בבלי יומא פו ע"א 21 הור׳ יד,ב 22 שמ"א כה,כט 23 יחז׳ א,יב 24 ע"פ תהל׳ יט,ח 25 ע"פ ישׁ נא,א 26 עיין ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ מט (§32) 26 ספרי דברים, פי׳ י, עמ׳ 18 | דב׳ א,י 28 תהל׳ קמ,יד 29 שם סה,ה 30 שם פד,ה | שם טו,א 31 שם (מי) | שם כד,ג 32 שם | ספרי דברים, פי׳ שמד, עמ׳ 401; השווה ספרי במדבר, פי׳ קלט, עמ׳ 185 | דב׳ לג,ג

עמ' קסז

2 החיים את יי אלהיך לש 6 תפ') נ"ל שחסר כאן והוא אוצר הנשמו' הנדואין א2
9 יבינו) יכינו אל 10 שמגעת ק שמגע' ש 11 ממרקת קש 12 במוחה ל
13 זהו קש 14 שמובטחה אק 16 עומדים) יכולים לעמוד ל עומדין שם ש
22 אחיך ויבם אותה לש 31 כרחמן) בר חמן (!) ק

2 שמ"א כה,כט (עיין המשך הפסוק, ובח"נ) 3 ע"פ דב' א,יג 6 יש' יא,ב
7 תהל' כד,ד 8 יש' נא,ג 11 עיין בבלי יומא פו ע"א 12 עיין דב' כד,
א-ד 13 ע"פ יש' יא,י 14 שמ"ב יד,יד 15 עיין בבלי יבמות סב ע"א, סג
ע"ב; עבודה זרה ה ע"א; נדה יג ע"ב 16 בבלי ברכות לד ע"ב; סנהדרין צט ע"א
18 כוונתו כנראה לקה' א,ד: דור הולך ודור בא; עיין ס' הבהיר סי' קכא-קכב
(§86) | ע"פ מש' כ,ה 19 ע"פ קה' א,ב 20 ע"פ שמ"ב יד,יד | ע"פ בר'
ב,י 21 ב"ר פפ"ה, ה, עמ' 1038 22 בר' לח,ח (עיין המשך הפסוק, ובח"נ)
23 רות ד,טו | שם שם, יז 26 בבלי יבמות נד ע"ב 28 בבלי ברכות ס ע"א;
נדה לא ע"א | נדה שם 29 תהל' קג,יג 30 יש' סו,יג 31 ב"ר פע"ח, ח,
עמ' 925 32 בר' לג,ג | שם יג,ח 17 ברכות ז ע"א

עמ' קסח

3 ועליו ק 9 ע"כ) על כן ש 32 שמעום ש

1 מש' יז,יז (ואח) | דב' יז,טו 2 רות ב,כ | עיין בבלי יבמות כד ע"א 3 יש'
נו,ג 4 שם שם, ה 5 בר' לח,ט 7 שם שם, י 8 לא מצאתי שם, ועיין
ספרי דברים, פי' רצא, עמ' 310; בבלי יבמות י ע"ב | דב' כה,ט 10 יבמות מד
ע"א 11 מ' יבמות פ"ח, מ"ד 17 ויק' כב,ג | שם כג,ל 18 ע"פ ויק' יז,יז
כ,ו | במ' טו,לא 19 לא מצאתי במכדרשב"י שלפנינו 21 במ' ט,טו | תהל' יט,
ט 23 שם טז,יא 24 שמ' כ,ג 25 עיין תרגי אונקלוס שם | דב' לב,כ
26 מכדרשב"י, עמ' 146 27 דב' שם, יז 30 יש' מב,ח (עיין המשך הפסוק) |
שמ' לד,יד 31 דב' לא,טז | בבלי מכות כד ע"א; הוריות ח ע"א

עמ' קסט

4 במסכת ל במס' קש | ומה) מה לקש 10 כל (2)) ר"ל לש 12 תפ'
צדיק ק | משמחי לב) מה שמי לב אק מה שם לב ל 15 ניתן ל 16 כי)
כדי א 17 האדריכל לש 18 האדריכל לש 21 האדריכל לש 30 (זה)
אקש | (סוד) א

3 שמ' ד,ד; ועוד הרבה 4 בבלי חגיגה טז ע"א 8 ע"פ תהל' לב,ט 9 ע"מ
דב' ד,יא; ועיין ס' הבהיר סי' קו (§75) | שמ' ל,ג 11 תרגום לתהל' יט,ט |
ע"פ בבלי עירובין יג ע"ב, ועוד 12 תהל' צב,יג | שם יט,ט 14 עיין רמב"ן,
פירוש עה"ת, ויק' כג,מ 16 שופ' ה,טז | מש' כא,א (פלגי) 16 ב"ר פכ"ז,
ד, עמ' 259 | בר' ו,ו 19 עיין ב"ר שם בח"נ; וגם פ"ח, ג, עמ' 59 21 ע"מ
קה' א,יג | ב"ר פכ"ז, א, עמ' 255 22 קה' ב,כג | קה"ר פ"ב, כה 23 שמ'
יב,כט 24 קה"ר שם | קה' ב,כג 25 בר' יט,כד 26 ס' הבהיר סי' קלד
(§91) בשנויים 32 ס' הבהיר סי' צח (§67) | ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"א

עמ' קע

1 כנפים לאחת להם ל כנפים לאחת מהם ש 3 להם) מהן א 4 ואצ"ל)
ואז"ל לש 19 ומתעצם לש | הנרמזות ל הנרמז ש 27 ההפרש שביניהם ל
הפרוש ק 31 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל לש 32 (וגם כן לל"ב) ל ללב ש

1 יחז' א,ו 2 יר' לא,ו 3 יחז' שם 4 משׁ' ח,כא; ועיין מ' עוקצין פ"ג,
מי"ב; ובבלי סנהדרין ק ע"א 6 ע"פ שמ"ב כב,מה | ע"פ תהל' עז,כ 9 במ'
ט,כא 12 עיין ס' יצירה פ"ו, מ"א 13 משׁ' י,כה 14 תהל' קכב,ד 15
עיין ס' יצירה שם 16 עיין אוצר הכבוד, דף טז עמ' ג; וכאן במבוא, § 3.3
19 תהל' כז,ד 20 משׁ' ג,יז | ע"פ בבלי עירובין יג ע"ב 21 עיין פירושו
עה"ת, שמ' לד,ו 22 שו"ט צג, ח 23 שמ' שם, ו–ז 24 שם שם, ח
28 נדפס ב"הסגולה", מספר כ"ד, עמ' 14 וכו' 29 ע"פ קה' א,ח | ע"פ שה"ש
ד,יא 32 ע"פ שמ' טו,ח

*7 צ"ל: ועשרה שהם יסוד כל בנין לתשלום המנין; עיין שער הרזים, דף עז ע"ב.

עמ' קעא

3 אעפ"כ לש | ניטלה ש | פטומתו) בכוונתו א 5 לפנוו) לבשת לפניו ל
לבשת ש | דכתי' ביה ל 19 יסוד) סוד ל

1 ע"פ בד' ב,י 3 מ' סוכה פ"ג, מ"ו 4 ויק"ר פ"ל, ט | ויק' כג,מ
5 תהל' צו,ו | שם צב,יג 6 זכ' א,ח 7 תהל' סח,ה | שמ' כ,ח 8 דב'
ה,יב 10 ע"פ דב' לג,כז | ע"פ קה' א,ז 12 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ו 13 איוב
כח,ג 14 שה"ש ז,ט | עיין ס' הבהיר סי' קצח (§139); ובבלי פסחים נו ע"א
15 עיין ס' הבהיר סי' קעב (§117) 16 ע"פ יר' לא,כא 17 לא מצאתי בפסיק'|
ישׁ' נד,א 20 ויק"ר פ"ל, יג | בר' ה,ב 21 עיין בר' ב,ט 26 ס' הבהיר
סי' קעח (§§120–121) | קה' א,ז 28 במ' כא,יט 29 ס' הבהיר שם (§121)
31 במ' י,ב

*21 צ"ל: הדעת; עיין שער הרזים, דף עט ע"א; ב"ר פט"ו, ב, עמ' 140.

עמ' קעב

9 ואצ"ל) ואחז"ל ל אז"ל ש 13 כאומ' ש 21 מים חיים ש 22
ויתרבו) ויתברכו לש 23 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל לש 29 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ל ואמ' ש
30 באחת) כא' ל כאחת ק כאחד ש

1 חגי ב,ח | עיין ילק"ש ח"א, ר' רנג; מכילתא, שירתא, פ"י 2 במ' כא,יט
3 שמ' טו,יז | דב' ט,כט 4 תהל' יט,ט 5 ע"פ משׁ' ו,כג 6 זכ' ד,י
(שבעה אלה... משוטטים) 7 עיין ב"ר פט"ה, ד, עמ' 715 9 תהל' שם, י
10 שמ' כד,יב | משׁ' לא,ל 13 תהל' קיא,י 14 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ז
15 ישׁ' מד,ו 16 עיין שמ' יג,ב; ויק' כז,לב 16 ס' הבהיר סי' קד (§73)
17 שמ' שם 20 ע"פ תהל' לו,י 21 שה"ש ד,טו | ע"פ תהל' קד,טז

ע"פ ברי ב,ח 24 במ' י,ב 26 שם שם, ח 28 לא מצאתי בס' הבהיר
תהל' עב,א 29 במ' יג,יח 31 דב' טז,כ

*5 צ"ל: כי נר; עיין שער הרזים, דף פ ע"א.

עמ' קעג

5 הורו) הודו אק 7 (ר"ל) לש 8 ובתוכו ל 17 וכמסודר ק 18 נפלא
ונעלם לש 27 שכוונתו ש 28 כוונתו ש

1 ס' הבהיר סי' עד-עה (§50) 2 ע"פ ישׁ' נט,יז 3 תהל' קיט,קמ | מל"ב
כ,יט (אם שלום, ועיין ישׁ' לט,ח) 6 פירושו עה"ח שם | דב' לב,ד 8 תהל'
יט,י 9 בבלי סנהדרין ו ע"ב 10 תהל' פט,טו | שם (חסד) 12 שם שם, טז
(עיין המשך הפסוק) 13 במ' כט,א | מ' ראש השנה פ"א, מ"ב 14 במ' כג,כא |
תהל' צח,ו | ירי' ד,יט 15 שמ' יז,טז | שם טו,ג 16 עיין בבלי ראש השנה
לד ע"א | ע"פ בבלי ברכות ז ע"א 19 ע"פ דב' יא,כד 20 ע"פ איכה ב,א;
ישׁ' סו,א 21 שמ"ב כב,י; תהל' יח,י 22 דב' ד,יא 24 ע"פ תפילת "אל
ברוך" | מכדרשב"י עמ' 155 | שמ' כ,יח 29 עיין יחז' א,כו | עיין למעלה, עמ'
קנד, שו' 22 30 דני' ז,ט 31 יחז' א,ד; א,כז; ח,ב

עמ' קעד

5 השלשלת) השחלשלות לש 13 סימין א 15 נבואיות לש 17 (או אחת) ל
(או) ש 18 (יי) לש | סיבם לש 21 ראש השנה) דאשונה (!) ל 22 (י) א
30 על כן) ועליה ל עליו ש 31 הבריה) בריח ל

2 יחז' א,ד 3 ע"פ תהל' קה,ג | קה' א,יג 5 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ז 7 מ'
ראש השנה פ"ג, מ"ב 9 תהל' קנ | שם שם, ב-ג 10 שם שם, ה 11 שם שם,
ו | שם מז,ו 12 ע"פ יחז' מ,ד 18 ישׁ' נז,א 20 שמ' לו,יח 21 מ' ראש
השנה פ"ד, מ"ו 22 תהל' קנ 27 ע"פ ישׁ' נד,יג 28 תהל' יט,י 30 שם
פה,יב | במ' כה,יב 31 תהל' שם, יא | ע"פ בר' ט,יג 32 ישׁ' נד,י

עמ' קעה

7 יבא אק 17 לשום אדם ל 19 לדשות) לדשום ל לרש' ש 20 שבגללה)
שבגלגלה א 29 ורע לש 31 בשם רמז ל בשום רמז ש 32 כללים א

2 בבלי גיטין ס ע"ב 4 שמ' לד,כז | ב"ר פל"ה, ג, עמ' 330; ועיין במנחת יהודה
שם, ורמב"ן, פירוש עה"ח, בר' ט,יב | בר' ט,יג 5 ע"פ בר' א,כז | יחז' א,כח
(עיין התחלת הפסוק) 6 בבלי חגיגה טז ע"א 8 אגדת שה"ש (הוצ' שכטר), עמ'
13, עם שינויים; ועיין ב"ר פט"ו, ו, עמ' 138 במנחת יהודה | שה"ש א,ד 14 תהל'
א,נ 22 בר' ו,ט 23 עיין ב"ר פס"ח, יב, עמ' 788, ובמ"ו שם 24 עיין תהל'
צ,ד; ויק"ר פי"ט, א 26 בר' ג,ו | ס' הבהיר סי' לח-לט (§26) | תהל' פז,ב
32 משׁ' כה,ב

עמ' קעו

1 אין לאדם ש אדם יכול ל | (רשאי) לש 7 אולם) אולי ל אלו ש
11 שני לש 13 הוסיף אק 14 היטב לקש | (שנא') לש 18 מוצא לק
23 תאותם) שאותם א 26 שלאחד מהם ש

1 בבלי פסחים נו ע"א 2 ויק"ר פ"א, יג; תנח' ב', וישלח, פח ע"ב 3 במ'
כג,ד 4 ויק' א,א 5 ישׁ' ו,ג | ע"פ במ' כז,יח 7 ע"פ משׁ' כח,כד; ועיין
בבלי ברכות לה ע"ב 8 ע"פ הוֹ' יב,ט | ע"פ ישׁ' ח,כא | עיין מל"א יב,כה-לג
10 ע"פ יחז' א,י 12 מל"א שם, כח-כט | ע"פ איכה ב,ח 13 עמ' ז,יג
14 לא מצאתי 17 כנדאה כוונתו לבר' ו,יב; ועיין ב"ר פכ"ח, ח, עמ' 266,
ובמנחת יהודה שם; בבלי סנהדרין קח ע"א 19 במ"ר פ"ט, כג | איוב כא,ט
(עיין ההמשך עד פס' טו) 20 בר' ב,ו 22 שם ז,יב | ספרי, עקב, סי' מג
24 בר' שם, יא 25 ב"ר פל"ו, א, עמ' 334 | איוב שם, יא 27 ישׁ' יג,
כא 29 עיין ב"ד פל"ח, ה, עמ' 354 31 עיין בר' יא,ד 32 משׁ' יח,י |
ע"פ תהל' קד,טז | ע"פ בר' שם, ח

עמ' קעז

6 י"ל) יראה לי ל יש לפרש ק ידאה לומר ש 12 עמהם) לפניהם לקש
15 יהודה בר אלעאי לקש 16 (לשון) ל 18 ושפיכות דמים ש וש"ד לק
20 שרה) צרה א 24 ונשרפת לקש 28 עזאזל ל

1 ב"ר שם | בר' שם, א 6 ע"פ שם ד,יג 7 ויק' י,א | שם | שם שם, ב
8 שם טז,א | שמ' לב,ז 9 דב' ד,טז; ועיין שם שם, כג 11 ע"פ שם ד,ו |
שמ' כ,כ 12 במ' כז,יז 13 שמ' לב,א 14 שם כד,י 15 שם לב,ד |
פסיקתא דר"כ, פי' י 16 זכ' י,יא 17 ישׁ' כח,כ | בבלי יומא ס ע"ב
19 ישׁ' שם 21 עיין אוצר הכבוד על פסחים סב ע"ב; וזח"א קמה ע"ב, וניצוצי
זהר שם, אות ד' 22 בר' לו,לט 23 עיין בבלי חגיגה יד ע"ב: פתח ד"א בן
ערך במעשה המרכבה; ופרש"י על קה' א,ט, שגורם ר' אליעזר בן הורקנוס
24 במ' יט,א-י 26 שם שם, ח 27 במ"ר פי"ט, ד 28 ויק' טז,ה-לד |
שם שם, כא | דב' כא,א-ט | ויק' יד,א-ט 29 ב"ד פס"ה, טו, עמ' 727 | ויק'
טז,כב 31 בר' כה,כז | ב"ר שם, עמ' 726| בר' כז,יא 32 ישׁ' יג,כא |
בר' שם | דב' לב,ט

עמ' קעח

5 בארץ ולא בחוצה לארץ ש 17 ודע אלק 18 ועבדהו לקש 20 ועליו ק
24 כיצד לש 27 הרפה עמ' ש 31 מספר עשרה כר ל מספרה עשרה ש

1 בבלי שבת קא ע"ב, ועוד, ע"פ במ' יט,טז 2 בר' ג,כד | ע"פ דב' ט,ז
3 עיין בבלי בבא בתרא יז ע"א, ע"פ במ' לג,לח; דב' לד,ה 4 ויק' יד, לג-נז
6 במ' י,לה 7 ע"פ ישׁ' א,ד 8 ע"פ זכ' יד,טז 10 תהל' יט,יד 11 ע"פ
דב' יח,יג 12 ע"פ תהל' שס 13 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"ב | בבלי ברכות ו ע"ב;
שבת ל ע"ב | קה' יב,יג 14 ע"פ דני' י,כא 15 דב' ו,ד 16 עיין רמב"ם,

מורה נבוכים, ח"א, פ"נ 17 יר׳ ט,כג | דה"א כח,ט 19 ע"פ שמ"ב כ,א
20 משׁ יט,ב | קה׳ ח,יג 23 ע"פ בבלי בדכות כח ע"א, ועוד: מעלין בקודש
ואין מורידין 25 ע"פ תהל׳ קלז,ז 26 בבלי ברכות יג ע"ב | ע"פ תהל׳ מו,ו
27 עיין ברכות שם 28 דב׳ יז,כ | ע"פ משׁ ד,כג 29 ע"פ תהל׳ קלג,ג |
בבלי ראש השנה לב ע"ב

עמ׳ קעט

5 (בי"ת) א | בראשית) בראש ש | ואיננו לקש 11 ושאברהם ויצחק ל
שאברהם יצ׳ ויע׳ ק ואשא (?) אברהם ויצחק ואבות ש 22 וזהו ק (הוא) לש
23 עגיינו) עיינו קש 27 תפלתם אק

1 בבלי ברכות ז ע"א; מנחות לה ע"ב | במ׳ יא,ז 5 שם 6 ע"פ חגי ב,ט
7 בר׳ כח,יז 8 שמ"א ט,ז; מל"א יג,יא, ועוד | דב׳ לד,ה; יהו׳ כד,כט
9 שם| בבלי בבא בתרא עה ע"א; ספרי, פינחס כז,כ 10 מל"ב יז,יג; יד׳ ז,כה;
ועוד 11 עיין אבדד"נ, נו"ב, פמ"ג 12 ע"פ בר׳ מה,יב | ע"פ שם מג,לג
13 עיין בבלי יבמות מט ע"ב 15 ויק"ר פ"א, יד; פס"ז, דיש ויקרא 16 יחז׳
מג,ג (עיין בהמשך הפסוק) 17 דני׳ י,א,ה,ו (ואשא את עיני וארא) 18 במ׳
יב,ח 21 תרג׳ יונתן ליש׳ ו,ג 22 ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ קכח (§89) 24 היכלות
רבתי (ביהמ"ד, כרך ג׳), עמ׳ 90; השווה בתי מדרשות, כרך א׳, עמ׳ 85–86
30 עיין ב"ר פס"ח, יב, עמ׳ 288, ובמנחת יהודה שם 31 בבלי עירובין יג ע"ב,
ועוד

עמ׳ קפ

6 שלים ל 22 אלו) אלא לש 26 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל לש 29 עלי) לפני ל
30 (רצון... על) א רצון) ראשון ש (יעלו על הרצון) ש 32 מלמעלה למטה ק

1 לא מצאתי | שה"ש ו,ד,י 2 ישׁ ו,ב 3 דב׳ כט,ט | ישׁ שם, ג 4 תפילת
שמונה עשרה 5 ע"פ במ׳ כב,כו 6 תהל׳ יט,יד | תרג׳ אונקלוס לדב׳ יח,יג
9 מ׳ יומא פ"ה, מ"ג 10 ס׳ יצירה פ"ב, מ"ה | ישׁ נח,ט 11 ס׳ הבהיר סי׳
קמ (§95) 12 אס׳ א,יד 13 עיין מ׳ אבות פ"ה, מ"א; בבלי ראש השנה לב ע"א|
מגילה כא ע"ב 14 עיין בבלי פסחים נד ע"א; ב"ר פ"א, ד, עמ׳ 6 15 משׁ ח,
כב 17 תהל׳ צג,ב | ב"ר שם 18 משׁ שם | ישׁ טז,ה | תהל׳ פס,ג 19 ב"ר
פ"א, א, עמ׳ 2 20 שם שם, ד, עמ׳ 6 21 שם 24 שמ׳ יד,ב, ועוד הרבה|
שם טו,א 27 שם כח,לח | תהל׳ קמא,ב 28 תנח׳, חצוה, סי׳ טו | משׁ כז,ט
29 ישׁ נו,ז (עולותיהם וזבחיכם) 30 שם ס,ז 31 תהל׳ ה,יג 32 ע"פ שם
קלג,ב

עמ׳ קפא

4 (בר׳) ש 8 (ע"כ) לש 14 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל לש 15 שפחיו א בשפחים ש|
תופשת) הוספת לקש 24 מבעו ל מבעיי קש

3 בר׳ ח,כא | שם 4 פסדר"כ, פי׳ א | שה"ש ה,א 10 בבלי סנהדרין כב ע"א;
ג׳יטין צ ע"ב 11 מל׳ ב,יג (וזאת שנית העשו) 13 במ׳ י,לו | תהל׳ יט,טו
14 עיין זח"א קסט ע"א 17 שו"ט ט,ב; קה"ר פי"ב, י | תהל׳ שם 18 שמ׳
כג,יז | בבלי כתובות קי ע"ב 19 ויק׳ כה,לח 20 עמ׳ ז,יז, ועיין כתובות קיא
ע"א 22 דב׳ לב,מג | ספרי, האזינו, פי׳ שלג 23 ישׁ לג,כד 24 ב"ר פצ"ו,
ה, עמ׳ 1198; ועיין בבלי כתובות שם 25 תהל׳ קטז,ט 26 מכדרשב"י, עמ׳ 129 |
שמ׳ יח,ג 27 דב׳ ו,ד | בבלי כתובות שם 29 עיין שמ"ר פכ"ו, ב | שמ׳ יז,ו|
במ׳ כ,ח 31 שמ׳ שם 32 במ׳ שם, כד

עמ׳ קפב

3 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל לש | שולח מלאך לפניך לש 5 תעלנו מזה לק 9 זה הוא)
זה ל זהו ק זו ש 10 (רבי) ל רבי׳ ש 14 כענין קש 27 (בא...
כמתאוננים וכו׳ (עמ׳ קפו, שו׳ 4)) ל 29 (מלאך האלהים (2)) ש

2 במ׳ ט,כ,כג 3 שמ׳ כג,כ | בבלי סנהדרין לח ע"ב; ועיין שמ׳ שם, כא 4 שמ׳
לג,ב 5 שם שם, טו 6 שם שם, יז 8 פירושו עה"ת, שמ׳ כג,כא | עיין שם,
שמ׳ ג,ב 9 ב"ר פצ"ז, ג, עמ׳ 1246; ועיין שמ"ר פ"ב, ח 12 שמ׳ ג,ד 13
שם שם, ו 15 שם לג,טו | שם לד,ו 16 בבלי סנהדרין לח ע"ב | שמ׳ כד,א
18 עיין סדר רבה דבראשית (בחי מדרשות, כרך א׳, עמ׳ כד), סי׳ ח | עיין ב"ר
פי"ב, י, עמ׳ 108 19 שמ׳ ג,יד | עיין במ"ר פי"ד, כד 20 עיין יהו׳ ד,ב-ט |
ע"פ שמ׳ כח,י 21 עיין תנח׳, יתרו, סי׳ יא 23 שמ׳ כג,כ 25 פתיחתא
איכ"ד, טו| יחז׳ לו,כ 27 זח"ג קנ ע"ב 29 שמ׳ יד,יט 31 שם שם, יט-כא;
ועיין פס"ז, בשלח יד,כא; ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ קי (§79); רש"י על בבלי סוכה מה ע"א,
ד"ה: אני והו; זח"ב נא ע"ב

*28 בזוהר: בגינה.

עמ׳ קפג

2 כ) ך ש 3 מ) ם ש 11 (בצדו) ש | ישראל בצדו ש 12 כסדר קש |
בים) ביום ש 12 שירה עמי קש 14 (והפסוק האחר) אק ונמצא אק
16 הדוגמא בפן האחד א הדוגמא כפן האחד ק 20 כ) ך ש 21 נ (1)) ך ש
23 נ (2)) ך ש 24 מ (1)) ם ש 25 נ) ך ש

12 תהל׳ מב,ט 15 שמ׳ יד,כ

*11 בזוהר: בעטרוי.
*12 בזוהר: ביממא, ועיין בח"נ.
*13 בזוהר: במטלנייהו. הוי אימא ביממא כד נהיר שמשא; במ׳ וקר׳: כלא הוה ביממא.

עמ׳ קפד

2 כדרך א | כדרך א 5 בזה) אל זה ש 6 (שהוא... ביצחק) א 9 זה שחוא
תחת האחר א זה שהוא תחת האחר שהוא ויבא וכו׳ ק 22 גלים) דגלים אק 23
וברוגז ונוסע ברוגז ונוסע למעלה ש 28 אותם המים לצד אברהם שבאו מצדו ק

6 עיין בר׳ כו,יח-לג 25 שם׳ יד,כא

עמ׳ קפה

3 (הוא) ש 5 וארבע קש 6 ראש) אש א 10 אמצעית קש 11 אחת)
אחר א אחד ק 13 ואל) ואלו קש 18 כדוגמא קש 24 ולנגדם א |
הולך קש 25 מסבב קש 26 (למנוחתך) ש | ותחזיר) ולא החזיר (!) ש
28 וכשהיא) וכשהיה קש 32 בדרך קש

1 עיין ב״ר פמ״ז, ו, עמ׳ 475 6 עיין בר׳ כו,יט 14 עיין מכילתא, בשלח,
פתיחתא, עמ׳ 81; במ״ר פ״א, ב 15 זח״ג קנה ע״א; במ׳ י,לה 18 עיין תהל׳
קמה,יג-יד 19 עיין בבלי ברכות ד ע״ב | עמ׳ ה,ב (לא תוסיף) 20 במ׳ שם, לג
26 תהל׳ קלב,ח (ועיין בח״נ, והשווה במ׳ שם, לה, ובזוהר)

*18 בזוהר: ז
*24 בזוהר: ארונא כהאי איילא דעזלתא כד איהו.
*27 בזוהר: ז

עמ׳ קפו

2 (למנוחתיך) ש 18 הכל כדוגמא) כעין דוגמא ל 26 בקר (2)) בן בקר לש
31 סוד השלום) בשלום ל צד השלום ק השלום ש

4 במ׳ יא,יא 5 תנח׳, בהעלותך, סי׳ טז; במ״ר פט״ו, יט| דב׳ לד,ט 7 יו׳
ג,א 9 במ׳ ז,כד, ועוד 12 תהל׳ קלג,ב 13 חגי ב,ח 14 שה״ש ו,ט;
ועיין יחז׳ לג,כד; ב״ר פ״צ, א, עמ׳ 1099; שהש״ר פ״ו, יג | עיין בבלי פסחים
קיח ע״א 17 במ׳ ז,יג, ועוד 18 ס׳ יצירה פ״א, מ״א 20 במ׳ שם 21
שם שם, יד 23 בר׳ א,א 25 במ׳ שם, טו 26 עיין בבלי עבודה זרה ח ע״א|
אבדר״נ פ״א, ז | במ׳ שם 27 בר׳ כב,ג 28 במ׳ שם 29 דב׳ לג,יז (ברכת
יוסף) | במ׳ שם 30 שם שם, יז

*2 בזוהר: שובה יי; במנ׳ וקר׳: קומה יי.

עמ׳ קפז

6 שכחות) שבתות אלק 9 וסתרי) וסדרי ל 21 אלהותו לש אלוהות ק
25 יכין ובועז לש 31 באנו אל הארץ אשר שלחתנו ל באנו אל הארץ ש |
ואצ״ל) ואחז״ל ל ואז״ל ל

1 במ׳ שם 2 שם 4 שם יב,יד 10 תהל׳ כה,יד; ועיין זח״א לז ע״ב,
עג ע״א 11 במ׳ יג,ב | תנח׳, שלח, סי׳ א; במ״ר פט״ז, א 12 עיין בבלי
שבת יח ע״א 18 במ׳ שם, כג 21 ע״פ דני׳ ז,י 23 במ׳ שם | מש׳ י,כה
24 ע״פ שם שם, ל; ועיין תהל׳ קיב,ו | במ׳ שם 25 עיין מל״א ז,כא; זח״ג
נח ע״א | במ׳ שם (ומן הרמנים) 26 שם 28 שם שם, כה 31 שם שם, כז

עמ׳ קפח

2 וזה הוא) וזהו קש 3 ואצ״ל) אז״ל לש 13 (בו) לש | ותדעו ל
16 מספיקים לקש 19 בכל הנבראים ל בכל הנמצאים ק על הנמצאים ש
26 חסדך לקש 29 בארך ל באריך ש

4 במ׳ שם, כח 6 שופ׳ יד,יד 10 עיין במ׳ שם, לא; ובן סירא פ״ג
12 במ׳ יד,ט 13 ס׳ יצירה פ״א, מ״ז 15 במ׳ שם 16 בר׳ מט,כ
18 במ׳ שם, יא 20 שם שם, יד 22-23 שם 24 שם שם, יז 26
שם שם, יט 28 שם שם, כא 29 עיין בבלי עבודה זרה ג ע״ב; סדר
רבא, פ״ד 31 במ׳ שם, כב

עמ׳ קפט

5 הע׳) העטרה ל העט׳ ש 7 פי׳... שקלקלו) ע״י שתקנו נתקלקלו ש
12 בדרך לש 13 יי בקרבכם ל (פי׳... בקרבכם) ל 22 (ואין...
מפריד אלוף) לש 28 ואצ״ל) ואז״ל לש 29 בסיבובם) בסיבותם א |
הסוד) השם לקש

1 במ׳ שם, כד 2 ישׁ׳ יא,ב | במ׳ שם 3 ישׁ׳ מא,ד 4 ע״פ שם מד,ו
5 במ׳ שם, כה | ע״פ שה״ש ב,א; ח,יג 6 שה״ש ב,ב 7 במ׳ יד,מ
9 שם 11 שם שם, מא 13 שם שם, מב 15 שם (ולא תנגפו, ועיין ויק׳
כו,יז) 15 במ׳ שם, מג 17 ישׁ׳ לד,ו 18 במ׳ טו,טז 20 מש׳ כט,ד
22 שם טז,כח 23 עיין בבלי חגיגה טז ע״א | ירׁ׳ ג,ד 24 תהל׳ קמד,יד
25 עיין זח״ג לא ע״א 29 עיין ס׳ יצירה פ״ב, מ״ד

עמ׳ קצ

1 (ו ה ג... שני (כל השם השני)) ש | כ) ב ל 2 כ (1)) ר ק 4 צ) צק ל
5 (קצ) ל 6 מ) ם לק 7 (הי ל... ר) ק | ע) עע ל 8 (ה ל... ר) ל
9 (ת ש...י מ) ש | ת (2)) ה ל | מ ר י מ י ק | ש) ט ל 10 (ראשון) לש |
(שני) לש 11 ואצ״ל) ואז״ל לש 12 תכלת) של תכלת ל הדלת ש
13 (ז״ל) ש | ששלח אחריו המלך ורצה המלך לתפסו ש 15 של המלך ל
של מלך ש 16 (זה (1)) לש 17 ולמטה) אהוב ונחמד למטה ל ונחמד למטה ש
19 המצות) המצות אלה ל המצות אלו ק המצות האלה ש 26 המראות)
המאורות ל 30 בלי) בכל (!) ש

17 עיין בבלי ברכות יז ע״א, ועיין בח״נ 18 במ׳ טו,כב 22 שם שם, כד
(לשגגה) 23 זכ׳ ד,י (משוטטים, ועיין דה״ב טז,ט 24–30 במ׳ שם 25 ברׄ
כב,ג 28 עיין ישׄ מה,יד; איוב כח,יט

*7 אותיות אלו (הי... ר) הן כנראה נוסחא שונה של השורה הבאה; עיין בח״נ.
*16 רׄ מאיר מרוטנבורג נאסר בשנת 1286 ע״י הקיסר רודולף הא׳ בשעת בריחתו מגרמניה. לפי הידוע לנו הוא לא שוחרר, ומת בבית האסורים בשנת 1293. רׄ מאיר נזכר כבעל שם בהרבה כתבי יד של קבלה מעשית; עיין ג. שלום, קריית ספר (כרך ד), עמ׳ 317; ראה גם א. אורבך, בעלי התוספות (ירוש., תשכח), עמ׳ 428–429.

עמ׳ קצא

12 התחדשות) תחרות ל 13 האפשריים ל האיפשריים ש 17 שלום בן לק
18 (ועתה... לכל גוי (עמ׳ קצג, שו׳ 20)) ל 20 בשביל) מפני ש 29
באמצעות קש 30 והם עזרות) והעזרות ש 32 לבית האולם ובית האולם מסובב
למזבח ומזבח מסובב להיכל ש

1 במ׳ שם (ומנחתו) 2 עיין בבלי ברכות לד ע״ב; סנהדרין צט ע״א; תרגׄ קהׄ
ט,ז 3 במ׳ שם, כז 4 תהלׄ כה,א 5 עיין ב״ר פי״ד, ט, עמ׳ 132; דב״ר
פ״ב, כו 6–7 במ׳ שם 8 תהלׄ כט,יא | משׄ יח,י 9–14 במ׳ שם, כח
10 ברׄ יד,יח 11 עיין ויק״ר פ״ט, ט 14 מל״א א,כא 15 זח״ב קס ע״ב
16 תהלׄ קכב,ח 18 זח״ג קסא ע״א; במ׳ יד,יז 25 עיין ירושׄ הרומות פ״ח,
ה״י 29 עיין יחזׄ ה,ה; ותנחׄ, קדושים, סי׳ י 31 בבלי יומא כה ע״א

*21 בזוהר: קיומא דיליה.

עמ׳ קצב

1 וכפורת) ופרוכת ק 10 וסנהדרי קש 13 (למעלה (2)) ש 17 הכוח)
הרוח קש 18 כח יי קש 21 כי יי הוא האלהים עתיק יומין הוא אלהים ק
(הוא (1)) ש 22 (שמעון) א 23 ותחתונים) ועליונים א 25 בסניעות אק |
הספר) הסוד ש

4 שמ׳ טו,יז 6 עיין דניׄ ז,י 16 ע״פ תהלׄ כז,ד | ברׄ א,ב 17–19 במ׳
יד,יז 21 זח״ג קמג ע״א; דבׄ ד,לט 22 עיין בבלי פסחים נ ע״א; בבא בתרא
י ע״ב 24 משׄ י,כה 25 שה״ש ה,טו 30 זכׄ יד,ד

*6 בזוהר: דאית ימא לעילא מן ימא וימא מן ימא; במנׄ: ואי תימא אית לעילא ימא מן ימא וימא מן ימא; בקרׄ: ואי תימא לעילא מן ימא וימא מן ימא.
*16 בזוהר: כח. הפסוק המצוטט בהמשך איננו מופיע בזוהר.

עמ׳ קצג

5 הכהריס ק | (משקה) ק 8 מלאכין) מללין אק 12 הגוף) תמורות א^{2}
תמורות הגוף ק הגוף תמורות ש 14 נמצאים ומטמאים) טמאים ומטמאין ש
25 בפלטיריון ל בפלטרין ק 28 כבר) דבר ל 31 שהוא ל

10 דניׄ י,ו | יחזׄ א,יח | דניׄ ט,כא 16 עיין זח״א נד ע״א: קין: קינא
דמדורין בישין 18 ויקׄ יג,מו 19 תהלׄ קמז,כ 21 תנחׄ, קרח, סי׳ א;
במ״ר פי״ח, א | במ׳ טז,א | משׄ יח,יט 24 מל״ב ג,ז | שם ח,כב 27 עיין
ירושׄ סנהדרין פ״יז ה״א; תנחׄ שם, סי׳ ב; במ״ר שם, ב; ועיין בבלי מנחות
מא ע״ב 29 דניׄ ז,ט (נקא) 31 עיין ס׳ יצירה פ״א, מ״ז

*4 המלים: ומקבלין... מקבלין, חסרות בזוהר.

עמ׳ קצד

4 ועשר) עשר לק 6 (לפני... שלהם יותר (שו׳ 20)) ל 7 ורׄ ק
26 בן קהת) בן קהת מל׳ אק 28 כי שאמׄ א כי כשאמׄ ק 29 פי׳ רב כ״ע
העליון לכם לאלוה ל

1 במ׳ טו,לח 3 סׄ יצירה פ״א, מ״ד 6 זח״ג קעו ע״ב; במ׳ טז,ב 8 עיין
בבלי ברכות נח ע״א 10 ויקׄ כג,ד 19 שם כד,טז 21 דבׄ כח,נא 22 ברׄ
ו,טז 24 שם ב,י 26 שם מט,י 27–32 במ׳ טז,ג

עמ׳ קצה

9 ושאינן לק 13 החיים) הדעת ל 14 העולם) אדם ל אדם העולם ק
17 תשחנה) תשתוה א תשתחוה ק

8 דבׄ כט,יד | עיין שמ״ר פכ״ח, ד; תנחׄ, יתרו, סי׳ יא 10 במ׳ שם, ד
16 מי׳ ד,ה 19 תנחׄ קרח ה; במ״ר שם, ז | ע״פ במ׳ טו,טז 20 קהׄ יב,יא
(נתנו מרעה אחד) 21–23 במ׳ טז,ז 24 תנחׄ שם, סי׳ ו; במ״ר שם, ח | במ׳
שם, ט 25–27 שם שם, י 28 שם שם, יא 31 זח״ג כה ע״ב; ישׄ מה,ח |
דבׄ לב,ב 32 עיין תהלׄ קמה,טו

עמ׳ קצו

11 תיובתא ל תיבותא ק 13 עילאה ל 17 לויים לק | נאספו עם אלהי אברהם
ל 22 מסוד) מיסוד ל

2 שמ׳ לב,ט, ועוד 5 עיין בבלי בבא בתרא טז ע"א 7 זוהר שם | בבלי מועד
קטן כח ע"א 8 תרג׳ אונקלוס לדב׳ ו,כה 11 זוהר שם כו ע"א 13 תהל׳
קל,א 14 שופ׳ ה,ט 16 שם 17 תהל׳ מז,י; עיין המשך הפסוק, ובח"נ,
ובזוהר שם, וגם בבלי סוכה מט ע"ב 18 שופ׳ שם 24 במ׳ טז,לג

עמ׳ קצז

1 באחד א 2 (ינצל... בקדושה) (!) ל 4 נכרית) אשורית ל 5 אותה)
אותם ק 9 דלבו ק | להתקיים ק 10 של שר הפנים החמשים ל | שיחבר אק
11 בעיר מייסבורך) מי יטב ורך ק 16 כדי שאנצח) אנצח ל 19 לכתוב לו ק|
וכתבו לו לק 22 אחר) א׳ ל אחד ק 26 (הראשון) לק | קריאת לק
30 אותם ק | אלא לעליונים ל

10 עיין שמ׳ יח,כא; מל"ב א,ט-יד 11 עיין ג. שלום, קריית ספר, ד׳, עמ׳
320-319 31 עיין מעין החכמה (ביה"מ, כרך א׳) עמ׳ 61; פס"ר, פי׳ כ, ד

עמ׳ קצח

2 דבורו ל דיבורו ק 5 (של) ל 9 שר"י) ימש"ו ל (שר"י) ק 11 שם
המפורש לק | והשתין לו ל 18 מתעטרין ק 20 המדה הראשונה ל מדה
ראשונה ק 27 ואם לק 28 האפשר ל 30 הסקלא ל

5 עיין בבלי סנהדרין קי ע"א; פסחים קיט ע"א 9 עיין תולדות ישו (בס׳ חזוק
אמונה, ניו יורק, תרצ"ב), עמ׳ 261-268 | ע"פ מש׳ י,ז (ושם רשעים ירקב)
14 זח"ג ע ע"ב 16 ישׂ׳ לב,טו 19 ע"פ איוב ד,ט 20 במ׳ טז,יט
23 שם שם, כב 26 שם שם, ל 29 בר׳ כח,כ | דב׳ ה,כו 30 עיין
למעלה, עמ׳ נג, שו׳ 4

*14 בזוהר: ואתדבקו כחד; במנ׳: אתדבקו כחד; בקר׳: אתדבקו בחד (?).
†16 בזוהר שונה.

עמ׳ קצט

3 בחיותם לצד שאול) בהיותם לצד שמאל ל 4 והמדות לק 15 יענגו לק

1-4 במ׳ שם 5 שם שם, לא 6 שם שם, לג 7-9 שם שם, לב 10 עיין
דב׳ יג,יג-יט 11-12 במ׳ שם, לג 12 ויק׳ כג,ל 14 במ׳ שם, לד 15 שמ׳
יט,יט; ועיין בבלי ברכות מה ע"א 17-18 במ׳ שם, לה 18 ויק׳ י,ב 20 במ׳
יז,ג 22 שם (ויהי לאוה) 23 שם שם, ד 26 שם שם, ה 29-30 שם שם, י
32 שם שם, יא

עמ׳ ר

8 השבת ל 13 (ר׳ יוסי... קוראין אותם (עמ׳ רב, שו׳ 2)) ל 16 סין א
22 ותמת מדים א 30 ואשלך א

1-2 במ׳ שם 4 שם שם, יג 13 זח"ג קעט ע"ב | דב׳ ד,מד 15 תהל׳ יט,
יא 16 זוהר שם קפא ע"ב; במ׳ כ,א 17 עיין בבלי מועד קטן כח ע"א 18
עיין בבלי תענית ט ע"א 20 ע"פ יחז׳ יט,א; עמ׳ ה,א-ב ?; ועיין ניצוצי זוהר
לזח"ג ו ע"א, אות ג׳ 21 תהל׳ ס,ז | ישׂ׳ נ,ג (אלביש) 22 במ׳ שם 23 שם
שם, ב 24 שם שם, כד 25 דב׳ לב,נ (והאסף אל עמיך כאשר מת אהרן אחיך;
ועיין במ׳ כז,יג) 30 מי׳ ו,ד

עמ׳ רא

1 עמינדב קש 10 לא ירח) לו ירח ק לירח ש 18 (מאי לכא) ש לכא)
לנא ק 22 באחד ש 23 (של) א 27 גני יזלו בשמיו ש 30 במראה ק

2 שמ׳ טו,כ 4 במ׳ כז,יג (ונאספת, ועיין דב׳ לב,נ) 5 עיין שמ"ר פט"ו,
כו 8 עיין תנח׳ ב׳, שמות, סי׳ י; שמ"ר פ"ב, ב; שו"ט יא, ג 9-10 קה׳
א,ה 14 דב׳ לא,טז (הנך) 15 קה׳ שם, ג 18 זח"ג קפג ע"ב; במ׳ כא,טז
20 עיין בר׳ כו,יח 21 במ׳ יח,כג 25 תהל׳ ק,ג | עיין ב"ר פ"ק, א, עמ׳
1283; ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ קמא (§96) 27 שה"ש ד,טז 28 תהל׳ קמז,יח

*2 בזוהר נמצאת כאן עוד שורה.
*14 בזוהר: עם אבותיך וקם; במנ׳ וקר׳: עם אבותיך.
*18 בזוהר: מ"ש (מאי שנא); עיין בח"נ, ולמטה, שו׳ 32.

עמ׳ רב

2 ויאסוף אק 3 (אם באר) ש | (הבאר) ל 4 האולם ל | למזבח ש 10 (הוא)
לש 13 (אלוה) א 18 כשאדם) שאדם א שאדם אם ל שאם אדם ש 24
בניה וגו׳ כי איננו. כי אינם מיבעי ליה מאי כי איננו על בן זוגה ש 31 זווג ש |
שוכנים) שרויין ל שכינים ק (עליו) ל 32 (שאין שם) אלק

2 עיין בבלי יבמות קיז ע"ב| במ׳ כא,טז 4 ע"פ יו׳ ב,יז; עיין במבוא, הע׳ 190
5 עיין בבלי עירובין יג ע"ב 6 דני׳ יב,ג 7 תנח׳, חקת, סי׳ א 10 עיין
תנח׳, פקודי, סי׳ ג; אבדר"נ, נו"א, פל"א; ועוד 11 עיין בבלי ברכות סא ע"א;
עירובין יח ע"א; ב"ר פ"ח, א, עמ׳ 55 12 איוב יט,כו (ואחר) 13 תנח׳, חקת,
שם 18 שם 22 ישׂ׳ כב,יב 23 יר׳ לא,ד; ועיין למעלה, עמ׳ סב, שו׳ 18,
וכאן בח"נ 26 ע"פ דב׳ כט,כב 28 בר׳ לח,יד | זכ׳ ג,ט 32 קה׳ ט,ט

עמ׳ רג

3 עגומה) פגומה ל | עד היום הזה בעונותינו ל 7 אלמלא לש | תופסה לקש
17 אלמלא לש 18 ונסתר) וגסתם לש | ותהלתי) ותפלתי אק 19 וסרח לק
20 שמימיו לש

3 עיין יו׳ א,ח | יר׳ לא,יד 6 תנח׳ שם 10 איוב יג,א 13 תהל׳ קלג,ב
15 בר׳ א,כו 16 תנח׳ שם 18 ישׁ׳ מח,ט 19 ע"פ שמ׳ כו,יב 20 בר׳
ב,י | ע"פ ישׁ׳ נח,יא 23 עיין בבלי ברכות יז ע"א 24 קה׳ י,א 29 תנח׳
שם 31 ע"פ תהל׳ יט,יא 32 עיין תהל׳ פט,ג

עמ׳ רד

6 אותה לש 13 רמש) רמז ל 16 לא) אלא אקש 17 (עמו וצאן) לקש
19 טעמו לש 20 טמא) טהור לש 21 טהור) טמא לש | מתפלל ומבקש רחמים
עליהם ל מתפלל עליהם ומבקש רחמים ש 22 תנצרנו אק 25 מהם ק
30 ישונה לקש

4 ויק׳ יח,כה 8 תהל׳ יט, שם 10 תנח׳ שם 12 תהל׳ קד,כה 14 תנח׳
שם, סי׳ ג; במ"ר פי"ט, א | במ׳ יט,ב | איוב יד,ד 16 תהל׳ ק,ג 17 ישׁ׳ מ,
יד 19 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ד; במ"ר שם 22 תהל׳ יב,ח 23 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ה;
במ"ר שם 26 במ׳ שם, א-ב 27 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ו; במ"ר שם, ג | קה׳ ח,א
28 דני׳ ח,טז 29 יחז׳ א,כו 30-31 קה׳ שם

עמ׳ רה

11 שישתנה) שהוא משתנה ל ישונה קש 14 הכה) הב"ה אק כה ל 15
ונמצא לקש

9 עיין שמ׳ כה,ל 11 תהל׳ מז,ו 13 ויק׳ ו,ד 15 במ׳ ו,כג 16 ס׳
יצירה פ"א, מ"ד (הבן בחכמה וחכס בבינה) 17 אס׳ ח,א 20 דני׳ יב,ג
21 תנח׳ שם, סי׳ ח; במ"ר שם, ד 22 זכ׳ יד,ו 24 ישׁ׳ מב,טז (בנחיבות)
28 איוב כח,י 30 עיין בבלי שבת קמו ע"א 32 שמ׳ יט,טו

עמ׳ רו

4 שנטמאו) שנדבקו ק | בטומאה תזזית) כטומאת העגל העזזית ל 5 (הטומאה) א
6 תבא פרה ותקנח לקש 11 קטון לקש 12 מלבנת) מלכות א 18 עט׳
שחורות ל 29 מלאכי׳ ל מלאכים ש 30 רוגזו לקש

2 שמ׳ לג,ד 3 עיין בבלי שבת פח ע"א; שמ"ר פמ"ה, ד 6 תנח׳ שם; במ"ר
שם 8 במ׳ כ,יד 10 עיין ס׳ שערי אורה לר׳ יוסף גיקטלייא (ירוש׳, תש"ך),
עמ׳ 208; ולמטה, עמ׳ ריב, שו׳ 23 11 ישׁ׳ נד,ז 13 דני׳ ז,ט 17 ישׁ׳
לד,ו (עיין סוף הפסוק, ובמ׳ כ,יד) 19 ישׁ׳ א,יח 20 תפילת הבדלה 21 ויק׳
יט,לב 27 דה"א כא,טז 31 ישׁ׳ נד,ז 32 במ׳ שם

עמ׳ רז

3 יסוד) סוד לקש 4 והמצוחצח לש 5 אחרנין לקש 6 העולם) הנעלם ק
7 כשפני של אק 13 פני מלך עליון ש 19 העולם העליון ל 27 שאותן
אלק 28 המעלות) העולמות לש

2 במ׳ שם 4 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 201 7 מש׳ טז,טו 12 תהל׳ ד,ז 13 שם
קיח,כז | שם לא,יז 14 שם יא,ז 17 ישׁ׳ גה,ו | תהל׳ קמה,יח, ועיין זח"ג נח ע"ב
25 בר׳ ב,י 27 ע"פ ישׁ׳ נח,יא 29 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 202 30 עיין רמב"ם,
הלכות יסודי התורה, פ"א

עמ׳ רח

1 ואדבקהו ש 3 שהוא דמוז קש 6 איני) אני (!) אק 12 הן) שהם לקש
17 אלהינו וגו׳ ש 18 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל לש 19 בכל לקש 20 ששומעת ש
24 וכיצד לש 25 ותחום א 27 שאלמלא ש | הספי׳ א

1 שערי אורה שם; תהל׳ צא,טו 8-9 איוב כח,כב-כג 16 תהל׳ עח,לח
17 דב׳ י,כא | תהל׳ צה,ז (ואנחנו עם מרעיתו, ועיין בח"נ) 18 מל"א יח,לט
24 במ׳ יד,יד 25 יחז׳ כ,יז 30 במ׳ יד,יז | שם שם, יח (ואמת חסד, והשווה
שמ׳ לד,ו) 32 דב׳ שם

עמ׳ רט

1 וכדרך ק 3 עד) עם ש 9 (גם... יהוה) לש 17 יונקות א 20 להחיות
לש 22 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל לש | נסתרת מכל) נמצאת בכל ל 25 אצ"ל) אז"ל לש
29 בתודה) בתורה א

4 ע"פ שמ׳ יח,כ 6 דב׳ לב,לט 12 תפילת שמונה עשרה לחול | ש"ע לשבת |
ש"ע לשלש רגלים 13 ש"ע לשבת מנחה | תהל׳ קיט,יב 15 דב׳ שם 19 שם
22 שערי אירה, עמ׳ 204 24 שמ׳ יז,ז 26 איוב כח,יב 29 שערי אורה,
עמ׳ 207; תהל׳ צה,ב 30 איוב מא,ג | מי׳ ו,ו

*12 בשערי אורה: כמו שאומר לנוכח.
*15 בשערי אורה: הודיע.
*29 בשערי אורה: לשם

עמ׳ רי

6 (שאין... שהוא נקרע (עמ׳ ריב, שו׳ 6)) ל | חביון עוזו ש 7 ומקור ההויה ש
8 מכילהא) מכילן ש 10 בנחים) ביניהם ש 14 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ש | כיצד ש
23 מיני) פני קש

1 איכה ה,כא | דב' לג,כז 4 במ' כא,כא 5 דני' ז,ס (עיין המשך הפסוק)
6 עיין מורה נבוכים ח"ג, פ"כ-פכ"א | שערי אורה, עמ' 198 14 שם, עמ' 199
28 שמ' לג,יט 32 שערי אורה, עמ' 200; יחז' כ,ח

עמ' ריא

4 פני הכת' הרחמים הגדולים ש 5 הגמורים) הגדולים ש 8 הקץ קש
28 כמו מגן ש 29 מנועי) מטעי ק (מנועי) ש 30 עולין) מגיעין ש
31 להם ש

4 שמ' ג,יד 17 עמ' ה,יג; מי' ב,ג 18 ישׁ' נז,א 21 ע"פ דב' כט,כז
24 ע"פ תהל' סט,יד 28 ע"פ תהל' לה,ב 29 ע"פ שם צא,ד 31 שערי אורה, עמ' 201

*29 בשערי אורה: מכוונים, ועיין בח"נ.

עמ' ריב

4 חמדת א המדה ש 10 שאינו) אשר לא לש 15 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל לש
16 מקבוץ) מקצץ ל מקבץ ש 17 מפארים) מבארים אק 18 בשליחות)
בשלימות ל 20 נמשכת לקש 21 הצא) תבא ש 24 שהוא לש
25 מלבנת) מלכות א מתלבנת ל 26 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ל ואמז"ל ש

2 שמ' לג,יט | במ' ו,כה 7 שם כ,כב 10 ע"פ ישׁ' ה,כז; תהל' קכא,ד
(עיין בח"נ) 12 שמ' יז,ז | במ' שם, כג 14 ישׁ' סג,ב 15 שערי אורה,
עמ' 208 16 עיין שמ"ר פכ"א, ד 22 תהל' קמה, טו-טז 29 תפילת הבדלה
30 ישׁ' מו,ד 31 במ' כא,יג

עמ' ריג

3 סיפר) ספר לקש 7 ויצטרף לש ויצתרף ק 9 נכנס ש 18 (והיה
אינינו מלא) ש איננו ל אינ' ק 23 (נשלם... ב"ה) לקש 24 (בן צפור (1)...
בשם עליון (עמ' ריח, שו' 9) ל 25 (ואמ') ש

1 עיין במ' שם 2 שם שם, יד 3 עיין שמ' כד,ז; מל"ב כג,ב,כא 4 במ' שם |
עיין בבלי חגיגה טז ע"א 6 ישׁ' ו,ג 11 משׁ' ל,טו 14 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ז
15 ישׁ' כט,ו 16 במ' שם 17 ויק' כג,מ | קה' א,ז 24 תנח', בלק, סי' א
במ"ר פ"כ,א | במ' כב,ב 25 דב' לב,ד 29 תנח' שם, סי' י; במ"ר שם, יג |
במ' שס, לד 31 עיין בבלי עבודה זרה ד ע"ב, וזח"ג קצג ע"ב, רז ע"ב

עמ' ריד

3 ונלכדו ק ולכדו ארצם ש 7 ידוע) ידיעה ש 12 שיהא) שהיא א
15 שהיתה לו ק שהיו לו ש 21 וגוזלים) ונוזלים א 24 הא) אבל ש
30 הוא הוא דייק' ש

2 במ' כד,טז 3 זח"ג רו ע"ב 6 עיין תנח' שם, סי' ג; במ"ר שם, ד
9 בבלי ברכות ג ע"א 10 עיין בבלי סנהדרין קה ע"א-ע"ב; עבודה זרה ד ע"ב;
והשווה ס' שקל הקדש לר' משה די ליאון, עמ' 17-18 12 במ' כב,כ 13 בר'
לא,כד (עיין המשך הפסוק) 15 עיין ב"ר פנ"ב, ה, עמ' 546; ויק"ר פ"א, יג
19 עיין בבלי יבמות מט ע"ב 21 תהל' קד,כא 23 דב' לד,י | ספרי, וזאת
הברכה, פי' שנז, עמ' 430 24 עיין זח"ג קצג ע"ב 25 בבלי ברכות ז ע"א;
עבודה זרה ד ע"א-ע"ב 26 תהל' ז,יב 27 זוהר שם רז ע"א | במ' שם, כ
28 זוהר שם | במ' שם, כא (ויקם; ועיין במ"ר שם, יא: מיד וישכם; ותנח' שס,
סי' ח; ובר' כב,ג; בזוהר: ויקם; במנ' וקר': וישכם) 29 במ' שם, כב 31 שם
שם, לה

*4 בזוהר: חמא. מה חמא.
*7 בזוהר: ידיעא; עיין בח"נ.
*31 בזוהר: ואך (במ' כב,כ); במנ' וקר': ואפם.

עמ' רטו

2 זינך ש 11 בכל מיני ש 12 (בשביל) א 15 (לא) אק לא אמר ק1
26 על כל) מכל ש 32 שהיה) שהיא א

3 במ' שם, כב 5 תנח' שם, סי' ח; במ"ר שם, יא 6 עיין ב"ר פל"ג, ג, עמ'
308 8 זוהר שם שם ע"ב 15 שם | במ' שם, כב,כד 20 שם שם, כג (את
האתון להטתה הדרך, והשווה פס' כז) 23 שם כד,ד 28 יהו' יג,כב 31 במ'
כב,לא

*1 בזוהר: ואך (במ' כב,כ); במנ' וקר': ואפם.
*13 בזוהר: למילט.
*18 בזוהר שונה.

עמ' רטז

5 על) של קש 11 כיון קש 12 ועזאל קש | אצלך) עליך ש 13 אלמלא ש
14 אצלו ש 16 (שבח) ק | שהיה) שהיא א היה ש 19 לו קש 24 לקום)
להתקיים ש 28 אותו מן מטל) הוא מן הטל ש 31 קשור א 32 השליך כמו
שכתו' בזוהר ש (לעזא... בשם עליון (עמ' ריח, שו' 9)) ש

4 תהל' ח,ה 5 עיין בבלי סנהדרין לח ע"ב; ב"ר פ"ח, ה-ו, עמ' 60-61 8 תהל'
מט,יג (ואדם) 12 עיין אגדת בראשית, מבוא, עמ' לח; ס' היכלות (ס' חנוך) (ביהמ"ד
כרך ה'), עמ' 172 14 עיין בבלי יומא סז ע"ב; ורש"י שם, ד"ה: עוזא ועזאל 21
תהל' קד,ד 25 השווה ס' משכן העדות לר' משה די ליאון (כ"י ברלין 833) דף לו

ע"א-ע"ב 29 עיין בבלי יומא עה ע"ב (לחם אבירים) 32 עיין אגדת בראשית, מבוא, עמ' לט

*2 בזוהר: למיקם עלייהו.
*9,7 בזוהר: בעינא.
*11 בזוהר: בצלמא דידן.
*18 בזוהר: ישתבח; לעיני המחבר: ישתכח.

עמ' ריז

8 (לבני) א 11 ועזאל ק 15 ועזאל ק 18 ונסגר) ונסתר ק 29 חלקיהם) חלקם ק

4 ע"פ במ' כג,ז 6 שם 7 שם כד,טז 13 בבלי ברכות ז ע"א; עבודה זרה ד ע"א-ע"ב 14-15 במ' שם 20 ע"פ בר' כט,א 23 דב' יח,י 25 שם כג,טו 27 ויק' כ,כו | שם יח,כד 28 שם כ,כג 31 במ' כב,כג (וחרבו)

*2 בזוהר נוסחא עדיפה; השווה למטה, שו' 16.
*12 בזוהר נוסחא עדיפה.
*16 בזוהר: דלא אתתקף.
*17 בזוהר: דאינון.

עמ' ריח

12 אותי לש 14 של עולם) לעולם א 26 הכל היה לש | ואפי' לש 29 (ישר"ם) לקש | ואמ' לק

5 במ' שם, כ (ויבא אלהים אל בלעם לילה ויאמר לו) 6 עיין למעלה, עמ' ריד, שו' 12 8 במ' שם | שם שם, יב 10 שם כג,ז 12 קה' ה,ז 14 במ' שם, ט 15 ישׂ' מד,ו 19-20 במ' שם 21 דב' לב,יב 22 במ' שם, י 23 ישׂ' מ,יד | ע"פ משׂ' ח,כו 24 בר' ג,יט 25 קה' ג,כ 26 עיין קה"ר פ"ג, כו 27 במ' שם | במקרא כתיב מלא: ישרים 32 שם שם, יד

עמ' ריט

10 עשאנו) עשנו לש 12 קיים) יקיים לקש 14 כביכול שהיא נופלת בין העמים לש 27 לכסא ש 28 שהיא לק

1 בר' מז,לא | במ' שם, טו 2 בר' ג,יז; יד' כג,לה; ועוד 3-5 במ' שם, יח 4 עיין ילק"ש, ח"א, ר' תשס"ה 5 השווה תנח' שם, סי' יג; במ"ר שם, יז 6 עיין בבלי חגיגה טו ע"א, וברש"י שם: "לא עמידה. לא גרסינן"; ועיין רמב"ם, הלכות יסודי התורה, פ"א, יא 7-11 במ' שם, יט 9 תהל' לג,ט | שם ק,ג 11 שם לג,ו 13 השווה זח"ג ו ע"א-ע"ב | עמ' ט,יא 15 תהל' קלג,ב

17 במ' שם, כ 19 שם שם, כג 22-23 שם שם, כד 25 שם כד,א | עיין בתרג' אונקלוס לפסוק, ורש"י שם, וזח"ג ריא ע"ב: בגין דיהא ליה סטר סיועא לאבאשא להו 26-28 במ' שם, ב 29 בר' א,ב 30 במ' שם, ג 31 מש' כב,ט | בבלי סוטה לח ע"ב, ועיין זח"ג ריא ע"ב 32 במ' שם, ד

עמ' רכ

2 ועוזאל ק 2 שהיו) שהם לש 4 הוא) זה ל זהו קש 5 זהו עוזאל ל זהו עזאל ש 18 (והים אינינו מלא) לש איננו ק 19 ופורח לקש 25 לפסוע אק 29 מקלל עצמו לש מקלל עצמן ק

1 עיין למעלה, עמ' ריז, שו' 2-20 6-8 במ' שם, ה 8 בר' כה,כז 9 תהל' קלב,ה 10 במ' שם, ו 11 שם שם, ז 12 שמ' ב,יט | תהל' ל,ב 16 במ' שם 18 קה' א,ז 19 תנח', בלק, סי' יד; במ"ר פ"כ, יט 20 עיין שמ' כח, לו 21 במ' לא,ח (עיין המשך הפסוק) 23 תנח' שם, סי' טו; במ"ר שם, כ 25 דב' לב,מז 29 במ' כג,כא 30 שם שם, ז,יח, ועוד | משׂ' כז,יד 32 דב' כג,ו

עמ' רכא

3 אשריכם לש 4 בכם ונתן לכם ש 5 סודותיו לש 10 (זה) לש 12 עהיק כ"ע לש 16 עליהם) על יהי"ו ש 18 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל לש 19 מתתקנין ש 20 בסימנין לש 25 לפן חס) לפינחס לש | פן חס) פינחס ל פנחס ש 26 דין) דין בעולם לש

3 במ' כד,יד 5 תהל' קמז,כ 6 במ' כה,יא 8 תהל' קיג,ט 9 שמ' לג, יט 11 דני' ז,ט 13 ע"פ דב' ד,כד; ט,ג 14 יו' ב,יז | עיין פדר"א פמ"ז; ילק"ש, ח"א, ר' תשע"א; בבלי בבא מציעא קיד ע"ב רש"י, ד"ה: לאן כהן מר 17 קה' ה,ז 18 עיין מל"ב א,ח 20 בזמירת "אליהו הנביא" למוצאי שבת 21 ע"פ דני' ט,יח 23 ע"פ דב' כה,ה 25 דב' ד,טז 28 במ' שם 29 שמ' לד,יד 31 במ' שם, יב

עמ' רכב

1 אבי עד לש 7 ברשות אחר) במקום הטומאה לש 9 באומרם הביאו לקש 22 ואתה) ועתה אק | ועבדהו לקש 23 תעזבנו לק תעזבהו ש 26 יי) יהוה לש 28 יי) יהוה ל | כל' א 31 באומ' א באומרו ק | וכגון לש

1 ישׂ' נט,כא | שם ט,ה (אבי־עד, ועיין בח"נ) 2-4 במ' שם, יג 3 בר' יד, יח 5 עיין זח"א צג ע"א; זח"ב פז ע"ב; שקל הקדש, עמ' 63 9 בבלי חולין ס ע"ב, ועיין בח"נ 11 מ' סנהדרין פ"ט, מ"ו; ועיין זח"ג צו ע"ב 13 שעדי אורה, עמ' 135 | תהל' קיח,כ 14 דב' לב,לט (עיין המשך הפסוק) 20 שם ד,כט 22 דה"א כח,ט 25 עיין בבלי ברכות לב ע"א 27 דב' ג,כד 28 שם שם, כה 31 ש"ע לחול | ש"ע לשלש רגלים 32 ש"ע, ערבית לשבת | ש"ע, מנהה של שבת

עמ׳ רכג

8 שחייב לש 9 (כמו... יצירה) לש 14 ביסוד) כי בסוד לש כי סוד ק
17 שיאלו) ואלו לש שאלו ק 18 זסרש"ץ דלנט"ת ש 20 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל
לש 23 השביעיות לקש 24 ושלמטה לקש 26 לנס"ע לש 31 לאביהם
לש 32 נמואל) ימואל ל

1 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 136 2 עיין במ׳ ב,א–לד 5 ס׳ יצירה פ"ב, מ"ד 9 שם
פ"ג, מ"ו 11 שערי אורה שם 13 תהל׳ עו,ח 17 ס׳ יצירה פ"ב, מ"ג 19
עיין שם פ"א, מ"ה 21 שם פ"ג, מ"א–מ"ד 22 שם פ"ד, מ"א–מ"ד 24 שם
פ"ה, מ"א–מ"ב 30 במ׳ כה,יח 32 ברׄ מו,י; שמ׳ ו,טו (ימואל, ועיין במ׳
כו,יב, ובח"נ)

עמ׳ רכד

3 לשלש עליונות ל 4 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל לש 6 מדת ש | (עמקותה... כל) א
7 כל המדרגות וכל הנבראים והנמצאים ש 9 קרבן לש 14 הכל) הקול לש
21 רומז לש 23 בארך לק באריך ש 26 ובכר) וכבד לקש | בו שערי)
בשערי לק בו בשערי ש 27 שהוא ק 28 ונסתרים) וסתרים א 29 כל
לשון) שלשון לש 30 נקראת לק | היא ל

1 ברׄ שם, כא (ובני בנימין) 3 במ׳ כו,לח 5 ע"פ דני׳ ט,יח 8 שמ׳ ז,
יב 11 ברׄ ג,יט 16 משׄ כה,ב 17 איוב כו,ז 21 ס׳ יצירה פ"א, מ"א
22 שמ׳ יד,יט–כא 24 ישׄ נח,יא 26 ברׄ מז,כא 27 דבׄ טו,יט 31
איוב כח,יב | עיין דבׄ טו,יט; יח,ג–ד | הוׄ ט,י

עמ׳ רכה

5 הוציא לקש 9 החסד) הבינה אלק 10 ואורגים ומתחברים א 21 ראש)
רוש אק 22 כמרירות ל 27 ירדה) ירידה ק

1 תהל׳ קיא,י 2 ברׄ שם 7 שם 8 שם פו,א 9 תרגׄ אונקלוס שם
13 שה"ש ו,ס 14 ברׄ מו,כא 15 משׄ ג,יז 16 עיין בבלי עירובין נד ע"ב
16 ברׄ שם | שמ׳ י,כג 18 עיין לק"ט על שמ׳ שם; מה"ג על שמ׳ שם, כא;
פי׳ רמב"ן עה"ת, שמ׳ שם, כג; ועיין בתורה שלימה, שם 19 ישׄ ג,יד (עיין
המשך הפסוק) 21 ברׄ שם | דבׄ כט,יז 23 ברׄ לב,לג (כי נגע, ועיין שם
שם, כו) 24 ברׄ מו,כא 26 שם | עיין בבלי בבא בתרא עה ע"א; זח"א צד
ע"ב 27 ברׄ שם 32 שם שם, סז

עמ׳ רכז

1 המלכות לקש 6 מי) מה א 9 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל לש | (רומז...והמדרגות) ק
10 על) של לקש 15 ופני שור) והשור אק 18 תורה לק 20 (יהוה) אק
22 (ואצבון... הארצות) א 28 (והוא... נרמזים) ק 29 כולה) כלם ש
31 אחת לש 32 אוריתא ל התורה ש

3 ע"פ במ׳ א,יז, ועוד 8 ברׄ שם 13 דבׄ לג,יז 14 שמ׳ כא,כח (וכי)
15 יחז׳ א,י 16 ברׄ שם 19 ע"פ דבׄ יז,יח 22 ברׄ שם | יחז׳ כ,ו,ט
24 ברׄ שם | שם כא,יב 25 שמ׳ ה,כב; במ׳ יא,יא 26 במ׳ כב,לד
27 ברׄ מו,טז | עיין שם לט,א: ויוסף הורד מצרימה 28 שם מו,טז 30 עיין
אקדמות מלין; כבלי שבת יא ע"א 31 ע"פ איוב לג,כג

עמ׳ רכז

3 שהוא) שהיא לקש 6 בששת לקש | בראשית) המעשה א[1] בראשית המעשה ק
14 וכו׳) חתום לקש | מכר) מפיר ש 15 (הנקרא... מנשה (שו׳ 16)) ל | ולמה ק
16 השכחה ש 18 (ולדרוש) לש | מבינים לש 24 צלפחד לש 27 אותו צל
אש | ונכנסת א 29 שהיה) שהיא א 30 הוא (1)) היה ל | שהוא ל | הנקיבות)
בנותיו הם תפ׳ נצח הוד יסוד מלכות ה׳ כנגד ה׳ בנותיו א[1]לש 31 מלכה אש
32 גמורים) נדולים ש

1 במ׳ כז,א 2 ישׄ ד,ו 6 במ׳ שם 8 קהׄ ז,כג 9 עיין ברׄ כא,כה–לב;
כו,טו–כה; כט,ב–י 10 במ׳ שם 13 שה"ש ד,יב 14 במ׳ שם 16 ברׄ
מא,נא 19 עיין בבלי חגיגה יד ע"א 21 ע"פ דני׳ ט,יח 25 ברׄ כא,לג |
השווה זח"א קב ע"ב 28 ברׄ לא,מב 30 במ׳ שם 32 ע"פ ישׄ ו,ה

*23 עיין במבוא, § 3.1.

עמ׳ רכח

5 (רומז להוד) אק 7 מלכה לש | שהיה) שהיא א 12 החבריא) ישראל ש
14 בה) לה לקש | אפי׳ לקש 16 מן) מכל א (מן העמים) ק 18 ואצ"ל)
אז"ל לש 19 כ"פ) כ"ע עט׳ ש 20 (ואצ"ל) ל ואז"ל ש 21 ויתאחזו)
ויתאחדו ל 24 השוקת של אק 27 (עמים) ש 29 מירושלם העט׳ ל

1 עיין בבלי סנהדרין יט ע"ב; כתובות יז ע"א 3 משׄ כט,ד 4 במ׳ שם |
ע"פ ברׄ ד,יב 5 במ׳ שם 7 שם 9 שם 10–11 שם שם, ב 11 בבלי
מנחות קי ע"א, ובתוספות 13 עיין זח"ג קכח ע"א 15 דבׄ ז,ו, ועוד | ויק׳ כ,
כו 18 במ׳ לב,ג | השווה רמב"ן (?), מאמר על פנימיות התורה (כתבי רמב"ן,
מהדׄ שעוועל, ירוש. תשכ"ד, כרך ב׳), עמ׳ תסח 21 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 102
26 צפ׳ ג,ט (לעבדו) 27 ישׄ ב,ג; מי׳ ד,ב (ואמרו לכו, ועיין בח"נ ובשערי
אורה) 30 במ׳ שם 31 שם

עמ׳ רכט

1 וחירות ש | ומשם נאצל העזר והסיוע לכל התחתונים. ונמרה לש 5 עד אין סוף) באין סוף ש 7 מל׳ מעונה אלהי קדם ל | (ואצ"ל... נשלם מסעי בע"ה (עמ׳ רלא, שו׳ 22)) ל ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ש 8 יי) יהוה ש 10 בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא קש 16 שזהו ק 17 בכל) בכלל אק 18 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ש

1 במ׳ שם 3 תהל׳ קלג,ב | במ׳ שם 4 שם 6 שם 7 ע"פ דב׳ לג, כז, ועיין בח"נ | עיין שערי אורה, עמ׳ 3 11 במ׳ כא,לב 13 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 159 23 שם, עמ׳ 160 25 ברׄ א,א 26 עיין זח"א טו ע"א-ע"ב 28 ברׄ ב,ד 29 חב׳ ג,יט | מש׳ ג,יט 30 בבלי ראש השנה כא ע"ב 31 ס׳ יצירה פ"א, מ"א

עמ׳ רל

6 במאד מאד ש 7 לעומקם ש | מהו) מזו ק 19 שביעית ש 24 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ש 28 והאצילות והברכות ש 30 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ש 31 מלכות ש

3 עיין זח"א טו ע"ב: שמא דא כלילא בתלת דוכתי 7 עיין במ"ר פי"ג, טו 8 ע"פ דני׳ ט,יח 12 תהל׳ פ,ח,כ 13 עיין ישׄ נט,יז | שם ט,ו; לז,לב 14 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 162 20 שמ׳ לא,יז 22 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 165 24 שם, עמ׳ 166 30 שם 32 שם, עמ׳ 169

*11 בשערי אורה: אלהים סתם אבל במוצאך אלהים סמוך. לפנינו מקרה של homoioteleuton.

עמ׳ רלא

1 עומד ש 2 המתאצלת ק 4 שאלמלא ש 10 שאלמלא ש 13 ועוד טעם ק 16 יודע א 20 לשם ק 21 ארץ והאכלתיך נחלת יעקב ש 21 ובעולם הבא ש 23 (יחב׳... בציון) ל 25 האמרי ש 27 של ימין חכמ׳ ושכינה של שמאל בינה ל

3 עיין רמב"ם, הלכות יסודי התורה, פ"א 5 דב׳ ה,ה 6 ע"פ שמ׳ לא,יז 8 עיין י"ג מדות של ר׳ ישמעאל, מדה י"ג: עד שיבא הכתוב השלישי ויכריע ביניהם; וס׳ יצירה פ"ג, מ"א: ולשון חוק מכריע בינתים 12 בבלי ראש השנה כא ע"ב 13 תהל׳ ח,ו 14 בבלי שבת לב ע"ב 17 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 170 18 עיין בבלי שבת קיח ע"א | ע"פ ישׄ נח,יד; ועיין שבת שם 20 ישׄ שם, ועיין בח"נ 23 תנח׳, דברים, סי׳ א 25-31 דב׳ א,ז 29 שם לג,יב

*9 בשערי אורה: על.

עמ׳ רלב

3 וכה רומז ש 6 מדרגות) נ"א מרכבות ל1 8 ושרי) שרי א 9 עשירית לש | והעשירי אק| (ליי) לקש 14 (ואצ"ל... אלה הדברים ש"ל (עמ׳ רלד, שו׳ 8)) ל ואצ"ל) ואמ׳ ש 18 וכו׳) לאברהם קש 29 ואמצעיי ק

1 ברׄ ב,י 2 דב׳ א,יב 6 שם שם, טו 7 שם (ושרי) 8 שם (ושרי) 9 ויק׳ כז,לב 10 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 52 | ע"פ שמ׳ כד,יב, ועוד 12 תהל׳ קיט,צו 14 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 59 16 ישׄ נד,י | תהל׳ כא,ח 17 ע"פ ישׄ נד,ח 18 מי׳ ז,כ, ועיין בח"נ 23 ישׄ נה,ג 27 איוב לט,יג | שערי אורה, עמ׳ 60 28 תהל׳ קיח,א,כט 30 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 73 32 שמ"א א,י

*23 כאן נפסק כ"י ש.
*29 בשערי אורה: בתורה, וכן צ"ל.

עמ׳ רלג

2 לאו בזכותא ק 3 (הנקרא ב"ד) ק 8 וכן ק 13 דמעתך ק 22 לאו בזכותא ק

1 תהל׳ נה,כג; עיין למטה, שו׳ 15-16 2 בבלי מועד קטן כח ע"א 12 ישׄ לח,ה 15 עיין למעלה, עמ׳ רלב, שו׳ 32 - רלב, שו׳ 2 | תהל׳ נה, כג 17 עיין מל"ב כ,ב; ישׄ לח,ב; דה"ב לב,כד; בכולם כתוב "אל יהוה" 22 בבלי מועד קטן שם 30 תהל׳ קמה,טז

*17 המשפט הזה אינו נמצא בשערי אורה; עיין במראי מקומות.

עמ׳ רלד

5 שהוא) שיהא ק 10 תחנוניו) תחנתו ל 18 העלים) העליך א 19 עלה) עלי א 20 העט׳ ל 21 שנראית ל 22 שנראית ל

3 ישׄ סה,טז 9 תנח׳, ואתחנן, סי׳ ג; דב׳ ג,כג | ע"פ מל"א ח,ל; דני׳ ט,יז; ועיין מל"א שם, כח; ובח"נ ובתנח׳ שם 13 שמ׳ לג,יח 14 שם שם, יט, ועיין המשך הפסוק: וחנותי, ובתנח׳ שם 16 דב׳ שם, כו (תוֹסֵף) 19 שם שם, כז | ע"פ ברׄ כח,יב 20 ע"פ ברׄ מז,לא | שם כח,יב 22-24 דב׳ שם 25-28 שם שם, כח 27 שמ׳ יג,כא 31 דב׳ ד,א

*29 כאן נפסק כ"י ל עד עמ׳ רסח, שו׳ 15.

עמ' רלה

2 העליונים ק 13 הנקראת ק 20 שהעיצה) שהציעה א 22 להכנס ק
31 (ר') ק

1-2 דב' שם 3 עיין ב"ר פי"ד, ט, עמ' 132; דב"ר פ"ב, כו 4-7 דב'
שם, ב 5 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ד 8 שם 10-13 דב' שם, ד 14 תהל'
קמז,ט 16 יש' מ,כו; ועיין זח"א א ע"ב, ג ע"ב, ועוד הרבה 18 שמ' לב,
יב 19 ויק' כה,יג 20 עיין ס' יצירה פ"ה, מ"ב 21 ויק' ג,ט 22 דב'
ג,כג 23 עיין תנח', ואתחנן, סי' ג | שמ' לג,יט 27 ויק' טז,ב 29 דב'
שם, כד

עמ' רלו

8 השמות הקדוש א 25 שהנשמות ק 26 נתוספה ק

3 עיין בבלי מנחות כט ע"ב 5 תהל' יט,ח 6 תנח', עקב, סי' א; תהל' מט,ו
7 שערי אורה, עמ' 86 17 שם, עמ' 40; תהל' קיא,י | מש' טז,כ 18 תהל'
לב,א 19 מש' יג,טו (חן) 21 שערי אורה, עמ' 42 | 23 מל"ב ב,טו 24 שם'
כ,יא | שם שם, ח; דב' ה,יב 25 עיין בבלי ביצה טז ע"א; תענית כז ע"ב 26
שמ' לא,יז 28 דב' יד,כב 29 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ד 30 שם פ"ד, מי"ב

עמ' רלז

3 להוציאו) תוציאו ק 8 (וסעדו) ק 16 כבר) דבר א 28 פי') כי ק

5 דב' שם 7-8 שם שם, כג | בר' יה,ה 8 שם ו,טז 11 דב' שם, כה
13 יט' א,כא 14-17 דב' שם, כח 19 ע"פ דני' ט,יח 20 דב' טו,יט
22 תהל' קלג,ב 23-24 דב' שם 25 קה' ה,ז 27 תהל' קמז,כ 28-
30 דב' יז,ח

עמ' רלח

1 ביין ק 4 התחתונה ק 14 אדם בליעל ק | במזיד ק 21 נכריים ק

1 עיין יר' מח,יא 3 ס' יצירה פ"א, מ"ח 6-10 דב' שם, ט 8 מש' כט,ד
11 שם לא,כג 13-16 דב' שם, יב 18-22 שם שם, טו 20 תהל' קכב,ח
24 דב' שם, טז 26 שם שם, יח 29-32 שם שם, יט 30 תהל' מב,ח

עמ' רלט

9 (כל שבט לוי) ק 24 בכסא א

2-7 דב' שם, כ 3 שמ"א ב,ב 5 תהל' צג,ה 9 דב' יח,א 11 שם
שם, ג 13 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"ב 14 דב' כא,א 15 שם שם, ב 17
שם שם, ח | שערי אורה, עמ' 111 22 בר' כז,א 23 תהל' פא,ד 24 שם
פט,טז 25 עיין תנח', וירא, סי' כג 26 תפילת שחרית | תפילת הבדלה
28 ע"פ יש' נד,ז | תהל' קיח,כז 29 בר' א,ב 31 עיין ס' יצירה פ"ב, מ"א
32 ע"פ שמ' יד,כט

עמ' רמ

15 (ואצ"ל... היסודות) א 16 היסודות) הסודות כ"י ששון 919, עמ' עב
18 ב) כ כ"י ששון 919, עמ' עב 19 אשריהם ק | בכבודם ק 22 (כן...
חמורה) ק

2 דני' ט,ט 4 שערי אורה, עמ' 112 7 יש' נד,ז 10 תהל' כא,ח
12 ע"פ יש' שם, ח 21 עיין זח"ג קכח ע"א | יש' סד,ג 22 מ' אבות פ"ב,
מ"א; ועיין מדרש דבריס רבה (הוצ' ליברמן), כי תצא, סי' ד (עמ' 104) 23 מ'
אבות פ"ד, מ"ב; תנח', כי תצא, סי' א 24 תנח' שם, סי' ב; דב' כב,ו-ז
25 מש' ד,כג

*12 בשערי אורה: אבל.
*30 בתנח': שהגיע ימין... אותך.

עמ' רמא

14 והוד ק 16 (נוטה שמים כיריעה) ק

2 עיין שמ' כ,יב; דב' ה,טז; שם כב,ז | עיין בר' יה,ו,י 3 עיין מל"ב ד,ח-יז
5 דב' שם 6 שם כא,יב | עיין זח"ג עט ע"א 7 דב' כב,יא 9 מ' סנהדרין
פ"ב, מ"ה; עיין ס' טעמי המצות לר' יוסף מהמדן, עמ' 291. 293-294, 434-435
12 דב' שם, יב 15 תהל' קד,ב 26 דב' שם, יג 27 שמ' טו,ג 31 דב'
שם, יד 32 תהל' יב,ז

עמ' רמב

3 פרסום) נתפרסמו ק 25 וסלקוה ק

2 עיין בבלי כתובות קיא ע"א 4 דב' שם 6 עיין מ' אהלות פ"ז, מ"א
8 דב' שם 9 עמ' ה,ב (נפלה לא תוסיף קום בתולת ישראל) 10 עיין בבלי
שבת קמו ע"א 11 דב' שם, טו 14 השווה זח"א נא ע"א, דס ע"א 19 דב'
שם, טז 21-23 שם שם, יט 25 שם שם, כא (וסלקוה, ועיין בח"נ) 28 שם
שם, כב 32 מש' טז,כח

עמ' רמג

3 פי'... יקח) א[1]ק 4 הפשיטות) הפשוטות ק

1 דב' שם, כח-כט 4 ויק' כא,יג 6 עיין מ' בבא מציעא פ"ג, מ"ו
7 דב' כג,א 9 שם שם, ג 11 שם שם, ד 13 שמ"א א,כב | עיין
בבלי קידושין טו ע"א 14 שמ' כא,ו 16 דב' שם, ו 18 שם שם,
ח (לא תתעב מצרי) 20 עיין ויק' יד,מ-מא (?) 21 קה' ב,יג 22 דב'
שם, ט | איוב לג,כט 24 דב' שם, טז 25 בר' כד,ב

*5 המלים: פי'... יקח, מופיעות כאן בכ"י ק, וכהערה בכ"י א. אינן מתאימות להקשר המשפט, ואולי מקומן באמח שורה לפני כן אחרי המלים: ושכב עמה ונמצאו.

עמ' רמד

6 הכלים) הכללים ק 8 ג"כ לאותיות) לשם אותיות ק 27 האיש) בעלה א | זווג) זו ק

1 דב' שם, כב 5 שם שם, כד 11 שם שם, כו 14 בר' לז,ז 15 איוב
ל,ד (ושרש) 17 דב' שם 19 משׂ' טז,כח 20 דב' כד,א 21 ישׂ' סב,ה,
ועיין המשך הפסוק 24-25 דב' שם, ב 27 שם שם, ג 28 שם שם, ד
30 תהל' קלט,יב

עמ' רמה

1 (והיה) ק 7 ושבעים ק 8 ההשקפה) השקפה ק 12 השמים ק
13 ממעון וכו' ק 15 (שהוא טוד התפ') ק 30 ואמ' ק

1 דב' כו,יא 3-6 שם שם, יב 8 שם שם, טו | עיין שמ"ר פמ"א, א
13-16 דב' שם שם 18 שם כז,ח 20 שם לד,יב 21 שם כז,יב
23 עיין המשך הפסוק 25-26 שם שם, יג 28 שם שם, טו 29 שמ'
לד,א 30 דב' שם 32 שם שם, טז

עמ' רמו

7 שהוא כביכול עושה ק 23 (והשיגוך) ק

1 ויק' ב,יד 4 דב' שם, יז (מסיג) 5 שה"ש ה,טז 7 עיין מ' אבות פ"א,
מ"א 9 ישׂ' א,כב 11 עיין תנח', כי תבא, סי' ב 13 דב' שם, יח 23
ע"פ מל' ג,י | דב' כח,ב 25 שם שם, ג 26 שם שם, ד 27 שם שם, ז
29 שם שם, ח 31 שם שם, י

*32 צ"ל: יקרא; עיין דב' כח,י.

עמ' רמז

3 יי) יי לך א 5 מושך אותו) פי' לכ"ע ולא תהיה ק 6 (ולא לזנב) ק
10 (היא) ק 15 הוא) היא ק 19 (גבורה) ק 22 ל (2)) מ ק 23 נ) ל ק
24 (נ) א

2 בר' א,כו 3 דב' שם, יב 6-8 שם שם, יג 9 בר' א,יד; עיין ירוש'
העניית פ"ד, ה"י; וזח"א ע"א, לג ע"ב 11 בר' שם, טז
13 ע"פ דב' שם, כ 16 ע"פ איוב לב,ה

עמ' רמח

16 אל) אלו ק 17 והמהומה ק | (הזה) ק

19 דב' שם, כ 20-22 שם שם, כב 25 שם שם, כו 26 ישׂ' כו,יט
29 דב' שם, כז

עמ' רמט

11 זוהמתה א 15 שהחיצוניי' ק 18 שהיא ק 19 () ק
20 לך לראש א 21 לו לזנב א 28 (ולא ירחם) ק

2-4 דב' שם 4 איוב ט,ז 5-6 דב' שם, כח 7 שם שם, כט 8 תהל'
נה,יח 9-11 דב' שם, ל 10 עיין בבלי שבת קמו ע"א 11 בר' לד,ב
12 דב' שם, לג 14-15 שם שם, לח 17 שם שם, מג 20-21 שם שם,
מד 22-23 שם שם, מח 24 שם שם, מט 26-28 שם שם, נ 27 ישׂ'
נו,יא 28 דב' שם (בלי "ולא ירחם"; עיין בח"נ, והשווה שמ' לג,יט; מל"ב
יג,כג 29-32 דב' שם, נא 30 תהל' לו,ז, ועוד

עמ' רנ

6 שהיה) שהיא ק 27 וכשרוצים) וכשדונים ק 32 מקומות ק

2 דב' שם, נו 3 ישׂ' נח,יד 5 דב' שם, נז 8 שם כט,א | שערי אורה,
עמ' 105 9 יחז' א,א 12 מל"א כב,יט (עמד, והשווה דה"ב יח,יח, ועיין
בשערי אורה) 14 ע"פ דב' לג,כו 15 תהל' קכג,א | מל"א ח, לב,לד,לו,לט
16 מל"א כב, שם | עיין שערי אורה, עמ' 105! 19 עיין ירוש' סנהדרין פ"א,
ה"א; ועיין תנח', משפטים, סי' טו

עמ׳ רנא

19 התחתונה אזי ק 30 ואלהי) ואלה ק

5 עיין תנח׳, נצבים, סי׳ א | משׁ׳ יב,ז; יא,כח 6 דב׳ כט,יא 8 שם שם, יב 9 תהל׳ עח,לח 10 דב׳ שם, יד 13–14 ע"פ בר׳ מב,לה 14 שם כד,כ 18 שם ב,י 23 עיין זח"ג סא ע"ב–סב ע"א 26 דב׳ שם, יז 27 שם ד,טז 28–31 שם כט, שם 31 שם יח,יא

עמ׳ רנב

9 וחתום) וסתום כ"י ששון 919, עמ׳ מט 10 שהם... מדרגות) שהרי כל אותן עשר ספירות עליונות שהם באריך אנפין הם מדרגות כ"י ששון 919, עמ׳ מט 11 י"ס) יצ"ו א

2 דב׳ כט,כח 4 משׁ׳ כה,ב (כבוד) 7 ע"פ בן סירא פ"ג, ועיין בבלי חגיגה יג ע"א 8 בבלי ברכות י ע"א 21 ע"פ תהל׳ קיט,יח 23 דב׳ ל,ב 24 עיין בר׳ יח,יב 26 דב׳ שם, ד 28 עיין פי׳ ס׳ יצירה לר׳ יוסף שלום אשכנזי (נדפס על שם הראב"ד, ווארשׁ, תרמ"ד), עמ׳ 106 30 ישׁ׳ ד,ג 32 בר׳ כח,יב

עמ׳ רנג

6 (לפי... אמרתך) א 11 יכול ק 16 החיים ק 27 אלא במזלא וכו׳ ק 28 מקור) מקו׳ ק

2 ישׁ׳ כז,יג 4 דב׳ שם, יב | עיין בעל הטורים, פי׳ עה"ת שם 6 תהל׳ קלח, ב 7 שם קיט,קסב 8 דב׳ לג,ט 11 שם ל,יד 13 עיין בבלי מגילה ו ע"ב 14 דב׳ שם, טו 17–19 שם 20 שמ׳ י,י 21 עיין ילק"ש, ח"ב, ר׳ טו 23–24 דב׳ שם, טז 25 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 147 26 בבלי מועד קטן כח ע"א

עמ׳ רנד

15 עצמכם ק 19 עם) את ק

1 עיין זח"ג קלד ע"א, ת"ז תקון סט, תרג׳ קהלת ט,ב (כלא במזליא תליא) 4–5 דב׳ לא,א–ב (את הדברים האלה) 6 עיין בבלי דאש השנה יא ע"א, מגילה יג ע"ב, ודש"י שם 10 דב׳ שם, ב 12 עיין קה׳ א,יג; ז,כה 13 דב׳ שס, ג 14 בבלי בבא בתרא עה ע"א 15 דב׳ שם, ו 18 שם שם, ז 20 שם שם, ח 22 שם שם, יד | עיין זח"א רכד ע"א–ע"ב 26 דב׳ שם, טז 27 שם שם, יז 28 שם כט,כז 29 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 167

עמ׳ רנה

7 ולא מונע) ומונע ק

1 חב׳ ג,יט 2 בר׳ טו,ב 4 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 170 | עיין בבלי שבת קיח ע"א 8 ישׁ׳ נח,יד 11 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 171 18 ויק׳ ז,כ, ועוד 21 שמ"א ז,יז 23 שם כה,כט 26 שם 30 תהל׳ קטז,ז 32 עיין ויק׳ ד–ה

עמ׳ רנו

1 תהל׳ יט,ח 3 יר׳ ג,כב 5 ישׁ׳ ו,י 9 ויק׳ כה,לא | שם שם, יג 16 דב׳ טז,כ 18 שם 19 ישׁ׳ א,כא 22 שם ס,כא 23 תנח׳, האזינו, סי׳ ב | משׁ׳ טז,כו 28 דב׳ ד,כו; ל,יט 31 שם לב,ב

עמ׳ רנז

9 ותקרא) ותקרה ק 28 בצורה ק

1 משׁ׳ ד,ב 2 אס׳ ט,לב 3 עיין זח"ג קלד ע"א; ת"ז, תקון סט; תרג׳ קהלת ט,ב (כלא במזליא תליא) 4 עיין שערי אורה, עמ׳ 16 7 דב׳ שם, ג 12–18 שם שם, ד 17 משׁ׳ ח,ל, ועיין ב"ד פ"א, א, עמ׳ 1–2 18 תהל׳ ק,ג (עשנו) 20–28 דב׳ שם, ו 22 שמ׳ יג,יח 31 דב׳ שם, ז

עמ׳ רנח

21 י"ס) יצ"ו א

3 משׁ׳ לא,כג 6 דב׳ שם, ט 7 שמ׳ ד,כב 9 ויק׳ כ,כו 10–15 דב׳ שם, י 11 עיין בבלי מגילה יט ע"א | ע"פ ירׁ׳ ט,א 12 עיין שערי אורה, עמ׳ 16–17 13 תהל׳ קלב,יד 14 עיין תנח׳, בשלח, סי׳ ג 16–18 דב׳ שם, יא 18 בר׳ א,ב 20 דב׳ שם, יב 22–28 שם שם, יג 23 ישׁ׳ נח,יד 24 בר׳ מג,יד 26 שה"ש ה,א | תהל׳ פא,יז (ומצור) 27 דב׳ שם, ד 29 תהל׳ קלג,ב 30 דב׳ שם, יד 31 בר׳ יח,ז 32 שם כב,ג

עמ׳ רנט

2 (לכן... הרחמים) א 6 ודאי) ובזוהר אמרו ג׳ עדרי צאן הם נצח הוד יסוד. והבי משמע דכתיב רובצים עליה. עליה ממש. א2 11 הנמצאים) בלומ׳ בכח מה שלמעלה ממנו א2 25 יהוה) יי ק

3 שה"ש שם 5 בר׳ כט,ב, ועיין זח"א קנא ע"ב, ועיין בח"נ 8 בבלי ברכות מ ע"א; סנהדרין ע ע"א–ע"ב; ב"ר פט"ו, ז, עמ׳ 139 10 עיין בבלי סנהדרין צט ע"א; תרג׳ קהלת ט,ז 11–12 דב׳ שם, טו 12 תהל׳ ק,ג (עשנו)

13 ישׂ׳ מה,יז 15 שמ׳ יח,יח 16–19 דב׳ שם, יז 21–23 שם שם, יח, ועיין ספרי, האזינו, מ׳ שיט, עמ׳ 365 22 משׂ׳ כג,כה, ועיין ההחלת הפסוק 23 ישׂ׳ כו,ד, ועיין ב״ר פי״ב, י, עמ׳ 108 25 דב׳ שם, יט 26 שם כט, כז 27 שם לב,כ 28 עיין זח״ג קל ע״א 31 ישׂ׳ נד,ז

עמ׳ רס

23 בל׳) לשון א 27 דגל) בכל ק 6 והוד ק

2–5 דב׳ שם, כב | עיין בבלי יומא כא ע״ב, וזח״א נ ע״ב 6 משׂ׳ י,כה
8–10 דב׳ שם, כד 11–14 שם שם, כה 12 ויק׳ כו,כה 15 בר׳ כד,א
17–18 דב׳ שם, כט 21–32 שם שם, ל 23 שם טז,כ 26 ויק׳ כו,ג, ועיין ס׳ טעמי המצוות לר׳ יוסף מהמדן, עמ׳ 44 27 שמ׳ יז,טו 30 ישׂ׳ יא,י

עמ׳ רסא

24 צנתרות) פי׳ צינורות א1 ק1 30 (סוד (2)) ק

1 תהל׳ ק,ג 6 שמ׳ לג,יט, ועיין המשך הפסוק 7 דב׳ לב, שם 9 שם שם, לד 11–12 שם שם, לז 13 שם שם, לט 16 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 178 17 קה׳ יא,ב 20 במ׳ ח,ב 23 עיין זכ׳ ד,א–ג, יא–יד 24 עיין שם שם, יב 26 תהל׳ קנ,ו 29 בבלי ברכות ד ע״ב 31 שערי אורה, שם | בבלי שבת קיח ע״ב

עמ׳ רסב

4 טכסיסי ק 19 (ולפי׳) ק | סוד) יסוד א 29 כל חותם שם) סוד כל שם ק

9–10 תהל׳ נא,יז 11 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 177 | חהל׳ לג,א 22 עיין זח״א נ ע״ב

*26 בשערי אורה: כפור.

עמ׳ רסג

7 כשמו א 9 בפסוק) כפסוק א

9 חב׳ ג,יט | בר׳ טו,ח 18 זכ׳ יד,ט 22 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 181

*14 בשערי אורה: לא בנקוד אחר.
*28 בשערי אורה: ג׳ מחצי אות וא״ו ולמעלה ואלו הן גדולה גבורה תפארת וג׳... לפנינו מקרה של homoioteleuton.

עמ׳ רסד

9 וכשאתה ק 17 רק) הן א

4 ע״פ קה׳ יב,יג 12 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 185 | ס׳ יצירה פ״א, מ״א 17 שערי אורה, עמ׳ 187; דב׳ י,טו | ב״ר פמ״ז, ו, עמ׳ 475 18 שמ׳ כז,י, ועוד | דב׳ שם 19 תהל׳ צז,יא 20–21 ישׂ׳ יא,א–ב 28 מל״א ה,כו, ועיין ס׳ הבהיר סי׳ ג (§3) 30 עיין בבלי ראש השנה כא ע״ב

*19 בשערי אורה: זרוע.

עמ׳ רסה

5 ועליה) ועל זה ק 12 (אלו) א 18 עוז והדר לפניו עוז וחדוה ק 32 משחי אלו הספי׳ ק

5 איוב כח,יב 6 שם שם, כג 8 שם 11 משׂ׳ ג,יט–כ 18 עיין דה״א טז, כג, ובח״נ, ובשערי אורה 21 משׂ׳ טז,כח 24 ישׂ׳ ח,יז 26 שם נז,א

*2 בשערי אורה: מיוחדות.
*32 בשערי אורה: היאך בחכמה.

עמ׳ רסו

16 (גבול) ק 25 מלפני) מאת ק 29 השערים ק

12 שמ׳ לג,יג | שם שם, יט 14 שם 19 תהל׳ קמז,יא 20 שם קמה,יט 22 שם נא,יז 23 שם יט,טו 25 שם קיח,יט

*26 בשערי אורה: וסוף.

עמ׳ רסז

24 (כח) ק

1 בבלי מועד קטן כח ע״א 4 תהל׳ קמ,יד 5 תנח׳, וזאת הברכה, סי׳ א | משׂ׳ לא,כט 8 דב׳ לג,א 12 בר׳ ב,י 17 ויק׳ יח,כה 19 בר׳ ח,יד 20 ר׳ עזריאל, עיין למעלה, עמ׳ קכא, שו׳ 32 | במ׳ טז,כב 22 ב״ר פס״ח, ט, עמ׳ 778 23 מל״א ח,כז 24 איוב לו,כו (שגיא ולא נדע, ועיין איוב לז, כג, ובח״נ) 25 ישׂ׳ נה,ח 26 תהל׳ קג,יא, ועיין ישׂ׳ שם, ט 27 זח״ח כא ע״א (מדרש הנעלם) 30 עיין בבלי ברכות יח ע״ב 31 עיין בר׳ ג,כד

עמ' רסח

4 ליצרף) לישרף ק | פנקס) פרדס ק 10 של פתח ק 21 משם ל
22 מזיו השכינה האכקלריא (?) המאירה ל 26 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל ל

6 ישׁ' ד,ה 11 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"ב 13 שה"ש ה,ז 15 שם
16 עיין בבלי זבחים סב ע"א, חוספות מנחות קי ע"א ד"ה: ומיכאל; זח"א
פ ע"א 20 עיין חגיגה שם 22 ע"פ דב' יב,ט 24 שם לג,א 25
במ' יב,ג 28 ישׁ' לב,ט

*5 בז"ח: ענן; ועיין שו' 7.
*15 כאן ממשיך כ"י ל.
*21 בז"ח: ונעשין.

עמ' רסט

2 כשהוא ל | מכח החכמה) מצד הרחמי' מכח החכ' ל 3 (האלהים) לק
6 מן) של לק 11 (הגדול) ל 11 מז' מעלות) מד' מחנות ל 15 ונאצל)
ונוטל ל 17 סופו לק 19 לבושו של הקב"ה ל | לקח לק 20 בשלמה א
22 היוא) הוה ל הויה ק 25 שערי אורה שערי קבלה ל 29 ואצ"ל) ואז"ל
ל | כי סוד הכסא ל

3 עיין בבלי סוטה יז ע"א 6 שם 8 שמ' לג,כג 10 ע"פ תהל' קג,כ 11
פדר"א פ"ד | ע"פ אס' א,יד 12 ישׁ' ו,ב 14 פי' ר' עזרא על שה"ש ג,ט
16 ב"ר פ"ג, ד, עמ' 20 19 פדר"א פ"ג 20 ההל' קד,ב 21 איוב לז,ו
23 בר' א,ג | עיין ב"ר פ"ג, ב, עמ' 19 בח"נ שם ובמ"י, והשווה זח"א טז ע"ב,
ל ע"ב, מה ע"ב, ועוד 25 דב' לג,ב 26 עיין למעלה, עמ' קלב, שו' 2 |
מל"א י,יט (לכסה, ועיין דה"ב ט,יח) 27 ע"פ משׁ' כד,כו 28 ע"פ תהל' יט,
יא | שם לד,יג 29 ע"פ ירׁ' כג,לו 31 חב' ג,ג 32 מל"א שם

עמ' רע

4 מוציאי' ומבינים ל 10 הוא"ו הראוי ל | לכסא שמות יודעות של ל שמותם
נודעות של ק 11 לכסא ק 30 אלינו) אלהיגו ק

3 שמ' כ,ב 4 ברׁ' ל,ב 11 תהל' קיט,קם | עיין בעל הטורים לברׁ' א,א
12 מל"א שם 13 שמ' לג,כג 15 תהל' קלט,ה 16 שם 18 מל"א שם
(וטנים אדיות עמדים) 19 ע"פ יחז' א,ז; דני' י,ו 20 ישׁ' ו,ב 21 שם
25 דה"ב ט,יט; מל"א שם, כ (עומדים שם על שש) 30 דב' שם 32 תנח',
וזאת הברכה, סי' ה; דב' שם

*14 כאן נפסק כ"י ל.
*27 צ"ל: רי"ו; עיין למעלה, עמ' קלג, שו' 11.

עמ' רעא

1 כמדות ק 6 ואתא) ואתה א 16 באומנה) באמונה א 24 עי') פי' עי' ק

4 איוב טז,יט (ושהדי) 6 תהל' יט,ח 8 שמ' כה,כא 11 שם לא,יח, ועוד |
דב' לא,כח | מדרש אגדה, פיקודי, לח 14 יהוׁ' ג,יא 15 קה' ג,יד | עיין ב"ר
פ"ח, ב, עמ' 57 בח"נ שם, שו' 7–8 16 ע"פ תהל' יט,ח? | ע"פ אס' ב,כ
17 משׁ' ח,ל 18 תהל' צ,ד 19 שם קד,לא 20 בבלי סנהדרין לח ע"ב;
אדר"נ, נו"א, פ"א; פדר"א פי"א; ועוד 21–23 דב' לג,ו 22 תהל' קלג,ב
24–26 דב' שם, כז 25 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"ב; סדר רבה דבראשית (בתי
מדרשות, כרך א', עמ' מה), סי' מו; בראשית רבתי, עמ' 48 27 עיין ירׁ' מח,
יא 28 דב' שם, כח 30 זכ' יד,ט 31 דב' לב,יב 32 שם לג, שם |
ע"פ ישׁ' ה,כז; תהל' קכא,ד

עמ' רעב

1 משׁ' כב,ט 2–3 דב' שם 4 הוׁ' יד,ו 5–12 דב' שם, כט 9 ע"פ
שמ"ב כב,לא; תהל' יח,לא 14–17 דב' לד,ה (בגי) 19 שם לג,כא; עיין
מאמר על פנימיות התורה (כתבי רמב"ן, מהד' שעוועל, ירוש. תשכ"ד, כרך ב')
עמ' הסח 20 דב' לד,ז 23 ברׁ' יד,ז 27 תהל' קיד,ה 28–32 דב'
שם, י 28 ספדי, וזאת הברכה, פי' שנז, עמ' 430

עמ' רעג

10 (ואמ'... כו') ק 11 נשלם ברוך יי לעולם אמן ואמן. בנל"כ ואע"י ק
12 (נשלם... אמן (שו' 15)) ק | ישמח הכותב ויגיל הקורא בעז' הבורא. ברוך
יהיה מי שיקרא בו וימצא טעות אל יאשמיני שרוב הטעות הוא מן הס' שהעתקתי
ממנו כך נ"ל. נשלם יום ה' ל"ג בעומר שנת הַרְאֵנִי נא את כבודך. ק
16 קניתי אותו ע"י החכם השלם כה"ר דוד ן' שושן נר"ו אפרופוס (צ"ל אפוטרופוס)
היהום בנו של הנגיד כה"ר יצחק שולאל נ"ע אני דוד ן' אבי זמרה א2

2–4 דב' שם, יב 8 תהל' יט,ח 9 ישׁ' סד,ג 10 שם ס,כא 11 תהל'
פט,נג | ע"פ ישׁ' מ,כט

עמ' רעד

* ע"פ כ"י ששון 596, עמ' כא-כח; עיין במבוא, § 2.3.

עמ' רעה

4 ישׁ' מב,כא; עיין תנח', בהעלותך, סי' ב 5 ע"פ דב' לב,ט 6 שה"ש ב,ד
8 עיין בבלי חגיגה יב ע"ב, מנחות קי ע"א ובתוספות שם; זח"א פ ע"א 13 תהל'
קלג,ב 16 ע"פ בר' יד,יח 17 דני' ז,ט 18 ויק' יט,לב 20 עיין רמב"ם,
משנה תורה, הלכות יסודי התורה, פ"א, מ"ג 21 ע"פ שופ' ה,כא | תהל' שם
22 שם שם, ג 25 זכ' ד,ב (ושבעה נרתיה עליה) 27 שם 31 שמ' כה,לא

עמ' רעו

1 עיין תנח' ב', בהעלותך, סי' ד 7 בר' מד,ב (ואת) 9 תנח', בהעלותך,
סי' ב 11 משׁ' ו,כג | דני' ב,כב (שרא) 12 תהל' קלט,יב 17 מל"א ו,ד
22 השווה רמב"ם, משנה חורה, הלכות יסודי התורה, פ"א, מ"ג 25 תנה' שם
27 ישׁ' ס,א-ג 31 שם ל,כו 32 שמ' שם, לב (האחד)

עמ' רעז

2 הנח' שם, סי' ג 3 שמ' כה,ב | השווה זח"ב נ ע"א 9 ויק' יד,לד-לה
14 שמ' שם, ח 17 השווה זח"ב קלה ע"א 23 עיין בבלי סוטה ה ע"א; ב"ר
פי"ט, ז, עמ' 176 25 תהל' קמב,א 26 החבור שייך לכחבי חוג העיון; עיין
ג. שלוםUrsprung עמ' 228, 394 32 תהל' שם, ב

*26 צ"ל: ואצ"ל.

עמ' רעח

3 עיין בבלי ברכות לב ע"א 9 תהל' שם, ג 12 שם 13 ע"פ ויק' יח,יח
16 תהל' שם, ד 18 ע"פ ישׁ' לב,טו 19 בר' ב,י 22 איכה ד,טו | ע"פ
שמ' יז,א 23 ע"פ בר' מז,יג 24 עיין ב"ר פפ"ד, טז, עמ' 1020 26 שמ'
כג,כה 27 ויק' כו,ג,יד-מג | דב' כו,א; כח,טו-סט 29 תהל' שם, ד
31 עיין משׁ' כג,כז 32 תהל' שם

עמ' רעט

1 תהל' שם 3 ע"פ שם נה,כג 4 שם קמב,ה 6 שם (ואין) 11 שם
12 שם | משׁ' יא,יד 13 שם כה,כו 14 תהל' שם, ו 16 שם שם, ז
18 שם | שם 19 שם שם, ח 23 שם 25 זכ' יד,ט 28 בר' ב,י
29 עיין ב"ר פי"ט, ז, עמ' 176, ועוד 30 שמ' כה,מ (אשר, ועיין שם
כז,ת)

*22 צ"ל: כאשר יש למעלה יש למטה.

עמ' רפ

1 שמ' כה,יא 3 איוב כח,טו 6 תנח', ויקהל, סי' ז; ירוש' שקלים פ"ו,
ה"א; ועיין בבלי יומא עב ע"ב 9 תנח' שם; בבלי יומא שם 13 ע"פ קה' ט,
יז 19 משׁ' ח,לו | בבלי שבת קיד ע"א 26 ישׁ' נח,יד 27 ע"פ שמ' שם
29 עיין שם כט,ו 32 השווה תנח' שם, ח; בבלי יומא שם; שמ"ר פל"ד, ג

עמ' רפא

2 בר' ב,י 4 עיין רמב"ם, מורה נבוכים, ח"ג, פי"ח 7 שמ' כה,כ
9 ההל' קמז,כ 12 איוב כח,יב 18 שה"ש ה,י 22 ע"פ שמ' כו,לו, ועוד
24 שם כה,כא 27 שם שם, כב 28 ע"פ נח' ח,א 32 שמ' שם, כג | עיין
מ' אבות פ"ו, מ"ה

*10 צ"ל: ואצ"ל.

עמ' רפב

2 יחז' מא,כב 3 ויק' כד,ו 9 קה' ה,ז 10 שמ' שם, כד | עיין מ' אבות
פ"ו, מ"ה

*5 אולי צ"ל: אח"כ בשעה.

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Levene, Dan; (2000) Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity - A Corpus of Magic Bowls. Doctoral thesis (Ph.D), University of London. Green open access

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Abstract
Since the first magic bowl text in Jewish Aramaic was edited by Thomas Ellis in 1859 there have only been just over 100 such texts published. Among the most significant contributors were James A. Montgomery, Cyrus Gordon, Edwin Yamauchi, Markham J. Geller, joined more recently by Tapani Harviainen, Christa Muller-Kessler as well as Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked. This dissertation includes text editions with critical apparatus for twenty hitherto unpublished magic bowl texts in Jewish Aramaic. The commentary contains philological analyses and comparison with other published and unpublished bowls, Jewish amulets from Late Antiquity, magical Geniza material, classic Jewish sources up to the medieval period, Hekhalot, and Jewish liturgy. Special features and differences between duplicate texts are discussed. A comprehensive glossary, lists of names, and photographs of the bowls are provided. The introduction includes a description of the bowls, a review of the main grammatical features of the Jewish Aramaic dialect of the bowls, a discussion of some other sources with which these texts share material and motifs and an analyses of the importance of duplicate texts. The limited number of bowl texts which are available for study means that many of the problems which have risen in the process of editing have remained unsolved. This new corpus includes a wide spectrum of material including rare curse texts, legal as well as liturgical formula, new lexical material and parallels to previously published texts which allow corrections and in some cases new readings. The occasional

employment of other contemporary dialect forms as well as non-Jewish motifs expose the world of magical practice in Late Antiquity to have been fertile ground for cross cultural exchanges.

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Eleazar ben Judah, of Worms, approximately 1176-1238
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Judah ben Samuel, approximately 1150-1217
קורח, שלמה בן יחיא. סודות שמים.
Ḳoraḥ, Shelomoh ben Yiḥya, 1935-2018
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Extract
A new text edition usually stimulates further publications and evaluations of similar texts. This situation particularly applies to J. Naveh and S. Shaked, Magic spells and formulae (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993), since much new material has come to light in recent years. The present article consists of additional texts which have special relevance to the above mentioned volume (see my review of Naveh-Shaked in this issue). Two magic bowls which appeared at Sotheby's (London) in 1985 were copied by me and sent to Naveh and Shaked for study and publication. One bowl in Jewish Aramaic script (Text A) was also copied by the present writer, but the bowl was not easily legible, and Naveh and Shaked chose not to include it within the corpus of bowls, because neither the photographs nor the hand copy were sufficiently reliable. Since the present owner and location of the bowl is unknown, I have included my hand copy of the bowl here, with an attempt to read as much as is reasonably legible, in the hope that eventually the bowl will reappear and corrections to these readings can be made, through collation of the original. A second bowl, in Syriac script, was edited by Naveh and Shaked (Bowl 17), but since they chose not to publish the hand copy of the bowl, it is given below (as Text B).

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AI Overview
"Sode Razaya" (or more accurately, Sodei Razaya) is the title of a major work of Kabbalistic mysticism by Rabbi Eleazar of Worms, also known as Eleazar ben Judah of Germiza. It is a multifaceted text composed of several books, including "Sefer Alfa Beta" (Book of the Alphabet) and "Sefer Ha-Cheshek" (Book of Desire), and deals with topics like Merkavah mysticism and divine names.
Author: Rabbi Eleazar of Worms (c. 1160–1230), a German Kabbalist and a student of the Baal Shem of Worms.
Title meaning: "Sodei Razaya" translates to "Secrets of Raziel" or "Secrets of Mysteries".
Content: The work is a collection of smaller books, each focusing on a specific aspect of Kabbalah. Some parts include:
Sefer Alfa Beta: The "Book of the Alphabet," which is the first part.
Sefer Ha-Yichud: The "Book of Unity".
Sefer Ha-Cheshek: The "Book of Desire," which explains how to express a desire and invoke specific divine names like Metatron.
Peirush Al Sefer Yetzirah: A commentary on the Sefer Yetzirah (Book of Formation).
Historical context: It represents an early attempt to systematize Kabbalistic thought,

particularly concerning Merkavah (Chariot) mysticism.
Eleazar of Worms - Wikipedia
Sode Raza, a treatise on the mysteries of the "Merkabah." Part of this ... ^ Sefer Sodei Razia, Introduction to Part I. ^ "The Las...

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Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus

Sketch/Engraving of Eleazar of Worms
Personal life
Born c. 1176
probably Mainz, Electorate of Mainz
Died 1238
Worms, Holy Roman Empire
Spouse Dulcea of Worms
Religious life
Religion Judaism
Eleazar of Worms (אלעזר מוורמייזא - also מגרמייזא of Garmiza or Garmisa) (c. 1176–1238), or Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus, also sometimes known today as Eleazar Rokeach ("Eleazar the Perfumer" אלעזר רקח) from the title of his Book of the Perfumer (Sefer ha rokeah ספר הרקח)—where the numerical value of "Perfumer" (in Hebrew) is equal to Eleazar, was a prominent Kabbalist and halakhic authority, among the greatest of the Hasidei Ashkenaz and a disciple of Rabbi Judah the Pious.

He was the author of the Sefer ha-Rokeach (Rokeach in gematria = Eleazar), one of the Tosafists, and wrote many Kabbalistic works, most of which survive only in manuscript form. He served as a rabbi and judge in Worms, and instituted customs still observed in Ashkenazic communities today.

He was called "the Rokeach" after his book,[1] though he was often mistakenly referred to as "Rabbi Eliezer of Germiza".[2] Due to this confusion, he was sometimes wrongly identified as Eliezer the Great.[3][4]

Biography
Rabbi Eleazar was born around 1165 in Mainz to his father and teacher, Rabbi Judah ben Kalonymus of Mainz (known as the RIBaK), one of the greatest sages of his time. He traveled among centers of Torah in Germany and northern France. He learned Torah from his father and Kabbalah from his relative Rabbi Judah the Pious.[5] He married the granddaughter of the RiBaN (Rabbi Yehuda ben Natan).[6]

Among his prominent students was Rabbi Isaac ben Moses of Vienna, author of "Or Zarua". He signed the Enactments of SHU"M (Speyer, Worms, and Mainz). His date of death is uncertain, with estimates ranging from 1232 to 1242. He is buried in Worms.

Massacre of the Jews of Metz during the First Crusade, by Auguste Migette.
He suffered greatly during attacks on the Jewish community, leading him to move from Mainz to Worms where he became rabbi. On the night of 22 Kislev 1196 (14

November),[7] two intruders broke into his home during his study of the verse “And Jacob dwelt in safety,” wounded him and his son, and murdered his wife Dulcea, his 13-year-old daughter Belat, and his six-year-old daughter Hannah.[8] He wrote:

...And they split open the head of my daughter Belat... and also my daughter Hannah, and she died... My wife the righteous woman got up and cried that we were being murdered. The villains struck her in the head, shoulder, and across her back, and she fell and died. I closed the door and we cried until help came from Heaven.

I remained destitute, in great poverty and suffering.

Yet, at the end of his lamentation, he justifies God’s judgment:

Woe unto me for my wife, woe for my daughters, I will mourn with a lamentation—how great are my sins.

The Judge is faithful who judged me,

In my sin and transgression He humbled me, I shall bless Him for every measure and sing His praise,

To Him I bow and prostrate myself.

Some scholars argue that parts of the lament were added later or copied incorrectly, as it refers to sons having died even though earlier he mentions that his surviving son was treated by his wife and lived.[9]

One of the attackers was apprehended a week later, brought to justice, and executed. Following these events, Rabbi Eleazar focused on composing his Sefer ha-Rokeach and teaching via writing, as direct instruction had become difficult.

Eleazar developed a vigorous activity in many directions. On the one hand, he was a Talmudist of vast erudition, a liturgist gifted with a clear and easy style, and an astronomer, and was well versed in the sciences open to the Jews of Germany at that time. At the same time, he was an adventurous mystic who experienced visions, seeing legions of angels and demons. He exerted himself to spread mystical systems which went far beyond the conceptions of the classical authors of Jewish esoterica. In his mystical works he developed and gave a new impulse to the mysticism associated with the letters of the alphabet. By the gematria and notarikon systems of interpretation found in the Talmud, Eleazar invented new combinations by which miracles could be performed. The haggadic anthropomorphism which he had combated in his earlier works (Ha-Roḳeaḥ, Sha'are ha-Sod weha-Yiḥud) occupied later the foremost place in his mystical writings. Eleazar's great merit therefore lies not only in his new mystical system, but also in his ethical works. In these he shows greatness of soul and a piety bordering upon asceticism. Though so severely tried by fate, he inculcates cheerfulness, patience, and love for humanity.

Unlike Rabbi Judah the Pious, he signed his writings by name (usually as "the small one"). He was the first to do so.

Rabbi David Gans dated his death to 1238, and many scholars followed him. However, Ephraim Elimelech Urbach noted that Rabbi Eleazar is cited as deceased in works from 1232 and 1234, suggesting an earlier death. Yet, a signature by him exists from 1224, so his death likely occurred between these years. He is buried in the Old Cemetery in Worms.[10]

Sefer ha-Rokeach
His main work, "Sefer ha-Rokeach", is a halakhic text including legal rulings, customs, and their reasons according to the Tosafist tradition. It combines pilpul, halakhic conclusions, ethical insights, and many gematriot.

He taught that the reward for mitzvot depends on one's struggle. A mitzvah that is difficult to perform earns more reward than "a hundred mitzvot performed easily."

The book frequently references Kiddush Hashem and reasons that if a person would die for his faith, he can surely resist lesser sins.

Another halakhic work is "36 Sha'arim" on the laws of shechita and treifot.[11]

Joy in worship
Rabbi Eleazar praised serving God with joy, quoting from the Torah on the verse: "Because you did not serve the Lord with joy and gladness of heart..." He wrote:

One should always think how to do God's will. Pleasures with one's wife and children are insignificant compared to loving the Creator... Even the satisfaction of a man uniting with a woman after a long separation is as nothing compared to the joy of doing God's will.[12]

Repentance
He emphasized repentance from sexual sin. Following the Sefer Hasidim, he categorized levels of repentance including "Teshuvat HaBa'ah"—returning to the scene of sin but resisting. He also supported ascetic forms of repentance—painful self-afflictions proportionate to the pleasure derived from sin, known as "Teshuvat HaMishkal".

Joseph Dan argued this elite form of teshuva was ideal in Ashkenazi Hasidism, though dangerous for most people.

Kabbalistic Thought
He wrote many Kabbalistic works, rich in gematria. Rabbi Tzvi Elimelech of Dinov in the Bnei Yissaschar emphasized that the Rokeach's teachings were from Elijah the Prophet.[13]

His concept of "Kavod" as an intermediary, non-created emanation of God, was adapted cautiously from Saadia Gaon and his teacher Rabbi Judah the Pious.

Halakhic customs
Rabbi Eleazar instituted several customs, including:

Taking three steps backward before reciting "Hashem, open my lips" before the Amidah.
Responding "Baruch Hu u'Varuch Shemo" after the zimun in Birkat Hamazon.
Reciting the verse "He wraps Himself in light as a garment..." when examining tzitzit.
Substitute prayers for Kaddish and "Barchu" if not heard in public.[14]
Not saying Tachanun during the month of Nisan.[15]
The earliest source for the kitniyot prohibition on Passover is found in his Pesach derasha.[16]

Works
Ethical works
Ha-Roḳeaḥ, ("The Perfumer"), a halachic guide to ethics and Jewish Law for the common reader. The title derives from the numerical value of the word רקח, which corresponds to that of אלעזר. The book is divided into 497 paragraphs containing halachot and ethics; first published at Fano, 1505.[17]
Adderet ha-Shem, still extant in manuscript in the Vatican Library.
Moreh Ḥaṭṭa'im, or Seder ha-Kapparot, on penitence and confession of sin, first published at Venice, 1543. This work, which is included in the Hilkot Teshubah of the Ha-Roḳeaḥ, has been reproduced many times under various titles. It appeared under the title Darke Teshubah at the end of the responsa of Meir of Rothenburg in the Prague edition;[18] as Inyane Teshubah, or Seder Teshubah, in the Sephardic ritual of 1584; as Yesod Teshubah, with additions by Isaac ben Moses Elles, first published in 1583; as Yore Ḥaṭṭa'im ba-Derek; and as Sefer ha-Kapparot. The title adopted here is the same as that given in the Kol Bo, in which the work was reproduced.
Sefer ha-Ḥayyim, treating of the unity of God, of the soul and its attributes, and of the three stages (recognized by the ancients as "plant, animal, and intellectual") in man's life.
Sha'are ha-Sod ha-Yiḥud weha-Emunah, a treatise on the unity and incorporeality of God, combating the anthropomorphism of the Aggadah (published by Adolf Jellinek in the Kokabe Yiẓḥaḳ collection [xxvii.].[8]
Kether Shem Tov. The Crown Of The Good Name, by Avraham ben Alexander of Cologne, disciple of Eleazar Ben Yehudah of Worms: Ethical-Kabbalist book.[19]
Pietistic works
Yir'at El, still extant in manuscript in the Vatican Library, containing mystical commentaries on Psalm 67, on the Menorah, and on Sefirat ha-Omer. In 2001 this work was published as part of the book דרוש המלבוש והצמצום.[20]
Sefer ha-Kabod, mystical explanations of various Biblical passages (Adolf Neubauer, Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS. No. 1566, 1).
Yayin ha-Reḳaḥ, mystical commentaries on the Five Megillot. Those on Book of Ruth

and the Song of Songs were published at Lublin, 1608.[21]
A commentary on Psalm 145. (MS. De Rossi No. 1138).
A commentary on the prayers mentioned by Joseph Solomon Delmedigo in his Maẓref la-Ḥokmah (p. 14b).[22] Printed by Hirshler.
Ta'ame we-Sodot ha-Tefillah (Neubauer, ib. No.1575.)
Perush 'al Sefer Yeẓirah, a commentary on the Sefer Yetzirah, being extracts from Shabbethai Donnolo's commentary. Fragments of this work were first published at Mantua in 1562, later in several other places; a complete edition was printed at Przemyśl, 1883.[23]
Midrash we-Perushʿal ha-Torah, mystical commentary on the Torah mentioned by Chaim Yosef David Azulai, recently printed by klugman.
Sha'are Binah, in which, interpreting Biblical verses by the system of gemaṭriyyot, he shows the origin of many aggadot of the Talmud. This work is frequently quoted by Solomon Alkabetz, in his Manot ha-Lewi.
Shi'ur Qomah, a commentary on the Shi'ur Qomah, the Pirqe de-Rabbi Yishma'el, and Merkabah mysticism (MS. Michael).
Sefer ha-Ḥokmah, mystical treatise on the various names of God and angels, and on the seventy-three 'Gates of the Torah'.
Sefer ha-Shem, mystical dissertations on the names of twenty-two letters, with a table of permutations (Neubauer, ib. No. 1569, 4).
Eser Shemot, commentary on the ten names of God (MS. Michael, No. 175).
A commentary on the piyyuṭ "Ha-Oḥez."
Six small cabalistic treatises entitled Sod ha-Ziwwug, Sefer ha-Ne'elam, Sefer Mal'akim, Sefer Tagim, Sefer Pesaq, and Sefer ha-Qolot, all of which are still extant in manuscript (Neubauer, ib. 1566).
Liqquṭim, mystical fragments, mentioned by Menahem Recanati.
Sode Raza, a treatise on the mysteries of the "Merkabah." Part of this work was published at Amsterdam in 1701, under the title Sefer Razi'el ha-Gadol. In the introduction[24] the editor says that he decided to publish this book after having seen that the greater part of it had been produced in French under the title Images des Lettres de l'Alphabet.[8]
In addition to these works, Eleazar wrote tosafot to many Talmudic treatises, referred to by Bezalel Ashkenazi in his Shiṭṭah Mequbbeṣet; a commentary on "Sheqalim" in the Jerusalem Talmud, cited by Asher ben Jehiel in his commentary to that treatise in the Babylonian Talmud; thirty-six chapters on the examination of ritually slaughtered animals (MS. Michael No. 307). Leopold Zunz enumerates fifty-five liturgical poems and dirges composed by Eleazar and occurring in the Ashkenazic maḥzorim, qinnot, and seliḥot.[8]

For an extensive list of his attributed works, including halakhic, kabbalistic, liturgical, and ethical texts, see the Hebrew article or consult:

Israel Kammerer, Rabbeinu Eleazar of Worms, the Rokeach, Rzeszow 1930.
Avigdor Aptowitzer, Introduction to Ra'avyah, Jerusalem 1938, pp. 316–318.
Encyclopaedia Hebraica, Vol. 3, Jerusalem 1953, pp. 722–724.
Joseph Dan, Hasidei Ashkenaz in Jewish Thought, Open University Press.

Ephraim Urbach, Ba'alei ha-Tosafot, Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1976, pp. 388–411.

Descendants

Among his descendants is Rabbi Elazar Rokeach of Amsterdam, author of Maaseh Rokeach, founder of the Rokeach rabbinic dynasty. Ephraim Zalman Margolies, genealogist and halakhist, also claimed descent and served as a reference point for many rabbinic lineages in Central and Eastern Europe.

Further reading

Israel Kammerer, Rabbeinu Eleazar of Worms – The Rokeach, Rzeszow, 1930 (Hebrew).
Avigdor Aptowitzer, Introduction to the Ra'avyah, Jerusalem, 1938, pp. 316–318.
Encyclopaedia Hebraica, vol. 3, Jerusalem–Tel Aviv, 1953, pp. 722–724.
Joseph Dan, Hasidei Ashkenaz in the History of Jewish Thought, The Open University of Israel.
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Simcha Emanuel, “The Halakhic Writings of R. Eleazar of Worms,” Tzaddikim Journal, vol. 16–17 (2001), pp. 231–243.

External links

Commentary of R. Eleazar of Worms on the Torah and Megillat Esther (HebrewBooks)
Maaseh Rokeach (HebrewBooks) – Halakhic work attributed to Rabbi Eleazar of Worms
National Library of Israel Digital Collections – Digitized manuscripts and works attributed to Rabbi Eleazar of Worms

Sources

See for example: Etz Chaim by Chaim Vital, Shaar HaAhava, Chapter 11, p. 110 where he is cited as "the Rokeach". The name appears in many print and online sources.

See the title page of the 1557 edition of Sefer ha-Rokeach, where he is named "Eliezer of Germiza". This error was perpetuated in subsequent editions, including Lviv 1859, Warsaw 1880, and modern editions. Some scholars such as Shlomo Bloch also used this mistaken name.

Some even conflated titles, referring to him as "Rabbi Eliezer the Great of Germiza (the Rokeach)"—see the book "Shemot HaTzaddikim" and some editions of the prayerbook "Tefilat Kol Peh".

This error also led to misidentification of manuscripts and events by researchers. See the introduction to "Maaseh Rokeach" by Rabbi Ephraim Zalman Margolies.

See: Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, "Matzref LaChochmah", Basel 1629, fol. 14b

Sefer HaNiyar, siman 44.

See the analysis by Leopold Zunz and others about the exact date and location, and whether the attack was related to the Crusades. Scholars like Kammer and Bloch argue that the murder was criminal rather than religiously motivated.

One or more of the preceding sentences incorporates text from a publication now in the public domain: Singer, Isidore; et al., eds. (1901–1906). "Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus of Worms". The Jewish Encyclopedia. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Retrieved Jan 11, 2017.

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Zunz, Z. G. p. 131; idem, Literaturgesch. p. 318;
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Michael, Heimann Joseph, (1891) Or ha-Ḥayyim, Frankfort-on-the-Main (in Hebrew), No. 487.
Israel Kammerer, "Rabbi Eleazar of Worms", Rzeszow 1930; also Solomon Bloch's "Binian Shlomo" and the "Shomer Tzion HaNe'eman" journal from 1849.
Urbach, "Ba'alei ha-Tosafot", p. 411; see also Tarbitz, vol. 10 (1939), p. 35.
Simcha Emanuel, "The Halakhic Writings of R. Eleazar of Worms", Tzaddikim Journal, vol. 16–17 (2001), pp. 231–243.
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"The Last Words Of Rabbi Tzvi Elimelech of Dinov". Melava Malka Stories. January 8, 2021. Retrieved April 5, 2025.
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18 folios on parchment, modern foliation in pencil in Arabic numerals, complete (collation i-iv4 v2), written by two scribes in neat Italian semi-cursive scripts in brown ink: (1) ff. 2r-9v, ruled in blind (justification 128 x 95 mm.), single-column text of 24 lines, enlarged incipits, periodic vocalization, diagrams on ff. 4rv, and 9, marginalia in hand of primary scribe intermittently throughout (see especially ff. 4rv), catchwords on f. 6v, decorated final words on f. 9; (2) ff. 1v, 10-18, ruled in blind (justification 145-160 x 110 mm.), single-column text of 22-25 lines (f. 1v contains twelve lines in square script with six in semi-cursive below), horizontal lines drawn to separate prayers, partial vocalization on ff. 10, 15v-16, and 17v, small decorative flourishes on ff. 13v, 14v, 15v, scattered worming on ff. 1, 17-18, strong browning throughout, dampstaining on ff. 1, 10, 15-18, small tear in upper margin of f. 10, loss of upper-outer corner of f. 10 affecting a number of words, some text faded or flaked (see especially ff. 12v-13v, 15v-18), puncture affecting some words on ff. 14-16, inner margins reinforced. Late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century limp vellum binding, original ties now missing, lightly soiled, paper pastedowns and flyleaves. Dimensions, page size 185 x 140 mm.; binding 190 x 145 mm.

Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah of Worms' Eser havayot on the esoteric meanings of God's Hebrew Names is one of the most important expressions of Ashkenazi Hasidic thought. This beautiful manuscript is one of the earliest extant copies. Of particular interest is the fact that it is preserved here in the context of a substantial collection of prayers and charms for success and for safety (especially during travel), as well an early exemplar of the standard form used to prepare a get (Jewish writ of divorce).

Provenance

1. While the manuscript has no colophon, it is possible to date and localize it approximately to the end of the fourteenth century in Italy based primarily on the characteristic Italian scripts in which it is written.

2. Solomon Joachim Halberstam (1832-1900), a wealthy Polish Jewish scholar and bibliophile who had acquired hundreds of valuable manuscripts from the libraries of Leopold Zunz (1794-1886) and Samuel David Luzzatto (1800-1865), came into possession of this manuscript and included it when cataloging his own personal collection. The first folio contains his Hebrew initials in pen followed by the manuscript's shelf mark: "No 146".

3. The Judith Lady Montefiore College in Ramsgate, England, purchased 412 manuscripts from Halberstam's collection, including ours. The transaction was carried out by Rabbi Moses Gaster (1856-1939), principal of the College between 1891 and 1896. The manuscript contains the library stamp of the institution, known in Hebrew as Yeshivat Ohel Mosheh vi-Yehudit, on its first and final folios, as well as the library's shelf mark (MS 256) on both its spine and the pastedown of the upper board.

4. Between 1898 and 2001, most of the Montefiore manuscripts, including ours, were placed on permanent loan at Jews' College in London. In 2001, they were returned to the Montefiore Endowment Committee.

5. In 2004, part of the Montefiore Collection, including our manuscript, was sold at auction by Sotheby's in New York (lot 213).

Text

f. 1v, Faded text of the form for a get in twelve lines followed, in smaller script, by instructions for the preparation of the document;

ff. 2-9, Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, Eser havayot, containing expositions on the divine Names; ff. 2rv, introductory description of the ceremony to be performed prior to the transmission of the secrets of God's Names from rabbi to student; [f. 9v, blank];

Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, Eser havayot (the introductory section of his longer treatise, Sefer ha-shem); ed. Aaron Eisenbach, Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, Sefer ha-shem, in Sodei razyei, ed. Jerusalem, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 1-7.

ff. 10-18, Kabbalistic prayers and charms for success and safety during travel and

throughout the day: f. 10, standard text of tefillat ha-derekh (the wayfarer's prayer) with added petitions to angels;

f. 10v, Advice on what to say in order to have one's prayers answered, followed by a tefillat ha-derekh attributed Rabbi Judah ben Samuel he-Hasid (c. 1150-1217) and a prayer of one Rabbi Joshua for protection against Gentiles with evil intentions;

f. 11, Tefillat yihud ha-shem (prayer unifying God's Name) to be recited every day as a protection against all forms of danger;

f. 11v, Prayer for the welfare of the Jewish people and the coming of the messianic era, followed by a charm for protection on a journey involving gathering seven stones and throwing four of them in each of the four directions while reciting angelic names, as well as yet another tefillat ha-derekh;

f. 12, Statement promising a share in the World to Come to those who recite Psalm 29 four times daily without interruption, followed by a tefillat ha-derekh appealing to God to save the petitioner just as He saved David, Elijah, and Enoch;

ff. 12rv, Text of Psalm 90;

f. 12v, Prayer to God to send the petitioner Yohakh (whose name is spelled out by the last letters of Psalm 90:11a: ki mal'akhav yetsavveh lakh) and other angels considered to be patrons and protectors of wayfarers;

f. 13, Directions to recite Psalm 91 and have in mind Yohakh's name;

ff. 13rv, Text of Psalm 17;

f. 13v, Short prayer for success on a journey;

ff. 13v-14, A shemirat ha-derekh (wayfarer's charm) attributed to Rabbi Moses ben Nahman(?) (1194-1270) consisting of fifteen verses, five each taken from the Torah, Prophets, and Writings, followed by a blessing requesting that the same angels sent to protect Jacob (Gen. 32:2-3) do so for the petitioner as well;

f. 14, Prophylactic verses;

f. 14v, The traditional text of the viddui (confessional);

ff. 14v-15, Text of Psalm 25, followed by a prayer for health and for protection against all manner of evil spirit;

ff. 15-16, Prayer attributed to Rabbi Ishmael the High Priest, containing references to angels' names and petitions for protection, success, forgiveness, not forgetting one's knowledge, etc.;

ff. 16-17, Prayer attributed to Elijah the Prophet, containing requests for material blessing and protection from all forms of danger;

ff. 17v-18, Two prayers for those traveling by sea; [f. 18v, blank].

Our manuscript consists of three sections: the standard form of a Jewish writ of divorce, Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah of Worms's Eser havayot (the introductory section of his longer treatise, Sefer ha-shem) and an extensive collection of prayers and charms for success and protection. The first and third elements were likely added by a slightly later scribe after the second work had been copied: the first presumably to take advantage of the blank folio preceding Eser havayot, and the third because of its authorial and thematic connections to the esoteric material in that work.

Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah of Worms (c. 1165-c. 1230) was the last great expositor of the traditions of the Hasidei Ashkenaz, a group of pietists living in Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. His oeuvre includes a wide array of writings, ranging from liturgical poetry and halakhic (Jewish legal) discourse to commentaries on the prayers and esoteric exegesis. His major theological work was Sodei razayya (Secrets of Secrets), a five-part mystical compendium consisting of Sod ma'aseh be-reshit (The Secret of Genesis), Sod ha-merkavah (The Secret of the Chariot), Sefer ha-shem (The Book of the Name), Hokhmat ha-nefesh (The Wisdom of the Soul), and a commentary to the ancient Sefer yetsirah (Book of Creation).

Sefer ha-shem, the largest of the five parts of Sodei razayya, which was written by Rabbi Eleazar around 1220 in Speyer, constitutes the first attempt in Jewish literature to discuss and analyze systematically the various theological and ethical meanings of the Names of God. Despite the fact that, in the estimation of the modern historian Joseph Dan, the book's first major expositor, it should be seen as "the most important expression of the inner core of the Ashkenazi Hasidic religious world" (Dan, 1998, p. 132), Sefer ha-shem was not printed until 2004, in Jerusalem. It was subsequently republished in 2014 as part of a four-volume set of Rabbi Eleazar's writings (Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, ed. Aaron Eisenbach, Jerusalem, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 1-7).

Eser havayot (Ten Essences) is the name given in several manuscripts (though not ours) to the introductory section of Sefer ha-shem. It begins with an outline of the magical ritual to be observed in transmitting the secrets of God's Names from rabbi to student (on which, see Dan, 1998, 1996, 2002, and Wolfson, 1994, at length). It then proceeds to expound on the Tetragrammaton, the four-letter Name of God, with particular reference to the yod with which the Name begins. Yod in Jewish numerology equals ten, and so much of the discussion turns on the various tens to which the yod of God's Name corresponds. One of these is the eser havayot, the ten "essences," which Rabbi Eleazar understands to refer to up, down, north, south, east, west, beginning, end, light, and darkness (or: good and evil). The ensuing mystical-theological discussion draws heavily upon ideas in the Sefer yetsirah and Heikhalot (divine palace) literature.

Immediately following Eser havayot is a collection of prayers and magical formulas to be recited for the purpose of defense against evil spiritual forces or physical threats to one's safety. The latter half of the twelfth century saw a steady growth in the popularity of mystically- and angelologically-tinged private petitions, especially among the Hasidei Ashkenaz (Ta-Shma, 2003). According to Ephraim Kanarfogel, in subsequent generations, these types of texts were often attributed to the most prominent leaders of this group, particularly Rabbi Eleazar and his teacher, Rabbi Judah ben Samuel he-Hasid (as in our manuscript). It makes sense, then, that the later copyist in our manuscript would have appended this series of kabbalistic tefillot and shemirot ha-derekh to an esoteric theological treatise authored by Rabbi Eleazar.

Approximately twenty-four manuscripts of Sefer ha-shem, in whole or in part (most often in the form of Eser havayot), have come down to us. Of these, the vast majority (eighteen) reside in European public collections in Budapest, Florence, Leiden, London, Milan, Moscow, Munich, Oxford, Paris, Parma, and Zurich; two are housed in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York; and one can be found at the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem. Only three are owned privately. Our copy is one of five surviving manuscripts of the work dating prior to the year 1400. The fact that it is accompanied by one of the earliest and most varied manuscript collections of tefillot and shemirot ha-derekh, as well as an important witness to the tradition of how to write a get, makes it a unique and valuable repository of Jewish law, theology, and liturgy.

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Notes on Magical Papyri: Part II

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Abstract
This article completes the author’s series of notes on magical papyri begun in Symbolae Osloenses 96 (2022). New readings and further discussion of content and context, touching on the history of science (medicine, astrology) and religion (Christianity), as well as provisional texts and translations, are offered for eight finished products of magical ritual from Egypt of the Roman and Late Ancient periods on papyrus and other materials (O.Moen inv. 631; PGM XXXIII and XLIII; PGM P 5b, P 6c, P 10, and P 16; Suppl.Mag. II 52). A documentary text on the same sheet as one of them (P.Oxy. VII 1059 back descr.) is given a first full edition.

Keywords:

magical papyriamuletinvocationChristianityastrology

This sequel to a collection of contributions to the interpretation of Greek magical papyri (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2022c), developed in the course of work on the editions of GEMF, is devoted to amulets and other finished products of formularies, which still await their due attention as the focus of a comprehensive editorial project.

1. Suppl.Mag. II 52 (KYP M878): a “letter to the dead” on a sarcophagus panel?

The text was classed by its most recent editors under the rubric “Applied Curses: Pagan”, who identified the adjuration of “a male corpse … against the woman Senblynpnos, because she has neglected his burial”. The substrate, now in the Louvre,Footnote1 which is described in that edition only as an opisthographic “wooden tablet”, deserves further commentary as, in line with a new reading in the first line of the

text, it allows the artifact to be situated in the context of afterlife ritual. A distinctive pair of slightly angled tabs protruding from what are now the top right and bottom right corners (seen from the front, where the text is written across the wood grain) point away from a purpose-cut writing tablet, where they would have been a waste of wood, and towards the re-use of wood, in short supply in Egypt, from a different application: a wooden sarcophagus. The tabs would then have belonged to dovetail joints, and given the size of the object, it could have been the head or foot panel of a plain rectangular coffin.Footnote2 The back bears traces of bitumen, suggesting that it faced inwards in the original disposition of the coffin, in contact with the human remains.

Further support for this theory comes from another internal reference in the text to sarcophagi: the adjuration begins, “I adjure you by the gods who are here and the sarcophagi and your gods, those down in Hades” (ἐζορκίζω σε τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἐνδ̣ααθὶ καὶ τοὺς σα̣κ̣αφάκους καὶ τοὺς θούς σου ⟦π⟧ τοὺς κατ’ Ἅδου). The second member of the triplet of guarantors of the adjuration, σα̣κ̣αφάκους (σα̣ρ̣αφάκους in Suppl.Mag.; for σαρκοφάγους), was taken in the most recent edition as “those” (gods, comparing PGM IV 2865–2867) “who eat flesh”, and the possibility of a reference to the coffins themselves, already raised by Horsley (commentary to New Docs. II 13 [p. 48], but ultimately opting for the translation “(gods of the?) coffins”), was discounted. The surrounding references to gods, however, seem to mark this limb out as distinct. If gods were meant, they could have been specified, as is done in the other two limbs (τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἐνδ̣ααθί, and τοὺς θούς σου ⟦π⟧ τοὺς κατ’ Ἅδου). The argument that the word is inappropriate to denote a coffin in an Egyptian context is based on a literal, etymological reading of σαρκοφάγος that need not have pertained at this date, if the connection to φαγεῖν could even have been perceived through the phonetic spelling. An objection might be raised from the use of the article τούς in place of τάς (compare Poll., Onom. 10.15), but, as Horsley pointed out, the difficulty is not serious; in particular, the presumably understood λίθους could readily have reverted to the masculine gender.

Another parallel for the adjective in the magical papyri, not discussed in Suppl.Mag., is in application to myrrh (ζμύρνα) in PGM IV 1504. The proximate cause there is the wasting effects of erotic passion (ἔρως) to be inflicted on the female target of this “leading-procedure” (ἀγωγή) via the airborne fumigant over which the spell is pronounced, but the role of myrrh in embalming might also be in view: 100 talents of myrrh are requested for the ταφή of a sacred animal in PSI IV 328, and a “myrrh-filled coffin” (ἡ ζυρνίνη [for ζμυρνίνη] σορός) is cited in PGM VIII 97 (see Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2022c, 295–301).

The conjunction of spirits of the human dead, coffins, and ritual practice among the living is rounded out by a reconsideration of the first line of the text, printed σαοραυινιενουτι⟩ο⟋ in the most recent edition. The first editor had wondered about an Egyptian female name for at least the initial σαορ-, but in Suppl.Mag. it is left unarticulated and presented in the translation as if magical words, among which the possibility of “νουτι ο, Egyptian ‘great god’” is raised in the commentary. If the final, suprascript ο is recognized instead as an application of a common mode of abbreviating the genitive of Greek versions of Egyptian personal names in -ις, -ιος, an alternative

division into two personal names presents itself, an addressee in the dative followed by a patronym in the genitive: Σαοραυι Νιενουτιο(ς) [νιενουτιο, tablet]. That is, the text on the tablet is presented as a communication to a deceased person, Saoraus son of Nienoutis, contiguous with the traditional Egyptian letters to the dead and the addresses to “corpse-divinities” (νεκυδαίμονες) common in aggressive magic of the Roman period. The closest points of comparison are thus the adjuration (ἐξορκείζ[ω]) of one Euangelos in PGM XXXII and the command of Horion son of Sarapous in Suppl.Mag. I 37, both for the purposes of erotic magic. Might the claim in the text that this man has been “deprived” (ἀπεστέρηκε) of burial “henceforth” (τὸ λοιπόν) by the target, Senblynpnos, refer to a situation in fact caused by the speaker of the text, inscribed on a panel removed from that burial?

Neither name in the newly proposed reading of the tablet is otherwise attested, but both are sensibly Egyptian. The first is comparable with the writing S³-Ḥr found once in Athribis of the Late Period (Vernus 1978, 105 no. 114) for the more common Sy-Ḥr “Son of Horos” (TM Nam 7992), and the second is apparently a compound with nṯr, perhaps Nš-(p³-)nṯr “He belongs to (the) god” (compare Νεησις: Foraboschi Citation1967–1971, 203), or a shortened form of Πανινουτις (Foraboschi Citation1967–1971, 231; TM Nam 7287) from P³-n³-nṯr.w.

The following revised text and translation can thus be proposed:

front (↓)

Σαοραυι Νιενουτιο(ς)

ἐξορκίζω σε τοὺς

θεοὺς τοὺς ἐνδ̣α-

αθὶ καὶ τοὺς σαḳα-

φάκους καὶ τοὺς

θούς σου ⟦π⟧ τοὺς

κατ’ Ἅδου περὶ

Σενβλυνπνῶτος·

κρᾶξον εἰς τὸν

Ἅδην, μὴ ἀφῇς

τοὺς ἐν Ἅδω τοὺ-

ς θεοὺς καθεύδι-

ν. τὴν ταφήν

σου ἀπεστέ-

ρηκε τὸ λοιπόν.

back (→)

μὴ ἀφῇς τοὺς

θεοὺς καθεύδιν·

εἰσακούσι σε

ὁ Οὔσιρις ὅτι

ἄωορος καὶ

ἄτεκνος καὶ

ἀγύναις καὶ

ἀχά⟨ρ⟩ισσος·

vacat κς̄

1 νιενουτιο tablet || 2 ἐζορκίζω (l. ἐξ-) Suppl.Mag. || 3–4 l. ἐνθαδί (ἐνθάδε Suppl.Mag.) || 4–5 σαṛαφάκους Suppl.Mag.; l. σαρκοφάγους || 5 τουc tablet || 6 l. θεούς || π tablet || 7 l. καθ’ || 8 cενβλυνπνωτοc tablet, υ corr. from ο || 11 l. Ἅδου || 12–13, 17 l. καθεύδειν || 18 l. εἰσακούσει || 20 l. ἄωρος || καί: κ corr. from c? || 22 l. ἀγύναιος || αχαβιccoc tablet, l. ἀχάριστος

(Front) To Saoraus son of Nienoutis: I adjure you by the gods here and by the sarcophagi and by your gods, the ones down in Hades, concerning Senblynpnos. Cry out to Hades, do not let the gods in Hades sleep. She has deprived you of your burial henceforth. (Back) Do not let the gods sleep: Osiris will listen to you, for (you are dead) before your time and without children and without a wife and without good will – (at the age of?) 26.Footnote3

2. PGM XXXIII (P.Tebt. II 275; KYP M767): fever amulet
Although it is not a formulary, this amulet holds a special claim to consideration in the course of GEMF, a Chicago-based editorial project on the Greek magical handbooks on papyrus, due to the role of the Chicago papyrologist Edgar J. Goodspeed in its decipherment during his collaboration with its excavators, Bernard P. Grenfell and

Arthur S. Hunt, in Oxford in 1900. Goodspeed's work is acknowledged in P.Tebt. II only in a general way,Footnote4 but preparatory work on the amulet by him can be identified with certainty, as he wrote of the text in a letter to his mother of 29 June 1900:Footnote5

Just now I must do papyri, all I possibly can. Oh, I did an extraordinary magical one this afternoon; an address to some demon Κόκ Κούκ ΚούL [sic] with a sort of meaningless rebus above it thus

ABLANAT

BLANA

LAN

A

only about ten times this size. If BP. doesn't care for it, I do! But I think he will.

Goodspeed later reconsidered the meaninglessness of the "rebus", to judge from an added annotation beside his copy of it: "The rebus seems to mean 'The (gnostic) god Akramakamari is our Father'." It may indeed have been B. P. (Grenfell) who put the finishing touches on the publication, including a comparison with an amulet first published by Ulrich Wilcken in 1901 (Wilcken Citation1901, 420–427; later reprised as BGU III 956 and PGM XVIIIb), which Goodspeed is unlikely to have known at least in the main period of his work on the Tebtunis papyri. A remark in the commentary to the edition in P.Tebt. II with a verb in the first-person plural presumably refers, as usual, to Grenfell and Hunt.Footnote6

Unusually for papyri from the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt at Tebtunis, the amulet does not bear one of the modern inked processing numbers added by the excavators for reference before publication, the so-called "T-numbers" (O'Connell Citation2007), by which Goodspeed himself cited the papyri in his writings contemporary with his work on them. That absence might lead to the suspicion that such an annotation was once attached to some other surface, like a tube or case in which the amulet might originally have been found, from which it was later separated. No such artifact, however, remained with the amulet, nor can one be located among the finds from Tebtunis in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology in Berkeley. Among those papyri assigned to Goodspeed for contribution to P.Tebt. II in a letter from Grenfell of 5 November 1902, in which the "T-numbers" are used for reference (Hickey and Keenan Citation2021, 141–445, Appendices D–E), two (351, 399) have not yet been identified with the inked numbers on papyri now in the Berkeley collection, and the amulet may be among them. Perhaps, as Hickey and Keenan suggest, these numbers were recorded on the papers between which the papyri were kept,Footnote7 as in other cases, but not copied over to the papyri themselves. If an identification of the T-number of the amulet with either of the missing ones is accepted, two possible contextual groups present themselves:

Group 1

Table

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Group 2

Table

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For the generally accepted third-century date of the amulet, T-399 (Group 2) is most appealing given its proximity to T-406, one of only two papyri dated in that century. Either number is high enough to suggest that the amulet was probably found in a private house in the village and not in its main temple, dedicated to Soknebtunis. That reconstruction would not preclude production by one or more of the experts practicing in this temple, perhaps informed by its substantial holdings of ritual and medical texts.Footnote8 A more robust conclusion is the thoroughly documentary surroundings, giving an impression of amulets as a feature of daily life. The personal copy of a literary text, the Trojan War account of Dictys of Crete (P.Tebt. II 268), on the back of a re-used document (P.Tebt. II 340) is the exception that proves the rule.

The following notes are offered on readings, based on autopsy of the papyrus on several occasions in 2015. Among the many Greek fever amulets on papyrus, which remain to be systematically collected and studied (see in general De Haro Sanchez Citation2010, 132–41), it retains some remarkable details – chiefly the name and epithets of the invoked deity, discussed further below – against others, which first caught the eye of Goodspeed but can now be recognized as common to the genre: the "rebus" αβλαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[ν?] (for the reading, see below) and its graphic deletion as analogy for the removal of the fever (see now Faraone Citation2012, 20).

1 αβλαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[.]. The first line of the diminishing figure was read αβλαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[χ?] by edd.pr., and the tentative restoration of the last letter had become a certainty in the re-printed version of Preisendanz. The end of the line has obviously been damaged; one letter should have been removed from the beginning and end of that sequence in its repetition in the second line, a pattern repeated until only a single α remains in line 18, and the form ending in -μαρα in the second line establishes that one more letter should have stood at the end of the first line, which accords with the available space. Parallels establish that the text is a compound of two independently circulating elements, the first of which is the near-palindrome αβλαναθαναβλα. That analysis leaves ναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[…] for the second element, reminiscent of the more common ακραμμαχαμαρι (see Suppl.Mag. I 10.1 n.; for caution on any Jewish connection: Bohak Citation2003, 81), but like the latter beyond reconstruction as a palindrome. Rather, a more abstract and complex rearrangement of syllables is at work, perhaps at an earlier stage something like the nested doublet-triplet structure αμ αχ αρ | αμ αρ αχ || αρ αμ αχ

| αρ αχ αμ || αχ αρ αμ | αχ αμ αρ. An appealing symmetry to bracket the second element as a whole could thus be gained with the restoration ναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[ν].

20 ταϊδα pap. The trema in the writing of the name of the bearer was omitted in previous editions. The first editors considered the name a psilotic variant of the commoner Θαΐς (Preisigke Citation1922, 126–127; Foraboschi Citation1967–1971, 130; TM Nam 5393), which is generally understood as a Greek name (LGPN I–IIIA, IV, VA–B s.v.), but there may be enough instances of Ταις, including with the stem Ταιδ- in oblique cases (though not yet in the accusative), to warrant analysis as a distinct, Egyptian name (TM Nam 4790): there is at least one other attestation in the Roman Fayum, P.Mich. VIII 512 ro 7 (Ταιν [accusative]; add perhaps Τ̣αι [dative] in O.Mich. I 103.1 with Foraboschi [1967–1971, 305]); see also Preisigke (Citation1922, 406). If the etymology of the latter is Egyptian T³-ḥy, as suggested by P.BM Andrews 1.5, there is no etymological place for the stem consonant /d/, which will have arisen by analogy with Θαΐδ-.

21 The name of the mother was read Τ̣ᾳ̣ρ[….] by the first editors and Τ̣ᾳ̣ρ[αυς] by Preisendanz with reference to Preisigke (Citation1922, 416) (listing only Ταρευ). The supplement was apparently rejected by Foraboschi (Citation1967–1971, 309), but on the original, Ταρᾳ̣[υς] can be read with confidence, possibly with one letter-width of blank space at the end before the formulary resumes.

22–23 νυκτοπυρέ|τ[ο]υ [ἢ c. 5 -πυρέτο]υ̣. The first editors gave in 23 -τ[ο]ῦ […… ὅ]τι, and Preisendanz offered the supplement [ἢ λεπτοπυρετοῦ], but the compound is unattested in amulets; compare, however, λεπτοπυρέτιον in the Kyranides (2.10.8–9, p. 133 Kaimakis) and λεπτοριγοπυρετινόν in the fever amulets P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306.13–14 and 5307.9–10 (which the editor regards as an error for λεπτοριγοπυρέτιον; the same copyist produced P.Oxy. VI 924, which has been re-published by Maltomini [2015] with new readings including another relevant instance: λεπτοριγο{λεπτο}πυρέτιον, 5–6). The parallel structure among the rest of the members in the Tebtunis amulet would favor instead a compound describing the time of day of the fever's onset,

Table

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Parallelism then favors a -πύρετος compound mirroring νυκτοπύρετος in its initial element, and given the natural pairing of νύξ with ἡμέρα, the otherwise unattested *ἡμεροπύρετος "daytime-fever", which would fit the space, is strongly suggested. There are no close parallels in papyrus amulets, but the pairing of night and day as times of onset is found in PGM XVIIIb.6 νυκταιρινοῦ τε καὶ ἡμερι⟨νοῦ⟩, already cited as a close parallel to the Tebtunis amulet by the first editors (see above).

The epithet παρημερινός, attested only here in ancient Greek to the author's knowledge, also supports a new coinage. Late medieval Greek formularies for incantations and amuletic prayers offer further indications of a tradition of ad hoc pyretological coinages. The παρημερινός of the Tebtunis amulet re-appears in a Byzantine narrative incantation acclaiming how Christ "abolished every fever, daily,

every other day, tertian and quartan and second-ian [sic: see below]” (ἐκατέργησεν πάντα πυρετὸν καὶ καθημερινόν, παρημερινόν, τριταῖον καὶ τεταρταῖον καὶ δευτερινόν: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2316, fol. 320v [Legrand Citation1881, 18–19; re-collated]). A list of symptoms for which help is sought in a combined prayer for angelic assistance and exorcism includes fevers of “nighttime or midday” (ἢ νυκτηρινὸς ἢ μεσημβρινός: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. II 163, fol. 69r, a portion omitted from the edition of Pradel [Citation1907, 21]), making *μεσημεροπύρετος “midday-fever” otherwise tempting here but too long. The qualification of fever as “nighttime and all-day” alongside “second-ian (sic), tertian, quartan”, expanding the ancient typology of times of periodic onset every third or fourth day, is found in another formula against “paroxysm” (παροξυσμός). After a compressed narrative of the crucifixion, how “the Christ was raised up, and the devil was wounded, and the man was crucified” (ὁ Χριστὸς ὑψώθη καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἐτραυματίσθη καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐσταυρώθη), the fever is adjured and ordered to depart (ὁρκίζω σε, ὁ ῥιουπύρετος [Ὁρίου πυρετός, ed.] διτταῖος, τριταῖος, τεταρταῖος, ὁ νυκτερινὸς καὶ καθημερινός· ἔξελθε: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1603, fols. 326r–327r [Delatte Citation1927, 554; re-collated]).

23–24. πατρο[c. 21 Κό]κ, edd.pr.; Preisendanz supplemented πατρο[παράδοτος θεὸς ἀκάματος Κό]κ, the latter epithet apparently based on ἀκάμ[ατ]ε in 19, but gave no justification for the rest, which would be the only instance of a compound epithet in πατρο- (let alone πατροπαράδοτος) in the magical papyri, though it can be applied to gods elsewhere (of Zeus Sabazios with respect to Stratonike, mother of Attalos of Pergamon: I.Pergamon I 248.49). The rarity of the divine name is at odds with an acclamation as “ancestral” (πατροπαράδοτος), nor is such a conception of the divine much in evidence in the magical papyri. Human tradition (“you are the god passed down from our forefathers”) is after all a less impressive credential than the acclamations of the feats of deities themselves common in the corpus. An epithet placing the deity in relation to an even more powerful, cosmogonic father suits better the conceptual world of Greek amulets in Egypt: e.g., πατρογένειος, πατρογενής (LSJ 1349 s.vv.) or πατρογέννητος (Lampe Citation1961, 1053a s.v.), whether applied directly to Kok Kouk Koul or applied to the speaker as his offspring (sc., e.g., υἱός), removing the inconcinnity assumed by previous editors of invoking that deity and shortly thereafter claiming to be him.

Two later texts, one from Late Antiquity and the other from Byzantium, go some way towards confirming this reinterpretation of the πατρο- epithet and setting the mysterious Kok Kouk Koul in a clearer light. His name is not discussed in the first edition beyond the identification of a “deity”. In the apparatus to the PGM edition, Preisendanz compared an Egyptian divine name Χουχ, but the third element is left unexplained, and even for the first two the phonology is problematic: in Greek versions the aspiration is maintained with at least one chi. Faraone (Citation2012, 20 n. 59) considered in passing that the same sequence may be abbreviated in some Greek magical gems inscribed with three kappas, which relate to iconography of Herakles, but their expansion is never given by the gems. Brashear (Citation1995, 3590) identified a decan, an idea based on a misunderstanding of a source but which nevertheless points in a productive direction.

The discussion of Gundel cited by him (to which add Gundel [Citation1968, 22], where the possibility has become a certainty) leads to a seminal text of Late Antiquity for both decanology and demonology, the Testament of Solomon, which mentions a suggestively named Kok Phnedismos (18.32), but it is not a decan, rather the name of a power that a decan reveals as the means by which the harm that it inflicts on humanity may be counteracted. This decan has nothing to do with fever, but rather insomnia; four other decans in the Testament are blamed for various fevers (18.18–20, 23), but neither their names nor the angelic and other means of counteracting them show any connection to the Tebtunis amulet.

Progress can be made in a different quarter of the Testament. The demon Lix Tetrax (7), whose name recalls the apotropaic Ephesia Grammata of the Getty Hexameters (SEG LXIV 830), reveals a conjunction of astral lore, occult names, and the pyretological tradition that may be relevant. The demon reports that it dwells near the tip of the crescent moon and presides over the infliction of the “semi-tertian” fever (ἡμιτριταῖος). The pattern expected in the Testament, in which demons and counteracting angels are paired, is eventually imposed upon this episode in favor of the angel Azael (7.7): it belongs to an angelological tradition that proved popular in later Greek texts, in which angels are assigned to concrete spheres of competence (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2018c, 111–112; Citation2024b). Before that, in what appears to be an older traditional stratum (7.6), the demon first offers three names that humans may invoke, whereupon the demon itself heals them. This recommendation fits into another distinct tradition, in which fever is divinized and offered cult (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2020, 75). As for the three names recommended by the lunar demon Lix Tetrax, βουλταλά, θαλλάλ, μελχάλ, their triplicity, and their common ending in -l in another version, βούλ, τάλ, θαλάλ (cod. H), recalls the Kok Kouk Koul of the Tebtunis amulet. Coptic magical texts give further, related triplets in conjunction with fever. Although that branch of the tradition made of the sequence a set of occult names for the three companions of the prophet Daniel, saved from the fiery furnace as analogy for the cure of fever (see in general van der Vliet Citation1991, 236–239; Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2022a, 152), no such connection need pertain in this earlier phase.

A moon-dwelling demon such as the Lix Tetrax of the Testament would naturally be counteracted by a solar deity, an aspect lent to Kok Kouk Koul of the Tebtunis amulet by his epithet ἀκάματος “untiring”. This description is particularly associated with fire in Greek epic (e.g., Hom. Il. 5.4; Od. 20.123), which resonates with the πῦρ-cognates applied to fever in this text. Nor need so specific an association as that with Lix Tetrax be assumed, as a lunar aspect to periodic fever may underlie a reference to the waning moon in the Kyranides as the time to prepare amuletic remedies against fever (2.47, p. 186 Kaimakis). A solar deity would in general provide an appealing opposite of the periodic fever, whose onslaught flags in predictable intervals. The poetic ἀκάματος is also rare enough in the magical papyri to support this association: the formulary Supp.Mag. II 87 invokes a deity under epithets including ἀκάματος, Ἥλιος “Sun” and ὁ προπάτωρ θεός “the forefather god”, to whom the unresolved πατρο- compound in the Tebtunis text might relate. Solar associations continue in the later tradition, as in the following formula for an invocation from a sixteenth-century codex in which “Sir Sun”

(κὺρ Ἥλιε) is asked to take and banish the fever symptoms.

Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 311, fol. 124v

ἐσύ, Ἥλιε, κὺρ Ἥλιε, ὁ ἀνατέλλων ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους καὶ φωτίζων πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἔπαρε τοὺς πόνους τούτους τῆς κεφαρ[αργίας], τὸ ῥῖγος, τὴν θερμασίαν, ψῦχος καὶ πᾶ[σαν] λοιμικὴν ἀσθένειαν ἀπὲ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ ἄγωμε, ῥίψατε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.

You, Sun, sir Sun, who rises upon the just and the unjust [compare Matthew 5:45] and gives light to the whole world, take these headache pains, the shivering, the fever, chill, and all pestilential sickness from the servant of God so-and-so, and go, cast them in the sea.

The symbolic opposition of the two luminaries is also co-opted for a fever amulet in a formulary recipe on papyrus, in which the astrological signs for Sun and Moon are to be written on the light and dark sides of an olive leaf, respectively (PGM VII 214–215).

An example of an ancient fever-fighting motif from the medieval Christian magical tradition, whose substantially unaltered survival from antiquity is relatively uncommon, may draw this excursus to a close. The text, transmitted among medical recipes in a fourteenth-century codex, has implications too for the history of such motifs in the vicinity of Tebtunis itself.

Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 299, fol. 507v

ληξοπύρετα ἐκ τῶν Ὥρου· στέατος κροκοδείλου, ἐγκεφάλου αἰθυίης, χαμαίμηλον βοτάνην, στράχνων φύλλων, λινοσπέρματος, ποταμογείτονος, στρατιώτου ποταμίου μίξας ὁμοῦ πάντα καὶ λειώσας ἐπίβαλε ῥοδίνου καθαροῦ ἀναλόγως καὶ χλίανε ἕως ἂν λάβῃ βρασμὸν καὶ ἐάσας ψυγῆναι καὶ διηθήσας ὀθονίῳ σύγχρισον τὸν πάσχοντα λέγων· δέξαι τὸν ἱδρῶτα τοῦ Κρόνου ἐνβορρακαίθου κομφθηρίου· ⟨λ⟩ῆξον τὸν πυρετὸν τοῦδε ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρᾳ· λέγει σοι ὁ μέγας θεός, πρωτογεννήτου Ὀμβορόθου κρομφθηρίου· λῆξον τὸν πυρετὸν τοῦδε ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρᾳ.

Fever-stoppers, from the (works) of Horus:Footnote9 some crocodile’s fat, shearwater’s brain, chamomile plant, strychnos leaves, flaxseed, pondweed, water-lettuce, mix all together, emulsify, and add some pure rose-oil in proportion and heat until it comes to the boil. Let cool and strain with a cloth and anoint the patient, saying, “Receive the sweat of Kronos enborrakaithos komptherios. Reduce the fever of this (man) at the present moment. The great god speaks to you, (son) of the first-born omborothos kromphtherios. Reduce the fever of this (man) at the present moment.”

The composition shows Egyptian textual motifs with direct phraseological debts to an Egyptian background, a rich stratum that would repay further study. There is a traditional Egyptian divinization of ritual substances with respect to Greek assimilation of Egyptian gods, here Kronos as manifestation of the crocodile god Sobek (see further

below) suggested by the use of crocodile fat in the recipe. That Egyptian connection is confirmed more generally by the boast of proof by testing, the urge to conceal, the formulaic expression of urgency, the reported speech of a “great god”, and more specifically by a command to “receive” a substance, which has parallels in other Greek magical papyri for similarly divinized substances involved in the ritual (PGM XXXVI 286–287; LXI 7–9).

The Fayum region, to which the Tebtunis amulet belongs, suffered well into modern times from high incidence of the malaria that likely underlies the periodic fever of Taïs (Scheidel Citation2001, 77), and it would have been fertile ground too for diverse approaches to the disease’s symptomatic fevers. A natural ally would be the region’s chief deity, the ancient Egyptian Sobek, equated with the Greek Kronos (Ronchi Citation1974–1977, 3:591; Kockelmann Citation2017, 1:173–179), and the honorand of the chief temple of Tebtunis. Kronos recalls a claim of the medical author Theodore Priscian, who cites an ancient conception of quartan fevers as daughters of Saturn (Physica, pref. §3, pp. 250–251 Rose), with whom Kronos was also linked; Kronos would then, not unlike John the Baptist in later Greek ritual texts (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2020), figure in both causation and removal of fever. He is appropriate also in his crocodile form, marsh-dwelling but admirably thick-skinned and unbothered by mosquitoes, if the ancients had any premonition of such correlations. In the Vatican codex the reported speech of a god who is himself “the one of” or “the son of” the “first-born” (πρωτογέννητος), justifying the preceding imperative, recalls again the Tebtunis amulet, where πατρογέννητος (or πατρογενής) has still more reason to be considered in the resolution of the πατρο- compound.

24. After this line, Preisendanz assumed a lacuna and restored another line, [ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ], a possibility already considered in the commentary to the first edition. There is nothing to prevent the invocation from ending more succinctly after the ὅτι clause.

These proposals lead to the following text and translation:

αβλαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα[ν?]

βλαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρα

λαναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμαρ

αναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμα

5 ναθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαραμ

αθαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαρα

θαναβλαναμαχαραμαραχαρ

αναβλαναμαχαραμαραχα

ναβλαναμαχαραμαραχ

αβλαναμαχαραμαρα

βλαναμαχαραμαρ

λαναμαχαραμα

αναμαχαραμ

ναμαχαρα

αμαχαρ

μαχα

αχ

α

ἀκάμ[α]̣τε Κοκ Κουκ Κουλ παῦ[σο]ν τὴν

Ταϊδα ἀπὸ παντὸς ῥίγους· ἣν ἔτεκεν

Ταρα[υς·] τριταίου ἢ τεταρταίου ἢ καθη-

μερινοῦ ἢ παρημερινοῦς ἢ νυκτοπυρέ-

[τ]ο[υ] ἢ ἡμεροπυρέτου? ὅ]τι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πατρο-

[γέννητος? . . . . . Κο]κ Κ[ο]υκ Κ̣ου[λ].

. . . . . .

7 θαναβλα-: β corr. from λ || 19 κοκ⁄ κουκ⁄ κουλ⁄ pap. || 20 ταϊδα pap. || 22 l. παρημερινοῦ || 24]κ⁄ κ[ο]υκ⁄ pap.

ablanathanablanamacharamaracharamara[n?]

ablanathanablanamacharamaracharamara

lanathanablanamacharamaracharamar

anathanablanamacharamaracharama

nathanablanamacharamaracharam

athanablanamacharamarachara

thanablanamacharamarachar

anablanamacharamaracha

nablanamacharamarach

ablanamacharamara

blanamacharamar

lanamacharama

anamacharam

namachara

amachar

macha

ach

a

Untiring Kok Kouk Koul, relieve Taïs of every fever, her whom Taraus bore, tertian or quartan or daily or every other day or night-fever or [day-fever(?),] for I am the [one begotten by the father(?) …] Kok Kouk Koul …

3. PGM P 16 (P.Ross.Georg. I 23; KYP M440): Christian invocation
This papyrus was purchased in Egypt in 1897 by Vladimir Georgevich von Bok (1850–1899) on behalf of the State Hermitage,Footnote10 where it is now kept under the inventory number 5657. The first edition was by Zereteli and Krueger in P.Ross.Georg. I 23, where it was inexactly titled “Christliche Beschwörung”. This title, and a modified and partly normalized text, were reprinted by Preisendanz in PGM. The papyrus, however, lacks verbs of adjuration, and the communicative act is rather a sort of petition to the Christian deity (κύριος; mentioning also the τριάς, an ἄγγελος, and οἱ ἅγιοι μάρτυρες) against a certain Theodosi(o)s who has behaved in an oppressive manner (τυραννικὸς τρόπος) towards the petitioner. Björk offers a partial, fully normalized reprint in his study of Christian curses (1938, 46–47 no. 24), and the text has been variously inventoried and translated.Footnote11 Since the first edition, however, no author has claimed to work on the basis of autopsy. A good digital image has been made available by the APIS project,Footnote12 and a collation of this image

with published editions indicates that a re-edition of the papyrus based on autopsy would be desirable. Some preliminary corrections and notes on the text are offered here from collation with the image.

The writing is along the fibers, not against them as the description in the first edition might suggest.Footnote13 The assessment of the quality of the hand by Zereteli and Krueger (“ungeschlachte und ungeübte Kursive”) and Preisendanz (“schlechte Kursive”) is unduly harsh: the copyist appears to have been practiced and fluid in forming not only individual letters but also various ligatures (e.g., δι, 2; λε, 11; τρ, 1; υρ, 7), and to have been a frequent even if not professional writer. The fourth-century date generally accepted may be maintained: compare P.Gen.2 App. 1 (319 CE); P.Panop. 27 (323); P.Rain.Cent. 86 (381).

1. Preisendanz, following the first editors, places a chrism at the beginning of the line, of which there is no trace in the image; the text appears to have begun simply with the first ἀγεία.

2. [εὔχομαι] has been restored by previous editors at the end of the line, governing a following τῷ κυρίῳ, but even if the text opened with a first-person verb, it is difficult to exclude ἐπικαλοῦμαι (as in PGM P 13 and 21), and the presence of a finite verb is perhaps not required if the point were to set the martyrs in some relation to the deity (see the next note).

3. An unusual nomen sacrum abbreviation $\overline{\text{κ}\rho}$ apparently for a form of κ(ύ)ρ(ιος) went without comment in PGM, where κυρίῳ was printed, after the first editors had mentioned in passing (mistakenly) “$\overline{\text{κ}\dot{\omega}}$ = κυρίωι” in their introduction; the papyrus has κύριε in full in 16. A parallel can now be identified in κρ for κ(υ)ρ(ίῳ) again for the deity in P.Berl.Zill. 14.17 (with Paap Citation1959, 102 n. 1) of the sixth century (compare also $\overline{\text{κρc}}$ and $\overline{\text{κρυ}}$ in P.Rein. II 59, a codex of the Greek version of Exodus from the third century [Paap Citation1959, 22 no. 75; 102]), but aside from the restoration [εὔχομαι] at the end of the previous line, nothing favors the expansion κ(υ)ρ(ίῳ) here over, e.g., κ(υ)ρ(ίου) construed with the preceding μαρτύρω[ν].

The first editors’ reading τ[ὸ] ὑμῶ[ν πάθος ὁ] was also taken up by Preisendanz, understanding ὑμῶν as a phonetic spelling for ἡμῶν. The petitioner, however, elsewhere uses the first-person singular for self-reference, and the pronoun may rather associate the angel with the plurality implied by the opening address to the trinity (see also the discussion of 9 below). An oblique stroke above tau might represent a correction to ὁ, but a conflation in the forms of the definite article (τό for ὁ sc. ἄνγελος in the following line) would not be surprising in this text; there is a general parallel in the spelling τοί for οἱ among the documentary papyri (P.Gen. 12 16.22), although Gignac (Citation1981, 173) considers this form an “isolated blunder”.

4. Previous editors read κατεμαρ̣τύρ[ι ὅτι τηρ]α[ν]ῃ[κόν], understanding κατεμαρτύρει and τυραννικόν. The latter is unproblematic in view of the spelling in 6–7, but the past tense is unexpected in comparison to ἔχει (5) and ἀγνωεῖ (3), and the image allows κατ’

ἐμαί (for κατ’ ἐμέ, cf. the form of iota in ἔχει), yielding either a further qualification of τρόπον in the following line (for, e.g., οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ τὸν κατ’ ἐμὲ τυραννικὸν τρόπον ὃν ἔχει Θεοδόσις) or a separate summary of the petitioner’s situation (οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ τὸ κατ’ ἐμέ· τυραννικὸν ἔχει κτλ.).

5 [ὅ̣λ̣α] τά at the end of the line in the first edition has become ὅ̣λ̣α τά in PGM, but the image shows none of these traces, allowing space for no more than two letters after the final sigma of the preceding Θεοδόσις, which is also extended to the right. By itself τά (sc. ἐναντία in the following line) seems to suffice for the sense; there may be an underlying conflation of the definite article with the relative pronoun (Gignac Citation1981, 179).

6–7 τηρα|νεικῷ τρόπο[υ] has been read so far, but the image shows before the break a wider loop more consistent with the open left lobe of ω, favoring τρόπῳ, the grammatically expected form, despite the suggestion in the apparatus to normalize τυρρανικοῦ; elsewhere the ductus in the combination πο differs, with ο smaller in size and beginning well above the baseline.

7 βουήθιαν as in the first edition is favored by the image against βουήθια in PGM.

8 μήν should be printed (with the first editors) instead of μή in PGM; the following τήν seems to have been corrected from τον on the papyrus.

9 διὰ τῶν ἁ̣[γίων] in the first edition has become a certainty in PGM. This reading still seems the most likely for the space (cf. also διὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρω[ν in 2), but it is difficult to exclude διὰ τῶν ἁ̣[γγέλων] or even μ[αρτύρων]. In any case, the preceding ὑμῶν in this line refers probably to the trinity (as in 3) and need not be corrected to ἡμῶν.

10 προσφεύγω [σοι] as restored by the first editors was also taken up in PGM, but the clause may have been complete with the verb, as the direction towards the deity is supplied in the following parallel clause, ἐπὶ τὴν σ̣ὴ̣[ν] ἁγιώτητα (11–12).

11 τακρεωβλεπω on the papyrus is emended to τακρέω⟨ν⟩ βλέπω in PGM, following the understanding of the first editors, but alongside the participle apparently assumed (for δακρύων βλέπω “I look tearfully”), a single compound might also be considered, which could be regarded as more faithful to the orthography of the papyrus. I have not found any attestations of δακρυοβλέπειν “look tearfully” or “through tears”, although δακρυοβρέχειν is on record in Theodorus Studites, Epist. 477.118–19.

13 φαυλων is the reading of the papyrus, for which PGM gives φαύλον (sic) with φαύλων in the apparatus as the reading of edd.pr. Zereteli and Krueger in fact printed φαῦλόν με in the main text, tentatively considering in the apparatus a normalization ὅσα φαύλων με ἐποίησε, with a note by P. Jernstedt suggesting Coptic influence through the idiom ϩⲁϩ ⲛ- followed by a noun, for “many”. Kapsomenakis (Citation1938, 119 n. 1; BL III, 155) proposed to divide φαύλον με ἐποίησά μεν, for φαύλων με ἐποίησέ με; this

argument is reiterated in Kapsomenakis (1972–1973, 562–566; BL VII, 170). It seems possible to make sense of φαῦλων for φαῦλον (cf. αὐτών for αὐτόν in 17) as a simple predicate of με, without recourse to Coptic; the repeated με(ν) might add emphasis.

13–14 εποιησα.|μενανασστηνασον is the reading of the papyrus; the first editors printed ἐποιήσα|μεν ἀνασστηνάσον in the text and corrected to ἐποίησε· ἀναστενάζων in the apparatus; ἐποίησε | μετανασστενάσον appears in PGM, with μεταναστενάζων? in the apparatus. The image allows εποιησαι in 13, as there are traces consistent with the bottom part of ι (if not an extension of a tail of α to the right): ἐποίησαί | μεν (l. ἐποίησέ με), with the pronoun perhaps repeated for emphasis (compare the previous note). That division would leave ἀνασστήνασον: an aorist imperative ἀναστένασον inviting the deity to join a lament would be sensible but unparalleled, and we might think rather of a by-form of a causative stem of ἵστημι (the suggestion of Anastasia Maravela), in my view most likely ἀνάστησον “cause to rise (again)” in the sense of “restore”.

14. In place of κακ[ὰ ὅλα] in PGM and κα⸗[ὸν ἐγώ] in the first edition, it seems possible, and preferable for the sense, to read from the image καὶ ὥ̣σ̣σ̣α̣ (for ὅσα, as in 13).

15. The papyrus has διαπε⟦πε⟧ποθα, the correction by an underline taken by the first editors as a diacritic on a word in the line below (read there as παρώρα, but see the following note). It would be unusually elongated for an acute accent and seems to begin to the left of the vowel in question.

16 παρώρα is read by the first editors and PGM. There is a hole in the papyrus after the second α of παρωρα-, but ink at its left edge cannot belong to the upright of the following κ: παρωρᾷς (l. παρορᾷς) seems preferable. On that basis μὴ παραστα[τῇς] may be restored for the parallel command in this line against μὴ παραστά[τει] as previously printed.

19–21 κύριοσ [μ]ό[νος] | θεός ἐ̣σ̣̈ι ἐν [υ]ἱῷ κ[αὶ] | ἐν τῷ πατρί has been read by previous editors. The letter read as a second sigma in 19 is damaged, and although the mid-high surviving trace is somewhat more difficult for mu, κύριος μ̣[ό]̣νος removes an unusual termination, elsewhere in the text paralleled only before a vowel (τοὺσ ἐ̃νας, 22). In the following line θεός is less clear on the image than previously presented, though it seems inevitable; ἐ̣σ̣̈ι following it, however, is impossible, and the traces match πατρί directly beneath them, which the copyist probably anticipated here.

27–28 [....]σ[...]ρεωσ[c. 6] | [c. 9]ν....νος in the first edition is repeated in PGM but with the four unread letters in 28 set in square brackets. The image allows κ̣ύ̣ρι[ε] ⸗ ἕως ι̣[ο]ῦ | ἐ̣ὼν ι̣ο̣ῦ ἐ̣ῶνος (l. τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ αἰῶνος). The additional vocative would align with the four-fold repetition of ἀμήν in the preceding, and the rest of the sequence can be seen as a conflation of two Hebraisms, ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος “forever” (e.g., Psalm 27:9, 88:5, 89:2 in the Greek version) and the even more common εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων “forever and ever” (Psalm 83:5 and, e.g., Revelation 1:18); compare also εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων “for every generation, forever and ever” (Ephesians 3:21).

The following text and translation can thus be offered; some other, minor divergences from previous editions are noted in the apparatus.

ἡ ἁγεία τριάς, ἡ ἁ̣γεία τριάς, ἡ ἁγ[εία τριὰς]

διὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρω[ν

κ(υ)ρ(ι)· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγνωεῖ τὸ ὑμῶ[ν]

ἄνγελος τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμαὶ τ̣η̣[ρ]αῤ[εικὸν]

ἔχει τὸν τρόπον Θεοδόσις, τὰ

ἐναντία πέποθα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τηρα-

νεικῷ τρόπῳ μὴ εὑρὼν βουήθιαν

εἰ μὴν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τήναμιν κ[αὶ]

τὴν ὑμῶν μαρτυρία διὰ τῶν ἁ̣[γίων?]

καὶ διὰ τούτων προσφεύγω [...]

καὶ τακρεβλέπω ἐπὶ τὴῤ σ̣ὴ̣[ν]

ἁγιώτητα εἴνα βλέπω τὴν τ̣ή̣να-

μιν· ὥσσα φαῦλών με ἐποίη̣σ̣αί

μεν· ἀνασστήνασον γὰρ καὶ ὥ̣σ̣σ̣α

διαπέ⟦πε⟧ποθα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ κύρ̣ιε

μὴ παρωρᾷς καὶ μὴ παραστα[τῇς]

αὐτὼν ὡς προέφην αὐτὼῤ

Θεοδόσιν καί με ἀμελήσῃς

ὅτι μόνος κύριος μ̣[ό]ν̣ος

θε̣ὸ̣ς {πατρὶ} ἐ̣ν υἱῷ κ̣αὶ

ἐν πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πν̣ε̣ύ̣-

ματει καὶ εἰς τοὺσς ἐῶνας

εἰς τὼν ἐῶνας ἀμὴν

ἀμὴν ἀμὴν ἀμήν

25 ☩ ☩ ☩

κύριε κύριε κύριε

κ̣ύ̣ρ̣ι[ε] ☩ ἕως ⸌τ[ο]ῦ

[vacat] ἐ̣ὼ̣ν ⸌τ̣ο̣ῦ ἐ̣ῶ̣νος

1 l. ἁγία || 3 κ̅ρ̅ pap.; κ(υ)ρ(ίῳ) or κ(υ)ρ(ίου)? || l. ἀγνοεῖ || τό̣: l. ὁ (or ⟦τ⟧ ὁ̣?) || 4 l. ἄγγελος || τό: l. τόν? || l. κατ’ ἐμέ || l. τυραννικόν || 6 l. πέπονθα || 6–7 l. τυραννικῷ || 7 l. βοήθειαν || 8 l. μή || τήν: η corr. from ο || l. δύναμιν || 9 ϋμων pap. || l. μαρτυρίαν || ἁ̣[γίων]: or ἀ̣[γγέλων], μ̣[αρτύρων]? || 11 l. δακρυοβλέπω or δακρύων βλέπω? || in fine [σήν] edd. || 12 l. ἁγιότητα || 12–13 l. δύναμιν || 13 l. ὅσα φαῦλον || 13–14 l. ἐποίησέ με || l. ἀναστήνασον (< ἀνάστησον)? || l. ὅσα || 15 διαπεπεποθα pap., l. διαπέπονθα || 16 l. παρορᾷς || 17 l. αὐτόν (αὐτῷ) || in fine [τόν] edd.pr. || 18 ⟨μή⟩ με PGM || 20 υϊω pap. || 21–22 l. πνεύματι || 22–23 l. τοὺς αἰῶνας (τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων) || 28 l. αἰῶνος τοῦ αἰῶνος

The holy trinity, the holy trinity, the holy trinity, through the holy martyrs … Lord: for your angel is not unaware of the tyrannical manner in which Theodosi(o)s behaves towards me, the adversities I have suffered from him in (his) tyrannical manner, finding no help except God’s power and your testimony through the saints(?), and through them I take refuge with [you?] and look tearfully to your holiness, so that I may look upon (your) power – how much he has brought me low! Restore (me)(?), and do not overlook, Lord, how much I have endured from him, and do not support him, as I have said before, him, Theodosi(o)s, and (do not) neglect me, for there is only one Lord, only one God, in the son and in the father and in the holy spirit, forever and ever, amen, amen, amen, amen. (Crosses) Lord, Lord, Lord, Lord, forever and ever.

4. O.Moen inv. 631: a composite finished product of scripture and drawing for erotic magic?

This ostrakon, which entered the private Moen collection from an unreported source, was identified by its first editor as a school-exercise, copying Matthew 1:19–20 along with crude drawings (Fig. 1).Footnote14 N. Carlig (Citation2012) has argued for a closer relation between text and drawing, that the latter’s two anthropoid figures illustrate the dream of Joseph referenced in the gospel passage. Some particularities of the figures suggest an even tighter and more particular relation, when considered in the context of Matthew 1. The pose of both figures (see the new drawing above) is the orant one, consistent less with gestures of meeting between a superior (angel) and inferior (the mortal Joseph) than with those of two beings of the same status interceding before another, or perhaps of a now sainted Joseph elevated to the same heavenly plane as

the angel.

Figure 1. O.Moen inv. 631 (drawing: the author).

Figure 1. O.Moen inv. 631 (drawing: the author).
Display full size
The gospel passage centers on a man who wishes to break off his engagement and an angel who dissuades him from doing so. Besides writing practice, or a broadly amuletic function as recently proposed for a partial citation of Matthew 1:20 in Greek (P.Mich. inv. 4944b [Jones Citation2018]), it would be a suitable selection for a less well-known but widely attested use of scripture: application in magic by way of analogy. The use of Homer set the stage in Graeco-Roman practice, and Christian scripture, especially but not limited to the Psalms (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2018a; Citation2021; Citation2024a), was later taken up wholeheartedly. Gabriel is invoked as the angel who overcomes Joseph's reluctance and "makes" him take Mary as his wife in a Coptic formulary recipe for erotic magic: "I adjure you by your power (…) and by Gabriel, the one who went to Joseph, made him take Mary as his wife" (ϯⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ ⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲃⲟⲙ (…) ⲙⲛ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ [ⲡ]ⲉⲛⲧ[ⲁⲩⲃ]ⲱⲕ ⲱⲁ ⲉⲓⲱⲥⲛϥ ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̣ⲥ̣ⲉ̣ⲓⲙ̣ⲉ̣).Footnote15 The Moen text does not preserve any invocation or request specific to erotic magic, but the inscription of these verses of Matthew 1, and not simply the gospel's first verse, is otherwise unmotivated and would find an appealing explanation in the aim to strengthen a marital bond or initiate male-female attraction. The inscribed and decorated ostrakon would then have been a finished product in a ritual, which could, for example, have been deposited in a ritually significant location (the home of the couple in question), or more specifically such that the targeted party would step on (ἐπισκελίζειν) or step over it (διασκελίζειν), as paralleled in Byzantine texts.Footnote16

The disposition of the figures on the Moen ostrakon centers them roughly beneath the phrase ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος "Behold! An angel!" (l. 4), supporting a relation between drawings and text. Carlig already noted a general resemblance to some of the drawings of angels in magical texts. The third figure, upside-down with respect to the others, is mounted on a supernaturally large bird and theriomorphic itself, with a bird's head, and hence could fit into the liminal category of supernatural powers with hybrid animal-humanoid forms also figured in the Coptic magical papyri.Footnote17 That the bird has letter-like signs on its body is also consistent with this broader tradition of ritual figures, wearing such inscribed garments or more abstractly adorned with Greek and Coptic letters, an example of which from a Coptic formulary of Late Antiquity is given above (Fig. 2).Footnote18

Figure 2. P.Brit.Mus. inv. EA 10434b (drawing: the author).

Figure 2. P.Brit.Mus. inv. EA 10434b (drawing: the author).
Display full size
5. PGM P 6c (P.Oxy. VII 1059; KYP M425): account re-used for Christian invocation
This papyrus, from the excavations of B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt at Oxyrhynchus, bears on one side a text published by A. S. Hunt in P.Oxy. as a "Christian prayer" and

on the other the remains of a document, which was described there as “a list of χλανίδια with their values”, two lines being given as examples. An image of the documentary side of the papyrus, which after distribution of finds by the Egypt Exploration Fund (later Society) to subscribers came to the Andover Newton Theological Seminary, then in 2017 to Yale, is published here for the first time (Figs. 3–4),Footnote19 as is a full text of the clothing-account. The first edition of the prayer has been reprinted several times (Schubart Citation1918, 371; Leclerq Citation1937, 1422), including in PGM, and it has also found a place in the checklist of Christian amulets drawn up by de Bruyn and Dijkstra (Citation2011, 200–201 no. 110) as “probably” belonging among them. The prayer certainly seeks protection, and patterns of surface damage are consistent with a single fold, in half along the vertical axis, which makes some sort of amuletic function likely – deposition in a house rather than carrying on the body, as protection is requested for multiple people – even if in combination with mnemonic functions. The nexus of Christian prayer(-amulets) and recycled papyri continues in P.Oxy. XVI 1928, a composite of Psalm 90 and the titles of the four gospels (κατὰ Ἰωάννης, καιτὰ Λουκᾶ, κατὰ Μᾶρκος, κατὰ Μαθθέας) on the back of a documentary protocol (SB XXII 15581). Re-use in the other direction is attested by P.Oxy. III 407 (Blumell and Wayment Citation2015, 325–326 no. 88), an invocation for help, mercy, forgiveness of sin, and salvation in this world and the next (βοήθησόν μοι, ἐλέησόν με, ἐξάλιψόν μου τὰς ἁμαρτίας, σῶσόν με ἐν τῷ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι, 3–5), in an ornate bookhand and titled with the label “prayer” (προσευχή) on the back in a more cursive one, below which a notation of an amount of money in drachmasFootnote20 and a quantity in λίτραι has been added. Fold-lines might once again indicate use as an amulet, but an aide-de-memoire for prayer remains possible.

Figure 3. Ex-Andover Newton Theological Seminary; Yale, Divinity School Library RG 305, front (P.Oxy. VII 1059 descr.) Account of chlanidia.

Figure 3. Ex-Andover Newton Theological Seminary; Yale, Divinity School Library RG 305, front (P.Oxy. VII 1059 descr.) Account of chlanidia.
Display full size
Figure 4. Ex-Andover Newton Theological Seminary; Yale, Divinity School Library RG 305, back (PGM P 6c; P.Oxy. VII 1059). Christian invocation (amulet?).

Figure 4. Ex-Andover Newton Theological Seminary; Yale, Divinity School Library RG 305, back (PGM P 6c; P.Oxy. VII 1059). Christian invocation (amulet?).
Display full size
Hunt assigned a fifth-century date to the present papyrus without distinguishing between the texts on front and back; Cavallo and Maehler (Citation1987, 50 no. 21a) place the cursive hand of the original document in the second half of the fifth century and the “crude, semi-cursive hand” of the prayer at the end of the same century. Excavation context might suggest instead the late(?) fourth century, which the accounting in solidi would not contradict (see in general Bagnall Citation1985, 16).

An alphanumeric sequence (B 5 J 19) has been added on the papyrus in black ink in a modern hand. It belongs to the series of processing numbers (see also §6 below for

Oxyrhynchus and §2 above for a similar practice by Grenfell and Hunt at Tebtunis), related in turn to packing- and inventory-numbers, assigned by the excavators and reflected in part in the inventory numbers under which the Oxyrhynchus papyri still held by the Egypt Exploration Society are stored (and, beginning with P.Oxy. XL, noted in publications).Footnote21 The elements of the main series of the current inventory numbers, corresponding to a numbered tin packing box and lettered and numbered folders and layers of papyri packed within, can be recognized in the most common form of the processing number, a number followed by a letter followed by a number (tin box, folder, layer within). The significance of the present form is not entirely clear: the presence of other letters than B at the beginning of other numbers (e.g., P.Oxy. III 454: D 161; P.Oxy. II 260: E 373) complicates an explanation as the modern name of the site, Behnasa, as in the element B in the modern inventory number. A small group of proximate numbers, including one other amulet, may be gathered:

Table

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The presence of the processing number 5 B J 18 on P.Oxy. VII 1052 (1057), an order for payment on the other side of an account, both dated to the fourth century, complicates the question further: is the 5 to be understood as a tin-box number after all, and the B a suffix (i.e., two tin boxes, 5A and 5B in that season)? Both 1052/1057 and 1059 most likely come from the fifth season (1905/6), but the first, third, and fourth seasons are also possible, to judge from the limited information given in P.Oxy. VII.Footnote22 If P.Oxy. VIII 1109 (B 5 J 27) belongs in the same find-group, the preface to its volume, which is even less informative on the affiliation of the published papyri to excavation seasons, might strengthen the claim of the fifth season, as the latter is the only one mentioned in the preface,Footnote23 but it is a chronological outlier in the group, and no papyrus with an inventory number indicating a tin box number below 25 from the fifth season has so far been published in P.Oxy.

Especially if 1052/1057 is to be added to the group, and 1109 excluded, a fourth rather than fifth century date is more likely for 1059. The implication of amulets (1058 and 1059) among financial records already suggested by the pairing of front and back of 1059 is in any case noteworthy. Such a documentary context can be established also for the Tebtunis amulet discussed above (§2) on a similar basis.

The text on the front, written along the fibers, is given below from the photograph. Of this account of clothing, the top, left and right of a single column survive, with the bottom cut off in the re-use. It is of some small interest as expanding the descriptors applied to outerwear (χλανίδια) in the papyri: so far χλανίδιον has been found with αἰγιοπλάκινον ἄσπρον (SPP XX 245.4); αἰγιοπλάκινον ἀργύρεον (P.Eirene IV 47.6); αἰγιοπλάκινον κίτρεον (SPP XX 245.5); καθημερινόν (SPP XX 245.3); and ὁλοπλάκ(ινον) (SB VI 6570.3). If the reading σικελλε̣ικ̣[όν] in 4 is right, one of them may be a Sicilian import (or imitation thereof).

1 χλανίδια τρία λευκ̣ὰ [νο(μ.) .]ε

χλανίδιον λευκὸν .....ον νο(μ.) ια //

χλανίδον εν.....ιακ(òν) νο(μ.) ι /

χλανίδιον ἄλλο σικελλε̣ιᾳ[òν νο(μ.) .]//

5 [ ].

. . . . . .

1–4 pap. (νομισμάτων, νομισματίων) || 3 l. χλανίδιον || -ιακ\ pap.

Three white cloaks, [3]5(?) solidi

[New?] white cloak, 11 solidi

[One? …] cloak, 10 solidi

Another Sicilian(?) cloak, [..] solidi

1 [.]ϵ. Based on the prices in lines 2–3, the supplement [νο(μ.) λ]ϵ seems most likely.

2 .....ον. Possibly κ̣α̣ιν̣όν.

3 ἕν is tempting (compare ἄλλο in the next line), followed by an adjective in -ιακός.

Some details of the prayer on the back (P.Oxy. VII 1059), which would repay closer study than the limited commentary of ed.pr. (“A prayer written in a rude hand and in illiterate Greek”), may be revisited after collation with a facsimile.

1 κύ(ριϵ) ed.pr. The second letter is too narrow and shallow for υ, by comparison to the two writings of μου in the same line; instead κ(ύρι)ϵ, the expected form of the nomen sacrum, may be read, in which ϵ is written with separation between the two strokes, as in ἐρπίς in the same line. The form κυ is all but invariably reserved for the genitive: Paap (Citation1959, 79–81) gives only three examples where it represents the vocative, including this one (no. 343). The overlines on κϵ presumably continued for the following θ(ϵ)έ, of which a scant trace is visible over epsilon; these features were not noted in the first edition.

3 Ἀννη̣α (l. Ἄνναν?) ed.pr. The fourth letter is too narrow for η and descends at left farther than usual for that letter in this hand; rather Ἀννία for Ἀννίας, as the text seems most often to construe ὤψϵ (ὄψαι, from the ὀπ- stem of ὁρᾶν) with the genitive, more correctly Ἀννίαν.

The result is the following text and translation:

κ(ύρι)ε θ(ε)έ μου vacat καὶ ὐ ἐρπίς μου

ὥψε Θέκλα καὶ τοῖ⸌ς⸍τέκνοις

αὐτῆ, ὥψε Ἀννία καὶ τῆς δού-

λης αὐτῆς, ὥψε Ἀπφοῦς, ὥψε Σα-

καυων, ὥψε Διωνυσίου καὶ τῶν

τέκνον αὐτοῦ, ὥψε Ἑλλαδίου, ὥψε

Πτολεμέου, ὥψε κατ᾽ ὄνομα

1 as if an abbreviation || l. ἡ ἐλπίς || 2–7 l. ὄψαι || 2 l. Θέκλαν || l. τῶν τέκνων (τὰ τέκνα?) || 3 l. αὐτῆς || l. Ἀννίας (Ἀννίαν?) || 5 l. Διονυσίου (Διονύσιον?) || 5–6 l. τῶν τέκνων (τὰ τέκνα?) || 7 l. Πτολεμαίου (Πτολεμαῖον?)

Lord, my God and my hope, look upon Thekla and her children, look upon Annia and her slave-woman, look upon Apphous, look upon Sakauon, look upon Dionysios and his children, look upon Helladios, look upon Ptolemaios, look upon each one (lit., (each) by name).

6. PGM P 5b (P.Oxy. VIII 1151; KYP M420): Christian fever amulet
After its discovery at Oxyrhynchus and first publication by A. S. Hunt as P.Oxy. VIII 1151, this papyrus was sent to Glasgow, where it is now kept in the University Library. Hunt’s edition was reprinted in PGM and revised by B. C. Jones (Citation2016, 134–140 no. 17),Footnote24 and the text and its production have also been studied by A. M. Luijendijk (Citation2014) and P. Piwowarczyk (Citation2019, 269–272).Footnote25 Some notes after autopsy of the papyrus (11 June 2014) are presented here, after general remarks on context and content.

Luijendijk (Citation2014, 424), consistent with the emphasis in the title of her study on the “gospel” quality of the amulet, considers in particular the latter part of the text, how it “cleverly weaves together several biblical phrases”. The opening of the text, while certainly Christian, harks back to apotropaic motifs far older than the gospels, in an application of a richly documented pattern of commands to sicknesses to flee (φεῦγε) because of the pursuit (διώκει) of some higher powers (see in general Faraone Citation2018, 208–213). A novel feature is the expansion to include an acclamation of a feat already accomplished by two persons of the Christian Trinity, having forestalled (προέλαβεν) the evil spirit. Here the closest parallel for the phrasing comes among medieval Latin bee-incantations, in one of which the insects are threatened with the intervention of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob:

I adjure you, bees, little bees, God’s faithful: be afraid, do not try for the woods, flee (them), do not attempt flight. Let Abraham hold you back, let Isaac hold you back, let Jacob bring you back indoors, amen. Let Abraham follow you, let Joseph forestall you.Footnote26

Although the text is preserved in a fourteenth-century codex, it probably reaches back to a common ancestor in Late Antiquity shared with medieval Greek applications of the motif of pursuit by the three patriarchs, as in an address meant to force a fugitive to return: “Abraham pursues you, Isaac turns you back, Jacob overtakes you, and an angel of the Lord turns you back to where you wrongly departed.”Footnote27

The opening portion of the Oxyrhynchus amulet has yet to receive its due of stylistic attention. Although not literary, it too offers indications of the care taken in its composition. As seems not yet to have been remarked, its first six lines present a rhythmic structure in terms of syllabic stress rather than vowel quantity, under rules observed in the liturgical poetry of Romanos the Melode from the following century.Footnote28 The pattern may be reconstructed as follows:

φεύγε πνεύμα μέμισιμένον·

Χριστός σε διώκει, προέλαβεν σέ ὁ υιός του θεού και το πνεύμα το άγιον.

An opening trochaic rhythm is followed by a dactylic rhythm, which appears even more strongly if an auxiliary accent is assumed on the first syllable of μεμισιμένον.Footnote29 The shift between the two schemata coincides with, and may serve to mark, a sense pause at the semantic transition between command and motivation by acclamation.

The arrangement of words and clauses also shows a certain artfulness.Footnote30 Chiasmus neatly mirrors the actions of Christ and the Son of God across the address to the demon in σε “you” upon which they are brought to bear: Χριστός σε διώκει· προέλαβέν σε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ “Christ pursues you, the Son of God has forestalled you” (3–5). The placement of the contrasted “spirits” (πνεύματα), abhorred and sacred, effectively brackets the opening six-line unit: πνεῦμα μεμισιμένον (1) and τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (6). The composition balances doublets, in ἴασαι καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι “heal and shelter” (28) and ἀποδίωξον καὶ φυγάδευ|σον “chase off and put to flight” (32–34), with triplets, in particular a branching structure for the core pyretological schema (34–38; on the terminology, see §2 above) that can be schematized as follows:

Table

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Among three limbs of symmetrical construction, the middle one is itself expanded by three qualifiers. The structural unity is reinforced by repetition of παν- in either first or second position in each of the limbs.

A tripartite structure also orders the text as a whole, which can be considered as three invocations:

1. Address to the “abhorred spirit” (πνεῦμα μεμισιμένον, 1–6)

2. Address to the “God of the pool at the Sheep Gate” (ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τῆς προβατικῆς κολυμβήθρας, 7–14)

3. Address to Christ (15–56)

The last limb is also the longest, further bolstered by the citation of John 1:1 and 3 and a list of saints, a disposition consistent with the preference in poetic compositions across the ancient Indo-European languages, Behagel’s “Law of increasing members”. Parallel structure also connects the second and third, with a scriptural reference followed by a request for the present time. The third limb then circles back to the first with the chiastic repetition of φεῦγε … διώκει (1–3) in their amplified forms, via preverb and causative suffix, as ἀποδίωξον καὶ φυγάδευσον (32–34).

Despite suggestive references to the intercession of saints with local cult in Oxyrhynchus, and a familiarity in the Christian community there with both scriptural means of healing and other apotropaic traditions, there is disappointingly little direct indication of archaeological context. An unexploited piece of evidence comes once again in the form of an inked excavation processing number (see §5 above), in this case 6 F 13. Around it the following small group of proximate numbers may be drawn:

Table

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There are no objective grounds for dating the amulet in the fifth, as universally done following Hunt, as opposed to the (late) fourth century: reference to the θεοτόκος, a term used comfortably by Athanasius of Alexandria and Gregory of Nazianzus in the fourth century, should be no obstacle, nor should expressions of devotion to saints, before organized ecclesiastical centers devoted to them happen to surface among the surviving papyri. The proximity to the literary texts P.Oxy. VIII 1098 and XI 1395, beyond potentially complicating the purely “gospel” milieu in which the amulet has previously been placed, also favors a reconsideration of the date to include the later fourth century.

Nothing in the preface of P.Oxy. VIII indicates the season in which the papyrus was found, nor does the date of publication (1911) narrow the field. Among published papyri from these excavations with “modern” inventory numbers, only P.Oxy. LXXV 5048, from the sixth season, reflects an original “tin box” sequence 6 F (or tin box 6 at all): namely 6/F (3–4), a literary bookroll (Xenophon, Memorabilia) of the second century, unlikely to have had any direct connection to the amulet. The Xenophon bookroll could perhaps be grouped with 1569 (6 F 12) and 952 (6 F 17) into a tighter chronological band, belonging perhaps in that case to a different season than the group to which the amulet

and the literary texts 1098 and 1395 might be assigned, but such an argument runs a risk of circularity.

In 52–53 ἐπεκαλεσά|[μ]ην, silently corrected in PGM from ἐπικαλεσά[μ]ην of the first edition (to which Luijendijk [Citation2014, 430–431] and Jones revert), is the genuine reading of the papyrus. In 55–56 ὑπε|ναντίο̣ις. ἀμήν + is printed in the first edition (without comment). The line would be unusually short. In an archival photograph kept with the Egypt Exploration Society papyri in Oxford, the ink can be seen to continue in the center, though abraded, making a vacat (as the typesetting of the first edition suggests) unlikely. Rather, ο̣ο̣υ̣ can be made out between the two words, and the final letter of ἀμήν has been extended with a flourish to the right (as in ἦν in 15), which Hunt read as the crossbar of a staurogram. In PGM P 1 a staurogram likewise begins and an ἀμήν ends the text, without a following staurogram.

These observations yield the following text and translation:

+ φεῦγε πν̣(εῦμ)α̣

μεμισιμένον

Χ(ριστό)ς σε διώκει·

προέλαβέν σε

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ καὶ

τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον.

ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τῆς προβατι-

κῆς κολυμβή-

θρας, ἐξελοῦ τὴν

δούλην σου

Ἰωαννίαν ἣν

ἔτεκεν Ἀναστασία

εἰ καὶ Εὐφημία

ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.

+ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν

ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος
ἦν πρὸς τὸν θ(εὸ)ν καὶ
θ(εὸ)ς ἦν ὁ λόγος·
πάντα δι᾽ αὐτοῦ
ἐγένετο κ(αὶ) χωρεὶς
αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο
οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονε(ν).
κ(ύρι)ε ⸗ Χ̣(ριστ)ὲ υἱὲ καὶ
λόγε τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ τοῦ
ζῶντος ὁ ἰασάμε-
νος πᾶσαν νόσον
καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν,
ἴασαι καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι
καὶ τὴν δούλην σου
᾽Ιωαννίαν ἣν ἔτεκεν
Ἀναστασία ἡ καὶ
Εὐφημία καὶ ἀπο-
δίωξον καὶ φυγάδευ-
σον ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς πάντα
πυρετὸν κ(αὶ) παντοῖον
ῥῆγος, ἀμφημερινόν,
τριτε͂ον, τεταρτε͂ον
καὶ πᾶν κακὸν εὐχε͂ς

κ(αὶ) πρεσβίαις τῆς

δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς

θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν

ἐνδόξων ἀρχαγγέ-

λων κ(αὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐν-

δόξου ἀποστόλου κ(αὶ)

εὐαγγελιστοῦ κ(αὶ) θεο-

λόγου Ἰωάννου κ(αὶ) τοῦ

ἁγίου Σερήνου κ(αὶ) τοῦ

ἁγίου Φιλοξένου κ(αὶ) τοῦ

ἁγίου Βήκτωρος κ(αὶ) τοῦ

ἁγίου Ἰούστου κ(αὶ) πάντω(ν)

[τῶ]ν ἁγίων· ὅτι τὸ ὄνομά

σου κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἐπεκαλεσά-

[μ]ην τὸ θαυμαστὸν

καὶ ὑπερένδοξον καὶ

φοβερὸν τοῖς ὑπε-

ναντίοις σου, ἀμήν.

1 πν̣α̣ pap. || 2 l. μεμισημένον || 3 χς pap. || 5 θυ pap. || 6 πνα pap. || 7 θς pap. || 11 ϊωαννιαν pap. || 13 l. ἡ || 17 θν pap. || 18 θς pap. || 20 ϗ pap. || l. χωρίς || 22 γεγονε pap. || 23 κε pap. || χε pap. || υϊε pap. || 24 θυpap. || 25 l. ζῶντος || 25–26 ϊασαμενος pap. || 28 ϊασαι pap. || 30 ϊωαννιαν pap. || 35 ϗ pap. || 36 l. ῥῖγος || 37 l. τριταῖον || l. τεταρταῖον || 38–39 εὐχ̃ες κ̣αί Hagedorn Citation2003, 226 (l. εὐχαῖς) : εὔχεσθ̣αι P.Oxy. (l. εὔχεσθε PGM) || 39 ϗ pap. || l. πρεσβείαις || 42–43 αρχαγγελων pap. || 43–50 ϗ pap. || 46 ϊωαννου pap. || 49 l. Βίκτωρος || 50 ϊουστου || παντω pap. || 52 κε pap. || θς pap. || 54 ϋπερενδοξον pap.

Flee, detested spirit: Christ pursues you. The son of God and the holy spirit have

forestalled you. God of the pool at the Sheep Gate, rescue (10) your servant Ioannia, whom Anastasia alias Euphemia bore, from every evil. In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God. All things were made through him, (20) and without him not even one thing was made that was made. Lord Christ, son and word of the living God, who has healed every sickness and every weakness, heal and watch over your servant (30) Ioannia too, whom Anastasia alias Euphemia bore, and pursue and make flee from her every fever and every kind of fever-chill, daily, tertian, quartan, and every evil, by the prayers and intercessions of our (40) lady the mother of God and the glorious archangels and the holy and glorious apostle and evangelist and theologian John, and the holy Serenus and the holy Philoxenus and the holy Victor and (50) the holy Justus, and all the holy ones. For I have called upon your name, lord God, which is wondrous and surpassingly glorious and fearsome to your enemies, amen.

7. PGM XLIII (KYP M776): Christian fever amulet
The text, from a papyrus of unknown provenance now in Vienna (P.Vind. inv. G 335), was mentioned in passing by C. Wessely in 1886, before his first edition in 1893, giving a fourth-century date that has yet to be modified; an improved version was included in PGM on the basis of a new collation by H. Gerstinger.Footnote31 Corrections to PGM were later published by F. Maltomini (Citation2018, 115). To the few more corrections offered below after autopsy (10 July 2015) may be added the observation that the papyrus has perhaps been re-used: traces of ink in the left and right margins, which cannot be explained as offsets, may belong to a washed-out predecessor to the amulet. Although the amulet was not included in the Christian section of PGM and has generally been absent from discussions of Christian amulets (e.g., the list of De Bruyn and Dijkstra [Citation2011]), the conjunction of Εμανουηλ among divine names with the symbol α ω (middle column, 6, 11, 13), noted in the apparatus to PGM but not printed in the text, sets this identification beyond doubt.

18–20 Σα[βαω]θ | ⸣λαπαπ̣α | [ ] PGM; line 18 can be read in full without loss of text as Μιχαηλ if the papyrus is turned upside-down. The following two lines seem to be no more than one, returned to the original orientation once again after a vertical vacat, for which another permutation of the α ω figure without the central cross seems the most likely.

25 (lower right) [δ]ιᾳφύλαξον PGM, reporting Gerstinger's reading of the papyrus as ⸣ιιᾳπϋλαξον; φύλαξον ed.pr. Rather ἀπάλαξον (l. ἀπάλλαξον): the first alpha is written unusually high, to avoid an area of damage to the papyrus at the beginning of the line. What had previously been read as trema are stray marks.

26–27 Θεονεί|λλα PGM; θεα|λλα ed.pr.; rather Θεῦνεί|λλα (compare Foraboschi Citation1967–1971, 138).

27 ῥίγους καὶ πυρετοῦ, ἤδη, ταχύ PGM, reporting the reading of the papyrus as ριτος και υπερετουσμ (…) ταχυμ (ριτοσηανταρετουσαιηδημαχιμ, ed.pr.); Maltomini pointed out that at least one complete ταχύ can be read, and preferred ῥίγος for what was previously read ριτος. Inspection of the original supports {ρ̣ιγοπ̣υ} ῥ̣ιγοπυρέτου ἤ̣δ̣η ἤδη

ταχὺ ταχύ: a copying error due to a skip of the eye suggests the use of a written exemplar or formulary. The upsilon in πυρετ- is unusually formed: only the left half of the three-stroke form (Y) is present, then a horizontal stroke unconnected to it leads into the following letter, but this reading seems preferable to epsilon. The first ἤδη is obscured by blotting and the second ταχύ somewhat faded but clear under a microscope.

The following text and translation, synthesizing these observations with the corrections of Maltomini, may be offered. The line-numbering of PGM is maintained for convenience.

left and middle col. (↓)

[αβλα]ναθαναλβα Εμανουηλ

[βλα]ναθαναλβα Ασουηλ

λαναθαναλβα Μαρμαριηλ

αναθαναλβα Μελχιηλ

5 ναθαναλβα Ουριηλ

αθαναλβα Σουριηλ α ω

θαναλβα Μαρμαριωθ

αναλβα Αθαναηλ

ναλβα Αθαναηλ

10 αλβα Ιαω –

λβα Σαβαωθ α ω

βα Αδωναι

α Ελωαι α ω

Αβρασαξ

15 Σισισω

Σφραγγης

Μιχαηλ

lower left (→, rotated 90 degrees counterclockwise)

18 Μιχαηλ

lower left (→, rotated 90 degrees clockwise)

19–20 ϙ ϡ

22–22 Γαβριηλ Σουριηλ

23 Ραφαηλ

lower right (→) (orientation as 19–23)

24 ἀπάλαξον Σοφία

{ο} ἓν ἔτεκεν Θεῠνεί-

λλα ἀπὸ παντὸς

{ϱιγοπ̣υ} ϱ̣ιγοπυρέτου ἤδ̣η ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ.

6 Ϛουριηλ Maltomini; ⟨Θ⟩ουριηλ PGM || 9 Αθαναηλ Maltomini; Αϑανηλ PGM || 10 [Ι]αω with dicolon? Maltomini; αωη.. PGM || 14 Αβϱασαξ Maltomini; αβω... PGM || Ϛισϊ̈ϛω Maltomini; σεσεγγεν PGM || 24 l. ἀπάλλαξον || l. Σοφίαν || 25 l. ἥν

(left-middle)

ablanathanalba Emanouel

blanathanalba Asouel

lanathanalba Marmariel

anathanalba Melchiel

nathanalba Ouriel

athanalba Souriel (alpha-omega)

thanalba Marmarioth

analba Athanael

nalba Athanael

alba Iao

lba Sabaoth (alpha-omega)

ba Adonai

a Eloai (alpha-omega)

Abrasax

Sisiso(?)

Sphranges

Michael

(lower left) Michael (alpha-omega) Gabriel Souriel Raphael (lower right) relieve Sophia whom Theunilla bore from every fever-chill, now, now, quickly, quickly.

8. PGM P 10 (KYP M431): Christian exorcistic amulet
This amulet, from Byzantine Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis, now in Vienna (P.Vind. inv. G 337), was first published by C. Wessely (Citation1893, 65–67), and although the new collation again by H. Gerstinger for PGM introduced some improvements, scribal features were generally ignored, above all nomina sacra, for which the diplomatic transcription of Wessely remains the best account. The central exorcism holds considerable interest for the history of demonology and apocryphal traditions of celestial topography, which remains to be exploited;Footnote32 in the absence of a much-needed new edition, F. Maltomini has offered corrections (Citation2018, 121), to which a few more can be added here after autopsy (10 July 2015), following some observations on the physical disposition.

The back, otherwise blank, shows traces of a washed-out text, and a so far unique application of strips of papyrus in a chiastic figure with a horizontal strip intersecting the center (). The strips might initially suggest ancient reinforcement of the substrate,Footnote33 but the folding pattern – fold-lines visible in lines 11, between 22 and 23, and in 34 suggest folding from top to bottom – would have situated it in just the right place to appear on the outside of the folded packet. Hence it would have offered a fibrous counterpart to the paratextual addition of cruciform symbols to Christian texts.

Before 1 and 1 [ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐ|αγγ]ελίων PGM ([ ]ελιων ed.pr.), but the interlinear space would be too large for anything to be missing at the top. The folding pattern and the cruciform fibers added on the back suggest that the first preserved line was the first line on the original. The second preserved letter of 1 resembles no other lambda in the text, and a small trace of another letter after the break

can now be read via microscopy, which is consistent with the lower right vertex of delta but cannot be reconciled with gamma. Thus the first line most likely began [ἐκ] δ̣ξιῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ̣ [φεῦγε ῥῖγος τρι-], only one letter longer than the securely restored lines 4–5; the allusion to biblical passages like Matthew 20:21 would situate the patient in a blessed spot of privilege at Christ's right hand, from which the fever-demons are banned.

2 τεταρτε͂ον ἢ .[. The trace was omitted by edd.; κ̣[αθημερινόν] (see §2 above) and ἀ̣[μφημερινόν] (§6) are possible.

3]διδων is thus far unexplained. A participle δίδων seems out of place; I have considered [παν]διδῶν for παντοειδῶν (cf. χρυσίδην for χρυσίτην in 18), agreeing with the following πυρετῶν, but this solution seems hazardous where the text is broken.

4–5 ἀπὸ τ[οῦ δεῖνα, φοροῦντος | τὸ θεοφυ]λακτόν PGM; for space rather ἀπὸ τ[οῦ φοροῦντος | τὸ φυ]λακτόν. There are also better parallels for φυλακτόν as synonym for φυλακτήριον (see in general Lampe Citation1961, 1492 and LBG 1962): it appears in recipes for amulets in a late Byzantine codex (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 3632, fols. 7v [Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2022b, 1119], 282v and 357r [Delatte Citation1927, 573, 600]), to which an unpublished recipe in the same codex can be added: fol. 280v φυλακτὸν παιδίου, ἵνα βαστᾷ̣ (followed by magical signs). A golden amulet is described by this term in a sixth-century list on papyrus probably of items in a dowry (SB XVI 12940.7, φυλακτὸν χρ[υσοῦν]), and φυλακτογράφος designates a producer of such objects (LBG 1962).

6 θεός PGM; rather θ(εό)ς as θ̄c̄ pap. An overline also marks the following ïστρ̄ᾱ̣ηλ, apparently as a non-Greek word; but the name is not contracted here as a nomen sacrum.

7 ἄνθρωποι PGM; rather ἄν(θρωπ)οι as ᾱ̄νοι pap.

7–8 δ[εδίασι καὶ πᾶν] | πνεῦμα φρίττον PGM (φριττει ed.pr.); rather δ[εδίασι καὶ | τὰ] πν(εύματ)α φρίττου, with another neglected nomen sacrum (πν̄ᾱ̄ pap.: compare 35 below), which suits the space better, and φρίττου for φρίττουσι perhaps by way of φρίττουν, anticipating the medieval vernacular form of the third-person plural.

9 ὄνομα σμ[PGM, with 〈Ἀ〉σμ[όδιος] proposed in the commentary. That demon's name could also have been Ἀσμοδαῖος, but Σμάραγος "Smasher", among the daemonic enemies of the potter's kiln (Suda ω 251 = Hes. fr. 302.9), a fitting analogue to fever, deserves consideration too.

10 [...]οραν καὶ φοραν[is also so far unexplained. A sensible pairing of opposites would be (δια)φθ]οράν καὶ φοράν, with the latter in its sense "bearing" connoting fertility. Precise parallels are lacking, but an astrological forecast in CCAG IV 155 is broadly comparable: τῶν ζῴων ἔσται φθορά … σίτου ἐλαχίστη φορά, ἐλαίου εὐφορία. Does the demon perhaps bring on destruction (φθορά) and harm fertility (φορά)?

11–12. Parallels remain to be found for the frog-headed, wolf-footed demon. Demonic spirits in the form of frogs appear in the New Testament (Revelation 16:13), and the Graeco-Egyptian astrological tradition features hybrid decans and similar celestial deities: a catalogue in P.Oxy. III 465 includes a human figure with vulture- and snake-faces and lion's feet (Nebu: i 12–20) and another with human body, lion's face, and crocodile's tail (v 15–21).

12–13 κε[φαλὴν ....] PGM. The recurrence of ὁρκίζω in 19 suggests against reading [ἐξ]|ορκίζω into the following line; probably rather κε[φαλήν· ὅτι], a common transitional device between the enumeration or command of demonic entities and their adjuration: e.g., PGM IV 395–396, κατάδησον τὴν δεῖνα (…) ὅτι ὁρκίζω σε, νεκυδαῖμον.

13–19. Preisendanz compares an originally Mesopotamian sequence of colors for the seven planets linked to metals, with reference to a discussion by Pradel (Citation1907, 82–83); add now Lumpe and Bietenhard (Citation1991, 178–179). Hopfner (Citation1921, 155 §613) connects the passage with the description in Herodotus (1.98) of the seven-colored walls of Ecbatana, supposed to represent the seven planets. These colors, however, fail to match the Vienna papyrus, and the emphasis in the latter is on the materials, not their color: note especially ἐλεφάντινος "ivory" in place of λευκός "white", ἀδαμάντινος "adamant" without any direct color reference, and μαλακηκτός "mallow-colored stone" (for μολοχιτικός(?), from μολοχῖτις [Pliny, NH 37.114], with the same vocalic interchange as found in μολόχη/μαλάχη "mallow"). There is a heavenly topographic system that gives a closer result, as it includes primarily precious metals and gems: the Arabic treatise Al-miʿrağ ("The Ascent": Cerulli Citation1949) describes the progress of the prophet Muhammad, guided by the angel Gabriel, through eight heavens, iron, bronze, silver, gold, pearl, emerald, ruby, and topaz respectively. If an older origin is wanted, it would be better to look to the doctrine espoused by Celsus (and attributed by him to a Persian, Mithraic one) according to Origen (Contra Celsum 6.22): a heavenly ladder with seven gates, each of a different metal (lead, tin, bronze, iron, alloy, silver, gold), symbolizing one of the planets (Saturn, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Moon, and Sun respectively), with an eighth gate beyond.

14 οὐρανοῦ PGM; rather οὐ(ρα)νοῦ, as $\overline{\text{ουνου}}$ pap.

19 [ὑμᾶς] PGM; there is a trace of ink before the break consistent with ὑ[μᾶς].

20 πνεύματα τὸν κύριον PGM; rather πν(εύματ)α τὸν κ(ύριο)ν as $\overline{\text{πνα}}$ and $\overline{\text{κν}}$ pap., this time acknowledged in the apparatus.

30 ἄνθρωπον PGM; rather ἄν(θρωπ)ον as $\overline{\text{ανον}}$ pap.

30–31 μὴ [ἐν ὕδατι κακ]|όν PGM, but the disposition of the following lines (esp. 34–35 ὁρκί|ζω) shows that the right edge of the papyrus is nearly intact, with loss of a single letter at most and enough of a right margin preserved in 30 to suggest it ended with μή, as in the first edition. The articulation ὅν at the beginning of the next line then becomes

inevitable and the syntax intolerable; probably a longer sequence of negations in μή has fallen out in the copying (not on the papyrus) after ἐν πυρί (as already suspected by ed.pr.), including but not limited to ἐν ὕδατι as in PGM, and culminating in, e.g., “not anything contrary to the oath that you will make” (⟨ … μή τι ἐναντίον τῷδε⟩ ὃν ποιήσεται τῷ ὅρκῳ) or simply “not to do anything contrary to the oath” (⟨ … μή τι ἐναντί⟩ον ποιήσεται τῷ ὅρκῳ). The mistake may have resulted from a skip of the eye in copying (πυρί … ἐναντί-).

33 κυρίου PGM; rather κ(υρίο)υ as κ͞υ pap.

34 ἀνθρώπους PGM; rather ἀν(θρώπ)ους as ανο͞υς pap.

35 πνεύματα PGM; rather πν(εύματ)α as πν͞α pap.

37 ἄνθρωπον PGM; rather ἄν(θρωπ)ον as αν͞ον pap.

ἔκθαμβ[ον] PGM (similarly ed.pr.). The papyrus is nearly complete at right, and the left part of o is clear, so too the left end of an overstroke for ν, as in line 19 ελεφαντινο͞ν: here ἔκθαμβο(ν).

38–39 ἀλλοι|ωσείνη (l. ἀλλοι|ωσύνην) PGM; rather ἀλλοί|ωσειν (l. ἄλλοιωσιν) {ἤ}, the copyist having anticipated the conjunction after the following φρενῶν. There are no other attestations for ἀλλοιωσύνη, and the nexus ἀλλοίωσις (τῶν) φρενῶν is found in Byzantine authors (e.g., Theodorus Studites, Ep. 520); in a demonological context, a decan in the Testament of Solomon admits to “stealing away the wits and deranging the heart” (φρένας ἀποκλέπτω καὶ καρδίας ἀλλοιῶ, 18.30).

41 πατέρα κα[ὶ υἱό]ν PGM; rather π(ατέ)ρα καὶ ὑ(ἱό)ν as πρ͞α and ὑν̄ pap., and as Anastasia Maravela points out, space also favors an abbreviated [πν(εῦμ)α] at the end of the line.

45–46 κ[αὶ ἁγίους | ὅρκ]ους PGM. Before the break in 45, there is further ink after κ. The most likely reading for this curved trace is αι in ligature as κ, although the form is somewhat different from the preceding writings of καί in 41 and 42. There is a further trace of ink to the left of -ους in 46, and the gap before that is too large in turn for [ὅρ]κους, making [τού]τους a better fit, before which [ὅρκους] will have ended the following line, where, to judge from previous lines, the reconstruction of PGM is again too short. The sequence could still conceivably have run κ(αὶ) [ἁγίους ὅρκους | τού]τους, but [μεγάλους ὅρκους] also deserves consideration as the nexus φοβερὸς καὶ μέγας with ὅρκος is attested (Alexander Romance recension F, 48.8), whereas φοβερὸς καὶ ἅγιος is not.

46 κύριος Ἰησοῦς PGM; rather κ(ύριο)ς Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς as pap.

[κελεύει …] is printed at the end of the line in PGM (following ed.pr.). There is one more trace before the break that does not suit κ[ελεύει], nor ἐ[πιτιμᾷ], ἐ[πιτάσσει], or

ⲡ̣[ροστάσσει] (compare line 5 above). The claim ⲇ̣[ιώκει ὑμᾶς] would suit the context, an application of a motif common in apotropaic incantations and related texts in which a command to flee (as probably [φεῦγε] here in 1) is motivated by a claim of pursuit by a higher power: see §6 above. The line-end would thus coincide with a complete thought, which does not however guarantee that the papyrus is complete at the foot. The trace also allows the expected ⲓ̀(ησοῦ)ς Ⲭ̣[(ριστό)ς] before the verb, but there is no trace of the left terminus of an overline for before the break.

The following text and translation combine the corrections proposed here with those of Maltomini; the line numbers in PGM are one higher in each case through the assumption there of a lost first line (see above). Other minor divergences are noted in the apparatus.

[ἐκ] ⲇ̣εξιῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ̣ [φεῦγε ῥῖγος τρι-]

[τε͂ο]ν ἢ τεταρτε͂ον ἢ .[

[...]διδων δὲ πυρετῶ[ν

[...] ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τ[οῦ φοροῦντος]

5 [τὸ φυ]λακτὸν τοῦτο ὅτι πρ[οστάσσει]

[σοι] θ(εὸ)ς τοῦ Ⲓστραηλ ὃ[ν οἱ ἄγγελοι]

[εὐλ]ογοῦσι καὶ ἄν(θρωπ)οι δ[εδίασι καὶ]

[τὰ] πν(εύματ)α φρίττου, πάλι[ν δὲ καὶ τὸ δαι-]

[μόν]ιον οὗ̣ τὸ ὄνομα σμ[

10 [...]οραν καὶ φοραν[

τὸ ἔχων πόδας λύ[κου καὶ τοῦ]

βατράχου τὴν κε[φαλήν· ὅτι]

ὁρκίζω αὐτὸ τοὺ[ς κύκλους]

τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ, τὸν πρῶ[τον .....]

15 τὸ δεύτερον ὐακ[ίνθινον, τὸν τρίτον]

ἀδαμάντινον, τὸν [τέταρτον]

μαλακηκτόν, τὸν πέμ̣π̣[τον .....]

τὸν ἕκτον χρυσίδην, τ[ὸν ἕβδομον]
ἐλεφάντινο(ν). ὁρκίζω ὑ[μᾶς, ἀκά-]
θαρτα πν(εύματ)α, τὸν κ(ύριο)ν ἡμῶν [....]
μὴ ἀδικήσεται τὸν φοροῦντα
τοὺς ὁρκισμοὺς τούτους, ἀναχω-
ρήσαται ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, μὴ ὑποκρύ-
ψηται ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, μὴ ὑπὸ
κλίνην, μὴ ὑπὸ θυρίδαν, μὴ
ὑπὸ θύραν, μὴ ὑπὸ δοκούς, μὴ
ὑπὸ σκεῦος, μὴ ὑπὸ βόθυνον
κάμψηται. ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, ἅτιγ[α]
ὠμόσαται ἐπὶ Σολομῶνος, μὴ ἀ-
δικήσεται ἄν(θρωπ)ον μὴ ἐν πυρί, μὴ ⟨ ⟩
ὃν ποιήσεται τῷ ὅρκῳ, φοβηθέντ[α]
τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ τὸ ἀλληλουΐα καὶ τὸ
εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ὃς ἔπαθεν δι’
ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀν(θρώπ)ους. κα[ὶ] νῦν ὁρκί-
ζω ὅσα ἐστὶν πν(εύματ)α ἢ κλέοντα
ἢ γελῶντα φοβερ[ῶς] ἢ ποιοῦντα
τὸν ἄν(θρωπ)ον δυσόνιρ[ον] ἢ ἔκθαμβο(ν)
ἢ ἀμαυρίαν ποιοῦντα ἢ ἀλλοί-
ωσειν {η} φρενῶν ἢ ὑπ[ο]κλοπὴν
κᾳὶ ἐν ὕπνῳ καὶ δίχα ὕπνου. ὁρ-

κίζω αὐτὰ τὸν π(ατέ)ρα καὶ ὑ[(ἱὸ)]ν κ(αὶ) ἅγιον [πν(εῦμ)α]

κ(αὶ) τοὺς ἁγίους ἀγγέλ[ους] τοὺς [παρεσ-]

τῶτας ἐνώπιον τῆς [δόξης τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ]

ἀναχωρῆσε ἀπὸ το[ῦ φοροῦντος]

45 τοὺς φεβεροὺς κ(αὶ) [..... ὅρκους]

[τού]τους ὅτι κ(ύριο)ς Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς δ[ιώκει ὑμᾶς?]

. . . . . .

1 υϊ- pap. || 1–2 l. τριταῖον || 2 l. τεταρταῖον || 6 θ̄c̄ pap. || ϊστρα̅η̅λ pap. || 7 ανο̅ι̅ pap. || 8 πν̄α pap. || l. φρίττου(σι)ν || 8–9 πάλι[ν c. 8 δαι|μόν]ιον PGM || 11 in fine [τοῦ δέ] PGM || 13 τοὺ[ς ἑπτὰ κύκλους] PGM || 14 ου̅νου̅ pap. || 15 ῡακ- pap. || 17 l. μαλακικτόν (μολοχιτικόν)? || πέμ[πτον PGM || 18 l. χρυσίτην || 19 ελεφαντινο̄ pap. || [ὑμᾶς PGM || 20 πνα̅ pap. || κ̄ν̄ pap. || ἡμῶν: κακοῦν[τα] PGM, corr. Maltomini, suggesting [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν Χ(ριστό)ν](?) in fine || 21 l. ἀδικήσετε || 22–23 l. ἀναχωρήσατε || 23–28, 39 ῡπ- pap. || 23–24 l. ὑποκρύψητε || 25 l. θυρίδα || 28 l. κάμψητε || ῡμ- pap. || ἅτι[να] PGM || 29 l. ὠμόσατε || 29–30 l. ἀδικήσατε || 30 ανο̅ν̅ pap. || 31 l. ποιήσετε || 32 αλληλουϊα pap. || 33 κῡ pap. || 34 ανου̅ς̄ pap. || 35 πν̄α pap. || l. κλαίοντα || 36 φοβερ[ὰ ἢ] PGM; φοβερ[ῶς] ἤ Maltomini || 37 ανο̅ν̅ pap. || l. δυσόνειρον || εκθαμβο̄ pap. || 38–39 l. ἀλλοίωσιν || 40 ῡπνω pap. || δίχ[α] PGM || ῡπνου pap. || 41 πρα̅ pap. || υ̇ν̄ pap. || 41–42, 45 κ pap. || 42–43 τοὺς [ἐσ]|τῶτας PGM; corr. Maltomini || 43 τῆ[ς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν] PGM; corr. Maltomini || 44 l. ἀναχωρῆσαι || 45 l. φοβερούς || 46 κc̄ pap. || ιc̄ pap.

On the right (?) of the Son, flee, fever, tertian or quartan or … of all kinds (?) of fevers … withdraw from the bearer of this amulet, for the God of Israel commands you, whom angels bless and humans fear and spirits tremble at – and so too the demon whose name (is?) Sm[… (?)] … wasting and bearing (?) … which has feet of a wolf and a frog's head – for I adjure it by the circles of heaven, the first […], the second of hyacinth(-colored stone), the third of adamant, the fourth of mallow(-colored stone), the fifth […], the sixth of gold, the seventh of ivory. I adjure you, unclean spirits, by our Lord [Jesus Christ?] not to injure the bearer of these adjurations, to withdraw from him, not to hide in this ground, not to wind your way under a bed, under a window, under a door, under (floor-)beams, under furniture, at the bottom of a pit. I adjure you, all that swore before Solomon, that you not injure a human, not in fire, not in ⟨ … nothing contrary to?⟩ the oath that you will make, fearing the amen and the hallelujah and the gospel of the Lord, who suffered on account of us humans. Now too I adjure all the spirits that there are, either crying or laughing fearsomely or giving humans bad dreams or terrible frights or causing blindness or derangement or beguiling of the wits, both in sleep and outside sleep. I adjure them by the father and the son and the holy spirit and the holy angels who stand in front of the glory of the Lord to withdraw from the bearer of these fearsome

and [great(?)] oaths, for the lord Jesus [pursues you(?)]

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes
1 T.Louvre inv. AF 6761; for an image, see https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010003436.

2 For panels with such tabs compare, e.g., the model coffin British Museum EA65372 (Thebes, 18th Dynasty; image: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA65372_1); and for the corresponding notches to receive them, e.g., the coffin-fragment British Museum EA46665 (Zitman Citation2010, 2:131, 216; image: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA46665).

3 The translation follows Horsley (New Docs. II 13); in Suppl.Mag. it is pointed out that a month-date is also possible, but no month name is included, and the age of the addressee has been focalized in ἄωορος (20).

4 “With the assistance of” on the title page; “these papyri were studied by Dr. E. J. Goodspeed, who deciphered part of those here edited and is associated with us in their publication; to him we also owe the bulk of the indices” (P.Tebt. II preface p. v). For an image of the papyrus, now in the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, see https://digicoll.lib.berkeley.edu/record/231702.

5 “Student Travel Letters vol. 2”, box 48, folder 1, Edgar J. Goodspeed Papers, University of Chicago, Special Collections Research Center. For Goodspeed’s career and his involvement with Grenfell and Hunt and P.Tebt. II, see Hickey and Keenan (Citation2021); Todd Hickey is thanked for the reference to Goodspeed’s account of his work on the amulet.

6 On l. 21 in reference to the parallel in BGU III 956: “we prefer [Wilcken’s] original reading ἤτοι to his emendation ἢ τοῦ”; see further the preface (P.Tebt. II p. v), “the summer of 1906, when we largely extended and altered the commentary”.

7 Goodspeed describes receiving the papyri from Hunt “all fixed up in nice shape between sheets of papers, numbered and straightened out”: “Student Travel Letters vol. 2” (see n. 5 above), letter of 12 June (continuation of 11 June).

8 For an overview of the contents of the temple’s library, see Ryholt (Citation2017).

9 If a human author and not the god Horus (compare the attributions of Greek magical texts to Hermes among the papyri, e.g., Suppl.Mag. II 72 [GEMF 4]), perhaps the Egyptian Horus of Mendes cited by Aetius of Amida (Iatrica 15.27; probably the same man is called simply Horus, ibid. 7.35, 101).

10 On von Bok, see Bierbrier (Citation2012, 66). During this second of his two missions for the Hermitage (the first in 1888–1889), whose focus was Coptic art, he also excavated in Middle Egypt (Sohag, Assiut).

11 See also De Bruyn and Dijkstra (Citation2011, 188–189 no. 35). There is also an English translation based on the text of PGM in Meyer and Smith (Citation1994, 50–51 no. 27).

12 Subsequently hosted at http://papyri.info/apis/hermitage.apis.21 (last accessed 16 January 2025).

13 It is first stated that the writing is “nur auf dem Rekto” but then that it “verläuft senkrecht zur Faserung und zur Höhenrichtung” (P.Ross.Georg. I, p. 161).

14 Ed.pr. Sijpesteijn (Citation1984) (“primitiven Zeichnungen”); reproduced in C.Illum.Pap. 325.

15 P.Brit.Mus. inv. EA 10376 (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2022a, 111–123, text no. 2), 7–9.

16 διασκελίζειν: e.g., for erotic magic (εἰς ἔρωταν) in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2419, fol. 144v (Delatte Citation1927, 457–458); ἐπισκελίζειν for use on a wife who has come to hate her husband: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, II C 33, fol. 234v (Delatte Citation1927, 619). An incantation against “magic” includes a narrative motif in which John the Baptist and the twelve apostles confound seven witches (μάγισσες) whose activities include, in their own words, “stepping-overs” (διασκελίσματα) among other rituals (μάγια καὶ κομποδέματα, ἀντίμαγα, φάρμακα): Athens, National Historical Museum, Archive of Historical Documents, 210, fols. 68r–71r (Delatte Citation1927, 120–122).

17 For detailed discussion of some examples and symbolic interpretations, see Dosoo (Citation2018).

18 P.Brit.Mus. inv. EA 10434b (Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2022a, 157–168, text no. 5), 49; add now P.Monts.Roca inv. 980 (Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar Citation2022, 244–246 no. 1).

19 Diana Yount of the Andover Newton Theological Seminary is thanked for supplying images while the papyrus was still kept there; it is now in the Library of the Yale Divinity School under call-number RG 305.

20 From a facsimile provided by the British Library, where the piece is now kept (Papyrus 1189), the reading ˛ηρλς' seems preferable to ˛βρλς' as in the first edition.

21 For the processing numbers, which remain to be studied in detail, see Zellmann-Rohrer (Citation2018b, 197–198).

22 P.Oxy. VII p. [v]: “The great majority” of the papyri in the volume are from this season, with “a few” from the previous two, and “one or two in the non-literary section” from the first season.

23 P.Oxy. VIII p. [v]: 1082–1083 and 1091–1092 are said to come from the 1905/6 season.

24 Also taking account of a correction proposed by Hagedorn (Citation2003, 226) in lines 38–39. Hunt’s translation is also reprinted in Milligan (Citation1922, 150), and a revised version appears in Meyer and Smith (Citation1994, 40–41 no. 16). Wessely (Citation1924, 193–196) (417–420) gives a French translation and commentary. The text is included in the checklist of de Bruyn and Dijkstra (Citation2011, 186–187 no. 21), and is mistakenly adduced among “Parallel attestations of the Lord’s Prayer (Matt. 6.9–13)” in La’da and Papathomas (Citation2004, 111–112). An image of the papyrus can be found at: https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/library/files/special/images/papyrus/0012rwf.jpg (last accessed 16 January 2025).

25 For an observation on a nomen sacrum abbreviation in the text, see Chronopoulou (Citation2020).

26 Munich, BSB, clm 7021, fol. 158v (Schönbach Citation1893, 29–30 with Zellmann-Rohrer Citation2025, 259): timete, siluas non tangite, fugite, fugam non tendite. Abraham uos detineat, Isaac uos detineat, Iacob in tectum uos perducat amen. Abraham uos sequatur, Ioseph te preueniat.

27 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2316, fol. 369r (Oikonomou-Agorastou 1982, 90 no. 248), Ἀβραάμ σε διώκει, Ἰσαάκ σε ὑποστρέφει, Ἰακώβ σε καταλιμπάνει, καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ὑποστρέφει σε ὅθεν κακῶς ἐξῆλθες. For another version in a fifteenth-century manuscript, see Vassiliev (Citation1893, 341) and Delatte (Citation1927, 626).

28 For a summary of the rules, see Maas and Trypanis (Citation1963, 512), and for the historical development, Lauxtermann (Citation1999).

29 See, e.g., Dewing (Citation1910, 418). An auxiliary accent is also posited for accentual rhythm in Latin verse: Wilkinson (Citation1963, 90 n. and 107–109).

30 Various features resonate with those inventoried in the dated but still useful study of

Heim (Citation1893, 544–547) as characteristic of ancient Greek incantations: balanced clauses, isocola reinforced by anaphora and assonance, homoioteleuton, and alliteration.

31 Wessely (Citation1886, 187; 1893, 70–71); English translation based on PGM: J. Scarborough in Betz (Citation1986, 281). For discussion of the diminishing figure of the palindrome, see Faraone (Citation2012, 23–24). An image is available at: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00002489.

32 The address to the demons, and the invocation of the creator god as an example of Jewish influence on Christian exorcisms, are briefly mentioned in Bartsch (Citation1967, 56 and 62 respectively). There is an English translation by M. Meyer in Meyer and Smith (Citation1994, 44–45 no. 20); the text is listed in de Bruyn and Dijkstra (Citation2011, 188–189 no. 27). A more popular interest is reflected by selection for two public exhibitions, with catalogue entries by H. Förster in Henner, Förster, and Horak (Citation1999, 47 no. 36); similarly Ernst (Citation1996, 46–47 no. 20). For an image of the front (only), see http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00010485.

33 For some examples, see Zellmann-Rohrer (Citation2014).

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TM Nam = Trismegistos: An Interdisciplinary Portal of the Ancient World, database People, www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php(open in a new window) (see in general Broux 2019).
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KYP = Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts (https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscripts-search/(open in a new window)), cited by manuscript number.
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Cairo Genizah

It is a battlefield of books, and the literary production of many centuries had their share in the battle, and their disjecta membra are now strewn over its area"
Solomon Schechter

Genizah Fragments

View only items in the Taylor-Schechter Collection
View only items in the Mosseri Collection

The Taylor-Schechter Cairo Genizah Collection at Cambridge University Library is the world's largest and most important single collection of medieval Jewish manuscripts. For a thousand years, the Jewish community of Fustat (Old Cairo), placed their worn-out books and other writings in a storeroom (genizah) of the Ben Ezra Synagogue, and in 1896–97 the Cambridge scholar, Dr Solomon Schechter, with financial help from the Master of St John’s College, Charles Taylor, arrived to examine it. He received permission from the Jewish community of Egypt to take away what he liked (explaining later, ‘I liked all’), and he brought 193,000 manuscripts back to Cambridge, where they form the Taylor-Schechter Cairo Genizah Collection.

The storeroom where the manuscripts were stored by the community of Fustat was a genizah, a sacred storeroom. According to rabbinic law (see, for instance, Mishna Shabbat 16:1), once a holy book can no longer be used (because it is too old, or because its text is no longer relevant) it cannot be destroyed or casually discarded: texts containing the name of God should be buried or, if burial is not possible, placed in a genizah.

At least from the early 11th century, the Jews of Fusṭāṭ, one of the most important and richest Jewish communities of the Mediterranean world, reverently placed their old texts in the Genizah. Remarkably, however, they placed not only the expected religious works, such as Bibles, prayer books and compendia of Jewish law, but also what we would regard as secular works and everyday documents: shopping lists, marriage contracts, divorce deeds, pages from Arabic fables, works of Sufi and Shi'ite philosophy, medical books, magical amulets, business letters and accounts, and hundreds of letters: examples of practically every kind of written text produced by the Jewish communities of the Near East can now be found in the Genizah Collection, and it presents an unparalleled insight into the medieval Jewish world.

Alongside the T-S Collection, Cambridge University Library is also now the home of the Jacques Mosseri Genizah Collection. Assembled by the successful Cairene businessman, Jacques (Jack) Mosseri in the first decade of the twentieth century, these manuscripts were intended to remain in Egypt as part of the Jewish community's cultural heritage. However, after Mosseri's premature death in 1934 and his family's subsequent departure from Egypt, his eponymous collection disappeared from scholarly view until the 1970s, when it was microfilmed by a team from the Jewish National and University Library. Following discussions with members of the Mosseri family, in 2006 this 7000-fragment collection came to Cambridge University Library on a 20-year loan, where it is being conserved and digitised.

At the moment, over 33,000 manuscripts from across the Taylor-Schechter, CUL Or. and Jacques Mosseri Collections are available online. More manuscripts are being added on a regular basis.

The Genizah Research Unit at Cambridge University Library is responsible for the curation, digitisation and description of the Genizah Collection.

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Hebrew Bible (Add.863.2)
Deuteronomy 10:11-17; 11:19-23 with full vowels and accents, including rafe, and masora in the upper and lower margins. ... more
MS-ADD-01246
Book of Josippon (Add.1246)
Book of Josippon (ספר יוסף בן גוריון) in its Judaeo-Arabic version. It begins in the list of nations, referring to Macedonia ... more
MS-ADD-02586
Legal document (Add.2586)
Deed of sale in which Abū l-Faḵr b. ʿAmram sells to Abū l-Faraj a quarter of the apartment belonging to him in a house belonging ... more
MS-ADD-03124-A
Legal document: ketubba (Add.3124A)
Marriage deed (ketubba) dated Thursday 13 Nisan [1]606 Sel. (= 31 March 1295 CE) in Fusṭāṭ. There is only a solitary signature ... more
MS-ADD-03124-B
Legal document: ketubba (Add.3124B)
Karaite marriage deed, written on 10 Adar 5612 A.M. and 2163 Sel. (= 3 March 1852 CE) in Cairo (אלקהרה הסמוכה לצוען מצרים). ... more
MS-ADD-03158
Liturgy (Add.3158)
Prayerbook (siddur) containing liturgy for Šabbat. Reif (1997 no. 437) notes that it extends from the magen avot for Friday ... more
MS-ADD-03159-00001
Liturgy (Add.3159.1)
A bifolium from Saʿadya's Siddur, corresponding to pp. 21-23, 30-31 of the printed edition by Davidson et al (1963). The ... more
MS-ADD-03159-00002
Liturgy (Add.3159.2)
Liturgical text in Judaeo-Arabic, with the texts in Hebrew, on the morning blessings through to the qeduša before the šemaʿ, ... more

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Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity - A Corpus of Magic Bowls
Levene, Dan; (2000) Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity - A Corpus of Magic Bowls. Doctoral thesis (Ph.D), University of London. Green open access

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Abstract
Since the first magic bowl text in Jewish Aramaic was edited by Thomas Ellis in 1859 there have only been just over 100 such texts published. Among the most significant contributors were James A. Montgomery, Cyrus Gordon, Edwin Yamauchi, Markham J. Geller, joined more recently by Tapani Harviainen, Christa Muller-Kessler as well as Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked. This dissertation includes text editions with critical apparatus for twenty hitherto unpublished magic bowl texts in Jewish Aramaic. The commentary contains philological analyses and comparison with other published and unpublished bowls, Jewish amulets from Late Antiquity, magical Geniza material, classic Jewish sources up to the medieval period, Hekhalot, and Jewish liturgy. Special features and differences between duplicate texts are discussed. A comprehensive glossary, lists of names, and photographs of the bowls are provided. The introduction includes a description of the bowls, a review of the main grammatical features of the Jewish Aramaic dialect of the bowls, a discussion of some other sources with which these texts share material and motifs and an analyses of the importance of duplicate texts. The limited number of bowl texts which are available for study means that many of the problems which have risen in the process of editing have remained unsolved. This new corpus includes a wide spectrum of material including rare curse texts, legal as well as liturgical formula, new lexical material and parallels to previously published texts which allow corrections and in some cases new readings. The occasional employment of other contemporary dialect forms as well as non-Jewish motifs expose the world of magical practice in Late Antiquity to have been fertile ground for cross cultural exchanges.

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DAN LEVENE, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia: "May These Curses Go Out and Flee"* (Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 2). Brill, Leiden 2013. Pp. xiv + 164. Price: €98.00 hardback. ISBN: 978-90-04-25092-5.

The present volume is the author's second monograph on the subject of the Aramaic incantation texts from Late Antique Mesopotamia inscribed upon terracotta bowls,[1] and the very first volume by any scholar on a specific sub-genre within those texts: curse texts or aggressive incantations, which stand out from a genre (namely, bowl magic) that is otherwise defensive.[2] Levene has assembled 30 exemplars of this sub-genre, including 12 from the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin and the Samir Abu Dehays Collection that had never been published before, and an additional two from the Vorderasiatisches Museum that had been published in the late nineteenth century but for which Levene was able to dramatically improve upon the original readings and translations. These new texts are undoubtedly the most exciting thing about this offering, but scholars will also benefit from his improved readings of the sixteen other texts that have been assembled in this volume. The volume concludes with a bibliography of relevant literature, a synopsis of seven formulae that are characteristic of these aggressive incantations, glossaries of vocabulary and different classes of proper nouns, and an index of seventeen biblical quotations found within this corpus.

Each publication of such texts brings with it a wealth of new data, and the potential for disagreement over their interpretation. The language of these incantation texts differs from that of the classical texts, and they present their own challenges to interpretation that reflect their independence from those texts. Even some of the most common terms encountered in the bowl corpus are problematic cruces, and in some cases Levene has supplied idiosyncratic translations without further commentary (although in fn. 31 on p. 8 he suggests that he might take up the thorny question of terminology again in a future publication). This is the case, for example, with the common terms *rāzā* 'secret; mystery,' which he regularly glosses as 'spell,' *millaṯā* 'word,' which he glosses as 'incantation', and the problematic term *disqā*, which Segal[3] derives from Greek δίσκος, Müller-Kessler[4] considers to be a corruption of *dastabīrā* 'written deterrent' based on the parallels,[5] and which Levene glosses simply as 'document.'

[1] The first is D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* (London and New York 2003).

[2] Another important publication in the same series is S. Shaked, J.N. Ford and S. Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells — Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls — Volume One* (Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 1, Leiden, 2013). The largest corpus of incantation bowls to be published in recent years is J.B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London 2000).

[3] Segal, *Catalogue*, 66.

[4] C. Müller-Kessler, 'Die Zauberschalensammlung des British Museum', *Archiv Für Orientforschung* 48–49 (2001), 115–45 (122).

[5] See also R.G. Kent, 'The Etymology of Syriac Dastabīrā', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 31:4 (1911), 359–64.

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The presentation of the data is thorough, professional, and succinct. Only two minor omissions detract from the utility of the publication, namely the lack of references to the provenance and script of the bowls.

The vast majority of the published corpus of incantation texts was acquired through purchases from antiquities dealers and therefore lacks any clear provenance. The texts published in this volume are no different in this regard. Of the bowls published for the very first time in this volume, those from the Vorderasiatisches Museum were acquired from a Baghdad dealer in 1886, and one is from the personal collection of Jordanian financier Samir Abu Dehays. The six bowls from the British Museum collection are also of unknown provenance. Bowls N&SH 6 and 7, originally published by Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked and currently in the Israel Museum, both come from the personal collection of an Iranian businessman, Mr Alqanayan.[6] Bowl N&SH 9, likewise from the collection of an unnamed private collector, was in the possession of Victor Barakat at the time of its original publication. Mr Barakat attributed it to 'the Bethany area in the vicinity of Jerusalem', a provenance which the two scholars regarded with scepticism.[7] N&SH 21 comes from another private collection, the Einhorn Collection in Tel Aviv, as does N&SH 23, from the Alexander L. Wolfe Collection in Jerusalem.[8] The one bowl from the Royal Ontario Museum, 907.1.1, was originally published without any indication of provenance,[9] and the final bowl, Yale Babylonian Collection 2393, was acquired for that collection by Albert Clay and allegedly comes from Nippur.[10] Thus, of this entire collection of texts, only two have vague provenances, of which one is extremely dubious.

Therefore, the author can be certainly excused for omitting any information about the provenance of these bowls, as there is not much to say in that regard. Unfortunately, the lack of any provenance makes the inclusion of a script chart all the more critical. Without knowing the precise geographic origins of the bowls, or the likely time periods during which the bowls were deposited, deduced from the stratigraphic context within which they would have been recovered under the controlled conditions of a proper archaeological excavation, the only way that we can recover this crucial information is by establishing a typology of the script used in the bowls and classifying them through reference to the script of those bowls that have been recovered from archaeological excavations. James A. Montgomery encouraged this as a best practice in his publication of the Aramaic incantation texts from Nippur,[11] but he has admittedly seldom been followed in this regard. For these reasons, I have drafted a script chart of the newly published texts in this collection.

[6] J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*[3] (Jerusalem, 1998), 160.

[7] Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 178.

[8] J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1993), 127–32.

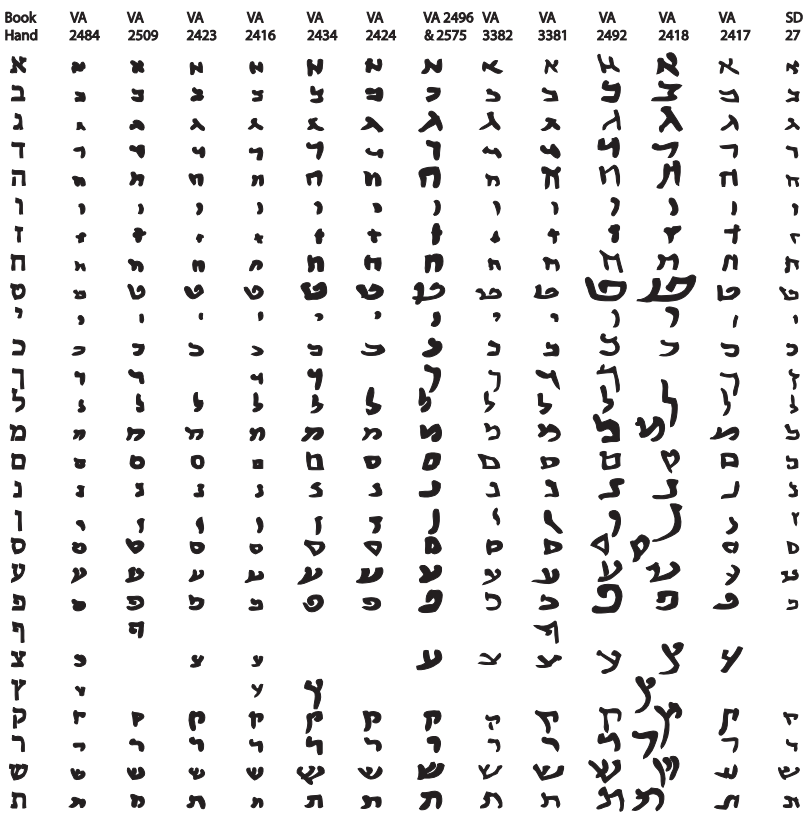
[9] W.S. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean Incantation Bowls in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto 1967), 3–5.

[10] J. Obermann, 'Two Magic Bowls: New Incantation Texts from Mesopotamia', *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 57:1 (1941), 1–31 (2).

[11] J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia 1913), pls XXXIX and XL.

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Table 1. Comparison of Scripts



Inadvertently demonstrating the utility of such a chart, Levene draws attention to the script of the bowls at several points throughout his work, such as when he notes the similarity between the hands of two incantations in the British Museum on p. 10, and the peculiarity of the script of VA 2417 on p. 90. For the non-specialist, it is extremely useful to have examples of the letter forms organized in one place to illustrate these claims.

The latter text, VA 2417, stands out even against the unusual backdrop composed by these texts. He draws our attention to what he considers several Mandaeisms in the language of the bowl, such as *'əlāḵ* for *'ălāḵ* 'to/for you' (*passim*) and *'apārā* for *'apārā* 'dust' (l. 8). In his translation, he glosses (l. 7) the name <'ḤWRBH> as 'at/on the ruin' and the accompanying epithet <'WTR'> as 'place', but in light of the other Mandaeisms in the text it might be possible to analyse the name as a compound along the same lines as Mandaic **iurba** *Yurbā*, 'the great Yāhû/Iao' who is identified with the supreme deity of the Jews in the Mandaean Book of John. Hence *'Aḥūrbāl'Aḥū rabbā* would mean something like 'Big Brother', and his epithet could be cognate with Mandaic **eutra** *'uṯrā* 'excellency.' I would also like to suggest that

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the words that follow be read, *ʾuṯrā də-Samqī* 'the excellency of Samqi'[12] *w-ʾuṯra d-ileḏ ʾaḥdī* 'and the excellency who brought joy to a child' (or possibly even *yalḏ[ī]* 'children.')

This text is also noteworthy for the reappearance (in l. 5) of the genius 'Abīṭūr, who first appeared in a bowl excavated by Layard at Tell Amran ibn Ali, BM 91710, the very first of the incantation bowls to attract scholarly attention.[13] In his edition of the British Museum's collection, Segal identifies this being with the Mandaean 'Third Life,' **abatur** *ʾAḇāṭūr*, albeit without merit. To my knowledge, this being appears nowhere else within the corpus, so his reappearance here is certainly welcome, as it provides an additional clue to a central Mesopotamian provenance. The incantation itself, for raising a pack of 'zombies' to invade a victim's home, consume all the food and beverages, and generally raise mayhem, is also unique within the corpus of incantation texts.

It would be difficult to improve upon Levene's fine readings, which are cautious and well-substantiated. For this last text, VA 2417, I might only tender the following alternative suggestions:

l. 7	*yleḏ ʾaḥdī*	'he delighted a child'	for	*ṣad ʾərāḏī*	'hunting wild asses'
l. 9	*kursēhon*	'their thrones'	for	*kursēḵon*	'your thrones'
l. 10	*ʾuḏnā*	'ear'	for	*ʾīḏ{ḏ}ā*	'hand (?)'

In closing, this volume serves as a useful reference for researchers interested specifically in curse texts, but daunted by the prospect of rummaging through the disconnected and at times contradictory scholarship that has accumulated over the course of over a century and a half on the thousand or so bowl texts that have thus far been uncovered, searching for the few that are directly relevant to their interests.[14] Levene should be commended for bringing these texts to scholarly attention and making them accessible to a broader audience.

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[12] Wohlstein ('Ueber einige aramäische Inschriften auf Thongefassen des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 9 (1894), 11–41 (41)) identifies Samqi as a Babylonian place name, citing a swamp of that name mentioned in Tractate Yebamoth, ch. 16.4, 121a ('Once a man drowned in the swamp of Samqi (*ʾāḡmā də-Samqī*), and Rav Shela permitted his wife to marry again'). In this he is followed by Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 296. The description of Samqi as a 'swamp' and the reference to Rav Shela likely place it somewhere in the vicinity of Nehardea. Drower (*Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* [Oxford, 1937], 94–5) hypothesizes that the *ʾuṯrī* were originally 'originally life-spirits bringing fertility and wealth in the shape of rain and springs', which would certainly be consonant with this identification.

[13] Segal, *Catalogue*, 55.

[14] The first such texts were published in A.H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London 1853), 434–48, 150 years prior to the publication of this volume. Since that point, there has been a nearly continuous stream of publications on the corpus. The interpretation of these texts has been the occasion for a not inconsiderable amount of polemic between the scholars engaged in this task, which further complicates the efforts of non-specialists to make sense of the corpus and apply it to their own research.

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Edited by

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Preface

This book contains the select proceedings of a panel that never happened. Originally conceived by Marco Moriggi, we convened the panel *Syriaca Magica* as part of the *XIII Symposium Syriacum*, which was to be held in Paris in the July of 2020. Because of the global COVID pandemic, and the accompanying uncertainty, we decided to press ahead with plans to publish the papers ahead of any future meeting. Still, we are grateful to the Société d'études syriaques for its assistance, and in particular to Françoise Briquel Chatonnet, Alain Desreumaux, Muriel Debié, Margherita Farina, and Flavia Ruani. We are also grateful to James Nathan Ford for his assistance, particularly with the preparation of the chapter by Gaby Abousamra, and to the staff at the publisher, E.J. Brill, for their patience and professionalism, particularly Katelyn Chin and Erika Mandarino. We would also like to express our thanks for the research funds received by Moriggi, which were provided by the 2020/21 PIACERI research support program at the Università di Catania—Dipartimento di Scienze Umanistiche (S.WART Project, director Professor Dr Stefano Rapisarda). Finally, we thank our loved ones for their continued support: Marco thanks his wife, Maria Teresa, and his daughter, Lea, for the hectic and vibrant life they share together, and Siam thanks his wife, Anne, for her grammatical exactitude and inexplicable love.

Marco Moriggi and Siam Bhayro
Milan and Exeter, June 2021

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CHAPTER 1

Syriac Studies and Magic: An Introduction

Marco Moriggi and Siam Bhayro

1 Introduction

Those familiar with the geological feature *fluviokarst* will know that 'the pattern of surface stream channels and stream valleys is still in evidence, though much of the drainage may be underground'. Furthermore, 'as the valley cuts deeper and deeper into the carbonate rocks, the stream that flows through it loses water into the limestone through joints and fractures, which begin to enlarge into cave systems'.[1] This feature presents us with an apt metaphor for how Syriac studies has treated magic, whose effects are manifest while the cause is very much underground.[2]

2 Magic in Syriac Studies

As it happens, Syriac magic has been studied since the emergence of Syriac studies, albeit usually in a negative manner, or, at best, in a way that contextualises it within the framework of late-antique and early-modern 'iathromagic' practices.[3] Beyond this, magic in Syriac studies has been largely ignored, if not directly censored, with what would be considered mainstream Syriac scholarship consigning the subject to the margins. The following three examples, drawn from recent scholarship, demonstrate this well, but more examples could be adduced.

The recently-published volume dedicated to *The Syriac World* contains no chapter specifically devoted to magic texts and practices in Syriac culture.[4] Despite this omission, magic seeps through the cracks, appearing briefly in five other chapters:

– Bar-Asher Siegal's chapter on 'Judaism and Syriac Christianity' (pp. 146–156) refers to the 'interconfessional milieu' and 'shared magical tradition' of the magic bowl texts (pp. 149–150).

1 See https://www.britannica.com/science/fluviokarst (last visit 25.01.2021).
2 The term 'magic' and its use in this volume is discussed below.
3 See the contributions by Pearson and Bhayro in this volume.
4 D. King (ed.), *The Syriac World* (London, 2019).

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– Kessel's chapter on 'Syriac Medicine' (pp. 438–459) discusses magic in the context of 'folk-medicine' (p. 445), especially in relation to the Syriac *Book of Medicines* (p. 448).
– Gzella's chapter on 'The Syriac Language in the Context of the Semitic Languages' (pp. 204–221) refers briefly to the 'sub-literary register' of the Syriac magic bowls (p. 217).
– Briquel-Chatonnet's chapter on 'Writing Syriac: manuscripts and inscriptions' (pp. 243–265) refers to magic bowls and scrolls as typologies of written evidence in Syriac written documents (pp. 248, 251).
– Herman's chapter on 'The Syriac World in the Persian Empire' (pp. 134–145) refers to how Syriac magic texts give evidence for religious syncretism in the Sasanian period (p. 141).

For such a bulky volume, which contains 896 pages in the printed edition, this handful of references seems frankly rather poor, and strongly suggests that the *communis opinio* is still the patently negative one expressed by Badger (and his contemporaries and successors) more than one hundred and fifty years ago.[5]

Similarly, the *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* does not feature any entries concerning 'magic', 'incantation', 'amulet', and the like.[6] And, again similarly, such themes seep into the treatment of other topics, for example into Van Rompay's entry on 'Inscriptions' (pp. 208–211) and Butts's entry on 'Syriac Language' (pp. 390–391). This provides yet another confirmation that Syriac magic is often not taken seriously as a subject in its own right, but is used when convenient in support of other subjects that are considered to be more important or orthodox.

This is especially the case with one particular topic in Syriac studies, namely the relationship between Syriac Christians and Jews, as is demonstrated by the volume that was recently edited by Butts and Gross.[7] The chapter by Belinitzky and Paz, 'Bound and Banned: Aphrahat and Excommunication in the Sasanian Empire' (pp. 67–88), uses the evidence provided by the Syriac and Jewish Aramaic magic bowls in a comparative analysis of Aphrahat's *Demonstrations* and the Babylonian Talmud, concluding that 'Aphrahat, in turn, could be better understood and illuminated on the backdrop of the function of the ban in the Babylonian Talmud and the incantation bowls' (p. 87). Earlier, the authors note

5 See the contribution by Pearson in this volume for further details.
6 S.P. Brock, A.M. Butts, G.A. Kiraz and L. Van Rompay (eds), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, 2011).
7 A.M. Butts, S. Gross (eds), *Jews and Syriac Christians: Intersections across the First Millennium* (Tübingen, 2020).

that 'the lexical juxtaposition of banning and binding points to proximity of the incantation formulae and the apparent legal ban presented by Aphrahat and the rabbis, once again highlighting the porousness of the artificial boundary between magic and law' (p. 79). It is thus not surprising that in the 'Introduction' (pp. 1–26), in which the editors discuss how 'Syriac studies has much to offer for the contextualization of Babylonian Judaism', one finds 'magic' among the genres of Syriac texts (pp. 5–6). Having said that, it is clear that it is Syriac literature (vis-à-vis Babylonian Jewish Literature), as opposed to Syriac texts in general, that remains the main focus of these essays. The only other place where 'sorcerers and blasphemers' are quoted is in Rubenstein's chapter on 'Syriac Christian Sources and the Babylonian Talmud' (pp. 255–279; see pp. 274–275). It would seem, therefore, that 'Syriac literature' is still conceived as a narrow space where only 'literary', that is 'orthodox', 'canonical' texts are included.

The persistence of this kind of approach to magic sources in Syriac studies is probably best explained by two factors. First, Syriac literature was transmitted mainly in ecclesiastical contexts (scriptoria, schools, etc.), with the result that this transmission was subject to specific ideologies that governed its choices of texts, traditions, reading practices, and even single textual variants. Second, despite the early (albeit dismissive) interest in Syriac magic texts by scholars in Syriac studies, it is clear that, in terms of esteem and thus priority, it was religious literature (especially of Greek origin) that was most valued, especially in comparison with amulets and other 'superstitious' practices.

Be that as it may, after more than one hundred and fifty years, it is high time for this historic prejudice to be explicitly rejected, and for a new discourse to be firmly established in Syriac studies. Following the suggestion of Lucas Van Rompay, it is surely now time to consider 'the Syriac bowls [and magic texts] as a part of Syriac literature, especially because of their importance as a source for the study of the Syriac language'.[8]

3 Syriac Magic in the Study of Magic

While the treatment of magic in Syriac studies has left a lot to be desired, it is also true that the treatment of Syriac sources and traditions in the study of magic in general has been far from ideal. Unlike the former situation, however,

8 L. Van Rompay, 'Some remarks on the language of Syriac incantation texts', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *v Symposium Syriacum 1988* (Rome, 1990), pp. 369–381 (381).

this is less to do with historic prejudice and more to do with the state of the field. After all, scholars who are not specialists in Syriac studies can hardly be expected to integrate Syriac sources into their research if those sources are themselves neglected by specialists. General studies of magic cannot be blamed if they simply reflect the state of the more specific field. A recent example of this is the excellent volume edited by Frankfurter, in which he states 'Gaps in coverage will be inevitable—the neglect of Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic sources being most glaring'.[9]

4 Magic in This Volume: Methodology, Approach, Perspectives

Magic as a topic within religious studies, anthropology, and the humanities in general is not the subject of this book. Instead, it is our aim to introduce a new perspective in Syriac studies, highlighting the significance of the subfield of Syriac magic both within and without Syriac studies. To extend the *fluviokarst* metaphor, the study of Syriac magic has accompanied and supported the mainstream flow of Syriac studies; nevertheless, many caves remain to be explored. It is our hope that this book will demonstrate the value of such explorations, and prompt further research.

As editors, we were happy for those contributing to this volume to use the term 'magic' without engaging with questions of definition, unless they wanted to clarify their own peculiar attitude towards this term.[10] Even though we did not ask our authors to take or to express a position on this, we nevertheless want to draw some lines of demarcation within which we may set our heuristic approach to the study of Syriac magic. First of all, we share both of the following observations by Sanzo, first that the 'conclusion to abstain from using the term magic in scholarship is ultimately unhelpful', and, second, that 'magic should in fact be kept as one of our heuristic categories in the study of antiquity'.[11]

9 D. Frankfurter, 'Preface', in Idem (ed.), *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic* (Leiden, 2019), pp. xi–xii (xii).

10 Scholarly interest in magic has increased in the last few decades; in this regard, it is instructive to see the first three footnotes in L.M. Bortolani, S. Nagel, 'Introduction', in Eaedem, W.D. Furley, J.F. Quack (eds), *Cultural Plurality in Ancient Magical Texts and Practices: Graeco-Egyptian Handbooks and Related Traditions* (Tübingen, 2019), pp. 1–23 (1). As this may be addressed from various topical, cultural, geographical and temporal perspectives, it is clear that the recent increase in scholarly interest will only accelerate.

11 J. Sanzo, 'Deconstructing the deconstructionists: a response to recent criticisms of the rubric "Ancient Magic"', in Idem, A. Mastrocinque, M. Scapini (eds), *Ancient Magic: Then*

In this sense, the recent words of Frankfurter may be considered a watershed (even for Syriac magic):

> … 'magic' or 'magical' can serve as a *quality* of certain practices and materials that highlights for our scholarly scrutiny features of materiality, potency, or verbal or ritual performance we might not otherwise appreciate as part of a culture's religious world, or aspects of the social location of ritual practices we might not otherwise appreciate. 'Magic'—the category—becomes thus a heuristic tool rather than a second-order (etic) classification …[12]

Moreover, 'magic' or 'magical' are by no means meant to translate any of the indigenous Syriac terms related to this subject. As it happens, this is not just the case for the Syriac traditions, but also for the comparable traditions, whether ancient (e.g. Egyptian, Sumerian, Akkadian, etc.) or more recent (Jewish, Mandaic, etc.).[13]

Having clarified that, in Syriac studies as well as in other related fields, 'magic' may be a heuristic tool,[14] we can now turn to discuss the main feature to which we apply this tool in order to better understand and contextualise Syriac magic as a cultural phenomenon of Late Antiquity and beyond, namely texts. There are hundreds of Syriac magic texts, most of which still need to be published, with many of the already published ones needing a fresh analysis. These texts are not just elements of a written dimension; they are 'amulets (including gems) for healing and protection, figurines for ritual focus and gestures, inscribed bowls for protection from demons, and of course, ritual manuals',[15] in all their 'lettered' and/or 'semi-lettered' typologies,[16] as well as in their materiality.[17]

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and Now (Stuttgart, 2020), pp. 25–49 (28). See also the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the use of this category in C.I. Lehrich, 'Magic in theoretical praxis', in B.-C. Otto, M. Stausberg (eds), *Defining Magic: A Reader* (Sheffield, 2012), pp. 211–228; J. Sørensen, 'Magic reconsidered: towards a scientifically valid concept of magic', in Otto, Stausberg (eds), *Defining Magic*, pp. 229–242.

12 D. Frankfurter, 'Ancient Magic in a New Key: Refining an Exotic Discipline in the History of Religions', in Idem (ed.), *Guide*, pp. 3–20 (13–14; emphasis by Frankfurter).

13 D. Frankfurter, 'Introduction', in Idem (ed.), *Guide*, pp. 29–35 (29).

14 This in fact will emerge in some of the contributions published in the present volume.

15 D. Frankfurter, 'The Plan of this Volume', in Idem (ed.), *Guide*, pp. 21–26 (24).

16 R. Kotansky, 'Textual Amulets and Writing Traditions in the Ancient World', in Frankfurter (ed.), *Guide*, pp. 507–554 (508–509).

17 D. Frankfurter, 'Magic and the Forces of Materiality', in Idem (ed.), *Guide*, pp. 659–677 (660–661).

The texts and objects of Syriac magic are *per se* 'documents of specific historical subcultures',[18] but, in their turn, they cannot be fully understood except in the framework of Syriac culture, the late-antique Mesopotamian milieu, and so on. These texts are evidence for Syriac magic as far as we are able to rightly understand what their authors intended for them. In spite of the fact they pertain to the domain of microhistory, they are properly understood in a wider context. We are thus attempting to establish an approach to research that, starting from single groups of texts and objects, interprets the texts through the lens of concepts like 'relation' (including 'interrelation'), 'plurality', and 'fusion'.[19]

Before we describe how these three terms should be understood, both in respect of the contributions in this book and beyond, we want to stress that, as regards 'comparison' and 'syncretism', two renowned, recurrent, leading categories in the study of magic, we think that, if we cannot move beyond the fundamental tool of comparison, we should use it in the manner proposed by Sanzo (deriving his approach from Bonnell), i.e. distinguishing each time 'between the analytical use of comparison (i.e. oriented around similar kinds of individuals/groups at a particular period of time) and the illustrative use of comparison (i.e. attempting to illuminate a broader idea, concept, or model that transcends specific groups or a particular time period)'.[20] This approach may avoid one of the most dangerous tendencies in comparative studies, namely 'parallelomania'.[21] As for 'syncretism', even though we did not *veto* its use by the contributors to this volume, our preference is for 'plurality' in the sense that we explain it below.[22]

The first element we want to address is that magic may be understood in terms of 'relationship', i.e. as a process, a factual sequence of actions for which we find only sparse hints or references in the texts we study. A significant portion of Syriac magic has thus been lost, despite the potential for the evidence

18 Frankfurter, 'Ancient Magic in a New Key', in Idem (ed.), *Guide*, p. 9.

19 The first concept comes from Veltri's approach to ancient Jewish magic; see the contribution by Moriggi in this volume. For the other two, we are indebted to Bortolani, Nagel, 'Introduction', in Eaedem, Furley, Quack (eds), *Cultural Plurality*, p. 3.

20 Sanzo, 'Deconstructing', p. 31.

21 See S. Sandmel, 'Parallelomania', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962), pp. 1–13; B. Barnes, *Contextualising Syriac Anathema: Bridging the Gap between Suggestions of Comparison in Late Antique and Nineteenth Century Christian Ritual Practice* [University of Southampton, Faculty of Humanities, Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (2016), unpublished], pp. 5–6.

22 For a discussion of the term 'syncretism', with its possible—negative—nuances in a broader anthropological perspective, see Frankfurter, 'Ancient Magic in a New Key', in Idem (ed.), *Guide*, p. 19 (n. 46).

of modern and contemporary magical practices of the near eastern Christian communities (often Neo-Aramaic-speaking and writing) to help us to reconstruct plausible scenarios.[23] Thus Veltri wrote:

> … magic clearly does not possess an existence of its own. Rather, it relies on those relationships that obtain among the performers and actors of magical practices. Thus it emerges in an interstitial space where the magician is the protagonist: the magic circle, the magician's sole preserve. The 'work' of a magician always presupposes the existence of a real or imaginary audience without which the magical act cannot take place. Magic is that in-between space—an interstitial component of political and social pertinence …[24]

Furthermore, looking at the texts presented, discussed, and referred to in this book, we are faced with what Veltri describes as follows:

> … the nature of magic is to be found in the process which leads from the hidden to the 'unhidden' and vice-versa. It is neither the origin nor the goal that are magical, but rather the way (or path) leading from one to the other. It is characteristic of magic that elements from one culture pass into the other, without the receiver being able or willing to understand the transmitted contents …[25]

Magic, therefore, whether ancient, late-antique, medieval, or modern, is an empirical matter. Obviously, texts do not always depict reality. Instead, they often present what their authors intend to obtain from them, thus partly or totally overshadowing the relationships involving practitioners, clients, and society in general.

Fortunately, texts often speak by themselves, as long as we use a sound philological approach to let them speak for themselves.[26] Emending an ancient text according to a presumed 'standard grammar' is always wrong, and is a patent

23 See the contributions by Calabro and Abousamra in this volume.

24 G. Veltri, 'Steinschneider's interstitial explanation of magic', in R. Leicht, G. Freudenthal (eds), *Studies on Steinschneider: Moritz Steinschneider and the Emergence of the Science of Judaism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 233–246 (233).

25 Veltri, 'Steinschneider's interstitial explanation', in Leicht, Freudenthal (eds), *Studies on Steinschneider*, p. 245.

26 See, for example, the remarks of M. Morgenstern, 'On some non-standard spellings in the Aramaic Magic Bowls and their linguistic significance', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 52 (2007), pp. 245–277 (277).

mistake for magic texts (including Syriac ones). Indeed, it is doubtful whether any 'standard grammar' of an ancient *Restsprache*, or indeed a literary language attested across two millennia such as Syriac, can be assumed. Linguistic choices in the broader sense are due to both internal factors, which relate to the demands of the language itself, and, largely, external cultural factors, which—as demonstrated in various articles and works over the last decades—are not always easy to discern.

The picture of Syriac magic texts that emerges thus reflects relationships among cultures, i.e. among living men and women rather than simply texts and objects. To use another geological metaphor, it is like sediment that accumulates from multiple materials over a prolonged period. It is best not to speak of this in terms of 'melting pots', 'crucibles', and the like, where the resulting indefinite colour hides all the preceding colours and nuances. We think that our texts better resemble a petrographic thin section, where colours alternate, intersect, are present at the same time but in different places, maybe according to tonality or with colours confronting each other in a striking way. As with the case of petrographic sediments with telluric forces, all the cultural motifs were gathered in that very context and compacted tightly by the pressure of textual and pragmatic needs. We thus think that the resulting presence of elements of different cultural origins

> … can thus be described as 'plurality', while instances in which these elements overlap to such an extent that it is almost impossible to disentangle them can be described as examples of 'fusion'. In detail, cultural plurality and fusion can manifest themselves in a range of different dynamics: from phenomena such as simple borrowing, through advanced adaptation, up to complete assimilation or even distortion of origin and meaning …[27]

5 The Contents of This Volume

The contributions to this volume, therefore, have been assembled with the aim of offering a critical assessment of where we are as a field, and to demonstrate the potential, indeed the necessity, for the field to be taken forward in a methodologically sound manner. Accordingly, the first contribution by Abigail Pearson analyses how Syriac magic practices were first brought to the attention of the academic world nearly one-hundred and seventy years ago, at a time

27 Bortolani, Nagel, 'Introduction', in Eaedem, Furley, Quack (eds), *Cultural Plurality*, p. 3.

when magic was often treated with suspicion or dismissed as having little scholarly value. Pearson demonstrates how the negative effects of these attitudes have proved difficult to dismantle and, consequently, how the study of Syriac magic is still in its early stages as progress has often been slow and sporadic. She begins with publications that date from 1852 to 1945, and examines the myriad of social, intellectual, and cultural influences which caused magic texts to be ignored. She then considers publications from 1946 to 2019, outlining how changes in the way magic was perceived led to greater recognition of the contributions this material could make to our understanding of social and religious history, and assessing both their positive contributions as well as some shortcomings. She ends by outlining some *desiderata*, stressing in particular the importance of a sustained approach to the publication of more primary source material.

Following this, Siam Bhayro discusses how, for every period for which we have evidence, we can see Syriac Christian priests preserving, studying, and practising both the magical and medical arts. The nature of the evidence changes from period to period, with the modern period providing both manuscript evidence and eye-witness testimony, the medieval period furnishing manuscript evidence, and the late-antique period giving more indirect evidence. Taking a diachronic approach, however, means that the more recent evidence shines a light on the earlier, less illuminated periods. This, in turn, permits a consistent picture of Syriac Christian priestcraft to emerge from the modern, medieval, and late-antique periods, suggesting a remarkable degree of continuity in terms of magical-medical therapeutic knowledge and practice. This revolves around two manuscript types—the magical 'Book of Protection' and the magical-medical 'Book of Medicines'—which probably first appeared during the so-called 'Syriac Renaissance' (eleventh–thirteenth centuries CE) as learned and practical handbooks for use by priests.

In the next chapter, Marco Moriggi discusses how the testimony of the incantation bowls springs directly from the realm of micro-history and may thus shed more light than the canonical texts on the real, day-to-day, interactions between cultural groups. It is possible, when one analyses the Syriac incantation bowls more closely and for more than simply the presence of Jewish elements, to discuss the interaction between Syriac Christianity and Judaism in Sasanian Babylonia from a new perspective. This new approach may, on the one hand, yield new data for the study of Jewish-Christian relations, and, on the other, foster the creation of a methodology based on linguistic variation in texts that are parallel but that come from different cultural traditions.

The next chapter, by Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, considers new contributions to the history of Syriac magic from an editorial project on the so-called 'Book

of Protection' or 'Book of Charms' and related texts. Zellmann-Rohrer shows in impressive detail how these compendious ritual handbooks, extracts of which are dispersed in miscellanies, and the finished amulets that were produced from such handbooks, are more numerous and widely distributed than previously thought (based in particular on the important but limited publication by H. Gollancz), both diachronically and geographically throughout greater Mesopotamia and beyond. He presents excellent examples of how our understanding of these texts, whether published or unpublished, can be advanced, how they are a rich source for the daily life and thought of the Christian communities that they served, and how the textual motifs can also be contextualised in terms of broader ritual traditions in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

In his contribution, Nils Korsvoll addresses the comparative paucity of biblical references in the Syriac magic bowls and amulets from Late Antiquity, a phenomenon that has been considered notable and significant. Korsvoll brings recent developments in biblical studies and the study of magic to bear on this question, particularly in regard to the problem of the relevance and usefulness of definitive or teleological categories like *biblical*. He revisits the biblical references and invocations that are present in the Syriac amulets and bowls in light of such developments, drawing especially on David Frankfurter's proposal of an *authoritative discourse of precedent*, and thus proposes that they do not refer to the Bible or necessarily to a biblical story, but rather to narratives or figures in a wider *storied universe*.

This is followed by David Calabro's contribution, which describes the complex relationships between the different versions of Syriac charms produced within East Syriac communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some charms, such as the Anathema of Mar ʿAbdishoʿ, show a wide degree of variation, while others, such as the prayers that introduce the book, are relatively stable. Calabro presents a classification of the charms based on a comparison of three sections of the book: the introductory prayers, the Anathema of the Gospel, and the anti-weapon charms, concluding that the evidence suggests that the charms were spontaneous productions sharing a basic structure; the most textually stable charms are those which are shortest, those which are based on biblical quotations, and those which are produced by the same scribe.

In his contribution, Gaby Abousamra presents a catalogue of Christian features of the late antique Syriac magic texts, before moving on to list the parallel features in the modern Syriac magic texts. This enables him to argue for a degree of continuity from the ancient to the modern.

The final contribution is by Matthew Morgenstern and Ohad Abudraham. Moving away from Syriac sources, this chapter presents the first full edition

of an important Mandaic magic text, preserved on three lamellae, with reference to parallels preserved in several Mandaic magic bowls. The importance of publishing texts with reference to as many parallels as possible is clearly demonstrated, something which should be adopted into the treatment of Syriac magic texts. Furthermore, coming from the same cultural environment as the late antique Syriac sources, the Mandaic sources shed much light on the nature of magic in Sasanian Mesopotamia, but without the overt Christian elements that appear in some of the contemporary Syriac sources.

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CHAPTER 2

Syriac Magic: An Overview of Previous Approaches and Prospects for the Future

Abigail Pearson

1 Introduction

Syriac magic practices were first brought to the attention of the academic world nearly one hundred and seventy years ago, at a time when magic was often treated with suspicion or dismissed as having little scholarly value. The negative effects of these attitudes have proved difficult to dismantle and, consequently, the field is still in its early stages as progress has often been slow and sporadic. In this chapter, I review the previous literature published on Syriac magic, then outline the future prospects of the field. First, I discuss publications from 1852 to 1945, examining the myriad of social, intellectual, and cultural influences which caused magic texts to be ignored. Then, I consider publications from 1946 to 2019, outlining how changes in the way magic was perceived led to greater recognition of the contributions this material can make to our understanding of social and religious history. I discuss the key studies on Syriac magic published in this period, highlighting their positive contributions as well as some shortcomings. Finally, I outline *desiderata*, stressing in particular the importance of a sustained approach to the publication of more primary source material.[1]

2 1852–1945

In 1842, the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed G.P. Badger, a missionary and scholar, as the Church of England's delegate to the Church of the East.[2] As part of this role, Badger spent three years (1842–1844 and 1850) travelling in the Middle East—primarily in Iraq—where he learned much about the beliefs

1 For further discussion of *desiderata* and a list of published and unpublished Syriac amulets and magic manuscripts related to the *Book of Protection*, see the contribution by Michael Zellmann-Rohrer in this volume.

2 S. Lee (ed.), *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1901), p. 94.

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and practices of its Syriac Christian communities.[3] In his 1852 publication *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, Badger reported on the use of amulets amongst Syriac Christians:

> As might be expected in a people among whom education has been neglected for so many ages, and who cannot consequently be supposed to possess any deep or adequate sense of the high and holy truths which they profess, the Nestorians entertain many superstitions respecting the powers of evil, and the value of certain talismans to allay or counteract them. Thus they have charms against the evil eye, the poison of reptiles and plants, the rot and other diseases in sheep, the tyranny of rulers and the designs of wicked men, &c, most of which adverse influences are believed to be destroyed by certain passages of Holy Writ which are profanely used to this end [...] I regret to state that the clergy are generally the authors of these absurd and profane effusions.[4]

Badger reported useful information about the creation and use of magical amulets: that they are written by clergy and sold to villagers, and that they are usually copied from a handbook.[5] He also provided translations of four texts from one such handbook in his possession.[6] Aside from these contributions, however, it is impossible to ignore the strikingly dismissive tone of Badger's report. Badger believed that employing Biblical texts in amulets is blasphemous and deemed the practices 'superstition'. Badger also emphasised that, in his view, there is a clear and obvious distinction to be drawn between the 'high and holy truths' of religion and the 'absurd and profane' practice of magic.

Furthermore, Badger's racist attitudes towards Syriac Christians are laid bare. His assertion that Syriac Christians are uneducated, and his suggestion that this has so long been the case that nothing more could be expected, are shocking to the modern reader. Worse still is that Badger was not alone in the field in holding these views. In *De Philosophia Peripatetica Apud Syros Com-*

3 Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 94.

4 G.P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals* (2 vols; London, 1852), vol. 1, p. 238. The role played by the clergy in the transmission of magic is discussed by M. Moriggi, '"And the Impure and Abominable Priests Fled for Help to the Names of the Devils": Amulets and Magical Practices in Syriac Christian Culture between Late Antiquity and the Modern World', *Hugoye* 19.2 (2016), pp. 371–384. See also the contributions by Abousamra and Bhayro in this volume.

5 Badger, *Nestorians*, p. 240.

6 Badger, *Nestorians*, pp. 238–240.

mentationem Historicam (1852), E. Renan also gave an unsparing assessment of Syriac culture which was later adopted by W. Wright in his *Introduction to Syriac Literature* (1894).[7] Paraphrasing Renan, Wright stated that:

> We must own—and it is well to make to confession at the outset—that the literature of Syria is, on the whole, not an attractive one. As Renan said long ago, the characteristic of the Syrians is a certain mediocrity. They shone neither in war, nor in the arts, nor in science.[8]

Renan and Wright both labelled Syriac people as mediocre and dismissed outright that their literature might contain any material of artistic or scientific interest, demonstrating that Syriac literature faced prejudice within its own field from a pervading racism at the outset.

Badger's evident racism and his desire to draw a sharp distinction between magic and religion echo the dismissive attitudes towards foreign cultures and their beliefs that is characteristic of much of nineteenth-century scholarship. Hyam and Smith have described the years 1815 to 1915, in which Badger and Wright both lived, as Britain's 'imperial century' because it saw 'dramatic extensions of British territory'.[9] Colonial expansion meant Western nations were meeting a greater number of foreign cultures and in a much closer way than ever before. These new encounters prompted the emergence of anthropology, and inspired scholars to set about analysing, categorising, and comparing humans from across the globe. Inherent in these studies was a belief in the superiority of Westerners. As Hyam explains, a prevalent idea at the time was that all the nations of the world could be arranged in a hierarchical order based upon their level of advancement.[10] Advancement was defined by a 'British standard', assumed to be 'accurate and universally valid', which placed Western European nations at the top of the 'ladder of progress' and indigenous peoples of Oceania and the Americas at the bottom.[11] These views were espoused by the philosopher James Mill, the anthropologist Edward Tylor, and the biologist Charles Darwin, among others.[12]

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7 E. Renan, *De Philosophia Peripatetica apud Syros Commentationem Historicam* (Paris, 1852), p. 3; W. Wright, *An Introduction to Syriac Literature* (London, 1894), pp. 1–2.

8 Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 1–2.

9 R. Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815–1914: A Study of Empire and Expansion* (Basingstoke, 2002); S. Smith, *British Imperialism 1750–1970* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 71–83.

10 Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, p. 76.

11 Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, p. 77.

12 Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, p. 77.

Harari explains that these widespread ideas distorted how the practices and beliefs of the newly encountered peoples were perceived.[13] When anthropologists first attempted to define magic and distinguish it from religion, they too adopted an evolutionary model. James Frazer, a social anthropologist who studied under Tylor, represented magic as a primitive stage in humankind's beliefs about the supernatural, with religion being a later and more sophisticated development. In his influential study *The Golden Bough*, published in 1890, Frazer argued that 'the conception of gods as supernatural beings entirely distinct from and superior to man [...] has been slowly evolved in the course of history'.[14] With 'the first advance of knowledge', Frazer argued, 'prayer and sacrifice assume the leading place in religious ritual; and magic [...] sinks to the level of a black art'.[15] Implicit in this theory was the assumption that the West practices religion, whilst everyone else practices magic—ideas which inadvertently lent support to imperialism by implying that Britain's colonial expansion would bring about advancement in the subjugated peoples.[16]

Alternative definitions of magic were proposed in the early twentieth century by a French school of sociologists who rejected the evolutionary distinction.[17] Durkheim argued that practices could be defined as either religious or magical according to whether they are carried out by the community or the individual, respectively.[18] Durkheim's view is succinctly summarised in his assertion that 'there is no "church of magic"'.[19] Similarly, Mauss and Hubert argued that the distinction lay in how a practice was perceived in the society being studied.[20] This perception, they argue, affects where and how a rite would be carried out, with 'magical rites [...] commonly performed in the woods, far away from dwelling places, at night or in shadowy corners, in the secret recesses of the house or at any rate in some out-of-the-way place', whereas religious rites are 'performed openly, in full public view'.[21] Whilst this school of

13 Y. Harari, *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kabbalah* (Detroit, 2017), pp. 15–23.

14 J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion* (London, 1890), pp. 31–32.

15 Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, pp. 31–32.

16 Harari, *Jewish Magic*, p. 16.

17 For a detailed overview of the sociological approach to defining magic, see Harari, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 32–44.

18 É. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, translated by K.E. Fields (New York, 1995 [1912]).

19 Durkheim, *Religious Life*, p. 42.

20 H. Hubert and M. Mauss, 'Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie', *L'Année Sociologique* (1902–1903), pp. 1–146.

21 Hubert and Mauss, 'Théorie générale de la magie', pp. 18–19; Translation from M. Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic* (New York, 1972), p. 24.

thought moved away from the evolutionary idea, they perpetuated negative connotations surrounding magic by presenting it as individualistic, secretive, and peripheral.

These narratives also pervaded the popular culture of the time, where foreign cultures were subject to further exoticisation and demonisation. As Stibbe explains, geographical expansion led to 'cultural colonialism' in which the traditions, arts, and rituals of different cultures were appropriated for entertainment purposes.[22] Nowhere did this occur more evidently than in the world of entertainment magic, which surged in popularity during the Victorian era. Stibbe outlines how Victorian entertainment magic perpetuated imperialist ideals by amalgamating the traditions of foreign cultures with illusory tricks that could be debunked.[23] Stage magicians dressed their performances in an array of props, words, and legends drawn from foreign cultures, which allowed the audience—aware of the illusory nature of the performance—to feel superior to those who believed in the appropriated rituals.[24] Offstage, a more sinister association was fuelled. Advertisements regularly depicted common tropes of the East—such as veiled women, men wearing the fez, exotic animals, and Egyptian hieroglyphics—alongside frightening hellish characters like skeletons, demons, devils, and ghosts. In these ways, entertainment magic succeeded in merging together distinct elements of various non-Western cultures into one monolithic 'other' which was subsequently labelled magic and amalgamated with charlatanism and the diabolical.

Due to these negative connotations, magic texts could at best be considered the superstitions of primitive nations, and at worst as attempts to harness malevolent powers. In such a climate, it is easy to understand why so few studies on Syriac magic texts were published—especially in comparison to studies on what were considered to be more conventional Christian texts. Over nine decades, only eight studies on Syriac amulet scrolls or magic handbooks were published, along with just six studies on Syriac incantation bowls. For the most part, these publications were of single texts which appeared sporadically. Individual Syriac bowls were published by Ellis (1853), Montgomery (1912 & 1917–1918), Lidzbarski (1916), and Allotte de la Fuÿe (1924). Small selections of amulet texts were published by Hall (1892), Hazard (1893), Gollancz (1899), Nau (1907), and Macler (1908). Only two substantial publications of Syriac magic texts appeared. These were Montgomery's *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*

22 A. Stibbe, 'Abrakadabra, Alakazam: Colonialism and the Discourse of Entertainment Magic', *Surroundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 88:3/4 (2005), pp. 413–425 (414).

23 Stibbe, 'Colonialism and the Discourse of Entertainment Magic', pp. 413–425.

24 Stibbe, 'Colonialism and the Discourse of Entertainment Magic', p. 414.

(1913), which included seven Syriac incantation bowls, and Gollancz's *The Book of Protection* (1912), which contained transcriptions and translations of four Syriac amulet books.

Colonial discourse also affected how Syriac magico-medical traditions were received and discussed. Two texts of this genre were edited and published in this period: Budge's *Book of Medicines* (1913) and Gottheil's *Contributions to Syriac Folk-Medicine* (1899).[25] Budge's *Book of Medicines* is a transcription and translation of a lengthy Syriac medical manuscript containing three distinct sections. The first consists of medical lectures on parts of the body, interspersed with traditional remedies. In a series of articles published between 1926 and 1946, Schleifer demonstrated that these medical lectures were based on the works of Galen.[26] The second section contains astrological, mathematical, and divinatory materials such as calendrical knowledge, definitions of weights and measures, and hemerologies. The third section contains over one hundred traditional remedies for physical injury or disease. These are arranged according to the part of the body affected; beginning with those that affect the head and working downwards. Gottheil's *Syriac Folk-Medicine* is a transcription and translation of a shorter version of section three, based on ms. Syriaque 325 from the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Budge prized what he believed to be of Greek origin in the *Book of Medicines* (and believed to be of Greek origin what he prized) whilst making disparaging remarks about the indigenous Syriac medical tradition. He praised the first section, writing that it 'exhibits everywhere the touch of a master hand'.[27] Moreover, he noted that the author speaks with respect of the 'ancients', and concludes that 'the men to whom he refers under this appellation were not the priests who used spells and incantations […] but the great founders of Greek medicine […] who were the first to give medicine the status of a science'.[28] In a stark contrast, Budge wrote that the second section was added to the work by 'some student or scribe who could not free himself from the trammels of the beliefs of some of his contemporaries', and, likewise, the third section 'must have been written by "physicians" who were both ignorant and superstitious'.[29]

25 R.J.H. Gottheil, 'Contributions to the History of Syriac Folk-Medicine', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 20 (1899), pp. 186–205; E.A.W. Budge, *Syrian Anatomy, Pathology and Therapeutics or 'The Book of Medicines'* (2 vols; London, 1913).

26 For a complete list of these articles see S. Bhayro, 'The Reception of Galen's Art of Medicine in the Syriac Book of Medicines', in B. Zipser (ed.), *Medical Books in the Byzantine World* (Bologna, 2013), pp. 123–144 (142).

27 Budge, *Book of Medicines*, p. v.

28 Budge, *Book of Medicines*, pp. x–xi.

29 Budge, *Book of Medicines*, p. xi.

It is clear that Budge sought to separate Greek medicine from Syriac medicine by representing the former as rational and the latter as irrational. The Greek medical tradition has long been regarded in this positive light because it was thought to underpin the Western medical tradition.[30] Thus, in the same way that foreign beliefs were depicted as magic to distinguish them from Western religion, medicine was divided into Western and non-Western. This also echoed and supported colonial ideals by presenting the Western colonisers as the bringers of true medicine to an uncivilised local populace.

A similar sentiment was expressed by Gottheil. Though Gottheil was not as impressed by Greek medicine as Budge ('where the names Hippocrates and Galen are still highly prized, such ignorance cannot excite wonder'), he still made it clear that his interest in ms. Syriaque 325 lay solely in its potential to provide evidence that the works of Galen were transmitted in Syriac.[31]

The privilege both Budge and Gottheil accorded to Classical culture is characteristic of Syriac studies at this time. To demonstrate its prevalence, we can again turn to a citation of Wright—whom Budge had studied under at the University of Cambridge.[32] In his *Introduction to Syriac Literature*, Wright granted the Syriac writers one single positive attribute:

> They were apt enough as pupils of the Greeks; they assimilated and reproduced, adding little or nothing of their own [...] Yet to the Syrians belongs the merit of having passed on the lore of ancient Greece to the Arabs, and therefore, as a matter of history, their literature must always possess a certain amount of interest in the eyes of the modern student.[33]

For Wright, the value of Syriac literature lay primarily in its role as a transmitter and preserver of Greek literature.

With all this considered, it is clear that Syriac magic was introduced to the western academic world at an unfortunate time. Racism, imperialism, academic discourse, and popular culture all combined to devalue, amalgamate, and stigmatise non-Western belief systems. Yet, there are still positives to be drawn from the studies which were published. For instance, the negative per-

30 J. Scarborough and P.J. Van Der Eijk and A. Hanson and N. Siraisi (eds), *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 3–4.

31 Gottheil, 'Syriac Folk-Medicine', p. 186.

32 S. Bhayro and S. Rudolf, 'Budge's Syriac Book of Medicines after One Hundred Years: Problems and Prospects', in S.V. Panayatov and L. Vacín (eds), *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic: Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 116–130 (119–120).

33 Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 2.

ception of magic meant scholars of this period justified their interest in these texts by focusing on the contributions they could make to our knowledge of the Syriac language. As a result, these publications laid the foundation for subsequent research by highlighting philological, palaeographical, and orthographic points of interest. As with many disciplines, however, research began to slow with the onset of the First World War, and the threads begun in these early studies were not picked back up again until after the Second World War.

3 1946–2019

Since the mid-twentieth century, the category 'magic' has been subject to several reinterpretations. A growing awareness of the ethnocentrism at the heart of previous definitions led many scholars to question its validity as a category in academic discourse. For example, Wax and Wax condemned previous definitions as 'wholly ethnocentric', 'inutile', and 'misleading', and they argued that suggested dichotomies of magic and religion, such as manipulative/supplicative, 'should be discarded from social scientific literature'.[34] When Mauss' *Theory of Magic* was republished in English translation in 1972, one reviewer noted that the 'modern reader [...] may reject the basic premise of the argument, that a distinct category of magical belief and action exists in society'.[35]

The prevailing response to the issues surrounding the word magic was to cease using it. This manifested in one of two ways: either magic was replaced with technical descriptors such as 'rituals for gaining power', or it was subsumed into its once opposing category to be considered as part of religion. The first option was particularly popular among Classics scholars. For instance, the word 'magic' is avoided in Gager's *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*.[36] The latter approach was adopted by many anthropologists, with several concluding that no distinction could be made between magic and religion in the societies they studied.[37] Hammond, for instance,

34 R. Wax and M. Wax, 'The Notion of Magic', *Current Anthropology* 4:5 (Dec., 1963), pp. 495–581 (495 and 502).

35 W. James, 'Reviewed Work: A General Theory of Magic by Marcel Mauss', *African Affairs* 73:291 (Apr. 1974), pp. 234–235 (234).

36 J.G. Gager (ed.), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1992).

37 Y. Harari, 'What is a Magical Text?', in Sh. Shaked (ed.), *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity* (Leiden, 2005) pp. 91–124 (104).

argued that 'magic is not an entity distinct from religion but a form of ritual behaviour and thus an element of religion'.[38]

On the whole, Semitists have been happier to retain 'magic' and have tended to opt out of the theoretical debates regarding its definition. Shaked emphasised that, although magic is difficult to define, it is not difficult to identify.[39] In his study of ancient Jewish magic, Bohak argued that as long as we understand that 'magic' is our category—not that of the society being observed—and that it serves only as a heuristic device, then it can be a useful label.[40] In Syriac studies specifically, many scholars including Moriggi, Müller-Kessler, and Bhayro, describe texts as 'magic' without addressing the definitional dilemma. These studies do, however, contribute to the (re)definition of 'magic' by using it as a neutral rather than a negative category.

Whilst the debate on how to define magic is not settled, these dialogues have helped to change attitudes towards practices and beliefs labelled as such. As stated by Shaked, this has led to 'a real revolution' in the perception of magic and its importance for understanding the history of religion.[41] Bhayro, writing specifically about incantation bowls—though his words apply to many kinds of magical text—described them as 'perhaps the most important source we have for studying the everyday beliefs and practices of [...] communities'.[42] He emphasised that their content 'is an uncensored witness to the clients' anxieties, desires, and methods of seeking to influence the divine realm'.[43] These changes in attitude have encouraged studies on magic in many guises and in many disciplines to increase, as has been the case for the study of Syriac magic.

The Syriac incantation bowls from late antiquity have received the most attention in this period. Studies came slowly at first: only four studies on bowls were published in the first four decades following the Second World War—Teixidor (1962), Hamilton (1971), Harviainen (1978), and Gignoux (1984).[44] Research picked up in earnest in the mid-1980s, beginning with Naveh and

38 D. Hammond, 'Magic: A Problem in Semantics', *American Anthropologist* 72:6 (Dec., 1970), pp. 1349–1356 (1355).

39 Sh. Shaked, '"Peace be Upon You, Exalted Angels": on Hekhalot, Liturgy, and Incantation Bowls', *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 2:3 (1995), pp. 197–219 (197).

40 G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 61–62.

41 Sh. Shaked and J.N. Ford and S. Bhayro (eds), *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Magic Bowls* (Leiden, 2013), pp. xv.

42 S. Bhayro, 'Magic as the Basis for Social Cohesion in pre-Islamic Mesopotamia', *Societas Magica Newsletter* 25 (Spring, 2011), pp. 2–5 (4).

43 Bhayro, 'Magic as the Basis for Social Cohesion', p. 4.

44 J. Teixidor, 'The Syriac Incantation Bowls in the Iraq Museum', *Sumer* 18 (1962) pp. 51–62; V.P. Hamilton, *Syriac Incantation Bowls* (Ann Arbor, 1971); T. Harviainen, *A Syriac Incantation Bowl in the Finnish National Museum, Helsinki: A Specimen of Eastern Aramaic*

Shaked's influential work *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (1985).[45] This work included two Syriac incantation bowls and generated interest in Semitic magic more generally. Since then, another twenty-eight Syriac incantation bowls have been edited and published, with key contributions from Geller (1986), Segal (2000), and Müller-Kessler (2005), to name only a few.[46] In 2014, a significant contribution was made by Moriggi when he corrected, updated, and compiled forty-nine Syriac bowls that had previously been published into a single volume.[47]

The sustained effort towards the translation of Syriac incantation bowls has equipped scholars with the necessary source material to investigate an array of research questions. To give a few examples, studies on the Syriac incantation bowls have examined their linguistic and philological features (Moriggi: 2005 and 2012, van Rompay: 1990),[48] identified Jewish formulae used in them (Moriggi: 2015 and Bolz: 2015),[49] investigated their authorship (Juusola: 1999),[50] and debated their widespread classification as Christian texts (Korsvoll: 2017).[51]

This period has also seen a rise in the number of studies published on Syriac amulets. The silence on this topic that followed Gollancz's *Book of Protection* (1912) was broken in 1987, when Hunter published an article in which she

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"Koiné" (Helsinki, 1978); P. Gignoux, 'A New Incantation Bowl Inscribed in Syriac', *East and West* 34 (1984), pp. 47–53.

45 J. Naveh and Sh. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, 1985).

46 M.J. Geller, 'Eight Incantation Bowls', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 17 (1986), pp. 101–117; J.B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London, 2000); C. Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte in der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena, und weitere Nippur-Texte anderer Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden, 2005).

47 M. Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls* (Leiden, 2014).

48 M. Moriggi, 'Syriac Incantation Bowls and Linguistic Interference in Sasanian Babylonia', in A. Mengozzi (ed.), *Studi Afroasiatici: XI Incontro Italiano di Linguistica Camitosemitica / Afro-Asiatic Studies: 11th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics* (Milan, 2005), pp. 313–324 and 'Between Late Aramaic and Neo-Aramaic: Reflections on some Phenomena in Aramaic of Late Antiquity', *ARAM* 24 (2012), pp. 87–102; L. van Rompay, 'Some Remarks on the Language of Syriac Incantation Texts', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *V Symposium Syriacum, 1988: Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 29–31 août 1988* (Rome, 1990), pp. 369–381.

49 M. Moriggi, 'Jewish Divorce Formulae in Syriac Incantation Bowls', *Aramaic Studies* 13:1 (2015), pp. 82–94; S. Bolz, 'A Jewish Adjuration Formula in Three Syriac Magic Bowls', in M.E. Doerfler and E. Fiano and K.R. Smith (eds), *Syriac Encounters: Papers from the Sixth North American Syriac Symposium, Duke University, 26–29 June 2011* (Leuven, 2015), pp. 455–466.

50 H. Juusola, 'Who Wrote the Syriac Incantation Bowls?', *Studia Orientalia* 85 (1999), pp. 75–92.

51 N.H. Korsvoll, *Reconsidering 'Christian': Context and Categorisation in the Study of Syriac Amulets and Incantation Bowls* (Ph.D. dissertation, Norwegian School of Theology, 2017).

analysed a selection of amulets with the aim of establishing their typical structure.[52] Then, throughout the 1990s, Hunter was the sole contributor of articles on the *Book of Protection* and the amulet scrolls deriving from it. Her contributions include two general introductions to the use of amulets amongst Syriac Christians in the modern period (1995 and 2009),[53] a study of the syntax used in the amulets and how these might help us categorise them into different genres (1990),[54] translations of two amulet scrolls (1993 & 1999),[55] a translation of an amulet to bind weapons (1992),[56] and a comparison of amulets for safe travel taken from four different versions of *Book of Protection* (2015).[57] Aside from Hunter, only two more articles on the *Book of Protection* have been added to the discussion, published by Balicka-Witakowska (2008) and Lyavdansky (2011).[58]

Syriac amulets from the late antique and medieval periods have also been published, though these are less common. Hunter (2013 and 2017) translated three fragmentary magic texts found in Turfan, which are thought to date to between the ninth and thirteenth centuries.[59] The texts are all pas-

52 E.C.D. Hunter, 'Saints in Syriac Anathemas: A Form Critical Analysis of Role', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32:1 (1987), pp. 83–104.

53 E.C.D. Hunter, 'Amulets and the Assyrians of Kurdistan', *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society* 9:2 (1995), pp. 25–29; and 'Magic and Medicine Amongst the Christians of Kurdistan', in *The Christian Heritage of Iraq: Collected Papers from the Christianity of Iraq I–V Seminar Days* (Piscataway, 2009), pp. 187–202.

54 E.C.D. Hunter, 'Genres of Syriac Amulets: a Study of Cambridge Ms. Syr. 3086', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *V Symposium Syriacum, 1988: Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 29–31 août 1988* (1990), pp. 355–368.

55 E.C.D. Hunter, 'A Scroll Amulet from Kurdistan', *ARAM* 5 (1993), pp. 243–254 and 'Another Scroll Amulet from Kurdistan', in G.J. Reinink (ed.), *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Prof. Han J.W. Drijvers* (Leuven, 1999), pp. 161–172.

56 E.C.D. Hunter, *An Amulet for the Binding of Guns, Spears, Swords, Daggers and All Implements of War* (Oxford, 1992).

57 E.C.D. Hunter, 'Two Codex Handbooks of Amulets: Mingana ms syr 316 and Rylands ms syr 52', in S.H. Griffith and S. Grebenstein (eds), *Christsein in der islamischen Welt: Festschrift für Martin Tamcke zum 60. Geburtstag*, (Wiesbaden, 2015), pp. 423–437.

58 E. Balicka-Witakowska, 'Illustrating Charms: A Syriac Manuscript with Magic Drawings in the Collection of the British Library', in G.A. Kiraz (ed.), *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honour of Sebastian P. Brock* (Piscataway, 2008), pp. 779–790; A. Lyavdansky, 'Syriac Charms in Near Eastern Context: Tracing the Origin of Formulas', in *Oral Charms in Structural and Comparative Light: Proceedings of the Conference of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research's (ISFNR) Committee on Charms, Charmers, and Charming 27–29th October 2011, Moscow* (Moscow, 2011), pp. 15–21; for an updated list of published and unpublished manuscripts of the *Book of Protection* and related amulets, see the contribution by Zellmann-Rohrer in this volume.

59 E.C.D. Hunter, 'Traversing Time and Location: A Prayer-Amulet of Mar Tamsis from Turfan',

sages for protection or healing closely related to those we see in the *Book of Protection*. Takahashi (2017) identified and published two medieval Syriac magic texts belonging to the Ōtani Collection at Ryukoku University in Kyoto.[60] Whilst their provenance was not recorded, Takahashi suggested that they were most likely found in Turfan and he proposed a date within the thirteenth century. Abousamra (2013) translated two magic texts which were found on mummies preserved at the Hadath Grotto in Lebanon.[61] The texts date roughly to the thirteenth century.[62] The first was found inside a child's jacket and calls for fever and chills to be chased away, and the second was found in a pouch tied to a woman's belt and contains 'the anathema of Mar 'Abdisho'—a text commonly found in the *Book of Protection*. From late antiquity, one Syriac amulet written on a sheet of silver was published by Naveh and Shaked (1985), Naveh translated one Syriac amulet written on leather (1997), and Gignoux published three amulets on leather (1987).[63]

Scholars have also revisited Budge's *Book of Medicines*. Rudolf produced a re-edition of the astrological section which included a German translation and a detailed commentary.[64] Bhayro challenged the assumption that the first section contains simple translations of Galen's works. In two publications (2013 and 2015), Bhayro compared Galen's *Art of Medicine* with the *Book of Medicines* and demonstrated that the latter adapts the former to suit a new cultural, material, and religious context by abridging it with Syriac Christian theology and Mesopotamian medical remedies.[65]

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in L. Tang and D. Winkler (eds), *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (Zürich/Münster, 2013), pp. 25–41 and 'Syriac Manuscripts from Turfan: Public Worship and Private Devotion', in T. Li and K. Dyer (eds), *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek* (Piscataway, 2017), pp. 77–96.

60 H. Takahashi, 'The Syriac Fragments in the Ōtani Collection at Ryukoku University, Kyoto', in T. Irisawa and K. Kitsudo (eds), *Essays on the Manuscripts written in Central Asian Languages in the Otani Collection: Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Christianity* (Japanese; Kyoto, 2017), pp. 181–211.

61 G. Abousamra, 'Two Syriac Amulets from Hadath Grotto (Qadisha)', *Parole de l'Orient* 38 (2013), pp. 213–230.

62 Abousamra, 'Two Syriac amulets', pp. 215 and 220.

63 Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, pp. 62–68; J. Naveh, 'A Syriac Amulet on Leather', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 42:1 (1997), pp. 33–38; P. Gignoux, *Incantations magiques syriaques* (Louvain, 1987).

64 S. Rudolf, *Syrische Astrologie und das Syrische Medizinbuch* (Berlin, 2018).

65 S. Bhayro, 'The Reception of Galen's *Art of Medicine* in the Syriac *Book of Medicines*', in B. Zisper (ed.), *Medical Books in the Byzantine World* (Bologna, 2013), pp. 123–144 and 'Theory and Practice in the Syriac *Book of Medicines*', in J.C. Johnson, (ed.), *In the Wake of*

Overall, this period has witnessed an increase of scholarly interest in Syriac magic texts. Yet this overview brings to light some issues with the field at present. First, a small number of scholars have made the majority of contributions. With so few voices taking part in the conversation, the studies which have been published suffer from a lack of exchange and debate with scholars researching other aspects of Syriac culture as well as with scholars studying the magical beliefs and practices of neighbouring societies. Second, the publication of source texts has been, and continues to be, sporadic. This is especially true of the amulet handbooks, where the tendency has been to publish just a small selection of amulets at a time. The value of such contributions is limited because they remove the amulets from their immediate and physical context, narrowing our understanding of factors such as how the material is compiled and presented. Furthermore, the present limitation in readily accessible material reduces the scope and detail of potential research topics. With the aim of outlining how the field can begin to remedy these issues, some key *desiderata* are identified below.

4 *Desiderata*

For the field to progress, our first task is to publish more source material. Research on the Syriac magic bowls is furthest ahead in this regard. With regard to Syriac amulets, it would be advantageous to compile, revise, and update the editions which are currently scattered across numerous journals and books. This should be combined with the publication of material which has yet to be edited. For example, Houghton Library at Harvard has five unedited amulet scrolls (Syr. 156, 159, 160, 162 and 163), and there are unedited amulet handbooks in Bibliothèque nationale de France (Syr. 347), Selly Oak Library (Mingana 316 and 583), and Staatsbibliothek (Sachau 95 and 553)—with more likely to be identified in other collections as research continues. Furthermore, to provide a complete picture of this tradition, we should aim to publish these manuscripts *in toto*.

As for the *Book of Medicines*, Bhayro and Rudolf called for a critical edition to be produced. They recommended that this should consist of a re-edition of Budge's manuscript (now BL Or. 9360), with variations from other versions presented alongside it as apparatus.[66] This would answer questions relating to

Compendia: Infrastructural Contexts and the Licensing of Empiricism in Ancient and Medieval Mesopotamia (Berlin/Boston, 2015), pp. 147–158.

66 Bhayro and Rudolf, 'Budge's *Syriac Book of Medicines* after One Hundred Years', p. 124.

the character and originality of Budge's version as well as philological issues.[67] Furthermore, the *Book of Medicines* and the *Book of Protection* belong to a wider corpus of magico-medical, astrological, and divinatory texts which have received little scholarly attention. Al-Jeloo identified nine other titles of this genre which could once be found in the library of Urmiah College: the *Book of Medicines*, the *Book of Omens*, the *Book concerning all the Organs of the Human Body*, the *Book of Sorcery*, the *Book of Unbinding Sorcery*, the *Book of Fortunes and Spells*, the *Book of Dream Interpretation*, the *Acts of Simon Magus*, and the *Book of Astrology*.[68] Unfortunately, the collection of Urmiah College was destroyed in the First World War, and the subsequent rarity of these books is one reason why most have not been studied. It would be worthwhile to search the catalogues of museums and libraries to see if any of these works can be located. If so, they should be edited and published to further expand the corpus.

As more source material is published, a greater number of detailed and sustained studies on Syriac magic can be carried out. The study of Syriac incantation bowls is already at this second stage, but there are still topics to be explored. For instance, Moriggi stated that a study of the iconography of drawings in the Syriac incantation bowls is needed.[69] Comparative work with later magic texts would also be advantageous, offering insight into how the Syriac magic tradition developed.

In the study of Syriac amulets, there is much work to be done comparing amulets from the late antique, medieval, and modern periods in order to better understand their relationship. It has long been assumed that the amulets from the modern period are related to those from late antiquity, but before the discovery of amulets from the intervening medieval period it was unclear if these similarities were the result of a consistent tradition. An analysis of the way that Syriac amulets have changed and stayed the same over this thousand-year period would shed light on the way formulae, function, and praxis have developed. For instance, Moriggi suggested that priests and deacons may have started a process of 'Christianization', incorporating liturgical material into amulets so they could be sanctioned by the Church.[70] Moreover, advances in the study of the magical practices of neighbouring cultures means that fruitful

67 Bhayro and Rudolf, 'Budge's *Syriac Book of Medicines* after One Hundred Years', p. 123.

68 N. al-Jeloo, 'Kaldāyūthā: The Spar-Sammāné and Late Antique Syriac Astrology', *ARAM* 24 (2012), pp. 457–492 (460).

69 M. Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls*, p. 4 n. 8.

70 M. Moriggi, 'Magical Practices in Syriac Christian Culture between Late Antiquity and the Modern World', pp. 381–382.

studies might be done regarding the interaction of the Syriac amulet tradition with amulets written in other Aramaic dialects or in Hebrew, Akkadian, Ethiopic, or Arabic.

Bhayro and Rudolf suggested topics that should be prioritised in further studies on the *Book of Medicines*.[71] For the first section, a systematic analysis of all the parallel Greek and Syriac passages should be carried out. For the second section, intertextual material in Hebrew, Mandaic and Arabic should be added as an appendix. Analysis of the third section should begin with a study of its terminology, with particular attention paid to the use of Iranian, Akkadian, and Greek loanwords, as well as Syriac terms. Focus in these areas will help us to discern the origins of the practical medical lore contained throughout and contribute to our understanding of how the Syriac medical tradition persevered and innovated over the course of a millennia.

5 Conclusion

The suggestions above are only preliminary—if the field can achieve the publication of more source material, the momentum seen in recent years will be able to continue. As Syriac magic texts become accessible to more scholars, new avenues of research will open up, and a greater diversity of perspectives will undoubtedly bring additional insights. The present volume is an important step towards this goal.

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71 Bhayro and Rudolf, 'Budge's *Syriac Book of Medicines* after One Hundred Years', p. 216.

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CHAPTER 3

Syriac Magic and Medicine: A Near-Eastern Paradigm of Priestcraft

Siam Bhayro

1 Introduction

In every period for which we have evidence, we can see Syriac Christian priests preserving, studying, and practising both the magical and medical arts. The nature of the evidence changes from period to period, with the modern period providing both manuscript evidence and eye-witness testimony, the medieval period furnishing manuscript evidence, and the late-antique period giving more indirect evidence. Taking a diachronic approach, however, means that the more recent evidence shines a light on the earlier, less illuminated periods. This, in turn, permits a consistent picture of Syriac Christian priestcraft to emerge from the modern, medieval, and late-antique periods, suggesting a remarkable degree of continuity in terms of magical-medical therapeutic knowledge and practice. This revolves around two manuscript types—the magical 'Book of Protection' and the magical-medical 'Book of Medicines'—which probably first appeared during the so-called 'Syriac Renaissance' (eleventh–thirteenth centuries CE) as learned and practical handbooks for use by priests.

This does not mean, of course, that lay people were not preserving and practising various forms of magical-medical therapy. In keeping with other milieux, aside from the priests, there were also root cutters, drug traders, herbalists, midwives and such like.[1] This was a common feature of most ancient and medieval societies. But it will become clear that Syriac Christian priests represent a special case, namely a near-eastern paradigm of learned and literate magical-medical priestcraft that transcends three millennia. The origins of this model of priestcraft can be discerned in the pre-Christian near-eastern antecedents of the Syriac Christian priests—the Mesopotamian *āšipu*s and the Iranian *magi*.

1 L. Lehmhaus and M. Martelli, 'Introduction', in L. Lehmhaus and M. Martelli (eds), *Collecting Recipes: Byzantine and Jewish Pharmacology in Dialogue* (Berlin, 2017), pp. 1–27 (19–20).

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2 The Modern Period

As Abigail Pearson discusses in her contribution to this volume, in terms of English-speaking scholarship on Syriac magic, our earliest source is Badger's first-hand account of his travels in Mesopotamia in the middle of the nineteenth century.[2] In his fifteenth chapter, which focusses on the Nestorian clergy, Badger moved seamlessly from quoting their liturgy to quoting several examples of 'charms' intended to remove hatred, to inspire hatred, to prevent fire, and to inspire love.[3] Regarding these magical spells, Badger wrote:[4]

> I regret to state that the clergy are generally the authors of these absurd and profane effusions; and I was not a little surprised to learn, on my visit to Leezan in 1850, that Kasha Kena, who is so highly spoken of both by Mr. Ainsworth and Mr. Layard, is in the practice of drawing up and transcribing similar charms, which he sells to the people in the surrounding villages.

Badger is clear that the practitioners of magic were, to his dismay, the more respected members of the clergy. Furthermore, the provision of magic spells was a source of income for these clergymen, and, significantly, the spells were transmitted and sold in written form.

This latter point is important because, elsewhere, Badger described how the common folk were illiterate and it was only the more educated among the clergy who could read and write.[5] The provision of written spells to illiterate clients is noteworthy because the clients were not able to read the text on the amulet. The client's trust in the efficacy of the magical device, therefore, was not directly based on the text itself; instead, it was the priestly status and personal reputation of the scribe that was the guarantee of the product's prestige and hence perceived efficacy.[6]

In terms of process, Badger referred to the clergyman 'drawing up and transcribing' charms. Elsewhere, Badger stated, 'I have in my possession an entire

2 G.P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals &c.* (2 vols; London, 1852).

3 Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. 1, pp. 225–240; the spells are given on pp. 238–240.

4 Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. 1, p. 240.

5 See, for example, Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. 1, pp. 218–219.

6 For parallels within a Jewish context, see G. Veltri, 'The Magician/Magush in Rabbinic Judaism', in G. Veltri, *A Mirror of Rabbinic Hermeneutics: Studies in Religion, Magic, and Language Theory in Ancient Judaism* (Berlin, 2015), pp. 159–172 (reference courtesy of Marco Moriggi).

volume of these charms, from which the following specimens are translated'.[7] This most likely refers to a recipe book, which was consulted in the process of drawing up (presumably in discussion with the client) and transcribing the client's personalised amulet.

Badger routinely expressed negative views of the clergy, considering them to be barely literate. But there were, in his view, some exceptions, and it is likely that it was the more erudite members of the clergy to whom the general population had recourse when wishing to purchase an amulet. After all, it would take a reasonably educated priest to be able to make effective use of a recipe book in the production of an amulet.

Elsewhere, we are given the following glimpse into the other scholarly activities of the clergy:[8]

> A few years after the events narrated by Mutran Hanna, one Gawrièl, a native of Mardeen, who had acquired some wealth in mercantile speculations, retired from business at Baghdad, and undertook to instruct several Chaldean youths gratuitously in the Arabic language, in grammar, logic, and rhetoric, of which he was considered perfect master. His talents and zeal were so much appreciated, that on his arrival at Mosul, the Chaldeans offered him the convent of Rabban Hormuzd, then deserted and partly in ruins, as a seminary, and invited him to take up his abode there. He acceded to the proposal, and in a short time collected a number of pupils, most of whom soon after took the vows of poverty and celibacy. These monks, headed by their lay superior …

It would appear, therefore, that there were instances of members of the clergy being educated to a higher level, including in the various branches of philosophy, and that it was assumed that monasteries were the natural environment for such pursuits (even when the teacher was not a clergyman). It was probably such educated clergy, working with manuscripts in monasteries, who had access to magical recipe books. The same most likely pertains to magical-medical manuscripts. Thus al-Jeloo states, in his discussion of both types of manuscript in a more contemporary setting, 'Often such manuscripts are to be found with priests or deacons of the Church, and are usually written or copied by men with such ecclesiastical ranks'.[9] For example, al-Jeloo describes find-

7 Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. I, p. 238.

8 Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. I, p. 162.

9 N. al-Jeloo, *'Kaldāyūthā*: The *Spar-Sammāné* and Late Antique Syriac Astrology', *ARAM* 24 (2012), pp. 457–492 (461; see also 463).

ing two dated manuscripts during fieldwork in Syria and Iraq in 2009, both of which had been copied by members of the clergy.[10] The earlier, dated to 1719, is a magical recipe book akin to those published by Gollancz.[11] The later, dated to 1796, is a magical-medical manuscript similar to BL Or. 9360, which was published by Budge.[12]

Although the magical recipe books differ from manuscript to manuscript, they often designate themselves as a ܟܬܒܐ ܕܣܗܕܐ 'Book of Protection', which is a convenient term to adopt for this manuscript type.[13] It is likely that Badger's volume of charms was such a 'Book of Protection'.[14] The colophon of the first manuscript published by Gollancz is clear that his manuscript was copied by a priest in a monastic setting: ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܗܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܣܗܕܐ ܒܫܠܡ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܣܗܕܐ ܒܫܠܡ. ܐܡܝܢ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܠܡܪܝ ܓ̈ܘܪ̈ܓ̈ܝ ܒܫܢܬ ܫܡ . ל . ܘܐܬܝܗ ܒܝܪ̈ܚ ܬܡܘܙ ܒܫܢܬ ܐܠܦ ܘܩ̈ܝ ܘܝ̈ܘ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܒܪ̈ܟ̈ܝ ܒܝܪ̈ܚ ܬܡܘܙ ܗܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܣܗܕܐ ܒܫܠܡ ... ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܬܝܗ ܒܝܕ ܟܠ ܚܠܫ ܘܚܛ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܘܣܟ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܘܛ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܘܠ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܒܝܕ ܟܗܢܐ ܓ̈ܘܪ̈ܓ̈ܝ ܒܪ ܙܝܐ ܡܢ ܟܦܪ̈ ܫܝܒ̈ܢܝ ܕܒܪ̈ܟ̈ܬܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ. 'This book is finished in the blessed month Tammuz, the thirtieth (day), in the year 2114 of the blessed Greeks (i.e. 1802–1803 CE). Amen. This book is finished under the roof of Mar George. Amen ... This book is finished by the hands of the feeble and sinning and wicked and impure and infirm one, and that is the priest George, son of the late Zaia, from the blessed village Shibani. Yea and Amen'.[15]

Again, as with the 'Book of Protection', there is also considerable scope for variation between the magical-medical manuscripts. The self-designation ܟܬܒ ܐܣܝܘܬܐ 'Book of Medicines' is convenient,[16] even though manu-

10 See al-Jeloo, *'Kaldāyūthā'*, p. 462. In terms of the specific types of magical and magical-medical texts discussed in this paper, al-Jeloo lists the manuscripts and facsimiles that he photographed during his fieldwork in 2009 (458; see also his first appendix on 483–484), the majority of which were copied by members of the clergy.

11 H. Gollancz, *The Book of Protection &c.* (London, 1912).

12 E.A.W. Budge, *The Syriac Book of Medicines. Syrian Anatomy, Pathology and Therapeutics in the Early Middle Ages &c.* (2 vols; London, 1913).

13 See, for example, Gollancz, *Book of Protection*, p. 1. In addition to those edited by Gollancz, I am aware of the following magical recipe books: Ms. Syr. 52, housed in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester (edited by Abigail Pearson as part of her PhD dissertation); Mingana Mss. Syr. 316 and Syr. 583, housed in the Cadbury Research Library in Birmingham; Sachau Ms. 95 and Ms. Oct. 553, housed in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin; Ms. Syr. 347, housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; Ms. Add. 3086, housed in the Cambridge University Library; and Ms. Or. 6673, housed in the British Library in London. See also the contribution by Michael Zellmann-Rohrer in this volume.

14 So also al-Jeloo, *'Kaldāyūthā'*, p. 460.

15 Gollancz, *Book of Protection*, pp. lx (translation) and pp. 34–35 (text).

16 See, for example, Budge, *Syriac Book of Medicines*, vol. I, p. 611. In addition to the one edited

scripts of this type can contain several different types of texts that have been assembled into an encyclopaedic therapeutic handbook, including, but not limited to the following:[17] a more-overtly medical section, containing edited quotations of earlier translations of Galen, interspersed with complex medical prescriptions, organised in successive chapters from the head downwards;[18] a more-divinatory section, containing astrological omens, astronomical, meteorological and calendrical lore, definitions of weights and measures, forecasts for the year, hemerologies, and other techniques relating to health, good fortune, success in marriage, childbirth and such like;[19] a ܣܦܪ ܐܣܝܐ ܕܡܬܝܠܐ 'Book of Local Medicines', that is, indigenous practical medical recipes, organised in the traditional head-to-foot order.[20] The colophon in Budge's 'Book of Medicines' manuscript confirms that the scribe was a clergyman: ܘܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܐܝܕܝ ܕܫܡܫܢܐ ܚܛܝܐ ܘܚܛܝܢܐ ܐܝܫܐ ܒܪ ܐܫܥܝܐ 'And it was written by the hands of the feeble and sinning deacon Isa son of Esha'ya'.[21] Budge's own description of the circumstances in which he acquired his copy includes this description of the manuscript from which it was made:[22]

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by Budge, I am aware of the following manuscripts of this type: Ms. or. fol. 3119, housed in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin; Ms. Syr. 44, housed in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester; Ms. or. 4434, housed in the British Library; Mss. Syr. 325 and Syr. 424–425, housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; and QACCT 149, digitised by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library. For more details of these manuscripts, see S. Bhayro and S. Rudolf, 'Budge's *Syriac Book of Medicines* after One Hundred Years: Problems and Prospects', in S.V. Panayotov and L. Vacín (eds), *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic: Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 116–130 (124–126).

17 For more types of text that can be included in the 'Book of Medicines', see al-Jeloo, '*Kaldāyūthā*', p. 462.

18 In addition to Bhayro and Rudolf, 'Budge's *Syriac Book of Medicines*', and al-Jeloo, '*Kaldāyūthā*', see S. Bhayro, 'Studying the Syriac Medical Traditions: The Mesopotamian and Classical Greek Legacies', in N. Afif, S. Bhayro, P.E. Pormann, W.I. Sellers and N. Smelova (eds), *The Syriac Galen Palimpsest: A New Paradigm for Cross-Disciplinary Research* (London, forthcoming). See also the following studies that focus on this part of the 'Book of Medicines': S. Bhayro, 'The Reception of Galen's *Art of Medicine* in the Syriac Book of Medicines', in B. Zipser (ed.), *Medical Books in the Byzantine World* (Bologna, 2013), pp. 123–144; S. Bhayro, 'Theory and Practice in the Syriac Book of Medicines: The Empirical Basis for the Persistence of Near Eastern Medical Lore', in J.C. Johnson (ed.), *In the Wake of the Compendia: Infrastructural Contexts and the Licensing of Empiricism in Ancient and Medieval Mesopotamia* (Berlin, 2015), pp. 147–158.

19 In addition to Bhayro and Rudolf, 'Budge's *Syriac Book of Medicines*', Bhayro, 'Studying the Syriac Medical Traditions', and al-Jeloo, '*Kaldāyūthā*', see S. Rudolf, *Syrische Astrologie und das Syrische Medizinbuch* (Berlin, 2018).

20 See Bhayro and Rudolf, 'Budge's *Syriac Book of Medicines*', pp. 117–118.

21 Budge, *Syriac Book of Medicines*, vol. I, p. 612.

22 Budge, *Syriac Book of Medicines*, vol. I, pp. xl–xli.

> Its size and general appearance suggested that it had been copied in some monastery on or near the Tigris, in which it had formed part of the library, for, had it been intended for the private use of some monk, the manuscript would have been of smaller size. The quires that had been torn away from the beginning must have contained the Introduction and the first two Chapters of the Book of Medicines, and it is very probable that there were in them theories or statements that were not acceptable to the monkish readers …

Notwithstanding Budge's final speculative remark,[23] the general point that this manuscript originated in a monastic setting, and was held as a practical reference work for use by the clergy, accords well with the overall picture of the context in which these texts were copied and used. It was the clergy who preserved both the magical and the magical-medical literature, and it was the monasteries that were the repositories of such technical knowledge. And, as we have seen, the common folk, when in need of therapy, would employ the services of esteemed members of the clergy.

3 The Medieval Period

Budge's copy of the 'Book of Medicines' was made in 1894; Badger's copy of the 'Book of Protection' probably comes from the middle of the nineteenth century, as does his eye-witness testimony. The two dated manuscripts mentioned by al-Jeloo both come from the eighteenth century. Given what Badger observed of the practice of his day, in which the priests were still functioning as magical-medical therapists, it is unlikely that the manuscripts procured by Badger and Budge were jealously guarded by their owners simply to drive up the price—they probably remained in practical use and were thus an important source of both income and prestige for their owners.[24] Indeed, this continues to be the case, as al-Jeloo reports how jealously guarded these manuscripts are even in the twenty-first century;[25] he also mentions the existence of modern translations into Neo-Aramaic, dating from the second half of the twentieth century,

23 I have argued elsewhere that the 'missing' initial chapters contained more theoretical or general material that was not of interest to those desiring a practical and specific collection of medical lore; see Bhayro, 'Theory and Practice', pp. 155–156.

24 See the account in Budge, *Syriac Book of Medicines*, vol. I, p. xl.

25 See al-Jeloo, *'Kaldāyūthā'*, pp. 457 & 459.

again, presumably, for practical therapeutic purposes.[26] In the cases of both the Syriac and the Neo-Aramaic copies of these text types that were produced in the second half of the twentieth century, the information given by al-Jeloo shows that these texts continue to be copied by, and sold to, members of the clergy.[27]

This testifies to a continuity in magical-medical therapy from at least the eighteenth century to the present. Moreover, given that Budge's copy of the 'Book of Medicines' was made from what was, in his estimation, a twelfth-century manuscript, it seems clear that these traditions stretch back, at the very least, into the medieval period.[28] Thus al-Jeloo refers to Sarau's catalogue of manuscripts from Urmia, in which two 'Book of Medicines' type manuscripts are listed, one of which dates to the thirteenth century.[29] In terms of the 'Book of Protection' type, al-Jeloo, having noted that the earliest known dated copy was made in 1719, adds that 'the text is undoubtedly much older since most amulets would have perished with their owners, and even many of the surviving texts are undated'.[30] This would most likely push the 'Book of Protection' type back into the medieval period as well. This raises an important question regarding the circumstances that led to the emergence of the 'Book of Protection' and 'Book of Medicines' text types. In addressing this question in the way that is suggested below, it is my hope that we will approach these text types from a new perspective that properly appreciates their elevated status.

Recently, in scholarship on Syriac literature, we have witnessed an increased interest in the so-called 'Syriac Renaissance', that is, on the flourishing of Syriac literature and scholarship from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.[31] Mirroring contemporary trends in Arabic scholarship,[32] this period saw the

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26 See al-Jeloo, *'Kaldāyūthā'*, p. 461.

27 See al-Jeloo, *'Kaldāyūthā'*, pp. 483–484.

28 Budge, *Syriac Book of Medicines*, vol. I, p. xl.

29 The other is said to date to the fifth century, which, if true, would be remarkable. See al-Jeloo, *'Kaldāyūthā'*, p. 461; see also O. Sarau, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the Library of the Museum Association of Oroomiah College* (Urmia, 1898), p. 37.

30 See al-Jeloo, *'Kaldāyūthā'*, p. 461.

31 See H. Teule, 'The Syriac Renaissance', in H. Teule and C.F. Tauwinkl, with B. ter Haar Romeny and J. van Ginkel (eds), *The Syriac Renaissance* (Leuven, 2010), pp. 1–30.

32 See, for example, the following remark by Carl Brockelmann at the end of his discussion of the first 'golden age' in Arabic literature: 'The need to compose compact overviews of all or at least the greater part of the sciences … only manifested itself towards the end of this period' (i.e. around the turn of the millennium)—C. Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition Volume 1*, translated by J. Lameer (Leiden, 2016), p. 246. For discussions of the parallel trends in Arabic scholarship, see: H.D. Isaacs, 'Arabic Medical Literature', in M.J.L. Young, J.D. Latham and R.B. Serjeant (eds), *Religion, Learning and Sci-*

production of vast encyclopaedic compilations in which sources from earlier periods were collected and bodies of knowledge were organised according to the needs of contemporary scholars. Furthermore, during this process, a certain degree of acculturation took place, in which editors went beyond simply compiling earlier texts, but adjusted them so that they would better accord with their Syriac Christian context. Modern scholarship on the Syriac Renaissance has tended to focus on the most important personalities, particularly Barhebraeus (1226–1286), whose ܟܬܒ ܓܢܙܐ ܪܫ̈ܝܡ 'Book of the Cream of Wisdom' presents an encyclopaedic survey of Aristotelian scholarship on logic, the physical world, metaphysics, and practical philosophy.[33] But other luminaries are also considered, including Eliya of Nisibis (975–1046), Michael the Syrian (1126–1199), and 'Abdišo' bar Brikha (d. 1318). And, of course, one thing they all have in common is that they were all high-ranking members of the clergy.

In terms of the literary products of the Syriac Renaissance, modern scholars have tended to focus on the sciences (physical, natural and medical), theology and philosophy, chronography, and the arts, particularly poetry.[34] The one major field that is omitted from such studies is magic. This omission is, of course, attributable to an historic prejudice, both within Syriac studies but also in the wider academic context, the echoes of which persist to this day.[35] But the silence is all the more deafening when one considers that the two main text types, the 'Book of Medicines' and the 'Book of Protection', both display precisely the same characteristics of the other, more celebrated, compilations of the same period. Both text types contain pre-existing written material that was collected and organised in order to produce practical encyclopaedic compen-

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ence in the 'Abbasid Period (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 342–363 (354–359); in the same volume, see G. Saliba, 'Al-Bīrūnī and the Sciences of his Time', pp. 405–423 (413–421); see also the sections on medicine (556–570) and the occult sciences (574–577) in Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*. Similar trends can also be observed in the production of Byzantine Greek *iatrosophia*, practical medical compendia that also combine magical and medical lore, which became more popular after the fall of Constantinople in 1453; see the first chapter in P.A. Clark, *A Cretan Healer's Handbook in the Byzantine Tradition: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Farnham, 2011). A systematic comparison of the Syriac 'Book of Medicines' text type with the Greek *iatrosophia* promises to be a fruitful enterprise.

33 See S. Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature* (Baker Hill, 1997), pp. 75–80. For an excellent example of recent scholarship on Barhebraeus, see H. Takahashi, *Aristotelian Meteorology in Syriac: Barhebraeus*, Butyrum Sapientiae*, Books of Mineralogy and Meteorology* (Leiden, 2004).

34 See, for example, Teule, 'The Syriac Renaissance', as well as the papers published in that volume.

35 See Abigail Pearson's contribution to this volume.

dia. Moreover, both the magical and medical content has clearly been acculturated to suit its Christian context.[36] In other words, both the 'Book of Medicines' and the 'Book of Protection' reflect the *Weltanschauung* of the Syriac Renaissance.

It is in this light that we should consider how the physician and medical historian Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (d. 1270) describes the education of the Melkite Christian, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʿqūb ibn Siqlāb (d. 1227). We are told that Ibn Siqlāb was born and raised in Jerusalem, where he studied at a local monastery under a monk who is described thus: 'a virtuous man, a philosopher … who was an expert in the natural sciences, a master in geometry and arithmetic … well-versed in astrology and the observation of the stars: he knew of fates that had been foretold and had come to pass, and amazing warnings'.[37] The latter part of this description accords well with the content of the second part of Budge's version of the 'Book of Medicines', while what precedes it accords with what modern scholars have focussed on when studying the Syriac Renaissance. Thus Ibn Siqlāb was taught at a monastery by a monk who was also a philosopher and scientist, and who also possessed an expertise in astrology and divination. This shows that, to those active in the Syriac Renaissance, the artificial distinction drawn by modern scholars between the magical and non-magical arts would not have been recognised.

It is no longer acceptable, therefore, to view the production and preservation of the 'Book of Medicines' and the 'Book of Protection' text types as anything other than part of the same 'high' learned and literate culture that produced the other, more celebrated, works of science, philosophy etc. The 'Book of Medicines' and the 'Book of Protection' should now be permitted to take their place among the other products of the Syriac Renaissance.[38]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah also devotes much space to discussing another distinguished Melkite Christian physician, Muwaffaq al-Din ibn al-Muṭrān (d. 1191). In doing so, he tells us that Ibn al-Muṭrān's father was a devout Christian who travelled to the West to learn more about his faith as well as 'the several schools of Christian thought'. He then studied medicine in Baghdad, and finally he settled in Damascus where he practised medicine. Significantly, the Arabic

36 For an example of acculturation in a medical passage, see Bhayro, 'The Reception of Galen's *Art of Medicine*', pp. 133–136; for Christian elements in the magical texts, see Gaby Abousamra's contribution to this volume.

37 See E. Savage-Smith, S. Swain and G.J. van Gelder (eds and trans), *A Literary History of Medicine. The* ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ *of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah* (3 vols; Leiden: 2020), vol. 3–2, p. 1511.

38 This point is also made in more detail by Abigail Pearson in her PhD dissertation, which will be published in due course.

term المطران (*al-muṭrān*) means 'the metropolitan'; in other words, it is possible that Ibn al-Muṭrān's father was some sort of bishop who studied theology, philosophy and medicine, and served as both a high-ranking clergyman and physician in twelfth-century Damascus.[39] When we consider both the modern and medieval periods, therefore, a consistent model of priestcraft emerges, in which the more erudite priests would not simply serve as intermediaries between their communities and God—they would also study the arts and sciences, and they would tend to the therapeutic needs of their congregants using a range of magical and medical methods.

4 Late Antiquity

We are fortunate to have a very informative primary source that gives us a valuable insight, albeit from a polemical perspective, into the magical practices that were prevalent among Christians in the Syro-Mesopotamian milieu of Late Antiquity.[40] The fifth-century priest and poet Isḥaq of Antioch wrote a *memrā*, which has been attributed to Ephrem, in which he denounced the magical practices perpetrated by Christian priests. Such practices are described as being ܥܬܝܩܐ ܕܚܫܐ ܘ ܥܬܝܩܐ ܕܦܓܪܢܘܬܐ 'ancient paganism', which, leaving aside Isḥaq's withering condemnation, probably reflects the reality that there was no small amount of continuation from pre-Christian into Christian magical practice.[41] Indeed, Moriggi refers to continuity in terms of both the reception of pre-Christian magic into Syriac Christian texts, and the persistence of such texts and practices even to the present day. And, of course, it was the clergy, working in their *scriptoria*, who accomplished the initial reception and acculturation of ancient pagan lore into its new Syriac Christian context.[42]

Thus the model of priestcraft that is evident for the modern and medieval periods can be traced further back into Late Antiquity. Our evidence for this period is often tangential, but an analysis of the enigmatic Bardaiṣan of Edessa should prove instructive.[43]

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39 See Savage-Smith et al., *A Literary History of Medicine*, vol. 3–2, p. 1404.

40 See M. Moriggi, '"And the Impure and Abominable Priests Fled for Help to the Names of the Devils": Amulets and Magical Practices in Syriac Christian Culture between Late Antiquity and the Modern World', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 19 (2016), pp. 371–384 (379).

41 Moriggi, '"And the Impure and Abominable Priests"', p. 373.

42 Moriggi, '"And the Impure and Abominable Priests"', p. 382.

43 Some of what follows is also discussed in S. Bhayro, 'Treating the Body and the Soul in Late-Antique and Early-Medieval Syriac Sources: The Syro-Mesopotamian Context of

Bardaiṣan flourished in the late second and early third centuries of our era. Although he was a prominent member of the royal court of Abgar VIII, the Great (r. 177–212) in Edessa, his own origins are unclear. He is variously described by later, less-reliable, writers as being Armenian, Mesopotamian, Syrian, and Babylonian. The final three terms probably reflect the general Syro-Mesopotamian milieu in Late Antiquity. The reference to Armenia could derive from Bardaiṣan spending the latter part of his life there, spreading the Christian faith, or because he had some ties to that region; he also appears to have written a history of Armenia.[44] Julius Africanus, who met Bardaiṣan in Edessa in 195, referred to him as a 'Parthian', which probably refers to the prevailing political and, to a lesser extent, cultural dominance of this Iranian empire in Mesopotamia in the period leading up to, and during most of, Bardaiṣan's lifetime.[45]

Like the king he served, Bardaiṣan was a pagan convert to Christianity. He excelled across an impressive range of disciplines, including theology, philosophy, astronomy, astrology, and anthropology, and he gained fame as a poet and hymnist.[46] He is also indirectly responsible for what is probably the oldest piece of Syriac literature—the 'Dialogue on Fate' or 'Book of the Laws of the Countries'—which was written by his disciple Philip, and which recounts a theological debate between Bardaiṣan and a certain Awida.[47]

Crucially, for our line of argument, the narrative opens with a seldom noticed detail, namely that the setting for this debate is Bardaiṣan making a physician's house call: ܟܝ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܚܕ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܠܒܪܕܝܨܢ

Bardaiṣan and Sergius', in A. Usacheva, J. Ulrich and S. Bhayro (eds), *The Unity of Body and Soul in Patristic and Byzantine Thought* (Paderborn, 2021), pp. 213–228.

44 See Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, p. 11.

45 See H.J.W. Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa* (Assen, 1966), pp. 217–218. Drijvers suggests that 'Parthian' may reflect Bardaiṣan's position in the court of Abgar, but allows for the possibility that it reflects Bardaiṣan's ethnic background (p. 167). Notwithstanding this possibility, I still prefer to understand it in a political and cultural way, given that the Parthians were dominant in both of the regions in which we can be certain that Bardaiṣan resided, namely Upper Mesopotamia (prior to its formal inclusion in the Roman Empire in 216) and then Armenia—see Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, p. 208. It is also possible that, for Julius Africanus, 'Parthian' was a way of referring to the typical status and function of a magus; see the argument advanced below.

46 In addition to Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, see (with further references) S.P. Brock, 'Bardaiṣan (154–222)', in S.P. Brock, A.M. Butts, G.A. Kiraz and L. Van Rompay (eds), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage: Electronic Edition*, 2018, https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Bardaisan (last accessed 13 January 2021).

47 For the Syriac text with an English translation, see H.J.W. Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of Countries* (Assen, 1965).

... ܠܡܐ ܚܕ ܙܒܢ ܐܬܝܢ ܐܚܢ ܠܘܬ ܫܡܫܓܪܡ ܐܚܢ ܘܐܬܐ ܒܪܕܝܣܢ ܘܫܟܚ ܠܢ ܬܡܢ. ܘܟܕ ܒܩܪ ܠܗ ܘܚܙܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܠܢ ...
'Recently, we had gone to visit our brother Shemashgram, and Bardaiṣan came and found us there. And after he had examined him and seen that he was faring well, he asked us ...'.[48] Philip thus informs us that he and his colleagues went to visit another colleague. The use of the term ܐܚܐ 'brother' suggests that they are members of the clergy. The verb used for 'visit' is ܒܩܪ, which is often used in a medical context to mean 'care for, look after, heal'. For example, Bar Hebraeus relates how the Baghdadi physician Ibn Jazlah accrued significant wealth because he would only visit (ܒܩܪ) his friends for free when they were sick; everyone else had to pay.[49] So it appears that Philip and his colleagues are visiting another colleague who is sick in order to attend to his ill health, something confirmed by Bardaiṣan's actions. The first thing Bardaiṣan does upon his arrival is examine Shemashgram. The verb used for 'examine' is ܡܫ, which literally means 'grope' and can be used to refer to a physical examination by means of touch. For example, the same verb is used in the Syriac version of Luke 24:39, in which the resurrected Jesus suggests to Thomas that he physically touches his wounds. It is only after Bardaiṣan has ascertained Shemashgram's state of health that he turns to the others and joins in with their theological debate. This raises the question of which system of medicine Bardaiṣan was practising when he visited Shemashgram, or, to put it another way, what his sources of technical knowledge were.

Before discussing medicine, it is worthwhile considering the source of Bardaiṣan's astronomical knowledge. In the 'Book of the Laws of the Countries', Bardaiṣan quotes from a text called the 'Book of the Chaldaeans', which appears to have been a Syriac text that preserved a body of Mesopotamian astronomical tradition that was translated from Akkadian. For example, at one point Bardaiṣan states: ܠܐ ܚܢ ܒܥܬܐ ܕܢܡܘܣ ܕܫܒܥ ܟܘܟܒܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܕܬܪܥܣܪ ܙܝܢ ܙܘܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܕܫܬܝܢ ܘܫܬ ܣܝܡܢ ܕܙܝܪܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܘܫܡ ܕܟܘܟܒܝ ܣܗܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܒܥ ܘܫܬ ܣܝܡܢ ܕܙܝܪܐ ܘܫܬ ܣܝܡܢ ܕܙܝܪܐ. 'For we do not find seven laws in the world according to the number of the seven stars, nor twelve according to the number of the signs of the zodiac, nor thirty-six according to the number of the decanal stars'.[50] Even in this short quotation, which gives some technical astral details, we can discern an Akkadian substratum. The term used for 'sign of the zodiac' (ܙܝܪܐ) comes from Akkadian MUL *lumāšu*,[51] and the thirty-six decanal stars

48 See Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of Countries*, pp. 4–5.

49 See E.A.W. Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj the Son of Aaron &c.* (2 vols; London, 1932), vol. I, p. 236.

50 See Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of Countries*, pp. 54–55.

51 So S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago, 1974), p. 67; see also

refers to the ancient Mesopotamian tradition of astrolabes or 'Three Stars Each' texts.[52] Although Bardaiṣan's immediate source of ancient Akkadian astronomical lore, the Syriac 'Book of the Chaldaeans', is no longer extant, Rudolf has provided clear evidence in other sources for the continued transmission of Akkadian astral lore into Syriac, and its subsequent preservation even into the medieval period.[53]

The process of the transmission of Akkadian astral traditions into Syriac should be contextualised alongside their reception in the two other major literary Aramaic dialects of Mesopotamia, namely Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and Mandaic, with the latter being particularly instructive for our present line of argument. This is already suggested by the use of the same Akkadian term MUL *lumāšu*, which, in addition to being loaned into Syriac as ܠܘܡܫܐ, was also loaned into both Jewish Babylonian Aramaic as מלואשא and Mandaic as **maluaša.**[54]

Rochberg has demonstrated how the Mandaic astral text *Asfar Malwašia*, 'Book of the Signs of the Zodiac', contains ancient Mesopotamian astral lore that was directly translated into Mandaic from Akkadian.[55] In terms of when this process of translation most likely occurred, Müller-Kessler suggested the second century CE because this is when the Mandaeans would have had access to functioning temples in Babylon, Borsippa and Kutha;[56] it was these traditional Mesopotamian temples that were the repositories for learned cuneiform texts.[57] If the second century CE did indeed witness what could be described

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M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's* Lexicon Syriacum (Winona Lake, 2009), p. 766. Contra Müller-Kessler, who suggests a derivation from the theoretical Akkadian **mulmāšu* < Sumerian **mul.maš**; see C. Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte in der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena, und weitere Nippur-Texte anderer Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden, 2005), p. 182.

52 This tradition, which probably emerged in Mesopotamia in the second millennium BCE, assigned three stars to each month in an idealised (rather than astronomically correct) 360-day year; see H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (Leiden, 1999), pp. 50–57; W. Horowitz, *The Three Stars Each: The Astrolabes and Related Texts* (Vienna, 2014), p. 8.

53 See Rudolf, *Syrische Astrologie und das Syrische Medizinbuch*.

54 See M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat-Gan, 2002), p. 677; E.S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963), p. 244. See also the discussion in al-Jeloo, *'Kaldāyūthā'*, pp. 477–478.

55 F. Rochberg, 'The Babylonian Origins of the Mandaean Book of the Zodiac', *ARAM* 11–12 (1999–2000), pp. 237–247 (243–245).

56 C. Müller-Kessler, 'The Mandaeans and the Question of their Origin', *ARAM* 16 (2004), pp. 47–60 (53–54).

57 For the surprisingly late demise of ancient cuneiform scholarship, possibly even into the third century CE, within the scribal schools that were located in the temples of Babylonia,

as an Akkadian to Aramaic translation movement, which included the transmission of Mesopotamian astral lore from cuneiform Akkadian texts into Aramaic alphabetic texts, then this was probably the context that produced not only the Mandaic 'Book of the Signs of the Zodiac' but also the Syriac 'Book of the Chaldaeans', through which Bardaiṣan was then able to access ancient Mesopotamian astral lore. Given that this transmission would have happened a couple of generations before Bardaiṣan flourished, this would indeed appear to be the most likely scenario.

The reception of Akkadian astral lore into Jewish Aramaic texts certainly began at least two centuries, and probably as many as four centuries, earlier than it occurred with Syriac and Mandaic; this is evident from Dead Sea Scroll texts such as the Enochic 'Astronomical Book', which appears to have been written in the third century BCE and shows clear Mesopotamian influence.[58] It is possible, however, that, in addition to this early reception of cuneiform astral traditions into Jewish Aramaic texts, a later reception, which was contemporary with that posited for Syriac and Mandaic, also occurred with Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. Evidence for this is tangential, but appears to be compelling enough to mention here. Neugebauer discussed how Maimonides's method of calculating the visibility of the new crescent moon accords with ancient Babylonian lore, adding that further investigation could lead us to conclude that this represents a 'striking example of the continuity of astronomical tradition'. Neugebauer then discussed how an ancient Babylonian technical method may have found its way into Jewish astronomy, concluding that 'we must probably assume the existence of intermediate sources, e.g. treatises written in Aramaic. None of them seems to have escaped destruction'.[59] Given that, in this case, Neugebauer was discussing a specifically rabbinic tradition, which relates to the computation of the lunar calendar, it is unlikely to relate to the kind of sources attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which concern the solar calendar. This would suggest a different transmission trajectory to the early phase, for which the parallel processes in Syriac and Mandaic would present the most likely context.

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see M.J. Geller, 'The Law Wedge', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 87 (1997), pp. 43–95.

58 For a detailed discussion, see J. Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (Leiden, 2008). For a convenient summary, see J.C. VanderKam, 'Hellenistic Astronomy in Early Judaic Writings', in A.C. Bowen and F. Rochberg (eds), *Hellenistic Astronomy: The Science in its Contexts* (Leiden, 2020), pp. 529–538 (530–533).

59 O. Neugebauer, 'The History of Ancient Astronomy: Problems and Methods', *Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific* 58 (1946), pp. 17–43 (42–43).

Be that as it may, it appears to be more than likely that Bardaiṣan's astral scholarship was based on the fruits of concerted efforts that were made in the second century CE (i.e. during his lifetime) to transmit a significant body of knowledge from Akkadian into two, and perhaps all three, of the main literary Aramaic dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian milieu. Significantly for our present line of argument, these efforts were made in the scribal schools that were located in the historic temples of Babylonia, which places them within the purview of the priests. The reasons for this will be discussed in more detail below.

If this was the case for the astral sciences, then it was probably also the case for other scientific and technical corpora, which helps us address the question of which medical system Bardaiṣan was using when he examined the sick Shemashgram. There is no good reason to assume that Bardaiṣan was using anything other than the traditional Mesopotamian medical system, which was the prevailing medical system of his day and region;[60] it was considered prestigious, and had been practiced for over two millennia. And, just as with astronomy, we have clear evidence for the transmission of ancient Akkadian medical lore into both Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and Syriac.[61]

In addition to mastering the arts and sciences of his day, therefore, Bardaiṣan appears to have also been a practising therapist. But can we be sure that he was a member of the clergy? As we have seen, the manner in which Bardaiṣan's physician's house call is described suggests that the patient and the visitors should be understood as being clergymen. This would, in turn, lend support to the idea that Bardaiṣan was also a priest, as the narrative presents him as holding a senior and respected position among those gathered in the patient's home. Furthermore, Bardaiṣan certainly bears all the hallmarks of what we would expect from high-ranking clergy in the Syriac milieu in later periods, especially in respect of his erudition across several fields, theological specula-

60 It is unlikely that Bardaiṣan used the Greco-Roman system of medicine, as his knowledge of Greek culture and sources appears to have been limited, to say the least. Thus Burkitt argued that Bardaiṣan had no first-hand knowledge of Greek sources, and such knowledge only appears among his followers. For example, it is Bardaiṣan's son, Harmonius, who is said to have used Greek music theory. Furthermore, the apparent Stoicism of the 'Book of the Laws of the Countries' probably pertains to those who came after him. See Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, pp. 9, 43, 76–77, 180.

61 For Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, see M.J. Geller, 'An Akkadian Vademecum in the Babylonian Talmud', in S. Kottek, M. Horstmanshoff, G. Baader and G. Ferngren (eds), *From Athens to Jerusalem: Medicine in Hellenized Jewish Lore and in Early Christian Literature* (Rotterdam, 2000), pp. 13–32; for Syriac, see S. Bhayro, 'Studying the Syriac Medical Traditions'.

tions, hymn writing, and especially his later missionary work in Armenia.[62] He also left behind a distinctive Christian movement, albeit one considered heterodox by later writers. All of these factors are suggestive of Bardaiṣan's priestly status.[63]

But we are left with one major problem when trying to answer the question as to whether Bardaiṣan was a priest, namely, it is not entirely clear precisely what, if anything, being a priest entailed in Bardaiṣan's day. This problem is particularly acute in the Syro-Mesopotamian milieu, for which our evidence is especially sparse. Even in the west, for which there is more evidence, the earliest evidence we have for ordination as a rite comes from the early third century. Prior to this, the notion of laying on of hands was associated with the sending of missionaries, and the concept of ordination was very much a recognition of a person's gifts rather than status; indeed, one can safely assume that these were gifts that had been sufficiently demonstrated to warrant recognition by the local community of believers. By the late second century, however, the distinction between clergy and laity had begun to emerge in the west, with a local bishop administering the rite of ordination not so much as a recognition of a person's gifts, but as a means of conferring gifts upon the candidate.[64] The extent to which this had permeated into Bardaiṣan's milieu is unclear, but is perhaps beside the point; it is likely that Bardaiṣan's rise to prominence occurred in a more primitive stage in the development of ordination, and that his priestly status was very much on account of his numerous gifts being recognised by the community of believers that gathered around him.

5 Pre-Christian Models of Priestcraft

It would seem, therefore, that Bardaiṣan functioned as both priest (in as much as such a status may have existed for Christians in his milieu) and physician. The location of his activities, moreover, is further instructive. As noted above,

62 Hence Wright's quaint statement that Bardaiṣan 'betook himself as a missionary to the rude mountaineers of Armenia'; see W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London, 1894), p. 29.

63 It is also certainly the case that later historians, when giving their biographies of Bardaiṣan, refer to him becoming a deacon after his conversion to Christianity. As Drijvers points out, however, this could simply be an established trope in an ecclesiastical legend; for example, the same is said of Mani—for details, see Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, pp. 188–190.

64 E.G. Hinson, 'Ordination in Christian History', *Review and Expositor* 78 (1981), pp. 485–496 (486–487). For the Greek East, the earliest evidence adduced by Hinson is from the fourth century (489).

Bardaiṣan served in the royal court of Abgar the Great, in which he appears to have functioned as a palace wise man. Drijvers thus refers to Bardaiṣan as a 'gentleman of the court … distinguished by a high social position and doubtlessly by great erudition'.[65] Given his mastery of multiple ancient Mesopotamian technical fields, his priestly status, his role in the palace, and his high social status, Bardaiṣan very much resembles, in practical terms, two pre-Christian types of priest, namely the Mesopotamian *āšipu* and the Iranian *magus*.

Historically, there were two main types of healing professionals in the ancient near east—the *asû*, commonly understood as a physician or herbalist, and the *āšipu*, often translated 'exorcist' or 'magician'.[66] They were complementary rather than competing therapeutic practitioners, as their skills were originally distinct. In the latter part of the first millennium BCE, however, the fortunes of the *asû* and the *āšipu* very much diverged. As far as we can tell from official records and tablet colophons, the status of the *asû* very much declined. This is probably because, in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, the *asû* relied mostly on the patronage of local rulers or functioned as a private entrepreneur. When the Achaemenid Empire reorganised the local power structures in Mesopotamia, however, the traditional institutional support for the *asû* all but disappeared. The *āšipu*, on the other hand, was a priest, and continued to receive the institutional support of the temples, which, as we have seen, continued to function in Mesopotamia throughout the Achaemenid and Parthian periods. Furthermore, the *āšipu* was more flexible than the *asû*, absorbing and practising a broader range of technical knowledge and crafts. This included the *asûtu*, that is, the traditional craft of the *asû*, in addition to astral and other forms of divination.[67] The following description by Steinert is particularly instructive, as it also informs the following discussion of the *magus*:[68]

65 Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, p. 217.

66 See N.P. Heeßel, 'The Babylonian Physician Rabâ-ša-Marduk: Another Look at Physicians and Exorcists in the Ancient Near East', in A. Attia and G. Buisson (eds), *Advances in Mesopotamian Medicine from Hammurabi to Hippocrates* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 13–28; J.A. Scurlock, 'Physician, Exorcist, Conjurer, Magician: A Tale of Two Healing Professionals', in T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn (eds), *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives* (Groningen, 1999), pp. 69–79.

67 See U. Steinert, 'Catalogues, Texts and Specialists: Some Thoughts on the Assur Medical Catalogue, Mesopotamian Medical Texts and Healing Professions', in U. Steinert (ed.), *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues: Medicine, Magic and Divination* (Berlin, 2018), pp. 158–200 (187–191).

68 Steinert, 'Catalogues, Texts and Specialists', p. 191.

> The *āšipu* mastered a far greater corpus of texts than the *asû*, and his knowledge and activities were of a wider range and higher order. He focused not only on applying medical treatments and healthcare services for individuals and households, but also attended to the concerns of the king and society at large by mediating (through rituals) between the human and divine world and preserving wellbeing and divine order (cf. the *āšipu*'s role in rituals for the induction of divine cult statues or in purificatory rituals for the king). Through their vast knowledge and their employment of strategies to boost their social prestige, the *āšipu*s were in a better position to preserve institutional ties and support from local temples throughout the Late Babylonian period, while the *asû*s seem to have lost these strategic ties (e.g., with the shrines of healing deities), becoming largely invisible in the written records … By the Late Babylonian period, the field of *asûtu* healing techniques seems largely to have been taken over and carried out by the *āšipu* as well, although the profession of the *asû* may have survived for some time, as a craft practiced outside the large institutions.

Another distinction between the *āšipu* and the *asû* is that the former was more stationary, being attached to his temple or the palace, while the latter could travel to ply his trade. Again, for our purposes, the location of the *āšipu* priest's practice in either the temple or the palace is significant.[69]

This model of priestcraft, in which the *āšipu* was held in high esteem as a polymath, exorcist and medical practitioner, continued throughout the Achaemenid period and well into the Parthian period. As long as the traditional temples of Mesopotamia continued to operate, and as long as the political elite extended their patronage, the *āšipu* priest continued to function accordingly, occupying a privileged position in both temple and palace.

Judging by the extent to which the Iranian *magus* resembles the Mesopotamian *āšipu*, this model of priestcraft appears to have continued in Mesopotamia even under the Sasanians. Boyce accounted for the presence of the *magi* in Achaemenid Mesopotamia thus, again implicitly locating their activities in both palace and temple:[70]

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69 Geller points out that both the *asû* and the *bārû* (diviner) have this in common, with neither of them being priests; see M.J. Geller, *Ancient Babylonian Medicine: Theory and Practice* (Chichester, 2010), pp. 50–51.

70 M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism Volume Two: Under the Achaemenians* (Leiden, 1982), p. 66 (see also 33).

> Zoroastrian priests must have gone to live there [Babylonia], some to care for the needs of Persian officials and others, some probably simply to study further—for Babylonian lore, especially in the fields of astronomy and astrology, was to contribute largely to the development of Zoroastrian scholasticism by western Iranian priests.

Elsewhere, Boyce describes Babylon as 'one of the great strongholds of the magi' in the Achaemenid period.[71] Indeed, when Babylon surrendered to Alexander the Great in 331 BCE, it was the *magi* who took the lead in the great procession, with the Babylonian priests following behind them;[72] this probably speaks to both their political and religious status.[73]

As a member of the professional class of priests, the *magus* would have been part of the learned scribal elite, often serving in the royal administration at either central or local level.[74] In terms of his possible range of activities, the *magus* was known for practising dream interpretation and other forms of divination,[75] performing priestly rituals,[76] and serving as an intermediary between the human and divine realms at both the temple and the royal court.[77] He would have been considered an expert in cosmology,[78] astronomy and astrology (particularly the Babylonian system),[79] and, of course, he would have been a practitioner of magic (a major part of the prevailing medical system);[80] hence later Christian, and especially Syriac, traditions about the *magi* being experts in magic, medicine and divination.[81]

To an outsider, therefore, a *magus* would have very much resembled an *āšipu*, as Dandamayev explains in a rather understated way:[82]

> The seeming confusion in the use of the words 'Magi' and 'Chaldeans' in Greek literature can be explained by the fact that the activities of Babylonian priests and Iranian Magi were similar in some aspects.

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71 M. Boyce and F. Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism Volume Three: Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule* (Leiden, 1991), p. 386.

72 Boyce and Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, p. 3.

73 See also the discussion in Geller, *Ancient Babylonian Medicine*, pp. 126–129.

74 Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 66, 84–85, 278 & 290.

75 Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 67 & 165.

76 Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 70–71, 117–118, 133–137, 184–185 & 228–231.

77 Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 66, 201, 228–231 & 290.

78 Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, p. 154.

79 Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 33, 234–235, 240–241 & 260.

80 M.A. Dandamayev, 'Magi', in A. Ashraf (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica: Online Edition* (2012), http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/magi (last accessed 13 January 2021).

81 See Boyce and Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 447–456.

82 Dandamayev, 'Magi'.

For several ancient Greek writers, the *magi* and the Chaldeans were synonymous because of their expertise in the astral sciences.[83] For example, the second-century CE historian Appian's account of the founding of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (the new Babylon) describes Seleucus consulting the *magi* of Babylon to determine the most auspicious time to begin his project; from the context, however, it would appear that he was actually consulting Babylonian priests.[84] This association of *magi* with Chaldeans continued in Syriac Christian sources even into the medieval period; Boyce adduces one example from the 'Cave of Treasures', in which the *magi* observe a celestial omen and, together with Chaldean priests, discover its meaning in their books.[85]

6 Continuity in the Traditional Model of Priestcraft

On a personal level, therefore, Bardaiṣan, as physician-scholar-priest, very much resembles a *magus* and, in turn, an *āšipu*. He shares their high social status (both religious and political), their polymath tendencies (particularly in respect of his reception and use of ancient Mesopotamian technical lore), their interest in cosmology and the astral sciences, their practical functions as priest and physician, and the location of their activities in both the palace and temple (in Bardaiṣan's case, among his community of fellow believers). In other words, Bardaiṣan probably represents a continuity in the model of priestcraft practiced by the *āšipu* and the *magus*—something that would have seemed normal to someone of his background, status and education.[86] Be that as it may, it would appear that, long after the Akkadian language, and hence the term

83 Boyce and Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, p. 368. For astronomers as temple-based priests in Babylonia between 400 BCE and 100 CE, see M. Ossendrijver, 'Hellenistic Astronomy and the Babylonian Scribal Families', in A.C. Bowen and F. Rochberg (eds), *Hellenistic Astronomy: The Science in its Contexts* (Leiden, 2020), pp. 426–439 (434–436). Ossendrijver remarks that, in this period, astronomers were 'perhaps exclusively, employed by the temples' (434); he also notes that, in Seleucid Uruk, for instance, the astronomers were either a *kalû* (lamentation priest) or an *āšipu*, with the latter specialising, in addition to the astral sciences, in 'omens, rituals for averting their evil, and medicine' (436).

84 Boyce and Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, p. 374.

85 Boyce and Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, p. 453.

86 In this respect, the reputation of Bardaiṣan as prolific hymnist is really interesting, as this is something for which the *magi* were also reputed; see Boyce and Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 539–548. Such perceptions may indeed reflect a reality, that is, that priests of these types did actually write hymns.

āšipu, ceased to be used, the *āšipu* model of priestcraft continued under other names in other languages, particularly with the *magus* and then with Christian priests in the Syriac milieu.

The traditional Mesopotamian model of priestcraft probably continued well into the third century CE, when the historic Mesopotamian temples finally ceased to function.[87] By this time, however, Christianity had become well established as a significant minority faith in Mesopotamia. It stands to reason, therefore, that, as Christianity spread in Mesopotamia, its more erudite adherents would have adapted the prevailing model of priestcraft, that of the *āšipu* and *magus*, and put it into practice in a Christian context: monasteries would have replaced the traditional temples, Christian priests would have taken the place of the priests of the old religion, and the complementary roles of medicine and magic would have continued, albeit with some degree of acculturation with respect to the new faith.[88] Bodies of knowledge were transmitted, both from Akkadian into Aramaic and from temples to monasteries, which became the new seat of learning and therapeutic practice. And magic and medicine, long-term partners in therapeutic practice, continued their complementary relationship, this time at the hands of Christian priests.[89]

7 Post-script: The Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Magic Bowls

All of this has clear implications for the magical practices that can be observed for the Jews of Talmudic Babylonia, for which the Jewish Aramaic magic bowls are our main source. Of course, unlike their Christian neighbours, the Baby-

87 For the persistence of the traditional Mesopotamian temples into at least the third century CE, see M.J. Geller, 'Tablets and Magic Bowls', in S. Shaked (ed.), *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 53–72 (53–54); see also al-Jeloo, *'Kaldāyūthā'*, pp. 474–475, who allows for temple activity persisting even into the fourth century CE.

88 A similar suggestion is made by al-Jeloo, specifically in respect of textual continuity and the 'Book of Medicines' text type, but he appears to misunderstand the roles and fortunes of the antecedents, with 'practitioners, now priests and deacons, replacing the separate roles of the *bâru*, *âshipu* and *asû*'—see al-Jeloo, *'Kaldāyūthā'*, p. 467. As we have seen, by the second half of the first millennium BCE, the *āšipu* had more or less subsumed the roles of the other two. Despite this, al-Jeloo's suggestion, although it is tentatively put, has much to commend it.

89 It is possible that the particular origins of the Syriac model of priestcraft are, at least in part, responsible for the distinctive Syriac tradition of Christ and his followers as Physician/physicians; see R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition* (London, 1975), pp. 199–203.

lonian Jews of Late Antiquity did not have functioning priests, and the rabbis were not magical-medical therapists in the way that the Christian priests were. But this still leaves the scribes, who, as has become clear, were certainly practising magic including writing bowls for clients.[90] While there is a clear continuity between the pre-Christian priestly scribes and their temples, on the one hand, and the Christian priestly scribes and their monasteries, on the other, the continuity of ancient practice that we can posit for the Jews of Talmudic Babylonia lies with the scribes and their scribal schools, which, of course, lacks the priestly element.[91]

In addition to the critical mass of evidence that places the writing of many of the Jewish magic bowls within the purview of the scribes, we also have the 'Book of Asaph the Physician', a late-antique Jewish medical textbook whose introduction contains the 'Enochic' explanation for the origins of sickness, magic and medicine.[92] Interestingly, while the rabbis rejected the various Enoch traditions, there is some evidence that the bowl scribes were more open to them.[93] Although the question of the date and provenance of the 'Book of Asaph the Physician' remains unresolved, the best work on this text to date is probably that of Muntner, who asserts that it comes from either Palestine or Mesopotamia on the eve of Islam;[94] if it was indeed Mesopotamia, that would, of course, be the same context as the magic bowls.

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90 See, for example, S. Bhayro, 'Divorcing a Demon: Incantation Bowls and BT Giṭṭin 85b', in M.J. Geller (ed.), *The Archaeology and Material Culture of the Babylonian Talmud* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 121–132 (130–131).

91 For the distinction between the differing, and often competing, guilds of the priests, rabbis, judges, and scribes, see C. Hezser, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), pp. 467–489; although this relates to the situation in late antique Palestine, it is likely that the situation in late antique Babylonia was not altogether different in this specific regard.

92 By 'Enochic', I mean the exegetical tradition of Gen. 6:1–4, in which the angels descend to take human wives. This tradition occurs in various forms, with that of the book of Jubilees apparently underlying the introduction to the 'Book of Asaph the Physician'; see V. Nutton, 'From Noah to Galen: A Medieval Latin History of Medicine', in I. Csepregi and C. Burnett (eds), *Ritual Healing: Magic, Ritual and Medical Therapy from Antiquity until the Early Modern Period* (Florence, 2012), pp. 53–69 (64). See also E. Lieber, 'Asaf's *Book of Medicines*: A Hebrew Encyclopedia of Greek and Jewish Medicine, Possibly Compiled in Byzantium on an Indian Model', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984), pp. 233–249, who provides a good summary of prior scholarship on this text.

93 See S. Bhayro, 'On Early Jewish Literature and the Aramaic Magic Bowls', *Aramaic Studies* 13 (2015), pp. 54–68 (54–57).

94 See S. Muntner, *Introduction to the Book of Asaph the Physician* (מבוא לספר אסף הרופא; Jerusalem, 1957); see also Nutton, 'From Noah to Galen', p. 61; Lieber, 'Asaf's *Book of Medicines*', p. 246.

Taken together, all of this very much suggests that both magic and medicine were being carried out by late antique Jewish scribes, which, given the historic Mesopotamian precedent and concurrent practice among late antique Christians, makes perfect sense; indeed, we would not expect anything else. This, in turn, very much suggests that, when considering the praxis of the Jewish Aramaic magic bowls, we should not assume that they functioned alone. It is likely that the bowl was often part of a complementary therapeutic package that could include a more medical component.

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CHAPTER 4

Syriac Incantation Bowls and the Mesopotamian Context: A Glimpse into Christian-Jewish Cultural Interactions

Marco Moriggi

1 Syriac Incantation Bowls 2014–2020

When considering the whole corpus of Syriac texts included under the label 'magic texts', two groups of textual sources may be singled out: texts written on the nowadays well-known Mesopotamian incantation bowls, and texts written or incised on a variety of objects that are described as 'amulets', 'talismans', or 'phylacteries' in the scholarly literature.[1] Mesopotamian incantation bowls with Syriac texts, in both Estrangela and Manichaean scripts, have been studied and commented upon since research on this peculiar kind of artefact began, i.e. from the middle of the 19th century.[2]

The present situation with regard to Syriac incantation bowls may be summarised as follows. There are sixty-three published Syriac bowls.[3] Forty-nine

1 On the category of 'magic' and related subjects, chiefly the way an object is included in/excluded from the domain of 'magic' artefacts, see D. Frankfurter, 'Ancient Magic in a New Key: Refining an Exotic Discipline in the History of Religions', in Idem (ed.), *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic* (Leiden and Boston, 2019), pp. 3–20 (13–14); G. Veltri, *A Mirror of Rabbinic Hermeneutics: Studies in Religion, Magic, and Language Theory in Ancient Judaism* (Berlin and Boston, 2015), p. 125; see also the Introduction to the present volume.

2 On the history of the study of the Syriac bowls, their language and scripts, see M. Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls: Syriac Magical Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia* (Leiden and Boston, 2014), pp. 1–3, 11–19. As regards Mesopotamian incantation bowls in general, including texts—apart from the Syriac ones—in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Mandaic, Pahlavi, and various pseudo-scripts, see now G. Bohak, 'Jewish Amulets, Magic Bowls, and Manuals in Aramaic and Hebrew', in Frankfurter (ed.), *Guide*, pp. 388–415 (394–400); S. Shaked, J.N. Ford, S. Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls Volume One* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), pp. 1–27. Pseudo-scripts on incantation bowls are the subject of a thorough study by D.J. Waller, 'Curious Characters, Invented Scripts, and … Charlatans? "Pseudo-Scripts" in the Mesopotamian Magic Bowls', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 78 (2019), pp. 119–139. Incantation bowls may be included in the category of 'lettered amulets' as discussed by R. Kotansky, 'Textual Amulets and Writing Traditions in the Ancient World', in Frankfurter (ed.), *Guide*, p. 509.

3 Last updated 30th September, 2020. *Pace* M. Dickens, 'Syriac Christianity in Central Asia', in D. King (ed.), *The Syriac World* (London, 2019), p. 588, the quotation of Ishtar and Lilith

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were published in the present author's 2014 monograph.[4] Since then, of the remaining fourteen:

– one was re-edited in the recently-published Berlin catalogue, having initially been published by Lidzbarski;[5]
– four have been re-edited by Ford, having initially been published by Shaked;[6]
– one was published by Abousamra;[7]
– two were published in the Berlin catalogue;[8]
– and six were published by Ford and Abudraham.[9]

There are currently one hundred and two unpublished Syriac bowls known to the present author, of which eighty are being published by Ford.[10] Of the remaining twenty-two:

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in an undated Syriac jar from Uzbekistan does not necessarily imply that it is an incantation bowl. See also P. Gignoux, 'Une nouvelle jarre inscrite en syriaque d'Asie Centrale', in *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al x secolo* (Atti dei Convegni Lincei 127; Roma, 1996), pp. 39–48; Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls*, p. 3, where this and other two analogous specimens are quoted.

4 For further information, including locations, see Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls*, p. xi. Note that nos. 17 (= HS 3018); 36 (= HS 3062); 37 (= HS 3066); 38 (= HS 3039); 39 (= HS 3053); 40 (= HS 3056) were subsequently reedited in J.N. Ford, M. Morgenstern, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls in Museum Collections: 1. The Hilprecht Collection* (Leiden and Boston, 2020), pp. 157–163, 184–186, 187–188, 164–172, 173–176, 177–183. Note also that no. 46 (= VA.Bab.4167i) was subsequently reedited in S. Bhayro, J.N. Ford, D. Levene, O. Paz-Saar, *Aramaic Magic Bowls in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin: Descriptive List and Edition of Selected Texts* (Leiden and Boston, 2018), pp. 60–61. In addition to what was reported in Bhayro, Ford, Levene, Paz-Saar, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, p. 153, bowl VA.Bab.2813 + VA.Bab.2814 (= no. 45 in Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls*, pp. 194–195) was provisionally edited in C. Müller-Kessler, 'Syrische Zauberschalen—Korrekturen und Nachträge', *Die Welt des Orients* 36 (2006), pp. 116–130 (128–129).

5 VA.3383 (Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin); see M. Lidzbarski, 'Die Herkunft der manichäischen Schrift', *Sitzungsberichte der königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 50 (1916), pp. 1213–1222; Bhayro, Ford, Levene, Paz-Saar, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, pp. 54–56 (with contribution by M. Moriggi).

6 MS 1928/54; MS 2055/16; MS 2055/24; MS 2055/25 (Schøyen Collection, Oslo and London); see S. Shaked, 'Manichaean Incantation Bowls in Syriac', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 24 (2000), pp. 58–92; to be re-edited in J.N. Ford, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Syriac Bowls* (Leiden and Boston, in preparation).

7 MAU.2464 (Musée Archéologique Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik); see G. Abousamra, 'A New Manichaean Incantation Bowl', in C. Horn, S. Griffith (eds), *Biblical and Qur'anic Traditions in the Middle East* (Warwick, RI, 2016), pp. 239–250.

8 VA.Bab.2765; VA.Bab.2792 (Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin); see Bhayro, Ford, Levene, Paz-Saar, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, pp. 57–59, 62–64.

9 T27983; T27984; T27986; T27989; T27993; T27996 (Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem); see J.N. Ford, O. Abudraham, 'Syriac and Mandaic Incantation Bowls', in D. Regev, H. Hizmi (eds), *Finds Gone Astray: ADCA Confiscated Items* (Jerusalem, 2018), pp. 75–111 (75–99).

10 This comprises thirty from the Schøyen Collection, six from the Wolfe Collection, two from the Davidowitz Collection, and a further forty-two from other private collections.

– five are in the Moussaieff Collection (Herzlia and London);[11]
– four are in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin);[12]
– one is in the Museum für Islamische Kunst (Berlin);[13]
– one is in the British Museum (London);[14]
– one is in the Museum of Antiquities (Istanbul);[15]
– one is in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery;[16]
– two are in the Iraq Museum (Baghdad);[17]
– one is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Philadelphia);[18]
– two are in the Librairie Michel Bouvier (Paris);[19]
– one is in a private collection in Jerusalem;[20]
the locations of the final three are currently unknown.[21]

11 To be published by Ford and Morgenstern.

12 VA.2105; VA.2491; VA.Bab.2787; VA.Bab.2835; to be published by the same team that published the Berlin catalogue.

13 KtW 295 [ostracon]; to be published by Ford and Joisten-Pruschke.

14 BM 117877 [ostracon]; to be published by the present author; see C.B.F. Walker, 'Table of Registration Numbers and Provenances', in J.B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London, 2000), pp. 35–39 (39).

15 See under the caption 'Syriac and imitation Syriac bowls', in C.H. Gordon, 'Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums', *Archiv Orientální* 6 (1934), pp. 319–334 (321): 'one uncatalogued: illegible incantation, broken into 6 pieces, d. 15,5 × h. 6,5'.

16 K 2312 (from Kish); see C.H. Gordon, 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls', *Orientalia* 10 (1941), pp. 116–141, 272–284, 339–360 (280): 'partly obliterated Syriac charm of about fifteen lines'.

17 IM 12080; IM 28028; the two bowls are reported as being 'illegible' in J. Teixidor, 'The Syriac Incantation Bowls in the Iraq Museum', *Sumer* 18 (1962), pp. 51–62 (61).

18 CBS 16062 + frag. CBS 6354; see Müller-Kessler, 'Syrische Zauberschalen', p. 127.

19 To be published by Gorea.

20 To be published by Gorea; for this and the two preceding bowls, see M. Gorea, 'Coupes magiques syriaques et manichéennes en provenance de Mésopotamie', in F. Briquel Chatonnet, M. Debié, A. Desreumaux (eds), *Les inscriptions syriaques* (Paris, 2004), pp. 107–116 (108).

21 One, to be published by the present author, was Lot no. 348 in Christie's Antiquities 'Hera' Auction (10th–11th July, 1974)—see Christie's, *Europaean, Classical, Byzantine, Western Asiatic and Egyptian Antiquities and Ancient Jewellery: Catalogue Antiquities II* (London, 1973), p. 58, pl. 18. For the other two, which will be published by Müller-Kessler, see C. Müller-Kessler, 'Zauberschalen und ihre Umwelt: Ein Überblick über das Schreibmedium Zauberschale', in J. Kamlah, R. Schäfer, M. Witte (eds), *Zauber und Magie im antiken Palästina und in seiner Umwelt: Kolloquium des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas vom 14. bis 16. November 2014 in Mainz* (Wiesbaden, 2017), pp. 59–71 (60). One was Lot no. 369 in Hirsch Auktion 222; see G. Hirsch, *Antiken—Präkolumbische Kunst: Auktion 222 am 24. und 25. September 2002* (München, 2002).

2 Late-Antique Mesopotamian Magic: Incantation Bowls

It is well known that it is by no means as easy task to conduct research on ancient societies, especially as our evidence is often fragmentary and but a poor reflection of the entire picture. There are some notable exceptions to this general situation, but, even in these few cases, the puzzle still lacks many pieces.

Regarding textual sources, the situation is often worse than that found, for instance, in the field of archaeology. For some ancient societies, we have only canonical texts which were conceived in order to project a precise, often idealised, picture of the society they originate from. At the same time, these texts were intended to hide specific social, political and religious elements that were considered not to accord with this picture, or that may have compromised the strength of the elite. It was this elite, in turn, that wanted to create and promote the picture painted by the canonical books.[22]

It is of course possible that ancient sites yield texts which were not official or at least did not fall into the category of the canonical, and, as such, have escaped the control of the dominant group and thus avoided mutation in language and content or, at worst, destruction. This is the case with what we usually label as 'magic' texts, including those specifically dealt with in this paper, incantation bowl texts.

Incantation bowl texts, in this respect, have some characteristics that may contribute to our understanding of how different social and religious groups interacted in Late Antiquity. First, they were used, according to the data at our disposal, in central and lower Mesopotamia between the fourth and the eighth centuries AD, which is comparatively well-defined in terms of both geography and chronology.[23] Second, this specific context witnessed one of the most intriguing cultural melting pots of Late Antiquity, in which Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, ancient Mesopotamian cults and Gnostic sects—among them the Mandaeans—lived side-by-side. Even if this

22 The usual labels found in scholarly literature, such as 'Christian', 'Jewish', 'pagan', and the like are often built upon the point of view of these canonical texts and may be easily considered as 'artificial'. See K. Eshleman, Review of: É. Rebillard, J. Rüpke (eds), *Group Identity and Religious Individuality in Late Antiquity* (Washington D.C., 2015), http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2016/2016-05-35.html (last visit 28.11.2020).

23 For the archaeological contexts where incantation bowls were discovered, see R. Venco Ricciardi, 'Trial Trench at Tell Baruda', *Mesopotamia* 8–9 (1973–1974), pp. 15–20; M. Gawlikowski, 'Bijan in the Euphrates', *Sumer* 42 (1985), pp. 15–21. Regarding chronology, see S. Shaked, J.N. Ford, S. Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls Volume One* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), p. 1.

in itself is not a sufficient condition for interaction from a cultural point of view, it appears that all of these groups were, to varying extents, involved in the practice of making and using incantation bowls. Third, as Shaked states, the bowls are marked by an 'intensively private character. Not only do they deal with private affairs, sometimes even with intimate problems, and never refer to communal concerns, they are also private in the sense that each artifact containing an inscription is normally prepared for a specific individual or for members of a small household, with the person's name inscribed on it'.[24] This 'private character' provides us with a key to the realm of micro-history—everyday life in these ancient communities—where the canonising processes and authoritative textual decisions were less effective and, in any case, could not completely control the phenomenon of inscribing and using incantation bowls.[25]

In this context, attention must be paid to what the people of the time thought about the texts on the incantation bowls. As Levene notes:

> … it must be realized that those who composed, produced and consumed the type of magical incantations in late antiquity that we find in magic bowls, would not have considered the issue in quite the same way as we have done over the past two centuries. In fact, it is quite clear from a number of sources that prayer and magical incantation are the products of the same cultural environment. Furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that those who used prayer and magical incantation were different groups of people. Although distinct in both form, function and context, the evidence indicates that both magical incantation and forms of prayer were not necessarily thought of as contradictory or even totally exclusive of each other.[26]

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24 S. Shaked, 'Jews, Christians and Pagans in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls of the Sasanian Period', in A. Destro, M. Pesce (eds), *Religions and Cultures: First International Conference of Mediterraneum* (Binghamton, 2002), pp. 61–89 (63).

25 The advantages of dealing with micro-history when investigating the relationships between cultures, e.g. in the case of Jewish and Greek cultures, are discussed in depth in Veltri, *A Mirror*, pp. 100–110 *passim*.

26 D. Levene, 'Jewish Liturgy and Magic Bowls', in C.T.R. Hayward, B. Embry (eds), *Studies in Jewish Prayer* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 163–184 (165). On this topic in relation specifically to Syriac magic, see M. Moriggi, '"And the impure and abominable priests fled for help to the names of the devils". Amulets and magical practices in Syriac Christian culture between Late Antiquity and the modern world', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 19 (2016), pp. 371–384; see also the contribution to the present volume by S. Bhayro.

It should also be noted that, because of the temporal and geographical remoteness of the context in which the bowls were produced, it is difficult to discern the extent to which members of one community were aware of their distinctiveness in relation to the other communities.

Notwithstanding the physical form of the bowls, which are usually described as ordinary pottery of common shape as was in everyday use in Sasanian Mesopotamia, it must be borne in mind that, for the people who used them, 'les documents eux-mêmes, avec tout ce qui' ils contiennent et ce qui les caractérise (écriture, dessins, forme, matière, dimensions, etc.) sont magiques'.[27]

Before moving on to discuss how the bowls inform Jewish-Christian relations specifically, we should first consider briefly the well-known topic of syncretism in incantation bowl texts. In his analysis of syncretism in the incantation bowls, Harviainen concluded that 'syncretism did not imply independence of religion; it was solely an additional instrument with which people tried to strengthen the protection system provided by their native religion'.[28] It is rather difficult, therefore, to distinguish religious elements pertaining to a particular faith in a syncretistic framework like the one mirrored in the bowl texts.[29] When dealing with these magical objects, we may still consider the problem in light of Gordon's statement that:

> … there is no way of sharply distinguishing in detail Jewish from Christian from Mandaean magic. Magic is highly interconfessional. Clients go to a magician not because he belongs to the same denomination but because they have confidence in his professional skill. An element attributed to Rabbi Joshua son of Peraḥia, is obviously Jewish. A reference to Jesus the Messiah, is obviously Christian. Invoking 'the knowledge of light', is obviously Mandaean. But one cannot state that a given incantation belongs

27 F. Ruani, 'Formations et origines des *nomina barbara* dans les objets magiques syriaques des ve–viie siècles', in M. Tardieu, A. Van den Kerchove, M. Zago (eds), *Noms barbares 1: Formes et contextes d'une pratique magique* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 301–314 (304).

28 T. Harviainen, 'Syncretistic and Confessional Features in Mesopotamian Incantation Bowls', in *Studia Orientalia* 70 (Helsinki, 1993), pp. 29–37 (37).

29 For the analogous problem of singling out Jewish elements in Greek amulets, see G. Lacerenza, 'Jewish Magicians and Christian Clients in Late Antiquity: The Testimony of Amulets and Inscriptions', in L.V. Rutgers (ed), *What Athens Has to Do with Jerusalem: Essays on Classical, Jewish, and Early Christian Art and Archaeology in Honor of Gideon Foerster* (Leuven, 2002), pp. 393–419 (405). See also the suggested meanings of the terms 'plurality' and 'fusion', with reference to magic texts in a multicultural environment, in L.M. Bortolani, S. Nagel, 'Introduction', in Eaedem, W.F. Furley, J.F. Quack (eds), *Cultural Plurality in Ancient Magical Texts and Practices: Graeco-Egyptian Handbooks and Related Traditions* (Tübingen, 2019), pp. 1–23 (3).

> entirely to one religion. For this very reason the classification has, in practice, rested mainly on the script employed. Aramaic letters are called Jewish; Syriac letters, Christian; Mandaean letters, Mandaean. As for the rest, we have to evaluate each element point by point.[30]

Thus the distinctions that are commonly drawn on the basis of script (square script means a Jewish text, Syriac scripts—Esṭrangela and Manichaean—mean a Christian text, Mandaic script means a Mandaic text) may no longer be valid, and certainly not as a tool to distinguish corpora of texts.

In my opinion, the crux of the issue is not the distinction between communities, but the process through which these groups shared cultural features. The cultural syncretism that is apparent in these texts is nothing but a result of this interaction. This approach may demonstrate its usefulness if one looks more closely at the Syriac bowl texts with reference to the Christian and Jewish cultures of Sasanian Babylonia.

3 Syriac Incantation Bowls and Jewish Culture in Sasanian Babylonia

Incantation bowls in Syriac comprise a small minority of those known to exist, which number over two thousand. As discussed above, there are sixty-three Syriac bowls that were published between 1853 and 2020, and a further one hundred and two are known to exist in museums and private collections.[31] A unique feature of these bowls is that they employ two scripts, Esṭrangela and Manichaean, to write a single language: Syriac.[32] Even though they are comparatively few in number, the Syriac bowls provide a rich inventory of texts and motifs, some of which have already been identified as being derived from Jewish traditions, in particular the 'divorce-formula' (*geṭ*) to exorcise demons and illnesses.[33]

Van Rompay suggested that the Syriac bowls should be regarded as 'a part of Syriac literature'.[34] Given this, one may wonder whether the search for for-

30 C.H. Gordon to J. Neusner, letter, November 7th 1968, in J. Neusner, *A History of the Jewish in Babylonia: v. Later Sasanian Times* (Leiden, 1970), p. 217.

31 See section I above.

32 The scripts of most of the published bowls have been fully analysed and described in Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls*, pp. 11–19.

33 M. Moriggi, 'Jewish Divorce Formulae in Syriac Incantation Bowls', *Aramaic Studies* 13 (2015), pp. 82–94.

34 L. Van Rompay, 'Some Remarks on the Language of Syriac Incantation Texts', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *v Symposium Syriacum 1988* (Rome, 1990), pp. 369–381 (381).

mulae like the 'divorce-formula' in Syriac bowls may be included (at least from the point of view of methodology) in the framework of the study of Jewish elements in Syriac literature. Furthermore, one may consider whether the transmission of traditions between the two cultures was mutual, with Syriac Christian elements occurring in Jewish bowls. We encounter two problems when exploring these questions. First, do we have Syriac bowls that we can label indisputably as 'Christian'? And, second, what can we deduce about interactions between Judaism and Syriac Christianity in Sasanian Babylonia if the multifaceted nature of the texts blurs the confessional lines?

If we approach the subject of interaction between Judaism and Syriac Christianity in Syriac bowl texts from the point of view of Syriac studies, it makes sense to begin with the existing body of research on Jewish tradition in Syriac sources. According to Brock, this may be fruitfully conducted in at least

> … four main areas of Syriac literature: (1) incorporated into the actual Syriac translations of Old Testament books, most obviously in the Pentateuch and Chronicles; (2) targumic traditions known to early Syriac writers but absent from the extant Peshitta text of the Bible; (3) apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of Jewish origin […]; (4) certain types of Syriac literature, notably of course commentaries, but also poetry, chronicles, and Old Testament "hagiography".[35]

To this, we may now add incantation bowls and related texts as a fifth area. Although it is outside the realm of high literature, it is nevertheless an everyday practical theurgic Syriac literature. The methodology used by Brock is also useful with the bowl texts in as much as it focusses on linguistic phenomena and the borrowing and transformation of specific themes from Judaism into Syriac Christianity.

The bowl texts, however, do not testify to an exact borrowing in one direction. It is indeed the case that Syriac bowls show Jewish elements in their texts, such as the aforementioned 'divorce-formula', although such elements are often subject to a degree of acculturation.[36] It is also the case, however, that Jewish texts show Syriac (Christian) elements. For example, there are Jew-

35 S.P. Brock, 'Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 30 (1979), pp. 212–232 (212). On cultural interaction between Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity in general, see the references provided in Lacerenza, 'Jewish Magicians and Christian Clients', p. 394 (n. 1).

36 See Moriggi, 'Jewish Divorce Formulae', pp. 83 (n. 1), 85–86.

ish Babylonian Aramaic bowls that contain expressions such as 'in the name of Jesus who suppressed the height and the depth by his cross, and in the name of his Exalted Father, and in the name of his Holy Spirit, forever and ever',[37] or 'Jesus the Physician, guard this your handmaid from every evil forever', or 'Jesus the Physician, guard these your servants from every evil'.[38] We thus have a bilateral relationship (or, better, a multilateral one, if we also take into consideration the Mandaic bowls) between Syriac and Jewish texts in this respect, which accords with Bohak's rejection of the 'pan-Judaic perspective' on the origin of magical themes in non-Jewish magical texts.[39]

Given all of this, one may legitimately ask whether it is possible to find Syriac bowls that can unequivocally be attributed to a Christian cultural milieu. In this respect some attempts have been made, and a grouping of Syriac bowls that 'seem to be Christian [...]. Judging by the presence of Christian formulae, Jewish themes or cross symbols' was proposed some years ago.[40] Again, I think that pinpointing single elements in a text is not sufficient a basis on which to reconstruct the interactions that led to its production. In many cases, we cannot be sure that a text was written or used by a Christian, but, at the same time, we cannot exclude Christians from being the practitioners or clients.[41]

We cannot deduce from the Syriac bowl texts, therefore, a sharp confrontation between well-defined, canonised, cultural features that pertain to one cultural milieu or another. Rather it is the reflex of an ongoing process of interaction in which many cultural features are brought together in order to provide

37 M 163:29 (Moussaieff Collection), published in D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* (London and New York, 2009), p. 127.

38 Wolfe 15:5 (Wolfe Collection) and JNF 138:14 (anonymous private collection). I am grateful to James Nathan Ford for his permission to quote from these two unpublished Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowls that he is preparing for publication.

39 G. Bohak, 'Hebrew, Hebrew Everywhere? Notes on the Interpretation of *Voces Magicae*', in S.B. Noegel, J.T. Walker, B.M. Wheeler (eds), *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* (University Park, PA, 2003), pp. 69–82.

40 Shaked, 'Manichaean Incantation Bowls', p. 63 (n. 23).

41 Thus Harviainen stated that 'the Syriac bowl texts also lack references to Christianity, Judaism or Zoroastrian religion. This *dual* evidence provides significant concrete support for the hypothesis of a pagan origin for the Syriac bowl texts'; see T. Harviainen, 'Pagan Incantations in Aramaic Magic Bowls', in M.J. Geller, J.C. Greenfield, M.P. Weitzman (eds), *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 53–60 (58; Harviainen's emphasis). One may recall here, following Lacerenza, 'the so-called "Hebraikos Logos" of *PGM* IV: 3009–3085 (l. 3019)—a text rich in Jewish materials, even though it also mentions the name of Jesus, and was probably assembled by pagan hands'; see Lacerenza, 'Jewish Magicians and Christian Clients', p. 405.

the text with as many defenses as possible against evil, misfortune and illness.[42] The best way to discern the circumstances in which such features were used is to consider, whenever possible, the manner of their use in the text. This will always involve some degree of adaptation and transformation of the original feature in its new context (e.g. the Jewish divorce-formula in a Syriac text). The degree of adaptation and transformation may vary, but it always involves, to a greater or lesser extent, the language(s) of the texts. Furthermore language is the tool of performative statements, which are an important feature of incantation texts.[43] Investigating linguistic variation in the context of the transmission of a feature from one text to another may help to explain the processes of cultural interaction that are found in Syriac bowls and beyond.[44]

4 Jewish Themes in Syriac Incantation Bowls

In my analysis of the use of the Jewish divorce-formula (*geṭ*) in Syriac incantation bowls, therefore, I stressed the importance of focusing on textual variation in order to properly investigate the absorption of this theme into Syriac bowl texts, and made the following conclusions:[45]

a) of all the types of divorce-formula attested in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowls, only one was adopted for use in Syriac bowls;[46]
b) single passages of the Syriac text were translated from Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and Hebrew;

42 Ilan remarked, while dealing with a group of Syriac and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowl texts that were ordered by the same couple (Dadba and Sharqoi), that 'they believed they should use all measures available to protect themselves, just to be on the safe side, like installing two alarm systems from two competing companies'; see T. Ilan, 'Jesus and Joshua ben Perahiah: A Jewish-Christian Dialogue on Magic in Babylonia', in R.S. Boustan, K. Herrmann, R. Leicht, A.Y. Reed, G. Veltri (eds), *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (Tübingen, 2013), II, pp. 985–995 (986).

43 See S. Bhayro, 'Performative Elements in the Aramaic Magic Bowls', in J. Cale Johnson (ed.), *Patients and Performative Identity: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and their Clients* (University Park, PA, 2020), pp. 159–167.

44 An analogous perspective, including direct references to incantation bowl texts, is featured in B. Belinitzky, Y. Paz, 'Bound and Banned: Aphrahaṭ and Excommunication in the Sasanian Empire', in A.M. Butts, S. Gross (eds), *Jews and Syriac Christians: Intersections across the First Millennium* (Tübingen, 2020), pp. 67–88 (77–88).

45 Moriggi, 'Jewish Divorce Formulae', pp. 90–91.

46 On this type of text in the Syriac bowls, no significant new data are provided by the contribution of S. Bolz, 'A Jewish Adjuration Formula in Three Syriac Magic Bowls', in M.E. Doerfler, E. Fiano, K.R. Smith (eds), *Syriac Encounters: Papers from the Sixth North American Syriac Symposium, Duke University, 26–29 June 2011* (Leuven, 2015), pp. 455–466.

c) it is possible to detect in the Syriac texts clear signs of adaptation in terms of both morphology and syntax;
d) the key Jewish Babylonian Aramaic term *gyṭ'* 'deed of divorce' is rendered with Syriac *dstbyr'*, a loanword from Middle Persian (*dastwar*).[47]

This short list includes linguistic phenomena that are the tangible result of a 'sophisticated adaptation of the Jewish spell to the Syriac cultural milieu'.[48] For other possible examples, one may read the Syriac bowl no. VA 3383 (Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin), where elements of Jewish mysticism (including an interesting description of the angel Metatron) were adapted by the scribe in order to be fit for his clients, one of whom bears a Christian name (*srgys*, ll. 1, 8);[49] or Greenfield's notes on *šmḥyz'* in the Syriac bowl no. YBC 2357:8 (Yale Babylonian Collection).[50]

A similar process of adaptation and absorption may be detected, albeit in a more nuanced way, in some passages of the Peshiṭta Old Testament. For example, Paradise is described as a mountain, which is unlike the Hebrew text of Genesis but in accordance with other early Jewish texts such as Ezekiel and 1 Enoch. Analogously, the technical term *qdyš'* /qaddišā/ 'holy' means 'continent' in the Peshiṭta Old Testament, and, 'although this ideal [sexual continence] was clearly current in some circles within Judaism, there appear to be no clear

47 We may further add that the texts feature the well-known figure of Joshua ben Peraḥyah, a significant character in the texts for divorcing demons. This Talmudic sage seems to have had an important role in Jewish-Christian magical interaction in Sasanian Babylonia; see Ilan, 'Jesus and Joshua ben Perahiah'.

48 Moriggi, 'Jewish Divorce Formulae', p. 91.

49 See M. Schneider, 'Metatron in Syriac Incantation Bowls', in *Festschrift Moshe Idel* (in preparation); S. Bhayro, J.N. Ford, D. Levene, O. Paz-Saar, *Aramaic Magic Bowls in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin: Descriptive List and Edition of Selected Texts* (Leiden and Boston, 2018), pp. 54–56 (with a contribution to the edition of the text by M. Moriggi). Regarding onomastics and Syriac-Iranian interaction in the Sasanian period, see P. Gignoux, C. Jullien, 'L'onomastique iranienne dans les sources syriaques: quand les chrétiens d'Iran changent de nom (IVe–VIIe s.)', *Parole de l'Orient* 31 (2006), pp. 279–294.

50 Now newly published in Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls*, pp. 22–26 (Bowl no. 1) and further commented upon in O. Abudraham, 'Syriac Incantation Bowls', *Orientalia* 84 (2015), pp. 99–107 (100–101); see Jonas C. Greenfield, 'Notes on Some Aramaic and Mandaic Magic Bowls', *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 5 (1973), pp. 153–154. A partial list of Jewish elements in Syriac bowls is provided by C. Müller-Kessler, 'Eine ungewöhnliche Hekhalot-Zauberschale und ihr babylonisches Umfeld: Jüdisches Gedankengut in den Magischen Texten des Ostens', *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 38 (2013), pp. 69–84 (69–70). For an analysis of other linguistic features that point to a Jewish Babylonian Aramaic origin of some Syriac bowl texts, with adaptation and linguistic variation, see H. Juusola, 'Who Wrote the Syriac Incantation Bowls?', in *Studia Orientalia* 85 (Helsinki, 1999), pp. 77–87.

instances where *qaddisha* has this technical sense in Jewish texts.'[51] Thus it is possible, to some extent, to trace the way Jewish features entered Syriac incantation bowls by means of text variation—certainly morphological and syntactical, but also lexical. While the Jewish origin of the divorce-formula is beyond doubt, what is found in the Syriac texts is different from what is found in the Jewish texts, first of all from the point of view of language.

Behind the texts, of course, there were scribes, and it is important to remember that all such textual and cultural interactions involve real human beings. As Lacerenza puts it, at the heart of such interactions, was the 'average late antique magician […] a mediator between different realities, modes of thought, and situations: between learned and popular culture, between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and between traditional faith and other cultures'.[52]

5 Syriac Christianity and Judaism in Sasanian Mesopotamia: Interaction through Shared Magical Practices

As we are studying texts, we run the risk of 'depicting it all as if human lives were made up only of words, culture and cognitive representations, and not of the process of social interaction'.[53] In this respect, the incantation bowls have proved useful in emphasising that, in the framework of Sasanian Babylonia, 'the elements in flux are affected by a multitude of individual experiences, and to look for a simple match, a single "structure" that embraces a shared cognitive model and an aggregate configuration of society, is a futile exercise'.[54]

Thus, on the one hand, we have a rich inventory of Jewish features in Syriac texts, some, but not all, of which would have been Christian. But we also have, on the other hand, sophisticated paraphernalia of social and cultural categories, such as 'Judaism' and 'Christianity' etc., all of which are more or less constructed according to the 'boundary schema' that 'constructs an assumption of shared homogeneity within the group and cultural difference between groups, with great potential consequences for the social life of larger communities and regions'.[55] Faced with this situation, we chose text variation and

51 Brock, 'Jewish Traditions', pp. 217–218, 225–226.

52 Lacerenza, 'Jewish Magicians and Christian Clients', p. 416.

53 F. Barth, 'Boundaries and Connections', in A.P. Cohen (ed.), *Signifying Identities: Anthropological Perspectives on Boundaries and Contested Values* (London and New York, 2000), pp. 17–36 (31).

54 Barth, 'Boundaries and Connections', p. 33.

55 Barth, 'Boundaries and Connections', p. 30. This schema has solid foundations in 'canon-

its linguistic implications as a way to understand at least part of the process that led to the inclusion of some Jewish features in Syriac bowl texts. This process is surely a transfer (if not a direct translation), and implies adoption and adaptation before absorption. In terms of social interactions, 'given the very personal nature of the incantations, this is testimony to a level of interaction between the communities that the official sources deny. But the level of interaction goes beyond clients seeking the services of those from other communities. There is much evidence for an interaction, possibly even fellowship, between practitioners from different communities'.[56] More generally, as Bhayro notes:

> The texts illuminate the relations between the various religious and ethnic groups. We even see families where the two spouses have names of different religious and ethnic origins, and where the children again have names that indicate different ethnic and religious groups. We find that magic provided a medium that fostered intercommunal relations on a number of levels, with scribes from various communities apparently engaging in meaningful fellowship with each other and with their clients, often on quite intimate terms. Furthermore, we can now locate these practices at the core rather than on the periphery of these communities. Some of the unpublished bowls contain explicit dates, which can help in fixing the time and location of the communities involved.[57]

In this context, although the impact of Jewish features still appears to be significant, one is not persuaded to see the type of interaction discussed above in terms of 'influence' on the part of the Jewish communities of Sasanian Babylonia on the Christian or other communities. As pointed out by Stern, 'indeed, in the context of Sasanian-ruled Babylonia it would be difficult to identify Jews, Christians, or pagans as either dominant or weak, and hence in a privileged position to exert influence over one another; a more egalitarian model of cul-

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ical' books and their ideology, and frequently surfaces as the main methodological issue of 'comparativism' in Religious Studies as a whole. For more nuanced uses of the comparative methodology in this respect, see J.E. Sanzo, 'Deconstructing the Deconstructionists: A Response to recent Criticism of the Rubric "Ancient Magic"', in Idem, A. Mastrocinque, M. Scapini (eds), *Ancient Magic: Then and Now* (Stuttgart, 2020), pp. 27–49 (31).

56 S. Bhayro, 'Magic as the Basis for Social Cohesion in pre-Islamic Mesopotamia', *Societas Magica Newsletter* 25 (2011), pp. 1–5. In this context one may stress the importance of handbooks of magic, 'even among magicians living in villages in remote regions', that could be transmitted from one magician to another regardless of any religious affiliation; see Lacerenza, 'Jewish Magicians and Christian Clients', pp. 407–408.

57 Bhayro, 'Magic as the Basis for Social Cohesion', p. 5.

tural exchange should perhaps be preferred'.[58] Furthermore, 'it is misleading, moreover, to treat "influence" as the logical opposite, or at least sole counterpart, of "shared culture" [...]. Influence, coercion, mimicry, emulation, borrowing, appropriation, accommodation, trade, exchange, distribution, free access, free sharing, etc., are all possible and legitimate ways for culturemes to be transmitted between people or groups of people, and thus to account for resulting similarities between them'.[59]

According to the data provided by the Syriac bowl texts, we find neither polemic against, nor resistance to, the exchange of themes and motifs between Syriac and Jewish texts on incantation bowls. This exchange aimed to give the incantation as much strength as possible. Having a practical goal, there appears to have been little room for allusions to controversies and hostilities. Apart from the concept of 'influence', which we have already considered, the Syriac incantation bowls, in their relationship with their Jewish counterparts, exhibit a high degree of interaction and overlap between traditions that the scholarly works have usually kept obscured. If we project this picture onto social interactions, to the degree that this is possible with ancient cultures and societies, we can imagine that Jews and Christians interacted in late-antique Babylonia on the basis of a common need for magic protection (something that was also shared by Manichaeans, Mandaeans, and other communities).[60] In this sense,

58 S. Stern, 'Rabbinic, Christian, and Local Calendars in Late Antique Babylonia: Influence and Shared Culture', in M.J. Geller (ed.), *The Archaeology and Material Culture of the Babylonian Talmud* (Leiden and Boston, 2015), pp. 260–288 (262).

59 Stern, 'Rabbinic, Christian, and Local Calendars', p. 263. In this respect, it might be useful to consider the idea of a 'percolation'—in the Mesopotamian religious (and magical) tradition—of themes and motifs, through both vertical and horizontal dynamics. This 'percolation' was 'channelled through the migratory routes of folk-lore and tradition'; see B. Barnes, *Contextualising Syriac Anathema: Bridging the Gap between Suggestions of Comparison in Late Antique and Nineteenth Century Christian Ritual Practice* [University of Southampton, Faculty of Humanities, Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (2016), unpublished], p. 114.

60 For an original overview of the communities of Sasanian Babylonia and their interaction, with important bibliographical references, see K. Smith, 'When Christians Became Iranian', Review of: R.E. Payne, *A State of Mixture: Christians, Zoroastrians, and Iranian Political Culture in Late Antiquity* (Oakland, 2015), http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/when-christians-became-iranian-by-kyle-smith/ (last visit 28.11.2020). For interaction between Christian and Iranian cultures in the Sasanian context, see S. Minov, 'Dynamics of Christian Acculturation in the Sasanian Empire: Some Iranian Motifs in the *Cave of Treasures*' in G. Herman (ed.), *Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians: Religious Dynamics in a Sasanian Context* (Piscataway, NJ, 2014), pp. 159–212. For shared terminologies in Christian and Manichaean sources, see A. Piras, 'Shared Terminologies between Christianity and Manichaeism', *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 12 (2014), pp. 25–46.

the usual description of communities in terms of social and cultural boundaries, based on, and at the same time fostering, conflicts and polemics, must be considered unsuitable. It is now evident that, as Stern observes, 'cultural transfer and similarity do not occur solely by virtue of physical or social proximity between different groups and cultures,' and that 'it occurs in a specific social context (which can be, for example, political or economic domination, conflict and polemic, coexistence and partnership, mobility and migration, etc.), and as a result of concrete and specific events or social processes'.[61]

The framework within which the Syriac incantation bowls were conceived is a highly articulated web of interactions, not necessarily only in the lower section of Babylonian society, but even in the very same scriptoria where canonical texts were prepared.[62] These interactions were not subject to the rigid separation witnessed in other sources, as the incantation bowls were part of a series of theurgic practices that, in turn, pertained to the same cultural stock whose tradition had a long history in Mesopotamia. Rewording Stern, we may say that it was perhaps the congruence of diverse processes—the independent histories of individual magical traditions, their reciprocal interactions, and the shared Babylonian culture of the Aramaic-speaking communities—that successfully brought about the emergence of the practice of incantation bowls, where Christian (Syriac) and Jewish (Jewish Babylonian Aramaic) individuals interacted in order to create effective tools for the protection of their families from misfortunes, illnesses and demons.[63]

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61 Stern, 'Rabbinic, Christian, and Local Calendars', p. 263.

62 For Jewish Rabbinic circles, Talmudic scriptoria and incantation bowls, see S. Bhayro, 'On Early Jewish Literature and the Aramaic Magic Bowls', *Aramaic Studies* 13 (2015), pp. 54–68.

63 Stern, 'Rabbinic, Christian and Local Calendars', p. 285.

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CHAPTER 5

More on the 'Book of Protection' and the Syriac 'Charms': New Texts and Perspectives for the Study of Magic and Religion

Michael Zellmann-Rohrer

1 Introduction

The Syriac compendia of ritual methods seeking assistance in all aspects of life, cohering in collections known in modern Western scholarship as the 'Book of Protection' or 'Book of Charms', aimed at no lesser a goal, to quote one of their titles, than the 'protection of humanity from all that is evil and hostile'.[1] Surviving only in modern copies but evincing ancient roots, these collections have been known in the West at least since the early days of Anglo-American missionary activity in the 18th century, and they are reasonably familiar within Syriac studies and even beyond. They are less well served, however, by editions and studies than might be hoped or, by now, expected, and the same is true for their counterparts in finished ritual products, or amulets.

The purpose of this chapter is to report on progress towards remedying that situation, in the form of an expanded collection of witnesses to the Syriac magical tradition—'magic' being used here as a convenient shorthand for instrumental religion focused on personal protection and advancement, shared with the scholarship on neighbouring traditions, though its practitioners would probably have resisted it and indeed framed their texts explicitly in opposition to it.[2] The catalogue of these documents (section 3 below) cannot

1 Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 163 (unpublished; described further below under the siglum CaH163), f. 2b, ܟܬܒܐ ܕܛܘܒ ܙܒܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܝܫ ܘܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ; similarly Ma52 (as described below).

2 For this convention see M. Zellmann-Rohrer, 'A Syriac-Arabic Dream-Request and Its Jewish Tradition', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 78 (2019), pp. 59–74 (59 n. 1); for rituals to counteract 'magic' in this tradition see e.g. among the formulae published by H. Gollancz (described under the siglum G. A, below), a 'binding of [i.e., against] magic arts' (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܣܬܪ ܟܫܦܐ, §44) and a procedure for 'a man upon whom magic arts have been practiced' (ܓܒܪ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܟܫܦܐ, §51) in which an analogy is drawn to no meaner a biblical precedent than the defeat of Jannes and Jambres by Moses.

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yet claim to be exhaustive, and the author, who continues to develop editions and annotated translations of the texts, would particularly welcome information on further relevant manuscripts. A preliminary sketch is given both of the character of the tradition as a whole (section 4) and of the implications of newly identified witnesses for understanding magic and popular religion in pre- and early-modern Mesopotamia and beyond. Garshuni texts, which belong to the study of Arabic (and Christian Arabic) ritual and magic, are not treated here;[3] while a perspective is offered in passing on Late Ancient and early Medieval Syriac amulets, they cannot be examined in any detail.

2 History of Research

Three intersecting traditions must be distinguished at the outset: the standalone 'Book of Protection', collections of related formulae in miscellanies, most often in codices concerned with medicine and divination, and 'finished products' in the form of amulets, copied with the aid of one or more formulary-recipes from the first two categories, for which the favoured format was a long, thin paper scroll that could be rolled up and carried in a pouch. (See sections 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 below respectively; and for a more detailed consideration of the history of the field, its past problems and future trajectories, the contribution by Abigail Pearson to this volume.) Research on the second strand is little developed, but the existence of the first and third have long been documented in Western exploration of enclaves of Syriac culture in Kurdistan and Azerbaijan—northern Iraq, southeast Turkey, northwest Iran—and followed with editions.

The American missionary Rev. Justin Perkins (1805–1869) gave a first-hand account of a 'Nestorian' village priest who fulfilled a request from a Muslim client for a 'charm' for a cow that failed to produce milk, by pronouncing a prayer over some salt to be fed to the animal, a text which, another priest explained, was memorised from an 'old book'.[4] The British Arabist and missionary George Percy Badger (1815–1888) offered excerpts in English translation from a manuscript of 'charms' that he had acquired in the region of

3 E.g. the 'collection of charms and spells' in a 19th-century manuscript now in Diyarbakir, Meryem Ana Kilisesi Ms. 208 (unpublished; preliminary catalogue entry by G. Kessel for the *VHMML* project—I owe this reference to Marco Moriggi).

4 *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians, with Notices of the Muhammedans* (Andover, MA, and New York, 1843), p. 456.

Mosul in the 1840s; on another visit to Lizan in 1850, he observed a presbyter copying and selling amulets in the village.[5]

The British rabbi Sir Hermann Gollancz (1852–1930), Goldsmid Professor of Hebrew at University College, London,[6] published what remains the most extensive collection, three manuscripts with formulae for what he termed 'charms'.[7] This publication, which was welcomed by both Semitists and folklorists,[8] had been preceded by a paper originally delivered at the Paris Orientalist Congress of 1897 with excerpts of texts and translations.[9] The volume was not accompanied by a synthetic study, and commentary was minimal—an exception is an extended discussion of Jewish folklore on Solomon in the preface, occasioned by the unusual epithet *bar Yaqay* attached to him in one of the Syriac texts. Gollancz had been preceded in the publication of a textual amulet by the Rev. Willis Hatfield Hazard in 1893 and in the description and extensive if incomplete translation of another 'Book of Protection' manuscript by the French Armenologist Frédéric Macler.[10]

The project of editing texts, especially the finished amulets, has been well served by Erica Hunter, who has also developed an application of Form Criticism from biblical exegesis to the understanding of the presence of the saints in these formulae and refined the description of textual genres among them, continuing the unpublished work of Karl Kramer.[11] Another unpublished dis-

5 *The Nestorians and Their Rituals, with the Narrative of a Mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842–1844, and of a Late Visit to Those Countries in 1850*, 2 vols. (London, 1852), vol. I, pp. 238–240.

6 H.M.J. Loewe, 'Gollancz, Sir Hermann (1852–1930)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, revised online edition (2009): https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33444.

7 *The Book of Protection, Being a Collection of Charms* (London, 1912).

8 Reviews: H. Hirschfeld, *JQR* 11 (1899), pp. 695–696; M. Gaster, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 45 (1913), pp. 452–454, and *Folklore* 24 (1913), pp. 150–152. As regards folklore, a synthesis between the data of the 'Book of Protections' and related texts and the information gathered by B. Nikitine, 'Superstitions des Chaldéens du plateau d'Ourmiah', *Revue d'ethnographie et des traditions populaires* 4 (1923), pp. 149–181, remains a desideratum; the latter records occasional 'charms' including the words ܟܐܦܐ ܥܠ ܟܐܦܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ 'Stone upon stone [kêfâ]: Simon Peter [Kêfâ]!' to bind the mouths of wolves and prevent them from harming lost livestock (180–181 no. 33), and an address to an onion to avoid eye irritation when peeling (175 no. 126).

9 'A Selection of Charms from Syriac Manuscripts', in *Actes du onzième congrès international des orientalistes, Paris–1897, quatrième section, hébreu—phénicien—araméen—éthiopien—assyrien* (Paris, 1898), pp. 77–97.

10 'A Syriac Charm', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 15 (1892), pp. 284–296 (see under CaH165 below); 'Formules magiques de l'Orient Chrétien', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 58 (1908), pp. 9–33 (see under PaM below).

11 E.C.D. Hunter, 'Saints in Syriac Anathemas: A Form-Critical Analysis of Role', *Journal of*

sertation in the intervening years by the Dominican Fr. Yousif Mirkis, Bishop of Kirkuk, examined the amulets alongside parallels in Arabic in the context of contemporary beliefs about the evil eye.[12] The edition of the formularies, however, has not advanced much since Gollancz, whose publication in turn is not without problems, one example of which will be seen further on. The texts have nevertheless begun to find a place in sociological studies of their homeland,[13] whose continuation may be hoped for in future work.

3 Textual Witnesses

Here presented in alphabetical order by modern holding institution are all witnesses to the 'Book of Protection' and related traditions known to the author in any worthwhile detail and which, when noted as either 'published' or 'collated', will figure in the new edition. In addition to the documents known through their removal to libraries, chiefly in the West, relevant texts were still to be found into the 21st century in private hands closer to their original homeland, as well illustrated by the recent survey of Nicholas Al-Jeloo, full publication of the results of which is still awaited.[14] In the interest of space, codicological descriptions are kept to a minimum. As a significant number remain inaccessible, a grouping into families would be premature; some remarks on that subject are attempted in section 5 below.

For convenience, as such a checklist does not yet exist, an annex to 3.3 on pre- or early Medieval Syriac amulets outside of the amuletic bowls is also offered. The bowls, no fewer than 49 of which have been collected and comprehensively discussed in the recent corpus of Marco Moriggi,[15] need not be reprised here; along with similar artefacts in Jewish Aramaic, their *floruit* falls

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Semitic Studies 32 (1987), pp. 83–104, and 'Genres of Syriac Amulets: A Study of Cambridge MS. Syr. 3086', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *v Symposium Syriacum, 1988: Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 29–31 août 1988* (Rome, 1990), pp. 355–368 (for the text editions see 3.3 below); K.F. Kramer, *Textstudien zu Ostsyrischen Beschwörungsgebeten* (unpubl. diss., Berlin, 1924).

12 *Étude sur quelques amulettes iraquiennes qui protègent du 'mauvais oeil'* (unpubl. diss., Strasbourg, 1977–1978).

13 A.H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago, 2015), pp. 64–66.

14 'Kaldayutha: The Spar-Sammane and Late Antique Syriac Astrology', *ARAM* 24 (2012), pp. 457–492.

15 *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls: Syriac Magical Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia* (Leiden, 2014); see also Marco Moriggi's contribution to this volume.

squarely in Late Antiquity.[16] Mention may also be made in passing of some unpublished early documents: another amulet on vellum (cf. Ca2480, Pa400, Je96–9173) now in London,[17] and an intriguing assemblage of three sheets of gold, silver, and bronze respectively, wrapped around a wooden rod, inserted in a tube, and deposited in a burial in Luristan (Pusht-i Kuh) of the 3rd century CE, inscribed with a complex composite of signs, figures, and letters among which some in an eastern script of Aramaic have been recognised.[18]

3.1 *'Book of Protection'*

Ba30535 Baghdad, Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage [ex-Saddam Centre of Manuscripts][19] 30535. Paper, 11×12 cm, 34 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 19th century (Harrak). Book of Protection (title not recorded) with at least ten sections and illustrations. Unpublished (not collated); catalogue description by A. Harrak.[20]

Be95 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Sachau 95. Paper, 8×5.5 cm, 60 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1778/9 by Ṣlîbâ son of Gammô from TYMR', resident of Salmas (the copyist of Be553) for 'Îṣâ (patronym effaced), placeholders for whose mother's name and residence were left blank; later personalisations for Ṣûlṭān son of Sānam grandson of KBGY, resident of RKB, 'Îṣâ son of Sānam, and TRWRD' son of 'SL', and birth notices dated to 1842/3 for Abraham son of Gûlâ and Ôrâ son of TRWYRD'. Book of Protection

16 E.C.D. Hunter, 'Incantation Bowls: A Mesopotamian Phenomenon?', *Orientalia* 65 (1996), pp. 220–233 (p. 220).

17 British Library: mentioned by S. Brock ap. J. Naveh, 'A Syriac Amulet on Leather', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 42 (1997), pp. 33–38 (p. 38); S. Brock, 'A Lead Syriac Protective Talisman', in L. Nehmé and A. Al-Jallad (eds), *To the Madbar and Back Again: Studies in the Languages, Archaeology and Cultures of Arabia Dedicated to Michael C.A. Macdonald* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 309–326 (p. 309 n. 5).

18 Described by L. Vanden Berghe, 'Luristan: Prospections archéologiques dans la region de Badr', *Archéologia* 36 (1970), pp. 10–21 (20–21); the published photographs do not allow any syntactic Aramaic to be read, and K. Beyer judged the inscriptions to consist solely of 'buchstabenähnliche' magical signs: *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (2 vols; Göttingen, 2004), vol. II, p. 30.

19 The present location of this manuscript, concealed in the basement of the Centre by the Director, Dr Usama al-Naqashbandi, along with the other holdings before the American-led invasion, is unknown: Amir Harrak, personal communication, 26 February 2020.

20 *Catalogue of Syriac and Garshuni Manuscripts: Manuscripts Owned by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage* (Leuven, 2011), pp. 86–87.

(ܟܝܬܒܐ ܕܚܝܐ) with 44 sections and illustrations. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by E. Sachau.[21]

Be553 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Or. Oct. 553. Paper, 8×6 cm, 37 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1800 by the presbyter Ṣlîbâ son of Gammô from TYMR' DWZH', resident of a village in the territory of Urmia whose name has been erased (the copyist of Be95); later ownership note of Joseph (identified by his mother's name, Ḥannâ) from BWRŠN. Book of Protection (ܟܝܬܒܐ ܕܚܝܐ) with 51 sections and illustrations. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by E. Sachau.[22]

Bi316 Birmingham, University Library Mingana 316. Paper, 8.3×5.4 cm, 73 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1776/7 by the deacon Jacob son of Gûryâ grandson of HRWNW from Maršanis (Aṯêl region) for BRHYM son of the priest Mar Awgîn from Kafîf. Book of Protection (ܣܒܪܐ ܟܝܬܒܐ ܕܚܝܐ) with 48 sections and illustrations. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by A. Mingana,[23] with a more recent overview of the content by E.C.D. Hunter.[24]

Bi583 Birmingham, University Library Mingana 583. Paper, 11.4×8.2 cm, 53 ff. Occasionally vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1804 by the presbyter Zerwandad son of the late Safar and nephew of Mar John, bishop and hegumen of the Monastery of Ezekiel near Rôstāqâ, residing in Rabnaṯ, who also produced the amulet NY2941/4 (see 3.3 below). Placeholders for the name of the patron, his mother, and his residence have been left blank; later personalisations for Îšô' son of Zaryâ and NWM son of Yasmîn. Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܚܝ[ܐ] ܕܫ[ܠ]) with 65 sections and illustrations, into which a treatise on medical prognostication has been inserted (ff. 43a–45b) as in G. A. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by A. Mingana.[25]

[Cambridge, University Library Add. Ms. 3086: see under **G. C**]

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21 *Verzeichniss der syrischen handschriften der Königlchen bibliothek zu Berlin* (2 vols; Berlin, 1899), vol. I, pp. 367–372 no. 107.

22 *Verzeichniss*, vol. II, p. 911 no. 345.

23 *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbroke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*. Volume 1. *Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1933), cols 595–597.

24 'Two Codex Handbooks of Amulets: Mingana ms syr 316 and Rylands ms syr 52', in S.H. Griffith and S. Grebenstein (eds), *Christsein in der islamischen Welt: Festschrift für Martin Tamcke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 2015), pp. 423–438.

25 *Catalogue*, cols 1106–1107.

Ca2055 Cambridge, University Library Add. Ms. 2055.6. Paper, 16×11.5 cm, 1 f. Copied by 'Abdîšô' on behalf of the deacon Hûmê of Merestak; assigned to the 18th century. A single section; the lack of the title, and indeed the loss of all but this single leaf, makes the identification of a Book of Protection manuscript uncertain, though the mention of a client in the colophon at least suggests an amuletic collection of some kind as opposed to a more general miscellany. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by S.A. Cook.[26]

CaH156 Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 156. Paper, 11×8 cm, 46 ff. Occasionally vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1826 in Razgâ by Denḥâ (patronym and titles effaced) for DRPY son of ʾY'WN and his mother 'NNH from Sarrāṭāw, residents of KWSH in the territory of Urmia, but some sections are personalised for a Denḥâ son of Gawzâ (perhaps the copyist). Book of Protection (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܨܠܘܬܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܚܝܠܬܐ) with 66 sections and illustrations, into which medical prognostics (ff. 39b–41a) as in G. A and pharmacological recipes (ff. 44b–45b) have been inserted. Unpublished (collated); mentioned by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein.[27]

CaH160 Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 160. Paper, 12×8 cm, 49 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1804 in Shibani by the presbyter George son of Zî'â from the Šemzdîn region, resident of the same village (possibly the copyist of G. A and Lo6673), for a client from Hasar whose name and parents' names have been effaced; later ownership inscriptions of John son of NZ', John son of Zî'â and KZ', grandson of ḤWŠB', and Abraham son of Mûqdû. Book of Protection (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܚܝܠܬܐ) with 71 sections and illustrations and added medical prognostics (ff. 45a–47b) as in G. A (see 3.2). Unpublished (collated); mentioned by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein.[28]

CaH162 Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 162. Paper, 8×5 cm, 50 ff. Occasionally vocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking, assigned to the 18th–19th century (Goshen-Gottstein); personalised for multiple patrons (Sargis son of TRMNH; BḤR son of 'ZKWT';

26 W. Wright and S.A. Cook, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (2 vols; Cambridge, 1901), vol. II, p. 1198. No information on provenance is recorded, but two other fragments from originally separate manuscripts, keep under the same shelfmark, are from southern India (2055.3 and 2055.4), to which Ca1167 may be assigned with more certainty.

27 *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library: A Catalogue* (Missoula, MT, 1979), p. 103.

28 *Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 104.

BḤDSR son of Mārûṯ, with one case of aggressive magic on his behalf against NGPḤN son of PRZTḤNM); probably from the region of Urmia, where it was acquired in 1890. Later ownership inscription of HMW son of Wardâ. Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܚܛܘܦ ܕܒܪ ܩܠܝܠܝܐ) with 36 sections and illustrations. Unpublished (collated); mentioned by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein.[29]

CaH163 Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 163. Paper, 10×7 cm, 66 ff. Partially vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1808/9 by the presbyter HYDNY son of the presbyter YBW from Gēsâ for a patron from Gûnādēktâ, resident of ʿÛmādyâ, whose name has been effaced in favour of one Ibn Lâ; later ownership notes of a presbyter John son of the deacon Benjamin from the family of the Bnê KWSY. Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܚܛܘܦ ܕܒܪ ܩܠܝܠܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܫܡܥ ܒܗ ܘܕܒܪ) with 48 sections and illustrations. Unpublished (collated); mentioned by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein.[30]

Ev1 Evanston, IL, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary [ex-Seabury-Western Theological Seminary], Archives, The Styberg Library, Syriac 1. Paper, 13.5×9.4 cm, 62 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking, but some sections are personalised for an Adam identified by his mother's name, Nîmô, with an ownership note of (the same?) Adam with the ethnic 'BŠMYY'; assigned to the 18th century (Macomber). Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܚܛܘܦ ܕܒܪ ܩܠܝܠܝܐ) with 27 sections and illustrations. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by W.F. Macomber.[31]

G. A [London,] Ex-private collection Gollancz A.[32] Paper, dimensions not recorded, 72 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1803 by the presbyter George son of the late Zîʿâ from Shibani (possibly the copyist of CaH160 and Lo6673); later ownership inscriptions include those of George son of Laʿzar from KMKY', who acquired it in 1889 from one Joseph son of MRGWL from ʿBGLW. Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܚܛܘܦ ܕܒܪ ܩܠܝܠܝܐ) with 53 sections and illustrations

29 *Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 105.

30 *Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 105.

31 'Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois', *Muséon* 92 (1979), pp. 369–386 (369–370).

32 Now lost; Gollancz donated many of his own books to the Mocatta Library at University College, London (see his *Contribution to the History of University College London* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 24–25), but no Syriac manuscripts can now be found among them: Rafael C. Siodor, personal communication, 8 November 2019.

and an additional treatise on medical prognostication. Published by H. Gollancz, *Book of Protection*, codex A.

G. B [London,] Ex-private collection Gollancz B. Paper, dimensions not recorded ('very small': Gollancz), 59 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Copied by Daniel son of the presbyter KWŠB' of Alqoš; undated. Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܐܬܘܬ ܐܠܦ[ܒܝܬ]) with 12 sections and illustrations. Published by H. Gollancz, *Book of Protection*, codex B.

G. C Cambridge, University Library Add. Ms. 3086. Paper, 7.9×5.4 cm, 85 ff. Occasionally vocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 18th century (Wright) and the Hakkari or Urmia regions (Hunter). Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܐܠܦ ܐܬܘܬ) with 29 sections and illustrations. Published by H. Gollancz, *Book of Protection*, codex C (re-collated); there is a more recent study of the content by E.C.D. Hunter.[33]

LoA17 London, private collection E.M. Assad. Paper, 6×4 cm, 57 ff. Partially vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1733 in Gûlpāšâ by the archdeacon Elijah son of Stephan, grandson of the presbyter Simon, great-grandson of the presbyter Ṭlāyâ, great-great-grandson of the presbyter Jacob, from Mawānâ (Tergāwār region; probably the same copyist as PaM), for a client from Urmiah whose name has been erased. Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܐܠܦ ܐܬܘܬ ܕܥܠ ܫܡ ܚܣܝܪ ܘܚܬܡ ܒܫܡ ܚܣܝܪ ܕܐܬ ܐܠܦ) with illustrations. Unpublished; catalogue description by E.M. Assad.[34]

LoA18 London, private collection E.M. Assad. Paper, 5×4 cm, 70 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Book of Protection (title and provenance not recorded) with illustrations, assigned to the 18th century (Assad). Unpublished; catalogue description by E.M. Assad.[35]

LoA19 London, private collection E.M. Assad. Paper, 8×6 cm, 55 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Book of Protection (title and provenance not recorded) with illustrations, assigned to the 18th century (Assad). Unpublished; catalogue description by E.M. Assad.[36]

Lo6673 London, British Library Ms. Or. 6673. Paper, 12.5×9.0 cm, 48 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1814 in Shibani by the presbyter George (patronym omitted; possibly the copyist of G. A and

33 'Genres of Syriac Amulets'.

34 *Pearls from Heaven: The Assad Collection of Syriac Manuscripts and Works of Art* (London, 2015), pp. 54–59 no. 17.

35 *Pearls from Heaven*, pp. 60–61 no. 18.

36 *Pearls from Heaven*, p. 62 no. 19.

CaH160) for Benjamin, son of the late John and his mother ḤNWKH of QLYRK' (or BLYRK'); later ownership note of Nāmattô son of Mā'ê. Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܐܣܝܘܬܐ ܕܚܘܪܙ) with 67 sections and illustrations. H. Gollancz gives a description, collation with G. A, and edition of most of the additional content not in G. A (re-collated);[37] the drawings are discussed by E. Balicka-Witakowska.[38]

Ma52 Manchester, John Rylands Library, Syriac Ms. 52. Paper fragments of three or four separate manuscripts bound together, 11.5×8 cm, 54 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. The material of interest (Ms. A) is a Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܐܣܝܘܬܐ ܕܚܘܪܙ ܕܒܗ ܟܠ ܚܟܡܬ ܕܒܥ) with 30 sections and illustrations. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 18th century and possibly the region of Tkhuma (Coakley). Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by J.F. Coakley;[39] excerpts at ff. 42a–43b are published by E.C.D. Hunter, along with the treatise on medical prognostication at ff. 45a–49a from an originally separate manuscript (Ms. B) related to that in G. A, and a survey of the content.[40]

Mo417 Mosul, Dominican Friars 417. Paper, 23×16 cm, 135 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1883 by the deacon Parnāsî son of George; note of purchase in 1905 from the family of a man from Tell Kêf in the territory of Mosul, and later personalisation for one Nesṭôrîs. The manuscript is a special case, partly analogous to those described below under 3.2, but it is still most proper to speak of a full-standing Book of Protection of 57 sections, mutilated at the beginning (ff. 4a–46b), copied following a treatise on the amuletic properties of natural substances related to the Greek *Kyranides* (ff. 2b–3b) and later bound with a separate codicological unit of medical content (internally titled ܣܦܪ ܡܚܟܡܢܐ). Unpublished (col-

37 *Book of Protection*, pp. 93–103.

38 'Illustrating Charms: A Syriac Manuscript with Magic Drawings in the Collection of the British Library', in G.A. Kiraz (ed.), *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honour of Sebastian P. Brock* (Piscataway, NJ, 2008), pp. 779–808.

39 J.F. Coakley, 'A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 75 (1993), pp. 105–207 (177–179).

40 *An Amulet for the Binding of Guns, Spears, Swords, Daggers and All Implements of War* (Oxford, 1992); 'Magic and Medicine amongst the Christians of Kurdistan', in E.C.D. Hunter (ed.), *The Christian Heritage of Iraq: Collected Papers from the Christianity of Iraq I–V Seminar Days* (Piscataway, NJ, 2009), pp. 187–202; 'Two Codex Handbooks of Amulets'.

lated); preliminary catalogue description of J. Falconer for the *VHMML* project.

NH3 New Haven, CT, Beinecke Library, Hartford Seminary collection no. 3. Paper, 11×7 cm, 41 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 19th century; later ownership notes of Peter son of Gawzel, BWDḤN son of ḤWRŠWD, and KRM son of Mārûṯ. Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܕܛܘܒ ܙܒܢ ܟܠ ܚܝܐ) with 50 sections and illustrations. Unpublished (collated); mentioned by J.T. Clemons.[41]

NY2941/2 New York, Public Library, MssCol 2941 vol. 2. Paper, 11.5×9 cm, 27 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Copied in late March of an unknown year by one Elijah (damaged colophon), assigned to the 18th century (Bcheiry); later ownership note of Joseph son of ŠḤYNH. Book of Protection with 50 sections and illustrations, missing the first quire including the title; addition of medical prognostics (ff. 22a–23b) as in G. A. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by I. Bcheiry.[42]

NY2941/3 New York, Public Library, MssCol 2941 vol. 3. Paper, 17×10.5 cm, 62 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1893 by David son of 'Abdîšô' grandson of QŠŠ' great-grandson of KWḤ' *alias* John from Gol Tappeh (possibly the same family as the copyist of Vi7). Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܛܘܒ ܙܒܢ ܟܠ ܚܝܐ ܕܡܫܟ) with 57 sections and illustrations (some with later Arabic captions) copied together with a collection of proverbs (ff. [29a]–[46a]) and a martyrdom of St. George (ff. [48a]–[62a]). Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by I. Bcheiry.[43]

Pa347 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France syr. 347. Paper, 8×6 cm, 71 ff. Partially vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1733/4 in Arṭûn by one 'GW. Book of Protection (ܫܡܫ ܐܠ ܟܬܒ ܚܝ ܕܟܠ ܙܒܢ) with 36 sections. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by F. Nau, who also published an excerpt from ff. 56b–58a.[44]

41 'A Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts in the United States and Canada', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966), pp. 224–251, 478–522 (483 no. 211).

42 'Syriac Manuscripts in New York Public Library', *Hugoye* 11 (2008), pp. 141–159 (143–149).

43 'Syriac Manuscripts', pp. 150–156.

44 'Notices des manuscrits syriaques, éthiopiens et mandéens, entrés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris depuis l'édition des catalogues', *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* ser. 2, 16 (1911), pp. 271–323 (302 no. 94); *Histoire de Nestorius d'après la lettre à Cosme et l'Hymne de Sliba de Mansourya sur les docteurs grecs. Conjuration de Nestorius contre les migraines* (Patrologia Orientalia 13.2; Paris, 1916), pp. 207–210 [317–320]. For further comments on the excerpted

PaM [Paris,] once in the collection of Frédéric Macler (1869–1938). Paper, 11×8 cm, 41 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1793 by the archdeacon Elijah son of the late Stephan, grandson of the presbyter Simon, great-grandson of the presbyter Ṯlāyâ, great-great-grandson of the presbyter Jacob, from Mawānâ (Tergāwār region), residing in Gûlpāšā in the territory of Urmia, probably the same copyist as LoA17. Book of Protection (title not recorded; probably contained ܟܬܒ ܫܘܠܡܢܐ) with at least 39 sections and illustrations. Unpublished (not collated); description and partial translation by F. Macler.[45]

Pr2 Princeton, Firestone Library, Princeton Syriac 2. Paper, 6.8×4.4 cm, 54 ff. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 18th century and said to come from 'Doon Mountain, Nestorian Kurdistan'.[46] Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܫܘܠܡܢܐ) with 56 sections. Unpublished (collated).

StP4 St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, Osnovnoy fond 4. Paper, 10.5×6.5 cm, 40 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 17th–18th century (Pigulevskaya); later ownership notes of SWLQ', of John son of Tērô, and of Saggô son of Merzâ. Book of Protection (ܟܬ ܕܢ ܫܘܠܡܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ) with 46 sections and illustrations. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by N.V. Pigulevskaya.[47]

StP18 St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Siriyskaya novaya seria 18. Paper loose leaves, 34×21 cm, 8 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 19th century (Pigulevskaya); presented in 1882 by Yakov Khodjamiryan of Shusha. Book of Protection (ܟܫܘܠܡܢܐ ܩܕܫ) with 30 sections and illustrations. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by N.V. Pigulevskaya.[48]

StPS1 St. Petersburg, private collection Sado no. 1. Paper, 7.9×6.4 cm, 74 ff. Occasionally vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1714 in Se'wînê in the

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text see recently K. Panegyres, 'Notes on a Nestorian Spell against Headaches', *Mnemosyne* 69 (2016), pp. 491–502.

45 'Formules magiques'.

46 Typescript card from the Ohio Historical Society accompanying the manuscript when presented to the Princeton University Library.

47 'Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in Leningrad' (in Russian), *Palestinskii Sbnornik* 6(69) (1960), pp. 3–196 (124–128 no. 39), counting only 38 sections.

48 'Catalogue', pp. 128–130 no. 40, counting only 24 sections.

district of Barwār by Elijah son of Hôrmîzd. Book of Protection (title not recorded). Unpublished (not collated); mentioned by H. Teule and G. Kessel.[49]

StPS5 St. Petersburg, private collection Sado no. 5. Paper convolute of two manuscripts, 11×6.5 cm, 106 ff. Occasionally vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1791 in Agğağ in the district of Māmēdayê by a priest whose name has been erased; later ownership inscription of Mary daughter of the presbyter Rašû'â. Two separate manuscripts of the Book of Protection (titles not recorded). Unpublished (not collated); mentioned by H. Teule and G. Kessel.[50]

StPS6 St. Petersburg, private collection Sado no. 6. Paper, 7.8×6.5 cm, 34 ff. Occasionally vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1893 by Barḥô son of Qaṭînâ; personalised in part for Ḥarlampî Nasîmû. Book of Protection (title not recorded). Unpublished (not collated); mentioned by H. Teule and G. Kessel.[51]

StPS11 St. Petersburg, private collection Sado no. 11. Paper, 10.5×10.0 cm, 56 ff. Occasionally vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1905 by the deacon Miškâ in Sāmāwāt in the region of BRYḤK. Book of Protection (سنة ٢٠١٨ حم حل بحتنم). Unpublished (not collated); mentioned by H. Teule and G. Kessel.[52]

StPS14 St. Petersburg, private collection Sado no. 14. Paper, 10.5×10.0 cm, 37 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1907 in Hûzê by the deacon Samuel son of Rûbel grandson of the deacon Simon. Book of Protection (title not recorded). Unpublished (not collated); mentioned by H. Teule and G. Kessel.[53]

StPS20 St. Petersburg, private collection Sado no. 20. Paper, 11×10.5 cm, 98 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1922 by Ḥaggô son of Joseph Ḥagîgnāyâ; personalised in part for one ḤWŠB' son of NZ'. Book

49 'The Mikhail Sado Collection of Syriac Manuscripts in St. Petersburg', in J.-P. Montferrer-Sala, H. Teule and S. Torallas Tovar (eds), *Eastern Christians and Their Written Heritage: Manuscripts, Scribes and Context* (Leuven, 2012), pp. 43–76 (48–49). Two treatises on lot divination may also be noted, described at pp. 53–54 no. 7 and 70 no. 27, the latter also containing '[t]wo charms, written in a negligent hand'. As Teule and Kessel confined themselves in the interest of time to dated manuscripts in this collection, further relevant material may remain to be catalogued there.

50 'Mikhail Sado Collection', pp. 52–53.

51 'Mikhail Sado Collection', p. 53.

52 'Mikhail Sado Collection', p. 57.

53 'Mikhail Sado Collection', p. 59.

of Protection (title not recorded), ff. 1a–40a, bound with a liturgical collection in Neo-Aramaic. Unpublished (not collated); mentioned by H. Teule and G. Kessel.[54]

StPS26 St. Petersburg, private collection Sado no. 26. Paper, 16.1×9.0 cm, 32 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1932 in Urmia by Aḥtyar son of Yawilihâ. Book of Protection (title not recorded), ff. 1a–25b, followed by miscellaneous liturgical-homiletic material. Unpublished (not collated); mentioned by H. Teule and G. Kessel.[55]

Vi7 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek cod. syr. 7. Paper, 7.5×6 cm, 56 ff. Copied in 1826 by the deacon ʿAbdîšôʿ *alias* Dādôy son of Aaron from Qaššîšâ GLBY, resident of Gol Tappeh (possibly the same family as the copyist of NY2941/3). Later ownership notes of PKW son of Gawzel. Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܚܘܦܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܠ ܬܦ ܐܠܗܐ) with 57 sections and illustrations. Unpublished (collated); mentioned by S. Grill.[56]

Ye10 Yerevan, Matenadaran Institute Syriac ms. 10. Paper, 11×8 cm, 46 ff. Copied in 1748/9 in Gāwar (Perāzlan) by the presbyter Sûlāqâ, cousin of the bishop John of Azerbaijan, from Alṣān; later ownership notes of ʿAnûšābâ son of Tawmwê and Mûraṯ (effaced) daughter of same. Book of Protection (ܟܬܒ ܬܘܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ) with 52 sections. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by E.N. Mescherskaya.[57]

Ye19 Yerevan, Matenadaran Institute Syriac ms. 19. Paper, 8×5.5 cm, 46 ff. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 18th century (Mescherskaya); later ownership notes of John son of SNQ and of M(Y)DYL son of NZLW. Book of Protection (lacking beginning including the title) with 48 sections. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by E.N. Mescherskaya.[58]

3.2 *Related Material in Larger Codices*

Be1 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Sachau 1. Paper, 31.5×21 cm, 88 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Ebedjesus, *Paradise of Eden* copied in 1648 by the

54 'Mikhail Sado Collection', p. 64.

55 'Mikhail Sado Collection', p. 69.

56 'Die Syrischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien', in *Vergleichende Religionsgeschichte und Kirchenväter* (Horn, 1959), pp. 54–58 (57–58).

57 'The Syrian Manuscripts of Protection in Matenadaran' (in Russian), *Palestinskii Sbornik* n.s. 27 (1981), pp. 93–105 (96–101).

58 'Syrian Manuscripts of Protection', pp. 101–103.

deacon Gabriel of Tell Kêf; later addition by the deacon George, son of the presbyter and deacon ʿAbdîšôʿ and grandson of the presbyter ʿAbdâ, at f. 1a of a formula for an incantation to cure scorpion-sting, published by E. Sachau.[59]

Be218 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Sachau 218. Paper, 22×16 cm, 238 ff. Unvocalised Serto. Theological miscellany copied in 1847 in Midyat by the priest Simeon son of the priest Šabbaw of the family of Bêt Laʿzar; later ownership notes in Arabic of his son the deacon Šabû. At ff. 176a–178a, 36 prescriptions of Psalms for amuletic and other magical purposes follow a set of glosses on the Psalter (ff. 103b–176a). Published by C. Kayser.[60]

Be327 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Sachau 327. Paper, 17.5×13 cm, 164 ff. Vocalised Serto. Barhebraeus, *Book of Rays*; assigned to the 16th–17th century (Sachau); ownership note of a monk Zaytūn at the church of St Cyriacus in Anḥal (vicinity of Midyat) in 1843. A later addition at ff. 163b–164a (unvocalised Serto) gives ten prescriptions of Psalms for amuletic and other magical purposes. Unpublished (collated); described by E. Sachau.[61]

Ca1167 Cambridge, University Library Add. Ms. 1167. Paper, 20×15 cm, 198 ff. Colophon lacking; acquired in southern India (Malabar), assigned to the 18th century (Wright). Three sections in the tradition of the Book of Protection (ff. 7b–8a) copied in a liturgical miscellany. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by W. Wright, with mention of the 'charms' by J.P.M. van der Ploeg.[62]

CaH161 Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 161. Paper, 11×8 cm, 34 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1848/9; later ownership note of a deacon ʿAwdîšôʿ; probably from the region of Urmia, where it was acquired in 1890. Excerpts from the Book of Protection (untitled) in 14 sections, mixed with other material on medicine

59 *Verzeichniss*, p. 274.

60 'Gebrauch von Psalmen zur Zauberei', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 42 (1888), pp. 456–462 with D. Simonsen, 'Ein Nachtrag zu der Abhandlung ünrt. "Gebrauch von Psalmen zur Zauberei"', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 42 (1888), pp. 693–694; on the codex see further Sachau, *Verzeichniss*, pp. 609–616 no. 188.

61 *Verzeichniss*, pp. 625–627 no. 192.

62 *Catalogue*, I, pp. 5–6; *The Christians of St. Thomas in South India and Their Syriac Manuscripts* (Bangalore, 1983), pp. 223–224 no. 26.

and divination in multiple hands. Unpublished (collated); mentioned by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein.[63]

Ch12093 Chicago, Oriental Institute reg. no. A12093 (accession no. 854 A). Paper, 7×5 cm, 144 ff. Partially vocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 19th century (Clemons) and once kept at the American Mission, Urmia, in whose vicinity it was probably copied. Large miscellany on divination, the material of interest falling within an untitled gathering of recipes (pp. 179–187). Unpublished (collated); mentioned by J.T. Clemons,[64] it may be identified with a manuscript described earlier by O. Sarau while still in Urmia.[65]

Di225 Diyarbakir, Meryem Ana Kilisesi 225 (11/3). Paper, 11.5×9.5 cm. 834 ff. Unvocalised Serto. Copied in 1901 in Amida by the deacon Jacob son of Joseph, for whom some sections are personalised, with mention of his mother Arôš. Material in the tradition of the Book of Protection dispersed within a large collection of prayers in Syriac and Garshuni. Unpublished (collated); preliminary catalogue entry by G. Kessel for the *VHMML* project.

Lo2084 London, British Library Ms. Or. 2084. Paper, 9×5 cm, 68 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1755/6 in Darband (Tergawar region) by the presbyter Wardâ son of the late Laʿzar, commissioned by Abraham son of Ḥāwšābâ of Zannê on behalf of the monastery of Mar John. A single recipe in the tradition of the Book of Protection in a miscellany with a focus on divination; bound with a fragment of an unrelated codex with a treatise on dream-interpretation. Unpublished (collated); the codex was briefly described by G. Margoliouth, with two treatises on divination by palmomancy (ff. 42a–45a) published by G. Furlani.[66]

Lo4434 London, British Library Ms. Or. 4434. Paper, 23×15 cm, 110 ff. Serto with occasional vocalisation in mixed East and West Syrian forms. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 19th century (Margoliouth), probably from Urmia. Miscellany with a focus on divina-

63 *Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 104.

64 'Checklist', p. 480 no. 192.

65 *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the Library of the Museum Association of Oroomiah College* (in Syriac) (Oroomiah 1898), p. 17 no. 85.

66 *Descriptive List of Syriac and Karshuni Mss. in the British Museum Acquired since 1873* (London, 1899), p. 3; 'Due trattati palmomantici in siriaco', *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 26 (1917), pp. 719–732.

tion including medical prognosis, astrology and dream-interpretation, medical recipes and a collection in the tradition of the Book of Protection (untitled, ff. 10b–41a; but sub-titles f. 17a, ܟܬܒ ܫܪܝܪܬ ܡܠܠ ܡܢܛܪ ܥܠ ܒܪ; f. 39b, ܡܠܠ ܡܢܛܪ ܟܬܒ ܕܚܠܡ ܐܫܬܡ ܥܠ ܚܕ). Unpublished (collated); mentioned by G. Margoliouth,[67] with a treatise on palmomancy at ff. 9a–10b published by G. Furlani.[68] The manuscript is perhaps the *'Ketava dechoudayi'* seen in the possession of a Christian from Urmia in Paris by F. Macler, who reported that it was then taken to England.[69]

Lo5281 London, British Library Ms. Or. 5281. Paper, 38×23 cm, 146 ff. Vocalised East Syriac. Copied in November of an unrecorded year by the presbyter Yāwnan son of Asrandar grandson of SRḤBŠ from MZR', assigned to the 18th century (Margoliouth). Collection of material in the tradition of the Book of Protection (ff. 2a–41b) with 61 sections, following a treatise on medical prognostics (originally a fragment of a separate codex); the codex contains further works on divination and astrology and a copy of the *Book of the Bee*. Unpublished (collated); an excerpt (f. 9a) was given by F. Nau, who also published a treatise on divination from chance encounters with animals (ff. 41b–42a), which was independently re-published by G. Furlani, and the codex was briefly described by G. Margoliouth.[70]

Lo5442 London, British Library Ms. Or 5442. Paper, 7×5 cm, 153 ff. Unvocalised Serto. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 16th–17th century (Margoliouth); according to a penned note, acquired from a 'Rev. Y.M. Neesan' in 1898, presumably the missionary Yaroo M. Neesan (1853–1937).[71] A single recipe in the tradition of the Book of Protection among miscellaneous medical recipes in a

67 *Descriptive List*, p. 42.

68 'Ancora un trattato palmomantico in lingua siriaca', *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 27 (1918), pp. 316–328.

69 Macler, 'Formules magiques', pp. 9–10.

70 'Nestorius et la magie', *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* ser. 3, 1 (1918), pp. 214–216 (the procedure seeks the 'release' or 'loosening' (ܫܪܝܪܬ) of a married couple from hostile magic, not their separation as Nau thought); 'Due trattati palmomantici in siriaco', pp. 731–732; *Descriptive List*, p. 49.

71 J.F. Coakley, 'Yaroo M. Neesan, "A Missionary to His Own People"', *ARAM* 5 (1993), pp. 87–100; Neesan's visit to the United Kingdom in 1897–1898 resulted in the sale of at least one other manuscript, to Oxford's Bodleian Library (ibid. pp. 93–94).

codex mostly concerned with astrology and other divination. Unpublished (collated); the codex was briefly described by G. Margoliouth, with material on divination by chance encounters (ff. 3b–23a) published by G. Furlani.[72]

Ma44 Manchester, John Rylands Library, Syriac 44. Paper, 22.5 × 16.5 cm, 134 ff. Unvocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 16th–18th century (Coakley). Small gathering of formulae (untitled, ff. 25b–28a) in a large miscellany on astrology and other forms of divination bound in turn with an unrelated unit. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by J.F. Coakley.[73]

Mar22 Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral 22. Paper, 31 × 21.5 cm, 164 ff. Partially vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1681 by George son of Isaac of Bêt Gûdô for the presbyter David Baḥdô of Mardin. Single section (to ease birth) in an anonymous gathering of medical recipes (ff. 163b–164a) within a grammatical miscellany in a mixture of Syriac and Garshuni. Unpublished (collated); preliminary catalogue entry by A. McCollum for the *VHMML* project.

Pa424–425 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France syr. 424–425. Paper, 33.8 × 22.0 cm, 485 ff. (now in two volumes). Vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1900 in Alqoš by the priest Elijah, son of the deacon Hômô, grandson of the deacon Isaiah, great-grandson of the presbyter Hômô, great-great-grandson of the presbyter Ḥannâ, great-great-great-grandson of the presbyter Hômô, great-great-great-great-grandson of the presbyter Daniel, great-great-great-great-great-grandson of the presbyter Elijah, great-great-great-great-great-great-grandson of the presbyter Daniel, from the family of the Bêṯ Naṣrô. Miscellaneous collection on medicine (the majority of the content, the entire first volume and continuing through f. 68b of the second) and the occult sciences (chiefly, astrology and other forms of divination); the material of interest is in a gathering of formulae for amulets and related ritual procedures in the tradition of the Book of Protection, ff. 254b–267a (titled ܫܡܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܟܠ ܟܠ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܒܬܘܠܬܐ; end-

72 'Due trattatelli enodiomantici in siriaco', *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 28 (1919), pp. 355–366; *Descriptive List*, p. 49.

73 'Catalogue', pp. 168–171.

title ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܫܘܬܦ ܚܫܘܬ). Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by F. Briquel-Chatonnet.[74]

Va469 Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. sir. 469, f. 155. Fragment from a paper manuscript (c. 14 × 8 cm) in vocalised East Syriac, re-used in the binding of an unrelated codex copied in 1804 in Alqoš; assigned to the 16th–17th century (Zellmann-Rohrer). The text gives part of a procedure for divination by requesting a significant dream, with Syriac rubrics and partly Garshuni invocation; published by M. Zellmann-Rohrer.[75]

3.3 *Amulets* (*Finished Products*)

Av3858 Avignon, Bibliothèque du Musée Calvet Ms. 3858. Paper roll, 166 × 6.4 cm. Unvocalised Serto. Personalised for 'BDLKRM, identified by his mother's name ḤWBY; one section seeks good relations between him and two associates YQWBŠ' and 'STDWR, both sons of mothers named Eve; assigned to the 16th century (Desreumaux and Gorea). Unpublished (collated); mentioned by J.-B. Chabot with a fuller description by A. Desreumaux and M. Gorea.[76]

BeZ Berlin, private collection (P. Zabel). Paper roll, 344 × 9 cm. Vocalised East Syriac. Originally personalised for Maria daughter of Martha (colophon) and QZBZ daughter of Yāṣāman (internally), with added reference to Salbê daughter of Ša'zādâ. Copied in 1842 by the deacon 'Aṣlan son of Mûḥtas. Published by S. Talay, S. Rudolf, and Y. Kouriyhe.[77]

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74 *Manuscrits syriaques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (*nos 356–435 entrés depuis 1911*), *de la Bibliothèque Méjanes d'Aix-en-Provence, de la Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon et de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg* (Paris, 1997), pp. 164–166; the identification of the portion containing the material of interest (syr. 425, ff. 108a–275b) as '[le m]ême texte que' that published by E.A.W. Budge in *Syrian Anatomy, Pathology and Therapeutics or, The Book of Medicines: The Syriac Text, Edited from a Rare Manuscript, with an English Translation* (2 vols; London, 1913) is inaccurate; Budge's manuscript (now London, British Library Ms. Or. 9360) contains nothing comparable to the material edited here (for its meagre contribution to the tradition of the 'charms' see Zellmann-Rohrer, 'Dream-Request', pp. 64–65).

75 'Dream-Request', pp. 59–74.

76 Ap. L.-H. Labande, *Manuscrits de la bibliothèque d'Avignon*, vol. III.1 (Paris, 1897), p. 484; in F. Briquel-Chatonnet et al., *Manuscrits chrétiens du Proche-Orient* (Arles, 2003), pp. B16–B17.

77 'Ein neues syrisch-aramäisches Amulett', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 170 (2020), pp. 289–308.

Bei1 Beirut, National Museum of Lebanon [no. 1]. Paper slip, 14 × 9 cm. Unvocalised Estrangelo-Serto hybrid. Found in a burial in Hadath Cave (Qadisha, Lebanon). Personalised for David son of Yasmîn, dated before 1283 (archaeological context). Published by G. Abousamra.[78]

Bei2 Beirut, National Museum of Lebanon [no. 2]. Paper slip, 22 × 19 cm. Unvocalised Estrangelo-Serto hybrid. Found in a burial in Hadath Cave (Qadisha, Lebanon). Personalisation lacking; dated before 1283 (archaeological context). Published by G. Abousamra.[79]

CaH158 Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 158. Paper roll, 127 × 7 cm. Partially vocalised East Syriac. Colophon and personalisation lacking; assigned to the 18th–19th century (Hunter), probably from the region of Urmia, where it was acquired in 1890. Published by E.C.D. Hunter.[80]

CaH159 Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 159. Paper roll, 200 × 6 cm. Partially vocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking; personalised for Šûšâ son of Yasmeh, probably from the region of Urmia, where it was acquired in 1890. Unpublished (collated).[81]

CaH165 Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 165. Paper roll, 200 × 6 cm. Vocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 18th–19th century (Hazard) and probably from the region of Urmia, where it was acquired in 1890. Personalised for one Gawzâ daughter of Šîmâ. Published by W.H. Hazard.[82]

Ki1 [Kirkuk?,] private coll. Yousif Mirkis, Ar. no. 1. Paper roll, 23.3 × 8 cm. Copied by Sûlākâ son of BYTW from WLTW (or BLTW); dated before 1915 (Mirkis). Unpublished (not collated); description and translation by Y. Mirkis.[83]

Ki2 [Kirkuk?,] private coll. Yousif Mirkis, Ar. no. 2. Paper roll, dimensions not recorded. Copied by the deacon Simon; said to have

78 'Two Syriac Amulets from Hadath Grotto (Qadisha)', in *Actes du IIe Symposium Syriacum* (*La Valette, Malte, juillet 2012*) (Kaslik, 2013), pp. 213–230 (215–219 no. 1).

79 'Two Syriac Amulets', pp. 220–222 no. 2.

80 'Another Scroll Amulet from Kurdistan', in G.J. Reinink and A.C. Klugkist (eds), *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J.W. Drijvers* (Leuven, 1999), pp. 161–171.

81 Wrongly identified by Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 108 n. 3 as the amulet published by Hazard (see below).

82 'A Syriac Charm'.

83 *Étude*, pp. 55–68.

been copied ca. 1907 (Mirkis). Unpublished (not collated); description by Y. Mirkis.[84]

Ki3 [Kirkuk?,] private coll. Yousif Mirkis, Ar. no. 3. Paper roll, dimensions not recorded. Copied by the presbyter SYD'; undated. Unpublished (not collated); description by Y. Mirkis.[85]

LoA15 London, private collection E.M. Assad. Paper roll, 90×8 cm. Occasionally vocalised East Syriac. Copied for Asmar daughter of Sēyēh, later effaced in favour of SLB' daughter of TRMNH, assigned to the 18th century (Assad). Unpublished; catalogue description by E.M. Assad.[86]

LoA16 London, private collection E.M. Assad. Paper roll, 500×10 cm. Unvocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1707 in the village QWGNWṢ. Placeholders, some indicating a female client, have not been filled in; a later hand has added an Arabic version of the closing acclamation of one of the sections (امين وامين). Unpublished; catalogue description by E.M. Assad.[87]

NY2941/4 New York, Public Library, MssCol 2941 vol. 4. Paper roll, 225×8.7 cm. Vocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1813 by the presbyter Zerwandad son of Safar, nephew of John, bishop and hegumen of the Monastery of Mar Ezekiel near Rôstāqâ (who also copied the Book of Protection manuscript Bi583: see 3.1 above) for TRḤNM daughter of Asmar, wife of 'Îṣâ son of GLBY, from GRBŠ; later personalisation for 'Azlû son of Sārâ. Unpublished (collated); catalogue description by I. Bcheiry.[88]

Ox3 Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. syr. g 3 (R). Paper roll, 122.5×7.75 cm. Occasionally vocalised East Syriac. Copied by one Joseph for TRZN daughter of ḤNZD' (corrected from ZRD' throughout); assigned to the late 18th–early 19th century and the Hakkari region (Hunter). Published by E.C.D. Hunter.[89]

Ye72a Yerevan, Matenadaran Institute Syriac rot. 72a. Paper roll, 258×8 cm. Unvocalised East Syriac. Copied in 1755 in GGWRN by the

84 *Étude*, pp. 55–68.
85 *Étude*, pp. 55–68.
86 *Pearls from Heaven*, pp. 46–47 no. 15.
87 *Pearls from Heaven*, pp. 48–53 no. 16 (the reading of the names of a copyist and a client in the colophon is not supported by the photographs).
88 'Syriac Manuscripts', pp. 157–159.
89 'A Scroll Amulet from Kurdistan', *ARAM* 5 (1993), pp. 243–254.

priest ʿAbdîšôʿ son of the late QWRGYBG and nephew of the schoolmaster John. Unpublished (not collated); catalogue description by E.N. Mescherskaya.[90]

Ye72b Yerevan, Matenadaran Institute Syriac rot. 72b. Paper roll, 218×8 cm. Vocalised East Syriac. Colophon and personalisation lacking. Unpublished (not collated); catalogue description by E.N. Mescherskaya.[91]

Ye9–90 Yerevan, Matenadaran Institute rot. 9–90. Fragmentary paper roll, 115.8×5.5 cm. Occasionally vocalised East Syriac. Colophon lacking; personalised for Sarah daughter of Elšābâ. Published by A.B. Schmidt and G. Abousamra.[92]

3.4 *Annex: Pre- (or Early) Medieval Amulets*

Bei6 Present location unknown, acquired in Beirut in 1925 by C. Virolleaud. Silver sheet, 10×6 cm. Unvocalised Estrangelo. Adjuration of BRT'WN (perhaps an Aramaic-Greek hybrid, son of the gods (θεῶν)), 'mighty lord, holy one of god' seeking the 'release' of a particular demon with an Iranian-sounding name (ṬRPSDK); assigned to Late Antiquity (Naveh and Shaked). Published most recently by J. Naveh and Sh. Shaked.[93]

Ca2480 Cambridge, University Library MS. Or. 2480. Single vellum leaf, 16×8.5 cm. Unvocalised Estrangelo. Written on one side and folded up as an amulet for one KWRWHZ'D *alias* YZD'NZ'DG daughter of DYNQ, identified with the beneficiary of the three rolls making up Pa400 (above); described by J.F. Coakley.[94]

Je96–9173 Jerusalem, Israel Antiquities Authority accession no. 96–9173. Single vellum sheet, 14.5×7.5 cm. Unvocalised Estrangelo. Written for an unnamed woman; assigned to Late Antiquity (Naveh);

90 'Syrian Manuscripts of Protection', pp. 103–104.

91 'Syrian Manuscripts of Protection', pp. 104–105.

92 'Une amulette syriaque dans la collection du Matenadaran à Yerevan (rouleau 9–90)', *The Harp* 29 (2014), pp. 143–164; their suggestion that the amulet is from the region of Urmia, not implausible in itself, is based on a misreading of the text at lines 144–150, which is in fact a reference to Christ's expulsion of the demon Legion from 'him who was living among the tombs' into the water (Mark 5:1–20; Luke 8:26–39).

93 *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 3rd ed. (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 62–69 no. 6.

94 *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library and College Libraries Acquired since 1901* (Ely, 2018), pp. 156–158.

unknown provenance, once in the collection of Y. Yadin. Published by J. Naveh.[95]

LoA London, private collection E.M. Assad. Opisthographic lead tablet, 25×8 cm. Unvocalised Estrangelo in mirrored direction, the result of casting from a mould with text in the natural writing direction. Amulet internally termed 'talisman' (ܛܠܡܫܐ) for protection of a field from pests and promotion of the fertility of its crops, personalised for Theophilus son of Sisinos; unknown provenance, assigned to the 9th century (Brock). Published by S. Brock.[96]

Pa400 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France syr. 400/1–3. Three vellum rolls, two tall and narrow (the larger 27.5×9 cm) and one roughly square (18.5×19.5 cm), at least one of which was once enclosed in a copper container. Unvocalised Estrangelo. Each roll is personalised for the same client, one KWRWHZ'D *alias* YZD'NZ'DG, identified by her mother's name DYNQ (as also Ca2480 above). Assigned to the 6th–7th centuries (Gignoux), apparently from a Persian-speaking area on onomastic grounds. Published by P. Gignoux, with new readings and discussion of syr. 400/3 by N.H. Korsvoll and L.I. Lied.[97]

4 Overview of Contents

The aim of 'protection' expressed by the title of the treatise at the centre of this tradition is well borne out by its contents, applied to a broad range of ills.[98] These include specific symptoms—fever, headache, toothache, backache, bleeding, indigestion, pleurisy, boils, rabies, insomnia, nightmares, difficult childbirth—, broader designations such as 'all sickness', and the effects of demonic possession and the evil eye. The protection extends to that of livestock, crops, and land, and to crises such as risky voyages and military and legal combat, with related goals of keeping the peace among households and comrades and of personal advancement through success in public life and business. The means include simple prayer close to the realms of liturgy and private

95 'Syriac Amulet'.

96 'Syriac Protective Talisman'.

97 *Incantations magiques syriaques* (Louvain, 1987); 'Enoch and Baruch: Unusual Suspects in a Syriac Amulet', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 75 (2016), pp. 349–360.

98 See in general E.C.D. Hunter, 'Amulets and the Assyrians of Kurdistan', *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society* 9.2 (1995), pp. 25–29.

devotion and matching the rubric ܫܘܠܡܐ applied by the manuscripts themselves, but not to the exclusion of invocations with more diverse elements—metaphor, narrative, direct address to the targets rather than appeals to holy intermediaries—from the realm of incantations. Such texts may also be inscribed to be worn as amulets or uttered over medicinal substances, and the illustrations furnished in many of the witnesses, figuring both protective saints and malevolent demons, may be intended as models to be copied for apotropaic purposes, though this is nowhere made explicit. The amulets follow a similar course, with a narrower focus on personal protection against sickness and demonic assault.

The intersection of the 'Book of Protection' with other ritual, medicinal, and divinatory texts is already anticipated by a paratext to that treatise in the form published by Gollancz (G. A § 54; see also 5 below). It offers medical prognostics based on a calculation applied to the sum of the numeric values of the letters of the names of the patient and his or her mother: the results are keyed to diagnoses of the sources of the illness and prescriptions for cures, which include visiting specific monasteries to seek textual amulets. The witnesses described under 3.2 above take this development further: situated in miscellaneous codices, they concern themselves with a more diverse group both of aims, aggressive as well as beneficent—as occasionally even in some witnesses to the 'Book of Protection' proper—, a selection of which is discussed in 5 below, and of means, for example, miniature ritual dramas distinct from simple prayers and phylacteries.

Because many of the manuscripts were subject to one or more layers of personalisation, changed hands among owners, and recorded also the names of copyists, they can be recognised as products and possessions of specific individuals and places, even if these often remain only names. Onomastics would indeed repay further study for clues of ethnic origins and affiliations. The presence of transliterated Arabic in some of the 'charms' (e.g. G. A § 19; Lo 4434 §§ 51, 90; Lo6673 § 64) may provide a sign of linguistic diversity among participants in the tradition, and perhaps even the sharing of ritual texts among Christian and Muslim practitioners and clients, as implied by the episode of the dairy cow reported by Perkins. The internal use of the Arabic loanword ܛܠܣܡ 'talisman' to designate some of the formulae (e.g. Lo6673 §§ 54–55 and the title of Bi583) may point in this direction, though the term is ultimately Greek (and it appears at an early stage already in LoA). More positive evidence is the use of Arabic pseudo-script among some magical designs to which apotropaic power is imputed (Pa347 §§ 10, 16, 33).[99]

99 For the tradition of these signs in the West see R. Gordon, 'Charaktêres Between Antiquity

Across these documents, a thorough integration with contemporary Christian faith and practice can be observed, which again makes problematic any application of the term 'magic', however convenient for interdisciplinary dialogues in modern scholarship. A lively and diverse cult of saints underpins the attribution of amuletic prayers to these figures, their presence in narrative motifs in incantations, and closing invocations of their prayer and intercession. The adaptation of scripture may also be mentioned, especially the Psalms, for which parallel developments at the centre of magical practices can be traced for both Christian and Jewish traditions in the area and further west.[100] Some inventive compositions can already be found in the material published by Gollancz, such as Psalm 29:7 with elements of the prophecies against Gog and Magog from Ezekiel 38:2–6 and against Capernaum from the gospels (Matthew 11:23, Luke 10:15) in G. A § 16,[101] and more will be met further on in this chapter. Two full-standing treatises (Be218 and Be327) are devoted to the application of the Psalms in this respect. This sample, small in comparison to the Jewish *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim* and its medieval Greek counterparts, is still sufficient to establish, despite the scornful assessment of Kayser,[102] a sound analogical connection between the prescribed Psalms and their applications, which demonstrates a deep and active acquaintance with scripture. Such a mentality can be confirmed by hagiography, as in an episode in the *Book of Governors* in which Elijah, bishop of Mokan, invokes an analogy in citing Psalm 29:5 and

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and the Renaissance: Transmission and Re-Invention', in V. Dasen and Jean-Michel Spieser (eds), *Les savoirs magiques et leur transmission de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance* (Florence, 2014), pp. 253–300. Their study in Syriac texts, where they appear already in the early amulets (Ca2480 Je96–9173 Pa400/1), remains to be developed; for a recent discussion see Zellmann-Rohrer, 'Dream-Request', and for the possibility of a relation to non-phonetic characters on the amuletic bowls, D.J. Waller, 'Curious Characters, Invented Scripts, and … Charlatans? "Pseudo-Scripts" in the Mesopotamian Magic Bowls', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 78 (2019), pp. 119–139.

100 See recently M. Zellmann-Rohrer, '"Psalms Useful for Everything:" Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Manuals for the Amuletic Use of the Psalter', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 72 (2018), pp. 113–168, and for biblical references more generally, J.E. Sanzo and N.H. Korsvoll, 'A New Testament Text on a Syriac Incantation Bowl: Eph. 6:10–17 on IBC 3', *Vigiliae Christianae* 71 (2017), pp. 417–432.

101 The versions in StP18 § 23, Ye10 § 30, and Ye19 § 18 confirm the emendation of ܕܚܒܝ to ܕܡܥܒ in the Ezekiel citation proposed by Gollancz; the concurrence of all the Syriac witnesses in ܡܚܝ ܝܘܡ against the Peshitta ܠܝܠܐ is also noteworthy.

102 'Es ist umsonst, bei solchem Unsinn, wie dem vorliegenden, nach einem vernünftigen Grund zu suchen, und so lassen sich auch hier keine bestimmten Beziehungen zwischen den einzelnen Psalmen und den Dingen, wofür oder wogegen sie gut sein sollen, nachweisen': 'Gebrauch von Psalmen', p. 459 n. 4.

9 when chopping down a local sacred tree of the Yazdis.[103] The involvement of priests in the provisioning of ritual services informed by these documents, already recorded by Perkins and Badger and corresponding to the testimony of earlier Syriac literature,[104] is extensively confirmed by their role as copyists of the manuscripts themselves on record in the colophons. This priestly connection does not prevent the conjunction of the Psalms with more original mythopoeia. A procedure to protect livestock from wolves pairs an excerpt from Psalm 19:13 with a claim that the wolf has been 'gouged with the furrow that the ox ploughed, right up to the king', perhaps yet another Solomonic allusion, and the event has been marked on the cosmic plane as 'the seventy veils', apparently heavenly, 'have come down to earth' (Lo5442 §1).

5 New Perspectives

The new manuscripts, both formulary codices and finished amulets, identified in the course of this study provide first and foremost a broader perspective on the history of the texts in question. The witnesses gained for the 'Book of Protection' can in turn be analysed into codicological families. It emerges that while Gollancz was prescient in giving pride of place to his codex A over B and C, a fourth manuscript (Lo6673) known to him but relegated to an appendix in favour of G. A is in fact a better representative of the majority, a group of some 11 codices (Be95 Be553 Bi583 CaH156 CaH160 Lo6673 NY2941/2 NY2941/3 PaM Pr2 Vi7 Ye10) that add a more or less similar set of formulae both within and after the main assemblage of G. A; there is much variation in turn on the presence and content of the medical prognostics by psephistics that forms the final section of G. A (§54), and which itself circulated independently.[105] A class

103 5.11, ed. E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of Governors: The* Historia monastica *of Thomas, Bishop of Margâ, A.D. 840* (London, 1893), p. 284.11–12, ܡܠܐ ܠܐ ܒܚܢܐ ܒܚܒܫ ܒܚܢܐ ܕܚܪܬܐ ܕܬܪ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܚܬܐ.

104 Add also e.g. Nikitine, 'Superstitions', p. 160 no. 22: sacrifice of a lamb, over which a priest has read some prayers, to cure a sick child, and see in general the contribution of Gaby Abousamra to this volume; for the evidence from Syriac literature see M. Moriggi, '"And the Impure and Abominable Priests Fled for Help to the Names of the Devils": Amulets and Magical Practices in Syriac Christian Culture between Late Antiquity and the Modern World', *Hugoye* 19 (2016), pp. 371–384.

105 See the multiple witnesses in Ma52 and a copy in a manuscript with no other relation to the tradition of the Book of Protection, Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 166, pp. 58–60 (edited by I.H. Hall, 'The Letter of Holy Sunday', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 15 (1893), pp. 121–142 (137–142), according to whom it was copied in 1885 from a 'much older' exemplar; see also Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 106). An

of *extravagantes* (Bi316 CaH162 CaH163 Ev1 Ma52 Mo417 NH3 Pa347 StP4 Ye19), with which G. B and G. C may also be grouped, presents only partial overlap with any of these or with each other, and no small number of additional formulae, some selections of which will be discussed below. There are, finally, intersections with substantially independent textual traditions of the larger collections of ritual recipes.

The gathering of new witnesses also allows new readings and corrections to the *Book of Protection* as published by Gollancz. As a specimen, a re-edition of two texts is offered here. The case is also of interest as evidence of the relation between the 'Book of Protection' proper and collections of formulae in larger codices, which indicates a complex process of textual transmission. The first formula in question seeks to cure backache via an incantation containing a narrative motif in which King Solomon is afflicted with similar pain and cured in a manner analogous to the desired outcome after his cries of pain attract divine attention and aid (G. A § 10). In the edition of Gollancz, the ending is apparently garbled and contains an incongruous reference to a saint with no relation to the narrative, one Mar Zî'â; Gollancz nevertheless attempted to make sense of it as follows:

> The Anathema of King Solomon, which is of avail for an injury (?) to the back. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: and in the name of I Am That I Am, Almighty God, Adonai, Lord of Hosts. King Solomon was building the House to the name of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit was handing him the stone: Solomon stooped to take hold of the stone: he hurt (?) his back, his loin ruptured, and he gave forth a bitter cry. Whereupon our Lord said unto his disciples: What voice of crying is this? and they replied unto him: It is that of Solomon, the son of David, who is building the terrific, blessed House ܒܝܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ]]. Amen!

A fuller collation shows that the phrase that Gollancz rendered as 'the terrific, blessed house' is the result of an unintended juxtaposition of the stubs on either side of a large lacuna in his manuscript: ܡܪ 'Mar' must be understood before ܩܕܝܫܐ, which is a personal name, not an epithet of the 'house', and in turn an entirely separate section has fallen out in which Mar Zî'â is more

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entirely different psephistic method, using diagrams related to the so-called 'Sphere of Democritus' of Late Antiquity (*PGM* XII.351–364), is preceded by an interesting prayer (rendering the *trishagion* acclamation in Greek, 'Frankish', Armenian, Georgian, Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and Syriac) among additions in the flyleaves of a theological miscellany, Mosul, Dominican Friars 121, f. 2a–b (unpublished).

at home, a prayer attributed to that saint against plague, which follows the Solomon incantation directly in several witnesses and is attested on its own in a few more. The witness to both texts in the codex designated here Lo6673, already known to Gollancz and offering, as argued here, the solution to this problem, was summarily dismissed: the Solomon text 'repeats [itself in] part, evidently a case of dittography, and also adds the passage which "our Lord said to his disciples, Go to the garden and cut therefrom &c.", contained in A § 20',[106] while the Mar Zîʿâ text, duly edited in his Appendix,[107] is not brought to bear on the question. A hypothetical reconstruction of the shared ancestor of the surviving witnesses to both texts is offered here, which will make the point clearer; the witnesses most relevant to the filling of the lacuna where the Mar Zîʿâ text directly follows the Solomon text are Be95, Be553, Bi583, CaH156, CaH160, NY2941/3, Pr2, and StP18; in Lo6673 they keep this order but with a section corresponding to G. A § 9 intervening.

Solomon (*G. A § 10*)

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܫܡܥ ܕܟܠ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܐܝܬ
ܒܟܘܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܡܝܐ ܫܡܫ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܒܕ
ܟܠ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܬ ܒܗ
ܫܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܝܬ ܟܠ ܠܚܕ ܒܗ. ܘ ܕܟܬܒ
5 ܒܟ ܒܟܠ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܝ ܕܠܐ ܒܟܝܢ ܫܒܥ ܒܬܒ
ܒ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܠ ܡܝܟ. ܐܝܡ ܕܒܟ ܐܝܡ ܕܠ ܐܢ ,ܡܐ
ܠ ܕܟܬܒ ܟܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܬ ܒܗ
ܫܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܝܬ ܟܠ ܠܚܕ ܒܗ. ܘ
ܒ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܫܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܝܬ ܟܠ ܠܚܕ
ܐ ܒܟ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܝ ,ܡܐ ܠ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܕܠ
10 ܟܠ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܕܠ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܡ
ܐ ܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܕܠ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܡ
ܐ ,ܡܐ ܠ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܕܠ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܡ ܕܥܒܕ.

Witnesses: Be95 § 11; Be553 § 11; Bi583 § 11; CaH156 § 11 (personalised for a deacon Denḥâ son of Gawzâ); CaH160 § 10; CaH163 § 18; G. A § 10 (defective); Lo4434 § 17; Lo6673 § 9; Ma52 § 8; Mo417 § 56; NY2941/3 § 11; Pr2 § 12; StP18 § 29 (defective); Ye10 §§ 11 and 37 (with minor differences; only the former is adduced here); Ye19 § 7 (with a truncated version also in § 20, not adduced here).

[ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܫܡܥ ܕܟܠ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܐܝܬ 1. || *deficit* StP18 *usque ad* ܠ ܕܥܒܕ 1–4
Be553 Be95 .ܐ. ܐ [ܐ ܐ ܐ | CaH163 Lo4434 Ma52 Mo417 ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ

106 *Book of Protection*, p. 94.

107 *Book of Protection*, p. 103 (§ 11).

G. A Ca160 ܡܪ- [ܟܣܝܐ | CaH156 -ܬܐ [ܟܬܒܐ | Bi583 CaH156 NY2941/3 Pr2 Ye10 Ye19 ܫܡܗ | om. Ma52 [ܫܡܗ ... ܕܥܒ | om. Lo4434 Mo417 [ܫܡܗ (...) ܕܥܒ 1–2. || Lo6673 ܫܡܗ ܕܡܪ : Be553 ܫܡܗ ܕܡܪ : Be95 CaH160 Pr2 ܕܡܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ [ܫܡܝܫܐ Be95 ܫܡܗ ܕܡܪ + [ܫܡܗ ܕܝܢ | NY2941/3 ܕܡܝܫܐ ܡܡܪ : CaH156 ܫܡܝܫܐ ܕܡ | CaH163 Lo4434 Ma52 Mo417 ܡܪܝ ܝ. ܥܠ. [ܥܠܡܐ ܚܠܡ 3. || CaH156 ܕܘܡܗ : Mo417 ܠܐ [ܕܝܢ ܡܚܐ | Lo4434 Mo417 ܕܡ ܟܬܒ : Ye10 Ye19 ܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܕܡ [ܟܬܒ Be95 Be553 Bi583 ܟܬܒܐ ܕܫܝ [ܟܬܒܐ ܫܝ | om. Lo6673 NY2941/3 Ye10 [-ܐ | Lo4434 om. CaH63 [ܟܬܒ (...) ܚܕ | om. Bi583 [ܠܐ | Ma52 ܫܡܗ + [ܟܬܥܐ 4. || CaH163 NY2941/3 | om. Bi583 CaH156 ܫܒܚ ܫܡܥܐ 5. || Mo417 ܫܒܚ : G. A ܫܒܚܐ [ܫܒܚ | Ma52 Ye10 Ye19 CaH163 ܟܡܥܐ [ܫܒܚ | om. StP18 Ye19 [ܟܝܢܐ ܟܕ ܚܠܡ ܫܒܚ| Pr2 ܟ- [ܫܒܚ CaH163 G. A Lo4434 Lo6673 Mo417 ܟܝܢ [ܟܝܢܐ ܟܕ | Mo417 Lo4434 ܚܠ [ܚܠܡ | om. [ܒܫܡ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ | om. Mo417 [-ܐ | om. Be95 StP18 [ܒܫܡ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ | om. Be95 StP18 ܟ.ܡ (...) ܕܡ 6. || om. Be553 Bi583 CaH156 CaH163 [ܒܫܡ | Pr2 | om. CaH160 NY2941/3 Ma52 [ܟܡ | CaH156 ܟܝܢ + [ܟܡ ܚܠ | CaH163 ܕܡ [ܕܡ | ܟܬܒ : Lo4434 ܟܬܒܐ : om. Be553 Bi583 CaH156 CaH163 Mo417 Pr2 [ܟ.ܡ ܟܬܒ om. [ܠܐ | Bi583 ܒܝܡ ܚܕ [ܒܝܡ | om. Be95 StP18 [ܠܐ ܒܝܡ | Ma52 Ye10 Ye19 om. CaH156 [-ܐ | om. StP18 [ܒܫܡ ... ܥܠ 6–7 | CaH163 ܒܫܡ + : Be553 ܕܡ [ܟܝܢ ܡܚܐ ܟܬܒ ܕܡ 6–7. || Bi583 ܟܕ : CaH163 Lo4434 Ma52 Mo417 NY2941/3 *deficit* G. A [ܒܡ 2.—ܟܝܢ ܡܚܐ 7. || Lo4434 ܠܐ ܕܡ ܟܬܒ : Mo417 ܟܬܒ ܠܐ Be95 Be553 ܟܬܒܐ ܕܫܝ [ܟܬܒܐ ܫܝ | Mo417 -ܐ om. CaH160 Lo6673 Pr2 -ܐ [ܫܝܐ | [ܟܬܒ (...) ܚܕ | CaH163 Ma52 ܫܡܗ + [ܟܬܥܐ | Bi583 CaH156 CaH163 NY2941/3 Pr2 om. Be95 Be553 Bi583 CaH156 CaH160 G. A Lo4434 Lo6673 Ma52 NY2941/3 Pr2 Ye10 Ye19 [ܒܫܡ ... ܐܒܐ | om. Mo417 [-ܐ 9. || om. Be95 Be553 CaH156 G. A Pr2 [ܫܒܚ ܫܡܥܐ 8. || Mo417 ܐܒܗܡ : Bi583 ܐܒܗܡ : Be95 ܫܡ [ܐܒܗܡ | Lo4434 ܠܗܘ : om. Be95 Be553 Pr2 | Lo6673 ܒܫܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ : NY2941/3 ܒܫܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ [ܒܫܡ ܒܪ ܐܒܘܗܝ | CaH163 StP18 ܐܒ : CaH156 [ܒܗ 10. || CaH163 Lo4434 Ma52 Mo417 StP18 ܐܒܐܒܐ : Be95 ܒ- [ܐܒܐܒܐ ܟܝܢܐ : om. Be553 StP18 Ye10 Ye19 [ܟܬܒܐ | CaH160 Lo6673 NY2941/3 StP18 Ye10 Ye19 | Bi583 ܟܬܒ ܟܝܢܐ : Be95 CaH156 CaH160 CaH163 Lo6673 Mo417 NY2941/3 Pr2 ܟܬܒ om. Be95 Be553 CaH156 [ܟܬܒ ... ܟܬ ܟܝܢ 10–11. || Mo417 ܒܗ + [ܟܝܢܐ StP18 Ye19 ܐܒܐ ܒܪ ܟܬܒ ܟܝܢܐ : Bi583 ܐܒܐ : CaH160 Lo6673 NY2941/3 Pr2 Ye10 [ܟܬܒ ܟܬ | Mo417 ܒܗ + [ܟܝܢܐ | CaH163 ܐܒܐ ܟܬ ܒܪ [ܟܬ ܒܪ ܟܝܢܐ | ܒܪ ܐ)ܒ ܙ ܒܪ [ܒܪ ܒ.ܐ ܐ ܒܪ 11. || Ye10 ܟܒܪ + : Mo417 ܟܬ : CaH163 ܟܬ ܟܬܒ ܒܪ ,ܒܪ ܐ ܒܪ ,ܒܪ ܐ 12. || Ma52 ܟ.ܡ ܟܬܒ [ܒܪ ܒ.ܐ | Lo4434 Mo417 ܒܗ : Ye10 ,ܒܪ ,ܒܪ ܐ : Mo417 ,ܒܪ ,ܒܪ ,ܒܪ ,ܒܪ [ܒܗ ܟ : CaH160 ܟ[illegible] [ܟ[illegible] | Lo4434 ,ܒܪ ,ܒܪ ,ܒܪ ,ܒܪ ,ܒܪ (ܐ) + : Lo6673 ,ܒܪ + : Bi583 CaH156 CaH163 StP18 Ye19 om. Ma52 [ܒܗ | Ma52

The ban of King Solomon, useful for back strain.[108] 'In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and in the name of ʾHYH ʾŠRHYH

108 Specifically a sharp pain of sudden onset: cf. M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's* Lexicon Syriacum (Winona Lake, IN, and Piscataway, NJ, 2009), p. 192a s.v. ܟܣܝܐ ܟܬܒ; A.J. Maclean, *A Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan, North-West Persia, and the Plain of Moṣul, with Illustrations from the Dialects of the Jews of*

ʾLŠDY ʾDWNY[109] Lord of Hosts. King Solomon[110] was building a house for the name of the Lord,[111] and the Holy Spirit was handing him a stone. Solomon bent down to pick up the stone, and he strained his back, and he ruptured his loins. He cried out in a loud and bitter voice, and our Lord said to his disciples, What is this sound of shouting? They said to him, It is Solomon's, the son of David: he was building a house for the name of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit was handing him a stone. Solomon bent down to pick up the stone, and he strained his back, and he ruptured his loins. Our Lord said to his disciples, Go down to the garden of Eden[112] and pluck three shoots. Strike one on the ground and then in the air, and another on the right side—and the left side gets relief—and another on the left side—and the right side gets relief,[113] that of the bearer of this writing, by the prayers of the blessed Lady Mary,[114] amen.'

Mar Zîʿâ (*G. Appendix p. 103 § 11*)

ܟܬܒ ܚܣ. ܫܘܥܠܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܡ ܡܪܝ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܟܬܒ
ܐܢܫ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܡܥܒܪܢܐ ܡܥܠܝ. ܩܪܝܢ ܫܘܝܐ ܟܬܒ
ܟܬܒ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܐ ܥܒܕ ܒܝܬ ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝ ܠܫܡܗ ܡܢ ܡܪܝ ܥܠ
ܟܬܒ ܫܡܐ ܩܠ ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܠܡ ܫܡܥ ܩܠ
5 ܥܒܕ ܐܢܐ ܒܢܐ ܒܝܬ ܠܫܡܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ
ܫܘܝܐ, ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܡܪܝ ܠܫܡܗ ܐܢܐ ܒܢܐ ܒܝܬ ܠܫܡܗ ܡܪܝ ܥܒܕ ܩܫܐ
ܩܠܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܩܠ ܡܪܝ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܗܟ ܐܢܐ ܒܢܐ ܒܝܬ ܠܫܡܗ
ܩܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܩܠ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܠܗ ܡܠܟ ܫܠܡܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܥܒܕ ܪܡܐ ܠܗ
ܟܬܒ ܩܠ ܡܪܝ ܩܠ ܡܪܝ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܩܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܩܠ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ
10 .ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝ ܠܫܡܗ ܐܢܐ ܒܢܐ ܒܝܬ ܗܠܝ ܗܟ ܩܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܩܠ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ

Zakhu and Azerbaijan, and of the Western Syrians of Ṭur ʿAbdin and Maʿlula (Oxford, 1901), pp. 39a s.v. ܩܫܝ and 40a s.v. ܫܝ. Some witnesses give a simpler title, 'For back strain.'

109 As Gollancz already saw, these epithets render Hebrew 'I am that am' (Exodus 3:14), El-Shaddai, and Adonai.

110 Some witnesses substitute 'Solomon, son of David' (CaH163 Lo4434 Ma52 Mo417).

111 In two witnesses, 'built himself a house' (Mo417 Lo4434), with a trace of this variant perhaps in Ye10 and Ye19 'built himself a house, for the name', and so on.

112 In one witness 'our Lord's garden' (Lo6673).

113 A truncated version in the majority of witnesses, calling for two shoots to be struck on the ground and in the air respectively, and the other on the patient's right side (Be95 Be553 CaH156 CaH160 Lo6673 NY2941/3 Pr2), loses the point of the ritual observance of right and left, not to mention leaving one of the patient's sides untreated.

114 Alongside minor variants in Mary's titulature, other versions add John the Baptist (Bi583 CaH156 CaH163 Ma52 StP18 Ye19) and the apostles and saints (Ma52) or substitute a trinitarian coda (Lo4434 Mo417) or a single saint (Eugene: Ye10).

Witnesses: Be95 §12; Be553 §12; Bi583 §12; CaH156 §12; CaH160 §11; CaH163 §9; Ev1 §20; G. A §10 bis (defective); Lo6673 §11; Mo417 §53; NH3 §16; NY2941/3 §12; Pr2 §13; StP4 §15; StP18 §30; Vi7 §10; Ye10 §§12 and 42 (§42, with an expanded list of ills, is not adduced here).

ܟܠܚܙܐ ܫܡܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܪܘܚ ܐ ܒܗ ܪܫܝ 1 || *deficit* G. A *usque* ܒܗ ܚܠܝ 1–10 om. Be553 ܪܘܚ- [ܪܘܚܐ | Be95 ܟܠܐ *corr. ex* [ܪܘܚ | Ev1 ܪܘܚܐ [ܪܘܚܐ ܪܫܡܐ : Ye10 ܪܘܚܐ[ܪܘܚܐ ܟܠܚܙܐ | om. NY2941/3 CaH163 -ܐ [ܫܡܐ | Ye10 : [ܪܒܐ ܪܘܚ ܒܗ ܚܕ ܒܥ 1–2 || om. Be553 [ܪܘܚܐ | CaH163 ܪܘܚܐ ܟܠܐ *corr. ex* [ܪܘܚ | om. Ev1 [ܡܫܡܫܐ ܡܫܒܥܐ ܡܫܚܐ 2 || om. CaH163 Mo417 ܒܐ | Ev1 StP18 ܒܥܝ ܒ [ܪܓܐ ܒܥܝ ܡܒ 3 || om. Lo6673 Ev1 [ܪܘܚܐ | Be95 ܪܫܐ ܪܡܠ ܪܫܥ ܒܥܐ ܒܗ ܒܗ ܒܥܐ ܪܘܚ ܠܟ ܐ[ܒܗ ܚܚ ܒܥ ܪܡܠ ܒܐ ܒܐ : Mo417 StP18 Ye10 ܒܗ ܪܡܠ ܪܒܐ ܒܐ : CaH163 ܒܗ ܪܘܚ ܡܫܠܚ ܠܥܐ ܒܗ ܪܫܐ ܠ ܫܥ ܪܡܠ ܒ ܪܚ ܠܟ ܐ : Ev1 ܠ ܚ -ܐ [ܒܗ | Bi583 -ܐ [ܚܚ | Vi7 ܒܗ ܚܚ ܒܐ ܠܟ ܐ : NH3 StP4 ܒܗ ܐܠ ܪ ܚ ܠ ܪܘܚ ܫܡܠ ܪܡܠ ܪܒܐ | Bi583 CaH156 -ܐ ܠܟ ܐ : Be95 Lo6673 NY2941/3 Pr2 Mo417 StP18 ܪܒܐ ܐܒ : NY2941/3 ܪܒܐ ܟܬ ܪܚ [ܪܒܐ | om. Ev1 [ܪ ܐ ܚ ܐ ܚ | om. Bi583 [ܐ ܪ ܚ (...) ܪ ܐ ܚ ܐ ܪ ܠ ܚ 4–7 || om. CaH163 [ܫܡܠ | : CaH163 ܪ ܚ ܚ ܪ ܒ ܪ ܚ ܪ ܫ ܪ ܒ ܪ ܚ ܪ ܠ ܪ ܒ ܪ ܪ ܠ ܪ ܚ [ܪ ܐ ܚ ܐ ܪ ܠ ܪ ܒ ܪ ܚ ܐ ܪ ܫ ܐ ܪ ܒ ܪ ܚ ܪ ܠ ܪ ܒ ܪ ܚ ܪ ܫ

+ [ܕܫܒܚ | Mo417 ܕܚܫܫܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܠ ܫܒܩ ܠܐ ܕܢܚܐ ܠܐ : CaH163 ܕܢܚܐ : om. Be95 Be553 [ܫܒܩ ܠܐ | Vi7 ܕܢܚܐ ܠܐ + : Be95 ܕܡܐ ܠܐ | Vi7 ܠܥܡ ܕܐܐ ܫܒܚ ܘܚܠ ܒܟ + : NY2941/3 ܕܡܝܬܐ [ܕܡܝܬ ܠܐ | NY2941/3 ܟܝ ܚܠܨܟ 10 || om. Be95 Be553 CaH160 Lo6673 NY2941/3 Pr2 Vi7 [ܐܚܢ ܡܠܟ ܠܐ ܟܝܢ ܐܚܬܐ ܒܝܬ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܟܚܠܨܟ : om. Be95 Be553 NY2941/3 Pr2 [ܫܒܚ ܫܒ ܠܐ ܫܬܒܚ ܫܒܚ ܫܡܥ ܐܚܬܐ ܫܒ ܚܠܨܟ : Bi583 Mo417 ܫܒܚܬ ܥܡ ܟܚܠܨܟ. ܒܫ ܐܚܢ ܠܟ ܐܚܠܨܟ : StP4 ܐܚܢ ܫܒ ܚܠܨܟ : NH3 ܟܝܢ ܐܚ ܟܝ ܟܝܢ ܟܚܠܨܟ : Ev1 ܒܫ ܥܡ ܟܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܥܡ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܐܚܬܐ ܒܝܬ ܟܝܢ ܟܝ ܟܚܠܨܟ : Ye10 ܠܫܒܚ ܟܝܢ ܐܚܢ ܠܫܒ ܐܚ ܫܡ ܟܝܢ ܟܚܫܒ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܟܝ ܐܚ ܥܡ ܟܝܢ ܐܚܢ ܫܒܚ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ + : StP18 ܒܫ ܐ ܒܫ ܠܠܠ ܠܠ ܐ ܫ ܠ ܟܚܫܒ ܟ ܟܫ ܐ ܟܝ ܟܝܢ ܟܚܫܒ ܟ ܟܫ ܐ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܟ ܟ

The Solomon incantation can now be recognised as belonging to a type merging two popular narrative motifs in the composition of Late Ancient and medieval magical texts in the Mediterranean vicinity. In a recently proposed typology, these can be analysed as the 'suffering saint' and 'cosmic disturbance' motifs: in the former, the incantation recounts how a holy figure was afflicted, then healed in a manner analogous to the present healing scenario, and in the latter, how healing is specifically dispensed by deities (in Christian texts, most often Christ or Mary) after the cries of distress from the patient, or a figure representing him or her, reach and perturb them, with the cures in turn specifically featuring, and hence authorising, incantations themselves.[121] Some Mesopotamian examples may be mentioned, closer to the regional context of the Syriac texts. The ancient god Enlil plays a role as the analogous sufferer in an incantation from Ur III against the Samana-disease;[122] a Mandaean incantation against sunstroke contains the following dialogue between the Sun and a male sufferer: 'From the east I come and to the west I go. I found him and his pain; he was weeping, wailing, and shedding tears. And I said to him: Why are you weeping? … And he said: Why should I not weep … when your blows fall on my face, and (it is) your burning that inflamed it, and (your) staff is in my eyes'.[123] A more disruptive 'disturbance' can be found in a collection of gynaecological recipes on a parchment bifolio from the Cairo Geniza including several incantations. One of these, in Aramaic with Hebrew rubric and instructions, now finds a close parallel in one of the new Syriac texts, which advances its interpretation. The Geniza incantation runs,

ברת קל נפקת מן א[ר]עא לשמיא ואמרת קדם אלהא חייא קל מטלמן לא קל טורין מתהפכין לא קל גלמת לא קל יתמ׳ לא קל אדמי אלא קלא דפ׳ בת פל׳ בעייא. תעני יתה בהדא שעתה עי[ר א]להא יאמר למיכאל סב מפתחא מן ידך דימינא וחוה [ ] בידיה דגבר דשמאלא יזיל ויפתח באפוי דטלי[א בין] דכר בין נקבה ויקום וישבח לאלהא חיא א׳ א׳ ס׳

may recall Hades from Graeco-Roman myth, if not a simple phonetic spelling for the *lectio facilior* 'angel of death' (ܡܠܐܟ ܡܘܬܐ, as indeed found in StP4), redundant after the preceding 'destroying angel'.

121 M. Zellmann-Rohrer, 'Incantations in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Greek: Change and Continuity', in L.M. Bortolani, W. Furley, S. Nagel, and J.F. Quack (eds), *Cultural Plurality in Ancient Magical Texts and Practices: Graeco-Egyptian Handbooks and Related Traditions* (Tübingen, 2019), pp. 276–297 (288–289).

122 J.J.A. van Dijk and M.J. Geller, *Ur III incantations from the Frau Professor Hilprecht-Collection, Jena* (Wiesbaden, 2003), pp. 26–31 no. 6.

123 E.S. Drower, 'A Mandaean Book of Black Magic', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 75 (1943), pp. 149–181 (153–154 no. 4).

A voice went out from the earth up to heaven and spoke before the living God, a voice of the oppressed (?), not a voice of mountains moving, not a voice of hills, not a voice of orphans,[124] not a voice of blood, but the voice of her, so-and-so, the daughter of so-and-so. Answer her at once, angel of God, let him say[125] to Michael, 'Take the key in your right hand and show […] in the left hand of Gabriel, let him go and open before the child, whether it is male or female, and let it arise and praise the living God.' Amen, amen, *sela*.[126]

There is now a Syriac parallel for this motif specifically relating to birth among the texts identified since the publication of Gollancz, which also adds an instance of textual crossover between handbooks and finished amulets. Under a similar rubric, the incantation runs (Lo5281 § 42; LoA16; StP4 § 26; text of Lo5281),

ܠܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܚܒܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܝܠܕܐ. ܠܛܘܪܐ ܪܡܐ ܣܠܩܬ ܘܫܡܥܬ ܩܠܐ
ܕܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܡܚܒܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܝܠܕܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܣܝܡܐ ܗܘܬ ܐܝܕܗ ܕܣܛܢܐ ܥܠ
ܡܪܒܥܗ ܘܐܪܝܡܬ ܩܠܗ ܘܩܥܬ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܪܚܡ
ܥܠܝ. ܘܩܪܐ ܠܓܒܪܝܐܝܠ ܘܐܡܪ ܚܘܠ ܠܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܘܦܩܘܩܘ ܬܠܬܐ ܥܒ̈ܘܩܐ
ܡܢ ܬܡܢ. ܣܝ ܡܢܣ ܠܥܡܟܐ ܘܢܣܗ. ܡܫܒܪܐ ܘܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܢܣ ܠܐܪܒܥܐ ܘܬܬܠ
ܦܐ̈ܪܐ ܘܕܬܠܬܐ ܡܢܣ ܠܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܦܘܩܘܦ ܠܫܒܩܢܐ. ܘܥܠ ܓܒܪܝܐܝܠ
ܐܡܝ ܕܐܬܦܩܕ. ܘܦܩܘܩ ܬܠܬܐ ܥܒ̈ܘܩܐ ܣܝ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܬܦܩܕ. ܠܐܪܡ
ܕܠܐ ܬܐܟܘܠ ܡܟܝܗ ܘܡܢܣܐ ܠܥܡܟܐ ܘܢܣܬܬ ܡܫܒܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ: ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ
ܕܢܣܒܪܗ ܕܡܥܒܕܐ ܘܡܢܣܐ ܠܐܪܒܥܐ ܘܢܣܡܬ ܦܐ̈ܪܐ ܘܐܡܪܝܢܐ ܡܢ
ܕܟܠܗܘܢ، ܐܙܕܗܦ ܡܪܢ ܘܡܢܣܐ ܠܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܦܘܩܘܦ ܠܫܒܩܢܐ ܘܐܥܡܪܬܝܢ
ܡܢ ܣܟܠܐ ܕܠܬ̈ܪܬܐ (…).

For a woman who is in labour and does not give birth: 'I went up to the high mountain, and I heard the voice of a woman who was in labour and was not giving birth, because the hand of Satan had been placed on her womb, and she raised her voice and cried out and said, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me!" He called to the angel Gabriel and said, "Go

124 Read קל יתמ׳ 'voice of orphans' (or 'of an orphan') based on the parallel in StP4 § 43 (see below), the abuse of orphans being a proverbially outrageous act; קל ית׳ מ׳ as abbreviation of יפת תואר ויפת מראה 'schön von Gestalt und Angesicht', edd.

125 Read based on the parallel in StP4 § 43 (see below) עי[ר א]להא יאמר; עי[ ]להא יאמר '??? möge zu Mikha'l sagen', edd.

126 Cambridge, T.-S. NS 322.10, f. 1a.1–7, ed. P. Schäfer and S. Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* vol. I (Tübingen, 1993), pp. 83–107 (translation mine).

> into Paradise[127] and cut three shoots from there. Strike one in the air, and rain[128] will come down, and the second strike on the earth, and it will give fruit,[129] and the third strike on the woman and cast out Satan."[130] Gabriel went in as he had been commanded, and he cut three shoots, one from the tree from which Adam had been commanded not to eat, and he struck in the air, and rain came down, and another from the tree of the staff of Moses, and he struck the earth, and it gave fruit,[131] and another from (the tree) upon which our Lord was crucified, and he struck the woman and drove out Satan, and she was released from the birth-pangs (…)'

Ancient elements, probably inflected through pre-Christian Aramaic in particular, of the anguished cry (ܐܠܗ ܐܝܬ) reaching divine attention and receiving ritual treatment through the mediation of angels, show through in the Syriac. The 'shoots' referenced in the Solomon incantation can now be set against the background of a sort of magic wand credited with control over the natural world, which will appear even more distinctly in the final witness to this complex of motifs (below). Modifications for relevance in a Christian context can be seen in turn, the reference to 'our Lord' and more particularly the tree that supplied the wood for the crucifix.

A different, possibly original setting for the Syriac Solomon incantation in Lo4434 and Mo417 locates the event in private rather than public life, as Solomon builds a house for himself rather than a temple for the deity, which may suggest an origin in Judaeo-Christian lore on the king's wider exploits. (An intersection of the Syriac tradition with his eponymous *Testament* is discussed below.) Central to the incantation is the pun on ܐܒܢܐ 'stone' and the verb ܒܢܐ 'bend down', which, along with the artful construction featuring extensive parallelism in syntax, suggests an Aramaic origin for the text. That impression is both reinforced and complicated in turn by two final witnesses. In the first (StP4 §43) the pun is in fact absent, the verb ܒܢܐ being replaced with ܫܩܠ, but the drama plays out in an entirely pre-Christian angelological landscape and sets its hero in a novelistic, even comic light:

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127 The version in StP4 substitutes 'the garden of Eden.'

128 The version in LoA16 substitutes 'dew' (ܛܠܐ).

129 ܬܫܩܘ apparently for ܐܫܩܘ (as in LoA16 and StP4); the version in StP4 omits the second instruction and substitutes final clauses for the parataxis in both the first and second ('so that rain … so that it may give …').

130 The version in StP4 has 'and cast out the evil Satan from her.'

131 The versions in LoA16 and StP4 omit the results of the first two strikes; the former reverses the sources of the second and third shoots, such that the tree of the staff of Moses yields the remedy for difficult labour.

ܫܠܡܘܢ ܒܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܒܢܐ ܒܝܬ ܠܫܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܟܦ ܠܡܫܩܠ ܚܕ ܟܐܦܐ
ܘܩܥ ܩܥܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܐܪܝܐ ܘܓܥܓܥ ܐܝܟ ܚܙܝܪܐ ܘܬܒܪ ܐܝܣܪ̈ܘܗܝ. ܐܬܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܐܢ ܥܒܕܬ ܐܝܬܝܡ ܐܘ ܡܚܝܬ ܠܝܬܝܡ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܐܝܬܝܡ ܘܠܐ ܡܚܝܬ
ܠܝܬܝܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܙܠ ܠܓܢܬ ܥܕܢ ܘܩܛܥ ܡܢܗ ܬܠܬ ܩܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܥܒܕ ܚܕ ܟܐܦܐ
ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܝܗܒ ܦܪܝ ܘܚܕ ܟܐܦܐ ܠܐܘܝܪܐ ܘܝܗܒ ܡܛܪܐ ܘܚܕ ܟܐܦܐ ܠܓܒ
ܣܡܟ ܕܦܠܢ ܒܪ ܦܠܢ ܘܐܫܬܠܡ ܣܡܟ ܓܒܗ ܕܫܡܐܠ ܘܐܫܬܠܡ ܠܗ ܣܡܟ ܓܒܗ
ܕܝܡܝܢ ܕܢܫܬܠܡ ܣܡܟ ܓܒܗ ܕܫܡܐܠ ܕܢܚܐ ܣܡܟ ܓܒܗ ܕܝܡܝܢ ܕܢܚܐ ܐ̇ ܒ̇ ܐ̇ ܓ̇ ܐ̇

> Solomon son of David built a house for the name of the Lord, and he bent down to pick up a stone, and he strained his back. He cried out the cry of a lion and roared the roar of a hog, and he ruptured his lions. The angel said to him, "Have you wronged the widow, or struck the orphan?" He said, "I have not wronged the widow, and I have not struck the orphan." The angel went to the garden of Eden and cut from it three shoots and made one blow to the earth, and it gave fruit, and one blow to the air, and it gave rain, and one blow to the back strain of so-and-so, son of so-and-so (...)

A closing prayer to 'our Lord' to assist the same healing as he healed the sight of the blind can be regarded as a later addition to an older core, whose early date is once again suggested by the use of the rarer ܐܝܬ, a cognate of which is probably to be read also in the Geniza text discussed above, in place of ܡܠܐܟ to denote the angel. The second of the final witnesses (L05281 § 49) seems to show a later stage of the adaptation of that core, in which the form of the Solomon narrative is close to that of G. A § 10, but with the preservation of what now appears as the original purpose of the command to the disciples about their 'wands': 'strike one on the earth, that it may produce fruit (ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܝܗܒ), another in the air, that it may give rain (ܘܠܐܘܝܪܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ), and another on the right side, that the left side may get relief, of so-and-so son of so-and-so.'

The Mar Zî'â text is part of subgenre of prayers attributed to saints, in particular their last prayers before death by martyrdom or otherwise, to which special efficacy was attached, and into which the present healing scenario can be conveniently inserted, which recur often in the 'Book of Protection' and related texts (see further below). While susceptible to a reading as simple prayers, they also contain and constitute an endorsement and authorisation of the textual amulet, to which internal reference is explicitly made. Mar Zî'â himself (ca. 309–431 CE; *BHO* 1251), according to his *Life* miraculously born to a Christian father and mother in Palestine at the ages of 120 and 93 respectively (his father is said to have been a merchant and a nobleman, but not exactly a 'chief'),

whose birth, appropriate to his name, was heralded and accompanied by much 'disturbance' (ZY') in the natural and demonic worlds, left home for a monastic life as a preternaturally ascetic child at the age of six, eventually founding a monastery at Dāsān and performing miraculous healings throughout the mountainous region north of Mosul.[132] He recommends himself for this role in particular through his reputed cleansing by prayer of three entire villages of plague on separate occasions, described in similar terms (ܒܝܬ ܥܕܬܐ ,ܒܝܬ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܠܡ ,ܒܝܬ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܫܠܡ).[133] His final prayer before his death, in turn, seeking blessing for his monastery, echoes in more general terms the prayer of protection in the amulet.[134]

These considerations suggest that Gollancz was too hasty in dismissing the witness of Lo6673 to the Solomon incantation as repetitive or corrupt—indeed it provides the crucial climax of the healing exemplum, without which, as in G. A, the whole point of the incantation is lost—, although still superior versions of this incantation can now be identified. As for his comparison to G. A § 20, that incantation against indigestion ('wind of the heart') proves to have only a vaguely similar version of the motif of 'cosmic disturbance' followed by divine cure prescribed via dialogue. It is attested in a relatively smaller number of new witnesses (Bi583 § 24; CaH156 § 24; CaH160 § 22; CaH163 § 20; Lo4434 § 14; Mo417 § 43; NY2941/2 § 11; StP18 § 12; Ye10 § 15, in which the divine instructions have been conflated with those of the Solomon motif; Ye19 § 22), which nevertheless allow improvements in the constitution of the text. Gollancz rendered the Syriac, which is accompanied by directions variously given before or after to speak it over oil and give to the patient to drink, as follows:

> Our Lord and his disciples were walking on the way, and they heard the sound of an exclamation, and our Lord said, What sound is this? They replied unto him, It is that of one who bears these writs, having been seized by a cramp (rheumatism) in his heart and in all his members. I said: (as a remedy) for teeth (which have fallen) from the mouth, and for a child (which has fallen) from its mother. Go to the garden of our Lord, and cut three branches, one in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the second in the

132 P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* vol. 1 (Paris and Leipzig, 1890), pp. 398–423.

133 Ibid. pp. 416–417, 419.

134 Ibid. p. 423, 'O examiner of hearts and minds, before you, God, I worship and beg for your mercy for this place and its inhabitants and for every person who remembers your holy name, Lord God almighty, and my name, your servant Zî'â, remove from them hail and famine and plague (…) the staff of (your) wrath, and let there be in them no sores, no sickness, no evil illness (…)'.

name of our Lady, the blessed Mary, and the other in the name of Gabriel chief of the angels, and smite the spirit in the heart of the one who carries these writs, by the prayer of the blessed Mar Augin (Eugenius). Amen!

In the annotations to the translation, Gollancz speculated that the 'I said' was a sort of authorial cross-reference. A superior version of the text in a subgroup of the witnesses (Bi583 CaH156 Lo4434 Mo417 NY2941/2 StP18) shows that a verb has fallen out of the text in G. A, and that the speech belongs in fact to Christ's interlocutors, intensifying the effects of the commotion, before Christ himself provides the prescription and resolution, which in turn involves tying rather than 'smiting', a more appropriate analogue to the control of 'wind' sought here. In the interest of space the text of the incantation alone is given following Mo417:

ܡܪܢ ܘܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܙܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܘܫܡܥܘ ܩܠܐ ܕܡܟܠܟܠܘܬܐ
ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܢ ܕܡܢܘ ܩܠܐ ܗܢܐ. ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܠܗ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ ܕܦܠܢ ܒܪ ܦܠܢ.
ܐܚܕܐ ܠܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܠܒܗ ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܕܡ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܐܟܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܕܫܢܐ
ܡܢ ܦܘܡܐ ܢܦܫ ܘܒܪܐ ܢܦܠ ܡܢ ܐܡܗ. ܘܐܙܠ ܠܓܢܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܘܩܛܘܦ
ܬܠܬܐ ܫܒܘ̈ܩܐ ܘܩܛܘܪ ܬܠܬܐ ܩܛܪ̈ܐ ܚܕ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ
ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܒܫܡܗ̇ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܫܡܗ ܕܓܒܪܐܝܠ ܪܫ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܐܢܐ
ܡܒܪܟܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܘ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܣܐ ܠܗ ܒܝܡܝܢܟ.

Our Lord and his disciples were walking on the road, and they heard the sound of crying out, and our Lord said, What is this sound? His disciples said to him, It is that of so-and-so, son of so-and-so. Wind has gripped his heart and all his limbs, such that I thought teeth would be knocked from the mouth, and a child would fall from its mother.[135]—Go into the garden of our Lord and pluck three shoots[136] and tie three knots, one in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and another in the name of Mary and another for the name of Gabriel chief of the angels. I am the one who blesses—o Lord, heal him by your right hand.[137]

135 The version in StP18 alone places a negative (ܠܐ) before the verb ܢܦܫ, which would change the sense—the disciple would be saying that he has spoken up *in order that* the impending cosmic disturbance be avoided in the first place—without altering the constitution of the broader motif.

136 Three witnesses substitute three 'root-strings of hemp' (ܫܘ̈ܠܐ ܕܩܢܒܐ: CaH163 Lo4434 StP18), attractive if the shoots are suspected as interference from G. A §10, but the latter seem more at home in a garden.

137 A more satisfying doublet is given in StP18: 'I am the one who writes (the amulet) on earth, and God is the one who heals in heaven' (the manuscript presents the form ܒܫܡܝܢܗ,

Another opportunity for further discussion on the basis of new witnesses is a passing remark of Gollancz in his preface in regard to G. B § 5, 'Particular attention should be called to the large number of Fathers and Saints … some perhaps hitherto scarcely or not at all known'.[138] The so-called 'Ban of Paradise' (ܣܓܝܪܬ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܫܒܥ) for general apotropaic purposes, which is the vehicle of this catalogue of fathers and saints, can now be recognised also in two variants of G. B § 5 (Ev1 § 27; Mo417 § 10; NH3 § 50) as well as G. C § 26 and G. A § 52 and its variants (Be95 § 43; Be553 § 50; Bi316 § 8; Bi583 § 56; CaH156 § 56; CaH160 § 55; Lo6673 § 52; NY2941/2 § 40; NY2941/3 § 54; PaM § 41; Pr2 § 56; Vi7 § 51). A unique feature common to all is a sub-sequence of varying length listing saints with the same name, John. The most extensive list counts no fewer than 50 Johns (NY2941/3 § 54)—compare 23 in G. A, 21 in G. B, 22 in G. C—, and when consolidated they reach 95 individuals, including 91 not listed in the *BHO*. The point of the accumulation is perhaps to trace a succession of homonyms, beginning with John the Baptist and John the Evangelist and carrying on into figures of a more local character (e.g. John of Arzûn, Bi316 Bi583 CaH156 NY2941/2 NY2941/3 Vi7; John of Ašnô, G. C Mo417; John of Gelô, CaH156; John of Georgia, Bi316; John of Rôstāqâ, CaH156). Besides the Johns, the rest of the cast of holy figures would repay closer analysis. In a double presentation in G. B, Mo417, and NH3, the saints neatly mirror righteous predecessors from the Old and New Testaments.

In all there are many additions to the saints represented in the witnesses published by Gollancz, for example, some of the 'Persian' martyrs of the 4th-century persecution under Shapur II and later counterparts: Susan, Anahid, Tarbo, Parugitha, Stratonike, Sultan Mahduk, Thekla, Helena, and Qandaq (CaH156 NY2941/2 NY2941/3). Beyond the 'Paradise' texts, the genre of 'last prayers' attributed to saints and especially martyrs receives additions including Aḥḥay, disciple of Addai and colleague of Mari (Lo4434 § 116), the Palestinian Mamas, patron of livestock (NH3 § 49; Pa424–425 § 32), the Persian Miles (Lo4434 § 69; Pa424–425 § 18), and the Eastern Christian saint par excellence, Nestorius (Ch12093 § 4; Pa347 § 30; Mo417 § 15; StP4 § 31). This evidence for the inextricable connection of Syriac 'magic' with the cult of saints joins that of the medical prognostication treatises in G. A§ 52 and related witnesses, whose diagnoses include recommendations to visit specific monasteries and obtain healing amulets associated in turn with specific saints.[139]

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which implies a variation in the exemplar(s) between ܒܫܡܝܐ 'in heaven' and ܒܝܡܝܢܗ 'by his right hand').

138 *Book of Protection*, p. xi.

139 See in general Hunter, 'Magic and Medicine', p. 193.

Beyond new readings, the further witnesses offer entirely new content, a few examples of which may be presented here. The first two come from two large collections in miscellanies, Lo4434 and Pa424–425. They share the following incantation for an eye ailment (Lo4434 §12; Pa424–425 §17), which presents much obscurity but retains, in its direct address to the eye, an interesting relic of Hellenic myth, namely, alongside the angel Gabriel on whom the healing apparently depends, a reference to the sickle (ἅρπη; here 'staff' and 'rod') with which the god Kronos castrated his father Ouranos, the bloody drops from which were received as the male seed by the earth-goddess Gaia (Hesiod, *Theogony* 173–184).

> ܕܥܝ̈ܢܐ ܕܢܩܦܢ ܘܐܟܠܬ ܥܒܕ ܕܡܚ̈ܟܐ. ܒܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܥܝ̈ܢܘܗܝ ܒܐܬܐ
> ܕܨܠܝܒܐ ܠܬ ܝܘܡܝ̈ܢ ܥܠ ܝܘܡܐ ܠܬ ܙܒ̈ܢܝܢ ܘܢܐܚ. ܒܫܡ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ
> ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܡܢܐ ܠܟܝ ܥܝܢܐ ܡܣܚܪܬܐ ܘܡܕܠܚܠܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܠܘ
> ܐܓ̈ܢܐ ܕܕܡܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܡܚܝܬܝ ܒܫܒܛܗ ܐܘ ܠܩܪܘܢܘܣ ܒܚܘܛܪܗ ܘܠܐ
> ܠܓܒܪܐܝܠ ܪܝܫ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܕܩܪܒܟܝ ܒܛܪܦܐ ܕܫܪܝܗ ܕܫܪܝܗ ܚܝܐ. ܢܚܬ
> ܕܢܣܩ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܟܒܫܗ ܥܠ ܕܝܘܐ. ܠܐ ܢܬܟܫܗ ܡܣܩܬܗ ܕܚܘܝܐ
> ܘܪܘܩܬܐ ܕܪܩܝܐ ܠܥܝ̈ܢܐ ܛܒ̈ܬܐ ܐܡܝܢ.

> For eyes that throb and tear up: make the blessing between the eyes with the sign of the Cross for three days, three times a day, and (the patient) is relieved. 'In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. What is the matter with you, eye, bewitched[140] and terrified? Why have basins of blood fallen to the earth? You have struck with his staff, that is,[141] Kronos', with his rod, and not Gabriel's, chief of the angels, who touched you with a strike[142] of his living release. He went down to ascend[143] the mountain of Jerusalem and subdued every demon. Let him not be vexed by the rising-up of a serpent and the spittle that is spit into good eyes, amen.'

The 'basins' (ܐܓ̈ܢܐ) possibly continue the punning motif found in the Solomon incantation discussed above, as the word can also denote in a transferred sense a part of the eye itself.[144] The complex scenario of causation for the eye disorder apparently includes both the action of the eye ('striking' with the staff of Kronos) and serpents believed to spit venom into the eyes.

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140 ܡܣܚܪܬܐ in both manuscripts apparently for ܡܚܪܫܬܐ.
141 Apparently ܐܘ for ܐܘܟܝܬ.
142 For ܒܛܪܦܐ Lo4434 substitutes ܒܫܒܛܐ.
143 Reading of Pa424–425; Lo4434 has 'he went down and he took' (ܢܚܬ ܘܢܣܒ).
144 Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, p. 8 (meaning 4).

In turn the Paris collection is the sole witness to the following 'blessing' for disorder of a mother's breasts that might impede nursing (Pa424–425 § 27), which matches the preceding in efficacy issuing from sheer—but focused—oddity, the anthropologist's 'quotient of weirdness'.[145]

> ܐܚܪܬܐ ܒܘܪܟܬܐ ܕܬܕܐ ܕܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܠܦܙ. ܥܘܪܐ ܒܪ ܥܘܪܐ ܠܗܐ
> ܒܫܒܝܠܐ. ܦܘܫ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܚܟ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܩܪܐ ܠܟ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ
> ܕܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܢܬ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܬܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܓܙܪܬܐ ܕܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡ̈ܬܐ.
> ܐܙܠܐ ܥܐܠܐ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܕܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܓܒܪܐ. ܥܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܒܚܕܝܗ ܐܘ
> ܒܬܕܝܗ ܕܦܠܢܝܬܐ ܒܪܬ ܦܠܢܝܬܐ ܘܡܚܒܠ ܐܢܐ ܚܕܝܗ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܢ
> ܙܠ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܦܓܥܝܢ ܒܟ ܬܠܬܐ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܚܕ ܝܒܝܫܐ ܘܚܕ
> ܒܡܝܫܐ ܘܚܕ ܥܩܝܪܐ. ܡܢ ܝܒܝܫܐ ܬܐܒܫ ܘܡܢ ܒܡܝܫܐ ܬܒܡܫ ܘܡܢ
> ܥܩܝܪܐ ܬܥܩܘܪ ܘܢܥܩܪܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܚܕܝܗ ܘܡܢ ܬܕܝܗ ܕܦܠܢܝܬܐ
> ܒܪܬܗ ܕܦܠܢܝܬܐ ܐܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ.

> Another blessing for a woman's breast when it throbs. 'A blind man, son of a blind man, grew tired on the road. Rest from your journey, for our Lord Jesus Christ calls to you and says to you, Where are you from? He says to him, I am from the isle of the seven days. I am going to enter into the body of woman and man. I will enter into the breast [ܚܕܝܐ]—that is, the breast [ܬܕܐ]—of her, so-and-so, daughter of her, so-and-so, and ruin her breast [ܚܕܝܐ]. Our Lord says to him, Walk on down the Jerusalem road, and you will encounter three trees, one dry, one withered, and one uprooted. Dry up some of the dry one and wither some of the withered one and uproot some of the uprooted one, and may the Lord God uproot you from the breast [ܚܕܝܐ] and the breast [ܬܕܐ] of her, so-and-so, daughter of her, so-and-so, yes, amen.'

The blind man—or perhaps, one-eyed man,[146] given the widespread associations of any kind of unusual gaze with the 'evil eye' in folklore—apparently figures the affliction of both mother and by extension the nursing child, whose cause, given the references to drying up, should be laid at the failure of the breasts to produce or express milk. The association of withered trees with Jerusalem probably relates ultimately to the episode of the cursing of the fig tree (Matthew 21; Mark 11). Without excluding more local developments, and allowing that, as discussed below, the motif of encounter and redirection of

145 B. Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (2 vols; New York, 1935), vol. II, pp. 218–223.
146 For this rarer sense see Sokoloff, *Lexicon*, p. 1079 (meaning 2).

malevolent forces is widespread in the Aramaic and adjacent traditions, both the motifs of the maimed man and the three trees can be paralleled in ritual texts from the Greek tradition. An incantation transcribed in the early 20th century for glandular swelling (κουφή) puns as follows on the word for 'mute' (or 'deaf', κουφός), 'A mute man got a mute woman pregnant, they went to the mute-thicket to cut a mute-plant, to make the sign of the cross over the swelling (κουφή)'.[147] Some late manuscripts offer in turn three trees planted in Paradise, apple, rose, and quince, and subsequently ruined as an analogy for the removal of a pox;[148] three different trees, sycamore, chestnut, and 'firewood' in the fictional city of Aneuis parched by God as an analogy for the removal of splenitis; and figs grown in Jerusalem and subsequently withered as an analogy for the same.[149]

The new content is most frequent in the larger collections outside of the 'Book of Protection' proper, which belong to a substantially different tradition, but additions to the documentation established by Gollancz can be found in the latter too. Two examples that cross the two categories may be given. The first, a remedy for colic, is found in Ch12093 § 3 and NY2941/2 § 43.

> 𐡀𐡇𐡓𐡍𐡀 𐡀𐡋𐡔 𐡀𐡔𐡌𐡀𐡍𐡀 𐡀𐡒𐡓 𐡀𐡇𐡓 𐡋𐡏𐡏𐡀. 𐡀𐡇𐡇𐡒𐡓𐡀 𐡀𐡇𐡅𐡓
> 𐡀𐡓𐡉 𐡀𐡖𐡀 𐡀𐡔𐡓𐡀 𐡉𐡆 𐡓𐡏𐡀 𐡉𐡆 𐡇𐡒𐡋𐡀. 𐡀𐡓𐡌𐡇 𐡀𐡔𐡉𐡀 𐡀𐡇𐡇 𐡇𐡐 𐡀𐡓
> 𐡀𐡇𐡀𐡌 𐡇𐡋𐡒𐡌 𐡀𐡇𐡉𐡇𐡀𐡅 𐡀𐡓𐡔 𐡇𐡇𐡒 𐡌𐡇. 𐡄𐡇𐡋𐡋𐡇 𐡇𐡋𐡋𐡀 𐡀𐡓𐡀𐡌
> 𐡋 𐡀𐡉𐡇𐡀𐡓𐡀 𐡀𐡇𐡉𐡇𐡀𐡅 𐡇𐡋𐡒𐡀. 𐡇𐡅𐡒 𐡀𐡖𐡒 𐡇𐡅𐡒𐡀 𐡋 𐡉𐡇𐡀𐡓𐡀 𐡋𐡋𐡔𐡒𐡌
> 𐡋 𐡀𐡉𐡇𐡒. 𐡇𐡅𐡒 𐡇𐡋 𐡋𐡐𐡒 𐡋 𐡉𐡇𐡒. 𐡇𐡋𐡋𐡒𐡀 𐡀𐡋𐡀 𐡇𐡉𐡇𐡒 𐡀𐡖𐡋𐡋𐡀
> 𐡉𐡇𐡀. 𐡀𐡓𐡉𐡅𐡀 𐡀𐡋𐡋𐡀 𐡀𐡒𐡉 𐡇𐡌 𐡀𐡅𐡒 𐡀𐡅𐡒𐡀 𐡋 𐡉𐡇𐡀𐡓𐡀 𐡋𐡋𐡔𐡒𐡌 𐡄𐡔𐡒𐡀𐡓𐡀
> 𐡀𐡇𐡒𐡇𐡋 𐡀𐡉𐡇𐡀 𐡇𐡌 𐡉𐡇𐡀 𐡋𐡇𐡀𐡇 𐡀𐡇𐡐𐡒 𐡇𐡅𐡒 𐡇𐡌 𐡋𐡋𐡋. 𐡀𐡄𐡇𐡒 𐡀𐡋𐡋𐡀
> 𐡇𐡀𐡇𐡒 𐡀𐡋𐡇𐡒𐡀 𐡀𐡇𐡌 𐡇𐡀𐡇𐡒 𐡇𐡌 𐡀𐡋𐡇𐡒𐡀 𐡋𐡇𐡇𐡒. (…)

> Another for colic. Take seven ears and black (leaves?) of *ḥelfâ*-plant and hold them over a cup and make a blessing with the following (speech): 'Solomon son of David son of farmers was walking the plow, and it cut swiftly. He was met by a she-ass of Balaam the diviner of LLYQYM, and he

147 Ed. G.D. Manolakos, 'Incantations and Bindings' (in Greek), *Laographia* 5 (1915–1916), pp. 609–615 (614 no. 13).

148 Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. gr. 311, f. 86^{v}, ed. A.I. Almazov, 'Apocryphal Prayers, Invocations and Spells' (in Russian), *Lětopis' istoriko-filologičeskago obščestva pri Imperatorskom Novorossijskom Universitetě* 9 (1901), pp. 221–340 (320–321 no. 34).

149 The latter two are from St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia Gr. 575, f. 29$^{r–v}$ (unpublished).

> said to her, What are you? The she-ass said to him in reply, Why have you passed by and not taken me? He said to her, What are you good for? She said to him, my name is GWNY', and I am (descended) from that she-ass of Balaam the diviner, son of Beor. There found her the LLYQM and said to her, I am Ḥazban, chief cultivator of my very own circuit in the marrow. Come out from among the bones to the flesh and from the flesh to the skin and from the skin to the ear (of the plant) and from the ear to the water. (...)'

The text goes on to repeat the request with reference to the power of God and the action of seven evil spirits. The role of Solomon in incantations is seen here neither for the first nor the last time; more striking are the stress on the agricultural background of his family on the father's side, and the appearance of the talking she-ass of Balaam, known from scripture (Numbers 22) but with her master re-cast as a diviner, a development rooted in post-biblical Jewish traditions.[150] The relation of the unfortunate creature to the illness is uncertain—perhaps an allusion to an analogy between the stopping of her movement imposed by the angel, and blockage of the natural motion of the bowels—, but it serves to introduce the still obscure LLYQ(Y)M (instrument of or colleague in divination?), with a further pun possibly pertaining between ܚܩܠܐ 'cultivator' (κόλων) and ܩܘܠܐ 'colon' (κόλον),[151] seat of the 'colic' targeted by the incantation.

The second intersection comes in a formula for an incantation for protection against dogs, which seeks to bind their mouths. A common kernel is shared by Lo4434 § 84 and CaH156 § 66, which is given here according to the latter before it continues with an addition resembling a formula for the same aim in G. A § 21.

ܫܫܠܚ ܫܡܥ ܒܟ ܡܢ ܚܠܩ ܒܝܡ. ܚܠܩ ܚܕܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ
ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܫܠܚ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܥ ܒܟ ܚܕܐ

150 Possibly also reflected in Lo5281 § 6 (a remedy for impotence), where the supernatural she-ass, left anonymous, releases 'the sea that was bound in her net' (ܝܡ ܕܐܬܚܒܫ ܒܗ ܚܕܐ ܐܬܬܝܪ). Already Philo (*De mutatione nominum* 202) calls Balaam an augur (οἰωνοσκόπος); for his role as prophet and sorcerer see further L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, edited and translated by H. Szold and P. Radin, 2nd edn (2 vols; Philadelphia, 2003), vol. II, pp. 760–779. For the nexus ܚܠܡ ܡܐ ܚܕܐ in Syriac see e.g. Severus of Antioch, *Letters* 6.3, ed. E.W. Brooks, *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch from Numerous Syriac Manuscripts* (2 vols; Paris, 1915–1920), vol. II, p. 229 no. 100.

151 Sokoloff, *Lexicon*, p. 1329.

> Binding of the mouths of dogs. 'Adam called you "dog", our Lord Jesus Christ shut your mouth, the Cross is between you and me—and may our Lord shut your mouth!'

That knowledge of true or occult names is a source of power is a commonplace of magical thought, and here there is a more particular allusion to Adam's naming of, and attendant mastery over all animals by divine assent after their creation (Genesis 2:19–20). Among ritual texts in particular there is a parallel in a medieval Latin text that might suggest in turn a shared background in Late Antiquity: addressing an eagle, to protect it from attacking a trained falcon, one informs it, 'Eagle, eagle, the Lord made you, Adam gave you a name.'[152] The coda of Lo4434 gives an interesting reinforcement of the Christian nexus between Adam and Christ, the first and the perfect human, respectively, somewhere between whom the user of the current procedure stands. It cites how, 'when our Lord entered Jerusalem, the stones gave voice and the dogs gave no bark.'[153]

An example of new content from within the 'Book of Protection' proper can also be given. The formula (CaH163 § 38) relates to hunting, opening with a reference to 'loosening' of a quarry, previously understood in its use in a related procedure published by Gollancz (G. A § 14) to refer to facilitating the chase.

ܫܒܩ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܠ.ܡܪܝܡܐ ܣܘܝܐ ܡܝܕ ܟܕ ܒܫ.ܟܘܩܐ ܟܝܢ
ܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝ ܡܢ ܡܩܛܥ ܥܠܝ ܒܝܢ.ܡܝܕ ܡܠܟ ܒܫ
ܡܪܝ ܟܝܢ.ܡܚܩܩ ܟܝܢ ܡܟܫ ܟܝܢ ܡܪܒ ܟܝܢ ܡܒ ܟܝܢ
ܡܥܒܪ ,ܡܫܟ ,ܡܬܡܡ ,ܡܠܟ ܠ ܒܝܡ. ܡܚܬ ܟܝܢ
ܡܚܠܨ ܡܢ ܡܠ ,ܡܚܝ

> Loosening of partridges. 'In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Let the sound of trumpets give glory before the Lord, the king. Let the cliff-dwellers give glory and cry out from the tops of the mountains. You have released the sea, you have released the dry land, you have released the plains,[154] and you have released the valleys. You have released the mountains and you have released the heights. Released for me are the

152 Edited from a tenth-century manuscript by B. Bischoff, 'Die älteste europäische Falkenmedizin', in id. (ed.) *Anecdota novissima* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 171–182 (p. 179; translation mine).

153 ܫܒܩ ܠ ܡܠܟ ܡܠܐ ܡܡ ܡܥܒܕ ܠ ܡܢ ܠ ܒܝ. For the stones cf. Luke 19:40.

154 Understand ܡܩܥ for the copyist's ܡܟܥ.

> *ḥaglâ*-birds and the partridges and the traps and the hunting-nets of him, so-and-so, the son of her, so-and-so.'

A metaphorical sense for this 'loosening' is superficially appealing, of 'flushing out' the birds, but here at least the reference to loosening traps and nets in addition to the game suggests instead an aggressive ritual procedure designed to hinder a rival's hunt, especially as just such a 'binding' is explicitly mentioned in a variant of G. A §14 in Ye10 §36.[155] The text, which takes on the character of a hymn cataloguing the impressive feats of the deity impressed upon the natural world—perhaps more specifically the awe inspired by a theophany—, into which assistance with the present matter of fowling is neatly fitted, remains distinct from a prayer in that the result is never in fact requested, but rather acclaimed as a *fait accompli*. The language of universal praise includes a Psalmic allusion (97:6), while the 'cliff-dwellers' especially figure the mountain-haunting birds themselves, who would be understandably relieved at their freedom, however short-lived.

Worth a mention, finally, are examples of new roles as prayer-eponyms and actors in narrative incantation motifs. Already the witnesses published by Gollancz, expanded by the published amulets, offer an extensive cast. They are joined by the likes of St. Onasimo (*alias* Onasima: *BHO* 814–816) on the occasion of the salvation of her sisters and herself from a fiery furnace (Lo4434 §22), an Abba Markos whose inflamed spleen is made to 'wither' (ܝܒܫ: Lo5281 §52), the apostle Simon-Peter on his travels in 'the city of Asia' (ܐܣܝܐ ܩܪܝܬܐ) where he counteracted Lilith and other ills imperilling unborn children and thus gained converts (Di225 §10; Lo5281 §18), and the biblical Enosh encountered and dispatched by St Marutha to heal plague-sores (Lo4434 §63). In a meeting equally incongruous from a chronological perspective, Moses (reprising in part his role in G. A §22, a version of which in Ev1 §5 presents the narrative in the first person in his voice) witnesses Adam once again exercising his mastery over animals while also invoking the help of three saints (Mo417 §22).

ܫܒܩ ܠܝ ܠܝ ܐܡ ܐܡ. ܐܫܬ ܡܠܐ ܐܒܥܘ ܐܬܩܛ ܐܝܠ ܐܒܝܪ
ܐܝ ܡܠ ܫ ܐܡܪ ܒܬܪ ܐܫܬ ܐܒܥ ܐܝ ܒܝܬ ܒܪ ܐ
ܐܒܠ ܐ ܒ ܒܫܠ ܐܒܠ ܒ ܒܠ ܐܒܠ ܐܫܬ
ܒܪ ܒܫ ܐܒܠ ܡܠܟ ܐܒܥ ܩܕ ܐܫ ܐܒܠ

155 This invocation, only loosely comparable to that in G. A, ends with, 'let the hunting of this your servant be released, if it is bound' (ܫܒܩ ܠ ܐ ܐ ܒ ܒܪ ܐ ܒ ܐ).

ܟܬܒ ܐܚܪ ܥܠ ܚܝܬ .ܙܪܝܢ ܙܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܝܫܘ ܙܪܓܝܢ ܘ̈ܥܡ ܦ̈ܪ̈ܩܬ .ܐܢ ܡܘܫܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ ,ܗܘ̈ܐ ܡܗܠܟ ܒ̈ܛܘ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܫ̈ܒ̈ܥܐ ,ܘܐܬ ܡܢ ܛܘܪ ܠܛܘܪ ,ܘܐܬ ܡܢ ܛܘܪ ܠܛܘܪ ,ܘܐܫܟܚ ܒ̈ܗ ܚ̈ܕ ,ܚ̈ܝܬ ,ܘܐ̈ܚ̈ܕ ,ܘܐ̈ܚ̈ܕ ,ܘܐ̈ܚ̈ܕ

to interrupt the workings of a mill (Lo5281 §§58–59), in part via a Garshuni invocation referring to Solomon's sealing of four jinn, and to hinder the heating of an oven (ܟܝܬܐ: StP4 §39), which can be counteracted in turn by reciting the reference to analogous releasing in Psalm 146:7c three times, or that of a furnace (ܟܘܐܪܐ: Lo5281 §§21–22), similarly released in turn via Psalm 102:19–20. Several more definite instances can be added. A proper curse is inflicted on an enemy by an invocation of the 'chief of demons' (ܪܝܫ ܫܐ) who is to derange the target's mind (CaH160 §67), while a curse of more limited scope, in the genre of erotic magic, asks further demons to torment a beloved with burning discomfort such that she is unable to eat, drink, or even stand until she sees the beneficiary (CaH160 §68), a technique familiar from magical texts of the Late Antiquity.[157] The same manuscript offers yet another procedure turning the tables, for use by a wife to regain the love of her husband (CaH160 §72): it combines the ritual deposition of hair from the target's head under the threshold of the house with the recitation of Psalm 46, whose opening invocation of God as 'our house of refuge' (ܡܚܣܝ ܒܝܬ) neatly responds to the direction that the hair be stolen (ܓܙܠ) from the man's head, then analogically bound to the household (ܒܝܬ). Desire, for the purpose of favour in public life rather than sex or marriage, is couched in similar terms of 'burning' and pursued in one case with internal reference to an accompanying ritual analogue: the target should be affected 'as this writing is burned in the oven' (ܟܝܬܐ ܗܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܬܚܪܩ ܒܟܝܬܐ: Lo5281 §46). The separation of two persons, apparently for the benefit of a third in an unspecified relation to either, may also be sought (Lo5281 §§47–48). Aggressive procedures are also represented in the manuscript of 'charms' seen by George Percy Badger in the region of Mosul in the 1840s and excerpted in English paraphrase.[158]

The invocation of demons just seen, in sharp contrast to that of Christian holies, is rare. At a safer remove, the sending of demons against enemies by a higher power, and even the visitation of Satan, is sought in a new procedure known from two witnesses (CaH162 §13; Di225 §1). While the language harks back to biblical precedent (adapting Psalm 109:6), the gravity of this escalation is internally acknowledged, it would seem, by a peculiar disposition in which the name ܫܠܡ itself is apotropaically deformed by the writing of the last

157 For this 'erotic curse' see C.A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), pp. 59–61; references to papyrological attestations are collected in the commentary to *P.Oxy*. LXXXII 5304 ii 8.

158 *Nestorians*, vol. I, pp. 238–240.

three of its consonants upside-down, and so too the name of one of the demons (CaH162, f. 20a–b; with a similar treatment for Satan in the version of G. A § 26 in Ye19 § 25).

Beyond the texts themselves, their continued collection and study allows progress on larger questions of context. Contradicting the impression of Gollancz that such texts are 'extremely rare',[159] they now number no fewer than 69, with at least 38 for the 'Book of protection' alone,[160] joined by 15 manuscripts containing related material in miscellaneous collections and 17 finished amulets (not including their earlier counterparts). A similarly broadened geographic and temporal context can be established: such texts were by no means confined to the mountainous Hakkari region as might have been expected from the small sample made available by Gollancz, as they are now on record in the cities of Amida, Mosul, and Urmia, and reflections of the same tradition in the fragmentary manuscripts from Malabar (Ca1167) and Turfan (including also Sogdian)[161] suggest a diffusion far to the east as part of missionary activity, which invites further investigation. Their copying can now be shown to have extended over a longer period, both earlier (1714 for StPS1, the earliest internally dated witness) and later (1932 for StPS26), while the finished amulets bring this range dramatically into the Middle Ages, as two are securely dated by archaeological context before 1283 (Bei1 Bei2), a period to which the Turfan material, which for reasons of space cannot be considered further here, may also be assigned. These last provide an equally precious datum for geographical context, localised in coastal Lebanon, far to the west of the other artefacts.

The extension of witnesses to this tradition to an earlier period in turn gives an opportunity for contextualisation within ritual traditions of the region and farther west, contemporary and more ancient. (Diachronic continuity is further considered, in terms of magical-medical practitioners, in the contribution of Siam Bhayro to this volume). Gollancz had already broached the subject years before the publication of his 1912 collection, remarking of his codices, 'I

159 *Book of Protection*, p. ix.

160 The existence of two further unpublished manuscripts in Tbilisi is signalled by Schmidt and Abousamra, 'Une amulette syriaque', p. 146 n. 6; this count also omits the two manuscripts of 'charms' only glancingly described by Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. 1, pp. 238–240, and R.J.H. Gottheil, 'References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature', in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler* (New York and London, 1894), pp. 24–51 (31–32), respectively.

161 E.C.D. Hunter, 'Traversing Time and Location: A Prayer-Amulet of Mar Tamsis from Turfan', in L. Tang and D.W. Winkler (eds), *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (Zurich, 2013), pp. 23–39, and 'Syriac Prayer-amulets from Turfan', *The Harp* 33 (2018), pp. 413–438.

do not touch here upon the consideration as to whether they are of Syriac originals or translations from the Greek, seeing that many of the Proper Names, specially of demons, appear to have Greek forms … however … not a few of these charms and exorcisms resemble very closely ancient Assyrian incantations'.[162] It may now be taken as axiomatic that the traditional origins of rituals should be sought first within or as close as possible to the communities in which they are embedded, and that this inquiry should not be privileged above the determination of *internal* meaning to those who actually participated in the tradition of the texts. This contribution has no new native informants to offer, past or present, and can only present some tentative suggestions on groupings of documents as the oeuvre of known copyists: George son of Zîʿâ of Shibani (CaH160, G. A, Lo6673), Ṣlîbâ son of Gammô of Salmas (Be95, Be553), Elijah son of Stephan of Mawānâ (LoA17, PaM, whose dates, if correctly read, give him a career of at least 60 years), Zerwandad son of Safar of Rabnaṯ (Bi583, NY2941/4), the last of particular interest as demonstrating the production of handbooks and amulets by the same man. Some analysis of antecedents may nevertheless be cautiously attempted. The intent will be to give serious consideration to the possibility raised by Gollancz, but left virtually untouched by his predecessors,[163] of a significant role for translation in the makeup of the Syriac texts.

The background of the Solomon incantation (G. A §10 and variants) has already been mentioned in this respect. In its poetic architecture, the text suggests an origin for itself within Aramaic, but the Solomonic lore might point to an interdialectal translation, namely from an incantation originally composed in Jewish Aramaic. Also close to home for the Syriac documents, the shared terminology of binding (ʾSR) and sealing (ḤTM) with incantation bowls and amulets on other media in Jewish Aramaic and Syriac of Late Antiquity and the early Medieval period deserves a fuller treatment than can be offered here,

162 Gollancz, 'Selection of Charms', pp. 77–78; the divine names and magical words in the Late Ancient Syriac texts have recently been investigated by F. Ruani, 'Formations et origines des *nomina barbara* dans les objets magiques syriaques de Ve–VIIe siècles', in M. Tardieu, A. Van den Kerchove, and M. Zago (eds), *Noms barbares 1: Formes et contextes d'une pratique magique* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 301–314, who finds roles for both Greek and earlier Semitic languages in their composition.

163 An exception is the recent work of A. Lyavdansky, 'Syriac Charms in Near Eastern Context: Tracing the Origin of Formulas', in T.A. Mikhailova, J. Roper, A.L. Toporkov, and D.S. Nikolayev (eds), *Oral Charms in Structural and Comparative Light: Proceedings of the Conference of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research* (ISFNR) *Committee on Charms, Charmers and Charming, 27–29 October, Moscow* (Moscow, 2011), pp. 15–21, who considers two examples from among the material published by Gollancz.

and an engagement with amuletic texts in Mandaic is also a desideratum.[164] The motif of encounter and redirection of harmful forces by beneficent ones is enduringly popular in the Greek tradition,[165] but a Jewish example involving a Talmudic sage, the rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, and a demoness on incantation bowls is also relevant.[166] The rich Jewish tradition of angelology, the assignment of angels in elaborate hierarchies to spheres of competence in the human and natural world down to a minute scale, is refracted through obvious signs of translation in invocations in the Syriac texts of angels such as 'those who preside [literally, sit] over human feet' to encourage customers to come running to the user's shop.[167]

As for the nearest great civilisation to the east, Persian influence can only occasionally be detected. The most intriguing text unfortunately remains unpublished and inaccessible: aimed at healing boils (as also G. A § 53), it was cited in translation from a private collection ('Rev. Mr. Yohannan') by R.J.H. Gottheil as a fragmentary collection of prayers and 'charms'.[168] As it draws a direct relation between the prophecy of Zoroaster and the birth of Christ and appears little known in the scholarship on the Book of Protection, Gottheil's version, lightly adjusted, seems worth re-printing.

> Zardosht the prophet prophesied saying, A time will come when they see a star in the heavens having the likeness of a mother with a son in her arms. The time came, and they saw the star. Twelve kings set out from Persia to go to Jerusalem. Before the cock could crow, they had reached Jerusalem. They saw King Herod, who said to them, Where do you come from and where are you going? They answered, A king has been born in Bethlehem, and we have come to worship him. Then the star fell down in front of them; they went and worshipped the child who had been born.

164 For the bowls, see the contribution by Marco Moriggi in this volume; for textual crossovers between the bowls and amulets, and between Jewish Aramaic and Mandaic, E.C.D. Hunter, 'Combat and Conflict in Incantation Bowls: Studies on Two Aramaic Specimens from Nippur', in M.J. Geller, J.C. Greenfield, and M.P. Weitzman (eds), *Studia Aramaic: New Sources and Approaches. Papers Delivered at the London Conference of the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London, 26th–28th June 1991* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 61–77.

165 Zellmann-Rohrer, 'Continuity and Change', p. 288.

166 S. Shaked, S. Bhayro, and J.N. Ford, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 53–55.

167 StP4 § 12: ܕܝܬܒ ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝܐ ܕܪܓܠܝ, apparently a calque of a Greek epithet in ὁ καθήμενος ἐπί as often in Late Ancient angelological lists (M. Zellmann-Rohrer, 'Seth on Mount Sinai: A Coptic Magical Formulary with a Prayer and Theophany of the Biblical Seth', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 144 (2017), pp. 240–254 (p. 241)).

168 'References to Zoroaster', pp. 31–32.

> They opened their treasure chests and brought him offerings: gold, myrrh, and frankincense. They asked for a set of swaddling clothes. They then went to Persia, made a great fire, and threw the swaddling clothes of our Lord upon the fire. Before the swaddling clothes of our Lord the fire went out. In this manner may the boils go out and leave and be uprooted from the body of so-and-so, the son of so-and-so (…)

The absence of information on the provenance of this manuscript limits potential conclusions, but a retroactive Christianisation of both Zoroastrian prophecy and fire-worship would be of the most obvious appeal in a Late Ancient Persian context.

A background in the multicultural and multilingual ritual texts of Late Antiquity can be demonstrated more solidly in several cases. We have already seen a reference to the myth of Kronos and his bloody sickle, to which mention of the famous sorceress Medeia may be added, who by that fame had already won a role in Greek narrative incantations, specifically as seeker of herbal remedies for inflammation.[169] Here (M0417 § 18) there is only a fragment, appended to a variant of a procedure known already in G. A (§ 53) to cure boils, of what must have been a longer narrative of her encounter with an anonymous hero,

ܟܕܒܝܫ ܒܥܐ ܕܐܢ ܠܝܡ ܟܕܒܝܡܐ ܟܣ ܟܝ ܟܝܠ ܟܝܠ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܟܐ ܟܐ ܐܙܠ ܐ

> A valiant man split the sea and the rivers and was going to Medea [ܒܥܐ] the sorceress, and he said to her, Where are you going?

That the original aim of this quest was to obtain a remedy from her expertise, as referenced in the Greek parallel, seems likely if beyond proof. The identity of the 'valiant man' (ܟܝܠ ܟܝܠ) remains obscure, but in light of the traditional context the Argonaut Jason, who sought comparable assistance from Medea, suggests himself. Another refraction of the Greek names of mythical figures, anticipated by Gollancz, may be found in one more of the texts not yet known to him: a procedure for the protection of flocks from wolves, in which an acclamation is made of the presence of supernatural guard-dogs with appar-

169 *Hippiatrica Parisina* 156 with R.M. Heim, 'Incantamenta magica graeca latina', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* Suppl. 19 (1893), pp. 463–576 (496 no. 106).

ently ancient names: 'Titous and Kallinous and Hadrious the voracious bitches are the ones who watch over the lambs in the flocks of so-and-so, son of so-and-so'.[170]

At the end of another procedure to promote the social standing of the beneficiary, a genre already well attested in the material published by Gollancz (e.g. G. A § 40), comes an adaptation of a quite unexpected motif (Ma52 § 22). The targets of the new-found popularity are to follow him about 'from house to house, from village to village, from place to place, and from street to street'. This phrasing proves to be an adaptation of a very ancient Egyptian metaphor in which the effect on the target of erotic magic is compared to the behaviour of breeding pairs of animals seeking each other out, which is also reflected in Coptic texts of Late Antiquity, one of which gives a very similar sequence 'from village to village, from city to city, from field to field, from place to place'.[171] The animal similes in turn—but not the 'from … to …' sequence—are paralleled in some Mandaean magical formularies copied in 20th-century Baghdad (dog and bitch; he-goat and she-goat; bull and cow; fish and fisherman).[172] The prospect of a relation between Egypt and the Mandaean tradition, in turn, invites a mention of occasional echoes of Gnosticism, dividing and reappropriating the features and epithets of the supreme Jewish deity, as in the case of a reference to 'Adonai who is above the heavens' and 'his son who is beneath the earth'.[173]

On the subject of the Graeco-Egyptian nexus, the Syriac texts appear also to owe to that background the use of the mother's name (matronymic) in formulae for identifications in place of the patronymic as usual in daily life. This practice, whatever its internal logic, in a magical context surely harks back to an ancient Egyptian formula, which was directly translated into Greek

170 StP4 § 18: ܗܘ ܕܛܝܛܘܣ ܘܩܠܝܢܘܣ ܘܗܕܪܝܘܣ ܟܠܒ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܐܝܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܥ̈ܠ ܥܢ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܒܡ̈ܪ̈ܥ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܦ̈ܠ̈ܢ ܗ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܢ ܒܪ ܗ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܢ. The female gender of the animals made clear by ܟܠܒ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܐܝܢ̈ܝܢ is at odds with the masculine forms of these names (Titus, etc.) that the Syriac transliterations initially suggest; we have to do rather with by-forms produced by addition of the suffix -οῦς, popular in Greek names in Late Antiquity; compare also the acclamation of the presence of 'the ferocious hound Titianus' (ὁ λάβραξ κοίων Τιτιανός) on an amulet from the latter period: J. Spier, 'An Antique Magical Book Used for Making Sixth-Century Byzantine Amulets?', in V. Dasen and J.-M. Spieser (eds), *Les savoirs magiques et leur transmission de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance* (Florence, 2014), pp. 43–66 (pp. 62–65; see now *SEG* LXVI 2151).

171 P. Smither, 'A Coptic Love-charm', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 25 (1939), pp. 173–174; see in general D. Frankfurter, 'The Perils of Love: Magic and Countermagic in Coptic Egypt', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10 (2001), pp. 480–500 (485–497).

172 Drower, 'Mandaean Book' pp. 164 nos. 45–46, 166 no. 24.

173 StP18 § 26: ܟܝ ܕ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܢ ܘܡܢ ܕܬܚܝ ܕ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܐܢ ܒܪ ܕܬܚܝ.

and thereby diffused through the circulation of ritual handbooks.[174] In fact a more direct reflection of that translation is found in the early Syriac Pa400, in which the precise structure of the formula, a relative clause 'whom she (the mother) bore,' is rendered (there ܕܝܠܕܬ: syr. 400/1.19, 50) alongside the more common filiation-type with ܕܒܪ. It is made explicit in several of the texts already encountered by the feminine forms of placeholders ('son of her, so-and-so' and similar) and is reflected also in personalisation of both formularies (Be95 Be553 Di225 Ev1) and amulets (Bei1 CaH159 NY2941/4 Ox3 Ye9–90), as well as colophons where the name of the patron's mother is recorded or at least intended to have been (Be95 Bi583 CaH156 CaH160 Lo6673). The same magical significance of the metronymic identification is probably also reflected in the psephistic calculation of the medical prognostics that travel with the 'Book of Protection' (see 4 above).

A link with Jewish traditions, inflected through Greek texts, is also suggested by a procedure for an amulet to rid a house of snakes and scorpions by inscription of the name of Adam at its four corners (Lo4434 § 94). In the *Geoponica*, a Greek compendium of agricultural advice compiled in the early Byzantine period from Late Ancient and in some cases earlier sources, there is a comparable procedure attributed to the ancient sage Democritus to protect a dovecote from snakes. It has been shown to relate to a tradition in which this name embodies the four cardinal directions, and hence the entirety, of creation as an acronym of ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, and μεσημβρία.[175] The Syriac text adds the name of Eve, and neither text refers explicitly to the acronym, but the specification of the four corners of the structure to be protected makes its underlying presence likely.

A link with an incantation popular further west in medieval Europe, widely attested in Latin and Greek as well as vernacular languages, the so-called 'Three Brothers charm'[176] to promote the healing of flesh wounds and protect against infection, can also be identified. In the West it is a narrative motif of three brothers on a mission to gather herbs to treat such wounds, who are met and

174 J.B. Curbera, 'Maternal Lineage in Greek Magical Texts', in D.R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, and E. Thomassen (eds), *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4–8 May 1997* (Bergen, 1999), pp. 195–203; J. Dieleman, 'What's in a Sign? Translating Filiation in the Demotic Magical Papyri', in A. Papaconstantinou (ed.), *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 127–152.

175 *Geoponica* 13.9.6 (similarly 13.8.4) with Zellmann-Rohrer, '"Psalms Useful for Everything"', p. 128 n. 26.

176 See recently L. Olsan, 'The Three Good Brothers Charm: Some Historical Points', *Incantatio* 1 (2011), pp. 48–78.

advised by Christ, after swearing to make the cure freely available, to use a simpler preparation including an incantation citing the analogous preservation of his wound from infection after the lancing at the crucifixion. Here (Lo4434 § 68) a troop of 12,000 angels takes the place of the brothers, and Gabriel that of Christ, but the core structure, including the internal prescription of an incantation, persists.

A relation more specifically to Greek texts comes through in a motif cataloguing the locations in which and the means by which a binding-curse may be deposited, facilitating in turn its counteraction. A consolidated list from the five instances known so far (Lo4434 §§ 29, 37; Lo5281 §§ 6, 10; Ma52 § 16) mentions deposition in the tombs of 'sinners', of the untimely dead, of monks, and of Jews, in caves, monasteries, mountains, cliffs, fields, water, fire, the threshold of a house, a crossroads; with the help of angels, celestial bodies, and knot-tying; and inscription on human[177] and animal bones and teeth, parchment, cotton, antimony, needles, reeds, gold, silver, bronze, lead, iron, stone, wood, plants, and in any of the 72 languages. Aside from the sweeping perspective on the varieties of injurious magic believed to be abroad in the world—and the pervasive anxiety that must have accompanied them—there is a connection to a Late Ancient and medieval Greek apotropaic tradition. The so-called 'Prayer of Cyprian' gives a comparable but briefer catalogue, which may indeed have been grafted into that text from an originally separate origin, in line with that saint's specialism in the releasing of bindings of the sort that he used to inflict as a magician, before his conversion to Christianity. It includes deposition on the seashore, in rivers, the sea, tombs of a righteous man or a sinner, the threshold or lintel of house, the leaf of a tree, or a roof, and inscription on gold, silver, bronze, iron, stone, wood, lead, tin, animal hide, fish skin, deerskin, with ink or cinnabar, in any of the 'twelve languages'.[178]

Another motif of cataloguing gives a similar impression, in which fever and other diseases are identified with ethnic adjectives. 'Jewish' is favoured above all (as already in G. A §§ 4 and 28), possibly related to a legend about the origins of fever(-demons) at the beheading of John the Baptist by Herod,[179] but 'Arab', 'Armenian', and 'Turkish' also appear. 'Alan' (ܐܠܢܝܐ, CaH163 §§ 12–13;

177 The mention of inscription on human skulls (حل ܡܢܚܫܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ) in particular recalls the Jewish Aramaic curses inscribed on the same substrate, for which see G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 193–194.

178 Edited by T. Schermann, 'Die griechische Kyprianosgebete', *Oriens Christianus* 3 (1903), pp. 303–323 (318.3–15); for another version see F. Bilabel in *P.Bad.* v, pp. 236–237.

179 For other reflections of that legend see M. Zellmann-Rohrer, 'A Lawsuit with a Headless Adversary: A Greek Incantation Motif', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 22 (2020), pp. 51–83.

Mo417 § 4; Pa424–425 § 34), which must refer to the nomadic tribe that burst onto the Mediterranean scene in Late Antiquity, again suggests origins at that time, and a Hellenic perspective surfaces in the inclusion of 'Syrian', 'Median' and the characteristically Greek pejorative 'barbarian' (CaH162 § 7; Mo417 § 4; Ye10 § 4) in the catalogue to the exclusion of 'Greek' itself. Further complexity is introduced by the version in Ev1 § 7: first the possibilities of 'Arab', 'Turkish', and 'Roman' (ܪܘܡܝܐ, here perhaps equivalent to 'Byzantine'), fevers are introduced, then different adjurations are applied based on religious affiliations, by the (Mosaic) Law (ܢܡܘܣܐ) if the fever is 'Jewish', by the still obscure *meṣḥaf* if it is 'pagan' (ܡܨܚܦ), and by the gospel (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ) if it is 'Syrian'—by this stage the frame of reference has been re-centred upon Eastern Christianity. The co-occurrence of these lists with specification of fevers 'of every kind' (ܟܠ ܓܢܣ) via the Greek loanword γένος is also a clue to the origins of the racial motif in a pun on the multiple valences of γένος, biological race and categorical type.

The ritual significance of the figure of Solomon has been encountered already. His famous ring is reproduced directly as an amuletic device (G. A § 41) and invoked in its own right in adjurations (e.g. G. A § 35). The legendary building project of the Jerusalem Temple—to which the backache incantation discussed above attached itself—and Solomon's demonological prowess had given rise in Late Antiquity to a Greek treatise framed as an autobiographical account, the so-called *Testament of Solomon*, of how the king gained help in that enterprise from many demons, which would otherwise have been at large and causing harm. Fittingly, a direct translation of a substantial excerpt from that text can now be identified as a constituent of a 'Ban of King Solomon' in one of the Syriac miscellanies, with interesting divergences including in the names of the demons and the substitution of Gabriel for Michael as the source of the ring used to harness them.[180]

A more cosmopolitan direction to complement the local development of the cult of saints witnessed elsewhere in the tradition is the no less highly specialized role for two saints, Luke and Phocas, in an incantation against reptiles already encountered (Mo417 § 22), where the pair, alongside Cyprian, are invoked with surprising prescience by Adam. Such an apotropaic role for a St Phocas is already attested in Greek in a Late Ancient papyrus amulet from Egypt, where he is said to command an entity whose name has been lost—but which has a good chance of being reptilian—from appearing in the place

180 Mo417 § 11; compare especially 1.1–1.14 of the Greek text in the edition of C.C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon: Edited from Manuscripts at Mount Athos, Bologna, Holkham Hall, Jerusalem, London, Milan, Paris and Vienna* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 5*–13*.

under protection.[181] In turn he is paired with a St Luke in a lengthy Byzantine incantation for protection from the bites of noxious animals more generally: 'Saint Luke, Phocas with five iron fingers, stand brandishing your iron, bind the snake, the viper, and every evil thing crawling upon the earth, for the lord Jesus Christ has ordained that after sunset it not be shaken.'[182]

An application of a Psalm, selected on the principle of analogy to the desired result of the procedure, may provide a final example. It will be recalled that the Psalter in general is the central source for the scriptural borrowings that run throughout these texts, but the present case illustrates both a high degree of specificity and potential interconnection with traditions outside of Mesopotamia. A procedure for 'releasing', which in context should refer more specifically to the release of magical binding of a man's sexual potency (Lo4434 § 35),[183] calls for the anointment of the bodies of both husband and wife with liquid mercury over which ritual speech has been made, including Psalm 23:4 and Psalm 24:7–10. These Psalms, with their references to a reliable rod and staff and to lifting, rising and opening in preparation for a glorious entrance, could independently have suggested themselves as an analogy for a successful coupling. But a recommendation to write precisely the seventh and eighth verses of the same Psalm 24, transliterated from Latin no less, in a Byzantine medical collection strongly suggests a relation to an accretion of Late Ancient recipes concerned with magical uses of the Psalter.[184]

The simplest explanation for all of these intertexts, whose number could be greatly multiplied, seems to be a common ancestor in Late Antiquity, but more intricate patterns of medieval and early modern transmission must still be considered in future work. Given the complex textual tradition of the Syriac witnesses, multiple determination is more likely than not.

181 *P.Amh.* 1 9b: read Φωκᾶς (confirmed on the original, now in the Morgan Library) in place of edd.pr. Φωνας.

182 Athens, National Library of Greece 1265, f. 35^{r}, ed. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*. 1. *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions* (Liège and Paris, 1927), p. 83.8–20 (recollated: read Φουκᾶ in place of Delatte's φοῦκτα). The 'it' may refer to the bound animal (hence, immobilised) or, more likely, the beneficiary of the protection (hence, undisturbed).

183 For this concept see Nikitine, 'Superstitions', pp. 157–158.

184 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek cod. med. gr. 45, f. 39^{v} (unpublished).

6 Conclusion

The 'Book of Protection', whose future study can now be founded upon a widened and deepened textual basis, offers a privileged glimpse of life in Christian communities faced with challenging surroundings, of their relation to ancient traditions from their own past and those of their neighbours, and of their negotiation of an uncertain future through ritual means. Their delicate balance with demographically dominant and ruling groups, tensions underlying which were already surfacing in references within the texts to adversarial relations with 'sons of Hagar' (the versions of G. A § 6 in StP4 § 7 and G. A § 7 in Lo6673 § 7) and especially with officials (e.g. G. A §§ 6–8), was to be shattered by events on a global scale a few years after the publication of the landmark collection of Gollancz.[185] The texts offer perspectives on the later careers of ritual traditions from ancient and medieval Mesopotamia and beyond, and precious witnesses to a lost way of life in the modern Middle East.

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185 On the forced emigration and loss of property and life around the time of the First World War see P. Sykes, 'A Summary of the History of the Assyrians in 'Iraq, 1918–1933', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 21 (1934), pp. 255–268, and for a similar evaluation of the potential of the 'Book of Protection', Hunter, 'Two Codex Handbooks', p. 435.

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CHAPTER 6

Traces of a *Storied Universe*: Biblical Figures and Motifs in Late-Antique Syriac Amulets

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1 Introduction

Biblical quotations or allusions are a fairly common feature in late-antique amulets.[1] Often, it is believed, they are adapted from liturgy.[2] Scholars of ancient magic, therefore, generally hold that the making and use of amulets had 'a symbiotic relationship with institutional rituals and practices',[3] whether to evoke public worship, to appropriate efficacy, or to assert religious identity.[4] Biblical references also abound in medieval and early-modern Syriac amulets,[5] but are more scarce among late-antique Syriac amulets.[6] This was already noted by James A. Montgomery in his seminal publication of incantation bowls

1 See, e.g., G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge, 2008); Y. Harari, *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kabbalah* (Detroit, 2017); T. de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian: Artefacts, Scribes, and Contexts* (Oxford, 2017).

2 See, e.g., D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* (London, 2003), p. 11; P. Lanfer, 'Why Biblical Scholars Should Study Aramaic Bowl Spells', *Aramaic Studies* 13 (2015), pp. 9–23 (15).

3 De Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian*, p. 184. See also J.B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London, 2000), p. 26; J. van der Vliet, 'Christian Spells and Manuals from Egypt', in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic* (Leiden, 2019), pp. 322–350.

4 See, e.g., R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze* Lamellae. *Part 1: Published Texts of Known Provenance* (Köln, 1994), p. 178; M. Klinghardt, 'Prayer Formularies for Public Recitation: Their Use and Function in Ancient Religion', *Numen* 46 (1999), pp. 1–52 (26–28); R. Gordon, 'Shaping the Text: Innovation and Authority in Graeco-Egyptian Malign Magic', in H.F.J. Horstmanshoff, H.W. Singor, F.T. van Straten and J.H.M. Strubbe (eds), *KYKEON: Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 69–111.

5 See, e.g., E.C.D. Hunter, 'Magic and Medicine Amongst the Christians of Kurdistan', in E.C.D. Hunter (ed.), *The Christian Heritage of Iraq: Collected Papers from the Christianity in Iraq I–V Seminar Days* (Piscataway, NJ, 2009), pp. 187–202; E.C.D. Hunter, 'Traversing Time and Location: A Prayer-Amulet to Mar Tamsis from Turfan', in D.W. Winkler and L. Tang (eds), *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (Salzburg, 2013), pp. 23–41.

6 See, e.g., H. Juusola, 'Who Wrote the Syriac Incantation Bowls?', *Studia Orientalia* 85 (Helsinki, 1999), pp. 75–92 (76); C. Müller-Kessler, 'Of Jesus, Darius, Marduk …: Aramaic Magic Bowls in

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from the site of ancient Nippur,[7] and it has since fuelled debate on both their assumed religious context[8] and what the few biblical references might mean.[9] These debates are more extensive than I show here; rather than recounting them, I take this opportunity to revisit and reassess the biblical material in late-antique Syriac amulets in light of recent scholarship, in both biblical studies and history of religion, on what *biblical* might mean and may have meant.

As I elaborate below, ancient sources, including amulets, exhibit notable variation in their biblical allusions and quotations.[10] Newer studies have begun to explore this variation, in order to reassess what the Bible was and may have meant in often diverse and differing contexts. For instance, Siam Bhayro argues that parallels between New Testament passages and stories in the incantation bowls 'represent Jewish scholarly engagement with early Jewish literature',[11] while Theodore de Bruyn holds that fragments from gospel stories in amulets should not be understood as scriptural quotations but as 'trusted ways of recollecting the power of Jesus to heal and protect'.[12] I recently pointed out the potential statistical pitfalls of simply counting the number of biblical refer-

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the Moussaieff Collection', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 125 (2005), pp. 219–240 (220).

7 J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1913), pp. 113–116.

8 See, e.g., V. Hamilton, 'Syriac Incantation Bowls' (Ann Arbor, 1971), pp. 96–97; P. Gignoux, *Incantations magiques syriaques* (Louvain, 1987), pp. 3–4; S. Shaked, 'Jews, Christians and Pagans in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls of the Sasanian Period', in A. Destro and M. Pesce (eds), *Religions and Cultures: First International Conference of Mediterraneum* (Binghampton, NY, 2002), pp. 61–89, (69–71); A.B. Schmidt and G. Abousamra, 'Une amulette syriaque dans la collection du Matenadaran à Yerevan (roleau 9–90),' *The Harp* 29 (2014), pp. 143–164; M. Moriggi, '"And the Impure and Abominable Priests Fled for Help to the Names of the Devils": Amulets and Magical Practices in Syriac Christian Culture Between Late Antiquity and the Modern World', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 19 (2016), pp. 371–384.

9 See, e.g., Juusola, 'Who Wrote', p. 76; Gignoux, *Incantations*, pp. 57–58; M. Gorea, 'Coupes magiques syriaques et manichéennes en provenance de Mésopotamie', in F. Briquel Chatonnet, M. Debié and A. Desreumaux (eds), *Les inscriptions syriaques* (Paris, 2004), pp. 107–116 (111).

10 See, e.g., Segal, *Catalogue*, p. 26; M. Choat, 'Echo and Quotation of the New Testament in Papyrus Letters to the End of the Fourth Century', in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their Worlds* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 267–292; D. Krueger, 'The Hagiographer's Bible: Intertextuality and Scriptural Culture in the Late Sixth and the First Half of the Seventh Century', in D. Krueger and R.S. Nelson (eds), *The New Testament in Byzantium* (Washington DC, 2016), pp. 177–189.

11 S. Bhayro, 'On Early Jewish Literature and the Aramaic Magic Bowls', *Aramaic Studies* 13 (2015), pp. 54–68 (68).

12 T. de Bruyn, 'Christian Apocryphal and Canonical Narratives in Greek Amulets and Formu-

ences in a corpus.[13] In short, while the comparably lower number of biblical references in Syriac amulets is certainly important, such a comparison may also be flawed in relying on somewhat dated notions of both *biblical* and *scripture*.[14]

Here, I first introduce the above-mentioned variety in biblical material in late-antique sources, in amulets and more broadly. Then, I present how this variation has prompted scholars to change how they conceive of biblical quotations and allusions. My discussion culminates in David Frankfurter's article 'Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Magical Spells',[15] where he challenges the perceived primacy of the written and compiled versions of myth or scripture:

> In many cultures "myths" as coherent narratives describing supernatural events do not exist except as ritual librettos which are implicitly or explicitly oriented toward the ritual context and its goals … That is to say, myths only exist in the form of ritual applications; the *historiolae* "are" the myths, rather than derivatives of them; and the "canonical" myths … are literary contrivances, masking the diversity and even incoherence of the actual traditions.[16]

I proceed to borrow Frankfurter's anthropological understanding of myth or scripture, and I conclude that the biblical material and motifs in late-antique Syriac amulets suggest a notion not of scripture but of an *authoritative discourse of precedent*.[17] Rather than a biblical canon, the figures and narratives seem to belong to a wider *storied universe*.

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laries in Late Antiquity', in P. Piovanelli and T. Burke (eds), *Rediscovering the Apocryphal Continent: New Perspectives on Early Christian and Late Antique Apocryphal Texts and Traditions* (Tübingen, 2015), pp. 153–174 (173).

13 N.H. Korsvoll, 'Bible Bible Everywhere? Reviewing the Distribution of Biblical Quotes in Ancient Amulets', *Biblische Notizen* 176 (2017), pp. 89–100.

14 See, e.g., J.E. Sanzo and N.H. Korsvoll, 'A New Testament Text on a Syriac Incantation Bowl: Eph. 6:10–17 on IBC 3', *Vigiliae Christianae* 71 (2017), pp. 417–432; N.H. Korsvoll and L.I. Lied, 'Enoch and Baruch: Unusual Suspects in a Syriac Amulet', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 75 (2016), pp. 349–360.

15 D. Frankfurter, 'Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 457–476.

16 Frankfurter, 'Narrating Power', pp. 472–473; see also the contribution by Moriggi in this volume.

17 Frankfurter, 'Narrating Power', p. 474.

2 Syriac Amulets from Late Antiquity

Amulets appear in many forms and for many purposes in Late Antiquity:

> In the Graeco-Roman world amulets were commonly used to invoke divine power for healing from sickness, protection against harm, malediction of adversaries, and success in a variety of affairs. These amulets were prepared by specialists who often followed pre-existing models. They were rendered effective by writing, recitation, and other rituals, and were then worn on one's body or fixed, displayed, or deposited in some place.[18]

There were amulets written out on papyrus, parchment, pottery (*ostraca*), thin metal sheets (*lamellae*), or on gems or other types of jewellery.[19]

Most Syriac amulets are incantation bowls, which are medium-sized bowls (commonly 15–20 cm in diameter and approximately 8 cm deep) with an incantation or magical spell written on the inside in ink.[20] The remainder are a few inscribed *lamellae* and some leather amulets with the text again written in ink.[21] These are small, portable, and show signs of having been folded. Broadly speaking, the Syriac amulets use two different scripts, one that is close to Estrangela, and the other a unique script that has come to be known as Manichaean.[22] There are currently no fonts that 'could correctly reflect the peculiar palaeography of Syriac incantation bowls',[23] so the most recent publications transliterate their texts in Latin script.[24] In this paper, I follow this convention,

18 T. de Bruyn and J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 48 (2011), pp. 163–216 (164).

19 See, e.g., J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1985); M. Meyer and R. Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco, 1994); J. Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (Wiesbaden, 2007); de Bruyn and Dijkstra, 'Greek Amulets', pp. 163–216.

20 M. Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls: Syriac Magical Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia* (Leiden, 2014).

21 Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, pp. 62–68; Gignoux, *Incantations*; J. Naveh, 'A Syriac Amulet on Leather', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17 (1997), pp. 33–38; E, Haerinck and B. Overlaet, *Early Bronze Age Graveyards to the West of the Kabir Kuh* (*Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan*) (Leuven, 2010), p. 43 and plate XIII. See the comprehensive overview in Zellmann-Rohrer's contribution to this volume.

22 See Moriggi, *A Corpus*, pp. 11–19.

23 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, p. 4.

24 See, e.g., Segal, *Catalogue*; C. Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte in der Hilprecht-*

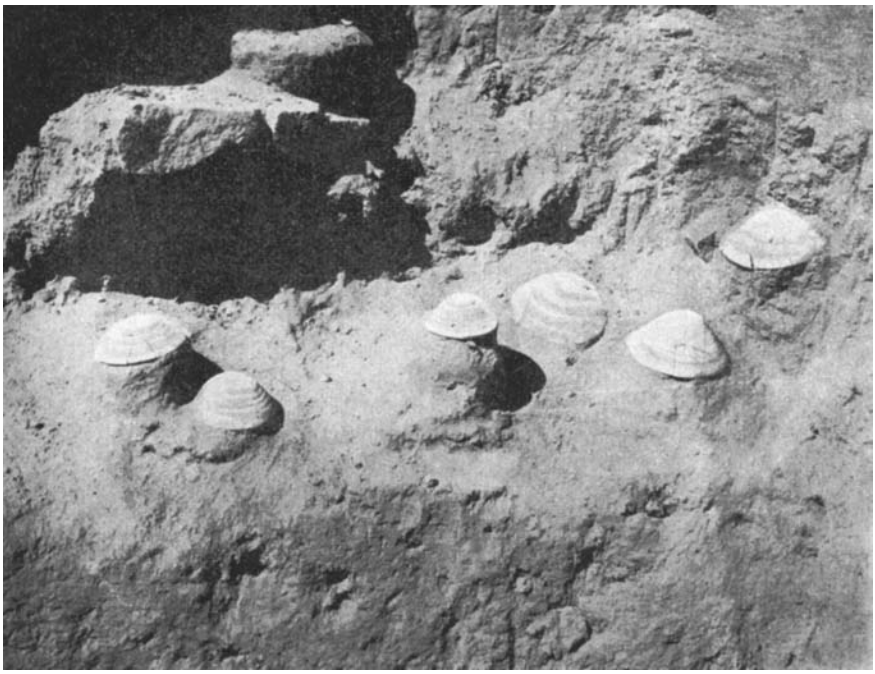


FIGURE 6.1 Incantation bowls *in situ* at the 1888–1889 excavations at Nippur
PHOTOGRAPH: H.V. HILPRECHT, *EXPLORATIONS IN BIBLE LANDS DURING THE 19TH CENTURY* (PHILADELPHIA, 1903), P. 448

rendering either the transliteration from the editions, or transliterating from the respective publications according to *The SBL Handbook of Style* for Hebrew and other Aramaic languages.[25]

There are some sixty published Syriac amulets from Late Antiquity, most of which are thought to come from what is now Iraq.[26] Several incantation bowls were excavated by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur in the 1880s, where many were found buried up-side-down and in association with what appeared to be domestic buildings.[27]

Sammlung, Jena, und weitere Nippur-Texte anderer Sammlungen (Wiesbaden, 2005); Moriggi, *A Corpus*.

25 P.H. Alexander, J.F. Kutsko, J.D. Ernest, C. Decker-Lucke and D.L. Petersen (eds), *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, MA, 1999), pp. 26–29.

26 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, pp. 1–2. See the updated *status quaestionis* in Moriggi's contribution to this volume.

27 J.P. Peters, *Nippur: Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates: The Narrative of the Uni-*

The stratigraphy helped date the bowls to the sixth or seventh centuries CE, but details of their use remain vague. Suggestions have included hydromancy, overturning witchcraft, or serving to trap demons.[28]

Other incantation bowls and amulets have no known provenance, which has led to controversy concerning their acquisition and study.[29] Among the late-antique Syriac amulets, biblical references and motifs appear in both provenanced and unprovenanced pieces. Opinions on how to navigate this situation differ,[30] but in line with the growing awareness of and concern about the illegal export and trafficking of ancient artefacts, I follow the guidelines laid down by the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) in 2015 and only examine amulets that were acquired by or belonged to a recognised collection before April 24, 1972.[31] Thus, my survey and analysis of biblical material is not comprehensive, but it is broad enough to make certain initial observations and suggestions.

3 Reconceptualising the Categories *Biblical* and *Scripture*

Traditionally, discrepancies between biblical material in amulets and the canonical texts have been taken to indicate the former's distance from the canon or institutional ritual contexts.[32] Over the past decades, however, scholars have begun to challenge the implicit dichotomy and teleology underlying the categories *biblical* and *scripture*, both in biblical studies more broadly and

versity of Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia in the Years 1888–1890 II (London 1897), p. 153; Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, p. 14.

28 See, e.g., Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, p. 42; S. Shaked, 'Popular Religion in Sasanian Babylonia', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 21 (1997), pp. 103–117 (104); D. Frankfurter, 'Scorpion/Demon: On the Origin of the Mesopotamian Apotropaic Bowl', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 74 (2015), pp. 9–18.

29 See, e.g., S. Thrope, 'Magic bowls of antiquity', *Aeon*. Published 24th May 2016. Retrieved 8th July 2019. Online: https://aeon.co/essays/what-should-be-done-with-the-magic-bowls-of-jewish-babylonia.

30 See Thrope, 'Magic bowls'.

31 'Section E', in *Policy of Professional Conduct*, approved by the *American Schools of Oriental Research Board of Trustees* on April 18, 2015. Cited 25 August 2020. Online: http://www.asor.org/about/policies/conduct.html. The Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) adopted the same principles from 2017 (*SBL Policy on Scholarly Presentation and Publication of Ancient Artifacts*, September 3, 2016. Cited 25 August 2020. Online: https://www.sbl-site.org/assets/pdfs/SBL-Artifacts-Policy_20160903.pdf).

32 See, e.g., Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, pp. 302–303; M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 77–79; de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian*, pp. 221–228.

in studies of late-antique amulets. For instance, Ruth Langer summarises how biblical material appears in rabbinic liturgy:

> as the citation of complete biblical pericopes; as prayers or study passages; as the explicit citation of verses as midrashic-style proof texts to buttress the theological statement of a prayer; as reused biblical language, often adjusted in grammar and meaning to its new context; and in prayers that consist virtually entirely of concatenated unadapted verses.[33]

Derek Krueger makes similar observations regarding early Byzantine sources, remarking that diversity and variation have often been hidden by 'Byzantine copyists and later preparers of critical editions [who] corrected near quotations to exact quotations'.[34] Or, as Eva Mroczek points out, scholars have read the variants of the story or motif 'either as proto-biblical, para-biblical, or biblical interpretation', which they 'assimilated into an evolutionary narrative with Bible'.[35] Contrary to such approaches, Hindy Najman, for example, proposes to read biblical and pseudepigraphic literature not as variants of scripture, but as living, culturally contextualised discourses centred on important figures.[36]

This rereading of biblical material also resonates among scholars of ancient amulets.[37] For example, several Greco-Egyptian amulets include narratives about Moses that do not compare with the current canons,[38] and Ágnes

33 R. Langer, 'Biblical Texts in Jewish Prayers: Their History and Function', in A. Gerhards and C. Leonhard (eds), *Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship: New Insights into its History and Interaction* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 63–90 (63).

34 Krueger, 'The Hagiographer's Bible', p. 182.

35 E. Mroczek, 'The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature', *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 6 (2015), pp. 2–35 (2). See also, e.g., L.I. Lied and H. Lundhaug (eds), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology* (Berlin, 2017).

36 H. Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden, 2003). See also A.Y. Reed, 'Pseudepigraphy, Authorship, and the Reception of 'the Bible' in Late Antiquity', in L. Di Tommaso and L. Turescu (eds), *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 467–490; D.V. Edelman and E. Ben Zvi (eds), *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination* (Oxford, 2013).

37 See, e.g., Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, p. 29; Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, pp. 155–166; W. Brashear and R. Kotansky, 'A New Magical Formulary', in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer (eds), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 3–24 (15–16).

38 See, e.g., Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, p. 127; B.J.L. Peerbolte, 'The *Eighth Book of Moses* (PLeid. J 395): Hellenistic Jewish Influence in a Pagan Magical Papyrus', in M. Labahn and B.J.L. Peerbolte (eds), *A Kind of Magic: Understanding Magic in the New Testament and its Religious Environment* (London, 2007), pp. 184–194 (189–192).

T. Mihálykó observes that biblical quotations in PGM P13 seem to display 'a deliberate variation with no other overall principle than variation itself'.[39] Gideon Bohak notes 'quite a few interesting examples of the use of biblical and parabiblical myths' in ancient Jewish amulets,[40] and de Bruyn and Jitse H.F. Dijkstra describe biblical references in Greco-Egyptian amulets very much like Langer's description of Jewish liturgy quoted above:

> Passages may be quoted in an abbreviated form as a cipher for an entire work, as in the incipits of the gospels or the opening words of verses in a psalm. Often several passages are juxtaposed one with another, and sometimes they are quoted in an incomplete or confused manner.[41]

Joseph E. Sanzo proposes that these amulets do not rely on *a Bible*, but rather on a set of stories and figures that function as 'a repository of individual thematic units'.[42] De Bruyn agrees, describing it as a complex of 'authoritative traditions … ignoring the boundaries of later classification'.[43]

Montgomery already remarked on the deviance from canonical texts among the biblical references in the Nippur incantation bowls.[44] With more specimens having come to light, some scholars hold that the corpus nevertheless demonstrates that 'by the fifth century CE the canon of sacred scriptures was a long-established text'.[45] Others continue to argue that 'biblical quotations appear mostly in pre-Masoretic spellings'.[46] Still, all agree on the biblical material's varied format and use in the bowls. Shaul Shaked, for instance, divides

39 Á.T. Mihálykó, 'Christ and Charon: PGM P13 Reconsidered', *Symbolae Olsoenses* 89 (2015), pp. 183–209 (203).

40 Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 312.

41 De Bruyn and Dijkstra, 'Greek Amulets', p. 172.

42 J.E. Sanzo, 'The Innovative Use of Biblical Traditions for Ritual Power: The Crucifixion of Jesus on a Coptic Exorcistic Spell (Brit. Lib. Or. 6796[4], 6796) as a Test Case', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 16 (2015), pp. 67–98 (71).

43 De Bruyn, 'Christian Apocryphal', p. 171.

44 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, pp. 63–64.

45 S. Shaked, J.N. Ford and S. Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls* 1 (Leiden, 2013), p. 18. See also S. Shaked, 'Form and Purpose in Aramaic Spells: Some Jewish Themes (The Poetics of Magic Texts)', in S. Shaked (ed.), *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 1–30 (2); Lanfer, 'Why Biblical Scholars', p. 10.

46 C. Müller-Kessler, 'The Use of Biblical Quotations in Jewish Aramaic Incantation Bowls', in H.R. Jacobus, A.K. de Hemmer Gudme and P. Guillaume (eds), *Studies on Magic and Divination in the Biblical World* (Piscataway, NJ, 2013), pp. 227–245 (228).

biblical references into quotations, echoes of biblical themes, liturgical quotations, and allusions,[47] while J.B. Segal finds direct quotations, citations from liturgy, or references with 'a familiarity with Biblical narrative'.[48] There has been some discussion regarding the biblical references and motifs in the late-antique Syriac amulets, but these have mainly been concerned with whether or not they are Christian.[49] Here, I explore the Syriac amulets in light of the above, newer observations on how biblical material appeared and was used in Late Antiquity.

3.1 *Biblical Material as* Authoritative Discourse of Precedent

More specifically, I do this through the abovementioned interpretive framework that Frankfurter proposes in his article on *historiolae* and the power of narrative.[50] First, I present a brief recap on *historiolae*, the use of which is attested already in ancient Egypt and Babylonia.[51] De Bruyn finds a good example in P.Oxy. VIII 1151: 'O Lord, † Christ, Son and Word of the living God, who heals every illness and every infirmity [Matt 4:23], also heal and watch over your handmaid Joannia …'.[52] Thus including stories or myths in amulets is common, but there is some debate as to how they were considered efficacious. Jørgen Podemann Sørensen, who wrote an early and influential article on *historiolae* in ancient magic, argues that the mythical story provides a sacred precedent for the amulet's intended outcome,[53] while Henk Versel suggests that the connection with myth helps establish a liminal space wherein the amulet will work.[54] Others hold that the precedent lies in the narrative itself,

47 Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, pp. 18–22.

48 Segal, *Catalogue*, p. 26.

49 See, e.g., Gignoux, *Incantations*, pp. 57–58; Juusola, 'Who Wrote', p. 76; Gorea, 'Coupes magiques', p. 111.

50 Frankfurter, 'Narrating Power'.

51 J.P. Sørensen, 'The Argument in Ancient Egyptian Magical Formulae', *Acta Orientalia* 45 (1984), pp. 5–19 (7). See also Levene, *A Corpus*, pp. 13–14; de Bruyn, 'Christian Apocryphal', p. 166.

52 T. de Bruyn, 'Appeals to Jesus and the One "Who Heals Every Illness and Every Infirmity" (Matt 4:23, 9:35) in Amulets in Late Antiquity', in L. Di Tommaso and L. Turcescu (eds), *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity. Proceedings of the Montréal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser, 11–13 October 2006* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 65–81 (67).

53 Sørensen, 'The Argument', p. 9. See also D.J. Waller, 'Echo and the *Historiola*: Theorizing the Narrative Incantation', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 16 (2015), pp. 263–282 (277).

54 H.S. Versnel, 'The Poetics of the Magical Charm: An Essay on the Power of Words', in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer (eds), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 105–158 (150–151).

not necessarily in its mythical status or reference,[55] and Frankfurter ascribes to this view in his examination of ancient *historiolae* through anthropological theory.[56]

Myth and ritual have been a favoured topic in anthropology for a long time, to the extent that I cannot summarise the many contributions here.[57] Instead I proceed directly to Frankfurter's article, where he combines perspectives from these efforts with insights from speech-act theory.[58] He takes inspiration from William A. Graham, who asserted that 'the sacrality or holiness of a book is not an a priori attribute of a text but one that is realized historically in the life of communities who respond to it as something sacred or holy'.[59] But how, then, can we map or describe the processes by which myth or scripture is made powerful and set to work in amulets? After all, while *historiolae* are made (relevant) for the specific, situated amulet that they appear in, they also require a recognisable tradition 'which establishes the *historiola's* performative value and power'.[60]

To take this into account, Frankfurter builds on anthropologist Mary E. Mills' breakdown of myth into different levels of discourse, proposing a framework of three tiers. These outline how a successful *historiola* contains or draws on:

> (1) the abstract set of concepts and relations that might crystallize around or into (2) certain figures, names, places, or folklore motifs according to a culture's current circumstances, and then come into being within (3) a variety of performative settings according to a variety of forms.[61]

As I understand Frankfurter, the contextual, situated *historiola* or narrative in an amulet is the performative third tier. Here is the actual text, the material artefact it is written on, and the possible ritual context it is accompanied by.

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55 See, e.g., S.I. Johnston, 'Narrating Myths: Story and Belief in Ancient Greece', *Arethusa* 48/2 (2015), pp. 173–218 (177).

56 Frankfurter, 'Narrating Power', p. 459.

57 See, e.g., B. Malinowski, *Myth in Primitive Psychology* (London, 1926); M. Eliade, *Myth and Reality* (New York, 1963); S.J. Tambiah, 'A Performative Approach to Ritual', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979), pp. 113–169; J.Z. Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago, 1982); R. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge, 1999).

58 See, e.g., D. Frankfurter, 'Spell and Speech Act: The Magic of the Spoken Word', in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic* (Leiden, 2019), pp. 608–625.

59 William A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 5.

60 Frankfurter, 'Narrating Power', p. 473.

61 Frankfurter, 'Narrating Power', p. 474.

For the first tier, we have the broader, more abstract notions that, for instance, de Bruyn and Sanzo find behind biblical references, such as healing, salvation, or security. Scripture (with a capital S) certainly also belongs to this first tier. Yet, based on what I discussed above, I would place biblical material in the second tier.

Hence, in light of the reconceptualization of *biblical* that Mroczek, Najman, Krueger, and others are proposing, I consider the biblical stories and motifs in amulets to be part of Frankfurter's second tier:

> Finally, the specific terms, symbols, and motifs of composition (my level [2]) do not themselves constitute "myth" but rather the *authoritative discourse of precedent* in a given region at a certain time: stories, prayers, heroes and gods—a discourse that would certainly evolve through time (and particularly as a culture converted to Christianity or Islam).[62]

Now, as the former quotation from Frankfurter makes clear, this *authoritative discourse of precedent*, crystallised around figures, names, places or motifs, is conditioned by a *culture's current circumstances*. This may include, but does not require, the Bible, scripture, or canon.

As Bohak, de Bruyn, Sanzo, and others argue, canon, institutions, and religious authority are not unimportant for how and why amulets employ biblical material. Rather, the point is that their use is not necessarily derivative. This is the nuanced point I want to make by using Frankfurter's analytical framework and by situating canonical, biblical texts within the second tier. As such they are part of a culture's current circumstance, instead of an abstract theological or ideological idea or entity in the first tier (where conventional conceptions of Bible or Scripture might place them). Therefore, as I proceed to (re)examine four examples of biblical material in late-antique Syriac amulets, I expect to further elucidate their use and meaning, and, by extension, to shed more light on this still somewhat mysterious corpus.

4 (Biblical) Figures, Narratives, and Motifs in Syriac Amulets

4.1 *'Jesus the Healer'*

My first example is the invocation of 'Jesus the healer' in the incantation bowl CBS 9012, which is held in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archae-

62 Frankfurter, 'Narrating Power', p. 474.



FIGURE 6.2 CBS 9012
PHOTOGRAPH: COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY, IMAGE NO. 228557

ology and Anthropology. It comes from the university's excavations at Nippur and is preserved in its entirety. It is of average size, its text is written in the so-called Manichaean script,[63] and it has a circle divided into four sections by a simple cross in the centre.[64]

63 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, pp. 16–18.

64 This is a common graphic motif in the Syriac bowls (Moriggi, *A Corpus*, p. 43).

The bowl contains fourteen lines of text, and Marco Moriggi notes several parallels among as yet unpublished bowls.[65] Baruch Levine wrote of CBS 9012 that 'the composition of the text reflects a definitive format … There are four successive passages, each beginning with the formula: *ʾāsîr weḥātîm* "bound and sealed"'.[66] The first segment invokes 'Jesus the healer' (lines 1–3); the second segment refers to Moses and the Red Sea (lines 3–4);[67] the following segments draw on a number of familiar entities in late-antique magic: celestial bodies (line 6), angels (line 7), Solomon (line 8), El Šadday, and Lord Abrasax (line 9).[68]

Here, I present Moriggi's transcription and translation of the first segment:

> (1) *mzmn hnʾ kʾsʾ lḥtwmyʾ byth dmyḥrḥwrmyzd br mʾmy* (2) *bḥyl* {*ḥyl*} *dyyšwʿ ʾsyʾ bḥyl ʾḥny tqypʾ ʾsyr dwrh wmškwnth* (3) *wbyth wʾntth wbnʾ wbntʾ dmyḥrḥwrmyzd dmytqrʾ br mʾmy* …
>
> (1) Prepared is this bowl for the sealings (of) the house of *myḥrḥwrmyzd* son of *mʾmy* (2) by virtue of the power of Jesus the healer, by virtue of the power of the mighty *ʾḥny*, bound is the dwelling and the tent (3) and the house and the wife and the sons and the daughters of *myḥrḥwrmyzd* who is called "son of *mʾmy*" …[69]

The text on the bowl is quite legible and it follows a common structure and uses common terminology, so there has been no significant debate on the reading or translation, except for the invocation of 'Jesus the healer' and 'the mighty *ʾḥny*'. Montgomery, in his publication of CBS 9012, emended *ʾḥny* to *ʾḥyny*, 'my relative' or 'my cousin', arguing that the practitioner thus claims kinship to the powerful healer.[70] However, while this is possible, it does appear somewhat speculative. I prefer Moriggi's interpretation of *ʾḥny* as a power name, one of the many unidentified *nomina barbara* in this genre.[71]

The identity of this 'Jesus the healer' remains uncertain. Montgomery understood him to be the famous, much-referenced Joshua bar Peraḥya, as *ʾsy*',

65 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, p. 47.

66 B. Levine, 'The Language of the Magical Bowls', in J. Neusner (ed.), *A History of the Jews in Babylonia: V. Later Sasanian Times* (Leiden, 1970), pp. 343–373 (372).

67 See more below.

68 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, pp. 47–49.

69 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, p. 48.

70 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, pp. 231–233. See also Hamilton, 'Syriac Incantation Bowls', p. 105.

71 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, pp. 48–49.

'healer' or 'physician', is a common epithet in the incantation bowls and in another bowl found to describe Joshua bar Peraḥya.[72] Victor Hamilton was less adamant, proposing either Joshua bar Peraḥya or Jesus Christ as possible identifications.[73] Markham J. Geller suggested that this bowl is part of a wider tradition in Late Antiquity that centred on the healing abilities of Jesus of Nazareth.[74] More recently, Maria Gorea and Gaby Abousamra note that this is an invocation of Jesus Christ, but without further discussion or comment,[75] while Moriggi declines to express an opinion on this.[76] In the end, a definitive identification is impossible. As Montgomery noted, *'sy'* is a common epithet; for instance, it is used later in CBS 9012 as an epithet for the angel Michael, as well as among lists of powerful beings in CBS 16097 and BnF Syr 400/2.[77] So, in terms of Frankfurter's framework, the second tier escapes us in this case.

However, if the names or epithets remain vague, perhaps the motif or the structure of the incantation can help. The segment itself is fairly simple, consisting of two figures with an epithet, each of which is being invoked because of his *ḥyl*, 'power'. The motif of powerful agents is again common in amulets,[78] so 'Jesus the healer' has both an ordinary epithet and an ordinary motif here. Moreover, this simple motif for agency is repeated for *'ḥny*, and the parallel structure in the segment places 'Jesus the healer' on a par with 'the mighty *'ḥny*'. So, while the identity of or reference to 'Jesus the healer' remains uncertain, he is characterised by being invoked in parallel with another figure and by the common or generic apotropaic qualities that are ascribed to him. This parallels what de Bruyn finds in Greco-Egyptian amulets, where invocations of Jesus typically consist of only the name and a generic epithet.[79] Some of his examples

72 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, p. 233.

73 Hamilton, 'Syriac Incantation Bowls', pp. 96 and 139.

74 M.J. Geller, 'Jesus' Theurgic Powers: Parallels in the Talmud and Incantation Bowls', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 28 (1977), pp. 141–155 (153). See also N.H. Korsvoll, '*Jesus of Nazareth* Revisited: Markham J. Geller's Apotropaic Jesus Forty Years Later', *Journal of the Jesus Movement in its Jewish Setting* 6 (2019), pp. 88–109.

75 Gorea, 'Coupes magiques', p. 114; G. Abousamra, 'Coupe de prière syriaque chrétienne', *Parole de l'orient* 35 (2010), pp. 23–34 (28).

76 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, pp. 48–49.

77 CBS 9012, line 7 (Moriggi, *A Corpus*, p. 48); CBS 16097, line 9 (Moriggi, *A Corpus*, p. 53); BnF Syr 400/2, line 48 (Gignoux, *Incantations*, pp. 34–35).

78 See, e.g., Moriggi, *A Corpus*, p. 232; Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, p. 270.

79 T. de Bruyn, 'Ancient Applied Christology: Appeals to Christ in Greek Amulets in Late Antiquity', in E.M. Leonard and K. Merriman (eds), *From Logos to Christos: Essays on Christology in Honour of Joanne McWilliam* (Waterloo, ON, 2010), pp. 3–18 (4–5); de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian*, pp. 70–71.

include liturgical language, but this is not the case for CBS 9012 where both Jesus' epithet and the reference to his power are common, apotropaic qualities.

4.2 *Moses and the Red Sea*

For my second example, I continue along the spiralled text of CBS 9012 to its apparent reference to Moses and the parting of the Red Sea. As with 'Jesus the healer', the text is well-preserved and quite legible, so there is little disagreement as to its reading:

> *ʾsyr wḥtym* (4) *ʾyk dʾmr mwšʾ lymʾ dswp wqmw ʾyk šwrʾ dmn trwyhwn gysẗ*
>
> Bound and sealed is (4) as said Moses to the Red Sea and stood (the waters) like walls that (were) on both sides.[80]

These lines are preceded by the earlier quotation, and then followed by a similarly structured adjuration calling on the word of God and divine order. It has been proposed that this adjuration is also based on a biblical reference, but this has not yet been fully explored.[81]

Returning to the cited excerpt, it is evidently not Exodus 14:21–22 *verbatim*. As opposed to the previous case, however, there are enough elements to direct us to the specific story. But this raises the question of whether the second tier, in this case, is the wider Exodus narrative, or whether it is an apotropaic motif, or a miracle story, or something else?

Turning again to its function, this passage is another example of a *historiola*, where the story serves as a precedent for what the adjuration wants to achieve.[82] Broken down according to Frankfurter's framework, there is the *historiola* (tier 3), relying on the story of Moses parting the Red Sea (tier 2), which communicates salvation, divine power, divine protection, etc. (tier 1). However, as I noted earlier, scholars debate the reference versus the narrative in ancient *historiolae*, and, while the reference here is clear enough, there is not much of an actual narrative or story; there is no dialogue, no sequence of events, and no story arc to serve as exemplar for the subjugation that the segment seeks to

80 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, p. 48.

81 See, e.g., Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, p. 233; Hamilton, 'Syriac Incantation Bowls', p. 139.

82 See also Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, p. 64; Levine, 'The Language', pp. 374–375; Moriggi, *A Corpus*, p. 47.

establish. As such, the reference to Moses and the Red Sea may just as well be considered an apotropaic motif, rather than a *historiola*.

Frankfurter calls such cases 'clausal *historiolae*', setting them apart from '*historiolae* proper'. The latter include actual narratives, whereas clausal *historiolae* are 'a subsidiary invocation to a directive utterance, a command or prayer'.[83] This distinction does not help us to discern the exact nature of the reference to Moses and the Red Sea in CBS 9012, but the reference does compare better with a clausal *historiola*'s emphasis on invocation and command. Hence, it appears to lean more towards the emphasis on figures formulated in Najman's 'Mosaic discourse', rather than the canonical narrative in Exodus 14:21–22.

4.3 *Other (Biblical) Figures: Noah and Solomon*

Turning to another Syriac incantation bowl, AO 207964-O, its invocations of Noah and Solomon are remarkably like that of Moses above; indeed, the two segments of text and the structure of the incantation as a whole are both similar to what we saw in CBS 9012. There are several studies of AO 207964-O, but here I again present the excerpt from Moriggi's transliteration and translation:

> (10) … *ʾsyr wḥtym bʿyzqtʾ dḥtymʾ bh šmyʾ wʾrʿ wbḥtmʾ dḥtmh nwḥ lkywlh wbʿ*[*y*]*zqth dšlymwn* (11) *dḥtymyn bh šʾdʾ wdÿwʾ wbḥtmʾ rbʾ ḥtymyn ḥtymyn mzrzyn wmšrryn qmʿyʾ hlÿn* …
>
> (10) … Bound and sealed by the signet ring by which heaven and earth are sealed and by the seal by which Noah sealed his ark and by the signet ring of Solomon (11) by which demons and devils are sealed and by the great seal are sealed, sealed, armed and made strong these amulets …[84]

The bowl is similar in size to CBS 9012, with a diameter of 17.5 cm and thirteen lines of text, but it differs in that it is written in Estrangela script.[85]

The bowl belongs to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC, and it is held at the National Museum of Natural History. It was acquired in 1900/01, following its purchase from the Rev. Gabriel Oussani, and hails from Hillah, the capital of Babylon Province that is situated to the south of ancient Babylon.[86]

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83 Frankfurter, 'Narrating Power', p. 469. See also Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 113; de Bruyn, 'Christian Apocryphal', p. 166.

84 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, pp. 139–140.

85 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, p. 138. It also has some rather remarkable drawings and symbols, which I do not discuss here.

86 'Incantation Bowl, inscribed in Syriac', *Smithsonian Institution*, Washington D.C. Entry last



FIGURE 6.3 AO 207964-O. Catalogue no: A207964
PHOTOGRAPH: COURTESY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. PHOTOGRAPHER: DONALD. E. HURLBERT

Starting with Noah, this is again an invocation of a biblical figure with reference to a specific (and popular) story, but without any actual narrative features; hence, it functions as a clausal *historiola*. Given the brief reference to the ark, it is again difficult to ascertain if this points to Genesis 6–9 specifically, or if it draws on the wealth of apotropaic topics and traditions linked to Noah that can be found in other sources.[87] This is even more evident when it comes to

modified: 07.12.2016. Entry read: 20.09.2020. URL: https://www.si.edu/object/incantation-bowl-inscribed-syriac:nmnhanthropology_8046135.

87 See, e.g., M.D. Swartz, 'Magical Piety in Ancient and Medieval Judaism', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 167–183 (172–173); Juusola, 'Who Wrote', pp. 83–84; J. VanderKam, 'The Demons in the *Book of Jubilees*', in

the following reference to Solomon, around whom there was, and indeed still is, an extensive lore concerning apotropaic or magic powers. Especially linked to his seal or ring (for instance, he appears, as I noted earlier, in CBS 9012).[88] Returning to the two references in AO 207964-O (tier 3), they both clearly draw on themes of divine power and salvation (tier 1), but it remains unclear which part of the culture's current circumstance carries this (tier 2). As with Moses and the Red Sea, there are several possibilities, but being clausal *historiolae* I again find it most likely that the (biblical) figure(s) here are the lynchpins, and not the biblical narratives that they also appear in.

4.4 *Biblical Formulae*

Moving on, amulets also use (biblical) formulae or formulaic language, which is another well-known link to institutional religion or practice.[89] My example here is the phrase (*mn hš*) *wl'lm 'lmyn*, '(from now) and forever and ever', which appears throughout both Jewish and Christian tradition,[90] as well as in numerous other amulets and incantation bowls.[91] I find it in six of the published Syriac amulets from Late Antiquity,[92] but restrict myself to two cases.

First, there is BnF Syr 400/1, which is one of three leather amulets made for the client '*kwrwhz'd*, called *yzd'nz'dg*, daughter of *dynq*'. They were given to the Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, currently the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), by Mohsen Foroughi, who had acquired them in Iran. BnF Syr 400/1–2 was acquired in 1972, while the third amulet appeared some years later. All three were published by Philippe Gignoux in

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A. Lange, H. Licthenberger and D. Römheld (eds), *Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment* (Tübingen, 2003), pp. 339–364 (339–344).

88 See, e.g., Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 93–105; P.A. Torijano, 'Solomon and Magic', in J. Verheyden (ed.), *The Figure of Solomon in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Tradition: King, Sage and Architect* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 107–126 (108–115); R. Boustan and M. Beshay, 'Sealing the Demons, Once and For All: The Ring of Solomon, the Cross of Christ, and the Power of Biblical Kingship', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 16 (2015), pp. 99–129.

89 See, e.g., J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 28–29; de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian*, pp. 184–185.

90 See, e.g., A. Lehnardt, *Qaddish: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Rezeption eines rabbinischen Gebetes* (Tübingen, 2002), pp. 54–55; H. van de Sandt and D. Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis, 2002), pp. 294–295; L.J. Johnson, *Worship in the Early Church: An Anthology of Historical Sources* 1 (Collegeville, MN, 2009), p. 37.

91 Shaked, Ford and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, p. 21; Lanfer, 'Why Biblical Scholars', p. 20.

92 BnF Syr 400/1 and BnF Syr 400/2, in Gignoux, *Incantations*; IBC 3, IM 142513, AO 207964-O and 4 N 161, in Moriggi, *A Corpus*.



FIGURE 6.4
BnF Syr 400/1
PHOTOGRAPH: COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

1987.[93] BnF Syr 400/1 measures 27 by 9 cm, contains 92 lines of text, and came to the museum rolled up in a cylindrical brass container.[94]

The text is a standard combination of adjurations and invocations, in Estrangela script and surrounded by a border. The forever-and-ever formula concludes a brief, separate adjuration at the top of the amulet:

(3a) … *wptkrwt' ttbṭl*
(4a) *mn hd' yzd'nz'dg bt dynq mn hš wl'lm*
(5a) *'lmyn 'myn 'myn slḥ*

(3a) … et que l'idolâtrie soit anéantie,
(4a) loin de cette Yazdān-zādag, fille de Dēnag, à partir de maintenant et pour les siècles
(5a) des siècles. Amin, amin, Selah.[95]

My second example comes from AO 207964-O, which I introduced in the previous section. Here too the phrase comes at the very end of the incantation, closing a doxology:

(13) … *'n' ktbty 'lh' n's' mn hš wl'lm 'yn w'myn 'myn 'myn slḥ*

(13) … I wrote, God heals, from now and forever, yes and amen, amen, amen, selah.[96]

In brief, these cases show that while the phrase is recognisable across specimens, it is not fixed—the exact wording varies—but it is always used to conclude segments or texts, herein mirroring its use in liturgy and biblical texts.

It is reasonable to conclude, as many have indeed done, that the amulets engage with or draw on liturgical practice and/or biblical text, which would be the relevant cultural circumstances in tier 2. However, this and other similar formulae are also found in numerous other contexts. For instance, Syriac manuscripts are known for their extensive colophons, comments, and *scholia*, and these are 'often followed by a doxology'.[97] Typically, older studies paid

93 Gignoux, *Incantations*, p. 2.
94 Gignoux, *Incantations*, p. 2.
95 Gignoux, *Incantations*, pp. 18–19.
96 Moriggi, *A Corpus*, p. 140.
97 M. Mundell Mango, 'The Production of Syriac Manuscripts, 400–700 AD', in G. Cavallo, G. de Gregorio and M. Maniaci (eds), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanto: Atti del seminaro di Erice* (Spoleto, 1991), p. 164.

little attention to these, but increasingly scholars have begun to explore their significance.[98] For instance, Thomas A. Carlson has pointed out that Syriac colophons typically consist of stock phrases, among which liturgical or biblical formulae figure prominently.[99] Indeed, Eva Riad argues that one 'cannot speak of one sacred and one secular literary tradition' in early Syriac scribal tradition, as topics, themes, and scribes overlap.[100] Therefore, rather than seeing biblical formulae as derivatives from liturgy or canonical texts, they may instead be understood as part and parcel of written expression. Certainly, the formulae are special in that they are connected with ritual agency, but this in fact only makes sense since the written word in and of itself was thought to hold agency in Antiquity.[101]

5 Discussion and Outlook: A Shared *Storied Universe*

Revisiting the above examples of biblical references and motifs in late-antique Syriac amulets, my aim was to explore them as manifestations of, rather than derivations from, stories and figures found also in the Bible. Using Frankfurter's analytical framework, I propose that they draw on a broader authoritative discourse of precedent, wherein the biblical canon played an important but not exclusive part. Sanzo paints a similar picture from late-antique Egypt, where he finds that the personal taste or creativity of the amulet maker seems to guide 'the apotropaic, exorcistic, and curative uses of names, especially names of famous figures associated with long-standing traditions'.[102] Similarly, Sara Ronis understands late-antique Talmudic demonology as 'cultural interactions and transcultural tropes, as different groups of Late Antique Jews adopt, adapt and reject diverse cultural options available to them in the cosmopolitan com-

98 See, e.g., E. Riad, *Studies in the Syriac Preface* (Uppsala, 1988), p. 15; T.A. Carlson, 'Formulaic Prose? Rhetoric and Meaning in Late Medieval Syriac Manuscript Colophons', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 18 (2015), pp. 379–398 (381–382); E. Mroczek, 'The End of the Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Greek Codices, and Syriac Manuscripts', in L.I. Lied and H. Lundhaug (eds), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology* (Berlin, 2017), p. 300.

99 Carlson, 'Formulaic Prose?', pp. 383–387.

100 Riad, *Studies*, p. 13.

101 See, e.g., Frankfurter, 'Spell and Speech Act'; S.B. Noegel, '"Sign, Sign, Everywhere a Sign": Script, Power, and Interpretation in the Ancient Near East', in A. Annus (ed.), *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World* (Chicago, 2010), pp. 143–162.

102 Sanzo, 'The Innovative Use', p. 87.

munities in which they lived'.[103] The variations in type and form suggest that such a freedom also existed in regard to the Syriac amulets; however, there are also some shared features that, necessarily, demarcate their authoritative discourse of precedent.

First, the relevant themes or principles behind the discourse are, unsurprisingly, salvation, divine power, or divine protection. These themes are well-documented in ancient amulets,[104] so it is no surprise to find that the figures or stories dealt with here also point towards these principles in their first tier. The amulets aim to protect and to heal, and therefore naturally appeal to notions of protection and healing. Second, the absence of long lists of names is noteworthy because this was an otherwise common and time-honoured form of invocation in late-antique amulets.[105] For instance, Bohak discusses how such lists suggest that the names functioned simply as power names or *nomina barbara*, without any explicit reference.[106] This is, of course, a conjecture, but such lists hold no signs of references or connections to a second tier. Therefore, the lack of such invocations in Syriac amulets suggests that the figures and motifs here do indeed carry meaningful reference(s) to an authoritative discourse of precedent, which is somehow anchored in their culture's current circumstances. But what can we learn about it?

My final observation is that the references and invocations are brief, flexible, and, at the risk of repeating myself, not necessarily linked to a specific biblical passage. Jesus the healer, Noah, and Solomon are all identified by epithets that link them to known stories or story-clusters, but not necessarily to a specific one. Moses and the Red Sea is specific, but the function seems again to be identifying the figure rather than rendering a special narrative. Moreover, in their respective spells, the figures are placed parallel to other figures of power—suggesting a more open and diverse authoritative discourse of precedent than that enshrined in canonical scripture. Likewise, the forever-and-ever formula is recognisable across the amulets, both in form and use, but also across other genres of writing, both sacral and secular.

In fact, returning to Sanzo, he argues that the ambiguity or openness of several of the references in late-antique amulets may well be intentional:

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103 S. Ronis, 'Intermediary Beings in Late Antique Judaism: A History of Scholarship', *Currents in Biblical Research* 14 (2015), pp. 94–120 (96).

104 See, e.g., Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, pp. 22–31; de Bruyn and Dijkstra, 'Greek Amulets', pp. 184–195.

105 T. Harviainen, 'Syncretistic and Confessional Features in Mesopotamian Incantation Bowls', in *Studia Orientalia* 70 (Helsinki, 1993), pp. 29–37 (33); Versnel, 'The Poetics', p. 117.

106 Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 254–257.

> In addition, the ubiquity of the amuletic use of Mt 4:23/9:35, which makes a general reference to the many healings of Jesus in Galilee, may be related to the passage's open-endedness and, hence, capacity for allowing practitioners to invent new Jesus traditions about healing and/or appropriate local non-canonical tales for their rituals.[107]

This resonates with my examples from the Syriac amulets, where the figures are included as independent entities, but with short and generic epithets that could have been salient to a variety of local traditions. Thus, recasting the biblical references or motifs as parts of a somehow broader, authoritative tradition helps explain the thematic orientation, the fluid format, and the parallels with non-biblical stories. This, in turn, suggests that the amulets operate within something like a *storied universe*, where figures, with associated qualities or stories, can be accessed according to specific needs or topical relevance, without hailing to one specific religion or tradition.

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107 Sanzo, 'The Innovative Use', p. 84.

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CHAPTER 7

Soundings in the Textual History of Syriac Amulets

David Calabro

1 Introduction

In northern Mesopotamia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries CE, there circulated among Syriac-speaking Christian communities a large number of charms against various dangers and maladies. These charms were inscribed on scrolls and small codices, which clients would wear as a protection.[1] The codices, which could contain any number of charms from twelve to over seventy, are conventionally known by the title *Book of Protection*, reflecting the Syriac *Ktābtā d-núṭārā da-bnaynāšā* 'Writing of the protection of humans'.[2] The precise number of charms is still unknown, but a conservative estimate would be around eighty-five.[3]

From the colophons of these manuscripts, we know that they were typically produced by priests, and sometimes by deacons and sons of priests. The powers invoked in the charms are saliently Christian, including Christ, the Virgin Mary, and various saints. However, the texts are part of a long tradition of Aramaic and Semitic apotropaic magic, which can be detected in the names of demons, the use of ancient formulae for binding and expelling evil powers, and the basic structure of many of the charms.[4] Versions of some

1 The production of the codices for clients is attested in the colophons of many of the manuscripts. Typically, these refer to the client formulaically as 'the blessed youth, the beautiful shoot' (ܥܘܠܡܐ ܒܪܝܟܐ ܘܫܦܝܪܐ ܕܫܒܝܚ) and include his name. In some cases, blank spaces are left for the names of the client, his father, his mother, and his home town, which are filled in later. Secondary circulation of the codices is also frequently attested, as the original client's name is blotted or scratched out and replaced by another name. The manuscripts' small size (typically around 8×6 cm) and heavy wear support the assumption that the clients would keep them on their persons, as implied by the phrase 'the bearer of these amulets' (ܒܥܠ ܩܛܝܥܐ ܗܠܝܢ) that appears in the text of the charms.

2 Many variations of this title appear in the manuscripts. This is part of the overall variation we find in the manuscripts, which is explored at length below.

3 See Zellmann-Rohrer's contribution to this volume.

4 See A. Lyavdansky, 'Syriac Charms in Near Eastern Context: Tracing the Origin of Formulas', in T.A. Mikhailova, J. Roper, A.L. Toporkov, and D.S. Nikolayev (eds), *Oral Charms in Structural and Comparative Light: Proceedings of the Conference of the International Society for Folk Narrative Researches (ISFNR), Committee on Charms, Charmers and Charming, 27–29 October, Moscow* (Moscow, 2011), pp. 15–21.

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of the charms have also been found in ancient contexts at Turfan and at Hadath Grotto in Lebanon.[5]

As soon as we start comparing different manuscripts of the Book of Protection, one of the most striking things we notice is the high degree of variation between them. For example, the Anathema of Mar ʿAbdishoʿ shows such drastic variation that the prospect of a critical edition of the charm would seem impractical. Even the revealed names of power that are used to bind the evil spirit in this charm vary, not only in spelling but in the selection and number of names, so that one might wonder how a copyist could ensure the effectiveness of the charm while taking such liberties. Yet not all charms vary to such a degree. The Prayer of Adam, for instance, is textually stable from one manuscript to another. Thus, one of the main problems associated with the Book of Protection is that of explaining why some portions are textually stable while others are not. Specifically, the contrast between drastic textual variation, on the one hand, and textual stability, on the other, raises questions such as the following:

1. Does the variation or stability attach to certain types of charms? For instance, is it the case that named anathemas, like the Anathema of Mar ʿAbdishoʿ, are especially prone to variation, while charms linked to biblical tradition, like the Prayer of Adam, are inclined to stability?
2. Is variation linked to the age of the charm? That is, would older charms tend to vary more, while newer ones would be more stable because they have had less time to change through transmission? (If this is true, we would expect the charm Binding the Guns and the Engine of War, which is obviously a newer charm because it is tied to newer technology, to be very stable.)

A related problem arising from the high degree of textual variation is that of the categorisation of the charms. For instance, do charms to protect cattle from harmful creatures and from the Evil Eye align more with charms against harmful creatures and the Evil Eye, or with charms for cattle? Some manuscript evidence also implies that charms for a man called to stand before a magistrate may belong to a general category of charms for binding the tongues of slanderers, and this may in turn be part of a larger category including charms

5 G. Abousamra, 'Two Syriac Amulets from Hadath Grotto (Qadisha)', *Parole de l'Orient* 38 (2013): 213–230; E. Hunter, 'Traversing Time and Location: A Prayer-Amulet of Mar Tamsis from Turfan', in Li Tang and Dietmar W. Winkler (eds), *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (Vienna and Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2013), pp. 25–40.

to protect against sorcery.[6] Establishing the categories of charms may help to clarify whether certain categories are more prone to variation than others. This categorisation should be based not only on the rubrics of the charms (which vary and can be misleading), but also on a comparison of the text of the charms, with special attention to their structure.

Previous studies on the textual history of the charms are very few, and none have focused on the textual differences between manuscripts. Erica Hunter has published a form-critical study of selected anathemas found in nine manuscripts.[7] This study focuses on structural aspects, illuminating a four-part structure frequently found in anathemas attributed to saints. The focus on structure is appropriate, as we shall see below, for these charms tend to share a common structure despite the wide range of textual variation. In addition, Alexey Lyavdansky and Heleen Murre-Van den Berg discuss the long-range history of some formulas used in the Book of Protection, tracing these formulas to earlier Jewish, Islamic, and ancient Mesopotamian texts.[8]

The present study draws on sixteen manuscripts, which contain a total of 639 charms (including repeated instances of the same charm).[9] These charms were cataloged according to their rubrics, then sorted into categories. Some charms, such as named anathemas, were also sorted by individual charm; others were ambiguous due to variation in the rubrics and could not be reliably differentiated beyond subject categories like anti-weapon charms and charms against reptiles. Eleven of the sixteen manuscripts are dated, allowing the charms to be further sorted in chronological order. This allows a view of historical development spanning about a century and a half, from 1734 (the date of the earliest manuscript at my disposal, BnF Ms Syr 347) to 1883 (the date of the last manuscript, DFM 417). In this study, I begin the task of comparing and sort-

6 In the manuscript Rylands Ms Syr 52, the rubrics of some charms mention binding the tongues of rulers, Muslims, and those who deny the Christian faith.

7 E. Hunter, 'Saints in Syriac Anathemas: A Form-Critical Analysis of Role', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32/1 (1987): pp. 83–104; see also H. Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures: The Church of the East in the Eastern Ottoman Provinces* (*1500–1850*) (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), pp. 210–211. The nine manuscripts employed in Hunter's study are Berlin Ms Or Oct 553, Berlin Sachau 95, BL Ms Or 6673, Cambridge Ms Syr Add 3086, Gollancz A, Gollancz B, Houghton Syr 159, Mingana Ms 316, and Mingana Ms 583.

8 Lyavdansky, 'Syriac Charms'; Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, p. 211.

9 The manuscripts are as follows: Berlin Ms Or Oct 553 (dated 1800), Berlin Sachau 95 (dated 1779), BnF Ms Syr 347 (dated 1734), Cambridge Ms Syr Add 3086 (undated), CSDMA 16 (dated 1837), CSDMA 18 (undated), DFM 417 (dated ca. 1883), Gollancz A (dated 1803), Gollancz B (undated), Houghton Syr 156 (dated 1827), Houghton Syr 160 (dated 1804), Houghton Syr 162 (undated), Houghton Syr 163 (dated 1809), Houghton Syr 165 (undated), Rylands Ms Syr 52 (two parts dated 1795 and 1851), Vienna Hs Syr 7 (dated 1826).

ing out the individual charms to describe their textual history. Specifically, I will focus on three things: (1) introductory prayers, (2) an anathema known as the Anathema of the Gospel, and (3) anti-weapon charms. I will argue that the Book of Protection seems to resist, by nature, a rigid textual stemma; rather, the study of its textual history leads us to an anthropology of the creation and use of the charms.

2 Four Introductory Prayers

Most manuscripts of the Book of Protection open with four short introductory prayers: the Prayer of the Shepherds (quoting from the words of the heavenly host in Luke 2:14), the Lord's Prayer (quoting from Matthew 6:9–13), the Prayer of Adam, and the Prayer of the Angels, almost always in that order.[10] Some manuscripts include additional material at the very beginning (see below), and some omit one or more of the introductory prayers, but this combination of four prayers is common enough that it may be considered standard. Following these prayers are the charms of the book proper, usually starting with the Anathema of the Gospel.

In six manuscripts, a loose conglomerate of prayer formulae, beginning with an invocation of the Trinity and the Trisagion, is added at the beginning. Although this material occurs in the earliest manuscripts, it contrasts sharply with the four standard introductory prayers in its high degree of textual variation. Indeed, in the earliest manuscript available for study, BnF Ms Syr 347, this material consists only of the invocation and the Trisagion, and it is unclear whether it was intended as a distinct text. Thus it is appropriate to treat the four standard introductory prayers independently of this initial material.

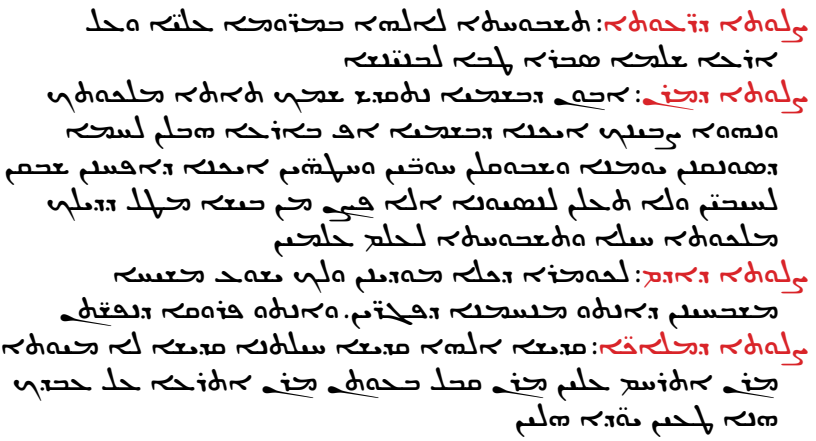
The four standard introductory prayers are in reverse chronological sequence, implicitly performing a process of accretion in which prayers have been added to the beginning of the book over time. The Prayer of the Angels is presumably primordial or timeless, the Prayer of Adam has an implicit setting after the expulsion from Paradise,[11] and the Lord's Prayer is from the Sermon

10 The one exception is CSDMA 16, in which the Prayer of the Angels precedes the Prayer of Adam.

11 The prayer mentions Jesus Christ in his role as the Saviour, which would fit with a setting after God has taught Adam about the future coming of Christ, as attested in the *Cave of Treasures* and in the Arabic *Combat of Adam and Eve with Satan*. The wider context in the Book of Protection implies that the prayer is meant to help access God's protection, which would be appropriate after the expulsion, when Adam and Eve began to encounter tribu-

on the Mount during his ministry. The Prayer of the Shepherds also fits with this reverse sequence, following the canonical order of the Gospels rather than a harmonised chronology of the life of Christ.

These four introductory prayers are among the most textually stable parts of the Book of Protection. Textual variation occurs commonly enough from one manuscript to the next, but the variation is relatively minor. Indeed, it is possible to posit an original text of these prayers:



Prayer of the Shepherds: Praise to God in the exalted heights, and on earth peace, good will to humankind.

Prayer of Our Lord: Our Father who is in heaven, may your name be sanctified. May your kingdom come, may your will be done—as in heaven, so on earth. Give us the bread we need daily, and forgive us our debts and our sins, even as we have forgiven our debtors. And do not lead us into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for yours is the kingdom, the power, and the praise forever and ever.

Prayer of Adam: You, O Lord of All, we thank. And you, Jesus Christ, we praise; for you are the Reviver of our bodies, and you are the Saviour of our souls.

Prayer of the Angels: Holy God, Omnipotent Holy One, Immortal Holy One! Our Lord, have mercy on us! Our Lord, receive our supplication! Our Lord, be pleased with this servant of yours who bears these charms!

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lations, darkness, and attacks from Satan. Also note that the prayer is in the first-person plural, which implies that the prayer is offered by Adam and Eve together.

In the earliest manuscript available for study, BnF Ms Syr 347, all of the prayers lack titles (although the charms of the text proper do have titles), so it is an open question whether the titles were an original feature of the text of these prayers. Without the titles, there is nothing in the Prayer of Adam and the Prayer of the Angels to connect these prayers with Adam and the angels, although these identifications may have been transmitted orally.

Of these prayers, only the Prayer of the Angels shows significant textual variation. In some versions, the first word, ܩܕܝܫܐ, is reinterpreted as part of the title and rendered as a plural form (with Seyame), so the title becomes 'Prayer of the Holy Angels'. This changes the syntax of the beginning of the charm to ܐܠܗܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܟܠ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ 'Holy God, Holy Omnipotent One, Immortal One' (this is the reading according to Gollancz A, dated 1803).[12] This variation is minor compared to what we find elsewhere in the book.

Several factors may contribute to the textual stability of these introductory prayers. Each of them is very short. They also occur at the very beginning of the book, which may make them easier to retain in memory than charms that occur later in the book. Two of them, namely the Prayer of the Shepherds and the Lord's Prayer, are quoted from scripture (both appear to be based on the New Testament Peshiṭta); this tie to a preexisting text would undoubtedly help to keep textual variation in check. Yet the link to the biblical text need not have required a process of copying from one book to another; instead, it may have been based on memory. These are well-known passages, quoted in the liturgy and likely used in sermons and in private discourse. These characteristics—the shortness of the texts, the occurrence at the beginning of the book, and the link to well-known biblical texts—suggest that the textual stability of these introductory prayers may fit with a process of spontaneous and creative production, as implied by other charms that exhibit a much higher degree of variation.

3 Anathema of the Gospel

The Anathema of the Gospel (ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ), said in one early rubric to be 'useful against all maladies' (ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܠܟܠ ܚܫܐ, Berlin Sachau 95, dated 1779), is typically the first charm of the Book of Protection after the introductory prayers.

12 Houghton Syr 163, dated 1809, adopts the longer form of the title (ending with ܩܕܝܫܐ) while retaining the original reading of the opening words (beginning with ܩܕܝܫܐ).

Unlike the introductory prayers, the Anathema of the Gospel shows a great deal of textual variation, from paraphrasing and the transposition of phrases to the addition or omission of whole sections. Only manuscripts written by the same scribe show a high degree of similarity. However, what all the manuscript witnesses of this charm do share is a common structural core. This core consists of two parts: (1) a quotation from John 1:1–5; and (2) an invocation of names of power to protect the bearer of the book from evil, beginning with the formula ܒܫܘܠܛܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܫܪ ܡܠܝ̈ܐ ܩܕܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ‘By the power of these ten holy words’ or a variation of this formula.[13] These two structural elements always occur at the beginning of the charm, one immediately after the other.

Despite the great degree of textual variation evident in this charm, the very beginning, which consists of a quotation of John 1:1–5 (based on the New Testament Peshiṭta), is textually stable. This is exactly like the first two introductory prayers, being a quotation of a well-known biblical passage at the beginning of the charm. Therefore, the degree of textual stability in the Anathema of the Gospel decreases as one proceeds further into the charm, from the textually stable biblical quotation at the very beginning to the textually variable but structurally stable invocation of names of power, and finally to the addition of different sections at the end.

In the earliest available witness to this charm, BnF Ms Syr 347, the invocation of names (which is much shorter than all subsequent witnesses) is followed by a continuation of the quotation from John 1, including verses 6–15.[14] There is no picture or other decoration. A gap of about 45 years separates this early witness

13 The manuscript Vienna Hs Syr 7 is exceptional, including only the quotation from John 1:1–5. Gollancz assumed that the ‘ten words’ are the Ten Commandments; see H. Gollancz, *The Book of Protection* (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), p. lxii. However, the pronoun ‘these’ implies that the words are taken from John 1:1–5. Further, this formula also occurs in the charm Binding the Guns and the Engine of War in Houghton Syr 163, and there it is also explicitly linked to John 1:1–5. The ‘ten words’ are most likely the repeated names referring to God in this passage: three instances of ‘the Word’, three instances of ‘God’, two instances of ‘the Life’, and two instances of ‘the Light’. The Syriac words, in order of appearance, are as follows: ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ, ܚܝܐ, ܚܝܐ, ܢܘܗܪܐ, ܢܘܗܪܐ.

14 The invocation of names ends with ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ at the bottom of fol. 4^{r}, then the continuation of the quotation starting with John 1:6 begins at the top of fol. 4^{v}. Thus, rather than viewing the structure of the charm as a long quotation from John 1 with the invocation of names inserted in the middle, we should view it as essentially bipartite: The two-element structural core forms the first part, and the continuation of the quotation from John 1 is tacked on as a second part. Unfortunately, the leaf containing the end of this charm is wanting.

from our next dated manuscript. Following this period, we see two branches of development. Some manuscripts set some of the text near the beginning of the charm inside a grid and add a picture of the four evangelists.[15] These manuscripts end after the invocation of names. Other manuscripts have no grid or picture, but they include a separate section, entitled ܒܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܡܬܝ 'Gospel of Matthew' (or a variation of this title) and quoting passages from Matthew and Mark (Matthew 10:7–10; Mark 16:15–18; Matthew 28:18–20; Mark 6:13) plus some additional material. We can refer to these two branches of development as Groups 1 and 2 respectively. The distribution is as follows:

Group 1
Berlin Sachau 95 (1779)
Berlin Ms Or Oct 553 (1800)
Gollancz A (1803)
Houghton Syr 160 (1804)
Houghton Syr 156 (1827)

Group 2
Houghton Syr 163 (1809)
Rylands Ms Syr 52, Part 1 (undated)

Some manuscripts vary even more or do not fall into either of these groups. Vienna Hs Syr 7 (dated 1826) has a grid and a picture of the four evangelists but has no invocation of names, including only the quotation from John 1:1–5. CSDMA 16 (dated 1837) has an invocation of names calling upon the four evangelists, but it has no grid or picture of the evangelists; instead, it has a picture of a lone saint holding a censer. DFM 417 (dated 1883) seeks to unite the tradition, including the main elements of Groups 1 and 2: a very long invocation of names, the grid, the picture of the evangelists, and the 'Gospel of Matthew' section.[16] All of this underscores the high degree of variation we see in this charm, aside from the biblical quotation at the beginning.

15 The part of the charm that occurs in the grid is not fixed but varies from one manuscript to the next.

16 DFM 417 is larger than other manuscripts of the Book of Protection, and it is joined to another book consisting of medical remedies. This late manuscript, rather than being an actual Book of Protection, may represent a sort of compendium, assembled in order to preserve the tradition.

4 Anti-weapon Charms

A variety of charms in the Book of Protection are aimed at protecting the bearer of the book from weapons. Some untangling is necessary to gain a clear picture of the repertoire of these charms, since the titles vary and overlap with each other. A comparison of the texts, however, reveals that there are six distinct charms. Two of these are very common in the manuscripts: Binding the Arrows and All Weapons of War (ܚܬܝܡܐ ܕܚܨܐ ܘܟܠ ܙܝܢܐ ܕܩܪܒܐ ܕܡܠܚܡܬܐ), and Binding the Guns and the Engine of War (ܚܬܝܡܐ ܕܡܕܟܝܢܐ ܘܩܠܥ̈ܐ).[17] The following discussion will focus on these two. The other four have only one occurrence each and thus are not susceptible to a description in terms of textual history.[18]

The two common anti-weapon charms vary substantially from one manuscript to the next, yet, unlike many other charms, the variation is limited to the level of the phrase, including the alteration, addition, omission, and transposition of phrases. Each of these two charms has a more complicated structure than the Anathema of the Gospel, containing between eight and nine core elements that are basically constant across the textual witnesses.

The charm Binding the Arrows and All Weapons of War has a structure consisting of nine elements:

1 Invocation of the Trinity
2 Reference to the crucifixion, with a quotation from Psalm 22:2 (as quoted by Jesus on the cross)
3 Quotation from Psalm 46:9: 'He breaks the bows and breaks the spears'
4 Quotation from Psalm 37:15: 'Their sword shall enter into their own heart'
5 Invocation of names of power, including the prophet Elijah
6 Quotation from Psalm 7:13–14: 'He ordains their arrows against the persecutor'
7 Reference to the throne of God
8 Quotation from Psalm 91:5: 'You shall not be afraid of the arrow that flies by day'

17 Both title forms are standardised.

18 These four are as follows: Binding the arrows, swords, spears, and axes (ܚܬܝܡܐ ܕܚܨܐ ܣܝܦ̈ܐ ܪܡ̈ܚܐ ܘܒܛ̈ܐ ܩܠ̈ܥܐ ܘܟ̈ܠ ܙܝܢ̈ܐ ܕܩܪܒ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܚܡ̈ܬܐ, attested only in BnF Ms Syr 347), Binding the swords (ܚܬܝܡܐ ܕܣܝܦ̈ܐ, attested only in Houghton Syr 162), Binding the swords and all weapons of war (ܩܠ̈ܥܐ ܕܚܬܝܡܐ ܕܣܝܦ̈ܐ ܘܟܠ ܙܝܢ̈ܐ ܕܩܪܒ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܚܡ̈ܬܐ, attested only in DFM 417), and Binding the gun of the warriors (ܚܬܝܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܩܠ̈ܥܐ, attested only in Cambridge Ms Syr Add 3086).

9 Reference to the cardinal directions: command that weapons be removed from the bearer of the book 'as far as the east is from the west', etc.

The charm is also typically accompanied by a picture of assorted weapons, including at least one bow and arrow, swords, daggers, spears, and sometimes guns.

There is some question as to whether guns are original to this charm. The focus of the charm, at least in the earlier manuscripts, is definitely arrows. All of the quoted scriptural passages have to do with arrows, except for Psalm 37, which deals with a sword. In addition, lists of weapons in the title and in the body of the charm typically mention arrows first. Guns are often (though not always) mentioned in these lists, but, when they are mentioned, they typically appear at the end of the list. This may suggest a process of accretion in which additional weapons, including guns, tended to be tacked on at the ends of lists. Nevertheless, even the earliest manuscripts mention guns and include them in the accompanying picture, so the incorporation of guns into the charm must have begun before our earliest available evidence.

In three manuscripts, we see a trend toward guns being made the focus of this charm. In Houghton Syr 163 (dated 1809), both the title and the text place guns first in the list of weapons; thus the title reads ܟܬܒܐ ܟܐܦ̈ܐ ܟܚܨ̈ܐ ܟܣܠܝ̈ܬܐ ‘Binding the guns, swords, spears, and daggers’—exactly like some instances of the title for the other major anti-weapon charm, Binding the Guns and the Engine of War. That charm actually follows this one in Houghton Syr 163, with the rubric ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ‘Another binding charm for guns’. Without a textual analysis across manuscripts, it would be easy to confuse these two charms and to fail to recognise the first charm as Binding the Arrows and All Weapons of War. Similarly, the late manuscript DFM 417 (dated 1883) places guns first in the title and in the text of this charm, and the undated first part of Rylands Ms Syr 52 alters the title but not the text in this way. Overall, we can detect in the history of this charm a gradual repurposing of what was originally a protection against arrows as a protection against guns. This makes sense as a response to the growing prevalence of guns during that time.

The charm Binding the Guns and the Engine of War has eight consistent elements:

1 Invocation of the Trinity
2 Quotation from Psalm 29: 'voice of the Lord that cuts the flame of fire'[19]
3 Voice of the Lord against Gog, Magog, Meshech, and Togarmah

19 This opening quotation sets the 'voice of the Lord' theme for the following two elements.

4 Voice of the Lord against the craft of wicked enemies, etc., that they not be moved, heated, or come forth from their mouths against the one bearing these writs, Amen.
5 Matthew 11: Jesus's rebuke of Capernaum
6 Matthew 8: Jesus arose and rebuked the sea
7 By that power I bind, expel, and anathematise the bullets from the one who bears these writs
8 By the prayer of the Holy Virgin, the Mother of Light

There also consistently appears an illustration of guns accompanying this charm.

Some of the variation we see in individual manuscripts shows interesting adaptation to the theme of the charm. In Gollancz A, instead of 'Mother of Light' (ܐܡ ܢܘܗܪܐ) at the end, we have 'Mother of Fire' (ܐܡ ܢܘܪܐ). And in Houghton Syr 163, instead of the usual metathesised form ܛܓܪܡܐ for Togarmah in the third section, we have ܡܫܩ ܓܪܡܐ 'the gun of Garmah'.

Although the degree of variation in these two charms is considerably less than what we see in many others, it is still essentially creative variation within the parameters of a common structure, the difference being that the structure in these cases is more complex, more tightly defined, than in most other charms. The types of variation we see in the anti-weapon charms, which are common to the book as a whole, are significant in understanding how the charms were transmitted. First, we often see variation in the extent of biblical quotations. The basic notion that a particular passage should be quoted is constant, but the one creating a given manuscript might quote briefly or extensively as desired. For example, in Berlin Sachau 95, in Binding the Arrows and All Weapons of War, the quotation from Psalm 22 extends beyond the words of Jesus on the cross from verse 2 (ܐܠܗܝ ܐܠܗܝ ܠܡܐ ܫܒܩܬܢܝ 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?') and includes all of verses 2–3. Second, names of power may be added or omitted at will, but this usually occurs within limited parameters, such as the name of John the Baptist appearing after that of the Virgin Mary. All of this indicates a process of transmission that is highly creative, albeit drawing on deep knowledge of the tradition.

5 Conclusions

I have attempted here to make sense of the different degrees of textual variation we find in the Book of Protection. It is possible to describe a spectrum of textual variation in this book. Some portions are textually stable, such as the introductory prayers and the first part of the Anathema of the Gospel (the quo-

tation from John 1:1–5). These portions tend to be short and are often anchored to a biblical passage. Next along the spectrum, some portions are textually variant but have a complex structure that remains stable, such as the two main anti-weapon charms. These often exhibit variation within limited parameters, such as drawing out or abbreviating the extent of biblical quotations. Finally, we see more drastic structural variation around a common structural core in cases like the Anathema of the Gospel.

Given the drastic differences between manuscripts of the Book of Protection, the classical stemma model is only partially apt for describing the textual history of the book. However, it may be possible to describe the individual charms diachronically in terms of cultural history. When we compare the manuscript witnesses of a given charm, we find that the closest witnesses belong to families of manuscripts produced by the same scribe. These families belong, in turn, to larger groups, which are textually variant but structurally similar. Groups of manuscripts can be compared chronologically to reveal trends in the development of the charms, such as the divergence of the two variant groups of the Anathema of the Gospel and the adaptation of Binding the Arrows and All Weapons of War as a charm against guns.

Overall, this analysis points to a creative manner of production for manuscripts of the Book of Protection. A priest would draw on both personal inspiration and extensive experience with the tradition of the charms in order to produce a manuscript of the book for a client. The process of production of the book was thus similar to the performance of a charm. Rather than invoking the powers of heaven aloud to combat a present evil, the priest would channel this power into the book, which could then be carried to protect the bearer over a long period of time. Such a scenario fits much better with the textual evidence than an alternative scenario of rote copying from a written exemplar.

The creative manner of the book's production has interesting consequences for the classification of some of the charms. For instance, the title and the text may be equally important guides to the classification. The text of both can be varied in order to repurpose a charm. A case in point is the charm labeled 'Binding the Guns …' in Houghton Syr 163 and DFM 417, which is actually Binding the Arrows and All Weapons of War, but with 'guns' (ܩܠܥ̈ܐ) placed first in the title and in the text. The charm following immediately after in Houghton Syr 163, which is genuinely Binding the Guns and the Engine of War, is accordingly labeled 'Another binding charm for guns'. In cases like this, how do we classify the altered text? It is evident that the charm in these manuscripts is meant to be a protection primarily against guns. But from the standpoint of textual history, the charm is really primarily against arrows; indeed, it may originally have had nothing to do with guns at all. I would suggest that while questions of typo-

logy and of textual history force us to classify this text as essentially Binding the Arrows and All Weapons of War, the classification that accords most with the nature of the book itself is as a variant of Binding the Guns and the Engine of War. The classical model of textual history would classify the alteration of the text as an aberration; but, in fact, it is a performative act, purposeful and strategic. Thus the question of textual history, while helping us toward a comprehensive understanding of the repertoire of charms, sets in relief the more fundamental question of the book's real-life function, which is the mechanism for the textual change we see in the manuscripts.

Ultimately, through studying the textual history of these charms, we are able to approach the anthropology of their creation and use over time, which is an important chapter in the cultural history of Syriac magic. More insights are likely to come as the study of the texts progresses.

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CHAPTER 8

Syriac Magic and the Contemporary Christian Milieu: Continuity or Discontinuity?

Gaby Abousamra

1 Introduction[1]

In the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods, there is a well-developed magical tradition written in Christian Aramaic dialects. The extant texts were mainly written on earthenware bowls, although some parchment scrolls and metal lamellae have also been preserved. With the exception of the Christian Palestinian Aramaic texts, most stem from southern Mesopotamia and Khuzestan. More recently, from the eighteenth century, one finds the use of paper scrolls and booklets with Syriac incantatory texts among Middle-Eastern Christian communities, especially in the north of Iraq and Iran. In the present study we will discuss the relationship between the two corpora.

2 Syriac Magical Texts from Late Antiquity

2.1 *Syriac Amulets*

Four Syriac amulets inscribed on parchment or leather have been published to date. Three were written for the same client, a certain Xvarr-Veh-zad called Yazdan-zadag daughter of Denak.[2] They are referred to by their scribe as ܩܡܥܐ "amulet" (Gignoux I 25;[3] Gignoux II 6 [2×], 47, 49) or ܩܛܝܛܐ "writ"

1 Magic bowls numbered T279xxx are published in J.N. Ford, O. Abudraham, 'Syriac and Mandaic Incantation Bowls', in D. Regev, H. Hizmi (eds), *Finds Gone Astray: ADCA Confiscated Items* (Jerusalem, 2018), pp. 75–111 (75–99). The labels Gignoux I, II, III refer to the amulets published by P. Gignoux, *Incantations magiques syriaques* (Louvain and Paris, 1987). The labels Codex A, B, C refer to the texts published in H. Gollancz, *The Book of Protection: Being a Collection of Syriac Charms* (London, 1912; reprint Amsterdam, 1976). The abbreviation *CSIB* refers to Moriggi's *Corpus* (see n. 17).

2 Published in Gignoux, *Incantations magiques syriaques*. See also P. Gignoux, 'Éléments de prosopographie de quelques mōbads sasanides', *Journal Asiatique* 270 (1982), pp. 257–269. Gignoux dated the amulets to the sixth or seventh centuries AD.

3 Gignoux, *Incantations magiques syriaques*, I, 3a written ܩܩܡܥ.

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(Gignoux II 3 [2×]). They contain long lists of angel names and many references to Christian formulae and allusions to the baptismal rite. The fourth, published by Naveh,[4] does not contain any Christian elements. In addition, a Syriac amulet inscribed on a silver lamella is known;[5] its Christian affiliation is indicated by a small slightly elongated cross at the beginning.

2.2 *Syriac Magic Bowls*

The Syriac magic bowls are referred to by their scribes as ܟܣܐ "cup, bowl", ܡܚܟܐ "amulet", ܪܐܙܐ "mystery" or, sometimes, ܡܣܟܠܐ "countercharm", ܟܬܒܐ "writ". They are written in two different scripts: Estrangelo and Manichean. The number of published bowls now stands at around sixty.[6] Some were undoubtedly prepared by Manichaean practitioners,[7] but many show distinctly Christian features.[8] In the following, I will discuss the most important of these.

2.3 *The Sign of the Cross*

The most visible Christian iconographic element in the amulets is the cross. It appears in various forms and in different places in the incantation texts:

- Inserted in the text as a series of seven crosses, designed usually as the sign + (Gignoux II 55; *CSIB* 3:8; 38:9);[9] or in different numbers: one cross (*CSIB* 27:6; MS 1928/54:5),[10] three crosses (T27986:4–5).
- At the end of the text: an amulet ends with a long series of crosses (Gignoux II 56), a bowl with two crosses (T27989:12), and another bowl with six crosses (T27993:10).
- In the center of the bowls[11] there are different forms of crosses,[12] enclosed by a circle or petal motifs.[13] The crosses divide the enclosed space into four

4 J. Naveh, 'A Syriac Amulet on Leather', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 42 (1997), pp. 33–38.

5 Originally published by A. Dupont-Sommer, *La doctrine gnostique de la lettre "Waw" d'après une lamelle araméenne inédite* (Paris, 1946); republished by J. Naveh, S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1985), pp. 62–69 (Amulet 6).

6 See the contribution by Moriggi in this volume for a detailed analysis of the *status quaestionis*.

7 See S. Shaked, 'Manichaean Incantation Bowls in Syriac', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 24 (2000), pp. 58–92.

8 It is rare, however, to find unequivocally Christian client names in these bowls.

9 In T27993:10, the space after the end of the text is very faded; but here too we can likely discern seven crosses.

10 Shaked, 'Manichaean Incantation Bowls in Syriac', p. 75.

11 Especially the bowls in the Manichaean script, most of which come from Nippur; we find only two bowls with Estrangelo script having a cross (*CSIB* 10; *CSIB* 28).

12 We can distinguish some crosses whose base arm is longer than the others (*CSIB* 6; *CSIB* 28; *CSIB* 32; T27989).

13 Bowls with petal motifs (*CSIB* 10; *CSIB* 27; *CSIB* 35; *CSIB* 42).

quarters, which often contain various types of marking: dots (*CSIB* 2), small crosses (*CSIB* 3; *CSIB* 4; *CSIB* 6; *CSIB* 17; *CSIB* 23; *CSIB* 31; *CSIB* 38), or individual letters (*CSIB* 40). In many cases, however, each quarter is blank (*CSIB* 5; *CSIB* 9; *CSIB* 10; *CSIB* 16;[14] *CSIB* 27; *CSIB* 32; *CSIB* 41; *CSIB* 42; T27996).[15] Designs resembling Maltese crosses can also be adduced (*CSIB* 22; *CSIB* 28; T27989).[16] In *CSIB* 30, the text is written in four cartouches approximating the shape of a Maltese cross. Furthermore, in the second cartouche,[17] there are three small circles each divided into four segments by a cross.

– The word ܨܠܝܒܐ "cross" itself is used to protect people and possessions: ܒܝܕ ܚܬܡܟ ܒܟܪܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ... ܨܠܝܒܟ ܕܐܬܪ ܨܠܝܒܐ ... ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܡܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܟ ܕܐܬܪ ܐܢܐ "By your seal, First-Born Son ... of your victorious Cross I am sealed ... by the blood of your New Covenant" (JNF 218:6–7); ܒܝܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܒܝܕ ܚܬܡܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡ ܐܡܝܢ ܨܠܝܒܐ ܕ[ܢ]ܘܗܪܐ ܒܫܡ ܕܝܢ ܘܒܫܡ ܕܝܢ ܘܒܫܡ ܕܝܢ ܗܕܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܣܠܐ ܒܫܡ ܕܣܘܦܝܐ ܕܪܚܡܐ "Sealed and doubly sealed is this house by Yes and Amen, and by the sign of the Cross [of] Light for ever and ever. Amen, Amen, Selah. In the name of the Physician of Mercy" (JNF 223:3–4).[18] We find an allusion to the passion of Christ in Gignoux II:28: ܕܡ ܪܙܐ "the blood of the mystery".

14 Moriggi discerns the circle, but not the cross. Müller-Kessler (quoted by Moriggi) claims there are two crosses and does not mention a circle. See C. Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschaltentexte in der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena, und weitere Nippur-Texte anderer Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden, 2005), p. 148.

15 See also the damaged bowl *CSIB* 39. Such designs also appear, however, in Jewish bowls where there is no reason to believe that either the practitioner or client was Christian; e.g. CBS 16018 in J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantations texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1913), Bowl 19. H. Misgav, 'Jewish-Aramaic Incantation Bowls', in D. Regev, H. Hizmi (eds), *Finds Gone Astray: ADCA Confiscated Items* (Jerusalem, 2018), pp. 53–72 (71), notes the same design in a Jewish pseudo-script bowl (Bowl n. 10; T 27997).

16 In the center is a circle with eight spokes according to Ford. In my opinion, there are four spokes, slightly curved, making a Maltese cross, whose base arm is longer than the others.

17 Counting with M. Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls: Syriac Magical Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia* (Leiden, 2014). Segal (no. 119ES) considers it to be the fourth cartouche. See J.B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London, 2000).

18 Compare the formula ܒܫܡ ܕܣܘܦܝܐ ܕܪܚܡܐ "In the name of the Physician of Mercy" with a similar one: ܒܫܡܟ ܕܝ ܡܪܝ ܐܣܝܐ ܪܚܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܪܚܡܐ "In your name, Lord of Healings, the great healer of mercy". T. Fain, J.N. Ford and A. Lyavdansky, 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls at the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg', *Babel und Bibel* 9 (2016), pp. 289–324 (288–289).

2.4 *The Name of Jesus and His Epithets*

In the Syriac magic bowls reference is made to several of Jesus' epithets.

– The epithet ܐܣܝܐ "healer" is repeated in various bowls invoking Jesus to heal the client: ܒܚܝܠ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܣܝܐ "by the power of Jesus the healer" (*CSIB* 6:2); ܒܫܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܣܝܐ ܒܪ ܚܝܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܓܒܝܪܐ ܘܒܫܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܣܝܐ ܒܪ ܚܝܐ "In the name of the great and mighty and holy Lord, and in the name of Jesus the Physician, Son of Life" (JNF 220:15). The epithet ܐܣܝܐ ܘܚܝܐ ܡܪܦܐ "physician and living healer" (*CSIB* 49:1) is easily identified with Jesus, whose hands are "full of mercies and supplied with grace" (ibid., line 3).[19] Similarly, in the Book of Protection, one finds ܐܣܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܫܐ ܘܟܠ ܡܟܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܒܠܐ ܘܟܠ ܟܝܒܐ "the Physician that heals all pains, the Healer of all sicknesses (and) of all wounds" (Codex C:9). This title of Jesus is well known in Christian liturgy.[20] Bowl T27989 likewise contains a reference to Jesus as healer: [ܐ]ܡܝ ܟܠ ܚܫܐ ܐܣܝ ܟܠ ܚܒܠ "He heals every pain and annuls sickne[sses]" (l. 5). As noted by Ford, the text recalls Matthew 4:23: ܘܐܣܝ ܟܠ ܚܫܐ ܘܟܠ ܡܟܝܐ "and He was healing all sicknesses and all pains" (see also Matthew 9:35; 10:1). This association of Jesus with healing was so strong that we even find a reference to "Jesus the healer" in a Jewish bowl (Wolfe 15:5).

– Jesus is referred to as ܡܫܝܚܐ "Christ" in *CSIB* 27:6; MS 1928/54:5.[21] By his power the patient will arise and be helped. Some Jewish bowls (published and unpublished) refer also to Jesus as Christ: in Moussaieff 155:12, we find ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ where Levene identified ܡܫܝܚܐ as "Christ".[22] There are two unpublished parallels where, instead of ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ, one finds ܝܫܘܥ ܐܣܝܐ "Jesus Christ".

– The epithet ܡܪܝ "Lord" is the most important title of Christ in the New Testament and in Christianity. The same epithet is mentioned in Davidovitz 8:1–2: ܒܚܝܠ ܕܝܠܟ ܡܪܝ ... ܘܥܡ ܡܪܝܡ ܝܠܬܢ "By your power, Our Lord Jesus ... also Our Lady Miryay (Miriam)". Here, the mention of Our Lady Mary is remarkable as it is the first time we find it in such documents from this period; it will be abundantly attested in the late Syriac Christian amulets.

– The epithet ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ "Firstborn Son" appears in a Syriac magic bowl: ܒܚܬܡ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ "By your seal, Firstborn Son" (JNF 218:6–7). It derives

19 See also G. Abousamra, 'Coupe de prière syriaque chrétienne', *Parole de l'Orient* 35 (2010), pp. 27–38.

20 See G. Abousamra, 'A Syriac Magic Bowl', *The Harp* 25 (2010), pp. 185–200.

21 Shaked, 'Manichaean Incantation Bowls in Syriac', p. 75.

22 D. Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia: "May These Curses Go Out and Flee"* (Leiden, 2013), p. 115.

from the use of ܒܟܪܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ "first-born" with respect to Jesus in the New Testament (Romans 8:29; Colossians 1:15, 18; Hebrews 1:6).[23]

– The term ܐܡܝܢ "Amen" appears in *CSIB* 2, written on the right side of the chest of a standing human figure drawn parallel to the rim. On the left side is written ܐܠ ܫܕܝ "El Shaddai". The figure is dressed in a tunic decorated with a series of magical signs, and he holds what appears to be a palm branch in his right hand. The magic word ܐܡܝܢ frequently serves to close spell units in the Syriac magic bowls, either alone or in the formulaic expression ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܣܠܐ "Amen, Amen, Selah". Here, however, it appears outside the framework of the spell in collocation with the divine epithet ܐܠ ܫܕܝ "El Shaddai", and may thus possibly be an allusion to the title of the Christ in Revelation 3:14.

2.5 *The Trinitarian Formula*

The Christian Trinitarian formula, "in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit", is used repeatedly in these documents at the beginning or at the end of the spell unit: Gignoux II:1, Gignoux III:1; *CSIB* 2:9; Davidovitz 6:2–4.[24] Another different and interesting Trinitarian formula is mentioned in a Jewish Aramaic incantation bowl, which uses the Divine Name instead of "the Father": יהוה יסוס רוח קד "YHWH, Jesus, Ho(ly) Spirit".[25]

2.6 *Biblical Quotations*

The main bowl containing a clear New Testament text is *CSIB* 49:4–6, which makes use of Ephesians 6:10–17.[26] Some contexts allude to New Testament passages, e.g. ܟܠ ܕܝܠܕ ܐܢܫ ܒܐܝܬܬܐ "everyone who is born of a woman" (*CSIB* 27:5; MS 1928/54:5) can be compared with the depiction of John the Baptist in Matthew 11:11: ܠܐ ܩܡ ܒܝܠܕܝ ܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܬܝܠܕܘ "among those born of women there has not risen anyone greater than John the Baptist".[27] The sentence ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܬܟܚ "just as the

23 For additional examples of ܒܟܪ ܩܕܡ "Firstborn Son" in early Syriac literature, see Ford, 'Jesus in the Magic Bowls'.

24 An expanded form of the Trinitarian formula has been appropriated for use in the Jewish Aramaic magic bowl Moussaieff 163:29; see D. Levene, '"and by the Name of Jesus" an unpublished Magic Bowl in Jewish Aramaic', *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 6 (1999), pp. 283–308; Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, pp. 111–113.

25 T. Harviainen, 'An Aramaic Incantation Bowl from Borsippa: Another Specimen of Eastern Aramaic "Koiné"', in *Studia Orientalia* 51:14 (Helsinki, 1981), pp. 3–28 (5:13).

26 J.E. Sanzo, N.H. Korsvoll, 'A New Testament Text on a Syriac Incantation Bowl: Eph. 6:10–17 on IBC 3', *Vigiliae Christianae* 71 (2017) pp. 1–16.

27 Shaked, 'Manichaean Incantation Bowls in Syriac', p. 75.

sinful servant who does not accept and does not observe the commands of his master" (*CSIB* 14:12) recalls Luke 12:47: ܘܗܘ ܥܒܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܕܥ ܗܘ ܠܨܒܝܢܗ ܕܡܪܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܛܝܒ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܨܒܝܢܗ ܢܬܟܢܫ ܠܗ ܒܟܬܝܫ ܣܓܝܐ "And that servant, who knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes".

2.7 *Liturgical Formulae and Doxology*

The formula ܡܢ ܗܫܐ ܘܥܕ ܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ "from now and forever and ever. Amen" (Gignoux 1:4a–5a; 11:46; *CSIB* 19:5; *CSIB* 28:13) is well known in Eastern liturgies in Syriac.[28] We also have the expression ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ "yes and Amen" ending this formula or alone (*CSIB* 10:2, 10; *CSIB* 26:18; *CSIB* 28:13). We find once the word ܐܡܝܢ "verily" (*CSIB* 48:6),[29] a liturgical expression that is still used today in the Syriac liturgy.

2.8 *Christian Client Names*

Several names in the magic documents seem to be explicitly Christian (clients or their matronymics). In *CSIB* 6, the husband, Mihr-Hormizd, has a Zoroastrian name, but the wife's matronymic, Baṯ-sāhdē "daughter-of-martyrs" (lines 12, 14), is Christian.[30] The masculine equivalent Bar-sāhdā "son-of-a-martyr" appears in *CSIB* 13:2, 9–10 as the name of a slave of the owner of the bowl. The PN Marcion (*CSIB* 45:3a, 2b) recalls the name of the founder of the Christian heresy Marcionism during the second century and is also likely Christian. The name Qyomta "Resurrection" is well attested (*CSIB* 14:12; 24:7; 28:3, 6, 7, 11; 31:3, 6, 10, 12); in *CSIB* 47, the name Qyoma seems to be the masculine form.[31]

2.9 *Christian Baptism*

Gignoux discerns a possible reference to baptism in an amulet that mentions oil, water and salt, which are used to this day in Catholic baptismal rites.[32] There are also allusions to the seal of the Spirit during the baptism of all the members of the body (1:27–28, 31–33; 11:2), a practice that is continued nowadays in almost all the baptismal rites of the Oriental Christian Churches.

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28 For similar expressions in Jewish bowls, see A. Manekin-Bamberger, 'Jewish Legal Formulae in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls', *Aramaic Studies* 13 (2015), pp. 69–81 (73–76).

29 See Abousamra, 'A Syriac Magic Bowl'.

30 See M.J. Geller, 'Jesus's Theurgic Powers: Parallels in the Talmud and Incantation Bowls', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 28 (1977), pp. 141–155 (149).

31 Compare the use of the name قيامة "Resurrection" in the Syriac Maronite community in Lebanon.

32 Gignoux 1:86; see Gignoux, *Incantations magiques syriaques*, p. 24.

2.10 *The Resurrection*

Naveh and Shaked noted the reference to the resurrection of Christ in *CSIB* 27:4: ܕܟܝܐ ܠܝܘܥܝ ܐܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܡܝܬ ܕܚ "A dead man I raised and he granted victory to Yowi'a".[33] Compare, for example, ܐܝܬ ܥܡ ܐܠܗ ܩܡ "And God raised him" (Acts 2:24) and ܒܝܬ ܡܢ ܐܠܗ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܢܨܚܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܪܢ ܕܝܠܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ "But thanks be to God, who gives us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Corinthians 15:57).

2.11 *Conclusion*

With the exception of a small number of bowls, the main spell units of the Syriac magic texts from the Sasanian period show considerable similarity to those of other religious traditions and are not distinctively Christian. They tend to mention many of the same divine epithets, angels, demons and illnesses, and use similar formulaic expressions and magical motifs. In not a few cases Jewish Babylonian Aramaic or Mandaic parallels of the entire spell are extant.[34] An increasing number of bowls, however, show Christian confessional features in the introductory or closing sections of the text, which indicate that the practitioner who prepared the incantation was Christian, whatever the origin of the main spell.[35] In the following section we shall discuss the extent to which the tradition represented by the Syriac magic bowls and amulets was incorporated into the Syriac magical texts of the Modern Period.

3 Syriac Magical Texts from the Modern Period

3.1 *History*

This corpus is comprised of numerous rolled paper amulets and magical booklets dating from the eighteenth century, belonging to various Middle Eastern Christian communities and written in various scripts. They were originally prepared in Turkey, Iraq, and Northwestern Iran, but were later brought by immigrants or refugees to countries such as Georgia, Armenia and Russia.[36] These

33 J. Naveh, S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 120–121.

34 See, for example, C. Müller-Kessler, 'Aramäische Koine—Ein Beschwörungsformular aus Mesopotamien', *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 29 (1998), pp. 331–348.

35 See T. Harviainen 'Pagan Incantations in Aramaic Incantation Bowls', in M.J. Geller, J.C. Greenfield, M.P. Weitzman (eds), *Studia Aramaica* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 53–60 (60); T. Harviainen, 'Syncretistic and confessional features in Mesopotamian incantation bowls', in *Studia Orientalia* 70 (1993), pp. 29–37.

36 For the Assyrian migration to these countries, see H. Teule, G. Kessel, 'The Mikhail Sado

amulets are referred to as ܚܪܡܐ "anathema", ܛܘܒܐ "protection", ܩܛܝܥܐ "amulet" or ܟܬܒܐ "writ". One amulet scroll or booklet can contain a considerable number of prayers or anathemas. The first text of this type was published by Willis Hazard in 1893.[37] Four years later Hermann Gollancz presented two manuscripts at the international congress of orientalists in Paris,[38] and in 1912 he published three whole manuscripts (codices), each one containing numerous spells.[39] Other amulets have since been published.[40] The oldest known manuscript dates to 1714 (St. Petersburg, private Collection).[41]

3.2 *Healing and Exorcism in Christianity*

Healing and exorcism were an important part of Jesus' ministry as depicted in the Gospels (e.g. Matthew 4:23–24, 9:35, 14:14; Mark 1:32–34, 39, 3:10–11, 6:5; Luke 6:18–19, 7:21).[42] The Peshiṭta translates Greek θεραπευω "to heal" with the verb ܐܣܝ, which is also used in the incantation bowls and in late Christian amu-

collection of Syriac manuscripts in St. Petersburg', in J.P. Monferrer-Sala, H. Teule, S. Torallas (eds), *Eastern Christians and their written heritage* (Leuven, 2012), pp. 43–76 (44–47).

37 W.H. Hazard, 'A Syriac Charm', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 15 (1893), pp. 284–296.

38 H. Gollancz, 'A Selection of Charms from Syriac Manuscripts' in *Actes du onzième congrès international des orientalistes 1897* (London, 1898), pp. 77–97 (78–97).

39 Gollancz, *The Book of Protection*.

40 See, for example, F. Nau, *Conjuration de Nestorius contre les migraines* (Paris, 1917), p. 317; M. Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College library: A Catalogue* (Missoula, 1979), pp. 104–105 (syr. 158 and syr. 165); E.C.D. Hunter, 'Saints in Syriac Anathemas: A Form-Critical Analysis of Role', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32 (1987), pp. 83–104; Eadem, *An Amulet for the Binding of Guns, Spears, Swords, Daggers and all Implements of War* (Oxford, 1992); Eadem, 'A scroll Amulet from Kurdistan', *Aram* 5 (1993), pp. 243–254; Eadem, 'Another Scroll Amulet from Kurdistan', in G.J. Reinink, A.C. Klugkist (eds), *After Bardaisan. Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of H.J.W. Drijvers* (Leuven, 1999), pp. 161–171; Eadem, 'Traversing Time and Location: A Prayer-Amulet of Mar Tamsis from Turfan', in L. Tang, D.W. Winkler (eds), *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (Münster, 2013), pp. 25–41; Eadem, 'Two Codex Handbooks of Amulets: Mingana ms syr 316 and Rylands ms syr 52', in S.H. Griffith, S. Grebenstein (eds), *Christsein in der islamischen Welt: Festschrift für Martin Tamcke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 2015), pp. 423–437; G. Abousamra, 'Two Syriac Amulets from Hadath grotto (Qadisha)', *Parole de l'Orient* 38 (2013), pp. 213–230; A. Schmidt, G. Abousamra, 'Une amulette syriaque dans la collection du Matenadaran à Yerevan (rouleau 9–90)', *The Harp* 29 (2014), pp. 143–164. For a full list of both published and unpublished Syriac amulets, see the contribution by Zellmann-Rohrer in this volume.

41 There are fragments of medieval amulets from Turfan; see E.C.D. Hunter, M. Dickens, *Syriac Texts from The Berlin Turfan Collection* (Stuttgart, 2014).

42 Ford, 'Jesus in the Magic Bowls'.

lets. Jesus heals the sick and exorcises demons. He also ordered his disciples and gave them power to do the same (Matthew 10:1; Mark 3:15, 6:7, 13, 16:17–18; Luke 9:1–2). This command was performed explicitly in his name (Luke 10:17–20; Acts 3:6–8, 16, 5:16, 8:7, 9:34, 14:8–10, 28:8–9). This exorcistic tradition has continued as part of official Church practice within most Christian churches to this day. In addition, it has influenced informal and popular practice of magic and amulet charms amongst Christian communities.

An important witness to the popular use of amulets by Christians in late antiquity is a *memrā* attributed to Saint Isḥaq of Antioch (late fifth century AD).[43] The author condemns the magical practices and the use of amulets, which he describes as common in the daily life of priests, deacons and the laity: ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܣܝܐ ܕܢܦܫܬܢ ܕܗܘ ... ܒܬܚܬ ܒܪܟܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܒܬܚܬ ܥܒܕܝ ܟܫܦܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܣܝܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܘ ܠܒܝܬ ܡܚܫܝ ܟܫܦܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܣܝܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ “They left the faithful Church in which is the heavenly Healer, and they run to the house of the sorcerers. ... In place of the benedictions of the saints, the incantations of sorcerers, and instead of the Holy Cross, they bear the writings of demons” (39–42; 47–50). People were bearing these amulets on their heads and necks: ܗܢܐ ܠܫܡܗ ܘܗܢܐ ܠܟܪܟܗ “This one bears it on his head and another also on his neck” (63–64).[44] From the late sixteenth century we have the eyewitness report of Dandini concerning the use of amulets by Maronites: “... a large number of superstitious bills which they wear over them, especially children”.[45] In the mid-nineteenth century, Badger wrote about Kurdistan as follows: “The Nestorians entertain many superstitions respecting the power of evil, and the value of certain talismans to allay or counteract them”.[46] The use of amulets in the nineteenth century by Lebanese Christians is attested to by such documents as a printed Karshuni paper signed by the Maronite patriarch Paul Mas‘ad (1854–1890)[47] and another from 1872 signed by the patri-

43 See M. Moriggi, ‘“And the Impure and Abominable Priests Fled for Help to the Names of the Devils”: Amulets and Magical Practices in Syriac Christian Culture between Late Antiquity and the Modern World’, *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 19 (2016), pp. 371–384.

44 Archaeological evidence for the use of amulets on the head is provided by a burial tomb in ‘Ainturin (north Lebanon), where a skullcap was found on which was sewn a small pocket containing a folded amulet; see H. Salamé-Sarkis, ‘Une amulette maronite signée et diffusée par le Patriarche Boulos Mas‘ad’, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 51 (1990), pp. 313–325 (313).

45 J. Dandini, *Voyage du Mont-Liban* (Paris, 1884), p. 127.

46 G.P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals* (London, 1852), I, p. 238.

47 Salamé-Sarkis, ‘Une amulette maronite’, pp. 315–317.

arch Elias Howayek (1899–1931). Today many Lebanese Christians protect their children with an amulet, known as *Kitab Mar Antonius* "Writ of Saint Antonius".[48]

3.3 *The Structure of the Magical Booklets and Amulets*

The contents of the magical booklets usually have the following structure: opening formula, the Lord's prayer, the prayer of Adam, the prayer of the holy angels, the anathema of the Gospel (usually the prologue of the Gospel of John), followed by a long list of prayers and anathemas for different forms of protection, illnesses, exorcisms, for cattle, possessions and all kind of affairs. The booklets usually comprise a sort of "catalogue" of prayers and anathemas from which the scribe chooses to write a specific amulet for a client.[49] They also contain some simple illustrations and finish with a colophon mentioning the scribe, who usually belongs to a priestly family. The form of the individual amulets, on the other hand, is stereotypic. They begin with a title, "Anathema (ܚܪܡܐ) of Saint So-and-So" and a reference to the various illnesses and demons that it is meant to treat. The text then opens with the Trinitarian formula: ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ "in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit", followed by the prayer of a Saint and his titles. Then it continues with prayers and invocations to the Lord to heal the client from all sort of illnesses by the intercession of the Saint. It ends with a doxology, the Trinitarian formula or a formula such as "by the prayer of holy Mary and the prayer of Saint John the Baptist …". Sometimes there are also colophons or illustrations.[50]

4 Continuity or Discontinuity?

Over a millennium separates modern Syriac magical documents from their late antique precursors. Virtually no Syriac incantatory text or amulet from Mesopotamia, the birthplace of this genre, is extant from the intervening period. Two amulets from the Qadisha Valley (Lebanon), however, have recently been discovered. They likely date to before the year 1283, the date of the collapse of

48 See Abousamra, 'Two Syriac Amulets from Hadath grotto (Qadisha)', pp. 214, 227.

49 Similar booklets are known from other Oriental magical traditions; see, for example, M. Baillet, 'Un livret magique en christo-palestinien à l'université de Louvain', *Le Muséon* 76 (1963), pp. 375–401.

50 For more details about the structure of amulets, see the contributions of Calabro and Zellmann-Rohrer in this volume.

the cave-refuge in the village of Ḥadath as a result of the Mamluk incursion.[51] These two folded papers form a "bridge" between the two corpora and contain features which exist in both traditions, including the use of an opening formula and Trinitarian invocation, and the use of the verbs "to seal", "to bind", "to expel", "to ban", and "to swear" against evil spirits. Qadisha1 is written in Estrangelo script, and is similar in style and content to the magic bowls and amulets from the Sasanian period. Qadisha2 is written in Serto script, and contains the spell ܗܪܡܘ ܕܡܪ ܥܒܕܝܫܘ "Hermo of Mar Abdyeshu'". It is very similar to many modern amulets that also refer to this saint. The Christian features in the amulets and magic bowls from late antiquity are limited and elementary, but in the modern handbooks and rolled amulets they are frequent and more developed. The Qadisha amulets indicate that the "Christianization" of Syriac magic had already begun by that time.

4.1 *Parallel Features and Motifs*

Many motifs and formulas in the modern Syriac incantations can be traced back to late antiquity, not just to the Syriac amulets and magic bowls, but also to Jewish Aramaic and Mandaic texts as well. Below I shall discuss a number of these, primarily using the three codices of "the Book of Protection" published by Gollancz as the basis for comparison.

4.1.1 Lists of Various Types of Evil Spirits

Modern Syriac amulets contain many such lists, e.g. "I bind and anathematize and overthrow and make distant and cast down all pains, evil, accursed and misleading sicknesses, and satans, rebellious *dēvs*, demon(s). And also the spirit of lunacy, the spirit of the belly, the spirit of the heart, the spirit of the head, the spirit of the eyes, malady of the belly, the spirit of the teeth. And also the evil and envious eye, the eye that smites and does not pity, blue eyes, every type of (evil) eye … And also cold and hot fever, frightful visions and deceiving dreams that occur at night and during the day. And also lilith, the companion spirit, and Zardukh, the … *dēv*, and all pains and evil sicknesses, and *dēvs*, and knots of witchcraft" (Codex C, §1). The same occurs in the late antique bowls, e.g. "and the mystery of this house—I shall pronounce it upon all that are in it: upon demons, and upon *dēvs*, and upon witchcraft, and upon (magical) practi[ces], and upon all messengers of idolatry, and upon

51 See Abousamra, 'Two Syriac Amulets from Hadath grotto (Qadisha)'. I refer to them as Qadisha1 and Qadisha2.

all troops, and upon amulet-spirits, and upon goddesses, and upon all powerful demons, and upon all powerful satans, and upon all powerful liliths" (*CSIB* 23:4–6).

4.1.2 Use of Common Verbs for Binding and Expelling Evil Spirits

The binding of evil spirits is common to both the modern Syriac amulets and the ancient amulets and magic bowls. For example: ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܣܪ ܐܢܐ ܥܠ ܐܝܕܝܗ ܘܪܓܠܝܗ "I bind their hands and feet" (Codex A, § 48) and ܬܬܐܣܪ ... ܒܐܝܕܝܗ ܘܒܪܓܠܝܗ ܕܠܐ ܬܩܪܒ ܠܡܕܘܟܬ ܐܢ ܬܬܐܣܪ "may she be bound ... by her hands and by her feet so that she may not approach Mayduxt" (*CSIB* 7:11).[52] Often, multiple verbs, which are common to both corpora, are used. Compare, for example, the use of the verbs ܐܣܪ "to bind" and ܚܪܡ "to anathematise", in both Codex B, § 5, and *CSIB* 32:2–3.

4.1.3 Use of Biblical Verses

Biblical verses are commonly quoted in the Jewish magic bowls, including a number of verses from Psalms 91 and 121.[53] These Psalms are also quoted in the modern Syriac amulets. See, for example, Codex A, § 9 (Psalm 91:5).

4.1.4 Historiolae and References to Exemplary Figures

The figures of Daniel and his three friends occupy an important place in the Book of Protection, for example, "Just as you were with Joseph in the Land of Egypt, and with Daniel in the lions' den, and with the house of Hananiah in the fiery furnace, and with Jeremiah in the pit of mire, so (may you be) with this your servant" (Codex A, § 32); and "Just as the children of Israel went forth to the wilderness by the hand of Moses, just as Adam went forth from the Garden, Jonah ⟨...⟩, Daniel from the pit, Hananiah from the fiery furnace, Noah from the ark, so too, vermin, go forth from this wheat!" (Codex C, § 6). Daniel and his friends are similarly mentioned in an unpublished Syriac bowl, which reads "and I was not ashamed, for I considered Daniel and Hananiah and Azariah and

52 For the illustration of this technique in the magic bowls, see N. Vilozny, *Lilith's Hair and Ashmedai's Horns. Figure and Image in Magic and Popular Art: Between Babylonia and Palestine in Late Antiquity* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2017), pp. 59–64, 151–160.

53 See P.T. Lanfer, 'Why Biblical Scholars Should Study Aramaic Bowl Spells', *Aramaic Studies* 13 (2015), pp. 9–23 (17–18); D.M. Salzer, *Die Magie der Anspielung* (Tübingen, 2010), pp. 117–119, 123–125. For the language of these quotations, see also the recent study by D. Molin, 'Biblical Quotations in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls and Their Contribution to the Study of the Babylonian Reading Tradition', in A.D. Hornkohl, G. Khan (eds), *Studies in Semitic Vocalisation and Reading Traditions* (Cambridge, 2020) pp. 147–170.

Mishael".[54] Qadisha 1:2–3 provides a link between the two corpora, reading "By the na[mes of Hananiah] and Azariah and Mishael and Daniel of the pit".

Moses and the parting of the Red Sea is another biblical theme attested in both the modern Syriac amulets and Syriac magic bowls, for example, "just as God loved Moses and divided the Red Sea before him" (Codex A, § 40) and "as Moses said to the Red Sea and (the waters) stood like a wall on both sides" (*CSIB* 6:4). Another popular theme is the signet-ring of Solomon, for example, "By the staff of Moses the prophet and by the signet-ring of Solomon" (Codex A, § 35). References to the signet-ring of Solomon are particularly well attested in the Jewish magic bowls, but also appear in the Syriac bowls, for example "Bound and sealed by the signet-ring by which are sealed heaven and earth, and by the seal by which Noah sealed his ark, and by the signet-ring of Solomon by which are sealed the demons and the *dēvs*" (*CSIB* 28:10–11).[55]

4.1.5 Divine Epithets

A number of divine epithets in the modern Syriac amulets are also attested in the ancient magic bowls, for example, "the Living God" in Codex C, § 9 and *CSIB* 28:12. The same epithet appears in Qadisha1:1. Some of the epithets in the modern Syriac amulets ultimately derive from Biblical Hebrew, for example, "in the name of I Am That I Am, El Shaddai, Adonai, the Lord of Hosts" (Codex A, § 5; compare § 10) and, in the magic bowls, "Adonai Sabaothi, El Shaddai" (e.g. MS 2055/19:12) and "I Am That I Am" (e.g. VA 3383:8–9).[56]

4.1.6 Invocation of Angels

Again, this feature is common to both corpora, for example, "In the name of Gabriel and Michael" (Codex A, § 13) and "In the name of Michael the healer and Raphael the deliverer and Gabriel the servant of Adonai" (*CSIB* 6:6–7). The lists of angels can be lengthy, for example, "In the name of Gabril, Michail, ʿArail. In the name of Michail, and ʿAzril, Šamšail, Ḥaršail, Sarfail, and Nurail … In the name of Šamšel, Ṣuṣaniel, Šmail, Ḥinail, Zadiqail, Pruquil, and Sahrail, and Zaqail, Dinail, ʿAšinail, Taqifail, the mighty Ganbaril, Šamšail and Sahrail, and Maqail, Yomail, Kokhevail, Šufail, Maryail, Mhalelail, and Zaṭrail, ʾUmyail, Ḥašḥašail, Ṭaryail, ʿAzizail, Manail, Samyail" (Codex C, § 3).

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54 Abousamra, 'Two Syriac Amulets from Hadath grotto (Qadisha)', p. 217.

55 See also *CSIB* 6:8; T27986, 3–4; Ford, Abudraham, 'Syriac and Mandaic Incantation Bowls', p. 86.

56 See J.N. Ford, M. Morgenstern, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls in Museum Collections, Vol. 1: The Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, Jena* (Leiden, 2020), pp. 78 and 75.

4.1.7 Protection by Angels on All Sides

Closely related to the invocation of angels, this is a common motif, for example, "Gabriel is on his right and Michael on his left, I Am That I Am, El Shaddai, Adonai is above his head, the Cherubim are in front of him, and the Seraphim are behind him" (Codex A, § 7; compare § 8). As discussed by Levene, Marx and Bhayro, it is widespread in Jewish magic (including the magic bowls) and also appears in several Syriac bowls of Manichaean origin, for example, "Sealed with it are four angels: Az(az)el before it, Azir behind it, Michael on its right, Raphael on its left. Over it is invoked the name of Ḥarbiel Mani" (MS 2055/24:9–13).[57]

4.1.8 Binding and Exorcism by the Holy Cross

This is a common motif in modern Christian amulets, for example, "I bind them by the living Sign of the Cross of our Lord" (Codex A, § 47). Similar references to the cross may be adduced from two unpublished bowls: "By your seal, First-Born Son … of your victorious Cross I am sealed" (JNF 218:6–7); "Sealed and doubly sealed is this house by Yes and Amen, and by the sign of the Cross [of] Light for ever and ever" (JNF 223:3–4).

4.1.9 Appeals for the Protection of Family Members and Property

Such appeals are ubiquitous in both corpora, for example, "May the multiple danger be annulled from off the flocks, from the cattle, and from the house of him who bears these writs" (Codex A, § 5) and "I bind and anathematize and overthrow and make distant and cast down all pains … and all pains, evil illnesses, and *dēvs* (and) knots of witchcraft from the body, from the soul, from the house, from the sons, from the daughters of the one who bears this amulet" (Codex C, § 1). Compare, for example, "Bound and sealed is all the evil that is in the body of M. son of M., and in his house, his wife, and his sons, and his daughters, and his cattle, and in all his dwelling" (*CSIB* 6:8) and "protection of her house, her husband, her sons and her daughters and her property" (*CSIB* 2:3–4).

4.1.10 Appeals Relating to Childbirth and the Survival of Progeny

Similarly, such appeals are common to both corpora, for example, "Then my Lady Mary asked … for barren women, that they may give birth: by your might, O Lord, may those who are giving birth give birth to sons of blessings and to

57 D. Levene, D. Marx, S. Bhayro, '"Gabriel is on their Right": Angelic Protection in Jewish Magic and Babylonian Lore', *Studia Mesopotamica* 1 (2014), pp. 185–198.

daughters of righteousness, and may the barren women conceive" (Codex B, § 6) and "so that the sons may live for their mothers and the beloved children for their fathers" (*CSIB* 8:6).

4.1.11 Demons and Illnesses

Many of the maleficent forces named in modern Syriac amulets have antecedents in ancient magic bowls and amulets, for example, ܪܘܚܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ "evil spirit" (e.g. Codex A, § 46; *CSIB* 22:11) and ܥܝܢܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ "evil eye" (e.g. Codex A, § 23; *CSIB* 16:12). The maleficent force ܡܓܪܢܐ "migraine" (e.g. Codex A, § 13) is, to the best of our knowledge, not yet attested in the ancient bowls or amulets, but it does occur in the Jewish magic bowls.[58]

In modern Syriac amulets one finds a demoness referred to by such epithets as ܠܠܝ ܚܢܩܬܐ "Lilith the strangler" or ܠܠܝ ܘܚܒܪܬܗ ܘܐܡܗ ܕܛܠܝܐ ܚܢܩܬܐ "Lilith and the companion spirit and the mother, strangler of children" (Codex B, § 7).[59] As her name suggests, she is a lilith who kills young children. In the Syriac magic bowls, the corresponding epithet is ܚܢܩܬܐ "strangler", which is used in the following example: "may they be protected from demons and *dēvs* and spirits and lilith and the companion spirit and the strangler" (MS 2055/22:14–18). The corresponding epithet חנקיתא is attested in Jewish Aramaic bowls, for example: הדין צילמה דרוח לוטתא ודמחיתא בישתא ודעינא בישתא ודזביה ודחנקיתא "this is the image of a curse spirit, and of the evil smiter, and of the evil eye, and of **zky**', and of the strangler" (HS 3005:1–4).[60]

4.1.12 Maladies and Witchcraft Associated with Various Ethnic Groups

We find such references in both Syriac magic bowls and modern amulets, for example: "the sorcery of the east and of the west, of the north and of the south, of Jews and of Aramaeans, of men and of women" (*CSIB* 38:3–4);[61] and "Arab [witchcraft], Persian witchcraft … Jewish [witchcraft] … Qadišian witchcraft … Indian witchcraft … Kaškarian [witchcraft]" (T27983:10–15).[62] Compare, in amulet Sado, folio 20, "and fever (and) shivering, and the hot and cold one, and the tertiary one, and the Jewish one, and the Indian one, and the Alanian one,

58 For example, in VA.2418:2; see S. Bhayro, J.N. Ford, D. Levene, O. Paz-Saar, *Aramaic Magic Bowls in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, Descriptive List and Edition of Selected Texts* (Leiden, 2018), p. 24.

59 See Hazard, 'A Syriac Charm', p. 287 and Codex B, § 7.

60 See Ford, Morgenstern, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls in Museum Collections, Vol. 1: The Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection*, p. 19.

61 See also JNF 296:5–6; J.N. Ford, 'A New Parallel to the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Incantation Bowl IM 76106 (Nippur 11 N 78)', *Aramaic Studies* 9 (2011), pp. 249–277 (251).

62 Ford, Abudraham, 'Syriac and Mandaic Incantation Bowls', pp. 77–78.

and the barbarian one, and the Arab one, and the Scythian one, and the … one, and the Armenian one, and every type of fever".[63]

4.1.13 Evil Spirits Drinking the Blood and Eating the Flesh of Their Victims

This is a widespread motif that also appears in the Book of Protection, for example, "We go on our hands so that we may eat flesh, and we crawl along upon our hands so that we may drink blood" (Codex B, § 10). It also occurs in *CSIB* 26:14, which reads, "and she drinks blood, the bones and water of many men".[64]

4.2 *Conclusion*

The similarities in the contents of the magic texts lead us to propose a possible historical connection between the late antique and modern documents. In spite of the lack of intervening sources, with the exception of Qadisha amulets, it seems clear that they share many formulas and motifs. This evidence allows us to suggest a continuity in the popular magic tradition practiced in the same area. In terms of continuity, the following three features appear to be the most significant.

- Documents from the Sasanian period use the *basmalah*, thus: "In the name of the great Life" (Mandaeans), "In your name I act" (Jews), "in the name of the Living God" and "in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (Christians). The last formula is more repeated and developed in the modern Syriac amulets.
- The main aim in both corpora is to protect people and possessions from various kinds of evil spirits and illnesses, by invoking divine beings to protect them.
- In both corpora, one finds important masters or patrons who are invoked or who wrote charm texts for their pious flocks on bowls or amulets, for example Rabbis Joshua bar Peraḥya and Ḥanina ben Dosa in the Jewish tradition, and Mar ʿAbdyeshuʿ and Mar Tamasis in the Christian tradition.[65]

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63 To be published by Schmidt and Abousamra.

64 Moriggi compares the Jewish Aramaic bowl IM 2929:6; see A.H. Faraj, 'Aramaico orientale e coppe magiche mesopotamiche: riflessioni e definizioni', *Mesopotamia* 42 (2007), pp. 269–275 (272): "we go to eat meat without knives, to drink blood without knives". For the relationship between this text and the Ugaritic incantation against the evil eye, RS 22.225 (KTU 1.96), see J.N. Ford, 'The Ugaritic Evil Eye Incantation RS 22.225 (KTU^3 1.96) in the Light of the Aramaic Magic Bowls'.

65 E.g. Hazard, 'A Syriac Charm', pp. 293, 286.

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CHAPTER 9

A Mandaean Lamella and Its Parallels: BM 132957 + BM 132947 + BM 132954

Matthew Morgenstern and Ohad Abudraham

In a seminal article from 1999, Christa Müller-Kessler drew attention to the large collection of Mandaean lamellae housed at the British Museum and their potential contribution to our understanding of Mandaean magic and religion.[1] In the same article, Müller-Kessler presented an *editio princeps* of parts of a lengthy magical formula comprising of a list of demon names that dwell in different geographical locations and noted that some sections of this formula are paralleled by magic bowl texts, excerpts from which she published in a partial synopsis. In another important article published in the same year, Müller-Kessler presented editions of two more Mandaean formulae from lamellae (BM 135793[2] Ia and a lamella auctioned at Christie's).[3] In both articles, she firmly established that the texts inscribed upon lamellae and those inscribed upon earthenware bowls belong to the same period and cultural environment. In subsequent articles, including two written with her husband Karlheinz Kessler, Müller-Kessler discussed various aspects of these lamellae, in particular from an Assyriological perspective.[4] Regrettably, her complete edition of this and other texts from the British Museum has never been published.

Over the past 20 years, hundreds of additional Mandaean epigraphic sources have come to light or been deciphered. Beyond the materials discussed in the

1 C. Müller-Kessler, 'Interrelations between Mandaic Lead Scrolls and Incantation Bowls', in T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn (eds.), *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives* (Groningen, 1999), pp. 197–209.

2 Sic.

3 C. Müller-Kessler, 'Aramäische Beschwörungen und astronomische Omina in nachbabylonischer Zeit. Das Fortleben mesopotamischer Kultur im Vorderen Orient', in J. Renger (ed.), *Babylon: Focus Mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne. 2. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 24.–26. März 1998 in Berlin* (Berlin, 1999), pp. 427–443.

4 C. Müller-Kessler, 'Dämon + YTB 'L—Ein Krankheitsdämon. Eine Studie zu aramäischen Beschwörungen medizinischen Inhalts', in B. Böck, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, and T. Richter (eds.) *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes* (Münster, 1999), pp. 341–354; C. Müller-Kessler and K. Kessler, 'Spätbabylonische Gottheiten in spätantiken mandäischen Texten', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 89 (1999), pp. 65–87.

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editio princeps, there are currently over 200 magic bowls and around 40 lamellae that remain unpublished. The scope of the unpublished material is considerably larger than that of the texts that have appeared in scholarly editions. Furthermore, advances in the study of the texts and in digital photography enable us to improve upon the readings of previously published material.

The present article seeks to present the first full edition of the Mandaean formula preserved on BM 132957 + BM 132947 + BM 132954 along with a synoptic presentation of its parallels. All the sources presented here have been transcribed or collated on the basis of high-definition digital photographs, including the sources previously published by Müller-Kessler, whose important contribution to the study of these texts is duly acknowledged. Most of our parallels are published here for the first time and they have aided us in many cases in our reading of the lamellae, but we have no doubt that the discovery and editing of additional parallels will further illuminate the reading and interpretation of this and other Mandaean formulae preserved on bowls and lamellae. For reasons of space, we have kept our comments brief. Our aim here is to provide a first edition of this interesting text in its entirety to encourage its study; we have no doubt that other scholars will have much to contribute to its elucidation. The text, which makes frequent references to local gods, casts considerable light upon the religious landscape of pre-Islamic Mesopotamia and makes reference to Babylonian, Persian, Christian, Jewish and perhaps even Greek deities.

1 The Sources

1. Lamellae BM 132957, BM 132947, BM 132954. The first two items are the remains of a single strip which were tacitly combined in Müller-Kessler's edition, while her proposal that the formula continues on BM 132954 is proven by the repetition of the final line of BM 132947, [**h**]**ʿia ušba ahua**[**ta**] (l. 240), in the first line of BM 132954, **hʿia ušba ahuath̲** (l. 240′). In total, the formula comprises of 329 lines of text,[5] a total of about 1150 words. It is mostly legible, though corrosion and damage have obscured some letters, and the miniscule script is in some places cursive and malformed. The short lines contain around 16–20 letters. In some cases, the scribe split a single word over two lines, while in others he wrote the first few letters of a word at the end of one line and then rewrote it in its

5 We have left the repeated line unnumbered, hence our edition contains 328 lines. This causes a discrepancy of one line between our numbering and that employed in some of Müller-Kessler's publications.

entirety on the following line. We regard this as a scribal practice rather than a textual error and have left these repetitions without emendation marks in our transcription, though they are omitted in our translation. The orthography is often *defectiva*, and we have similarly seen no reason to emend this. We have striven to interpret the text as it stands and have avoided unnecessary speculative emendations.[6]

Müller-Kessler's partial edition presents lines 1–36, most of lines 50–61, 69–76, 82–85, 106–121, and lines 157–169, 171–172, 176–177, 182–184, 230–243.[7] We have found first readings[8] of selected parts of the text in other articles: ll. 48–50 (sic);[9] l. 145;[10] ll. 155–156;[11] l. 169–170;[12] ll. 188, 190–195;[13] ll. 220–221;7[14] l. 227;[15] l. 250;[16] ll. 254–255;[17] ll. 256;[18] 291–304.[19]

2. M 138, now in the possession of the National Library of Israel (NLI94456; Previously M 49). Parallels lines 1–65. Unpublished.
3. BM 132168.[20] Parallels lines 110–121. Parallels published in Müller-Kessler's edition.[21]

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6 See e.g. our comments on ll. 190–195.

7 Müller-Kessler, 'Interrelations between Mandaic Lead Scrolls and Incantation Bowls', pp. 199–207.

8 We have not mentioned all citations here; preference has been given to first editions.

9 C. Müller-Kessler, 'A Mandaic Incantation against an Anonymous Dew Causing Fright (Drower Collection 20 and its Variant DC 43 E)', *Aram* 22 (2010), pp. 453–476 (469). The final word of the citation has been omitted, but it is represented in the translation and commentary. See our comments below on these lines.

10 Müller-Kessler and Kessler, 'Spätbabylonische Gottheiten', p. 79.

11 Ibid. p. 71.

12 Ibid. p. 79.

13 C. Müller-Kessler, 'Ištar als «Heiliger Geist»', *N.A.B.U.* (1998), pp. 111–112.

14 Müller-Kessler and Kessler, 'Spätbabylonische Gottheiten', p. 79. The text is misinterpreted here. See commentary.

15 C. Müller-Kessler, 'A Mandaic Gold Amulet in the British Museum', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 311 (1998), pp. 83–88 (86).

16 C. Müller-Kessler, 'Dan(h)iš—Gott und Dämon', in J. Marzahn and H. Neumann (eds.), *Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anläßlich seines* 65. *Geburtstages* (Münster, 2000), pp. 311–318 (314).

17 C. Müller-Kessler, 'More on Puzzling Words and Spellings in Aramaic Incantation Bowls and Related Texts', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 75 (2012), pp. 1–31 (21).

18 Müller-Kessler and Kessler, 'Spätbabylonische Gottheiten', p. 76.

19 C. Müller-Kessler, 'Phraseology in Mandaic Incantations and Its Rendering in Various Eastern Aramaic Dialects. A Collection of Magic Terminology', *Aram* 11–12 (1999/2000), pp. 293–310 (307).

20 J.B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London, 2000), p. 132.

21 Our edition presents a collated text that takes account of the corrections to Segal's edi-

4. MS 2054/29. Parallels lines 127–139. Unpublished.
5. Israel Antiquities Authority Mandaic G. Parallels lines 152–161. Unpublished.
6. BM 91777.[22] Parallels lines 157–171, 229–246. Parallels published in Müller-Kessler's edition.[23]
7. MS 2054/23. Parallels lines 169–171. Unpublished.
8. FM E.2–1970. Parallels lines 172–173, 176–177 182–184. Collated and republished in Müller-Kessler's edition.[24]
9. MS 2054/14. Parallels lines 178–182. Unpublished.
10. MS 2054/19 Parallels lines 182–184. Unpublished.
11. MS 2054/114. Parallels lines 187–217. Unpublished.
12. M154 (now NLI94319). Parallels lines 218–223. Published by Morgenstern.[25]
13. Magic bowl in the Wolfe Collection. Parallels lines 218–223 in vulgar spelling. Unpublished.
14. David Crown Gallery 4. Parallels lines 248–249. Unpublished.
15. MS 2054/32. Parallels lines 265–271. Unpublished.

The text has several parallels with a magic bowl text written in the Jewish script (BM 1957-9-25.1).[26] These parallels are not included in our edition, but are noted in the commentary.

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tion presented in C. Müller-Kessler, 'Die Zauberschalensammlung des British Museum', *Archiv für Orientforschung* 48/49 (2002), pp. 115–145 (136–137); and J.N. Ford, 'Notes on the Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum (review of *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* by J.B. Segal)', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 26 (2002), pp. 237–272 (257–258).

22 Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls*, pp. 138–140.

23 Our edition presents a collated text that takes account of the corrections to Segal's edition presented in Müller-Kessler, 'Die Zauberschalensammlung', p. 138; and Ford, 'Notes on the Mandaic Incantation Bowls', pp. 265–267.

24 Müller-Kessler, 'Interrelations between Mandaic Lead Scrolls and Incantation Bowls', pp. 202–209. We have the following corrections to that edition: I 2 for **ʿubdia** read **ʿubadia**; I 10 for **guspuhra** read **gusphra**; I 12 for **gʿiba** read **gʿida**; II 21 for **uʿl** read **uʿil**; II 22 for **umqṭilun** read **umsṭilun**; II 25 for **bʿisariun** read **bʿisaraiun**; II 30 for **ligria** read **ligaria**; III 36 for **muhbaṭ** read **mhraṭ**; III 40 for **ḏ-azl⟨i⟩a** read **ḏ-azla** (fem.pl., does not require emendation); III 43 for **ḏ-haui ršumḫ** read **ḏ-had šuma**; III 45 for **u⟨a⟩suta** read **usuta** (does not require emendation).

25 Parallel cited in M. Morgenstern, 'Mandaic Magic Bowls in the Moussaieff Collection', in M. Lubetski and E. Lubetski (eds.), *New Inscriptions and Seals Relating to the Biblical World* (Atlanta, 2012), pp. 157–170 (163–164). The text published in its entirety in M. Morgenstern, 'Five Mandaic Magic Bowls from the Moussaieff Collection', *Eretz Israel* 34 (2021; Ada Yardeni Memorial Volume), pp. 118–120.

26 D. Levene and G. Bohak, 'A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Incantation Bowl with a List of Deities and Toponyms', *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 19 (2012), pp. 56–72.

2 The Edition

The Mandaic text presented line-for-line in bold characters and is transliterated according to the system developed by Rudolf Macuch. Scribal erasures are marked with strikethrough, e.g. ~~**thuil**~~, superlinear insertions are marked with carets, e.g. ^**a**^. Uncertain readings are given as grey letters, e.g. **a**. Breaks in the source and reconstructions are marked with square brackets, e.g. [**a**], while ellipsis indicates where we have omitted a portion of text from the source, e.g. … Where two parallels exist, we have presented them in parallel columns. As noted above, we have proposed only the most minimal textual emendations. The translation is presented in continuous paragraphs, and the line numbers are marked at the nearest convenient point without breaking words. Wherever possible, the toponyms that have been identified have been translated with an English equivalent. However, many have defied identification, and the parallels indicate that several may have been corrupted during the course of textual transmission.

	BM 132957	M138
1.	**[bšum]a [ḏ-]hiia rbia**	**(1) bšumaiun ḏ-hiia**
2.	**[asu]ta thuilḫ ~~thuil~~**	**asuta uzrzta uhtmta (2) uzaku[ta] thuilḫ**
3.	**[lpʿ]ir nukraia br**	**lhazin bita uruha unʿšimta ḏ-[ah]ai br**
	BM 132947	
4.	**[a]bandukt [u]ldurḫ**	**(3) ʿspindarmid udbistai pt qaimta [ulb]naiun ulbnatun […]**
5.	**ubitḫ bgan šuma rba**	**(4) bgan bgan šuma šuma rba**
6.	**ubgan mʿmra qadmaiia**	**ubgan mim[ra rba] qadmiia bg[a]n […] ʿl (5) kulhin liliata šurbata**
7.	**bgan mndʿa ḏ-hiia bgan**	**bgan mndʿa ḏ-hiia [… bgan ku]lhin qiriata**
8.	**iauar ziua bgan hibil**	**bgan hibil**
9.	**ʿutra mzrza bgan hi**	**(6) ʿutra mzrza ʿl kulhin šurbata uliliata […] ḏ-shria [uʿku]ria uliliata (7) uhumria bita uqiriata ḏ-šaria bbtia h[rbia …]ar**
10.	**ia qrina ʿl msra msu**	
11.	**ra msar šidia udiui**	

12.	shria šidia udiuia	ushria udiuia
13.	nksia ʿstrta hu	unkusia (8) ʿstrata uhumria
14.	mria uliliata msda	uliliata misdam
15.	m umrgal kulhun	umirgal kulhun
16.	šbiahia ʿlahia	š[ibia]hia [alahia]
17.	umlakia humria uʿk	umlakia uʿkuria uptikria
18.	uria uptikria prkia	uʿkuria [u]p[ir]kia
19.	uarkunia mšbaq	uarkunia (9) lmišbaq ʿlauaihun
20.	hrba nura uiaqadna	hirba unura uiaqdan[a]
21.	ušmata uagzrata ʿl	uš[mata] uagzrta ʿl kulhun
		šʿbiahia ualahia umlakia uʿkuria
		uarkunia (10) uptikria
22.	qninia qininia uʿl š	uʿl kulhin qnnia uʿl kulhin
23.	urbata šurbata uʿl	šurbata šur[bata u]ʿl [kulhu]n
24.	bitia bitia ʿl hu	bati[a] batia uʿl kulhin
25.	mria humria	humria humria ʿsira buznai (11)
		liliata hia ukulhin šurbata
26.	ʿsira tltma uštin	tum [ʿ]sira tltma ušitin utrtin
27.	qriata ḏ-hšuka ḏ-	qirita ḏ-hišuka ḏ-
28.	ʿka brqʿiha barbi	aka {barba} barbia
29.	ia qr⟨na⟩tḥ ḏ-alma bit	qrnata alma bit
30.	muzinia ʿsira kulhn	(12) muzania ʿsira kulhin
31.	qriata ḏ-ʿka barqa	šurbata ḏ-aka {bar-a} barqa
32.	pt iuna mn mrba lm	pt iuna mn mrba
33.	{dana}dna umn grbia ltmni^a^	lmadna umn girbia {a} ltimia
34.	alma lska ḏ-mia sia	ualma lsaka ḏ-mia
35.	uia ʿsira kulhiun	siauia ʿsira kulhn
36.	qinia ušurbata ʿsi	(13) mia siauia ʿsir^i^a alahia
		uʿstrata ukulhun qinnia
		uš[u]rbata ḏ-[s]hria ʿsir
37.	r bizbaṭ abhn ḏ-shr	bizbaṭ abuhun ḏ-shria
38.	ia uʿsiria kulhun bnḥ	uʿsiria kulhun bnḥ ~~uʿsi~~ (14)
		uʿsiria kulhun
39.	shria udiuia ušidi	shria udiuia
40.	ia uliliata lhania ulṭb	uliliata ulihania ulṭabia
41.	ia pʿgia upalgia ubnia	upigia upalgia {[...]garia}
42.	ʿngaria ʿsiria ḏ-bt	ubringar[i]a ʿsiria ḏ-bit
43.	nbu klba ḏ-laihibia	nʿklta ḏ-lihib
44.	ubaiia ularšun umipria	ubaiia udla ršu (15) umiparia
		umtqiria luṭta uaqrita balma

45.	ʿsiria nalia unualia š	ʿsiria nalia uniulia
46.	urbata ḏ-ririnia	ušurba ḏ-rirania
47.	ʿsiria ḏ-bit hndii^a^	ʿsiria ʿsiria ḏ-bit hindu
48.	shra ḏ-pqidilḫ ha	shra ḏ-pqidlḫ
49.	ṣbia ḏ-mia ukuzia ḏ-	haṣbia ḏ-mia (16) ukuzia ḏ-
50.	mgalia ʿsiria ḏ-bt	mglia ʿsiria ḏ-bit
51.	pqa shra ḏ-lbiš	pqrun shrḫ ḏ-lbišia
52.	ia blaiia umksin	blaiiḫ umksia
53.	blaiiata uiatib ʿl qi	blaiiḫ uiatbia ʿl
54.	qlata hrubata hinun	qiqlata hrbata ḏ-hinin
55.	mitqria pʿga ḏ-lilia	mitqiria qiria ḏ-lili{i}a
56.	uqria ḏ-ʿmama ʿsir	upiga (17) ḏ-imama ḏ-hinin mšauia mnklata uailia bbtaiun ḏ-anašia umhribilun ʿsiria
57.	ia ḏ-bit alga shra	ḏ-bit alga shra
58.	ḏ-atibia tutia nrzu	ḏ-iatib tutia nrzubia
59.	bia ʿsiria ḏ-bit mqa	ʿsir bita ḏ-mqdun
60.	dun shra ḏ-atibia	shra (18) ḏ-iatib
61.	bzuiata ḏ-btia hrbi	bzauiata ḏ-bit[ia] harbia
62.	a ʿsiria ḏ-bit ssnp	ʿsiria ḏ-bit siqpun
63.	run shra ḏ-šria	shra ḏ-šria
64.	bšhpia kuia ubtiaqi	bšhpia ḏ-kauia ubtiaqia
65.	a ngria ʿsiria ḏ-apkia	ḏ-ʿngaria hadria ʿl kulhun batia haditia ḏ-la lil[...]aihun (19) hinun alia ušaribun umhr- bilhun [...] umšauia [...] (20) mn bitḫ udurḫ uhiklḫ ubinianḫ ubnḫ ḏ-ahai br ʿspindarmid uhiia zakin
66.	libia umšania trta	
67.	ʿsiria kulhiun diuia ḏ-	
68.	ʿka btibil {ʿsiria}	
69.	ʿsira kumiš lilita ḏ-	
70.	šria mn šuš ualma	
71.	lšuštria bhrbia	
72.	qdrun matin umadai	
73.	uarqa ḏ-rhimaiia	
74.	udibra ḏ-bit aspnia	
75.	ʿsira hʿia ukulhun	

76. **šurbaṯ̲ ʿsira ṭrʿ**
77. **piṭ lilia ḏ̲-šria bṭu**
78. **ra ḏ̲-hšuka hʿia ukulun**
79. **šurbaṯ̲ ʿsira dnapaṭ**
80. **dinariṭ**[27] **lilita ḏ̲-šria bṭu**
81. **ra ḏ̲-tlga ʿsira hʿia**
82. **ukulhun šu⟨r⟩bṯ̲ ʿsira**
83. **nmlik liliata ḏ̲-šria barqa**
84. **ḏ̲-prsia hʿia ukulhiun**
85. **šurbaṯ̲ ʿsira mlkiat**
86. **lilita ḏ̲-šria bkulḫ̲ atra**
87. **ḏ̲-mšun hʿia ukulhn**
88. **šurbaṯ̲ ʿsira šaš**
89. **qlia lilita ḏ̲-šria bṭura**
90. **qlia ~~ḏ̲-qria ḏ̲-qlaia~~**
91. **ḏ̲-qlia marḫ̲ ḏ̲-alma**
92. **hʿia ukulhn šurbata**
93. **ʿsira hṭaṭit liliata ḏ̲-**
94. **šria ʿl kipḫ̲ ḏ̲-rbita**
95. **ʿsira hʿia ukulhn š**
96. **urbata ʿsira hʿia**
97. **ukulhn krbia**[28] **umrkbata**
98. **ḏ̲-rugaza ḏ̲-pqdalḫ̲ ʿsi**
99. **ra ildat lilita ḏ̲-šria**
100. **ʿl kipḫ̲ ḏ̲-ʿulai hʿia**
101. **ukulhn šurbaṯ̲ ʿsira**
102. **azaṭ liliata ḏ̲-šria**
103. **bsiniaus bniana ḏ̲-**
104. **bt mlaka ḏ̲-rima h**
105. **ʿia ukulhn šurbata**
106. **ʿsira npazaṭ lilita**
107. **ḏ̲-šria {bpran ḏ̲-}**
108. **bpumḫ̲ ḏ̲-nhar zptai**
109. **ʿsira hʿia ukulhn ⟨šurbaṯ̲⟩**

Verso — BM 132168

110. **ʿsir ʿulmaia ḏ̲-šria bd** — **(1) ʿsir ʿlmaiḫ̲ ḏ̲-šria**

27 Or **kinariṭ**.
28 See commentary.

111.	bra ḏ-kulania uʿsir ʿlmaia	bdibra ḏ- (2) kulania ... (12) [u]ʿsir ʿlmaiḫ
112.	diua ḏ-šria bhrbia ḏ-abu	diua ḏ-šria (13) bhurbia [...]
113.	ḏ-abura hubra atiqata ʿ	atiqa
114.	sira lilita mrbia klibia	ʿsira (14) lilita [m]r[b]ia klbia
115.	ʿsira lilita mrbia klibia	
116.	ḏ-šria ʿl nhar pišra	ḏ-šria ʿl (15) nhar pišra
117.	umamai qria lnpša ʿsira	(16) umamai qrat lnpša ʿsira
118.	kulhn liliata uʿstrta ḏ-	(17) kulhin liliata [uʿstrta nuqba]ta ... (28) ʿsira kulhin liliata uʿstrata (29) ḏ-
119.	šria baqra škitin ša[29]	šaria baqra ḏ-bit (30) ʿškatʿil
120.	šaqrat {ubatnia} ubtunia ḏ-bia	ušrqat (31) ubatunia ḏ-
121.	aulia ʿsir mšʿha ḏ-mhiana	biaulia
122.	ḏ-šria bqlisia ḏ-qrabul	
123.	ʿsiria hrša umnla ḏ-kd	
124.	ba urazia ḏ-hšuka ḏ-npqia m	
125.	mn pumḫ ʿsir šmzana diua	
126.	ḏ-šria baqra ḏ-krka bsluk	
		MS 2054/29
127.	ʿsir šrznaia diua ḏ-šria ba	(3) ʿsir šrznaia diua ...
128.	qra ḏ-ʿulai baqra ḏ-krka ḏ-	
129.	saluk {ʿsir} ʿsiria kulhun ʿla	(6) [... u]ʿsiria kulhun alahia
130.	hia umlakia uʿstrta ʿkuria	uʿstrata uʿ[kuri]a
131.	uptikria shria udiuia	uptikria (7) ushri[a] udiuia
132.	uhumria uliliata ḏ-šria ʿl	uhumri[a] ulili[a]ta ḏ-šria ʿl
133.	nhar glala uʿl nhar simar	nhar glala [uʿ]l nhar simar
134.	uʿl nhar biṭar uʿl nhar	uʿl (8) nhar biṭar uʿl nhar
135.	biahmia ʿsira ʿstra ḏ-	biah[i]a [uʿ]sira [...]ita
136.	dura ḏ-šina uʿsira ʿstra	uʿs[i]ra ʿstra ḏ-nhar dina
137.	hurdniata ʿsira ʿstra	(9) h[ur]bnaita uʿsira ʿst[ra]
138.	ḏ-qrunia ʿsira ʿstra ḏ-	[...] uʿsira ʿs[t]ra ḏ-
139.	gura ḏ-ʿiurat ʿsir zakur	^g[u]rita^ ʿiaurit
140.	shra sina ḏ-šria ʿl iama	
141.	ta ḏ-aqira ʿsiria ʿlahia	

29 The unclear writing appears to represent the start of the following word, though the letters are malformed.

142.	**uʿstrta uʿkuria uhumria**		
143.	**uptikria ušidia udiuia uliliata**		
144.	**ḏ-kul atra bit sria ḏ-pu**		
145.	**m trin bigzura unuar nrig**		
146.	**ubit ṭaṭia ḏ-šuiania ubrtḫ**		
147.	**ḏ-mhla ʿsira ʿstra ḏ-ṭu**		
148.	**ra qaima ḏ-braza ḏ-biqaz**		
149.	**qun ssris mrba ʿsira**		
150.	**ʿstra ḏ-huṣia uʿsir š**		
151.	**ida ḏ-gzra ḏ-mhla ʿsira ʿ**		
		IAA G	
152.	**s⟨t⟩ra ḏ-urdnia ʿsir zhil**	**(4) ʿsir zah[il**	
153.	**diua uʿsir šida ʿlmaiia bra**	**di]ua ʿsir (5) [šid]a ʿlmaiiḫ hu kulhin šurbatḫ ukulhin mhš-batḫ**	
154.	**za {ḏ-~~bz~~} ḏ-bhzqun ahblum**	**b[raz]ḫ ḏ-bhzqan (6) ah[ba]lum ...**	
155.	**ʿsira ʿstra trbuš⟨n⟩ita**	**(9) ʿsira ʿstra trbušnita**	
156.	**umulit ḏ-nhar kmar ʿsir**	**umulit ḏ-nhar kmar ʿsir**	
			BM 91777
157.	**usdim mria ḏ-bit zatan ʿsi**	**usṭim m[a]ria ḏ-bit (10) zatan**	**(10) usdi[m mri]a ḏ-bit zaman**
158.	**ra ʿstra amšmiš ḏ-š**	**ʿsira ʿstra ḏ-amašamiš ḏ-**	**ʿsira ʿstra amšamiš ḏ-**
159.	**uš bʿ⟨r⟩ta ʿsira usidima ʿs**	**šuš birta ʿsira usṭima**	**šuš birta ʿsira sdima**
160.	**pndarmid lilita ḏ-qrat lnp?**[30]	**ʿspdarmid lilita hiḫ qrat**	**ʿspa[ndar]mid lilita hʿ qrat lnpš[a]**
161.	**lnpša banug ʿsira anahid lilita**	**lnpša ... (12) ʿsira banug ahata ʿsira anahid lilita**	**ʿspan[dar]mid banug [...] (11) ʿsira banug [...] anhid lilita ...**
162.	**ḏ-arimin ḏ-kldaiiḫ ʿsira usidi**		**(12) uʿsira usdima**
163.	**ma lilita ḏ-atiba ʿl ṭura qali^a^**		**lilita ḏ-itba ʿl ṭura qalia**
164.	**ḏ-qalḫ ulaṭḫ marḫ ḏ-alma**		**ḏ-qilḫ ulaṭḫ marḫ ḏ-alma**
165.	**uqlia hʿia ḏ-luṭata lṭura ḏ-**		**hazin hʿia luṭata lṭura ḏ-**
166.	**iatiba ʿlḫ ḏ-luṭata uqria**		**itiba ʿlḫ ḏ-luṭata ḏ-lṭat (13) uqrat ʿsira hʿia uluṭata ...**
167.	**lnpša nanai ḏ-mia šlmia**		**lnpšḫ nnai ḏ-iatba ʿl mia šlamia ...**

30 Müller-Kessler read ~~lnš~~, but we do not see indications of the strikethrough on the first two letters. The final letter appears to us to be closer to a malformed **p** followed by what perhaps is the start of a **š**.

168.	**ʿsira nanai ḏ-burṣip unanai**		**ʿsira usdima nnai ḏ-burṣip ʿsira ^usdima^ nnai**
		MS 2054/23	
169.	**ḏ-bit guzaiia ʿsir nirig ḏ-**	**(4) uʿsir nirig ḏ-**	**ḏ-bit guzaiiḫ ḏ-bghzai (14) ʿsira hnin ukulhin prstuiata ḏ-qaima qudamain … (15) [ʿ]sir n[ʿrig ḏ-**
170.	**nhar kuptia uʿsir nišar**	**nhar kuptḫ uʿsir nirig ḏ-kškar (5) uʿsir nišar**	**nha]r kuptia uʿsir nʿrig ḏ-kškar uʿsir nʿšar ḏ-kškar …**
171.	**ḏ-kškar ʿsir birqa ḏ-šri**	**ḏ-kškar**	**ḏ-kškar …**
		MS 2054/43	FM E.2–1907
172.	**a bmata bt guznaiia ʿsira gi**	**(5) ʿsira**	**(35) ʿsira**
173.	**sur prsita uhugad prsita**	**gʿsur prsita**	**gisur (36) prsaita**
174.	**ʿsira anahid ḏ-qria lnpša**		
175.	**anahid mlakata uʿsira pn**		
176.	**prinarm dniata ʿsir mhraṭ**	**uʿsir mʿhrṭ**	**uʿisir mhraṭ**
177.	**shra ḏ-atib ʿl tila ḏ-mura**	**shra ḏ-qaim (6) qudamḫ ḏ-bit mgba**	**shra (37) ḏ-qaim qudamḫ ḏ-bʿit mgʿria**
		MS 2054/14	
178.	**uʿsira humrta uʿkura ḏ-**	**(4) ʿsira hia murat humt[a] uʿkura [… ḏ-]**	
179.	**šria ʿl tila ḏ-šulap ʿsi**	**šria (5) ʿ[l] tila ḏ-š[ulap …] ʿsira**	
180.	**ra lilita ḏ-ʿl tila ḏ-nhat iati^ba^**	**lilita ḏ-ʿl tʿila ḏ-n[…] iatba**	
181.	**uqria lnpša nanai {~~ḏ-xxx~~} ḏ-nhat**	**uq[ria] (6) [lnpša nanai …]**	
			FM E.2–1907
182.	**ʿsir grud gusphara alaha**	**[ʿsir gru]d gus[p]hra ḏ-qaim […]**	**(9) ʿsir (10) grud gusphra (11) ʿsir ʿlaha**
183.	**bruqa ḏ-atib ʿl gidḫ ḏ-dig**		**bru^qa^ (12) ḏ-ʿl gʿida**
184.	**lata ʿsira qinratia lilita**		**didigalat (13) iatib**
185.	**pt šrai ḏ-atiba ʿl tila ḏ-bit**		
186.	**mna ḏ-ʿstra ḏ-bit mna qri^a^**		
		MS 2054/114	
187.	**lnpša hʿia ʿtth ḏ-ria t**	**(3) hia ʿtth (4) ḏ-raia**	
188.	**bula ugirth ḏ-trmuz br**	**tbula ugiarth […]**	
189.	**kutil hʿia ḏ-abuia qrila**	**kutal ḏ-abu qarila**	
190.	**srsania hršata uʿmḫ qa**	**(5) srasnia hrašta uʿm[a**	
191.	**rialḫ amamit šprtia dh**	**qariala am]amit šapirtia**	
192.	**dhla uqdišata qrila r**	**udhla (6) uqadiša qarila**	
193.	**ruha ḏ-qudša ukumrḫ**	**ruha ḏ-qudša ukumra**	

194.	**ukumrath̲ qrilh̲ ʿstra ḏ-**	**[ukumr]ata qarila ʿstra ḏ-**	
195.	**bit mna ḏ-liba mlilh̲ hrš**	**bit mnaia (7) ḏ-lʿba mlila**	
196.	**ia pumh̲ zipa ušiqra ubit gbi**	**hršia upuma zipa ušiqra ubit**	
197.	**na razia urimazia bšiqra**	**gbina razia urimzia bšiqra ubširqia**	
198.	**ukdba ḏ-ʿka luath̲ msṭia**	**(8) ukdbia ḏ-ʿka luata masṭial-hun**	
199.	**lun lalmia udaria uʿqaria**	**lalmia udaria … uluat**	
200.	**dhila udhilata mndam ḏ-š**	**(10) dhla udhlata ʿqara mndam ḏ-**	
201.	**apir labad⟨a⟩ ḏ-rhmalh̲ ihiba**	**šapir labda ḏ-rahmala iahbala**	
202.	**lh̲ gura uzniuta ḏ-snialh̲**	**gura uzniuta udsniala**	
203.	**iahbalh̲ dištna umṭnputa**	**iahbala daštana umṭnputa**	
204.	**ukdšalh̲ {bgba} bgrba ḏ-rh**	**ḏ- (11) rahmala**	
205.	**malh̲ tlilh̲ ṭibla bṣura ḏ-{š}⟨s⟩ni**	**tliala ṭʿbla bṣura**	
206.	**alh̲ albišth̲ grba uautibath̲**	**udsniala mlbšala girba umut-bala**	
207.	**baba sania ʿnišia mnṭul ḏ-**	**bbaba hinun sania ʿnšia mnṭul**	
208.	**hrša urhma gubria mnṭu**	**hršain urahma (12) gubria**	
209.	**mnṭul gura lbar mn tlata ʿu**	**mnṭul gurain ʿsira urgila ukbiša braza umlala ḏ-tlata**	
210.	**tria bnia nhura ḏ-[ʿ]hibalik**	**gubria bnia nhura kḏ abar uʿtu ʿla u[…]la**	
211.	**razik uglilik štuatik utibr**	**raza uglula (13) šiṭuata ldila lshra ulhumra uliliata tabarla**	
212.	**lik qrinik brišik ha haza**	**qarna briša …**	
213.	**hazai ḏ-ana nukraia razik ua**	**(14) mnṭul ḏ-ihabilik razik**	
214.	**ksatik umumatik ʿhi[b]i**	**uakastik lik ulkulhin qriatik**	
215.	**lik lthṭibia bdilia pʿir**	**latihṭailia lia dilia (15) aziazdan br maduk**	
216.	**{uz} uzuai ubnai mnṭul razik uksa**	**mnṭul ḏ-ihibilik razik**	
217.	**tik umumtik ʿhibilik ušiṭ[u]**	**uakastik**	
		M154	Wolfe Unnumbered
218.	**atik glilik ʿsir diua abugdana**	**(4) ʿsirr(!) abugdana rba qrb-tana**	**(1) ʿsira diuia (2) abugdan rba qrptan**
219.	**ḏ-atib ʿl tila ḏ-bia bršrta^i^**	**ḏ-iatib (5) ʿl tila ḏ-bršartai**	**ḏ-iatiba ʿl tila rba ḏ-bita šrta**

220.	**uʿsir nrig ḏ-atib ʿl tila**	**uʿsir nirig ḏ-iatib ʿl tila**	**ʿsara nrga ḏ-itiba ʿl tila**
221.	**ḏ-bia knrita ʿsir gurda**	**ḏ-bit knariata (6) uʿsir grud guria**	**ḏ-bi krnuta ʿsira grud**
222.	**shra ḏ-šarim ptulata**	**shra ḏ-šarim ptulata**	**gusphra ḏ-ša ḏ-šra ptulta**
223.	**ḏ-atib ʿl tila ḏ-bia lhmia**	**ḏ-iatib ʿl tila ḏ-bit blahmia**	**ḏ-[iatib]a ʿl tila ḏ-[b]lahmia**
224.	**ʿsira ʿstra srita uʿs**		
225.	**tra klbita ʿsira ʿstra**		
226.	**huzita uʿstra qrmnia**		
227.	**ta ʿsira šadia[31] banug**		
228.	**ʿsir abugdana mrida ʿ~~si~~**		
			BM 91777
229.	**ubugdnita mrdnita uʿsir**		**(18) ʿsir**
230.	**mlaka ḏ-radin [šu]ṭagda**		**mlka ḏ-radin šṭurga**
231.	**ṭzana uʿsira mrta ḏ-bit**		**ṭʿzana uʿsiria mlakia kulhun ... (19) ... ʿsira ʿstra marṯḥ ḏ-bit {a}**
232.	**[z]ibna uʿsira ʿstra ḏ-ma**		**zibna [ʿsira ʿstra] ḏ-mata**
233.	**[t]a h{da}datia braza [r]ba**		**hdita uʿsira liliata zarnia**
234.	**[...]agan uʿsira ʿs**		**... (20)**
235.	**[tra ḏ-]ʿl prat iatib[a]**		**ʿstra ḏ-ʿl prat iatba**
236.	**[umu]liat [...]**		**umulit qrat lnpša**
	BM 132957		
237.	**[...]t prikia ʿsir[ia]**		**ʿsiria**
238.	**[šitin] ušita alahia**		**šitin ušita alahia ...**
239.	**[plng]a ḏ-nanai uʿsira na[nai]**		**(21) uʿsira planga ⟨ḏ-⟩ nnai**
240.	**[h]ʿia ušba ahua[ta]**		**hʿia ušaba ahuata**
	BM 132954		
240′.	**hʿia ušba ahuata ḏ-**		
241.	**šria ʿl hrina nhara**		**ḏ-š[ria ʿl] hurina nhra**
242.	**nhara ḏ-bit hšum ʿsir**		**ḏ-bit hašum ... (23) uʿsira**
243.	**sin ḏ-bit girma udarin ʿsi**		**ʿstra ḏ-bit girmai uradin ... (24)**
244.	**ra ʿstar ṭura ḏ-ʿiurat**		**ʿstra ḏ-ʿl ṭura iatba ḏ-ialdat**
245.	**ʿsira ʿstara ḏ-ṭura**		**uʿsira ʿstar ṭura**

31 Or **šaria**.

246.	**mskntia ʿsiria štin**		**mskintia** [...]
247.	**ušita ptikria ḏ-šria**		
		DCG 4	
248.	**ʿl nhar hda ḏ-hšuka**	**(6) ʿl nhar hada ḏ-hišuka** [...]	
249.	**ʿsira ʿstra ḏ-bugdana**	**uʿsira ʿstra ḏ-abugdana**	
250.	**uʿsir zakia udaniš uhzda**		
251.	**uʿsira ʿstra ḏ-iatiba**		
252.	**bqbria ḏ-ʿsiqria**		
253.	**mnṭul ḏ-dmuta hlpat**		
254.	**ʿsira ʿstra rbtia**[32]		
255.	**ḏ-bit abugadana ʿsir**		
256.	**tbula ḏ-nanai unahid**		
257.	**ʿsiraia ptikria ḏ-bit**		
258.	**ṣruda ʿsira ʿstra**		
259.	**ḏ-bit kuta ʿsira ʿs**		
260.	**tra ḏ-bit ṭṭia ʿsira**		
261.	**ʿstra {qba}qruṭba**		
262.	**ʿsira ʿstra ḏ-lbat**		
263.	**ʿsira ʿstra ḏ-urda**		
264.	**ḏ-bigrddnia ʿsira ʿs**		
		MS 2054/32	
265.	**tra ḏ-libat ʿsir mšha**	**(4) uʿsiria (5) diuia ḏ-šaiiḥ ḏ-mšʿiha**	
266.	**ḏ-mšgar klbia uqurn**	**mšgar klbia uʿsiria diuia**	
267.	**uqurnatan gaṭil hazuria**	**ḏ-qurnis mgaṭlia (6) hizuria**	
268.	**ʿsr ṭṭun ugimar uzamun**	**uʿsir diuia ḏ-ṭʿṭun ugimar**	
269.	**ušmama ḏ-atib⟨ia⟩ ʿl ʿuha**	**šmama** [...] **ḏ-iatbia ʿl**	
270.	**rata uqaria lnpšiun**	**ʿuhrata uqaria (7) ln[p]šaiun**	
271.	**ʿlahia mšria ṣibia**	**al[a]hia mašria ṣʿbia**	
272.	**[...] kulhun**		
273.	**ʿlahia ʿstrata uml**		
274.	**kia ushria ʿkuria upti**		
275.	**kria ušidia uhumria**		
276.	**udiuia uliliata rhia**		
277.	**saria usiṭania zikria**		
278.	**unuqbata ʿsiria kuk**		
279.	**bia ḏ-šiqra ukukbia**		

32 Or **rbitia**.

280. ḏ-rugaza umlušia kda
281. bia ʿsiria kulhun mla
282. kia ḏ-rugaza uarazia bi
283. šia ḏ-rqiha alma bit
284. muzinʿ ʿsiria barqa
285. ptiuna alma lšura ḏ-a
286. rqa mn [a]rqa ʿlma s
287. ka kulḫ {ḏ-maiia} ḏ-mia
288. siauia ʿsiria sdmi^a^
289. uhrimia gziria umgzr
290. ia ʿ ~~siria~~ umšmtia
291. ʿsir pumaiun uʿuira
292. ainiun ḏ-lanhazunḫ lbiš
293. lnukraia mndam luṭata
294. hdatia utiqata umṭrš
295. a ʿudainiun ḏ-lanišimn
296. ʿl pʿir br abandukt
297. mndam luṭata hdtia ua
298. tiqata pkra uʿsira ʿi
299. ʿdaiun ḏ-lanlgṭunḫ [l]pʿir
300. ulnbdulḫ mndam ḏ-biš
301. ʿsiria urgilia lgraihun
302. ḏ-lanitun ʿl nukraia ulnbd
303. ulḫ mndam ḏ-biš mnṭul ḏ-
304. ʿsir hiliun ʿsra hti
305. ma ʿidaiun bšumḫ ḏ-tgar
306. ḏ-tgar [...]aṭ šuma rba
307. ubšumḫ ḏ-ahu ahu ahu
308. ahu ahu ahu ahu ahu
309. ahu ubšumḫ ḏ-iam iam a
310. ša[r] ašar ašar a m a m
311. ubʿsqat adan adunai ṣ
312. ṣṣa adunai ṣṣa ubšum
313. anuš šrbiaiil šriria
314. ušriria ṣam uaazʿ uaa[z]ʿ
315. aazʿ aazʿ ubhah⟨u⟩ šuma
316. rba ḏ-bḫ ʿsira šumia
317. uarqa bḫ titsrun ulti
318. štrun ~~bšumḫ~~ ulatitun
319. ʿl nukraia ultqrbun luatḫ

320. **bšumḫ ḏ-biatam bitam**
321. **bitam bi[t]hum amin a**
322. **min asuta uzkuta thilḫ**
323. **lnukraia pʿr br aban**
324. **dukt ulhibil br mama^i^**
325. **ulmamai pt marta ulanu**
326. **š br mamai ulmrta p**
327. **pt mama lduriun hiklḫ**
328. **un uʿskuptun uhiia zakin**

3 Translation of the BM Lamella

(1) [In the name of] the Great Life! (2) May there be [hea]ling (3) unto Pīr Nuḵraia son of (4) Ābānduḵt [and] unto his dwelling (5) and his house. The anathema of the great name (6) and the anathema of the primordial word, (7) the anathema of Manda-ḏ-Heyyi, the anathema of (8) Yawar-Ziwa, the anathema of Hiḇil (9) the armed Uthra, the anathema of (10) Life I proclaim against … (11) … (12) *sahir*s and *šeds* and *devs*, (13) and slaughterers, goddesses (14) (and) pebble-spirits (14) and liliths, to bind (15) and shackle all of (16) the Seven (planets), the gods (17) and angels, pebble-spirits and (18) temple-spirits and idols and shrine-spirits (19) and archons, to let loose (M138 adds: against them) (20) sword, fire and conflagration (21) and banning and excommunication against (M138 adds: all the Seven (planets) and gods and angels and temple-spirits and archons and idols, and against) (22) every family and every (23) tribe and against (24) every household, and against (25) every pebble-spirit. (M138:10–11 adds: Bound is Buznai the lilith, she and all of her tribes.) (26) Bound are the three hundred and sixty (M138: furthermore, boun[d] are the six hundred and twenty) (27) imprecations of darkness that (28) are in the firmament, in the four (29) corners of the world (?) (M138: up to) the House of (30) the Scales. Bound are all (31) the imprecations that there are on the earth, (32) the daughter of slime (?).[33] From west to (33) east, and from north to south, (34) up to the end of the black (35) waters. Bound are all the (36) families and tribes (M138 adds: bound are all the black waters, bound are the gods and goddesses and all the families and the tr[i]bes of the [*s*]*ahirs*), bound is (37) Bizbaṭ, the father of the *sahirs* (38) and bound are all

33 See commentary.

his children, (39) the *sahirs* and *devs* and *šed*s (40) and liliths, servitors and nasties, (41) *piga*s and paralysis demons and epilepsy (42) demons. Bound are those of Beṯ (43) Nabu the Dog (M138: The House of [Beṯ] Guile [= Nikkal?]) that do not give (44) yet demand, and have not loaned yet take payment. (M138 adds: and they are called curses and imprecations in this world). (45) Bound are the incubi and tormentors, (46) the tribes of the drooling ones. (47) Bound are those of the House of (Beṯ) the Indians (M138: the House of [Beṯ] India), (48) the *sahir* who is in charge of (49) pitchers of water and uncovered (50) jugs. Bound are those of Beṯ (51) P(a)qa, (M138: P(a)qrun) the *sahir*, who are (52) clothed in rags and covered (53) in tatters, and he sits (M138: they sit) upon the (54) desolate rubbish-tips. They (55) are called "affliction of the night" (56) and "mishap of the day" (M138: "mishap of the night" and "affliction of the day"; they set forth guileful ones and they enter men's houses and destroy them). Bound (57) are those of the Beṯ Alga, the *sahir*, (58) who sit (M138: who sits) beneath the gutters. (59) Bound are those of the Beṯ Macedon, (60) the *sahir*, who sit (M138: who sits) in the (61) corners of ruined houses. (62) Bound are those of Beṯ *Sasanprun* (M138: Siqpun), (63) the *sahir* who dwells (64) in the leaves (?) of windows and in parapets (M138: of) (65) roofs.[34] Bound are those that overturn (66) hearts and pervert the mind. (67) Bound are all the *devs* that (68) are in the world, (69) bound is Komiš, the lilith who (70) dwells from Susa (71) up to Šuštar, in the ruins (72) of Qidrun, Matiene and Media, (73) and the land of the Romans (74) and the wilderness of Beṯ Asp(a)nia; (75) bound is she and all of (76) her tribes. Bound is (77) Ṭripit, the lilith who dwells in the (78) mountain of darkness, she and all of (79) her tribes. Bound is Dnapaṭ (80) Dinariṭ, the lilith who dwells in the (81) snowy mountain, bound is she (82) and all of her tribes. Bound is (83) N(a)mlik, the lilith who dwells in the land (84) of the Persians, she and all of (85) her tribes. Bound is M(a)lkiat, (86) the lilith who dwells in the whole territory (87) of Mesene, she and all of (88) her tribes. Bound is (89) Šašqalia, the lilith who dwells in the (90) Mount Qalia ("The Burnt Mountain") (91) that the Lord of the Earth burned, (92) she and all of her tribes. (93) Bound is Hṭaṭit, the lilith who (94) dwells on the banks of the sea, (95) bound is she and all of her (96) tribes. Bound is she (97) and all the *vehicles* and chariots (98) of fury that she has commanded. (99) Bound is Y(a)ldat, the lilith who dwells (100) on the banks of the Eulæus, she (101) and all of her tribes. Bound is (102) Azaṭ, the lilith who dwells (103) in Siniaus, the edifice (104) of the royal house of

34 The direct parallel with M138 ends here. M138 continues: "They pass by all the new houses that do not … (19) They enter and dwell within them … and they set … (20) from the house and dwelling and residence and building and the children of Ahay b. Ispindarmid, and Life is Victorious!".

Rome, (105) she and all of her tribes. (106) Bound is Npazaṭ, the lilith (107) who dwells (108) at the mouth of the Zaftai (= Lower Zab?) river. (109) Bound is she and all of her ⟨tribes⟩. (110) Bound is Ulamayi, who dwells in (111) the wilderness of Kulania (?) and bound is Elamayi, (112) the *dev* who dwells in the ruins of (113) ancient … (114) Bound is Lilith, the raiser of dogs, (115) bound is Lilith, the raiser of dogs, (116) who dwells on the Pešra river (117) and calls herself Mamai. Bound are (118) all the liliths[35] and goddesses who (119) dwell in the fortress of Škitin (120) Šaqrat (BM 132168: of Beṯ Iškatil and Šarqat) and in the furnaces of House of (121) Iniquities. Bound is the Messiah of (sic) The Life-Giver (122) who dwells in the church of Qrabul. (123) Bound are his sorceries and words of (124) falsehood and the spells of darkness that issue (125) from his mouth. Bound is Š(a)mzana, the *dev* (126) who dwells in the fortress of Karka (town of) Be(ṯ) Sloḵ. (127) Bound is Š(a)rznaia, the *dev* who dwells in (128) the fortress of Eulæus in the fortress of Karka (town) (129) of Sloḵ. Bound are all the gods (130) and angels and goddesses, temple-spirits (131) and idol-spirits, *sahir*s and *dev*s (132) and pebble-spirits and liliths that dwell on (133) the Glala River and the Simar River, (134) and on the Biṭar River and on the (135) Be(ṯ)-Hamia River. Bound is the goddess (136) of the town of Šenna, and bound is the Hurdaniata goddess (137) (?; MS 2054/29: the H[ur]bniata goddess), bound is the goddess (138) of Qrunia, bound is the goddess of (139) the cub of Yurat. Bound is Zakur, (140) the odious *sahir* who dwells on the lakes (141) of tar. Bound are the gods (142) and goddesses and temple-spirits and pebble-spirits (143) and idol-spirits and *šed*s and *dev*s and liliths (144) of all the House of Syria of the mouth of (145) the two (rivers), Beṯ Gazura (= Jazeera) and Nuar Nirig (146) and Beṯ Ṭaṭi(a) of Šuiania and *Brata* (147) *ḏ-Mihla* ("Daughter of Salt"). Bound is the goddess of the enduring (148) mountain who by crouches (?) by the spell of Biqaz (149) Qun Sasris. Bound is (150) the goddess of Huṣi(a) and bound is the *šed* (151) of *Gizra ḏ-Mihla* ("The Isle/Heap of Salt"?). Bound is (152) the goddess of Wardunia, bound is Zahil (153) the *dev*, and bound is the *šed*, Elamayi (IAA G adds: he and all of his tribes and all of his plans) by the (154) spell of {Bz} Bhzqun (IAA G: Bhzqan) Ahblum. (155) Bound is the goddess Tarbušnita (156) and Mulit of the Kmar river. Bound (157) and fettered is the Master of Beṯ Zatan (BM 91777: Zaman). Bound (158) is the goddess Amaššamiš of (159) Susa the fortress, bound and fettered is (160) Ispandarmid, the lilith who called (161) herself Lady (BM 91777: Ispandarmid the Lady). Bound is (IAA G adds: the Lady, her sister; bound is) Anahid the lilith (162) of Arimin of the Chaldaeans. Bound

35 The text of BM 132168 is damaged here, and when it resumes it takes a different direction. However, in line 28, the bowl reprises the line '**sira kulhin liliata** and again contains a parallel text.

and fettered (163) is the lilith who sits upon Mount Qalia ("the burnt mountain") (164) that the Lord of the World burned and cursed, (165) burned is she that cursed the mountain (166) upon which she sits, that of curses, and she calls (167) herself Nanai of (BM 91777: that sits upon) the perfect waters. (168) Bound is Nanai of Borsippa and Nanai (169) of Beṭ Guzayi. Bound is Nirig of (170) the Kufti River. Bound is Nišar of (171) Kashkar, bound is Birqa who dwells (172) in the town (of) Beṭ Guznaia, bound is (173) Gisur the Persian and Hugad the Persian. (174) Bound is Anahid who calls herself (175) Anahid the queen, bound is Pan- (176) Parinarm the subservient (?), bound is Mihraṭ, (177) the *sahir* that sits upon the mound of myrrh (MS 2054/43: that stands before Beṭ *Mgba*, FM E.2–1907: that stands before Beṭ Mgiri). (178) And bound is the pebble-spirit and the temple-spirit that (179) dwells on the mound of Šulap. Bound (180) is the lilith that rested and sits (181) and calls herself Nanai d-Nhat. (182) Bound is Grud Gusphara, the god Bruqa (183) who sits upon the bank of the (184) Tigris. Bound is Qinrati(a), the lilith, (185) daughter of Šarai, who sits upon the mound of Beṭ (186) M(a)na, who calls herself the goddess of Beṭ M(a)na. (187) She is the wife of Raia (188) Tabula (the spicer), and the adulterous (lover) of Tarmūz (= Tammūz) son of (189) Kutil. It is she that her father calls her (190) Sarasani the sorceress, and whom her mother calls (191) Amamit the beautiful. (192) Her worshipers and holy ones call her (193) The Holy Spirit, (194) and her priests and priestesses call her the goddess of (195) Beṭ M(a)na, who filled her heart with sorcery (and) (196) her mouth with fabrication and falsehood, and her forehead (197) with spells and signs (MS 2054/114 adds: in falsehood and) through the falsehood (198) and lies that she has at her disposal she leads astray (199) worlds and generations. And with (200) her male and female worshippers she does nothing (201) that is good. To the one whom she loves she grants (202) adultery and fornication, and to the one whom she loathes (203) she grants menstruation and uncleanliness (204) and smites him/her with leprosy. The one whom (205) she loves—she suspends a drum from (his) neck. The one whom she loathes—(206) she dressed[36] him in leprosy and sat him (207) in the gate. She hates women on account of (208) her (MS 2054/114: their) sorcery and loves men (209) on account of her (MS 2054/114: their) adultery, apart from (MS 2054/114: She is bound and shackled and subdued by the spell and word of) the three (210) Uthras (MS 2054/114: men), the sons of light (MS 2054/114 adds: when they passed over came against her and …) for your spell (211) is granted to you and your nakedness is revealed (MS 2054/114: [and granted] to her her spells, and revealed her nakedness, to her and her *sahirs* and her pebble-spells

36 The BM text here moves to the past tense, while MS 2054/114 remains in the participle.

and her liliths) and smashed (212) the horns upon your head (MS 2054/114: They smashed the horns upon her head). Behold, (213) see, that I, Nuḵraia, your spells and (214) your rebukes and your oaths (215) have I given you. Do not harm me, me, Pir, (216) nor my spouse or my children. Since your spells and your rebukes (217) and your oaths have I given you, your nakedness (218) is revealed. Bound is the *dev*, Abugdana, (M154: the great Abugdana, the warrior), (219) who sits upon the mount of Be(ṯ) Baršartai. (220) Bound is Nirig who sits upon the mound (221) of Be(ṯ) Knariata. Bound is Gurda (M145: Grud the Cub; Wolfe: Grud Gusphra), (222) the *sahir* who defiles virgins (223) who sits upon the mound of Be(ṯ)lehem. (224) Bound is the stinking goddess and (225) bound is the canine (rabid?) goddess. Bound is the goddess of (226) Huzai (Khuzestan) and bound is the goddess of Qarman. (227) Bound is Šadiya the Lady, (228) bound is the rebellious Abugdana (229) and the rebellious (A)bugdanita (f.). Bound is (230) the angel of Radin (Radanu river?), the impetuous [Štug]da/Šturga (231). Bound is the Mistress of Beṯ (232) Zibna, and bound is the goddess of Māṯā (233) Ḥdetta by the [g]reat spell (234) [...] And bound is the (235) go[dess who] sits on the Euphrates [and calls herself (236) Mu]lit [...] (237) Fettered and boun[d] are (238) the sixty-six gods, (BM 91777 adds: bound is) (239) the phalanx of Nanai. And bound is Nanai, (240) [s]he and her seven sister[s], (241) that dwell on the Hurin, (242) the river of Beṯ Hašum. Bound is (243) Sin of Beṯ Girmai, and ... (244) bound is the goddess (BM 91777 adds: that is on) the Mount of Yurat (?). (245) Bound is the goddess of Mount (246) Maskinti. Bound are the sixty (247) six idol-spirits that dwell (248) upon one river of darkness. (249) Bound is the goddess of Abugdana, (250) and bound is Zakia and Daniš and H(i)zda. (251) And bound is the goddess (252) that sits upon the graves of Isiqri (253) because she changed her form. (254) Bound is the great goddess (255) of Beṯ Abugdana. Bound is the (256) Tabula (the spicer?) of Nanai and Anahid. (257) Bound are the idol-spirits of Beṯ (258) Ṣruda. Bound is the goddess (259) of Beṯ Kuṯa, bound is the (260) goddess of Beṯ Ṭaṭi(a). Bound is (261) the goddess (of) {Qba}Qruṭba. (262) Bound is the goddess Delibat. (263) Bound is the goddess of Warda (264) of Be(ṯ) Gardadni(a) (?). Bound is the (265) goddess Delibat. Bound is the Messiah (266) that inflames dogs (267) and their horns killed pigs (MS 2054/32: and bound are the *dev*s of Qurnis that kill pigs). (268) Bound is Ṭiṭun (MS 2054/32: and bound is (!) the *dev*s of Ṭiṭun) and Gimar and Zamun (269) and Šmama, who sit⟨s⟩ upon the (270) roads and call themselves (271) gods (who) set firm their firewood (272) [...] are all (273) the gods and goddesses and (274) angels and *sahirs* and temple-spirits and (275) idol-spirits and *šed*s and pebble-spirits (276) and *dev*s and liliths, (277) stinking spirits and male and (278) female satans. Bound are the (279) stars of falsehood and stars (280) of fury and the lying constellations. (281) Bound are all the (282) angels of fury

and evil spells (283) of the firmament, up to the House of (284) the Scales. They are bound in the earth, (285) the daughter of slime, up to the navel of the earth, (286) from the earth up to the very (287) end of the black (288) waters are they bound and sealed (289) and banned and condemned and convicted (290) and excommunicated. (291) Bound is their mouth and blind are (292) their eyes that they may not see for evil (293) regarding Nuḵraia any curses, (294) new or old. And deafened (295) are their ears that they may not hear (296) regarding Pīr b. Abanduḵt (297) any curses, new or (298) old. Fettered and bound are (299) their hands that they may not seize Pīr (300) and not do unto him any evil. (301) Bound and shackled are their legs (302) that they may not come against Nuḵraia and may not do (303) unto him any evil. For (304) bound is their strength, bound and (305) sealed are their hands, in the name of (306) Tgar […]aṭ the great name, (307) and in the name of Ahu Ahu Ahu (308) Ahu Ahu Ahu Ahu Ahu (309) Ahu, and in the name of Iam Iam (310) Ašar Ašar Ašar a m a m (311) and by the seal of Adan Adonai (312) ṣṣa Adonai ṣṣa and in the name of (313) Anoš Šarbiael Šriri (314) and Šriri, Ṣam and Aazʿ and Aa[z]ʿ (315) Aazʿ and by that great (316) name by which the heavens (317) and earth were sealed. By it shall you be sealed and you shall not (318) be released. And you shall not come (319) against Nuḵraia and shall not draw near to him, (320) in the name of Biatam Bitam (321) Bitam Bi[t]hum, Amen (322) Amen. May there be healing and victory (323) unto Nuḵraia Pīr b. Abanduḵt (324) and unto Hiḇil b. Mamai (325) and unto Mamai d. Marta and unto Anoš (326) b. Mamai and unto Marta (327) daughter of Mama, unto their dwelling and their residence (328) and their threshold, and Life is Victorious!

4 Notes

3. [**p**ʿ]**ir nukraia**. Pīr is usually an honorific title, though in our text is also employed as a personal name.[37]

5–7. **bgan šuma rba ubgan mʿmra qadmaiia** 'The anathema of the great name and the anathema of the primordial word'. Müller-Kessler[38] translated **bgan** as 'By the protection', but the idiom **abgan**

37 On this name and title, see M. Lidzbarski, 'Ein mandäisches Amulett', in G.C.C. Maspero (ed.), *Florilegium ou recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à M. le Marquis Melchior de Vogüé à l'occasion du quatrevingtième anniversaire de sa naissance* (Paris, 1909), pp. 349–373 (372), and P. Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique* (Wien, 1986), p. 148 s.v. Pīr.

38 Müller-Kessler, 'Interrelations between Mandaic Lead Scrolls and Incantation Bowls', p. 200.

qarina ʿl 'I proclaim an anathema against' is common in Mandaic. Compare e.g. **bgan šuma rba ubgan mimra rba qa[d]maiia ʿl punaqitai lilita** 'the anathema of the great name and the anathema of the primordial word is upon Punaqitai the Lilith'. (Matisyahu 1:3–4)[39] and **uhaizak agzar agzarta hibil ziua ltarmidia uamar abgan hiia uabgan manda ḏhiia uabgan mimra rba qadmaia nihuia lkul gabra** {**ḏ-adin**} **ḏ-adinqia pandama maṣbuta niṣba** 'And then Hiḇil Ziwa decreed for the priests, and said, "May the anathema of Life, and the anathema of Manda ḏ-Heyyi, and the anathema of the great primordial word be upon any man that baptises without a *pandama* (face covering)"' (*Sidra ḏ-Nišmata* CP 45:36–38).

13. **nksia** 'slaughterers'. In M138:13 **unkusia.** The spellings may represent alternative forms of this category of demon based upon two alternating noun patterns: *nāḵsi* based upon the participle, and *nākōsi* based upon the *nomen agentis*.

16. **ʿlahia** 'gods'. The standard orthography is attested in this text once in the singular **alaha** (l. 182) and once in the plural **alahia** (l. 238). The orthography representing an i/e vowel is found another four times in our text: **ʿlahia** (l. 129–130, 141, 271, 273). The form with preliminary ʿ has not been recorded in the grammars and lexica of Mandaic, but we have found other examples in the epigraphic corpus, e.g. Pognon 25: 7, 8, and FM E.2–1907:11 (parallel to l. 182 of our text).

19. **mšbaq** 'to release'. Moussaieff 138: 9 reads **lmišbaq**. Both readings are grammatical.[40]

20. **uiaqadna** 'and conflagration'. The reading is certain, but in view of the noun pattern (compare Syriac بَصَّدْكَ)[41] we would expect the second **a** to appear after the **d**. The standard orthography is found in the parallel from Moussaieff 138: 9 **uiaqdan**[**a**].

22. **qninia qininia** 'every family'. The reading **qnnia** in M138:22 lends support to the irregular forms in BM 132947 (for regular **qinia**) and suggests that they are not to be emended.[42]

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39 O. Abudraham, 'Three Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the Yosef Matisyahu Collection' (Hebrew), *Leshonenu* 67 (2015), pp. 59–98 (62).

40 T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1875), p. 387.

41 M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon.* (*A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum*) (New Jersey, 2009), 581 s.v.

42 On such plural forms for other nouns, see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 163 (§ 132).

24. **bitia bitia** 'every household'. This example indicates that contra Nöldeke, this plural form is not to be regarded as a 'schlechte Lesart'[43] but is a genuine dialectal variant.[44]

24–25. **hu|mria humria** 'every pebble-spirit'. The role of this phrase here is enigmatic.

32. **pt iuna** 'the daughter of slime (?)'. Müller-Kessler read **ptihna** and translated 'I open'. The later priestly commentary *Alf Trisar Šiualia* reports: **uhu alma ḏmn atutia rbita hu urbita mn atutia alma ḏ-ptahil hʿ ⊙ ualma ḏ-ptahil mn atutia alma ḏ-arqa ḏ-tibil pt iauna (var** DC 6: **iuna**) 'And that is the world that is beneath the sea (*rḇiṯa*), and the sea is beneath the world of Ptahil, and the world of Ptahil is beneath the world of *Tiḇil*, the daughter of *Iauna*'.[45] The Mandaic dictionary tentatively relates this use of **iauna** to Biblical Hebrew יְוֵן 'mire', though Macuch questioned whether the phrase **arqa pt iauna** is not to be derived a myth relating to **iauna** 'dove'. Its derivation remains enigmatic.[46]

32–33. **lm|{dana}dna** 'to the east'. Moussaieff 138:33 reads **lmadna**, and from the context, the identity of the lexeme is not in doubt. It is possible that the original spelling in BM represents the alternative form **(l)mdana** attested in MS 2054/83:6–7: **mn mdana lmarba** 'from east to west'.

34–35. **lska ḏ-mia sia|uia** 'to the end of the black waters'. In the *Ginza*, the black waters are the birthplace of evil creations (e.g. Gy 309:11–16), including the earth (e.g. Gy 169:10–15, 268:6–7).

35–36. **kulhiun qinia** 'all the families'. While the precise pronunciation of this unusual form of the pronominal suffix (for standard Mandaic **kulhun**) cannot be determined, its occurrence three times in our text suggests that it cannot be rejected as a scribal error. The other examples are f.pl. **hʿia ukulhiun šurbaṯ̲** 'she and all of her tribes' (ll. 84–85) and m.pl. '**siria kulhiun diuia** 'bound are all the *dev*s' (l. 67). For the word-pair **qinia**/**šurbana**, compare **qina ḏ-muta ušurbata** (**rurbata**) **ḏ-hbila** 'the tribe of death' in *Pašar Mihla* (169–170, 189–190, 200–201, 223–224, 259–260).

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43 Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 183 (§148).

44 See O. Abudraham, *A Grammar of Early Mandaic according to the Languages of the Incantation Bowls and Amulets* (unpubl. diss., Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2017), p. 195 n. 1031.

45 For other references to **arqa pt iauna**, see E.S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963), p. 185 s.v. iauna 2.

46 R. Macuch, 'Zur Grammatik und zum Wörterbuch des Mandäischen', in idem (ed.), *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer* (Berlin, 1976), pp. 1–146 (13).

37–38. **bizbaṭ abhn ḏ-shr|ia** 'Bizbaṭ, the father of the *sahirs*'. The same epithet for Bizbaṭ is found in *Šafta ḏ-Qaština* 365, while in canonical Mandaean sources, Bizbaṭ is identified as the father Muhammad;[47] see e.g. **ahmaṭ br bizbaṭ sahra** (Gy. 21–22).[48] The form **abh(u)n** for **abuhun** was dismissed in Nöldeke's grammar,[49] but is now well attested in epigraphic sources.[50]

40. **lhania // ulihania** 'servitors'. Drower and Mauch[51] followed Nöldeke[52] in deriving this demon class from Mandaic **liha** 'net'. However, in light of forms such as ללחני (e.g. Allard Pierson Museum: 2),[53] it seems that the *h* (JBA *ḥ*) was originally geminated, and the demon name is a form of Aramaic *laḥḥin* < **lahhinu* 'temple or court official'.[54]

42–44. '**siria ḏ-bt nbu klba ḏ-laihibia ubaiia** 'Bound are those of Beṯ Nabu the Dog that do not give yet demand'. M138 reads: '**siria ḏ-bit nʿklta ḏ-lihib ubaiia** 'Bound are those of the House of (Beṯ) Guile that does not give yet demands'. It is possible that **nʿklta** 'guile' represents a folk etymology of the name of the goddess Nikkal. The defective orthography of **bt** 'house of' provides clear evidence for reduction of the diphthong in the construct form of this noun. Additional examples are found in ll. 50, 104, 172. An alternative form with the elision of final **-t** is also common in this amulet, e.g. **bia aulia** (ll. 120–121), **bia bršrta^i^** (l. 219), **bia knrita** (l. 221), **bia lhmia** (l. 223), and **bigzura** (l. 145).

44. **ularšun** 'and they have not loaned'. Moussaieff 138:14 reads **udla ršu** 'and who have not loaned'. The two textual witnesses employ different forms of the 3 m.pl. perfect morpheme for III-*y* verbs. Such interchanges are common in epigraphic Mandaic texts.[55]

46. **ḏ-ririnia** 'the drooling ones'. M138:15 reads **ḏ-rirania**. We interpret this as the plural of an unattested **rirana** 'drooler'. However, a con-

47 See references in Drower and Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, p. 60 s.v.

48 On this passage, see M. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (Giessen, 1915), p. 193 n. 3.

49 Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 181 (§147).

50 See C. Müller-Kessler, 'A Mandaic Gold Amulet', p, 86; Abudraham, *A Grammar of Early Mandaic*, pp. 195–196.

51 Drower and Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, p. 235b.

52 Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 139 (§117).

53 K.A.D. Smelik, 'An Aramaic Incantation Bowl in the Allard Pierson Museum', *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 35 (1978), pp. 174–177 (175).

54 S. Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago, 1974), p. 66.

55 Abudraham, *A Grammar of Early Mandaic*, p. 293.

nection cannot be ruled out with the toponyms found in BM 1957-9-25.1, ואיסתרא דדירוני (l. 6) and ואסתרא דרידדני (l. 7).[56]

48–50. **shra ḏ-pqidilḫ ha|ṣbia ḏ-mia ukuzia ḏ-mgalia** 'the *sahir* who is in charge of pitchers of water and uncovered jugs'. Müller-Kessler cites these lines and translates 'Sahra (moon demon) who commanded pitchers of water and jugs of shadows'.[57] The final word is missing in her citation, but from her translation and comment ('The letters *g* and *ṭ* are sometimes confused in the Mandaic script') it would appear that she also read **mgalia** but proposed emending the text to **mṭalia**. However, there are no grounds for this emendation. On the prohibition in Rabbinic tradition of liquids left uncovered see *m. Ter*. 8:4–7.

48–49. **ha|ṣbia** 'pitchers'. For pitcher-spirits, see Müller-Kessler, 'Mandaic Incantation against an Anonymous Dew,' p. 496 following Drower and Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary*, p. 126a (sic) s.v. **haṣubia**.

50–63. '**siria ḏ-bt pqa shra** 'Bound are those of the House of P(a)qa, the *sahir*'. Through this passage, there is some confusion both between the different textual witnesses and within them over whether the nouns and verbs are in the singular or plural, i.e. whether they agree with the noun **shra** or the relative pronoun **ḏ**, which may be singular or plural. Hence in BM '**siria ḏ-bt pqa shra** (sing.) **ḏ-lbiš|ia** (pl.) **blaiia umksin** (pl.) **blaiiata uiatib** (sing.) '**l qi|qlata hrubata hinun** (pl.) etc. parallels M138 **shrḫ** (sing. or pl.) **ḏ-lbišia** (pl.) **blaiiḫ umksia** (pl.) **blaiiḫ uiatbia** (pl.). '**l qiqlata**. In this case, the plural **uiatbia** seems preferable from the context. Similarly, in ll. 56 ff.: BM '**sir|ia** (pl.) **ḏ-bit alga shra** (sing.) **ḏ-atibia** (pl.) **tutia nrzu|bia** parallels M138 '**siria** (pl.) **ḏ-bit alga shra** (sing.) **ḏ-iatib** (sing.) **tutia nrzubia**.

51–53. **ḏ-lbiš|ia blaiia umksin blaiiata** 'who are clothed in rags and covered in tatters'. On **blaiia** and **blaiiata**, see the comments by Müller-Kessler in her edition of this text.[58]

57. **shra** 'the *sahir*'. Müller-Kessler reads **sh{i}r⟨i⟩a**.

58. **ḏ-atibia** 'who sit'. The scribe almost consistently omits the first *y* of the root *y-t-b*. In addition to this example, the *y* is omitted in another nine examples in various persons (see ll. 60, 163, 177, 183,

56 For possible identifications of these toponyms, see Levene and Bohak, 'A List of Deities and Toponyms', p. 65.

57 Müller-Kessler, 'A Mandaic Incantation against an Anonymous Dew', *Aram* 22, p. 469.

58 Müller-Kessler, 'Interrelations between Mandaic Lead Scrolls and Incantation Bowls', pp. 201 n. 28.

185, 219, 220, 223 and 269). All of the examples follow the relative pronoun **ḏ-**. Examples presenting the first radical are rarer: **uiatib** (53), **ḏ-|iatbia** (165–166), **iatib[a]** (235), **ḏ-iatiba** (251). All the forms also show a full vowel following the second radical. Morphologically, these forms could be interpreted as active participles without the reduction or with the secondary expansion of the second vowel (*yātiḇā* for expected *yātəḇā*), but it seems more likely that the forms are to be interpreted as representing the passive participle *yətīḇā*. Perhaps *diyətīḇā* > *diʔətīḇā*.[59]

61–62. **ḏ-btia hrbi|a** 'of ruined houses'. Müller-Kessler translated 'privies',[60] but the root *h-r-b* (< Aramaic *ḥ-r-b* < Central Semitic *ḫ-r-b*) does not have this meaning.

64–65. **ubtiaqi|a** 'and in parapets'. The meaning of this word and its occurrence in Mandaic discussed by Ford.[61]

69. **kumiš**. Geoffrey Herman notes that this lilith name also appears in the magic bowl corpus as a personal name (CBS 2922 [Montgomery 17]: 2, 11, 12).[62]

70. **ualma** 'up to'. Müller-Kessler read **alma** but the **u** is clear to us.

74. **ḏ-bit aspnia**. We may cautiously suggest that this is related to the toponym **אספמיא** found in the Babylonian Talmud.[63]

87. **mšun**. Identified with Mesene in Southern Iraq.[64]

89–90. **bṭura qlia** 'Mount Qalia' ("The Burnt Mountain"). We take this to be a toponym, but compare **damit lṭura qalia ḏ-lamapiq btibil simadria** 'You are like a burned mountain that produces no blossom in the world' (Jb. 109: 19–20).

97. **krbia** 'vehicles'. We have tentatively interpreted this as a metathesised form of **rkbia**.

100. **kipḫ ḏ-ʿulai**. The Ulay river, today known as the Karkheh.

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59 See J. Blau, 'The paʿul Participle in Active Meaning', *Leshonenu* 18 (1952), pp. 67–80.

60 Cf. Müller-Kessler, 'Dämon + *YTB 'L*', pp. 341–354 (342): 'Aborte'.

61 J.N. Ford, 'Three Hapax Legomena in the Babylonian Talmud', *Le Muséon* 130 (2017), pp. 1–30 (23 n. 75).

62 T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity: Part IV: The Eastern Diaspora 330 BCE–650 CE* (Tübingen, 2011), p. 231.

63 See Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, p. 388.

64 On the use of this name in the Sassanid period, see J.N. Ford, 'A New Parallel to the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Incantation Bowl IM 76106 (Nippur 11 N 78)', *Aramaic Studies* 9 (2011), 249–277 (269–270); Y. Paz, '"Meishan Is Dead": On the Historical Contexts of the Bavli's Representations of the Jews in Southern Mesopotamia', in G. Herman and J.L. Rubenstein (eds.), *The Aggada of the Bavli and its Cultural World* (Providence, 2018), pp. 47–99.

102. **azaṭ.** Also attested in IM 132481: 57 (published by Zehron Nu'mān), and in BM 91715 [Segal 084M]:4 // BM 91780 [Segal 085M]:3.[65]

103–104. **bsiniaus bniana ḏ-bt mlaka ḏ-rima** 'in Siniaus, the edifice of the royal house of Rome'. Lidzbarski already noted that **Siniauis** is described in the Gy 134:6 as **arqa titaita ḏ-hšuka** 'the lower land of darkness', and cited our text in comparison.[66] For **mlaka**, Lidzbarski read **mlka**, but our reading is certain. For **rima**, Lidzbarski read **ruma**.

108. **nhar zptai** 'the Zaftai river'. Müller-Kessler tentatively suggests identifying this with the 'little Zab'. It is perhaps a compound of *zaḇ tatai* 'lower Zab'. Ran Zadok writes: I doubt whether it can be equated with Gk. Ζαπάτας of Xenophon, Anab. because the Semitic form of this river (and its homonym) has always been *Zāb* without any extension/suffix (Akkad. *Zābu* is with the nom. sg. marker which became obsolete in the 1st millennium BCE). The more so since the Semitic form is very old and persists until nowadays. Perhaps *Zaptay*, which apparently ends with an adjectival suffix (originally < *-āy*), refers to the stream which flowed in Hit, a source of bitumen (*zpt* = Aramaic 'pitch').

114. **mrbia klibia** 'the raiser of dogs'. Müller-Kessler read **mrdia** and translated 'rebellious, dog-like'. While this interpretation is supported by epithets applied to the '**stra** 'goddess', it is problematic within the present context as the liliths here are all construed as feminine, hence we would expect these adjectival modifiers to be in the f.s.

120. **šaqrat**. Müller-Kessler read the parallel in BM 132168:30 as **ušarmat**, but though damaged, the third letter is clearly **q**, not **m**.



FIGURE 9.1 **ušaqrat** (BM 132168: 30)
PHOTOGRAPH BY MATTHEW MORGENSTERN, PUBLISHED HERE WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

120. {**ubatnia**} **ubtunia** 'and in the furnaces'. Müller-Kesser read **ubatnia** {'**btnia**}. We regard the sharp right-facing stroke before the **n** of the second word to be **u**, and take it to be a rewriting of the previous

65 J.N. Ford, 'Another Look at the Mandaic Incantation Bowl BM 91715', *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 29 (2002), pp. 31–47 (34).

66 Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch*, p. 12 n. 1.

word meaning 'furnace'. Defective spelling following a prefixed preposition is quite common in the epigraphic corpus. See also **unahid** 'and Anahid' (l. 256), **utiqata** 'and new (f.pl.)' (l. 294).[67]

121. '**sir mšʿha ḏ-mhiana** 'Bound is the Messiah of (sic) The Life Giver'. A reference to Jesus. Compare e.g. from the Ginza: **amunʿil šumḫ uʿšu mahiana qra lnapšḫ** 'His name is Amunael (= Emanuel) and he called himself Jesus the Life-Giver' (Gy 28:17–18).[68]

122. **bqlisia ḏ-qrabul** 'in the church of Qrabul'. Compare רוסתקא דקרבי/ול (B24:2).[69] This is the first epigraphic attestation of Greek ἐκκλησία 'church' in Mandaic.[70] It is attested in Syriac both in the form ܐܟܠܝܣܝܐ[71] and ܩܠܝܣܝܐ.[72]

123. '**siria hrša umnla** 'Bound are his sorceries and words'. From the context, we would expect **hršḫ umnlḫ**. Both nouns are plural, and the antecedent of the possessive pronouns would appear to be **mšʿha** 'the Messiah'. Graphically, the reading with final **-a** is preferable, though it is not clear to what f.s. antecedent the pronouns might refer. It could perhaps be **qlisia** 'the Church'.

127–129. **ba|qra ḏ-ʿulai baqra ḏ-krka ḏ-saluk** 'in the fortress of Karka (town) of Sloḵ', i.e., modern Kirkuk. The repetition here from the previous line perhaps implies dittography.[73]

133. **uʿl nhar simar.** Ran Zadok writes: The *Simar* river may be identified with the modern Saimarreh (/*Saymarre*/) river which starts 25 km SE of Kermanshah (Media) and flows southwards via Luristan where it becomes a tributary of the Karun river; the latter is one of the main rivers of Susiana.[74]

136. **dura ḏ-šina** 'the town of Šenna'. Although this would ostensibly appear to be related to JBA דור שיני 'gums', a term which has been extensively discussed in the literature,[75] this meaning is not suited

67 For many additional examples, see Abudraham, *A Grammar of Early Mandaic*, pp. 62–63.

68 Some manuscripts read: '**šu mšiha mahiana** 'Jesus the Messiah, the Life-Giver'.

69 J. Naveh, and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae* (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 133–135.

70 Drower and Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, p. 413 s.v.

71 Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 92 s.v.

72 Bar Bahlul, *Lexicon Syriacum*, ed. R. Duval (Paris, 1901), 1790, s.v.

73 On this passage, see Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch*, p. 152 n. 3.

74 See D.T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 106.

75 See most recently H. Mutzafi, 'Further Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Words in Light of Neo-Aramaic' (Hebrew) *Leshonenu* 81 (2017), pp. 257–275 (261–262); M. Stol, 'Teeth and Toothache', in S.V. Panayotov and L. Vacín (eds.), *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic* (Leiden–Boston, 2018), pp. 745–770 (748).

to our context, and it is better interpreted as the region Šenna in North-Eastern Babylonia.[76]

137. **hurdniata**. MS 2054/29: **h**[**ur**]**bnaita**. Compare perhaps אימה רבה דחובניא (BM 1957-9-25.1:7), which has been identified as Ḥabbāniyya by Lecker and Zadok.[77]

138. **qrunia**. Geoffrey Herman has suggested connecting this to קלוניא mentioned in *b. Yev*. 115b.

140–141. **iama**|**ta** 'lakes'. The first attestation in Mandaic of the lexeme *yammətā* 'lake'. Compare Syriac ܝܰܡܬܳܐ.[78]

141. **ḏ-aqira** 'of tar'. For the **a** between the relative pronoun and the noun **qira**, compare **ḏ-abna** 'that he built' (MS 2087/4 a 8), **dadlibat** 'of Dilbat' (MS 2054/106:10).

150. '**stra ḏ-huṣia** 'the goddess of Huṣi(a)'. Probably an unidentified toponym. Compare the enigmatic אימה רבתי הוצי הוצייא (BM 1957-9-25.1:8).[79]

151. **ḏ-gzra ḏ-mhla**. Probably a toponym, though possibly one formed form descriptive nouns. **gzra** may perhaps be interpreted as an island, or alternatively, as a heap; cf. NENA *gizra* 'heap of wood'.[80] The toponym is otherwise unknown.

152. **urdnia** 'Wardunia'. This toponym is also mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud.[81] Ran Zadok adds: In view of its occurrence in Mandaic, it should be lemmatised accordingly in Oppenheim, where he prefers what now becomes an inferior variant (*Wrdyn'*) as lemma. In this case, it ends in the compound suffix *-ūn-ya* which is common in the Aramaic toponymy of the Babylonian alluvium (the base is Iranian).

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76 See G. Herman, 'Babylonian of Pure Lineage: Notes on Babylonian Jewish Toponymy', in M. Piotrkowski, G. Herman and S. Dönitz (eds.), *Sources and Interpretation in Ancient Judaism: Studies for Tal Ilan at Sixty* (Leiden, 2019), pp. 191–228 (201–202).

77 Apud Levene and Bohak, 'A List of Deities and Toponyms', p. 66.

78 Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 576 s.v.

79 Levene and Bohak, 'A List of Deities and Toponyms', p. 66.

80 See Y. Sabar, *A Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dictionary: Dialects of Amidya, Dihok, Nerwa and Zakho, Northwestern Iraq* (Wiesbaden, 2002), p. 121. Reference courtesy of Professor Hezy Mutzafi, p.c.

81 See C. Müller-Kessler, 'Šamaš, Sîn (Sira, Sahra), Delibat (Ištar, al-'Uzzā), und Kēwān (Kajjamānu) in den frühen mandäischen magischen Texten und bei ihren Nachbarn—Eine Bestandsaufnahme', *Isimu* 20–21 (2017–2018), pp. 259–296 (272); B.Z. Eshel, *Jewish Settlements in Babylonia during Talmudic Times* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 113–114; and A. Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period* (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 461–464.

155. **trbušita.** This is the reading of our lamella, and it is in this form that the text was correctly cited by Müller-Kessler and Kessler.[82] Their proposal to emend our text to read **trbuš⟨n⟩ita** based upon other instances of this name is now supported by our previously unknown parallel from IAA G:9, though the reading without **n** is also found in *Qmaha ḏ-Ṣir Sahra* (DC 43A:137).

157. **ḏ-bit zatan**. Müller-Kessler read **ḏ-bit zaman** in both BM texts.

158. **amšmiš.** Derived from **amat šamiš* 'the handmaiden of Šamiš', **amšmiš** occurs in epigraphic Mandaic texts as a demonic name, e.g. BM 91775 [Segal 086M]: 9, 16 (bis). It is also attested as a personal name in a bilingual inscription from Edessa.[83] The geminated σ in the Greek form of the name in that inscription, Αμασσαμσες, indicates that the final *-t* of *amat* was assimilated into the first ***š*** of ***šamiš***.

159–161. **'s|pndarmid … anahid.** Demonised forms of two Zoroastrian deities. Spendārmad, daughter of Ahura Mazda, and Anahid.[84]

165. **ḏ-luṭata lṭura** 'that cursed the mountain'. We have interpreted **luṭata** as the verb (for **laṭṭa** or perhaps **lṭata**), but the syntax here is difficult and the text may be corrupt. Regrettably, the parallel is broken at this point.

168–169. **nanai ḏ-burṣip unanai ḏ-bit guzaiia.** For a detailed discussion of these gods, see Müller-Kessler and Kessler, 'Spätbabylonische Gottheiten', pp. 75–77.

170–171. **nišar ḏ-kškar.** Nišar of Kaškar was first identified in Mandaic literature by Greenfield.[85]

171–172. **'sir birqa ḏ-šri|a bmata bt guznaiia.** The god Birqa of Guznaia has been discussed in detail by Müller-Kessler and Kessler.[86] See also below, the comments by Ran Zadok on **bruqa** (l. 183).

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82 Müller-Kessler and Kessler, 'Spätbabylonische Gottheiten', p. 71. The reading **trbušnaita** in our text presented in C. Müller-Kessler 'The Mandaeans and the Question of Their Origin', *Aram* 16 (2004), 47–60 (56) is thus incorrect.

83 H.J.W. Drijvers and J.F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene* (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1999), pp. 157–158.

84 See G. Herman, 'Jewish Identity in Babylonia in the Period of the Incantation Bowls', in D. Rivlin Katz, N. Hacham, G. Herman and L. Sagiv (eds.), *A Question of Identity: Social, Political, and Historical Aspects of Identity Dynamics in Jewish and Other Contexts* (Berlin and Boston, 2019), pp. 131–152 (140–141).

85 J.C. Greenfield, 'A Mandaic Miscellany', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984), pp. 81–85 (81–85); and see further Paz, "Meishan Is Dead", pp. 58–59.

86 C. Müller-Kessler and K. Kessler, 'Zum Kult des Wettergottes von Guzana', in A. Erkanal et al. (eds.), *Eski Yakin Dou Kültürleri Üzerine Incelemeler* (Istanbul, 1995), pp. 239–244.

176. **mhraṭ**. Normally a personal name ('descendent of Mihra'),[87] it is used here as a demonic name.

177. **tila ḏ-mura** 'the mound of myrrh'. Compare הר המור (Cant. 4:6). The variants indicate that the textual tradition is very unstable at this point, and this may be the corruption of a toponym.

180–181. **ḏ-nhat iati^ba^ uqria lnpša nanai** {**ḏ-xxx**} **ḏ-nhat** 'that rested and sits and calls herself Nanai d-Nhat'. The expression appears to be an etiology; perhaps **nanai ḏ-nhat** is intended to explain the origin of the syncretistic goddess *Nanai Anahid*.[88]

183. **bruqa**. Ran Zadok writes: The god *Bruqa* is identical with the god *ᵈBu-ru-qu* of the city of Dēr, 25 km. east of the Tigris. He is mentioned in an Assyrian royal inscription from 813 BCE.[89] *ᵈBu-ru-qu* probably goes back to a *qatūl*-formation with NA vowel harmony. The theophorous element which denotes 'lightning' has a variation of several nominal formations: *qatūl*: *ᵈBa-ru-qu-il*(?)-*lu*(?)-*ú*, *ᵈBa-ru-qu-x*⌋ [...],[90] with *ū* in view of *ᵈBu-ru-qu* above. The divine name by itself is *ᵈBir-qu* in Akkadian, i.e. of the *qitl*-formation like Mandaic **birqa** (above, ll. 171–2) which may be considered its continuant. Mandaic has **mata** (land) of **bt** (*Bēt*) **guznaiia** (the Aramaic origin of the region name Γαυζανιτις of Ptolemy) as the abode of *Birqa*. Macuch[91] considered the *qatl*-formation as the original one in this case. A *qutl*—formation is discernible in West Semitic anthroponymy.[92]

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87 Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique* (Wien, 1986), p. 124 n. 615 s.v. Mihrād.

88 See M. Boyce in M. Boyce, M.L. Chaumont, C. Bier, "ANĀHĪD," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 1/9, pp. 1003–1011, available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/.

89 A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)* (Toronto, 1996), p. 190: Šamšī-Adad V, A.0.103.2, iii, 44'; see J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia* (Rome, 1968), pp. 209–210.

90 R. Zadok, 'The Representation of Foreigners in Neo-and Late-Babylonian Legal Documents (Eighth through Second Centuries B.C.E.)', in O. Lipschits and J. Blenkinsopp, (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (Winona Lake, 2003), pp. 471–589 (526: A/3.1.5, 3); *idem*., 'West Semites in Administrative and Epistolary Documents from Northern and Central Babylonia' in R. Deutsch (ed.), *Shlomo; Studies in Epigraphy, Iconography, History and Archaeology in Honor of Shlomo Moussaieff* (Tel Aviv, 2003), pp. 255–271 (263: 1.3.5, 17).

91 R. Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin, 1965), p. 172: 116b.

92 For examples, see R. Zadok, 'Syro-Palestinian Parallels to Lebanese Toponyms', *BiOr* 33 (1976), pp. 304–310 (308b).

The Aramaic theonym is of the *qatl*-formation (later > *qtal*) like in Arabic[93] (the *qutl*-formation denotes the morning star in JPA).[94]

185. **šrai**. Müller-Kessler transcribes this name as **Šadai**,[95] but the reading with **r** seems certain.

187–188. **ria t|bula**. MS 2054/114:4–5 reads **raia tbula**. This deity is mentioned in a positive manner nine times in *Pašar Mihla*[96] as the parent of the personified salt that is addressed throughout that work. The etymology would appear to be from *rāʕyā* 'shepherd' and an unattested *nomen agentis* form *tāḇōlā* 'spicer'.

189. **ḏ-abuia** 'that her father'. On the use of the 3m.s. possessive pronoun in BM 132947 compared to the feminine form **abu** in MS 2054/114, see Abudraham, *A Grammar of Early Mandaic*, p. 187.

190–195. **uʿmḫ qa|rialḫ amamit šprtia dh | dhla uqdišata qrila r | ruha ḏ-qudša ukumrḫ ukumratḫ qrilḫ ʿstra ḏ-bit mna** 'and whom her mother calls Amamit the beautiful. Her worshipers and holy ones call her The Holy Spirit, and her priests and priestesses call her the goddess of Beṯ M(a)na'. These lines were first published by Müller-Kessler,[97] but with unnecessary emendations which led her to misinterpret the passage. **dhla** and **kumrḫ** are plural forms bearing the 3 f.s. possessive pronoun, hence 'her worshippers' and 'her (male) priests'.

203. **dištna umṭnputa** 'menstruation and uncleanliness'. Compare **umṭanputa uzma udaštana** (Gy 51:19).

204. **ukdšalḫ** {**bgba**} **bgrba** 'and smites him/her with leprosy'. This appears to be the first attestation in Mandaic of the root *k-d-š* (< Aramaic *k-t-š*) with the specific sense of 'smite with skin disease'. It is already attested in the Gt stem in this sense in the Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran (1QapGen 20:25).

205–206. **ḏ-šni|alḫ** 'the one whom she loathes'. The reading is certain, but from the context, this should read **ḏ-sni|alḫ** as in line 202. It is

93 J. Fox, *Semitic Noun Patterns* (Winona Lake, 2003), p. 82, suggests that the original formation was *qatal*, but he does not list all the forms. It must be admitted that it is difficult to find a vocalised common precursor for the extremely variegated morphological spectrum presented here.

94 Cf. M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*[2] (Ramat Gan, 2020), 188; *idem*, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*[3] (Ramat Gan, 2017), p. 102a, s.v. 2# ברק.

95 Müller-Kessler, 'Ištar als «Heiliger Geist»', p. 111.

96 Lines 150, 153, 334, 337, 355–356, 360–361, 367, 374, 383.

97 Müller-Kessler, 'Ištar als «Heiliger Geist»', pp. 111–112.

unclear if this is a phonetic variant or a misreading of a *Vorlage* **ḏ-sani|alḫ**, with Mandaic ࡐ for graphically similar ࡑ.

207. **baba** 'in the gate'. MS 2054/114:11 reads **bbaba**.[98]

211. **uglilik štuatik** 'and your nakedness is revealed'. Compare **galiltinin lšiṭuatḫ** (Gy 118:19).

221. **gurda**. The reading **grud gusphra** in Wolfe alludes to the deity mentioned in l. 182 of the BM text.

222. **ḏ-šarim ptulata** 'that defiles the virgins'. On the meaning of this expression, see M. Morgenstern, 'Mandaic Magic Bowls in the Moussaieff Collection', in M. and E. Lubetski (eds.), *New Inscriptions and Seals Relating to the Biblical World* (Atlanta, 2012), 157–170 (165).

226. **huzita** 'of Huzai', presumably Be(ṯ) Huzaia.

226–227. **qrmnia|ta** 'of Qarman' (f.), a place-name mentioned already by Strabo and later in the Babylonian Talmud.[99]

229. **mrdnita** 'rebellious'. A new word in the Mandaic lexicon.

232–233. **ma|ta h{da}datia**. BM 91777 reads **mata hdita**. This is probably to be identified with the town Ḥdetta, Persian Nōkard 'new town', south of the meeting point of the Tigris and the Upper Zab.[100]

235–236. The order in BM 91777:17 is reverse: '**stra ḏ-'l prat iatba umulit qrat lnpša 'siria šitin ušita alahia**.

242. **hšum**. Müller-Kessler apparently read **hšim**,[101] but the penultimate letter is clearly connected to the **m**.

243. **bit girma**. BM 91777 reads **bit girmai**. This may be identified as Beṯ Garmai in North Mesopotamia.

243. **udarin**. Müller-Kessler read **uradin**, in accordance with the parallel in BM 91777. In our opinion, the lamella reads **udarin**.

253. **mnṭul ḏ-dmuta hlpat** 'because she changed her form'. The similarity to YBC 2364: 8 **aminṭul ḏ-dmuta halpat** was noted by Müller-Kessler.[102]

259. **ḏ-bit kuta**. For Kuta, see Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, pp. 175–178. Geoffrey Herman notes בי כותאי (b. Git. 45a).

98 On the loss of **b** in these circumstances, see Abudraham, *A Grammar of Early Mandaic*, p. 112.

99 Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, pp. 49, 484–485.

100 J.M. Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne: contribution á l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclésiastiques et monastiques du nord de l'Iraq*, Volume 1 (Beyrouth, 1965), p. 103.

101 The transcription reads **hym**, but from her translation, **Hašim**, we assume that this is a printing error.

102 C. Müller-Kessler, 'The Story of Bguzan-Lilit, Daughter of Zanay-Lilit', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116 (1996), pp. 185–195 (191).

261. {**qba**}**qruṭba**. Following a suggestion by Yakir Paz to identify this toponym with קורטבא mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud (Yev. 115b),[103] we have tentatively taken the letters **qba** to be a false start for **qra** and emended the text. It is hoped that additional findings may settle this issue.

266–268. **uqurn uqurnatan gaṭil hazuria ʿsr ṭṭun** 'and their horns killed pigs. Bound is Ṭiṭun'. The alternative reading from MS 2054/32, **u'siria diuia ḏ-qurnis mgaṭlia hizuria u'sir diuia ḏ-ṭ'ṭun** suggests that the text of BM may be corrupt. Yakir Paz has proposed that **qurnis** and **ṭ'ṭun** may reflect the name Κρόνος and the word Τιτάν of classical mythology. Since the text is confused, it is difficult to determine if the reading of BM reflects a folk etymology of Κρόνος.

271. **ʿlahia mšria ṣibia** 'gods (who) set firm (their) firewood'. This enigmatic phrase has a very close parallel in two Mandaic incantation bowls: **abugdana ṣibia mašar ʿlauikun** 'Abugdana (who) set firm (his) firewood upon you' (MS 2054/111: 9) // **abugdana ṣ'bia mašar ʿluaikun** (DCG 5: 50). As indicated by the unequivocal singular participle **mašar**, the plural form in our context **mšria** should also be derived by the root *š-r-r* 'to make firm, tighten'. The precise meaning of the word **ṣibia** is uncertain. It could also mean 'colours' (cf. Sy. ܨܒܥܐ) but this would hardly fit the context.

285–286. **lšura ḏ-a|rqa** 'the navel of the earth'. Although not mentioned in the Mandaic Dictionary, this expression is found three times in the Ginza Rabba: **n'sbḫ lšura ḏ-arqa uba ḏ-nigiṭrḫ blbab šumia kḏ ba ḏ-ninisbḫ lšura ḏ-arqa ʿtkarakbḫ naplia** (Gy 97:19–20), which Lidzbarski translated 'Er faßte den Nabel der Erde, und wollte ihn an das Herz des Himmels knüpfen. Als er den Nabel der Erde fassen wollte, umkreisten ihn die Hinfälligen'; and **kḏ nisbḫ lšura ḏ-arqa uasqḫ ʿsrḫ bqumbta** (Gy 98:20). The expression seems to parallel Biblical טַבּוּר הָאָרֶץ (Judges 9:37, Ezekiel 38:12).

286. **ʿlma** 'up to'. A rare alternative spelling for regular **alma** (e.g. l. 34). The same spelling is found in two other epigraphic lamellae (Lidzbarski lamellae [= BM Dept. 2197]: 220 and MS 2087/9b: 5).[104]

291–302. **ʿsir pumaiun … ḏ-lanitun ʿl nukraia**. Compare איסירין ופכירין וחתמין מין ליבה ומן פומ^י^ה ועיניהון לעוורון אודניהון ליט^ר^שן ריגליהון לא להלכן בתרה דכורק ב〈ר〉 אפרידדי 'Bound and clasped and sealed from his heart and from his mouth, and may their eyes be blinded, may their

103 Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, pp. 388–389.

104 M. Morgenstern, 'A Mandaic Lamella for the Protection of a Pregnant Woman: MS 2087/9', *Aula Orientalis* 33 (2015), pp. 271–286 (274).

ears stop up, may their feet not walk after him, Chwaraq son of Afrididay' (BM 1957-9-25.1: 13).[105]

297–298. **luṭata hdtia ua**|**tiqata** 'curses, new or (298) old'. Compare BM 1957-9-25.1: אסירין וחתימין לוטתא ונידרא חדתא ועתיקתא 'bound and sealed are the curses and the oath, new or old' (BM 1957-9-25.1: 13).[106]

327–328. **hiklẖ**|**un** 'their residence'. The Mandaic grapheme **ẖ** is almost exclusively employed in word-final position. We may assume that in the present example, the **ẖ** sign was employed because of the line break. This orthographic practice may allude to the reduction of the diphthong *heḵlayon* > *heḵleon*.[107]

Collections and Abbreviations

BM British Museum.
CP Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans.
DCG David Crown Gallery.
FM Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
Jb Johannesbuch/Book of John.
Gy Ginza Yamina.
IAA Israel Antiquities Authority.
M Moussaieff Collection.
MS Martin Schøyen Collection.
YBC Yale Babylonian Collection.

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105 Levene and Bohak, 'A List of Deities and Toponyms', p. 62.
106 Ibid.
107 For a similar process in a magic bowl text, see Abudraham, *A Grammar of Early Mandaic*, p. 24.

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1

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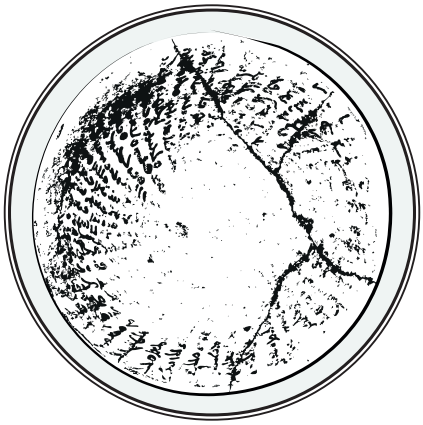
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Syriac and Mandaic Incantation Bowls

James Nathan Ford and Ohad Abudraham[1]

Introduction

Protective amulets written in Aramaic on clay bowls have been known since 1853 when Ellis published the first samples from Nineveh (Ellis 1853: 509–23). The texts, which are commonly wwritten on the inner side of earthenware bowls, often in a single spiral, are commonly dated to the fifth to seventh centuries A.D. (Montgomery 1913: 102–105).[2] All such texts appear to originate in Babylonia or occasionally in what is now western Iran. The spells are for the most part written in various forms of Aramaic that were current during that period: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (JBA), Mandaic and

1 The Syriac bowls were prepared by Ford (Bowls 1–6) and the Mandaic bowls by Abudraham (Bowls 7–8). Partially preserved letters have been printed with grey font in the transcriptions. Square brackets [x] indicate reconstructed text. Round brackets (x) indicate readings that the authors consider to be uncertain. We would like to thank Professor Matthew Morgenstern (Tel Aviv University) for high resolution close-up photographs that were crucial for the deciphering of the bowls and for his generous advice during the preparation of this article. We would also like to thank Professor Shaul Shaked (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) for permission to quote from unpublished bowls in the Martin Schøyen collection (labeled MS). Bowls labeled JNF, Wolfe, Davidovitz, AS, DS and DCG are in private collections and are being prepared for publication by Ford. Our gratitude is extended to Ms. Lisa Marie Knothe, Mr. L. Alexander Wolfe, Mr. Gil Davidovitz and Ms. Ester Davidovitz, Mr. Akram Sawalha, Mr. David Sofer and the David Crown Gallery, respectively, for access to the bowls and for generously facilitating their study. We would also like to thank Prof. Dan Levene (University of Southampton) for access to bowls in the Samir Dehays collection (labeled SD). Bowls labeled PC are in another private collection and are being prepared for publication by Ford and Morgenstern. We would like to thank their owner for access to them. We are grateful to Professor Marco Moriggi (Università di Catania) for making available to us the manuscript of his new study of the Syriac incantation bowls (Moriggi 2014) prior to its publication. Research for this study was supported by Israel Science Foundation grant no. 1306/12.

2 See now Shaked, Ford and Bhayro 2013: 1 and n. 2.

Syriac.[3] A few bowls are written in Pahlavi, a contemporary form of Persian, or in Arabic, but no such bowls are found in this allotment. Some bowls are written in pseudo-scripts, i.e., meaningless symbols that often imitate the form of real alphabets. Four such bowls have been found in this lot, of which one (T27999) is clearly an imitation of the Jewish script.[4] The bowls are sometimes illustrated with pictures of the magician/client or demons.[5] One of our texts, Bowl 8, contains such an illustration on the outside of the bowl.

The Syriac and Mandaic incantation bowls in this allotment constitute a fairly representative sample of materials of this nature, except for the relative proportion of Syriac to Mandaic bowls (see above, n. 3). The lot contains six bowls written in Syriac, of which four are written in the Manichaean script and two in the Estrangelo script.[6] Three contain previously unknown formulas, although one of these is paralleled by a number of unpublished Jewish Aramaic bowls. The remaining three Syriac bowls carry well-attested formulas that also have one or more Jewish Aramaic parallels. Two bowls are written in Mandaic; both represent fairly standard examples of such texts with numerous parallels, most of which are as yet unpublished.[7] The texts on all eight bowls are in a fair to poor state of preservation, but can often be deciphered with the aid of the parallels.

3 For an attempt at a statistical survey, see Morony 2003: 87. Morony based his findings on the corpus that was then known, which represents only a small portion of the material now available. However, the distribution that he found, i.e., 62% Jewish, 23% Mandaean and 13% Syriac, would appear to reflect fairly accurately the overall distribution of such bowls.

4 For the term Jewish script see Naveh 1987: 162–74 (with reference to the magic bowls on p. 170).

5 For a detailed study of the iconography of the incantation bowls, see Vilozny 2010.

6 The current state of research of Syriac incantation bowls is described in Moriggi 2014: 1–3. On the scripts see Moriggi, ibid., pp. 14–19.

7 For a description of Mandaic magic texts published up to the late 1960s see Yamauchi 1967: 1–67. Since then, many new texts have been published, but no up-to-date general introduction exists. Yamauchi 1999–2000 has already been superseded by text publications by Müller-Kessler, Segal and others.

The Syriac Bowls

1. T27983

Syriac, Manichaean script. No drawing. The writing is divided into three registers, each comprised of parallel lines. Badly faded. Much of the text is lost.

Linguistic features: Frequent use of *he* for etymological *ḥ*: ܗܝܡ (line 5, as opposed to ܚܝ in the same line); ܗܝܐ (lines 5, 7, 11, 20, as opposed to ܚܝܐ in line 4, etc.). Weakening or loss of etymological ʾ: [ܐ]ܒܪ (line 5, for ܐܒܪ); ܒܪܟ (line 18, for ܒܪܟܐ).

Clients: PN daughter of Huda and her spouse (?, possibly additional opponents).

Opponents: PN daughter of Hubb[ay]; (A)m... daughter of Hubb[ay].

Published parallels: None.

Comments: The preserved text is only partially deciphered. A parallel would be helpful.

I

1 ... ...

2 ... ...

3 ... ...

4 ... ...

5 ... ...

6 ... ...

7 ... ...

8 ... ...

9 ... ...

10 ... ...

11 ... ...

12 ... ...

13 ... ...

14 ... ...

15 ... ...

16 ...

II

17 ...

18 ... ...

19 ... ...

20 ... ...

21 ...

22 ... ...



Fig. 1. Bowl 1 (T27983)

... 23
... [ܐ]ܚ ... 24
... 25
... 26
... 27
... 28
... 29
... 30
... 31
... 32
... 33
... 34
... 35
... 36

III

Approximately 13 lines, almost entirely illegible.

Translation

I

1 ... seized ...
2 ... of sixty witches ... witchcraft ...
3 ... daughter of Hubb[ay], witchcraft and [c]urses of Am.. of M.. daughter of Hubb[ay] ...
4 ... witchcraft and curses ... [wi]tchcraft ...
5 ... a free man and a free woman, witchcraft of a manservant [and a maidservant] ...
6 [witchcraft] and curses of a man son of a man ...
7 [witchcraft] and curses of the members of the household, witchcraft and curs[es] ...
8 ... their ... are revealed ...
9 ... daughter of Huda and her spouse ...
10 Arab [witchcraft], Persian witchcraft, ... witchcraft, ...
11 ... witchcraft, ...
12 (...) Jewish [witchcraft], ... witchcraft, ...
13 ... Qadišian witchcraft, ...
14 ...ian [witchcraft], Indian witchcraft, ...
15 Kaškarian [witchcraft], ...
16 ...

II

17 ...
18 ... from (magical) acts and ... all

19 ...
20 ... this witchcraft ...
21 ...
22 ... witchcraft ...
23 ...
24 ... every drinker of water from a well ...
25 ... and a spirit ...
26 ... of all which there is a soul ...
27 ... with impure spittle
28 ... who drink water ...
29 ... from witchcraft of all
30 ... witchcraft
31 ...
32 ...
33 ... witchcraft
34 ...
35 ...
36 ...

III

Approximately 13 lines, almost entirely illegible.

Commentary

Much of the text is illegible, but from the little that can be deciphered it is clear that the incantation is directed against witchcraft and curses of people in general and of specifically named human opponents in particular, including two daughters of a woman named Hubbay (line 3).

5–7. ... 𐡀𐡓𐡉𐡌𐡀 𐡀𐡕𐡕𐡀 "a free man and a free woman ..." – These lines contain an enumeration of witchcraft and curses performed by various types of people. Such enumerations are well attested in the magic bowls, especially in lists of curses. The reconstruction [𐡀𐡓𐡔𐡌𐡀 𐡀]𐡕𐡕𐡀 "of a manservant [and a maidservant] " is suggested by the following contexts from Mandaic and JBA magic bowls, respectively: *kulhun sana ubʿldin*[*a*] *ḏ*-[*qniskuia*] *pt duktbḫ* {*a*} *ʿntta gubria uʿnšia uabdia ua*[*ma*]*ta u*[*h*]*aria uhrata umisik*[*i*]*ni*[*a*] *uiat*[*iria*] *um..nia umarmaniata ukulhun bnit ana*[*ša ḏ-...*] "all the foes and opponents of [Q.] daughter of D., the wife – men and women, and manservants and [mai]dservants, and [fr]ee men and free women, and poor and ri[ch], and M[anich]aean men and Manichaean women, and all human be[ings who ...]" (MS 2054/24: 10–11); ומיתי חרי וחרתא עבדי ואמהתא עתירי ומיסכיני רחיקי וקריבי לבאבי ולפיתחי ולתרעי "and he brings free men and free women, manservants and maidservants, rich and poor,

far and near to my door and to my doorway and to my gate" (JNF 120: 2–4). In the latter context, the enumeration is of potential clients, rather than potential enemies.

6. ܛܘܬܐ "curses" – See also lines 3, 4 and 7. This is the first attestation of this form in the Syriac bowls, but compare JBA לטותא "curse" (Sokoloff 2002: 623). The usual form in the Syriac bowls is ܛܘܠܐ "curse" (e.g., Bowl 2: 45), as in Classical Syriac.

9. ܙܘܥܝ "her spouse" – Cf. Mandaic *zaua* "spouse" (Drower and Macuch 1963: 157).

10-16. ... ܥܪܒܝ [ܣܢܓܪ] "Arab [witchcraft] ..." – These lines contain a long enumeration of witchcraft performed by various ethnic groups. Compare חרשין ארמאין חרשין יהודאין חרשין טיאעין חרשין פרסאין חרשין הינדואין חרשין יונאין חרשין די כיתין חרשין דמיתעבדין בשבעין לישנין בין דאיתתא ובין דגברא "Aramaean witchcraft, Jewish witchcraft, Arab witchcraft, Persian witchcraft, Indian witchcraft, Greek witchcraft, Roman witchcraft, witchcraft that is performed in seventy languages, whether of a woman or of a man" (Gordon 1934, Bowl D: 8–10); מן חרשי איהדאי ומן חרשי ארמאה ומן חרשי פרסאי ומן חרשי מדאי ... ומן חרשי דמיתעבדין במאה עשרין ושבע מדינן "from Jewish witchcraft, and from Aramaean witchcraft, and from Persian witchcraft, and from Median witchcraft ... and from witchcraft that is performed in one hundred and twenty seven provinces" (MS 2053/189: 20–22).

13. ܣܢܓܪ ܩܕܥܝܐ "Qadišian witchcraft" – For the gentilic ܩܕܥܝܐ, see Nöldeke 1879: 157–63.

15. ܣܢ[ܓܪ] ܟܫܟܪܝ "Kaškarian [witchcraft]" – The southern Mesopotamian town of Kaškar is occasionally mentioned in the magic bowls. For example, *uʿsir nirig ḏ-kškar uʿsir nišar ḏ-kškar* "and bound is Nirig of Kaškar and bound is Nišar of Kaškar" (MS 2054/24: 4–5). Cf. Müller-Kessler and Kessler 1999: 68. For Kaškar in late Antiquity in general, see Oppenheimer 1983: 171–74.

2. T27984

Syriac, Estrangelo script. No drawing. The incantation is enclosed by a circle. The writing is in spokes extending from the center to the rim. The text continues on the outside with a short line written parallel to the rim and enclosed in a circle. The central section of the bowl is badly faded, but most of the text can be reconstructed with reasonable certainty based on the internal structure of the text and the unpublished parallels (see below).

Linguistic features: Use of *ḥeth* for etymological *h*: ܪܝܫܚ (lines 9 and 22, for ܪܝܫܐ); ܫܠܚ (line 51, for סלה). Use of *he* for etymological *ḥ*: ܡܝܗܡ (line 19, for ܡܝܚܡ). 3 m.s. possessive pronoun *-ēh* on m.pl. nouns: ܚܕܗ (line 40, for Classical ,ܚܕܐ).

Clients: Bar-Gelal son of Daday.

Published parallels: None. Unpublished parallels include the Jewish Aramaic bowls JNF 81; PC 36; PC 37; PC 38; PC 39; SD 38.

Comments: Same client as Bowl 3. Some of the readings are based on new photographs taken by the author after the bowl was cleaned shortly before the article was sent to press.



Fig. 2. Bowl 2 (T27984)

1 [ܫ]ܡܗܕ ܐܠܦܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܒ
2 ܕܐ ܟܠܠ ܐ ܕܒܕ, ...[8]
3 [ܒ]ܒܪܟܐ ܪܡܐ ܪܡܝ ܒ
4 ...ܐ ܠܒܪܟ ܐ ܠܒ
5 ...ܠ [ܐ]ܒܕܐ ܒܐܒ
6 ..ܐ ܒܐܒܐ
7 [ܟܠܐ ܒ]ܐܠܦܐ ܒ ܟ
8 [ܟ ܐ ܟܠ ܐ ܪܒܒ]ܐ ܟܠ ܪܒܒ
9 ܐ ܟܠ[9] ܪܝܫܐ ܟܠ ܪ
10 ܠ[ܟ] ܟ [ܝܪ] ܟܠ [ܪ]ܝ[ܐ] ܟܠ ܐ ܪ
11 ܠܒܪܟ
12 [ܟ]ܠ ܪ[ܒ]ܐ ܟܠ ܐ[ܠ]ܦ ܪ[ܒ]ܐ ܟ ܐ ܠ
13 [ܟ] ܟ ܐ ܟܠ ܐ ܕ[ܐ] ܡܗܕ [ܟ]
14 [ܕ]ܒܕ, ..[ܠ] ܠ ܪ[ܒ]ܐ ܟ ܐ ܠ
15 [ܟ] ܟ ܪ[ܝ]ܫ ܟ [ܐ]ܠ ܐ ܪ ܕ ܐ ܟ ܐ ܠ
16 [ܟ ܐ ܕ]ܒܕ, ܐ[ܠ]ܦ[ܐ] ܠ ܪ[ܒ]ܐ ܟ
17 ܐ ܠ ܐ ܕ ܟ
18 [ܠ]ܐ ܒ ܟ ܐ ܠ ܐ ܒ[ܗ]ܝ ܟ ܐ ܠ

8 Read probably ܐ.

9 Dittography.



Fig. 3. Bowl 2 (T27984) exterior text

19 𐡌𐡓𐡐𐡀 𐡃𐡀𐡁𐡀 𐡌𐡉𐡕𐡌
20 𐡓𐡁𐡀 [𐡃] 𐡀𐡁𐡀 [𐡉] 𐡌[𐡋] 𐡁𐡓𐡊[𐡉]
21 𐡃𐡀 𐡀𐡁𐡀[𐡉 𐡊]𐡓𐡀 [𐡃𐡓𐡉𐡌𐡄]
22 𐡀𐡁𐡀𐡉 𐡊𐡔𐡐
23 [𐡃𐡀] 𐡁[𐡄]𐡌[𐡀] 𐡀𐡁𐡀 [𐡉]
24 [𐡉 𐡓𐡁𐡉, ...𐡃𐡀] 𐡁[𐡓𐡊]𐡄 [𐡀𐡁𐡀]
25 [𐡃𐡀 𐡁𐡓 𐡃𐡀]𐡊𐡄 𐡁𐡓
26 [𐡀𐡁𐡀𐡉 𐡊𐡔𐡐 𐡁]𐡃, 𐡌𐡉𐡕
27 [𐡁𐡓 𐡃𐡀𐡄 𐡌𐡉𐡕]𐡃𐡀 𐡃𐡀𐡄 𐡁𐡓,
28 𐡉𐡕𐡃 𐡌𐡁𐡓
29 𐡀𐡁𐡀 𐡉 𐡓𐡁𐡉, 𐡃𐡓𐡉𐡌
30 [𐡀𐡁𐡀𐡉 𐡊𐡔𐡐 𐡃𐡀 𐡀𐡁]𐡀[𐡉] 𐡊𐡓𐡃𐡀
31 𐡌𐡁𐡉𐡓 𐡃𐡀 𐡀𐡁𐡀[11] 𐡃𐡀[10]
32 𐡉𐡓 𐡀𐡁𐡀 𐡉 𐡓𐡁𐡉,
33 [... 𐡊]𐡁[𐡀] 𐡊𐡓𐡃[𐡉] 𐡁𐡀 𐡊𐡓 𐡃𐡀[𐡉 𐡊]𐡓𐡀
34 [𐡉𐡕𐡓][12] 𐡀𐡁𐡀𐡉 𐡊𐡔𐡐
35 [𐡉𐡕𐡃 𐡌𐡁𐡓] 𐡀𐡁𐡀 𐡉 𐡓𐡁𐡉, 𐡊𐡓𐡃𐡀 𐡍𐡀𐡊𐡄
36 𐡍𐡀𐡊𐡄𐡀 𐡍𐡀𐡊𐡄𐡀 𐡌𐡓𐡔𐡊
37 𐡀𐡁𐡀𐡉 𐡊𐡔𐡐[13]
38 𐡊𐡓 𐡌𐡁𐡓 𐡊𐡌𐡁𐡀𐡊𐡄𐡀
39 [𐡊]𐡌𐡁𐡀 𐡔𐡁𐡀𐡊 𐡌𐡁𐡉𐡊𐡄[𐡊𐡓]
40 [𐡔]𐡁𐡀 𐡔𐡁𐡀
41 𐡊 𐡁𐡀𐡓 𐡀𐡁𐡀𐡉 𐡍𐡀𐡊𐡄
42 𐡉𐡓 𐡀𐡁𐡀 𐡉 𐡓𐡁𐡉, 𐡃𐡀 𐡀𐡁𐡀𐡉 𐡊𐡔𐡐
43 𐡊𐡔𐡐𐡀 𐡊𐡀𐡀
44 𐡊 𐡔𐡍𐡊 𐡔𐡊𐡓 𐡊𐡔𐡐𐡀[𐡓]

10 Dittography.

11 The base of the *ʿē* is almost entirely lost, but there does not seem to be space for a *yodh* before the *lamadh*.

12 The top of the *ʿē* appears to be missing, giving the appearance of *yodh*. Cf. the base of the *ʿē* in 𐡁𐡓𐡉𐡊 (Bowl 3: 3).

13 The letter following the *mim* has only one spike and is therefore either a defective *ḥeth* or a *yodh* (as transcribed here). In the latter case, the writing indicates the loss of *ḥ*/*h* (for a similar example in a JBA bowl, see Morgenstern 2007: 251). In either case, the scribe stopped at the end of the line in the middle of the word and then rewrote the entire word at the beginning of the following line (with *ḥeth*, in accordance with standard orthography). Cf. lines 38–39.

45 ..[15]ܐ ܕܒܪ ܓܒܠ ܒܪ ܕ[14]ܐ ܗܝܟܠ ܗܢ

46 [ܐ]ܝ ܕܒܪ ܓܒܠ ܒܝܬ ܐ

47 ܘܒܫ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܒܪ ܓܒܠ ܒܝܬ ܗ

48 ܓܒܪ ܕ(ܥ) ܕ(ܥ)

49 ܕ[ܥ]ܕ ܕ

50 [.]ܝ ܒ

Outside parallel to the rim, as continuation of text (enclosed in a circle)

51 ..ܐ ܒܪ ܒ ܗܠ

Translation

1 [Sea]led and double sealed and protected is the house
2 of Bar-Gelal son of Da[day] (…)
3 [In the nam]e of ’**hy**’ and **bhy**’, Michael,
4 and ...iel, and Gabriel,
5 [and] ...iel. [And in] the name of **dʿdywn**
6 [and] **...wn**. And in the name of
7 [7 angel]s who have been given dominion over
8 [the heavens and over the ear]th, over the sun and over
9 the moon, over the winds
10 and [ove]r [the air], over [f]ire and over water.
11 Šmayyael,
12 [the angel who has dominion over the he]avens, shall have dominion
13 [over] the house of Bar-Gelal son of
14 [Daday. ..]iel, the angel who has dominion
15 [over the earth, shall have dominion] over the possessions of Bar-Gelal
16 [son of Daday]. Š[am]šiel, the angel
17 who has dominion over
18 [the sun, shall assume dominion] over his ox and over
19 his donkey, and over everything
20 [that belongs] to Bar-Gelal [son of] Daday.
21 [Sahriel], the ang[el who] has dominion over
22 the moon, shall assume dominion
23 [over] the li[vestock of Ba]r-Gelal

14 The *taw* appears to have been rewritten, leaving an extraneous horizontal stroke visible immediately after the final version of the letter.

15 Read possibly [ܐ]ܝ[ܬ]ܠ ܒܪ ܐ.

24 [son of Daday. ..iel, the angel who] has dominion
25 [over the wi]nds and over the air,
26 [shall assume dominion over] those who close his gate
27 [and over those who open] his [ga]te and over the guards
28 of the house of Bar-
29 Gelal son of Daday. Nuriel,
30 [the angel who has dom]inion over fire, shall assume dominion over
31 the one who enters and over the one who departs
32 (from the house) of Bar-Gelal son of Daday.
33 [..i]el, the angel [who] has dominion over the sea,
34 [shall] assume dominion in the four corners
35 [of the house of Bar]-Gelal son of Daday. You, holy
36 angels, you are invoked and summoned
37 to protect
38 and to seal his house and
39 his threshold and his people and [his] possessions
40 and his sons and [his] daughters
41 and everything that
42 Bar-Gelal son of Daday has. Be for him guardians
43 by night and by day,
44 from evil witchcraft and odious
45 magical acts, evil curses, vows, and ...,
46 and evil spirits, and malicious
47 spirits, that they not harm and not injure.
48 In the name of Holy, Holy,
49 Holy, Holy,
50 Sabaoth,

Outside parallel to the rim, as continuation of text (enclosed in a circle)

51 [..]'**h** Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

The main portion of the spell (lines 6–47) invokes a group of seven angels, Šmayyael, ...iel, Š[am]šiel, [Sahriel], ...iel, Nuriel and ...iel, who are responsible for various elements of nature, which for the most part are reflected in their names: *šmayyā* "the heavens," *ʾarʿā* "the earth," *šemšā* "the sun," *sahrā* "the moon," *zīqē* "the winds," *ʾāyar* "the air," *nūrā* "fire" and *mayyā* "water." Each angel is to watch over a part of the household and possessions of the client. The closing section (lines 48–50) is based on Isa 6: 3. Jewish Aramaic versions of this spell are also extant (see above).

2. ܕܕܝ “Daday” – The matronymic of the client is apparently equivalent to the feminine PN דדי in Jewish bowls (e.g., MS 1928/43, referring to a different person; see Shaked, Ford and Bhayro 2013: JBA 26). The *ʿē* serves as a *mater lectionis* for the vowel *a*. For additional examples, see the recent discussion by O. Abudraham of the spellings ܢܩܒܬܐ /neqbāṯā/ and ܨܠܐ /salā/ in MRLA 3, Bowl 20, lines 7 and 10.[16] The latter spelling also occurs in the present corpus in Bowl 5: 10 and Bowl 6: 16.

3. ܒܫܡ ܐܗܝܐ ܒ[ܐܗ] “[In the nam]e of ’**hy**’ and **bhy**’” – Cf. בשום אהיה באהיה בהיה מיכאל וגבריאל ואחזיאל (JNF 81: 5–9).

6–7. ܘܒܫܡ ܫܒ[ܥܐ ܡܠ]ܐ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܫ̈ܠܛ̈ܢ “And in the name of [7 angel]s who have been given dominion over” – The parallels read ובשום שבעה דמשמשין וממנין על “and in the name of the seven who serve and are appointed over: (JNF 81: 10); ובשום שבעא מלאכין דימשמשין על “and in the name of seven angels who serve over” (PC 37: 4–5); ובשום שבע מלאכין דימשמשין על “idem” (PC 36: 4). In the present bowl the traces of the word ܫ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ are preceded by extremely faint traces of what looks like a large *ʿē* followed by two short nearly vertical strokes. There is no sign of the letters *shin* or *beth*. It thus seems likely that the scribe wrote the numeral 7, rather than the word ܫ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ “seven,” or the like, as in the parallels. In the Syriac bowls the use of such numerals is at present best attested in bowls written in the Manichaean script. Moriggi, however, has recently found an example in the Estrangelo bowl IM 44107: 9 (see Moriggi 2014: 81).

34–35. ܒ[ܫܒܝܠ] ܐܪ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ ܕ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ܢ “in the four corners [of his house]” – The form ܐܪ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ is a feminine plural *nomen regens* in the *status absolutus*. For additional examples, see ܐܪ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ ܕ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ܢ ,ܒܝܬ “and the four corners of my house” (JNF 239: 5); ܒܫܒܝܠ ܐܪ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ ܕ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ܢ “in the four corners of her house” (DS 35: 10); ܒܫܒܝܠ ܐܪ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ 4ܕ “in the 4 corners of his house” (Wolfe 24: 9). For the use of the *status absolutus* with the *nomen regens* in Mandaic, see Nöldeke 1875: 312–13.

37. ܠܡܢܛܪ “to protect” – The infinitive (*pa.*) is exceptionally written with a *seyame*.

16 Abudraham 2015: 100-101.

3. T27986

Syriac, Estrangelo script. No drawing. The incantation is enclosed by a circle. The writing is in spokes extending from the center to the rim. The central area of the bowl is faded and the beginnings of many of the lines are lost.

Linguistic features: Use of *ḥeth* for etymological *h*: ܫܠܚ (lines 18, 34, for סלה); ,ܫܠܠܝ (line 34, for הללויה). Weakening of ʿ: ܥܢܝ (line 11, cf. JBA ענש). *Af.* imperative ܐܫܠܚ (line 11, for Classical ܫܠܚ).

Clients: Bar-Gelal son of Daday (Masnaqta)

Published parallels (of lines 6ff): IM 23776 (Teixidor 1962: 56–59; Hamilton 1971: Bowl 15; MRLA 3, Bowl 15); Moussaieff 131 (Levene 2003: 91–92; Ford 2006: 210; JBA). Unpublished parallels include MS 2055/8; MS 2055/18; MS 2055/21; MS 2055/23; JNF 211; JNF 238; Davidovitz 31; PC 15; JNF 169 (JBA); JNF 252 (JBA); Wolfe 63 (JBA). The version in the present bowl particularly resembles that of JNF 238, PC 15 and Wolfe 63.

Comments: Same client as Bowl 2.



Fig. 4. Bowl 3 (T27986)

1 [ܒܪ ܒܪ ܕܐ]

2 [ܕܐ ܒܪ ܐ]ܒ ܕܐ ܫܠ ܠ

3 [ܕ]ܐ ܕܐ, ܕ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ

4 + ܕܐ ܕ ܫܠ

5 + +

6 [ܒܪ ܒܪ]ܐ ܕ[ܐ]ܒ ܕ[ܐ]ܒ

7 ...ܫ

8 ... ܕܐ ܒ ܒ

9]ܐ[ܒ ܕ[.]ܒ ܕ

10 ..ܫ ..ܐ ܫ[17]

11 ܐܫܠܚ ܐ ܒ

12 (...)[18] ܫ ܐ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ

13 ܒ ܐ ܕ ܫ ܫ

14 [ܕ ܫ ܫ]ܐ ܕ ܠ ܕ

15 ,ܕ ܫ[ܫ]ܒ ܕ

16 [ܕ ܫ]ܐ ܕ ܫ ܫ ܒ ܕ

17 ܐ ܕ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܕ

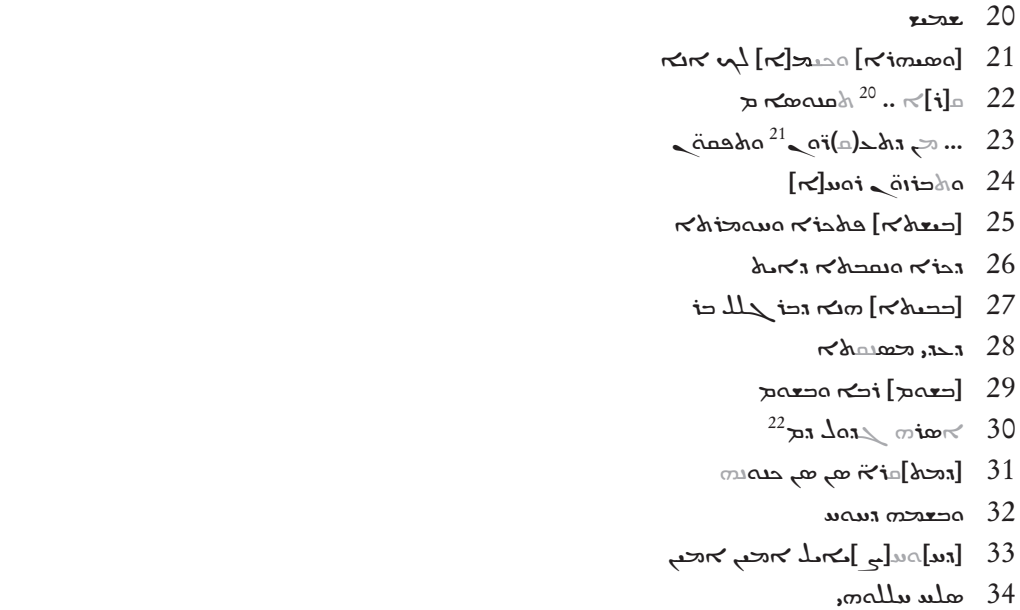
18 [ܕ ܫ] ܫ ܫ ܫ ܫ

19 ..ܐ[19] ܫ ܕ ܕ

17 Probably ..ܫ[ܐ] ..ܐ ܫ[ܫ].

18 Probably restore ܒ ܕ ܐ “and scatter.”

19 Read probably ܐ ܫ ܠ[ܐ] .



Translation

1 [Sea]led and double sealed
2 [and pro]tected is the house of Bar-Gelal
3 [so]n of Daday with the signet ring of King
4 Solomon son of David. +
5 ++
6 [Sealed and double seal]ed and prot[ec]ted
7 ...
8 **[...]ndstq nṭks**
9 **lbnw l[.]bṭ[r]t**
10 **[...]h ʾḥyš [..]tyn**
11 punish and banish
12 [(...)] and expel the evil
13 spirit that is
14 [in] this [hou]se of Bar-Gelal son of
15 Daday Masnaqta,

20 The traces resemble *waw*.
21 Tentatively reading with the parallels. The *qof* is very poorly preserved and uncertain.
22 The scribe stopped at the end of the line in the middle of the word and then rewrote the entire word at the beginning of the following line. In the present bowl, see also lines 32–33 and, apparently, lines 22–23. Cf. above, n. 13.

16 [whether m]ale or female,
17 to a desolate wilderness
18 [and wasteland]. Amen, Amen, Selah.
19 [Vi]rgo, of Draco,
20 the Sun
21 [and the Moon] and the Pleiades. I
22 inv[oke] you, Taqnusa
23 ... that you (pl.) eradicate (?) and expel
24 and transfix the [evil] spirit,
25 idol-spirit and amulet-spirit,
26 male or (lit. and) female, that is
27 [in] this [house] of Bar-Gelal son of
28 Daday Masnaqta.
29 [In the name of] **rb**ʾ ("the Great One"), and in the name of
30 ʾ**srh gdwl** ("the Great Prince"),
31 [who is] called **sn sn knwnh**,
32 and in the name of
33 [Ḥ]uḥ[ṣ]iel. Amen, Amen,
34 Selah, Hallelujah.

Commentary

The incantation is comprised of two independent spells, separated by three crosses. The first is a short reference to the signet ring of King Solomon son of David (lines 1–4). The signet ring of Solomon is an extremely common motif in the Jewish Aramaic magic bowls and is attested several times in both the Syriac and Mandaic bowls (see Moriggi 2014: 50 and the bibliography cited there). The second spell is well attested in both Syriac and Jewish Aramaic versions, most of which are as yet unpublished. It begins with a series of magic names that are requested to expel the evil spirit haunting the house to a desolate place, a typical abode of demons. This is followed by an obscure reference to a number of astral bodies and then an invocation of an angel named Taqnusa, who is asked to eradicate and expel the demons from the house. The relevant verbs are 2 m.pl. forms (lines 23–24), apparently referring to Taqnusa and his entourage. The spell closes with an appeal to the names of several angelic figures. One of these, ʾ**srh gdwl**, appears to be a corruption of Hebrew השר הגדול " the Great Prince." The latter spelling appears in the unpublished Jewish Aramaic parallel Wolfe 63: 8, which suggests a possible Jewish origin for the spell. The client is referred to once as ܕܢ ܓܠܠ ܒܪ ܕܥܕ, "Bar-Gelal son of Daday" (lines 2–3), as in Bowl 2, and twice as ܕܢ ܓܠܠ ܒܪ ܕܥܕ, ܡܚܣܢܝܐ "Bar-Gelal son of Daday Masnaqta" (lines 14–15, 27–28). He is therefore to be identified with ܕܢ ܓܠܠ ܒܪ ܡܚܣܢܝܐ "Bar-Gelal son of Masnaqta" in JNF 217.

11. ܐܓܠܝ ܥܢܫ “punish and banish” – The verb ܥܢܫ “punish” has been interpreted following a suggestion by O. Abudraham. Cf. Sokoloff 2002: 873, s.v. ענש. Davidovitz 31: 5, written in the Manichaean script, reads ܐܓܠܝ ܐܒܕ “eradicate and banish.” In both texts ܐܓܠܝ is clearly transitive and must be a m.pl. *af.* imperative from *gly*. Note also the form ܓܠܝ in the corresponding context in MS 2055/21: 6: ܟܠ ܒܝܫܐ ܕܐܒܕܝܢ ܕܓܠܝ ܘܕܝܣܦܝ ܘܕܝܬܒ ܘܕܝܫܕܝ ܒܝܫܐ “eradicate and banish and scatter and expel all evil spirits.” These forms correspond to אגלו / ܐܓܠܝ in some of the parallels and show the shift *a* > *i/e* in a closed syllable. For a number of examples of this shift in the prefix of the *af.* imperfect or active participle in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, see Morgenstern 2002: 62.

20. ܫܡܫܐ “the Sun” – The Syriac parallels known to the present author all read the common noun ܫܡܫܐ “the sun.” The JBA parallels likewise consistently read שמשא. In our bowl the absolute case indicates the proper name Šamiš, i.e., the sun as a deity or supernatural being. See further Nöldeke 1875: 300; Moriggi 2014: 57 and the bibliography cited there.

23–24. ܐܒܕܬܘܢ ܘܬܒܬܘܢ ܘܐ(ܡ)ܚܬܘܢ “that you (pl.) eradicate (?) and expel and transfix” – The 2 m. pl. verbs are written with the *seyame*, in contrast to the usual usage in Classical Syriac (see Kiraz 2012: 110, who notes occasional exceptions in some early manuscripts).

4. T27989

Syriac, Manichaean script. In the center is a circle with eight spokes. Markings are visible in some of the sections. Several lines contain long series of magical characters, sometimes interspersed with meaningless sequences of letters in the Manichaean (and once in the Estrangelo) script. There are two crosses at the end of the incantation. The incantation is enclosed by a circle. The writing begins near the center and spirals towards the rim. Much of the writing is badly faded and parts are entirely lost.

Linguistic features: Use of *ḥeth* for etymological *h*: ܪܫܝܚ (line 2, as opposed to [ܪ]ܫܝܐ in line 5; cf. n. 26). Weakening of ʾ: ,ܫܢܪ (lines 2, 4, as opposed to ,ܫܘܐܠ in line 6 and ܫܘܐܠ in lines 7 and 11); ܫܢܐ (line 4, for Classical ܫܢܐܠ). Loss of final *l*: ܠܚܐ (line 10, for ܠܚܐܠ; cf. n. 23). 3 m.s. pronominal suffix *-hy* on nouns with m.pl. and f.pl. endings and with collective nouns: ,ܫܢܪܐ ,ܫܒܚܬ ,ܫܥܝܢ ,ܫܒܥ (line 2); ,ܫܪܫ ,ܫܢܪ (line 4, as opposed to ܫܪܫ ,ܫܘܐܠ in line 6). 3 m.s. pronominal suffix *-wh* on nouns with m.pl. endings: ܫܘܐܠ (lines 7, 11).

Clients: Šlima son of Maḥlafta.

Published parallels: None.



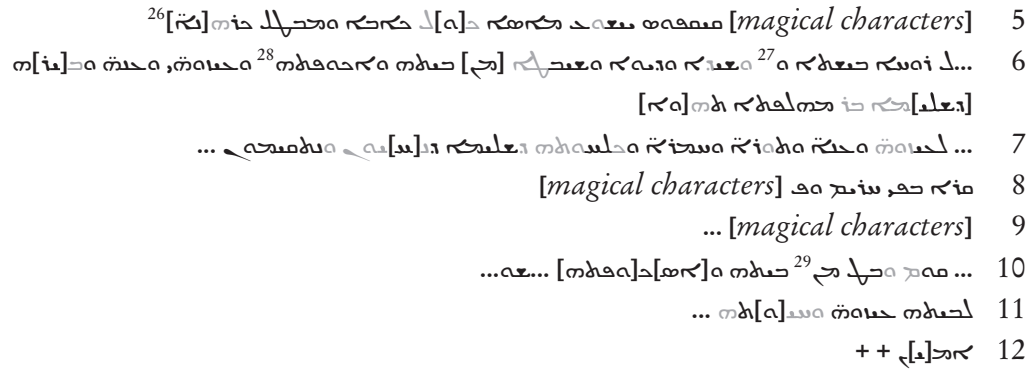
1 ܡܒܪܟܐ ܡܫܡܫܐ [23]ܡܪܝܡ ܪܚܡܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܒܝܬ
ܡܕܡܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ
2 ܒܬ ܡܚܠܦ ,ܫܢܪܐ ,ܫܒܚܬ ,ܫܥܝܢ ,ܫܒܥ
[*magical characters*] ܡܫܠܡܢ
3 *magical*] ܫܟܠ [*magical characters*]
ܒܥܐ ܒܡܟ [24]ܐܐ ٤ ܘܫܒ ٤ [*characters*
... ܡܟܐ ܠܚܫܒܐ ܒܥܝܐ
4 ܫܒܚܬܐ ,ܫܪܫ ,ܫܢܪ ܟ ܡܢܝܒܐ
ܡܫܠܡܢ ܒ ܡܚܠܦ[25]ܫܢܐ
[*magical characters*]

Fig. 5. Bowl 4 (T27989)

23 The usual formula is ܪܝܡܪܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܡܢ ܟܠ, or the like. The scribe appears to have accidentally omitted ܡܪܝܡ and then added it after ܪܝܡܪܐ.

24 In Estrangelo script.

25 Only one dot is visible with certainty above the *he*. The scribe may have intended it to be read together with the dot of the *resh* as a *seyame*.



Translation

1 This amulet and charm (text: This and charm, amulet) and seal and protection is designated for the house, and the possessions,
2 the donkeys, and the horses, all the animals (!), and the goats of Šlima son of Maḥlafta. [*magical characters*]
3 [*magical characters*] **l'p** [*magical characters*] ʿ **bts** ʿ **šš m'm** May plague ... and sickness depart and go out and be annulled
4 from the goats, and the sheep, and the animals, and the cattle of Šlima son of Maḥlafta. [*magical characters*]
5 [*magical characters*] **qyqpws** Jesus heals every pain and annuls sickne[sses],
6 [he shall annu]l the evil spirit, and demon, and *dēv*, and plague [from] the house, and the threshold, and the goats, and the sheep, and the cat[tle of Šli]ma son of Maḥlafta. May there [be]
7 ... for the goats, and the sheep, and the oxen, and the donkeys, and all the animals of Šlima, that they may [l]ive and exist ...
8 **qrʾ bpy ḥrym wp** [*magical characters*]
9 [*magical characters*] ...
10 ... arise and annul from his house, and [his th]re[shold] ...
11 for his house, his goats, and his a[nim]als, ...
12 Amen. ++

26 The *he* is not entirely certain and may possibly be *ḥeth*, as in line. 4. Traces of the *seyame* are visible.
27 False start.
28 For .
29 There are traces of writing between the lines above the *mim*, possibly an attempt to add the final *lamadh* of the preceding word.

Commentary

The incantation is intended mainly for the protection of the livestock of a certain Šlima son of Maḥlafta. It is most likely a Christian text, as it contains an appeal to Jesus to banish the various demons from the house and the livestock of the client (lines 5–6). In particular, the phrase [ܟ]ܫܝ ܠܐܚܕ ܟܠ ܕ[ܐ] ܡܫܟܚ ܥܒܕ “Jesus heals every pain and annuls sickne[sses]” (line 5) recalls Matt 4: 23. The Peshiṭta version reads as follows: “Jesus was going around all of Galilee, teaching in their synagogues and proclaiming the gospel of the kingdom and healing every pain and sickness in the people [ܒܟܠ ܡܟܐܘ ܒܟ ܟܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܟܟܐ].”[30] As noted above, the text is written in the Manichaean script. The same is true for CBS 9012: 2 (AIT, Bowl 34; MRLA 3, Bowl 6), which appeals to the power of ܥܒܕ ܡܫܝܚ “Jesus the Healer,” and JNF 220: 15, which invokes the name of ܥܒܕ ܝ ܡܫܝܚ ܕ ܟܟ “Jesus the Healer, Son of Life.” None of these bowls has specifically Manichaean features and one must assume that they were written by Christian practitioners. The use of the “Manichaean” script to write Christian incantation bowls suggests that it was originally a local Babylonian script that was not exclusively tied to the Manichaean community.

2. ,ܟܠܫ “all the animals (!)” – Apparently a corruption of ,ܟܠ ܫ. Cf. ܟܠܫ (line 7) and ܟܠܫ (lines 4 and 11).

10. ܠܐܚ “and annul” – For ܠܐܚܕ. The loss of final *l* is common in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (including the JBA magic bowls), but is rarely attested in the Syriac bowls. For additional examples, see ܠܡܚܝܡ ܡܝܢ ܡܦܝ ܡܚ (JNF 216: 2–3) for ܠܡܦܝ ܠܡܚ ܠܡܚܝܡ ܠܡܝܢ (JNF 218: 2).

30 Cf. Matt 9: 35; 10: 1.

5. T27993

Syriac, Manichaean script. At the end of the incantation is a series of crosses. The incantation is enclosed by a circle. The writing begins near the center and spirals towards the rim. The writing is mostly washed out and the first three to four lines are entirely lost.
Linguistic features: Non-etymological *ʿē*: ܣܠܥܗ (line 10, for Hebrew סלה). Demonstrative pronoun ܗܕܝ (line 5, for Classical ܗܕܐ).
Clients: Name illegible (part of the name can probably be discerned in line 9, but the reading is uncertain).
Published parallels: BLMJ 03010 (Geller 1986: 111–12; MSF, Bowl 16; TMHC 7, Bowl 33a; MRLA 3, Bowl 25); HS 3018 (TMHC 7, Bowl 32; MRLA 3, Bowl 17); HS 3053 (TMHC 7, Bowl 33; MRLA 3, Bowl 39); Nippur 12 N 5 (TMHC 7, Bowl 32a; MRLA 3, Bowl 35). Unpublished parallels include MS 2055/26; JNF 212; JNF 213; JNF 228; JNF 233; JNF 241; JNF 242; DCG 1; PC 8; PC 9; PC 10; PC 13; PC 14; PC 18; MS 1929/2 (JBA).

Comments: Due to the extensive fading and the presence of extraneous spots on the surface of the bowl, the transcription of the *seyame* is not always accurate.



Fig. 6. Bowl 5 (T27993)

1 ...
2 ...
3 ...
4 ... ܫܪܝ ܐܣܘܪ ܒܫܡܐ ...
5 ... ܫܪܝܐ ܒܗܕܝ ܒܫܠܬܐ ܐܣܝܪܐ ܒ[ܐ]ܣܘܪܗ
[ܕ]ܐܪܥܐ [ܘܫܬ]ܝܢܐ ܒܫ[ܬ]ܝܢܗ ܕ[ܬ]ܢܝܢܐ
6 [ܐܣܘܪܐ] ܒܐܣܘܪܗ ܕܐ[ܠ]ܟܠ ܘܫܠܝܛܐ
ܒ[ܫܠܝܛ]ܗ ܕܐ[ܝܟܘ]ܠ[ܬ] ܐܣܘܪ ܒܐܣܘܪ
ܐܠܗܐ [ܘ]ܫܠܝܛ [ܒܫ]ܠܝܛ[ܐ] ܕܒ[ܥܕܒܐ] ...
7 ܫܠܝܛ ܒܫܡܝܐ [ܠ]ܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܝ[ܠ]ܗ ܕܟܠܗ ܥܝܢ[ܐ]
ܒܥܝܢܐ ܘܠ[ܚܠܐ] ܫܘܪ[ܝ]ܐ ܦܬܟܪܐ
ܘܐܣܘ[ܬܪܬܐ] ܘܠܠܝܬܐ ܘ[ܟܠ ܐܝܢ] ܐܝܢ
[ܒܥܝܢܗ]

8 [ ]ܐ ܕ[ ]ܐ ܕ[ ]ܐ ܕ ܐ[ ]ܐ ܕ ܐ[ ]ܐ ,[31]ܐ ܕ ܐ[ ]ܐ ܕ ܐ[ ]ܐ ܕ ܐ[

former is also referred to as מריא איבול מלכא רבא דזעקי "Lord Ibol, the great king of the *zaʿqa*-spirits" in MS 1927/34: 10.[33] The use of magical paraphernalia belonging to a king or queen of demons implies that the exorcist can harness the power of the demonic sovereign against his or her subjects. Compare also the appeal to 𐡀𐡉𐡁𐡅𐡋 𐡅𐡇𐡉𐡋𐡄 "Ibol and his force" in Bowl 6: 14. For this general magical technique elsewhere in the magic bowls, see recently Gabbay 2010, especially p. 63; Ten-Ami 2013: 198–99.

6. 𐡀[𐡉]𐡁[𐡅𐡓]𐡉𐡕 𐡅[𐡇𐡕𐡌]𐡃 "with [the seal] of I[borit]" – All the parallels known to us read 𐡅𐡇𐡕𐡌𐡃 without the proleptic pronoun. The *he* is very faint, but seems likely and better fills the available space.

10. 𐡅𐡁𐡓𐡉𐡕𐡄 𐡅𐡁𐡇𐡘 𐡅𐡁𐡇𐡑𐡑𐡌[𐡕] "his inner and outer threshold" – A reference to the "inner threshold" occurs in the Damascus Genizah magical booklet 4b: 1–2: וקבר באסקפתא גויתא "and bury (it) in the inner threshold" (Bohak and Morgenstern 2014: 29*). Cf. 𐡀𐡓𐡁𐡏 𐡅𐡊𐡕𐡄 𐡅𐡁𐡓𐡉𐡕𐡄 𐡅𐡁𐡇𐡘 𐡃𐡕𐡉 𐡅𐡁𐡇𐡑𐡑𐡌𐡕𐡄, "and the four corners of my house, and the thresholds of my inner and outer gates" (JNF 239: 5–6).

33 The parallel passage in CBS 16018: 12–13 reads מלאכה for מלכא.

6. T27996

Syriac, Manichaean script. In the center is a cross within a small circle. The incantation is enclosed by a circle. The writing begins near the center and spirals toward the rim. The reading is hampered by fading and a brownish-red coloration on part of the surface of the bowl, but much of the text can be deciphered with the help of the parallels.

Linguistic features: Use of *he* for etymological *ḥ*: ܒ[ܘ]ܙܗ[ܐ] (line 4, for Classical ܒܘܙܚܐ). Non-etymological *ʿē*: ܥܒܪܐ (lines 5, 12, for Classical ܐܒܪܐ); ܣܠܥܗ (line 16, for סלה). Weakening or loss of *ʿ*: ܐܒܕܪܐ (line 12, for Classical ܥܒܕܪܐ); ܒܢܪܐ (line 12, for Classical ܒܥܢܪܐ). Dissimilation of emphatics: ܬܢܝܐ (line 11, for Classical ܛܢܝܐ). *Pa.* impf. prefix *ny*-: ܢܝܛܪܘܢ (line 11; as in JBA and Mandaic, for Classical ܢܛܪܘܢ).

Clients: Zuṭay, who is called Babay, son of Imma-d-immah.

Published parallels: Louvre AO 17.284 (Allotte de La Fuÿe 1924; Müller-Kessler 1998; Müller-Kessler 2006: 271–72; MRLA 3, Bowl 32); IM 60960 (Teixidor 1962: 59–61, pl. 3; Hamilton 1971, Bowl 16; TMHC 7, Bowl 3A; MRLA 3, Bowl 16); Borsippa Bowl (Harviainen 1981; Greenfield and Naveh 1985; Müller-Kessler 1998; JBA); Greenfield and Naveh Lead Roll, col. b–c (Greenfield and Naveh 1985; Müller-Kessler 1998; Mandaic); Nachlaß Macuch Lead Roll I, col. a (Müller-Kessler 1998; Mandaic); Macuch Lead Roll Id: 64ff (Macuch 1967: 138–41, 198–201; Greenfield and Naveh 1985; Mandaic). Unpublished parallels include PC 1.

Comments: Due to the extensive fading and the presence of extraneous spots on the surface of the bowl, the presence or lack of *seyame* in the transcription is not always accurate.

1 ...
2 ...
3 ܚܕܢܡ ܚܢܕ[ܡܪ] ... ܠܘܛܬܐ ܢܕܪܐ
4 ... ܡܠܟܐ ܘܒ[ܘ]ܙܗ[ܐ] ܢܛܝܪܐ ܕܦܠܬ [ܚܕܬ̈ܐ ܘܕ]ܢܪܕܐ ܕܐܠ[ܗ]ܐ̈ ܡܠܠܬ[ܐ]
5 ܕܢܘ[ܒܬ]ܐ ... ܕܡܬܒܠܐ ܬܡܒܠܬܐ ܕ... ... ܕܒܪܕ[ܬ]ܐ ... ܕܥܒܪܐ̈
6 ܒܪܬ [ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܟܐ ܐ]ܝܟ، ܕܕܒܪܐ ܘܡܘ، ܒܪ ܡܐܬܐ ܡܫܡܐ ܕܫܡܝ ܒܐ ܘܠܫܢܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ ܪ[ܗ]ܛ[ܐ] ܕܪܗܛ
7 ܒܛܡܪܐ ... ..ܐ ܕܠܠܟܐ ܘܫܡܘܐ ܕܡܟܐܡܟܐ ܢܡܘܪܘܢ [ܕ]ܒܡܪܘܢ ܘܢܕ[ܦ]ܠܘܢ ܒܠ ܡܪܗܘܢ ܡܪܘܚܘܢ
8 ܘ[ܒܒ]ܘܕܡܘܢ ܘܡܟܪܝܫܘܢ ܢܬܒܠܠܘܢ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܢܬܪܡܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܥܠ ... [ܙ]ܘܛܝ ܕ[ܡ]ܬ[ܩ]ܪ[ܐ] ܒܐܒܝ ܒܪ ܐܡܐܕܐܡܗ
9 ܕܐܡܪܗ ܘܕܒܬܗ ܒܫ[ܒܥܐ]ܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܒܥܙܐܝܠ ܒܗܘ..[34] ܪܒܐ ܒ[ܐܦ]ܪܘܡ ܫܡܫܐ ܘܒܝ ܒܒ ܬܡܫ[ܐ] ܢܗܘܘܢ ..ܐ

34 Read probably ܒܡܕܕܘܫܛ.

Fig. 7. Bowl 6 (T27996)

Translation

1 ...

2 ...

3 Condemned, ban[ned] ... are the curse, the vow,

4 ... reproach and derision, the harm of id[ol-spirits and the v]ow of gods, the spell

5 of fem[ales], ... of countercharms, the *tqblt*'-demon of ... of all[eys], ... of roofs,

6 the (supernatural) vo[ice of the sky (?), (the cry of) *'a*]*y 'ay* of the countryside, (the cry of) *way way* that inhabits the town, the oath of pitchers and the spell of corners, the run[ning] that runs

35 The parallels read 𐡀𐡇𐡉𐡌𐡍 𐡊𐡋, or the like. The *lamadh* is visible, followed by faint traces of what must be *'alaf*, but I see no traces of a letter before the *lamadh*. There is enough space for a *dalath*, but it would probably be cramped and the reconstruction is therefore uncertain.

36 Read possibly 𐡊𐡓𐡓. The second letter is clearly not *mim*.

7 at noon, ... of the night and the vision of the day – may they turn away, go back and fall upon their masters, their reciters,
8 and their [practi]tioners, and their dispatchers. May they be annulled, depart and distance themselves from every ... [of Z]uṭay, who is [called] Babay, son of Imma-
9 d-immah and of his house. By [your name(s)], four angels, by Šadiel, by the great **mw..**, by the powerful **[ʾp]rwm** and by the mighty **ṣbb**. They shall be a ...
10 and a boundary between the good and the evil, and they shall be for Zuṭay, who is [called Babay], son of Imma-d-immah, and for his house, an alert guard and a protective shield,
11 and they shall protect and keep and guard from the [evil] eye, and from the envi[ous] glance, and from the pl[ot of the evil h]eart, and from the word of the slanderous tongue! May the house be sealed, and its residents,
12 [those who enter (through)] the d[oor, and those who asc]end to the roof, the crops, the field, the cattle and the possessions. Bound and sealed is Zuṭay, [who] is cal[led] Babay, son of Imma-d-immah, and bound and sealed are the three hundred
13 and six[ty] members ... with the bond of the signet ring of the sky and [with] the seal of the anvil of the earth from all evil, impure and polluted *dēvs*, (...) they may not approach Zuṭay, who is called Babay, son of
14 Imma-d-[immah] ... **ʾsb**. And he is bound and sealed with the signet ring of the great primordial Ḥalṭum. **nšny kybšʾ wṣwṣ** ... [I]b[o]l and his force,
15 ... ..**yqwn** ... **yh yh ys ys gzḥq ʾswrwrywy**. May there be seal[ing and pr]otection for the house and posse[ssions] of Z[uṭay, who is] called
16 Babay, son of Imma-[d-im]mah. Amen, Amen, Selah, H[allelujah].

Commentary

The introductory formula is lost and the legible portion of the text starts at the beginning of the main spell unit. It is at present one of the few spells with versions in all three dialects, Syriac, Mandaic and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (see Müller-Kessler 1998). The incantation is first directed against a long series of demonic forces, mostly envisaged as types of demonized magical speech, i.e., witchcraft (lines 3–7). These are punished (line 3) and then sent back to the people who sent them against the client (lines 7–8). Sending witchcraft back to the witch is a common motif in the incantation bowls. See further Ford, forthcoming. Four angels are then invoked and asked to become guardians of the house and its inhabitants against various types of witchcraft-related phenomena: the evil eye, the envious glance, the plot of the evil heart, and the word of the slanderous tongue. Finally, the client, his household and his possessions are protectively sealed by means of a variety of magical signet rings and seals. For Ibol, see the commentary to Bowl 5, above. The signet ring of the angel Ḥalṭum is also mentioned in Jewish Aramaic bowls. For

example, JNF 7: 6–7: אסיריתון וחתימיתון כולהון בעיזקתיה דחליטום דיממני על שיפטיא כולהון "You are all bound and sealed by the signet ring of Ḥaliṭum, who is appointed over all plagues."

7. ܢܗܦܟ "may they turn away" – Recent editors of the parallel Syriac bowls derive this verb from the common root *ʾsr* "to bind," in accordance with JBA ניתסרון "may they be bound" in the Borsippa bowl, line 7, and Mandaic *litsrun* "idem" in Greenfield and Naveh Lead Roll, col. b: 25 (see Müller-Kessler 1998: 335; Moriggi 2014: 157), but the morphology suggests a derivation from JBA סור "to turn aside" (Sokoloff 2002: 797). Cf. already Allotte de La Fuÿe's translation, "Qu'ils se retirent" (Allotte de La Fuÿe 1924: 394). The verb is otherwise attested with reference to demons in the Syriac incantation bowl AS 1: 17–18: ܗܕܐ ܗܘ ܢܗܦܟ ܘܢܬܪ ܘܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܗܠ[ܝ]ܢ ܫܡܗܬ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܗܟܐ "Rather, may it turn away and flee and go out quickly, quickly, quickly from before the[se] names that are written here."

10. ܒܝܢ "between" – For Classical ܒܝܬ. For the same reading in IM 60960: 10, see Moriggi 2014: 90. The form is independently attested in PC 16: 6: ܒܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܐܢܬܬܗ ܘܒܝܢ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܒܥܠܗ "and he casts strife between a man and his wife, and between a woman and her husband."

10. ܥܝܪ "alert" – The reading corresponds to *ʿiria* in the parallel Mandaic lead roll Macuch Ia: 48 (Müller-Kessler 1998: 338). For a discussion of the variant readings in the various versions of this passage, see Morgenstern and Ford, 2017: 200-203.

11. ܢܛܠ "they shall keep" – PC 1: 7 similarly reads ܢܛܠܩ. I tentatively identify the verb as ܛܠ (*pa.*) "to restrain, confine," but in a positive sense. Müller-Kessler 1998: 340 similarly translates *unkllunan* in the corresponding context in a Mandaic parallel as "und (sollen sie) zurückhalten … mich."

7. T27995

Mandaic. No drawing. Fairly good scribal hand. The text is written in a spiral beginning at the center of the bowl and continuing on the rim. The incantation is enclosed by a circle on the outside. Outside the circle, written parallel to the rim, is a label indicating the title of the spell. The central section and one side of the bowl are very badly faded, but much of the text can be read or reconstructed with the aid of the parallels.

Clients: Name illegible.

Published parallels: None. Unpublished parallels include MS 1928/53 (lines 16–21); MS 2054/56 (lines 13–19); MS 2054/70 (lines 18–22); MS 1928/13 (lines 18–26); PC 20 (lines 16–23); Wolfe 83 (lines 15–20). The same formula is also found in the unpublished Mandaic lead roll MS 2087/16, cols. 3a and 4b.

Interior



Fig. 8. Bowl 7 (T27995)

1 ...

2 [...] ...[...]

3 [...]

4

5

6 .[37]

7

8 {} [...]...[38]

37 The parallels read *šuba*. The *šā* is certain here, but there does not seem to be enough space for the rest of the word. The traces suggest *šba*.

38 The context requires *nuqbata*, but what should be *qā* looks more like *kā*, followed by *qā* as a correction. The final letters are difficult to discern.



Fig. 9. Bowl 7 (T27995), exterior text

Translation

Interior

1 ...
2 [...] like a d[ry] tr[ee ...]
3 I [make] you swear and adju[re] you, misfortun[es of darkness, by this] great [mystery]
4 which I possess (lit. in which I stand), by the pri[mordial] thought, [by the primordial word]
5 and by the primordial bond by which heaven and earth were bound [... and by (which)] were bo[und]
6 the seven Planets, the mighty ones of this world. Take th[is mystery] and ac[cept] th[is]
7 spell, open your mouths, take your mysteries and accept your adjuration, be exorcised and go [out from ...]
8 and from his male sons and from his female daughters and from this house, dwelling, resi[dence ...] and from
9 the one who enters it (the house), and from his seed that (he sowed) in his open field and from his seed that (he sowed) in the inhabited area. Any *dēv* (that derives) from you and from [your] misfortunes [that comes round]
10 about the ho[use], the angel Yohabil shall be sent against him. He shall bind him in pr[ison], and he shall not [be released] from his bo[nd ... Life is] praised. Life
11 is victorious over all works! [...]
12 ...

Exterior, parallel to the rim (as label)

13 It is
14 "Bound is heaven
15 and b[ound] is earth."

Commentary

There are reasonable grounds to assume that the current bowl originally belonged to a set of two bowls that together contained the well-documented spell "Bound is heaven and bound is earth." This phenomenon occasionally occurs among the Mandaic bowls, where one finds evidence for sets of two or more bowls carrying sequential texts. See, for example, MS 1928/05 and MS 1928/06 (two of an original set of at least three bowls); MS 2054/19 and MS 2054/43.[39] In the present case the bowl must have been the second bowl of the set, as the text begins abruptly in the middle of the spell. The first line or two are lost, but it is clear that there is not enough room for the entire spell. All other parallels include a very interesting beginning directed against various demons associated with place-names (for example, "Bit Iurba," "Bit Bganit," "Bit Sidmus," "Bit Ṣarpiel"). Furthermore, the label on the outside gives the title of the spell by quoting its opening words, *ʿsira šumia uʿsira arqa,* "Bound is heaven and bound is earth," but this phrase is not preserved on our bowl, nor does it seem to have originally been contained in the lost lines at the beginning of the text. In the second part of the spell, that represented by our bowl, the various demons are adjured to leave the client and his household and possessions, otherwise the angel Yohabil, whose name derives from the root *ḥbl* "to destroy," will come against them and bind them in prison.

9. *umn zirḇ ḏ-bdibrḇ umn b*[z]*irḇ ḏ-mata* "and from his seed that (he sowed) in his open field and from his seed that (he sowed) in the inhabited area" – In light of the parallelism (*ḏ-bdibrḥ* // *ḏ-mata*) and the parallel versions (for example, MS 1928/53: 19: *mn zirḥ ḏ-bdibrḥ mn bzira ḏ-bmata*), it is seems reasonable to suggest a phonetic process of assimilation such as: *də+bəmāṭā* > *dəbmāṭā* > *dəmmāṭā*.

9–10. [*ḏ-nihdar bhdar*] *hdrnḇ ḏ-b*[*ita*] "[that comes round] about the house" – For a similar sequence see Ginza Yamina (ed. Petermann) 169: 16–17: *mia siauia hdar hudranh ḏ-alma* "The black waters encircled the circumference of the world." Defective spellings for the vowel /u/ are very rare in Mandaic, however the regular spelling of *hudrana* in the bowls appears to be without the *mater lectionis*. The spelling *hdrana* could reflect a different nominal pattern (i.e., *hadrānā*), or possibly graphic omission following the *hā* ـــ.

39 For similar examples from Jewish Aramaic magic bowls, see Shaked, Ford and Bhayro 2013: 217. There are no holes in the bowl or bitumen residue that would suggest that our bowl was physically fastened together with the second bowl. For the fastening of pairs of magic bowls together facing each other, often containing identical texts, see Levene 2011: 224–27, 233–43; Ford and Levene 2012: 54, and the bibliography cited in the former study.

10. *ʿusrḫ* “his bond” – The parallels read *ʿsurḫ* (or *ʿsura ḏ-hiia* “the bond of Life”). The spelling *ʿusra* similarly appears in the Princeton Mandaic Bowl, line 16: *bhahu ʿusra ḏ-ʿtsra bḫ* “by that bond by which was bound.”[40]

8. T28002

Mandaic. In the center is a small blank circle. The writing begins near the center and spirals towards the rim. The initial lines are jagged and difficult to follow. On the outside of the bowl is a large drawing of a demon *en face* with raised hands. The demon is enclosed by a circle and seems to be bound and shackled. There is also a label indicating the title of the spell. It is written parallel to the rim and enclosed by a line. The writing is very faded, but much of the text can be read or reconstructed with the aid of the parallels.

Clients: Māh-Ādar-Gušnaṣ son of Šišin; Burz-Khwarrah daughter of Šahrōy. Same clients in Wolfe 20.

Published parallel: BM 91748 (Segal 2000: Bowl 089M). Unpublished parallels include MS 1928/44; MS 2054/105; MS 2054/109; MS 2054/110; MS 2054/115; PC 25; Wolfe 26.

Interior



Fig. 10. Bowl 8 (T28002)

40 Reading by J. N. Ford, who is preparing a new edition of this bowl. Previous editors read *ʿuqda* (see, for example, Yamauchi 1967: 292).



Fig. 11. Bowl 8 (T28002), exterior text



Fig. 12. Bowl 8 (T28002), exterior drawing

Exterior, parallel to the rim and enclosed in a circle (as label)

Translation

Interior

1 In the name [of Life]. May there [be] healing
2 and arming and [se]aling and protection
3 [for] the bo[dy] and spir[it and so]ul, and for the [hou]se, the dwelling,
4 the residence and the building of [Māh]-Ādar-[Gušnaṣ son of] Šiš[in].

41 After the *dā* is what appears to be an extraneous vertical stroke.

5 [and] for B[urz]-Khwarra[h daughter of] Ša[hr]ōy, and for [their male] sons [and for] their fe[male daughters].
6 Suppressed is the house. Suppressed are the mysteries of the house. Suppressed is the roof of the house. Suppressed
7 are the gates and windows of the house. Suppressed is the residence. Suppressed is the structure of the house. Suppressed are the temple-spirits of the house.
8 Suppressed are the heads of the temple-spirits of the house. Suppressed [are ...] of the temple-spirits. Suppressed are the seven mysteries
9 of the temple-spirits of the house by a single [mystery]. Suppressed are the seven wo[rds ... of the te]mple-spirits of the house by one great word. Suppressed are
10 the *sahra*-spirits, *dēvs*, [dem]ons, sp[iri]ts, amulet-spirits, [and lili]ths of the ho[use]. [Supp]ressed is the Holy [Spir]it, [your mother, and supp]ressed is the word
11 of the Holy Spirit, your mother. {Suppressed} and placed under my le[ft] heel [... And I said] to you, O *dēvs*: "You are guilty!
12 [...]
13 [...] Māh-Ādar-[Gušnaṣ ...]
14 [...] B[u]rz-Khw[arrah...] and be bea[ten ...] And I said to [you, O *dēvs*: "You are guilty!]
15 [...] your he[ads ...]. Take your mysteries [... Māh-Ādar-Gušnaṣ]
16 son of Šišin and from his wife, and from his sons and from his daughters and from [....] May there be [healing] and arming [and] sea[ling] and protection for the b[ody and] spirit, and the dwelling [... of Māh-Ādar]
17 Gušnaṣ son of Šišin, and for Bu[r]z-Khwarrah daughter of Šahrōy and for their m[ale] sons and for [their fe]male daughters, and for [... And Life is Vict]orious!

Exterior, parallel to the rim and enclosed in a circle (as label)

18 This is "Suppressed is the House."

Commentary

The bowl contains the formula "Suppressed is the House" in its entirety. The main function of the formula is to ensure that all the elements of the client's house are protected. Some elements are of a physical nature (for example, "roof," "gates," "windows," "residence," "structure") whereas others are spiritual (for example, "the mysteries of the house," "the seven mysteries of the temple-spirits"). The list of evil spirits to be suppressed contains the usual types of demons known from numerous Mandaic bowls ("*sahra*-spirits," "*dēvs*," "demons," "spirits," "amulet-spirits," "liliths"), but it also includes a specific reference to *ruha ḏ-qudša* "the Holy Spirit," viewed by the Mandaeans as the mother of all demons. The label on the outside gives the title of the spell used in the incantation by quoting its

opening words, *kbiš bita* "Suppressed is the house." The same title is given in the label on the parallel bowl BM 91748.

8. *riš(uat)un* "the heads of the temple-spirits" – For the use of the plural ending *-(a)wātā* with the masculine noun *riša* in all three eastern Aramaic dialects see Nöldeke 1875: 167; Nöldeke 1904: 344. If our reading is correct, this would be the first occurrence of this form in the Mandaic epigraphic corpus. Contrast what is apparently to be read *ri*[*šai*]*kun* in line 15.

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Abbreviations

MSF = Naveh J., Shaked Sh. 1993.

TMHC 7 = Müller-Kessler, Ch. 2005.

MRLA 3 = Moriggi, M. 2014.

AIT = Montgomery, J. A. 1913.

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REVIEWS

Notes on the Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum

J. B. Segal, with a contribution by E. C. D. Hunter, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (British Museum Press, London 2000).[1]

To regard Professor J. B. Segal's *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* as a "catalogue" would be a great injustice, for it is actually a detailed edition of the largest corpus of incantation bowls published to date. The study comprises a transliteration (into Roman script) and translation of, and commentary on 75 bowls in Jewish Aramaic, 40 bowls and some fragments in Mandaic and 4 bowls in Syriac, most of which have never been published before. 159 plates containing photographs of all the bowls (including 22 additional bowls in pseudoscripts) are also provided. The photographs are of good quality and allow the reader to check most of Segal's readings.

Segal has supplemented his study with concordances of the fixed formulae and standard texts, the latter referred to as 'refrains'. Indices of the various types of proper names and glossaries of the vocabulary of each of the languages represented in the bowls (including Hebrew) also facilitate the use of the book. All occurrences of the various forms of each word are cited, except in the case of the most common forms. An in-depth study of the grammar of the various dialects, however, is naturally beyond the scope of such a work. For the Jewish Aramaic bowls, see now H. Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts* (Studia Orientalia, 86: Helsinki 1999).

The author enjoyed the collaboration of several other scholars, most notably E. C. D. Hunter, who wrote a chapter on the physical features and decorative aspects of the bowls and prepared a Table of Scripts containing examples of the script of all the legible bowls. Hunter also added introductory comments concerning the physical features of the individual bowls at the beginning of each commentary and provided scaled drawings of the cross-sections of the bowls and hand-copies of

[1] It is a great pleasure and priviledge to dedicate this review to the master of incantation bowls, Professor Shaul Shaked. May there be healing and sealing and arming and protection for his body and his spirit and his soul and for his house and his dwelling and his residence and his building and for his spouse and his sons and his daughters and for all his undertakings.

the drawings of demons and magical symbols, etc., which occur on some of them. C. Walker contributed a Table of Registration Numbers and Provenances and a Table of Clients.

Professor Segal's study of the British Museum collection of Aramaic, Mandaic and Syriac incantation bowls provides an indispensable tool for further research on this genre. As will be seen below, however, his readings and translations are sometimes problematic, and scholars unfamiliar with the scripts and languages of the bowls should therefore use them with caution. In addition, the author generally refrains from reconstructing the text when the bowl is broken or effaced. Prudence in such matters is a great virtue, but the fomulaic nature of many of the incantations and the occurrence of duplicates often allow reconstruction with a high degree of certainty, and the translations of a number of the bowls would have profited from such an approach. The present author hopes that the following comments will facilitate the use of the Mandaic section.[2]

[2] New readings are based on the photographs published in Segal's study. The author would like to thank Professor Shaked for making available photographs of unpublished bowls from the Martin Schøyen collection (cited as MS), which often facilitated the understanding of the British Museum bowls, and for help in translating several difficult passages. The present author has usually refrained from comment in cases where Segal's reading appears doubtful, but a more likely solution is not evident. An examination of original photographs or a collation of the bowl will hopefully settle such questions. Reconstructions anticipated by Segal's translations are generally not proposed unless the lacuna occurs within a segment of the text otherwise under discussion.

Segal's method of transcription has been followed with the exception of $\bar{d}$, which is here rendered $\underline{d}$ and separated from the following word by a hyphen. When citing Segal's transcription or translation, square brackets containing three dots ([...]) have been used to signify lacunae or unreadable text, regardless of the specific method employed by Segal. Letters and words written above the line are indicated by ^...^. The following abbreviations have been used: *AHw.* = W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden 1965–1981); *AIT* = J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (University of Pennsylvania, The Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. 3: Philadelphia 1913); *AMB* = J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (³Jerusalem 1998); *CAD* = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago/Glückstadt 1956⁻); Drower-Macuch = E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford 1963); Ford (1998) = J. N. Ford, "'Ninety-Nine by the Evil Eye and One from Natural Causes': KTU² 1.96 in its Near Eastern Context," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 30 (1998), pp. 201–278; Isbell = C. D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula 1975); McCullough (1967) = W. S. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean Incantation Bowls in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto 1967); Müller-Kessler (1996) = Ch. Müller-Kessler, "The Story of Bguzan-Lilith, daughter of Zanay-Lilith," *JAOS* 116 (1996), pp. 185-195; Müller-Kessler (1999) = Ch. Müller-Kessler, "Interrelations between Mandaic Lead Rolls and Incantation Bowls," in Tz. Abusch and K. van der Toorn (eds), *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical and Interpretative Perspectives* (Ancient Magic and Divination, 1: Groningen 1999), pp. 197–209; Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* = Th. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle an der Saale 1875 [repr. Darmstadt 1964]); *MIT* = E. M. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts* (American Oriental Series, 49: New Haven 1967).

076M: Read:

(1) *kwlhn lypqwn h[ynw]n wkwlhyn šwrbʾtwn* ... (2) *myn ʾtrʾywn ʾtʾr ʾtʾr kwlhn lʿkrkwn wlʿqrwn wlypqwn myn* (3) *ʾtrʾywn wmyn šʾbʾ knpʾ d̲-rqʿhʾ hynwn nʿkrykwn wnʿqrwn wnʿpqwn ʿw (mn tmʾnyʾ)* (4) ...*ʾkyʾ d̲-ʾrqʾ whynwn nʿknpwn wnʿqrwn (wnʿp)qwn ʿw myn ʾrbyʾ zʾwyʾtʾ d̲-hʾzyn (b)ʾytʾ* (5) *dyl[yʾ ʾbdrh]mʾ[n br] (m)yšywʾ ʾnʾtwn ʾlʾhyʾ (w)ʿkwryʾ wptykryʾ wʿstrʾtʾ ʾnʾt[wn s]hryʾ šydyʾ wdywyʾ* (6) *whwmr[yʾ wrwhyʾ (?)] wlylyʾtʾ wmlʾkyʾ wmhšbʾtʾ byšʾtʾ knʾp ʾqʾr wpwq myn [hʾzyn bʾ]ytʾy dylyʾ ʾ(b)drhmʾn br* (7) *myš[wyʾ ...] ...wn wʿtrʾhʾq myn (h)[ʾ]zyn [b]ʾytʾy dylyʾ*

(1) May they all be expelled, [they] and all their tribes ... (2) from their various places! May they all turn back and flee and be expelled from (3) their places, and from the seven edges of the firmament may they turn back and flee and be expelled, or (be it) from the eight (4) ...s of the earth, may they take wing and flee and be expelled, or (be it) from the four corners of this house (5) of [mine, Abdrah]ma[n son of] Mišoya! You, O gods and temple-spirits and idol-spirits and goddesses, you, O *sahras* and demons and *dēws* (6) and *humarta*[*s* and spirits (?)] and liliths and angels and evil designs: take wing, flee and be expelled from [this] my house of mine, Abdrahman son of (7) Miš[oya...] ... and distance yourself from this my house of mine!

Some of the reconstructions are anticipated by Segal. **1:** *lypqwn* "May they ...be expelled": The verb NPQ (Peʿal) "to go out, come out, leave, depart" (Drower-Macuch, p. 304a) would best be rendered "to be expelled" in the context of the forcible exorcism of demons. **4:** *d̲-hʾzyn (b)ʾytʾ*: Segal reconstructs *d̲-[hzyn b]ʾytʾ* in his note to line 4, but *hʾzyn* is readable.

077M: 1: *hw[...] (d)ʾkyʾ* "Pure [...]" — read: *hʾ[...m](l)ʾkyʾ* "...angels". **1–2:** *rwhʾy* (2) *wn(ʿš)[...]* "spirits (2) and sou[ls]" — read: *rwhʾywn* (2)... "their spirits (2) ...". **5–6:** *nʿšdwnh̲ ...npwq* "They will cast ...go forth" — read: *nʿšdwnh̲ hʾtʾm wnʿngdwnh̲ ʾlmʾ d̲-mwqrʾ myn nhyrh̲ {nʿpwq} nʿpwq* "They shall cast it (the demon) thence and torture it until brain matter comes out of its nose". The first occurrence of *nʿpwq*, if correctly read, is poorly written and would seem to have been intentionally rewritten by the scribe. **Note to line 7:** The phrase *ʾrsh̲ wbysʾdyh̲* "his bed and his pillow" denotes rather the wish for safety from demonic attack while in bed.

078M: 3–4: *mwmʾytʾ lyʾswr ...qyryʾtʾ* "An oath for Yaswar ...the invocations" — read: *qʾrʾyth̲ lyʾswr mlʾkʾ wʾwmyth̲ wʾmrylh̲ lyh̲ wlkwlhyn* (4) *qryʾtʾ* "I hereby call Yaswar the angel, and bid him take an oath, and say to him, to him and to all (4) the imprecations".

ʾmrylḥ is a 1 c.s. perf. form (<*ʾmryt*); for the loss of the final *t*, see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, §170. **5:** *wmhdrylwn wʾzlyn* "and go around and are gone" — read: *wmhrbylwn wʾzlyn* "and destroy them and go about". **6:** *yʾdʾ* — read: *yʾdnʾ*. **6–7:** *kwlhyn qryʾtʾk ... bbtyʾ {(wbgd)yʾ}* "all your invocations ... in the houses" — read: *kwlhyn qryʾtʾk* (7) *ˆd-zwtyʾˆ rʾ(ʾ)btʾ(yʾ d-)htyʾ bbtyʾ wʾ(bp)gryʾ* "all your imprecations (7) which are small (or) great which harm the houses and the bodies". **7–8:** *d-lʿqrʾ* (8) *wlʿkynpʾ (wnʾpqʾ)*: "for root (8) and for wing! There will go forth" — read: *d-lʿqrʾ* (8) *wlʿkynpʾ (wnʿpqʾ)* "that they may flee (8) and take wing and be expelled". Similarly, line 10 (below). Cf. 076M, lines 4 and 6 (above). **8:** *wmn qwdʾmʾy dylyʾ ʾbdrhmʾn* "even before me, Abdrahman": this is probably a dittograph. **9:** *rʾzʾ wmlʾlʾ* "the mystery and the spell" — read: *(b)rʾzḥ wmlʾlḥ* "by the mystery and the spell". **9:** *mlʾkʾ wkwlhyn* "the angel, and all" — read: *mlʾkʾ ʾ(nʾt) wkwlhyn* "the angel, you and all". **10:** [...]*hyn lʿqrʾ wlʿkynpʾ wnʿpqʾn* "[...] For root and for wing!" — read: *hʿnyn lʿqrʾ wlʿkynpʾ wnʿpqʾn* "may they flee and take wing and be expelled". **10:** *bšnyrʾy* — read: *bšnyrʾh*. Cf. below, lines 15–17. This spelling is apparently a variant of *bšnyrʾ*, a short form of *bšnyrʾy* (cf. Segal's note to 077M:8 [p. 104]). It also occurs in 079M:9,10 and 080M:8. **11:** *šʾhpryd*[...]*whlyn ʿmwmʾtyʾ* "Šahafrid [...] And these adjurations of mine" — read: *šʾhpryd ʿw (hʾzyn) rʾzʾ ltysʾb whlyn ʿmwmʾtʾ* "Šahafrid. If you do not take this mystery and these adjurations". **11:** *wnʿšdwn* "and cast" — read: *wnʿšdwnʾk* "and cast you". **12:** *bm(ʿdyr)tʾ rbtyʾ d-nyrʾ* "by the great Share of the Plough" — read: *bmrkybtʾ rbtyʾ d-nwrʾ* "by a great chariot of fire". **12–13:** *ʾlh ... bʾythḥ* "the god ... the house" — read: *ʾlʾ(h)ʾ d-t*[...] *wtypwq ʾ(nʾ)t wkwlhyn šwrbʾtʾk m(n) hʾz[y]n bʾyth* "the god, that you [...] and be expelled, you and all your tribes, from this house". **13:** *(wmn)* [...] "and from [...]" — read: *(wmn) bnʾywn (wmyn bnʾ)[twn]* "and from their sons and from [their] daughters". **15 17:** *d-bšny* (16) *rʾ h* (17) *(wy)* [...] "Belonging to Bašni (16) ra L (17) (ife) — read: *d-bšny* (16) *rʾh* (17) *h(w)* "It (the bowl) belongs to Bašnirah". Cf. above, line 10.

Note to line 3: Segal's claim on p. 31 that "verbs of adjuration in 1st sing perf" are "extended by alef" is fallacious. In the present example (*ʾwmytʾ*), the *alef* is in fact the accusative suffix pronoun *-ḥ*, as noted above (for further examples of YMA [Afʿel] + accusative suffix pronoun, see Drower-Macuch, p. 192b). All of his other examples concern the verb ŠBA (Afʿel) "to adjure," where the *alef* derives from sandhi writing of the verb and the following preposition (*ʿl*). Cf. Aramaic *ʾšbʿyt ʿl* (e.g., 027A:4: *ʾšbʿyt ʿlykwn*).

079M: 1: *hyyʾ* "(Victorious is) Life" — read: *[bšwmʾ(yhwn)] (d-)h[y]yʾ* "[In the name] of Life". **3:** *ʾbʾn gwšnʾhp* — read: *ʾbʾn gwšnʾ(s)p*. Segal (note to line 3) posits a scribal error for *ʾbʾn gwšnʾsp*, but this would seem to be the actual reading. **3:** *wb*[...] "and Ba[...] — read: *kby*[*š*...] "suppre[ssed is...]." It does not seem possible to read the first letter as *w*. A reading *db*[*šnyrʾh*...] "of Ba[šnirah...]" seems epigraphically less likely than *kby*[*š*...] and, moreover, would entail an emendation of the text to <*w*>*db*[*šnyrʾh*...] "<and> of Ba[šnirah...]" (cf. lines 9 and 10 [below]). If the proposed reading is correct, the length of the lacuna suggests the following reconstruction: *kby*[*š hyšwkʾ myn qwdʾm nhwrʾ wkbyš*] (4) *kwlḥ hylḥ d-hyšwkʾ myn qwdʾm kwlḥ hylḥ d-nhwrʾ ˆrbʾˆ* "suppre[ssed is darkness before light and suppressed is] (4) all the power of darkness before all the power of great light". Cf. 084M:18–19 and 023A:4. **6:** *wʿl*: "and to" — translate: "and against". **7:** *rbʾ zywʾ* "great [...] radiance" — read: ...*bʾytʾ* "...house". **8:** *wʿl kwlhwn dywʾ* "and to all the devils" — read: *wʿl kwlhwn ʿ(t)yt* "and against all of them I came". **9:** *dʾbdrhmʾn* — read: *d-ʾbdrhmʾn*. **9:** *wdbšnyrʾy* — read: *wdbšnyrʾ(h)*. **10:** *wdbšnyrʾy pt šʾhpryd* — read: *wdbšnyrʾh pt šʾhʾpryd*.

080M: Read:

(1) *ʾswtʾ whtmtʾ thwylḥ lbʾythḥ* (2) *d-ʾbdrhmʾn br myšwyʾ ʿsʾ(q) ʿyʾrgyz ʿlwʾykwn* (3) *lqwdʾm šwmʾ rbʾ wlqwdʾm mymrʾ rbʾ qdmʾyyʾ ʾlwʾykwn* (4) *mlʾkyʾ d-ʾlmʾ hʾzyn bnḥ d-ptʾhyl d-ʾnʾtwn wʿkwrʾykwn whwmrʾykwn* (5) *wptykrʾykwn wshrʾykwn wdywyʾkwn wrwhʾykwn whwmrʾykwn wlyly'tkwn wmnklʾtkwn* (6)*(hʾ)*[*t*]*ytwn wmbyštwn brwhyʾ wnʿšymʾtʾ d-bnyʾ ʾnʾšʾ ʿyʾrgyz ʿlwʾykwn lptʾhy*[*l*] *d-b*... (7) *lšwmyʾ wlʾrqʾ wl*...*wmlkʾywn ldhynkwn* (read: *ldhwnkwn*?) *lʿqrwnʾkwn wlʿpyqwnkwn mn hʾzyn bʾythḥ* (8) *wdwrḥ whyklḥ (wb)[yny'nḥ] d-*[*ʾbd*]*rhmʾn br myšwyʾ wdbšnyrʾh pt šʾhʾpryd wmn bnʾywn wmn bnʾt*[*wn*]*wmn* (9) *ʾy(lʾywn) wmn nʾpqwn whyyʾ zʾkyʾ (whyyʾ)*

(1) May there be healing and sealing for the house (2) of Abdrahman son of Mišoya. I shall go and (speak) wrathfully against you (3) before the great Name and before the great primeval Word, against you, (4) O angels of this world, sons of Ptahil, you who (together with) your temple-spirits and your *humartas* (5) and your idol-spirits and your *sahras* and your *dēws* and your spirits and your *humartas* and your liliths and your guileful spirits (6) ha[rm] and do evil to the spirits and souls of humans. I shall (speak) wrathfully against you to Ptahil, who c[reated] (7) the heavens and the earth and ...and their kings. They shall drive you out and extirpate you and expel you from this house (8) and dwelling and residence and b[uilding] of [Abd]rahman son of Mišoya and of Bašnirah daughter of Šahafrid and from their sons and from [their] daughters and from (9) those who enter their (house) and those who leave their (house). And Life is victorious! And Life.

2: *ʾbdrhmʾn* (Segal: *ʾbrhymʾn*): Cf. the form of the *r* in *br* (line 2) and elsewhere in the text. **6:** *b*... "c[reated]": The translation is suggested by the context (see the bibliography cited by Segal, p. 107). The verb would seem to begin with *b*, as read by Segal. A derivation from BNʾ "to build" is likely, but the present author is not able to make sense of the subsequent traces. Cf. *ptʾhyl bʾnyʾ šwmyʾ wʾrqʾ*

"Ptahil, the creator of heaven and earth" (Ginza Yamina [ed. Petermann], 227, 22–23). Cf. also the verb BR' "to create" (Drower-Macuch, p. 69b). Note that Mandaic *b'ny'* "creator (lit. builder)" parallels Akkadian *bānû* "creator" (*CAD*, B, p. 94; cf. *banû* A, meaning 3 "to create, said of a deity" [*CAD*, B, pp. 87–89a]) and Ugaritic *bny* "creator" (G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica* [Aula Orientalis — Supplementa, 7: Barcelona 1996/2000], p. 114a). **7:** *l'qrwn'kwn* "they shall extirpate you" (<'QR [Drower-Macuch, p. 34]). Segal derives this verb from QR' "to call," translating "their kings will ...denounce you," but the context suggests another verb referring to the expulsion of the demons. Cf. M. H. Lichtenstein, *Episodic Structure in the Ugaritic Keret Legend: Comparative Studies in Compositional Technique* (Columbia University Ph.D. Thesis: 1979), pp. 311–338, who discusses the use of the Aramaic cognate 'QR "to extirpate" and its interdialectal equivalents in incantations directed against demons. In the corpus of the British Museum bowls, cf. 034A:2. For the intransitive homonym 'QR (<*'RQ) "to flee," see 076M:2,3,4,6.

081M: 5: *nqb't-* read: *nwqb't'*. **8:** *kyy'tyb ... ml'ky'* "seated ... angels" — read: *kd y'tyb bškynt' d-npš[h w]ml'ky'* "seated in [his] own dwelling [and] (I saw) the angels". **9:** *d-q'ymy' 'l'w'* "as they stood on high" — read: *d-q'ymy' 'l'wh* "who serve him (lit. who stand in his presence)". Cf. *d-q'ym qwd'm* "who serves (lit. who stands before)" (107M:10' and 17' [below]). The Mandaic expressions parallel Hebrew 'MD 'l "to serve (lit. to stand in the presence of)" (e.g., Gen. 18:8) and Akkadian (*ina/ana*) *pān PN izuzzu* "to serve (lit. to stand before) PN" (*AHw.*, p. 409a, meaning I,2: "[dienend] stehen vor"). **9:** *wmytgmry' l'trw'n 'trw'n* "and perfected in diverse places" — translate: "and *take possession of* diverse places". **9:** *bh[...]rwh'ywn* "with [...] their spirits" — read: *bh[wmr'ywn wb]rwh'ywn* "with their *h[umartas* and with] their spirits". **10:** *wlṣ'wy'* "and to defile" — translate: "and to desolate". The parallel with *lhrwby'* "to destroy" suggests a derivation from the root ṢW', otherwise attested in Mandaic in the Pe'al Stem with the meaning "to languish, pine, wither away, dry up" (see Drower-Macuch, p. 390a). Cf. 107M:14' and 20' (below). **10:** *wl'šwṭ [...]d' d-hyy'* "and to make foolish ...[Man]da dHiia" — read: *wl'šwṭ[y' bny' šwrb' r]b' d-hyy'* "and to render sense[less the children of the gr]eat [family] of Life". **11:** *'n' bhyl'y ... d-lwn mn (byt) by rb' q'dm'yy' d-hw(' 'l'w')y q'd[...]* "I, in my power ...that [...] (went forth (?)) from my great primeval house that was above the prim[eval...]" — read: *'n' bhyl'y ... d-lwn mn byt bwrb' q'dm'yy' d-hw(' 'l'w')y q'(m)[yt...]* "I, by my power ...that accompanied me from the house of the great primeval father, that was upon me, st[ood...]". Cf. DC 37, 367: *bh'yl' d-mn byt 'b lw'n* "by the power that accompanied me from the house of my father". The latter text suggests that *byt bwrb' q'dm'yy'* is a contraction of *byt 'bw rb' q'dm'y'* "the house of the great primeval father," which occurs in a magical context in DC 26, 60–61: *q'l' d-'t'ly' mn byt 'bw rb' q'dm'y'* "the voice which came to me from the house of the great primeval father." Cf. also the occurrence of the same expression in Ginza Yamina (ed. Petermann) 208, 10–11 // 209, 20–21 in a mythological context. For additional references to *byt 'bw* "house of the father," see Drower-Macuch, p. 1a, s.v. *ab* 3. **12:** *byt šwby'hy'* "(in) the house of the planets," — translate: "The house of the planets". **12:** *w'š[...]* — read: *w'š[tw'š...]* "and were cast into con[fusion...]". **13:** *bykl't'* "upon brides": The reading seems correct (cf. the *k* in *lml'ky'* [line 8]), but this is probably a distortion of *bydl't'* "among children," as the parallels (e.g., MS 1928/25) read *by'ld't'* or the like. **13:** *lnqwpy'* "to stab" — translate: "to strike down". **13:** *]qr't 'lw'ywn* "She invoked against them" — read: *gy]mr't 'lw'ywn* "she *set* over them". **13:** *wlṣ'ywdy' nšy'* "and ensare [*sic*] women" — read: *wlṣ'ywry' '(n)šy'* "and to molest women". **14–15:** *d-'pky' ... wmhrby' b'ty'* "that overturned ...and destroying houses" — read: *d-'pky' 'lbb'[ywn d-bny' 'n'š'...] wbbyny'nwn wmytqry' b'lm' g'ṭly' g'ṭl' wmhrby' b'ty'* "that pervert the hearts [of humans...] and in their buildings, and are called in the world 'murderers' and 'destroyers of houses' ". **16:** Read: *[byt' (...)] (d-)'kwry' wr<wh'> whmrt' 'tbh z(m)' d-ywn' ('w) t'rn'wl['] (h)yw'r' p(w)š bmy'* "[the house (...)] in which there are temple-spirits and sp<irit(s)> and *humarta(s)*. Dilute the blood of a dove or a white cock in water". The text contains instructions for a magical praxis. For the use of a "white cock" in Jewish ritual and magic, see D. Levene, "'...and by the name of Jesus ...' An Unpublished Magic Bowl in Jewish Aramaic," *Jewish Quarterly Studies* 6 (1999), pp. 292–293, and S. Shaked, "Jesus in the Magic Bowls. Apropos Dan Levene's '...and by the name of Jesus ...'," ibid., pp. 309–311. **17:** *lkwl m'n d-'qr'yt' d-'(t)r' 'ml'* "to everyone of the invocations of Uthra 'Amla" — read: *lkwl m'n d-'qr'yt' d-'(kwr') 'tlh* "for anyone who has (i.e., is suffering from) an imprecation of a temple-spirit". **18:** *m'šwy'* — read: *m'šwy'*. **18:** *wlb[...] zykry'* "and for their s[ons] [...] male" — read: *wlb[n'ywn] (zykry')* "and for [their] male so[ns]". **20:** *d-y'w'r* "of Yawar" — read: *['l klyl nhw](r) 'y'r* "Upon the wreath of the light of air". This phrase, which is the opening line of the basic incantation (see line 5), is written below a line encircling the incantation and serves as a label for the bowl.

082M: 10–11: *mn 'l'n' (11) ... twšbyht'* "From a tree (11) ...praise" — read: *mn gwpn' (11) d-mly' btryṣwt' wmn 'l'n' d-kwlh twšbyht'* "From a vine (11) that is full of uprightness and from a tree that all of it is praise". Contrary to Segal, *mly' b* "full of" provides an excellent parallel to *kwlh* "all of it." The pronominal suffix in *kwlh* refers to *'l'n'* "tree," not *twšbyht'* "praise," as in Segal's translation. Cf. Ginza Yamina (ed. Petermann) 189, 14-15: *gwpn' d-kwlh hyy' w'l'n' rb' d-kwlh 's'w't'* "a

vine that all of it is life and a great tree that all of it is remedies" (cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 85a, s.v. *gupna* and ibid., p. 351a, s.v. *ʿlana*), where the pronominal suffix is in each case unambiguous. **11:** *ṣ'yrn' b'yt' b'rby' z'wy't'* "I draw the shape of a house with four corners" — read: *ṣ'yrn' b'yt' b'rby' z'wy'tḥ* "I encircle the house at its four (inner ?) corners". The verb *ṣ'yrn'* in this text would appear to be derived from ṢUR II "to surround, hem in, encompass, ..." (Drower-Macuch, p. 391a), not ṢUR I "to form, shape, ..., depict, trace" (Drower-Macuch, ibid.), as implied by Segal's translation, although Segal himself understands the text to refer to the magical encircling of the house (see p. 28). Note the collocation with *ṣwrt'* "(magic) circle" (line 12) [see below], which Drower-Macuch, p. 391b, derive from ṢUR II, and the parallel *ṣ'yrn'* "I encircle" // *htymn'* "I seal" (lines 13–14). **11–12:** *'rby' z'wy't' ... 'rby' qrn't'* "four corners ... four horns" — read: *'rby' z'wy'tḥ ... 'rby' qrn'tḥ* "its four (inner ?) corners ... its four (outer ?) corners". For *q'rn'* "(outer ?) corner," see Drower-Macuch, p. 403a, s.v. *qarna*, meaning c: "corner, projection". Cf. the Akkadian word-pair *tubqu* //*šaḫātu* "outer corner // inner corner" (see *CAD*, Š/1, p. 82b, meaning 1a:2'). **12:** *ṣ'yrn' ... bš'b' ṣb't'* "I draw the shape ... with seven fingers" — read: *ṣ'yrn' š'b' dmw't' ḏ-hyšwk' bš'b' ṣwr't'* "I encircle seven images of darkness with seven (magic) circles". **14–15:** *bh'zyn pwgd'm' ... bh'zyn b'yt'* "by this word ... in this house" — read: *bh'zyn pwgd'm' ḏ-qr' hybyl m'ry' ʿl š'b' dmw't'* (15) *ḏ-h[yšwk' ḏ-]hwbḥ kḏ 'pk' wnpq' mn qwd'mḥ ṭ'bwt' wrw'h' ḏ-š'wy' hybyl tyhwybḥ bh'zyn b'yt'* "by this word which the Lord Hibil invoked against the seven images (15) of da[rkness that] were in it (the house), as they (the demonic images) turned and were expelled from before him (or 'it' [the word] ?). May the goodness and ease that Hibil established be in this house". The bottom of the *k* in *h[yšwk']* is visible in the photograph and indicates that there is space in the lacuna for an additional letter (i.e., *ḏ*) before *hwbḥ*. **16:** *w'l pgr'* "and for the body" — translate: "and upon the body".

083M: As noted by Segal, much of this bowl parallels McCullough (1967), Bowl C. It also parallels DC 43B. **3–6:** *ʿsyr[...] ... bnḥ* "Bound be ... her sons" — read: *ʿsyry['] (b'by') [ḏ- šywl br'z' ḏ-](lywy'tyn) ʿsyry' gyrmy' myty' w'[syry]' h(')r[by'...] (ḏ-)byldb'by' mn pgrḥ ḏ-b'š[nyr'y pt] (š)[h](pryd) [...] (zwḥ w)bnḥ* "Bound are the gates [of Sheol by the mystery of] Leviathan. Bound are the dead bones and [bound] are the sword[s and....] of the enemies from the body of Baš[niray daughter] of Šahafrid [...] her spouse and her sons". **6–7:** *pkyr ... h'zyn* "fettered ... this..." — read: *pkyr h['mš'* (7) *ml'ky' ḏ-'l]m' h'zyn* "tied up are the f[ive (7) angels of] this [wo]rld". Cf. McCullough (1967), Bowl C:4–5. **7:** *wmn ʿl'yy' mn[...]* "and above [...]" — read: *wmn ʿl'wy' (my)['ʿsyr h]ylḥ [mn] (r)qʿ(h)'* "and from above the wat[ers. Bound is] his [po]wer [from] the firmament". **8–9:** *gdp'nwyn ... b'šnyr'y* "the

winged (creatures) ... Bašniray" — read: *gdp'(y)hyn ḏ-mrkb['] ḏ-[...]* (9) *ʿsyr' whtym' b'šnyr'y* "the wings of the chariots of [...]. (9) Bound and sealed is Bašniray". There is not enough space in the lacuna for Segal's entire restoration, "fire in which they dwell," although it is based on the parallel passage in McCullough (1967), Bowl C:9 (*nwr' ḏ-y'tbybhyn*), nor do the traces fit *nwr'* "fire" alone. Read possibly *[hšw](k')* "darkness." **9:** *wyldḥ whlb' wbnḥ* "and her child and Halba and his sons" — read: *wyldḥ whlbḥ wbnḥ* "and her infant and her milk and her sons". Segal understands *hlb'* (here read *hlbḥ*) to be the husband of Bašniray's (female) child (*yldḥ* [var. *yld'tḥ*]). Segal bases his interpretation primarily on several passages in 084M (especially lines 3–4 and 13) where the vocable is followed by *zwḥ* "her spouse," the latter analyzed by Segal as standing in apposition to *hlb'*. In the present text, however, no matronym or reference to a relation of *hlbḥ* with respect to any other person is given, which would be unusual were the vocable to refer to one of the clients. This suggests that *hlbḥ* is not the name of a person. Furthermore, *yldḥ* most likely refers to a young child, who would surely not be married. *hlbḥ* is therefore tentatively understood as "her milk." The bowl was apparently written not long after Bašniray had given birth, at a time when she was particularly concerned for the well-being of her infant, including a sufficient supply of mother's milk. Although "(mother's) milk" is not otherwise known by the present author to occur in such lists of people/objects for whom/which protection is requested in Aramaic incantations, demons are nevertheless sometimes said to harm a woman's milk. See, for example, MS 1928/53:15–16: *'zl' wš'ry' ʿl hdy'yhwn ḏ-ʿnšy' ... wn'sb' hlb'yhwn myn'yhwn wmṭnp'ly' wmṣy'lhyn* "(the demon who) goes around and haunts the breasts of women ... and takes their milk from them and pollutes it and sucks them". **10–11:** *lṭwpr[...] blygr'ywn* — read: *lṭwpr(y' ḏ-)b[lygr]('ywn)* (11) *(wmn ṭw)[p](ry' ḏ-)blygr'ywn*. See Segal's translation. **12:** *ḏ-sm lwn lʿdn'-* read: *ḏ-sm'lwn lʿwdn'*. **13:** "and her child and Halba" — translate: "and her infant and her milk". See above, line 9. **14–15:** *bšwmḥ ḏ-zhyr ... ḏ-hy'* "In the name of **zhyr** ... of Lif[e]" — read: *bšwmḥ ḏ-zhyr smyr<...>zyw' rb' q'dm'yy' bš'ršyr' wbz'r[zʿyl ʿsyqt' wg']($br^{ʿ}$) [yl]* (15) *ml'k' wnydmy' ʿkwr'y(kwn) lmy' (q'ryry') ḏ-(rmy' bp)yry['w]ys (y)'rdn' rb' ḏ-hy[y]'* "By the name of Zhir Smir, the great primeval <...> Ziwa, by a chain, and by Zar[ziel the signet-ring, and Gab]riel (15) the angel. And may your temple resemble the cold water that is found in Piryawis, the great Jordan of Life". Cf. DC 43B, 15–18 (unpublished): *bš'r šyr' ḏ-'rq'* (16) *bz'rzyʿyl ʿsyqt' wg'brʿyl m'l'k' bšwmyḥ zhyr wsmyr* (17) *ywsmyr zyw' rb' q'dm'y' br hyy' rby' ryš'yy' md'my' ʿl* (18) *kwb'k* [read: *ʿkwr'k*] *'lm<y>' q'ryry'* "By a chain of the earth, (16) by Zarziel the signet-ring, and Gabriel the angel, by his name, Zhir and Smir, (17) the great primeval Yusmir Ziwa son of the great

first Life. (18) Your temple resembles the cold water."[3] In McCullough (1967), Bowl C:14–15, read similarly: *bšwršyr' wbzrz['yl 'syqt' wg'](b)r'yl ml'k' bšwm' d-zhyr smyr* yws[m]yn *zyw' rb' q(d)m'y(yḥ) br* (15) *hy^y^'...nydmy' ...[...l](m)y' q[r]yry'*. The parallels suggest that in 083M the name *ywsmyr*, or the like, has been omitted between *smyr* and *zyw'*, presumably by haplography. The phrase *wnydmy' 'kwr'y(kwn)* ... "And may your temple resemble ..." in its entirety is paralleled by *MIT*, 16:9–11. Cf. also DC 29, 219–220 (// Drower, *JRAS* [1937], p. 593, lines 26–27): *nyd'my' 'kwr'k lmy' q'* (220)*ryry'*. A number of Jewish Aramaic incantation bowls exibit a literary dependence on part of the formula in 083M:14–15 and parallels. E.g., Isbell, 50:2: *bš[w]ršyr' bzwzmry b'yzqtyh dywkbrzyw' br rby* "by a chain, by *zwzmry*, by the signet-ring of Yukabar Ziwa son of Rabbi". In addition to *bš[w]ršyr'*, which exactly parallels *bšwršyr'* in McCullough (1967), Bowl C:14, compare *b'yzqtyh* with *'syqt'* and *ywkbrzyw' br rby* with *ywsmyr zyw' ... br hyy' rby'*. Cf. Ch. Müller-Kessler, "Puzzling words and spellings in Babylonian Aramaic magic bowls," *BSOAS* 62 (1999), pp. 111–112. A Syriac bowl has elements of both the Mandaic and Jewish Aramaic versions (MS 2055/13:8–9): *bšyršyr' bzyw zymr' bzrzy'yl ('yz)qt' rbt' dḥtym' bh šmy' w'r'* "by a chain, by *zyw zymr'*, by Zarziel the great signet-ring by which are sealed the heavens and the earth." **16–17:** Read: *w'(s)[wt' ... wn](ṭrt') wz'kw[t'] wṭ'b[wt](') wn'(ṭ)r' rb' d-šr'r' nyhwy[lḥ] (l)pgrḥ rwhḥ wnyšymtḥ* (17) *d-(b)['šnyr'y pt šh](pr)[y](d) wlz[wḥ] ('bd)[rhm'n] br [m]('š)wy' wlbn'ywn zykry' wlbn'twn nwqb't' [wlby]t'ywn (dw)[r'ywn...]* "and may there be hea[ling ... and gu]arding and victor[y] and good[ness] and a great and steadfast protective (charm) for the body, spirit and soul (17) of Ba[šniray daughter of Šaha]frid and for [her] spouse Abd[rahman] son of [M]išoya and for their male sons and for their female daughters and for their [hou]se, [their] dwe[lling...]". For the reading *n'ṭr'* (Segal: *n'wr'* "Mirror"), see Müller-Kessler (1996), p. 190. **18:** [...] *wym'n 'sy'* "[...] the healer" — read: *b'(swt)[ḥ] d-m'n 'sy'* "by the healing of Man, the healer". **19 (beneath the line):** ...*(hw)* "It is ...". This would appear to be a label.

084M: The epigraphic notes are followed by a provisional retranslation of the entire text. The text comprises two independent incantations, which are separated by a line. The first (lines 1–12) parallels 085M (cf. Segal, p. 114). The second (lines 13–20) parallels DC 37, 399–414. On the base of the bowl is a label (lines 21–22). For a commentary to the translation and a discussion of the parallel DC 37, 399–414, see my forthcoming study, "Another Look at the Mandaic Incantation Bowl BM 91715," *JANES* 29 (2002) **4:** *hlb'* — read: *hlbḥ*. Cf. 083M:9 (above). **4–5:** *dyz'ṭ b[...]dy'z'ṭ* (5) *qbylyk* — read: (')*z'ṭ* (*š*)[*w*](*myk w'r*)*w'z'ṭ* (5) *qrylyk*. **5:** *nqb't'* — read: *nwqb't'*. **6:** *'y'dkyry'* — read: *'y'dkwry'*. **6:** *lmlkwt'* — read: *wmlkwt'*. The initial *w* would appear to have been corrected from an original *l*, the latter read by Segal. Cf. *wmlkwt'* in the parallel phrase in line 7 and *wmlkw't'* in 085M:6. **7:** *hw'yz'k mn b'ytḥ 'pqwyḥ hw'yz'k* — read: *wh'yz'k mn b'^y^tḥ 'pqwyḥ wh'yz'k*. **7:** *m'g'ṭt* — read: {*m*}<*t*>'*g'* <*lg'*>*ṭt*. The *m* is a mistake for *t* caused by the similarity between the two signs. <*lg'*> was omitted by haplography. **8:** *wk'lt hw'yz'k* — read: *'k'lt wh'yz'k*. **8:** *wt'nlyk* — read: *wt'nwlyk*. **9:** *l(k)wnyk* — read: *ldwnyk*. **10:** *whydymyt* — read: *whrymyt*. **10:** *whdymy'* — read: *whrymy'*. **12:** *lhlb'* — read: *lhlbḥ*. **13:** *lb'šnr'y* — read: *lb'šnyr'y*. **13:** *hlb'* — read: *hlbḥ*. **14:** *wdyš'rmyly'* — read: *wryš' rmyly'*. **14:** *dlyly't'* — read: *d-lyly't'*. **15:** *ṭypy'* — read: *ṭwpy'*. **15:** ···read: ~~*'kl'*~~. **15:** *dygb'y* — read: *(l)ygr'y*. **15–16:** [...] — read: ['*br'yy*']. **17:** *sykyn' sykyn* — read: *bsykyn' skyn*. **18–19:** *wkbyš* (19) *'mhwt'* — read: *wkbyš'* (19) *myht'*. **19:** *ldšk'b* — read: *l(')šk'b*. **20:** *d-s'n'ly* — read: *d-s'ny'ly'*. **21–22:** *'syr* (22) *(h)tym* — read: *'syr'* (22) *'tw't'*.

The following translation may be proposed:

(1) In the name of Life. May there be healing (2) and sealing and arming and protection and victory for the body, (3) spirit and soul of Bašniray daughter of Šahafrid and for her spouse and her infant, (4) her milk, her spouse and her sons and her daughters and her bed and her pillow. Your name is Azaṭ and you are called Arwazaṭ, (5) O youngest of (your) sisters and eldest of the female goddesses. You surely remember, (6) or I shall indeed remind you: when Šamiš took the crown and received the kingship, he reigned three hundred and sixty-(7)one years. Then they expelled him from his house. Then you, evil lilith, <too>k the crown and received the kingship (8) (and) reigned three hundred and sixty-one years. Then they expelled you from your house and they placed your cash box upon your head (9) and the cash box of your dowry upon your *mlūg*-property and made you take your *mlūg*-property in your hands and expelled you from the land of the Egyptians. And you said: I am (10) the lilith who has harmed the children of Adam. You are shackled and banned and rebuked and reproved. The mysteries which are in your mouth are shackled and banned. (11) Your arms are tied behind your back, your frame is bent to the earth and a great cord of iron is wrapped about you. You are bound by those mysteries that the fathers of your

[3] Drower-Macuch, p. 161a, s.v. *zarzi'il*, incorrectly read *z'rzy'yl 'syqt' d-g'bry'yl ml'k'* "Zarziel, the signet-ring of Gabriel the angel." The reading *bšwm z'rzy'yl 'syqt' d-g'bry'yl m'l'k'* "In the name of Zarziel, the signet-ring of Gabriel the angel" does occur, however, in DC 43H, 28. Although DC 43H does not otherwise parallel DC 43B, the corrupt nature of the latter text suggests the possibility that DC 43H may preserve the original reading of the phrase. In such a case, the relevant lacunae in the incantation bowls paralleling DC 43B should be reconstructed accordingly. For *š'r šyr' d-'rq'*, cf. R. Macuch, "Altmandäische Bleirollen (erster Teil)," in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, IV (Berlin 1967), p. 130, lines 17–18 and p. 187.

fathers (12) are bound within them. May there be healing and sealing and arming and protection for her milk, her spouse and her sons and her daughters and her bed and her pillow.

(13) May there be healing and sealing and arming for Bašniray daughter of Šahafrid and for her infant, her milk, her spouse, and her sons and her daughters. The signs that I, Bašniray, saw in my dream: it seemed I was strapped and doubly strapped, strapped (14) with straps of iron and *chained* with *chains* of *lead*, indeed thrown face down beneath a bed of iron, copper and *lead*, and I was filled with the water of *sahras* and (my) head was placed upon the skulls of liliths. On my (15) left were torrents of water; on my right a knife, a knife of death, violence (and) destruction; at my pillow a mace of radiance; at my feet a great axe of exorcisms; above my head an (16) [extraordinary] arrow. (17) The *dēw* which will come against me from the right shall be smitten by the great mace of radiance! The *dēw* which will come against me from the left shall be smitten by the knife, the knife of death, violence (and) destruction! The *dēw* that comes against me at my pillow will be smitten by the great axe of exorcisms! (18) The *dēw* that comes (against me) above (my) head will be smitten by the extraordinary arrow! Suppressed, suppressed is darkness before light, and suppressed is destruction before construction, and suppressed is error before truth and suppressed are (19) blow(s) before healing. And for Bašniray daughter of Šahafrid may there be healing and may she lie down for good and pleasant dreams — but for hateful dreams may my hater, the *piṭyaruta*-demon (20) that hates me, lie down. And Life is victorious!

[As label:] (21) "Bound are (22) the signs."

085M: For a retranslation of the entire text, see my forthcoming study, "Another Look at the Mandaic Incantation Bowl BM 91715." **1:** *thwylḥ* — read: *tyhwylḥ*. **3:** Read: *š'h[p]ryd 'z'ṭ šwmyk w'r(w')z'ṭ qrylyk*. **4:** *ḏ' ... w'hw't'* — read: *ḏ-'{[h]'w'}hw't'*. **5:** *dkryt* — read: *ydkryt*. This would appear to be a scribal error (cf. 084M:6: *'ydkryk*). **7:** *hw'yz'k ... whw'yz'k* — read: *wh'yz'k ... wh'yz'k*. **8:** *wṭ'lgwt' wml'kwt'* — read: *<t'>g' lg('t) wmlkwt'*. **8:** *'k'lḥ hw'yz'k* — read: *'k'(l)[t] wh'yz'k*. **9:** *'pqw{w}k* — read: *'pqwk*. **9:** *lyknyk* — read: *lydnyk*. **10:** *bg[...]ly'* — read: *bg'lw'(yy')* "among the exiles". **10:** *'rq* — read: *'^r^q'*. **11ff:** Read:

(11) *w'm'r't 'n' h('y)' lylyt' wshr' wdyw' ḏ-h(tyt) [bwn (?)] bbny' ('n'(š)[']) wbbny' ḏ-bšny'r'y sdymyt* (12) *(wh)rymyt w'kysyt wmksyt wmšm'tyt wm[b'ṭlyt] wmzyhyt m(n) by(t)ḥ w(pg)r[ḥ] ḏ-'bd'r'(m)'n br* (13) *[m]šwyy' wmn b(šn)[yr'y] zwḥ (sd)[ymyt] whrymyt (sdym)[y' wh](rym)[y'] (r'z)[y'] ḏ-pwmyk tyby[r'] wpkyr[']) ('dyk l'hwr)[y'] gwbyk* (14) *... (mynḥ ḏ-)'bd'(r)['hm'n] g[br' w]byšn'r'y '(t') zwḥ wmn (bn)['yhwn] (zy)kry' [w(mn) bn'twn nwqb't'] ... ... (š)t' ḏ-przl' gbyb' q'm't(yk) ... byšnyr'y wm[']kr'k 'l(h')* (15) *hbl[' r](b)[' ḏ-]prz(l' 'syryt) ...* (16) *... qdm'yy' 'syr' whty(m') hwmr't(') (w)m[n'klt']* ... [Exterior:] (17) ... (18) ... *lylyt' mn (h'zyn) ... (b'yt)* ... (19) ... (20)...

(11) And you said: I am the lilith and the *sahra* and the *dēw* who has harmed humans and the children of Bašniray. You are shackled (12) and banned and rebuked and reproved and anathematized and [annull]ed and expelled from the house and body of Abdara<h>man son of (13) Mišoya and from Bašn[iray], his spouse. You are sha[ckled] and banned. The mysteries of your mouth are shackled and banned. Your hands are bro[ken] and tied behind your back. (14) ...from Abdar[ahman, the ma]n, and Bašniray, the woman, his spouse, and from [their] male sons [and (from) their female daughters] ...of iron. Your frame is bent down ...Bašniray and (15) a great cord [of] iron is wrapped about it. You are bound ... (16) ...the primeval.... Bound and sealed are the *humartas* and the g[uileful spirit] ... (17) ... (18) ...lilith from this ...house ... (19) ... (20)....

086M: Cf. McCullough (1967), Bowl C, lines 1–8 and 16bff. **1:** *lpgrḥ* — read: *lp'g(r)[ḥ]*. **3:** *h'zn* — read: *h'zy(n)*. **4–5:** [...] (5) ... (*h'ylḥ. m.*) "[...] (5) ...the power of [...]," — read: ['s]*yr [h'r](m'z)* (5) *sh(r')* [*twty*]' *my' (t)*[']*(t'yy') 'syr h'ylḥ mn r(q'y')* "[bou]nd is [Har]maz (?) (5) the *sahra* [beneath] the lower waters, bound is his power from the firmament,". Cf. line 14. The reading *h'rm'z*, both here and in line 14 (see below), is not certain. **7:** ... *byšy' 'syry'* "[...] evil [...], bound be" — read: ... (*hylmy'*) *byšy' 'syry'* "...evil dreams, bound are". **8:** *nwkry' ḏ-rwgz'* "the strangers of wrath" — read: *kwkby' ḏ-rwgz'* "stars of wrath". **8–9:** *brh'q ...h'm't z'wh't* "afar ...She grew hot, she was frightened" — read: *brh'q h'y[l'] wr'z[']* (*ḏ-h'*)[*z*]*'t rwh' 'm['ykw]n h'q't z'h't* "by Rhaq, the power and the mystery which Ruha, [your] mother, saw (and) she feared, she was frightened". Cf. line 15 (below). **11:** *z'nr'('rwn)* "Zanara[iron]" — read: *z'nq'rdwn* "Zan-qardun". **11:** *nyšymt'y* — read: *nyšymtḥ*. **12:** *'sys' wm'rq'* "juice and broth" — translate: "pressed down and driven away". Cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 28a, s.v. ASA III / ASS "to press, press down, tread down" and ibid., p. 38b, s.v. ARQ I (Pa'el) "to drive away." **12:** *b'šnyr'y[...]* "Bašniray [...]" — read: *b'šnyr'y (whyy' z'kyn twm)* "Bašniray. And Life is victorious! Furthermore". Here begins a repetition of most of lines 4–11a. **14:** *'syr ... mn 'qry'* — read: *'syr (h'rm'z shr)*['] *'twty' my' t't'yy' 'syr h'[y]lḥ mn rq'y'*. **15:** *h'ylḥ ... (y'zd'ndwk)* — read: *h'yl' wr'z' ḏ-hz't ...'m'ykwn h('q)*[']*(t z)[h't] w'tzyh*['*t*] ('*syr' s*)[*dym'*] (*y'zd'ndwk*). **16:** *'m'šmyš* — read: *'m'š'myš*. **16–17:** [...] *w'syr ...(wm)rdwk* – read: *(bwzn'y) w'syr(') z['n'y 'm't']*(*str' pt ṣ*)[*yp'r kyl'yt'*] '*s*[*yr*] (*š'hr'z*) (17) *lgyṭ 'syr z'nq(')rdwn*. See lines 10–11 (above). **Note to line 9:** The names of the demons Šipay and Šapapit most likely derive from the root ŠWP/ŠPP "to crawl." See Ford (1998), pp. 234–235, n. 122. References to a similarly named demon, Špwpty, occur in a number of unpublished

Jewish Aramaic incantation bowls in the Schøyen collection (see provisionally Ford, ibid., p. 265).

087M: Most of the remaining lacunae can be read or reconstructed with the help of the duplicates 086M and McCullough (1967), Bowl C (noted by Segal). The following comments are limited primarily to what the present author perceives to be incorrect readings. **3:** [...] *tyḥ* [...] *lḥ* [...] — read: [...ʿs](*yr*) *hʾylḥ mn rqʿ*(*yʾ*) *w*(ʿs)[*yr*] (*dw*)[*rḥ*...]. **4–6:** *byš*[...] ...*lylytʾ* — read: *byš*[*yʾ ʿsyryʾ*] *rʾzyʾ ḏ-hšwkʾ bbh*(ʾ)*q* (5) *wbhʾq hʾylʾ wrʾzʾ ḏ-hzʾt rwhʾ ʿmʾykwn h*(ʾ)*qʾt zʾhʾt*{*t*} *wʿtzyhʾt ʿsyr*[ʾ *wsdym*]ʾ *yʾzdʾndwk lylytʾ* {ʿ*s*} {ʿ*syrʾ wsdymʾ yʾzdʾn*(*d*)*wk* (6) *lylytʾ*}. The final phrase would appear to be a dittograph. **7:** *zʾn*[...] — read: *zʾn*(*q*)ʾ*r*(*d*)[*w*]*n*. *7: zʾrʾnʾh*[...] — read: *zʾrʾnʾh*[*wg*] *twm*.

088M: For a discussion and partial transcription of this bowl, see now Müller-Kessler (1999). A re-edition will be published in Ch. Müller-Kessler, *Incantations for the House of Pir Nukraya. Lead Rolls from the British Museum I* (Styx: Leiden, in press) [courtesy the author]. **6:** *ʾkʾt*: This is the toponym Akkad. See Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 208. **7:** *ḏ-šbyqʾlhʾ* "that are left to her" — translate: "that she has left". **9:** *ḏ-hwtbyz bʾyšwmʾ* "that is called Hutbiz" — read: *ḏ-hw byzbʾy šwmḥ* "whose name is Bizbay". **9:** *zʾmbwr ... byt tyldʾnʾ* "the bee ... the house of procreation" — translate: "Zambur ... Bīt Tildana". These are toponyms. See Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 208. **Note to line 6:** Here *bwznʾy* is apparently a male demon. See Müller-Kessler (1996), p. 191, n. to line 5.

089M: A re-edition of this bowl will be published in Ch. Müller-Kessler, *Incantations for the House of Pir Nukraya. Lead Rolls from the British Museum I* (in press) [courtesy the author]. **14:** *pšʾr* "dissolve" — translate: "be exorcised!" In his note to the line, Segal similarly considers the possibility of "be disenchanted, revoked." Cf. *pyšrʾ* "loosing or breaking a spell, exorcism" (Drower-Macuch, p. 372b). The Akkadian cognate *pašāru* (G and D) "to release, free" similarly occurs in incantations with the meaning "to undo, release (spell, curse, oath, magic)" (for references, see *AHw.*, pp. 842b and 843a). **12–14:** *ḏ-ryšʾywn nyšqlwn ... ndʾlwn ... lbyš lskyʾ lmhyʾ wlštqyp wlʿbṭʾl* (14) *hylḥ wlʿpyl lʿhwryʾ* "who shall lift (his) head ...shall raise ...they shall not gaze with evil (intent), they shall not smite and shall not beat themselves; and they shall not annul (14) (their) power, and shall not cause (them) to fall back backwards" — translate: "(any of various demons) who shall (pl.) lift their head(s) and the features (13) of their face(s) shall (pl.) raise, and shall (sing.) gaze with evil intent at these souls of Šrula, the man, and of Qaqay, the woman, and of their sons — it (the demon) shall be smitten and beaten and its power shall be annulled (14) and it shall fall backwards". The scribe passed from plural (*nyšqlwn / ndʾlwn*) to singular (*lskyʾ*) in the middle of the sentence. The *l* in *lskyʾ* and the following

verbs is the 3 m. s. prefix, not the particle of negation as proposed by Segal (cf. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, §166). *lmhyʾ* "it shall be smitten" is an (assimilated) Ethpeʿel form (cf. *lštqyp* "it shall be beaten"). **16:** [...]*wn zykryʾ wbnʾtwn nwqbʾtʾ* "their male [sons] and their female daughters" — read: (ʿ)[*ttʾ*] (*wlb*)[*nʾy*]*wn zykryʾ wlbnʾtwn nwqbʾtʾ* "the w[oman], and for their male sons and for their female daughters". **17:** *kbyš bytʾ hw* "It is pressed down (in) the house." — translate: "It (the name of the incantation) is 'Suppressed is the house'."

090M: 6: *nqbʾtʾ*- read: *nwqbʾtʾ*. Cf. the form of *nw* in *wmyskynwtʾ* (line 15). **9:** *ʿyn* "so be it" — translate: "if." *ʿyn* is a variant form of the conditional particle *hyn* (cf. Mandaic *ʿl* "if not" < **ʾīn lā* and Aramaic *ʾyn* "if"). Note that Segal subsequently supplies "if" in his translation in parentheses. In *MIT*, 20:9, which parallels the present bowl, {*ḏn*} should similarly be read *ʿyn* "if." For additional examples in different contexts, see MS 2054/93:9 and Ch. Müller-Kessler, "Dämon + *YTB ʿL* — Ein Krankheitsdämon: Eine Studie zu aramäischen Beschwörungen medizinischen Inhalts," in B. Bock, et al. (eds), *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschift für Johannes Renger* (AOAT 267: Münster 1999), pp. 345ff and n. 23. **12–13:** *bšwmʾk kybšwn* (13) *wdwšwn* "In your name! Suppress (13) and trample" — translate: "In your name, O Kibšun (13) and (also) Dušun". Although clearly derived from the verbs KBŠ "to suppress" and DWŠ "to trample," *kybšwn* and *dwšwn* are here most likely names of angels. **13:** *nqbtʾ* — read: *nwqbtʾ*. **13:** *nqbʾtʾ* — read: *nwqbʾtʾ*. **14:** (*wgzyrʾ*) "and cut" — read: *wz*(*g*)[*yrʾ*] "and restrained". The letter followng the *w* is definitely *z*. The same reading occurs in the duplicate bowls 091M:43 and *MIT*, 20:17. Segal treats *zgyr* as a metathesized variant of *gzyr* "cut," which occurs in line 11 of the present bowl and in the parallel bowls (see p. 121, note to line 42). Yamauchi, *MIT*, p. 229, also translates *zgyrʾ* as "cut" in Bowl 20:17 (in his edition of the present bowl, Yamauchi, ibid., p. 274, restores *wgzyrʾ*, following C. H. Gordon, "Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls," *Archiv Orientální* 9 [1937], p. 101), although in his Glossary (p. 326) he lists the same word under ZGR "to seize," following M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik, I: 1900–1902* (Giessen 1902), p. 101 ("gepackt"). It should be noted, however, that in this and the parallel texts the two vocables consistently occur in different contexts; *gzyr* "cut" occurs following *pryṭ* "broken apart, separated, cleft open," whereas *zgyr* occurs in collocation with *ʿsyr* "bound," *htym* "sealed" and *blym* "muzzled, gagged." The meaning "to restrain, hold back, confine" ascribed to ZGR by Drower-Macuch, p. 162a, is thus appropriate for *zgyr* in the present context. **14:** *ʾynʾ hʾsmlyʾ ḏ-hwsrʾnʾ wkʿwyhtʾ* "the envious and dim eye of want" — translate: "the envious and glaring eye of want". *kʿwyhtʾ* refers literally to an eye suffering from ectropion. See my article "Two Syriac Terms Relating to Ophthalmology and Their Cognates," *Journal*

of Semitic Studies 47 (2002): 23–35. **14:** *rgym*ʾ "stoned" — translate: "immobilized". See Drower-Macuch, pp. 424b-425a, s.v. RGM "in magic documents: to paralyse, immobilize," and note the parallel terms *blym*ʾ "muzzled" and *mskry*ʾ "closed" in the present text. **16:** *wsynt*ʾ — read: *wsynty*ʾ. The same reading occurs in *MIT*, 20:21.

091M: 10: *mn* — read: *wmn*. **20:** ʿ*yn* "so be it" — translate: "if". See above, 090M:9. **27:** *ldylwy* — read: *ldylḫ*. **32–34:** Read: *wmn zw*ʾ*(y) wbn*ʾ*y wbn*(ʾ*t*)ʾ*y wmn* (33) *byt*ʾ*y wmn kwl ḏ-*ʿ*k*ʾ (*b*)*by*(34)*t*ʾ*y bšwm*ʾ*k kybšwn*. **41:** *nqb*ʾ*t*ʾ — read: *nwqb*ʾ*t*ʾ. **48:** *lyš*ʾ*ny*ʾ — read: (*b*)[*yšy*ʾ *w*]*lyš*ʾ*ny*ʾ. **51–55:** Read: (*byšy*ʾ *wsynty.*) *wšyq*[*wp*](*t*ʾ) (52) (*wlwtt*ʾ) *wmysknwt*ʾ (*wṭyr*)(53)[*wpt*ʾ] (*wdyzw*)ʾ*r*ʾ *mn byt*[*ḫ*] (54) *ḏ-dwn*(*hqdw*<*k*>*t*) *br* ʾ*b*ʾ(55)*n*(*dwk*) *wmn zwḫ bnḫ*. **58–59:** ʾ*myn* — read: (*w*)ʾ*myn*.

093M: 1: *bšwmḫ ḏ-*(*mr*ʾ*yn t*ʾ*nh*ʾ*t*ʾ) "In the name of [our Lord, sighing]" — read: *bšwmḫ ḏ-m*ʾ*r*ʾ*yn* (*ḏ-*)ʾ(*s*)*w*ʾ*t*ʾ "In the name of the Lord of Healings". **15:** ʿ*yn* "so be it" — translate: "if". See above, 090M:9. **17:** . . . *ḏ-lwṭt*ʾ- read: *tyd*(*b*ʾ*q*)[*bḫ*]*lwṭt*(ʾ). **23:** . . . *ḏ-lyṭ*ʾ*y* — read: . . . *wlb*ʾ*yṭḫ ḏ-lyṭ*ʾ*y*. **31:** *nqb*[. . .] — read: *nwqb*ʾ[*t*ʾ]. **37–38:** ʾ*yn*ʾ *ḏ-hwsr*ʾ*n*ʾ (38) *wkywyht*ʾ "the envious and dim eye (38) of want" — translate: "the glaring eye of want". "Envious" has no correspondant in the Mandaic text and was apparently inadvertantly carried over by the editor from the translations of the parallel texts. For *kywyht*ʾ, "glaring," see 090M:14 (above). **51:** An additional line should be added. Read: *hw*. This is the copula. Lines 48–51 should be translated "These are the pictures for (the incantation) 'Bound and sealed is the mouth and seized is the tongue!' " (cf. 103M:32–34).

094M: A parallel text from the Iraq Museum (IM 60494) has recently been published by E. C. D. Hunter, "Who are the Demons? The Iconography of Incantation Bowls," *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 15 (1998), pp. 95–115. **3:** *gbʾry*ʾ "the men" — translate: "strong men". Cf. M. Sokoloff, "Notes on Some Mandaic Magical Texts," *Orientalia N.S.* 40 (1971), p. 456. Some of the parallel bowls, however, do read *gwbry*ʾ "men" (e.g., IM 60494:4). **6:** ʿ*lyʾyn* — read: ʿ*lwʾyn*. **8:** *shyṭynyn* "who squeeze them" — translate: "(who) seized them". For the verb SHṬ, "to seize," see Drower-Macuch, p. 319b (with Hunter, *Studi epigrafici e linguistici* 15, p. 105). The following verbs, *rhyṭ* (line 8), *lgṭynyn* (line 8), *mṣrynyn* (line 9), and *w*ʾ*mwrlyn* (line 10) are also perfect forms and should likewise be translated in the past tense. **10:** *w*ʾ*mwrlyn* "and say to them" — translate: "and said to them". Segal's reading ʾ*mwr* would appear to represent a 3 m. pl. perfect form *qtwl*, well attested in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, but the *w* is most likely part of a poorly formed *m* (i.e., *w*ʾ*mrlyn*). **10:** *brwk ḏ-lṭty*[. . .] "Blessed is he whom you have cursed" — read: *brwk ḏ-lṭty*[*n*] "Bless him whom you have cursed!". Cf. line 43. **11:** *w*ʾ*mrlḫ* "and they say to him" — translate: "and they said to him". ʾ*mr* is apparently a f. pl. active participle (in plene writing ʾ*mr*ʾ [see, for example, 103M:19]). For the use of the active participle as a historical present continuing a perfect form in narrative, see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 375. The "impious women" (line 4) who cursed would now appear to offer an excuse for their actions in an attempt to mitigate their punishment after having been caught. They apparently address a single angel, which suggests that the subject of the preceding verbs *rhyṭ*. . . *w*ʾ*mwrlyn* may actually be only one of the angels listed in lines 6–8, presumably Sahṭiel (the verbs themselves are morphologically ambiguous). Another possibility is a f. pl. imperative continuing the preceding *brwk*, i.e., "and say to him". The variant ʾ*mr*ʾ*lḫ* would then preserve the suffix *-ā* attested in the 3 f. pl. imperfect (Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 228, does not give any examples of 2 f. pl. imperfect forms, which would presumably have originally had the same suffix). The 3 m. s. pronoun would accordingly refer to *ḏ-lṭty*[*n*] "whom you cursed," i.e., the client, to whom the "impious women" are commanded to explain their evil actions. **13:** *w*ʾ*mrylhyn* "And I say to them" — read: *w*ʾ*mrnlhyn* "And I said to them". For this use of the active participle, cf. above, line 11. **15:** *wyqrwn* — read: *wyʾqrwn*. **16:** *w*ʿ*wrp*ʿ*yl* — read: *w*ʿ*wrp*ʾ*yl*. **21:** *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭtyn wmn* — read: *ḏ-lṭtyn mn*. **22:** *lṭtyn* — read: *l*ʾ*ṭtyn*. **23–24:** *lwṭt*ʾ *ḏ-* (24) *rbtʾ wšwlyt*ʾ "the curse of (24) the grandmother and the foetus" — translate: "the curse of (24) the mistress and the maid servant". See Drower-Macuch, p. 454b, s.v. *šulita* 2; M. Sokoloff, *Orientalia N.S.* 40 (1971), p. 458; J. C. Greenfield, "The Babylonian Forerunner of a Mandaic Formula," in A. F. Rainey (ed.), *kinattūtu ša dārâti: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume* (TEL AVIV: Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, Occasional Publications, 1: Tel Aviv 1993), p. 12; and Hunter, *Studi epigrafici e linguistici* 15, p. 107. **31:** *llwṭ*ʾ*t*ʾ "of the curses" — read: *wllwṭ*ʾ*t*ʾ "and the curses". **33:** *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭy*ʾ "which they cursed" — read: *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭwḫ* "whom they cursed". **38:** *wnyshyṭyn* — read: *wnyshyṭyn*(*yn*). **38:** *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭy*ʾ — read: *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭwḫ*. The pronominal 3 f. s. object suffix refers to Mahduk (cf. line 33, above, and *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭwy*ʾ in 095M:43, where the pronominal object suffix refers to the male client). **44 45:** *šrwn* . . . *llwṭt*ʾ "Šrun . . . the curses" — read: *šrwn* (45) *wšrwlḫ wšyrwy*ʾ *w*ʾ*b*(*dwy*ʾ) *llwṭt*ʾ "release (me?), (45) and release her, and release and destroy the curse". As indicated by the parallel texts in which the words *šrwn* and *šrwlḫ* do not occur (e.g., 096M:42), ʾ*twn ml*ʾ*ky*ʾ "You, O angels," refers to the preceding Šariel and Barkiel. The element *-wy*ʾ in *šyrwy*ʾ and ʾ*bdwy*ʾ contains a formally 3 m. s. cataphoric pronominal object suffix referring to the feminine singular *lwṭt*ʾ "curse" (for the use of this form of the 3 m. s. pronominal object suffix to refer to feminine nouns, see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 279; contrast *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭwḫ* [above, lines 33 and 38], which uses the original feminine form). **50:** *qʾl qʾlʾy* "Hark! My voice" — read: *qʾl qʾlʾ hw* "It (the name of the

incantation) is 'Hark! A voice'."

095M: 2: For *myhrwdyt*, read possibly *m(')hd(wk)t*. For this well attested name, see 093M, note to line 2 (p. 123). **3:** *nqb't'* — read: *nwqb't'*. **3:** *qny'nḥ* — read: *qyny'nḥ*. **10:** *ḏ-ryš('yw)n* — read: *ḏ-ryš'(yh-w)n*. **19:** Read: *tyš(ršylḥ)*. **23:** *ḏ-l'ṭynyn* — read: *ḏ-l'ṭ(ṭ)yn*. **25:** Read: *ḏ-l('ṭ)tyn wmn lwṭt' {wmn lwṭt'} ḏ-'gyr'*. **32:** *ḏ-m'sy'* — read: {['s]y'} *ḏ-m'sy'*. **40:** *šylwy' [...]* — read: *šylwy' ('n'š')*. Cf. 094M:39.

096M: 12: *gzrn* — read: *gzrn[yn]*. **14–15:** *b(15)yzrwn* "by (15) Yazrun" — read: *b('zr)['y]* (15) *wyzrwn* "by Azr[ay] (15) and Yazrun". **25:** *ḏ-lpl(g')* — read: *ḏ-lpl('g)*.

097M: 1: *'k[...]t'-* read: *'sw't'* "healings". The traces are not clear, but one would expect a phrase similar to *bšwmḥ ḏ-m'r'yn ḏ-'sw't'* "In the name of the Lord of Healings" (093M:1 [see above]). **5:** *('ly')wn* — read: *'l(w')ywn*. **6:** [...] *tb'r* — read: [...]*(ṭynyn b'd..y' ḏ-ryš'yn w)tb'r*. **7:** ...*lṭnyn* — read: *(br)[wk] ḏ-l'ṭtyn [wm]r'lḥ (ḏ-mn kyb')* ḏ-*[lyb]'n lṭnyn*. **8:** *w'mrnly[...]* *ḏ-'šbtkyn* — read: *w'mrnlyn 'šbyt['l'y]kyn*. **8:** ...*wyzd...* — read: *b('zd)'y wyzr[wn]...* **9:** *wtyšbwq' l...* — read: *wtyšb(wql)ḫ l(yw)h'n'n [br 'kw']rwy(')...* **9:** *ḏ-lṭnyn wmn* — read: *ḏ-lṭnyn mn lwṭt' (ḏ-)'b' wd'm' ḏ-lṭtyn wmn*. **10:** *wšwlyt'...wmn* — read: *wšwlyt' (wmn lwṭt' ḏ-'g...wd)... mynḥ wmn*. **11:** *bykwšt'* — read: *bkwšt'*. **11:** *lwṭt' kwlm'n...* — read: *lwṭt' ḏ-kwlm'n ḏ-l'ṭ[...]*. **11:** ...*myhy't'* — read: ...*(m'sy') myhy't'*. **12:** *ḏ-l'ṭwy lywhn'n* — read: *ḏ-l'ṭwy' lywh'n'n*. **13:** *bšwm brk'yl* — read: *wbšwm brk'yl*. **13:** *š'ry'[...]* — read: *š'rywy'* (cf. above, 094M:44–45). **14:** *lywh'nn* — read: *lywh'n'n*. **14:** *'myn* — read: *w'myn*. **15:** *lbry* "For my son" — read: *lbr'y* "For outside (the house)".

098M: 1: *'lsyr' bwgd'n'* "The [binding] of Bugdana" — read: *'lsyr 'bwgd'n'* "Elsir Abugdana". Cf. Müller-Kessler (1996), p. 193, n. 16. There appears to be a slight discontinuity in the writing between the *r* and the *'* and, moreover, *'bwgd'n'* is the usual Mandaic spelling of the name of this demon (for an exceptional writing *bwgd'n'*, see Drower-Macuch, p. 54b). The demon himself would appear to be the speaker. For the divine name Elsir/Elisur, see S. Shaked, "The Poetics of Spells. Language and Structure in Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity, 1: The Divorce Formula and its Ramifications" in Tz. Abusch and K. van der Toorn (eds) *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives* (Ancient Magic and Divination, 1: Groningen 1999), p. 185, n. 45, and cf. MS 2053/200:1–2 (reading by S. Shaked): *'wmyt[y w'š]b'yt 'lk ('nth) 'ylyswr b(gdnh) [mlk'] ddywy* "I adjure and make you swear, you, Elisur Bagdana, [king] of the *dēws*...". 099M:3 (see the corrected reading below), however, does indeed seem to be based on an interpretation of the term as referring to the binding of the demon. **3:** *wš'l'ṭ'* — read: *wšl'ṭ'* (Müller-Kessler [1996], p. 193, n. 16). **6:** *l{b}k*. What Segal reads as an extraneous *b* is more likely *'*

written over an original *y*. **6:** *l'k"* — read: *lyk{X}*. **7:** *mš'lṭ* — read: *mš'lṭ'*. **8–9:** *(dy)d'h"ywty* (9) *(t'rh'qy)' w(my' d'k'y')* "[...] pure water" — read: *ty(r)'hšy* (9) *wtyt'rh'qy' wt(k)'r'k'y'* "move (?) (9) and distance yourself and turn back". **9:** *g't'k* — read: *g'ṭ'k*. **9:** *g'b'l'* — read: *(q)'b'l'*. **11:** *nq'bt'* — read: *nwq'bt'*. **12:** *bšwm' tm'hṣ 'bd hygwt* "In the name of Tamahaṣ, slave of Higut" — translate: "In the name TM'HṢ 'BD HYGWT". *tm'hṣ 'bd hygwt* should be interpreted as part of a magical name, together with the following *'yd 'wd ṭṭwz*. Cf. the Aramaic version (O13A:8): *bšwm hyg(y)h wd(yh) wṭṭm* "In the name of HYGYH and DYH and ṬṬM". Cf. also 099M:13 (below) and the parallels listed by Segal (p. 157). **12–13:** *b'z'qtwn* (13) *dglyp' 'l'h'* "by the signet ring (13) of Glifa the god" — read: *b'z'qt* (13) *ṣwr glyp' 'l'h'* "by the signet-ring (13) of Ṣur Glipa the god". **13:** *lbšwm' ḏ-prwš'* "for the ineffable Name": This is surely a scribal error for **wbšwm' ḏ-prwš'* "and by the ineffable Name" due to the similarity between *l* and *w*.

099M: 2: *wlzwyḥ* — read: *wlz'w(ḥ)*. **3:** *'syry' {bgd'n' 'syry'} bwgd'n'* — read: *'syr 'b(wg)d'n' 'syr 'bwgd'n'*. Cf. Müller-Kessler (1996), p. 193, n. 16. Segal (note to line 3) claims that *'syry'* is for singular *'syr'*, but the latter is a feminine form, which would not accord with the masculine subject. **5:** *wmwmyn'lyk* — read: *wmwmy{y}n'lyk*. **8:** *wnp'q {mn} kwlhyn qyry't'* "May all mishaps go forth" — read: *wnp'q hw wkwlhyn qyry'tḥ* "and he was expelled, he and all his imprecations". The phrase does not accord well with the preceding phrases, but they are also problematic. **10:** *bzyr'* "sowing" — translate: "semen". Segal follows Drower-Macuch, p. 167b, s.v. *zira*, in translating *bzyr'* as "sowing" (<"seed"), but *bzyr'* would appear to be synonymous with *zyr'* "seed (semen)" in the example that he cites in his note to line 10 (for *Jb* 202, read DC 43J, 202): *mn zyrḥ ḏ-lyly' wmn bzyrḥ ḏ-'wm'm'* "from his *zyr'* by night and from his *bzyr'* by day". Cf. the frequent pair *ḥylm' dlyly'* "dream by night" // *ḥyzwn' dymm'* "vision by day" (e.g., 068A:3–4), where *ḥylm'* "dream" and *ḥyzwn'* "vision" are essentially synonymous. **10–12:** *h'z'y ḏ-kt'blyk ... bb'bḥ* "See, they have written for you ... at his door" — read: *h'z'y ḏ-kt'blyk* (11) *gyṭ' km' ḏ-h'zyn g[yṭ'] kytbyt wyhbylḥ ly(w)h'(n)'n wlkwl m'n ḏ-h'zyn pwgd'm' myktyblḥ* (12) *wmyqb'rlḥ bb'bḥ* "See, they (anonymous divine forces) wrote you (11) a bill of divorce, as I have written this bil[l of divorce] and have given it to Yuhanan and to everyone for whom this writ (lit. word) is written (12) and buried at his door". *myktyb* and *myqb'r* are understood as (assimilated) Ethpe'el participles. The bowl was evidently intended for burial under the threshold. **13:** *bšwmḥ ḏ-m'thymṣ h'mṣ* "In the name of him that crushes, crush" — read: *bšwmḥ ḏ-m't whymṣ h'mṣ* "In the name of M'T and HYMṢ H'MṢ (the crusher of?)". Although at one time possibly translatable, at least *m't* and *hymṣ* would seem to now be magical names. Cf. 098M:12 (above) and the parallels listed by Segal (p. 157). **14:** *kryktyn* — read:

krykytyn. The preceding word, *ṣmyrtyn*, should likely be similarly read *ṣmyr^y^t(y)n*.

100M: Read:
(1) *'swt' thwy(lḥ l)dwr'*...(2) ...(3) ...(4) ...*bšwm'k (rb')* ...(5) [*'bwg*]-(*d'*)*n' mlk'* (*ḏ-kwl*)[*hw*]*n dywy'* [*wšly*]*ṭ' (r)b' ḏ-kwlhyn (l'ly')t'* (*ḏ-hw*) [*šlyṭ 'l*] (*kwl*)[*hw*]*n* (6) [*dywy*]' *zykry'* [*wnwq*]*b't'*...(*'l rwhy'*) *byš't*[*'*] ...[*ḏ-y*](*'tyb*) [*'l ṭwr'*] (7) *gzyr'* [*w*](*d'yn dyn' mn dywy'*) *zykry' wmš'wy' bz'r'* (read: *gz'r'*) *mn lyly't' nwqb't'* (*'n' lkwlkyn q'r*)*yn'* (8) *wm'šb'n' w'mrn' hlb's lylyt' 'tkl't lylyt' mš*[*y*]*št' lyly*[*t' DN*] *lyly*[*t'*] (*pyṭy'r' ly-lyt'*) *wpyṭy'rwt'* (9) *lylyt' p'gdt' lylyt' n'l' lylyt' wn'wl' lylyt' lyly*(*'*) [...] *lyly'*[...] (*lylyt' šq*)*wpt' lylyt' ^lylyt'^* (10) *ḏ-l'ly' wl'ly' ḏ-'wm'm' mhy'tyn btp'sy*[...] (*'*)*l kwlh*(*w*)*n* ...(11) *wshry' wšydy' wrwhy' wh-wmry' wlyl*[*y't'*] ...(12) ...[Exterior] (13) ...*ḏ-'wm*... (14) ...[*mn 'rsḥ*] *wbys'*[*dḥ*] ...(15)...[*š*]*qwpt*[*'*] ...(16) ...(17) *lyly'*[*t'*] ...(18) ...[*br'z'*] (*'l'yy'*) *wbr*[*'*]*z'* (*myṣ'*)[*yy' wbr'z' t'*](*t'yy'*) ...(19) ...[*pryt'*] (*ḏ-*)[*my*](*nḥ pr'*)[*t*] ...[*pr*](*yt'*) *ḏ-*[*my*]*nḥ pr*(*'t*) ...(20) ...*tlt*(*m'*) *wšyty*[*n*] ...
(1) May there be healing for the dwelling ...(2) ...(3) ...(4) ...in your great name ...(5) [Abug]dana, the king of all the *dēws* [and] the great [rul]er of all the liliths, who [rules over] all (6) [*dēws*], male and [fem]ale, [and is appointed] over evil spirits, [the ...who s]its [upon] (7) a split [mountain, and] judges male *dēws* and condemns female liliths. To all of you I call (8) and I make you swear and I say: Halbas the lilith, Itklat the lilith, Mšišta the lili[th, DN] the lili[th], Piṭyara the lilith and Piṭyaruta (9) the lilith, Pigdta the lilith, Nala the lilith and Niula the lilith, the lili[...] the lili[...] the lilith, Šiqupta the lilith, the lilith (10) of the night and the lili of the day, you are smitten in the membranes [of your hearts, with the spear of the angel Qatrius, who rules] over all [the ...-spirits] (11) and the *sahras* and the demons and the spirits and the *humartas* and the liliths ...(12) ...[Exterior] (13) ...of the da[y] ...(14) ...[from his bed and his pi]llow ...(15)...[Š]iqupta ...(16) ...(17) liliths ...(18) ...[By the] upper [mystery] and by the midd[le] mystery and by the low[er mystery]...(19)...(20) ...three hundred and sixty ...

5: [*'bwg*](*d'*)*n' mlk'*: Cf. Segal, note to line 5. **5:** (*ḏ-hw*) [*šlyṭ 'l*] "who [rules over]": The parallel bowl MS 2054/86:5 reads: *ḏ-hw mš'l'ṭ 'l*, but there does not seem to be enough space in the lacuna for *mš'l'ṭ* or *mšl'ṭ*. Cf. *dhw' šlyṭ 'l* in a related context in the parallel Jewish Aramaic bowl 013A:6 (and parallels [see Segal, p. 156, Refrain B, Ib]). **6:** [*dywy*]' *zykry'* [*wnwq*]*b't'* "*dēws*, male [and fem]ale" is probably an error for *dywy' zykry' wlyly't' nwqb't'* "male *dēws* and female liliths". **9:** *n'l'*: According to S. Shaked, "Bagdāna, King of the Demons, and Other Iranian Terms in Babylonian Aramaic Magic," *Acta Iranica 25, Deuxième Série: Hommages et Opera Minora, Vol. 11: Papers in Honor of Professor Mary Boyce* (Leiden 1985), p. 512, this demon is to be identified with Persian *nāl* "complaint, lamentation." **9:** *wn'wl'*: See Drower-Macuch, pp. 297b-298a, s.v. *niula* 2. Note especially the frequent occurrence of the pair *n'ly' wnywly'* (see Drower-Macuch, p. 283, s.v. *nala*), paralleling the present text. **10:** *mhy'tyn*... "you are smitten...": The translation follows MS 2054/86:10–11: *mhytwn bṭrpws l'bb'*(*yk*)*wn wbmwrnyt' ḏ-qtryws ml'k*[*'*] *ḏ-hw mšl'ṭ 'l shry'*... See also Segal's Refrain B, Ib (p. 156). **19:** *pryt' ḏ-mynḥ pr't*: The same phrase also occurs twice in MS 2054/86, but the context is unclear there as well.

101M: For a discussion and partial transcription of this bowl, see now Müller-Kessler (1999). A re-edition will be published in Ch. Müller-Kessler, *Incantations for the House of Pir Nukraya. Lead Rolls from the British Museum I* (in press) [courtesy the author]. **1–2:** See Müller-Kessler (1999), pp. 206–207. **2–3:** (*h'w*)*kwlhwn shr'* ...*ḏ-myšt'mylḥ* "that is, all sorcery spirits ...that hearken" — read: *h*(*w*) *wkwlhwn shrḥ wdywyḥ* (3) *whwmrḥ wlyly'tḥ ḏ-myšt'mylḥ* "he and all his *sahras* and *dēws* and (3) *humartas* and liliths that hearken to him". *h*(*w*) refers to the male demon 'Ulmaya in line 1. **7–8:** *ḏ-bshry'* (*zyk'r'*) ...*ḏ-hyy'* "of (those who are guided) by male (?) sorcery spirits ...dHiia" — read: *ḏ-bhyry' (z)ydq' bhylḥ ḏ-mnd' ḏ-hyy'* "of the elect of righteousness by the power of Manda ḏ-Hiia". See Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 204, and cf. line 26. **8:** *'swt'*- read: *w'swt'*. **9:** [...] (*lrqḥ*) — read: *l*(*b*)[*yt*]*ḥ wlpgrḥ* "for his ho[use] and for his body". **10:** [...]*th lzwḥ* — read: [...]*t wlzwḥ*. The *t* before *wlzwḥ* is most likely the last letter in the name of the mother of the client. The line ends with the second *wlbn'tḥ*. **11:** Read: [*mš'by*]*n hyy' rby' s*_____ "The great Life is praised!". **12–16:** See Müller-Kessler (1999), pp. 206–207. After *lnpšḥ* (line 16) read (*'syr*)[*'*] "Bound are". **19–21:** *w'zlyn ...b* (*'*{*t.*}*'ythyn 'n'šy'* "and depart ...the petitions (of) human kind" — read: *w'zlyn q'ryn lnpš'*[*yhwn*] ...(*'t'*) (20) *w'qry't' ḏ-hynwn .../* (*ḏ-š'ry'*) (21) *bbt'yhwn ḏ-'n'šy'* "who go about and call themselves '...' (20) and 'imprecations', who are ...who haunt (21) the houses of humans". **22:** *w*(*myhrb*)*y' 'qr'yt'* "and corrupt the invocations" — read: *wm*(*tq*)*ry' 'qr'yt'* "and are called 'imprecations' ". **23–24:** *wb*(*'t'*) ...*h'* "and the petition ...Behold" — read: *wbr'z' wml'l' ḏ-*(24) *y'w'r rb' ḏ-hyy'* "and by the mystery and word of (24) the great Yawar of Life". See Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 204 (Segal's reading *wml'l'* is correct). **26–27:** [...]*š'by'hy' ...hwn* "[...]the great planets [...]" — read: (*m*)*š'by' hyy' rby'* (27) *bnhwr'yhwn* "the great Life is praised in its light!". **28–31:** See Müller-Kessler (1999), pp. 206–207. At the end of line 31 read *'syr'* (Segal: *'syry'*). **32–33:** *lyl*(*y't'*) *klby't' ḏ-t'yby'* (33) *b'sr' ḏ-klb*(*'y'*) "liliths, bitches that return (33) in the tether of dogs" — read: *lyl*(*y't'*) *klby't' ḏ-š*(*'r*)*y'* (33) *b'*(*r*)*q' ḏ-kl*(*.'y*)*y'* "the dog-like liliths who haunt (33) the land of the *Chaldeans*". For *lyly't' klby't'* "dog-like liliths," see Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 202, with further references. For *kl*(*.'y*)*y'*, which is here understood as part of a toponym, Segal reads *klb*(*'y'*). Cf. the place-name *k'lby'*, cited by Drower-Macuch,

p. 197a. Segal's reading, if correct, would result in a word-play on *lyly'ṭ' klby'ṭ'*. The *b*, however, is not at all clear to the present author, and a reading *kl(d'yy')* "Chaldeans" (Drower-Macuch, p. 197a) seems equally possible. Cf. *m'ṭ' k'ld'yy'* "country of the Chaldeans" (Aspar Malwašia [ed. Drower], p. 250: penult.).[4] Such a reading seems semantically preferable, as a similarly constructed toponym, *'rq' ḏ-rhym'yy'* "the land of the Rahimeans," occurs in a lead roll in a context thematically related to that of the present bowl (see Müller-Kessler [1999], p. 201). **34–35:** *twty' ʿqb̲[...] ḏ-* (35) *ywz'ṭdq (mndʿ) ḏ-hyy'*) "under heel so that (35) Manda ḏHiia will be vindicated" — read: *twty' ʿqb̲ ḏ-* (35) *ywz'ṭ'(q) m(ndʿ)' ḏ-hyy'* "under the heel of (35) Yuzaṭaq Manda ḏ-Hiia". Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 205, reads *ywz'ṭ'r*, but the frequent attestation of the name Yuzaṭaq Manda ḏ-Hiia (see Drower-Macuch, p. 190a, and, in the present corpus, 107M:10', 11') suggests that the final letter is a poorly formed *q*. **40–43:** Read: *b'swtḥ ḏ-(m')n 'sy' rb({y}')* (41) *wqy(')myn hyy' rby' bškyn'twn* (42) *bn(hw)r'yhwn ḏ-npš'yhwn* (43) *wbzyw'yhwn ḏ-k'byr* "by the healing of Man, the great healer. (41) And the great Life abides in its dwellings (42) in its own light (43) and in its immense radiance".

102M: In the introductory observations (p. 133) attention is appropriately called to the close resemblence between this bowl and a Mandaic bowl published by C. H. Gordon in 1951. Note that the latter bowl subsequently made its way into the British Museum collection and is republished by Segal as 111M (see below). Both bowls are early versions of DC 40, 1086–1113. Read:

(5) ...[ʿsyr' šwmy' ... *lylyt' hr'št' ḏ-*](*š'ry' bb'yṭḥ whnwṭḥ ḏ-gb*)[*rʿyn*] (6) (*br m*)['*m'y ʿsy*](*r'*) *'rq' 'l(w')t lylyt'* [*hr'št' ḏ-š'ry' bb'yṭḥ wh*](*nwṭḥ*) *ḏ-gbrʿyn br m'm'y* (7) *ʿsyr (krkw)*[*m*] (...*hwn*) *ḏ-hršy' wm'r'yhwn* (*ḏ-mb'*)[*dy'*] ... *b'yṭḥ whn(w)ṭḥ ḏ-gbrʿyn br m'm'y* (8) *ʿsyr' lylyt' hr'št' ḏ-š'ry' bb'yṭḥ whn(w)ṭḥ ḏ-gbrʿyn br* [*m'm'y*] *bmwšpyt' ḏ-*(*prz*)[*l'*] *b'ynḥ* (ʿ*s*)*yr' lylyt' hr'št' bk(s)t'* (9) *ḏ-przl' bnhyrḥ ʿsyr' lylyt' hr'št'* (*skyn'*) *ḏ-przl'* (*b*)[...*ḥ ʿsyr'*] *lylyt'* [*hr'št' ḏ-*]*š'ry' bb'yṭḥ wbhn(w)ṭḥ ḏ-gbrʿyn* (10) *br m'm'y šwšyl(t')* *ḏ-przl' bʿydḥ ʿsyr' lylyt' hr'št'* (*bgyry'*) *ḏ-przl' bʿydḥ ʿsyr' lylyt' hr'št' bs'd' ḏ-gl'l' blygrḥ* (11) *sdymyt 'n('t) lylyt'* [*hr'št'*] *ḏ-š'ry' bb'yṭḥ whn(w)ṭḥ ḏ-gbrʿyn br m'm'y bsy*[*d*]*m(') rb' ḏ-sydmḥ m'nd' ḏ-h'yy'* (*lsm*)*'yyl st̲'n' 'swt'* (12) *thwylḥ lb'yṭḥ whn(w)ṭḥ ḏ-gbrʿyn br m'm'y wz'wḥ wbnḥ wbn'ṭḥ wqny'nḥ whywny'*(*ṭḥ*) *wlh'mḥ wm'ynḥ wk-wlhyn ʿbyd'ṭḥ* [*whyy' z*]('*kyn*) [*l*](*klh*)[*wn* (13) *ʿwb'dy'*]

(5) ...[Bound are the heavens ... the bewitching lilith that] haunts the house and shop of Gab[rien] (6) son of M[amay. Bou]nd is the earth *with regard to* the [bewitching] lilith [that haunts the house and] shop of

[4] Cited according to Drower's edition. Drower-Macuch, p. 197a, s.v. *kaldaia*, read *m'ṭ' ḏ-k'ld'yy'*, which would parallel the present text even more closely.

Gabrien son of Mamay. (7) Bound is Karkum, the [father] of witchcraft and the lord of (magical) ac[ts]. ...the house and shop of Gabrien son of Mamay. (8) Bound is the bewitching lilith that haunts the house and shop of Gabrien son of [Mamay] with a spit of iron in her eye. Bound is the bewitching lilith with a *pin* (9) of iron in her nose. Bound is the bewitching lilith (with) a knife of iron in [her...Bound is] the [bewitching] lilith [that] haunts the house and shop of Gabrien (10) son of Mamay (with) a chain of iron on her hands. Bound is the bewitching lilith with *arrows* of iron in her hands. Bound is the bewitching lilith with stocks of stone on her legs. (11) You are shackled, you, O [bewitching] lilith that haunts the house and shop of Gabrien son of Mamay, with the great shackle (with) which Manda ḏ-Hiia shackled Simail, the Satan. May there be healing (12) for the house and shop of Gabrien son of Mamay and (for) his spouse and his sons and his daughters and his possessions and his livestock and his food and his water and all his undertakings. [And Life is vi]ctorious [over] all (13) [(magical) acts]!

7: For the demon Karkum, see Drower-Macuch, p. 201b, and DC 37, 8–9: *ʿsyry' d'ywy' ḏ-k'rkwm br lywy'tyn* "bound are the *dēws* of Karkum son of Leviathan." The word following *krkwm* is probably to be read *'bwhwn* (cf. 111M:7). **8:** *bk(s)t'*: Read *bskt'* "with a pin"? Cf. 111M:9: *bsykt'*. **9:** (*b*)[...*ḥ*]: 111M:9 reads *bpwmḥ* "in her mouth." The same word may well have occurred here as well, as the length of the lacuna is appropriate and the traces following the *b* may point to a *p*. **10:** *bgyry'* "with arrows": The reading is not certain. The corresponding word in 111M:10 is also difficult to read. **11:** *sm'yyl st̲'n'* "Simail, the Satan": As noted by G. Scholem, "Samael," *Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 14* (Jerusalem 1971), p. 720, the Mandaic Simail (Drower-Macuch, p. 327b, s.v. *simiaiil*) is a variant of the Jewish demon Samael, who was likewise identified with Satan. The binding of Simail in the present text recalls the reference to the binding of Samael with *šlšl'wt šl brzl* "chains of iron" in Midrash Bereshit Rabbati (ed. Albeck), p. 167: *myd ymsrnw hb"h lmyk'l wmby'w bšlšl'wt šl brzl wymsrnw byd yśr'l wyʿśw bw krṣwnm* "The Holy One, blessed is He, will immediately hand him (Samael) over to Michael, who will bring him in chains of iron and hand him over to Israel, and they will do with him as they please." **12:** For *m'ynḥ* "his water," cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 242b, s.v. *maina*.

103M: 8: *wkbyš'* — read: *wkbyš<'>*. **9:** *'ṭ'y* "Atay": read possibly (*d-*)*m'y* "of (I)mmay". Cf. the PN *ʿm'y* in lines 11 (see below), 13 and 15. The formula *ʿsyr' wkbyš' lwṭṭ' w'qr'yṭ' ḏ-PN pt PN₂ ḏ-l'ṭ't* should be rendered "the curse and imprecation of PN daughter of PN_2, who cursed". **9 10:** *d-w'ṭwy'* "of W"ṬWY"" — read: *d-l'ṭwy'* "whom they cursed". The reading *d-w'ṭwy'* at the end of line 10 should likewise be corrected to *d-l'ṭwy'*. **11:** *'ṭ'yw* — read: *ʿm'y*. Cf. lines 13 and 15. **11:** *w'qr'yṭ'* — read: *w'qryṭ'*. Read *w'qryṭ'* for *w'qr'yṭ'* in lines 12, 13 (twice)

and 15 (twice) as well. **14:** *s'y.wm* — read: *q'ywm*. The feminine PN *q'ywm* also occurs in MS 2054/81:11. **14:** *w'qr'yt* — read: *w'qryt'*. **15:** *wkbyš* — read: *wkbyš'*. **17:** *šwm'y* "hear!" — translate: "I have heard"? The same writing occurs in *MIT*, 7:4, where it is translated "I hear" by the editor, but most of the parallels read *šwmyt* "I have heard" (e.g., 094M:2). *šwm'y* may therefore be a non-standard 1 c. s. perfect form following the pattern *bn'y*, frequently attested for III–' verbs in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. **31:** Read: *(h)yy' z(')[ky](n)*. The present author cannot discern the *n* in the photograph, but it is read by Segal and supported by the context. **34:** {*wy'.'*} — read: *(h)y'*. This is the copula, grammatically according with *dmwt'* "picture." Lines 32–34 should be translated "This is the picture for (the incantation) 'Hark, *I have heard* a voice!' " (cf. above, line 17 and 093M:48–51).

104M: This bowl parallels 106M (see below). Both bowls parallel a section of the Zrazta ḏ-Hibil Ziwa, known from a number of late manuscripts (e.g., DC 14, 139–176 // DC 44, 251–325 // DC 52, 210–260 // J. de Morgan, *Études Linguistiques, IIe partie: Textes mandaïtes* [Mission scientifique en Perse, V: Paris 1904], pp. 256b:23–257a:21). Read:

(3) *[w'l shry' w'l dywy' w'l šydy' w'l rwhy' w](''l hwmry') (4) w'l lyly't' ('rq' ḏ-)[h]('z'tḥ ')[l] (mnd' ḏ-)[hyy'] (n')[d't wšw](my') [']*(zdr)[mb]yt (5) *t'byl (kw)[l](ḥ) '(š)trhzt . . . ḏ-h'z'tḥ lm(n)d'' ḏ-hyy' . . .* (6) . . . *(ny)blmwn mnl'ywn b(p)wm'ywn lbny' t'byl n('h'ybw)n wl(n'h)zywn wln('. . .)šwn* (7) *wl'š(n)wn n'(t)kbšwn kḏ nwr' mn qdm (my') k'bš' kb'š(yt)* . . . (8) *. . . lgyṭ hyl'yhwn ḏ-kwlhwn shry' wdywy' w(šydy') wrwhy' hmr[y'] wlylyt' ('s)yry' kwlhwn wmbṭl hyl'yhwn* (9) *ḏ-kwlhwn [šwby']hy' mn b'b'y(hwn) ḏ-bhyry' zydq' w[ḏ-]('g)[y]l'wy' (pt) b('t' 's)yr wmzrz' byṭḥ (wdwrḥ) ḏ-gyl'wy' pt (b)'t' mn* (10) *hršy(') ḏ-r[wh](' wm)[n mn]ly' ḏ-hšwk' wmn mnly' 'pykt' wmn mnly' ḏ-hyšwk' (wm)n 'mwmt' s(y)nt' mn hršy' ḏ-tl'tm' wš'tn [w](tr)yn l'šny'* (11) *(mn) 'mr' wšym' ḏ-hyšwk' 'syr byṭḥ ḏ-('gwl'wy') pt (b't' b')zy<w>' hytym' bnhwr' wšwm tl't' mtkr 'lḥ ('s)yr{y}' wmhtm' g(yl)[']*(wy)' *pt (b't')* (12) *wmnṭ'r(' ')gyl'wy' pt (b')t' mn shry' wdy<w>y' wšy[dy'] wrw<h>y' hwmry' (wy)lyly't' bšwmḥ ḏ-nbṭ n'bṭ' (w')[s'r] ('s')r' [ḏ-]hyy(' bmnly') <ḏ-hyy'> (bm)lly' (hl)yn ḏ-'l (k)[sy']* [Exterior] (14) *'l ksy' ktyby' bbyṭḥ ḏ-gyl'wy' pt (b')t' wz(r')zy' h(')wy' k(ḏ) 'qr' ḏ-przl' wl('yt) kwl shr' wdyw' wšyd' wrwh' hwmr't' wly<ly>t' ḏ-h[zyl]ḥ ld[m](wt')* . . . (15) *rm[']whw mdly' ('štkn'bḥ šk)nt' ḏ-yq(')r' wml'ky' ḏ-hwbḥ '(tb)ls b('rq)' . . . mnly' ḏ-nhwr' wmz(r)z' . . . (wkḏ) klyl* (16) *. . . (hdyr)lḥ wšwb' šwry' ḏ-przl' {hdrlh} hdrylḥ lbyṭḥ (wdw)[rḥ ḏ-]('gy)l'wy' (pt) [b']('t' wtr')[s'r] (m)l'(k)y' ḏ-nhwr' nṭry' mṭr('t' rbt' ḏ-)šr'r'* (17) *wb(hylḥ) ḏ-kwšṭ' bmll' . . . bšwmḥ ḏ-g(b)r' q(rb'yy') ywkb'r zyw' š[wm](ḥ) hyy' z'kyn*

(3) [and against the *sahras* and against the *dēws* and against the demons

and against the spirits and] against the *humartas* (4) and against the liliths. The earth which saw Manda ḏ-[Hiia] sho[ok and the hea]vens trembled, (5) the world in its entirety quaked. . . . which saw Manda ḏ-Hiia . . . (6) . . . may the words (of) the inhabitants of the world be silenced in their mouths, and may they be confuted, and may they not see, and may they not. . . , (7) and may their tongues be suppressed like fire before water. I have performed a (magical) suppression . . . (8) . . . Seized is the power of all the *sahras* and *dēws* and demons and spirits and *humartas* and liliths. They are all bound and the power (9) of all [the seven plan]ets is annulled from the doors of the chosen of righteousness and [of] Gilawiya daughter of Bata. Bound and armed is the house and dwelling of Gilawiya daughter of Bata against (10) the sorcery of Ruha and against (magic) words of darkness and against perverted (magic) words and against (magic) words of darkness and against hateful conjuration(s), against the sorcery of three hundred and sixty-two languages, (11) against speaking and acceptance (lit. [favorable] hearing) of darkness. Bound is the house of Gilawiya daughter of Bata with radiance (and) she is sealed with light and the name(s) of three (divine beings) are proclaimed over her. Bound and doubly sealed is Gilawiya daughter of Bata, (12) and protected is Gilawiya daughter of Bata from *sahras* and *dēws* and demons and spirits and *humartas* and liliths, by the name of Nbaṭ, the . . . sprout (*nibṭa*), by the name of the formidable man who erected [his thro]ne upon (13) a base of exorcism and b[ound] a bond [of] Life by the words <of Life>, by these words which {upon b[owls]} [Exterior] (14) are written upon bowls in the house of Gilawiya daughter of Bata and they are armed (and) become like a fortress of iron, and there is no *sahra* or *dēw* or demon or spirit or *humarta* or lilith that (can) look upon the form . . . (15) high, and it is lofty. A dwelling of glory was founded in it and the angels that were in it . . . in the world . . . words of light and armed . . . and like a crown (16) . . . surround it . . . and seven walls of iron surround the house and dwe[lling of] Gilawiya daughter of Bata and twel[ve] angels of light guard (it) (with) great vigils of steadfastness, (17) and by the power of truth, by the word [of. . .], by the name of the formidable man, Yukabar Ziwa is his name. Life is victorious!

7: The reading *kb'š(yt)* is not certain. **11:** *'mr' wšym'* "speaking and acceptance (lit. [favorable] hearing)": This common expression (Drower-Macuch, p. 353a) is clearly a calque of Akkadian *qabû šemû* "speaking (and) acceptance (lit. [favorable] hearing)" (see *CAD*, Š/2, p. 284b) or its semantic equivalent *qabû u magāru* "speaking and acceptance" (see *CAD*, M/1, p. 40). Cf. also *qabû šemû u magāru* "speaking, (favorable) hearing and acceptance" (see *CAD*, M/1, p. 40b) and *qabû u lā šemû* "speaking and non-acceptance (lit. not hearing [favorably])" (see *CAD*, Š/2, p. 284b). Compare Akkadian *rema ummna balta lamassa qabâ šemâ šukna yâši* "grant me mercy, (answering of) prayers, dignity, pro-

tection (lit. a protective spirit), speaking (and) acceptance" (BMS 22 r. 64–65 [cf. *CAD*, R, p. 262a; *CAD*, Š/2, p. 284b]) with Mandaic *'swt' wz'kwt' wh'yl' wšr'r' w'mr' wšym' wš'byq h'ṭ'yy' nyhwyly' ldyly'* "May there be healing and victory and power and steadfastness and speaking and acceptance and remittance (lit. a remitter) of sins for me" (Ginza Yamina [ed. Petermann], 133, 21–23). For the semantic equivalence of Akkadian *šemû* and *magāru*, see *CAD*, Š/2, p. 277, s. v. *šemû* (lexical section), *CAD*, M/1, pp. 34–35, s. v. *magāru* (lexical section) and ibid., p. 40, meaning 4b. Note especially Antagal III 179: *giš.tuk* = MIN (*šamû*) *ša magāri* "the *šemû* of acceptance" (*CAD*, M/1, p. 35a). **11:** *šwm tl'ṭ'* "the name(s) of three (divine beings)": The parallel bowl MS 2054/40:11 refers to Hibil, Šitil and Enuš in the corresponding context. **12:** *(gbr' qrb)'yy'* "formidable man": The first letter of *qrb'yy'* would seem to definitely be *q*, both here and in line 17, thereby excluding a reading *'br'yy'* "extraordinary" (for *'br'yy'*, cf. above, 084M:16 and 18). Neither does a reading *qdm'yy'* "primeval" seem epigraphically possible, although it occurs, for example, in DC 14, 164 (*g'br' q'dm'y'*). **14:** *wz(r')zy' h(')wy'* "and they are armed (and) become": The reading is not certain. *wz(r')z* could conceivably be read *wzdrz* (Etpa'al). Cf. MS 2054/40:14: *(w'zdr'z) whw'* "it was armed and became." **15:** *'(tb)ls*: The reading is confirmed by the parallels, but the meaning of the verb eludes me at present. Note that the occurrence of this verb in the parallel text DC 44, 315 is incorrectly cited as *'tb'l's* by Drower-Macuch, p. 66b, s.v. BLṢ (the manuscript reads *'tb'l's*). The reading *'tb'l'ṣ* does occur, however, in the parallel passage in DC 52, 253.

105M: This text can be read virtually in its entirety with the help of a number of duplicates in the Schøyen collection (e.g., MS 1928/45, MS 2054/28, MS 2054/39, MS 2054/63, MS 2054/71), soon to be published by Professor Shaked, and Bowl 5205 in the Museo nazionale d'arte orientale a Roma, soon to be published by M. Moriggi. For lines 1–12, cf. provisionally the transcription and discussion of the parallel *AIT*, 40:1–17a by J. N. Epstein, "Gloses babylo-araméennes," *Revue des Études Juives* 74 (1922), pp. 62–65 (Epstein's readings and reconstructions will also need to be revised based on the new parallels). The present author will limit his comments to what he perceives to be incorrect readings or interpretations proposed by the editor. **8:** *'l'hy' q'hdy'* "gods crying out" — translate: "the gods cry out". **9:** *wlyly't' mthllyy* "and purified liliths" — read: *wlyly't' mhwll'* "and the liliths wail". **10:** {*w's'rt*} is not a scribal error. Read: *w's'rt[ḥ l]šwm'ykwn* "and I bind your name(s)". **12:** *[...]rb' wk[...]* — read: *[']swt' bb'yṯḥ d-* "healing in the house of". **13–15:** *blbwš y'q'r ...* "In robes of glory..." — read: *blbwš y'q'r q'ymn' blbwšy' rb' d-nhwr'* (14) *hwmy'n' d-hz'yt' bhl[s]'y ('s)[yr]ly' 'n' h'byl zdyq' d-'štyhlyt w'tyt mn 'lmy' rwrby' ...'l shry' w'l dywy' w'l rwhy' w'l hwmry'* (15) *w'l lyly't' (w'l) ... b'ty' d-bny' 'n'š' m'ys'r...* "I stand

(clothed) in a robe of glory, in great robes of light, (14) (and) I have bound upon my loins a girdle of *splendor*. I am the righteous Hibil, who was sent and came from the great worlds ... against the *sahras* and against the *dēws* and against the spirits and against the *humartas* (15) and against the liliths and against ... the houses of humans (in order to) bind ...". The *l* in *bhl[s]'y* is read following Segal, but cannot be clearly seen in the photograph. *hwmy'n' d-hz'yt'* is tentatively understood as "a girdle of splendor," based on the parallel terms *lbwš y'q'r* "robes of glory" and *lbwšy' rb' d-nhwr'* "great robes of light" and the occurrence of *zywyht'* "splendor" in the corresponding context in the late (and apparently corrupt) parallel cited below (cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 166b, s.v. *ziuihta* 2). The rendering of *'štyhlyt* as "I was stripped" in the present context is not "less likely," as claimed by Segal (note to line 14), but totally unlikely. Cf. the examples of the expression (')*štyhlyt w'tyt* "I was sent and came" cited by Drower-Macuch, pp. 450b-451a, s.v. ŠHL II "to send (away), dispatch." A semantically equivalent expression, *'yštgr w'ṭ'* "he was sent and came," occurs in a Jewish Aramaic incantation bowl (*AMB*, Bowl 13:21) in a parallel context. A similar pair of Akkadian verbs, *šapāru* "to send" and *alāku* "to go," likewise occurs in a magical context with reference to a (human) emissary on a divine mission against evil beings in Maqlû I, 61–62 (*CAD*, Š/1, p. 436a): *šaprāku allak u"urāku adabbub ana lēt kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya Asalluḫi bēl āšipūti išpuranni* "I am sent — I go, I am ordered — I speak, Asalluḫi, god of exorcism, has sent me against my sorcerer and sorceress." A parallel to the Akkadian text (including the subsequent verbal pair *wu"uru* "to order" and *dabābu* "to speak") occurs in Hebrew in a nonmagical context with reference to a (human) emissary on a divine mission in Jer 1:7: *wy'mr YHWH 'ly 'lt'mr n'r 'nky ky 'l kl 'šr 'šlḥk tlk w't kl 'šr 'ṣwk tdbr* "But the Lord said to me: Do not say, 'I am (but) a youth', for to everyone to whom I send you, you shall go and everthing that I order you, you shall speak." Cf. the comparison of the thematically related verse Is. 6:8 with Akkadian *mannam lušpur u luwa"ir* ... "Whom shall I send with orders..." by N. Wasserman, *Syntactic and Rhetorical Patterns in Non-Epic Old-Babylonian Literary Texts* (Hebrew University of Jerusalem PhD Thesis, 1993), p. 73, n. 55 (citing an oral communication by A. Shaffer) and Tz. Abusch, "The Socio-Religious Framework of the Babylonian Witchcraft Ceremony *Maqlû*: Some Observations on the Introductory Section of the Text, Part II," in Z. Zevit et al. (eds), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake 1995), pp. 479–481. 105M:13–15 parallels part of the Zrazta d-Hibil Ziwa (DC 14, 178–184 [and parallels]): *b'lbwšy' d-'rq'* (read: *d-'q'r'*) *q'* (179) *yymn' <blbwšy'> d-zyw' hw<my'n' d->zywyht' bh'ls'y <'syrly'> 'n' hw hybyl z* (180) *'dyq' 'štyhlyt w'tyt l'lm' d-rwrby' 'l'yy' d-* (181) *nhwr' wld'ywy' wls'hry'*

w̲l̲ w'l rwhy' wlhwmry' w (182) *lyly't' wp'tykry<'> wl'ṭyb' d̲-b'ty' 'n'šy' nyst'r* (183) *mn b'yt' dyly' s'm ywh'n' br h'w' sym't* (184) *hyy' z'k'yn* "In robes of the earth (read: of glory) (179) I stand, <in robes> of radiance. <I have bound> upon my loins a gi<rdle of> splendor. I am the righteous Hibil. (180) I was sent and came to the world of the great, celestial (beings) of (181) light, and against *dēws* and against *sahras* and against spirits and against *humartas* and (182) liliths and idol-spirits and the no-good one of the houses of humans. May (they) be bound (183) from my, Sam-Yuhana son of Hawa-Simat's, house. (184) Life is victorious!

106M: This bowl parallels 104M (see above). There are traces of an additional line (15) on the interior of the bowl not noticed by Segal. Read:

(1) *bšwm(')* *d̲-hyy' w(bšwm')* (2) *d̲-m'ry' d̲-hyy' {'s}* (3) *'swt' (wn'ṭr)[']* *wzkwt' wht'mt' wzr'zt' thwy[l]h̲* (4) *lh'zy(n) pgr[']* *wrwh' wnyšymt' wlh'-zy(n) byt' dwr'* (5) *whykl' wb(yny)'n(')* *w'skwpt' whwyny'th̲ wqyny'nh̲* (6) *d̲-p... br '... wr'm'y pt d'r' 'ntth̲ w'swt' thwylwn lbn'ywn* (7) *zykr(y')* *wlbn'twn nwqb't' b'swth̲ d̲-m'n 'sy' h'z' h'y(') zr'(zt')* *d̲-zryz* (8) *(m)nd(')* *d̲-hyy' n(pš)h̲ (w't)' 'l'wyhw(n) d̲-šwb'yhyy' w'l shry' w'l dywy' w'l* *šydy(') w'l* (9) *rwh[y]' (w'l hwmr)[y'] w'l lyly't' 'r(q') d̲-hz'th̲ n'd't* *w{š}šwmy' 'zdr'mbt wt'byl (kwlh̲) 'št'rzl'(t)* (10) *(kybš') ky[b](š)yt (brq'* *l)[g](yṭ hy)l'[y]wn d̲-kwl(hwn sh)ry' wdywy' wšydy' wrwhy[' whwmry']* *wlyly't'* (11) *'syry'{'} wmb'ṭly[']* *(mn) b[y](th̲)...[... d̲-p... br '...] wr'(m-')y pt d'r' '[ntth̲ (...) 'syr wmz'](r'z) bt'ywn* (12) *(mn) hrš[y]' d̲-(rw)h'* *wmn ... (wmn) m[nly' ...wmn dm]w'(t)' (s'yn')t' w(m)[n hršy' d̲-* *tl't](m') wšytyn* (13) *(wtryn) lyš'ny' [wmn 'mr'] (wšy)[m' d̲-hyšwk' ...]* (14) *...bzyw' w(m)h't'(m b)[nhwr' ...] ...*(15) *...*[Exterior] (16') *...* (17') *[...wmn bn'ywn zy](kry' wmn bn'twn nw)qb't' w'swt' [...]*

(1) In the name of Life and in the name (2) of the Lord of Life. (3) May there be healing and protection and victory and sealing and arming (4) for this body and spirit and soul and for this house, dwelling (5) and residence and building and threshold and livestock and possessions (6) of P. son of A. and Rimay daughter of Dara, his wife. And may there be healing for their male sons (7) and for their female daughters. By the healing of Man, the healer. This is the charm that (8) Manda d̲-Hiia himself prepared, and he came against the seven planets and against the *sahras* and against the *dēws* and against the demons and against the (9) spirits and against the *humartas* and against the liliths. The earth which saw him shook and the heavens trembled and the world in its entirety quaked. (10) I have performed a (magical) suppression on earth. Seized is the power of all the *sahras* and *dēws* and demons and spirits [and *humartas*] and liliths. (11) They are bound and annulled from the house ...[of P. son of A.] and Rimay daughter of Dara, [his wif]e. [(...) Bound and ar]med is their house (text: houses) (12) against the sorcery of Ruha

and against [...] and against w[ords ...and against] hateful [appa]ritions and ag[ainst the sorcery of three] hundred and sixty- (13) two languages [and against speaking] and acc[eptance of darkness]... (14) ...[Bound is...] with radiance and sealed with [light] ...(15) ...[Exterior] ...(16') ...(17') [...and from their ma]le [sons] and from their female daughters, and [may there be] healing [...].

6: "P. son of A.": Segal reads the first name as *p(wh'ry')*, but the reading is not convincing. Read possibly *pyh'dwr'*. **9:** *w{š}šwmy'*: The extraneous *š*, if correctly read, is poorly written and may have been intentionally rewritten by the scribe. **9:** *'št'rzl't*: Cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 475b, s. v. ŠRHZL. **12:** *(s'yn')t'* "hateful": The first three letters are not certain, but the reading is suggested by the parallels (cf. 104M:10: *'mwmt' s(y)nt'* "hateful conjuration[s]"). **12:** *w(m)[n hršy' d̲-tl't](m')* "and ag[ainst the sorcery of three] hundred": The reconstruction is clearly required by the context and confirmed by 104M:10. The lacuna seems slightly larger than necessary, but there is not enough space for an additional expression.

107M: Note that the photograph of 107M in plate 121 is erroneously labeled as 102M. The signs > and >– represent marks used by the scribe to signify the end of sections. For a discussion and partial transcription, see now Müller-Kessler (1999). A re-edition will be published in Ch. Müller-Kessler, *Incantations for the House of Pir Nukraya. Lead Rolls from the British Museum I* (in press) [courtesy the author]. Provisionally read as follows[5] :

(3') *...lwṭ'twn w'qr(y')twn mn pgrh̲ wnyš(ymth̲ d̲-h'b)[yl] hlwp' [br nn'y]* ...(4') ...(5') *...kwšṭ' zyw' rb' ... (h'b)[yl] (hlwp' br nn'y)* >– ...(6') ...(7') ...**sdy[m mry']** **d̲-byt z'm'n 'syr' 'str' 'mš'myš d̲-šwš byrt' 'syr' sdym' 'sp'[nd'r]myd lylyt' h' qr't lnpš[']** **'sp'n[d'r]myd b'nwg** ... (8') ...*'syr' b'nwg ...lylyt' 'm('yn) d̲-kwlhyn hw<mry'> wkwlhyn* *lwṭ't' w'qry't' ...mn h'(zyn pgrh̲ w)...[d̲-h'byl hlwp' br] (nn)['y] (wmn* *z'wh̲) wbnh̲ wbn'[t]h̲ wmn* (9') *b'yth̲ [d](wrh̲ hy)klh̲ (wbn)[y'nh̲] ...wm(h)t'* *twty' lygr'ywn d̲-bhyry' (z)ydq'{'} wdyly' h'byl hlw(p)' br nn'y* >– *w'syr'* *wsdym' lylyt' d̲-ytb' ...h'zyn h' d̲-lwṭ't' ...d̲-lwṭ't' ...wqr't lnpšh̲ nn'y* *d̲-y'tb' 'l my' (sy)'wy' 'syr' h(') wlwṭ'th̲ w'(qr)y'th̲ 'syr... ...wlyly't'* (10') *d myštmylh̲ ...wrgyl' ...wkbyš' h'y' wkwlhyn qyry'th̲ wmtn' twt'* *'qb(h̲ d̲-)ywk'b'r kwšṭ' wdyly' ywz'ṭ'q m'nd' d̲-hyy' h'byl hlwp' br [n]n'y* >– **'syr' wsdym' nn'y d̲-bwrṣyp 'syr' ^wsdym'^ nn'y d̲-byt gwz-** **'yyh̲ d̲-bghz'y** *w's[y]r' hnyn wkwlhyn ...d̲-q'ym' qwd'm'yn d̲-hynyn* *r'(my)' gyry' 'l bny' 'n'š[']...* (11') *...'syr' wrgyl' hnyn wkwlhyn lwṭ'tyn*

[5] Readings published by Müller-Kessler (1999) are marked below in bold script. Some of Müller-Kessler's readings can not be verified based on the published photograph, but have been provisionally accepted here. To minimize confusion, the line numbering follows Segal as closely as possible, although there would appear to be traces of some additional lines at the beginning of the incantation (so Müller-Kessler).

w'(qry't)yn ('syr' w...wrgyl' wkbyš' wmht' twty' lygrḫ ḏ-yw(k)'b('r) kwšṭ' wdywz'ṭ'q mnd' ḏ-hyy' w(d)yly' h'byl hlwp' br nn'y w'[swt'] thwylḫ (lh)['](byl hlwp' br nn)'y wlz'wḫ wlbnḫ (wlbn'tḫ) wlb'ytḫ (12') (dwrḫ) hyk(lḫ) wbyny'nḫ >- ...n'ryg ḏ-kšk'r w'syr ...š'r [ḏ-k]šk'r w'syry' kwl(hwn) kwmr'ywn w(s'g)dwn (w'syr') kwlhyn hwmr'ywn ḏ-š'ry' ('l) [b'ty'] (ḏ-)bny' 'n'šy' wmsṭy(lwn) kwl...'bwgd'ny' 'syry' kwlhwn shry' wdywy' rwhy' whwmry' wlyly't' ḏ-šbyqylwn b'rq' tybyl wmštylwn lgwbry' w['nšy]' wml'ly'... (13') ...wmn by(s)r'ywn 'klyn (wmn) zm'ywn š'ty' bšyh'ywn 'pky' mn ... (blyly' wbym'm') wb'ky' wmrbky' 'l bwrk'ywn wrwh'ywn ḏ-npšywn slqbwn wnhtbwn wl'yṭy' wrwq' r'yqy' b'rq' wqhdy' wṣnpy' wmqrylkwn w'ntwn š'mytwl(wn) wmn hwm(r'ykwn) mgmrytwn 'lw'ywn wmhrbytwlhwn (14') lb't'ywn wm'ṣwytwlwn lhykl'ywn ...'syrytwn wpkyrytwn wrgylytwn wkbyšytwn wmhtytwn t't'y ly(g)r'ywn ḏ-bhyry' zy(d)q' wdyly' h'byl hlwp' br nn'y bhyl' ml'l' ...rb' ḏ-hyy' w'swt' thwylḫ lh'byl hlwp' br nn'y mn hy(y') > 'syr **mlk' ḏ-r'dyn šṭwrg' ṭ'z'n'** *w'syry' ml'ky' kwlhwn w'syr...ṭ'z'n' w's<y>ry' kwl(hw)n shry' wdywy' [wšydy'] wrwhy' (15') whw(m)ry' wlyly't' (ḏ-myštmyl)[hw](n) ...[...] (w)m'tqryn g(w)ry' whynwn ...w'zlyn wš(')ryn 'l b'ty' ḏ-bny' 'n'š' ...w-mnkl'twn w'qry'twn {w'qry'twn} kwlhwn mn b'ytḫ wpgrḫ wnymwsḫ ḏ-h'b[y]l hlwp' br nn(')y wbr'zḫ wbhylḫ {ḏ-}wml'(l)ḫ whylḫ <ḏ->šwm' (16') rb[']* (ḏ-)*hyy' w'swt' thwylḫ lh'b[y]l hlwp' br nn'y>-'syr' 'str'* **m'rtḫ ḏ-byt zyb(n')** *['syr' 'str'] ḏ-m't' hdyt' w('s)yr' lyly't' z'rny' 'ht' ḏ-... (ḏ-šry' bm't' ḏ-)byt 'šk'pyl m'm('y) qr't lnpšḫ 'syr' kwlhyn qyry'tḫ 'syry' tl('t)m' wšytyn šyršy(') ḏ-'str't' whwmr[y'] wrwhy' wlylyt' ḏ-(')tk(') bt(')byl br'z' rb' ḏ-'bwhwn (17') ...wn wtwm 'syr' kwlhyn bhyl' {bḫyl'}w'rwt' ḏ-m'n' rb' kbyr' q'dm'y' w'swt' [thwylḫ lh'byl hlwp' br] nn'y >-...'str' (ḏ-) 'l pr't y'tb' wmwlyt qr't lnpš' 'syry' šytyn wšyt' 'l'hy' p'ndy' ḏ-q'ymy' qwd'(m)ḫ (wh)[ynw](n) (m)gmrylwn w-m.šrlwn l't'r 't('r) w'syr' pl'ng' nn'y h'y' wš'b' ('h)w't' ḏ-š(ry' 'l) hwryn' nhr' ḏ-byt h'šwm w'syry' hnwn (18') wkwlhy(n) [q]yry'twn wkwlhwn shr'ywn wdyw'ywn wrwh'ywn whmr'ywn wlyly'twn wmh(šb) ['twn] (by)št' [...] ...[w'](sy)[r'] kwlhyn qyry't(y)n (w'syr') mnkl('twn) ḏ-š'ry' b... ... (n')zyh' wnyp(q') mn b'ytḫ wpgrḫ ḏ-h'b[yl] hlwp' br nn'y wpkry' wrgyly' wkbyšy' wmhty'<twty'> lygr'ywn ḏ-bhyry' zydq' wdyly' h'byl hlwp' br nn'y {wm} bhyl' ḏ-hyy' wml'lḫ ḏ-(19') mnd' ḏ-hy(y') w'swt' thwylḫ lh'byl hlwp' br nn'y wlzwḫ wlybnḫ wlybn'tḫ wlb'ytḫ wlhmḫ wmy[ḫ ...] w'syr' 'str' ḏ-byt gyrm'y wr'dyn w'syry<'> kwlhwn kwmr(ḫ w)sgdḫ (whw)[m](rḫ ḏ-šry' bb'ty)[' w'](syry' wpkyry' wrgyly') wk(byšy' mn) b'ytḫ pgrḫ wnymwsḫ ḏ-h[']byl hlwp' br nn'y w'swt' thwylḫ <lh'byl hlwp'> br nn'y wlz'wḫ wl{w}bnḫ wlbn'tḫ wlb'ytḫ >- 'syr' 'str(') [Exterior] (20') ...'str' ḏ-'l ṭwr' (y'tb') ...w'syr' 'st'r ṭwr' mskynt(y') [...] (ḏ-)bhd' mdyn' y'tb' ...kwl (dwk)t'...š'ry' l'w lṭ'b š'[ry' (...)] (mygṭl)[']* [drdq](y' 'yyk) *t'rn('wly') wdrd(q')t' 'yyk trn'wl't' wmhrb' b'ty' wm'ṣ[wy'] (hykly' ḏ-b)ny' 'n'š' mn lhm' wmy'*

wmytq(')ry' lwṭ't' w'qry't' byš't' (21') w'str' 'syr' 'syr' wrgyl' pkyr' wkbyš' wkryk' wdhy' hnyn wlwṭtyn w'qry'tyn wmyskynwtyn mn h'zyn pgr'{w}wnymws' wb'ytḫ wdwrḫ whyklḫ wby[n]y'nḫ wz'wḫ wbnḫ wbn'tḫ ḏ-h'byl hlwp' br nn'y >-

(3') ...their curses and their imprecations from the body and soul of Hibil-Halupa [son of Nanay]...(4') ...(5') ...truth, great radiance ... Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay.>- ...(6') ...(7') ...shackled [is the Lord] of Bit Zaman. Bound is the Istar Amašamiš of the fortress Šuš. Bound (and) shackled is the lilith Ispa[ndar]mid, who calls herself Lady Ispan[dar]mid ...(8') ...Bound is the Lady ...the lilith, the mother of all *hu<martas>* and all curses and imprecations ...from this body and ...[of Hibil-Halupa son of] Nan[ay] and from his spouse and his sons and his daughters and from (9') his house, his dwelling, his residence and his building ...and put down beneath the feet of the chosen of righteousness and of me, Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay.>- And bound and shackled is the lilith that haunts ...and calls herself Nanay who haunts the black water. Bound is she and her curses and imprecations. Bound is ...and the liliths (10') that hearken to her ...and fettered ...and suppressed, she and all her imprecations and put under the heel of Yukabar Kušṭa and of me, Yuzaṭaq Manda ḏ-Hiia Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay.>- Bound and shackled is Nanay of Borsippa. Bound and shackled is Nanay of Bit Guzaya which is in Gahzay. And they are bound, they and all the ...who serve them (lit. stand before them), who cast arrows upon humans ...(11') ...Bound and fettered are they and all their curses and imprecations. Bound and ...and fettered and suppressed and put down under the feet of Yukabar Kušṭa and of Yuzaṭaq Manda ḏ-Hiia and of me, Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay. And may there be [healing] for Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay and for his spouse and for his sons and for his daughters and for his house, (12') his dwelling, his residence and his building.>- [Bound is DN of ...and bound is] Nirig of Kaškar and bound is [DN of Ka]škar and bound are all their priests and worshippers and bound are all their *humartas* that haunt [the houses] of humans and seduce them. All (...) *abugdanas*. Bound are all the *sahras* and *dēws*, spirits and *humartas* and liliths which they have left on the earthly world and who render men and [women] senseless, and words ...(13') ...and devour their flesh and drink of their blood. In their lust they turn away from ...at night and by day, and cry and kneel on their knees, and their own spirits are agitated (lit. rise and descend) within them, and they curse and spit spittle upon the ground, and they shout and scream and call out to you, and you hear them and with your *humartas* you *take possession of* them and you destroy (14') their houses and desolate their residences ...you are bound and tied up and fettered and suppressed and put down under the feet of the chosen of righteousness and of me, Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay, by the power, the word, the great ...of Life. And may there be

healing for Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay from Life.> Bound is the angel of Radin, the reckless Šṭurga, and bound are all the angels, and bound is the reckless... and bound are all the *sahras* and *dēws* [and demons] and spirits (15') and *humartas* and liliths that hearken to them ... and they are called '*adulterers*', and they ... and they go about and haunt the houses of humans ... and their guileful spirits and their imprecations, all of them, from the house and body and constitution of Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay, by the mystery and power and word and power <of> (?) the great name (16') of Life. And may there be healing for Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay.>– Bound is Istar, the Mistress of Bīt Zibna. [Bound is the Istar] of the New Town. And bound is the lilith Zarni, sister of ... who haunts the territory of Bīt Iškapil, who calls herself Mamay. Bound are all her imprecations. Bound are the three hundred and sixty tribes of the Istars and the *humartas* and the spirits and the liliths that are in the world, by the great mystery of their father (17')... And furthermore, they are all bound by the power and illumination of the great, mighty and primeval Mana. And [may there be] healing [for Hibil-Halupa son of] Nanay.>– [Bound is] the Istar that haunts the Euphrates and calls herself Mulit. Bound are the sixty-six gods ... which serve (lit. stand before) her and t[hey] *take possession of* and ... various places. And bound is the phalanx of Nanay, she and her seven sisters who haunt the river Hurina in Bīt Hašum. And bound are they (18') and all their imprecations and all their *sahras* and *dēws* and spirits and *humartas* and liliths and evil machinations ... [And bound are] all their imprecations and bound are their guileful spirits which haunt ... May they flee and be expelled from the house and body of Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay, and they are tied up and fettered and suppressed and put down <under> the feet of the chosen of righteousness and of me, Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay, by the power of Life and the word of (19') Manda ḏ-Hiia. And may there be healing for Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay and for his spouse and for his sons and for his daughters and for his house and his food and [his] water [...]. And bound is the Istar of Bīt Girmay and Radin, and bound are all her priests and her worshippers and her *humartas* who haunt houses, and they are bound and tied up and fettered and suppressed from the house, body and constitution of Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay. And may there be healing for <Hibil-Halupa> son of Nanay and for his spouse and for his sons and for his daughters and for his house.>– Bound is the Istar (20') ... the Istar that haunts the mountain ... and bound is the wretched Istar of the mountain [...] that haunts a city ... every place ... haunts, and it is not for good that she ha[unts (...)] she kills [young boy]s like roosters and young girls like hens and destroys houses and desolates the residences of humans of food and water and is called 'curses' and 'evil imprecations' and (21') 'Istar'. Bound, bound and fettered, tied up and suppressed and turned back and repulsed are they and their

curses and their imprecations and their wretchedness from this body and constitution and house and dwelling and residence and building and spouse and sons and daughters of Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay.>–

3': *hʿbyl hlwpʾ*: The name of the client is *hʿbyl hlwpʾ* (so Müller-Kessler [1999]), not *hʿbyl hlypʾ*, as read by Segal. **10':** *ḏ-qʾymʾ qwdʾmʾyn* "who serve them (lit. stand before them)": Cf. *ḏ-qʾymyʾ ʿlʾwḫ* "who serve him" (081M:5 [above]). The same expression occurs in parallel with ŠMŠ (Paʿel) "to serve, minister to" in Ginza Yamina (ed. Petermann) 209, 16–17 (and parallels): *ʾlyp ʾlyp qʾymyʾ qwdʾmḫ wrwbʾn rwbʾn ṭʾywtʾ mšʾmšʾlḫ* "Thousand(s) upon thousand(s) serve him (lit. stand before him) and myriad(s) upon myriad(s) of evil spirits minister to him." **12':** ... *nʿryg ḏ-kškʾr wʿsyr ... šʾr [ḏ-k]škʾr* "[Bound is DN of ... and bound is] Nirig of Kaškar and bound is [DN of Ka]škar": This line most likely parallels MS 2054/23:4–5: *wʿsyr nyryg ḏ-nhʾr kwpt[yʾ]* *w[ʿ]syr nyryg ḏ-kškʾr wʿsyr nyšʾr ḏ-kšk(ʾr)* "And bound is Nirig of the river Kupt(ia) and bound is Nirig of Kaškar and bound is Nišar of Kaškar." Parallel references to Nirig of the river Kuptia and Nišar of Kaškar also occur in the unpublished Mandaic lead roll BM 132947+, 170'-171', cited by Ch. Müller-Kessler and K. Kessler, "Spätbabylonisches Gottheiten in spätantiken mandäischen Texten," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 89 (1999): 79, 68. **13':** *wrwqʾ rʾyqyʾ* "and spit spittle": Segal's proposed emendation, {*wrwqʾ*} *wrʾyqyʾ* (incorrectly reading *wrʾyqyʾ* for *rʾyqyʾ*), is gratuitous, as the same expression occurs in *MIT*, 5:6 and 6:6. **15':** Segal's reading *wrgylyʾ wkbyšyʾ hynwn* is most likely correct, but is not visible to the present author in the photograph. **16':** *byt zyb(nʾ)*: There would appear to be the remains of a crossed out letter between the two words. **16':** For *šyršyʾ* "tribes," cf. Drower-Macuch, pp. 463b-464a, s.v. *širša*. In the present context, *šyršʾ* is equivalent to *šwrbtʾ* "brood, tribe, family" (see Drower-Macuch, p. 457a, s.v.), which also frequently occurs in incantations with reference to hordes of demons (e.g., 088M:7). **16':** *ʿtkʾ* is an unassimilated variant of the usual *ʿkʾ* (Drower-Macuch, p. 348b, s.v. *ʿka* 1). **17':** *bhylʾ* {*bhylʾ*} *wʿrwtʾ* "by the power and illumination": See Drower-Macuch, p. 357, s.v. *ʿruta* "illumination ... brilliance..." Cf. 081M:11: *bhylʾy ... wrwtʾy*, which Segal himself renders "in my power ... and my illumination." It should be noted that Segal's translation of *ʿrwtʾ* as "fever" is based on Aramaic *ʿryt*ʾ in the hendiadys *ʾštʾ wʿryt*ʾ "fever and chills," for which see *AMB*, pp. 47 and 49. *ʿryt*ʾ itself is properly "chill, shivering" (so Segal, p. 216, s.v.), which fits the present context even less than "fever." The cognate Mandaic term *ʿšʾtʾ wrwyt*ʾ "fever and chills," incidently, occurs in E. S. Drower, "A Phylactery for Rue (An Invocation of the Personified Herb)," *Orientalia N. S.* 15 (1946), p. 325, line 10 (incorrectly rendered "fever and weakness" by the editor [ibid., p. 334] and by Drower-Macuch, p. 429b, s. v. *ruita*). The same expression also occurs in DC 37, 267 (unpublished). Cf. also

the semantic equivalent *ʿš'tʾ hʾmymtyʾ wqʾryrtyʾ* "hot and cold fever" (see Drower-Macuch, p. 403a, s. v. *qarir*). **17':** *šytyn wšytʾ* "sixty-six": The present author can not discern these words in the photograph, but the same reading is proposed independently by both Segal and Müller-Kessler. **20':** The beginning of the line is probably to be read (*ʿsyrʾ*) *ʿstrʾ* and comprises a dittograph of the final words of the previous line on the interior of the bowl. The present author can not discern traces of *mygṭlʾ* in the photograph, but Segal's reading (except for the final *y*) must be correct. The demon *ʿstʾr ṭwrʾ* "the Istar of the mountain" also occurs in *AMB*, Bowl 9:14 (written: *ʾystr ṭwrʾ*). Cf. *ṭwrʾytʾ lylytʾ* "the mountain-lilith" (DC 43F, 54 [cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 179a, s. v. *ṭuraita*]). The mountains as a home of demons is already attested in Akkadian literature. For references, see *CAD*, Š/1, p.. 55b, s.v.*šadû* A, meaning 1i.

109M: 2–3: *thwylḫ* (3) [...]*k* "May there be ...(3) [for Daro]k" — read: *thwylḫ l*[*byt*]*ḫ* (3) [*d*-](*prw*)*k* "May there be ...for the [house (3) of] Farrok". The name of the client would seem to be Farrok, not Darok as read by Segal. **10–15:** Read: (*b*)*šmḫ ... mlʾkʾ* (11) *myk*(ʾ)ʿ*yyl mlʾkʾ* (12) *bšwmḫ d*-(*šyt*)*yl* (13) *mlʾkʾ bšw*(*m*)*ḫ* (14) *d*-*šmšyy*ʿ*yyl* (15) *mlʾkʾ* "in the name ...the angel, (11) Michael the angel, (12) in the name of Šitil (13) the angel, in the name (14) of Šamšiel (15) the angel". Segal's reading (ʿ)*z*ʿ*yl* in line 10 seems plausible. **25–28:** *whtymʾ ... pt*[...] — read: *whtymʾ* (26) [*hʾ*](*zyn*) *nyšmtḫ d*-(*p*) (27) *rwk br qʾqʾy* (28) [*w*](*dwstwyʾ*) *pt* (*ʾhʾt*) "and sealed is (26) [th]is soul of (27) Farrok son of Qaqay (28) [and] Dostoya daughter of Ahat". **38–41:** Read: ...(*byny*ʾ) *šwmyʾ* (39) (*wʾrqʾ*) *wmšʾbyʾ* (40) *hyyʾ wʾswtʾ* (41) *thwylḫ* "...between the heavens (39) and the earth. And Life is praised! (40) And may there be healing (41) for".

110M: The author of this bowl does not seem to have been well versed in the scribal art. Read section I (Segal's lines 1–9) tentatively as follows:

(1) *h*(ʾ)*ln dmwtʾ* (2) (*d*-)ʾ*dʾwnʾy* (3) *b*(*š*)*wmʾ d*-*hy*(*yʾ*) (4) *ʾswtʾ wyhʾtʾmʾ* (5) *tʾ wntʾrtʾ thy* (6) *wylḫ lbytḫ* (*dybr*)(7)(*bydyryʾ*) *br mmy* (8) *d*-ʾ*dw* <*nʾy*> [at an angle to lines 3–5] (9) *ʾs* (10) *rʾ d*-*pˆrˆ* [*zlʾ*]

(1) These (are) pictures (2) of Adunay. (3) In the name of Life. (4) May there be healing and sealing (5) and protection (6) for the house *of Ybr* (7) *bydyryʾ* son of Mamay. (8) Of Adu<nay>. [at an angle to lines 3–5] (9) *Bond* (10) *of ir*[*on*].

1–2: These lines would appear to explain the drawings. If this interpretation is correct, Segal's line 9 (*d*-ʾ*dy* "of Adday") should then be read *d*-ʾ*dw*<*nʾy*> "of Adu<nay>", as proposed above, referring to the following drawing. **6–7:** The reading of the name of the client is uncertain. A reading *dyrḫ* "(and) dwelling" for *dybr* does not seem epigraphically likely.

111M: This bowl parallels 102M (above). As recognized by C. Walker in the Table of Registration Numbers and Provenances (p. 38), 111M was originally published by C. H. Gordon, "Two Magic Bowls in Teheran," *Orientalia N.S.* 20 (1951), pp. 306–315 (pp. 309–10, 314–15). Segal briefly cites Gordon's study in his note to line 8, but does not appear to have otherwise profited from the earlier edition. This is unfortunate, as Gordon's transcription is for the most part superior to that of Segal. Read:

(3) ...[*lyk bšw*](*myk qr*)[*y*](*tyk*) (*lylytʾ*) (4) (*h*)[*rštʾ d*-*šʾ*](*ryʾ*) [*bytḫ*] (*d*-*zʾ*)*kwyʾ* ʾ*r*(*q*)*bʾ* (*n*)[ʾ](*k*)[*tʾ*] ...(*pt*) [*hywyʾ*] (5) (*hyw*ʾ)*rʾ pt krpw* ...(ʿ*syrʾ šwmyʾ*) ...[*lylytʾ*] (*h*)[*rš*](*tʾ*) (6) *d*-*šʾryʾ bytḫ d*-[*z*]ʾ*kwyʾ* (ʿ*syrʾ*) ʾ*rqʾ* (ʿ*lḫ d*-)*lylytʾ hršt*[ʾ] (*d*-)[*šʾ*]*r*[*yʾ byt*]*ḫ d*-*zʾkwyʾ* (7) ʿ*syr krkwm* ʾ*bhwn d*-*hršyʾ wmr*(ʾ)*wn* (*d*-)*mʾbʾdʾ*(*yʾ*) ʿ(*s*)[*yrʾ lylytʾ*] *h*[*rštʾ d*-]*šʾryʾ* (8) *bytḫ d*-*zʾkwyʾ* ʿ*syrʾ lylytʾ hršt*ʾ *d*-(*š*)ʾ*ryʾ bytḫ* (*d*-*zʾkw*)[*yʾ*] ...[*d*-*przlʾ bʾynḫ*] (ʿ*syrʾ*) (9) *lylytʾ hrštʾ* (*b*)*sykt*ʾ [*d*-](*pr*)*zlʾ bnhyrḫ* ʿ*syrʾ lyˆlyˆtʾ hrštʾ b*(*s*)[*kynʾ d*-*przlʾ*] (*bpwmḫ*) [ʿ*syrʾ*] (*lylytʾ*) *hrštʾ* (10) *d*-*šʾryʾ bytḫ d*-*zʾk*(*wyʾ*) *bšwšlytʾ d*-*prz*[*l*]ʾ *bṣ*(*w*)*rḫ* ʿ*syrʾ lylytʾ hrštʾ b*...[*d*-]*przlʾ* (*bʾdḫ*) ʿ*syrʾ* (11) *lylytʾ hrštʾ bsdʾ d*-*glʾlʾ* (*b*)[*l*](*ygrḫ*) (*s*)*dymyt* ʾ*n*(*t*) *lylytʾ hrštʾ d*-*šʾryʾ bytḫ* [*d*-*zʾkwy*](ʾ) *bsyd*[*mʾ rbʾ*] (12) (*d*-*s*)*dmḫ m*[ʾ](*ndʾ d*-)*hyyʾ* (*lsmʾyy*)[*l sṭʾnʾ wʾ*](*swtʾ*) *thwylḫ lbytḫ dwrḫ wbynyʾnḫ wlzʾwḫ wbnḫ* (*wbnʾtḫ*) ...(13)...[*mšʾ*](*byn h*)[*yyʾ*] Exterior: (14) *lyk b*(*š*)[*wmyk*] (15) (*qr*)[*y*]*tyk lyly*[*tʾ*]

(3) ...[You, by] your na[me], I have called, O be[witching] lilith (4) [that hau]nts [the house] of Zakoya, b[iting] scorpion..., daughter of a (5) white [snake], daughter of a poisonous lizard ...Bound are the heavens ...the be[witching lilith] (6) that haunts the house of Zakoya. Bound is the earth upon the bewitching lilith that h[aunts the house] of Zakoya. (7) Bound is Karkum, the father of witchcraft and the lord of (magical) act(s). Bo[und is the bewitching lilith that] haunts (8) the house of Zakoya. Bound is the bewitching lilith that haunts the house of Zako[ya (with) a ...of iron in her eye]. Bound is (9) the bewitching lilith with a pin [of] iron in her nose. Bound is the bewitching lilith with a k[nife of iron] in her mouth. [Bound is] the bewitching lilith (10) that haunts the house of Zakoya with a chain of iron on her neck. Bound is the bewitching lilith with ...[of] iron on/in her hands. Bound is (11) the bewitching lilith with stocks of stone on her legs. You are shackled, you, O bewitching lilith that haunts the house [of Zakoy]a, with the [great sha]ckle (12) (with) which Manda d-Hiia shackled Simai[l, the Satan. And] may there be healing for his house, his dwelling and his building and for his spouse and his sons and his daughters ...(13) ...L[ife is prai]sed! Exterior (as label): (14) You, by [your na]me, (15) I have called, O lilith.

6: (ʿ*lḫ d*-) "upon": The reading is not certain. (ʿ*lwyʾ*) "upon" also seems possible. **10:** (*bʾdḫ*) "on/in her hands": The reading follows Gordon, but the ʾ in particular is unclear in the photograph. Whatever

the precise reading may be, however, the translation "her hands" is to be expected based on 102M:10 (see above).

112M: 7–12: Read:
... mn byt̲h̲ dwr̲h̲ whyklh̲ d̲-(ksr)[w] (br š)[hlwn] (wmy)n [PN] (pt) (8) *q'ywmt' wmn b'b'ydwkt pt (šhlwn) wmn [PN₂ p](t) (šhrwn)* (9) *'syry' wrgyly' wkbyšy' hynwn [w...wn w...wn w...]wn whwmrywn* (10) *w (rwhywn)* (?)*wlyly'twn wp('g)'ywn wqry('twn) [w...wn] (wšyqwp)[t'ywn] ('np)<y'> byt̲h̲* (11) *d̲-ks(rw) br š(h)lwn 'syry' wrgyly' wkbyš[y'] (hynwn) [...whr](šy') byšy'* (12) *wmb'dy' mkyry' mn byt̲h̲ d̲-(ksrw b)[r šhlwn...] ...*from the house, dwelling and residence of Khusraw son of Ša[hlun] and from [PN] daughter of (8) Qayyomta and from Babaydukt daughter of Šahlun and from [PN₂ daugh]ter of Šahrun (= Šahlun). (9) Bound and fettered and suppressed are they [and their ...and their ...and] their [...] and their *humartas* (10) and their spirits (?) and their liliths and their misfortunes and their imprecations [and their...] and [their] (magical) blows (from) *before* the house (11) of Khusraw son of Šahlun. Bound and fettered and suppressed are they [...and] evil [sor]cery (12) and polluting (magical) practices from the house of Khusraw so[n of Sahlun....]

7–8: PN daughter of Qayyomta is presumably Khusraw's wife. Two sisters of Khusraw are then named; only the name of the first (Babaydukt) is legible. **12:** *mkyry'* "polluting": *mkyry'* is most likely derived from K'R "to shame, pollute..." (Drower-Macuch, p. 200b). It is tentatively understood as a Pa'el active participle, i. e., "polluting." The root K'R is semnatically related to the root ṬNP "to be impure" (*MD*, p. 181), and derivatives of the two roots are attested in parallel (see *MD*, p. 271, s. v. *mkairuta* and ibid., p. 100, s. v. KAR [Ethpa.]). *mb'dy'mkyry'* "polluting (magical) practices" may thus be compared with *r'zy' mṭ'npy'*, rendered "defiling mysteries" by *MD*, p. 181, s. v. ṬNP. The analysis of *mkyry'* (and *mṭ'npy'* as Pa'l passive particles, both meaning "polluted, impure," is also morphologically possible. In such a case, compare the resulting parallel *byšy'* "evil" // *mkyry'* "polluted, impure" with the parallel *byšt'* "evil" // *ṭmyt'* "impure" in *AMB*, Bowl 13:17 (Jewish Babylonian Aramaic): *ḥwmry byšt' ḥwmry ṭmyt' ḥwmry zydnyt'* "evil *humartas*, impure *humartas*, malicious *humartas*."

115M: 4: [...]*d'ry' wl' l'ty' lm*—read: [*ld'*]*r d'ry' wl'l'm 'lmy'* "in all ages and forever". **6:** *pt hwl pwn' ...b't'*—read: *pt hwlpwn'* (?) [*wb*]*nh̲ zykry' [wbn'th̲] nwqb't'* "daughter of *Hulpuna* [and] her male [so]ns [and her] female [daughters]".

James Nathan Ford
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

University of Michigan Studies
HUMANISTIC SERIES
VOLUME XIII

FRAGMENTS FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH IN THE FREER COLLECTION



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FRAGMENTS

FROM THE

CAIRO GENIZAH

IN THE

FREER COLLECTION

08.44

EDITED BY

RICHARD GOTTHEIL

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

AND

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PREFACE

The documents from the Cairo Genizah published in this volume were obtained by Mr Charles L. Freer in Egypt in 1908. They now form a part of the collections in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

In December, 1906, Mr Freer had purchased at Gizeh the now well-known Greek manuscripts of Deuteronomy and Joshua, the Gospels and the Psalms, and fragments of a manuscript of the Epistles of Paul. A report upon them was made by Professor Henry A. Sanders at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Chicago at the end of December, 1907. Much interest was aroused; and since it seemed probable that the manuscripts had been found in the ruins of a monastery and had formed a part of a monastic library, Mr Freer resolved to spare no effort to obtain other portions of the same collection in case such should have been brought to light. With this in mind, he made a special trip to Egypt in 1908. The most diligent inquiry, however, failed to elicit information that would lead to the recovery of other Greek manuscripts of value; but in his quest Mr Freer did secure some Coptic parchments, in which was included a Psalter, and the Genizah fragments.

The Coptic Psalter was handed to me by Mr Freer in Detroit on September 15, 1908. A few days later his Curator brought to me at the University of Michigan the remaining Coptic leaves and the Genizah documents. All this material was at once examined by Dr William H. Worrell. The Coptic Psalter and the other leaves afterwards were published by Mr Worrell in Volume X of the Humanistic Series of the University of Michigan Studies; in the same series, Volumes VIII and IX, Mr Sanders had already published the Greek manuscripts.

Learning of the presence of the Genizah documents in Detroit, and appreciating, as few scholars would, their value as source material for the history of an obscure but important period, Professor Richard Gottheil in 1912 undertook to prepare them for publication. He had accomplished the extremely difficult task of transcribing the texts when the war broke out. Responding to the call of duty, with much personal sacrifice and risk to health, he devoted himself to humanitarian work in New York until the Armistice, and beyond.

Resuming his preparation of the Genizah material as soon as possible, he finished the first draft of the translation of nearly all the documents, and had commenced the preparation of notes, when an accumulation of work, due to having been called to spend an academic year at the University of Strasbourg, obliged him to ask to be relieved from further responsibility for the completion of the volume.

Very reluctantly the request of Professor Gottheil was granted, and he placed all the material in the hands of Professor Worrell in November, 1924. It is not possible to distinguish by marks the work of the two scholars, but for the final form of the volume Professor Worrell is alone responsible. Professor Gottheil personally examined certain Genizah documents in the Taylor-Schechter, Bodleian, British Museum and Paris Consistoire collections; and his name is therefore given with the observations bearing upon these collections. Similarly his name is mentioned in a number of other instances in which Mr Worrell was unable to verify sources or to express a personal opinion. Dr Samuel Feigin worked out No. XLIV independently, and that number has been printed just as it came from his pen, entirely upon his responsibility.

Professor A. Marx, Professor Ginzberg, and Professor Israel Davidson, all of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Mr David Yellin, of Jerusalem, and Mr B. Chapira, of Paris, assisted Professor Gottheil with particular matters which have been acknowledged in their place. Mr Leon Nemoy, of Yale University, verified references to books in distant libraries. Anne MacKenzie Worrell gave vital assistance with references, analyses, manuscript, and proof. The Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, the Case Memorial Library, Hartford, Ct., the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, and the University of Michigan, loaned books of reference. To all of these the editors unite in expressing their indebtedness.

The heliotype plates of the volume were executed by the Heliotype Company, in Boston, under the direction of Mr W. C. Ramsay. The cost of publication was defrayed from the Freer Research and Publication Fund of the University of Michigan.

FRANCIS W. KELSEY.

University of Michigan,
July 10, 1926.

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INTRODUCTION[1]

i. The Cairo Genizah

THE Hebrew word *genīzāh* means "safe-keeping," "hiding," "archive," "treasury," "hiding-place." Specifically it means a depository where worn-out, heretical, or disgraced books, written or printed, useless documents and letters, or other objects of pious solicitude, are stored.

Genizahs among Jews, and similar institutions among Christians, owe their origin doubtless to the feeling that objects hallowed by religious or personal use and association may not be destroyed even though they have ceased to be useful. Fear of profanation leads to the practice of hiding them, in walls or attics, in the ground, or with the dead, in order that, like the beloved dead, they may remain forever safe until obliterated by Time, under the dispensation of Providence. In Europe and elsewhere a corner of the graveyard was set apart for this purpose[2]. There is such a place in Florence[3], marked by an appropriate inscription. In the ancient Coptic "Red Monastery" at Sohaj worn-out prayer-books, vestments, and altar-paraphernalia are thrown into a pit. The theological motivation among the Jews is the protection of the Divine Name from desecration. Genizah papers are indeed sometimes called *shemōth*, "names." Islam shows a similar solicitude for any piece of writing or printing, because it almost certainly contains the Name of God[4].

The word *genīzāh* has now become a proper name, designating the literary limbo of the ancient Synagogue of Elijah[5] in Old Cairo. The Genizah and its contents have had a long history which unfortunately cannot yet be written because of the incompleteness and hear-say character of the evidence. From the account of Mr E. N. Adler in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, pp. 612 ff., we learn that the Synagogue was originally a Christian church, bearing the name of St Michael. Chosroes, partly as an enemy of the faith of Byzantium, and partly no doubt as the heir of Cyrus, in 616 turned the Synagogue over to the Jews. Benjamin of Tudela visited it in the twelfth century, and thought it a very ancient place. The great Egyptian

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[1] Large Roman numerals in parentheses indicate the fragments in the Freer collection; and Arabic numerals in parentheses indicate the pages of the present volume.

[2] For genizah ceremonies see *Revue des Écoles de l'Alliance*, 1901, p. 103.

[3] Cf. *Giornale della Società Asiatica*, 1918–20, p. 97.

[4] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, ch. xiii.

[5] Or Ezra, or Moses. See also the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, pp. 60 ff.; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vi, pp. 187 ff.; Steinschneider in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. x, p. 89; also the many articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.

antiquary, al-Maḳrīzī (A.D. 1364–1442), writes: "Synagogue of the Syrians: This synagogue is in the street of Ḳaṣr al-Sham', of the city of Cairo, and it is ancient. There is an inscription above its door, in the Hebrew writing, engraven in the wood, to the effect that it was built in the year 336 of Alexander (A.D. 24), which is about 45 years before the second destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus (A.D. 70), and 600 years before the Hijrah (A.D. 622). And in this synagogue there is a copy of the Law which all agree to be entirely in the handwriting of the Prophet Ezra." No doubt Mann is right, and we are to understand that the inscription read "(1)336" of the Seleucid Era, which is A.D. 1024 (*The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine*, vol. ii, p. 375). Simon van Geldern at about 1750, and Jacob Saphir in 1864, both saw the Synagogue and its genizah, and recognised the value of their treasures.

Mrs Agnes Smith Lewis tells us casually[6] that the first known Genizah leaves were brought to Europe by Dr Lansing; but there appears to be no support for the statement. Mr E. N. Adler in 1888 visited the Synagogue; but he did not succeed in seeing the contents of the Genizah, for he was told that they had been buried. In the early nineties Professor Gottheil used to see the desk of Dr Neubauer, the sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, covered with portions of books which Dr Neubauer told him had come from the East, his professional discretion not permitting him to disclose their exact source. The Bodleian catalogue makes the statement that in 1890 the Rev. J. Chester bought some leaves in Cairo for the Bodleian Library, and adds that "the credit of first recognising their possible value to Hebrew literature belongs to Dr Neubauer." In *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Semitic Series, parts 4–6, Medieval Jewish Chronicles II, 1895) Dr Neubauer published a chronicle which had evidently come from the Cairo Genizah[7]. In January, 1896, Mr Adler again came to Egypt, and, with the knowledge and help of the Chief Rabbi of Egypt, he took away a sackful of parchment and paper leaves.

On May 13th, 1897, Dr Schechter observed in a bundle of fragments brought from southern Palestine by Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson, a time-worn leaf of the lost Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus[8]. With the promptness which was characteristic of him, Professor Schechter set out immediately for Cairo with the single purpose of bringing back the entire contents of the Genizah to Cambridge. Armed with an introduction to Lord Cromer he went to Egypt. A word from the latter to the Jewish authorities in Cairo opened up the old chamber. Professor Schechter was able to take away with him in sacks, at his own estimate, not less than one hundred thousand pieces of vellum and paper. He has given an account of this visit in his article, "A Horde of Hebrew Manuscripts[9]."

One doubts, however, whether Schechter brought back all that was in the Genizah. Undoubtedly the place had been plundered before his

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[6] *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. lxi, p. 631.

[7] P. xi.

[8] S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambridge, 1899, page v.

[9] *Studies in Judaism*, Second Series, 1908, pp. 9 ff.

coming[10], and he was cheated by the men who worked with and for him. Mrs Lewis[6] tells us that leaves were somehow stolen between the packing and unpacking; and that she personally bought some of these from dealers in Cairo. At any rate, a lot of the material had escaped. The Jews themselves had taken the overflow of the Genizah proper, and buried it in their cemetery in the desert, called al-Basātīn, where they had constructed several underground chambers for the purpose. From this place Professor Gottheil in 1910 secured fragments, both early and late. So much had escaped that there is hardly a large library in Europe that is without its collection of Genizah fragments. Of first importance in this respect are the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Jewish Consistory of Paris, the Royal Library of Berlin, the Municipal Library of Frankfurt and the library of the Archduke Rainer, in Vienna. Many private collections also possess them. Dropsie College, Philadelphia, is the custodian of some four hundred and fifty documents, apparently from the Cairo Genizah[11].

No list has ever been made, nor is one likely soon to be made, of all the places where Genizah fragments have found a resting-place.

The contents of Mr Adler's famous "sack" were brought to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York, where they are at the disposition of American scholars; and the great mass of material removed officially by Professor Schechter is now the Taylor-Schechter collection at Cambridge.

It seems certain that the Genizah, once filled to overflowing—literally overflowing into the community cemetery—is now emptied of everything of value. The three most recent visits disclosed nothing but printed matter. But a great deal may still be in the hands of dealers.

---

[10] The Synagogue had been repaired some time before Schechter's visit, most probably about 1890, shortly after which date the Genizah material began to appear at the Bodleian. To quote from a reliable correspondent, whose name cannot be mentioned: "Before the late Dr Schechter transferred its remains to Cambridge, many dealers helped themselves to small bundles of fragments which they would obtain by bakhshish from the beadle of the old Synagogue at Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo), where the Genizah had been discovered in an attic as a result of the work of repairing the Synagogue. The workmen on tearing down the roof dumped all the contents of this attic into the court-yard, and there the MSS were lying for several weeks in the open. During these weeks many dealers could obtain bundles of leaves for nominal sums. They later sold these bundles at good prices to several tourists and libraries."

But the Genizah was known in 1750 and 1864, as we have seen, and hence could not be "discovered." Also, if "all the contents" were dumped into the court-yard, they must have been restored, in part at least, to the Genizah before Schechter's visit in 1897, for he found them there. In view of all the statements, perhaps the contents of the Genizah and the entrance to it, were always known to the Synagogue authorities. They deceived Adler upon his first visit, in 1888, with a conventional answer: The contents of a genizah are regularly buried. Before the repairs, the contents and their whereabouts were well known, but not their value. That fact appeared to the Synagogue authorities only after they had seen the beadle sell to the dealers.

[11] Formerly in the (Cyrus) Adler, Sulzberger, Amram, Friedenwald, and Cobern collections. These, together with other Genizah material in Philadelphia, are characterised by the late Dr B. Halper in his *Descriptive Catalogue* (1924).

The Genizah documents which have thus far been examined have contributed immensely to the history of the Jews in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in Egypt. Before the discovery little was known of the government of the communities, their tastes and activities, their daily lives. The article "Egypt" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, written in 1903, in the absence of a second edition of that work has been overtaken by the excellent book of Dr Jacob Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs* (Oxford, 1920–22). It is hoped, however, that some day all the Genizah material will be published in the original texts, and with logical or chronological sequence, in a *Corpus Geniziacorum*; and that before long some body of scholars and some Maecenas will be found to undertake the task.

ii. The Freer Collection

The Genizah documents edited in the present volume were purchased by Mr Charles L. Freer of Detroit in the year 1908, from a dealer in Gizeh. Nothing further is known of their provenance. They were probably picked up by the curious or the speculative at the time when the Synagogue was being repaired. Every Egyptian knows the negotiable value of antiquities, particularly of inscribed leaves. It is, of course, also possible that they were dug up by natives after being regularly buried by the authorities of the Synagogue. It is even possible that they never were in the Synagogue, but that they were obtained from some ancient cemetery, where they had been originally buried with the dead.

The Freer collection of Genizah documents has been placed in the Freer Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D.C.

iii. The Paper

All the fragments are written upon Paper.

Nos. V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XV, XIX, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, and XLVI are without screen-marks. Nos. I, II, III, IV, XI, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXI, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXVI, XL, XLVIII, and XLIX have coarse, and Nos. XXII, XXXVII, XLI, XLVII, and L, fine screen-marks.

Watermarks are to be found on Nos. XXVII and L. The former is apparently a mailed torso, and the latter a hand-and-star such as was employed by manufacturers in France, Switzerland, and Sicily, between A.D. 1490 and 1590, according to Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (1907).

iv. The Handwriting

Although some of the hands betray a familiarity with Arabic writing (XXVII), there is very little of Arabic writing to be found in the collection. The instances are: Nos. XVI (entire), XXVII and XXXV (addresses), II and XIX (scrawls on the back which we have not attempted to explain).

The Coptic numerals employed in No. XL would seem to indicate some contact with the Coptic-Arabic fiscal system.

The collection as a whole is written in Hebrew characters. There is nothing remarkable in the use of the Hebrew alphabet by the Jews when writing Arabic. They have done similarly in Persia, Spain, the Slavic countries, and America. So also the Greeks and Armenians use their national alphabets for writing Turkish. For a time the Jacobite Christians of the Lebanon wrote Arabic in Syriac characters, the so-called Karshūnī. Just as the use of the Arabic script quite generally follows the adoption of Islam, so the use of the Latin or the Greek alphabet shows historical and cultural relationship to the Latin church or the Greek church respectively. It is perhaps not that the letters are more sacred than the language; but that the letters can still be taught after it becomes impossible to continue the tradition of the language.

The variety and difficulty of the hands present at once the chief problem of the editors; although Hebrew writing, in the very nature of the case, is not usually so difficult as the freely ligatured Arabic. One group in particular, Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV, is written in a very bad Hebrew hand in which similar letters are scarcely differentiated at all. Even for a Jew of that time and place these letters could not have been more legible than the proverbial scrawls of Horace Greeley are to us. As modern analogies to these memoranda-slips and leaves from note-books, we are to think of the slips which are issued to us by our grocers, or the personal memoranda and agenda which we carry about in our pockets.

It has been difficult to find a satisfactory standard for the classification of hands[12]. The traditional terms, "square," "half-square," and "cursive," have no definitive and generally accepted meaning. "Square" is used to designate the group of hands most nearly like the standard type of our Hebrew bibles. "Half-square" means usually the group resembling the "rabbinic" or "Rashi" type of the printers; "cursive" means perhaps a running hand with ligatures. But "square" hands become careless, and begin to look like "rabbinic"; while truly "cursive" hands can hardly be found at all. In this collection, in spite of the carelessness of many of the hands, there is only one (XXI) really "cursive" hand, in the sense of being freely ligatured.

Under these circumstances it has been thought best to invent a system, if only for the purposes of this volume; and to give the three traditional terms a definite meaning. As the letter ℵ is the most variable in the alphabet, and as its variation stands in a certain relation to the classes, "square," "half-square," and "cursive," we need only to define these classes in terms of the form of ℵ. In very few cases is the result belied by the general impression of the writing.

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[12] Bernheimer, *Paleografia Ebraica*, Florence, 1924, has come to hand too late for consideration.

The square type is made with five strokes: א.

The half-square type is made with three strokes, and still resembles the square: א ב ה.

The cursive type is made with three or even two strokes, and does not much resemble the square: א נ ס ף ע.

Nineteen of the documents may be dated, exactly or approximately. If these be arranged in chronological order no definite development is apparent. E.g. No. XLVII, of A.D. 1067, has the same cursive form as No. XLI, which is certainly later than 1412. On the other hand, it appears that while cursive hands are commonest in letters and memoranda, square and half-square hands are employed in legal documents (XI, XLIII) and in other formal (XXXI, XXXII, XL) writing, and by persons writing letters from Jerusalem (V, XXVII).

v. The Dating

Unfortunately only nineteen of the fifty fragments can by any means be dated. Of these the earliest appears to be No. V (c. 1016?) or No. XLIII (1043), and the latest No. L (c. 1530?) or No. XL (1511). The undated ones may, of course, fall outside these limits. General considerations make it likely that nearly all of the collection belongs to the early or middle part of this period; and it is disappointing not to find some reference to the Crusades or the Mongol invasions.

vi. The Language and Languages

The interpretation of many of the letters is made peculiarly difficult by a certain characteristic vagueness, incoherence, and obscurity of language (18). The editors are well aware of their failure in many instances to grasp the meaning of the texts (139 ff.). Some of the trouble arises from pure slovenliness of thought and expression. Confusion between two possible forms or constructions, which present themselves simultaneously to the mind of the writer, are very common (36, 46, 119–126, 138, 152, 153, 158). To the obscurities of very bad Arabic (151) and Arabic under some strong foreign influence (XXXIII) are added the inelegancies of speech-mixture. Hebrew and Arabic are often frankly combined in a single document, even of some pretensions (XLIII). But Arabic and Hebrew are combined in the same words (XV); Arabic words are used in a Hebrew sense, and Hebrew words in an Arabic sense (39, 162); and the Arabic and Hebrew articles are even combined (104).

One cannot escape the impression, however, that there is a considerable element of deliberate *geheimthuerei*; "My letter has gone forward to you with the 'dogs,' who will tell you about it" (19). "And the 'Elephant'—God keep him!—did not wish to give colors" (95). "The writer of it is the slave, your insignificant servant, Genesis-Exodus" (133). Some of this is due to fear of the interception of letters, no doubt: "And it is not possible for me to explain to you..." (151). Much of it arises from the trade-slang of a forgotten age: No. XXXVI is an excellent example of this. Some of

it may be humor: "Bought a slave" means "became the father of a son" (51). "The bed is the most important thing in the house" (21). "I needed first of all a tailor" (151).

The elaborate ceremonial of address in the letters, whether in Hebrew or in Arabic, suggests some relationship with the highly developed epistolary technique of the Arabs, as set forth in such books as the *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* of al-Ḳalḳāshandī (died A.D. 1418)[13].

The languages used are Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic.

Except in the few cases where the language is bad, we may assume that Arabic was the mother tongue of the writers of all these documents. It is used for most of the personal letters, notes, and memoranda; and documents in Hebrew have a tendency to lapse into it. Hebrew is the language of formal letters, or letters written by proficient persons with a motive for emphasising the bond that united the Jews. Hebrew is the language of the poetic pieces, all more or less religious, and Aramaic the language of documents (XI); but words from both languages are often introduced into Arabic texts, especially where Jewish institutions are concerned.

It is perhaps unnecessary, except for completeness, to remark here that Hebrew was properly the language of Canaan (Isaiah xix, 18). Themselves a part of the Aramaean migration, and in contact with Aramaic (Gen. xxxi, 47; II Sam. x, 6; Jud. xviii, 28), the Jews must have become more familiar with Aramaic after the deportations of Israelites and importation of Aramaeans in 734 and 722 B.C. (II Kings xv, 29; xvii, 6, 24; Ezra iv, 2, 10). Aramaic was understood by Judaeans of the upper classes as early as 701 B.C. (II Kings xviii, 26; Isaiah xxxvi, 11). During the fifty years of exile in an Aramaic-speaking Babylon the Jews must have learned that language thoroughly, as the steady process of aramaïsation in post-exilic Hebrew testifies. The writer of Ezra (end of fourth century B.C.) and the writer of Daniel (about 167 B.C.) not only include Aramaic documents and reports, but themselves use Aramaic within the body of a Hebrew book, intended for Jewish readers. With the beginning of Hellenistic times Hebrew seems to have perished as a spoken language. It was replaced by Aramaic and Greek. After the decline of Greek in the fourth century, Aramaic, in various forms, continued to be the language of Jews in the orient until the Muslim conquests, in the latter part of the seventh century A.D. Medieval and modern Hebrew have so strong an infusion of Aramaic at times, that they may be said to consist of a mixture of the two. This did not occur with Arabic, probably because of the greater difference between Arabic and Hebrew; although Arabic became the chief language of the Jews in the East.

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[13] Cf. a similar work in *Zeitschr. der deutschen morg. Gesell.*, vol. lxx, pp. 7 ff. British Museum 182, Hebrew A3, gives suggestions for writing to a superior for assistance.

vii. Arabic

At times the Arabic used approximates to the classical idiom. The suffix *-kumū* occurs in a rajaz-verse (133); and there are instances of the *iʿrāb* and the *tanwīn* (41). But for the most part the Arabic is colloquial in some degree. The type is usually Egyptian; but it is often Palestinian or Syrian, or even Maghribī (VII). This colloquialism varies from a slight coloring or an occasional slip, to an out-and-out use of the vernacular (IX, XII, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XLV). In the two letters (or two parts of one letter?) written by a slave (or servant?) to his master (XXVIII, XXX) we have perhaps the oldest existing specimens of colloquial, howbeit Jewish Arabic. The writer spells both his Arabic and his Hebrew words phonetically. No. XXVI is most peculiar, if indeed we have read it properly.

Orthography and phonology must be treated together, as we cannot always know whether we are dealing with peculiarities of spelling or peculiarities of pronunciation. Some of the texts are more phonetic than others, writing the consonants and long vowels apparently as heard and spoken (130), and even occasionally indicating the short vowels (63, 139).

The Hebrew letters employed in expressing the Arabic sounds are those which etymologically correspond to the Arabic letters; but some cases require special comment:

ت and ث = ת
ط = ט
د and ذ = ד
ض = דׇ
س = ס, rarely שׂ or צ (3) under influence of ט (15)
ص = צ, rarely ז (51)
ز = ז, rarely צ (138)
ظ = טׇ
ج = גׄ, indicating a non-Cairene pronunciation
خ = כ, rarely ח, as in Europe (122, 138)
غ = עׇ
ق = ק, rarely ה (152), or omitted, because = hamzah (154)
ح = ח, rarely ה (50, 140), or ע under influence of ת (63)
ع = ע, rarely omitted, in numerals (138)
ه = ה, rarely omitted, in *fī*[*hi*] (112)
ـِ ـُ = י, *passim*. Short *i* also? (138, 230)
= יא
ه = ה, rarely הא (12 ff., 159)

In the way of forms and syntactic peculiarities not necessarily colloquial:

אבי for ابو (114, 152)
אביך for اخوك (150, 152)
מתופיה for مُتَوَفّاة (38)

Also the frequent omission of the article, the strange use of prepositions, and the redundant "it" (XXVII especially).

Peculiarities of vocabulary not necessarily colloquial:

يَؤُمّ, "he intends" (24)
إِبْراء, "acquittal" (35)
أَمْر, "business" (162)
بَيْن, "by agreement" (43)
ثَقَّل, "forced" (34)
ثَمَن, "value" (164)
לא תגטט, for لا تُجَطّ (?), "do not be concerned" (154)
جُمْلة, "shipment" (97)
حديث, "business" (37)
" , "matter" (63)
يُحَرّص, "he should urge" (39)
مُحاكَمة, "judiciable claim"? (43)
مخدوم, "master" (138, 140)
خُضْرة, "mouldiness" (122)
خاطَر, "risked" (152)
يُخْلِف, "may he recompense" (154)
أُدْخِل له تحْته, "I pay to him, to remain under his management"? (32 ff.)
يُدِرّهم, "he liquidated them"? (39)
אדעא, for أَدْعَى, "he asserted"? (34 f.)
דפועהא, for دَفْعُها, "their delivery"? (97)
دَرَج, "moment" (162)
دفعتْ, "she summoned to court"? (55)
ذكَر, "he said" (34 ff. *et passim*)
راسى, "myself" (140)
رِقام, "embroidery" (152)
سبستان, "prunes" (123)
סרס, for شَرَس, "quarrel"? (132)
سُرْسور, "manager" (193)
مُتَسَفّر, "despatcher" (228)
أَسْقى, "he treated"? (112)
أَسْلَفْتُ, "I borrowed" (140)
اِسْتَمَعْنا, "we inquired" (45)
سِعْر, "purchase-price"? (164)

أَسْنَهُ, "payable next year"? (141)
مُشِدّ, "inspector," "overseer" (141)
شُغْل القَلْب, "worry" (36 *et alibi*)
شِقاق, "chaff"? (118)
شاكِريّة, "favor"? "wages"? (63)
شُرْطة, "police" (69, 95)
ضعف, "was not able" (112, 121)
طلب, "wished," "tried" (121)
على, "for"? (20 *et alibi*)
غاسول, "soap" (123)
غَلاء, "profiteering"? (125)
الفور, "Purim" (46)
قبول, "before" (120)
לקד אן, "because"? (21)
المُسْتَقِرّ, "the inquirer"? (62, 150 *et alibi*)
אקרא, for أَقْرُو, "I being impatient for"? (126)
قِصَص, "doings" (127)
كِراء, "cost"? "load"? (57, 73)
كِسْبة, "estate"? (49)
كَنِيسيّة, "church" (19, 120, 156)
تَلْشِيمة, "reconciliation" (42)
מהד, "dowry"? (57)
مع, "about"? (119)
معانى, "affairs"? (20)
المملوك, "your obedient servant"? "slave"? (24, 133)
ناخُوذة, "ship's captain" (48)
أَنْفَذْتَ, "you sent" (50)
أَنْفَذ, "it had paid" (150)
وَجْه, "important thing"? (20)
يَتَّجِه, "it might be due"? (9)
وَلَد, "son" (39)
وَلَّف, "he collected" (119)

Of especial interest are the instances of colloquial phonology (Egyptian, unless otherwise stated):

Loss of ' in numerals (114, 138, 163 *et alibi*).
Loss of final *-hi* (112).
New ' arising out of *ḫ* (154 *bis*), or triliterality (199).
Change of ' to *ḥ* before the voiceless stop *t* (63).

Change of *s* to *ṣ* before the emphatic stop *ṭ* (15).

Loss of final short vowel of verbal forms, resulting in shortening of preceding vowel (34), or (when the root ends with *l*) assimilation to the *l* of the preposition (46, 138, 140, 156).

Accent on first syllable in broken plurals of the form *fa'ālīl*, with consequent shortening of second syllable, so as to produce the form *fa'alīl* (160 *et passim*).

Maghribī accent on last syllable with consequent loss of initial vowel in *ibn* and *abū* (32, 41, 69).

Colloquial forms are frequent:

wilād for *awlād* (40).

Characteristic forms of numerals (138).

Maghribī *hūmā* for *hum* (140).

lē and *ilō* for *lahu* (Palestinian and Syrian, 33).

hādī for *hādha* (Palestinian and Syrian, 152).

dī for *hādha* (162).

ēsh for *mā* (Palestinian and Syrian, 21, 39, 52, 124, 152).

hēk for *hākadhā* (Palestinian and Syrian, 152).

The negative suffix *-sh[e]* (54, 65, 121, 140, 150, 151), at times still objective and not yet adverbial (150, 151).

The present-tense-prefix *bi-* with the imperfect (39, 112, 152).

The Maghribī first-person-singular (sic!) prefix with the imperfect, *n*, if it be not a mere use of "we" for "I." (Spanish-Moroccan? 152 *et alibi.*)

The external *t* in the VIIIth form of the verb (51, 52, 53, 160).

Metathesis of first vowel in verbs whose third radical is *y*, e.g. *iḥkēt* for *ḥakaitu* (Palestinian, 140).

Inflection of verbs whose third radical is ' (47) and verbs whose second and third radicals are identical (155), as though they were verbs whose third radical is *y*.

Simplification of *yuṭma'ínn* to *yutámmin* (47).

The pseudo-verb *fī[h]* (151).

The conjunctions *walla* (125) and *ila wa* (56).

The adverb *lissa* (65).

Syntactic peculiarities of the colloquial:

The relative pronoun *alladhī* is at times used as a conjunction in the manner in which its colloquial counterpart, *illi*, is used in Cairene vernacular at the present day. This is precisely the history of the Germanic demonstrative (English *that*) which becomes relative and then conjunctive: "*That* book *that* denies *that* such is the case" (45, 130).

The Hebrew letters אֲ occur many times in such a way as to appear to be the Arabic conjunction *an*, used as an indefinite relative pronoun (45, 51, 54, 96, 130). As everyone knows, Arabic has no indefinite relative pronoun. This *an* would seem therefore to be used in the manner of Hebrew -שֶׁ. At times it stands between an undetermined noun and its attributive adjective (45, 54, 96).

The conjunction *an* is omitted (121).

The participle is used for a finite verb (? 51).

Vocabulary and idioms which are like modern colloquial:

baṭṭāl,	"worthless," "bad" (34)
baḳa,	"he became"? (44, 63)
jāb,	"he brought" (38)
yejīb,	"that he bring" (121)
jābu,	"they would bring [a price]" (39)
jawāb,	"letter" (62)
ḥājah,	"thing" (19, 63, 120, 160), plural, *ḥawā'ij* (154, 187)
חדות,	"story" (47)
dā,	"he gave" (56)
rāḥ,	"he went" (46)
ruḥt fī ḥālī,	"I went about my business" (140)
ashṭar,	"cleverer" (160)
שיתאן,	"rascal" (113)
'ā'iz,	"desirous" (46)
ḳabadū,	"they have received" (120)
ti[*ḳ*]*rā 'annī.....as-salām*,	"give my greetings to....." (154)
bi naẓrak,	"with your favor" (141)
nuṣṣ,	"half" (122)

viii. Hebrew and Aramaic

The few Hebrew words which are spelled phonetically after the Arabic fashion (130) indicate the Sephardic value of the vowel ָ: *ā* (130). In No. XV, however, we have גודל uniformly for גָּדוֹל, and עוליך for עָלֶיךָ, and פעומים for פְּעָמִים (77, 79), indicating that ָ was pronounced *ō*, and that the accent rested upon the penult. Both of these peculiarities are foreign to the present pronunciation of Hebrew by Jews of Sephardic origin in Arabic-speaking lands, and characteristic of the pronunciation of Jews of Ashkenazic, Yememite, Persian, and Caucasian origin. There is no reason for suspecting Ashkenazic influence more than the others.

Arabic ابو frequently becomes אבי (142) on the analogy of ancient names, such as Abimelech (142).

Very few unusual meanings appear. דְּיוֹקְנִי, which generally means "picture," must mean "copy" (29). הַגְּרִי, "Hagarene," a biblical word, referring to a certain Arab tribe, stands for "Arabic" in general (27), instead of עַרְבִיִּים. שַׂר is a technical term for the chief figure which appears in the vision seen by a crystal-gazer (76). The poet, in quest of rimes, invents new words (173, 175).

ix. Contents

Of theological material there is only an unimportant fragment of Maimonides (XXXIX), an equally poor one of Simeon Ḳayyāra (VI), and an extremely problematic jumble of halachic notes of very doubtful origin and purpose (XLIV).

Poetry (pizmōnīm) is represented by a panegyric of Abraham Maimunī (XXIX), religious poems or hymns (pizmōnīm) and fragments (XVII, XIX, XX), including a biblical paraphrase (XXXVIII).

The liturgy is found in two specimens (X, XLVI), and liturgical notes in three (XXIII, XXV, XLII). None of these, except possibly XLVI, is of any interest. Nos. XXIII, XXV, and XLII are not only extremely difficult to translate and explain, but very difficult to account for.

There are two interesting magical texts or amulets (XV, XXIV), the former to be used in connection with some "scrying" or crystal-gazing ceremony.

Four of the items are documents in the precise legal sense: the extremely important formal agreement about the order of precedence in the Academy at al-Ramlah (XLIII), an interesting bill of divorce (XI), two documents recording the settlement of an indebtedness incurred in a partnership undertaking (I), and an all but completely unintelligible receipt in Arabic script (XVI). No. VII is the memorandum of an indignation meeting held by a defrauded investor, and hardly a legal document. The same may be said of the list of tax-payers (XIII), leaves from merchants' note-books (XIV, XVIII), and an accounting of expenses incurred by a business expedition (XXXVI). Two records of marriage-settlements, with long lists of articles belonging to the bride (XL, XLV), and a record of the sale of a slave (XLV), are probably informal documents.

Of the fifty numbers in the collection twenty-four contain letters. Nos. XXX and XXVIII probably are parts of the same letter, and XXXI and XXXII are certainly such; while No. L contains three distinct communications. We thus have twenty-four letters also. Not only do the letters constitute nearly half of the collection, but they are by far the most interesting part of it. In the picture which they give of Jewish life in Egypt from about A.D. 1000 to 1500, there is much that is characteristic of Jewish life and of life everywhere.

Letters were carried by travellers (47) or runners (XLVII) over vast distances, and arrived infrequently (47). Anxious relatives at home beg the young man to write oftener, and he replies that he is too busy (51). Every sort of letter is represented. There is the family-letter, mostly about personal trials and troubles (III, IX, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX); the begging letter of an aunt (XLIX); the appeal of a worthy man to the munificent al-Tustarī (XXXI–XXXII); the wheedling, half-threatening, plea for assistance in behalf of another (XLVIII); on the loss of a friend (XXI); the trivial polite letter (XXVI); to a departed guest (XXXIV); upon fleeing to Alexandria (XXXVII); on general business matters (XXII); to a business associate (XII, XXXIII); complaining to a business partner of

his timidity (XXXV); from a wily old man in Jerusalem who knows better than to speculate in sugar (XLI); from a half heat-stricken man held up at a lonely caravan-station in Sinai (XLVII); about the adjustment of a debt (IV); about a real-estate controversy (VIII); about a case of divorce (V); complaint of political intrigue against the writer (II); exposure of a corrupt and tyrannical judge (L). From these letters, supplemented by the other material in the collection, we derive the data underlying the following sections.

x. Geography

The geographical range of the documents is from Aleppo and Turkey in the north to Aden in the south, and from Spain and France in the west to Colombo and India in the east.

Most important is Egypt, the home of prosperous Jewry. A number of Egyptian places are mentioned. At al-Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo) was the congregation and Synagogue of Elijah, in whose archives were kept important letters received, and copies of important letters sent. Perhaps the Canal mentioned in No. IX is the ancient water-way which gave its name to the street al-Khalīg in modern Cairo (54). Alexandria is spoken of, and appears in several personal and family names.

Palestine, and particularly Jerusalem, are objects of concern. There is an allusion to the Jewish Quarter, to the Rubā'īyah (Mūristān?) and the Church (of the Holy Sepulchre?). There has been an earthquake, or similar catastrophe, and the "Glorious Place" has collapsed, and must be rebuilt (31). In the Holy City the chief necessities of life, then as now, were fuel-wood and olive oil, for heat and light (121), except when there was actual want of food (125). No. XXVII gives the familiar picture of Jewish misery in Jerusalem. Other places in Palestine and Syria are mentioned: Hebron? (118), al-Ramlah (201), Safed, Kafr Yāsīf, 'Ain al-Zaitūn (L), Tyre (127), Aleppo (103, XLVII). All the stations on the caravan route between Cairo and Damascus are mentioned in No. XXX. Caravans from Aleppo and Damascus stop at Ḳaṭyah in Sinai (XLVII).

There seems to have been a group of Cairene Jews, settled at Aden, South Arabia, and engaged in the trade with India and Ceylon. They even occasionally went to Colombo (IX).

Spanish Jews are often alluded to (179, L), and Spanish ships (123) are once mentioned; also people of Sicily (75) and commerce with that country (123); perhaps even France (99). The writers of XXI and XXVII were probably of Moroccan origin, as were doubtless others (153).

xi. Biography

A great many personal names appear; but most of them are not to be identified, and many of them are as indefinite as "Abraham Cohen" would be in modern New York, or "Muḥammad" in Cairo.

The following are a few of the names which seem to be more or less certainly placed. The references in each case are to Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimids*, vol. i (1920); vol. ii (1922).

1. Abraham Maimūnī (135), son of the great Maimonides, born 1186, died 1237.

2. Abraham, son of Shema'yāh the Ḥābēr, descendant of Shema'yāh Gā'ōn (7), signatory of many documents, alive in 1088 (Mann, ii, 232).

3. Abū al-Faraj (25), perhaps the same as Abū al-Faraj, son of Abū Zakarī, a judge at al-Fusṭāṭ, alive in 1301. Both father and son bore the title "ra'īs" (Mann, i, 246).

4. Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, son of Manasseh (11), signatory of documents in conjunction with No. 2, and therefore contemporary (Mann, ii, 232).

5. The Ḥazzān Bayyān (53)—a strange form and word-order—perhaps the same as Abū 'l-Bayyān the Ḥazzān, about 1050 (Mann, i, 242; ii, 308).

6. Immanuel, son of Yeḥī'ēl (61), perhaps a descendant of the Yeḥī'ēl who lived in the twelfth (?) century (Mann, ii, 303 ff.).

7. Jacob, son of Joseph ha-Ḥasīdh (26), perhaps the same as the head of the Jewish court who signed documents at al-Fusṭāṭ in 1016 and 1018, and at Aleppo in 1028 (Mann, i, 37, 150).

8. Judah ha-Kōhēn, son of Eleazar (13), was dayyān at Bilbais from 1187 onward (Mann, ii, 317).

9. Mebōrākh, son of Nathan (11), a known signatory of twelfth-century documents (Mann, i, 222, 227; ii, 293).

10. Nahrai, son of Nissīm (129), perhaps the same as the famous scholar by that name who died between 1050 and 1098 (Mann, i, 204 ff.; ii. 240 ff.). But the prefixed "Abū Yaḥyā" would refer to a supposedly well-known son, of which there is no record.

11. Nathan, son of Abraham (199), usurper of power in the Palestinian Academy (XLIII), becoming "Father of the Law Court," or "Second," in place of the rightful aspirant, Tobiah, son of Daniel (Mann, i, 141–152; also pp. 71, 75, 115, 129, 130, 193, 273).

12. Nathan, son of Samuel (35), perhaps the same as the secretary to the nāgīd about 1140 (Mann, i, 225).

13. Shabbatai, son of Abraham the Dayyān the Ḥābēr (17), signed documents in 1154 (Mann, ii, 259).

14. Solomon, son of Judah (199), the Gā'ōn, or "First," in the Palestinian Academy. See No. 11.

15. Tobiah, son of Daniel (199), the "Third" who should have been "Second" in the Palestinian Academy. See No. 11.

16. al-Tustarī, Abū Sa'd, Abraham, son of Abū al-Faḍl, Sahl (143), the wealthy dealer in rarities who through the mother of the Sultan Ma'add, a slave-girl from his market, exercised great influence at court until his assassination in 1048 (Mann, i, 76, 79, 122; Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* [1901], pp. 137, 149).

17. 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, son of Joseph (3), probably the "Parnās of Babylon," about 1116 (Mann, i, 196).

18. Yepheth, son of David (7), perhaps the same as Yepheth the Ḥazzān, son of David, son of Shekhanya (Mann, ii, 97, 246). But he signed documents in 1020, ninety-six years before our own.

19. Abraham Castro (237, 241), may be the one mentioned by Sambari and Solomon Ḥazzān. If so, he was alive in A.D. 1606.

20. Joseph Sarakossī (Saragossī, L), organised the Safed community in A.D. 1492. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s.v.*

21. Moses di Trani (? L), Dayyān of Safed, 1525–35. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s.v.*

xii. Jew and Gentile

The student of the Law who refuses to invest in sugar (193) speaks casually of a neighbor as "the uncircumcised one—May his name and memory be blotted out!" (191). The melancholic Abū Zubair, writing from Jerusalem, complains that a certain other Jew is found at the houses of Muslims, and does not understand the difference between "inside and outside" (127). A Jew excuses himself for resorting to gentiles (19). A proselyte is perhaps mentioned in a list of Jewish tax-payers (69). Two Muslim formulae: "Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds" (161), and "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate" (163), occur in one letter. Arabic script is occasionally used, and in one instance Coptic numerals (XL).

Considering the complaining tone of many of the letters, we hear surprisingly little about persecution. There is difficulty between Jewish landlord and gentile tenant (21), or between Muslim landlord and Jewish tenant (121), of the kind usual in the Near East, and not necessarily influenced by religious or racial feelings. In Nos. XXXI and XXXII Tobiah asks al-Tustarī for a letter: "For I fear that evil may overtake me on the way, even as it overtook me at Ḥānēs. Had it not been for the mercies of the Almighty and the favor of my Lord, the honored Elder, I should be today in prison. In those days I had money in my hand, and I gave a bribe" (147 f.). There seems to be a veiled allusion to persecution in XXII: "I inform you" by this letter "of the condition of Būṣīr and its pain and travail; and that it is a city of great trouble and travail" (97). No. XXXVII seems to tell of persecution or similar disorders: The writer's son-in-law (or father-in-law?) has rented a "tower" at a place called Sīkat (?), or near Alexandria; and the whole family intends to live together in it. At his present place of residence "there are people rejoicing, and many people dead—yet there is no trustworthy information." He would "like to go away from here." "Perhaps God will have mercy, and His anger will depart from His people Israel—even though there are some who say that the towers are untrustworthy" (171). A synagogue is destroyed by Muslims (233).

Piracy, the capture of Jewish merchants and other travellers, and the necessity of ransoming them, laid a heavy burden both upon those who ventured abroad and upon those who stayed at home (50, note; 51). The pirates were Muslims (51). Such captures were made purely in view of ransom. "The captive, Esther" (183) is ransomed by the man who is to marry her, for fifty dīnārs (183), a rather large sum. There were, of course,

the usual slaves (159, 223 f.). It was probably the ability of the Jews to pay, and their faithfulness in ransoming their brethren, that made them the particular victims of this practice. Labor requisitions (231) need not have been made upon Jews especially.

The Jews paid a poll-tax (23). Number XIII is a list of the names of tax-payers with amounts (67 ff.). It is not clear why the Sultan took a third of a certain estate (41). Jews adjusted their differences successfully before Jewish courts (3 ff., 43). In one case two dishonest men defraud a business partner successfully by resorting to a Muslim court (35).

xiii. Marriage

Women owned and inherited property (39, 47, 55). A girl might marry when only twelve years old (187). The economic side of the agreement was arranged by a marriage-broker, who made note of the facts (XL, XLV). The betrothal, with its "advanced payment" (*muḳdām*), and the marriage proper, with its "delayed payment" (*me'uḥār*), were probably celebrated in quick succession (XL, XLV). In the interim the lady was sometimes supported by the fiancé (187). The bride brought a dowry (*nedunyāh*). This consisted of a great variety of goods. In both Nos. XL and XLV we find remarkable lists of articles of clothing and personal adornment, jewelry, cosmetics, and sweetmeats (187), which will well repay study. Some of the names belong evidently to the fanciful nomenclature of the day. What indeed is a "trembler" (181), or a "dancer" (179)? Others, though strange, are intelligible and interesting, such as the color, "gazelles' blood," and the many articles from Hormuz (181, 185). Property arrangements are also frequently stated, particularly that the husband shall possess the wife's handiwork, but must provide her with clothing (179, 183, 187), and the inheritance rights of the children are protected (183).

The last mentioned arrangements are made not merely in view of death, but also of divorce (183); and this was apparently not difficult. In No. XI we have a bill of divorce in which no grounds are stated, while great pains are taken with phraseology, attestation, and delivery of the document. In No. V the grounds are that the wife has refused to follow her husband to another city, to which he has transferred his domicile. That there may sometimes have been extreme grounds for divorce appears from the mention of two cases of adultery (53, 55), where the husbands were away from home for long periods. The unfortunate, illegitimate offspring was refused the customary blessings at circumcision (55). Neither ḥazzān nor dayyān would attend, and certain less sensitive Byzantine Jews managed to collect the necessary quorum (55). Great fondness for children is revealed in the letter to a departed guest (157), where we have perhaps one word of infantile Hebrew.

xiv. Religion, Learning, Superstition

Religion and learning are not fairly represented in the present small collection of Genizah documents. For evidence of these one must refer, e.g., to the description of still uninvestigated materials enumerated by

Bacher in the *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (s.v. *Genizah*). Our collection consists of humbler remains of the past, overlooked or rejected by seekers after literary texts. Nevertheless, we have a few pizmōnīm, liturgical fragments and notes, halachic bits, and a portion of Maimonides besides occasional references to books and an interest in study, pamphlets on Hebrew grammar and theological controversy (123 ff.). Books were hard to get, and loaned books hard to recover (125). A borrowed copy of the Prophets cannot be returned, because the boys are reading it (153)! Only one really unworthy exponent of religion appears (L), although the ethics of a certain transaction in grain are at least doubtful (123). There are some maxims of merit (127, 175).

It is quite natural that we should find some evidence of the pursuit of magic and pseudo-science. No. XXIV is a charm or amulet, such as those elsewhere alluded to (23, 125). No. XV, while it may be a charm, is certainly the recipe for a "scrying" ceremony, with the well-known reference to "princes" which are wont to appear in the vision (76). Elsewhere there is reference to a "magic circle" (107). Cabbalistic names are used (107), including the Tetragrammaton (77 f.), the שם המפורש (81), and Mīṭaṭrōn, the angel (77). The purpose of magic may be protection from disease and accident (107), or the cure of disease and decay (23), or the discovery of hidden treasure (79 ff.). The Song of Songs will cure "dry patches" or a drying up of the body, or boils (23). Psalm cxxi, 5–8, and Exodus xiv, 19 also have magic potency (107). People live in fear of magic, diseases, ghosts, and all sorts of catastrophy (107). The Latin word *succuba* perhaps occurs (107), instead of the Hebrew Lilith, for the vampire-demoness. If the boy's name, *'Allān*, means "stupid," it is applied to avert the evil eye from a particular shining mark (9, 11, 19). A vindictive statement about one who is dead is hastily retracted: "But woe unto us! For we are not unmindful of our own condition!" (127).

XV. Commerce and Manufacture

The Jews of al-Fusṭāṭ and their correspondents dealt in many wares, both staple and fancy: tartar and resin (25), saffron and coral (75), pepper (87), flax, linen, and indigo (99), wool and woollen goods (121), wheat, prunes, gum-arabic, almonds, soap, and earthen pots (123, 231), alum, candied roses (?), and spikenard (153), sugar (191), swords (193), and other commodities. They advanced money for the purchase of material and the maintenance of workmen, taking and selling the finished product. They were in fact manufacturers of colored silks (73), cloth (161), and yarn (153).

The Jews also entered into partnerships (7), a thing which Moslems in Egypt even nowadays seldom dare to do. These, to be sure, were not always successful, because of the indifference (63), or timidity (161), or dishonesty (33, 191) of the partners. The risks of commerce were great. Then as now, goods were perishable and prices fluctuated (191). But clients in those days were exposed to unusual dangers and uncertainties. Tips, taxes, fees, bribes, presents, obligations, contributions, and gratuities,

to agents, porters, sailors, ferrymen, gate-keepers, camel-drivers, inspectors, revenue-officers and what not (XXXVI), by which the Jews avoided molestation, must have taken much of the profit and all of the pleasure out of commercial pursuits.

Of the coins mentioned, the *dīnār* gets its name from the Roman *dēnārius*, but it is a gold coin weighing between 66 and 68 4/7 grains. The American five-dollar gold-piece weighs 129 grains at 900 fine; so that a *dīnār* of the same fineness would lack only a few grains of being equal to half that coin, or $2.50. Its purchasing power at the time, however, has been estimated at about $7.50. The *ashrafī* (139 ff., 187) succeeded the *dīnār* in Egypt toward the end of the fourteenth century A.D. (187). It weighed 53.8 grains.

The *dirham* gets its name from the Greek δραχμή. The Arabs took over this word, in the form *darāhim*, as though a broken plural from an imaginary singular, *dirham*. It was equal to about 1/15 of a *dīnār* or an *ashrafī*. A special *dirham nāsirī* is mentioned (111).

Other coins are, the *rubā'ī*, or "quarter" of a *dīnār* (167); the *nuṣf faḍḍah*, or "half a silver-piece" (139); the *maiyadī* or *mu'aiyadī*, coined after A.D. 1412–1421 (192); and the *ḥabbah*, mentioned among other small coins (165). The Hebrew words כְּפָרִים (193) and פְּרָחִים (183, 232) are used perhaps to mean *dīnārs*. Moroccan money was used (169). *Mithḳāl* and *ḳīrāt* (3, 33, 73) are names for weights primarily, but are used apparently in reference to coins or coined money. The former may mean *dīnār* (33, 73). The latter is 1/24 of a *dīnār* (3, 69).

In the way of weights and measures we have the *ḳinṭār*, which now equals about 99 lbs. and 4/5 oz. avoir., the *roṭl*, a little less than 1 lb. avoir., and the *wiḳīyah*, about 1.32 oz. avoir. The *ḳinṭār* contains 100 *roṭls*, and the *roṭl* contains 12 *wiḳīyahs*. *Ḳinṭār* is derived from Latin *centēnarius*, "containing a hundred," a word which has passed into many languages in the sense of "a hundredweight," or "a hundred pounds." *Roṭl* seems to come from Greek λίτρα, related to Latin *libra*, "a pound," and *wiḳīyah* from Latin *uncia*, "an ounce," the twelfth part of a *libra*. The *ḳaṣabah* is a measure of length, at present equal to 11 ft. 7.766. The equivalents in the above have been taken from Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908. *Wazn* (121) seems to be a unit of weight, not "weight" in general. *Ḳafaṣ* (193) and *ḳafīz* (119) are evidently grain measures.

xvi. Proper Names

The many interesting proper names which are to be found in these texts deserve more than the few observations which are here accorded them; but adequate treatment must await further investigation. No. XIII is especially important.

No doubt the Jews of al-Fusṭāṭ, like Jews in other lands, bore double names, one Hebrew and the other gentile. Fortunately, however, in the case of Egypt, many names were more or less the same in both languages. We have therefore not only Hebrew names and Arabic names, but such as

might be either if necessary. When a Hebrew name resembled an Arabic one in sense but not in sound, it was translated instead of being phonetically modified: e.g. *Nāthan* became *Hibah* (27, 69), while *Abhrāhām* became *Ibrāhīm* (22); just as *Kēphā* became *Petros* (John i, 43), while *Shā'ūl* became *Paulus* (Acts xiii, 9).

The patronymics are most interesting, as they show that certain name-motifs, which are commonly supposed to be of recent European origin, are medieval and oriental. *Bin Asad* (32), "Löwensohn," *Ibn al-Bahwarī* (67), "Son of the Lion-like," *Sibā'* (67), "Lion," are all members of the large group of "lion-names," which may have started with Genesis xlix, 9, as a cryptogram for *Judah*. In Europe the German translation, *Löwe*, seems to have been associated with Hebrew לֵוִי and לֵב. The permutations, through translation and paranomasia, are very numerous. *Al-Dhahabī* (71) is "Goldmann"; *al-Fiḍḍī* (71) is "Silbermann"; *al-Sukkarī* (67) is "Zuckermann"; *al-Ṣafīr* (131), though it means "sapphire," stands doubtless for Aramaic שַׁפִּירָא, "Shapiro"; *Me'ir* (179) is "Meier." Some names, however, have come back to the orient from Europe, such as *Māyō* (191).

xvii. Purpose and Plan of Publication

For many years the content of Genizah material, particularly the Hebrew material, has been studied, while the form, especially of the Arabic material, has been neglected. This is easily explicable; for the chief interest undoubtedly lies, and should lie, in the life and times of the Fusṭāṭ community, rather than in their language; and the language of these documents, at least on the Arabic side, presents peculiar difficulties.

In attempting to interpret documents written in a vulgar or barbarous form of some well-known language, there is always the question, first of all, as to whether they should receive grammatical and lexicographical treatment. It used to be thought that such was unnecessary, or indeed impossible, because there was no grammar. Now-a-days no one will doubt that vulgar and barbarous texts have, after all, grammatical peculiarities; and that these can and must be studied for an understanding of the content of these texts. But the discharge of this duty is more difficult than its recognition; for vulgar dialects must be studied without prejudice, mostly in the light of their own evidence; and barbarous documents require at the same time constant watchfulness to detect the intrusion of "educated speech" in its varying degrees of corruption.

It is the purpose of the present volume to explain the texts, particularly those in Arabic, in such a way that anyone having a fair knowledge of the ordinary idiom may learn to read them; and to call attention to the peculiarities of language in such a way as to benefit those whose chief interest is philological. The translations have been made so that, by including the bracketed words, the reader will have a free rendering, and, by excluding them, a literal one. This is of course not entirely true everywhere. At the expense of beauty and brevity, and with some violence to

English at times, he will, however, usually be able to see what the editors understood the text to mean, and how they arrived at that understanding. The Arabic student will thus be assisted without seriously inconveniencing the general reader, who wishes to acquaint himself with the content of the documents. In a very few instances parentheses have been used to indicate words in the original which cannot stand in the translation. Bracketed restorations in the text of No. I are by Professor Gottheil; others have been explained in each case.

The treatment of proper names presents a problem. There are purely Hebrew names, or names written clearly as Hebrew; there are Arabic names; but there are also names which belong equally to the Hebrew and the Arabic languages, such as the interchangeable *Abhrāhām-Ibrāhīm*, and names which may be pronounced either as Hebrew or as Arabic, such as *Ṣedhāḳāh-Ṣadaḳah*. Doubtless the Jews of al-Fusṭāṭ used these pairs interchangeably. For this reason, and for the sake of simplicity, all familiar names have been given their ordinary English form, regardless of whether they are Hebrew or Arabic in a particular case: e.g. *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Judah*, *Nathan*, *Samuel*, *Joseph*. Less familiar ones have been transliterated as Hebrew or as Arabic; and sometimes the assignment to the one or the other has been rather arbitrary.

The letters בר stand usually for בר רבי, and they have been so understood in most cases. Occasionally, however, they seem to be Aramaic בַּר (179), particularly when they do not have the dots of abbreviation over them. *Ibn*, *Bin*, *Ben*, *Bar*, *Bint*, and *Bath* have all been spelled with capitals, since often they must stand as the first part of a name. Sometimes they have been retained, and sometimes they have been translated. No fixed rule could be observed, as epithets and blessings attached to the end of a patronymic would in English seem to refer to the son, while in reality referring to the father. The innumerable abbreviations of formulae of blessing have sometimes been translated, sometimes paraphrased, and sometimes entirely omitted, as seemed best in each case.

The order of the fragments in this publication is that of the originals in the Freer Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington; not chronological, nor with reference to the contents. A chronological order would have been difficult, because so few of the fragments can be dated even approximately; and as to subject-matter, they admit of many arrangements. It is unfortunate that No. XXVIII is separated from XXX, and XXXI from XXXII. One might wish also that the more interesting ones could have been placed at the beginning of the volume, instead of some that are rather dull and obscure.

This work has been done under rather unusual difficulties. In spite of great effort, it doubtless contains many inconsistencies. Both subject-matter and language are such as to provoke controversy. The editors will be content if they have contributed anything to the understanding of Genizah documents.

INTRODUCTION TO FIRST FRAGMENT

Paper $12\frac{3}{5} \times 8$ inches.

Written in a fairly good Hebrew cursive, in Arabic with Hebrew intermingled.

The fragment is, in places, very much torn; but with the exception of a few words, the text can be recovered entirely.

It contains two documents relating to one and the same affair. It seems that two parties were concerned in some business venture in al-Yemen—Abū al-ʿAlā Ṣāʿid ʿUlāh and Abū al-Afrāḥ ʿArūs al-Ajawānī. Difficulties seem to have arisen and ʿArūs owes ʿUlāh the sum of four dīnārs and one carat. Upon the *recto* we have a document, fully attested, to the effect that ʿArūs owes this money to ʿUlāh. Upon the *verso* we have a second document to say that the money owed by ʿArūs has been paid, in the manner specified in the first document, into court; and ʿUlāh releases ʿArūs from all further indebtedness in the matter.

Being official documents they are extraordinarily prolix; but such verbosity and tautology are characteristic not only of these Judeo-Arabic court papers, but of such instruments at all times—even in the courts and law-offices of our own day. It has been no easy matter to translate this verbiage and to find the English terms corresponding to the Aramaic or Arabic expressions.

And, being official documents, they contain a great many Aramaic expressions and sentences. Jewish law goes back to Talmudic days, when the ordinary language of the people was Aramaic. As they passed into Arabic speaking lands, or as the Arabic cultural invasion engulfed them, their language of intercourse became Arabic; but the formulae as laid down in the Talmudic law held their own against this invasion, in exactly the same manner as Latin did in European lands, and as French did when it replaced Latin as the culture-language of Europe.

The documents here published bear a striking resemblance in their whole form and tenor to the two published by the late Adalbert Merx of Heidelberg University in his *Documents de Paléographie Hébraïque et Arabe* (Leiden, 1894). One of them, in fact, bears the date A.D. 1114, one year previous to one of our documents and two years previous to the second (A.D. 1115 and 1116). The names of the witnesses, being those of the members of the Court of Justice at Fusṭāṭ, are common in documents of this period. See Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs*, Oxford, 1920, Index.

I. TWO DOCUMENTS

A

Recto:

1 מעשה ש[הי]ה לפנינו אנו ב[י]ת דין [הק]בוע בפסטאט מצרים ומאן דחתים
עימנא לתחתא כן הוה

2 חצר אלינא אל[שי]ך אבו אלאפראח כנ"ך מר' ור' [ע]רום הזקן הנכב[ד
אלא]רגואני בר מר' ור' יוסף הזק[ן]

3 [הנכב]ד אל מהדו[י] נע וקאל לנא אשהדו על[י ואק]נו מני מעכשו ואכתבו
ואכתמו עלי בגמיע אל אל[פאט]

4 אלמחרמה ואלמע[א]ני אלמוכדה ובכל לישאני דזכואתא וסלמו דלך אלי
אלשיך אבו אלעלא צאעד

5 אלד[משקי .....מר' ור'] עולא הזקן הנכבד הלוי הנאמן נאמן בית דין
ורצוי הישיבה בר מר' ור' יוסף הזקן

6 [הנכבד ליכון בי]ד[ה לליום ובעדה חגה ווחאק אנני מקר ענדכם באוכד
מעאני אלאקראראת

7 וא[ותקהא פי צחה מ]ני וגואז אמר טאיע מן גיר קהר ולא גבר ולא אכראה
ולא סהו ולא גל[ט] ולא

8 עלה ב[י ולא מרי] ולא גיר דלך מן [ג]מיע מפסדאת אלשהאדה אן לה
ענדי ופי קבלי ופי דמ[תי]

9 וכאלי .....די[נאר]ין וקיראט ואחד דהבא עינא מתאקלא ואזנה
מצריה גיארא צהאחא

10 דינא ואגבא ו[חקא] לאזמא חוב גמור ומלוה זקופה אקומ לה בדלך בעד
אלפסח פי סלד

A

[1] Reading מעשה, though the text is not quite plain. Sometimes simply the word מה is used. Cf. Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter 13 (J 1. No. 7). מה שהיה בפנינו.

[2] Followed by one of the expressions usually accompanying the names of prominent individuals: כבוד גדולת קדושת. Cf. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 383.

[3] I.e. מרנא ורבנא.

[4] I.e. "purple."

[5] Followed by נע = נוחו עדן.

[6] والمعانى المؤكّدة.

[7] The Aramaic expression very often occurs in the simpler form כתבו לי זכות.

Genizah Fragment 1 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 1 b

I. TWO DOCUMENTS

A

Recto:

1 The following[1] occurred before us the Bēth Dīn [Court of Justice] properly appointed in Fusṭāṭ, Egypt, and in the presence of those whose names are signed below. Thus it was:

2 There appeared before us the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ[2], our lord and master[3] ʿArūs, the honored elder al-Arjawānī[4], son of our lord and master Joseph, the honored

3 elder, al-Mihdāwī[5], and said to us: Take my testimony, and ratify it on my part at this moment, write it down and have it signed for me, using all the sacred

4 terms and the hallowed expressions[6], and in language that will fully exempt me[7], and hand this [document] to the Sheikh Abū al-ʿAlā Ṣāʿid[8]

5 of Da[mascus.....] ʿUlāh ha-Lēvī, the honored elder, the trusted Levite, trusted of the Bēth Dīn and accredited of the Yeshībhah, son of our lord and master Joseph,

6 [the honored elder, that it remain in his possession] from now on and afterwards, as a document and a bond. Behold, I acknowledge before you in the most positive

7 and binding form of acknowledgment, being [in good health][9], in full possession of my will, voluntarily, not being forced, without constraint, coercion, without inadvertence or error,

8 or any infirmity in [me or illness] or any of the many [conditions] that make it impossible for me to give testimony, that I owe him, and have in my possession and in my care

9 and separate.....dīnārs and one ḳīrāṭ[10] of fine gold in mithḳāls[11] of Egyptian weight of good quality and true,

10 a legitimate debt and a binding liability[12]. I shall pay[13] him this after the Passover festival at the end of[14]

---

[8] The use of the letter צ for س is quite possible in these documents. The same person is mentioned in another document cited by Worman in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xx, p. 457: אלשיך אבו אלעלא צאעד ר׳ עולה — giving both his Arabic and his Hebrew name.

[9] = في صحّة منّى.

[10] Usually = 1/24 of a dīnār. At the beginning of the line we might read وخالص مالى were it not necessary to suppose a number at this point.

[11] The *mithḳāl* had various values. Here the word is probably used for "coin" in general.

[12] These Arabic words are followed by their equivalent in Hebrew.

[13] אקום. Cf. יקום B, l. 15.

[14] "in the course of"?

11 ניסן מן סנה [א]לף ואר[ב]עמאיה ותמניה ועשרין למנין שט[רות] מן
אנין מא אמתלכה בלא

12 מראפעה ולא ממאנעה ולא חגה ולא אחתנאג כל עיקר ולא ימין עלי
אסתיפא שי מן דלך

13 מן סאיר צנוף אלאימאן תקילהא וכפיפהא ואפילו על ידי גלגול ואפילו
חרם סתם ואחריות

14 חוב דנן עלי אנא ערוס פי חיותי ועלי וראתי בעד ופאתי על כל [מין] ארג
נכסין קנין

15 ממון דאית לי ודיהוי לי תחות כל שמיא בביתא ובברא ממקרקעי
וממטלטלי ואפילו

16 מגלימא דעל כתפאי דלא כאסמכאתא ודלא כטופסי דשטרי אילא כחומר
וכח[ו]ק

17 כלשטרי מחזקי מזרזי דבי די[נא] ותקנאתא דרבנן וכתבת לה הדא
אלכתאב ליכון בידה

18 וביד וראתה בעדה אריך ושריר וקיים ומוחזק דיזכון ביה ??? בכל בתי דינין
לעלם לא כאל

19 אסנאדאת ולא כמצאדיר אלכתב אלא כאוכד ואתקן מא סטרו[ה] רבותינו
זל פי כתב

20 אלדיון ובטילית נמי כל מודעי ותנאי ומודעי דמודעי ומודעי דנפקין מגו
מודעי עד

21 סוף כל מודעי דמסירין לי ודמסרנא על שטר חוב דנן כתיקון חכמים
וקנינא מן מר ור

22 ערוס [הזקן] הנכבד דנן בר מר ור יוסף הזקן הנכבד נע לכנק מר ור עולה
הלוי הנאמן

23 נאמן בית דין ו[רצוי] הישיבה דנן בר מר ור יוסף הזקן הלוי נע במנא
דכשר למקניא ביה

24 על כל מה דכ[תיב מ]פרש לעילא ומה דהוה קדמנא אנן בי דינא ומאן
דהתים עימנא לתהתא

25 כתבנא וחתמ[נא] ויהבנא לכנק מר ור עולה הלוי הנאמן [דליהוי] בידיה
לזכו ולראיה

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[15] The Seleucid Era, beginning 312 B.C.

[16] Literally: "light or heavy."

11 Nisan of the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight according to the Era of Documents[15], in the same good coin which he possessed. [He does this] without

12 any constraint or restraint, argument or discussion at all, or any oath for the carrying-out of any part of this [agreement],

13 from among all the various kinds of oaths, unimportant or capital[16]; not even by means of an oath of implication, nor by any unqualified vow. [The return

14 of this money] is an obligation upon me, 'Arūs, during my lifetime, and upon my heirs after my death, upon anything worth while that I may possess—property, possessions

15 or money that is mine or that I may possess under all the heavens, at home or abroad, real or personal property, even to the covering that is

16 upon my shoulders: not like simple acts of recovery or mere contract formularies, but like full and valid documents:

17 invincible, irresistible writs of the court of justice, and the ordinances of the rabbis. I have written this document in his favor, that it may be in his possession

18 and in the possession of his heirs after him: a document lasting, stable and durable; it being understood that they can make use of it in any court of justice and for all time to come: not like

19 simple acts of recovery[17] or mere contract-formularies[18], but as the most binding and stable documents that our rabbis[19] have laid down for documents

20 acknowledging debts. I declare void all protests and conditions and protests of protests, and protests that may be developed from protests to the nth

21 degree that may be made for me, or that we may have made in connection with this deed of claim—[all] in accordance with the statutes of the wise men. We have received from our lord and master, this

22 'Arūs, the honored [elder], son of our lord and master Joseph, the honored elder, for our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, the trusted one[20],

23 this one trusted of the Bēth Dīn and accredited of the Yeshībah, this son of our lord and master Joseph ha-Lēvī the elder[21], [a guarantee] in current money

24 according to all that is set forth explicitly above, and which has been brought before us, the Court of Justice, and before those whose names are signed for us below.

25 We have written this, sealed it, and given it to our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī the trusted one, that he keep it as evidence and as proof.

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[17] There is a hole in the paper here.

[18] اسنادات.

[19] See Merx, *Documents de Paléographie Hébraïque et Arabe*, p. 32, note.

[20] זל"ז. Words of blessing following names are omitted in the translation.

[21] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 196.

26 וכאן דלך פי אלעשר אלאביר מן חדש תמוז דשנת אלפא וארבעמאה
ועשרין ושבעה

27 שנין למניינא דרגילוננא ביה בפסטאט מצרים דעל נילוס נהרא [מותבה]
ותאכרת כתאמתנא

28 אלי אלעשר אלאול מן חדש אב אלתאלי לה מן אלסנה אלמדכורה שריר
ובריר וקיים

29 אברהם ברבי שמעיה החבר נבת נ̇א נין שמעיהו גאון נ̇ע

30 יצחק בי̇ר שמואל הספרדי זכ לח הע הכ יפת ברי דוד . . .
ח א ב

B

Verso:

1 שהדותא דהות באנפנא אנן שהדי דחתימת ידנא לתחתא . . . [אן הצר]
אלינא אלשיך

2 אבו אלעלא צאעד אלדמשקי נ̇ג̇ק מר ור עולה הזקן הנכבד ה[לוי הנאמן
נאמן בי]ת דין ורצוי הישיבה

3 ב[ן] מר ור יוסף הזקן הנכבד הלוי נ̇ע וקאל לנא למא תוגה מ . . . . . .
[מ]ר ור יפת הזקן

4 נ̇ע אלי דיאר אלימן אנפדת צחב[תה . . . .] ולמא חב אללה בסלא[מת ה] . . . .
אלתוא . . . . לבתה

5 בדלך פי בית דין וגרי ביננא משוג[ראת כתי]רה פי מגאלס אליה[וד . . . אן]
אקר אכרהא אן דכלו

6 ביננא זקני יושר וכושר פי דלך בדרך פשרה וקררו אן . . . . . [אל]שיך
אבו אלאפראה

7 נ̇ג̇ק מר ור ערוס הזקן הנכבד אלארגואני בר נ̇ג̇ק מר [ור יוסף ה]זקן
הנכבד נ̇ע ען גמיע

8 מא אסתחק ענה ממא כנת אנפדתה מעה פי . . . . . אלי דיאר אלימן ופי
גמיע

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[22] One can read وتأخّذت or وتاخّرت or وتأكّدت.

[23] I.e. the Passover festival.

[24] The letters placed above names sometimes spell a title, e.g. יפת בר דוד = המלמד "the teacher." (Taylor-Schechter 13, J 1. No. 1.) Sometimes they spell the name of the person's father. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 102. At other times they are the initials of

26 This happened during the last ten days of the month Tammuz, of the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-seven,
27 according to the era that we are accustomed to use in Fusṭāṭ of Egypt, situate upon the river Nile. Our signature was affixed [only][22]
28 upon the tenth day of the month of Ab, that follows it[23], of the aforementioned year.

Certain! Clear! Established!

29 Abraham son of Rabbi Shema'yah, the Ḥābēr, descendant of Shema'yah Gāōn.
30 [Signed by] Isaac, son of R. Samuel[24] ha-Sefardī.
Yepheth, son of R. David (?).....

B

Verso:

1 Testimony in regard to the affair that was treated before us—we who have placed our signature below:.....[There appeared] before us the Sheikh
2 Abū al-'Alā Ṣā'id of Damascus, our lord and master 'Ulāh, the revered elder ha-[Lēvī, the trusted one, trusted of the court] of justice and accredited of the Yeshībhah,
3 son of our lord and master Joseph, the revered elder ha-Lēvī, and said to us: When.....our lord and master Yepheth, the elder
4 went to the country of al-Yemen, a partner[ship] was agreed upon between us (?)[1]; and, when God was gracious enough to permit him to return to us in health[2], when the case was brought
5 before the Court of Justice, many difficulties[3] arose between us.....in the end an agreement (?) was reached that there should come between us
6 righteous and God-fearing elders in this matter, in order that a settlement[4] might be arrived at. So, there came to an agreement.....the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ,
7 our lord and master 'Arūs, the honored elder al-Arjawānī, son of our lord [and master Joseph the] honored elder, in respect to all that to which I
8 have a right of that which I had given (?) to him [to take with him][5] to the districts of al-Yemen, and in regard to

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words making up a pious wish. The last signature is badly written. Perhaps Yepheth was a very old man at this time. In Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, 97, we find Yepheth the Ḥazzān, son of Rabbi David, identical with Yepheth b. David b. Shekhanya, who signed documents as early as A.D. 1020, ninety-six years before our document.

B

[1] Text illegible. It may be انفذت صحبة بيننا; or, simply انفذت صحبته.

[2] The sense is quite certain, but the text is not easily restored.

[3] مشاجرات.

[4] פְּשָׁרָה. Cf. line 24: i.e. that the affair should be amicably arranged, without a trial before the Court of Law.

[5] Perhaps insert فى المسيرة.

9 פאידה וג[מיע] מא יתגה לי עליה מן אנואע אלמטאלבהֻ ועלי אכתלאפ
אגנאסהא מימו[ת]

10 עולם ועד עכשו בארבעה דנאניר וקיראט מן דלך דינארין עאגלה ודינארין
וקיראט

11 אגלה יקום בהא בער פסח מן סנתנא הדה אלתי הי סנה אתכה לשטרות
ואברי מ עלאן

12 דנן מן גמיע אלדעאוי ואלמטאלבאת ומן כל זכות יתגה לי עליה
מימו[ת] עולם ועד

13 עכשו פרצית בדלך ואבריתה בבית דין בקנין גמור חמור בכלי הכשר
לקנות בו מעכשו

14 בביטול כל מודעין ותנאין וקבצת מן כאלה אלשיך אבו אלאפראח ערום
דנן אלדינא[רין] אלדי

15 אסתקר אן יקום בהא עאגלה ובקי לי על[י]ה אלדינארין וקיראט אלאגלה
כתבת בה אן

16 עליה אלשטר חוב אלמרכור פי באטן הדה אלורקה ולמא כאן אלא תפצל
ועגל לי בהא

17 ותסלמתהא מנה וברי מנהא ומן דרכהא ולם יבק לי [פי] ג[מיע]תהא מא
קימתה אפילו

18 משוי פרוטה ולעילא פאשהדו עלי אנא עולה הלוי ואקנו מני מעכשו
ואכתבו ואכתמו

19 עלי בגמיע אלאלפאט אלמחכמה ואלמעאני אלמוכדה ובכל ל[י]ש[א]ני
דזכואתא [ו]ס[למו ד]לך

20 אלי אלשיך אבו אלאפראח ערום דנן ליכון בידה לליום ובעדה ח[גה
ו]תאק אנני מ[קר] ענדכם

21 באוכד מעאני אלאקראראת ואותקהא פי צחה מני וגוא[ז א]מר [טא]יעא
מן גיר [קהר ולא] גבר

22 ולא אכראה ולא סהו ולא גלט ולא עלה בי מן מרץ ולא גיר [דלך מן]
גמיע [מ]פסדאת אל[ש]הא[דה] אנני

23 קד קבצת ותסלמת מנה ארבעה דנאניר וקיראט [דהבא ע]נא מתאקילה
ואזנה מצריה

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6 آجِلَة.

all that had been gained, and in regard to all that belonged (?) [7] to me from him of the different things that I had the right to demand of him, in their various kinds, from the days of old until now: that it amounted to four dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ. Of these, two dīnārs were to be paid at once; and two dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ should be kept[6] and paid by him after the Passover festival of this year which is the year 1428 according to the Era of Documents. This Mar 'Allān was declared free from any further claims or demands, or from any gain that might be due (?)[7] to me from days of old until today. Now I have agreed to this and have given him a quittance in the Court of Justice, by means of a perfect, all-comprising, bill of sale, with all the legal apparatus with which it is customary to make such quittance at this time, by declaring void any provisions and conditions. I have received from his maternal uncle, Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ the two dīnārs which it was agreed should be paid at once on his account. There remained owing to me from him the two dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ to be paid afterwards; for which[8] I had drawn up the promissory note mentioned in this paper. And now that he has been kind enough, and the payment of this sum has been accelerated to me, and I have received it from him, and he is free from it and from any liability in regard to it; and since I have no longer any pecuniary interest at all in it, even that of a penny or more, receive, therefore, this testimony from me, 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, and ratify it on my part at this moment. Write it down, and have it signed for me, using all the sacred terms and the binding expressions, and in language that will fully exempt him, and hand this statement to this Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ 'Arūs, that it remain in his possession from now on and afterwards as a document and a bond. Behold! I acknowledge before you, in the most positive and binding form of acknowledgment, being in good health, in full possession of my will-power, voluntarily, not being forced, without coercion and constraint, without inadvertence or error, or any hindrance arising from illness, or any of the many [conditions] that might make it impossible for me to give testimony—that I received and accepted from him four dīnārs and one[9] ḳīrāṭ of fine gold in mithḳāls of Egyptian weight

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[7] This curious verbal form can scarcely be anything but يَتَّجِهُ from اِتَّجَهَ, the VIII form of وجه. It usually means "to face."

[8] There are two very strange characters at the end of the line. Perhaps אלאן, "now."

[9] There is no room for ואחד. Cf. A, line 9.

24 גי[א]ד[א צח]אחא אלדי וקעת עליהא אלפשרה ען מ עלאן[ן ב] אכתה מן
דלך דינארין עאגלה

25 ואלדינאר[ין] אלמדכורה לי פי באטן הדא אלשטר חסב מא תקדם דכר
דלך לעילא וצאר גמיע דלך

26 אלי עכמאלה ותמאמה ואבריתה מנה ומן הדא אלשטר ומן אלימין
עלי שי מנה ואפילו על ידי גלגול

27 [ואפי]לו חרם סתם בראה כאמלה תאמה באוכד מעאני אלאבארי ואותקהא
וכתיקון חכמים

28 וכתבת לה הדא אלכתאב ליכון בידה וביד וראתה בעדה עלי ועלי וראתי
בעדי אריך ושריר וקיים

29 ומוחזק דיזכון ביה בכל בתי דיני ולעלם לא כאלאסנאדאת ולא כמצאדיר
אלכתב אלא כאוכד ואתקן

30 מא סטרוה רבותינו ז"ל פי כתב אלאבארי ובטילית נמי כל מודעין ותנאין
דמסי[ר]ין לי ודמ[סרנא]

31 על שטרא דנן כתיקון חכמ וקנינא מן מר ור עולה הלוי נאמן בית דין ורצוי
הישיבה דנן בר מר

32 ור [י]וסף הלוי הזקן נע לכנגך מר ור ערום הזקן הנכבד דנן בי יוסף הזקן
נע במנא דכשר למקניא

33 על כל מה דכתיב ומפרש לעילא ושהדותא דא כתבנא וחתמנא וי[הב]נא
למר ור ערום הזקן דנן

34 דליהוי בידי[ה] לזכו ולראיה וכאן דלך פי אלעשר אלאכיר מן תש[רי] מן
אלסנה אלמדכורה לעילא אלתי

35 הי סנה אתכח למנין שטרות בפסטאט מצרים דעל ני[לוס נהר]א מותבה
שרי[ר] ובריר וקיים

36 מבורך בר נתן סט הלפון הלוי בי מנשה נע

of good quality and true, according to the agreement reached with Mar 'Allān his nephew in regard to these two dīnārs which were to be paid at once
and the two dīnārs mentioned by me in this paper, as has been stated above. All this has come
to me completely and in its entirety. I now free him from this [debt] and from [the provision of] this document, and from taking an oath in regard to any part of it, even a compulsory oath
—a complete and entire release, in the widest and fullest sense of that term and according to the statutes of the wise men.
I have written this document in his favor, that it may be in his possession and in the possession of his heirs after him: binding upon me and my heirs after me; lasting, stable, and durable:
it being understood that they can make use of it in any court of justice and for all time to come; not like simple acts of recovery, or mere contract-formularies, but as the most binding and stable documents
that our rabbis have laid down for us in regard to the documents of release. I, further, declare void any protests or conditions which may have been made for me or which I may have made
in regard to this document, in accordance with the statutes of the wise men. We have received from this our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, the trusted one of the Court of Justice, and accredited of the Yeshībhah, the son of our master
and lord Joseph ha-Lēvī, for our lord and master this 'Arūs, the honored elder, son of Rabbi Joseph, the elder, in current money, according to all
that is set out explicitly above. This testimony we have written down and signed, and have handed over to our lord and master this 'Arūs the elder, that it remain with him
as proof and as evidence. This occurred during the last ten days of Tishri, of the year mentioned above, which is
the year 1428, according to the Era of Documents, in Fusṭāṭ of Egypt, situate upon the river Nile. Certain! Clear! Established!
[Signed] Mebōrākh, son of Nathan
Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, son of Menasseh.

II. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
Arabic and Hebrew, in fairly legible cursive Hebrew characters.

Recto:

1 בשם רחם אשרי משכיל אל דל ביום רעה ימלטיהו יי אני יי

2 כי יי יהיה בכסלך ושמר רגלך מלכד כי תעבור במים אתך

3 שלום וברכה ממושכה כתורה וכהלכה ליקר הדרת יקרת צפירת תפארת

4 כבוד גדולת קד מרנא ורבנא יהודה הכהן השר הגדול והאדיר בעם יו תפארת
השרים

5 עטרת הסופרים ישמרו שומר נפוצות חסידו ויהיה לו מושיע וגואל

6 ויחייה שני חמודין השרים סגני הכהנים יאריך אלהים ימיהם בטוב
ושנותם

7 בנעימים בר כגק מרנ ורבנ אל[ע]זר השר הכהן האדיר שר הנדיבים
תפארת השרים

8 החשובים זצל עבדהא יקבל ידיהא וינהי בסאמיהא מא הוה עליה מן
אלשוק אלי

9 נצרהא ואלתאסף עלי מא יפות מן קרבהא ולמא כאן פי הדה אלגמעה
עולת עלי

10 אלדכול אלי סאמיהא פחצרו קום מן בלבים דכרו לעבדהא אן אבו
אלבהא אלדמשקי

11 אלדי פי אלקאהרה מקים אן מר אלי צלאח אלדין ואכד תוקיע בתקדמה אנה וקאלו עוד אלדין . . . . עבדה
במניה זפתא ודכרו

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[1] This seems to be a Jewish replica of the usual Muslim introduction بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. Cf. also Steinschneider, *Die Arabische Literatur der Juden*, p. xxxi.

[2] Psalm xli, 2.

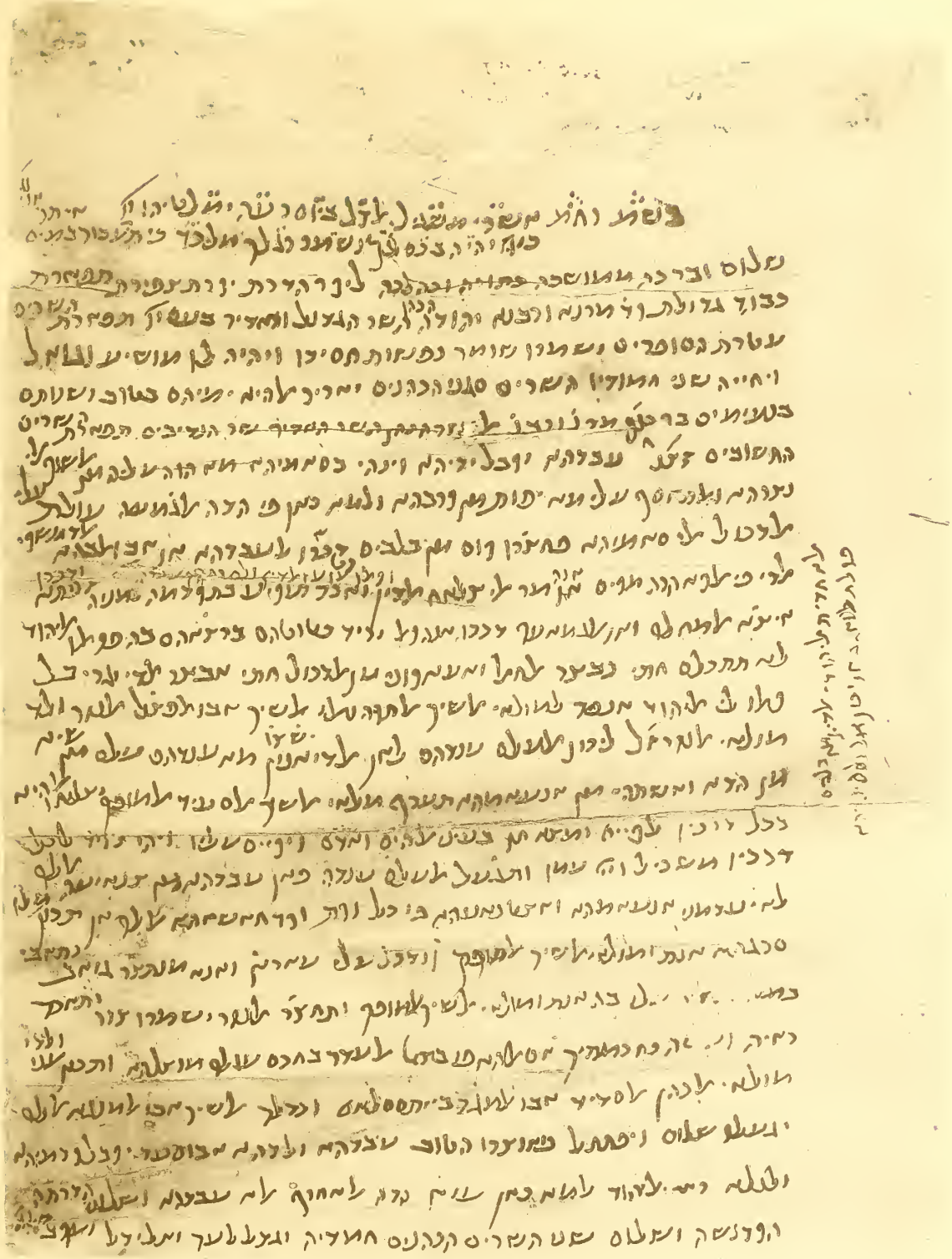
[3] Proverbs iii, 26. [4] Isaiah xliii, 2.

[5] For the use of חָמוּד in the sense of "son," cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 54, l. 8, 58.

[6] This alludes to the fact that the family was of priestly descent.

[7] Refers to Judah ha-Kōhēn in line 4.

[8] The feminine suffix here and in the following words is quite inexplicable—except as referring to תפארת in line 7.





GENIZAH FRAGMENT 2 b

II. LETTER

A letter from Shabbatai, son of Abraham, Ḥābēr, of Minyat Zifta, to Judah ha-Kōhēn, the son of Eleazar, Dayyān of Bilbais, complaining that Jews of Bilbais are injuring his position in Minyat Zifta.

Shabbatai signed documents in A.D. 1154. Judah was appointed Dayyān in 1187, after which date our letter was probably written.

Recto:

1 In the name of Mercy[1]! Happy is he who takes cognizance of the poor; on the day of evil God will deliver him[2].

2 For God will be thy hope and will keep thy feet from stumbling[3], [as it is said:] "When thou goest through the water, I am with thee[4]."

3 Peace and prolonged blessing, as [promised in] the Law and in tradition, to the Honorable Crown of Glory,

4 his Illustrious Greatness, our Lord and Master, Judah ha-Kōhēn, the Great and Mighty Prince among the People of God, the Glory of Princes,

5 the Diadem of Scribes. May He preserve him who preserves his scattered pious ones, and may He be unto him a healer and deliverer!

6 May he also preserve in life his two sons[5], the princes, the assistant priests[6]. May God lengthen their days in the [enjoyment of] good things, and their years

7 in pleasantness—son of[7] our Lord and Master Eleazar ha-Kōhēn, the Prince, the Glorious, Chief among Princes, the Glory of Worthy

8 Princes. His slave kisses his hands[8], and brings to the attention of his Highness[9] how ardent his desire is for

9 his well being, and his regret (?) at the length of time during which he is away from him[10]. Now when it occurred in this week that I was boorishly denied entrance

10 to his Highness, people came from Bilbais and mentioned to his slave[11] that Abū al-Bahā of Damascus,

11 who was living in Cairo, had come to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn[12], and had taken a promise from him of promotion in Minyat Zifta[13], and they mentioned

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[9] Cf. Bodleian, No. 2874, 11: ינהי אלי סאמהא אן. السامى was one of the honorific titles used in Egyptian protocols. See the interesting discussion of these titles, from which come many of our Hebrew ones in these documents, in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol. vi, p. 15, and Max van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, I, 446.

[10] The translation is a suggestion merely: ما يفوت من قربه.

[11] I.e. to himself, the writer.

[12] Between the lines there has been inserted: "And some say 'Awwād (written עוער) al-Dīn...his slave."

[13] Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Egypte* (Vollers), v, 109; Mann, *op. cit.*, Index *s.v.*

12 איצא אלמחלה ואן אלגמאעה דכרו אנה קאל יריד כטוטהם ברצאהם בה
פקאלו אליהוד
13 לא תתכלם חתי נבצר אלחאל ואעאקוני ען אלדכול חתי אבצר אלדי יגרי בל
14 קאלו לי אליהוד אנפד למולאי אלשיך אלתקה ואלי אלשיך אבו אלפצל
אלנור ולד
15 מולאי אלנור זל ליכון מעלם ענדהם לאן אלדיאנין מא ענדהם עלם מן שיא
16 מן הדה ואשתהי מן אנעאמהא תערף מלאי אלשיך אלסעיד אלמופק יצליחו
אלהיא
17 בכל דרכיו אלקיים ימצא חן בעיני אלהים ואדם ויקיים עליו ויהי דויד לכל
18 דרכיו משכיל ויי עמו ותגעל אלעלם ענדה פאן עבדהא מן צנאיעה אללה
19 לא יעד מני אנעאמהא ואצטנאעהא פי כל וקת וקד חאשאהא אללה אן
תכון מלו
20 סרגהא אנת ומולאי אלשיך אלמופק ונדכל עלי עאדנן ואנא מנתצר גואב
כתאבי
21 במא .....[ע]לי בה אנת ומולאי אלשיך אלמופק ותחצר אלנור ישמרהו צור
ותאכד
22 ראיה ו..ה בחכמתיך אסאלהא פי בצט אלעדד בחכם עולם מוצלהא
ותכון עני ואלדי
23 מולאי אלכהן אלסדיד אבו אלמגרבי יתם סלאם וכדלך אלשיך אבו אלמנגא
אללה
24 יגעלה שלום ויפתח אל מאוצרו הטוב עבדהא ולדהא אבו סעד יקבל קדמיהא
25 ולולא ראי אליהוד למא כאן עון הדה אלאחרף אלא עבדהא ושלום הדרתה
26 הקדושה ושלום שני השרים הכהנים חמדיה יגדל לעד ואלי דל יעקוב האלה

Margin:

אלא חדית אליהודי אלדין מן בלבים
פקלת אלואגב אן יכון לעלם ענדהא

---

11 Between Alexandria and Damietta. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, p. 62.

15 مولى.

16 Above are the letters יש צר = ישמרהם צורנו, "May our Rock preserve them."

17 תערף = تُعرّف. 18 Written מלאי.

19 After Nehemiah ii, 20.

20 Or אלפיים.

21 Proverbs iii, 4.

also al-Maḥallah[14], and a lot of them added that he had said that he wished their signature, expressing their satisfaction with him. The Jews answered:

"Do not say anything until we have looked into the matter." They prevented me from coming, so as to learn what had happened. But

the Jews said to me, "Write to our master[15], the Sheikh al-Thiḳah and to Sheikh Abū al-Faḍl al-Nūr, son of

our master al-Nūr, that he become a teacher among them, because the judges[16] have no knowledge whatsoever

concerning the matter." I desire that his Grace should inform[17] our master[18] the Sheikh al-Sa'īd al-Muwaffiḳ—may God prosper him[19]

in all his ways .....[20]—may he find grace in the eyes of God and of man[21], and may there be applied to him the Biblical verse: "And David was

intelligent in all his doings, and God was with him[22]"—and make the matter known to him. Now his slave[23]—the least of God's children—

has not been lacking his[24] favor and his good will at all times. God forbid that you should be in a divided state of mind[25],

you and my master al-Sheikh al-Muwaffiḳ! Let us return to our usual custom. I am awaiting an answer to my letter

in regard to what [you reply to][26] me—you and my master the Sheikh al-Muwaffiḳ. Bring al-Nūr—may the Rock preserve him!—and get

his view.....and.....in thy wisdom[27]. I would ask you boldly[28] for help for all time to come; and that you serve me in the place of a father.

My best greetings to my master the righteous priest al-Maghrabī; and so also to the Sheikh Abū al-Munajja[29]. May God

grant him peace! May God open for him His good treasure[30]! His slave and his [slave's] son[31] kiss his feet.

And were it not for the opinion of the Jews, these words would not have been written so mysteriously about[32] your slave. Greetings to his

Holiness, and greetings to the two priestly princes, his sons. May he be exalted forever, and the poor of Jacob.....

Margin:

In regard to[32] the case of the Jew [and] the Dayyān of Bilbais, I said: "It is right that he should be informed."

---

[22] I Samuel xviii, 14. After this long interruption, the text is taken up from line 16 as if nothing had intervened. [23] The writer. [24] The addressee's.

[25] A pure guess. The text seems perfectly plain מלו סרנהא, the feminine suffix (cf. note 8. הא = ـُه- = -u in this text) referring to the addressee. Lane (p. 1343) notes an old Arabic expression from the Ḥamāsah: مال سرجك "thy affair has become in a disordered state." Perhaps ملوى سرجه with the same import.

[26] The words are all blurred here. [27] Plural.

[28] Reading בצט = بساط. As in modern Cairene, the emphatic ط changes س into ص.

[29] Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 215.

[30] Cf. Deut. xxviii, 12. [31] Read וולדהא.

[32] אלא means "concerning," and probably stands for على.

Verso :

1 ובעד גמיע מא צטרתה חצרו קום יהוד ערפוני אן קאל דבאח אנפד אלי
הדייה
ענד אבו אלבהא וקל לה
2 פלישתמך ואנפד לה הדיה וקאל לה כד לי אלתקדמך באסמך ואנא אפעל
לך גמיע מא תריד
3 ונבצר אן כאן צהרה ינפעה ובאללה עליך אן תוצית ענה אנא אערף עדרך
ואלשיך אלמופק הוה ינפד
4 דלך קאלה בג וינכיר עליך פעלה אנהא ממלוכהא דלך ועף בשלום

Address :

1 אלהדרת כגק מרנא ורבנא יהודה הכהן השר הגדול [האדיר]
2 בעם יו הירא את יו יהי שמו לעולם בר כגק מרנ ורבנ אלעזר
3 הכהן שר הנדיבים תפארת השרים החשובים זל
4 עבדהא לא עדם
בקאהא
שבתי בירבי אברהם הדיין
החבר תנצבה

---

[33] צטרתה = سطرته. Cf. note 28.

[34] النبّاح.

Verso:

1 And after all that I have written[33] a number of Jews came and informed me that Dabbāḥ[34] said "Send to Abū al-Bahā a present, and say to him:

2 'May it not insult you.'" So he sent him a present, and said: "Get the promotion for me in your name, and I shall do for you all that you wish."

3 We shall see if his brother-in-law will help him. By Allah! It is for you to command concerning him. I know your excuse. The Sheikh al-Muwaffiḳ—let him send.

4 This he said.....[35] And let him find fault with him for what he has done. Verily this is your servant. Good luck!

Address:

1 To our Glorious Lord and Master, Judah ha-Kōhēn, the Great and Mighty Prince

2 among the people of God, who fear God—May his name be remembered forever—son of our Lord and Master Eleazar

3 ha-Kōhēn, Prince of the Noble, Glory of Renowned Princes,

4 [Signed:] Shabbatai, son of Rabbi Abraham the Judge, the Ḥābēr, his slave. May he never be bereft of him[36]!

---

[35] Do בנ stand for بجميع "in all"?

[36] Reading لا عدم بقاءه.

III. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

The paper is now much damaged, and the ink pale. The handwriting is so slovenly that whole groups of letters assume the same form. On the other hand, the same letter of the alphabet may assume many forms. The number of possible readings is thus very great, and their value correspondingly small. If the language were even tolerably pure and the thought connected, translation might still be possible. But the writer is vague and incoherent—perhaps even intentionally cryptic and mysterious. One doubts that Arabic is his natural tongue at all. It may be safely said that this letter would not have been clear even to a contemporary Egyptian acquainted with the secret diplomacy of the situation. Cf. Nos. XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV.

Recto:

1 כתאבי יאבי וסי[די] אלעזיז עלי אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם סל[אמתך]
2 וסעאדתך מן אסכנדריה לז׳ איאם בקין מן שהר איר עץ סלאמה
3 ונעמה ושוק אליך קרב אללה אלאגתמע בך עלי אפצל חאל ומא
4 תריד עלמה אן תקדם כתאבי אליך מע אלכלבים יערפוך פיה
5 וצול כתאבך אלי עלא ואנת תקול לה לא תדפע לאבי .... אל[א]
6 בעד אלעיד וקד סאלתך אן תפ[ע]ל אל . ורין אלקנע .....
7 לה ידפעוה אלי פי איר וסיון אן יגעלהא פי ניסן ואיר
8 לאנה שהר אן עטים לים הו מתל אלשהר ועלינא פיה
9 לגיראננא לואזם ונחן מנתטרין ללגואב תם בעד הדא
10 וצל חסון ווצל מעה כתאבך ואנת תדכר פיה .....
11 וקד רעע . [אלי]ום כתאבי אליך וקד ואללה יאבי סאלנאה פי ..
12 שראביה ידפעהא לנא אבא יפעל לא הו ולא עלאן וחק
13 הדה אלאחרף אן נמור לה פי האגה לא מתל ואחד ימור
14 אלי כניסיה עבודה זרה לאן לים הון יהודי תמור יקציך

---

1 Quite plainly, Hebrew כלבים, meaning "rascals"? Cf. No. XXI, *recto*, line 5

2 עלא would seem to be عَلَيَّ and not عُلَّى. But our fragment No. I gives in line 5 עולא, and so we have read עלא as عُلَّى throughout the collection. Cf. also Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimids*, p. 283, col. 3, line 8.

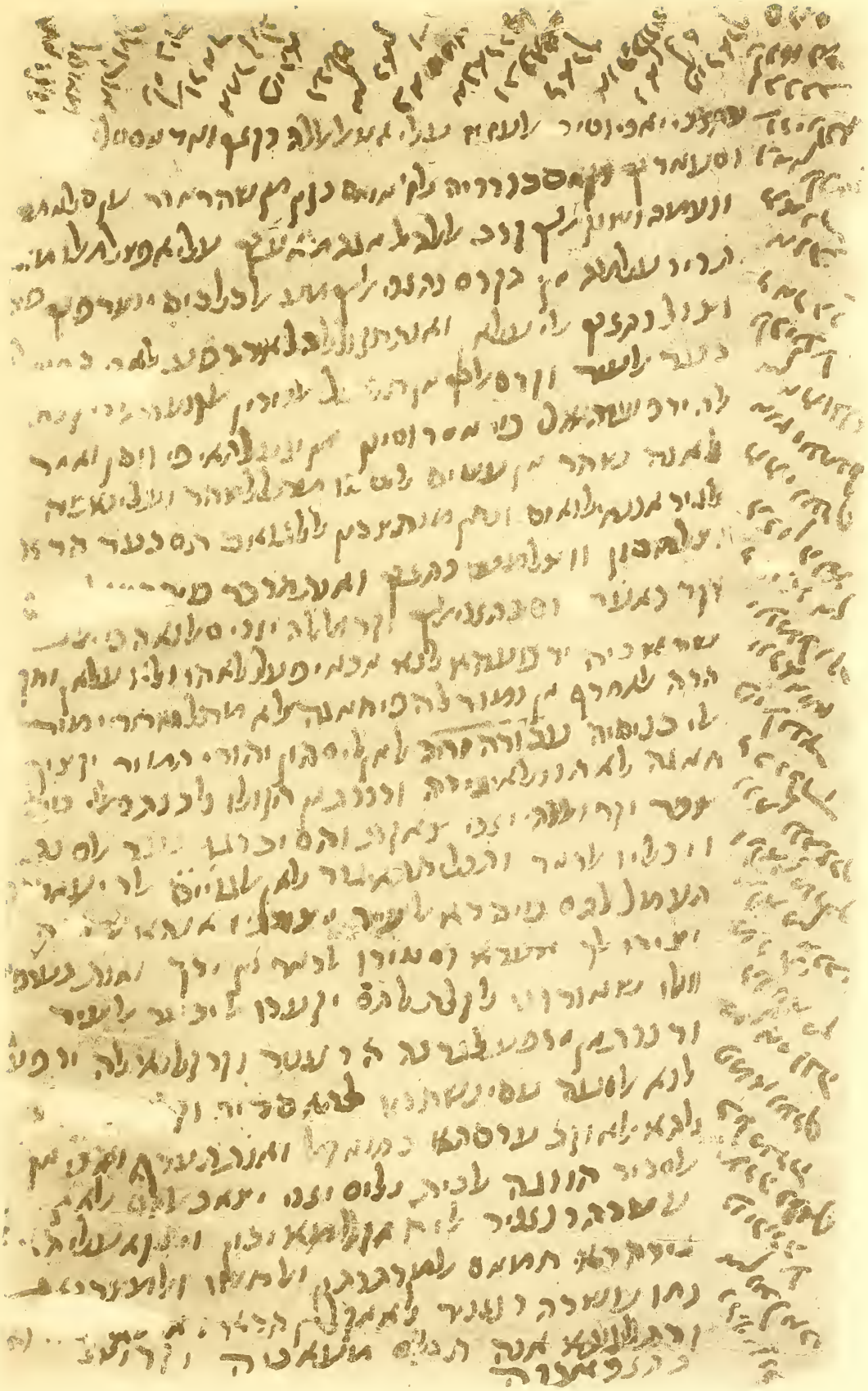
3 I.e. Nisan.

4 וקד ואללה is evidently an oath. Is it for وَالقَدْر وَاللهِ? Cf. line 16.

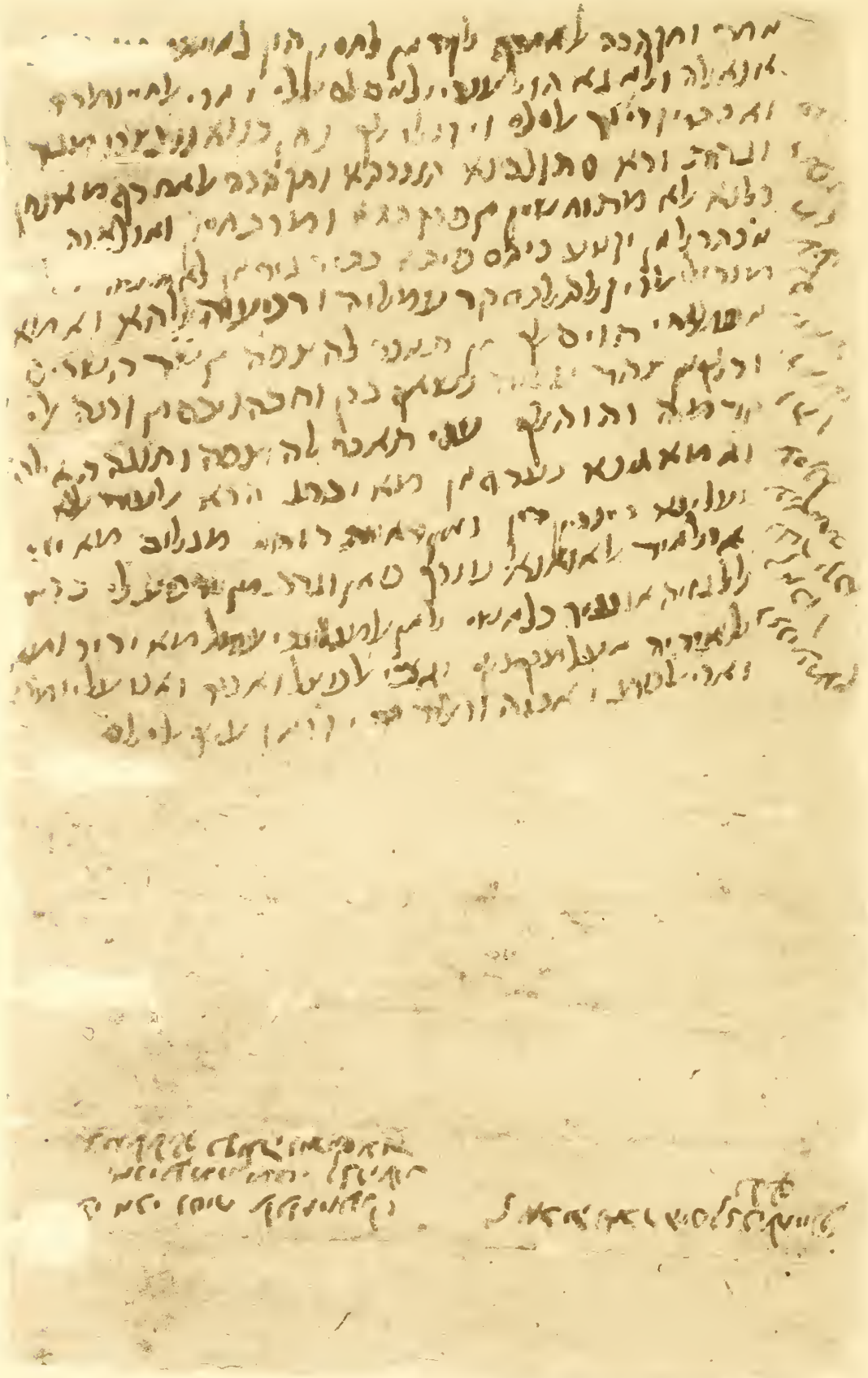
5 שראביה for شِرَاكَة.

6 أَخًا.

7 נמור : perhaps for نَمْر etc.



Genizah Fragment 3 a



Genizah Fragment 3 b.

III. LETTER

A letter from a certain Abraham, "Reader of the Law," probably stopping in Alexandria, to his brother, 'Ulā Abū 'Umrān Moses, "Reader of the Law," probably living in Fusṭāṭ. There is no date.

There is mention of business concerns and troubles; especially difficulties arising from the circumstance that a heavy poll-tax was being levied on a small number of Jews. We learn incidentally that bedsteads were scarce; and that passages from the Song of Solomon were used—in what manner we are not told—to cure a drying up of the body, and boils. Some female relatives and children have outstayed their welcome and are quarrelling with one another; and similar tittle-tattle.

Recto:

1 My letter to [you], O my Brother and my Lord! God prolong your life and continue your health
2 and your prosperity! From Alexandria, 7 days remaining of the month of Iyyar. About health
3 and well-being and yearning for you! God grant a speedy reunion with you under the most propitious circumstances! And what
4 you wish to know: My letter has gone forward to you with the dogs[1] who will tell you about it.
5 The arrival of your letter to 'Ulā[2]! And you say to him: "Do not pay Abū.....until
6 after the festival." And I have already asked you to make the.....
7 for it, they paying it to me in Iyyar and Sivan, if they will make them in Nisan and Iyyar,
8 because it[3] is an important month: It is not like the month [of Iyyar]. And we are responsible in [the matter]
9 to our neighbors for necessary expenses, and we are waiting for the answer. Then, after this
10 arrived Ḥassūn, and your letter arrived with him. And you mention in it.....
11 But my letter has already.....to you today. By Allah, my Brother[4]! We asked him about.....
12 collectively[5] pay it to us as a brother[6]: Neither he nor 'Allān should do it [singly]. And by
13 these very words [which I am writing]: If we go[7] to him about anything[8], it is not as though one went
14 to a church[9] of "Idol Worship[10]," because there is no Jew here [for] you [to] go [to to have him] do [something] for you:

---

[8] حاجه is modern Egyptian colloquial for "thing."

[9] كنيسة. Cf. No. XXVII, note 32.

[10] The Hebrew title of a Mishnah tractate.

15 חאגה לא הו ולא גירה ודכרת אן תקולו לכנת פאלת טול
16 צפר וקד ואללה יאכי צאק .. והם יכרגו בעד אלסנת
17 ויכליו אלדאר ותכליתהא גיר לאן אלגויים אלדי עאד ..
18 תעמל להם פי הדא אלעיד יעני אנהא ....
19 יצירו לך אעדא ויטירו אלדאר מן ידך ואנת תערף
20 וולו שאורוני לקלת להם יקעדו אלי בעד אלעיד
21 ודכרת אן ידפע לגרנה ה דנאניר וקד קלנא לה ידפעה
22 לנא אלסעה עסי נשתריו להא סריר וק[ד .....]
23 להא אלא וקת ערפהא כמא קאל ואנת תערף יאכי אן
24 אלסריר הו וגה אלבית ולים יאכי יצאב אליום לאן
25 עשרה דנאניר אליה אקל למא יכון ויבקא עליהא
26 גיר הדא חמאם אלמרגתין ואלחשו ואלמצריאת
27 נחו עשרה דנאניר לא אקל מן הדא וא .....
28 קד בלגנא אנה תכ״ס מעאניה וקד וצל
29 כתאב אבוה

Margin:

והו יקול אן וצל אכי פי הדא אלמרה כלאף כל מרה פמא נערף מן אי וגה תולא מן מרתי ולא מן אכתי ולא אן מרתך ונחן ננתצרה דכולה פי אלעיד ונרא איש יעמל וקד ...א אן תכון הנא חתי נערף איש יעמל אן אחוגנא לביע אל דאר ת .. אנת תאכד תמן אלנצף אלדי לנא אן .... לנא ... ס ... פי דארך ואן לם אנת תביע דארך ו ..... אן כאן תכלם פיהא אחר קלת אלדאר לי גיר אנת ואללל[ה] מא וסל עלי אן

Verso:

1 אחר וחקה בה לא יכף לקד אן לחסין הון .....
2 אנא לה ולא גא הו לעגדי ולא סלם עלי יאכי אלחי ומרתך
3 ואכתך יקריך אלסלם ויקולו לך נחן כננא ננתצרו מנך

---

11 وَقْت for אוקת 12 وَجْه "face."

13 עלי carelessly used as elsewhere in these fragments.

14 The word looks like חשו, حَشْو "stuffing."

15 مَعَانِيهِ, plural of مَعْنى with suffix.

15 neither he nor anyone else [is a Jew]. And you have remarked in your
letter: "If you say.....
16 .....By Allah, my Brother!.....and they go after the year [is up]
17 and leave the house; and its abandonment is otherwise [than you might
expect or wish], because the gentiles who.....
18 you do for them during this festival. That is to say: It...
19 and become enemies, and tear the house to pieces out of your hand, and
you know.....
20 But if they had consulted me I should have said to them [that] they
should remain until after the festival.
21 And you mentioned that he should pay to our neighbor 5 dīnārs, and we
had told him that he should pay it
22 to us at once. Perhaps we can buy for her a bed and...
23 for her at the time[11] of her wedding, as he said. And you know, my
Brother, that
24 the bed is the most important thing[12] in the house. And it is not [easily]
got nowadays, my Brother, because...
25 ten dīnārs to him at the very least. And there remains for[13] her
26 besides this: pigeons, the two pearls, the.....[14] and the Egyptian [gold-
pieces]—
27 about ten dīnārs, not less than this, and.....
28 News has reached us that he.....his affairs[15]."
And there arrived
29 the letter of his father.

Margin:

And he says that my brother has arrived this time contrary to every [other] time. And we do not know for what reason he turns away from my wife and not from my sister, and not from your wife. And we await his coming at the [time of the] festival, and we shall see what[16] he will do. And.....that you be here until we know what[16] he will do: whether he will compel us to sell the house.....you take the value of the half which belongs to us. If.....to us.....in your house. And if not, you sell your house.....if you speak about it after I have said: "The house is mine, not you[rs]—By Allah!.....

Verso:

1 other.....and his equity in it. Let him not be afraid because[17] al-Ḥusein
is here.....
2 I.....to him. But he did not come to my house, nor did he salute me,
O my living Brother, and your wife
3 and your sister.....the salutation. And they say to you: We have
been expecting it of you,

---

[16] איש is modern colloquial Syrian Arabic, from أَيُّ شَيْءٍ.

[17] לקד אן is perhaps لِقَدْرِ أَنْ.

4 וגהת ורא סת ולכנא תזכרתא ומן הדה אלאחרף מא נחן
5 כלנא לא מתוחשין מן פרקתהא ומרת חסון ואולאדה
6 אכתר לאן יקטע פיהם פיהא כתיר גיר אן לא .....
7 מנדיל אלדי קלת להם קד עמלוה ודפעוה להא ואמא
8 אבולחי הו יסאלך אן תאכד לה צפה מן שׂר השרים
9 ודלך אן צהר עליה נשאף בדן וחבה ויבסין ורנה אלי
10 קרמה והו האלך שי תאכד לה צפה ותוגההא לה
11 ואמא אנא נערף אן מא יכרג הדא אלעיד אללא
12 ועלינא דינרין דין ואן ראית רוחה מגלוב מא יגי
13 אול איר אלא ואנא ענדך פאן וגדת מן ידפע לי בר ..
14 ללגזיה אועיך בלא שי לאן אלמגלוב יעמל מא יריד ומא
15 לאידיה אעלמתך . יאבי אלפצל ואכתך ואבו עלי ומר[תו]
16 ואבי אלפרג ואבנה וואלד .....ו עליך אלסלם

There is some further writing on the right-hand margin; but only a word here and there can be made out.

Margin:

לאבי עמראן בן אבו .....

[א]לי אבי וסידי אלעזיז עלי מן אביהו אברהים קארי אלת" ...
אבי עמראן מסי קארי אלת אללה
אטאל אללה בקאה ואדאם עזה

---

18 He meant to write תזכרנא. 19 نِشَاف?

4 behind a lady's back. But we remember[18]." And by these words [which
I am writing], not we,
5 any of us, will be desolated by the pain of separation from her; and the
wife of Ḥassūn and his children
6 still more! Because there is no estrangement between them and her;
very much so, without.....
7 handkerchief which I said to them they had made it and paid for it. And
as for
8 Abū al-Ḥayy, he asks you to take for him a description from the Song of
Solomon.
9 For there appeared upon him a drying up[19] of the body, and a boil, and
dry patches, and a.....
10 of his foot. And he is perishing.....you take him a description [from the
Song of Solomon], and send it to him[20].
11 But we know that this festival will not pass without
12 our being in debt two dīnārs. And if I see him bankrupt (?), he will not
come
13 on the first of Iyyar, unless I am at your house. And if I could find
someone who would pay me.....
14 for the poll-tax, I would take care of you for nothing, because the bank-
rupt does what he wishes and what comes
15 to hand. And I have informed you...O my Brother most excellent, and
your sister, and Abū 'Ulā, and his wife,
16 and Abū al-Faraj, and his son, and the parents of.....And upon you
be the Peace!

Margin:

To Abū 'Umrān Ibn Abū.....

To my Brother and Lord the Beloved, 'Ulā Abū 'Umrān Moses, Reader of
the Law.....God lengthen his life, and continue his strength!
From his brother, Abraham, Reader of the Law.....[If it please] God.

---

[20] I.e. as an aphrodisiac amulet? Skin diseases and their cure by bathing at Tiberias are mentioned by Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 166, and ref.

IV. LETTER

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
A business letter in Arabic, in a clear, cursive Hebrew hand.

1 אלי מגלס סיידנא אלריים ירום הדו ויגדל כבדו ואלממלוך
2 ינהי אן כאן אלמולא יום אן האסבני ואסתקר אן מסטור
3 בן גראב מא לופאה עאקה ואגתמע בך אלשיך אלמהרב
4 פי מענאה וקלת לה אן אלמולא יקול ללדיאן אבו אלפרג
5 אן יחט אלורקה מן אלצירפי באלמבלג ומהמא עאזה
6 יכמלה מן תמן אלצנדרום ואלטרטיר ואלאן פמא אסתופא
7 אלרגל שיא ואלאמר אליום לה כמסה עשר יום ואלרגל פ
8 פהו ואצל פי הדה אליומין ויבקא אלמסטור [מפ]תוח כמא הי
9 עליה פיחל לך מן אללה אן תחאסבני בשיא ולם יצל
10 לי מסטורה פאשתהי אן ינפצל הדה אלאמר אליום אן אגדה
11 קבל מגי בן גראב וקד גא אברם אלבארח ודכר לי ען
12 צלחתכם פי אלדאר אלצגירה וגרא ביני ובינה אקבח
13 מא יכון מן מענאהא פלא תנפצלו לא פי צלחה
14 ולא פי מכאתבה חתי ינפצל מעי פיהא פי מא יחצני
15 פאנא מא אבד פי גראב אקל מן כמסה עשר דינאר

Margin:

אלא אן כאן לה חכם או ביע צלחו וחדה פיערפני סיידנא וחדה יתם ולא
יעוק סיידנא ען ממלוכה אלגואב ומא אקדר אצף לסיידנא מא גרא ביננא
אלבארח וחלם סיידנא יסע ממלוכה

---

[1] On the use of مجلس in this sense, see Dozy, *Supplément*, *s.v.*; *Oriental. Lit. Zeitung*, 1906, p. 362. It is probable that the Hebrew מושב is merely a translation from the Arabic. See, further, Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, Index, p. 419.

[2] رئيس or رئّيس = ראש. Probably purely a honorific title here. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 262, 266.

[3] Read הדו.

[4] المملوك. A term of servility very often used in letters. Cf. Brit. Mus. Or. 5542, No. 23:

אלממלוך אבן סעיד יקבל אלארץ בין ידי אלמולי אלשיך .....

which ends:

ויישתהי אלממלוך אלהואב מן גיר ישער אחד ושלום

Many other instances could be cited. The Jews translated it into עבד. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 330, note 1.

[5] يَوْمٌ = יום.

[6] Read יחאסבני. Cf. line 9.

[7] مسطور "document."

[8] Punctuated according to al-Dhahabī's *Mushtabih*, (de Jong), p. 384.

Genizah Fragment 4

IV. LETTER

A certain Ibn Ghurāb has borrowed money of the writer of the letter, and cannot repay it, although he has merchandise on hand. The addressee, an unnamed prominent man (ra'īs), is now asked to assume the debt, take over the merchandise, and arrange matters with the judge, Abū al-Faraj, and the money-changer or banker, as he has promised to do. There has also been some trouble about a certain piece of real-estate. There seems to be no way of dating this letter.

1 To his Excellence[1], our Master, the Ra'īs[2], may his glory[3] be exalted
and his honor extolled. The servant[4] begs to say that
2 if the Master intends[5] to settle accounts with me[6], it is certain that in
regard to the account[7] of
3 Ibn Ghurāb[8], there will be no difficulty in collecting it. The Sheikh
al-Muharrab met with you [to consult]
4 about his affair and you promised him that the Master would speak to
the judge, Abū al-Faraj,
5 that he [write] the document from the money-changer[9] for the [entire]
amount, and that whatsoever was wanting
6 he would make good from the sale[10] of the resin and the tartar[11]. Now,
the man has not paid
7 any part of it. The matter has been going on now for fifteen days.
The man
8 is coming within the next two days. The account will be left open as it
stands
9 against him. It is permitted you by God that you settle with me in some
manner. No account
10 has come to me. I wish today that this affair be settled, that I may
have[12] [the account]
11 before Ibn Ghurāb comes. Now yesterday, Abram came and mentioned
to me your
12 agreement about the small dwelling. Between him and me there arose
13 the worst kind of discussion. Do you not settle with him, either by
agreement
14 or by written document, until he has settled with me about it, in regard
to the share that is to come to me.
15 I shall not accept for[13] Ghurāb(?) less than fifteen dīnārs.

Margin:

But, if he has a judgment or has made a sale, do you make an agreement with him alone. In such a case, may my Master acquaint me of it. It is all right [to settle with him] alone(?). May my Master not withhold from his servant an answer. I am not able to describe to my Master what happened between us yesterday. May the kindness of our Master encompass his servant!

[9] Or "banker."
[10] Literally: "price."
[11] צנדרוס = سندروس.
[12] Literally: "find it."
[13] فى.

V. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Carefully written in half-square Hebrew characters, in fairly good mediaeval Hebrew. The paper is torn and the writing illegible in many places.

On the *verso* there is an address, but it is illegible save for the words:

יקרת.....המעותד לשם [יעקב] בר יוסף החסיד.....

Also on the *verso*, but upside-down, in very faded script which appears to be older than that on the *recto*, are portions of verses from the Bible, as follows: Isaiah lxv, 8, 9, 13, 16–18, 20 (קדוש for ירושלם)–25; lxvi, 1, 2, 5, 7–14, 18–23. Judges xv, 15–19; xvi, 28. We cannot imagine their purpose.

At the top of the *recto* are a few scrawled Arabic letters of no apparent import.

This letter was written to a Gā'ōn Jacob Ben Joseph ha-Ḥasīdh, perhaps the Jacob Ben Joseph Ab-Bēth-Dīn who as rabbi signed documents at Fusṭāṭ in A.D. 1016 and 1018, and did the same at Aleppo in 1028. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 37, 150. The writer of the letter is an important person in Jerusalem. At the time when this Jacob was in Fusṭāṭ the chief dignitary in Jerusalem was Josiah Gā'ōn. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 71 ff. His letters are not unlike this in their opening words. The "glorious place" which collapsed was probably a synagogue; and the cause may have been the earthquake of A.D. 1016. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 72, 156.

Recto:

1 ל.....מות בשם צנופי עטרות [ח]בירי תורות מורי להורות זקני ...

2 .....שם טוב לכתוב הוא כגק מר יעקב המעותד לשם בגאון יעקב

3 כל עומד [בח]כמתו וירא .....ענותו ישמרהו אל וינצרו ויעזרו ויהי בעזרו

4 ויחיהו יז. ורו בר יוסף החסיד נעי שלום שלום אליך אהוב וחביב ורע...

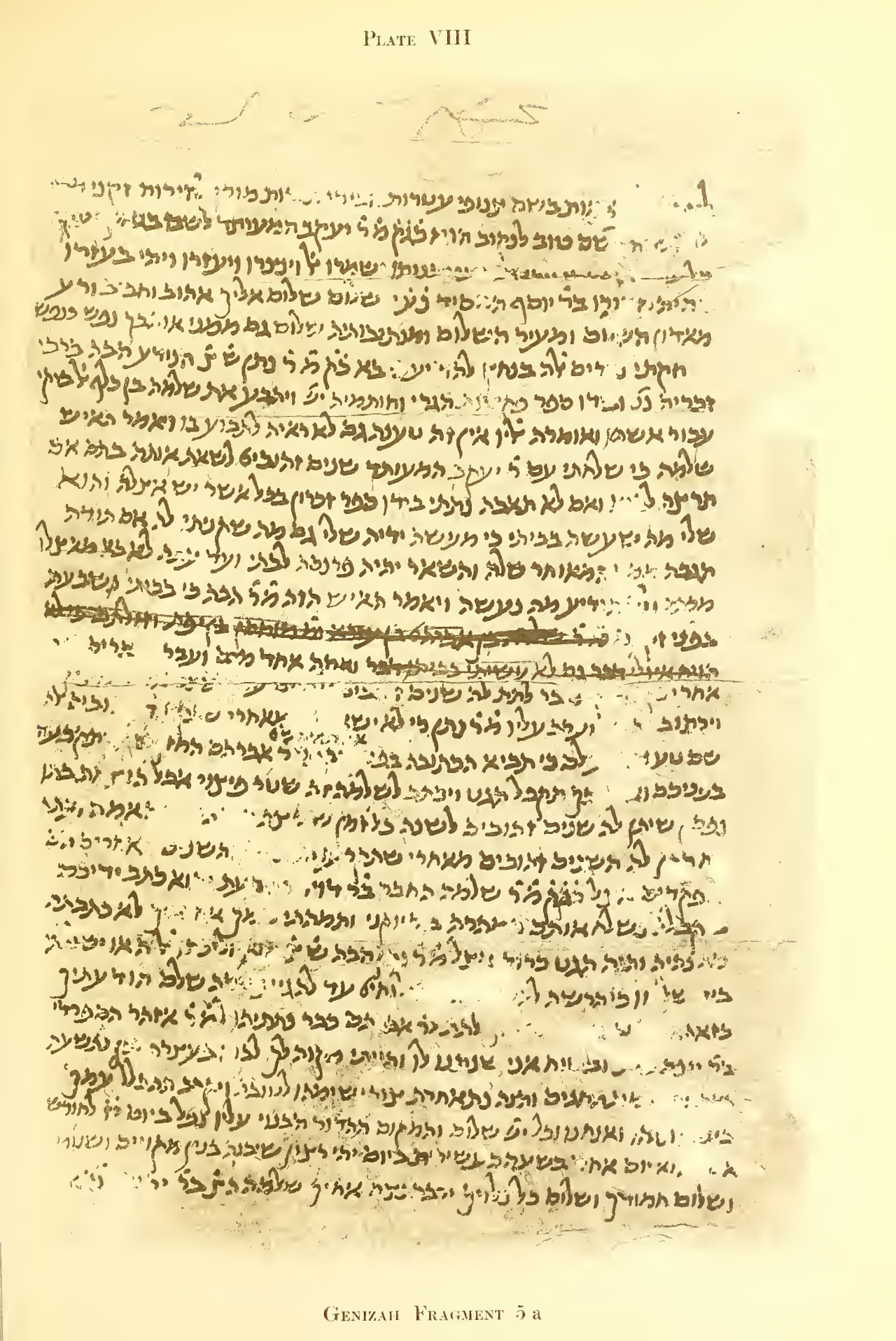
5 מאדון השלום ומעיר השלום ומנתיבותיה ושלום גם ממני אוהבך נפש כנפש

6 חקתי נירים אלה בנחין להודיע בבא כק מר נתן שצ הנודע הבה ברבי

7 זכריה נע ובידו ספר פק[דון]ות הגרי וחותמיה יני ויתבע את שלמה בן כלף אלבוקי

8 עבור אשתו ואומרה אליו אין זה טענה גם לא ראיה לתבוע בו ואמר האיש

[1] I.e. Ha-Me'uttadh. Early in the eleventh century the Egyptian Jews broke away from the authority of their brethren in Palestine and established a religious and legal school (Yeshībhah) that went by this name "Ge'ōn Ya'ḳōb." See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 191.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 5 b

V. LETTER

Apparently Jacob had left Jerusalem some time before, bearing a commission from Solomon Ben Khalaf al-Būḳī in Jerusalem to his wife in Fusṭāṭ. Solomon had given Jacob two gold-pieces with which to pay her way to Jerusalem. Evidently he expected trouble, for he gave to Jacob a statement of his possessions in his house at Fusṭāṭ and directions to take possession of these. The only response that came was another messenger, Nathan or Hibah by name, son of Zachariah, who arrived in Jerusalem with a protest from the wife that Solomon had no grounds for his action. Nathan next undertook to carry to the wife in Fusṭāṭ a letter of divorce, which he promised to deliver to her in the presence of a certain Abraham the Ḥazzān.

Nathan appears with all the documents and with Solomon's statement that it was in the house of the writer that Jacob had sworn to carry the original message to the wife. The writer is equally certain that nothing of the kind ever took place under his roof, nor had he heard of the affair at all. He now writes in great haste to Jacob and tells him that he is sending by a Spaniard, al-Azhar, a copy of the wife's protest, which is to be delivered to Abraham, the intended witness of the divorce proceedings. Incidentally it is said that a certain "glorious place" in Jerusalem has collapsed.

Recto:

1 To.....in the name of those who are enwrapped in turbans, Ḥābērs of doctrines, teachers of doctrines, elders.....

2 .....a good name to write it is: Master Jacob, "The Appointed[1]" to be called by [the title] Ge'ōn Jacob!

3 Everyone who tastes of his wisdom and beholds (?).....his humility. May God keep him, and preserve him and assist him, and be his help,

4 and enliven him (?).....son of Joseph the Pious. Peace! Peace be upon you! Beloved and dear, and friend (?).

5 From the Lord of Peace and from the City of Peace, and from her paths! And peace also from me who love you as my own life!

6 I write these pages earnestly, to inform [you] of the arrival of Master Nathan, messenger of the congregation[2], known [in Arabic as] Hibah[3], son of Rabbi

7 Zachariah, bringing an Arabic[4] document of deposits and its seals. And it makes demands of Solomon Ben Khalaf al-Būḳī[5]

8 about his wife. And she says to him [in the document] "This [document of yours which you have sent me] is not a [proper] complaint, nor does it contain proof [justifying] a demand." And the man Solomon said:

---

[2] שׁ"צ = שליח צבור.

[3] Shortened from הבת אללה as נתן from נתנאל.

[4] הגרי "of Hagar."

[5] From Būḳ, the name of a river near Baghdad. See Yāḳūt, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, vol. i, p. 762; *Muschtarik*, p. 71.

9 שלמה כי שלחתי עם ר׳ יעקב המעותד שנים זהובים לשאת אותה בהם אם
10 תרצה ל[בוא] ואם לא תאבה נתתי בידו ספר זכרון בכל אשר יש אצלה
והוא
11 שלי מה שעשה בביתי כי מעשה ידיה שלי גם מה שקניתי לה אם תודה
12 תגבה ממ[נ]ה מאוחר שלה והשאר יהיה פרנסה לבתי ועד עתה לא בא
מאצלו
13 מכ[תב] ול[א] הודיע מה נעשה ויאמר האיש הזה מר׳ הבה כי בביתי נשבעה
14 בפני זק[ני]ם מר׳ שלמה בן אברהם בן עזרא וממוחמן בן יפת וזולתם כי לא
15 הויה אצלי דבר גם לא עשיתי בביתי דבר ואתה אחר מהם ועבר[ו
ר]ברים . . .
16 אחרי כן . . . . . בי לתת לה שנים ז[הו]בים . . ים ע . . . מ . . . . . ין
17 ויכתוב . . . . וערב עליו מר׳ ור׳ נתן כי לא יש[א לה] מאחרי שתין [יום כת]ובים
אלי
18 שם טע[נה] . . . לם כי תביא הכתובה בפנ[יו ו]בפני ר׳ אברהם החזן . . . תקרעה
19 בפניכם ו . . . . כך תקבל הגט ויכתב לשלמה זה שטר פיצוי אבל הוצאת
בתו
20 נפס[ה] שיתן לה שנים זהובים לשנה כל זמן שרצה . . . . . אמה ועתה
21 אתתן לה השנים זהובים מאחרי שתקרעו . . . . . השנים האחרים הם
22 [כ]פקרים אצל כנ״ק מר׳ שלמה החבר בר׳ דויד . . . עת והוא כתב ידיכם
23 [מ]קבל . . . נשלח אותם במהרה בדיוקני ותמהתי ממך אז איך לא כתבתה
24 מא נהיה והנה הגט כרות אצל מר׳ [ור׳ב] הבת שון הוא יוליכהו אליה או
ישלחו
25 בי[ר] של[וח]ו כי הרשה ל[נו לשלוח ש]לוחים עד להגיע לידה שלם
הודעתיך
26 בזאת . . . . . לתת לר׳ אב[ר]הם כבר נתתיה למר׳ אזהר הספרדי
27 בר׳ יונה [נע] ובטוח אני שנתנו לו והייתי מקוה לך לבו[א] בעצרת [ו]כן
לתשעה

---

6 שֶׁעֹשֶׂה.

7 מאוחר has no article; but that is not uncommon in our texts.

8 This passage was deleted. 9 וזולתם?

10 About eight illegible letters are written above the line here.

9 "I sent by Rabbi Jacob Ha-Me'uttadh[1] two gold-pieces, with which to bring her, if
10 she were willing to come; and, if she did not desire [to come], I gave into his hand a document of memorandum as to all that was in her possession, namely:
11 'Mine is that which she made[6] in my house, for the work of her hands is mine as well as that which I bought for her. If she admits the claim,
12 collect from her her overdue[7] [debt], then the remainder shall be the support of my daughter.' But up to the present there has not come from him
13 any letter nor has he let [me] know what has been done." And this man, our Master Hibah, says that in my house an oath was taken
14 in the presence of elders, [8]*our Master Solomon Ben Abraham Ben Ezra, and Memūḥamān Ben Yapheth, and others*[9]. *But never*
15 *did there happen in my presence anything* [*like this,*] *nor did I do in my house anything* [*like this,*] and [that] you [Rabbi Jacob] were one of them. And things happened.....
16 After this.....by me to give her two pieces of gold.....
17 and he write.....And our Master Rabbi Nathan became surety for him that he would bring to her(?) after two days(?) documents thith-
18 er [as a] complaint.....she should produce the [marriage?] document, in his presence and in the presence[10] of Rabbi Abraham the Ḥazzān... .....and tear it up
19 in your presence. And.....she should receive the letter of divorce. .....And [that] he would write for this Solomon a document of damages. But [as for] the expenses of his daughter
20 herself(?), that he would give her two gold-pieces the year for as long as she wished.....her mother. And now
21 I shall give her the two gold-pieces after she has torn it up.....the later years
22 as a deposit with our Master Solomon the Ḥābēr, son of Rabbi David. And it is the writing of your hands
23 accepting.....We are sending them in haste with a duplicate[11] [for return]. And I was astonished at you then that you did not write
24 what was to happen. And behold [here is] the executed bill of divorce in the possession of our Master, Rabbi Hibah. He will take it to her or send it
25 by the hand of his messenger, for he has authorised [us to send] messengers, so that it may reach her safely. I have acquainted you
26 with this.....to give to Rabbi Abraham. I have already given it to our Master Azhar the Spaniard[12],
27 son of Rabbi Jonah, and I am confident that they have been given to him. And I have been hoping that you would come at the feast [of Weeks] and so also on the Ninth of

[11] דיוקני generally means "picture." [12] הספרדי.

28 באב ו[כן בי]מות החגים והנה נתאחרת צותי שימתו לטובה ויקרב ההפלל
עמך

29 ב .....הו ואנחנו וכל יני שלום והמקום ההדור הבנוי עליו נפל ביום יז
לחדוש

30 א[ב וה]וא יום אחד בשעה העשירית ביום יהי רצון שיבנה בנין מקויים
ושלום.

31 ושלום חמודך ושלום כל נלויך ירבה נצח אחיך שלמה כצ בר יהו[י] נעֹ

---

[13] "My hearing of his situation for good has been delayed."

VI. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Paper $11\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Four pages of Hebrew in square Hebrew writing.

The orthography is poor, and many words and passages are omitted.

The variants are probably not worth noting; and the text has accordingly not been printed here. This fragment has been studied by Professor Gottheil only.

28 Ab, and so also at the [other] feast days. And behold I have had to wait for good news of it[13]. And may the.....with you be near!
29 .....And we and all.....[14] are well. But the glorious[15] place, which had been built upon, fell on the 17th of the month
30 of Ab(?), and it was a Sunday, at the tenth hour of the day. May it be His pleasure to build a firm building! Greetings!
31 And greetings [to] your son, and greetings [to] all your relatives! [God] prolong the life of your brother Solomon, son of Rabbi Yaḥyā (?)— [May] his rest [be in] Eden!

[13] This abbreviation occurs in line 7 also. Does it mean "etc."?
[15] Or "steep," or "spiral."

VI. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

From the *Halākhōth Gedhōlōth* of Simeon Ḳayyāra, a Babylonian rabbinical authority of the ninth century.

In the edition of Hildesheimer, *Halachoth Gedoloth nach dem Texte der Handschrift der Vaticana*, Berlin, 1888, this text covers p. 138, lines 9–20; line 30–p. 139, line 13; p. 140, lines 6–24.

VII. MEMORANDUM

Paper $10\frac{3}{8} \times 7$ inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters, cursive and not easily read, since the writer has apparently written quickly and automatically, without looking at the resulting forms of the letters. The Arabic has a strong vernacular coloring. Some of the names have Maghrabī, or north African forms. A little Aramaic phraseology is introduced.

Certain witnesses, whose names are signed at the end in square characters, testify to their belief in the truth of Bin Asad's account of his transactions with Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bu al-Faraj and Ṣadaḳah Bin Jacob, his partner: all apparently Jews.

1 נקול נתן אלשהוד אלתאבתין כטוטנא אחר הדה אלמוּדַ֫ע אן חצר

2 אלינא אלשיך אבו אלמ . . . [ב]ן מר ורבּ שמואל [כג] בן מר֫ ורבּ֫ יהודה נע

3 דיד֫יע בן אסר וקאל לנא֫ אעלמו אנני אנום פי כלמא אדכל תחתה

4 ל[א]בו אֻלעלא בן בו אלפרג דידיע בן עיאר֫ה לאנני כנת סלמת אלה ולצדקה

5 בן יעקוב דידיע בן אלקלעי שריכה אלף דינאר שרכה ביני ובינהם

6 עלי מא יקתציה אלשטר אלמכתתב עליהם ותוגהו אלי תגר אלאסכנדרה

7 חמאה אללה ואבצעו בעין אלבצאעה ענד אלקאצי אלאתיר זין אלקצאת

8 ותצרפו פיהא פחצר מן אעלמני אנהם קד דכלו באידיהם פי אלמאל

9 ואכלוה פחצרת אלי תגר אלאסכנריה ואלתמסת מן אבו עלא בן בו אלפרג

---

[1] I.e. الثابتين خطوطُنا, if one should seek to justify the expression grammatically.

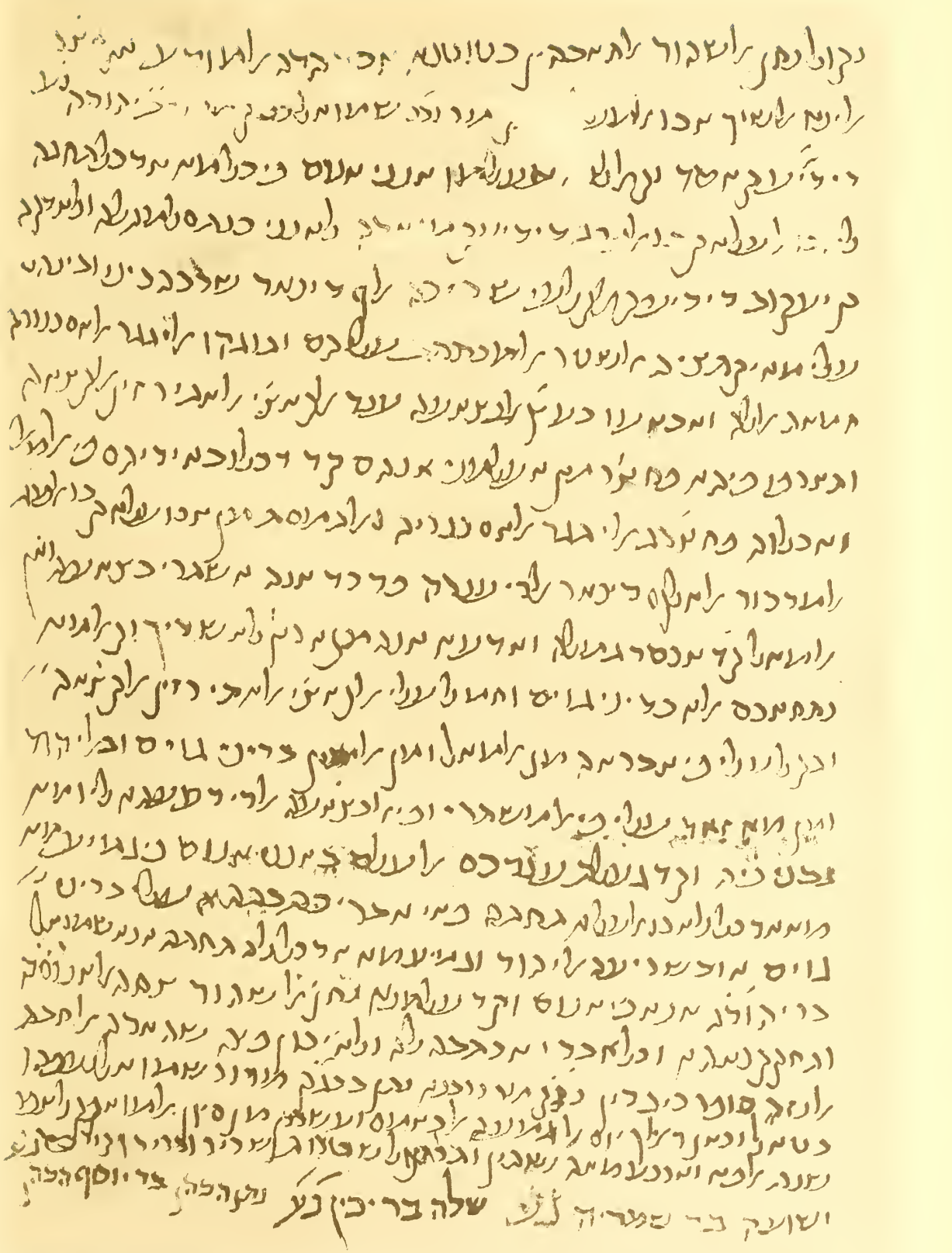
[2] Cf. Hebrew מוּדָע "mark" and Aramaic מוֹדַעְא "declaration of protest."

[3] Aramaic דִּידִיעַ in mediaeval Hebrew is not followed by the preposition ב. Cf. the same phrase *infra*, ll. 4, 5.

[4] בן here, and in ll. 4, 5 and 9 (?), is not Hebrew בֶּן nor the genealogical form of ابن in names, but the Maghrabī (Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan, Spanish) بِن = اِبْن. Note also בו, ll. 4, 9, for أَبو. This is also a Maghrabī form. Both arise from the ultima-accent of these dialects. In ll. 4, 9 we have the combination בן בואלפרג. ابن اسد has nothing to do with the tribe of Asad. It means "Son of a Lion" and is a play upon Gen. xlix, 9, and a substitute for "Jew" or "Judah," as in this case. Cf. the Western *Benari*, *Loewensohn*, *Loewe*, *Loew*, *Lowe*, *Lieuw*, *Loeb*, *Léon*, *Leo*, *Lion*, and variations. There is some confusion with לֵוִי and לֵב. Hence *Herz*, *Leben*, etc.

[5] אָנוּם is a very violently emotional Hebrew expression, used of rape and highway robbery.

[6] The expression أُدْخِل له تحته or أُدْخِل تحته له, "I pay in to him, to remain under his management."



VII. MEMORANDUM

It appears that Bin Asad loaned a large sum of money to Abū al-'Ulā and Ṣadaḳah Bin Jacob to invest at Alexandria, on terms that were stated in a document, and understood by Bin Asad to constitute a partnership. Some of the money was invested. Of the remainder a large part or all was either lost in speculation or stolen outright. Abū al-'Ulā asserted that some money had been lost, but that he was not liable for it, as he was merely an agent and not a partner. The matter was brought before a Muslim court, where Bin Asad was bullied by the Ḳāḍī and by his enemy, and confused with technicalities with which he is thoroughly disgusted. The court evidently decided against Bin Asad, and issued some document which put his case in a bad light. He goes to certain Jewish friends and tells his tale. He knows that he has lost the money: that is all. The fragment is the record of an indignation meeting held sometime in June of the year A.D. 1150.

1 We, the witnesses, whose signatures stand[1] at the end of this declaration[2], say that there appeared

2 before us the Sheikh Abū al....., son of our lord and master Samuel, son of our lord and master Judah,

3 who is known as[3] Bin Asad[4], and said to us: I have been robbed[5] in respect to all that I intrusted for investment

4 to[6] Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bū al-Faraj, known as Bin 'Ayyāra(?), because I turned over to him[7] and to Ṣadaḳah

5 Bin Jacob, known as Bin al-Ḳal'ī, his partner, a thousand dīnārs[8], as a partnership between me and them

6 according to what the document required which was drawn up[9] concerning them. And they went to the city of Alexandria

7 —God defend it!—and invested some of the capital in the presence of the Ḳāḍī[10], al-Athīr, Ornament of the Ḳāḍīs,

8 and they got control of it[11]. And someone came and informed me that they had already gone into the property with their hands

9 and had eaten it up. And I went to the city of Alexandria[12] and I entreated Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bū al-Faraj,

---

[7] אלה for لَه, as in Syrian vernacular *ilō*.

[8] The dīnār, according to the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Faiyūmī (about A.D. 1333/4—we quote through Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*), was a gold coin weighing $71\frac{1}{2}$ or $68\frac{4}{7}$ grains of wheat, the same as the mithḳāl. The American five-dollar gold-piece weighs 129 grains at 900 fine.

[9] אלמכתוב.

[10] I.e. the judge.

[11] I.e. the thousand dīnārs.

[12] Misspelled as before, but differently.

10 אלמדכור אלאלף דינאר אלדי ענדה פדכר אנה אשתרי בצאעה ואן
11 אלמאל קד אכסר גמלה ואדעא אנה מקארץ לא שריך וקאל מא
12 נתחאכם אלא כדיני גוים וחמל עלי אלקאצי אלאתיר זין אלהצאה
13 ותקל עלי פי אבראה מן אלמאל ומן אלימין כדיני גוים וכאליהוד
14 ומן מא זאד עלי פי אלמשתרי ופי אלבצאעה אלדי דפעהא לי ומא
15 גבני פיה וקד געלת ענדכם אלעלם באנני אנוס פי גמיע מא
16 מא אדכל לאבו אלעלא תחתה פאי אברי כתבתהא עלי כדיני
17 גוים או כשריעה אליהוד וגמיע מא אדכל לה תחתה אנא שמואל
18 בר יהודה אנא פי אנוס וקד עלמנא נחן אלשהוד צחת אלאנוסה
19 וחקקנאהא וכל אברי אכתבה לה ולא יכון פיה שהאדת אלחכם
20 אלנזה סופר בית דין כנגך מר ורבנא נתן בכנגך מר ור שמואל נע פהו
21 בטאל וכאן דאלך יום אלגמעה אלכאמס ועשרין מן סיון אלמואפק לצפר
22 שנת אלפא וארבעמאה ושתין ותרתין לשטרות שריר ובריר וקיים
23 ישועה בר שמרה נע שלה בר יכין נע נתן הכהן בר יוסף הכהן נע

---

13 זכר in these texts means simply "to say."

14 אדעא perhaps for أَدْعَى.

15 A مُقَارِض is an agent, intrusted with capital for business purposes, on the condition that the gain shall be divided between the agent and the investor, and that the loss, if any, shall fall upon the investor. See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, part 7, p. 2515.

16 He must have been a Jew, however; else why say this at all? Cf. also l. 13.

17 ثَقَّل.

18 He was confused with technicalities.

19 נבני must be أَجَابْنِي. The first *ā* is absorbed by *mā*, the second *ā* is shortened in the shut syllable of the vernacular form.

20 אברי perhaps إِبْرَاء, though we find no instance.

21 Singular, and probably impersonal, or meaning his enemy.

22 פִּי is the colloquial *fī*, from *fih*, from فِيهِ.

23 Cf. Aramaic אוּנְסָא "robbery," and אָנוֹסָא "robber."

10 the aforementioned, for the thousand dīnārs which he had. And he said[13]
that he had bought goods, and that the
11 property had been decreased by a certain amount. And he asserted[14]
that he was [merely] an agent[15], [and] not a partner. And he said:
12 "We shall not litigate except according to the laws of the Gentiles[16]."
And he urged the Ḳāḍī, al-Athīr, Ornament of the Ḳāḍīs;
13 and he forced[17] me to clear him concerning the property and the oath[18]—
according to the laws of the Gentiles and according to the Jews—
14 and about what had accrued to me through the transaction, and through
the capital which he had paid me, and about what
15 answer he had given me[19] in [the matter]. And now I have informed you
that I have been robbed in respect to all
16 I intrusted to Abū al-'Ulā for investment: whatever be the acquittal[20]
which you[21] [O Abū al-'Ulā] have written against me, according to the
laws of
17 the Gentiles or the canon law of the Jews. All that I intrusted to him
for investment I, [the son of] Samuel
18 Bar Judah, I, have been robbed of it[22]. And we, the witnesses, know that
the robbery[23] is a fact.
19 And we have verified it. And [as to] every acquittal[20] which he [Abū al-
'Ulā] had written against him [Bin Asad]: there is no unobjectionable
legal evidence in it.
20 The scribe of the [Jewish] court, our lord and master Nathan, son of our
lord and master Samuel—he is
21 a worthless[24] fellow. And this occurred[25] on Friday, the twenty-fifth of
Sivan, the equivalent to Ṣafar.
22 The year [is] one thousand four hundred and sixty-two of [the Era of]
Documents[26]. [Be it] certain, clear and abiding[27]!
23 [Signed:] Joshua Bar Shemaryah, Shēlāh Bar Yakīn, Nathan ha-Kōhēn
Bar Joseph ha-Kōhēn.

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[24] Very nearly the modern colloquial sense of the word.

[25] I.e. the memorandum was written.

[26] The Seleucid Era, beginning October 1st, 312 B.C. It is called in these fragments the Era of Documents. The Jews continued to use this manner of dating almost exclusively until well into the eleventh century A.D. Then they began to use the Jewish Era, which starts with October 7th, 3761 B.C. Wislicenus, *Der Kalendar*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 74. Our fragment is dated some time in June, A.D. 1150.

[27] This line is in Aramaic.

VIII. LETTER

Paper $12\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

The five bits of writing are from the hands of three individuals. The longest, *recto* (*a*), is rather clearly written; though the language is bad and mixed with Hebrew, and the style vague and ornate. The next longest, *verso* (*a*), is crabbed and angular, as though from the hand of someone unaccustomed to the pen; but the language is good, and the style concise and to the point. *Recto* (*b*) is merely a false beginning of the same. *Verso* (*a*) dates itself and *recto* (*b*) on Monday, the eighth of Marḥeshwān, Seleucid Era, 1543, which is A.D. 1231. *Verso* (*b*) and (*c*) are in a cultivated but difficult cursive hand, which becomes worse as it proceeds. The language is very much better than usual in our texts. There are even pedantic nominal case-endings and certain orthographic peculiarities of the Arabic in its own alphabet which the writer no doubt was accustomed to use. We do not know who he was. The first of the two is dated Thursday, the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, Seleucid Era, 1543, which is three days later than *verso* (*a*). The second is not dated, but may be assumed to have been written at the expiration of the ten days from the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, or the twenty-first of that month.

Recto: (*a*)

1 ינהי אלממלוך אלי מושב הדרת יקרת צפירת
2 תפארת מרנו ורבנו אליה הדיין החכם והנבון
3 יהי שמו לעולם ואעלם אלמולא כתרת אלשיך
4 לתקביל ידי אלמולא ורגליה יעז עליה מא מניתה
5 פללה יעוצך ולא ישגל לך קלב ואעלם אלמולא
6 אן חצר אלי ענד אלממלוך אלשיך מנצור
7 מוצלהא וטלב מן אלשיך אבו תנא שהאדה
8 יערפהא לה פי חדית אלדאר אלמדכורה
9 פאעתרף אלשיך אבו תנא וקאל אלממלוך

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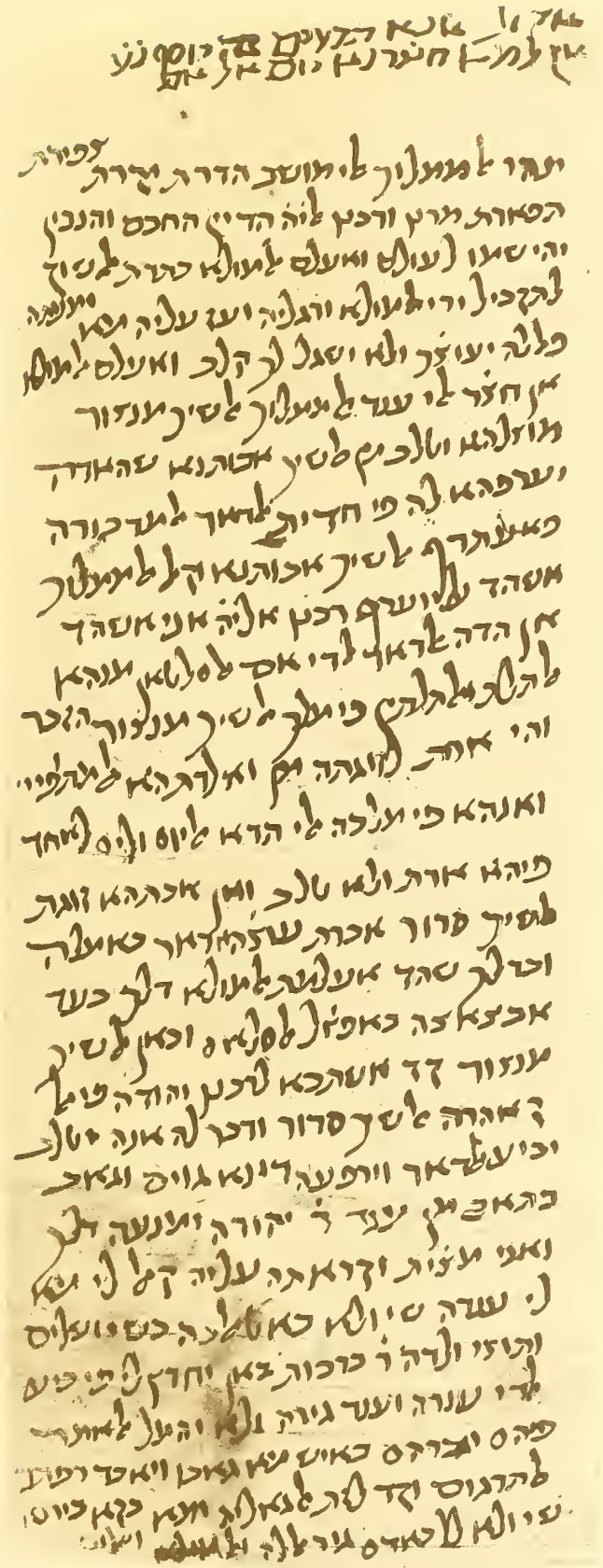
1 أُعَلِّم—كِثْرة—لتَقْبِيل. The writer uses both the 1st and the 3rd person in speaking of himself. We have translated everywhere with the 1st person.

2 A confusion of ما يَنْوِى and مُنْيَتُهُ.

3 لا يُشَغِّل قَلْبَك is quite a common idiom in our texts. قلب should have the article here.

4 The woman in question, not yet named. From lines 15, 16 we learn that she is the wife of the Sheikh Sarūr and sister of the wife of the Sheikh Manṣūr.

5 Here, as in modern colloquial, the second object of a verb is indicated by the preposition: شهادة يُعَرِّفها له فى.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 8 b

VIII. LETTER

Recto (*a*) is a letter from one Abū al-Thanā to a judge, Rabbi Elijah, probably both in Ḳalyūb, just north of Cairo. He seeks with flattery to represent that his friend, Abū al-Manṣūr, of Ḳalyūb, the son of Abū al-Faraj, has been driven into exile and destitution because he was prevented from selling his house by a sister-in-law, Sutait, the daughter of Abraham, and her husband, Abū al-Sarūr, the son of Ma'ānī. The house belongs to Manṣūr, and the other family have nothing to do with it. Abū al-Thanā sold the movable property at the request of Manṣūr's son. All the harmless facts are admitted, but the others are suppressed. Evidently Manṣūr's wife, Kifā', has died, and Manṣūr has tried to defraud his children by selling their estate; and has defrauded Sutait in some manner, possibly by the sale of the movable property. Abū al-Thanā is the agent of Manṣūr and not of his son. Manṣūr is not destitute; and probably would not have been evicted if he had not attempted the sale. We learn from *verso* (*a*) the other side of the story through the witness Tamīm, son of Joseph. Sutait and Kifā' were sisters and joint heirs to two estates. After the larger of the two had been reduced by confiscation, Sutait took the smaller as her own, and Kifā' the larger, which she willed to her children. *Verso* (*a*) tells us that Manṣūr was evicted, and made to pay damages to Sutait, which he could do in part only. *Verso* (*c*) states that the two parties agreed to a payment of the balance at convenience, without court-action, but with an added 20 per cent.

Recto: (*a*)

1 [I,] the slave, approach the Presence of the Beauty of the Dignity of the Crown of
2 Splendor of our Master and Rabbi, Elijah, the wise and intelligent Judge.
3 May his name endure forever! And I assure the Master that [I,] the Sheikh, many times
4 kiss[1] the hands and feet of the Master. My desire[2] oppresses me;
5 but may God reward you, and may it not perplex you[3]. And I inform the Master
6 that the Sheikh Manṣūr, her[4] go-between, came to [me,] the slave,
7 and demanded of [me,] the Sheikh Abū Thanā, testimony
8 of which he might inform her[4], touching[5] the case[6] of the estate[7] in question[8].
9 And [I,] the Sheikh Abū Thanā, made acknowledgment and said: "[I,] the slave,

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[6] حديث "négociation, conférence," or perhaps "autorité, juridiction," Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, vol. i, p. 258.

[7] Cf. the long list of *dārs* in Lower Egypt, Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Égypte* (ed. Vollers, Cairo, 1893), pp. 56 ff. Ibn Duḳmāḳ died in 1406, a hundred and seventy-five years after the date of our text.

[8] I.e. "mentioned." But the estate, like the woman in line 7, is still unmentioned. Evidently there has been discussion of the matter.

10 אשהד עלי יוערף רבנן אליה אני אשהד
11 אן הדה אלדאר אלדי אכד אלסלטאן מנהא
12 אלתלת ואלתלתין פי מלך אלשיך מנצור הזכר
13 והי ארת לזוגתה מן ואלדתהא אלמתפיה
14 ואנהא פי מלכה אלי הדא אליום ולים לאחד
15 פיהא ארת ולא טלב ואן אכתהא זוגת
16 אלשיך סרור אכדת עוצהא דאר כאמלה
17 וכדלך שהד אעלמת אלמולא דלך בעד
18 אכצאצה באפצל אלסלאם וכאן אלשיך
19 מנצור קד אשתכא לרבנן יהודה פי אל
20 קאהרה אלשיך סרור ודכר לה אנה טלב
21 יביע אלדאר וירפעה דינא גוים וגאב
22 כתאב מן ענד ר יהודה ומנעה דלך
23 ואני מצית וקראתה עליה קאל לי מא
24 לי ענדה שי ולא באטאלעה בשי ושלום
25 ותוצי ולדה ר ברכות באן יחרץ לי פי ביע
26 אלדי ענדה וענד גירה ולא יהמל אלאמר
27 פיהם ידרהם באיש מא גאבו ויאכד דפתר
28 אלתרגום וקד לזת אלגאליה ומא בקא בידנא
29 שי ולא ללכאדם גיר אללה ואלמולא ושלום.

Recto: (*b*), written after *recto* (*a*), but above it, by the same hand as *verso* (*a*):

אקול אנא תמים בר יוסף נע
אן למא חצרנא יום אלאת[נין]

---

9 I.e. على [أَنْ] يُعْرَف.

10 Kāmil, the Ayyubid, A.D. 1218–1238, at this time. But more likely an earlier ruler is meant.

11 הזכור = הזכר.

12 מתופיה for مُتَوَفّاة.

13 I.e. the estate or the two-thirds remaining of it.

14 I.e. Manṣūr 15 I.e. Sarūr.

16 דינא גוים for דין הגוים or דין אלגוים.

17 The modern colloquial verb جاب.

18 I.e. the writ of Rabbi Judah, or the injunction of the Muslim judge, issued on the basis of the same.

10 testify—that our Rabbi Elijah may be informed[9]—I testify
11 that this [is] the estate[7] from which the Sultan[10] took away
12 a third; and [that] the two-thirds [remaining] are under the control of the Sheikh Manṣūr, mentioned[11];
13 and [that] it is an inheritance of his wife, from her deceased[12] mother;
14 and that it[13] [has remained] under his control until this day; and [that] no one [else] has
15 any inheritance in it, nor any [right to make] demand; and that her sister, the wife of
16 the Sheikh Sarūr, took in place of it a complete estate.
17 And thus I testified. [So now] I have informed the Master of this, after
18 paying compliment to him with special salutations. And the Sheikh
19 Manṣūr has already complained, to Rabbi Judah in
20 Cairo, of the Sheikh Sarūr. And he[14] told him that he had tried
21 to sell the estate; and he[15] informed the gentile judge[16] of it, and brought[17]
22 a writ from Rabbi Judah, and enjoined him[14] from [doing] this.
23 And I went and read it[18] to him[14]. He said to me [in reply]: 'He[15] owes me
24 nothing, and I have nothing to explain to him[19]. Adieu!'
25 And his son[20], Rabbi Berākhōth, was commissioned to urge[21] me to sell
26 [the movable effects] which he had in his possession and in the possession of others; and the command
27 in regard to them was not neglected; [for I, the slave,] liquidated[22] them for whatsoever[23] [price] they would bring[24]. And [I, the slave,] was given a letter[25]
28 which said in substance[26]: 'And I have fled into exile. And we have nothing left[27],
29 nor has [our] servant either, save only God and [you,] the Master. Farewell!'"

Recto: (*b*)

I, Tamīm Bar Joseph, say
that after we had appeared on Mon[day][28].....

---

[19] أُطَالِعُهُ plus the prefix بِ of modern colloquial.

[20] ولد instead of ابن.

[21] יחרין is يُحَرِّص. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, vol. i, p. 271: "exciter quelqu'un à s'appliquer à."

[22] The ב has been changed to ד. Although we know of no instance of the kind, we should read يُدْرِهِم, "he made them to flow, give up their juice."

[23] איש is the modern vernacular *ēsh*, for أَيُّ شَيْءٍ.

[24] We know of no other instance of this precise meaning. Cf. note 17.

[25] The Arabic word is used in the Hebrew sense.

[26] The Hebrew word is used in the Arabic sense.

[27] They had the cash proceeds of the sale of their effects.

[28] Tamīm began to write on the *recto* of the paper, and was interrupted at this point. He then wrote *verso* (*a*).

Verso: (a)

1 אקול אנא תמים בר יוסף נע
2 אן לתאמן יום אלאתנין אל
3 תאמן מן שהר מרחשון אתקמג
4 לשטרות בעיר אלקאהרה
5 חצרת ענד סתית בנת אברהם
6 וסרור זוגהא בן מעאני
7 אשהדני עלי קולהא אנהא קד
8 כלית אלדאר לולאד אכתהא
9 כפא אלמתופיה רחמהא אללה
10 והי אלדי כוט בן סנדבסי אלדי
11 אכד אלסלטאן פיהא אלתלת
12 ותבקא מנהא אלתלתין והי
13 עון דאר אבדתהא היה
14 תמים בר יוסף נע

Verso: (b), upside down:

1 יום אלה אלחאדי עשר מן מרחשון קמג לשט
2 נפר אלקנין מן אבו אלמנצור אבן אבו אלפרג אלקליובי
3 אן עליה לסתית בנת אברהם זוגת בו אלסרור
4 אבן מעאני מאיה וסתין דרהמין קבצ מנה
5 מאיה ו' דראהם ובקי להא ענדה נ דרהם
6 ואמהלת עליה אלי ' איאם מן הדא אלתאריך
7 ואנהם אבראו בעצהם

---

[29] Beginning Oct. 1st, 312 B.C. This date does fall on a Monday, according to Schram, *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 235, col. 7D, line 25. Our document was written in A.D. 1231.

[30] I.e. diminutive of the colloquial *sitt*, "lady," but we find only ستيتة in the dictionaries.

[31] Or "vacated"? The כ has a raphe to show that it stands for خ.

[32] ولاد is the modern colloquial form of the plural.

[33] I.e. "my."

Verso: (a)

1 I, Tamīm Bar Joseph, say
2 that on the eighth, Monday, the
3 eighth of the month Marḥeshwān, 1543,
4 [Era of] Documents[29], in the city of Cairo,
5 I was present with Sutait[30] Bint Abraham,
6 and Sarūr Ibn Ma'ānī, her husband,
7 [who] called me to witness her statement. Behold it was:
8 "The estate was left[31] to the children[32] of her[33] sister[31]
9 Kifā'[34], deceased[13,35]—God have mercy on her!
10 And it is [the estate] which.....Ibn Sandabīsī[36], from which
11 the Sultan took a third.
12 And there remain two-thirds of it; and it is
13 the estate for which she took a substitute."
14 [Signed:] Tamīm Bar Joseph.

Verso: (b)

1 Thursday, the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, 1543, [Era] of Documents[37],
2 the property[38] passed from Abū al-Manṣūr Ibn Abū al-Faraj al-Ḳalyūbī[39].
3 He owes Sutait Bint Abraham, wife of Bū[40] al-Sarūr
4 Ibn Ma'ānī, a hundred[41] and sixty dirhams[41]. She received from him
5 a hundred and ten dirhams; and there remained, of what he owed her,
fifty dirhams.
6 And she granted him a respite of ten days from this date.
7 And they declared each other free [of further obligation].

---

[31] كفاء "similar," to the parent.

[35] This tells us why there was trouble in the first place. The wife of Manṣūr had died; and the wife's sister wished to prevent Manṣūr from defrauding his children by selling the house for his own enrichment.

[36] I.e. from Sandabīs, a village in the Ḳalyūb district. Cf. Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *op. cit.*, v, 49; Ibn Ḥauḳal (de Goeje), p. 93, and the other authors cited by de Goeje, *ad loc.*

[37] The numeral אתקמג is abbreviated to קמג, and שטרות to שט. This is the same year as *verso* (*a*), and probably also as *verso* (*b*).

[38] قِنْيان is "property" or "income."

[39] I.e. from Ḳalyūb, just north of Cairo.

[40] The north African form of Abū. Cf. No. XIII, note 32.

[41] The exact Arabic orthography: مائه, درهمٍ, درهمًا, يقولوا, افتكوا.

Verso: (c)

1 ולם יבק בינהם אלא צראף תלתימה ענדהם
2 מדינין עלי נ דרהמא והם יקולוא
3 מא נערף ש עליהא ואתפק אן מתי
4 אפתכוא כאן אלמבלג אלדי יפתכוא
5 בינהם נצפין באלסויה ובקי בינהם מחאכמה
6 [ע]לי סתין דרהמא

---

42 تَلْثِيمَة.

43 I.e. Sutait and Sarūr agreed to regard the remaining fifty dirhams as a debt of honor, never to be mentioned again between them; and the two parties were reconciled, and settled their case out of court. The ש is modern colloquial: *mā na'rafsh*, from ما نعرف شَيْئًا "We do not know."

Verso : (c)

1 And there remained between them nothing but to accomplish a recon-
ciliation[42] among them,
2 making a debt of [the] 50 dirhams[41], and saying
3 "We know nothing about them[43]." And he agreed that, when
4 they were paid[41], the sum which would be paid
5 [would be, by tacit agreement] between them[44], two equal parts. So there
remained, [by tacit agreement] between them, a judiciable claim[45]
6 amounting to sixty dirhams[46].

---

[44] بَيْنَهُم seems to mean idiomatically "by agreement"

[45] مُحَاكَمَة.

[46] I.e. ten dirhams extra for the privilege of private settlement by reconciliation?

IX. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{3}{4} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ inches, made up of two sheets pasted together.

This long strip is completely covered with writing. The top, margin and bottom, originally left for the sake of appearance, were afterwards filled with postscripts; just as the margins of Oriental printed books are filled out with other material, for good measure, "pressed down and running over." Unfortunately twenty-three lines have been mutilated by the removal of one corner.

The writing is in cursive Hebrew characters, quite legible on the whole.

The language is Arabic, without any admixture of Hebrew or Aramaic, at times elegant, but in general colloquial, with strange constructions and strange meanings of ordinary words.

Recto:

1 בּשׁרח

2 כתאבי אליך יא אכי ואלעזיז עלי וענדי אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם

3 עזך ועלאך ומן חסן אלתופיק לא אכלאך גמע אללה ביננא

4 עלי אסר חאל במנה וכפי לטפה אן שא אללה : ואלדי תריד עלמה

5 מן וקת אן דכלת אלי אלהנד לם יגינא מן ענדך אחד ובקינא

6 משגולין אלקלב עליך מן בחר אלהנד אלי אן וצל אלחג עלי

7 אלדי יקאל לה אבן אלקזדירי פאשתמענא בה ואכברנא

8 בגמיע מא גרא עליך וכיף כאן מות כאלך רחמה

9 אללה וכיף כאן וצולך מן אלהנד וחמדנא אללה תעאלי

10 עלי סלאמתך ועלי אגתמאעך בכאלך קבל מותה

11 ואכברנא אנך קאסית מע כאלך שדה אן עזימה

12 פי חאל מרצה ועז עלינא דאלך כתרי אלדי לם יכון אחד

---

[1] בּשׁרח, בִּשְׁמָא דְרַחְמָנָא or בִּשְׁם הָרַחֲמָן, an imitation of the Muslim بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم and close to the original from which the latter was taken.

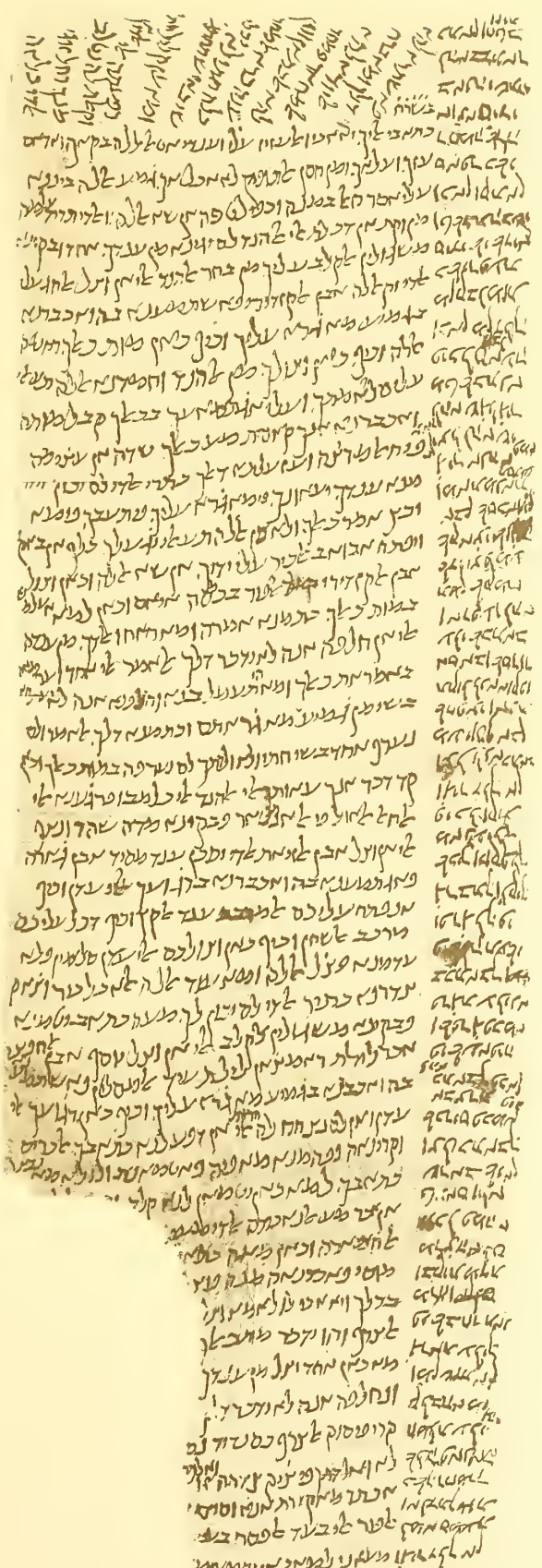
[2] عَزِيز means both "mighty" and "dear," according to the preposition used; hence this clever play upon the word.

[3] أَسَرُّ الحال, but he omits the article.

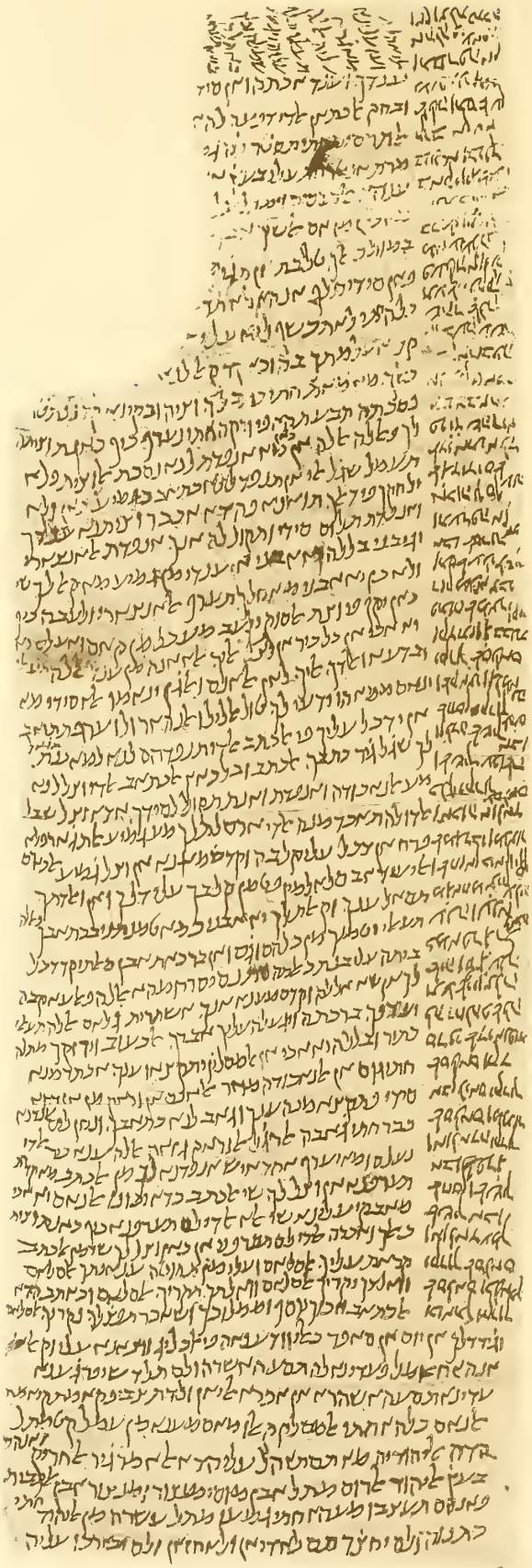
[4] بِمِنّه.

[5] The modern colloquial sense of بقى?

[6] For القُزْدارِىّ. Cf. al-Asyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, ed. Veth, pp. ٢٠٧ and 185. قُزْدار is a district of India.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 9 a



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 9 b

IX. LETTER

It appears that a certain Joseph, who lives in Fusṭāṭ with many relatives, is writing to a brother(?), who lives in Aden, South Arabia, with a few other persons from the Fusṭāṭ community. The father of these two brothers is the patriarchal head of the family. The brother in Aden is a merchant, and has made two trips to India, particularly to Colombo in Ceylon, on one of which he was captured by pirates and ransomed by his relatives at home. A maternal uncle, who went from Fusṭāṭ to India on business undertaken by the father, has died there; and there is great uncertainty about his will, especially because the wife of this uncle is a grasping creature and has also had an illegitimate child in his absence. A similar case is mentioned in the letter.

There is no address. The letter was to be intrusted to a friend for discreet delivery.

There is no date. But a certain ḥazzān Abū 'l-Bayyān, is mentioned in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 242, vol. ii, p. 308, which is a letter considered by Mann to belong to about 1150.

Recto:

1 In the name of the Compassionate[1]!
2 My letter to you, O my Brother, mightier[2] than I and dear[2] to me. May God lengthen your life and prolong
3 your strength and your dignity, and not deprive you of the beauty of success! May God reunite us
4 under the most happy[3] circumstances, in His grace[4] and the abundance of His kindness: if it please God! And what you would like to know [is that]
5 from the time when you entered India no one came to us from you, and we became[5]
6 troubled in regard to you on account of the Indian Ocean until the Hājj 'Alī arrived,
7 who is called Ibn al-Ḳuzdīrī[6]. And we enquired[7] of him; and he informed us
8 of all that had befallen you, and the manner of your [maternal] uncle's death—God have mercy on him!—
9 and how you arrived [back] from India. And we praised God the Exalted
10 for your safety, and your being able to reach your uncle before his death.
11 And he told us that you had endured great hardships[8] with your uncle
12 while he was sick; and that was very[9] difficult for us [to bear,] namely[10]: [that] no one of us

---

[7] The VIII form of سمع usually means "listened to."

[8] أَنْ used as a relative with indefinite antecedent.

[9] כתרי for כתיר.

[10] The vernacular use of الذى as a conjunction. Cf. Spiro, *Arabic-English Vocabulary*, Cairo, 1895, p. 17 *sub voce* اللى.

13 מנא ענדך יעאונך פימא גרא עליך פי תעבך פימא
14 יכ׳ן אמר כאלך ולאכן אללה תעאלי יגעלך כלף אן באקי
15 ויפתח אבואב אלכיר עלי ידיך אן שא אללה וכאן וצול
16 אבן אלקזדירי בעד אלפור בכּסה איאם וכאן למא אעלמנא
17 במות כאלך כתמנא אמרה ומא ראח ואלדך מן ענדה
18 אלי אן חלפה אנה לא ידכר דלך אלאמר אלי אחד וערפנאה
19 באמראת כאלך ומא הי תעמל בנא וחלפנא אנה לא יערפהא
20 בשי מן גמיע מא גרא תם וכתמנא דלך אלאמר ולם
21 נערף אחד בשי חתי ולא ולדתך לם נערפה במות כאלך וכאן
22 קד דכר אנך עאזת אלי אלהנד אלי כלמבו פרגענא אלי
23 אלחאל אלאול פי אלאנתטאר פבקינא מדת שהר ונצף
24 אלי אן וצל אבן אלזיאת אלדי יסכן ענד מסיר אבן גארה
25 פאגמענא בה ואכברנא ברגועך אלי עדן וכיף
26 אנפתח עליכם אלמרכב ענד אלקין וכיף דכל עליכם
27 מרכב אלשחן וכיף כאן וצולכם אלי עדן סלאמין פלא
28 עדמנא פצל אללה ומא ענד אללה אלא בלכיר וצאק
29 צדרנא כתיר אלדי לם יכון לך מעה כתאב יטמנא
30 פבקינא משגולין אלקלב אלי אן וצל יוסף אבן אלחפצי
31 אכר לילת ראמצאן לילת עיד אלמסלין פאשתמענא
32 בה ואכברנא בגמיע מא גרא עליך וכיף כאן רגועך אלי
33 עדן ואן לם נצחח לה אלי אן דפע לנא כתאבך אלכרים חדות
34 וקרינאה פפהמנא מא פיה פאטמאנת ולולא מא נבצר

---

11 יגעלך is the colloquial *yij'állak* for يَجْعَلُ لَكَ.

12 פור is the Arabic form of the Hebrew word. Cf. line 46 and al-Ḳalḳāshandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, II, 427, where the printed edition has فوز however.

13 راح in the colloquial sense.

14 Cf. the bottom of *verso*.

15 The writer intended וחלפנאה.

16 Read ואלדתך and נערפהא.

17 עאזת is a confusion between عُزْتُ and عائزْ of the colloquial.

18 Perhaps for إِجَارَة, "protection."

was at your side to help you in what befell you when you were worn out with
the concerns of your uncle's case. But God the Exalted will make for you[11] a lasting change[8]
and open the gates of fortune to your hands: if it please God!
Now Ibn al-Ḳuzdīrī arrived five days after Pūrīm[12]. And, after he had told us
of the death of your uncle, we made a secret of his case. And your father did not leave[13] his presence
until he had made him swear that he would not mention this matter to anyone; and we informed him
about the wife[14] of your uncle, and what she was doing to us. And we made him swear[15] that he would not tell her
anything of all that had happened. Then we made a secret of that matter. And
we shall not tell anyone about anything: indeed not even your wife[16] shall we inform of the death of your uncle.
And [al-Ḳuzdīrī] had said that you wanted[17] [to go] to India, to Colombo; so, we returned to
[our] former state of suspense; and remained [so] for the space of a month and a half:
until Ibn al-Zaiyāt arrived, who lives at the house of Musayyar Ibn Jārah[18].
Then we met together with him, and he told us of your return to Aden, and how
the ship was captured when [you were] attacked, and how there came to you
a cargo ship, and how you arrived at Aden, safe and sound. So we did not
lack the grace of God: and with God there is no [possibility of anything] but [affairs going] well. But we
were much distressed because[10] there was no letter of yours with him, reassuring us[19].
So, we remained anxious until Joseph Ibn al-Ḥafṣī arrived
late on the night of Ramaḍān, the night of the festival of the Muslims[20]. And we met together with
him. And he told us of all that had befallen you, and how you returned to
Aden. But we did not believe [his] story[21] until he had handed us your good letter.
And we read[22] it, and understood what was in it. So, I was at peace. But if we had not seen

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[19] יטמנא is colloquial يُطَمِّنَا for classical يُطْمَئِنُّنَا, which, however, does not exist, as the classical verb is always intransitive and cannot take an object. Cf. the classical form and sense in lines 34, 35

[20] Read מסלמין.

[21] חדות (which needs the article) is not classical, but probably equivalent to the modern colloquial *ḥaddūta*, plural *ḥawādīt*, "fairy story."

[22] קרינא is the colloquial form of قَرَأْنَا.

35 כתאבך למא כאן יטמאן לנא קלב . . . . . .
36 אן אכר מע אלנאכודה אלדי מעה . . . . . .
37 אלחפאדה וכאן מעה כתא[ב] . . . . . .
38 מוסי פאכדנאה מנה פוצ[ל] . . . . . .
39 בדלך ויא אכי לולא מא וצל . . . . . .
40 אלצרף והו ידכר מות כאלך . . . . . .
41 מא כאן אחד יצל מן ענדך . . . . . .
42 ונחלפה אנה לא ידכר דלך . . . . . .
43 קרי פי סוק אלצרף כסנדיר נס . . . . . .
44 לא ואלדתך פי ציק צדרה אן ואלד.. . . . . .
45 אכתר מא קדרת אנא וסידי . . . . . .
46 אלפור אלי בעד אלפסח בע . . . . . .
47 מעאני למא כאן יסמעו מ . . . . . .

Verso :

1 ענדך וענד אכתה ואן סידי . . . . . .
2 ובחק אלכתאן אלדי דפעה להא . . . . . .
3 אלתרסים חתי תחטר לה גי . . . . . .
4 מדת אנטרחת עלי בעין א . . . . . .
5 ענדהא אלתרסים וימתל על . . . . . .
6 מא כ[א]ן מן אם אלשיך אבן . . . . . .
7 במות כאלך טלבת אן תגי . . . . . .
8 פאן סידי חלף אנהא לא תד[כר] . . . . . .
9 כלה חתי לא תכשף לנא עליה . . . . . .
10 קד אעלמתך בהוכא קד קאל לנא . . . . . .
11 כאלך מא מאת חתי כתב לך וציה ובקינא קד ננתטר
12 כסבתה תבעתהא פי ורקה חתי נערף כיף כאנת וציתה
13 לך פאללה אללה אן כאן מא אנפדת לנא נסכת אלוציית פלא
14 תעמל שגל אלי אן תנפד לנא כתאב בגמיע כאן ולא

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23 מע perhaps for مَعًا.
21 Persian ناخوذة. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, p. 648.
25 א erased and ם written.

35 your letter, why should [our] heart have been tranquil?.....
36 that he took along[23] the ship's captain[24] who [had been] with him.....
37 envy[25]. And he had the letter.....
38 Moses. So we received it from him, and there arrived.....
39 about that. And, O my brother, if he had not arrived.....[Market of]
40 Exchange[26]. And it mentions the death of your uncle.....
41 no one arrived from [the place] where you [were]
42 and we made him swear not to mention that [matter].....
43 was read[27] in the Market of Exchange[28].....
44 not [your mother][29] in his anxiety, that your mother.....
45 as much as I was able and my master[30].....
46 Pūrīm[12] until after the Passover.....
47 affairs[31] after they had heard.....

Verso:

1 with you and his sister; and that my Master.....
2 and about the linen which he delivered to her.....
3 the specification?[32] until.....she forbade him.....
4 while it was being relegated to some one of.....
5 with her the specification?[32]; and he described.....
6 what was the matter with the mother of the Sheikh Ibn.....
7 about the death of your uncle, she tried to come.....
8 And the Master[30] swore that she would not mention.....
9 all of it, so that she should not enlighten us about it.....
10 she had informed you of.....(?) He said to us.....
11 your uncle did not die until he had written for you a testament. And we continued to await [a statement of]
12 his estate[33], sent by you, on paper, so that we might know how the will stood in relation
13 to you. But Allah! Allah! If you do not have executed for us a copy of the will, then do not
14 do any business until you have executed for us a document with everything there is[34]. And do not

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[26] Supplied from line 43. [27] قُرِئَ.

[28] For this *Sūḳ al-Ṣarf* see Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *op. cit.*, v, p. 38 *et alibi*; and Casanova, *Essai de Reconstruction Topographique de la Ville d'al-Fousṭâṭ ou Misr*, tome I, in *Mémoirs par les membres de l'Institut Français du Caire*, vol. xxxv, Index.

[29] ואלדתך has been deleted.

[30] He is the one referred to as סידי "the master" in lines 8, 16, and elsewhere.

[31] Cf. No. IV, line 4.

[32] "description"? "placing under guard"? "stamping"?

[33] This is a strange meaning for كِسْبَة. [34] I.e. جميع ما كان.

15 ילחקך פי דאלך תואניא פהדא אכבר וציתנא ענדך
16 ואנפדת תלום סידי ותקול לה אנך אנפדת אלאנצארי
17 וגיבני בללה יא אבני אן ענדי מן גמיע מא קאל לך שי
18 ולאכן יא אבני מא חלך תערף אלאנצארי ולעבה כיף
19 כאן וקף פי וצת אלסוק ולעב מע כל מן קאם ואעלם יא
20 יא אבי אן כל כיר אן יצל אליך אלא אנה מן ענד אללה תעלי
21 ובדעא ואלדך אליך לאן אלאנס ואלגן ינאמו אלא סידי מא
22 ינאם ממא הו ידעו לך טול אלליל ואלנהאר ולו ערפת תואב
23 אן ידכל עליך פי אלכתב אליך ותנפדהם לנא למא כנת תגעל
24 לך שגל גיר כתבך אלכתב ובלכאין אלכתאב אלדי וצל לנא
25 מע אלנאכודה ואנפדת ואנת תקול לסידך אדא וצל שבל
26 אלדולה תאבד מנה אלדי ארסלת לך מע גמיע אלתגאר פלא
27 פרח אן דכל עלי קלבה וקד סמענא אן וצל גמיע אלריום
28 אלי עדאבסלאלמין פטמן קלבך עלי דלך ואן ואלדתך
29 תסאל ענך וקאלת לך יא אבני כמא טמנתני בכתאבך פאללה
30 תעאלי יטמנך מן כל הם וגם ואן ברכאת אבן כאלתי קד דכל
31 ביתה עלי בנת כאלתה סת נסים רחמהא אללה פאלעאקבה
32 לך אן שא אללה וקד סמענא אנך אשתרית גלאם אללה תעלי
33 יעדפך ברכתה ויגעלה עליך אברך אלכעוב וירזקך מתלה
34 כתיר ובללה יא אבי אן אלמסלין יתקצאו ענך אכתר מנא
35 חתי יום אן אלנאכודה מחר אלאנסאן וראק מן אזדקא

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35 תואניא is certainly [ال]ثَّوانِيَ; accusative for nominative.

36 وَصيّة is both "testament" and "command"; hence the play upon the word.

37 וגיבני for وَأَجِبْنِي.

38 I.e. either he "made fools of," or "trifled with," or "gambled with."

39 He intended to write إِلَّا.....لَا.....إِنَّ.

40 תואב is apparently تُؤَابَة, but without the feminine ending.

41 Cf. al-Dhāhabī, *Mīzān al-I'tidāl* (Cairo, 1325), i, 440.

42 This jumble contains perhaps : ענד, בסלאם, and סאלמין.

43 Humorous? Although the text says "bought a slave," the context refers to a son.

44 The same correction of the text as in *recto*, l. 31. But here we have a reference to pirates, and the ransoming of captive Jews. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 87 ff. Muslims captured Christians and Jews, and Christians captured Muslims (and Jews?). The price of ransom was 33⅓ dīnārs, the dīnār being worth about $2.50 in gold, with a purchasing power of about $7.50 at that time.

15 let carelessness[35] overtake you in that [matter]; for this is our supreme
"will"[36] in regard to you.
16 And you sent [a letter] complaining [to] the Master[30] and saying to him
that you had sent to al-Anṣārī.
17 But answer me[37], by Allah, my Son: Have I anything of all [the property]
he told you of?
18 But, my Son, aren't you free to recognize al-Anṣārī and his little game:
how
19 he stood in the market-place and played[38] with anyone who happened to
be standing there? And know,
20 O my Brother, no good-fortune is sent[39] to you except that it comes from
God the Exalted.
21 And about your father's[30] calling out to you—for men and demons may
sleep, but the Master[30] does not
22 sleep, because he keeps calling to you, all night and all day long. And
if you only knew shame[40]:
23 that it might enter into you through the letters to you! And you send
[letters] to us about having
24 other business to do than writing letters: and especially the letter which
reached us
25 with the ship's captain. And you sent word, and you said to your
Master[30]: "When Shbl al-Daulah[41]
26 arrives get from him what I have sent to you as well as to the other
merchants." And he did not
27 rejoice. It made a deep impression on him. And we heard that all the
dignitaries arrived
28 at.....[42] But calm yourself[19]. Your mother
29 asked after you and said to you: "O my Son, just as you have relieved[19]
me with your letter, so may God
30 the Exalted relieve[19] you from every care." And also Barakāt the son
of my [maternal] aunt, has taken possession of
31 his house with the daughter of his [maternal] aunt, Sitt Nissīm—God
have mercy upon her!—[as bride]. But you have
32 offspring—if it please God. We have heard that you have bought[43] a
boy. May God the Exalted
33 teach you what a blessing he is, and make him the most blessed of
honors, and grant you many more
34 like him! And, by Allah, my Brother, the Muslims[44] exacted[45] for you[r
ransom still] more from us;
35 until one day[46] the ship's captain set free[47] a rich man, [one] of the friends[48]

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[45] יתקצאו is vernacular *yitḳaḍu* for classical يَقْتَضُوا. For the sense see Dozy, *Supplément*, p. 362. With this verb مِنْ denotes the payer of the ransom, and عَنْ the ransomed person. [46] יום אן. Cf. note 8.

[47] מחר is مُحِرّ, the participle for the imperfect.

[48] אזדקא is أَصْدِقَاء, with ز for ص.

36 סידי פתקצא מנה ענך וגאב לנא כתאבך ונחן ליס ענדנא
37 כבר חתי גאבה אלרגל אלוראק גזאה אללה ענא כיר אלדי
38 נעלם ומא יערף אחד איש אנפדנא לך מן אלכתב מא קדרת
39 תערפנא אן וצל לך שי אלכתב כדא יכונו אלנאם יא אכי
40 מא בקי עלינא שי אלא אלדי לם תערפנא כיף כאנת וצית
41 כאלך נאכדה אלדי לם תערפני אן כאן וצל לך שי מן אלכתב
42 קראת עליך אלסלאם ועלי מן תחוטה ענאיתך אלסלאם
43 וואלדך יקריך אלסלאם וואלתך תקריך אלסלאם וכאתב הדא
44 אלכתאב אכוך יוסף וממלוכך ושאכר תפצלך נקריך אלסלאם

Margin of verso:

וכואתך יקרוך | אלסלאם וכלאתך | יקרוך אלסלאם | ואולאד עמך | אלשיך
אבו | אלחסן ואלשיך | אבו אלפרג | ואולאדה יקרוך | אלסלאם וממוך | אבן
אליאם יקרוך | אלסלאם וקד | סרני אלדי אנפדת | לה רחלה פאללה | תעאלי
יוצלה | אליה וירג ענך | כמא פרגת | ענה וענא לאנה | מגאח מציק עליה |
ואלחזאן | ביאן ויוסף | אלמגרבי ומנצור | ואכוה אולאד כלף יקרוך אלסלאם |
ואלשיך עטאלה | וולדה אלשיך אבו | אלחסן יקרוך אלסלאם | ואלקאצי
וגלמאנה | יקרוך אלסלאם | וקד תזוג בבנת | פתום אלמצרי וקד | רזק מנהא
צבי | ותסאל עלי אלשיך | אבו אלסרור | ותערפה אן | אכוה יוסף | אלגדיד
יסאל ענה | אלדי אתואלד | פי יד שהר וא | ..בבצרה | אנ...טאי. |
..ן אחבעה | ארבעת עשר | שהר אללה | תעאלי ילקיהא | פעלהא וילקי[הא] |
מא עמלת | בכאל ..... | ..יכתב ..... | באקי ויגמע. | ביננא ובינך |
קרב אן שא | אללה ותסאל ען | מעאני ... | ותערפה אן | אהלה פי עאפיה |
ואן וצלת כתבה || אלי אהלה | ועז עלינא | מא גרא | עליה אללה | תעאלי
כלף | עליה ויגמע | שמלה וכלף | באהלה | ביאן מע .....

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49 I.e. the ship's captain.

50 פתקצא a half vernacular form. Cf. فَاقْتَضَى and *fa itḳaḍa*, and note 45.

51 I.e. the rich man.

52 The recipient of the letter is actually or supposedly in captivity somewhere. Cf. lines 24–36.

53 The forms *ēsh* and *waṣallāksh* are vernacular.

of the Master[30], and he[49] demanded[50] from him[51] [an additional ransom] for you[52]. And he[51] brought your letter to us. And we did not have any
news until the rich man brought it—May God requite him with good from us, [now] that[10] we
know. And no one knows what[53] we sent you in [the way of] letters. As far as you are able,
inform us whether the letters reached you[53]. [Well!] That is how people are, my Brother[54]!
Nothing remains for us [to say] except that[10] you did not inform us how it was [with] the testament
of your uncle. We object to your[10] not informing me as to whether any of the letters reached you.
I send you greeting, and to [all] whom your grace and favor protect, [I send] greeting.
And your father sends you greeting; and your mother sends you greeting; and the writer of this
letter, your brother and slave, Joseph, who is grateful for your favor: we send you greeting!

Margin of verso:

And your sisters send you greeting; and your [maternal] aunts send you greeting; and the sons of your [paternal] uncle, the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan and the Sheikh Abū al-Faraj, and his children, send you greeting; and your father-in-law[55] Ibn Elias, sends you greeting. I am glad that you wrote to him [while on his] journey. And God the Exalted will cause [your letter] to reach him; and it will comfort you just as you comforted him and us. For he is ruined, he is in straits[56]. And the Ḥazzān Bayyān, and Joseph al-Maghribī, and Manṣūr, and his brother, the children of Khalaf, send you greeting. And the Sheikh ʿAṭāllāh[57] and his son[16], the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan, send you greeting. And the Kadi and his [male] slaves send you greeting. He has married the daughter of Futūḥ the Egyptian; and has been blessed [with] a boy from her. And you make inquiry in behalf of the Sheikh Abū al-Sarūr: [Please] inform him that his brother, Joseph al-Jadīd, asks after [the child] which was born[58] on the 14th of the month... .....fourteenth of the month. May God the Exalted requite her [with] her deed, and requite her [with] what she wrought!.....write.....remainder... ...and bring us together soon, if it please God. And you ask after the affairs of.....: [Please] inform him that his family are in health, and that his letters have reached his family. But we were grieved by what happened to him. May God the Exalted make up to him [what he lost], and set his affairs in order, and make up to him by his family [what he lost].....

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[54] Exactly the German expression of resignation: "So sind die Menschen!"

[55] Read חמוך. [56] مُجَاح مُضَيَّق. [57] I.e. عَطَاءُ الله.

[58] אתוואלד is the colloquial form *itwalad*, of the VIII stem. Cf. note 50.

Bottom of verso:

1 וגיר דלך אן יום אן סאפר כאלי וודענאה פי אלכליג ותאנא עלי וקאל...
2 אנהא חאמל פעדינא לה תסעה אשרה ולם תלד שי פרגענא
3 עדינא תסעה אשהרא אן אברא אלי אן ולדת צבי פקאמת קיאמת
4 אלנאס כלהא חתי אלמסלין קאלו מא סמענא מן עמל קט מתל
5 הדה אליהודיה מא תסתאהל עלי הדא אלאמר גיר אלחריק ואנהם
6 בעין אליהוד אלרום מתל אבן מוסי מנצור ומנצור אבן אלכבית
7 פאנהם תעצבו מעהא חתי גמעו מתל עשרה מן אליהוד חתי
8 כתנוה ולם יחצר תם לא דיאן ולא חזאן ולם יבארכו עליה

Margin of recto:

וגיר דלך אן | למא סמעת | ואלדתך מות | כאלך רחמה | אללה
פאנאה | חמלת עלי | קלבהא מן גהת | ומן שדת אן | גראת עליך | פי
אלבחר תאני | מרה | ובקית מדת | מרצהא לם | ידכל פמהא | טעאם ולא |
שראב אלי אן | וצל כתאבך | אלכרים פכמא | אבצרת פי | כתאבך פכאן |
פי להא אלעאפיה | ואלפרג פכמא | פרגת עלינא | בכתאבך | פאללה תעאלי |
יפרג לך פי | גרבתך וילקיך | אלכיר ויוקף לך | מא נדעילך | פי כל וקת |
וגיר דלך אן | וצל לנא כתאב | מע יוסף אבן | אלחפצי ואנת | תקול לנא
אוקפו | אם אבו אלסרור | עלי אלכתאב | ואדפעו להא | תמן אלקמח | אלדי
וצל מע | אלקאצי אלוג.. | אבן אלסכאוין | ומא תמנאת | גיר אנהא | יצל תסמעאן
להא שי פמא | להא צאר שגל גיר | מטאלבתנא | פי כל סאעה | וכאן מן קבל
דלך | מן קבל מות | כאלי דפעת | סידי אלי אלדיאן | וטאלבתה בשי | וכאן

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[59] Read אישהר.

[60] לם תלדשי, *lam tulídshe*, with the negative *-she* of modern vernacular.

[61] אשהרא is for أَشْهُرًا though we should have the genitive, not the accusative. Cf. note 8.

[62] Read מסלמין.

[63] I.e. "corrupt." This must be an epithet, not an acceptable name.

[64] In order to constitute a מִנְיָן or quorum.

[65] Is this the child referred to above as born "on the 14th of the month"?

[66] Read פאנהא. [67] Read גהתך.

[68] שדת אן. Cf. note 8.

[69] The words ואן לם have been written and deleted.

Bottom of verso:

And another matter: On the day[46] when my [maternal] uncle went on a journey and we took leave of him at the canal, he took me aside and said:

"She is with child." And we let nine months[59] go by for it [to happen]; but she did not bear[60]. And again

we let another nine months[61] go by, until she bore a boy. And there was an uprising of

all the people, until [even] the Muslims[62] said: "We never in our lives heard of a deed like [the deed of]

this Jewess! She deserves for this thing nothing less than burning!" And

some of the Jews—Byzantine Jews, such as Manṣūr Ibn Moses, and Manṣūr Ibn al-Khabīth[63]—

defended her cause, until they had collected something like ten of the Jews[64], in order to

circumcise [the child]. But neither dayyān nor ḥazzān was present. And they did not [therefore] say the [necessary] blessings over him[65].

Margin of recto:

And another matter: After your mother had heard [of] the death of your [maternal] uncle—God have mercy on him!—she[66] was heavy-hearted because of you[67] and some hardship[68] which you might have encountered at sea the second time[69]. And while she was sick [from this worry] neither food nor drink entered her mouth, until your good letter reached her. And just as she looked at it—your letter—and felt well and happy [again], and just as you relieved us by your letter[70]: so may God the Exalted relieve you in your trial[71], and make good-fortune meet you and stay with you. [That is] what we pray for you always.

And another matter: Joseph Ibn al-Hafṣi brought us a letter [from you[72];] "Keep the mother of Abū al-Sarūr from writing; and pay her the price of the grain which arrived with the Kadi.....Ibn al-S...., and what she expects, without her hearing that anything has come to her." She has come to have no other occupation than begging of us continually. And before that—before the death of my [maternal] uncle—she brought the Master[30] before the dayyān[73] and made a demand upon him. And at the time my [maternal] uncle went on the journey[74]—God have mercy on him[75]—he recommended to the Master[30] that he buy for her a dīnār's

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[70] The word ועלי has been written and deleted.

[71] תנרבתך.

[72] This person's letter and visit are spoken of in lines 30–35. A Joseph Ibn Ṣadōḳ, grandson of Ibn Ḥafṣ, of the house of Ḥafṣ, is mentioned in a genealogy in Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, 318, l. 15.

[73] Apparently דפע means "to summon to court."

[74] Mentioned at the bottom of the *verso*.

[75] He did not return from this journey, but died.

וקת אן | סאפר כאלי רחמה אללה | אוצא סידי | באנה ישתרי | להא
בדינאר | כתאן וחטב וזית || פאשתרא להא | דלך ומא ברח | אלי ודא להא |
אלמחאר פמחר | להא אלכתאן ווזן | ענה כרא אלמחר | כלה חתי לא יכלי |
שי באיש תחתנ | עז קליל חתי | דפעתה אלי אלדיאן | וקאלת לה נטלב |
מנך רחל זוגי | אלדי כלצה |

---

[76] Cf. note 44.

[77] Colloquial *îla wa-*. [78] Colloquial *da*.

[79] This root occurs three times here (and perhaps in *verso*, l. 35), and is plainly written מחד ; but there is no root محد nor محذ nor محر in Arabic. The root مهر is the only one that will give sense. The ר presents no difficulty ; but the ח can be accounted for only by the assumption of an actual dialectical difference.

X. A LEAF FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Paper $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ inches.

Hebrew in half-square Hebrew characters, partly vocalized, and not always correctly so.

The many abbreviations and omissions, in the manner of No. XLII, suggest that this may be merely a memorandum of prayers.

worth[76] of linen, and fuel-wood and olive oil. And he bought her that. And he continued [to give her things] until[77] he gave[78] her the dowry[79]. And he gave her the linen for a dowry; and he paid[80] from [the sale of] it the cost[81] of the dowry[82], all of it; so that nothing remained that she could have [even] the slightest need of. And then she brought him before the dayyān; and she said to him: "We want from him [the profits of] my husband's journey, which he completed."

---

[80] Dozy, *Supplément.*

[81] كِرَاء is usually "rent." [82] She married again.

X. A LEAF FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Like No. XLVI, this fragment has to do with the prayers for the Day of Atonement.

Recto begins with the words:

כִּי הכל הֶבֶל אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו הֲלֹא כָל הַנִּסְתָּרוֹת etc.

Verso begins with the words:

אַרְבַּע מִיתוֹת בְּבֵית דִּין חֶנֶק etc.

XI. BILL OF DIVORCE

Paper $7\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

In half-square Hebrew characters, but in the Aramaic language, so often used in Jewish documents.

There are some places where the writing has been effaced or the paper destroyed ; but the complete text can be recovered from the context.

Recto :

1 בתלתא בשבא דהוא עשרין ותשע [יו]מין ליר[ח]
2 תמוז דשנת אלפא וחמש מאה ותשעין שנין לשט[רות]
3 למניינא דרגילנא לממני ביה הכא בפסטאט מצרים
4 דעל נהר נילום מותבה איך אנא .... ל.... דיבה
5 דממדינת מצרים וכל שום אחרן וחניכא דאית לי
6 ולאבהתי ולאתרי ולאתריהון די אבהתי צבית בר[עות]
7 נפשי כד לא אניסנא ופטרית ושבקית ו[תר]וכי[ת]
8 יתיכי ליכי אנתי סת אלדאר בת יצחק דמעיר בנהא
9 אלעסל וכל שום אחרן וחניכה דאית ליכי ולאבהתיכי
10 ולאתריכי ולאתריהון דאבהתיכי די הוית אנתתי
11 מקדמת דנא וכדן פטרית ושבקית ותרוכית
12 יתיכי ליכי די תהויין רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי
13 למהך להתנסבא לכל גבר די תצבייין ואינש
14 לא ימחה בידיכי מן שמי מן יומא דנן ולעלם והרי

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[1] Such bills of divorce could be drawn up in other languages than Aramaic, though this seems to have been the prevailing language since 500 B.C. A number of such bills have been found in the Genizah. See e.g. Moïse Schwab in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. lvi, p. 128; and especially the excellent treatise of Ludwig Blau, *Die Jüdische Ehescheidung und der Jüdische Scheiderbrief*, Budapest, 1911 (two facsimiles are given there from the Elkan Adler collection). See another facsimile in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. iv, p. 624. Though the general expressions were fixed from of old, extra words could be added in order to give greater importance to that which was being said. The present bill is as long as any that we have seen of this early period.

[2] A.D. 1278. [3] We take מצרים = مصر = Fusṭāṭ.

[4] In none of the bills of divorce that we have seen is the precaution in regard to the name taken to this length. The usual expression is simply : וכל שום דאית לי.

[5] Notice the redundancy of the expression יתיכי ליכי which, however, is found elsewhere. Cf. Blau, *loc. cit.*, part ii, p. 99.

[6] סת אלדאר would mean "lady of the house." See Steinschneider, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xi, p. 330.

XI. BILL OF DIVORCE[1]

A bill of divorce given to Sitt al-Dār, daughter of Isaac, of the village of Benha al-'Asal, by her husband—whose name may have been Shilyā—in the city of Fusṭāṭ.

It is dated 1590 of the Era of Documents, i.e. A.D. 1278.

On the *verso* the witnesses have testified to having handed the bill of divorce to the woman in question.

Recto:

1 On the third day of the week, [Tuesday], which is the twenty-ninth day of the month

2 Tammūz, of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety of [the Era of] Documents[2],

3 according to the method of dating by which we are accustomed to count here in Fusṭāṭ of Egypt,

4 which is situate upon the river Nile, I .....[11]

5 of the city of Fusṭāṭ[3]—and any other name or surname that I may possess,

6 my father may possess, my place of dwelling or the places of dwelling of my fathers may possess[4]—I desire,

7 in perfect free-will, and without being compelled: to free thee, to let thee go, and to cause thee[5] to depart—

8 thee my wife, Sitt al-Dār[6], daughter of Isaac, of the city of Benha[7]

9 al-'Asal—or any other name or surname that thou mayest possess, that thy fathers may possess,

10 or thy place of dwelling, or the places of dwelling of thy fathers[8] [may give thee], thou who wert my wife

11 prior to this. In such manner I release thee, I send thee forth, and I let

12 thee depart, that thou mayest be free and have the right, of thine own will,

13 to go and marry any man thou wilt.

14 No one can oppose thee in my name[9], from this day onward and forever. Behold!

---

[7] Yāḳūt, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, vol. i, p. 748, gives both pronunciations, Binha and Banha. The word אלעסל was added to it, because the best honey in Egypt came from the place. See, also, Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. v, p. 59. It occurs in other Genizah documents; see Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, general index, *s.v.*

[8] See above, line 6. The meaning seems to be that he wishes to cover any name that she or he may have coming from family possessions in other places.

[9] I.e. "saying that thou bearest my name." The addition of מן שמי is not normal; but see Blau, *loc. cit.*, part ii, p. 100.

15 את מותרת לכל אדם ודן דיהוי ליכי מני ספר
16 תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין כדת משה וישראל
17 עמנואל בי׳ וחיאל נבתויא ש[ל]ה בר עמרם נע׳

Verso:

1 מטא גיטא הדין ליד המתגרשת די בגויה מיד שליא
2 המגרש בתורת גירושין גמורין לקמן אנן עידי מסירה
3 עמנואל בי׳ יחיאל נבתויא שלה בר עמרם נע׳

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[10] Here, and on *verso*, the letters נבתויא follow this name. In one document (Taylor-Schechter, 13. J6, No. 11) we find them after the very name which has been signed to our own: עימנואל בי׳ יחיאל נבתויא. See other examples of this combination of letters in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 236. It is not uncommon. Evidently it contains the first letters of some pious wish.

15 Thou art free to every man. It is proper that thou shouldst receive from
me a document
16 of freedom, a bill of divorce, and a letter of dismissal, according to the
law of Moses and of Israel.
17 [Witnesses] Immanuel, son of Rabbi Yeḥīēl[10].
Shēlāh Bar ʿAmram.

Verso:

1 This bill of divorce has reached the divorcee, who is among her people,
from the hand of Shilyā[11],
2 the divorcer, according to the law of complete divorce. Below we the
witnesses of the delivery [sign our names]:
3 Immanuel, son of Rabbi Yeḥīēl Shēlāh Bar ʿAmram.

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[11] If this reading is correct, one may restore *recto*, line 4 thus:

אנא ..ן שליא .. רי בה

and translate: "I,.....Shilyā..., who [live] in the city of Cairo," etc.

XII. LETTER

Paper 8 × 6⅝ inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters. Cf. III, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV.

Written with a scratchy pen and gummy ink in a degenerate cursive Hebrew hand of which the similar letters are usually entirely undifferentiated.

Recto:

1 כתאבי יא סידי ומולאי אטאל אללה בקאה ואדאם סלאמתה וסעאדתה
אן אלמסתקר

2 עז חאל סלאמה ועאפיה אלאמר ללה רב אלעלמין לז כלון מן שבט כתמה
ללה

3 עלינא ועליך בכיר אעלמך יא מולאי אן תקדמת מני אליך עדה כתב ארגו

4 אגאבך עליהא וקד וצל כתאבך עלי יד סידי אבי אברה[י]ם אסמאעיל קפוה

5 ותם וצל איצא מן בעדה גואב אכר עלי יד לפיג ואנת תדכר פיה ביע

6 דהב לאעדמה ת[ו]צלה אלדנאניר שאכריה תסוא מן יז לי יח נוין ובקית

7 יא מולאי נעתגג לדאלך נחב מן מולאי אן יגתהד ויביע וישתרי מא

8 דכרת לה פי אלכתאב לא יוכד מנהא חאגה וישד לכל מא יבק לו ומא

9 נוציה פי חדית אלודע ויכון לרלחיניצי ומא דכרתה פי חדית אל

10 מתאע נחב מן מולאי אן ישק עלי רוחה פיה ויביע ובללה יא מולאי מא

11 נתחלין פיה עלי מא דכר שריכי ולאכן מא יאכד ואחד אלא מא קצי

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[1] Many letters begin with the simple word כתאבי. Cf. MS. Paris Consistoire VII. E. 18: .....כתאבי יא שיכי אטאל אללה; Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5542, No. 10: .....כתאבי אטאל אללה. Sometimes אלי is added; MS. Paris VII. E. 12, No. 31: .....כתאבי אלי סידי; cf. Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5542, No. 21. Sometimes the verb is used, in the first person or in the third person; e.g. Taylor-Schechter, 5. 7, No. 6: .....כתבת אטאל אללה; Bodl. MS. Hebr. c. 28, No. 55; Taylor-Schechter, 10. J4, No. 1: .....כתב עבד מולאי. Again, the verb is left to be understood; e.g. MS. Paris VII. E. 24. For the forms of address in Genizah letters, see Worman in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xix, pp. 721 ff., and Goldziher, in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. lv, pp. 54 ff.

[2] So the words should perhaps be rendered in this letter, instead of by "Lord and Master."

[3] In our texts there is a habit of using interchangeably the second and third persons, when speaking to the addressee; and the singular and plural of the first person, when the writer speaks of himself. In our translation we use one form only in each case.

[4] This formula gives some trouble because of its indefiniteness.

[5] Cf. the Koran, ch. i, verse 1. [6] جَواب here in the modern colloquial sense.

Genizah Fragment 12

XII LETTER

The Arabic is as slovenly as the script, and shows strong colloquial tendencies. The style is abbreviated and technical, perhaps intentionally cryptic. As he goes on the writer becomes more and more incoherent.

A letter from an unknown man to one whose name we read uncertainly as Abū Yaḥyā Nathaniel Ibn Nissīm, urging him to attend to certain business matters the nature of which is not clear.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter[1], Sir[2], [to you]. May God lengthen your[3] life and prolong your[3] health and happiness! Behold [in me] the inquirer[4]
2 after the state of your health and fortunes. God, the Lord of the Worlds[5], disposes [our affairs]. [There are now] 7 [days] remaining of [the month of] Shebhāṭ. May God complete it
3 auspiciously for you and us! I am informing you, Sir, a number of letters have gone forward from me to you. I hope [to receive]
4 your answer to them. Your letter arrived by the hand of master Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl Ḳfwḥ (?).
5 And then arrived, after it, another letter[6], by the hand of Lfyj (?). And you say in it: "Sell
6 gold to whoever needs it most. Send him the dīnārs as a favor[7], [the dīnār] equalling from 17 to 18 [and a] half [dirhams][8]." And I am still[9] in need[10] of [doing] this,
7 Sir. I desire of you, Sir, that you display some zeal, and sell and buy what
8 I told you to in the letter: not selecting some [one] thing[11] from it, but strictly doing everything that remains for you [to do], and what
9 I directed you [to do] in the matter[12] of the deposit. And may it become.....And what I said in the matter[12] of the
10 [personal] effects. I desire of [you], Sir, that you discipline yourself in this matter, and sell. And by Allah, Sir,
11 we are not going to save ourselves in [the business] according to what my partner says. But let no one take anything except what was decided upon

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[7] شاكريّة usually means "wages"; etymologically "thankfulness."

[8] Reading לי for ל, and נוץ for نُصّ, the colloquial form of نِصْف. In the ninth and tenth centuries the dīnār was worth about 15 dirhams. See Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, 1890, p. 43.

[9] Or in the modern colloquial sense: "I have come to be."

[10] נעתנג is perhaps *ni'tāj*, for نَحْتَاج.

[11] Vernacular sense.

[12] חדית can hardly have any other meaning here. Cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. i, p. 258, col. 2, line 4 from below.

12 . . . דכרתה פי כאבְ מן כאן קד סלמת לה ולמא כאן לה ענדי וקד
13 . . . . . ה ארטאל ולא נקץ סער וכ לעשרה והו יא מולאי פיה טול רוח
14 אן עצים ומא נדרי כיף כרג ראקְ ובכא ומא אצף לך מא קאיתְ
15 . . . ל עַנְדְ ומא קבצת ל בקית לא ווהטווט ומא יצח פי כלהא
16 אלא נחו ג דנאניר ולמשרך אללאן הו פי תרוגה והו לסעה מא וצל
17 ואן מְ[א] תוגה שי אלי אעְדא פְלם אגעלה פי לורק לו וגהו לכלפון
18 יביעה לך פמא אחתאג יא מולאי אדא וצל אבו עטר בן סְפראוי
19 תקבץ מנה יו דינאר אל . הי . גאְך מתאע אלדי כאנתְ לסידי
20 אל . . נין תדפעהא לה פתעלמני פיהא פי כתא[ב]ך אלאן קלבי
21 פיהא משגול אלא אן יצל כתאבך ולם לאי . ל . ומא
22 כאנת מן חאגה אוהב לי פיהא ותכון עני אבי אסחק ברהוּן
23 באפְצל סלאם ואן כתבת לי אבו ציד תקרי עני סידי
24 אבי אסחק ברהון סלאם ואבי עאללחסון סלאם ותשתרי
25 לי דסתין ורק גיאד וקד כתבת לכלפון ישתרי לך כבסא

Address:

1 לסידי מולאי אבי יח[יה] נתנא[ל] בן נסים נּע בן מחבה מצרוף בן מוסי נע
2 אטאל אללה עזה ואדאם סלאמתה ונעמתה . . . . . אלפסטאט אן שללה

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13 Reading כתאב.

14 Reading מן מא or ממא.

15 סער for ? סאר

16 אללאן is הלאן.

17 [ות]תרַחַּי.

18 Colloquial, *lissa*.

12 .....I said in [the] letter[13] about what[14] I have turned over to him and what I had of his [property]. And

13 .....5 roṭls, and not less, amount to[15] 26 for ten. And it [requires] patience,

14 great [patience]. And we do not know how it went.....and weeping. And I cannot describe to you what.....

15 .....and for all of it not [less]

16 than about 3 dīnārs would be proper. And the man who has taken [me] as partner is at present[16] hoped for[17] but has not yet[18] arrived.

17 But he is not[19] going to [our] enemies. But I did not put it on paper. If they had only gone to Ḥalfōn

18 to sell it for you. And what I require of you, Sir, [is that] when Abū ʿIṭr Ibn Sufrāwī arrives,

19 you take from him 16 dīnārs.....[personal] effects which belonged to master

20 .....you deliver them to him and then notify me of it in your letter. At present I am

21 worried[20] about them—until your letter arrives;.....and I

22 had nothing of my own remaining among them. And let there be from me [to][21] Abū Isaac Brhōn(?)

23 the most excellent[22] of greetings! And I have written to Abū Ṣaʿīd(?). Give my greetings [to][21] master

24 Abū Isaac Brhōn(?) and Abū al-Ḥusain(?). And buy

25 for me two books of paper of the best quality. I have written to Ḥalfōn to buy the pickles(?)[23].

Address:

To master Abū Yaḥyā(?) Nathaniel Ibn Nissīm Ibn Maḥabbah(?) Maṣrūf(?) Ibn Moses. May God prolong his vigor and continue his health and prosperity! Fusṭāṭ—if it please God!

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[19] Colloquial suffix, *-sh.*

[20] משל was written and deleted. [21] ל omitted.

[22] The scribe corrected the first two or three letters, and we can read neither the original nor the correction. He may have intended אפצל.

[23] كُبَسَاء, plural of كَبِيس ?

XIII. LIST OF TAX-PAYERS

A long strip of paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$ inches.
Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters.

Recto :

1 אלבאקי מן פסקה אלכראג	
דפע	
2 אלשייך אבו אל כיר אלבמארין	דינר
3 אלשייך אבו סדור פרח	דינר
4 אלשייך אבו סעד אבן אלסוכרי	דינר
5 אבן עמה	דינר ונצף
6 אלשייך אבו מנצור אבן חיים	דינרין
7 אלשייך אבו אל אעלא אבן אלבהורי	נצף דינר
8 אלשייך אבו אל אעלא אבן שעיא	נצף דינר
9 אלשייך אבו מנצור אלדוסתרי	דינר
10 אלכאתב אלדי דאר למאט	נצף דינר
11 אבן אלתרמדי	רבע דינר
12 אלשייך אבו אלחסן סבאע	נצף דינר
13 אבן אבוה	רבע דינר
14 אבו סעד אבן אלקאבסי	רבע דינר
15 אבן אלרפא	רבע דינר
16 ולד אסחק אבו פרח	רבע דינר
17 צהר נסים	תמן דינר
18 אבן עמראן אלטביב	רבע דינר

---

[1] "Good-luck."

[2] We omit the vowels when they are not known.

[3] "Lotus tree." [4] "Joy." [5] "Good-luck."

[6] "Sugary." Cf. *Zuckermann*, *Suessmann*, *Suesskind*, etc.

[7] Or Ibn 'Ammō. [8] Hebrew, "Life."

[9] "Lion-like." Cf. No. VII, note 4; or else بُهُورِيّ "of victories." The words "he has paid" were written above this name, then blotted out.

[10] Perhaps שַׁעְיָא from יְשַׁעְיָהוּ Isaiah.

XIII. LIST OF TAX-PAYERS

The title and contents indicate that we have here a register of tax-payers in some Jewish community, probably in Fusṭāṭ, with the amounts that they have paid—not the balance to be paid (as l. 1 states)—of the fiscal tax.

Interest centers in the personal names. One must remember, however, that these people were often no more conscious of the meaning and implication of their names than we ourselves are of ours. There are Arab-Muslim, Jewish and double names, epithets and descriptive identifications. The Jewish names already include well-known modern motifs.

Recto:

1 The Remainder of the Government Poll-Tax:

Paid by

2 The Sheikh Abū al-Khair[1] al-Bmārīn[2] — a dīnār.

3 The Sheikh Abū Sudūr[3] Faraḥ[4] — a dīnār.

4 The Sheikh Abū Sa'd[5] Ibn al-Sūkkarī[6] — a dīnār.

5 His cousin[7] — a dīnār and a half.

6 The Sheikh Abū Manṣūr Ibn Ḥayyīm[8] — two dīnārs.

7 The Sheikh Abū al-A'lā Ibn al-Bahwarī[9] — a half dīnār.

8 The Sheikh Abū al-A'lā Ibn Sha'yā[10] — a half dīnār.

9 The Sheikh Abū Manṣūr, the registrar[11] — a dīnār.

10 The Scribe who [lives in the] house of Lmāṭ — a half dīnār.

11 Ibn al-Tirmidhī[12] — a quarter dīnār.

12 The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Sibā'[13] — a half dīnār.

13 Ibn Abūh[14] — a quarter dīnār.

14 Abū Sa'd[5] Ibn al-Ḳābisī — a quarter dīnār.

15 Ibn al-Rifā[15] — a quarter dīnār.

16 Walad Isaac[16] Abū Faraḥ[4] — a quarter dīnār.

17 The brother-in-law[17] of Nissīm[18] — an eighth dīnār.

18 Ibn 'Umrān[19], the physician — a quarter dīnār.

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[11] Perhaps الدُّسْتُورِيّ.

[12] From Tirmidh.

[13] "Lion." Cf. note 9.

[14] Vernacular for ابن أَبِيهِ and meaning "Son of his (unknown) father," i.e. "illegitimate," or "son of his (well-known) father"; like Hebrew בן־אביו.

[15] "Harmony." [16] "Progeny of Isaac."

[17] Or "son-in-law."

[18] "Wonders."

[19] "Prosperity."

19	אבן סהל אלשראבי	תמן דינר
20	אבן מפרג אלאבזארי	תמן דינר
21	אבן בושיר	נצף דינר
22	אלשייך אבו אלחסן צדקה	נצף דינר
23	אלשייך אבו זכרי אבן סוגמאר	נצף דינר
24	אבו אלפ̣רג נסים	נצף דינר
25	אבו זכרי אבן מנשה	רבע דינר
26	אבו נצר אבן אלמקונן ושריכה	נצף דינר
27	מוסי אבן אלמגאני	תמן דינר
28	נסים אלמגרבי	תמן דינר
29	אבו אלכיר אלצירפי	קירתין
30	אבו עמראן ענד אלשרטא	תמן דינר
31	אבן רחמה	רבע דינר
32	אבו עמראן בן צגיר	רבע דינר
33	אבו עמראן	רבע דינר
34	אבו נצר בן מכתאר	רבע דינר
35	אבו אלכיר אלגיר	רבע דינר
	Verso :	
36	מולאי אלשיך אבו מנצור	נצף דינר
37	אבו סעד אבן אל קטאיף	נצף דינר
38	אבו עמראן אבן אלכיאט	רבע.תמן רבע דינר
39	אבו אל חי	תמן דינר
40	אבו אל חסין אבן אל עאבד וצהרה הבה אלגמי[ע]	
41	וצהרה אבו אלפרג	נצף ורבע

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[20] "Easy," i.e. of birth, or wished-for future.

[21] "Comforter."

[22] From Buzār, a village about two parasangs distant from Nīsāpūr, Persia. Cf. al-Asyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, ed. Veth, pp. 6, 30, רז.

[23] "Little messenger of good."

[24] Hebrew צדקה "Righteousness."

[25] Perhaps an abbreviation of Hebrew זְכַרְיָה Zechariah.

19 Ibn Sahl[20] the wine-dealer — an eighth dīnār.
20 Ibn Mufarrij[21] al-Ubzārī[22] — an eighth dīnār.
21 Ibn Bushair[23] — a half dīnār.
22 The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Ṣadaḳah[24] — a half dīnār.
23 The Sheikh Abū Zekharāi[25] Sūjmār — a half dīnār.
24 Abū al-Faraj Nissīm[18] — a half dīnār.
25 Abū Zekharāi[25] Ibn Manasseh — a quarter dīnār.
26 Abū Naṣr the son of the public mourner[26], and his partner — a half dīnār.
27 Moses Ibn al-Majānī[27] — an eighth dīnār.
28 Nissīm[18] al-Maghribī[28] — an eighth dīnār.
29 Abū al-Khair[1] the money-changer — two carats[29].
30 Abū 'Umrān[19], with the police[30] — an eighth dīnār.
31 Ibn Raḥmah[31] — a quarter dīnār.
32 Abū 'Umrān[19] Bin[32] Ṣaghīr[33] — a quarter dīnār.
33 Abū 'Umrān[19] — a quarter dīnār.
34 Abū Naṣr Bin[32] Mukhtār — a quarter dīnār.
35 Abū al-Khair[1] the proselyte[34] — a quarter dīnār.

Verso:

36 My lord the Sheikh Abū Manṣūr — a half dīnār.
37 Abū Sa'd[5] Ibn al-Katā'if[35] — a half dīnār.
38 Abū 'Umrān, son of the tailor[36] — a quarter dīnār.
39 Abū al-Ḥayy[37] — an eighth dīnār.
40 Abū al-Ḥusain Ibn al-'Ābid[38] and his brother-in-law[17], Hibah[39] — the whole.
41 And the brother-in-law[17] of Abū al-Faraj — a half and a quarter dīnār.

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[26] מְקוֹנֵן, a Hebrew word with an Arabic article.
[27] "Profit." [28] "From the Barbary States."
[29] I.e. one-twelfth dīnār.
[30] شُرْطَه? or perhaps for شُطَراء "strangers." [31] "Mercy."
[32] Here written בן and not אבן. This is possibly the north African *Bin*; hardly the Hebrew בֶּן; almost certainly the regular form ابن as it appears in names in Arabic orthography.
[33] "Little." [34] Hebrew גַּר; or else جَيِّد "good."
[35] "Sweetmeats." Cf. note 6.
[36] Or Ibn al-Khayyāṭ. Over this name there is written in small letters, "a quarter, an eighth."
[37] "Living." Cf. note 8.
[38] "Pious." [39] "Gift."

42 צרקה אל צפין	רבע דינר
43 צרקה אל זגאג	רבע דינר
44 אבו אל חוסין אלדהבי	רבע דינר
45 טיבאן	רבע דינר
46 אבו אל חסן צדקה בן שמעון	רבע דינר
47 אלשיך אבו אסחק אבן אל עסאל	רבע דינר
48 פרג בן נחום	רבע דינר
49 אזהר בן אזהר	רבע דינר
50 אלשיך אבו אסחק בן חוגיג	רבע דינר
51 אלשיך אבו סחק אל פצי	רבע דינר
52 אלשיך אבו יוסף אבן אל	רבע דינר
53 כלף אלזיאת	תמן דינר
54 אבו סרור סדר אלמגרבי	רבע דינר
55 אבו מוסי הרון אלגהבד	רבע דינר

40 "Hidden Treasure." 41 The same as Ḥusain, of course.

42 "Golden." Cf. *Goldmann*, *Goldstein*, *Goldberg*, etc.

43 Pedantic as it would be, perhaps it is طَيِّبًا "well done!"

42 Ṣadaḳah[24] al-Ṣafīn[40] — a quarter dīnār.
43 Ṣadaḳah[24] the glazier — a quarter dīnār.
44 Abū al-Ḥūsain[41] al-Dhahabī[42] — a quarter dīnār.
45 Ṭayyibān[43] — a quarter dīnār.
46 Abū al-Ḥasan Ṣadaḳah[24] Bin[32] Simon — a quarter dīnār.
47 The Sheikh Abū Isaac Ibn al-'Assāl[44] — a quarter dīnār.
48 Faraj Bin[32] Nahum — a quarter dīnār.
49 Azhar Bin[32] Azhar[45] — a quarter dīnār.
50 The Sheikh Abū Isaac Bin[32] Ḥūjaij[46] — a quarter dīnār.
51 The Sheikh Abū Isaac[47] al-Fiḍḍī[48] — a quarter dīnār.
52 The Sheikh Abū Joseph Ibn al-..... — a quarter dīnār.
53 Kalaf[49] the oil-dealer — an eighth dīnār.
54 Abū[50] Sarūr Sidr[51] al-Maghribī[28] — a quarter dīnār.
55 Abū Moses Aaron the money-changer — a quarter dīnār.

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[44] "Sweet as honey." Cf. note 6.

[45] "Very brilliant." Cf. *Glanz*, *Finkelstein*, etc.

[46] حُجَيج "Little ear-ring." [47] The ℵ has been omitted.

[48] "Silvery." Cf. *Silbermann*, *Silberstein*, etc.

[49] "Love," or perhaps خَلْف "progeny."

[50] There seems to have been something before this, blotted out.

[51] "Lotus tree."

XIV. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Paper. One double page, $8\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters. On the *verso* much has been blurred and effaced.

Recto: (*a*)

1 שרח אלדי וקע עלי אלחריר אלמצבוג
2 אלאצל כאם סו רטל אלתמן שׁ דינר
3 וכרג עליהא נפקה ולואזם מא ישרח
4 אולא נקין אלסו רטל כ דינר
5 ופי קרמז ללצבאג פה דינר
6 ופי נפקה ענהא כה דינר
7 ופי אגרת אל .... צבאגין כ דינר
8 ופי צבאג אכ̣ל ואכצר כד דינר
9 דאלך אלגמלה קעד דינר
10 אלגמלתין תעד דינר
11 צח פיה מצבוג סג רטל

Recto: (*b*)

1 וזן אלחריר אלדי תרכת ענד סידי אבי
2 אסחק אבן אלאסכנדראני סלמה ללה
3 יז רטל בזאש

Verso: (*a*)

1 אלדי לי פי פור .....ג אעדל
2 נפ·ס·ע...א... בחמל אלכרי [1]
3 מתקאלין ונצף ואיצא עדל חריר
4 פיה ..... אלחריר וּמ·וד מצבוג
5 ורזמתין לי עתיק ובסאטט כביר
6 חסב ניף חמל כרתה מתקאל ורבע
7 קבין מן דאלך .... תכון מתקאלין
8 בקי עלי מ[תקא]לין אלי רבע ידפעהא

[1] A roṭl is equal to about 12 ounces.

[2] Cf. No. VII, note 8.

[3] Perhaps some mistake had been made in the weighing, or the quality was not what it should have been.

[4] He had written [צין]תלא "polishers."

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 14 a

XIV. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Recto: (*a*)

1 Detail of the sum spent for the dyed silk:
2 The stock, unbleached, 66 roṭls[1]; price — 300 dīnārs[2].
3 Expenses and other necessaries paid out as follows:
4 Firstly, diminution in the value of the 66 roṭls[3] — 20 dīnārs.
5 And in crimson dye for the dyer — 85 dīnārs.
6 And in expenses connected with this — 25 dīnārs.
7 And in wages for the dyers[4] — 20 dīnārs.
8 And in.....[5] and green dyes — 24 dīnārs.

---

9 The whole sum equals — 174 dīnārs.
10 The two sums equal — 474 dīnārs.
11 There resulted actually of dyed goods, 63 roṭls.

Recto: (*b*)

1 Weight of the silk which I left with my lord Abū
2 Isaac al-Iskandarānī—God grant him grace!—
3 is 17 roṭls.....(?)[6]

Verso: (*a*)

1 .....which belongs to me in.....3 bales
2 .....by the load[7]
3 two mithḳāls[8] and a half, and also a bale of silk,
4 in which.....the silk, and dyed.....
5 and two bundles of clothes belonging to me, old[9], and a large rug[10]
6 enough for more than the load of.....a mithḳāl and a quarter
7 taken off from this.....becomes two mithḳāls.
8 There remains on two mithḳāls as much as a quarter which he will pay

---

[5] Perhaps أَخْطَل "fly-green," or أَرْبَل "tree-green."

[6] A word of four letters follows.

[7] כרי = كِرًى for كراء. Cf. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Vol. iv, p. 340.

[8] Cf. No. VII, note 8.

[9] We should have expected a dual.

[10] בסאטט has an extra ט as if بَسَاطِيط from a singular بُسْطَاط.

9 אליה . . . . . דפעתהא אליה

10 . . . . ת ב . . עמראן אלסקלי עדל פיה

11 . . . . . בות מרנאן מנהא אלי אלמראג

12 ב . ז . ול . . . כלה וילכא . . . לי . . . וזנת

13 אנא ען . . . . אלעדל חמל וברטיל דירה[ם]

Verso : (b)

1 שרי אלעצפר ה קנאטיר מן סער

2 כט דינר כל קנטאר אלתמן קמה דינר

3 וכרג ענה אנטאע ותלים ותכאל וכיט

4 ושרא . ח דנאר ודרהמין וברטיל

5 וחמלין ולואזם יב דרה דאלך מן אלגמלה

6 . . דינר כד דינר ו דרה

---

11 Cf. סקליה = "Sicily," in Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, Vol. ii, p. 74, l. 11: صقلية, سقليه. Ibn Khurdādhbih (de Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, Vol. vi), p. 91.

9 to him.....I have paid them to him
10 .....'Umrān the Sicilian[11], a sack in which is
11 .....corals, some of them belonging to the coral-gatherer[12]
12 .....I have weighed
13 I from.....the sack, the porterage and the bakshish of a dirham.

Verso: (b)

1 He has bought 5 hundredweight of saffron from Sa'd
2 [paying] 29 dīnārs for every hundredweight [which makes] the price 145 dīnārs
3 and [these should be] deducted from this [for] leather table-cloths, and .....and.....and string
4 and.....8 dīnārs and 2 dirhams, and bakshish
5 and [for] porters[13] and [other] necessary expenses 12 dirhams. This [to be taken] from the sum
6 .....dīnārs, 24 dīnārs, 6 dirhams.

---

[12] مَرَّاج instead of the usual مَرَاجِنِيّ.

[13] חמלין for حَمَّالِين, but in the colloquial form *ḥámmalīn*.

XV. CHARM

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters, not easily read. Vowel points are occasionally inserted, but ignorantly. The spelling is bad, and may represent a peculiar pronunciation: Moroccan, Persian, Yemenite or Ashkenazic. The Arabic article and imperative have crept in.

Recto:

1 בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה נעשה וְנִצְלֶח
2 עַל פִּי יָהוָה יָבִיא אֵלַי שֵׂר
3 השרים אך : מיטטרון
4 אך הוא אהוב וחביב
5 מכל פְּנֵי מרומן עבד
6 לאלוהי ישראל כהן גודל
7 ראש הכהנים שיש לך
8 שבעים שימות שאתה
9 הממונה על הסרים הגדולים
10 ואתה ראש המהנות
11 משביע אני עוליך בשם יָהוָה
12 צְבָאוֹת אלוהי ישראל יָושֵׁב
13 הכרובים ובשם המפורש
14 ובשם הגודל הגבר והנרא
15 החזק הא·מן המסגב הנפלא
16 וּבְשֵׁם אֶסְטֶטֶסֶם אֵל רחמא[ן]
17 שתאביא ולמימר בשושן
18 בשמחה בבשרה טובה

---

[1] Or perhaps שר השדים, "the Prince of demons." In any case "prince" is the technical term for the figures seen by the "scryer," or gazer into crystals, ink-pools, and the like. The Arabs call them "kings." In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 37 ff., there is abundant material on this subject. See also Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in Later Jewish Literature*, London, 1913; and Blau, *Altjüdisches Zauberwesen*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 11. *Sanhedrīn*, 101a says: "One is allowed to ask the princes of oil and the princes of eggs; only they lie. One whispers a spell over oil in the vessel, but does not whisper over oil in the hand....." Blau fails to understand that this refers to scrying with oil and with eggs, broken into a cup or plate. Rashī (11th cent.) on the passage, explains the "princes of oil" as "princes of the thumb." They are figures seen in the oiled thumbnail.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 15 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 15 b

XV. CHARM

This is a magical text, to be used in "scrying," or self-hypnotic gazing, at some bright surface. The angel Mīṭaṭrōn is adjured by the Ineffable Name, with the will of God, to reveal through an apparition, or "prince," the location of hidden gold pieces, to one Ṣedhāḳāh Ben Sitt al-Ahl, and his mother, Sitt al-Ahl. The magic is kept "white" by reference to the God of Israel; but His Name is nevertheless taken in vain. Scrying with oil, ink, egg, and bright objects was common among Jews and Arabs in the Orient, then as now.

Recto:

In the Name of YHWH may we do and prosper!
According to the word of YHWH may it bring to me the Prince of
the princes[1], Akh[2]! Mīṭaṭrōn[3]!
Akh[2]! He is more beloved[4] and dear
than all the faces of His heaven. A servant[5]
unto the God of Israel! High Priest[6]!
Chief of the Priests, unto whom belong
seventy names! [You] who are
the appointed one over the great princes!
You, the chief of the appointed ones!
I adjure you[7] by the Name YHWH
Ṣebhā'ōth, the God of Israel, seated
above the Cherubim[8]! And by the Ineffable Name!
And by the Great, Mighty, Awful Name[9]!
The Strong, Steadfast[10], Exalted, Gigantic [Name]!
And by the name Eses! Teses[11]! Raḥmān[12]!
That you bring and [make] to speak, gladly[13],
with rejoicing and good tidings;

---

[2] A proper name or a magical word of power.

[3] The highest of the angels. See Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim.*

[4] This is "white" magic. The possible evil of resorting to it is averted by considering the spiritual agent as merely the deputy of God, or as a blessed agency.

[5] After עבד was written סגן, "deputy high priest."

[6] גדול is constantly spelled גודל in this text.

[7] עוליך for עָלֶיךָ. The ך was deflected toward *o*.

[8] From I Samuel iv, 4.

[9] The writer intended הגדול הגבור הנורה.

[10] There is a deleted letter in האמן.

[11] Magical words of power. On the *margin*: "Forever and ever."

[12] Arabic as well as Hebrew.

[13] There would be danger in dealing with unwilling spirits.

19 ותראיני לי וליה אמר
20 בזה הלילה מהירה אי
21 זה מקם אלזהובים פה
22 אלכה עינינו נראה זה
23 המקם תמים תמים
24 בשם השבעתי עוליך אתה
25 השר הגודל עשה במהירה
26 ברוּגְאה עשה ואל תאחר
27 וכבודך של שם המפורש
28 יהי רצוֹן מלפני יְהוָה
29 לצדקה בן שׁת אלאהֿל

Verso :

30 ולשת אלאהל ויודיע
31 מחשובת אמן אמן
32 סלה הודיעינו אי זה
33 מזה מקם אשׁר במקם
34 וארה ולא אשכח אתה
35 ואכירה שבע פעומים
36 ותנצל נפשי מן זה המות
37 הזה השבעתי עוליך
38 אשר הגודל הממונה על השרים
39 בשם יְהוָה אלהֵי ישראל יושׁ
40 הכרובים שתראיני אלחלם
41 שבעה פעומים ולא אשכח
42 אתה ברוך שם כבוד
43 מלכותו לעולם ועד אמֿן
44 אמן סלה תת תת תתתת
45 תת תת תת . תת ותת
46 אמן סלה ברך שם כבוד

---

14 For לִי וְלֵה (Aramaic).
15 Arabic article with a Hebrew word.
16 בְּרֵנְעָה ?

19 and that you cause me to see: [cause] me [to see] it[14]!
[This, O magician,] say:
20 "In this night! Quickly! Where is
21 this—the place of the[15] gold pieces? Here?
22 Let me go! [With] our eyes let us see this—
23 the place! Perfectly! Perfectly!
24 By the Name I have adjured you[7]! You,
25 the Great Prince! Act quickly,
26 instantly[16]! Act, and delay not!
27 And [by] your honor, which is [the honor of] the Ineffable Name!
28 Let it be a favor from the presence of YHWH,
29 unto Ṣedhāḳāh Ben Sitt al-Ahl[17].

Verso:

30 and unto Sitt al-Ahl! And may he make known
31 thoughts[18]! Amen! Amen!
32 Selah! Inform us! Where is this—
33 what is this place which is somewhere[19]!
34 And let me see; and do not you forget [, O Prince][20]!"
35 And [this is] the end[21], [of the spell, which you say] seven times[22].
36 And may my soul escape this—this
37 death[23]! I adjure you[7],
38 who are the great one, appointed over the princes,
39 by the name of YHWH, the God of Israel, seated above
40 the Cherubim, that you show me the[15] dream[24]!
41 [The following say] seven times[22], and do not forget[20]:
42 "Thou art blessed, Name of Honor!
43 His rule is forever and ever! Amen!
44 Amen! Selah! TT TT TTTT
45 TT TT TT. TT and TT[11]
46 Amen! Selah! Blessed is the Name of Honor!

---

[17] I.e. "Lady of the Family." Cf. the Arabic name Sitt al-Dār in No. XI, and Sitt al-Bahā, Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 363.

[18] For מחשבות.

[19] The disjointed construction may be due to confusion.

[20] An Arabic imperative of a Hebrew word.

[21] Arabic.

[22] פעומים for פְּעָמִים. The ר was deflected toward *o*.

[23] I.e. the result of attempting the spell, or of not ridding oneself of its influence at the conclusion. Cf. p. 49 of the article in *J.A.O.S.* cited. Professor Campbell Bonner suggests reading מית = מֵת "dead"; and understands here a reference to a necrodaemon.

[24] I.e. the vision in the crystal.

47 השבעתי עליך השר
48 הגודל הממונה
49 על השרים הגדלים
50 בשם המפורש
51 שתראיני מקם
52 אלזהובים ולא
53 אשכח אתה בערק
54 תמים ותגלה לי
55 לי אנא סורה במהרה
56 אמן אמן סלה

I adjure you, O Great
Prince, the appointed one
over the great princes,
by the Ineffable Name!
that you show me the place
of the gold pieces. And do not
you forget[20]! [It is] in a box!
Perfectly! And reveal to me!
To me! Me! SWRH! Quickly!
Amen! Amen! Selah!"

XVI. DOCUMENT

A small sheet of paper, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing a document in Arabic script and language.

The script is atrociously bad; and for the full deciphering, it would need the vision of the late Professor J. Karabacek[1]. In two or three places only are dots used to distinguish one letter from several of its fellows.

The scrawl at the end of line 8 can only be imagined to stand for six hundred. If this is correct, the document is dated Monday, the 2nd of Shawwāl, 654 A.H., or the 23rd of October, A.D. 1256.

On the *verso* are three more lines of the same sort, and above these at least one preceding line. Of these scarcely a word can be read.

The difficulty of deciphering such writing as this might be compared to what would be encountered centuries hence by anyone who tried to read the strange marks now made by salesmen on their sales-slips in our department stores.

Grateful acknowledgment of assistance is here made to M. Casanova of Paris, to Mr David Yellin of Jerusalem, and to Mr Raja F. Howrani.

Recto:

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اقر محمد بن مصطفى بن عبد الله الفران وصله
من مدة

2 . . . . . للوضع نحوه له مرسم عنده فى ضمنه وحرزه

3 لغرض ماله لمرسم له قبل اسحاق بن ابى سعد بن محاسن اليهودى

4 الكعكى وصله سالما . دفع . طالما من يشهد بتوفيه ضمنه

5 مهما ضمنه فى مبلغ المسطور المكتوب على اسحاق المذكور وعلى ابرهيم

6 بركات حق بلا طلب ولا ضمان لمرسمى فيه

7 ولا حق من سائر الحقوق كلها بالغاية باسرها

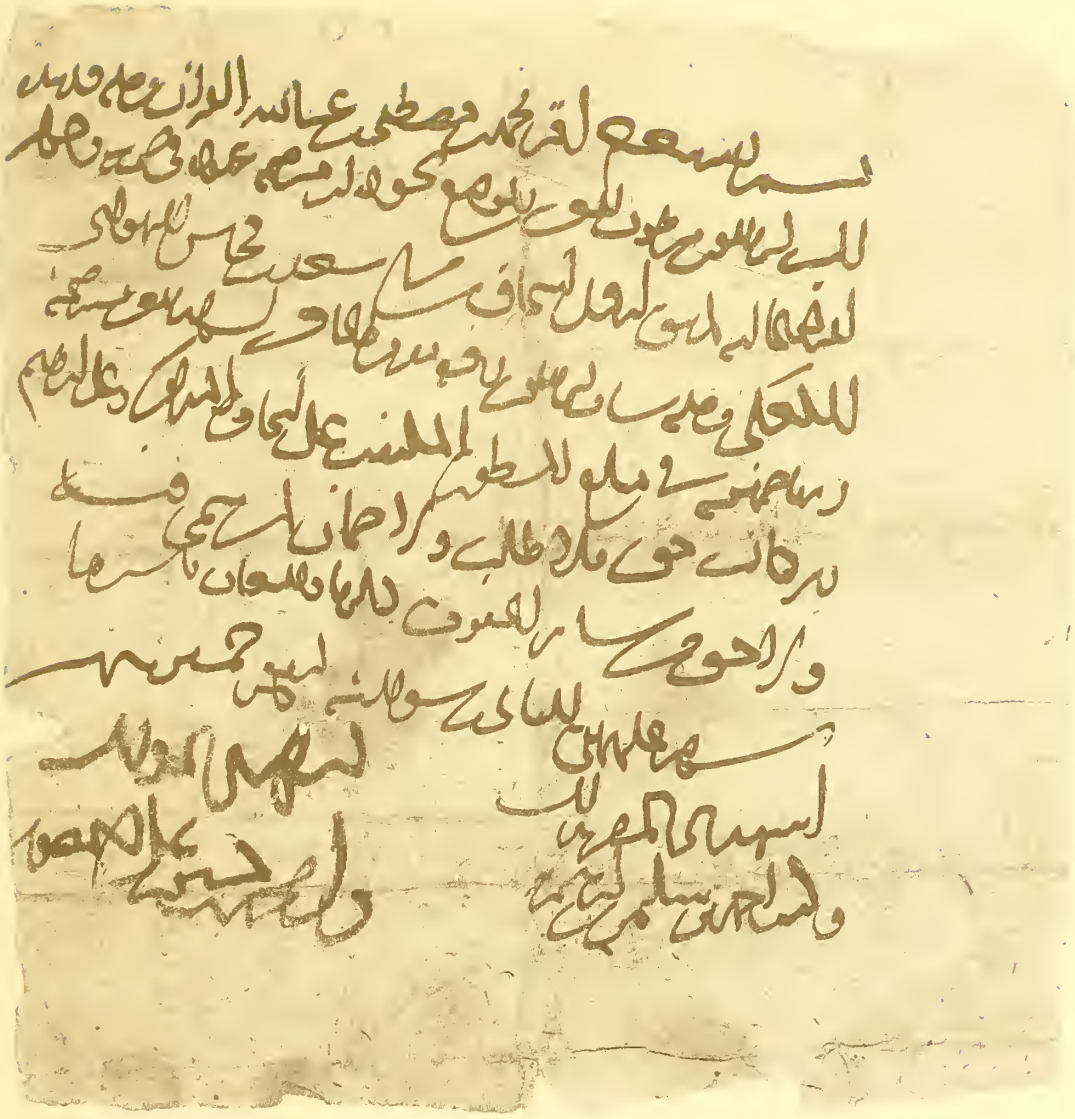
8 شهد عليهما فى الثانى من شوال سنة اربع وخمسين وستماة

9 اشهد على المقر بذلك

10 وكتب احمد بن سليمان بن ابرهيم
اشهد بذلك
وكتب محمد بن حسين بن على بن منصور

---

[1] See, e.g., his publication of specimens from Arabic documents in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vols. ii and iii, pp. 87 seq., his *Führer durch die Ausstellung*, p. 259, and al-Ḳalḳāshandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol. iii, pp. 55–142.



Genizah Fragment 16 a



Genizah Fragment 16 b

XVI. DOCUMENT

A document in which a Muslim, Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā, acknowledges that he has received from two Jews, Isaac Ibn Abū Sa'd and Abraham Barakāt, the value of money which they owe him. Isaac and Abraham are released from any further responsibility for this. Isaac seems to have transacted the business. Two Muslims sign their names as witnesses of the acknowledgment. Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā does not himself sign. The words "he wrote" before the signatures show that we have here only a copy of the document. Perhaps this is often the case with our fragments.

Recto:

1 In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā Ibn 'Abdallāh, the Baker, acknowledges [that] he received some time ago

2 .....[2] as a deposit and so forth[3], belonging to him, itemized, in his possession, in his responsible custody,

3 as something belonging to him, documented as his, in the presence of Isaac Ibn Abū Sa'd Ibn Muḥāsin the Jew,

4 the pastryman, [that] he has received safely.....payment.....as long as anyone witnesses the complete payment of his responsibility,

5 whatever his responsibility, in the sum documented and written down against the aforementioned Isaac and against Abraham

6 Barakāt, a right without question and without responsibility for the things explicitly mentioned[4]

7 or any claim of all the remaining [possible] claims, at the utmost, in their entirety.

8 He testified regarding the two of them on the second of Shawwāl, [of] the year six hundred and fifty-four.

9 I testify regarding him who acknowledged this: And he wrote[5]: "Aḥmad Ibn Sulaimān Ibn Ibrahīm." I testify regarding this:

10 And he wrote[5]: "Muḥammad Ibn Ḥusain Ibn 'Alī Ibn Manṣūr."

---

[2] Evidently certain articles are named here, or sums of money. The second word in this line occurs again as the fourth word in line 4.

[3] نحوه, abbreviating some documentary formula.

[4] لمرسمى is plainly written. Is it intended for a plural construct?

[5] Equivalent to our bracketed word "Signed."

XVII. PENITENTIAL HYMN

Paper $10\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, written upon both sides.

Hebrew in rude, cursive Hebrew letters.

The strophe is of four lines, the first three of which rime, while the fourth line contains the general rime of the hymn. The first line in the fragment contains the end of one stanza. There follow three stanzas, and then comes one line containing a few words of supplication that are often used as a mark of division between one poem and another one succeeding it. After these stanzas come two stanzas of two different pizmōnīm ; but these contain only two lines each, so-called "sheniyyah," though the same rime ends each half-line. A later hand has copied and fully punctuated these two stanzas.

Recto :

והוכה ומת אין לו דמים[1]

פזמ

כלה נא מאדום צבא והמון[2]

וקם שבט מנוחלי דת אמון[3]

ואז על משפטו ישב ארמון[4]

נא בצדקת אב המון בא בימים

פזמ

נא בשוב עמך אל יקח בשנה

ופדהו שנית כמו מגושנה

לשוב בשנות קדם לשער הישנה

לחוג בשנה שלש פעמים

פזמ

זרויים ישמיע אל מזבולו

קול מבשר מאת פניה' כי לו

[צאנ]כם עם מרעיתו וחבלו

יב[שר] גאולה ולא יקהת עמים

אל מלך יושב על כסא רחמים

אל מלך

---

[1] Cf. Exodus xxii, 1.

[2] I.e. Rome or the Byzantine Empire.

[3] Read וָקָם. Cf. Numbers xxiv, 17 : וָקָם שבט מישראל.

[4] The reference is, of course, to Egypt. The original reading of the third word was מנאון. This has been smudged out and beneath it מנוחלי written.

XVII. PENITENTIAL HYMN

A portion of a Pizmōn, i.e. a hymn with a refrain, forming a part of the extensive Selīḥah, or penitential, literature, which was composed by the Jews during the early Middle Ages, and graced the Synagogal liturgy upon days set apart for invoking the forgiveness and the clemency of God.

Acknowledgments are due to Professor Israel Davidson for his help with some of the faded places, and with the literature.

Recto:

1 And be smitten that he die, there shall be no blood shed for him[1].

Pizmōn.

2 Make an end, now, in Edom[2] of host and legion,

3 And a sceptre shall rise[3] out of [Israel,] the inheritors of [subjection to] the law of Ammon[4].

4 And then in judgment may He sit in His palace—

5 Because of the righteousness of the Father of Nations, stricken in age[5].

Pizmōn.

6 O, when Thy people repenteth, let it not receive shame[6].

7 Redeem it a second time as Thou didst from Goshen,

8 That it may return, as in days of yore, to the Old Gate[7],

9 To celebrate Thy festivals three times a year.

Pizmōn.

10 May God cause His scattered ones to hear His voice from on high,

11 A voice of good tidings from God himself, that to Him belongs

12 Your flock[8], together with its pasture-place and its land,

13 Proclaiming redemption[9]. To Him the people shall gather.

14 O God, King, that sittest upon the seat of mercy.

15 O God, King!

---

[5] I.e. Abraham; cf. Genesis xviii, 11; xxiv, 1. The scribe wrote at first באימין, which he then corrected.

[6] Cf. Hosea x, 6: בָּיְשָׁנָה.

[7] Cf. Nehemiah iii, 6.

[8] Reading quite uncertain. Professor Davidson suggests as a possible reading עדריכם.

[9] Professor Davidson disagrees with the reading, and believes that only four letters fill the space, i.e. גולה. It is peculiar that וְלוֹ is written ולא, though in the passage (Gen. xlix, 10) there is no Kere and Kethibh.

Verso :

1 יי שמעה בקולי ראה עניי ועמלי
2 וכפר חטאי ומעלי יי אלהים חילי

פזמ

3 אם חטאי נשמר ועוני נגמר
4 בשרי מפחדך סמר יי מה אומר

XVIII. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Paper $9\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Leaf from a merchant's note-book.

Arabic in Hebrew characters : written in a hurried cursive hand, similar to that on the *verso* of No. XXXVI, and very difficult to read.

Recto :

1 אבו זכרי קכו וה׳ בו
2 דאוד קכו ט קש
3 ואבו זכרי קפו ונף
4 אבו יוסף קפט . . . .
5 גדע אבי זכרי פה . . . .
6 . . . . . עולאי מלפלפל
7 צו ש

---

8 וגבת מ . . . פלפל עב ש
9 מנלך נוע כג ז וש
10 ודע גיץ ו ש . . . .
11 וגיץ ו . . . . נוע ו א ותלת
12 קנכא אלף . . . . . .
13 אבו אלסרור כל . . ג איצא
14 צא ש . . . .
15 ועליה צדת תצל בכט . . . .
16 פצנכת כח ש ונסף

Verso:

1 O God, listen to my voice, understand my affliction and my travail.
2 Forgive my sins and my faithlessness. The Lord God is my strength[10].

Pizmōn.

3 If my sin is to be remembered, if my iniquity is to be completed,
4 From fear of Thee my flesh would creep; O God! What shall I say[11]?

XVIII. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

It is impossible to give a connected translation, or even to transcribe more than these first two sections of the *recto*. The remaining section of the *recto*, and the *verso*, which has two sections running from opposite ends to the center, are in the same hand, though more carelessly written.

Below we print a few of the expressions which are recognizable.

Recto:

1 Abū Zachariah, 126 and 5, 26
2 David, 126 9, 100, 300
3 and Abū Zachariah, 186 and a half
4 Abū Joseph, 189.....
5 Abū Zachariah's boy, 85.....
6 .....with pepper,
7 97, 300

---

8 And I brought.....pepper, 72, 300
9 .....variety, 23, 7 and 300
10 .....7, 300
11 .....variety, 6, 1 and a third.
12 .....thousand.....
13 Abū al-Sarūr, all...3 also
14 91, 300
15 and he owes.....combined with 29.....
16 .....28, 300 and a half

---

[10] Cf. Habakkuk iii, 19. [11] Cf. Joshua vii, 8.

XIX. POETIC FRAGMENTS UPON THE BACK OF AN ARABIC DOCUMENT

Paper $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Portion of a book (?) made up of long strips of paper which had been used once before. Upon the back there are some lines in a hopelessly difficult Arabic script.

Recto :

1 . . . בָּאֵשׁ אוֹכֶלֶת
2 וְאֵשׁ יָגוֹן שְׂרָפָת
3 וְכִמְעַט קָט אֲכָלַתְנִי
4 וְאֵיךְ תֵּיקַד וְכַפַּתְנִי
5 מַעְיָנֵי שְׁבוּלֶת
6 וְהֵן לָעָה דִּבְרָתִי
7 כִּי נִם רַבָּה מַכּוֹתִי
8 והושבה שִׁמְלָתִי
9 בְּדַם עֵינָי מְגוֹלֶלֶת
10 מ . . . . חָשְׁכוּ מְאוֹרָי
11 וְשָׁבוּ כְצֵל יצורי
12 ל . . . . . מְמְגוֹרָי
13 תֵּבֵל מִתְחַלְחֶלֶת
14 ומ . . . וְאָשְׁכוֹנָה
15 מְעוֹן תַּנִּין וּבַת יַעֲנָה
16 ויהי לִי כְנַף יוֹנָה
17 אוֹ רַגְלֵי אַיָּלֶת
18 ולִי יָאוֹר[1] בֵּינֵיהֶם
19 לִשְׁפוֹן . . . בְּנֵיהֶם
20 . . . . . וּמִקְרֵיהֶם
21 תּוּגָתִי נִכְפֶּלֶת
22 וְאָנוּד . . . . .
23 . . . . . ש וּבִי שָׁם פָּנָיו . . . . . .

[1] Cf. Ezekiel xvi, 47.

XIX. POETIC FRAGMENTS UPON THE BACK OF AN ARABIC DOCUMENT

The Hebrew of the *recto* is written in half-square characters, and is a portion of some *dīwān* or collection of poems. It is, however, written continuously, without any consideration for the form of the poem.

Professor Israel Davidson has very kindly gone over the fragment and made some useful suggestions. The text has been rearranged and pointed by Professor Gottheil.

Recto:

1 ..... as a fire that devoureth.

2 And a burning fire of grief.

3 And, as if that were only a little thing[1], it hath devoured me.

4 And how it burneth, and hath ground me in pieces!

5 [Like the] sources of a torrent.

6 And behold, my utterance stammereth.

7 For my wounds [are] a great wonder(?)

8 And my garment hath been cut(?)

9 Rolled in the blood of mine eyes.

10 ..... And my lights have grown dark

11 And my creations(?) have become like a shadow.

12 ..... from my neighbourhood.

13 A shaken world.

14 And ..... let me dwell.

15 The haunt of jackals[2] and the ostrich.

16 And let me have the wing of a dove

17 Or the legs of a hind.

18 And I shall have light in their midst.

19 To dwell ..... among them.

20 ..... and their accidents.

21 My grief is doubled.

22 And I shall wander .....

23 ..... and in me there His face .....

---

[2] Cf. Jeremiah ix, 10

XX. LEAF FROM A BOOK OF POEMS

Paper $5\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A leaf, in a half-square hand, from a book of Hebrew poems.

It begins with the last verse of a poem by Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092—1167), the acrostic of whose name, *Abraham*, can be followed at the beginning of the four verses that remain out of the five. The first stanza must have been rimed with a *nun*. Each stanza is separated from its successor by the word פזמון.

Recto:

1 בָּ בָּ בָּ אל רחום וחנון

פזמ

2 בָּ בצל ידך כל כסית

3 בָּ על מי חשוכים אור נסית

4 בָּ כולם בחכמה עשית

פזמ

5 בָּ רמת מאד ומי יכיליך

6 בָּ תליתה כל עליך

7 בָּ אלהי אין ערוך אליך

פזמ

8 בָּ היש ויש לאין תתה

9 בָּ כבוד שמך למען שתה

10 בָּ מנת חלקי וכוסי אתה

פזמ

11 בָּ ממרום שלח קחיני

Verso:

12 בָּ בעצתך בחלדי נחיני

13 בָּ אל באפך תוכיחני

---

[1] Cf. Isaiah li, 16.

[2] Cf. Psalm civ, 24.

[3] Cf. Psalm xl, 6. The word אין is badly written אן.

XX. LEAF FROM A BOOK OF POEMS

The second poem, as Professor Davidson was quick to detect, is by Judah ha-Lēvī (b. 1035). The acrostic of his name can be discerned in the last six of these eight verses of the poem, the whole of which can be found in the *Diwān des Abū-l-Hasan Jehuda ha-Levi* (ed. H. Brody), vol. iii, p. 164. The writer of our fragment calls it: פזמון בלבי according to the opening words. Brody's edition furnishes our emendations and restorations.

Recto:

1 Lord, Lord God, Merciful and Compassionate.

Pizmōn

2 O Lord, Thou hast covered everything with the shadow of Thy Hand[1]!
3 O Lord, over dark waters Thou hast raised a light.
4 O Lord, in wisdom Thou hast made them all[2].

Pizmōn

5 O Lord, Thou art very high-placed and who can comprehend Thee?
6 O Lord, Thou hast made everything dependent upon Thee.
7 O Lord, my God, there is nothing that can be compared unto Thee[3].

Pizmōn

8 O Lord, Existence, [who bringest] existence to nought[4].
9 O Lord, for the honour of Thy name [Thou hast caused] the year [to be.]
10 O Lord, the portion of mine inheritance and my cup art Thou[5].

Pizmōn

11 O Lord, send from above and take me[6].

Verso:

12 O Lord, lead me whilst in this life, by Thy counsel.
13 O Lord, chasten me not in Thy hot displeasure[7].

---

[4] Read תַּחְתָּה "below," and in the next verse שַׁתָּה "year," to rime with the following אַתָּה.

[5] Cf. Psalm xvi, 5.

[6] Psalm xviii, 17.

[7] Psalm vi, 2.

פזמ אחרת

14 [ב]ל[בי] ורעיוני [ובשפתי] רננ[י]

15 ובקהל עם המוני ארוממך יְיָ

16 ידידי בשחרים קחו נא הישרים

17 עמכם דברים ושובו אל יְיָ

פזמ בלבי

18 העם אשר דחום עמ[י]ם ולקחום

19 דעו כי אל רחום וחנון יְיָ

פזמ בלבי

20 ואחת שאלתי יבשר סלחתי

21 הנה נא הואלתי לדבר אל יְיָ

פזמ

---

[8] Read אמוני and cf. II Samuel xx, 19.

[9] Hosea xiv, 3.

Another Pizmōn

14 In my heart and in my thoughts and upon my lips is my rejoicing.
15 In the congregation of my faithful people[8], will I praise Thee O Lord.
16 O my beloved ones, at early morn take now the righteous.
17 [Take] with you words, and return unto the Lord[9].

Pizmōn "In My Heart"

18 O people, whom [other] peoples have oppressed and taken captive,
19 Know that gracious and full of compassion is the Lord[10].

Pizmōn "In My Heart"

20 One favor I ask, Speak the word[11] "I have forgiven[12]."
21 Behold now, I have taken it upon me to speak unto the Lord[13].

---

[10] Psalm cxi, 4.
[11] Read תבשר.
[12] Numbers xiv, 20.
[13] Genesis xviii, 27

XXI. LETTER

Paper $7 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ to $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Arabic in peculiar, perhaps Maghribī[1], cursive Hebrew characters, at times difficult to read. The last line, and two words elsewhere, are in Arabic characters.

Recto:

1 יא מולאי וסידי אדאם אללה עזך ואטאל מדתך כתבתה ליללה אלאחד
2 עז שוק לא יעלמה גיר אללה תעאלי וחצרתנא סכאפה פי דלך אלשכין
3 אלדי פי עלמך איצא ולעמרך פקד קצדת פיה איצא מרכזה וחכימא
4 ברמזא וקצדת איצא פיה אלחו . . פאפהם ואגצי עלי כל מא תראה
5 מתפצלא ואלפיל ובקוה אללה לם ירד יעטי אלואן ולכנה יצל אליך
6 אן שא אללה עלי כל חאל פלא תגעל אלי דלך באלא
7 ואקרא מולאי וסידי סלאמא גזילא חסב שוקי וסוקי נחוה
8 ויכתין באעלאה מ יצחק בן ר עבדיה וצדיקנא צאחב אל
9 שרטה אבן עזור ואבו אברהים בן שבת ומ יצחק בן קרשאנת
10 וסאיר אלאבואן תם עלי מולאי מעאדא
11 ورحمة الله تعلى وبركته

Margin:

וכתבת עלי חפז שדיד פעדרני אלי פצל מולאי

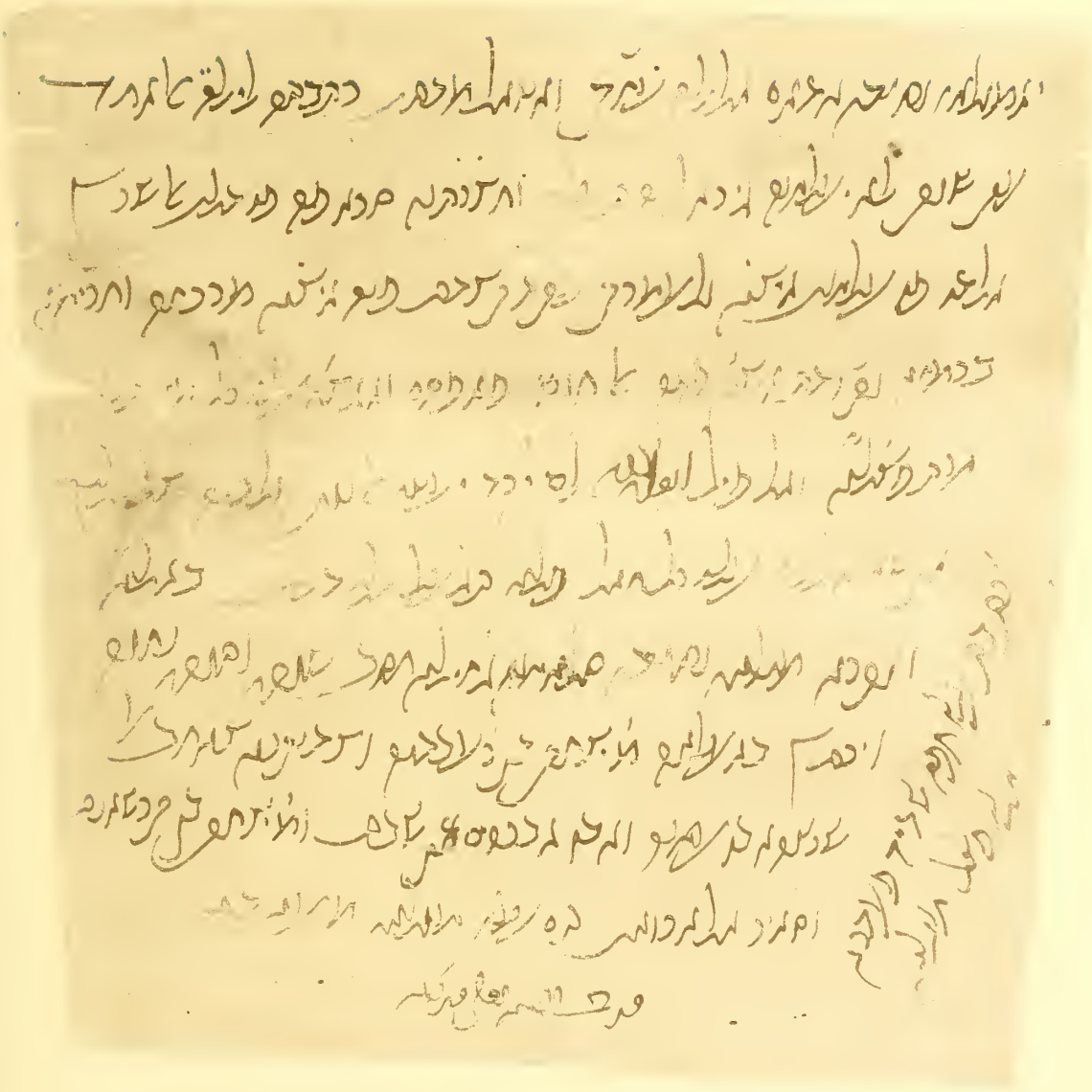
Verso:

אלחכם אלאגל אלריים אלאכמל רב חלפון הלוי נרו

---

[1] "Letters in a similar script I have come across in Bodleian MS. Heb. c. 28; 51 r. (addressed to a certain Abū Sa'īd); in Bodleian MS. Heb. d. 66, No. 80, as well as in a letter belonging to the collection of the Paris Consistoire (No. VII, E. 24)—which the Grand Rabbin M. Israel Lévi was kind enough to send to me—sent by a certain Ḥayyim Ibn Hānī of Ispahan. Evidently, the last had made use of a Maghribī scribe while, probably, in Morocco." (Professor Gottheil.)

[2] I.e. "you." "I do not wish to bias you."



Genizah Fragment 21

XXI. LETTER

A polite and elegant letter from an unnamed person to the ra'īs, Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, who may be one of those mentioned in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 232, 237; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xix, pp. 730, 733.

Recto:

1 O my Lord and Master! May God continue your strength and lengthen your life! I have written [this] on Saturday night
2 with the wish [that] none but God Most High should instruct him[2]. Well, we have suffered a loss[3] in this individual.
3 as you also know. For, by your life, you also sought in him a support, and a wise man
4 among [the] wise[4]. And you also sought in him.....But understand, and close your eyes to all that you see,
5 if you will be so kind[5]. And the elephant—God keep him!—did not wish to give colors; but he will reach you,
6 if it please God, in any case[6]. So give no thought to that matter.
7 And I greet my Lord and Master becomingly, according to my desire and my inclination toward him.
8 And this applies in the highest degree to Master Isaac, son of Rabbi Obadiah, and our friend, the Chief of the
9 Police, Ibn 'Azūr (?), and Abū Abraham Ibn Shbt, and Master Isaac Ḳrshānt,
10 and the rest of the brethren. Then [greetings] to my Master once more,
11 and the Mercy of God Most High, and His Blessing!

Margin:

And I have written in great haste[7], so excuse me to his Excellency, my Master.

Verso:

[To] the Most Glorious Judge, the Most Perfect Chief, Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī.

---

[3] حَضَرَتْنَا سَخَافَةٌ. [4] حَكِيمًا بِرُمَزَاءَ.

[5] مُتَفَضِّلًا.

[6] Quite plainly written. Is this a reference to some person? Cf. p. 18, note 1.

[7] I.e. حَفْد.

XXII. A BUSINESS LETTER

Paper $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters, like those of III, XII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, all very difficult to read because of the levelling of many letters to the same form. The writer relied upon muscular sensation, more than upon sight. When the connection is lost reliable translation becomes impossible.

Recto :

1 תקדם כתאבי אליך יאבי ואלעזיז אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם תאידך
2 ונעמתך ואעלמתך פיה חאל בוציר וגמהא ותעבהא ואנה
3 בלד אן כתיר אלשגב ואלתעב ולי חלפת לך אני מן יום אן וצלת
4 מן הבית לא ליל ולא נהאר לכתב צאדק וקד אסתכדת אל . . . .
5 ואנפדת לך עדל כתאן פי עטארי אליאזור מכתוב [עליה]
6 יצחק בן כלף ולים עליך פיה כרי אקבצה ווגהת [אליך]
7 עדלין מכתוב עליה חסון אבן יצחק ועטא בן יעקוב
8 וקד סאלת סידי אבי אלחסן סלאמה פי דפועהא מעהם ואחדארהא
9 אלי אסכנדריה פי גמלתהם תתפצל תקף מעהם ותעאונהם
10 פי דלך ועדל פי גמלתי מכתוב עליה נסים בן בנאיה נחת . . . . . .
11 פי גמלתי ולם יבקא עלי פי אלגמיע אגרה אעלמך בדלך
12 וקד סאלתך פי אכר חסאבי פי אלזית ותדפע אלתמן אלי
13 אבן אל רקי ארגו אנך פעלת דלך תבלג סידי אבי אלפצל אבן
14 עמראם אלסלם ותקול לה לם באללה אשתרי פי בוציר
15 לרוחי סוא ג אעדאל כתאן לאן אלבלד פיה אלג[יראן ת]קול

---

[1] تَأَيَّدَكَ.

[2] Cf. Yāḳūt, *sub voce* بُوصِير, vol. i, p. 760, who says it is the name of four towns in Egypt: (1) near Eshmunēn, (2) near Gīzeh, (3) in the Fayyūm, (4) near Samanūd. It might be Taposiris Magna, near Alexandria, now called Abūṣīr.

[3] غَمَّها. The reference is possibly to persecution of Jews.

[4] أَنْ used as a relative with indefinite antecedent, as in No. IX, *recto*, l. 11; *verso*, l. 35; bottom of *verso*, l. 3.

[5] אן here is أَنْ in the sense of German "da": "Seit dem Tage da ich..."

[6] בית המקדש.

Genizah Fragment 22

XXII. A BUSINESS LETTER

A letter from Ḥasan (or Ḥassūn) Ibn Isaac to his "brother and friend," Abū Joseph Malūl(?) Ibn Moses, dealing in flax or linen.

The Jews are having trouble in Būṣīr where flax from France(?) is sold. Directions are given about various business operations.

On the *verso* are notes in two other hands about bales of flax or linen. They may not refer to the contents of the *recto*.

Recto:

1 My letter goes to you, dear Brother. May God prolong your existence
and lengthen your safety[1]
2 and well-being! I [beg to] inform you in it of the condition of Būṣīr[2] and
its pain[3] and travail; and that it is
3 a city[4] of great trouble and travail. And as for me: I swear to you that
I, from the day when[5] I arrived
4 from Jerusalem[6], neither night nor day [have had opportunity] to write[7].
[What I say is] true! And I secured the.....
5 and I sent to you a bale[8] of flax with 'Aṭṭārī[9] al-Yāzūrī, on which was
written:
6 "Isaac Ibn Khalf." You have no charges to pay in the matter. Accept
it. And I sent [you]
7 two bales on which was written: "Ḥassūn Ibn Isaac" and "'Aṭā' Ibn
Jacob" [respectively].
8 And I asked Abū al-Ḥasan Salāmah to deliver[10] them[11] with them[12], and
to bring them[11]
9 to Alexandria in their shipment[13]. Please show them [every] attention
and help them[12]
10 in this [matter]. And [I sent you] a bale in my shipment[13] on which was
written: "Nissīm Ibn Banāyah".....
11 in my shipment[13]. And there remain no charges against me for any of it.
Of this I inform you [explicitly].
12 And I asked you in the latter part of my accounting concerning the oil,
[to] pay the price [of it] to
13 Ibn al-Raḳḳī. I hope you have done this. Convey [to] Abū al-Faḍl Ibn
14 'Umrān [my] greetings; and say to him: "By Allah, I shall not buy in
Būṣīr
15 for myself [anything] but three bales[8] of flax. Because the neighbors[14]
in the city say(?)

---

[7] لِكَتْبٍ. [8] أَعْدَال – عَدْل.

[9] Or "my grocer." [10] דפועהא for דפעהא.

[11] I.e. the bales. [12] I.e. the addressees in person.

[13] جُمْلَة. [14] I.e. "gentiles"?

16 פיה כודו כתאן אלפרנסאוי וכתאן כאמל ולים פי אלבלד כתאן
17 נשתריה פתוכד עליה לולא יוחל וייגי אלי הון פינדם כתיר
18 וקררת דנאנירי מע אבי אלחגאג כתב תבלגה סלאמי
19 ותעלמה בדלך וקד כאן לה האניק פי קעדרן פאן פי
20 אלבלד .לאתאן חסנה וקד תמת
21 אלכל ירבבנא פיהא סאלמין

Margin:

תעלמה | בגמיע | דלך | ויחדר | אן | יתחרך | פי | האדא | לא | פי | אלניל |
| בעלמי | מעה | ונחצל | לה | קדרת | כתאן | ידכרנא | פיהא | אלי | . . . . . |
פתגעלה | יחאסבני | אלי | חין | וצולו | ונחדר | גמיע | אן | שא | אללה

Address on verso:

לאכי ואלעזיז עליי אבי יוסף מלול בן מן צחבה חסן
מוסי אבן יצחק נע
אטאל [אללה בקאה] ואן[דאם תאיידה
ונעמתה]

Notes on verso:

ברהון הל עדל מ ברסם יוסף
ברהון מ עדל מ ברסמה
ברהון הל
ברהון הם ברהון הכ
ברהון הם ברהון הל
ברהון צ
ברהון מ

Note at left:

גמלה מא עלי חגאג
סת אלאף תתקצ

---

15 פרנסאוי is فَرَنْسَاوِىّ from فَرَنْسَا. Cf. פרנצא in Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5544, fol. 1, line 4. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 191.

16 فَتُؤْخَذُ عَلَيْهِ لَوْلَا يُحَلُّ.

17 כתב for אכתב.

18 The reference is possibly again to persecutions.

16 about it: "Take the flax of France[15], and perfect(?) flax [it is]." But there is no flax in the city that
17 we would buy. And you are blamed for it unnecessarily[16]. And one comes [back] here and is very sorry.
18 And I have come to a definite agreement with Abū al-Ḥajjāj [about] my dīnārs. Write[17] and convey to him my greetings,
19 and inform him of this. For he has had.....in.....were in
20 the city beautiful..... But all of it has come to an end. May [God] complete our benefit thereby in safety[18].

Margin:

[19]Tell him all about this. And let him guard against being excited by this; not about the indigo.....with it. And we shall recover for him a quantity of linen about which he told us.....and have him settle with me when he arrives; and we shall.....all, if it please God.

Address on verso:

To my Brother and Friend [more powerful][20] than I, Abū Joseph Malūl(?) Ibn Moses. May [God] prolong [his existence] and lengthen [his safety and prosperity!] From his friend Ḥasan(?) Ibn Isaac.

Notes on verso:

Brhōn[21]	35	Bale	40 with address of Joseph
Brhōn	40	Bale	40 with his address
		Brhōn	35
Brhōn	45	Brhōn	25
Brhōn	45	Brhōn	35
Brhōn	90		
Brhōn	40		

Note at left:

Total of what Ḥajjāj owes:
six thousand 990

---

[19] Most uncertain. [20] A pun on the word عَزِيز.

[21] We do not know the vocalization of this nor its meaning. The same word occurs as a proper name twice in No. XII, lines 22 and 24. In the present case it might be بِرْهُون, "by pledges." Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*. Nor do we know the meaning of the letters הכּ, הל, המ, for which of course much might be imagined. Are they numerals with the order reversed?

XXIII. NOTES ON THE BACK OF A LETTER

Paper $18\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

A strip of paper cut from a letter, upon which some ḥazzān or other person has written in a large cursive hand, as if for posting on the wall, what seems to be the first word or the first two words of certain prayers and pizmōnīm.

A peculiarity of the script is the different ways in which the letter א is written. Cf. lines 1 and 2 with lines 3 and 8.

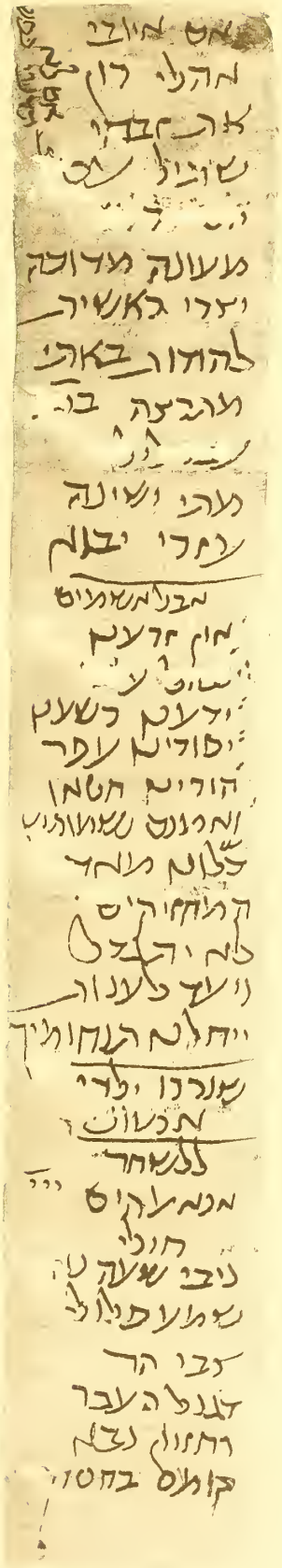
Recto :

1 אם אויבי
2 אהלי רון
3 את זבחי
4 שתיל עם [א]ל
5 . . . . . ר . .
6 מעונה מדוכה
7 יצרי ראשית
8 לה חוג באתי
9 מתרצה בת
10 עבד ליל (??)
11 מתי ישינה
12 עזרי יבוא

---

13 אבל אשמים
14 און זרענו
15 * . . ול על . .[1]
16 * ידענו רשענו
17 * יסודינו עפר
18 * הורינו חטאו
19 * ואמנם נשמותינו
20 בלונו[2] מאד

[1] The dots at the beginning of this line and of the following ones are in the MS.



XXIII. NOTES ON THE BACK OF A LETTER

The *verso*, in Arabic, in a very different, blacker, smaller, more regular, Hebrew hand, represents the older document from which this strip was torn before the *recto* was written upon it.

Recto:

1 If mine adversary.

2 Tents of rejoicing.

3 My sacrifice.

4 Planted with ....

Margin:

If thou (fem.) knowest not .....

5 .....

6 Dwelling, seat.

7 First my being.

8 She hath a horizon .....

9 Gracious is the daughter [of].

10 He hath made night (?).

11 When ....

12 My help cometh.

---

13 The grief of guilt.

14 The vanity of our seed.

15 .....

16 Our wickedness knoweth us.

17 We are covered with dust.

18 His sin hath cast us.

19 And certainly our waste places.

20 They have consumed us greatly.

---

[2] Between ב and ל there seems to be the Arabic sign *tashdīd*.

21 המחזיקים
22 לא יתגדל
23 ויעד לענות
24 יחלנו תנחומיך

---

25 שוררו ילדי
26 אמוני

---

27 ללשחר
28 אנא אלהים יי
29 חולי
30 ניבי שעה נא
31 שמע פלולי
32 צבי הר
33 דגול העבר
34 וחזיון נבא
35 קומם בחסדך

Verso :

1 חתי רחמה אל כאלק . . . . . .
2 טביב אלסלטאן ואכ . . . . . .
3 תמן מאיה דרהם . . . . . .
4 ואלף פחצר אלמאל . . . . . .
5 יכרג אל בנת יביעה . . . . . .
6 כתאב יקצוד בה . . . . . .
7 בשהאדת גמיע אשיאך חלב . . . . . .
8 פלמא וצל ענד אל . . . . . .
9 אלרדאדין אלדי לסל[טאן] . . . . . .
10 יזכונה נפצו אל ר[דאדין] . . . . . .
11 אלדי פיה אלדואב . . . . . .
12 וראחו וכד וצל אל . . . . . .

---

[3] Or "For the Morning Service." In the following we have, perhaps, the remnants of a verse :

אנא אלהים יי חולי
ניבי שעה נא שמע פלולי

21 Those that strengthen.

22 Let him not inflate himself.

23 And he knew the bitterness.

24 Thy consolations hearten us.

---

25 .... my children.

26 My faithful one (?).

---

27 For the morning[3].

28 I am the Lord God.

29 . . . . . .

30 Attend to the fruit [of my lips].

31 Hear my prayer.

32 The glory of the mountain of.

33 Excellent is the.....

34 And prophecy of a vision.

35 Establish in Thy favor.

Verso:

1 till the Creator has mercy on him ....

2 the physician of the Sultan, and ....

3 value of a hundred dirhams ....

4 and a thousand, then produce the property .....

5 he goes to the girl to sell it .....

6 a writing in which he purposes .....

7 in testimony[4] all[5] the sheikhs of Aleppo .....

8 and after he arrived in the presence of the ....

9 the bone-setters who wait upon the Sul[tan] ....

10 the bone-setters(?) diagnosed his trembling ....

11 in which the animals(?) were ....

12 and they went away. And the .... had already arrived .....

---

[4] Line inserted in the original.

[5] Two dots over the ٮ seem to stand for *fatḥatain*.

13 אלאוחד[6] סתין דר[ם] . . . . . .
14 אלי[7] אלכאלק ואלי . . . . . .
15 אלהקהלות[8] ואנחנ[ו] . . . . . .
16 לפה ולמ̇לי̇ין ר . . . . . .
17 בשם .... כוח . . . . . .
18 וכסיתו ומבשרך [לא תתעלם] . . . . . .
19 תפתח ידך לו . . . . . .
20 רקם כי הוא ע . . . . . .
21 ושני בנ[י]ו ושת[י בנותיו] . . . . . .
22 ידל לעדי עד ולנ[צח נצחים] . . . . . .
23 וכן [יהי רצון] . . . . . .
24 וקד כאן פי כתאבה . . . . . .
25 קאהר ושמעה אל . . . . . .
26 ואל נפים אבן אל ס[לטאן] . . . . . .
27 וכול עלא אבן אל [סלטאן] . . . . . .
28 אבן עליק ובסו . . . . . .
29 אל צנאר אלדי מעה . . . . . .
30 מעה ואעמלן ומע צנארה . . . . . .
31 אל חסנה ושלום על . . . . . .

---

[6] אלאוחד mistake for אלוּאחד.

[7] Two letters follow which have been crossed out.

13 sixty dirhams apiece....

14 unto the Creator and the....

15 the congregations. But we.....

16 wrapped him up. And.....

17 in the name..... might...[9]

18 and cover him; and hide not thyself from thine own flesh[10].

19 Thou wilt open Thy hand unto him.

20 their spittle, for he.....

21 and two of his sons and two of his daughters....

22 he shall be weak for ever and ever.....

23 and this was the purpose [of the writing?]....

24 and there was in his letter.....

25 conqueror. And the.....heard him.....

26 and the excellent son of the S[ultan?].....

27 and every disease of the son of the [Sultan?].....

28 Ibn 'Ulaik, and.....

29 the little..... which with him

30 and they employed with him and with his little ones....

31 the good. And Peace be upon.....

---

[8] Note the Arabic and the Hebrew articles.

[9] Lines 17–23 are in Hebrew.

[10] Isaiah lviii, 7.

XXIV. CHARM

A strip of paper $15\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

It is written in cursive Hebrew characters, and contains part of a charm against all manner of diseases and distempers.

1 . . . . ודחלולי ליליא ונוסיא ואשתא וערויתא ועיק רע וקלא ומרס מעיא
ושאלביטא ושוכבא . . . .

2 . . . . ילי סיט עלם מהש ללה אבא כהת הזי אלד לאו ההע יזל מבר
הרי הקם לאו כלי לוו פהל נלך ייי מלה תהו נתה האא ירת שאה
ריי א . . .

3 . . . . . [יהו]ה צלך על יד ימינך יומם השמש לא יככה ויריח בלילה יהוה
ישמרך מכל רע ישמור את נפשך יהוה ישמר צתך ובאיך מעתה ועד
[עולם] . . .

4 . . . [י]היה עמי בעגול בשם האל האדיר האמיץ הבורא הגבור הדובר משרים
ההוד הותיק הזך הטהור היחיד הקדוש ועד אני קורא את שמות מל[אכי]

---

[1] Ink border-lines show that the strip was never any wider. The letters ודחלולי began the first line, which is written in characters small and cramped, though hardly as an afterthought to the remaining lines.

[2] I.e. "spectres."

[3] The form נוסיא remains unexplained, but the word is related perhaps to Aramaic נְסָם, which has been connected with Greek *νόσος*.

[4] Cf. the Syriac ܒܣܝܐ.

[5] עֵיק רַע, but this would be mixed Hebrew and Aramaic.

[6] I.e. "incantations." Cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

[7] Cf. Targum to Levit. xxi, 20.

[8] שאלביטא can hardly be a corruption of שַׁלְהֶבְיתָא "flame," although it might possibly be a similar formation from the root לבט.

XXIV. CHARM

The literature on Jewish magic is extensive. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, Strassburg, 1898; Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbors*, London, 1898; Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913.

1 [1]and scare-crows of the night[2], and afflictions[3], and fever, and ague[4], and fear of evil[5], and the voice[6], and crushing of the viscera[7], and . . . . . [8], and the Succuba[9] . . . . . .

2 . . . . . [10]

3 [Jehov]ah is thy shade upon thy right hand. The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night[11]. Jehovah will keep thee from all evil. He will keep thy soul. Jehovah will keep thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth and for [evermore[12]] . . . . . .

4 [shall] be with me in a circle[13]. In the name of God, the Mighty, the Powerful, the Creator, the Heroic, that speaketh righteousness, the Glory, the Able, the Pure, the Spotless, the Unique, the Holy! And also I shall recite the names of the an[gels] . . . . . .

---

[9] שוכבא may be connected with the root שכב "to lie" (sexually, of demons: cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 304). It seems actually to spell out the Latin word *succuba*, except that we should then have a ם, not a שׁ. At any rate, we fancy that this word is very close to the intended meaning. Amulets not uncommonly contain allusions to the *incubus-succuba* superstition.

[10] Here follow the Cabbalistic names which are untranslatable. They are derived from Exodus xiv, 19–21, in such manner that the first letter of each name comes from verse 19, the middle letter from verse 20, the last letter from verse 21. The following names complete the 72: לכב ושר יחו להח בוק מנד אני העם רהע ייז ההה מיך יול ילה סאל ערי עשל מיה והו דני החש עמם ננא ניתּ מבה פדי נמס ייל הרח מצר ומב יהה ענו מחי רמב מנק איע חבו ראה יבם היי מום. (So explained by M. Chapira to Professor Gottheil.)

[11] Cf. Worrell, "The Demon of Noonday," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1918, xxxviii, 160 ff.

[12] Psalm cxxi, 5–8.

[13] A magic circle. Cf. Worrell, "Ink, Oil and Mirror Gazing Ceremonies in Modern Egypt," in the same *Journal*, 1916, xxxvi, 37 ff., particularly p. 52.

XXV. A SCRAP OF PAPER

Paper about 13 × $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, tapering towards the top.

Hebrew and Arabic, in cursive Hebrew characters.

This fragment is perfectly described in the introduction to our No. XXIII. It is a strip, cut from the same letter and used in the same manner.

But unfortunately it is not a part of the same leaf as No. XXIII; so that comparison gives us no help with the mutilated *verso*, nor with the sketchy *recto*.

Recto:

1 . . . . . ם
2 ———
3 . . . . . ם תש .
4 ה . . . צועק
5 חסין יה
———
6 מה לך בן אדם
———
7 שובו נה
8 איך תמן
9 ב . . . . . אדמה
10 רצו ילדי
11 הלכו גודר
12 מות פין סהד
13 בבית סהד
14 מך בעלה
15 עֵרום בא
16 זוריע שוא
17 רוח איש בלבו
18 היכלי עונג
19 חוק נתן לבי
20 זה סוף כל האדם
21 קדוש כבוד שם
———
22 אל חי בכל

לשמעכם

XXV. A SCRAP OF PAPER

As we do not pretend to know what either text is about, we confine ourselves to rendering a few groups of words here and there.

The *recto* and the *verso* to line 18 seem to refer to religious matters. From line 19 of the *verso* the subject is business, and the language is Arabic.

Recto:

1 .....

2 _____

3 .....

4 .....crying out

5 Strong . . . . .

---

6 What aileth thee, son of man?

---

7 Return ye.

8 As there.

9 .....the ground

10 Consent, my children.

11 They have gone, carpenter.

12 Death...testimony(?)

13 In the house of testimony(?)

14 .....mistress.

15 Naked he came.

16 The sower of iniquity.

17 The spirit of a man in his heart.

18 My temple is delight.

19 My heart gave a law.

20 This is the end of all mankind.

21 The Holy One has settled honor.

---

22 The living God in all.

23 מתי רוחות . ל
24 על רוב מעלי

Verso :

1 ש . . . . . .
2 עוטי מ . . . . . .
3 מתנים חגו
4 בה . נע דלת . . . מבקש[ים]
5 יודעים לצדקה קו[ו] . . . . . .
6 הרבים מוציאי יק[רי] . . . . .
7 לוי מטע אלי להתפאר . . . . .
8 נחלתו צאן יד . . . . . .
9 הנרדפים . . . . . ם . . . . .
10 בכל מקומות מושב[ותיהם]
11 שיקום מכסא דין ויש . . . . .
12 ולאסוף הנדחים ולש . . . . . .
13 ולהציל בלועים משי . . . . . .
14 . . ח . . תו . . תיות להוצ[יא] . .
15 ובין החול לקבין הנ . . . . . .
16 הרחוקים כדכ ונשא נף . . . .
17 להודיע לרבותינו המ[קומות]
18 מקומות מושבותיהם
19 . . . . ב אלדי אסמה מנ[חם] . .
20 והוא מחושבי העיר . . . . . .
21 וא . . ק או . . . . . ן מן . . . .
22 פי נהדת גוז ודכאן . . . . . .
23 ג סנין מעה גאזי . . . . . .
24 וחאסבה אלדיואן וג . . . . . .
25 דרהם נאצריא וקד . . . . . .
26 לה ולצנארה ואלדי . . . . . .
27 לם יבקא מעה פלם . . . . . .
28 . . . . ן עליה תמן מאי . . . . . .
29 עלי אלפצלא סת א . . . . .

---

[1] כדכתיב = כדכ.

[2] Ezek. xvii, 23.

23 When will the spirits.....

24 For the multitude of my deeds

Vertical: And when I do.

Verso:

1 .....

2 .....

3 gifts.....

4 .....door...seekers.....

5 those knowing righteousness, hoping for.....

6 the great ones, producers of —, dignitaries of —.....

7 O, that I had a couch, to glorify myself.....

8 his inheritance the sheep of.....

9 the persecuted ones.....

10 in all the places where they dwell.....

11 that he arise from the chair of judgment, and.....

12 and to gather the repudiated ones and.....

13 and to deliver, those swallowed up.....

14 .....to bring out

15 and between the sand, to collect the.....

16 those that are far away, even as it is written[1]: "and it shall bring forth boughs[2]."

17 To make known to our teachers the places(?).....

18 their places of residence.....

19 about him whose name is M[enahem].....

20 and he is one of the honored men of[3] the city.....

21 .....

22 in.....and shop...

23 3 years with him.....

24 and the tribunal called him to account, and

25 and 17 Nāsiri[4] dirhams.....And already.....

26 to him and to his little ones and that which...

27 did not remain with him. And not.....

28 .....he owed the price of a hund[red].....

29 to the most excellent Sitt.....

[3] For חישובי. [4] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 679.

XXVI. LETTER

An irregularly shaped strip of paper, tapering a little towards the top, about $8\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic, in half-square Hebrew characters.

The script is bad, and the language used is not literary. There are several mistakes in spelling.

Recto :

1 בשרה . . . . לל . . . . .
2 ימר יסנ . . . . . וג . . אללה תעאלא
3 לא יכליני מנ נצר אלולד
4 אלמבארך ריבי משה ואן
5 יגמע אלשמל קריב ברזק
6 ועאפיה אמין וכן יהי
7 רצן : ואן מן פצל אללה
8 ומא ענדנא מן חסן
9 אלגמיל אן אלשיך אבו
10 אלחסן פי חאל אלסלאמה
11 ואלעאפיה מן פצל אללה
12 יתברך שמו ולא תשגל
13 קלבך והו טלב אן יכתב
14 לך אלכתאב בידה ואמא
15 כשיתאן אן יפתכר
16 פי וצעף ולא תשגל
17 קלבך מן גהת הבתה
18 והו פי עאפיה בכל
19 נעמה והו ביסקי נפסה

---

[1] يُخَلِّينِى.

[2] The text is perfectly plain here. Perhaps "progeny."

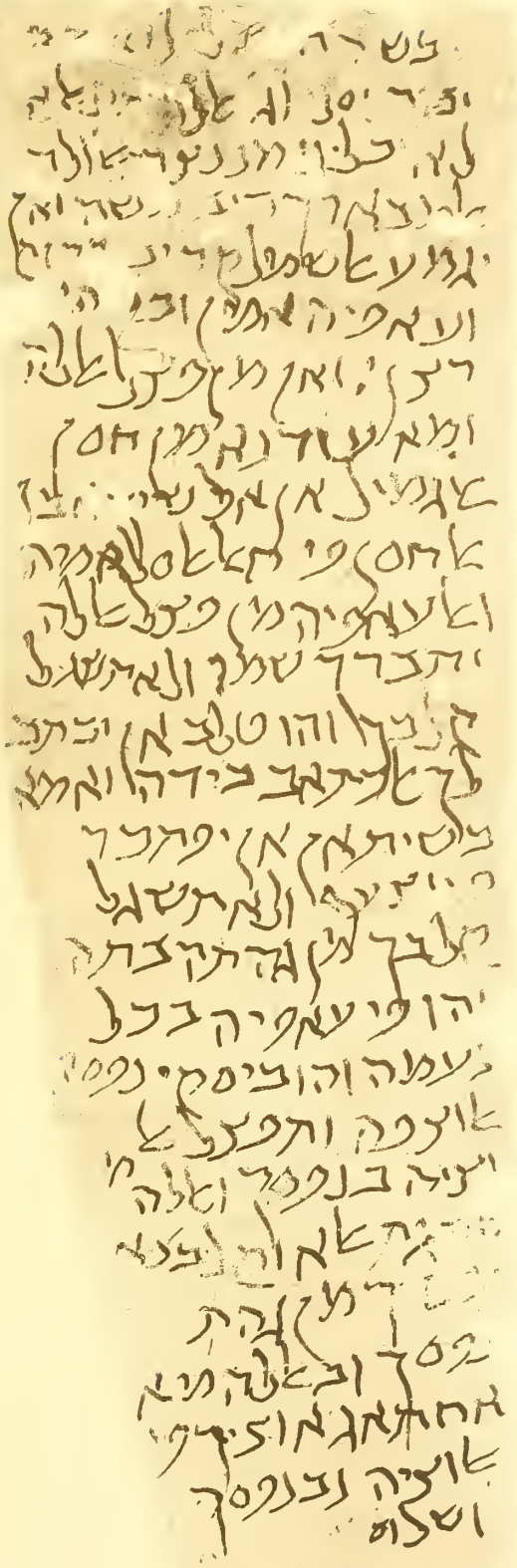
[3] Must refer to the preceding word "boy" or "child" rather than to the following "Rabbi Moses." [4] "Rabbi."

[5] We should have عن قريب in either literary or colloquial Arabic.

[6] "grace."

[7] This phrase is in Hebrew.

[8] "busy."



XXVI. LETTER

It is a letter written to a certain Rabbi Moses in the name of an old man, Abū al-Ḥasan.

There is no information in it. It is purely "une lettre de politesse."

Recto :

1 good news (?).....

2 .....God the Exalted

3 will not deprive me[1] of the help of the boy[2],

4 the blessed[3] Ribbi[4] Moses, and that

5 he order his affairs soon[5] with prosperity

6 and health[6]. Amen! Thus be

7 the will [of God][7]! And that by the grace of God

8 and whatever we have in the way of beauty of

9 behaviour[6]. Verily the Sheikh Abū

10 al-Ḥasan is in a condition of prosperity

11 and health, by the grace of God,

12 blessed be His Name[7]! So do not trouble[8]

13 your heart. He[9] sought[10] to write

14 to you the letter with his [own] hand, but

15 like a devil[11] he [only?] thought

16 about it[12]; and he did not do it. But do not trouble[8]

17 your heart about his gift

18 since he is in good health[6], in all

19 well-being, and he is treating himself[13]

---

[9] I.e. the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan.

[10] The use of طلب in this sense is most unusual. We should expect قصد or اراد.

[11] Probably a forgotten twelfth century vulgarism. A شيطان now-a-days in Egypt is a "clever fellow," full of tricks. In the text we have ת instead of ט.

[12] פי the vulgar *fī* or *fih* for *fīhi*.

[13] ביסקי has the *bi-* prefix of the present tense imperfect in vulgar Arabic. Cf. Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 193, 203. أسقى is used in three ways: (1) Of filling a cup with wine, or other drink. (2) Of watering cattle. (3) Of irrigating the soil. I think we might translate "is watering himself," "is soaking himself." Abū al-Ḥasan is taking a lot of this medicine, or he is enjoying it, or both, if we are not mistaken.

20 אלוצפה ותפצל אל
21 וציה בנפסך ואללה מ(א)
22 [א]חתנת אלא לקלבכא
23 . . . ך . . מן גהת
24 נפשך ובאללה מא
25 אחתאג אוציך פי
26 אלוציה ובנפסך
27 ושלום

Verso:

1 אלכת[אב] אלאכר
2 אבוך אלשיך אבי
3 אלחסן יכתבה הו
4 . . . . . אללה יצלחם
5 . . . . . לך . . . . אלמום
6 ואלמסי צחבי וחמלו
7 אלכת[א]ב

---

14 وَصْفَة is the regular term for a prescription.

15 אל for *'al* for على آل as in modern vulgar Arabic.

to the prescription[14]. And pray [attend] to[15]
the order in your own person. By Allah! Not
have I needed [to do any more] than to.....
.....on account of
yourself[16], and, by Allah, not
do I need to direct you in regard to
the commission and yourself.
Greeting!

Verso:

The other letter.
Your father, the Sheikh Abū[17]
al-Ḥasan will write, he
.....God restore them!
.....to you.....the.....
and the..... is my master (?) and they carried
the letter.

---

[16] יש here instead of ס. The writer has Hebrew נֶפֶשׁ in mind.

[17] אבי for ابو. Uneducated people, in attempting to be correct, change the vulgar ابو to ابى even where it is not needed.

XXVII. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, water-marked with a mailed torso.

Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters.

A letter from Abū Zubair Ṣadaḳah al-Maghribī, in Jerusalem, to Abū Yaḥyā Nurāi Ibn Nissīm, in Fusṭāṭ (Cairo). It is a prolix epistle, taking up the margins as well as the body of the page and a half upon which it is written.

Abū Zubair is a man of poor health, narrow life, and many troubles. His family was originally from Morocco or some one of the other Barbary States. He writes Arabic, in Hebrew letters—as Jews have done with many languages—but in such a manner as to betray his familiarity with the Arabic script and orthography. His language is no doubt the slightly

---

Recto :

1 וצל כתאב מולאי אלשיך אטאל אללה בקאה ואדאם סלאמתה וסעאדתה
אמס

2 יומי הדא [ו]הו ו איאם בקין מן אלול אעאד אללה עליה הדה אל מוֹעֲדִים
אלמקבלה

3 סנין טאילה וגעלהא עליה מימונה מבארכה בקבול אלתורה ואל מ[צו]ה
ואשהדנא

4 לה בנִים זכרִים לחַיִּים וכאן וצולה בעד אשתיאק ענייִם ווקפֻת מנה עלי
מא אמרֻנני

5 ואקלקני ואפגעני מן אלגזירה אלכבירה ואלפגעה אלעטִימה אלתי הדת
קואנא מן

6 ופאה אלסייד אלפאצל עטרת ראשינו ברוך דיין האמת שׁוֹפט בצדק
ואמת וכאן

7 הדא אלסבת ענדי וענד אהלי מתל סבת תשעה באב ומא וגדנא עזא
לקלובנא

8 גיר אנה אלויל לנא נחן אלדי עשנא להדה אלמצאיב ונשרבו הדה
אלאכואס

9 אל מרה וקד עמית אבצארנא ואנקטעת קואנא ונחן באכיין עליה טול
חיאתנא

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[1] אמן סלה=אמס?

[2] טאילה for طَوِيلة.

[3] גזירה is Hebrew.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 27 b

XXVII. LETTER

classicised vernacular of his own day. It already exhibits many of the peculiarities of the spoken Arabic of modern Cairo. The difficult passages are no doubt in the slang of his time. Other peculiarities, such as the occasional omission of the article, the redundant "it," the strange use of עלי and other prepositions, and of common verbs, are not so easily explained. He is especially prone to mix forms and turns of expression while putting them on paper.

Unfortunately the letter bears no date. It was written, however, before 1050–1098, when the addressee died.

Below the address there is a line of Arabic script which cannot be made out.

Recto:

1 The letter of my Lord the Sheikh has come. May God lengthen his existence and prolong his health and his happiness! Amen! Selah[1]!

2 Today—and there are six days remaining of Elul—May God add unto him these feast-days that are to come

3 for many[2] years! And may He make them for him fortunate and blessed in the acceptance of the Law and the Commandment! And we wish

4 for him [that he shall have] living male offspring! The arrival [of the letter] occurred after [we] poor ones had yearned for it, and had been deprived of it by delay, in addition to my having been made ill

5 and uneasy and sad by the great calamity[3] and the heavy affliction which has crushed our strength[4]: namely the

6 death of the excellent master[5], the Crown of our Head. Blessed be the honest judge who judges in righteousness and truth! This

7 Sabbath Day has been, with me and with my people, like the Sabbath Day falling upon the Ninth of Ab[6]; and we have not found any strength for our spirits.

8 [We are conscious of nothing] save that we are victims of calamity, we who have lived to [see] these misfortunes. And these bitter

9 cups[7] have been drained, and our sight has been blinded, and our strength cut off; and we shall continue to weep for him as long as we live.

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[4] קואנא = قُوَانَا plural of قُوَّة with suffix.

[5] Identity not established.

[6] When Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the First Temple, and when Titus destroyed the Last Temple, according to Jewish tradition.

[7] An unusual plural of كَأْس.

10 ולא עזא בעדה ווחק הדא אלקדם לקד מראר כתירה נתמנא אלמות
ונשתהיה וצרת

11 ממן קיל פיה המחכים למות ואינינו ויחפרוהו ממטמונים ממא אקאסיה
מן המום

12 הדה אלדניא וכתרה פגעאתהא ועטים מצאיבהא ומקאסאת אהלהא אלדי
אנקטעת

13 מנהם אלאמאנה ותבת פיהם אבדה האמונה ונכרתה מפיהם ומא בקי
אלא מן יאבד

14 מאלך באל יד ואנת תנטר מנה ואעגב כל עגיב אן אסחק חפטה אללה
בעד צברנא

15 עליה אל יום י׳ שהור מצא לקברי אבות ואשתרא קמח כשקאק כאנת
מעה ועניות

16 וולף קמח יצלה למחלה יסוי דינר ותלת אלקפיז וקלת אנא נאכדה מנך
בדינר וי׳

17 וקאל מא אביע ואדכל אל קמח לדארה ונחן וקוף הדא כאן אכר אלצבר
ומא יערף

18 לי מעה גיר הדא כל דרהם יוחל לי ענדה מא אאכדה אלא עלי אל שרור
משלמי

19 רעה תחת טובה אללה תעאלי יכאפי כל ואחד בנית׳ה וסאעת כתאבי
גרה הדא ופק

20 אללה קפיזין קמח מתל קרץ אלדנניר בג׳ דנניר ורבע ואנא ארצד איצא
שי אכר

21 פלא ישגל מולאי קלבה וקד חצלת להם אלחטב ואלזית וגמיע מא יחתאגו
אליה

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[8] With only one ו.

[9] This quotation, Job iii, 21, is in Hebrew, as indicated by the overlining in the manuscript and in our text. All Hebrew words are thus marked.

[10] Jeremiah vii, 28.

[11] In the Arabic form.

[12] I.e. to pay a debt?

[13] "Graves of the Fathers" are probably Hebron, though we can not find any other instance of this title. At Hebron the "Fathers," Adam, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were supposed to be buried. The vicinity is fruitful, and one might have bought grain there perhaps. Cf. Baedeker, *Palästina u. Syrien*, 1910, pp. 105 ff.

[14] Or "grain" merely.

[15] شِقاق plural of شُقَّة "strips, shavings," etc.

10 There is no strength now that he is gone. By[8] this Jerusalem! Many
times we have desired death and longed for it. And I have become
11 one of those concerning whom it is said[9]: "Who long for death, but it
cometh not, and dig for it more than for hidden treasures," because of
what I endure in the way of cares of
12 this world and the multitude of its sorrows, and the might of its ca-
lamities, and the hard-heartedness of its people from whom sincerity
13 has been cut off. And concerning them [the saying][10] holds: "Truth is
perished, and is cut off from their mouth." And nothing remains now
but that someone should take
14 your property by force, while you look the other way. Most wonderful
of wonders! Isaac[11]—God keep him!—after we had waited
15 for him[12] these ten months, went off to Kibhrē Abhōth[13], and bought
wheat[14] in which was [something] like chaff (?)[15] and.....[16]
16 and collected[17] wheat[14] suitable for his place, worth a dīnār and a third
the ḳafīz. And I said: "We will take it off your hands for a dīnār
and 10 [carats the ḳafīz][18]."
17 But he said: "I am not selling." And he put the wheat into his house,
while we were standing by[19]. This was the extremity of [our] patience.
And nothing is known
18 to me about[20] him except this: Not a dirham which he owes[21] me and
has in his possession shall I take except [as] against the base "that
render
19 evil for good[22]." God—He is exalted!—requites every man according
to his intention! But the hour of this writing has elapsed[23]. May
20 God make suitable[24] two ḳafīz of grain as the equivalent of the return
of the dīnārs[25], at three dīnārs and a quarter[26]. But I am also looking
out for something else.
21 But let not my Lord worry. For they have received the fuel-wood, and
the olive oil and everything they need,

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[16] עניות Hebrew. It was very poor wheat?

[17] وَلَّفَ for أَلَّفَ. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, ii, p. 892.

[18] If the carat is one twenty-fourth of the dīnār (cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 195, n. 13), Isaac bought the grain at $1\frac{1}{3}$ dīnārs and was offered $1\frac{5}{12}$ dīnārs, or two carats more than the cost. They wished to shame him into paying them on the spot when he received the cash from them. The dīnār is, of course, at this time the large gold coin, and not the denarius.

[19] A confusion of mind as between ونحن واقفين and بوقوفنا.

[20] مع does not usually have this meaning.

[21] يُحِلّ. [22] Psalm xxxviii, 20.

[23] "My letter has become long enough." Then he makes it four times as long.

[24] وَفَّقَ.

[25] The modern *dánanīr* for دنانير. Cf. Willmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, 2nd ed., pp. 8, 80, 81.

[26] I.e. for two ḳafīz, or 1.625 dīnārs the ḳafīz. He offered Isaac only $1\frac{5}{12}$ before.

22 מתל בצל ומלה וגיר דלך ואנא פארח בכל האגה תערין להם וקבצו מני
גיר דלך

23 ג דנניר עיון למהמאתהם ומא יעוזהם מעי האגה ופי אכתר אלאוקאת
אמצי אלי אל

24 דאר ואסאלהם לעל האגה וקד כאן אקאמו פי אל דאר אלתי נזלו פיהא
אול וצולהם

25 שהר כאמל מע אם אבו יוסף ומע אל שיך אל שראבי אלתי תזוג אבנה
בנת אלבלוטי

26 וכאנו עלי אנהם יכתריו דאר בגואר אל כניסיה לאנסאן מסלם בה דנניר
סנה כאמלה

27 ויקבצהא קבול אל דכול פלמא חצרנא אל ה דנניר קאל סתה דנניר מא
נחט שי צעב

28 עליי אלאמר פלמא אגבנא אלי אל סתה טלב יגיב עלילות מן וגוה אכר
תרכנאהא

29 ואכתרינא חגירה לאמראה יהודיה בדינרין אלי אלמחרם ה שהור והי
חגרה בגואר

30 אצחאבנא פיהא גמיע חואיגהא ואל חמאם בגואהא פי האהא אל יהוד
קריבה מן אל

31 כניסיה ואל רבאעייה מא אקוא אצף מא עמלתה פי אמרהא ולם אתרך
תאגר ולא

32 צואף ולא בזאז עלי מן אערצהא ואנבאע מנהא לט רבעי אלוזן ה דנניר
ותמן

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27 حاجة "thing" is modern Egyptian colloquial. In l. 20 he has used the classical and Palestinian شى.

28 قبضوا "grabbed," but in the dialect of Cairo, "received." This is still Isaac's case, we take it.

29 مع. Cf. note 20.

30 The relative pronoun is feminine but the verb is masculine. The writer has both the mother of Abū Yūsuf and the Sheikh al-Sharābī in mind, but he means the latter.

31 יכתריו is colloquial, from كرى. The ' is merely a graphic reminiscence of the singular.

32 כניסיה here and in l. 31, not كنيسة but كَنِيسِيَّة (Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 493), the Spanish (15th century), Moroccan and Tunisian form of the same word. Is this the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? Perhaps we are to read كَنِيسِيَّة and understand the "Place of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre."

33 "belonging to." 34 قبول for قَبْل.

such as onions, and salt and other things. And I am rejoiced at everything[27] that turns up for them. And they have received[28] from me in addition
three dīnārs cash for their pressing needs. And they do not need anything from[29] me. And at most times I go out to the
house and ask them whether [they] need [anything]. And they have remained in the house in which they stayed when they first arrived—
a full month—with the mother of Abū Yūsuf and with the Sheikh al-Sharābī who married[30] his son to the daughter of al-Ballūṭī.
And, although they had rented[31] a house in the vicinity of the Church[32], from[33] a Muslim man for five dīnārs for a whole year,
and he was to receive the money before[34] we took possession. But when we had brought the five dīnārs, he said: "Six dīnārs! We shan't make it less[35]." The matter was
hard for me[36]. And when we had agreed to the six, he sought[37] to bring[38] troubles from other directions. We dropped the matter.
And we hired a little room[39] of[33] a Jewish woman for two dīnārs until [the month of] al-Muḥarram—five months. And it is a room, in the neighbourhood
of our friends, in which are all things necessary to it. And the bath is in the neighbourhood of it in the Jewish Quarter, near to the
Church[32] and the Rubā'īyah[40]. I cannot describe[41] what I have done in regard to it. And I neglected no tradesman
nor wool-merchant, nor cloth-merchant—according to whoever offered [things] for sale[42]. And there were sold from it[43] 39 quarters[44] of a wazn[45] [for] eight dīnārs, and [the] price

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[35] מא נחט ישי is colloquial *ma naḥuṭṭshe* from classical مَا نَحُطُّ شَيْئًا "we shall not lower at all."

[36] עלּיי is عَلَيَّ. ى with ّ is regularly represented by יי.

[37] طلب in this sense is found in No. XXVI, *recto*, l. 13.

[38] יגיב colloquial root جاب from جاءَ and بِ.

[39] حُجَيْرَة diminutive of حُجْرَة. The writer has hired this for himself.

[40] The "fourfold" or "quadrilateral" place, but not "city square" to our knowledge. Perhaps this name was applied to the site of the Mediaeval lodgings and hospitals of the Knights of St John, which passed into the hands of the Moslems in 1187, and became known as the Mūristān. The room in question was probably in the block of buildings between the present Ḥārat Bab al-Silsileh, Ṭārīḳ Bab al-Silsileh and Sūḳ al-Laḥḥāmīn.

[41] אצף is أَصِف from وصف without the أَنْ as in modern vernacular. Cf. l. 40, and other instances.

[42] עלי מן אערצֿהא makes no sense. Perhaps it is a confusion between على ما أَعْرَضَها "according to what they offered for sale," and على مَنْ أَعْرَضَ "according to whoever presented himself." The writer of the letter is subject to these confusions.

[43] I.e. this room, which seems to have been used as a shop.

[44] רבעי is رُبْع with a connecting vowel.

[45] The wazn seems to be here a definite weight.

33 סער כ דרהם כל דינר מן צרף לו דרה ונץ מנהם קום דפעו לי רהן ומנהם
קום

34 דפעו אלבעץ ובקי ענדהם אלבעץ וקד לחקהא כצרה מן אל תחמיר אלתי
חמרת פי

35 מצר ווזנת עלי הדה אלבקייה אלתי תבקת דרהם ונצף למן עאודהא
באלתחמיר והי

36 באקיה ואנא אגתהד פי אמרהא פסבחאן מן אסקט נגמהא ואמא אל צרה
אלתי כאנת

37 ענדי קד טרח אללה פיהא אלמאדה ומא גמע אללה מנהא דינר עאמלת
מנהא באל בעץ

38 פי סבסתאן וצמג לוז וגאסול וקללות מא לא ימכנני ולא יתסע צדרי לדכרה
וכל מא

39 אכתב הדא אלכתאב אתנהד פלעל אל מות אקרב וקד סרני מא דכרה
מן וצול אל מראכב

40 סאלמה לצקליה ותופיקהא פי אלבצאיע ואנא ארגב למולאי יערפני אסמא
אל קום

41 אלואצלין פי מרכב אל אנדלס וכדלך כל מרכב יגי יערפני בגמיע אלאכבאר

Margin:

כאנני משאהד להא | ולעל יגיני כתאב מן צקליה או מן אי | מוצע כאן ואלי
אלאן מא וצל נגא אלגלאם | אללה יכתב עליה אלסלאמה · וכאן וצל אליי
כתאב מולאי אל | שיך מנד מדה ידכר אנה קבץ אלכראריס אלתי כאנת
לי ענד ר | ישועה חרסה אללה ווצל מנהא לר ישראל כראסתין | אלתי
פיהא אצול אלדקדוק לינסכהא למולאי פלמא כתבת | לה חרסה אללה

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46 The writer sold 39 quarter wazns for 8 dīnārs, or 292 dirhams, which was at the rate of $7\frac{19}{39}$ dirhams the quarter, or $29\frac{37}{39}$ dirhams the wazn. After he had sold out at about 30 dirhams, the price sank to 20 dirhams the wazn.

47 The vernacular *nuṣṣ* for نِصْف.

48 خُضْرَة "greenness."

49 תחמיר, تَخْمِير and חמרת, خُمِّرَتْ have ח for خ which is very unusual and must point to a dialectic peculiarity.

50 תבקת, confusion between تَبْقِى and بَقِيَتْ (vernacular *baḳat*).

33 became 20 dirhams[46], every dīnār being by exchange 36 dirhams and a half[47]. And of the [buyers] some people paid me [with] a note, and of them some people

34 paid a part, and a part remained with them [unpaid for]. And mouldiness[48] had attacked it in consequence of the fermentation[49] which had developed in

35 Egypt. And I weighed out, in addition to this remainder which remained[50] [in their possession, unpaid for], a dirham and a half to such as brought it back[51] in a fermented condition, while it

36 remained [in their possession, unpaid for]. And I am diligent in this matter. But Praise to Him who made its star to sink[52]! And as for the row which occurred

37 at my place: God has taken away its bitterness[53]. And where God has made [me] to profit[54] from it[55] by a dīnār, I have done business by means of it[55] partly

38 in prunes[56] and gum-arabic, almonds and soap[57] and earthen pots[58]—such as I am unable, and am not in the mood[59], to mention. For even as

39 I write this letter, I sigh: "Perhaps death is very near[60]." But I was pleased by what it[61] said about the arrival of the ships

40 safely in Sicily, and their success with the cargoes. And I desire of my Lord that he inform me of the names of the people

41 arriving in the Spanish ship; and likewise, [of] every ship which comes let him inform me of all the news,

Margin:

as though I were an eye-witness of it. And perhaps there may come to me a letter from Sicily, or from some place or other. But up to the present [news of] the escape of the youth has not reached me. May God decree "safety" for him! And there arrived to me the letter of my Lord the Sheikh a little while ago, mentioning that he had got the pamphlets which belonged to me [and were] with Rabbi Joshua—May God keep him! And of these there reached Rabbi Israel two pamphlets in which were the elements of [Hebrew] grammar, for him to copy off for my Lord. And after I had

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[51] עאודהא, confusion between عَاوَدَ "came back complaining," and أَعْوَدَهَا or أَعَادَهَا "brought it back."

[52] I.e. made the price to sink; or, caused the matter to be forgotten.

[53] מארה, an error for مَرَارَة. [54] נמע is جَمَّعَ?

[55] We doubt that the writer has anything in mind when he uses "it" so carelessly.

[56] סבסתאן. Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 625.

[57] נאסול is غاسول "cleanser."

[58] קללות, perhaps a feminine plural of the masculine noun קַלָּא.

[59] יתסע is يَتَّسِع from وسع "my breast is not expanded, I am not happy enough, to..."

[60] I.e. "Oh that death were near!"

[61] I.e. the letter he has received from Egypt.

נאכַד עליה פי תוגיהה וצל אליי | כתאבה יקול ערפני מא הי חתי אכתב
פי אמרהא | ללאסכנדריה פמא אערף איש הדא וכתאבה | ענדי אנהא כלהא
וצלת אליה ועלי אנה יוגההא | אליי מע מן כרג וקד עייאת מא אכתב פי |
אמרהא והי ח̇ כרראריס פיהא מסאיל | בכט ידי לרבינו שמואל פי אשת בעלת
אב̇ | ואלאתון ואלנ̇ח̇ש ומסאיל כתירה וכראסה פיהא בס . . איכה וכרא[סה] |
פיהא קצה אלמש . . א . . . . . | אלא . . . א אכר גיר . . . . . | ואלכר[אסה . . . .] |
ואל . . . . . | לי̇ ישראל | ינסכהא פבחק אלאהבה | אלא מפארג עני מולאי
אלשיך הדא אל | הם . וקד סררנא בופא | אלמא . . . . אללה יבלג בה
אלמנאפע | ויהדינא וכל ישראל ואמא | נחן פי הדא אלבלד מא נראו | פרג
אלקמוח עטימה | וקד תטאעמו פיהא אלגלא | אללה יחסן אלעאקבה | ולא
מעאש

Verso :

1 ואלי אלאן מא וצל ל̇ נתן מן דמשק לאנה מצא מע ל̇ יצחק קאל לה
תמצי מעי

2 ואעטיך אלתלת פי מא יחצל לי ואמא מא דכרה חרסה אללה אן אכתב
עלי זוגתה

3 נסכתין וג̇ אנא אנתטר וצול ל̇ נתן ואפעל פי דלך פוק אל שהוה ואמא ר̇
יצחק נט̇ כח̇

4 הו פי עאפיה ומא ישך אחד פי מא דכרה חרסה אללה מן שגל באלה
בוגעה ללה אלחמד

5 אלדי אשפאה̇ ולעל יצל מן ענד מימון̇ לי פרג פיערפני וכדלך סידי̇ אבו
אלפצל קבל . . . . . נע̇

---

62 נאכד, if correct, is نأخذ "we attacking." But على of the person is unusual.

63 אייט הדה is Syrian vernacular, *ēsh hāda* from ايّ شئ هذا "what sort of a thing this is."

64 עייאת is عَيَّيْتُ. Having used the double י for ىّ he employs א to avoid a third י.

65 כרראריס with an extra ר due to confusion with the singular form.

66 The correct title was אשת בעלת אוב. Cf. 1 Samuel xxviii, 7.

67 Numbers xxii, 28, about the ass of Balaam that spoke.

68 Genesis iii, 1, about the serpent that spoke.

69 Possibly "the Messiah." 70 I.e. "that exists between us"?

71 The מ and א are written over the line so as to suggest מפארג which we take to be مُفَرِّج.

72 סררנא is سُرِرْنا.

written to him—May God keep him!—taking him to task[62] about [not] sending them, there arrived to me his letter, saying: "Inform me of what they are, so that I may write about them to Alexandria." So, I don't know what to make of this[63]; for his letter is [on file] with me that all of them reached him, and to the effect that he would send them to me with whomever left [there for here]. But I am tired[64]. I shall not write about it. But they are eight pamphlets[65], among them [some treating of debatable] questions—in my own hand-writing—[namely:] by Rabbi Samuel on "A woman, Possessor of a Soothsaying Spirit[66]," and "The She-Ass[67]," and "The Serpent[68]"(?) and many questions. And [there is] a pamphlet in which.....Lamentations, and a pamphlet in which [there is] the story of the.....[69].....other, not.....and the pamphlet.....and the.....to Rabbi Israel for him to copy them. And, by the Love[70]! May my Lord the Sheikh dispel[71] this care from me! And we were pleased[72] at the success of the.....[73] May God increase the profits by means of it, and guide us aright and all Israel! And as for us in this country, we do not think there will be[74] any enormous[75] relief[76] in grain. And they have added profiteering[77] to [shortage]. May God make favorable the outcome, or else[78] [grant at least] subsistence!

Verso:

1 And up to the present Rabbi Nathan has not arrived from Damascus, because he went away with Rabbi Isaac. He said to him: "Go away with me
2 and I will give you the third of what I make." And as for what he says—God keep him!—that I should write at his wife's expense
3 two or three[79] amulets: I am expecting the arrival of Rabbi Nathan, and I shall do in this matter more than he could desire. And as for Rabbi Isaac,
4 he is in good health. And let no one doubt what he has said—God keep him from his worrying[80] over his bodily suffering. Unto God [be] the praise,
5 who cured him! And perhaps there will arrive from Rabbi Maimūn some relief for me, and he will inform me[81]. And so also my Lord Abū al-Faḍl.....

---

[73] Perhaps مَأْخذ "mine," or "source of supply."

[74] גראו, perhaps a confusion of نَرَى "we [do not] think," and colloquial *yarau*, "they [do not] think."

[75] עטימה should be masculine.

[76] פרג is فَرَج, a break in the grain market, or a relief in the stringency of public need.

[77] גלא is غَلَاء. [78] ולא is وَإِلَّا.

[79] נ is أَوْ ٣. The *au* was pronounced *ō*.

[80] Cf. No. XXVI, ll. 12, 16.

[81] I.e. "about what to do for my own sickness."

6 לי ענדה חסאב ואעטם סרור ידכל עלי קלבי מא יתצל בי מן סלאמה
גסמה ואכבאר

7 יערפני בהא מן אלגרב לאני הונא משתאק לסמאע כבר לאני טול נהאר·
מחצור פי אל

8 דאר אקרא אלי וקת עצר אכרג סאעה אתפרג וארגע אלי צלאת מנחה·
וסרור אבן

9 סהלאן הו ענדנא פי אלקדם וגע אללה תעאלי ישפיה וידכר אנה תעוזה
נפקה

10 ומא יגד אחד ידכל אליה ולא יכלמה באל עזיז עליי ואלנאס מעדורין
יטלב ואחד

11 יעמל גמיל רבמא יחצל פי אשיא לא ירומהא ורבמא יכרג עלי וגבה
בעין אלאוקת

12 ישתרי לה חאגה והו יסכן פי דור אל מסלמין ולא דאכל ולא כארג עליה·
ואן סמע לר׳

13 יצחק אלאנדלסי חרסה אללה כבר בוצולה יכתב אליי בפצלה פאני מעלק
אלקלב אליה אללה

14 יסמעני ענה כיר ויערפני בפצלה אן כאן וצל רבינו יחי לעד למצר אללה
תעאלי יגעלה פי

15 חיז אל סלאמה קראת עלי מולאי אלשיך אגל אלסלם ומולאי אבו אלאיתן
ומולאי אבו עלי

16 אצהארה חרסהמא אללה אפצל אלסלם וקד וצלת כתב אבו אלפרג חאטה
אללה מן צור

17 והו פי כל עאפיה ואל צבי אשר סלמה אללה מעה אעלמתה דלך ושלום לן

Margin:

וקד תופי אלרגל אלדי כאן יטאלבני פי דאר אלשיך אבו אלאעלא | וגרת
לי מעה תלך אלקצין וקד לקי פעלה פעויל לנא פמא | אגפלנא ען חאל
אנפסנא אללה יג.. פי אגל מולאי ויטול | עמרה

---

[82] I.e. events. [83] Article needed.

[84] אקרא for أَقْرُو "straining toward."

[85] תעוזה is تُعَوِّزه.

[86] מעדורין is مَعْذُورين. [87] אוקת is a confusion between أَوْقَات and وَقْت.

[88] I.e. He makes no distinction between close friends and mere acquaintances, between Jews and Muslims. [89] I.e. "do you."

6 I have an account against him; but the greatest happiness will enter my heart if there should reach me [news] of the health of his body, and news
7 informing me of it[82] in the West. For here I yearn to hear news, because I all day[83] long am shut up in the
8 house, waiting impatiently for[84] the time of afternoon [when] I can go out for an hour and take a walk and return for the Minḥah prayers. And Sarūr Ibn
9 Sahlān is with us in Jerusalem. He has been ill. May God the Exalted heal him! And he says that his losses are reducing him to poverty[85].
10 And he finds no one visiting him that he does not speak to him violently against me. And people are disappointed[86]. One tries
11 to do a kindness—often it results in things which one does not like. And often it leads to a crash on certain occasions[87].
12 [One] buys him something, and he [goes and] lives in the houses of the Muslims. To him there is no inside or outside[88]. And if there is heard of Rabbi
13 Isaac the Spaniard—God keep him!—any news about his arrival, let him[89] kindly write to me, for I hold him in great affection[90]. May God
14 cause me to hear from him good news! And let him kindly inform me if the Rabbi[91]—May he live forever!—reaches Cairo. May God the Exalted put him on
15 the side of safety! I am writing to my Lord the Sheikh the most distinguished peace[92], and [to] my Lord Abū al-Ētān[93], and [to] my Lord Abū 'Ulā[94]
16 his relations—God keep them both!—The most excellent of greeting! And the letters of Abū al-Faraj—God watch over him!—have arrived from Tyre.
17 And he is in all [good] health. And the boy, Asher,—God preserve him! —is with him. I am letting him[95] know that. Peace be unto him[95]!

Margin:

And the man has died who used to importune me in the house of the Sheikh Abū al-A'lā. And these doings[96] went on between us. And he has received his deserts[97]. But woe[98] unto us! For we are not unmindful of our own condition[99]. May God.....(?) my Lord most abundantly and extend his life!

---

[90] I.e. "I am dependent upon him as to heart."

[91] The bearer of the letter itself?

[92] סלם is سَلاَم.

[93] אֵיטָן.

[94] Hardly 'Alī; and we find 'Ulā in No. I.

[95] I.e. the addressee of the letter.

[96] קצין is قِصَص. Cf. Friedländer, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides*, p. 92.

[97] Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 546.

[98] פעויל is فَوَيْل. The ע was repeated from the preceding word.

[99] He remembers that he also may die, as well as the man whom he disliked.

Address:

لمولاى الشيخ ابو يحيى نهراى ابن نسيم من ابو زبير صدقة المغربى شاكره

اطال الله بقاه وادام سلامته وسعادته الفسطاط ان شا الله عزّ وجلّ

---

[100] As there are scarcely any points to distinguish similar letters from one another in these proper names, it is almost useless to try to make them out. But the Arabic type commits one to some definite reading.

Address[100]:

To my lord the Sheikh Abū Yaḥyā Nahrāi[101] Ibn Nissīm,
From his grateful Abū Zubair Ṣadaḳah al-Maghribī.
May God extend his [earthly] sojourn, and protract his health and happiness!
Al-Fusṭāṭ—If it please God[102], the Powerful and Exalted!

[101] Aramaic.
[102] I.e. that it should arrive safely.

XXVIII. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters.

The beginning, perhaps a considerable portion, of this letter, is wanting; but what we have is well preserved. The cursive Hebrew hand is neat and legible, and continues so to the end; and the margin has not been filled with added scrawls. A blank space has unaccountably been left near the bottom. After the conclusion, line 25, several postscripts have been added. A cryptic signature or date stands at the lower right-hand corner.

This fragment may be the ending of a letter of which No. XXX is the beginning.

1 ואנא אדרבך ואעלמך גמיע מא אערף ואכדך מעי
2 לכל בית אן ארוח ליה בעד האדה רוח לאדכאן ביבעתני
3 כל שגל ביגי מנה ב ביקולי כדלך דרהם והאת דרהם
4 בנהאר פי שגלי ובליל בשתגל פילקראיה בעין מא
5 עלמני אלמכדום ואנא מסתקנע בדעאך ואנת תקול
6 אללה ירזקך חן והאסד קבלת מנך ואנא וביתי ואכותי
7 ואהלי ואצחאבי ואלקאהל פי שלום׃ בעד אלסלאם
8 אלתאם עליך ועלי אלאך אלעזיז כבוד ר צדאקא אלעפיף
9 יו ועלי ולדה אלשיך אבראהם יל ועלי ביתה אלגמיע
10 ועלי כבוד הדראת ר עבדיה אלחדרה יל ואיצא ואלדהו
11 ועלי כבוד ר אהרן אלצפיר איצא ואלדה ועלי סתנה
12 אלכבירה צאחבת אלבית ועלי סתנה אבו אלפרג צאחבת
13 אלאחסאן ועלי סתנה שקרה בנת אלמרחום ר מושה
14 זל צאחבת אלכיר ואלכרם ואלאחסאן אללה יגעל עמרכום

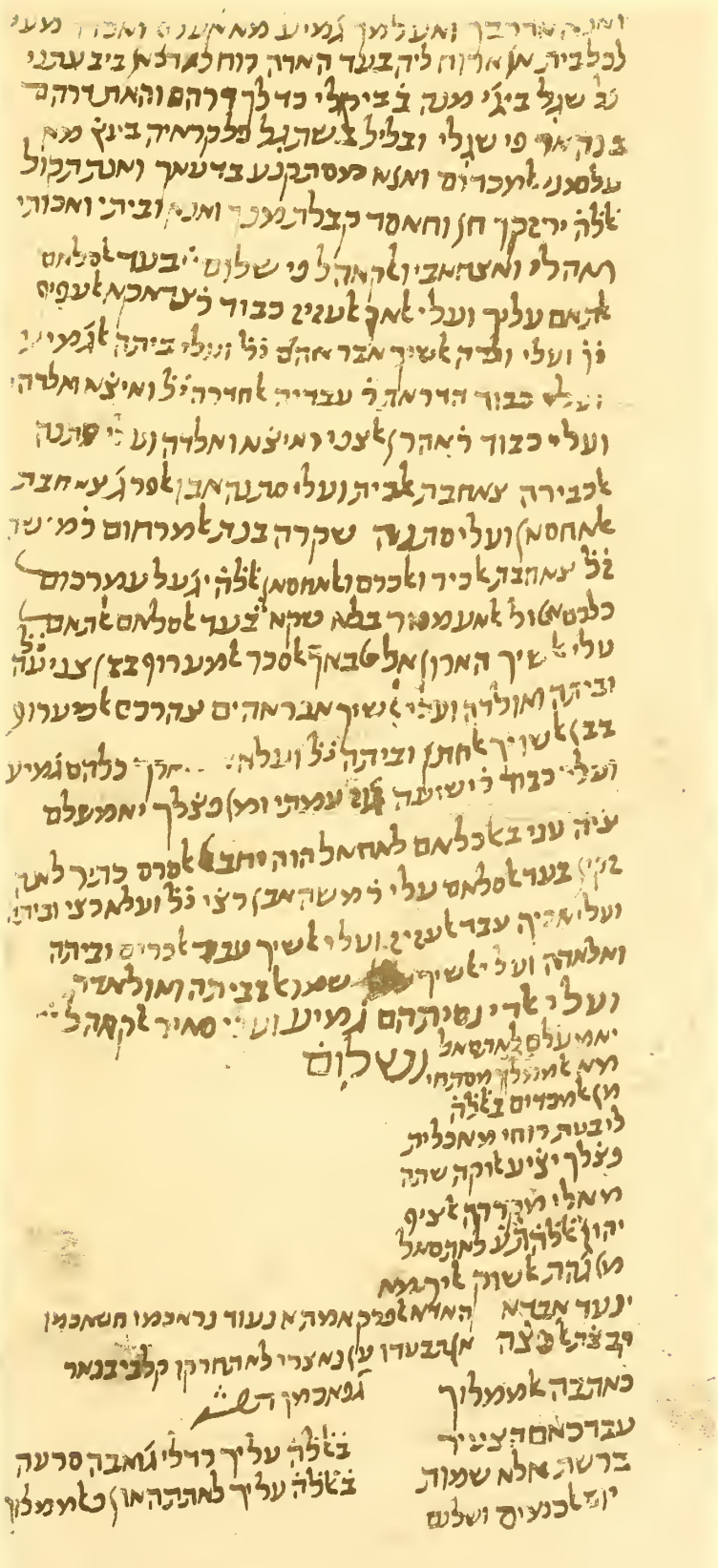
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[1] אן used as an indefinite relative, quite clearly in this case; less clearly in other instances among our fragments. This is not modern vernacular, and appears to be a characteristic feature of Judeo-Arabic of the time. We also have in our fragments الذى in the sense of أَنْ, a semantic change illustrated by English "that": first the demonstrative pronoun, then the relative pronoun, then the conjunction. This use of الذى is the same as that of the modern colloquial *illi*: *ana mabsūṭ illi mā gāsh*, "I am glad that he did not come." Cf. Spiro, *Arabic-English Vocabulary*, 1st ed., 1895, p. 17.

[2] *lē* for *lō* is Palestinian. [3] The Hebrew words. [4] I.e. "wife."

[5] بَعْدُ and not بَعْدَ, it seems.

[6] The writer is spelling almost phonetically both his Arabic and his Hebrew: חאסד = חָסֶד, קאהל = קָהָל, צדאקא = צְדָקָה. For this passage we know that צדקה was pronounced in the Hebrew way by Jews.



XXVIII. PART OF A LETTER

This text, with No. XXX, is extremely interesting, not only because it has been plainly written and perfectly preserved, but because it antedates by possibly two hundred and fifty years the next oldest specimen which we have of colloquial Arabic: *Hazz al-Ḳuḥūf* by al-Shirbīnī, A.D. 1687. (Cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol. ii, p. 278.) In marked contrast to our texts Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV and XXXV, we find here a Jew writing, probably in the early fifteenth century, almost what is spoken in Cairo today. Was the writer a slave?

1 And I shall acquaint you with and inform you of all that I know. And I shall take you with me [in fancy]
2 to every house to which[1] I go[2]. After this go [in fancy with me] to the shop. [The proprietor] sends me
3 all business. From this there are two [shares]. He says to me: "There is a dirham!" and "Give [me] a dirham!"
4 Every day there is my business; and at night I work at reading some of the things which
5 the Master has taught me. And I am content with your prayer; for you say:
6 "May God grant you grace[3] and favor[3]!" I have received [it] from you. And I and my household[4] and my sisters
7 and my people, and my companions, and the congregation[3] are at peace[3]. Then[5] the perfect
8 salutation, to yourself and your dear people: the honorable[3] Rabbi Ṣedhāḳāh[6] al-'Afīf[7],
9 and to his son, the Sheikh Abraham[7], and to all his household;
10 and to his Honor, his Excellency[8], Rabbi Obadiah, his Excellency[8,7], and also his father,
11 and to the honorable[5] Rabbi Aaron al-Ṣafīr[9], also his father; and to our great
12 lady, the mistress of the house[10]; and to our lady [wife of] Abū al-Faraj, mistress of
13 benevolence; and to our lady Shuḳrah[11], daughter of the deceased Rabbi Moses[7],
14 mistress of good fortune, and generosity, and benevolence. May God make your lives

---

[7] יגדל ויחי = יו"ו "May he grow and live!" יהי לרצון = יל"ל "God be favorable to him!"

[8] هدرات and الحدرة are Arabic forms of the title הדרה. (Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 260, line 8.) ח and ה interchange. (Cf. Dalman, *Aramäisch Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd ed., 1922, p. 138, col. 1, lines 19–20.)

[9] Arabic صَفِير "sapphire," a substitute for Aramaic שַׁפִּיר "excellent," perhaps.

[10] I.e. the wife of the addressee. [11] I.e. "bright red."

15 כלכם אטול אלאעמאר בלא שקא בעד אלסלאם אלתאם
16 עלי אלשיך הארון אלטבאך אלסכר אלמערוף בבן צניעה יל
17 וביתה ואולדה ועלי אלשיך אבראהים צהרכם אלמערוף
18 בבן אלשויך אלחתן וביתה יל ועלא א[צה]ארך כלהם גמיע
19 ועלי כבוד ר ישועה גוז עמתי ומן פצלך יא מעלם
20 ציה עני באלכלאם לאחאל הוה יחב אלסרם כתיר לאנה
21 זקין בעד סלאם עלי ר משה אבן רצי יל ועלי רצי וביתה
22 ועלי אביך עבד אלעזיז ועלי אלשיך עבד אלכרים וביתה
23 ואלאדה ועלי אלשיך שמואל וביתה ואולאדה
24 ועלי אלדי נסיתהם גמיע ועלי סאיר אלקאהל
25 יא מעלם לא תסאל ושלום
26 מא אלממלוך מסתחי
27 מן אלמכדום באללה
28 ליבעת רוחי מא כלית
29 פצלך יציע אלוקת שתה
30 מא לי מקדרה אלציף
31 יהון אללה תע לא תסאל
32 מן גהת אלשוק אליך מא
33 ינעד אבדא האדא אלפרק אמהא נעוד נראכמו חשאכמו
34 קבצת אלפצה אן תבעדו ען נאצרי לא תחרקו קלבי בנאר
35 כאתבה אלממלוך גפאכמו
36 עבדכאם הציר באללה עליך רד לי גואבה סרעה
37 ברשת אלא שמות באללה עליך לא תתהאון באלממלוך
38 יום אלכמים ושלום

---

12 I.e. "sugar." Cf. *Zuckermann*, etc.

13 I.e. "son of invention."

14 I.e. "son of the little Sheikh."

15 I.e. مُعَلِّم "teacher."

16 ציה and לאחאל are plainly written.

17 סרם appears to be شَرَس. Cf. the modern Cairene *sams* for *shams*, *semāl* for *shemāl*, etc.: Spitta, *Grammatik des Arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, 1880, p. 18.

18 ואלאדה for وَأَوْلَادُهُ.

15 —all of you—the longest of lives, without want! Then[5] the perfect salutation
16 to the Sheikh Aaron, the cook al-Sukkar[12], known by [the name of] Ibn Ṣanī'ah[13,7],
17 and his house and his children; and to the Sheikh Abraham, your son-in-law, known by [the name of]
18 Ibn al-Shuwaikh[14], the son-in-law[3] and his household[4,7]; and to all your wife's relatives, all;
19 and to the honorable[3] Rabbi Joshua, husband of my paternal aunt. And please, Master[15],
20 .....from me in conversation for[16].....he loves much to quarrel[17], because
21 he is an old man[3]. Then[5] [the] salutation to Rabbi Moses Ibn Raḍī, and to Raḍī and his household[4],
22 and to your father, 'Abd al-'Azīz, and to the Sheikh 'Abd al-Karīm and his household[4],
23 and his children[18]; and the Sheikh Samuel and his household[4] and his children,
24 and to those whom I have forgotten, all [of them]; and to the rest of the congregation[3,6].
25–26 So, Farewell!

---

25 O Master[15], do not ask [for reassurances]!
26 The slave is not ashamed
27 of the Master. Allah!
28 It excites me [to think of] how I have made
29 your Excellency waste time! [In the] winter
30 I have no provision. [In] the summer
31 God the Exalted[19] will help. Do not ask [for reassurances]
32 in regard to the affection [which I bear] toward you. It
33 shall not be counted[20] at all.
34 I got the silver.
35 The writer of it is the slave,
36 your insignificant servant,
37 "Genesis—Exodus[21]"
38 Thursday. Farewell!

33bis This is the separation. But we shall see you again. Far be it from you
34bis to hold aloof from my helper! Do not consume my heart with the fire[22] of
35bis your cruelty[23].
36bis I implore you by Allah! Return me a speedy answer!
37bis I implore you by Allah! Do not neglect the slave!

---

[19] תְּעַ = تعالى. [20] ינעד is يُنْعَدُّ (VIIth for the VIIIth form).
[21] Hebrew בראשית אלה שמות.
[22] These two lines, with the curious אמהא for أَمَّا (?) and the classical forms ending in *-kumū*, could almost be scanned as *rajaz* verses.
[23] Followed by a curious scrawl, half Hebrew and half Arabic.

XXIX. PIZMONIM

Paper $10\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

Since the paper and ink are well preserved, and the writing is very plain, almost every letter can be certainly read. The language is an attempt at classical Hebrew, often distorted for the sake of the meter, and not always giving clear sense. Vowel points are inserted in places, and for the most part correctly.

The meter of the first nineteen verses appears to be a sort of *rajaz* trimeter. The remainder does not scan. In this first section of nineteen verses the second hemistichs are all rimed, with some difficulty, on the first hemistich of the poem; this hemistich appears again as the closing one of the section. In verses 21–24 the same rime is continued; it appears finally in the last verse of the entire poem.

The fragment can perhaps be dated not long before or after the death of the Abraham to whom it is addressed, in A.D. 1237.

Recto:

1 בשם רחמ

2 גול על יי יעריצך · אדון וירבה גיל עלציך

3 דרך לך כוכב וגם האיר · אורו לשבענה בארציך

4 לו משאלתיו נתנו אליו · ירד היותו לך מחוז חפציך

5 רמתה עלי כל שר ותבל · עמרה להיות מלא קומציך

6 תשב באיתן קשתך עד כי · תורה שנונים יהיו חיציך

7 נקרא שמך אברם ואברהם · שמך אדון עולם ברכיך

8 ישלים רפואתך ותתנשא · ישא לך פנים וירציך

9 קום ועלה היום לתורת אל · הודה לאל פודך ופוציך

10 אתה אביר רועים לריעיך · רצתה בדין רבים ברוציך

11 שגו בגן שכלך ברושי הוד · תחת היותם נעצוציך

12 יפרתו אובים וכל שנאים · לעד עדי יכלו מנאציך

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[1] Perhaps influenced by the Muslim formula.

[2] Cf. Psalm xxxvii, 5.

[3] יעריצך for יַעֲרִיצֶךָּ on account of the rime, as in other cases also.

[4] Cf. Numbers xxiv, 17. [5] Cf. Genesis xlix, 24.

[6] Cf. Isaiah v, 28, as nāgīd.

[7] Cf. Genesis xvii, 5.

[8] Abraham Maimūnī was physician to the Sultan.

XXIX. PIZMONIM

This poem of praise, consolation and encouragement, is addressed by some unknown person to a certain Abraham, who is a physician, a man in high position in the world, and greatly respected by the Jewish community of which he is the champion. He has been attacked by certain enemies, and perhaps even by a mob. The person meant is presumably Abraham Maimūnī, the son of the great Maimonides. He was born June 17, 1186, and died in the year 1237. He became nāgīd, probably in 1205, and was physician to the Sultan. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 248 ff.; vol. ii, pp. 326 ff. Eppenstein, *Abraham Maimuni sein Leben und seine Schriften*, 1914 (cited by Mann); Steinschneider, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur der Juden*, § 159; אוצר ישראל, *sub voce* מימוני; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 2nd series, vol. v, p. 463; *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. iv, p. 24; *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1900, pp. 9 ff., 14 ff.; קובץ על יד, vol. xv, 1899.

Recto:

1 In the Name of the Compassionate[1]
2 Commit [your ways] unto the Lord[2]. The company of your rejoicers
shall praise you in awe[3], my Lord, and it shall increase.
3 A star[4] has gone forth for you; and its light has shone to our satisfaction
in your land.
4 If they gave it what it asks, it would come down [from the sky, to] become
the city of your desire.
5 You are exalted above every prince. And the world is about to be filled
with your abundance.
6 Your bow remains strong[5] until you shoot. Your arrows are sharp[6].
7 You were called "Abram"; but the Lord of the World has made you
an "Abraham" in your resting places[7]. [For]
8 He makes your cures succeed, and you are exalted[8]. He lifts up [His]
countenance upon you, and is gracious to you.
9 Arise and go up today for the Law of God. Give thanks unto God, your
redeemer and your deliverer.
10 You are the mightiest of shepherds unto your companions. You have
hastened [to help] many in court with your ready [help][9].
11 Splendid cypresses have grown in the garden of your intelligence, instead
of (their being) thorn-hedges (of yours[10]).
12 All enemies[11] and haters shall be cut off for ever, until your revilers come
to an end.

---

[9] His position made it possible for him to come to the aid of his brethren.

[10] Cf. Isaiah lv, 13.

[11] אובים. The syllable ְ having no full vowel does not count with the meter, and has here dropped out entirely. Read אוֹיְבִים.

13 ידגו וגם יפרו שתיליך · האל ויפריח לנציך
14 שִׁירִי עַמֹּה שִׁרְיָן וְתַלְבּוּשָׁת · קומה חגור היום חלציך
15 מַה לָּךְ וְקוֹצֵי שִׁיר סְבִיבָךְ · שִׁירִי וֵרֹה הַיום לקוֹצֵיך
16 אם כן בני לוי יהודון בך · נחנו בני דוד מליציך
17 הִנֵּה אֲנִי אָבַר תבונתך · אֶזְרֶה לְסוּפָתָךְ ומוֹצֵיך
18 אם יצטמוך בעלי חצים · אַצְטֹם יריביך ולו חציך
19 ברך לאומרים אל ירא אל · גול על יי׳ יעריציך

20 [פזמ]
21 גְּדֹלָךְ מבלי נגרע · מאת האל קדושיך ·
22 מֵעֲרֵיךְ הוא נִפְרָע · ומִכָּל דרשי מוקשיך ·
23 יום הציף בו המון הפרע · ונחך אל בית קדשיך ·
24 יי׳ ישמרך מכל רע · ישמר את נפשיך ·

25 פזמ
26 לָאל אודה על גאולת · עמי ורפאות אב המונים
27 אברהם מבחר סגולת · עם אֵל רב כל תחכמונים
28 יזכה אסוף נדחי גולת · אריאל ובאו ברננים
29 אל רֹאש הַר כָּל מכונים · אשר תאוה נפשיך

Verso:

1 פזמ
2 אל חי לעמו חיש יקרא · גיל ובאברתו יסך לך
3 עַם אברהם אל תירא · הנה אנכי מגן לך
4 הגוי הזה מה נורא · היום כי יי׳ מֶלֶךְ
5 וכל גוי רשע יושלך · ותגל אתה בְּנַפְשֶׁיךְ

6 פזמ

---

12 לָנֶצַח twisted into לָנֶצֶיךְ?

13 אֶבֶר? 14 לְסוּפָתָךְ?

15 יצטמוך and אַצְטֹם (corrected to אַיְשְׁטֹם) stand for יִשְׁטְמוּךְ and אֶשְׁטֹם, with שׁ assimilated to ט, and ְ then assimilated to צ. Cf. Genesis xlix, 23.

16 יְרִיבֶךָ with direct object?

17 The poet pronounced יִרְאֵי as יֵרֵי.

13 Thy cuttings, O God, shall multiply, and increase, and flourish for ever[12].
14 O my Song, cover yourself with armor and raiment! Arise and gird your loins today!
15 What have you to do with suppressors of song about you? Scatter my song today to those who would cut you off!
16 If thus the sons of Levi praise you, we sons of David are your interpreters.
17 Behold I am the pinion[13] of your intelligence. I will winnow your whirlwind[14] and your chaff.
18 If the people with arrows attack you[15], I will attack[15] them that contend with you[16]. And [had I only] your arrows!
19 Bless those who say unto those who fear[17] God: "Commit [your ways] unto the Lord[2]."
20 [Pizmōn[18]]
21 Your greatness is not at all diminished. From God is your holiness,
22 He will demand satisfaction from your oppressors and from all those who seek to ensnare you.
23 On the day of the pouring out of [the] mob [there was] the leadership [of God] and your resting secure upon your holy house[19]!
24 The Lord will keep you from every ill. He will keep your soul[20].
25 Pizmōn
26 To the Lord I will give thanks for the redemption of my people, and the healing of the Father of Multitudes,
27 Abraham, the chosen possession of the people of God, the chief of all the Tahchemonites[21].
28 May the gathering of the outcasts of the exiles of Ariel[22] be pure. And they shall come with joy[23]
29 to the top of the Mountain[22], [the place of] all places which your soul desires.

Verso:

1 Pizmōn
2 The Living God calls to His people: "Hasten, Rejoice!" For with His pinion He covers you, [saying:]
3 "O people of Abraham, fear not! Behold I am a shield unto you!"
4 How dreadful is this people today! For the Lord is King,
5 and every evil nation shall be destroyed; but you yourself shall rejoice.
6 Pizmōn

---

[18] Instead of פזמ occurs the cursive Coptic numeral for 500, derived from the Coptic-Greek numeral ϕ. This may merely be intended for an ornament, dividing the introduction from the three stanzas.

[19] Referring to some experience of Abraham Maimūnī?

[20] Psalm cxxi, 7.

[21] I.e. "mighty men." Cf. II Samuel xxiii, 8.

[22] "Jerusalem." Cf. Isaiah xxix, 1.

[23] ברנגות. The *masculine* plural would mean "*female* ostriches."

XXX. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

This is possibly a part of the same letter as No. XXVIII. Both fragments are of the same paper, cut to the same width, written in the same hand and in the same unusual Arabic (cf. Introd. No. XXVIII). Possibly a page has been lost between No. XXX and No. XXVIII. The first two lines of No. XXX unfortunately are defective, and we do not know the name of either of the correspondents, nor the date.

1 . . . . . כו אלשפיק . . . . ם

2 . . . . . אלסעיד [אט]אל אללה בקאה חר . .

3 ויתולאה ויגמע שמלנא ברייאה פי ירושלאים עה תו . . .

4 בחיר וביאמך אנס באן אלממלוך דאעי ללמכדום כת

5 כתיר אללה יעון קלבך בגמיע מא תחב וינאולך מא

6 תקצד פי גמיע אפעאלך אללה יטול עמרך ויכתר

7 רצקך מא דאמת אלאיאם ואלסנין אללה יקדרני עלי מסולאת

8 יא מעלם לא תסאל מא גרא לי מן יום אן טלעת מן מצר

9 חצלי אלכיר מן פצל אללה ופצלך גית אללא אלכאנכה ומעי יא

ארבע איאם

10 נצף פצא קעת עמלת ה תנצאף גית אסבת פי בלבים מא עמ

11 עמלת שי גינא לצאלחיה עמלת ג תנצאף גית לאקטיה

12 קעת ה תיאם עמלת בשרפי גינא לאגוה קעת כמסטעשר

---

1 עה=עיר הקודש or עיר הנדחת 2 ח used to represent خ.

3 וביאמך possibly = وَبِأَيَّامِكَ, the slanting stroke standing for ّ. Cf. line 7. אנס stands for أَمْن نَصّ سِلَه, "Certain! Confidence! Selah!"

4 I.e. "I." 5 I.e. "the one who is served."

6 The first two letters of כתיר occur also at the end of the preceding line.

7 צ for ج. 8 مُعَلِّم.

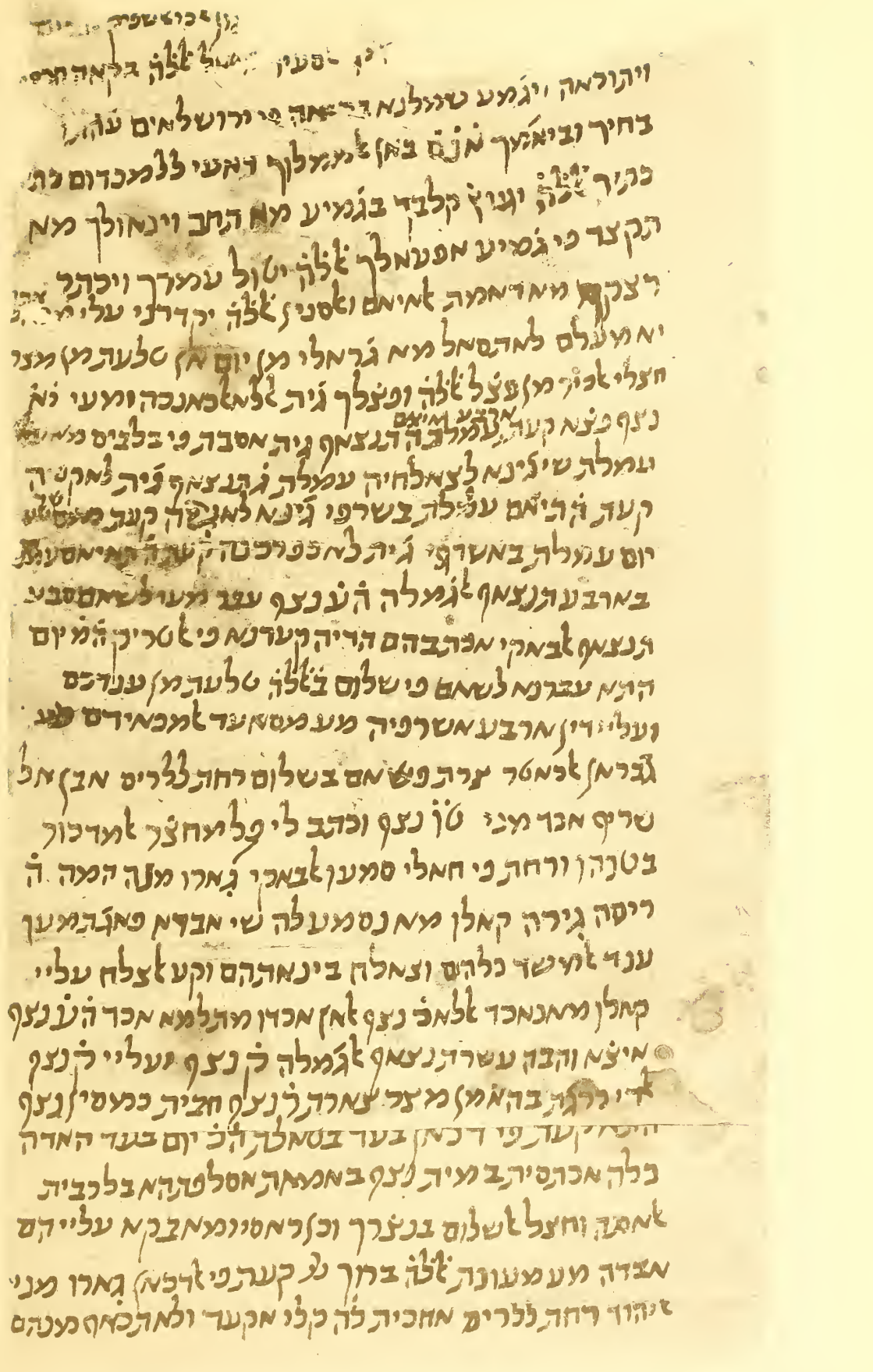
9 חצלי = vernacular *ḥaṣállī*.

10 A village about twenty kilometers north and east of Cairo, on the old caravan route to Syria. אללאאל is a confusion of *ila* and vernacular *li al*, the א representing the vowel *i*.

11 קעת=قَعَدتْ, as in classical Arabic. 12 "four days" above the line.

13 ה תנצאף is the vernacular *khámastanṣâf*. So also, line 11, *talátṭanṣâf*, lines 12, 13, *khámastīyám*; line 14, *árba'tanṣâf*, and other instances.

14 אסבת = السَّبْت.



XXX. PART OF A LETTER

We have here the beginning of a breezy letter written by someone in Damascus to someone in Fusṭāṭ. The writer has recently made the journey from the latter to the former place, earning or begging money from (Jewish?) communities on the way. Arriving at Damascus he is mulcted by both Muslims and Jews, but especially the latter, who are jealous of him. After establishing himself in business he has more trouble of the same sort, and is befriended by the Muslim ra'īs. Here the text breaks off.

The use of "ashrafī" and "nuṣf faḍḍah," instead of "dīnār" and "dirham," is found in No. XLI also. The "nuṣf" was not used before the days of the sultan al-Mu'ayyad (A.D. 1412–1421). Our fragment may therefore be dated in the early 15th century.

1 .....al-Shafīḳ.....
2 .....al-Sa'īd. May God prolong his life.....
3 and direct him, and reunite us by seeing him in Jerusalem[1].....
4 in good condition[2]. And in your days: A!N!S![3]; since the slave[4] prays for the Master[5]
5 often[6]: "God requite your heart with all that you desire, and give you what
6 you seek in all your undertakings! God prolong your life and multiply
7 your sustenance[7] as long as days and years continue!" God enable me to [answer your] questions!
8 O, Master[8], do not ask what happened to me from the day when I came up from Cairo!
9 I had[9] good luck by the grace of God and your grace. I came to al-Khānḳah[10], having with me eleven
10 half pieces of silver. I stayed[11] four days[12]. I made five half[13] [pieces of silver]. I arrived on a Sabbath[14] in Bilbais[15], [and so] I made[16]
11 nothing. We went to al-Ṣāliḥīyah[17]. I made three half[13] [pieces of silver]. I came to Ḳaṭyah[18].
12 I stayed[11] five days[13]. I earned an ashrafī[19]. We came to Gaza[20]. I stayed[11] fifteen[21]

---

[15] About 35 kilometers from al-Khānḳāh further along the caravan route.

[16] The first two letters of עמלת occur also at the end of the preceding line.

[17] About 55 kilometers from Bilbais, further along the caravan route.

[18] About 75 kilometers from al-Ṣāliḥīyah, further along the caravan route, in Sinai. Cf. Wüstenfeld's edition of *Yāḳūt*, vol. iv, p. 144, where the article is omitted as here in our fragment. The א in לאקטיה, לאגזה (l. 12), לאכפרכנה (l. 13), represents the vowel of the preposition.

[19] A gold-piece worth a dīnār, or somewhat less than a dīnār. Cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, *sub voce* and our note 23. The preposition *bi* is here properly used with the verb. Cf. Spiro, *Vocab.*, p. 413.

[20] לאגזה, cf. note 18. About 190 kilometers from Ḳaṭyāh, further along the caravan route, in Palestine.

[21] חמסטעישר *khámasṭá'sher* is an interesting form with transposed ' still retained, and *ṭ* changed to *ṭ́* by the '. The modern form is *khámastásher*.

13 יום עמלת באשרפי ג׳ית לאכפרכנה קעת ה תאיאם עמל[ת]
14 בארבע תנצאף אלגמלה הע נצף עבר מעי לשאם סבע
15 תנצאף אלבאקי אכת בהם הריה קעדנא פי אלטריק המ יום
16 התא עברנא לשאם פי שלום באללה טלעת מן ענדכם
17 ועליי דין ארבע אשרפיה מע מסאעד אלמכאידם מע
18 גבראן אלכאטר צרת פשאם בשלום רחת ללרים אבן אל
19 שריף אכד מני טו נצף וכתב לי פלמחצר אלמדכור
20 בטנהו ורחת פי חאלי סמעו אלבאקי גארו מנה המה ה
21 ריסה גירה קאלו מא נסמע לה שי אבדא פאגתמעו
22 ענד אלמשד כלהום וצאלח בינאתהם וקע אלצלח עליי
23 קאלו מא נאכד אללא כ נצף אלאן אכדו מתל מא אכד הע נצף
24 איצא והבה עשר תנצאף אלגמלה ק נצף ועליי ק נצף
25 אלדי כרגת בהא מן מצר צארת ר נצף חבית כמסין נצף
26 התא קעת פי דכאן בעד בטאלת הכ יום בעד האדה
27 כלה אכתסית במית נצף באמאת אסלפתהא בלרבית
28 אלאסנה וחצל אלשלום בנצרך וכן ראסי ומא בקא עליי הם
29 אבדה מע מעונת אללה ברוך יי קעת פי אלדכאן גארו מני
30 אליהוד רחת ללרים אחכית לה קלי אקעד ולא תכאף מנהם

---

22 Cana of Galilee, north and east of Nazareth.

23 If the ashrafī was worth 15¾ dirhams (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 43), 75 half-dirhams or half-faḍḍahs would be the correct total of the collections in the various towns.

24 أَخَذتْ. Cf. note 11.

25 He put aside—though where and how?—68 half pieces, and took seven along to Damascus.

26 ה for ח.

27 מסאעד אלמכאידם possibly for מסאעדת אלמכאדים. The singular, מכדום, is elsewhere used of the addressee of this letter. The plural is here used of the Damascus Jews.

28 جَبْرًا الخاطر with مَعَ redundantly. The writer was virtually seized by the Damascus Jews.

29 I.e. the Damascus Jews.

30 Vernacular idiom. Cf. Spiro, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

31 המה. Cf. the Maghrabī form *hūma*.

32 The vernacular negative, *mā.....-sh abadan*.

33 مُشدّ. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 736, "inspecteur."

34 Since in line 9 he says that he had only eleven half pieces upon reaching his first station from Cairo; and in lines 16–17 he says that he left owing four ashrafīs (=126 half pieces according to line 14. Cf. note 23).

13 days. I earned an ashrafī[19]. I came to Kafr Kannah[22]. I stayed[11] five days[13]. I earned

14 four half[13] [pieces of silver]. The total [was] 75 half [pieces of silver][23]. There crossed over with me to Damascus seven

15 half[13] [pieces of silver]. The remainder I held onto[24] as a present [to myself?][25]. We remained on the road 45 days

16 until[26] we crossed over to Damascus safely[1]—By Allah! I went out from among you

17 owing a debt of four ashrafīs!—with the help of the gentlemen[27],

18 against my will[28] I came to Damascus safely! I went to the ra'īs, the son of the

19 sharīf. He took from me 15 half [pieces of silver] and he gave me a receipt in the [presence of the] aforementioned assemblage[29],

20 [in the very] midst of it. And I went about my business[30]. The rest heard [of this]. They were jealous about it. Five of them[31],

21 the ra'īs (of it) [and] others, said: "We shan't listen to this at all[32]." And they gathered in a crowd

22 at the house of the mushidd[33], all of them; and he tried to make peace between them. The peace turned out to my disadvantage.

23 They said: "We shall not take more than 20 half [pieces of silver]." Now they have taken what he took, [and] 75 half [pieces of silver]

24 also, and a gratuity of ten half [pieces][13], the total being 100 half [pieces]. But I owed 100 half [pieces] with [the debt

25 of] which I set out from Cairo[34]. That made 200 half [pieces]. I desired fifty half [pieces]

26 before[26] I should take my seat[11] in a shop. After an idleness of 25 days, after all

27 this, I clothed myself for 100 half [pieces] from sums (?)[35] which I borrowed[36] at interest[37]

28 payable the next year[38]. And peace[1] reigned, with your favor[39]; and so[1] [also I] myself[40] [was at peace], and I had no more anxiety

29 at all[41], with the help of God. Blessed be the Lord[1]! I sat[11] in the shop. The Jews

30 were jealous of me. I went to the ra'īs. I told[42] him. He said to me[43]: "Stay where you are, and don't be afraid of them."

---

[35] I.e. "sources."

[36] For this sense, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, *sub voce*.

[37] Hebrew רִבִּית.

[38] أَسْنَهُ, an adjective of defect, derived secondarily from سَنَةٌ "year," and meaning usually "skipping alternate years."

[39] Vernacular *binaẓrak*.

[40] I.e. "my head." Cf. روح وجه عين نفس, and the Ethiopic *re'es*, "head," "self."

[41] هَمٌّ أَبَدًا.

[42] *iḥkēt*. Cf. Spitta, *Gram.*, p. 232.

[43] *ḳállī*.

XXXI. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in elegant square Hebrew characters. Lines were drawn with a hard point before writing. Some of the worn spots are difficult to read.

This letter originally consisted of two pages (cf. line 23), probably represented by our two fragments XXXI and XXXII. But evidently one line has been lost at the bottom of XXXI, and several at the bottom of XXXII. Note the persistent rime.

1 אשרי שמרי משפט עושה צדקה בכל עת׃

2 אשרי משכיל אל דל ביום רעה ימלטה[ו יהוה]׃

3 אויה לי כי גרתי משך שכנתי עם אהלי ק[דר]׃

4 והכיתי ליי המסתיר פנים וקו[ית]י לו׃

5 הדרת יקרת אדיר שרי המלאכת· כבוד הוד אציל הורי בו לכת׃

6 טפסר מצאר חן· ברור לבב בת חן· להסליל ול..ל

7 ועדי עד יתקיים· במצותיו הוא קיים· .....

8 יפה טוב ....ם· להטיב כל מעש· ב.....

9 ברוחו האצילו· חסות תחת צילו· כל ק.....

10 ....ל· ....

11 כבוד גדולת תהלת· יקר קהלת· המונת מעלת· הדרת יקרת·

12 צברת כתרת· אדוני ומרי· החכם הנבון· החסיד הנדיב יש[ר]

13 בדרכיו· תם במפעליו· השר המיוקר· הזקן המפואר· מכהפ

14 אברהם הידוע אביסעד שמרו צורו· ויעזרו נוצרו· לא י[ק]ל

15 עושרו· ולא יכבה נרו· קמיו יפלו· ואויביו יושפלו· תחת ש[בטו]

16 יוכפלו· יחדו המה יתהוללו· בן מב גד קה הדו ...

17 [ה]דר עטרת· הוד תפארת· אדונינו הזקן הגדול [ה]ש[ר]....

18 והמכובד סהל הידוע אבי אלפצ[ל] תהא נפשו נהויה·.....

---

1 Psalm cvi, 3. 2 Psalm xli, 2.

3 Psalm cxx, 5.

4 Isaiah viii, 17.

5 ?אֵצֶל 6 ?מְצְהַר 7 ?כְּמַעֲשֵׂה 8 ?הַצִּילוֹ

9 Isaiah xxx, 3.

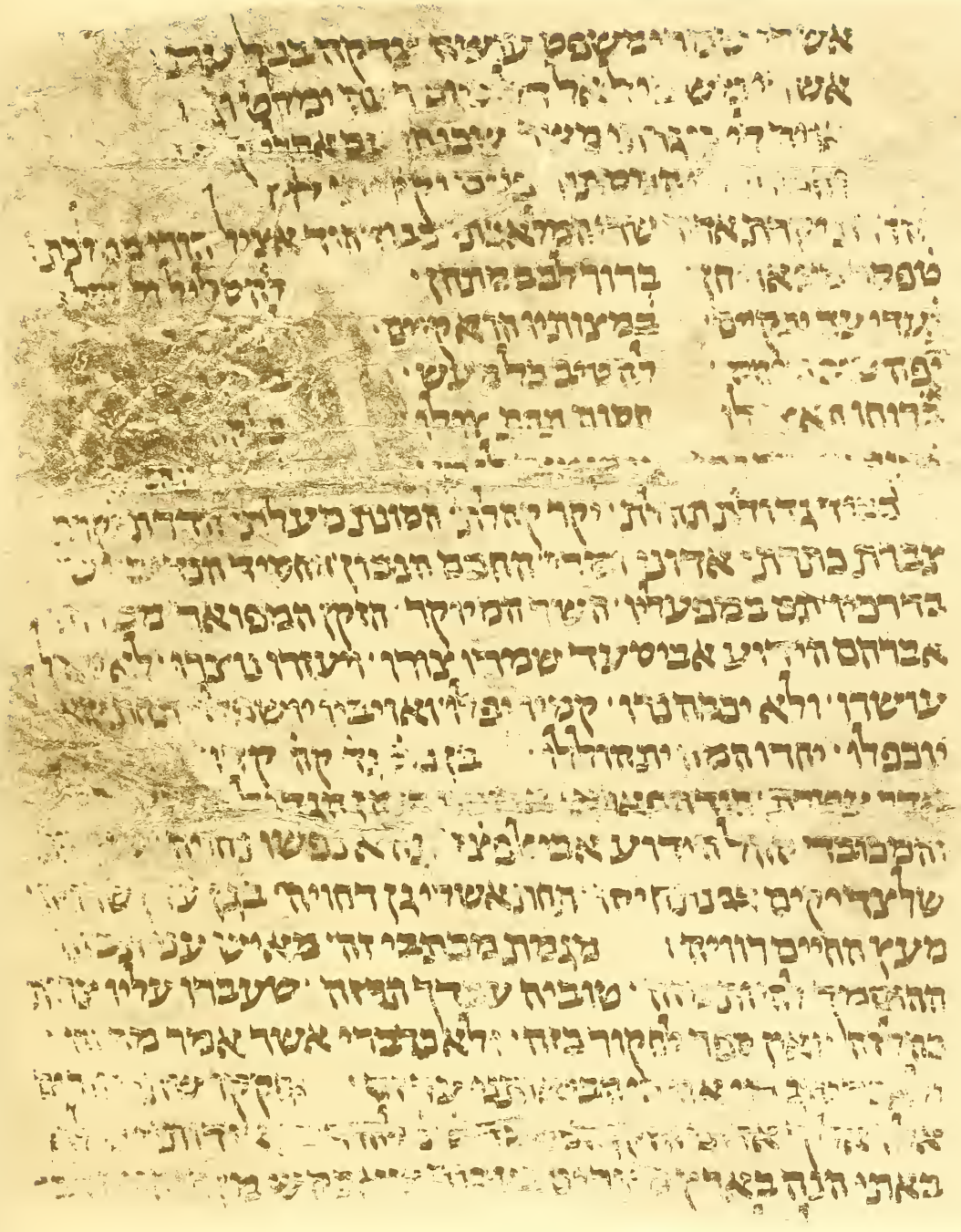
10 Feminine endings forming a sort of abstract noun.

11 The Arabic name, with Abū changed to Abī, to make it seem Hebrew (cf. Abimelek).

May 10, 1954

Mr. J. D. Goldstein (Dropsie College) and Zvi Ankori (Research Fellow of Columbia University)

say that nos. 31 and 32 are the same letter which has become unglued before reproduction and that the note at the top of page 142 is in part in error.



Genizah Fragment 31

XXXI. PART OF A LETTER

A letter from one, Tobiah, to Abū Sa'd Abraham Ibn Abū al-Faḍl Sahl al-Tustarī, the wealthy dealer in rarities who through the mother of the Sultan Ma'add, a slave-girl from his market, exercised great influence at court until his assassination in A.D. 1048. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 76 ff., and Index; Gottheil, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, p. 62. Our fragment is without address or date, but can safely be dated at about A.D. 1048.

Tobiah has had great misfortune. He explains that he did not come to Egypt in order to obtain assistance.

1 Blessed are they that keep justice, and [blessed is] he that doeth righteousness at all times[1].
2 Blessed is he that considereth the poor. The Lord will deliver him in the day of evil[2].
3 Woe is me that I sojourn in Meshech, that I dwell among the tents of Kedar[3]!
4 And I will wait for the Lord, that hideth [His] face, and I will look for Him[4].
5 [To] the Beauty of the Dignity[10] of the Mighty One of the Princes of Commerce! Honor, Glory with[5] those who teach walking therein!
6 The Courtier, the Gracious Countenance[6]! Illustrious, Merciful of Heart, to.....and to.....
7 And for ever and ever he shall be established. In His commands he is enduring.....
8 Beautiful, Good, ...to do every thing well[7].....
9 In his spirit escape[8]. Asylum under His shadow[9]. Every.....
10 .....
11 To the Honor of the Majesty of the Praise of the Dignity of the Congregation of the Multitude of the Height of the Beauty of the Dignity[10]
12 of the Abundance[10] of the Crown[10] of my Lord and Master the Wise, the Intelligent, the Pious, the Generous, Upright
13 in his ways, Perfect in his deeds, the Honored Prince, the Glorified Elder, ...
14 Abraham, known as Abū Sa'd[11]—May his Rock[12] be his preservation, and may his Protector help him[13]! May his wealth not
15 decrease, and may his light not be extinguished! May they fall that rose against him, and his enemies be brought low, under his rod!
16 May they be confounded! One and all, may they be confounded! Son of the Honor of the Majesty of the.....
17 Beauty of the Crown of the Glory of the Beauty of our Lord, the Elder, the Great, the Prince.....
18 and the Honored Sahl, known as Abū al-Faḍl. May his soul live[14], quickened.....

---

[12] I.e. God. [13] וְיַעֲזְרֵהוּ? [14] תְּחִי?

19 של צדיקים בגנת חיים׃ תחת אשלי גן דחויה׃ בגן עדן שרויה׃

20 מעין החיים רוויה׃ מגמת מכתבי זה׃ מאיש עני ונבזה׃

21 ההוסמך להיות מזה׃ טוביה עבדך הרזה׃ שעברו עליו צרות

22 כהלזה׃ ואין ספר לחקור בזה׃ ולא כדברי אשר אמר מה זה׃

23 ולא כמנהג מי אני כי הביאותני עד זה׃ נחקקו שתי טורים

24 אלה אליך׃ אדוני הזקן הנכבד שׂא להודיע אודות כי לא

25 באתי הנה בארץ מצרים בעבור שאבקש מן הזקנים דבר

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15 דְּחַוְיָה? Aramaic.

16 טורים, "pages," literally "rows," "series." The letter originally consisted of two pages, our fragments XXXI and XXXII.

19 of the righteous, in the Garden of Life, under the tamarisks of the Garden
of the Serpent[15], planted in the Garden of Eden,
20 saturated from the Tree of Life! The purpose of this, my letter, from
a man poor and despised, [and]
21 the establishing [of fact] to result from this [letter is that] there have
passed, over Tobiah, your servant, the lean, troubles
22 like this. And there is no book on this [subject] for [you to] study. Nor
[is there anything] like my words when I say: "What is this!"
23 Nor am I like another man when Thou [O God] hast brought me to
this!" These two pages[16] have been drawn up[17]
24 for you, my Lord, the honored Elder—May God preserve him!—to make
known the causes [of my plight]. For I did not
25 come here to the land of Egypt in order that I might seek anything
from the elders.

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17 נְחַקּוּ?

XXXII. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $7\frac{7}{8} \times 6$ inches.

Hebrew in elegant square Hebrew characters. Lines were drawn with a hard point before writing. Some of the worn spots are difficult to read.

This letter originally consisted of two pages (cf. XXXI, line 23), represented by our two fragments XXXI and XXXII. But evidently one line has been lost at the bottom of XXXI, and several at the bottom of XXXII.

1 שאתכרכר ואתפרנס· אבל באתי הנה בעבור דבר אחר
2 וישבתי שנה תמימה במלאכת אדוני המפואר ולא ראיתי
3 רווחה במעשי ידי וגם לא עמדתי לפני אדם אחד שאב[קש]
4 ממנו מחיה ולא בקשתי מן אדם וגם לא נתן לי א[דם]
5 [דבר מעו]לם זולת . . . . . ן · א . . . . . תק ל ע
6 במקום הזה· והאלהים יודע איך חיינו שלשת הנפ[שות כל]
7 השנה מכובד דוחק המחיה ואמר לי אבי אלפרג . . . . .
8 כ[י] אדוני הזקן המיוקר חרה אפו בעבור כי שכנתי ביניכם
9 וכאשר שמעתי דבריו אמרתי בלבי כי אולי הכבדתי עליהם
10 כי כל יום ויום עומד לפניהם ונקצר רוח אדוני ממני או
11 שמע בעבור שירורותי מיום שנכנסתי במקום ה[זה] וחרה
12 לו בשיכנותי ביניהם· ושמתי לבי שאלך אל ארצי ואל
13 מולדתי ומשפחתי ומפיל תחינתי לפני אדוני הזקן השר
14 המיוקר שיעשה שאלתי שבעבורה ירדתי אל המקום
15 הזה כי אין הנה מי שעשה חסד עימי ולא שילם לי חלופו
16 זולתך כי חסדך נשאר עלי שלם ועוד הוספת ותוסיף בזה
17 הדבר ויהיה לך שכר בזה ובבא· והוא שתקח ל[עבד]ך ברוב
18 חכמתך כתב כי אפחד שלא ישיגני בדרך כאשר השיגני

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[1] Read perhaps: [בר]ל ע[הכ] שהבאתי אתי [מה] זולת, "except what I brought with me. All is gone."

[2] See No. XXXI, note 11.

[3] שירורותי for שְׁרִירוּתִי, "stubbornness," or שְׁרוּתִי "service" (?).



Genizah Fragment 32

XXXII. PART OF A LETTER

As the context shows, hardly more than one line has been lost between XXXI and XXXII.

Tobiah has become a burden to the Egyptian community through his failure to support himself. He desires to return to his home, somewhere in the "Roman Empire," and asks Abraham to give him a letter which will protect him from molestation.

1 to go to and fro and get a living; but I came here for another reason.
2 And I remained a whole year [engaged] in the business of my honored Master. But I have not beheld
3 any profit through the work of my hands. Yet I have not stood before any man to beg
4 of him support; nor have I begged of [any] man; nor has any man given me
5 [anything,] from time out of mind except.....[1]
6 in this place. And God knows how we lived—three persons—all
7 the year, burdened [with] the need of sustenance. And Abū[2] al-Faraj... .....told me
8 that my Lord, the honored Elder, was angry because I have dwelt among you.
9 And when I heard his words, I said to myself that perhaps I had become a burden to them.
10 For day after day I stand before them; and my Lord's patience is exhausted; or
11 he has heard(?) about my stubbornness(?)[3] from the day when I became a member of the community in this place; and he became angry
12 at my dwelling among them. And I made up my mind to go to my own country and to
13 my birth-place and my kindred; and [I am] placing my petition[4] before my Lord, the Elder, the honored Prince,
14 that he perform my request, on account of which I came down to this place.
15 For here there is no one who has been gracious to me, or requited me [with good]—Quite the contrary[5]!—
16 save only you. For your favor has remained for me perfect[6]; and you have even added and will add [favor] in this
17 matter. And you will have a reward in this and in the coming world. And [my request is] that you prepare for [me,] your servant in the abundance(?)
18 of your wisdom, a letter. For I fear that [evil] may overtake[7] me on the way, even as it overtook[7] me

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4 תְּהִנָּתִי. 5 חִלּוּפוֹ. 6 שָׁלֵם. 7 הִשִּׂיגַנִי, יַשִּׂיגֵנִי.

19 בְּחָנֵם ולולי רחמי שדי וחסד אדוני הזקן המכובד הייתי היום
20 בבית הכלא ובימים ההם היה בידי ונתתי שוחד אבל ב[א]לה
21 הימים אין בידי מאומה ועל זה מפיל תחינתי לפני אדוני
22 שיעשה עם עבדו חסד ולא יניחהו שיאבד כי עבדך יגדיל
23 ויפאר שם אדוני הזקן שׂשׂ בכל מה שעשה עמי וע[ם כ]ל אדם
24 בכל קהילות ארץ אדום הקרובות והרחוקות ואתקן שיני
25 וחמישי שיברכו לאדוני המכובד בבתי כנסיות · ומאת צורי
26 המשאל שיסיר ממנו כל מחלה וכל גזרה רעה כל לא תאונה וגו

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[8] Probably the modern Henassīyeh near Benisueif. See Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908, p. 206.

[9] See No. XXXI, line 14.

[10] I.e. the Roman Empire.

19 at Ḥānēs[8]. Had it not been for the mercies of the Almighty and the favor of my Lord, the honored Elder, I should be today
20 in prison. In those days I had [money] in my hand, and I gave a bribe. But
21 in these days there is not in my hand anything ; and on account of this [I am] placing my petition[4] before my Lord,
22 that he may deal graciously with his servant, and not leave him to perish. For your servant will magnify
23 and glorify the name of my Lord, the Elder—May the Rock preserve him[9]!—for all that he has done for me, and for every man
24 in all the congregations of the land of Edom[10], near and far. And I will order [the] second[11]
25 and [the] fifth[11] to pronounce a blessing for my honored Lord in the synagogues. And from my Rock[9] [I shall make]
26 the request that He turn aside from him every disease, and every evil decree [of fortune:][12] even as it is written[13]: "Not shall befall".....[14]

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[11] I.e. שיני בחבורה, etc. There were the ראש, or head of the school, and the members, חברים, arranged in a certain order. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 54, 264.

[12] גזירה.

[13] כתוב כאן.

[14] Psalm xci, 10.

XXXIII. LETTER

Paper $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

See the introductions to Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIV, XXXV, which it closely resembles in writing and language. All of these were possibly dictated to the same scribe by members of one community. Cf. also the similar writing in *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Sammlung Erzherzog Rainer), Wien 1894, opposite p. 262. Many characters are completely assimilated to one form; yet the same character may have different forms. The language shows strong foreign influence.

Recto:

1 כתאבי אטאל אללה בקא מולאי אל שיך אלגליל ואדאם תאידה וסלאמתה
ונעמתה
2 וכבת אעדאה מן אל מסתקר ליג כלון מן שבט רחמה אללה עליך ועלינא
3 באחסן כאתמה ויזין אליך קרב אללה אל אגתמאע אלסאר במנה וגודה אנה
4 אלי דאלך אעלם מולאי אן וצלת בעד משקת בחר ובר ווגדת אלכל עלי
5 חאל אלסלאמה נחמד אללה לאן אלאמר אלדי ביה נקול לך וכאן קל[בי]
6 משגול מנה קד צח לי דלך פאסאל מן אללה אן יוצי לי ויחסן ל[י פי]
7 מא אנא פיה אנה סמיע מגיב ומא ימכני אשרח לך אפ . . . .
8 דלך וקד אנפדה דלך אל אהל צאנהם אללה וכרגת אדכרתך וקד ית . . .
9 . . . הם וקאלו מא ציענא לה ש וראיתהם יקולו וסאפרו אליה אדא שא
10 וראית האלהם מא הו גיד מן אלצעף וקלת אלמקררה תם למא כאן יום אל
11 גמעה גא אכיך כלפי מצית מעה לביתך קאל אכרג אלי אלקמח ומא
12 בקי פיה קדרה אחתגת אן אולה חיאט ומילת אלגראבין ותעבת
13 ואללה פיהא וכרג קמחהא טיב מא פיה שי וגא יכרג אלכל מא וגד

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[1] Cf. No. XII, line 1, where the complete expression is used. For this sense of المُسْتَقِرّ see Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. ii, p. 319, line 6 from below.

[2] السَّارّ.

[3] Much of the difficulty of translating these letters lies in the intentional vagueness with which they were written. There was danger of their being intercepted.

[4] See Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. ii, p. 697, col. ii, middle.

[5] Vernacular *mā ḍayya'na lōsh*. But the *-sh* is still objective; not yet adverbial as it now is.

[6] مُقَرِّرَة. [7] مَضَيْتُ.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 33 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 33 b

XXXIII. LETTER

A letter from ʿAllān(?) Ibn Yaḥyā to Abū ʿUmrān Moses Ibn Abū al-Ḥayy. The former has left the latter and gone to a distant city, whence he writes back concerning a number of business and personal matters. Both are engaged in handling miscellaneous merchandise. One is strongly reminded of II Timothy iv, 13–14.

Where the context is lost translation becomes uncertain. Interrogation marks might have been used more plentifully.

There is no date.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter [to you]. May God prolong the life of my Lord, the glorious Sheikh, and continue his safety and his health and his prosperity,
2 and confound his enemies! [This letter is] from one who inquires[1] [after his health. Written] when 13 days of Shebhāṭ had passed. The mercy of God be upon you and upon us
3 through its most favorable termination, and make [it] acceptable to you! May God hasten the happy[2] reunion in His goodness and His abundant kindness. He is [sufficient]
4 for that. Know, my Lord, that I arrived after tribulation by sea and land, and found everything in
5 a condition of safety. We praise God that the matter, about which we told you, and about which my heart
6 was troubled—that matter has turned out rightly for me. And I ask God to direct me and prosper me in [the business]
7 in which I am [now engaged]. Verily He hears and answers. And it is not possible for me to explain[3] to you.....
8 this. And those people had already paid[4] it[3]—May God protect them!—And I went out, and [then] I remembered you. And already.....
9 their.....And they said: "We have not wasted[5] [anything] of his." And I saw them talking. And they journeyed to him when he wished.
10 And I saw their condition. It was not good, on account of weakness and insufficient nourishment[6]. Then, when it was
11 Friday, your brother came, after I [had come]. I went[7] with him to your house. He said: "Bring out to me the grain." But there was no
12 strength left in him [for such a task]. I needed first of all a tailor[8]. And I turned the sacks on their sides, and I worked hard,
13 by Allah, at it. And that[9] grain poured out [of the sacks in] good [condition]. There was[10] not anything [the matter with it]. But he went to work and hauled out the whole business. [And still] he didn't find

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[8] This line is in very bad Arabic. أَنْ is used for إِلَى. أَوَّلَهُ intervenes. חיאט (?) should be ביאט. גראבין as an "outer plural" of جِرَاب does not exist except for the foreigner. One can only guess the sense: He tore his clothes, working (?).

[9] I.e. "the grain of those sacks."

[10] Vernacular *mā fīh shē*. But the *-shē* is still subjective; not yet adverbial. Cf. note 5.

14 פי אלגראב שי חט דכרת פי כתאבך אן תכרג להם גראבין מן אלגדיד
15 יכלטוהא קאלו לא תכרג לנא שי חתי יפרג האדי וקד דפעת להם ניף
16 דינ/ ואנא נדפע להם אלניף דינ/ אלתאני כמא דכרת וכאטרת אביך
17 פי דכאן אלשיך אבי אלחבן עלי אלמצחף אלנבי אלגיד אלדי לך וקאל
18 מא קדרת לאן פיה יקראו אלצביאן וקאל קד כתבת לה פיה פאן ביחל עליך
19 דלך ואלי תכתב אלי ואכדה מנה שא ואבא וקד קלת להם אדא
20 ביצתם אלגזל ועמלתם אלרדנה תאכדו מא יקום בכם לנסאגה
21 ואל רקאמה וקד קאל לי אביך אן כתבת לה בגמיע שרח אלאשיא אלשב
22 מא וצל מנה שי והיך קום דינ/ ונין ועצת עליהם לעל אללה
23 ינבאע מנהם שי ואנא מא נפרט פי דלך אלקפה אלניל קד וצל
24 יומי האדה קאפלה תאניה פיהא ק קפה ומא הי תנבאע הנא פאן
25 כאן לך ניה תכתב אלי איש נעמל לך פיהא ואן אכתרת נקסמהא אנא
26 אפעל דלך אל דנא/ אלדי תרכת מעך אכרגה עני מנהא ד/ דנא/
27 ותאכד מנהא חק אלנביד אלדי לך ענדי ותרפע אלבאקי לי אברהם
28 אל[ק]לעי בעד אן תאכד לי מנהא

Verso:

1 בנצף דינ/ סכר וברניה ורד מרבה ל אל שיך אבי יצחק יכון פיהא ד
ארטאל
2 לאני סאלתה פיהא אל סנבל מצית ביה אלסוק ערצאן פי דכאן בניאם

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[11] Here he avoids the plural entirely. Cf. note 8.

[12] قَطْ?

[13] Cf. note 8.

[14] Palestinian vernacular form.

[15] Not נין, see line 22.

[16] The Maghribī vernacular form.

[17] خَاطَرَ ordinarily means "to bet with someone about."

[18] אכיך for אכוך. Not an error, for it occurs in line 11 also.

[19] מצחף אלנביאים?

[20] Vernacular *in bīḥill ʿalēk.*

[21] Dele ואלי. [22] אלי.

[23] See Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. i, p. 549.

[24] Confusion between بجميع الاشياء and شرح الاشياء, resulting probably from interruptions in dictation.

[25] Palestinian vernacular *hēk* for هٰكَذَا.

14 in the sack[s][11] anything [wrong] at all[12]. You said in your letter: "If you bring out for them sacks[13] of the new [grain],
15 they will mix them up [with sacks of old grain." To this] they replied: "Do not bring out to us anything until this[14] [old] is exhausted." And I paid them more than[15]
16 a dīnār. But I[16] will pay them the second dīnār and more[15] as you directed. And I risked[17] asking your brother[18],
17 in the shop of the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥabn(?), about the good manuscript copy of the Prophets[19] which belongs to you. And he said:
18 "I haven't been able to [give it up], because the boys read in it." And he said [further that] you had already written to him about it. So, if it is permitted[20] you [to do]
19 this[21], write to me, and I will take it away from him, willing or unwilling. And I said to them: "When
20 you have bleached the yarn and finished reeling it, take whatever you can get among yourselves for weaving [it]
21 and for[22] embroidering it[23]." And your brother[18] said to me that you had written to him an explanation of everything[24]. [As for] the alum:
22 None of it has arrived, and so[25] prices[26] [are] a dīnār and a half; and I have offered [mine] for sale to them. Perhaps, by Allah!
23 some of [the things] will be sold[27]; and in [doing] that I shall not forget[16] the basket. [As for] the indigo: There has arrived
24 today a second caravan, in which are 100 baskets; and they were not sold here. So if
25 you have the inclination, write to me what[28] I should do for you in the matter. And if they are too much we can divide them. I
26 will do that. [As for] the dīnārs which I left with you: Subtract (it[29]) from my[30] [credit by taking] from[30] them four dīnārs.
27 And take from them the value of the wine of yours which I have; and turn over the balance to Rabbi Abraham
28 al-Ḳala'ī(?)[31], after you have bought for me from it

Verso:

1 for half a dīnār sugar, and a pot of candied roses[32] for(?) the Sheikh Abū Isaac, in which there are four roṭls;
2 because I asked him about [that point. As to] the spikenard[33]: I took it to the Market: by chance[34] into the shop of Banyās(?),

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[26] Perhaps קים, قِيَم, plural of قِيمَة.

[27] لَعَلّ يُنْبَاع.

[28] Vernacular. [29] Redundant.

[30] عَنْ of the person, مِنْ of the thing.

[31] The same as No. XXXIV, l. 7. [32] Or "saffron."

[33] *Andropogon nardus*, or *nardus Celtica*. See Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 1899 p. 331.

3 אבו אלפרנאס סוי מבֿין אלי וקיה דינאר ותלת ולם נביעהא אחב אן
4 תעלמה בדלך פאן אכתאר אן יביעהא יפעל מא יראה וצאחבהא מחתאג/
5 אלי כֿרובה וקד עז עלי תופי אל וליד אלדי כאן ענדה אללה תעאל יכלף
עלי
6 קלבה וקד קלת לה אנא נקרצֿך אן ענדי דינאר חתי יצל כתאב אלרגל פלא
7 תגֿטט ענה ואל חואיג אלדי תרכת[הא] ביתך לא תפרט פיהא ואלקראב
8 אלדי לשראב לא תפרט לי פיה ואל סלה לעל תנפדהא לי צֿחבה ר׳ אברהם
9 אעלמת מולאי דלך ותרא עני מולאי אלשיך אבו יצחק בן טיבאן וולדה
10 אלסלאם ואלשיך אבו עלי בן סלמאֿן אלסלאם ואל שיד אבי אלחסן יראך
אלסל
11 ולא יכון בד מן כתאבך ואחב מן תפצלך אן תקרא עלי מולאי שר השרים
סלאמי
12 ותבסט עדרי ענה לאני גֿאני אלסכרגה ולם נמצי אליה ולם נגֿתמע
13 ביה וקד אלתֿית אן נסאלך פי דלך ולא [תג]פל ויצלני דלך פי כתאבך
ושלום וקד
14 סאלת הלאל אלאטרובלסי ען אל גונה אלדי תרכהא ענדה אברהם פקאל
לי מעי
15 תדכרה חתי יכרגֿהא ונערפך ואנא נגֿעלה יכרגֿהא ונכתב אליך בדלך
ושלום.

Address:

[ל]מולאי אלשיך אבי עמראן מוסי בן אבי אלחי נֿע שארה עלאן בן יחיי נע/
אטאל אללה בקאה וא[רא]ם תאידה ו[נע]מתֿ[ה]

---

[34] عَرَضًا ?

[35] وِقِيَّة, 1.32 oz. avoirdupois. See Baedecker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908, p. ii.

[36] يُخْلِف. [37] نَقْرِضك. [38] تُجَظّ ?

[39] Egyptian vernacular. [40] Incorrect plural of قِرْبَة.

[41] I.e. ותקרא, with על omitted. Cf. No. IX, many times. The ק has been omitted here and in line 10 because it has become a hamzah, as in modern vernacular.

[42] See No. XIII, *verso*, line 45.

3 the father of the parnās. It was worth evidently(?) up to a dīnār and a third the wiḳīyah[35]. So I[16] didn't sell it. I desire that
4 you inform him of that; and if he prefers to sell it, let him do what he thinks best. And the owner of it has reason
5 to be concerned(?). And the death of the boy who lived with him affected me deeply. May God the Exalted recompense[36]
6 his heart! And I said to him: "I[16] will lend[37] you—I have a dīnār [for you]—until the man's letter arrives." But
7 do not be concerned[38](?) about him. And [as for] the things[39] which I left [at] your house: Do not forget about them. And [as for] the water-skins[40]
8 which [are] for drinking-water: Do not forget about them. And [as for] the basket: Perhaps you will send it to me in the care of Rabbi Abraham.
9 [So] I have informed my Lord of this. And give my greetings[41] [to] my Lord the Sheikh Abū Isaac Ibn Ṭayyibān[42], and his son.
10 And the Sheikh 'Alī Ibn Salmān(?) and the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan send[41] you greetings[43].
11 And you will surely have to write. And I would like, if you please[44], to have you give my greetings to my Lord the Prince of Princes[45],
12 and to present my apologies for [the circumstance] that the saucer reached me, and I[16] did not go to him, nor did I[16] meet
13 him. And I have bothered [you] to ask[46,16] about that; and do not be heedless, but let [news of its accomplishment] reach me in your [next] letter. So farewell! And
14 I asked Hilāl[47] al-Atrūblusī[48] about the leather box which Abraham left at his house; and he said to me: "I have it."
15 Remind him to bring it. And I[16] will let you know [if he fails], and make[16] him bring it, and write[16] to you about that. So farewell!

Address:

[To] my Lord the Sheikh Abū 'Umrān Moses, son of Abū al-Ḥayy[49], whose rest [is in] Eden.....
God lengthen his life and continue his safety and prosperity!
[From] 'Allān, son of Yaḥyā, whose rest [is in] Eden.

---

[43] I.e. יקראך אלסלאם.

[44] مِنْ تَفَضُّلك. [45] Hebrew.

[46] Vernacular *altēt*, for classical أَلْتَمْتُ.

[47] "new moon." [48] "of Tripoli."

[49] A certain Abū al-Ḥayy was still alive but suffering from some skin disease, when lines 8–10, No. III, *verso* were written.

XXXIV. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

Both the language and the writing are similar to those of Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, and XXXV; and what has before been said need not here be repeated. On the *recto* the scribe uses some care; but he grows more careless, and on the *verso* his slovenliness is extreme.

Recto:

1 כתאבי אטאל אללה בקא מולאי אלשיך אלאגל ואדאם תאידה וסלאמתה
ונעמאה
2 וכבת אעדאה מן אלמסתקר לך מן שבט כתמה אללה עלי מולאי באחסן
כאמה
3 אעלמך יא מולאי אן כרגתם כתר אללה סלאמתכם ונאלנא מן והשתכם מא
4 אללה יעלמה וכל מן פי אלבית ואמא נהרי ולדי אחיאה אליך תכלק
עלינא
5 ויקול מתא יגי רבנו ואבו סעד ויקול אדיוני ענדנא ואלי אלסעה נחן
נקולו לה
6 הם פי אל כניסיה אסעה יגו וכאנת קלובנא בכם משגולה כיף כאן וצאלכם
7 אלי אן וצל יום אלכמים באל עשי ר אברהם אל קלעי ואל כהן ואעלמונא
בוצאלכם
8 עלי גמלת אל סלאמה פחמדנא אללה וסאלנאה תמאם באחסאן פאחב
9 מנך יא מולאי סאעה וצולך סאלם אן שא אללה אלי סאלמין תעלמני
בוצולכם
10 אלי קראכם ואחמד אללה עלי דלך וכל מן פי אסכדריה מן אצהאבנא
11 ברוכים יהיו מתוחשין לצפרכם דאעיון לכם אללא יתקבל פיכם אלדעוה
12 אל צאלחה ולא ישתתכם ולא יששתנא ען אוטאננא ותעלמני יא מולאי

---

[1] See XXXIII, note 1. The opening formulae of the two letters are almost identical.

[2] Read כאתמה.

[3] Vernacular *nallána* for نَالَ لَنَا.

[4] "Since you have gone God only knows how we have missed you."

[5] Aramaic.

[6] Hebrew.

[7] אדיוני, if not a mistake, represents a childish pronunciation.

[8] الساعة.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 34 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 34 b

XXXIV. LETTER

A letter from Nathan Ben Nahrāi, in Alexandria, to Nahrāi Ben Nissīm, head of the Babylonian community in Fusṭāṭ (See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 206; vol. ii, p. 248), who is temporarily in Malīj(?). The addressee and a certain Abū Sa'd have recently visited the writer in Alexandria.

Translation is difficult at times, because the writer's constructions were mixed in his own mind before they reached the paper.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter [to you]. May God prolong the life of my Lord, the most glorious Sheikh, and continue his safety and his health and his prosperity,

2 and confound his enemies! [This letter is] from one who inquires[1] [after his health. Written] when 20 [days] of Shebhāṭ [had passed]. May God complete [the month] for my Lord with the best [sort] of completion[2]!

3 I inform you, O my Lord: Behold you have gone—God increase your health!—and we have had[3] [in the way of] bereavement of you what

4 God [only] knows[4]. And everyone in the household [feels likewise]. And as for Nahrāi[5], my [little] boy—[God] preserve his life to you!—he is angry with us;

5 and says: "When will our Rabbi[6] come, and Abū Sa'd?" And he says: "Is the 'dentleman'[7] here?" And up to now[8] we have been saying to him:

6 "They are in the synagogue[9]. They are coming directly[8]." And we worried [about] how you arrived,

7 until Thursday at evening Rabbi Abraham al-Ḳala'ī[10] and the Kōhēn arrived, and informed us of your arrival

8 with all safety. And we praised God and asked Him for a completion [of your plans] with [His] benevolence. And I desire

9 of you, O my Lord, when you arrive safely, if God will, among [your people who are likewise] safe, that you inform me of your arrival

10 at your place of residence; and I shall praise God for that. And everyone in Alexandria[11], from among our friends

11 —May they be blessed[6]!—is grieved at your departure[12], praying[13] God for you [that He will] grant of you the pious prayer,

12 and not scatter you nor scatter[14] us from our native cities. And inform me, O my Lord,

---

[9] See No. XXVII, note 32. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 493.

[10] See No. XXXIII, *recto*, line 28.

[11] אסכנדריה. [12] צ for ס.

[13] Vernacular form.

[14] יישתנא.

13 פי כתאבך אן כאן ננפד לך אלגאריה אלי מליג כמא קררת מעה
14 ואן כאן ענדך פיהא ראי גיר דלך לאני מעול עלי אנפאדהא אליך בעד
וצול
15 כתאבך בדלך

Verso :

1 וכדאלך ..... מא סאלת חצרתך פי אלאגתמאע מע אלשיך אבו
אלמפצל פי מא
2 יתעלק באל ליאן למלי ינעאק עלי תוגיהה ומא כתבתה לך פי אל
תדכרה אעלמת
3 מולאי דלך תכתין אפצל אלסלאם למולאי אל שיך אבו סעד
סלמהאלאאלמה ומולאי
4 אלשיך אבו אל חסן יחצה באלסלאם ווליה נהראי ולדי יקבל ידה ויכצה
אל סלאם ולאברהם
5 אלערוס יכין חצרתה בלסלאם ומן ענדנא סגיר וכביר ויקבלו חצרתה
ויכצוה בלם
6 ויסאלה לא ינסאנא מן דעוה צאלחה ושלום וחיים טובים אמן ונחבך לא
תקטענא ושלום

Address :

1 חצרה מולאי החבר גדול [הי]שיבה מחבהא ושאכרהא נתן בן
נהראי נע
2 רבנו נהראי ביר נסים זל
3 אטאל אללה בקאהא ואדאם עזהא

---

15 Maghribī form.

16 See *Yāḳūt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. iv, p. 639, But near which Maḥallah ?

17 Omission or inadvertent change of construction : בְּאַן .. לְאַן לְמַוְלַאי.

13 in your [next] letter whether I[15] shall send you the female slave to Malīj[16] as I agreed with him,
14 or whether you have in regard to her another opinion, for I had made up my mind to send her to you after the arrival of
15 your letter in regard to that [matter];

Verso:

1 and so.....I did not ask your Excellency about the meeting with the Sheikh Abū al-Mufaḍḍal concerning the matter which
2 depends upon the[17] — because my Lord was prevented from sending him[18]; and I did not write it to you in the memorandum. I have informed
3 my Lord of this. [Please] give [my] most distinguished salutations especially[19] to my Lord the Sheikh Abū Sa'd[20].....[21], and my Lord
4 the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Isaac, with greetings, and his parents[22]. Nahrāi, my boy, kisses his hand, and sends him special greetings. And to Abraham,
5 the bridegroom, his Excellency, he sends especial greetings. And so do we, great and small, kiss his Excellency and send him especial greetings,
6 and beg him not to forget us, by way of a pious wish. So, Peace and good health, Amen[6]! And we wish you not to cut us off. Farewell[6]!

Address:

[To] his Excellency, my Lord, the Ḥābēr, the Great One of the Yashībhah, our Rabbi Nahrāi, son of Rabbi Nissīm[23]. May God prolong his[24] life and continue his[24] strength!

[From] his[24] affectionate and grateful Nathan, son of Nahrāi, whose rest [is in] Eden.

---

[18] The same person as in *recto*, line 13?

[19] تَخْتَصّ. [20] See *recto*, line 5.

[21] Is this a twice unsuccessful attempt to write אלסלאם?

[22] וואלדיה.

[23] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 206; vol. ii, p. 248.

[24] ה = ـُ-. Cf. No. 11, note 25.

XXXV. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

See the introductions to Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII and XXXIV, which this fragment resembles in writing and language. Although the hand is careless, it is not quite so bad as that of the other fragments mentioned; and some of the characters have a different form. The language also is better. *Verso* bears earlier Arabic writing.

Recto:

1 כתאבי יסידי ומולאי וריסי אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם עזך סלך צפר ען
סלאמה

2 ואלחמד ללה רב אל עאלמין וכאן קד וצל אל חאיך אלי הונה וסט אלעיד
וגאתני

3 רסאלה בוצולה וכרגת אליה ואוצל כתאבך אלמחּשי אעדאר קד כאן הו

4 אשטר מני ראי אנך מתואני ואנת תריד מן יגיך אלי דכאנך עלם [א]ן

5 חאגה לא תנקצי לה ולא לי פמצי הו בנפסה אלי בן אלבצרי ודפע אליה אל

6 כז דינר ונצף עלי ל קצבה דפע אליה יום קבצה אלדנניר ה קצבאת תם

7 אסתגד אל באקי קליל וקליל ותכלין ולם יערפך כמא עמל בל ידאפעך

8 כמא קד דכרתה פליתהּ ערפך וכנת תמצי מעה פכאן הו ית · רדּ אליה

9 ויאכד כל יום וכל וקת מא סהל חתי תנקצי אל חאגה ואמא אלקעוד

10 מתי אתפק לך פרגה ונשטה מצית אליה מצי·מן לא ישתרי

11 שי אלא יד ביד וקד כנא אנא ואנת אול מא עאמלנאה מא וגדנא ענדה

12 אלא ניף ען ל קצבה ודפענא אל ק דינר ואסתופית קליל וקליל פלו כנת
דפעת

13 אליה אלדנניר מן וקת וצולה וקאל לך תצבר שהר לכאן אנגצך פי אקרב

14 וקת ליכנך פעלת אנת פעל מן יכאף יכרג אלדאר מן ידה פלא יעוד

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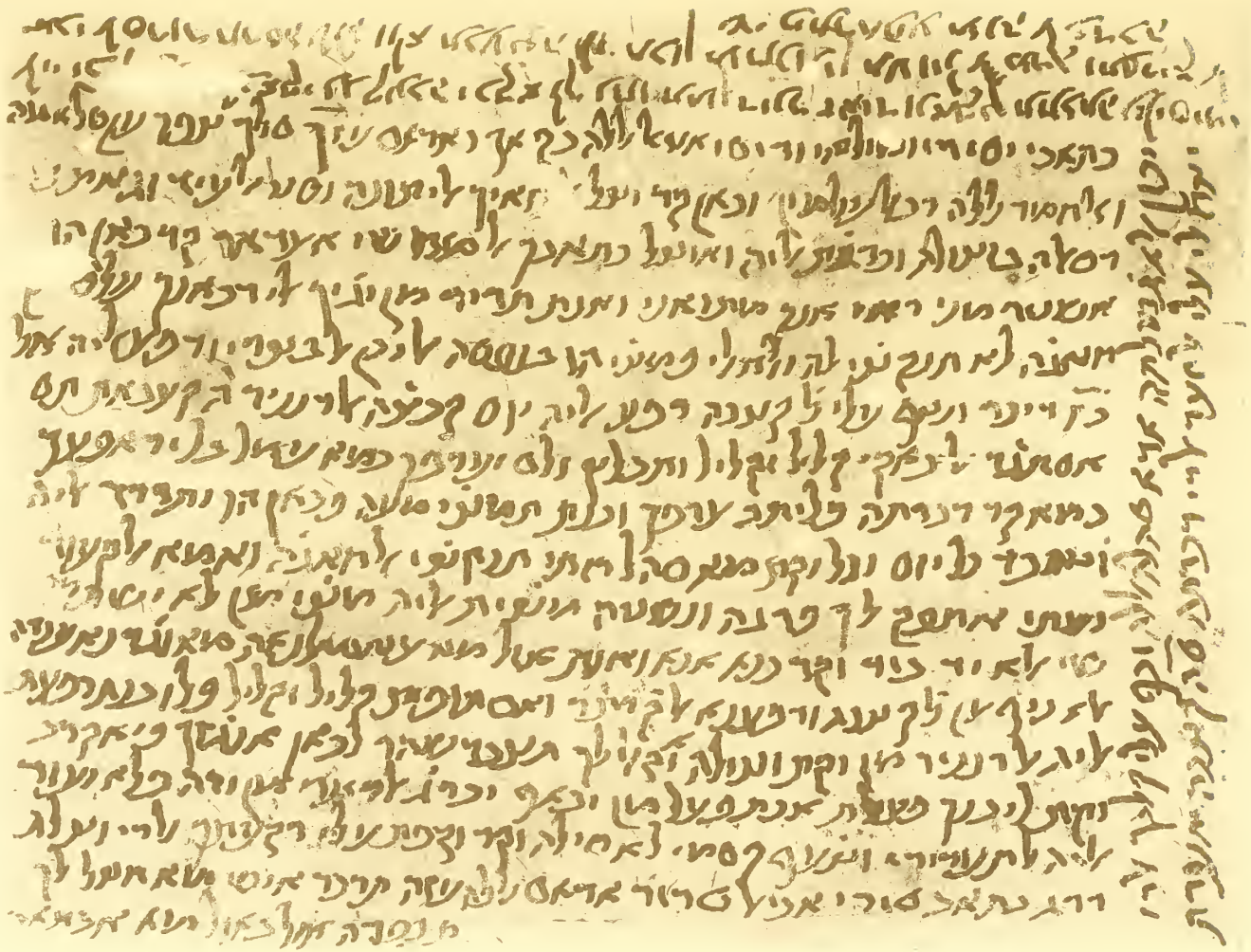
[1] Koran, Sūrah i, *v.* 1. [2] هُنَا.

[3] Vernacular. Literally: "He was cleverer than I."

[4] Vernacular. [5] al-Būṣīrī? [6] A ḳaṣabah = about 11 ft. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

[7] Vernacular *dánanīr*.

[8] The missing letter is perhaps a deleted ד. The form was then *yitrádd*, Egyptian vernacular for يَرْتَدّ.



Genizah Fragment 35 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 35 b

XXXV. LETTER

Two men, both Jews, have for more than forty years engaged in business together; one of them, the writer of this letter, travelling about, the other remaining at home, as indeed was often the case in partnerships. They handled general merchandise, but especially cloth. They advanced money to weavers, and took the cloth as it was produced.

The writer now complains of his partner's inertia and timidity, and of his own exertions and losses: perhaps merely the business usage of the time.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter [to you], O my Lord and Master and Chief. May God prolong your life, and continue your strength! [The month of] Ṣafar has come in peace;

2 and praise belongs to God, the Lord of the Worlds[1]! The weaver has arrived here[2] in the midst of the Festival, and a letter

3 has come to me through his arrival. I went out to [meet] him, and he delivered your letter, stuffed with excuses. [You write:] "He has

4 taken advantage of me[3]." My opinion is that you are shiftless, and want people to come to *you* in your shop. He knew that

5 nothing[4] would be done for him or for me [through you]; so, he went to Ibn al-Baṣrī[5] in person, and [the latter] paid him the

6 twenty-seven dīnārs and a half on 30 ḳaṣabahs[6]. He delivered to [the latter] on the day when he received the dīnārs[7], 5 ḳaṣabahs [of cloth]. Then

7 he did the same thing with the rest [of the cloth], little by little, and at last it was finished. And he did not tell you how he was getting along. On the contrary, he kept putting you off,

8 as I have said. If he had only told you, and you had gone along with him! But he went back[8] to [Ibn al-Baṣrī[5]],

9 and [the latter] took every day and each time what was convenient, until the business[4] was settled. And as for sitting idle:

10 [Tell me,] when have relief and joy[9] ever come to you by chance? You went to [the weaver] as one goes who does not buy

11 anything except for cash[10]. Now, you and I, the first time we did business with him, found [that] he had no

12 more than a little in excess of 30 ḳaṣabahs. Yet we paid the 100 dīnārs, and you got all the rest [of the cloth] little by little. But if *you* had paid

13 him the dīnārs[7] at the time of his arrival, and he had said to *you* "Wait a month," it would have troubled you in a very short

14 time, because *you*[11] would have acted as one who fears that the house will walk away under one's very eyes, so that the profit does not

---

[9] نَشَاطَة? [10] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 849. [11] لِكَوْنِكَ?

15 אליה אלתעדיד וצעף קסמי לא חילה וקד וקפת עלי רקעתך אלדי וצלת
16 דרג כתאב סידי אבי אלסרור אדאם אללה עזה תדכר איש מא חצל לך
17 תנפדה אול באול מא אכתאר

Margin: (*a*)

יכון אלא גמלתה אדא סהלה אללה וכף עלי קלבך אלדי | יצח לי עלי
אלסעד אלדי דכרתה סה קצבה אנפדה

Margin: (*b*)

אליי יכ[ון...א]לבאקי נג קצבה יבקא לך נחו תמן דינר זאיד ונאקץ תתבתה
עלי סידי | אבי אלסרור חרסה אללה ולא תבעצה לי תכון מתבתין תטויל
אל מדה ותפריק אל | שי פתרתפע מנה אל ברכה

Verso:

1 לו כאנת מעי אלף דינר ותאכד לי מנהא דל קדר הדה אלמדה כלהא
לקד כאן
2 ותר פי חאלי סימא צעלוך תחת תעדיד ואליו הוא נושא את נפשו הדא
3 קסמי לי פי צחבתך ניף עלי מ סנה תערף גירי ירד שהאדתי לי כל וקת עלי
4 מעני וכתרת מקאסאתי ללאספאר פי
5 הדא אלעמר ותפצלת וועדת וקלת לא תתענא ותקאסי אלבר ואלבחר פי כל
6 קדר אנפד אליי מא שית פאני אקום לך בשראה ואנפאדה פעולת עלי קולך
7 פלם יסאעדני קסמי לים חילה תתפצל ימולאי ותחצל לי הדה אלכג קצבה
8 ותנפדהא מגתמעא לא
9 מקטעה מנעמה
10 אן שא אללה וחסבי אללה וחדה

1 لسيد بو سعد... ابن ابى سلامه بن على بن المصرى من اسرائيل بن اسرايل بن دانيال
2 اطال الله بقاه وادام..... الفسطاط
3 ..... اعز الله
4 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
5 وصل كتاب حضرة مولاى القاضى الامام اطال الله بقاه وادام عزه
6 وكبت عدوه واباد حاسده

---

12 Hebrew.
13 Cf. Egyptian vernacular *dilwaḳt.*
14 Hebraism.
15 Hebrew. Deut. xxiv, 15.
16 "in this age."
17 عَنِيَ) تَتَعَنَّ V. jussive) and مُعْنٍ) مُعْنِيَّ + ى).

15 return to him. My share has decreased—no deception [about it]. And I have called attention to your epistle, which has arrived at the [same] moment [as]
16 the letter of my Lord Abū al-Sarūr—May God continue his strength!— You say: "What[4] has happened[4] to you?"
17 Send first of all what he prefers:

Margin: (a)

Let it be [anything] except the whole of it. When God has made it easy [to do so], and you are not worried about what I am entitled to from al-Sa'd—[the matter] which I mentioned: 65 ḳaṣabahs—send it

Margin: (b)

to me. Let the remainder, 53 ḳaṣabahs....., remain yours—about the value of a dīnār, more or less. Charge it against my Lord Abū al-Sarūr—May God protect him!—and do not divide it with me. Let the two [things] agreed upon be: extension of the term, and distribution of the thing. So there will arise from it a blessing[12].

Verso.

1 If I had had a thousand dīnārs, and you had taken this[13] amount [from] me for all this length of time, the
2 ruin in my condition would have been like [the ruin of] a beggar, instead of[14] profit: "And upon it he setteth his heart[15]." This [has been]
3 my lot in partnership [with] you [during] more than 40 years. You know others besides me who will bear out my testimony at any time as to
4 my bitter toil[17] and the greatness of my patience to [undertake] journeys
5 at my age[16]. You were most kind to promise and say: "Do not distress[17] yourself and endure [hardship] on[18] land and sea without
6 limit. Send me whatever you like, and I will see to selling it and sending it off for you." So I relied upon your word.
7 But my share did not help me—no deception [about it]. Be so good, my Lord, and let me have 23 ḳaṣabahs.
8 And send them together; not
9 cut up, chopped up—
10 if it please God. God only is my sufficiency!

In Arabic letters[19]*:*

1 To the Sayyid Bū Sa'd.....Ibn Abū Salāmah Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Maṣrī. From Israel Ibn Israel Ibn Daniel.
2 May God lengthen his life and continue..... Fusṭāṭ.
3 ..... May God strengthen!
4 In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate[20]!
5 The letter of his Excellency my Lord the Kadi the Imām has arrived. May God lengthen his life and prolong his strength
6 and confound his enemy, and destroy him who envies him!

---

[18] אל for *'āl*, Egyptian vernacular for ..عَلَى آلْ.

[19] Extremely uncertain. [20] Muslim formula.

XXXVI. AN ACCOUNTING

Paper $10\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters, distinctly written and well preserved. Decipherment would be easy, were it not for the peculiar nature of the contents.

On the *verso* are notes, in another hand, like that of No. XVIII, and apparently in Arabic; but they are badly written and badly preserved. The words "gold" and "silver" can occasionally be made out.

Recto:

בשמ׳

1 חסאב אלשיך אבו אל אפראח ערוסה יוסף

2 לך מעי יא סיידי עדל ארגואן אלוזן דקנאטיר

3 ונצף ורבע׳ אלסער יד אלקנטר אלתמן סו

4 די׳ ורבע׳ ולה נצף ורבע די׳ שדאד וחבל ונטע

5 ולה ה דנא׳ ברסם אלמאונה אלגומלה עב׳ ד׳

---

6 אלדי כרג מאונה ען דלך חמל אלמרכב א

7 ברטיל ללבחרין א׳ ואגב צנאעה נצף די׳

8 כתם וגהבדה ועלאמה רקעה ומא אנצרף

9 לאבו מחמד תמן די׳׳ מעאדרה א ונצף

10 עתאלין ב ונצף׳ ספוד רבע׳ אמין תמן

---

11 מא אנצרף פי רשיד אוגרה מרכב תמן די׳

12 ואגב רבע וסדס וחבה׳ שכין א׳ סאחל

13 רבע׳ מקיד נצף ותמן׳ כבז ללגמאל וללמחארם

14 רבע ותמן׳ מועדייה א׳ ג מחארם נצף ורבע

---

[1] ברוך שם המפורש = בשמ׳.

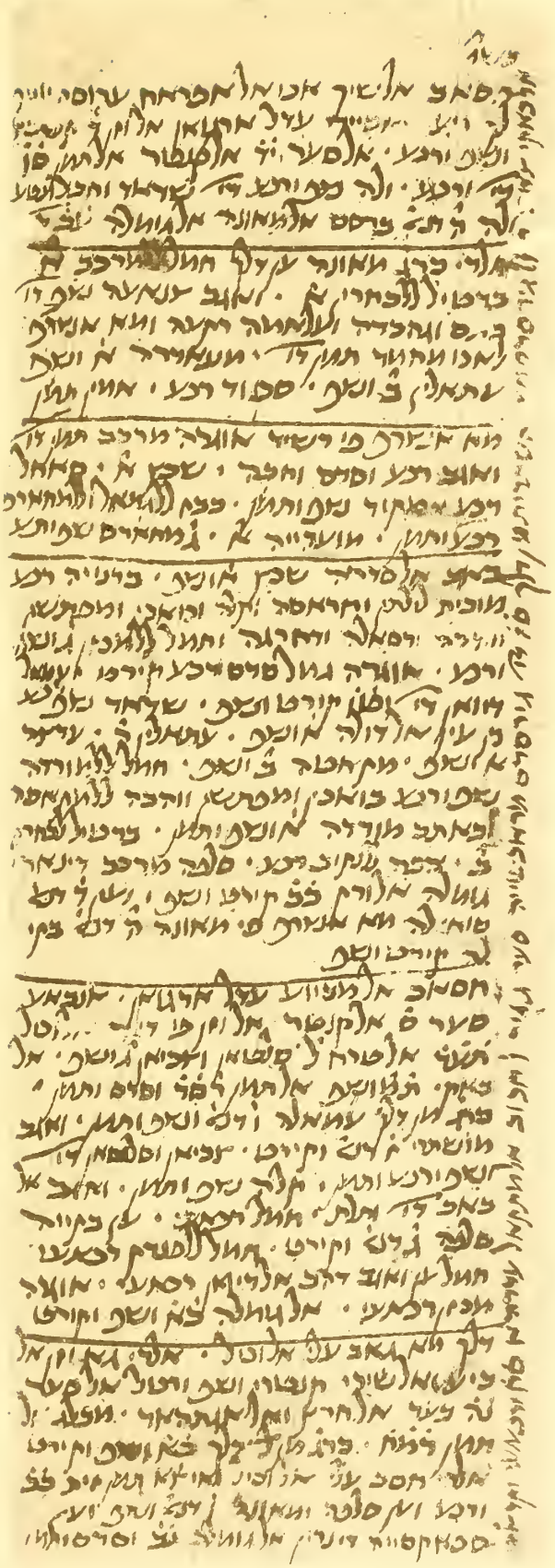
[2] I.e. "three-quarters." All fractions, except two-thirds, were expressed in Egypt by unit-fractions. Thus $\frac{7}{8}=\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{4}+\frac{1}{8}$. See L. C. Karpinski, *The History of Mathematics*, 1925, p. 121.

[3] Context seems to demand these renderings of سِعْر and ثَمَن.

[4] I.e. "you."

[5] Without the article and with חבל this word must mean some commodity viewed collectively, though there is no authority for this rendering.

[6] Cf. the plural of this word in a similar accounting, No. XIV, *verso b*, line 3.



XXXVI. AN ACCOUNTING

This is an account rendered by some unnamed person to Abū al-Afrāḥ ʻArūsah Joseph. No dates nor places are named.

Many different sorts of expenses, charges, officials and commodities are mentioned. One cannot be sure of the meaning of such contemporary technical terms. Also, the amounts are not always followed by the name of the coin. If the dīnār were everywhere assumed, the sums would often be too large.

Recto:

Blessed be the Name[1]!

1 Account of the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ ʻArūsah Joseph:
2 You have in my keeping, Sir, a bale of purple [goods], the weight [of which is] 4 ḳinṭārs
3 and a half and a quarter[2], the [purchase] price[3] [of which is] 14 the ḳinṭār, [and] the value[3] [of which is] 66
4 dīnārs and a quarter. And he[4] has a half and a quarter[2] dīnār['s worth of] twine[5] and rope and leather matting[6].
5 And he[4] has five dīnārs[' worth of] clover [for] the provisioning[7] [of the animals], the sum total [being] 72 dīnārs[8].

---

6 What is deducted [for] provisioning from this: Ship's porterage, 1.
7 Pourboires for the sailors, 1. Obligation of the craft[9], a half dīnār.
8 [Fee for] seal, and revenue-tax[10], and [for] signature [on] papers, and what was paid
9 to Abū Muḥammad: an eighth of a dīnār. Apology[11], one and a half.
10 Porters, two and a half. Spit[11], a quarter. Inspector, an eighth.

---

11 What was expended in Rosetta: Ship's hire, an eighth of a dīnār.
12 Obligation[9], a quarter and a sixth, and a ḥabbah[12]. [One] person, 1. Sea-shore[11],
13 a quarter. Registrar, a half and an eighth[2]. Bread for the camel-driver and for the women[13],
14 a quarter and an eighth. Ferry[14], 1. Three women[13], a half and a quarter.

---

[7] بَرْسِيم المَؤُونَة.

[8] $66\frac{1}{4}+\frac{3}{4}+5=72$.

[9] Fee paid to some guild? Fee paid for the privilege of doing business?

[10] جَهْبَذَة. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 226.

[11] Plainly written common words, but evidently in some technical or cryptic sense.

[12] I.e. "grain," "trifle." This seems to be a unit of weight and a coin. Its value is uncertain.

[13] مَحَارِم plural of مَحْرَمَة. [14] مُعَدِّيَّة

15 באב אלסדריה שבין א ונצף · ברנייה רבע
16 מובית לילתין וחראסה וקלה ובואב · ומפתשין
17 ותדרה ורסאלה ודחרגה וחמל ללמכזן ג ונצף
18 ורבע · אוגרה גמל סדם ורבע קירט · עמאל
19 דיואן די׳ וטו קירט ונצף · שראד נצף ורבע
20 בן עין אלדולה א ונצף · עתאלין ה · ערצה
21 א ונצף · מקחטה ב ונצף · חמל ללמורדה
22 נצף ורבע בואבין ומפתשין ווהבה ללמקחטה
23 וכאתב מודדה א ונצף ותמן · ברטיל לבחרין
24 ב · והבה ללנקיב רבע · סלפה מרכב דינאר ·
25 גומלה אלורק כב קירט ונצף · ועין ד דנא
26 סוא לה מא אנצרף פי מאונה ה דנא׳ בקי
27 לה קירט ונצף

---

28 חסאב אלמבייע עדל ארגואן · אנבאע
29 סער ס אלקנטר אלוזן פי דיואן[ן] אלוכיל
30 תעד אלטרח ל · סלטאן וצביאן ג ונצף · אל
31 באקי תמ ונצף אלתמן רסד וסדם ותמן ·
32 כרג מן דלך עמאלה ו דנא׳ ונצף ותמן · ואגב ·
33 מושתרי ז דנא׳ וקירט · צביאן וסלטאן די׳
34 ונצף ורבע ותמן · קלה נצף ותמן · ואגב אל
35 באב די׳ ותלת · חמל רכאבי · ען בקייה
36 סלפה ג דנא׳ וקירט · חמל ללפנדק רבאעי
37 חמל ען ואגב דהב אלדיואן רבאעי · אוגרה
38 מכזן רבאעי · אלגומלה כא ונצף וקירט

---

15 Abbreviated. Or perhaps another place name.

16 Colloquial *bárānīya* for بَرَّانِيَّة.

17 مُبِيت for مَبِيت. 18 ותדכרה?

15 [At] the gate of Alexandria[15]: [One] person, one and a half. External[16],
a quarter.
16 Lodging[17] for two nights, and guard, and a water-bottle, and door-keeper,
and inspectors,
17 and ticket[18], and letter, and rolling and carrying [of bales] to the ware-
house, three and a half
18 and a quarter. Hire of camel, a sixth and a quarter ḳīrāṭ. Agent
19 of the office, a dīnār and 15 ḳīrāṭs and a half. Twine[5], a half and a
quarter.
20 [To] Ibn ʿAin al-Daulah, one and a half. Porters, 5. Exhibition,
21 one and a half. Scraper[11], two and a half. Carrying to the place of
embarkation,
22 a half and a quarter. Porters, and inspectors, and gift[19] to the scraper[11],
23 and the scribe of the place of embarkation, one and a half and an eighth.
Pourboires for sailors,
24 two. And gift[19] to the chief, a quarter. Breakfast [for] the ship['s crew],
a dīnār.
25 Total of the paper, 22 ḳīrāṭs and a half. And cash, 4 dīnārs.
26 Equalled by[20] what was spent in provisioning, 5 dīnārs. Balance
27 to his[4] credit, a ḳīrāṭ and a half.

---

28 Account of the sale[21] of the bale of purple [goods]. It was sold,
29 price 60 the ḳinṭār, the weighing in the office of the representative.
30 Four hundred and seventy-four, tribute to the Sultan; and [to] the
youths, three and a half. The
31 balance, 430 and a half. The value, 264 and a sixth and an eighth.
32 There were deducted from this: Wages, six dīnārs and a half and an
eighth. Obligation
33 of the seller[22], seven dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ. Youths and Sultan, a dīnār
34 and a half and a quarter and an eighth. Water-bottle, a half and an
eighth. Obligation of the
35 gate, a dīnār and a third. Hauling, a rubāʿī[23]. From the balance:
36 Breakfast, three dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ. Carrying to the hostelry[24], a
rubāʿī[23].
37 Favor to the gold obligation of the office, a rubāʿī. Hire of
38 place, a rubāʿī. The total: 21 and a half and a ḳīrāṭ.

---

[19] وَهْبَة for هِبَة. [20] سَوَّى لَهُ. [21] for مَبِيع [22] مُشْتَرى.

[23] I.e. a quarter of a dīnār. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 504.

[24] فُنْدُق = *πανδοχεῖον*.

39 דלך מא גאב עלי אלוכיל׳ אלדי גא וזן אל
40 ביע ואלשירי קנטרין ונצף ורטל אלסער
41 נה בעד אלחרין ואלאגתהאד׳ מבלג אל
42 תמן רמח׳ כרג מן דלך כא ונצף וקירט
43 אלדי חסב עלי אלוכיל ואיצא תמן זית כב
44 ורבע ועז סלפה ומאונה ו דנא/ ונצף׳ ועז
45 סכא קסייה דינרין אלגומלה נב וסדם ותמן

Margin:

אלבאקי צא[ר] ... גיר סדם ... אשתרית מן דלך סו די/ גיר סדם
מראכשייה סער תגיר ו חבוב אלמתקאל עדדהא סח ורבאעי וקדצ.

---

[25] شِرًى. [26] A ל has been deleted.

39 This is what the representative brought me. The result was: Weight of the
40 selling and the buying[25], two ḳinṭārs and a half and a roṭl. The price,
41 fifty-five, after being greedy and zealous. Amount of the
42 value, 248. Deducted from this[26], 21 and a half and a ḳīrāṭ.
43 What the representative charged against me, and also value of oil, 22
44 and a quarter. And in the way of breakfast and provisions, six dīnārs and a half. And in the way of
45 generosity, though hard, two dīnārs. The total, 52 and a sixth and an eighth.

Margin:

The remainder amounted to ... less a sixth.....I bought from that, 67 dīnārs less a sixth, [in] Moroccan money. Price of the exchange[27], 5 ḥabbahs[12] to the mithḳāl. The number of them was 68 and a rubā'ī and.....

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[27] تَغْيِير or تَغَيُّر.

XXXVII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{1}{8} \times 4$ inches.

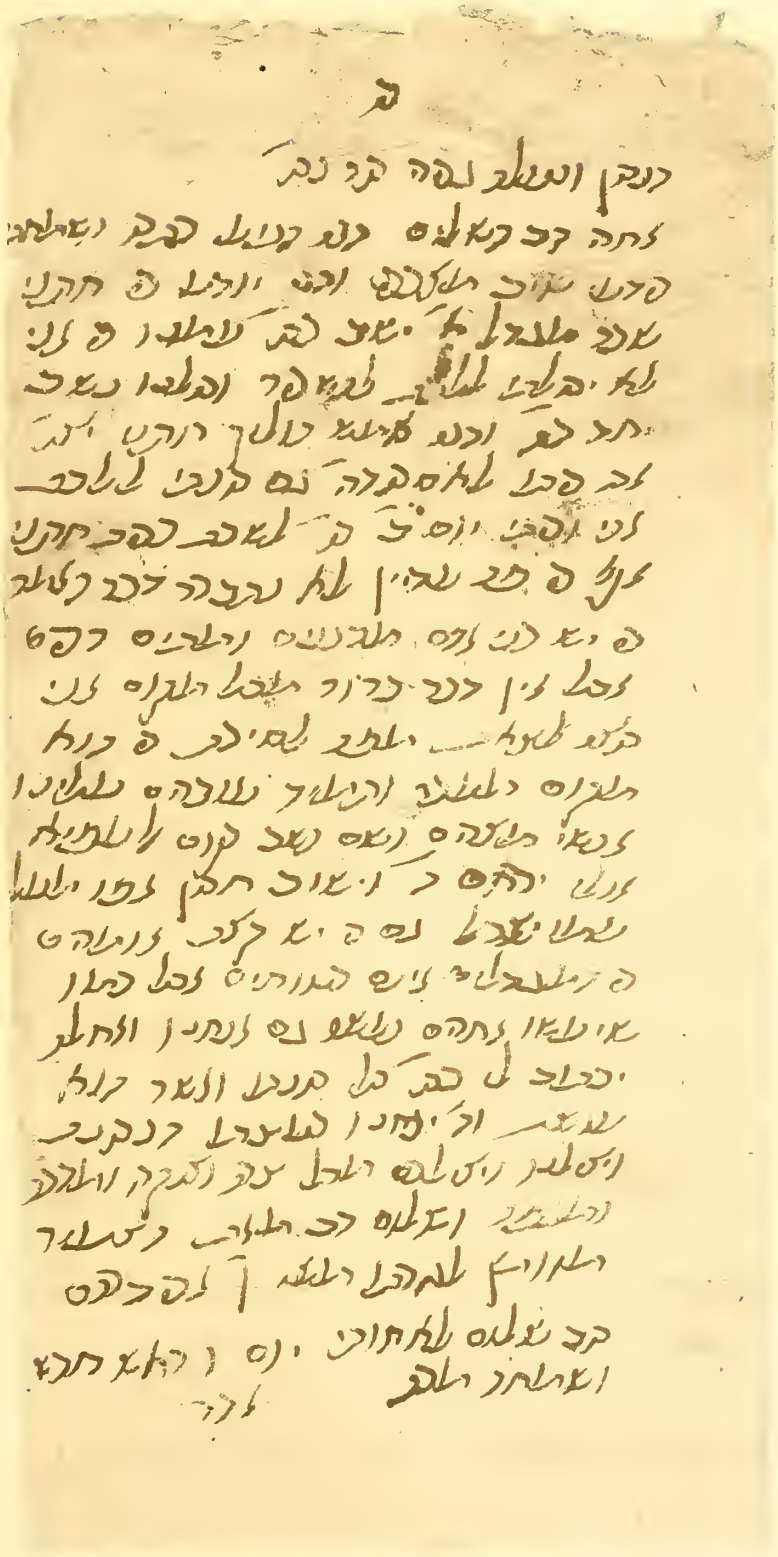
Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The language is exceptionally good. The writing, though apparently plain, gives some difficulty because of the unusual forms of some of the letters, and the way in which they are combined.

There is no date ; but the occurrence of a watermark places the fragment certainly after A.D. 1282. See Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 1907. Unfortunately the watermark is indistinct.

בה׳

1 הנבון ונעלה גבירי בני כת׳
2 אחרי רוב השלום הנה הגיע כתבו ושמחתי׳
3 בידעי טוב מצבתו והנה יודע כי חתני
4 שכר מגדל א׳ ישב בה עמנו כי אני
5 לא יכולתי ללכת להשכיר וכולנו נשב
6 יחד בה והנה אמש הוליך חתני יצא
7 את ביתו אל אסכנדרי׳ גם כונתי ללכת
8 אני וביתי יום ב׳ כו׳ לשבת בבית חתני
9 אף כי פה עדיין לא נתברר דבר האמת׳
10 כי יש בני אדם מרננים ומתים רבים
11 אבל אין דבר ברור מכל מקום אני
12 רוצה לצאת מפה לסיכת כי הוא
13 מקום מעבר ותמיד עוברים עלינו
14 אנשי מצרים ושם נשב קום אלעפיא
15 אולי ירחם ה׳ וישוב חרון אפו מעל
16 עמו ישראל גם כי יש קצת אומרים
17 כי המגדלים אינם בטוחים אבל כמו
18 שיעשו אחרים נעשה גם אנחנו ואחלה
19 יכתוב לי כת׳ כל כונתו ואשר הוא
20 עושה וה׳ יניחנו בעצתו הנכונה
21 ויצילנו ויצילכם מכל צרה וצוקה ומדבר
22 ומכפן ושלום רב מאת הצעיר
23 מאמן לאהבתו משה ן אבי דרהם
24 רוב שלום לאחותי יום ו ראש חדש
25 ושמחה מבת אדר



XXXVII. LETTER

From Moses Ibn Abū Dirham, to a younger man who is unnamed.

The writer is about to leave his present place of residence, and remove to Sīkat[9], near Alexandria, where he will live with his son-in-law in a "tower." There he will be safe from the present persecution, and enjoy a prosperous business upon the highway of travel.

Blessed be the Name[1]!

O Intelligent and Exalted Sir, my Son, Crown of the Law[2]!
After many greetings[3]: His[4] letter has arrived; and I am glad
to know[5] of his[4] good condition. And know that my son-in-law[6]
has rented a[7] tower[8] to live in with us. For I
cannot go to rent [one]; so, all of us are to live
together in it. And last night my son-in-law went down
with his household to Alexandria. [It is] my intention also to go,
I and my household, Monday, the 26th, to dwell in the house of my son-in-law[6],
even though no trustworthy information has reached here as yet:
for there are people rejoicing, and many people dead—
yet there is no trustworthy information. At all events I
should like to go away from here to Sīkat[9], for it [is]
a place of passage; and [there will be] passing by us continually
people of Egypt; so that we shall dwell there like prosperous folk[10].
Perhaps God[11] will have mercy and His anger will depart from
His people Israel[12]—even though there are some who say
that the towers[8] are untrustworthy. But as
others have done, [so] we also shall do. And I hope
that he[4] will write me a letter[13] [expressing] all of his intention, and what he[4]
[is going to] do. And may God[11] give us peace with His wise counsel;
and deliver us and you from every anxiety and oppression, and from pestilence[14],
and from famine! Many greetings from [my] unimportant [self who]
rely upon his[4] love, Moses Ibn Abū Dirham[15].
Many greetings to my sister, and joy from [my] household!
Friday, first day of the month of Adar.

---

[1] ה׳ = ברוך השם. [2] ת׳כ = כתר תורה. [3] For the Arabic بعد السلام.
[4] "his" = "your," "he" = "you." [5] Inf. with ב and suffix.
[6] Or "father-in-law." [7] א׳ = אחר [8] I.e. "strongly built house"?

[9] Some place near Alexandria? Perhaps سِكَّة "road," the second element of the name being lost. [10] Arabic قوم العافية. [11] הַשֵּׁם.
[12] Numbers xxv, 4. [13] כְּתָב. [14] וּמִדָּבָר.
[15] Arabic: Abū Dirham, "the man [who collects the] dirham." On this celebrated Spanish family see the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *sub voce*.

XXXVIII. POETIC BIBLICAL PARAPHRASES

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches, folded so as to form four pages all of which are filled with writing.

Hebrew in a large square Hebrew hand, very much effaced on three of the pages.

The original verse division has been all but lost by the copyist. On *recto* (*b*) and *verso* (*a*) it can only occasionally be discovered, but on the other two pages it is quite evident, although it is not followed.

Recto : (*b*)

1 לביתו ורש . . . . . .
2 ויאמר מלך בא [ואשל]חה [ס]פר
3 אל כל ישראל ויב[א ע]ם ה[ספר]
4 נעמן ויבא מכספ[ו ו]מזהב[ו ויהי]
5 בקרוא מלך ישראל ויקרע ב[גדיו]
6 בדאבן ויהי לסף שמו[נה ימים]
7 וישלח לו [לאמר את] יי ירא . וי[בא]
8 [נע]מן בס[וסיו] וברכבו וישלח
9 מלך רד [וטב]ול בירדן ואלהים
10 לך למחסה· ויקצף נעמן וינאץ
11 [וי]חב את פיהו במפשה . הלא
12 [נהרו]ת דמשק טובים [לט]בל ב[ם]
13 . . . . . ויגשו עבד[יו ו]ידבר[ו]
14 אל[יו ויאמרו] אבי דבר ג[דו]ל
15 הנביא דבר [אל]יך הלא תעשה
16 וילך סחוף ו[יטב]ול ויתחל ב[שרו]
17 [ש]וב להה[יות כדבר] איש האלהים

Verso : (*a*)

1 [וימאן] לל[כת . . . . .ו]פגע בו לקחת [הון]
2 [כסף] וזהב וכל מקח ויאמר חי יי
3 [א]שר עמדתי לפניו אם אקח .
4 ויאמר צעקתי קרבני במשאות
5 אדמה במ[רץ] רצוני שוב

[1] Cf. al-Harīzī, *Tahkemōnī*, Chapter iii.

XXXVIII. POETIC BIBLICAL PARAPHRASES

This fragment seems to contain remnants of poetic paraphrases of Biblical passages[1], at times with rime and division into verses, but with no apparent meter.

Verso (*b*) and *recto* (*a*) have been rearranged so as to display the intended verse division and rime. This was not possible with the other two pages. Conjectural text supplied between brackets by Professor Gottheil has been translated without brackets.

Recto: (*b*)

1 to his house and.....
2 [2]And the King said: "Go now, and I will send a letter
3 unto all Israel." So there went with the letter
4 Naaman. And he took of his silver and of his gold. And it came to pass,
5 when the King of Israel read, that he rent his garments
6 in sorrow. And it came to pass at the end of eight days
7 that he sent to him, saying: "Fear the Lord!" And Naaman
8 came with his horses and his chariot. And [the] King
9 sent [word, saying]: "Go down and dip [thyself] in the Jordan; and God [will be]
10 for thee a refuge." And Naaman became angry, and spurned [him],
11 and he opened his mouth, making it wide, [and he said]: "Are not the rivers of
12 Damascus good to dip [oneself] in?"
13 .....And his servants drew near and spake
14 unto him and said: "My Father, a great thing
15 the Prophet hath spoken unto thee. Wilt thou not do [it]?"
16 And he went humbly, and dipped [himself]; and his flesh began
17 to return to being as the Man of God had spoken.

Verso: (*a*)

1 And he refused to go.....and he begged him to accept goods:
2 silver and gold and every [sort of] gift. And he said: "As Jehovah liveth,
3 before whom I stand, I will receive none."
4 And he said: "I cried out: 'Approach me with presents
5 of earth. Earnestly[3] I wish to repent.

---

[2] The following is based upon II Kings, Chap. v.

[3] מְרֵץ, עֲרֵץ, הְרֵץ: inventions to rime with אֲרֵץ. See Zunz, *Zur Synagogalen Poesie*, pp. 314, 385; *Literaturgeschichte d. S. P.*

6 אפתה לאל שוכן שמי ערין.
7 [ת]חבולות מאד ארבה בהשתחוותי
8 פני בתרין. ויאמר לו לך לשלום
9 ו[ילך מע]תו כברת ארין. ועל
10 שפת [הי]ם/ אחרי מות/

11 אוכרה היום יום החמה והחרון.
12 [ב]השרף השרפה מול פני הארון.
13 וידבר יי׳ אל משׁ אהׂ מׂ שׁ בׂ אׂ
14 [ג]ורו לכם מפני משנה שברון.
15 [דמו]ת יום זה תהי לכם לזכרון.
16 ויאמר יי׳ אל משה דבר אל אׂ הנני
17 מעלה לך ארוכה שימנה לַעְנק
18 לג [רנך] על ספר חוקה ותהי ליום
19 אחר[ון] בואה . . . . . ין יבא

Verso: (b)

1 תפנה מרשות . . . . . תך היה דורש וחוק[ר לא תעש]ק את
2 רעך ולא תגזול [ולא] תלין פעולת שכיר אתך עד בוקר.

3 ביטה במדרש שלשה חדשים וסור ממתי מחשול
4 ראה בדת שלשה עורים ופזר ביותר ושול תשו[ל]
5 לא תקלל חרש ולפני עור לא ת[תן] מכשול. .

6 בעשרה דברים שב[הם] אין לדין תבין ומעול חדל מח[דול].
7 יום תראה הדין מרומם מדבר שקר בדל לך מבדול.
8 לא תעשה עול במשפט לא תשא פני דל ולא תהדר פני גדול.

9 ירא את יי׳ ואל תהי רכיל מגלה סוד חבריך ויודעיך.
10 צמת שלשה רופרין והצל שלשה נרדפין בנפשם וחכה לבא [י]שעך.
11 לא תלך רכיל בעמך ולא תעמוד [על] דם רעך.

---

[4] The portion of the law (Leviticus xvi, 1–18, 30) read upon the Day of Atonement.
[5] Job xix, 29. [6] Jeremiah xvii, 18. [7] Exodus xii, 14.
[8] Isaiah xxx 8. [9] Leviticus xix, 13 ff. [10] For הַבִּיטָה.

6 I will return to God, who dwells in [the] awful[3] heavens.
7 I will greatly multiply deceptions when I bow
8 my face in reverence[3].'" And he said to him: "Go in peace."
9 And he departed from him a little way.—And [add here the poem which begins with the words]: "On
10 the shore of the sea"; and "After the death of [the two sons of Aaron[4]]":

11 Let me remember today the Day of Fury and Anger,
22 when a great burning appeared before the Ark,
13 and Jehovah spake unto Moses, after the death of the two sons of Aaron[4].
14 Be ye afraid of[5] a repeated disaster[6].
15 Let the like of this day be unto you a reminder[7].
16 And Jehovah said unto Moses: "Speak unto Aaron: 'Behold I
17 bring unto you a healing; make of it a necklace,
18 around thy neck; in a law book, and that it may remain unto [the] last day[8]!'"
19 .....

Verso: (b)

1 Turn thou away from the possessions of thy.....has sought and inquired after. [9]Thou shalt not oppress
2 thy neighbor, nor rob him: the wages of a hired servant shall not abide with thee all night until the morning.

3 Examine[10] [the Scriptures] by exegesis three months, and turn from men of weakness (?)[11].
4 Regard the law of three blind men, and scatter more widely, and draw out[11].
5 Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling block before the blind.

6 [The] Ten Commandments—concerning which no one is entitled to judge—shalt thou examine; and from the unrighteous [shalt thou] turn away[11].
7 On the day when thou seest [pretended] justice exalting itself, speaking lies, separate thyself with a separation[11].
8 Thou shalt do no unrighteousness in judgment. Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honor the person of the mighty.

9 Fear Jehovah, and be not a [carrier of] slander, revealing the secrets[12] of thy neighbors and thy friends.
10 Destroy three pursuers[13], and deliver three pursued in their persons, and await the coming of thy salvation.
11 Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer among thy people, neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbor.

---

11 מַחְשׁוֹל, מַחְדּוֹל and מַבְדּוֹל are purely artificial nouns invented to rime with מִכְשׁוֹל and גְּדוֹל. תְּשׁוּל: cf. Ruth ii, 16.

12 Proverbs xi, 13. 13 Read רודפין.

12 חדל לך משנא[ה] והוכיח תוכיח את עמיתיך.

13 ק[וה] אל ״ ויושיע[ך ואה]בת [לרעך].

Recto: (a)

1 . . . . . לא תשנא את [אחיך בלבבך] הת֯א עמ

2 מנקמה ונ[ט]ירה פרוש לך והוי זהיר לשיזך לתמוכה.

3 את הכלל ה[גדו]ל הזה שבתורה אחוז בו לסמוכה.

4 לא תקום ולא תטר אֹבֹ עֹ ואֹ לֹ כמֹ.

5 . . . . . חוקתי תשמרו ותהיו נש[מ]רים.

6 [שדה] כלאי זרעים [וכ]לאי בהמה וכלאי בגדים מהוברים.

7 [למע]ן זאת א[כ]פיל לכם שכר [מא]תכם נשכרים· אני ״ דבר [צד]ק מגיד מישרים.

8 ק[בל] את שכרה יום זה אתמ . . בית [יש] כהשמיע נביא להמוני תמט שכמם.

9 ויהי בשנה [השביעית ב]חמישי בעשור [לחדש] באו אנשים מזקני [יש] לדר[ו]ש

10 את ״ וישבו [לפני] . . . . . .

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[14] Leviticus xix, 17 ff.

[15] Not the expected לרעך.

XXXIX. FRAGMENT OF MAIMONIDES

Paper 6 × 4¼ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

A portion of the *Yādh ha-Ḥazāḳāh* of Maimonides, corresponding to chapter vi, sections 17–21 of the edition of Jessnitz, 1739. Of section 21 the first three words only are written.

12 Cease thou from hatred, [yet] thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbors.
13 Hope in Jehovah and He will save thee, and love thy neighbor.

Recto: (*a*)

1 .....[14]Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart: thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbor.
2 From vengeance and spite shut thyself off. And be thou attentive to thy.....[15] to uphold [him].
3 This great command which is in the Law, take hold of it [as something] steadfast:
4 Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.
5 .....my laws ye shall keep, and ye shall be kept.
6 A field with two sorts of seed, and two sorts of cattle; and two sorts of garments, combined, [are forbidden].
7 Because of this I shall multiply unto you the produce of those [fields which are] rented by you. [16]I, Jehovah, speak righteousness, I declare things that are right.

8 The house of Israel received its reward this day.....when a prophet made the multitude around me.....hear.....their shoulders(?).
9 [17]And it came to pass in the seventh year, in the fifth [month], the tenth [day] of the month, that certain of the elders of Israel came to inquire
10 of Jehovah, and sat before me.

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[16] Isaiah xlv, 19. [17] Ezekiel xx, 1.

XXXIX. FRAGMENT OF MAIMONIDES

Variants. In section 18, after והפנימי are four (?) words of which only the first, לבן, and the third, עוף, are legible; מותר for מותרת; ר' after טר במשהוא. In section 19, בכולן for בכולו; ראשו אחד for ראשו האחד; מותרת for מותר; אבל אם נקב הדק כשרה wrongly omitted (cf. *Shulḥan ʿArūkh, Yōrēh Deʿāh, Hilkhōth Ṭerēphōth,* section 43). In section 20, הכמים omitted; האיברים inserted after יותר מן; ניטלה for ניטל, unless the ה belongs to the following word; מותרות for מותרת; מכלל for בכלל; היותר for היתר.

XL. LEAVES FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF A MARRIAGE BROKER

Paper $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches, folded lengthwise so as to form four pages, all of which are filled with writing in the jumbled fashion of a note-book.

Arabic and Hebrew in half-square Hebrew characters.

This Jewish text has, quite uniquely, in addition to the usual Hebrew alphabetic numerals, Coptic numerals, arranged in a column, and scattered throughout the text. It is often impossible to see their relation to the adjacent words. They are Greek alphabetic numerals, in the cursive form employed by Christian Copts after they had given up Coptic for Arabic. In the absence of special type they must here be represented by the usual Coptic alphabetic numerals with the superior stroke. Except where the figures have a direct relation to the text they have been omitted in the Translation, because they cannot be reproduced typographically without making the page unintelligible.

The date is A.D. 1511.

Recto : (a)

באטנה יחיי דולסא

יהודה אבן גוא

בֿשֹּׁעֹּהֹ מֹּעֹּוֹלֹּהֹ

1 אלתקוים אלסעיד פי לילת אלאחד תאמן

2 יום שהר טבת שנת אתתכג לשטרות עלי

3 אלחתן הזקן ר׳ יהודה בר שלמה נע׳ בר׳ מאיר

4 נע׳ ידיע בן גוא אלכלה הבתולה הבוגרת

5 הקרואה דולסא בר׳ יצחק סט׳ בר יוסף

6 ידיע נעמן

7 אלמוקדם אלמאוחר

ϗ ϛϗ

8 מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן וכסותה עליו והדורה

והוא

9 ביד החתן אלנדוניא כאתם דהב מלך

ϛ

הובנע

10 שמלה ורכש דהב בטראטיר ורכש דהב כשמארין

11 לולו ורקאין דהב זיק דהב בזואיה ג׳ אזואג׳ אסאור

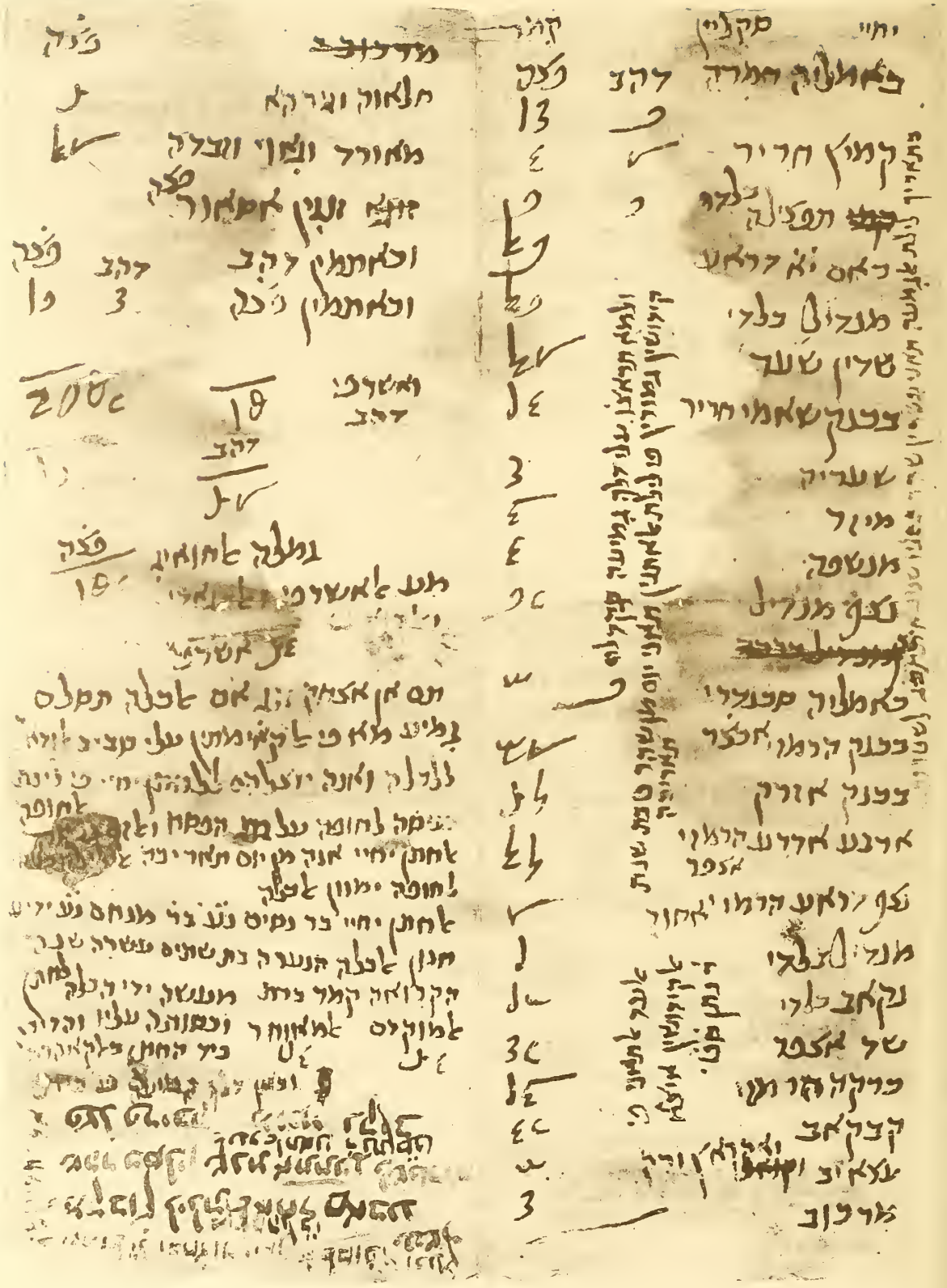
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[1] Evidently Spanish for "sweet." The girl seems to have had no Jewish name.

[2] In a different hand. The name occurs in line 4. Very uncertain vocalisation.

[3] Seleucid Era, beginning 312 B.C., which makes 1823 = A.D. 1511.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 40 a



XL. LEAVES FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF A MARRIAGE BROKER

In spite of the large square Hebrew titles, this is not a document nor a series of documents. The lack of legal precision and the jumbled condition of the pages show that it is a double leaf out of the note-book of some marriage broker, possibly a rabbi. It is simply a memorandum of the circumstances attending the marriage of certain persons, named; and is chiefly concerned with the invoicing of the brides' paraphernalia.

The *muḳdām* and the *me'uḥār* seem to refer to the old formal betrothal and the marriage proper, which at this time were beginning to be celebrated in quick succession. See Aaron Ben Elia of Nicomedia (*ca.* A.D. 1300–1369), *Gan Eden*, ed. Goslava, 1866, p. 142b, on Exodus xxi, 2. Professor Gottheil believes that, unless the Rabbinites had accepted the Karaite formula, it will be necessary to suppose that we are dealing with Karaite documents.

Recto: (*a*)

Confidential [memorandum of] Yaḥyā [as to] Dulce[1]
[and] Judah Ibn Jiwā'[2]

In a Propitious Hour!

1 This auspicious invoice [has been made] on the first night [of the week, the] eighth
2 day of the month of Ṭēbhēth, [of] the year of documents 1823[3], with reference to
3 the bridegroom[4], the Elder, Rabbi Judah Bar Solomon Bar Mē'īr,
4 known as Ibn Jiwā', [and] the bride[4], the marriageable virgin
5 called Dulce, daughter[5] of Rabbi Isaac Bar Joseph—A good omen!—
6 known as Naaman.
7 The advanced [gift][6], 20. The delayed [gift][6], 64[7].
8 The bride's handiwork [shall belong] to the bridegroom, but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense. And her ornamentation
9 the bridegroom has received. The dowry[8] is a ring of royal gold,
10 a garment, and a clasp[9] of gold with conical caps, and a clasp of gold, two Cashmere shawls[10],
11 a pearl, and a dancer of gold, a collar [with] gold at the corners[11], three pairs of bracelets

---

[4] Hebrew and Aramaic words creep in; and Hebrew words are often used with the Arabic article.

[5] בר for ברת? בר apparently for בַּר and not בן רבי in this document.

[6] Hebrew מְקֻדָּם and מְאוּחָר.

[7] The sign for 60 seems to have been deleted.

[8] נְדוּנְיָה. [9] For רֶכֶס. Above there is an unintelligible word.

[10] For כשמירין. [11] For זואיאה.

12 פצה אחד מטלה ה כואתם פצה בפצוין אחדהם סארג

13 וכאתם עקיק ד סלאסל וחק עאנ

14 מנדיל סכנדרי בקצב

15 נצף מנדיל בקצב מנדילין (נצפין) סכנדרי מנדיל הר

16 בכ הר בנפ בח קצב ושמלה מרס בחבבה (חריר)
הרמזי בנפסגי

17 בכ הר בנפ בח קצב מנדיל הר בנפ בקצב
ומרתעש

18 בכנק הר דם אלגזאל בח

19 אצטנבולי בכנק ה בח אצט רפיקין ושדוד
וטרח ועצאיב

20 זעבוט מגרבי ה זעאביט וגטא קנאדיל
וגיר דלך עדא
אלתמן

21 כאמליה כאמכה (בלדי) אזרק וכאם כמכה אכצר

22 קשר באדי אביארי גובה דם אלגול שאיה
גוך
קרמזי

Recto: (b)

1 סתארה ביצה בחואשי חריר דאיר קצין
בחואשי חריר

2 מלאתין ביץ ומנדיל אביץ

3 ד מכד ספארי ביץ

---

12 سادج.

13 For סכנדריה.

14 See below. Hormuz is an island in the Persian Gulf.

12 of silver, one [of them] gilded, five rings of silver, one of them uncut[12],
13 and an agate ring, four chains and boxes of ivory,
14 an Alexandrine kerchief with gold thread,
15 half a kerchief with gold thread, two halves of two Alexandrine[13] kerchiefs, a Hormuzī[14] striped[15] kerchief with a silk ḥabara[16],
16 a purple Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara of gold thread[17], and a purple Hormuzī garment,
17 a purple Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara of gold thread, a purple Hormuzī kerchief with gold thread, and a trembler[18],
18 a gazelles' blood Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara,
19 a Stamboul veil—five [of them]—with a Stamboul ḥabara,
20 a Maghribī [woollen] smock—five [woollen] smocks,
18–20 two pairs of drawers, and shadds[19], and a tarḥ[20], and 'iṣābahs[19], and a lamp-cover, and [other things] besides this, in number, 13, the value, 10,
21 a kāmilīyah[21] of native blue damasquette, and a kāmilīyah of green damasquette,
22 a Bedouin garment of abyārī[22], a gazelles' blood jacket[23], articles[24] of crimson cloth,

Recto: (*b*)

1 a white veil with borders of silk, [something to wrap] about the breast, with borders of silk,
2 two white dressing-gowns, and a white kerchief,
3 four white safārī[25] combs[26].

---

[15] مُرَسَّم. [16] The modern name for a sort of black veil.

[17] I.e. بُخْنُق هُرْمُزِىّ بَنَفْسَجِىّ بِحَبَرَة قَصَب. See below.

[18] Perhaps the fanciful name of some ornament for the head.

[19] A kind of turban. For these names see the appropriate articles in Dozy, *op. cit.*

[20] A kind of veil.

[21] A kind of robe.

[22] A thin fabric. The phrase sounds Persian, although the first two words are of Arabic origin: قِشْر بَادِئ اَبْيَارِى.

[23] For جُبَّة.

[24] For أَشَايَا, a plural of شَىْء.

[25] Some commercial or geographical term.

[26] مِكَدّ is singular because the plural (مَكَادّ?) was not used. See lexicons. The first adjective then remained singular, while the second became plural under the influence of the remembered numeral.

ק״ס ק״ח
4 ונכנסו לחופה פי לילת אלכמים תאני
5 עשר יום מן שהר תאריכה אלעד אלתאני
ר׳ נתן
6 ואלכתובה אכדהא שמואל כראבלים סטו
7 אלחאשר ליוצלהא לואלד אלכלה

Inverted :

יהודה מגרבי השבויה אסתר

בשעה מעולה

1 בתאריך יום אלאחד תאמן יום מן שהר טבת
2 שנת אתתכג לשטרות חצל מואפקה בין
3 יהודה בר יעקב בר אהרן ובין הכלה
4 השבויה הקרואה אסתר ברת ר׳ משה
החכם
5 סטו בר יעקב ידיע כחלי
6 אלמוקדם והוא פדיונה אלמאוחר
ק״ח ק״ס
7 מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן וכסותה עליו
8 והדירה ביד החתן
9 והירושה כדין תורה
10 שהבעל יורש את אשתו
11 ואם חס ושלום ימות הבעל ויניח בנים ממנה
12 לא תטול מהכתובה כי אם מאה פרחים לבד
13 ומה שישאר יהיה לבנים ואם יגרש תקח
14 המאה ושמנים הכתובים לה בשלימות
15 ונכנסו לחופה פי יום אלגמעה תאלת
16 עשר יום מן שהר תאריכה ואלכתובה
17 אכדהא אלחאשר שמואל כראבלים ליוצלהא

---

[27] I.e. four days after the body of the memorandum. These lines, 4–7, were then added, in the same hand, though somewhat larger.

[28] I.e. besides the writer of the memorandum.

[29] Hebrew.

[30] For كَرَابِسِّى or طَرَابُلُسِّى?

4 And they went under the marriage canopy on Thursday night, the twelfth
5 day of the month, the present year[27]. The other[28] witness[29] [was] Rabbi Nathan.
6 And [as for] the marriage writ, Samuel Karāblīs[30],
7 the collector, has taken charge of it, in order to bring it to the father of the bride.

Inverted:

Judah Maghribī The captive, Esther

In a Propitious Hour!

1 On the date of the first day [of the week], eighth day of the month of Ṭēbhēth,
2 year of documents 1823[3], an agreement was reached between
3 Judah Bar Jacob Bar Aaron, and the bride,
4 the captive[4], [who is] called Esther, daughter of Rabbi Moses[31]
5 —A good omen!—son of Jacob the Wise, known as Kuḥlī[32].
6 The advanced [gift]—and it is her ransom[4]—50. The delayed [gift], 180.
7 The bride's handiwork [shall belong] to the bridegroom, but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense.
8 And her ornamentation the bridegroom has received.
9 And the estate [is to be divided at death] according to the [Pentateuchal] Law:
10 that the husband inherits [the goods of] his wife.
11 And if—which God forbid!—the husband should die, and leave behind sons by her,
12 she shall not [take] from the dowry more[33] than a hundred perāḥīm[34];
13 and what remains shall belong to the sons. And if he should divorce [her], she shall take .
14 the hundred and eighty credited to her in the marriage writ, in [their] entirety[35].
15 And they went under the marriage canopy on Friday, the thir-
16 teenth day of the month, the present year[36]. And [as for] the marriage writ,
17 Samuel Karāblīs[30], the collector, has taken charge of it, in order to bring it

---

[31] Above the line, but deleted, החכם.

[32] I.e. "dealer in collyrium," or "dark about the eyes."

[33] An arabism?

[34] I.e. "blossoms." Name of some coin?

[35] For בִּשְׁלֵמוּת.

[36] I.e. five days after the body of the memorandum. These lines, 15–19, were added, in the same hand, though somewhat larger.

18 לאהל אלכלה אלעד אלתאני ר׳ נתן סט

Verso : (*a*)

	יחיי	סקליין		קמר
1	כאמליה	חמרה	דהב	פצה
2	קמיין חריר			
3	תפצילה בלדי			
4	כאם יא דראע			
5	מנדיל בלדי			
6	שדין שער			
7	בכנק שאמי חריר			
8	שעריה			
9	מיזר			
10	מנשפה			
11	נצף מנדיל			
12	כאמליה סכנדרי			
13	בכנק הרמזי אכצר			
14	בכנק אזרק			
15	ארבע אדרע הרמגי אצפר			
16	נצף דראע הרמזי אסוד			
17	מנדיל בלדי			
18	נקאב בלדי			
19	שד אצפר			
20	כרקה הרמזי			
21	קבקאב			
22	עצאיב ואקראין ורק			
23	מרכוב			

[37] As in the first case.

[38] For צקליין if this is the meaning.

18 to the bride's people. The other[28] witness[29] [was] Rabbi Nathan[37].

Verso: (a)

	Yaḥyā	[They are] Sicilians[38]	Ḳamar[39]
		Gold	Silver
1	A red kāmilīyah[21],	4	17
2	a silk shirt,	3	5
3	a piece of native dress-goods,	1	4
4	a cut[40] [of cloth], 11 cubits,		24
5	a native kerchief,		21
6	two shadds[19] of [camels'] hair,		23
7	a Syrian silk veil,		15
8	a sha'rīyah[20],		7
9	a mi'zar[20],		6
10	a towel,		5
11	half a kerchief,		$4\frac{1}{2}$
12	an Alexandrine[13] kāmilīyah[21],	4	2
13	a green Hormuzī veil,		43
14	a blue veil,		38
15	four cubits of yellow Hormuzī [stuff],		28
16	half a cubit of black Hormuzī [stuff],		3
17	a native kerchief,		10
18	a native niḳāb[20],		12
19	a yellow shadd[19],		$7\frac{1}{2}$
20	an irregular piece of Hormuzī [stuff],		16
21	wooden sandals,		$5\frac{1}{2}$
22	'iṣābahs, and head-discs of sheet metal,		2
23	shoes,		7

[39] Arabic for "Moon." Cf. note 1.

[40] Cf. كَأْسَة in Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 435.

Verso: (b)

			פצה
1	חלאוה וגירהא		א
2	מא ורד וגאוי וזבדה		כז
3	זוגא זנגין אסאור פצה		
4	וכאתמין דהב	דהב	פצה
5	וכאתמין פצה	ג	יא
6	ואשרפי דהב	יט	ד ס ט c
		דהב / כז	יא
7	גמלה אלחואינ		פצה
8	מע אלאשרפי ואל . גאדי .		יט c
9	ואלכואתם		
10	אשרפי לה		
11	תם אן אצחק זוג אם אלכלה תסלם		
12	גמיע מא פי אלקאימתין עלי סביל אלודאע		
13	ללכלה ואנה יוצלהם ללחתן יחיי פי לילת		
14	כניסה לחופה על חג הפסח ואלזם כניסה אלחופה		
15	אלחתן יחיי אנה מן יום תאריכה אלי לילה כניסה		
16	לחופה ימוון אלכלה		
17	אלחתן יחיי בר נסים נע בר מנחם נע ידיע		
18	חנון אלכלה הנערה בת שתים עשרה שנה		
19	הקרואה קמר ברת	מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן	
20		וכסותה עליו והדירה	
21	אלמוקדם אלמאוחר	ביד החתן באלקאהרה	
22	לה לה		

---

[41] Made of sesame-seed residue, with honey and sugar.

[42] Perhaps a pomade containing butter as a base, rose-water as a scent, and another substance. If, in spite of the dot, one may read ghāwī, then one may translate "seductive" or "fashionable." See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 232.

[43] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 605.

Verso: (b)

		Silver
1 ḥilāwah[41], and other [sweets],		30
2 rose-water and jāwī and butter[42],		23
3 a pair of cymbals[43], bracelets of silver,		
4 and two rings of gold,	Gold	Silver
5 and two rings of silver,	7	11
6 and an ashrafī[44] of gold,	19	$369\frac{1}{2}$
	Gold	
	33	11
7 Total of the things[45]		Silver
8 with the ashrafī and the.....		$19\frac{1}{2}$
9 and the rings		
10	35 ashrafīs[46]	

11 Then Isaac, the husband of the bride's mother, handed over
12 all that is in the two lists, in the way of a deposit
13 for the bride, and in order that he should deliver them to the bridegroom, Yaḥyā on the night of
14 going under the marriage canopy, during (?) the Feast of the Passover[29]. And the bridegroom Yaḥyā made it a necessary condition of going under the marriage canopy,
15 that from that date till the night of going under
16 the marriage canopy, he should provide food[47] for the bride.
17 The bridegroom [is] Yaḥyā Bar Nissīm Bar Menahem, known as
18 Ḥanūn. The bride [is] the twelve year old girl,
19 called Ḳamar, daughter of[29,48]
20
21 The advanced [gift], The delayed [gift],
22 35 55
19 The handiwork of the bride [shall belong] to the bridegroom,
20 but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense. And her ornamentation
21 the bridegroom has received, in Cairo.

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[44] According to the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. i, p. 976, the old dīnār (66 grains) ceased to be *struck* in Egypt in 1346, and the first ashrafīs (53.8 grains) were struck in Egypt between A.D. 1362 and 1376 or 1421 and 1438. See No. XXX, Introduction, and notes 19, 23.

[45] Egyptian colloquial.

[46] The sums 19 and $369\frac{1}{2}$ are correct for these columns of figures. The meaning of the remaining figures on this page, as well as of those on *recto a* and *b*, is not clear.

[47] For يمّون.

[48] The father's name was never filled in.

Surrounding last four lines:

וכאן דלך גמיעה פי בית | אב הדיין בר | שמואל זל ובחצור יוסף אלסופר ובעין | עשר | מן אלקהל ב"י

Inverted:

מקבוץ לילת אלאחד סאבע | שהר כסליו שנת אתתכג לשטרות | אלעד אלתאני ר נתן סט | פצל פריכה מוסי נקוב

Across verso:

ולמא תראצו עלי דלך גמיעה פקד לה | קידושין גמורין פי לילת אלאתנין תאני יום מן שהר טבת שנת | תאריכה | אלעד אלתאני פי | אלקידושין איצא | ר נתן סט

Margin of verso:

בתאריך לילת אלגמעה תאני עשרין שהר כסליו שנת אתתכג לשטרות

Surrounding last four lines:

And all this was [done] in the house of Abraham, the Dayyān, son of Samuel, and in the presence of Joseph the Scribe and upwards of ten [persons] from the congregation, assembled.

Inverted:

Done on the first night [of the week], seventh [day of] the month of Kislēw, [the] year of documents 1823[3]. The other witness[28] [was] Rabbi Nathan[37]. [Signed:] Faḍl Farīkah(?) Moses Nāḳūb(?)[49]

Across verso:

And after they had reached a satisfactory agreement about all this [4][the bridegroom] arranged for her [the] final betrothal-rites, on Monday night, the second day of the month of Ṭēbhēth, the year of the date [of this memorandum]. The other[28] witness[29] at the betrothal-rites also was Rabbi Nathan[37].

Margin of verso:

On the date of Friday night, twenty-second [day] of the month of Kislēw, [of] the year of documents 1823[3].

---

[49] Lines 23–26 are written in a different hand.

XLI. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters. The writing is unlike any other in this collection. A character resembling a small inverted, suspended Latin h is often used for abbreviations, and in other places where its function is not clear. Cf. the muhmilah sign in MSS. and upon glass weights.

The mention of the *maiyadī* places the fragment certainly later than A.D. 1412. See note 13 and No. XXX.

Recto:

בעה

1 איש חיל רב פעלים נבון ומעולה כהר״ נס״ אחרי
2 רוב השלם באתי בשורותים אלו להודיע כי היום
3 בבקר כתבתי בארוכה והנה מענין הסוכר לא מצאתי
4 שום ערך כי מה שכתב הגביר שנתנה לי עשרה
5 פחות רביע ולא מכרתי יודע לך כי באמת אלו
6 נתנו לי ט׳ וחצי היתי מוכר ולא היתי מעכב
7 אבל יודע לך כי בא פה הסוכר יום ששי עת
8 ערב ודברתי עים כר״ יצחק מאיו שידבר עים
9 הערל ישו״ ואמר שאניחנו בדיון עד יום ראשון
10 והלכתי אצלו יום ראשון ובא ופתח הסוכר ולא״
11 הוכשר בעיניו ואמר לי כהר״ יצחק שאמתין ב״
12 ימים עד שיראה שמא ימצא אצלו מעות״
13 כי לא נמצא אצלו מעות ולכן לא נתרצה והנה״
14 לא עשיתה בחוכמה כי האמנתה לדבריו ולא
15 לקחת״ ממנו שום מעות ולא עשיתה עימו שום
16 עקד לכן כשבא התל בנו וכש״ כי אמר לי הגביר
17 שלא ישלח לו שום סוכר והדוגיאות נתן בו״

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1 בְּעֶזְרַת הַשֵּׁם. 2 כְּבוד [ה]רַב. 3 Equivalent to Arabic بعد السلام.
4 Double plural. 5 מְעַנְיָן. 6 I.e. "you."
7 שְׁנָתְנָה. 8 יְוָדַע. 9 הָיִיתִי.
10 A certain Raphael Isaac Ben Aaron Mayo, or Maggio, who died in A.D. 1810, is recorded in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. viii, p. 392.

XLI. LETTER

A rambling letter from one Solomon, perhaps in Jerusalem, to one Joseph (or Nissīm?), perhaps in Cairo, about several business matters, especially the sugar trade. Solomon professes to be too much engrossed in Bible study, and too pessimistic about sugar, to undertake any business ventures.

In places it is very difficult to make satisfactory sense of the text.

Recto:

With the help of the Name [of God][1]!

1 [To the] Man of Valor, Active, Intelligent and Excellent, the honored
Rabbi[2], Niss[īm?]. After
2 the many greetings[3]: I have come with these lines[4] to inform [you] that
today
3 in the morning I have written at length. And now as to[5] the sugar:
I have not found
4 any arrangement [possible]; because what the gentleman[6] wrote—that
I had been offered[7] ten
5 less a quarter and did not sell—[is untrue]. Be it known[8] to you that
in fact if
6 they had offered me [even] nine and a half I should have[9] sold and not
have[9] held back.
7 But be it known[8] to you that the sugar arrived here on Friday at
8 evening. And I spoke with the honored Rabbi[2] Isaac Māyō[10], that he
should speak with
9 the uncircumcised [Christian]—May his name and memory be blotted
out[11]!—and he said that I should leave it in the office till Sunday.
10 So I went along with him on Sunday; and he went in[to the office] and
opened the sugar; but it was not
11 [to be] considered fit for use, in his opinion. And the honored Rabbi[2]
Isaac asked me to wait two
12 days, till he should see [whether] perhaps he might have some money;
13 for [at the moment] he had no money, and therefore we could not reach
any agreement. Now really
14 you did not act wisely; for you trusted to his word, and did not
15 take from him any money [as guarantee], and did not make with him any
16 binding agreement; so, when it came, he made fools of us, and so it was[12].
For the gentleman[6] said to me
17 that he[6] would not send him any sugar. And [as to] the casks (?)[13]: the
captain (?)

---

[11] יְמַ֣ח שְׁמ֔וֹ וְזִכְרוֹ׃ [12] וכישמו כן הוא?

[13] דוגיות = Fässer mit getrockneten Feigen," Jacob Levy, *Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1924, *sub voce*; "Tiegel," Dallmann, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch*, Frankfurt, 1922, *sub voce*.

18 הקפיתן ט׳ ועשרה מידי לקחת ממנו ה׳
19 קפין ולכי לא עשיתי שום דבר והנה כר׳ אברה׳
20 גרבתי יצ׳ הלך למצרים תעשה עמו כאשר׳
21 תוכל כי פה אין שום ערך כי לא הנחני שום
22 סריסור שלא דברתי עמו והגביר יודיע אור׳
23 הארץ בענין הסוכר ודי למבין ואל יבטח הגביר
24 עלי כי מה ביד לעשות בסחורה עוצל וערך
25 גדול ככה והנה אני תורתי אומנתי ואם היתי׳
26 חפין ללכת כל היום בסחורות לא היתי נותן מעות
27 לשום אדם ונראה שמזל גורם כי כר׳ רחמים במעט
28 מעות הרויח כאשר כתבת לו ואפי׳ שאין לך כל
29 כך תועלת וינראה שאין לו שום חלק בסוכר
30 ואני הכל עלי לכן אדוני אל תאשימני כי כה׳ הוא

Upon the margin:

להוט ורוצה שותפים הרבה ורוצה לקבין כל העולם כי איך בטחת לך על תוהו לקנות סוכר מב׳ ככרים בלתי שום | עקד כלל ובדבר שאמר לי הגביר בשעת נסיעתו שאין כונתך לשלוח סוכר כלל לכן ועשיתה כחכמתיך כי אני | כעת אין לי מה להפסיד ובאמת אלו שלח .הגביר מעות הינו מורצים והנה הראיתיו היום לתגר תוגר | שיש לו מורכסון ונתן בו ערך יו׳ והמרכסון ערך ד׳ וכסיתי אותו ויש גוי א׳ שיש לו קרוב לאלפ׳ | חרבות מונציה ועשה עמו יצחק מחלני קפין א׳ כל הרב לערך כו מידי והסוכר ערך ט׳ ואני לא |

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[14] For *mu'aiyadī*, the half-dirham coined in the reign of the sultan Mu'aiyad, see Lane, *The Modern Egyptians*, App. B, and No. XXX. Mu'aiyad reigned from A.D. 1412 to 1421.

[15] A measure of capacity for drugs and perfumes. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 383.

[16] See al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[17] יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ צוּרוֹ.

[18] Perhaps سَرْسُور. See Wahrmund, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*.

[19] יוֹדֵעַ. [20] וְדֵי לְמֵבִין.

[21] I.e. "What qualifications have I?"

[22] It looks like עטל. Is it עָצֵל?

offered nine [ashrafīs[14]] and ten maiyadīs[14] to take from him five
ḳafaṣ[15]; and so I did not do any [business]. And Rabbi[2] Abraham
Jabartī[16],—May [God,] his Rock, preserve him[17]!—has gone to Egypt. [I hope] you will do [business] with him as much as
you can. Here there is no arrangement at all; for he has not appointed me in any sense
manager[18], since I have not talked with him. The gentleman[6] knows[19] the enlightenment (?)
of the country as to sugar; and [a word] to the wise is sufficient[20]! Let the gentleman[6] not depend
upon me; for what [have I] in hand [with which] to operate in business[21], negligent[22] [as I am], and [trying to] negotiate
some important [transaction]? Thus it is. And as for me, my Tōrah is my trade[23]. And [even] if I did[9]
wish to take up all the day with business matters, I should not[5] give money
to any man [for investment]. And it seems that fate determines; for Rabbi[2] Reḥāmīm with [only] a little
money has made a profit, as you wrote to him [that he would], even though[24] you do not have so very
much advantage [from his transaction yourself]. But it appears[25] that he takes no part at all in sugar [dealings],
and the whole thing falls on me. Therefore, my Lord, do not blame me; for he is so

Upon the margin:

greedy and desirous. He takes on more and more associates, and he would like to gather in the whole world. How could you rely upon emptiness—to buy sugar [for] 42 talents[26], without any security whatsoever! And as to what the gentleman said to me at the time of his departure, that it was not your intention to send sugar at all for that reason: you have acted wisely. I now have nothing to lose. Now really, if the gentleman had sent money we should have been satisfied[27]! I have shown him today how to do business[28]! He has, namely,.....and he gave for it about 16, and the.....[is worth] about 4; and I kept the [matter] secret. There is a gentile [here] who has about a thousand swords of Mōnziah[29]; and Isaac Mḥlnī made a [bargain] with him [for] one ḳafaṣ[15], each sword for about 26 maiyadīs[14], and the sugar [sells for] about 9. And I do not

---

[23] אֶמָּנוּתִי. [24] אֲפִילוּ.

[25] Confusion of יֵרָאֶה with נִרְאָה.

[26] כְּבָרִים probably for dīnārs. [27] מְרֻצִּים.

[28] Perhaps לְתַגֵּר תִּתָּגֵר, "to bargain and be bargained"?

[29] Monza, locally *Monscia*, a city in Lombardy.

Upon the upper part: (*a*)

ידעתי מה לעשות כי לא | נסתי בשום מקמֻה ואני | מתירה לעשות שום
דבר״ | בערך גדול ודבר שאנו״ | עלי כי צֻריך עֻין מרגל

(*b*)

וחן חן לאדון על רוב השתדֻלותו | מענין קנית הזהב ומענין היצֻמל | אל
יקח לי.....לא מכהר׳ | שלמה ולא מעלתי כי פה הב..... | לתת לי
ומענין הבית יעשה עמו | הגביר כאשר אפשר ושלום

(*c*)

הצעיר שלמה..... | יום ב׳ ו׳ לי[רח ני]סן

Verso:

לנבון ומעולה כר״ יוסף חלופי נס״ והלבי״ ופגין״

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30 כַּתִּירוֹ ? 31 שֶׁאֲנוּ עָלָיו ?

XLII. LITURGICAL MEMORANDA

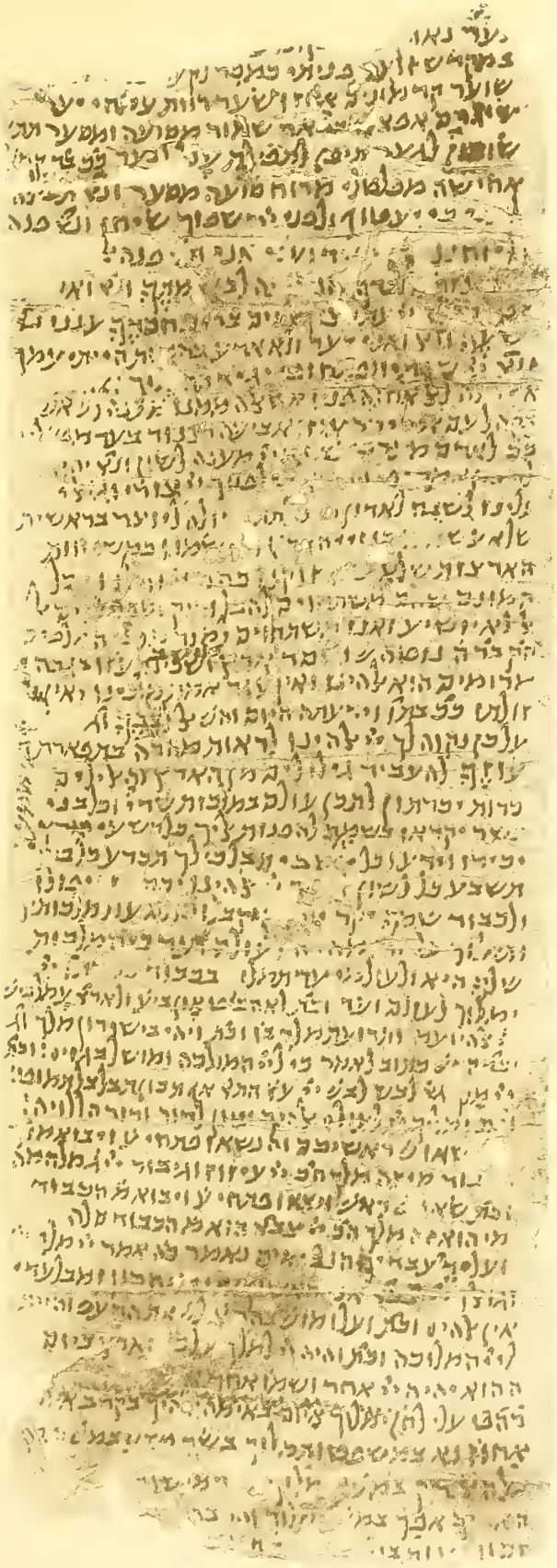
Paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ inches: too long to have been a leaf from a book, and hence probably a memorandum of some sort. Number of lines: 53–62.

The language is Hebrew, with connective and directive words in Arabic, such as بَعْدُ or بَعْدَهُ in *recto*, line 2, *verso*, lines 39 and 46; لَحْن and عَلَى لَحْن *recto*, line 49, *verso*, line 38; ثُمَّ *verso*, lines 44 and 45; أَيْضًا *verso*, line 45; يَقُول *verso*, line 58; the Arabic article in *verso*, line 38.

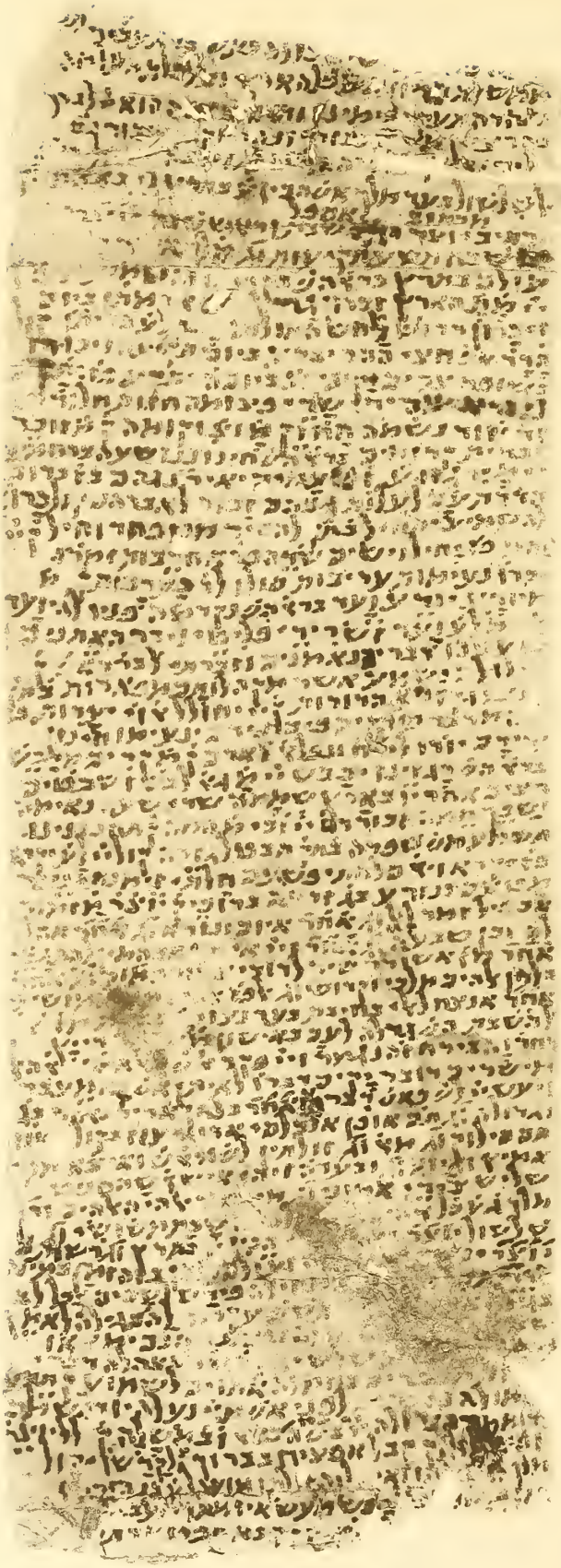
The writing is semi-cursive Hebrew of two varieties: the first covering *recto* and the first five lines of *verso*. Both are difficult to read as the paper is worn and the ink pale. Abbreviations are so extensively used that many passages are unintelligible.

Of Biblical passages one recognises: Psalm lv, 9 in *recto*, line 7; followed by Psalm cii, 1; xxv, 16; lxxxvi, 16; lxix, 14; lxxiii, 22; li, 17; Proverbs xvi, 1; Psalm xix, 15; Psalm xcvii, 1 in *verso*, line 10; Psalm lxviii, 5 in line 21; Psalm xxix, 9 in line 26; xciii, 1 in line 29.

Rimes are discoverable in three places: עֵר in *recto* up to line 7; various rimes in *verso*, lines 16–32; ה‗ toward the end of *verso*.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 42 a



Genizah Fragment 42 b

Upon the upper part: (*a*)

know what to do, I have not run away anywhere (?), but I [stay here and] prevent him[30] from doing anything on a large scale, or anything which he does not need to do[31], for inquiring thought is necessary.

(*b*)

And many thanks to (my) Lord for his many efforts concerning the purchase of the gold and concerning the.....Let him not take for me .....not from Rabbi[2] Solomon and not on account of me (?). For here the.....to give me. And as to the house: Let the gentleman[6] do with it whatever is possible. Farewell!

(*c*)

[From] the humble Solomon.....
Monday, the sixth of the month of Nīsān.

Verso:

To the Intelligent and Excellent Rabbi[2] Joseph Ḥallūfī (?)[32].

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[32] The last three words are apparently abbreviations.

XLII. LITURGICAL MEMORANDA

Most of the *recto* relates to the Mūsāph prayers of the New Year's Day service; but line 49 goes over into something else. There seems to be no particular reason for making such a selection of prayers and passages, or for arranging them in this order. Perhaps they are the notes of some pupil. Nor do the contents of this fragment appear, from any point of view, to justify transcription, translation and notes. Plates XLIII and XLIV will, however, enable the student to form his own opinion.

Professor Israel Davidson has gone over the text and has made some very valuable suggestions for which the editors wish to thank him. Bibliography: Zunz, *Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes*, Berlin, 1859; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xviii, pp. 107–8; *Siddur Rābh 'Amram Gā'ōn*, Warsaw, 1865; *Siddur Troyes*, Budapest, 1905; *Maḥzōr Vītrī*, Berlin, 1889–93; and *Sēfer Abū-dirham*, Prague, 1784.

XLIII

AN AGREEMENT BEFORE THE COURT IN JERUSALEM IN REGARD TO PRECEDENCE IN THE ACADEMY AT AL-RAMLAH

Paper $5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic and Hebrew, in half-square Hebrew characters.

Both the Arabic and Hebrew are fairly good; but the way in which the document passes from one language to the other, and back again, gives the impression of an imperfect command of them both, and robs the document of the dignity which it otherwise might have. The unavoidable use of Hebrew legal expressions leads the writers off into Hebrew completely for a time; and yet Hebrew cannot be sustained to the end.

The document belongs to the period of the Palestinian gaonate about which the Genizah has taught us so much, and deals with the familiar topic of discord in the Academy at al-Ramlah, evident from letters of Solomon Ben Judah, the central figure of the period, and his contemporaries, as published by Mann, *op. cit.* It appears to be a record of the settlement of this long controversy, alluded to by Nathan, writing in A.D. 1042 to Fusṭāṭ (Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 151): "You have received already [the account] of how the peace came about and what we did for the sake of peace in Israel."

The date is Tishrī the 21st, A.M. 4803, equivalent to October 8th, A.D. 1043.

Recto :

1 נוסכה אלמואקה אשמעו מה ידבר האל וג

2 דכר מא תקרר בין אלמתיבה ובין מ ור נתן אב בן אברהם נ פי מא ראתוה אלמתיבה ושיוך

3 אלאומה ונשיאינו מן אלתקדם פי רתבה אב בית דין אלתי יסתחקהא רבינו טוביה השלישי בחבורה

4 חסב סונה ישראל מן דלך אנה ירגע ען גמיע מא כאן תערץ לה מן אל תסמי במא כאן תסמא בה

5 ומא אסמא בה סואה ואנה לא ינפרד בתקריר אמר מן אל אמור ולא באלצלאה עלי אחד

6 מן אלנאס פי מרתבה מן מראתב ישראל אלא מא אגתמע עליה ראי אדונינו שלמה גאון

---

[1] Mistake for מואפקה. [2] Psalm lxxxv, 9.

[3] I.e. "school of Talmudic law."

[4] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 151, 193–4; vol. ii, 230–1.

[5] אב בית דין. See Mann, *op. cit.*, pp. 265–6, 272.

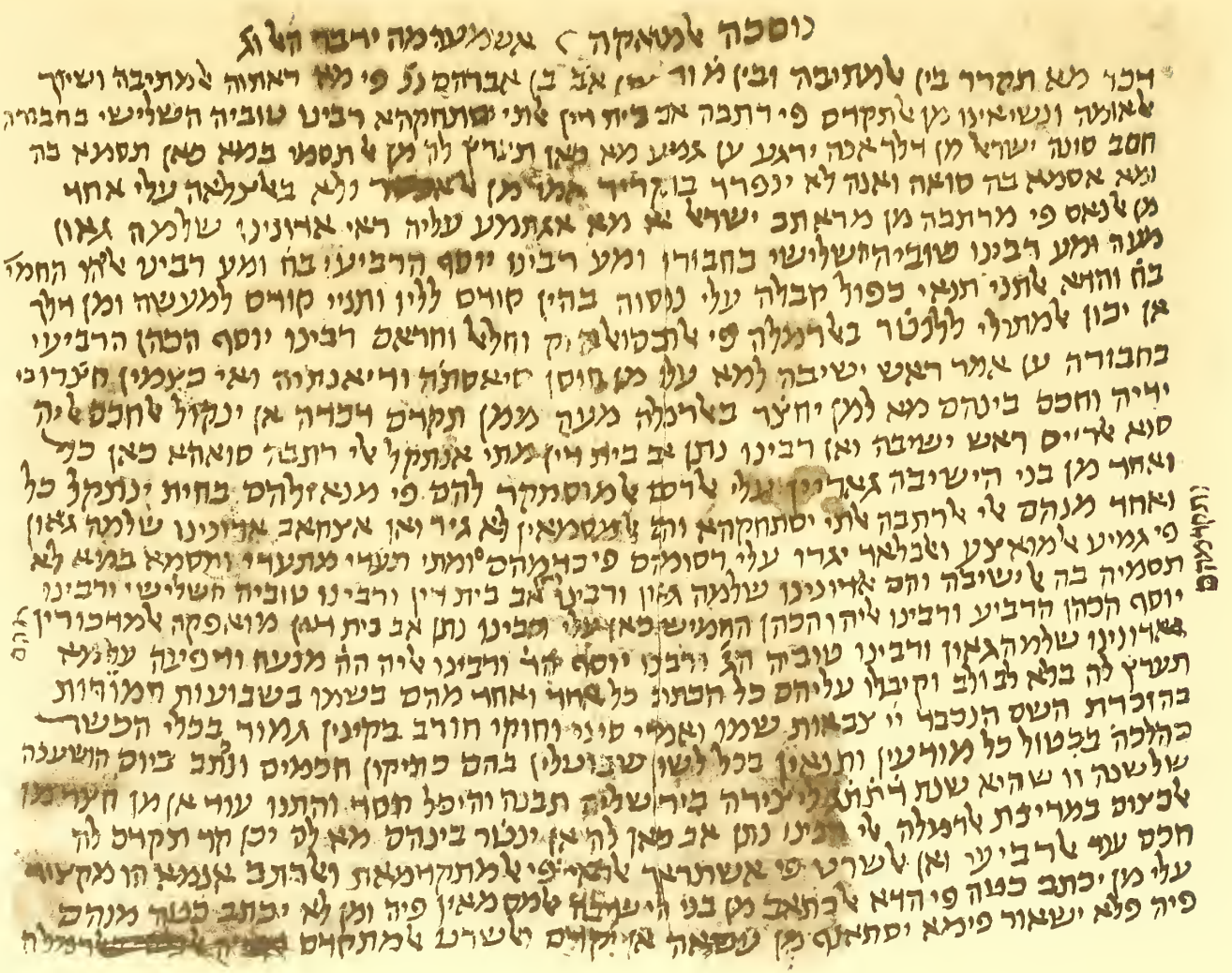


Plate XLV

Genizah Fragment 43 a

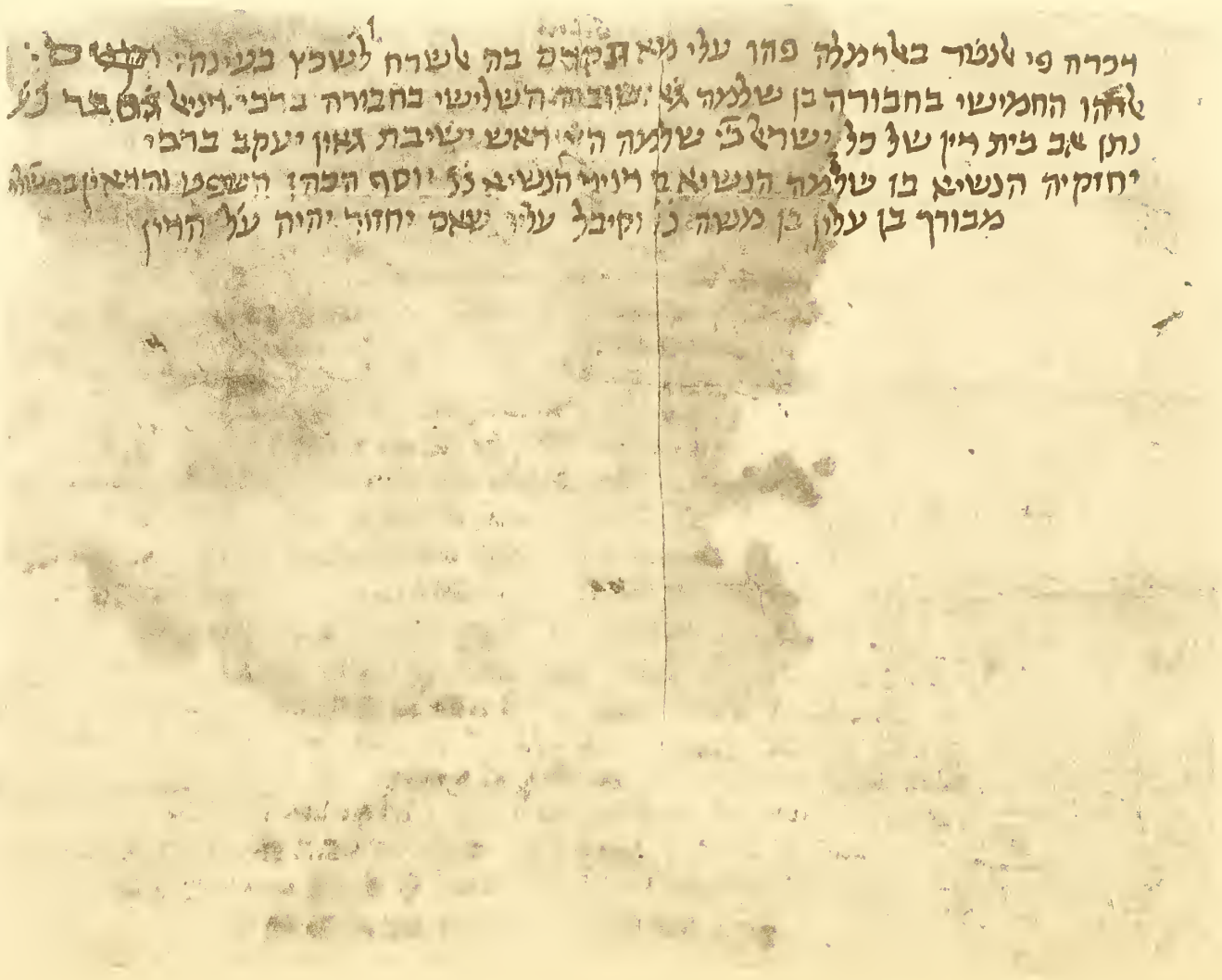


Plate XLVI

Genizah Fragment 43 b

XLIII

AN AGREEMENT BEFORE THE COURT IN JERUSALEM IN REGARD TO PRECEDENCE IN THE ACADEMY AT AL-RAMLAH

On the discord at al-Ramlah, see Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 141–152, and also pp. 71, 75, 115, 129, 130, 193, 273.

A member of the Palestinian Academy, Nathan Ben Abraham, settled in Egypt. When his uncle, the "Father of the Law Court," died, he was made "Father" by his influential Egyptian following; and the regular candidate for this office, Tobiah Ben Daniel, the "Third in the group," was pushed aside. Nathan then proceeded to undermine the authority of the Gā'ōn, Solomon Ben Judah, and at last to declare himself "Head of the Academy," the title borne by the Gā'ōn. Then began a contest between the parties behind the two rival Ge'ōnīm.

Our document records the terms of the reconciliation. Nathan must renounce all assumed titles. Nathan must not decide matters of business, nor pray for anyone without the concurrence of the other four in the group. Joseph shall be judge in al-Ramlah "in imprisoning an.....and [in determining what is] permitted and forbidden." When Solomon dies and Nathan becomes Gā'ōn, the others shall be promoted accordingly, and then observe the restrictions of the offices which they shall assume. Should anyone irregularly assume a title, Nathan (*sic*!) shall restrain and expel him. This agreement was ratified with mighty oaths by all of the group. Thus was Nathan shorn of all power except to punish in future such as should sin as he had done.

Recto:

1 Copy of the agreement[1]. I will hear what God will speak etc.[2]

2 Record of what was established between the Academy[3] and our Master and Rabbi, Nathan[4], [Father of the Law Court][5], son of Abraham, deceased[6], in regard to what was undertaken[7] by the Academy[3] and the Elders of

3 the Nation and our Princes concerning the advancement into the rank of Father of the Law Court[5], which is [rightly] claimed by our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third in the group,

4 according to the custom[8] of Israel in that [matter, to wit:] That he shall renounce all that he has come to possess in the way of title, in so far as he gave himself a title,

5 or was given a title[9] by others, And that he shall not act as an individual in determining any matter, nor in praying[10] for any

6 man in any of the classes of Israel, except [when he does] that in which the opinion of our Lord Solomon Gā'ōn concurs

---

[6] נג׳ is נח נפשיה. [7] Copyist's mistake for יאתוה.

[8] سُنَّة. [9] For אסמאה. [10] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 142.

7 מעה ומע רבינו טוביה השלישי בחבורה ומע רבינו יוסף הרביעי בח/ ומע
רבינו אליהו החמי/

8 בה והדא אלתני תנאי כפול קבלה עלי נפסוה בהין קודם לליו ותניי קודם
למעשה ומן דלך

9 אן יכון אלמתולי ללנטר באלרמלה פי אלחבם ואל[..]ק וחלאל וחראם
רבינו יוסף הכהן הרביעי

10 בחבורה ען אמר ראש ישיבה למא עלם מן חוסן סיאסתה ודיאנתוה ואי
כצמין חצרו בי[ן]

11 ידיה וחכם בינהם מא למן יחצר באלרמלה מעה ממן תקדם דכרה אן
ינקול אלחכם אליה

12 סוא אלריים ראש ישיבה ואן רבינו נתן אב בית דין מתי אנתקל אלי
רתבה סואהא כאן כל

13 ואחד מן בני הישיבה גארין עלי אלרסם אלמוסתקר להם פי מנאולהם
בחית ינתקל כל

14 ואחד מנהם אלי אלרתבה אלתי יסתחקהא והם אל מסמאין לא גיר ואן
אצחאב אדונינו שלמה גאון

15 פי גמיע אלמואצע ואלבלאד יגרו עלי רסומהם פי כדמהם ותקדמהם ומתי
תעדי מתעדי ותסמא במא לא

16 תסמיה בה אלישיבה והם אדונינו שלמה גאון ורבינו נתן אב בית דין
ורבינו טוביה השלישי ורבינו

17 יוסף הכהן הרביע ורבינו אליהו הכהן החמישי כאן עלי רבינו נתן אב
בית דין מואפקה אלמדכורין והם

---

11 I.e. Nathan.

12 חמיישי.

13 בהן קודם ללאו ותני קודם למעשה. See Levy, *Wörterbuch*, 1924, vol. iv, p. 654, quoting the Babylonian Talmud, Ḳiddūshīn 3, 4 (61a): Every conditional agreement must be twice pronounced, and must precede the transaction; and the assent must be pronounced before the dissent. This means apparently that one must first state what one will do if the condition is fulfilled, then what one will do if it is not fulfilled; and then one may act.

14 Near Ludd, between Jerusalem and Jaffa.

15 One expects here "releasing." The visible remains seem to indicate רזק "sustenance," or דוק "insanity."

16 ישיבה the same as מתיבה?

17 -*ō* for -*ihi* as in modern familiar style.

with him[11], and with our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third in the group, and with our Rabbi Joseph, the Fourth in the group, and with our Rabbi Elijah, the Fifth[12]
in the group. And this agreement is a double agreement which he has accepted for his own person, with *yes* before *no* and agreement before execution[13]. And similarly,
that the one appointed for the administration in al-Ramlah[14], in imprisoning and.....[15] and [in determining what is] permitted and forbidden, [be] our Rabbi Joseph ha-Kōhēn, the Fourth in
the group, by command of the Head of the Academy[16], by virtue of what [the Head of the Academy] knows of the beauty of his administration[17], and his conscientiousness[17]. And when litigants appear be-
fore, and judgment between them is given[18] by[19], some one of those previously mentioned, who is in al-Ramlah with him, the judgment shall be referred to him,
together with the ra'īs, the Head of the Academy[16]. And when our Rabbi Nathan, Father of the Law Court, is transferred to equal rank[20], all
of the sons of the Academy[16] shall follow the ordinance laid down[21] for them in their [several] stations—since each one of them
is transferred to the rank to which he is entitled; and they are the ones named[22], and not otherwise. And the associates of our Lord Solomon Gā'ōn
in all the places[23] and towns shall follow their ordinances, in their service and their advancement[24]. And when anyone shall transgress and call himself by that
by which the Academy[16] does not call him[25],—and [these titles are:] our Lord Solomon, Gā'ōn; and our Rabbi Nathan, Father of the Law Court; and our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third; and our Rabbi
Joseph, ha-Kōhēn, the Fourth[26]; and our Rabbi Elijah, ha-Kōhēn, the Fifth—there shall be[27], with respect to our Rabbi Nathan, Father of the Law Court, an agreement of the [persons] mentioned; and they [are][28]

---

[18] وحُكِمَ ما. The ما is here either an adverb (German *etwa*) or a noun ("something").

[19] Passive verb with logical subject introduced by ל as in Jewish Aramaic. See Margolis, *Manual of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud*, Munich, 1910, pp. 75, 82.

[20] I.e. Gā'ōn, successor of Solomon.

[21] مُسْتَقَرّ.

[22] Vernacular (?) *musamma'īn* for classical مُسَمَّوْنَ.

[23] مَوَاضِع.

[24] In the margin, with a sign in the text.

[25] تُسَمِّيه.

[26] הרביעי.

[27] Perfect of verbs, because all are the apodoses of the condition in line 15.

[28] In the margin, with a connecting line.

18 אדונינו שלמה גאון ורבינו טוביה הג׳ ורבינו יוסף הד׳ ורבינו אליה הה׳
מנעה ודפעה עלמא

19 תערין לה בלא לב ולב וקיבלו עליהם כל הכתוב כל אחד ואחד מהם
בשמו בשבועות חמורות

20 בהזכרת השם הנכבד יי צבאות שמו ואמרי סיני וחוקי חורב בקינין גמור
בכלי הכשר

21 כהלכה בבטול כל מודעין ותנאין בכל לשון שבוטלין בהם כתיקון חכמים
ונכתב ביום הושענה

22 של שנה זו שהיא שנת ד׳תתג׳ ליצירה בירושלים תבנה והיכל חסד והתנו
עוד אן מן חצר מן

23 אלכצום במדינת אלרמלה אלי רבינו נתן אב כאן לה אן ינטר בינהם
מא לם יכן חד תקדם לה

24 חכם ענד אלרביעי ואן אלשרט פי אשתראך אלרא׳י פי אלמתקדמאת
ואלרתב אנמא הו מקצוד

25 עלי מן יכתב כטה פי הדא אלכתאב מן בני אלישיבה אלמסמאין פיה
ומן לא יכתב כטה מנהם

26 פיה פלא ישאור פימא יסתאנף מן עסאה אן יקדם ואלשרט אלמתקדם

Verso:

1 דכרה פי אלנטר באלרמלה פהו עלי מא תקדם בה אלשרה ללשכין
בעינה: תקוים:

2 אליהו החמישי בחבורה בן שלמה גא׳: [ו]טוביה השלישי בחבורה ברבי
דניאל גסבר נע׳

3 נתן אב בית דין של כל ישראל בי שלמה ה.. ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב ברבי

4 יחזקיה הנשיא בן שלמה הנשיא בן דויד הנשיא נג׳ יוסף הכהן השופט
והדאין בר שלם

5 מבורך בן עלון בן משה נג׳ וקיבל עליו שאם יחזור יהיה על הדין

---

29 בְּלא לֵב וְלֵב. 30 עלי מא. 31 וְקִבְּלוּ?

32 תְּיקוּן for תְּהוּן. See Levy, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 664; and No. I, *recto*, line 21.

33 The 21st of Tishrī seventh and last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, 4803 Era of the Creation, equals eighth of October, A.D. 1043.

34 Rest of line scratched out.

35 See line 23. 36 See lines 24–26.

37 Or "rectification" or "adjustment."

18 our Lord Solomon, Gā'ōn; and our Master Tobiah, the Third; and our Master Joseph, the Fourth; and our Master Elijah, the Fifth—[Nathan] shall restrain[27] [the transgressor] and expel[26] him without sentimentality[29], since[30]

19 he has opposed [them]. And all [that is] written [above] they took[31] upon themselves, each one of them separately, in his own name, with mighty oaths,

20 —mentioning the "Honored Name," "Jehovah of Hosts is His Name," and "the Words of Sinai," and "the Laws of Horeb,"—by complete acquisition through a valid instrument,

21 according to custom, making impossible all protests and conditions, by all the language by which men make [evasions] impossible, according to the institution[32] of wise men. And we write [this document] on the Day of Hoshanah [Rabbah]

22 of this year, which is the year 4803 of the Creation[33], in Jerusalem—may it be built up, and [the] Temple of Mercy! And they agreed further that when any litigants

23 appear in the city of al-Ramlah, before our Master Nathan, Father [of the Law Court], it shall be his duty to examine them as to whether some one of them have not [asked]

24 judgment of the "Fourth" before [asking judgment of] him. And the condition of association in opinion [as set forth] in the foregoing [statements], and in rank applies only

25 to those Sons of the Academy[16], named[23] therein, who affix their signatures to this document. And if any one of them shall not affix his signature

26 to it, he shall not be consulted in any [matter] which any [man] may initiate who may present [a proposal]. And the condition afore-

Verso:

1 mentioned[34], as to the examination[35] in al-Ramlah, applies, according to the preceding comment[36], to each individual in person. Summary[37]:

2 Elijah, the Fifth in the group, son of Solomon, Gā'ōn[38], and Tobiah, the Third in the group, son of Rabbi Daniel Gsbr[39].

3 Nathan, Father of the Law Court of All Israel, son of Rabbi Solomon... .....[40], Head of the Academy[16], [and known as] Gā'ōn of Jacob, son of Rabbi

4 Hezekiah ha-Nasī'. Joseph ha-Kōhēn ha-Shōfēṭ, the dayyān[41], son of Solomon

5 Mebōrākh, son of 'Lwn, son of Moses. And [Nathan] took[31] upon himself [the condition] that, if he should repent [of the agreement], he should be subject to judgment.

---

[38] Solomon ha-Kōhēn was Gā'ōn immediately preceding Solomon Ben Judah.

[39] For גִּזְבָּר "treasurer"?

[40] According to Mann, *op. cit.*, chap. iii, Nathan's father was named Abraham.

[41] For הדיאן?

XLIV. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Recto:

1 הילכות[1] אזהרות[2] תענית יום הכפורים

2 פיס[3] וברחיצה׳ תנו[4] רבנן אסור לרחוץ מקצת גופו ככל גופו ואם היה מלוכלך בטיט

3 ובצואה רוחץ כדרכו ואינו חושש: תאנא[5] דבי מנשה רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומ[6] מדיחה אשה

4 [י]רה[7] במים ונותנת פת לתינוק[8]: אמרו[9] על שמאי הזקן שלא רצה להאכיל בידו אחת וגזרו עליו

5 [להא]כיל[10] בשתי ידיו[11] מאי טעמ[12] אמ[6] אביי משום שבתא[13]:

6 כל[14] חייבי טבילות טובלין כדרכן בין[15] בתשעה באב בין ביום הכפורים

7 תנו רבנן ה[רוא]ה קרי ביום הכפורים יורד וטובל ולערב ישפשף׳ לערב[16] סלקא דעתא[17] אלא אימא ואם[18]

8 מבערב ישפשף[19]

9–15 (*Original text erased*)

16 תאני[20.6] יהודה גרוגרות[21] אסור לישב [ע]ל[22] טיט[23] ביום הכפורים׳ אמ[6] ר יהושע בן לוי בטיט[23]

17 הטופח׳[24] אביי[25] אמ[6] ובטופח על מנת להטפיח: אמ[6] רב יהודה מותר להצטנן בפירות׳

18 רב יהודה מצטנן בקרא׳ אביי[26] מצטנן בינוקא׳ רבא מצטנן בכספא דכספא׳

19 אמ[6] רבא[27] כספא דכספא מלא אסיר[28] חסיר[29] שרי׳ דפחרא בין[30] מלי[31] בין חסיר[29] אסיר׳[28]

---

[1] This line is the heading to the entire subject as originally written on the fragment.

[2] The word can also be in the singular. The last letters are not well preserved. The meaning here is "prohibitions."

[3] The word פיס, for פיסקא, is used in this fragment to designate that the following word or words are from the Mishnah. It is not usual in Talmud Bablī and Pōseḳīm. The Mishnah treated in this page is found in Yōmā viii, 1.

[4] The passage is in B. Yōmā 77b. Compare Tōsephtā iv, 2–6.

[5] Participles as תאנא, תאני, באעי, שאחל, חאזי, are written with א. This may be due to Arabic influence.

[6] Note the writing of אומ instead of אומר, אמ instead of אמר. This verb has, in the imperfect and imperative, an א instead of the ר, which was lost in pronunciation. The ר was then apparently lost in the pronunciation of the perfect and participle. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 297, note 1, quotation.

XLIV. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Paper $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ inches.

Hebrew and Arabic, in semi-cursive Hebrew characters, not all by the same hand, written in different directions, interlined, erased, smudged and otherwise defaced.

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[7] Talmud adds אחת. But Rabbi Ḥananēl, Rashī and העיטור (2nd part 44c) omit אחת.

[8] Talmud adds ואינה חוששת under the influence of the preceding ואינו חושש. The words are, however, omitted in MSS^{m,2,o} and Ḥullīn 107b. See דקדוקי סופרים to Yōmā, p. 244, note ש.

[9] עליו is omitted through a scribal error.

[10] So Talmud, but ישיאכיל is also possible. For this text see MSS^{2,o} (Bibliography, p. 217).

[11] Talmud ידים, but the ם is due to the influence of the next word. For this text see MSS.

[12] The א in טעמא is omitted in this fragment, and a dot is placed upon the preceding letter.

[13] This word is written everywhere also with י, שיבתא. The omission of the י after the ש is due apparently to a scribal error.

[14] The passage is found in B. Yōmā 88a.

[15] Talmud Yōmā omits the phrase בין בתשעה באב בין, but it is preserved in Shabbāth 111a, Ta'anīth 13a, Bēṣā 18b. See also הלכות גדולות p. 61a, מאה שערים p. 52, העיטור p. 44d.

[16] Talmud מאי דהוה הוה. For the text of the fragment see MSS^{m,o}. Cf. Rashī. See דקדוקי סופרים p. 313, note נ.

[17] Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have רעתך.

[18] Talmud omits ואם. The present text misled Rashī. For the correct text of the fragment see MS^{2}. Cf. דקדוקי סופרים, note ם.

[19] Talmud adds קא סבר מצוה לשפשף. But the phrase is correctly omitted in MS^{m}. See ד. ם, *ibid.*

It seems that the passage of ההולך להקביל (B. Yōmā 77b, in an abridged form) followed the preceding passages, but it was wiped away and replaced by an insertion. Later an addition to the preceding passage was inserted.

[20] Passage in B. Yōmā 78a.

[21] Talmud adds בר. For the omission see MSS^{o,1}. Cf. ד. ם, p. 249, note ל.

[22] Talmud adds גבי. Alfāsī omits it.

[23] Talmud has טינא, for טיט see MSS^{o,1}. Cf. ד. ם, *ibid.*

[24] Talmud and Pōseḳīm have here מטפחת; מאה שערים, p. 53 has מטפח. But the text of the fragment is preferable, otherwise there is no difference in opinion between מטפחת and טופח עמ להטפיח.

[25] In Talmud אמר אביי, as if he explains the preceding מטפחת. The MS^{m} has the same text as the fragment. The text is not a scribal error (see ד. ם, *ibid.*, note מ). Abāye is really opposing Rabbi Yehōshua B. Lēvī, and not explaining his words.

[26] Talmud has רבה. For אביי see MS^{o}.

[27] Talmud has רב פפא. For רבא see MSS^{o,1,2}. Cf. ד. ם, note ם.

[28] Talmud has Hebrew אסור. But הלכות גדולות p. 62b and Alfāsī have the Aramaic אסיר.

[29] Talmud writes חסר without the י, but Rabbi Ḥananēl, Alfāsī and העיטור have the י.

[30] Talmud has instead אידי ואידי. For the text of the fragment see MSS^{o,1}. Cf. ד. ם, *ibid.*

[31] We expect מלא, but see MS^{2}. Compare also Alfāsī מליא.

20 מאי טעמ[12] משחל שאחיל׳[5] רב אשי[32] אמ[6] אף כסא[33] דכספא חסיר[29]
אסיר׳[28] מאי[34] טעמ[12]

21 דאתי[35] לאיזדרבויי׳ זעירי[36] בר חמא אושפיזכניה[37] דר[38] יהושע בן לוי
ורבמי ורבם[י] וכולה[ו]

22 רבנן בקיסרי אמרו ליה ליוסף[39] בר׳ יהושע בן לוי בר אריא תא אימא[40]
לך מילתא מעליתא דהוה ע[ביד]

23 אבוך[41] בערב יום הכפורים מביאין לו מטפחת ושורה במים[42] למחר
מעבירה על] גב[י] עיניו [ואינו]

24 חושיש[43] כן][44] כי אתא רבה בר מארי[45] אמ[6] מטפחת[46] היתה לו [לר׳
יהוש]ע בן לוי ערב יום הכ[פ]ורים שורה

25 במים ועושה כמין כלים נגובין למחר מעבי[רה] על גבי עיניו ואינו חושיש[:][43]

26 פיס ובסיכה[47] תנו רבנן אסור לסוך [מ]קצת גופו בכל גופו ואם היה חולה
או שהיו ל[ו חט]טי[ן]

27 [בראשו] סך כדרכו ואינו חושש: חס[48]

Right margin:

חס[49] בין[50] סיכה[51] של תענוג בין סיכה שאינה של תענוג אסור: פיס
ובנעילת[52]

27 פיס ובנעילת הסנדל׳[53] איבעיא[54] להו מהו לצאת בס[נדל]

28 של שעם ביום הכפורים׳ עמד ר׳ יצחק בר נחמני על רגליו ואמר אני
ראיתי את[ר׳ יה]ושע[55] . .

29 שיצא בסנדל של שעם ביום הכפורים[56] כן[57] ר׳ אליעזר[58] דמן נוי[59] התיר
רבה בר ב[ר חנא] נפיק ב . . . ובסנדל

30 של שעם ביום הכפורים בעא מיניה אמ[6] ליה מותר רב יהודה נפק[60]

(*Remainder missing*)

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[32] Talmud רב פפא. For רב אשי see MSS.

[33] Talmud has כסא דכספא נמי. Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have אפי׳.

[34] Talmud משום ר׳. For מאי טעמא see MSS.

[35] Talmud has here the participle דמזדריב. For the infinitive see MS^{o,l}. Cf. ד.ס, note ע.

[36] Talmud זעירא. For the writing with the י see MS^{2,l}.

[37] Talmud אושפזכנין. For the text of the fragment see MS^{m,2,l}.

[38] The text in the Talmud is דרבי אמי ורבי אסי ורבי יהושע בן לוי ודכולהו רבנן דקיסרי הוה אמר ליה . . . . The text is surely corrupt. Rabbi Yehōshua, being of an older generation, should be mentioned first. It is not likely that Zeīra was a hotel-keeper who accommodated all the scholars of Caesarea. This statement is not important. The text of the fragment is excellent. See for its support MS^{m}, which has בקיסרין and omits הוה.

Professor Gottheil made a preliminary examination of this fragment; but it remained for Dr Samuel Feigin to subject it to a thorough study. The rest of this article therefore is entirely his. The editors feel that,

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Compare also Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher and MSS^{o,l,2} which mention Rabbi Yehōshua first. Cf. ד.ס, note פ. For the writing רבמי רבסי cf. Frankel, מבוא הירושלמי, p. 86.

[39] Talmud adds רב. For its omission see MSS^{o,l,2}.

[40] איכא is written as usual in Talmud. The writer, however, intended to omit the final א and put a dot over the מ. Cf. note 125.

[41] Here the text is very confused in the Talmud and Pōseḳīm. The fragment omits entirely about the Ninth of Ab. For the same omission see MS^{m}. The text of the fragment is in essential accordance with Alfāsī. See ד.ס, p. 250, notes א, ש, ר.

[42] הלכות גדולות and Alfāsī add here ועויטה כמין כלים נגובים.

[43] Note the writing חושייש with a י.

[44] Talmud has וכן.

[45] Talmud writes without א.

[46] The text of the fragment is exactly as that of Alfāsī.

[47] The passage is found in B. Yōmā 77b and is connected with the statement about רחיצה. The author of the fragment set them apart. Compare הלכות גדולות p. 61, העיטור p. 44cd, and אור זרוע second part, p. 127.

[48] The word is apparently חם, namely, חסר "missing," and refers to the right margin.

[49] We expect here ירוש. The last letter is rather ם and the word must be חם.

[50] The text is from Jer. Yōmā 44d.

[51] Jer. adds שהיא, but it is omitted in Rabbi Ḥananēl.

[52] The words show where the margin shall be inserted.

[53] The text is found in B. Yōmā 78b.

[54] Talmud has the participle מיבעיא, but Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have the perfect, as the fragment.

[55] There is space for two more letters and we expect two more words בן לוי.

[56] The question about a public fast-day is omitted here.

[57] The text of the fragment seems to have been mutilated in order to make it accord with the present text of the Talmud, but without success. The original text of the fragment was apparently as follows:

וכן ר' אליעזר דמן נוי התיר ' רבה בר בר חנא נפיק ב... ובסנדל של שעם ביום הכפורים ' רב יהודה נפיק...

But this text disagrees with the text of the Talmud, according to which Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā relates the actions of Rabbi Eleazar on a public fast-day. On this occasion he asked him about the Day of Atonement, and was answered that it makes no difference. To bring the text of the original fragment in accordance with the text of the Talmud, the editor encircled the statement of Rabbi Eleazar, put small circles around the words "Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā went out" to indicate apparently that these words precede the others, and added בעא מיניה אמ ליה מותר. However, there was no need to ask since only יום הכפורים was mentioned and the words בעא מיניה were, therefore, scratched out, and added, however, on the margin. The following passage ...רב יהודה נפיק was moved further away.

[58] Talmud אלעזר, but compare MS^{m} for the first statement of Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā, where it has אליעזר. These two names may be identified. See ד.ס, p. 251, note ח.

[59] Talmud has here the more familiar ננוה, for נוי. See MS^{2}. Cf. S. Klein, ארץ ישראל, note to section 95.

[60] The rest of the subject was wiped away. Since the *verso* begins with אמר שמואל we may think that a part of the passage of the Talmud, dealing with נעילת הסנדל, was originally written in the space, which is now wiped away, and thus made place for the insertion.

Left margin:

והלכתא[61] הקטע אסור לצאת
[בקב] שלו ביום הכפורים בין ד[א]ית
[ביה בי]ת קבול [כתיתין] בין דלית בי[ה]
[קבול] דמנעל [ה]וא:

Verso:

אמ׳[6] שמואל כל[62] מ[ח]מת סכנת עקרב מותר[:]
פיס׳ ובתשמיש המטה׳[63] תנן התם מקום שנהגו להדליק את הנר בלילי
[יום ה]כפור[ים]
מדליקין מקום שנהגו שלא להדליק אין מדליקין מדליקין[64] בבתי כניסיות[65]
ובבתי מ[דרשות ובמבואות]
האפלים ועל גבי החולים: תאנא[5] בין שאמרו להדליק ובין שאמרו שלא
להדליק לא[66] אמרו [אלא]
משום דבר אחר[67]: ירוש׳ תני[68] ר׳ שמעון בן אלעזר אומ׳[6] [י]ום הכפורים
שחל להיות בשבת אפילו
במקום שלא [נ]הגו להדליק מדליקין׳ ר׳ סימון בשם ר׳ יהושע בן לוי ר׳
[יוסי] ב[ן] ש[או]ל בשם רב..[69] [ה]לכה
כר׳ שמעון בן אלעזר: דרש ר׳ חייה רבה[70] לטבריה[71] כהדה[72] דר׳ שמעון
בן אלעזר:

Written horizontally:

[פיס׳][3] האוכל ביום הכפו[רים] וכולי עד מצטרפין: גמ׳ ירוש׳[73] אמ׳[6] ר׳ יוסי[74]
[זאת] אומרת שהוא צריך
למעך את חללה דלכן[75] נתני[(?)] כמ[וה ו]כגרעינתה[76] וכחללה[77]: תני ר׳
שמעון בן אלעזר אומר בכותבת נמרית: באעי[78,5] רב פפא כותבת[79]
הגסה שאמרו[80] י[בשה]
דלחה היא[81]
או לחה ואסיקנה[82] דבלחה[81] אמרו ד[גם]ה תנן[83] כמה דגסה: אמ׳[6] רחבה[84]
דלחה אמרו[81]
אמ׳[6] ר׳ יהודה כותבת הגסה שא[מרו]

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[61] The margin is not a copy from the Talmud, but is connected with the passage of the Talmud about קטע (B. Yōmā 78b). The reason someone wrote it on the margin must be that he intended to copy only extracts from the Talmud itself. A later addition was attached to this margin to modify its statement.

[62] The passage is in B. Yōmā 78b. The Talmud has אם. For the text of the fragment see הלכות גדולות p. 61b, מאה שערים pp. 54–55, and Alfāsī.

[63] The passage is in B. Pesāḥīm 53b.

although no important conclusions have been reached, and although Dr Feigin presents his transcription, notes, and general remarks, with great diffidence on this account, the fragment remains a problem which might be of importance to Genizah students, and ought therefore to be presented in this volume. Dr Feigin wishes to express grateful acknowledgment to Mr S. B. Maximon, of the Jewish Institute of Religion, and Rabbi Z. W. Leiter, of Pittsburg, for the loan of needed books.

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[64] Talmud has ומרליקין.

[65] Talmud omits the י after the נ. Cf. notes 29, 43.

[66] Talmud has שניהן לדבר אחד נתכוונו.

[67] אחר is erroneously written instead of אחד. It must be due to negligence on the part of the copyist.

[68] The Jerusalem Talmud, Pesāḥīm 31a.

[69] Jer. has רבי. But it seems that some name is missing there. The final letter in the fragment does not seem to be a י. Perhaps the name is רׄ בא?

[70] Jer. בר בא, namely, בר אבא. The text of the fragment דבה seems to be inferior. See Frankel, מבוא הירושלמי p. 81 ff.

[71] Jer. has a י after ט.

[72] Jer. כהדא with א.

[73] This is copied from Jer. Yōmā (44 d near the end).

[74] Jer. יוסה.

[75] Jer. דל כן separately written.

[76] Jer. כגלעינתה. But compare Tōsephōth Yōmā 79a.

[77] Jer. מחללה which is surely not correct. See Tōsephōth, *ibid.*

[78] The text is an extract from B. Yōmā 79–80.

[79] Talmud ככותבת and omits הגסה.

[80] The Talmud, as well as the Pōseḳīm, had a corrupted text which caused many artificial explanations. The text of the fragment has the support of MS[2] which has

ככותבת הגסה שאמרו בלחה או ביבשה

See ד.ס, p. 254, note נ. According to this, the text of the Talmud should be reconstructed as follows:

בעי רב פפא כותבת הגסה שאמרו לחה או יבשה. בעי רב אשי עצם כשעורה בקליפתה או בלא קליפתה. רב אשי לא מיבעיא ליה הא דרב פפא גסה תנן כמה דגסה. רב פפא לא מיבעיא ליה הא דרב אשי בקלפתה שבלת מקדי שלא בקליפתה אושלא מיקרי.

The present text of the Talmud seems to be formed by the following circumstances: A copyist omitted the words לחה או יבשה and wrote בעי רב פפא כותבת הגסה שאמרו בעי רבאשי . . . When he noticed his mistake, he wrote the words לחה או יבשה above the line. The second copyist inserted the words in the wrong place. When it was noticed that the inquiry of Rab Pāpā remained without any subject, somebody added בגדעינתה או שלא בגרעינתה although the inquiry about this is impossible. See ד.ס, p. 254, note נ.

[81] The copyist wrote דבלחה instead of דלחה and placed a circle around the word to indicate that it is wrong and wrote the correct word in smaller script at the beginning of the line above (דלחה היא) and beneath it (דלחה אמרו).

[82] This is a usual term in Alfāsī and Rabbi Ḥananēl. The fragment omits the inquiry of Rab Ashī.

[83] Talmud has גסה איתמר כל כמה דגסה, but MSS have correctly ...גסה תנן כמה. See ד.ס, note ה.

[84] Talmud has רבא which is impossible (Cf. I. Halevy, דורות הראשונים, vol. ii, p. 475 f.). MS[m] has רבה, but MSS[o,l,2] have correctly, as the fragment, רחבה.

4 יתירה מכביצה וקים להו לרבנן דבהכי מיתבא דעתא[85] ובציר[86] מהכי לא
מיתבא דעתא[85]׳ רב זב[יד][87]

5 אמ׳[6] כותבת הגסה שאמרו חסירה[88] [מכ]ביצה דתנן[89] אד כמה מזמנין
פחותה
עד כזית[90] ר׳ יהודה אומר עד כ[ביצה]

6 ואמרינן[91] במאי קאמיפלגי ר׳ מאיר סבר ואכלת זו אכילה ושבעת זו
שתיה ואכילה בכזית ור׳ יהודה סבר [ואכלת]

7 ושבעת אכילה שישבה שביעה וא[י]זו זו[92] כביצה ואי סלקא דעתא
כותבת הגסה[93] יתירה מכביצה השתא כ[ביצה]

8 שבועי משבעא יתובי[94] דעתא לא[מ]יתבא אלא[95] שמע מינה כותבת
הגסה שאמרו פחותה מכביצה[96] : מי....[97]

9 כל שיעורין שבתורה[98] בכזית יום הכפורים[99] מאי טעמ׳[12] ככותבת׳ מתוך
ששינה הכ[תוב במשמעו לא תעונה]

10 ולא כתוב לא תאכל[100] שינו חכמים בשיעורו[101] ככותבת[102] ושיעורין[103]
הלכה למשה מסיני הין : פיס׳[3] והשותה מ[לא]

11 לוגמיו וכולי אמ׳[6] רב יהודה אמ׳[6] שמואל לא מלא לוגמיו ממש אלא כל
שאילו יסלקם[104] לצד אחד ויראה כמל[א]

12 לוגמיו והא אנן מלוא לוגמיו תנן[105]׳ א[לא] מלא לוגמיו׳ מותיבי[106] כמה
ישתה ויהא חייב [בית] שמא אומרין [ר]בי[עית][107]

(*Remainder missing*)

Verso backward :

1 וקימא[108] [לן] כ[ר]ב הונא ור[ב נחמן ד]מחנכי[ן][109] או[תן]

2 חדא[110] דרב[י]ם אינון ור׳ [*erasure*] יוחנן יחיד ויחיד

3 ורבים הלכה כרבים [ו]עוד[111] דבתראי נינהו ועוד

4 דמחמרי טפי [ו]כר[יד]הום[112] סבירי[ן] מילי[ן] והכין נמי

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[85] Talmud has דעתיה.

[86] Talmud has ובציר. Before it was written on the fragment ובאציר as if it were a participle, but it was scratched out and written above וב, namely, ובציר.

[87] The fragment omits the passage from מיתיבי 79a to דלא שכיחי פירי 79b, the author not thinking it of importance for his purpose.

[88] Talmud has חסירה. In the fragment פחותה is written under it, apparently, in explanation.

[89] The fragment omits the passage which follows דתנן, which was rejected in the Talmud, and continues with the following passage.

The fragment begins with a heading: "Laws [concerning] Prohibitions of the Fast of the Day of Atonement." Then follow three Talmudic extracts on Washing. Between the first two and the present third section there seems to have been another on the same subject; but at present the space is filled by an extract from Maimonides on entering into the Holy of Holies and the Temple. The last line of this insertion comes just under the first line of the passage on Washing. Between the second passage and the insertion from Maimonides is a note stating that the law permitting bathing in case of pollution, even on the Day of Atonement, is no longer in force; and the authority is a Rabbi Moses, apparently Maimonides. This note continues upside down in smaller script behind the lines. Two line-spaces below the passage on Washing there follows one on Anointing. At the end

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[90] Talmud adds דברי רבי מאיר. For the omission in MSS^{m,1,2} see ד·ס, p. 256, note ב.

[91] This word is omitted in the Talmud, but is found in MS^{2}. See ד·ס, *ibid.*

[92] Talmud has ואי זה זה זה, but אבילה is feminine.

[93] Talmud adds שאמרו, but it is omitted in MSS^{m,o}. See ד·ס, p. 257.

[94] The infinitive absol. is omitted in the Talmud, but it is found in MS^{o}. See ד·ס, note ג.

[95] Talmud adds לאו, but it is omitted in MSS. See ד·ס, *ibid.*

[96] Talmud adds כביצה משבעא ככותבת מיתבא דעתיה. The phrase is omitted in MS^{m} and is superfluous.

[97] Talmud has תניא רבי אומר.

[98] Talmud has כל השיעורין כולן.

[99] The wording of the entire passage is not found in the Talmud, but it is extracted from it, after omitting the טמאת אוכלין about which the writer of the fragment was not concerned.

[100] The phrase לא תעונה ולא כתוב לא תאכל is omitted in the Talmud, but found in MS^{2}. See ד·ס, p. 257, note ו.

[101] Talmud has Aramaic בשיעוריה.

[102] The rest of the passage is omitted.

[103] Talmud adds ועונשין.

[104] Talmud has יסלקנו. Compare Job xxi, 16 טובם=טובנו.

[105] Talmud has והא אנן תנן מלוא לוגמיו, but MSS have the same text as the fragment.

[106] Talmud has correctly מיתיבי, but also מותיבי is possible. See Margolis, *The Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud*, section 38.

[107] The rest of the passage is now missing. It was wiped away in order to gain space for the passage from the Talmud which is written in smaller script. It surely contained the passage about תינוקות in B. Yōmā 82a, to which the margin was attached.

[108] Although the text is badly preserved, we can with certainty state that it refers to the law about תינוקות in B. Yōmā 82a. Since its contents were not found in Talmud, they were written on the margin. Compare note 61.

The author decides about the fasting of children as does Rab Huna and Rab Naḥmān, and not as Rabbi Yōḥānān. The first phrase is found in Alfāsī.

[109] The words are badly preserved, but these words are fitting to the context.

[110] This argument is given in העיטור, 2nd part 45a.

[111] This argument is found in Rabbi Ḥananēl and Alfāsī.

[112] The following is written in smaller script and is possibly a later addition by the man who used it. He confirms the decision of the original writer. The first phrase is doubtful. Compare the argument of Rabbi Yeshāyā for his decision against the opinion of Rabbi Yōḥānān which is essentially the same as given here:

ופסק רבינו ישעיה דלית הלכתא כרבי יוחנן דהא אתותב

(See שבילי הלקט N. 312.)

5 פסק רבינו[113] חננאל [לאיס]ורא[114] מרבנן[115] [ואית][116] מאן דפסק
6 כ[ר יוחנן ואינ]ון רבינו יהודה הכהן רא[ש][117] ה[סדר][118]
7 וקאמ[119]... רב..[120]
8 ורבינו יצחק בעל[121] ..
9 [ד]פסק[122]
10 ואנן כתבי[נן נמ]י דסבירא לן דהלכה כרב הונא ורב
11 נחמן בתינו[קות]

1 גמ׳ אסור[123] ענוש כרת ה[וא] אמ׳[6] [ר׳] אלעא[124] ואיתימ׳[125] ר׳ ירמיה לא נצר[כ]ה אלא לחצי ש[יעו]ר׳ הניח[א]
2 למאן דאמ׳[6] חצי שיעור [א]סור[126] [אל]א למאן דאמ׳[6] חצי שיעור מותר[126] מ[אי] אי[כא ל]מימר דאיתמר
3 חצי שיעור ר׳ יוחנן [א]מ׳[6] אסור מן התורה ריש לקיש אמ׳[6] מותר[126]׳ [ר׳][127] יוחנן אמ׳[6]
4 אסור[126] כיון דחאזי[5] לאיצטרופי איסורא אכיל[128] ריש לקיש אמ׳[6] מותר[126] אכיל[ה] אמ׳[6]
5 [רחמנא] והא לאו אכילה [היא][129]׳ הניחא לר׳ יוחנן אלא לריש לקיש מאי איכא למימר מודה
6 [ריש] לקיש דאסור[130] מ[דר]בנן׳ וכל[131] היכא[132] דענוש כ[ר]ת לא קתאני[133,5] אסור [ו]התניא
7 אע״פ שאמרו אסור בכ[ו]לן אין[134] ענוש כרת אלא האוכל[135] ושותה ועושה מלאכה
8 בלבד׳ הכי קאמ׳[6] [כש]אמרו אסור לא אמרו אלא בכחצי שיעור אבל בשיע[ור ענוש]
9 כרת ואין[136] ענוש כרת [אל]א האוכל[135] והשותה בלבד[137] ועושה מלאכה בלבד׳ איבעית[138]
10 אימ׳[125] כי קתאני[5] אסור אשארא דתנ[ו] רבה ורב יוסף בשאר סיפרי דבי רב מנין [ל]יו[ם]
11 הכפורים שאסור ב[ר]חיצה ובסי[כ]ה[139] בנעילת[138] הסנדל ובתשמיש המטה תל שב[תון]

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[113] See note 111.

[114] The word is not well preserved, but there are traces of the letters. Perhaps the questioned letter was ו.

[115] The last letter is not certain, but it fits the context.

of this a line was omitted ; and this is added in the margin with marks indicating its insertion. Then follows a passage on the wearing of shoes, the ending of which is mutilated by erasures, circles, and marginal corrections. The text is interrupted in the middle. Then is inserted a law from Maimonides on salting the sacrifices. Then comes a three-fold colophon in which the writer thanks God for helping him to explain these laws. On the left-hand margin is a law about a cripple who is forbidden to use his peculiar shoe on the Day of Atonement. There must have been something about this in the original text, which was removed to accommodate the passage from Maimonides. To the decision on the margin a much confused note is attached. In the midst are a few faint words in Aramaic, relating to the subject, but belonging to an earlier entry on top of which this was written. As we see from the narrowness of the space, both notes were written after the passage from Maimonides was filled in. At the end of the *recto* are two lines which seem to be the remains of the original text, upside down, and which escaped the erasure. They treat of a subject apparently from Middōth. In the space between the Talmudic passage on the wearing of shoes and the insertion from Maimonides are a few unintelligible words.

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[116] The restoration is not certain.

[117] The restoration is not beyond doubt. If this restoration is correct we may have here an allusion to the leader of the Babylonian section at Fusṭāṭ. See for this person Jacob Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine, under the Fāṭimids*, vol. ii, p. 101, note 2, and elsewhere.

[118] Here follows another illegible word or ligature.

[119] The word seems to be a remainder of the former text. The rest is wiped away.

[120] The word is not clear.

[121] The name of the book is not clear. Perhaps we have here the Alfāsī referred to. The letters are pĕrhaps מֹסֹ, namely, מגלת סתרים. Compare Mann, vol. i, p. 297, note 1.

[122] If the preceding suggestion is correct the text could be restored כרב הונא ורב נחמן.

[123] The passage is found in B. Yōmā 73b.

[124] Talmud אילא, but MS^{m} אלעא. See ד.ס., p. 220, note א.

[125] Here תימו without א. Cf. note 40.

[126] Talmud adds מן התורה. Cf. MS^{2}. See ד.ס., p. 220, note ב, p. 221, note י.

[127] The arguments of Rabbi Yōḥānān and Rēsh Lāḳish are omitted in the Talmud in this place, but followed at the end of the passage with the introductory word גופא (*ibid.* 74).

[128] Talmud adds קא.

[129] Talmud has וליכא, but see MSS^{o,1}, ד.ס., p. 220, note י.

[130] Talmud has Hebrew יש. In MS^{2} אמר לך ריש לקיש מאי אסור נמי. See ד.ס., p, 220, note ב.

[131] B. Yōmā 74a. The passage which precedes this in the Talmud is omitted here since it has nothing to do with the Day of Atonement.

[132] Talmud adds דתני, but it is omitted in the MSS. See ד.ס., p. 221, note ח.

[133] Talmud omits the ק.

[134] Talmud has לא אמרו, but cf. MSS^{2,1} in ד.ס., p. 221, note ט.

[135] Talmud adds על.

[136] Talmud adds ואפילו שענוש כרת. MSS^{2,1} have the same text as the fragment. See ד.ס., p. 221, note ט.

[137] The word was scratched out by the writer as soon as he realised his mistake.

[138] Talmud adds ו.

[139] Talmud omits the ו.

12 שבות : תנו[140] רבנן תענו את נפשותיכם[141] וכל מלאכה לא תעשו׳ מה
מלאכה שחייבין עליה[142]

13 [במ]קום אחר אף ענוי נפש שחייבין עליו במקום אחר ואי זה זה זה
פיגול ונותר׳ מרבה[143] אני

14 [פיגול] ונותר שהן ב[היכר]ת[144] ולא ארבה[143] טבל[145] שאינו בהיכרת[144]
תל[146] ועניתם את נפשותיכם

15 [ר י]בה׳ מרבה[143] א[ני טבלים[147] שהן] במיתה ולא ארבה[143] נבלות[147]
שאינן במיתה

16 תל[146] ועניתם את נפשותיכם ריבה׳ מ[רבה[143] אני נבלות שהן בלאו
ולא ארבה[143] חו]לין

17 [שאינן] בלאו [תל[146] ועניתם את] נפשותיכם ריבה׳ מרבה[143] אני חוליו[144]
שאינן בעמוד[148]

18 [ואכו]ל ולא ארבה[143] תרומה[144] ומעשר שני[149] שהן בעמוד[148] ואכול
תל[146] ועניתם את

19 [נפשותיכם ר]יב[ה׳] מרבה[143] אני תרומה ומעשר שני[149] שאינן בבל
תותירו ולא

20 [אר]בה[143] קדשים[144] שהן בבל תותירו תל תענו[150] את נפשותיכם ריבה׳

Insertions : No. 1 *: Recto :*

10 הילכות[151] ביאת [המקד]ש

11 אזדרינהו[152] רחמנא לכהנ[יא] דלא למיעל לקודש קודשיא דלא בעידן
ולא להיכלא
שנ
פולחנא דכתי[153] ואל יבוא בכל עת אל

12 הקודש זה קודש הקדשים מב[י]ת לפרכת להזהיר על כל הבית וכל[154]
כהן שנכנס לקודש הקדשים בשאר ימות

13 השנה בין כהן גדו[ל[155] ובין כה]ן הדיוט וב[י]ן[156] כהן גדול שנכנס לו
ביום הכפורים שלא בשעת עבודה חייב מיתה בידי

14 שמים שנ ולא ימות[157] אבל[158] הנכנס להיכל[159] [לא] לעבודה או
להשתחויה[160] בין כהן[161] גדול בין כהן הדיוט לוקה ואינו חייב מיתה

15 שנא[162] ולא ימות על קודש הקדשים במיתה ועל ש[אר] הבית בלאו ולוקה :

Under line 16 *:*

כמה[163] פעמים הוא נכנס לשם[164] ארבע[165] ....

The *verso* begins with a final sentence on the wearing of shoes. Then follows a passage from the Babylonian Talmud on the lighting of candles on the Day of Atonement, and another from the Jerusalem Talmud on the same act when it occurs on the Sabbath. After this there is a blank space and a marginal note. The next passage, on the side, contains passages from both Talmuds, on Eating—that from the Babylonian shortened considerably. This is followed by something about Drinking, interrupted in the middle by an erasure, in which is inserted a Talmudic excerpt in smaller script. On the margin, from the bottom up, is a note on the fasting of children, referring probably to the original text here erased. It seems to be by a later writer, and bears the name of Rabbi Ḥananēl, as well as the names of authorities otherwise minded, though the names and the analysis are uncertain. There is some illegible writing behind and above.

There are thus four elements in the fragment: 1. A main text, dealing with laws on the Day of Atonement, and taken from the Talmud. 2. Marginal notes on decisions touching such laws. 3. Inaccurate extracts from Maimonides. 4. Additions to the main text.

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[140] B. Yōmā 74b. Talmud has another apocryphal Mishnah, but it is omitted in Jer. Yōmā 44d.

[141] Talmud adds יכול ישב בחמה ובצינה ויצטער תל. For the text of the fragment see MS^{m} in ד.ס, p. 222. Cf. note ע.

[142] The text agrees with MSS (see ד.ס, note פ), while the Talmud has דבר שחייבין עליו.

[143] Talmud has אביא, but $MSS^{o,l}$ have מרבה אני and ארבה. See ד.ס, p. 223, notes ר, ת, ה.

[144] We have here the origin of כרת. See Levy, *Wörterbuch*, vol. ii, p. 420.

[145] Talmud adds .... את ה.

[146] Talmud adds תענו. Some $MSS^{m,o,l}$ have only this and omit ועניתם. However MS^{2} has the same text as the fragment. See ד.ס, notes ק, ש, א, ד.

[147] Thus $MSS^{o,l}$, but Talmud נבלה...הטבל.

[148] Talmud בקום. For עמוד see $MSS^{o,l}$ in ד.ס, note ב.

[149] This is omitted in Talmud and has consequently the singular. For the text of the fragment compare ד.ס, notes ג, ב.

[150] Talmud adds ועניתם. But it is omitted in $MSS^{m,o,l}$. Cf. ד.ס, notes ק, ה.

[151] The text is from Maimonides יד החזקה, הלכות ביאת המקדש, ב, ג–ד.

[152] The first sentence is changed here from Hebrew into Aramaic. The original has והוזהרו כל הכהנים שלא יכנסו לקדש או לקדש הקדשים שלא בשעת עבודה

[153] The word שנאמר, which is put above the text, is in the original and is better fitting than דכתיב.

[154] Original omits ו.

[155] Original has reversed order.

[156] Original או.

[157] Original has here וכמה פעמים הוא נכנס. In the fragment it is at the end.

[158] Original only ו.

[159] Original has instead לקדש חוץ לקדש הקדשים.

[160] Original להשתחוות.

[161] Original reverse order and omits כהן.

[162] Original adds אל פני הכפרת.

[163] See note 157.

[164] Original adds ביום הכפורים.

[165] The last letters seem to be a ligature ואכמל namely, ואין כאן מקום להאריך. Original has ...וכבר בארנו.

No. 2: Recto:

32 הילכות[166] מלח

33 הילכות השבתת מלח

להקריב קרבן בלא מלח

34 הזהירנו[167] הקבה שלא להשבית[168] המלח מעל הקרבנות שנא ולא תשבית
מלח ברית

35 אלהיך[169] וכל המקריב[170] קרבן חוץ מיין הנסכים והדם והעצים בלא מלח

36 כלל הריזה לוקה[171] ואעפ שלוקה הקרבן כשר והורצה חוץ מן המנחה

37 שהמלח מעכב בקומצה[172] שנא ולא תשבית ברית אלהיך מעל מנחתיך[173]:

38 בריך[174] רחמנא דסייען [למגמר]

39 פירוש הילכות השבתת מלח

40 הלכה זו פשוטה היא בריך רחמנא דסי[יען]

41 סליקו להו הילכות השבתת מלח גירסא ופירושא...

Addition[175] *to recto, lines 7–8* (הרואה קרי):

8 פי אלפירושא[176]... הא[177] דתניא הא מילתא חזיא ליה לרבינו משה הרב
הגדול דאוקמ

9 האי שמעתא[178] אוקמה רבינו משה[179] הרב
מימרא איקמיה
הגדול נ.[180] בחיבורא דיליה[181]
בשעה שתיקנו

Verso:

1 טבילה לבעלי קרין וכבר ביטלוה לטבילותא

2 הילכך[182]

3 וטעמ דמסתבר הוא

4 ואעפ שאין דעתו שלימה מתקררת עד שיטבול

Addition to קטע (*left margin of recto*):

1 לא[183] יחרם

2 אלא[184] אלגויד.....[185]

3 הדה אלקצא[186] קב

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[166] The original is in Maimonides יד החזקה, הלכות אסורי מזבח, ה, יא–יב. It has two inadequate headings.

[167] It is a free rendering of the original: מצות עשה למלוח כל הקרבנות קודם שיעלו למזבח.

[168] The words written above explain the word להשבית.

[169] Original quotes על כל קרבנך תקריב מלח.

[170] Original has הקריב שאין לך דבר שקרב למזבח בלא מלח חוץ מיין הנסכים הדם והעצים. בלא מלח כלל לוקה.

[171] Here is added שנאמר ולא תשבית מלח ברית אלהיך.

[172] Original has בקמיצה.

[173] Omitted in original.

[174] This is a colophon, which is written in three different ways in order to fill in the space.

The main body of the text is not simply copied from the Talmud. It does not follow the same order as the latter, even including a passage from Pesāḥīm; it omits portions of passages when irrelevant to the purpose in hand; it combines both Talmuds; and it uses the Talmudic expression תנן התם for a Mishnah from another treatise. Our fragment is thus clearly a codification, perhaps from some pōsēḳ, though different from those commonly known. It reminds one of Alfāsī and other African scholars. It uses the technical term ואסיקנה; regards both Talmuds as equally authoritative; omits unnecessary text; and agrees on the fasting of children. On the other hand there is no explanation of words and phrases; and the text itself contains no decisions. We may conclude that this codification could dispense with explanations and decisions, because it was to be used by a teacher, or with the help of a teacher. The character of the erasures and additions, as above described, point rather to the conclusion that we have here a teacher's notes. It seems not to have been taken from an existing pōsēḳ, but to have been composed independently for teaching purposes, and there may have been other pages of the same sort, covering the other holy days. The spiritual leaders of communities were accustomed to teach them the laws concerning each holy day thirty days in advance. Our fragment might be the memorandum of such a teacher; and it might even have gained currency, as a sort of מגלת סתרים in distinction from a מגלה. (Cf. Levy, *Wörterbuch*, vol. iii, p. 17.) The Mishnah was not included, because it was already known to the pupils, or more easily available. Possibly Alfāsī's work was called מגלת סתרים for the same reason. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 297, note 1.

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[175] The addition seems to have been put in after the space was filled with the insertion copied from Maimonides.

[176] It seems to be Arabic. The rest is not clear. "In explanation"...

[177] The line was partly crossed out.

[178] The word שמעתא was explained by מימרא.

[179] Here reference is surely made to Maimonides.

[180] The first letter seems to be certainly a נ. The second letter, unfortunately, is not clear. The word is apparently a ligature. It was either נֵי, in which case Maimonides was alive, or נַע, in which case he had already died. The lack of space urged the writer not to be extravagant in titles. הרב הגדול is the usual title for Maimonides.

[181] יד החזקה, הלכות שביתת עשור, ג, ג. For the designation of this work as חבור see Ḳobeṣ 1, 25[c]. (Cf. Mann, vol. ii, p. 316.)

[182] Some words are omitted, namely ...אסור לטבול.

[183] The addition to קטע was written after the insertion from Maimonides was made and thus there was no space left for it, and therefore filled in the space in wedge form. The beginning is in Arabic, the end in Hebrew and in the middle are some words in Aramaic.

[184] The glossator intends apparently to define what קב is prohibited. And he states: "It is forbidden only....."

[185] The word is badly written and the letters are indistinguishable. From the context we may assume that it designates the form of the קב which is forbidden to be used on the Day of Atonement. This must be in the form of a shoe, otherwise there is no reason for its being forbidden to be used on the Day of Atonement. Cf. Tōsephōth to Yōmā 78b.

[186] Perhaps the same word is referred to in Tōsephōth, *ibid.* אישקצא.

4 אלכשב[187] אלאיגוז

5 אלכרוג בוא

6 פי יום הכפורים

7 [ ] אל...

8 ..א.

9 דאתי[188] לאתויי

10 ד אמות

11 ברש הרבים

12 ולהדא

13 חרמת[189]

14 ביום הכפורים

15 לפיכך גם

16 לב.. גם

17 בבית

18 מותר[190]

Recto backward:

1 פי חיל[191] בית בין[192]...

2 [מ]קום מידות[193] ותוכו ארבע[י]ם

אמה ואמה טרקסין ועשרים אמה[194]...

3 אמ[195,6] ר נתן אמה טרקסין לא

הכריעו[196] חכמים אי כלפנים

אי כלחוץ

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[187] The words are the Arabic الخشب العجوز الخروج.

[188] These few words are a remainder of an earlier note in Aramaic.

[189] This is apparently the end of the Arabic note.

[190] This seems to be the end of the note from which few words remained in Aramaic. Cf. note 188.

[191] It seems that we have here an explanation of חיל. Cf. Levy, *s.v.*

The fragment in its present state contains the names of Maimonides, Rabbi Ḥananēl, Rabbi Judah ha-Kōhēn, and Rabbi Isaac. But the last one is uncertain, and all four are probably younger than the text, Maimonides at any rate. The text itself is a copy, as may be seen from errors, corrections, omissions and inconsistencies, of a sort very unlikely in an original. No conclusion as to date is possible.

If we look for a likely author, someone from the country of Rabbi Ḥananēl, a teacher, to whom a מגלת סתרים was attributed, we may choose Rabbi Nissīm Gā'ōn, author of ספר המפתח. See דור דור ודורשין, vol. iv, pp. 236–238. By מגלת סתרים was meant, however, particularly the teacher's comments, preserved by the pupils, and not intended by the teacher for publication. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. ix, 315 ff. The present fragment is the text-book, to which the comments and their results were attached. Thus the present fragment contains a passage from the Jerusalem Talmud about כותבת which is quoted from Rabbi Nissīm by the 'Ārūkh, apparently from his מגלת סתרים.

The fragment is important if it proves to be a page from the מגלת סתרים, or even from some text-book. In any case it has a text superior to that of the printed edition of the Talmud, in the sense that it combines the best of the known variant readings; and it may well be the old African recension of this time.

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[192] The phrase is not well preserved and is not clear.

[193] Mishnah Middōth 4, 7.

[194] In the Mishnah בית קדש הקדשים. There is not enough space for all these. Perhaps we have here a ligature.

[195] B. Yōmā 52a.

[196] Talmud adds בו.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Talmūd Bablī, meaning the printed Talmud, Wilna, 1881: Text, Rashī, Tōsephōth, Rabbi Ḥananēl, Tōsephōth Yeshānīm, Rabbi Asher.

Talmūd Jerūshalmī, Louis Lamm, Berlin, 1920. (Photographic reproduction of Krotoschin edition.)

For the MSS: דקדוקי סופרים (abbreviated: ד.ס.) of Raphael Rabbinowicz, 1871. The Munich MS is designated by a small m, the second MS of the same place by 2, the Oxford by o, the British Museum by l (London), following the Hebrew marks used by Rabbinowicz.

The following Pōseḳīm, which partly share the methods of the writer of the fragment, were compared:

הלכות גדולות Warsaw, 1874, pp. 61–62.

Rabbi Ḥananēl, Wilna, 1881.

Alfāsī, Wilna, 1881.

מאה שערים of ר' יצחק בן ר' יהודה אבן גיאת printed in פירטה, תרכא, p. 49ff.

ספר העיטור of ר' יצחק בן ר' אבא מארי, printed in Lemberg, 1860, second part p. 44ff.

אור זרוע of ר' יצחק בן ר' משה from Vienna, printed in Zitomir, 1862, second part p. 162ff.

Rabbi Asher, printed in Wilna, 1881.

שבלי הלקט of ר' צדקיהו בר אברהם Wilna, 1866.

XLV. LEAVES FROM A NOTE-BOOK

Paper $6\frac{3}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches, folded down the middle so as to form two leaves and four pages, all of which are covered with writing in the same difficult cursive Hebrew hand. On *verso* (*b*) the postscripts have been written diagonally.

The language is Arabic, with a colloquial tinge, at times very difficult, not only because of the strange constructions, but also on account of the many technical terms relating to wearing apparel and the like.

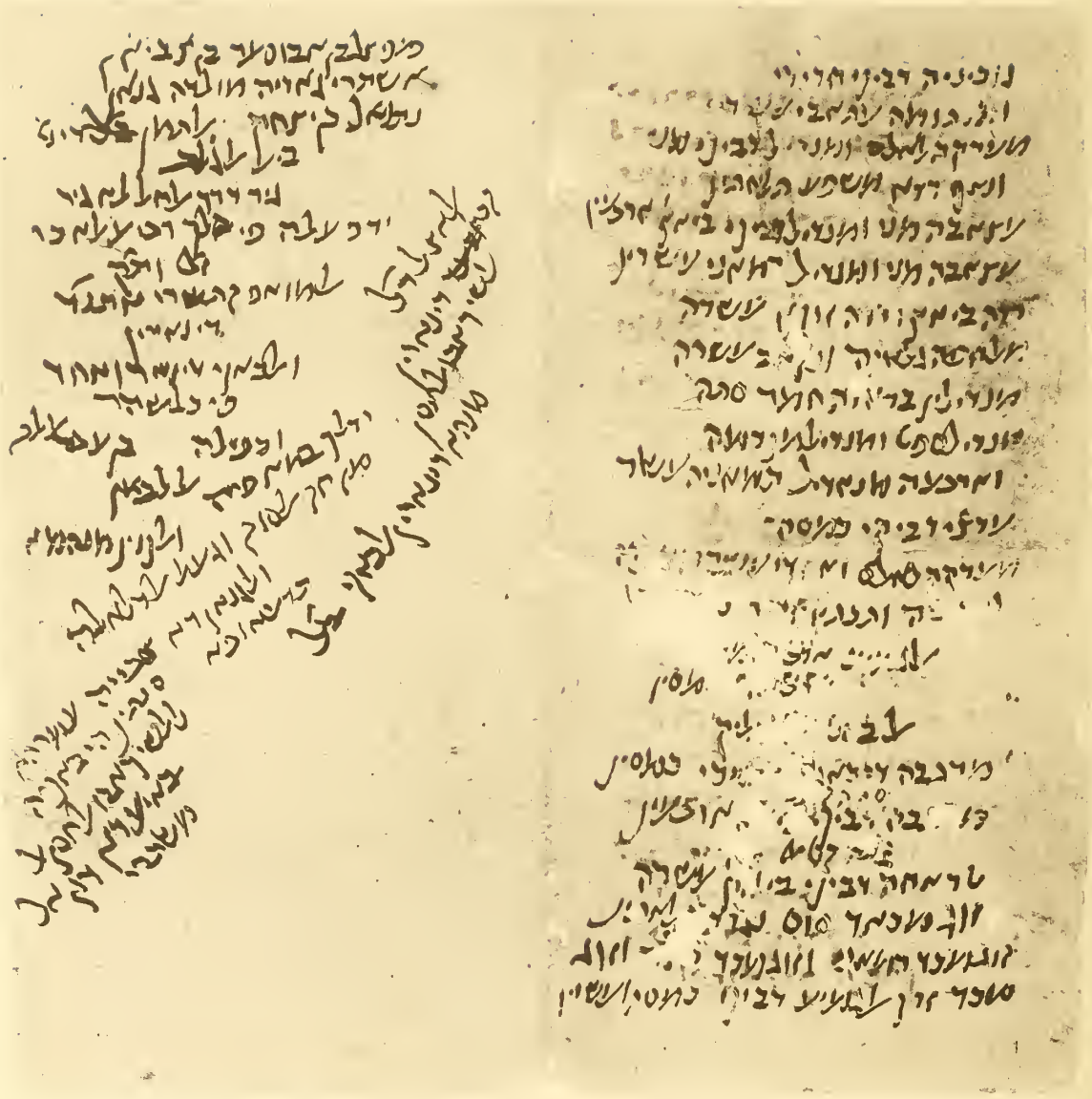
The date is A.D. 1141–1142.

Recto: (*a*)

1 אלקנין מן אלשיך אבו יעקוב יוסף בן אלדהבי
2 אנה יכתב אלמלך באלגויים בעד ג̄ אשהר
3 אב ואלול אתנג̄ ותשרי אתנד̄
4 באסם אבנתה ואלנקל ואלגעל
5 ויקום ללצבייה באלדי להא ענדה
6 מן אעלאק אבאעהא להא
7 ואלנקל ואלגעל עלי אלסנה יקום מן דלך
8 אלשיך אבו אלמפצל אברהם בן עובדייה
9 בג׳ דנא׳ ואלבאקי מן אלתסעה אלדנא׳
10 אלדי להא ואלשרט עליהא אן לם יפעל
11 אבוהא דלך תכרג̇ בלא מוכר
12 ואלשרט עלי אבו אלמפצל אנה לא
13 יצרבהא ולא ישתמהא ולא יטלב
14 מנהא פירות אלמלך ואנה קד געלהא
15 להא בכסותהא ומתי טלב מנהא פירות
16 כאן עליה תלאתה דנא׳ לאלמעוט ועלי
17 אנה קד תכדא מנהא וגעלהא ברסם
18 אלכסות ואברא כל מנהם לצאחבה
19 אלאב ואלאבנה ואלזוג ואלכתובה

[1] I.e. "he will write in the name of."
[2] Era of Documents: Tammūz 1453 = July A.D. 1141.
[3] I.e. "turnover and make."
[4] See No. XL, Introduction and note 8.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 45 a



Genizah Fragment 45 b

XLV. LEAVES FROM A NOTE-BOOK

The contents of the four pages seem to be unrelated. *Recto* (*a*) and (*b*) and *verso* (*a*) refer to marriage settlements, similar to those in No. XL. *Verso* (*b*) deals with a case, very interesting but not very clear. Mufaḍḍal, under the suretyship of al-Labbān, buys of Abū al-Ḥasan—Muslims, all of them—the "offspring" of Janān Nathan Ben Isaac, the Jew; and another daughter of Nathan becomes the property of Abū al-Ḥasan. Nathan seems to have died or to have been forced in some unknown manner to permit such a transaction.

Recto: (*a*)

1 The possessions of the Sheikh Abū Jacob Joseph Ibn al-Dhahabī:
2 He will convey[1] the property [which is invested] among the gentiles after three months—
3 Āb and Elūl 1453, and Tishrī 1454[2]—
4 to his daughter, together with the profit and gain[3] [accruing from its investment].
5 And he will give to the girl what he has of hers, [accruing]
6 from apparel which he caused to be sold for her,
7 and the profit and gain[3] by the year. Of this [marriage settlement the bridegroom,]
8 the Sheikh Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Abraham Ben Obadiah, shall provide
9 three dīnārs [muḳdām,][4] and [six dīnārs, me'ūḥār,][4] the rest of the nine dīnārs
10 which belong to her. And the condition [laid] upon her [is that], if her father
11 shall not do this, she shall go forth [from her father's house] without any purchase price[5] [from the bridegroom].
12 And the condition laid upon Abū al-Mufaḍḍal [is that] he shall not
13 beat her, nor insult her, nor demand
14 from her the fruits[5] of [her invested] property; for he has promised them to
15 her through her [investments in] apparel. And if he shall demand of her the fruits[6] [of her investment],
16 he shall be liable for three dīnārs for the .....[7]
17 and on condition that he has .....(?)[8] from her, whereas he promised them [to her] in the agreement
18 [about] the apparel. And each of them absolves his companions [from all liability]:
19 the father, and the daughter, and the husband. And the marriage contract

---

[5] מוֹמכר for Hebrew מֹהַר or else for Hebrew מאוחר.

[6] Hebrew פֵּירוֹת, plural of פֵּרִי.

[7] Hebrew מְעוּת? [8] תַּכְשִׁיטִים?

20 באקיה עלי חאלהא בגמיע שרוטהא
21 מן אלמאוחר ואלנדוניא וסאיר אלשרוט
22 ואלעמארה לים לאבי אלמפצל
23 דא אלזאמה בשי מנהא ליוסף דא
24 בלאיש יעמרה יוסף דא פיהא ליסא לה
25 מטאלבה אבו אלמפצל דא ולא
26 לזוגתה בשי מנהא כתב בחדש
27 תמוז אתנג

Recto : (b)

1 קרצה דהב מגרייה כמסה כמסה
2 וכואתים דהב וכאתם פצה וכאתמין פצה
3 צרגין מדאללין לולו חצאר
4 מראה מחלאה רהן ענדהם עלי דינארין
5 דמלג ענבר תלאתה דנא׳ בפס דהב
6 מלעקה וזברייה ומילין ומרוחה
7 וקעבה פצה . . . אלכסף תלאתה דנ
8 גמכאהל בלור בג׳ ופמאס דהב תלאתה
9 רפאדה ובלטייה ודרג דינאר
10 אלגמיע מאיה וסבעה דנא׳
11 אלמלבוס
12 כלו[ע]ה תגב ביאץ חרירי
13 . . . . . מדהב ארב[עין]
14 . . . . . [חר]ירי
15 ומ . . . . . [ח]רירי כמסין
16 כלעה יאהו[די] ומעגרהא ארבעין
17 גוביניה לבכי [ומ]נדיל דביקי תלאתין
18 מלאה ח[רירי] שׁרפין ונקא[ב] כמסה ותלתי[ן]
19 תגב שמ[ם] מדהב מלבוס
20 ומנדיל אזרק תלאתין
21 גוב[יניה] דביקי זרקא
22 וכצי אזרק עשרין

[9] Vernacular Egyptian Arabic, the postpositive demonstrative *da*.

20 remains as it is in all its stipulations
21 as to the me'ūḥār and the nedunyāh[4], and the remaining conditions.
22 And [as to] the housekeeping: This[9] Abū al-Mufaḍḍal has no
23 responsibility for any part of it. This[9] Joseph has [the responsibility].
24 Without cost[10] he shall maintain [Abū al-Mufaḍḍal] in it. He has no [right to make any]
25 request of this Abū al-Mufaḍḍal, nor
26 of his wife for any part of it. Written in the month of
27 Tammūz 1453?[2]

Recto: (b)

1 A Hungarian (?) gold disc—five.
2 And gold rings[11], and a silver ring[12], and two silver rings—five.
3 Two saddles[13].....pearls, a saddle cushion.
4 A mirror.....said to be worth about two dīnārs.
5 A large amber armband [worth] three dīnārs, with a gold bezel (?)[14].
6 A spoon, and a deep bowl, and two collyrium sticks, and a fan[15].
7 And a silver cup.....[16]—three dīnārs.
8 A crystal.....for three [dīnārs], and a gold.....—three [dīnārs].
9 A saddle cushion and a.....and a jewel-box—[one] dīnār.
10 The whole [equals] a hundred and seven dīnārs.
11 The clothing:
12 A silk.....of white.
13 .....gilded—forty.
14 .....silk,
15 and.....silk—fifty.
16 A Jewish.....and its hood—forty.
17 A Labakī (?).....and a Dabīḳī[17] kerchief—thirty.
18 A silk cloak.....and niḳāb[18]—thirty-five.
19 A gilded sun.....[19] garment.
20 A blue kerchief—thirty.
21 A blue Dabīḳī[17].....[20]
22 and a blue.....—twenty.

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[10] Vernacular Arabic, *balāsh*. The pronunciation here indicated would be *balā'ish* or *balaish*.

[11] خَوَاتِم.

[12] This phrase has been deleted.

[13] I.e. سَرْجَيْنِ, with צ for ס.

[14] فصّ, with ס for צ.

[15] Deleted, then written above.

[16] Hebrew כֶּסֶף, "silver," "money"?

[17] According to Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 548, Dabīḳ was a place in Egypt, between al-Faramā and Tinnīs, at which a certain cloth was made.

[18] A kind of veil.

[19] תנב as in line 12.

[20] גוביניה as in line 17.

Verso : (a)

1 גוביניה דביקי חרירי
2 ומנתומה עתאבי עשרי[ן]
3 מערקה לאלם ומנדיל דביקי . . . .
4 ונצף רדא משפע תלאתין
5 עצאבה מני ומנדיל דביקי ביאין ארבעין
6 עצאבה מני ומנדיל ימאני עשרין
7 רדה ביאין ורדה זרקא עשרה
8 מלבוסה גלאיה ונקאב עשרה
9 מנדילין בר . . ה חמר סתה
10 מנדיל ספט ומנדיל מן דמה
11 וארבעה מנאדיל תמאניה עשר
12 ערצי דביקי כמסה
13 מערקה לאלם וא . די עשר[ין] ו[תל]תה
14 . . . . ה ותכתין . . . . . .
15 אלגמיע ארב[ע] מ[איה]
16 . . . . . [ח]מסין
17 אלב . ט . . . ליק
18 מרגבה דיבאג . . . ייכי כמסין
19 כא . . בה דביקי סתה . . . . ארבעין
20 . . . . קטם
21 טראחה דביקי בי[א]ין עשרה
22 זוג תכאד סוס נגיד תלאתין
23 זוג מכד רמאני וזוג מכד . . . וזוג
24 מכד זרק אלגמיע דביקי כמסה ועשרין

Verso : (b)

1 מפצל בן אבוסעד בן צביאן
2 אשתרי גאריה מולדה גנאן
3 נתנאל בן יצחק אלתמן בל דינ׳
4 ביע אלגלב

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[21] According to Dozy, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*, a kind of taffeta originally of Bagdad.

[22] Persian لَاَس.

Verso: (*a*)

1 A silk Dabīḳī[17].....[19]
2 and an ʻAttābī[21].....—twenty.
3 A red silk[22] skull-cap, and a Dabīḳī kerchief.....
4 and a half cloak, doubled—thirty.
5 A Munyī[23] ʻiṣābah[24] and a Dabīḳī kerchief of white[25]—forty.
6 A Munyī ʻiṣābah and a Yemenite kerchief—twenty.
7 A white[25] cloak[26] and a blue cloak[26]—ten.
8 A.....garment and a niḳāb[18]—ten.
9 Two kerchiefs, with a.....of red[25]—six.
10 A kerchief of Saft[27] and a kerchief from.....
11 and four kerchiefs—eighteen.
12 A Dabīḳī ʻarḍā[28]—five.
13 A red silk[22] skull-cap and.....—twenty-three.
14 .....and two waist-bands.....
15 The total, four hundred.
16 .....fifty
17 .....
18 A.....of brocade.....—fifty.
19 A Dabīḳī.....[29].....—forty.
20 .....
21 A Dabīḳī coverlet of white—ten.
22 A pair of pillows: "Prince's Horse[30]"—thirty.
23 A pair of pomegranate-red pillows[31], and a pair of.....pillows[31], and a pair of
24 blue pillows[31]. The total of Dabīḳī [goods], twenty-five.

Verso: (*b*)

1 Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abū Saʻd Ibn Ṣubyān
2 has bought a slave-girl, the child[32] of Janān[33]
3 Nathaniel Ibn Isaac, the price [being] 32 dīnārs[34].
4 The sale of slaves

---

[23] For مُنْيِىّ(?) from مُنْيَة, the name of several pláces in Egypt.

[24] A kind of turban.

[25] The nominal form بَيَاض as in line 12 of *recto*: (*b*). Similarly حُمْر line 9.

[26] I.e. رِدَاء, as in line 4.

[27] Cf. Saft Abī Jirjā, Saft al-ʻUrfā and Saft al-Ḳudūr, Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 97–98.

[28] According to Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch*, *sub voce* "a kind of cloth."

[29] Above the line: "six."

[30] Hebrew סוס נגיד.

[31] I.e. مخادّ.

[32] مُوَلَّدَة. Why not بِنْت?

[33] I.e. "dark." Janān is *not* the seller. He is the father of the girl.

[34] There is a strange mark over the ב, and both numerals seem to have been deleted.

5 גיר דרך אלחאל לאגיר
6 ידפע לה פי דלך רביע אלאכר
7 זל ותק
8 אלמואפק תשרי אתנד
9 דינארין
10 ואלבאקי דינאר ואחד
11 פי כל שהר
12 וכפילה בן עבדאללה
13 אללבאן
14 ואלקנין מנהמא

1 ודלך במא פיה
2 מן חק אלסוק וגעאל אלדלאלה

1 ולגנאן דא צבייה עמרהא
2 כמא ופא סנתין הי באקיה
3 ללשיך אבו אלחסן אל
4 באיע דא דון אל
5 משתרי

1 אלאצל דל
2 קבא בעד דינארין
3 אלשיך אבואלחסן
4 מנהא דינארין אלבאקי בל

---

[35] רביע should have the article.

[36] The Muslim dating is unusual, and is due to the circumstance that the seller, purchaser and surety were Muhammadans. Both dates equal exactly Oct.-Nov., A.D. 1142.

at present [is] not otherwise than thus (?).
He [now] pays him in this [month of] Rabī'[35] al-Ākhir,
537 [A.H.][36],
corresponding to Tishrī, 1454, [Era of Documents][36],
two dīnārs,
and the remaining [thirty dīnārs he will pay at the rate of] one dīnār
every month.
And his security is Ibn 'Abd Allāh[36]
al-Labbān[37],
and the property of them both.

And this [has been agreed upon] together with what it involves
in the way of market-fees and auctioneer's commissions.

And this[38] Janān has a girl, aged—
according to settlement—two years. She remains [the property]
of this Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan[39], the
seller, instead of [becoming the property of] the
buyer.

The basic [price is] 34.
.....after[40] two dīnārs.
The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan[39] [takes]
from it two dīnārs. The remainder is [therefore] 32.

---

[37] I.e. "seller of sour milk," or "brick-maker."

[38] Vernacular Egyptian Arabic.

[39] This shows that Janān is *not* the seller. See note 33. The younger child is not "thrown in," but goes to the seller as a consideration.

[40] בעד has been deleted.

XLVI. A PAGE FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, with writing on one side only.

Hebrew, in cursive Hebrew characters, pointed in a most unusual way which can be due only partly to ignorance. The vowels are here printed as they stand, regardless of the translation.

1 יְיָ שְׁמָעָה אַל תְּפִלַּת עַמְּךָ וְאַל תַּחֲנוּנָם : אְשַׁר
2 שָׁפְכוּ חנוּנָם לְהתודות על עוֹנָם : בְּשַׁעֲרֵי רַחֲמֶיךָ
3 מַשְׂגִּיחִים כָּל הַמּוֹנָם : בְּדַלְתֵי פְּתָחֶיךָ דּוֹפְקִים הִנָּם
4 יְיָ סַלָּחָה גנותם חָטְאָם וּזְדוֹנָם : גְּזִיר דִּינָם
5 הַרַע מֵעָלָם וְעוֹלָם : דּוֹבְבִים לְרַצּוֹתָךְ בְּשִׁיר
6 הַגְיוֹנָם : דּוֹר מֵעֲרַב וְעַד עֲרַב לָךְ תְּלוּיוֹת עֵינָם :
7 בְּיֵי הַמַּעֲרִיב עֲרָבִים :
8 אַהֲבַת עוֹלָם יִשְׂרָאֵל עַמְּךָ אָהַבְתָּה תּוֹרָה וּמִצְוֹת
9 חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים אוֹתָנוּ לִמַּדְתָּה עַל כֵּן בְּשָׁכְבֵנוּ
10 וּבְקוּמֵינוּ תו בְּלִבֵּינוּ נָסִיחַ בְּחֻקֵּי רְצוֹנֶיךָ וְנִשְׁמַח
11 וְנַעֲלוֹז בְּדִבְרֵי [תַּלְ]מוּד תּוֹרָתֶךָ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד כִּי הֵם
12 חַיֵּינוּ וְאוֹרֶךְ יָמֵינוּ וּבָהֶם נֶהְגֶּה יוֹמָם וָלָיְלָה
13 יְיָ הַקְשִׁיבָה הַגְיוֹן בַּת שׁוּבָבִים : הַמְדַבְּרִים
14 תַּחֲנוּנִים וְכַעֲנִיִּים נִצָּבִים : וְעֵדֶם בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ הָרַבִּים
15 אַשַׁר עַל כָּל מְרוּבִים : וּבְסֵפֶר חַיִּים יִהְיוּ נִכְתָּבִים :
16 זַעַק מְרֻבִּים צְמֵאִים וְרֵעֵבִים : זְדוֹנָם לְהַעֲבִיר
17 מֵחוֹת פִּשְׁעָם כְּעָבִים : חִי הוֹשִׁיבָם כִּי עָדֶיךָ
18 הֵם שָׁבִים : חבת אהבים תִּזְכּוֹר לְאוהֲבִים : בָּרוּךְ
19 אַתָּה יְיָ אוֹהֵב עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל : אָמֵן שְׁמַע :

XLVI. A PAGE FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

A portion of the Yōm Kippūr service.

The copyist has disregarded the verse division indicated by the rime. There are traces of an initial acrostic extending from א to ת.

1 Lord, hearken unto the prayer of Thy people, and unto their supplication, who
2 pour out their entreaty, to confess their sins in the gates of Thy mercy,
3 watching, all the multitude of them, at the doors of Thy portals, knocking, behold them!
4 Lord, forgive their shame, their sin, and their wickedness, the mote of their evil
5 judgments, for ever and ever. [They] appeal to Thy favor (?) with the song
6 of their music. A generation whose eyes are raised to Thee from the evening unto the evening.
7 Blessed art Thou, O Lord, that bringest the evenings!
8 [With] a perpetual love hast Thou loved Israel, Thy people. With Law and commandments,
9 statutes and judgments, [hast Thou loved] us therefore accordingly, when we lie down
10 and when we arise. Also in our hearts.....by the statutes of Thy will, and happy
11 and rejoicing in the words of the study of Thy Law, forever and ever. For they
12 [are] our life, and the lengthening (?) of our days; and in them we meditate day and night.
13 Lord, give ear to the music of the house of wanderers (?), who speak
14 prayers, and, like the poor, stand up [before Thee]. Admonish (?) in Thy great mercy,
15 which is plentious, over everything. And in the Book of Life let them be written down.
16 Often do they cry out, thirsty and hungry, to put aside their wickedness—
17 the blotting out of their sins, like clouds. [O] Living [God] bring them back; for unto Thee
18 [would] they return. Remember Thou the love of lovers toward [their] beloved [ones]. Blessed [art]
19 Thou, Lord, that lovest Thy people, Israel! Amen! Hear!

XLVII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters, small but distinct, like those of Nos. XLI and XLVIII, though not identical with either.

The text is written in several directions, in order that the various postscripts and afterthoughts may not be confused. Two of these shorter additions are to be inserted into the text, and are here so printed, with asterisks.

The date is Wednesday, 7th of Tammūz; and the 23rd of Rajab, A.H. 460 (May 28, A.D. 1067), is in the immediate past.

Recto: (*a*)

בהית׳

1 השר והטפסר נשא ומאד נעלה לשם ולתהלה אדוני כמהר נב׳

2 אחרי הקורה מרחוק ואת להודיע לאדון כתבתי בארוכה לאדון כתב עם אלעאמירי

3 מתסאפיר הרבאעה שהלכה בחברת החכם כהר׳ יעקב בירב יצ׳ פי ת׳ עושרין

4 רגב סת׳ וואת להודיע לאדון כי איני יודע אם מגיעים הכתבים לאדון

5 שאומרים שלוכחים אותם מן הרצים וכעת זאת להודיע גם לאדון כעת היום

6 יום רביעי ז׳ לחדש תמוז הגיעה רבאעה כמו קנ׳ חמל גמאל ואסגאל

7 מע׳ מטה והסוחרים אשר בה מן אלשאם ומן נבלום ומן גזה ויש בם

8 סוחר אחד חליבי שמו סי׳ עלי ן׳ ע׳ אלעזיז אלחליבי והשוואם אשר בה

9 א׳ שמו סי׳ מחמוד ן׳ לולו וע׳ אלרחמן אלשמי וזולתם וחמשה משאיך של יהודים

10 והשאר כמו שהולך בקאימה הרבאעה בפרטות והגידו לנו הסוחרים

11 שהשיירה החאליבייא בקרוב בעהי׳ תבוא ולפי שלא מצאו להם ראש כדי

---

1 נכתב בצדה.

2 Apparently an epistolary formula, meaning "after the greeting." Perhaps קורת הרוח = הקורה.

3 מתסאפיר probably for مُتَسَفِّر "despatcher."

4 Arabic עושרין suggests a vernacular form: *'ushrīn*, unless the ו is transposed from before the ע where there should indeed be a ו. ת׳ stands for 3 (ثلاثة), not for 400 as in Hebrew.

5 I.e. of the Hijrah, which equals May 28th, A.D. 1067. The ת would then stand for 400, nor for 3, as above. סת׳ might stand for سَنَة, but there would then be no numeral.

6 The letters, though plain, yield no sense. 7 Arabic.

XLVII. LETTER

A letter from one named Nissīm, in Ḳaṭyah, Sinai, to a certain Rabbi Solomon Iskanderānī, in Cairo or Fusṭāṭ.

It is a rambling and repetitious account of conditions in the small and turbulent caravan station on the Cairo-Damascus highway. There is much about caravans. Robbers infest the way. The Muslims have demolished a synagogue (?) and a private house of the Jews. It is as hot as the nethermost Sheol, and the writer's pen is broken.

Recto: (*a*)

Blessed be the Name [of God]!

1 [To] the Prince, the Dignitary, Exalted and very Eminent, in Name and Reputation, my Lord, his Exalted Honor, the Rabbi [whose name is] written at the side [of this letter][1]!

2 After the solace[2] from afar: This [is] to inform the Gentleman [that] I have written at length to the Gentleman a letter, [sent] from al-'Āmīrī,

3 the mutasaffir[3] of the caravan which went [from here] in the company of the wise, the honored Rabbi Jacob, son of Rabbi Is[aac], on the twenty-third[4] of

4 Rajab, 460 [A.H.][5]. And this is to inform the Gentleman—for I do not know whether the letters reach the Gentleman—

5 that [people] say that they take them away from the runners. And now this [is] also to inform the Gentleman, now, today,

6 Wednesday, the 7th of Tammūz, of the arrival of a caravan of about 150 camel-loads and.....

7 .....[6]. And the merchants who are in it [are] from Damascus[7], and from Nablus[7], and from Gaza[7]. And there is in it

8 a Ḥalībī[8] merchant whose name is Sīdī 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥalībī[8]. And the Syrians[9] who are in it:

9 One whose name is Sīdī Maḥmūd Ibn Lu'lu', and [another,] 'Abd al-Raḥmān the Syrian[10], and [a few others] aside [from these], and five sheikhs[7] of the Jews;

10 and the rest [are] individually like what travels in the lists of a caravan. And the merchants told us

11 that the caravan[11] of Ḥalībīs[12] would soon arrive, with the help of God—His Name be blessed[13]!—And because they have not found for themselves any leader, so

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[8] The context indicates Aleppo, but there appears to be no authority for such a form.

[9] Modern vernacular Arabic form.

[10] For שאמי, شَأْمِيّ.

[11] Here the Hebrew word שַׁיָּרָה instead of Arabic רבאעה.

[12] חאליביא for حَلَبِيَّة, plural of حَلَبِيّ. Cf. note 8.

[13] בעזרת השם יתברך.

12 לצאת מדמשק לא נסעו משם ובעה׳ בקרוב תצא מדמשק השירה לפי
דיבור

13 הסוחרים ומה שנתעכב שליחות הרץ תכף בעת הגעת הרבאעה הנז׳ הוא לפי

14 שיש פה סוכֻּראת מצד בניין הפסגה ולא ימצא איש בקטייא שכולם ברחו

15 להם מפחד הסוכֻּראת והנמצאים הם תפושים בסוכֻּרא[ת] בבניין באופן
שסוחרי

16 דמשק הם כמו לה׳ משאיך ומן האלב שוחר אחד שהוא סי׳ עלי ן׳ ע׳ אלעזיז

17 כמו חמשה משאיך והשאם צבון ולאוז ונבלוסי ואין להאריך כי אם לחלות
ולהתפלל

18 לאלית׳ ישלח לאדון ברכה עד בלי די אויר בנפשו הרחבה והחכמה
מליאה דעת

19 ויראה ובנפשׁ מוכנים ומזומנים הצעיר נסים

20 נכת במרוצה בקנה רצוצה

21 ביום ד׳ ז׳ לתמוז

Recto: (b)

1 וזות להודיע לאדון כי לא נמצא רץ בקטייא להודיע לאדון בשירת זאת
הרבאעה לכן לא

2 שלחכו הרץ לבשר ויודע לאדון כי הכאשף עיכב דמיהם כמו ד׳ אחמאל
מהלאוייא ומנזלאוייה

*ובין כך ובין כך היה ההלכה המהלאוייה והמנזלאוייה דרך ים ושש׳

3 וצריך למחר לשקול אותם ולידוע כמה יעלו דמיהם וילך אחד ממנו
למנזלה ולמחלה

4 לגבות דמיהם ואומר הכאשף שעכף רוצה לעכב המעות פה עד בוא כתב
מן האדון

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14 See No. XXX, line 11, and note 18. About 75 kilometers from al-Ṣāliḥīyah on the caravan route, in Sinai. The spelling קטייא does not necessarily indicate Ḳaṭīyah, for the י is doubled in בניין, in the same line and next.

15 Cf. note 8.

16 Mentioned above in line 8. He seems to have made a great impression upon the writer, or else the writer is suffering from the heat. Cf. *recto* (*c*), line 7.

17 Cf. line 9. 18 شَأْم with the Hebrew article.

19 לוז.

20 לאל יתברך. Cf. the title above line 1: ברוך חיים יתברך.

12 that [they may] depart from Damascus, they have not journeyed from
there; but with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the caravan[11]
will soon depart from Damascus according to the report
13 of the merchants. And what prevented sending the runner immediately
upon the arrival of the caravan mentioned: [It was] because
14 there are here labor requisitions on account of building the hill (?), and
not a man can be found in Ḳaṭyah[14]; for they have fled
15 for fear of the labor requisitions. And those who were found were seized
in the labor requisitions in building. In the way of merchants
16 of Damascus, there are about 35 sheikhs. And from Aleppo[15] there is
a merchant who is [named] Sīdī ʿAlī Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[16].
17 [There are] about five sheikhs[7] [of the Jews][17]! And [from] Syria[18] [they
bring] soap and almonds[19]. And [the] Nablus [party]—There is no
[use] in continuing [this letter], except to supplicate and to pray
18 to God—His Name be blessed[20]!—[that] He will send unto the Gentle-
man a blessing, until no breath is left in his soul[21], broad, and wise, and
full of knowledge,
19 and fear [of God], and in the soul of [those who are] prepared and sum-
moned. [Signed:] The insignificant Nissīm.
20 Written in haste, with a broken reed,
21 on Wednesday, 7th of Tammūz.

Recto: (b)

1 And this is to inform the Gentleman that no runner was found in Ḳaṭyah
to inform the Gentleman about the persons[11] of this caravan. There-
fore we have not
2 sent the runner to bring news. And be it known to the Gentleman that
the inspector[7] has held back[22] about the equivalent of[23] four loads[7] of
Maḥallah and Manzalah[24]. *But, however that may be, the Maḥallah
and Manzalah way is a sea-way. So farewell[25].
3 And it [will be] necessary tomorrow to weigh them and know what their
value is. And one of us will go to Manzalah and to Maḥallah to
4 collect their value. And the inspector is saying that he is holding[26]—
wishing to hold—the money here until[27] the arrival of a letter from the
Gentleman [directing him]

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[21] I.e. "until he dies."

[22] For עַבֵּב, עַכֵּיב. [23] Above the line.

[24] There are several Maḥallahs, the most important of which lies at the center of the Delta. Manzalah is perhaps the village on the lake of that name.

[25] Obscure, like the preceding passage. This sentence is written on the margin, and its insertion may be intended here. There is a sign before this sentence, but none after מנזלאוויא.

[26] For ישעכב?

[27] Above the line is אצלחו, apparently אַצְלִיחוֹ "I will fix it up."

5 לפרוע לו האנות כי אמר שבא לו כתב מן איסמעין שאוש שלא רצה
האדון להעביר שום
6 חשבון ממה שעשה חכם בירב יצ׳ ואמר הכאשף שבשביל האדון יעכוב
המעות פה
7 עד בוא כתב האדון ולפי שלא שקל .. האחמאל עדיין עד למחר לכן לא
שלח .. הקלימה
8 בחרת מתסאפיר השירה אחמר שומאן ובעהי תכף עת נשקול האחמאל
נשלח הכל
* ובאמת זות הקלמה אשלח בעהי קלימת אלקטויי וכל הדברים בפרטות
9 בפרטי פרטות וצריך אני העבד ללכת בחברת המחלאוייה בעהי עכף׳ וכהר
יעקב כהן יצו׳
10 נתעכב ללכת בחברת השירה זות בעבור שהרסו הבית ואשתו לבדה
בין הגוים ועוד

Recto: (c)

1 כי שמענו שבעהי בקרוב נבוא השירה של החליבייא בעהי
2 שכבר נתקן הדרך וגם אועיד לאדון שהבית של פה קטייא
3 נהרסה כולה והעלילו עלילות שהיתה קרובה לגאמע וגם
4 שצריך יותר מנ׳ פרחים בדי לביות אותה לכן אמר
5 הכאשף שיתן לנו מקום אחר לדור בו ובזה
6 תתבטל חזקת הבית שלא ישאר חזקות ולא
7 דברים ואנחנו בתוך חמי חמי שאול התחתון
8 בזה החום של קטייא וששׁ׳

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[28] The modern colloquial Cairene form of Isma'īl. See Willmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, 2nd ed., p. 27.

[29] These forms seem to have הו— for ו—.

[30] This substance, קלימה, is mentioned three times.

[31] For אלקטוייה?

[32] This sentence is written in the upper left-hand corner of the fragment, and its insertion may be intended here. There is a sign > after הכל, but none before this sentence.

[33] על כל פנים. [34] כבוד הרב.

[35] ישמרהו צורו.

[36] Quite plainly with prefix נ, as in Syriac.

to pay him the money. For he said that a letter had come to him from Isma'īn[28] Shāwish [saying] that the Gentleman did not wish to send over any
reckoning of what Ḥākhām, the son of Rabbi Isaac, had done. And the inspector said that on account of the Gentleman he would hold the money here
until the arrival of the letter of the Gentleman. And because they had not weighed(?)[29] the loads, [and would not do so] till tomorrow, therefore they would not send (?)[29] the.....[30]
in the company of the mutasaffir[3] of the caravan[11], Aḥmad Shūmān. But with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—as soon as we weigh the loads, we shall send all—*But truly I shall send this.....[30], with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the.....[30] of Ḳaṭyah[31], and everything with special care—[32]
with very special care. And I, the [humble] servant, must go in the company of the Maḥallah [caravan] with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—in any event[33]. And the honorable Rabbi[34] Jacob Kōhēn —May God keep him[35]!—
is prevented[36] from going in the company of this caravan, because they have torn down the house, and his wife [would be] alone among gentiles. And furthermore:

Recto: (c)

Now we have heard that with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the caravan of the Aleppo[12] [company] will soon arrive[36], with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—
that already the road has been put in order[36]. And also I inform the Gentleman that the house[37] which is here [in] Ḳaṭyah
has been torn down, all of it; and [that] they have brought accusations that it was near to a mosque[38]; and also
that more than 50 perāhīm[39] [will be] necessary in order to [re]build it. Therefore
the inspector has said that he would give us another place in which to live. And in this [way all question as to]
the confiscation of the house[37] will be prevented; so that there will be no longer [any] confiscations, nor [any]
troubles[40]. And we are in the midst of the greatest heat of the lowest Sheol,
in this heat of Ḳaṭyah. So farewell.

---

[37] Here at least the word means "synagogue." Cf. line 10, just above. The expression is intentionally cryptic.

[38] Arabic جامع.

[39] I.e. "dīnārs"?

[40] Literally: "words," "affairs."

Recto: (*additions*)

וכדי שלא יבוא איזה דבר | בהליכתי למחלה לכן הוצרך | כהר׳ אברהם
פינטו יצ׳ | להתעכב פה ובעבור זה | לא הלכתי אני למצרים// וששׁ/

ועכשו הבית יהיה | של האדון וחזקתו | לאדון וששׁ/

התני .. עם הרץ | שיגיע למצרים | יום ששי אחר חצות

והחכם מלכיאל נה׳ | נסע לשלום

והנה הודעיו הדברים | בפרצות לאדון וששׁ/

Verso:

[ה]שׁר והטפסר נשא ומאד נעלה לשם ולתהלה אדוני החכם והנבון כמהר/
שלמה אסכנדרני ..... ופנין ליד ..ש יגל״ והל.
מקטייא למצרים

---

[41] הוצרך for הצורך.

[42] A very numerous and able Portuguese-Jewish family. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *sub voce*.

Recto: (additions)

And, in order that nothing may happen | while I am going to Maḥallah, it is necessary[41] | that Rabbi Abraham Pinto[42]—May God keep him[35]!— | should be kept here. And on account of this | I have not gone to Cairo. So farewell.

And now the house shall belong | to the Gentleman, and the possession [shall be] | the Gentleman's. So farewell.

I (?) have stipulated[43] with the runner | that he shall reach Cairo | Friday, after midnight.

And the wise Malkī'ēl (?), pure soul[44], has gone to his [everlasting] peace. So farewell.

And behold I have made known[45] the matters | in detail to the Gentleman. So farewell.

Verso:

[To the Pr]ince, the Dignitary, Exalted and very Eminent, in Name and Reputation, my Lord, the Wise and Intelligent, his Exalted Honor, Rabbi Solomon Iskandarānī.....

From Ḳaṭyah to Cairo.

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[43] ההניתי. [44] נשמה טהורה. [45] הודעתיו.

XLVIII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The first marginal addition is in the same hand as that of the body of the letter, and merely continues the same. The second, in a different hand, protests against the unwarranted presumption of the letter. The third, in an extremely difficult cursive hand, and in Arabic, unintelligible save for a word or two, closes with the signature אברהם קאסטרו, "Abraham Castro." This is therefore the writer's own language and script, the body of the letter having been composed and penned by a scribe. In two other places there are brief combinations of letters, the purpose of which is not apparent.

Unfortunately there is no date.

1 השר הנעלה לשם ותהלה גבירנו כהרב שלמה נ׳

2 מאלהא רבא שלמא כולא אדון השלם ישפת שלם לכם ולנו אמן

3 להיות מחק השלמים לרדוף השלם נכפל בספרי הנביאים עה דבר השלם

4 ושבחנהו שבח לאין תכלית ואם חוייביו לרדוף השלם עם כל האדם

5 כש שיחוייב בקשתו ורדיפתו עם אותם אשר קבלו . . . בשום זמן

6 או באיזו אופן תועלת קטנה [או גדו]לה כאשר היה זה בפנינו עם האדו[ן]

7 נבון ונעלה מתקיפי ארעא דיש׳ כור׳ יצחק קאניגי יר׳ אשר ידע רק טוב

8 לבבו בכל עת וזמן ומה גם נמצא בצרות ובעת מצר והאדון לא כגמול

9 השיב בכל הדברים אם בהיותו נחוץ בלקיחת מעותיו אשר היו ביד האדון

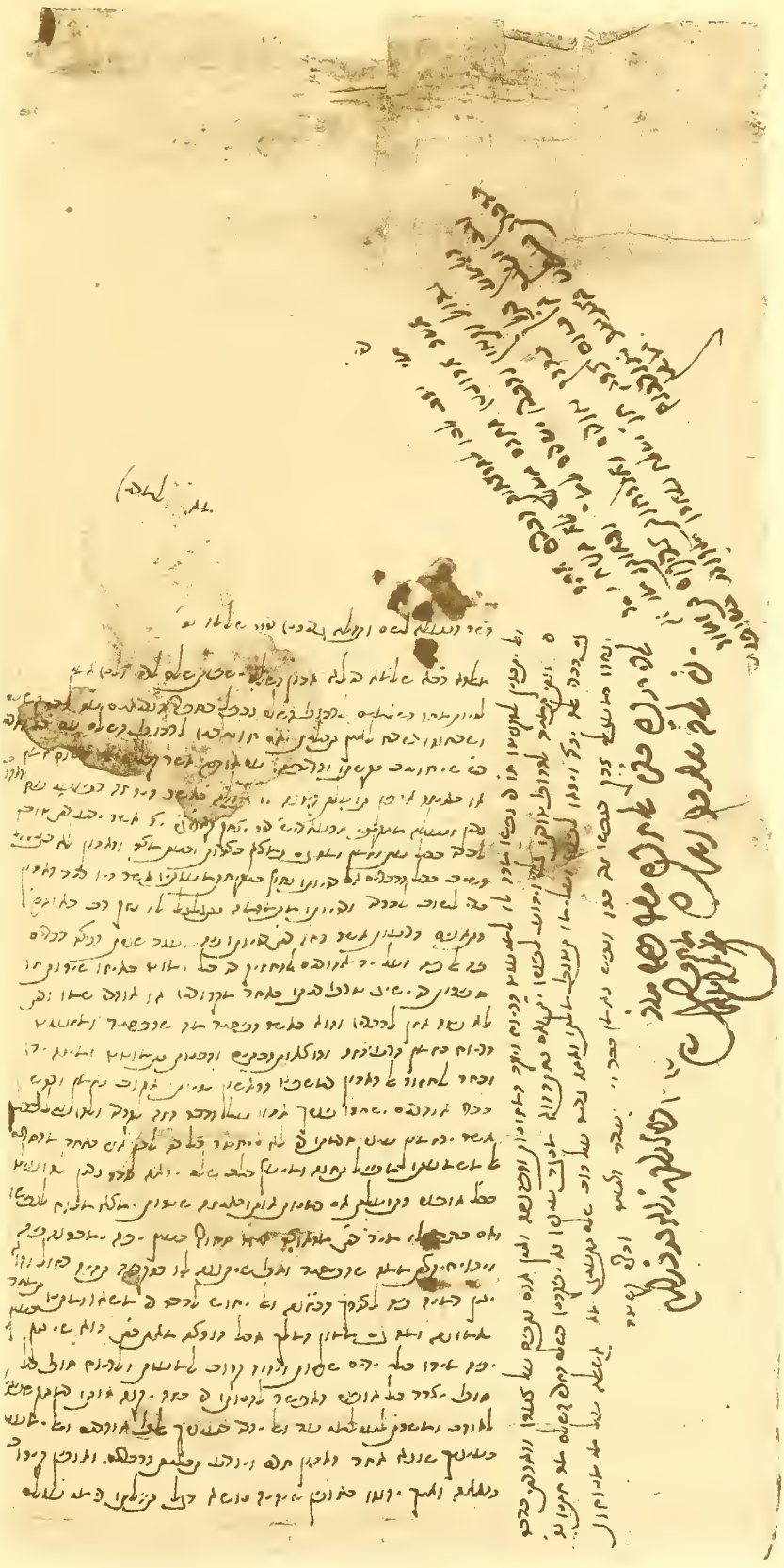
10 כדי לשוב לדרכו ובהיותו מתמהמה נתגלגל לו נזק רב באותם

11 התאנים הרעות אשר ראה הת בהיותו פה ועוד שנית הרצה דברים

12 פה אל פה ועל יד אהובים להחזיק בו בל ימוט באיזו שירות או

---

1 נרו יאיר.
2 Aramaic.
3 Cf. Isaiah xxvi, 12.
4 Cf. Isaiah lvii, 19.
5 עליהם השלום.
6 חובֵיו?
7 כָּל שָׁבָּן.



XLVIII. LETTER

A wheedling, reproachful, almost threatening letter from one, Abraham Castro, in Jerusalem (?), to an eminent and powerful man named Solomon, in Fusṭāṭ (?), asking him by employment or credit to aid a certain Isaac Ḳajījī, who seems to have become estranged from Solomon and then to have fallen upon evil days. Merchandise given Isaac from the common stock in Fusṭāṭ (?) is to be paid for later by gifts to the treasury in Jerusalem (?).

The chronicler Sambari (ed. Neubauer, vol. i, p. 145) mentions an Abraham Castro in connection with a Benjamin (not Isaac) Ḳajījī; and Solomon Ḥazzān (*Sēfer ha-Maʿalōth li-Shemōth*, page 12) as having in his possession a document of A.D. 1606, signed by Abraham Castro, Benjamin Ḳajījī and others.

1 [To] the Prince, Eminent in Name and Reputation, our Master, his
Exalted Honor, Solomon—May his light shine[1]!
2 From the Great God [cometh] all peace[2]. The Lord of Peace grant peace
to you and to us[3]! Amen.
3 Inasmuch as it is the custom of peaceful men to pursue peace—The word
"peace" occurs twice in succession in the books of the Prophets[4], upon
whom be peace[5]!—
4 and [inasmuch as] we praise [peaceful men] with boundless praise, and
if it is one's duty[6] to pursue peace with all mankind,
5 how much more[7] do the quest and pursuit of it become the duty of such
as have received.....at any time
6 or in any way a favor, great or small, such as we have observed to occur
in the case of the intelligent
7 and eminent gentleman, [one] of the influential men of Palestine[2], the
honorable Rabbi[8] Isaac Ḳajījī—May he be acceptable!—the goodness
of whose heart
8 at all times and seasons is known, and also how he found himself
[involved] in troubles and in a period of difficulty. Now my Lord[9]
has not requited
9 good in all matters: whether because [Rabbi Isaac] was hasty in de-
manding his money, which was in the hands of my Lord,
10 in order to make his return journey—Indeed, because he was delayed
[by you], he became involved in a great loss in connection with those
11 bad figs which my Lord (?) saw when he was here—[or for some other
reason]. But in the second place, [Rabbi Isaac] made an appeal [to
you, both]
12 in direct conversation and through the mediation of friends, to encourage
him not to waver. [He asked you] by any sort of employment or

---

[8] כבוד הרב?

[9] I.e. "you."

13 ספרות כי ישיב טרף ביתו כאחד מקרוביו או אוהבי שמו והת׳
14 לא נטה אזן לדבריו והוא כאשר הפסיד מה שהפסיד ומיעוט
15 הריוח בזמן הרע הזה והוצאות הבתים והבנות נתמוטט ומטה ידו
16 ובחר לחזור אל האדון כמשפט הראשון להיותו אהוב נאמן ובקש
17 דברי אוהבים ישחרו פניך אדון על הדבר הזה לקרבו ולהועיל בכל
18 אשר ירזמון עיני חכמתו כי לא יחסר כל בו לכן אני כאחד מהם..ם
19 אל משמעתו מפיל תחנה ומיעין בלב שלם יראה סדר נכון להועילו
20 בכל אופני התועלת אם כמיות אותו באיזה שירות ימצא מנוח לנפשו
21 ואם כתת לו מיד הת׳ מהאוצר איזו סחורה בעין יפה ימכרנה פה
22 וירויח קצת ממה שהפסיד ואף שיתננה לו בהקפה תהיה בזול והוא
23 יתן דמיה פה לצורך הכזנה ואל יחוש לדבר כי משאו ומתנו תמיד
24 ממונה ומה גם ממון המלך אבל הנרצה מאת הת׳ הוא שיתן בעין
25 יפה מידו בלי ידים שניות ויהיה קרוב למעות ולריוח סוף כל
26 סוף יצדד כל אופני האפשר להיותו כי כזה יקנה אותו במתן שפתיו
27 לאוהב ומשרת לעולמי עד ואל ירבו בעיניך אלף אוהבים ואל ימעט
28 בעיניך שונא אחד האדון חכם ויודע תכלית הדברים ואופן קירוב
29 ההנאה ואיך יהנהו באופן שיהיה נושא דגל תהלתו בימי עולם

Margin: (a)

1 ואל יתכוין להקניטו חו כי נפשו מרה לו למיעוט הריוח ויוקר המזונות
והפרנסה ואין אדם נתפס על צערו והארכתי בדבר

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[10] Cf. Leviticus xxv, 35.

[11] The second and third persons are used interchangeably.

[12] Arabic.

literary work to restore the support of his house, as one of [my Lord's] relatives and admirers. But my Lord (?)
did not give ear to his words. Then he, [Rabbi Isaac,] when he had lost what he lost—the small
profits of those evil times, and the expenses of the houses and the daughters [being what they were]—collapsed, and his hand wavered[10],
and he chose to return to my Lord as originally planned, to be [his] beloved and trusted [friend]. And he sought to employ
the conversations of friends, [that] they might address themselves to you[11], Sir, concerning this matter, in order that he might approach [you] and that [you] might aid him in every thing
which the eyes of [my Lord's][11] wisdom might indicate ; for there is no lack [of ability] at all in him. Therefore I, as one of those.....
to [my Lord's] subjects, make supplication and give counsel with a perfect heart. May [my Lord] see some proper arrangement for helping him
by every sort of usefulness, whether.....him in some sort of employment by which he may find rest for his soul,
or else giving him, by the hand of my Lord (?), from the common stock, some sort of merchandise, in a kindly spirit, which he may sell here
and [thereby] gain a little of what he has lost. And even though [my Lord] gives it to him on credit, the price must be low. And he
will deliver its equivalent here toward the needs of the treasury[12]. And let [my Lord] not fear anything; for his business at all times brings in
money, and royal money too[13]. But the thing that is desired of my Lord (?) is that he give in a kindly
spirit by his own hand, without [the mediation of] other hands, and [thus] be close to [both] capital and profits. In
short, let [my Lord] be everything possible [to him], for thus he will gain him, by gentle speech,
as a friend and servant for ever and ever. And let not a thousand friends be many in your eyes ; nor let one
enemy be a small thing in your eyes. My Lord is wise, and knows the purpose of things, and the manner of advantageous
approach, and how he may benefit [this man] in such a way that he will become a bearer of the flag of his praise for all eternity.

Margin: (*a*)

And let [my Lord] not seek to affront him—God forbid!—for his soul is bitter by reason of the smallness of [his] profit and the costliness of food and maintenance ; and no man is to be blamed for his suffering. Now I have dilated upon this matter

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[13] From תמיד on, very uncertain.

2 כי כוֹנתי תמיד לרדוף טובתו גלוי וידוע לפניו יתּ ואם נסתר הוא מנגד
עיניו נא יפקדנו בשלם החכם השלם מר חתנו נ׳
3 גם דברי אלה ירצו ויראו לפניו ועלימו חטוף מלתי ואתה גביר על רוב
שלם תתענג מאתּ [י׳] אשאלה על מי מנוחות
4 ינחהו במעגלת צדק בנפשו יפה ברה ונפש נאמן בבריתּ[ו ה]עבד הצעיר
אברהם קסטר[ו]

Margin : (b)

1 מי [י]רב לבו להוצאות דברים אחר
2 אשר אדוננו החכם מעלם לא הניח [דבר]
3 גדול וקטון ודבריו ישרים למי [ש]באותו מ . . הּ
4 ולמען תּלך בדרך טובים ואורחות צדיקים ת[ש]מור
5 ובכן יענך אֹ ביום צרה חו׳ ישלח עזרו מקודש בשופ . . .
6 ברכות בנפש הצעיר טובּ . . .
7 אמן

---

[14] Or "son-in-law." [15] Job xxix, 22. [16] Psalm xxiii, 2.
[17] Psalm xxiii, 3.
[18] The adjectives are uncertain, and ought in any case to have the article.

2 because my purpose to further his welfare at all times is evident and well known to [God]—Blessed be He! But if [my purpose seems to be] hidden from his eyes, then, I pray, let his father-in-law[14]—May his light shine[1]!—the wise and peaceful, visit [Rabbi Isaac] in peace.

3 And furthermore, may these my words be acceptable, and may they receive his attention: "And my speech distilled upon them[15]." But [as for] you, Master: May you enjoy an abundance of peace. From [the Lord] I ask it "beside the still waters[16]."

4 May He guide him "in the paths of righteousness[17]" because of his beautiful, pure soul[18], the soul of one faithful in his covenant[19]. [Signed:] The insignificant slave, Abraham Castro.

Margin: (b)

1 Who dares[20] to utter words [of reproach], seeing

2 that our wise Master from time out of mind has never neglected any matter,

3 great or small. And his words are just to those whom.....

4 "That thou mayest walk in the way of good men, and keep the paths of the righteous[21]."

5 And thus may "the Lord answer thee in the day of trouble[22]".....Send His help from the Sanctuary[23].

6 Blessings by(?) the soul of the insignificant.....

7 Amen!

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[19] Psalm lxxviii, 37. [20] For יִרְבֶּה? [21] Proverbs ii, 20.
[22] Psalm xx, 2. [23] Psalm xx, 3.

XLIX. LETTER FROM A LADY

Paper 8 × $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in semi-cursive Hebrew characters, very regular and beautiful, but badly faded. The text could be read, however, in an especially prepared photograph, the work of Mr George R. Swain, Technical Expert in Photography at the University. It was doubtless written by a professional scribe.

Recto :

בה

1 יושב בשבת תחכמוני הוא עוזנו העצם החכם השלם ריש מתיבתא
וריש

2 מתה כמהר אברהם סכנדרני נ״י

3 עם פקודת משמרת החיים והשלום יפקד ויזכר בבני חיי ומזוני עם כל

4 בני חבורתו הקדושה ל..רותים ... להודיעו ממצבי הרע המר והנמהר

5 וממזלי הקשה שאחר שירדתי בשברי שברון מכל עבר ופנה וחשבתי

6 אולי עברו ימי הרעה ואמר השי׳ די לצרותי ושדכתי בני עם בת טובים

7 ונהפך מחולי לאבלי כי באו לי גנבים בלילה ושדדו אותי וברוך ה׳
שגזר

8 עלי גם בזאת לטעום טעם עוני אני ובני ערומים רעבים גם צמאים

9 ויען היותי משוש לכל הארץ עתה אני הרפה לכל שכני ורואי ועל הכל

10 יהי שם ק מבורך שהיצלני ולבני מחרבם כי כל אשר לאיש יתן בעד

11 נפשו ומענין זקנתך ת״ל כגדר הבריאות וגם בה פגעה מכתי כי שללו

12 מלבושיה עתה אין חדש כי אם לחלות פניו שיפקח עלי עין השגחתו

13 אולי יציל לי דבר מה מאחיו אבא כי שעתא דחוקה לי מאד והייתי

14 שחוק לכל עמי ומענין התלמיד ישראל מנשק ידי האדון והוא מעודו

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[1] II Samuel xxiii, 8.

[2] Aramaic forms.

[3] השם יתברך.

[4] For הצילני.

[5] I.e. "you."

XLIX. LETTER FROM A LADY

A letter addressed to a certain Rabbi Abraham Skandarānī, "The Alexandrian," by his aunt, an unnamed lady who has fallen upon evil days and desires his assistance.

Many Old Testament phrases are interwoven, in the manner of one who reads the Scriptures much, and has no style of his own ; but, as this is unconscious, the references have not always been given in our notes.

Recto:

Blessed be the Name [of God]!

1 [To him] who sits in the seat of Taḥkemōnī[1], him, our Refuge, Mighty, Wise, Perfect, Head of the Academy, and Head of
2 the city (?) the Exalted Honor of the Rabbi Abraham Skandarānī, Light of Israel.
3 With the granting of preservation of life and peace let him be cared for, and let him be remembered among the sons of life[2] and sustenance[2], together with all
4 the people of his holy company.....to inform him of the doings of that evil, bitter and hasty man,
5 and of my cruel fate which, after I had descended into the lowest depths of destruction [which assailed me] from every side and quarter, and had imagined [that]
6 perhaps the days of evil had passed, and had said : "The Name [of God] be praised[3]! Enough of my sufferings! I have betrothed my son to a maiden of beauty!"—
7 my dancing was changed to (my) lamentation. For thieves entered my [house] by night and robbed me. But blessed [be] the Name [of God], who decreed
8 for me also this, to taste the flavor of my sin. I and my son are naked, hungry—and thirsty.
9 And instead of (?) being a delight unto all the earth, now I [am] an [object of] shame to all my neighbors and those who see me. But in spite of it all,
10 may the Holy Name [of God] be blessed, who delivered me[4] and my son from their sword ; for all that a man hath will he give for
11 his life. And as regards your grandmother.....according to the definition of healthy women ; but her also did my misfortune strike. For they carried off
12 her clothing. At present there is nothing new [to ask], except to pray his[5] presence that he will open upon me the eye of his[5] oversight.
13 Perhaps he[5] will save for me something from his[5] brethren, Sir, for it is to me an hour[2] of great need. And I have become
14 dust unto all my people. And as regards the pupil, Israel, he kisses the hands of the Gentleman[5], and he is still (?)

15 לומר עם החכם כ"הר יצחק צבאח יען כי אצלו ל[ו]מדים תלמידי

16 הישיבה ולא עם זולתו ולא ראיתי טובה משום אדם כי אם ממנו

17 עם היות שעברו דברי ריבות ביני לבינו על אודות בנות בעלי

18 . . . . . השדוכין אחר שהפסדתי יותר משלושים גרו׳

19 בשדוכין בזמן שלחתי וקצרה ידי מלהשלים הקם מהר הבתולה

20 וגם זו לטובה ושלום מאת המרה ונאנחה שכולה וגלמודה המצוק[ה]

21 לחתום בדמעות שליש סת דודתך /

Margin:

. . . . . טו לטבת

Verso:

מ . . . תובבי

יוצל ליד אוֹצר בלוט תגא דאוריתא ודרבין הח׳ הש׳ כמהר אברהם סכנדרני

. . . . . .

---

6 כבוד הרב.

7 גרו׳ contains the name of some coin. One thinks of قروش, plural of قِرْش, the modern "piastre." But 30 piastres is too small a sum (about $1.50) to complain of losing. Also, the word is supposed to have been borrowed from Germany or Austria (*groschen*) in comparatively recent times.

8 הָקֵם.

15 studying with the learned Rabbi Isaac[6] Ṣabāḥ, because with him there
are studying pupils of
16 the Academy, and not with any other. And I have not experienced a
kindness from any one but him;
17 although, to be sure, words of strife have passed between him and me
concerning the daughters of my husband
18 .....the betrothal after I had lost more than thirty.....[7]
19 in the betrothal at the time when I sent [you word of it?]. And I am
unable to finish putting up[8] the dowry of the maiden.
20 But this also [must be] for the best. Greetings from the bitter and
sighing, bereft and lonely woman, who is forced
21 to sign [this letter] with tears in large measure: the Lady[9], your Aunt.

Margin:

.....15th of Ṭēbhēth.

Verso:

.....

May it reach the hand of the Most Eminent[10] Oak[11], Crown of the Law and the Rabbis[12], the Pious, the.....Exalted Honor of the Rabbi[9] Abraham Skandarānī[13].

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[9] Vernacular Arabic, *sitt*, for classical سَيِّدَة.

[10] These words in Arabic.

[11] Hebrew. [12] These words in Aramaic.

[13] החסיד ... כבוד מעלת הרב.

L. THREE LETTERS OF COMPLAINT

Paper $45\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The three letters which the fragment contains are all in the same hand, and were doubtless written down by the same professional scribe. The first fills one hundred lines, of which lines 1–34 and 41–53 are rimed, the rimes being indicated by short diagonal strokes. The second letter occupies twenty-five lines, and the third letter forty-four lines.

Many biblical phrases are introduced, paraphrased, or hinted at. Not all have been indicated in the notes, for the reference is often remote.

The paper bears a watermark of the familiar hand-and-star variety, employed by many manufacturers, in France, Switzerland, and Sicily, between A.D. 1490 and 1590. See Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 1907. If the Moses mentioned is indeed Moses di Trani, our fragment may be accurately dated toward the close of his incumbency at Safed, 1525–1535 (note 72), and may even have had something to do with his apparent removal. He did not die till 1585, fifty years later.

1 וה . . . .

2 שלשה ימים ״ וג . . . . . .

3 על בניו והקּבה מזמין להם . . . ק . . . . . עד שיג . . . . . .

4 עם היותי סובל צערי ״ ולא אחוס על עצמי כאכזרי ״ ועם כ . . . . . .

5 אדם לי מצירים ״ ועלי מכתירים ״ והגיע הזיקם גם לחבירים ״ שעמי

6 קורים ״ לבלתי היותם נסטרים ״ מארנוניות ושאר דברים ״ כשאר

7 הלומדים תורה אצל אחרים ״ ואפילו להקל מעליהם ויהלו מעט

8 ממשׂא מלך שרים ״ ועמדתי בקהל ואמרתי למה לא תתנהגו עם

9 חבירי כהלכה בדרך שאתם מתנהגים עם האחרים ״ והשיבו

10 שאדונינו הנגיד פטר תלמידי ר׳ משה ״ ואם מתלמידיו ותלמידך

11 לא נקבל אין לנו ממי נקבל ״ ומעמיסים עליהם עומס אחירים ״

12 אם מאת אדוני היה הדבר הזה ״ לחזק השמן ולרדוף הרזה ״ עלינו

13 לשביח וגזירתך נקבל ״ וחלילה וחס שכסא כבודך תּנבל ״ וצאן

14 מרעיתך תחבל ״ ואספר קצת ממנהג כבוד הדיין הנזכר עמי .

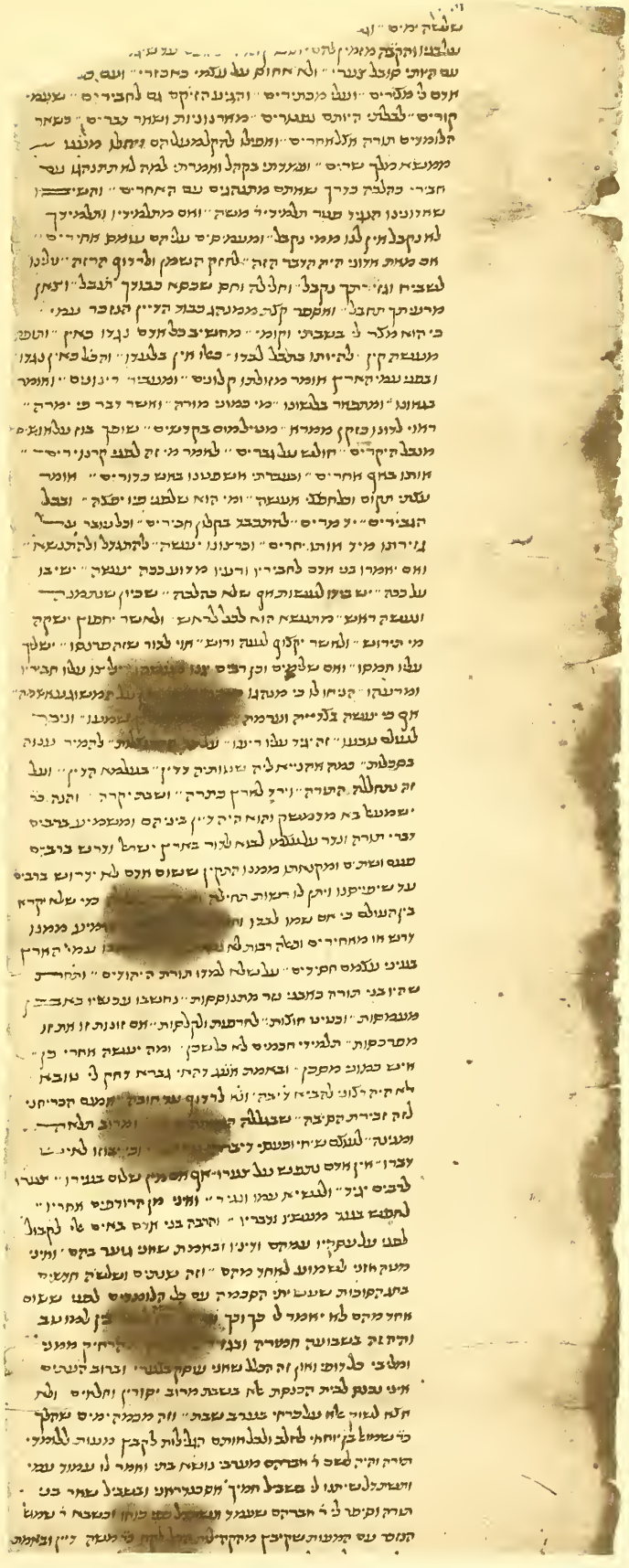
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[1] הקדוש ברוך שמו.

[2] For נסתרים.

[3] For ארנונות?

[4] Hosea viii, 10.



L. THREE LETTERS OF COMPLAINT

These three letters complain of the conduct of a certain Rabbi Moses, the dayyān of Safed in Galilee. If we are to believe the writers, he was a rather unusually vainglorious, selfish and unscrupulous person, guilty of many acts of tyranny, misappropriation and corruption, and responsible for the perennial Safed Meat Scandal.

It is difficult to recognise in this Moses, the Moses di Trani who was Rabbi of Safed from 1525 to 1535. But our Moses was the immediate successor of a certain Joseph Sarakossī (or Saragossī), as we learn from line 157; and Moses di Trani was a successor, possibly an immediate successor, of the Joseph Saragossī who organised the community of Safed in 1492; and the identification is thus not unlikely.

The addressee of the letter is an unnamed Egyptian nāgīd, at Fusṭāṭ(?). The beginning of the fragment, which might have revealed his identity, is unfortunately missing. The writers are all people at Safed, whose names are duly signed. Many interesting names appear.

1 .....
2 three days, and.....
3 over his sons. And the Holy One—Blessed be the Name[1]!—was inviting them.....
4 while I bore my affliction, and did not spare myself, cruel that I was, and while.....
5 men were hemming me in and surrounding me, the injury [which] they [were doing] extended even to the scholars who with me
6 [were] reading, without their being protected[2] from taxes[3] and other things, as [are] the rest of
7 those who study the Law, with other [teachers], if only [to the extent of] lightening their [obligations] and relieving them a little
8 from "the burden of the King of Princes[4]." And I stood in the congregation and said: "Why do you not behave toward
9 my friends properly, as you behave towards the others?" and they replied:
10 "Our Master, the Nāgīd, has exempted the pupils of Rabbi Moses; and if we do not receive [taxes] from
11 his pupils nor [from] your pupils[5], we have no [people] from whom we may receive [taxes]. We are [thus merely] placing upon [your friends] the burden of others.
12 If this matter proceeds from our Master, to strengthen the fat and drive out the lean, it is our duty
13 to applaud; and we shall accept your decision. God forbid that the throne of your Honor should be outraged, and the sheep
14 of your pasture injured." And I shall recount something of the manner of his Honor, the dayyān, [above] mentioned, [in dealing] with me.

---

[5] For תלמידיך "pupils"?

15 כי הוא מצר לי בשבתי וקומי ״ מחשיב כל אדם נגדו כאין ״ ותופס
16 מעשה קין ״ להיותו בתבל לבדו ״ כאלו אין בלעדו ״ והכל כאין נגדו ״
17 ובפני עמי הארץ אומר מזולתו קלונים ״ ומעביר רינונים ״ ואומר
18 בגאונו ״ ומתפאר בלשונו ״ מי כמוני מורה ׳ ואשר דבר פי ימרה ״
19 ראוי לדונו כזקן ממרא ״ מטיל מים בקדשים ״ שופך בוז על אנשים ״
20 מנבל היקרים ״ חולש על גברים ״ לאמר מי זה לפני קרנו ירים ״
21 אותו באף אחרים ״ ובעברתי אשפענו באש כדורים ״ אומר
22 עצתי תקום וכל חפצי אעשה ״ ומי הוא שלפני פיו יפצה ״ ובכל
23 הגבירים ״ יד מרים ״ להתכבד בקלון חבירים ״ וכל עובר על
24 גזירתו מיד אותו יחרים ״ וכרצונו יעשה ״ להתגדל ולהתנשא ״
25 ואם יאמרו בני אדם לחביריו ודעיו מדוע ככה יעשה ״ ישיבו
26 על ככה ״ יש בידו לעשות אף שלא כהלכה ״ שכיון שנתמנה
27 ונעשה ראש ״ מתנשא הוא לכל לראש ״ ולאשר יחפוץ ישקה
28 מי תירוש ״ ולאשר יקצוף לענה ורוש ״ אוי לדור שזה פרנסו ״ ישליך
29 עליו חמסו ״ ואם שלימים וכן רבים יגנו מעשהו ״ יליצו עליו חביריו
30 ומרעהו ״ הניחו לו כי מנהגו מנהג יהוא ״ ואין על המשוגע אשמה ״
31 אף כי יעשה בצדייה וערמה ״ הנה יצא בארץ שמעו ״ וניכר
32 לעולם טבעו ״ זה יגיד עליו ריעו ״ על צק ההתנצלות ״ להמיר ענוה
33 בסכלות ״ כמה אהנייא ליה שטותיה דדין ״ בעלמא הדין ״ ועל
34 זה נתהללה התורה ״ וירד לארץ כתרה ״ ושבת יקרה ״ והנה כֹּר
35 ישמעאל בא מדמשק והוא היה דיין ביניהם ומשמיע ברבים

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[6] בלעדיו.
[7] A scholar who refuses to conform to the majority opinion.
[8] Isaiah xlvi, 10. [9] For ויודעיו.

15 He has oppressed me in my downsitting and my uprising, reckoning as
nothing every man opposed to him, having recourse to
16 the deed of Cain in order to be the only one in the world, as if there
were no one beside him[6], and everything [were] as nothing before him.
17 And before the common people he says shameful things about [everyone]
but himself, uttering slanders and speaking
18 in his pride, and boasting with his tongue: "Who [is there that] teaches
like me?" and "He who rebels against the word of my mouth
19 shall be treated as a disobedient elder[7]." He voids water upon holy
things, pours contempt upon men,
20 outrages the honorable, brings weakness upon strong men, saying:
"Whosoever shall exalt his horn before me,
21 him in anger shall I outlaw, and in my wrath overwhelm with the fire of
battle." He says:
22 "My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure[8]," and "Who is
he that will dare open his mouth in my presence?" And against all
23 the leading men he raises his hand, that he may gain honor for himself
by the shame of [his] associates. And everyone who transgresses
24 his decisions he forthwith outlaws; and he does as he pleases, that he
may magnify and exalt himself.
25 And if people say to his companions and those that know him[9]: "Why
does he do this?" they reply
26 thus: "He has the power to do even what is contrary to legal custom;
for as soon as he was appointed
27 and made Head [of the Academy], he exalted himself to [the dignity of
being] Head of All. And to him whom he desired, he gave to drink
28 the waters of new wine; but to him against whom he was angry, [he
gave] wormwood and poison. Woe unto the generation which has
this for a leader! [A man] who casts
29 his injustice in its face. And although sound men—and there are many
such—defend his doings, [nevertheless] his companions and his flock
make sport
30 of him. They let him [do] according to his custom, the custom of Jehu.
There is no blame for the madman,
31 even though he works with design and cunning. Truly, his report has
gone forth in the land, and his character
32 is recognised[10] for all time. This is what his friend says of him, about
the difficulty of his justifying himself: for [him] to turn humility
33 into folly. How has the folly of this [man] profited him in this world[11]?
And because of
34 this the Law has been desecrated, and its crown brought down to earth,
and its honor has ceased. Behold, the honorable Rabbi
35 Ishmael came from Damascus. He had been dayyān among them [there].
And he had published abroad

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[10] For וינכר.

[11] This sentence is in Aramaic.

36 דברי תורה ופרר על עצמו לבוא לדור בארץ ישראל ודרש ברבים
37 פעם ושתים ומקנאתו ממנו התקין ששום אדם לא ידרוש ברבים
38 עד שיפייסנו ויתן לו רשות תחילה וזו היתה בעלילה כדי שלא יקרא
39 בין העולם כי אם שמו לבדו וחזר והחרים על כל השומיע ממנו
40 דרש או מאחירים וכאלה רבות לא נשמעו " עד ששבו עמי הארץ
41 בעיני עצמם חסידים " על שלא למדו תורת היהודים " ותחת
42 שהיו בני תורה כאבני נזר מתנוססים " נחשבו עכשיו כאבן
43 מעמסות " וכטיט חוצות " לחרפות ולקלסות " אם זונות זו את זו
44 מפרכסות " תלמידי חכמים לא כל שכן " ומה יעשה אחרי כן "
45 איש כמוני מסכן " ובאמת אעג דהאי גברא דחק לי טובה "
46 לא היה רצוני להביא דיבה " ולא לרדוף עד חובה " אמנם הכריחני
47 לזה זכירת הסיבה " שבגללה הושתה איבה " ומרוב תלאה
48 ומגינה " לעוצם שיחי וכעסי דיברתי עד הנה " וכי יבוזו לאיש
49 דברו " אין אדם נתפש על צערו " אף אם אין שלום בעירו " צערו
50 לרבים יגיד " ולנשיא עמו ונגיד " ואיני מן הרודפים אחריו "
51 לחפש בעד מעשיו ודבריו " והרבה בני אדם באים אלי לקבול
52 לפני על עסקיו עמהם ודיניו ובאמת שאני גוער בהם " ואיני
53 מטה אזני לשמוע לאחד מהם " וזה שנתים ושלשה חדשים
54 בחג הסוכות שעשיתי הסכמה עם כל הלומדים לפני ששום
55 אחד מהם לא יאמר לי כך וכך עשה בין לטוב כמשה בין למוטב
56 והיה זה בשבועה חמורה ובגזירת התורה להרחיק ממני
57 ומליבי כל דופי ואון זה הכלל שאני עוסק בצערי וברוב העתים
58 איני נכנס לבית הכנסת אלא בשבת מרוב יסורין וחלאים ולא

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[12] Zechariah ix, 16.
[13] Zechariah xii, 3. But here correct to אבנים.
[14] Micah vii, 10.
[15] Talmud, *Shabbāth*, 34a.
[16] אַף עַל גַּב דְּ.
[17] This clause is in Aramaic.
[18] Cf. Genesis iii, 15.
[19] Talmud, *Baba Bathra*, 16b, where however we have "in the hour of his suffering": שאין אדם נתפס בשעת צערו.

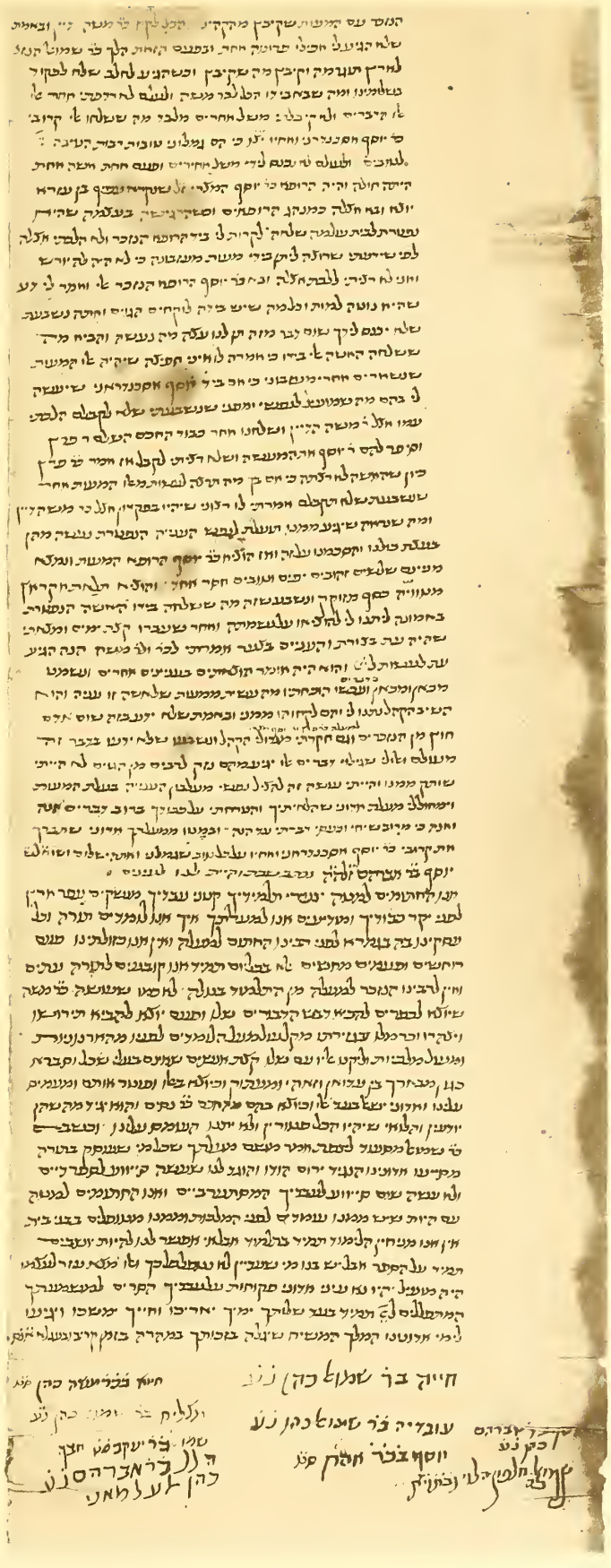
36 [certain] words of the Law, and taken upon himself a vow to go and live
in Palestine. And he preached publicly
37 once or twice. And, because [Rabbi Moses] was jealous of him, he com-
manded that no man should preach publicly
38 until he had made peace with him, and he had given him permission
beforehand. And this was done in order that his name
39 only should be noised abroad. And he next outlawed every one who
listened to instruction from him
40 or from others; and many things like these, [such as] were never heard
of [before]; until the common people came to be
41 saints in their own eyes, without learning the Law of the Jews; and,
instead of
42 the Sons of the Law being as stones of a crown lifted on high[12], now they
are reckoned as burdensome
43 stones[13], and as mire of the streets[14], [fit only] for shame and derision.
If harlots paint each other's
44 faces, should not the pupils of wise men [show] even more [mutual help-
fulness[15]]? And after [all] this what is a poor man
45 like me to do? And truly, even though[16] this man has deprived me of
good[17](?),
46 I have not wished [of myself] to bring gossip, nor to pursue [him] to
[the point of] accusation. Verily I was compelled
47 to [do] this by the memory of the cause by which enmity was established[18].
Because of much vexation
48 and sorrow I have spoken thus far in my strongest language and in my
anger. But if people despise a man [for]
49 his speech, [let them remember that] no man is called to account for his
suffering[19]. Even if there be no peace in his city, his suffering
50 to the multitude he makes known: even unto the prince and leader of
his people. I am not a persecutor of him,
51 to search out his doings and sayings. Many people come to me to
complain
52 to me about his dealings with them and his judgments. But truly I
rebuke them and I do not
53 lend my ear to hearing one of them. Only two or three months [ago]
54 at the Feast of Tabernacles, I made an agreement with all those who
were studying under me, that not
55 one of them should say: "The honorable Rabbi Moses[20] has done thus
and so," however good [his intentions].
56 And this occurred in an important week and [at a time] when the Law
commands [me] to put away from myself
57 and from my heart every blemish and sin. This [was] the rule which I
practised in my suffering. And for the most part
58 I did not go to the synagogue except upon the Sabbath Day, by reason
of [my] ailments and disorders; nor

[20] Evidently the name of the accused. It is written between lines. Cf. line 64.

59 אצא לשוק אלא על כרחי בערב שבת " וזה מכמה ימים שהלך
60 כ׳ שמואל בן יוחאי לחלב ולכל אותם הגלילות לקבץ מעות ללומדי
61 תורה והיה לשם ר׳ אברהם מערבי נושא בתי ואמר לו עמוד עמי
62 ותשתדל שיתנו לי בשביל חמיך אסכנדראני ובשביל שאר בני
63 תורה וסיפר לי ר׳ אברהם שעמד ונשתדל כפי כוחו וכשבא ר׳ שמואל
64 הנזכר עם המעות שקיבץ מהקהילות הכל לקח כ׳ משה דיין ובאמת
65 שלא הגיע לי אפילו פרוטה אחת ובפנים הזאת הלך כ׳ שמואל הנזכ׳
66 לארץ תוגרמה וקיבץ מה שקיבץ וכשהגיע לחלב שלח לפקוד
67 בשלומינו ומה שבא בידו הכל לכ׳ משה ולעלם לא רדפתי אחר אלו
68 אלו הדברים ולא קיבלתי משלאחרים מלבד מה ששלחו אלי קרובי
69 כ׳ יוסף אסכנדרני ואחיו יצ״ו כי הם גמלוני טובות רבות הטיבה יי׳
70 לטובים " ולעולם לא נכנס לידי משלאחירים ופעם אחת אשה אחת
71 היתה חולה והיה הרופא כ׳ יוסף המצרי זל שנקרא עפיף בן עזרא
72 יוצא ובא אצלה כמנהג הרופאים וכשהרגישה בעצמה שהיא
73 נפטרת לבית עולמה שלחה לקרות לי ביד הרופא הנזכר ולא הלכתי אצלה
74 לפי שידעתי שרוצה ליתן בידי מעות מעזבונה כי לא היה לה יורש
75 ואני לא רציתי ללכת אצלה ובא כ׳ יוסף הרופא הנזכר אלי ואמר לי דע
76 שהיא נוטה למות וכל מה שיש בידה לוקחים הגוים ואתה נשבעת
77 שלא יכנס לידך שום דבר מזה תן לנו עצה מה נעשה והביא מה
78 ששלחה האשה אלי בידו כי אמרה לו איני חפיצה שיהיה אלו המעות
79 שנשארים אחרי מעזבוני כי אם ביד יוסף אסכנדראני שיעשה

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[21] Hebrew for the ordinary Arabic, *Maghribī*.
[22] For סִפֵּר. A frequent form. See other examples below.
[23] For ישתדל. [24] Or Armenia?



59 did I go forth to the market-place, except involuntarily, on Sabbath Eve. Only a few days ago the honorable Rabbi Samuel
60 Ben Yōḥai went to Aleppo and to all those surrounding [places], to collect money for the students of
61 the Law. And it happened in the case of Rabbi Abraham Ma'rabī[21], my daughter's betrothed, [that Rabbi Samuel] said to him: "Stand with me
62 and persuade them to give to me on account of your father-in-law, Iskandarānī, and on account of the other Sons of
63 the Law." And Rabbi Abraham told me[22] that he stood and solicited[23] as well as he was able; and that, when the [above-]mentioned Rabbi
64 Samuel returned with the money which he had collected[22] from the congregations, the honorable Rabbi Moses, the dayyān, took the whole [of it]. And truly
65 not even a single penny reached me. With these sentiments the honorable Rabbi Samuel, [above] mentioned, went
66 to the land of Turkey[24], and collected what he could[22]. And when he had reached Aleppo, he sent to give
67 us greetings; but all that had come into his hands he turned over to the honorable Rabbi Moses. I have never run after
68 these things, nor have I received what belonged to others: save only what my kinsmen sent me,
69 the honorable Rabbi Joseph Iskandarānī and his brothers—May God preserve him!—for they have shown me many kindnesses. May God reward
70 the good! Never has there come into my hands what belonged to others. On one occasion a woman
71 was ill, and the physician was the honorable Rabbi Joseph, the Egyptian, of blessed memory, who was called [in Arabic] 'Afīf Ibn Ezra.
72 He went in and out of her house, in the manner of physicians; and when she felt within herself that she
73 was departing to her eternal home, she sent to have me summoned by the [above-]mentioned physician. But I did not go to her [house]
74 because I knew that she wished to place in my hands the money of her estate—for she had no heir—
75 and I did not wish to go to her [house]. And the honorable Rabbi Joseph, the physician, [above] mentioned, came to me, and said to me: "Know
76 that she is inclining toward death, and that the gentiles will take all that she has in her possession; and [yet] you have sworn
77 that nothing of this shall be gathered into your hand. Give us [therefore] advice [as to] what we are to do." And he brought what
78 the woman had sent to me by his hand; for she had said to him: "I do not wish this money,
79 which shall be left behind me in the way of an estate, to be in the hands of any but Joseph Iskandarānī, to do

80 לי בהם מה שמועיל לנפשי ומפני שנשבעתי שלא לקבלם הלכתי

81 עמו אצל ר׳ משה הדיין ושלחנו אחר כבוד החכם השלם ר׳ פרין

82 וסיפר להם ר׳ יוסף את המעשה ושלא רציתי לקבל אז אמר כ׳ פרין

83 כיון שהאשה לא רצתה כי אם בך מה תרצה לעשות מאלו המעות אחר

84 שנשבעת שלא תקבלם אמרתי לו רצוני שיהיו בפקדון אצל כ׳ מש הדיין

85 ומה שנראה שיגיע ממנו תועלת לנפש העניה הנפטרת נעשה מהן

86 בעצת כולנו והסכמנו על זה ואז הוציא כ׳ יוסף הרופא המעות ונמצא

87 מנינם שלשים זהובים יפים וטובים חסר אחד ״ והוציא תְּלַאת אַקְרַאין

88 מטוויה כסף מזוקק ונשבע שזה מה ששלחה בידו האשה הנפטרת

89 באמונה ליתנו לי להוציאו על נשמתה ואחר שעברו קצת ימים ומצאתי

90 שהיה עת בצורת והעניים בצער אמרתי לכ׳ ולר׳ משה הנה הגיע

91 עת לעשות ל[30]) והוא היה אומר הוצאתים בעניינים אחרים ונשמט

92 מכאן ומכאן ועכשו[29] בדברים הוכחתיו מה עשית ממעות של אשה זו עניה והוא

93 השיב הקהל נתנו לי והם לקחוהו ממני ובאמת שלא ידע בזה שום אדם

94 חוץ מן הנזכרים וגם הקרתי מגדולי הקהל ונשבעו שלא ידעו בדבר זה למעלה כ׳פרין ור׳ יוסף מצרי

95 מעולם ואלולי שגילוי דברים אלו יגיע מהם נזק לרבים מן הגוים לא הייתי

96 שותק ממנו והייתי עושה זה להציל נפשי מעלבון העניה בעלת המעות

97 וימחול לי מעלת אדוני שהלאיתיך והערחתי על כבודך ברוב דברים אנה

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[25] Supply ה.

[26] Arabic, meaning some article of personal adornment.

[27] Psalm cxix, 126. [28] This phrase is in Arabic.

[29] Added above the line in the same hand.

[30] Added above the line in a different hand.

80 for me with it that which will help my soul." But, since I had sworn not to accept them, I went
81 with him to Rabbi Moses, the dayyān; and we sent for the honorable, wise [and] perfect Rabbi Perez(?);
82 and Rabbi Joseph told them of the matter, and [also] that I did not wish to accept [the money]. Then the honorable Rabbi Perez said:
83 "Since the woman did not wish [anyone] but you [to have the money], what do you wish to do with this money, after
84 you have sworn that you will not accept it?" I said to him: "My wish is that it shall be upon deposit with the honorable Rabbi Moses, [the][25] dayyān;
85 and whatever we shall perceive to bring profit to the soul of the poor woman who is departed, we shall do [by using some] of it,
86 with the advice of us all." And we agreed upon this. And then the honorable Rabbi Joseph, the physician, brought out the money; and their number
87 was found [to be] thirty gold-pieces, fair and good, less one. And he brought out three folded
88 discs[26] [of] refined silver. And he swore that this was what the deceased woman had sent by his hand
89 in good faith, for him to give me, to expend for the sake of her soul. And after a few days had passed, and I found
90 that it was a time of scarcity and [that] the poor [were] in distress, I said to the honorable Rabbi [Perez?] and to Rabbi Moses: "Behold the time
91 has come for the Lord to work[27]." But he kept saying: "I have spent it for other poor people; and it has been expended
92 in this place and that[28] in [different] undertakings[29]." And now I called him to account, [saying]: "What have you done with the money of this poor woman?" But he
93 [merely] answered: "The congregation gave it to me, and they have taken it from me." But the truth [is] that no man knew [anything] about this,
94 excepting those mentioned—beyond the honorable Rabbi Perez, and Rabbi Joseph [the] Egyptian[30]. And I have also made inquiry of the important persons of the congregation; and they have sworn that they never knew [anything] about this
95 matter. And had it not been that a divulgence of these matters would have brought injury to many at the hands of the gentiles, I should not have been
96 silent about it; but I should have done this to release myself from the reproach of the poor woman, the owner of the money.
97 But his Eminence, my Lord, will forgive me that I have wearied you[31] and taxed[32] your Honor with [the burden of hearing] many words about various matters;

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[31] I.e. "him" etc.

[32] For הערכתי. Ashkenazic pronunciation of ח?

98 ואנה כי מרוב שיחי וכעסי דברתי עד הנה ״ ובמָטו ממעלתך ארוני שתברך
99 את קרובי כ״ר יוסף אסכנדראני ואחיו על כל טוב שגמלני ואתה שלום
ושואלש
100 יוסף בר אברהם זלהה נכתב שבת והיית לנו לעינים

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101 אנו החתומים למטה · צעירי תלמידיך קטני עבדיך מנשקים עפר ארץ
102 לפני יקר כבודיך ומודיעים אנו למעלתך איך אנו לומדים תורה וכל
103 עסקינו בה בגמרא לפני רבינו החתום למעלה ואין אנו כזולתינו פעם
104 רוחשים ופעמים מחשים אלא בכל יום תמיד אנו קובעים לתורה עתים
105 ואין לרבינו הנזכר למעלה מן התלמוד בטלה · לא כמו שעושה כ״ר משה
106 שיוצא לכפרים להביא דבש הדבורים שלו ופנים יוצא להביא תירושו
107 ויצהרו וכרמלו ובגזירתו מקל עול מעל הלומדים לפניו מהארנוניות
108 ומעול מלכיות וליקט אליו עם שלו קצת אנשים שאינם בעלי שכל וסברא
109 כגון מבארך בן עדואן וזאהי ומעתוק וכיוצא באלו ופוטר אותם ומעמיס
110 עלינו ואדוני ישאל בעד אלו וכיוצא בהם מהחכם כ״ר נסים והוא יגיד
מה שהן
111 יודעין והלואי שיהיו הכל פטורין ולא יתנו העומס עלינו ״ וכשבא
112 כ״ר שמואל מסעוד לצפת אמר משם מעלתך שכל מי שעוסק בתורה
113 מסייעו אדונינו הנגיד ירום הודו והוגד לנו שעשה סייוע לספרדיים
114 ולא עשה שום סייוע לעבדיך המסתערביים ואנו החתומים למטה
115 עם היות שיש ממנו עומדים לפני המלכות וממנו מטופלים בבני בית
116 אין אנו מניחין הלימוד תמיד בתלמוד אבל אי אפשר לנו להיות יושבים

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[33] I Samuel i, 16. [34] ושואל בישלומך.
[35] זכרונו לחיי העולם הבא. [36] Numbers x, 31.
[37] Arabic for Baruch, "Blessed." [38] "Hostility" (?).
[39] "Brilliant." Cf. *Glanz*, *Finkelstein*, etc. [40] "Freedman."
[41] Aramaized Hebrew, and confused. [42] בשם ?
[43] The 2nd and 3rd persons are confused.
[44] An Arabic word with a Hebrew plural ending.

98 "for out of the abundance of my complaint and my provocation have I spoken hitherto[33]." And [I beg] as a favor from your Eminence, my Lord, that you will greet

99 my kinsman, the honorable Rabbi Joseph Iskandarānī, and his brothers, [and bless him] for every good thing which he has done for me. And [to] you: Farewell! And the one who greets you[34] [is]

100 Joseph, son of Rabbi Abraham—[May] his memory [be] eternal life[35]! Written [upon] the sabbath of the [Scripture reading:] "And thou shalt be to us instead of eyes[36]."

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101 We, whose names are signed below, the youngest of your students, the least of your servants, kiss the dust of the ground

102 before the Dignity of your Honor. And we [beg to] inform your Eminence how we are studying the Law, and of all

103 our activities in the Gemara, with our master whose name is signed above. We are not like the others: at one time

104 working, and [many] times doing nothing; but every day without exception we set apart hours for [studying] the Law.

105 Nor does our master, mentioned above, have any leisure from teaching. [He does] not [do] as the honorable Rabbi Moses does, [at one time]

106 going forth to the villages to bring in the honey of his bees, and [at another] time going forth to bring in his new wine

107 and his oil and his grain, and by his decree relieving students under his instruction from taxes[3]

108 and from the burden of the royal levies. And [Rabbi Moses] has selected people who belong to him: a parcel of men possessing no intelligence or understanding,

109 as, for example, Mubārak[37] Ibn 'Udwān[38], and Zāhī[39], and Ma'tūḳ[40], and the like of these. And he lets them go free while laying burdens

110 upon us. And let my Lord inquire concerning these [men] and the like of them, from the wise, the honorable Rabbi Nissīm; and he will tell what they

111 know[41]. But oh that all [of us] were free, and that the oppressor were not placed over us! And when the honorable

112 Rabbi Samuel Mas'ūd came to Safed, he said, in the name[42] of your Excellency, that everyone who occupied himself with the Law

113 should receive assistance from our Lord the Nāgīd—May his glory be exalted!—But we have been told that he has given help to the Spanish [Jews],

114 and has given no help to his[43] servants the Arabized [Jews][44]. And we, the undersigned,

115 in spite of the fact that [some] of us stand before Royalty[45], and [some] of us have dependent children,

116 never cease at all to study the Talmud. But it is not possible for us to be sitting

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[45] They were in military service?

117 תמיד על הספר אבל יש בנו מי שעדיין לא יטפלפל כך ואלו מצא עזר לעצמו

118 היה מועיל יהיו נא עיני אדוני פקוחות על עבדיך הסרים למשמעתך

119 המתפללים לְךָ. תמיד בעד שלותך ימיך יאריכו וחייך ימשכו ויגיעו

120 לימי אדונינו המלך המשיח שיגלה בזכותך במהרה בזמן קריב ובעגלה אגם.

121 חייה בר׳ שמואל כהן נ״ע חייא בכ״ר משה כהן ס״ט

122 עובדיה ב״ר שמואל נ״ע מצליח ב״ר שמואל כהן נ״ע

123 יוסף בר׳ אברהם כהן נ״ע יוסף בכ״ר אהרן ס״ט שמואל ב״ר יעקב ס״ט הבך

124 שמואל בר׳ חלפון הלוי נ״ת הלל בר׳ אברהם נ״ע

125 כהן אלעלמאני

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126 והנה אני החותם שמי מטה העלוב מיסורי הזמן מפני שאני נחפז ללכת לעיר מולדתי דמשק

127 לא מצאה ידי לכתוב למעלת אדוננו שירום הודו ויגדל כבודו כתב כפי הראוי אמנם אגיד צערי

128 ומה שקרא לי עם כבוד הריין הנזכר כי זה פעמים שלש שבאתי מדמשק לדור בארץ הקדושה

129 ועל אודות צער שמגיע לי ממנו יצאתי מצפת כמה מצרים וצערים הגיעו לי על ידו כי

130 כן משפטו להצר לכל בעלי תורה וסברא למען לא יקרא בשם חכם זולתו לבדו והנה בתחלת

131 ענייני[קשה] על רבו שלמדו תורה קשר קל[רב קשה] וחומר על אחרים כי רבו היה כ״ר אברהם פתילה זלה״ה

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[46] For יתפלפל.

[47] Cf. Jeremiah xxxii, 19.

[48] Cf. the unintelligible passage in I Samuel xxii, 14, which the Revised Version translates badly: "and is taken into thy council."

[49] A very strange sign in the text.

[50] Aramaic בַּעֲגָלָא.

[51] אמן נצח סלה. [52] נוחו עדן. These were dead.

[53] סופו טוב. These were still living. [54] "Successful."

[55] Not an abbreviation, as we see from the form of ך.

[56] נפשו בטוב תלין ויתברך.

117 forever at the Book! There are among us some who do not yet argue[46] [points] so [well]. But if [such a one] found help for himself
118 it would help others. May the eyes of my Lord be open upon his[43] servants[47] who turn when they hear him,[43,48]
119 who pray to God[49] continually for his[43] peace of mind: May your days be long, and may your life stretch out and touch
120 the days of our Lord, the King, the Messiah, who [we pray] may be revealed through your merit soon, in a time near at hand, and in haste[50]! Amen! Forever! Selah[51]! [Signed:]
121 Ḥiyyāh, son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden[52]! Ḥiyyā, son of the honorable Rabbi Moses Kōhēn—[May] his end [be] good[53]!
122 Obadiah, son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden! Maṣlīaḥ[54], son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden!
123 Joseph, son of Rabbi Abraham Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden! Joseph, son of Rabbi Aaron—[May] his end [be] good! Samuel, son of Rabbi Jacob—[May] his end [be] good!.....[55]
124 Samuel, son of Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī—May his soul rest in good, and be blessed[56]! Hillēl, son of Rabbi Abraham—[May] his rest [be] in Eden!
125 Kōhēn the German[57].

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126 Behold I, who have signed my name below, [a man] afflicted by the visitations of the times, because I was in haste to go to Damascus, the city of my nativity,
127 did not find [opportunity] to write to the Eminence of our Lord—May his glory be exalted, and his honor be magnified—a letter according to propriety. [Yet now] in truth I shall tell of my suffering
128 and of what befell me in connection with the honorable dayyān [above] mentioned: for it [is now] three times that I have come from Damascus to dwell in the Holy Land,
129 and have left Safed because of trouble which overtook me through him. How many troubles and afflictions have overtaken me at his hands! For
130 such is his manner of oppressing all the masters of the Law and of tradition to the end that [no one] shall be called by the appellation "wise" except himself only. And behold, in the beginning of
131 his affair[58] he conspired against his rabbi, who had taught him the Law, in a great conspiracy. How much more then did he conspire against others! For his rabbi was the honorable Rabbi Abraham Pethīlāh[59]—May his memory endure unto the life of the World to Come[60]!—

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[57] The modern Arabic word for "German," with the Arabic article. He is not merely an אישכנזי, but comes from Germany itself. He does not give his father's name, and may be a recent arrival.

[58] עִנְיָנוֹ "incumbency." [59] "Wick."

[60] זכרונו לחיי העולם הבא

132 יצא מן העולם והוא מצטער ממנו על זה יאמר אשרי מי שרוח הבריות
נוחה הימנו וישאל

133 מעלת אדוני ענייני מן הבריות ועתה איני יודע מה לעשות כי באתי
בנדר ובשבועה על

134 עצמי לבוא לדור בארץ הקדושה כי כך מנהג אבותי שנפטרו לחיי עד
כשמזקינים באים

135 באים לארץ ישראל להיות קולטתן מחיים וזה רוצה לגרשני ממנה
שבכל עת שאני חוזר לדמשק

136 מגיע לי צער ונזק והולי בעון הנדר והשבועה ולעולם לא גמלתי לו
רעה אלא אדרבה נשתדלתי

137 בעניינו כששלח לדמשק ולכל הגלילות לקבץ מעות על שם הישיבה
אז עמדתי באהבה וחיבה

138 ומשכתי את הקהל במתק אהבה ודרשתי בכל קהלות דמשק ועשו נדבה
בשביל

139 ישיבת התורה שנים עשר זהובים וכן משפטי לכל עובר ויושב[??] לאמין את
הנכשל וכן

140 בכל עת ועת שהיה שולח אני הייתי משתדל לעשות רצונו לחיבת
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141 הדרים בארץ וזה תחת אהבתי ישטנני תחת רדפי טוב חפץ יקטלני
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144 ממטבע דמשק ולא עלה זיווגם יפה וגרשה בימים מעטים קיבל ממנה ר׳
משה בכתובה

145 ובגט ששה ושלשים כספים וחבל בגד האלמנה עד שקיבל הששה ושלשים
נשארו בידה

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[61] Mishnah iii, 10: "Every [man] in whom the spirit of men [finds] its rest, in him the spirit of God [finds] its rest. And every [man] in whom the spirit of men [finds] not its rest, in him the spirit of God [finds] not its rest." In the present case: "Blessed is the man who is beloved on earth, for he is assuredly beloved in Heaven." Rabbi Moses was not one of these.

[62] Word repeated.

132 [Rabbi Abraham] departed this world [much] grieved with him. To this [the Mishna] says: "Blessed is he in whom the spirit of men [finds] its rest[61]." And his Eminence, my Lord,

133 asks [about] his dealings with men: I know not what to do now; for I came, under a vow and an oath [which I had taken] upon

134 myself, to go to dwell in the Holy Land—for thus [was] the custom of my fathers who have gone to eternal life, that when they became old they went[62]

135 to the Land of Israel in order that it might receive us [under its protection] while still living[63]. And this [man] wishes to drive me from it. For every time I return to Damascus

136 trouble and misfortune and sickness overtake me because of the sin of the [unfulfilled] vow and oath. And yet I never did him any wrong; but, on the contrary, I exerted myself[64]

137 in his undertaking, when he sent to Damascus and to all the [neighboring] districts, to collect funds in the name of the Academy. At that time I stood in love and affection,

138 and I drew the congregation [after me] with the sweetness of love[65]; and I preached in all the congregations of Damascus; and they gave alms in the cause of

139 the Academy of the Law: twelve gold-pieces. And this is my manner toward everyone transient and resident: to strengthen him who has stumbled. And thus,

140 on each occasion when he sent [solicitors], I exerted myself to do his will, for love of the Law and its teachers, and for love

141 of those who dwell in the [Holy] Land. But this man, instead of [requiting] my love, antagonised me; instead of [emulating] my pursuit of good, desired to kill me. And although[66] men

142 come and cry aloud of his deeds before me, I rebuke them. And of all [the complaints, I mention particularly] a woman, poor, destitute, and widowed, a fugitive

143 from Damascus, on account of the debts which she owed. And she had come to dwell in Safed; and a certain man kissed her[67] and gave her fifty pieces of silver

144 of the Damascus mint. But their marriage did not turn out well, and he divorced her after a few days. Rabbi Moses took from her for the marriage contract

145 and for the letter of divorce thirty-six pieces of silver. And he took the widow's clothing as security[68], until he should receive the thirty-six. [Thus] she had left

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[63] *Kethūbhōth* 111a, cited by Levy, *op. cit.*: אינו דומה קולטתו מחיים לקולטתו לאחר מיתה "He whom [Palestine] receives while living, is not to be compared to him whom it receives after his death."

[61] For השתדלתי? [65] נת was written, but deleted. [66] ואף על פי ש.

[67] I.e. "married her"? The word has been corrected by the scribe.

[68] Cf. Deuteronomy xxiv, 17.

146 ארבעה עשר כספים למוקדם ולמאוחר הן אלה קצות דרכיו וכאלה רבים
ועם כל זה לעולם

147 לא הכנסתי עצמי בשום דבר מענייניו מלבד שיש לו תלמיד אחד לר׳
משה הנזכ

148 מכפר יאסיף והוא דר בעין אלזיתון ולמד עליו הלכות שחיטה וכששמעתי
מדמשק

149 מכר יוסף סרקוסי ומר שמואל בהלול ומזולתם על אודות השוחט הנזכר
שיצאו עליו

ר׳ יוסף סרכוסי זלחע

150 דבות רבות ועמד החכם והסכים עליו שלא יהא שוחט ובודק ומוכר
לעצמו כי הבהמות

151 שלו וממנו יתר וממנו פינה כאלו בידו עדות נעמנה לטבוח ולבדוק
ולמכור עד שמחמת

152 זה כל אנשי עין אלזיתון ואנשי ביריא וצפת מרננים עליו ומדברים אחריו
שלא יצא

153 מבהמותיו כי אם מעט טרפות וכשראה החכם ר׳ יוסף סרכוסי הנזכר
ענייני גזר

154 שלא יאכל שום אדם משחיטתו עד שיעמידו עליו איש נאמן על השחיטה
ועל הבדיקה

155 אעפ שעם היות עד אחד נאמן באסורים זה נחשד מכמה דברים מוסף
על היות

156 שמגיע לו נזק בעת שתעלה הבהמה טרפה שאינו מוכר אותה בחצי דמי
הכשרה

157 אחר שנפטר החכם ר׳ יוסף סרכוסי זלח החזירו ר׳ משה להיותו נאמן
על עצמו מבלי

158 שיעמיד אחד עמו וכשראיתי שהדברים מגיע מהם נזק גדול לנפשות
ישראל כי כל

159 שלשה עיירות אוכלים משחיטתו אמרתי לר׳ משה שאין ראוי שזה יהיה
נאמן לעצמו כי

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[69] הנזכר.

[70] See Baedeker, *Palästina* (1910), p. 250. [71] See *ibid.* p. 242.

[72] "of Saragossa." A Rabbi Joseph Saragossī reorganised the Safed community in 1492 (see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s.v.* Safed). Our Moses succeeded Joseph (line 157), and must have been the elder Moses di Trani, Rabbi of Safed, 1525–1535, according to *J. E.*, *s.v.* Trani.

146 [only] fourteen pieces of silver as the former and latter [marriage gifts]. Behold, these are some of his ways; and [there are] many [others] like them. And in spite of all this never

147 have I involved myself in any of his affairs, except [in one case]. The [above-]mentioned[69] Rabbi Moses had a student

148 from Kafr Yāsīf[70], and he lives in 'Ain al-Zaitūn[71], and he taught him the laws of slaughtering [animals]. And according to what I have heard from Damascus,

149 from the honorable Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī[72] and from Rabbi Samuel Bahlūl[73] and from others, about the [above-]mentioned butcher, there went forth against him

150 many evil reports; and the wise Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī—[May] his memory [be] for everlasting life!—stood up and agreed [with those] against him, that he should not be[74] butcher and inspector and retailer for himself. For the cattle

151 [were] his own; and he sometimes allowed to pass, and sometimes condemned—as if [indeed] he possessed "sure testimony[75]" to slaughter, and inspect, and sell—until, on account of

152 this, all the men of 'Ain al-Zaitūn and the men of Bīria(?)[76] and Safed spoke evil against him, and said concerning him that only a few

153 of his animals turned out [to be ritually] unclean. And when the wise Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī, [above] mentioned, saw his doings, he decreed

154 that no man should eat of his slaughter[ed animals] until [the authorities] appointed over him a trustworthy man for the slaughtering and for the inspection.

155 And, although[66] for prohibitions[77] one witness is trusted, this [man] was suspected, for many reasons, even of being [such that],

156 when a loss accrued to him on the occasion of an animal's turning out [to be ritually] unclean, that he would[78] sell it for half the price of a [ritually] clean [one].

157 After the wise Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī departed [this life]—[May] his memory [be] for [everlasting] life!—Rabbi Moses again made him responsible for himself, without

158 his appointing anyone [to serve] with him. And when I saw that great loss would result to the souls of Israel—for all

159 three cities[79] eat of his slaughter[ed animals]—I said to Rabbi Moses that it is not proper that this [man] should be responsible for himself; for

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[73] "Laughing." [74] For יהי?

[75] Cf. Psalm xix, 8.

[76] Some unidentified village very near to Safed. It could not, of course, be al-Bīrah near Rāmallāh, in the south.

[77] The community could usually trust anyone to report uncleanliness in the common food supply, and one objection was sufficient to cause prohibition.

[78] Literally: "was suspected.....that he would not."

[79] I.e. Safed, 'Ain al-Zaitūn, and Bīria(?).

160 בסבת זה יש רינון על כבודך ועליו כי כל נתח טוב וכל ירך וכתף קורא
אותו על שמך

161 ואם לא תעמיד עליו נאמן יהיה רינון וחילול על התורה וכל שכן שקדם
לזה תקנה

162 מרבי יוסף סרכוסי מבשר שהוא מוכר (שאסר לאכול) עד שיעמידו עליו בודק נאמן ואיך
נהרוס

163 מה שבנה החכם הנפטר זלה"ה ולא רצה ר' משה לתקן והלכתי לעין אל
זיתון וחקרתי

164 על הענין ושלח ר' משה הסכמה בכח כל מי שיש יודע לשוחט הנזכר
שום קלקול או

165 בלבול מענייני השחיטה והבדיקה ויגיד לי וכאלה רבות יכלה הזמן והם
לא יכלו ומפני

166 שאני נחפז ללכת לדמשק לא ספרתי אחת מני אלף ואם יישר[81] זה בעיני
מ֗ור הנה מה

167 טוב אבל הלילה והם ומצד קנאתו ממני מנעני מדברי תורה אני וזולתי
ועכשיו אם טוב

168 בעיני אדוני שיבטלני מדברי תורה אני וזולתי עלי לקבל גזרתך ואין
להאריך כי אם בשלומך·

169 שיגדל לעד ואל יחדל כחפצך וחפין הנרצע לאהבתך ומתפלל תמיד
בעד שלומך

170 ומצפה לתשובתך ישמעאל בר יה[ודה] זלה"ה

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[80] Cf. Ezekiel xxiv, 4.

[81] At the beginning of line 166 there is a ח or an א.

[82] The word was misspelled, deleted, and then written above the line.

160 on account of this there is evil comment against your Honor and against him, since he names "every good piece," and every "thigh and shoulder[80]" with your name.

161 And, if you do not appoint over him a trustworthy [person] there will be criticism and desecration of the Law—all the more, [indeed], since an order from Rabbi Joseph

162 Sarakossī has already been [issued], which forbids [us] to eat of the flesh which that [man] sells, until [the authorities] appoint over him a trustworthy inspector. How shall we destroy

163 what the wise [man] has built, [who is] departed!—[May] his memory [be] for everlasting [life]! But Rabbi Moses did not wish to restore [order]; so, I went to 'Ain al-Zaitūn, and I investigated

164 the affair. And Rabbi Moses sent out an opinion with [some] vehemence: "Anyone who knew, [with reference] to the [above-]mentioned butcher, any injuri[ous rumor] or

165 slander, respecting the matters of slaughter and inspection, and told [it] to me—!" And [there are] many [other cases] like these. Time may pass away, but they will not pass away. But because[81]

166 I am in haste to go to Damascus, I have not recounted one out of a thousand. And if this [conduct] is right in the eyes of my Lord and Master[82], then what [is the]

167 good [of my protest]! But God forbid! Because of his jealousy of me [this man] has prevented me[83] from [preaching the] words of [the] Law—me and others besides me. And now, if [it be] good

168 in the eyes of my Lord that [this man] keep me from [preaching the] words of [the] Law—me and others besides me—it is for me to accept your decision, and not to continue [this letter] except in [wishing] your prosperity.

169 That it may increase forever, and languish never, as is your wish, and the wish of [him who is] the object of your affection, and who prays unceasingly for your prosperity,

170 and who awaits your answer, Ishmael, son of Rabbi J[udah?][84]—[May] his memory [be] for everlasting life!

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[83] מרי ואדוני.

[84] The last name is written as a monogram, and there is a break in the paper just at this point.

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RICHARD GOTTHEIL

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

AND

WILLIAM H. WORRELL

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

New York

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PREFACE

The documents from the Cairo Genizah published in this volume were obtained by Mr Charles L. Freer in Egypt in 1908. They now form a part of the collections in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

In December, 1906, Mr Freer had purchased at Gizeh the now well-known Greek manuscripts of Deuteronomy and Joshua, the Gospels and the Psalms, and fragments of a manuscript of the Epistles of Paul. A report upon them was made by Professor Henry A. Sanders at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Chicago at the end of December, 1907. Much interest was aroused; and since it seemed probable that the manuscripts had been found in the ruins of a monastery and had formed a part of a monastic library, Mr Freer resolved to spare no effort to obtain other portions of the same collection in case such should have been brought to light. With this in mind, he made a special trip to Egypt in 1908. The most diligent inquiry, however, failed to elicit information that would lead to the recovery of other Greek manuscripts of value; but in his quest Mr Freer did secure some Coptic parchments, in which was included a Psalter, and the Genizah fragments.

The Coptic Psalter was handed to me by Mr Freer in Detroit on September 15, 1908. A few days later his Curator brought to me at the University of Michigan the remaining Coptic leaves and the Genizah documents. All this material was at once examined by Dr William H. Worrell. The Coptic Psalter and the other leaves afterwards were published by Mr Worrell in Volume X of the Humanistic Series of the University of Michigan Studies; in the same series, Volumes VIII and IX, Mr Sanders had already published the Greek manuscripts.

Learning of the presence of the Genizah documents in Detroit, and appreciating, as few scholars would, their value as source material for the history of an obscure but important period, Professor Richard Gottheil in 1912 undertook to prepare them for publication. He had accomplished the extremely difficult task of transcribing the texts when the war broke out. Responding to the call of duty, with much personal sacrifice and risk to health, he devoted himself to humanitarian work in New York until the Armistice, and beyond.

Resuming his preparation of the Genizah material as soon as possible, he finished the first draft of the translation of nearly all the documents, and had commenced the preparation of notes, when an accumulation of work, due to having been called to spend an academic year at the University of Strasbourg, obliged him to ask to be relieved from further responsibility for the completion of the volume.

Very reluctantly the request of Professor Gottheil was granted, and he placed all the material in the hands of Professor Worrell in November, 1924. It is not possible to distinguish by marks the work of the two scholars, but for the final form of the volume Professor Worrell is alone responsible. Professor Gottheil personally examined certain Genizah documents in the Taylor-Schechter, Bodleian, British Museum and Paris Consistoire collections; and his name is therefore given with the observations bearing upon these collections. Similarly his name is mentioned in a number of other instances in which Mr Worrell was unable to verify sources or to express a personal opinion. Dr Samuel Feigin worked out No. XLIV independently, and that number has been printed just as it came from his pen, entirely upon his responsibility.

Professor A. Marx, Professor Ginzberg, and Professor Israel Davidson, all of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Mr David Yellin, of Jerusalem, and Mr B. Chapira, of Paris, assisted Professor Gottheil with particular matters which have been acknowledged in their place. Mr Leon Nemoy, of Yale University, verified references to books in distant libraries. Anne MacKenzie Worrell gave vital assistance with references, analyses, manuscript, and proof. The Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, the Case Memorial Library, Hartford, Ct., the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, and the University of Michigan, loaned books of reference. To all of these the editors unite in expressing their indebtedness.

The heliotype plates of the volume were executed by the Heliotype Company, in Boston, under the direction of Mr W. C. Ramsay. The cost of publication was defrayed from the Freer Research and Publication Fund of the University of Michigan.

FRANCIS W. KELSEY.

University of Michigan,
July 10, 1926.

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INTRODUCTION[1]

i. The Cairo Genizah

THE Hebrew word *genīzāh* means "safe-keeping," "hiding," "archive," "treasury," "hiding-place." Specifically it means a depository where worn-out, heretical, or disgraced books, written or printed, useless documents and letters, or other objects of pious solicitude, are stored.

Genizahs among Jews, and similar institutions among Christians, owe their origin doubtless to the feeling that objects hallowed by religious or personal use and association may not be destroyed even though they have ceased to be useful. Fear of profanation leads to the practice of hiding them, in walls or attics, in the ground, or with the dead, in order that, like the beloved dead, they may remain forever safe until obliterated by Time, under the dispensation of Providence. In Europe and elsewhere a corner of the graveyard was set apart for this purpose[2]. There is such a place in Florence[3], marked by an appropriate inscription. In the ancient Coptic "Red Monastery" at Sohaj worn-out prayer-books, vestments, and altar-paraphernalia are thrown into a pit. The theological motivation among the Jews is the protection of the Divine Name from desecration. Genizah papers are indeed sometimes called *shemōth*, "names." Islam shows a similar solicitude for any piece of writing or printing, because it almost certainly contains the Name of God[4].

The word *genīzāh* has now become a proper name, designating the literary limbo of the ancient Synagogue of Elijah[5] in Old Cairo. The Genizah and its contents have had a long history which unfortunately cannot yet be written because of the incompleteness and hear-say character of the evidence. From the account of Mr E. N. Adler in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, pp. 612 ff., we learn that the Synagogue was originally a Christian church, bearing the name of St Michael. Chosroes, partly as an enemy of the faith of Byzantium, and partly no doubt as the heir of Cyrus, in 616 turned the Synagogue over to the Jews. Benjamin of Tudela visited it in the twelfth century, and thought it a very ancient place. The great Egyptian

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[1] Large Roman numerals in parentheses indicate the fragments in the Freer collection; and Arabic numerals in parentheses indicate the pages of the present volume.

[2] For genizah ceremonies see *Revue des Écoles de l'Alliance*, 1901, p. 103.

[3] Cf. *Giornale della Società Asiatica*, 1918–20, p. 97.

[4] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, ch. xiii.

[5] Or Ezra, or Moses. See also the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, pp. 60 ff.; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vi, pp. 187 ff.; Steinschneider in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. x, p. 89; also the many articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.

antiquary, al-Maḳrīzī (A.D. 1364–1442), writes: "Synagogue of the Syrians: This synagogue is in the street of Ḳaṣr al-Sham', of the city of Cairo, and it is ancient. There is an inscription above its door, in the Hebrew writing, engraven in the wood, to the effect that it was built in the year 336 of Alexander (A.D. 24), which is about 45 years before the second destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus (A.D. 70), and 600 years before the Hijrah (A.D. 622). And in this synagogue there is a copy of the Law which all agree to be entirely in the handwriting of the Prophet Ezra." No doubt Mann is right, and we are to understand that the inscription read "(1)336" of the Seleucid Era, which is A.D. 1024 (*The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine*, vol. ii, p. 375). Simon van Geldern at about 1750, and Jacob Saphir in 1864, both saw the Synagogue and its genizah, and recognised the value of their treasures.

Mrs Agnes Smith Lewis tells us casually[6] that the first known Genizah leaves were brought to Europe by Dr Lansing; but there appears to be no support for the statement. Mr E. N. Adler in 1888 visited the Synagogue; but he did not succeed in seeing the contents of the Genizah, for he was told that they had been buried. In the early nineties Professor Gottheil used to see the desk of Dr Neubauer, the sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, covered with portions of books which Dr Neubauer told him had come from the East, his professional discretion not permitting him to disclose their exact source. The Bodleian catalogue makes the statement that in 1890 the Rev. J. Chester bought some leaves in Cairo for the Bodleian Library, and adds that "the credit of first recognising their possible value to Hebrew literature belongs to Dr Neubauer." In *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Semitic Series, parts 4–6, Medieval Jewish Chronicles II, 1895) Dr Neubauer published a chronicle which had evidently come from the Cairo Genizah[7]. In January, 1896, Mr Adler again came to Egypt, and, with the knowledge and help of the Chief Rabbi of Egypt, he took away a sackful of parchment and paper leaves.

On May 13th, 1897, Dr Schechter observed in a bundle of fragments brought from southern Palestine by Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson, a time-worn leaf of the lost Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus[8]. With the promptness which was characteristic of him, Professor Schechter set out immediately for Cairo with the single purpose of bringing back the entire contents of the Genizah to Cambridge. Armed with an introduction to Lord Cromer he went to Egypt. A word from the latter to the Jewish authorities in Cairo opened up the old chamber. Professor Schechter was able to take away with him in sacks, at his own estimate, not less than one hundred thousand pieces of vellum and paper. He has given an account of this visit in his article, "A Horde of Hebrew Manuscripts[9]."

One doubts, however, whether Schechter brought back all that was in the Genizah. Undoubtedly the place had been plundered before his

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[6] *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. lxi, p. 631.

[7] P. xi.

[8] S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambridge, 1899, page v.

[9] *Studies in Judaism*, Second Series, 1908, pp. 9 ff.

coming[10], and he was cheated by the men who worked with and for him. Mrs Lewis[6] tells us that leaves were somehow stolen between the packing and unpacking; and that she personally bought some of these from dealers in Cairo. At any rate, a lot of the material had escaped. The Jews themselves had taken the overflow of the Genizah proper, and buried it in their cemetery in the desert, called al-Basātīn, where they had constructed several underground chambers for the purpose. From this place Professor Gottheil in 1910 secured fragments, both early and late. So much had escaped that there is hardly a large library in Europe that is without its collection of Genizah fragments. Of first importance in this respect are the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Jewish Consistory of Paris, the Royal Library of Berlin, the Municipal Library of Frankfurt and the library of the Archduke Rainer, in Vienna. Many private collections also possess them. Dropsie College, Philadelphia, is the custodian of some four hundred and fifty documents, apparently from the Cairo Genizah[11].

No list has ever been made, nor is one likely soon to be made, of all the places where Genizah fragments have found a resting-place.

The contents of Mr Adler's famous "sack" were brought to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York, where they are at the disposition of American scholars; and the great mass of material removed officially by Professor Schechter is now the Taylor-Schechter collection at Cambridge.

It seems certain that the Genizah, once filled to overflowing—literally overflowing into the community cemetery—is now emptied of everything of value. The three most recent visits disclosed nothing but printed matter. But a great deal may still be in the hands of dealers.

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[10] The Synagogue had been repaired some time before Schechter's visit, most probably about 1890, shortly after which date the Genizah material began to appear at the Bodleian. To quote from a reliable correspondent, whose name cannot be mentioned: "Before the late Dr Schechter transferred its remains to Cambridge, many dealers helped themselves to small bundles of fragments which they would obtain by bakhshish from the beadle of the old Synagogue at Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo), where the Genizah had been discovered in an attic as a result of the work of repairing the Synagogue. The workmen on tearing down the roof dumped all the contents of this attic into the court-yard, and there the MSS were lying for several weeks in the open. During these weeks many dealers could obtain bundles of leaves for nominal sums. They later sold these bundles at good prices to several tourists and libraries."

But the Genizah was known in 1750 and 1864, as we have seen, and hence could not be "discovered." Also, if "all the contents" were dumped into the court-yard, they must have been restored, in part at least, to the Genizah before Schechter's visit in 1897, for he found them there. In view of all the statements, perhaps the contents of the Genizah and the entrance to it, were always known to the Synagogue authorities. They deceived Adler upon his first visit, in 1888, with a conventional answer: The contents of a genizah are regularly buried. Before the repairs, the contents and their whereabouts were well known, but not their value. That fact appeared to the Synagogue authorities only after they had seen the beadle sell to the dealers.

[11] Formerly in the (Cyrus) Adler, Sulzberger, Amram, Friedenwald, and Cobern collections. These, together with other Genizah material in Philadelphia, are characterised by the late Dr B. Halper in his *Descriptive Catalogue* (1924).

The Genizah documents which have thus far been examined have contributed immensely to the history of the Jews in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in Egypt. Before the discovery little was known of the government of the communities, their tastes and activities, their daily lives. The article "Egypt" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, written in 1903, in the absence of a second edition of that work has been overtaken by the excellent book of Dr Jacob Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs* (Oxford, 1920–22). It is hoped, however, that some day all the Genizah material will be published in the original texts, and with logical or chronological sequence, in a *Corpus Geniziacorum*; and that before long some body of scholars and some Maecenas will be found to undertake the task.

ii. The Freer Collection

The Genizah documents edited in the present volume were purchased by Mr Charles L. Freer of Detroit in the year 1908, from a dealer in Gizeh. Nothing further is known of their provenance. They were probably picked up by the curious or the speculative at the time when the Synagogue was being repaired. Every Egyptian knows the negotiable value of antiquities, particularly of inscribed leaves. It is, of course, also possible that they were dug up by natives after being regularly buried by the authorities of the Synagogue. It is even possible that they never were in the Synagogue, but that they were obtained from some ancient cemetery, where they had been originally buried with the dead.

The Freer collection of Genizah documents has been placed in the Freer Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D.C.

iii. The Paper

All the fragments are written upon Paper.

Nos. V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XV, XIX, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, and XLVI are without screen-marks. Nos. I, II, III, IV, XI, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXI, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXVI, XL, XLVIII, and XLIX have coarse, and Nos. XXII, XXXVII, XLI, XLVII, and L, fine screen-marks.

Watermarks are to be found on Nos. XXVII and L. The former is apparently a mailed torso, and the latter a hand-and-star such as was employed by manufacturers in France, Switzerland, and Sicily, between A.D. 1490 and 1590, according to Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (1907).

iv. The Handwriting

Although some of the hands betray a familiarity with Arabic writing (XXVII), there is very little of Arabic writing to be found in the collection. The instances are: Nos. XVI (entire), XXVII and XXXV (addresses), II and XIX (scrawls on the back which we have not attempted to explain).

The Coptic numerals employed in No. XL would seem to indicate some contact with the Coptic-Arabic fiscal system.

The collection as a whole is written in Hebrew characters. There is nothing remarkable in the use of the Hebrew alphabet by the Jews when writing Arabic. They have done similarly in Persia, Spain, the Slavic countries, and America. So also the Greeks and Armenians use their national alphabets for writing Turkish. For a time the Jacobite Christians of the Lebanon wrote Arabic in Syriac characters, the so-called Karshūnī. Just as the use of the Arabic script quite generally follows the adoption of Islam, so the use of the Latin or the Greek alphabet shows historical and cultural relationship to the Latin church or the Greek church respectively. It is perhaps not that the letters are more sacred than the language; but that the letters can still be taught after it becomes impossible to continue the tradition of the language.

The variety and difficulty of the hands present at once the chief problem of the editors; although Hebrew writing, in the very nature of the case, is not usually so difficult as the freely ligatured Arabic. One group in particular, Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV, is written in a very bad Hebrew hand in which similar letters are scarcely differentiated at all. Even for a Jew of that time and place these letters could not have been more legible than the proverbial scrawls of Horace Greeley are to us. As modern analogies to these memoranda-slips and leaves from note-books, we are to think of the slips which are issued to us by our grocers, or the personal memoranda and agenda which we carry about in our pockets.

It has been difficult to find a satisfactory standard for the classification of hands[12]. The traditional terms, "square," "half-square," and "cursive," have no definitive and generally accepted meaning. "Square" is used to designate the group of hands most nearly like the standard type of our Hebrew bibles. "Half-square" means usually the group resembling the "rabbinic" or "Rashi" type of the printers; "cursive" means perhaps a running hand with ligatures. But "square" hands become careless, and begin to look like "rabbinic"; while truly "cursive" hands can hardly be found at all. In this collection, in spite of the carelessness of many of the hands, there is only one (XXI) really "cursive" hand, in the sense of being freely ligatured.

Under these circumstances it has been thought best to invent a system, if only for the purposes of this volume; and to give the three traditional terms a definite meaning. As the letter ℵ is the most variable in the alphabet, and as its variation stands in a certain relation to the classes, "square," "half-square," and "cursive," we need only to define these classes in terms of the form of ℵ. In very few cases is the result belied by the general impression of the writing.

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[12] Bernheimer, *Paleografia Ebraica*, Florence, 1924, has come to hand too late for consideration.

The square type is made with five strokes: א.

The half-square type is made with three strokes, and still resembles the square: א ב ה.

The cursive type is made with three or even two strokes, and does not much resemble the square: א נ ס ף ע.

Nineteen of the documents may be dated, exactly or approximately. If these be arranged in chronological order no definite development is apparent. E.g. No. XLVII, of A.D. 1067, has the same cursive form as No. XLI, which is certainly later than 1412. On the other hand, it appears that while cursive hands are commonest in letters and memoranda, square and half-square hands are employed in legal documents (XI, XLIII) and in other formal (XXXI, XXXII, XL) writing, and by persons writing letters from Jerusalem (V, XXVII).

v. The Dating

Unfortunately only nineteen of the fifty fragments can by any means be dated. Of these the earliest appears to be No. V (c. 1016?) or No. XLIII (1043), and the latest No. L (c. 1530?) or No. XL (1511). The undated ones may, of course, fall outside these limits. General considerations make it likely that nearly all of the collection belongs to the early or middle part of this period; and it is disappointing not to find some reference to the Crusades or the Mongol invasions.

vi. The Language and Languages

The interpretation of many of the letters is made peculiarly difficult by a certain characteristic vagueness, incoherence, and obscurity of language (18). The editors are well aware of their failure in many instances to grasp the meaning of the texts (139 ff.). Some of the trouble arises from pure slovenliness of thought and expression. Confusion between two possible forms or constructions, which present themselves simultaneously to the mind of the writer, are very common (36, 46, 119–126, 138, 152, 153, 158). To the obscurities of very bad Arabic (151) and Arabic under some strong foreign influence (XXXIII) are added the inelegancies of speech-mixture. Hebrew and Arabic are often frankly combined in a single document, even of some pretensions (XLIII). But Arabic and Hebrew are combined in the same words (XV); Arabic words are used in a Hebrew sense, and Hebrew words in an Arabic sense (39, 162); and the Arabic and Hebrew articles are even combined (104).

One cannot escape the impression, however, that there is a considerable element of deliberate *geheimthuerei*; "My letter has gone forward to you with the 'dogs,' who will tell you about it" (19). "And the 'Elephant'—God keep him!—did not wish to give colors" (95). "The writer of it is the slave, your insignificant servant, Genesis-Exodus" (133). Some of this is due to fear of the interception of letters, no doubt: "And it is not possible for me to explain to you..." (151). Much of it arises from the trade-slang of a forgotten age: No. XXXVI is an excellent example of this. Some of

it may be humor: "Bought a slave" means "became the father of a son" (51). "The bed is the most important thing in the house" (21). "I needed first of all a tailor" (151).

The elaborate ceremonial of address in the letters, whether in Hebrew or in Arabic, suggests some relationship with the highly developed epistolary technique of the Arabs, as set forth in such books as the *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* of al-Ḳalḳāshandī (died A.D. 1418)[13].

The languages used are Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic.

Except in the few cases where the language is bad, we may assume that Arabic was the mother tongue of the writers of all these documents. It is used for most of the personal letters, notes, and memoranda; and documents in Hebrew have a tendency to lapse into it. Hebrew is the language of formal letters, or letters written by proficient persons with a motive for emphasising the bond that united the Jews. Hebrew is the language of the poetic pieces, all more or less religious, and Aramaic the language of documents (XI); but words from both languages are often introduced into Arabic texts, especially where Jewish institutions are concerned.

It is perhaps unnecessary, except for completeness, to remark here that Hebrew was properly the language of Canaan (Isaiah xix, 18). Themselves a part of the Aramaean migration, and in contact with Aramaic (Gen. xxxi, 47; II Sam. x, 6; Jud. xviii, 28), the Jews must have become more familiar with Aramaic after the deportations of Israelites and importation of Aramaeans in 734 and 722 B.C. (II Kings xv, 29; xvii, 6, 24; Ezra iv, 2, 10). Aramaic was understood by Judaeans of the upper classes as early as 701 B.C. (II Kings xviii, 26; Isaiah xxxvi, 11). During the fifty years of exile in an Aramaic-speaking Babylon the Jews must have learned that language thoroughly, as the steady process of aramaïsation in post-exilic Hebrew testifies. The writer of Ezra (end of fourth century B.C.) and the writer of Daniel (about 167 B.C.) not only include Aramaic documents and reports, but themselves use Aramaic within the body of a Hebrew book, intended for Jewish readers. With the beginning of Hellenistic times Hebrew seems to have perished as a spoken language. It was replaced by Aramaic and Greek. After the decline of Greek in the fourth century, Aramaic, in various forms, continued to be the language of Jews in the orient until the Muslim conquests, in the latter part of the seventh century A.D. Medieval and modern Hebrew have so strong an infusion of Aramaic at times, that they may be said to consist of a mixture of the two. This did not occur with Arabic, probably because of the greater difference between Arabic and Hebrew; although Arabic became the chief language of the Jews in the East.

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[13] Cf. a similar work in *Zeitschr. der deutschen morg. Gesell.*, vol. lxx, pp. 7 ff. British Museum 182, Hebrew A3, gives suggestions for writing to a superior for assistance.

vii. Arabic

At times the Arabic used approximates to the classical idiom. The suffix *-kumū* occurs in a rajaz-verse (133); and there are instances of the *iʿrāb* and the *tanwīn* (41). But for the most part the Arabic is colloquial in some degree. The type is usually Egyptian; but it is often Palestinian or Syrian, or even Maghribī (VII). This colloquialism varies from a slight coloring or an occasional slip, to an out-and-out use of the vernacular (IX, XII, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XLV). In the two letters (or two parts of one letter?) written by a slave (or servant?) to his master (XXVIII, XXX) we have perhaps the oldest existing specimens of colloquial, howbeit Jewish Arabic. The writer spells both his Arabic and his Hebrew words phonetically. No. XXVI is most peculiar, if indeed we have read it properly.

Orthography and phonology must be treated together, as we cannot always know whether we are dealing with peculiarities of spelling or peculiarities of pronunciation. Some of the texts are more phonetic than others, writing the consonants and long vowels apparently as heard and spoken (130), and even occasionally indicating the short vowels (63, 139).

The Hebrew letters employed in expressing the Arabic sounds are those which etymologically correspond to the Arabic letters; but some cases require special comment:

ت and ث = ת
ط = ט
د and ذ = ד
ض = דׇ
س = ס, rarely שׂ or צ (3) under influence of ט (15)
ص = צ, rarely ז (51)
ز = ז, rarely צ (138)
ظ = טׇ
ج = גׄ, indicating a non-Cairene pronunciation
خ = כ, rarely ח, as in Europe (122, 138)
غ = עׇ
ق = ק, rarely ה (152), or omitted, because = hamzah (154)
ح = ח, rarely ה (50, 140), or ע under influence of ת (63)
ع = ע, rarely omitted, in numerals (138)
ه = ה, rarely omitted, in *fī*[*hi*] (112)
ـِ ـُ = י, *passim*. Short *i* also? (138, 230)
= יא
ه = ה, rarely הא (12 ff., 159)

In the way of forms and syntactic peculiarities not necessarily colloquial:

אבי for ابو (114, 152)
אביך for اخوك (150, 152)
מתופיה for مُتَوَفّاة (38)

Also the frequent omission of the article, the strange use of prepositions, and the redundant "it" (XXVII especially).

Peculiarities of vocabulary not necessarily colloquial:

يَؤُمّ, "he intends" (24)
إِبْراء, "acquittal" (35)
أَمْر, "business" (162)
بَيْن, "by agreement" (43)
ثَقَّل, "forced" (34)
ثَمَن, "value" (164)
לא תגטט, for لا تُجَطّ (?), "do not be concerned" (154)
جُمْلة, "shipment" (97)
حديث, "business" (37)
" , "matter" (63)
يُحَرّص, "he should urge" (39)
مُحاكَمة, "judiciable claim"? (43)
مخدوم, "master" (138, 140)
خُضْرة, "mouldiness" (122)
خاطَر, "risked" (152)
يُخْلِف, "may he recompense" (154)
أُدْخِل له تحْته, "I pay to him, to remain under his management"? (32 ff.)
يُدِرّهم, "he liquidated them"? (39)
אדעא, for أَدْعَى, "he asserted"? (34 f.)
דפועהא, for دَفْعُها, "their delivery"? (97)
دَرَج, "moment" (162)
دفعتْ, "she summoned to court"? (55)
ذكَر, "he said" (34 ff. *et passim*)
راسى, "myself" (140)
رِقام, "embroidery" (152)
سبستان, "prunes" (123)
סרס, for شَرَس, "quarrel"? (132)
سُرْسور, "manager" (193)
مُتَسَفّر, "despatcher" (228)
أَسْقى, "he treated"? (112)
أَسْلَفْتُ, "I borrowed" (140)
اِسْتَمَعْنا, "we inquired" (45)
سِعْر, "purchase-price"? (164)

أَسْنَهُ, "payable next year"? (141)
مُشِدّ, "inspector," "overseer" (141)
شُغْل القَلْب, "worry" (36 *et alibi*)
شِقاق, "chaff"? (118)
شاكِريّة, "favor"? "wages"? (63)
شُرْطة, "police" (69, 95)
ضعف, "was not able" (112, 121)
طلب, "wished," "tried" (121)
على, "for"? (20 *et alibi*)
غاسول, "soap" (123)
غَلاء, "profiteering"? (125)
الفور, "Purim" (46)
قبول, "before" (120)
לקד אן, "because"? (21)
المُسْتَقِرّ, "the inquirer"? (62, 150 *et alibi*)
אקרא, for أَقْرُو, "I being impatient for"? (126)
قِصَص, "doings" (127)
كِراء, "cost"? "load"? (57, 73)
كِسْبة, "estate"? (49)
كَنِيسيّة, "church" (19, 120, 156)
تَلْشِيمة, "reconciliation" (42)
מהד, "dowry"? (57)
مع, "about"? (119)
معانى, "affairs"? (20)
المملوك, "your obedient servant"? "slave"? (24, 133)
ناخُوذة, "ship's captain" (48)
أَنْفَذْتَ, "you sent" (50)
أَنْفَذ, "it had paid" (150)
وَجْه, "important thing"? (20)
يَتَّجِه, "it might be due"? (9)
وَلَد, "son" (39)
وَلَّف, "he collected" (119)

Of especial interest are the instances of colloquial phonology (Egyptian, unless otherwise stated):

Loss of ' in numerals (114, 138, 163 *et alibi*).
Loss of final *-hi* (112).
New ' arising out of *ḫ* (154 *bis*), or triliterality (199).
Change of ' to *ḥ* before the voiceless stop *t* (63).

Change of *s* to *ṣ* before the emphatic stop *ṭ* (15).

Loss of final short vowel of verbal forms, resulting in shortening of preceding vowel (34), or (when the root ends with *l*) assimilation to the *l* of the preposition (46, 138, 140, 156).

Accent on first syllable in broken plurals of the form *fa'ālīl*, with consequent shortening of second syllable, so as to produce the form *fa'alīl* (160 *et passim*).

Maghribī accent on last syllable with consequent loss of initial vowel in *ibn* and *abū* (32, 41, 69).

Colloquial forms are frequent:

wilād for *awlād* (40).

Characteristic forms of numerals (138).

Maghribī *hūmā* for *hum* (140).

lē and *ilō* for *lahu* (Palestinian and Syrian, 33).

hādī for *hādha* (Palestinian and Syrian, 152).

dī for *hādha* (162).

ēsh for *mā* (Palestinian and Syrian, 21, 39, 52, 124, 152).

hēk for *hākadhā* (Palestinian and Syrian, 152).

The negative suffix *-sh[e]* (54, 65, 121, 140, 150, 151), at times still objective and not yet adverbial (150, 151).

The present-tense-prefix *bi-* with the imperfect (39, 112, 152).

The Maghribī first-person-singular (sic!) prefix with the imperfect, *n*, if it be not a mere use of "we" for "I." (Spanish-Moroccan? 152 *et alibi.*)

The external *t* in the VIIIth form of the verb (51, 52, 53, 160).

Metathesis of first vowel in verbs whose third radical is *y*, e.g. *iḥkēt* for *ḥakaitu* (Palestinian, 140).

Inflection of verbs whose third radical is ' (47) and verbs whose second and third radicals are identical (155), as though they were verbs whose third radical is *y*.

Simplification of *yuṭma'ínn* to *yutámmin* (47).

The pseudo-verb *fī[h]* (151).

The conjunctions *walla* (125) and *ila wa* (56).

The adverb *lissa* (65).

Syntactic peculiarities of the colloquial:

The relative pronoun *alladhī* is at times used as a conjunction in the manner in which its colloquial counterpart, *illi*, is used in Cairene vernacular at the present day. This is precisely the history of the Germanic demonstrative (English *that*) which becomes relative and then conjunctive: "*That* book *that* denies *that* such is the case" (45, 130).

The Hebrew letters אֲ occur many times in such a way as to appear to be the Arabic conjunction *an*, used as an indefinite relative pronoun (45, 51, 54, 96, 130). As everyone knows, Arabic has no indefinite relative pronoun. This *an* would seem therefore to be used in the manner of Hebrew -שֶׁ. At times it stands between an undetermined noun and its attributive adjective (45, 54, 96).

The conjunction *an* is omitted (121).

The participle is used for a finite verb (? 51).

Vocabulary and idioms which are like modern colloquial:

baṭṭāl,	"worthless," "bad" (34)
baḳa,	"he became"? (44, 63)
jāb,	"he brought" (38)
yejīb,	"that he bring" (121)
jābu,	"they would bring [a price]" (39)
jawāb,	"letter" (62)
ḥājah,	"thing" (19, 63, 120, 160), plural, *ḥawā'ij* (154, 187)
חדות,	"story" (47)
dā,	"he gave" (56)
rāḥ,	"he went" (46)
ruḥt fī ḥālī,	"I went about my business" (140)
ashṭar,	"cleverer" (160)
שיתאן,	"rascal" (113)
'ā'iz,	"desirous" (46)
ḳabadū,	"they have received" (120)
ti[*ḳ*]*rā 'annī.....as-salām*,	"give my greetings to....." (154)
bi naẓrak,	"with your favor" (141)
nuṣṣ,	"half" (122)

viii. Hebrew and Aramaic

The few Hebrew words which are spelled phonetically after the Arabic fashion (130) indicate the Sephardic value of the vowel ָ: *ā* (130). In No. XV, however, we have גודל uniformly for גָּדוֹל, and עוליך for עָלֶיךָ, and פעומים for פְּעָמִים (77, 79), indicating that ָ was pronounced *ō*, and that the accent rested upon the penult. Both of these peculiarities are foreign to the present pronunciation of Hebrew by Jews of Sephardic origin in Arabic-speaking lands, and characteristic of the pronunciation of Jews of Ashkenazic, Yememite, Persian, and Caucasian origin. There is no reason for suspecting Ashkenazic influence more than the others.

Arabic ابو frequently becomes אבי (142) on the analogy of ancient names, such as Abimelech (142).

Very few unusual meanings appear. דְּיוֹקְנִי, which generally means "picture," must mean "copy" (29). הַגְּרִי, "Hagarene," a biblical word, referring to a certain Arab tribe, stands for "Arabic" in general (27), instead of עַרְבִיִּים. שַׂר is a technical term for the chief figure which appears in the vision seen by a crystal-gazer (76). The poet, in quest of rimes, invents new words (173, 175).

ix. Contents

Of theological material there is only an unimportant fragment of Maimonides (XXXIX), an equally poor one of Simeon Ḳayyāra (VI), and an extremely problematic jumble of halachic notes of very doubtful origin and purpose (XLIV).

Poetry (pizmōnīm) is represented by a panegyric of Abraham Maimunī (XXIX), religious poems or hymns (pizmōnīm) and fragments (XVII, XIX, XX), including a biblical paraphrase (XXXVIII).

The liturgy is found in two specimens (X, XLVI), and liturgical notes in three (XXIII, XXV, XLII). None of these, except possibly XLVI, is of any interest. Nos. XXIII, XXV, and XLII are not only extremely difficult to translate and explain, but very difficult to account for.

There are two interesting magical texts or amulets (XV, XXIV), the former to be used in connection with some "scrying" or crystal-gazing ceremony.

Four of the items are documents in the precise legal sense: the extremely important formal agreement about the order of precedence in the Academy at al-Ramlah (XLIII), an interesting bill of divorce (XI), two documents recording the settlement of an indebtedness incurred in a partnership undertaking (I), and an all but completely unintelligible receipt in Arabic script (XVI). No. VII is the memorandum of an indignation meeting held by a defrauded investor, and hardly a legal document. The same may be said of the list of tax-payers (XIII), leaves from merchants' note-books (XIV, XVIII), and an accounting of expenses incurred by a business expedition (XXXVI). Two records of marriage-settlements, with long lists of articles belonging to the bride (XL, XLV), and a record of the sale of a slave (XLV), are probably informal documents.

Of the fifty numbers in the collection twenty-four contain letters. Nos. XXX and XXVIII probably are parts of the same letter, and XXXI and XXXII are certainly such; while No. L contains three distinct communications. We thus have twenty-four letters also. Not only do the letters constitute nearly half of the collection, but they are by far the most interesting part of it. In the picture which they give of Jewish life in Egypt from about A.D. 1000 to 1500, there is much that is characteristic of Jewish life and of life everywhere.

Letters were carried by travellers (47) or runners (XLVII) over vast distances, and arrived infrequently (47). Anxious relatives at home beg the young man to write oftener, and he replies that he is too busy (51). Every sort of letter is represented. There is the family-letter, mostly about personal trials and troubles (III, IX, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX); the begging letter of an aunt (XLIX); the appeal of a worthy man to the munificent al-Tustarī (XXXI–XXXII); the wheedling, half-threatening, plea for assistance in behalf of another (XLVIII); on the loss of a friend (XXI); the trivial polite letter (XXVI); to a departed guest (XXXIV); upon fleeing to Alexandria (XXXVII); on general business matters (XXII); to a business associate (XII, XXXIII); complaining to a business partner of

his timidity (XXXV); from a wily old man in Jerusalem who knows better than to speculate in sugar (XLI); from a half heat-stricken man held up at a lonely caravan-station in Sinai (XLVII); about the adjustment of a debt (IV); about a real-estate controversy (VIII); about a case of divorce (V); complaint of political intrigue against the writer (II); exposure of a corrupt and tyrannical judge (L). From these letters, supplemented by the other material in the collection, we derive the data underlying the following sections.

x. Geography

The geographical range of the documents is from Aleppo and Turkey in the north to Aden in the south, and from Spain and France in the west to Colombo and India in the east.

Most important is Egypt, the home of prosperous Jewry. A number of Egyptian places are mentioned. At al-Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo) was the congregation and Synagogue of Elijah, in whose archives were kept important letters received, and copies of important letters sent. Perhaps the Canal mentioned in No. IX is the ancient water-way which gave its name to the street al-Khalīg in modern Cairo (54). Alexandria is spoken of, and appears in several personal and family names.

Palestine, and particularly Jerusalem, are objects of concern. There is an allusion to the Jewish Quarter, to the Rubā'īyah (Mūristān?) and the Church (of the Holy Sepulchre?). There has been an earthquake, or similar catastrophe, and the "Glorious Place" has collapsed, and must be rebuilt (31). In the Holy City the chief necessities of life, then as now, were fuel-wood and olive oil, for heat and light (121), except when there was actual want of food (125). No. XXVII gives the familiar picture of Jewish misery in Jerusalem. Other places in Palestine and Syria are mentioned: Hebron? (118), al-Ramlah (201), Safed, Kafr Yāsīf, 'Ain al-Zaitūn (L), Tyre (127), Aleppo (103, XLVII). All the stations on the caravan route between Cairo and Damascus are mentioned in No. XXX. Caravans from Aleppo and Damascus stop at Ḳaṭyah in Sinai (XLVII).

There seems to have been a group of Cairene Jews, settled at Aden, South Arabia, and engaged in the trade with India and Ceylon. They even occasionally went to Colombo (IX).

Spanish Jews are often alluded to (179, L), and Spanish ships (123) are once mentioned; also people of Sicily (75) and commerce with that country (123); perhaps even France (99). The writers of XXI and XXVII were probably of Moroccan origin, as were doubtless others (153).

xi. Biography

A great many personal names appear; but most of them are not to be identified, and many of them are as indefinite as "Abraham Cohen" would be in modern New York, or "Muḥammad" in Cairo.

The following are a few of the names which seem to be more or less certainly placed. The references in each case are to Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimids*, vol. i (1920); vol. ii (1922).

1. Abraham Maimūnī (135), son of the great Maimonides, born 1186, died 1237.

2. Abraham, son of Shema'yāh the Ḥābēr, descendant of Shema'yāh Gā'ōn (7), signatory of many documents, alive in 1088 (Mann, ii, 232).

3. Abū al-Faraj (25), perhaps the same as Abū al-Faraj, son of Abū Zakarī, a judge at al-Fusṭāṭ, alive in 1301. Both father and son bore the title "ra'īs" (Mann, i, 246).

4. Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, son of Manasseh (11), signatory of documents in conjunction with No. 2, and therefore contemporary (Mann, ii, 232).

5. The Ḥazzān Bayyān (53)—a strange form and word-order—perhaps the same as Abū 'l-Bayyān the Ḥazzān, about 1050 (Mann, i, 242; ii, 308).

6. Immanuel, son of Yeḥī'ēl (61), perhaps a descendant of the Yeḥī'ēl who lived in the twelfth (?) century (Mann, ii, 303 ff.).

7. Jacob, son of Joseph ha-Ḥasīdh (26), perhaps the same as the head of the Jewish court who signed documents at al-Fusṭāṭ in 1016 and 1018, and at Aleppo in 1028 (Mann, i, 37, 150).

8. Judah ha-Kōhēn, son of Eleazar (13), was dayyān at Bilbais from 1187 onward (Mann, ii, 317).

9. Mebōrākh, son of Nathan (11), a known signatory of twelfth-century documents (Mann, i, 222, 227; ii, 293).

10. Nahrai, son of Nissīm (129), perhaps the same as the famous scholar by that name who died between 1050 and 1098 (Mann, i, 204 ff.; ii. 240 ff.). But the prefixed "Abū Yaḥyā" would refer to a supposedly well-known son, of which there is no record.

11. Nathan, son of Abraham (199), usurper of power in the Palestinian Academy (XLIII), becoming "Father of the Law Court," or "Second," in place of the rightful aspirant, Tobiah, son of Daniel (Mann, i, 141–152; also pp. 71, 75, 115, 129, 130, 193, 273).

12. Nathan, son of Samuel (35), perhaps the same as the secretary to the nāgīd about 1140 (Mann, i, 225).

13. Shabbatai, son of Abraham the Dayyān the Ḥābēr (17), signed documents in 1154 (Mann, ii, 259).

14. Solomon, son of Judah (199), the Gā'ōn, or "First," in the Palestinian Academy. See No. 11.

15. Tobiah, son of Daniel (199), the "Third" who should have been "Second" in the Palestinian Academy. See No. 11.

16. al-Tustarī, Abū Sa'd, Abraham, son of Abū al-Faḍl, Sahl (143), the wealthy dealer in rarities who through the mother of the Sultan Ma'add, a slave-girl from his market, exercised great influence at court until his assassination in 1048 (Mann, i, 76, 79, 122; Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* [1901], pp. 137, 149).

17. 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, son of Joseph (3), probably the "Parnās of Babylon," about 1116 (Mann, i, 196).

18. Yepheth, son of David (7), perhaps the same as Yepheth the Ḥazzān, son of David, son of Shekhanya (Mann, ii, 97, 246). But he signed documents in 1020, ninety-six years before our own.

19. Abraham Castro (237, 241), may be the one mentioned by Sambari and Solomon Ḥazzān. If so, he was alive in A.D. 1606.

20. Joseph Sarakossī (Saragossī, L), organised the Safed community in A.D. 1492. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s.v.*

21. Moses di Trani (? L), Dayyān of Safed, 1525–35. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s.v.*

xii. Jew and Gentile

The student of the Law who refuses to invest in sugar (193) speaks casually of a neighbor as "the uncircumcised one—May his name and memory be blotted out!" (191). The melancholic Abū Zubair, writing from Jerusalem, complains that a certain other Jew is found at the houses of Muslims, and does not understand the difference between "inside and outside" (127). A Jew excuses himself for resorting to gentiles (19). A proselyte is perhaps mentioned in a list of Jewish tax-payers (69). Two Muslim formulae: "Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds" (161), and "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate" (163), occur in one letter. Arabic script is occasionally used, and in one instance Coptic numerals (XL).

Considering the complaining tone of many of the letters, we hear surprisingly little about persecution. There is difficulty between Jewish landlord and gentile tenant (21), or between Muslim landlord and Jewish tenant (121), of the kind usual in the Near East, and not necessarily influenced by religious or racial feelings. In Nos. XXXI and XXXII Tobiah asks al-Tustarī for a letter: "For I fear that evil may overtake me on the way, even as it overtook me at Ḥānēs. Had it not been for the mercies of the Almighty and the favor of my Lord, the honored Elder, I should be today in prison. In those days I had money in my hand, and I gave a bribe" (147 f.). There seems to be a veiled allusion to persecution in XXII: "I inform you" by this letter "of the condition of Būṣīr and its pain and travail; and that it is a city of great trouble and travail" (97). No. XXXVII seems to tell of persecution or similar disorders: The writer's son-in-law (or father-in-law?) has rented a "tower" at a place called Sīkat (?), or near Alexandria; and the whole family intends to live together in it. At his present place of residence "there are people rejoicing, and many people dead—yet there is no trustworthy information." He would "like to go away from here." "Perhaps God will have mercy, and His anger will depart from His people Israel—even though there are some who say that the towers are untrustworthy" (171). A synagogue is destroyed by Muslims (233).

Piracy, the capture of Jewish merchants and other travellers, and the necessity of ransoming them, laid a heavy burden both upon those who ventured abroad and upon those who stayed at home (50, note; 51). The pirates were Muslims (51). Such captures were made purely in view of ransom. "The captive, Esther" (183) is ransomed by the man who is to marry her, for fifty dīnārs (183), a rather large sum. There were, of course,

the usual slaves (159, 223 f.). It was probably the ability of the Jews to pay, and their faithfulness in ransoming their brethren, that made them the particular victims of this practice. Labor requisitions (231) need not have been made upon Jews especially.

The Jews paid a poll-tax (23). Number XIII is a list of the names of tax-payers with amounts (67 ff.). It is not clear why the Sultan took a third of a certain estate (41). Jews adjusted their differences successfully before Jewish courts (3 ff., 43). In one case two dishonest men defraud a business partner successfully by resorting to a Muslim court (35).

xiii. Marriage

Women owned and inherited property (39, 47, 55). A girl might marry when only twelve years old (187). The economic side of the agreement was arranged by a marriage-broker, who made note of the facts (XL, XLV). The betrothal, with its "advanced payment" (*muḳdām*), and the marriage proper, with its "delayed payment" (*me'uḥār*), were probably celebrated in quick succession (XL, XLV). In the interim the lady was sometimes supported by the fiancé (187). The bride brought a dowry (*nedunyāh*). This consisted of a great variety of goods. In both Nos. XL and XLV we find remarkable lists of articles of clothing and personal adornment, jewelry, cosmetics, and sweetmeats (187), which will well repay study. Some of the names belong evidently to the fanciful nomenclature of the day. What indeed is a "trembler" (181), or a "dancer" (179)? Others, though strange, are intelligible and interesting, such as the color, "gazelles' blood," and the many articles from Hormuz (181, 185). Property arrangements are also frequently stated, particularly that the husband shall possess the wife's handiwork, but must provide her with clothing (179, 183, 187), and the inheritance rights of the children are protected (183).

The last mentioned arrangements are made not merely in view of death, but also of divorce (183); and this was apparently not difficult. In No. XI we have a bill of divorce in which no grounds are stated, while great pains are taken with phraseology, attestation, and delivery of the document. In No. V the grounds are that the wife has refused to follow her husband to another city, to which he has transferred his domicile. That there may sometimes have been extreme grounds for divorce appears from the mention of two cases of adultery (53, 55), where the husbands were away from home for long periods. The unfortunate, illegitimate offspring was refused the customary blessings at circumcision (55). Neither ḥazzān nor dayyān would attend, and certain less sensitive Byzantine Jews managed to collect the necessary quorum (55). Great fondness for children is revealed in the letter to a departed guest (157), where we have perhaps one word of infantile Hebrew.

xiv. Religion, Learning, Superstition

Religion and learning are not fairly represented in the present small collection of Genizah documents. For evidence of these one must refer, e.g., to the description of still uninvestigated materials enumerated by

Bacher in the *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (s.v. *Genizah*). Our collection consists of humbler remains of the past, overlooked or rejected by seekers after literary texts. Nevertheless, we have a few pizmōnīm, liturgical fragments and notes, halachic bits, and a portion of Maimonides besides occasional references to books and an interest in study, pamphlets on Hebrew grammar and theological controversy (123 ff.). Books were hard to get, and loaned books hard to recover (125). A borrowed copy of the Prophets cannot be returned, because the boys are reading it (153)! Only one really unworthy exponent of religion appears (L), although the ethics of a certain transaction in grain are at least doubtful (123). There are some maxims of merit (127, 175).

It is quite natural that we should find some evidence of the pursuit of magic and pseudo-science. No. XXIV is a charm or amulet, such as those elsewhere alluded to (23, 125). No. XV, while it may be a charm, is certainly the recipe for a "scrying" ceremony, with the well-known reference to "princes" which are wont to appear in the vision (76). Elsewhere there is reference to a "magic circle" (107). Cabbalistic names are used (107), including the Tetragrammaton (77 f.), the שם המפורש (81), and Mīṭaṭrōn, the angel (77). The purpose of magic may be protection from disease and accident (107), or the cure of disease and decay (23), or the discovery of hidden treasure (79 ff.). The Song of Songs will cure "dry patches" or a drying up of the body, or boils (23). Psalm cxxi, 5–8, and Exodus xiv, 19 also have magic potency (107). People live in fear of magic, diseases, ghosts, and all sorts of catastrophy (107). The Latin word *succuba* perhaps occurs (107), instead of the Hebrew Lilith, for the vampire-demoness. If the boy's name, *'Allān*, means "stupid," it is applied to avert the evil eye from a particular shining mark (9, 11, 19). A vindictive statement about one who is dead is hastily retracted: "But woe unto us! For we are not unmindful of our own condition!" (127).

XV. Commerce and Manufacture

The Jews of al-Fusṭāṭ and their correspondents dealt in many wares, both staple and fancy: tartar and resin (25), saffron and coral (75), pepper (87), flax, linen, and indigo (99), wool and woollen goods (121), wheat, prunes, gum-arabic, almonds, soap, and earthen pots (123, 231), alum, candied roses (?), and spikenard (153), sugar (191), swords (193), and other commodities. They advanced money for the purchase of material and the maintenance of workmen, taking and selling the finished product. They were in fact manufacturers of colored silks (73), cloth (161), and yarn (153).

The Jews also entered into partnerships (7), a thing which Moslems in Egypt even nowadays seldom dare to do. These, to be sure, were not always successful, because of the indifference (63), or timidity (161), or dishonesty (33, 191) of the partners. The risks of commerce were great. Then as now, goods were perishable and prices fluctuated (191). But clients in those days were exposed to unusual dangers and uncertainties. Tips, taxes, fees, bribes, presents, obligations, contributions, and gratuities,

to agents, porters, sailors, ferrymen, gate-keepers, camel-drivers, inspectors, revenue-officers and what not (XXXVI), by which the Jews avoided molestation, must have taken much of the profit and all of the pleasure out of commercial pursuits.

Of the coins mentioned, the *dīnār* gets its name from the Roman *dēnārius*, but it is a gold coin weighing between 66 and 68 4/7 grains. The American five-dollar gold-piece weighs 129 grains at 900 fine; so that a *dīnār* of the same fineness would lack only a few grains of being equal to half that coin, or $2.50. Its purchasing power at the time, however, has been estimated at about $7.50. The *ashrafī* (139 ff., 187) succeeded the *dīnār* in Egypt toward the end of the fourteenth century A.D. (187). It weighed 53.8 grains.

The *dirham* gets its name from the Greek δραχμή. The Arabs took over this word, in the form *darāhim*, as though a broken plural from an imaginary singular, *dirham*. It was equal to about 1/15 of a *dīnār* or an *ashrafī*. A special *dirham nāsirī* is mentioned (111).

Other coins are, the *rubā'ī*, or "quarter" of a *dīnār* (167); the *nuṣf faḍḍah*, or "half a silver-piece" (139); the *maiyadī* or *mu'aiyadī*, coined after A.D. 1412–1421 (192); and the *ḥabbah*, mentioned among other small coins (165). The Hebrew words כְּפָרִים (193) and פְּרָחִים (183, 232) are used perhaps to mean *dīnārs*. Moroccan money was used (169). *Mithḳāl* and *ḳīrāt* (3, 33, 73) are names for weights primarily, but are used apparently in reference to coins or coined money. The former may mean *dīnār* (33, 73). The latter is 1/24 of a *dīnār* (3, 69).

In the way of weights and measures we have the *ḳinṭār*, which now equals about 99 lbs. and 4/5 oz. avoir., the *roṭl*, a little less than 1 lb. avoir., and the *wiḳīyah*, about 1.32 oz. avoir. The *ḳinṭār* contains 100 *roṭls*, and the *roṭl* contains 12 *wiḳīyahs*. *Ḳinṭār* is derived from Latin *centēnarius*, "containing a hundred," a word which has passed into many languages in the sense of "a hundredweight," or "a hundred pounds." *Roṭl* seems to come from Greek λίτρα, related to Latin *libra*, "a pound," and *wiḳīyah* from Latin *uncia*, "an ounce," the twelfth part of a *libra*. The *ḳaṣabah* is a measure of length, at present equal to 11 ft. 7.766. The equivalents in the above have been taken from Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908. *Wazn* (121) seems to be a unit of weight, not "weight" in general. *Ḳafaṣ* (193) and *ḳafīz* (119) are evidently grain measures.

xvi. Proper Names

The many interesting proper names which are to be found in these texts deserve more than the few observations which are here accorded them; but adequate treatment must await further investigation. No. XIII is especially important.

No doubt the Jews of al-Fusṭāṭ, like Jews in other lands, bore double names, one Hebrew and the other gentile. Fortunately, however, in the case of Egypt, many names were more or less the same in both languages. We have therefore not only Hebrew names and Arabic names, but such as

might be either if necessary. When a Hebrew name resembled an Arabic one in sense but not in sound, it was translated instead of being phonetically modified: e.g. *Nāthan* became *Hibah* (27, 69), while *Abhrāhām* became *Ibrāhīm* (22); just as *Kēphā* became *Petros* (John i, 43), while *Shā'ūl* became *Paulus* (Acts xiii, 9).

The patronymics are most interesting, as they show that certain name-motifs, which are commonly supposed to be of recent European origin, are medieval and oriental. *Bin Asad* (32), "Löwensohn," *Ibn al-Bahwarī* (67), "Son of the Lion-like," *Sibā'* (67), "Lion," are all members of the large group of "lion-names," which may have started with Genesis xlix, 9, as a cryptogram for *Judah*. In Europe the German translation, *Löwe*, seems to have been associated with Hebrew לֵוִי and לֵב. The permutations, through translation and paranomasia, are very numerous. *Al-Dhahabī* (71) is "Goldmann"; *al-Fiḍḍī* (71) is "Silbermann"; *al-Sukkarī* (67) is "Zuckermann"; *al-Ṣafīr* (131), though it means "sapphire," stands doubtless for Aramaic שַׁפִּירָא, "Shapiro"; *Me'ir* (179) is "Meier." Some names, however, have come back to the orient from Europe, such as *Māyō* (191).

xvii. Purpose and Plan of Publication

For many years the content of Genizah material, particularly the Hebrew material, has been studied, while the form, especially of the Arabic material, has been neglected. This is easily explicable; for the chief interest undoubtedly lies, and should lie, in the life and times of the Fusṭāṭ community, rather than in their language; and the language of these documents, at least on the Arabic side, presents peculiar difficulties.

In attempting to interpret documents written in a vulgar or barbarous form of some well-known language, there is always the question, first of all, as to whether they should receive grammatical and lexicographical treatment. It used to be thought that such was unnecessary, or indeed impossible, because there was no grammar. Now-a-days no one will doubt that vulgar and barbarous texts have, after all, grammatical peculiarities; and that these can and must be studied for an understanding of the content of these texts. But the discharge of this duty is more difficult than its recognition; for vulgar dialects must be studied without prejudice, mostly in the light of their own evidence; and barbarous documents require at the same time constant watchfulness to detect the intrusion of "educated speech" in its varying degrees of corruption.

It is the purpose of the present volume to explain the texts, particularly those in Arabic, in such a way that anyone having a fair knowledge of the ordinary idiom may learn to read them; and to call attention to the peculiarities of language in such a way as to benefit those whose chief interest is philological. The translations have been made so that, by including the bracketed words, the reader will have a free rendering, and, by excluding them, a literal one. This is of course not entirely true everywhere. At the expense of beauty and brevity, and with some violence to

English at times, he will, however, usually be able to see what the editors understood the text to mean, and how they arrived at that understanding. The Arabic student will thus be assisted without seriously inconveniencing the general reader, who wishes to acquaint himself with the content of the documents. In a very few instances parentheses have been used to indicate words in the original which cannot stand in the translation. Bracketed restorations in the text of No. I are by Professor Gottheil; others have been explained in each case.

The treatment of proper names presents a problem. There are purely Hebrew names, or names written clearly as Hebrew; there are Arabic names; but there are also names which belong equally to the Hebrew and the Arabic languages, such as the interchangeable *Abhrāhām-Ibrāhīm*, and names which may be pronounced either as Hebrew or as Arabic, such as *Ṣedhāḳāh-Ṣadaḳah*. Doubtless the Jews of al-Fusṭāṭ used these pairs interchangeably. For this reason, and for the sake of simplicity, all familiar names have been given their ordinary English form, regardless of whether they are Hebrew or Arabic in a particular case: e.g. *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Judah*, *Nathan*, *Samuel*, *Joseph*. Less familiar ones have been transliterated as Hebrew or as Arabic; and sometimes the assignment to the one or the other has been rather arbitrary.

The letters בר stand usually for בר רבי, and they have been so understood in most cases. Occasionally, however, they seem to be Aramaic בַּר (179), particularly when they do not have the dots of abbreviation over them. *Ibn*, *Bin*, *Ben*, *Bar*, *Bint*, and *Bath* have all been spelled with capitals, since often they must stand as the first part of a name. Sometimes they have been retained, and sometimes they have been translated. No fixed rule could be observed, as epithets and blessings attached to the end of a patronymic would in English seem to refer to the son, while in reality referring to the father. The innumerable abbreviations of formulae of blessing have sometimes been translated, sometimes paraphrased, and sometimes entirely omitted, as seemed best in each case.

The order of the fragments in this publication is that of the originals in the Freer Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington; not chronological, nor with reference to the contents. A chronological order would have been difficult, because so few of the fragments can be dated even approximately; and as to subject-matter, they admit of many arrangements. It is unfortunate that No. XXVIII is separated from XXX, and XXXI from XXXII. One might wish also that the more interesting ones could have been placed at the beginning of the volume, instead of some that are rather dull and obscure.

This work has been done under rather unusual difficulties. In spite of great effort, it doubtless contains many inconsistencies. Both subject-matter and language are such as to provoke controversy. The editors will be content if they have contributed anything to the understanding of Genizah documents.

INTRODUCTION TO FIRST FRAGMENT

Paper $12\frac{3}{5} \times 8$ inches.

Written in a fairly good Hebrew cursive, in Arabic with Hebrew intermingled.

The fragment is, in places, very much torn; but with the exception of a few words, the text can be recovered entirely.

It contains two documents relating to one and the same affair. It seems that two parties were concerned in some business venture in al-Yemen—Abū al-ʿAlā Ṣāʿid ʿUlāh and Abū al-Afrāḥ ʿArūs al-Ajawānī. Difficulties seem to have arisen and ʿArūs owes ʿUlāh the sum of four dīnārs and one carat. Upon the *recto* we have a document, fully attested, to the effect that ʿArūs owes this money to ʿUlāh. Upon the *verso* we have a second document to say that the money owed by ʿArūs has been paid, in the manner specified in the first document, into court; and ʿUlāh releases ʿArūs from all further indebtedness in the matter.

Being official documents they are extraordinarily prolix; but such verbosity and tautology are characteristic not only of these Judeo-Arabic court papers, but of such instruments at all times—even in the courts and law-offices of our own day. It has been no easy matter to translate this verbiage and to find the English terms corresponding to the Aramaic or Arabic expressions.

And, being official documents, they contain a great many Aramaic expressions and sentences. Jewish law goes back to Talmudic days, when the ordinary language of the people was Aramaic. As they passed into Arabic speaking lands, or as the Arabic cultural invasion engulfed them, their language of intercourse became Arabic; but the formulae as laid down in the Talmudic law held their own against this invasion, in exactly the same manner as Latin did in European lands, and as French did when it replaced Latin as the culture-language of Europe.

The documents here published bear a striking resemblance in their whole form and tenor to the two published by the late Adalbert Merx of Heidelberg University in his *Documents de Paléographie Hébraïque et Arabe* (Leiden, 1894). One of them, in fact, bears the date A.D. 1114, one year previous to one of our documents and two years previous to the second (A.D. 1115 and 1116). The names of the witnesses, being those of the members of the Court of Justice at Fusṭāṭ, are common in documents of this period. See Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs*, Oxford, 1920, Index.

I. TWO DOCUMENTS

A

Recto:

1 מעשה ש[הי]ה לפנינו אנו ב[י]ת דין [הק]בוע בפסטאט מצרים ומאן דחתים
עימנא לתחתא כן הוה

2 חצר אלינא אל[שי]ך אבו אלאפראח כנ"ך מר' ור' [ע]רום הזקן הנכב[ד
אלא]רגואני בר מר' ור' יוסף הזק[ן]

3 [הנכב]ד אל מהדו[י] נע וקאל לנא אשהדו על[י ואק]נו מני מעכשו ואכתבו
ואכתמו עלי בגמיע אל אל[פאט]

4 אלמחרמה ואלמע[א]ני אלמוכדה ובכל לישאני דזכואתא וסלמו דלך אלי
אלשיך אבו אלעלא צאעד

5 אלד[משקי .....מר' ור'] עולא הזקן הנכבד הלוי הנאמן נאמן בית דין
ורצוי הישיבה בר מר' ור' יוסף הזקן

6 [הנכבד ליכון בי]ד[ה לליום ובעדה חגה ווחאק אנני מקר ענדכם באוכד
מעאני אלאקראראת

7 וא[ותקהא פי צחה מ]ני וגואז אמר טאיע מן גיר קהר ולא גבר ולא אכראה
ולא סהו ולא גל[ט] ולא

8 עלה ב[י ולא מרי] ולא גיר דלך מן [ג]מיע מפסדאת אלשהאדה אן לה
ענדי ופי קבלי ופי דמ[תי]

9 וכאלי .....די[נאר]ין וקיראט ואחד דהבא עינא מתאקלא ואזנה
מצריה גיארא צהאחא

10 דינא ואגבא ו[חקא] לאזמא חוב גמור ומלוה זקופה אקומ לה בדלך בעד
אלפסח פי סלד

A

[1] Reading מעשה, though the text is not quite plain. Sometimes simply the word מה is used. Cf. Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter 13 (J 1. No. 7). מה שהיה בפנינו.

[2] Followed by one of the expressions usually accompanying the names of prominent individuals: כבוד גדולת קדושת. Cf. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 383.

[3] I.e. מרנא ורבנא.

[4] I.e. "purple."

[5] Followed by נע = נוחו עדן.

[6] والمعانى المؤكّدة.

[7] The Aramaic expression very often occurs in the simpler form כתבו לי זכות.

Genizah Fragment 1 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 1 b

I. TWO DOCUMENTS

A

Recto:

1 The following[1] occurred before us the Bēth Dīn [Court of Justice] properly appointed in Fusṭāṭ, Egypt, and in the presence of those whose names are signed below. Thus it was:

2 There appeared before us the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ[2], our lord and master[3] ʿArūs, the honored elder al-Arjawānī[4], son of our lord and master Joseph, the honored

3 elder, al-Mihdāwī[5], and said to us: Take my testimony, and ratify it on my part at this moment, write it down and have it signed for me, using all the sacred

4 terms and the hallowed expressions[6], and in language that will fully exempt me[7], and hand this [document] to the Sheikh Abū al-ʿAlā Ṣāʿid[8]

5 of Da[mascus.....] ʿUlāh ha-Lēvī, the honored elder, the trusted Levite, trusted of the Bēth Dīn and accredited of the Yeshībhah, son of our lord and master Joseph,

6 [the honored elder, that it remain in his possession] from now on and afterwards, as a document and a bond. Behold, I acknowledge before you in the most positive

7 and binding form of acknowledgment, being [in good health][9], in full possession of my will, voluntarily, not being forced, without constraint, coercion, without inadvertence or error,

8 or any infirmity in [me or illness] or any of the many [conditions] that make it impossible for me to give testimony, that I owe him, and have in my possession and in my care

9 and separate.....dīnārs and one ḳīrāṭ[10] of fine gold in mithḳāls[11] of Egyptian weight of good quality and true,

10 a legitimate debt and a binding liability[12]. I shall pay[13] him this after the Passover festival at the end of[14]

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[8] The use of the letter צ for س is quite possible in these documents. The same person is mentioned in another document cited by Worman in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xx, p. 457: אלשיך אבו אלעלא צאעד ר׳ עולה — giving both his Arabic and his Hebrew name.

[9] = في صحّة منّى.

[10] Usually = 1/24 of a dīnār. At the beginning of the line we might read وخالص مالى were it not necessary to suppose a number at this point.

[11] The *mithḳāl* had various values. Here the word is probably used for "coin" in general.

[12] These Arabic words are followed by their equivalent in Hebrew.

[13] אקום. Cf. יקום B, l. 15.

[14] "in the course of"?

11 ניסן מן סנה [א]לף ואר[ב]עמאיה ותמניה ועשרין למנין שט[רות] מן
אנין מא אמתלכה בלא

12 מראפעה ולא ממאנעה ולא חגה ולא אחתנאג כל עיקר ולא ימין עלי
אסתיפא שי מן דלך

13 מן סאיר צנוף אלאימאן תקילהא וכפיפהא ואפילו על ידי גלגול ואפילו
חרם סתם ואחריות

14 חוב דנן עלי אנא ערוס פי חיותי ועלי וראתי בעד ופאתי על כל [מין] ארג
נכסין קנין

15 ממון דאית לי ודיהוי לי תחות כל שמיא בביתא ובברא ממקרקעי
וממטלטלי ואפילו

16 מגלימא דעל כתפאי דלא כאסמכאתא ודלא כטופסי דשטרי אילא כחומר
וכח[ו]ק

17 כלשטרי מחזקי מזרזי דבי די[נא] ותקנאתא דרבנן וכתבת לה הדא
אלכתאב ליכון בידה

18 וביד וראתה בעדה אריך ושריר וקיים ומוחזק דיזכון ביה ??? בכל בתי דינין
לעלם לא כאל

19 אסנאדאת ולא כמצאדיר אלכתב אלא כאוכד ואתקן מא סטרו[ה] רבותינו
זל פי כתב

20 אלדיון ובטילית נמי כל מודעי ותנאי ומודעי דמודעי ומודעי דנפקין מגו
מודעי עד

21 סוף כל מודעי דמסירין לי ודמסרנא על שטר חוב דנן כתיקון חכמים
וקנינא מן מר ור

22 ערוס [הזקן] הנכבד דנן בר מר ור יוסף הזקן הנכבד נע לכנק מר ור עולה
הלוי הנאמן

23 נאמן בית דין ו[רצוי] הישיבה דנן בר מר ור יוסף הזקן הלוי נע במנא
דכשר למקניא ביה

24 על כל מה דכ[תיב מ]פרש לעילא ומה דהוה קדמנא אנן בי דינא ומאן
דהתים עימנא לתהתא

25 כתבנא וחתמ[נא] ויהבנא לכנק מר ור עולה הלוי הנאמן [דליהוי] בידיה
לזכו ולראיה

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[15] The Seleucid Era, beginning 312 B.C.

[16] Literally: "light or heavy."

11 Nisan of the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight according to the Era of Documents[15], in the same good coin which he possessed. [He does this] without

12 any constraint or restraint, argument or discussion at all, or any oath for the carrying-out of any part of this [agreement],

13 from among all the various kinds of oaths, unimportant or capital[16]; not even by means of an oath of implication, nor by any unqualified vow. [The return

14 of this money] is an obligation upon me, 'Arūs, during my lifetime, and upon my heirs after my death, upon anything worth while that I may possess—property, possessions

15 or money that is mine or that I may possess under all the heavens, at home or abroad, real or personal property, even to the covering that is

16 upon my shoulders: not like simple acts of recovery or mere contract formularies, but like full and valid documents:

17 invincible, irresistible writs of the court of justice, and the ordinances of the rabbis. I have written this document in his favor, that it may be in his possession

18 and in the possession of his heirs after him: a document lasting, stable and durable; it being understood that they can make use of it in any court of justice and for all time to come: not like

19 simple acts of recovery[17] or mere contract-formularies[18], but as the most binding and stable documents that our rabbis[19] have laid down for documents

20 acknowledging debts. I declare void all protests and conditions and protests of protests, and protests that may be developed from protests to the nth

21 degree that may be made for me, or that we may have made in connection with this deed of claim—[all] in accordance with the statutes of the wise men. We have received from our lord and master, this

22 'Arūs, the honored [elder], son of our lord and master Joseph, the honored elder, for our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, the trusted one[20],

23 this one trusted of the Bēth Dīn and accredited of the Yeshībah, this son of our lord and master Joseph ha-Lēvī the elder[21], [a guarantee] in current money

24 according to all that is set forth explicitly above, and which has been brought before us, the Court of Justice, and before those whose names are signed for us below.

25 We have written this, sealed it, and given it to our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī the trusted one, that he keep it as evidence and as proof.

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[17] There is a hole in the paper here.

[18] اسنادات.

[19] See Merx, *Documents de Paléographie Hébraïque et Arabe*, p. 32, note.

[20] זל"ז. Words of blessing following names are omitted in the translation.

[21] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 196.

26 וכאן דלך פי אלעשר אלאביר מן חדש תמוז דשנת אלפא וארבעמאה
ועשרין ושבעה

27 שנין למניינא דרגילוננא ביה בפסטאט מצרים דעל נילוס נהרא [מותבה]
ותאכרת כתאמתנא

28 אלי אלעשר אלאול מן חדש אב אלתאלי לה מן אלסנה אלמדכורה שריר
ובריר וקיים

29 אברהם ברבי שמעיה החבר נבת נ̇א נין שמעיהו גאון נ̇ע

30 יצחק בי̇ר שמואל הספרדי זכ לח הע הכ יפת ברי דוד . . .
ח א ב

B

Verso:

1 שהדותא דהות באנפנא אנן שהדי דחתימת ידנא לתחתא . . . [אן הצר]
אלינא אלשיך

2 אבו אלעלא צאעד אלדמשקי נ̇ג̇ק מר ור עולה הזקן הנכבד ה[לוי הנאמן
נאמן בי]ת דין ורצוי הישיבה

3 ב[ן] מר ור יוסף הזקן הנכבד הלוי נ̇ע וקאל לנא למא תוגה מ . . . . . .
[מ]ר ור יפת הזקן

4 נ̇ע אלי דיאר אלימן אנפדת צחב[תה . . . .] ולמא חב אללה בסלא[מת ה] . . . .
אלתוא . . . . לבתה

5 בדלך פי בית דין וגרי ביננא משוג[ראת כתי]רה פי מגאלס אליה[וד . . . אן]
אקר אכרהא אן דכלו

6 ביננא זקני יושר וכושר פי דלך בדרך פשרה וקררו אן . . . . . [אל]שיך
אבו אלאפראה

7 נ̇ג̇ק מר ור ערוס הזקן הנכבד אלארגואני בר נ̇ג̇ק מר [ור יוסף ה]זקן
הנכבד נ̇ע ען גמיע

8 מא אסתחק ענה ממא כנת אנפדתה מעה פי . . . . . אלי דיאר אלימן ופי
גמיע

---

[22] One can read وتأخّذت or وتاخّرت or وتأكّدت.

[23] I.e. the Passover festival.

[24] The letters placed above names sometimes spell a title, e.g. יפת בר דוד = המלמד "the teacher." (Taylor-Schechter 13, J 1. No. 1.) Sometimes they spell the name of the person's father. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 102. At other times they are the initials of

26 This happened during the last ten days of the month Tammuz, of the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-seven,
27 according to the era that we are accustomed to use in Fusṭāṭ of Egypt, situate upon the river Nile. Our signature was affixed [only][22]
28 upon the tenth day of the month of Ab, that follows it[23], of the aforementioned year.

Certain! Clear! Established!

29 Abraham son of Rabbi Shema'yah, the Ḥābēr, descendant of Shema'yah Gāōn.
30 [Signed by] Isaac, son of R. Samuel[24] ha-Sefardī.
Yepheth, son of R. David (?).....

B

Verso:

1 Testimony in regard to the affair that was treated before us—we who have placed our signature below:.....[There appeared] before us the Sheikh
2 Abū al-'Alā Ṣā'id of Damascus, our lord and master 'Ulāh, the revered elder ha-[Lēvī, the trusted one, trusted of the court] of justice and accredited of the Yeshībhah,
3 son of our lord and master Joseph, the revered elder ha-Lēvī, and said to us: When.....our lord and master Yepheth, the elder
4 went to the country of al-Yemen, a partner[ship] was agreed upon between us (?)[1]; and, when God was gracious enough to permit him to return to us in health[2], when the case was brought
5 before the Court of Justice, many difficulties[3] arose between us.....in the end an agreement (?) was reached that there should come between us
6 righteous and God-fearing elders in this matter, in order that a settlement[4] might be arrived at. So, there came to an agreement.....the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ,
7 our lord and master 'Arūs, the honored elder al-Arjawānī, son of our lord [and master Joseph the] honored elder, in respect to all that to which I
8 have a right of that which I had given (?) to him [to take with him][5] to the districts of al-Yemen, and in regard to

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words making up a pious wish. The last signature is badly written. Perhaps Yepheth was a very old man at this time. In Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, 97, we find Yepheth the Ḥazzān, son of Rabbi David, identical with Yepheth b. David b. Shekhanya, who signed documents as early as A.D. 1020, ninety-six years before our document.

B

[1] Text illegible. It may be انفذت صحبة بيننا; or, simply انفذت صحبته.

[2] The sense is quite certain, but the text is not easily restored.

[3] مشاجرات.

[4] פְּשָׁרָה. Cf. line 24: i.e. that the affair should be amicably arranged, without a trial before the Court of Law.

[5] Perhaps insert فى المسيرة.

9 פאידה וג[מיע] מא יתגה לי עליה מן אנואע אלמטאלבהֻ ועלי אכתלאפ
אגנאסהא מימו[ת]

10 עולם ועד עכשו בארבעה דנאניר וקיראט מן דלך דינארין עאגלה ודינארין
וקיראט

11 אגלה יקום בהא בער פסח מן סנתנא הדה אלתי הי סנה אתכה לשטרות
ואברי מ עלאן

12 דנן מן גמיע אלדעאוי ואלמטאלבאת ומן כל זכות יתגה לי עליה
מימו[ת] עולם ועד

13 עכשו פרצית בדלך ואבריתה בבית דין בקנין גמור חמור בכלי הכשר
לקנות בו מעכשו

14 בביטול כל מודעין ותנאין וקבצת מן כאלה אלשיך אבו אלאפראח ערום
דנן אלדינא[רין] אלדי

15 אסתקר אן יקום בהא עאגלה ובקי לי על[י]ה אלדינארין וקיראט אלאגלה
כתבת בה אן

16 עליה אלשטר חוב אלמרכור פי באטן הדה אלורקה ולמא כאן אלא תפצל
ועגל לי בהא

17 ותסלמתהא מנה וברי מנהא ומן דרכהא ולם יבק לי [פי] ג[מיע]תהא מא
קימתה אפילו

18 משוי פרוטה ולעילא פאשהדו עלי אנא עולה הלוי ואקנו מני מעכשו
ואכתבו ואכתמו

19 עלי בגמיע אלאלפאט אלמחכמה ואלמעאני אלמוכדה ובכל ל[י]ש[א]ני
דזכואתא [ו]ס[למו ד]לך

20 אלי אלשיך אבו אלאפראח ערום דנן ליכון בידה לליום ובעדה ח[גה
ו]תאק אנני מ[קר] ענדכם

21 באוכד מעאני אלאקראראת ואותקהא פי צחה מני וגוא[ז א]מר [טא]יעא
מן גיר [קהר ולא] גבר

22 ולא אכראה ולא סהו ולא גלט ולא עלה בי מן מרץ ולא גיר [דלך מן]
גמיע [מ]פסדאת אל[ש]הא[דה] אנני

23 קד קבצת ותסלמת מנה ארבעה דנאניר וקיראט [דהבא ע]נא מתאקילה
ואזנה מצריה

---

6 آجِلَة.

all that had been gained, and in regard to all that belonged (?) [7] to me from him of the different things that I had the right to demand of him, in their various kinds, from the days of old until now: that it amounted to four dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ. Of these, two dīnārs were to be paid at once; and two dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ should be kept[6] and paid by him after the Passover festival of this year which is the year 1428 according to the Era of Documents. This Mar 'Allān was declared free from any further claims or demands, or from any gain that might be due (?)[7] to me from days of old until today. Now I have agreed to this and have given him a quittance in the Court of Justice, by means of a perfect, all-comprising, bill of sale, with all the legal apparatus with which it is customary to make such quittance at this time, by declaring void any provisions and conditions. I have received from his maternal uncle, Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ the two dīnārs which it was agreed should be paid at once on his account. There remained owing to me from him the two dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ to be paid afterwards; for which[8] I had drawn up the promissory note mentioned in this paper. And now that he has been kind enough, and the payment of this sum has been accelerated to me, and I have received it from him, and he is free from it and from any liability in regard to it; and since I have no longer any pecuniary interest at all in it, even that of a penny or more, receive, therefore, this testimony from me, 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, and ratify it on my part at this moment. Write it down, and have it signed for me, using all the sacred terms and the binding expressions, and in language that will fully exempt him, and hand this statement to this Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ 'Arūs, that it remain in his possession from now on and afterwards as a document and a bond. Behold! I acknowledge before you, in the most positive and binding form of acknowledgment, being in good health, in full possession of my will-power, voluntarily, not being forced, without coercion and constraint, without inadvertence or error, or any hindrance arising from illness, or any of the many [conditions] that might make it impossible for me to give testimony—that I received and accepted from him four dīnārs and one[9] ḳīrāṭ of fine gold in mithḳāls of Egyptian weight

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[7] This curious verbal form can scarcely be anything but يَتَّجِهُ from اِتَّجَهَ, the VIII form of وجه. It usually means "to face."

[8] There are two very strange characters at the end of the line. Perhaps אלאן, "now."

[9] There is no room for ואחד. Cf. A, line 9.

24 גי[א]ד[א צח]אחא אלדי וקעת עליהא אלפשרה ען מ עלאן[ן ב] אכתה מן
דלך דינארין עאגלה

25 ואלדינאר[ין] אלמדכורה לי פי באטן הדא אלשטר חסב מא תקדם דכר
דלך לעילא וצאר גמיע דלך

26 אלי עכמאלה ותמאמה ואבריתה מנה ומן הדא אלשטר ומן אלימין
עלי שי מנה ואפילו על ידי גלגול

27 [ואפי]לו חרם סתם בראה כאמלה תאמה באוכד מעאני אלאבארי ואותקהא
וכתיקון חכמים

28 וכתבת לה הדא אלכתאב ליכון בידה וביד וראתה בעדה עלי ועלי וראתי
בעדי אריך ושריר וקיים

29 ומוחזק דיזכון ביה בכל בתי דיני ולעלם לא כאלאסנאדאת ולא כמצאדיר
אלכתב אלא כאוכד ואתקן

30 מא סטרוה רבותינו ז"ל פי כתב אלאבארי ובטילית נמי כל מודעין ותנאין
דמסי[ר]ין לי ודמ[סרנא]

31 על שטרא דנן כתיקון חכמ וקנינא מן מר ור עולה הלוי נאמן בית דין ורצוי
הישיבה דנן בר מר

32 ור [י]וסף הלוי הזקן נע לכנגך מר ור ערום הזקן הנכבד דנן בי יוסף הזקן
נע במנא דכשר למקניא

33 על כל מה דכתיב ומפרש לעילא ושהדותא דא כתבנא וחתמנא וי[הב]נא
למר ור ערום הזקן דנן

34 דליהוי בידי[ה] לזכו ולראיה וכאן דלך פי אלעשר אלאכיר מן תש[רי] מן
אלסנה אלמדכורה לעילא אלתי

35 הי סנה אתכח למנין שטרות בפסטאט מצרים דעל ני[לוס נהר]א מותבה
שרי[ר] ובריר וקיים

36 מבורך בר נתן סט הלפון הלוי בי מנשה נע

of good quality and true, according to the agreement reached with Mar 'Allān his nephew in regard to these two dīnārs which were to be paid at once
and the two dīnārs mentioned by me in this paper, as has been stated above. All this has come
to me completely and in its entirety. I now free him from this [debt] and from [the provision of] this document, and from taking an oath in regard to any part of it, even a compulsory oath
—a complete and entire release, in the widest and fullest sense of that term and according to the statutes of the wise men.
I have written this document in his favor, that it may be in his possession and in the possession of his heirs after him: binding upon me and my heirs after me; lasting, stable, and durable:
it being understood that they can make use of it in any court of justice and for all time to come; not like simple acts of recovery, or mere contract-formularies, but as the most binding and stable documents
that our rabbis have laid down for us in regard to the documents of release. I, further, declare void any protests or conditions which may have been made for me or which I may have made
in regard to this document, in accordance with the statutes of the wise men. We have received from this our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, the trusted one of the Court of Justice, and accredited of the Yeshībhah, the son of our master
and lord Joseph ha-Lēvī, for our lord and master this 'Arūs, the honored elder, son of Rabbi Joseph, the elder, in current money, according to all
that is set out explicitly above. This testimony we have written down and signed, and have handed over to our lord and master this 'Arūs the elder, that it remain with him
as proof and as evidence. This occurred during the last ten days of Tishri, of the year mentioned above, which is
the year 1428, according to the Era of Documents, in Fusṭāṭ of Egypt, situate upon the river Nile. Certain! Clear! Established!
[Signed] Mebōrākh, son of Nathan
Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, son of Menasseh.

II. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
Arabic and Hebrew, in fairly legible cursive Hebrew characters.

Recto:

1 בשם רחם אשרי משכיל אל דל ביום רעה ימלטיהו יי אני יי

2 כי יי יהיה בכסלך ושמר רגלך מלכד כי תעבור במים אתך

3 שלום וברכה ממושכה כתורה וכהלכה ליקר הדרת יקרת צפירת תפארת

4 כבוד גדולת קד מרנא ורבנא יהודה הכהן השר הגדול והאדיר בעם יו תפארת
השרים

5 עטרת הסופרים ישמרו שומר נפוצות חסידו ויהיה לו מושיע וגואל

6 ויחייה שני חמודין השרים סגני הכהנים יאריך אלהים ימיהם בטוב
ושנותם

7 בנעימים בר כגק מרנ ורבנ אל[ע]זר השר הכהן האדיר שר הנדיבים
תפארת השרים

8 החשובים זצל עבדהא יקבל ידיהא וינהי בסאמיהא מא הוה עליה מן
אלשוק אלי

9 נצרהא ואלתאסף עלי מא יפות מן קרבהא ולמא כאן פי הדה אלגמעה
עולת עלי

10 אלדכול אלי סאמיהא פחצרו קום מן בלבים דכרו לעבדהא אן אבו
אלבהא אלדמשקי

11 אלדי פי אלקאהרה מקים אן מר אלי צלאח אלדין ואכד תוקיע בתקדמה אנה וקאלו עוד אלדין . . . . עבדה
במניה זפתא ודכרו

---

[1] This seems to be a Jewish replica of the usual Muslim introduction بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. Cf. also Steinschneider, *Die Arabische Literatur der Juden*, p. xxxi.

[2] Psalm xli, 2.

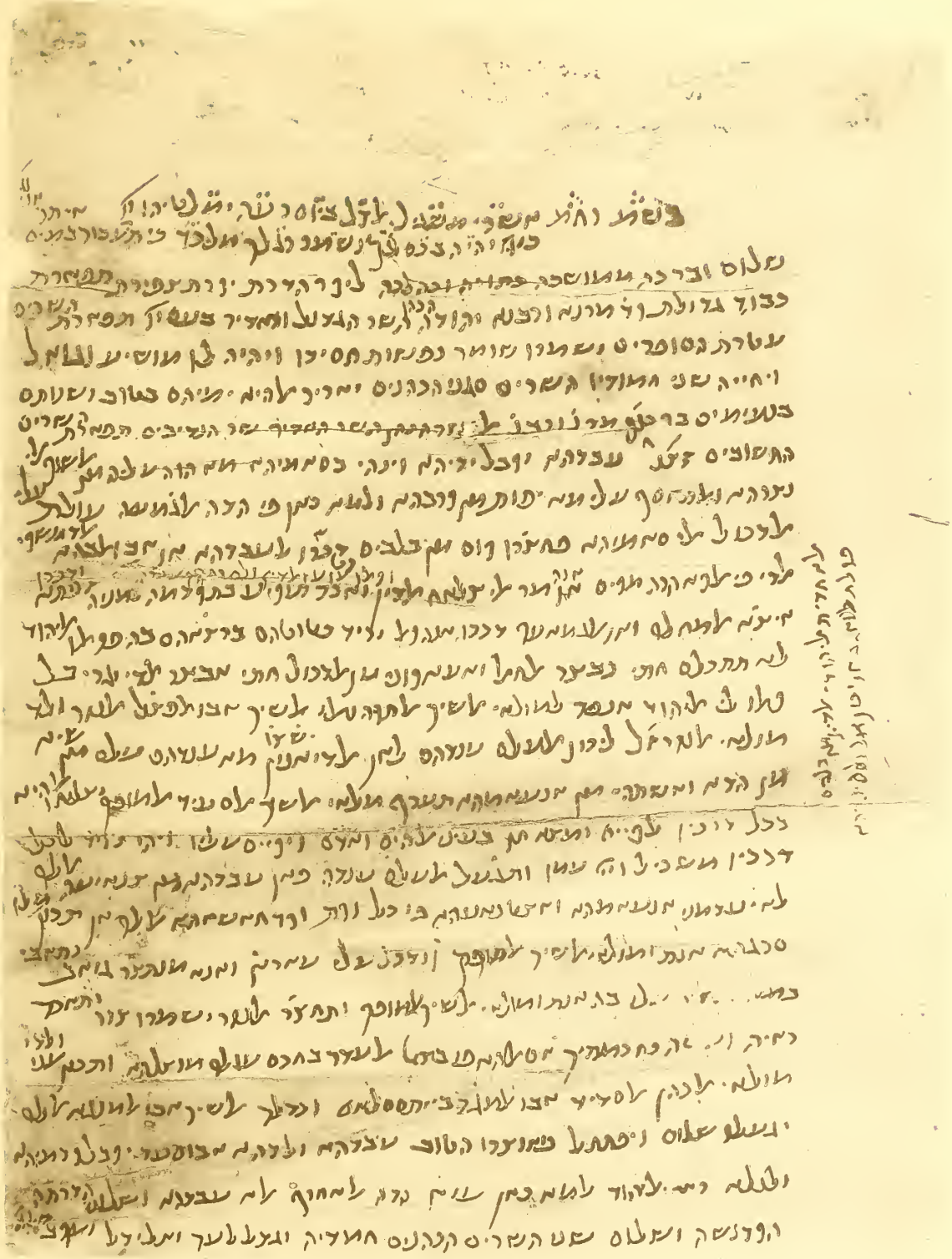
[3] Proverbs iii, 26. [4] Isaiah xliii, 2.

[5] For the use of חָמוּד in the sense of "son," cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 54, l. 8, 58.

[6] This alludes to the fact that the family was of priestly descent.

[7] Refers to Judah ha-Kōhēn in line 4.

[8] The feminine suffix here and in the following words is quite inexplicable—except as referring to תפארת in line 7.





GENIZAH FRAGMENT 2 b

II. LETTER

A letter from Shabbatai, son of Abraham, Ḥābēr, of Minyat Zifta, to Judah ha-Kōhēn, the son of Eleazar, Dayyān of Bilbais, complaining that Jews of Bilbais are injuring his position in Minyat Zifta.

Shabbatai signed documents in A.D. 1154. Judah was appointed Dayyān in 1187, after which date our letter was probably written.

Recto:

1 In the name of Mercy[1]! Happy is he who takes cognizance of the poor; on the day of evil God will deliver him[2].

2 For God will be thy hope and will keep thy feet from stumbling[3], [as it is said:] "When thou goest through the water, I am with thee[4]."

3 Peace and prolonged blessing, as [promised in] the Law and in tradition, to the Honorable Crown of Glory,

4 his Illustrious Greatness, our Lord and Master, Judah ha-Kōhēn, the Great and Mighty Prince among the People of God, the Glory of Princes,

5 the Diadem of Scribes. May He preserve him who preserves his scattered pious ones, and may He be unto him a healer and deliverer!

6 May he also preserve in life his two sons[5], the princes, the assistant priests[6]. May God lengthen their days in the [enjoyment of] good things, and their years

7 in pleasantness—son of[7] our Lord and Master Eleazar ha-Kōhēn, the Prince, the Glorious, Chief among Princes, the Glory of Worthy

8 Princes. His slave kisses his hands[8], and brings to the attention of his Highness[9] how ardent his desire is for

9 his well being, and his regret (?) at the length of time during which he is away from him[10]. Now when it occurred in this week that I was boorishly denied entrance

10 to his Highness, people came from Bilbais and mentioned to his slave[11] that Abū al-Bahā of Damascus,

11 who was living in Cairo, had come to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn[12], and had taken a promise from him of promotion in Minyat Zifta[13], and they mentioned

---

[9] Cf. Bodleian, No. 2874, 11: ינהי אלי סאמהא אן. السامى was one of the honorific titles used in Egyptian protocols. See the interesting discussion of these titles, from which come many of our Hebrew ones in these documents, in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol. vi, p. 15, and Max van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, I, 446.

[10] The translation is a suggestion merely: ما يفوت من قربه.

[11] I.e. to himself, the writer.

[12] Between the lines there has been inserted: "And some say 'Awwād (written עוער) al-Dīn...his slave."

[13] Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Egypte* (Vollers), v, 109; Mann, *op. cit.*, Index *s.v.*

12 איצא אלמחלה ואן אלגמאעה דכרו אנה קאל יריד כטוטהם ברצאהם בה
פקאלו אליהוד
13 לא תתכלם חתי נבצר אלחאל ואעאקוני ען אלדכול חתי אבצר אלדי יגרי בל
14 קאלו לי אליהוד אנפד למולאי אלשיך אלתקה ואלי אלשיך אבו אלפצל
אלנור ולד
15 מולאי אלנור זל ליכון מעלם ענדהם לאן אלדיאנין מא ענדהם עלם מן שיא
16 מן הדה ואשתהי מן אנעאמהא תערף מלאי אלשיך אלסעיד אלמופק יצליחו
אלהיא
17 בכל דרכיו אלקיים ימצא חן בעיני אלהים ואדם ויקיים עליו ויהי דויד לכל
18 דרכיו משכיל ויי עמו ותגעל אלעלם ענדה פאן עבדהא מן צנאיעה אללה
19 לא יעד מני אנעאמהא ואצטנאעהא פי כל וקת וקד חאשאהא אללה אן
תכון מלו
20 סרגהא אנת ומולאי אלשיך אלמופק ונדכל עלי עאדנן ואנא מנתצר גואב
כתאבי
21 במא .....[ע]לי בה אנת ומולאי אלשיך אלמופק ותחצר אלנור ישמרהו צור
ותאבד
22 ראיה ו..ה בחכמתיך אסאלהא פי בצט אלעדר בחכם עולם מוצלהא
ותכון עני ואלדי
23 מולאי אלכהן אלסדיד אבו אלמגרבי יתם סלאם וכדלך אלשיך אבו אלמנגא
אללה
24 יגעלה שלום ויפתח אל מאוצרו הטוב עבדהא ולדהא אבו סעד יקבל קדמיהא
25 ולולא ראי אליהוד למא כאן עון הדה אלאחרף אלא עבדהא ושלום הדרתה
26 הקדושה ושלום שני השרים הכהנים חמדיה יגדל לעד ואלי דל יעקוב האלה

Margin:

אלא חדית אליהודי אלדין מן בלבים
פקלת אלואגב אן יכון לעלם ענדהא

---

11 Between Alexandria and Damietta. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, p. 62.

15 مولى.

16 Above are the letters יש צר = ישמרהם צורנו, "May our Rock preserve them."

17 תערף = تُعرّف. 18 Written מלאי.

19 After Nehemiah ii, 20.

20 Or אלפיים.

21 Proverbs iii, 4.

also al-Maḥallah[14], and a lot of them added that he had said that he wished their signature, expressing their satisfaction with him. The Jews answered:

"Do not say anything until we have looked into the matter." They prevented me from coming, so as to learn what had happened. But

the Jews said to me, "Write to our master[15], the Sheikh al-Thiḳah and to Sheikh Abū al-Faḍl al-Nūr, son of

our master al-Nūr, that he become a teacher among them, because the judges[16] have no knowledge whatsoever

concerning the matter." I desire that his Grace should inform[17] our master[18] the Sheikh al-Sa'īd al-Muwaffiḳ—may God prosper him[19]

in all his ways .....[20]—may he find grace in the eyes of God and of man[21], and may there be applied to him the Biblical verse: "And David was

intelligent in all his doings, and God was with him[22]"—and make the matter known to him. Now his slave[23]—the least of God's children—

has not been lacking his[24] favor and his good will at all times. God forbid that you should be in a divided state of mind[25],

you and my master al-Sheikh al-Muwaffiḳ! Let us return to our usual custom. I am awaiting an answer to my letter

in regard to what [you reply to][26] me—you and my master the Sheikh al-Muwaffiḳ. Bring al-Nūr—may the Rock preserve him!—and get

his view.....and.....in thy wisdom[27]. I would ask you boldly[28] for help for all time to come; and that you serve me in the place of a father.

My best greetings to my master the righteous priest al-Maghrabī; and so also to the Sheikh Abū al-Munajja[29]. May God

grant him peace! May God open for him His good treasure[30]! His slave and his [slave's] son[31] kiss his feet.

And were it not for the opinion of the Jews, these words would not have been written so mysteriously about[32] your slave. Greetings to his

Holiness, and greetings to the two priestly princes, his sons. May he be exalted forever, and the poor of Jacob.....

Margin:

In regard to[32] the case of the Jew [and] the Dayyān of Bilbais, I said: "It is right that he should be informed."

---

[22] I Samuel xviii, 14. After this long interruption, the text is taken up from line 16 as if nothing had intervened. [23] The writer. [24] The addressee's.

[25] A pure guess. The text seems perfectly plain מלו סרנהא, the feminine suffix (cf. note 8. הא = ـُه- = -u in this text) referring to the addressee. Lane (p. 1343) notes an old Arabic expression from the Ḥamāsah: مال سرجك "thy affair has become in a disordered state." Perhaps ملوى سرجه with the same import.

[26] The words are all blurred here. [27] Plural.

[28] Reading בצט = بساط. As in modern Cairene, the emphatic ط changes س into ص.

[29] Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 215.

[30] Cf. Deut. xxviii, 12. [31] Read וולדהא.

[32] אלא means "concerning," and probably stands for على.

Verso :

1 ובעד גמיע מא צטרתה חצרו קום יהוד ערפוני אן קאל דבאח אנפד אלי
הדייה
ענד אבו אלבהא וקל לה
2 פלישתמך ואנפד לה הדיה וקאל לה כד לי אלתקדמך באסמך ואנא אפעל
לך גמיע מא תריד
3 ונבצר אן כאן צהרה ינפעה ובאללה עליך אן תוצית ענה אנא אערף עדרך
ואלשיך אלמופק הוה ינפד
4 דלך קאלה בג וינכיר עליך פעלה אנהא ממלוכהא דלך ועף בשלום

Address :

1 אלהדרת כגק מרנא ורבנא יהודה הכהן השר הגדול [האדיר]
2 בעם יו הירא את יו יהי שמו לעולם בר כגק מרנ ורבנ אלעזר
3 הכהן שר הנדיבים תפארת השרים החשובים זל
4 עבדהא לא עדם
בקאהא
שבתי בירבי אברהם הדיין
החבר תנצבה

---

[33] צטרתה = سطرته. Cf. note 28.

[34] النبّاح.

Verso:

1 And after all that I have written[33] a number of Jews came and informed me that Dabbāḥ[34] said "Send to Abū al-Bahā a present, and say to him:

2 'May it not insult you.'" So he sent him a present, and said: "Get the promotion for me in your name, and I shall do for you all that you wish."

3 We shall see if his brother-in-law will help him. By Allah! It is for you to command concerning him. I know your excuse. The Sheikh al-Muwaffiḳ—let him send.

4 This he said.....[35] And let him find fault with him for what he has done. Verily this is your servant. Good luck!

Address:

1 To our Glorious Lord and Master, Judah ha-Kōhēn, the Great and Mighty Prince

2 among the people of God, who fear God—May his name be remembered forever—son of our Lord and Master Eleazar

3 ha-Kōhēn, Prince of the Noble, Glory of Renowned Princes,

4 [Signed:] Shabbatai, son of Rabbi Abraham the Judge, the Ḥābēr, his slave. May he never be bereft of him[36]!

---

[35] Do בנ stand for بجميع "in all"?

[36] Reading لا عدم بقاءه.

III. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

The paper is now much damaged, and the ink pale. The handwriting is so slovenly that whole groups of letters assume the same form. On the other hand, the same letter of the alphabet may assume many forms. The number of possible readings is thus very great, and their value correspondingly small. If the language were even tolerably pure and the thought connected, translation might still be possible. But the writer is vague and incoherent—perhaps even intentionally cryptic and mysterious. One doubts that Arabic is his natural tongue at all. It may be safely said that this letter would not have been clear even to a contemporary Egyptian acquainted with the secret diplomacy of the situation. Cf. Nos. XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV.

Recto:

1 כתאבי יאבי וסי[די] אלעזיז עלי אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם סל[אמתך]
2 וסעאדתך מן אסכנדריה לז׳ איאם בקין מן שהר איר עץ סלאמה
3 ונעמה ושוק אליך קרב אללה אלאגתמע בך עלי אפצל חאל ומא
4 תריד עלמה אן תקדם כתאבי אליך מע אלכלבים יערפוך פיה
5 וצול כתאבך אלי עלא ואנת תקול לה לא תדפע לאבי .... אל[א]
6 בעד אלעיד וקד סאלתך אן תפ[ע]ל אל . ורין אלקנע .....
7 לה ידפעוה אלי פי איר וסיון אן יגעלהא פי ניסן ואיר
8 לאנה שהר אן עטים לים הו מתל אלשהר ועלינא פיה
9 לגיראננא לואזם ונחן מנתטרין ללגואב תם בעד הדא
10 וצל חסון ווצל מעה כתאבך ואנת תדכר פיה .....
11 וקד רעע . [אלי]ום כתאבי אליך וקד ואללה יאבי סאלנאה פי ..
12 שראביה ידפעהא לנא אבא יפעל לא הו ולא עלאן וחק
13 הדה אלאחרף אן נמור לה פי האגה לא מתל ואחד ימור
14 אלי כניסיה עבודה זרה לאן לים הון יהודי תמור יקציך

---

1 Quite plainly, Hebrew כלבים, meaning "rascals"? Cf. No. XXI, *recto*, line 5

2 עלא would seem to be عَلَيَّ and not عُلَّى. But our fragment No. I gives in line 5 עולא, and so we have read עלא as عُلَّى throughout the collection. Cf. also Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimids*, p. 283, col. 3, line 8.

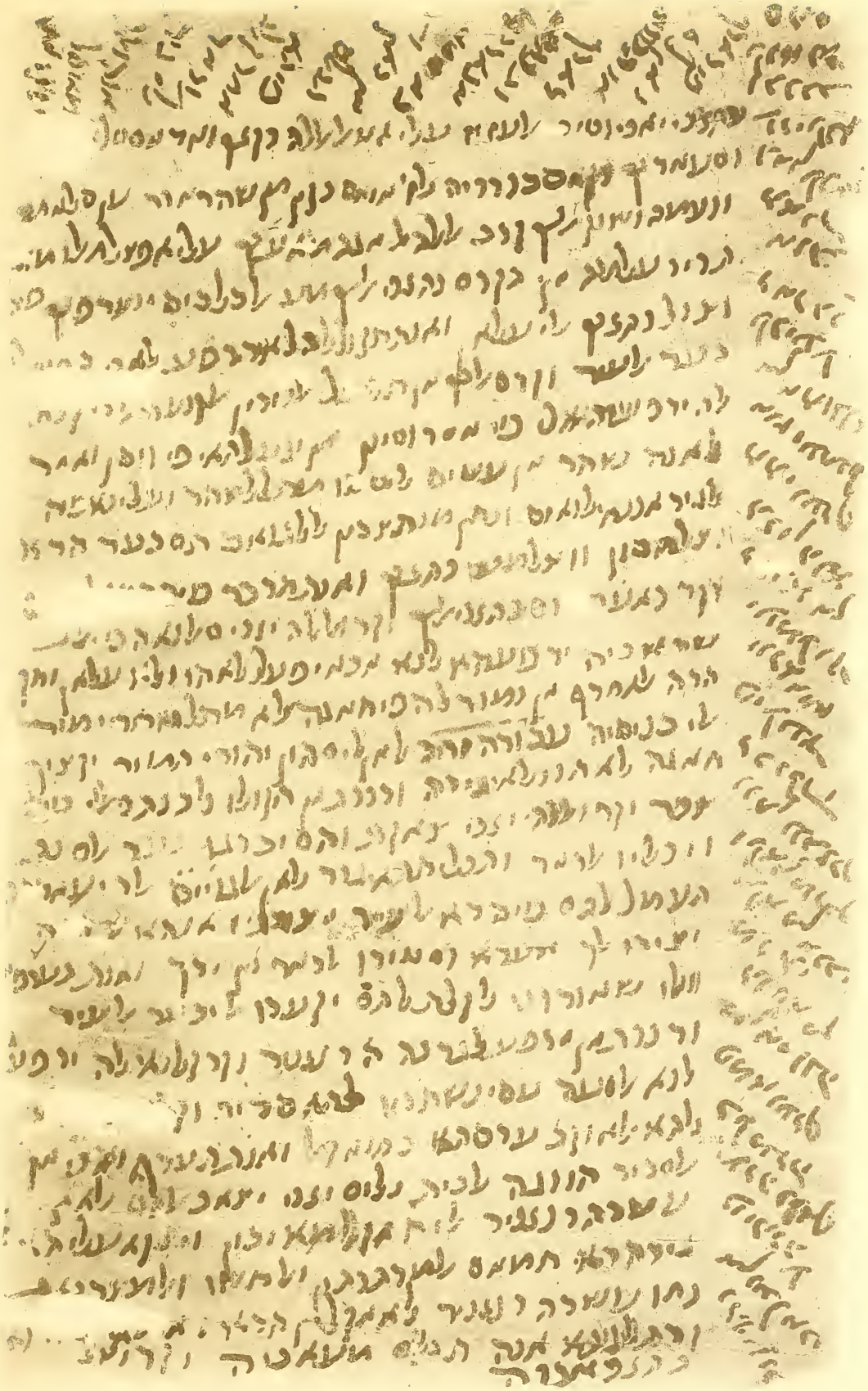
3 I.e. Nisan.

4 וקד ואללה is evidently an oath. Is it for وَالقَدْر وَاللهِ? Cf. line 16.

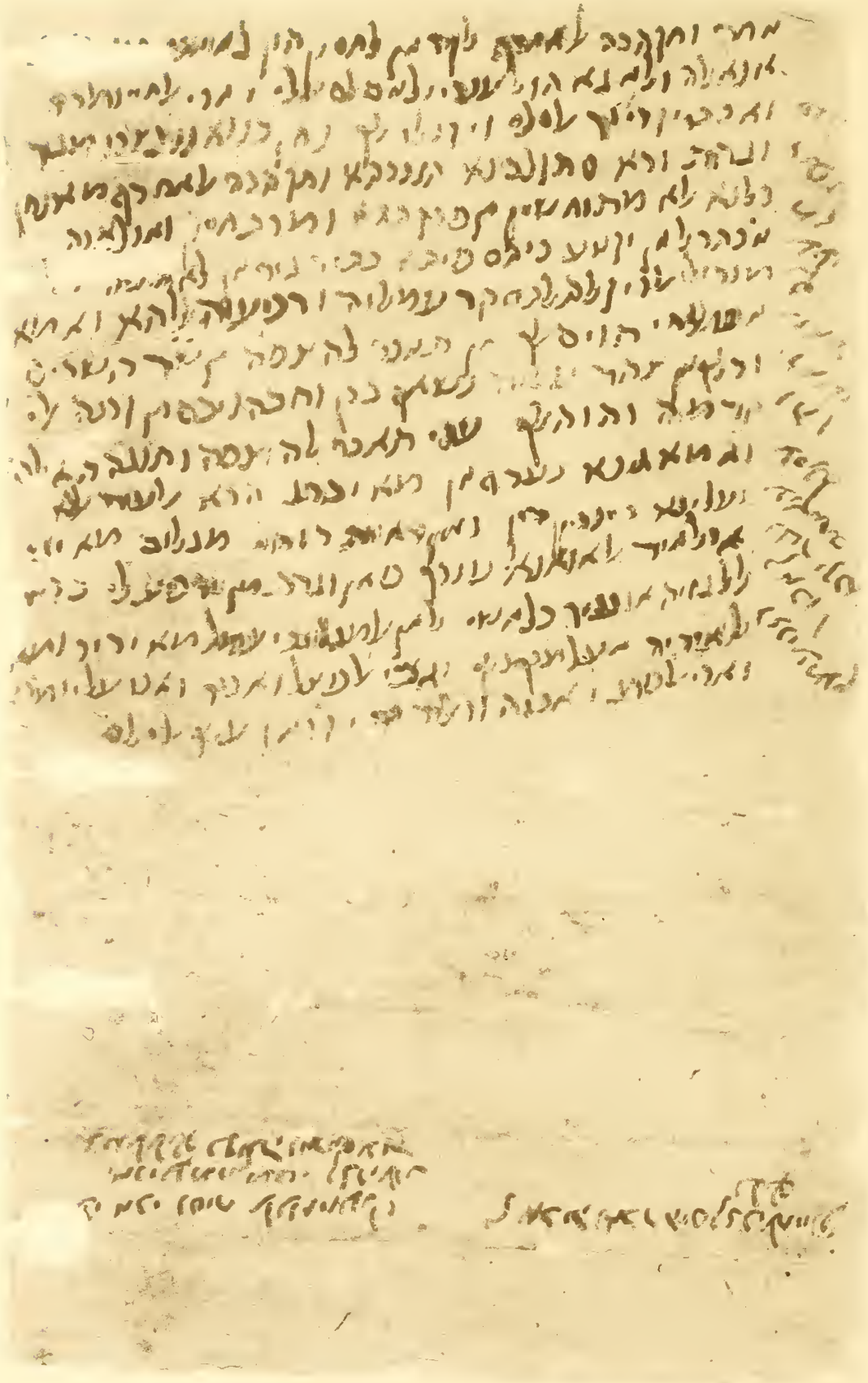
5 שראביה for شِرَاكَة.

6 أَخًا.

7 נמור : perhaps for نَمْر etc.



Genizah Fragment 3 a



Genizah Fragment 3 b.

III. LETTER

A letter from a certain Abraham, "Reader of the Law," probably stopping in Alexandria, to his brother, 'Ulā Abū 'Umrān Moses, "Reader of the Law," probably living in Fusṭāṭ. There is no date.

There is mention of business concerns and troubles; especially difficulties arising from the circumstance that a heavy poll-tax was being levied on a small number of Jews. We learn incidentally that bedsteads were scarce; and that passages from the Song of Solomon were used—in what manner we are not told—to cure a drying up of the body, and boils. Some female relatives and children have outstayed their welcome and are quarrelling with one another; and similar tittle-tattle.

Recto:

1 My letter to [you], O my Brother and my Lord! God prolong your life and continue your health
2 and your prosperity! From Alexandria, 7 days remaining of the month of Iyyar. About health
3 and well-being and yearning for you! God grant a speedy reunion with you under the most propitious circumstances! And what
4 you wish to know: My letter has gone forward to you with the dogs[1] who will tell you about it.
5 The arrival of your letter to 'Ulā[2]! And you say to him: "Do not pay Abū.....until
6 after the festival." And I have already asked you to make the.....
7 for it, they paying it to me in Iyyar and Sivan, if they will make them in Nisan and Iyyar,
8 because it[3] is an important month: It is not like the month [of Iyyar]. And we are responsible in [the matter]
9 to our neighbors for necessary expenses, and we are waiting for the answer. Then, after this
10 arrived Ḥassūn, and your letter arrived with him. And you mention in it.....
11 But my letter has already.....to you today. By Allah, my Brother[4]! We asked him about.....
12 collectively[5] pay it to us as a brother[6]: Neither he nor 'Allān should do it [singly]. And by
13 these very words [which I am writing]: If we go[7] to him about anything[8], it is not as though one went
14 to a church[9] of "Idol Worship[10]," because there is no Jew here [for] you [to] go [to to have him] do [something] for you:

---

[8] حاجه is modern Egyptian colloquial for "thing."

[9] كنيسة. Cf. No. XXVII, note 32.

[10] The Hebrew title of a Mishnah tractate.

15 חאגה לא הו ולא גירה ודכרת אן תקולו לכנת פאלת טול
16 צפר וקד ואללה יאכי צאק .. והם יכרגו בעד אלסנת
17 ויכליו אלדאר ותכליתהא גיר לאן אלגויים אלדי עאד ..
18 תעמל להם פי הדא אלעיד יעני אנהא ....
19 יצירו לך אעדא ויטירו אלדאר מן ידך ואנת תערף
20 וולו שאורוני לקלת להם יקעדו אלי בעד אלעיד
21 ודכרת אן ידפע לגרנה ה דנאניר וקד קלנא לה ידפעה
22 לנא אלסעה עסי נשתריו להא סריר וק[ד .....]
23 להא אלא וקת ערפהא כמא קאל ואנת תערף יאכי אן
24 אלסריר הו וגה אלבית ולים יאכי יצאב אליום לאן
25 עשרה דנאניר אליה אקל למא יכון ויבקא עליהא
26 גיר הדא חמאם אלמרגתין ואלחשו ואלמצריאת
27 נחו עשרה דנאניר לא אקל מן הדא וא .....
28 קד בלגנא אנה תכ״ס מעאניה וקד וצל
29 כתאב אבוה

Margin:

והו יקול אן וצל אכי פי הדא אלמרה כלאף כל מרה פמא נערף מן אי וגה תולא מן מרתי ולא מן אכתי ולא אן מרתך ונחן ננתצרה דכולה פי אלעיד ונרא איש יעמל וקד ...א אן תכון הנא חתי נערף איש יעמל אן אחוגנא לביע אל דאר ת .. אנת תאכד תמן אלנצף אלדי לנא אן .... לנא ... ס ... פי דארך ואן לם אנת תביע דארך ו ..... אן כאן תכלם פיהא אחר קלת אלדאר לי גיר אנת ואללל[ה] מא וסל עלי אן

Verso:

1 אחר וחקה בה לא יכף לקד אן לחסין הון .....
2 אנא לה ולא גא הו לעגדי ולא סלם עלי יאכי אלחי ומרתך
3 ואכתך יקריך אלסלם ויקולו לך נחן כננא ננתצרו מנך

---

11 وَقْت for אוקת 12 وَجْه "face."

13 עלי carelessly used as elsewhere in these fragments.

14 The word looks like חשו, حَشْو "stuffing."

15 مَعَانِيهِ, plural of مَعْنى with suffix.

15 neither he nor anyone else [is a Jew]. And you have remarked in your
letter: "If you say.....
16 .....By Allah, my Brother!.....and they go after the year [is up]
17 and leave the house; and its abandonment is otherwise [than you might
expect or wish], because the gentiles who.....
18 you do for them during this festival. That is to say: It...
19 and become enemies, and tear the house to pieces out of your hand, and
you know.....
20 But if they had consulted me I should have said to them [that] they
should remain until after the festival.
21 And you mentioned that he should pay to our neighbor 5 dīnārs, and we
had told him that he should pay it
22 to us at once. Perhaps we can buy for her a bed and...
23 for her at the time[11] of her wedding, as he said. And you know, my
Brother, that
24 the bed is the most important thing[12] in the house. And it is not [easily]
got nowadays, my Brother, because...
25 ten dīnārs to him at the very least. And there remains for[13] her
26 besides this: pigeons, the two pearls, the.....[14] and the Egyptian [gold-
pieces]—
27 about ten dīnārs, not less than this, and.....
28 News has reached us that he.....his affairs[15]."
And there arrived
29 the letter of his father.

Margin:

And he says that my brother has arrived this time contrary to every [other] time. And we do not know for what reason he turns away from my wife and not from my sister, and not from your wife. And we await his coming at the [time of the] festival, and we shall see what[16] he will do. And.....that you be here until we know what[16] he will do: whether he will compel us to sell the house.....you take the value of the half which belongs to us. If.....to us.....in your house. And if not, you sell your house.....if you speak about it after I have said: "The house is mine, not you[rs]—By Allah!.....

Verso:

1 other.....and his equity in it. Let him not be afraid because[17] al-Ḥusein
is here.....
2 I.....to him. But he did not come to my house, nor did he salute me,
O my living Brother, and your wife
3 and your sister.....the salutation. And they say to you: We have
been expecting it of you,

---

[16] איש is modern colloquial Syrian Arabic, from أَيُّ شَيْءٍ.

[17] לקד אן is perhaps لِقَدْرِ أَنْ.

4 וגהת ורא סת ולכנא תזכרתא ומן הדה אלאחרף מא נחן
5 כלנא לא מתוחשין מן פרקתהא ומרת חסון ואולאדה
6 אכתר לאן יקטע פיהם פיהא כתיר גיר אן לא .....
7 מנדיל אלדי קלת להם קד עמלוה ודפעוה להא ואמא
8 אבולחי הו יסאלך אן תאכד לה צפה מן שׂר השרים
9 ודלך אן צהר עליה נשאף בדן וחבה ויבסין ורנה אלי
10 קרמה והו האלך שי תאכד לה צפה ותוגההא לה
11 ואמא אנא נערף אן מא יכרג הדא אלעיד אללא
12 ועלינא דינרין דין ואן ראית רוחה מגלוב מא יגי
13 אול איר אלא ואנא ענדך פאן וגדת מן ידפע לי בר ..
14 ללגזיה אועיך בלא שי לאן אלמגלוב יעמל מא יריד ומא
15 לאידיה אעלמתך . יאבי אלפצל ואכתך ואבו עלי ומר[תו]
16 ואבי אלפרג ואבנה וואלד .....ו עליך אלסלם

There is some further writing on the right-hand margin; but only a word here and there can be made out.

Margin:

לאבי עמראן בן אבו .....

[א]לי אבי וסידי אלעזיז עלי מן אביהו אברהים קארי אלת" ...
אבי עמראן מסי קארי אלת אללה
אטאל אללה בקאה ואדאם עזה

---

18 He meant to write תזכרנא. 19 نِشَاف?

4 behind a lady's back. But we remember[18]." And by these words [which
I am writing], not we,
5 any of us, will be desolated by the pain of separation from her; and the
wife of Ḥassūn and his children
6 still more! Because there is no estrangement between them and her;
very much so, without.....
7 handkerchief which I said to them they had made it and paid for it. And
as for
8 Abū al-Ḥayy, he asks you to take for him a description from the Song of
Solomon.
9 For there appeared upon him a drying up[19] of the body, and a boil, and
dry patches, and a.....
10 of his foot. And he is perishing.....you take him a description [from the
Song of Solomon], and send it to him[20].
11 But we know that this festival will not pass without
12 our being in debt two dīnārs. And if I see him bankrupt (?), he will not
come
13 on the first of Iyyar, unless I am at your house. And if I could find
someone who would pay me.....
14 for the poll-tax, I would take care of you for nothing, because the bank-
rupt does what he wishes and what comes
15 to hand. And I have informed you...O my Brother most excellent, and
your sister, and Abū 'Ulā, and his wife,
16 and Abū al-Faraj, and his son, and the parents of.....And upon you
be the Peace!

Margin:

To Abū 'Umrān Ibn Abū.....

To my Brother and Lord the Beloved, 'Ulā Abū 'Umrān Moses, Reader of
the Law.....God lengthen his life, and continue his strength!
From his brother, Abraham, Reader of the Law.....[If it please] God.

---

[20] I.e. as an aphrodisiac amulet? Skin diseases and their cure by bathing at Tiberias are mentioned by Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 166, and ref.

IV. LETTER

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
A business letter in Arabic, in a clear, cursive Hebrew hand.

1 אלי מגלס סיידנא אלריים ירום הדו ויגדל כבדו ואלממלוך
2 ינהי אן כאן אלמולא יום אן האסבני ואסתקר אן מסטור
3 בן גראב מא לופאה עאקה ואגתמע בך אלשיך אלמהרב
4 פי מענאה וקלת לה אן אלמולא יקול ללדיאן אבו אלפרג
5 אן יחט אלורקה מן אלצירפי באלמבלג ומהמא עאזה
6 יכמלה מן תמן אלצנדרום ואלטרטיר ואלאן פמא אסתופא
7 אלרגל שיא ואלאמר אליום לה כמסה עשר יום ואלרגל פ
8 פהו ואצל פי הדה אליומין ויבקא אלמסטור [מפ]תוח כמא הי
9 עליה פיחל לך מן אללה אן תחאסבני בשיא ולם יצל
10 לי מסטורה פאשתהי אן ינפצל הדה אלאמר אליום אן אגדה
11 קבל מגי בן גראב וקד גא אברם אלבארח ודכר לי ען
12 צלחתכם פי אלדאר אלצגירה וגרא ביני ובינה אקבח
13 מא יכון מן מענאהא פלא תנפצלו לא פי צלחה
14 ולא פי מכאתבה חתי ינפצל מעי פיהא פי מא יחצני
15 פאנא מא אבד פי גראב אקל מן כמסה עשר דינאר

Margin:

אלא אן כאן לה חכם או ביע צלחו וחדה פיערפני סיידנא וחדה יתם ולא
יעוק סיידנא ען ממלוכה אלגואב ומא אקדר אצף לסיידנא מא גרא ביננא
אלבארח וחלם סיידנא יסע ממלוכה

---

[1] On the use of مجلس in this sense, see Dozy, *Supplément*, *s.v.*; *Oriental. Lit. Zeitung*, 1906, p. 362. It is probable that the Hebrew מושב is merely a translation from the Arabic. See, further, Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, Index, p. 419.

[2] رئيس or رئّيس = ראש. Probably purely a honorific title here. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 262, 266.

[3] Read הדו.

[4] المملوك. A term of servility very often used in letters. Cf. Brit. Mus. Or. 5542, No. 23:

אלממלוך אבן סעיד יקבל אלארץ בין ידי אלמולי אלשיך .....

which ends:

ויישתהי אלממלוך אלהואב מן גיר ישער אחד ושלום

Many other instances could be cited. The Jews translated it into עבד. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 330, note 1.

[5] يَوْمٌ = יום.

[6] Read יחאסבני. Cf. line 9.

[7] مسطور "document."

[8] Punctuated according to al-Dhahabī's *Mushtabih*, (de Jong), p. 384.

Genizah Fragment 4

IV. LETTER

A certain Ibn Ghurāb has borrowed money of the writer of the letter, and cannot repay it, although he has merchandise on hand. The addressee, an unnamed prominent man (ra'īs), is now asked to assume the debt, take over the merchandise, and arrange matters with the judge, Abū al-Faraj, and the money-changer or banker, as he has promised to do. There has also been some trouble about a certain piece of real-estate. There seems to be no way of dating this letter.

1 To his Excellence[1], our Master, the Ra'īs[2], may his glory[3] be exalted
and his honor extolled. The servant[4] begs to say that
2 if the Master intends[5] to settle accounts with me[6], it is certain that in
regard to the account[7] of
3 Ibn Ghurāb[8], there will be no difficulty in collecting it. The Sheikh
al-Muharrab met with you [to consult]
4 about his affair and you promised him that the Master would speak to
the judge, Abū al-Faraj,
5 that he [write] the document from the money-changer[9] for the [entire]
amount, and that whatsoever was wanting
6 he would make good from the sale[10] of the resin and the tartar[11]. Now,
the man has not paid
7 any part of it. The matter has been going on now for fifteen days.
The man
8 is coming within the next two days. The account will be left open as it
stands
9 against him. It is permitted you by God that you settle with me in some
manner. No account
10 has come to me. I wish today that this affair be settled, that I may
have[12] [the account]
11 before Ibn Ghurāb comes. Now yesterday, Abram came and mentioned
to me your
12 agreement about the small dwelling. Between him and me there arose
13 the worst kind of discussion. Do you not settle with him, either by
agreement
14 or by written document, until he has settled with me about it, in regard
to the share that is to come to me.
15 I shall not accept for[13] Ghurāb(?) less than fifteen dīnārs.

Margin:

But, if he has a judgment or has made a sale, do you make an agreement with him alone. In such a case, may my Master acquaint me of it. It is all right [to settle with him] alone(?). May my Master not withhold from his servant an answer. I am not able to describe to my Master what happened between us yesterday. May the kindness of our Master encompass his servant!

[9] Or "banker."
[10] Literally: "price."
[11] צנדרוס = سندروس.
[12] Literally: "find it."
[13] فى.

V. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Carefully written in half-square Hebrew characters, in fairly good mediaeval Hebrew. The paper is torn and the writing illegible in many places.

On the *verso* there is an address, but it is illegible save for the words:

יקרת.....המעותד לשם [יעקב] בר יוסף החסיד.....

Also on the *verso*, but upside-down, in very faded script which appears to be older than that on the *recto*, are portions of verses from the Bible, as follows: Isaiah lxv, 8, 9, 13, 16–18, 20 (קדוש for ירושלם)–25; lxvi, 1, 2, 5, 7–14, 18–23. Judges xv, 15–19; xvi, 28. We cannot imagine their purpose.

At the top of the *recto* are a few scrawled Arabic letters of no apparent import.

This letter was written to a Gā'ōn Jacob Ben Joseph ha-Ḥasīdh, perhaps the Jacob Ben Joseph Ab-Bēth-Dīn who as rabbi signed documents at Fusṭāṭ in A.D. 1016 and 1018, and did the same at Aleppo in 1028. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 37, 150. The writer of the letter is an important person in Jerusalem. At the time when this Jacob was in Fusṭāṭ the chief dignitary in Jerusalem was Josiah Gā'ōn. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 71 ff. His letters are not unlike this in their opening words. The "glorious place" which collapsed was probably a synagogue; and the cause may have been the earthquake of A.D. 1016. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 72, 156.

Recto:

1 ל.....מות בשם צנופי עטרות [ח]בירי תורות מורי להורות זקני ...

2 .....שם טוב לכתוב הוא כגק מר יעקב המעותד לשם בגאון יעקב

3 כל עומד [בח]כמתו וירא .....ענותו ישמרהו אל וינצרו ויעזרו ויהי בעזרו

4 ויחיהו יז. ורו בר יוסף החסיד נעי שלום שלום אליך אהוב וחביב ורע...

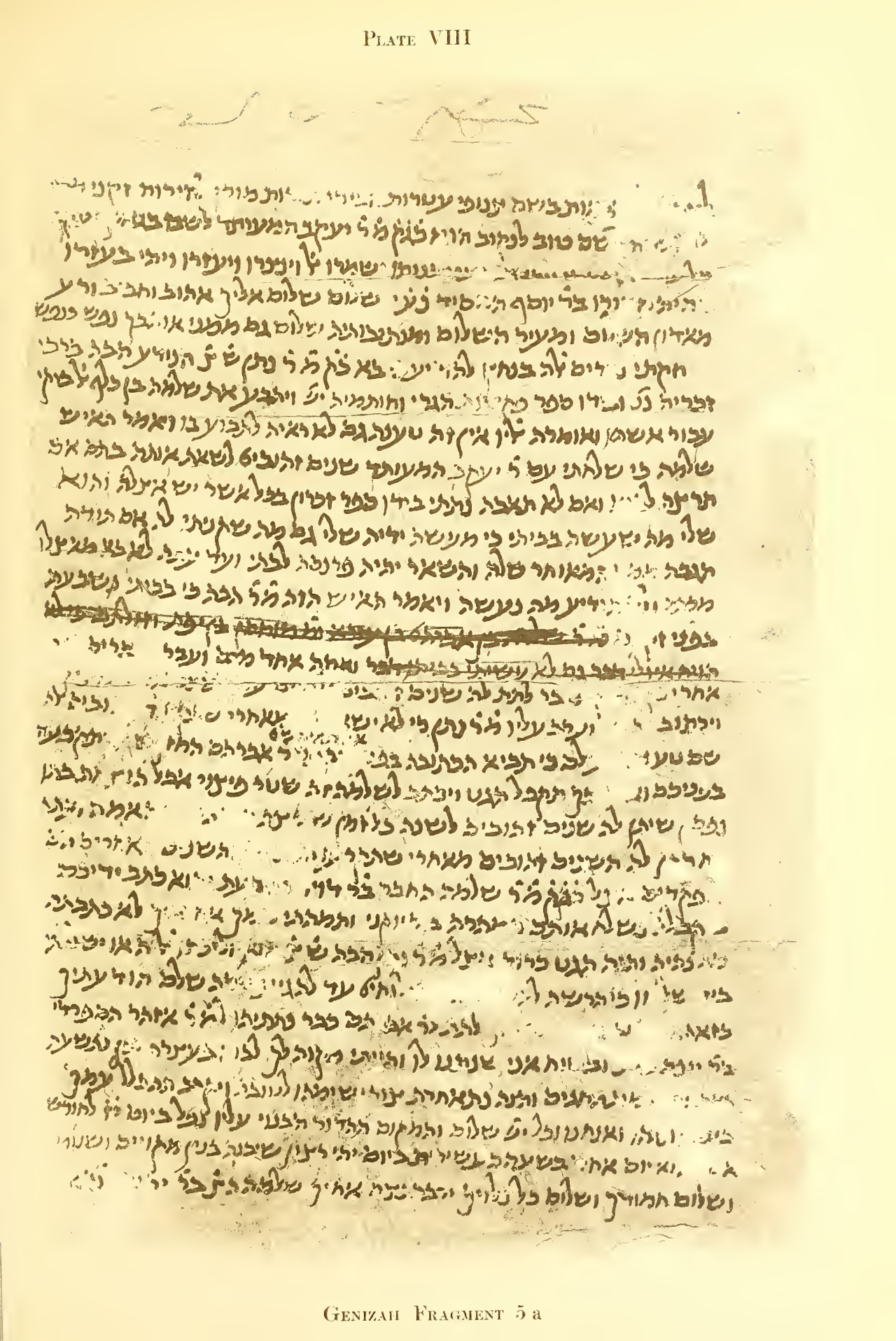
5 מאדון השלום ומעיר השלום ומנתיבותיה ושלום גם ממני אוהבך נפש כנפש

6 חקתי נירים אלה בנחין להודיע בבא כק מר נתן שצ הנודע הבה ברבי

7 זכריה נע ובידו ספר פק[דון]ות הגרי וחותמיה יני ויתבע את שלמה בן כלף אלבוקי

8 עבור אשתו ואומרה אליו אין זה טענה גם לא ראיה לתבוע בו ואמר האיש

[1] I.e. Ha-Me'uttadh. Early in the eleventh century the Egyptian Jews broke away from the authority of their brethren in Palestine and established a religious and legal school (Yeshībhah) that went by this name "Ge'ōn Ya'ḳōb." See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 191.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 5 b

V. LETTER

Apparently Jacob had left Jerusalem some time before, bearing a commission from Solomon Ben Khalaf al-Būḳī in Jerusalem to his wife in Fusṭāṭ. Solomon had given Jacob two gold-pieces with which to pay her way to Jerusalem. Evidently he expected trouble, for he gave to Jacob a statement of his possessions in his house at Fusṭāṭ and directions to take possession of these. The only response that came was another messenger, Nathan or Hibah by name, son of Zachariah, who arrived in Jerusalem with a protest from the wife that Solomon had no grounds for his action. Nathan next undertook to carry to the wife in Fusṭāṭ a letter of divorce, which he promised to deliver to her in the presence of a certain Abraham the Ḥazzān.

Nathan appears with all the documents and with Solomon's statement that it was in the house of the writer that Jacob had sworn to carry the original message to the wife. The writer is equally certain that nothing of the kind ever took place under his roof, nor had he heard of the affair at all. He now writes in great haste to Jacob and tells him that he is sending by a Spaniard, al-Azhar, a copy of the wife's protest, which is to be delivered to Abraham, the intended witness of the divorce proceedings. Incidentally it is said that a certain "glorious place" in Jerusalem has collapsed.

Recto:

1 To.....in the name of those who are enwrapped in turbans, Ḥābērs of doctrines, teachers of doctrines, elders.....

2 .....a good name to write it is: Master Jacob, "The Appointed[1]" to be called by [the title] Ge'ōn Jacob!

3 Everyone who tastes of his wisdom and beholds (?).....his humility. May God keep him, and preserve him and assist him, and be his help,

4 and enliven him (?).....son of Joseph the Pious. Peace! Peace be upon you! Beloved and dear, and friend (?).

5 From the Lord of Peace and from the City of Peace, and from her paths! And peace also from me who love you as my own life!

6 I write these pages earnestly, to inform [you] of the arrival of Master Nathan, messenger of the congregation[2], known [in Arabic as] Hibah[3], son of Rabbi

7 Zachariah, bringing an Arabic[4] document of deposits and its seals. And it makes demands of Solomon Ben Khalaf al-Būḳī[5]

8 about his wife. And she says to him [in the document] "This [document of yours which you have sent me] is not a [proper] complaint, nor does it contain proof [justifying] a demand." And the man Solomon said:

---

[2] שׁ"צ = שליח צבור.

[3] Shortened from הבת אללה as נתן from נתנאל.

[4] הגרי "of Hagar."

[5] From Būḳ, the name of a river near Baghdad. See Yāḳūt, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, vol. i, p. 762; *Muschtarik*, p. 71.

9 שלמה כי שלחתי עם ר׳ יעקב המעותד שנים זהובים לשאת אותה בהם אם
10 תרצה ל[בוא] ואם לא תאבה נתתי בידו ספר זכרון בכל אשר יש אצלה
והוא
11 שלי מה שעשה בביתי כי מעשה ידיה שלי גם מה שקניתי לה אם תודה
12 תגבה ממ[נ]ה מאוחר שלה והשאר יהיה פרנסה לבתי ועד עתה לא בא
מאצלו
13 מכ[תב] ול[א] הודיע מה נעשה ויאמר האיש הזה מר׳ הבה כי בביתי נשבעה
14 בפני זק[ני]ם מר׳ שלמה בן אברהם בן עזרא וממוחמן בן יפת וזולתם כי לא
15 הויה אצלי דבר גם לא עשיתי בביתי דבר ואתה אחר מהם ועבר[ו
ר]ברים . . .
16 אחרי כן . . . . . בי לתת לה שנים ז[הו]בים . . ים ע . . . מ . . . . . ין
17 ויכתוב . . . . וערב עליו מר׳ ור׳ נתן כי לא יש[א לה] מאחרי שתין [יום כת]ובים
אלי
18 שם טע[נה] . . . לם כי תביא הכתובה בפנ[יו ו]בפני ר׳ אברהם החזן . . . תקרעה
19 בפניכם ו . . . . כך תקבל הגט ויכתב לשלמה זה שטר פיצוי אבל הוצאת
בתו
20 נפס[ה] שיתן לה שנים זהובים לשנה כל זמן שרצה . . . . . אמה ועתה
21 אתתן לה השנים זהובים מאחרי שתקרעו . . . . . השנים האחרים הם
22 [כ]פקרים אצל כנ״ק מר׳ שלמה החבר בר׳ דויד . . . עת והוא כתב ידיכם
23 [מ]קבל . . . נשלח אותם במהרה בדיוקני ותמהתי ממך אז איך לא כתבתה
24 מא נהיה והנה הגט כרות אצל מר׳ [ור׳ב] הבת שון הוא יוליכהו אליה או
ישלחו
25 בי[ר] של[וח]ו כי הרשה ל[נו לשלוח ש]לוחים עד להגיע לידה שלם
הודעתיך
26 בזאת . . . . . לתת לר׳ אב[ר]הם כבר נתתיה למר׳ אזהר הספרדי
27 בר׳ יונה [נע] ובטוח אני שנתנו לו והייתי מקוה לך לבו[א] בעצרת [ו]כן
לתשעה

---

6 שֶׁעֹשֶׂה.

7 מאוחר has no article; but that is not uncommon in our texts.

8 This passage was deleted. 9 וזולתם?

10 About eight illegible letters are written above the line here.

9 "I sent by Rabbi Jacob Ha-Me'uttadh[1] two gold-pieces, with which to bring her, if
10 she were willing to come; and, if she did not desire [to come], I gave into his hand a document of memorandum as to all that was in her possession, namely:
11 'Mine is that which she made[6] in my house, for the work of her hands is mine as well as that which I bought for her. If she admits the claim,
12 collect from her her overdue[7] [debt], then the remainder shall be the support of my daughter.' But up to the present there has not come from him
13 any letter nor has he let [me] know what has been done." And this man, our Master Hibah, says that in my house an oath was taken
14 in the presence of elders, [8]*our Master Solomon Ben Abraham Ben Ezra, and Memūḥamān Ben Yapheth, and others*[9]. *But never*
15 *did there happen in my presence anything* [*like this,*] *nor did I do in my house anything* [*like this,*] and [that] you [Rabbi Jacob] were one of them. And things happened.....
16 After this.....by me to give her two pieces of gold.....
17 and he write.....And our Master Rabbi Nathan became surety for him that he would bring to her(?) after two days(?) documents thith-
18 er [as a] complaint.....she should produce the [marriage?] document, in his presence and in the presence[10] of Rabbi Abraham the Ḥazzān... .....and tear it up
19 in your presence. And.....she should receive the letter of divorce. .....And [that] he would write for this Solomon a document of damages. But [as for] the expenses of his daughter
20 herself(?), that he would give her two gold-pieces the year for as long as she wished.....her mother. And now
21 I shall give her the two gold-pieces after she has torn it up.....the later years
22 as a deposit with our Master Solomon the Ḥābēr, son of Rabbi David. And it is the writing of your hands
23 accepting.....We are sending them in haste with a duplicate[11] [for return]. And I was astonished at you then that you did not write
24 what was to happen. And behold [here is] the executed bill of divorce in the possession of our Master, Rabbi Hibah. He will take it to her or send it
25 by the hand of his messenger, for he has authorised [us to send] messengers, so that it may reach her safely. I have acquainted you
26 with this.....to give to Rabbi Abraham. I have already given it to our Master Azhar the Spaniard[12],
27 son of Rabbi Jonah, and I am confident that they have been given to him. And I have been hoping that you would come at the feast [of Weeks] and so also on the Ninth of

[11] דיוקני generally means "picture." [12] הספרדי.

28 באב ו[כן בי]מות החגים והנה נתאחרת צותי שימתו לטובה ויקרב ההפלל
עמך

29 ב .....הו ואנחנו וכל יני שלום והמקום ההדור הבנוי עליו נפל ביום יז
לחדוש

30 א[ב וה]וא יום אחד בשעה העשירית ביום יהי רצון שיבנה בנין מקויים
ושלום.

31 ושלום חמודך ושלום כל נלויך ירבה נצח אחיך שלמה כצ בר יהו[י] נעֹ

---

[13] "My hearing of his situation for good has been delayed."

VI. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Paper $11\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Four pages of Hebrew in square Hebrew writing.

The orthography is poor, and many words and passages are omitted.

The variants are probably not worth noting; and the text has accordingly not been printed here. This fragment has been studied by Professor Gottheil only.

28 Ab, and so also at the [other] feast days. And behold I have had to wait for good news of it[13]. And may the.....with you be near!
29 .....And we and all.....[14] are well. But the glorious[15] place, which had been built upon, fell on the 17th of the month
30 of Ab(?), and it was a Sunday, at the tenth hour of the day. May it be His pleasure to build a firm building! Greetings!
31 And greetings [to] your son, and greetings [to] all your relatives! [God] prolong the life of your brother Solomon, son of Rabbi Yaḥyā (?)— [May] his rest [be in] Eden!

[13] This abbreviation occurs in line 7 also. Does it mean "etc."?
[15] Or "steep," or "spiral."

VI. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

From the *Halākhōth Gedhōlōth* of Simeon Ḳayyāra, a Babylonian rabbinical authority of the ninth century.

In the edition of Hildesheimer, *Halachoth Gedoloth nach dem Texte der Handschrift der Vaticana*, Berlin, 1888, this text covers p. 138, lines 9–20; line 30–p. 139, line 13; p. 140, lines 6–24.

VII. MEMORANDUM

Paper $10\frac{3}{8} \times 7$ inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters, cursive and not easily read, since the writer has apparently written quickly and automatically, without looking at the resulting forms of the letters. The Arabic has a strong vernacular coloring. Some of the names have Maghrabī, or north African forms. A little Aramaic phraseology is introduced.

Certain witnesses, whose names are signed at the end in square characters, testify to their belief in the truth of Bin Asad's account of his transactions with Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bu al-Faraj and Ṣadaḳah Bin Jacob, his partner: all apparently Jews.

1 נקול נתן אלשהוד אלתאבתין כטוטנא אחר הדה אלמוּדַ֫ע אן חצר

2 אלינא אלשיך אבו אלמ . . . [ב]ן מר ורבּ שמואל [כג] בן מר֫ ורבּ֫ יהודה נע

3 דיד֫יע בן אסר וקאל לנא֫ אעלמו אנני אנום פי כלמא אדכל תחתה

4 ל[א]בו אֻלעלא בן בו אלפרג דידיע בן עיאר֫ה לאנני כנת סלמת אלה ולצדקה

5 בן יעקוב דידיע בן אלקלעי שריכה אלף דינאר שרכה ביני ובינהם

6 עלי מא יקתציה אלשטר אלמכתתב עליהם ותוגהו אלי תגר אלאסכנדרה

7 חמאה אללה ואבצעו בעין אלבצאעה ענד אלקאצי אלאתיר זין אלקצאת

8 ותצרפו פיהא פחצר מן אעלמני אנהם קד דכלו באידיהם פי אלמאל

9 ואכלוה פחצרת אלי תגר אלאסכנריה ואלתמסת מן אבו עלא בן בו אלפרג

---

[1] I.e. الثابتين خطوطُنا, if one should seek to justify the expression grammatically.

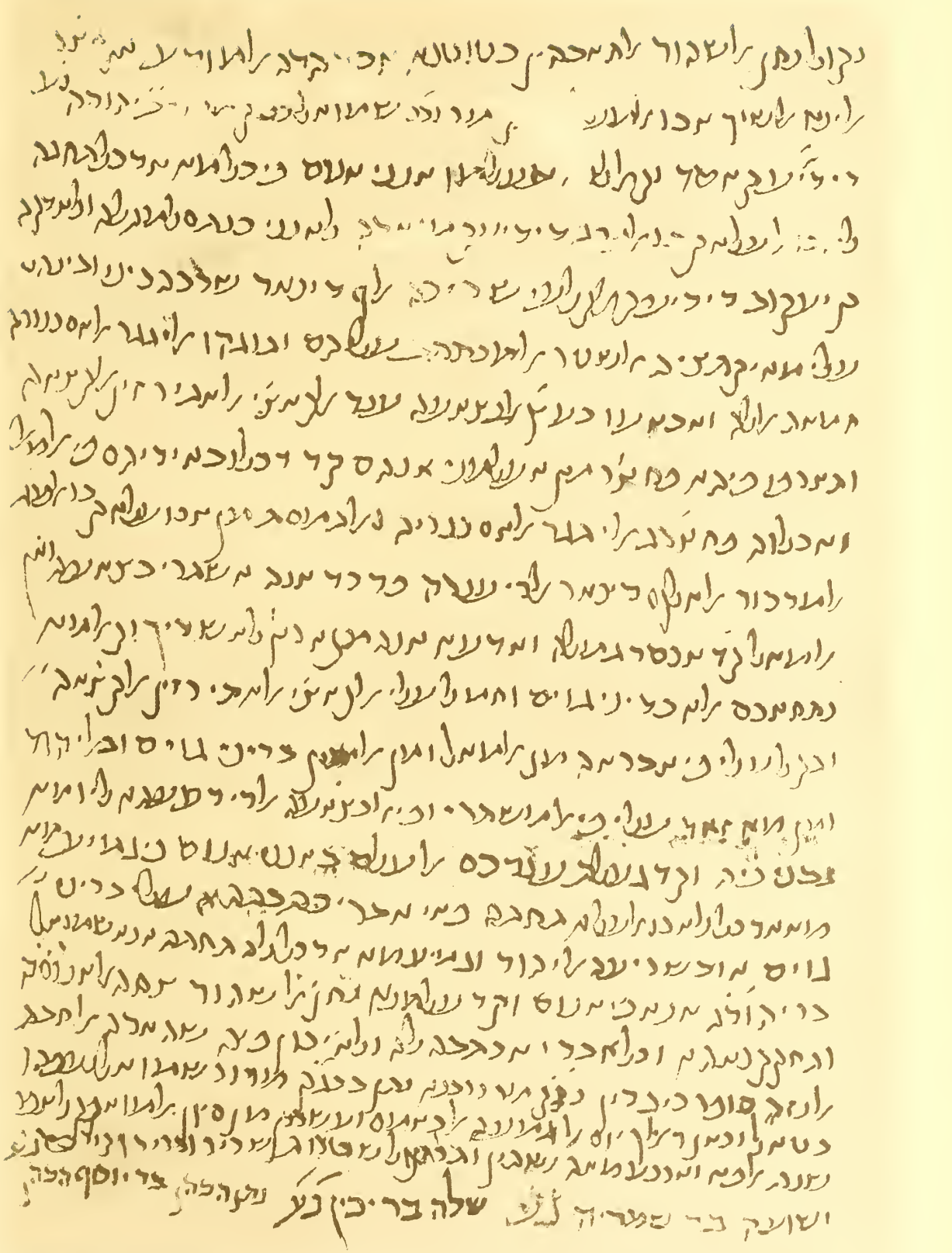
[2] Cf. Hebrew מוּדָע "mark" and Aramaic מוֹדַעְא "declaration of protest."

[3] Aramaic דִּידִיעַ in mediaeval Hebrew is not followed by the preposition ב. Cf. the same phrase *infra*, ll. 4, 5.

[4] בן here, and in ll. 4, 5 and 9 (?), is not Hebrew בֶּן nor the genealogical form of ابن in names, but the Maghrabī (Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan, Spanish) بِن = اِبْن. Note also בו, ll. 4, 9, for أَبو. This is also a Maghrabī form. Both arise from the ultima-accent of these dialects. In ll. 4, 9 we have the combination בן בואלפרג. ابن اسد has nothing to do with the tribe of Asad. It means "Son of a Lion" and is a play upon Gen. xlix, 9, and a substitute for "Jew" or "Judah," as in this case. Cf. the Western *Benari*, *Loewensohn*, *Loewe*, *Loew*, *Lowe*, *Lieuw*, *Loeb*, *Léon*, *Leo*, *Lion*, and variations. There is some confusion with לֵוִי and לֵב. Hence *Herz*, *Leben*, etc.

[5] אָנוּם is a very violently emotional Hebrew expression, used of rape and highway robbery.

[6] The expression أُدْخِل له تحته or أُدْخِل تحته له, "I pay in to him, to remain under his management."



VII. MEMORANDUM

It appears that Bin Asad loaned a large sum of money to Abū al-'Ulā and Ṣadaḳah Bin Jacob to invest at Alexandria, on terms that were stated in a document, and understood by Bin Asad to constitute a partnership. Some of the money was invested. Of the remainder a large part or all was either lost in speculation or stolen outright. Abū al-'Ulā asserted that some money had been lost, but that he was not liable for it, as he was merely an agent and not a partner. The matter was brought before a Muslim court, where Bin Asad was bullied by the Ḳāḍī and by his enemy, and confused with technicalities with which he is thoroughly disgusted. The court evidently decided against Bin Asad, and issued some document which put his case in a bad light. He goes to certain Jewish friends and tells his tale. He knows that he has lost the money: that is all. The fragment is the record of an indignation meeting held sometime in June of the year A.D. 1150.

1 We, the witnesses, whose signatures stand[1] at the end of this declaration[2], say that there appeared

2 before us the Sheikh Abū al....., son of our lord and master Samuel, son of our lord and master Judah,

3 who is known as[3] Bin Asad[4], and said to us: I have been robbed[5] in respect to all that I intrusted for investment

4 to[6] Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bū al-Faraj, known as Bin 'Ayyāra(?), because I turned over to him[7] and to Ṣadaḳah

5 Bin Jacob, known as Bin al-Ḳal'ī, his partner, a thousand dīnārs[8], as a partnership between me and them

6 according to what the document required which was drawn up[9] concerning them. And they went to the city of Alexandria

7 —God defend it!—and invested some of the capital in the presence of the Ḳāḍī[10], al-Athīr, Ornament of the Ḳāḍīs,

8 and they got control of it[11]. And someone came and informed me that they had already gone into the property with their hands

9 and had eaten it up. And I went to the city of Alexandria[12] and I entreated Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bū al-Faraj,

---

[7] אלה for لَه, as in Syrian vernacular *ilō*.

[8] The dīnār, according to the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Faiyūmī (about A.D. 1333/4—we quote through Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*), was a gold coin weighing $71\frac{1}{2}$ or $68\frac{4}{7}$ grains of wheat, the same as the mithḳāl. The American five-dollar gold-piece weighs 129 grains at 900 fine.

[9] אלמכתוב.

[10] I.e. the judge.

[11] I.e. the thousand dīnārs.

[12] Misspelled as before, but differently.

10 אלמדכור אלאלף דינאר אלדי ענדה פדכר אנה אשתרי בצאעה ואן
11 אלמאל קד אכסר גמלה ואדעא אנה מקארץ לא שריך וקאל מא
12 נתחאכם אלא כדיני גוים וחמל עלי אלקאצי אלאתיר זין אלהצאה
13 ותקל עלי פי אבראה מן אלמאל ומן אלימין כדיני גוים וכאליהוד
14 ומן מא זאד עלי פי אלמשתרי ופי אלבצאעה אלדי דפעהא לי ומא
15 גבני פיה וקד געלת ענדכם אלעלם באנני אנוס פי גמיע מא
16 מא אדכל לאבו אלעלא תחתה פאי אברי כתבתהא עלי כדיני
17 גוים או כשריעה אליהוד וגמיע מא אדכל לה תחתה אנא שמואל
18 בר יהודה אנא פי אנוס וקד עלמנא נחן אלשהוד צחת אלאנוסה
19 וחקקנאהא וכל אברי אכתבה לה ולא יכון פיה שהאדת אלחכם
20 אלנזה סופר בית דין כנגך מר ורבנא נתן בכנגך מר ור שמואל נע פהו
21 בטאל וכאן דאלך יום אלגמעה אלכאמס ועשרין מן סיון אלמואפק לצפר
22 שנת אלפא וארבעמאה ושתין ותרתין לשטרות שריר ובריר וקיים
23 ישועה בר שמרה נע שלה בר יכין נע נתן הכהן בר יוסף הכהן נע

---

13 זכר in these texts means simply "to say."

14 אדעא perhaps for أَدْعَى.

15 A مُقَارِض is an agent, intrusted with capital for business purposes, on the condition that the gain shall be divided between the agent and the investor, and that the loss, if any, shall fall upon the investor. See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, part 7, p. 2515.

16 He must have been a Jew, however; else why say this at all? Cf. also l. 13.

17 ثَقَّل.

18 He was confused with technicalities.

19 נבני must be أَجَابْنِي. The first *ā* is absorbed by *mā*, the second *ā* is shortened in the shut syllable of the vernacular form.

20 אברי perhaps إِبْرَاء, though we find no instance.

21 Singular, and probably impersonal, or meaning his enemy.

22 פִּי is the colloquial *fī*, from *fih*, from فِيهِ.

23 Cf. Aramaic אוּנְסָא "robbery," and אָנוֹסָא "robber."

10 the aforementioned, for the thousand dīnārs which he had. And he said[13]
that he had bought goods, and that the
11 property had been decreased by a certain amount. And he asserted[14]
that he was [merely] an agent[15], [and] not a partner. And he said:
12 "We shall not litigate except according to the laws of the Gentiles[16]."
And he urged the Ḳāḍī, al-Athīr, Ornament of the Ḳāḍīs;
13 and he forced[17] me to clear him concerning the property and the oath[18]—
according to the laws of the Gentiles and according to the Jews—
14 and about what had accrued to me through the transaction, and through
the capital which he had paid me, and about what
15 answer he had given me[19] in [the matter]. And now I have informed you
that I have been robbed in respect to all
16 I intrusted to Abū al-'Ulā for investment: whatever be the acquittal[20]
which you[21] [O Abū al-'Ulā] have written against me, according to the
laws of
17 the Gentiles or the canon law of the Jews. All that I intrusted to him
for investment I, [the son of] Samuel
18 Bar Judah, I, have been robbed of it[22]. And we, the witnesses, know that
the robbery[23] is a fact.
19 And we have verified it. And [as to] every acquittal[20] which he [Abū al-
'Ulā] had written against him [Bin Asad]: there is no unobjectionable
legal evidence in it.
20 The scribe of the [Jewish] court, our lord and master Nathan, son of our
lord and master Samuel—he is
21 a worthless[24] fellow. And this occurred[25] on Friday, the twenty-fifth of
Sivan, the equivalent to Ṣafar.
22 The year [is] one thousand four hundred and sixty-two of [the Era of]
Documents[26]. [Be it] certain, clear and abiding[27]!
23 [Signed:] Joshua Bar Shemaryah, Shēlāh Bar Yakīn, Nathan ha-Kōhēn
Bar Joseph ha-Kōhēn.

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[24] Very nearly the modern colloquial sense of the word.

[25] I.e. the memorandum was written.

[26] The Seleucid Era, beginning October 1st, 312 B.C. It is called in these fragments the Era of Documents. The Jews continued to use this manner of dating almost exclusively until well into the eleventh century A.D. Then they began to use the Jewish Era, which starts with October 7th, 3761 B.C. Wislicenus, *Der Kalendar*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 74. Our fragment is dated some time in June, A.D. 1150.

[27] This line is in Aramaic.

VIII. LETTER

Paper $12\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

The five bits of writing are from the hands of three individuals. The longest, *recto* (*a*), is rather clearly written; though the language is bad and mixed with Hebrew, and the style vague and ornate. The next longest, *verso* (*a*), is crabbed and angular, as though from the hand of someone unaccustomed to the pen; but the language is good, and the style concise and to the point. *Recto* (*b*) is merely a false beginning of the same. *Verso* (*a*) dates itself and *recto* (*b*) on Monday, the eighth of Marḥeshwān, Seleucid Era, 1543, which is A.D. 1231. *Verso* (*b*) and (*c*) are in a cultivated but difficult cursive hand, which becomes worse as it proceeds. The language is very much better than usual in our texts. There are even pedantic nominal case-endings and certain orthographic peculiarities of the Arabic in its own alphabet which the writer no doubt was accustomed to use. We do not know who he was. The first of the two is dated Thursday, the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, Seleucid Era, 1543, which is three days later than *verso* (*a*). The second is not dated, but may be assumed to have been written at the expiration of the ten days from the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, or the twenty-first of that month.

Recto: (*a*)

1 ינהי אלממלוך אלי מושב הדרת יקרת צפירת
2 תפארת מרנו ורבנו אליה הדיין החכם והנבון
3 יהי שמו לעולם ואעלם אלמולא כתרת אלשיך
4 לתקביל ידי אלמולא ורגליה יעז עליה מא מניתה
5 פללה יעוצך ולא ישגל לך קלב ואעלם אלמולא
6 אן חצר אלי ענד אלממלוך אלשיך מנצור
7 מוצלהא וטלב מן אלשיך אבו תנא שהאדה
8 יערפהא לה פי חדית אלדאר אלמדכורה
9 פאעתרף אלשיך אבו תנא וקאל אלממלוך

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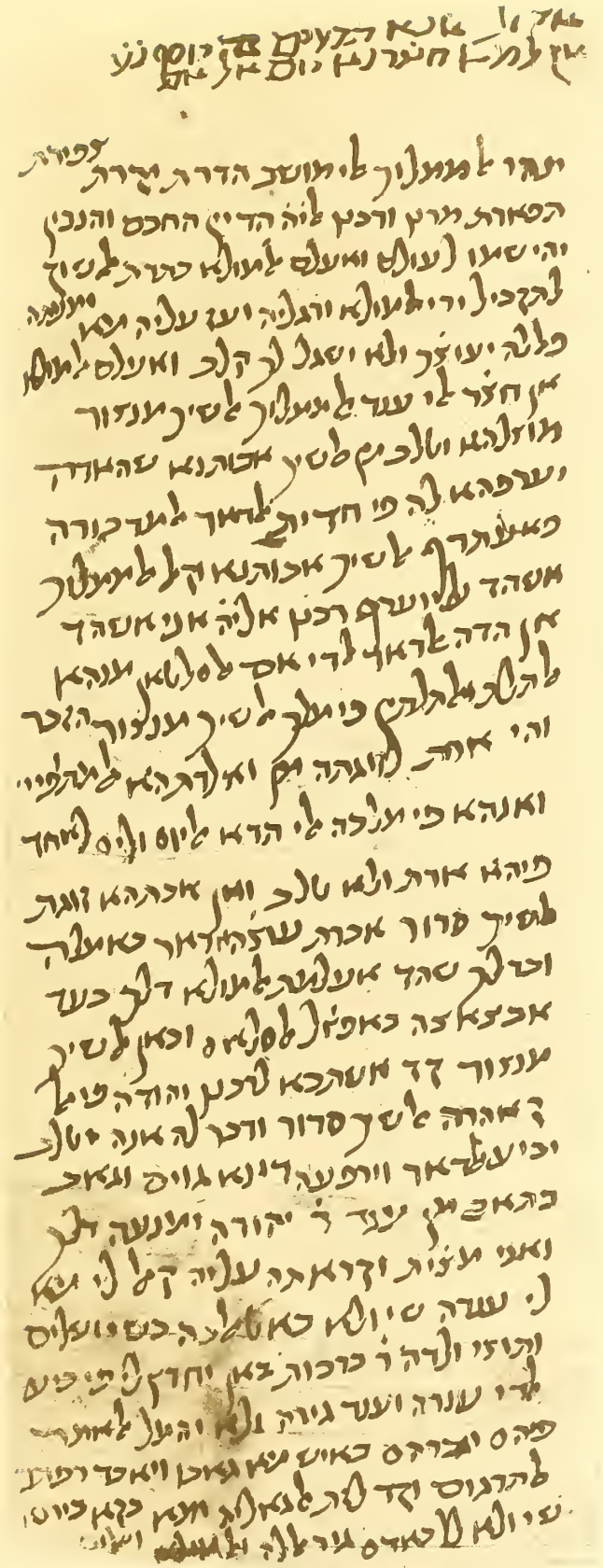
1 أُعَلِّم—كِثْرة—لتَقْبِيل. The writer uses both the 1st and the 3rd person in speaking of himself. We have translated everywhere with the 1st person.

2 A confusion of ما يَنْوِى and مُنْيَتُهُ.

3 لا يُشَغِّل قَلْبَك is quite a common idiom in our texts. قلب should have the article here.

4 The woman in question, not yet named. From lines 15, 16 we learn that she is the wife of the Sheikh Sarūr and sister of the wife of the Sheikh Manṣūr.

5 Here, as in modern colloquial, the second object of a verb is indicated by the preposition: شهادة يُعَرِّفها له فى.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 8 b

VIII. LETTER

Recto (*a*) is a letter from one Abū al-Thanā to a judge, Rabbi Elijah, probably both in Ḳalyūb, just north of Cairo. He seeks with flattery to represent that his friend, Abū al-Manṣūr, of Ḳalyūb, the son of Abū al-Faraj, has been driven into exile and destitution because he was prevented from selling his house by a sister-in-law, Sutait, the daughter of Abraham, and her husband, Abū al-Sarūr, the son of Ma'ānī. The house belongs to Manṣūr, and the other family have nothing to do with it. Abū al-Thanā sold the movable property at the request of Manṣūr's son. All the harmless facts are admitted, but the others are suppressed. Evidently Manṣūr's wife, Kifā', has died, and Manṣūr has tried to defraud his children by selling their estate; and has defrauded Sutait in some manner, possibly by the sale of the movable property. Abū al-Thanā is the agent of Manṣūr and not of his son. Manṣūr is not destitute; and probably would not have been evicted if he had not attempted the sale. We learn from *verso* (*a*) the other side of the story through the witness Tamīm, son of Joseph. Sutait and Kifā' were sisters and joint heirs to two estates. After the larger of the two had been reduced by confiscation, Sutait took the smaller as her own, and Kifā' the larger, which she willed to her children. *Verso* (*a*) tells us that Manṣūr was evicted, and made to pay damages to Sutait, which he could do in part only. *Verso* (*c*) states that the two parties agreed to a payment of the balance at convenience, without court-action, but with an added 20 per cent.

Recto: (*a*)

1 [I,] the slave, approach the Presence of the Beauty of the Dignity of the Crown of
2 Splendor of our Master and Rabbi, Elijah, the wise and intelligent Judge.
3 May his name endure forever! And I assure the Master that [I,] the Sheikh, many times
4 kiss[1] the hands and feet of the Master. My desire[2] oppresses me;
5 but may God reward you, and may it not perplex you[3]. And I inform the Master
6 that the Sheikh Manṣūr, her[4] go-between, came to [me,] the slave,
7 and demanded of [me,] the Sheikh Abū Thanā, testimony
8 of which he might inform her[4], touching[5] the case[6] of the estate[7] in question[8].
9 And [I,] the Sheikh Abū Thanā, made acknowledgment and said: "[I,] the slave,

---

[6] حديث "négociation, conférence," or perhaps "autorité, juridiction," Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, vol. i, p. 258.

[7] Cf. the long list of *dārs* in Lower Egypt, Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Égypte* (ed. Vollers, Cairo, 1893), pp. 56 ff. Ibn Duḳmāḳ died in 1406, a hundred and seventy-five years after the date of our text.

[8] I.e. "mentioned." But the estate, like the woman in line 7, is still unmentioned. Evidently there has been discussion of the matter.

10 אשהד עלי יוערף רבנן אליה אני אשהד
11 אן הדה אלדאר אלדי אכד אלסלטאן מנהא
12 אלתלת ואלתלתין פי מלך אלשיך מנצור הזכר
13 והי ארת לזוגתה מן ואלדתהא אלמתפיה
14 ואנהא פי מלכה אלי הדא אליום ולים לאחד
15 פיהא ארת ולא טלב ואן אכתהא זוגת
16 אלשיך סרור אכדת עוצהא דאר כאמלה
17 וכדלך שהד אעלמת אלמולא דלך בעד
18 אכצאצה באפצל אלסלאם וכאן אלשיך
19 מנצור קד אשתכא לרבנן יהודה פי אל
20 קאהרה אלשיך סרור ודכר לה אנה טלב
21 יביע אלדאר וירפעה דינא גוים וגאב
22 כתאב מן ענד ר יהודה ומנעה דלך
23 ואני מצית וקראתה עליה קאל לי מא
24 לי ענדה שי ולא באטאלעה בשי ושלום
25 ותוצי ולדה ר ברכות באן יחרץ לי פי ביע
26 אלדי ענדה וענד גירה ולא יהמל אלאמר
27 פיהם ידרהם באיש מא גאבו ויאכד דפתר
28 אלתרגום וקד לזת אלגאליה ומא בקא בידנא
29 שי ולא ללכאדם גיר אללה ואלמולא ושלום.

Recto: (*b*), written after *recto* (*a*), but above it, by the same hand as *verso* (*a*):

אקול אנא תמים בר יוסף נע
אן למא חצרנא יום אלאת[נין]

---

9 I.e. على [أَنْ] يُعْرَف.

10 Kāmil, the Ayyubid, A.D. 1218–1238, at this time. But more likely an earlier ruler is meant.

11 הזכור = הזכר.

12 מתופיה for مُتَوَفّاة.

13 I.e. the estate or the two-thirds remaining of it.

14 I.e. Manṣūr 15 I.e. Sarūr.

16 דינא גוים for דין הגוים or דין אלגוים.

17 The modern colloquial verb جاب.

18 I.e. the writ of Rabbi Judah, or the injunction of the Muslim judge, issued on the basis of the same.

10 testify—that our Rabbi Elijah may be informed[9]—I testify
11 that this [is] the estate[7] from which the Sultan[10] took away
12 a third; and [that] the two-thirds [remaining] are under the control of the Sheikh Manṣūr, mentioned[11];
13 and [that] it is an inheritance of his wife, from her deceased[12] mother;
14 and that it[13] [has remained] under his control until this day; and [that] no one [else] has
15 any inheritance in it, nor any [right to make] demand; and that her sister, the wife of
16 the Sheikh Sarūr, took in place of it a complete estate.
17 And thus I testified. [So now] I have informed the Master of this, after
18 paying compliment to him with special salutations. And the Sheikh
19 Manṣūr has already complained, to Rabbi Judah in
20 Cairo, of the Sheikh Sarūr. And he[14] told him that he had tried
21 to sell the estate; and he[15] informed the gentile judge[16] of it, and brought[17]
22 a writ from Rabbi Judah, and enjoined him[14] from [doing] this.
23 And I went and read it[18] to him[14]. He said to me [in reply]: 'He[15] owes me
24 nothing, and I have nothing to explain to him[19]. Adieu!'
25 And his son[20], Rabbi Berākhōth, was commissioned to urge[21] me to sell
26 [the movable effects] which he had in his possession and in the possession of others; and the command
27 in regard to them was not neglected; [for I, the slave,] liquidated[22] them for whatsoever[23] [price] they would bring[24]. And [I, the slave,] was given a letter[25]
28 which said in substance[26]: 'And I have fled into exile. And we have nothing left[27],
29 nor has [our] servant either, save only God and [you,] the Master. Farewell!'"

Recto: (*b*)

I, Tamīm Bar Joseph, say
that after we had appeared on Mon[day][28].....

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[19] أُطَالِعُهُ plus the prefix بِ of modern colloquial.

[20] ولد instead of ابن.

[21] יחרין is يُحَرِّص. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, vol. i, p. 271: "exciter quelqu'un à s'appliquer à."

[22] The ב has been changed to ד. Although we know of no instance of the kind, we should read يُدْرِهِم, "he made them to flow, give up their juice."

[23] איש is the modern vernacular *ēsh*, for أَيُّ شَيْءٍ.

[24] We know of no other instance of this precise meaning. Cf. note 17.

[25] The Arabic word is used in the Hebrew sense.

[26] The Hebrew word is used in the Arabic sense.

[27] They had the cash proceeds of the sale of their effects.

[28] Tamīm began to write on the *recto* of the paper, and was interrupted at this point. He then wrote *verso* (*a*).

Verso: (a)

1 אקול אנא תמים בר יוסף נע
2 אן לתאמן יום אלאתנין אל
3 תאמן מן שהר מרחשון אתקמג
4 לשטרות בעיר אלקאהרה
5 חצרת ענד סתית בנת אברהם
6 וסרור זוגהא בן מעאני
7 אשהדני עלי קולהא אנהא קד
8 כלית אלדאר לולאד אכתהא
9 כפא אלמתופיה רחמהא אללה
10 והי אלדי כוט בן סנדבסי אלדי
11 אכד אלסלטאן פיהא אלתלת
12 ותבקא מנהא אלתלתין והי
13 עון דאר אבדתהא היה
14 תמים בר יוסף נע

Verso: (b), upside down:

1 יום אלה אלחאדי עשר מן מרחשון קמג לשט
2 נפר אלקנין מן אבו אלמנצור אבן אבו אלפרג אלקליובי
3 אן עליה לסתית בנת אברהם זוגת בו אלסרור
4 אבן מעאני מאיה וסתין דרהמין קבצ מנה
5 מאיה ו' דראהם ובקי להא ענדה נ דרהם
6 ואמהלת עליה אלי ' איאם מן הדא אלתאריך
7 ואנהם אבראו בעצהם

---

[29] Beginning Oct. 1st, 312 B.C. This date does fall on a Monday, according to Schram, *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 235, col. 7D, line 25. Our document was written in A.D. 1231.

[30] I.e. diminutive of the colloquial *sitt*, "lady," but we find only ستيتة in the dictionaries.

[31] Or "vacated"? The כ has a raphe to show that it stands for خ.

[32] ولاد is the modern colloquial form of the plural.

[33] I.e. "my."

Verso: (a)

1 I, Tamīm Bar Joseph, say
2 that on the eighth, Monday, the
3 eighth of the month Marḥeshwān, 1543,
4 [Era of] Documents[29], in the city of Cairo,
5 I was present with Sutait[30] Bint Abraham,
6 and Sarūr Ibn Ma'ānī, her husband,
7 [who] called me to witness her statement. Behold it was:
8 "The estate was left[31] to the children[32] of her[33] sister[31]
9 Kifā'[34], deceased[13,35]—God have mercy on her!
10 And it is [the estate] which.....Ibn Sandabīsī[36], from which
11 the Sultan took a third.
12 And there remain two-thirds of it; and it is
13 the estate for which she took a substitute."
14 [Signed:] Tamīm Bar Joseph.

Verso: (b)

1 Thursday, the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, 1543, [Era] of Documents[37],
2 the property[38] passed from Abū al-Manṣūr Ibn Abū al-Faraj al-Ḳalyūbī[39].
3 He owes Sutait Bint Abraham, wife of Bū[40] al-Sarūr
4 Ibn Ma'ānī, a hundred[41] and sixty dirhams[41]. She received from him
5 a hundred and ten dirhams; and there remained, of what he owed her,
fifty dirhams.
6 And she granted him a respite of ten days from this date.
7 And they declared each other free [of further obligation].

---

[31] كفاء "similar," to the parent.

[35] This tells us why there was trouble in the first place. The wife of Manṣūr had died; and the wife's sister wished to prevent Manṣūr from defrauding his children by selling the house for his own enrichment.

[36] I.e. from Sandabīs, a village in the Ḳalyūb district. Cf. Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *op. cit.*, v, 49; Ibn Ḥauḳal (de Goeje), p. 93, and the other authors cited by de Goeje, *ad loc.*

[37] The numeral אתקמג is abbreviated to קמג, and שטרות to שט. This is the same year as *verso* (*a*), and probably also as *verso* (*b*).

[38] قِنْيان is "property" or "income."

[39] I.e. from Ḳalyūb, just north of Cairo.

[40] The north African form of Abū. Cf. No. XIII, note 32.

[41] The exact Arabic orthography: مائه, درهمٍ, درهمًا, يقولوا, افتكوا.

Verso: (c)

1 ולם יבק בינהם אלא צראף תלתימה ענדהם
2 מדינין עלי נ דרהמא והם יקולוא
3 מא נערף ש עליהא ואתפק אן מתי
4 אפתכוא כאן אלמבלג אלדי יפתכוא
5 בינהם נצפין באלסויה ובקי בינהם מחאכמה
6 [ע]לי סתין דרהמא

---

42 تَلْثِيمَة.

43 I.e. Sutait and Sarūr agreed to regard the remaining fifty dirhams as a debt of honor, never to be mentioned again between them; and the two parties were reconciled, and settled their case out of court. The ש is modern colloquial: *mā na'rafsh*, from ما نعرف شَيْئًا "We do not know."

Verso : (c)

1 And there remained between them nothing but to accomplish a recon-
ciliation[42] among them,
2 making a debt of [the] 50 dirhams[41], and saying
3 "We know nothing about them[43]." And he agreed that, when
4 they were paid[41], the sum which would be paid
5 [would be, by tacit agreement] between them[44], two equal parts. So there
remained, [by tacit agreement] between them, a judiciable claim[45]
6 amounting to sixty dirhams[46].

---

[44] بَيْنَهُم seems to mean idiomatically "by agreement"

[45] مُحَاكَمَة.

[46] I.e. ten dirhams extra for the privilege of private settlement by reconciliation?

IX. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{3}{4} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ inches, made up of two sheets pasted together.

This long strip is completely covered with writing. The top, margin and bottom, originally left for the sake of appearance, were afterwards filled with postscripts; just as the margins of Oriental printed books are filled out with other material, for good measure, "pressed down and running over." Unfortunately twenty-three lines have been mutilated by the removal of one corner.

The writing is in cursive Hebrew characters, quite legible on the whole.

The language is Arabic, without any admixture of Hebrew or Aramaic, at times elegant, but in general colloquial, with strange constructions and strange meanings of ordinary words.

Recto:

1 בּשׁרה
2 כתאבי אליך יא אכי ואלעזיז עלי וענדי אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם
3 עזך ועלאך ומן חסן אלתופיק לא אכלאך גמע אללה ביננא
4 עלי אסר חאל במנה וכפי לטפה אן שא אללה : ואלדי תריד עלמה
5 מן וקת אן דכלת אלי אלהנד לם יגינא מן ענדך אחד ובקינא
6 משגולין אלקלב עליך מן בחר אלהנד אלי אן וצל אלחג עלי
7 אלדי יקאל לה אבן אלקזדירי פאשתמענא בה ואכברנא
8 בגמיע מא גרא עליך וכיף כאן מות כאלך רחמה
9 אללה וכיף כאן וצולך מן אלהנד וחמדנא אללה תעאלי
10 עלי סלאמתך ועלי אגתמאעך בכאלך קבל מותה
11 ואכברנא אנך קאסית מע כאלך שדה אן עזימה
12 פי חאל מרצה ועז עלינא דאלך כתרי אלדי לם יכון אחד

---

[1] בּשׁרה, בְּשֵׁם הָרַחְמָן or בְּשְׁמָא דְרַחְמָנָא, an imitation of the Muslim بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم and close to the original from which the latter was taken.

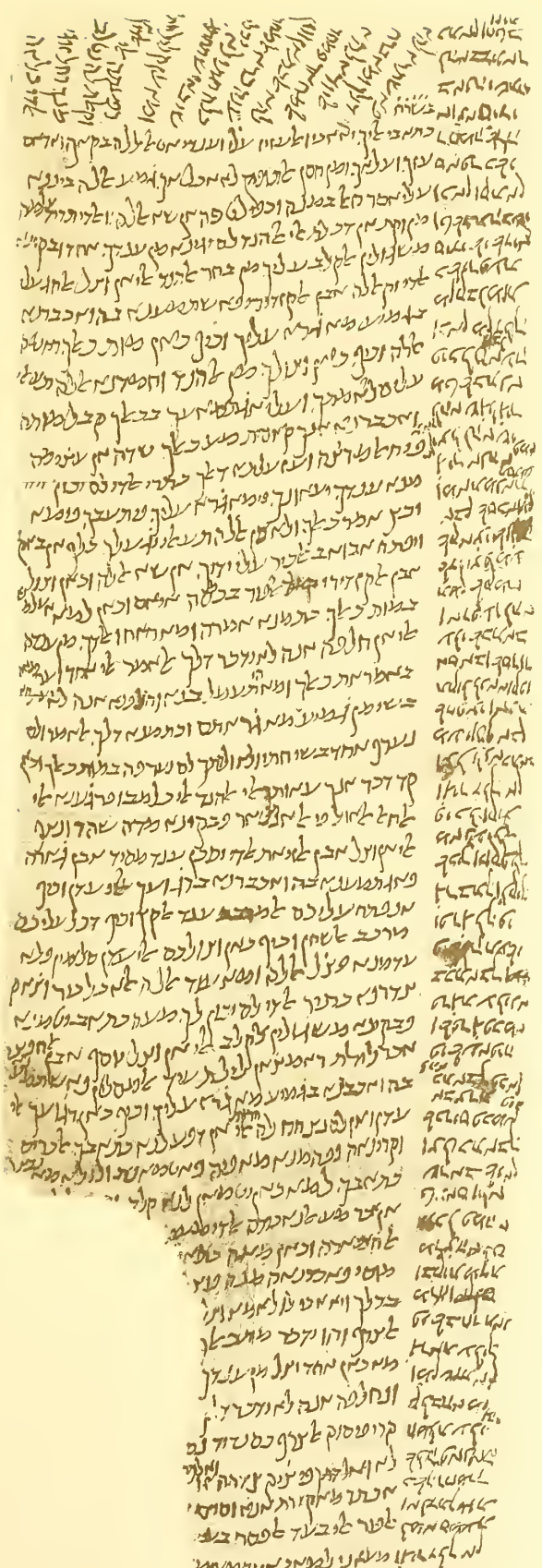
[2] عَزِيز means both "mighty" and "dear," according to the preposition used; hence this clever play upon the word.

[3] أَسَرُّ الحال, but he omits the article.

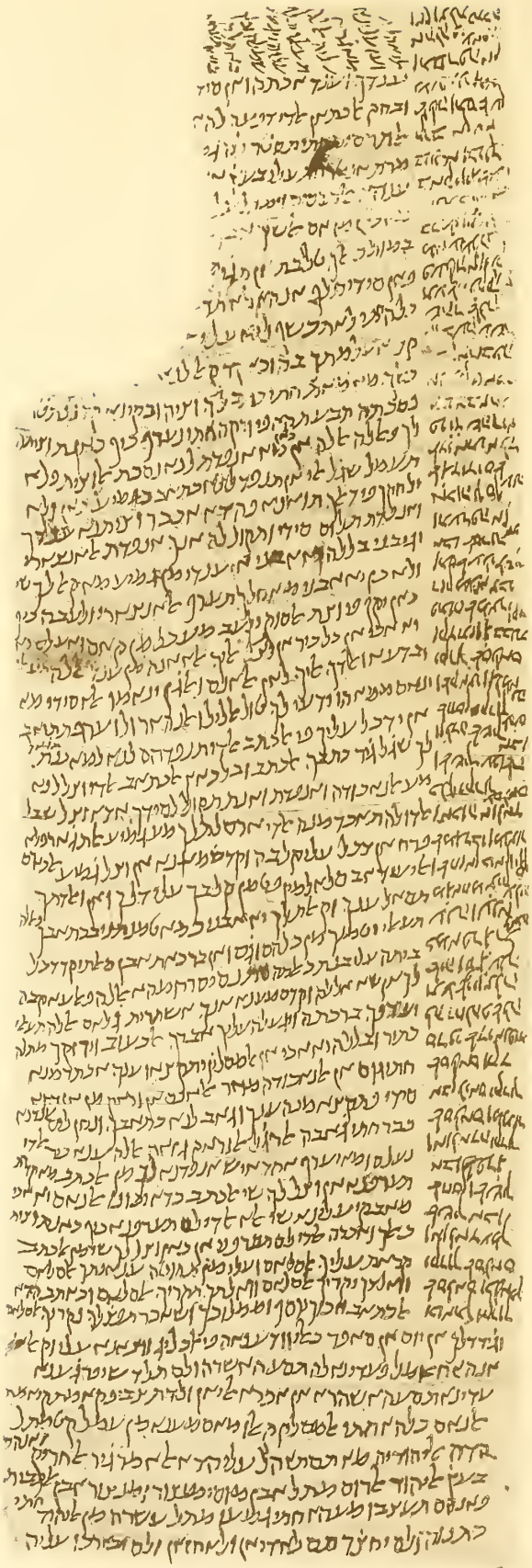
[4] بِمِنّه.

[5] The modern colloquial sense of بقى?

[6] For القُزْدارِىّ. Cf. al-Asyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, ed. Veth, pp. ٢٠٧ and 185. قُزْدار is a district of India.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 9 a



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 9 b

IX. LETTER

It appears that a certain Joseph, who lives in Fusṭāṭ with many relatives, is writing to a brother(?), who lives in Aden, South Arabia, with a few other persons from the Fusṭāṭ community. The father of these two brothers is the patriarchal head of the family. The brother in Aden is a merchant, and has made two trips to India, particularly to Colombo in Ceylon, on one of which he was captured by pirates and ransomed by his relatives at home. A maternal uncle, who went from Fusṭāṭ to India on business undertaken by the father, has died there; and there is great uncertainty about his will, especially because the wife of this uncle is a grasping creature and has also had an illegitimate child in his absence. A similar case is mentioned in the letter.

There is no address. The letter was to be intrusted to a friend for discreet delivery.

There is no date. But a certain ḥazzān Abū 'l-Bayyān, is mentioned in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 242, vol. ii, p. 308, which is a letter considered by Mann to belong to about 1150.

Recto:

1 In the name of the Compassionate[1]!
2 My letter to you, O my Brother, mightier[2] than I and dear[2] to me. May God lengthen your life and prolong
3 your strength and your dignity, and not deprive you of the beauty of success! May God reunite us
4 under the most happy[3] circumstances, in His grace[4] and the abundance of His kindness: if it please God! And what you would like to know [is that]
5 from the time when you entered India no one came to us from you, and we became[5]
6 troubled in regard to you on account of the Indian Ocean until the Hājj 'Alī arrived,
7 who is called Ibn al-Ḳuzdīrī[6]. And we enquired[7] of him; and he informed us
8 of all that had befallen you, and the manner of your [maternal] uncle's death—God have mercy on him!—
9 and how you arrived [back] from India. And we praised God the Exalted
10 for your safety, and your being able to reach your uncle before his death.
11 And he told us that you had endured great hardships[8] with your uncle
12 while he was sick; and that was very[9] difficult for us [to bear,] namely[10]: [that] no one of us

---

[7] The VIII form of سمع usually means "listened to."

[8] أَنْ used as a relative with indefinite antecedent.

[9] כתרי for כתיר.

[10] The vernacular use of الذى as a conjunction. Cf. Spiro, *Arabic-English Vocabulary*, Cairo, 1895, p. 17 *sub voce* اللى.

13 מנא ענדך יעאונך פימא גרא עליך פי תעבך פימא
14 יכ׳ן אמר כאלך ולאכן אללה תעאלי יגעלך כלף אן באקי
15 ויפתח אבואב אלכיר עלי ידיך אן שא אללה וכאן וצול
16 אבן אלקזדירי בעד אלפור בכּסה איאם וכאן למא אעלמנא
17 במות כאלך כתמנא אמרה ומא ראח ואלדך מן ענדה
18 אלי אן חלפה אנה לא ידכר דלך אלאמר אלי אחד וערפנאה
19 באמראת כאלך ומא הי תעמל בנא וחלפנא אנה לא יערפהא
20 בשי מן גמיע מא גרא תם וכתמנא דלך אלאמר ולם
21 נערף אחד בשי חתי ולא ולדתך לם נערפה במות כאלך וכאן
22 קד דכר אנך עאזת אלי אלהנד אלי כלמבו פרגענא אלי
23 אלחאל אלאול פי אלאנתטאר פבקינא מדת שהר ונצף
24 אלי אן וצל אבן אלזיאת אלדי יסכן ענד מסיר אבן גארה
25 פאגמענא בה ואכברנא ברגועך אלי עדן וכיף
26 אנפתח עליכם אלמרכב ענד אלקין וכיף דכל עליכם
27 מרכב אלשחן וכיף כאן וצולכם אלי עדן סלאמין פלא
28 עדמנא פצל אללה ומא ענד אללה אלא בלכיר וצאק
29 צדרנא כתיר אלדי לם יכון לך מעה כתאב יטמנא
30 פבקינא משגולין אלקלב אלי אן וצל יוסף אבן אלחפצי
31 אכר לילת ראמצאן לילת עיד אלמסלין פאשתמענא
32 בה ואכברנא בגמיע מא גרא עליך וכיף כאן רגועך אלי
33 עדן ואן לם נצחח לה אלי אן דפע לנא כתאבך אלכרים חדות
34 וקרינאה פפהמנא מא פיה פאטמאנת ולולא מא נבצר

---

11 יגעלך is the colloquial *yij'állak* for يَجْعَلُ لَكَ.

12 פור is the Arabic form of the Hebrew word. Cf. line 46 and al-Ḳalḳāshandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, II, 427, where the printed edition has فوز however.

13 راح in the colloquial sense.

14 Cf. the bottom of *verso*.

15 The writer intended וחלפנאה.

16 Read ואלדתך and נערפהא.

17 עאזת is a confusion between عُزْتُ and عائزْ of the colloquial.

18 Perhaps for إِجَارَة, "protection."

was at your side to help you in what befell you when you were worn out with
the concerns of your uncle's case. But God the Exalted will make for you[11] a lasting change[8]
and open the gates of fortune to your hands: if it please God!
Now Ibn al-Ḳuzdīrī arrived five days after Pūrīm[12]. And, after he had told us
of the death of your uncle, we made a secret of his case. And your father did not leave[13] his presence
until he had made him swear that he would not mention this matter to anyone; and we informed him
about the wife[14] of your uncle, and what she was doing to us. And we made him swear[15] that he would not tell her
anything of all that had happened. Then we made a secret of that matter. And
we shall not tell anyone about anything: indeed not even your wife[16] shall we inform of the death of your uncle.
And [al-Ḳuzdīrī] had said that you wanted[17] [to go] to India, to Colombo; so, we returned to
[our] former state of suspense; and remained [so] for the space of a month and a half:
until Ibn al-Zaiyāt arrived, who lives at the house of Musayyar Ibn Jārah[18].
Then we met together with him, and he told us of your return to Aden, and how
the ship was captured when [you were] attacked, and how there came to you
a cargo ship, and how you arrived at Aden, safe and sound. So we did not
lack the grace of God: and with God there is no [possibility of anything] but [affairs going] well. But we
were much distressed because[10] there was no letter of yours with him, reassuring us[19].
So, we remained anxious until Joseph Ibn al-Ḥafṣī arrived
late on the night of Ramaḍān, the night of the festival of the Muslims[20]. And we met together with
him. And he told us of all that had befallen you, and how you returned to
Aden. But we did not believe [his] story[21] until he had handed us your good letter.
And we read[22] it, and understood what was in it. So, I was at peace. But if we had not seen

---

[19] יטמנא is colloquial يُطَمِّنَا for classical يُطْمَئِنُّنَا, which, however, does not exist, as the classical verb is always intransitive and cannot take an object. Cf. the classical form and sense in lines 34, 35

[20] Read מסלמין.

[21] חדות (which needs the article) is not classical, but probably equivalent to the modern colloquial *ḥaddūta*, plural *ḥawādīt*, "fairy story."

[22] קרינא is the colloquial form of قَرَأْنَا.

35 כתאבך למא כאן יטמאן לנא קלב . . . . . .
36 אן אכר מע אלנאכודה אלדי מעה . . . . . .
37 אלחפאדה וכאן מעה כתא[ב] . . . . . .
38 מוסי פאכדנאה מנה פוצ[ל] . . . . . .
39 בדלך ויא אכי לולא מא וצל . . . . . .
40 אלצרף והו ידכר מות כאלך . . . . . .
41 מא כאן אחד יצל מן ענדך . . . . . .
42 ונחלפה אנה לא ידכר דלך . . . . . .
43 קרי פי סוק אלצרף כסנדיר נס . . . . . .
44 לא ואלדתך פי ציק צדרה אן ואלד.. . . . . .
45 אכתר מא קדרת אנא וסידי . . . . . .
46 אלפור אלי בעד אלפסח בע . . . . . .
47 מעאני למא כאן יסמעו מ . . . . . .

Verso :

1 ענדך וענד אכתה ואן סידי . . . . . .
2 ובחק אלכתאן אלדי דפעה להא . . . . . .
3 אלתרסים חתי תחטר לה גי . . . . . .
4 מדת אנטרחת עלי בעין א . . . . . .
5 ענדהא אלתרסים וימתל על . . . . . .
6 מא כ[א]ן מן אם אלשיך אבן . . . . . .
7 במות כאלך טלבת אן תגי . . . . . .
8 פאן סידי חלף אנהא לא תד[כר] . . . . . .
9 כלה חתי לא תכשף לנא עליה . . . . . .
10 קד אעלמתך בהוכא קד קאל לנא . . . . . .
11 כאלך מא מאת חתי כתב לך וציה ובקינא קד ננתטר
12 כסבתה תבעתהא פי ורקה חתי נערף כיף כאנת וציתה
13 לך פאללה אללה אן כאן מא אנפדת לנא נסכת אלוציית פלא
14 תעמל שגל אלי אן תנפד לנא כתאב בגמיע כאן ולא

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23 מע perhaps for مَعًا.
21 Persian ناخوذة. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, p. 648.
25 א erased and ם written.

35 your letter, why should [our] heart have been tranquil?.....
36 that he took along[23] the ship's captain[24] who [had been] with him.....
37 envy[25]. And he had the letter.....
38 Moses. So we received it from him, and there arrived.....
39 about that. And, O my brother, if he had not arrived.....[Market of]
40 Exchange[26]. And it mentions the death of your uncle.....
41 no one arrived from [the place] where you [were]
42 and we made him swear not to mention that [matter].....
43 was read[27] in the Market of Exchange[28].....
44 not [your mother][29] in his anxiety, that your mother.....
45 as much as I was able and my master[30].....
46 Pūrīm[12] until after the Passover.....
47 affairs[31] after they had heard.....

Verso:

1 with you and his sister; and that my Master.....
2 and about the linen which he delivered to her.....
3 the specification?[32] until.....she forbade him.....
4 while it was being relegated to some one of.....
5 with her the specification?[32]; and he described.....
6 what was the matter with the mother of the Sheikh Ibn.....
7 about the death of your uncle, she tried to come.....
8 And the Master[30] swore that she would not mention.....
9 all of it, so that she should not enlighten us about it.....
10 she had informed you of.....(?) He said to us.....
11 your uncle did not die until he had written for you a testament. And we continued to await [a statement of]
12 his estate[33], sent by you, on paper, so that we might know how the will stood in relation
13 to you. But Allah! Allah! If you do not have executed for us a copy of the will, then do not
14 do any business until you have executed for us a document with everything there is[34]. And do not

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[26] Supplied from line 43. [27] قُرِئَ.

[28] For this *Sūḳ al-Ṣarf* see Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *op. cit.*, v, p. 38 *et alibi*; and Casanova, *Essai de Reconstruction Topographique de la Ville d'al-Fousṭâṭ ou Misr*, tome I, in *Mémoirs par les membres de l'Institut Français du Caire*, vol. xxxv, Index.

[29] ואלדתך has been deleted.

[30] He is the one referred to as סידי "the master" in lines 8, 16, and elsewhere.

[31] Cf. No. IV, line 4.

[32] "description"? "placing under guard"? "stamping"?

[33] This is a strange meaning for كِسْبَة. [34] I.e. جميع ما كان.

15 ילחקך פי דאלך תואניא פהדא אכבר וציתנא ענדך
16 ואנפדת תלום סידי ותקול לה אנך אנפדת אלאנצארי
17 וגיבני בללה יא אבני אן ענדי מן גמיע מא קאל לך שי
18 ולאכן יא אבני מא חלך תערף אלאנצארי ולעבה כיף
19 כאן וקף פי וצת אלסוק ולעב מע כל מן קאם ואעלם יא
20 יא אבי אן כל כיר אן יצל אליך אלא אנה מן ענד אללה תעלי
21 ובדעא ואלדך אליך לאן אלאנס ואלגן ינאמו אלא סידי מא
22 ינאם ממא הו ידעו לך טול אלליל ואלנהאר ולו ערפת תואב
23 אן ידכל עליך פי אלכתב אליך ותנפדהם לנא למא כנת תגעל
24 לך שגל גיר כתבך אלכתב ובלכאין אלכתאב אלדי וצל לנא
25 מע אלנאכודה ואנפדת ואנת תקול לסידך אדא וצל שבל
26 אלדולה תאבד מנה אלדי ארסלת לך מע גמיע אלתגאר פלא
27 פרח אן דכל עלי קלבה וקד סמענא אן וצל גמיע אלריום
28 אלי עדאבסלאלמין פטמן קלבך עלי דלך ואן ואלדתך
29 תסאל ענך וקאלת לך יא אבני כמא טמנתני בכתאבך פאללה
30 תעאלי יטמנך מן כל הם וגם ואן ברכאת אבן כאלתי קד דכל
31 ביתה עלי בנת כאלתה סת נסים רחמהא אללה פאלעאקבה
32 לך אן שא אללה וקד סמענא אנך אשתרית גלאם אללה תעלי
33 יעדפך ברכתה ויגעלה עליך אברך אלכעוב וירזקך מתלה
34 כתיר ובללה יא אבי אן אלמסלין יתקצאו ענך אכתר מנא
35 חתי יום אן אלנאכודה מחר אלאנסאן וראק מן אזדקא

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35 תואניא is certainly [ال]ثَّوانِيَ; accusative for nominative.

36 وَصيّة is both "testament" and "command"; hence the play upon the word.

37 וגיבני for وَأَجِبْنِي.

38 I.e. either he "made fools of," or "trifled with," or "gambled with."

39 He intended to write إِلَّا.....لَا.....إِنَّ.

40 תואב is apparently تُؤَابَة, but without the feminine ending.

41 Cf. al-Dhāhabī, *Mīzān al-I'tidāl* (Cairo, 1325), i, 440.

42 This jumble contains perhaps : ענד, בסלאם, and סאלמין.

43 Humorous? Although the text says "bought a slave," the context refers to a son.

44 The same correction of the text as in *recto*, l. 31. But here we have a reference to pirates, and the ransoming of captive Jews. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 87 ff. Muslims captured Christians and Jews, and Christians captured Muslims (and Jews?). The price of ransom was 33⅓ dīnārs, the dīnār being worth about $2.50 in gold, with a purchasing power of about $7.50 at that time.

15 let carelessness[35] overtake you in that [matter]; for this is our supreme
"will"[36] in regard to you.
16 And you sent [a letter] complaining [to] the Master[30] and saying to him
that you had sent to al-Anṣārī.
17 But answer me[37], by Allah, my Son: Have I anything of all [the property]
he told you of?
18 But, my Son, aren't you free to recognize al-Anṣārī and his little game:
how
19 he stood in the market-place and played[38] with anyone who happened to
be standing there? And know,
20 O my Brother, no good-fortune is sent[39] to you except that it comes from
God the Exalted.
21 And about your father's[30] calling out to you—for men and demons may
sleep, but the Master[30] does not
22 sleep, because he keeps calling to you, all night and all day long. And
if you only knew shame[40]:
23 that it might enter into you through the letters to you! And you send
[letters] to us about having
24 other business to do than writing letters: and especially the letter which
reached us
25 with the ship's captain. And you sent word, and you said to your
Master[30]: "When Shbl al-Daulah[41]
26 arrives get from him what I have sent to you as well as to the other
merchants." And he did not
27 rejoice. It made a deep impression on him. And we heard that all the
dignitaries arrived
28 at.....[42] But calm yourself[19]. Your mother
29 asked after you and said to you: "O my Son, just as you have relieved[19]
me with your letter, so may God
30 the Exalted relieve[19] you from every care." And also Barakāt the son
of my [maternal] aunt, has taken possession of
31 his house with the daughter of his [maternal] aunt, Sitt Nissīm—God
have mercy upon her!—[as bride]. But you have
32 offspring—if it please God. We have heard that you have bought[43] a
boy. May God the Exalted
33 teach you what a blessing he is, and make him the most blessed of
honors, and grant you many more
34 like him! And, by Allah, my Brother, the Muslims[44] exacted[45] for you[r
ransom still] more from us;
35 until one day[46] the ship's captain set free[47] a rich man, [one] of the friends[48]

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[45] יתקצאו is vernacular *yitḳaḍu* for classical يَقْتَضُوا. For the sense see Dozy, *Supplément*, p. 362. With this verb مِنْ denotes the payer of the ransom, and عَنْ the ransomed person. [46] יום אן. Cf. note 8.

[47] מחר is مُحِرّ, the participle for the imperfect.

[48] אזדקא is أَصْدِقَاء, with ز for ص.

36 סידי פתקצא מנה ענך וגאב לנא כתאבך ונחן ליס ענדנא
37 כבר חתי גאבה אלרגל אלוראק גזאה אללה ענא כיר אלדי
38 נעלם ומא יערף אחד איש אנפדנא לך מן אלכתב מא קדרת
39 תערפנא אן וצל לך שי אלכתב כדא יכונו אלנאם יא אכי
40 מא בקי עלינא שי אלא אלדי לם תערפנא כיף כאנת וצית
41 כאלך נאכדה אלדי לם תערפני אן כאן וצל לך שי מן אלכתב
42 קראת עליך אלסלאם ועלי מן תחוטה ענאיתך אלסלאם
43 וואלדך יקריך אלסלאם וואלתך תקריך אלסלאם וכאתב הדא
44 אלכתאב אכוך יוסף וממלוכך ושאכר תפצלך נקריך אלסלאם

Margin of verso:

וכואתך יקרוך | אלסלאם וכלאתך | יקרוך אלסלאם | ואולאד עמך | אלשיך
אבו | אלחסן ואלשיך | אבו אלפרג | ואולאדה יקרוך | אלסלאם וממוך | אבן
אליאם יקרוך | אלסלאם וקד | סרני אלדי אנפדת | לה רחלה פאללה | תעאלי
יוצלה | אליה וירג ענך | כמא פרגת | ענה וענא לאנה | מגאח מציק עליה |
ואלחזאן | ביאן ויוסף | אלמגרבי ומנצור | ואכוה אולאד כלף יקרוך אלסלאם |
ואלשיך עטאלה | וולדה אלשיך אבו | אלחסן יקרוך אלסלאם | ואלקאצי
וגלמאנה | יקרוך אלסלאם | וקד תזוג בבנת | פתום אלמצרי וקד | רזק מנהא
צבי | ותסאל עלי אלשיך | אבו אלסרור | ותערפה אן | אכוה יוסף | אלגדיד
יסאל ענה | אלדי אתואלד | פי יד שהר וא | ..בבצרה | אנ...טאי. |
..ן אחבעה | ארבעת עשר | שהר אללה | תעאלי ילקיהא | פעלהא וילקי[הא] |
מא עמלת | בכאל ..... | ..יכתב ..... | באקי ויגמע. | ביננא ובינך |
קרב אן שא | אללה ותסאל ען | מעאני ... | ותערפה אן | אהלה פי עאפיה |
ואן וצלת כתבה || אלי אהלה | ועז עלינא | מא גרא | עליה אללה | תעאלי
כלף | עליה ויגמע | שמלה וכלף | באהלה | ביאן מע .....

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49 I.e. the ship's captain.

50 פתקצא a half vernacular form. Cf. فَاقْتَضَى and *fa itḳaḍa*, and note 45.

51 I.e. the rich man.

52 The recipient of the letter is actually or supposedly in captivity somewhere. Cf. lines 24–36.

53 The forms *ēsh* and *waṣallāksh* are vernacular.

of the Master[30], and he[49] demanded[50] from him[51] [an additional ransom] for you[52]. And he[51] brought your letter to us. And we did not have any
news until the rich man brought it—May God requite him with good from us, [now] that[10] we
know. And no one knows what[53] we sent you in [the way of] letters. As far as you are able,
inform us whether the letters reached you[53]. [Well!] That is how people are, my Brother[54]!
Nothing remains for us [to say] except that[10] you did not inform us how it was [with] the testament
of your uncle. We object to your[10] not informing me as to whether any of the letters reached you.
I send you greeting, and to [all] whom your grace and favor protect, [I send] greeting.
And your father sends you greeting; and your mother sends you greeting; and the writer of this
letter, your brother and slave, Joseph, who is grateful for your favor: we send you greeting!

Margin of verso:

And your sisters send you greeting; and your [maternal] aunts send you greeting; and the sons of your [paternal] uncle, the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan and the Sheikh Abū al-Faraj, and his children, send you greeting; and your father-in-law[55] Ibn Elias, sends you greeting. I am glad that you wrote to him [while on his] journey. And God the Exalted will cause [your letter] to reach him; and it will comfort you just as you comforted him and us. For he is ruined, he is in straits[56]. And the Ḥazzān Bayyān, and Joseph al-Maghribī, and Manṣūr, and his brother, the children of Khalaf, send you greeting. And the Sheikh ʿAṭāllāh[57] and his son[16], the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan, send you greeting. And the Kadi and his [male] slaves send you greeting. He has married the daughter of Futūḥ the Egyptian; and has been blessed [with] a boy from her. And you make inquiry in behalf of the Sheikh Abū al-Sarūr: [Please] inform him that his brother, Joseph al-Jadīd, asks after [the child] which was born[58] on the 14th of the month... .....fourteenth of the month. May God the Exalted requite her [with] her deed, and requite her [with] what she wrought!.....write.....remainder... ...and bring us together soon, if it please God. And you ask after the affairs of.....: [Please] inform him that his family are in health, and that his letters have reached his family. But we were grieved by what happened to him. May God the Exalted make up to him [what he lost], and set his affairs in order, and make up to him by his family [what he lost].....

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[54] Exactly the German expression of resignation: "So sind die Menschen!"

[55] Read חמוך. [56] مُجَاح مُضَيَّق. [57] I.e. عَطَاءُ الله.

[58] אתוואלד is the colloquial form *itwalad*, of the VIII stem. Cf. note 50.

Bottom of verso:

1 וגיר דלך אן יום אן סאפר כאלי וודענאה פי אלכליג ותאנא עלי וקאל...
2 אנהא חאמל פעדינא לה תסעה אשרה ולם תלד שי פרגענא
3 עדינא תסעה אשהרא אן אברא אלי אן ולדת צבי פקאמת קיאמת
4 אלנאס כלהא חתי אלמסלין קאלו מא סמענא מן עמל קט מתל
5 הדה אליהודיה מא תסתאהל עלי הדא אלאמר גיר אלחריק ואנהם
6 בעין אליהוד אלרום מתל אבן מוסי מנצור ומנצור אבן אלכבית
7 פאנהם תעצבו מעהא חתי גמעו מתל עשרה מן אליהוד חתי
8 כתנוה ולם יחצר תם לא דיאן ולא חזאן ולם יבארכו עליה

Margin of recto:

וגיר דלך אן | למא סמעת | ואלדתך מות | כאלך רחמה | אללה
פאנאה | חמלת עלי | קלבהא מן גהת | ומן שדת אן | גראת עליך | פי
אלבחר תאני | מרה | ובקית מדת | מרצהא לם | ידכל פמהא | טעאם ולא |
שראב אלי אן | וצל כתאבך | אלכרים פכמא | אבצרת פי | כתאבך פכאן |
פי להא אלעאפיה | ואלפרג פכמא | פרגת עלינא | בכתאבך | פאללה תעאלי |
יפרג לך פי | גרבתך וילקיך | אלכיר ויוקף לך | מא נדעילך | פי כל וקת |
וגיר דלך אן | וצל לנא כתאב | מע יוסף אבן | אלחפצי ואנת | תקול לנא
אוקפו | אם אבו אלסרור | עלי אלכתאב | ואדפעו להא | תמן אלקמח | אלדי
וצל מע | אלקאצי אלוג.. | אבן אלסכאוין | ומא תמנאת | גיר אנהא | יצל תסמעאן
להא שי פמא | להא צאר שגל גיר | מטאלבתנא | פי כל סאעה | וכאן מן קבל
דלך | מן קבל מות | כאלי דפעת | סידי אלי אלדיאן | וטאלבתה בשי | וכאן

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[59] Read אישהר.

[60] לם תלדשי, *lam tulídshe*, with the negative *-she* of modern vernacular.

[61] אשהרא is for أَشْهُرًا though we should have the genitive, not the accusative. Cf. note 8.

[62] Read מסלמין.

[63] I.e. "corrupt." This must be an epithet, not an acceptable name.

[64] In order to constitute a מִנְיָן or quorum.

[65] Is this the child referred to above as born "on the 14th of the month"?

[66] Read פאנהא. [67] Read גהתך.

[68] שדת אן. Cf. note 8.

[69] The words ואן לם have been written and deleted.

Bottom of verso:

And another matter: On the day[46] when my [maternal] uncle went on a journey and we took leave of him at the canal, he took me aside and said:

"She is with child." And we let nine months[59] go by for it [to happen]; but she did not bear[60]. And again

we let another nine months[61] go by, until she bore a boy. And there was an uprising of

all the people, until [even] the Muslims[62] said: "We never in our lives heard of a deed like [the deed of]

this Jewess! She deserves for this thing nothing less than burning!" And

some of the Jews—Byzantine Jews, such as Manṣūr Ibn Moses, and Manṣūr Ibn al-Khabīth[63]—

defended her cause, until they had collected something like ten of the Jews[64], in order to

circumcise [the child]. But neither dayyān nor ḥazzān was present. And they did not [therefore] say the [necessary] blessings over him[65].

Margin of recto:

And another matter: After your mother had heard [of] the death of your [maternal] uncle—God have mercy on him!—she[66] was heavy-hearted because of you[67] and some hardship[68] which you might have encountered at sea the second time[69]. And while she was sick [from this worry] neither food nor drink entered her mouth, until your good letter reached her. And just as she looked at it—your letter—and felt well and happy [again], and just as you relieved us by your letter[70]: so may God the Exalted relieve you in your trial[71], and make good-fortune meet you and stay with you. [That is] what we pray for you always.

And another matter: Joseph Ibn al-Hafṣi brought us a letter [from you[72];] "Keep the mother of Abū al-Sarūr from writing; and pay her the price of the grain which arrived with the Kadi.....Ibn al-S...., and what she expects, without her hearing that anything has come to her." She has come to have no other occupation than begging of us continually. And before that—before the death of my [maternal] uncle—she brought the Master[30] before the dayyān[73] and made a demand upon him. And at the time my [maternal] uncle went on the journey[74]—God have mercy on him[75]—he recommended to the Master[30] that he buy for her a dīnār's

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[70] The word ועלי has been written and deleted.

[71] תנרבתך.

[72] This person's letter and visit are spoken of in lines 30–35. A Joseph Ibn Ṣadōḳ, grandson of Ibn Ḥafṣ, of the house of Ḥafṣ, is mentioned in a genealogy in Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, 318, l. 15.

[73] Apparently דפע means "to summon to court."

[74] Mentioned at the bottom of the *verso*.

[75] He did not return from this journey, but died.

וקת אן | סאפר כאלי רחמה אללה | אוצא סידי | באנה ישתרי | להא
בדינאר | כתאן וחטב וזית || פאשתרא להא | דלך ומא ברח | אלי ודא להא |
אלמחאר פמחר | להא אלכתאן ווזן | ענה כרא אלמחר | כלה חתי לא יכלי |
שי באיש תחתנ | עז קליל חתי | דפעתה אלי אלדיאן | וקאלת לה נטלב |
מנך רחל זוגי | אלדי כלצה |

---

[76] Cf. note 44.

[77] Colloquial *îla wa-*. [78] Colloquial *da*.

[79] This root occurs three times here (and perhaps in *verso*, l. 35), and is plainly written מחד ; but there is no root محد nor محذ nor محر in Arabic. The root مهر is the only one that will give sense. The ר presents no difficulty ; but the ח can be accounted for only by the assumption of an actual dialectical difference.

X. A LEAF FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Paper $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ inches.

Hebrew in half-square Hebrew characters, partly vocalized, and not always correctly so.

The many abbreviations and omissions, in the manner of No. XLII, suggest that this may be merely a memorandum of prayers.

worth[76] of linen, and fuel-wood and olive oil. And he bought her that. And he continued [to give her things] until[77] he gave[78] her the dowry[79]. And he gave her the linen for a dowry; and he paid[80] from [the sale of] it the cost[81] of the dowry[82], all of it; so that nothing remained that she could have [even] the slightest need of. And then she brought him before the dayyān; and she said to him: "We want from him [the profits of] my husband's journey, which he completed."

---

[80] Dozy, *Supplément.*

[81] كِرَاء is usually "rent." [82] She married again.

X. A LEAF FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Like No. XLVI, this fragment has to do with the prayers for the Day of Atonement.

Recto begins with the words:

כִּי הכל הֶבֶל אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו הֲלֹא כָל הַנִּסְתָּרוֹת etc.

Verso begins with the words:

אַרְבַּע מִיתוֹת בְּבֵית דִּין חֶנֶק etc.

XI. BILL OF DIVORCE

Paper $7\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

In half-square Hebrew characters, but in the Aramaic language, so often used in Jewish documents.

There are some places where the writing has been effaced or the paper destroyed ; but the complete text can be recovered from the context.

Recto :

1 בתלתא בשבא דהוא עשרין ותשע [יו]מין ליר[ח]
2 תמוז דשנת אלפא וחמש מאה ותשעין שנין לשט[רות]
3 למניינא דרגילנא לממני ביה הכא בפסטאט מצרים
4 דעל נהר נילום מותבה איך אנא .... ל.... דיבה
5 דממדינת מצרים וכל שום אחרן וחניכא דאית לי
6 ולאבהתי ולאתרי ולאתריהון די אבהתי צבית בר[עות]
7 נפשי כד לא אניסנא ופטרית ושבקית ו[תר]וכי[ת]
8 יתיכי ליכי אנתי סת אלדאר בת יצחק דמעיר בנהא
9 אלעסל וכל שום אחרן וחניכה דאית ליכי ולאבהתיכי
10 ולאתריכי ולאתריהון דאבהתיכי די הוית אנתתי
11 מקדמת דנא וכדן פטרית ושבקית ותרוכית
12 יתיכי ליכי די תהויין רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי
13 למהך להתנסבא לכל גבר די תצבייין ואינש
14 לא ימחה בידיכי מן שמי מן יומא דנן ולעלם והרי

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[1] Such bills of divorce could be drawn up in other languages than Aramaic, though this seems to have been the prevailing language since 500 B.C. A number of such bills have been found in the Genizah. See e.g. Moïse Schwab in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. lvi, p. 128; and especially the excellent treatise of Ludwig Blau, *Die Jüdische Ehescheidung und der Jüdische Scheiderbrief*, Budapest, 1911 (two facsimiles are given there from the Elkan Adler collection). See another facsimile in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. iv, p. 624. Though the general expressions were fixed from of old, extra words could be added in order to give greater importance to that which was being said. The present bill is as long as any that we have seen of this early period.

[2] A.D. 1278. [3] We take מצרים = مصر = Fusṭāṭ.

[4] In none of the bills of divorce that we have seen is the precaution in regard to the name taken to this length. The usual expression is simply : וכל שום דאית לי.

[5] Notice the redundancy of the expression יתיכי ליכי which, however, is found elsewhere. Cf. Blau, *loc. cit.*, part ii, p. 99.

[6] סת אלדאר would mean "lady of the house." See Steinschneider, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xi, p. 330.

XI. BILL OF DIVORCE[1]

A bill of divorce given to Sitt al-Dār, daughter of Isaac, of the village of Benha al-'Asal, by her husband—whose name may have been Shilyā—in the city of Fusṭāṭ.

It is dated 1590 of the Era of Documents, i.e. A.D. 1278.

On the *verso* the witnesses have testified to having handed the bill of divorce to the woman in question.

Recto:

1 On the third day of the week, [Tuesday], which is the twenty-ninth day of the month

2 Tammūz, of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety of [the Era of] Documents[2],

3 according to the method of dating by which we are accustomed to count here in Fusṭāṭ of Egypt,

4 which is situate upon the river Nile, I .....[11]

5 of the city of Fusṭāṭ[3]—and any other name or surname that I may possess,

6 my father may possess, my place of dwelling or the places of dwelling of my fathers may possess[4]—I desire,

7 in perfect free-will, and without being compelled: to free thee, to let thee go, and to cause thee[5] to depart—

8 thee my wife, Sitt al-Dār[6], daughter of Isaac, of the city of Benha[7]

9 al-'Asal—or any other name or surname that thou mayest possess, that thy fathers may possess,

10 or thy place of dwelling, or the places of dwelling of thy fathers[8] [may give thee], thou who wert my wife

11 prior to this. In such manner I release thee, I send thee forth, and I let

12 thee depart, that thou mayest be free and have the right, of thine own will,

13 to go and marry any man thou wilt.

14 No one can oppose thee in my name[9], from this day onward and forever. Behold!

---

[7] Yāḳūt, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, vol. i, p. 748, gives both pronunciations, Binha and Banha. The word אלעסל was added to it, because the best honey in Egypt came from the place. See, also, Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. v, p. 59. It occurs in other Genizah documents; see Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, general index, *s.v.*

[8] See above, line 6. The meaning seems to be that he wishes to cover any name that she or he may have coming from family possessions in other places.

[9] I.e. "saying that thou bearest my name." The addition of מן שמי is not normal; but see Blau, *loc. cit.*, part ii, p. 100.

15 את מותרת לכל אדם ודן דיהוי ליכי מני ספר
16 תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין כדת משה וישראל
17 עמנואל בי׳ וחיאל נבתויא ש[ל]ה בר עמרם נע׳

Verso:

1 מטא גיטא הדין ליד המתגרשת די בגויה מיד שליא
2 המגרש בתורת גירושין גמורין לקמן אנן עידי מסירה
3 עמנואל בי׳ יחיאל נבתויא שלה בר עמרם נע׳

---

[10] Here, and on *verso*, the letters נבתויא follow this name. In one document (Taylor-Schechter, 13. J6, No. 11) we find them after the very name which has been signed to our own: עימנואל בי׳ יחיאל נבתויא. See other examples of this combination of letters in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 236. It is not uncommon. Evidently it contains the first letters of some pious wish.

15 Thou art free to every man. It is proper that thou shouldst receive from
me a document
16 of freedom, a bill of divorce, and a letter of dismissal, according to the
law of Moses and of Israel.
17 [Witnesses] Immanuel, son of Rabbi Yeḥīēl[10].
Shēlāh Bar ʿAmram.

Verso:

1 This bill of divorce has reached the divorcee, who is among her people,
from the hand of Shilyā[11],
2 the divorcer, according to the law of complete divorce. Below we the
witnesses of the delivery [sign our names]:
3 Immanuel, son of Rabbi Yeḥīēl Shēlāh Bar ʿAmram.

---

[11] If this reading is correct, one may restore *recto*, line 4 thus:

אנא ..ן שליא .. רי בה

and translate: "I,.....Shilyā..., who [live] in the city of Cairo," etc.

XII. LETTER

Paper 8 × 6⅝ inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters. Cf. III, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV.

Written with a scratchy pen and gummy ink in a degenerate cursive Hebrew hand of which the similar letters are usually entirely undifferentiated.

Recto:

1 כתאבי יא סידי ומולאי אטאל אללה בקאה ואדאם סלאמתה וסעאדתה
אן אלמסתקר

2 עז חאל סלאמה ועאפיה אלאמר ללה רב אלעלמין לז כלון מן שבט כתמה
ללה

3 עלינא ועליך בכיר אעלמך יא מולאי אן תקדמת מני אליך עדה כתב ארגו

4 אגאבך עליהא וקד וצל כתאבך עלי יד סידי אבי אברה[י]ם אסמאעיל קפוה

5 ותם וצל איצא מן בעדה גואב אכר עלי יד לפיג ואנת תדכר פיה ביע

6 דהב לאעדמה ת[ו]צלה אלדנאניר שאכריה תסוא מן יז לי יח נוין ובקית

7 יא מולאי נעתגג לדאלך נחב מן מולאי אן יגתהד ויביע וישתרי מא

8 דכרת לה פי אלכתאב לא יוכד מנהא חאגה וישד לכל מא יבק לו ומא

9 נוציה פי חדית אלודע ויכון לרלחיניצי ומא דכרתה פי חדית אל

10 מתאע נחב מן מולאי אן ישק עלי רוחה פיה ויביע ובללה יא מולאי מא

11 נתחלין פיה עלי מא דכר שריכי ולאכן מא יאכד ואחד אלא מא קצי

---

[1] Many letters begin with the simple word כתאבי. Cf. MS. Paris Consistoire VII. E. 18: .....כתאבי יא שיכי אטאל אללה; Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5542, No. 10: .....כתאבי אטאל אללה. Sometimes אלי is added; MS. Paris VII. E. 12, No. 31: .....כתאבי אלי סידי; cf. Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5542, No. 21. Sometimes the verb is used, in the first person or in the third person; e.g. Taylor-Schechter, 5. 7, No. 6: .....כתבת אטאל אללה; Bodl. MS. Hebr. c. 28, No. 55; Taylor-Schechter, 10. J4, No. 1: .....כתב עבד מולאי. Again, the verb is left to be understood; e.g. MS. Paris VII. E. 24. For the forms of address in Genizah letters, see Worman in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xix, pp. 721 ff., and Goldziher, in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. lv, pp. 54 ff.

[2] So the words should perhaps be rendered in this letter, instead of by "Lord and Master."

[3] In our texts there is a habit of using interchangeably the second and third persons, when speaking to the addressee; and the singular and plural of the first person, when the writer speaks of himself. In our translation we use one form only in each case.

[4] This formula gives some trouble because of its indefiniteness.

[5] Cf. the Koran, ch. i, verse 1. [6] جَواب here in the modern colloquial sense.

Genizah Fragment 12

XII LETTER

The Arabic is as slovenly as the script, and shows strong colloquial tendencies. The style is abbreviated and technical, perhaps intentionally cryptic. As he goes on the writer becomes more and more incoherent.

A letter from an unknown man to one whose name we read uncertainly as Abū Yaḥyā Nathaniel Ibn Nissīm, urging him to attend to certain business matters the nature of which is not clear.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter[1], Sir[2], [to you]. May God lengthen your[3] life and prolong your[3] health and happiness! Behold [in me] the inquirer[4]
2 after the state of your health and fortunes. God, the Lord of the Worlds[5], disposes [our affairs]. [There are now] 7 [days] remaining of [the month of] Shebhāṭ. May God complete it
3 auspiciously for you and us! I am informing you, Sir, a number of letters have gone forward from me to you. I hope [to receive]
4 your answer to them. Your letter arrived by the hand of master Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl Ḳfwḥ (?).
5 And then arrived, after it, another letter[6], by the hand of Lfyj (?). And you say in it: "Sell
6 gold to whoever needs it most. Send him the dīnārs as a favor[7], [the dīnār] equalling from 17 to 18 [and a] half [dirhams][8]." And I am still[9] in need[10] of [doing] this,
7 Sir. I desire of you, Sir, that you display some zeal, and sell and buy what
8 I told you to in the letter: not selecting some [one] thing[11] from it, but strictly doing everything that remains for you [to do], and what
9 I directed you [to do] in the matter[12] of the deposit. And may it become.....And what I said in the matter[12] of the
10 [personal] effects. I desire of [you], Sir, that you discipline yourself in this matter, and sell. And by Allah, Sir,
11 we are not going to save ourselves in [the business] according to what my partner says. But let no one take anything except what was decided upon

---

[7] شاكريّة usually means "wages"; etymologically "thankfulness."

[8] Reading לי for ל, and נוץ for نُصّ, the colloquial form of نِصْف. In the ninth and tenth centuries the dīnār was worth about 15 dirhams. See Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, 1890, p. 43.

[9] Or in the modern colloquial sense: "I have come to be."

[10] נעתנג is perhaps *ni'tāj*, for نَحْتَاج.

[11] Vernacular sense.

[12] חדית can hardly have any other meaning here. Cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. i, p. 258, col. 2, line 4 from below.

12 . . . דכרתה פי כאבְ מן כאן קד סלמת לה ולמא כאן לה ענדי וקד
13 . . . . . ה ארטאל ולא נקץ סער וכ לעשרה והו יא מולאי פיה טול רוח
14 אן עצים ומא נדרי כיף כרג ראקְ ובכא ומא אצף לך מא קאיתְ
15 . . . ל עַנְדְ ומא קבצת ל בקית לא ווהטווט ומא יצח פי כלהא
16 אלא נחו ג דנאניר ולמשרך אללאן הו פי תרוגה והו לסעה מא וצל
17 ואן מְ[א] תוגה שי אלי אעְדא פְלם אגעלה פי לורק לו וגהו לכלפון
18 יביעה לך פמא אחתאג יא מולאי אדא וצל אבו עטר בן סְפראוי
19 תקבץ מנה יו דינאר אל . הי . גאְך מתאע אלדי כאנתְ לסידי
20 אל . . נין תדפעהא לה פתעלמני פיהא פי כתא[ב]ך אלאן קלבי
21 פיהא משגול אלא אן יצל כתאבך ולם לאי . ל . ומא
22 כאנת מן חאגה אוהב לי פיהא ותכון עני אבי אסחק ברהוּן
23 באפְצל סלאם ואן כתבת לי אבו ציד תקרי עני סידי
24 אבי אסחק ברהון סלאם ואבי עאללחסון סלאם ותשתרי
25 לי דסתין ורק גיאד וקד כתבת לכלפון ישתרי לך כבסא

Address:

1 לסידי מולאי אבי יח[יה] נתנא[ל] בן נסים נּע בן מחבה מצרוף בן מוסי נע
2 אטאל אללה עזה ואדאם סלאמתה ונעמתה . . . . . אלפסטאט אן שללה

---

13 Reading כתאב.

14 Reading מן מא or ממא.

15 סער for ? סאר

16 אללאן is הלאן.

17 [ות]תרַחַּי.

18 Colloquial, *lissa*.

12 .....I said in [the] letter[13] about what[14] I have turned over to him and what I had of his [property]. And

13 .....5 roṭls, and not less, amount to[15] 26 for ten. And it [requires] patience,

14 great [patience]. And we do not know how it went.....and weeping. And I cannot describe to you what.....

15 .....and for all of it not [less]

16 than about 3 dīnārs would be proper. And the man who has taken [me] as partner is at present[16] hoped for[17] but has not yet[18] arrived.

17 But he is not[19] going to [our] enemies. But I did not put it on paper. If they had only gone to Ḥalfōn

18 to sell it for you. And what I require of you, Sir, [is that] when Abū ʿIṭr Ibn Sufrāwī arrives,

19 you take from him 16 dīnārs.....[personal] effects which belonged to master

20 .....you deliver them to him and then notify me of it in your letter. At present I am

21 worried[20] about them—until your letter arrives;.....and I

22 had nothing of my own remaining among them. And let there be from me [to][21] Abū Isaac Brhōn(?)

23 the most excellent[22] of greetings! And I have written to Abū Ṣaʿīd(?). Give my greetings [to][21] master

24 Abū Isaac Brhōn(?) and Abū al-Ḥusain(?). And buy

25 for me two books of paper of the best quality. I have written to Ḥalfōn to buy the pickles(?)[23].

Address:

To master Abū Yaḥyā(?) Nathaniel Ibn Nissīm Ibn Maḥabbah(?) Maṣrūf(?) Ibn Moses. May God prolong his vigor and continue his health and prosperity! Fusṭāṭ—if it please God!

---

[19] Colloquial suffix, *-sh.*

[20] משל was written and deleted. [21] ל omitted.

[22] The scribe corrected the first two or three letters, and we can read neither the original nor the correction. He may have intended אפצל.

[23] كُبَسَاء, plural of كَبِيس ?

XIII. LIST OF TAX-PAYERS

A long strip of paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$ inches.
Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters.

Recto :

1 אלבאקי מן פסקה אלכראג	
דפע	
2 אלשייך אבו אל כיר אלבמארין	דינר
3 אלשייך אבו סדור פרח	דינר
4 אלשייך אבו סעד אבן אלסוכרי	דינר
5 אבן עמה	דינר ונצף
6 אלשייך אבו מנצור אבן חיים	דינרין
7 אלשייך אבו אל אעלא אבן אלבהורי	נצף דינר
8 אלשייך אבו אל אעלא אבן שעיא	נצף דינר
9 אלשייך אבו מנצור אלדוסתרי	דינר
10 אלכאתב אלדי דאר למאט	נצף דינר
11 אבן אלתרמדי	רבע דינר
12 אלשייך אבו אלחסן סבאע	נצף דינר
13 אבן אבוה	רבע דינר
14 אבו סעד אבן אלקאבסי	רבע דינר
15 אבן אלרפא	רבע דינר
16 ולד אסחק אבו פרח	רבע דינר
17 צהר נסים	תמן דינר
18 אבן עמראן אלטביב	רבע דינר

---

[1] "Good-luck."

[2] We omit the vowels when they are not known.

[3] "Lotus tree." [4] "Joy." [5] "Good-luck."

[6] "Sugary." Cf. *Zuckermann*, *Suessmann*, *Suesskind*, etc.

[7] Or Ibn 'Ammō. [8] Hebrew, "Life."

[9] "Lion-like." Cf. No. VII, note 4; or else بُهُورِيّ "of victories." The words "he has paid" were written above this name, then blotted out.

[10] Perhaps שַׁעְיָא from יְשַׁעְיָהוּ Isaiah.

XIII. LIST OF TAX-PAYERS

The title and contents indicate that we have here a register of tax-payers in some Jewish community, probably in Fusṭāṭ, with the amounts that they have paid—not the balance to be paid (as l. 1 states)—of the fiscal tax.

Interest centers in the personal names. One must remember, however, that these people were often no more conscious of the meaning and implication of their names than we ourselves are of ours. There are Arab-Muslim, Jewish and double names, epithets and descriptive identifications. The Jewish names already include well-known modern motifs.

Recto:

1 The Remainder of the Government Poll-Tax:

Paid by

2 The Sheikh Abū al-Khair[1] al-Bmārīn[2] — a dīnār.

3 The Sheikh Abū Sudūr[3] Faraḥ[4] — a dīnār.

4 The Sheikh Abū Sa'd[5] Ibn al-Sūkkarī[6] — a dīnār.

5 His cousin[7] — a dīnār and a half.

6 The Sheikh Abū Manṣūr Ibn Ḥayyīm[8] — two dīnārs.

7 The Sheikh Abū al-A'lā Ibn al-Bahwarī[9] — a half dīnār.

8 The Sheikh Abū al-A'lā Ibn Sha'yā[10] — a half dīnār.

9 The Sheikh Abū Manṣūr, the registrar[11] — a dīnār.

10 The Scribe who [lives in the] house of Lmāṭ — a half dīnār.

11 Ibn al-Tirmidhī[12] — a quarter dīnār.

12 The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Sibā'[13] — a half dīnār.

13 Ibn Abūh[14] — a quarter dīnār.

14 Abū Sa'd[5] Ibn al-Ḳābisī — a quarter dīnār.

15 Ibn al-Rifā[15] — a quarter dīnār.

16 Walad Isaac[16] Abū Faraḥ[4] — a quarter dīnār.

17 The brother-in-law[17] of Nissīm[18] — an eighth dīnār.

18 Ibn 'Umrān[19], the physician — a quarter dīnār.

---

[11] Perhaps الدُّسْتُورِيّ.

[12] From Tirmidh.

[13] "Lion." Cf. note 9.

[14] Vernacular for ابن أَبِيهِ and meaning "Son of his (unknown) father," i.e. "illegitimate," or "son of his (well-known) father"; like Hebrew בן־אביו.

[15] "Harmony." [16] "Progeny of Isaac."

[17] Or "son-in-law."

[18] "Wonders."

[19] "Prosperity."

19	אבן סהל אלשראבי	תמן דינר
20	אבן מפרג אלאבזארי	תמן דינר
21	אבן בושיר	נצף דינר
22	אלשייך אבו אלחסן צדקה	נצף דינר
23	אלשייך אבו זכרי אבן סוגמאר	נצף דינר
24	אבו אלפ̣רג נסים	נצף דינר
25	אבו זכרי אבן מנשה	רבע דינר
26	אבו נצר אבן אלמקונן ושריכה	נצף דינר
27	מוסי אבן אלמגאני	תמן דינר
28	נסים אלמגרבי	תמן דינר
29	אבו אלכיר אלצירפי	קירתין
30	אבו עמראן ענד אלשרטא	תמן דינר
31	אבן רחמה	רבע דינר
32	אבו עמראן בן צגיר	רבע דינר
33	אבו עמראן	רבע דינר
34	אבו נצר בן מכתאר	רבע דינר
35	אבו אלכיר אלגיר	רבע דינר
	Verso :	
36	מולאי אלשיך אבו מנצור	נצף דינר
37	אבו סעד אבן אל קטאיף	נצף דינר
38	אבו עמראן אבן אלכיאט	רבע.תמן רבע דינר
39	אבו אל חי	תמן דינר
40	אבו אל חסין אבן אל עאבד וצהרה הבה אלגמי[ע]	
41	וצהרה אבו אלפרג	נצף ורבע

---

[20] "Easy," i.e. of birth, or wished-for future.

[21] "Comforter."

[22] From Buzār, a village about two parasangs distant from Nīsāpūr, Persia. Cf. al-Asyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, ed. Veth, pp. 6, 30, רז.

[23] "Little messenger of good."

[24] Hebrew צדקה "Righteousness."

[25] Perhaps an abbreviation of Hebrew זְכַרְיָה Zechariah.

19 Ibn Sahl[20] the wine-dealer — an eighth dīnār.
20 Ibn Mufarrij[21] al-Ubzārī[22] — an eighth dīnār.
21 Ibn Bushair[23] — a half dīnār.
22 The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Ṣadaḳah[24] — a half dīnār.
23 The Sheikh Abū Zekharāi[25] Sūjmār — a half dīnār.
24 Abū al-Faraj Nissīm[18] — a half dīnār.
25 Abū Zekharāi[25] Ibn Manasseh — a quarter dīnār.
26 Abū Naṣr the son of the public mourner[26], and his partner — a half dīnār.
27 Moses Ibn al-Majānī[27] — an eighth dīnār.
28 Nissīm[18] al-Maghribī[28] — an eighth dīnār.
29 Abū al-Khair[1] the money-changer — two carats[29].
30 Abū 'Umrān[19], with the police[30] — an eighth dīnār.
31 Ibn Raḥmah[31] — a quarter dīnār.
32 Abū 'Umrān[19] Bin[32] Ṣaghīr[33] — a quarter dīnār.
33 Abū 'Umrān[19] — a quarter dīnār.
34 Abū Naṣr Bin[32] Mukhtār — a quarter dīnār.
35 Abū al-Khair[1] the proselyte[34] — a quarter dīnār.

Verso:

36 My lord the Sheikh Abū Manṣūr — a half dīnār.
37 Abū Sa'd[5] Ibn al-Katā'if[35] — a half dīnār.
38 Abū 'Umrān, son of the tailor[36] — a quarter dīnār.
39 Abū al-Ḥayy[37] — an eighth dīnār.
40 Abū al-Ḥusain Ibn al-'Ābid[38] and his brother-in-law[17], Hibah[39] — the whole.
41 And the brother-in-law[17] of Abū al-Faraj — a half and a quarter dīnār.

---

[26] מְקוֹנֵן, a Hebrew word with an Arabic article.
[27] "Profit." [28] "From the Barbary States."
[29] I.e. one-twelfth dīnār.
[30] شُرْطَه? or perhaps for شُطَراء "strangers." [31] "Mercy."
[32] Here written בן and not אבן. This is possibly the north African *Bin*; hardly the Hebrew בֶּן; almost certainly the regular form ابن as it appears in names in Arabic orthography.
[33] "Little." [34] Hebrew גַּר; or else جَيِّد "good."
[35] "Sweetmeats." Cf. note 6.
[36] Or Ibn al-Khayyāṭ. Over this name there is written in small letters, "a quarter, an eighth."
[37] "Living." Cf. note 8.
[38] "Pious." [39] "Gift."

42 צרקה אל צפין	רבע דינר
43 צרקה אל זגאג	רבע דינר
44 אבו אל חוסין אלדהבי	רבע דינר
45 טיבאן	רבע דינר
46 אבו אל חסן צדקה בן שמעון	רבע דינר
47 אלשיך אבו אסחק אבן אל עסאל	רבע דינר
48 פרג בן נחום	רבע דינר
49 אזהר בן אזהר	רבע דינר
50 אלשיך אבו אסחק בן חוגיג	רבע דינר
51 אלשיך אבו סחק אל פצי	רבע דינר
52 אלשיך אבו יוסף אבן אל	רבע דינר
53 כלף אלזיאת	תמן דינר
54 אבו סרור סדר אלמגרבי	רבע דינר
55 אבו מוסי הרון אלגהבד	רבע דינר

40 "Hidden Treasure." 41 The same as Ḥusain, of course.

42 "Golden." Cf. *Goldmann*, *Goldstein*, *Goldberg*, etc.

43 Pedantic as it would be, perhaps it is طَيِّبًا "well done!"

42 Ṣadaḳah[24] al-Ṣafīn[40] — a quarter dīnār.
43 Ṣadaḳah[24] the glazier — a quarter dīnār.
44 Abū al-Ḥūsain[41] al-Dhahabī[42] — a quarter dīnār.
45 Ṭayyibān[43] — a quarter dīnār.
46 Abū al-Ḥasan Ṣadaḳah[24] Bin[32] Simon — a quarter dīnār.
47 The Sheikh Abū Isaac Ibn al-'Assāl[44] — a quarter dīnār.
48 Faraj Bin[32] Nahum — a quarter dīnār.
49 Azhar Bin[32] Azhar[45] — a quarter dīnār.
50 The Sheikh Abū Isaac Bin[32] Ḥūjaij[46] — a quarter dīnār.
51 The Sheikh Abū Isaac[47] al-Fiḍḍī[48] — a quarter dīnār.
52 The Sheikh Abū Joseph Ibn al-..... — a quarter dīnār.
53 Kalaf[49] the oil-dealer — an eighth dīnār.
54 Abū[50] Sarūr Sidr[51] al-Maghribī[28] — a quarter dīnār.
55 Abū Moses Aaron the money-changer — a quarter dīnār.

---

[44] "Sweet as honey." Cf. note 6.

[45] "Very brilliant." Cf. *Glanz*, *Finkelstein*, etc.

[46] حُجَيج "Little ear-ring." [47] The ℵ has been omitted.

[48] "Silvery." Cf. *Silbermann*, *Silberstein*, etc.

[49] "Love," or perhaps خَلْف "progeny."

[50] There seems to have been something before this, blotted out.

[51] "Lotus tree."

XIV. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Paper. One double page, $8\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters. On the *verso* much has been blurred and effaced.

Recto: (*a*)

1 שרח אלדי וקע עלי אלחריר אלמצבוג
2 אלאצל כאם סו רטל אלתמן שׁ דינר
3 וכרג עליהא נפקה ולואזם מא ישרח
4 אולא נקין אלסו רטל כ דינר
5 ופי קרמז ללצבאג פה דינר
6 ופי נפקה ענהא כה דינר
7 ופי אגרת אל .... צבאגין כ דינר
8 ופי צבאג אכ̣ל ואכצר כד דינר
9 דאלך אלגמלה קעד דינר
10 אלגמלתין תעד דינר
11 צח פיה מצבוג סג רטל

Recto: (*b*)

1 וזן אלחריר אלדי תרכת ענד סידי אבי
2 אסחק אבן אלאסכנדראני סלמה ללה
3 יז רטל בזאש

Verso: (*a*)

1 אלדי לי פי פור .....ג אעדל
2 נפ·ס·ע...א... בחמל אלכרי [1]
3 מתקאלין ונצף ואיצא עדל חריר
4 פיה ..... אלחריר וּמ·וד מצבוג
5 ורזמתין לי עתיק ובסאטט כביר
6 חסב ניף חמל כרתה מתקאל ורבע
7 קבין מן דאלך .... תכון מתקאלין
8 בקי עלי מ[תקא]לין אלי רבע ידפעהא

[1] A roṭl is equal to about 12 ounces.

[2] Cf. No. VII, note 8.

[3] Perhaps some mistake had been made in the weighing, or the quality was not what it should have been.

[4] He had written [צין]תלא "polishers."

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 14 a

XIV. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Recto: (*a*)

1 Detail of the sum spent for the dyed silk:
2 The stock, unbleached, 66 roṭls[1]; price — 300 dīnārs[2].
3 Expenses and other necessaries paid out as follows:
4 Firstly, diminution in the value of the 66 roṭls[3] — 20 dīnārs.
5 And in crimson dye for the dyer — 85 dīnārs.
6 And in expenses connected with this — 25 dīnārs.
7 And in wages for the dyers[4] — 20 dīnārs.
8 And in.....[5] and green dyes — 24 dīnārs.

---

9 The whole sum equals — 174 dīnārs.
10 The two sums equal — 474 dīnārs.
11 There resulted actually of dyed goods, 63 roṭls.

Recto: (*b*)

1 Weight of the silk which I left with my lord Abū
2 Isaac al-Iskandarānī—God grant him grace!—
3 is 17 roṭls.....(?)[6]

Verso: (*a*)

1 .....which belongs to me in.....3 bales
2 .....by the load[7]
3 two mithḳāls[8] and a half, and also a bale of silk,
4 in which.....the silk, and dyed.....
5 and two bundles of clothes belonging to me, old[9], and a large rug[10]
6 enough for more than the load of.....a mithḳāl and a quarter
7 taken off from this.....becomes two mithḳāls.
8 There remains on two mithḳāls as much as a quarter which he will pay

---

[5] Perhaps أَخْطَل "fly-green," or أَرْبَل "tree-green."

[6] A word of four letters follows.

[7] כרי = كِرًى for كراء. Cf. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Vol. iv, p. 340.

[8] Cf. No. VII, note 8.

[9] We should have expected a dual.

[10] בסאטט has an extra ט as if بَسَاطِيط from a singular بُسْطَاط.

9 אליה . . . . . דפעתהא אליה

10 . . . . ת ב . . עמראן אלסקלי עדל פיה

11 . . . . . בות מרנאן מנהא אלי אלמראג

12 ב . ז . ול . . . כלה וילכא . . . לי . . . וזנת

13 אנא ען . . . . אלעדל חמל וברטיל דירה[ם]

Verso : (b)

1 שרי אלעצפר ה קנאטיר מן סער

2 כט דינר כל קנטאר אלתמן קמה דינר

3 וכרג ענה אנטאע ותלים ותכאל וכיט

4 ושרא . ח דנאר ודרהמין וברטיל

5 וחמלין ולואזם יב דרה דאלך מן אלגמלה

6 . . דינר כד דינר ו דרה

---

11 Cf. סקליה = "Sicily," in Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, Vol. ii, p. 74, l. 11: صقلية, سقليه. Ibn Khurdādhbih (de Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, Vol. vi), p. 91.

9 to him.....I have paid them to him
10 .....'Umrān the Sicilian[11], a sack in which is
11 .....corals, some of them belonging to the coral-gatherer[12]
12 .....I have weighed
13 I from.....the sack, the porterage and the bakshish of a dirham.

Verso: (b)

1 He has bought 5 hundredweight of saffron from Sa'd
2 [paying] 29 dīnārs for every hundredweight [which makes] the price 145 dīnārs
3 and [these should be] deducted from this [for] leather table-cloths, and .....and.....and string
4 and.....8 dīnārs and 2 dirhams, and bakshish
5 and [for] porters[13] and [other] necessary expenses 12 dirhams. This [to be taken] from the sum
6 .....dīnārs, 24 dīnārs, 6 dirhams.

---

[12] مَرَّاج instead of the usual مَرَاجِنِيّ.

[13] חמלין for حَمَّالِين, but in the colloquial form *ḥámmalīn*.

XV. CHARM

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters, not easily read. Vowel points are occasionally inserted, but ignorantly. The spelling is bad, and may represent a peculiar pronunciation: Moroccan, Persian, Yemenite or Ashkenazic. The Arabic article and imperative have crept in.

Recto:

1 בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה נעשה וְנִצְלֶח
2 עַל פִּי יָהוָה יָבִיא אֵלַי שֵׂר
3 השרים אך : מיטטרון
4 אך הוא אהוב וחביב
5 מכל פְּנֵי מרומן עבד
6 לאלוהי ישראל כהן גודל
7 ראש הכהנים שיש לך
8 שבעים שימות שאתה
9 הממונה על הסרים הגדולים
10 ואתה ראש המהנות
11 משביע אני עוליך בשם יָהוָה
12 צְבָאוֹת אלוהי ישראל יָושֵׁב
13 הכרובים ובשם המפורש
14 ובשם הגודל הגבר והנרא
15 החזק הא·מן המסגב הנפלא
16 וּבְשֵׁם אֶסְטֶטֶסֶם אֵל רחמא[ן]
17 שתאביא ולמימר בשושן
18 בשמחה בבשרה טובה

---

[1] Or perhaps שר השדים, "the Prince of demons." In any case "prince" is the technical term for the figures seen by the "scryer," or gazer into crystals, ink-pools, and the like. The Arabs call them "kings." In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 37 ff., there is abundant material on this subject. See also Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in Later Jewish Literature*, London, 1913; and Blau, *Altjüdisches Zauberwesen*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 11. *Sanhedrīn*, 101a says: "One is allowed to ask the princes of oil and the princes of eggs; only they lie. One whispers a spell over oil in the vessel, but does not whisper over oil in the hand....." Blau fails to understand that this refers to scrying with oil and with eggs, broken into a cup or plate. Rashī (11th cent.) on the passage, explains the "princes of oil" as "princes of the thumb." They are figures seen in the oiled thumbnail.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 15 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 15 b

XV. CHARM

This is a magical text, to be used in "scrying," or self-hypnotic gazing, at some bright surface. The angel Mīṭaṭrōn is adjured by the Ineffable Name, with the will of God, to reveal through an apparition, or "prince," the location of hidden gold pieces, to one Ṣedhāḳāh Ben Sitt al-Ahl, and his mother, Sitt al-Ahl. The magic is kept "white" by reference to the God of Israel; but His Name is nevertheless taken in vain. Scrying with oil, ink, egg, and bright objects was common among Jews and Arabs in the Orient, then as now.

Recto:

In the Name of YHWH may we do and prosper!
According to the word of YHWH may it bring to me the Prince of
the princes[1], Akh[2]! Mīṭaṭrōn[3]!
Akh[2]! He is more beloved[4] and dear
than all the faces of His heaven. A servant[5]
unto the God of Israel! High Priest[6]!
Chief of the Priests, unto whom belong
seventy names! [You] who are
the appointed one over the great princes!
You, the chief of the appointed ones!
I adjure you[7] by the Name YHWH
Ṣebhā'ōth, the God of Israel, seated
above the Cherubim[8]! And by the Ineffable Name!
And by the Great, Mighty, Awful Name[9]!
The Strong, Steadfast[10], Exalted, Gigantic [Name]!
And by the name Eses! Teses[11]! Raḥmān[12]!
That you bring and [make] to speak, gladly[13],
with rejoicing and good tidings;

---

[2] A proper name or a magical word of power.

[3] The highest of the angels. See Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim.*

[4] This is "white" magic. The possible evil of resorting to it is averted by considering the spiritual agent as merely the deputy of God, or as a blessed agency.

[5] After עבד was written סגן, "deputy high priest."

[6] גדול is constantly spelled גודל in this text.

[7] עוליך for עָלֶיךָ. The ך was deflected toward *o*.

[8] From I Samuel iv, 4.

[9] The writer intended הגדול הגבור הנורה.

[10] There is a deleted letter in האמן.

[11] Magical words of power. On the *margin*: "Forever and ever."

[12] Arabic as well as Hebrew.

[13] There would be danger in dealing with unwilling spirits.

19 ותראיני לי וליה אמר
20 בזה הלילה מהירה אי
21 זה מקם אלזהובים פה
22 אלכה עינינו נראה זה
23 המקם תמים תמים
24 בשם השבעתי עוליך אתה
25 השר הגודל עשה במהירה
26 ברוּגְאה עשה ואל תאחר
27 וכבודך של שם המפורש
28 יהי רצוֹן מלפני יְהוָה
29 לצדקה בן שׁת אלאהֿל

Verso :

30 ולשת אלאהל ויודיע
31 מחשובת אמן אמן
32 סלה הודיעינו אי זה
33 מזה מקם אשׁר במקם
34 וארה ולא אשכח אתה
35 ואכירה שבע פעומים
36 ותנצל נפשי מן זה המות
37 הזה השבעתי עוליך
38 אשר הגודל הממונה על השרים
39 בשם יְהוָה אלהֵי ישראל יושׁ
40 הכרובים שתראיני אלחלם
41 שבעה פעומים ולא אשכח
42 אתה ברוך שם כבוד
43 מלכותו לעולם ועד אמֿן
44 אמן סלה תת תת תתתת
45 תת תת תת . תת ותת
46 אמן סלה ברך שם כבוד

---

14 For לִי וְלֵה (Aramaic).
15 Arabic article with a Hebrew word.
16 בְּרֵנְעָה ?

19 and that you cause me to see: [cause] me [to see] it[14]!
[This, O magician,] say:
20 "In this night! Quickly! Where is
21 this—the place of the[15] gold pieces? Here?
22 Let me go! [With] our eyes let us see this—
23 the place! Perfectly! Perfectly!
24 By the Name I have adjured you[7]! You,
25 the Great Prince! Act quickly,
26 instantly[16]! Act, and delay not!
27 And [by] your honor, which is [the honor of] the Ineffable Name!
28 Let it be a favor from the presence of YHWH,
29 unto Ṣedhāḳāh Ben Sitt al-Ahl[17].

Verso:

30 and unto Sitt al-Ahl! And may he make known
31 thoughts[18]! Amen! Amen!
32 Selah! Inform us! Where is this—
33 what is this place which is somewhere[19]!
34 And let me see; and do not you forget [, O Prince][20]!"
35 And [this is] the end[21], [of the spell, which you say] seven times[22].
36 And may my soul escape this—this
37 death[23]! I adjure you[7],
38 who are the great one, appointed over the princes,
39 by the name of YHWH, the God of Israel, seated above
40 the Cherubim, that you show me the[15] dream[24]!
41 [The following say] seven times[22], and do not forget[20]:
42 "Thou art blessed, Name of Honor!
43 His rule is forever and ever! Amen!
44 Amen! Selah! TT TT TTTT
45 TT TT TT. TT and TT[11]
46 Amen! Selah! Blessed is the Name of Honor!

---

[17] I.e. "Lady of the Family." Cf. the Arabic name Sitt al-Dār in No. XI, and Sitt al-Bahā, Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 363.

[18] For מחשבות.

[19] The disjointed construction may be due to confusion.

[20] An Arabic imperative of a Hebrew word.

[21] Arabic.

[22] פעומים for פְּעָמִים. The ר was deflected toward *o*.

[23] I.e. the result of attempting the spell, or of not ridding oneself of its influence at the conclusion. Cf. p. 49 of the article in *J.A.O.S.* cited. Professor Campbell Bonner suggests reading מית = מֵת "dead"; and understands here a reference to a necrodaemon.

[24] I.e. the vision in the crystal.

47 השבעתי עליך השר
48 הגודל הממונה
49 על השרים הגדלים
50 בשם המפורש
51 שתראיני מקם
52 אלזהובים ולא
53 אשכח אתה בערק
54 תמים ותגלה לי
55 לי אנא סורה במהרה
56 אמן אמן סלה

I adjure you, O Great
Prince, the appointed one
over the great princes,
by the Ineffable Name!
that you show me the place
of the gold pieces. And do not
you forget[20]! [It is] in a box!
Perfectly! And reveal to me!
To me! Me! SWRH! Quickly!
Amen! Amen! Selah!"

XVI. DOCUMENT

A small sheet of paper, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing a document in Arabic script and language.

The script is atrociously bad; and for the full deciphering, it would need the vision of the late Professor J. Karabacek[1]. In two or three places only are dots used to distinguish one letter from several of its fellows.

The scrawl at the end of line 8 can only be imagined to stand for six hundred. If this is correct, the document is dated Monday, the 2nd of Shawwāl, 654 A.H., or the 23rd of October, A.D. 1256.

On the *verso* are three more lines of the same sort, and above these at least one preceding line. Of these scarcely a word can be read.

The difficulty of deciphering such writing as this might be compared to what would be encountered centuries hence by anyone who tried to read the strange marks now made by salesmen on their sales-slips in our department stores.

Grateful acknowledgment of assistance is here made to M. Casanova of Paris, to Mr David Yellin of Jerusalem, and to Mr Raja F. Howrani.

Recto:

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اقر محمد بن مصطفى بن عبد الله الفران وصله
من مدة

2 . . . . . للوضع نحوه له مرسم عنده فى ضمنه وحرزه

3 لغرض ماله لمرسم له قبل اسحاق بن ابى سعد بن محاسن اليهودى

4 الكعكى وصله سالما . دفع . طالما من يشهد بتوفيه ضمنه

5 مهما ضمنه فى مبلغ المسطور المكتوب على اسحاق المذكور وعلى ابرهيم

6 بركات حق بلا طلب ولا ضمان لمرسمى فيه

7 ولا حق من سائر الحقوق كلها بالغاية باسرها

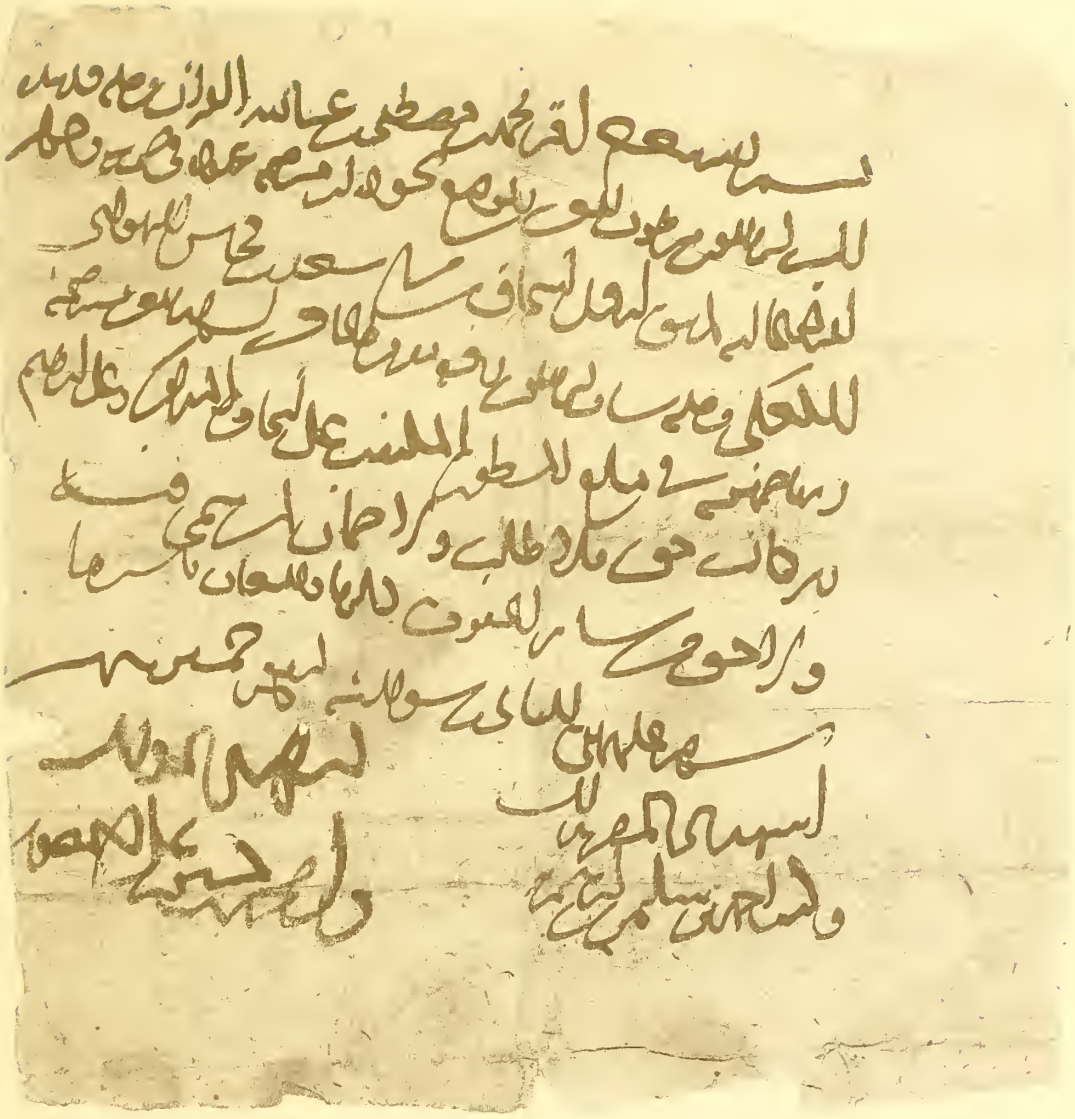
8 شهد عليهما فى الثانى من شوال سنة اربع وخمسين وستماة

9 اشهد على المقر بذلك

10 وكتب احمد بن سليمان بن ابرهيم
اشهد بذلك
وكتب محمد بن حسين بن على بن منصور

---

[1] See, e.g., his publication of specimens from Arabic documents in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vols. ii and iii, pp. 87 seq., his *Führer durch die Ausstellung*, p. 259, and al-Ḳalḳāshandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol. iii, pp. 55–142.



Genizah Fragment 16 a



Genizah Fragment 16 b

XVI. DOCUMENT

A document in which a Muslim, Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā, acknowledges that he has received from two Jews, Isaac Ibn Abū Sa'd and Abraham Barakāt, the value of money which they owe him. Isaac and Abraham are released from any further responsibility for this. Isaac seems to have transacted the business. Two Muslims sign their names as witnesses of the acknowledgment. Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā does not himself sign. The words "he wrote" before the signatures show that we have here only a copy of the document. Perhaps this is often the case with our fragments.

Recto:

1 In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā Ibn 'Abdallāh, the Baker, acknowledges [that] he received some time ago

2 .....[2] as a deposit and so forth[3], belonging to him, itemized, in his possession, in his responsible custody,

3 as something belonging to him, documented as his, in the presence of Isaac Ibn Abū Sa'd Ibn Muḥāsin the Jew,

4 the pastryman, [that] he has received safely.....payment.....as long as anyone witnesses the complete payment of his responsibility,

5 whatever his responsibility, in the sum documented and written down against the aforementioned Isaac and against Abraham

6 Barakāt, a right without question and without responsibility for the things explicitly mentioned[4]

7 or any claim of all the remaining [possible] claims, at the utmost, in their entirety.

8 He testified regarding the two of them on the second of Shawwāl, [of] the year six hundred and fifty-four.

9 I testify regarding him who acknowledged this: And he wrote[5]: "Aḥmad Ibn Sulaimān Ibn Ibrahīm." I testify regarding this:

10 And he wrote[5]: "Muḥammad Ibn Ḥusain Ibn 'Alī Ibn Manṣūr."

---

[2] Evidently certain articles are named here, or sums of money. The second word in this line occurs again as the fourth word in line 4.

[3] نحوه, abbreviating some documentary formula.

[4] لمرسمى is plainly written. Is it intended for a plural construct?

[5] Equivalent to our bracketed word "Signed."

XVII. PENITENTIAL HYMN

Paper $10\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, written upon both sides.

Hebrew in rude, cursive Hebrew letters.

The strophe is of four lines, the first three of which rime, while the fourth line contains the general rime of the hymn. The first line in the fragment contains the end of one stanza. There follow three stanzas, and then comes one line containing a few words of supplication that are often used as a mark of division between one poem and another one succeeding it. After these stanzas come two stanzas of two different pizmōnīm ; but these contain only two lines each, so-called "sheniyyah," though the same rime ends each half-line. A later hand has copied and fully punctuated these two stanzas.

Recto :

והוכה ומת אין לו דמים[1]

פזמ

כלה נא מאדום צבא והמון[2]

וקם שבט מנוחלי דת אמון[3]

ואז על משפטו ישב ארמון[4]

נא בצדקת אב המון בא בימים

פזמ

נא בשוב עמך אל יקח בשנה

ופדהו שנית כמו מגושנה

לשוב בשנות קדם לשער הישנה

לחוג בשנה שלש פעמים

פזמ

זרויים ישמיע אל מזבולו

קול מבשר מאת פניה' כי לו

[צאנ]כם עם מרעיתו וחבלו

יב[שר] גאולה ולא יקהת עמים

אל מלך יושב על כסא רחמים

אל מלך

---

[1] Cf. Exodus xxii, 1.

[2] I.e. Rome or the Byzantine Empire.

[3] Read וָקָם. Cf. Numbers xxiv, 17 : וָקָם שבט מישראל.

[4] The reference is, of course, to Egypt. The original reading of the third word was מנאון. This has been smudged out and beneath it מנוחלי written.

XVII. PENITENTIAL HYMN

A portion of a Pizmōn, i.e. a hymn with a refrain, forming a part of the extensive Selīḥah, or penitential, literature, which was composed by the Jews during the early Middle Ages, and graced the Synagogal liturgy upon days set apart for invoking the forgiveness and the clemency of God.

Acknowledgments are due to Professor Israel Davidson for his help with some of the faded places, and with the literature.

Recto:

1 And be smitten that he die, there shall be no blood shed for him[1].

Pizmōn.

2 Make an end, now, in Edom[2] of host and legion,

3 And a sceptre shall rise[3] out of [Israel,] the inheritors of [subjection to] the law of Ammon[4].

4 And then in judgment may He sit in His palace—

5 Because of the righteousness of the Father of Nations, stricken in age[5].

Pizmōn.

6 O, when Thy people repenteth, let it not receive shame[6].

7 Redeem it a second time as Thou didst from Goshen,

8 That it may return, as in days of yore, to the Old Gate[7],

9 To celebrate Thy festivals three times a year.

Pizmōn.

10 May God cause His scattered ones to hear His voice from on high,

11 A voice of good tidings from God himself, that to Him belongs

12 Your flock[8], together with its pasture-place and its land,

13 Proclaiming redemption[9]. To Him the people shall gather.

14 O God, King, that sittest upon the seat of mercy.

15 O God, King!

---

[5] I.e. Abraham; cf. Genesis xviii, 11; xxiv, 1. The scribe wrote at first באימין, which he then corrected.

[6] Cf. Hosea x, 6: בָּיְשָׁנָה.

[7] Cf. Nehemiah iii, 6.

[8] Reading quite uncertain. Professor Davidson suggests as a possible reading עדריכם.

[9] Professor Davidson disagrees with the reading, and believes that only four letters fill the space, i.e. גולה. It is peculiar that וְלוֹ is written ולא, though in the passage (Gen. xlix, 10) there is no Kere and Kethibh.

Verso :

1 יי שמעה בקולי ראה עניי ועמלי
2 וכפר חטאי ומעלי יי אלהים חילי

פזמ

3 אם חטאי נשמר ועוני נגמר
4 בשרי מפחדך סמר יי מה אומר

XVIII. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Paper $9\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Leaf from a merchant's note-book.

Arabic in Hebrew characters : written in a hurried cursive hand, similar to that on the *verso* of No. XXXVI, and very difficult to read.

Recto :

1 אבו זכרי קכו וה׳ בו
2 דאוד קכו ט קש
3 ואבו זכרי קפו ונף
4 אבו יוסף קפט . . . .
5 גדע אבי זכרי פה . . . .
6 . . . . . עולאי מלפלפל
7 צו ש

---

8 וגבת מ . . . פלפל עב ש
9 מנלך נוע כג ז וש
10 ודע גיץ ו ש . . . .
11 וגיץ ו . . . . נוע ו א ותלת
12 קנכא אלף . . . . . .
13 אבו אלסרור כל . . ג איצא
14 צא ש . . . .
15 ועליה צדת תצל בכט . . . .
16 פצנכת כח ש ונסף

Verso:

1 O God, listen to my voice, understand my affliction and my travail.
2 Forgive my sins and my faithlessness. The Lord God is my strength[10].

Pizmōn.

3 If my sin is to be remembered, if my iniquity is to be completed,
4 From fear of Thee my flesh would creep; O God! What shall I say[11]?

XVIII. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

It is impossible to give a connected translation, or even to transcribe more than these first two sections of the *recto*. The remaining section of the *recto*, and the *verso*, which has two sections running from opposite ends to the center, are in the same hand, though more carelessly written.

Below we print a few of the expressions which are recognizable.

Recto:

1 Abū Zachariah, 126 and 5, 26
2 David, 126 9, 100, 300
3 and Abū Zachariah, 186 and a half
4 Abū Joseph, 189.....
5 Abū Zachariah's boy, 85.....
6 .....with pepper,
7 97, 300

---

8 And I brought.....pepper, 72, 300
9 .....variety, 23, 7 and 300
10 .....7, 300
11 .....variety, 6, 1 and a third.
12 .....thousand.....
13 Abū al-Sarūr, all...3 also
14 91, 300
15 and he owes.....combined with 29.....
16 .....28, 300 and a half

---

[10] Cf. Habakkuk iii, 19. [11] Cf. Joshua vii, 8.

XIX. POETIC FRAGMENTS UPON THE BACK OF AN ARABIC DOCUMENT

Paper $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Portion of a book (?) made up of long strips of paper which had been used once before. Upon the back there are some lines in a hopelessly difficult Arabic script.

Recto :

1 . . . בָּאֵשׁ אוֹכֶלֶת
2 וְאֵשׁ יָגוֹן שְׂרָפָת
3 וְכִמְעַט קָט אֲכָלַתְנִי
4 וְאֵיךְ תֵּיקַד וְכַפַּתְנִי
5 מַעְיָנֵי שְׁבוּלֶת
6 וְהֵן לָעָה דִּבְרָתִי
7 כִּי נִם רַבָּה מַכּוֹתִי
8 והושבה שִׁמְלָתִי
9 בְּדַם עֵינָי מְגוֹלֶלֶת
10 מ . . . . חָשְׁכוּ מְאוֹרָי
11 וְשָׁבוּ כְצֵל יצורי
12 ל . . . . . מְמְגוֹרָי
13 תֵּבֵל מִתְחַלְחֶלֶת
14 ומ . . . וְאָשְׁכוֹנָה
15 מְעוֹן תַּנִּין וּבַת יַעֲנָה
16 ויהי לִי כְנַף יוֹנָה
17 אוֹ רַגְלֵי אַיָּלֶת
18 ולִי יָאוֹר[1] בֵּינֵיהֶם
19 לִשְׁפוֹן . . . בְּנֵיהֶם
20 . . . . . וּמִקְרֵיהֶם
21 תּוּגָתִי נִכְפֶּלֶת
22 וְאָנוּד . . . . .
23 . . . . . ש וּבִי שָׁם פָּנָיו . . . . . .

[1] Cf. Ezekiel xvi, 47.

XIX. POETIC FRAGMENTS UPON THE BACK OF AN ARABIC DOCUMENT

The Hebrew of the *recto* is written in half-square characters, and is a portion of some *dīwān* or collection of poems. It is, however, written continuously, without any consideration for the form of the poem.

Professor Israel Davidson has very kindly gone over the fragment and made some useful suggestions. The text has been rearranged and pointed by Professor Gottheil.

Recto:

1 ..... as a fire that devoureth.

2 And a burning fire of grief.

3 And, as if that were only a little thing[1], it hath devoured me.

4 And how it burneth, and hath ground me in pieces!

5 [Like the] sources of a torrent.

6 And behold, my utterance stammereth.

7 For my wounds [are] a great wonder(?)

8 And my garment hath been cut(?)

9 Rolled in the blood of mine eyes.

10 ..... And my lights have grown dark

11 And my creations(?) have become like a shadow.

12 ..... from my neighbourhood.

13 A shaken world.

14 And ..... let me dwell.

15 The haunt of jackals[2] and the ostrich.

16 And let me have the wing of a dove

17 Or the legs of a hind.

18 And I shall have light in their midst.

19 To dwell ..... among them.

20 ..... and their accidents.

21 My grief is doubled.

22 And I shall wander .....

23 ..... and in me there His face .....

---

[2] Cf. Jeremiah ix, 10

XX. LEAF FROM A BOOK OF POEMS

Paper $5\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A leaf, in a half-square hand, from a book of Hebrew poems.

It begins with the last verse of a poem by Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092—1167), the acrostic of whose name, *Abraham*, can be followed at the beginning of the four verses that remain out of the five. The first stanza must have been rimed with a *nun*. Each stanza is separated from its successor by the word פזמון.

Recto:

1 בָּ בָּ בָּ אל רחום וחנון

פזמ

2 בָּ בצל ידך כל כסית

3 בָּ על מי חשוכים אור נסית

4 בָּ כולם בחכמה עשית

פזמ

5 בָּ רמת מאד ומי יכיליך

6 בָּ תליתה כל עליך

7 בָּ אלהי אין ערוך אליך

פזמ

8 בָּ היש ויש לאין תתה

9 בָּ כבוד שמך למען שתה

10 בָּ מנת חלקי וכוסי אתה

פזמ

11 בָּ ממרום שלח קחיני

Verso:

12 בָּ בעצתך בחלדי נחיני

13 בָּ אל באפך תוכיחני

---

[1] Cf. Isaiah li, 16.

[2] Cf. Psalm civ, 24.

[3] Cf. Psalm xl, 6. The word אין is badly written אן.

XX. LEAF FROM A BOOK OF POEMS

The second poem, as Professor Davidson was quick to detect, is by Judah ha-Lēvī (b. 1035). The acrostic of his name can be discerned in the last six of these eight verses of the poem, the whole of which can be found in the *Diwān des Abū-l-Hasan Jehuda ha-Levi* (ed. H. Brody), vol. iii, p. 164. The writer of our fragment calls it: פזמון בלבי according to the opening words. Brody's edition furnishes our emendations and restorations.

Recto:

1 Lord, Lord God, Merciful and Compassionate.

Pizmōn

2 O Lord, Thou hast covered everything with the shadow of Thy Hand[1]!
3 O Lord, over dark waters Thou hast raised a light.
4 O Lord, in wisdom Thou hast made them all[2].

Pizmōn

5 O Lord, Thou art very high-placed and who can comprehend Thee?
6 O Lord, Thou hast made everything dependent upon Thee.
7 O Lord, my God, there is nothing that can be compared unto Thee[3].

Pizmōn

8 O Lord, Existence, [who bringest] existence to nought[4].
9 O Lord, for the honour of Thy name [Thou hast caused] the year [to be.]
10 O Lord, the portion of mine inheritance and my cup art Thou[5].

Pizmōn

11 O Lord, send from above and take me[6].

Verso:

12 O Lord, lead me whilst in this life, by Thy counsel.
13 O Lord, chasten me not in Thy hot displeasure[7].

---

[4] Read תַּחְתָּה "below," and in the next verse שַׁתָּה "year," to rime with the following אַתָּה.

[5] Cf. Psalm xvi, 5.

[6] Psalm xviii, 17.

[7] Psalm vi, 2.

פזמ אחרת

14 [ב]ל[בי] ורעיוני [ובשפתי] רננ[י]

15 ובקהל עם המוני ארוממך יְיָ

16 ידידי בשחרים קחו נא הישרים

17 עמכם דברים ושובו אל יְיָ

פזמ בלבי

18 העם אשר דחום עמ[י]ם ולקחום

19 דעו כי אל רחום וחנון יְיָ

פזמ בלבי

20 ואחת שאלתי יבשר סלחתי

21 הנה נא הואלתי לדבר אל יְיָ

פזמ

---

[8] Read אמוני and cf. II Samuel xx, 19.

[9] Hosea xiv, 3.

Another Pizmōn

14 In my heart and in my thoughts and upon my lips is my rejoicing.
15 In the congregation of my faithful people[8], will I praise Thee O Lord.
16 O my beloved ones, at early morn take now the righteous.
17 [Take] with you words, and return unto the Lord[9].

Pizmōn "In My Heart"

18 O people, whom [other] peoples have oppressed and taken captive,
19 Know that gracious and full of compassion is the Lord[10].

Pizmōn "In My Heart"

20 One favor I ask, Speak the word[11] "I have forgiven[12]."
21 Behold now, I have taken it upon me to speak unto the Lord[13].

---

[10] Psalm cxi, 4.
[11] Read תבשר.
[12] Numbers xiv, 20.
[13] Genesis xviii, 27

XXI. LETTER

Paper $7 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ to $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Arabic in peculiar, perhaps Maghribī[1], cursive Hebrew characters, at times difficult to read. The last line, and two words elsewhere, are in Arabic characters.

Recto:

1 יא מולאי וסידי אדאם אללה עזך ואטאל מדתך כתבתה ליללה אלאחד
2 עז שוק לא יעלמה גיר אללה תעאלי וחצרתנא סכאפה פי דלך אלשכין
3 אלדי פי עלמך איצא ולעמרך פקד קצדת פיה איצא מרכזה וחכימא
4 ברמזא וקצדת איצא פיה אלחו . . פאפהם ואגצי עלי כל מא תראה
5 מתפצלא ואלפיל ובקוה אללה לם ירד יעטי אלואן ולכנה יצל אליך
6 אן שא אללה עלי כל חאל פלא תגעל אלי דלך באלא
7 ואקרא מולאי וסידי סלאמא גזילא חסב שוקי וסוקי נחוה
8 ויכתין באעלאה מ יצחק בן ר עבדיה וצדיקנא צאחב אל
9 שרטה אבן עזור ואבו אברהים בן שבת ומ יצחק בן קרשאנת
10 וסאיר אלאבואן תם עלי מולאי מעאדא
11 ورحمة الله تعلى وبركته

Margin:

וכתבת עלי חפז שדיד פעדרני אלי פצל מולאי

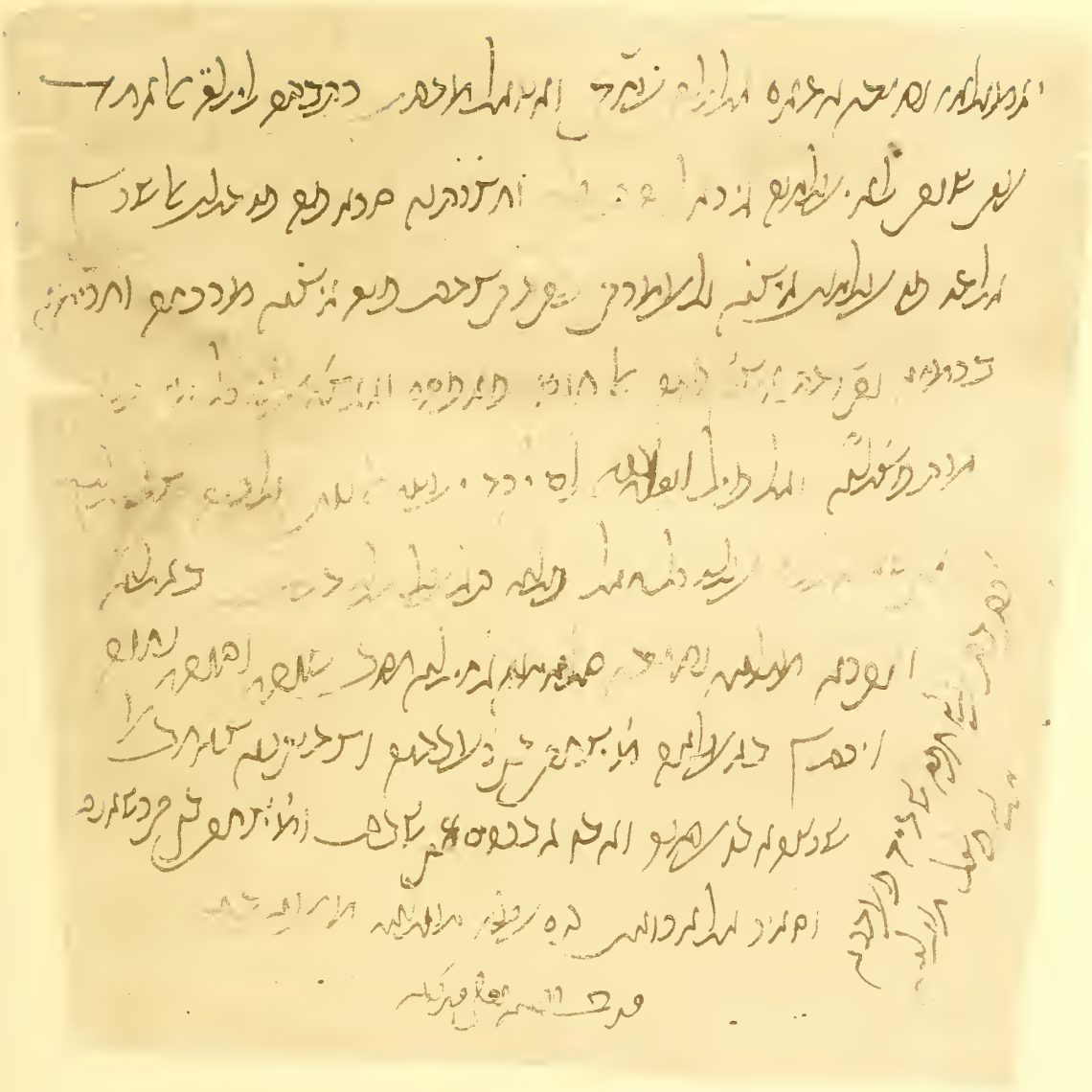
Verso:

אלחכם אלאגל אלריים אלאכמל רב חלפון הלוי נרו

---

[1] "Letters in a similar script I have come across in Bodleian MS. Heb. c. 28; 51 r. (addressed to a certain Abū Sa'īd); in Bodleian MS. Heb. d. 66, No. 80, as well as in a letter belonging to the collection of the Paris Consistoire (No. VII, E. 24)—which the Grand Rabbin M. Israel Lévi was kind enough to send to me—sent by a certain Ḥayyim Ibn Hānī of Ispahan. Evidently, the last had made use of a Maghribī scribe while, probably, in Morocco." (Professor Gottheil.)

[2] I.e. "you." "I do not wish to bias you."



Genizah Fragment 21

XXI. LETTER

A polite and elegant letter from an unnamed person to the ra'īs, Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, who may be one of those mentioned in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 232, 237; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xix, pp. 730, 733.

Recto:

1 O my Lord and Master! May God continue your strength and lengthen your life! I have written [this] on Saturday night
2 with the wish [that] none but God Most High should instruct him[2]. Well, we have suffered a loss[3] in this individual.
3 as you also know. For, by your life, you also sought in him a support, and a wise man
4 among [the] wise[4]. And you also sought in him.....But understand, and close your eyes to all that you see,
5 if you will be so kind[5]. And the elephant—God keep him!—did not wish to give colors; but he will reach you,
6 if it please God, in any case[6]. So give no thought to that matter.
7 And I greet my Lord and Master becomingly, according to my desire and my inclination toward him.
8 And this applies in the highest degree to Master Isaac, son of Rabbi Obadiah, and our friend, the Chief of the
9 Police, Ibn 'Azūr (?), and Abū Abraham Ibn Shbt, and Master Isaac Ḳrshānt,
10 and the rest of the brethren. Then [greetings] to my Master once more,
11 and the Mercy of God Most High, and His Blessing!

Margin:

And I have written in great haste[7], so excuse me to his Excellency, my Master.

Verso:

[To] the Most Glorious Judge, the Most Perfect Chief, Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī.

---

[3] حَضَرَتْنَا سَخَافَةٌ. [4] حَكِيمًا بِرُمَزَاءَ.

[5] مُتَفَضِّلًا.

[6] Quite plainly written. Is this a reference to some person? Cf. p. 18, note 1.

[7] I.e. حَفْد.

XXII. A BUSINESS LETTER

Paper $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters, like those of III, XII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, all very difficult to read because of the levelling of many letters to the same form. The writer relied upon muscular sensation, more than upon sight. When the connection is lost reliable translation becomes impossible.

Recto :

1 תקדם כתאבי אליך יאבי ואלעזיז אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם תאידך
2 ונעמתך ואעלמתך פיה חאל בוציר וגמהא ותעבהא ואנה
3 בלד אן כתיר אלשגב ואלתעב ולי חלפת לך אני מן יום אן וצלת
4 מן הבית לא ליל ולא נהאר לכתב צאדק וקד אסתכדת אל . . . .
5 ואנפדת לך עדל כתאן פי עטארי אליאזור מכתוב [עליה]
6 יצחק בן כלף ולים עליך פיה כרי אקבצה ווגהת [אליך]
7 עדלין מכתוב עליה חסון אבן יצחק ועטא בן יעקוב
8 וקד סאלת סידי אבי אלחסן סלאמה פי דפועהא מעהם ואחדארהא
9 אלי אסכנדריה פי גמלתהם תתפצל תקף מעהם ותעאונהם
10 פי דלך ועדל פי גמלתי מכתוב עליה נסים בן בנאיה נחת . . . . . .
11 פי גמלתי ולם יבקא עלי פי אלגמיע אגרה אעלמך בדלך
12 וקד סאלתך פי אכר חסאבי פי אלזית ותדפע אלתמן אלי
13 אבן אל רקי ארגו אנך פעלת דלך תבלג סידי אבי אלפצל אבן
14 עמראם אלסלם ותקול לה לם באללה אשתרי פי בוציר
15 לרוחי סוא ג אעדאל כתאן לאן אלבלד פיה אלג[יראן ת]קול

---

[1] تَأَيَّدَكَ.

[2] Cf. Yāḳūt, *sub voce* بُوصِير, vol. i, p. 760, who says it is the name of four towns in Egypt: (1) near Eshmunēn, (2) near Gīzeh, (3) in the Fayyūm, (4) near Samanūd. It might be Taposiris Magna, near Alexandria, now called Abūṣīr.

[3] غَمَّها. The reference is possibly to persecution of Jews.

[4] أَنْ used as a relative with indefinite antecedent, as in No. IX, *recto*, l. 11; *verso*, l. 35; bottom of *verso*, l. 3.

[5] אן here is أَنْ in the sense of German "da": "Seit dem Tage da ich..."

[6] בית המקדש.

Genizah Fragment 22

XXII. A BUSINESS LETTER

A letter from Ḥasan (or Ḥassūn) Ibn Isaac to his "brother and friend," Abū Joseph Malūl(?) Ibn Moses, dealing in flax or linen.

The Jews are having trouble in Būṣīr where flax from France(?) is sold. Directions are given about various business operations.

On the *verso* are notes in two other hands about bales of flax or linen. They may not refer to the contents of the *recto*.

Recto:

1 My letter goes to you, dear Brother. May God prolong your existence
and lengthen your safety[1]
2 and well-being! I [beg to] inform you in it of the condition of Būṣīr[2] and
its pain[3] and travail; and that it is
3 a city[4] of great trouble and travail. And as for me: I swear to you that
I, from the day when[5] I arrived
4 from Jerusalem[6], neither night nor day [have had opportunity] to write[7].
[What I say is] true! And I secured the.....
5 and I sent to you a bale[8] of flax with 'Aṭṭārī[9] al-Yāzūrī, on which was
written:
6 "Isaac Ibn Khalf." You have no charges to pay in the matter. Accept
it. And I sent [you]
7 two bales on which was written: "Ḥassūn Ibn Isaac" and "'Aṭā' Ibn
Jacob" [respectively].
8 And I asked Abū al-Ḥasan Salāmah to deliver[10] them[11] with them[12], and
to bring them[11]
9 to Alexandria in their shipment[13]. Please show them [every] attention
and help them[12]
10 in this [matter]. And [I sent you] a bale in my shipment[13] on which was
written: "Nissīm Ibn Banāyah".....
11 in my shipment[13]. And there remain no charges against me for any of it.
Of this I inform you [explicitly].
12 And I asked you in the latter part of my accounting concerning the oil,
[to] pay the price [of it] to
13 Ibn al-Raḳḳī. I hope you have done this. Convey [to] Abū al-Faḍl Ibn
14 'Umrān [my] greetings; and say to him: "By Allah, I shall not buy in
Būṣīr
15 for myself [anything] but three bales[8] of flax. Because the neighbors[14]
in the city say(?)

---

[7] لِكَتْبٍ. [8] أَعْدَال – عَدْل.

[9] Or "my grocer." [10] דפועהא for דפעהא.

[11] I.e. the bales. [12] I.e. the addressees in person.

[13] جُمْلَة. [14] I.e. "gentiles"?

16 פיה כודו כתאן אלפרנסאוי וכתאן כאמל ולים פי אלבלד כתאן
17 נשתריה פתוכד עליה לולא יוחל וייגי אלי הון פינדם כתיר
18 וקררת דנאנירי מע אבי אלחגאג כתב תבלגה סלאמי
19 ותעלמה בדלך וקד כאן לה האניק פי קעדרן פאן פי
20 אלבלד .לאתאן חסנה וקד תמת
21 אלכל ירבבנא פיהא סאלמין

Margin:

תעלמה | בגמיע | דלך | ויחדר | אן | יתחרך | פי | האדא | לא | פי | אלניל |
| בעלמי | מעה | ונחצל | לה | קדרת | כתאן | ידכרנא | פיהא | אלי | . . . . . |
פתגעלה | יחאסבני | אלי | חין | וצולו | ונחדר | גמיע | אן | שא | אללה

Address on verso:

לאכי ואלעזיז עליי אבי יוסף מלול בן מן צחבה חסן
מוסי אבן יצחק נע
אטאל [אללה בקאה] ואן[דאם תאיידה
ונעמתה]

Notes on verso:

ברהון הל עדל מ ברסם יוסף
ברהון מ עדל מ ברסמה
ברהון הל
ברהון הם ברהון הכ
ברהון הם ברהון הל
ברהון צ
ברהון מ

Note at left:

גמלה מא עלי חגאג
סת אלאף תתקצ

---

15 פרנסאוי is فَرَنْسَاوِىّ from فَرَنْسَا. Cf. פרנצא in Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5544, fol. 1, line 4. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 191.

16 فَتُؤْخَذُ عَلَيْهِ لَوْلَا يُحَلُّ.

17 כתב for אכתב.

18 The reference is possibly again to persecutions.

16 about it: "Take the flax of France[15], and perfect(?) flax [it is]." But there is no flax in the city that
17 we would buy. And you are blamed for it unnecessarily[16]. And one comes [back] here and is very sorry.
18 And I have come to a definite agreement with Abū al-Ḥajjāj [about] my dīnārs. Write[17] and convey to him my greetings,
19 and inform him of this. For he has had.....in.....were in
20 the city beautiful..... But all of it has come to an end. May [God] complete our benefit thereby in safety[18].

Margin:

[19]Tell him all about this. And let him guard against being excited by this; not about the indigo.....with it. And we shall recover for him a quantity of linen about which he told us.....and have him settle with me when he arrives; and we shall.....all, if it please God.

Address on verso:

To my Brother and Friend [more powerful][20] than I, Abū Joseph Malūl(?) Ibn Moses. May [God] prolong [his existence] and lengthen [his safety and prosperity!] From his friend Ḥasan(?) Ibn Isaac.

Notes on verso:

Brhōn[21]	35	Bale	40 with address of Joseph
Brhōn	40	Bale	40 with his address
		Brhōn	35
Brhōn	45	Brhōn	25
Brhōn	45	Brhōn	35
Brhōn	90		
Brhōn	40		

Note at left:

Total of what Ḥajjāj owes:
six thousand 990

---

[19] Most uncertain. [20] A pun on the word عَزِيز.

[21] We do not know the vocalization of this nor its meaning. The same word occurs as a proper name twice in No. XII, lines 22 and 24. In the present case it might be بِرْهُون, "by pledges." Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*. Nor do we know the meaning of the letters הכּ, הל, המ, for which of course much might be imagined. Are they numerals with the order reversed?

XXIII. NOTES ON THE BACK OF A LETTER

Paper $18\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

A strip of paper cut from a letter, upon which some ḥazzān or other person has written in a large cursive hand, as if for posting on the wall, what seems to be the first word or the first two words of certain prayers and pizmōnīm.

A peculiarity of the script is the different ways in which the letter א is written. Cf. lines 1 and 2 with lines 3 and 8.

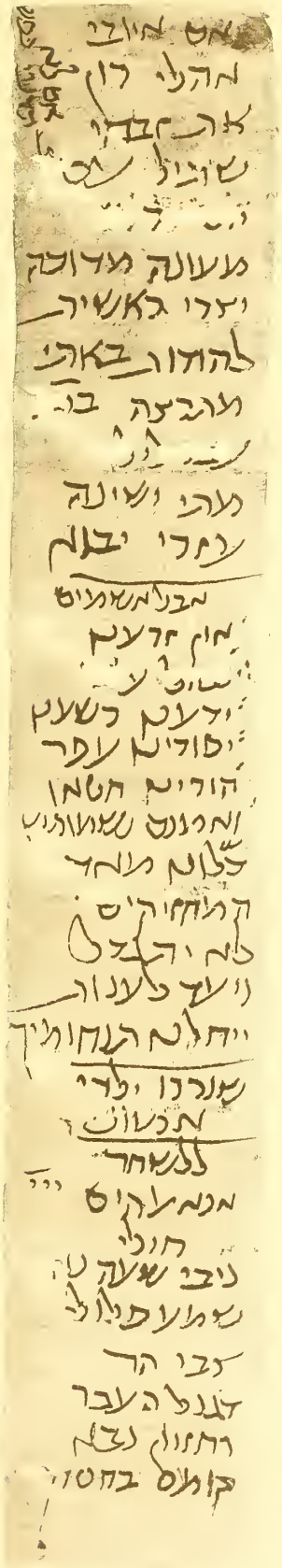
Recto :

1 אם אויבי
2 אהלי רון
3 את זבחי
4 שתיל עם [א]ל
5 . . . . . ר . .
6 מעונה מדוכה
7 יצרי ראשית
8 לה חוג באתי
9 מתרצה בת
10 עבד ליל (??)
11 מתי ישינה
12 עזרי יבוא

---

13 אבל אשמים
14 און זרענו
15 * . . ול על . .[1]
16 * ידענו רשענו
17 * יסודינו עפר
18 * הורינו חטאו
19 * ואמנם נשמותינו
20 בלונו[2] מאד

[1] The dots at the beginning of this line and of the following ones are in the MS.



XXIII. NOTES ON THE BACK OF A LETTER

The *verso*, in Arabic, in a very different, blacker, smaller, more regular, Hebrew hand, represents the older document from which this strip was torn before the *recto* was written upon it.

Recto:

1 If mine adversary.

2 Tents of rejoicing.

3 My sacrifice.

4 Planted with ....

Margin:

If thou (fem.) knowest not .....

5 .....

6 Dwelling, seat.

7 First my being.

8 She hath a horizon .....

9 Gracious is the daughter [of].

10 He hath made night (?).

11 When ....

12 My help cometh.

---

13 The grief of guilt.

14 The vanity of our seed.

15 .....

16 Our wickedness knoweth us.

17 We are covered with dust.

18 His sin hath cast us.

19 And certainly our waste places.

20 They have consumed us greatly.

---

[2] Between ב and ל there seems to be the Arabic sign *tashdīd*.

21 המחזיקים
22 לא יתגדל
23 ויעד לענות
24 יחלנו תנחומיך

---

25 שוררו ילדי
26 אמוני

---

27 ללשחר
28 אנא אלהים יי
29 חולי
30 ניבי שעה נא
31 שמע פלולי
32 צבי הר
33 דגול העבר
34 וחזיון נבא
35 קומם בחסדך

Verso :

1 חתי רחמה אל כאלק . . . . . .
2 טביב אלסלטאן ואכ . . . . . .
3 תמן מאיה דרהם . . . . . .
4 ואלף פחצר אלמאל . . . . . .
5 יכרג אל בנת יביעה . . . . . .
6 כתאב יקצוד בה . . . . . .
7 בשהאדת גמיע אשיאך חלב . . . . . .
8 פלמא וצל ענד אל . . . . . .
9 אלרדאדין אלדי לסל[טאן] . . . . . .
10 יזכונה נפצו אל ר[דאדין] . . . . . .
11 אלדי פיה אלדואב . . . . . .
12 וראחו וכד וצל אל . . . . . .

---

[3] Or "For the Morning Service." In the following we have, perhaps, the remnants of a verse :

אנא אלהים יי חולי
ניבי שעה נא שמע פלולי

21 Those that strengthen.

22 Let him not inflate himself.

23 And he knew the bitterness.

24 Thy consolations hearten us.

---

25 .... my children.

26 My faithful one (?).

---

27 For the morning[3].

28 I am the Lord God.

29 . . . . . .

30 Attend to the fruit [of my lips].

31 Hear my prayer.

32 The glory of the mountain of.

33 Excellent is the.....

34 And prophecy of a vision.

35 Establish in Thy favor.

Verso:

1 till the Creator has mercy on him ....

2 the physician of the Sultan, and ....

3 value of a hundred dirhams ....

4 and a thousand, then produce the property .....

5 he goes to the girl to sell it .....

6 a writing in which he purposes .....

7 in testimony[4] all[5] the sheikhs of Aleppo .....

8 and after he arrived in the presence of the ....

9 the bone-setters who wait upon the Sul[tan] ....

10 the bone-setters(?) diagnosed his trembling ....

11 in which the animals(?) were ....

12 and they went away. And the .... had already arrived .....

---

[4] Line inserted in the original.

[5] Two dots over the ٮ seem to stand for *fatḥatain*.

13 אלאוחד[6] סתין דר[ם] . . . . . .
14 אלי[7] אלכאלק ואלי . . . . . .
15 אלהקהלות[8] ואנחנ[ו] . . . . . .
16 לפה ולמ̇לי̇ין ר . . . . . .
17 בשם .... כוח . . . . . .
18 וכסיתו ומבשרך [לא תתעלם] . . . . . .
19 תפתח ידך לו . . . . . .
20 רקם כי הוא ע . . . . . .
21 ושני בנ[י]ו ושת[י בנותיו] . . . . . .
22 ידל לעדי עד ולנ[צח נצחים] . . . . . .
23 וכן [יהי רצון] . . . . . .
24 וקד כאן פי כתאבה . . . . . .
25 קאהר ושמעה אל . . . . . .
26 ואל נפים אבן אל ס[לטאן] . . . . . .
27 וכול עלא אבן אל [סלטאן] . . . . . .
28 אבן עליק ובסו . . . . . .
29 אל צנאר אלדי מעה . . . . . .
30 מעה ואעמלן ומע צנארה . . . . . .
31 אל חסנה ושלום על . . . . . .

---

[6] אלאוחד mistake for אלוּאחד.

[7] Two letters follow which have been crossed out.

13 sixty dirhams apiece....

14 unto the Creator and the....

15 the congregations. But we.....

16 wrapped him up. And.....

17 in the name..... might...[9]

18 and cover him; and hide not thyself from thine own flesh[10].

19 Thou wilt open Thy hand unto him.

20 their spittle, for he.....

21 and two of his sons and two of his daughters....

22 he shall be weak for ever and ever.....

23 and this was the purpose [of the writing?]....

24 and there was in his letter.....

25 conqueror. And the.....heard him.....

26 and the excellent son of the S[ultan?].....

27 and every disease of the son of the [Sultan?].....

28 Ibn 'Ulaik, and.....

29 the little..... which with him

30 and they employed with him and with his little ones....

31 the good. And Peace be upon.....

---

[8] Note the Arabic and the Hebrew articles.

[9] Lines 17–23 are in Hebrew.

[10] Isaiah lviii, 7.

XXIV. CHARM

A strip of paper $15\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

It is written in cursive Hebrew characters, and contains part of a charm against all manner of diseases and distempers.

1 . . . . ודחלולי ליליא ונוסיא ואשתא וערויתא ועיק רע וקלא ומרס מעיא
ושאלביטא ושוכבא . . . .

2 . . . . ילי סיט עלם מהש ללה אבא כהת הזי אלד לאו ההע יזל מבר
הרי הקם לאו כלי לוו פהל נלך ייי מלה תהו נתה האא ירת שאה
ריי א . . .

3 . . . . . [יהו]ה צלך על יד ימינך יומם השמש לא יככה ויריח בלילה יהוה
ישמרך מכל רע ישמור את נפשך יהוה ישמר צתך ובאיך מעתה ועד
[עולם] . . .

4 . . . [י]היה עמי בעגול בשם האל האדיר האמיץ הבורא הגבור הדובר משרים
ההוד הותיק הזך הטהור היחיד הקדוש ועד אני קורא את שמות מל[אכי]

---

[1] Ink border-lines show that the strip was never any wider. The letters ודחלולי began the first line, which is written in characters small and cramped, though hardly as an afterthought to the remaining lines.

[2] I.e. "spectres."

[3] The form נוסיא remains unexplained, but the word is related perhaps to Aramaic נְסָם, which has been connected with Greek *νόσος*.

[4] Cf. the Syriac ܒܣܝܐ.

[5] עֵיק רַע, but this would be mixed Hebrew and Aramaic.

[6] I.e. "incantations." Cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

[7] Cf. Targum to Levit. xxi, 20.

[8] שאלביטא can hardly be a corruption of שַׁלְהֶבְיתָא "flame," although it might possibly be a similar formation from the root לבט.

XXIV. CHARM

The literature on Jewish magic is extensive. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, Strassburg, 1898; Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbors*, London, 1898; Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913.

1 [1]and scare-crows of the night[2], and afflictions[3], and fever, and ague[4], and fear of evil[5], and the voice[6], and crushing of the viscera[7], and . . . . . [8], and the Succuba[9] . . . . . .

2 . . . . . [10]

3 [Jehov]ah is thy shade upon thy right hand. The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night[11]. Jehovah will keep thee from all evil. He will keep thy soul. Jehovah will keep thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth and for [evermore[12]] . . . . . .

4 [shall] be with me in a circle[13]. In the name of God, the Mighty, the Powerful, the Creator, the Heroic, that speaketh righteousness, the Glory, the Able, the Pure, the Spotless, the Unique, the Holy! And also I shall recite the names of the an[gels] . . . . . .

---

[9] שוכבא may be connected with the root שכב "to lie" (sexually, of demons: cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 304). It seems actually to spell out the Latin word *succuba*, except that we should then have a ם, not a שׁ. At any rate, we fancy that this word is very close to the intended meaning. Amulets not uncommonly contain allusions to the *incubus-succuba* superstition.

[10] Here follow the Cabbalistic names which are untranslatable. They are derived from Exodus xiv, 19–21, in such manner that the first letter of each name comes from verse 19, the middle letter from verse 20, the last letter from verse 21. The following names complete the 72: לכב ושר יחו להח בוק מנד אני העם רהע ייז ההה מיך יול ילה סאל ערי עשל מיה והו דני החש עמם ננא ניתּ מבה פדי נמס ייל הרח מצר ומב יהה ענו מחי רמב מנק איע חבו ראה יבם היי מום. (So explained by M. Chapira to Professor Gottheil.)

[11] Cf. Worrell, "The Demon of Noonday," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1918, xxxviii, 160 ff.

[12] Psalm cxxi, 5–8.

[13] A magic circle. Cf. Worrell, "Ink, Oil and Mirror Gazing Ceremonies in Modern Egypt," in the same *Journal*, 1916, xxxvi, 37 ff., particularly p. 52.

XXV. A SCRAP OF PAPER

Paper about 13 × $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, tapering towards the top.

Hebrew and Arabic, in cursive Hebrew characters.

This fragment is perfectly described in the introduction to our No. XXIII. It is a strip, cut from the same letter and used in the same manner.

But unfortunately it is not a part of the same leaf as No. XXIII; so that comparison gives us no help with the mutilated *verso*, nor with the sketchy *recto*.

Recto:

1 . . . . . ם
2 ———
3 . . . . . ם תש .
4 ה . . . צועק
5 חסין יה
———
6 מה לך בן אדם
———
7 שובו נה
8 איך תמן
9 ב . . . . . אדמה
10 רצו ילדי
11 הלכו גודר
12 מות פין סהד
13 בבית סהד
14 מך בעלה
15 עֵרום בא
16 זוריע שוא
17 רוח איש בלבו
18 היכלי עונג
19 חוק נתן לבי
20 זה סוף כל האדם
21 קדוש כבוד שם
———
22 אל חי בכל

לשמעכם

XXV. A SCRAP OF PAPER

As we do not pretend to know what either text is about, we confine ourselves to rendering a few groups of words here and there.

The *recto* and the *verso* to line 18 seem to refer to religious matters. From line 19 of the *verso* the subject is business, and the language is Arabic.

Recto:

1 .....

2 _____

3 .....

4 .....crying out

5 Strong . . . . .

---

6 What aileth thee, son of man?

---

7 Return ye.

8 As there.

9 .....the ground

10 Consent, my children.

11 They have gone, carpenter.

12 Death...testimony(?)

13 In the house of testimony(?)

14 .....mistress.

15 Naked he came.

16 The sower of iniquity.

17 The spirit of a man in his heart.

18 My temple is delight.

19 My heart gave a law.

20 This is the end of all mankind.

21 The Holy One has settled honor.

---

22 The living God in all.

23 מתי רוחות . ל
24 על רוב מעלי

Verso :

1 ש . . . . . .
2 עוטי מ . . . . . .
3 מתנים חגו
4 בה . נע דלת . . . מבקש[ים]
5 יודעים לצדקה קו[ו] . . . . . .
6 הרבים מוציאי יק[רי] . . . . .
7 לוי מטע אלי להתפאר . . . . .
8 נחלתו צאן יד . . . . . .
9 הנרדפים . . . . . ם . . . . .
10 בכל מקומות מושב[ותיהם]
11 שיקום מכסא דין ויש . . . . .
12 ולאסוף הנדחים ולש . . . . . .
13 ולהציל בלועים משי . . . . . .
14 . . ח . . תו . . תיות להוצ[יא] . .
15 ובין החול לקבין הנ . . . . . .
16 הרחוקים כדכ ונשא נף . . . .
17 להודיע לרבותינו המ[קומות]
18 מקומות מושבותיהם
19 . . . . ב אלדי אסמה מנ[חם] . .
20 והוא מחושבי העיר . . . . . .
21 וא . . ק או . . . . . ן מן . . . .
22 פי נהדת גוז ודכאן . . . . . .
23 ג סנין מעה גאזי . . . . . .
24 וחאסבה אלדיואן וג . . . . . .
25 דרהם נאצריא וקד . . . . . .
26 לה ולצנארה ואלדי . . . . . .
27 לם יבקא מעה פלם . . . . . .
28 . . . . ן עליה תמן מאי . . . . . .
29 עלי אלפצלא סת א . . . . .

---

[1] כדכתיב = כדכ.

[2] Ezek. xvii, 23.

23 When will the spirits.....

24 For the multitude of my deeds

Vertical: And when I do.

Verso:

1 .....

2 .....

3 gifts.....

4 .....door...seekers.....

5 those knowing righteousness, hoping for.....

6 the great ones, producers of —, dignitaries of —.....

7 O, that I had a couch, to glorify myself.....

8 his inheritance the sheep of.....

9 the persecuted ones.....

10 in all the places where they dwell.....

11 that he arise from the chair of judgment, and.....

12 and to gather the repudiated ones and.....

13 and to deliver, those swallowed up.....

14 .....to bring out

15 and between the sand, to collect the.....

16 those that are far away, even as it is written[1]: "and it shall bring forth boughs[2]."

17 To make known to our teachers the places(?).....

18 their places of residence.....

19 about him whose name is M[enahem].....

20 and he is one of the honored men of[3] the city.....

21 .....

22 in.....and shop...

23 3 years with him.....

24 and the tribunal called him to account, and

25 and 17 Nāsiri[4] dirhams.....And already.....

26 to him and to his little ones and that which...

27 did not remain with him. And not.....

28 .....he owed the price of a hund[red].....

29 to the most excellent Sitt.....

[3] For חישובי. [4] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 679.

XXVI. LETTER

An irregularly shaped strip of paper, tapering a little towards the top, about $8\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic, in half-square Hebrew characters.

The script is bad, and the language used is not literary. There are several mistakes in spelling.

Recto :

1 בשרה . . . . לל . . . . .
2 ימר יסנ . . . . . וג . . אללה תעאלא
3 לא יכליני מנ נצר אלולד
4 אלמבארך ריבי משה ואן
5 יגמע אלשמל קריב ברזק
6 ועאפיה אמין וכן יהי
7 רצן : ואן מן פצל אללה
8 ומא ענדנא מן חסן
9 אלגמיל אן אלשיך אבו
10 אלחסן פי חאל אלסלאמה
11 ואלעאפיה מן פצל אללה
12 יתברך שמו ולא תשגל
13 קלבך והו טלב אן יכתב
14 לך אלכתאב בידה ואמא
15 כשיתאן אן יפתכר
16 פי וצעף ולא תשגל
17 קלבך מן גהת הבתה
18 והו פי עאפיה בכל
19 נעמה והו ביסקי נפסה

---

[1] يُخَلِّينِى.

[2] The text is perfectly plain here. Perhaps "progeny."

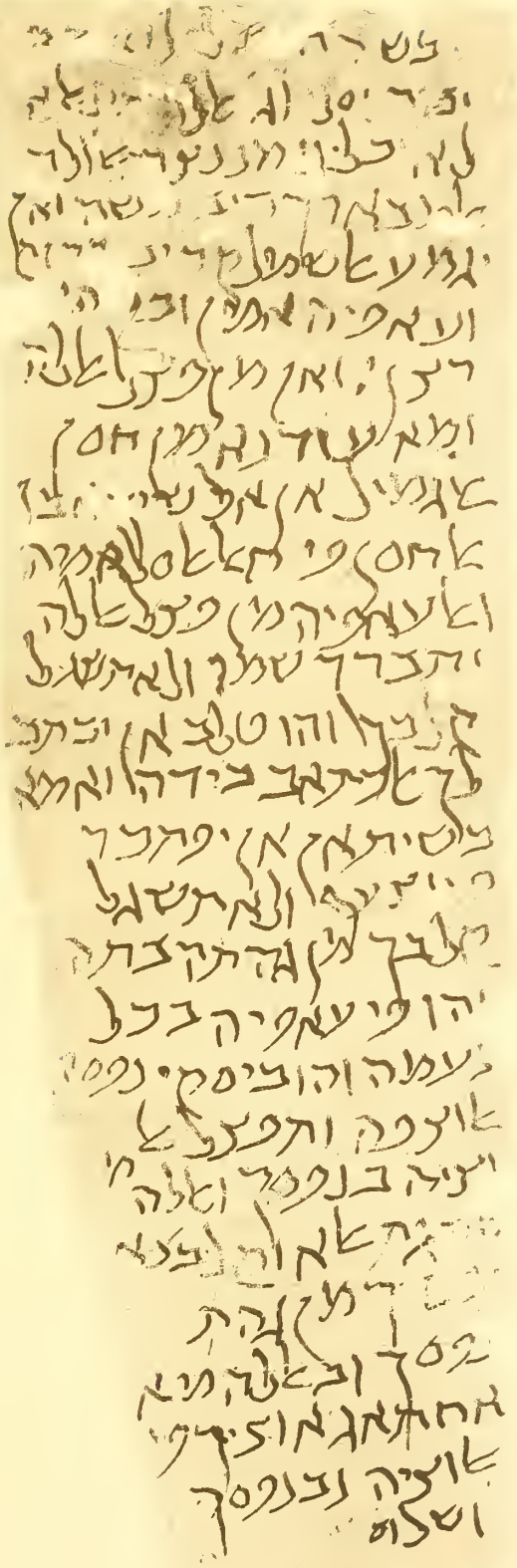
[3] Must refer to the preceding word "boy" or "child" rather than to the following "Rabbi Moses." [4] "Rabbi."

[5] We should have عن قريب in either literary or colloquial Arabic.

[6] "grace."

[7] This phrase is in Hebrew.

[8] "busy."



XXVI. LETTER

It is a letter written to a certain Rabbi Moses in the name of an old man, Abū al-Ḥasan.

There is no information in it. It is purely "une lettre de politesse."

Recto :

1 good news (?).....

2 .....God the Exalted

3 will not deprive me[1] of the help of the boy[2],

4 the blessed[3] Ribbi[4] Moses, and that

5 he order his affairs soon[5] with prosperity

6 and health[6]. Amen! Thus be

7 the will [of God][7]! And that by the grace of God

8 and whatever we have in the way of beauty of

9 behaviour[6]. Verily the Sheikh Abū

10 al-Ḥasan is in a condition of prosperity

11 and health, by the grace of God,

12 blessed be His Name[7]! So do not trouble[8]

13 your heart. He[9] sought[10] to write

14 to you the letter with his [own] hand, but

15 like a devil[11] he [only?] thought

16 about it[12]; and he did not do it. But do not trouble[8]

17 your heart about his gift

18 since he is in good health[6], in all

19 well-being, and he is treating himself[13]

---

[9] I.e. the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan.

[10] The use of طلب in this sense is most unusual. We should expect قصد or اراد.

[11] Probably a forgotten twelfth century vulgarism. A شيطان now-a-days in Egypt is a "clever fellow," full of tricks. In the text we have ת instead of ט.

[12] פי the vulgar *fī* or *fih* for *fīhi*.

[13] ביסקי has the *bi-* prefix of the present tense imperfect in vulgar Arabic. Cf. Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 193, 203. أسقى is used in three ways: (1) Of filling a cup with wine, or other drink. (2) Of watering cattle. (3) Of irrigating the soil. I think we might translate "is watering himself," "is soaking himself." Abū al-Ḥasan is taking a lot of this medicine, or he is enjoying it, or both, if we are not mistaken.

20 אלוצפה ותפצל אל
21 וציה בנפסך ואללה מ(א)
22 [א]חתנת אלא לקלבכא
23 . . . ך . . מן גהת
24 נפשך ובאללה מא
25 אחתאג אוציך פי
26 אלוציה ובנפסך
27 ושלום

Verso:

1 אלכת[אב] אלאכר
2 אבוך אלשיך אבי
3 אלחסן יכתבה הו
4 . . . . . אללה יצלחם
5 . . . . . לך . . . . אלמום
6 ואלמסי צחבי וחמלו
7 אלכת[א]ב

---

14 وَصْفَة is the regular term for a prescription.

15 אל for *'al* for على آل as in modern vulgar Arabic.

to the prescription[14]. And pray [attend] to[15]
the order in your own person. By Allah! Not
have I needed [to do any more] than to.....
.....on account of
yourself[16], and, by Allah, not
do I need to direct you in regard to
the commission and yourself.
Greeting!

Verso:

The other letter.
Your father, the Sheikh Abū[17]
al-Ḥasan will write, he
.....God restore them!
.....to you.....the.....
and the..... is my master (?) and they carried
the letter.

---

[16] יש here instead of ס. The writer has Hebrew נֶפֶשׁ in mind.

[17] אבי for ابو. Uneducated people, in attempting to be correct, change the vulgar ابو to ابى even where it is not needed.

XXVII. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, water-marked with a mailed torso.

Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters.

A letter from Abū Zubair Ṣadaḳah al-Maghribī, in Jerusalem, to Abū Yaḥyā Nurāi Ibn Nissīm, in Fusṭāṭ (Cairo). It is a prolix epistle, taking up the margins as well as the body of the page and a half upon which it is written.

Abū Zubair is a man of poor health, narrow life, and many troubles. His family was originally from Morocco or some one of the other Barbary States. He writes Arabic, in Hebrew letters—as Jews have done with many languages—but in such a manner as to betray his familiarity with the Arabic script and orthography. His language is no doubt the slightly

---

Recto :

1 וצל כתאב מולאי אלשיך אטאל אללה בקאה ואדאם סלאמתה וסעאדתה
אמס

2 יומי הדא [ו]הו ו איאם בקין מן אלול אעאד אללה עליה הדה אל מוֹעֲדִים
אלמקבלה

3 סנין טאילה וגעלהא עליה מימונה מבארכה בקבול אלתורה ואל מ[צו]ה
ואשהדנא

4 לה בנִים זכרִים לחַיִּים וכאן וצולה בעד אשתיאק ענייִם ווקפֻת מנה עלי
מא אמרֻנני

5 ואקלקני ואפגעני מן אלגזירה אלכבירה ואלפגעה אלעטִימה אלתי הדת
קואנא מן

6 ופאה אלסייד אלפאצל עטרת ראשינו ברוך דיין האמת שׁוֹפט בצדק
ואמת וכאן

7 הדא אלסבת ענדי וענד אהלי מתל סבת תשעה באב ומא וגדנא עזא
לקלובנא

8 גיר אנה אלויל לנא נחן אלדי עשנא להדה אלמצאיב ונשרבו הדה
אלאכואס

9 אל מרה וקד עמית אבצארנא ואנקטעת קואנא ונחן באכיין עליה טול
חיאתנא

---

[1] אמן סלה=אמס?

[2] טאילה for طَوِيلة.

[3] גזירה is Hebrew.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 27 b

XXVII. LETTER

classicised vernacular of his own day. It already exhibits many of the peculiarities of the spoken Arabic of modern Cairo. The difficult passages are no doubt in the slang of his time. Other peculiarities, such as the occasional omission of the article, the redundant "it," the strange use of עלי and other prepositions, and of common verbs, are not so easily explained. He is especially prone to mix forms and turns of expression while putting them on paper.

Unfortunately the letter bears no date. It was written, however, before 1050–1098, when the addressee died.

Below the address there is a line of Arabic script which cannot be made out.

Recto:

1 The letter of my Lord the Sheikh has come. May God lengthen his existence and prolong his health and his happiness! Amen! Selah[1]!

2 Today—and there are six days remaining of Elul—May God add unto him these feast-days that are to come

3 for many[2] years! And may He make them for him fortunate and blessed in the acceptance of the Law and the Commandment! And we wish

4 for him [that he shall have] living male offspring! The arrival [of the letter] occurred after [we] poor ones had yearned for it, and had been deprived of it by delay, in addition to my having been made ill

5 and uneasy and sad by the great calamity[3] and the heavy affliction which has crushed our strength[4]: namely the

6 death of the excellent master[5], the Crown of our Head. Blessed be the honest judge who judges in righteousness and truth! This

7 Sabbath Day has been, with me and with my people, like the Sabbath Day falling upon the Ninth of Ab[6]; and we have not found any strength for our spirits.

8 [We are conscious of nothing] save that we are victims of calamity, we who have lived to [see] these misfortunes. And these bitter

9 cups[7] have been drained, and our sight has been blinded, and our strength cut off; and we shall continue to weep for him as long as we live.

---

[4] קואנא = قُوَانَا plural of قُوَّة with suffix.

[5] Identity not established.

[6] When Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the First Temple, and when Titus destroyed the Last Temple, according to Jewish tradition.

[7] An unusual plural of كَأْس.

10 ולא עזא בעדה ווחק הדא אלקדם לקד מראר כתירה נתמנא אלמות
ונשתהיה וצרת

11 ממן קיל פיה המחכים למות ואינינו ויחפרוהו ממטמונים ממא אקאסיה
מן המום

12 הדה אלדניא וכתרה פגעאתהא ועטים מצאיבהא ומקאסאת אהלהא אלדי
אנקטעת

13 מנהם אלאמאנה ותבת פיהם אבדה האמונה ונכרתה מפיהם ומא בקי
אלא מן יאבד

14 מאלך באל יד ואנת תנטר מנה ואעגב כל עגיב אן אסחק חפטה אללה
בעד צברנא

15 עליה אל יום י׳ שהור מצא לקברי אבות ואשתרא קמח כשקאק כאנת
מעה ועניות

16 וולף קמח יצלה למחלה יסוי דינר ותלת אלקפיז וקלת אנא נאכדה מנך
בדינר וי׳

17 וקאל מא אביע ואדכל אל קמח לדארה ונחן וקוף הדא כאן אכר אלצבר
ומא יערף

18 לי מעה גיר הדא כל דרהם יוחל לי ענדה מא אאכדה אלא עלי אל שרור
משלמי

19 רעה תחת טובה אללה תעאלי יכאפי כל ואחד בנית׳ה וסאעת כתאבי
גרה הדא ופק

20 אללה קפיזין קמח מתל קרץ אלדנניר בג׳ דנניר ורבע ואנא ארצד איצא
שי אכר

21 פלא ישגל מולאי קלבה וקד חצלת להם אלחטב ואלזית וגמיע מא יחתאגו
אליה

---

[8] With only one ו.

[9] This quotation, Job iii, 21, is in Hebrew, as indicated by the overlining in the manuscript and in our text. All Hebrew words are thus marked.

[10] Jeremiah vii, 28.

[11] In the Arabic form.

[12] I.e. to pay a debt?

[13] "Graves of the Fathers" are probably Hebron, though we can not find any other instance of this title. At Hebron the "Fathers," Adam, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were supposed to be buried. The vicinity is fruitful, and one might have bought grain there perhaps. Cf. Baedeker, *Palästina u. Syrien*, 1910, pp. 105 ff.

[14] Or "grain" merely.

[15] شِقاق plural of شُقَّة "strips, shavings," etc.

10 There is no strength now that he is gone. By[8] this Jerusalem! Many
times we have desired death and longed for it. And I have become
11 one of those concerning whom it is said[9]: "Who long for death, but it
cometh not, and dig for it more than for hidden treasures," because of
what I endure in the way of cares of
12 this world and the multitude of its sorrows, and the might of its ca-
lamities, and the hard-heartedness of its people from whom sincerity
13 has been cut off. And concerning them [the saying][10] holds: "Truth is
perished, and is cut off from their mouth." And nothing remains now
but that someone should take
14 your property by force, while you look the other way. Most wonderful
of wonders! Isaac[11]—God keep him!—after we had waited
15 for him[12] these ten months, went off to Kibhrē Abhōth[13], and bought
wheat[14] in which was [something] like chaff (?)[15] and.....[16]
16 and collected[17] wheat[14] suitable for his place, worth a dīnār and a third
the ḳafīz. And I said: "We will take it off your hands for a dīnār
and 10 [carats the ḳafīz][18]."
17 But he said: "I am not selling." And he put the wheat into his house,
while we were standing by[19]. This was the extremity of [our] patience.
And nothing is known
18 to me about[20] him except this: Not a dirham which he owes[21] me and
has in his possession shall I take except [as] against the base "that
render
19 evil for good[22]." God—He is exalted!—requites every man according
to his intention! But the hour of this writing has elapsed[23]. May
20 God make suitable[24] two ḳafīz of grain as the equivalent of the return
of the dīnārs[25], at three dīnārs and a quarter[26]. But I am also looking
out for something else.
21 But let not my Lord worry. For they have received the fuel-wood, and
the olive oil and everything they need,

---

[16] עניות Hebrew. It was very poor wheat?

[17] وَلَّفَ for أَلَّفَ. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, ii, p. 892.

[18] If the carat is one twenty-fourth of the dīnār (cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 195, n. 13), Isaac bought the grain at $1\frac{1}{3}$ dīnārs and was offered $1\frac{5}{12}$ dīnārs, or two carats more than the cost. They wished to shame him into paying them on the spot when he received the cash from them. The dīnār is, of course, at this time the large gold coin, and not the denarius.

[19] A confusion of mind as between ونحن واقفين and بوقوفنا.

[20] مع does not usually have this meaning.

[21] يُحِلّ. [22] Psalm xxxviii, 20.

[23] "My letter has become long enough." Then he makes it four times as long.

[24] وَفَّقَ.

[25] The modern *dánanīr* for دنانير. Cf. Willmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, 2nd ed., pp. 8, 80, 81.

[26] I.e. for two ḳafīz, or 1.625 dīnārs the ḳafīz. He offered Isaac only $1\frac{5}{12}$ before.

22 מתל בצל ומלה וגיר דלך ואנא פארח בכל האגה תערין להם וקבצו מני
גיר דלך

23 ג דנניר עיון למהמאתהם ומא יעוזהם מעי האגה ופי אכתר אלאוקאת
אמצי אלי אל

24 דאר ואסאלהם לעל האגה וקד כאן אקאמו פי אל דאר אלתי נזלו פיהא
אול וצולהם

25 שהר כאמל מע אם אבו יוסף ומע אל שיך אל שראבי אלתי תזוג אבנה
בנת אלבלוטי

26 וכאנו עלי אנהם יכתריו דאר בגואר אל כניסיה לאנסאן מסלם בה דנניר
סנה כאמלה

27 ויקבצהא קבול אל דכול פלמא חצרנא אל ה דנניר קאל סתה דנניר מא
נחט שי צעב

28 עליי אלאמר פלמא אגבנא אלי אל סתה טלב יגיב עלילות מן וגוה אכר
תרכנאהא

29 ואכתרינא חגירה לאמראה יהודיה בדינרין אלי אלמחרם ה שהור והי
חגרה בגואר

30 אצחאבנא פיהא גמיע חואיגהא ואל חמאם בגואהא פי האהא אל יהוד
קריבה מן אל

31 כניסיה ואל רבאעייה מא אקוא אצף מא עמלתה פי אמרהא ולם אתרך
תאגר ולא

32 צואף ולא בזאז עלי מן אערצהא ואנבאע מנהא לט רבעי אלוזן ה דנניר
ותמן

---

27 حاجة "thing" is modern Egyptian colloquial. In l. 20 he has used the classical and Palestinian شى.

28 قبضوا "grabbed," but in the dialect of Cairo, "received." This is still Isaac's case, we take it.

29 مع. Cf. note 20.

30 The relative pronoun is feminine but the verb is masculine. The writer has both the mother of Abū Yūsuf and the Sheikh al-Sharābī in mind, but he means the latter.

31 יכתריו is colloquial, from كرى. The ' is merely a graphic reminiscence of the singular.

32 כניסיה here and in l. 31, not كنيسة but كَنِيسِيَّة (Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 493), the Spanish (15th century), Moroccan and Tunisian form of the same word. Is this the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? Perhaps we are to read كَنِيسِيَّة and understand the "Place of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre."

33 "belonging to." 34 قبول for قَبْل.

such as onions, and salt and other things. And I am rejoiced at everything[27] that turns up for them. And they have received[28] from me in addition
three dīnārs cash for their pressing needs. And they do not need anything from[29] me. And at most times I go out to the
house and ask them whether [they] need [anything]. And they have remained in the house in which they stayed when they first arrived—
a full month—with the mother of Abū Yūsuf and with the Sheikh al-Sharābī who married[30] his son to the daughter of al-Ballūṭī.
And, although they had rented[31] a house in the vicinity of the Church[32], from[33] a Muslim man for five dīnārs for a whole year,
and he was to receive the money before[34] we took possession. But when we had brought the five dīnārs, he said: "Six dīnārs! We shan't make it less[35]." The matter was
hard for me[36]. And when we had agreed to the six, he sought[37] to bring[38] troubles from other directions. We dropped the matter.
And we hired a little room[39] of[33] a Jewish woman for two dīnārs until [the month of] al-Muḥarram—five months. And it is a room, in the neighbourhood
of our friends, in which are all things necessary to it. And the bath is in the neighbourhood of it in the Jewish Quarter, near to the
Church[32] and the Rubā'īyah[40]. I cannot describe[41] what I have done in regard to it. And I neglected no tradesman
nor wool-merchant, nor cloth-merchant—according to whoever offered [things] for sale[42]. And there were sold from it[43] 39 quarters[44] of a wazn[45] [for] eight dīnārs, and [the] price

---

[35] מא נחט ישי is colloquial *ma naḥuṭṭshe* from classical مَا نَحُطُّ شَيْئًا "we shall not lower at all."

[36] עלּיי is عَلَيَّ. ى with ّ is regularly represented by יי.

[37] طلب in this sense is found in No. XXVI, *recto*, l. 13.

[38] יגיב colloquial root جاب from جاءَ and بِ.

[39] حُجَيْرَة diminutive of حُجْرَة. The writer has hired this for himself.

[40] The "fourfold" or "quadrilateral" place, but not "city square" to our knowledge. Perhaps this name was applied to the site of the Mediaeval lodgings and hospitals of the Knights of St John, which passed into the hands of the Moslems in 1187, and became known as the Mūristān. The room in question was probably in the block of buildings between the present Ḥārat Bab al-Silsileh, Ṭārīḳ Bab al-Silsileh and Sūḳ al-Laḥḥāmīn.

[41] אצף is أَصِف from وصف without the أَنْ as in modern vernacular. Cf. l. 40, and other instances.

[42] עלי מן אערצֿהא makes no sense. Perhaps it is a confusion between على ما أَعْرَضَها "according to what they offered for sale," and على مَنْ أَعْرَضَ "according to whoever presented himself." The writer of the letter is subject to these confusions.

[43] I.e. this room, which seems to have been used as a shop.

[44] רבעי is رُبْع with a connecting vowel.

[45] The wazn seems to be here a definite weight.

33 סער כ דרהם כל דינר מן צרף לו דרה ונץ מנהם קום דפעו לי רהן ומנהם
קום

34 דפעו אלבעץ ובקי ענדהם אלבעץ וקד לחקהא כצרה מן אל תחמיר אלתי
חמרת פי

35 מצר ווזנת עלי הדה אלבקייה אלתי תבקת דרהם ונצף למן עאודהא
באלתחמיר והי

36 באקיה ואנא אגתהד פי אמרהא פסבחאן מן אסקט נגמהא ואמא אל צרה
אלתי כאנת

37 ענדי קד טרח אללה פיהא אלמאדה ומא גמע אללה מנהא דינר עאמלת
מנהא באל בעץ

38 פי סבסתאן וצמג לוז וגאסול וקללות מא לא ימכנני ולא יתסע צדרי לדכרה
וכל מא

39 אכתב הדא אלכתאב אתנהד פלעל אל מות אקרב וקד סרני מא דכרה
מן וצול אל מראכב

40 סאלמה לצקליה ותופיקהא פי אלבצאיע ואנא ארגב למולאי יערפני אסמא
אל קום

41 אלואצלין פי מרכב אל אנדלס וכדלך כל מרכב יגי יערפני בגמיע אלאכבאר

Margin:

כאנני משאהד להא | ולעל יגיני כתאב מן צקליה או מן אי | מוצע כאן ואלי
אלאן מא וצל נגא אלגלאם | אללה יכתב עליה אלסלאמה · וכאן וצל אליי
כתאב מולאי אל | שיך מנד מדה ידכר אנה קבץ אלכראריס אלתי כאנת
לי ענד ר | ישועה חרסה אללה ווצל מנהא לר ישראל כראסתין | אלתי
פיהא אצול אלדקדוק לינסכהא למולאי פלמא כתבת | לה חרסה אללה

---

46 The writer sold 39 quarter wazns for 8 dīnārs, or 292 dirhams, which was at the rate of $7\frac{19}{39}$ dirhams the quarter, or $29\frac{37}{39}$ dirhams the wazn. After he had sold out at about 30 dirhams, the price sank to 20 dirhams the wazn.

47 The vernacular *nuṣṣ* for نِصْف.

48 خُضْرَة "greenness."

49 תחמיר, تَخْمِير and חמרת, خُمِّرَتْ have ח for خ which is very unusual and must point to a dialectic peculiarity.

50 תבקת, confusion between تَبْقِى and بَقِيَتْ (vernacular *baḳat*).

33 became 20 dirhams[46], every dīnār being by exchange 36 dirhams and a half[47]. And of the [buyers] some people paid me [with] a note, and of them some people

34 paid a part, and a part remained with them [unpaid for]. And mouldiness[48] had attacked it in consequence of the fermentation[49] which had developed in

35 Egypt. And I weighed out, in addition to this remainder which remained[50] [in their possession, unpaid for], a dirham and a half to such as brought it back[51] in a fermented condition, while it

36 remained [in their possession, unpaid for]. And I am diligent in this matter. But Praise to Him who made its star to sink[52]! And as for the row which occurred

37 at my place: God has taken away its bitterness[53]. And where God has made [me] to profit[54] from it[55] by a dīnār, I have done business by means of it[55] partly

38 in prunes[56] and gum-arabic, almonds and soap[57] and earthen pots[58]—such as I am unable, and am not in the mood[59], to mention. For even as

39 I write this letter, I sigh: "Perhaps death is very near[60]." But I was pleased by what it[61] said about the arrival of the ships

40 safely in Sicily, and their success with the cargoes. And I desire of my Lord that he inform me of the names of the people

41 arriving in the Spanish ship; and likewise, [of] every ship which comes let him inform me of all the news,

Margin:

as though I were an eye-witness of it. And perhaps there may come to me a letter from Sicily, or from some place or other. But up to the present [news of] the escape of the youth has not reached me. May God decree "safety" for him! And there arrived to me the letter of my Lord the Sheikh a little while ago, mentioning that he had got the pamphlets which belonged to me [and were] with Rabbi Joshua—May God keep him! And of these there reached Rabbi Israel two pamphlets in which were the elements of [Hebrew] grammar, for him to copy off for my Lord. And after I had

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[51] עאודהא, confusion between عَاوَدَ "came back complaining," and أَعْوَدَهَا or أَعَادَهَا "brought it back."

[52] I.e. made the price to sink; or, caused the matter to be forgotten.

[53] מארה, an error for مَرَارَة. [54] נמע is جَمَّعَ?

[55] We doubt that the writer has anything in mind when he uses "it" so carelessly.

[56] סבסתאן. Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 625.

[57] נאסול is غاسول "cleanser."

[58] קללות, perhaps a feminine plural of the masculine noun קַלָּא.

[59] יתסע is يَتَّسِع from وسع "my breast is not expanded, I am not happy enough, to..."

[60] I.e. "Oh that death were near!"

[61] I.e. the letter he has received from Egypt.

נאכַד עליה פי תוגיההא וצל אליי | כתאבה יקול ערפני מא הי חתי אכתב
פי אמרהא | ללאסכנדריה פמא אערף איש הדא וכתאבה | ענדי אנהא כלהא
וצלת אליה ועלי אנה יוגההא | אליי מע מן כרג וקד עייאת מא אכתב פי |
אמרהא והי ח כרראריס פיהא מסאיל | בכט ידי לרבינו שמואל פי אשת בעלת
אב | ואלאתון ואלנחש ומסאיל כתירה וכראסה פיהא בם . . איכה וכרא[סה] |
פיהא קצה אלמש . . א . . . . . | אלא . . . א אכר גיר . . . . . | ואלכר[אסה . . . .] |
ואל . . . . . | לי ישראל | ינסכהא פבחק אלאהבה | אלא מפארג עני מולאי
אלשיך הדא אל | הם . וקד סררנא בופא | אלמא . . . . אללה יבלג בה
אלמנאפע | ויהדינא וכל ישראל ואמא | נחן פי הדא אלבלד מא נראו | פרג
אלקמוח עטימה | וקד תטאעמו פיהא אלגלא | אללה יחסן אלעאקבה | ולא
מעאש

Verso :

1 ואלי אלאן מא וצל ר נתן מן דמשק לאנה מצא מע ר יצחק קאל לה
תמצי מעי

2 ואעטיך אלתלת פי מא יחצל לי ואמא מא דכרה חרסה אללה אן אכתב
עלי זוגתה

3 נסכתין וג אנא אנתטר וצול ר נתן ואפעל פי דלך פוק אל שהוה ואמא ר׳
יצחק נט כח

4 הו פי עאפיה ומא ישך אחד פי מא דכרה חרסה אללה מן שגל באלה
בוגעה ללה אלחמד

5 אלדי אשפאה׳ ולעל יצל מן ענד מימון לי פרג פיערפני וכרלך סידי אבו
אלפצל קבל . . . . . נע

---

62 נאכד, if correct, is نأخذ "we attacking." But على of the person is unusual.

63 אייט הדה is Syrian vernacular, *ēsh hāda* from ايّ شئ هذا "what sort of a thing this is."

64 עייאת is عَيَّيْتُ. Having used the double י for ىّ he employs א to avoid a third י.

65 כרראריס with an extra ר due to confusion with the singular form.

66 The correct title was אשת בעלת אוב. Cf. 1 Samuel xxviii, 7.

67 Numbers xxii, 28, about the ass of Balaam that spoke.

68 Genesis iii, 1, about the serpent that spoke.

69 Possibly "the Messiah." 70 I.e. "that exists between us"?

71 The מ and א are written over the line so as to suggest מפארג which we take to be مُفَرِّج.

72 סררנא is سُرِرْنا.

written to him—May God keep him!—taking him to task[62] about [not] sending them, there arrived to me his letter, saying: "Inform me of what they are, so that I may write about them to Alexandria." So, I don't know what to make of this[63]; for his letter is [on file] with me that all of them reached him, and to the effect that he would send them to me with whomever left [there for here]. But I am tired[64]. I shall not write about it. But they are eight pamphlets[65], among them [some treating of debatable] questions—in my own hand-writing—[namely:] by Rabbi Samuel on "A woman, Possessor of a Soothsaying Spirit[66]," and "The She-Ass[67]," and "The Serpent[68]"(?) and many questions. And [there is] a pamphlet in which.....Lamentations, and a pamphlet in which [there is] the story of the.....[69].....other, not.....and the pamphlet.....and the.....to Rabbi Israel for him to copy them. And, by the Love[70]! May my Lord the Sheikh dispel[71] this care from me! And we were pleased[72] at the success of the.....[73] May God increase the profits by means of it, and guide us aright and all Israel! And as for us in this country, we do not think there will be[74] any enormous[75] relief[76] in grain. And they have added profiteering[77] to [shortage]. May God make favorable the outcome, or else[78] [grant at least] subsistence!

Verso:

1 And up to the present Rabbi Nathan has not arrived from Damascus, because he went away with Rabbi Isaac. He said to him: "Go away with me
2 and I will give you the third of what I make." And as for what he says—God keep him!—that I should write at his wife's expense
3 two or three[79] amulets: I am expecting the arrival of Rabbi Nathan, and I shall do in this matter more than he could desire. And as for Rabbi Isaac,
4 he is in good health. And let no one doubt what he has said—God keep him from his worrying[80] over his bodily suffering. Unto God [be] the praise,
5 who cured him! And perhaps there will arrive from Rabbi Maimūn some relief for me, and he will inform me[81]. And so also my Lord Abū al-Faḍl.....

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[73] Perhaps مَأْخذ "mine," or "source of supply."

[74] גראו, perhaps a confusion of نَرَى "we [do not] think," and colloquial *yarau*, "they [do not] think."

[75] עטימה should be masculine.

[76] פרג is فَرَج, a break in the grain market, or a relief in the stringency of public need.

[77] גלא is غَلَاء. [78] ולא is وَإِلَّا.

[79] נ is أَوْ ٣. The *au* was pronounced *ō*.

[80] Cf. No. XXVI, ll. 12, 16.

[81] I.e. "about what to do for my own sickness."

6 לי ענדה חסאב ואעטם סרור ידכל עלי קלבי מא יתצל בי מן סלאמה
גסמה ואכבאר

7 יערפני בהא מן אלגרב לאני הונא משתאק לסמאע כבר לאני טול נהאר·
מחצור פי אל

8 דאר אקרא אלי וקת עצר אכרג סאעה אתפרג וארגע אלי צלאת מנחה·
וסרור אבן

9 סהלאן הו ענדנא פי אלקדם וגע אללה תעאלי ישפיה וידכר אנה תעוזה
נפקה

10 ומא יגד אחד ידכל אליה ולא יכלמה באל עזיז עליי ואלנאס מעדורין
יטלב ואחד

11 יעמל גמיל רבמא יחצל פי אשיא לא ירומהא ורבמא יכרג עלי וגבה
בעין אלאוקת

12 ישתרי לה חאגה והו יסכן פי דור אל מסלמין ולא דאכל ולא כארג עליה·
ואן סמע לר׳

13 יצחק אלאנדלסי חרסה אללה כבר בוצולה יכתב אליי בפצלה פאני מעלק
אלקלב אליה אללה

14 יסמעני ענה כיר ויערפני בפצלה אן כאן וצל רבינו יחי לעד למצר אללה
תעאלי יגעלה פי

15 חיז אל סלאמה קראת עלי מולאי אלשיך אגל אלסלם ומולאי אבו אלאיתן
ומולאי אבו עלי

16 אצהארה חרסהמא אללה אפצל אלסלם וקד וצלת כתב אבו אלפרג חאטה
אללה מן צור

17 והו פי כל עאפיה ואל צבי אשר סלמה אללה מעה אעלמתה דלך ושלום לן

Margin:

וקד תופי אלרגל אלדי כאן יטאלבני פי דאר אלשיך אבו אלאעלא | וגרת
לי מעה תלך אלקצין וקד לקי פעלה פעויל לנא פמא | אגפלנא ען חאל
אנפסנא אללה יג.. פי אגל מולאי ויטול | עמרה

---

[82] I.e. events. [83] Article needed.

[84] אקרא for أَقْرُو "straining toward."

[85] תעוזה is تُعَوِّزه.

[86] מעדורין is مَعْذُورين. [87] אוקת is a confusion between أَوْقَات and وَقْت.

[88] I.e. He makes no distinction between close friends and mere acquaintances, between Jews and Muslims. [89] I.e. "do you."

6 I have an account against him; but the greatest happiness will enter my heart if there should reach me [news] of the health of his body, and news
7 informing me of it[82] in the West. For here I yearn to hear news, because I all day[83] long am shut up in the
8 house, waiting impatiently for[84] the time of afternoon [when] I can go out for an hour and take a walk and return for the Minḥah prayers. And Sarūr Ibn
9 Sahlān is with us in Jerusalem. He has been ill. May God the Exalted heal him! And he says that his losses are reducing him to poverty[85].
10 And he finds no one visiting him that he does not speak to him violently against me. And people are disappointed[86]. One tries
11 to do a kindness—often it results in things which one does not like. And often it leads to a crash on certain occasions[87].
12 [One] buys him something, and he [goes and] lives in the houses of the Muslims. To him there is no inside or outside[88]. And if there is heard of Rabbi
13 Isaac the Spaniard—God keep him!—any news about his arrival, let him[89] kindly write to me, for I hold him in great affection[90]. May God
14 cause me to hear from him good news! And let him kindly inform me if the Rabbi[91]—May he live forever!—reaches Cairo. May God the Exalted put him on
15 the side of safety! I am writing to my Lord the Sheikh the most distinguished peace[92], and [to] my Lord Abū al-Ētān[93], and [to] my Lord Abū 'Ulā[94]
16 his relations—God keep them both!—The most excellent of greeting! And the letters of Abū al-Faraj—God watch over him!—have arrived from Tyre.
17 And he is in all [good] health. And the boy, Asher,—God preserve him! —is with him. I am letting him[95] know that. Peace be unto him[95]!

Margin:

And the man has died who used to importune me in the house of the Sheikh Abū al-A'lā. And these doings[96] went on between us. And he has received his deserts[97]. But woe[98] unto us! For we are not unmindful of our own condition[99]. May God.....(?) my Lord most abundantly and extend his life!

---

[90] I.e. "I am dependent upon him as to heart."

[91] The bearer of the letter itself?

[92] סלם is سَلاَم.

[93] אֵיטָן.

[94] Hardly 'Alī; and we find 'Ulā in No. I.

[95] I.e. the addressee of the letter.

[96] קצין is قِصَص. Cf. Friedländer, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides*, p. 92.

[97] Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 546.

[98] פעויל is فَوَيْل. The ע was repeated from the preceding word.

[99] He remembers that he also may die, as well as the man whom he disliked.

Address:

لمولاى الشيخ ابو يحيى نهراى ابن نسيم من ابو زبير صدقة المغربى شاكره

اطال الله بقاه وادام سلامته وسعادته الفسطاط ان شا الله عزّ وجلّ

---

[100] As there are scarcely any points to distinguish similar letters from one another in these proper names, it is almost useless to try to make them out. But the Arabic type commits one to some definite reading.

Address[100]:

To my lord the Sheikh Abū Yaḥyā Nahrāi[101] Ibn Nissīm,
From his grateful Abū Zubair Ṣadaḳah al-Maghribī.
May God extend his [earthly] sojourn, and protract his health and happiness!
Al-Fusṭāṭ—If it please God[102], the Powerful and Exalted!

[101] Aramaic.
[102] I.e. that it should arrive safely.

XXVIII. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters.

The beginning, perhaps a considerable portion, of this letter, is wanting; but what we have is well preserved. The cursive Hebrew hand is neat and legible, and continues so to the end; and the margin has not been filled with added scrawls. A blank space has unaccountably been left near the bottom. After the conclusion, line 25, several postscripts have been added. A cryptic signature or date stands at the lower right-hand corner.

This fragment may be the ending of a letter of which No. XXX is the beginning.

1 ואנא אדרבך ואעלמך גמיע מא אערף ואכדך מעי
2 לכל בית אן ארוח ליה בעד האדה רוח לאדכאן ביבעתני
3 כל שגל ביגי מנה ב ביקולי כדלך דרהם והאת דרהם
4 בנהאר פי שגלי ובליל בשתגל פילקראיה בעין מא
5 עלמני אלמכדום ואנא מסתקנע בדעאך ואנת תקול
6 אללה ירזקך חן והאסד קבלת מנך ואנא וביתי ואכותי
7 ואהלי ואצחאבי ואלקאהל פי שלום׃ בעד אלסלאם
8 אלתאם עליך ועלי אלאך אלעזיז כבוד ר צדאקא אלעפיף
9 יו ועלי ולדה אלשיך אבראהם יל ועלי ביתה אלגמיע
10 ועלי כבוד הדראת ר עבדיה אלחדרה יל ואיצא ואלדהו
11 ועלי כבוד ר אהרן אלצפיר איצא ואלדה ועלי סתנה
12 אלכבירה צאחבת אלבית ועלי סתנה אבו אלפרג צאחבת
13 אלאחסאן ועלי סתנה שקרה בנת אלמרחום ר מושה
14 זל צאחבת אלכיר ואלכרם ואלאחסאן אללה יגעל עמרכום

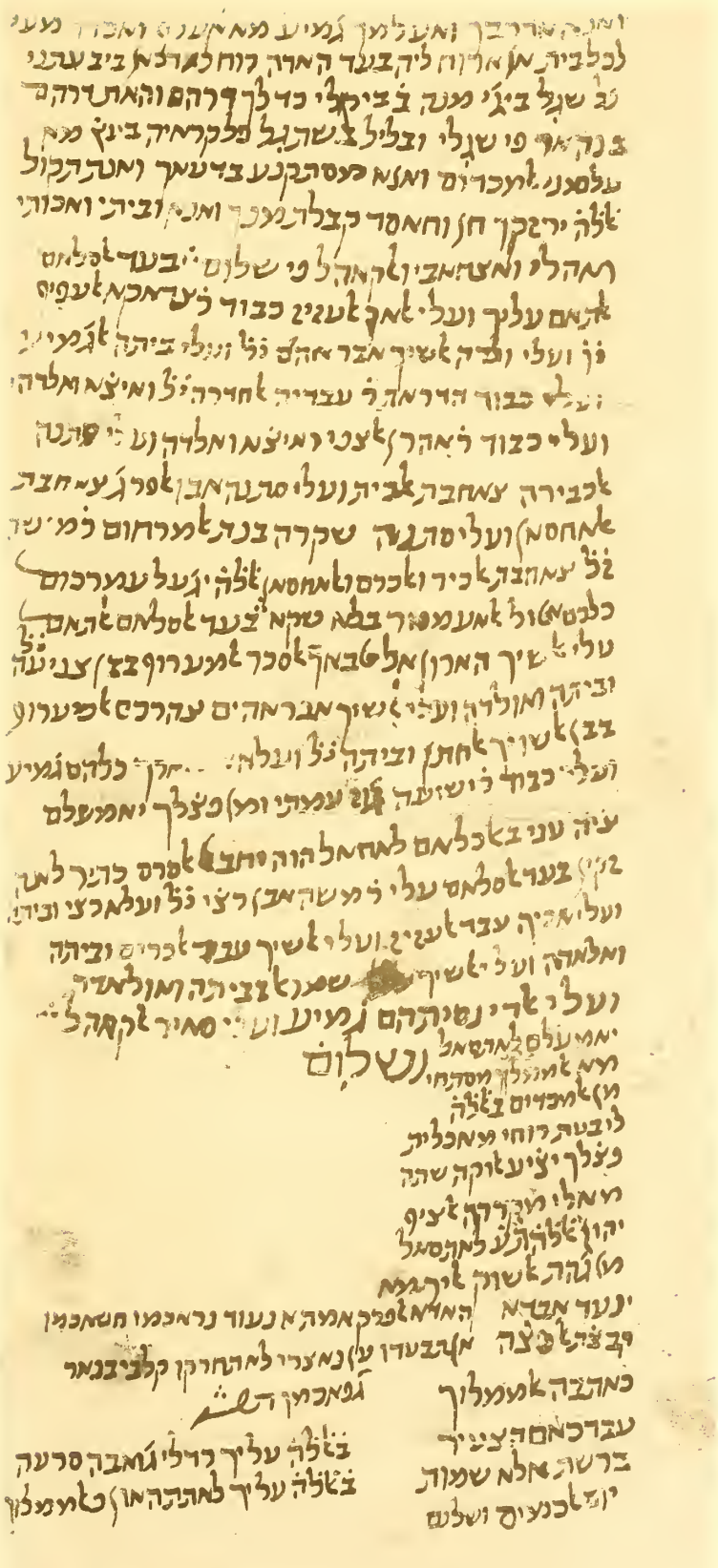
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[1] אן used as an indefinite relative, quite clearly in this case; less clearly in other instances among our fragments. This is not modern vernacular, and appears to be a characteristic feature of Judeo-Arabic of the time. We also have in our fragments الذى in the sense of أَنْ, a semantic change illustrated by English "that": first the demonstrative pronoun, then the relative pronoun, then the conjunction. This use of الذى is the same as that of the modern colloquial *illi*: *ana mabsūṭ illi mā gāsh*, "I am glad that he did not come." Cf. Spiro, *Arabic-English Vocabulary*, 1st ed., 1895, p. 17.

[2] *lē* for *lō* is Palestinian. [3] The Hebrew words. [4] I.e. "wife."

[5] بَعْدُ and not بَعْدَ, it seems.

[6] The writer is spelling almost phonetically both his Arabic and his Hebrew: חאסד = חָסֶד, קאהל = קָהָל, צדאקא = צְדָקָה. For this passage we know that צדקה was pronounced in the Hebrew way by Jews.



XXVIII. PART OF A LETTER

This text, with No. XXX, is extremely interesting, not only because it has been plainly written and perfectly preserved, but because it antedates by possibly two hundred and fifty years the next oldest specimen which we have of colloquial Arabic: *Hazz al-Ḳuḥūf* by al-Shirbīnī, A.D. 1687. (Cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol. ii, p. 278.) In marked contrast to our texts Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV and XXXV, we find here a Jew writing, probably in the early fifteenth century, almost what is spoken in Cairo today. Was the writer a slave?

1 And I shall acquaint you with and inform you of all that I know. And I shall take you with me [in fancy]
2 to every house to which[1] I go[2]. After this go [in fancy with me] to the shop. [The proprietor] sends me
3 all business. From this there are two [shares]. He says to me: "There is a dirham!" and "Give [me] a dirham!"
4 Every day there is my business; and at night I work at reading some of the things which
5 the Master has taught me. And I am content with your prayer; for you say:
6 "May God grant you grace[3] and favor[3]!" I have received [it] from you. And I and my household[4] and my sisters
7 and my people, and my companions, and the congregation[3] are at peace[3]. Then[5] the perfect
8 salutation, to yourself and your dear people: the honorable[3] Rabbi Ṣedhāḳāh[6] al-'Afīf[7],
9 and to his son, the Sheikh Abraham[7], and to all his household;
10 and to his Honor, his Excellency[8], Rabbi Obadiah, his Excellency[8,7], and also his father,
11 and to the honorable[5] Rabbi Aaron al-Ṣafīr[9], also his father; and to our great
12 lady, the mistress of the house[10]; and to our lady [wife of] Abū al-Faraj, mistress of
13 benevolence; and to our lady Shuḳrah[11], daughter of the deceased Rabbi Moses[7],
14 mistress of good fortune, and generosity, and benevolence. May God make your lives

---

[7] יגדל ויחי = יו"ו "May he grow and live!" יהי לרצון = יל"ל "God be favorable to him!"

[8] هدرات and الحدرة are Arabic forms of the title הדרה. (Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 260, line 8.) ח and ה interchange. (Cf. Dalman, *Aramäisch Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd ed., 1922, p. 138, col. 1, lines 19–20.)

[9] Arabic صَفِير "sapphire," a substitute for Aramaic שַׁפִּיר "excellent," perhaps.

[10] I.e. the wife of the addressee. [11] I.e. "bright red."

15 כלכם אטול אלאעמאר בלא שקא בעד אלסלאם אלתאם
16 עלי אלשיך הארון אלטבאך אלסכר אלמערוף בבן צניעה יל
17 וביתה ואולדה ועלי אלשיך אבראהים צהרכם אלמערוף
18 בבן אלשויך אלחתן וביתה יל ועלא א[צה]ארך כלהם גמיע
19 ועלי כבוד ר ישועה גוז עמתי ומן פצלך יא מעלם
20 ציה עני באלכלאם לאחאל הוה יחב אלסרם כתיר לאנה
21 זקין בעד סלאם עלי ר משה אבן רצי יל ועלי רצי וביתה
22 ועלי אביך עבד אלעזיז ועלי אלשיך עבד אלכרים וביתה
23 ואלאדה ועלי אלשיך שמואל וביתה ואולאדה
24 ועלי אלדי נסיתהם גמיע ועלי סאיר אלקאהל
25 יא מעלם לא תסאל ושלום
26 מא אלממלוך מסתחי
27 מן אלמכדום באללה
28 ליבעת רוחי מא כלית
29 פצלך יציע אלוקת שתה
30 מא לי מקדרה אלציף
31 יהון אללה תע לא תסאל
32 מן גהת אלשוק אליך מא
33 ינעד אבדא האדא אלפרק אמהא נעוד נראכמו חשאכמו
34 קבצת אלפצה אן תבעדו ען נאצרי לא תחרקו קלבי בנאר
35 כאתבה אלממלוך גפאכמו
36 עבדכאם הציר באללה עליך רד לי גואבה סרעה
37 ברשת אלא שמות באללה עליך לא תתהאון באלממלוך
38 יום אלכמים ושלום

---

12 I.e. "sugar." Cf. *Zuckermann*, etc.

13 I.e. "son of invention."

14 I.e. "son of the little Sheikh."

15 I.e. مُعَلِّم "teacher."

16 ציה and לאחאל are plainly written.

17 סרם appears to be شَرَس. Cf. the modern Cairene *sams* for *shams*, *semāl* for *shemāl*, etc.: Spitta, *Grammatik des Arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, 1880, p. 18.

18 ואלאדה for وَأَوْلَادُهُ.

15 —all of you—the longest of lives, without want! Then[5] the perfect salutation
16 to the Sheikh Aaron, the cook al-Sukkar[12], known by [the name of] Ibn Ṣanī'ah[13,7],
17 and his house and his children; and to the Sheikh Abraham, your son-in-law, known by [the name of]
18 Ibn al-Shuwaikh[14], the son-in-law[3] and his household[4,7]; and to all your wife's relatives, all;
19 and to the honorable[3] Rabbi Joshua, husband of my paternal aunt. And please, Master[15],
20 .....from me in conversation for[16].....he loves much to quarrel[17], because
21 he is an old man[3]. Then[5] [the] salutation to Rabbi Moses Ibn Raḍī, and to Raḍī and his household[4],
22 and to your father, 'Abd al-'Azīz, and to the Sheikh 'Abd al-Karīm and his household[4],
23 and his children[18]; and the Sheikh Samuel and his household[4] and his children,
24 and to those whom I have forgotten, all [of them]; and to the rest of the congregation[3,6].
25–26 So, Farewell!

---

25 O Master[15], do not ask [for reassurances]!
26 The slave is not ashamed
27 of the Master. Allah!
28 It excites me [to think of] how I have made
29 your Excellency waste time! [In the] winter
30 I have no provision. [In] the summer
31 God the Exalted[19] will help. Do not ask [for reassurances]
32 in regard to the affection [which I bear] toward you. It
33 shall not be counted[20] at all.
34 I got the silver.
35 The writer of it is the slave,
36 your insignificant servant,
37 "Genesis—Exodus[21]"
38 Thursday. Farewell!

33bis This is the separation. But we shall see you again. Far be it from you
34bis to hold aloof from my helper! Do not consume my heart with the fire[22] of
35bis your cruelty[23].
36bis I implore you by Allah! Return me a speedy answer!
37bis I implore you by Allah! Do not neglect the slave!

---

[19] תְּעַ = تعالى. [20] ינעד is يُنْعَدُّ (VIIth for the VIIIth form).
[21] Hebrew בראשית אלה שמות.
[22] These two lines, with the curious אמהא for أَمَّا (?) and the classical forms ending in *-kumū*, could almost be scanned as *rajaz* verses.
[23] Followed by a curious scrawl, half Hebrew and half Arabic.

XXIX. PIZMONIM

Paper $10\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

Since the paper and ink are well preserved, and the writing is very plain, almost every letter can be certainly read. The language is an attempt at classical Hebrew, often distorted for the sake of the meter, and not always giving clear sense. Vowel points are inserted in places, and for the most part correctly.

The meter of the first nineteen verses appears to be a sort of *rajaz* trimeter. The remainder does not scan. In this first section of nineteen verses the second hemistichs are all rimed, with some difficulty, on the first hemistich of the poem; this hemistich appears again as the closing one of the section. In verses 21–24 the same rime is continued; it appears finally in the last verse of the entire poem.

The fragment can perhaps be dated not long before or after the death of the Abraham to whom it is addressed, in A.D. 1237.

Recto:

1 בשם רחמ

2 גול על יי יעריצך · אדון וירבה גיל עלציך

3 דרך לך כוכב וגם האיר · אורו לשבענה בארציך

4 לו משאלתיו נתנו אליו · ירד היותו לך מחוז חפציך

5 רמתה עלי כל שר ותבל · עמרה להיות מלא קומציך

6 תשב באיתן קשתך עד כי · תורה שנונים יהיו חיציך

7 נקרא שמך אברם ואברהם · שמך אדון עולם ברכיך

8 ישלים רפואתך ותתנשא · ישא לך פנים וירציך

9 קום ועלה היום לתורת אל · הודה לאל פודך ופוציך

10 אתה אביר רועים לריעיך · רצתה בדין רבים ברוציך

11 שגו בגן שכלך ברושי הוד · תחת היותם נעצוציך

12 יפרתו אובים וכל שנאים · לעד עדי יכלו מנאציך

---

[1] Perhaps influenced by the Muslim formula.

[2] Cf. Psalm xxxvii, 5.

[3] יעריצך for יַעֲרִיצֶךָּ on account of the rime, as in other cases also.

[4] Cf. Numbers xxiv, 17. [5] Cf. Genesis xlix, 24.

[6] Cf. Isaiah v, 28, as nāgīd.

[7] Cf. Genesis xvii, 5.

[8] Abraham Maimūnī was physician to the Sultan.

XXIX. PIZMONIM

This poem of praise, consolation and encouragement, is addressed by some unknown person to a certain Abraham, who is a physician, a man in high position in the world, and greatly respected by the Jewish community of which he is the champion. He has been attacked by certain enemies, and perhaps even by a mob. The person meant is presumably Abraham Maimūnī, the son of the great Maimonides. He was born June 17, 1186, and died in the year 1237. He became nāgīd, probably in 1205, and was physician to the Sultan. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 248 ff.; vol. ii, pp. 326 ff. Eppenstein, *Abraham Maimuni sein Leben und seine Schriften*, 1914 (cited by Mann); Steinschneider, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur der Juden*, § 159; אוצר ישראל, *sub voce* מימוני; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 2nd series, vol. v, p. 463; *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. iv, p. 24; *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1900, pp. 9 ff., 14 ff.; קובץ על יד, vol. xv, 1899.

Recto:

1 In the Name of the Compassionate[1]
2 Commit [your ways] unto the Lord[2]. The company of your rejoicers
shall praise you in awe[3], my Lord, and it shall increase.
3 A star[4] has gone forth for you; and its light has shone to our satisfaction
in your land.
4 If they gave it what it asks, it would come down [from the sky, to] become
the city of your desire.
5 You are exalted above every prince. And the world is about to be filled
with your abundance.
6 Your bow remains strong[5] until you shoot. Your arrows are sharp[6].
7 You were called "Abram"; but the Lord of the World has made you
an "Abraham" in your resting places[7]. [For]
8 He makes your cures succeed, and you are exalted[8]. He lifts up [His]
countenance upon you, and is gracious to you.
9 Arise and go up today for the Law of God. Give thanks unto God, your
redeemer and your deliverer.
10 You are the mightiest of shepherds unto your companions. You have
hastened [to help] many in court with your ready [help][9].
11 Splendid cypresses have grown in the garden of your intelligence, instead
of (their being) thorn-hedges (of yours[10]).
12 All enemies[11] and haters shall be cut off for ever, until your revilers come
to an end.

---

[9] His position made it possible for him to come to the aid of his brethren.

[10] Cf. Isaiah lv, 13.

[11] אובים. The syllable ְ having no full vowel does not count with the meter, and has here dropped out entirely. Read אוֹיְבִים.

13 ידגו וגם יפרו שתיליך · האל ויפריח לנציך
14 שִׁירִי עַמֹּה שִׁרְיָן וְתַלְבּוּשָׁת · קומה חגור היום חלציך
15 מַה לָּךְ וְקוֹצֵי שִׁיר סְבִיבָךְ · שִׁירִי וֵרֹה הַיום לקוֹצֵיך
16 אם כן בני לוי יהודון בך · נחנו בני דוד מליציך
17 הִנֵּה אֲנִי אָבַר תבונתך · אֶזְרֶה לְסוּפָתָךְ ומוֹצֵיך
18 אם יצטמוך בעלי חצים · אַצְטֹם יריביך ולו חציך
19 ברך לאומרים אל ירא אל · גול על יי׳ יעריציך

20 [פזמ]
21 גְּדֹלָךְ מבלי נגרע · מאת האל קדושיך ·
22 מֵעֲרֵיךְ הוא נִפְרָע · ומִכָּל דרשי מוקשיך ·
23 יום הציף בו המון הפרע · ונחך אל בית קדשיך ·
24 יי׳ ישמרך מכל רע · ישמר את נפשיך ·

25 פזמ
26 לָאל אודה על גאולת · עמי ורפאות אב המונים
27 אברהם מבחר סגולת · עם אֵל רב כל תחכמונים
28 יזכה אסוף נדחי גולת · אריאל ובאו ברננים
29 אל רֹאש הַר כָּל מכונים · אשר תאוה נפשיך

Verso:

1 פזמ
2 אל חי לעמו חיש יקרא · גיל ובאברתו יסך לך
3 עַם אברהם אל תירא · הנה אנכי מגן לך
4 הגוי הזה מה נורא · היום כי יי׳ מֶלֶךְ
5 וכל גוי רשע יושלך · ותגל אתה בְּנַפְשֶׁיךְ

6 פזמ

---

12 לָנֶצַח twisted into לָנֶצֶיךְ?

13 אֶבֶר? 14 לְסוּפָתָךְ?

15 יצטמוך and אַצְטֹם (corrected to אַיְשְׁטֹם) stand for יִשְׁטְמוּךְ and אֶשְׁטֹם, with שׁ assimilated to ט, and ְ then assimilated to צ. Cf. Genesis xlix, 23.

16 יְרִיבֶךָ with direct object?

17 The poet pronounced יִרְאֵי as יֵרֵי.

13 Thy cuttings, O God, shall multiply, and increase, and flourish for ever[12].
14 O my Song, cover yourself with armor and raiment! Arise and gird your loins today!
15 What have you to do with suppressors of song about you? Scatter my song today to those who would cut you off!
16 If thus the sons of Levi praise you, we sons of David are your interpreters.
17 Behold I am the pinion[13] of your intelligence. I will winnow your whirlwind[14] and your chaff.
18 If the people with arrows attack you[15], I will attack[15] them that contend with you[16]. And [had I only] your arrows!
19 Bless those who say unto those who fear[17] God: "Commit [your ways] unto the Lord[2]."
20 [Pizmōn[18]]
21 Your greatness is not at all diminished. From God is your holiness,
22 He will demand satisfaction from your oppressors and from all those who seek to ensnare you.
23 On the day of the pouring out of [the] mob [there was] the leadership [of God] and your resting secure upon your holy house[19]!
24 The Lord will keep you from every ill. He will keep your soul[20].
25 Pizmōn
26 To the Lord I will give thanks for the redemption of my people, and the healing of the Father of Multitudes,
27 Abraham, the chosen possession of the people of God, the chief of all the Tahchemonites[21].
28 May the gathering of the outcasts of the exiles of Ariel[22] be pure. And they shall come with joy[23]
29 to the top of the Mountain[22], [the place of] all places which your soul desires.

Verso:

1 Pizmōn
2 The Living God calls to His people: "Hasten, Rejoice!" For with His pinion He covers you, [saying:]
3 "O people of Abraham, fear not! Behold I am a shield unto you!"
4 How dreadful is this people today! For the Lord is King,
5 and every evil nation shall be destroyed; but you yourself shall rejoice.
6 Pizmōn

---

[18] Instead of פזמ occurs the cursive Coptic numeral for 500, derived from the Coptic-Greek numeral ϕ. This may merely be intended for an ornament, dividing the introduction from the three stanzas.

[19] Referring to some experience of Abraham Maimūnī?

[20] Psalm cxxi, 7.

[21] I.e. "mighty men." Cf. II Samuel xxiii, 8.

[22] "Jerusalem." Cf. Isaiah xxix, 1.

[23] ברנגות. The *masculine* plural would mean "*female* ostriches."

XXX. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

This is possibly a part of the same letter as No. XXVIII. Both fragments are of the same paper, cut to the same width, written in the same hand and in the same unusual Arabic (cf. Introd. No. XXVIII). Possibly a page has been lost between No. XXX and No. XXVIII. The first two lines of No. XXX unfortunately are defective, and we do not know the name of either of the correspondents, nor the date.

1 . . . . . כו אלשפיק . . . . ם

2 . . . . . אלסעיד [אט]אל אללה בקאה חר . .

3 ויתולאה ויגמע שמלנא ברייאה פי ירושלאים עה תו . . .

4 בחיר וביאמך אנס באן אלממלוך דאעי ללמכדום כת

5 כתיר אללה יעון קלבך בגמיע מא תחב וינאולך מא

6 תקצד פי גמיע אפעאלך אללה יטול עמרך ויכתר

7 רצקך מא דאמת אלאיאם ואלסנין אללה יקדרני עלי מסולאת

8 יא מעלם לא תסאל מא גרא לי מן יום אן טלעת מן מצר

9 חצלי אלכיר מן פצל אללה ופצלך גית אללא אלכאנכה ומעי יא

ארבע איאם

10 נצף פצא קעת עמלת ה תנצאף גית אסבת פי בלבים מא עמ

11 עמלת שי גינא לצאלחיה עמלת ג תנצאף גית לאקטיה

12 קעת ה תיאם עמלת בשרפי גינא לאגוה קעת כמסטעשר

---

1 עה=עיר הקודש or עיר הנדחת 2 ח used to represent خ.

3 וביאמך possibly = وَبِأَيَّامِكَ, the slanting stroke standing for ّ. Cf. line 7. אנס stands for أَمْن نَصّ سِلَه, "Certain! Confidence! Selah!"

4 I.e. "I." 5 I.e. "the one who is served."

6 The first two letters of כתיר occur also at the end of the preceding line.

7 צ for ج. 8 مُعَلِّم.

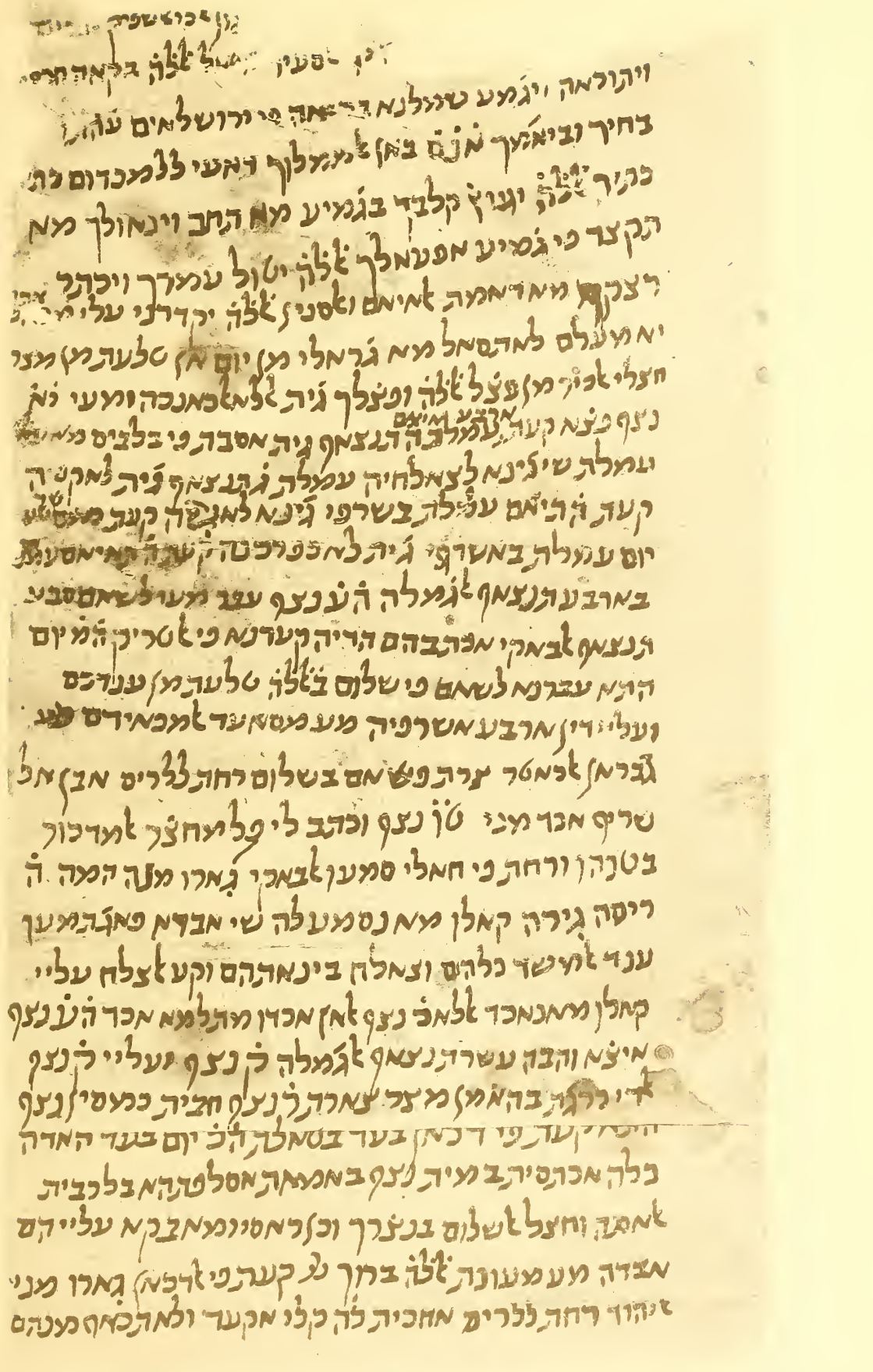
9 חצלי = vernacular *ḥaṣállī*.

10 A village about twenty kilometers north and east of Cairo, on the old caravan route to Syria. אללאאל is a confusion of *ila* and vernacular *li al*, the א representing the vowel *i*.

11 קעת=قَعَدتْ, as in classical Arabic. 12 "four days" above the line.

13 ה תנצאף is the vernacular *khámastanṣâf*. So also, line 11, *talátṭanṣâf*, lines 12, 13, *khámastīyám*; line 14, *árba'tanṣâf*, and other instances.

14 אסבת = السَّبْت.



XXX. PART OF A LETTER

We have here the beginning of a breezy letter written by someone in Damascus to someone in Fusṭāṭ. The writer has recently made the journey from the latter to the former place, earning or begging money from (Jewish?) communities on the way. Arriving at Damascus he is mulcted by both Muslims and Jews, but especially the latter, who are jealous of him. After establishing himself in business he has more trouble of the same sort, and is befriended by the Muslim ra'īs. Here the text breaks off.

The use of "ashrafī" and "nuṣf faḍḍah," instead of "dīnār" and "dirham," is found in No. XLI also. The "nuṣf" was not used before the days of the sultan al-Mu'ayyad (A.D. 1412–1421). Our fragment may therefore be dated in the early 15th century.

1 .....al-Shafīḳ.....
2 .....al-Sa'īd. May God prolong his life.....
3 and direct him, and reunite us by seeing him in Jerusalem[1].....
4 in good condition[2]. And in your days: A!N!S![3]; since the slave[4] prays for the Master[5]
5 often[6]: "God requite your heart with all that you desire, and give you what
6 you seek in all your undertakings! God prolong your life and multiply
7 your sustenance[7] as long as days and years continue!" God enable me to [answer your] questions!
8 O, Master[8], do not ask what happened to me from the day when I came up from Cairo!
9 I had[9] good luck by the grace of God and your grace. I came to al-Khānḳah[10], having with me eleven
10 half pieces of silver. I stayed[11] four days[12]. I made five half[13] [pieces of silver]. I arrived on a Sabbath[14] in Bilbais[15], [and so] I made[16]
11 nothing. We went to al-Ṣāliḥīyah[17]. I made three half[13] [pieces of silver]. I came to Ḳaṭyah[18].
12 I stayed[11] five days[13]. I earned an ashrafī[19]. We came to Gaza[20]. I stayed[11] fifteen[21]

---

[15] About 35 kilometers from al-Khānḳāh further along the caravan route.

[16] The first two letters of עמלת occur also at the end of the preceding line.

[17] About 55 kilometers from Bilbais, further along the caravan route.

[18] About 75 kilometers from al-Ṣāliḥīyah, further along the caravan route, in Sinai. Cf. Wüstenfeld's edition of *Yāḳūt*, vol. iv, p. 144, where the article is omitted as here in our fragment. The א in לאקטיה, לאגזה (l. 12), לאכפרכנה (l. 13), represents the vowel of the preposition.

[19] A gold-piece worth a dīnār, or somewhat less than a dīnār. Cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, *sub voce* and our note 23. The preposition *bi* is here properly used with the verb. Cf. Spiro, *Vocab.*, p. 413.

[20] לאגזה, cf. note 18. About 190 kilometers from Ḳaṭyāh, further along the caravan route, in Palestine.

[21] חמסטעישר *khámasṭá'sher* is an interesting form with transposed ' still retained, and *ṭ* changed to *ṭ́* by the '. The modern form is *khámastásher*.

13 יום עמלת באשרפי ג׳ית לאכפרכנה קעת ה תאיאם עמל[ת]
14 בארבע תנצאף אלגמלה הע נצף עבר מעי לשאם סבע
15 תנצאף אלבאקי אכת בהם הריה קעדנא פי אלטריק המ יום
16 התא עברנא לשאם פי שלום באללה טלעת מן ענדכם
17 ועליי דין ארבע אשרפיה מע מסאעד אלמכאידם מע
18 גבראן אלכאטר צרת פשאם בשלום רחת ללרים אבן אל
19 שריף אכד מני טו נצף וכתב לי פלמחצר אלמדכור
20 בטנהו ורחת פי חאלי סמעו אלבאקי גארו מנה המה ה
21 ריסה גירה קאלו מא נסמע לה שי אבדא פאגתמעו
22 ענד אלמשד כלהום וצאלח בינאתהם וקע אלצלח עליי
23 קאלו מא נאכד אללא כ נצף אלאן אכדו מתל מא אכד הע נצף
24 איצא והבה עשר תנצאף אלגמלה ק נצף ועליי ק נצף
25 אלדי כרגת בהא מן מצר צארת ר נצף חבית כמסין נצף
26 התא קעת פי דכאן בעד בטאלת הכ יום בעד האדה
27 כלה אכתסית במית נצף באמאת אסלפתהא בלרבית
28 אלאסנה וחצל אלשלום בנצרך וכן ראסי ומא בקא עליי הם
29 אבדה מע מעונת אללה ברוך י קעת פי אלדכאן גארו מני
30 אליהוד רחת ללרים אחכית לה קלי אקעד ולא תכאף מנהם

---

22 Cana of Galilee, north and east of Nazareth.

23 If the ashrafī was worth 15¾ dirhams (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 43), 75 half-dirhams or half-faḍḍahs would be the correct total of the collections in the various towns.

24 أَخَذتْ. Cf. note 11.

25 He put aside—though where and how?—68 half pieces, and took seven along to Damascus.

26 ה for ח.

27 מסאעד אלמכאידם possibly for מסאעדת אלמכאדים. The singular, מכדום, is elsewhere used of the addressee of this letter. The plural is here used of the Damascus Jews.

28 جَبْرًا الخاطر with مَعَ redundantly. The writer was virtually seized by the Damascus Jews.

29 I.e. the Damascus Jews.

30 Vernacular idiom. Cf. Spiro, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

31 המה. Cf. the Maghrabī form *hūma*.

32 The vernacular negative, *mā.....-sh abadan*.

33 مُشدّ. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 736, "inspecteur."

34 Since in line 9 he says that he had only eleven half pieces upon reaching his first station from Cairo; and in lines 16–17 he says that he left owing four ashrafīs (=126 half pieces according to line 14. Cf. note 23).

13 days. I earned an ashrafī[19]. I came to Kafr Kannah[22]. I stayed[11] five days[13]. I earned

14 four half[13] [pieces of silver]. The total [was] 75 half [pieces of silver][23]. There crossed over with me to Damascus seven

15 half[13] [pieces of silver]. The remainder I held onto[24] as a present [to myself?][25]. We remained on the road 45 days

16 until[26] we crossed over to Damascus safely[1]—By Allah! I went out from among you

17 owing a debt of four ashrafīs!—with the help of the gentlemen[27],

18 against my will[28] I came to Damascus safely! I went to the ra'īs, the son of the

19 sharīf. He took from me 15 half [pieces of silver] and he gave me a receipt in the [presence of the] aforementioned assemblage[29],

20 [in the very] midst of it. And I went about my business[30]. The rest heard [of this]. They were jealous about it. Five of them[31],

21 the ra'īs (of it) [and] others, said: "We shan't listen to this at all[32]." And they gathered in a crowd

22 at the house of the mushidd[33], all of them; and he tried to make peace between them. The peace turned out to my disadvantage.

23 They said: "We shall not take more than 20 half [pieces of silver]." Now they have taken what he took, [and] 75 half [pieces of silver]

24 also, and a gratuity of ten half [pieces][13], the total being 100 half [pieces]. But I owed 100 half [pieces] with [the debt

25 of] which I set out from Cairo[34]. That made 200 half [pieces]. I desired fifty half [pieces]

26 before[26] I should take my seat[11] in a shop. After an idleness of 25 days, after all

27 this, I clothed myself for 100 half [pieces] from sums (?)[35] which I borrowed[36] at interest[37]

28 payable the next year[38]. And peace[1] reigned, with your favor[39]; and so[1] [also I] myself[40] [was at peace], and I had no more anxiety

29 at all[41], with the help of God. Blessed be the Lord[1]! I sat[11] in the shop. The Jews

30 were jealous of me. I went to the ra'īs. I told[42] him. He said to me[43]: "Stay where you are, and don't be afraid of them."

---

[35] I.e. "sources."

[36] For this sense, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, *sub voce*.

[37] Hebrew רִבִּית.

[38] أَسْنَهُ, an adjective of defect, derived secondarily from سَنَةٌ "year," and meaning usually "skipping alternate years."

[39] Vernacular *binaẓrak*.

[40] I.e. "my head." Cf. روح وجه عين نفس, and the Ethiopic *re'es*, "head," "self."

[41] هَمٌّ أَبَدًا.

[42] *iḥkēt*. Cf. Spitta, *Gram.*, p. 232.

[43] *ḳállī*.

XXXI. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in elegant square Hebrew characters. Lines were drawn with a hard point before writing. Some of the worn spots are difficult to read.

This letter originally consisted of two pages (cf. line 23), probably represented by our two fragments XXXI and XXXII. But evidently one line has been lost at the bottom of XXXI, and several at the bottom of XXXII. Note the persistent rime.

1 אשרי שמרי משפט עושה צדקה בכל עת׃

2 אשרי משכיל אל דל ביום רעה ימלטה[ו יהוה]׃

3 אויה לי כי גרתי משך שכנתי עם אהלי ק[דר]׃

4 והכיתי ליי המסתיר פנים וקו[ית]י לו׃

5 הדרת יקרת אדיר שרי המלאכת· כבוד הוד אציל הורי בו לכת׃

6 טפסר מצאר חן· ברור לבב בת חן· להסליל ול..ל

7 ועדי עד יתקיים· במצותיו הוא קיים· .....

8 יפה טוב ....ם· להטיב כל מעש· ב.....

9 ברוחו האצילו· חסות תחת צילו· כל ק.....

10 ....ל· ....

11 כבוד גדולת תהלת· יקר קהלת· המונת מעלת· הדרת יקרת·

12 צברת כתרת· אדוני ומרי· החכם הנבון· החסיד הנדיב יש[ר]

13 בדרכיו· תם במפעליו· השר המיוקר· הזקן המפואר· מכהפ

14 אברהם הידוע אביסעד שמרו צורו· ויעזרו נוצרו· לא י[ק]ל

15 עושרו· ולא יכבה נרו· קמיו יפלו· ואויביו יושפלו· תחת ש[בטו]

16 יוכפלו· יחדו המה יתהוללו· בן מב גד קה הדו ...

17 [ה]דר עטרת· הוד תפארת· אדונינו הזקן הגדול [ה]ש[ר]....

18 והמכובד סהל הידוע אבי אלפצ[ל] תהא נפשו נהויה·.....

---

1 Psalm cvi, 3. 2 Psalm xli, 2.

3 Psalm cxx, 5.

4 Isaiah viii, 17.

5 ?אֵצֶל 6 ?מְצְהַר 7 ?כְּמַעֲשֵׂה 8 ?הַצִּילוֹ

9 Isaiah xxx, 3.

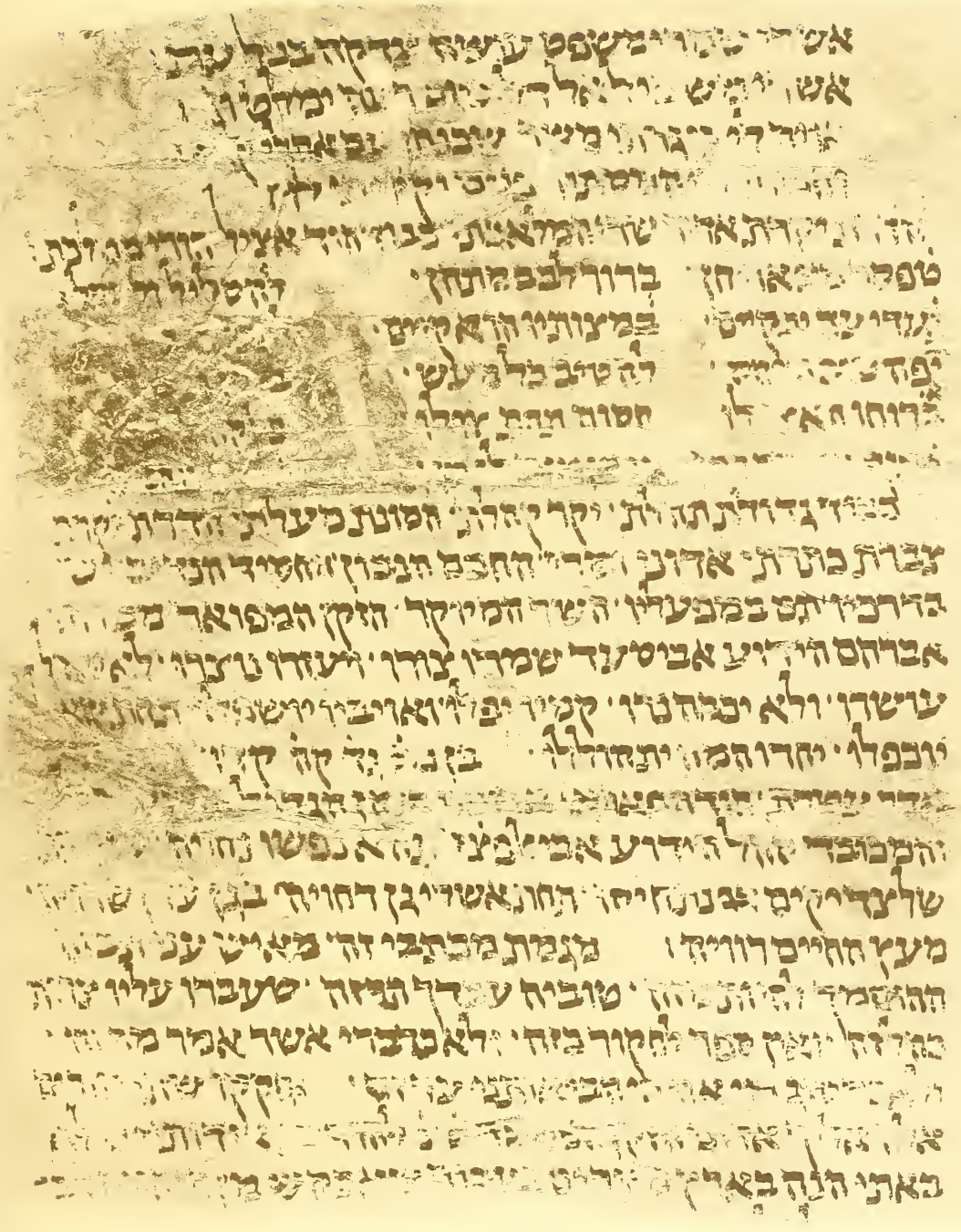
10 Feminine endings forming a sort of abstract noun.

11 The Arabic name, with Abū changed to Abī, to make it seem Hebrew (cf. Abimelek).

May 10, 1954

Mr. J. D. Goldstein (Dropsie College) and Zvi Ankori (Research Fellow of Columbia University)

say that nos. 31 and 32 are the same letter which has become unglued before reproduction and that the note at the top of page 142 is in part in error.



Genizah Fragment 31

XXXI. PART OF A LETTER

A letter from one, Tobiah, to Abū Sa'd Abraham Ibn Abū al-Faḍl Sahl al-Tustarī, the wealthy dealer in rarities who through the mother of the Sultan Ma'add, a slave-girl from his market, exercised great influence at court until his assassination in A.D. 1048. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 76 ff., and Index; Gottheil, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, p. 62. Our fragment is without address or date, but can safely be dated at about A.D. 1048.

Tobiah has had great misfortune. He explains that he did not come to Egypt in order to obtain assistance.

1 Blessed are they that keep justice, and [blessed is] he that doeth righteousness at all times[1].
2 Blessed is he that considereth the poor. The Lord will deliver him in the day of evil[2].
3 Woe is me that I sojourn in Meshech, that I dwell among the tents of Kedar[3]!
4 And I will wait for the Lord, that hideth [His] face, and I will look for Him[4].
5 [To] the Beauty of the Dignity[10] of the Mighty One of the Princes of Commerce! Honor, Glory with[5] those who teach walking therein!
6 The Courtier, the Gracious Countenance[6]! Illustrious, Merciful of Heart, to.....and to.....
7 And for ever and ever he shall be established. In His commands he is enduring.....
8 Beautiful, Good, ...to do every thing well[7].....
9 In his spirit escape[8]. Asylum under His shadow[9]. Every.....
10 .....
11 To the Honor of the Majesty of the Praise of the Dignity of the Congregation of the Multitude of the Height of the Beauty of the Dignity[10]
12 of the Abundance[10] of the Crown[10] of my Lord and Master the Wise, the Intelligent, the Pious, the Generous, Upright
13 in his ways, Perfect in his deeds, the Honored Prince, the Glorified Elder, ...
14 Abraham, known as Abū Sa'd[11]—May his Rock[12] be his preservation, and may his Protector help him[13]! May his wealth not
15 decrease, and may his light not be extinguished! May they fall that rose against him, and his enemies be brought low, under his rod!
16 May they be confounded! One and all, may they be confounded! Son of the Honor of the Majesty of the.....
17 Beauty of the Crown of the Glory of the Beauty of our Lord, the Elder, the Great, the Prince.....
18 and the Honored Sahl, known as Abū al-Faḍl. May his soul live[14], quickened.....

---

[12] I.e. God. [13] וְיַעֲזְרֵהוּ? [14] תְּחִי?

19 של צדיקים בגנת חיים׃ תחת אשלי גן דחויה׃ בגן עדן שרויה׃

20 מעין החיים רוויה׃ מגמת מכתבי זה׃ מאיש עני ונבזה׃

21 ההוסמך להיות מזה׃ טוביה עבדך הרזה׃ שעברו עליו צרות

22 כהלזה׃ ואין ספר לחקור בזה׃ ולא כדברי אשר אמר מה זה׃

23 ולא כמנהג מי אני כי הביאותני עד זה׃ נחקקו שתי טורים

24 אלה אליך׃ אדוני הזקן הנכבד שׂא להודיע אודות כי לא

25 באתי הנה בארץ מצרים בעבור שאבקש מן הזקנים דבר

---

15 דְּחַוְיָה? Aramaic.

16 טורים, "pages," literally "rows," "series." The letter originally consisted of two pages, our fragments XXXI and XXXII.

19 of the righteous, in the Garden of Life, under the tamarisks of the Garden
of the Serpent[15], planted in the Garden of Eden,
20 saturated from the Tree of Life! The purpose of this, my letter, from
a man poor and despised, [and]
21 the establishing [of fact] to result from this [letter is that] there have
passed, over Tobiah, your servant, the lean, troubles
22 like this. And there is no book on this [subject] for [you to] study. Nor
[is there anything] like my words when I say: "What is this!"
23 Nor am I like another man when Thou [O God] hast brought me to
this!" These two pages[16] have been drawn up[17]
24 for you, my Lord, the honored Elder—May God preserve him!—to make
known the causes [of my plight]. For I did not
25 come here to the land of Egypt in order that I might seek anything
from the elders.

---

17 נְחַקּוּ?

XXXII. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $7\frac{7}{8} \times 6$ inches.

Hebrew in elegant square Hebrew characters. Lines were drawn with a hard point before writing. Some of the worn spots are difficult to read.

This letter originally consisted of two pages (cf. XXXI, line 23), represented by our two fragments XXXI and XXXII. But evidently one line has been lost at the bottom of XXXI, and several at the bottom of XXXII.

1 שאתכרכר ואתפרנס· אבל באתי הנה בעבור דבר אחר
2 וישבתי שנה תמימה במלאכת אדוני המפואר ולא ראיתי
3 רווחה במעשי ידי וגם לא עמדתי לפני אדם אחד שאב[קש]
4 ממנו מחיה ולא בקשתי מן אדם וגם לא נתן לי א[דם]
5 [דבר מעו]לם זולת . . . . . ן · א . . . . . תק ל ע
6 במקום הזה· והאלהים יודע איך חיינו שלשת הנפ[שות כל]
7 השנה מכובד דוחק המחיה ואמר לי אבי אלפרג . . . . .
8 כ[י] אדוני הזקן המיוקר חרה אפו בעבור כי שכנתי ביניכם
9 וכאשר שמעתי דבריו אמרתי בלבי כי אולי הכבדתי עליהם
10 כי כל יום ויום עומד לפניהם ונקצר רוח אדוני ממני או
11 שמע בעבור שירורותי מיום שנכנסתי במקום ה[זה] וחרה
12 לו בשיכנותי ביניהם· ושמתי לבי שאלך אל ארצי ואל
13 מולדתי ומשפחתי ומפיל תחינתי לפני אדוני הזקן השר
14 המיוקר שיעשה שאלתי שבעבורה ירדתי אל המקום
15 הזה כי אין הנה מי שעשה חסד עימי ולא שילם לי חלופו
16 זולתך כי חסדך נשאר עלי שלם ועוד הוספת ותוסיף בזה
17 הדבר ויהיה לך שכר בזה ובבא· והוא שתקח ל[עבד]ך ברוב
18 חכמתך כתב כי אפחד שלא ישיגני בדרך כאשר השיגני

---

[1] Read perhaps: [בר]ל ע[הכ] שהבאתי אתי [מה] זולת, "except what I brought with me. All is gone."

[2] See No. XXXI, note 11.

[3] שירורותי for שְׁרִירוּתִי, "stubbornness," or שְׁרוּתִי "service" (?).



Genizah Fragment 32

XXXII. PART OF A LETTER

As the context shows, hardly more than one line has been lost between XXXI and XXXII.

Tobiah has become a burden to the Egyptian community through his failure to support himself. He desires to return to his home, somewhere in the "Roman Empire," and asks Abraham to give him a letter which will protect him from molestation.

1 to go to and fro and get a living; but I came here for another reason.
2 And I remained a whole year [engaged] in the business of my honored Master. But I have not beheld
3 any profit through the work of my hands. Yet I have not stood before any man to beg
4 of him support; nor have I begged of [any] man; nor has any man given me
5 [anything,] from time out of mind except.....[1]
6 in this place. And God knows how we lived—three persons—all
7 the year, burdened [with] the need of sustenance. And Abū[2] al-Faraj... .....told me
8 that my Lord, the honored Elder, was angry because I have dwelt among you.
9 And when I heard his words, I said to myself that perhaps I had become a burden to them.
10 For day after day I stand before them; and my Lord's patience is exhausted; or
11 he has heard(?) about my stubbornness(?)[3] from the day when I became a member of the community in this place; and he became angry
12 at my dwelling among them. And I made up my mind to go to my own country and to
13 my birth-place and my kindred; and [I am] placing my petition[4] before my Lord, the Elder, the honored Prince,
14 that he perform my request, on account of which I came down to this place.
15 For here there is no one who has been gracious to me, or requited me [with good]—Quite the contrary[5]!—
16 save only you. For your favor has remained for me perfect[6]; and you have even added and will add [favor] in this
17 matter. And you will have a reward in this and in the coming world. And [my request is] that you prepare for [me,] your servant in the abundance(?)
18 of your wisdom, a letter. For I fear that [evil] may overtake[7] me on the way, even as it overtook[7] me

---

4 תְּהִנָּתִי. 5 חִלּוּפוֹ. 6 שָׁלֵם. 7 הִשִּׂיגַנִי, יַשִּׂיגֵנִי.

19 בְּחָנֵם ולולי רחמי שדי וחסד אדוני הזקן המכובד הייתי היום
20 בבית הכלא ובימים ההם היה בידי ונתתי שוחד אבל ב[א]לה
21 הימים אין בידי מאומה ועל זה מפיל תחינתי לפני אדוני
22 שיעשה עם עבדו חסד ולא יניחהו שיאבד כי עבדך יגדיל
23 ויפאר שם אדוני הזקן שׂשׂ בכל מה שעשה עמי וע[ם כ]ל אדם
24 בכל קהילות ארץ אדום הקרובות והרחוקות ואתקן שיני
25 וחמישי שיברכו לאדוני המכובד בבתי כנסיות · ומאת צורי
26 המשאל שיסיר ממנו כל מחלה וכל גזרה רעה כל לא תאונה וגו

---

[8] Probably the modern Henassīyeh near Benisueif. See Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908, p. 206.

[9] See No. XXXI, line 14.

[10] I.e. the Roman Empire.

19 at Ḥānēs[8]. Had it not been for the mercies of the Almighty and the favor of my Lord, the honored Elder, I should be today
20 in prison. In those days I had [money] in my hand, and I gave a bribe. But
21 in these days there is not in my hand anything ; and on account of this [I am] placing my petition[4] before my Lord,
22 that he may deal graciously with his servant, and not leave him to perish. For your servant will magnify
23 and glorify the name of my Lord, the Elder—May the Rock preserve him[9]!—for all that he has done for me, and for every man
24 in all the congregations of the land of Edom[10], near and far. And I will order [the] second[11]
25 and [the] fifth[11] to pronounce a blessing for my honored Lord in the synagogues. And from my Rock[9] [I shall make]
26 the request that He turn aside from him every disease, and every evil decree [of fortune:][12] even as it is written[13]: "Not shall befall".....[14]

---

[11] I.e. שיני בחבורה, etc. There were the ראש, or head of the school, and the members, חברים, arranged in a certain order. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 54, 264.

[12] גזירה.

[13] כתוב כאן.

[14] Psalm xci, 10.

XXXIII. LETTER

Paper $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

See the introductions to Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIV, XXXV, which it closely resembles in writing and language. All of these were possibly dictated to the same scribe by members of one community. Cf. also the similar writing in *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Sammlung Erzherzog Rainer), Wien 1894, opposite p. 262. Many characters are completely assimilated to one form; yet the same character may have different forms. The language shows strong foreign influence.

Recto:

1 כתאבי אטאל אללה בקא מולאי אל שיך אלגליל ואדאם תאידה וסלאמתה
ונעמתה
2 וכבת אעדאה מן אל מסתקר ליג כלון מן שבט רחמה אללה עליך ועלינא
3 באחסן כאתמה ויזין אליך קרב אללה אל אגתמאע אלסאר במנה וגודה אנה
4 אלי דאלך אעלם מולאי אן וצלת בעד משקת בחר ובר ווגדת אלכל עלי
5 חאל אלסלאמה נחמד אללה לאן אלאמר אלדי ביה נקול לך וכאן קל[בי]
6 משגול מנה קד צח לי דלך פאסאל מן אללה אן יוצי לי ויחסן ל[י פי]
7 מא אנא פיה אנה סמיע מגיב ומא ימכני אשרח לך אפ . . . .
8 דלך וקד אנפדה דלך אל אהל צאנהם אללה וכרגת אדכרתך וקד ית . . .
9 . . . הם וקאלו מא ציענא לה ש וראיתהם יקולו וסאפרו אליה אדא שא
10 וראית האלהם מא הו גיד מן אלצעף וקלת אלמקררה תם למא כאן יום אל
11 גמעה גא אכיך כלפי מצית מעה לביתך קאל אכרג אלי אלקמח ומא
12 בקי פיה קדרה אחתגת אן אולה חיאט ומילת אלגראבין ותעבת
13 ואללה פיהא וכרג קמחהא טיב מא פיה שי וגא יכרג אלכל מא וגד

---

[1] Cf. No. XII, line 1, where the complete expression is used. For this sense of المُسْتَقِرّ see Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. ii, p. 319, line 6 from below.

[2] السَّارّ.

[3] Much of the difficulty of translating these letters lies in the intentional vagueness with which they were written. There was danger of their being intercepted.

[4] See Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. ii, p. 697, col. ii, middle.

[5] Vernacular *mā ḍayya'na lōsh*. But the *-sh* is still objective; not yet adverbial as it now is.

[6] مُقَرِّرَة. [7] مَضَيْتُ.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 33 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 33 b

XXXIII. LETTER

A letter from ʿAllān(?) Ibn Yaḥyā to Abū ʿUmrān Moses Ibn Abū al-Ḥayy. The former has left the latter and gone to a distant city, whence he writes back concerning a number of business and personal matters. Both are engaged in handling miscellaneous merchandise. One is strongly reminded of II Timothy iv, 13–14.

Where the context is lost translation becomes uncertain. Interrogation marks might have been used more plentifully.

There is no date.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter [to you]. May God prolong the life of my Lord, the glorious Sheikh, and continue his safety and his health and his prosperity,
2 and confound his enemies! [This letter is] from one who inquires[1] [after his health. Written] when 13 days of Shebhāṭ had passed. The mercy of God be upon you and upon us
3 through its most favorable termination, and make [it] acceptable to you! May God hasten the happy[2] reunion in His goodness and His abundant kindness. He is [sufficient]
4 for that. Know, my Lord, that I arrived after tribulation by sea and land, and found everything in
5 a condition of safety. We praise God that the matter, about which we told you, and about which my heart
6 was troubled—that matter has turned out rightly for me. And I ask God to direct me and prosper me in [the business]
7 in which I am [now engaged]. Verily He hears and answers. And it is not possible for me to explain[3] to you.....
8 this. And those people had already paid[4] it[3]—May God protect them!—And I went out, and [then] I remembered you. And already.....
9 their.....And they said: "We have not wasted[5] [anything] of his." And I saw them talking. And they journeyed to him when he wished.
10 And I saw their condition. It was not good, on account of weakness and insufficient nourishment[6]. Then, when it was
11 Friday, your brother came, after I [had come]. I went[7] with him to your house. He said: "Bring out to me the grain." But there was no
12 strength left in him [for such a task]. I needed first of all a tailor[8]. And I turned the sacks on their sides, and I worked hard,
13 by Allah, at it. And that[9] grain poured out [of the sacks in] good [condition]. There was[10] not anything [the matter with it]. But he went to work and hauled out the whole business. [And still] he didn't find

---

[8] This line is in very bad Arabic. أَنْ is used for إِلَى. أَوَّلَهُ intervenes. חיאט (?) should be ביאט. גראבין as an "outer plural" of جِرَاب does not exist except for the foreigner. One can only guess the sense: He tore his clothes, working (?).

[9] I.e. "the grain of those sacks."

[10] Vernacular *mā fīh shē*. But the *-shē* is still subjective; not yet adverbial. Cf. note 5.

14 פי אלגראב שי חט דכרת פי כתאבך אן תכרג להם גראבין מן אלגדיד
15 יכלטוהא קאלו לא תכרג לנא שי חתי יפרג האדי וקד דפעת להם ניף
16 דינ/ ואנא נדפע להם אלניף דינ/ אלתאני כמא דכרת וכאטרת אביך
17 פי דכאן אלשיך אבי אלחבן עלי אלמצחף אלנבי אלגיד אלדי לך וקאל
18 מא קדרת לאן פיה יקראו אלצביאן וקאל קד כתבת לה פיה פאן ביחל עליך
19 דלך ואלי תכתב אלי ואכדה מנה שא ואבא וקד קלת להם אדא
20 ביצתם אלגזל ועמלתם אלרדנה תאכדו מא יקום בכם לנסאגה
21 ואל רקאמה וקד קאל לי אביך אן כתבת לה בגמיע שרח אלאשיא אלשב
22 מא וצל מנה שי והיך קום דינ/ ונין ועצת עליהם לעל אללה
23 ינבאע מנהם שי ואנא מא נפרט פי דלך אלקפה אלניל קד וצל
24 יומי האדה קאפלה תאניה פיהא ק קפה ומא הי תנבאע הנא פאן
25 כאן לך ניה תכתב אלי איש נעמל לך פיהא ואן אכתרת נקסמהא אנא
26 אפעל דלך אל דנא/ אלדי תרכת מעך אכרגה עני מנהא ד/ דנא/
27 ותאכד מנהא חק אלנביד אלדי לך ענדי ותרפע אלבאקי לי אברהם
28 אל[ק]לעי בעד אן תאכד לי מנהא

Verso:

1 בנצף דינ/ סכר וברניה ורד מרבה ל אל שיך אבי יצחק יכון פיהא ד
ארטאל
2 לאני סאלתה פיהא אל סנבל מצית ביה אלסוק ערצאן פי דכאן בניאם

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[11] Here he avoids the plural entirely. Cf. note 8.

[12] قَطْ?

[13] Cf. note 8.

[14] Palestinian vernacular form.

[15] Not נין, see line 22.

[16] The Maghribī vernacular form.

[17] خَاطَرَ ordinarily means "to bet with someone about."

[18] אכיך for אכוך. Not an error, for it occurs in line 11 also.

[19] מצחף אלנביאים?

[20] Vernacular *in bīḥill ʿalēk.*

[21] Dele ואלי. [22] אלי.

[23] See Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. i, p. 549.

[24] Confusion between بجميع الاشياء and شرح الاشياء, resulting probably from interruptions in dictation.

[25] Palestinian vernacular *hēk* for هٰكَذَا.

14 in the sack[s][11] anything [wrong] at all[12]. You said in your letter: "If you bring out for them sacks[13] of the new [grain],
15 they will mix them up [with sacks of old grain." To this] they replied: "Do not bring out to us anything until this[14] [old] is exhausted." And I paid them more than[15]
16 a dīnār. But I[16] will pay them the second dīnār and more[15] as you directed. And I risked[17] asking your brother[18],
17 in the shop of the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥabn(?), about the good manuscript copy of the Prophets[19] which belongs to you. And he said:
18 "I haven't been able to [give it up], because the boys read in it." And he said [further that] you had already written to him about it. So, if it is permitted[20] you [to do]
19 this[21], write to me, and I will take it away from him, willing or unwilling. And I said to them: "When
20 you have bleached the yarn and finished reeling it, take whatever you can get among yourselves for weaving [it]
21 and for[22] embroidering it[23]." And your brother[18] said to me that you had written to him an explanation of everything[24]. [As for] the alum:
22 None of it has arrived, and so[25] prices[26] [are] a dīnār and a half; and I have offered [mine] for sale to them. Perhaps, by Allah!
23 some of [the things] will be sold[27]; and in [doing] that I shall not forget[16] the basket. [As for] the indigo: There has arrived
24 today a second caravan, in which are 100 baskets; and they were not sold here. So if
25 you have the inclination, write to me what[28] I should do for you in the matter. And if they are too much we can divide them. I
26 will do that. [As for] the dīnārs which I left with you: Subtract (it[29]) from my[30] [credit by taking] from[30] them four dīnārs.
27 And take from them the value of the wine of yours which I have; and turn over the balance to Rabbi Abraham
28 al-Ḳala'ī(?)[31], after you have bought for me from it

Verso:

1 for half a dīnār sugar, and a pot of candied roses[32] for(?) the Sheikh Abū Isaac, in which there are four roṭls;
2 because I asked him about [that point. As to] the spikenard[33]: I took it to the Market: by chance[34] into the shop of Banyās(?),

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[26] Perhaps קים, قِيَم, plural of قِيمَة.

[27] لَعَلّ يُنْبَاع.

[28] Vernacular. [29] Redundant.

[30] عَنْ of the person, مِنْ of the thing.

[31] The same as No. XXXIV, l. 7. [32] Or "saffron."

[33] *Andropogon nardus*, or *nardus Celtica*. See Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 1899 p. 331.

3 אבו אלפרנאס סוי מבֿין אלי וקיה דינאר ותלת ולם נביעהא אחב אן
4 תעלמה בדלך פאן אכתאר אן יביעהא יפעל מא יראה וצאחבהא מחתאג/
5 אלי כֿרובה וקד עז עלי תופי אל וליד אלדי כאן ענדה אללה תעאל יכלף
עלי
6 קלבה וקד קלת לה אנא נקרצֿך אן ענדי דינאר חתי יצל כתאב אלרגל פלא
7 תגֿטט ענה ואל חואיג אלדי תרכת[הא] ביתך לא תפרט פיהא ואלקראב
8 אלדי לשראב לא תפרט לי פיה ואל סלה לעל תנפדהא לי צֿחבה ר׳ אברהם
9 אעלמת מולאי דלך ותרא עני מולאי אלשיך אבו יצחק בן טיבאן וולדה
10 אלסלאם ואלשיך אבו עלי בן סלמאֿן אלסלאם ואל שיד אבי אלחסן יראך
אלסל
11 ולא יכון בד מן כתאבך ואחב מן תפצלך אן תקרא עלי מולאי שר השרים
סלאמי
12 ותבסט עדרי ענה לאני גֿאני אלסכרגה ולם נמצי אליה ולם נגֿתמע
13 ביה וקד אלתֿית אן נסאלך פי דלך ולא [תג]פל ויצלני דלך פי כתאבך
ושלום וקד
14 סאלת הלאל אלאטרובלסי ען אל גונה אלדי תרכהא ענדה אברהם פקאל
לי מעי
15 תדכרה חתי יכרגֿהא ונערפך ואנא נגֿעלה יכרגֿהא ונכתב אליך בדלך
ושלום.

Address:

[ל]מולאי אלשיך אבי עמראן מוסי בן אבי אלחי נֿע שארה עלאן בן יחיי נע/
אטאל אללה בקאה וא[רא]ם תאידה ו[נע]מתֿ[ה]

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[34] عَرَضًا ?

[35] وِقِيَّة, 1.32 oz. avoirdupois. See Baedecker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908, p. ii.

[36] يُخْلِف. [37] نَقْرِضك. [38] تُجَظّ ?

[39] Egyptian vernacular. [40] Incorrect plural of قِرْبَة.

[41] I.e. ותקרא, with על omitted. Cf. No. IX, many times. The ק has been omitted here and in line 10 because it has become a hamzah, as in modern vernacular.

[42] See No. XIII, *verso*, line 45.

3 the father of the parnās. It was worth evidently(?) up to a dīnār and a third the wiḳīyah[35]. So I[16] didn't sell it. I desire that
4 you inform him of that; and if he prefers to sell it, let him do what he thinks best. And the owner of it has reason
5 to be concerned(?). And the death of the boy who lived with him affected me deeply. May God the Exalted recompense[36]
6 his heart! And I said to him: "I[16] will lend[37] you—I have a dīnār [for you]—until the man's letter arrives." But
7 do not be concerned[38](?) about him. And [as for] the things[39] which I left [at] your house: Do not forget about them. And [as for] the water-skins[40]
8 which [are] for drinking-water: Do not forget about them. And [as for] the basket: Perhaps you will send it to me in the care of Rabbi Abraham.
9 [So] I have informed my Lord of this. And give my greetings[41] [to] my Lord the Sheikh Abū Isaac Ibn Ṭayyibān[42], and his son.
10 And the Sheikh 'Alī Ibn Salmān(?) and the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan send[41] you greetings[43].
11 And you will surely have to write. And I would like, if you please[44], to have you give my greetings to my Lord the Prince of Princes[45],
12 and to present my apologies for [the circumstance] that the saucer reached me, and I[16] did not go to him, nor did I[16] meet
13 him. And I have bothered [you] to ask[46,16] about that; and do not be heedless, but let [news of its accomplishment] reach me in your [next] letter. So farewell! And
14 I asked Hilāl[47] al-Atrūblusī[48] about the leather box which Abraham left at his house; and he said to me: "I have it."
15 Remind him to bring it. And I[16] will let you know [if he fails], and make[16] him bring it, and write[16] to you about that. So farewell!

Address:

[To] my Lord the Sheikh Abū 'Umrān Moses, son of Abū al-Ḥayy[49], whose rest [is in] Eden.....
God lengthen his life and continue his safety and prosperity!
[From] 'Allān, son of Yaḥyā, whose rest [is in] Eden.

---

[43] I.e. יקראך אלסלאם.

[44] مِنْ تَفَضُّلك. [45] Hebrew.

[46] Vernacular *altēt*, for classical أَلْتَمْتُ.

[47] "new moon." [48] "of Tripoli."

[49] A certain Abū al-Ḥayy was still alive but suffering from some skin disease, when lines 8–10, No. III, *verso* were written.

XXXIV. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

Both the language and the writing are similar to those of Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, and XXXV; and what has before been said need not here be repeated. On the *recto* the scribe uses some care; but he grows more careless, and on the *verso* his slovenliness is extreme.

Recto:

1 כתאבי אטאל אללה בקא מולאי אלשיך אלאגל ואדאם תאידה וסלאמתה
ונעמאה
2 וכבת אעדאה מן אלמסתקר לך מן שבט כתמה אללה עלי מולאי באחסן
כאמה
3 אעלמך יא מולאי אן כרגתם כתר אללה סלאמתכם ונאלנא מן והשתכם מא
4 אללה יעלמה וכל מן פי אלבית ואמא נהרי ולדי אחיאה אליך תכלק
עלינא
5 ויקול מתא יגי רבנו ואבו סעד ויקול אדיוני ענדנא ואלי אלסעה נחן
נקולו לה
6 הם פי אל כניסיה אסעה יגו וכאנת קלובנא בכם משגולה כיף כאן וצאלכם
7 אלי אן וצל יום אלכמים באל עשי ר אברהם אל קלעי ואל כהן ואעלמונא
בוצאלכם
8 עלי גמלת אל סלאמה פחמדנא אללה וסאלנאה תמאם באחסאן פאחב
9 מנך יא מולאי סאעה וצולך סאלם אן שא אללה אלי סאלמין תעלמני
בוצולכם
10 אלי קראכם ואחמד אללה עלי דלך וכל מן פי אסכדריה מן אצהאבנא
11 ברוכים יהיו מתוחשין לצפרכם דאעיון לכם אללא יתקבל פיכם אלדעוה
12 אל צאלחה ולא ישתתכם ולא יששתנא ען אוטאננא ותעלמני יא מולאי

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[1] See XXXIII, note 1. The opening formulae of the two letters are almost identical.

[2] Read כאתמה.

[3] Vernacular *nallána* for نَالَ لَنَا.

[4] "Since you have gone God only knows how we have missed you."

[5] Aramaic.

[6] Hebrew.

[7] אדיוני, if not a mistake, represents a childish pronunciation.

[8] الساعة.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 34 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 34 b

XXXIV. LETTER

A letter from Nathan Ben Nahrāi, in Alexandria, to Nahrāi Ben Nissīm, head of the Babylonian community in Fusṭāṭ (See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 206; vol. ii, p. 248), who is temporarily in Malīj(?). The addressee and a certain Abū Sa'd have recently visited the writer in Alexandria.

Translation is difficult at times, because the writer's constructions were mixed in his own mind before they reached the paper.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter [to you]. May God prolong the life of my Lord, the most glorious Sheikh, and continue his safety and his health and his prosperity,

2 and confound his enemies! [This letter is] from one who inquires[1] [after his health. Written] when 20 [days] of Shebhāṭ [had passed]. May God complete [the month] for my Lord with the best [sort] of completion[2]!

3 I inform you, O my Lord: Behold you have gone—God increase your health!—and we have had[3] [in the way of] bereavement of you what

4 God [only] knows[4]. And everyone in the household [feels likewise]. And as for Nahrāi[5], my [little] boy—[God] preserve his life to you!—he is angry with us;

5 and says: "When will our Rabbi[6] come, and Abū Sa'd?" And he says: "Is the 'dentleman'[7] here?" And up to now[8] we have been saying to him:

6 "They are in the synagogue[9]. They are coming directly[8]." And we worried [about] how you arrived,

7 until Thursday at evening Rabbi Abraham al-Ḳala'ī[10] and the Kōhēn arrived, and informed us of your arrival

8 with all safety. And we praised God and asked Him for a completion [of your plans] with [His] benevolence. And I desire

9 of you, O my Lord, when you arrive safely, if God will, among [your people who are likewise] safe, that you inform me of your arrival

10 at your place of residence; and I shall praise God for that. And everyone in Alexandria[11], from among our friends

11 —May they be blessed[6]!—is grieved at your departure[12], praying[13] God for you [that He will] grant of you the pious prayer,

12 and not scatter you nor scatter[14] us from our native cities. And inform me, O my Lord,

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[9] See No. XXVII, note 32. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 493.

[10] See No. XXXIII, *recto*, line 28.

[11] אסכנדריה. [12] צ for ס.

[13] Vernacular form.

[14] יישתנא.

13 פי כתאבך אן כאן ננפד לך אלגאריה אלי מליג כמא קררת מעה
14 ואן כאן ענדך פיהא ראי גיר דלך לאני מעול עלי אנפאדהא אליך בעד
וצול
15 כתאבך בדלך

Verso :

1 וכדאלך ..... מא סאלת חצרתך פי אלאגתמאע מע אלשיך אבו
אלמפצל פי מא
2 יתעלק באל ליאן למלי ינעאק עלי תוגיהה ומא כתבתה לך פי אל
תדכרה אעלמת
3 מולאי דלך תכתין אפצל אלסלאם למולאי אל שיך אבו סעד
סלמהאלאאלמה ומולאי
4 אלשיך אבו אל חסן יחצה באלסלאם ווליה נהראי ולדי יקבל ידה ויכצה
אל סלאם ולאברהם
5 אלערוס יכין חצרתה בלסלאם ומן ענדנא סגיר וכביר ויקבלו חצרתה
ויכצוה בלם
6 ויסאלה לא ינסאנא מן דעוה צאלחה ושלום וחיים טובים אמן ונחבך לא
תקטענא ושלום

Address :

1 חצרה מולאי החבר גדול [הי]שיבה מחבהא ושאכרהא נתן בן
נהראי נע
2 רבנו נהראי ביר נסים זל
3 אטאל אללה בקאהא ואדאם עזהא

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15 Maghribī form.

16 See *Yāḳūt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. iv, p. 639, But near which Maḥallah ?

17 Omission or inadvertent change of construction : בְּאַן .. לְאַן לְמַוְלַאי.

13 in your [next] letter whether I[15] shall send you the female slave to Malīj[16] as I agreed with him,
14 or whether you have in regard to her another opinion, for I had made up my mind to send her to you after the arrival of
15 your letter in regard to that [matter];

Verso:

1 and so.....I did not ask your Excellency about the meeting with the Sheikh Abū al-Mufaḍḍal concerning the matter which
2 depends upon the[17] — because my Lord was prevented from sending him[18]; and I did not write it to you in the memorandum. I have informed
3 my Lord of this. [Please] give [my] most distinguished salutations especially[19] to my Lord the Sheikh Abū Sa'd[20].....[21], and my Lord
4 the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Isaac, with greetings, and his parents[22]. Nahrāi, my boy, kisses his hand, and sends him special greetings. And to Abraham,
5 the bridegroom, his Excellency, he sends especial greetings. And so do we, great and small, kiss his Excellency and send him especial greetings,
6 and beg him not to forget us, by way of a pious wish. So, Peace and good health, Amen[6]! And we wish you not to cut us off. Farewell[6]!

Address:

[To] his Excellency, my Lord, the Ḥābēr, the Great One of the Yashībhah, our Rabbi Nahrāi, son of Rabbi Nissīm[23]. May God prolong his[24] life and continue his[24] strength!

[From] his[24] affectionate and grateful Nathan, son of Nahrāi, whose rest [is in] Eden.

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[18] The same person as in *recto*, line 13?

[19] تَخْتَصّ. [20] See *recto*, line 5.

[21] Is this a twice unsuccessful attempt to write אלסלאם?

[22] וואלדיה.

[23] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 206; vol. ii, p. 248.

[24] ה = ـُ-. Cf. No. 11, note 25.

XXXV. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

See the introductions to Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII and XXXIV, which this fragment resembles in writing and language. Although the hand is careless, it is not quite so bad as that of the other fragments mentioned; and some of the characters have a different form. The language also is better. *Verso* bears earlier Arabic writing.

Recto:

1 כתאבי יסידי ומולאי וריסי אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם עזך סלך צפר ען
סלאמה

2 ואלחמד ללה רב אל עאלמין וכאן קד וצל אל חאיך אלי הונה וסט אלעיד
וגאתני

3 רסאלה בוצולה וכרגת אליה ואוצל כתאבך אלמחּשי אעדאר קד כאן הו

4 אשטר מני ראי אנך מתואני ואנת תריד מן יגיך אלי דכאנך עלם [א]ן

5 חאגה לא תנקצי לה ולא לי פמצי הו בנפסה אלי בן אלבצרי ודפע אליה אל

6 כז דינר ונצף עלי ל קצבה דפע אליה יום קבצה אלדנניר ה קצבאת תם

7 אסתגד אל באקי קליל וקליל ותכלין ולם יערפך כמא עמל בל ידאפעך

8 כמא קד דכרתה פליתהּ ערפך וכנת תמצי מעה פכאן הו ית · רדּ אליה

9 ויאכד כל יום וכל וקת מא סהל חתי תנקצי אל חאגה ואמא אלקעוד

10 מתי אתפק לך פרגה ונשטה מצית אליה מצי·מן לא ישתרי

11 שי אלא יד ביד וקד כנא אנא ואנת אול מא עאמלנאה מא וגדנא ענדה

12 אלא ניף ען ל קצבה ודפענא אל ק דינר ואסתופית קליל וקליל פלו כנת
דפעת

13 אליה אלדנניר מן וקת וצולה וקאל לך תצבר שהר לכאן אנגצך פי אקרב

14 וקת ליכנך פעלת אנת פעל מן יכאף יכרג אלדאר מן ידה פלא יעוד

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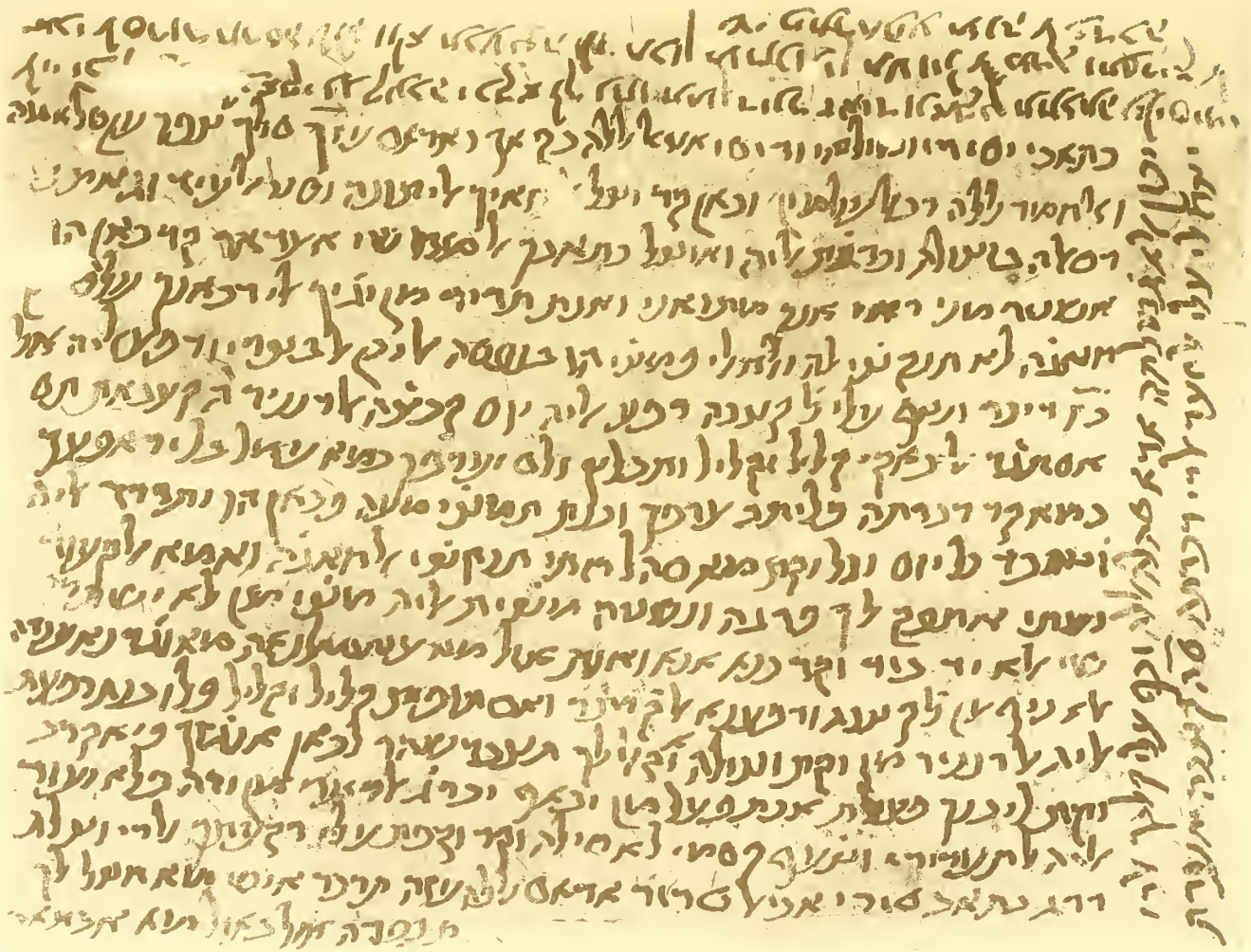
[1] Koran, Sūrah i, *v.* 1. [2] هُنَا.

[3] Vernacular. Literally: "He was cleverer than I."

[4] Vernacular. [5] al-Būṣīrī? [6] A ḳaṣabah = about 11 ft. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

[7] Vernacular *dánanīr*.

[8] The missing letter is perhaps a deleted ד. The form was then *yitrádd*, Egyptian vernacular for يَرْتَدّ.



Genizah Fragment 35 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 35 b

XXXV. LETTER

Two men, both Jews, have for more than forty years engaged in business together; one of them, the writer of this letter, travelling about, the other remaining at home, as indeed was often the case in partnerships. They handled general merchandise, but especially cloth. They advanced money to weavers, and took the cloth as it was produced.

The writer now complains of his partner's inertia and timidity, and of his own exertions and losses: perhaps merely the business usage of the time.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter [to you], O my Lord and Master and Chief. May God prolong your life, and continue your strength! [The month of] Ṣafar has come in peace;

2 and praise belongs to God, the Lord of the Worlds[1]! The weaver has arrived here[2] in the midst of the Festival, and a letter

3 has come to me through his arrival. I went out to [meet] him, and he delivered your letter, stuffed with excuses. [You write:] "He has

4 taken advantage of me[3]." My opinion is that you are shiftless, and want people to come to *you* in your shop. He knew that

5 nothing[4] would be done for him or for me [through you]; so, he went to Ibn al-Baṣrī[5] in person, and [the latter] paid him the

6 twenty-seven dīnārs and a half on 30 ḳaṣabahs[6]. He delivered to [the latter] on the day when he received the dīnārs[7], 5 ḳaṣabahs [of cloth]. Then

7 he did the same thing with the rest [of the cloth], little by little, and at last it was finished. And he did not tell you how he was getting along. On the contrary, he kept putting you off,

8 as I have said. If he had only told you, and you had gone along with him! But he went back[8] to [Ibn al-Baṣrī[5]],

9 and [the latter] took every day and each time what was convenient, until the business[4] was settled. And as for sitting idle:

10 [Tell me,] when have relief and joy[9] ever come to you by chance? You went to [the weaver] as one goes who does not buy

11 anything except for cash[10]. Now, you and I, the first time we did business with him, found [that] he had no

12 more than a little in excess of 30 ḳaṣabahs. Yet we paid the 100 dīnārs, and you got all the rest [of the cloth] little by little. But if *you* had paid

13 him the dīnārs[7] at the time of his arrival, and he had said to *you* "Wait a month," it would have troubled you in a very short

14 time, because *you*[11] would have acted as one who fears that the house will walk away under one's very eyes, so that the profit does not

---

[9] نَشَاطَة? [10] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 849. [11] لِكَوْنِكَ?

15 אליה אלתעדיד וצעף קסמי לא חילה וקד וקפת עלי רקעתך אלדי וצלת
16 דרג כתאב סידי אבי אלסרור אדאם אללה עזה תדכר איש מא חצל לך
17 תנפדה אול באול מא אכתאר

Margin: (*a*)

יכון אלא גמלתה אדא סהלה אללה וכף עלי קלבך אלדי | יצח לי עלי
אלסעד אלדי דכרתה סה קצבה אנפדה

Margin: (*b*)

אליי יכ[ון...א]לבאקי נג קצבה יבקא לך נחו תמן דינר זאיד ונאקץ תתבתה
עלי סידי | אבי אלסרור חרסה אללה ולא תבעצה לי תכון מתבתין תטויל
אל מדה ותפריק אל | שי פתרתפע מנה אל ברכה

Verso:

1 לו כאנת מעי אלף דינר ותאכד לי מנהא דל קדר הדה אלמדה כלהא
לקד כאן
2 ותר פי חאלי סימא צעלוך תחת תעדיד ואליו הוא נושא את נפשו הדא
3 קסמי לי פי צחבתך ניף עלי מ סנה תערף גירי ירד שהאדתי לי כל וקת עלי
4 מעני וכתרת מקאסאתי ללאספאר פי
5 הדא אלעמר ותפצלת וועדת וקלת לא תתענא ותקאסי אלבר ואלבחר פי כל
6 קדר אנפד אליי מא שית פאני אקום לך בשראה ואנפאדה פעולת עלי קולך
7 פלם יסאעדני קסמי לים חילה תתפצל ימולאי ותחצל לי הדה אלכג קצבה
8 ותנפדהא מגתמעא לא
9 מקטעה מנעמה
10 אן שא אללה וחסבי אללה וחדה

1 لسيد بو سعد... ابن ابى سلامه بن على بن المصرى من اسرائيل بن اسرايل بن دانيال
2 اطال الله بقاه وادام..... الفسطاط
3 ..... اعز الله
4 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
5 وصل كتاب حضرة مولاى القاضى الامام اطال الله بقاه وادام عزه
6 وكبت عدوه واباد حاسده

---

12 Hebrew.
13 Cf. Egyptian vernacular *dilwaḳt.*
14 Hebraism.
15 Hebrew. Deut. xxiv, 15.
16 "in this age."
17 عَنِيَ) تَتَعَنَّ V. jussive) and مُعْنٍ) مُعْنِيَّ + ى).

15 return to him. My share has decreased—no deception [about it]. And I have called attention to your epistle, which has arrived at the [same] moment [as]
16 the letter of my Lord Abū al-Sarūr—May God continue his strength!— You say: "What[4] has happened[4] to you?"
17 Send first of all what he prefers:

Margin: (a)

Let it be [anything] except the whole of it. When God has made it easy [to do so], and you are not worried about what I am entitled to from al-Sa'd—[the matter] which I mentioned: 65 ḳaṣabahs—send it

Margin: (b)

to me. Let the remainder, 53 ḳaṣabahs....., remain yours—about the value of a dīnār, more or less. Charge it against my Lord Abū al-Sarūr—May God protect him!—and do not divide it with me. Let the two [things] agreed upon be: extension of the term, and distribution of the thing. So there will arise from it a blessing[12].

Verso.

1 If I had had a thousand dīnārs, and you had taken this[13] amount [from] me for all this length of time, the
2 ruin in my condition would have been like [the ruin of] a beggar, instead of[14] profit: "And upon it he setteth his heart[15]." This [has been]
3 my lot in partnership [with] you [during] more than 40 years. You know others besides me who will bear out my testimony at any time as to
4 my bitter toil[17] and the greatness of my patience to [undertake] journeys
5 at my age[16]. You were most kind to promise and say: "Do not distress[17] yourself and endure [hardship] on[18] land and sea without
6 limit. Send me whatever you like, and I will see to selling it and sending it off for you." So I relied upon your word.
7 But my share did not help me—no deception [about it]. Be so good, my Lord, and let me have 23 ḳaṣabahs.
8 And send them together; not
9 cut up, chopped up—
10 if it please God. God only is my sufficiency!

In Arabic letters[19]*:*

1 To the Sayyid Bū Sa'd.....Ibn Abū Salāmah Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Maṣrī. From Israel Ibn Israel Ibn Daniel.
2 May God lengthen his life and continue..... Fusṭāṭ.
3 ..... May God strengthen!
4 In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate[20]!
5 The letter of his Excellency my Lord the Kadi the Imām has arrived. May God lengthen his life and prolong his strength
6 and confound his enemy, and destroy him who envies him!

---

[18] אל for *'āl*, Egyptian vernacular for ..عَلَى آلْ.

[19] Extremely uncertain. [20] Muslim formula.

XXXVI. AN ACCOUNTING

Paper $10\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters, distinctly written and well preserved. Decipherment would be easy, were it not for the peculiar nature of the contents.

On the *verso* are notes, in another hand, like that of No. XVIII, and apparently in Arabic; but they are badly written and badly preserved. The words "gold" and "silver" can occasionally be made out.

Recto:

בשמ׳

1 חסאב אלשיך אבו אל אפראח ערוסה יוסף

2 לך מעי יא סיידי עדל ארגואן אלוזן דקנאטיר

3 ונצף ורבע׳ אלסער יד אלקנטר אלתמן סו

4 די׳ ורבע׳ ולה נצף ורבע די׳ שדאד וחבל ונטע

5 ולה ה דנא׳ ברסם אלמאונה אלגומלה עב׳ ד׳

---

6 אלדי כרג מאונה ען דלך חמל אלמרכב א

7 ברטיל ללבחרין א׳ ואגב צנאעה נצף די׳

8 כתם וגהבדה ועלאמה רקעה ומא אנצרף

9 לאבו מחמד תמן די׳׳ מעאדרה א ונצף

10 עתאלין ב ונצף׳ ספוד רבע׳ אמין תמן

---

11 מא אנצרף פי רשיד אוגרה מרכב תמן די׳

12 ואגב רבע וסדס וחבה׳ שכין א׳ סאחל

13 רבע׳ מקיד נצף ותמן׳ כבז ללגמאל וללמחארם

14 רבע ותמן׳ מועדייה א׳ ג מחארם נצף ורבע

---

[1] ברוך שם המפורש = בשמ׳.

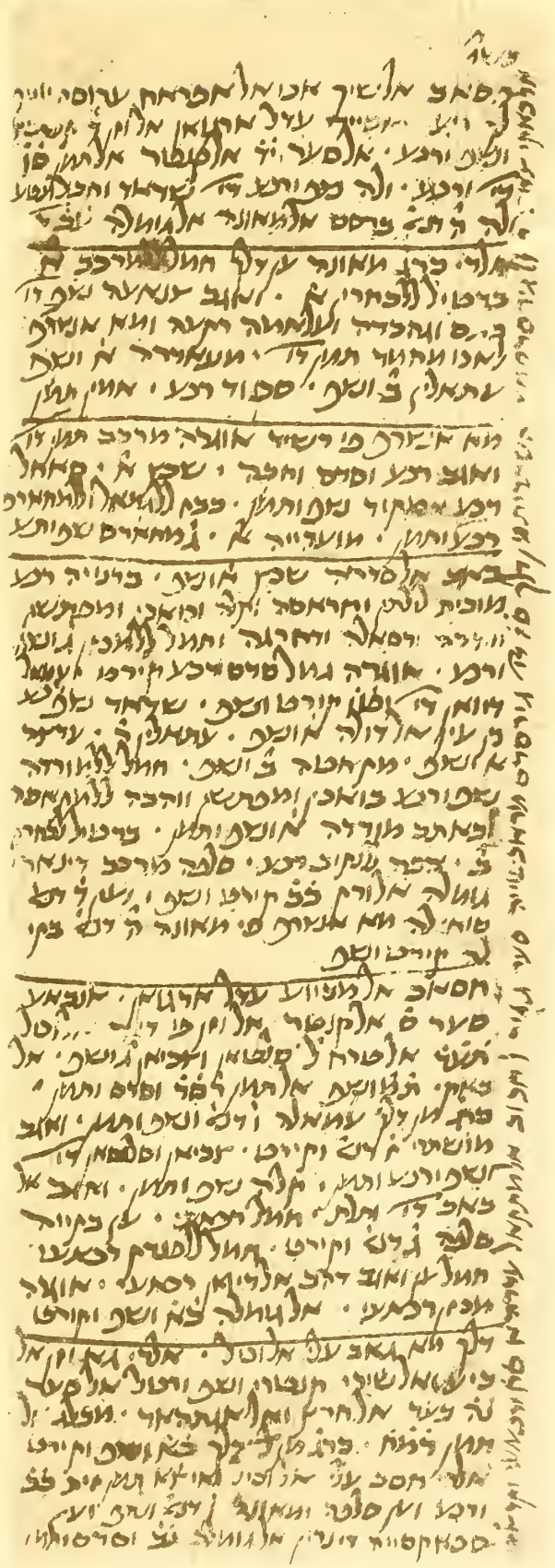
[2] I.e. "three-quarters." All fractions, except two-thirds, were expressed in Egypt by unit-fractions. Thus $\frac{7}{8}=\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{4}+\frac{1}{8}$. See L. C. Karpinski, *The History of Mathematics*, 1925, p. 121.

[3] Context seems to demand these renderings of سِعْر and ثَمَن.

[4] I.e. "you."

[5] Without the article and with חבל this word must mean some commodity viewed collectively, though there is no authority for this rendering.

[6] Cf. the plural of this word in a similar accounting, No. XIV, *verso b*, line 3.



XXXVI. AN ACCOUNTING

This is an account rendered by some unnamed person to Abū al-Afrāḥ ʻArūsah Joseph. No dates nor places are named.

Many different sorts of expenses, charges, officials and commodities are mentioned. One cannot be sure of the meaning of such contemporary technical terms. Also, the amounts are not always followed by the name of the coin. If the dīnār were everywhere assumed, the sums would often be too large.

Recto:

Blessed be the Name[1]!

1 Account of the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ ʻArūsah Joseph:
2 You have in my keeping, Sir, a bale of purple [goods], the weight [of which is] 4 ḳinṭārs
3 and a half and a quarter[2], the [purchase] price[3] [of which is] 14 the ḳinṭār, [and] the value[3] [of which is] 66
4 dīnārs and a quarter. And he[4] has a half and a quarter[2] dīnār['s worth of] twine[5] and rope and leather matting[6].
5 And he[4] has five dīnārs[' worth of] clover [for] the provisioning[7] [of the animals], the sum total [being] 72 dīnārs[8].

---

6 What is deducted [for] provisioning from this: Ship's porterage, 1.
7 Pourboires for the sailors, 1. Obligation of the craft[9], a half dīnār.
8 [Fee for] seal, and revenue-tax[10], and [for] signature [on] papers, and what was paid
9 to Abū Muḥammad: an eighth of a dīnār. Apology[11], one and a half.
10 Porters, two and a half. Spit[11], a quarter. Inspector, an eighth.

---

11 What was expended in Rosetta: Ship's hire, an eighth of a dīnār.
12 Obligation[9], a quarter and a sixth, and a ḥabbah[12]. [One] person, 1. Sea-shore[11],
13 a quarter. Registrar, a half and an eighth[2]. Bread for the camel-driver and for the women[13],
14 a quarter and an eighth. Ferry[14], 1. Three women[13], a half and a quarter.

---

[7] بَرْسِيم المَؤُونَة.

[8] $66\frac{1}{4}+\frac{3}{4}+5=72$.

[9] Fee paid to some guild? Fee paid for the privilege of doing business?

[10] جَهْبَذَة. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 226.

[11] Plainly written common words, but evidently in some technical or cryptic sense.

[12] I.e. "grain," "trifle." This seems to be a unit of weight and a coin. Its value is uncertain.

[13] مَحَارِم plural of مَحْرَمَة. [14] مُعَدِّيَّة

15 באב אלסדריה שבין א ונצף · ברנייה רבע
16 מובית לילתין וחראסה וקלה ובואב · ומפתשין
17 ותדרה ורסאלה ודחרגה וחמל ללמכזן ג ונצף
18 ורבע · אוגרה גמל סדם ורבע קירט · עמאל
19 דיואן די׳ וטו קירט ונצף · שראד נצף ורבע
20 בן עין אלדולה א ונצף · עתאלין ה · ערצה
21 א ונצף · מקחטה ב ונצף · חמל ללמורדה
22 נצף ורבע בואבין ומפתשין ווהבה ללמקחטה
23 וכאתב מודדה א ונצף ותמן · ברטיל לבחרין
24 ב · והבה ללנקיב רבע · סלפה מרכב דינאר ·
25 גומלה אלורק כב קירט ונצף · ועין ד דנא
26 סוא לה מא אנצרף פי מאונה ה דנא׳ בקי
27 לה קירט ונצף

---

28 חסאב אלמבייע עדל ארגואן · אנבאע
29 סער ס אלקנטר אלוזן פי דיואן[ן] אלוכיל
30 תעד אלטרח ל · סלטאן וצביאן ג ונצף · אל
31 באקי תמ ונצף אלתמן רסד וסדם ותמן ·
32 כרג מן דלך עמאלה ו דנא׳ ונצף ותמן · ואגב ·
33 מושתרי ז דנא׳ וקירט · צביאן וסלטאן די׳
34 ונצף ורבע ותמן · קלה נצף ותמן · ואגב אל
35 באב די׳ ותלת · חמל רכאבי · ען בקייה
36 סלפה ג דנא׳ וקירט · חמל ללפנדק רבאעי
37 חמל ען ואגב דהב אלדיואן רבאעי · אוגרה
38 מכזן רבאעי · אלגומלה כא ונצף וקירט

---

15 Abbreviated. Or perhaps another place name.

16 Colloquial *bárānīya* for بَرَّانِيَّة.

17 مُبِيت for مَبِيت. 18 ותדכרה?

15 [At] the gate of Alexandria[15]: [One] person, one and a half. External[16],
a quarter.
16 Lodging[17] for two nights, and guard, and a water-bottle, and door-keeper,
and inspectors,
17 and ticket[18], and letter, and rolling and carrying [of bales] to the ware-
house, three and a half
18 and a quarter. Hire of camel, a sixth and a quarter ḳīrāṭ. Agent
19 of the office, a dīnār and 15 ḳīrāṭs and a half. Twine[5], a half and a
quarter.
20 [To] Ibn ʿAin al-Daulah, one and a half. Porters, 5. Exhibition,
21 one and a half. Scraper[11], two and a half. Carrying to the place of
embarkation,
22 a half and a quarter. Porters, and inspectors, and gift[19] to the scraper[11],
23 and the scribe of the place of embarkation, one and a half and an eighth.
Pourboires for sailors,
24 two. And gift[19] to the chief, a quarter. Breakfast [for] the ship['s crew],
a dīnār.
25 Total of the paper, 22 ḳīrāṭs and a half. And cash, 4 dīnārs.
26 Equalled by[20] what was spent in provisioning, 5 dīnārs. Balance
27 to his[4] credit, a ḳīrāṭ and a half.

---

28 Account of the sale[21] of the bale of purple [goods]. It was sold,
29 price 60 the ḳinṭār, the weighing in the office of the representative.
30 Four hundred and seventy-four, tribute to the Sultan; and [to] the
youths, three and a half. The
31 balance, 430 and a half. The value, 264 and a sixth and an eighth.
32 There were deducted from this: Wages, six dīnārs and a half and an
eighth. Obligation
33 of the seller[22], seven dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ. Youths and Sultan, a dīnār
34 and a half and a quarter and an eighth. Water-bottle, a half and an
eighth. Obligation of the
35 gate, a dīnār and a third. Hauling, a rubāʿī[23]. From the balance:
36 Breakfast, three dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ. Carrying to the hostelry[24], a
rubāʿī[23].
37 Favor to the gold obligation of the office, a rubāʿī. Hire of
38 place, a rubāʿī. The total: 21 and a half and a ḳīrāṭ.

---

[19] وَهْبَة for هِبَة. [20] سَوَّى لَهُ. [21] for مَبِيع [22] مُشْتَرى.

[23] I.e. a quarter of a dīnār. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 504.

[24] فُنْدُق = *πανδοχεῖον*.

39 דלך מא גאב עלי אלוכיל׳ אלדי גא וזן אל
40 ביע ואלשירי קנטרין ונצף ורטל אלסער
41 נה בעד אלחרין ואלאגתהאד׳ מבלג אל
42 תמן רמח׳ כרג מן דלך כא ונצף וקירט
43 אלדי חסב עלי אלוכיל ואיצא תמן זית כב
44 ורבע ועז סלפה ומאונה ו דנא/ ונצף׳ ועז
45 סכא קסייה דינרין אלגומלה נב וסדם ותמן

Margin:

אלבאקי צא[ר] ... גיר סדם ... אשתרית מן דלך סו די/ גיר סדם
מראכשייה סער תגיר ו חבוב אלמתקאל עדדהא סח ורבאעי וקדצ.

---

[25] شِرًى. [26] A ל has been deleted.

39 This is what the representative brought me. The result was: Weight of the
40 selling and the buying[25], two ḳinṭārs and a half and a roṭl. The price,
41 fifty-five, after being greedy and zealous. Amount of the
42 value, 248. Deducted from this[26], 21 and a half and a ḳīrāṭ.
43 What the representative charged against me, and also value of oil, 22
44 and a quarter. And in the way of breakfast and provisions, six dīnārs and a half. And in the way of
45 generosity, though hard, two dīnārs. The total, 52 and a sixth and an eighth.

Margin:

The remainder amounted to ... less a sixth.....I bought from that, 67 dīnārs less a sixth, [in] Moroccan money. Price of the exchange[27], 5 ḥabbahs[12] to the mithḳāl. The number of them was 68 and a rubā'ī and.....

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[27] تَغْيِير or تَغَيُّر.

XXXVII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{1}{8} \times 4$ inches.

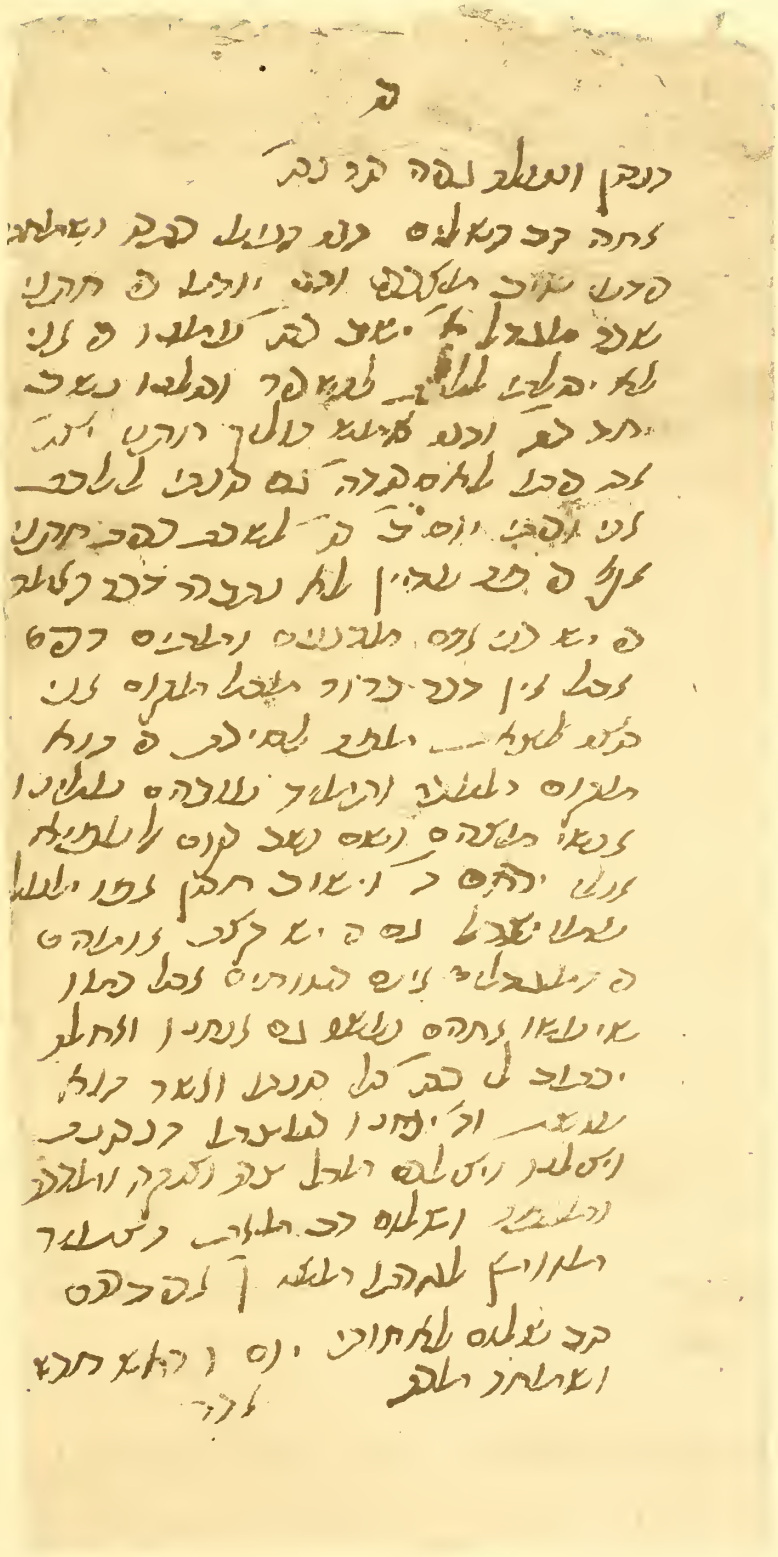
Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The language is exceptionally good. The writing, though apparently plain, gives some difficulty because of the unusual forms of some of the letters, and the way in which they are combined.

There is no date ; but the occurrence of a watermark places the fragment certainly after A.D. 1282. See Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 1907. Unfortunately the watermark is indistinct.

בה׳

1 הנבון ונעלה גבירי בני כת׳
2 אחרי רוב השלום הנה הגיע כתבו ושמחתי׳
3 בידעי טוב מצבתו והנה יודע כי חתני
4 שכר מגדל א׳ ישב בה עמנו כי אני
5 לא יכולתי ללכת להשכיר וכולנו נשב
6 יחד בה והנה אמש הוליך חתני יצא
7 את ביתו אל אסכנדרי׳ גם כונתי ללכת
8 אני וביתי יום ב׳ כו׳ לשבת בבית חתני
9 אף כי פה עדיין לא נתברר דבר האמת׳
10 כי יש בני אדם מרננים ומתים רבים
11 אבל אין דבר ברור מכל מקום אני
12 רוצה לצאת מפה לסיכת כי הוא
13 מקום מעבר ותמיד עוברים עלינו
14 אנשי מצרים ושם נשב קום אלעפיא
15 אולי ירחם ה׳ וישוב חרון אפו מעל
16 עמו ישראל גם כי יש קצת אומרים
17 כי המגדלים אינם בטוחים אבל כמו
18 שיעשו אחרים נעשה גם אנחנו ואחלה
19 יכתוב לי כת׳ כל כונתו ואשר הוא
20 עושה וה׳ יניחנו בעצתו הנכונה
21 ויצילנו ויצילכם מכל צרה וצוקה ומדבר
22 ומכפן ושלום רב מאת הצעיר
23 מאמן לאהבתו משה ן אבי דרהם
24 רוב שלום לאחותי יום ו ראש חדש
25 ושמחה מבת אדר



XXXVII. LETTER

From Moses Ibn Abū Dirham, to a younger man who is unnamed.

The writer is about to leave his present place of residence, and remove to Sīkat[9], near Alexandria, where he will live with his son-in-law in a "tower." There he will be safe from the present persecution, and enjoy a prosperous business upon the highway of travel.

Blessed be the Name[1]!

O Intelligent and Exalted Sir, my Son, Crown of the Law[2]!
After many greetings[3]: His[4] letter has arrived; and I am glad
to know[5] of his[4] good condition. And know that my son-in-law[6]
has rented a[7] tower[8] to live in with us. For I
cannot go to rent [one]; so, all of us are to live
together in it. And last night my son-in-law went down
with his household to Alexandria. [It is] my intention also to go,
I and my household, Monday, the 26th, to dwell in the house of my son-in-law[6],
even though no trustworthy information has reached here as yet:
for there are people rejoicing, and many people dead—
yet there is no trustworthy information. At all events I
should like to go away from here to Sīkat[9], for it [is]
a place of passage; and [there will be] passing by us continually
people of Egypt; so that we shall dwell there like prosperous folk[10].
Perhaps God[11] will have mercy and His anger will depart from
His people Israel[12]—even though there are some who say
that the towers[8] are untrustworthy. But as
others have done, [so] we also shall do. And I hope
that he[4] will write me a letter[13] [expressing] all of his intention, and what he[4]
[is going to] do. And may God[11] give us peace with His wise counsel;
and deliver us and you from every anxiety and oppression, and from pestilence[14],
and from famine! Many greetings from [my] unimportant [self who]
rely upon his[4] love, Moses Ibn Abū Dirham[15].
Many greetings to my sister, and joy from [my] household!
Friday, first day of the month of Adar.

---

[1] ה׳ = ברוך השם. [2] ת׳כ = כתר תורה. [3] For the Arabic بعد السلام.
[4] "his" = "your," "he" = "you." [5] Inf. with ב and suffix.
[6] Or "father-in-law." [7] א׳ = אחר [8] I.e. "strongly built house"?

[9] Some place near Alexandria? Perhaps سِكَّة "road," the second element of the name being lost. [10] Arabic قوم العافية. [11] הַשֵּׁם.
[12] Numbers xxv, 4. [13] כְּתָב. [14] וּמִדָּבָר.
[15] Arabic: Abū Dirham, "the man [who collects the] dirham." On this celebrated Spanish family see the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *sub voce*.

XXXVIII. POETIC BIBLICAL PARAPHRASES

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches, folded so as to form four pages all of which are filled with writing.

Hebrew in a large square Hebrew hand, very much effaced on three of the pages.

The original verse division has been all but lost by the copyist. On *recto* (*b*) and *verso* (*a*) it can only occasionally be discovered, but on the other two pages it is quite evident, although it is not followed.

Recto : (*b*)

1 לביתו ורש . . . . . .
2 ויאמר מלך בא [ואשל]חה [ס]פר
3 אל כל ישראל ויב[א ע]ם ה[ספר]
4 נעמן ויבא מכספ[ו ו]מזהב[ו ויהי]
5 בקרוא מלך ישראל ויקרע ב[גדיו]
6 בדאבן ויהי לסף שמו[נה ימים]
7 וישלח לו [לאמר את] יי ירא . וי[בא]
8 [נע]מן בס[וסיו] וברכבו וישלח
9 מלך רד [וטב]ול בירדן ואלהים
10 לך למחסה· ויקצף נעמן וינאץ
11 [וי]חב את פיהו במפשה . הלא
12 [נהרו]ת דמשק טובים [לט]בל ב[ם]
13 . . . . . ויגשו עבד[יו ו]ידבר[ו]
14 אל[יו ויאמרו] אבי דבר ג[דו]ל
15 הנביא דבר [אל]יך הלא תעשה
16 וילך סחוף ו[יטב]ול ויתחל ב[שרו]
17 [ש]וב להה[יות כדבר] איש האלהים

Verso : (*a*)

1 [וימאן] לל[כת . . . . .ו]פגע בו לקחת [הון]
2 [כסף] וזהב וכל מקח ויאמר חי יי
3 [א]שר עמדתי לפניו אם אקח .
4 ויאמר צעקתי קרבני במשאות
5 אדמה במ[רץ] רצוני שוב

[1] Cf. al-Harīzī, *Tahkemōnī*, Chapter iii.

XXXVIII. POETIC BIBLICAL PARAPHRASES

This fragment seems to contain remnants of poetic paraphrases of Biblical passages[1], at times with rime and division into verses, but with no apparent meter.

Verso (*b*) and *recto* (*a*) have been rearranged so as to display the intended verse division and rime. This was not possible with the other two pages. Conjectural text supplied between brackets by Professor Gottheil has been translated without brackets.

Recto: (*b*)

1 to his house and.....
2 [2]And the King said: "Go now, and I will send a letter
3 unto all Israel." So there went with the letter
4 Naaman. And he took of his silver and of his gold. And it came to pass,
5 when the King of Israel read, that he rent his garments
6 in sorrow. And it came to pass at the end of eight days
7 that he sent to him, saying: "Fear the Lord!" And Naaman
8 came with his horses and his chariot. And [the] King
9 sent [word, saying]: "Go down and dip [thyself] in the Jordan; and God [will be]
10 for thee a refuge." And Naaman became angry, and spurned [him],
11 and he opened his mouth, making it wide, [and he said]: "Are not the rivers of
12 Damascus good to dip [oneself] in?"
13 .....And his servants drew near and spake
14 unto him and said: "My Father, a great thing
15 the Prophet hath spoken unto thee. Wilt thou not do [it]?"
16 And he went humbly, and dipped [himself]; and his flesh began
17 to return to being as the Man of God had spoken.

Verso: (*a*)

1 And he refused to go.....and he begged him to accept goods:
2 silver and gold and every [sort of] gift. And he said: "As Jehovah liveth,
3 before whom I stand, I will receive none."
4 And he said: "I cried out: 'Approach me with presents
5 of earth. Earnestly[3] I wish to repent.

---

[2] The following is based upon II Kings, Chap. v.

[3] מְרֵץ, עֲרֵץ, הְרֵץ: inventions to rime with אֲרֵץ. See Zunz, *Zur Synagogalen Poesie*, pp. 314, 385; *Literaturgeschichte d. S. P.*

6 אפתה לאל שוכן שמי ערין.
7 [ת]חבולות מאד ארבה בהשתחוותי
8 פני בתרין. ויאמר לו לך לשלום
9 ו[ילך מע]תו כברת ארין. ועל
10 שפת [הי]ם/ אחרי מות/

11 אוכרה היום יום החמה והחרון.
12 [ב]השרף השרפה מול פני הארון.
13 וידבר יי׳ אל משׁ אהׂ מׂ שׁ בׂ אׂ
14 [ג]ורו לכם מפני משנה שברון.
15 [דמו]ת יום זה תהי לכם לזכרון.
16 ויאמר יי׳ אל משה דבר אל אׂ הנני
17 מעלה לך ארוכה שימנה לַעְנק
18 לג [רנך] על ספר חוקה ותהי ליום
19 אחר[ון] בואה . . . . . ין יבא

Verso: (b)

1 תפנה מרשות . . . . . תך היה דורש וחוק[ר לא תעש]ק את
2 רעך ולא תגזול [ולא] תלין פעולת שכיר אתך עד בוקר.

3 ביטה במדרש שלשה חדשים וסור ממתי מחשול
4 ראה בדת שלשה עורים ופזר ביותר ושול תשו[ל]
5 לא תקלל חרש ולפני עור לא ת[תן] מכשול. .

6 בעשרה דברים שב[הם] אין לדין תבין ומעול חדל מח[דול].
7 יום תראה הדין מרומם מדבר שקר בדל לך מבדול.
8 לא תעשה עול במשפט לא תשא פני דל ולא תהדר פני גדול.

9 ירא את יי׳ ואל תהי רכיל מגלה סוד חבריך ויודעיך.
10 צמת שלשה רופרין והצל שלשה נרדפין בנפשם וחכה לבא [י]שעך.
11 לא תלך רכיל בעמך ולא תעמוד [על] דם רעך.

---

[4] The portion of the law (Leviticus xvi, 1–18, 30) read upon the Day of Atonement.
[5] Job xix, 29. [6] Jeremiah xvii, 18. [7] Exodus xii, 14.
[8] Isaiah xxx 8. [9] Leviticus xix, 13 ff. [10] For הַבִּיטָה.

6 I will return to God, who dwells in [the] awful[3] heavens.
7 I will greatly multiply deceptions when I bow
8 my face in reverence[3].'" And he said to him: "Go in peace."
9 And he departed from him a little way.—And [add here the poem which begins with the words]: "On
10 the shore of the sea"; and "After the death of [the two sons of Aaron[4]]":

11 Let me remember today the Day of Fury and Anger,
22 when a great burning appeared before the Ark,
13 and Jehovah spake unto Moses, after the death of the two sons of Aaron[4].
14 Be ye afraid of[5] a repeated disaster[6].
15 Let the like of this day be unto you a reminder[7].
16 And Jehovah said unto Moses: "Speak unto Aaron: 'Behold I
17 bring unto you a healing; make of it a necklace,
18 around thy neck; in a law book, and that it may remain unto [the] last day[8]!'"
19 .....

Verso: (b)

1 Turn thou away from the possessions of thy.....has sought and inquired after. [9]Thou shalt not oppress
2 thy neighbor, nor rob him: the wages of a hired servant shall not abide with thee all night until the morning.

3 Examine[10] [the Scriptures] by exegesis three months, and turn from men of weakness (?)[11].
4 Regard the law of three blind men, and scatter more widely, and draw out[11].
5 Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling block before the blind.

6 [The] Ten Commandments—concerning which no one is entitled to judge—shalt thou examine; and from the unrighteous [shalt thou] turn away[11].
7 On the day when thou seest [pretended] justice exalting itself, speaking lies, separate thyself with a separation[11].
8 Thou shalt do no unrighteousness in judgment. Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honor the person of the mighty.

9 Fear Jehovah, and be not a [carrier of] slander, revealing the secrets[12] of thy neighbors and thy friends.
10 Destroy three pursuers[13], and deliver three pursued in their persons, and await the coming of thy salvation.
11 Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer among thy people, neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbor.

---

11 מַחְשׁוֹל, מַחְדּוֹל and מַבְדּוֹל are purely artificial nouns invented to rime with מִכְשׁוֹל and גְּדוֹל. תְּשׁוּל: cf. Ruth ii, 16.

12 Proverbs xi, 13. 13 Read רודפין.

12 חדל לך משנא[ה] והוכיח תוכיח את עמיתיך.

13 ק[וה] אל ״ ויושיע[ך ואה]בת [לרעך].

Recto: (a)

1 . . . . . לא תשנא את [אחיך בלבבך] הת֯א עמ

2 מנקמה ונ[ט]ירה פרוש לך והוי זהיר לשיזך לתמוכה.

3 את הכלל ה[גדו]ל הזה שבתורה אחוז בו לסמוכה.

4 לא תקום ולא תטר אֹבֹ עֹ ואֹ לֹ כמֹ.

5 . . . . . חוקתי תשמרו ותהיו נש[מ]רים.

6 [שדה] כלאי זרעים [וכ]לאי בהמה וכלאי בגדים מהוברים.

7 [למע]ן זאת א[כ]פיל לכם שכר [מא]תכם נשכרים· אני ״ דבר [צד]ק מגיד מישרים.

8 ק[בל] את שכרה יום זה אתמ . . בית [יש] כהשמיע נביא להמוני תמט שכמם.

9 ויהי בשנה [השביעית ב]חמישי בעשור [לחדש] באו אנשים מזקני [יש] לדר[ו]ש

10 את ״ וישבו [לפני] . . . . . .

---

[14] Leviticus xix, 17 ff.

[15] Not the expected לרעך.

XXXIX. FRAGMENT OF MAIMONIDES

Paper 6 × 4¼ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

A portion of the *Yādh ha-Ḥazāḳāh* of Maimonides, corresponding to chapter vi, sections 17–21 of the edition of Jessnitz, 1739. Of section 21 the first three words only are written.

12 Cease thou from hatred, [yet] thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbors.
13 Hope in Jehovah and He will save thee, and love thy neighbor.

Recto: (*a*)

1 .....[14]Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart: thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbor.
2 From vengeance and spite shut thyself off. And be thou attentive to thy.....[15] to uphold [him].
3 This great command which is in the Law, take hold of it [as something] steadfast:
4 Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.
5 .....my laws ye shall keep, and ye shall be kept.
6 A field with two sorts of seed, and two sorts of cattle; and two sorts of garments, combined, [are forbidden].
7 Because of this I shall multiply unto you the produce of those [fields which are] rented by you. [16]I, Jehovah, speak righteousness, I declare things that are right.

8 The house of Israel received its reward this day.....when a prophet made the multitude around me.....hear.....their shoulders(?).
9 [17]And it came to pass in the seventh year, in the fifth [month], the tenth [day] of the month, that certain of the elders of Israel came to inquire
10 of Jehovah, and sat before me.

---

[16] Isaiah xlv, 19. [17] Ezekiel xx, 1.

XXXIX. FRAGMENT OF MAIMONIDES

Variants. In section 18, after והפנימי are four (?) words of which only the first, לבן, and the third, עוף, are legible; מותר for מותרת; ר' after טר במשהוא. In section 19, בכולן for בכולו; ראשו אחד for ראשו האחד; מותרת for מותר; אבל אם נקב הדק כשרה wrongly omitted (cf. *Shulḥan ʿArūkh, Yōrēh Deʿāh, Hilkhōth Ṭerēphōth,* section 43). In section 20, הכמים omitted; האיברים inserted after יותר מן; ניטלה for ניטל, unless the ה belongs to the following word; מותרות for מותרת; מכלל for בכלל; היותר for היתר.

XL. LEAVES FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF A MARRIAGE BROKER

Paper $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches, folded lengthwise so as to form four pages, all of which are filled with writing in the jumbled fashion of a note-book.

Arabic and Hebrew in half-square Hebrew characters.

This Jewish text has, quite uniquely, in addition to the usual Hebrew alphabetic numerals, Coptic numerals, arranged in a column, and scattered throughout the text. It is often impossible to see their relation to the adjacent words. They are Greek alphabetic numerals, in the cursive form employed by Christian Copts after they had given up Coptic for Arabic. In the absence of special type they must here be represented by the usual Coptic alphabetic numerals with the superior stroke. Except where the figures have a direct relation to the text they have been omitted in the Translation, because they cannot be reproduced typographically without making the page unintelligible.

The date is A.D. 1511.

Recto : (a)

באטנה יחיי דולסא

יהודה אבן גוא

בֿשֹּׁעֹּהֹ מֹּעֹּוֹלֹּהֹ

1 אלתקוים אלסעיד פי לילת אלאחד תאמן

2 יום שהר טבת שנת אתתכג לשטרות עלי

3 אלחתן הזקן ר׳ יהודה בר שלמה נע׳ בר׳ מאיר

4 נע׳ ידיע בן גוא אלכלה הבתולה הבוגרת

5 הקרואה דולסא בר׳ יצחק סט׳ בר יוסף

6 ידיע נעמן

7 אלמוקדם אלמאוחר

ϗ ϛϗ

8 מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן וכסותה עליו והדורה

והוא

9 ביד החתן אלנדוניא כאתם דהב מלך

ϛ

הובנע

10 שמלה ורכש דהב בטראטיר ורכש דהב כשמארין

11 לולו ורקאין דהב זיק דהב בזואיה ג׳ אזואג׳ אסאור

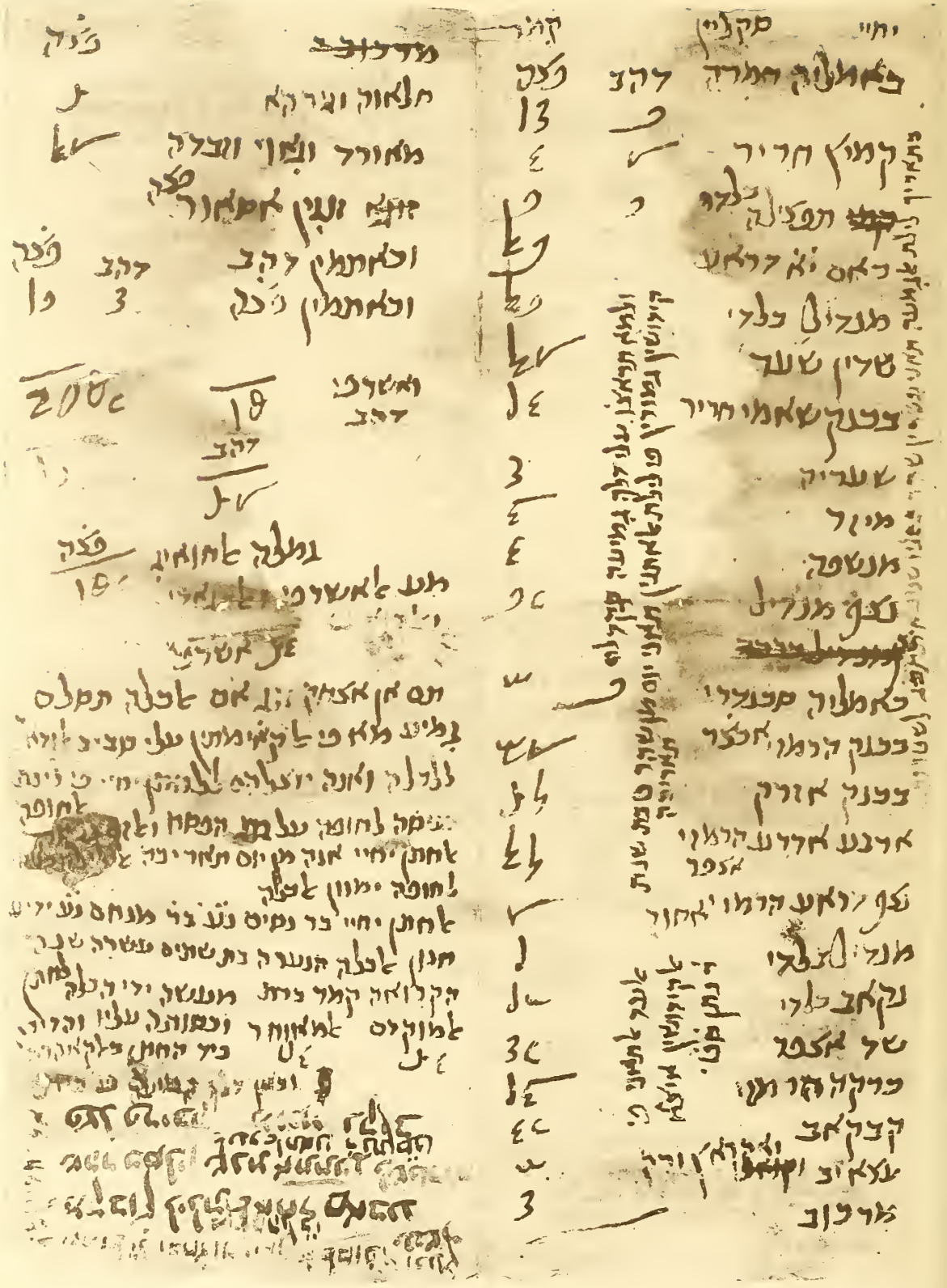
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[1] Evidently Spanish for "sweet." The girl seems to have had no Jewish name.

[2] In a different hand. The name occurs in line 4. Very uncertain vocalisation.

[3] Seleucid Era, beginning 312 B.C., which makes 1823 = A.D. 1511.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 40 a



XL. LEAVES FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF A MARRIAGE BROKER

In spite of the large square Hebrew titles, this is not a document nor a series of documents. The lack of legal precision and the jumbled condition of the pages show that it is a double leaf out of the note-book of some marriage broker, possibly a rabbi. It is simply a memorandum of the circumstances attending the marriage of certain persons, named; and is chiefly concerned with the invoicing of the brides' paraphernalia.

The *muḳdām* and the *me'uḥār* seem to refer to the old formal betrothal and the marriage proper, which at this time were beginning to be celebrated in quick succession. See Aaron Ben Elia of Nicomedia (*ca.* A.D. 1300–1369), *Gan Eden*, ed. Goslava, 1866, p. 142b, on Exodus xxi, 2. Professor Gottheil believes that, unless the Rabbinites had accepted the Karaite formula, it will be necessary to suppose that we are dealing with Karaite documents.

Recto: (*a*)

Confidential [memorandum of] Yaḥyā [as to] Dulce[1]
[and] Judah Ibn Jiwā'[2]

In a Propitious Hour!

1 This auspicious invoice [has been made] on the first night [of the week, the] eighth
2 day of the month of Ṭēbhēth, [of] the year of documents 1823[3], with reference to
3 the bridegroom[4], the Elder, Rabbi Judah Bar Solomon Bar Mē'īr,
4 known as Ibn Jiwā', [and] the bride[4], the marriageable virgin
5 called Dulce, daughter[5] of Rabbi Isaac Bar Joseph—A good omen!—
6 known as Naaman.
7 The advanced [gift][6], 20. The delayed [gift][6], 64[7].
8 The bride's handiwork [shall belong] to the bridegroom, but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense. And her ornamentation
9 the bridegroom has received. The dowry[8] is a ring of royal gold,
10 a garment, and a clasp[9] of gold with conical caps, and a clasp of gold, two Cashmere shawls[10],
11 a pearl, and a dancer of gold, a collar [with] gold at the corners[11], three pairs of bracelets

---

[4] Hebrew and Aramaic words creep in; and Hebrew words are often used with the Arabic article.

[5] בר for ברת? בר apparently for בַּר and not בן רבי in this document.

[6] Hebrew מְקֻדָּם and מְאוּחָר.

[7] The sign for 60 seems to have been deleted.

[8] נְדוּנְיָה. [9] For רֶכֶס. Above there is an unintelligible word.

[10] For כשמירין. [11] For זואיאה.

12 פצה אחד מטלה ה כואתם פצה בפצוין אחדהם סארג

13 וכאתם עקיק ד סלאסל וחק עאנ

14 מנדיל סכנדרי בקצב

15 נצף מנדיל בקצב מנדילין (נצפין) סכנדרי מנדיל הר

16 בכ הר בנפ בח קצב ושמלה מרס בחבבה (חריר)
הרמזי בנפסגי

17 בכ הר בנפ בח קצב מנדיל הר בנפ בקצב
ומרתעש

18 בכנק הר דם אלגזאל בח

19 אצטנבולי בכנק ה בח אצט רפיקין ושדוד
וטרח ועצאיב

20 זעבוט מגרבי ה זעאביט וגטא קנאדיל
וגיר דלך עדא
אלתמן

21 כאמליה כאמכה (בלדי) אזרק וכאם כמכה אכצר

22 קשר באדי אביארי גובה דם אלגול שאיה
גוך
קרמזי

Recto: (b)

1 סתארה ביצה בחואשי חריר דאיר קצין
בחואשי חריר

2 מלאתין ביין ומנדיל אביין

3 ד מכד ספארי ביין

---

12 سادج.

13 For סכנדריה.

14 See below. Hormuz is an island in the Persian Gulf.

12 of silver, one [of them] gilded, five rings of silver, one of them uncut[12],
13 and an agate ring, four chains and boxes of ivory,
14 an Alexandrine kerchief with gold thread,
15 half a kerchief with gold thread, two halves of two Alexandrine[13] kerchiefs, a Hormuzī[14] striped[15] kerchief with a silk ḥabara[16],
16 a purple Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara of gold thread[17], and a purple Hormuzī garment,
17 a purple Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara of gold thread, a purple Hormuzī kerchief with gold thread, and a trembler[18],
18 a gazelles' blood Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara,
19 a Stamboul veil—five [of them]—with a Stamboul ḥabara,
20 a Maghribī [woollen] smock—five [woollen] smocks,
18–20 two pairs of drawers, and shadds[19], and a tarḥ[20], and 'iṣābahs[19], and a lamp-cover, and [other things] besides this, in number, 13, the value, 10,
21 a kāmilīyah[21] of native blue damasquette, and a kāmilīyah of green damasquette,
22 a Bedouin garment of abyārī[22], a gazelles' blood jacket[23], articles[24] of crimson cloth,

Recto: (*b*)

1 a white veil with borders of silk, [something to wrap] about the breast, with borders of silk,
2 two white dressing-gowns, and a white kerchief,
3 four white safārī[25] combs[26].

---

[15] مُرَسَّم. [16] The modern name for a sort of black veil.

[17] I.e. بُخْنُق هُرْمُزِىّ بَنَفْسَجِىّ بِحَبَرَة قَصَب. See below.

[18] Perhaps the fanciful name of some ornament for the head.

[19] A kind of turban. For these names see the appropriate articles in Dozy, *op. cit.*

[20] A kind of veil.

[21] A kind of robe.

[22] A thin fabric. The phrase sounds Persian, although the first two words are of Arabic origin: قِشْر بَادِئ اَبْيَارِى.

[23] For جُبَّة.

[24] For أَشَايَا, a plural of شَىْء.

[25] Some commercial or geographical term.

[26] مِكَدّ is singular because the plural (مَكَادّ?) was not used. See lexicons. The first adjective then remained singular, while the second became plural under the influence of the remembered numeral.

ק״ס ק״ח
4 ונכנסו לחופה פי לילת אלכמים תאני
5 עשר יום מן שהר תאריכה אלעד אלתאני
ר׳ נתן
6 ואלכתובה אכדהא שמואל כראבלים סטו
7 אלחאשר ליוצלהא לואלד אלכלה

Inverted :

יהודה מגרבי השבויה אסתר

בשעה מעולה

1 בתאריך יום אלאחד תאמן יום מן שהר טבת
2 שנת אתתכג לשטרות חצל מואפקה בין
3 יהודה בר יעקב בר אהרן ובין הכלה
4 השבויה הקרואה אסתר ברת ר׳ משה
החכם
5 סטו בר יעקב ידיע כחלי
6 אלמוקדם והוא פדיונה אלמאוחר
ק״ח ק״ס
7 מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן וכסותה עליו
8 והדירה ביד החתן
9 והירושה כדין תורה
10 שהבעל יורש את אשתו
11 ואם חס ושלום ימות הבעל ויניח בנים ממנה
12 לא תטול מהכתובה כי אם מאה פרחים לבד
13 ומה שישאר יהיה לבנים ואם יגרש תקח
14 המאה ושמנים הכתובים לה בשלימות
15 ונכנסו לחופה פי יום אלגמעה תאלת
16 עשר יום מן שהר תאריכה ואלכתובה
17 אכדהא אלחאשר שמואל כראבלים ליוצלהא

---

[27] I.e. four days after the body of the memorandum. These lines, 4–7, were then added, in the same hand, though somewhat larger.

[28] I.e. besides the writer of the memorandum.

[29] Hebrew.

[30] For كَرَابِسِّى or طَرَابُلُسِّى?

4 And they went under the marriage canopy on Thursday night, the twelfth
5 day of the month, the present year[27]. The other[28] witness[29] [was] Rabbi Nathan.
6 And [as for] the marriage writ, Samuel Karāblīs[30],
7 the collector, has taken charge of it, in order to bring it to the father of the bride.

Inverted:

Judah Maghribī The captive, Esther

In a Propitious Hour!

1 On the date of the first day [of the week], eighth day of the month of Ṭēbhēth,
2 year of documents 1823[3], an agreement was reached between
3 Judah Bar Jacob Bar Aaron, and the bride,
4 the captive[4], [who is] called Esther, daughter of Rabbi Moses[31]
5 —A good omen!—son of Jacob the Wise, known as Kuḥlī[32].
6 The advanced [gift]—and it is her ransom[4]—50. The delayed [gift], 180.
7 The bride's handiwork [shall belong] to the bridegroom, but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense.
8 And her ornamentation the bridegroom has received.
9 And the estate [is to be divided at death] according to the [Pentateuchal] Law:
10 that the husband inherits [the goods of] his wife.
11 And if—which God forbid!—the husband should die, and leave behind sons by her,
12 she shall not [take] from the dowry more[33] than a hundred perāḥīm[34];
13 and what remains shall belong to the sons. And if he should divorce [her], she shall take .
14 the hundred and eighty credited to her in the marriage writ, in [their] entirety[35].
15 And they went under the marriage canopy on Friday, the thir-
16 teenth day of the month, the present year[36]. And [as for] the marriage writ,
17 Samuel Karāblīs[30], the collector, has taken charge of it, in order to bring it

---

[31] Above the line, but deleted, החכם.

[32] I.e. "dealer in collyrium," or "dark about the eyes."

[33] An arabism?

[34] I.e. "blossoms." Name of some coin?

[35] For בִּשְׁלֵמוּת.

[36] I.e. five days after the body of the memorandum. These lines, 15–19, were added, in the same hand, though somewhat larger.

18 לאהל אלכלה אלעד אלתאני ר׳ נתן סט

Verso : (*a*)

	יחיי	סקליין		קמר
1	כאמליה	חמרה	דהב	פצה
2	קמיין חריר			
3	תפצילה בלדי			
4	כאם יא דראע			
5	מנדיל בלדי			
6	שדין שער			
7	בכנק שאמי חריר			
8	שעריה			
9	מיזר			
10	מנשפה			
11	נצף מנדיל			
12	כאמליה סכנדרי			
13	בכנק הרמזי אכצר			
14	בכנק אזרק			
15	ארבע אדרע הרמגי אצפר			
16	נצף דראע הרמזי אסוד			
17	מנדיל בלדי			
18	נקאב בלדי			
19	שד אצפר			
20	כרקה הרמזי			
21	קבקאב			
22	עצאיב ואקראין ורק			
23	מרכוב			

[37] As in the first case.

[38] For צקליין if this is the meaning.

18 to the bride's people. The other[28] witness[29] [was] Rabbi Nathan[37].

Verso: (a)

	Yaḥyā	[They are] Sicilians[38]	Ḳamar[39]
		Gold	Silver
1	A red kāmilīyah[21],	4	17
2	a silk shirt,	3	5
3	a piece of native dress-goods,	1	4
4	a cut[40] [of cloth], 11 cubits,		24
5	a native kerchief,		21
6	two shadds[19] of [camels'] hair,		23
7	a Syrian silk veil,		15
8	a sha'rīyah[20],		7
9	a mi'zar[20],		6
10	a towel,		5
11	half a kerchief,		$4\frac{1}{2}$
12	an Alexandrine[13] kāmilīyah[21],	4	2
13	a green Hormuzī veil,		43
14	a blue veil,		38
15	four cubits of yellow Hormuzī [stuff],		28
16	half a cubit of black Hormuzī [stuff],		3
17	a native kerchief,		10
18	a native niḳāb[20],		12
19	a yellow shadd[19],		$7\frac{1}{2}$
20	an irregular piece of Hormuzī [stuff],		16
21	wooden sandals,		$5\frac{1}{2}$
22	'iṣābahs, and head-discs of sheet metal,		2
23	shoes,		7

[39] Arabic for "Moon." Cf. note 1.

[40] Cf. كَأْسَة in Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 435.

Verso: (b)

			פצה
1	חלאוה וגירהא		א
2	מא ורד וגאוי וזבדה		כז
3	זוגא זנגין אסאור פצה		
4	וכאתמין דהב	דהב	פצה
5	וכאתמין פצה	ג	יא
6	ואשרפי דהב	יט	ד ס ט c
		דהב / כז	יא
7	גמלה אלחואינ		פצה
8	מע אלאשרפי ואל . גאדי .		יט c
9	ואלכואתם		
10	אשרפי לה		
11	תם אן אצחק זוג אם אלכלה תסלם		
12	גמיע מא פי אלקאימתין עלי סביל אלודאע		
13	ללכלה ואנה יוצלהם ללחתן יחיי פי לילת		
14	כניסה לחופה על חג הפסח ואלזם כניסה אלחופה		
15	אלחתן יחיי אנה מן יום תאריכה אלי לילה כניסה		
16	לחופה ימוון אלכלה		
17	אלחתן יחיי בר נסים נע בר מנחם נע ידיע		
18	חנון אלכלה הנערה בת שתים עשרה שנה		
19	הקרואה קמר ברת	מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן	
20		וכסותה עליו והדירה	
21	אלמוקדם אלמאוחר	ביד החתן באלקאהרה	
22	לה לה		

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[41] Made of sesame-seed residue, with honey and sugar.

[42] Perhaps a pomade containing butter as a base, rose-water as a scent, and another substance. If, in spite of the dot, one may read ghāwī, then one may translate "seductive" or "fashionable." See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 232.

[43] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 605.

Verso: (b)

		Silver
1 ḥilāwah[41], and other [sweets],		30
2 rose-water and jāwī and butter[42],		23
3 a pair of cymbals[43], bracelets of silver,		
4 and two rings of gold,	Gold	Silver
5 and two rings of silver,	7	11
6 and an ashrafī[44] of gold,	19	$369\frac{1}{2}$
	Gold	
	33	11
7 Total of the things[45]		Silver
8 with the ashrafī and the.....		$19\frac{1}{2}$
9 and the rings		
10	35 ashrafīs[46]	

11 Then Isaac, the husband of the bride's mother, handed over
12 all that is in the two lists, in the way of a deposit
13 for the bride, and in order that he should deliver them to the bridegroom, Yaḥyā on the night of
14 going under the marriage canopy, during (?) the Feast of the Passover[29]. And the bridegroom Yaḥyā made it a necessary condition of going under the marriage canopy,
15 that from that date till the night of going under
16 the marriage canopy, he should provide food[47] for the bride.
17 The bridegroom [is] Yaḥyā Bar Nissīm Bar Menahem, known as
18 Ḥanūn. The bride [is] the twelve year old girl,
19 called Ḳamar, daughter of[29,48]
20
21 The advanced [gift], The delayed [gift],
22 35 55
19 The handiwork of the bride [shall belong] to the bridegroom,
20 but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense. And her ornamentation
21 the bridegroom has received, in Cairo.

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[44] According to the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. i, p. 976, the old dīnār (66 grains) ceased to be *struck* in Egypt in 1346, and the first ashrafīs (53.8 grains) were struck in Egypt between A.D. 1362 and 1376 or 1421 and 1438. See No. XXX, Introduction, and notes 19, 23.

[45] Egyptian colloquial.

[46] The sums 19 and $369\frac{1}{2}$ are correct for these columns of figures. The meaning of the remaining figures on this page, as well as of those on *recto a* and *b*, is not clear.

[47] For يمّون.

[48] The father's name was never filled in.

Surrounding last four lines:

וכאן דלך גמיעה פי בית | אב הדיין בר | שמואל זל ובחצור יוסף אלסופר ובעין | עשר | מן אלקהל ב"י

Inverted:

מקבוץ לילת אלאחד סאבע | שהר כסליו שנת אתתכג לשטרות | אלעד אלתאני ר נתן סט | פצל פריכה מוסי נקוב

Across verso:

ולמא תראצו עלי דלך גמיעה פקד לה | קידושין גמורין פי לילת אלאתנין תאני יום מן שהר טבת שנת | תאריכה | אלעד אלתאני פי | אלקידושין איצא | ר נתן סט

Margin of verso:

בתאריך לילת אלגמעה תאני עשרין שהר כסליו שנת אתתכג לשטרות

Surrounding last four lines:

And all this was [done] in the house of Abraham, the Dayyān, son of Samuel, and in the presence of Joseph the Scribe and upwards of ten [persons] from the congregation, assembled.

Inverted:

Done on the first night [of the week], seventh [day of] the month of Kislēw, [the] year of documents 1823[3]. The other witness[28] [was] Rabbi Nathan[37]. [Signed:] Faḍl Farīkah(?) Moses Nāḳūb(?)[49]

Across verso:

And after they had reached a satisfactory agreement about all this [4][the bridegroom] arranged for her [the] final betrothal-rites, on Monday night, the second day of the month of Ṭēbhēth, the year of the date [of this memorandum]. The other[28] witness[29] at the betrothal-rites also was Rabbi Nathan[37].

Margin of verso:

On the date of Friday night, twenty-second [day] of the month of Kislēw, [of] the year of documents 1823[3].

---

[49] Lines 23–26 are written in a different hand.

XLI. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters. The writing is unlike any other in this collection. A character resembling a small inverted, suspended Latin h is often used for abbreviations, and in other places where its function is not clear. Cf. the muhmilah sign in MSS. and upon glass weights.

The mention of the *maiyadī* places the fragment certainly later than A.D. 1412. See note 13 and No. XXX.

Recto:

בעה

1 איש חיל רב פעלים נבון ומעולה כהר״ נס״ אחרי
2 רוב השלם באתי בשורותים אלו להודיע כי היום
3 בבקר כתבתי בארוכה והנה מענין הסוכר לא מצאתי
4 שום ערך כי מה שכתב הגביר שנתנה לי עשרה
5 פחות רביע ולא מכרתי יודע לך כי באמת אלו
6 נתנו לי ט׳ וחצי היתי מוכר ולא היתי מעכב
7 אבל יודע לך כי בא פה הסוכר יום ששי עת
8 ערב ודברתי עים כר״ יצחק מאיו שידבר עים
9 הערל ישו״ ואמר שאניחנו בדיון עד יום ראשון
10 והלכתי אצלו יום ראשון ובא ופתח הסוכר ולא״
11 הוכשר בעיניו ואמר לי כהר״ יצחק שאמתין ב״
12 ימים עד שיראה שמא ימצא אצלו מעות״
13 כי לא נמצא אצלו מעות ולכן לא נתרצה והנה״
14 לא עשיתה בחוכמה כי האמנתה לדבריו ולא
15 לקחת״ ממנו שום מעות ולא עשיתה עימו שום
16 עקד לכן כשבא התל בנו וכש״ כי אמר לי הגביר
17 שלא ישלח לו שום סוכר והדוגיאות נתן בו״

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1 בְּעֶזְרַת הַשֵּׁם. 2 כְּבוד [ה]רַב. 3 Equivalent to Arabic بعد السلام.
4 Double plural. 5 מְעַנְיָן. 6 I.e. "you."
7 שְׁנָתְנָה. 8 יְוָדַע. 9 הָיִיתִי.
10 A certain Raphael Isaac Ben Aaron Mayo, or Maggio, who died in A.D. 1810, is recorded in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. viii, p. 392.

XLI. LETTER

A rambling letter from one Solomon, perhaps in Jerusalem, to one Joseph (or Nissīm?), perhaps in Cairo, about several business matters, especially the sugar trade. Solomon professes to be too much engrossed in Bible study, and too pessimistic about sugar, to undertake any business ventures.

In places it is very difficult to make satisfactory sense of the text.

Recto:

With the help of the Name [of God][1]!

1 [To the] Man of Valor, Active, Intelligent and Excellent, the honored
Rabbi[2], Niss[īm?]. After
2 the many greetings[3]: I have come with these lines[4] to inform [you] that
today
3 in the morning I have written at length. And now as to[5] the sugar:
I have not found
4 any arrangement [possible]; because what the gentleman[6] wrote—that
I had been offered[7] ten
5 less a quarter and did not sell—[is untrue]. Be it known[8] to you that
in fact if
6 they had offered me [even] nine and a half I should have[9] sold and not
have[9] held back.
7 But be it known[8] to you that the sugar arrived here on Friday at
8 evening. And I spoke with the honored Rabbi[2] Isaac Māyō[10], that he
should speak with
9 the uncircumcised [Christian]—May his name and memory be blotted
out[11]!—and he said that I should leave it in the office till Sunday.
10 So I went along with him on Sunday; and he went in[to the office] and
opened the sugar; but it was not
11 [to be] considered fit for use, in his opinion. And the honored Rabbi[2]
Isaac asked me to wait two
12 days, till he should see [whether] perhaps he might have some money;
13 for [at the moment] he had no money, and therefore we could not reach
any agreement. Now really
14 you did not act wisely; for you trusted to his word, and did not
15 take from him any money [as guarantee], and did not make with him any
16 binding agreement; so, when it came, he made fools of us, and so it was[12].
For the gentleman[6] said to me
17 that he[6] would not send him any sugar. And [as to] the casks (?)[13]: the
captain (?)

---

[11] יְמַ֣ח שְׁמ֔וֹ וְזִכְרוֹ׃ [12] וכישמו כן הוא?

[13] דוגיות = Fässer mit getrockneten Feigen," Jacob Levy, *Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1924, *sub voce*; "Tiegel," Dallmann, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch*, Frankfurt, 1922, *sub voce*.

18 הקפיתן ט׳ ועשרה מידי לקחת ממנו ה׳
19 קפין ולכי לא עשיתי שום דבר והנה כר׳ אברה׳
20 גרבתי יצ׳ הלך למצרים תעשה עמו כאשר׳
21 תוכל כי פה אין שום ערך כי לא הנחני שום
22 סריסור שלא דברתי עמו והגביר יודיע אור׳
23 הארץ בענין הסוכר ודי למבין ואל יבטח הגביר
24 עלי כי מה ביד לעשות בסחורה עוצל וערך
25 גדול ככה והנה אני תורתי אומנתי ואם היתי׳
26 חפין ללכת כל היום בסחורות לא היתי נותן מעות
27 לשום אדם ונראה שמזל גורם כי כר׳ רחמים במעט
28 מעות הרויח כאשר כתבת לו ואפי׳ שאין לך כל
29 כך תועלת וינראה שאין לו שום חלק בסוכר
30 ואני הכל עלי לכן אדוני אל תאשימני כי כה׳ הוא

Upon the margin:

להוט ורוצה שותפים הרבה ורוצה לקבין כל העולם כי איך בטחת לך על תוהו לקנות סוכר מב׳ ככרים בלתי שום | עקד כלל ובדבר שאמר לי הגביר בשעת נסיעתו שאין כונתך לשלוח סוכר כלל לכן ועשיתה כחכמתיך כי אני | כעת אין לי מה להפסיד ובאמת אלו שלח .הגביר מעות הינו מורצים והנה הראיתיו היום לתגר תוגר | שיש לו מורכסון ונתן בו ערך יו׳ והמרכסון ערך ד׳ וכסיתי אותו ויש גוי א׳ שיש לו קרוב לאלפ׳ | חרבות מונציה ועשה עמו יצחק מחלני קפין א׳ כל הרב לערך כו מידי והסוכר ערך ט׳ ואני לא |

---

[14] For *mu'aiyadī*, the half-dirham coined in the reign of the sultan Mu'aiyad, see Lane, *The Modern Egyptians*, App. B, and No. XXX. Mu'aiyad reigned from A.D. 1412 to 1421.

[15] A measure of capacity for drugs and perfumes. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 383.

[16] See al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[17] יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ צוּרוֹ.

[18] Perhaps سَرْسُور. See Wahrmund, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*.

[19] יוֹדֵעַ. [20] וְדֵי לְמֵבִין.

[21] I.e. "What qualifications have I?"

[22] It looks like עטל. Is it עָצֵל?

offered nine [ashrafīs[14]] and ten maiyadīs[14] to take from him five
ḳafaṣ[15]; and so I did not do any [business]. And Rabbi[2] Abraham
Jabartī[16],—May [God,] his Rock, preserve him[17]!—has gone to Egypt. [I hope] you will do [business] with him as much as
you can. Here there is no arrangement at all; for he has not appointed me in any sense
manager[18], since I have not talked with him. The gentleman[6] knows[19] the enlightenment (?)
of the country as to sugar; and [a word] to the wise is sufficient[20]! Let the gentleman[6] not depend
upon me; for what [have I] in hand [with which] to operate in business[21], negligent[22] [as I am], and [trying to] negotiate
some important [transaction]? Thus it is. And as for me, my Tōrah is my trade[23]. And [even] if I did[9]
wish to take up all the day with business matters, I should not[5] give money
to any man [for investment]. And it seems that fate determines; for Rabbi[2] Reḥāmīm with [only] a little
money has made a profit, as you wrote to him [that he would], even though[24] you do not have so very
much advantage [from his transaction yourself]. But it appears[25] that he takes no part at all in sugar [dealings],
and the whole thing falls on me. Therefore, my Lord, do not blame me; for he is so

Upon the margin:

greedy and desirous. He takes on more and more associates, and he would like to gather in the whole world. How could you rely upon emptiness—to buy sugar [for] 42 talents[26], without any security whatsoever! And as to what the gentleman said to me at the time of his departure, that it was not your intention to send sugar at all for that reason: you have acted wisely. I now have nothing to lose. Now really, if the gentleman had sent money we should have been satisfied[27]! I have shown him today how to do business[28]! He has, namely,.....and he gave for it about 16, and the.....[is worth] about 4; and I kept the [matter] secret. There is a gentile [here] who has about a thousand swords of Mōnziah[29]; and Isaac Mḥlnī made a [bargain] with him [for] one ḳafaṣ[15], each sword for about 26 maiyadīs[14], and the sugar [sells for] about 9. And I do not

---

[23] אֶמָּנוּתִי. [24] אֲפִילוּ.

[25] Confusion of יֵרָאֶה with נִרְאָה.

[26] כְּבָרִים probably for dīnārs. [27] מְרֻצִּים.

[28] Perhaps לְתַגֵּר תִּתָּגֵר, "to bargain and be bargained"?

[29] Monza, locally *Monscia*, a city in Lombardy.

Upon the upper part: (*a*)

ידעתי מה לעשות כי לא | נסתי בשום מקמֻה ואני | מתירה לעשות שום
דבר״ | בערך גדול ודבר שאנו״ | עלי כי צֻריך עֻין מרגל

(*b*)

וחן חן לאדון על רוב השתדֻלותו | מענין קנית הזהב ומענין היצֻמל | אל
יקח לי.....לא מכהר׳ | שלמה ולא מעלתי כי פה הב..... | לתת לי
ומענין הבית יעשה עמו | הגביר כאשר אפשר ושלום

(*c*)

הצעיר שלמה..... | יום ב׳ ו׳ לי[רח ני]סן

Verso:

לנבון ומעולה כר״ יוסף חלופי נס״ והלבי״ ופגין״

---

30 כַּתִּירוֹ ? 31 שֶׁאֲנוּ עָלָיו ?

XLII. LITURGICAL MEMORANDA

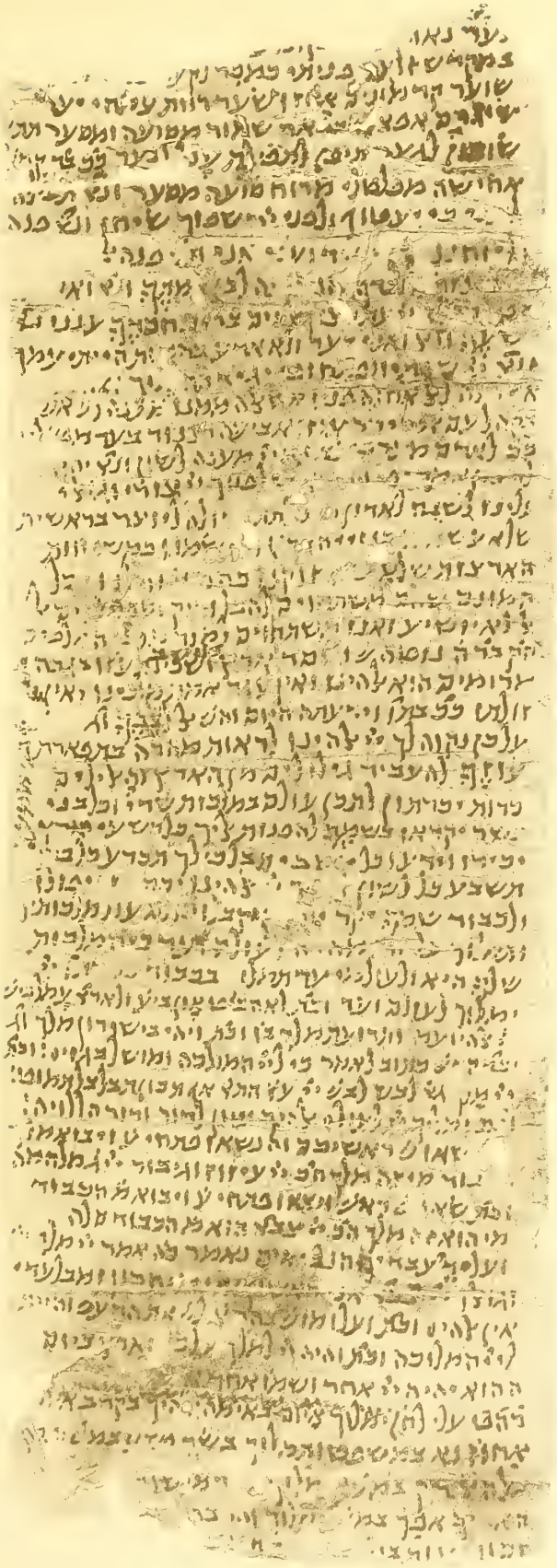
Paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ inches: too long to have been a leaf from a book, and hence probably a memorandum of some sort. Number of lines: 53–62.

The language is Hebrew, with connective and directive words in Arabic, such as بَعْدُ or بَعْدَهُ in *recto*, line 2, *verso*, lines 39 and 46; لَحْن and عَلَى لَحْن *recto*, line 49, *verso*, line 38; ثُمَّ *verso*, lines 44 and 45; أَيْضًا *verso*, line 45; يَقُول *verso*, line 58; the Arabic article in *verso*, line 38.

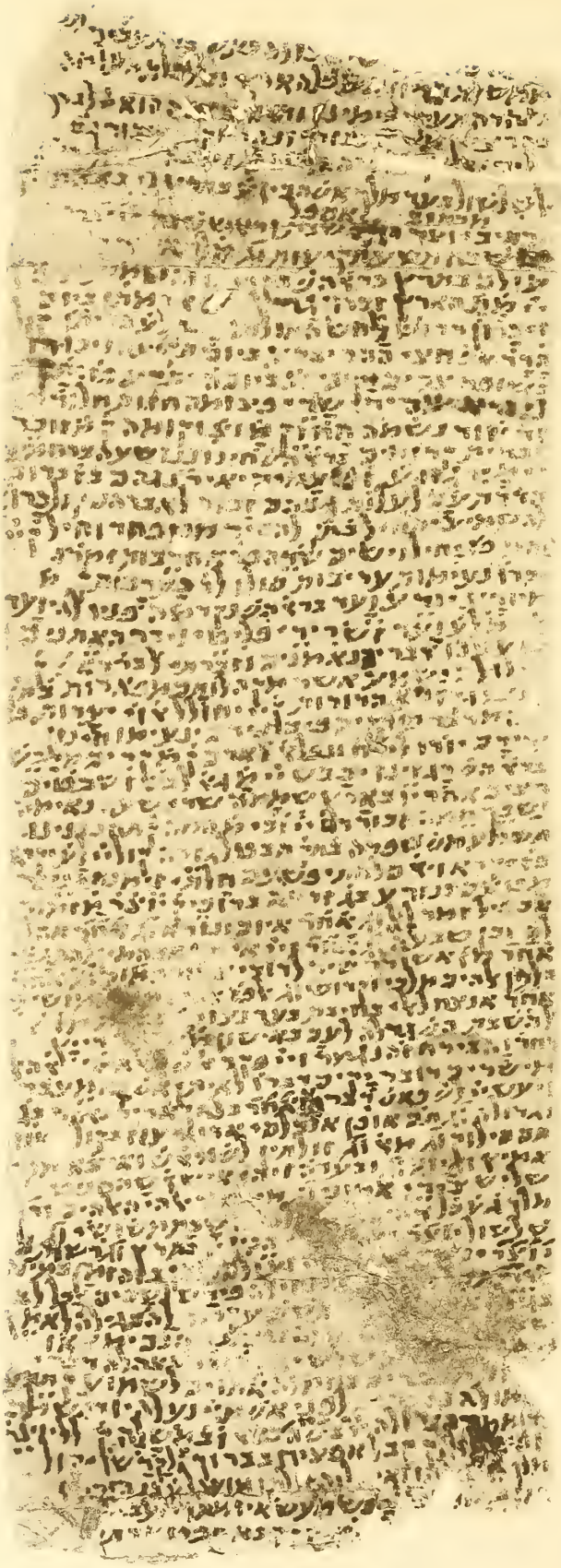
The writing is semi-cursive Hebrew of two varieties: the first covering *recto* and the first five lines of *verso*. Both are difficult to read as the paper is worn and the ink pale. Abbreviations are so extensively used that many passages are unintelligible.

Of Biblical passages one recognises: Psalm lv, 9 in *recto*, line 7; followed by Psalm cii, 1; xxv, 16; lxxxvi, 16; lxix, 14; lxxiii, 22; li, 17; Proverbs xvi, 1; Psalm xix, 15; Psalm xcvii, 1 in *verso*, line 10; Psalm lxviii, 5 in line 21; Psalm xxix, 9 in line 26; xciii, 1 in line 29.

Rimes are discoverable in three places: עֵר in *recto* up to line 7; various rimes in *verso*, lines 16–32; ה‗ toward the end of *verso*.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 42 a



Genizah Fragment 42 b

Upon the upper part: (*a*)

know what to do, I have not run away anywhere (?), but I [stay here and] prevent him[30] from doing anything on a large scale, or anything which he does not need to do[31], for inquiring thought is necessary.

(*b*)

And many thanks to (my) Lord for his many efforts concerning the purchase of the gold and concerning the.....Let him not take for me .....not from Rabbi[2] Solomon and not on account of me (?). For here the.....to give me. And as to the house: Let the gentleman[6] do with it whatever is possible. Farewell!

(*c*)

[From] the humble Solomon.....
Monday, the sixth of the month of Nīsān.

Verso:

To the Intelligent and Excellent Rabbi[2] Joseph Ḥallūfī (?)[32].

---

[32] The last three words are apparently abbreviations.

XLII. LITURGICAL MEMORANDA

Most of the *recto* relates to the Mūsāph prayers of the New Year's Day service; but line 49 goes over into something else. There seems to be no particular reason for making such a selection of prayers and passages, or for arranging them in this order. Perhaps they are the notes of some pupil. Nor do the contents of this fragment appear, from any point of view, to justify transcription, translation and notes. Plates XLIII and XLIV will, however, enable the student to form his own opinion.

Professor Israel Davidson has gone over the text and has made some very valuable suggestions for which the editors wish to thank him. Bibliography: Zunz, *Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes*, Berlin, 1859; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xviii, pp. 107–8; *Siddur Rābh 'Amram Gā'ōn*, Warsaw, 1865; *Siddur Troyes*, Budapest, 1905; *Maḥzōr Vītrī*, Berlin, 1889–93; and *Sēfer Abū-dirham*, Prague, 1784.

XLIII

AN AGREEMENT BEFORE THE COURT IN JERUSALEM IN REGARD TO PRECEDENCE IN THE ACADEMY AT AL-RAMLAH

Paper $5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic and Hebrew, in half-square Hebrew characters.

Both the Arabic and Hebrew are fairly good; but the way in which the document passes from one language to the other, and back again, gives the impression of an imperfect command of them both, and robs the document of the dignity which it otherwise might have. The unavoidable use of Hebrew legal expressions leads the writers off into Hebrew completely for a time; and yet Hebrew cannot be sustained to the end.

The document belongs to the period of the Palestinian gaonate about which the Genizah has taught us so much, and deals with the familiar topic of discord in the Academy at al-Ramlah, evident from letters of Solomon Ben Judah, the central figure of the period, and his contemporaries, as published by Mann, *op. cit.* It appears to be a record of the settlement of this long controversy, alluded to by Nathan, writing in A.D. 1042 to Fusṭāṭ (Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 151): "You have received already [the account] of how the peace came about and what we did for the sake of peace in Israel."

The date is Tishrī the 21st, A.M. 4803, equivalent to October 8th, A.D. 1043.

Recto :

1 נוסכה אלמואקה אשמעו מה ידבר האל וג

2 דכר מא תקרר בין אלמתיבה ובין מ ור נתן אב בן אברהם נ פי מא ראתוה אלמתיבה ושיוך

3 אלאומה ונשיאינו מן אלתקדם פי רתבה אב בית דין אלתי יסתחקהא רבינו טוביה השלישי בחבורה

4 חסב סונה ישראל מן דלך אנה ירגע ען גמיע מא כאן תערץ לה מן אל תסמי במא כאן תסמא בה

5 ומא אסמא בה סואה ואנה לא ינפרד בתקריר אמר מן אל אמור ולא באלצלאה עלי אחד

6 מן אלנאס פי מרתבה מן מראתב ישראל אלא מא אגתמע עליה ראי אדונינו שלמה גאון

---

[1] Mistake for מואפקה. [2] Psalm lxxxv, 9.

[3] I.e. "school of Talmudic law."

[4] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 151, 193–4; vol. ii, 230–1.

[5] אב בית דין. See Mann, *op. cit.*, pp. 265–6, 272.

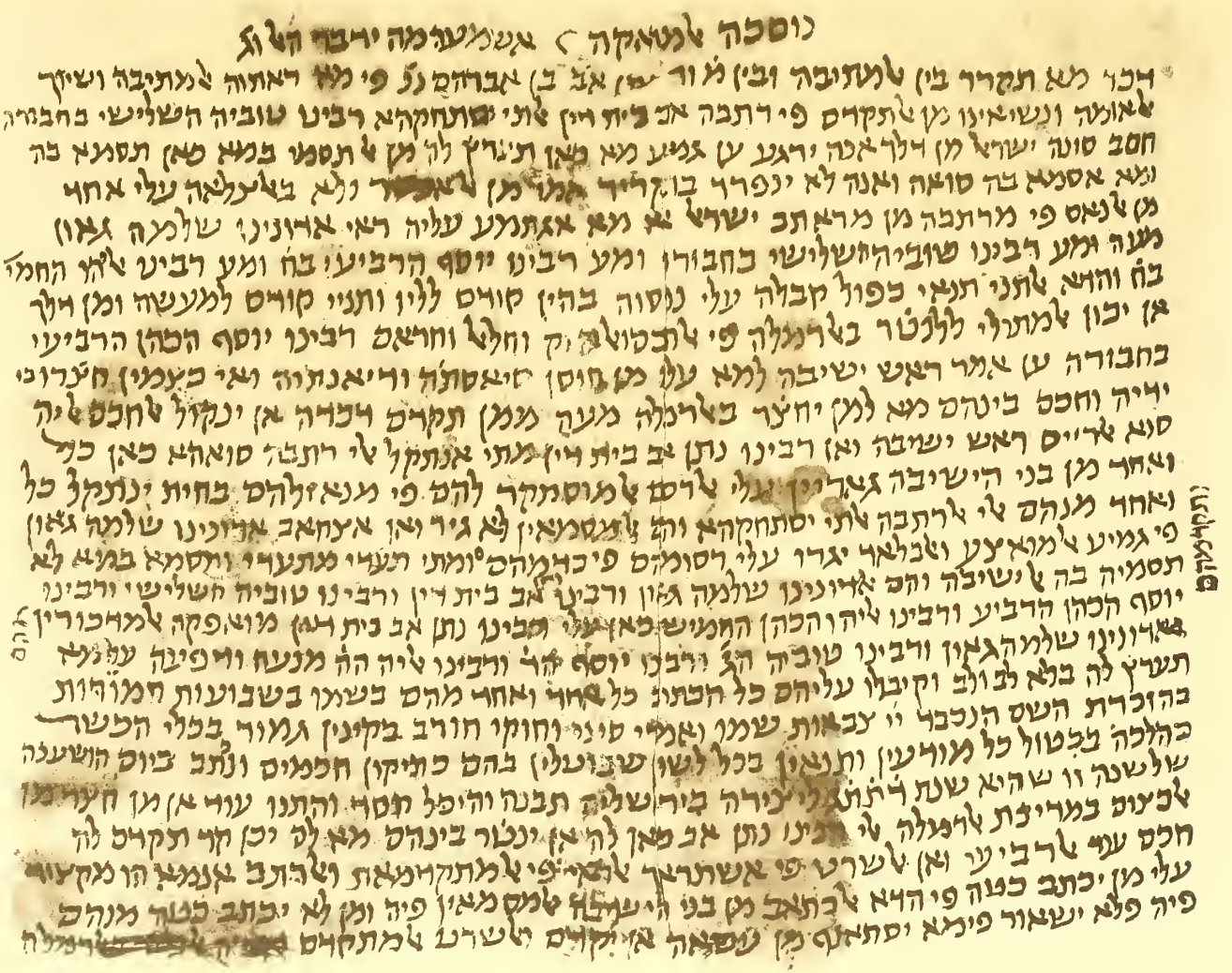


Plate XLV

Genizah Fragment 43 a

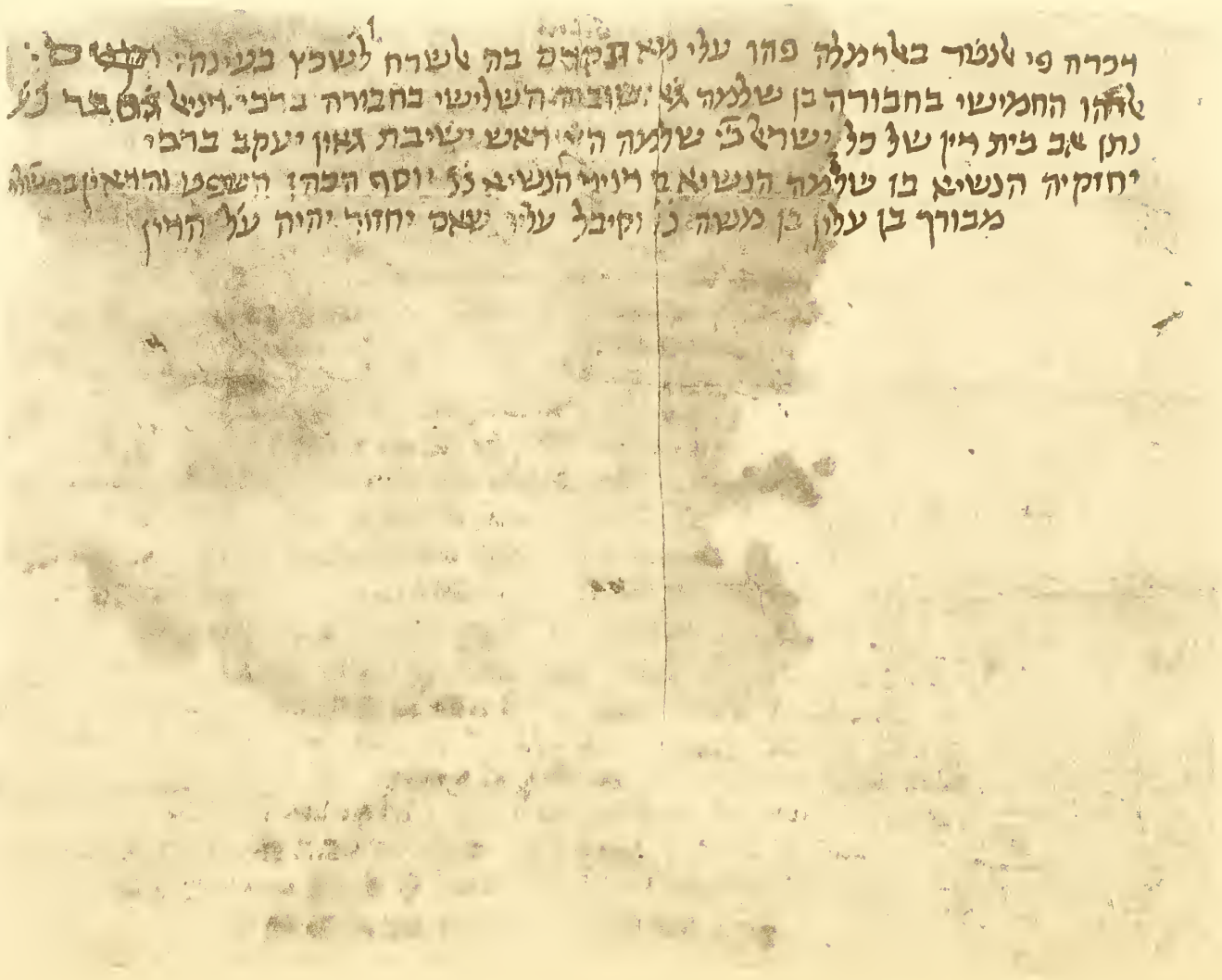


Plate XLVI

Genizah Fragment 43 b

XLIII

AN AGREEMENT BEFORE THE COURT IN JERUSALEM IN REGARD TO PRECEDENCE IN THE ACADEMY AT AL-RAMLAH

On the discord at al-Ramlah, see Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 141–152, and also pp. 71, 75, 115, 129, 130, 193, 273.

A member of the Palestinian Academy, Nathan Ben Abraham, settled in Egypt. When his uncle, the "Father of the Law Court," died, he was made "Father" by his influential Egyptian following; and the regular candidate for this office, Tobiah Ben Daniel, the "Third in the group," was pushed aside. Nathan then proceeded to undermine the authority of the Gā'ōn, Solomon Ben Judah, and at last to declare himself "Head of the Academy," the title borne by the Gā'ōn. Then began a contest between the parties behind the two rival Ge'ōnīm.

Our document records the terms of the reconciliation. Nathan must renounce all assumed titles. Nathan must not decide matters of business, nor pray for anyone without the concurrence of the other four in the group. Joseph shall be judge in al-Ramlah "in imprisoning an.....and [in determining what is] permitted and forbidden." When Solomon dies and Nathan becomes Gā'ōn, the others shall be promoted accordingly, and then observe the restrictions of the offices which they shall assume. Should anyone irregularly assume a title, Nathan (*sic*!) shall restrain and expel him. This agreement was ratified with mighty oaths by all of the group. Thus was Nathan shorn of all power except to punish in future such as should sin as he had done.

Recto:

1 Copy of the agreement[1]. I will hear what God will speak etc.[2]

2 Record of what was established between the Academy[3] and our Master and Rabbi, Nathan[4], [Father of the Law Court][5], son of Abraham, deceased[6], in regard to what was undertaken[7] by the Academy[3] and the Elders of

3 the Nation and our Princes concerning the advancement into the rank of Father of the Law Court[5], which is [rightly] claimed by our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third in the group,

4 according to the custom[8] of Israel in that [matter, to wit:] That he shall renounce all that he has come to possess in the way of title, in so far as he gave himself a title,

5 or was given a title[9] by others, And that he shall not act as an individual in determining any matter, nor in praying[10] for any

6 man in any of the classes of Israel, except [when he does] that in which the opinion of our Lord Solomon Gā'ōn concurs

---

[6] נג׳ is נח נפשיה. [7] Copyist's mistake for יאתוה.

[8] سُنَّة. [9] For אסמאה. [10] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 142.

7 מעה ומע רבינו טוביה השלישי בחבורה ומע רבינו יוסף הרביעי בח/ ומע
רבינו אליהו החמי/

8 בה והדא אלתני תנאי כפול קבלה עלי נפסוה בהין קודם לליו ותניי קודם
למעשה ומן דלך

9 אן יכון אלמתולי ללנטר באלרמלה פי אלחבם ואל[..]ק וחלאל וחראם
רבינו יוסף הכהן הרביעי

10 בחבורה ען אמר ראש ישיבה למא עלם מן חוסן סיאסתה ודיאנתוה ואי
כצמין חצרו בי[ן]

11 ידיה וחכם בינהם מא למן יחצר באלרמלה מעה ממן תקדם דכרה אן
ינקול אלחכם אליה

12 סוא אלריים ראש ישיבה ואן רבינו נתן אב בית דין מתי אנתקל אלי
רתבה סואהא כאן כל

13 ואחד מן בני הישיבה גארין עלי אלרסם אלמוסתקר להם פי מנאולהם
בחית ינתקל כל

14 ואחד מנהם אלי אלרתבה אלתי יסתחקהא והם אל מסמאין לא גיר ואן
אצחאב אדונינו שלמה גאון

15 פי גמיע אלמואצע ואלבלאד יגרו עלי רסומהם פי כדמהם ותקדמהם ומתי
תעדי מתעדי ותסמא במא לא

16 תסמיה בה אלישיבה והם אדונינו שלמה גאון ורבינו נתן אב בית דין
ורבינו טוביה השלישי ורבינו

17 יוסף הכהן הרביע ורבינו אליהו הכהן החמישי כאן עלי רבינו נתן אב
בית דין מואפקה אלמדכורין והם

---

11 I.e. Nathan.

12 חמיישי.

13 בהן קודם ללאו ותני קודם למעשה. See Levy, *Wörterbuch*, 1924, vol. iv, p. 654, quoting the Babylonian Talmud, Ḳiddūshīn 3, 4 (61a): Every conditional agreement must be twice pronounced, and must precede the transaction; and the assent must be pronounced before the dissent. This means apparently that one must first state what one will do if the condition is fulfilled, then what one will do if it is not fulfilled; and then one may act.

14 Near Ludd, between Jerusalem and Jaffa.

15 One expects here "releasing." The visible remains seem to indicate רזק "sustenance," or דוק "insanity."

16 ישיבה the same as מתיבה?

17 -*ō* for -*ihi* as in modern familiar style.

with him[11], and with our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third in the group, and with our Rabbi Joseph, the Fourth in the group, and with our Rabbi Elijah, the Fifth[12]
in the group. And this agreement is a double agreement which he has accepted for his own person, with *yes* before *no* and agreement before execution[13]. And similarly,
that the one appointed for the administration in al-Ramlah[14], in imprisoning and.....[15] and [in determining what is] permitted and forbidden, [be] our Rabbi Joseph ha-Kōhēn, the Fourth in
the group, by command of the Head of the Academy[16], by virtue of what [the Head of the Academy] knows of the beauty of his administration[17], and his conscientiousness[17]. And when litigants appear be-
fore, and judgment between them is given[18] by[19], some one of those previously mentioned, who is in al-Ramlah with him, the judgment shall be referred to him,
together with the ra'īs, the Head of the Academy[16]. And when our Rabbi Nathan, Father of the Law Court, is transferred to equal rank[20], all
of the sons of the Academy[16] shall follow the ordinance laid down[21] for them in their [several] stations—since each one of them
is transferred to the rank to which he is entitled; and they are the ones named[22], and not otherwise. And the associates of our Lord Solomon Gā'ōn
in all the places[23] and towns shall follow their ordinances, in their service and their advancement[24]. And when anyone shall transgress and call himself by that
by which the Academy[16] does not call him[25],—and [these titles are:] our Lord Solomon, Gā'ōn; and our Rabbi Nathan, Father of the Law Court; and our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third; and our Rabbi
Joseph, ha-Kōhēn, the Fourth[26]; and our Rabbi Elijah, ha-Kōhēn, the Fifth—there shall be[27], with respect to our Rabbi Nathan, Father of the Law Court, an agreement of the [persons] mentioned; and they [are][28]

---

[18] وحُكِمَ ما. The ما is here either an adverb (German *etwa*) or a noun ("something").

[19] Passive verb with logical subject introduced by ל as in Jewish Aramaic. See Margolis, *Manual of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud*, Munich, 1910, pp. 75, 82.

[20] I.e. Gā'ōn, successor of Solomon.

[21] مُسْتَقَرّ.

[22] Vernacular (?) *musamma'īn* for classical مُسَمَّوْنَ.

[23] مَوَاضِع.

[24] In the margin, with a sign in the text.

[25] تُسَمِّيه.

[26] הרביעי.

[27] Perfect of verbs, because all are the apodoses of the condition in line 15.

[28] In the margin, with a connecting line.

18 אדונינו שלמה גאון ורבינו טוביה הג׳ ורבינו יוסף הד׳ ורבינו אליה הה׳
מנעה ודפעה עלמא

19 תערין לה בלא לב ולב וקיבלו עליהם כל הכתוב כל אחד ואחד מהם
בשמו בשבועות חמורות

20 בהזכרת השם הנכבד יי צבאות שמו ואמרי סיני וחוקי חורב בקינין גמור
בכלי הכשר

21 כהלכה בבטול כל מודעין ותנאין בכל לשון שבוטלין בהם כתיקון חכמים
ונכתב ביום הושענה

22 של שנה זו שהיא שנת ד׳תתג׳ ליצירה בירושלים תבנה והיכל חסד והתנו
עוד אן מן חצר מן

23 אלכצום במדינת אלרמלה אלי רבינו נתן אב כאן לה אן ינטר בינהם
מא לם יכן חד תקדם לה

24 חכם ענד אלרביעי ואן אלשרט פי אשתראך אלרא׳י פי אלמתקדמאת
ואלרתב אנמא הו מקצוד

25 עלי מן יכתב כטה פי הדא אלכתאב מן בני אלישיבה אלמסמאין פיה
ומן לא יכתב כטה מנהם

26 פיה פלא ישאור פימא יסתאנף מן עסאה אן יקדם ואלשרט אלמתקדם

Verso:

1 דכרה פי אלנטר באלרמלה פהו עלי מא תקדם בה אלשרה ללשכין
בעינה: תקוים:

2 אליהו החמישי בחבורה בן שלמה גא׳: [ו]טוביה השלישי בחבורה ברבי
דניאל גסבר נע׳

3 נתן אב בית דין של כל ישראל בי שלמה ה.. ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב ברבי

4 יחזקיה הנשיא בן שלמה הנשיא בן דויד הנשיא נג׳ יוסף הכהן השופט
והדאין בר שלם

5 מבורך בן עלון בן משה נג׳ וקיבל עליו שאם יחזור יהיה על הדין

---

29 בְּלא לֵב וְלֵב. 30 עלי מא. 31 וְקִבְּלוּ?

32 תְּיקוּן for תְּהוּן. See Levy, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 664; and No. I, *recto*, line 21.

33 The 21st of Tishrī seventh and last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, 4803 Era of the Creation, equals eighth of October, A.D. 1043.

34 Rest of line scratched out.

35 See line 23. 36 See lines 24–26.

37 Or "rectification" or "adjustment."

18 our Lord Solomon, Gā'ōn; and our Master Tobiah, the Third; and our Master Joseph, the Fourth; and our Master Elijah, the Fifth—[Nathan] shall restrain[27] [the transgressor] and expel[26] him without sentimentality[29], since[30]

19 he has opposed [them]. And all [that is] written [above] they took[31] upon themselves, each one of them separately, in his own name, with mighty oaths,

20 —mentioning the "Honored Name," "Jehovah of Hosts is His Name," and "the Words of Sinai," and "the Laws of Horeb,"—by complete acquisition through a valid instrument,

21 according to custom, making impossible all protests and conditions, by all the language by which men make [evasions] impossible, according to the institution[32] of wise men. And we write [this document] on the Day of Hoshanah [Rabbah]

22 of this year, which is the year 4803 of the Creation[33], in Jerusalem—may it be built up, and [the] Temple of Mercy! And they agreed further that when any litigants

23 appear in the city of al-Ramlah, before our Master Nathan, Father [of the Law Court], it shall be his duty to examine them as to whether some one of them have not [asked]

24 judgment of the "Fourth" before [asking judgment of] him. And the condition of association in opinion [as set forth] in the foregoing [statements], and in rank applies only

25 to those Sons of the Academy[16], named[23] therein, who affix their signatures to this document. And if any one of them shall not affix his signature

26 to it, he shall not be consulted in any [matter] which any [man] may initiate who may present [a proposal]. And the condition afore-

Verso:

1 mentioned[34], as to the examination[35] in al-Ramlah, applies, according to the preceding comment[36], to each individual in person. Summary[37]:

2 Elijah, the Fifth in the group, son of Solomon, Gā'ōn[38], and Tobiah, the Third in the group, son of Rabbi Daniel Gsbr[39].

3 Nathan, Father of the Law Court of All Israel, son of Rabbi Solomon... .....[40], Head of the Academy[16], [and known as] Gā'ōn of Jacob, son of Rabbi

4 Hezekiah ha-Nasī'. Joseph ha-Kōhēn ha-Shōfēṭ, the dayyān[41], son of Solomon

5 Mebōrākh, son of 'Lwn, son of Moses. And [Nathan] took[31] upon himself [the condition] that, if he should repent [of the agreement], he should be subject to judgment.

---

[38] Solomon ha-Kōhēn was Gā'ōn immediately preceding Solomon Ben Judah.

[39] For גִּזְבָּר "treasurer"?

[40] According to Mann, *op. cit.*, chap. iii, Nathan's father was named Abraham.

[41] For הדיאן?

XLIV. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Recto:

1 הילכות[1] אזהרות[2] תענית יום הכפורים

2 פיס[3] וברחיצה׳ תנו[4] רבנן אסור לרחוץ מקצת גופו ככל גופו ואם היה מלוכלך בטיט

3 ובצואה רוחץ כדרכו ואינו חושש: תאנא[5] דבי מנשה רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומ[6] מדיחה אשה

4 [י]רה[7] במים ונותנת פת לתינוק[8]: אמרו[9] על שמאי הזקן שלא רצה להאכיל בידו אחת וגזרו עליו

5 [להא]כיל[10] בשתי ידיו[11] מאי טעמ[12] אמ[6] אביי משום שבתא[13]:

6 כל[14] חייבי טבילות טובלין כדרכן בין[15] בתשעה באב בין ביום הכפורים

7 תנו רבנן ה[רוא]ה קרי ביום הכפורים יורד וטובל ולערב ישפשף׳ לערב[16] סלקא דעתא[17] אלא אימא ואם[18]

8 מבערב ישפשף[19]

9–15 (*Original text erased*)

16 תאני[20.6] יהודה גרוגרות[21] אסור לישב [ע]ל[22] טיט[23] ביום הכפורים׳ אמ[6] ר יהושע בן לוי בטיט[23]

17 הטופח׳[24] אביי[25] אמ[6] ובטופח על מנת להטפיח: אמ[6] רב יהודה מותר להצטנן בפירות׳

18 רב יהודה מצטנן בקרא׳ אביי[26] מצטנן בינוקא׳ רבא מצטנן בכספא דכספא׳

19 אמ[6] רבא[27] כספא דכספא מלא אסיר[28] חסיר[29] שרי׳ דפחרא בין[30] מלי[31] בין חסיר[29] אסיר׳[28]

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[1] This line is the heading to the entire subject as originally written on the fragment.

[2] The word can also be in the singular. The last letters are not well preserved. The meaning here is "prohibitions."

[3] The word פיס, for פיסקא, is used in this fragment to designate that the following word or words are from the Mishnah. It is not usual in Talmud Bablī and Pōseḳīm. The Mishnah treated in this page is found in Yōmā viii, 1.

[4] The passage is in B. Yōmā 77b. Compare Tōsephtā iv, 2–6.

[5] Participles as תאנא, תאני, באעי, שאחל, חאזי, are written with א. This may be due to Arabic influence.

[6] Note the writing of אומ instead of אומר, אמ instead of אמר. This verb has, in the imperfect and imperative, an א instead of the ר, which was lost in pronunciation. The ר was then apparently lost in the pronunciation of the perfect and participle. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 297, note 1, quotation.

XLIV. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Paper $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ inches.

Hebrew and Arabic, in semi-cursive Hebrew characters, not all by the same hand, written in different directions, interlined, erased, smudged and otherwise defaced.

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[7] Talmud adds אחת. But Rabbi Ḥananēl, Rashī and העיטור (2nd part 44c) omit אחת.

[8] Talmud adds ואינה חוששת under the influence of the preceding ואינו חושש. The words are, however, omitted in MSS^{m,2,o} and Ḥullīn 107b. See דקדוקי סופרים to Yōmā, p. 244, note ש.

[9] עליו is omitted through a scribal error.

[10] So Talmud, but ישיאכיל is also possible. For this text see MSS^{2,o} (Bibliography, p. 217).

[11] Talmud ידים, but the ם is due to the influence of the next word. For this text see MSS.

[12] The א in טעמא is omitted in this fragment, and a dot is placed upon the preceding letter.

[13] This word is written everywhere also with י, שיבתא. The omission of the י after the ש is due apparently to a scribal error.

[14] The passage is found in B. Yōmā 88a.

[15] Talmud Yōmā omits the phrase בין בתשעה באב בין, but it is preserved in Shabbāth 111a, Ta'anīth 13a, Bēṣā 18b. See also הלכות גדולות p. 61a, מאה שערים p. 52, העיטור p. 44d.

[16] Talmud מאי דהוה הוה. For the text of the fragment see MSS^{m,o}. Cf. Rashī. See דקדוקי סופרים p. 313, note נ.

[17] Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have רעתך.

[18] Talmud omits ואם. The present text misled Rashī. For the correct text of the fragment see MS^{2}. Cf. דקדוקי סופרים, note ם.

[19] Talmud adds קא סבר מצוה לשפשף. But the phrase is correctly omitted in MS^{m}. See ד. ם, *ibid.*

It seems that the passage of ההולך להקביל (B. Yōmā 77b, in an abridged form) followed the preceding passages, but it was wiped away and replaced by an insertion. Later an addition to the preceding passage was inserted.

[20] Passage in B. Yōmā 78a.

[21] Talmud adds בר. For the omission see MSS^{o,1}. Cf. ד. ם, p. 249, note ל.

[22] Talmud adds גבי. Alfāsī omits it.

[23] Talmud has טינא, for טיט see MSS^{o,1}. Cf. ד. ם, *ibid.*

[24] Talmud and Pōseḳīm have here מטפחת; מאה שערים, p. 53 has מטפח. But the text of the fragment is preferable, otherwise there is no difference in opinion between מטפחת and טופח עמ להטפיח.

[25] In Talmud אמר אביי, as if he explains the preceding מטפחת. The MS^{m} has the same text as the fragment. The text is not a scribal error (see ד. ם, *ibid.*, note מ). Abāye is really opposing Rabbi Yehōshua B. Lēvī, and not explaining his words.

[26] Talmud has רבה. For אביי see MS^{o}.

[27] Talmud has רב פפא. For רבא see MSS^{o,1,2}. Cf. ד. ם, note ם.

[28] Talmud has Hebrew אסור. But הלכות גדולות p. 62b and Alfāsī have the Aramaic אסיר.

[29] Talmud writes חסר without the י, but Rabbi Ḥananēl, Alfāsī and העיטור have the י.

[30] Talmud has instead אידי ואידי. For the text of the fragment see MSS^{o,1}. Cf. ד. ם, *ibid.*

[31] We expect מלא, but see MS^{2}. Compare also Alfāsī מליא.

20 מאי טעמ[12] משחל שאחיל׳[5] רב אשי[32] אמ[6] אף כסא[33] דכספא חסיר[29]
אסיר׳[28] מאי[34] טעמ[12]

21 דאתי[35] לאיזדרבויי׳ זעירי[36] בר חמא אושפיזכניה[37] דר[38] יהושע בן לוי
ורבמי ורבם[י] וכולה[ו]

22 רבנן בקיסרי אמרו ליה ליוסף[39] בר׳ יהושע בן לוי בר אריא תא אימא[40]
לך מילתא מעליתא דהוה ע[ביד]

23 אבוך[41] בערב יום הכפורים מביאין לו מטפחת ושורה במים[42] למחר
מעבירה על] גב[י] עיניו [ואינו]

24 חושיש[43] כן][44] כי אתא רבה בר מארי[45] אמ[6] מטפחת[46] היתה לו [לר׳
יהוש]ע בן לוי ערב יום הכ[פ]ורים שורה

25 במים ועושה כמין כלים נגובין למחר מעבי[רה] על גבי עיניו ואינו חושיש[:][43]

26 פיס ובסיכה[47] תנו רבנן אסור לסוך [מ]קצת גופו בכל גופו ואם היה חולה
או שהיו ל[ו חט]טי[ן]

27 [בראשו] סך כדרכו ואינו חושש: חס[48]

Right margin:

חס[49] בין[50] סיכה[51] של תענוג בין סיכה שאינה של תענוג אסור: פיס
ובנעילת[52]

27 פיס ובנעילת הסנדל׳[53] איבעיא[54] להו מהו לצאת בס[נדל]

28 של שעם ביום הכפורים׳ עמד ר׳ יצחק בר נחמני על רגליו ואמר אני
ראיתי את[ר׳ יה]ושע[55] . .

29 שיצא בסנדל של שעם ביום הכפורים[56] כן[57] ר׳ אליעזר[58] דמן נוי[59] התיר
רבה בר ב[ר חנא] נפיק ב . . . ובסנדל

30 של שעם ביום הכפורים בעא מיניה אמ[6] ליה מותר רב יהודה נפק[60]

(*Remainder missing*)

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[32] Talmud רב פפא. For רב אשי see MSS.

[33] Talmud has כסא דכספא נמי. Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have אפי׳.

[34] Talmud משום ר׳. For מאי טעמא see MSS.

[35] Talmud has here the participle דמזדריב. For the infinitive see MS^{o,l}. Cf. ד.ס, note ע.

[36] Talmud זעירא. For the writing with the י see MS^{2,l}.

[37] Talmud אושפזכנין. For the text of the fragment see MS^{m,2,l}.

[38] The text in the Talmud is דרבי אמי ורבי אסי ורבי יהושע בן לוי ודכולהו רבנן דקיסרי הוה אמר ליה . . . . The text is surely corrupt. Rabbi Yehōshua, being of an older generation, should be mentioned first. It is not likely that Zeīra was a hotel-keeper who accommodated all the scholars of Caesarea. This statement is not important. The text of the fragment is excellent. See for its support MS^{m}, which has בקיסרין and omits הוה.

Professor Gottheil made a preliminary examination of this fragment; but it remained for Dr Samuel Feigin to subject it to a thorough study. The rest of this article therefore is entirely his. The editors feel that,

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Compare also Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher and MSS^{o,l,2} which mention Rabbi Yehōshua first. Cf. ד.ס, note פ. For the writing רבמי רבסי cf. Frankel, מבוא הירושלמי, p. 86.

[39] Talmud adds רב. For its omission see MSS^{o,l,2}.

[40] איכא is written as usual in Talmud. The writer, however, intended to omit the final א and put a dot over the מ. Cf. note 125.

[41] Here the text is very confused in the Talmud and Pōseḳīm. The fragment omits entirely about the Ninth of Ab. For the same omission see MS^{m}. The text of the fragment is in essential accordance with Alfāsī. See ד.ס, p. 250, notes א, ש, ר.

[42] הלכות גדולות and Alfāsī add here ועויטה כמין כלים נגובים.

[43] Note the writing חושייש with a י.

[44] Talmud has וכן.

[45] Talmud writes without א.

[46] The text of the fragment is exactly as that of Alfāsī.

[47] The passage is found in B. Yōmā 77b and is connected with the statement about רחיצה. The author of the fragment set them apart. Compare הלכות גדולות p. 61, העיטור p. 44cd, and אור זרוע second part, p. 127.

[48] The word is apparently חם, namely, חסר "missing," and refers to the right margin.

[49] We expect here ירוש. The last letter is rather ם and the word must be חם.

[50] The text is from Jer. Yōmā 44d.

[51] Jer. adds שהיא, but it is omitted in Rabbi Ḥananēl.

[52] The words show where the margin shall be inserted.

[53] The text is found in B. Yōmā 78b.

[54] Talmud has the participle מיבעיא, but Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have the perfect, as the fragment.

[55] There is space for two more letters and we expect two more words בן לוי.

[56] The question about a public fast-day is omitted here.

[57] The text of the fragment seems to have been mutilated in order to make it accord with the present text of the Talmud, but without success. The original text of the fragment was apparently as follows:

וכן ר' אליעזר דמן נוי התיר ' רבה בר בר חנא נפיק ב... ובסנדל של שעם ביום הכפורים ' רב יהודה נפיק...

But this text disagrees with the text of the Talmud, according to which Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā relates the actions of Rabbi Eleazar on a public fast-day. On this occasion he asked him about the Day of Atonement, and was answered that it makes no difference. To bring the text of the original fragment in accordance with the text of the Talmud, the editor encircled the statement of Rabbi Eleazar, put small circles around the words "Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā went out" to indicate apparently that these words precede the others, and added בעא מיניה אמ ליה מותר. However, there was no need to ask since only יום הכפורים was mentioned and the words בעא מיניה were, therefore, scratched out, and added, however, on the margin. The following passage ...רב יהודה נפיק was moved further away.

[58] Talmud אלעזר, but compare MS^{m} for the first statement of Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā, where it has אליעזר. These two names may be identified. See ד.ס, p. 251, note ח.

[59] Talmud has here the more familiar ננוה, for נוי. See MS^{2}. Cf. S. Klein, ארץ ישראל, note to section 95.

[60] The rest of the subject was wiped away. Since the *verso* begins with אמר שמואל we may think that a part of the passage of the Talmud, dealing with נעילת הסנדל, was originally written in the space, which is now wiped away, and thus made place for the insertion.

Left margin:

והלכתא[61] הקטע אסור לצאת
[בקב] שלו ביום הכפורים בין ד[א]ית
[ביה בי]ת קבול [כתיתין] בין דלית בי[ה]
[קבול] דמנעל [ה]וא:

Verso:

אמ׳[6] שמואל כל[62] מ[ח]מת סכנת עקרב מותר[:]
פיס׳ ובתשמיש המטה׳[63] תנן התם מקום שנהגו להדליק את הנר בלילי
[יום ה]כפור[ים]
מדליקין מקום שנהגו שלא להדליק אין מדליקין מדליקין[64] בבתי כניסיות[65]
ובבתי מ[דרשות ובמבואות]
האפלים ועל גבי החולים: תאנא[5] בין שאמרו להדליק ובין שאמרו שלא
להדליק לא[66] אמרו [אלא]
משום דבר אחר[67]: ירוש׳ תני[68] ר׳ שמעון בן אלעזר אומ׳[6] [י]ום הכפורים
שחל להיות בשבת אפילו
במקום שלא [נ]הגו להדליק מדליקין׳ ר׳ סימון בשם ר׳ יהושע בן לוי ר׳
[יוסי] ב[ן] ש[או]ל בשם רב..[69] [ה]לכה
כר׳ שמעון בן אלעזר: דרש ר׳ חייה רבה[70] לטבריה[71] כהדה[72] דר׳ שמעון
בן אלעזר:

Written horizontally:

[פיס׳][3] האוכל ביום הכפו[רים] וכולי עד מצטרפין: גמ׳ ירוש׳[73] אמ׳[6] ר׳ יוסי[74]
[זאת] אומרת שהוא צריך
למעך את חללה דלכן[75] נתני[(?)] כמ[וה ו]כגרעינתה[76] וכחללה[77]: תני ר׳
שמעון בן אלעזר אומר בכותבת נמרית: באעי[78,5] רב פפא כותבת[79]
הגסה שאמרו[80] י[בשה]
דלחה היא[81]
או לחה ואסיקנה[82] דבלחה[81] אמרו ד[גם]ה תנן[83] כמה דגסה: אמ׳[6] רחבה[84]
דלחה אמרו[81]
אמ׳[6] ר׳ יהודה כותבת הגסה שא[מרו]

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[61] The margin is not a copy from the Talmud, but is connected with the passage of the Talmud about קטע (B. Yōmā 78b). The reason someone wrote it on the margin must be that he intended to copy only extracts from the Talmud itself. A later addition was attached to this margin to modify its statement.

[62] The passage is in B. Yōmā 78b. The Talmud has אם. For the text of the fragment see הלכות גדולות p. 61b, מאה שערים pp. 54–55, and Alfāsī.

[63] The passage is in B. Pesāḥīm 53b.

although no important conclusions have been reached, and although Dr Feigin presents his transcription, notes, and general remarks, with great diffidence on this account, the fragment remains a problem which might be of importance to Genizah students, and ought therefore to be presented in this volume. Dr Feigin wishes to express grateful acknowledgment to Mr S. B. Maximon, of the Jewish Institute of Religion, and Rabbi Z. W. Leiter, of Pittsburg, for the loan of needed books.

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[64] Talmud has ומרליקין.

[65] Talmud omits the י after the נ. Cf. notes 29, 43.

[66] Talmud has שניהן לדבר אחד נתכוונו.

[67] אחר is erroneously written instead of אחד. It must be due to negligence on the part of the copyist.

[68] The Jerusalem Talmud, Pesāḥīm 31a.

[69] Jer. has רבי. But it seems that some name is missing there. The final letter in the fragment does not seem to be a י. Perhaps the name is רׄ בא?

[70] Jer. בר בא, namely, בר אבא. The text of the fragment דבה seems to be inferior. See Frankel, מבוא הירושלמי p. 81 ff.

[71] Jer. has a י after ט.

[72] Jer. כהדא with א.

[73] This is copied from Jer. Yōmā (44 d near the end).

[74] Jer. יוסה.

[75] Jer. דל כן separately written.

[76] Jer. כגלעינתה. But compare Tōsephōth Yōmā 79a.

[77] Jer. מחללה which is surely not correct. See Tōsephōth, *ibid.*

[78] The text is an extract from B. Yōmā 79–80.

[79] Talmud ככותבת and omits הגסה.

[80] The Talmud, as well as the Pōseḳīm, had a corrupted text which caused many artificial explanations. The text of the fragment has the support of MS[2] which has

ככותבת הגסה שאמרו בלחה או ביבשה

See ד.ס, p. 254, note נ. According to this, the text of the Talmud should be reconstructed as follows:

בעי רב פפא כותבת הגסה שאמרו לחה או יבשה. בעי רב אשי עצם כשעורה בקליפתה או בלא קליפתה. רב אשי לא מיבעיא ליה הא דרב פפא גסה תנן כמה דגסה. רב פפא לא מיבעיא ליה הא דרב אשי בקלפתה שבלת מקדי שלא בקליפתה אושלא מיקרי.

The present text of the Talmud seems to be formed by the following circumstances: A copyist omitted the words לחה או יבשה and wrote בעי רב פפא כותבת הגסה שאמרו בעי רבאשי . . . When he noticed his mistake, he wrote the words לחה או יבשה above the line. The second copyist inserted the words in the wrong place. When it was noticed that the inquiry of Rab Pāpā remained without any subject, somebody added בגדעינתה או שלא בגרעינתה although the inquiry about this is impossible. See ד.ס, p. 254, note נ.

[81] The copyist wrote דבלחה instead of דלחה and placed a circle around the word to indicate that it is wrong and wrote the correct word in smaller script at the beginning of the line above (דלחה היא) and beneath it (דלחה אמרו).

[82] This is a usual term in Alfāsī and Rabbi Ḥananēl. The fragment omits the inquiry of Rab Ashī.

[83] Talmud has גסה איתמר כל כמה דגסה, but MSS have correctly ...גסה תנן כמה. See ד.ס, note ה.

[84] Talmud has רבא which is impossible (Cf. I. Halevy, דורות הראשונים, vol. ii, p. 475 f.). MS[m] has רבה, but MSS[o,l,2] have correctly, as the fragment, רחבה.

4 יתירה מכביצה וקים להו לרבנן דבהכי מיתבא דעתא[85] ובציר[86] מהכי לא
מיתבא דעתא[85]׳ רב זב[יד][87]

5 אמ׳[6] כותבת הגסה שאמרו חסירה[88] [מכ]ביצה דתנן[89] אד כמה מזמנין
פחותה
עד כזית[90] ר׳ יהודה אומר עד כ[ביצה]

6 ואמרינן[91] במאי קאמיפלגי ר׳ מאיר סבר ואכלת זו אכילה ושבעת זו
שתיה ואכילה בכזית ור׳ יהודה סבר [ואכלת]

7 ושבעת אכילה שישבה שביעה וא[י]זו זו[92] כביצה ואי סלקא דעתא
כותבת הגסה[93] יתירה מכביצה השתא כ[ביצה]

8 שבועי משבעא יתובי[94] דעתא לא[מ]יתבא אלא[95] שמע מינה כותבת
הגסה שאמרו פחותה מכביצה[96] : מי....[97]

9 כל שיעורין שבתורה[98] בכזית יום הכפורים[99] מאי טעמ׳[12] ככותבת׳ מתוך
ששינה הכ[תוב במשמעו לא תעונה]

10 ולא כתוב לא תאכל[100] שינו חכמים בשיעורו[101] ככותבת[102] ושיעורין[103]
הלכה למשה מסיני הין : פיס׳[3] והשותה מ[לא]

11 לוגמיו וכולי אמ׳[6] רב יהודה אמ׳[6] שמואל לא מלא לוגמיו ממש אלא כל
שאילו יסלקם[104] לצד אחד ויראה כמל[א]

12 לוגמיו והא אנן מלוא לוגמיו תנן[105]׳ א[לא] מלא לוגמיו׳ מותיבי[106] כמה
ישתה ויהא חייב [בית] שמא אומרין [ר]בי[עית][107]

(*Remainder missing*)

Verso backward :

1 וקימא[108] [לן] כ[ר]ב הונא ור[ב נחמן ד]מחנכי[ן][109] או[תן]

2 חדא[110] דרב[י]ם אינון ור׳ [*erasure*] יוחנן יחיד ויחיד

3 ורבים הלכה כרבים [ו]עוד[111] דבתראי נינהו ועוד

4 דמחמרי טפי [ו]כר[יד]הום[112] סבירי[ן] מילי[ן] והכין נמי

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[85] Talmud has דעתיה.

[86] Talmud has ובציר. Before it was written on the fragment ובאציר as if it were a participle, but it was scratched out and written above וב, namely, ובציר.

[87] The fragment omits the passage from מיתיבי 79a to דלא שכיחי פירי 79b, the author not thinking it of importance for his purpose.

[88] Talmud has חסירה. In the fragment פחותה is written under it, apparently, in explanation.

[89] The fragment omits the passage which follows דתנן, which was rejected in the Talmud, and continues with the following passage.

The fragment begins with a heading: "Laws [concerning] Prohibitions of the Fast of the Day of Atonement." Then follow three Talmudic extracts on Washing. Between the first two and the present third section there seems to have been another on the same subject; but at present the space is filled by an extract from Maimonides on entering into the Holy of Holies and the Temple. The last line of this insertion comes just under the first line of the passage on Washing. Between the second passage and the insertion from Maimonides is a note stating that the law permitting bathing in case of pollution, even on the Day of Atonement, is no longer in force; and the authority is a Rabbi Moses, apparently Maimonides. This note continues upside down in smaller script behind the lines. Two line-spaces below the passage on Washing there follows one on Anointing. At the end

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[90] Talmud adds דברי רבי מאיר. For the omission in MSS^{m,1,2} see ד·ס, p. 256, note ב.

[91] This word is omitted in the Talmud, but is found in MS^{2}. See ד·ס, *ibid.*

[92] Talmud has ואי זה זה זה, but אבילה is feminine.

[93] Talmud adds שאמרו, but it is omitted in MSS^{m,o}. See ד·ס, p. 257.

[94] The infinitive absol. is omitted in the Talmud, but it is found in MS^{o}. See ד·ס, note ג.

[95] Talmud adds לאו, but it is omitted in MSS. See ד·ס, *ibid.*

[96] Talmud adds כביצה משבעא ככותבת מיתבא דעתיה. The phrase is omitted in MS^{m} and is superfluous.

[97] Talmud has תניא רבי אומר.

[98] Talmud has כל השיעורין כולן.

[99] The wording of the entire passage is not found in the Talmud, but it is extracted from it, after omitting the טמאת אוכלין about which the writer of the fragment was not concerned.

[100] The phrase לא תעונה ולא כתוב לא תאכל is omitted in the Talmud, but found in MS^{2}. See ד·ס, p. 257, note ו.

[101] Talmud has Aramaic בשיעוריה.

[102] The rest of the passage is omitted.

[103] Talmud adds ועונשין.

[104] Talmud has יסלקנו. Compare Job xxi, 16 טובם=טובנו.

[105] Talmud has והא אנן תנן מלוא לוגמיו, but MSS have the same text as the fragment.

[106] Talmud has correctly מיתיבי, but also מותיבי is possible. See Margolis, *The Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud*, section 38.

[107] The rest of the passage is now missing. It was wiped away in order to gain space for the passage from the Talmud which is written in smaller script. It surely contained the passage about תינוקות in B. Yōmā 82a, to which the margin was attached.

[108] Although the text is badly preserved, we can with certainty state that it refers to the law about תינוקות in B. Yōmā 82a. Since its contents were not found in Talmud, they were written on the margin. Compare note 61.

The author decides about the fasting of children as does Rab Huna and Rab Naḥmān, and not as Rabbi Yōḥānān. The first phrase is found in Alfāsī.

[109] The words are badly preserved, but these words are fitting to the context.

[110] This argument is given in העיטור, 2nd part 45a.

[111] This argument is found in Rabbi Ḥananēl and Alfāsī.

[112] The following is written in smaller script and is possibly a later addition by the man who used it. He confirms the decision of the original writer. The first phrase is doubtful. Compare the argument of Rabbi Yeshāyā for his decision against the opinion of Rabbi Yōḥānān which is essentially the same as given here:

ופסק רבינו ישעיה דלית הלכתא כרבי יוחנן דהא אתותב

(See שבילי הלקט N. 312.)

5 פסק רבינו[113] חננאל [לאיס]ורא[114] מרבנן[115] [ואית][116] מאן דפסק
6 כ[ר יוחנן ואינ]ון רבינו יהודה הכהן רא[ש][117] ה[סדר][118]
7 וקאמ[119]... רב..[120]
8 ורבינו יצחק בעל[121] ..
9 [ד]פסק[122]
10 ואנן כתבי[נן נמ]י דסבירא לן דהלכה כרב הונא ורב
11 נחמן בתינו[קות]

1 גמ׳ אסור[123] ענוש כרת ה[וא] אמ׳[6] [ר׳] אלעא[124] ואיתימ׳[125] ר׳ ירמיה לא נצר[כ]ה אלא לחצי ש[יעו]ר׳ הניח[א]
2 למאן דאמ׳[6] חצי שיעור [א]סור[126] [אל]א למאן דאמ׳[6] חצי שיעור מותר[126] מ[אי] אי[כא ל]מימר דאיתמר
3 חצי שיעור ר׳ יוחנן [א]מ׳[6] אסור מן התורה ריש לקיש אמ׳[6] מותר[126]׳ [ר׳][127] יוחנן אמ׳[6]
4 אסור[126] כיון דחאזי[5] לאיצטרופי איסורא אכיל[128] ריש לקיש אמ׳[6] מותר[126] אכיל[ה] אמ׳[6]
5 [רחמנא] והא לאו אכילה [היא][129]׳ הניחא לר׳ יוחנן אלא לריש לקיש מאי איכא למימר מודה
6 [ריש] לקיש דאסור[130] מ[דר]בנן׳ וכל[131] היכא[132] דענוש כ[ר]ת לא קתאני[133,5] אסור [ו]התניא
7 אע״פ שאמרו אסור בכ[ו]לן אין[134] ענוש כרת אלא האוכל[135] ושותה ועושה מלאכה
8 בלבד׳ הכי קאמ׳[6] [כש]אמרו אסור לא אמרו אלא בכחצי שיעור אבל בשיע[ור ענוש]
9 כרת ואין[136] ענוש כרת [אל]א האוכל[135] והשותה בלבד[137] ועושה מלאכה בלבד׳ איבעית[138]
10 אימ׳[125] כי קתאני[5] אסור אשארא דתנ[ו] רבה ורב יוסף בשאר סיפרי דבי רב מנין [ל]יו[ם]
11 הכפורים שאסור ב[ר]חיצה ובסי[כ]ה[139] בנעילת[138] הסנדל ובתשמיש המטה תל שב[תון]

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[113] See note 111.

[114] The word is not well preserved, but there are traces of the letters. Perhaps the questioned letter was ו.

[115] The last letter is not certain, but it fits the context.

of this a line was omitted ; and this is added in the margin with marks indicating its insertion. Then follows a passage on the wearing of shoes, the ending of which is mutilated by erasures, circles, and marginal corrections. The text is interrupted in the middle. Then is inserted a law from Maimonides on salting the sacrifices. Then comes a three-fold colophon in which the writer thanks God for helping him to explain these laws. On the left-hand margin is a law about a cripple who is forbidden to use his peculiar shoe on the Day of Atonement. There must have been something about this in the original text, which was removed to accommodate the passage from Maimonides. To the decision on the margin a much confused note is attached. In the midst are a few faint words in Aramaic, relating to the subject, but belonging to an earlier entry on top of which this was written. As we see from the narrowness of the space, both notes were written after the passage from Maimonides was filled in. At the end of the *recto* are two lines which seem to be the remains of the original text, upside down, and which escaped the erasure. They treat of a subject apparently from Middōth. In the space between the Talmudic passage on the wearing of shoes and the insertion from Maimonides are a few unintelligible words.

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[116] The restoration is not certain.

[117] The restoration is not beyond doubt. If this restoration is correct we may have here an allusion to the leader of the Babylonian section at Fusṭāṭ. See for this person Jacob Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine, under the Fāṭimids*, vol. ii, p. 101, note 2, and elsewhere.

[118] Here follows another illegible word or ligature.

[119] The word seems to be a remainder of the former text. The rest is wiped away.

[120] The word is not clear.

[121] The name of the book is not clear. Perhaps we have here the Alfāsī referred to. The letters are pĕrhaps מֹסֹ, namely, מגלת סתרים. Compare Mann, vol. i, p. 297, note 1.

[122] If the preceding suggestion is correct the text could be restored כרב הונא ורב נחמן.

[123] The passage is found in B. Yōmā 73b.

[124] Talmud אילא, but MS^{m} אלעא. See ד.ס., p. 220, note א.

[125] Here תימו without א. Cf. note 40.

[126] Talmud adds מן התורה. Cf. MS^{2}. See ד.ס., p. 220, note ב, p. 221, note י.

[127] The arguments of Rabbi Yōḥānān and Rēsh Lāḳish are omitted in the Talmud in this place, but followed at the end of the passage with the introductory word גופא (*ibid.* 74).

[128] Talmud adds קא.

[129] Talmud has וליכא, but see MSS^{o,1}, ד.ס., p. 220, note י.

[130] Talmud has Hebrew יש. In MS^{2} אמר לך ריש לקיש מאי אסור נמי. See ד.ס., p, 220, note ב.

[131] B. Yōmā 74a. The passage which precedes this in the Talmud is omitted here since it has nothing to do with the Day of Atonement.

[132] Talmud adds דתני, but it is omitted in the MSS. See ד.ס., p. 221, note ח.

[133] Talmud omits the ק.

[134] Talmud has לא אמרו, but cf. MSS^{2,1} in ד.ס., p. 221, note ט.

[135] Talmud adds על.

[136] Talmud adds ואפילו שענוש כרת. MSS^{2,1} have the same text as the fragment. See ד.ס., p. 221, note ט.

[137] The word was scratched out by the writer as soon as he realised his mistake.

[138] Talmud adds ו.

[139] Talmud omits the ו.

12 שבות : תנו[140] רבנן תענו את נפשותיכם[141] וכל מלאכה לא תעשו׳ מה
מלאכה שחייבין עליה[142]

13 [במ]קום אחר אף ענוי נפש שחייבין עליו במקום אחר ואי זה זה זה
פיגול ונותר׳ מרבה[143] אני

14 [פיגול] ונותר שהן ב[היכר]ת[144] ולא ארבה[143] טבל[145] שאינו בהיכרת[144]
תל[146] ועניתם את נפשותיכם

15 [ר י]בה׳ מרבה[143] א[ני טבלים[147] שהן] במיתה ולא ארבה[143] נבלות[147]
שאינן במיתה

16 תל[146] ועניתם את נפשותיכם ריבה׳ מ[רבה[143] אני נבלות שהן בלאו
ולא ארבה[143] חו]לין

17 [שאינן] בלאו [תל[146] ועניתם את] נפשותיכם ריבה׳ מרבה[143] אני חוליו[144]
שאינן בעמוד[148]

18 [ואכו]ל ולא ארבה[143] תרומה[144] ומעשר שני[149] שהן בעמוד[148] ואכול
תל[146] ועניתם את

19 [נפשותיכם ר]יב[ה׳] מרבה[143] אני תרומה ומעשר שני[149] שאינן בבל
תותירו ולא

20 [אר]בה[143] קדשים[144] שהן בבל תותירו תל תענו[150] את נפשותיכם ריבה׳

Insertions : No. 1 *: Recto :*

10 הילכות[151] ביאת [המקד]ש

11 אזדרינהו[152] רחמנא לכהנ[יא] דלא למיעל לקודש קודשיא דלא בעידן
ולא להיכלא
שנ
פולחנא דכתי[153] ואל יבוא בכל עת אל

12 הקודש זה קודש הקדשים מב[י]ת לפרכת להזהיר על כל הבית וכל[154]
כהן שנכנס לקודש הקדשים בשאר ימות

13 השנה בין כהן גדו[ל[155] ובין כה]ן הדיוט וב[י]ן[156] כהן גדול שנכנס לו
ביום הכפורים שלא בשעת עבודה חייב מיתה בידי

14 שמים שנ ולא ימות[157] אבל[158] הנכנס להיכל[159] [לא] לעבודה או
להשתחויה[160] בין כהן[161] גדול בין כהן הדיוט לוקה ואינו חייב מיתה

15 שנא[162] ולא ימות על קודש הקדשים במיתה ועל ש[אר] הבית בלאו ולוקה :

Under line 16 *:*

כמה[163] פעמים הוא נכנס לשם[164] ארבע[165] ....

The *verso* begins with a final sentence on the wearing of shoes. Then follows a passage from the Babylonian Talmud on the lighting of candles on the Day of Atonement, and another from the Jerusalem Talmud on the same act when it occurs on the Sabbath. After this there is a blank space and a marginal note. The next passage, on the side, contains passages from both Talmuds, on Eating—that from the Babylonian shortened considerably. This is followed by something about Drinking, interrupted in the middle by an erasure, in which is inserted a Talmudic excerpt in smaller script. On the margin, from the bottom up, is a note on the fasting of children, referring probably to the original text here erased. It seems to be by a later writer, and bears the name of Rabbi Ḥananēl, as well as the names of authorities otherwise minded, though the names and the analysis are uncertain. There is some illegible writing behind and above.

There are thus four elements in the fragment: 1. A main text, dealing with laws on the Day of Atonement, and taken from the Talmud. 2. Marginal notes on decisions touching such laws. 3. Inaccurate extracts from Maimonides. 4. Additions to the main text.

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[140] B. Yōmā 74b. Talmud has another apocryphal Mishnah, but it is omitted in Jer. Yōmā 44d.

[141] Talmud adds יכול ישב בחמה ובצינה ויצטער תל. For the text of the fragment see MS^{m} in ד.ס, p. 222. Cf. note ע.

[142] The text agrees with MSS (see ד.ס, note פ), while the Talmud has דבר שחייבין עליו.

[143] Talmud has אביא, but $MSS^{o,l}$ have מרבה אני and ארבה. See ד.ס, p. 223, notes ר, ת, ה.

[144] We have here the origin of כרת. See Levy, *Wörterbuch*, vol. ii, p. 420.

[145] Talmud adds .... את ה.

[146] Talmud adds תענו. Some $MSS^{m,o,l}$ have only this and omit ועניתם. However MS^{2} has the same text as the fragment. See ד.ס, notes ק, ש, א, ד.

[147] Thus $MSS^{o,l}$, but Talmud נבלה...הטבל.

[148] Talmud בקום. For עמוד see $MSS^{o,l}$ in ד.ס, note ב.

[149] This is omitted in Talmud and has consequently the singular. For the text of the fragment compare ד.ס, notes ג, ב.

[150] Talmud adds ועניתם. But it is omitted in $MSS^{m,o,l}$. Cf. ד.ס, notes ק, ה.

[151] The text is from Maimonides יד החזקה, הלכות ביאת המקדש, ב, ג–ד.

[152] The first sentence is changed here from Hebrew into Aramaic. The original has והוזהרו כל הכהנים שלא יכנסו לקדש או לקדש הקדשים שלא בשעת עבודה

[153] The word שנאמר, which is put above the text, is in the original and is better fitting than דכתיב.

[154] Original omits ו.

[155] Original has reversed order.

[156] Original או.

[157] Original has here וכמה פעמים הוא נכנס. In the fragment it is at the end.

[158] Original only ו.

[159] Original has instead לקדש חוץ לקדש הקדשים.

[160] Original להשתחוות.

[161] Original reverse order and omits כהן.

[162] Original adds אל פני הכפרת.

[163] See note 157.

[164] Original adds ביום הכפורים.

[165] The last letters seem to be a ligature ואכמל namely, ואין כאן מקום להאריך. Original has ...וכבר בארנו.

No. 2: Recto:

32 הילכות[166] מלח

33 הילכות השבתת מלח

להקריב קרבן בלא מלח

34 הזהירנו[167] הקבה שלא להשבית[168] המלח מעל הקרבנות שנא ולא תשבית
מלח ברית

35 אלהיך[169] וכל המקריב[170] קרבן חוץ מיין הנסכים והדם והעצים בלא מלח

36 כלל הריזה לוקה[171] ואעפ שלוקה הקרבן כשר והורצה חוץ מן המנחה

37 שהמלח מעכב בקומצה[172] שנא ולא תשבית ברית אלהיך מעל מנחתיך[173]:

38 בריך[174] רחמנא דסייען [למגמר]

39 פירוש הילכות השבתת מלח

40 הלכה זו פשוטה היא בריך רחמנא דסי[יען]

41 סליקו להו הילכות השבתת מלח גירסא ופירושא...

Addition[175] *to recto, lines 7–8* (הרואה קרי):

8 פי אלפירושא[176]... הא[177] דתניא הא מילתא חזיא ליה לרבינו משה הרב
הגדול דאוקמ

9 האי שמעתא[178] אוקמה רבינו משה[179] הרב
מימרא איקמיה
הגדול נ.[180] בחיבורא דיליה[181]
בשעה שתיקנו

Verso:

1 טבילה לבעלי קרין וכבר ביטלוה לטבילותא

2 הילכך[182]

3 וטעמ דמסתבר הוא

4 ואעפ שאין דעתו שלימה מתקררת עד שיטבול

Addition to קטע (*left margin of recto*):

1 לא[183] יחרם

2 אלא[184] אלגויד.....[185]

3 הדה אלקצא[186] קב

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[166] The original is in Maimonides יד החזקה, הלכות אסורי מזבח, ה, יא–יב. It has two inadequate headings.

[167] It is a free rendering of the original: מצות עשה למלוח כל הקרבנות קודם שיעלו למזבח.

[168] The words written above explain the word להשבית.

[169] Original quotes על כל קרבנך תקריב מלח.

[170] Original has הקריב שאין לך דבר שקרב למזבח בלא מלח חוץ מיין הנסכים הדם והעצים. בלא מלח כלל לוקה.

[171] Here is added שנאמר ולא תשבית מלח ברית אלהיך.

[172] Original has בקמיצה.

[173] Omitted in original.

[174] This is a colophon, which is written in three different ways in order to fill in the space.

The main body of the text is not simply copied from the Talmud. It does not follow the same order as the latter, even including a passage from Pesāḥīm; it omits portions of passages when irrelevant to the purpose in hand; it combines both Talmuds; and it uses the Talmudic expression תנן התם for a Mishnah from another treatise. Our fragment is thus clearly a codification, perhaps from some pōsēḳ, though different from those commonly known. It reminds one of Alfāsī and other African scholars. It uses the technical term ואסיקנה; regards both Talmuds as equally authoritative; omits unnecessary text; and agrees on the fasting of children. On the other hand there is no explanation of words and phrases; and the text itself contains no decisions. We may conclude that this codification could dispense with explanations and decisions, because it was to be used by a teacher, or with the help of a teacher. The character of the erasures and additions, as above described, point rather to the conclusion that we have here a teacher's notes. It seems not to have been taken from an existing pōsēḳ, but to have been composed independently for teaching purposes, and there may have been other pages of the same sort, covering the other holy days. The spiritual leaders of communities were accustomed to teach them the laws concerning each holy day thirty days in advance. Our fragment might be the memorandum of such a teacher; and it might even have gained currency, as a sort of מגלת סתרים in distinction from a מגלה. (Cf. Levy, *Wörterbuch*, vol. iii, p. 17.) The Mishnah was not included, because it was already known to the pupils, or more easily available. Possibly Alfāsī's work was called מגלת סתרים for the same reason. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 297, note 1.

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[175] The addition seems to have been put in after the space was filled with the insertion copied from Maimonides.

[176] It seems to be Arabic. The rest is not clear. "In explanation"...

[177] The line was partly crossed out.

[178] The word שמעתא was explained by מימרא.

[179] Here reference is surely made to Maimonides.

[180] The first letter seems to be certainly a נ. The second letter, unfortunately, is not clear. The word is apparently a ligature. It was either נֵי, in which case Maimonides was alive, or נַע, in which case he had already died. The lack of space urged the writer not to be extravagant in titles. הרב הגדול is the usual title for Maimonides.

[181] יד החזקה, הלכות שביתת עשור, ג, ג. For the designation of this work as חבור see Ḳobeṣ 1, 25[c]. (Cf. Mann, vol. ii, p. 316.)

[182] Some words are omitted, namely ...אסור לטבול.

[183] The addition to קטע was written after the insertion from Maimonides was made and thus there was no space left for it, and therefore filled in the space in wedge form. The beginning is in Arabic, the end in Hebrew and in the middle are some words in Aramaic.

[184] The glossator intends apparently to define what קב is prohibited. And he states: "It is forbidden only....."

[185] The word is badly written and the letters are indistinguishable. From the context we may assume that it designates the form of the קב which is forbidden to be used on the Day of Atonement. This must be in the form of a shoe, otherwise there is no reason for its being forbidden to be used on the Day of Atonement. Cf. Tōsephōth to Yōmā 78b.

[186] Perhaps the same word is referred to in Tōsephōth, *ibid.* אישקצא.

4 אלכשב[187] אלאיגוז

5 אלכרוג בוא

6 פי יום הכפורים

7 [ ] אל...

8 ..א.

9 דאתי[188] לאתויי

10 ד אמות

11 ברש הרבים

12 ולהדא

13 חרמת[189]

14 ביום הכפורים

15 לפיכך גם

16 לב.. גם

17 בבית

18 מותר[190]

Recto backward:

1 פי חיל[191] בית בין[192]...

2 [מ]קום מידות[193] ותוכו ארבע[י]ם

אמה ואמה טרקסין ועשרים אמה[194]...

3 אמ[195,6] ר נתן אמה טרקסין לא

הכריעו[196] חכמים אי כלפנים

אי כלחוץ

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[187] The words are the Arabic الخشب العجوز الخروج.

[188] These few words are a remainder of an earlier note in Aramaic.

[189] This is apparently the end of the Arabic note.

[190] This seems to be the end of the note from which few words remained in Aramaic. Cf. note 188.

[191] It seems that we have here an explanation of חיל. Cf. Levy, *s.v.*

The fragment in its present state contains the names of Maimonides, Rabbi Ḥananēl, Rabbi Judah ha-Kōhēn, and Rabbi Isaac. But the last one is uncertain, and all four are probably younger than the text, Maimonides at any rate. The text itself is a copy, as may be seen from errors, corrections, omissions and inconsistencies, of a sort very unlikely in an original. No conclusion as to date is possible.

If we look for a likely author, someone from the country of Rabbi Ḥananēl, a teacher, to whom a מגלת סתרים was attributed, we may choose Rabbi Nissīm Gā'ōn, author of ספר המפתח. See דור דור ודורשין, vol. iv, pp. 236–238. By מגלת סתרים was meant, however, particularly the teacher's comments, preserved by the pupils, and not intended by the teacher for publication. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. ix, 315 ff. The present fragment is the text-book, to which the comments and their results were attached. Thus the present fragment contains a passage from the Jerusalem Talmud about כותבת which is quoted from Rabbi Nissīm by the 'Ārūkh, apparently from his מגלת סתרים.

The fragment is important if it proves to be a page from the מגלת סתרים, or even from some text-book. In any case it has a text superior to that of the printed edition of the Talmud, in the sense that it combines the best of the known variant readings; and it may well be the old African recension of this time.

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[192] The phrase is not well preserved and is not clear.

[193] Mishnah Middōth 4, 7.

[194] In the Mishnah בית קדש הקדשים. There is not enough space for all these. Perhaps we have here a ligature.

[195] B. Yōmā 52a.

[196] Talmud adds בו.

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For the MSS: דקדוקי סופרים (abbreviated: ד.ס.) of Raphael Rabbinowicz, 1871. The Munich MS is designated by a small m, the second MS of the same place by 2, the Oxford by o, the British Museum by l (London), following the Hebrew marks used by Rabbinowicz.

The following Pōseḳīm, which partly share the methods of the writer of the fragment, were compared:

הלכות גדולות Warsaw, 1874, pp. 61–62.

Rabbi Ḥananēl, Wilna, 1881.

Alfāsī, Wilna, 1881.

מאה שערים of ר' יצחק בן ר' יהודה אבן גיאת printed in פירטה, תרכא, p. 49ff.

ספר העיטור of ר' יצחק בן ר' אבא מארי, printed in Lemberg, 1860, second part p. 44ff.

אור זרוע of ר' יצחק בן ר' משה from Vienna, printed in Zitomir, 1862, second part p. 162ff.

Rabbi Asher, printed in Wilna, 1881.

שבלי הלקט of ר' צדקיהו בר אברהם Wilna, 1866.

XLV. LEAVES FROM A NOTE-BOOK

Paper $6\frac{3}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches, folded down the middle so as to form two leaves and four pages, all of which are covered with writing in the same difficult cursive Hebrew hand. On *verso* (*b*) the postscripts have been written diagonally.

The language is Arabic, with a colloquial tinge, at times very difficult, not only because of the strange constructions, but also on account of the many technical terms relating to wearing apparel and the like.

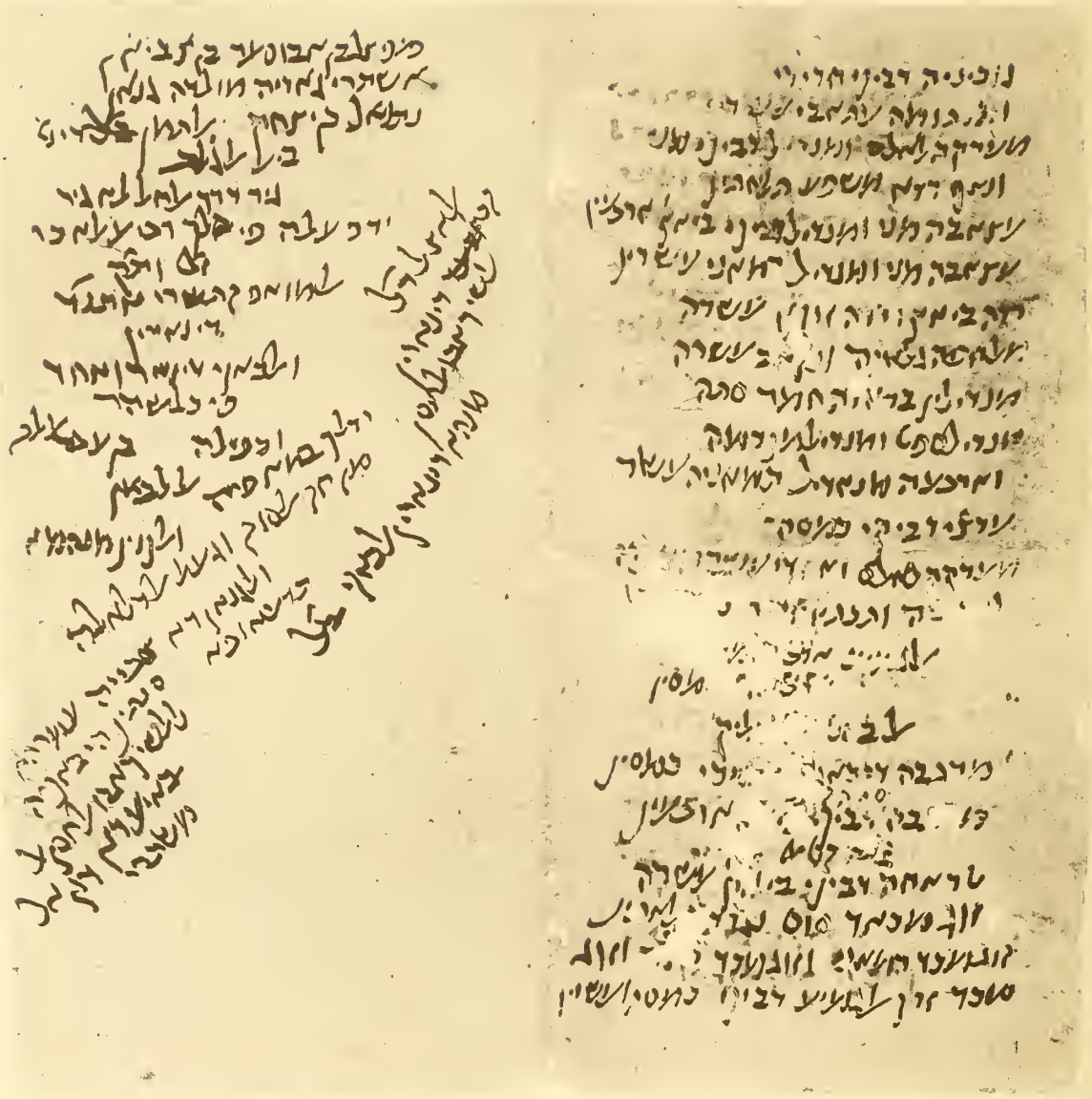
The date is A.D. 1141–1142.

Recto: (*a*)

1 אלקנין מן אלשיך אבו יעקוב יוסף בן אלדהבי
2 אנה יכתב אלמלך באלגויים בעד ג̄ אשהר
3 אב ואלול אתנג̄ ותשרי אתנד̄
4 באסם אבנתה ואלנקל ואלגעל
5 ויקום ללצבייה באלדי להא ענדה
6 מן אעלאק אבאעהא להא
7 ואלנקל ואלגעל עלי אלסנה יקום מן דלך
8 אלשיך אבו אלמפצל אברהם בן עובדייה
9 בג׳ דנא׳ ואלבאקי מן אלתסעה אלדנא׳
10 אלדי להא ואלשרט עליהא אן לם יפעל
11 אבוהא דלך תכרג̇ בלא מוכר
12 ואלשרט עלי אבו אלמפצל אנה לא
13 יצרבהא ולא ישתמהא ולא יטלב
14 מנהא פירות אלמלך ואנה קד געלהא
15 להא בכסותהא ומתי טלב מנהא פירות
16 כאן עליה תלאתה דנא׳ לאלמעוט ועלי
17 אנה קד תכדא מנהא וגעלהא ברסם
18 אלכסות ואברא כל מנהם לצאחבה
19 אלאב ואלאבנה ואלזוג ואלכתובה

[1] I.e. "he will write in the name of."
[2] Era of Documents: Tammūz 1453 = July A.D. 1141.
[3] I.e. "turnover and make."
[4] See No. XL, Introduction and note 8.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 45 a



Genizah Fragment 45 b

XLV. LEAVES FROM A NOTE-BOOK

The contents of the four pages seem to be unrelated. *Recto* (*a*) and (*b*) and *verso* (*a*) refer to marriage settlements, similar to those in No. XL. *Verso* (*b*) deals with a case, very interesting but not very clear. Mufaḍḍal, under the suretyship of al-Labbān, buys of Abū al-Ḥasan—Muslims, all of them—the "offspring" of Janān Nathan Ben Isaac, the Jew; and another daughter of Nathan becomes the property of Abū al-Ḥasan. Nathan seems to have died or to have been forced in some unknown manner to permit such a transaction.

Recto: (*a*)

1 The possessions of the Sheikh Abū Jacob Joseph Ibn al-Dhahabī:
2 He will convey[1] the property [which is invested] among the gentiles after three months—
3 Āb and Elūl 1453, and Tishrī 1454[2]—
4 to his daughter, together with the profit and gain[3] [accruing from its investment].
5 And he will give to the girl what he has of hers, [accruing]
6 from apparel which he caused to be sold for her,
7 and the profit and gain[3] by the year. Of this [marriage settlement the bridegroom,]
8 the Sheikh Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Abraham Ben Obadiah, shall provide
9 three dīnārs [muḳdām,][4] and [six dīnārs, me'ūḥār,][4] the rest of the nine dīnārs
10 which belong to her. And the condition [laid] upon her [is that], if her father
11 shall not do this, she shall go forth [from her father's house] without any purchase price[5] [from the bridegroom].
12 And the condition laid upon Abū al-Mufaḍḍal [is that] he shall not
13 beat her, nor insult her, nor demand
14 from her the fruits[5] of [her invested] property; for he has promised them to
15 her through her [investments in] apparel. And if he shall demand of her the fruits[6] [of her investment],
16 he shall be liable for three dīnārs for the .....[7]
17 and on condition that he has .....(?)[8] from her, whereas he promised them [to her] in the agreement
18 [about] the apparel. And each of them absolves his companions [from all liability]:
19 the father, and the daughter, and the husband. And the marriage contract

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[5] מוֹמכר for Hebrew מֹהַר or else for Hebrew מאוחר.

[6] Hebrew פֵּירוֹת, plural of פֵּרִי.

[7] Hebrew מְעוּת? [8] תַּכְשִׁיטִים?

20 באקיה עלי חאלהא בגמיע שרוטהא
21 מן אלמאוחר ואלנדוניא וסאיר אלשרוט
22 ואלעמארה לים לאבי אלמפצל
23 דא אלזאמה בשי מנהא ליוסף דא
24 בלאיש יעמרה יוסף דא פיהא ליסא לה
25 מטאלבה אבו אלמפצל דא ולא
26 לזוגתה בשי מנהא כתב בחדש
27 תמוז אתנג

Recto : (b)

1 קרצה דהב מגרייה כמסה כמסה
2 וכואתים דהב וכאתם פצה וכאתמין פצה
3 צרגין מדאללין לולו חצאר
4 מראה מחלאה רהן ענדהם עלי דינארין
5 דמלג ענבר תלאתה דנא׳ בפס דהב
6 מלעקה וזברייה ומילין ומרוחה
7 וקעבה פצה . . . אלכסף תלאתה דנ
8 גמכאהל בלור בג׳ ופמאס דהב תלאתה
9 רפאדה ובלטייה ודרג דינאר
10 אלגמיע מאיה וסבעה דנא׳
11 אלמלבוס
12 כלו[ע]ה תגב ביאץ חרירי
13 . . . . . מדהב ארב[עין]
14 . . . . . [חר]ירי
15 ומ . . . . . [ח]רירי כמסין
16 כלעה יאהו[די] ומעגרהא ארבעין
17 גוביניה לבכי [ומ]נדיל דביקי תלאתין
18 מלאה ח[רירי] שׁרפין ונקא[ב] כמסה ותלתי[ן]
19 תגב שמ[ם] מדהב מלבוס
20 ומנדיל אזרק תלאתין
21 גוב[יניה] דביקי זרקא
22 וכצי אזרק עשרין

[9] Vernacular Egyptian Arabic, the postpositive demonstrative *da*.

20 remains as it is in all its stipulations
21 as to the me'ūḥār and the nedunyāh[4], and the remaining conditions.
22 And [as to] the housekeeping: This[9] Abū al-Mufaḍḍal has no
23 responsibility for any part of it. This[9] Joseph has [the responsibility].
24 Without cost[10] he shall maintain [Abū al-Mufaḍḍal] in it. He has no [right to make any]
25 request of this Abū al-Mufaḍḍal, nor
26 of his wife for any part of it. Written in the month of
27 Tammūz 1453?[2]

Recto: (b)

1 A Hungarian (?) gold disc—five.
2 And gold rings[11], and a silver ring[12], and two silver rings—five.
3 Two saddles[13].....pearls, a saddle cushion.
4 A mirror.....said to be worth about two dīnārs.
5 A large amber armband [worth] three dīnārs, with a gold bezel (?)[14].
6 A spoon, and a deep bowl, and two collyrium sticks, and a fan[15].
7 And a silver cup.....[16]—three dīnārs.
8 A crystal.....for three [dīnārs], and a gold.....—three [dīnārs].
9 A saddle cushion and a.....and a jewel-box—[one] dīnār.
10 The whole [equals] a hundred and seven dīnārs.
11 The clothing:
12 A silk.....of white.
13 .....gilded—forty.
14 .....silk,
15 and.....silk—fifty.
16 A Jewish.....and its hood—forty.
17 A Labakī (?).....and a Dabīḳī[17] kerchief—thirty.
18 A silk cloak.....and niḳāb[18]—thirty-five.
19 A gilded sun.....[19] garment.
20 A blue kerchief—thirty.
21 A blue Dabīḳī[17].....[20]
22 and a blue.....—twenty.

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[10] Vernacular Arabic, *balāsh*. The pronunciation here indicated would be *balā'ish* or *balaish*.

[11] خَوَاتِم.

[12] This phrase has been deleted.

[13] I.e. سَرْجَيْنِ, with צ for ס.

[14] فصّ, with ס for צ.

[15] Deleted, then written above.

[16] Hebrew כֶּסֶף, "silver," "money"?

[17] According to Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 548, Dabīḳ was a place in Egypt, between al-Faramā and Tinnīs, at which a certain cloth was made.

[18] A kind of veil.

[19] תנב as in line 12.

[20] גוביניה as in line 17.

Verso : (a)

1 גוביניה דביקי חרירי
2 ומנתומה עתאבי עשרי[ן]
3 מערקה לאלם ומנדיל דביקי . . . .
4 ונצף רדא משפע תלאתין
5 עצאבה מני ומנדיל דביקי ביאין ארבעין
6 עצאבה מני ומנדיל ימאני עשרין
7 רדה ביאין ורדה זרקא עשרה
8 מלבוסה גלאיה ונקאב עשרה
9 מנדילין בר . . ה חמר סתה
10 מנדיל ספט ומנדיל מן דמה
11 וארבעה מנאדיל תמאניה עשר
12 ערצי דביקי כמסה
13 מערקה לאלם וא . די עשר[ין] ו[תל]תה
14 . . . . ה ותכתין . . . . . .
15 אלגמיע ארב[ע] מ[איה]
16 . . . . . [ח]מסין
17 אלב . ט . . . ליק
18 מרגבה דיבאג . . . ייכי כמסין
19 כא . . בה דביקי סתה . . . . ארבעין
20 . . . . קטם
21 טראחה דביקי בי[א]ין עשרה
22 זוג תכאד סוס נגיד תלאתין
23 זוג מכד רמאני וזוג מכד . . . וזוג
24 מכד זרק אלגמיע דביקי כמסה ועשרין

Verso : (b)

1 מפצל בן אבוסעד בן צביאן
2 אשתרי גאריה מולדה גנאן
3 נתנאל בן יצחק אלתמן בל דינ׳
4 ביע אלגלב

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[21] According to Dozy, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*, a kind of taffeta originally of Bagdad.

[22] Persian لَاَس.

Verso: (*a*)

1 A silk Dabīḳī[17].....[19]
2 and an ʻAttābī[21].....—twenty.
3 A red silk[22] skull-cap, and a Dabīḳī kerchief.....
4 and a half cloak, doubled—thirty.
5 A Munyī[23] ʻiṣābah[24] and a Dabīḳī kerchief of white[25]—forty.
6 A Munyī ʻiṣābah and a Yemenite kerchief—twenty.
7 A white[25] cloak[26] and a blue cloak[26]—ten.
8 A.....garment and a niḳāb[18]—ten.
9 Two kerchiefs, with a.....of red[25]—six.
10 A kerchief of Saft[27] and a kerchief from.....
11 and four kerchiefs—eighteen.
12 A Dabīḳī ʻarḍā[28]—five.
13 A red silk[22] skull-cap and.....—twenty-three.
14 .....and two waist-bands.....
15 The total, four hundred.
16 .....fifty
17 .....
18 A.....of brocade.....—fifty.
19 A Dabīḳī.....[29].....—forty.
20 .....
21 A Dabīḳī coverlet of white—ten.
22 A pair of pillows: "Prince's Horse[30]"—thirty.
23 A pair of pomegranate-red pillows[31], and a pair of.....pillows[31], and a pair of
24 blue pillows[31]. The total of Dabīḳī [goods], twenty-five.

Verso: (*b*)

1 Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abū Saʻd Ibn Ṣubyān
2 has bought a slave-girl, the child[32] of Janān[33]
3 Nathaniel Ibn Isaac, the price [being] 32 dīnārs[34].
4 The sale of slaves

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[23] For مُنْيِىّ(?) from مُنْيَة, the name of several pláces in Egypt.

[24] A kind of turban.

[25] The nominal form بَيَاض as in line 12 of *recto*: (*b*). Similarly حُمْر line 9.

[26] I.e. رِدَاء, as in line 4.

[27] Cf. Saft Abī Jirjā, Saft al-ʻUrfā and Saft al-Ḳudūr, Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 97–98.

[28] According to Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch*, *sub voce* "a kind of cloth."

[29] Above the line: "six."

[30] Hebrew סוס נגיד.

[31] I.e. مخادّ.

[32] مُوَلَّدَة. Why not بِنْت?

[33] I.e. "dark." Janān is *not* the seller. He is the father of the girl.

[34] There is a strange mark over the ב, and both numerals seem to have been deleted.

5 גיר דרך אלחאל לאגיר
6 ידפע לה פי דלך רביע אלאכר
7 זל ותק
8 אלמואפק תשרי אתנד
9 דינארין
10 ואלבאקי דינאר ואחד
11 פי כל שהר
12 וכפילה בן עבדאללה
13 אללבאן
14 ואלקנין מנהמא

1 ודלך במא פיה
2 מן חק אלסוק וגעאל אלדלאלה

1 ולגנאן דא צבייה עמרהא
2 כמא ופא סנתין הי באקיה
3 ללשיך אבו אלחסן אל
4 באיע דא דון אל
5 משתרי

1 אלאצל דל
2 קבא בעד דינארין
3 אלשיך אבואלחסן
4 מנהא דינארין אלבאקי בל

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[35] רביע should have the article.

[36] The Muslim dating is unusual, and is due to the circumstance that the seller, purchaser and surety were Muhammadans. Both dates equal exactly Oct.-Nov., A.D. 1142.

at present [is] not otherwise than thus (?).
He [now] pays him in this [month of] Rabī'[35] al-Ākhir,
537 [A.H.][36],
corresponding to Tishrī, 1454, [Era of Documents][36],
two dīnārs,
and the remaining [thirty dīnārs he will pay at the rate of] one dīnār
every month.
And his security is Ibn 'Abd Allāh[36]
al-Labbān[37],
and the property of them both.

And this [has been agreed upon] together with what it involves
in the way of market-fees and auctioneer's commissions.

And this[38] Janān has a girl, aged—
according to settlement—two years. She remains [the property]
of this Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan[39], the
seller, instead of [becoming the property of] the
buyer.

The basic [price is] 34.
.....after[40] two dīnārs.
The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan[39] [takes]
from it two dīnārs. The remainder is [therefore] 32.

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[37] I.e. "seller of sour milk," or "brick-maker."

[38] Vernacular Egyptian Arabic.

[39] This shows that Janān is *not* the seller. See note 33. The younger child is not "thrown in," but goes to the seller as a consideration.

[40] בעד has been deleted.

XLVI. A PAGE FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, with writing on one side only.

Hebrew, in cursive Hebrew characters, pointed in a most unusual way which can be due only partly to ignorance. The vowels are here printed as they stand, regardless of the translation.

1 יְיָ שְׁמָעָה אַל תְּפִלַּת עַמְּךָ וְאַל תַּחֲנוּנָם : אְשַׁר
2 שָׁפְכוּ חנוּנָם לְהתודות על עוֹנָם : בְּשַׁעֲרֵי רַחֲמֶיךָ
3 מַשְׂגִּיחִים כָּל הַמּוֹנָם : בְּדַלְתֵי פְּתָחֶיךָ דּוֹפְקִים הִנָּם
4 יְיָ סַלָּחָה גנותם חָטְאָם וּזְדוֹנָם : גְּזִיר דִּינָם
5 הַרַע מֵעָלָם וְעוֹלָם : דּוֹבְבִים לְרַצּוֹתָךְ בְּשִׁיר
6 הַגְיוֹנָם : דּוֹר מֵעֲרַב וְעַד עֲרַב לָךְ תְּלוּיוֹת עֵינָם :
7 בְּיֵי הַמַּעֲרִיב עֲרָבִים :
8 אַהֲבַת עוֹלָם יִשְׂרָאֵל עַמְּךָ אָהַבְתָּה תּוֹרָה וּמִצְוֹת
9 חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים אוֹתָנוּ לִמַּדְתָּה עַל כֵּן בְּשָׁכְבֵנוּ
10 וּבְקוּמֵינוּ תו בְּלִבֵּינוּ נָסִיחַ בְּחֻקֵּי רְצוֹנֶיךָ וְנִשְׁמַח
11 וְנַעֲלוֹז בְּדִבְרֵי [תַּלְ]מוּד תּוֹרָתֶךָ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד כִּי הֵם
12 חַיֵּינוּ וְאוֹרֶךְ יָמֵינוּ וּבָהֶם נֶהְגֶּה יוֹמָם וָלָיְלָה
13 יְיָ הַקְשִׁיבָה הַגְיוֹן בַּת שׁוּבָבִים : הַמְדַבְּרִים
14 תַּחֲנוּנִים וְכַעֲנִיִּים נִצָּבִים : וְעֵדֶם בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ הָרַבִּים
15 אַשַׁר עַל כָּל מְרוּבִים : וּבְסֵפֶר חַיִּים יִהְיוּ נִכְתָּבִים :
16 זַעַק מְרֻבִּים צְמֵאִים וְרֵעֵבִים : זְדוֹנָם לְהַעֲבִיר
17 מֵחוֹת פִּשְׁעָם כְּעָבִים : חִי הוֹשִׁיבָם כִּי עָדֶיךָ
18 הֵם שָׁבִים : חבת אהבים תִּזְכּוֹר לְאוהֲבִים : בָּרוּךְ
19 אַתָּה יְיָ אוֹהֵב עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל : אָמֵן שְׁמַע :

XLVI. A PAGE FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

A portion of the Yōm Kippūr service.

The copyist has disregarded the verse division indicated by the rime. There are traces of an initial acrostic extending from א to ת.

1 Lord, hearken unto the prayer of Thy people, and unto their supplication, who
2 pour out their entreaty, to confess their sins in the gates of Thy mercy,
3 watching, all the multitude of them, at the doors of Thy portals, knocking, behold them!
4 Lord, forgive their shame, their sin, and their wickedness, the mote of their evil
5 judgments, for ever and ever. [They] appeal to Thy favor (?) with the song
6 of their music. A generation whose eyes are raised to Thee from the evening unto the evening.
7 Blessed art Thou, O Lord, that bringest the evenings!
8 [With] a perpetual love hast Thou loved Israel, Thy people. With Law and commandments,
9 statutes and judgments, [hast Thou loved] us therefore accordingly, when we lie down
10 and when we arise. Also in our hearts.....by the statutes of Thy will, and happy
11 and rejoicing in the words of the study of Thy Law, forever and ever. For they
12 [are] our life, and the lengthening (?) of our days; and in them we meditate day and night.
13 Lord, give ear to the music of the house of wanderers (?), who speak
14 prayers, and, like the poor, stand up [before Thee]. Admonish (?) in Thy great mercy,
15 which is plentious, over everything. And in the Book of Life let them be written down.
16 Often do they cry out, thirsty and hungry, to put aside their wickedness—
17 the blotting out of their sins, like clouds. [O] Living [God] bring them back; for unto Thee
18 [would] they return. Remember Thou the love of lovers toward [their] beloved [ones]. Blessed [art]
19 Thou, Lord, that lovest Thy people, Israel! Amen! Hear!

XLVII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters, small but distinct, like those of Nos. XLI and XLVIII, though not identical with either.

The text is written in several directions, in order that the various postscripts and afterthoughts may not be confused. Two of these shorter additions are to be inserted into the text, and are here so printed, with asterisks.

The date is Wednesday, 7th of Tammūz; and the 23rd of Rajab, A.H. 460 (May 28, A.D. 1067), is in the immediate past.

Recto: (*a*)

בהית׳

1 השר והטפסר נשא ומאד נעלה לשם ולתהלה אדוני כמהר נב׳

2 אחרי הקורה מרחוק ואת להודיע לאדון כתבתי בארוכה לאדון כתב עם אלעאמירי

3 מתסאפיר הרבאעה שהלכה בחברת החכם כהר׳ יעקב בירב יצ׳ פי ת׳ עושרין

4 רגב סת׳ וואת להודיע לאדון כי איני יודע אם מגיעים הכתבים לאדון

5 שאומרים שלוכחים אותם מן הרצים וכעת זאת להודיע גם לאדון כעת היום

6 יום רביעי ז׳ לחדש תמוז הגיעה רבאעה כמו קנ׳ חמל גמאל ואסגאל

7 מע׳ מטה והסוחרים אשר בה מן אלשאם ומן נבלום ומן גזה ויש בם

8 סוחר אחד חליבי שמו סי׳ עלי ן׳ ע׳ אלעזיז אלחליבי והשוואם אשר בה

9 א׳ שמו סי׳ מחמוד ן׳ לולו וע׳ אלרחמן אלשמי וזולתם וחמשה משאיך של יהודים

10 והשאר כמו שהולך בקאימה הרבאעה בפרטות והגידו לנו הסוחרים

11 שהשיירה החאליבייא בקרוב בעהי׳ תבוא ולפי שלא מצאו להם ראש כדי

---

1 נכתב בצדה.

2 Apparently an epistolary formula, meaning "after the greeting." Perhaps קורת הרוח = הקורה.

3 מתסאפיר probably for مُتَسَفِّر "despatcher."

4 Arabic עושרין suggests a vernacular form: *'ushrīn*, unless the ו is transposed from before the ע where there should indeed be a ו. ת׳ stands for 3 (ثلاثة), not for 400 as in Hebrew.

5 I.e. of the Hijrah, which equals May 28th, A.D. 1067. The ת would then stand for 400, nor for 3, as above. סת׳ might stand for سَنَة, but there would then be no numeral.

6 The letters, though plain, yield no sense. 7 Arabic.

XLVII. LETTER

A letter from one named Nissīm, in Ḳaṭyah, Sinai, to a certain Rabbi Solomon Iskanderānī, in Cairo or Fusṭāṭ.

It is a rambling and repetitious account of conditions in the small and turbulent caravan station on the Cairo-Damascus highway. There is much about caravans. Robbers infest the way. The Muslims have demolished a synagogue (?) and a private house of the Jews. It is as hot as the nethermost Sheol, and the writer's pen is broken.

Recto: (*a*)

Blessed be the Name [of God]!

1 [To] the Prince, the Dignitary, Exalted and very Eminent, in Name and Reputation, my Lord, his Exalted Honor, the Rabbi [whose name is] written at the side [of this letter][1]!

2 After the solace[2] from afar: This [is] to inform the Gentleman [that] I have written at length to the Gentleman a letter, [sent] from al-'Āmīrī,

3 the mutasaffir[3] of the caravan which went [from here] in the company of the wise, the honored Rabbi Jacob, son of Rabbi Is[aac], on the twenty-third[4] of

4 Rajab, 460 [A.H.][5]. And this is to inform the Gentleman—for I do not know whether the letters reach the Gentleman—

5 that [people] say that they take them away from the runners. And now this [is] also to inform the Gentleman, now, today,

6 Wednesday, the 7th of Tammūz, of the arrival of a caravan of about 150 camel-loads and.....

7 .....[6]. And the merchants who are in it [are] from Damascus[7], and from Nablus[7], and from Gaza[7]. And there is in it

8 a Ḥalībī[8] merchant whose name is Sīdī 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥalībī[8]. And the Syrians[9] who are in it:

9 One whose name is Sīdī Maḥmūd Ibn Lu'lu', and [another,] 'Abd al-Raḥmān the Syrian[10], and [a few others] aside [from these], and five sheikhs[7] of the Jews;

10 and the rest [are] individually like what travels in the lists of a caravan. And the merchants told us

11 that the caravan[11] of Ḥalībīs[12] would soon arrive, with the help of God—His Name be blessed[13]!—And because they have not found for themselves any leader, so

---

[8] The context indicates Aleppo, but there appears to be no authority for such a form.

[9] Modern vernacular Arabic form.

[10] For שאמי, شَأْمِيّ.

[11] Here the Hebrew word שַׁיָּרָה instead of Arabic רבאעה.

[12] חאליביא for حَلَبِيَّة, plural of حَلَبِيّ. Cf. note 8.

[13] בעזרת השם יתברך.

12 לצאת מדמשק לא נסעו משם ובעה׳ בקרוב תצא מדמשק השירה לפי
דיבור

13 הסוחרים ומה שנתעכב שליחות הרץ תכף בעת הגעת הרבאעה הנז׳ הוא לפי

14 שיש פה סוכֻּראת מצד בניין הפסגה ולא ימצא איש בקטייא שכולם ברחו

15 להם מפחד הסוכֻּראת והנמצאים הם תפושים בסוכֻּרא[ת] בבניין באופן
שסוחרי

16 דמשק הם כמו לה׳ משאיך ומן האלב שוחר אחד שהוא סי׳ עלי ן׳ ע׳ אלעזיז

17 כמו חמשה משאיך והשאם צבון ולאוז ונבלוסי ואין להאריך כי אם לחלות
ולהתפלל

18 לאלית׳ ישלח לאדון ברכה עד בלי די אויר בנפשו הרחבה והחכמה
מליאה דעת

19 ויראה ובנפשׁ מוכנים ומזומנים הצעיר נסים

20 נכת במרוצה בקנה רצוצה

21 ביום ד׳ ז׳ לתמוז

Recto: (b)

1 וזות להודיע לאדון כי לא נמצא רץ בקטייא להודיע לאדון בשירת זאת
הרבאעה לכן לא

2 שלחכו הרץ לבשר ויודע לאדון כי הכאשף עיכב דמיהם כמו ד׳ אחמאל
מהלאוייא ומנזלאוייה

*ובין כך ובין כך היה ההלכה המהלאוייה והמנזלאוייה דרך ים ושש׳

3 וצריך למחר לשקול אותם ולידוע כמה יעלו דמיהם וילך אחד ממנו
למנזלה ולמחלה

4 לגבות דמיהם ואומר הכאשף שעכף רוצה לעכב המעות פה עד בוא כתב
מן האדון

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14 See No. XXX, line 11, and note 18. About 75 kilometers from al-Ṣāliḥīyah on the caravan route, in Sinai. The spelling קטייא does not necessarily indicate Ḳaṭīyah, for the י is doubled in בניין, in the same line and next.

15 Cf. note 8.

16 Mentioned above in line 8. He seems to have made a great impression upon the writer, or else the writer is suffering from the heat. Cf. *recto* (*c*), line 7.

17 Cf. line 9. 18 شَأْم with the Hebrew article.

19 לוז.

20 לאל יתברך. Cf. the title above line 1: ברוך חיים יתברך.

12 that [they may] depart from Damascus, they have not journeyed from
there; but with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the caravan[11]
will soon depart from Damascus according to the report
13 of the merchants. And what prevented sending the runner immediately
upon the arrival of the caravan mentioned: [It was] because
14 there are here labor requisitions on account of building the hill (?), and
not a man can be found in Ḳaṭyah[14]; for they have fled
15 for fear of the labor requisitions. And those who were found were seized
in the labor requisitions in building. In the way of merchants
16 of Damascus, there are about 35 sheikhs. And from Aleppo[15] there is
a merchant who is [named] Sīdī ʿAlī Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[16].
17 [There are] about five sheikhs[7] [of the Jews][17]! And [from] Syria[18] [they
bring] soap and almonds[19]. And [the] Nablus [party]—There is no
[use] in continuing [this letter], except to supplicate and to pray
18 to God—His Name be blessed[20]!—[that] He will send unto the Gentle-
man a blessing, until no breath is left in his soul[21], broad, and wise, and
full of knowledge,
19 and fear [of God], and in the soul of [those who are] prepared and sum-
moned. [Signed:] The insignificant Nissīm.
20 Written in haste, with a broken reed,
21 on Wednesday, 7th of Tammūz.

Recto: (b)

1 And this is to inform the Gentleman that no runner was found in Ḳaṭyah
to inform the Gentleman about the persons[11] of this caravan. There-
fore we have not
2 sent the runner to bring news. And be it known to the Gentleman that
the inspector[7] has held back[22] about the equivalent of[23] four loads[7] of
Maḥallah and Manzalah[24]. *But, however that may be, the Maḥallah
and Manzalah way is a sea-way. So farewell[25].
3 And it [will be] necessary tomorrow to weigh them and know what their
value is. And one of us will go to Manzalah and to Maḥallah to
4 collect their value. And the inspector is saying that he is holding[26]—
wishing to hold—the money here until[27] the arrival of a letter from the
Gentleman [directing him]

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[21] I.e. "until he dies."

[22] For עַבֵּב, עַכֵּיב. [23] Above the line.

[24] There are several Maḥallahs, the most important of which lies at the center of the Delta. Manzalah is perhaps the village on the lake of that name.

[25] Obscure, like the preceding passage. This sentence is written on the margin, and its insertion may be intended here. There is a sign before this sentence, but none after מנזלאוויא.

[26] For ישעכב?

[27] Above the line is אצלחו, apparently אַצְלִיחוֹ "I will fix it up."

5 לפרוע לו האנות כי אמר שבא לו כתב מן איסמעין שאוש שלא רצה
האדון להעביר שום
6 חשבון ממה שעשה חכם בירב יצ׳ ואמר הכאשף שבשביל האדון יעכוב
המעות פה
7 עד בוא כתב האדון ולפי שלא שקל .. האחמאל עדיין עד למחר לכן לא
שלח .. הקלימה
8 בחרת מתסאפיר השירה אחמר שומאן ובעהי תכף עת נשקול האחמאל
נשלח הכל
* ובאמת זות הקלמה אשלח בעהי קלימת אלקטויי וכל הדברים בפרטות
9 בפרטי פרטות וצריך אני העבד ללכת בחברת המחלאוייה בעהי עכף׳ וכהר
יעקב כהן יצו׳
10 נתעכב ללכת בחברת השירה זות בעבור שהרסו הבית ואשתו לבדה
בין הגוים ועוד

Recto: (c)

1 כי שמענו שבעהי בקרוב נבוא השירה של החליבייא בעהי
2 שכבר נתקן הדרך וגם אועיד לאדון שהבית של פה קטייא
3 נהרסה כולה והעלילו עלילות שהיתה קרובה לגאמע וגם
4 שצריך יותר מנ׳ פרחים בדי לביות אותה לכן אמר
5 הכאשף שיתן לנו מקום אחר לדור בו ובזה
6 תתבטל חזקת הבית שלא ישאר חזקות ולא
7 דברים ואנחנו בתוך חמי חמי שאול התחתון
8 בזה החום של קטייא וששׁ׳

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[28] The modern colloquial Cairene form of Isma'īl. See Willmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, 2nd ed., p. 27.

[29] These forms seem to have הו— for ו—.

[30] This substance, קלימה, is mentioned three times.

[31] For אלקטוייה?

[32] This sentence is written in the upper left-hand corner of the fragment, and its insertion may be intended here. There is a sign > after הכל, but none before this sentence.

[33] על כל פנים. [34] כבוד הרב.

[35] ישמרהו צורו.

[36] Quite plainly with prefix נ, as in Syriac.

to pay him the money. For he said that a letter had come to him from Isma'īn[28] Shāwish [saying] that the Gentleman did not wish to send over any
reckoning of what Ḥākhām, the son of Rabbi Isaac, had done. And the inspector said that on account of the Gentleman he would hold the money here
until the arrival of the letter of the Gentleman. And because they had not weighed(?)[29] the loads, [and would not do so] till tomorrow, therefore they would not send (?)[29] the.....[30]
in the company of the mutasaffir[3] of the caravan[11], Aḥmad Shūmān. But with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—as soon as we weigh the loads, we shall send all—*But truly I shall send this.....[30], with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the.....[30] of Ḳaṭyah[31], and everything with special care—[32]
with very special care. And I, the [humble] servant, must go in the company of the Maḥallah [caravan] with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—in any event[33]. And the honorable Rabbi[34] Jacob Kōhēn —May God keep him[35]!—
is prevented[36] from going in the company of this caravan, because they have torn down the house, and his wife [would be] alone among gentiles. And furthermore:

Recto: (c)

Now we have heard that with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the caravan of the Aleppo[12] [company] will soon arrive[36], with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—
that already the road has been put in order[36]. And also I inform the Gentleman that the house[37] which is here [in] Ḳaṭyah
has been torn down, all of it; and [that] they have brought accusations that it was near to a mosque[38]; and also
that more than 50 perāhīm[39] [will be] necessary in order to [re]build it. Therefore
the inspector has said that he would give us another place in which to live. And in this [way all question as to]
the confiscation of the house[37] will be prevented; so that there will be no longer [any] confiscations, nor [any]
troubles[40]. And we are in the midst of the greatest heat of the lowest Sheol,
in this heat of Ḳaṭyah. So farewell.

---

[37] Here at least the word means "synagogue." Cf. line 10, just above. The expression is intentionally cryptic.

[38] Arabic جامع.

[39] I.e. "dīnārs"?

[40] Literally: "words," "affairs."

Recto: (*additions*)

וכדי שלא יבוא איזה דבר | בהליכתי למחלה לכן הוצרך | כהר׳ אברהם
פינטו יצ׳ | להתעכב פה ובעבור זה | לא הלכתי אני למצרים// וששׁ/

ועכשו הבית יהיה | של האדון וחזקתו | לאדון וששׁ/

התני .. עם הרץ | שיגיע למצרים | יום ששי אחר חצות

והחכם מלכיאל נה׳ | נסע לשלום

והנה הודעיו הדברים | בפרצות לאדון וששׁ/

Verso:

[ה]שׁר והטפסר נשא ומאד נעלה לשם ולתהלה אדוני החכם והנבון כמהר/
שלמה אסכנדרני ..... ופנין ליד ..ש יגל״ והל.
מקטייא למצרים

---

[41] הוצרך for הצורך.

[42] A very numerous and able Portuguese-Jewish family. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *sub voce*.

Recto: (additions)

And, in order that nothing may happen | while I am going to Maḥallah, it is necessary[41] | that Rabbi Abraham Pinto[42]—May God keep him[35]!— | should be kept here. And on account of this | I have not gone to Cairo. So farewell.

And now the house shall belong | to the Gentleman, and the possession [shall be] | the Gentleman's. So farewell.

I (?) have stipulated[43] with the runner | that he shall reach Cairo | Friday, after midnight.

And the wise Malkī'ēl (?), pure soul[44], has gone to his [everlasting] peace. So farewell.

And behold I have made known[45] the matters | in detail to the Gentleman. So farewell.

Verso:

[To the Pr]ince, the Dignitary, Exalted and very Eminent, in Name and Reputation, my Lord, the Wise and Intelligent, his Exalted Honor, Rabbi Solomon Iskandarānī.....

From Ḳaṭyah to Cairo.

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[43] ההניתי. [44] נשמה טהורה. [45] הודעתיו.

XLVIII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The first marginal addition is in the same hand as that of the body of the letter, and merely continues the same. The second, in a different hand, protests against the unwarranted presumption of the letter. The third, in an extremely difficult cursive hand, and in Arabic, unintelligible save for a word or two, closes with the signature אברהם קאסטרו, "Abraham Castro." This is therefore the writer's own language and script, the body of the letter having been composed and penned by a scribe. In two other places there are brief combinations of letters, the purpose of which is not apparent.

Unfortunately there is no date.

1 השר הנעלה לשם ותהלה גבירנו כהרב שלמה נ׳

2 מאלהא רבא שלמא כולא אדון השלם ישפת שלם לכם ולנו אמן

3 להיות מחק השלמים לרדוף השלם נכפל בספרי הנביאים עה דבר השלם

4 ושבחנהו שבח לאין תכלית ואם חוייביו לרדוף השלם עם כל האדם

5 כש שיחוייב בקשתו ורדיפתו עם אותם אשר קבלו . . . בשום זמן

6 או באיזו אופן תועלת קטנה [או גדו]לה כאשר היה זה בפנינו עם האדו[ן]

7 נבון ונעלה מתקיפי ארעא דיש׳ כור׳ יצחק קאניגי יר׳ אשר ידע רק טוב

8 לבבו בכל עת וזמן ומה גם נמצא בצרות ובעת מצר והאדון לא כגמול

9 השיב בכל הדברים אם בהיותו נחוץ בלקיחת מעותיו אשר היו ביד האדון

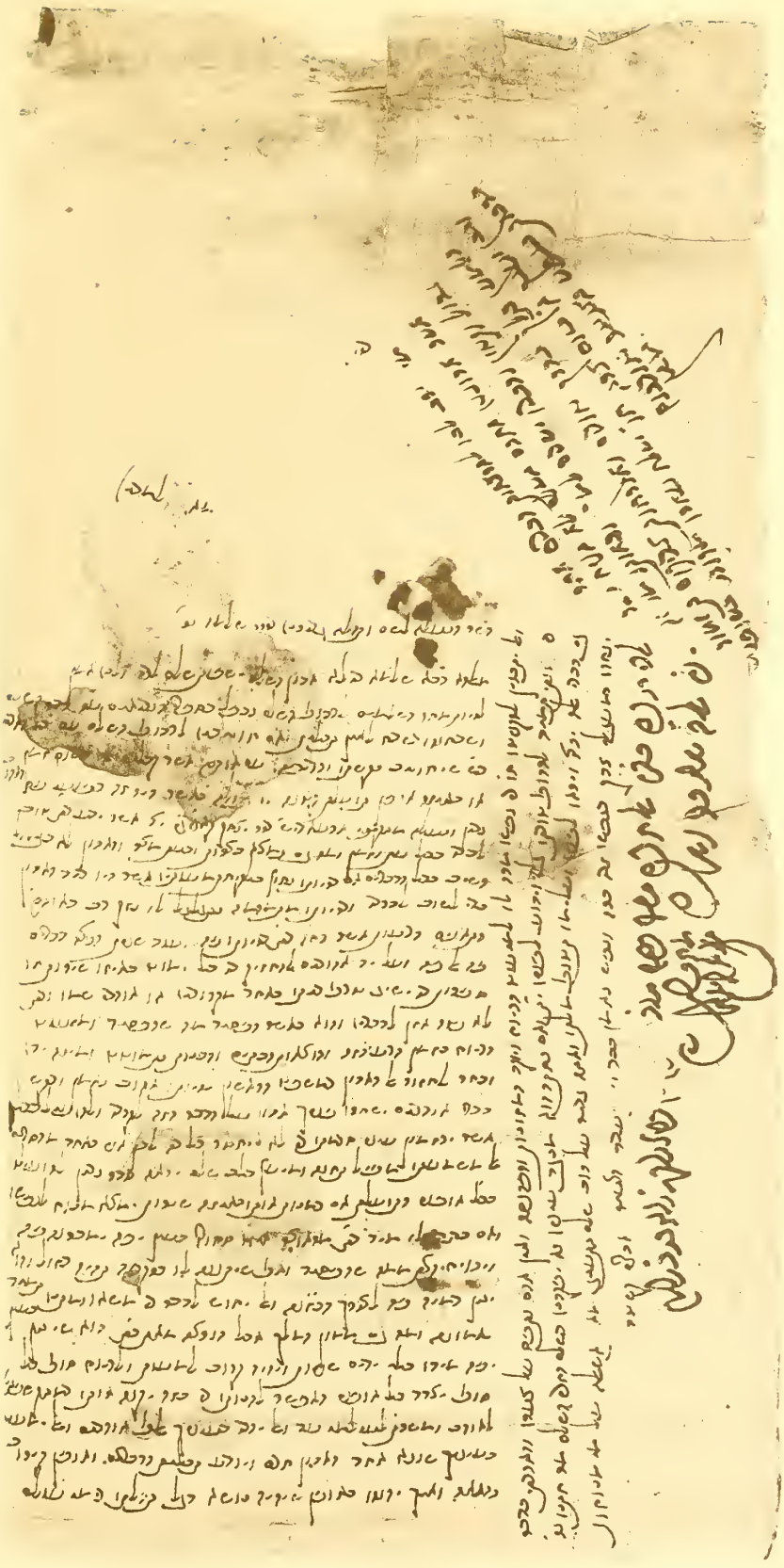
10 כדי לשוב לדרכו ובהיותו מתמהמה נתגלגל לו נזק רב באותם

11 התאנים הרעות אשר ראה הת בהיותו פה ועוד שנית הרצה דברים

12 פה אל פה ועל יד אהובים להחזיק בו בל ימוט באיזו שירות או

---

1 נרו יאיר.
2 Aramaic.
3 Cf. Isaiah xxvi, 12.
4 Cf. Isaiah lvii, 19.
5 עליהם השלום.
6 חובֵיו?
7 כָּל שָׁבָּן.



XLVIII. LETTER

A wheedling, reproachful, almost threatening letter from one, Abraham Castro, in Jerusalem (?), to an eminent and powerful man named Solomon, in Fusṭāṭ (?), asking him by employment or credit to aid a certain Isaac Ḳajījī, who seems to have become estranged from Solomon and then to have fallen upon evil days. Merchandise given Isaac from the common stock in Fusṭāṭ (?) is to be paid for later by gifts to the treasury in Jerusalem (?).

The chronicler Sambari (ed. Neubauer, vol. i, p. 145) mentions an Abraham Castro in connection with a Benjamin (not Isaac) Ḳajījī; and Solomon Ḥazzān (*Sēfer ha-Maʿalōth li-Shemōth*, page 12) as having in his possession a document of A.D. 1606, signed by Abraham Castro, Benjamin Ḳajījī and others.

1 [To] the Prince, Eminent in Name and Reputation, our Master, his
Exalted Honor, Solomon—May his light shine[1]!
2 From the Great God [cometh] all peace[2]. The Lord of Peace grant peace
to you and to us[3]! Amen.
3 Inasmuch as it is the custom of peaceful men to pursue peace—The word
"peace" occurs twice in succession in the books of the Prophets[4], upon
whom be peace[5]!—
4 and [inasmuch as] we praise [peaceful men] with boundless praise, and
if it is one's duty[6] to pursue peace with all mankind,
5 how much more[7] do the quest and pursuit of it become the duty of such
as have received.....at any time
6 or in any way a favor, great or small, such as we have observed to occur
in the case of the intelligent
7 and eminent gentleman, [one] of the influential men of Palestine[2], the
honorable Rabbi[8] Isaac Ḳajījī—May he be acceptable!—the goodness
of whose heart
8 at all times and seasons is known, and also how he found himself
[involved] in troubles and in a period of difficulty. Now my Lord[9]
has not requited
9 good in all matters: whether because [Rabbi Isaac] was hasty in de-
manding his money, which was in the hands of my Lord,
10 in order to make his return journey—Indeed, because he was delayed
[by you], he became involved in a great loss in connection with those
11 bad figs which my Lord (?) saw when he was here—[or for some other
reason]. But in the second place, [Rabbi Isaac] made an appeal [to
you, both]
12 in direct conversation and through the mediation of friends, to encourage
him not to waver. [He asked you] by any sort of employment or

---

[8] כבוד הרב?

[9] I.e. "you."

13 ספרות כי ישיב טרף ביתו כאחד מקרוביו או אוהבי שמו והת׳
14 לא נטה אזן לדבריו והוא כאשר הפסיד מה שהפסיד ומיעוט
15 הריוח בזמן הרע הזה והוצאות הבתים והבנות נתמוטט ומטה ידו
16 ובחר לחזור אל האדון כמשפט הראשון להיותו אהוב נאמן ובקש
17 דברי אוהבים ישחרו פניך אדון על הדבר הזה לקרבו ולהועיל בכל
18 אשר ירזמון עיני חכמתו כי לא יחסר כל בו לכן אני כאחד מהם..ם
19 אל משמעתו מפיל תחנה ומיעין בלב שלם יראה סדר נכון להועילו
20 בכל אופני התועלת אם כמיות אותו באיזה שירות ימצא מנוח לנפשו
21 ואם כתת לו מיד הת׳ מהאוצר איזו סחורה בעין יפה ימכרנה פה
22 וירויח קצת ממה שהפסיד ואף שיתננה לו בהקפה תהיה בזול והוא
23 יתן דמיה פה לצורך הכזנה ואל יחוש לדבר כי משאו ומתנו תמיד
24 ממונה ומה גם ממון המלך אבל הנרצה מאת הת׳ הוא שיתן בעין
25 יפה מידו בלי ידים שניות ויהיה קרוב למעות ולריוח סוף כל
26 סוף יצדד כל אופני האפשר להיותו כי כזה יקנה אותו במתן שפתיו
27 לאוהב ומשרת לעולמי עד ואל ירבו בעיניך אלף אוהבים ואל ימעט
28 בעיניך שונא אחד האדון חכם ויודע תכלית הדברים ואופן קירוב
29 ההנאה ואיך יהנהו באופן שיהיה נושא דגל תהלתו בימי עולם

Margin: (a)

1 ואל יתכוין להקניטו חו כי נפשו מרה לו למיעוט הריוח ויוקר המזונות
והפרנסה ואין אדם נתפס על צערו והארכתי בדבר

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[10] Cf. Leviticus xxv, 35.

[11] The second and third persons are used interchangeably.

[12] Arabic.

literary work to restore the support of his house, as one of [my Lord's] relatives and admirers. But my Lord (?)
did not give ear to his words. Then he, [Rabbi Isaac,] when he had lost what he lost—the small
profits of those evil times, and the expenses of the houses and the daughters [being what they were]—collapsed, and his hand wavered[10],
and he chose to return to my Lord as originally planned, to be [his] beloved and trusted [friend]. And he sought to employ
the conversations of friends, [that] they might address themselves to you[11], Sir, concerning this matter, in order that he might approach [you] and that [you] might aid him in every thing
which the eyes of [my Lord's][11] wisdom might indicate ; for there is no lack [of ability] at all in him. Therefore I, as one of those.....
to [my Lord's] subjects, make supplication and give counsel with a perfect heart. May [my Lord] see some proper arrangement for helping him
by every sort of usefulness, whether.....him in some sort of employment by which he may find rest for his soul,
or else giving him, by the hand of my Lord (?), from the common stock, some sort of merchandise, in a kindly spirit, which he may sell here
and [thereby] gain a little of what he has lost. And even though [my Lord] gives it to him on credit, the price must be low. And he
will deliver its equivalent here toward the needs of the treasury[12]. And let [my Lord] not fear anything; for his business at all times brings in
money, and royal money too[13]. But the thing that is desired of my Lord (?) is that he give in a kindly
spirit by his own hand, without [the mediation of] other hands, and [thus] be close to [both] capital and profits. In
short, let [my Lord] be everything possible [to him], for thus he will gain him, by gentle speech,
as a friend and servant for ever and ever. And let not a thousand friends be many in your eyes ; nor let one
enemy be a small thing in your eyes. My Lord is wise, and knows the purpose of things, and the manner of advantageous
approach, and how he may benefit [this man] in such a way that he will become a bearer of the flag of his praise for all eternity.

Margin: (*a*)

And let [my Lord] not seek to affront him—God forbid!—for his soul is bitter by reason of the smallness of [his] profit and the costliness of food and maintenance ; and no man is to be blamed for his suffering. Now I have dilated upon this matter

---

[13] From תמיד on, very uncertain.

2 כי כוֹנתי תמיד לרדוף טובתו גלוי וידוע לפניו יתּ ואם נסתר הוא מנגד
עיניו נא יפקדנו בשלם החכם השלם מר חתנו נ׳
3 גם דברי אלה ירצו ויראו לפניו ועלימו חטוף מלתי ואתה גביר על רוב
שלם תתענג מאתּ [י׳] אשאלה על מי מנוחות
4 ינחהו במעגלת צדק בנפשו יפה ברה ונפש נאמן בבריתּ[ו ה]עבד הצעיר
אברהם קסטר[ו]

Margin : (b)

1 מי [י]רב לבו להוצאות דברים אחר
2 אשר אדוננו החכם מעלם לא הניח [דבר]
3 גדול וקטון ודבריו ישרים למי [ש]באותו מ . . הּ
4 ולמען תּלך בדרך טובים ואורחות צדיקים ת[ש]מור
5 ובכן יענך אֹ ביום צרה חו׳ ישלח עזרו מקודש בשופ . . .
6 ברכות בנפש הצעיר טובּ . . .
7 אמן

---

[14] Or "son-in-law." [15] Job xxix, 22. [16] Psalm xxiii, 2.
[17] Psalm xxiii, 3.
[18] The adjectives are uncertain, and ought in any case to have the article.

2 because my purpose to further his welfare at all times is evident and well known to [God]—Blessed be He! But if [my purpose seems to be] hidden from his eyes, then, I pray, let his father-in-law[14]—May his light shine[1]!—the wise and peaceful, visit [Rabbi Isaac] in peace.

3 And furthermore, may these my words be acceptable, and may they receive his attention: "And my speech distilled upon them[15]." But [as for] you, Master: May you enjoy an abundance of peace. From [the Lord] I ask it "beside the still waters[16]."

4 May He guide him "in the paths of righteousness[17]" because of his beautiful, pure soul[18], the soul of one faithful in his covenant[19]. [Signed:] The insignificant slave, Abraham Castro.

Margin: (b)

1 Who dares[20] to utter words [of reproach], seeing

2 that our wise Master from time out of mind has never neglected any matter,

3 great or small. And his words are just to those whom.....

4 "That thou mayest walk in the way of good men, and keep the paths of the righteous[21]."

5 And thus may "the Lord answer thee in the day of trouble[22]".....Send His help from the Sanctuary[23].

6 Blessings by(?) the soul of the insignificant.....

7 Amen!

---

[19] Psalm lxxviii, 37. [20] For יִרְבֶּה? [21] Proverbs ii, 20.
[22] Psalm xx, 2. [23] Psalm xx, 3.

XLIX. LETTER FROM A LADY

Paper 8 × $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in semi-cursive Hebrew characters, very regular and beautiful, but badly faded. The text could be read, however, in an especially prepared photograph, the work of Mr George R. Swain, Technical Expert in Photography at the University. It was doubtless written by a professional scribe.

Recto :

בה

1 יושב בשבת תחכמוני הוא עוזנו העצם החכם השלם ריש מתיבתא
וריש

2 מתה כמהר אברהם סכנדרני נ״י

3 עם פקודת משמרת החיים והשלום יפקד ויזכר בבני חיי ומזוני עם כל

4 בני חבורתו הקדושה ל..רותים ... להודיעו ממצבי הרע המר והנמהר

5 וממזלי הקשה שאחר שירדתי בשברי שברון מכל עבר ופנה וחשבתי

6 אולי עברו ימי הרעה ואמר השי׳ די לצרותי ושדכתי בני עם בת טובים

7 ונהפך מחולי לאבלי כי באו לי גנבים בלילה ושדדו אותי וברוך ה׳
שגזר

8 עלי גם בזאת לטעום טעם עוני אני ובני ערומים רעבים גם צמאים

9 ויען היותי משוש לכל הארץ עתה אני הרפה לכל שכני ורואי ועל הכל

10 יהי שם ק מבורך שהיצלני ולבני מחרבם כי כל אשר לאיש יתן בעד

11 נפשו ומענין זקנתך ת״ל כגדר הבריאות וגם בה פגעה מכתי כי שללו

12 מלבושיה עתה אין חדש כי אם לחלות פניו שיפקח עלי עין השגחתו

13 אולי יציל לי דבר מה מאחיו אבא כי שעתא דחוקה לי מאד והייתי

14 שחוק לכל עמי ומענין התלמיד ישראל מנשק ידי האדון והוא מעודו

---

[1] II Samuel xxiii, 8.

[2] Aramaic forms.

[3] השם יתברך.

[4] For הצילני.

[5] I.e. "you."

XLIX. LETTER FROM A LADY

A letter addressed to a certain Rabbi Abraham Skandarānī, "The Alexandrian," by his aunt, an unnamed lady who has fallen upon evil days and desires his assistance.

Many Old Testament phrases are interwoven, in the manner of one who reads the Scriptures much, and has no style of his own ; but, as this is unconscious, the references have not always been given in our notes.

Recto:

Blessed be the Name [of God]!

1 [To him] who sits in the seat of Taḥkemōnī[1], him, our Refuge, Mighty, Wise, Perfect, Head of the Academy, and Head of
2 the city (?) the Exalted Honor of the Rabbi Abraham Skandarānī, Light of Israel.
3 With the granting of preservation of life and peace let him be cared for, and let him be remembered among the sons of life[2] and sustenance[2], together with all
4 the people of his holy company.....to inform him of the doings of that evil, bitter and hasty man,
5 and of my cruel fate which, after I had descended into the lowest depths of destruction [which assailed me] from every side and quarter, and had imagined [that]
6 perhaps the days of evil had passed, and had said : "The Name [of God] be praised[3]! Enough of my sufferings! I have betrothed my son to a maiden of beauty!"—
7 my dancing was changed to (my) lamentation. For thieves entered my [house] by night and robbed me. But blessed [be] the Name [of God], who decreed
8 for me also this, to taste the flavor of my sin. I and my son are naked, hungry—and thirsty.
9 And instead of (?) being a delight unto all the earth, now I [am] an [object of] shame to all my neighbors and those who see me. But in spite of it all,
10 may the Holy Name [of God] be blessed, who delivered me[4] and my son from their sword ; for all that a man hath will he give for
11 his life. And as regards your grandmother.....according to the definition of healthy women ; but her also did my misfortune strike. For they carried off
12 her clothing. At present there is nothing new [to ask], except to pray his[5] presence that he will open upon me the eye of his[5] oversight.
13 Perhaps he[5] will save for me something from his[5] brethren, Sir, for it is to me an hour[2] of great need. And I have become
14 dust unto all my people. And as regards the pupil, Israel, he kisses the hands of the Gentleman[5], and he is still (?)

15 לומר עם החכם כ"הר יצחק צבאח יען כי אצלו ל[ו]מדים תלמידי

16 הישיבה ולא עם זולתו ולא ראיתי טובה משום אדם כי אם ממנו

17 עם היות שעברו דברי ריבות ביני לבינו על אודות בנות בעלי

18 . . . . . השדוכין אחר שהפסדתי יותר משלושים גרו׳

19 בשדוכין בזמן שלחתי וקצרה ידי מלהשלים הקם מהר הבתולה

20 וגם זו לטובה ושלום מאת המרה ונאנחה שכולה וגלמודה המצוק[ה]

21 לחתום בדמעות שליש סת דודתך /

Margin:

. . . . . טו לטבת

Verso:

מ . . . תובבי

יוצל ליד אוֹצר בלוט תגא דאוריתא ודרבין הח׳ הש׳ כמהר אברהם סכנדרני

. . . . . .

---

6 כבוד הרב.

7 גרו׳ contains the name of some coin. One thinks of قروش, plural of قِرْش, the modern "piastre." But 30 piastres is too small a sum (about $1.50) to complain of losing. Also, the word is supposed to have been borrowed from Germany or Austria (*groschen*) in comparatively recent times.

8 הָקֵם.

15 studying with the learned Rabbi Isaac[6] Ṣabāḥ, because with him there
are studying pupils of
16 the Academy, and not with any other. And I have not experienced a
kindness from any one but him;
17 although, to be sure, words of strife have passed between him and me
concerning the daughters of my husband
18 .....the betrothal after I had lost more than thirty.....[7]
19 in the betrothal at the time when I sent [you word of it?]. And I am
unable to finish putting up[8] the dowry of the maiden.
20 But this also [must be] for the best. Greetings from the bitter and
sighing, bereft and lonely woman, who is forced
21 to sign [this letter] with tears in large measure: the Lady[9], your Aunt.

Margin:

.....15th of Ṭēbhēth.

Verso:

.....

May it reach the hand of the Most Eminent[10] Oak[11], Crown of the Law and the Rabbis[12], the Pious, the.....Exalted Honor of the Rabbi[9] Abraham Skandarānī[13].

---

[9] Vernacular Arabic, *sitt*, for classical سَيِّدَة.

[10] These words in Arabic.

[11] Hebrew. [12] These words in Aramaic.

[13] החסיד ... כבוד מעלת הרב.

L. THREE LETTERS OF COMPLAINT

Paper $45\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The three letters which the fragment contains are all in the same hand, and were doubtless written down by the same professional scribe. The first fills one hundred lines, of which lines 1–34 and 41–53 are rimed, the rimes being indicated by short diagonal strokes. The second letter occupies twenty-five lines, and the third letter forty-four lines.

Many biblical phrases are introduced, paraphrased, or hinted at. Not all have been indicated in the notes, for the reference is often remote.

The paper bears a watermark of the familiar hand-and-star variety, employed by many manufacturers, in France, Switzerland, and Sicily, between A.D. 1490 and 1590. See Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 1907. If the Moses mentioned is indeed Moses di Trani, our fragment may be accurately dated toward the close of his incumbency at Safed, 1525–1535 (note 72), and may even have had something to do with his apparent removal. He did not die till 1585, fifty years later.

1 וה . . . .

2 שלשה ימים ״ וג . . . . . .

3 על בניו והקּבה מזמין להם . . . ק . . . . . עד שיג . . . . . .

4 עם היותי סובל צערי ״ ולא אחוס על עצמי כאכזרי ״ ועם כ . . . . . .

5 אדם לי מצירים ״ ועלי מכתירים ״ והגיע הזיקם גם לחבירים ״ שעמי

6 קורים ״ לבלתי היותם נסטרים ״ מארנוניות ושאר דברים ״ כשאר

7 הלומדים תורה אצל אחרים ״ ואפילו להקל מעליהם ויהלו מעט

8 ממשׂא מלך שרים ״ ועמדתי בקהל ואמרתי למה לא תתנהגו עם

9 חבירי כהלכה בדרך שאתם מתנהגים עם האחרים ״ והשיבו

10 שאדונינו הנגיד פטר תלמידי ר׳ משה ״ ואם מתלמידיו ותלמידך

11 לא נקבל אין לנו ממי נקבל ״ ומעמיסים עליהם עומס אחירים ״

12 אם מאת אדוני היה הדבר הזה ״ לחזק השמן ולרדוף הרזה ״ עלינו

13 לשביח וגזירתך נקבל ״ וחלילה וחס שכסא כבודך תּנבל ״ וצאן

14 מרעיתך תחבל ״ ואספר קצת ממנהג כבוד הדיין הנזכר עמי .

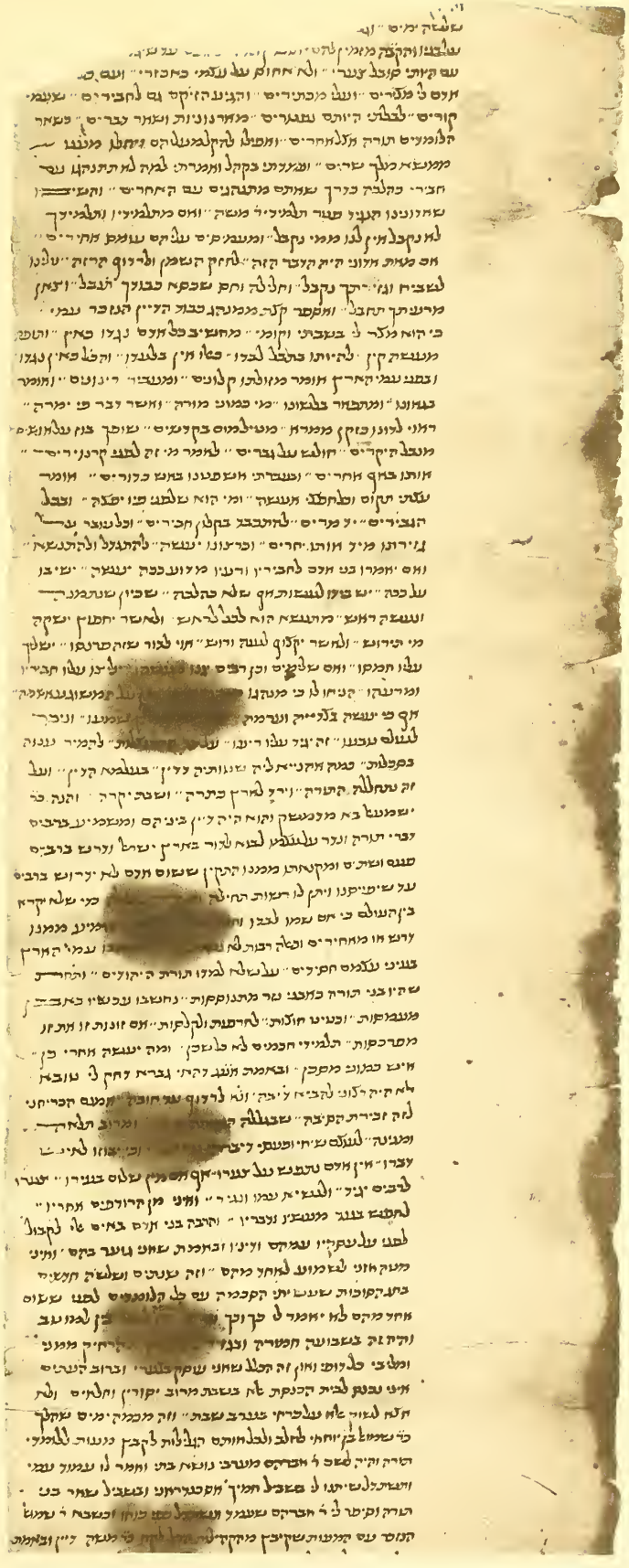
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[1] הקדוש ברוך שמו.

[2] For נסתרים.

[3] For ארנונות?

[4] Hosea viii, 10.



L. THREE LETTERS OF COMPLAINT

These three letters complain of the conduct of a certain Rabbi Moses, the dayyān of Safed in Galilee. If we are to believe the writers, he was a rather unusually vainglorious, selfish and unscrupulous person, guilty of many acts of tyranny, misappropriation and corruption, and responsible for the perennial Safed Meat Scandal.

It is difficult to recognise in this Moses, the Moses di Trani who was Rabbi of Safed from 1525 to 1535. But our Moses was the immediate successor of a certain Joseph Sarakossī (or Saragossī), as we learn from line 157; and Moses di Trani was a successor, possibly an immediate successor, of the Joseph Saragossī who organised the community of Safed in 1492; and the identification is thus not unlikely.

The addressee of the letter is an unnamed Egyptian nāgīd, at Fusṭāṭ(?). The beginning of the fragment, which might have revealed his identity, is unfortunately missing. The writers are all people at Safed, whose names are duly signed. Many interesting names appear.

1 .....
2 three days, and.....
3 over his sons. And the Holy One—Blessed be the Name[1]!—was inviting them.....
4 while I bore my affliction, and did not spare myself, cruel that I was, and while.....
5 men were hemming me in and surrounding me, the injury [which] they [were doing] extended even to the scholars who with me
6 [were] reading, without their being protected[2] from taxes[3] and other things, as [are] the rest of
7 those who study the Law, with other [teachers], if only [to the extent of] lightening their [obligations] and relieving them a little
8 from "the burden of the King of Princes[4]." And I stood in the congregation and said: "Why do you not behave toward
9 my friends properly, as you behave towards the others?" and they replied:
10 "Our Master, the Nāgīd, has exempted the pupils of Rabbi Moses; and if we do not receive [taxes] from
11 his pupils nor [from] your pupils[5], we have no [people] from whom we may receive [taxes]. We are [thus merely] placing upon [your friends] the burden of others.
12 If this matter proceeds from our Master, to strengthen the fat and drive out the lean, it is our duty
13 to applaud; and we shall accept your decision. God forbid that the throne of your Honor should be outraged, and the sheep
14 of your pasture injured." And I shall recount something of the manner of his Honor, the dayyān, [above] mentioned, [in dealing] with me.

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[5] For תלמידיך "pupils"?

15 כי הוא מצר לי בשבתי וקומי ״ מחשיב כל אדם נגדו כאין ״ ותופס
16 מעשה קין ״ להיותו בתבל לבדו ״ כאלו אין בלעדו ״ והכל כאין נגדו ״
17 ובפני עמי הארץ אומר מזולתו קלונים ״ ומעביר רינונים ״ ואומר
18 בגאונו ״ ומתפאר בלשונו ״ מי כמוני מורה ׳ ואשר דבר פי ימרה ״
19 ראוי לדונו כזקן ממרא ״ מטיל מים בקדשים ״ שופך בוז על אנשים ״
20 מנבל היקרים ״ חולש על גברים ״ לאמר מי זה לפני קרנו ירים ״
21 אותו באף אחרים ״ ובעברתי אשפענו באש כדורים ״ אומר
22 עצתי תקום וכל חפצי אעשה ״ ומי הוא שלפני פיו יפצה ״ ובכל
23 הגבירים ״ יד מרים ״ להתכבד בקלון חבירים ״ וכל עובר על
24 גזירתו מיד אותו יחרים ״ וכרצונו יעשה ״ להתגדל ולהתנשא ״
25 ואם יאמרו בני אדם לחביריו ודעיו מדוע ככה יעשה ״ ישיבו
26 על ככה ״ יש בידו לעשות אף שלא כהלכה ״ שכיון שנתמנה
27 ונעשה ראש ״ מתנשא הוא לכל לראש ״ ולאשר יחפוץ ישקה
28 מי תירוש ״ ולאשר יקצוף לענה ורוש ״ אוי לדור שזה פרנסו ״ ישליך
29 עליו חמסו ״ ואם שלימים וכן רבים יגנו מעשהו ״ יליצו עליו חביריו
30 ומרעהו ״ הניחו לו כי מנהגו מנהג יהוא ״ ואין על המשוגע אשמה ״
31 אף כי יעשה בצדייה וערמה ״ הנה יצא בארץ שמעו ״ וניכר
32 לעולם טבעו ״ זה יגיד עליו ריעו ״ על צק ההתנצלות ״ להמיר ענוה
33 בסכלות ״ כמה אהנייא ליה שטותיה דדין ״ בעלמא הדין ״ ועל
34 זה נתהללה התורה ״ וירד לארץ כתרה ״ ושבת יקרה ״ והנה כֹּר
35 ישמעאל בא מדמשק והוא היה דיין ביניהם ומשמיע ברבים

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[6] בלעדיו.
[7] A scholar who refuses to conform to the majority opinion.
[8] Isaiah xlvi, 10. [9] For ויודעיו.

15 He has oppressed me in my downsitting and my uprising, reckoning as
nothing every man opposed to him, having recourse to
16 the deed of Cain in order to be the only one in the world, as if there
were no one beside him[6], and everything [were] as nothing before him.
17 And before the common people he says shameful things about [everyone]
but himself, uttering slanders and speaking
18 in his pride, and boasting with his tongue: "Who [is there that] teaches
like me?" and "He who rebels against the word of my mouth
19 shall be treated as a disobedient elder[7]." He voids water upon holy
things, pours contempt upon men,
20 outrages the honorable, brings weakness upon strong men, saying:
"Whosoever shall exalt his horn before me,
21 him in anger shall I outlaw, and in my wrath overwhelm with the fire of
battle." He says:
22 "My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure[8]," and "Who is
he that will dare open his mouth in my presence?" And against all
23 the leading men he raises his hand, that he may gain honor for himself
by the shame of [his] associates. And everyone who transgresses
24 his decisions he forthwith outlaws; and he does as he pleases, that he
may magnify and exalt himself.
25 And if people say to his companions and those that know him[9]: "Why
does he do this?" they reply
26 thus: "He has the power to do even what is contrary to legal custom;
for as soon as he was appointed
27 and made Head [of the Academy], he exalted himself to [the dignity of
being] Head of All. And to him whom he desired, he gave to drink
28 the waters of new wine; but to him against whom he was angry, [he
gave] wormwood and poison. Woe unto the generation which has
this for a leader! [A man] who casts
29 his injustice in its face. And although sound men—and there are many
such—defend his doings, [nevertheless] his companions and his flock
make sport
30 of him. They let him [do] according to his custom, the custom of Jehu.
There is no blame for the madman,
31 even though he works with design and cunning. Truly, his report has
gone forth in the land, and his character
32 is recognised[10] for all time. This is what his friend says of him, about
the difficulty of his justifying himself: for [him] to turn humility
33 into folly. How has the folly of this [man] profited him in this world[11]?
And because of
34 this the Law has been desecrated, and its crown brought down to earth,
and its honor has ceased. Behold, the honorable Rabbi
35 Ishmael came from Damascus. He had been dayyān among them [there].
And he had published abroad

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[10] For וינכר.

[11] This sentence is in Aramaic.

36 דברי תורה ופרר על עצמו לבוא לדור בארץ ישראל ודרש ברבים
37 פעם ושתים ומקנאתו ממנו התקין ששום אדם לא ידרוש ברבים
38 עד שיפייסנו ויתן לו רשות תחילה וזו היתה בעלילה כדי שלא יקרא
39 בין העולם כי אם שמו לבדו וחזר והחרים על כל השומיע ממנו
40 דרש או מאחירים וכאלה רבות לא נשמעו " עד ששבו עמי הארץ
41 בעיני עצמם חסידים " על שלא למדו תורת היהודים " ותחת
42 שהיו בני תורה כאבני נזר מתנוססים " נחשבו עכשיו כאבן
43 מעמסות " וכטיט חוצות " לחרפות ולקלסות " אם זונות זו את זו
44 מפרכסות " תלמידי חכמים לא כל שכן " ומה יעשה אחרי כן "
45 איש כמוני מסכן " ובאמת אעג דהאי גברא דחק לי טובה "
46 לא היה רצוני להביא דיבה " ולא לרדוף עד חובה " אמנם הכריחני
47 לזה זכירת הסיבה " שבגללה הושתה איבה " ומרוב תלאה
48 ומגינה " לעוצם שיחי וכעסי דיברתי עד הנה " וכי יבוזו לאיש
49 דברו " אין אדם נתפש על צערו " אף אם אין שלום בעירו " צערו
50 לרבים יגיד " ולנשיא עמו ונגיד " ואיני מן הרודפים אחריו "
51 לחפש בעד מעשיו ודבריו " והרבה בני אדם באים אלי לקבול
52 לפני על עסקיו עמהם ודיניו ובאמת שאני גוער בהם " ואיני
53 מטה אזני לשמוע לאחד מהם " וזה שנתים ושלשה חדשים
54 בחג הסוכות שעשיתי הסכמה עם כל הלומדים לפני ששום
55 אחד מהם לא יאמר לי כך וכך עשה בין לטוב כמשה בין למוטב
56 והיה זה בשבועה חמורה ובגזירת התורה להרחיק ממני
57 ומליבי כל דופי ואון זה הכלל שאני עוסק בצערי וברוב העתים
58 איני נכנס לבית הכנסת אלא בשבת מרוב יסורין וחלאים ולא

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[12] Zechariah ix, 16.
[13] Zechariah xii, 3. But here correct to אבנים.
[14] Micah vii, 10.
[15] Talmud, *Shabbāth*, 34a.
[16] אַף עַל גַּב דְּ.
[17] This clause is in Aramaic.
[18] Cf. Genesis iii, 15.
[19] Talmud, *Baba Bathra*, 16b, where however we have "in the hour of his suffering": שאין אדם נתפס בשעת צערו.

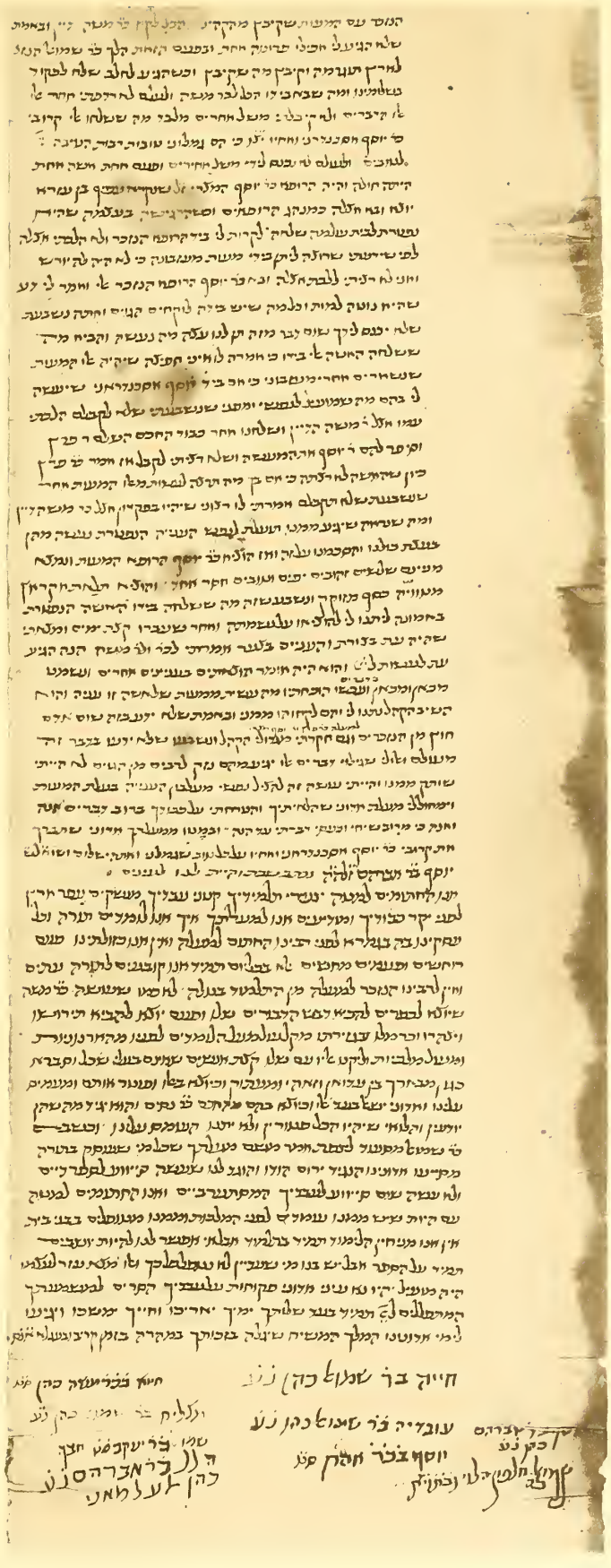
36 [certain] words of the Law, and taken upon himself a vow to go and live
in Palestine. And he preached publicly
37 once or twice. And, because [Rabbi Moses] was jealous of him, he com-
manded that no man should preach publicly
38 until he had made peace with him, and he had given him permission
beforehand. And this was done in order that his name
39 only should be noised abroad. And he next outlawed every one who
listened to instruction from him
40 or from others; and many things like these, [such as] were never heard
of [before]; until the common people came to be
41 saints in their own eyes, without learning the Law of the Jews; and,
instead of
42 the Sons of the Law being as stones of a crown lifted on high[12], now they
are reckoned as burdensome
43 stones[13], and as mire of the streets[14], [fit only] for shame and derision.
If harlots paint each other's
44 faces, should not the pupils of wise men [show] even more [mutual help-
fulness[15]]? And after [all] this what is a poor man
45 like me to do? And truly, even though[16] this man has deprived me of
good[17](?),
46 I have not wished [of myself] to bring gossip, nor to pursue [him] to
[the point of] accusation. Verily I was compelled
47 to [do] this by the memory of the cause by which enmity was established[18].
Because of much vexation
48 and sorrow I have spoken thus far in my strongest language and in my
anger. But if people despise a man [for]
49 his speech, [let them remember that] no man is called to account for his
suffering[19]. Even if there be no peace in his city, his suffering
50 to the multitude he makes known: even unto the prince and leader of
his people. I am not a persecutor of him,
51 to search out his doings and sayings. Many people come to me to
complain
52 to me about his dealings with them and his judgments. But truly I
rebuke them and I do not
53 lend my ear to hearing one of them. Only two or three months [ago]
54 at the Feast of Tabernacles, I made an agreement with all those who
were studying under me, that not
55 one of them should say: "The honorable Rabbi Moses[20] has done thus
and so," however good [his intentions].
56 And this occurred in an important week and [at a time] when the Law
commands [me] to put away from myself
57 and from my heart every blemish and sin. This [was] the rule which I
practised in my suffering. And for the most part
58 I did not go to the synagogue except upon the Sabbath Day, by reason
of [my] ailments and disorders; nor

[20] Evidently the name of the accused. It is written between lines. Cf. line 64.

59 אצא לשוק אלא על כרחי בערב שבת " וזה מכמה ימים שהלך
60 כ׳ שמואל בן יוחאי לחלב ולכל אותם הגלילות לקבץ מעות ללומדי
61 תורה והיה לשם ר׳ אברהם מערבי נושא בתי ואמר לו עמוד עמי
62 ותשתדל שיתנו לי בשביל חמיך אסכנדראני ובשביל שאר בני
63 תורה וסיפר לי ר׳ אברהם שעמד ונשתדל כפי כוחו וכשבא ר׳ שמואל
64 הנזכר עם המעות שקיבץ מהקהילות הכל לקח כ׳ משה דיין ובאמת
65 שלא הגיע לי אפילו פרוטה אחת ובפנים הזאת הלך כ׳ שמואל הנזכ׳
66 לארץ תוגרמה וקיבץ מה שקיבץ וכשהגיע לחלב שלח לפקוד
67 בשלומינו ומה שבא בידו הכל לכ׳ משה ולעלם לא רדפתי אחר אלו
68 אלו הדברים ולא קיבלתי משלאחרים מלבד מה ששלחו אלי קרובי
69 כ׳ יוסף אסכנדרני ואחיו יצ״ו כי הם גמלוני טובות רבות הטיבה יי׳
70 לטובים " ולעולם לא נכנס לידי משלאחירים ופעם אחת אשה אחת
71 היתה חולה והיה הרופא כ׳ יוסף המצרי זל שנקרא עפיף בן עזרא
72 יוצא ובא אצלה כמנהג הרופאים וכשהרגישה בעצמה שהיא
73 נפטרת לבית עולמה שלחה לקרות לי ביד הרופא הנזכר ולא הלכתי אצלה
74 לפי שידעתי שרוצה ליתן בידי מעות מעזבונה כי לא היה לה יורש
75 ואני לא רציתי ללכת אצלה ובא כ׳ יוסף הרופא הנזכר אלי ואמר לי דע
76 שהיא נוטה למות וכל מה שיש בידה לוקחים הגוים ואתה נשבעת
77 שלא יכנס לידך שום דבר מזה תן לנו עצה מה נעשה והביא מה
78 ששלחה האשה אלי בידו כי אמרה לו איני חפיצה שיהיה אלו המעות
79 שנשארים אחרי מעזבוני כי אם ביד יוסף אסכנדראני שיעשה

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[21] Hebrew for the ordinary Arabic, *Maghribī*.
[22] For סִפֵּר. A frequent form. See other examples below.
[23] For ישתדל. [24] Or Armenia?



59 did I go forth to the market-place, except involuntarily, on Sabbath Eve. Only a few days ago the honorable Rabbi Samuel
60 Ben Yōḥai went to Aleppo and to all those surrounding [places], to collect money for the students of
61 the Law. And it happened in the case of Rabbi Abraham Ma'rabī[21], my daughter's betrothed, [that Rabbi Samuel] said to him: "Stand with me
62 and persuade them to give to me on account of your father-in-law, Iskandarānī, and on account of the other Sons of
63 the Law." And Rabbi Abraham told me[22] that he stood and solicited[23] as well as he was able; and that, when the [above-]mentioned Rabbi
64 Samuel returned with the money which he had collected[22] from the congregations, the honorable Rabbi Moses, the dayyān, took the whole [of it]. And truly
65 not even a single penny reached me. With these sentiments the honorable Rabbi Samuel, [above] mentioned, went
66 to the land of Turkey[24], and collected what he could[22]. And when he had reached Aleppo, he sent to give
67 us greetings; but all that had come into his hands he turned over to the honorable Rabbi Moses. I have never run after
68 these things, nor have I received what belonged to others: save only what my kinsmen sent me,
69 the honorable Rabbi Joseph Iskandarānī and his brothers—May God preserve him!—for they have shown me many kindnesses. May God reward
70 the good! Never has there come into my hands what belonged to others. On one occasion a woman
71 was ill, and the physician was the honorable Rabbi Joseph, the Egyptian, of blessed memory, who was called [in Arabic] 'Afīf Ibn Ezra.
72 He went in and out of her house, in the manner of physicians; and when she felt within herself that she
73 was departing to her eternal home, she sent to have me summoned by the [above-]mentioned physician. But I did not go to her [house]
74 because I knew that she wished to place in my hands the money of her estate—for she had no heir—
75 and I did not wish to go to her [house]. And the honorable Rabbi Joseph, the physician, [above] mentioned, came to me, and said to me: "Know
76 that she is inclining toward death, and that the gentiles will take all that she has in her possession; and [yet] you have sworn
77 that nothing of this shall be gathered into your hand. Give us [therefore] advice [as to] what we are to do." And he brought what
78 the woman had sent to me by his hand; for she had said to him: "I do not wish this money,
79 which shall be left behind me in the way of an estate, to be in the hands of any but Joseph Iskandarānī, to do

80 לי בהם מה שמועיל לנפשי ומפני שנשבעתי שלא לקבלם הלכתי

81 עמו אצל ר׳ משה הדיין ושלחנו אחר כבוד החכם השלם ר׳ פרין

82 וסיפר להם ר׳ יוסף את המעשה ושלא רציתי לקבל אז אמר כ׳ פרין

83 כיון שהאשה לא רצתה כי אם בך מה תרצה לעשות מאלו המעות אחר

84 שנשבעת שלא תקבלם אמרתי לו רצוני שיהיו בפקדון אצל כ׳ מש הדיין

85 ומה שנראה שיגיע ממנו תועלת לנפש העניה הנפטרת נעשה מהן

86 בעצת כולנו והסכמנו על זה ואז הוציא כ׳ יוסף הרופא המעות ונמצא

87 מנינם שלשים זהובים יפים וטובים חסר אחד ״ והוציא תְּלַאת אַקְרַאין

88 מטוויה כסף מזוקק ונשבע שזה מה ששלחה בידו האשה הנפטרת

89 באמונה ליתנו לי להוציאו על נשמתה ואחר שעברו קצת ימים ומצאתי

90 שהיה עת בצורת והעניים בצער אמרתי לכ׳ ולר׳ משה הנה הגיע

91 עת לעשות ל[30]) והוא היה אומר הוצאתים בעניינים אחרים ונשמט

92 מכאן ומכאן ועכשו[29] בדברים הוכחתיו מה עשית ממעות של אשה זו עניה והוא

93 השיב הקהל נתנו לי והם לקחוהו ממני ובאמת שלא ידע בזה שום אדם

94 חוץ מן הנזכרים וגם הקרתי מגדולי הקהל ונשבעו שלא ידעו בדבר זה למעלה כ׳פרין ור׳ יוסף מצרי

95 מעולם ואלולי שגילוי דברים אלו יגיע מהם נזק לרבים מן הגוים לא הייתי

96 שותק ממנו והייתי עושה זה להציל נפשי מעלבון העניה בעלת המעות

97 וימחול לי מעלת אדוני שהלאיתיך והערחתי על כבודך ברוב דברים אנה

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[25] Supply ה.

[26] Arabic, meaning some article of personal adornment.

[27] Psalm cxix, 126. [28] This phrase is in Arabic.

[29] Added above the line in the same hand.

[30] Added above the line in a different hand.

80 for me with it that which will help my soul." But, since I had sworn not to accept them, I went
81 with him to Rabbi Moses, the dayyān; and we sent for the honorable, wise [and] perfect Rabbi Perez(?);
82 and Rabbi Joseph told them of the matter, and [also] that I did not wish to accept [the money]. Then the honorable Rabbi Perez said:
83 "Since the woman did not wish [anyone] but you [to have the money], what do you wish to do with this money, after
84 you have sworn that you will not accept it?" I said to him: "My wish is that it shall be upon deposit with the honorable Rabbi Moses, [the][25] dayyān;
85 and whatever we shall perceive to bring profit to the soul of the poor woman who is departed, we shall do [by using some] of it,
86 with the advice of us all." And we agreed upon this. And then the honorable Rabbi Joseph, the physician, brought out the money; and their number
87 was found [to be] thirty gold-pieces, fair and good, less one. And he brought out three folded
88 discs[26] [of] refined silver. And he swore that this was what the deceased woman had sent by his hand
89 in good faith, for him to give me, to expend for the sake of her soul. And after a few days had passed, and I found
90 that it was a time of scarcity and [that] the poor [were] in distress, I said to the honorable Rabbi [Perez?] and to Rabbi Moses: "Behold the time
91 has come for the Lord to work[27]." But he kept saying: "I have spent it for other poor people; and it has been expended
92 in this place and that[28] in [different] undertakings[29]." And now I called him to account, [saying]: "What have you done with the money of this poor woman?" But he
93 [merely] answered: "The congregation gave it to me, and they have taken it from me." But the truth [is] that no man knew [anything] about this,
94 excepting those mentioned—beyond the honorable Rabbi Perez, and Rabbi Joseph [the] Egyptian[30]. And I have also made inquiry of the important persons of the congregation; and they have sworn that they never knew [anything] about this
95 matter. And had it not been that a divulgence of these matters would have brought injury to many at the hands of the gentiles, I should not have been
96 silent about it; but I should have done this to release myself from the reproach of the poor woman, the owner of the money.
97 But his Eminence, my Lord, will forgive me that I have wearied you[31] and taxed[32] your Honor with [the burden of hearing] many words about various matters;

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[31] I.e. "him" etc.

[32] For הערכתי. Ashkenazic pronunciation of ח?

98 ואנה כי מרוב שיחי וכעסי דברתי עד הנה ״ ובמָטו ממעלתך ארוני שתברך
99 את קרובי כ״ר יוסף אסכנדראני ואחיו על כל טוב שגמלני ואתה שלום
ושואלש
100 יוסף בר אברהם זלהה נכתב שבת והיית לנו לעינים

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101 אנו החתומים למטה · צעירי תלמידיך קטני עבדיך מנשקים עפר ארץ
102 לפני יקר כבודיך ומודיעים אנו למעלתך איך אנו לומדים תורה וכל
103 עסקינו בה בגמרא לפני רבינו החתום למעלה ואין אנו כזולתינו פעם
104 רוחשים ופעמים מחשים אלא בכל יום תמיד אנו קובעים לתורה עתים
105 ואין לרבינו הנזכר למעלה מן התלמוד בטלה · לא כמו שעושה כ״ר משה
106 שיוצא לכפרים להביא דבש הדבורים שלו ופנים יוצא להביא תירושו
107 ויצהרו וכרמלו ובגזירתו מקל עול מעל הלומדים לפניו מהארנוניות
108 ומעול מלכיות וליקט אליו עם שלו קצת אנשים שאינם בעלי שכל וסברא
109 כגון מבארך בן עדואן וזאהי ומעתוק וכיוצא באלו ופוטר אותם ומעמיס
110 עלינו ואדוני ישאל בעד אלו וכיוצא בהם מהחכם כ״ר נסים והוא יגיד
מה שהן
111 יודעין והלואי שיהיו הכל פטורין ולא יתנו העומס עלינו ״ וכשבא
112 כ״ר שמואל מסעוד לצפת אמר משם מעלתך שכל מי שעוסק בתורה
113 מסייעו אדונינו הנגיד ירום הודו והוגד לנו שעשה סייוע לספרדיים
114 ולא עשה שום סייוע לעבדיך המסתערביים ואנו החתומים למטה
115 עם היות שיש ממנו עומדים לפני המלכות וממנו מטופלים בבני בית
116 אין אנו מניחין הלימוד תמיד בתלמוד אבל אי אפשר לנו להיות יושבים

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[33] I Samuel i, 16. [34] ושואל בישלומך.
[35] זכרונו לחיי העולם הבא. [36] Numbers x, 31.
[37] Arabic for Baruch, "Blessed." [38] "Hostility" (?).
[39] "Brilliant." Cf. *Glanz*, *Finkelstein*, etc. [40] "Freedman."
[41] Aramaized Hebrew, and confused. [42] בשם ?
[43] The 2nd and 3rd persons are confused.
[44] An Arabic word with a Hebrew plural ending.

98 "for out of the abundance of my complaint and my provocation have I spoken hitherto[33]." And [I beg] as a favor from your Eminence, my Lord, that you will greet

99 my kinsman, the honorable Rabbi Joseph Iskandarānī, and his brothers, [and bless him] for every good thing which he has done for me. And [to] you: Farewell! And the one who greets you[34] [is]

100 Joseph, son of Rabbi Abraham—[May] his memory [be] eternal life[35]! Written [upon] the sabbath of the [Scripture reading:] "And thou shalt be to us instead of eyes[36]."

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101 We, whose names are signed below, the youngest of your students, the least of your servants, kiss the dust of the ground

102 before the Dignity of your Honor. And we [beg to] inform your Eminence how we are studying the Law, and of all

103 our activities in the Gemara, with our master whose name is signed above. We are not like the others: at one time

104 working, and [many] times doing nothing; but every day without exception we set apart hours for [studying] the Law.

105 Nor does our master, mentioned above, have any leisure from teaching. [He does] not [do] as the honorable Rabbi Moses does, [at one time]

106 going forth to the villages to bring in the honey of his bees, and [at another] time going forth to bring in his new wine

107 and his oil and his grain, and by his decree relieving students under his instruction from taxes[3]

108 and from the burden of the royal levies. And [Rabbi Moses] has selected people who belong to him: a parcel of men possessing no intelligence or understanding,

109 as, for example, Mubārak[37] Ibn 'Udwān[38], and Zāhī[39], and Ma'tūḳ[40], and the like of these. And he lets them go free while laying burdens

110 upon us. And let my Lord inquire concerning these [men] and the like of them, from the wise, the honorable Rabbi Nissīm; and he will tell what they

111 know[41]. But oh that all [of us] were free, and that the oppressor were not placed over us! And when the honorable

112 Rabbi Samuel Mas'ūd came to Safed, he said, in the name[42] of your Excellency, that everyone who occupied himself with the Law

113 should receive assistance from our Lord the Nāgīd—May his glory be exalted!—But we have been told that he has given help to the Spanish [Jews],

114 and has given no help to his[43] servants the Arabized [Jews][44]. And we, the undersigned,

115 in spite of the fact that [some] of us stand before Royalty[45], and [some] of us have dependent children,

116 never cease at all to study the Talmud. But it is not possible for us to be sitting

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[45] They were in military service?

117 תמיד על הספר אבל יש בנו מי שעדיין לא יטפלפל כך ואלו מצא עזר לעצמו

118 היה מועיל יהיו נא עיני אדוני פקוחות על עבדיך הסרים למשמעתך

119 המתפללים לְךָ. תמיד בעד שלותך ימיך יאריכו וחייך ימשכו ויגיעו

120 לימי אדונינו המלך המשיח שיגלה בזכותך במהרה בזמן קריב ובעגלה אגם.

121 חייה בר׳ שמואל כהן נ״ע חייא בכ״ר משה כהן ס״ט

122 עובדיה ב״ר שמואל נ״ע מצליח ב״ר שמואל כהן נ״ע

123 יוסף בר׳ אברהם כהן נ״ע יוסף בכ״ר אהרן ס״ט שמואל ב״ר יעקב ס״ט הבך

124 שמואל בר׳ חלפון הלוי נ״ת הלל בר׳ אברהם נ״ע

125 כהן אלעלמאני

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126 והנה אני החותם שמי מטה העלוב מיסורי הזמן מפני שאני נחפז ללכת לעיר מולדתי דמשק

127 לא מצאה ידי לכתוב למעלת אדוננו שירום הודו ויגדל כבודו כתב כפי הראוי אמנם אגיד צערי

128 ומה שקרא לי עם כבוד הריין הנזכר כי זה פעמים שלש שבאתי מדמשק לדור בארץ הקדושה

129 ועל אודות צער שמגיע לי ממנו יצאתי מצפת כמה מצרים וצערים הגיעו לי על ידו כי

130 כן משפטו להצר לכל בעלי תורה וסברא למען לא יקרא בשם חכם זולתו לבדו והנה בתחלת

131 ענייני[קשה] על רבו שלמדו תורה קשר קל[רב קשה] וחומר על אחרים כי רבו היה כ״ר אברהם פתילה זלה״ה

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[46] For יתפלפל.

[47] Cf. Jeremiah xxxii, 19.

[48] Cf. the unintelligible passage in I Samuel xxii, 14, which the Revised Version translates badly: "and is taken into thy council."

[49] A very strange sign in the text.

[50] Aramaic בַּעֲגָלָא.

[51] אמן נצח סלה. [52] נוחו עדן. These were dead.

[53] סופו טוב. These were still living. [54] "Successful."

[55] Not an abbreviation, as we see from the form of ך.

[56] נפשו בטוב תלין ויתברך.

117 forever at the Book! There are among us some who do not yet argue[46] [points] so [well]. But if [such a one] found help for himself
118 it would help others. May the eyes of my Lord be open upon his[43] servants[47] who turn when they hear him,[43,48]
119 who pray to God[49] continually for his[43] peace of mind: May your days be long, and may your life stretch out and touch
120 the days of our Lord, the King, the Messiah, who [we pray] may be revealed through your merit soon, in a time near at hand, and in haste[50]! Amen! Forever! Selah[51]! [Signed:]
121 Ḥiyyāh, son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden[52]! Ḥiyyā, son of the honorable Rabbi Moses Kōhēn—[May] his end [be] good[53]!
122 Obadiah, son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden! Maṣlīaḥ[54], son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden!
123 Joseph, son of Rabbi Abraham Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden! Joseph, son of Rabbi Aaron—[May] his end [be] good! Samuel, son of Rabbi Jacob—[May] his end [be] good!.....[55]
124 Samuel, son of Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī—May his soul rest in good, and be blessed[56]! Hillēl, son of Rabbi Abraham—[May] his rest [be] in Eden!
125 Kōhēn the German[57].

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126 Behold I, who have signed my name below, [a man] afflicted by the visitations of the times, because I was in haste to go to Damascus, the city of my nativity,
127 did not find [opportunity] to write to the Eminence of our Lord—May his glory be exalted, and his honor be magnified—a letter according to propriety. [Yet now] in truth I shall tell of my suffering
128 and of what befell me in connection with the honorable dayyān [above] mentioned: for it [is now] three times that I have come from Damascus to dwell in the Holy Land,
129 and have left Safed because of trouble which overtook me through him. How many troubles and afflictions have overtaken me at his hands! For
130 such is his manner of oppressing all the masters of the Law and of tradition to the end that [no one] shall be called by the appellation "wise" except himself only. And behold, in the beginning of
131 his affair[58] he conspired against his rabbi, who had taught him the Law, in a great conspiracy. How much more then did he conspire against others! For his rabbi was the honorable Rabbi Abraham Pethīlāh[59]—May his memory endure unto the life of the World to Come[60]!—

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[57] The modern Arabic word for "German," with the Arabic article. He is not merely an אישכנזי, but comes from Germany itself. He does not give his father's name, and may be a recent arrival.

[58] עִנְיָנוֹ "incumbency." [59] "Wick."

[60] זכרונו לחיי העולם הבא

132 יצא מן העולם והוא מצטער ממנו על זה יאמר אשרי מי שרוח הבריות
נוחה הימנו וישאל

133 מעלת אדוני ענייני מן הבריות ועתה איני יודע מה לעשות כי באתי
בנדר ובשבועה על

134 עצמי לבוא לדור בארץ הקדושה כי כך מנהג אבותי שנפטרו לחיי עד
כשמזקינים באים

135 באים לארץ ישראל להיות קולטתן מחיים וזה רוצה לגרשני ממנה
שבכל עת שאני חוזר לדמשק

136 מגיע לי צער ונזק והולי בעון הנדר והשבועה ולעולם לא גמלתי לו
רעה אלא אדרבה נשתדלתי

137 בעניינו כששלח לדמשק ולכל הגלילות לקבץ מעות על שם הישיבה
אז עמדתי באהבה וחיבה

138 ומשכתי את הקהל במתק אהבה ודרשתי בכל קהלות דמשק ועשו נדבה
בשביל

139 ישיבת התורה שנים עשר זהובים וכן משפטי לכל עובר ויושב[??] לאמין את
הנכשל וכן

140 בכל עת ועת שהיה שולח אני הייתי משתדל לעשות רצונו לחיבת
התורה ולומדיה ולחיבת

141 הדרים בארץ וזה תחת אהבתי ישטנני תחת רדפי טוב חפץ יקטלני
ואעפ שבני אדם

142 באים וצועקים ממעשיו לפני אני גוער בהם ומכללם אשה דלה ענייה
ואלמנה וברחה

143 מדמשק מהחובות שעליה ובאה לדור בצפת ונשקה אדם אחד ונתן לה
חמשים כספים

144 ממטבע דמשק ולא עלה זיווגם יפה וגרשה בימים מעטים קיבל ממנה ר׳
משה בכתובה

145 ובגט ששה ושלשים כספים וחבל בגד האלמנה עד שקיבל הששה ושלשים
נשארו בידה

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[61] Mishnah iii, 10: "Every [man] in whom the spirit of men [finds] its rest, in him the spirit of God [finds] its rest. And every [man] in whom the spirit of men [finds] not its rest, in him the spirit of God [finds] not its rest." In the present case: "Blessed is the man who is beloved on earth, for he is assuredly beloved in Heaven." Rabbi Moses was not one of these.

[62] Word repeated.

132 [Rabbi Abraham] departed this world [much] grieved with him. To this [the Mishna] says: "Blessed is he in whom the spirit of men [finds] its rest[61]." And his Eminence, my Lord,

133 asks [about] his dealings with men: I know not what to do now; for I came, under a vow and an oath [which I had taken] upon

134 myself, to go to dwell in the Holy Land—for thus [was] the custom of my fathers who have gone to eternal life, that when they became old they went[62]

135 to the Land of Israel in order that it might receive us [under its protection] while still living[63]. And this [man] wishes to drive me from it. For every time I return to Damascus

136 trouble and misfortune and sickness overtake me because of the sin of the [unfulfilled] vow and oath. And yet I never did him any wrong; but, on the contrary, I exerted myself[64]

137 in his undertaking, when he sent to Damascus and to all the [neighboring] districts, to collect funds in the name of the Academy. At that time I stood in love and affection,

138 and I drew the congregation [after me] with the sweetness of love[65]; and I preached in all the congregations of Damascus; and they gave alms in the cause of

139 the Academy of the Law: twelve gold-pieces. And this is my manner toward everyone transient and resident: to strengthen him who has stumbled. And thus,

140 on each occasion when he sent [solicitors], I exerted myself to do his will, for love of the Law and its teachers, and for love

141 of those who dwell in the [Holy] Land. But this man, instead of [requiting] my love, antagonised me; instead of [emulating] my pursuit of good, desired to kill me. And although[66] men

142 come and cry aloud of his deeds before me, I rebuke them. And of all [the complaints, I mention particularly] a woman, poor, destitute, and widowed, a fugitive

143 from Damascus, on account of the debts which she owed. And she had come to dwell in Safed; and a certain man kissed her[67] and gave her fifty pieces of silver

144 of the Damascus mint. But their marriage did not turn out well, and he divorced her after a few days. Rabbi Moses took from her for the marriage contract

145 and for the letter of divorce thirty-six pieces of silver. And he took the widow's clothing as security[68], until he should receive the thirty-six. [Thus] she had left

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[63] *Kethūbhōth* 111a, cited by Levy, *op. cit.*: אינו דומה קולטתו מחיים לקולטתו לאחר מיתה "He whom [Palestine] receives while living, is not to be compared to him whom it receives after his death."

[61] For השתדלתי? [65] נת was written, but deleted. [66] ואף על פי ש.

[67] I.e. "married her"? The word has been corrected by the scribe.

[68] Cf. Deuteronomy xxiv, 17.

146 ארבעה עשר כספים למוקדם ולמאוחר הן אלה קצות דרכיו וכאלה רבים
ועם כל זה לעולם

147 לא הכנסתי עצמי בשום דבר מענייניו מלבד שיש לו תלמיד אחד לר׳
משה הנזכ

148 מכפר יאסיף והוא דר בעין אלזיתון ולמד עליו הלכות שחיטה וכששמעתי
מדמשק

149 מכר יוסף סרקוסי ומר שמואל בהלול ומזולתם על אודות השוחט הנזכר
שיצאו עליו

ר׳ יוסף סרכוסי זלחע

150 דבות רבות ועמד החכם והסכים עליו שלא יהא שוחט ובודק ומוכר
לעצמו כי הבהמות

151 שלו וממנו יתר וממנו פינה כאלו בידו עדות נעמנה לטבוח ולבדוק
ולמכור עד שמחמת

152 זה כל אנשי עין אלזיתון ואנשי ביריא וצפת מרננים עליו ומדברים אחריו
שלא יצא

153 מבהמותיו כי אם מעט טרפות וכשראה החכם ר׳ יוסף סרכוסי הנזכר
ענייני גזר

154 שלא יאכל שום אדם משחיטתו עד שיעמידו עליו איש נאמן על השחיטה
ועל הבדיקה

155 אעפ שעם היות עד אחד נאמן באסורים זה נחשד מכמה דברים מוסף
על היות

156 שמגיע לו נזק בעת שתעלה הבהמה טרפה שאינו מוכר אותה בחצי דמי
הכשרה

157 אחר שנפטר החכם ר׳ יוסף סרכוסי זלח החזירו ר׳ משה להיותו נאמן
על עצמו מבלי

158 שיעמיד אחד עמו וכשראיתי שהדברים מגיע מהם נזק גדול לנפשות
ישראל כי כל

159 שלשה עיירות אוכלים משחיטתו אמרתי לר׳ משה שאין ראוי שזה יהיה
נאמן לעצמו כי

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[69] הנזכר.

[70] See Baedeker, *Palästina* (1910), p. 250. [71] See *ibid.* p. 242.

[72] "of Saragossa." A Rabbi Joseph Saragossī reorganised the Safed community in 1492 (see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s.v.* Safed). Our Moses succeeded Joseph (line 157), and must have been the elder Moses di Trani, Rabbi of Safed, 1525–1535, according to *J. E.*, *s.v.* Trani.

146 [only] fourteen pieces of silver as the former and latter [marriage gifts]. Behold, these are some of his ways; and [there are] many [others] like them. And in spite of all this never

147 have I involved myself in any of his affairs, except [in one case]. The [above-]mentioned[69] Rabbi Moses had a student

148 from Kafr Yāsīf[70], and he lives in 'Ain al-Zaitūn[71], and he taught him the laws of slaughtering [animals]. And according to what I have heard from Damascus,

149 from the honorable Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī[72] and from Rabbi Samuel Bahlūl[73] and from others, about the [above-]mentioned butcher, there went forth against him

150 many evil reports; and the wise Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī—[May] his memory [be] for everlasting life!—stood up and agreed [with those] against him, that he should not be[74] butcher and inspector and retailer for himself. For the cattle

151 [were] his own; and he sometimes allowed to pass, and sometimes condemned—as if [indeed] he possessed "sure testimony[75]" to slaughter, and inspect, and sell—until, on account of

152 this, all the men of 'Ain al-Zaitūn and the men of Bīria(?)[76] and Safed spoke evil against him, and said concerning him that only a few

153 of his animals turned out [to be ritually] unclean. And when the wise Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī, [above] mentioned, saw his doings, he decreed

154 that no man should eat of his slaughter[ed animals] until [the authorities] appointed over him a trustworthy man for the slaughtering and for the inspection.

155 And, although[66] for prohibitions[77] one witness is trusted, this [man] was suspected, for many reasons, even of being [such that],

156 when a loss accrued to him on the occasion of an animal's turning out [to be ritually] unclean, that he would[78] sell it for half the price of a [ritually] clean [one].

157 After the wise Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī departed [this life]—[May] his memory [be] for [everlasting] life!—Rabbi Moses again made him responsible for himself, without

158 his appointing anyone [to serve] with him. And when I saw that great loss would result to the souls of Israel—for all

159 three cities[79] eat of his slaughter[ed animals]—I said to Rabbi Moses that it is not proper that this [man] should be responsible for himself; for

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[73] "Laughing." [74] For יהי?

[75] Cf. Psalm xix, 8.

[76] Some unidentified village very near to Safed. It could not, of course, be al-Bīrah near Rāmallāh, in the south.

[77] The community could usually trust anyone to report uncleanliness in the common food supply, and one objection was sufficient to cause prohibition.

[78] Literally: "was suspected.....that he would not."

[79] I.e. Safed, 'Ain al-Zaitūn, and Bīria(?).

160 בסבת זה יש רינון על כבודך ועליו כי כל נתח טוב וכל ירך וכתף קורא
אותו על שמך

161 ואם לא תעמיד עליו נאמן יהיה רינון וחילול על התורה וכל שכן שקדם
לזה תקנה

162 מרבי יוסף סרכוסי מבשר שהוא מוכר (שאסר לאכול) עד שיעמידו עליו בודק נאמן ואיך
נהרוס

163 מה שבנה החכם הנפטר זלה"ה ולא רצה ר' משה לתקן והלכתי לעין אל
זיתון וחקרתי

164 על הענין ושלח ר' משה הסכמה בכח כל מי שיש יודע לשוחט הנזכר
שום קלקול או

165 בלבול מענייני השחיטה והבדיקה ויגיד לי וכאלה רבות יכלה הזמן והם
לא יכלו ומפני

166 שאני נחפז ללכת לדמשק לא ספרתי אחת מני אלף ואם יישר[81] זה בעיני
מ֗ור הנה מה

167 טוב אבל הלילה והם ומצד קנאתו ממני מנעני מדברי תורה אני וזולתי
ועכשיו אם טוב

168 בעיני אדוני שיבטלני מדברי תורה אני וזולתי עלי לקבל גזרתך ואין
להאריך כי אם בשלומך·

169 שיגדל לעד ואל יחדל כחפצך וחפין הנרצע לאהבתך ומתפלל תמיד
בעד שלומך

170 ומצפה לתשובתך ישמעאל בר יה[ודה] זלה"ה

---

[80] Cf. Ezekiel xxiv, 4.

[81] At the beginning of line 166 there is a ח or an א.

[82] The word was misspelled, deleted, and then written above the line.

160 on account of this there is evil comment against your Honor and against him, since he names "every good piece," and every "thigh and shoulder[80]" with your name.

161 And, if you do not appoint over him a trustworthy [person] there will be criticism and desecration of the Law—all the more, [indeed], since an order from Rabbi Joseph

162 Sarakossī has already been [issued], which forbids [us] to eat of the flesh which that [man] sells, until [the authorities] appoint over him a trustworthy inspector. How shall we destroy

163 what the wise [man] has built, [who is] departed!—[May] his memory [be] for everlasting [life]! But Rabbi Moses did not wish to restore [order]; so, I went to 'Ain al-Zaitūn, and I investigated

164 the affair. And Rabbi Moses sent out an opinion with [some] vehemence: "Anyone who knew, [with reference] to the [above-]mentioned butcher, any injuri[ous rumor] or

165 slander, respecting the matters of slaughter and inspection, and told [it] to me—!" And [there are] many [other cases] like these. Time may pass away, but they will not pass away. But because[81]

166 I am in haste to go to Damascus, I have not recounted one out of a thousand. And if this [conduct] is right in the eyes of my Lord and Master[82], then what [is the]

167 good [of my protest]! But God forbid! Because of his jealousy of me [this man] has prevented me[83] from [preaching the] words of [the] Law—me and others besides me. And now, if [it be] good

168 in the eyes of my Lord that [this man] keep me from [preaching the] words of [the] Law—me and others besides me—it is for me to accept your decision, and not to continue [this letter] except in [wishing] your prosperity.

169 That it may increase forever, and languish never, as is your wish, and the wish of [him who is] the object of your affection, and who prays unceasingly for your prosperity,

170 and who awaits your answer, Ishmael, son of Rabbi J[udah?][84]—[May] his memory [be] for everlasting life!

---

[83] מרי ואדוני.

[84] The last name is written as a monogram, and there is a break in the paper just at this point.

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Geniza Magical Documents

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Abstract The Cairo Geniza has proved to be a fascinating trove of information about all aspects of Jewish life in the medieval and early modern period, magic being one of them. Hundreds of manuscripts, in different states of conservation, testify to the interest of Jews in composing and copying magical manuals as well as producing amulets and curses and otherwise attempting to harness the supernatural in order to achieve earthly aims. This essay introduces the reader to Geniza magical texts and provides some guidelines for reading these documents.

Keywords Jewish magic · Amulets · Curses · Geniza

Among the hundred thousands of parchment and paper leaves making up the Cairo Geniza lie also some twenty-five hundred related to magic, astrology, divination, and alchemy.[1] Though their overall share is not large, these documents are highly valuable in revealing a facet of the personal lives of Jews and non-Jews in the Geniza society throughout the ages. Serious scholarly investigation of this material is, for various reasons, a phenomenon of only recent decades, and many aspects of it still await exploration.[2] The following

[1] A definition of the term *magic* and its problematic relationship with *religion* is beyond the scope of this essay. On this topic, see, e.g., Peter Schäfer, "Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism," in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, ed. Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kippenberg (Leiden, 1997), 19–43; and Yuval Harari, "What Is a Magical Text? Methodological Reflections Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic," in *Officina magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity*, ed. Shaul Shaked (Leiden, 2005), 91–124, and *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kabbalah* (Detroit, 2017), 15–203. The best introduction to magic in the Cairo Geniza is Gideon Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue of the Magical, Astrological, Divinatory and Alchemical Fragments from the Cambridge Genizah Collections," in *"From a Sacred Source": Genizah Studies in Honour of Professor Stefan C. Reif*, ed. Ben Outhwaite and Siam Bhayro (Leiden, 2011), 53–79.

[2] For the reluctance of great Geniza scholars to deal with documents related to magic, see Steven M. Wasserstrom, "The Magical Texts in the Cairo Genizah," in *Genizah Research After Ninety Years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic*, ed. Judah Blau and Stefan Reif (Cambridge, 1992), 160–66; and Mark R. Cohen, "Goitein, Magic, and the Geniza," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 13 (2006): 294–304. See also Gideon Bohak, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Jewish Magical Tradition," *Currents in Biblical Research* 8 (2009): 107–50, 126–27.

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essay provides a concise introduction to Geniza magical texts and suggests some guidelines for reading such documents.[3]

The information on practical magic contained in the Geniza can be divided into two main categories. The first consists of recipes with instructions on how to achieve specific ends (e.g., obtaining protection from the evil eye, succeeding in a court of law, or causing the downfall of an enemy). The second involves finished products such as amulets or imprecations that were manufactured on the basis of these instructions.[4] Accordingly, one can discern between two groups of people who employed magic. The first group consists of practitioners (or magicians), who used magical recipes in order to cater to the demands of the second group, their clients, for whom they produced amulets, potions, and other magical items. One should bear in mind, however, that this distinction is not always applicable, as sometimes individuals could employ magical recipes on their own, without resorting to a professional practitioner. The recipes were occasionally collected in booklets, some carefully arranged according to topics or even containing numbered recipes and a "table of contents."[5] However, most of them were inscribed on loose leaves of paper or parchment or sometimes scribbled on the margins of other, nonmagical documents.

The magical documents uncovered in the Geniza range in date from its earliest strata, around the tenth century, to the latest, with fragments dating from the eighteen and nineteenth centuries. It should be noted, however, that most of these documents can be dated only through paleographic analysis and that only a small percentage have thus far been considered. Consequently, the majority of magical documents remain undated.

Linguistically, these documents resemble other documentary Geniza sources, meaning that they are written primarily in Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew, with occasional fragments or portions in Aramaic, Arabic, Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Persian, Yiddish, etc. Roughly half the documents contain at least a few words in Judeo-Arabic or Hebrew, and a much smaller portion employ Aramaic or words in the Arabic alphabet. A broad survey of magical recipes uncovered in the Geniza shows that, when a recipe includes more than one

[3]I focus here on documents related to practical magic. For other types of material, see Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue."

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language, we find Judeo-Arabic or, less commonly, Arabic in the recipe's instructions or title while the actual magical formulas are in Hebrew and Aramaic. Many of these bi- or trilingual recipes date back to late antiquity and were originally written entirely in Aramaic or Hebrew. As they were repeatedly copied in the medieval period, some copyists decided to translate the titles and instructions into a more familiar language, that is, Judeo-Arabic. However, they refrained from translating magical formulas, perhaps fearing that this might cause a loss of efficacy.[6]

Given its nature, the Geniza preserves only *written* finished products, but a magical product could also be oral (e.g., an incantation to be recited) or nontextual (e.g., an ointment to be applied to one's body). Data related to this latter type of product are often preserved among the magical recipes. In some rare cases, we are lucky to retrieve both a finished product and the recipe on which it was based, as will be exemplified by the sample text below.

Geniza magical texts were intended to achieve a wide range of goals: apotropaic, curative, divinatory, erotic, aggressive, etc. Recipes often bear a title explicitly stating their goal: for example, "For he who has a headache" (למן דחשש ראשיה),[7] "If you wish to know what will happen in the world" (אם בקשתה לתדע מה יהיה בעולם),[8] "For every evil need: to kill and to send fire and also for hate and to separate" (לכל צורך לביש להרוג ולשלוח אש וגם לשנאה וגם להפריד),[9] and the pervasive "For love" or "For hate" (לאהבה/ לשנאה).[10] In the case of amulets or other finished products, the goal may be easily inferred from their content. For instance, an amulet could appeal to God or various

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supernatural forces requesting, "Send healing and have mercy on Bunayna daughter of Yaman" (שלח רפואה ותרחם לבנינה בנת ימן), or adjure the evil spirits, "Go out and depart and go far away and do not approach Bunayna" (תצאו ותלכו ותתרחקו ולא תגעו לבנינה).[11]

In addition to their actual wording, magical texts can also be recognized through some external features. These are particularly useful when looking at poorly preserved fragments of which only a few words survive. These features consist of the following:

1. *Overlined, overdotted, and boxed words*. All these means of highlighting are used to denote mainly names of supernatural entities (angels, demons, the names of God) but also magical words or vowel permutations (e.g., *kwyk bkwyk* or *yʾw yh hwh*).[12]

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The two following recipes show the typical form and content of a Geniza magical document from the classical period. They are part of a magical handbook written on paper of which eight leaves (two bifolia) survive, each measuring approximately 14.3 × 20 centimeters. The fragment contains thirteen recipes.

T-S K1.91, fol. 2r[14]

Transcription

1. לחל אלמעקוד
2. יכתב עלי ורק נאר וישרב בנביד והדא אלדי

[11] Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 237–38 (Geniza 7 [T-S K1.127], lines 3, 10–11).

[12] It should be noted, however, that, in nonmagical documents, overlining is employed to set out specific parts of the text, such as titles, abbreviations, scriptural citations, or Hebrew phrases included in an Arabic text.

[13] Possibly owing to scribal error, the term *charaktyraya* underwent changes resulting in the term *chalaktyraya* (כלקטיריא) and was then divided into two separate words: *kol ktyraya* (כל קטיריא), Aramaic for "all the knots." See the fragment below, lines 5–6. See further Gideon Bohak, "The *Charaktêres* in Ancient and Medieval Jewish Magic," *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensus* 47 (2011): 25–44.

[14] For the publication and translation of the entire fragment as well as its joining bifolium, T-S K1.117, see Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, 174–81 (Geniza 16 [T-S K 1.91]). The leaf containing the recipes reproduced in the text is listed as p. 3 in this edition.

3. תכתבה. <magical signs>[15]
4. <magical signs> יאו יאו יה הוה הא
5. מא הא אה להף אתון אתיא קדישיא וכל
6. קטיריא שרין וכשרין לגידא רביא דפל׳ בן פל׳
7. דמשמש בין עטמתה א׳א׳ס׳

---

8. למסכר פומא.
9. משבע אנא ואסרנא ובלימנא ומסכרנא ומטרשנא
10. לבהון דכל בני אנשא וחוה דלא ינזקון יתי אנא
11. פל׳ בן פל׳ להקיאל המלאך הגדול שהוא ממונה
12. על אהבה הוא יחוס על פל׳ בן פל׳ בצאתו ובואו
13. בשכבו ובקומו בשם שם רב אגוקטי
14. טגאט פגאט דהוא אחד ושמו כתוב
15. אתן אץ שמו עלא אבגדהוזחטיכך
16. למסנסעפפהצץקרשת. תץ שמו ובשם

Translation[16]

1. For releasing someone who is bound.
2. Let him write on a leaf of a pomegranate and drink in wine. This is what you should
3. write: <magical signs>
4. <magical signs> *yʾw yʾw yh hwh hʾ*
5. *mʾ hʾ ʾh lhP* You, *holy symbols* and all
6. *the knots, loosen and make fit the big sinew of* N son of N
7. *that performs* among his bones. A(men) A(men) S(elah).

---

8. *For shutting the mouth*.
9. *I adjure and bind and restrain and shut and obstruct*
10. *the hearts of all sons of men and Eve* (*i.e.*, *all people*), *so that they may not harm me, I*,
11. N son of N. Lahakiʾel the great angel who is appointed
12. over love, may he have mercy on N son of N as he goes out and comes in,
13. as he lies down and he stands up. In the name of the great name *ʾgwqṭy*
14. *ṭgʾṭ* *pgʾṭ* *who is one and his name is written*

[15]For the actual symbols used, see fig. 1 below.

[16]Different type styles have been employed in compiling the translation to indicate the different languages used in this handbook: Judeo-Arabic appears in Roman type, Hebrew is underlined, and Aramaic is italicized. Parentheses indicate the completion of an abbreviated text or my interpolation.



Fig. 1. T-S K1.91, fol. 2r, a fragment from a medieval handbook of magic containing recipes for various aims.

15. ʾtn ʾṢ his name is lʿ bgdhwzḥṭykK
16. lmMNs ʿpṣṢqršt . tṢ is his name. And in the name of [. . .]

Discussion

The recipes are written in a mixture of Judeo-Arabic and Aramaic or Hebrew and Aramaic that is very common in Geniza magic. Each begins with a title stating its purpose: releasing a "bound" (probably impotent) person in the first recipe and silencing one's enemies (lit. "shutting the mouth") in the second. As can be seen in fig. 1, the recipes are separated from each other by a dividing line, and their titles are also set off from the rest of the text. Such formal means made it easier for people employing magical handbooks to find the recipe they needed, although not all the scribes of Geniza magical texts were as neat as the present one.

The first recipe instructs the magician or the interested party to inscribe a series of magical signs and vowel permutations on a leaf and then rinse the writing in wine. The vowel permutations are overdotted, setting them apart from regular words, and indicating their special function in the text. So are the letters ʾʾ *s*, representing the abbreviated ending of typical Jewish prayers. The wine should eventually be drunk by the bound person, whose "big sinew" (meaning perhaps the sex organ) will then be able to function properly. The

signs and vowels are addressed directly and referred to as "holy symbols" and "knots" (see n. 13 above). Obviously, we have little way of knowing whether and how such a recipe was put to use since its end product would have been merely a potion.

The second recipe begins with an adjuration containing several synonym verbs, intended to cover many possible instances of silencing. The person whom the adjuration is intended to benefit is listed as *pel(oni) ben pel(onit)*, that is, "N son of N." This generic term is very common in magical recipes as well as in nonmagical documents such as legal texts. It was supposed to be replaced by a real name, designating the person who employed the recipe in practice. Next, the text refers to the supernatural entity in whose name the magical action was to be performed. This is Lahakiʾel, the "great angel" who is said to be appointed over love. Several other magical names are listed, all of them boxed, followed by a full alphabetical sequence. What makes this recipe particularly interesting is the fact that the Geniza preserves proof of its actual use by a medieval magician. T-S K1.167, published in the same volume as the magical handbook presented above, is a lengthy amulet written on behalf of a woman named Sitthum.[17] The scribe who prepared the amulet employed the recipe presented above (or, rather, a slightly different version thereof) as part of the amulet text. Replacing the generic *pel(oni) ben pel(onit)* with the name Sitthum bat Sitt al-Ahl, and modifying the grammatical gender in lines 12–13 from masculine to feminine, the scribe transformed a magical recipe into a finished product. That the parchment amulet shows signs of having been folded and carried on the body reveals an unhappy family life, as Sitthum wished to silence and be protected from none other than her husband, Moussi.

Despite S. D. Goitein's determination to ignore the presence of magical items in the Geniza, the thousands of such documents preserved therein demonstrate that many Jews were producers and users of magic. The practices attested in the Geniza bear all the hallmarks of Jewish magic. They include citations from the Hebrew Bible or liturgy, distinctive Hebrew names of angels, adjurations employing the Tetragrammaton, and a remarkable adherence to the Jewish religious tradition. The latter is manifested, for example, by the fact that almost no recipe requests to perform magical practices on Sabbath. Likewise, recipes rarely call for an unorthodox use of nonkosher substances.[18] Naturally, one can find many points of contact between Jewish and non-Jewish magic among the Geniza documents, yet, for the most part, these texts are typical products of the Jewish magical tradition. Moreover,

[17] Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, 209–12 (Geniza 19 [T-S K 1.167]). The parchment amulet measures approximately 5.5×29 centimeters and is inscribed on both sides.

[18] For traits distinguishing Jewish magic from other magical traditions, see, e.g., Saar, *Jewish Love Magic*, 231–65.

their very presence in the Ben Ezra synagogue suggests they were regarded as an ordinary part of community life.[19] Documents such as the magical handbook and the personalized amulet presented above provide us with an additional window into the daily, private life of the Geniza society.

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[19] See also Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue," 61–62.

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Geniza Magical Documents

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Abstract The Cairo Geniza has proved to be a fascinating trove of information about all aspects of Jewish life in the medieval and early modern period, magic being one of them. Hundreds of manuscripts, in different states of conservation, testify to the interest of Jews in composing and copying magical manuals as well as producing amulets and curses and otherwise attempting to harness the supernatural in order to achieve earthly aims. This essay introduces the reader to Geniza magical texts and provides some guidelines for reading these documents.

Keywords Jewish magic · Amulets · Curses · Geniza

Among the hundred thousands of parchment and paper leaves making up the Cairo Geniza lie also some twenty-five hundred related to magic, astrology, divination, and alchemy.[1] Though their overall share is not large, these documents are highly valuable in revealing a facet of the personal lives of Jews and non-Jews in the Geniza society throughout the ages. Serious scholarly investigation of this material is, for various reasons, a phenomenon of only recent decades, and many aspects of it still await exploration.[2] The following

[1] A definition of the term *magic* and its problematic relationship with *religion* is beyond the scope of this essay. On this topic, see, e.g., Peter Schäfer, "Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism," in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, ed. Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kippenberg (Leiden, 1997), 19–43; and Yuval Harari, "What Is a Magical Text? Methodological Reflections Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic," in *Officina magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity*, ed. Shaul Shaked (Leiden, 2005), 91–124, and *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kabbalah* (Detroit, 2017), 15–203. The best introduction to magic in the Cairo Geniza is Gideon Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue of the Magical, Astrological, Divinatory and Alchemical Fragments from the Cambridge Genizah Collections," in *"From a Sacred Source": Genizah Studies in Honour of Professor Stefan C. Reif*, ed. Ben Outhwaite and Siam Bhayro (Leiden, 2011), 53–79.

[2] For the reluctance of great Geniza scholars to deal with documents related to magic, see Steven M. Wasserstrom, "The Magical Texts in the Cairo Genizah," in *Genizah Research After Ninety Years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic*, ed. Judah Blau and Stefan Reif (Cambridge, 1992), 160–66; and Mark R. Cohen, "Goitein, Magic, and the Geniza," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 13 (2006): 294–304. See also Gideon Bohak, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Jewish Magical Tradition," *Currents in Biblical Research* 8 (2009): 107–50, 126–27.

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essay provides a concise introduction to Geniza magical texts and suggests some guidelines for reading such documents.[3]

The information on practical magic contained in the Geniza can be divided into two main categories. The first consists of recipes with instructions on how to achieve specific ends (e.g., obtaining protection from the evil eye, succeeding in a court of law, or causing the downfall of an enemy). The second involves finished products such as amulets or imprecations that were manufactured on the basis of these instructions.[4] Accordingly, one can discern between two groups of people who employed magic. The first group consists of practitioners (or magicians), who used magical recipes in order to cater to the demands of the second group, their clients, for whom they produced amulets, potions, and other magical items. One should bear in mind, however, that this distinction is not always applicable, as sometimes individuals could employ magical recipes on their own, without resorting to a professional practitioner. The recipes were occasionally collected in booklets, some carefully arranged according to topics or even containing numbered recipes and a "table of contents."[5] However, most of them were inscribed on loose leaves of paper or parchment or sometimes scribbled on the margins of other, nonmagical documents.

The magical documents uncovered in the Geniza range in date from its earliest strata, around the tenth century, to the latest, with fragments dating from the eighteen and nineteenth centuries. It should be noted, however, that most of these documents can be dated only through paleographic analysis and that only a small percentage have thus far been considered. Consequently, the majority of magical documents remain undated.

Linguistically, these documents resemble other documentary Geniza sources, meaning that they are written primarily in Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew, with occasional fragments or portions in Aramaic, Arabic, Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Persian, Yiddish, etc. Roughly half the documents contain at least a few words in Judeo-Arabic or Hebrew, and a much smaller portion employ Aramaic or words in the Arabic alphabet. A broad survey of magical recipes uncovered in the Geniza shows that, when a recipe includes more than one

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14. *ṭgʾṭ* *pgʾṭ* *who is one and his name is written*

[15]For the actual symbols used, see fig. 1 below.

[16]Different type styles have been employed in compiling the translation to indicate the different languages used in this handbook: Judeo-Arabic appears in Roman type, Hebrew is underlined, and Aramaic is italicized. Parentheses indicate the completion of an abbreviated text or my interpolation.



Fig. 1. T-S K1.91, fol. 2r, a fragment from a medieval handbook of magic containing recipes for various aims.

15. ʾtn ʾṢ his name is lʿ bgdhwzḥṭykK
16. lmMNs ʿpṣṢqršt . tṢ is his name. And in the name of [. . .]

Discussion

The recipes are written in a mixture of Judeo-Arabic and Aramaic or Hebrew and Aramaic that is very common in Geniza magic. Each begins with a title stating its purpose: releasing a "bound" (probably impotent) person in the first recipe and silencing one's enemies (lit. "shutting the mouth") in the second. As can be seen in fig. 1, the recipes are separated from each other by a dividing line, and their titles are also set off from the rest of the text. Such formal means made it easier for people employing magical handbooks to find the recipe they needed, although not all the scribes of Geniza magical texts were as neat as the present one.

The first recipe instructs the magician or the interested party to inscribe a series of magical signs and vowel permutations on a leaf and then rinse the writing in wine. The vowel permutations are overdotted, setting them apart from regular words, and indicating their special function in the text. So are the letters ʾʾ *s*, representing the abbreviated ending of typical Jewish prayers. The wine should eventually be drunk by the bound person, whose "big sinew" (meaning perhaps the sex organ) will then be able to function properly. The

signs and vowels are addressed directly and referred to as "holy symbols" and "knots" (see n. 13 above). Obviously, we have little way of knowing whether and how such a recipe was put to use since its end product would have been merely a potion.

The second recipe begins with an adjuration containing several synonym verbs, intended to cover many possible instances of silencing. The person whom the adjuration is intended to benefit is listed as *pel(oni) ben pel(onit)*, that is, "N son of N." This generic term is very common in magical recipes as well as in nonmagical documents such as legal texts. It was supposed to be replaced by a real name, designating the person who employed the recipe in practice. Next, the text refers to the supernatural entity in whose name the magical action was to be performed. This is Lahakiʾel, the "great angel" who is said to be appointed over love. Several other magical names are listed, all of them boxed, followed by a full alphabetical sequence. What makes this recipe particularly interesting is the fact that the Geniza preserves proof of its actual use by a medieval magician. T-S K1.167, published in the same volume as the magical handbook presented above, is a lengthy amulet written on behalf of a woman named Sitthum.[17] The scribe who prepared the amulet employed the recipe presented above (or, rather, a slightly different version thereof) as part of the amulet text. Replacing the generic *pel(oni) ben pel(onit)* with the name Sitthum bat Sitt al-Ahl, and modifying the grammatical gender in lines 12–13 from masculine to feminine, the scribe transformed a magical recipe into a finished product. That the parchment amulet shows signs of having been folded and carried on the body reveals an unhappy family life, as Sitthum wished to silence and be protected from none other than her husband, Moussi.

Despite S. D. Goitein's determination to ignore the presence of magical items in the Geniza, the thousands of such documents preserved therein demonstrate that many Jews were producers and users of magic. The practices attested in the Geniza bear all the hallmarks of Jewish magic. They include citations from the Hebrew Bible or liturgy, distinctive Hebrew names of angels, adjurations employing the Tetragrammaton, and a remarkable adherence to the Jewish religious tradition. The latter is manifested, for example, by the fact that almost no recipe requests to perform magical practices on Sabbath. Likewise, recipes rarely call for an unorthodox use of nonkosher substances.[18] Naturally, one can find many points of contact between Jewish and non-Jewish magic among the Geniza documents, yet, for the most part, these texts are typical products of the Jewish magical tradition. Moreover,

[17] Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, 209–12 (Geniza 19 [T-S K 1.167]). The parchment amulet measures approximately 5.5×29 centimeters and is inscribed on both sides.

[18] For traits distinguishing Jewish magic from other magical traditions, see, e.g., Saar, *Jewish Love Magic*, 231–65.

their very presence in the Ben Ezra synagogue suggests they were regarded as an ordinary part of community life.[19] Documents such as the magical handbook and the personalized amulet presented above provide us with an additional window into the daily, private life of the Geniza society.

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[19] See also Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue," 61–62.

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Geniza Magical Documents

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Abstract The Cairo Geniza has proved to be a fascinating trove of information about all aspects of Jewish life in the medieval and early modern period, magic being one of them. Hundreds of manuscripts, in different states of conservation, testify to the interest of Jews in composing and copying magical manuals as well as producing amulets and curses and otherwise attempting to harness the supernatural in order to achieve earthly aims. This essay introduces the reader to Geniza magical texts and provides some guidelines for reading these documents.

Keywords Jewish magic · Amulets · Curses · Geniza

Among the hundred thousands of parchment and paper leaves making up the Cairo Geniza lie also some twenty-five hundred related to magic, astrology, divination, and alchemy.[1] Though their overall share is not large, these documents are highly valuable in revealing a facet of the personal lives of Jews and non-Jews in the Geniza society throughout the ages. Serious scholarly investigation of this material is, for various reasons, a phenomenon of only recent decades, and many aspects of it still await exploration.[2] The following

[1] A definition of the term *magic* and its problematic relationship with *religion* is beyond the scope of this essay. On this topic, see, e.g., Peter Schäfer, "Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism," in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, ed. Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kippenberg (Leiden, 1997), 19–43; and Yuval Harari, "What Is a Magical Text? Methodological Reflections Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic," in *Officina magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity*, ed. Shaul Shaked (Leiden, 2005), 91–124, and *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kabbalah* (Detroit, 2017), 15–203. The best introduction to magic in the Cairo Geniza is Gideon Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue of the Magical, Astrological, Divinatory and Alchemical Fragments from the Cambridge Genizah Collections," in *"From a Sacred Source": Genizah Studies in Honour of Professor Stefan C. Reif*, ed. Ben Outhwaite and Siam Bhayro (Leiden, 2011), 53–79.

[2] For the reluctance of great Geniza scholars to deal with documents related to magic, see Steven M. Wasserstrom, "The Magical Texts in the Cairo Genizah," in *Genizah Research After Ninety Years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic*, ed. Judah Blau and Stefan Reif (Cambridge, 1992), 160–66; and Mark R. Cohen, "Goitein, Magic, and the Geniza," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 13 (2006): 294–304. See also Gideon Bohak, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Jewish Magical Tradition," *Currents in Biblical Research* 8 (2009): 107–50, 126–27.

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essay provides a concise introduction to Geniza magical texts and suggests some guidelines for reading such documents.[3]

The information on practical magic contained in the Geniza can be divided into two main categories. The first consists of recipes with instructions on how to achieve specific ends (e.g., obtaining protection from the evil eye, succeeding in a court of law, or causing the downfall of an enemy). The second involves finished products such as amulets or imprecations that were manufactured on the basis of these instructions.[4] Accordingly, one can discern between two groups of people who employed magic. The first group consists of practitioners (or magicians), who used magical recipes in order to cater to the demands of the second group, their clients, for whom they produced amulets, potions, and other magical items. One should bear in mind, however, that this distinction is not always applicable, as sometimes individuals could employ magical recipes on their own, without resorting to a professional practitioner. The recipes were occasionally collected in booklets, some carefully arranged according to topics or even containing numbered recipes and a "table of contents."[5] However, most of them were inscribed on loose leaves of paper or parchment or sometimes scribbled on the margins of other, nonmagical documents.

The magical documents uncovered in the Geniza range in date from its earliest strata, around the tenth century, to the latest, with fragments dating from the eighteen and nineteenth centuries. It should be noted, however, that most of these documents can be dated only through paleographic analysis and that only a small percentage have thus far been considered. Consequently, the majority of magical documents remain undated.

Linguistically, these documents resemble other documentary Geniza sources, meaning that they are written primarily in Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew, with occasional fragments or portions in Aramaic, Arabic, Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Persian, Yiddish, etc. Roughly half the documents contain at least a few words in Judeo-Arabic or Hebrew, and a much smaller portion employ Aramaic or words in the Arabic alphabet. A broad survey of magical recipes uncovered in the Geniza shows that, when a recipe includes more than one

[3] I focus here on documents related to practical magic. For other types of material, see Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue."

[4] In some rare instances, the two categories merge to form personalized recipes, meaning recipes into which the name of an individual (or more than one) was inserted, thus creating a type of amulet. See Ortal-Paz Saar, "Success, Protection and Grace: Three Fragments of a Personalized Magical Handbook," *Ginzei qedem* 3 (2007): 101*–135*.

[5] Gideon Bohak, "Reconstructing Jewish Magical Recipe Books from the Cairo Genizah," *Ginzei qedem* 1 (2005): 9–29. For an example of a booklet with numbered recipes, see Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 3rd ed. (Jerusalem, 1998), 224–29 (Geniza 5 [T-S K1.70]).

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language, we find Judeo-Arabic or, less commonly, Arabic in the recipe's instructions or title while the actual magical formulas are in Hebrew and Aramaic. Many of these bi- or trilingual recipes date back to late antiquity and were originally written entirely in Aramaic or Hebrew. As they were repeatedly copied in the medieval period, some copyists decided to translate the titles and instructions into a more familiar language, that is, Judeo-Arabic. However, they refrained from translating magical formulas, perhaps fearing that this might cause a loss of efficacy.[6]

Given its nature, the Geniza preserves only *written* finished products, but a magical product could also be oral (e.g., an incantation to be recited) or nontextual (e.g., an ointment to be applied to one's body). Data related to this latter type of product are often preserved among the magical recipes. In some rare cases, we are lucky to retrieve both a finished product and the recipe on which it was based, as will be exemplified by the sample text below.

Geniza magical texts were intended to achieve a wide range of goals: apotropaic, curative, divinatory, erotic, aggressive, etc. Recipes often bear a title explicitly stating their goal: for example, "For he who has a headache" (למן דחשש ראשיה),[7] "If you wish to know what will happen in the world" (אם בקשתה לתדע מה יהיה בעולם),[8] "For every evil need: to kill and to send fire and also for hate and to separate" (לכל צורך לביש להרוג ולשלוח אש וגם לשנאה וגם להפריד),[9] and the pervasive "For love" or "For hate" (לאהבה/ לשנאה).[10] In the case of amulets or other finished products, the goal may be easily inferred from their content. For instance, an amulet could appeal to God or various

[6] A reverse situation can be observed in some Jewish magical manuscripts from Europe. When recipes originate in non-Jewish sources, their instructions are written in Hebrew while the magical formulas are in Latin or some European vernacular but inscribed in the Hebrew alphabet. On the division of languages in magical and related types of Geniza documents, see Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue," 62–64, 68–70. On the transmission of such texts across the centuries, see Reimund Leicht, "Some Observations on the Diffusion of Jewish Magical Texts from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah and Ashkenaz," in Shaked, ed., *Officina magica*, 213–31; and Gideon Bohak, "The Jewish Magical Tradition from Late Antique Palestine to the Cairo Genizah," in *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, ed. Hannah M. Cotton, Robert G. Hoyland, Jonathan J. Price, and David J. Wasserstein (Cambridge, 2009), 324–42.

[7] Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 224–29 (Geniza 5 [T-S K1.70], p. 3, line 7).

[8] Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, eds., in collaboration with Martin Jacobs, Reimund Leicht, Bill Rebiger, Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, Giuseppe Veltri, and Irina Wandrey, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, 3 vols. (Tübingen, 1994–99), 3:21–29 (no. 55 [Westminster College Misc. 16], fol. 2a, lines 1–2).

[9] Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1993), 230–32 (Geniza 26 [T-S Misc. 10.35], recto, lines 1–2).

[10] For these two aims, see Ortal-Paz Saar, *Jewish Love Magic: From Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2017).

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supernatural forces requesting, "Send healing and have mercy on Bunayna daughter of Yaman" (שלח רפואה ותרחם לבנינה בנת ימן), or adjure the evil spirits, "Go out and depart and go far away and do not approach Bunayna" (תצאו ותלכו ותתרחקו ולא תגעו לבנינה).[11]

In addition to their actual wording, magical texts can also be recognized through some external features. These are particularly useful when looking at poorly preserved fragments of which only a few words survive. These features consist of the following:

1. *Overlined, overdotted, and boxed words*. All these means of highlighting are used to denote mainly names of supernatural entities (angels, demons, the names of God) but also magical words or vowel permutations (e.g., *kwyk bkwyk* or *yʾw yh hwh*).[12]

2. *Magical signs*. These small enigmatic scribbles resemble letters or geometric forms and often include small circles at their tips. They are sometimes referred to as *characters* (כרקטיריא), an Aramicized term based on the Greek χαρακτήρες.[13]

The two following recipes show the typical form and content of a Geniza magical document from the classical period. They are part of a magical handbook written on paper of which eight leaves (two bifolia) survive, each measuring approximately 14.3 × 20 centimeters. The fragment contains thirteen recipes.

T-S K1.91, fol. 2r[14]

Transcription

1. לחל אלמעקוד
2. יכתב עלי ורק נאר וישרב בנביד והדא אלדי

[11] Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 237–38 (Geniza 7 [T-S K1.127], lines 3, 10–11).

[12] It should be noted, however, that, in nonmagical documents, overlining is employed to set out specific parts of the text, such as titles, abbreviations, scriptural citations, or Hebrew phrases included in an Arabic text.

[13] Possibly owing to scribal error, the term *charaktyraya* underwent changes resulting in the term *chalaktyraya* (כלקטיריא) and was then divided into two separate words: *kol ktyraya* (כל קטיריא), Aramaic for "all the knots." See the fragment below, lines 5–6. See further Gideon Bohak, "The *Charaktêres* in Ancient and Medieval Jewish Magic," *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensus* 47 (2011): 25–44.

[14] For the publication and translation of the entire fragment as well as its joining bifolium, T-S K1.117, see Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, 174–81 (Geniza 16 [T-S K 1.91]). The leaf containing the recipes reproduced in the text is listed as p. 3 in this edition.

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3. תכתבה. <magical signs>[15]
4. <magical signs> יאו יאו יה הוה הא
5. מא הא אה להף אתון אתיא קדישיא וכל
6. קטיריא שרין וכשרין לגידא רביא דפל׳ בן פל׳
7. דמשמש בין עטמתה א׳א׳ס׳

---

8. למסכר פומא.
9. משבע אנא ואסרנא ובלימנא ומסכרנא ומטרשנא
10. לבהון דכל בני אנשא וחוה דלא ינזקון יתי אנא
11. פל׳ בן פל׳ להקיאל המלאך הגדול שהוא ממונה
12. על אהבה הוא יחוס על פל׳ בן פל׳ בצאתו ובואו
13. בשכבו ובקומו בשם שם רב אגוקטי
14. טגאט פגאט דהוא אחד ושמו כתוב
15. אתן אץ שמו עלא אבגדהוזחטיכך
16. למסנסעפפיצקרשת. תץ שמו ובשם

Translation[16]

1. For releasing someone who is bound.
2. Let him write on a leaf of a pomegranate and drink in wine. This is what you should
3. write: <magical signs>
4. <magical signs> *yʾw yʾw yh hwh hʾ*
5. *mʾ hʾ ʾh lhP* You, *holy symbols* and all
6. *the knots, loosen and make fit the big sinew of* N son of N
7. *that performs* among his bones. A(men) A(men) S(elah).

---

8. *For shutting the mouth*.
9. *I adjure and bind and restrain and shut and obstruct*
10. *the hearts of all sons of men and Eve* (*i.e.*, *all people*), *so that they may not harm me, I*,
11. N son of N. Lahakiʾel the great angel who is appointed
12. over love, may he have mercy on N son of N as he goes out and comes in,
13. as he lies down and he stands up. In the name of the great name *ʾgwqṭy*
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Discussion

The recipes are written in a mixture of Judeo-Arabic and Aramaic or Hebrew and Aramaic that is very common in Geniza magic. Each begins with a title stating its purpose: releasing a "bound" (probably impotent) person in the first recipe and silencing one's enemies (lit. "shutting the mouth") in the second. As can be seen in fig. 1, the recipes are separated from each other by a dividing line, and their titles are also set off from the rest of the text. Such formal means made it easier for people employing magical handbooks to find the recipe they needed, although not all the scribes of Geniza magical texts were as neat as the present one.

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Keywords Jewish magic · Amulets · Curses · Geniza

Among the hundred thousands of parchment and paper leaves making up the Cairo Geniza lie also some twenty-five hundred related to magic, astrology, divination, and alchemy.[1] Though their overall share is not large, these documents are highly valuable in revealing a facet of the personal lives of Jews and non-Jews in the Geniza society throughout the ages. Serious scholarly investigation of this material is, for various reasons, a phenomenon of only recent decades, and many aspects of it still await exploration.[2] The following

[1] A definition of the term *magic* and its problematic relationship with *religion* is beyond the scope of this essay. On this topic, see, e.g., Peter Schäfer, "Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism," in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, ed. Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kippenberg (Leiden, 1997), 19–43; and Yuval Harari, "What Is a Magical Text? Methodological Reflections Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic," in *Officina magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity*, ed. Shaul Shaked (Leiden, 2005), 91–124, and *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kabbalah* (Detroit, 2017), 15–203. The best introduction to magic in the Cairo Geniza is Gideon Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue of the Magical, Astrological, Divinatory and Alchemical Fragments from the Cambridge Genizah Collections," in *"From a Sacred Source": Genizah Studies in Honour of Professor Stefan C. Reif*, ed. Ben Outhwaite and Siam Bhayro (Leiden, 2011), 53–79.

[2] For the reluctance of great Geniza scholars to deal with documents related to magic, see Steven M. Wasserstrom, "The Magical Texts in the Cairo Genizah," in *Genizah Research After Ninety Years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic*, ed. Judah Blau and Stefan Reif (Cambridge, 1992), 160–66; and Mark R. Cohen, "Goitein, Magic, and the Geniza," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 13 (2006): 294–304. See also Gideon Bohak, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Jewish Magical Tradition," *Currents in Biblical Research* 8 (2009): 107–50, 126–27.

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essay provides a concise introduction to Geniza magical texts and suggests some guidelines for reading such documents.[3]

The information on practical magic contained in the Geniza can be divided into two main categories. The first consists of recipes with instructions on how to achieve specific ends (e.g., obtaining protection from the evil eye, succeeding in a court of law, or causing the downfall of an enemy). The second involves finished products such as amulets or imprecations that were manufactured on the basis of these instructions.[4] Accordingly, one can discern between two groups of people who employed magic. The first group consists of practitioners (or magicians), who used magical recipes in order to cater to the demands of the second group, their clients, for whom they produced amulets, potions, and other magical items. One should bear in mind, however, that this distinction is not always applicable, as sometimes individuals could employ magical recipes on their own, without resorting to a professional practitioner. The recipes were occasionally collected in booklets, some carefully arranged according to topics or even containing numbered recipes and a "table of contents."[5] However, most of them were inscribed on loose leaves of paper or parchment or sometimes scribbled on the margins of other, nonmagical documents.

The magical documents uncovered in the Geniza range in date from its earliest strata, around the tenth century, to the latest, with fragments dating from the eighteen and nineteenth centuries. It should be noted, however, that most of these documents can be dated only through paleographic analysis and that only a small percentage have thus far been considered. Consequently, the majority of magical documents remain undated.

Linguistically, these documents resemble other documentary Geniza sources, meaning that they are written primarily in Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew, with occasional fragments or portions in Aramaic, Arabic, Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Persian, Yiddish, etc. Roughly half the documents contain at least a few words in Judeo-Arabic or Hebrew, and a much smaller portion employ Aramaic or words in the Arabic alphabet. A broad survey of magical recipes uncovered in the Geniza shows that, when a recipe includes more than one

[3] I focus here on documents related to practical magic. For other types of material, see Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue."

[4] In some rare instances, the two categories merge to form personalized recipes, meaning recipes into which the name of an individual (or more than one) was inserted, thus creating a type of amulet. See Ortal-Paz Saar, "Success, Protection and Grace: Three Fragments of a Personalized Magical Handbook," *Ginzei qedem* 3 (2007): 101*–135*.

[5] Gideon Bohak, "Reconstructing Jewish Magical Recipe Books from the Cairo Genizah," *Ginzei qedem* 1 (2005): 9–29. For an example of a booklet with numbered recipes, see Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 3rd ed. (Jerusalem, 1998), 224–29 (Geniza 5 [T-S K1.70]).

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language, we find Judeo-Arabic or, less commonly, Arabic in the recipe's instructions or title while the actual magical formulas are in Hebrew and Aramaic. Many of these bi- or trilingual recipes date back to late antiquity and were originally written entirely in Aramaic or Hebrew. As they were repeatedly copied in the medieval period, some copyists decided to translate the titles and instructions into a more familiar language, that is, Judeo-Arabic. However, they refrained from translating magical formulas, perhaps fearing that this might cause a loss of efficacy.[6]

Given its nature, the Geniza preserves only *written* finished products, but a magical product could also be oral (e.g., an incantation to be recited) or nontextual (e.g., an ointment to be applied to one's body). Data related to this latter type of product are often preserved among the magical recipes. In some rare cases, we are lucky to retrieve both a finished product and the recipe on which it was based, as will be exemplified by the sample text below.

Geniza magical texts were intended to achieve a wide range of goals: apotropaic, curative, divinatory, erotic, aggressive, etc. Recipes often bear a title explicitly stating their goal: for example, "For he who has a headache" (למן דחשש ראשיה),[7] "If you wish to know what will happen in the world" (אם בקשתה לתדע מה יהיה בעולם),[8] "For every evil need: to kill and to send fire and also for hate and to separate" (לכל צורך לביש להרוג ולשלוח אש וגם לשנאה וגם להפריד),[9] and the pervasive "For love" or "For hate" (לאהבה/ לשנאה).[10] In the case of amulets or other finished products, the goal may be easily inferred from their content. For instance, an amulet could appeal to God or various

[6] A reverse situation can be observed in some Jewish magical manuscripts from Europe. When recipes originate in non-Jewish sources, their instructions are written in Hebrew while the magical formulas are in Latin or some European vernacular but inscribed in the Hebrew alphabet. On the division of languages in magical and related types of Geniza documents, see Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue," 62–64, 68–70. On the transmission of such texts across the centuries, see Reimund Leicht, "Some Observations on the Diffusion of Jewish Magical Texts from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah and Ashkenaz," in Shaked, ed., *Officina magica*, 213–31; and Gideon Bohak, "The Jewish Magical Tradition from Late Antique Palestine to the Cairo Genizah," in *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, ed. Hannah M. Cotton, Robert G. Hoyland, Jonathan J. Price, and David J. Wasserstein (Cambridge, 2009), 324–42.

[7] Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 224–29 (Geniza 5 [T-S K1.70], p. 3, line 7).

[8] Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, eds., in collaboration with Martin Jacobs, Reimund Leicht, Bill Rebiger, Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, Giuseppe Veltri, and Irina Wandrey, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, 3 vols. (Tübingen, 1994–99), 3:21–29 (no. 55 [Westminster College Misc. 16], fol. 2a, lines 1–2).

[9] Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1993), 230–32 (Geniza 26 [T-S Misc. 10.35], recto, lines 1–2).

[10] For these two aims, see Ortal-Paz Saar, *Jewish Love Magic: From Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2017).

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supernatural forces requesting, "Send healing and have mercy on Bunayna daughter of Yaman" (שלח רפואה ותרחם לבנינה בנת ימן), or adjure the evil spirits, "Go out and depart and go far away and do not approach Bunayna" (תצאו ותלכו ותתרחקו ולא תגעו לבנינה).[11]

In addition to their actual wording, magical texts can also be recognized through some external features. These are particularly useful when looking at poorly preserved fragments of which only a few words survive. These features consist of the following:

1. *Overlined, overdotted, and boxed words*. All these means of highlighting are used to denote mainly names of supernatural entities (angels, demons, the names of God) but also magical words or vowel permutations (e.g., *kwyk bkwyk* or *yʾw yh hwh*).[12]

2. *Magical signs*. These small enigmatic scribbles resemble letters or geometric forms and often include small circles at their tips. They are sometimes referred to as *characters* (כרקטיריא), an Aramicized term based on the Greek χαρακτήρες.[13]

The two following recipes show the typical form and content of a Geniza magical document from the classical period. They are part of a magical handbook written on paper of which eight leaves (two bifolia) survive, each measuring approximately 14.3 × 20 centimeters. The fragment contains thirteen recipes.

T-S K1.91, fol. 2r[14]

Transcription

1. לחל אלמעקוד
2. יכתב עלי ורק נאר וישרב בנביד והדא אלדי

[11] Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 237–38 (Geniza 7 [T-S K1.127], lines 3, 10–11).

[12] It should be noted, however, that, in nonmagical documents, overlining is employed to set out specific parts of the text, such as titles, abbreviations, scriptural citations, or Hebrew phrases included in an Arabic text.

[13] Possibly owing to scribal error, the term *charaktyraya* underwent changes resulting in the term *chalaktyraya* (כלקטיריא) and was then divided into two separate words: *kol ktyraya* (כל קטיריא), Aramaic for "all the knots." See the fragment below, lines 5–6. See further Gideon Bohak, "The *Charaktêres* in Ancient and Medieval Jewish Magic," *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensus* 47 (2011): 25–44.

[14] For the publication and translation of the entire fragment as well as its joining bifolium, T-S K1.117, see Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, 174–81 (Geniza 16 [T-S K 1.91]). The leaf containing the recipes reproduced in the text is listed as p. 3 in this edition.

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3. תכתבה. <magical signs>[15]
4. <magical signs> יאו יאו יה הוה הא
5. מא הא אה להף אתון אתיא קדישיא וכל
6. קטיריא שרין וכשרין לגידא רביא דפל׳ בן פל׳
7. דמשמש בין עטמתה א׳א׳ס׳

---

8. למסכר פומא.
9. משבע אנא ואסרנא ובלימנא ומסכרנא ומטרשנא
10. לבהון דכל בני אנשא וחוה דלא ינזקון יתי אנא
11. פל׳ בן פל׳ להקיאל המלאך הגדול שהוא ממונה
12. על אהבה הוא יחוס על פל׳ בן פל׳ בצאתו ובואו
13. בשכבו ובקומו בשם שם רב אגוקטי
14. טגאט פגאט דהוא אחד ושמו כתוב
15. אתן אץ שמו עלא אבגדהוזחטיכך
16. למסנסעפפיצקרשת. תץ שמו ובשם

Translation[16]

1. For releasing someone who is bound.
2. Let him write on a leaf of a pomegranate and drink in wine. This is what you should
3. write: <magical signs>
4. <magical signs> *yʾw yʾw yh hwh hʾ*
5. *mʾ hʾ ʾh lhP* You, *holy symbols* and all
6. *the knots, loosen and make fit the big sinew of* N son of N
7. *that performs* among his bones. A(men) A(men) S(elah).

---

8. *For shutting the mouth*.
9. *I adjure and bind and restrain and shut and obstruct*
10. *the hearts of all sons of men and Eve* (*i.e.*, *all people*), *so that they may not harm me, I*,
11. N son of N. Lahakiʾel the great angel who is appointed
12. over love, may he have mercy on N son of N as he goes out and comes in,
13. as he lies down and he stands up. In the name of the great name *ʾgwqṭy*
14. *ṭgʾṭ* *pgʾṭ* *who is one and his name is written*

[15]For the actual symbols used, see fig. 1 below.

[16]Different type styles have been employed in compiling the translation to indicate the different languages used in this handbook: Judeo-Arabic appears in Roman type, Hebrew is underlined, and Aramaic is italicized. Parentheses indicate the completion of an abbreviated text or my interpolation.

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Fig. 1. T-S K1.91, fol. 2r, a fragment from a medieval handbook of magic containing recipes for various aims.

15. ʾtn ʾṢ his name is lʿ ʾbgdhwzḥṭykK
16. *lmMnNs ʿpṣṢqršt . tṢ* is his name. And in the name of [. . .]

Discussion

The recipes are written in a mixture of Judeo-Arabic and Aramaic or Hebrew and Aramaic that is very common in Geniza magic. Each begins with a title stating its purpose: releasing a "bound" (probably impotent) person in the first recipe and silencing one's enemies (lit. "shutting the mouth") in the second. As can be seen in fig. 1, the recipes are separated from each other by a dividing line, and their titles are also set off from the rest of the text. Such formal means made it easier for people employing magical handbooks to find the recipe they needed, although not all the scribes of Geniza magical texts were as neat as the present one.

The first recipe instructs the magician or the interested party to inscribe a series of magical signs and vowel permutations on a leaf and then rinse the writing in wine. The vowel permutations are overdotted, setting them apart from regular words, and indicating their special function in the text. So are the letters ʾʾ *s*, representing the abbreviated ending of typical Jewish prayers. The wine should eventually be drunk by the bound person, whose "big sinew" (meaning perhaps the sex organ) will then be able to function properly. The

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signs and vowels are addressed directly and referred to as "holy symbols" and "knots" (see n. 13 above). Obviously, we have little way of knowing whether and how such a recipe was put to use since its end product would have been merely a potion.

The second recipe begins with an adjuration containing several synonym verbs, intended to cover many possible instances of silencing. The person whom the adjuration is intended to benefit is listed as *pel(oni) ben pel(onit)*, that is, "N son of N." This generic term is very common in magical recipes as well as in nonmagical documents such as legal texts. It was supposed to be replaced by a real name, designating the person who employed the recipe in practice. Next, the text refers to the supernatural entity in whose name the magical action was to be performed. This is Lahakiʾel, the "great angel" who is said to be appointed over love. Several other magical names are listed, all of them boxed, followed by a full alphabetical sequence. What makes this recipe particularly interesting is the fact that the Geniza preserves proof of its actual use by a medieval magician. T-S K1.167, published in the same volume as the magical handbook presented above, is a lengthy amulet written on behalf of a woman named Sitthum.[17] The scribe who prepared the amulet employed the recipe presented above (or, rather, a slightly different version thereof) as part of the amulet text. Replacing the generic *pel(oni) ben pel(onit)* with the name Sitthum bat Sitt al-Ahl, and modifying the grammatical gender in lines 12–13 from masculine to feminine, the scribe transformed a magical recipe into a finished product. That the parchment amulet shows signs of having been folded and carried on the body reveals an unhappy family life, as Sitthum wished to silence and be protected from none other than her husband, Moussi.

Despite S. D. Goitein's determination to ignore the presence of magical items in the Geniza, the thousands of such documents preserved therein demonstrate that many Jews were producers and users of magic. The practices attested in the Geniza bear all the hallmarks of Jewish magic. They include citations from the Hebrew Bible or liturgy, distinctive Hebrew names of angels, adjurations employing the Tetragrammaton, and a remarkable adherence to the Jewish religious tradition. The latter is manifested, for example, by the fact that almost no recipe requests to perform magical practices on Sabbath. Likewise, recipes rarely call for an unorthodox use of nonkosher substances.[18] Naturally, one can find many points of contact between Jewish and non-Jewish magic among the Geniza documents, yet, for the most part, these texts are typical products of the Jewish magical tradition. Moreover,

[17] Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, 209–12 (Geniza 19 [T-S K 1.167]). The parchment amulet measures approximately 5.5×29 centimeters and is inscribed on both sides.
[18] For traits distinguishing Jewish magic from other magical traditions, see, e.g., Saar, *Jewish Love Magic*, 231–65.

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their very presence in the Ben Ezra synagogue suggests they were regarded as an ordinary part of community life.[19] Documents such as the magical handbook and the personalized amulet presented above provide us with an additional window into the daily, private life of the Geniza society.

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[19] See also Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue," 61–62.

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ANCIENT JEWISH MAGIC

A History

GIDEON BOHAK

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Scholarship is an eminently social thing, and the present study is no exception. Its ultimate origins lie in my Princeton days, when John Gager initiated me into the study of ancient magic. Its initial growth took place in Ann Arbor, when I was allowed to teach several courses on ancient magic and to curate an exhibition of ancient magical artifacts from the University of Michigan's rich archeological and papyrological collections (see Bohak 1996). But the book itself began to take shape here, at Tel-Aviv University, while teaching at the Department of Jewish Philosophy and the Program in Religious Studies and enjoying constant feedback from colleagues and students alike.

Many people have helped me along the way, with criticism and advice, and it is both a duty and a pleasure to thank them here. Ithamar Gruenwald, Yuval Harari, Reimund Leicht, and Dan Levene have been arguing with me on different aspects of ancient Jewish magic for many years now, and have commented on several chapters of this book when still in draft form. Shaul Shaked shared with me his unpublished work on the Genizah magical texts, without which this study would have been much the poorer, and provided helpful advice on numerous other occasions. And the anonymous readers of the original manuscript, who have left no stone unturned in their searching criticism, have surely helped me build a sounder scholarly structure. Finally, my students Ortal Paz Saar and Bar Belinitzkey read the entire manuscript and improved it with many useful comments and suggestions, and my colleague Meir Shahar read it and assured me that some of it would make sense even to a Sinologist.

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During the many years in which this book has been growing, I also had the occasion to present parts of my work on ancient Jewish magic in lectures, seminars, and conferences in Israel, Europe, and the USA. Listing all the places and occasions where I presented my work would make for a very tedious reading, but I would like to thank all these audiences for their helpful comments, criticism, and additional references, most of which have been incorporated into the present study. I would also like to thank the staff of the Tel-Aviv University Library and of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts in Jerusalem, for permission to study the microfilm copies of many Genizah fragments, and to the staffs of Cambridge University Library, the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Bodleian Library, and the British Library for granting me access to the actual fragments.

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financial security, and enabled me to write the kind of book I have always had in mind. At a time when young academics are often forced to prostitute their half-baked wares to the goddess of productivity, I have been blessed with the challenge to produce the kind of monograph that would justify a prize I have already won, and with the opportunity to do so. I will always cherish the experience, but whether the final product indeed justifies the initial investment is only for you, the reader, to decide.

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Greek, Coptic, and Jewish Magic in the Cairo Genizah
(Plates 4-5)

The current decade has witnessed a wave of publications of new sources for the study of ancient Jewish magic. Most of these new texts are written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Judeo-Arabic (Arabic written in Hebrew characters), and therefore fall outside the papyrologist's common sphere of interest. And yet, given the well-known tendency of magical rituals, names, and figures to migrate from one culture to another and from one generation to the next, it often is possible for the student of late antique magic to learn more about one magical tradition by examining others. Thus, the aim of the following paper is to survey some of the recent developments in the study of ancient Jewish magic, and point to their possible contribution to the study of that "international" magic of the Greco-Roman world that papyrologists have done so much to illuminate.[1]

A bird's-eye view of the recent scholarship on ancient Jewish magic reveals two separate clusters of activity.[2] On the one hand, the recent upswing in the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls has made available numerous fragments of magical and quasi-magical contents which previously were unavailable, or only partly available. This spate of publications has now made possible some

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[1] This paper is dedicated to the memory of Evasio Di Marcellis ("Father Di"), for his Coptic, his wine, and his wonderful sense of humor. An earlier version was read at the 22nd International Congress of Papyrologists (Florence, Aug. 23-29, 1998), but as the final version grew too long for the *Atti*, I publish it here.

[2] Both are briefly surveyed by Joseph Naveh, "On Ancient Jewish Magical Recipe Books," in A. Oppenheimer, I. Gafni and D. Schwartz (eds.), *The Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, Menahem Stern Memorial Volume (Jerusalem 1996) 453-465 (Heb.). In the following notes I refer especially, but not exclusively, to works not included in William M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994)," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3380-3684.

preliminary surveys of the Qumran magical texts, and a rough division between magical texts which clearly belong in the peculiar thought-world of the Dead Sea Sect, and those which display no sign of the specific sectarian idiom or mentality, and probably were brought to Qumran from the outside Jewish world.[3] For the student of Greco-Roman magic, the most interesting aspect of this literature is that it provides a much better sense of what ancient Jewish magic looked like before it was "contaminated" by Greco-Egyptian influences of the kind visible on every page of *Sepher Ha-Razim*.[4] What we have here, in other words, is a glimpse of Jewish magic before it influenced, and was influenced by, the "international," "multicultural" magic of late antiquity. Given the prominence of some Jewish elements in such texts as the Greek Magical Papyri, and the paucity of the previously available specimens of pre-*PGM* Jewish magic, the Qumran materials should prove useful for the study of late antique magic as a whole. That subject, however, need not detain us here.

The second cluster of activity revolves around the much larger, and much better preserved, corpus of late antique and medieval Jewish texts which is now coming to light. First, there are the amulets and the demon bowls, written in Aramaic, Syriac, and Hebrew, which are by now well known to students of ancient

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[3] For a general survey of Qumran magic, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Magical Materials in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for the Date and Provenance of Jewish Magical Traditions" (forthcoming). I am grateful to the author for providing me with a copy of this paper. See also W.J. Lyons and A.M. Reimer, "The Demonic Virus and Qumran Studies: Some Preventative Measures," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5 (1998) 16-32.

[4] For which see M. Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim* (Jerusalem 1966) (Heb.), Michael A. Morgan (tr.), *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries* (Chico, CA 1983), and Jens-Heinrich Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln aus dem "Buch der Geheimnisse" (Sefär ha-Razim): Zur Topologie der magischen Rede*, Judäistische Texte und Studien 3 (Hildesheim 1975).

magic.[5] Second, there is a new wave of interest in such medieval Jewish magical texts as the so-called *Ḥarba de-Moshe* (the *Sword of Moses*), with its elaborate "sword" and the detailed instructions on how to use it.[6] Third, there is an ongoing interest in the so-called Hekhalot or Merkabah literature, including its magical rituals and their possible sources.[7] Fourth, there are the Genizah magical texts published piecemeal by Naveh and Shaked as well as by Michael Swartz and Larry Schiffman, and now included in Shaul Shaked and Peter Schäfer's ambitious corpus of *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Genizah*, which has already seen its second volume appear out of the planned three.[8] It is on these last texts that I wish to focus, in an attempt to show not only what already has been achieved, but also how much more remains to be done, not least by

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[5] See Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem 1985); *iid.*, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem 1993); note also the Mandaean amulets and demon bowls, for which see Christa Mueller-Kessler, "The Story of Bguzan-Lilit, Daughter of Zanay-Lilit," *JAOS* 116 (1996) 185-195, with further bibliography.

[6] Yuval Harari, *Ḥarba de-Moshe (The Sword of Moses): A New Edition and a Study* (Jerusalem 1997) (Heb.), and cf. *id.*, "If You Wish to Kill A Man: Aggressive Magic and the Defense Against it in Ancient Jewish Magic," *Jewish Studies* 37 (1997) 111-142 (Heb.). For a fascinating analysis of some of the *Sword*'s *voces magicae*, see Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, "From Sense to Nonsense, From Incantation Prayer to Magical Spell," *JSQ* 3 (1996) 24-46.

[7] See, e.g., Michael D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton 1996), and especially Rebecca Macy Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations, and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism*, Harvard Theological Studies 44 (Harrisburg, PA 1998), both with extensive bibliographies.

[8] For Naveh-Shaked, see the second item in n. 5 above; Lawrence H. Schiffman and Michael D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, Semitic Texts and Studies 1 (Sheffield 1992); Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 42 (Tübingen 1994 [vol. I], 1997 [vol. II]) (cited below as MTKG, with text-numbers for vol. I as listed in vol. II:24-25). See also the earlier publications of Genizah magical texts listed in MTKG I:12-13, including such publications as Richard Gottheil and William H. Worrell, *Fragments from the Cairo Genizah in the Freer Collection* (New York 1927) (nos. xv and xxiv).

papyrologists, who have so far taken little note of much of this material.[9]

The magical texts in the Cairo Genizah are of an extremely wide variety.[10] Linguistically, they include Hebrew, Aramaic, and Judeo-Arabic texts. Chronologically, the documents themselves range roughly from the 10th to the 13th centuries, but the texts they preserve often are considerably older. In terms of their forms, they include the usual assortment of recipe books, individual recipes, curses, amulets for named individuals, and so on. In terms of contents, they defy any consistent classification, and range all the way from parabiblical materials, halakhic texts, and mystico-magical texts of the type popular in the Hekhalot or Merkabah literature, all the way to recipes and amulets that would look suspiciously familiar to anyone dealing with Greek, Demotic, or Coptic magical texts.

Given this wide variety of materials, these texts are not all of equal relevance for the papyrologist.[11] Viewed from his or her perspective, the material may broadly be divided in three. First, there are those texts whose contents are so far removed from the earlier forms of Mediterranean magic as to be of little interest to a

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[9] In citing Genizah texts, the follwing abbreviations are used: JTSL = Jewish Theological Seminary Library; JTSL ENA = E. N. Adler collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary; T.-S. = Taylor-Schechter Collection, Cambridge.

[10] For a useful survey of the Genizah magical texts, see Steven M. Wasserstrom, "The Magical Texts in the Cairo Genizah," in Joshua Blau and Stefan C. Reif (eds.), *Genizah Research after Ninety Years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic* (Cambridge 1992) 160-166; cf. also Schiffman-Swartz (above, n. 8), 11-62, with the broader survey in Peter Schäfer, "Jewish Magic Literature in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," *JJS* 41 (1990) 75-91, and the more specific, but highly suggestive, study by Michael D. Swartz, "Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah," *HTR* 83 (1990) 163-180. For the whole issue of (Rabbinic and later) Judaism and magic, see now Giuseppe Veltri, *Magie und Halakha*, TSAJ 62 (Tübingen 1997), as well as the older work by Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York 1939).

[11] I note in passing two additional publications which are of some interest for the study of Genizah magic: Haskell D. Isaacs, *Medical and Para-Medical Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge 1994); and Nicholas de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, TSAJ 51 (Tübingen 1996).

papyrologist. For example, one recipe provides an "updated" version of the biblical ritual for detecting whether a woman suspected of adultery is indeed guilty.[12] In the biblical version (Num. 5:11-31), a priest was needed to conduct the ritual, and it had to be carried out within the sacred precincts. But with the Jewish Temple destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE, the Genizah text provides detailed guidelines for executing the ritual even under these new conditions. For anyone interested in the development of Jewish ritual, this is a fascinating text; the papyrologist, however, might find here little that is of interest, except, perhaps, the few lines of *voces magicae* embedded in the text. Similarly, one may point to a Muslim booklet of divination, replete with Quranic citations, which was already published in 1907.[13] The text is extremely interesting in its own right, as well as for having been copied by a Jewish scribe in Hebrew characters and preserved in the Genizah of a medieval synagogue. The papyrologist, however, again might find little interest in such a text, except perhaps for its vague resemblance to the ancient books of *sortes*.

This brings us to a second type of magical text to be found in the Cairo Genizah, namely those that can at the very least provide the papyrologist with valuable parallels to the materials found in the magical texts of the Greco-Roman period. There are, for example, numerous Genizah texts that deal with pharmacopoea and iatromagical practices. These include a host of useful recipes: to drive away fleas, smear your walls with watermelon; to make your hair thick and black, smear it with myrtle-oil; and so on.[14] Apart from their possible practical appeal for poor students or their aging professors, such recipes could provide numerous comparanda for the study of late antique pharmacopoea and the iatromagical arts. In fact, some of these recipes may even have been translated from Greek originals, as might be implied by the multitude of Greek loan

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[12] See MTKG I, 1 (JTSL ENA 3635.17), and Giuseppe Veltri, "*Inyan Sota*: Halakhische Voraussetzungen für einen magischen Akt nach einer theoretischen Abhandlung aus der Kairoer Geniza," *FJB* 20 (1993) 23-48.

[13] I. Friedländer, "A Muhammedan Book on Augury in Hebrew Characters," *JQR* 19 (1907) 84-103.

[14] Both suggestions may be found in MTKG I, 9 (T.-S. K 1.146), together with other useful recipes.

words they display. Such texts also provide a rich collection of *voces magicae*, including some that are well known to students of late antique magic, such as αβραξας, σεσεγγενβαρφαραγγης, μαρμαραωθ, υεσεμμιγαδων, and so on. Such attestations can help us trace the vagaries of many individual *voces* in their travels from the Greek or Egyptian magical texts to the Semitic ones, and sometimes even shed some light on their possible origins and original meanings.[15]

But the most important category of Cairo Genizah magical texts, from a papyrologist's perspective, are those that can be shown to be derived directly from Greek, Coptic, Latin, and other "foreign" prototypes, and it is to two such examples that the rest of this paper will be devoted. The first of these is a fragment consisting of the first and last two pages of a booklet of magical recipes (paper, 11th cent.), whose original size cannot be determined.[16] The first two pages contain a list of divine names followed by a recipe, in Hebrew and Aramaic, for general protection against every demon and evil spirit. This is followed by another copy of the above-mentioned recipe for the woman suspected of adultery, of which only the beginning is preserved, written in Hebrew, but with an Arabic title. The last two pages of the booklet are mostly written in a mixture of Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic, and contain recipes geared exclusively toward aggressive magic. Such a thematic grouping of recipes with similar aims within a single section of a recipe book is, of course, well-known from the Demotic, Greek, and Coptic magical papyri, and is readily explained by the magicians' need to know in advance where in their booklets they must look for different kinds of recipes. This Jewish magician, or one of his predecessors, apparently chose to keep the most violent recipes at the very end of his collection.

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[15] I hope to turn to this issue at greater length elsewhere. The reader must beware, however, of some "pseudo-*voces*." For example, in Naveh-Shaked, *Magic Spells* (above, n. 5), G11 (T.-S. K 1.19), col. 4, l. 9, the word נ׳סטוקוס (*nysṭwqws*) is not a *vox magica*, but a tranliteration of νηστικός, and is part of the recipe's ritual instructions—"and let him drink it *on an empty stomach*."

[16] MTKG I, 2 (T.-S. K 1.56).

The first of the extant aggressive recipes, whose beginning is missing, is for sending fever and illness upon someone, and is written in a mixture of Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic:

> [beginning missing...] and Gabriel, and with him the power of fever and chill and tertiary fever[17] on so-and-so son of so-and-so (or, semi-tertiary fever[18]), in the name of these qṭyryʾ: ʾ b g d [magic sign].[19] Fling fever and [chi]ll and tertiary fever on so-and-so son of so-and-so, and he shall be abandoned (?) for his life without a bed to heal (?) him, and he shall suffer every affliction, and he shall have no recovery from anyone but me, I, amen, amen, sela.

This recipe is interesting not only for its invocation of the קטיריא (*qṭyryʾ*), which, as the editors note, are none other than the famous χαρακτῆρες, well known to every student of late antique magic,[20] or for his use of Greek medical terminology, but also for its use of the same editorial conventions found in the Greek Magical Papyri. For contrary to the editors' translation, the word או (*ʾw*) in the second line of this recipe probably is not a misplaced *vox magica*, but the Hebrew word for "or," indicating a parenthetical gloss and probably referring to a variant reading found in another copy of the same recipe. Such "editorial" notes are, of course, quite common in the PGM, and the Jewish magicians probably inherited the practice from their Gentile predecessors, or unwittingly left such parenthetical remarks while translating their Greek sources.[21]

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[17] טרטיה (*ṭrṭyh*), i.e., τριταῖος.

[18] פלגות טרטיה, i.e., "half a *ṭrṭyh*"—the Aramaic equivalent of ἡμιτριταῖος.

[19] Note that the scribe adds a supralinear stroke above the "signs" ʾ b g d, and that the fifth sign is of the common "ring letter" type.

[20] For the later life of these magical signs, see e.g. H.A. Winkler, *Siegel und Character in der Muhhammedanischen Zauberei* (Berlin and Leipzig 1930) 160-3. The Greek word χαρακτῆρες enters the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic texts as כלקטיריא (*klqṭyryʾ*), a normal r/l shift, but is soon divided in two, כל קטיריא, which later scribes understand as "all the קטיריא." This process was aided by the fact that קטיריא bears a close resemblence to the Aramaic word for "knots."

[21] See, e.g., A.D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," *JEA* 15 (1929) 219-235 (repr. in *Essays in Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart, 2 vols. [Cambridge, MA 1972] 1:176-188), esp. 220-222 (=1:177-179).

The second recipe is written in Judeo-Arabic, Aramaic, and a bit of Hebrew, and is even more revealing. It runs as follows:

> To annihilate (someone).[22] (Take) a sheet of lead and write in the first hour of the day, and bury it in a fresh grave: I adjure you, Anger, Rage, Fury, Wrath, and Destroyer, you angels who are in charge of[23] destroying all flesh; you, destroy the body of so-and-so son of so-and-so from the world, and do not delay him for even one hour. In the name of ghwdr yh yh wh Sabaoth, He who created the world in His wisdom and completed the earth in His intelligence, and created the first man from dust and returned him to dust, He will give you permission to destroy so-and-so son of so-and-so; and let the death of so-and-so son of so-and-so be in this hour of all hours and in this period of all periods. Amen, Amen, Selah.

This is, as the editors note, a typical late antique *defixio*, lead tablet and all, fresh grave and all. It is, of course, a Jewish *defixio*, and reflects well the tendency of most late antique Jewish magicians to avoid the blatantly "pagan" *historiolae* favored by their non-Jewish colleagues. It is also very typical in that while Jewish magicians readily adjured God's angels and other cosmic powers, and often did so in God's name, they normally refrained from adjuring God himself.[24] But there is more to this specific recipe than first meets the eye, for it ends with two more words, תלי יתיה (*tly ytyh*), which the editors translate as "Hänge es auf." This is, indeed, what the Aramaic seems to say, but it is an unexpected instruction here—first, because the recipe already told us to bury the tablet in a grave; second, because *defixiones* certainly were not meant to be worn like amulets. The solution to this puzzle, it would seem, is that when an Aramaic-speaking scribe was mining Greek magical texts for useful recipes, he failed to understand one small detail.

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[22] Both here and in the next recipe, a later hand has added in the margin a note, in Arabic script, "For (sending) disease." Clearly, these additional "titles" do not accord fully with the contents of the recipes themselves.

[23] For the reading דממונים ("who are in charge of") instead of רחמנים ("merciful"), see the editors' note *ad loc*.

[24] For a similar tendency (by no means universal) to avoid "pagan" images, see below, n. 55.

The Greek recipe ended with τέλει (αὐτόν), "consecrate it," a common ending for such recipes.[25] The translator, however, missed the point, and simply transliterated the verb τέλει as תלי, "hang," as if it was an amulet he was about to prepare.

Following this recipe is another recipe for killing a person, this time in Aramaic, with a few Biblical verses, which are quoted in Hebrew. This recipe shows no clear sign of non-Jewish origins or influence—clear proof, if proof were needed, of the highly eclectic nature of such magical collections. As this recipe is of little interest for the present discussion, we leave it aside and turn to the last two recipes, found on the very last page of this magical booklet (see Plate 4). Let us begin with the second recipe, which is written in Judeo-Arabic:

> A recipe for (causing) ophthalmia. Write on Tuesday, in the hour of Mars, on a clean sheet of paper, with ink, and insert in it a steel needle, and bury it in a moist place. And this is what you shall write: [Three lines of "magic signs"]. In the power of these names, strike so-and-so daughter of so-and-so with ophthalmia, now now quickly quickly, strike so-and-so daughter of so-and-so with ophthalmia. [Two more lines of "magic signs"]. Strike so-and-so daughter of so-and-so with ophthalmia, now now quickly quickly.

Students of Greco-Roman magic surely would note the habit of giving each recipe a title, the astrological instructions ("Tuesday, in the hour of Mars"), and especially the Arabic equivalent of the Greek (and Coptic) ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ, the battle-cry of late antique magicians.[26] What is far more interesting, however, and entirely ignored by the editors, is that the "magical signs" of lines 14 to 16 are not typical *characteres*, and seem suspiciously reminiscent of Coptic letters. This is especially true for line 16, where we see the "sign" ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, the commonest abbreviation for "Christ" in Coptic religious and magical texts (the definite article ⲡ, the first and final letters of the name ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, and the supralinear stroke as an abbreviation mark). What we have here, in other words, is an

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[25] E.g., *PGM* XXXVI.48, 133; cf. *PGM* IV.1715.

[26] For more parallels in (non-Jewish) Arabic magical texts, see, e.g., Winkler (above, n. 20) 29 and *passim*.

invocation of Jesus Christ in a perfectly Jewish magical text.[27] With this in mind, we may even venture a guess as to the original identity of the obscure "signs" to the left of this monogram—first, what seems like ⲫⲧ, the Bohairic abbreviation of the word for "God,"[28] and next to it a somewhat effaced rendition of ⲓⲥ, the standard abbreviation for "Jesus." Thus, the original Coptic text, of which this copy is a (distant) copy, probably contained a typical Coptic invocation of "God Jesus Christ." As for the other "signs," many of which closely resemble Coptic letters, I cannot yet offer any coherent reading, beyond pointing to what might be fragments of real Coptic words, such as "ϵⲧⲣϩω-" in lines 14-15, or of possible Greek loan-words, such as "ε(?)χιδ(?)ν-" in line 15. More revealing, the end of line 16 seems to read ⲡⲡϵⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ (or, less plausibly, ⲡⲡϵⲧⲁⲗⲟ̄), "the sheet" (Gr. πέταλον). This would fit well into the magical context, especially as its Arabic equivalent, ורקה (which we translated as "sheet of paper"), appears in the ritual instructions.[29] Thus, it seems likely that the "magical signs" of lines 14 to 16 include not only a Coptic invocation of Jesus, but also a garbled rendition of the original Coptic recipe of which the Judeo-Arabic section is a translation.

Here, then, there can be no doubt that someone was using an older Coptic recipe while concocting his own recipes in Judeo-Arabic. But who would be doing this? Given the lack of Coptic-

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[27] This is, of course, not the only occasion on which Jesus Christ was invoked by Jewish magicians—see, e.g., Rohrbacher-Sticker (above, n. 6) 27, n. 14. For several attempts (which I find unconvincing) to detect Jesus' presence in the Jewish Prayer-Book itself, see Y. Liebes, "Mazmiaḥ Qeren Yeshu'ah," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 3 (1983/4) 313-348 (Heb.), and *id.*, "The Angels of the Shofar and Yeshua Sar ha-Panim," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 6/2 (1987) 171-195 (Heb.).

[28] I owe this suggestion to Jacques van der Vliet, *per lit.* (18 Sept. 1999).

[29] This suggestion too I owe to Jacques van der Vliet, who adds that the preceding word might tentatively be read as ϩⲃⲥ-, "cover" (imperative). It should also be noted that the recurrent sequence of two or three circlets may not be *omicrons*, as might seem likely at first sight, but an attempt to render the word-dividers which the copiers of Coptic magical texts often inserted between their *voces magicae*, and occasionally between other words as well. For such word-dividers, see, e.g., Paul Mirecki, "The Coptic Wizard's Hoard," *HTR* 87 (1994), pp. 435-460, with the image in http://www.hti.umich.edu/exhibit/magic, no. 5.

Jewish linguistic contacts in medieval Egypt, a Jewish copyist hardly is likely to have worked directly from a Coptic original, but from an Arabic translation of an older Coptic recipe or from a bilingual Arabic/Coptic source. He may have received it directly from Christian hands,[30] but he is far more likely to have received it from a Muslim source—and we already mentioned some evidence for Jewish-Muslim magical contacts[31]—without ever realizing that it was Jesus Christ whom he was invoking among the powerful "signs" that were embedded in his *Vorlage*.[32]

With this in mind, we may turn to the previous recipe on this last page of the magician's booklet, it too in Judeo-Arabic:

> For (causing) bleeding:[33] Write on [...]-day, [in the hour of] Mars, with ink on a clean sheet of paper, and tie it in a red silk pouch and place it in a cypress-wood (?)[34] tube and bury it in a [....] water-stream which flows to the east. And this is what you shall write: God, the nations have entered your estate and defiled the holy shrine, and they turned Jerusalem into a jail.

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[30] As Meira Polliack informs me, several Arabic and Judeo-Arabic fragments of the New Testament have been found among the Cairo Genizah texts; see her "Arabic Bible Translations in the Cairo Genizah Collections," in U. Haxen (ed.), *Jewish Studies in a New Europe* (Copenhagen 1998) 595-620, esp. 618, n. 99.

[31] Above, n. 13; see also Shaul Shaked, "Between Judaism and Islam: Some Issues in Popular Religion," *Pe'amim* 60 (1994) 4-19 (Heb.), with further bibliography.

[32] For a close parallel, in 19th-century Yemen, see the wonderful story quoted by Daniel Sperber, *Magic and Folklore in Rabbinic Literature* (Ramat Gan 1994) 89-90.

[33] As Paul Mirecki kindly pointed out to me, this recipe may not be aggressive but medical, intended to cause a menstrual period to begin (for such recipes, see *PGM* LXII.76-106 and O. Strass. D 1338 (in Robert K. Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic Spells and their Religious context," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3333-3379, no. 7 3343-44)). Unfortunately, there seems to be a certain inconsistency in the "victim"'s gender throughout the spell, as noted below.

[34] The word קן[.]פארסי in lines 2-3, which the editors translate as "von persischem ???," might be a transliteration of κυπαρίσσινος; for the use of cypress-wood in aggressive magic, see Ulrike Horak and Christian Gastgeber, "Zwei Beispiele angewandter Bildmagie: Ein griechischer Diebszauber und ein "verknotetes" Sator-Quadrat," *Biblos* 44 (1995) 197-225, on 207, n. 39.

> They turned the corpses of your servants into food for the birds of heaven, and the bodies of your followers for the wild beasts of the earth. They shed their blood around Jerusalem (Ps. 79.1-3). Likewise shed the blood of so-and-so son[35] of so-and-so, [in (the name of) I-am]-who-I-am, Lord, El Shadai, shed the blood of so-and-so son[36] [of so-and-so? ...] in hh yhhh yhhh in yh yyw, in the Explicit Name, in the name of YHWH the God of the Hosts, hear, you angels who are appointed for this recipe, that you will shed the blood of the daughter[37] of so-and-so now now, quickly quickly.

Once again, we may note the astrological instructions and the "now now, quickly quickly." In this case, there are no obvious signs of Coptic influence, but a careful examination shows that this recipe too came from the same magical booklet which our Jewish scribe was utilizing. First, the recipe contains only a few Hebrew words, unlike all the previous spells in this recipe-book, and it cites even the biblical verses in an Arabic translation, unlike most other Cairo Genizah magical texts, which cite their biblical sources in the original Hebrew. Second, not only does this version of Ps. 79:1-3 differ greatly from Saadiah's Arabic translation of the Psalms,[38] it also diverges from the Hebrew text in a most significant way. Thus, to give the most obvious example, the original Hebrew phrase "they have turned Jerusalem into a heap of ruins (לְעִיִּים)," is here translated as "they have turned Jerusalem into a jail (מחבס)." Such an unusual translation would make little sense if we assume a single step from the Hebrew to the Arabic version, but is readily explicable once we assume a Greek or Coptic version as an intermediary

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[35] Or "daughter" ('פ 'ב 'פ).

[36] The reading is uncertain here, but the final *nun* of the word בן ("son of") seems clear.

[37] The reading בנת ("daughter of") is certain.

[38] For which see J. Qafiḥ, *The Book of Psalms with Translation and Commentary by R. Saadiah Gaon* (Jerusalem 1966) 189-90 (Heb.). For the other Arabic translations of the Psalms available at the time, see Georg Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur* (Vatican 1944) 1:114-126; for a more recent overview, see Meira Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation*, Études sur le Judaïsme Médiéval, 17 (Leiden 1997) 3-22.

between the two, for the LXX translation of the word as ὀπωροφυλάκιον is followed by the Coptic Bible's ⲘⲁⲚϩⲁⲢⲈϩ, "a place for arresting."[39] Given the low likelihood that our scribe was working from a Greek model, it seems clear that he was using the same Arabic source as in the second recipe, and that that source used the same Coptic source as before. Finally, a modern Christian Arabic recipe-book, still in use in Egypt in the early 1970s, contains a recipe for making a woman bleed[40] whose similarity to the Genizah recipe leaves no doubt concerning their common ancestor. Both, it seems, stem from an older Coptic recipe.[41]

So much for this recipe book, and for a Jew's use of a Christian recipe in which the destruction of the Jewish Temple served as a paradigmatic *historiola*. Our next example is no less intriguing, and perhaps even more so.[42] It is a single folio (parchment, 10-11th cent.) with several recipes, all of them of a strictly gynaecological content—yet another example of the thematic arrangement of some recipe-collections. Unfortunately, the top third is broken off, which makes it difficult to reconstruct some of the recipes, or even to decide whether this was a free-standing sheet or a page from a larger collection.[43] One page (1b) contains what seem like the more traditional Jewish recipes, replete with references to Sara, Hana, and other biblical heroines whose pregnancies ended a long period of barrenness. The other page (1a; see Plate 5) begins with a badly damaged recipe, but as the preserved section contains a pastiche of biblical verses dealing with child-bearing and womb-opening, we may deduce that the recipe was intended for opening the womb of a

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[39] See A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, Septuaginta... Gottingensis, vol. X (Göttingen 1979) 218, and *id.*, *Die Berliner Handschrift des Sahidischen Psalters*, Abh. köning. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Ph.-Hist. Kl., N.F. IV/4 (Berlin 1901) 115.

[40] Again, it is not clear whether the aim is aggressive or medical. Cf. above, n. 33.

[41] N.H. Henein and T. Bianquis, *La magie par les psaumes*, Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes, 12 (Cairo 1975) 69 (Fr.) and 60 (Ar.). I hope to explore this issue and its implications at greater length elsewhere.

[42] MTKG I, 8 (T.-S. K 1.157).

[43] As the editors note, the letter ה on the margin of line 14 of the "verso" might indicate that this was the 5th page, or section, of a larger collection.

barren woman, and that it too probably contained mostly traditional Jewish motifs and elements. One may note, however, the editorial comment at the recipe's very end—"tested (בדיק). Write on silver and hang it (on the patient)." The claim that a recipe has been tested and found effective is found on numerous Genizah recipes, either at the very beginning or at the very end of the recipe, and it too finds numerous parallels in such *PGM* formulae as δόκιμον, which the Greek-speaking magicians placed at exactly these positions in their recipes.[44]

The second recipe, from line 11 to the end of the page, runs as follows:

> In the name of ʾdr mnh ʾdr mnh ʾdr [... ca. 20 letters ...] the womb[45] of so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so, in the one who sits [...] heavens [... ca. 13 letters ...] and light and darkness, I adjure you [by the one] who created all the holy ancient angels: knʾnwk knbwk khfyʾn zwf shrys qʾyṭwn pryṭwn ṭryno,[46] who sits [on] the Cherubim who carry the precious throne. I adjure you, that you remove yourself to your place, you, the womb of so-and-so daughter of so-and-so, (and) not to move not to the right side nor to the left side, and you shall not swell like a dog and strangle the heart of so-and-so daughter of so-and-so. You shall remain in your place and your location (?), and stay quietly in your place. I adjure you by the one who created you: stay in your place, where you were created. Amen amen sela. yw yh yy yh [magic signs] ʾbgd sela.

This recipe has already been studied not only by the MTKG editors, but also by Giuseppe Veltri and Hans Dieter Betz, and so we shall merely add a few short notes.[47] As noted by all these scholars, this

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[44] E.g., MTKG I, 10 (T.-S. K 1.28), 1a/2: בחון ומנוסה ("tested and tried"), and the other examples adduced in the editors' note *ad loc*.

[45] מיטרא (*myṭrʾ*), i.e., μήτρα, a common loan-word in Aramaic and Hebrew.

[46] Note that the scribe supplies supralinear dots above the *voces magicae*, and word-separators between them—both practices well-known from the Greek and Coptic magical texts.

[47] Giuseppe Veltri, "Zur Überlieferung medizinisch-magischer Traditionen: Das μήτρα-Motiv in den *Papyri Magicae* und der Kairoer Geniza," *Henoch* 18 (1996) 157-175; Hans Dieter Betz, "Jewish Magic in the Greek Magical Papyri,"

recipe is not only of a well-known type of Greek uterine recipes for keeping the womb in check, it is remarkably close to one specific recipe, namely *PGM* VII.260-271. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this similarity is the strange expression in line 19, where the magician adjures the womb that ולא תפחין איך כלב, "you shall not swell up like a dog," or, as the German translators put it, "dass du nicht anschwillst wie ein Hund." The dog does not seem to belong here, and can only be explained as a mistranslation of a Greek phrase ὡc κύων, which indeed is found in *PGM* VII.268. The poor translator, in other words, entirely failed to comprehend a pun in his Greek source, ending up with a swelling dog (κύων as a noun) instead of a swollen, impregnated uterus (κύων as a participle).

In light of such an error, there is little doubt that the Aramaic recipe of the Cairo Genizah is a descendant of a Greek recipe, and not the other way around (but the Greek recipe itself *may*, of course, ultimately go back to some Jewish prototype).[48] This may also explain another apparent misunderstanding, at the very beginning of the recipe, for whereas the Greek recipe begins with a proper title, πρὸc μήτραc ἀναδρομήν, the Aramaic version begins "In the name of ʾdr mnh ʾdr mnh ʾdr...". Unfortunately, this and the previous line are too mutilated to allow any certainty, but I am inclined to agree with the editors that some ancient Jewish translator may have failed to understand the Greek title in front of him, and thought that πρός ἀναδρομήν was an invocation of an unknown power, *anadrome*, whom he quickly turned into "ʾdr mnh."[49]

Be that as it may, once we conclude that the Aramaic recipe is based on a Greek ancestor, we can ask ourselves what that Greek recipe may have looked like. It is here that the Genizah text becomes most interesting for the papyrologist, for while the Greek recipe on which it was based was quite like *PGM* VII.260-271, it

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in Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kippenberg (eds.), *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (Leiden 1997) 45-63.

[48] Cf. Morton Smith, "The Jewish Elements in the Magical Papyri," in *id.*, *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh*, 2 vols., Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 130 (Leiden 1996) 2:242-256, esp. 251.

[49] MTKG I:116.

also differed from it in many important details.[50] What we have here, in other words, is an excellent example of a magical recipe which circulated in more than one version, each version different from the next.[51] The Genizah text, once properly re-translated into Greek—and this is no easy task, given the translator's errors,[52] and the possibility of further changes to the Aramaic text long after the translation itself—would supply us with important evidence for a recipe that was a variant of a recipe we already have.

But this is not all. A look at the recipe itself, at the very left corner of lines 21 and 22, reveals a familiar sign. It is the uterus-and-key symbol, well known from numerous Greek uterine amulets engraved on hematite and other gems.[53] As far as I know, this sign has so far been attested *only* on the magical gems, and not on any of the extant Greek Magical Papyri. Such discrepancies raise the thorny issue of the exact relations between magical papyri and magical gems, since quite a few symbols and *voces* appear in one of these corpora but not in the other.[54] But the Aramaic copyist of our recipe certainly did not find this symbol on a magical gem; he must have found it on the Greek recipe he had in front of him. This, then, is yet another difference between the recipe of *PGM* VII.260-271

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[50] See the helpful synoptic presentation of the two recipes in Veltri, *ibid.*, 164-166.

[51] For the best-known example of this phenomenon, see David G. Martinez, *A Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P. Mich. 757)*, ASP 30 (=P. Michigan XVI) (Atlanta, GA 1991) 6-20.

[52] Note especially the sequence "q'yṭwn pryṭwn ṭryno," which the translator apparently transliterated from his Greek source, without realizing that this was Greek, and not *voces magicae*. Presumably, the Greek recipe in front of him had something like καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν θρόνον ("I adjure you... *and by the (angels) who are around (God's) throne* etc."), and the translator then added the reference to the throne in his Aramaic text. For other possible reconstructions of the Greek phrase, cf. Veltri, "Zur Überlieferung," 168-9.

[53] As was noted also by Betz, "Jewish Magic," 50, n. 28. For the sign itself, see Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor 1950) 79-94, and Robert K. Ritner, "A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection," *JNES* 43 (1984), 209-221, with further bibliography.

[54] See esp. Morton Smith, "Relations Between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems," in *Actes du XVe congrès international de papyrologie*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 18 (Brussels 1979) 3:129-135.

and the Aramaic magician's Greek *Vorlage*. It also provides us with indirect evidence for a Greek recipe that contained the uterine symbol, the same symbol we see on so many uterine gems.[55] Here too, as in other cases, it becomes clear that the discrepancies between what we find on the gems and what we find in the papyri are due in large part to the uneven preservation of the evidence. The Cairo Genizah, in other words, can provide us with some glimpses of Greco-Egyptian magic independent of, but parallel to, the Greek Magical Papyri that we already have.

Following this recipe, we get two or three lines of blank space, followed by a very short recipe:

> And this is the name of impurity for conceiving: [magic signs]. I adjure you, names that are written in impurity, in the name of ṭwṭnys[56] and in dyws and qly spwn and sr' sys 'npyrh and sypypys, that you shall open the womb of so-and-so daughter of so-and-so, and you [shall not] delay it one hour.

At the margin of this recipe, a second hand added וזה בדיק, "And this is tested," and the same hand added two more lines of magical signs, and perhaps also a few Aramaic words, below the recipe. Unfortunately, these are mostly lost due to a tear at the bottom of the page.

In commenting on this recipe, the editors correctly note that there seem to be invocations of pagan deities embedded in its *voces magicae*—"sr' sys" sounds remarkably similar to Sarapis, and "dyws" may well be the Latin *deus*, or, which I find more likely, the Greek Δίοc. "Ṭwṭnys" too might have began his life as Thoth, but given the high frequency of "thoth" names in Jewish mystical and magical texts (for which see the editors' note *ad loc.*), this is far less certain. But the most intriguing part of this recipe—and this has not been noted by the previous commentators—are the "magical signs" in line 25, signs which look suspiciously like Demotic writing. Being only an amateur when it comes to Demotic, I showed this

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[55] One may note, moreover, that in the Greek original the "key" probably was turned by a god such as Anubis or Thoth, as on many magical gems, but the Genizah recipe replaces the god with a more abstract figure. Apparently, the image was too "idolatrous" for a Jewish copyist to stomach (cf. above, n. 24).

[56] Note the supralinear stroke above this *vox*, but not above its neighbors.

text to several experts, most of whom confirmed that the signs look very much like Demotic, but could not make much sense of the "text" as it now stands.[57] Given the difficulties of copying obscure signs in an unknown language, and considering the likelihood that the Genizah recipe is a copy of a copy of some original borrowing from an ancient *Vorlage*, the difficulty of deciphering the Demotic—if this is what the signs really are—is hardly surprising. Nonetheless, the possibility should be borne in mind that a Jewish scribe, working from some bilingual original, not only translated a Greek recipe with its "pagan" invocations, but also tried to imitate the Demotic signs he saw before him, signs that seemed to him quite mysterious and powerful. Unknowingly following in his footsteps, the Jewish magicians of the 10th and 11th centuries were still invoking Sarapis, and even "writing" Demotic, in spite of the fact that both the Egyptian gods and the Egyptian writing systems have been dead for some six centuries.[58] The neighbor's magic is always stronger and the older a spell the better it must be, and so we find magic rituals, names, and figures migrating from one culture to another and from one generation to the next. Consequently, a thorough acquaintance with Greco-Roman magic is a prerequisite for any detailed study of the Genizah magical texts. Sometimes, however, it is the Genizah texts that can help us reconstruct some long-lost fragments of Greek, Coptic, and bilingual magical papyri.

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[57] I am grateful to Terry Wilfong, Robert Ritner, Janet Johnson, and John Tait, who confirmed the similarity to Demotic, and to Willy Clarysse, who denied it.

[58] Note, however, the extensive evidence for the "survival" of the Egyptian gods, for which see Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, Bollingen Series, 38 (New York 1953; orig. French ed. 1940), or S. Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten* (Zurich 1961). A study of the fate of the Egyptian gods in the Jewish magical and religious traditions remains a desideratum.

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Greek, Coptic, and Jewish Magic in the Cairo Genizah
(Plates 4-5)

The current decade has witnessed a wave of publications of new sources for the study of ancient Jewish magic. Most of these new texts are written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Judeo-Arabic (Arabic written in Hebrew characters), and therefore fall outside the papyrologist's common sphere of interest. And yet, given the well-known tendency of magical rituals, names, and figures to migrate from one culture to another and from one generation to the next, it often is possible for the student of late antique magic to learn more about one magical tradition by examining others. Thus, the aim of the following paper is to survey some of the recent developments in the study of ancient Jewish magic, and point to their possible contribution to the study of that "international" magic of the Greco-Roman world that papyrologists have done so much to illuminate.[1]

A bird's-eye view of the recent scholarship on ancient Jewish magic reveals two separate clusters of activity.[2] On the one hand, the recent upswing in the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls has made available numerous fragments of magical and quasi-magical contents which previously were unavailable, or only partly available. This spate of publications has now made possible some

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[1] This paper is dedicated to the memory of Evasio Di Marcellis ("Father Di"), for his Coptic, his wine, and his wonderful sense of humor. An earlier version was read at the 22nd International Congress of Papyrologists (Florence, Aug. 23-29, 1998), but as the final version grew too long for the *Atti*, I publish it here.

[2] Both are briefly surveyed by Joseph Naveh, "On Ancient Jewish Magical Recipe Books," in A. Oppenheimer, I. Gafni and D. Schwartz (eds.), *The Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, Menahem Stern Memorial Volume (Jerusalem 1996) 453-465 (Heb.). In the following notes I refer especially, but not exclusively, to works not included in William M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994)," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3380-3684.

preliminary surveys of the Qumran magical texts, and a rough division between magical texts which clearly belong in the peculiar thought-world of the Dead Sea Sect, and those which display no sign of the specific sectarian idiom or mentality, and probably were brought to Qumran from the outside Jewish world.[3] For the student of Greco-Roman magic, the most interesting aspect of this literature is that it provides a much better sense of what ancient Jewish magic looked like before it was "contaminated" by Greco-Egyptian influences of the kind visible on every page of *Sepher Ha-Razim*.[4] What we have here, in other words, is a glimpse of Jewish magic before it influenced, and was influenced by, the "international," "multicultural" magic of late antiquity. Given the prominence of some Jewish elements in such texts as the Greek Magical Papyri, and the paucity of the previously available specimens of pre-*PGM* Jewish magic, the Qumran materials should prove useful for the study of late antique magic as a whole. That subject, however, need not detain us here.

The second cluster of activity revolves around the much larger, and much better preserved, corpus of late antique and medieval Jewish texts which is now coming to light. First, there are the amulets and the demon bowls, written in Aramaic, Syriac, and Hebrew, which are by now well known to students of ancient

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[3] For a general survey of Qumran magic, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Magical Materials in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for the Date and Provenance of Jewish Magical Traditions" (forthcoming). I am grateful to the author for providing me with a copy of this paper. See also W.J. Lyons and A.M. Reimer, "The Demonic Virus and Qumran Studies: Some Preventative Measures," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5 (1998) 16-32.

[4] For which see M. Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim* (Jerusalem 1966) (Heb.), Michael A. Morgan (tr.), *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries* (Chico, CA 1983), and Jens-Heinrich Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln aus dem "Buch der Geheimnisse" (Sefär ha-Razim): Zur Topologie der magischen Rede*, Judäistische Texte und Studien 3 (Hildesheim 1975).

magic.[5] Second, there is a new wave of interest in such medieval Jewish magical texts as the so-called *Ḥarba de-Moshe* (the *Sword of Moses*), with its elaborate "sword" and the detailed instructions on how to use it.[6] Third, there is an ongoing interest in the so-called Hekhalot or Merkabah literature, including its magical rituals and their possible sources.[7] Fourth, there are the Genizah magical texts published piecemeal by Naveh and Shaked as well as by Michael Swartz and Larry Schiffman, and now included in Shaul Shaked and Peter Schäfer's ambitious corpus of *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Genizah*, which has already seen its second volume appear out of the planned three.[8] It is on these last texts that I wish to focus, in an attempt to show not only what already has been achieved, but also how much more remains to be done, not least by

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[5] See Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem 1985); *iid.*, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem 1993); note also the Mandaean amulets and demon bowls, for which see Christa Mueller-Kessler, "The Story of Bguzan-Lilit, Daughter of Zanay-Lilit," *JAOS* 116 (1996) 185-195, with further bibliography.

[6] Yuval Harari, *Ḥarba de-Moshe (The Sword of Moses): A New Edition and a Study* (Jerusalem 1997) (Heb.), and cf. *id.*, "If You Wish to Kill A Man: Aggressive Magic and the Defense Against it in Ancient Jewish Magic," *Jewish Studies* 37 (1997) 111-142 (Heb.). For a fascinating analysis of some of the *Sword*'s *voces magicae*, see Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, "From Sense to Nonsense, From Incantation Prayer to Magical Spell," *JSQ* 3 (1996) 24-46.

[7] See, e.g., Michael D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton 1996), and especially Rebecca Macy Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations, and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism*, Harvard Theological Studies 44 (Harrisburg, PA 1998), both with extensive bibliographies.

[8] For Naveh-Shaked, see the second item in n. 5 above; Lawrence H. Schiffman and Michael D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, Semitic Texts and Studies 1 (Sheffield 1992); Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 42 (Tübingen 1994 [vol. I], 1997 [vol. II]) (cited below as MTKG, with text-numbers for vol. I as listed in vol. II:24-25). See also the earlier publications of Genizah magical texts listed in MTKG I:12-13, including such publications as Richard Gottheil and William H. Worrell, *Fragments from the Cairo Genizah in the Freer Collection* (New York 1927) (nos. xv and xxiv).

papyrologists, who have so far taken little note of much of this material.[9]

The magical texts in the Cairo Genizah are of an extremely wide variety.[10] Linguistically, they include Hebrew, Aramaic, and Judeo-Arabic texts. Chronologically, the documents themselves range roughly from the 10th to the 13th centuries, but the texts they preserve often are considerably older. In terms of their forms, they include the usual assortment of recipe books, individual recipes, curses, amulets for named individuals, and so on. In terms of contents, they defy any consistent classification, and range all the way from parabiblical materials, halakhic texts, and mystico-magical texts of the type popular in the Hekhalot or Merkabah literature, all the way to recipes and amulets that would look suspiciously familiar to anyone dealing with Greek, Demotic, or Coptic magical texts.

Given this wide variety of materials, these texts are not all of equal relevance for the papyrologist.[11] Viewed from his or her perspective, the material may broadly be divided in three. First, there are those texts whose contents are so far removed from the earlier forms of Mediterranean magic as to be of little interest to a

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[9] In citing Genizah texts, the follwing abbreviations are used: JTSL = Jewish Theological Seminary Library; JTSL ENA = E. N. Adler collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary; T.-S. = Taylor-Schechter Collection, Cambridge.

[10] For a useful survey of the Genizah magical texts, see Steven M. Wasserstrom, "The Magical Texts in the Cairo Genizah," in Joshua Blau and Stefan C. Reif (eds.), *Genizah Research after Ninety Years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic* (Cambridge 1992) 160-166; cf. also Schiffman-Swartz (above, n. 8), 11-62, with the broader survey in Peter Schäfer, "Jewish Magic Literature in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," *JJS* 41 (1990) 75-91, and the more specific, but highly suggestive, study by Michael D. Swartz, "Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah," *HTR* 83 (1990) 163-180. For the whole issue of (Rabbinic and later) Judaism and magic, see now Giuseppe Veltri, *Magie und Halakha*, TSAJ 62 (Tübingen 1997), as well as the older work by Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York 1939).

[11] I note in passing two additional publications which are of some interest for the study of Genizah magic: Haskell D. Isaacs, *Medical and Para-Medical Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge 1994); and Nicholas de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, TSAJ 51 (Tübingen 1996).

papyrologist. For example, one recipe provides an "updated" version of the biblical ritual for detecting whether a woman suspected of adultery is indeed guilty.[12] In the biblical version (Num. 5:11-31), a priest was needed to conduct the ritual, and it had to be carried out within the sacred precincts. But with the Jewish Temple destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE, the Genizah text provides detailed guidelines for executing the ritual even under these new conditions. For anyone interested in the development of Jewish ritual, this is a fascinating text; the papyrologist, however, might find here little that is of interest, except, perhaps, the few lines of *voces magicae* embedded in the text. Similarly, one may point to a Muslim booklet of divination, replete with Quranic citations, which was already published in 1907.[13] The text is extremely interesting in its own right, as well as for having been copied by a Jewish scribe in Hebrew characters and preserved in the Genizah of a medieval synagogue. The papyrologist, however, again might find little interest in such a text, except perhaps for its vague resemblance to the ancient books of *sortes*.

This brings us to a second type of magical text to be found in the Cairo Genizah, namely those that can at the very least provide the papyrologist with valuable parallels to the materials found in the magical texts of the Greco-Roman period. There are, for example, numerous Genizah texts that deal with pharmacopoea and iatromagical practices. These include a host of useful recipes: to drive away fleas, smear your walls with watermelon; to make your hair thick and black, smear it with myrtle-oil; and so on.[14] Apart from their possible practical appeal for poor students or their aging professors, such recipes could provide numerous comparanda for the study of late antique pharmacopoea and the iatromagical arts. In fact, some of these recipes may even have been translated from Greek originals, as might be implied by the multitude of Greek loan

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[12] See MTKG I, 1 (JTSL ENA 3635.17), and Giuseppe Veltri, "*Inyan Sota*: Halakhische Voraussetzungen für einen magischen Akt nach einer theoretischen Abhandlung aus der Kairoer Geniza," *FJB* 20 (1993) 23-48.

[13] I. Friedländer, "A Muhammedan Book on Augury in Hebrew Characters," *JQR* 19 (1907) 84-103.

[14] Both suggestions may be found in MTKG I, 9 (T.-S. K 1.146), together with other useful recipes.

words they display. Such texts also provide a rich collection of *voces magicae*, including some that are well known to students of late antique magic, such as αβραξας, σεσεγγενβαρφαραγγης, μαρμαραωθ, υεσεμμιγαδων, and so on. Such attestations can help us trace the vagaries of many individual *voces* in their travels from the Greek or Egyptian magical texts to the Semitic ones, and sometimes even shed some light on their possible origins and original meanings.[15]

But the most important category of Cairo Genizah magical texts, from a papyrologist's perspective, are those that can be shown to be derived directly from Greek, Coptic, Latin, and other "foreign" prototypes, and it is to two such examples that the rest of this paper will be devoted. The first of these is a fragment consisting of the first and last two pages of a booklet of magical recipes (paper, 11th cent.), whose original size cannot be determined.[16] The first two pages contain a list of divine names followed by a recipe, in Hebrew and Aramaic, for general protection against every demon and evil spirit. This is followed by another copy of the above-mentioned recipe for the woman suspected of adultery, of which only the beginning is preserved, written in Hebrew, but with an Arabic title. The last two pages of the booklet are mostly written in a mixture of Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic, and contain recipes geared exclusively toward aggressive magic. Such a thematic grouping of recipes with similar aims within a single section of a recipe book is, of course, well-known from the Demotic, Greek, and Coptic magical papyri, and is readily explained by the magicians' need to know in advance where in their booklets they must look for different kinds of recipes. This Jewish magician, or one of his predecessors, apparently chose to keep the most violent recipes at the very end of his collection.

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[15] I hope to turn to this issue at greater length elsewhere. The reader must beware, however, of some "pseudo-*voces*." For example, in Naveh-Shaked, *Magic Spells* (above, n. 5), G11 (T.-S. K 1.19), col. 4, l. 9, the word נ׳סטוקוס (*nysṭwqws*) is not a *vox magica*, but a tranliteration of νηστικός, and is part of the recipe's ritual instructions—"and let him drink it *on an empty stomach*."

[16] MTKG I, 2 (T.-S. K 1.56).

The first of the extant aggressive recipes, whose beginning is missing, is for sending fever and illness upon someone, and is written in a mixture of Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic:

> [beginning missing...] and Gabriel, and with him the power of fever and chill and tertiary fever[17] on so-and-so son of so-and-so (or, semi-tertiary fever[18]), in the name of these qṭyryʾ: ʾ b g d [magic sign].[19] Fling fever and [chi]ll and tertiary fever on so-and-so son of so-and-so, and he shall be abandoned (?) for his life without a bed to heal (?) him, and he shall suffer every affliction, and he shall have no recovery from anyone but me, I, amen, amen, sela.

This recipe is interesting not only for its invocation of the קטיריא (*qṭyryʾ*), which, as the editors note, are none other than the famous χαρακτῆρες, well known to every student of late antique magic,[20] or for his use of Greek medical terminology, but also for its use of the same editorial conventions found in the Greek Magical Papyri. For contrary to the editors' translation, the word או (*ʾw*) in the second line of this recipe probably is not a misplaced *vox magica*, but the Hebrew word for "or," indicating a parenthetical gloss and probably referring to a variant reading found in another copy of the same recipe. Such "editorial" notes are, of course, quite common in the PGM, and the Jewish magicians probably inherited the practice from their Gentile predecessors, or unwittingly left such parenthetical remarks while translating their Greek sources.[21]

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[17] טרטיה (*ṭrṭyh*), i.e., τριταῖος.

[18] פלגות טרטיה, i.e., "half a *ṭrṭyh*"—the Aramaic equivalent of ἡμιτριταῖος.

[19] Note that the scribe adds a supralinear stroke above the "signs" ʾ b g d, and that the fifth sign is of the common "ring letter" type.

[20] For the later life of these magical signs, see e.g. H.A. Winkler, *Siegel und Character in der Muhhammedanischen Zauberei* (Berlin and Leipzig 1930) 160-3. The Greek word χαρακτῆρες enters the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic texts as כלקטיריא (*klqṭyryʾ*), a normal r/l shift, but is soon divided in two, כל קטיריא, which later scribes understand as "all the קטיריא." This process was aided by the fact that קטיריא bears a close resemblence to the Aramaic word for "knots."

[21] See, e.g., A.D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," *JEA* 15 (1929) 219-235 (repr. in *Essays in Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart, 2 vols. [Cambridge, MA 1972] 1:176-188), esp. 220-222 (=1:177-179).

The second recipe is written in Judeo-Arabic, Aramaic, and a bit of Hebrew, and is even more revealing. It runs as follows:

> To annihilate (someone).[22] (Take) a sheet of lead and write in the first hour of the day, and bury it in a fresh grave: I adjure you, Anger, Rage, Fury, Wrath, and Destroyer, you angels who are in charge of[23] destroying all flesh; you, destroy the body of so-and-so son of so-and-so from the world, and do not delay him for even one hour. In the name of ghwdr yh yh wh Sabaoth, He who created the world in His wisdom and completed the earth in His intelligence, and created the first man from dust and returned him to dust, He will give you permission to destroy so-and-so son of so-and-so; and let the death of so-and-so son of so-and-so be in this hour of all hours and in this period of all periods. Amen, Amen, Selah.

This is, as the editors note, a typical late antique *defixio*, lead tablet and all, fresh grave and all. It is, of course, a Jewish *defixio*, and reflects well the tendency of most late antique Jewish magicians to avoid the blatantly "pagan" *historiolae* favored by their non-Jewish colleagues. It is also very typical in that while Jewish magicians readily adjured God's angels and other cosmic powers, and often did so in God's name, they normally refrained from adjuring God himself.[24] But there is more to this specific recipe than first meets the eye, for it ends with two more words, תלי יתיה (*tly ytyh*), which the editors translate as "Hänge es auf." This is, indeed, what the Aramaic seems to say, but it is an unexpected instruction here—first, because the recipe already told us to bury the tablet in a grave; second, because *defixiones* certainly were not meant to be worn like amulets. The solution to this puzzle, it would seem, is that when an Aramaic-speaking scribe was mining Greek magical texts for useful recipes, he failed to understand one small detail.

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[22] Both here and in the next recipe, a later hand has added in the margin a note, in Arabic script, "For (sending) disease." Clearly, these additional "titles" do not accord fully with the contents of the recipes themselves.

[23] For the reading דממונים ("who are in charge of") instead of רחמנים ("merciful"), see the editors' note *ad loc*.

[24] For a similar tendency (by no means universal) to avoid "pagan" images, see below, n. 55.

The Greek recipe ended with τέλει (αὐτόν), "consecrate it," a common ending for such recipes.[25] The translator, however, missed the point, and simply transliterated the verb τέλει as תלי, "hang," as if it was an amulet he was about to prepare.

Following this recipe is another recipe for killing a person, this time in Aramaic, with a few Biblical verses, which are quoted in Hebrew. This recipe shows no clear sign of non-Jewish origins or influence—clear proof, if proof were needed, of the highly eclectic nature of such magical collections. As this recipe is of little interest for the present discussion, we leave it aside and turn to the last two recipes, found on the very last page of this magical booklet (see Plate 4). Let us begin with the second recipe, which is written in Judeo-Arabic:

> A recipe for (causing) ophthalmia. Write on Tuesday, in the hour of Mars, on a clean sheet of paper, with ink, and insert in it a steel needle, and bury it in a moist place. And this is what you shall write: [Three lines of "magic signs"]. In the power of these names, strike so-and-so daughter of so-and-so with ophthalmia, now now quickly quickly, strike so-and-so daughter of so-and-so with ophthalmia. [Two more lines of "magic signs"]. Strike so-and-so daughter of so-and-so with ophthalmia, now now quickly quickly.

Students of Greco-Roman magic surely would note the habit of giving each recipe a title, the astrological instructions ("Tuesday, in the hour of Mars"), and especially the Arabic equivalent of the Greek (and Coptic) ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ, the battle-cry of late antique magicians.[26] What is far more interesting, however, and entirely ignored by the editors, is that the "magical signs" of lines 14 to 16 are not typical *characteres*, and seem suspiciously reminiscent of Coptic letters. This is especially true for line 16, where we see the "sign" ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, the commonest abbreviation for "Christ" in Coptic religious and magical texts (the definite article ⲡ, the first and final letters of the name ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, and the supralinear stroke as an abbreviation mark). What we have here, in other words, is an

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[25] E.g., *PGM* XXXVI.48, 133; cf. *PGM* IV.1715.

[26] For more parallels in (non-Jewish) Arabic magical texts, see, e.g., Winkler (above, n. 20) 29 and *passim*.

invocation of Jesus Christ in a perfectly Jewish magical text.[27] With this in mind, we may even venture a guess as to the original identity of the obscure "signs" to the left of this monogram—first, what seems like ⲫⲧ, the Bohairic abbreviation of the word for "God,"[28] and next to it a somewhat effaced rendition of ⲓⲥ, the standard abbreviation for "Jesus." Thus, the original Coptic text, of which this copy is a (distant) copy, probably contained a typical Coptic invocation of "God Jesus Christ." As for the other "signs," many of which closely resemble Coptic letters, I cannot yet offer any coherent reading, beyond pointing to what might be fragments of real Coptic words, such as "ϵⲧⲣϩω-" in lines 14-15, or of possible Greek loan-words, such as "ε(?)χιδ(?)ν-" in line 15. More revealing, the end of line 16 seems to read ⲡⲡϵⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ (or, less plausibly, ⲡⲡϵⲧⲁⲗⲟ̄), "the sheet" (Gr. πέταλον). This would fit well into the magical context, especially as its Arabic equivalent, ורקה (which we translated as "sheet of paper"), appears in the ritual instructions.[29] Thus, it seems likely that the "magical signs" of lines 14 to 16 include not only a Coptic invocation of Jesus, but also a garbled rendition of the original Coptic recipe of which the Judeo-Arabic section is a translation.

Here, then, there can be no doubt that someone was using an older Coptic recipe while concocting his own recipes in Judeo-Arabic. But who would be doing this? Given the lack of Coptic-

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[27] This is, of course, not the only occasion on which Jesus Christ was invoked by Jewish magicians—see, e.g., Rohrbacher-Sticker (above, n. 6) 27, n. 14. For several attempts (which I find unconvincing) to detect Jesus' presence in the Jewish Prayer-Book itself, see Y. Liebes, "Mazmiaḥ Qeren Yeshu'ah," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 3 (1983/4) 313-348 (Heb.), and *id.*, "The Angels of the Shofar and Yeshua Sar ha-Panim," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 6/2 (1987) 171-195 (Heb.).

[28] I owe this suggestion to Jacques van der Vliet, *per lit.* (18 Sept. 1999).

[29] This suggestion too I owe to Jacques van der Vliet, who adds that the preceding word might tentatively be read as ϩⲃⲥ-, "cover" (imperative). It should also be noted that the recurrent sequence of two or three circlets may not be *omicrons*, as might seem likely at first sight, but an attempt to render the word-dividers which the copiers of Coptic magical texts often inserted between their *voces magicae*, and occasionally between other words as well. For such word-dividers, see, e.g., Paul Mirecki, "The Coptic Wizard's Hoard," *HTR* 87 (1994), pp. 435-460, with the image in http://www.hti.umich.edu/exhibit/magic, no. 5.

Jewish linguistic contacts in medieval Egypt, a Jewish copyist hardly is likely to have worked directly from a Coptic original, but from an Arabic translation of an older Coptic recipe or from a bilingual Arabic/Coptic source. He may have received it directly from Christian hands,[30] but he is far more likely to have received it from a Muslim source—and we already mentioned some evidence for Jewish-Muslim magical contacts[31]—without ever realizing that it was Jesus Christ whom he was invoking among the powerful "signs" that were embedded in his *Vorlage*.[32]

With this in mind, we may turn to the previous recipe on this last page of the magician's booklet, it too in Judeo-Arabic:

> For (causing) bleeding:[33] Write on [...]-day, [in the hour of] Mars, with ink on a clean sheet of paper, and tie it in a red silk pouch and place it in a cypress-wood (?)[34] tube and bury it in a [....] water-stream which flows to the east. And this is what you shall write: God, the nations have entered your estate and defiled the holy shrine, and they turned Jerusalem into a jail.

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[30] As Meira Polliack informs me, several Arabic and Judeo-Arabic fragments of the New Testament have been found among the Cairo Genizah texts; see her "Arabic Bible Translations in the Cairo Genizah Collections," in U. Haxen (ed.), *Jewish Studies in a New Europe* (Copenhagen 1998) 595-620, esp. 618, n. 99.

[31] Above, n. 13; see also Shaul Shaked, "Between Judaism and Islam: Some Issues in Popular Religion," *Pe'amim* 60 (1994) 4-19 (Heb.), with further bibliography.

[32] For a close parallel, in 19th-century Yemen, see the wonderful story quoted by Daniel Sperber, *Magic and Folklore in Rabbinic Literature* (Ramat Gan 1994) 89-90.

[33] As Paul Mirecki kindly pointed out to me, this recipe may not be aggressive but medical, intended to cause a menstrual period to begin (for such recipes, see *PGM* LXII.76-106 and O. Strass. D 1338 (in Robert K. Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic Spells and their Religious context," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3333-3379, no. 7 3343-44)). Unfortunately, there seems to be a certain inconsistency in the "victim"'s gender throughout the spell, as noted below.

[34] The word קן[.]פארסי in lines 2-3, which the editors translate as "von persischem ???," might be a transliteration of κυπαρίσσινος; for the use of cypress-wood in aggressive magic, see Ulrike Horak and Christian Gastgeber, "Zwei Beispiele angewandter Bildmagie: Ein griechischer Diebszauber und ein "verknotetes" Sator-Quadrat," *Biblos* 44 (1995) 197-225, on 207, n. 39.

> They turned the corpses of your servants into food for the birds of heaven, and the bodies of your followers for the wild beasts of the earth. They shed their blood around Jerusalem (Ps. 79.1-3). Likewise shed the blood of so-and-so son[35] of so-and-so, [in (the name of) I-am]-who-I-am, Lord, El Shadai, shed the blood of so-and-so son[36] [of so-and-so? ...] in hh yhhh yhhh in yh yyw, in the Explicit Name, in the name of YHWH the God of the Hosts, hear, you angels who are appointed for this recipe, that you will shed the blood of the daughter[37] of so-and-so now now, quickly quickly.

Once again, we may note the astrological instructions and the "now now, quickly quickly." In this case, there are no obvious signs of Coptic influence, but a careful examination shows that this recipe too came from the same magical booklet which our Jewish scribe was utilizing. First, the recipe contains only a few Hebrew words, unlike all the previous spells in this recipe-book, and it cites even the biblical verses in an Arabic translation, unlike most other Cairo Genizah magical texts, which cite their biblical sources in the original Hebrew. Second, not only does this version of Ps. 79:1-3 differ greatly from Saadiah's Arabic translation of the Psalms,[38] it also diverges from the Hebrew text in a most significant way. Thus, to give the most obvious example, the original Hebrew phrase "they have turned Jerusalem into a heap of ruins (לְעִיִּים)," is here translated as "they have turned Jerusalem into a jail (מחבס)." Such an unusual translation would make little sense if we assume a single step from the Hebrew to the Arabic version, but is readily explicable once we assume a Greek or Coptic version as an intermediary

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[35] Or "daughter" ('פ 'ב 'פ).

[36] The reading is uncertain here, but the final *nun* of the word בן ("son of") seems clear.

[37] The reading בנת ("daughter of") is certain.

[38] For which see J. Qafiḥ, *The Book of Psalms with Translation and Commentary by R. Saadiah Gaon* (Jerusalem 1966) 189-90 (Heb.). For the other Arabic translations of the Psalms available at the time, see Georg Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur* (Vatican 1944) 1:114-126; for a more recent overview, see Meira Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation*, Études sur le Judaïsme Médiéval, 17 (Leiden 1997) 3-22.

between the two, for the LXX translation of the word as ὀπωροφυλάκιον is followed by the Coptic Bible's ⲘⲁⲚϩⲁⲢⲈϩ, "a place for arresting."[39] Given the low likelihood that our scribe was working from a Greek model, it seems clear that he was using the same Arabic source as in the second recipe, and that that source used the same Coptic source as before. Finally, a modern Christian Arabic recipe-book, still in use in Egypt in the early 1970s, contains a recipe for making a woman bleed[40] whose similarity to the Genizah recipe leaves no doubt concerning their common ancestor. Both, it seems, stem from an older Coptic recipe.[41]

So much for this recipe book, and for a Jew's use of a Christian recipe in which the destruction of the Jewish Temple served as a paradigmatic *historiola*. Our next example is no less intriguing, and perhaps even more so.[42] It is a single folio (parchment, 10-11th cent.) with several recipes, all of them of a strictly gynaecological content—yet another example of the thematic arrangement of some recipe-collections. Unfortunately, the top third is broken off, which makes it difficult to reconstruct some of the recipes, or even to decide whether this was a free-standing sheet or a page from a larger collection.[43] One page (1b) contains what seem like the more traditional Jewish recipes, replete with references to Sara, Hana, and other biblical heroines whose pregnancies ended a long period of barrenness. The other page (1a; see Plate 5) begins with a badly damaged recipe, but as the preserved section contains a pastiche of biblical verses dealing with child-bearing and womb-opening, we may deduce that the recipe was intended for opening the womb of a

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[39] See A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, Septuaginta... Gottingensis, vol. X (Göttingen 1979) 218, and *id.*, *Die Berliner Handschrift des Sahidischen Psalters*, Abh. köning. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Ph.-Hist. Kl., N.F. IV/4 (Berlin 1901) 115.

[40] Again, it is not clear whether the aim is aggressive or medical. Cf. above, n. 33.

[41] N.H. Henein and T. Bianquis, *La magie par les psaumes*, Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes, 12 (Cairo 1975) 69 (Fr.) and 60 (Ar.). I hope to explore this issue and its implications at greater length elsewhere.

[42] MTKG I, 8 (T.-S. K 1.157).

[43] As the editors note, the letter ה on the margin of line 14 of the "verso" might indicate that this was the 5th page, or section, of a larger collection.

barren woman, and that it too probably contained mostly traditional Jewish motifs and elements. One may note, however, the editorial comment at the recipe's very end—"tested (בדיק). Write on silver and hang it (on the patient)." The claim that a recipe has been tested and found effective is found on numerous Genizah recipes, either at the very beginning or at the very end of the recipe, and it too finds numerous parallels in such *PGM* formulae as δόκιμον, which the Greek-speaking magicians placed at exactly these positions in their recipes.[44]

The second recipe, from line 11 to the end of the page, runs as follows:

> In the name of ʾdr mnh ʾdr mnh ʾdr [... ca. 20 letters ...] the womb[45] of so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so, in the one who sits [...] heavens [... ca. 13 letters ...] and light and darkness, I adjure you [by the one] who created all the holy ancient angels: knʾnwk knbwk khfyʾn zwf shrys qʾyṭwn pryṭwn ṭryno,[46] who sits [on] the Cherubim who carry the precious throne. I adjure you, that you remove yourself to your place, you, the womb of so-and-so daughter of so-and-so, (and) not to move not to the right side nor to the left side, and you shall not swell like a dog and strangle the heart of so-and-so daughter of so-and-so. You shall remain in your place and your location (?), and stay quietly in your place. I adjure you by the one who created you: stay in your place, where you were created. Amen amen sela. yw yh yy yh [magic signs] ʾbgd sela.

This recipe has already been studied not only by the MTKG editors, but also by Giuseppe Veltri and Hans Dieter Betz, and so we shall merely add a few short notes.[47] As noted by all these scholars, this

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[44] E.g., MTKG I, 10 (T.-S. K 1.28), 1a/2: בחון ומנוסה ("tested and tried"), and the other examples adduced in the editors' note *ad loc*.

[45] מיטרא (*myṭrʾ*), i.e., μήτρα, a common loan-word in Aramaic and Hebrew.

[46] Note that the scribe supplies supralinear dots above the *voces magicae*, and word-separators between them—both practices well-known from the Greek and Coptic magical texts.

[47] Giuseppe Veltri, "Zur Überlieferung medizinisch-magischer Traditionen: Das μήτρα-Motiv in den *Papyri Magicae* und der Kairoer Geniza," *Henoch* 18 (1996) 157-175; Hans Dieter Betz, "Jewish Magic in the Greek Magical Papyri,"

recipe is not only of a well-known type of Greek uterine recipes for keeping the womb in check, it is remarkably close to one specific recipe, namely *PGM* VII.260-271. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this similarity is the strange expression in line 19, where the magician adjures the womb that ולא תפחין איך כלב, "you shall not swell up like a dog," or, as the German translators put it, "dass du nicht anschwillst wie ein Hund." The dog does not seem to belong here, and can only be explained as a mistranslation of a Greek phrase ὡc κύων, which indeed is found in *PGM* VII.268. The poor translator, in other words, entirely failed to comprehend a pun in his Greek source, ending up with a swelling dog (κύων as a noun) instead of a swollen, impregnated uterus (κύων as a participle).

In light of such an error, there is little doubt that the Aramaic recipe of the Cairo Genizah is a descendant of a Greek recipe, and not the other way around (but the Greek recipe itself *may*, of course, ultimately go back to some Jewish prototype).[48] This may also explain another apparent misunderstanding, at the very beginning of the recipe, for whereas the Greek recipe begins with a proper title, πρὸc μήτραc ἀναδρομήν, the Aramaic version begins "In the name of ʾdr mnh ʾdr mnh ʾdr...". Unfortunately, this and the previous line are too mutilated to allow any certainty, but I am inclined to agree with the editors that some ancient Jewish translator may have failed to understand the Greek title in front of him, and thought that πρός ἀναδρομήν was an invocation of an unknown power, *anadrome*, whom he quickly turned into "ʾdr mnh."[49]

Be that as it may, once we conclude that the Aramaic recipe is based on a Greek ancestor, we can ask ourselves what that Greek recipe may have looked like. It is here that the Genizah text becomes most interesting for the papyrologist, for while the Greek recipe on which it was based was quite like *PGM* VII.260-271, it

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in Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kippenberg (eds.), *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (Leiden 1997) 45-63.

[48] Cf. Morton Smith, "The Jewish Elements in the Magical Papyri," in *id.*, *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh*, 2 vols., Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 130 (Leiden 1996) 2:242-256, esp. 251.

[49] MTKG I:116.

also differed from it in many important details.[50] What we have here, in other words, is an excellent example of a magical recipe which circulated in more than one version, each version different from the next.[51] The Genizah text, once properly re-translated into Greek—and this is no easy task, given the translator's errors,[52] and the possibility of further changes to the Aramaic text long after the translation itself—would supply us with important evidence for a recipe that was a variant of a recipe we already have.

But this is not all. A look at the recipe itself, at the very left corner of lines 21 and 22, reveals a familiar sign. It is the uterus-and-key symbol, well known from numerous Greek uterine amulets engraved on hematite and other gems.[53] As far as I know, this sign has so far been attested *only* on the magical gems, and not on any of the extant Greek Magical Papyri. Such discrepancies raise the thorny issue of the exact relations between magical papyri and magical gems, since quite a few symbols and *voces* appear in one of these corpora but not in the other.[54] But the Aramaic copyist of our recipe certainly did not find this symbol on a magical gem; he must have found it on the Greek recipe he had in front of him. This, then, is yet another difference between the recipe of *PGM* VII.260-271

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[50] See the helpful synoptic presentation of the two recipes in Veltri, *ibid.*, 164-166.

[51] For the best-known example of this phenomenon, see David G. Martinez, *A Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P. Mich. 757)*, ASP 30 (=P. Michigan XVI) (Atlanta, GA 1991) 6-20.

[52] Note especially the sequence "q'yṭwn pryṭwn ṭryno," which the translator apparently transliterated from his Greek source, without realizing that this was Greek, and not *voces magicae*. Presumably, the Greek recipe in front of him had something like καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν θρόνον ("I adjure you... *and by the (angels) who are around (God's) throne* etc."), and the translator then added the reference to the throne in his Aramaic text. For other possible reconstructions of the Greek phrase, cf. Veltri, "Zur Überlieferung," 168-9.

[53] As was noted also by Betz, "Jewish Magic," 50, n. 28. For the sign itself, see Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor 1950) 79-94, and Robert K. Ritner, "A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection," *JNES* 43 (1984), 209-221, with further bibliography.

[54] See esp. Morton Smith, "Relations Between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems," in *Actes du XVe congrès international de papyrologie*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 18 (Brussels 1979) 3:129-135.

and the Aramaic magician's Greek *Vorlage*. It also provides us with indirect evidence for a Greek recipe that contained the uterine symbol, the same symbol we see on so many uterine gems.[55] Here too, as in other cases, it becomes clear that the discrepancies between what we find on the gems and what we find in the papyri are due in large part to the uneven preservation of the evidence. The Cairo Genizah, in other words, can provide us with some glimpses of Greco-Egyptian magic independent of, but parallel to, the Greek Magical Papyri that we already have.

Following this recipe, we get two or three lines of blank space, followed by a very short recipe:

> And this is the name of impurity for conceiving: [magic signs]. I adjure you, names that are written in impurity, in the name of ṭwṭnys[56] and in dyws and qly spwn and sr' sys 'npyrh and sypypys, that you shall open the womb of so-and-so daughter of so-and-so, and you [shall not] delay it one hour.

At the margin of this recipe, a second hand added וזה בדיק, "And this is tested," and the same hand added two more lines of magical signs, and perhaps also a few Aramaic words, below the recipe. Unfortunately, these are mostly lost due to a tear at the bottom of the page.

In commenting on this recipe, the editors correctly note that there seem to be invocations of pagan deities embedded in its *voces magicae*—"sr' sys" sounds remarkably similar to Sarapis, and "dyws" may well be the Latin *deus*, or, which I find more likely, the Greek Δίοc. "Ṭwṭnys" too might have began his life as Thoth, but given the high frequency of "thoth" names in Jewish mystical and magical texts (for which see the editors' note *ad loc.*), this is far less certain. But the most intriguing part of this recipe—and this has not been noted by the previous commentators—are the "magical signs" in line 25, signs which look suspiciously like Demotic writing. Being only an amateur when it comes to Demotic, I showed this

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[55] One may note, moreover, that in the Greek original the "key" probably was turned by a god such as Anubis or Thoth, as on many magical gems, but the Genizah recipe replaces the god with a more abstract figure. Apparently, the image was too "idolatrous" for a Jewish copyist to stomach (cf. above, n. 24).

[56] Note the supralinear stroke above this *vox*, but not above its neighbors.

text to several experts, most of whom confirmed that the signs look very much like Demotic, but could not make much sense of the "text" as it now stands.[57] Given the difficulties of copying obscure signs in an unknown language, and considering the likelihood that the Genizah recipe is a copy of a copy of some original borrowing from an ancient *Vorlage*, the difficulty of deciphering the Demotic—if this is what the signs really are—is hardly surprising. Nonetheless, the possibility should be borne in mind that a Jewish scribe, working from some bilingual original, not only translated a Greek recipe with its "pagan" invocations, but also tried to imitate the Demotic signs he saw before him, signs that seemed to him quite mysterious and powerful. Unknowingly following in his footsteps, the Jewish magicians of the 10th and 11th centuries were still invoking Sarapis, and even "writing" Demotic, in spite of the fact that both the Egyptian gods and the Egyptian writing systems have been dead for some six centuries.[58] The neighbor's magic is always stronger and the older a spell the better it must be, and so we find magic rituals, names, and figures migrating from one culture to another and from one generation to the next. Consequently, a thorough acquaintance with Greco-Roman magic is a prerequisite for any detailed study of the Genizah magical texts. Sometimes, however, it is the Genizah texts that can help us reconstruct some long-lost fragments of Greek, Coptic, and bilingual magical papyri.

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[57] I am grateful to Terry Wilfong, Robert Ritner, Janet Johnson, and John Tait, who confirmed the similarity to Demotic, and to Willy Clarysse, who denied it.

[58] Note, however, the extensive evidence for the "survival" of the Egyptian gods, for which see Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, Bollingen Series, 38 (New York 1953; orig. French ed. 1940), or S. Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten* (Zurich 1961). A study of the fate of the Egyptian gods in the Jewish magical and religious traditions remains a desideratum.

Hear, O Israel

The Magic of the Shema

Edited by
Nancy Benovitz and Dudi Mevorah

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem

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On the cover: Incantation bowl (detail), Wolfe Family
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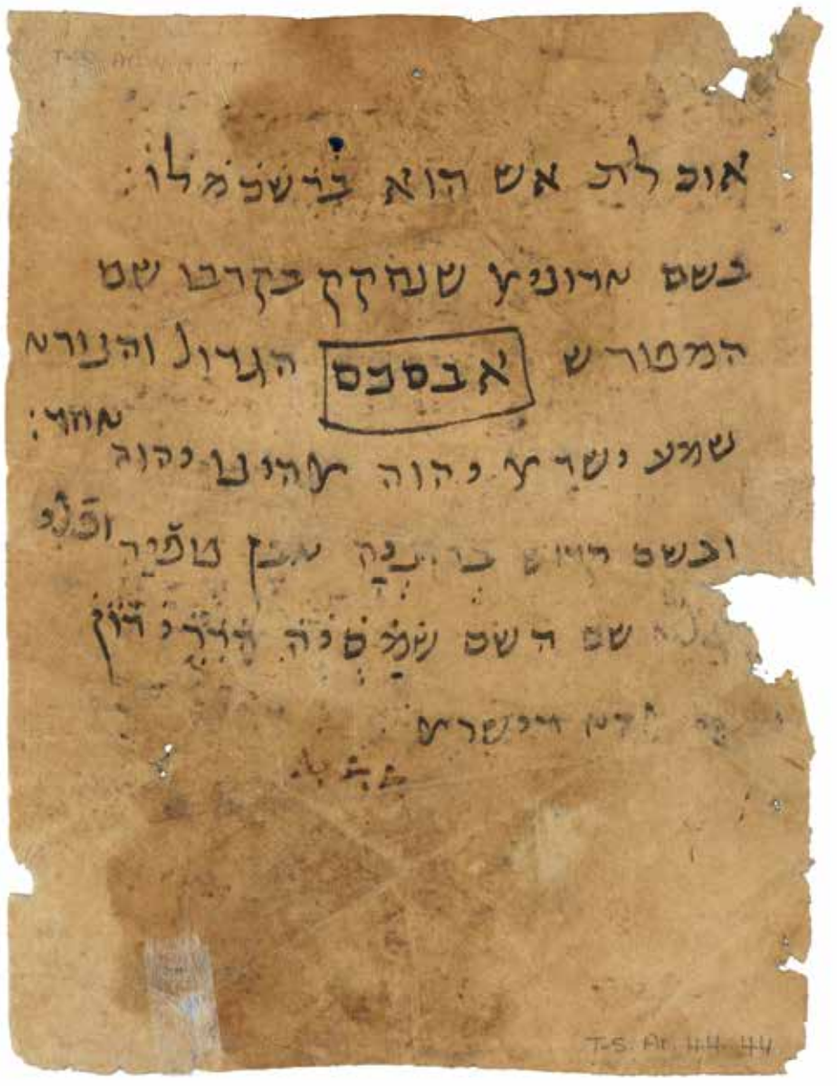
The Shema and Magic in the Cairo Genizah

Gideon Bohak

The Cairo Genizah contains more than a hundred amulets, dating from the tenth or eleventh century onward. These range in size from small amulets against scorpion bites which do not even bear their users' names to long scrolls intended to protect named individuals from a wide range of illnesses and other dangers. The Genizah also contains a much larger number of fragments of magical recipe books, providing instructions on how to perform rituals and produce texts and objects for a host of purposes, including protection, harming another person, healing the sick, finding lost treasures, and causing one individual to love or hate another. Within such contexts, numerous biblical verses are repeatedly employed for magical purposes; while excerpts from the Shema are not the most widely employed biblical verses in these texts, their use is well attested. One practice already in evidence long before the earliest Genizah fragments and recurrent in the Genizah as well is that of the "intermittent" (*l'serugin*) writing of the Shema verses together with those of Psalm 91. Another common practice is the recitation of the entire Shema, often together with other verses or prayers, for various apotropaic aims. In one such recipe, the user is instructed to recite the Shema seven times, followed by seven recitations of Exodus 14:30—15:16 and seven recitations of the *emet ve-yaziv* blessing recited in the morning prayers, all part of a ritual intended to assure one's safety when embarking upon a long journey.

The Shema's magical uses are further illustrated through the apotropaic powers associated with the *mezuzah*. The Cairo Genizah contains recipes which enjoin the production of amulets meant to be hung next to the *mezuzah* of one's home. In such cases, we see how the "standard" *mezuzah* alone was deemed insufficient protection as an apotropaic device, thus requiring the presence of an additional amulet. Unfortunately, we have no archaeological confirmation of this practice, as we have no access to the actual homes of the Jews of medieval Cairo, which have either disappeared or been greatly modified over the centuries. Nonetheless, the fact that several magical recipes recommend placing an amulet alongside the *mezuzah* may lead us to conclude that this was quite common.

Also of interest is the practice, attested in many Jewish communities in the Middle Ages, of adding powerful names and symbols to the *mezuzot* themselves in order to enhance their apotropaic powers. Though Maimonides famously and vehemently opposed this, his indignation was not shared by all medieval rabbis, and many *halakhic*



Recipe for an amulet incorporating the Shema from the Cairo Genizah, late 10th—mid-13th century. Handwritten in ink on paper, H. 13.9 cm, W. 12 cm. Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
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authorities saw no problem with such additions. One element that aroused few objections was the addition of the Hebrew letters *kwzw bmwksz kwzw*, a cipher for the Hebrew words "The LORD our God, the LORD" on the verso (back) of a *mezuzah*, opposite the words themselves. But even more numerous additions did not fail to find their *halakhic* supporters. To give just one example, we may note how Mahzor Vitry — a liturgical and *halakhic* compendium which represents the Ashkenazi world of Rashi and his disciples — takes such additions for granted. It speaks of twenty-four (divine) names, twelve names of angels, twenty-four "seals" (i.e., magical signs) and three verses from Psalm 121, all of which are added to the standard text of the *mezuzah*. The only qualification is that these elements must be added at the ends of the lines, and separated from the main, standard text of the *mezuzah*, since they are not an integral component thereof.

We have no access to any *mezuzot* from medieval Ashkenaz since the parchment on which they were written rotted long ago. But we do have many medieval *mezuzot* from the Cairo Genizah, among them quite a few bearing *kwzw bmwksz kwzw* on the verso, reflecting the popularity of this practice in medieval Cairo, and presumably elsewhere as well. We also find a much smaller number of *mezuzot* on which various elements were added on the recto (front), in the left and/or bottom margins of the *mezuzah*'s main text. Judging by the small number of such *mezuzot* found in the Cairo Genizah, it would seem that this practice was less common, at least in medieval Cairo, although it is also possible that more such *mezuzot* were deemed too problematic to be deposited in the synagogue's Genizah.

Looking at the Cairo Genizah *mezuzot* featuring magical additions, all of which may be dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we see four types of additions corresponding to those listed by Mahzor Vitry. We see divine and powerful names, such as the name Shaddai or permutations of the letters of the Tetragrammaton. We also see names of angels, such as Michael, Gabriel, and Zadkiel, biblical verses such as Psalm 121:7 ("May God guard you from all evil [and] preserve your soul"), and magical "seals," including the symbol now known as *Magen David* — the Star of David. Serving today prominently on the Jewish national flag, this was a magical symbol in the Middle Ages, first in the Muslim magical tradition and then in the Jewish one. In the Cairo Genizah, it is attested not only on some *mezuzot*, but also in many amulets and magical recipe books.

The addition of so many elements to the margins of the *mezuzah* is a practice that eventually died out, and no modern examples exist. However, the addition of *kwzw bmwksz kwzw* aroused few objections in the Middle Ages and continues to the present day.



***Mezuzah* with magical additions from the Cairo Genizah**, 12th century. Handwritten in ink on parchment, H. 10.2 cm, W. 10.3 cm. Cambridge University Library, Cambridge | T-S NS 290.58

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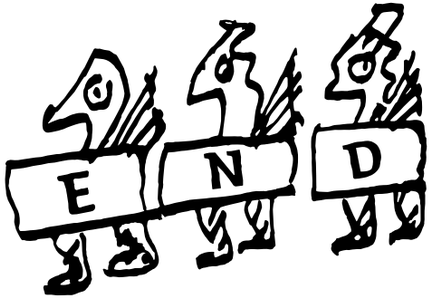
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Hear, O Israel

The Magic of the Shema

Edited by
Nancy Benovitz and Dudi Mevorah

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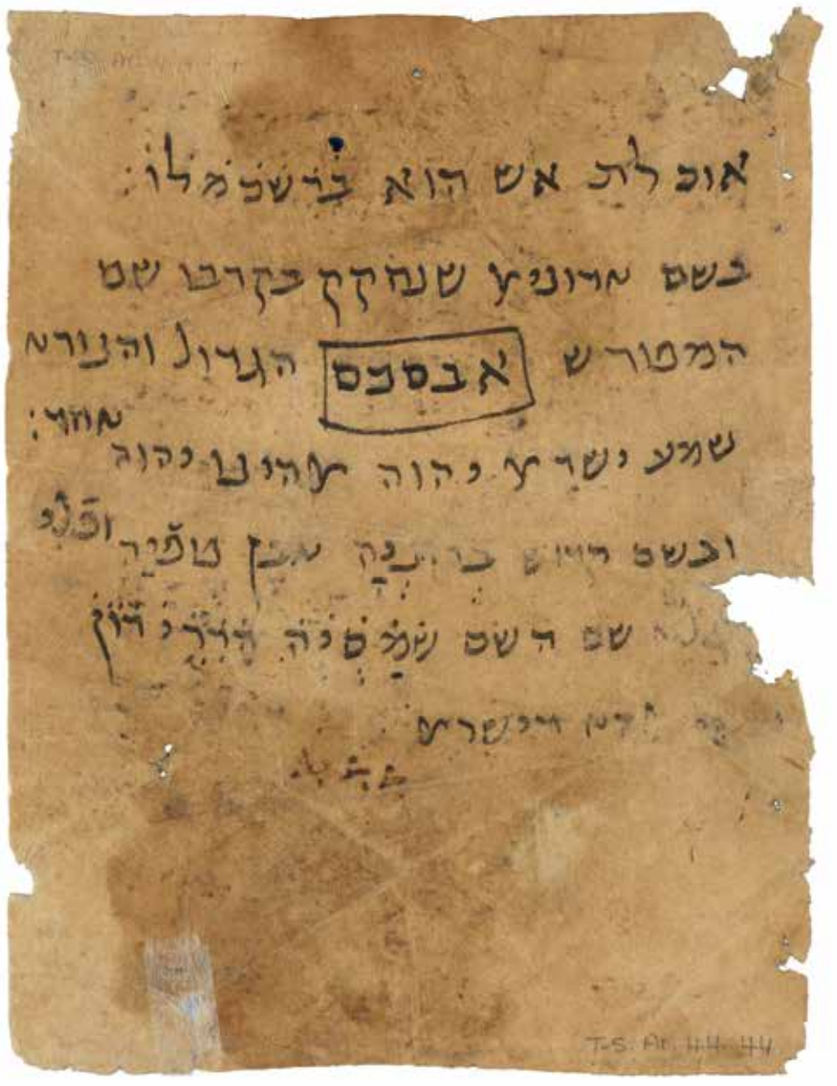
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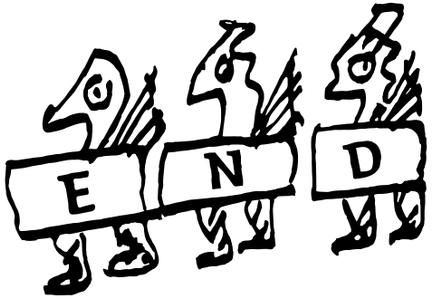
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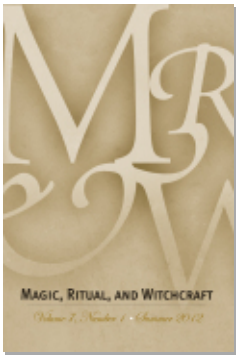
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The Sword of Moses (*Ḥarba de-Moshe*): A New Translation and Introduction

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The Sword of Moses (*Ḥarba de-Moshe*) is one of the two Jewish magical treatises that have survived from antiquity and in many respects it is the more significant one.[1] It presents a broad assortment of magical practices for accomplishing various goals, all based on the use of a magical "sword" of words, which Moses brought down from heaven. This practical information—the broadest extant collection of Jewish magical recipes from the first millennium—and the vast list of holy names on which the execution of these instructions is based are enveloped in a theoretical framework. It is exactly this framework that makes *The Sword of Moses* such a significant record, as it outlines the cosmology in which magical activity grounded its rationale and meaning. All of these components, drawn in part from "magical sword literature," were redacted by the author into a magical treatise, that is to say, into a coherent text that demonstrates its logical development, even though not free of difficulties, from beginning to end.

STRUCTURE, GENRES, AND CONTENTS[2]

The Sword of Moses is primarily a book of magical recipes. But unlike other such collections of recipes (known mainly from the Cairo Genizah and later

1. For the other book, *Sefer ha-Razim* (*The Book of Mysteries*), see M. Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Jerusalem: Yediot Aharonot, 1966) (Heb.); M. A. Morgan, tr., *Sepher Ha-Razim, The Book of the Mysteries*, Chico: Scholars Press, 1983); B. Rebiger and P. Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I/I—Das Buch der Geheimnisse I/II* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 2009); G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic—A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 170–75; Y. Harari, *Early Jewish Magic—Research, Method, Sources* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute and Mossad Bialik, 2010), 215–20 (Heb.); P. S. Alexander, "*Sefer Ha-Razim* and the Problem of Black Magic in Early Judaism," in T. E. Klutz, ed., *Magic in the Biblical World—From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon* (London: T. & T. Clark International, 2003), 170–190.

2. The following discussion is a concise, updated version of the broad study of the text and its meaning that accompanies its transcription in Y. Harari, *The Sword of*

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from medieval manuscripts), this operative information is introduced by a literary-theoretical section. Thus, one may divide the treatise into three main parts: (a) controlling the "sword"; (b) the "sword"; and (c) the operative section. The beginning of the first section and the end of the last function as the opening and the conclusion of the treatise as a whole.

A. CONTROLLING THE "SWORD"

The Opening: On the Origin and the Authority of Magical Knowledge

The Sword of Moses begins with a description of a four-leveled heavenly hierarchy of thirteen princes (*sarim*, archangels). Four of them are at the bottom, "who are appointed over the sword . . . and over the Torah." Five more princes are located above them, and then three others that are elevated even further. At the top, heading the whole structure, 'HYW PSQTYH sits, before whom all the angels "kneel and bow down and prostrate themselves . . . every day" after they are dismissed from bowing before God. Each of the princes rules over thousands of thousands of chariots of angels, the least of whom has control over all those who are situated beneath him.

This hierarchical structure of heavenly forces has significant operative importance. According to the concept of power in *The Sword of Moses,* when one adjures 'HYW PSQTYH, not only does that highest prince become bound to the adjurer but so too do all the princes under his authority. This is actually the aim of the ritual for ruling over the "sword," as detailed in the rest of this section, in which the adjurer gains control over the sword by invoking the princes one by one, from the bottom of the heavenly hierarchy to its top. Typical of magical activity, successful adjuration of the angels requires knowledge of their names, which are indeed manifest throughout the depiction of their heavenly positions.

By stating that the four lower princes are appointed over both the "sword" and the Torah, the author of *The Sword of Moses* aspires, at the very beginning of the book, to link these two corpuses, projecting the halo of the latter over the former. He tightens this binding by demonstrating that the "sword" (like the Torah) is given from the mouth of God, and he will further allude to it upon describing the relationships between Moses, the princes, and God (below). Thus, through manifestly asserting that the origin of the magical knowledge incorporated in the treatise is Divine, he establishes its theoretical as well as its operative authority.[3]

Moses—A New Edition and Study (Jerusalem: Academon Press, 1997) (Heb.) [hereafter HdM].

3. On this issue cf. M. D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early*

The question of the operative efficacy of the knowledge suggested in this book requires further explanation. Ancient Jewish magic was based on the view that through rites and charms, a person can gain control over angels (or other metaphysical entities) and force them to act for his or her own benefit. How could a person possess such power? Why would a spell make any impression on the angels? *The Sword of Moses* answers this question: God commanded them to do so, by requiring their obedience to one who adjures them by His names as a tribute of honor to Him. Thus, simply and incisively *The Sword of Moses* solves (or better dissolves) the ever-perplexing question of the coexistence of heavenly omnipotence and earthly magic. The Lord Himself is the patron of human magic.[4]

The narrative that opens the book further ties the command given to the angels by God to the constitutive event of Moses' ascent to receive the Torah. According to *The Sword of Moses*, upon Moses' return to earth he brought both the Torah and the ''sword'' down from heaven. This idea echoes the Talmudic tradition about Moses' ascent on high (bShab. 88b–89a) and manifests explicitly what the rabbis only implied: the ''gifts'' given to Moses by the angels were actually words, namely, charms by which they could (and still can) be adjured and controlled. The Moses of *The Sword of Moses* is, thus, an archetype of the magician. He is the one who brought heavenly, magical knowledge down to his people, and according to the pattern of knowledge-power that was set in heaven concerning him, so too can his successors act.[5]

The Rite for Controlling the ''Sword''

According to *The Sword of Moses*, magical activity has two stages. First, control over the ''sword'' has to be gained, and only upon achieving that may a person execute its power. To control the ''sword'' one has to engage in a three-day ritual, which combines purification, prayer, and adjuration. To yield its desired result, the whole rite should be performed in secrecy.

Purification, which is a common requirement throughout ancient Jewish magical literature, is to be achieved through bathing, abstaining from noctur-

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Jewish Mysticism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 173–205. For a similar process of formation of authority in magical treatises in the Greek Magical Papyri, see H. D. Betz, ''The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri,'' *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3, ed. B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 161–70.

4. At the same time it seems that according to *The Sword of Moses*, God is beyond the limits of the efficacy of human magic. See HdM, 67–70.

5. On this issue, see further Y. Harari, ''Moses, the Sword and *the Sword of Moses*: Between Rabbinical and Magical Traditions,'' *JSQ* 12 (2005): 293–329.

nal pollution and from any contact with unclean objects, as well as by eating only pure bread with salt and by drinking only water.[6]

The Sword of Moses views the liturgical prayer (*Tefilat ha-'Amida)* and especially the *Shome'a Tefila* benediction (in which one pleads for the acceptance of the prayer) as forceful situations that can (and should) be employed in the service of magical aims. Three times a day, during his daily prayers, the person who strives toward controlling the sword should add adjurations to his prayer or combine them with it. Thus, spell and prayer are interwoven as two complementary modes of performative speech. Three times a day, during the *'Amida* prayer, adjurations of the thirteen princes should be performed. Also, on these occasions two prayers of adjuration[7] that address God should be recited. One encourages Him to bind the heavenly princes to the adjurer and to carry out all his desires; the other asks for His protection, lest the adjurer be swept away by fire (apparently cast upon him by the adjured angels).

The adjuration of the thirteen archangels is the core and the climax of the entire rite. The adjurer turns to them by name, one by one, according to their status (lowest to highest), and adjures them to surrender to him. The actual result of their surrender is the transmission into his hands (as in the case of Moses) of the power to control the "sword" and to use it.

The adjuration of the princes clearly rests, both ideologically and textually, on the narrative that begins the book. Together they constitute the (Hebrew) foundation of the whole section. The author himself, who extended this structure, also integrated the Aramaic units into this section. The most striking one is the narrative of the heavenly "swift messenger" who was sent by God to reveal His mysteries on earth and of the difficulties that the messenger confronted while trying to find a suitable recipient for them. Through this unit, moral requirements are linked to the very possibility of controlling the "sword" and employing it.

B. THE "SWORD" OF NAMES

The second section of *The Sword of Moses* is a huge accumulation of *nomina barbara* (about 1,800 words, including three short legible texts that are also conceived as magical names). This is the "sword" related to in the first sec-

6. On abstinence and purification in early Jewish magic and mysticism, see further Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 153–72; R. M. Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations, and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 117–60.

7. On this magical genre, see P. Schäfer and S. Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, vol. II (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1997), 10–14.

tion. It comprises various groups of names—such as names that end with YH or with EL; names followed by the name ṢB'WT; names organized alphabetically; and names that follow the pattern A son of B—that were assembled into the "sword" by the author. These lists as well as the way in which they are arranged in the "sword" testify to the attention invested in the latter's creation. It seems to be the result of the redaction and expansion of magical formulae, together with spells, lists of angels' names, and a few legible texts.

C. THE OPERATIVE SECTION

The last section of the book is a list of about 140 magical recipes. It was assembled from various magical sources that were possessed by the author, who, after having added at least a few recipes of his own, redacted and tied them to the "sword." Each of the recipes in the list requires either the recitation or transcription of a precise segment of the "sword" in order. Thus, the "sword" is cut into 137 sequential sections,[8] according to the list of recipes.

The two first recipes specify such a broad range of aims that they also seem to have a rhetorical function. All the other recipes are dedicated to specific objectives. Together they cover a very wide range of human needs and aspirations. Most of the recipes are organized in groups. The most prominent is the group for healing (arranged from the head downward) that is located at the beginning of the section. Other groups concern causing harm, war and governance, agriculture, rescue from distress, self-protection, and enhancing both memory and knowledge. This collection of recipes as well as a few pairs, where the latter recipe suggests the nullification of what was achieved through the former, attest to the practical interest that the redactor had in this list and in the book as a whole. The broad range of aims listed in this section—love and sex, grace and favor in the eyes of others, divination, control over spirits and financial success are but a few examples that might join the above-mentioned ones—indicates the breadth of support offered by practitioners of magic to their communities and the extent to which magical activity penetrated day-to-day life.

The operative section (and the book as a whole) ends with a general instruction and a strict warning regarding inappropriate use of the "sword." In such cases, the book concludes, "angels of anger and rage and wrath and fury" may attack and destroy the adjurer. Tremendous power is concealed in the "sword" that was given from the mouth of God and transmitted to

8. In a few cases recipes share the same sequence of names from the "sword."

Moses, but such is also its peril. Its use by an amateur could end very violently.

MANUSCRIPTS, VERSIONS, AND EDITIONS

A. THE FULL VERSION

The complete version of *The Sword of Moses* is found in relatively late manuscripts that all belong to the same textual branch. The earliest known version is found in the famous MS Sassoon 290 (currently MS Genève 145), pp. 60–84.[9] The manuscript, which comprises about six hundred pages of a long compilation of magical treatises and recipes entitled *Sefer Shoshan Yesod Ha'olam*, was written by Rabbi Yosef Tirshom, probably in Turkey or in Greece in the first third of the sixteenth century.[10] This version is transcribed in my current edition of the treatise, translated herein.

As early as 1896 Moses Gaster published a transcription and a translation of *The Sword of Moses* as well as a study of the treatise.[11] His edition was based on a manuscript from his own collection (Gaster 177), whose correlation with MS Sassoon 290 was later indicated by G. Scholem and M. Bnayahu.[12] A close examination of the two manuscripts exposed clear intertextual evidence for the reliance of the former upon the latter.[13]

Three more manuscripts of the treatise are found in the Department of Manuscripts of The National Library of Israel. They are all handwritten copies of Gaster's printed edition from the beginning of the twentieth century.[14] Regarding textual issues, then, there is no reason to consult any of the links in this textual chain except the initial one.

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9. MS Sassoon 290, currently found in the Bibliothèque de Genève, was recently scanned by the library and uploaded to the internet together with a detailed description. See http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/cl0145.

10. See the detailed discussion in M. Bnayahu, "*Sefer shoshan yesod ha-olam le-rabbi Yosef Tirshom*," *Temirin—Texts and Studies in Kabbalah and Hasidism*, vol. 1, ed. I. Weinstock (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1972), 187–269. Bnayahu also included in his article the index that is found at the beginning of the manuscript, which comprises some 2,100 indications of magical recipes.

11. M. Gaster, "The Sword of Moses," *JRAS* (1896): 149–98; reprinted in idem, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* (London: Maggs Bros., 1971), 1:288–337; 3:69–103.

12. See Bnayahu, "*Sefer shoshan*," 196–97. MS Gaster 177 (currently located in John Rylands University Library, Manchester), which is discussed by Bnayahu, also included MS Gaster 178 (currently located in the British Library, London; marked: Or. 10678) in which *The Sword of Moses* is found.

13. HdM, 13–14.

14. Ibid., 11–12.

B. GENIZAH FRAGMENTS OF *THE SWORD OF MOSES*

A few pages of the book as well as some magical fragments that rely on it are found in the Cairo Genizah.[15] All of them are highly important in the history of this treatise (and of its magical knowledge), though far less so for textual issues.

The main evidence comes from five double-sided pages of the book, all written by the same hand and dated to the eleventh to twelfth centuries.[16] Two of the pages contain fragments from the first (Controlling the "Sword") section, including the beginning of the "Swift Messenger" narrative and part of the adjuration of the thirteen princes. The other three are consecutive parts of the "sword" of names. The text is almost identical to that in MS Sassoon 290. The main significance of this version is the contextual evidence that it offers. Historically, it testifies to the existence of a relatively early version of the treatise. Concerning the function of the text, it points to its personal, practical use. This is seen from the fact that in the adjuration of the princes the general indication NN (found in the later version) was replaced by a personal name: Mariot son of Nathan.[17]

Another copy of the book is attested by a narrow strip of paper with writing on both sides (MS Jacques Mosseri VI 32.3). Although only a tiny portion of the text occurs on each line, it is absolutely clear that the strip was torn from a page that contained recipes nos. 2–26 in a version almost identical to that found in MS Sassoon 290. The Cairo Genizah contains hundreds of such torn strips, and we have every reason to believe that further study of them will yield more fragments from this recension.[18]

Two more Genizah fragments that contain recipes from *The Sword of Moses* attest to the intention of its practical use. MS Jacques Mosseri VI 13.2 is a

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15. I am deeply indebted to Prof. Shaul Shaked and Prof. Gideon Bohak, who found these fragments (and in some cases even read and transliterated them) and turned my attention to them.

16. Three of the fragments are found in the Jewish Theological Seminary Library in New York and one in Cambridge University Library. Their signatures—according to the textual order—are JTSL ENA 2643.5; JTSL ENA NS 2.11, p. 43; JTSL ENA NS 2.11, p. 42; T-S NS 89, p. 11; JTSL ENA 3373, p. 3. See HdM, 154–56 for transcription and discussion of the last four.

17. On this phenomenon in another book of magical recipes from the Genizah, see O. P. Saar, "Success, Protection and Grace: Three Fragments of a Personalized Magical Handbook," *Ginzei Qedem* 3 (2007): 101★–135★. It is also documented in the fifteenth-century magical handbook, MS New York Public Library, Heb 190.

18. On the strips in the Genizah, see G. Bohak, "Reconstructing Jewish Magical Recipe Books from the Cairo Genizah," *Ginzei Qedem* 1 (2005): 9★–29★.

relatively early manuscript (apparently tenth to eleventh century) comprised of three written pages in which recipes 50, 55–56, and 111–114 are copied. The novelty of this recension is that after each of the recipes, the required formula from the "sword" is cited in full (along with its indication by its opening and closing words). Yet another step in the direction of easing the use of the practical information in the treatise was made by the scribe of MS T-S NS 70.130 (Cambridge University Library). On this single page, part of which is dedicated also to *gematria*, four recipes from the treatise occur (in this order: nos. 85, 25, 46, 56). In this case the compiler, who for some reason picked out these particular recipes from the list, omitted the indications of the opening and closing words of the required formulae altogether and cited the sequence of names in full at the end of each recipe.

C. MAGICAL SWORD LITERATURE

Located in MS Sassoon 290 as well as in two medieval Ashkenazi manuscripts (New York, JTSL 8128, and Oxford, BL 1531) are fragments of what I call "magical sword literature." I believe that they are late representations of an early textual layer of which the redactor of *The Sword of Moses* made use. Common to each of them is the employment of the term "sword" to indicate the magical formula, which in some of them is also ascribed to Moses. Although the relationship between most of these fragments and *The Sword of Moses* is apparent, it seems that the creative way in which the textual layer they represent was handled on its way into *The Sword of Moses* makes them irrelevant for the study of the original form of this book.[19]

LANGUAGE AND REDACTION

The Sword of Moses was redacted from texts in both Hebrew and Aramaic. The language of the magical recipes in the operative section is Babylonian Aramaic in which many Hebrew words are embedded. Aramaic is also the language of the few legible texts at the beginning and the end of the "sword." In contrast, the opening section of Controlling the "Sword" combines broad texts in both languages. Its framework, which comprises most of it, is written in Hebrew. This part is a heterogenous text that was composed by the author out of materials that he possessed (the narrative source) as well as practical instructions that he himself contributed. Into this Hebrew framework, he also integrated two Aramaic units: the story of "the swift messenger" and some

19. For transcriptions and a discussion of these texts, see HdM, 139–52; P. Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1981), §§ 598–622, 640–50. Cf. Gaster, "Sword of Moses," vol. 1, 88–93; vol. 3, 330–36.

more practical instructions that depend on both this story and the Hebrew source. The dependence of the Aramaic unit on the Hebrew one attests that this section is not a mere assemblage of textual units but rather the result of mindful and creative work of redaction. The author, who preferred practical efficacy over literary considerations, merged narrative units with units of adjuration and added his own instructions to them. Most of the latter were written in Hebrew, but some are also in Aramaic.

The last element that should be indicated is a sequence of names in the "sword" that are derived from a Greek spell. This spell occurs again at the end of the "sword," this time in Aramaic.[20] The Aramaic version of the spell also occurs in a fragment of "magical sword literature," which (as mentioned above) I believe to have predated *The Sword of Moses*. The translation of the Greek spell, then, took place before the redaction of this book, and it is quite clear that while merging the (highly faulty) Hebrew transliteration of the Greek original version, its redactor could not understand its meaning.

DATE AND PROVENANCE

The exact dating of *The Sword of Moses* as well as its sources is hard to determine. The Genizah fragments testify to its existence in the eleventh to twelfth centuries. R. Hai Gaon mentioned both its name and its opening words in his famous responsum to the sages of Kairouan at the very beginning of the eleventh century.[21] The question is, how much earlier was it compiled? Gaster's dating of *The Sword of Moses* to the first to fourth centuries is hard to justify.[22] It seems more reasonable that the book stemmed from the (later) era of magical treatises, such as *Pishra de-Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa* or *Havdala de-Rabbi Aqiva*. Although there is no hard proof for the date of origin of any of these compositions (including *The Sword of Moses*), scholars tend to agree that they were compiled during the third quarter of the first millennium.[23] This

20. See C. Rohrbacher-Sticker, "From Sense to Nonsense, From Incantation Prayer to Magical Spell," *JSQ* 3 (1996): 24–46.

21. S. Emanuel, *Newly Discovered Geonic Responsa* (Jerusalem: Ofeq Institute, 1995), 121–46 (esp. 131–32) (Heb.). On this letter, cf. Y. Harari, "Leadership, Authority and the 'Other': The Debate over Magic from the Karaites to Maimonides," *Journal for the Study of Sephardic and Mizrahi Jewry* 1, no. 2 (2007): 79–101 (esp. 87–90), online at http://sephardic.fiu.edu/journal/november07/YuvalHarari.pdf.

22. Gaster, *Studies and Texts*, vol. 1, 311.

23. J. Trachtenberg, followed also by L. H. Schifmann and M. D. Swartz, dated the book to the Geonic period (second half of the first millennium). See J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 124, 315; L. Schiffman and M. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 20. For the dating of *Havdala de-Rabbi Aqiva* and *Pishra*

seems plausible to me too. However, at the current stage of research, it is impossible to date the book more specifically within this period or even to justify these very time limits beyond any doubt.

Determining the place of composition of *The Sword of Moses*, that is to say where its Hebrew and Babylonian Aramaic parts were interwoven into its current format, is also difficult. Nevertheless, if my assumption—based on textual analysis of the book—that the practical instructions in the section of controlling the "sword" were written by the compiler himself is correct, then he probably lived in Palestine. These instructions are written in Hebrew, and it is unlikely that a Babylonian Jew would use it as his own language, interweaving his words between sources partly written in Babylonian Aramaic.

LITERARY AND PRACTICAL CONTEXT

The Sword of Moses is deeply rooted in the Jewish world of the second half of the first millennium as it brings together rabbinical, liturgical, mystical, and magical elements. It draws its authority from the famous rabbinic tradition, which it echoes, about the gifts that Moses received from the angels during his ascension on high (bShab 88b–89a and parallels). Its concept of purity, mentioned in the opening section without any specifications, seems to rely on (rabbinical) halakhic principles. The daily *'Amida* prayer appears to be a standard liturgical routine for both the writer and his expected readership. The heavenly picture reflected in the book—the hierarchical structure of the archangels, the numerous hosts of angels gathered in chariots under their authority, and the heavenly worship of God, who dwells in His palaces—correlates with the one that emerges from the (early Jewish mystical) Hekhalot and Merkava writings. The same also holds true for the names of the angels and of God, as well as for the hymn embedded in the prayer to God (called QWSYM).[24] In any event, these correspondences should be regarded as signs of acquaintance on the author's part with the heavenly cosmology that is also drawn in the early Jewish mystical writings, rather than the direct influence of these writings on him or as evidence of his belonging to the circles of *yordei ha-merkava* (descenders to the chariot).

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de-Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa, see G. Scholem, "Havdalah de-Rabbi Aqiba: A Source of the Jewish Magical Tradition from the Geonic Period," *Tarbiz* 50 (1980–81): 243–81 (Heb.); F. M. Tocci, "Metatron, 'Arcidemonio' e Mytrt (Μιθρας?) nel *Pisra de-R. Hanina ben Dosa,*" in *Incontro di Religioni in Asia tra il III e il X secolo d. C., Atti del Convegno Internazionale* [Civiltà Veneziana, Studi 39], ed. L. Lanciotti (Firenze, 1984), 79–97 (Ital.).

24. On these hymns, see M. Bar-Ilan, *The Mysteries of Jewish Prayer and Hekhalot* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1987) (Heb.).

Concerning its magic, *The Sword of Moses* rests on a longstanding tradition of utilizing rites and spells to gain control over angels and to exploit them in the service of the adjurer. The earliest literary consolidation of this tradition known to us is found in *The Book of Mysteries* (*Sefer ha-Razim*). However, that book differs from *The Sword of Moses* in both its theoretical and operational views as well as the way in which the practical material is organized within the theoretical framework.

The connections between *The Sword of Moses* and the vast corpus of Babylonian magic bowls are loose, too.[25] The "swift messenger," who in this book narrates the episode of being sent down to earth by God, also appears in one of the bowls,[26] but apart from that one can hardly detect specific links, either textual or operative, between these sources. This is also the case regarding non-Jewish magic sources, both Babylonian and Greco-Roman.[27]

The use of the technical term "sword," typical to *The Sword of Moses*, binds it on the one hand to Jewish traditions that relate to the tongue as a sword and on the other hand to the Greek term ξίφος, which functions in the very same way in a spell entitled Ξίφος Δαρδάνου (The Sword of Dardanos) found in the Greek Magical Papyri. Nevertheless, one should not assume foreign, namely, Hellenistic influence over the author of the book, when he actually takes a small step—in a characteristically magical direction—beyond Jewish traditions, both rabbinic and mystical, concerning the power of "the sword of the tongue."[28] I believe that this step was taken even before the redaction of *The Sword of Moses*. It is reflected considerably in "magical sword literature," which, as argued above, was one of the main sources on which the author of the book relied. In this literary stratum he apparently found

25. On the Aramaic incantation bowls, see, for example, the following recent surveys (with further bibliographies): D. Levene, "Curse or Blessing, What's in the Magic Bowls?" *Parke Institute Pamphlet* 2 (Southampton: University of Southampton, 2002); M. G. Morony, "Magic and Society in Late Sasanian Iraq," in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, ed. S. Noegel, J. Walker, and B. Wheeler (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 83–107; S. Shaked, "Magic Bowls and Incantation Texts: How to Get Rid of Demons and Pests," *Qadmoniot* 129 (2005): 2–13 (Heb.); Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 183–193; Y. Harari, *Early Jewish Magic,* 182–196 (Heb.).

26. D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* (London: Kegan Paul, 2003), 93–96.

27. Although a piece of a Greek spell is embedded in *The Sword of Moses,* it is absolutely clear that at the time of the latter's compilation its author did not understand the spell. This occurrence, then, cannot serve as a case of professional borrowing from the Greek tradition. Cf. above, n. 20.

28. See Harari, "Moses," 298–309.

both the ideas of the magical "sword" of words (along with some short formulations of it) as well as its attribution to Moses.[29] Guided by his unique proficient view, he expanded the relatively short "sword"—known in "magical sword literature"—exponentially, by incorporating various lists of names to compose the version found here, which he then linked to his list of recipes. This collection, which is anchored in the Jewish culture of magic of its time and reflects it to an incomparable degree, was probably also a result of the transmission of magical knowledge and not merely of personal, genuine invention. However, for the time being, one cannot indicate any written parallels to these magical recipes.

The Sword of Moses was undoubtedly a renowned book of magic in Babylonia in the late Geonic period. This is evident from the way it is referred to by R. Hai Gaon in his responsum to the sages of Kairouan. From the Cairo Genizah we can learn that it was also known, desired, and copied in Egypt at the beginning of the second millennium. The fragments we have available attest not only to the attraction of the treatise from a theoretical point of view but also to the belief in its inherent power as a (personalized) apotropaic text and to the practical interest in the operative information embedded in it.

Although we cannot trace the exact lines of its transmission during the next few centuries, the interest in *The Sword of Moses* seems to have been retained. Indeed, unlike other magical treatises found in the Genizah, we cannot point to any interest stirred by it among the medieval Ashkenazi pietists; nevertheless, it did find its way to the significant sixteenth-century eastern compilation *Sefer Shoshan Yesod Ha'olam*. It seems to have drawn only scant attention during the early modern period, but at the beginning of the twentieth century it was still attractive enough to be hand-copied from Gaster's printed edition by three different persons. Thus, even though one can hardly detect precise imprints of *The Sword of Moses* in the theoretical or the operative development of Jewish magic, it certainly remained a vital source of authoritative information for those experts who knew it, copied it into their manuals, and used it for the benefit of their clients.

THE TRANSLATION

The Sword of Moses demonstrates a wide range of linguistic difficulties: syntactical errors and misspellings, interpolations and disruptions, peculiar forms and sheer scribal mistakes. Only in rare cases could I account for the philological considerations that led me to the suggested solution. However, keeping in mind Gaster's absolute silence concerning his own considerations, which

29. Cf. above, n. 19.

in some cases are hard to follow, I did try to give the reader a sense of the original text as far as the framework of this edition enables it. A more detailed philological apparatus will accompany my forthcoming bilingual edition of the book.

TECHNICAL NOTES

A. Abbreviations:

DJBA M. Sokoloff. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

DTTM M. Jastrow. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. London: Luzac, 1903.

HdM Y. Harari. *The Sword of Moses—A New Edition and Study*. Jerusalem: Academon Press, 1997. (Heb.)

B. Throughout the translation holy (magical) names as well as angels' names were transliterated according to the following key:
'=א B=ב G=ג D=ד H=ה W=ו Z=ז Ḥ=ח Ṭ=ט Y=י K=כ
L=ל M=מ N=נ S=ס ‘=ע P=פ Ṣ=צ Q=ק R=ר Š=ש T=ת

C. Words in square brackets are assumed to be mistakenly missing in the original text. Parentheses are used to indicate words that do not occur in the Hebrew/Aramaic phrasing but are required for the legibility of the translation as well as to denote references to the Bible. Curly brackets indicate superfluous writing in the text. In the portion of the text concerned with specific recipes, the superscript bracketed numbers record numbers written (without brackets) on the margin of the MS, numerating the recipes.

D. These are the film numbers of microfilmed manuscripts of *The Sword of Moses* stored in the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem:
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library T-S NS 70.130—F26011
Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève 145 (formerly Sassoon 290)—F39891
London, British Library Or. 10678 (formerly Gaster 178)—F7993
New York, Jewish Theological Seminary Library ENA 2643.5—F33335
New York, Jewish Theological Seminary Library ENA 3373—F33921
New York, Jewish Theological Seminary Library ENA NS 2.11—F39935
New York, Jewish Theological Seminary Library ENA NS 89—F20745
Paris, Collection Jacques Mosseri VI 13.2 and 32.3—F26204

The Sword of Moses

[60] In the name of the great and holy God

(There are) four angels who are appointed over the sword given from the mouth of **'H WH YH WH HYH**, the Lord of the mysteries,[1] and who are appointed over the Torah, and they observe the depth of the mysteries of the lower and upper (realms). And these are their names: **ŠQD ḤWZY**, **MRGYW'L**, and **HDRZYWLW**, **ṬWṬRYSY**.

And above them there are five princes, holy and powerful, who ponder the mysteries of **'HY HY YHY** in the world for seven hours a day. And (they) are appointed over a thousand thousands of myriads and a thousand chariots hastening to carry out the will of **'HY HY HYH**, the Lord of Lords and the honorable God. And these are their names: **MHYHWGṢY**, **PḤDWTTGM**, **'SQRYHW**, **ŠYTYNYḤWM**, **QTGNYPRY**. And (concerning) every chariot over which they are appointed, the prince of each and every one of them marvels and declares: *Is there a figure to His troops?* (**Job 25:3**) And the least (angel) in these chariots[2] is a prince greater then all those four (above mentioned) princes.

And above them there are three (more) princes, chiefs of the host of **'H YWH WYW WYW**, the Lord of all, who causes His eight palaces (*heikhalot*) to shake and be in commotion every day with tumult and quaking. And they have authority over all of His handiwork, and beneath them there are double those chariots. And the least in (these) chariots is a prince greater than all those (five) princes. And these are their names: **'SSHY**, **ŠṬRYS**, **HWYH**,[3] **SHWTGY'YH**.

I am deeply grateful to Prof. Shaul Shaked, Dr. Geoffrey Herman, and Dr. Mathew Morgenstern for their remarks and suggestions, which were of tremendous benefit for the final shape of this translation. I am also exceedingly indebted to Prof. Michael Sokoloff, for I can hardly imagine breaking my way through the third part of the treatise had it not been already studied by him for his *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*.

1. For this epithet, see the English section in, M. Schlüter, "The Eulogy חכם הרזים ואדון הסתרים in Heikhalot Literature," *JSJTh* 6, no. 1 (1987): 95–115.

2. The original is written in the singular.

3. The name **ŠṬRYSHWYH**, which occurs later in the book, is erroneously divided.

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The prince and master who is (the) king, named **'HYW PSQTYH**, who sits, and all the heavenly hosts kneel and bow down and prostrate themselves on the ground all together before him every day, after they are dismissed from prostrating themselves before **NQṢ ŠL'H HW 'WHH**, the Lord of all.

And when you adjure him, he is bound by you and he binds for you [all those three princes and their chariots and] all those five princes and all the chariots that are under their authority and the four angels that are under them; for he, and all those princes have been ordered so, to be bound by Moses, son of Amram, to bind for him all the princes who are under their authority. And they may not tarry upon their adjuration or turn from it this way or the other, (but) should give all who adjure them power over this sword [and reveal to them] its mysteries and hidden secrets, its glory, might, and splendor. And they may not tarry because the decree of **'BDWHW HWH ṢL 'LYH 'L YH** is issued upon them, saying: Do not impede any mortal [61] who will adjure you and do not treat him otherwise than what you were decreed with regard to my servant Moses, son of Amram, for he adjures you by My Ineffable Names and it is to My Names that you render honor and not to him. But if you impede him I will burn you for you have not honored Me.

And each and every one of them gave him (i.e., Moses) a word[4] by which the world is manipulated. The words were the words of the living God and the King of the world. And they said to him: If you wish to manipulate this sword and to hand it down to the generations that will come after you, one who prepares himself to manipulate it should sanctify himself (free) from nocturnal pollution and from (ritual) impurity for three days and should only eat and drink in the evening.[5] And he should (only) eat bread made by a pure man or by his own hands with clean salt and (only) drink water.[6] And no one should be aware that he is doing this deed for the purpose of manipulating this sword, because these are the secrets of the world and they must be carried out in secrecy, and they are (only) to be transmitted to humble people.

And on the first day of your seclusion, perform ablution(s) and you need not (do it) again. And pray three times a day[7] and after each prayer say this

4. For this meaning of the Hebrew *davar* see Y. Harari, "Moses, the Sword, and *the Sword of Moses*: Between Rabbinical and Magical Traditions," *JSQ* 12 (2005): 293–329 (at 321–27).

5. Lit. and he should neither eat nor drink but from one evening to the other.

6. On purification and asceticism in *The Sword of Moses*, see HdM, 90–91.

7. Apparently the daily *'Amida* prayer, which has to be recited three times a day. On the role of liturgical prayer in the magical practice of *The Sword of Moses*, see HdM, 92–101 and cf. below, §§ 77, 127.

prayer: Blessed are You **QWSYM** our God, King of the world, the God who opens daily the gates of the east and cleaves the windows of the orient and gives light to the whole world and to those who dwell in it with the abundance of His mercies, with His mysteries and His secrets; and who taught His people, Israel, His mysteries and secrets and revealed to them a sword by which the world is manipulated, and said to them: When you come to use this sword, by which every desire is fulfilled, and every mystery and secret are revealed, and every miracle and marvel and wonder are performed, say such and such before me, and recite such and such before me, and adjure such and such before me. I shall immediately accede and be reconciled to you and will give you authority over this sword[8] to carry out every request with it. And the princes will accede to you and my holy ones will reconcile themselves to you and they will instantly fulfill your wish and deliver my mysteries to you and will reveal my secrets to you and will teach you my words and will make my wonders manifest to you. And they will abide by you and will serve you like a disciple before his master. And your eyes will be enlightened[9] and your heart will behold and perceive all that is hidden, and your stature will be increased. Unto[10] You I call **SWQYM**, King of the universe,[11] You are the one who is called **YHWGH HW 'L YH** King of the World; You are the one who is called **P'ZWGH WH WW 'L YH** Merciful King; You are the one who is called **ZHWT GYHH 'L YH** Gracious King; You are the one who is called **ṢHBRWHW HWH 'L YH** Living King; You are the one who is called **SPṬHWTHW 'L YH** Humble King; You are the one who is called **QGYWHY HW HY 'L YH** Righteous King; [62] You are the one who is called **ŠHRW SGHWRY 'L YH** Lofty King; You are the one who is called **SPQS HPYHWHH 'L YH** Flawless King; You are the one who is called **QTTHW GTHY 'L YH** Honest King; You are the one who is called **PTRYS HZPYHW 'L YH** Mighty King; You are the one who is called **R'PQ ṢYWYHYH 'L YH** Chosen King; You are the one who is called **ḤWSH YHWHY 'L YH** Proud King; You are the one who is called **WHW HW HY HY 'HYH WH YH YH WH YH WH YW HY HYW YH**, You listen to my prayer for You are one who listens to prayer. And bind your servants, the princes of the sword, for me for You are their king, and fulfill for me my every wish since everything is in Your hand, as it is said: *You open Your hand and satisfy every living being with favor* (**Ps. 145:16**).

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8. Lit. by this sword.
9. Lit. will shine.
10. This is the beginning of the formula that should be recited before God.
11. The Hebrew phrase may also be translated "the eternal King."

I adjure you **'ZLY'L** who is called **HWDY ZHY HW HWH**, **'R'L** who is called **SQRYSYHYH**, **Ṭ'NY'L** who is called **'TRṢ 'HYH YH**, **ṬP'L** who is called **GWPQY HWH 'HYH**, and the mightiest of all: **HLYKYH** being **YWPY'L**, **MYṬṬRWN** who is called **GHWDPṬHW HH YHH HDR MRWM**, **MRŠWT MLKY**[12] YDY'L who is called **SGHWH HYH**, **R'ŠY'L** who is called **MHWPTQYHH YY**, **ḤNY'L** who is called **RHW PGTYH**, **HNY'L** who is called **PHWṢPNYGYH**, **'ŠR'L** who is called **THMWTYHYHYH**, **WYŠDY'L** who is called **QNYTY PṢYH**, **'ŠH'L** who is called **YHWT NṬHY HYH**, **'MWDY'L** who is called **RWPNYGYH WSSYH**, **W'ṢR'L** who is called **ŠHGNWTGYHH**, to be bound to me and to subordinate the sword to me so that I may use it as I wish and receive shelter under our Lord[13] (cf. **Ps. 91:1–2**) in heaven. In this honorable, great, and awesome name **HW HY HHY HW HH 'H WH YH YH HWY HW HY HW HWH YHW Y' HW HW YH YHW HY HW Y' YH WH HW Y' HW HWY HYW HW YH WH YH HW HWH YHY HW YH 'HYH MHWH**, the twenty-four letters upon the crown, (I adjure you) to deliver to me by this sword the mysteries of the upper and lower (realms and) the secrets of the upper and lower (realms), and let my wish be fulfilled and my words obeyed and my request accepted. By means of the explicit uttering of the adjuration through this worthy name, the most honorable (name) in His world by which all the heavenly hosts[14] are bound and chained, which is **HH HH HWH HHYY YWHH 'H WH NYH HWH PH WHW HYH ṢHW 'H WH HYH HH WH** [63] **YH WH YH SYH WH YH WYH** blessed be He, (I adjure you) neither to tarry nor harm me, or cause me to tremble or be afraid. In the name of the name that is revered by your king and whose terror rests upon you, and who is called **PRZMWTGYH SRḤWQTYH HYGNYTYH ṬRSNYHYH QRZMTHW ṢGYH YH WH HYH HW HY H' HWH HWH 'HH HHY 'H WH HWH HYH 'H WH YH YHH YHW YHY 'W HH 'H HH H' HYH 'H ZQRYDRYH** accomplish for me that which I adjured you, and serve me as a master. For it is not by one greater than you that I adjure[15] you but by the Lord of all, by His name through which you and all the heavenly hosts are held, caught, tied up, (and) chained. And if you tarry I will hand you over to the Lord, to the Holy one blessed be He and to His

12. The legible Hebrew words: "glory of the height, from the domain of my king" seem to function as components of **MYṬṬRWN**'s name.

13. Lit. in the shadow of our Lord.

14. The original is written in the singular.

15. Lit. adjured.

Ineffable Name, whose anger and rage and wrath burn in Him and who honors all His creation through one of its (i.e., the Ineffable name's) letters, and who is called **ZRWGDQNṬ' QṢWPṢḤTYH 'HWH SQTY GYH GYGYM HYGYH HW YH HNYH HWH QLṢG**; so that if you tarry he will eradicate you and you will be sought after but not found (cf. **Ez. 26:21**). And protect me from my impetuosity and from harming my body[16] in the name of **ḤZQ'Y 'HYH WH YH HH YHH YH WH HH YH HYH 'HYW YH HYW YHY WHWY HY HWY YH QQHWH SQQHWH** the guardian of Israel. Blessed are You **SWQYM**, sage of the secrets, divulger of the mysteries, and the king of the world.

I heard a voice in the firmament, the voice of the master of the firmament who spoke[17] and said: I want a swift messenger who would [go] to man. (And) he said: And if my mission is carried out my sons will be exalted by my sword [which] I transmit to them for it is the foremost of all my mysteries and it became manifest[18] by the hand of wondrous[19] seers. *For so will my word be* (**Is. 55:11**), and it is said: *My word is like fire, says the Lord* (**Jer. 23:29**), (thus) said **PGNYNYNWGSYH** God of heaven and earth. And I, me, **'SSY 'SS** and **'SYSYH** and **'PRGSYH**, the swift messenger, good in (carrying out) my mission and hurried to perform my delegation ascended before Him. And the Lord of all commanded me: Go and obey[20] people who are pious, good, decent, and righteous, and trustworthy, whose heart(s) are not divided and whose mouth(s) are free of duplicity, and who do not deceive with their tongues, and whose lips do not lie, whose hands do not grab [64] and whose eyes do not intimate, who do not hasten to evil, who are corporeally removed from every defilement, detached from every uncleanness, separated from any pungent (food), and who do not approach a woman. And as the master of all commanded me, I, **'SSY 'SS** and **'SYSYH** and **'PRGSYH**, the swift messenger, descended to earth. And when I was passing along I said (to myself): Who among human beings[21] possesses all these (virtues)? I shall go and rest upon him. And I searched my mind and thought to myself that there was no human being who could do something like this. I sought but I did not find and I did not stumble upon one. And the master of all imposed

16. The Hebrew phrasing may also be translated "from the pain of my body."
17. Cf. HdM, 145.
18. It is also possible to read "and it arrived (at the world)."
19. The Aramaic phrase may also indicate secret, invisible seers. See DTTB 1228 (*pryš*).
20. Other possible readings are "be known to" or "be heard by."
21. The translation offers a correction of illegible Aramaic phrasing.

a vow upon me by His mighty right (hand)[22] and the glory of His splendor and a crown of glory[23] **HWH WYH ʻQN HY DRYH ṬHR QRWNNYH YH WH HH HHW HY YH D'**, a vow of His mighty right (hand). And the master of all imposed a vow upon me and put me under an oath and I did not fall down. Then, I, **'SSY 'SS** and **'SYSYH** and **'PRGSYH,** stood up to be strengthened in the covenant of the will of N, son of N, in the name of **QMBGL ʻQMH WH ZRWMTYH YHY KRWQ ZNWTYH YRPHW ḤTYH QṢY WṢYHṢ YHṢ YHṢ**.

This is the great and honorable name that was given to the son of man[24] **YH BYH 'Ṣ 'H B'H HWY HW HW WH Y' HW ZH WH WH 'H YH YHW HH YHW YHW 'QP HY HH YY'H HH H'H HW'H HHWH HYY HW HW HY** holy mighty mighty Selah. Recite it after your prayer.[25] And these are the names of the angels that serve the son of man: **MYṬṬRWN**, **SGDDTṢYH** and **MQṬṬRWN**, **SNGWTYQT'L**, and **NGYQTG'L**, and **YGW'TQTY'L**, and **'NTGQS'L**, and **'NTWS-STY'L**, and **MYK'L SRWG**, and **GBRY'L ŠQTKNYH**, and **HDQRW-NTY'L**, and **'NHSG'L**, **YHW'L**, **TYZRT**, **NSY'L**, and **SYGSṬH'L**, and **ʻNPY**, **QQPY'L**, and **NHR**, **GSGNHY'L**, and **YKNY**, **'TYH'L**, and **'QTQLYQ'L**, **YNH**, **GYTNY'L YH**. In the same manner you shall serve me, N, son of N, and receive my prayer and my request that I desire and introduce it to the presence of **YHWH HH SHH 'HH HH WH WH**, the Holy One, blessed be He, in whose name I adjure (you) and impose a vow upon you, like a bird who gets into the nest. And mention my merit before Him and through words of supplication grant atonement for my sins at this very moment and do not tarry, in the name of **SH HH WH WYH YH WYH WH WH WYHH WYH ʻH HHWY ʻHW Yʻ HY HY HW HW YHW HH HWH YH WH** blessed be He Sabaoth Sabaoth Selah, may His servants sanctify Him and sweetly adore Him[26] and say *holy holy holy* is the Lord of this holy Name, *whose glory fills the whole world* (cf. **Is 3:3**). And do not impede,[27] in (the power of) the decree of **HW HYH YH HW YY YHW HY HY** [65] **HWH HY HW HH HHYH HY HWH HYH**

22. Lit. by the right side of His might.

23. The letters *hwd* can be read either as "glory" or as the first name in the sequence that follows.

24. The Hebrew-Aramaic idiom *bar adam* is peculiar and rare. It might also refer to a certain figure known by this appellation.

25. Apparently the daily *'Amida* prayer. Cf. above, n. 7.

26. The Genizah fragment JTSJ ENA NS 2.11, p. 43 reads here "and humble (ones) adore Him."

27. The Aramaic phrase also bears the meaning "and do not tarry."

HWYH YHW HHW HH HHWY YHW ’HW HH YH ’HH ’YH ’Y ’H ’Y ’H WH YH who lives eternally.

And in the name of **DYṬYMYN QYRWY’S WHW ’RQM GNLY’WS QWSMWS QLYQS ’SQLYṬTR’ ’YLY ’LY MWPY SPR’ SṬGD’GS ṬL’SY QṬM ’NT PRGW PYGH DYHY MYTQ’S NPL’** (= wonderful) **TṬ’ DWNYṬ’ TTMN’S ṬWP DWGZ MṬYG’ MHW WHWṬR ZYQQTYHW ’HWNY YHW YH ’L ḤYNQYH PPṬY HY’S SPṢPNṬR**;[28] and in the name of **SMRT SMS PṢṢ ’DWNWḤT HWSYH ‘LYWN** (= supreme) **YH HW’Y ’W HYH PY PY ’YTYH WBṢRS MṢRPYH TSQYHW BŠTQṢR** the great, from whom nothing is hidden, who sees and is not seen; and in the name of **ṬYRQṬTYH** who is dominant over heaven (and) who is called **YHW YHW WH YH YH ’H ’YW WH NYHW HYH HY HY YHY WHY HWH YHW HYH HYH WH HWH HH WYH YYH WHY HY YHW HY** the great and exalted name, which the King of the world speaks out of his mouth in another manner: **YHW ’H YH WHHH YH WH YH YHW HH YH HW HWW HY HY HH HY HW HW’ HW HYH HWYH YH WH YH WH YH YH HY HY HY ’HH ’HY HW HH YH YHY HW HWH YHW HW HH YYHW HH YYW**; (in these names I adjure) you, the swift messenger: Do not tarry and (do not) tremble, and come and carry out for me, I, N, son of N, all my needs, in the name of **YHW HHYW YHW ’HYW HHW HW HYH HHY HWH YH WH HHY YH HW HYW HYH WHWṬR QTNGYH ZW QWSSYH ’HWNYH ’L** (= God) **HY NQTS’L YH HWH NYGGHH PSQTRH HY HWH YH ZRWMTH HYH WBR ŠṬH HY HHYH** the great, who sees and is not seen; **’HWH**, the sense of which was revealed to all the heavenly hosts, and by the sense of which I adjure you for thus it was transmitted to Moses, son of Amram, from the mouth of the master of all **YHWH WH’H HWH YHWH HYH HW HHNYHH YH HY HY HW HH YHWH SH HH WHYH WHH HWH YH YH YHY LNHH YH YH ’H TBYNW ’YH YHWŠ ’HYŠH W’GRYPṬ YHW ṢB’WT YHWH YHWH ṢB’WT** is His name. Blessed are You God, Lord of the mighty (and) master of the mysteries.[29]

And which are (the) letters that **ŠQD ḤWZY** gave him (i.e., Moses)?—He said to him: If you wish to become wise and to use this sword,

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28. For this formula, transliterated in part from the original Greek, see C. Rohrbacher-Sticker, ‘‘From Sense to Nonsense, From Incantation Prayer to Magical Spell,’’ *JSQ* 3 (1996): 24–46 (at 33–46).

29. Cf. above, n. 1.

call me and adjure me and strengthen me and fortify me and say: I adjure you **ŠQD ḤWZY** in a great, holy and marvelous, pure and precious, mighty and awe-inspiring mystery, and this is its name: **YRWNYQ' 'QPTH HNH NHH YRK YDKYRWHW YH YH ṢYQ'Ṣ**. By these letters[30] I adjure you[31] to surrender to me and to make me wise and to bind for me the angels who subjugate the sword in the name of the revealer of the mysteries. Amen.

Write with ink on leather and carry them (i.e., the letters of adjuration) with you (during the) three [66] days while you purify yourself and say the following adjuration before your prayer and after your prayer:[32] **MARGYY'L** surrender yourself to me[33] **HY HW HYH WHY HWH YHW YHWH HW HYH HW HWYH WHW HHYHW YWH HHWNYH HY 'W HYH WH WH WH YH WH YHWH YHWH YHWH YHW YHW YHW GNYNYH WHH**; **ṬRWṬRWSY** surrender yourself to me **'HW HWH 'HY HWH 'HWYH YH' HWH YH YH HWH HWD' 'H WHH HY HWH W'HYH HWYH 'HH WYH WH HY 'HYH YHYH YWH HY 'H 'H YH 'HH WYHWH HYH 'HY HYH YHYH 'H HYH 'YH**; **HDRWYZLW** surrender yourself to me **HHW' HH YH YH 'W HYW HH' YHWH 'H HH 'WY HH'H WYH 'HYH 'WH' HYH WYH HH YH HWH' HYH HH WH YHH WHHYH HWHY HWHH WYHH**; **MHYHWGṢYY** surrender yourself to me **YHH HHY WHH WYHH HHY YHH HH WHWH HWH 'HYH YHW HH WH YH HYH YH H' HWH YHW YH H' HWY H' YH 'H HW YYH HWY HH HH WH 'H WH 'HYH YH YHWH HW HWH HY HWH**; **PḤDWTTGM** surrender yourself to me **H' HYH YHW YH H' HWY H' WH 'H HY WH WWH HYW HH YH WYH YHW YH HWYYH HWYH ''H HYWRH HYW H' WHHWH H'HNYHH**; **'SQRYHW** surrender yourself to me **B'H BHYN 'SWNYHH ŠMGYHH HWY YHH YH HW WHWYH HWY HY WH HY YWH HW HWH YHY HW YHY HYWHY HHWH HHYH HHYWY WYWHH WYHH 'L HYH 'H HYH H'H 'H HY 'HWY 'HWYH**; **ŠYTYNYḤWM** surren-

30. The given ''by these signs'' is in all probability an error.

31. Lit. I adjured you.

32. Cf. above, n. 25.

33. The Aramaic demonstrative ''to him'' is an error for ''to me.'' Confused by this mistake (which occurs again, farther down in this sequence of adjurations), Gaster miscomprehended the entire paragraph and translated it as indicating the holy names that were transmitted to Moses by the angels. In fact, it details the incantational formulae that relate to the thirteen archangels who are above the sword, whose adjuration is part of the rite for gaining control over the sword.

der yourself to me[34] **'H 'H WYH H'L WH HYH 'L HHY WHH'L HYHY'L 'LHYH HYH 'HWY WYH 'HHW YH WHY HYH 'H H' HYH 'L HHW'L HHY 'H' QMM'H HL'L**; **QTGNYPYY** surrender yourself to me **H' HW' W'H 'LH' SMH 'H 'LH' SY'H WHH 'H YHH 'WHH 'HH' WMYṢHW HYH MYTYH ''LDHWY WYH HW HW 'L LYH HW HY WH'Y WH'W YH H' HW WHY WHY WYH 'HH HWH YHW YH YHH YH HY HYH YH WYH WH 'H 'Š 'HY ŠYH**; **'SQWHHYY** surrender yourself to me **'HW YH YHY ŠYH YHZYH YHW YHH 'H WH 'HWH 'HYH 'HW YH YH YHH ŠNY HWH MKNWSYHH YH HWH HWY H' MSKPNHYH** [67] **YH HY'**; **SṬRYSHWYH** surrender yourself to me **HWY H' DYYH' 'HYŠ HWH SQQ HWH HYH 'HY HWH QNQSHYH HWH YHH YHD 'H 'H WHYH 'H YH WHYH WD HYH YHW HH YHW HYH HWH YHHYHWH HYH YH**; **SHWTG'YH** surrender yourself to me **YH HY??? Y?(H)YHW YW HYWY YHH WH HHW YYHH HH HH HY HHWH YYH HYW 'H YH' HH 'LHW HYH QHYH WYWHH 'YWY HY HH STYHW HH YY HWH YHW HY YHWH YHW HYHY YHWHYH YW YH YH HWH YHWH HH HYH YH WYH HYH YHW YHW HY HW**; **'HPSQTYH** surrender yourself to me **HW LYH HYH HHWH 'H WH HHYHYHW HWH WH 'HW HYH YHW HW DYH YH 'HH WHH YH WH WHH HY HWH WHYH WH HYH ZHYH WHW HYHYH HWH 'H HY 'W HH 'HYHH YHH WY WYH YH WHY HW HY HWH**.

And they (i.e., the thirteen angels) did not hide from him (i.e., Moses) any word[35] and letter of these Ineffable Names and they did not give him a substitute for even one of their letters, for thus were they commanded by the Lord of the secrets[36] to transmit to him this sword and these names, which are the secrets of the sword. And they said to him: Command the generations that will follow you to recite this one blessing before praying,[37] so that they will not be swept away by fire: Blessed be **'YZW' 'YZWNS** who accompanied Moses, may he accompany me, whose name is **'HWṢWṢYH RP'WZTYH RPW'TZYH ZHWGYHYH HQṢṢYH 'NTWTYHWH GDW-**

34. Lit. ''to him.'' See the previous note.

35. The primary meaning of the Hebrew phrase is ''anything.'' However, the other possible meaning of *davar*, ''a word'' (cf. above, n. 4), as well as the occurrence of ''letters'' immediately following, imply the reading ''any word.''

36. The given ''Lord of the Hidden'' is apparently a mistake for ''Lord of the secrets.'' Cf. above, n. 1.

37. The original is written in the singular.

DYHWH WYNY'ṬṬWQTZYH PṢ'PY PY 'ZYH ṬHRWGSGYH ŠDYH QTṢYH RHWMY HWH TGPMṢYH 'HYWPSQTYH TY-ŠMṢYHYH MṢHWGTHYH 'BHYTYZYH QPHWHY RPṬGWT RPRPṬR YMRṬRYH QBRSYH NKD QTSNYH MRP'YRYH GNṬSRD HWH DYD'RR'H QDYDHH QGYṢHH WDYN'WṢYH 'PSWNYH 'Y PY LY M'SSWN PRQWMYH 'Y PY QWḤZYH 'YRWNYH 'YPRWNSYH 'PSY(R)W'H 'HYH 'H DY, send me **'ḤRY'WSSHW YHW QTSHHYH** who makes the cherubim move and may they help me. Blessed are you **QWSYM** (who rules) over the sword.

Whoever wishes to manipulate this sword should recite his (daily) prayer and upon reaching *Shome'a Tefila*[38] he should say: I adjure you the four princes **ŠQDḤWZY, MRGYY'L** and **ṬRWṬRWSY,** and **HDRWYZLW**, servants of **HDYRYRWN** [68] **YHWH HRYRYRWN HWHY HDYH DYHYRWN HWH**, to accept my adjuration (even) before I pray and my supplication (even) before I entreat, and to fulfill for me everything I desire through this sword just as you did for Moses, in a mighty and glorious, miraculous name which is **HW HYH HWH SPR HWH HYH YHWH WH YH WHW YWHH 'HWSHH YHH QQS HWH**. And he should (then) call the five (princes) who are above them and say: I adjure you **MHYHWGṢYY PḤDWTTGM 'SQRYHW ŠYTY-NYḤWM QTGNYPYY HDWDY WHWH YD GBRY'L YH HW HDYRYRWN** to accept my adjuration (even) before I adjure you and to be bound by me and to bind for me these four princes and all the encamp-ments of the chariots of the princes over whom you are appointed, to fulfill for me my desire through this sword by this beloved name: **'HY HWH YH WH 'Y 'W HHY HWHY ŠHWSHH YWH HW HWW YH YHH YWH HYY**. And he should call the three (princes) who are above them and say: I adjure you **'SQWHHY ŠṬRYS HWYH SHWTGY'YH**, the beloved ones of[39] **ZRHWDRYN** who is **HDYRYRON**, to be bound by me and to bind for me **MHYHWGṢYY PḤDWTTGM 'SQRYHW ŠYTYNYḤWM QTGNYPYY ŠQD ḤWZY MRGYY'L HDRW-YZLW** who are under your authority, to fulfill for me my desire through

38. *Shome'a Tefila* ("You who hearkens unto prayer") is the sixteenth benediction (out of nineteen) in the daily *'Amida* prayer (cf. above, n. 7). See also the reference to *Ḥonen ha-Da'at* ("You who grants wisdom," the fourth benediction) in § 127 below.

39. The appellation "the beloved ones of" (written in one word in Hebrew) is marked as a name in the manuscript by the placement of a typical sign above it, apparently by mistake.

this sword by this unique name: **HH HWH HWY ŠQṢD HŠH HY 'W HW HH YHH PTṬGHW HH YH YHW HW HYY WHY YHNYH WNHHYH MTGMHWH HYQHH WHY H' ṢR MQWQṢṢYH HYH WHY HH TS HWW HYH YHW HY HYH WYH TYH ZYH THWHY**. And he should hold the head prince of them all and say: I adjure you **'HYWPSQTYH** strong and powerful, the head of all the heavenly hosts, to be bound by me, you, yourself, and not your messengers, and to bind for me these princes who are with you, to fulfill for me my desire through this sword by a name that is irreplaceable:[40] **YHWWH 'HH HWH HHY HH 'YH HYH HW HWH YHWHY HW HY WHYH WHH 'HWHY HHY 'H WHWHY YH WH 'H WH 'H YW HY HW HY HYH HH WH YHW HWY HWY HHWH YHW YHW**, for you are beloved and He (i.e., the Lord) is beloved and I, too, am from the seed [69] of Abraham who is called beloved.[41] Blessed are You YHWH King of the mysteries and Lord of the secrets, who hearkens unto prayer.

And he should not touch or use this sword until he has carried out these things; and afterward he may perform everything that he desires according to that which is written (i.e., in the last part of the treatise), each matter according to its proper order.

And this is the sword:[42] **TWBR TSBR 'KN ṬṬH MYṬS** . . . Thus, in the names and appellations of you all, you who are powerful everywhere, there is none like you, hurry, and make haste and bring me **'SSY 'SS W'SSYS W'PRGSYH YRWNYQ' YRK YRṢ YHṢ YQṢ** so he may fulfill for me my every desire in the name of **Y'W YHWHH YH HYH 'WZRWS 'WZWRWS SWMRT'** . . .

[70–74] . . .[43]

Holy angels, superior to all the hosts of **HWHY HWYH HYWHH WHH YH 'H YHH**, who arise from the throne that is set for them before

40. The Hebrew phrase can also mean "by a priceless name."

41. Cf. *Midrash Sifre on Deuteronomy* 352, R. Hammer, trans., *Sifre: A Tannaitic Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), 364 ff., and the parallels indicated in HdM, 88, n. 31.

42. Most of the "sword" of words is a huge collection of *nomina barbara*, which will not be transliterated here. Only two sections of the "sword," which are intelligible, one at the beginning and the other one at the end, will be translated. See further the discussion on the structure of the "sword" and the clusters of "names" it comprises in HdM, 115–21.

43. Here follows an extensive sequence of *nomina barbara*, which frames most of the "sword."

Him, in order to be bound to those who subjugate the sword (and) to fulfill for them their desire. In the name of the master of all the holy ones who are the heads of all the angels, creator of the world **QLTYR' 'LY 'LY MPY MQRNS** the one who seals the earth and the height(s), creator of human beings, His servants, **DHW HWH 'H WH YH WH HH** superior, God, through whom (i.e., the angels)[44] I am visible in the world, **QLWTMY MQR'M 'ṢPHWYY ŠŠNWHYY**, you, (the angels) who are superior [75] to me everywhere, the master of all requires[45] of you to carry out for me the thing that I desire, for you can accomplish every desire in heaven and on earth, in the name of **YHW HY HWHY HWH 'HW WHY YH HH WH HHY YWHY HY 'HY HY HWH YHW HWH YHW HW YYH YHW YHW HH HHH YHW HWHH YHY HW HWH HW'H HWWH YH HW HW WD HHW YWHYH HH YWHY HWH 'HYH 'HW HWH YWHW HY HHW 'HY 'HH HWH HW HHY HH YH HH WH HH WYH HH 'WHH HHYHH HH HH HHW YHH YH HY HHY HHY HHWH HHY HWH 'HH YHW 'L 'L YHW**, as it is written in the scripture: *I am the Lord, this is my name* (**Is. 42:8**).[46]

[1]If at a full moon[47] you wish[48] to seize and to bind a man and a woman so that they will be with each other, and to annul spirits and blast-demons and satans, and to bind a boat, and to free a man from prison, and for every thing, write on a red plate from **TWBR TSBR** until **H' BŠMHT**.[49] [2]And if you wish to destroy high mountains[50] and to pass (in safety) through the sea and the land, and to go down into fire and come up,[51] and to remove kings, and to cause an optical illusion, and to stop up a mouth, and to converse with the dead, and to kill the living, and to bring down and raise up and adjure angels to abide by you, and to learn all the secrets of the world, write on a silver plate, and put in it a root of artemisia, from **TWBR TSBR** until **H'**

44. On a contextual level, the Aramaic plural "through whom" is peculiar. However, grammatically it makes sense as referring to the angels.

45. The Aramaic "I desire" is erroneous.

46. Isaiah's words may also be phrased "Me, YHWH is my name."

47. The words "in full moon" are apparently interpolated here by mistake.

48. The original is written in the 3sg.

49. This is the way that the author indicates the precise section of the "sword" to be recited in each and every recipe.

50. Cf. DJBA, 887 (*pgr'*).

51. Cf. § 113.

BŠMHT. [3]For a spirit that moves in the body, write on *magzab*[52] from **TWBR** until **MNGYNWN**. [4]For a spirit that causes inflammation, write from **MGNYNWN** until **HYDRSṬ'**. [5]For a spirit in the whole body, write from **HYDRSṬ'** until **H' BŠMHT**. [6]For a demon, write from **H' BŠMHT** until **Y'WYHW**. [7]For (a spirit of) terror,[53] write from **Y'W YHYW** until **YY YY YY**. [8]For diphtheria(?),[54] say over rose oil from **YY YY YY** until **'WNṬW** and he should drink (it).[55] [9]For an (ear?)ache,[56] recite[57] in his ear on the painful side from **'WNṬW** until **HWTMY'S**. [10]For any kind of eye pain, say over water for three days in the morning from **HWTMY'S** until **MSWLS** and he should wash his eyes with it. [11]For a cataract, say over sesame oil from **MSWLS** until **PSMY** and he should rub (his eye with it) for seven mornings. [12]For grit (in the eye), say over powdered *koḥl*[58] pertaining to his name from **PSMY** until **SYṬWN** and he should apply (it) for three mornings. [13]For blood that runs from the head, recite over his head from **SYṬWN** until **QWRY** for three mornings on which you wash your hands before you get out of your bed. [76] [14]For *Palga* spirit,[59] say seven times over a vessel full of water and seven times over sesame oil from **QWRY** until **HYMY** [I adjure you *Palga* spirit . . .] to be removed and to get out of N, son of N. Amen Amen Selah. And pour (the water from) that bucket over his head and rub him with that oil. Do that to him (three times in the course of) three days and write for him in an amulet from "I adjure you" until "Amen Amen Selah"[60] and hang (it) on him. [15]For

52. Both the etymology and meaning of the Aramaic *magzab* are unclear. It is an object large enough to write upon and small enough to be carried on the body (as attested in § 95. Cf. § 35).

53. For this spirit see also J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1987), B1:3, with the note on p. 127. Cf. ibid., B13:13, and see DJBA, 830 (*srwdt'*).

54. The Aramaic *askarta* apparently denotes a throat disease that involves choking. See DJBA, 149 (*'skrt'*); DTTM, 94 (*'skr'*).

55. Lit. place it in his mouth.

56. The location of this recipe among those that relate to head problems as well as its suggested treatment implies that it deals with an earache. However, the original Aramaic might also be a slight miswriting of the word "tooth" and thus meaning "For a tooth(ache)."

57. The Aramaic verb also bears the meaning "to whisper." Both meanings, however, denote the pronunciation of a charm.

58. *Koḥl* is a blue powder used for painting the eyelids.

59. For *Palga* spirit, see bPes. 111b. The name *Palga* derives from the word "to split." Thus, the harm caused by this spirit may be identified with a migraine or C.V.A. paralysis.

60. That is, the recited formula. Cf. HdM, 37, nn. 155 and 156.

hemicrania (spirit) and for a spirit that cuts the (skull?) bone,[61] write from **HYMY** until **ŠDY** and hang (it) on him. [16]For a spirit that blocks up(?) the bone, write from **ŠDY** until **'HYH** and hang (it) on him. [17]For an earache, say in his left ear from **ŠDY** until **'HYH** backward. [18]For deafness, say over intestines of *shelifuta* while it is cooked in *ydy* oil from **'HYH** until **RWS** and place it in his ear when it has dissolved slightly. [19]For a boil and *sifta*[62] and *shimta* and an infected pustule and *rigsha* and a man's member that is tied (impotence) and *ḥazozita*, and for wet or dry *ḥafofiata* and sore spots that occur on a person, say over olive oil from **RWS** until **SŠTWMTY'L** and rub it with your left hand. [20]For jaundice, say over water in which pellitory are boiled from **SŠTWMTY'L** until **YY'ZNY'** and he should drink (it). [21]For pain in a nostril and for a nostril spirit, recite over *ydy* oil from **YY'ZNY'** until **YYHQLTYH** and pour it into his nostril. [22]For pain in the stomach and for pain in the intestines, say over water from **YYHQLTYH** until **YYSWSWGYH** and he should drink (it). [23]For scabs, say over water in which oleander [leaves] are boiled from **YYSWSWGYH** until **YYQRMTYH** and he should bathe in it. [24]For *hazorta* and *tarsana* and (problems concerning) the testicles, say from **YYQRMTYH** until **HWTMZ**. Say (it) once over them and once over olive oil and rub him for three days (with the oil) and do not let any water come near them. [25]For (a person who was hurt by) an evil sorcerer, say from **HWTMZ** until **GYPRY'** over seven unglazed jugs filled[63] with water from the river and pour (it) over his head. [26]For (the case of drinking) uncovered (liquids?),[64] spit spittle into his mouth and say over his mouth or over a cup of *shekhar*[65] from **GYPRY'** until **HLYWHW** and he should drink (it) and see what comes out of his mouth. [27]For a person bitten by a snake or any reptile[66] that causes damage, say over the place of his wound or over vinegar from **HLYWHW** until **'M'WS** and he should drink (it). And also against any reptiles and distress charms[67] this charm, from **HLYWHW** until **'M'WS**, (is beneficial). [28]For a woman who sees (menstrual) blood not at the proper time, say over the shell

61. The placement of this recipe, which probably refers to bones problem, may imply that pain of the skull is concerned.

62. This word as well as all the other undecipherable terms in this section apparently denotes some kind of skin disease.

63. The original word is a scribal mistake.

64. The original Aramaic is uncertain.

65. The Aramaic word denotes an alcoholic beverage other than wine.

66. Cf. DJBA, 1076 (*ryḥš'*).

67. That is, charms for sending reptiles to cause injury to someone or for causing him distress.

of an ostrich egg from **'M'WS** until **Y'WS** and roast (it) in the oven and tie [77] (it) on her.[68] [29]For every pain in the mouth, say over flour when it is purified[69] from **Y'WS** until **RTBN** and he should adhere (it) in his mouth. [30]For *shukhta* and *ashḥata*,[70] say over wine from **RTBN** until **SSṬN** and he should drink (it). [31]For (an aching) sciatic nerve, write on a leather sheet from **SSṬN** to **YKṢRṢ** and also recite (it) over olive oil and he should rub that amulet with that olive (oil). And also smear his aching thigh (with the oil) and hang that amulet on him. [32]For strangury (i.e., retention of urine), say over a cup of wine from **YKṢRS** until **TPSMT** and he should drink (it). [33]For hemorrhoids, take a flock (of wool)[71] and put salt in it and dip it in oil and say over it from **TPSMT** until **YGLWN'** and he should carry (it) on him. [34]For a person who has swelling and also (for) one who has gonorrhea,[72] say over water in which pellitory are boiled from **YGLWN'** until **'HRWNY'** and he should drink (it). [35]For *nishma*,[73] you may write on *maqzab* from **'HRWNYY'** until **'PNGYKYS** and he should put it upon the place of the *nishma*. Everything that is like that will be cured. [36]Or you may take a rope(?)[74] made of wool and dip it in *ydy*[75] oil and say over it from **'HRYNYS** until **'PNGYKYS** and he should put it on the place of the *nishma*. [37]For heavy blows[76] and for a wound caused by an iron knife and any wound that it should not inflame, say over white naphtha from **'PNGYKYS** until **QYS'** and he should rub (it) on the place of his wound. [38]For cough and stomach ache, say over the choicest *ydy* fat from **QYS'** until **'TQS** and he should drink (it). [39]For a (diseased) gall bladder and excrement (problems), say over water in which grapes are boiled from **'TQS** until **'LYHW** and he should drink (it). [40]For the liver of a sick person, say over *shatita*[77] made of water lentils from **'LYHW** until **'TNWHY** and he should take (it) and sleep a little. [41]For a (diseased) spleen, say [over] a large

68. Lit. on him.

69. The original is miswritten. Cf. DJBA, 779 (*nšyp*).

70. Both words denote ailments. While the former apparently indicates some kind of skin disease or pus exuding from an infection, the latter is uncertain.

71. See below, § 42.

72. The Aramaic is difficult. It seems to indicate a genital disease.

73. The exact meaning of this word, which occurs in three different forms in this book, is uncertain.

74. The uncertain Aramaic is apparently a mistake.

75. For *ydy* oil (or fat), see further §§ 18, 21, 38, 86.

76. Lit. for destruction.

77. *Shatita* was a certain kind of porridge made of ground gains or dried fruits. See DJBA, 1185 (*štyt'*).

cup of wine from **'TNWHY** until **MYBN'S** and he should drink (it). And do that for him for three days. [42]For a spirit that dwells in a woman's womb, say over camphor oil[78] from **MYBN'S** until **TWSY** and put it on her with a flock of wool. [43]For a woman that miscarries, say over a cup of wine or over *shekhar*[79] or water from **TWSY** until **ŠQBS** and she should drink[80] (it) for seven days. And even if she sees blood, say (it) over a cup of wine and she should drink (it) and her fetus will live. [44]For a man whose hair does not grow, say over nut oil from **ŠQBS** until **SLGY** and he should smear (it). [45]To adjure a (heavenly) Prince, write on a laurel leaf: I adjure you, the Prince whose name is **'BRKSS**[81] in the name of **SLGYY** until **YGṬWS**, to [hasten?] and come to me and to reveal to me [78] everything I need (to know) from you and do not tarry. And the one bound by you will descend and reveal himself to you. [46]To remove a magistrate from his prominent position, say over dust from an ant hill from **YGṬWS** until **QTNQ** and throw it toward him. [47]To cure a sore, take him (i.e., the patient) to the riverbank and say over him: I adjure you sore in the name of **QTNQ** until **NT'LSS** to depart and be annulled and pass from N, son of N. Amen Amen Sela. And he should go down and immerse himself seven times in the river and when he comes up write him (in) an amulet from "I adjure you" until "Sela,"[82] and hang (it) on him. [48]For *burdes*(?),[83] write on a red copper plate from **NT'LSS** until **MYBN'S** and hang (it) on him. [48a][84]And if [you wish] no rain to fall[85] on your roof, write from **MYBN'S** until **'S'**. [49]And if you wish to see the sun, take a *dby* stone[86] and a web of a male date palm and

78. Cf. DJBA, 594 (*kpwr'*). See, however, also DTTM, 624 (*kwpr'*), where Jastrow suggests: "oil of pitch."

79. Cf. § 26.

80. The original is written in the masculine (here as well as in the following sentence).

81. For *abraxas/abrasax* see W. M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995): 3380–3684 (at 3577).

82. That is, the spoken spell mentioned above.

83. The meaning of the Aramaic is uncertain.

84. This prescription was skipped while enumerating the recipes in the manuscript (apparently for the preparation of the index). It is identified here as 48a in order to keep in line with the original numbering.

85. The Aramaic is erroneous.

86. The Aramaic is miswritten both here and in the next occurrence of the word. The translation is based on the close parallel in HdM, 140, §144.

stand opposite the sun and take(?)[87] a stone called *atrophinon* and thorns of the bramble[88] and say from **'S'** until **H'HWN** and you shall see him as a man dressed in white and he will answer you whatever you ask him, and he will even make a woman follow you. [50]A person who wishes to descend into a fiery furnace should write on a silver plate from **H'TWN**[89] until **B'TYR** and he should hang (it) on his thigh and descend. [51]And if you see a king or a ruler and you wish him to follow you,[90] take a *sora*-vessel of water and put in it a root of artemisia and a root of purslane and a root of *artakles* and say over it from **B'TYR** until **'HSWTY** and place (it) on coals of fire in an unglazed clay (vessel) and put on it olive leaves, and everyone upon whom you decree will come to you, and even if it concerns a woman. [52]And if you wish to reverse them, take spring water and say over it from **'HSWTY** until **'PWNY** and cast (it) toward them. [53]For everything (i.e., any charm) you wish to untie, say over water from **'PWNY** until **'GTŠ**[91] and cast (it) over him (i.e., the bewitched person) and also write (the formula) in an amulet and hang (it) on him. And also (you can use it) to release a man from prison. [54]To catch fish, take unglazed sherds[92] and place olive leaves upon them and say over them from **'NTŠ** {and place} until **'TQNZ** and place (them) at the riverbank. [55]To make a woman follow you, take some blood of yours and write her name[93] on a new lamp when she comes and say toward her from **'TQNZ** until **'TWMY**. [56]To make a man follow you, take a new sherd and dip (it) in black myrrh and say over it pertaining to his name from **'TWMY** until **PNKYR** and go and depart and do not look backward. [57]For trees that do not produce fruit, write on a new sherd from **PNKYR** until **BRY** and bury it among the roots of the trees[94] that

87. The original "and say" is syntactically impossible. It seems that the occurrence of the abbreviation for the Hebrew "and say" in the next line misled the scribe.

88. On the use of the bramble (*'wrdyn'*, *wrdyn'*) in magical activity, see bShab 67a with G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic—A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 411–14.

89. The correct form is **H'HWN**.

90. The meaning of the following is apparently the fulfillment of one's request.

91. The correct form is **'NTŠ**. Cf. the next recipe and the lists of names in HdM, 33.

92. The original is written in the singular. The preposition occurs twice in the plural ("on them").

93. The original is written in the masculine. Further masculine forms in the recipe ("he comes," "towards him") are also translated in the feminine.

94. The original is written in the singular. The following preposition is in the plural.

[79] do not have[95] (fruits) and water all those trees. And do the same (also) for a date palm that does not produce fruit. [58]For white rot[96] that afflicts fruit, write on a new sherd from **BRY** until **BRTY'** and bury (it) in the water canal (cistern?)[97] on that plot of land. And also say [these words] over water and ash and salt and water the earth. [59]For a *merubya* spirit,[98] write on a plate of tin from **BRTY'** until **'WZWRWWS**. And also recite (it) in his ear seven times and spit while you recite. And also say (it) over a jug of water seventy times and let him drink of it. [60]For a person bitten by a rabid dog, write on the hide of a donkey that has been peeled from its carcass from **'WZWRWWS** until **'NSTRHWN**. And remove his clothes and say (it) over sesame oil and let him rub (it) all over his body and let him put on different cloths, and hang that hide on him. [61]For fever or sons of fever,[99] write on the membrane of the brain of a ram or a buck from **N'STRHWN** until **M'DMWG** and hand (it) on him. [62]For someone who is walking on the way and gets lost, he should say over the four corners of his *uzar*[100] from **S'DMWG** [until] **'QWTG** and it (i.e., the way) becomes straight.[101] [63]If you wish to borrow something from someone, say over lily oil or over *aqusa* oil or over *suta* oil from **Q'WTG** until **'LYHWS**. [64]One more,[102] If you wish a woman to follow you,[103] take some of your blood[104] and write (with it) on her gate your name and her name and write on your gate her name and your name and say in front of her gate from **'LYHWS** until **GSKY'**. [65]And if you wish to know (whether) you succeed in your journey or not, take a *gila'a* lettuce[105] whose leaves are spread out and stand in front of the sun and say from **GSKY'** until **'SDWS** and watch: if its leaves are withered

95. The original seems to be an awkward Hebrew-Aramaic phrase.

96. The Aramaic term indicates a fruit disease being compared to the whiteness of milk.

97. The Aramaic term apparently relates to the irrigation system.

98. *Merubya* seems to correlate with *meruba*, *merubin* that occur in the incantation bowls as names of a certain kind of evil spirit. See DJBA, 705 (*mrwb'*).

99. Fever and sons of fever are perceived as evil personae that cause the disease. The "sons of fever" were probably those who caused a less severe fever.

100. The meaning of the original is uncertain. Gaster's suggestion, "belt," which reads a Hebrew word with an Aramaic suffix, seems implausible.

101. In the original, the last word ("and it becomes straight") occurs as part of the name.

102. This phrase probably relates to § 55, which is designated for the same purpose.

103. The original is written in the masculine.

104. The original is miswritten.

105. *Gila'a* lettuce possibly indicates round-leaved lettuce. See DTTM, 238 (*gyl'*).

and bent you should not go, but if it is in its natural state you should go and you shall succeed. [66]If you wish to release a man from prison, say once in front of him and once in front of the sun and once in front of the prison[106] from **'SDWS** until **YQWTNY**. [67]To (disperse an) assembly,[107] take dust from your house and say over it seven times in the paths of the town from **YQWTNY** until **'QTDS**, and also take [dust] from the paths of the town and say likewise over it and throw (it) within your house. [68]If you wish to kill a person, take mud from the two banks of the river and make a figure and write his name on it. And take seven thorns from a withered date palm and make a bow of *ḥuskaniata* wood and strands of horse hair and put the figure in a cloth bag[108] and stretch the bow over it[109] and shoot it and say over every thorn from **'QTDS** until **PRSWSY** may N, son of N, be injured, and he will be removed from you.[110] [69]If you wish to send a sore[111] (to afflict someone), take [ ][112] of seven people and put (it) in a new clay vessel and go out of the town and say over it from [80] **PRSWSY** until **'BNSNS** and bury it in a place that has not been trodden over by a horse. And after that take some earth from above that clay vessel and scatter (it) in front of him (i.e., the person to be afflicted) or on the threshold of his house. [70]To send a dream against someone, write on a silver plate from **'BNSNS** until **QYRYW'S** and place (it) in the mouth of a cock and slaughter it while it is placed in its mouth and turn its mouth around and place it between its thighs and bury (it) at the bottom part of a wall. And put your heel on its place and say thus: in the name of [ ][113] may the swift messenger go and torment N, son of N, in his dreams until my will is fulfilled. [71]If a snake follows you, say toward it from **QYRYW'S** until **'YLWHŠ** and it will wither. [72]And if [you wish]

106. Lit. in front of a weapon. It seems more plausible, however, that the original should have been in front of "the house of weapon," i.e., the prison.

107. The original is uncertain. Cf., however, DJBA, 575 (*kynf'*). The location of this recipe between one for releasing a man from prison and the aggressive ones that follow suggests that it too has an aggressive inclination; possibly for the sake of juridical or physical self-defense.

108. The original seems to be a miswriting of either "rough cloth" or "money-bag."

109. The original is miswritten.

110. The two Aramaic words meaning "and he will be removed from you," which close the recipe are awkwardly marked by the scribe as initials. They suggest that the deed is directed against an oppressor.

111. For the demonization of sores, see § 47 above.

112. The word is missing.

113. The words, possibly the names written on the silver tablet, which also had to be recited, are missing.

to detain a ship at sea, say over a sherd or a stone from **'YLYHŠ** until **'SNWRPY** and throw (it) toward it into the sea. [73]And if you wish to release it, say over earth or over a clod from **'SNWRPY** until **NPṬGNS** and throw (it) into the water and when it dissolves[114] it is released to travel. [74]If you wish to close an oven or a basin or a pot so that (foods) will not be put (in them)[115] say over earth from **NPṬGNS** until **SPṬSY'** in front of them and throw (it) toward them. [75]If you wish to untie them, spit your spittle before them and say from **SPṬSY'** until **SGMS**[116] and they will be (released for) cooking. [76]If you wish to cross over the sea as on dry land, say over the four corners of a scarf in the fringes.[117] Hold one corner (of the scarf) in your hand and another corner will go before you, and say form **GSMS** until **'PSWMT.**[118] [77]If you wish to curse a person, say while you pray, in (the benediction called) *Makhni'a Zedim*[119] may **'SQWHḤYY** strike(?)[120] N, son of N, in the name of **'PSWMT** until **QHWHYHWṬ**. [78]And if you wish to speak with the dead, say in his left ear from **QHWHYHWT** until **'HYŠWNY** [ ][121] and until **'ZRYQY** and throw (it) into their holes.[122] [79]If you wish to kill a lion or a bear or a

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114. The original verb can also relate to the spell by which the ship was detained, meaning "and when the spell is untied."

115. Another possible translation of the original: "so that they will not become ritually unclean," is implausible in this context. The next recipe makes clear that this charm is aimed at preventing the utensils from being used for cooking.

116. The relevant name in the "sword" is **GSMS** (HdM, 34, § 76). See also the next recipe.

117. The original is miswritten. Cf. § 91, where the fringes of a belt are indicated.

118. The instruction to recite the formula seems to have been integrated into the text at this point either by mistake or as a deliberate correction of what is missing above. It should appear as part of the ritual to be performed over the four corners of the scarf where it says "and say" but no formula is indicated.

119. *Makhni'a Zedim* ("You who overpower the evil ones") is the twelfth benediction of the daily *'Amida* prayer.

120. In the original, the name **'SQWHḤYY** is followed by another one: **YGWPṬ**. However, as the sentence lacks a verb it is possible that this name is actually a miswriting of the Hebrew "will strike him." If that is the case, then the adjurer should turn to **'SQWHḤYY**, who is mentioned among the thirteen archangels as **'SQWHHYY**, and adjure him to strike N, son of N.

121. Due to a scribal error at this point, both the end of the recipe concerned with speaking with the dead and most of the one that follows it are missing. Thus, § 78 actually comprises the beginning and the end of two consequent recipes and indicates two consequent formulas—from **QHWHYHWT** until **'HYŠWNY** and from **'HYŠWNY** until **'ZRYQY**.

122. See the previous note.

hyena[123] or any harmful animal, say over earth [from under][124] your right foot from **'ZRYQY** until **NNHYH** and throw (it) toward them. [80]If you wish to (magically) bind them, say over earth from under your left foot from **NNHYH** until **HYṬG'Y** and throw (it) toward them. [81]If you wish to open a door, take the root of *zirdeta* reed and place (it) under your tongue and say in front of the door from **HYṬG'Y** until **BYRQS**.[125] [82]If you wish to kill an ox or cattle, say in its ear from **BRQS** until **TMYMS**. [83]If you wish to inflame (fire of love) in (someone's) heart,[126] say over a piece (of meat)[127] from **TMYMS** until **BDRQS**[128] and put it by him and he should eat it. [84]If you wish to make someone demented, say over an egg from **BRDQS** until **'HYTY** and give (it) to him [81] into his hands. [85]If you wish to destroy someone's house, say over a new sherd from **'HYTY** until **Š'YLS** and throw (it) into his house. [86]If you wish to banish someone, say over *ydy* oil from **Š'YLS** until **'SPKL** and smear (it) on the doorpost of his gate.[129] [87]If you wish to make someone hated (by others), say over let blood from **'SPKL** until **'ZMRS** and pour (it) on his threshold. [88]If you wish (to cause) a women to abort, say over a jug of water from **'ZMRS** until **YZY'WS** and pour (it) on her threshold.[130] [89]If you wish to make someone sick, say over olive oil from **YZY'WS** until **N'SṬG** and he should rub (it). [90]If [you wish] to know concerning a sick person whether he will die or recover, say in front of him from **N'SṬG** until **LHRṬN**. If he turns (his) face to you he will recover and if (he turns his face) to the wall he will die. [91]If you wish to hold a lion by its ear, say from **LHRṬN** until **DWDY'H**, and tie seven knots in the fringes of your belt and say (the formula mentioned) over each and every knot and hold it. [92]If you wish for your fame to go forth in the world, write [in] an amulet from **DWDY'H** until **'FṬYGW-NNY'** and bury it at your gate. [93]If you wish the earth to contract before

123. In the context of lions and bears, the original is probably the Aramaic term for hyena. However, the Hebrew for viper should also be considered.

124. Cf. the next recipe.

125. The correct form is **BRQS**, as found in both the next recipe and the correlative formula in the "sword" (HdM, 34).

126. The original is miswritten.

127. The original Aramaic may also denote a certain meat dish or a piece of bread.

128. The correct form is **BRDQS**, as found both in the next recipe and in the correlative formula in the "sword" (HdM, 34).

129. The original is miswritten. The correct words may also denote "the threshold of his gate."

130. Lit. his threshold.

you,[131] say over a single *zirdeta* reed from **'FṬYGWNNY'** until **YWL-WYHW**. [94]If you wish (a person) to be cured from hemorrhoids and not to be sick again, take a pit of *hana shira'a* (fruit)[132] and roast (it) in the oven and say over it from **YWLWYHW** until **'PYWN** and mix it with olive oil and let him take (and put) a little[133] on it and it will become better. [95]For every (kind of) dripping(?),[134] write on *magzab* from **'PYWN** until **KRY'K** and let him hang (it). [96]For poison, grind *palgagi* cumin[135] [and] write (with it?) on an egg[136] and put (it) in wine and say over it from **KRY'K** until **HYPRW** and let him drink (it). [97]For hailstones that descend[137] from the sky, take a ring of iron and lead and hang (it) on something tall at any place that you wish and say over it from **HYPRW** until **GRWMY**. [98]If you wish to enter before a king or the nobles, say over lion skin while it is dipped in black myrrh and clear wine from **GRWMY** until **ŠHRYWMY** and carry[138] (it) on you. [99]For blight that afflicts the field, take a tendon and soak it in turnip water in the night between Wednesday and Thursday and on the next day sprinkle that water on that field and say from **ŠHRYWMY** until **QHTṬY**. [100]For worms that afflict the fruit, take a worm from the mud and put (it) in a tube and say over it from **QHTṬY** until **STGMY** and shut the opening (of the tube) with pitch[139] and bury (it) in that plot of land. [101]To release a man from prison, say over residue of gum arabic[140] and over *tuhala* dates from **STGMY** until **'YY** and let him eat (it). [102]For land that does not produce fruit, take eight jugs from eight houses and fill them with water from eight canals and put salt into them from eight houses and say over them from **'YY** until **'SH'L** eight times and sprinkle over each corner (of that plot of land)

131. The practical meaning of the contraction of the earth is the shortening of the journey.

132. The precise meaning of the Aramaic *hana shira'a* is uncertain. However the "pit" indicates that it is some kind of a fruit (unless the words are miswritten).

133. I assume that the original is a miswriting for "a little." Otherwise the recipe as a whole makes no sense (even though the phrase itself is legible: "and let him take and put an amulet on it").

134. The given word is uncertain and so is its meaning. It presumably derives from a word that denotes "a drop" in the Aramaic of the Targumim. See DTTM, 1484 (*rys'*, *rsys'*).

135. Lit. cumin of *palgagi*.

136. It is plausible that the formula that should be written on the egg is the one to be recited over the wine.

137. Lit. when it comes.

138. Lit. and hold. Cf. nn. 146, 150.

139. The original is miswritten.

140. The given word is miswritten.

two jugs (of water) and break those jugs over eight paths. [103]For a sick person who is weak[141] and you do not know why he is weak,[142] boil *shikhra*[143] in water and say over that water from **'SH'L** until **LWQY** and let him drink (it) when he is thirsty. [104]To stir up a battle, take dust from under your left foot and say over it from **LWQY** until **QBQZY'L**[144] and throw it toward them and they will separate and take up weapons[145] and fight. [105]If you wish to impose your terror over all people, write on a lead plate from **QBZQY'L** until **GTHWṬY'L** and bury (it) in a synagogue on the western side. [106]If you wish light to shine for you when it is dark, write on a sheet from **GTHWṬY'L** until **ZRWQZ''L** and carry[146] (it) on you whenever you desire. [107]If you wish to tie eyes (from afflicting evil), write on a leather sheet and place (it) in a vessel[147] (made) of palm leaves under the stars from **ZRWQZ''L** until **BTQNŠY'L**[148] and do not speak while you write. [108]If you wish to send a sword and it will fight for you, say over a new knife (made) entirely of iron from **BTQŠNY'L** until **TŠHWHY'L** and cast it toward them. [109]If you wish them to kill each other, say over a knife (made) entirely of iron from **TŠHWHY'L** until **KLLYSTNY'L** and bury it with the bottom part[149] in the ground and put your heel on it (while) in the ground and they will kill each other until you take it [out of] the ground. [110]And if you wish them to calm down, take dust from under your right foot and say backward what you have said and throw (it) toward them and they will calm down. [111]And if an adversary lays hold of you and wishes to kill you, bend the little finger of your left hand and say from **KLLYSTNY'L** until **KTRYHY'L** and he will run away from you like a man who runs away from his killer. [112]To cause an optical illusion, say over a lion's hide from **KTRYHY'L** until **HDGSWM'Y'L** and carry[150] (it) on you and no one will see

141. The word apparently denotes the deterioration of the sick person's condition or even his or her passing.

142. This is a case when the lack of a precise diagnosis prevents the implementation of a more focused treatment.

143. See n. 65 above.

144. The correct form is **QBZQY'L**, as found in both the next recipe and the correlative formula in the ''sword'' (HdM, 34).

145. Lit. tools of war.

146. Lit. and hold. Cf. nn. 138, 150.

147. The original is written in the plural.

148. The correct form is **BTQŠNY'L**, as found both in the next recipe and in the correlative formula in the ''sword'' (HdM, 35).

149. The ''bottom part'' of the knife is apparently the hilt.

150. Lit. and hold. Cf. nn. 138, 146.

you. [113]If you fall [into] fire[151] and you wish to ascend out of it, say from **HDGSWM'Y'L** until **SMQTY'Y'L** and you will ascend safely. [114]If you fall into a deep pit without knowing, say while you fall from **SMQTY'Y'L** until **HMGG'Y'L** and nothing will harm you. [115]If you are drowning[152] in a deep river, say from [83] {**SMQTY'Y'L** until} **HMGG'Y'L** until **MŠQW-NY'Y'L**[153] and you will come out safely. [116]If a rock or a landslide falls on you and you are (trapped) under it, say from **MŠQWNYN'Y'L**[154] until **QNY'YS'Y'L** and you will escape safely. [117]And if the authorities lay hold of you, bend the little finger of your left hand and say from **QNY'YS'Y'L** until **BKLHWH'Y'L**[155] before the king or the judge and he will kill the people who have seized you. [118]If a band of marauders attacks you, turn toward the west and say from **BKLHWH'Y'L** until **QDŠYG'Y'L**[156] and they will become like stones and will not move. [119]And if you wish to untie them, face toward the east and say backward what you have said. [120]And if you walk in valleys or mountains and there is no water to drink, raise up your eyes to heaven and say from **QDŠYG'Y'L** until **PYZQHY'Y'L**[157] and a spring of water will be opened for you. [121]If you are hungry,[158] raise up your eyes to heaven and spread out your arms to heaven and say from

151. The given word is unclear.

152. Lit. drowned.

153. This is no doubt a scribe error. The required formula is from **HMGG'Y'L** until **MŠQWNY'Y'L**.

154. The correct form is **MŠQWNY'Y'L**, as found both in the previous recipe and in the correlative formula in the "sword" (HdM, 35).

155. The phrase "and you will escape safely . . . **BKLHWH'Y'L**" is written in the margin. Having realized that he had skipped over the end of § 116 and § 117 in its entirety, the scribe added the missing section in the margin and indicated its place in the text with a common sign. Nevertheless, he did not erase the name **BKLH-WH'Y'L**, which he had mistakenly written right after the name **MŠQWNY'Y'L**, probably because he considered it inappropriate to cross out a holy name (in other cases, he did erase surplus words that he had mistakenly written. See the next note.). Thus, the name **BKLHWH'Y'L** occurs twice in the text—first, by mistake, after **MŠQWNY'Y'L**, and then in its correct position at the end of § 117. It is copied here only once.

156. The words "before the king or before the judge," which occurred appropriately in the previous recipe, were copied again by mistake at this point. They were eliminated with a line by the scribe.

157. This name occurs three times, each in a different form: here, in the next recipe and in the "sword." The scribe apparently considered the current form to be correct, since he also wrote it in the margin of the line where it occurs in the "sword."

158. The original is miswritten.

PZQHY'Y'L until **QRSRNHY'L** and a Prince will stand before you and will give you bread and meat. [122]And if you wish to summon the Prince of Man to you, say over your scarf from **QRSRNY'L**[159] until **HBQŠPHY'L** and the one bound by you will descend and he will come to you[160] and whatever you desire (to know) he will tell you. [123]And if you wish to remove him, say before him backward what you have said and he will go. [124/5]If[161] you wish that any heavenly Prince will teach you what he knows,[162] call **'HYWPSQTYH** and adjure him in the third hour of the night (with the words:) "in the name of the master of all the holy ones" until the end of the sword, send to me (the desired angel) and he will reveal to me and teach me all that he knows[163] and (then) he will flee.[164] [126]If you wish to walk upon water[165] so that your foot will not sink, take a lead plate and write on it [from] **HBQŠPHY'L** [until] **Š'STŠHY'L** and place it in your belt and say (the formula written) while you are walking. [127]If you wish to become wise, mention (during) three sequent months starting at the beginning of the month Nisan in *Ḥonen ha-Da'at*[166] from **Š'STŠHY'L** until **'GPTNSHY'L**, may the gates of wisdom be opened to me so that I shall contemplate them. [128]If you wish to learn immediately everything that you may hear, write on an egg laid on the same day from **'GPTNSHY'L** [until] **QNYNSHW'L** and erase (it) with undiluted wine in the morning and drink (it) and taste

159. The correct form is **QRSRNHY'L**, as found both in the previous recipe and in the correlative formula in the "sword" (HdM, 35).

160. Cf. § 45.

161. Both numbers 124 and 125 occur in the margin and the next recipe is marked 126. Thus, one recipe is missing. In any case, recipe 124/5 requires the recitation of the closing section of the "sword," which mentions **'HYWPSQTYH**, the highest angel in the heavenly hierarchy, who is described at the beginning of the treatise (and was most probably composed by the compiler himself). Thus, its appropriate position in the list of recipes should be close to its end, near § 137. It was apparently located here due to its content, which broadens the option of acquiring angelic knowledge suggested in the previous recipe. See the discussion on this recipe in HdM, 128–29.

162. Lit. will teach you that which is in his hand.

163. See the previous note.

164. I prefer to read the original as a Hebrew word integrated into the text rather than as an Aramaic one, which means "to tremble." The occurrence of Hebrew words in the list is not infrequent and it seems more likely that the adjurer wishes to dismiss the angel after having heard from him what he needed to know, rather then to make him tremble. Cf. §§ 122–123.

165. Lit. in the water.

166. *Ḥonen ha-Da'at* is the fourth benediction of the weekday *'Amida* prayer. Cf. note 7 above.

nothing for three hours. [129]If you wish to make someone forget all that he knows, write, pertaining to his name, on a laurel leaf[167] from **QNYNSHW'L** until **'WBRYHW'L** and bury (it) under his threshold. [130]If you wish to send an evil demon against your enemy, take a green locust and say over it from **'WBRYHW'L** until **QSGHNHW'L**[168] and tie to it (a piece of) wormwood and let it fly away. [131]To send[169] a spirit, take a bone of a dead person and dust from below him in a jar[170] and tie it up in a (piece of) linen [84] rug (together) with saliva[171] and say over it from **QSGHNHW'L** until **MRGHMHW'L**,[172] pertaining to his name, and bury (it) in a cemetery. [132]For (catching) thieves, say: May thieves and robbers be bound and surrender in the name of **MRGWHMHW'L** until **'ṬṬHSHW'L**,[173] and while reciting (it) put your little finger in your ear {while reciting (it)}. [133]And when you wish to release them, say from **Y'WYHW**[174] and remove your hand from your ear. [134]To close up your house against thieves, say over a jug of water from **'ṬṬHSHW'L** until **MPGSRHW'L** and sprinkle (it) all around your roof. And (it is effective) also for sealing a town. [135]To seal a house from marauders, take dust from a nest[175] of ants and carry (it) around your roof and while carrying (it) around say [from] **MPGSRHW'L** until "in

167. The original is miswritten. For writing on a laurel leaf, see also § 45.

168. Neither this name nor any possible miswriting of it appears in the "sword" of names. It thus seems that some of the original names in the "sword" have been omitted. See HdM, 36, n. 140.

169. The original is miswritten.

170. The original Aramaic means "molar" (or tooth), which is unlikely in this context. It is more plausible, then, to read it as a close miswriting of jar.

171. The exact denotation of the original is hard to discern.

172. This name occurs in three different forms—here, in the next recipe, and in the correlative formula in the "sword."

173. In the original, the name was written with double-S (**'ṬṬHSSHW'L**) and then one was assigned by the scribe as a surplus without being erased (Cf. n. 155 above). The form **'ṬṬHSHW'L** also occurs in § 134 and in the correlative formula in the "sword."

174. The formula to be recited is not clear. The name that opens it is not found in the "sword" and neither is its end included. Actually, the formula required in the next recipe (§ 134) begins with the name that ends the one required in § 132. Bearing in mind the technique of saying a formula backward in order to reverse the act accomplished through reciting it forward (for example, §§ 109–10, 118–19, 122–23) it seems reasonable that the current recipe required the recitation of the previous formula from end to beginning. However, the name **Y'WYHW** does not occur in the formula indicated.

175. The original is miswritten.

the name of the master of all the holy ones.''[176] [136]To seal yourself from an evil spirit, say in the name of **TWBR TSBR** until **HYDRST'**, I, N, son of N, will pass in peace and not in harm.[177] And (act the same way) also to excommunicate them (i.e., the evil spirits) whenever you encounter them. [137]And for all other things that are not referred to explicitly, (say from) ''in the name of the master of all the holy ones'' until the end of the sword. And upon each amulet that you may write from the sword write on top (of it) ''in the name of the master of all the holy ones.''

[. . . In order][178] that the deed (performed) through this sword[179] might be put into effect and he (i.e., the one who wishes to use the sword) will come forth to manipulate[180] it and all these deeds (suggested above), and they will be transmitted to him for the sake of manipulating them just as they were transmitted to Moses, son of Amram, may divine peace rest upon him. But he who acts not (in accordance with the prescripted action) in his act and will come forth to manipulate it, angels of anger and rage and wrath and fury rule over him and torment his body and all (the limbs) of his body cause him to be cold. And these are the names of the princes who lead them: the name of the prince who is appointed over the angels of anger—**MZPWPY'S'Y'L** is his name; and the name of the prince who is appointed over the angels of rage {is}—**ṢQṢWRWMTY'L** is his name; and the name of the prince who is appointed over the angels of wrath—**QSW'PPGHY'L**

176. In the original the words are mixed up. Cf. the correlative phrase of the ''sword'' and § 137.

177. The original is uncertain but apparently denotes harm. Cf. DJBA, 374 (*hzyq'*, *hyzyq'*).

178. Due to the incoherent syntax of this paragraph, the suggested reading is uncertain. The words ''[in order] that the deed (performed) through this sword will be put into effect'' can also be understood as the end of the previous sentence and not as a beginning of a new phrase. In that case one should read: ''And for all other things that are not referred to explicitly, (say from) 'in the name of the master of all the holy ones' until the end of the sword. And upon each amulet that you may write from the sword write on top (of it) 'in the name of the master of all the holy ones' so that the deed (performed) through this sword might be put into effect.'' Nevertheless, it seems to me that at this point, toward the end of the treatise, the compiler returns to speaking about the use of the sword, in general, and the preliminary rite for having control over it, in particular. Thus, I believe that the beginning of this sentence, which related the importance of carrying out the preliminary ritual before trying to make a concrete use of the ''sword,'' is missing in our text. See HdM, 132–33.

179. The original is miswritten.

180. The original is miswritten.

is his name; and the name of the prince who is appointed [over the angels of] fury—**N'MWSNYQTTY'L** is his name. And there is no number to the angels that are under their authority and all of them rule over him and his body will be made disfigured[181] (cf. **Dan. 3:29**). May the Lord guard you from all evil. Amen.

End of the sword with the help of *God dreaded in the great council of the holy ones* (**Ps. 89:8**).

181. The original is miswritten.

DAN LEVENE, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia: "May These Curses Go Out and Flee"* (Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 2). Brill, Leiden 2013. Pp. xiv + 164. Price: €98.00 hardback. ISBN: 978-90-04-25092-5.

The present volume is the author's second monograph on the subject of the Aramaic incantation texts from Late Antique Mesopotamia inscribed upon terracotta bowls,[1] and the very first volume by any scholar on a specific sub-genre within those texts: curse texts or aggressive incantations, which stand out from a genre (namely, bowl magic) that is otherwise defensive.[2] Levene has assembled 30 exemplars of this sub-genre, including 12 from the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin and the Samir Abu Dehays Collection that had never been published before, and an additional two from the Vorderasiatisches Museum that had been published in the late nineteenth century but for which Levene was able to dramatically improve upon the original readings and translations. These new texts are undoubtedly the most exciting thing about this offering, but scholars will also benefit from his improved readings of the sixteen other texts that have been assembled in this volume. The volume concludes with a bibliography of relevant literature, a synopsis of seven formulae that are characteristic of these aggressive incantations, glossaries of vocabulary and different classes of proper nouns, and an index of seventeen biblical quotations found within this corpus.

Each publication of such texts brings with it a wealth of new data, and the potential for disagreement over their interpretation. The language of these incantation texts differs from that of the classical texts, and they present their own challenges to interpretation that reflect their independence from those texts. Even some of the most common terms encountered in the bowl corpus are problematic cruces, and in some cases Levene has supplied idiosyncratic translations without further commentary (although in fn. 31 on p. 8 he suggests that he might take up the thorny question of terminology again in a future publication). This is the case, for example, with the common terms *rāzā* 'secret; mystery,' which he regularly glosses as 'spell,' *millaṯā* 'word,' which he glosses as 'incantation', and the problematic term *disqā*, which Segal[3] derives from Greek δίσκος, Müller-Kessler[4] considers to be a corruption of *dastaḇīrā* 'written deterrent' based on the parallels,[5] and which Levene glosses simply as 'document.'

[1] The first is D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* (London and New York 2003).

[2] Another important publication in the same series is S. Shaked, J.N. Ford and S. Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells — Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls — Volume One* (Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 1, Leiden, 2013). The largest corpus of incantation bowls to be published in recent years is J.B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London 2000).

[3] Segal, *Catalogue*, 66.

[4] C. Müller-Kessler, 'Die Zauberschalensammlung des British Museum', *Archiv Für Orientforschung* 48–49 (2001), 115–45 (122).

[5] See also R.G. Kent, 'The Etymology of Syriac Dastabīrā', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 31:4 (1911), 359–64.

The presentation of the data is thorough, professional, and succinct. Only two minor omissions detract from the utility of the publication, namely the lack of references to the provenance and script of the bowls.

The vast majority of the published corpus of incantation texts was acquired through purchases from antiquities dealers and therefore lacks any clear provenance. The texts published in this volume are no different in this regard. Of the bowls published for the very first time in this volume, those from the Vorderasiatisches Museum were acquired from a Baghdad dealer in 1886, and one is from the personal collection of Jordanian financier Samir Abu Dehays. The six bowls from the British Museum collection are also of unknown provenance. Bowls N&SH 6 and 7, originally published by Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked and currently in the Israel Museum, both come from the personal collection of an Iranian businessman, Mr Alqanayan.[6] Bowl N&SH 9, likewise from the collection of an unnamed private collector, was in the possession of Victor Barakat at the time of its original publication. Mr Barakat attributed it to 'the Bethany area in the vicinity of Jerusalem', a provenance which the two scholars regarded with scepticism.[7] N&SH 21 comes from another private collection, the Einhorn Collection in Tel Aviv, as does N&SH 23, from the Alexander L. Wolfe Collection in Jerusalem.[8] The one bowl from the Royal Ontario Museum, 907.1.1, was originally published without any indication of provenance,[9] and the final bowl, Yale Babylonian Collection 2393, was acquired for that collection by Albert Clay and allegedly comes from Nippur.[10] Thus, of this entire collection of texts, only two have vague provenances, of which one is extremely dubious.

Therefore, the author can be certainly excused for omitting any information about the provenance of these bowls, as there is not much to say in that regard. Unfortunately, the lack of any provenance makes the inclusion of a script chart all the more critical. Without knowing the precise geographic origins of the bowls, or the likely time periods during which the bowls were deposited, deduced from the stratigraphic context within which they would have been recovered under the controlled conditions of a proper archaeological excavation, the only way that we can recover this crucial information is by establishing a typology of the script used in the bowls and classifying them through reference to the script of those bowls that have been recovered from archaeological excavations. James A. Montgomery encouraged this as a best practice in his publication of the Aramaic incantation texts from Nippur,[11] but he has admittedly seldom been followed in this regard. For these reasons, I have drafted a script chart of the newly published texts in this collection.

[6] J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*[3] (Jerusalem, 1998), 160.

[7] Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 178.

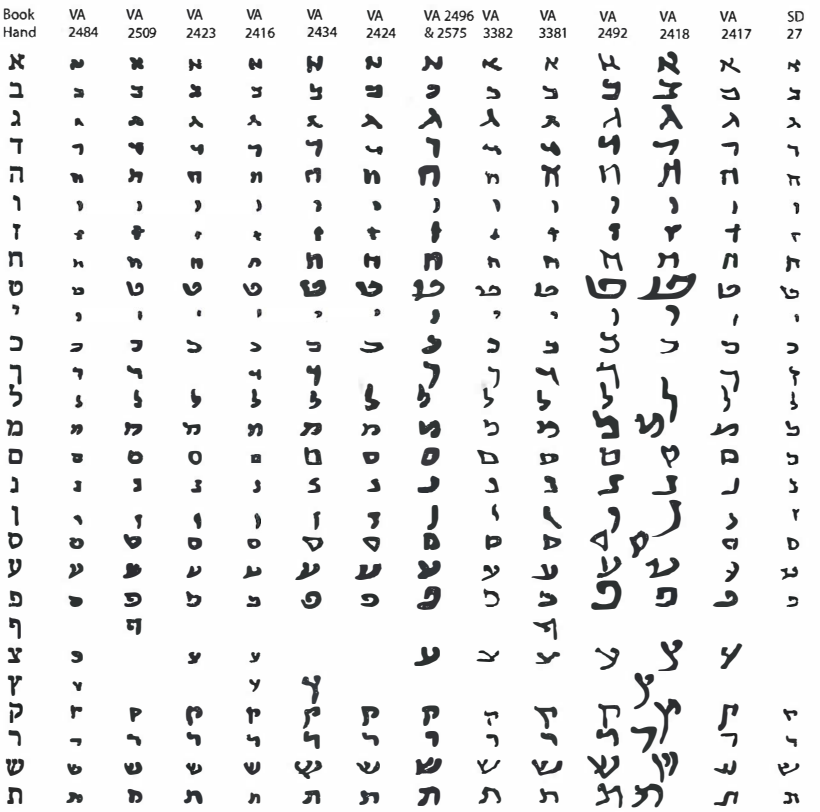
[8] J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1993), 127–32.

[9] W.S. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean Incantation Bowls in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto 1967), 3–5.

[10] J. Obermann, 'Two Magic Bowls: New Incantation Texts from Mesopotamia', *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 57:1 (1941), 1–31 (2).

[11] J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia 1913), pls XXXIX and XL.

Table 1. Comparison of Scripts



Inadvertently demonstrating the utility of such a chart, Levene draws attention to the script of the bowls at several points throughout his work, such as when he notes the similarity between the hands of two incantations in the British Museum on p. 10, and the peculiarity of the script of VA 2417 on p. 90. For the non-specialist, it is extremely useful to have examples of the letter forms organized in one place to illustrate these claims.

The latter text, VA 2417, stands out even against the unusual backdrop composed by these texts. He draws our attention to what he considers several Mandaeisms in the language of the bowl, such as *ʾəlāḵ* for *ʿălāḵ* 'to/for you' (*passim*) and *ʾapʿrā* for *ʿapʿrā* 'dust' (l. 8). In his translation, he glosses (l. 7) the name <'ḤWRBH> as 'at/on the ruin' and the accompanying epithet <'WTR'> as 'place', but in light of the other Mandaeisms in the text it might be possible to analyse the name as a compound along the same lines as Mandaic **iurba** *Yurbā*, 'the great Yāhû/Iao' who is identified with the supreme deity of the Jews in the Mandaean Book of John. Hence *ʾAḥūrbāl ʾAḥū rabbā* would mean something like 'Big Brother', and his epithet could be cognate with Mandaic **eutra** *ʾuṯrā* 'aeon.' I would also like to suggest that the

words that follow be read, *'uṯrā də-Samqī* 'the aeon of Samqi'[12] *w-'uṯra d-ileḏ 'aḥdī* 'and the aeon who brought joy to a child' (or possibly even *yalḏ[ī]* 'children.')

This text is also noteworthy for the reappearance (in l. 5) of the genius 'Abīṭūr, who first appeared in bowl excavated by Layard at Tell Amran ibn Ali, BM 91710, the very first of the incantation bowls to attract scholarly attention.[13] In his edition of the British Museum's collection, Segal identifies this being with the Mandaean 'Third Life,' **abatur** *'Aḇāṭūr*, albeit without merit. To my knowledge, this being appears nowhere else within the corpus, so his reappearance here is certainly welcome, as it provides an additional clew to a central Mesopotamian provenance. The incantation itself, for raising a pack of 'zombies' to invade a victim's home, consume all the food and beverages, and generally raise mayhem, is also unique within the corpus of incantation texts.

It would be difficult to improve upon Levene's fine readings, which are cautious and well-substantiated. For this last text, VA 2417, I might only tender the following alternative suggestions:

l. 7	*yleḏ 'aḥdī*	'he delighted a child'	for	*ṣad 'ərāḏī*	'hunting wild asses'
l. 9	*kursēhon*	'their thrones'	for	*kursēḵon*	'your thrones'
l. 10	*'uḏnā*	'ear'	for	*'īḏ{ḏ}ā*	'hand (?)'

In closing, this volume serves as a useful reference for researchers interested specifically in curse texts, but daunted by the prospect of rummaging through the disconnected and at times contradictory scholarship that has accumulated over the course of over a century and a half on the thousand or so bowl texts that have thus far been uncovered, searching for the few that are directly relevant to their interests.[14] Levene should be commended for bringing these texts to scholarly attention and making them accessible to a broader audience.

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[12] Wohlstein ('Ueber einige aramäische Inschriften auf Thongefassen des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 9 (1894), 11–41 (41)) identifies Samqi as a Babylonian place name, citing a swamp of that name mentioned in Tractate Yebamoth, ch. 16.4, 121a ('Once a man drowned in the swamp of Samqi (*'agmā də-Samqī*), and Rav Shela permitted his wife to marry again'). In this he is followed by Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 296. The description of Samqi as a 'swamp' and the reference to Rav Shela likely place it somewhere in the vicinity of Nehardea. Drower (*Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* [Oxford, 1937], 94–5) hypothesizes that the *'uṯrī* were originally 'originally life-spirits bringing fertility and wealth in the shape of rain and springs', which would certainly be consonant with this identification.

[13] Segal, *Catalogue*, 55.

[14] The first such texts were published in A.H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London 1853), 434–48, 150 years prior to the publication of this volume. Since that point, there has been a nearly continuous stream of publications on the corpus. The interpretation of these texts has been the occasion for a not inconsiderable amount of polemic between the scholars engaged in this task, which further complicates the efforts of non-specialists to make sense of the corpus and apply it to their own research.

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Jewish-Aramaic Incantation Bowls

Haggai Misgav

This article will discuss 12 clay bowls bearing text with magical characters written on the inner side. The inscriptions on three of the bowls are so illegible that even the language and script in which they were written is uncertain. Three others are readable, but the letters do not form a coherent text, and the magical value of the text cannot be determined. Six others are preserved well enough to read.

The script on the bowls is Jewish script, which originated in Eretz Israel in the second century B.C. and was used by Jews and developed from the cursive Aramaic script of the Persian and Hellenistic periods. By the Byzantine period this script attained almost the same form it has today. This script is the main characteristic that defines these 12 incantation bowls as Jewish artifacts. The other indications – names and formulas – are sometimes common to incantation bowls of other religions and cultures, as will be discussed below.

The text on 11 of the 12 bowls was written in a spiral, starting from the center of the bowl and continuing clockwise upward. One bowl was written in an unusual way: Rather than as a spiral, its more than 40 lines are inscribed in parallel rows clockwise from the rim downward. Some bowls have a figure drawn in the center.

Incantation bowls were very common among all communities and faiths in Sassanid Babylonia. Magic was a shared cultural platform for all inhabitants of this region. Bowls used by Jews, Christians and pagans were alike not only in the design of the text and the way it was used, but also the magical formulas and names of angels and demons mentioned. Formulas may include names of Iranian demons and demon-kings alongside distinctly Hellenistic names such as Abracsas or Abrasacs (which appears frequently), together with blessings and prayer formulas that are distinctly Jewish (Naveh 1992: 158). The names of the bowls' clients also vary widely and most of them do not seem to be Jewish. Just as the magicians who were the authors drew on a variety of sources of magical knowledge, so their clients did not seem to care whether the magic spells were written by Jews or non-Jews as long as the incantation proved reliable. Jewish incantations are not indicated by

the names of demons or inaugural formulas but rather by their literary context, referring to the God of Israel and an end formula that includes either biblical verses or, more rarely, Talmudic references.

Structure of the Incantations

A repetitive structure can be identified that is common to all known incantation bowls. This structure consists of an invocation, followed by an incantation against demons, then the name of the client, sometimes including his or her property, and other family members. Sometimes that section is followed by names of angels evoked to protect the client. An ending formula then closes the inscription.

The order of the incantation's elements might vary. It may begin with the client's name and property, and then move on to the names of the demons or the illnesses and mischief from which the client seeks protection. The opening is selected according to the order of the elements. Sometimes not all the components are found; the various options will be discussed below. Parts of the formula often repeat themselves, so a single incantation may include a number of spells, repeating or differing, some repeating the client's name and some not. The magicians were not bound to a specific formula, as in prayers today, but rather combined the spells as they saw fit apparently according to their experience and knowledge.

The Invocation

"Healing from Heaven": this phrase defines the practical purpose of the bowl (Shaked and Naveh 1985: 146–52). Other invocations may be independent magical formulas not necessarily connected to the sentence that follows, for example, "Hear O Israel." Although this is a well-known Jewish religious declaration, it is used here as a magical formula. Invocations taken from other sources include words or phrases such as "*kame'a*" (קמיע = amulet) or "*ketava dena*" (כתבא דנא = this writing) or "*raza dena* (רזא דנא = this secret) is to shut up mouth of [demons or enemies]". One invocation that defines the nature of the spell is the opening "*mazal* (מזל = fortune or luck)," appearing on bowl no. 3. Another common invocation defines the object itself, "*Kasa*" (= lit. drinking glass, meaning the bowl) do not appear in our group.

The Demons

This part of the incantation usually includes terms banning harmful demons. These can be used dualistically, expressing both paralysis and inability to act in a physical sense as well as legal obligation. For example, the term "prohibited" (*asirin*, lit. "bound") can convey both meanings: binding demons in chains, and banning them from committing a

harmful act. The term "cursed," however, which also appears frequently in incantations, is a typical magical term and has no physical or legalistic connotation.

In other cases, no prohibition terms are directed at demons and the client is protected only by the opening words – "healing from heaven" – followed by a list of demons. This list is at the heart of the magic act; no magic spell exists without reference to dangerous elements.

Similarities between magical and legalistic formulas are well known. Examples from ancient Mesopotamia in the third and second millennia B.C. for magical procedures formulated in legalistic language against witches *in absentia* indicates that the procedures themselves are magical and the "verdict" takes away the witch's power to do harm (Abusch 1974; 1995). The very specific nature of the language, as in legal documents, is aimed at preventing the demon from evading the results of the procedure. The association between legalistic and magical action stems from two shared characteristics: the use of words to change reality and the perception that the world of magic, like the legal world, is one where law and order prevail.

The use of exact names of demons mentioned in the incantations gave rise to the *Historiolae*, which are stories about the expulsion of demons. This kind of story ends with a dramatic revelation of the name of the demon or the Lilith, and sometimes the names of the protecting angels as well (Shaked et al. 2013: 13). The famous story of Rumpelstiltskin belongs to this category, as does the story of Smamit and the three guardian-brothers who overcome the child-murdering demon Sideros (Shaked and Naveh 1985: 104–22). Another example of this genre, mentioned in many other spells, is the story of Rabbi Joshua ben Perahia who revealed the names of Lilith's parents and was thus able to enforce a divorce upon her (Montgomery 1913: nos. 8, 17; Isbell 1975: 44–49; Naveh and Shaked 1985: 158–63).

The spell usually overcomes the demons by calling upon the names of guardian angels. However, in bowl no. 1, instead of angels' names, a biblical verse (Zech 3: 2) probably plays the protective role in addition to serving as an ending for the incantation.

Zech 3: 2 became a popular verse by which to end incantations because it mentions a reprimand of Satan by God. This verse is not only a literary ending but is in itself a kind of guarantee that the spell will work since God himself carries out the action.

Types of Spells

The sources of magic are quite varied and can originate from all branches of Jewish literature – the Bible, Talmudic and Hekhalot literature and Midrash. Jewish contacts with other cultures resulted in the use of foreign sources as well, leading to magic playing an interesting role as a bridge between cultures.

Prayer as a Spell

Two types of spells can be distinguished in the bowls under discussion. In bowl no.1 the formula does not contain names of angels and is a kind of prayer. "Healing from heaven will be for home and for repairing (property?), sons and daughters of Bety Bar Honmta." This meticulous and detailed formula mentions the client's name, family and possessions. It also includes types of demons against which the spell was aimed. However, it does not explain how healing will occur except by the words "mercy of heaven." At the end of this short prayer a legalistic formula appears – the phrase "firm and valid." These words, designed to make the formula effective, are followed by the abovementioned biblical verse. This incantation – in fact, no more than a prayer – represents a minimalist approach to the use of magical powers such as angels and other sacred names. A parallel formula can be found in a bowl ending with a blessing next to which is a spell that includes a detailed incantation with "by the power of His great name" (בשמיה רבא) (Naveh and Shaked 1992: 137). Although this is a prayer, it is still a magic spell. The bowl was set in a particular place in the home, often under the threshold, and was assumed to do its work without being either recited or read by the client – the text itself was believed to have independent power. This practice contradicts the idea of prayer, a religious act at the heart of which the worshipper's personality and intentions are involved. This is in fact the essence of magic. One can believe in the existence of evil and demons and pray to expel them but that is not magic. The line between prayer and magic may be thin but nevertheless it is clearly present – it is the boundary between intention and a spell, which does not require intention.

Bowl no. 1 may represent a different attitude toward magic, one that is ostensibly compatible with the halakhic world. The sages did not ignore the value of magic; however, they emphasized halakhic practice and preferred formulas that did not exceed the boundaries of normative prayer.

Spells with Powerful Protective Names

Another type of spell found on bowls of this corpus evokes the protective names of angels and other powers against demons. These magical names can be divided into three types:

1. Names of the angels, which usually end with "el" as do the names of numerous angels in the Hekhalot literature. The Hekhalot literature is a corpus of mystical literature whose date is controversial but whose sources come from the late Second Temple period. Scholars have pointed out the connection between this corpus and magical traditions (Scholem 1965: 75–83; Naveh 1992: 169–72). The spell-writers who used such names were probably familiar with Hekhalot literature. Many Jewish magical formulas indicate a relationship to Hekhalot literature, not only in names but also in the structure of the spell, poetic form and repetitions of divine attributes (Shaked 2013: 23–27).

2. Greek names, indicating proximity to and familiarity with to the Hellenistic world. Lyman-Elizur (forthcoming) showed how the abovementioned story of the three guardians was imported from the Greek mythology into Jewish spells, and the names mentioned on bowl no. 5, Sosi and Singoli and Mnmos, belong to that world. As noted, the use of these names, although Greek, does not make the spell non-Jewish. The Jewish association of the spell is also evident in the words "the sanctity of amen amen selah" and "three guardians," phrases that occur in original Jewish magical spells. During this period Babylonia was part of the Sassanid-Parthian Empire and thus Iranian influence is evident, particularly in the names of demons and evil spirits that surrounded clients and spell-writers in Babylonia. The protective powers were apparently believed to have been imported from the Holy Land, therefore they used both biblical sources and concepts from the Hellenistic world. It may be concluded that the earliest Jewish magic sources probably came from the Land of Israel, although in the case of the abovementioned story of Smamit the original story and names are Greek, written in Palestinian Aramaic (Lyman-Elizur, forthcoming; Shaked and Naveh 1985: 146–52).

3. Names of objects with magical power. Bowl no. 6 mentions a seal and ring, a phrase also known on other bowls. The names Moses and Aaron (i.e., their rod and miter) next to the words seal and ring indicates the same connection. The combination of Moses, Aaron, seal and ring may imply an association with an unknown legend about a seal with magical powers owned by Moses and Aaron. Because the bowl itself contains power, the reference to other known powerful objects reinforces the magic. Inscriptions on other bowls sometimes mention up to six or seven objects in the same spell, including Moses' rod, Aaron's miter and the horns of the altar (Naveh and Shaked 1992: 91–95).

The Bowls

1. Cat. No. T15608



Fig. 1. inscription 1

1. אסותא מן שמיא מן שמיא תיהוי ליה לביתיה ולילתיקונתיה ולבניה ולבנתיה דאית
2. ליה וידהון ליה לבטי בר חונמתא תיתסי אסותא שלמתא ברחמי שמיא מן שידי דיכרי ומן
3. לילתא נקבתא ומן פיטוריתא ומן מללתא ומן לילתא דוכרא ומן לילתא נוקבתא ומן חילמי בישין ומן חינונין בטילין ומן
4. כל אילין בישין ומזיקין בישין דאית בעלמא כוליה אמן אמן סלה שריר וקיים ויאמר ייי אל השטן יגער ייי בך השטן ויגער [ייי בך הבוחר בירושלים הלא זה אוד מוצל מאש]

Translation

(1) *Healing from heaven from heaven will come for his home and for repairing (of his property?) and his sons and daughters*

(2) *of Bety Bar Ḥonmta, that he owns now and will own in the future. Shall be for him a complete healing by the mercy of heaven, from male demons and*

(3) *female Liliths and from enemies and slander and male Lilith and female Lilith-and bad dreams and from idle rumors (?)*

(4) *and from all those bad and harmful (demons) that are in the whole world. Amen, amen sela, firm and valid. And the Lord said unto Satan: 'The Lord rebukes thee, O Satan, yea, the Lord [that hath chosen Jerusalem rebukes thee; this man is a brand plucked out of the fire]'*

This bowl features a human face drawn at the center of its floor, occupying about a third of its space. The spell calls for the complete healing of Bety Bar Ḥonmta from a list of

specified demons. It ends with Zech 3: 2, common, as noted above, due to the divine rebuke of Satan that it contains. The name of God is represented here by the letter *yod* repeating four times, replacing the Tetragrammaton, the writing of which was avoided due to its sanctity. The end of the verse is almost illegible but has been reconstructed based on the wording of Zech 3: 2. As noted, this spell does not contain sacred names or angels (except the abbreviation of the Tetragrammaton in the biblical quote), but rather just a prayer for health.

Line 1. מן שמיא מן שמיא "from heaven from heaven" – unnecessary duplication; probably a scribal error. תיקונתיה – lit. "his repairing" – apparently a reference to the client's property.

Line 2. ודיהון = וידהון; the writer changed the order of letters.
ודיהוון – "that he will own."
תתסי – "will be healed," in the third person singular feminine, passive form; this form refers to the healing itself which is a feminine noun in Aramaic, as the rest of the language indicates that the client was male.
שידי דיכרי – "male demons."
לילית נוקבתא, ליליתא דוכרא – "female Lilith and male Lilith." The term "female Liilith" appears twice in this line. Although Lilith is a distinctly female figure, male Liliths are also mentioned here, and this term is well known in incantation bowls.

Line 3. פיטוריתא – from the Persian, "enemies" (Greenfield and Naveh 1985: 106, note of S. Shaked).
חילמי בישי lit. "bad dreams," i.e., nightmares, understood as the result of demonic activity or witchcraft.
חינונין – perhaps רינונין – "rumors, gossip;" the word is unknown.

Line 4. אמן אמן סלה שריר וקיים – "amen amen selah, firm and valid" – a phrase common in amulets of this period. It is based on the curse on a woman suspected of infidelity, in Num 5: 11–31 where the woman responds "amen, amen," a call for the curse to come true her if she is found guilty. The ending formula "amen, amen" appears in some magic bowls and in synagogue inscriptions, such as that of Ein Gedi (Naveh 1978: 107–109). The Ein Gedi inscription has several lines with magical characteristics, cursing anyone who violates the community rules in certain matters. The other part of the formula, "firm and valid," as noted above, is a common ending to legal documents. This combination is another indication of the close relationship between magical and legal formulas discussed above.

2. Cat. No. T27987



1. שמע ישראל [...] אסרין שבועות]
2. ...] ממללא תיתסון [...
3. ולא משחרירי וממ[...] לותהון בשום וישתדועאל
4. מפגע מסטני מחילמי בישי מליליתא בישתא בשום אפרגשואל בכדואל סמאל שמשיאל סמרואל...
5. אינון וזע[...] דהון בש[..] בשופטי ב[...] מסטנין מחילמי בישי מליליתא בישתא[...]
6. ויאמר יהוה אל השטן יגער יהוה בך השטן ויגער יהוה בך הבוחיר בירושלים
7. הלוא זה אוד מוצל מאש

Fig. 2. inscription 2

Translation

(1) *Hear O Israel ... prohibitions, oaths ...*
(2) *….. speaking, will be healed...*
(3) *and not of Shaḥriri [...]with them , in the name of Wishtdo'el*
(4) *from hazard , from devils ,from bad dreams , from bad Liliths , by the name of Afrgsuel Bkduel Samael Shmshiel Smruel ...*
(5) *they ... devils, bad dreams, bad Liliths...*
(6) *and the Lord said unto Satan: 'The Lord rebukes thee, O Satan, yea, the Lord that hath chosen Jerusalem rebukes thee*
(7) *this man is a brand plucked out of the fire.'*

The text is extensively damaged, missing and blurred. A figure was probably painted in the center of the bowl, but it is very difficult to detect.

Line 1. שמע ישראל – "Hear O Israel"– This opening formula, a well-known phrase, is taken from Deut. 6: 4 and has magical value. The Babylonian Talmud (Berachot 33b) prohibits uttering these words twice, or reciting them backwards, probably because

the sages acknowledged that this sort of recitation had magical significance. A sherd bearing the words *Shema Israel* ("hear O Israel") three times (Hecht Museum collection, unpublished), is an example of the use of such a magical technique. The prayer traditionally recited before sleep, which contains these words, also features magical elements, such as repeating verses and angels' names, to protect the individual from nightmares and demons.
אסרין, שבועות – "prohibitions, oaths." This formula is very common and recalls the release from oaths, such as the Kol Nidrei prayer that begins the Yom Kippur service. Such release absolves the individual who took the oath or vow from the grave transgression of failure to fulfill it. In the formula under discussion here, however, the bans and curses are meant to be imposed on the demons.

Lines 3–4. The text displays a common list of demons, devils and evil occurrences.
שחרירי – *shaḥriri* – apparently another group of demons. In the Babylonian Talmud (Baba Kama 20b) the term *shachrorita d'ashiyata* means "blackening the walls." The discussion there involves a dwelling or courtyard unoccupied by its owner into which someone else had moved, debating the legal concept of an uninvited tenant who, while enjoying the property, causes no damage to its rightful owner. This gave rise to the question of whether such a tenant should pay rent. Some sages argued that the fact that the courtyard was inhabited prevented damage, because an abandoned house becomes a home for demons who kicked and butted the walls. However, living in the courtyard caused damage by blackening walls, probably due to fires lit there. The writer of the magic bowl may have thus been influenced by the tradition reflected in the Babylonian Talmud.
פגע – "evil occurrence, recalling 1 Kings 5: 18: "There is neither adversary, nor evil occurrence." The Hebrew אין שטן ואין פגע רע literally means "no Satan and no evil occurrence," with the word Satan placing the term "פגע" (i.e., "evil occurrence") in a magical context.
אפרגשואל בכדואל סמאל שמשיאל סמרואל – This is the list of angels mentioned by name in order to fight the demons. Lists of angels are less common in bowls, whose incantations usually focus on demons, which are also listed below. As part of the text is missing, the structure of the incantation is unclear, but it probably contains three spells. It seems that after every group of demons a group of angels is mentioned. Three groups of demons and two groups of angels are distinguished here, while a third group of angels cannot be deciphered. The angel Samael, known from later Kabbalistic literature as the devil himself, is mentioned here as a good angel. This is not the only bowl where Samael appears in the role of guardian angel, and it is clear that Babylonian magic tradition did not know Samael as a devil or demon but rather as a good angel.

Lines 6–7. This incantation ends with the verse from Zech 3: 2, discussed above.

3. Cat. No. T28000



1. מזל מזל [...]בינ[...]
2. ...]מזיקין...נחתין[...
3. שמיתין לזניגו בר חיה עליה ועל בי[תיה...]
4. [....]שביתין ליטין[....] להון[...
5.
6.
7.
8. ...]בשמיתין[...

Fig. 3. inscription 3

Translation

(1) Luck luck [...]*byn*[…]
(2) ...] harmful [...] going down [...
(1) expelled for Znigo son of Ḥaya for him and his hou[se...
(2) ...] disabled and cursed [....] they ...
(8) expelled

The bowl is difficult to read; most of the letters resemble one another and even where the text is ostensibly written clearly it is very difficult to put together an entire word. Evidently common formulas are used, including "harmful spirits" and banned demons. Terms like שמיתין ("expelled") are rarer.

1. The opening "luck" (= good luck) or "lucky" is not found in other bowls.The word מזל could be translated as "fortune" or even a sign of the zodiac.

4. Cat. No. T27992



.1
.2
.3
.4
.5
.6
7. ..]ואל מכאיל רפאיל
8. ....] על [....
9. א[...]תין יהו לבגד[...
10. א]סותא טב ושמי דדרפא? [...]מא
11. ...]שמיא [.....]ושמאיעתא פוטתא
12. דפאטי בר [...

Fig. 4. inscription 4

Translation

7. *Jwel Michael Raphael ...*
8. *…on…*
(9) *banned (?) Bgd... will have ...*
(10) *good healing and the name ...*
(11) *from heaven ...*
(12) *of Patti son of ...*

The inscription is largely faded; the entire beginning up to the midpoint is illegible. A magical drawing may have been at the center of the bowl. The two angels' names use the letter *yod* as a *mater lectionis* for the vowel *e*. Also identified in this text are words indicating a supplication for healing (line 10) and perhaps the name of the client –"Patti son of (PN)" (line 12).

5. Cat. No. T28003



1.
2. כתר?...
3. כמא או [...] מחש[...]
4. דרדי בת....דעבדת ממתוס...
5. ממתונוס מתונוס תונוס ונוס נוס וס
6. סוסי וסינגולי מנמוס ומנמוס
7. מן..[...] ושיח דינקיטא
8. מקדושת אמן אמן סלה ושלושת שומר[...
9. תשובת עיניה וממן אשתלח...
10. בשום צומואל...
11. מן רוחא בישתא...

Fig. 5. inscription 5

Translation

(2) *Crown ? ....*
(4) *of Rdy daughter of ....that I made Mmtos ....*
(5) *Mmtonos mtonos tonos onos nos os*
(6) *Sosy and Singoli Mnmos and Mnmos ....*
(7) *from ... and spell (or pit) to be held*
(8) *from the sanctity of amen, amen selah and three guards ...*
(9) *replied by his eyes and from the (angel?) that was sent by...*
(10) *in the name of Tzomuel ...*
(11) *from evil spirit...*

The bowl is very damaged but still provides data on some unique terms.

Lines 4–5

דעבדת ממתוס... ממתונוס מתונוס תונוס ונוס נוס וס – I made Mmtos, Mmtonos Mtonos Tonos onos nos os. The word **דעבדת** (="that I made") indicates the magical formula composed

by the author of the bowl (or cited by him) (Naveh and Shaked 1992: 43–50). The verb *'bd*, lit. "make," is a common term in magic spells, as well as in a halakhic context. חסידים ואנשי מעשה (Mishnah Sukkah 5: 4), lit. "pious people and men of action," meaning men who could heal or save others in danger, and who were also very religiously observant and righteous. The formula itself contains a magical name in which one letter at a time is reduced from the beginning in order to diminish the demon's power. The Babylonian Talmud (Pesachim 112a) gives a spell against demons that reads: "A man should not drink water from rivers or pools at night, and if he drinks, 'his blood is on his own head' (he takes responsibility for his action), because of the danger. What is the danger? The danger of Shabriri. But if he is thirsty, what is his remedy? If a man is with him he should say to him, 'So-and-so the son of So-and-so (his mother), I am thirsty for water.' But if not, let him say to himself, 'O So-and-so, my mother told me, beware of shabriri: Shabriri, beriri, riri, iri ri, I am thirsty for water in white glasses.'"

The power of the spell relies on the belief that just as the name of the demon fades away, letter by letter, so does his power, because the name has magical power and represents the demon itself.

The demon Mmtonos is not known from other sources, but is associated with another formula mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 22a) "What is 'but they could not read the writing' (Dan 5: 8)?' Rav said: it was written in gematria, יטת יטת אידך פוגחמט and Samuel said ממתוס ננקפי אאלרן. And Rabbi Johanan said אנם אנם לקת ניסרפו. Rav Ashi said: נמא נמא קתל פורסין." The sages in this case were discussing the story in Daniel (5: 5) about a hand that appeared on the wall at Belshazzar's banquet and wrote "Mene Mene Teqel and Pharsin." The question was why the king's wise men could not read this phrase even though the words were written in Aramaic, which they ostensibly would have understood.

Four solutions are offered here, each presenting a different method that was used to encrypt the text. Rav mentions gematria, i.e., a code in which each letter is replaced by the one in front of it in alphabetical order. Samuel offers a different encryption, where the text was written vertically but read horizontally. R. Johanan and R. Ashi offer a different arrangement of the letters in the word – either reversing the order or mixing it.

Some of these encryption techniques have been documented in antiquity. For example, an ossuary from Jerusalem bears the name מולש = mwlš, which is the female name Shalom written backwards. Acronyms and codes are also in use in magic, aiming to conceal the formula from those who might obstruct its effectiveness. This practice maintains the formula's power because all of its original letters are in place, albeit concealed. According to the Babylonian Amora Samuel, the first word is Mmtos and this may be the source of the mysterious name Mmtonos used by the author of this magic bowl.

Although the name Memtonos probably originates in the abovementioned Talmudic formula, it was probably understood as the name of a demon, the reason the letters of the name are reduced (Mmtonos mtonos tonos onos nos os). This shows that the writer of the bowl was familiar with the Babylonian Amoraic tradition and understood this secret formula as a curse.

Line 6: סוסי וסינגולי מנמוס ומנמוס – Sosi and Singoli Mnmos and Mnmos, are probably versions of the known names Senoy, Sansenoy, and Semangelof. These angels' names were used in various formulas designed for the protection of newborns, and their names appear in some *Historiolae* written on magic bowls and amulets (Naveh and Shaked 1985: 104–22).

Line 8: [מקדושת אמן אמן סלה ושלושת שומר]ים – "from the sanctity of amen, amen selah and three guardians" (this line is written in Hebrew). The formula "amen, amen selah" is a sacred formula that usually validates other formulas; however, in this case it has magic powers of its own. As noted, the three guardians are perhaps the three brothers Sosy, Singoli and Mnmos mentioned in line 6.

Line 9: וממן אשתלח – "which was sent by." Perhaps the reference is to the angel that went ahead of the Israelites (Exod 32: 34; 23: 23). This figure is mentioned on an amulet from the synagogue at Meroth in Galilee, inscribed with the words: "in the name of Hto'a'a the angel who was sent before Israel" (Naveh and Shaked 1992: 43–49).

Line 10: צומואל – Tzomuel – the name of an angel, as revealed by the suffix "el." Lines 6–9, as well as line 10, repeats the invitation to angels to protect the client against demons.

Line 11: מן רוחא בישתא – "from evil spirit" – probably part of a list of various demons; however as noted, the reading is difficult and the names were not preserved.

6. Cat. No. T28001



Fig. 6. inscription 6

1. דיחתמ...
2. בית שמיה...
3. וארעה...
4. ותחתיה...
5. ובתיה...
6. ...
7. סרתא...
8.
9.
10.
11.
12. ....
13. ..]רתין ...
14. אבי...
.....
27. אתיא...
28. תריה...
29. ...
30. חמירין?...
31. סמי [...
32. ...
33. חברהמי...
34. שמא...
35. שמו...
36. ....
37. בחתמא...
38. ומשה...
39. עזקתא...
40. דסיהרא...
41. מטרנאל...
42. ויאמר י[ייי אל השטן?]
43. הבוח[ר בירושלים?...
44. ....

Translation

(1) *Sign ...*
(2) *in heaven? ...*
(3) *and the earth ...*
(4) *and lower ...*
(5) *and houses ...*
(6)
(7)
(8)
(9)
(10)
(11)
(12)
(13)
(14)
(15)
(16)
(17)
(18)
(19)
(20)
(21)
(22)
(23)
(24)
(25)
(26)
(27) *Letters/ signs/ miracles*
(28)
(29) ...
(30) *ties?*
(31)
(32)
(33) *and in the name of ...*
(34) *and in the name of ...*
(35)
(36) *and Moses . ..*
(37) *in the seal of ...*

(38) *and Moses*
(39) *ring ...*
(40) *of the moon ...*
(41) *Mtrn'l ..*
(42) *and the [Lord] said [unto Satan: 'The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan, yea, the Lord that]*
(43) *hath chosen [Jerusalem rebuke thee; this man is a brand plucked out of the fire]...'*
(44)

This bowl, unlike all the others, was not written in a spiral outward from the center but in parallel rows clockwise from the rim downward. Here, too, the inscription is poorly preserved. In the center is a silhouetted figure consisting of three circles one above the other. The upper circle has short horns and the middle one may have hands. The figure is surrounded by another circle.

Each line of this spell seems to consist of about ten letters, but the inside of the bowl is very blurred and no more than five to six letters of every line can be read. The suggested reading here of lines 42–43 is "God said ... choose ...." These words of Zech 3: 2 indicate the end of the formula; thus the next line is probably the beginning of the spell.

Despite the fragmented state of the inscription, some elements appearing in other bowls can be recognized here. The ring and the seal are magical objects; even the words representing them may be used as a spell. In lines 37–40 Moses' name and the moon are affiliated to the seal and ring, but the exact context is unclear. A ring of the moon is part of a formula on another incantation bowl (Naveh and Shaked 1992: 113–14). As, noted, the combination of Moses, Aaron, seal and ring may be associated with magical powers. Amulets from the Land of Israel bear Tetragrammaton, which was written on Moses' rod and Aaron's miter. These amulets indicate that the names of Moses and Aaron were associated with magical objects, as are the names of other biblical figures – King David and King Solomon (Naveh and Shaked 1992: 91–95). Another bowl mentions the Tetragrammaton carved on the ring of King Solomon (Shaked 2013: 137–39).

The angel named *Mtrn'l* may be associated with the name of Metatron, called the "great angel" – the most important angel in heaven in the Hekhalot literature. In this case the Greek name has the Hebrew suffix "el," which, as noted, indicates an angelic name.

7. Cat. No. T15611

The words on this bowl are meaningless.

תשומש תשמש תשומש אלול אלול אלול – Tsums Tsms Tsums, Elul Elul Elul. These are combinations of letters frequently repeated on this bowl. Bowls with meaningless script, *nomina barbara*, are common, but their function is unclear; it could be an ancient fake or a magic spell. The bowl also portrays a full figure at the center of the bowl. The figure has spiked hair, hands and fingers stretched to the sides and perhaps feathered wings. This figure may be a demon in the shape of a rooster; the Talmud (Babylonian Talmud, Berachot 6a) mentions demons in the form of roosters and offers a way to find them by spreading ashes around one's bed so the footprints could be seen on the morning after the demon's visit.



Fig. 7. inscription 7

8. Cat. No. T27999

This bowl portrays lines imitating letters (*lamed, resh, waw, yod*) which are meaningless (see above, bowl no. 7). The letters are relatively large.

9. Cat. No. T27994 ?

This bowl portrays lines imitating letters and repeated wavy lines. An empty circle is drawn in the center of the bowl.



Fig. 8. inscription 8



Fig. 9. inscription 9

10. Cat. No. 27997

The bowl is illegible and probably meaningless. It contains mostly imitations of letters. There are five concentric circles at the center of the bowl. A cross is painted in the inner circle and the circles around it are sprinkled with dots. This is apparently a bowl of Christian affiliation.

11. Cat. No.T27998

The bowl is illegible; the script could be either Jewish or Syrian. The script is not spiral but rather arranged on concentric lines. Two figures wearing garments with buttons are drawn at the center of the bowl.



Fig. 10. inscription 10



Fig. 11. inscription 11

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Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity - A Corpus of Magic Bowls.

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Abstract

Since the first magic bowl text in Jewish Aramaic was edited by Thomas Ellis in 1859 there have only been just over 100 such texts published. Among the most significant contributors were James A. Montgomery, Cyrus Gordon, Edwin Yamauchi, Markham J. Geller, joined more recently by Tapani Harviainen, Christa Müller-Kessler as well as Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked.

This dissertation includes text editions with critical apparatus for twenty hitherto unpublished magic bowl texts in Jewish Aramaic. The commentary contains philological analyses and comparison with other published and unpublished bowls, Jewish amulets from Late Antiquity, magical Geniza material, classic Jewish sources up to the medieval period, Hekhalot, and Jewish liturgy. Special features and differences between duplicate texts are discussed. A comprehensive glossary, lists of names, and photographs of the bowls are provided.

The introduction includes a description of the bowls, a review of the main grammatical features of the Jewish Aramaic dialect of the bowls, a discussion of some other sources with which these texts share material and motifs and an analyses of the importance of duplicate texts.

The limited number of bowl texts which are available for study means that many of the problems which have risen in the process of editing have remained unsolved. This new corpus includes a wide spectrum of material including rare curse texts, legal as well as liturgical formula, new lexical material and parallels to previously published texts which allow corrections and in some cases new readings. The occasional employment of other contemporary dialect forms as well as non-Jewish motifs expose the world of magical practice in Late Antiquity to have been fertile ground for cross cultural exchanges.

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Abbreviations

Bowls and Amulets

A1-32 - Naveh and Shaked 1985, pp. 40-122; 1993, pp. 43-107.

Aaron A-F - Geller 1986, pp.101-117.

AIT 1,2,3,... - Montgomery 1913, pp. 117-264.

BOR - Harviainen 1981, pp. 3-23.

De Menil - Isbell 1976, pp. 15-20.

Ellis 1-7 - Layard 1853, pp. 512-523. (Ellis 1 = BM 91710, AIT 11b, Jeruzalmi p. 64 and Isbell 18; Ellis 5 = Jeruzalmi p. 76 and Isbell 59)

Geller A-D - Geller 1980, pp. 47-60.

Gordon 9737 - Gordon 1934a, pp. 141-143.

Gordon A-F - Gordon 1934, pp. 321-334.

Gordon G - Gordon 1934b, pp. 466-474.

Gordon H-N - Gordon 1937, pp. 86-106.

Gordon 1-9 - Gordon 1941, pp. 117-131.

Gordon 10-11 - Gordon 1941, pp. 272-276.

Isbell 1-72 - Isbell 1975, pp. 17-155.

K3449 - Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 2; Geller 1980, p. 60.

MIT 1-33 - Yamauchi 1967, 154-296.

McCullough A-E - McCullough 1967, pp. 3-59.

Moriah 1,2 - Gordon 1984, 220-241.

Moussaieff 1,2 - Shaked 1995, pp. 207-216.

MS - Magic bowls from the Schøyen collection to be published shortly by S. Shaked.[1]

Müller-Kessler B1 and B2 - Müller-Kessler 1994, pp.6-9.

N&Sh B1-27 - Naveh and Shaked 1985, pp. 124-215; 1993 , pp. 113-146.

N-IV - Isbell 1976, pp. 19-23.

Obermann I, II - Obermann 1940, pp. 6-31.

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[1] I would like to thank S. Shaked for kindly allowing me access to many of his early transcriptions of bowls from the Schøyen collection. All transcriptions that are presented here have been recollated by myself from the photographs and bowls themselves.

VA 2416 - Wohlstein 1894, pp. 11-27.

Yam - Yamauchi 1965, pp.514-520.

Dictionaries

Brockelmann - Brocklelmann K., 1928, *Lexicon Syriacum*. 2. Ausgabe. Halle.

CAD - Gelb I. J., Oppenheim A. L., et al., 1956 -, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicage and Gluckstadt.

DM - Drower E. S. and Macuch R., 1963, *A Mandaic dictionary*, Oxford.

J. - Jastrow M., 1903, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Bavli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature*, New York.

PS - Payne Smith J., 1903, *A Compendius Syriac Dictioanry*, Oxford.

Sokoloff - Sokoloff M, 1990, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum, II), Ramat-Gan.

BTA - Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic

JA - Jewish Aramaic

SLA - Standard Literary Aramaic

Targ.-J. - Targum Jonathan

Targ.-O. - Targum Onkelos

Targ. Ps-J. - Targum Pseudo-Jonathan

Verb Stems: Peal - *pe.*; Pael - *pa.*; Ithpeel - *ithpe.*; Ithpaal - *ithpa.*; Afel - *af.*; Ittafal - *Ittaf.*

MT - Masoretic Text

m. - Mishna

t. - Tosefta

b. - Babylonian Talmud

y. - Yerushalmi Talmud

Tractates:

AZ - Abodah Zarah; BB - Baba Batra; Bek. - Bekhorot; Ber. - Berakhot; BQ - Baba Qamma; BM - Baba Metsia; Erub. - Erubin; Git. - Gittin; Hul. - Hullin; Qid. - Qiddushin; Meg. -

Megillah; MQ - Moed Qatan; Nid. - Niddah; Pes. - Pesahim; San. - Sanhedrin; Suk. - Sukkah; Tan. - Taanit; Yeb. - Yebamot; Yom. - Yoma; Zeb. - Zebahim

Periodicals

AASOR - Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research

AJSLL - American Journal so Semitic Languages and Literatures

BSOAS - Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society

JJS - Journal of Jewish Studies

JSQ - Jewish Studies Quarterly

ZA - Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

Signs used in the transliteration of texts

( ) Uncertain readings; [ ] Restoration of lost writing; < > Omitted by the scribe by mistake; ⌜ ⌝ Only part of the letter is visible; { } Superfluous writing in the text; ^ ^ Written above the line; ↓↓ Written below the line.

Introduction

1. Preface

Since 1853, when Thomas Ellis published the first five magic bowls in Jewish Aramaic,[1] the number of edited texts that have become available for study has not exceeded much beyond one hundred.[2] The most prominent amongst a growing number of scholars who have contributed to making these texts available for study are: 1) James A. Montgomery, whose monumental monograph titled *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (1913) is still considered to be the primary textbook on the subject; 2) Cyrus Gordon, who published a total of 23 Jewish Aramaic bowls, most of which appeared in articles during the 1930's and 1940's, and from amongst whose students there emerged a number of scholars who advanced this particular area of study;[3] 3) Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, who produced two books (1985 and 1993) in which they assembled another 22 Jewish Aramaic bowls. Some other scholars who have made significant contributions in recent years to this growing corpus include Harviainen (1981, 1983, 1993 and 1995), Müller-Kessler (1994 and 1998), McCullough (1967) and Kaufman (1973 and 1975).

A considerable amount of new material from private collections has recently become available for scholarly study. The present author was fortunate to have been given access by Mr. Shlomo Moussaieff to his collection of magic bowls from which twenty specimens have been chosen to be the subject of this dissertation. The aim was to produce a volume of text editions with commentary, glossaries and an introduction that focuses on some current as well as hitherto neglected issues concerning the study of Jewish Aramaic magic bowls that have developed in the course of this work.

For the readings, the present author has examined the bowls as well as the photographs. It must be noted, however, that even though the photographs are of an exceptionally good quality, there are various occasions where readings of letters, and sometimes whole words or

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[1] Layard 1853, pp. 512-521.
[2] For comprehensive surveys of the publications of magic bowls, see Montgomery 1913, pp. 16-23, and Naveh and Shaked 1985, pp. 19-21.
[3] In regard to bowls in the Jewish Aramaic dialect, the main four are William H. Rossell (1954), Charles Isbell (1975, 1976 and 1978), Edwin Yamauchi (1965 and 1967) and Mark Geller (1976, 1980, 1986 and 1997).

phrases, which are clearly discernable on the object itself, are not legible on the photograph. There is, unfortunately, no substitute for consulting the objects themselves.

Another obvious, yet often ignored, feature of the magic bowl texts is the fact that they were not written for others to copy or even read. The writing of the amulet by the scribe-magician was the ultimate stage of human contact. The text was then buried where it was hoped that it would reach and influence its intended public of demons, angels, gods and other spirits. The language of adjuration and magical and mysterious words and phrases may have been considered to be effective in supernatural realms, but to us it often appears indistinguishable from mumbo-jumbo. This aspect of the magical texts often accentuates other difficulties that assail the philologist, such as the partial erosion of text, hand writing that is often of poor quality, and textual errors that scribes have either made of their own accord or copied from others.

Of the twenty texts in our corpus, six are intended for general protection against demons and other maleficent agents (M107, M108, M112, M121, M131, M145 and M149); another four, also for general protection, include the *get* motif (M50, M59, M103 and M119); three texts are for the healing of particular medical complaints (M117, M155 and M156); and two are for the protection of unborn or young babies (M101 and M142). Two bowls protect against the malicious magic of named foes, i.e. curse texts (M102 and M163), and two offer protection against curses and oaths in general (M123 and M138).

2. Description of magic bowls

Magic bowls are a type of amulet consisting of an incantation written on an earthenware bowl. The bowls themselves are not exceptional and represent a variety of domestic ware that is characteristic of the Near East in Late Antiquity. The most common among them are about 13-20cm in diameter and 3-8cm in depth. Some are as small as an espresso coffee-cup saucer. Others can reach sizes of up to 40-45cm in diameter and 20-25cm in depth. Most of them are rounded at the base, though others have flat bases and/or rims. The incantations are most commonly written in black ink within the bowl spiraling from the bottom upwards. Other less common arrangements of text are when it is organized: 1) in three, or sometimes even four, consecutive triangular sections within the bowl; 2) as a series

of lines emanating from the middle of bowl to form a 'sun-like' shape; 3) in some rare occasions, lines of text follow a geometric pattern or the shape of a flower, and 4) a spiral of text that flows from the edge of the bowl to its centre. Occasionally text is also found on the outside of the bowl. In some cases this is the result of the scribe exhausting the space on the inner surface of the bowl and the incantation flows over, as it were, to the exterior (M59). In other cases the text on the outside consists of the opening formula of the text, the name of the client, or the intended location of the bowl within the property, i.e. 'for the front room', 'for the bedroom', etc (as in AIT 12:13). It is quite common for there to be a drawing of a bound demon (M50) or other image (M102, M107 and M131) in the middle of the bowl, across it (M59) or to one side (M108). Various other symbols (M102 and M108), letters (M149) or just a circle (M103) can occur either in the middle of the bowl or to its side (M107 and M112). Whereas sections of text are sometimes underlined (M102, and M112) or surrounded completely by a line (M50 and M119), it is very common for the whole text to be surrounded by a circle (M50, M101, M102, M103, M119, M107, M108, M138, M131, M145, M149, M155, M156 and M163).

From the relatively small number of bowls for which there are excavation reports, and the designations within the texts themselves, we know that the most common form of using magic bowls was to bury them upside down under the floor of the house.[4] Occasionally two or more bowls were placed within each other. Other cases are known where pairs of bowls were interned facing each other, rim to rim, so as to form a sphere with an enclosed space within them. Bowls could be buried in one or all of the corners of the house, under the threshold or any of the rooms or entrances of the domestic complex. In one case a bowl was said to have been found also in a cemetery.[5] The location of the bowl is often mentioned within the text, either as a caption on the outside (see above) or within the actual incantation. There is hardly any evidence at all to indicate anything relating to the procedure of the

[4] See numerous references to 'Jewish incantation bowls' in Peters 1897, Mcguire Gibson 1975 pp. 104-122, and Hunter 1995 pp. 63-64.

[5] Montgomery 1913, p. 14, 40 ff. Montgomery considered the possibility that pressing bowls into the ground constituted a sympathetic magical act, which was meant to resemble the pressing and suppressing of demons. Naveh and Shaked (1985, p. 15) likened the bowls to mouse traps, which are strategically placed in the house. Gordon disliked the idea that people would be content to host a myriad of trapped demons in their houses, and suggested that bowls buried upside-down resembled the skull cranium which had the power to dissolve demons (Gordon 1957, pp. 161-162).

preparation and installation of the bowls except for one case where the use of a rooster is implied (see notes to M163:6 below). Even in this case, however, the details provided are minimal.

2.1 The Script

The Jewish Aramaic bowl texts display a variety of different styles of script which Montgomery correctly attributed to chirographical rather than paleographical differences.[6] Unfortunately there has not been any thorough study of these scripts since that of Levi in 1855, when there were only a handful of specimens available for study. In our collection, one can observe at least three similar types of script which all display quite formal and neat hands (M101, M102, M112, M142, M149, M155, M156 and M163). Three more types of stylized but good quality scripts can be grouped: 1) M50, M59 and M108, 2) M103, M119, M121, M123, M138 M107, M108 and 3) M117. The script of M145 is very cursive and unusual, yet its text is just as literate as the other texts that are written in more conventional scripts. M107 is another good although stylized script that displays a very peculiar ל. M131 is a somewhat inconsistent and awkward hand which might indicate the scribe's limited level of literacy.

As observed in other magic bowls,[7] ה and ח are never distinguished, whereas ב and כ, ד and ר, ו and י and sometimes also ן and ז, and finally ס and ם are commonly undifferentiated. This is also the case in our corpus of texts unless otherwise stated. In places where the reading of the characters is ambiguous, decisions regarding the transcription were made according to lexicographical convention.

3. The Language

Montgomery noted that:

> 'The grammatical phenomena in the bowls of Nippur can for the most part be exemplified from the Babylonian Talmud, and like the latter they present various dialect

[6] Montgomery 1913, p. 27-28. Montgomery's conclusion is based on the fact that although the bowls display a wide variety of scripts, one can ascertain their contemporaneity on the basis of shared phraseology and clientele. Thus the differences represent a variety of writing styles and levels of scribal ability rather than the age of the bowl.
[7] Rossell 1953, pp. 13-15.

types. On the one hand they have close connections with Mandaic and on the other they show Syriac idioms'.[8]

Thereafter he refers, with some reservations, to the Aramaic dialect of the bowls as 'Rabbinic Aramaic'.[9] Rossell preferred the term Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (hereafter JBA) adding, however, that 'borrowings from Mandaic and Syriac are common'[10] and that 'there is also some literary influence from Biblical Aramaic and from the Targumim'. More recently Harviainen noted that

> 'the characteristic features of the dialect of Nedarim have close counterparts in bowl incantations. On the other hand, features of bowl texts in common with Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic as opposed to Nedarim are limited to את which, however, is a Targumic form of this pronoun. Compared with the Targumim, the bowl texts use e.g. תוב and (א)מ(י)טול *pro* Targumic עוד and בדיל, and from Gaonic Aramaic they deviate e.g. through the employment of י- in the emphatic status of masc. plural as well as through the pronoun את. While the idiom of the bowl texts is not entirely identical with any of these other types of Aramaic, nevertheless, it clearly sides with Targumic and Gaonic as well as with the language of Nedarim against Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic which leaves the impression of a "younger" modification of Aramaic'.[11]

On another occasion Harviainen also notes that features like the use of יה- as the 3rd person masculine suffix to a plural noun, rather than והי-, which Montgomery referred to as a Mandaism, can actually be explained by considering that the 'bowl texts bridge the gap which existed between Mandaic and the Northern Modern dialects'.[12] It was on the basis of this and another six grammatical features, which Harviainan identified as common to many of the Jewish Aramaic bowls, that he introduced the notion that their presence constitute an *Eastern*

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[8] Montgomery 1913, p. 30.
[9] 'Some apology may be necessary for the term "Rabbinic" dialect. As used here, it does not imply that the rabbis or the Jews in Babylonia had a special dialect,–they spoke the native dialects; nor that there is any unity in the language of the Talmud, which is alive with dialectic varieties. But the Talmud is practically our only source for a certain family of Aramaic dialects in Babylonia, easily distinguished from the two other literary dialects, the Syriac (Edessene) and Mandaic. The name chosen is a convenient handle' (Montgomery 1913, p. 26).
[10] Rossell 1953, p. 11.
[11] Harviainen 1983, pp. 12-13.
[12] Harviainen 1981, p. 20.

Aramaic koiné, noting, however, that in fact most of these features can also be found within Mandaic.[13] These features are:

1) Confusion of laryngeal consonants.

2) Phonetic spellings (e.g. *ny-*, *l-ʾnšh*) which may indicate deviations between spoken dialects.

3) Pronouns which do not conform to the boundaries of literary dialects.

4) Easy transfer of nouns and noun different noun formations from one dialect to another.

5) Confusion of genders occurring in the pronominal suffixes of the plural, and possibly also in the imperfect forms of the plural verbs.

6) Use of the imperfect prefix *y-* besides the Eastern *n-*.

Jussola's conclusions in his recent study of the language of the Jewish Aramaic magic bowl texts are as follows:

> 'As regard to the nature of the Aramaic of the bowl texts, several concluding remarks need to be made. First, it is apparent that the features present in the bowl texts are not features of a single dialect, but features otherwise familiar from different dialects and phases of Aramaic are used side by side. Even forms known from Official Aramaic, but otherwise unattested in Late Aramaic are encountered. The bowl texts thus leave the impression of being a mixed type of language. Therefore, it is hard to believe that they represent a living dialect of the Late Aramaic period, but are to a considerable extent literary texts. To give but one instance, it is hard to imagine a living dialect with such a 'collection' of demonstrative pronouns as attested in our texts (cf. IV.4). Yet, this is not to say that they do not (also) reveal features of the spoken language of their era, but this is not due to the fact that the scribes wrote more or less as they spoke, but due to the fact that despite their attempt to write elevated language they could not help including some features of the popular language. This was apparently due to deficiencies in their education. Furthermore, in the era when our texts were produced, there were within Babylonian Jewry several literary dialects or languages, which were employed according to the types of usage and, more or less, kept separate. Some of the literary dialects or 'literary crystallizations' probably contained more elements of the actual vernacular than others. I refer to the standard dialect of the Babylonian Talmud. It is apparent that this

[13] Harviainen 1981, pp. 23-24

co-existence of 'literary crystallizations' within Babylonian Jewry left traces in our texts. Those texts which contain more standard Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic elements than the majority followed the literary model of standard Talmudic idiom, alongside the regular literary model of our texts'.[14]

In the discussion about the language of the bowl texts, one must not forget that which Harviainen expressed so well:

> 'the inconsistency of their orthography, numerous mistakes, phonetic spellings, and linguistic peculiarities which deviate from the literary dialects of Aramaic point back to unlearned scribes who more or less wrote as they spoke'.[15]

One must, however, challenge the assumption that a correlation can be made between the peculiarities in the language of the bowls and the literacy of scribes. We maintain that from the texts in our corpus such an allegation can not be made.[16] Other explanations for linguistic peculiarities can be attributed to the variety of sources upon which the incantations draw, the exchange of material between cultural groups that lived in proximity and spoke similar dialects, as well as changes that can occur to an incantation in the process of its transmission.

Since Rossell produced his *Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts* in 1953, a considerable number of bowls has been published, yet no new grammar has been written. Juusola's recent dissertation, *Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts* (1999) has gone some way towards addressing this gap.[17] The intention of the section that follows is to point out some of the main features and peculiarities that distinguish the Aramaic of the bowls that occur within our corpus, and attention is also given to features which might cause some uncertainty in regard to translation, e.g. indistinguishable forms such as singular and plural feminine nouns in the emphatic state etc.

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[14] Juusola 1999, pp. 247-248.
[15] Harviainen 1983, p. 15.
[16] With one exception - M131.
[17] See Naveh and Shaked 1987, pp. 31-33, for notes on the language of the bowls.

3.1 Spelling

The most obvious feature of spelling, which is also common in our corpus, is the extensive use of י, ו, א and on the rare occasion ה as vowel letters.[18]

3.2 Pronouns

Of the independent pronouns that occur in our corpus only two are worth mentioning. One is the 2nd person feminine singular form אנתי which is an early form known from Official or Imperial Aramaic and, though it is absent from the Targumim, it is attested in Geniza fragments of the Palestinian Talmud.[19] The other is the 2nd person masculine plural אנתון which is only attested in Gaonic Aramaic.[20] Yet, as this form occurs in M163:27, a bowl which employs some demonstrative pronouns that are common with Syriac (הנא M163:6,11, הנין l. 9 and הנון l. 17), it is possible that here too the influence of that dialect is apparent.

3.3 Nouns

Singular emphatic forms of the noun of both the masculine and feminine can occur with either א or ה endings, in some cases even within the same bowl (M145:2 מלכה and M145:15,16 מלכא, M163:28 עלמא and עלמה, M163:10 שמא and שמה). In our corpus, as has been noted elsewhere[21] regarding other bowl texts, the א endings predominate. The masculine plural form in the emphatic state is mostly indistinguishable from the absolute and construct forms as they all commonly occur with י- endings. Some examples that can be verified as masculine plural emphatics are M147:7 דיוי ודיותא, M101:3 ופתכרי ופתכרתא and M163:21 טורי ורמאתה, as these occur alongside feminine plural emphatic forms. Forms ending with יא- also occur: M50:4 טוריא, M145:12 ניסכאיא, M155:11 נשיא, as does the occasional יה- ending (M156:4 מלכיה). One can observe the freedom with which apocopated forms of the masculine plural absolute are used together with others that display the final ן in M121:3-4 where ומיחרשי בישי occurs in a list soon after ומיפגעין בישין. Most

[18] This subject is amply treated elsewhere, cf. Rossell 1953, pp. 20-21 and Juusola 1999, pp. 44-68.
[19] Juusola 1999, p. 74.
[20] Juusola 1999, p. 76.
[21] Juusola 1999, p. 141.

feminine singular and plural forms in the emphatic state end with תא- and can, therefore, only be distinguished if there is contextual evidence. One example is ניקבתא which can be identified as a plural form in M50:2 (דיכרי וניקבתא) on the basis of the masculine noun that precedes it, whereas, in M149:8 (דיכרא וניקבתא) the preceding noun attests to the fact that in this instance ניקבתא is a singular form. This is similar to M101:3 (ופתכרי ופתכרתא) in which פתכרתא is a plural as opposed to in M149:8 (מן פתכרא ומן פתכרתא) where the nouns are in the singular. The plural is also occasionally written with a final ה rather than א, as in M163:21 טורי ורמאתה. Feminine plural nouns in the absolute state are generally rare in magic bowl texts,[22] though examples occur in M123:1-2 לוטן and בישון ממללן and M163:15 בתולן.

3.4 Prepositions

The prepositional prefix א- (=על) that is peculiar to Babylonian Aramaic is attested in a number of instances in our corpus (see glossary).

3.5 Adverbs

The adverb איך (M102:9) is otherwise unattested in other bowls, though the similar form היך occurs once (N&Sh B4:4). Both of these forms are Targumic, as opposed to the Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic form היכא which also occurs for the first time in our corpus (M163:9) as an adverb of place.[23]

3.6 Conjunctions

Noteworthy is the occurrence in M102:7,8 of the conjunction או, 'or' which is attested for certain in only one other instance (AIT 2:5). The conjunction עד אמא 'until when' (M163:24), which is equivalent to עד אימת(י), is new to the vocabulary of the Jewish Aramaic bowls. The Targmic אילהין, which was previously only attested in AIT 26:5, occurs a second time in M117:5. בדיל in M155:5 'on account of' is only attested in one other bowl (AIT 28:4). The

[22] Juusola 1999, p. 146.
[23] Levias 1900, p. 46.

conjunction הכדין ... היכדין ד 'just as' ... 'just so' is a form that occurs only in one other bowl (N&Sh B21:8) and is Targumic.

3.7 Verbs

Regarding verbs it was already noted by Rossell (1953, p. 49) that י, נ and ל all occur as prefixes for the 3rd person masculine imperfect forms. In one of our bowls, M102, all three occur in the same text. A rarer irregularity can be observed in M145 wherein the 3rd person masculine plural perfect verb forms all lack the usual ו- or ון- suffixes which make them appear as singular verbs (see note on M145:3). This form could either be the Babylonian Talmudic קטול, in which case the ו would need to be reconstructed, or it might be attributed to the Mandaic influence that is generally discerned in this particular text. In some cases in our bowls there occur verb forms that are characteristic of the Standard Literary Aramaic (henceforth SLA) that is found in the Targumim:[24] אתיתי (M50:4, *af.* 1st person sg. perfect), איתמסיאה (M50:4, *ithpe.* 3rd person feminine pl. perfect), לאנדויאהון (M59:11, *af.* infinitive + 3rd person masculine pl. suffix), לאפקא (M50:5, *af.* infinitive). Other forms occur that are particular to Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic: לאפוקי (M59:11, *af.* infinitive), פגע (M156:7,8, 3rd person feminine sg. perfect). New forms that were previously unattested in Jewish Aramaic are לישתמודע (M102:11), the imperfect form of אשתמודע, מזיח (M117:4), a *pa.* form known from Syriac, and קמע (M123:1) which is also attested in Syriac.

4. Sources from which magic bowl texts draw

The eclectic quality of the bowl texts was aptly noted by Montgomery who stated that, for the sorcerers who composed these magical texts, their 'Scriptures and apocrypha and liturgy were storehouses of magical lore'.[25] Of course, we find more than just the Jewish sources, i.e. biblical verses, liturgy, Hekhalot, the occasional aggadic reference as well as Jewish folk mythology, in the sorcerer's repository of inspiration. There are also Gnostic, Christian and pagan elements that have found their way into many of the incantations. It is apparent from

[24] See Juusola 1999, pp. 14-15. Although Greenfield used this term to describe the Targ.-O., it is used here in an extended sense as the features that are cited are mostly common to the greater parts of the Targumic literature. See also Cook 1986, p. 6 and Greenfield 1995, p. 8.
[25] Montgomery 1913, p. 115.

the variety of spells that are found in the bowl texts that our period was one of great creativity in this area of composition. Questions as to how and why the different elements and influences found their way into the melting pot which constitutes this magical lore are complex, especially when considering that some of this material crossed the boundaries of one religious culture into another. The sections below cover the different sources that can be traced within our corpus of bowls. An attempt is made at defining some of the different ways that this material was used within the magical text.

4.1 Biblical verses and liturgy

Magic bowls and other forms of Jewish amulets demonstrate that the warning in m. San. 10:1[26] against the reciting of biblical verses for the purpose of healing was not always heeded. Indeed, biblical verses are commonly used in our texts in a variety of ways. In some cases whole verses are quoted while in others only sections are used. In one instance a verse is adapted to fit the subject of the incantation:

M155:6-7	Isa. 45:2
גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל די מתברין דלתות נחושא וימגדעין בריחי ברזל אינון יתברון ויגדעון לרוחא בישתא	אני לפניך אלך והדורים אושר דלתות נחושה אשבר ובריחי ברזל אגדע

In another bowl the Targ.-O. is quoted in what appears to be a Hekhalot style section of text:

M123:5-6 (also in M138:8)	Targ.-O. Ex. 3:5
בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין כמו דאמר ליה למשה באסנה שרי סנך מעל ריגלך משבענא עליכון נידרא ...	ואמר לא תקרב הלכא שרי סינך מעל ריגלך ארי אתרא דאת קאים עלוהי אתר קדיש הוא

Naveh and Shaked have already noted that 'the use of verses in magic contexts is of course often derived from their liturgical prominence'.[27] In some cases, as in M108, it can be shown that the verses were not compiled independently by the sorcerer for his craft but

[26] ואלו שאין להם חלק לעולם הבא ... רבי עקיבא אומר אף הקורא בספרים החיצונים והלוחש על המכה ואומר (שמות טו) כל המחלה אשר שמתי במצרים לא אשים עליך כי אני ה' רופאך ...

borrowed from a standard liturgical format (see text and notes below). In other cases, as Naveh and Shaked have pointed out, there is no way of ascertaining whether the sorcerer gained inspiration from a liturgical context or is drawing directly from Scripture. It is, nevertheless, intriguing that from the seventeen verses which occur in our sample group of texts, all but two (Num. 14:9 and 32:22 in M142:8-9) can be found in the weekly prayers. This could imply that our sorcerers are quoting their verses from liturgy rather than directly from the Old Testament.

The text of Zech. 3:2 is as follows:

> ויאמר יהוה אל השטן יגער יהוה בך השטן ויגער יהוה בך הבחר בירושלם הלוא זה אוד מצל מאש
>
> 'But [the angel of] the Lord said to the Accuser (השטן), "the Lord rebuke you, O Accuser; may the Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! For this is the brand plucked out of the fire"'.

The fact that 'Satan' is attacked in this verse could explain its common use in Jewish magical formula. Indeed, it has become a permanent part of the *Keri'at Shemah al ha-Mittah* (see appendix to M108). In b. Ber. 51a the tradition of its efficacy is preserved in the words attributed to R. Joshua ben Levy, a first generation Palestinian Amora, who states that if a person happened to meet the angel of death[28] and could not escape his path, he should turn his face and recite this verse. Zech. 3:2 occurs twice in our corpus, once in M108:3-4 and again in M59:13-14. In M108:3-4 Zech. 3:2 occurs as the first of a group of verses which can all be found in the evening prayers. This group of verses is uncharacteristically preceded by the word בשום 'in the name of' so as to indicate that they themselves represent the name of the power that is invoked to bind the demonic nuisance. In M59 it seems to have been appended by the scribe to the end of the text, although the verse is absent in several duplicates (M50, AIT 9 and AIT 32). It is possible that the scribe added this verse for no other reason than good measure. Another verse that seems to have been borrowed from a

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[27] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 22.

[28] The narrative states that this could occur in one of three situations, if one takes his shirt from an attendant in the morning, if one lets another who has not himself washed his hands pour water over his own, or if one stands in the path of women returning from the presence of a dead person. In either of these situations the angel of death is present and has permission to do harm (ואל אל תטול חלוקך שחרית מיד השמש ותלבש ; ואל תטול ידיך ממי שלא נטל ידיו ;

liturgical context rather than directly from scripture is Deut. 10:17 which appears in M102:10. This verse also occurs as part of the doxology in the first of the eighteen benedictions:

M102:10	The first benediction	Deut. 10:17
ברוך אתה יהוה אלוהינו מלך העולם האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא והמופלא והמ(ע)ולא	ברוך אתה יי אלוהינו ואלהי אבותינו אלהי אברהם אלהי יצחק ואלהי יעקב האל הגדול הגבור והנורא אל עליון	כי יהוה אלהיכם הוא אלהי האלהים ואדני האדנים האל הגדל הגבר והנורא אשר לא ישא פנים ולא יקח שחד

In another of our bowls (M156:11) extracts from Ex. 15:3 (from the *Song of the Sea*) and Ps. 24:8, which can both be found in *Seder Amram* in the New Year service, are followed by the liturgical doxology יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם which is known from the daily prayers (see note to M156:11):

M156:11	A response in the prayer יהי כבוד	Ex. 15:3 and Ps. 24:8
יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו יהוה עיזוז וגיבור יהוה גיבור {ו}מלחמה יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד	יהוה מלך יהוה מלך יהוה ימלוך לעולם ועד	יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו׃ מי זה מלך הכבוד יהוה עזוז וגבור יהוה גבור מלחמה׃

The sections of Isa. 37:16, 6:3 and I Sam. 17:45 in M117:2,6 present a similar use of biblical verses to that which was just mentioned in regard to M156 above, as they are also cited for the fact that they represent epithets of God and commence, like those in M156:11, with the expression 'in the name of' (בשום):

תעמוד לפני הנשים בשעה שחוזרות מן המת, מפני שאני מרקד ובא לפניהן וחרבי בידי ויש לי רשות לחבל).

M117:2	Isa. 37:16, 6:3
(2) בשום יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל יושיב הכרובים	יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל ישב הכרבים אתה הוא האלהים לבדך לכל ממלכות הארץ אתה עשית את השמים ואת הארץ

M117:6	I Sam. 17:45
(6) ... בשמיה דיה יה יה קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות אלהי מערכות ישראל	יאמר דוד אל הפלשתי אתה בא אלי בחרב ובחנית ובכידון ואנכי בא אליך בשם יהוה צבאות אלהי מערכות ישראל אשר חרפת

In M142 three complete verses are rendered: Isa. 40:31,[29] Num. 32:22[30] and Num. 14:9.[31] Common to all three is an expression of faith in the almighty God who provides and protects; a good enough reason in itself for this choice of verses. The first verse, Isa. 40:31, seems to be an integral part of the formula that occurs in a number of duplicate texts (see notes on M142:2-4). It might not be a coincidence that Isa. 40:31 was chosen for this particular incantation. A spell that incorporates an historiola that describes demons who snatch and strangle children, this text was intended for the protection of infants. We find that this same verse is cited in m. Qid. 4:14[32] to illustrate how a youth is protected by being taught the Torah. Within an historiola in another of our texts, M156:8, Ps. 104:20[33] is cited as the verse that Hanina ben Dosa recited when he met the evil spirit. This particular choice of verse is due to the fact that it speaks of the creatures of the night, a time when dangerous spirits were thought to roam.[34]

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[29] וקוי יהוה יחליפו כח יעלו אבר כנשרים ירוצו ולא ייגעו ילכו ולא ייעפו

[30] ונכבשה הארץ לפני יהוה ואחר תשבו והייתם נקים מיהוה ומישראל והיתה הארץ הזאת לכם לאחזה לפני יהוה

[31] אך ביהוה אל תמרדו ואתם אל תיראו את עם הארץ כי לחמנו הם סר צלם מעליהם ויהוה אתנו אל תיראם

[32] ... כשאדם בא לידי חולי או לידי זקנה או לידי יסורין ואינו יכול לעסוק במלאכתו הרי הוא מת ברעב אבל התורה אינה כן אלא משמרתו מכל רע בנערותו ונותנת לו אחרית ותקוה בזקנותו בנערותו מה הוא אומר (ישעיה מ׳) וקוי ה׳ יחליפו כח ...

[33] ותשת חשך ויהי לילה בו תרמש כל חיתו יער

[34] See notes on M156:7-8.

4.2 Hekhalot, the *Sword of Moses* and *Sepher Ha-Razim*

Some surveys of the Hekhalot literature include *Sepher Ha-Razim*, the *Sword of Moses* and the *Havdala de R. Akiva*.[35] These texts have come to be considered the classical works of early Jewish magical culture.[36] Together with a number of other texts these represent a considerable portion of the primary source material from which our knowledge of this early phase of Jewish magic is derived.[37] Joseph Dan describes the overlap between mysticism and magic in the Hekhalot literature as follows:

> 'Underlying the Hekhalot and Merkabah Literature is the view (which is also found in the Talmudic-Midrashic literature), that the knowledge of secrets is power, and knowledge of secrets of the upper world grants the individual with that knowledge power, and influence over them. One who knows the names of the supreme angels and their specific tasks can utilize that knowledge in order to gain a certain mastery over them and force them, by means of magical incantation, to do his will. The incantation is generally composed of a statement which includes secret names (which are on occasion the secret names of God Himself, which the angels must obey), and secret actions - potions, mixtures or the use of other physical means, sometimes at a clearly defined time'.[38]

The magic bowls thus compliment the above mentioned body of texts, incorporating within them a wide array of instructions for the achievement of magical aims. The study of such amulets has already made some important contributions to our understanding of the Hekhalot literature, as observed by Shaked:

> 'That some Babylonian magic bowls use material that is apparently derived from the *Hekhalot* literature, or that both sets of texts use a common stock of material, has significance in the context of the discussion concerning the origins and development of the *Hekhalot* literature. The fact that the *Hekhalot* texts are composed almost exclusively of pure Hebrew has been one of the arguments for placing them in Palestine. These texts quote Palestinian sages of the Mishnaic period, but never any Babylonian figures. Such considerations, together with the relative air of antiquity that they seem to breath, have combined to create a scholarly consensus concerning the Palestinian background

[35] Though the manuscript that Scholem published in 1981 is of a late date, much of its text can be found in the *Hekhalot Zutarti* (Schäfer 1990, p. 76).
[36] For instance Joseph Dan 1993, p. 18-19.
[37] For a detailed survey see Alexander 1986.
[38] Dan 1993, p. 18.

of these texts. Some cracks have, however, been detected in this theory: some fragments of the *Hekhalot* texts have somewhat enigmatic reference to the house of an unidentified master in Babylonia. If we now have a Babylonian incantation bowl that contains what seems to be a clear *Hekhalot*-type text, this certainly indicates that the visionary experiences of the *Hekhalot* mystics were not confined to Palestine alone. In Babylonia there evidently were Jewish groups engaged in producing, or reproducing, similar literary creations'.

In an unpublished magic bowl from the Berlin Museum collection (VA 2434 + VA 2486), the connection between the Merkabah mystic and the craft of the sorcerer is made clear:

'I was astonished by the mysteries of the earth I looked at the paths of the merkabah. Again I saw the evil, powerful and violent *Yaror* ... that has been sent against him. *Yaror* ... go out and fly away from the house of ... and go against ... By the name of the names of Dimiel and Hantitiel and Haniniel and Hahaziel, these ten holy and [...] and trusty angels'.

... אידמרית ברזי ארעה ואיסתכלית בדירכי מרכבתא תוב חזיתי ירור בישתא תקיפתא
... דאישתדר עליה וירור תיקיפתא וזידניתא ירור פוקי ופרחי מן ביתיה ד... ואיזילי על
[...] ובשום שמי דימיאל וחנתיתיאל וחנינאל וחחזיאל אילין עשרא מלאכין קדישין ו
ומהימנין

In this case the practitioner declares that his use of the techniques of the Merkabah mystic has gained him sight of the offending *Yaror* and other demons. By means of the invocation of the magical names of angels, he sends them back to the human foe of his client who originally dispatched them.

Apart from the use of various angel and divine names, as well as an abundant supply of *nomina barbara*, our own corpus of texts also includes direct parallels with known Hekhalot texts bearing characteristic hallmarks of this literature. The most obvious is the use of איקון מיטמון ופסקון, which is one of the best known composite names of the angel Metatron. This is attested in the Talmud (b. San. 44b) as well as various Hekhalot texts (see notes to M155:4). Another name that occurs in M107:5, גרוסקין גרוסקין, is attested in Hekhalot Zutarti §366 as one of the beings that R. Akiva encountered in his celestial journeys. In the Hekhalot texts, liturgical doxologies are often cited as powerful magical names, such as are commonly invoked in magic bowls. In our texts there are three examples that have direct

parallels in Hekhalot literature: M102:10[39]=§503, M117:2[40]=§402 and M156:11[41]=§126.[42] A parallel to a passage in the Hekhalot Rabatti (Schäfer 1981, §92), which is unclear in that context, occurs in M101:11 as a warning to offending demons.

In the two duplicates M123 (lines 3-6) and M138, there occurs a Hekhalot-like section of text that includes a list of names, a description of God that is more characteristic of the fiery angels often portrayed in the Hekalot texts, and a reference to Moses at the burning bush which quotes Ex. 3:5. This event is expanded in other sources (see notes to M123:3-6) which mark it as the moment in history at which Moses received the complex of magical names (such as אהיה אשר אהיה) and the knowledge of how to use them from the angel Metatron. Metatron is described as the 'intercessory spirit' in b. San. 44b and the highest ranking angel in 3 Enoch and the *Sword of Moses* (AHYW PSQTYH). He is a major figure in Jewish magical folklore,[43] and can be found in one or another of his guises in a number of amulets. In M155:4-5, some of his names occur just before the statement: 'who sits upon the throne of glory, by his word and by the countenance of his glory he created the heavens and completed the world', which gives the impression that he was the active agent of God even during the first creation.

4.3 The historiola

The historiola is a magic story that occurs within an incantation, serving to illustrate the purpose of the spell and give it an extra air of authority, i.e. just as the magic worked in the story, so will it also work for the bearer of this amulet. In many cases, the source of the historiola cannot be traced and its transmission can only be attributed to folk culture. A notable exception is the *Smamit* story which occurs in a silver amulet (N&Sh A15) and magic bowl (N&Sh B12), for which Naveh and Shaked have cited versions in a wide variety of languages from different periods of time.[44]

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[39] ושמיה ברוך אתה יהוה אלוהינו מלך העולם האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא והמופלא והמ(ע)ולא
[40] בשום יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל יושיב הכרובים
[41] בשמיה ד... יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד
[42] Schäfer 1981.
[43] Concerning the names of Metatron in these three sources, see notes to איקון מיטמון ופסקון in M155:3-5.
[44] Naveh and Shaked 1987, pp. 104-122.

The incantation in the duplicate texts M50 and M59 is constructed around the story of a *get* that was given to demons by the legendary Tana Rabbi Joshua bar Perahia, whose reputation as a possessor of magical powers is considerable.[45] In this text, the demons that are endangering the clients are served with their papers of divorce and bidden to leave, just as Joshua bar Perahia had done. The historiola in M142 involves the 'swift prince', an allusion to Metatron the helper angel. In this text the angel is depicted seated on the graves of the babies that were snatched, listening to the cries and pleas of their mothers. The same angel exercises his powers to bind the demons and prohibit them from harming the client of the bowl. The historiola in M145:13-16 is repeated twice, in the first instance the subject of the narrative is an unnamed hero who is said to have gained some magical weapons with which he subdued demons; in the second instance the anonymous hero is supplanted by the client who is now the one who gains the magic weapons and, like the hero, overcomes the demons himself. Yet another magical story in M156 involves Hanina ben Dosa, another Tana famous for his miraculous powers.[46] This text follows a similar form in which the sorcerer, who is the narrator, repeats the actions of the magician of old i.e. just as he (Hanina ben Dosa) adjured the evil spirit, now I (the sorcerer) am adjuring it. A variation of this historiola can be found in b. Pes. 112b in which the same Tana, Hanina ben Dosa, met and subdued a powerful demon called Agrat bat Mahlat.

4.4 The *get*

The phenomena of using the *get*, a bill of divorce, as a motif in the magic bowls already attracted the attention of Thomas Ellis who added these comments to his introduction in 1853:[47]

> 'there is one thing to which I wish to call the attention of the Oriental scholars, namely, the subject of the inscription of No. 1.[48] It is *a letter of dismissal*, or *bill of divorce* to

[45] For a detailed account of Joshua bar Perahia's reputation as a magician, see Geller 1974.
[46] For a short account of Hanina ben Dosa, see Vermes 1973.
[47] Layard 1853, p. 512.
[48] This text was amended and republished by Montgomery in a synopsis with another Jewish Aramaic (AIT 11) as well as Mandaic (published by Mark Lidzbarsky as text no. 5 in 1902 in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, I, 1900-1902, Giessen, pp. 103-105) duplicate texts. Gordon published another two Jewish Aramaic duplicates in 1934, Gordon G and Gordon 9737, producing a synopsis which also included AIT 18. The differences between these five

> Satan and other evil spirits. The word used to express this is גיטא, the very word found in the Talmud to express the same thing, גט pl. גיטין, and almost invariably used for a bill of divorce, instead of ספר כריתת. ... The ancient Jews supposed that the devils or evil spirits were propagated like mankind; that they eat, and drank, married, and, it would seem, quarreled with their wives, and divorced them, as may be seen in the following remarkable passage:–'*And as the devils write bills of divorce, and give them to their wives, and return not unto them again,* so you, in like manner, receive this, &c'.

Montgomery seems to have been almost amused by the naivety of the idea of the magical *get* and construed it to be:

> 'a happy thought of the magicians, who thus applied the powers of binding and loosing claimed by the rabbis to the disgusting unions of demons and mortals. The logic of the procedure was very simple–if only the liliths were as submissive to divorce as their human sisters'.[49]

More recently Shaked has questioned the sense behind the belief in the notion that something akin to human wedlock, which is implied by the magical *get*, could exist between human and demon. He points out that although the bowls describe the enactment of the divorce procedure, it is to a great extent imaginary as it is hard to believe that people really assumed to have been bound to a demon by marriage. Indeed, the demon would have only been perceived by the fact that some illness or problem had occurred in the household. Also, the logistics of serving a demon with a divorce writ can hardly be imagined, nor can it be assumed that any religious legal authority would necessarily have recognized such a writ. Shaked concludes that the deed of divorce for the demons is most likely a metaphor, an act of sympathetic magic.[50]

Magic bowl texts have many references to nightly apparitions which are strongly suggestive of the *incubus* and *succubus* demons. In AIT 1:12-13, for instance, there is a description of demons 'who appear ... to men in the likeness of women and to women in the likeness of men, and with mankind they lie by night and by day' (ומידמין לבני אינש לגברי בדמות נשי ולנשי בדמות גברי ועים בני אינשא שכבין בליליא וביממא). Similarly, in b. Shab.

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duplicate texts (Ellis 1, AIT 11, AIT 18, Gordon G, Gordon 9737 and Lidzbarsky no. 5) and another Mandaic version (18N18) were discussed in detail by Hunter in 1995.

[49] Montgomery 1913, pp. 158-159.

[50] Shaked 1999, p. 176.

151b, R. Hanina warns that if a man sleeps alone in a house Lilith will grab him. A more literal reference occurs in Genesis Rabbah 20:11, in which it is told that during the 130 years that Adam and Eve were separated they both cohabited with demons and produced spirits as progeny. In one Mandaic magic bowl, the activity of the female demon is described even more explicitly: 'she went and slept with the master of the house and took the semen from him. ... she had changed her appearance with the help of magic acts and she said: "I shall separate the man from his woman"...'.[51] As sexual interaction between human and demon was considered possible, belief in the efficacy of the magical *get* implies that such a union would constitute some sort of obligation akin to that which accompanies the marital status.

Montgomery's comments on AIT 8 are instructive in explaining the mechanics of the magical *get* as it is represented in that particular text.

> 'The magical writ affects the same forms and formalism as that of the divorce court. In the parallel bowl, No. 17, a form of date is given (l. 1 הדין יומא), which was a requisite in the legal *Get*. The names of both parties are exactly given, hence the parents of the liliths are here specifically named. The very terms of divorce are repeated in 17:2: שביקת ופטרית ותרכית יתיכי; cf. the facsimile of a *Get* given as a frontispiece in Amram's work[52] (פטרית שבקית ותריכית יתיכי). It was necessary that the writ should be properly served on the divorcée, hence in 26:6, שקולי גיטכי: "take your writ", a sentence consummating the process, and then the divorced demon must betake herself from the victim's property, as commanded by the peremptory; "Hear, obey and go forth" (l. 10). But there is a difference; against spiritual powers divine authority was necessary. And so it is affected that the writ has come down from heaven (l. 7), that is, it belongs to the category of writs from foreign countries for which there were special forms; hence the גיטא אתא מין עיבר ימא, l. 9. The commissioners and witnesses are the holy angels, etc., l. 9 f. A rabbi is also at hand to seal as notary the divine decree, none other than the famous master-magician Joshua b. Perahia'.[53]

Shaked gathered all of the Jewish Aramaic magic bowl texts that include the motif of the *get* and divided them into five main types.[54] It becomes clear when examining these

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[51] YBC 2364:7-9 in Müller-Kessler 1996, p. 189.
[52] Amram 1896.
[53] Montgomery 1913, p. 159.
[54] Shaked 1999. Our M50 and M59 fit into Shaked's type A, whilst M103 and M119 constitute a new type.

different types that these *get* texts do not differ from other magic bowl texts regarding the magical mechanism employed. The *get* motif is interwoven into the general structure of the adjuration of demons and angels, name invocation, the occasional use of an historiola etc. What distinguishes these texts is the mention within the incantation that a deed of divorce was involved. This can be expressed by a statement to the effect that such a deed of separation had been made for the demons, such as in AIT 9:3 (Shaked's type A) כתבנא להון גיטי לכל לילית, in AIT 8:6 (type B) גיטא נחית לכא מין שמיה, N&Sh B5:6-7 (type C) וכתבו שמה בגיטא and Ellis 1:1 (type D) הדין גיטא לשידא - an amulet which actually declares from the outset to be such a magical *get*. Most of the *get* texts include confirmation that the *get* has been served to the demons, either by stating that the divorce has already occurred (AIT 9: ... פטרנא ותרכנא יתכון בגט פיטורין), or in the form of a direct command to the demon to receive the *get* (Ellis 1:7 ... שקול גיטיכון וקבילו מומתכון). In both cases this is done by quoting, or slightly altering, the final part of the legal *get* formula: ודן די יהוי ליכי מנאי ספר תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין. This statement was previously the only clause of the legal *get* formula actually quoted in the bowls. However, in a couple of our texts, M103 and M119, another section of the *get* formula is adapted for use in the magical *get*. Whereas the *get* formula uses the legal terminology רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי ('permission and power over yourself') to express the status of freedom which the divorced woman gains as a result of the *get*, this same terminology is used in the magical *get* (M103:6 and M119:6) to define the status of the demon. This implies that, unlike the divorced woman, a free demon cannot be tolerated and must be suppressed by the deed. The bowl warns the demon thus: 'even if you have permission or power over yourself for any person you may desire, it is the case that I have written a divorce ...' (M103:6).

A closer examination of the magical *get* texts in our corpus (see appendix to M103 and M119) shows that there is a thematic connection between the magic bowl *get* texts and b. Git. 67b-70a, which contains both the story of the infamous Ashmedai, king of demons, and a medical-magical handbook. Both the magic bowl *get* texts and b. Git. 67b-70a combine the magical and medical data. These particular magic bowls employ a form of *get* which divorces the demons from the client who is then healed. It is suggested below (see appendix to M103 and M119) that the reason for the occurrence of this magical-medical subject matter

in b. Git. 67b-70a, the tractate that deals with 'divorce writs', is not a coincidence but a reflection of the popular belief that is also illustrated in our bowls, namely, that illness can be personified in terms of demons, and 'divorcing' such demons can affect a cure. Although there is no formal mention of the magical *get* in the Babylonian Talmud, one might consider the association of such subject matter in the tractate Gittim to be suggestive.

4.5 Gnostic, Christian and pagan sources

References to non-Jewish gods and other powers in the Jewish Aramaic magic bowls raise interesting questions about how foreign elements came to be included in seemingly Jewish texts. Does the presence of such elements point to heretical movements within the Jewish communities of the time? It is not always easy to identify the processes of transmission by which such elements crossed cultural and linguistic boundaries to be used by the Jewish sorcerers. Needless to say, we know from the Mandaic and Manichaean bowls, as well as the Greek magical papyri,[55] that this phenomena of cross-cultural exchange was not unique to the Jewish magical texts, but was a common feature of the magical products of the Near East in Late Antiquity in general. Montgomery believed that the magic bowls 'and in a general way, all Jewish magic, has come out of the crucible of the Graeco-Roman world' and was therefore 'not Jewish but eclectic'.[56] Indeed, Hellenistic influence on Jewish magic is very obvious in *Sepher Ha-Razim* IV:61-63 where a prayer to Helios occurs.[57] Other pagan gods, such as 'the Mesopotamian and Syrian Belti, Nereg, Nanai, Shamish, Dilbat and Mot; the Iranian Anahid, Danahish, Bagdana',[58] as well as the Christian Holy Trinity (see M163: 29 below) are invoked in Jewish Aramaic bowls. Conversely, the Jewish Iao Sabaoth is the most commonly invoked name in the Greek papyri.[59] An unusual but nevertheless good example of borrowing from Jewish sources occurs in a Mandaic bowl (McCullough D) which adjures 'in the name of Metatron ḤLDḤ who serves before the curtain' (*bšwm' dmyṭṭrwn*

[55] See Betz 1986, pp. xlvi-xlvii.
[56] Montgomery 1913, p. 9.
[57] Margaliot 1966, p. 37.
[58] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 37.
[59] See Betz's introduction to *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (1992).

ḥldḥ dhw mšʾmš qdym brgwdʾ), which appears to be a quote from an unidentified Hekhalot text.[60]

Harviainen provides a possible explanation for the syncretistic tendencies of our magical texts:

> 'The long-lived incantation traditions reveal at least one important aspect of the prophylactic magic. The official religion (Judaism, Christianity, Mandaeism, Islam) has not been considered sufficiently effective to protect a human being against secret adversaries. There are gaps in the security system, and the gaps should be closed. As a consequence, all aggressive forces must always be mentioned by name and then they can be sealed, counter-sealed, uprooted, and expelled. *Horror vacui*, the avoidance of empty space, is a leading principle of popular magic. To be on the safe side it is also profitable to pay attention to foreign cults, demons, and deities'.

Because of these syncretistic tendencies, Montgomery was cautious in considering the attribution of the bowls according to the types of script, saying that 'the magic of our bowls is so eclectic that even a "Jewish"-Aramaic text does not imply a Jewish exorcist'.[61] Shaked, on the other hand, recently noted his opinion that although there are cases in which the Jewishness of a text might be argued, there is nevertheless no compelling evidence that anyone but a Jew would use the Jewish Aramaic script.[62]

Harviainen studied one hundred and four bowls in Jewish Aramaic, thirty one in Mandaic and twenty six in Syriac, to try and discern whether the use of a particular script correlated with the cultural group that it is generally associated with.[63] He found that in most cases what distinguishes the texts as belonging to a particular group, apart from their respective scripts, are the varieties of opening formulae and the lists of what he calls the 'helpers'. He did, however, make a cautionary note concerning twenty four 'Jewish Aramaic bowls without phraseology and without a *basmala* typical of Jewish bowls' that they 'should be noted carefully in any discussion of paganism in bowl incantations'.[64]

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[60] For more discussion concerning this reference see Levine 1970, pp. 358-359 and Greenfield 1973, pp. 154-156.
[61] Montgomery 1913, p. 50.
[62] Shaked 1999a, p. 314.
[63] Harviainen 1995.
[64] Harviainen 1995, p. 59

A case in point from our own corpus is M145 which has little if anything, apart from the fact that it is written in Jewish Aramaic, to distinguish it as having been written by a Jewish scribe. In fact, the language and imagery point to the possibility that this text might be derived from a Mandaic *Vorlage*. Yet the duplicate text (MS 2053/159, see text and notes to M145 below) which we have presented with M145 in synopsis has an appendix that consists of three biblical verses (Isa. 6:3, Ex. 15:16 and Ex. 15:18), which suggests that its scribe was Jewish. Although this is not conclusive proof that M145 was also written by a Jewish scribe, it can, nevertheless, be considered as evidence that this formula was known to and used by Jewish magicians despite the fact that the main part of the incantation might have originated from a Mandaic *Vorlage*.

We know from one of Peters'[65] excavation reports that bowls in different dialects were, on occasion, found in the same house. We also know of a certain Dadbeh bar Asmandukh, for whom bowls were written in both Jewish Aramaic (AIT 12 and AIT 16) and Syriac (AIT 31 and AIT 33). These facts point to a situation in which there is no obligation to assume that the religion of the sorcerer and client are synonymous.

One of our bowls, M163, contains an unusual combination of references which include invocations of the pagan 'Shamish king of the gods' (l. 4), the Jewish magical names אהיה אשר אהיה יהוה צבאות (l. 29) and the Christian Holy Trinity (l. 29). It also contains a number of other stories which are otherwise unknown, but which Shaked has suggested might be analogous to Zoroastrian cosmological stories.[66] Shaked has tried to reconcile this combination of religious elements by suggesting that this bowl was written by a Jewish scribe for Zoroastrian clients who commissioned the bowl to be written against their opponent who was a Christian.[67] He assumes the scribe to have been Jewish on the basis of the script, and the clients to have been Zoroastrian on the basis of their Sasanian names (Mihlad and Baran) and their opponent to be a Christian on the basis of his name (Isha). Shaked further suggests that the invocation of the Holy Trinity was made specifically because the target of the spell, a Christian, would consider it the most potent force to his detriment. It is, however,

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[65] Peters 1897, vol. 2, p. 187. In the 1989 excavations at Nippur that were carried out by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, there was also a case recorded in which a pair of bowls in Jewish Aramaic were found in the same house as a pair in Mandaic (Hunter 1995, p. 62).

[66] Shaked 1999a, p. 312.

hard to accept Shaked's assumptions, especially if we consider the Mandaic duplicate, which also includes the Holy Trinity, that is presented in the very same article by Shaked. Both texts were likely to have been part of the magician's repertoire rather than the choice of a conniving sorcerer.

5. Duplicate texts and the scribe-magician's method of incantation-writing

A primary characteristic of the magical text is that it was intended to be used and re-used by the magician, whose job it was to accommodate clients with requests to ward off potential predicaments, or for assistance with such as have already beset them. Part of the magician's store of incantation formulae would have been passed down to him by an instructor to whom he was no doubt apprenticed at some early stage of his career. Other formulae might have been acquired over years of professional practice by means of exchange with other colleagues, or inherited from mentors who wished to pass their most cherished trade secrets on to a trusted and worthy successor. As the number of magic bowls, Palestinian and Mandaic amulets and Geniza magical texts have increased, more and more duplicate texts have been identified. By duplicate texts, we refer to cases where a whole text or a section of it occurs in two or more bowls. Duplicates texts can be divided into three main categories: 1) Duplicates that were written by the same scribe, 2) Duplicates written by different scribes, and 3) Duplicates written in different language groups i.e. Jewish Aramaic and Mandaic and/or Syriac. Comparing texts of the first category can shed light on the ways in which an individual scribe could use different magical incantation formulae to construct different texts for different clients. The accuracy of his reduplication, or lack of it, can suggest whether he had a recipe book readily available from which to copy, or if he tended to rely more on his own memory. The second type of duplicate is also instructive for gaining a better understanding of the level of flexibility any scribe could exercise in his use of standard sections of formulae, and the ways in which he could combine and alter them in the process of composing any particular incantation. The differences between duplicates of this type can also be informative in evaluating to what extent the transmission of this type of magical formulae was scribal or oral. The third type of duplicates is one of the most

[67] Shaked 1999a, p. 314-315.

perplexing as it exhibits the movement of esoteric knowledge across the borders of communities that used different dialects and were adherents to different religions. Though we might never be able to find out the circumstances by which such exchanges came to pass, we can observe the level of modification in form and content that was exercised upon these magical texts. Needless to say, the existence of duplicates is of the utmost importance to the philologist for reconstructing sections of text which in some bowls have faded or disappeared altogether, and often written by untutored hands which render the script barely legible.

5.1 Duplicates written by the same scribe

A pair of duplicates that were written by the same scribe for the same client were published by Müller-Kessler in 1994. After considering these two texts together with two other duplicates written for other clients (N&Sh B12a and a Nippur bowl (HS 3003)[68]), as well as a third bowl written by a different scribe altogether (N&Sh B12b), Müller-Kessler concluded that the scribes tailored their texts uniquely for each client. This means that it was the scribe's custom to choose different opening and closing formula, vary in their citation of demons and angels and add verses or other formulae as they felt appropriate in each case. This could depend, for instance, on the complaint of the client and the amount of money he or she wished to spend. If a client wished to procure more than one bowl, maybe one for each of the corners of the house, then the scribe would compose the appropriate text and reproduce it faithfully in each of the bowls in the batch. That is why the two texts that Müller-Kessler published, which were written for the same client, followed the same form, whereas N&Sh B12a and HS 3003 seem to have been written by the same scribe but for different clients, showing different forms.[69] AIT 21,22 and 23 are duplicates which were all written by the same scribe for the same client, a certain Dodi daughter of Ahath. The difference between these three duplicates is also small, except that AIT 22 has a short appendix at the end that is missing from the other texts. Montgomery attributed this difference to the fact that being the biggest bowl of the three the scribe must have felt the need to add some extra words as space fillers. Yet another set of duplicates were produced

[68] Gordon in 1941, pp. 346-348, and republished by Olsner in 1989.

by Gordon (Gordon E and F) in a synopsis with a third duplicate, Hyvernat's bowl, written for a different client.[70] In this case, as well as in the same-scribe-and-client-duplicates, Gordon E and F are almost identical, whereas, the Hyvernat bowl, which was written for a different client, differs in considerable detail.

In our corpus there are two sets of duplicates that were written by the same scribe for the same clients and for which synopses have been provided (see below). The first group consists of M103, M119, MS 2053/209 and MS 2053/253 and were written for a certain Imi daughter of Qaqi. The second group, M123, M138 and MS 2053/216, were written for three different members of the same household: Imi daughter of Qaqi, Ahi son of Mahlapta and Ahi son of Qini.[71] Both of these groups of bowls happen to have been written by the same scribe for the same household and thus represent a family archive. Both of these sets of duplicates confirm Müller-Kessler's opinion that in such cases as these, where the scribe was writing a number of bowls for the same client or household, he was likely to reproduce the same text with only minor variations in the whole set of bowls. The nature of the small differences that occur between the duplicate texts point to the likelihood that the scribe was composing from memory rather than copying from a notebook or even the first bowl in the set which he had produced. The types of variation that most commonly occur between these kinds of duplicate seem to be the result of the kind of confusion that could easily occur in the scribe's mind while repeatedly writing the same repertoire of incantations from memory in different combinations over and over again. Incantations tend, in any case, to be repetitive and have similar kinds of statements and formulae. For instance, if we look at a variation that occurs in the opening lines of the first of our two groups:

M103:2	M119:1-2	MS 2053/209:2	MS 2053/253:1-2
תיתסי תינטרי	תיתסי ותיטרי	תינטרי תיתסי	תיתסי תיטרי
תישתזבי	מן כל מידעם ביש	ברחמי שמיא	מן כל מידעם ביש

Whereas in three of the texts the scribe wrote תיתסי before תינטרי, in one (MS 2053/209) this word order had changed. One might attribute this slight modification to a lapse in the scribe's concentration. Having already lost his rhythm and changed the word order, he

[69] Müller-Kessler 1994, pp. 8-9.
[70] Gordon 1934a p.331-332; Hyvernat 1885.

followed תיתסי with ברחמי שמיא, a formulaic combination that is known from other texts[72] and possibly also used by the scribe. Similarly, in M103 תינטרי is followed by תישתזבי rather than מן כל מידעם ביש. This could be explained by the fact that the verb נטר followed by שזב occurs in at least one other known formula[73] which might also have been known to our scribe. Another example of the kind of minor difference which occurs is the use of the demonstrative pronoun הדא before the client's name in M119:1 where it is absent from all this text's other duplicates. Such an addition could easily be made if one considers that names are cited regularly in other texts both with and without the demonstrative pronoun.

5.2 Duplicates written by different scribes

This is the most common form of duplicate that we possess. The kind of differences that were found in the previous category of duplicates also apply here except that they are even more common and the disparity is often greater. The order of phrases can alter:

M145:12	MS 2053/159:13
חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא ניגריה שורשא דארעה	ני(ג)ריה שירשה דארעה (ח)ד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה ברקי[עה]

Mode and tense can change:

M112:9	N&Sh B19:4
דלא יקירבון ביה כל חרשין	דלא (ת)יק((ר))בון ביה

M107:7	Geller A:16
ואברכסס ארהיט שידי ודיוי	ואברכסס דמפיק ומרהיט שידי ודיוי

and the quantity and quality of the demons and/or magical names can vary significantly:

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[71] For a discussion concerning the family connections between these three individuals see opening comments to M123 and M138 below.
[72] Cf. AIT 11:1-2, AIT 24:2, AIT 26:5 and Geller C:3. For a detailed discussion of this and other discrepancies between the duplicate texts see the Synopsis and notes provided below.
[73] BOR:10 נינטרוניה ונישיזבוניה.

M50:2	M59:7	AIT 9:3
גיטא לכל ליליתא דיכרי וניקבתא דמתחזן	גיטא דיכרי וניקבתא משמתא מלויתא דלויא ושריא ודירא בביתיה	גיטי לכל ליליתא דמתחזין להון

M112:7-15	N&Sh B19:11
בישמיה ד(פטט..ס) רבא (8) פרפיאל בי(ל)קו (9) פיניבא פיניבא (10) פיזיחו יחא (11) פרובאל בילקו (12) פיאירן פיניגא (13) אני הוא יהו הי (14) צור קדוש מסג (15) יי שדי	בשמיה דאפסמט רבה אמן אמן סלה

Duplicate texts show quite clearly that, when using a formula, different scribes were not compelled to adhere to the same opening and closing. For example, the duplicates HS 3003, N&Sh B12a and B12b, Müller-Kessler B1 and B2, which all share the same main formula, contain between them three different openings and four types of ending. Another, more extreme example of the adaptation of a basic text is Geller A. One can see in the synopsis with M107 (see below) the extent to which the basic formula has been enlarged and altered so as to make it at first glance almost unrecognisable as a duplicate of M107. Though the variance between these two texts is big, the fact that both bowls have the same drawing of a horse-riding demon and set of abstract magical characters make it certain that they both owe their origin to a common *Vorlage*.

These kind of differences between the duplicate texts reveal that the work of the magician-scribe was often more than just copying or reciting prescribed formula in which only the name of the client had to be entered. The craft of the skilled practitioner often involved a certain amount of tailoring so that, when he produced an incantation, he could design his product to suit both the client's needs and means. He had a choice of formulae to deal with a variety of maladies or complaints, numerous openings and closings, extensive lists of demons, evil sprits and malicious harmers as well as angels, powerful names and gods. Armed with these tools, he could assemble an endless array of incantations. Although certain aspects of these magic spells are conservative and draw from older inherited traditions, the greater corpus of magic bowls nevertheless presents us with a great variety in

both form and content. Whether by choice or as a consequence of the method of the scribes, the magic bowl texts are a testament to the creativity and diversity of their authors.

It was not, however, only the creative aspects of the magician-scribe's method that contributed to new elements and forms within magical incantation texts. It was also a process of corruption of unusual words and phrases, demons', angels' and magical names that were altered by generations of copying and oral transmission. A good example of such a case was noted by Montgomery in his study of the parallels to AIT 11 for which he produced a synopsis.[74] Montgomery points out that the two words אל איסור in the expression אל איסור בגדנא 'for the binding of Bagdana',[75] which occur in Ellis 1:4, got transformed into the name אלאיסור 'Elisur' in which form it is found in AIT 11:4-5. An example from our own corpus is the discrepancy between דכידיבון in M145:2, which appears to be a name, 'of KYDYBWN' (?), as opposed to the expression בריה דבריה, 'the grandson', which occurs in the parallel MS 2053/159:2:

M145:2	MS 2053/159:2-3
לשמיש חור דכידיבון בריה דמלכה רבא	לשמיש וחור בריה דבריה בר (3) מלכה רבה

Magical names are probably the most prone to change as they are often rather unusual combinations of letters which are harder to remember than normal vocabulary. An example of this is a name of Lilith which occurs in AIT 11:6 as חלבס, though in its duplicates it occurs as חבסלס in one case and חלדאס in another. In M163:9-11 there are listed seven magic words that constitute the seal by which it is claimed heaven and earth are bound. A comparison with four other texts in which these seven names are also cited (see table in notes to M163:8-11) shows the different permutations such names can take. Concerning a similar case of a list of angel names which occurs in both N&Sh B1 and B2, Naveh and Shaked commented that the differences in the names point to a combination of both oral and scribal modes of transmission.[76]

[74] Montgomery 1913, pp. 168-170.
[75] Montgomery shows on the basis of the Mandaic parallel that אל in the Jewish Aramaic is but an unusual form for the preposition על (Montgomery 1913, p. 171). See also J. p. 66a.
[76] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 27.

5.3 Duplicates in different language groups

Montgomery identified a number of duplicate texts that crossed the linguistic boundaries: AIT 11 and AIT 18 in Jewish Aramaic that have a Mandaic counterpart in the form of Lidzbarsky no. 5,[77] and also the formula in AIT 9 in Jewish Aramaic which has two Syriac duplicates, AIT 32 and AIT 33. To the latter we add another pair of duplicates from our present corpus - M50 and M59. In 1998 Müller-Kessler published a synopsis of three texts: BOR in Jewish Aramaic, Louvre AO 17284 in Syriac and Macuch I, a lead roll in Mandaic, which all include a formula that is based on the same *Vorlage*.[78] This is the first attested case in which a formula is found in all three of the major dialects of the magic bowls. Müller-Kessler summarised her study of the three texts, as did her predecessors Naveh and Greenfield (who were not aware of the existence of the Syriac version), with the conclusion that the Mandaic version is the most likely to have been closest to the original.

These texts bear witness that such formulae were transmitted from one religious community to another. One can only speculate about the way in which such material was passed on. Were such texts copied from one language into another, or were they passed on orally? It is possible that magicians of different religious groups exchanged trade secrets or consulted with each other on professional matters. We are told in b. Shab. 116a that Mar Samuel and a certain Babylonian priest called Ablat discussed medical-astronomical issues together.[79] Was it the work of converted magicians who brought their old stock of trade with them across into new communities? As the world of magic, with its syncretistic tendencies, was so secretive and evidence so sparse, the answers to these questions are elusive.

Harvianen noted a significant difference, apart from the script and dialect, that distinguishes the Jewish Aramaic bowl that he published (BOR) and the Mandaic duplicate that Greenfield and Naveh published. He points out that in the Jewish bowl

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[77] For the history of the study of this formula, see footnote 48.

[78] The history of research relating to this incantation formula that precedes Müller-Kessler's publication is particularly interesting. It starts with BOR, a Jewish Aramaic bowl, which was published by Harviainen in 1981. The bowl's linguistic peculiarities, many of which are common to the Mandaic dialect, led him to form the idea that the presence of certain linguistic features in Jewish Aramaic constituted an Eastern Aramaic Koiné (see above). In 1985 Naveh and Greenfield published a Mandaic lead roll that had within it a duplicate variation of the Jewish Aramaic BOR. They added a third duplicate, Macuch I - another Mandaic lead roll, to these two texts and produced a synopsis. Their conclusion was that the Jewish Aramaic version was dependent on the Mandaic.

[79] Geller 1997b, p. 57.

'the beginning of the text reads *šemaʿu we-qabbelu h de-zahar yy* 'hear and accept the Lord who has warned, Yahwe!' While large parts of the text, demons, deities, and curses inclusive, were copied from a Mandaic model–as Greenfield and Naveh have demonstrated–the Mandaean watchword was not accepted by the scribe who employed the Jewish script for the incantation. Instead of the Life, the primordial deity of the Mandaean religion, the (probably) Jewish magician appealed to the God of the Jews, Yahwe, the name of which he spelled in two different abbreviated forms, *he* and *yod-yod*'.[80]

Harviainen's findings reveal that in most cases the Mandaic and Jewish Aramaic texts employ their own specific forms of opening formulae. That is to say that there are certain formulae that are specifically Mandaic and are never used in Jewish Aramaic texts, and visa versa. One can, therefore, see that although a Mandaic formula might be copied by Jewish scribes, they will, nevertheless, adapt it in some way so as to make it their own.

[80] Harviainen 1993, p. 34.

Texts -Transcriptions, Translations, Notes and Synopses

M50 (15.5cm * 5cm) & **M59** (16.5cm * 5.5cm)

Though M50 and M59 are duplicate texts of each other they are, nevertheless, written by different hands and for different clients. The names of the clients in M50 are Uri daughter of Maroshita and Qaqai son of Ṣiporta, and the name in M59 Ardoi son of Kirkshidukh. Other published duplicates of this formula are AIT 9 which is in Jewish Aramaic and AIT 32 and 33 which are in Syriac Manichaean script. Another three duplicates in Jewish Aramaic have been identified in the Schøyen collection: MS 1927/5, MS 1927/39 and MS 1929/16. The complete transcriptions of these are not provided, though sections that are cited have been collated by the present author. Of special importance is MS 1929/16 as it was written by the same scribe as M59 and displays certain unusual features of this formula which are particular to these two versions. From these eight texts one can discern at least three main variations of this incantation: 1) AIT 32 and 33 the Syriac Manichaean texts, 2) M59 and MS 1929/16 both in Jewish Aramaic and by the same author, and 3) M50, AIT9, MS 1927/5 and MS 1927/39 all in Jewish Aramaic. This last group of texts are not all the same and show an extra number of variations. The differences between all the texts are slight and reveal something about the nature of the deviations which occur in the transformation of a formulaic incantation in the process of its transmission (see synopsis and discussion below).

Common to all the variations of the incantation are: 1) The mention, at the beginning of the text, of the throwing of lots as part of a magical process. 2) A small historiola which relates that a writ of divorce to separate human clients from demons was written in the house of R. Joshua bar Perahia. 3) The invocation of a holy name which is only alluded to, in Hebrew, as the magical manipulation of certain letters. The implied composite name is described as one that was in some way used in the process of creation, as well as being potent for the removal of demons. 4) The historiola ends with a direct statement to the demons that the agency which affected the divorce between them and the human clients had ascended 'on high' to enlist the means by which the their expulsion and destruction will be completed.

Transcription of M50

(1) פורא רמינא ושקילנא {ועב} ועבדא עבדנא והוא הוה במותב רבי יהושוע בר פרחיא (2) כתבנא להון גיטא לכל לילי^יתא דיכרי וניקבתא דמתחזן לה להדא אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא (3) קאקי בר ציפרתא בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא דיממא גיטא גיט פיטורין ושיבוקין בשום אות מתוך אות (4) ואותיות מתוך אותיות ושום מתוך השמות (...) נ(ק)ב מתוך הגלוי דבהון איתכנעו שמיה (וא)רעה וטוריא בהון איתעקרו וראמתא בהון איתמסיאה שידי חרשי דיוי ולטבי בהון עברי מן עלמא בכין סליקית עליכון למרומא איתיתי עליכון מחבלא לחבלא יתכון (5) ולאפקא יתכון מן ביתה ומן כל אתר בית מישכבהון דהדא אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא קאקי בר ציפורת(א) ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא (6) ב(י)שינתא דיממא דפטרנא יתכון מינהון בספר תרוכין וגיט {פט} פיטורין ואיגרת שיבוקין כדת בנת ישראל ומן יומא דין ולעלם אמן אמן סלה הללויה (ל)שמך 7. עשיתי גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל וחתימין על הדין גיטא

Translation of M50

(1) I am casting and drawing a lot and making a magical act. And it was [as] in the dwelling of R. Joshua bar Perahia. (2) I am writing them a *get*, to all the male and female Liliths who appear to this Uri daughter of Maroshita and to this (3) Qaqai son of Siporta in the dream of the night and the sleep of the day. A divorce writ, a *get* of releasing and sending away. By the name of: a letter within a letter (4) and letters from within letters and a name from within the names (...) a gap from within the revealed. By them which heaven and earth were subjugated, mountains were uprooted by them, and heights were melted by them. Demons and dews and 'no good ones' die (lit. - passing from the world) by them. Therefore, I ascended concerning you (or- against you/above you) to on high. I have brought against you a harmer to destroy you (5) and remove you from her house and from every bedroom of this Uri daughter of Merushita and this Qaqai son of Siporta. And may you not appear to them, not in the dream of the night and not (6) in the sleep of the day. For I have released you from them by a document of divorce, and a *get* of discharge/dismissal, and letters of separation according to the law of the daughters of Israel from this day and forever, amen

amen sela hallelujah. (7) For Thy namesake I have done (this magic act). Gabriel and Michael and Raphael and (those) sealed upon this *get*.

Notes for M50

1 שקילנא The spelling here and in M59 are the same and confirm Epstein's emendation of Montgomery's reconstruction of AIT 9:1 from נא[שקי] to לנא[שקי].

עבדא עבדנא Cf. N&Sh 3:4 ועבדין דמיתעבדין 'charms which are cast.' The root עבד in the context of the magic bowls was discussed by Montgomery[1] who stressed the fact that its spectrum of meanings incorporate both religious and magical practice. It is worth noting in connection with this formula, which incorporates legalistic divorce formula, the common Rabbinic expression עבד עובדא 'issue a halakhic ruling,' as in b. Gitt. 27a עבד רבה עובדא בההוא גיטא 'Rabbah issued a ruling concerning that bill of divorce.'

2 ן<י>דמתחז Cf. AIT 9 דמתחזין. A verb with a third week radical חזי, the masculine participle form is מתחזין, the feminine being מתחזיין.[2]

4 איתמסיאה Montgomery read In AIT 9:7,8 איתמסי אה '... melt away. Oh, ...' Epstein amended to איתמסראה, an *ithpe.* feminine pl. perfect, on the basis of the Syriac Manichaean duplicates AIT 32 and 33 which has *ʿytmsr*. However, the reading is clear in both this text and its duplicate MS 1929/16 and an *ithpe.* feminine pl. perfect of מסי is perfectly acceptable. This form is not attested in the Babylonian Talmud, but can be found in the Targ.-J., cf. Josh. 10:11 - אתרמיאה.

עברי מן עלמא The two Syriac texts AIT 32 and 33 have the same expression as here, which is also attested in the Targ.-J. (Gen. 15:2 דאני עביר מן עלמא). Cf. AIT 9:7 which employs the verb אבד instead of עבר resulting in an equivalent expression which is attested in the Mishna - אבדו מן עלמא.[3]

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[1] 1913, p. 51.
[2] Epstein 1960, p. 99.
[3] Epstein 1983, p. 339.

איתיתי Montgomery[4] considered this word to be an *af.* to which the added תי- is a 'Hebraizing' of the form. However, in the Targumim[5] the form אתיתי is well attested as a *pe.* perfect first person.

מחבלא לחבלא cf. VA2416:17 (Wohlstein, 1894, line 34) ומחבלתא דימחבלתא; cf. Targ.-J. Is. 54:16 מחבלא לחבלא.

6 פשינתא The פ which is at the start of this word should have been a ב as can be seen in AIT 9:9 and M59:12.

כדת בנת ישראל ... בספר תרוכין This is the same wording used for the end of the *Get*[6] formula except for the ending. The standard formula is כדת משה וישראל (as found in M59:12, see below) whereas our text reads כדת בנת ישראל which is reminiscent of the Targ.-O. to Ex. 21:9, a Biblical reference to the Israelite rules of matrimony, which translates the Hebrew כמשפט הבנות as כהלכת בנת ישראל.

Notes for M59 (see transcription of M59 in the synopsis below)

5 עבדי A plural form cf. M50:1 עבדא.

6 כתבית A perfect form of the verb as opposed to כתבנא in M50:2 which is a participle with first person pronoun suffix.

8 להון דמית(חזיא) In MS 1929/16 the spelling is the same. This is a singular feminine form of the participle and refers to the מלויתא 'the female demon that accompanies'. There is only one client so one would expect לה instead of להון.

9 - 10 הגולי Should be הגלוי as it is clearly written in M50 and MS 1927/5. It is interesting that the scribe repeats this same mistake in his duplicate rendition of the same text in MS 1929/16.

עו<נ>יתכ Cf. יתכנעו in MS 1929/16, and איתכנעו in M50 and AIT 9.

יתכנעו, ויתעקרון, ויתמסרון All *ithpe.* imperfect forms as they are also found in MS 1929/16. However, in all the other duplicates, the Syriac ones included, these verbs are *ithpe.* perfect

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[4] 1913, p. 164.
[5] Dalman 1905, p. 358. Some examples occur in: Targ.-O. Gen. 31:39, Targ.-Ps-J. Deut. 26:10, Targ.-J. Isa. 41:25, Jer. 2:19.
[6] Cf. Amram 1896, frontispiece facsimile.

forms. In the imperfect these verbs do not make as much sense as the subjugation of the heavens and the earth and the formation of its geography by the magical names was an act that occurred in the past. Furthermore, all the other duplicates (apart from MS 1929/16) conjugate these verbs as *ithpe.* perfect forms. It seems reasonable to assume that at some point of the transmission of this formula a certain scribe, possibly even the one who wrote M59 and 1929/16, copied the אי prefixed to the verbs as וי.

11 לאפוקי An *af.* infinitive, this form is eastern;[7] cf. M50:5 לאפקא which is the western equivalent.[8]

לאנדואהון The *af.* infinitive of the root נדי/נדא ('to throw, banish, excommunicate') with a masculine third person plural suffix. Cf. לאלוואיהון in the Targ. Ps-J. Gen. 18:16.[9]

14-15 Zech. 3:2, for a discussion of the use of this verse in the magic bowls see appendix to M108.

Synopsis for M50, M59, AIT 9 and AIT 32

M50	M59	AIT 9	AIT 32 (Syriac)[10]
	(1) לכל (2) ל (3) ליליתא בישתא		(1) מזמן הנא כאסא חתמא דביתה (2) ודאנתתה ודבנה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד דתיזה מנה מבכלתא (3) וחלמא ביישא
(1) פורא רמינא ושקילנא {ועב} ועבדא עבדנא והוא הוה במותב רבי יהושוע בר פרחיא	(4) דפורא רמינא ושקילנא (5) {ועב} ועבדי עבדנא במתיבי (6) יהושע בר פרחיא	(1) פורא רמינא ו[שקי]לנא ועובדא (2) עבידנא והוא הוה במית[ביה] דרבי יהושע (3) בר פרחיא	פורא רמינא ושקינא עבודא דעביד הוהוא (4) כי הוא דיתיב רב יישוע בר פרהיא
(2) כתבנא להון גיטא לכל ליליתא דיכרי וניקבתא	כתבית (7) גיטא דיכרי וניקבתא משמתא מלויתא דלויא ושריא ודירא	כתבנא להין גיטי לכל ליליתא	וכתב עליהון דסתבריא על כלהון שידא ודיוא (5) וסטנא וללית ולטבא
דמתחזן לה		דמתחזין להון	
להדא	בביתיה	בהדין (4)	דאית בביתה

[7] Epstein 1960, p. 76.
[8] Stevenson 1924, p. 61.
[9] Dalman 1905, p. 349.
[10] For the convenience of viewing this synopsis the Syriac text has been rendered in square characters.

AIT 32 (Syriac)[10]	AIT 9	M59	M50
דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד	דבבנוש בר קיומ[תא] ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה	דארדוי בר (8) כירכשידוך וכל שום דאית לה	אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא (3) קאקי בר ציפרתא
		דמית(חזיא) להון	
	בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא (5) דיממא	בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא דיממא	בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא דיממא
תוב כתב עליהון דסתבריא דלעלם	דגיטא דפי[טורין] ודשבוקין	ואנה כתיבנא עליכון גיטא (9) גיט פיטורין ושבוקין	גיטא גיט פיטורין ושיבוקין
(6) בשום אתמדג [את] אתות אתות מן גות אתות אתות שמא גליונא מן גו גיליונא	בשום אות מתוך אות ואותיות מתוך אותיות (6) ושום מתוך השימות ונקב מתוך [הנקבים]	בשום אות מיתוך אות אותיות מיתוך אותיות ושום {מ} מיתוך השימ<ו>ת וינקבי מיתוך האל הגולי	בשום אות מתוך אות (4) ואותיות מתוך אותיות ושום מתוך השמות (...) נ(ק)ב מתוך הגלוי
דבהנהון איתכביש (7) שמיא וארעא וטורא ובהנהון איתקר רמא[תא] ובהנהון איתמסר	דיבהון איתכנעו שמיא וארעה טוריא איתעקרו ורמתא בהון איתמס(י)אה	דיבהון יתכ<נ>עו (10) שמיה וארעה וטורא בהון ויתעקרון ורמיתא בהון ויתמסרון	דבהון איתכנעו שמיה (וא)רעה וטוריא בהון איתעקרו וראמתא בהון איתמסיאה
[חרשא שידא] ודיוא וסטנא ולליתא ולטבא (8) ובהנהון עבר מן עלמא	(7) שידי חרשי ודיוי ולטבי ולילית בהון אבדו מן עלמא	שידי וחרשי בהון עברי מן עלמא	שידי חרשי דיוי ולטבי בהון עברי מן עלמא
וסליק עליכון למרומא ואיתא עליכון קיבלא חביל[א] לחבלותא ואפקא [לאפק]תכון	בכין סליקית עליהון לימרומא ואיתיתי עליכון (8) מחבלא לחבלא יתהון ולאפקא יתכ[ון	בכין סליקית עליכון למירומא מיחבלא (11) לאפוקי ולאנדויאהון שידין ושיבטין ודיוין וסטנין וחילמי סניתי שגישי ותיזחון ותיפקון	בכין סליקית עליכון למרומא איתיתי עליכון מחבלא לחבלא יתכון (5) ולאפקא יתכון
(9) [מן ב]יתה	מ]ן בתיהון ומן דירתיהון איסקופתיהון ומן כל ... אתר בית מישכביהון	מן ביתיה ואיסקופתיה	מן ביתה ומן כל אתר בית מישכבהון
דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד ומן כל דאיתלה	דבאבנוש בר קיומתא (9) ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה	דארדוי בר כירכשידוך	דהדא אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא קאקי בר ציפורת(א)
	ותוב לא [תיתחזון להון] לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינ[תא דיממ]א	(12) ולא תתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינתא ד<יממה>	ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא (6) ב(ו)שינתא דיממא
שביקית[ון]	דפטרנא ותרכנה [ית]כ[ין]	מיטול דפטרנא יתיכון מיניכון	דפטרנא יתכון מינהון

AIT 32 (Syriac)[10]	AIT 9	M59	M50
בדסתבריא ואסיר [וח]תים ומחתם איכין דש[ידא קדמיא לאדר]יבו (10) ואנשא קדמיא דעוטר להאוו תוב אסיר חתים ומחתם הנא דסתבריא בשום יה יה יה יה יה יה יה עא [אמין אמין סלה (11) ניתח]תים וניתנטר ביתה ודורה דדינוי בר איספנ[דרמיד] מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ותיתחת[ים] ותיתנטר [אנתתה ובנה] (12) מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ונידרא ו[חרשא] ....תקים [מ]נהלי (?) ה אמין	(10) בגט פטו[רין ו]ספר תירוכין ואגרת שיבוק[ין] כדת בנת ישראל (11) אני לישמך עשיתי יהוה אלהים צבאות גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל חתומך על הדא חתמתא ועל הדא איסקופתה אמן אמן	בסיפר תירוכי<ן> וגיטא גיט פיטורין ואיגרת שבוקין כדת משה ו<י>שראל (13) לשמך אני עשיתי גבריאל verso (14) גבריאל ו(מיכ)אל ורפיאל ואור<יאל> .....יאל בשום (סו)ריאל סוריאל ..... יהוק יהיק רבה סלה ויאמר יהוה אל שטן יגער יהוה בך (15) השטן יגער יהוה בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אוד (מוצל) מיאש	בספר תרוכין וגיט {פט} פיטורין ואיגרת שיבוקין כדת בנת ישראל ומן יומא דין ולעלם אמן אמן סלה הללויה (ל)שמך (7) עשיתי גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל חתימין על הדין גיטא

The synopsis reveals a number of interesting differences which illustrate the nature of the transmission of this incantation, specifically amongst the Jewish and Syriac scribes. Both Montgomery and Epstein worked on the Jewish Aramaic text (AIT 9) and the two Syriac duplicates (AIT 32 and 33) commenting on the textual tradition of this formula which these two cultural groups shared. Montgomery claimed that the Jewish Aramaic text is 'doubtless dependent upon'[11] the Syriac texts. This statement is not qualified but for a comment that AIT 9 is the inscription of an illiterate hand. Epstein argued against the priority of the Syriac partly on the basis that both AIT 32 and 33 use the expression עבר מן עלמא, whereas AIT 9 uses אבדו מן עלמא which is similar to the Mishnaic expression.[12] Such an argument is untenable in the light of our two new Jewish Aramaic duplicates which both use the Aramaic expression with the verb עבר.

Epstein concluded solely by stating that it is likely that both versions of this formula were based on an earlier source. The mention of Joshua bar Perahia and the allusion to the manipulation of the divine name appear to suggest that the source is Jewish.

Epstein noted the discrepancy between the nouns and qualifying verbs when comparing the Syriac section AIT 32:6,7 with its equivalent Jewish Aramaic AIT 9:6:

[11] Montgomery 1913, p. 162.
[12] Epstein 1960, p. 339.

	AIT 9:6	AIT 32:6,7
1	דיבהון איתכנעו שמיא וארעה	דבהנהון איתכביש (7) שמיא וארעא וטורא
2	טוריא איתעקרו	
3	ורמתא בהון איתמס(י)אה	ובהנהון איתקר רמא[תא]
4		ובהנהון איתמסר [חרשא שידא] ודיוא

Whereas, in the Syriac text the word טורא is modified by the first verb (איתכביש), in the Jewish Aramaic texts (AIT 9:6, M50:4 and M59:10) the equivalent טוריא occurs with the second verb - איתעקרו. This is the point where the Syriac and Jewish Aramaic versions fall out of step. The equivalent to this second verb in the Syriac version (איתקר) relates to רמאתא which in the Jewish Aramaic text is modified by a third verb - איתמסיאה. The equivalent of this third verb in the Syriac version (איתמסר) refers to the list of demons that follow. The differences between the two versions of this particular section are interesting as they could reflect a corruption in the transmission of the text from one Aramaic dialect to the other. If such a corruption has indeed occurred, then it has not affected the outcome as both versions preserve readings which are sensible and grammatically sound.

There are two other elements of similarity between M59 and MS 1929/16, both written by the same scribe, and the two Syriac texts. 1) The equivalent to AIT 32:7 איתמסר in M59:10 and MS 1929/16:7 is ויתמסרון, as opposed to אתמסיאה in both AIT 9 and M50. 2) In AIT 32:5 there is the added תוב כתב עליהון 'again he wrote concerning them.' Similarly in M59:8 (and MS 1929/16:5) ואנה כתיבנא עליכון 'and I write against you,' missing from both AIT 9 and M50.

Comparing these texts enables an interesting insight into the creativity of the individual scribe. For example in the transcription of M59, it seemed reasonable to consider לכל ל לילית בישתא as the first three lines of the text. These words are couched within the rather

elaborate image of the demon which is sprawled across the centre of the bowl. Furthermore, they are the first words to be read if one follows the usual clockwise spiraling of the text from the middle outwards. These words also serve as an eye-catching caption. In M50:2 and AIT 9:3 these words appear after the word גיטא. A further inspection of M59 reveals that the words in question appear above the word גיטא in line 7, rather than after them as they appear in MS 1929/16 (written by the same scribe) which has no illustration of a demon. It might be argued that in M59 these words were put above the word גיטא, i.e. the correct place in the formula, גיטא ^לכל ל ליליתא בישתא^. However, the scribe added the relative pronoun ד to פורא which clearly suggests that something ought to precede it. Thus it appears that the scribe was consciously exploiting the visual arrangement of the text.

Another small but revealing detail is that in M59:8 the words דמתחזיא להון 'whom appears to them' appears after the name of the client. Whereas, in M50, AIT 9 and MS 1929/16 (which was written by the same hand as M59) the equivalent words appear before the name of the client. This alteration of the formula became necessary to the scribe of M59 who added the optional ושריא ודירא 'who dwells and inhabits' which necessitated that 'in the house of ...' immediately follow. Wishing not to omit any part of the formula he then added 'whom appears to them' after the name of the client.

M101 (17.6cm*7cm)

This text is written in a very neat square script. Apart from ה and ח, all the letters are clearly distinguished. The text appears to have been written for the general protection of the client, her unborn baby and her dwellings. The Aramaic displays a number of western tendencies, such as the infinitive forms of the verbs in the first two lines and the ה endings of some of the nouns (l. 3 בישתה, l. 4 ניקבתה, lines 4 and 5 עקרה). The text is in Hebrew from the end of line eight until the word בשום in line eleven. Part of this section is an almost exact parallel to a passage in Hekhalot Rabatti (see below). Of particular interest in this section is the Hebrew threat formula in lines 9 and 10 which is written in the third person against demons. This statement is something of an echo to the threat which the demons received, in Aramaic, in direct speech (the second person), in lines 6 and 7. The Hebrew threat to the demons is written in a post Biblical Hebrew, consistent with the Hekhalot material and possibly originating from texts which are, as yet, unknown to us.

Transcription of M101

(1) הדין כתבה למיסר ולמיבלם ולשצטמא (2) ולאפקא ולרחקא כל שידי ודיוי וירורי ולילין ומבכלין (3) ורוחי בישתה וחומרי זידניתא ופתכרי ופתכרתא (4) דיכרי וניקבתה וכל מ(חא)תא אינקיתא ומשמתא ומבכלתא ורוח עקרה (5) ולילית עקרה זכר ונקיבה כולכון שמ(ע)ו מומתא דא וקבילו שבועתא הדא (6) ופוקו ורחיקו מן מחלפתא בת אימאי ומן עוברה דבימעה ומן ביתה דחיתה ביה ומן דירתה (7) דילה ותוב לא תיתון עלה ולא תיתחזון לה לא בביתה ולא בדירתה מן יומא דין ושעה דא ולעלם במפתחי חותם (8) בפיתוחי חותם בחותם חותם בינזה בינזף בינ(..)ה בשץ בקץ בנף ב(לז) בלן בניזפי בלן בטש בצף ביהו יהו (9) הי הו הוה ובעיזקתא רבתא שאין כל הטבעות כמותה וכל לילין ומבכלין וכל רוח רעה זכר ונקיבה שישמע (10) ויצא מן מחלפתא בת אימאי ומן ביתה כוליה וילך לדרכו לשלום ומי שלו ישמע יהא מנודא לטעצש יהוה אלהי ישראל לו (11) ולכתר ראשו ולכיסי כבודו ולבית דין של מעלה ולבית דין של מטה ולכל צבא בית דין מרום בשום טיטינוס חי חי מץ פגרי רעש ופגרי (12) רגש קל פגרי רעש קל מילי מיליה תיגלה (סלד)יאה קיצתס פצמצין ניאסין אקרקפה דני וארישה דביניתה חתם חזית(יה) לבר שתי שתי (פ)נדי (13) סכסין סק(ס)ון קץ שמיה עיקרון קרן לך דין שמה רבה דמלאך מותא עריק מיניה אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M101

(1) This writing to bind, and muzzle, and lock up, (2) and take out, and remove all sheds, and dews, and howlers, and Lils, and tormentors, (3) and evil spirits, and wicked charms, male idols and female idols, (4) male and female, and all plagues necklace charms, and ban, and tormentor, and barren spirit, (5) and barren Lilith, male or female.

All of you, hear this adjuration and receive this oath. (6) Go out and remove yourselves from Mahlafta daughter of Imai and from her foetus in her belly, and from her house in which she lives, and from her dwelling. (7) Again, may you not come against her, and may you not appear to her, not in her house and not in her dwelling from this day and this time and forever.

By seal engravers (8) by seal engravings by seal of seal, by YNZH by YNZP by YN(..)H by ŠṢ by QṢ by NP by (LZ) by LN by NYZPY by LN by ṬŠ by ṢP by YHW YHW (9) HY HW HWH and by the great signet ring of which none of the rings are like.

And all lils and tormentors and every evil spirit , male and female who will obey (10) and go out from Mahlapta daughter of Imai, and from her entire house. May he go on his way in peace. And whosoever shall not obey will be banished to ṬA'SŠ YHWH God of Israel, to him (11) and to the crown of his head and to the throne of his glory and to the law court of above and to the law court of below and to all the host of the law court of heaven.

By the name ṬYṬYNWS ḤY ḤY MṢ bodies of commotion and bodies (12) of tumult, sound of bodies of commotion, sound of words of words TYGLH (SLD)Y'AH QYṢTS PṢMṢYN NYA'SYN. *Upon her head jars* and upon the top of her hair he sealed ḤZYT(YH) LBR ŠTY ŠTY PNDY (13) SKSYN SQ(.)WN QṢ his name.

Barren one, we called you! This is the great name from which the angel of death flees. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M101

1 לשצטמא cf. b. Git. 68a MS Paris שיצטמיה and variants: MS Munich 95 שסטמיה, MS Arras 969 שסתמיה and MS Wilna סתמיה. In b. Git. 68a this verb is employed to express the fastening of the iron chain which was thrown over Asmedai the demon. Cf. the Mandaic

cognate *sṣtm* (DM p. 334a, b) 'to fetter, shackle' for which there is the equivalent *ṣṣtm* (DM p. 396b). Macuch explained the change of *s* > *ṣ* before *ṭ* as 'a general Semitic phenomenon'.[13] The same change from ס to צ is attested in Babylonian Aramaic[14] and could explain the differences between the variant forms in the b. Git. 68a manuscripts. Macuch understood the Mandaic *sṣtm* to be a *Safel* form.[15] Likewise, Kohut[16] considered the form in b. Git. (MS Munich 95) שסטמיה to be a *Shafel* derived from the root סתם.

5 זכר ונקיבה These are Hebrew nouns as opposed to the Aramaic דיכרי וניקבתה in line four.

6 עוברה דבמיעה Cf. the expression עולה דבמעיה in amulet A[17] lines 7,16 and 30.

חיתה As this text is for the protection of a pregnant woman it is possible to consider this word to be a variant spelling of חייתא 'midwife'.[18]

7,8 במפתחי חותם בפיתוחי חותם בחותם חותם This is reminiscent of the holy diadem of pure gold mentioned in Ex. 39:30 upon which was incised the 'sealed inscription', פתוחי חותם, consisting of the words 'Holy to the Lord'. The potency of seals with magic words upon them is evident from their numerous invocations in magic bowls.[19] Knowledge of various seals, such as those often described in the Hekhalot literature, was apparently considered essential for the mystic who would traverse the heavenly palaces.[20] As this text is concerned with a pregnant client and her unborn feotus, mentioning the barren spirit and barren Lilith (lines 4,5), it is worth noting Gen. 30:22 and Targ. Ps-J. of the same verse. In this verse we are told that God took heed of Rachel's plight and 'opened her womb', ויפתח את רחמה. The word ויפתח, from the same root as מפתחי and פיתוחי, is elaborated in the Targ. Ps-J. which records a midrash about four magical 'keys' which were handed down directly by the Lord. One of these keys was the 'key of barrenness', מפתח עקרתא.[21]

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[13] Macuch 1965, p. 69-70.
[14] Epstein 1960, p. 19.
[15] Macuch 1965, p. 248.
[16] Aruch Completum 1955, vol. 8, p. 117b.
[17] Montgomery 1911, pp. 272-279, and republished in Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 91-95.
[18] J. p. 455a,b.
[19] Montgomery 1913, p. 53.
[20] Scholem 1960, p. 33.
[21] In the b. Tan. 2a,b there is another version of this midrash which tells of three such keys one of which is also the key of barrenness.

10-11 יהא ... מרום This is a near precise parallel to a verse in Hekhalot Rabatti, cf. Schäfer Synopsis §92:

M101 יהא מנודא לטעצש יהוה אלהי ישראל לו (11) ולכתר ראשו ולכיסי כבודו ולבית דין של

HR יהא בנידוי לטעצש יוי אלהי ישרי לו ולכסא כבודו ולכתר ראשו לבית דין של

M101 מעלה ולבית דין של

HR מעלה ולבית דין של

M101 מטה ולכל צבא בית דין מרום

HR מטה ולכל צבא מרום

This section appears towards the start of Hekhalot Rabatti, following the description of the virtues of those who descend to the Merkabah. Though this Hekhalot section is in itself somewhat unclear,[22] the particular clause, which is parallel to the one in our text, appears to be an invocation given to those who descend to the Merkabah for protection. The name טעצש is appended to a standard name of God and also appears, in the same form, at the very beginning of Hekhalot Rabatti (Schäfer Synopsis §81). This name also appears in Maaseh Merkabah (Schäfer Synopsis §591) in a list of divine names. The complete form of this name (טעצש ביה יוי אלהי ישראל) is also employed in an amulet from the Geniza, TTS K1.168 line 55 (Schiffman and Swartz 1992 p. 147), which was written for protection from slander and witchcraft and for the restoration of the love of the client's wife. Cf. also טשעצש T.-S. K 1.144 3b:15.[23]

שלו Defective spelling of שלא.

11-13 ... טיטינוס Part of this sequence appears in Gordon B:8-9 who reads it as: טיטינוס חתימין פגרי דעש ופגרי דעש קל פגרי דעש קל מילי מילי אתיגלא. This sequence, followed by 'this is the great name from which the angel of death flees' (line 12 in our text), is almost exactly duplicated in MS 2053/158:12-14. In MS 2053/158, it is prefaced by כתבית עליכון 'I have written against you', which suggests that this is a fixed formula consisting of a complex magical name followed by a statement of its particular function i.e. the removal of the danger of death from the client. The translation to פגרי רעש ופגרי (12) רגש קל פגרי רעש קל מילי מיליה is given tentatively. Cf. III Enoch chapter 42:5 וראיתי רעמים וקולות שהם מרעישים

[22] Schäfer 1987, p. 9.

בתוך להבי אש 'And I saw thunders and voices that were roaring in the midst of the fiery flames'.[24] Cf. also T.-S. K 21.95.P 3b:13-15:[25] קול פיגרי רגש קול דממה (רעש) דקה הים קול חשמל חשמלה (חמ) רבה דמלל מן גי להבי אשתא; a reference in which פיגרי רגש appears in combination with דקה ... קול דממה, a reference to Elijah's divine encounter in I Kings 19:12,[26] and the sound of the חשמל from the vision of Ezekiel 1:4. Cf. another variant of this composite name which occurs in the *Pišra' de-R. Ḥanina' ben Dosa'*:[27] ... דעל שמיה חקוק תגצשמעץ וטעצש יהוה צבאות אלי מערכות ישראל שנקרא שם כל קשב בקש קול פגרי רעש קל חשמל וחשמלא רבא די ממלל[28] מגוש להבת אשתא ...

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[23] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 34.
[24] Odeberg 1973, pp. 131 and נה.
[25] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 34.
[26] ואחר הרעש אש לא באש יהוה ואחר האש קול דממה דקה 'After the earthquake–fire; but the Lord was not in the fire, and after the fire–a soft murmuring sound'.
[27] Tocci 1986, p. 102.
[28] It might be preferable to read מגו שלהבת.

M102 (19.8cm*5cm)

There are thirteen lines of text in this bowl which is written in a fine hand. Most of the text is readable though there are some slightly faded sections for which a reading was more difficult to extract, as well as some unusual vocabulary and syntax. It is possible that this is partly due to corruptions that occurred in the transmission of the text. Noteworthy is the variety of prefixes for the imperfect third person masculine forms (eleven with נ' ten with ל' and two with י'). With the exception of נישתדרון in line seven, a pattern of the dispersion of these forms can be observed: נ' is used in lines 1-4 and 9-12; ל' in lines 5-8 and 13-14. It is quite possible that this text was composed from other formula, each with its own morphological characteristics.

This bowl is a curse text commissioned by a certain Safra son of Rabita to counteract, and indeed redirect, the sorceries that he believed Ahatoi and Abirta the daughters of Ahati, had enacted against him. The text is elaborate and includes some unusual but impressive imagery. Noteworthy is the presence in l. 10 of a variation of the first benediction of the *Shmoneh-Esreh* prayer. This is particularly interesting as it is a duplicate of an adjuration for help in times of trouble that appears in an *Hekhalot* text.

Transcription of M102

(1) מזמן הדין רזא למיפך חרשי דניתהפכון מן ספרא בר (2) רביתא {וניתהפכון} וניתהפכון על אחתאוי בת אחאתי ועל אחאתי ועל כל מאן דשדרינון (3) ונ[יתהפכ]ון על כל מאן דעבדינון ושדרינון וקר<י>נון בשום מלאכה רבה די משלט על (4) שמיא ועל ארעא ומשלט על חרשין בישין וסדנין אפיכין הוא ניהדרינון לחרשין בישין על אחתאוי בת אחאתי (5) ועל אוירתא בת אחאתי וכל אסואתא דעבדין לה יהוין לביש ואו איסתרתא די פתכרי דעבדין לה לאחתאוי דא ולאוירתא לישתדרון פתכרי דמערבא ודמדנחא (6) ודגרביא ודתימן ואו איסתרתא דלוטתא עבדן לה לא[ח]ת[אוי דא ולאוירתא דא צר לוט^א^תא דארעה ודישמיא ודמיתי ודחיי ודליטין בית (7) קברי דל(קדם) בני שא(ד)א וקדם פתכרי ואיסתרתא נישתדרון עלה דאחתאוי דא ודאוי^ר^תא ולא ליתקבל דרמנא עליהון או פישרא דחרשין ודין ליעבדו להון לא ל(ב)[.....]ון (8) להון חרשין בישין וסדני אפיכי או כיבשא או כיבשי וסכרא פומא עדו כנופיא עבדון ליהוי לה לא ליהוי לה לאחתאוי בת אחאתי ולאוירתא דא צר ^(לי)הוי^ חרשין בישין (9) איך טורי ורמ(א)[תא] ונילבשונה לאחתאוי

ולאוירתא חרשין בישין איך לבושא דכיבי ונידילון עליהון חרשין בישין ונידימון עלה דאחתאוי ודאוירתא וניטיסון עליהון איך ציפרי (10) בשום גבריאל מלאכה ומיכאל מלאכה אחית אחוגואל אחודיאל גאו גואל טוריאל זבולא זבולתיאל ומרגיותיאל ושמיה ברוך אתה יהוה אלוהינו מלך העולם האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא והמופלא והמ(ע)ולא ומשבענא עלך (11) מיכאל סר הגדול הוא שמיה שמה דאיתגלי לה לאחתאוי ולאוירתא צר כל רזי רניתא ולא ~~תישת~~ לישתמודע כל דעבדו לה לא[חת]אוי ולאוירתא ונישת(ו)ש ליבהון בשום ג[בר]יאל ומיכאל וירפאל ואזחיאל מיגואל (12) ודשמא דכיא הוא ניהפוכונון לחרשין בישין מיניה דספרא בר רביתא מן מתן וארבעין ותמניא הדמי קומתיה ויזלון על אחתאוי ועל אוירתא צר בשום ביה יהו הוה ברזי עילאי וברזי תחתאי ובשבעה רזי [ע]ילאי (13) ובשבעה ראזי תחתאי באתא יחידיתא דבר גיסא לית לה (וההוא) רזא וחתמתא דאיתיהיב לבני אינשא לישתקיל מינה דאחתאוי דא ודאוירתא דא וליתנשי כל דליבהון ידע ואתא יחידיתא לא תיתגלי להון וכל רזי וליתנשי ליבהון ולישתקיל טעמהון דא(חתוי) דא {דאוי} ודאוירתא (14) ולישתקיל טעמהון דהו(ן בהונ)א מן ליביהון גאו אל גואל בשום שמה רבה וקדישה דקאים קד(ם) עלם עלמין אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים

Translation of M102

(1) This mystery is appointed for overturning sorceries, so that they (the sorceries) may be overturned from Safra son of (2) Rabita and turn back against Ahatoi daughter of Ahati and against Ahati and against all who sent them. (3) May (the sorceries) be turned back against all who made them and sent them and recited them.

By the name of the great angel who has power over (4) the heavens and over the earth, and who has power over evil sorceries and perverted devils. May he return the evil sorceries to Ahatoi daughter of Ahati (5) and to Abirta daughter of Ahati. May all the healings that have been made for her come out badly. Woe, goddess for whom idols that are working for this Ahatoi and Abirta. May the idols of the west and of the east (6) and of the north and of the south be dispatched. Woe, goddess for whom curses are working on behalf of Ahatoi and this Abirta.

SR.

The curses of the earth and of the heavens and of the dead and of the living, and of those who are cursing a (7) cemetery before (in the presence of) sons of demons and before idols,

and Ishtars. May they be dispatched against this Ahatoi and (this) Abirta. May no remedy or dissolving of sorceries be received for them, and may that which is made for them not .... (8) for them, evil sorceries and perverted devils. Either the press or presses and shutting of the mouth have leaked as a sieve. May that which is intended for her not be for her, for Ahatoi daughter of Ahati and this Abirta.

SR.

May the evil sorceries (9) be as mountains and high places and clothe Ahatoi and Abirta with evil sorceries as a garment of sores. May evil sorceries be drawn against them, and may they come to rest upon Ahatoi and Abirta, and may they sweep upon them like birds.

(10) By the name of Gabriel the angel and Michael the angel, bring down Ahuguel Ahudiel GA'W GWA'L Ṭuriel ZBWLA' Zbwltiel and Mrgywtiel, and his name: Blessed art Thou, 'YHWH our God, King of the universe, the great, mighty' (Neh. 9:32, Deut. 10:17), revered, wondrous' and (lofty). I adjure you (11) Michael the great prince. His is the name, the name which was revealed to Ahatoi and Abirta.

SR.

All the mysteries of defamation. May nothing that has been done for Ahatoi and Abirta be recognized, and may their hearts become confused.

By the name of Gabriel and Michael and Raphael and Azḥiel and Miguel (12) and that which is the pure name, may they overturn the evil sorceries from Safra bar Rabita, from the 248 limbs of his body, and may they go to Ahatoi and to Abirta.

SR.

By the name, by YH YHW HWH, by upper mysteries and by lower mysteries and by the seven upper mysteries (13) and by the seven lower mysteries. By the unique character of which there is no relation. May that mystery and seal which was given to humankind be taken away from this Ahatoi and this Abirta. May everything that their hearts know be forgotten. May the unique character not be revealed to them, nor all the mysteries. May their hearts forget, (14) and may the faculties of Ahatoi and Abirta be taken away. May their faculties, that is theirs by nature, be taken away from their hearts. Exalt, avenging God. By the name of the Great and Holy one who exists forever, amen amen selah, firm and established.

Notes for M102

1 There are two other published magic bowls that open with a statement for the reversing of sorceries which have been sent against the clients back to their senders. One is VA 2416[29] (הדין קובלא למיפך חרשי) and the other is Yamauchi 1985 (מזמן הדין מילתא לאפוכי חרשי). The overturning of sorceries is not an uncommon motif in magic bowls and appears within a number of other texts such as Ellis 3:4, N&Sh B23:8,9 as well as Gordon 5:3-6 and 6:7,8.

2 שדרינון The verb שדר appears three more times in this text, in lines 3, 5 and 7. Although in this text it has the straightforward meaning of 'to send, dispatch', in Gordon 6:6 שדא דשדרתא, Geller D:10 שידי דשדרתא and K3449:6,7 ורוחי דמשתדר בחרשין ושידי דשדרתא there appear to be demons who are generically described as 'demons of dispatch'.

4 סדנין אפיכין This expression appears also in AIT 7:11 where Montgomery read סרנין אפיקי. This was corrected by Epstein[30] to [סדנין אפי]כין on the basis of Mandaic parallels: *sʿdʾnyʾ ʿpykyʾ* 'perverted devils'.[31]

5 דעבדין לה The verb here is a masculine plural active participle and therefore must refer to things or persons other than the אסואתא 'healings', which are feminine. However, the form can be analyzed as a passive periphrasis.[32] One would expect the plural להון rather than the singular לה, the sense being 'to each of them individually'. Cf. M163 להדין מיהלאד ובראן בני .... In both cases a singular pronoun is used to introduce a number of persons.

ואו is repeated as the first word in a parallel clause in l. 6. This could also be understood as the conjunction *or ... either ...* Thus an alternative translation would be: 'Either a goddess for whom idols are made .... Or a goddess for whom curses ...'.

6 צר appears also in lines, 8, 11 and 12. It could be an imperative masculine singular form of the root צרא/צרי 'to burst', i.e. צרי * or צר *.[33] This verb is used also in AIT 6:11 as part of a threat narrative to demons: 'And whoever will transgress ... shall ... burst like a grain of

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[29] Published by Wohlstein 1894 and collated by the present author in 1998.
[30] Epstein 1983, vol.1, p. 335.
[31] DM p. 310.
[32] Rosenthal 1961, p. 56.

wheat (ניצטרי בי בינא)'. Cf. b. Pes 110a, 110b and 111b which mention demons bursting. The verb used in the Talmud is פקע. Alternatively צר could be the 3rd person masculine perfect of the verb צור 'to wrap, tie up', which is akin to the prevalent concept of binding in magical texts. This word has been left untranslated as the portions of text between its occurrences do not seem to need it, its subject unclear and its meaning uncertain. In fact it is possible that it functions as a name (see below) or a punctuation marker.

7 עליהון The letters י and ו are clearly distinguished in most cases in this bowl, yet in all cases (להון lines 7 and 13, עליהון l. 9, ליבהון lines 11,13 and 14 and טעמהון lines13 and 14) where the 3rd person feminine plural suffix pronoun ין- would be expected the masculine equivalent ון- occurs.

פישרא דחרשין cf. b. BM 29b (=b. Hul. 84b) כסא דחרשין ולא כסא דפושרין which Montgomery tentatively suggested could be a reference to magic bowls. He offered as a possible translation 'the cup of the sorcerers and not the cup of those who break sorcery'.[34] In the *Havdala de R. Akiva*, paragraph 5,[35] there is an incantation that employs the root פשר, meaning 'to dissolve' or 'disenchant' in both its verbal and nominal forms. This formula is like our text in that it appeals for the return of malicious acts to their source. The words חרשיא ליפשרון in l. 26 are particularly close to the expression in our bowl. Note that the פישרא itself is described in lines 1 and 5 in terms that could equate it with the domestically installed amuletic object.[36]

(1) אנא פלוני בר פלוני ביתאי על פישרא באני ועל פישרא בניא איסקופתא[י] ... (3) ... נפקית ואמרית להון איתו ועולו חרשין בישין ועובדי (4) תקיפין. (5) מלילו ואמרו לי היכדין ניעול לביתך (6) דביתך על פישרא באני ועל פישרא בניא איסקופתך ... (8) ... ואמרית להון (9) ... איכמרו ואזילו עד בית מיש<ד>רניכון ... (13) ... איכמרו ואזילו ועולו לביתהון דמריכון ... (22) פשור ליה לפלי בר פלי ... (26) ... חרשיא ליפשרון (27) ועובדיהון ליפרקון ונפרחון ונתבעין ולא נשתכחין ... (28) ... נתהפכון חרשין על עובדיהון ועובדין (29) תקיפין ועל משדרניהון ... (32) תוב שרי ליה ואפשר ליה ופשיר ליה לפלי בר פלי ...

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[33] See Epstein 1960, p. 100.
[34] 1913, p. 43, n.19.
[35] Scholem 1980, pp. 262-266.

(1) I am NN son of NN. My house is built on a disenchantment, and upon a disenchantment my threshold is built ... (3) I went and said to them: 'come and enter evil sorceries and powerful (4) magic acts'. (5) They spoke and said to me: 'how can we enter your house? (6) For your house is built on a disenchantment, and on a disenchantment your threshold is built ...' ... (8) ... and I said to them: (9) ' ... *may your magic be uprooted*[37] and go to the house of those who sent you ... (13) ... *may your magic be uprooted* and go and enter the houses of your masters ...' ... (22) Disenchant for NN son of NN ... (26) ... may the sorceries dissolve (27) and their magic works break up, and may they fly away, and if they be requested may they not be found ... (28) ... may the sorceries be overturned upon those who made them, and powerful (29) magic acts on those who sent them ... (32) Again, loosen and dissolve for him, dissolve for NN son of NN ...

8 ליהוי לה לא ליהוי לה Cf. the expression ויהוי מה דהוי 'and come what may'.

10 מרגיותיאל Cf. *Havdala de R. Akiva*, paragraph 7 lines 23-24,[38] where this name is cited as one of the names of Metatron: קורא אני לך מרגיואי״ל מרגיותיאי״ל שרנאי״ל הוזיהי״ו מרגיויאי״ל זהו מטטרון.

והמ(ע)ולא ... ברוך An elaboration of part of the first of the Eighteen Benedictions which includes the glorification of God with the three epithets האל הגדול הגבור והנורא (Deut. 10:17 and Nehemiah 9:32). We know from b. Ber. 33b, b. Meg. 25a, y. Ber. 9:3, 12d and *Midrash Tehillim* Ps. 19 that such extensions to the formula as we have in our text were frowned upon. Cf. Schäfer Synopsis §503 (Beschwörung/ Namen) וזה אשר תקרא ברוך אתה אלהינו מלך העולם האל המלך הגדול הגבור והנורא והנשגב והנפלא והעונה בעת צרה בקוראי עננו אלהי צדקי בצר הראתי לי חנני ושמע תפילתי ... In the above invocation there appear צרה 'trouble' and בצר which seem, with the following הראתי לי, to have suffered some sort of corruption. If such a text was available to a Babylonian practitioner, it is possible that בצר could have

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[36] Only the relevant sections of this text are given.

[37] See Scholem 1980, pp. 263-264 n. 70, and 1960 p. 97 who considers מכמרי as an adaptation of the Greek *macamarei* 'nets' to mean "the net that a magic spell casts on a person". However, in Mandaic the verb *ḥmr* is used in magic bowls in the sense of 'return', which in this case would also make perfect sense (Yamauchi 1967, p. 331).

been interpreted as a name invocation, namely: 'by SR'. For מפולא as an epithet of God cf. *T.S. K 1.144* 1b:12-14 שמך הגדול הגיבור והנורא ... והמופלא.[39] The last epithet in the formula in our text - המ(ע)ולא, if indeed the bracketed letter is an ע, is reminiscent of אל עליון which appears at the end of the first benediction.

11 מיכאל סר הגדול cf. Dan. 12:1 מיכאל השר הגדול. Also b. AZ 42b (=b. Hul. 40a) where Michael the great prince is numbered amongst seas, rivers, a desert, the sun, moon, stars and planets, any of which may be invoked by idolaters at the slaughtering of an animal.

רניתא Derived from the *pa.* of the verb רנן which has the sense of 'to murmur, express displeasure, indignation' or even 'malicious gossip' or 'defamation'.[40] One nominal, feminine, form with this sense is attested in the Targ.-J. Ez. 36: רננת עם (MT דבת עם) 'unfavorable report, defamation, whispering'. The form *rnyt'* is also attested in Mandaic (DM p. 436b).

לישתמודע The imperfect form of אשתמודע I 'to be recognized, known' (J. p. 131b).

ש(ו)נישת Read נישתגש (!).

14 הונא cf. Sokoloff 1992 p. 161b כן תהפכון לבה והונה וכוליתה 'so you should upset his heart, his sense and his kidney'.

Appendix to M102

There is a striking correlation between our text and a section from the *Sepher Ha-Razim*, first heaven lines 46-71,[41] which is intended for one who wishes to persecute (להצר) a foe. The Hebrew root צרר or צור encompasses the meanings 'to persecute' and 'to oppress' and is related to the noun צר 'oppressor, adversary'. These meanings are not applicable to the same root in Aramaic. It is conceivable that the Hebrew meaning as found in *Sepher Ha-Razim* and the Hekhalot adjuration which is parallel to l. 10 of our text (see note above) has something to do with the use of צר in M102. Other similarities between our text and *Sepher Ha-Razim* are: 1) the mention of the spirits of the four cardinal directions (M102:5,6 = *Sepher Ha-Razim* lines 56-59); 2) a negation of healing or remedy for the adversary

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[38] Scholem 1980, p. 270.
[39] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p.31.
[40] Levy 1889, vol. 4 p. 456b 'Nachrede, den Unwillen äussern'.
[41] Margolioth 1966, pp. 69-70.

(M102:5,7 = *Sepher Ha-Razim* line 61); 3) ridding the adversary of their thoughts and faculties (M102:13 = *Sepher Ha-Razim* line 65).

M102	*Sepher Ha-Razim*	
צר in lines 6,8,11 and 12	אלה המלאכים המלאים אף וחימה וממונים על כל דבר קרב ומלחמת ונכונים **<u>להצר</u>** ולענות עד מות לאיש ואין בם רחמים כי אם ליקום ולהפרע ממי שנמסר בידם. ואם ביקשתה לשלחם על שונאך או על בעל חובך או להפוך אנייה או להפיל חומה בצורה או לכל	46
	עסק אויביך להשחית ולהרע, בין שתרצה להגלותו ובין להפילו במיטה ובין להכהות מאור עיניו בין להאסירו ברגליו בין **<u>להצר</u>** לו לכל דבר, קח בידך מים מן שבעה מעיינות בשבעה לחדש בשבע שעות ביום בשבע נבלי חרש שלא נכנסו באור ואל תערבם ביחד אלה עם אלה ותניחם תחת הכוכבים ז' לילות ובלילה השביעית	50
Lines 5,6 לישתדרון פתכרי דמערבא ודמזנחא ודגרביא ודתימן	קח לך פיאלין של זכוכית לשם אויביך ושפוך המים לתוכה ושבור כלי החרס **<u>והשלך לארבע רוחות השמים ותאמר כן כנגד ארבע רוחות: ההגרית החונה ברוח מזרח, שרוכית החונה ברוח צפון, עולפה החונה ברוח מערב, כרדי החונה ברוח דרום, קבלו נא מידי בעת הזאת שאני משליך לכם</u>**[42] לשם פלוני ב' פל' לשבור	55
line 5 וכל אסואתא דעבדין לה יהוין לביש line 7 ולא ליתקבל דרמנא עליהון	עצמותיו ולכתת כל איבריו ולשבור גאון עוזו כשבירת נבלי החרש האילו **<u>ולא תהיה להם רפואה</u>**[43] כמו שאין רפואה לנבלי חרס אילו, וקח פיאלין שלמים וזכור עליה שמות המלאכים האלה ושם השוטר הוא תיגרה ואמור כך: מוסר אני לכם מלאכי אף וחימה את פל' ב' פל' שתשנקו אתו ותשחיתו אתו ואת מראיהו ותפילוהו במיטה	60
line 13 וליתנשי ליבהון ולישתקיל טעמהון	ותחסרו הונו **<u>ותפירו מחשבות לבבו ותפיחו רעיונו ודעתו</u>**[44] ויהיה נחסר והולך עד שיגיע למות. ואם תבקש להגלותו אמור כן: שתגלוהו	65
	ותנדוהו מבניו וביתו ולא יותר לו כלום. ואם בעל חובך הוא אמור כן: שתיסתמו את פיו ותבטלו עצתו ולא יעליני במחשבתו ולא יביאיני	70
	לתוך דברי פיו ושאהיה עובר לפניו לא יראיני בעיניו.	

[42] '... and cast it to the four winds of the heavens and say thus in the direction of four winds: the HGRYT that resides in the eastern wind, SRWKYT that resides in the northern wind, A'WLPA' that resides in the western wind, KRDY that resides in the southern wind, accept from me at this moment that which I am casting to you ...'

[43] '... and may there be no healing for them ...'

[44] '... and destroy the thoughts of his heart and diminish his thought and mind ...'

M103 (18.2cm*6cm) and **M119** (16.8cm*5.8cm)

This bowl has four duplicates, M119 from the Moussaieff collection and MS 2053/207, MS 2053/209 and MS 2053/253. Imi daughter of Qaqi is the client in all of these bowls which seem to have been written by the same scribe. The text professes itself to be a *get* for the removal of a cursing Lilith. The formula that is used includes elements which can be found in the standard (human) Jewish divorce formula (particularly l. 6, see notes and appendix below).

Transcription of M103

(1) הדין גיטא דליליתא דלוטתא די כתבית לה לאימי בת קאקי וכל שום דאית לה (2) תיתסי תינטרי תישתזבי מן פגעה מן סטנה מן חיטינא די פתכר ופתכרתא מן דנחיש ומן דיוי (3) מן איסתרא עיליתא ומן איסתרא תתיתה מן ממי מן מ(ע)יה מן (כ)ל(ב)ה ומן מללתא מן לוטתא דיהודאי (4) מן לוטתא דארמאי מן לוטתא רחיקתא ומן לוטתא קריבתא מן קריתא מן נידרא מן איסורי מן כל עובדין בישין (5) מן כל רוחא בישתא עזיזתא תקיפתא מן חרשי מעבדי מן חרשי דזני זמרתא זניתא וליליתא ולוטתא דמקטלא בני דיליה בני (6) דחברתיה דאם תיהויין ראשהא ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דאיתצבין די כתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פיטורין מן הדא אימי בת קאקי כל שום (7) דאית לה מומנא ומשבענא ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא זניתא ליליתא לוטתא דשריה בביתיה דאימי בת קאקי אם דכר אם ניקבה בשמיה (8) דגבריאל מלאכה אחיאל משמשיאל מלאכה דנדיריאל מלאכה יחוס יחוש אחישא אגרריפס אגריפס אתיה אבשת אתבישא אתיתיאל אנתיתיאל (9) אבש (ב)שמתא סתריאל (ש)די שלעון בזיף בשמיה דיהוה צבאות במלכותיה דאברחס אני(נ)יאל יה בשום שר רוחא בשום אבוהי דאברכס (10) סרא אמן אמן סלה חתמא דגיטא (יה שמיה)

Translation M103

(1) This is a divorce writ for the Lilith that curses which I have written for Imi daughter of Qaqi and every name which is hers. (2) May you be healed, may you be protected, may you be saved from an affliction, from hostility, from the *slander* of a male idol and a female idol, from Danahish and from dews, (3) from the upper ISTRA' and the lower ISTRA', from oaths,

from *her gut, from a bitch*, from an utterance, from a curse of a Jew, (4) from a curse of a gentile, and from a distant curse and a near curse, from a magical invocation, from an oath, from bonds, from all evil magical acts, (5) from every evil strong powerful spirit, from active sorcerers, from spells of ZNY the singer prostitute, and the Lilith, and the curse who is killing children that are hers, children (6) of her (female) neighbor. For even if you may have permission and power over yourself for any person you may desire. It is the case that I have written for you a divorce writ - a writ of absolution from this Imi daughter of Qaqi (and) any (7) name that she has. I adjure and put you under oath you ZNY the singer prostitute, the Lilith, the curse that dwells in the house of Imi daughter of Qaqi, be it male or female. By the name (8) of Gabriel the angel, Ahiel, Meshamshiel the angel, of Nadriel the angel. May it *favor, may it hasten. Hurry!* A'GGRYPS A'GRYPS A'TYH A'BŠT A'TBYŠA' Atitiel Antitiel (9) A'BŠ. By a ban. Satriel ŠDY ŠLA'WN BZYP. By the name of YHWH ṢBA'WT, by the kingdom of ABRHS Aniniel YH, by the name of the spirit prince, by the name of (the father of ABRKS) (10) the prince, amen amen selah. The seal of the divorce writ, YH is his name.

Notes for M103

1 For a similar opening cf. Ellis 1:1 הדין גיטא לשידא.

2 חיטינא Cf. the Syriac *ḥṭywnʾ* which is a translation of the Hebrew ש טנה 'slander' in Ezra 4:6.

3 אסתרא Both the forms *ištaru* and *ištartu* are already attested in Akkadian as meaning goddess.[45] Cf. De Menil I. 11 אסתרי ניקבתא. Note that in Mandaic *ʾstʾrʾ* (Syriac *stwrʾ*) also means 'decay', 'corruption (of teeth)', 'caries'. As in the Mandaic 'Phylactery for Rue':[46] *rwhʾ dʾtbʾ lkʾkyʾ wšynyʾ wmytykryʾ ʾstʾrʾ* 'a spirit that sits on the teeth and the molars and is called *ʾstʾrʾ*'. Cf. also סתורא 'destroyer' (J. p. 1031a) and the verb סתר 'to tear down, destroy'.

ממי Possibly a defective spelling of מומי, 'oaths, imprecation' (J. p. 743a).

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[45] CAD I-J, pp. 270-271.
[46] Drower 1946, p. 328.

מ(ע)יה Could also be read מ(ינ)יה 'of its kind'.

4 רחיקתא, קריבתא Already attested as meaning 'relative' and 'non-relative' in Elephantine Papyri contracts.[47] If this is, indeed, the meaning then the gender indicates that what is referred to here is only the curses of women, cf. Yam:4,5 לוטתא דאימא וברתא לכלתא וחמתא ודרחקתא ודקריבתא.

5, 6 לילית{ו}א זני זמרתא זניתא Also mentioned in l. 7, this may be a reference to *llyt' zn'y* (see also AIT 38:5 *z'n'y lylyt'*) mentioned in l. 18 of a Mandaic bowl (Yale YBC 2364).[48] In that text it is told that she ate her own unborn son, tied his carcass around her neck and threw his fat into the fire in order to appease Buznay 'the king of all Sahirs and Dews and Lilits' who yielded to the pleas of a woman whose children she killed. Despite there being some confusion regarding the use of this name in the Yale bowl, as the main demon in the text is Bguzan-Lilit daughter of Zanay-Lilit, it is Zanay-Lilit that is mentioned at the point of this narrative. Her story is reminiscent of the Zanay in our text who is described as killing her children as well as those of her neighbour. In Gordon M:15, a Mandaic bowl, Gordon translates the similar expression *lwṭt' ḏz'nyt' wz'mrt'* as 'the curse of harlot and singer'.[49] Another similar expression occurs in the Mandaic text *Shafta ḏ Pishra ḏ Ainia* lines 161-162 *w'yn' ḏz'n'y w'yn' ḏz'm'r*, upon which Drower commented that though it could possibly mean 'My whore and singing boy', it is, nevertheless, unlikely.

דיליה, חברתיה It makes sense that these should have feminine suffix pronouns, דילה and חברתה, as should ביתיה in l. 7.

אם Could also be understood to be 'In the sense of *certainly not*',[50] as the particular clause of the *get* that follows is, under normal human circumstances, meant to grant the woman the freedom to remarry. However, it would not make sense to consider giving a demon the liberty to attack another person.

... תיהוויין There follows a slightly corrupt form of the standard *get* formula:

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[47] Cowly 1923, p. 3: "'related or not related' (קריב ורחיק), the regular formula, and similarly in Babylonian law".
[48] Müller-Kessler 1996, pp. 187a, 189b-190a, 195a.
[49] Gordon 1937, p. 97.
[50] Gesenius 1963, pp. 471-472; and Segal 1927, pp. 216 ff.

M103 דאם תיהויין ראשהא ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דאיתצבין

get[51] דיתהויין רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי למהך להתנסבא לכל גבר דיתצבייין ואינש לא

M103

get ימחה בידיכי מן שמי מן יומא דנן ולעלם והרי את מותרת לכל אדם

M103 די כתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פיטורין

get ודן די יהוי ליכי מנאי ספר תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין

Indeed, the words למהך להתנסבא 'to go and be married to' are omitted in the text of the *get* for the demons as this would be neither desirable nor acceptable.

8 יחוס יחוש אחישא אגריפס אגריפס Cf. AIT 14:4 יחוש יחוש אחושיה 'Oh avaunt, oh avaunt, avaunt'! See Montgomery's note 1913 p. 184. Cf. Isbell 69[52] l. 7 בשום יהוס יהוס יהוש ואהושא ואגריבט, N-IV:6: בשום יהוס יהוש ואהושא ואגריבט, *The Havdala de R. Akiva* p. 24 line 34[53] בשם יחוש אחישה אריפט and *The Sword of Moses* (Harari's ed.[54]) p. 28:6 איה יהוש אהישה ואגריפט. Scholem[55] agreed with Montgomery's (above) understanding of this sequence and noted the variants amongst the bowls. It can be observed that in some of the variants the introductory בשום, 'by the name', indicates that it was considered a composite name and lost any meaning it might have had as 'hurry hurry'. As it is amongst a list of names in our text, it can be assumed that this was how it was considered. The interchange of the letters פ and ב, and ט and ם in the final name are evidence of the kind of corruption that easily occur in the transmission of *Nomina Barbara*.

אבשת אתבישא The usual designation for the acrostic system *atbash* by which the first letter (א) is replaced with the last (ת), the last with the first, the second letter (ב) with the one before the last (ש), and so forth. Atbash is mentioned in the thirtieth rule of *The Mishnah of Rabbi Eliezer* or T*he Midrash of the Thirty Two Hermeneutic Rules* a work which has been dated to no later than the eighth century.[56]

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[51] Mishne Torah Gerushin 4:12.
[52] Equivalent to Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 127-139.
[53] Scholem 1980-81, p. 266.
[54] Harari 1997. In the Gaster edition, 1896, p. V:15,16.
[55] 1980-81, p. 266-267 n. 84, 85.
[56] Stemberger 1996, p. 23. (see also Lieberman 1962, p. 69, 73 'Substitution of letters, *Atbash* was widely practised in antiquity'.).

Synopsis

MS 2053/253	MS 2053/209	M119	M103
(1) לשמך אני עושה			
הדין גיטא	(1) הדין גיטא	(1) הדין גיטא	(1) הדין גיטא
	דליליתא דלוטתא	דלילית‍א דלוטתא	דלילית‍א דלוטתא
די כתבית לה	די כתבית לה	די כתבית לה [.]הדא	די כתבית לה
לאימי בת קאקי וכל	לאימי בת קאקי כל	אימי בת קאקי וכל	לאימי בת קאקי וכל
שום דאית לה	שום דאית (2) לה	שום דאית לה	שום דאית לה (2)
תיתסי (2) תינטרי	תינטרי תיתסי	תיתסי (2) (ו)ת(ינטרי)	תיתסי תינטרי
מן כל מידעם ביש	ברחמי שמיא	מן כל (מיד)עם ב(יש)	תישתזבי
		אש[ב]עית (על)	
מן פגעה מן סטנא	מן פגעה מן סטנא מן	מן פגעה ומן סטנה ומן	מן פגעה מן סטנה
	לילית‍א	לי(ל)יתא	
מן חיטינא דיפתכרי	מן חיטינא דיפתכרי	מן חיטינא די	מן חיטינא די פתכר
ופתכרתא מן דנחיש	ופתכרתא (3)	פתכרי(ן) (3)	ופתכרתא מן דנחיש
מן דיוי או מן (3)	מן חיטינא	(ו)פתכרתא	ומן דיוי (3) מן
איסתרא עיליתא מן	דאיסתרא עיליתא	מן חיטי(נא)	איסתרא עיליתא ומן
		דאיס(תרא ע)ליתא	
איסתרא תתיתא מן	תתיתה מן	ומן חיטינא	איסתרא תתיתה מן
מללתא מן ממי מן	מללתא	דאיסתרא תתיתה מן	ממי מן מ(ע)יה מן
כלבה		מללתא	(כ)ל(ב)ה ומן מללתא
מן לוטתא דיהודאי	מן לוטתא דיהודאי		מן לוטתא דיהודאי (4)
מן לוטתא דארמאי (4)	מן לוטתא דארמאי	מן לוטתא (ד)יהודאי	מן לוטתא דארמאי
מן לוטתא	מן לוטתא (4)	ומן (4) לוטתא ארמאי	מן לוטתא
רחיקתא מן לוטתא	רח)קתא מן לוטתא	ומן לוטתא	רחיקתא ומן לוטתא
קריבתא מן קריתא	קריבתא מן קריתא	(ר)חיקתא ומן לוטתא	קריבתא מן קריתא
מן נידרא מן אשלמתא	מן נידרי	קריבתא ומן קריתא	מן נידרא
מן איסורי מן כל	מן אס(ו)רי מן כל	מן נידרא	מן איסורי מן כל

MS 2053/253	MS 2053/209	M119	M103
עובדין בישין מן כל	עובדין בישין מן כל	ומן איסורי מן כל	עובדין בישין (5) מן כל
רוחא (5) בישתא	רוחא (בישתא)	עובדין בישין (5) מן כל	רוחא בישתא
עזיזתא תקיפתא	עזיזתא (5) תקיפתא	רוחא ב(י)שתא	עזיזתא תקיפתא
מן חרשי מעבדי מן	מן חרשי מעבדי מן	מן ע(זי)זתא תקיפתא	מן חרשי מעבדי מן
חרשי דזני זמרתא	חרשי דזני זמרתא	מן חרשי מעבדי מן	חרשי דזני זמרתא
זניתא לילית	זניתא (ולילית	חרשי דזני זמרתא	זניתא ולילית
		זניתא לוטתא	ולוטתא
דמקטלא בני דילה	דמקטלא) בני דיליה		דמקטלא בני דיליה
בני דחברתיה דאם (6)	בני [דחברתיה] דאם	דמקטלא בני דיליה (6)	בני (6) דחברתיה דאם
תיהויין ראשאה	תיהויין (6) ראשא	בני דחברתיה דאם	תיהויין ראשהא
ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל	שליטא בנפשיכי לכל	תיהויין ראשא(ה	ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל
אינש דיתצבין די	אינש דיתצבין די	ו)שליטא בנפשיכי לכל	אינש דאיתצבין די
כתבית ליכי גיטא	תכתבית ליכי גיטא	אינש דיתצבין די	כתבית ליכי גיטא
גיט פיטורין	גיט פיטורין	כתבית ליכי גיטא	גיט פיטורין
מן הדא אימי בת	מן הדא אימי בת	גיטא גט פיטורין (7)	מן הדא אימי בת
קאקי מן ביתיה (6)	קאקי מן בית(ה) מן	מן הדא אימי בת	קאקי
כולה	(בניה)	קאקי אם דכר אם	
כל שום דאית	וכל שום דאית	ניקבה	כל שום (7) דאית
ליכי	(7) ליכי		לה
מומנא משבענא	מומנא משבענא	מומנא (ומ)שבענא	מומנא ומשבענא
ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא	ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא	ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא	ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא
זניתא לילית ולוטתא	זניתא לילית	זניתא (ל)ילית	זניתא לילית לוטתא
דשריה בביתיה דאימי	דשריה בביתיה דאימי	דשריה בביתיה דאימי	דשריה בביתיה דאימי
בת קאקי אם (7) דכר	בת קאקי אם דכר	בת (8) קאקי אם דכר	בת קאקי אם דכר
אם ניקבה בשמיה	אם ניקבה בשמיה	אם ניקבה בשמיה	אם ניקבה בשמיה (8)
דגבריאל מלאכה	(דגבר)יאל מלאכה	דגבריאל מלאכה	דגבריאל מלאכה
אחיאל מלאכה	אחיאל מלאכה (8)	אחיאל מלאכה	אחיאל
משמשיאל מלאכה	משמשיאל מלאכה	משמשיאל מלאכה	משמשיאל מלאכה

MS 2053/253	MS 2053/209	M119	M103
נדיריאל מלאכה	נדיריאל מלאכה	נדריאל מלאכה	דנדיריאל מלאכה
יחוס יחיש אחושא	יחוס (יחוש) אחישא	יחוס יחוש ואחישא	יחוס יחוש אחישא
אגדריפס אגר (8) פס	אגרריפס אגריפס	אגרריפס (9) אגריפט	אגרריפס אגריפס
אתית אבשת	אתית א(ר)שת	אגריפס את יה אבשת	אתיה אבשת
אתבישא אתיתיאל	את(בי)שא אוניאל תותיאל	אתבישא אתיתיאל	אתבישא אתיתיאל
אנתיתיאל אבש	אנאיתיאל אבש	אנתיתיאל אבש	אנתיתיאל (9) אבש
בשמתא סתתיאל	בשמתא סתריאל	בשמתא סתריאל	(ב)שמתא סתריאל
שדי שלעון בזיף	שדי (9) שלעון בזיף	שדי שלעון בזיף	(ש)די שלעון בזיף
בשמיה דיהוה צבאות	בשמיה דיהוה צבאות	בשמיה דיהוה צבאות	בשמיה דיהוה צבאות
במלכותיה	במלכותיה	(10) במלכותיה	במלכותיה
דאברחס (9) אניניאל	דאברחס אנתיאל	דאברחס אניניאל	דאברחס אני(נ)יאל
יה בשום שר רוחא	יה בשום שר רוחא	יה בשום שר רחא	יה בשום שר רוחא
בשום אבו[...]	בשום אב יחידא בס...	בשום אבוהי	בשום אבוהי דאברכס
אב(סכס) סרא	ארא	דאב(ס)כס סרא	(10) סרא
אמן אמן אמן סלה	אמן אמן סלה	אמן אמן סלה	אמן אמן סלה
חתמא דגיטא יהוה	חתמא דגיטא יה	חתמא דגיטא יה	חתמא דגיטא (יה
שמיה	שמיה	שמיה	שמיה)
	(10) אמן אמן סלה		

The existence of a number of duplicates written by the same scribe offers a valuable opportunity to examine the nature of the transmission of the formula. As is shown below, some of the differences are due to a flexible approach to the writing of such incantations. Other discrepancies seem more likely to be the result of small syntactic changes which might naturally occur when a text is memorized and repeated several times. Yet on occasion the scribe is likely to make genuine mistakes. These might result from a misunderstanding of a word or passage, or simply from a momentary lapse in concentration.

In MS 2053/253 the scribe added לשמך אני עושה to what is the beginning of the text in all the other bowls. This is not an uncommon opening formula cf. Geller D:1, Gordon 2:1 and

Isbell 70[57] l. 1 and the scribe might well have written another text with this opening formula earlier that day or simply had it on his mind. In the same bowl the scribe omitted to specify the address of the *get* דלילית דלוטתא 'for the Lilith that curses', no doubt a lapse of memory. In M119:1 there is the added demonstrative pronoun הדא before the name of the client, a perfectly common and correct form which must have naturally crept in. In three of the texts there follows the sequence תיתסי ותינטרי, however, in MS 2053/209 these two words change places and are followed by ברחמי שמיא. An explanation for this addition could be that from a number of formula which the scribe had memorized there was likely to be one that had the same sequence of words after תיתסי. Cf. AIT 11:1,2 דתיתיסי ברחמי שמיה, AIT 24:2 דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא, AIT 26:5 דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא, Geller C:3 דיתסון ברחמי שמיא Gordon 2:2, etc. In M103 the scribe preferred to add the verb תישזבי to תינטרי, possibly for a similar reason, cf. BOR:10 נינטרוניה ונישיזבוניה. M119 and MS 2053/253 proceed at this point with מן כל מידעם ביש which might be the original formula by virtue of it being duplicated in two out of the four texts. In lines 2 in M119 and MS 2053/209 ליליתא appears in the list of demons, whilst in the other two texts it is omitted. On the other hand, in lines 2 of M119 and MS 2053/253 there are the added דנחיש and דיוי. In all four texts חיטינא precedes the idols, in M119 and MS 2053/209 it also precedes the 'upper ISTRA", in M119 it also comes before the 'lower ISTRA". One might attribute these differences to the repetitive rhythm which would manifest itself in variation when written from memory. All of the texts have מללתא in their third lines. This is followed in MS 2053/253 by ממי and כלבה which also appear in M103, though they appear there before מללתא and with the additional מעיה. The additions in M103 and MS 2053/253 are unusual and have been translated with some reservation (see notes above). It is possible that they are corrupt words which the scribe did not understand. As such they would be more likely to get confused in memory and therefore be susceptible to variant forms of transmission by the scribe. Unlike the other bowls in l. 4 of MS 2053/253 the word נידרא is followed with אשלמתא. Cf. Gordon 7:9 ונידרא ואשלמתא, Isbell 64 [58] l.1 ונידרי ואשלמתא and Isbell 65:1 ונידרי ואשלמתא which suggest that here, again, the scribe is repeating a sequence that he is familiar with from

[57] Equivalent to Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 140-152.

another formula. In M119:7, unlike the other texts, the name of the client is followed by אם דכר אם ניקבה. This is quite clearly a lapse in the scribe's concentration, as this addition, inappropriate in l. 7 where it would refer to the client, appears again in l. 8 (as it does in all the duplicates), also after the name of the client, where it correctly refers to the demons. Other variations consist of minor differences in spelling, the addition of a third אמן in l. 9 of MS 2053/253, and אמן אמן סלה to the end of MS 2053/209.

Appendix

The use of a *get* for getting rid of demons is known from other magic bowls such as Ellis 1, AIT 8,9,18, Gordon 9737, Gordon G and N&Sh B5.[59] The logic of equating the divorce of a man from his wife to a human (male or female) from demons is somewhat anomalous, indeed Montgomery referred to it as 'a happy thought of the magicians'.[60] Certain questions are raised by this equation: What kind of tie binds demon to human? How is it formed? Why does it necessitate a legal severing of bonds? Though there are parallels between the magical and human (Jewish) *get* formulas, there are two distinct differences: 1) With humans it is only the man that can divorce the woman whereas, in the world where demons interact with humans, gender is not an issue. The issue is humanity and only the human is able to initiate divorce proceedings. 2) Consequently in the magical *get* the human always takes the part of the male in the usual *get* document, and the demon that of the female. In three bowls, AIT 8,17 and N&Sh B5, the *get* mentioned is a type of 'writ from foreign countries'.[61] This could be because humans can not see the demons or interact with them in the same time and space. Despite such parallels the inconsistencies between the human and magical *get* remain. If understood correctly, the text here (M103 and duplicates) is a type of document which legally prohibits demons from attaching themselves, not only to the client but also to any human at all. This *get* is for the driving out of the nuisance by force of law, rather than the annulment of a union that had legal status such as that which exists between husband

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[58] Equivalent to Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 24-38.
[59] See Shaked 1999 for a discussion of the *get* motif in the magic bowls.
[60] Montgomery 1913, pp. 158-159.
[61] Montgomery 1913, p. 159 and Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 162. For גט ממדינת הים see m. Git. 1 and b. Git 2.

and wife. In AIT 8, AIT 17 and N&Sh 5 the idea of the *get* is associated with that of a ban, or banishment - שמתא, which seems more appropriate. In l. 6 of our text the conditional word 'if', אם, is used. One might consider the possibility that this magical *get* is intended to resemble a type of divorce writ which includes conditions. In a normal (human) *get* the husband could not put restrictive conditions on who the divorced woman could wed, except in cases that were already considered illegal such as a brother, father, idolater or a slave.[62] The union of a demon with a human could qualify as inherently illegal. This condition in our text, that prohibits the demon to attach itself to any human, is the very clause that is the privilege of the released woman in a human *get*. In this magical *get*, it is made clear to the demon that even if it has been given a *get* previously, it can not assume the right that belongs to a divorced human woman, and may not attach itself to anyone else.

Comparing our text, the magical *get* (mg), with the Jewish *get* (jg) formula yields some interesting points of similarity and difference (see below): 1) The mg has no date. 2) The mg is written by the scribe for the client, the jg is written as if by the husband, though it would have been the custom for someone else to write it for him.[63] 3) Where it says in the jg: 'I do release and send away and put aside thee ...' the mg has (l. 2): 'May you be healed, may you be protected, may you be saved, from ...' Thus the removal of the unwanted wife in the jg is the equivalent of healing and protection in the mg, namely the removal of the cause of affliction. 4) Where the jg states that it is done 'according to the law of Moses and Israel' the mg employs an adjuration by the names of angels to enforce itself. 5) The jg has the signatures of the witnesses, the mg has the seal of the name YH.

M103	***Get* formula**
(1) הדין גיטא דליליתא דלוטתא די	בכך בשבת בכך וכך לירח פלוני בשנת כך וכך
	ליצירה או לשטרות למניינא דרגילנא למימני
	ביה הכא במקום פלוני איך
כתבית לה לאימי בת קאקי וכל שום דאית לה	אנא פלוני בר פלוני דממקום פלוני וכל שום
	אחרן וחניכה דאית לי ולאבהתי ולאתרי
	ולאתריהון דאבהתי צביתי ברעות נפשי בדלא

[62] M. Git. 9:2.
[63] Amram, 1896, p. 148-149.

אניסנא

ופטרית ושבקית ותרוכית יתיכי ליכי

(2) תיתסי תינטרי תישתזבי מן

אנת פלונית בת פלוני דממתא פלונית וכל שום אחרן וחניכה דאית ליכי ולאבהתיכי ולאתריכי ולאתריהון דאבהתיכי די הוית אנתתי מן קדמת דנא וכדו פטרית ושבקית ותרוכית יתיכי ליכי

פגעה מן סטנה מן חיטינא די פתכר ופתכרתא מן דנחיש ומן דיוי (3) מן איסתרא עיליתא ומן איסתרא תתיתה מן ממי מן מ(ע)יה מן (כ)ל(ב)ה ומן מללתא מן לוטתא דיהודאי (4) מן לוטתא דארמאי מן לוטתא רחיקתא ומן לוטתא קריבתא מן קריתא מן נידרא מן איסורי מן כל עובדין בישין (5) מן כל רוחא בישתא עזיזתא תקיפתא מן חרשי מעבדי מן חרשי דזני זמרתא זנותא ולילית ולוטתא דמקטלא בני דיליה בני (6) דחברתיה

דיתהוויין רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי למהך להתנסבא לכל גבר דיתצביין ואינש לא ימחה בידיכי מן שמי מן יומא דנן ולעלם והרי את מותרת לכל אדם

דאם תיהויין ראשהא ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דאיתצבין

ודן די יהוי ליכי מנאי ספר תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין

די כתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פיטורין מן הדא אימי בת קאקי כל שום (7) דאית לה

כדת משה וישראל.

מומנא ומשבענא ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא זנותא לילית לוטתא דשריה בביתיה דאימי בת קאקי אם דכר אם ניקבה

בשמיה (8) דגבריאל מלאכה אחיאל משמשיאל מלאכה דנדיריאל מלאכה יחוס יחוש אחישא

אגרריפס אגריפס אתיה אבשת אתבישא

אתיתיאל אנתיתיאל (9) אבש (ב)שמתא

סתריאל (ש)די שלעון בזיף בשמיה דיהוה

צבאות במלכותיה דאברחס אני(נ)יאל יה בשום

שר רוחא בשום אבוהי דאברכס (10) סרא אמן

אמן סלה

והעדים חותמים למטה כמו שביארנו (פלוני בן חתמא דגיטא (יה שמיה)

פלוני עד פלוני בן פלוני עד).

Though there is no obvious reference to the magical *get* in Rabbinic literature, one might consider b. Git 67b-70a as containing such an inference. In this passage we see: 1) The start of a discussion relating to m. Git. 7 which deals with the various stipulations within the 'conditional *get*'. 2) A medical section which includes a number of recipes for healing (67b and 68b-70a). 3) A reference to demons שדה ושדות from Ecclesiastes 2:8,[64] which is interpreted in the talmudic text as 'male and female demons'. This is immediately followed by the story of Ashmedai the king of demons. These appear to correspond with the following aspects of our text: 1) The inference to the conditional *get* in l. 6. 2) A *get* which has the purpose of healing, תיתסי in l. 2. 3) The connection with demons which our text is designed to remove.

Indeed, Ecclesiastes 2:8 might aid our understanding of the nature of the magical *get*. Ibn Ezra's (12th century) commentary on the meaning of ותענוגת בני האדם שדה ושדות in this verse is that it is of a sexual nature. The Zohar (Vol. 1 parashat Bereshit p. 19b) also comments that these words are sexually implicit and refer to nocturnal emissions and the demon offspring which result. The 17th century mystical commentary *Ta'alumot Hohmah* (Delmegido, Joseph Solomon) to this verse is: "'The more wives the more witchcraft' (m. Avot 2:7) - and they cause there to be 'more demons and demonesses' (Ecclesiastes 2:8)

[64] כנסתי לי גם כסף וזהב וסגלת מלכים והמדינות עשיתי לי שרים ושרות ותענוגת בני האדם שדה ושדות: I further amassed silver and gold and treasures of kings and provinces; and I got myself male and female singers, as well as the luxuries of commoners–coffers and coffers of them.

and anyhow, 'from the luxuries of commoners' (Ecclesiastes 2:8) are born 'demons and demonesses' (Ecclesiastes 2:8)".[65]

Another possible correspondence with our text, which is very tentatively offered, is the expression זני זמרתא (lines 5 and 7) which could relate to זייני זמרא, in the targum of Ecclesiastes 2:8, which might have come to be associated with the *get* of demons.

MT:

עשיתי לי שרים ושרות ותענוגת בני האדם **שדה ושדות**

Targum:

עבדית לבית מוקדשא **זייני זמרא** לזמרא בהון ליואי על קורבניא וקתרוסין ואבובין לזמרא בהון זמריא וזמריתא בבית משתיא דחמרא ותפנוקי בני אנשא ודימסיא ובי בנין מרזבין דשדין מיא פשורי ומרזבין דשדין מיא חמימי

Translation of the targum:

I have made for the temple musical instruments for the Levites to make music with over the sacrifices, and lutes and flutes for singers (male and female) to make music with in a house of wine drinking, and human comforts, and public baths in which were built pipes that pour out cold water and those that pour out hot water.

[65] כי מרבה נשים מרבה כשפים והם מרבים שדה ושדות וגם מתענוגות בני אדם ממילא נולדו שדה ושדות

M107 (19cm*6cm)

This bowl consists of nine lines of a reasonably clear square script. The letters ב and כ are distinguishable and, though the scribe appears to have attempted to differentiate ו from י, and ד from ר, they are in some cases still confused. The character ל is written with two strokes, as it often is, yet the upper one is so curved as to give the letter a back to front appearance which is quite unusual. In the middle of the bowl there is a striking image of a figure with some sort of head dress, arms stretched out and riding something that appears to have a horse's head. The text runs from around the image outwards in a clockwise spiral fashion. A small group of magical figures and *Nomina Barbara* stretch to one side of the bowl from the figure outwards, splitting the flow of the spiraling text. Geller A is a more extensive duplicate text. It also has a drawing similar to that in our bowl, as well as an identical set of magical symbols. In Geller A, the drawing appears towards the side of the bowl and the symbols run with the text as an integral part of it. In our bowl the image is in the middle and the magic symbols are set to one side. It is possible that there was a *Vorlage* with a note to put something on the side; an instruction that, like many of these texts, got corrupted over time and resulted in a variety of parallel variants. Also of interest is Moriah 1 which Gordon presumed was written by the same hand as Geller A and for the same client. M107 was written for the benefit of Buluqa son of Kikar and Parizag daughter of Hazaroi his wife as well as their daughters Azadiar and Dukhtizag and their sons Hurmiz-Gushnasap and Kurkshid-Gushnasap.

Transcription of M107

(1) מזמן הדין כסא לחתמתא ולנטרתא דביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג (2) בת חזארוי ודאזאדיאר בת פאריזג ודהורמיז גושנסף בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר (3) פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג דניזיחון וניתבטלון וניתרחקון מינהון שידי ודיוי וסיטני וסטני ולילית (4) ומבכלתא ומשמתתא וחילמי בישי וחיזוני סניי ודחלולי בשום שרושן טושן טרושן גושן גושן אדחי לשגושין (5) לשגושין לשגושן ארהיב ברה ואמר בחד גמא גאמא חיש משלל סדים ומשמת ומן אידיה דמריא גרוסקין גרוסקן (6) ונברון ונבורזן רבה דזעקי ומן אידיה דאמירן בג[דנא] אסיר אס(..) ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי וחתים בארזמן (7) עיזקתא ובמובלא רבא דזעקי אמן אמן

אדוני ר֯א֯ל שדי גיברא ואברכסס ארהיט שידי ודיוי וסיטני שפ וסטני ולילית֯א ומבכלתא (8) ומשמתתא וחיסמא בישא וזיקי בישי וכל מידעם ביש מן ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי ודאזדיאר בת פאריזג (?) ודהורמיז גושנסף (9) בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג מן יומא דין ושועה דא וילעולם אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים

(10) (six magical characters) (11) פלוטל (four magical characters) (12) ספלח שבת נורוס (13) סונסנום

Translation of M107

(1) This bowl is appointed for the sealing and protection of the household of Buluqa son of Kikar and for Parizag (2) daughter of Hazaroi and for Azadiar daughter Parizag and for Hurmiz-Gushnasap son of Parizag and for Kurkshid-Gushnasap son of (3) Parizag and for Dukhtizag daughter of Parizag. May the demons and dēws and prosecutors and satans and liliths (4) and tormentors and bans and evil dreams and hateful visions and 'scarecrows' move away and be redundant and distanced from them. By the name of ŠRWŠN ṬWŠN ṬRWŠN GWŠN GWŠN drive off the ŠGWŠYN the (5) ŠGWŠYN the ŠGWŠN. He alarmed her son and said: By one GMA' GA'MA' hurry! Chained, bound and banned by the hand of the lord GRWSQYN GRWSQN (6) and NBRWN and NBWRZN the great one of cries, and by the hand of *our lord* Bagdana. Bound [...] is the house of Buluqa son of Kikar and Parizag daughter of Hazaroi, and sealed by A'RZMN (7) the seal and by the great burden of cries. Amen amen. Adonay El Shaddai the valiant and Abraxas, chase away demons and dēws and prosecutors and satans and liliths and tormentors (8) and bans and evil envy and evil blast demons, and any evil thing from the house of Buluqa son of Kikar and Parizag daughter of Hazaroi and Azadiar daughter of Parizag and Hurmiz-Gushnasp (9) son of Parizag and Khurkshid-Gushnasp son of Parizag and Duktizag daughter of Parizag. From this day and this hour and for ever. Amen amen selah firm and established.

(10) (six magical characters) (11) PLWTL (four magical characters) (12) SPLH ŠBT NWRWS (13) SWNSNWM

Notes for M107

4 משמתתא The two ת's and prefix מ are unusual for this word yet it is spelled the same in l. 8 and must therefore be deliberate. Cf. N&Sh B15:5, but also שמתתא in Gordon A:2 and VA 2416:8,10. Harviainen analysed משמתא as a *pa.* passive participle feminine from the root שמת, with the ת of the feminine suffix, which can be seen in our form, being assimilated into the last radical of the root.[66]

אדתי The reading is not certain and could be read as ארתי, although the ר is slightly rounder than the ד. If so, it would be read as an extension of the *Nomina Barbara* before and after this word.

5 ארהיב From the root רהב which is attested in Syriac in the *af.* 'to trouble, disquiet (associated with bad dreams); to inspire awe, terror, to alarm cause to tremble' (PS p. 531a).

משלל סדים ומשמת Three participles, the third a *pa.* of the verb שמת, the second a *pe.* from the root סדם (= סטם) which thus far has only been attested in Mandaic (DM p. 318). The first word from the verb שלל appears here in a *pa.* form though it was previously only known in the *pe.* (cf. N&Sh B25:8 תשללוהי and Sokoloff p. 553b שלילין).

גרוסקין גרוסקן Cf. *Hekhalot Zutarti*, Schäfer synopsis §366 אי'ר' עקיב' צפית וחמית בתבל כולה וחזית יתה מה היא סלקית בעגלא מן נורא באיסתכלית בהיכלי ברדא ואשכחית גרוסקא גרוסקא וגו' 'R. Akiba said: I looked out and observed all the universe, and I saw it as it rose swiftly from the fire. As I looked at the palaces of hail I found GRWSQA' GRWSQA' etc'. This section is immediately followed by 'This is the binding and the seal by which are bound earth and heaven' (See comments on lines M163:8-11).

6 זעקי An apocopated form of a plural masculine noun, as is common in Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic, which could either be in the emphatic or absolute state.[67] The meaning of this word, in the context of our text, is not certain. In *T-S K 1.173* page 3 l. 12[68] זעקה appears in the formulaic sequence אשתא ועריתא וזעקה - a list of three types of fever more

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[66] Harviainen 1981, p. 12.
[67] Epstein 1960, pp. 116-117.
[68] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 232.

commonly found with the third element דקיקתא.[69] It is possible that זעקי is, in some way, associated with the concept of fever and illness. Montgomery, on the other hand, understood זעקי (AIT 19:13 מלאכה רבא דזעקי) as actually being זיקי but 'with a Mandaic spelling'.[70]

אמירן Considering the parallel expression in the previous line (ומן אידיה דמריא גרוסקין), it is most likely that אמירן should have a similar meaning to מריא. It is possible that it is a corruption from of form מרן 'our lord,' cf. N&Sh B13:3 מריא בגדנא. Alternatively, one might consider this as an early attestation of אמיר 'prince,' found in Syriac[71] and Mandaic,[72] though of Arabic origin.

8 חיסמא בישא See note on M149:9.

Synopsis

M107	Geller A	Moriah 1	
(1) מזמן הדין כסא	(1) אסיר חתים (2) הדין קמיעה		(a)
לחתמתא ולנטרתא דביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג (2) בת חזארוי ודאזאדיאר בת פאריזג ודהורמיז גושנסף בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר (3) פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג	לחתמתא ותשרתא (3) דביתיה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך (4)		(b)
	בהדין שמה רבה דהוה שליט על כל רוחי בישאתא (5)	(1) בהדין שמה רבה (2) דהוא שליט ומפקד ומחי (3) וקטיל ונכיס ומחביל ומפיק כל שידי (4) ודיוי וסטני וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה	(c)
	אשבעית וגזרית עליכון כולכון		(d)
דניזיחון וניתבטלון וניתרחקון מינהון			(e)
שידי ודיוי וסיטני וסטני ולויליתא (4) ומבכלתא ומשמתתא וחילמי בישי וחיזוני סניי ודחלולי	כולכון רוחי בישאתא ולויליאתא (6) ומבכלאתא וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתא וחיזוני תקיפי ודחלולי (7) ומדובקי בישי	מן שידי ומן דיוי ומן ליליאתא ומן חילמי סנין ומן כל רוחי (8) בישאתה	(f)
	דתיזחין ותפקין מיניה ומן		(g)

[69] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 236. For more comments on such words for types of fever, see Geller 1997a.
[70] Montgomery 1913, p. 199.
[71] Brockelmann 1928, p. 26a.
[72] DM p. 22b.

	Moriah 1	Geller A	M107
		ביתיה ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה אתתיה בניה (8) וקינינה ובית משכביה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך וחוה אינתתיה	
(h)	(8) ... בשבע חומרין ובשבעה איסרין בשבעה חתמין	דחתים ומחתם	
(i)		בשום שרישן (9) שרישן גישן גישן גישן אדחי לשגושין לשגושין אדחי ברחי אבר בחד {גמא} גדמא חוש משלל	בשום שרושן טושן טרושן גושן גושן אדחי לשגושין (5) לשגושין לשגושן ארהיב ברה ואמר בחד גמא גאמא חיש משלל
(j)	דאינון שליטין ומפקדין ומחן ומחבלין וקטלין ומפקין כל שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתה וכל חילמי סנין וכל שופטי בישי (12) וכל רוחי בישאתה דכד מיכתיב? שמהין ומימסר בהדין {בהדין} קמיעה כל שידין ודיוין ולילִיאתה וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין (13) וערקין ומיתבלעין מינה	דאתון (10) שליטין ומעורין וקטלין ומפקין כל שידי ודיוי וכל רוחי בישאתה (11) וכל חילמי סנין וכד מיכתיב שמיהון ומימסר כל רוחי בישאתה וכל חילמי סנין ולילִיאתא נפקן ובטלן ומית כל שומיהון	
(k)		משלל	
(l)		(12) פליטל ... פטפלתש בת זירי ס ס תסניס	
(m)	(16) ... נבדירין רבה	סדים ומשמת מן {מן} אידיה דמריא גרוסיה ונברון ונבורון רבה דזעקי (13) ומן אידיה דאמירן בגדתמן	סדים ומשמת ומן אידיה דמריא גרוסקין גרוסקן (6) ונברון ונבורזן רבה דזעקי ומן אידיה דאמירן בגדנא
(n)	הדין דמפרש על שידי ודיוי וסטני ולילִיאתה ועל כל רוחי בישאתה ועל כל חילמי סנין וכד מיכתיב שמיהון ומימסר כל שידי (19) ודיוי ולילִיאתה וסטני ושופטי בישי וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין וערקין ובטלין ומיתבלעין ובשום ... (20) ... בהדין שמה רבה	אתון שליטין וקטלין ומפקין כל שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתא וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה (14) וכד מיכתיב שמיהון ומימסר כל שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתה וסטני וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין וערקין ומיחבל עין בהדין (15) שמה רבה	
(o)	(20) ... חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין הוא ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה אתתיה בניה ובנתיה וקינינה דהדין מהאנוש בר אזרמידוך וחוה {חוה} אינתתיה	אסיר וחתים ביתיה ודירתיה וקינינה ואיסקופתיה ובניה ואתתיה ובנתיה ובית משכביה וכל אינשי ביתיה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך	אסיר אס(..) ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי וחתים
(p)		(16) בארזמין עיזקתה ובמובלא רבה דזעקי אמין אמן אדוני ואל שדאי גיברא ואברכסס דמפיק ומרהיט שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתה ומבכלאתה	בארזמן (7) עיזקתא ובמובלא רבא דזעקי אמן אמן אדוני יאל שדי גיברא ואברכסס ארהיט שידי ודיוי וסיטני שש וסטני ולילִיתא ומבכלתא (8) ומשמתתא וחיסמא בישא וזיקי בישי וכל מידעם ביש

M107	Geller A	Moriah 1	
מן ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי ודאזדיאר בת פאריזג (?) ודהורמיז גושנסף (9) בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג	מיניה (17) ומן ביתיה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך אתון		(q)
מן יומא דין ושועה דא וילעולם אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים			(r)
(10) (11) פלוטל (12) ספלח שבת נורוס (13) סונסנום			(s)
	במומתיה שרירתא מומינא לכון ומשבענא לכון ובההוא שמה רבה דמיתסריתון ביה נטריה וחתמיה לביתיה (18) ולאסקופתיה ולבית מישכביה ולדרתיה ולבניה ולבנתיה ולאתתיה ולקינינה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך ו{מ}חוה איתתיה מן שידי ומן דיוי ומן סטני ומן דחלולן ומן מריבין ומן שופטי (19) בישי ומן סיוטי ומן פגעי ומן פלגי ומן {ת}סטני ומן חילמי סנין ומן כל רוחי בישאתה בהדין שמה אסיריתון [...] ומן{ש}סטמיתון ומתקניתון ומפיקיתון אתון שידין ודיוין וסטנין (20) חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה מיניה ומן ביתיה ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה דמהאנוש בר אזמרמידוך אמן	בהדין שמה רבה ובחתמא הדין חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין הוא ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה אתתיה בניה ובנתיה וקינינה דהדין מהאנוש בר אזרמידוך וחוה {חוה} אינתתיה מן כל פגעי ומן סטן מפגיע מפגיע (21) ומן כל בני ליליא ומן כל בני יממא ומן כל נוהרא ומן כל חושכה בשום הופעות יהוה צבאות ישיב הכרובים ברוך שמו סלה ובשום ענפיאל מלאכה ברזא הדין ובשמה הדין חתים ומחתם ומשצטם הדין באיתיה ודירתיה (22) ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה אתתיה בניה ובנתיה וכוליה באיתיה דהדין מהאנוש בר אזרמידוך ודהדה חוה אינתתיה מן שידי ומן דיוי ומן סטני ומן ליליאתא ומן חילמי סנין ומן כל רוחי בישאתה מן יומא דין ולעולם	(t)

Notes for Geller A

Alternative readings to Geller's transcription have been made on the basis of a comparison with the duplicate M107, a re-examination of the photographs,[73] and a comparison with Moriah 1.

2 Instead of ותשרתא read ונטרתא.

[73] Geller 1980, p. 48 and "Illness and Healing in Ancient times", 1997, University of Haifa, on the covers and pp. 34-35, 33.

9 Instead of אבר read אמר. As the pairs ד and ר, and ו and י are not always distinguished, it is quite possible that instead of אדחי ברחי אבר one should read אדחי ברה ואמר.

10 Instead of מעורין read מסירין.

11 Instead of ומית כל שומיהון read ומיתבלען ומ(.)נן. Cf. Gordon Moriah 1[74] lines 12,13 דכד מיכתיבז שמהין ומימסר בהדין {בהדין} קמיעה כל שידין ודיוין ולילאתה וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין וערקין ומיתבלעין מינה (this sequence is repeated in lines 18-19 and 25 of the same bowl). The same is true for l. 14, instead of ומיחבל עין read ומיתבלעין.

13 instead of בגתמן read (נא)בגד.

19 Read משסטמיתון, cf. Gordon Moriah 1 l. 21 משצטם. These are both *Shafels* from the root סתם (for a fuller discussion see above the note on l. 1 of M101).[75]

Notes on the synopsis

It has already been noted above that the image and magical characters in M107 and Geller A appear to have evolved from the same *Vorlage*. Over and above these graphic markers, a comparison of the two texts makes it clear that the greater part of the formula used in Geller A (the larger of the two texts) is close enough to that used in M107 to conclude that they both owe their origins to a common source. A close examination of the differences between the two texts can shed light on the changes that a formula such as this can take in the process of its transmission from scribe to scribe and maybe even generation to generation. Differences which occur in these parallel texts might be due to traditions which permitted the sorcerer a certain amount of flexibility in the use of particular formulas to suit different situations. For instance, the possibility to add more demon names which might be associated with different kinds of complaints, or which were simply requested by a more discerning or maybe even wealthier client who insisted on more text, i.e. more protection. Chosen sections from Moriah 1 have also been added to the synopsis as possible parallels to the extra parts of text that appear in Geller A but not in M107. As Geller A and Moriah 1 were written by the same scribe and for the same clients, it can safely be assumed that the

[74] Gordon 1984, p. 222.

[75] Gordon also noted this form (1984 p.225), though only commented on the assimilation of '*s* to emphatic *ṭ*', '*-sṭ-* > *-ṣṭ-*'.

extra material that appears in Geller A is more likely to have been the result of a padding out of formula by the scribe who could dip into his personally accumulated reservoir of incantations. Although Geller A is longer than M107 it can not be assumed to be a more original text.

The opening formulas used in M107 and Geller A are slightly different, but both are commonly attested in magic bowls.[76] The difference suggests that any rules that might have governed the writing of incantations did not insist on the use of one particular variant. One might bear in mind that this looseness in form was partly to do with the fact that much of the material would have been memorized by the sorcerer and similar expressions commonly used could easily be confused. Another consideration is that the product of the sorcerer's work, the incantation bowl, would most likely only be read by demons and angels, a less critical audience than humans. The order of the sections (e) and (f) in M107 is reversed in Geller A whose equivalent sections are (g) and (f). Also, the verbs in M107 section (e) are imperfects in the 3rd person whereas, in the equivalent section (g) of Geller A they are in the 2nd person. This difference could be attributed to the way the scribe of Geller A had changed the text. Having added section (g), 'I adjure and decree against you', the 3rd person verbs had to be emended for the text to make sense. Another difference in verbal forms is found in sections (p) of both texts, M107 employing the *af.* imperative ארהיט, whereas Geller A has the active participle form מרהיט. The magical characters and *Nomina Barabara* which appear half way through Geller A in section (l) appear at the end of the transcription of M107 as section (s), as they are set separately from the rest of the text on the bowl. The slight differences in the *Nomina Barbara* which also occur in the names in section (m) of both texts can probably be attributed to a 'Chinese whispers' process which are more likely to have produced corruptions in words that have no obvious recognizable meaning. It is, however, worth noting that some of the other unusual magical names are identical in both texts and do not seem to have suffered any corruption. Why this occurred with some names and not others could be explained by assuming that the better preserved names were more commonly known or frequently used and therefore survived transmission in better condition.

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[76] On the basic opening formula of Jewish Aramaic Bowls see Harviainen 1995, pp. 54-55.

Alternatively, one bad copy would be enough to spawn new varieties of corruptions. In any case, without more evidence to examine one can only speculate.

M108 (16.5cm*5cm)

This bowl consists of nine lines written in a somewhat cursive, yet neat handwriting. The text spirals in a clockwise fashion from the outside rim of the bowl towards the middle. This is quite exceptional, as most texts work their way from the middle outwards. It appears that, after reaching the centre of the bowl, the scribe returned to the edge and added another line of text. It was only then that he circled the whole inscription with a line. There is also an image with horns and wings which has been placed to one side. This text is unusual because, apart from a basic dedication, it contains seven biblical verses which are quoted in full: Ps. 106:47, Zech. 3:2, Ps. 89:53, 106:48, 72:18,19 and 104:31. All of these verses can be found in *Seder Amram*[77] and seem, as will be shown, to have been specifically borrowed from the weekly evening prayers, the *Arvit* and the *Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah*, which include petitions for protection from dangers of the night (see below). In this context, it is noteworthy that in the dedication of our bowl nightmares (סיוטי) are included as one of the things this amulet is meant to remove. Another bowl, MS 1929/6, which is written for the same client, Adib son of Bat-Šabbeta, and by the same hand also has a very short dedicatory formula to which is added a portion of the Mishna (Zeb. 5:3). This was possibly also borrowed from the *Seder Korbanot* at the end of the morning prayers.

Transcription of M108

(1) הושיענו יהוה אלהינו וקבצינו והצילנו מן הגויים להודות לשם קדש(ך) להש↓ת(ב)ח
בת(הי)לתיך↓ (2) הדין קמיעה למיסר שידי דיוי וסיוטי וסטני מן הדין ביתיה דאדיב בר בתשבתה
(3) בשום ויאמר יהוה אל.הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה ב(ך ה)בחר בירושל(י)ם (4) הלוא זה
אוד מוציל מ־אש ברוך יהוה לעולם אמן <ו>אמן ברוך יהוה (5) אלהי ישראל מהעולם ועד העלום
ואמר כל העם אמן הללויה (6) ברוך יהוה אלהים אלהי ישראל עושה נפלאות לבדו (7) וברוך שם
כבודו לעולם וימלא כבודו את (8) כל הארץ אמן <ו>אמן (9) יהי כבוד יהוה לעולם ישמח יהוה
במעשיו

[77] Goldschmidt 1971.

Translation of M108

(1) 'Deliver us, O Lord our God, gather us from among the nations, to acclaim Your holy name, to glory in Your praise' (Ps. 106:47). (2) This amulet is for the binding of demons, *dews*, frights and satans from this house of Adib son of Bat-Šabbeta. (3) In the name of: 'But the Lord said to the Accuser, "The Lord rebuke you, O Accuser; may the Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! (4) For this is a brand plucked from the fire"' (Zekh. 3:2). 'Blessed is the Lord forever; Amen and Amen' (Ps. 89:53). 'Blessed is the Lord, (5) God of Israel, from eternity to eternity. Let all the people say, "Amen". Hallelujah' (Ps. 106:48). (6) 'Blessed is the Lord God, God of Israel, who alone does wondrous things. (7) Blessed is His glorious name forever; His glory fills the (8) whole world. Amen and Amen' (Ps. 72:18-19). (9) 'May the glory of the Lord endure forever; may the Lord rejoice in his works!' (Ps. 104:31)

Notes for M108

The biblical quotes are accurate except for the omission of a ו before the second אמן in l. 4. The word סטן is spelled with a ס rather then a ש which is more common in the bowls. There are a few plene spellings: קבצינו and גויים in l. 1, מוצל in l. 4 and עושה in l. 6.

2 בתשבתה 'Daughter of the seventh day', see also N&Sh B10:7,10 ברשפתא and N&Sh B10:13 ברשבתא.[78]

Appendix

Zech. 3:2, common in the magic bowls, appears in Amram's version of the *Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah*[79] together with a quote from b. Ber. 5a which states in the name of R. Isaac (the third century Palestinian amora) that:

כל הקורא קריאת שמע על מטתו - מזיקין בדילין הימנו, שנאמר (איוב ה׳) ובני רשף יגביהו עוף ; ואין עוף אלא תורה, שנאמר: (משלי כ״ג) התעיף עיניך בו ואיננו

[78] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 183.
[79] Goldschmidt 1971, p. 55.

'If one recites the Shema upon his bed the demons keep away from him. For it is said: "And just as sparks fly upward." The word 'fly' refers to the Torah, as it is written: "You see it then it is gone"'.

In Amram's order of prayers the *Arvit*, the daily Evening Prayer, comes just before the *Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah.* In the *Arvit* we find the petition:

השכיבנו ה' אלהינו לשלום. והעמידנו מלכנו לשלום ולחיים, ופרוש עלינו סוכת שלומך והגן בעדנו ותקננו בעצה טובה מלפניך והושיענו למען שמך והסר מעלינו דבר חרב ורעב ויגון. ושבור שטן מלפנינו ומאחרינו. ושמור צאתנו ובואנו מעתה ועד עולם כי שומרנו ומצילנו אתה. ברוך אתה ה' שומר עמו ישראל לעד.

'Let us lie down, O Lord our God, in peace, and let us rise up, O our King, to life. Spread over us Your canopy of peace. Direct us with Your good counsel, and save us for Your name's sake. Shield us, and remove from us every enemy, pestilence, sword, famine and sorrow; remove also the adversary from before us and from behind us. Shelter us in the shadow of Your wings, for You, O God, are our Guardian and our Deliverer; truly You, O God, are a gracious and merciful King. Guard us when we go out and when we come in for life and for peace, from now and for evermore. Blessed are You – the Lord, who guards His people Israel for ever'.

The response of the congregation which follows consists of a sequence of Psalm verses, the first five of which (Ps. 89:53, 135:21, 72:18,19 and 104:31)[80] correspond almost identically to the last five in our bowl (Ps. 89:53, 106:48, 72:18,19 and 104:31). The only difference is the second verse in the sequence which might be explained by the existence of a tradition, found in the Tosefta Tan. 3:8 and the *Seder Olam Rabbah* 30, which cites Ps 106:48, 72:18 and 19 as having been recited in succession at the Temple.

Ps. 106:47, which appears in the beginning of the bowl, is also present in the congregation's response, though only as the seventh verse after Ps. 104:31. A closer examination of the bowl reveals that this verse (Ps. 106:47) must have been added as an after thought, or simply because the scribe ran out of space in the middle of the bowl. The initial הושיענו appears just over a word's distance to the left under the word קמיעה in the

outer ring of the text. When the scribe completed writing a full circle, rather than flowing over קמיעה into the spiral, he was compelled to drop below the line so that the last word of the verse (בתהילתך) joined to the first (הושיענו). Indeed, MS 1929/6 which was written by the same scribe for the same client, seems to follow the same pattern that was initially intended for this bowl. It also starts with a dedication formula followed by בשום, 'by the name of', which introduces the quote.

On the basis of the evidence shown above it is suggested that the inspiration of the text in our bowl came from the standard daily prayers. We can not, as yet, ascertain whether they were acquired from service attendance or copied from an early prayer book. Nevertheless, the utilization of this liturgical material which is intended for protection from the dangers of the night is a natural choice.

Elbogen's opinion that the dates for the composition of the fourth section of the *Arvit*, starting with השכיבנו, should be attributed to the 'post-talmudic period, specifically the Saboraic period',[81] coincides well with the general dating of magic bowls. Surely, our text can be considered as the oldest fragment of this prayer.

In light of this bowl it might be suggested that our scribe also derived his quote of m. Zeb. 5:3, in MS 1929/6, from the prayer book rather than directly from the Mishna, as this mishna is part of the daily morning prayers (סדר ברכות השחר) which also appears already in *Seder Amram*.[82]

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[80] Goldschmidt 1971, pp. 52, 53.
[81] Elbogen 1993, p. 88.
[82] Goldschmidt 1971, p. 4, l. 10. The text stipulates that the whole of chapter five be read ושונה איזהו מקומן של זבחים ... אלא צלי.

M112 (9.2cm*10.4cm)

This bowl has a unique goblet shape, although the text is still written in the inside of the vessel. The incantation is written in the usual fashion, spiraling in a clockwise direction from the bottom of the goblet outwards. The flow of the text is interrupted, however, by a column of names and symbols which are simply skipped as each line reaches it. There is a duplicate to this text at the end of N&Sh B19, lines 9-11. The clients for whom this bowl was written are Mari son of [...] and Imtabi daughter of Ima.

Transcription of M112

(1) חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין (2) דמרי בר א[.]ה ודאימטבי בת אימא (3) בחתמא ובצורתא דאל חתים ובחתמא דשדי (4) דלא יקירבון ביה כל חרשין בישין וכל סדנין אפיכין וכל (5) נידרא וענקתא וקריתא ופתכרין וכל סטנין ונאלי וכל מזיקי (6) בישי וכל סטני תקיפי וכל מידעם ביש דמתחמי ו(ד)לא מיתחמי (7) יזחון ויפקון מן ביתה הדין בישמיה ד(פטט..ס) רבא (8) פרופיאל בי(ל)קו (9) פיניבא פיניבא (10) פיניחו יהא (11) פרובאל בילקו (12) פיאירן פיניגא (13) אני הוא יהו הי (14) צור קדוש מסג (15) written in amongst symbols - יי and - שדי

Translation of M112

(1) Sealed and counter-sealed is the house (2) of Mari son of ... and Imtabi daughter of Ima. (3) Sealed by the seal and the image of El, and by the seal of Shaddai. (4) In order that there may not touch him all evil sorceries and all perverted devils[83] and every (5) vow and necklace-charm and invocation and idols and all accusers and incubi and all evil (6) harmers and all powerful satans and every evil thing, that which is visible and that which is not visible. (7) May they flee and go away from this house. By the name of ... the great. (8) PRPYA'L BYLQW (9) PYNYBA' PYNYBA' (10) PYNYHW YHA' (11) PRWBA'L BYLQW (12) PYA'RYN PYNYGA' (13) I am Him *living* YHW (14) a *great* Holy *Rock* (15) YYY Shaddai

[83] See note on M102:4.

Notes for M112

4 יקירבון ביה The verb קרב with the preposition -ב means 'to touch'.[84] The plene spelling with the 'yod' after the first radical is unusual but not unknown, cf. N&Sh B23:1 ניחידרון and N&Sh B23:8 ניקיטין.

5 נאלי Attested in both Syriac, $nl^{\flat}$ - 'nightmare', 'incubus' (PS 340b), and in Mandaic $n^{\flat}l^{\flat}$ 'vampire', 'incubus', or 'succubus' (DM p. 283ab). Attested also in Rabbinic literature in b. San. 59b: יארוד נאלא which Rashi describes as a 'griffin-like' creature. The Aruch Completum[85] cites an otherwise unknown manuscript of b. Bek. 44b which associates נאלא with the reference to קצרית 'shortness of breath.' See also Montgomery 1913, p. 189 and Gordon, 1934, p. 323.

6 מיתחמי ו(דל)א דמתחמי Note that in N&Sh B19:8, 9, just before the duplicate section of our text, there is the verb חמי which is very rare in the bowls: ולא תיתחמון להון 'you shall not make yourselves visible to them'. Cf. also *The Sword of Moses* p. V l. 13 בשתקצר רבה דלא כסי מיני כלום דחמי ולא מתחמי '... by ŠTQṢR the great from whom nothing is covered, that which is being seen and that which is not being seen'.[86]

13 יהו הי Could also be read as יהו חי 'the living YHW'.

14 צור קדוש מסג Could be either Hebrew, or Aramaic if read as קדיש. Cf. Gordon B:1,2 צור קדיש תתימין ומחתמין ומסגן. There are three possibilities for understanding צור: 1) 'Rock,' as Gordon interpreted it in his notes[87] - the 'Biblical epithet of God'. 2) As י and ו are not always distinguished in our text, It is possible to read ציר. Thus it could mean 'Bound', as in McCullough A:4[88] דציר וחתם ביעזקתה דאל שדי. Note also that, just as in our text, אל שדי is also mentioned. 3) Another meaning of ציר is 'Drawing' or 'shape.' This is similar in meaning to that which appears in AIT 11:9 בעיזקתה דציר וגליף עלה שם מפורש. One might bear in mind l. 3 of our text in which 'the seal and image ...' - צורתא is invoked. Hence, ציר קדוש

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[84] Sokoloff p. 502b.
[85] Vol.5 p. 296a.
[86] Harari 1997, p. 27.
[87] Gordon 1934, p. 325.
[88] McCullough 1967, p. 3.

'holy image', could be a reference to the unusual *characteres* intermingled with names that appear on the goblet, and might be part of the source of its potency. On the basis of Gordon B one might consider reconstructing to either <י>מסג, a *pa.* active participle masculine singular, or ג<י>מס a passive participle.

Synopsis

N&Sh B19

חתים ביתיה דמיהרוי בר גושנאי הדין

בחתמא ובצורתיה דאל חתים בחתמא דשדי אלהא

דלא (ת)יק((ר))בון ביה כל חרשין וכל מעבדין וכל כיסי וכל (10) מללתא

וכל נידרי וענקתא וקריתא בישתא וכל זיקין ומזיקין בישין

וכל סטנין תקיפין וכל מידעם [ ] (11) [ ] דיתתסי

בשמיה דאפסמט רבה אמן אמן סלה

M112

(1) חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין (2) דמרי בר א(ז)ה ודאימטבי בת אימא (3)

בחתמא ובצורתא דאל חתים ובחתמא דשדי (4)

דלא יקירבון ביה כל חרשין בישין וכל סדנין אפיכין

וכל (5) נידרא וענקתא וקריתא ופתכרין וכל (סטנין) ונאלי וכל מזיקי (6) בישי

וכל סטני תקיפי וכל מידעם ביש דמתחמי ו(דל)א מיתחמי (7) יזחון ויפקון מן ביתה הדין

בישמיה ד(פטט..ס) רבא (8) פרפיאל בי(ל)קו (9) פיניבא פיניבא (10) פיזיחו יחא (11) פרובאל בילקו (12) פיאירן פיניגא (13) אני הוא יהו הי (14) צור קדוש מסג (15) ייי שדי

M117 (17.6cm*4.7cm)

This bowl has seven lines of text which are written in a cursive script spiraling in the usual clockwise fashion from the centre of the bowl outwards. There are three biblical quotes in this text (Isa. 37:16, 6:3 and I Sam. 17:45.) which is, otherwise, unusually rich in phrases that have parallels in liturgical and Hekhalot sources. The first half of the text, until the middle of l. 4, is in Mishnaic Hebrew. The rest, apart from the verses in l. 6, is in Aramaic. The Hebrew is generally good despite a few plene or phonetic spellings which are consistent with other Hebrew words found in magic bowls:[89] l. 1 רישונים for ראשונים, l. 2 יושיב for יושב, l. 3 שים for שם, ליפני for לפני, l. 4 אתא for אתה and דויד for דוד. This bowl was written for a certain Asher daughter of Mama.

Transcription of M117

(1) אלה (ד)[....] הרישונים האחרונים שהוא מנ(א)גן מלפני שאול המלך (2) בשום יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל יושיב הכרובים על כל הנגעים על כל המזיקין על כל הרוח (3) על כל האש וערויות על כל העין ותנו כבוד לשים כבוד וילכו להן במקום מושבה שליפני אשר בת מאמא (4) ברוך אתא יהוה אלהי דויד רופא החולים דיתיב דקאים דשחר דדמיך דמזיח דממכי בשמיה דמרמרחות מלאכה (5) לית אנא משבע עלכי לא בסרין לא במלאכין א(ד)רים אילהין בשמיה רבה יהוה צבאות אלהא דישראל אלהא דימיניה דחילא (6) במ[..]לא ותהומא בשמיה דיה יה יה קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות אלהי מערכות ישראל דשליט על כל רוחא בישתא איתגערי רוחא בישתא (7) מימקום מושבה דאשר בת מאמא אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M117

(1) These [...] the first, the last, the last *that he is playing* before Solomon the king. (2) By the name of 'YHWH Sabaoth the God of Israel who is enthroned among the cherubim' (Isa. 37:16). Against all the plagues, against all the harmful spirits, against every spirit, (3) against all fevers and shivers, against all the (evil) eye. Give glory to the name of glory. And may they go away from the place which is before the dwelling of Asher daughter of Mama. (4)

[89] Kaufman 1973, p. 173.

Blessed are you YHWH the God of David healer of the sick, the one who sits, the one who stands, the one who wakes up, the one who goes to sleep, the one who raises, the one who lowers. By the name of MRMRHWT the angel. (5) I do not adjure you by princes or *great* angels, but by the name of the great one, YHWH Sabaoth the God of Israel, the God whose right hand is feared in (6) [...] and the tehom. By the name of YH YH YH YH 'holy holy holy' (Isa. 6:3) 'YHWH Sabaoth the God of the ranks of Israel' (I Sam. 17:45) who rules over every evil spirit. Evil spirit, disappear (7) from the place of dwelling of Asher daughter of Mama. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M117

1 The opening line of the bowl is incomplete, yet, there are two possible sources from which it might be borrowed: II Samuel 23:1 or from the נשמת כל חי of the Sabbath morning prayer. If one reconstructs l. 1 on the basis of II Samuel 23:1 ... ואלה דברי דוד האחרנים one would have to account for the mention of both the 'last ones' (האחרונים) and 'King Saul' which follow. In the b. MQ 60b R. Jehudah explains that 'these were the last words of David' (II Samuel 23:1) implies that former words (ראשונים) were spoken:

> אחרונים מכלל דאיכא ראשונים ראשונים מאי היא וידבר דוד להי את דברי השירה הזאת ביום הציל הי אתו מכף כל אויביו ומכף שאול
>
> "'Last words' implies that there were 'former words', what were the 'first words'? 'And David spoke to the Lord the words of this song in the day that the Lord delivered him from the hand of all his enemies and from the hand of Saul' (II Samuel 22:1)".

Additionally, it might be noted that the first words of the opening line of our bowl are similar to the expression ... אלהי הראשונים והאחרונים which occurs in the נשמת כל חי from the Sabbath morning prayer. In close proximity to these words there occurs in one of the manuscripts of *Seder Amram* ורופא חולים, which also appears in l. 4 of our text.[90]

2 הכרובים ... יהוה A quote from Isa. 37:16 which also appears as part of a list of names in the Hekhalot literature (Metatron, Schäfer Synopsis §402). The last two words of this

[90] Goldschmidt 1971, p. 70.

sequence are also found in I Chron. 13:6 (יושב הכרובים), Ps. 80:2 (ישב הכרובים), and in Ps 99:1 (ישב כרובים). Variants of this name occur in Moriah 1:21 (יהוה צבאות ישיב הכרובים) and A17:18,19[91] (בשם יהוה [י]ושב הכרובים). Cf. also m. Ber. 7:3 אלהי ישראל אלהי הצבאות יושב הכרובים and b. Ber. 50a ברוך ה' אלהי ישראל אלהי הצבאות יושב הכרובים which is very close to the formula in our text. Note also that in l. 5 an Aramaic equivalent (יהוה צבאות אלהא דישראל), which is common in the Targ. Ps-J., is used. Incidentally, the Targum of Isa 37:16 is slightly different to line 4: יי אלהא צבאות וגו'.

3 תנו כבוד ל In the Minor tractate *Soferim* 14:5, תנו כבוד לתורה is mentioned as part of the liturgy to be said before reading from the Torah.[92] This formula appears also in the Minor tractate *Derekh Eretz perek ha-Yotzeh* 17 as part of the prayer to be said on entering the toilet (תנו כבוד לאלהינו),[93] a place thought to be infested with demons.[94] Cf. also *Midrash Tanhuma parashat Mishpatim* 19[95] where it is stated in the name of R. Hanina that, because the world is full of 'spirits' and 'harmers' (רוחות ומזיקים), the Lord gives every one of the people of Israel a myriad and a thousand protective angels who walk before him and declare: 'give honour to the image of the Lord blessed be He' (תנו כבוד לצלמו של הקב"ה).

במקום Read למקום, cf. l. 7.

שליפני The use of Hebrew here is somewhat awkward. It is possible that this is due to the scribe's free translation of the Aramaic relative pronoun ד which is used correctly in l. 7.

4 החולים ... ברוך Cf. Gordon 7:12 ברוך אתה יהוה רפא חולי כל בשר ומיפל<י>א לעשות which is part of the morning prayer and already attested in *Seder Amram*.[96] Slightly closer in form to our text is ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מלך העולם רופא חולים, which appears a bit later in the morning prayer.[97] In b. Ber. 60b the elements תנו כבוד, in l. 3 of our text, and רופא החולים, in l. 4, both appear as part of the same liturgical sequence. It states that: "One who enters the toilet says: 'Be honoured, ye honoured and holy ones that minister to the Most High. Give

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[91] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 50.
[92] Also in *Seder Amram*, Goldschmidt 1971, p. 58.
[93] *Seder Amram* under the section of 'personal prayers and blessings'. Goldschmidt 1971, p. 184 - תנו כבוד לאלהים. In b. Ber. 60b a slightly different variant is תנו כבוד לאלהי ישראל.
[94] B. Ber. 62a 'Any one who is modest in the toilet is saved from three things: from snakes, from scorpions, and from *maziqim*'.
[95] This Midrash is probably not edited before the ninth century.
[96] Goldscmidt 1971, p. 2.

honour (תנו כבוד) to the God of Israel'". Furthermore, when leaving one says: 'Blessed is He who created man in wisdom and created in him many orifices and hollow passages ...' (ברוך אשר יצר את האדם בחכמה וברא בו נקבים נקבים חללים חללים ...), which is part of the morning prayers, also to be recited when emerging from the toilet. It is then asked: "How does one seal this prayer? Rab said: 'that heals the sick (רופא חולים)'". רופא חולים also appears in *Seder Amram* in the נשמת כל חי[98] prayer, part of the Sabbath morning prayers, only a few words after אלהי הראשונים והאחרונים (see notes to line 1).

מזיח This is a *pa.* form from the verb זוח I 'to raise'[99] which, although known in Syriac, was previously unattested in Jewish Aramaic. The list of six participles, of which מזיח is one, seems to refer to potential benefactors of the blessing they follow. This is reminiscent of the participles used in b. Ber. 60b which represent a series of activities for which appropriate prayers are recommended: הנכנס ... 'one who goes out (of the latrine) says' כי נפיק אומר 'one who wakes up says' כי מתער אומר ... 'one who enters his bed says' לישן על מטתו אומר ... 'one who dresses says' כי לביש לימא ... 'one who sits up says' כי תריץ ויתיב לימא ... etc.

מרמרחות Cf. A4:24,25 where מרמראות,[100] of which מרמחות might be a corruption, appears in the amulet only two words after אלהי מערכות, the quote from I Sam 17:45 which is in line 6 of our text. Marmaraot is also found in *Sepher ha-Razim*[101] as one of the angels who is in charge of the movement of the sun during the day.

6 ישראל ... קדוש A combination of Isa. 6:3 and I Sam. 17:45. It is interesting that the last two words of the quote from Isa. 6:3, יהוה צבאות, are the same as the first two words of the quote from I Sam. 17:45. Thus rather than being duplicated these words are shared. Also noteworthy is the fact that the section used from the I Sam. 17:45 is preceded in the Bible by the word בשם.

איתגערי רוחא בישתא Cf. *T-S K 1.68* lines 2,3[102] אל]הי מערכות ישראל געור כל רוחין בישין, A19:24,25[103] דיתגערון רוחא בישתה אשתה וטרטיה and A27:4,5[104] בישתה [רוחא] דיתגערון.

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[97] Ibid.
[98] Goldscmidt 1971, p.70.
[99] J. p. 385a.
[100] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 56.
[101] Margalioth 1966, p. 96.
[102] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 222.
[103] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 62.

7 מושבה If the scribe intended this part of the incantation to be in Aramaic, as the demonstrative ד which follows suggests, then he should have written מותבה.

[104] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 91.

M121 (16.3cm*6.3)

This bowl consists of six lines of a rather cursive script spiraling in a clockwise fashion from the inside out. This incantation was written for Ahi son of Mahlapta and Imi daughter of Qaqi his wife for whom M103 and M119 were also written.

Transcription of M121

(1) חתים ומחתים ביתיה ובניה ואיסקופתיה ומעולהון ומיפקיהון (2) ועובידיהון וכל דאית לה לאחי בר מחלפתא ולאימי בת קאקי איתתה (3) מן שידי ומן דיוי חתים ומיסטנין חתים ומילילית‌א ומימבכ(ל)לתא ומיפגעין (4) בישין מן מרכבתא בישתא ומיחרשי בישי מן סטני דמישתדרי (ב)חרשי ומיכל (5) מידעם ביש מ(ן) יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה הללויה יה יה יה י(ה) ייה ייה הי (6) היי אאא(ב) בבבב (ב) (ב)אש (ג)א אמן (א)א תתת (ד)דדד גגג דד אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M121

(1) Sealed and counter-sealed are his house and children and threshold, and their entrance and exit (2) and servants, and all that is Ahi son of Mahlapta's and Imi daughter of Qaqi his wife. (3) Sealed from sheds and dews, and sealed from satans, and from liliths and from tormentors and evil afflictors, (4) from the evil chariots and evil sorceries, from satans which are being sent by sorceries and from all (5) evil. From this day and for ever amen amen selah halleluya. YH YH YH YH YH YYH YYYH HY (6) HYY A'A'A'A' (B) BBBB (B) (B) A'Š (G) A' amen (A') TTTT (D)DDDD GGG DD amen amen selah.

Notes for M121

1 ומעולהון ומיפקיהון The usual forms of the nouns 'entrance' and 'exit' have a נ towards the end of the word, hence, one would expect ומיפקונ(י)הון ומעלונ(י)הון*, cf. N&Sh B25:11 מעלוניה ומפקוניה. Note, however, that מיפקא, without a נ, is also attested[105] as meaning

[105] J. p. 778a.

'exit', as is מעליא 'entrance' in some targum editions.[106] The first ו in מעולהון, which could also be read as a י, is probably due to the root from which this noun is derived, which could be construed as the *mediae y/w* עול rather than the *midiae geminatae* עלל.

2 דאיתלה, איתתה This scribe is not particular in differentiating between יה- and ה- for the 3rd person masculine singular personal pronominal suffix.

3-5 מיסטנין, מילילית֯א, מימבכ(ל)לתא, מיפגעין, מיחרשי, מיכל Cf. AIT 21,22 and 23 which are very similar to our text, all start with חתים ומחתם and follow the same formulaic pattern with slight variations. Montgomery states that 'ו, ז, י and ן are indistinguishable'[107] in these bowls and, therefore, opts for reading מן כל instead of what looks like מיכל (*passim*) as well as מבכלתא (l. 2 of all three texts) for what appears to be מימבכלתא. Epstein amended Montgomery's readings, reinstating the י in both cases, claiming that it is too short to be a final 'nun', as well as the fact that such forms are attested in the Yerushalmi and Gaonic material.[108] In our text it is also preferable to read these letters as 'yods' as the final 'nun' is in all cases clearly distinguishable. In some cases, however, the scribe uses the separate form of the preposition מן rather than the shorter prefixed form -מי.

מרכבתא בישתא Cf. Gordon 8:4, where Gordon translates the same expression, without explaining his reasons, as 'the bad "chariot" (= constellation = luck)". In N&Sh B13:6 there is a similar expression מרכבא לטבי 'the chariot of the evil ones'. Though of a late redaction, not earlier than the 12th century, *Numbers Rabbah* 12 mentions that the demoness Igrat bat Mahlat, who is also referred to in b. Pes. 112b, has a chariot (אגרת בת מחלת ומרכבתה).

סטני דמישתדרי בחרשי Whether incorporated as a matter of form or not, this addition to the list of malevolent entities indicates anxieties that go beyond the demons that were believed to naturally exist on their own accord. This suggests that the clients feared that others were performing malicious magical acts against them. Cf. Ellis 3:4 ויתה<פ>כ<ו>ן ויזל<ון> על ניתסרון וניכמרון כולהין פתיכרין על קרינהון ועל משד<ר>ריניהון ועובדיהון; BOR:7 משדרנהון; Yam:15 יתה[פכון] כל חרשין בישין על עבדיהון ועובדין תקיפין על משדרנהון; Gordon 6:7,8 ונתהפכון כל חרשי בישי וכל Gordon 5:3-5 ויזלון ויתהפכון על עבדיהון ועל משדרניהון

[106] J. p. 817b.
[107] Montgomery 1913, p. 204.

מעבדי תקיפי דעבידין בה ודמיתעבדין בה ... ונתהפכון על עבדיהון ועל משדררניהון; N&Sh B23:8,9 וניהדרון על ... עלה ועל ירתי ביתה ועל משדרינהון. (See also note on M102:2).

[108] Epstein 1983, pp. 348-349.

M123 (17.3cm*7.5cm) and **M138** (16.7cm*6.5cm)

These two texts are duplicates and are therefore dealt with together. There is a third duplicate, MS 2053/216, a transcript of which is provided below in the synopsis. All three texts seem to be written by the same cursive but reasonably clear hand. The clients of all three bowls are related. We know from M121 that Immi daughter of Qaqi is the wife of Ahai son of Mahlafta, the same couple which appears in M138. In M123, however, Immi daughter of Qaqi appears with a man who bears the same forename but has a different mother, Ahai son of Qini. It might be that Ahai's mother was known as both Mahlafta and Qini,[109] though it is also possible that Immi daughter of Qaqi had occasion to marry twice. Finally, one must not exclude the possibility that Ahai son of Qini was a relative who lived in the same house. Each of these three names is accorded its own bowl, M123 is dedicated to Immi daughter of Qaqi, M138 to Ahai son of Mahlafta and MS 2053/216 to Ahai son of Qini. Nevertheless, the formula, duplicated in all the texts, states at the outset that it is meant for the protection of more then one person: דלא יקרבון עליהון 'in order that there may not come against them'. The protection that is sought for by the clients is specifically from the malicious activity of fellow human beings, described more specifically in lines 1, 3 and 6 (of M123) as an oath, curse and evil speech, though a more complete list is provided in lines 6-8 of M123. The magical motif at the centre of this text (M123:3-6) comprises the invocation of the name אהיה אשר אהיה followed by some more divine names, a Hekhalot style depiction of God and a quote from the Targ.-O. of Ex 3:5. This combination of motifs represents one of the best known themes in Jewish magical tradition, the most famous example of which is the *Sword of Moses*, a manual of name based magic that claims to be the divine revelation of Moses.

Transcription of M123

(1) הדין קמיעא דאיתקמע על שום אימי בת קאקי דלא יקרבון עליהון נידרין לוטן ממללן (2) בישון תוב אנא משבענא עליכון נידרא לוטתא מ{ז}^לי^לתא בישתא משבענא עליכון בניהור יה בשדי (3) יה קסין יה בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא <מללתא בישתא משבענא עליכון ב>אהיה אשר אהיה שמו פסגדא שמו אפסגדא שמו טובה טיה מיה (4) שמו יההי קא שמו אחס באלמס פניו פני שיביל

קרניו קרני לון מרכבתיה נור דליק שרפוהי נור משמשין שליחין בריבוהי (5) נור לבישין משגרין (ל)עילא מיקרני חיתה בחגא רבה דמלכותא בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין כמו דאמר ליה למשה באסנה שרי סנך (6) מעל ריגלך משבענא עליכון נידרא לוטתא ומללתא בישתא דאי תעימו אימי בת קאקי בין ניהמתא דנהמא על זרעיהי ובין (7) נומתא דמפקא בפומא ובין נידרא דארמאי דיהודאי בין לוטתא רחיקא קריבא בין לוטתא דשיבבה דאחא ואחתא ובין לוטתא דגברי (8) דנשי ובין נידרא דמשלם לפתכרי דיכרי לאיסתרתא {ל}ניקבתא ובין נידרא ושלמתא דכל בני אינשה תיזחון תינטלון תיאבדון מיאימי בת קאקי מיאחי בר קיני (9) מיבנוהי ומיביתיה כוליה מן יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה.

Translation of M123

(1) This amulet has been bound upon the name of Immi daughter of Qaqi in order that there may not come against them oaths, curses and evil speeches. (2) Again, I adjure you oath, curse [and] evil speech. I adjure you by the light of YH by Šadai (3) YH QSYN YH. By these (names) I adjure, oath, curse, I-am-that-I-am, His Name PSGDA', His Name A'PSGDA', His Name ṬWBA' ṬYH MYH, (4) His Name YHHY QA', His Name A'ḤS BA'LMS. His face is the face of ŠYBYL, his rays [of light] are rays of LWN, his chariot blazing fire, his Seraphs fire, messengers officiating by [the agency of] his magnificence, (5) they are clad in fire, *sent* above the creature's horns. By [the agency of] the great crown of majesty, by His great name which has existed from days of old. The same [name] He told Moses at the burning bush [when he told him]: 'Remove your shoes (6) from your feet [etc.]' (Targ. O. Ex. 3:5) I adjure against you oath curse and evil speech that if you sadden Immi d. of Qaqi. Be it by a groan that groans over its descendants, be it (7) by a slumber which causes [things] to issue [from with]in the mouth, be it by an oath of a gentile or a Jew, be it by a curse of a relative or a stranger, be it by a curse of a neighbour, brother or sister, be it by a curse of men (8) or of women, be it by an oath that is being delivered to male idols [and] female idols, or be it by an oath or magic rites of any human beings. Be removed, move, and perish from Immi daughter of Qaqi from Ahai son of Qini (9) from his children and from all of his house from this day and for ever. Amen amen selah.

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[109] In some of the bowls there are clients who are mentioned as having another name, cf.

Notes for M123

1 קמיעא דאיתקמע על שום The verb קמע 'to bind' is previously unattested in Jewish Aramaic. It is known in Syraic in the same sense as we find it here *qmʿy qmyʿ* 'those who bind on or who sew together amulets'.[110] Though rarely used in Hebrew the verb קמע is already attested in the Tosefta cf. Demai 2:17 (repeated in b. Bek. 30b) מעשה באשה אחת שנשאת לחבר והיתה קומעת על ידו תפלין 'There was a certain woman who was married to a *scholar* and used to bind the straps of the tefillin (phylacteries) on his hand'. Cf. also M155:9 where the same expression appears though spelled differently, קמיעה דאיתקמיע.

נידרין לוטן ממללן בישון - Three plural nouns in the absolute state, the first is masculine whilst the second and third are feminine. All three appear in forms that are unusual for magic bowls: The form that commonly occurs for נידרין is the appocopated נידרי; לוטתא is not otherwise attested in the bowls in the plural in the absolute state at all;[111] ממללן is a *pa.* participle feminine plural form of the verb מלל.[112] The adjective בישון has ו as a matres lectiones. It is interesting that in lines 2 and 6 and the reconstruction in l. 3 (see below) the author of the text decided to employ the nominal form מללתא.

2 עליהון A clear indication that the bowl was intended from the start for the protection of both the clients, even though only one is mentioned in the opening line.

3 <מללתא בישתא משבענא עליכון ב> The text is amended here in line with the two duplicates, see the synopsis below.

3-6 ריגלך ... אהיה This encompasses a well known set of motifs that developed within Jewish magical traditions of Late Antiquity concerning אהיה אשר אהיה - the name that was given to Moses (Ex. 3) at the burning bush. As we shall show, the different parts of this particular section of the incantation have parallels in the Bible, Targum, Hekhalot and

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M148 מיהרנהיד בת אחת דמתקריא כוטוס 'Miharanahid daughter of Ahat also called Kutus'.

[110] Brockelmann p. 673ab.

[111] In Yam:14, לוטן is cited; however, in that text the word appears to be disjointed and the reading is not certain. A masculine plural form is known from the Targum, לוטין. This is probably not our form, however, as the masculine of this noun is not attested in the bowls and one would have to reconstruct the י in our text (לוט<י>ן)*.

[112] Cf. Gordon H:11 רוחא בישתא דימממללא בלישנא תקיפא ... ממללא used as a verb, and active participle.

magical texts such as the *Sword of Moses*, as well as other surviving bowls and amulets. The first part is a straight forward invocation/recitation of divine names within a Hebrew format signified by the use of the word שמו 'his name is', commonly found in bowls, amulets and Hekhalot texts. The description of God himself, face and emanating rays of light, is in Hebrew, while the description of his attending hosts which follows is in Aramaic. This depiction of God and his hosts is reminiscent of the imagery and language of the visions of Ezekiel[113] and Daniel.[114] The descriptions of angels which are found in the Hekhalot are similar to our text, cf. for example III Enoch (Schäfer Synopsis §33-§34)

> אמר ר' ישמעאל אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים למעלה מהן יש שר אחד אדיר מופלא אמיץ ומשוב(ח) בכל מיני שבח כרוביאל יוי שמו ... ומראה פניו כאש יוקדת וכתר קדושה על ראשו ששם המפורש חקוק בו ... וזיו שכינה על פניו וקרני ההוד אור פניו ... ולמה נקרא שמו כרוביאל יוי השר מפני שהוא ממונה על מרכב כרובים
>
> 'R. Ishmael said: Metatron the prince of the countenance told me that above them there is a mighty, wondrous, brave and praised prince in all manner of praise, Krubiel YWY is his name ... the sight of his face is as burning fire and the crown of holiness is upon his head wherein the 'explicit name' is engraved ... the divine glory is on his face and the rays of majesty are the light of his face ... and why is he called Krubiel YWY the prince? It is on account of the fact that he is in charge of the chariots of the cherubim'.

Cf. N&Sh B13:18 נוריאל רבה נוריאל שמיה נורא לביש נור לבישין, N&Sh B13:21 where angels that have come to the presence of Shamish are also described as clad with fire (נורא לבישין), and *T-S K 1.73* page 3:6 בנורא לבש 'being clothed in fire'.[115]

(ל)עילא מיקרני חיתה בחגא רבה דמלכותא A close parallel to the wording of 'above the horns of the creatures' has been preserved in the Zohar Ex. Beshalah 56b לעילא מן קרני החיות. What appears there, above the horns of the 'creatures', is a 'name'. Cf. Metatron (Schäfer synopsis §734→397) שמו הגדול שנמסר לו למשה מסיני {מש} זה מפרש תגא מעל upon the

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[113] Ez. 1.

[114] Dan. 7:9 נור דלק. In Ma'seh Merkabah R. Neḥoniah ben Haqanah reveals to R. Ishmael five prayers which include divine names. These prayers are meant to assist descent and rising from the Merkabah. In the first of these (Schäfer, 1981, §587 MS O1531) נור דליק appears amongst the names.

[115] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 230.

crown His great name is 'explicit', the one that was given to Moses *at* Sinai'. It is noteworthy that in one of the manuscript variants (O1531) there appears הגא rather than תגא, a variation that is also possible in all three of our bowls since ה, ח and ת are not clearly distinguished.

בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין Cf. Buch/Namen, Schäfer Synopsis §492 - a small book of magic (§489-§495) in which instructions are given in preparation for the use of 'this great name' הדין שמא רבא (in §490 N8128 line 17 שמיה רבא). This name is described as having existing for ever (§490 N8128:33 ושמו קיים לעולם ולעלמי עולמים, and purports to help protect against an enemy. This 'great name' is the very one that was given to Moses at Sinai: (MS N8128):

> דין שמיה רבא ... הוא דהוה דאיתגלי למשה בסנה דין שמיה ... קיים הוא עד סוף כל הדורות
>
> '... this is His great name ... the one that was revealed to Moses in the burning bush, this is his name ... it is in existence till the end of all the generations'.

Cf. also Bescwörung/Namen §514:[116]

> דין שמא רבא דמסר זגנאל מלאכא למשה בן עמרם כשנגלה עליו אל {?} חי בסנה וכל היודעו ומזכירו בטהרה לא יוזק לעולם
>
> 'This is the great name that Zaganel the angel gave to Moses son of Amram when the living God was revealed to him in the burning bush, and all who know and invoke it in purity will never be harmed'.

שרי סנך מעל רגלך Our text is a quote from Targ.-O. Ex. 3:5. Targ. Ps-J. differs at this point in that it employs the verb שלוף rather then שרי. It is interesting that in Ex. 3:14 of Targ.-O., the version preferred in our bowls, אהיה אשר אהיה is preserved in its Hebrew original, thus preserving its integrity as a 'name'. On the other hand, Targ. Ps-J. of the same verse offers a more literal Aramaic adaptation in its place.

In a fragment of the *Ḥarba de-Moshe*,[117] it is not just the divine name that is said to have been revealed to Moses, but the whole of the magical book. This system of 'name magic' is equated with the *Merkabah* revelation of R. Ishmael:

> דין חרבא דמשה שנמסר לו בסנה ונגלה לו לר' ישמעאל בן אלישע כמעש' מרכבה

[116] Schäfer 1981.
[117] Schäfer 1981, §598 MS N8128.

'This is the *Sword of Moses* that was revealed to him in the burning bush, and as was revealed to R. Ishmael son of Elisha as *Maaseh Merkabah*'.

A bit further in the same text (§606) the magical qualities of the *Sword of Moses*, which is described as a name, are listed:

אמתי זהו חרבא של משה שהיה עושה נסים וגבורות ויכלה לכל כשפים והוא נגלה למשה בסנה ונמסר לו השם הגדול והמפואר ואם נגלה לרבי ישמעאל כשעלה למרכבה ושמור אותו באמת והוא שמרך ... והוא מצילך מכל צרה בעולם הזה

'In truth this is the Sword of Moses that preformed miracles and brave deeds and can restrain all sorcery. It was revealed to Moses in the burning bush, this great and glorious name was transmitted to him, *and was also* revealed to R. Ishmael when he ascended to the Merkabah. Keep it in truth and it will protect you ... and it will save you from every misfortune in this world'.

The power of the name that was revealed to Moses is reiterated in the appendix to *The Sword of Moses*:[118]

אהיה אשר אהיה יה ביה אה באה וה וה אה אה קדוש צבאות יהוה ממלא דילי ואסותא דילך אסיריתון וחתמיתון כוכבי שמיא ומזליהון שרי ארעא ושרי מרומא דלא יחתון בי ולא יצערון יתי הוו עמי וסועדו יתי בכל מה דאנא עבידנא ולא תקרב נפשי לחבלא משום דחתימא קימתי בשמיה דמן דיפרש שמיה למשה באסנה

"I-am-that-I-am YH BYH A'H BA'H WH WH A'H A'H Holy are the hosts of God. My word and your healing. I have bound and sealed you - the stars of the sky and their constellations, ministers of the earth and ministers of the on-high, that they may not *sin against* me and not afflict me. Be with me and assist me in all that I do. And my soul shall not come near to harm because I have established the seal in His name, of that one, His name, that was made 'explicit' to Moses in the burning bush'.

This combination of the depiction of God in human terms with the more abstract 'name' is noteworthy. Whilst discussing a midrash on the name אהיה אשר אהיה, which appears in *Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva* (c. 700 CE),[119] Idel noted that it describes the dimensions of the

[118] MS Sasson 290 in Harari, 1997, p. 144.
[119] *Battei Midrashot* Vol. II p. 364, also in *Otsar ha-Midrashim* (Eisenstein) p. 407.

name in terms akin to those used in *Shiur Qomah* to describe the limbs of God: 'It is possible that that the connection between the fire and the letters of the name stems from the revelation at the burning bush (Ex. 3:6-14), and that this midrash implies that Moses saw the *measurement of the stature of the name*'.[120] Idel adds a quote from *Sefer ha-Navon*[121] (p. 120) in which the Tetragrammaton is said to appear to the angels and the prophets as an image of a man.

Cf. A28: 25,26 שם האל הקדוש הנגלה למשה מתוך הסנה and Gordon H:17 יאהואה שם מפורש דאיתגלי למשה באסנה. In the Geniza fragment *T.-S. K 21.95.A* page 2a lines 22-25,[122] there is a description of the experiences and revelations Moses had while in the celestial company when he ascended Mount Horeb in the desert. The angel PYSQWN, one of the names attributed to Metatron,[123] tells Moses that it was he who appeared to him in the burning bush and told him to remove his shoes: לאחר מיכן בא רוח פיסקון ... אמר לו משה משה אני הוא שנגליתי עליך ביום שנדבר עמך קונך שנ[א מלאך יי וגו' ואני הוא שאמרתי לך שלנעליך וגו'.

תעימו From the verb עמי 'to be dim, faint, grieved'.[124] The context implies that this must be a causative *af.* form which has not previously been attested in Jewish Aramaic, although it is known in Syriac.[125]

8 שלמתא Possibly שלמתא<א> (for a discussion on the meaning of this word see Montgomery 1913, p. 85).

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[120] Idel, 1981, p. 39, n. 43.
[121] Ashkenaz 13th century. Published by Dan J., 1966, עיונים בספרות חסידי אשכנז, Sefer ha-Navon, Kovez al Yad. 6 pt. 1, pp. 199-223.
[122] Schäfer 1984, p. 177.
[123] See also note on M155:3-5.
[124] J. p. 1087b.
[125] PS p. 416b.

Synopsis

M123

(1) הדין קמיעא דאיתקמע על
שום אימי בת קאקי
דלא יקרבון עליהון
נידרין לוטן ממללן (2) בישון
תוב אנא משבענא עליכון
נידרא לוטתא מ{ל}^לֵ^לתא
בישתא משבענא עליכון
בניהור יה בשדי (3) יה קסין יה
בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא
<מללתא בישתא משבענא
עליכון ב>
אהיה אשר אהיה שמו
פסגדא שמו אפסגדא שמו
טובה טיה מיה (4) שמו יה חי
קא שמו אחס באלמס
פניו פני שיביל קרניו קרני לון
מרכבתיה נור דליק
שרפוהי נור
משמשין שליחין בריבוהי (5)
נור
לבישין משגרין (ל)עילא
מיקרני חיתה בחגא **רבה**
דמלכותא
בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין
כמו דאמר ליה למשה
באסנה שרי סנך (6) מעל ריגלך
משבענא עליכון נידרא
לוטתא ומללתא בישתא
דאי תעימו אימי בת קאקיי
בין ניהמתא דנהמא על
זרעיהי ובין (7) (נ)ומתא
דמפקא בפומא ובין
נידרא דארמאי דיהודאי בין
לוטתא רחיקא קריבא בין
לוטתא דשיבבה דאחא ואחתא

ובין לוטתא דגברי (8) דנשי
ובין נידרא דמשלם
לפתכרי דיכרי לאיסתרתא
{ו}ניקבתא ובין נידרא
ושלמתא דכל בני אינשה

תיזחון תינטלון תיאבדון מן
אימי בת קאקי מן אחי בר קיני
(9) מן בנוהי
ומן ביתיה כוליה
מן יומא דנן ולעלם
אמן אמן סלה

M138

(1) קמיעא דאיתקמע על
שום אחי בר מחלפתא
דלא (2) יקרבון <ע>להון
נידר(ין) לוטן (מ)מלל(ן) בישון
ומשבענא עליכון
נידרא (3) לוטתא מללתא
בישתא משבענא על(יכ)ון
בניהור יה בשדי יה (4) קסון יה
בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא
ומללתא בישתא משבענא {ב}
עליכון
(5) באהיה אשר אהיה שמו
פסגדא שמו אפסגדא שמו
טובה טיה מיה שמו יה חי
קיא (6) שמו אחס באלמס
פניו פני שיביל קרניו קרני לון
מרכבתיה נור דליק
שרפוהי נור
(7) **משמשין שליחין בריבוהי**
נור
לבישין משגרין {לעיל} לעלא
מיקרני חיתה בחגא
דמלכותא {**בשמיה**} (8)
ובשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין
כמו דאמר ליה למשה
באסנה שרי סינך מעל רגלך
משבענא עליכון נידרא (9)
לוטתא ומללתא בישתא
דאי תעימו אחי בר מחלפתא
בין ניהמתא דנהמא על
זרעיהי ובין נומתא
(ד)[מפ]קא (10) בפומא ובין
נידרא דארמאי די[ה]ודאי בין

נידרא דשיבבה
דקריבה דרחיקא בין לוטתא

ובין [נידרא]א דמשלם (11)

לבי[.] בישתא ובין לוטתא
דיהודאי דארמאי ובין מללתא
דאימא (ובר)[תא] [...]

(תי)ז(ח)ון [...]ן מן
אחי בר מח(ל)פתא (12) (ומ)[.]
אימי בת קאקי

מן יומא דנן ולעלם
אמן אמן סלה

MS 2053/216

(1) קמיעא דאיתקמע על
שום אחי בר קי[ני]
[דלא יקרבון עליהון]
נידרין לוטן ממללן (2) בישן[ן]
תוב א<נא> משבענא עליכון
נידרא לוטתא ומללתא
[בישתא משבענא עלי]כון
בניהור יה בשדי יה (3) קסין יה
בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא
מללתא משב(ענא)
עליכון
באהיה אשר אהיה שמו
פסגדא (4) שמו אפסגדא שמו
טובה טיה [מיה] שמו יה חי
קיא שמו אחס באלמס
פניו פני ש[...] קרניי קרני (לון)
מרכבתיה נור דיליק (5)
שרפו[ה]י נור

לבישין ומש(ג)רין לעילא
מ(יק)רני חיתה בחגא **רבה**
דמלכותא
בישמיה רבה דהוה מיקדמין
כמו דאמר (6) (ל)[יה] למשה
באסנה שרי סינך מעל ריגלך
משבענא עליכון נידרא
לוטתא ומללתא בישתא [...]
דאי תעימו אחי בר קיני
(7) (ב)ין ניהמתא דנהמא על
זרעיהי בין נומתא
דמפקא בפומא

ובין (נ)דרא דמשלם
לפתכרי דיכרי ולאיסתרתא
<ל>ניקבתא ובין ניחמתא
דמ(פ)קא
(8) בפומא בין כל מידעם ביש
בין כל ליליתא בישתא [....]
תיפקון מיביתיה
דאחי בר קיני

ומן ביתיה כולה

אמן אמן סלה

As the clients of all three bowls are related, and the hand writing of these texts is similar, it is reasonable to assume that they were all written by the same hand, or at least produced in

the same atelier. The differences between the texts in the first two thirds of the formula are minor. In the above synopsis, the differences are given in bold type. After a certain point, about the middle of M123:7, one gets the impression that the scribe began to improvise. In M123, part of l. 10 is repeated in l. 11 whereas, in MS 2053/216, part of the beginning of l. 7 appears again at lines 7-8. The closing formula, which appears to be most complete in M123:8,9, is only partially reproduced in the other two texts, although, all three faithfully conclude with the standard אמן אמן סלה.

M131 (16.4cm*7.2)

This bowl consists of five lines of text written in a cursive script which, nevertheless, distinguishes between ב and כ. The first line of the bowl is oddly set in that its last word is placed above the first as if to draw the flow of text to spiral inwards towards the centre of the bowl. The rest of the text is not attached to the end of this first line but resumes below it spiraling in a clockwise manner towards the outer rim of the bowl. One possible explanation for this layout is that the scribe made a mistake in the way he placed the first line and, having realized it too late, decided to resume the rest of the text below it as if nothing had happened. Alternatively, the first line may have been added as an after-thought, and the scribe simply miscalculated its length and was thus compelled to draw it inwards where space was available. There is no mention of the name of the client. The combination of the motifs of 'split mountains' in l. 1 and a 'dark place' to which the evil spirits are sent in lines 3 and 4 is reminiscent of the story of the fallen angels and their punishment (see M163 below).

Transcription of M131

(1) איפשיח פקא פקא עים פקא לטורי ולנ(סרין ליבנ)א x בטרפצת סיה (2) אתון דתפקון ותזלון ותיבדרון רוחי בשתא רוחי שידי פתכרי חומרי שידי (3) שידי ולילית‌א לתרע די יהר ובאתר דלא מפקין בה שמשא וסיהרא וכימא (4) וכוכבין דאנה קרית קניסא עיניתנא אתון דתפקון ותזלון ותיבדון רוחי בשתא מן ברתא הדין (5) בשום רבא ובשום סיטרי ורגי(ע)ל אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M131

(1) *It was torn, a fissure opened with rupture* to mountains and the ..... (2) So that you, evil spirits, spirits, demons, idols, pebble charms, demons, (3) demons and liliths - may you remove yourselves, go and be scattered to the gate of the haughty and the place where the sun, moon, constellation and stars do not come out which I have called the *humble ones'* penalty. So that you, evil spirits, may remove yourselves, go and disappear from this daughter. (5) By the name of The Great One and by the name of SYṬRY and RGYA'L. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M131

1 איפשיח is an *ithpe.* of the verb פשח.[126] In Syriac (PS p. 467a) the *ithpe.* has the metaphoric meaning of 'to be enfeebled, knocked up'.

פקא פקא The first of the pair is the noun פקא, 'valley, split, fissure',[127] cf. פקעא[128] or the Hebrew בקעה. The second is a form of the verb פקע with a weakening of ע to א, just as in AIT 6:11 ארזא כי[129] ניפקא 'shall split asunder as a cedar tree', which Montgomery referred to as a 'Mandaizing spelling' for נפקע.[130] In Mandaic the combination *pqʾ pyqʾ* 'a split opened' is attested.[131]

2 תיבדרון The same wish for the evil spirits to depart is repeated in line 4, except that there תיבדון, 'may you perish' is used instead. It is possible that the scribe used the similar looking verbs, בדר and אבד , for the sake of variety. Equally, carelessness could be the reason, in which case either תיבד{ד}ון in line 2 or תיבד<ר>ון in line 4 would be the correct readings.

3 תרע די יהר 'The gate of the haughty' beyond which is described a dark place hidden from the heavens might be a reference to the underworld, cf. b. BB 10b וכל המתיהר נופל בגיהנם 'and whoever boasts fall a prey to Gehena'.

4 עיניתנא 'humble, forbearing, kind',[132] a compliment to יהר in the previous line.

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[126] J. p. 1245b.
[127] Levi, 1889, vol.4 p. 87b.
[128] Levi, 1889, vol.4, p. 93a.
[129] Corrected by Epstein from בי to כי, 1983, vol. 1, p. 334.
[130] Montgomery 1913, p. 144.
[131] DM p. 371b.
[132] J. p. 1092b.

M142 (42.5cm*24.5cm)

This is a giant bowl of which a considerable part of the beginning of the text is missing. The first few lines of the text that are readable are disjointed and therefore difficult to decipher. The scribe differentiates ב and כ in most cases. Three texts which have partial duplicate sections have been identified: Aaron E, MS 1927/61, MS 2053/61 and MS 2053/257. These have been consulted to help reconstruct some of the more difficult sections in our bowl. Three biblical verses are quoted: Isa. 40:31, Num. 14:9 and 32:22. This bowl was written for Adad Gušnaṣ son of Mahdukh and Ispandarmid daughter of Ṭahmandukh his wife. As an appendix to this bowl we have added a proposed reconstruction of the beginning of this text which was made on the basis of the duplicates mentioned above. This section consists of an historiola in which the 'swift prince' is the protagonist, a supernatural entity who bears the same title as the chief angel in the *Sword of Moses*. In this text he is described as the helper of women who have been assailed by baby-snatching demons.

Transcription of M142

(1) ... (2) (מ)רי עלמא על [.....] דמית(ח)ט(י)פ(ין) ... נ(א)[..](חי)א ארבע ח[...] ד... חדא מ(ינהי)ן (מבד.יתא) (3) חד(א) מ(י)נהין אמו(מי)תא חדא מנהין בליליתא .... על .... באנפי כורסיה בישמיה (ד)קדש (במי)מריה דשדי ובמל(ת)א (ד) ... (וק)וי יהוה יחלפו כח (4) יעלו אביר כנשרים יורוצו ולא יגועו ילכו ולא ייעפו (וד) ... וד ... מש ... מומינא על(יכון) ... [..]ים יתוה לאחא זוטא נמלכו (ו)נצ ... ...תא [..]א[.]פ(נ)א רזא (רז)א דדליתיה חבל עליכון (5) שידי ויחיבל עליכון דיוי דאמריתון אנחנא לא ידענא מי הוה ומ ... (א)מו(מ)א אגברי ... [..]טרא רבא (ודי)נחיא ורפיא(י)ל א(סיא) ... (בי)ר[.]יה על (בית)[..] [..]יה בנכי ושולינכי כין (6) לא תיגעון ולא תיקירבון בביתיה ובדירתה ובאיסקופתיה דאדד גושנץ בר מהדוך ודאיצפנדרמיד בת טהמנדוך {אל} אינתיה לא ... [לא] בזרעהי דליליה ולא בזרעה דימ(ו)מ(א) לא תי[חז]ון לה לאיצפנדרמיד בת טהמנדוך (7) לא בחיזוה דליליה ולא בחיזוה דימומא ולא תידמון לה בכל גונין וגונין אסיריתון שידי וחתימיתון די עיר(יי)תא וליליתא בישתא בגזרת עדאקפקיאל ... מפרש שמיה ותוב אסיריתון שידי וחתימיתון דיוי ודיותא וליליתא בישתא (8) בשמיה דאכבר דאבכברך בעיזקתא דיצר גיליף עליה מן יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה ונכבשה הארץ לפני יהוה ואחר תשובו והייתם נקיים [מיהוה ומישראל והי](תה ה)ארץ הזאת לכם לאחוזה לפני יהוה אך ביהוה אל תימרדו <ו>אתם אל תיראו את עם

הארץ (9) (כי לחמנו) הם סר צלם מעלהם יהוה איתונו אל תיראום[133] דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין די<פ>כירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין (10) דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכרין דיפרירין דיפרירין דיפכרין אסותא מן שמיא חתמתא די שלמה ונטרתא דישלמה תיהוי לה לאיסקופתה [דאדד גושנץ] בר מהדוך ודאיצפדרמיד [בת טהמנדוך] ... (11) ... יה יה יה

(Num. 14:9). Those who are split (repeated 27 times) (10) Healing from heaven, the seal of Solomon and the protection of Solomon shall be for the threshold of Adad Gušnas son of Mahdukh and Ispandarmid daughter of Ṭahmandukh ... (11) YH (repeated 33 times) ...

Notes for M142

2-4 מ)רי עלמא על Most of this section is erased, yet the parallels shown below suggest its context. The most complete of these are MS 2053/61 and MS 1927/61 which seem to be part of an historiola. The translation above has been reconstructed on the basis of the following synopsis.

Aaron E[134]		על ולדי	מ)רי עלמא ... (4)	
MS 2053/61	(א)נה (7) הוא ש(רא)	(ק)לילא) דמפשח קדם מרי	עלמא	(על ולד)י
MS 1927/61	אנה הוא (סגומי) (5)	(אבה קליליאה דקאתי קודם מריה דעלמה		על ולדי
MS 2053/257	אנה ה[וא] ס[רא] (4)	קלילא דמפש(ח) [קד]ם מר[י]	(עלמ)[א]	על (ו)לד
M142		[.....] על	מ)רי עלמא	... (2)
Aaron E	נשי(ה) ...	מ)פשח		
MS 2053/61	נשיה	דמיתחטפין מפשת		
MS 1927/61	נשייא	דמיתח(טפ)ין ומפשח		
MS 2053/257	נשיא	דמיתחטפין מפשח מפש(ח)		
M142		דמית(ח)ט(י)פ(ין)		

If the reading סרא קלילא is correct, one would be reminded of the very same title which occurs in the *Sword of Moses* V line17.[135] This swift prince, or messenger as he is referred to a page earlier in the *Sword of Moses* IV, is mentioned in that magical book as an intercessory angel in language that resembles our texts:

> וסלקית לקדמוהי אנא אססי אסס ואסיסיה ואפרגסיה שליחא קלילא דבשליחותי אנא יאי ובשתדרותי אנא מוחי למעבד ופקד יתי מארי כולא איזיל ואשתמע לבני אנשא

[134] Geller 1986, p. 114. Geller did not transcribe this line, yet his facsimile as well as a photograph which he produced for the present author allowed this reading.
[135] Harari 1997, p. 27.

'And I ascended to his presence, I A'SSY A'SS A'SYSYH and A'PRGSYH the swift messenger who is worthy of my mission and I make protest in my dispatch. The Lord of all has commanded me: "Go and be heard to human beings"'.

In our text this messenger can be seen doing his job for the benefit of women whose babies are in danger of being snatched.

חדא ... בליליתא Cf. Aaron E:7 איתא אמומיתא כליליתא[...]. The line continues '... and Saḥlet bat Yama, and these and those that strangle ...' which appears to be a list of demonesses or such evil entities that strangle[136] children. Earlier in the same line, all that is visible is the word ארבע, 'four'. But for the parallel texts this might not have meant much:

M142	חדא מ(ינהי)ן	(2) ... ארבע ח[...] ד...
Aaron E	ומישתדרון על ... [.]מש(מ)שיתא ... (7) ... [ ]איתא ... דחנקו	
MS 2053/61	והא ארבע חיון דמישתר[ין] ...	ד(חנק)ן וחטפן
MS 1927/61	ארבע חיון רברבן ד[מי]שתדרן על ולד[יא]	דחאנקן

In M142 and Aaron E, the names of three of the four creatures that attack children have survived. It appears, however, that the versions of the historiola in the other texts only allude to these creatures but do not name them.

באנפי ... A synopsis of the parallel texts confirms the reading of our bowl:

Aaron E	(8) ... כורסיה באנפי כורסיה בישמיה דקדוש במימריה דשדי ובמי[מריה]
MS 2053/61	באנפי (כו)... ...יה דשד<י> (12) במילוליה
MS 1927/61	בשמיה רבה ובעזקתיה (9) דקדוש ובשמיה דעילי(ו)ן ובמילוליה דשדי
MS 2053/257	באנפי {כו} כורסיה ובישמיה דקדוש ובמימירא (7) דשדי ובמתולא
M142	באנפי כורסיה בישמיה (ד)קדש (במי)מריה דשדי ובמל(ת)א (ד)

Note that though there seems to be a good transmission of most of this part of the formula, there is confusion amongst all of the versions concerning the last word. Considering the similarities, a *Vorlage* may be assumed yet, for some reason, MS 1926/61 deviates from the format of the other texts.

[136] Geller transcribes תנקו which he translates as 'harms'. However, according to the facsimile one could read תנקן which also occurs in both lines 10 and 11 of MS 2053/61.

ייעפו ... וקוי This verse, Isa. 40:31, is quoted in m. Qid. 4:14 (cf. also b. Qid. 82a,82b) to illustrate the protection a youth will gain from learning Torah. It also appears in Aaron E:10, MS 1911/1:7,8, MS 2053/61:13,14 and MS 2053/257:9,10.

5 רפיא(י)ל א(סיא) Cf. N&Sh B27:5 דרפאל (אסיא רבה) and Gordon L:13 דרפאל איסרא דאסותא.

6 Both MS 2053/257 and MS 2053/61 have sections that are close in form to this part of our text (see below). Note that in both parallels, Isa. 40:31 follows this section yet, in our text, this verse appears earlier in lines 3-4:

MS 2053/257	ד(ל)א (תניגעון) ולא תיקרבון ולא תחבלון ... (8) ... (9) ... אינתתיה לא בזרעה		
MS 2053/61	דלא תיגעון	ולא תחבלון ... (13) ...	איתתיה לא בזרעה
M142	(6) לא ניגעון ולא תיקירבון ...		אינתיה לא ... [לא]
MS 2053/257	דיממא ולא בפירי(ה) [דליליה ....] סקסנסין וקוי ...		
MS 2053/61	דיממא ולא ב(רפיסי) דליליה (סקן) ... ו... וקוי ...		
M142	בזרעהי דליליה ולא בזרעה דימ(ו)מ(א)		

דימ(ו)מ(א) ... בזרעהי [לא] Cf. The Mandaic *Šhafta dQaština* p. 202: *mn zyrḥ dlyly' wmn bzyrḥ dʿm'm'* 'from his seed (semen) by night and from his seed (sowing) by day'.[137]

8-9 בעיזקתה דציר וגליף עלה שם Cf. AIT 11:9 בעיזקתא דיצר גיליף עליה מן יומא דנן ולעלם מפורש מן יומי עלמא ומישת יומי בראשית 'By the seal on which is carved and engraved the Ineffable name, since the six days of the world, the six days of creation'. The motif of the inscribed seal seems to be associated with Ex. 39:30 in which there is a description of the gold frontlet for the holy diadem upon which 'Holy to the Lord' was incised. The language that is used in the Targ. O. Ex. 39:30 is similar to that of the expression in our bowl - וכתבו עלוהי כגלוף דעזקא כתב מפרש קודש ליי. See also notes to M123:5 where there occurs a reference to a 'crown' (תגא) bearing the Ineffable name, which is described as part of a vision in an Hekhalot text (Schäfer synopsis §734).

10 דיפרירין Possibly דיפרידין, cf. Aaron D:1-3 where it is repeated 22 times. MS 2053/61, which has similarities to our text, cuts off in l. 20 with דיפכירין דיפרינין.

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[137] This text is as yet unpublished though the fragment above is quoted from DM p. 167b.

Appendix

Our text and its parallels that are cited above are either badly damaged or incomplete. By comparing the different texts, and joining what appear to be the best sections from each, the following reconstruction of the shared formula can be proposed:

Transcription

(MS 2053/61:5) ... וכין חזיתי (MS 1927/61:3,4) בעיני ... והא שמעית קל (MS 2053/61:6-8) דיממלת מן גו חשמלא {ממליל} ממליל וכין אמר (א)נה הוא ש(רא) (ק)לילא) דמפשח קדם מרי עלמא (על ולד)י נשיה דמיתחטפין מפשח (MS 1927/61:5,6) וכן אמר על ק(ברי) מיתי יתיבית וקא שמעית קל נשיא דתוחן ומתוחן[138] בכיין ומב[כיין] והן (....) מפשחן בחד קלא (MS 2053/257:5) וכין אמרן (דמות) ברקא חזינא ובדמות ע(ננין) (MS 1927/61:7) איתו לי דנאחזא ארבע חיון רברבן ד[מי]שתדרן על ולד[יא] (M142:2,3) חדא מ(ינהי)ן (מבד.יתא) חד(א) מ(י)נהין אמו(מי)תא חדא מנהין בליליתא (Aaron E:7) וצחלית בת ימא ואילין אינין (MS 2053/61:7,8) דחאנקן וחטין מממרקן ואכלן כאריה דחשיף[139] וחניק מממריק ואכיל אילין אינון דחנקן וחטפן ממר(ק)ן וא[כ]לן כען אסיריתון וחתימיתון (M142:3) באנפי כורסיה בישמיה (ד)קדש (במי)מריה דשדי ובמל(ת)א (ד) (M142:6) לא תיגעון ולא תיקירבון בביתיה ובדירתה ובאיסקופתיה דאדד גושנץ בר מהדוך ודאיצפנדרמיד בת טהמנדוך {אל} אינתיה לא ... [לא] בזרעהי דליליה ולא בזרעה דימ(ו)מ(א) (M142:3,4) (וק)וי יהוה יחלפו כח יעלו אביר כנשרים יורוצו ולא יגועו ילכו ולא ייעפו

Translation

... and thus I beheld with my own eyes ... and oh, I heard a voice that spoke from within the HŠML speaking, and thus it said: 'I am he, the swift prince who cries out in the presence of the Lord of the world concerning the babies of women that are snatched'. *Bursting out*, thus he said: 'I sat upon the graves of the dead and heard the voice of women *wailing and in pain*, crying and sobbing ... *crying out* in one voice'. And thus they said: 'We are seeing an image of lightning, in the image of clouds they were brought *to me* that we may see the four great creatures who are sent against the babies'. One of them is MBD[.]YTA', one of them is

[138] Possibly an error for דצוחן ומצוחן (S. Shaked -forthcoming).

A'MWMYTA', one of them is BLYLYTA' and *SHLYT daughter of YMA'*. These are the ones that strangle, harm, *finish off* and eat. As the lion snatches and strangles, finishes off and eats, these are the ones that strangle, snatch, finish off and eat. Now, you are bound and sealed by the image of His throne, by the name of the Holy One, by the speech of Šadai and by the Word - that you may not afflict and may not touch the house and dwelling and threshold of NN son of NN ... not from his seed of the night and not from his seed of the day. 'But they who trust in the Lord shall renew their strength, as eagles grow new plumes they shall run and not grow weary, they shall march and not grow faint'.

[139] Probably an error for דחטיף (S. Shaked -forthcoming).

M145 (178mm*70mm)

This bowl consists of sixteen lines of a very cursive script. But for a small fragment that is missing and some small areas which are slightly faded the text is almost completely legible. A duplicate, MS 2053/159, has been identified of which a transcript is provided. The name of the client is not stated, though a comparison with the duplicate suggests[140] that in our bowl he/she takes the role of the sorcerer and narrates the text in the first person. The formula that appears in this bowl is unusual and previously unknown. Much of the language and imagery, especially pertaining to the structure of the earth (l. 8), show similarities with Mandaic sources and may be borrowed from them. Such possible Mandaic influences, coupled with the scarcity of any Jewish motifs in the text, suggest the possibility that this incantation might be of Gnostic origin. Throughout this text it can be observed that all the 3rd person masculine plural perfect verbs are equal in form to the singular: l. 3 דיוי נפק; l. 3,4 נפק ארבעה תנינין, נפק ארבע דיוין; l. 6 נפק ארבעה זיקין, תפי דודי; l. 5 ולילית נפק; l. 8 איתיפך מזלי, אישתוש כוכבי; l. 9 מלכי רגש. This can be compared with Mandaic[141] in which the same holds true. However, the elision of the final ו could be the result of a lack of its pronunciation, as is attested in Syriac already from the second century CE.[142] Other unusual features of this text are the mention of the Psalms of David in l. 13 and the lance of Darius, king of the dēws.

Transcription of M145 and synopsis with MS 2053/159

M145	MS 2053/159
(1) אטור גלל ק<א>ינא ואשינא רבתא	(1) אטור גלל קאינא ואטורא רבה
ד(ג)לל{ל} מציתנא ושמ<ע>נא (2) לשמיש חור	דגללא מציתנא (2) ושמענא ליה לשמיש וחור
דכידיבון בריה דמלכה רבא דדיוי ושליטא	בריה דבריה בר (3) מלכה רבה דדיוי ושליטא
רבא (3) דלילית מנההיא שעתא בההוא יומא	רבה דלטבי בההוא יומא בההיא שעתה (4)
בההוא עידנא כד דיוי נפק ליקרבא	ובההוא עידנא כד דיוי נפקין לקרבה וכד

[140] See notes on the synopsis below.
[141] Macuch 1965, p. 262-263.
[142] Nöldeke 1904, p. 36.

MS 2053/159	M145
לילִיאתה נפקן למ(ע)ביא דליפלגא (5) דשידי	ולִיליתא (4) נפק לימ(ו...)א דלפלגא דשידי
וכלה רבתי דלטבי דליגונרא דדיוי וכלה	ומרכבתא רבתא דלטבי ודלגודא דדיוי וכל(י)א
רבתי דלִיליאתה גנח טבלא דמירדא קרי	רבתא דלִיליתא גנח טבלא (5) דמירדא וקרי
קרנא דחבלא (6) טפי דודי ברוגזא ורתח דודי	קרנא רבתא דחבולא תפי דודי ברוגזא תפי דודי
דרבי דחבלא נפק ארבע<ה> זיקי מארבע ·	דרבי דחבולא נפק ארבעה זיקין מן ארבע (6)
רוחי עלמה נפק ארבעה זיקי מינך (7) כיפא	רוחי עלמא נפק ארבע<ה> דיוין מינך (ט)ורי
דרביתא נפק ארבעה תניני מינך טורא דלידון	דלידון נפק ארבעה תנינין מינך כיפי דרביתא
קדח דיוא צנף תנינא יליל זרני ליליתא	קדח דיווא צנף תנינא ויליל (7) זרני ליליתא
אישתרגז ליויתן כוארה נד (8) איתונד ואנידה	ואישתרגז לויתן כורא נד איתונד ואנידה
לכולה ארעה תיביל נודא הוה בארעה וגונחא	לארעה כולה ותיביל נודא הוא בארעה וגונחא
הוה ברקיעה	רבא הווה בירקיע
	(8) נד ארעה ואיתפיך רקיע
איתפיך כוכביא ואיפנך{ך} כל מזאליה	ואישתוש כוכבי ואיתופך מזלי
שף סדנא רבה (9) דרקיעה	שף סדנא רבא דרקיע
	ודוק טורי סמיק פקתא רגש נוני בימא
איתפוך ימא ברוגזיה ובתוקפיה	(9) מלכי רגש ביקרבא
ומלאכי רגש ברקיעה	איתפיך ביתא רבא בתוקפיה
אכוף ימא {ק^אי^נה} קאינה	אכיף ימ(א) קינא
ואכופא רבה דרביתא לציצא דציפרא	ואכופא רבא דרביתא לציצא ולציפרא
אמנה ליה (10) ומשילנא ליה לחיוא כלא	אמנליה {ומשילניה} משוילנ(ה) ליה (10)
ומומינא ליה לעופא רבה דזיבי	מומינא ליה לעופא רבא דזיבי

[143] Isa. 6:3.
[144] Ex. 15:16.
[145] Ex. 15:18.

MS 2053/159	M145
דמיניה נפיק רסיאל מלאכה ונפק מיניה עמודא	
דנורא וקליה לכוליה עלמה בחיוכון ציצי וציפרי	
(11) בחיוכון נוני וכוארי בחיך חי... (בחי)ך	
רסיאיל מלאכה בחייך דוכתוי בת אחת וכל	
שום דאית לה	
דתישמעי מילי ותיקבלי רוטנאי תיגנחי	דתישמע מ(יל)ן לתיבל ורוטננא דקביל תיגנח
שוטיך בארעה תשני (12) זיויך בכוליה עלמא	שוטיך בארעה ותישני זיוא בכליה עלמא
(איפריטי) ביתא רבה	אפרטה דלביתא (11) רבא
די(..ון) רבה דגונדיה בארקבי	..... (..דכו)ריה ארעה בארק(ב)י
שפיכי וטו(ק...)	אישפוך אישתא בקרקף תניני טקו טקו בבנ(י
	יוזן)
(ב)שוריה אינון בשיני דליליאתה דשרי ביה דיוא	כשורי אילן בשיני דליליתא שרי ביה דיוא
זיאנא דזוני(ה) (13) קרקף פדנא רבה דניסכיה	זינא דזוניה (12) וקרקפנא רבא דניסכאיא
נ(ג)ריה שירשה דארעה	
(ח)ד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה ברקי[עה] (ברו..)	חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא
	ניגריה שורשא דארעה ורישיה סדנא דרקיעא
	בניגריה רמי ידוהי
.... וב(גפ)יה שקיף ליליאתה	בגפיה שקיף ליליתא
בההוא יומא ובההיא שעתא ובההוא (14) עידנא	(13) בההיא שעתא בההוא יומא בההוא עידנא
זלכר[..] וסגידית קדם (פ)נוח רבה גיברא	אזיל כרעית וזגדית קדם ב(י)ת אילהי • שבחית

MS 2053/159	M145
ודחילא [.](ד)ידתי לך אידי(ך)	וזמרת [.] מזמוריה דדויד ואמר אית בכון גברא
דא חוילן בק)רבה וקילן בי]מא רבה דקירסא	חיילן ביקרבא וקילן (14) בימא רבא דקירסא
א(מר א)ית בכון אתתא דשמה דוכתוי בת אחת	ואמר אית בכון גברא
דעברא ימא (15) בקלא וסלקא [....] בר(ו)גז(א)	דעבר ימא בקליה וסליק (ט)ורי בירוגזיה
ושקלא אי(ק)לידא ו(ע)ילא לבית גנזי זינא	ושקיל אקליודי דבית גנזי זיניה {אז}
ומתיא זינא דשידי ו[..](נ)א דליליאתה ונ(י)...	ומיתי זינא דשידי וזינא דליליתא וניסכא
מיתקטלין ...	דאשמדי (15) מלכא דשידי
דדויד וסיפא דשלמה וניסכא	וסיפא דריוש מלכא דדיוי אנא אד[.... ...](דוד
דד ^ר^יוש מלכא (16) {ו} וזינא דא(שמדי)	ע)ברנא דמיא ב(ק)לאי (סלי)קנא טורי ברוגזאי
מלכה דלטבי ושמ[...] דמרי עלמה ואחרמתא	ושקילנא אקלידי דבית גנזיה [דזיניה] מיתינא
וגזירתא דאבא רבה דישמיא לאחרמה	זינא דשד(י) וסיפא דליליתא (16) וניסכא
ולשמת(א ולתא...) במומתא בקשתא דמידמ^יין	דאשמדי מלכא דשידי וסיפא <ד>דר<י>וש
לה לדוכתוי (...) בת אחת בכל דמותא (17) ובכל	מלכ[א ד]ש[ידי] ... די[..]לי מילמ[..](קע)יה לה
גו(נ)א בחיתא ובנשי מיתתא בר(חיקתא)	דין דיויא ולילית (מ)...
ובקריבתא ובאחת בת פרכוי מיתין ובכל דמות	
ג(יר)א מן (ק)שתא וכול (ליבא) מן .... תיבטל	
ותישתמת ותית(נז)ק הדא ליליתא בישתא (מן)	
דוכתוי בת אחת (18) ומן חילמה ומן חיזונה ומן	
בית מישכבה דדוכתוי דא דמידמיא לה בכל	
דמו ובכל גונין ובאחת בת פרכוי מיתא מן	
יו(מא) דנן ולעלם אמן אמן ... [143][וקרא זה] (א)ל	
זה ואמ[ר] קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא	
כל (19) הארץ כבודו וקרא זה אל ז(ה) ואמר	
קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא כל הארץ	
כבודו וקרא זה אל זה ואמר קדוש קדוש קדוש	

M145 **MS 2053/159**

יהוה צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבודו [144][ת]פול

עליהם אימתה ופחד בגדול זרועך ידמו כאבן

[עד יעבור] (20) (עמך יהוה) יהוה (עד יעבור)

תפול עליהם אמתה ופחד בגדול זרועך ידמו

כאבן] עד יעבר עמך יהוה עד יעבר עם זו קנית

[תיפול] עליהם אימתה ופחד ... עד יעבר עמך

יהוה עד יעבר עמך יהוה עד יעבר עם זו קנית

יהוה ... (21) [145]יהוה ימלוך לעולם ועד יהוה

ימלוך לעולם ועד אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M145

(1) I am standing on a rock mountain, upon a great stone cliff. I am listening and hear (2) *white* Šamiš *of KYDYBWN* the son of the great king of the demons and great ruler of the (3) liliths. From that hour, at that day, at that time when the demons went out to war and liliths (4) went out to the ... of the phalanx of the demons, the great chariot of the no-good-spirits, the troop of the demons, and the great destruction of liliths. The drum (5) of rebellion rumbled, and the great horn of destruction sounded, the cauldrons seethed furiously, the cauldrons of the 'masters of harm' seethed. Four blast demons went forth from you, the (6) four winds of the world. Four demons went forth from you, the mountains of LYDWN. Four dragons went forth from you, shores of the ocean. The demon groaned, the dragon shrieked, Zarni Lilith (7) wailed, and Leviathan the fish got agitated. He shook, quaked (lit.: caused himself to shake) and caused the entire earth and world to shake. Shaking was in the earth and a thunderclap in the firmament. (8) He shook the earth and the firmament overturned and the stars *shook* and the constellations altered. The great block of the heaven slipped and crushed mountains, reddened the valley, agitated the fish in the sea. (9) The angels were agitated in the battle, and the great house was overturned by his might. The sea covered the nest, and the greatness of the ocean covered the night-hawk and the bird. I say to him, I ask him, (10) I adjure the great bird of *rivers*, that you may hear my

words for the universe and *accept my incantation*. May your scourges rumble upon the earth, and may you change the appearance in all the earth, upon the contents of the great (11) house .... *the earth with scorpions*, he caused fire to be poured upon the head of the dragons ṬQW ṬQW ... *these boards in the teeth* of the Lilith therein dwells a dēw. The weapon of his armour and the (12) great head-man of *cast idols*. One of his wings is on the earth, one of his wings is in the firmament, his foot step is the root of the earth and his head the block of the firmament, in his step he casts his hands, with his wings he knocks liliths. (13) In that hour, in that day, in that period he went out. I knelt and worshipped before the house of God, I praised and sang the psalms of David. And he said: 'There is a man amongst you who is mighty in battle and *swift* in the (14) great sea of misfortune(?)' And he said to us: 'There is a man amongst you who traversed the sea with his voice, removed mountains with his wrath and took the key of the store house of his weapons bringing the weapon of demons, the weapon of liliths, the *lance* of Ashmedai (15) the king of demons and the sword of Darius the king of dēws'. I ..... I am traversing the water with my voice, removing mountains with my anger, taking the key of the store house of his weapons and bringing the weapon of demons, the sword of the liliths, (16) the *lance* of Asmedai the king of demons and the sword of Darius king ..... dēws and liliths .....

Notes for M145

2 כיבון (ד)כי(ד)יבון חור לשמיש In 2053/159:2 לשמיש וחור בריה דבריה בר 'to Šamiš and Ḥor the great grandson of ...' The ancestor of 'white Šamiš' is cited in our text as bearer of the title 'The great king of demons and great ruler of the liliths', which occurs in several magic bowls as that of the demon Bagdana.[146] It is conceivable that the name כידיבון may be constructed from the root כדב 'to be false'.

4 <ן>נפק The scribe omitted the last consonant of this verb which should be a feminine form. The words פלגא in the sense of 'phalanx' and גודא as 'troop' or 'band' are more commonly attested in Syriac.[147]

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[146] Ellis 1:4 (= BM 91710), AIT 11:4,5, AIT 18:3,4, Gordon G:2,3, Gordon 9737:1,2 and also in Mandaic in Lidzbarsky 5 (Montgomery 1913, p. 168).
[147] Brockelmann pp. 571ab and 104ab.

5 ... תפי A synopsis with our text's duplicate can aid the understanding of this clause:

M145:5 תפי דודי ברוגזא תפי דודי דרבי דחבולא

MS 2053/159:6 טפי דודי ברוגזא ורתח דודי דרבי דחבלא

The text in our bowl could be translated 'cauldrons were set (on the fire) with anger, the cauldrons of the masters of harm were set (on the fire)'. In the duplicate text the scribe spelt the first verb differently, with a ט. Among the meanings that are attested in Jewish Aramaic, the most appropriate would be 'to increase',[148] in the sense of 'boil over'. This would combine well with the second verb in the duplicate which is רתח 'to boil'. The same root, *ṭpy,* means in Mandaic 'to cook, boil, seethe',[149] cf. the Mandaic expression *dwdyʾ ṭʾpyn* 'cauldrons seethe' as well as the Targ.-J. of II Kings 4:38 תפי דודא. It appears that both the spellings with ט and ת are correct. The correct translation of the text should be 'cauldrons seethed furiously, the cauldrons of the masters of harm seethed'.

6 מינך One would expect this form to be a plural in both cases, yet, in our bowl as well as the duplicate, the pronominal suffix refers to the 'mountains of LYDWN' as well as the 'shores of the ocean' as if they were in the singular.

כיפי דרביתא Cf. b. Hul. 60a גידא דרביתא. Rashi explains this as meaning 'on the bank of a river whose name is RBYTA". Jastrow (p. 1443b) cites a manuscript variant which has אגודא דימא 'the bank of the sea'. Indeed, ימא is closer in meaning to the Mandaic *rbytʾ*[150] from which this word comes.[151] Also, it may be noted that the full expression *kypyʾ dʾrbytʾ* commonly occurs in Mandaic.[152]

7 אישתרגז Previously attested in the *Shafel* and *Eshtafel* stems only in Mandaic.[153]

8 אישתוש Perhaps read אישתגש (!) 'shook'.

שף סדנא רבא דרקיעא The expression סדנא דרקיעא, 'the anvil of the firmament', occurs in Jewish Aramaic only in the bowls,[154] although, a similar idiom, סדנא דארעא, 'the anvil of the

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[148] J. p. 546a.
[149] DM p. 182a.
[150] DM p. 423, 'sea, ocean, large expanse of sea, inundation'.
[151] Epstein 1983, vol. 1, p. 40.
[152] DM p. 36b.
[153] DM p. 424a.
[154] Cf. MS 1922/1:6 (forthcoming by S. Shaked) where it is invoked for its power alongside magic words, signet rings and bonds.

earth', is attested in the Babylonian Talmud.[155] The almost identical *sʾdʾnʾ rbʾ dʾrqʾ*,[156] or just *sʾdʾnʾ dʾrqʾ*, is a common designation in the Mandaic cosmological scheme for the 'foundation' or 'axis' of the earth. Furthermore, the description in our text of the whole earth shaking (l. 7 נודא הוא בארעה) and dislodging the 'anvil (or block) of the earth' has its parallels in Mandaic literature. In a Mandaean phylactery we find: *wʾtyt lʾrqʾ dhzʾtʾn mn sʾdʾnh šnʾt ʾmyṭwl drʾzʾ dʾrqʾ mkʾsynʾ*[157] 'And I came to earth: she (the earth) that saw me was removed from her axis, because I am covered by the mystery of the earth'.[158] This is part of a description of the chain of events that sees the client's adversarial forces annihilated. In another Mandaean charm the same motif occurs: *wnynwd ʾlmʾ kwlh wnynwd šamyš wnynwd syrʾ wnynwd ʾlʾhyʾ wʾnʾšyʾ wnynwd ṭwryʾ wʾrʾmʾtʾ ʾl kwlhwn byšyʾ dhʾṭybyʾ...*[159] 'And the whole world shall tremble, and the sun shall tremble and the moon shall tremble and gods and men will tremble and mountains and valleys will tremble, and all the evil folk that offend me ...'.[160] It is conceivable that the occurrence of רקיע, 'firmament', in our text rather than ארעא or ארקא, 'earth', is due to its phonetic similarity to the Mandaic *ʾrqʾ*, a form of corruption due simply to a faulty transmission across dialects.

9 לציצא ולציפרא - A similar combination of bird names appears twice in the Targ.-O., in Lev. 11:16 and Deut. 14:15 וציצא וצפר שחפה as a translation to the Hebrew התחמס ואת השחף 'the night-hawk, the sea gull'.

אמנליה {ומשילניה} משוילנ(ה)ליה The parallel in MS 2053/159 is a bit clearer: אמנה ליה ומשילנא ליה. The first word should be אמ(י)נא , 'I am saying', a *pe.* active participle with a 1st person pronominal suffix.[161]

זיבי Cf. Mandaic *zʾbʾ* 2 'river', 'stream', 'flood' (DM p. 156a).

10 As can be observed in the synopsis, there is an extra piece of text in MS 2053/159 for which this translation is provided: 'from whom there issued Rasiel the angel, and there issued

[155] B. Qid. 27b, b. BQ 12b, b. BB 67a and b.
[156] Right Ginza 208:4 and left Ginza 27:16 (DM p. 309b).
[157] Drower 1939, p. 401.
[158] Drower 1939, p. 405.
[159] Drower 1943, p. 174.
[160] Drower 1943, p. 158.

forth from him a pillar of fire which consumed all the earth, by your lives the night-hawk and bird, by your lives fish and fish ...' As this follows a description of flooding, one is reminded of the mention in Josephus (Antiquities, book 1 chapter 2:9) and 1 Enoch 1:5,6[162] of a legend that the world would be destroyed first by a flood of water and then by fire.

On the basis of MS 2053/159 דתישמעי מילי ותיקבלי רוטנאי one might consider reading our text as ורוטננאי קביל instead of ורוטננא דקביל.

אפרטה דלביתא רבה Could also be translated as 'upon the breach of the great house'.

11 ארקבי Possibly a form of עקרבא as in Mandaic *ʾrqbʾ*.[163]

12 An unusual title, קרקפנא appears twice in the Babylonian Talmud, b. Erub. 22b and b. Yeb. 78a. Rashi explains the term to mean 'an important man'. In light of lines 14,15 (see below) ניסכאיא could also mean 'lances'.

חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא Cf. b. Git. 68b אותביה לחד גפיה ברקיעא ולחד גפיה בארעא, 'placing one wing on the earth and one on the sky', the description of Ashmedai's use of the power of Solomon's magic signet ring, which the latter foolishly handed over to the bound demon. Although, in our bowl, Ashmedai is not the subject of this clause he is, nevertheless, mentioned further down in the incantation.

13 זגדית The parallel text employs the usual Jewish Aramaic form (סגידית) with a ס as the first radical. Though the root *sgd*, 'to worship', came to be written as *zgd* only in modern Mandaic, its pronunciation is assumed to have been closer in sound to *zgd*.[164] There are other cases in Jewish Aramaic in which a ז occasionally replaces a ס (סגי = זגי and זקר = סקר).[165] In our case it is possible that the spelling is due to phonetic influence.

14-15 ניסכא דאשמדי The third in a list of four weapons, ניסכא seems unlikely to mean 'libation' or even 'cast metal object'. If one were to consider that the ס was softened from a ז, our word could be a cognate of the Syriac *nyzkʾ* and Pahlavi *nēzag* which have the more appropriate meaning of 'lance'.

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[161] Epstein, 1960, p. 62.
[162] For a full account see Ginzberg L, 1912, מבול של אש, *Ha-Goren* VIII, pp. 35-51.
[163] DM p. 39b.
[164] Macuch 1965, p. 71.
[165] Epstein 1965, p. 18.

Appendix

Notes on the synopsis

Apart from the fact that the size of the actual bowl M145 is about half that of MS 2053/159, the most striking difference between the two is in the handwriting. MS 2053/159 is written in a very neat and stylized square script, whereas M145 is very cursive. It is clear from the synopsis that M145 and MS 2053/159, up to about l. 16, owe their formula to the same *Vorlage*. The most obvious discrepancies between the texts are: 1) The additional clause at the end of M145:8. 2) Most of lines 10 and 11 of MS 2053/159 which are also supplementary. 3) MS 2053/159:16 onwards which is an appendix to the main formula and nonexistent in M145.

The formula is narrated in the first person, presumably by the sorcerer, who appeals to various forces and narrates an historiola. The last component of this formula consists of a statement to the effect that a number of magical weapons have now been obtained. In M145:14,15 this component is repeated twice, initially in an abstract manner where the subject is just 'a man' (גבר א) 'who traversed the sea with his voice, removed mountains with his wrath and took the key of the store house of his weapons bringing the weapon of demons, the weapon of liliths, the *lance* of Ashmedai the king of demons and the sword of Darius the king of dews'. The repetition is in the first person: 'I am traversing the water with my voice, etc'. Presumably this is the now empowered sorcerer, the same who started the formula off in l. 1. In MS 2053/159 the last component of this formula is written only once with the client as the subject: 'There is a woman amongst you whose name is Dukhtevi daughter of Ahat etc.' In M145 there is no mention, as much as can be seen in the visible parts of the text, of names of client/s. If missing, the formula is written in such a way that the client him/herself is the one who is the implied narrator.

There are a variety of categories which can be used to describe the variance between the two texts:

1. Transposition:

The words 'time' and 'day':

מנההיא שעתא בההוא יומא בההוא עידנא M145:3 and 13

בההוא יומא בההיא שעתה (4) ובההוא עידנא MS 2053/159:3,4 and 13,14

The words 'mountains of LYDWN' and 'shores of the ocean':

נפק ארבע<ה> דיוין מינך (ט)ורי דלידון נפק ארבעה תנינין מינך כיפי דרביתא M145:6

נפק ארבעה זיקי מינך (7) כיפא דרביתא נפק ארבעה תניני מינך טורא דלידון MS 2053/159:6,7

Transposition of clauses:

מלכי רגש ביקרבא איתפיך ביתא רבא בתוקפיה M145:9

איתפוך ימא ברוגזיה ובתוקפיה ומלאכי רגש ברקיעה MS 2053/159:9

Transposition of clauses:

חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא ניגריה שורשא דארעה ורישיה סדנא דרקיעא M145:12

ני(ג)ריה שירשה דארעה (ח)ד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה ברקי[עה] MS 2053/159:13

2.1 Use of synonyms:[166]

M145:1 שינא = MS 2053/159:1 טורא; M145:5 תפי = MS 2053/159:6 טפי and רתח (see notes above).

2.2 Words with similar meaning:

M145:3 לילית = MS 2053/159:3 לטבי; M145:4 דלגודא = MS 2053/159:5 דליגונרא; M145:8 אישתוש = MS 2053/159:8 איתפיך;

2.3 Dialectical difference:

M145:5,6 זיקין , דיוין, תנינין = MS 2053/159:6,7 זיקי , זיקי, תניני; M145:7 כורא = MS 2053/159:7 כוארה; M145:7,12 רקיע, רקיעא = MS 2053/159:8,9 רקיעה; M145:8 מזלי, כוכבי = MS 2053/159:8 כוכביא, מזאליה; M145:9 קינא = MS 2053/159:9 קאינה; M145:11 לילית = MS 2053/159:12 ליליאתה; M145:13 רבא, ניסכאיא and שורשא = MS 2053/159:13 רבה, ניסכיה and שירשה;

2.4 Corruption:

M145:2 דכידיבון = MS 2053/159:2 בריה דבריה; M145:9 קרבא = MS 2053/159:9 רקיעה; M145:10 זיוא = MS 2053/159:12 זיויך; M145:12 קרקפנא = MS 2053/159:13 קרקף פדנא; M145:13 זגדית = MS 2053/159:14 סגידית; M145:14,15 אקליודי, אקלידי = MS 2053/159:15 אי(ק)לידא

[166] This seems to occur only when a word is repeated in close proximity within the formula.

M149 (160mm*51mm)

This bowl consists of 7 lines of quite neat square script. In the middle of the bowl, within a Roman I shaped border, which is itself within a circle, there are a further four short lines of text. The clients of the bowl are Ahai son of Ispandarmid and Ispandarmid daughter of Qiomta his wife. A duplicate of this text, MS 1927/12, was written by the same scribe for the same couple. The text is intended for the general protection of the family and possessions of the clients from demons as well as aggressive sorcery.

Transcription of M149 and synopsis with MS 1927/12

MS 1927/12	M149
(1) את (2) גת (3) במצוות (4) ייי (5) בישמך	(1) את (2) גת (3) [....] (4) (ייההה) (5) בישמך אני
אני עושה חתים ומחתם ביתיה ודירתיה (6)	עושה חתים ומחתם ביתיה ודירתיה וקיניניה
וקיניניה בניה ובנתיה	(6) ובניה ובנתיה
	ובעיריה {ובעיריה} ועיבוריה
וזרעיה ונפשיה דאחאי בר	וזרעיה {וזרעיה} ונפשיה דאחאי בר (7)
איספנדרמיד (7) ואיספנדרמיד בת קיומתא	איספנדרמיד {ב} ואיספנדרמיד בר קיומתא
	אינתתיה
וכל אנישי ביתהון חתימין ומחתמין מן	וכל אינשי בתיהון חתימין ומחתמין (8) מן
שידא ומן סטנא (8) ומן פתכרא ומן	שידא ומן {ומן} סטנא ומן פתכרא ומן
פתכרתא ומן ליליתא דיכרא ומן ליליתא	פתכרתא {ומן פתכרתא} ומן לילית(א) דיכרא
ניקבתא [.....]	וניקבתא [.] ומן (9) דיכרא וניקבתא ומן חרשי
מן עינא (9) (בישתא ומן חורינא) [....] שידי (10)	בישי ומן עינא בישתא ומן חיסמא בישא ומן
ודיוי [.....] סטני [....] ומן (11) [.....] מן הדין	(ר)יוחתא ומן פגע דפגע (10) ומן רוקי פומיי וכל
(12) ביתיה ודן[ירתיה .....]	ר..(ד) פ(תכ)ר.. ... כל מחשבתא ומן דחלולי כל
	צררור [.] צררור ביממא ומן כל מידעם ביש (11)
	חתימין ומחת<מ>ין כול(ה)ון בשמי(ה) דיה
אמן אמן סלה הללויה (ה)ל(לויה) [....]	יהוה צבאות אמן אמן סלה הללויה הללויה

Translation of M149

(1) A'T (2) [...] (3) [...] (4) (YYHHH) (5) By your name I make (this magical act). Sealed and counter-sealed are the house, dwelling, possessions, (6) sons, daughters, cattle, foetus, seed and soul of Ahai son of (7) Ispandarmid and Ispandarmid daughter of Qiomta his wife, and all the members of their household. They are sealed and counter-sealed (8) from a demon, from a persecutor, from a male and female idol, from a Lilith - male and female, from (9) a male or a female, from evil sorceries/sorcerers, from an evil eye and evil envy, from an *open space*, from a plague that plagued, (10) from the spittle of mouths and all ... and all thoughts and from scarecrows .... by day, and anything evil. (11) They are all sealed and counter-sealed by the name of YH YHWH Sebaot. Amen amen selah, hallelujah hallelujah.

Notes for M149

7 Read בת instead of בר.

9 חיסמא Derived from the root חסם which is rarely attested in Jewish Aramaic in the sense of 'envy' (cf. Targ.-J. to Prov. 24:19 תחסם), although this meaning is common in both Syriac[167] and Mandaic.[168] In the *Shafta d Pishra d Ainia*, the 'evil eye' and 'envy' are also associated in the form of the 'eye which is jealous' (*ʾynʾ dḥsmt*).[169]

Notes on the synopsis

Unfortunately, the duplicate MS 1927/12 is badly faded in places and thus the amount of material that can be compared with our text is limited. From what there is, we find that in M149 there are some elements that are absent in the duplicate. It is hard to state with confidence a reason for these differences. Nevertheless, the occurrence of four seemingly superfluous word repetitions in such proximity in lines six and eight (marked in the text using { }) suggests the possibility that the scribe might have just wanted to fill space.

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[167] Brockelmann 1928, p. 247.
[168] DM pp. 136b, 151a.
[169] Drower 1937, p. 593, l. 231.

M155 (175 mm * 60 mm)

M155 and M156 were found in a joined state, the former cradled within the latter. The name of the client in both bowls, which seem to have been written by the same neat hand, is Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh.[170] It is assumed that the pair were originally deposited in the ground as they were found. The main protagonist in both texts is the 'evil spirit' (רוחא בישתא), which is characterised in M155 as a type that plagues the belly of the client and causes vaginal bleeding,[171] whereas in M156 it is depicted as a demon that plagues the region of the head. Both texts are rich in Biblical quotes and *Hekhalot*-like references, and each has an allusion to a demonic folk tale from the Babylonian Talmud (M155 to b. Git 68ab and M156 to b. Pes. 112b). Two duplicates of M155 have been identified: MS 1927/40 and MS 2053/138.

Transcription of M155

(1) הדין קמיעא יהי לאסו למהדוך (2) בת ניונדוך ותיתסי מן רוחא דימעה (3) בשום יה(מ)[..](ס)
שביב שביביא וקאי יהוה אל קדוש (4) אל קדוש אל קדוש אל (אמיץ אל א)מיץ אל אמיץ אמץ קוה
איקון מיטמון ופסקון מאוד דהוא (5) יתיב על כור[סי]ˁאˀ [דיקרא] (במימריה ובז)יו יקריה ברא
שמיא ושכליל תיביל בדיל שמיה (6) רבה תינטר מהדוך בת [ני]ונדוך ולא תיתזק לא בטולא לא
בשימשה ולא בימם ולא בלילי על ידי גבריאל (7) ומיכאל ורפאל די מתברין דלתות נחושא
וימגדעין בריחי ברזל אינון יתברון ויגדעון לרוחא בישתא דשלטא במעה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך (8)
בשום (יה)וה ˁצˀבאת אלהים אלהא דישראל דהוא שרי בהיכל נורא וברדא שביבין דנור וזיו
יקריה וכורסיה מתקן וקים לעלמין (9) ודין קמיעה דאיתקמיע על שום מהדוך בת ניונדוך נהרין
דיפתיחין וס[.]כרין ורוח דמאה דאית בה במהדוך בת ניונדוך תיבטל וייבשון מעינה וגואה (10) מן
דם נידא ולא תפיק דמה בשום צידקיה דהוא ראיש שיתין ושיתא מלאכין די ממנ<י>ן על דמה
ופלא (וחברו.אי) אינון ייב(שון) ויבטלון דמה מן אתר בית מקור בנה (11) דמהדוך בת ניונדוך

[170] There are at least another 19 bowls that are known to have been dedicated to the same lady: Moussaieff 1, 4, 6 and 18, and MS 1927/8, 9, 11, 29, 43, 45, 47, 51, 54, 60, 61, 63, 64, 2053/116, and 158.

[171] The issue of menstrual and other vaginal bleeding was discussed by the Rabbis on account of a variety of reasons such as ritual purity, its affect on matrimonial relations and its legal implications, as well as medical issues to do with both diagnosis and treatment (Preuss 1978, pp. 375-379).

שבובית שבובניתא דנסבה בנין מן נשיא וקליא יתהון ושתיא מיחלביהון בת טסת (לילית) ... מן מהדוך בת ניונדוך ולא תישתין מן חלבה (12) שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא קדמאה בשום זוכסין זוכסין אסת קריסטוס קבילו קיבלא דנן וסבו ית רוחא בישתא מן מעה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך מן ..... (אמן אמן) סלה

Translation of M155

(1) This amulet shall be to heal Mahdukh (2) daughter of Neiwandukh. May she be healed from the spirit of the belly (3) by the name of ...ŠBYB ŠBYBYA' and standing YHWH holy God, (4) holy God, holy God, brave God, brave God, brave God A'MṢ QWH A'YQWN MYṬMWN and PSQWN MA'WD who (5) sits upon the throne of glory by his word and by the countenance of his glory he created the heavens and completed the world. On account of his great name (6) may Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh be protected, and not be harmed, not in the shade, not in the sun, not in the daytime and not in the nighttime. By means of Gabriel and (7) Michael and Raphael who shatter copper doors and cut off iron locks, may they shatter and cut off the evil spirit who controls the belly of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. (8) By the name of YHWH Sebaot Elohim (2 Sam. 7:26) the god of Israel who dwells in a temple of fire and ice (and) sparks of fire. And the countenance of his glory, and his throne is established and exists forever. (9) This is an amulet which was bound for the name of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. Rivers which are opening and *blocking*; may the spirit of *blood* which is in Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh be annulled, and may her belly and interior dry up (10) from menstrual blood, and may it not cause her blood to come out. By the name of Ṣidkiyah who is the chief of sixty-six angels who are appointed over her blood and ... may they dry and nullify the blood from the womb (11) of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. ŠBWBYT ŠBWBNYTA' who gathers children from women and roasts them and drinks from their fat. Daughter of ṬST Lilith ... from Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh and do not drink from her *milk*. (12) Change your path just as a primal demon [changed his]. By the name of ZWKSYN ZWKSYN A'ST KRYSTWS accept this rebuke and carry away the evil spirit from the belly of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. From ... amen amen selah.

Notes for M155

1 The closest parallels to this opening formula occur in:

M155	הדין קמיעא יהי לאסו ל
Jeruzalmi p. 127 (5363:1- 2)	דין קמיעה דיהוי לאסו ל...
Naveh and Shaked B15	... הדין קמיעא דיהי לה לאסו ל...
Moussaieff bowl 1:3	... בדין קמיעה יהי לאסו ל...

Naveh and Shaked already noted the rare occurrence of the absolute form אסו in magic bowls.[172]

2 The affliction for which this bowl seeks healing is described as 'the spirit of the belly' (רוחא דימעה) in l. 2, the 'the evil spirit who controls the belly' in l. 7 (רוחא בישתא דשלטא במעה) and simply the 'evil spirit' (רוחא בישתא) in l. 12.

3-5 שביב שביביא These names have what appear to be feminine equivalents (שבובנית שבובניתא) in l. 11, yet, though the former masculine variety are invoked for protection, the latter are names of a demon.

יהוה ... קוה Though not a direct quote, this clause seems to be influenced by Ps. 27:14

M155:3,4	יהוה אל קדוש אל קדוש אל קדוש (אל אמיץ אל א)מיץ אל אמיץ אמץ קוה
Ps. 27:14	קוה אל יהוה חזק ויאמץ לבך וקוה אל יהוה

איקון מיטמון ופסקון These three names are mentioned in b. San. 44b as belonging to the 'the intercessory spirit' (רוח פסקונית) who is described as having the 'license ... to arbitrate with the Lord',[173] i.e. to plead, as in a court, on behalf of humans.[174] These names are well attested in *Hekhalot* literature where they are names of the angel Metatron.[175] As they are also found in magical recipe books among the Geniza fragments,[176] it is no surprise to

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[172] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 161.

[173] ומי אית ליה רשותא כולי האי ... שפוסק דברים כלפי מעלה b. San. 44b.

[174] It is noteworthy that though this spirit is initially referred to in b. San. 44b as a feminine entity - marked by the verb אמרה 'she said', and the name פסקונית which has a feminine ending - later on in the same page it is referred to as masculine - marked by the suffix pronoun in ליה 'to him' and the masculine active participle פוסק 'arbitrates'.

[175] Schäfer 1981 - Henoch §76, §387; Merkabah Rabbah §682, §691; Shiur Komah/Metatron §947; Sar Hapanim §628.

[176] *T.-S. K 1.19* (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 158-163) 4:17,18 and *T.-S. K 1.58* (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 169-171) 1:5,6. See also the comment on this triple name in Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 171 .

encounter these names in magic bowls. On the first page of the *Sword of Moses*,[177] a four-tier hierarchy of angels is described, at the top of which appears the name A'HYW PSQTYH who is described as a 'prince, and lord king ... (the one) that when he sits all the hosts of heaven are bowing and kneeling and prostrating (?) before him every day when they are released from prostrating before NQṢ ŠLA'H HW A'WHH the Lord of all'.[178] As this portrayal is reminiscent of the description of Metatron in III Enoch, and both PSQTYH and PSQWNYT derive from the root פסק, it is possible that A'HYW PSQTYH in the *Sword of Moses* and the RWḤ PSQWNYT from b. San. 44b are but alternative names of Metatron.[179]

[דיקרא] כור[סי]א Reconstructed from MS 2053/138 יקרא {דקרא} כורסיא.

AIT 14:3 has a parallel to part of M155:8 (שכינתיה בהיכל נורא וברדא וכורסיה) which Montgomery associated with the imagery of Ps. 18:13, Ez. 38:22 and Rev. 11:19.[180] The sections תיביל ... בשום in lines 3-5 of our text and לעלמין ... בשום in l. 8 seem to be related and are both *Hekhalot*-like texts. The language and expressions of these two sections are common enough in other *Hekhalot* and Targum texts in which parallels can be found in like manner to that which was done for the section (יהוה ... קוה) above:

M155:4,5	דהוא (5) יתיב על כור[סי]ר א[דיקרא]
Targ.-J. Isa. 6:1	יקרא דיי שרי על כורסיה רם
Targ.- J. Ps. 68:5	שבחו קדם אלהא שבחו שום יקריה קלסון ליתב על כורסיה יקריה בערבות
Metatron, Schäfer §395	אלהינו יושב על כסא רם ונישא

M155:5	(במימריה ובז)יו יקריה ברא שמיא ושכליל תיביל
Zech. 12:1	מטל פתגמא דיי על ישראל אמר יי דתלא שמיא ושכליל ארעא

[177] MS Sasson, cf. Harari 1997.
[178] שר ורב מלך אהיו פסקתיה שמו שהוא יושב וכל צבא מרום בקידה ובכריעה ובהשתחוית אפים בתראש ארצה לפניו בכל יום בפטירתן מהשתחוואות לפני נקץ שלאה הו אוהה "אדון הכל" (Harari 1997, p. 23, (I:13-16)).
[179] For more on the connection between the *Sword of Moses* and III Enoch, see Odeberg 1973, pp. 107-8.
[180] Montgomery 1913, p. 184.

M155:8	דהוא שרי בהיכל נורא וברדא שביבין דנור וזיו יקריה וכורסיה מתקן וקים לעלמין
Dan. 7:9	כרסיה שביבין די נור
Metatron, Schäfer §395	דשרי בהיכל נורא וברדא וכורסיה <אש> אתקן באישתא ובמיא ועמודי דאשתא ריב נפק(י)ן מן קדם כורסיה יקריה הוא אלהי האלהים ואדוני האדונים האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא

7 ... דימתברין דלתות נחשא וימגדעין בריחי ברזל The author of this part of the text made novel use of Isa. 45:2 for its semantic impact. Just as the angels Gabriel, Michael and Raphael opened the gates of Jerusalem for 'Cyrus, God's anointed one' (Isa. 45:1), so too will these angels remove the evil spirit that plagues the client. The nouns דלתות and בריחי ברזל are rendered in their original Hebrew forms. It is uncertain, however, whether the use of נחשא, in place of the unusual Biblical feminine form of the noun - נחושה, is an exceptional spelling of the Hebrew or the proper masculine form of the Aramaic noun. The verbs are conjugated in Aramaic, תבר is used for שבר and גדע is maintained, unlike the rendition of the Targ.-J. where this verb is replaced with קצץ:

M155:7	וימגדעין בריחי ברזל ויגדעון לרוחא בישתא	דימתברין דלתות נחשא אינון יתברון
MT Isa. 45:2	ובריחי ברזל אגדע	דלתות נחושה אשבר
Targ.-J.	ועברין דברזל אקצץ	דשין דנחש אתבר

Cf. also *The Odes of Solomon* Ode 17:8-9[181] where use is made of the Peshitta version of this same verse to describe the ascent of the redeemed: *wptḥt trʿ dʾḥydyn hww wgdmt mwklʾ dprzlʾ przlʾ dyn dyly rtḥ wʾtpšr qdmy* 'I opened the gates that were shut, and shattered iron bolts, my own fetters boiled and melted before me'.

8 יהוה צבאות אלהים 2 Sam. 7:26.

9 קמיעה דאיתקמיע See note to M123:1.

10 אתר בית מקור בנה and דם נידה are Hebrew expressions which occur in the Tosefta.[182]

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[181] Latke 1980, p. 28.

[182] T. Nid. 9:10 דם הנידה מן המקור דם הבתולין מן הצדדין 'The blood of menstruation is from the womb, the blood of virginity is from the sides'. See also b. Nid. 65b and y. Nid. 4:1, 41a .

12 In three duplicate sections to M155:12, where it is written: 'Change your path just as a primal demon did', there is the added: 'who existed in the days of Solomon the king' which might be an allusion to the story about king Solomon and Ashmedai the demon in b. Git. 68a,b:

M155	שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא קדמאה
MS 1927/9	שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא קדמאה (5) דהוא ביומי שלמה מלכא בר דויד
MS 1927/11	(4) ... שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא (.) קדמאה דהויא ביומי שלמה מלכא בר דויד
MS 2053/4	(10) שנא שבילכי כמה דשני {שדיא} שידא קדמאה כד הוא ב[י]מי ש[למ]ה מלכא (ב)[ר ד](וי)ד

שנא The apocopated form of the *pe.* imperative feminine singular occurs in the Aramaic of the Targums,[183] as compared to the form of the Babylonian Talmud שנאי.[184]

[183] Stevenson 1924, p. 71 and Dalman 1905, p. 348.
[184] Epstein 1960, p. 97.

M156 (173 mm*55 mm - see M155 for an introduction of this bowl)

Duplicates to this text are MS 1927/8, MS 1927/45, MS 1927/47, MS 1927/64 and MS 2053/158. There are three Biblical verses in this text: Ps. 104:20, Ex. 15:3 and Ps. 24:8, as well as an early attestation of a liturgical formula (l.11).

Transcription of M156

(1) אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה (2) למהדוך בת ניונדוך לשמך אני עושה קדישה רבה (3) אסות(א) מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך ותיתסי בשום יה (4) מלך מלכיה רפאל מיטל מיל(ם) די מפקדין אינון על מחת רוחתא בישתא רוחא דשכבא (5) בן קברי ורוחא דשכבא בן איגרי ורוחא דשכבא בפגרה בראישה בצידעה באודנה בבית (6) גילגלוהי דעינה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך ורוחא דשמה אגג בת ברו⌜ק⌝ בת ברוקתא בת נקור בת נמון בת עין רעה מסמיתא (7) מטריתא {מסו} מומינה ומשבענא עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא ד(י) פגע ב(יה) ברבי חנינא בן דוסא ואמר לה (ר)בי חנינא בן דוסא לרוחא בישתא (8) די פגע ביה בההיא שעתא קראה דכתיב תשית חושך ויהי לילה בו תירמוס כל חיתו יאער ותוב מומינה ומש⌜בענא ע⌝לכי (9) אנתי רוח(א) בישתא דלא תיזלין ולא תיחוין לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך לא צותא דליליה ודיממה דאם אזלת ורדפת בפגרה בראישה באודנה (10) ובבית גילגלו[הי] דעינה ד[מה]דוך בת ניונדוך דא אנתי רוחא בישתא ישמתון יתיכי ויתברון יתיכי ויחרמון יתיכי כמה דאיתברו כרכין תקיפ(ין) דאישתדרו (11) עליהון נורי⌜אל⌝ רפאל ומ[יכאל בשמיה] דיה יה יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו יהוה עיזוז וגיבור יהוה גיבור {ו}מלחמה יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד ב(כ)ין כמה דפריש מן [...](פ)אל (12) ... [בי]שתא כין תיפשרין ותיזחין ותינזהין ותיפקין מינה מן מהדוך בת ניונדוך ולא תישלטין במתן חמשין ותרין (הדמין) דאית בה (13) במהדוך בת ⌜נ⌝יונדוך (כ)ל[.....] גבר או איתא ולא תיקמין עלה ולא תרתתינה ולא תשרג(ו)ינה אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M156

(1) May there be healing from heaven for (2) Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. For Your name I make (this magic act) Oh Great Holy one. (3) May there be healing from heaven for Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. May she be healed by the name of YH (4) the king <of kings> of kings (and) Raphael MYṬL MYLM who are commanded over the affliction of evil spirits. The spirit that lies (5) between graves, and the spirit that lies down between roofs and

the spirit that lies down in her body, in her head, in her temple, in her ear, in the socket (6) of the eye of Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. The spirit whose name is AGG daughter of BRWQ daughter of BRWQTA' daughter of NQWR daughter of NMWN daughter of an evil eye, MSMYTA', (7) MṬRYTA'. I adjure and put an oath upon you. You, the evil spirit who happened upon R. Hanina ben Dosa. R. Hanina ben Dosa recited to the evil spirit (8) that happened upon him at that time the Biblical verse, as it is written: 'You bring on darkness and it is night, when the beasts of the forest stir' (Ps. 104:20). And again, I adjure and put an oath upon you (9) that you may not go and show (yourself) to Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh, not accompaniment of the night or the day. For if (it transpires that) you had gone and chased the body, the head, the ear (10) and the socket of the eye, of this Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh, then let them excommunicate and break and banish you, you evil spirit!. Just as powerful fortifications upon whom were dispatched (11) Nuriel, Raphael and Michael by the name of YHWH 'The Lord, the warrior—Lord is his name' (Ex. 15:3) 'the Lord mighty and valiant, the Lord, valiant in battle' (Ps 24:8) 'The Lord reigned the Lord reigns the Lord will reign for ever and ever'[185] were broken up, therefore, like ... *left* from ... (12) ... evil [spirit], thus may you dissolve, turn away, be agitated and go out from Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. And may you not control the two hundred and fifty two organs which are in the body of (13) Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh ... man or woman. And may you not rise against her and not shake her and not lead her astray. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M156

1-3 A synopsis of the opening lines of the duplicate texts illustrates the kind of freedom a scribe had in the use of different parts of a formula to construct an incantation:

[185] This doxology is combined from sections of three verses Ps. 10:15, 93:1 and Ex. 15:18.

- A	(1) אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה (2) למהדוך בת ניונדוך	M156
- B	לשמך אני עושה קדישה רבה	
- A	(3) אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך	
- B	(1) לשמך אני עושה קדישה (2) רבה	MS 1927/8
- A	אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת (3) ניונדוך	
- B	(1) לישמך אני עושה קדישא (2) רבא	MS 1927/45
- A	אסותא מן שמיה תיהיוי לה למהדוך (3) בת ניונדוך	
- B	(1) (לי)שמך אני עושה קדישא (2) רבה	MS 1927/47
- C	דין קמיעא יהוי לה למהדוך (3) בת ניונדוך	
- A	(1) אסותה מן שמיה תיהוי לה למיהרנהיד (2)בת אחת {א}	MS 1927/64
- B	לישמך אני עושה קדישא רבה	

4-6 מלכיה <מלכי> מלך Reconstructed on the basis of three of the duplicates, MS 1927/8, MS 1927/45 and MS 1927/47, whose extended version of this expression is the Aramaic equivalent of the Post-Biblical Hebrew מלך מלכי המלכים 'the king of kings of kings'.

רוחא דשכבא בן קברי Cf. Moussaieff 1:6 רוח בי קברי and also N&Sh 9:14 which mentions 'the spirit which resides in the cemetery' (רוח דשריא בית קברי) that is conjured up alongside a host of malevolent entities against Judah son of Nanay. Other evidence for the belief that spirits of the dead who reside in cemeteries are active occurs in b. Ber. 18b, where a story is told about a man who happened to spend a night in a cemetery and inadvertently overheard a couple of spirits discussing information about the future. In *Sepher Ha-Razim* I:178,[186] there is a spell to adjure the spirit קריפורייא who is said to be encamped amongst the graves (בין הקברות). Burial places, especially of people who died before their time, were a preferred location for the depositing of *defixiones* as it was believed that the souls of the dead could be adjured to aid the fulfillment of the intended harm.[187]

[186] Margaliot 1966, p. 76.
[187] Gager 1992, pp. 18-19.

רוחא דשכבא בן איגרי The demon in our bowl is reminiscent of the 'son (or sons) of roofs' (בנ/בר איגרי) that occur in a number of other bowls[188] and Geniza fragments.[189] The 'roof demon' is known from early Mesopotamian sources and was identified by Stol[190] as relating to the Syriac[191] *br ʾgrʾ*, referred to in the Peshitta of Mathew 17:15-18[192] as a demon (*šʾdʾ*) that caused a child to display symptoms of epilepsy.

ברוקתא An affliction of the eyes, possibly cataract,[193] also attested in Mandaic *bwrwqtʾ* (DM p. 57a). In b. Pes. 111b, it is written that one 'who drinks water out of a plate is prone to ברוקתי (מאן דשתי מיא בצעי קשי לברוקתי); Rashi explains ברוקתי as 'destruction (or ruin) of the eyes (כליון עינים)'. In the Babylonian Talmud, there are a couple of references to remedies. In b. Git. 69a, it states that 'one should take a scorpion *of seven ḥwmry* and dry it in the shade', then 'grind three portions of *kohl* and one portion of it (i.e. the dry scorpion) and put three brush-fulls into each eye' (לברוקתי ליתי עקרבא דשב חומרי ונייבשיה בטולא ונישחוק תרתי מנתא כוחלא וחדא מנתא מיניה ולימלי תלתא מכחלי בהאי עינא ותלתא מכחלי בהאי עינא). In b. Shab. 78a, the use of blood is mentioned (דם כדי לכחול בעין אחת שכן כוחלין לברקית). This affliction occurs in another bowl, N&Sh B25:2,5,7,9,10, where it is personified as an entity that has both male and female varieties (ברקתא דיכרא וניקבתא).

עין רעה Is in Hebrew.

7-8 מסמיתא מטריתא - Possibly nouns formed from סמי 'the blinding one' and טרי 'the assailant' (attested in Syriac in the *pa.* 'to assail severely'[194]). AIT 42, probably of a later date than our bowl, has a similar story in which the main characters are Elijah and Lilith rather than Hanina ben Dosa and the evil spirit. One of Lilith's names by which her power is diminished is מטרוטה, similar to מטריתא in l. 7 of our text.

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[188] Gordon 5:9 ובני איגרי, Gordon 5:10 בר איגרי, Gordon A:2 בר איגרי and Gordon A:3 בני איגרי.

[189] *T.-S. K. 1.56* 1a l.17 בני אוגרי (Schäfer and Shaked 1994, p. 31), *T.-S. K. 1.47* 1a l.34 בני איגרי (Schäfer and Shaked 1994, p. 222) and *T.-S. NS 322.29* 1b l.6 ומיני איגרי (Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 335).

[190] 1993, p. 18.

[191] Cf. also the Mandaic *br ʾngʾryʾ* (DM. P. 69a).

[192] The Sinaitic version of the Peshitta has *rwḥ plgʾ* instead (Reinink 1985, p. 106, n. 3).

[193] Preuss 1978, p. 265.

[194] PS p. 181a.

Lines 7,8 are a variation of the story that occurs in b. Pes. 112b which tells of the time when R. Hanina ben Dosa met the demoness Igrat daughter of Mahlat. As a result of this meeting her movements were restricted only to Wednesday and Saturday nights. A comparison of the texts illustrates a connection in both content and form.

פגע ביה Noteworthy is the uncommon use of the apocopated perfect form of the third person feminine singular characteristic of Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic, of which the manuscript variants (below) exhibit all three possible spellings פגע /פגעה /פגעא:[195]

M156	ד(י) פגע ב(יה) ברבי חנינא בן דוסא ואמר לה (ר)בי חנינא בן דוסא לרוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה בההיא שעתא
b. Pes. 112b	זמנא חדא פגעה ברבי חנינא בן דוסא
Variant manuscripts:	
Munich 095	זימנא חדא פגע ביה חניני בן דוסא
Vatican 125	זימנא חדא פגעא ביה ברי חנינה בר דוסא

יאער ... תשית Ps. 104:20. Rashi mentions this verse in connection with Ex. 12:22, where the Israelites are told not to leave their houses after having marked their door-posts with blood, saying that: 'the destroyer was given the authority to cause injury and does not distinguish between the righteous and the evil man, and night is the time of the injurers as it is said ... Ps. 104:20'.

9 צותא Cf. Gordon K:6 לא תברא ביממא ולא צותא בליליה.

... דאם On אם 'with the perfect in the protasis to express conditions' see Gesenius 1963, §159 m,n.

11 Ex. 15:3 and part of Ps. 24:8 are employed as epithets within part of an invoked name of God.

ועד ... יהוה מלך which follows these verses is the response that occurs in the יהי כבוד which is part of the daily prayers and, though recited in the morning within the *Pesukei Dezimrah*, it

[195] Juusola (1999, pp. 156-57) argues that not only is this form rare in the bowls but that in most cases it can be argued as unsubstantial due to either corruption or the possibility of understanding the form as a participle. In view of the parallel between our bowl and the Babylonian Talmud, it can be stated with confidence that the Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic form does occur in the bowls.

was originally intended only for special days.[196] This doxology combines sections of three verses: Ps. 10:15, 93:1 and Ex. 15:18. It also occurs in Hekhalot Rabatti[197] as the praise of the earth when in the presence of the enthroned God.

12 מתן חמשין ותרין הדמין In b. Bek. 45a, a distinction is made between men who are said to have 248 limbs and women who have 252.

13 תרתתינה From the root רתת 'to shake', it is mentioned in b. Hul. 24b as a symptom of old age and in b. Nid. 63b as a symptom of a menstruating woman. Cf. also Moussaieff 1:7 רות רתיתא.

תשרג(ו)ינה Possibly תשרגגינה (J. p. 1628b).

[196] Elbogen 1993, pp. 74-75. This prayer is already referred to in Soferim 17:11 and 18:2, though only by the first two words יהיה כבוד.

[197] Schäfer Synopsis §126. R. Ishmael describes a celestial vision in which King David, all the other kings that followed him, Metatron and the angels, the *Hayot*, the firmament and earth all sing in turn a praise to the almighty. This *Hekhalot* text is reproduced in the *Nefilat Appayim* (also called *Tahanun)* prayer which is recited after the *Amidah* in the British Museum manuscript (Or. 1067) of *Seder Amram*. Goldscmidt (1972, pp. 11 and לט), nevertheless, claims that this section is a later addition and not an original part of *Seder Amram*.

M163[198] (16.5cm*5.5cm)

Apart from two small missing fragments and a small faded patch at the edge of the bowl, the whole text of this bowl is clear and completely readable. The bowl contains 30 lines of text written in a very neat and small square Jewish Aramaic script which spirals in a clockwise fashion from the centre of the bowl outwards. The text is surrounded by a line that forms a circle which is very nearly on the rim of the bowl. The script is noteworthy for a magic bowl as apart from ה and ח it clearly differentiates between letters that are usually written similarly, i.e. ב and כ, ד and ר, also ו, י, ז and final ן, ס and final ם. All are distinguished from each other, and so is ת which in many bowls is confused with either ה and/or ח.[199]

Alongside הדין and הלין, which are the usual demonstrative pronouns in the dialects of the magic bowls, there also appear הנא (lines 6 and 11), הנין (line 9) and הנון (l. 17) which are like the Syriac forms[200] and rare in the magic bowls. The conjunction of comparison[201] היכדין ד 'just as' coupled with its compliment הכדין 'just so' are employed several times in the text and in all cases their respective spellings are meticulously distinguished. Such a pair of conjunctions is found only once in another magic bowl, N&Sh B21:8. The closest parallel to this particular form is found in the Aramaic of the Targ.-J.. There, however, היכדין/הכדין (their respective spellings undistinguished) are used for the second position, 'just so', whereas ד הי(כ)כמא is the most common form for the first position, 'just as'.[202]

M163 is a curse bowl, which is rare in this genre of magical text. It was commissioned by two brothers, Mihlad and Baran sons of Mirdukh, against a certain Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz. The purpose of the incantation is specific: it proposes to subdue the two brothers' named antagonist completely under their authority. The cause of their grievance is suggested most

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[198] This part of the thesis was published by the author as: " "... and by the name of Jesus ..." An unpublished magic bowl in Jewish Aramaic." *JSQ*, vol. 6, Issue 4, pp. 283-308. It is produced here with some amendments, additions and a full glossary.

[199] Montgomery 1913, pp. 28,9 and Rossell, 1953 pp. 13-15.

[200] Nöldeke 1904, p. 47.

[201] Dalman 1905, p. 239. I would like to thank C. Müller-Kessler for correcting my previous assertion (Levene 1999) that what we have here are a pair of adverbs.

[202] It is only in one case in the Targ.-Ps-J. that היכדין appears in both first and second position: היכדין דיתן מומא באינשא היכדין יתיהב ביה (Lev. 24:20).

clearly in l. 27, which mentions the antagonist as having 'strong desires and hateful thoughts and ... hateful and evil words' and 'that he thinks about (them) for evil and hatefulness'.

The two main literary devices employed in this incantation are: 1) The abundant use of verbs, nouns (lines 1, 28 and 30), angel names (l. 14) and magical names (l. 10) derived from the root כבש 'to press', 'subdue', 'conquer', 'suppress', etc.[203] 2) The use of a 'just as X was pressed - just so may Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed' formula known also from Greek magical literature and referred to as the *similia similibus* formula.[204] These similes (the sections that always follow 'just as ...') in our text consist of a collection of references to cataclysmic moments in history and mythology, taken from a wide range of stories, some of which are identified below, though the inspiration for others remain as yet a mystery.

In order to observe the structure of the text with greater clarity the transcription and translation have been divided into ten sections. Here are some comments on these divisions:

Section 1. This part functions as a title section and starts with the words הדין כיבשא 'this press' which introduces the incantation. The names of the clients and their adversary are stated, as is a statement of the desired outcome. This statement is repeated in a variety of permutations and intensity at least once, sometimes twice, in each and every one of the ten sections. This first section ends with an invocation of 'Šamiš king of the gods'.

Section 2. This section starts with the conjunction היכדין ד 'just as' which introduces the first simile, as it does the other similes in sections 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8. There follows an unambiguous statement to the effect that some sort of additional ritual action was carried out, at that time, with the aid of a white cock in conjunction with, and in support of, the incantation in the bowl. There is a two fold statement of the desired outcome, one to complement the simile and the other to complement the ritual act.

Section 3. The second simile and a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 4. This section starts with the word בשום 'by the name of', which introduces a list of names of angels invoked to aid the accomplishment of the desired outcome. The verb כבש which was used in the previous sections in the jussive 'may he be pressed' is in this section

[203] For a detailed discussion on the use of כבש in the magical literature see Montgomery 1913, p. 42 and Naveh 1985, p. 3.

an active participle with a first person pronoun suffix 'I press you Isha ...' (l. 13). This section portrays the enforcement of the desired outcome by the magician with the aid of the invoked angels.

Section 5. Third and fourth similes with a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 6. Fifth and sixth similes with a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 7. Seventh simile with a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 8. Eighth and ninth similes with a double statement of the desired outcome, reiterated here with specific allusion to the antagonist's culpability vis à vis to the clients.

Section 9. Like section four, this section commences with בשום, which introduces the invocation of angels. The verb כבש is used here in the imperative, as the magician is commanding the angels to impose the desired outcome, which is stated once again within the context of the command. This section ends with the formula 'from this day and forever amen amen selah firm and established'.

Section 10. This section begins and ends as the incantation itself began - with the words הדין כיבשא 'this press'. There is invocation of divine names of God, of Jesus, his father and the Holy spirits. In this section כבש and the other operative verbs are imperfect plural forms of the peal with a third person suffix, 'may they press him' etc, representing the clients getting the better of their adversary.

Transcription of M163

1 (1) הדין כיבשא ואסרא על שמיה דאישה [בר] (2) איפרא הורמיז דניתכביש וניפול הוא
גדיה וחילקיה וכ[וכב]יה (3) ואסריה ומיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא תחות ריגליהון
ומימרהון ו[שולט]נ֯הון (4) דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך שמיש מלכא דאלהי

2 היכדין דאתכ[ביש]ך֯ כולהין (5) מדינתא הכדין כבוש הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז
בכל שמה דאית ליה תחות י֯ר֯[יגליהו]ן ומימרהון (6) ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן
בני מירדוך תחות הנא תרנולא חיורא דמזמ[...]ך֯יך הכדין (7) ניתכביש הדין אישה בר
איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דאית ליה תחות ריגליהון ותחות מימרהון ושולטנ֯הו֯[ן]

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[204] C. A. Faraone 1988 and 1991.

3 היכ<ד>ין דשמיא כבישא על שמשא ושמשא כבישא על יארעה וארעה כבישא על מיא ומיא יכבישין על (9) חשוכא וכנתא תחתיתא היכא דיתבן הנין שבע בני אלהי וידען שבע מילי תקיפתיא ידבהון כבישא שמיא וארעה חדא מילתא מדא שמא (10) מדא שמה ומילתא חדא גישמון שמה ומילתא חדא דבחיל שמה דיבחיל שמה מירל[ת]א חדא משכבא שמא מכבשא שמה ומילתא חדא (11) זדין שמה ומיזיון שמא וזיועין ומילתא חדא דבחיל שמה וארכדיל שמה ומילתא חדא כיבישון שמה דבהנא שבע מילי כביש עלמה ורכובהון (12) <הכדין> ניתכביש וניתדריך הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דאית (ליה) תחות ריגליהון ומימרהו[ן] ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך (13) וניתכבשן כולהין מיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא ובישתא וניתבלן בגו ליביה ולא ניפקן לבר מן פומיה

4 בשום מלאכי בני איקרא כבישנא לך אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמא דאית לך (14) תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך בשום כיבשון דישון ודדיכין ובשום כבשיאל וכבשיאיל מלאכה גמודיאיל ומודיאל (15) ועמודיאל מלאכה דכבש עמודה דארעה בשמיה ד(גבי)ביאל שריותא גבאל מלאכה הלין מלאכי דבהון מיתכבשי כיבשי רברבי ודרדקי ומיתארין סמי מיתקצרין וכל בתולן פתלין (16) בהון בשמיהון וביקרהון ברבותהון וברבות אלהא משמשין קדישי אינון בשום הלין מלאכי כבישנא ליה להדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דאית ליה וכבישנא ליה לגדיה (17) ולחילקיה ולכוכביה ולמזליה ולכולהון מיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון ותחות יג[די]הון וחילקיה<ון> ומזלהון וכוכבהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך

5 היכדין דאיתכבישו הנון (18)] דעל פוקדן ^ד^מריהון עברו עזאל ועזאל ועזזיאל ואישתלחו מלאכי עליהון מן קדם אלהא וכבשינון על טור[א דחשוכא] ואהדרו אפיהון לאפי דחשוכא והיכדין דאיתכביש רימון תורא קדמאה הכדין ניתכביש (19) הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז וניתכבשן מיליה סניתא ומחשבתיה סניתא וכוכביה ומזליה וגדיה וחומריה [...] תחות ריגליהון ותחות מימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני

6 היכדין דאיתכבישו (20) [...] שבעה שיבבי דביתה רבה וארדיכלי דביתה רבה דעלמה וכבשינון ואסרינון מרי רבותה בחילן[ה ...] [והיכ]דין דאיתכביש אמור גברא רבה דלסוף הכדין ניתכביש הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז וניתכביש גדיה (21) וחילקיה ומזליה וכוכביה וחומריה ופתכריה ורזיה ומחשבתיה סניתא תחות ריגליהון ותחות מימרהון ושולט[נה]ון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך

7 והיכדין דאיתכביש א(מ)וס גברא קדמאה ואיתכביש עליה טורי ורמאתה (22) ונגרי הכדין ניתכביש וניתדריך הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז וניתכביש (ליביה מן) חיזוא דעינוהי תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך תוב הכדין ניתכביש ליביה דהדין (23) אישה מן חיזוא דעינוהי

8 היכדין דאיתכביש הוא חרום אחרום ואתו עליו על שיתין ושב(ע)ה אלפין ענינן ואתו עליו מלאכי דר(בה) דחטו דהוא מריא קדמאה ונקטוי בציצי(ן) דסיט(ר)יה ופכר(ין) פכרוי פכרי לא איתפסיק ושדוי שבע (24) לישמיא ותמני לליבביהון דעננ עד אמא דנינדי מוקריה על גללי והיכדין דאיתכבישו דבית קרח (וד)ותן ואבירם הכדין ניתכביש וניתדריך הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דא(י)ת ליה וניתכביש וניתדריך גדיה וחילקיה ומזליה (25) וכוכביה וחומריה ופתכריה ופיקודיה ומיליה סניתא ומחשבתיה בישתא תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך וניתכביש הדין אישה ומתכבשן כולהין מיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא דהוא מחשיב על הדין מיהלאד (26) ובראן בני מירדוך לבישותא ולסניותא ומחשבתיה ומיליה סניתא ניתבלן בגו ליביה ולא ניפק לבר מן פומיה

9 בשום בלמיאל דהוא בלים לבני אינשה בליביהון ובשום נו(..)איל [...] הלין מלאכי דכבשו ואניחו ותמהו קרבא (27) קדמאה אנתון כבושו ואניחו ואתמהו ליביה ורעויניה תקיפי ומחשבתיה סניתא וכל מילי סניתא ובישתא דהוא מחשיב על הדין מיהל<א>ד ובראן בני מירדוך לבישותא ולסניותא ול[...] מיליה ומחשבתיה [בי]שתא וסניתא ניתבלן בגו ליביה ולא ניפקן לבר (28) מן פומיה מן יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים

הדין כיבשא בשמיה ד(מל)[.] דלכל כבש[..]ן כביש ולכל זכא ועל כל עלמא אמליך ואף 10
הדין מיהלאד ואף הדין בראן בני מירדוך לכל (פ)[...]ון ולכל נ[..](ה)ון ולכל (..)כון (ועל)
[ע]למה נמלכון וניכבשוניה ונידשוניה וניזכוניה (29) להדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז
וניבלמוניה ליה לגדיה ולחילקיה ולכוכביה ולמזליה ולאסריה ולפתכריה בשמיה דאהיה
אשר אהיה יהוה צבאות ובשמיה דאישו דכבש רומ(א) ועומ(ק)א[205] בזקיפיה ובשו(ם)
אבוי רמא ובשום רוחי קדישתא לעלם (30) עלמין אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים הדין
כיבשא.

Translation of M163

1 (1) This press and binding is for the name of Isha son of (2) Ifra Hurmiz that he may be pressed and fall - he, his lot, his destiny, his stars, (3) his bindings, his words and his hateful thoughts - under the feet and command and authority (4) of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. Shamish the king of gods!

2 Just as all countries have been (5) pressed - just so press this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz, in every name he has, under the feet and command (6) and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. Under this white cock that [is appointed on your behalf], just so (7) May this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed in every name he has under the feet and command and authority of (8) this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

3 Just as the heavens are pressed upon the sun, and the sun is pressed upon the earth, and the earth is pressed upon the waters, and the waters are pressed upon the (9) darkness and the lower foundation, where there dwell these sons of gods who know seven powerful words by which the heavens and the earth are pressed: One word - the name: MDA', (10) the name: MDA' ; and one word - the name:

[205] The correct reading of this word was suggested by Professor Menahem Kister (communicated by S. Shaked).

GYŠMWN; and one word - the name: DBHYL, the name: DYBHYL; and one word - the name: MŠKBH, the name: MKBŠH; and one word - the name: (11) ZDYN, the name: MYZYWN and ZYWA'YN; and one word - the name: DBHYL, and the name: A'RKDYL; and one word - the name: KYBŠWN. By this (unit of) seven words, the universe and that which is over them is pressed. (12) [Just so] may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed and trodden under in every name he has under the feet and command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh, (13) and may all his hateful and evil words and thoughts be pressed and perish within him and not go out from his mouth.

4 By the name of angels sons of glory I press you, Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz, in every name that is yours (14) under the feet and command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. And by the names of KYBŠWN DYŠWN and DDYKWN, by the name of Kabshiel and Kabshiil the angel, Gamudiil and Mudiil (15) and Amudiel the angel who pressed the column of the earth. By the name Gabibiel the beginning Gabael the angel, these angels by which presses are being pressed, large and small ... shortened, and all virgins are led astray.[206] (16) By them, by their names and by their dignity, by their greatness and by the greatness of God - they the holy ones are serving. By the name of these angels I press this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz in every name that he has. And I press him, his lot, (17) his fortune, his stars, his star signs and all his hateful words and thoughts under the feet and command and authority and under the lot and fate and star signs and stars of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

5 Just as (18) those A'ZA'L and A'ZA'L and A'ZZYA'L, who transgressed the command of their lord, were pressed, and angels were sent against them from the presence of God and pressed them upon the mountain [of darkness] and their faces[207] were turned towards the face of darkness. And just as the primordial

[206] Literally 'perverted'.
[207] I.e. of A'ZA'L and A'ZA'L and A'ZZYA'L.

RYMWN bull was pressed - just so (19) may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed. And may his hateful words and hateful thoughts and stars and star signs and lot and magic be pressed ... under the feet and under the command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

6 (20) Just as the ... seven ... of the great house and the builders of the great house of the world were pressed, and the lords of (greatness) pressed and bound them by the strength ... [And ju]st as A'MWR the great man of the end was pressed - just so may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed, and may his lot (21) and fate and star signs and stars and magic acts and idols and mysteries and evil thoughts be pressed under the feet and under the command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

7 And just as A'MWS the primal man was pressed, and there were pressed upon him mountains, hills (22) and river courses - just so may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed and trod under. And may his heart be pressed from the vision of his eyes under the feet and command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. Again, just so may the heart of this (23) Isha be pressed from the vision of his eyes.

8 Just as ḤRWM A'ḤRWM was pressed, and there came against him upon sixty seven thousand clouds, there came against him angels of the great one who committed the sin, (namely alleging) that he is the primeval lord. And they grabbed him by the fringes of his sides, taking them apart, they beat him with a continuous beating. And they hurled seven (24) to the heavens and eight to the midst of the clouds until his brain was bespattered upon the rocks. And just as the house of Korah and Dathan and Abiram was pressed - just so may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz, by every name he has, be crushed and trod under. And may his lot and fortune and star signs (25) and stars and magic acts and idols and commands and hateful words and evil thoughts be pressed and trod under the feet and command

and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. And may this Isha be pressed, (and may) all his words and evil thoughts that he thinks about this Mihlad (26) and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh for evil and hatefulness be pressed. And may his thoughts and hateful words perish within him and not come out from his mouth.

9 By the name of Balmiel who is the one that gags humans within their hearts. And by the name of ... these angels who pressed and brought to rest and struck dumb the primal war. (27) You! Press, bring to rest, and strike dumb the heart and strong desires and hateful thoughts and all hateful and evil words that he thinks about this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh for evil and hatefulness. And ... (may) his words and his thoughts, evil and hateful, perish within him and not come out from (28) his mouth from this day and for ever, amen amen selah, true and established.

10 This press in the name of ... who presses all presses and is victorious over all, and rules over all the world. And also this Mihlad and also this Baran sons of Mirdukh to all ... and may they reign upon the earth, and may they press and trample under and be victorious over (29) this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz. And may they block up his lot and his fate and his stars and his star signs and his bindings and his idols. By the name of I-am-that-I-am will be YHWH Sebaoth and by the name of Jesus who conquered the height and the depth by his cross and by the name of his exalted father and by the name of the holy spirits for ever (30) and eternity. Amen amen selah. This press is true and established.

Notes for M163[208]

1 The opening formula הדין כיבשא is also found in another bowl, Geller B. Similar opening formulae occur in AIT 6, which starts with: כיבשא דכבשין, and in N&Sh B21[209] which starts

[208] The numbers refer to the lines of the text, not the sections.

[209] Naveh and Shaked understood N&Sh B21 to be an incantation for protection against evil spirits and regarded all of the six proper names in the text to be those of clients. One could, however, argue that this is not a text for protection against demons (none of which are

with: מזמן) הדין רזא לכיבשא). These three incantations, as well as M163, incorporate the verb כבש 'to press' as an important operative motif.

מזמנא הדא מילתא על שמיה ד... N&Sh B7:1 על שמיה 'Appointed is this incantation against the name of ...' This bowl is also a text against a named individual.

2 איפרא הורמיז The name of the mother of the man against whom this incantation is directed is attested in the Babylonian Talmud,[210] where it is purported to be the name of the wife of Shapur II, though not attested as such by any other source. The name Ifra Hurmiz can also be found in N&Sh B15, Gordon N[211], and Texidor 60960[212] (*ʾbʾ br ʾprḥwrmyz*) as the names

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mentioned) but rather a text for the protection of only one of the named persons from all the others. This person would be Sunyona son of Qitin who is mentioned four times in the text, thrice on his own. It must indeed be stressed, (as did Naveh and Shaked, see 1993 p. 129) that this text is obscure and includes sections for which only cautious readings were given. Nevertheless, a re-examination of the text reveals certain similarities to M163, which may lead to the conclusion that they are both of the same type. Naveh and Shaked translate the first three lines thus: 'This mystery is designated for subduing (in favour) of Duday daughter of Immi, Redani son of Aru, Abraham son of [ ], Susya daughter of Immi, and Friyabard son of Gaš (?)'. (מזמן הדין רזא לכיבשא דדודי בת אימי ורדיני בר ארו ודאברהם בר תוס וסוסיה בת אימי ודפריברד בר גש). The justification for adding 'in favour' in brackets is that כיבשא 'normally comes to designate the action done to evil spirits' (Naveh and Shaked 1993 p. 129). Though this is true of at least two other bowls (AIT 6 and Geller B) this is not always the case as can be seen from M163. Other texts which employ the verb כבש, as in M163, to express the desired subjugation of human foes are McCullough A, an amulet from the Upper Galilee (A 16), Geniza T.S.K1.15:2,3 (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 147-152), Geniza T.S.K1.143 pages 14:12-16:18 (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 194-195), T.S.K1.80 (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 172-174) and T.S. AS 143.214 (Naveh 1985, p. 379). Another point of similarity between N&Sh B21 and M163 is the use of similes which describe acts of subjugation. In M163 these similes are derived from a variety of sources including I and III Enoch as well as the Bible, the four similes in N&Sh B21:10,11 are also borrowed from the Bible. In fact these two magical texts are the only ones which both employ היכדין and הכדין in this precise spelling as part of a *similia similibus* formula. N&Sh B21:9,10 which uses this formula is translated by Naveh and Shaked as follows: 'Thus may all the enemies and oppressors of this Sunyona son of Qitin and Duday daughter of Immi and Susya daughter of Immi be subdued, just as ... is subdued' (הכדין מכבשין כל סנייהו ומסיקייהו דסיניונא בר קיטין הדין דודי בת אימי וסוסיא בת אימי בהיכדין דמיתכבשה). As both these texts use the *similia similibus* formula, and since in M163 the demonstrative pronoun הדין precedes, rather than follows, the personal names, one could offer an alternative translation to these lines: 'Thus may all the enemies and oppressors of Sunyona son of Qitin, this Duday daughter of Immi and (this) Susya daughter of Immi be subdued, just as ... is subdued'. A last point of similarity worth noting is that both texts mention the curbing of human tongues, in M163:26 an angel that 'gags humans within their hearts' is invoked, and in N&Sh B21:14 it is stated (albeit in a disjointed context) that something or someone 'shuts the mouths of all sons of Adam and Eve'. A Mandaic bowl from the Schøyen collection, MS 2054/124, was recently discovered in which significant elements of both N&Sh B21 and M163 are found in combination (see Shaked 1999a, pp. 316-319). This confirms beyond doubt that both texts are not only of the same genre but, occurred also as one incantation in a joined form.

[210] b. Tan. 24b, b. BB 8a-b, 10b-11a, b. Zeb. 116a, and b. Nid. 20b.

[211] A Mandaean bowl.

[212] Texidor 1962, pp. 59-62. A Syriac bowl.

of the clients' mothers. According to a statement of Rav Papa, the fourth century Babylonian sage, the name Hurmiz is typical of non-Jewish persons.[213]

דניתכביש וניפיל הוא A16, an amulet written on bronze foil and found in the upper Galilee, has certain similarities to our text. Like M163 it combines the motif of subjugation (the empowering of the client over his townspeople) with the *similia similibus* formula. The invocation in A16:11-19 is similar to that which appears in lines 2 and 3 of our text: 'just as the sky is suppressed before God ... so may the inhabitants of this town be suppressed and broken and fallen before Yose ...' כדין יהוון עמה דהדה קרתה כבישין ות[ב]ירין ונפילין קודם יוסי. Both A16 and M163 use the verbs כבש and נפל.

3 תחות ריגליהון The idea of one's enemies crushed under the feet is very ancient and common to many cultures. Use of this motif in other magic bowls are: N&Sh B5:7 all the evil spirits are *'roped, tied and suppressed'* under the feet of the client כיפיתון אסיריתון כבישׁ<י>תון כולכון תחות כיפי רגלה ד... Also McCullough A:2-3[214] ויכבשון ית קיימתה ... תחת ריגילה ד... 'and they will tread ... under the foot of'. In a Mandaic bowl, AIT 38:12 *ʿsyrʾ wrgylʾ wkbyšʾ wsypʾ wmʾtn<h>*[215] *twtyʾ lygrh d...* 'bound and hobbled and suppressed and overturned and put down under the foot of ...'

4 שמיש מלכא דאלהי Shamish appears in a number of bowls: N&Sh B13:11,21, Obermann II:62:2, a Mandaic text MIT 22:123, 126, 143, 247 as well as in Syriac in AIT 36:2-3 where he appears as *mryʾ Šmyš* 'the lord Shamish.' See also Montgomery's comments on bowl 36:2,3. 1913, p. 239; a similar title appears in AIT 19:5 רבא דאלהי מריא איבול מריא[216] 'the lord Ibol the great lord of the gods'.

6 יך[...]מזמן דמרא חיורא תרנולא הנא תחות Perhaps תרנ<ג>ולא. The syncope of *g* in this word is attested in Mandaic and was discussed by Nöldeke 1875, p. 41, and Macuch 1965, pp. 77-78, who noted that such omissions in Mandaic are limited to old loanwords (Akkadian *tamugallu*).

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[213] היכי דמי שמות מובהקין אמר רב פפא כגון הורמיז ואבודינא בר שיבתאי ובר קידרי ובאטי ונקים אונא 'Can you give some examples of names which are obviously those of heathens? — Said R. Papa: For instance, Hurmiz and Abudina, Bar Shibthai, Bar Kidri, Batti and Nakim and Una' (b. Git. 11a). For a more detailed discussion of the name Ifra Hurmiz see Gooblatt 1976.

[214] Published by McCallough in 1967 and later emended by Harviainen in 1981.

[215] Reconstructed by Epstein 1983 p. 368.

[216] Amended from מלכא to מריא by Epstein (1983 p. 346).

A similar case of omission attested in Mandaic as well as in Jewish Aramaic is זווא (=זוגא), 'pair'.[217]

The suggested reconstruction דמזמן עלי[ך][218] "appoin[ted on your behalf]" allows the understanding of תחות as a pun meaning both 'in place of' as well as 'under' (as it is used in l. 5: '... under the feet ...'). The use of a ritually mutilated animal as an act of sympathetic magic and its burial with an amulet is not unknown in the Jewish magical tradition. In *Sepher Ha-Razim*, first heaven lines 132-40,[219] there is a magical recipe which instructs its user to take the heart of a lion cub, removed with a copper blade, and bury it with an inscribed metal foil. The user is then instructed to recite the following: 'You the angels who go around and wander in the world, turn around all the people of this district - big and small, old men and young men, common-folk and dignitaries. And may my fear and awe be upon them, and be as the awe of the lion upon the animals. And just as this heart is dumb and I speak, so too will they be obedient to me. And none of the children of Adam and Eve will be able to speak against me'. In the *Sword of Moses* there is also a recipe which, like our own text, recommends the use of a white cock. In this case the user is instructed to take the cock's beak and place an inscribed metal foil within it; it is then to be hidden in the clothing of the person the user wishes to affect. This recipe intends to gain its final effect by the agency of a dispatched dream.[220] Such practices are also inferred from some of the Greek Magical papyri.[221] A particularly interesting first century Greek *defixio* from Carthage (*DT* 241.16-18) categorically implies that a cock was buried with it.[222] This amulet bears a close relationship to our text in that it also employs the *similia similibus* formula. Although Jewish law has no mention of the endorsement of such a ritual action, there is ,nevertheless, a discussion in the m. AZ 1:5 and the t. AZ 1:21 (followed up in both the Talmuds: b. AZ 13b-14a, and y. AZ 1:1, 39a) concerning the circumstances in which the sale of a white cock to a gentile is permitted. The restrictions on the sale of such animals is stated to have been due to the fact that they

[217] Epstein 1960, p. 18.
[218] Suggested by S. Shaked.
[219] Margalioth 1966, p. 74.
[220] Harrari 1997, First supplement, p. 141.
[221] Betz 1992, p. 150, *PGM* X. 36-50 'Apollo's charm to subject'. A frog's tongue is used with an inscribed foil of metal which in this case is put in a sandal and trod under foot.
[222] Faraone 1988, p. 282, n.10.

were used for sacrificial purposes amongst idolaters; a statement which is possibly meant to include the type of practice mentioned above.

8-11 The second simile incorporates a structural description of the world - the heavens are at the top, and under them are the sun, earth, water, darkness and the lower foundation, in that order. They are each described as pressing over the one beneath them. At the bottom there are the seven 'sons of gods', who know the seven powerful words by which these six layers of the world came to be pressed together. These seven powerful words are invoked, and by sympathetic suggestion this description of the enormous force by which the different parts of the world are held is used as a parallel to the magnitude of force with which the clients' opponent should be suppressed. A similar invocation appears in the Geniza fragment T. -S. K1.163:20-22[223] היך דארעא כבישה תחות שמיא ובני אנשא תחות ידי דמלאך מותא כן יתכבשון כל בני אדם וחוה 'Just as the earth is pressed under the heavens and human beings under the angel of death so may all the sons of Adam and Eve be pressed ...' Interesting for comparison is also a Christian amulet written in Coptic (T.S. 12,207)[224] that implores 'God who has bound Heaven and has bound earth ... restrained the Sun ... the moon ... the stars ... and the winds in the middle of heaven', to 'bind the mouth and tongue', of an adversary so they 'will not be able to speak an evil word' against the client. Although such a full description of the geography of the universe in all its layers as appears in M163 is not to be found elsewhere, the seven powerful words by which only heaven and earth were suppressed, are invoked in a similar fashion in three other bowls AIT 6:7-9, Geller B:7-9 and MS 1927/62:5-7. The introductory invocations to the seven words in these texts are as follows:

[223] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 248.
[224] Meyer and Smith et. al. 1994, pp. 197-199.

M 163:9	היכא דיתבן הנין שבע בני אלהי וידען שבע מילי תקיפתיא ד[ב]הון כבישא שמיא וארעה
AIT 6:7-9	וכיבשא הדין כבישנא להון בשום הלין שבע מילין דישמיא וארעה כבישין בהין בשום
Geller B:7-9	וכבישנא להון כיבשא הדין בשום הלין שבע מילין דשמיא וארעא כבישין בהון בשום
MS 1927/62:5-7	ואסרנא וחתימנא עליהון הלין שבע מילין דבישמיה וארעא כבישין בשום הלין שבע מילין דישמיא וארעה כבישין בהון בשום

This Aramaic opening formula appears also in *Hekhalot Zutarti* as part of a description of the enormous powers of certain magical words דין הוא איסרא וחיתמא דאסרין ביה ארעא ואסרין ביה שמייא 'This is the binding and the seal by which are bound earth and heaven'.[225] The powerful words in the Hekhalot text are different from those found in our text, however, the four sets of seven words found in the magic bowl texts are similar enough to each other for us to assume a common *Vorlage*:

	7th word	6th word	5th word	4th word	3rd word	2nd word	1st word
M163:9-11	כיב(ש)ון	דבחיל ארכדיל	זדין מיזיון זיועין	משכבא מכבשא	דבחיל דיבחיל	גישמון	מדא מדא
AIT 6:7-9	כיבשין	ארדיבל	מורה	משכב[226]	מרביל	גישמין מרביל	גישמין מרביל
Geller B:7-9	[כיבשין]	[ארדיבל]	מורא	משבר	מרחבל	גישמין	מרביל
MS 1927/62:5-7	כיבשין	ארדיבל	מזרח ארובכאל	משכב	מרביל רחבל	גישמין מרביל	גישמין מרביל
Hermitage p.7:8,9[227]			אדריגל	מורדן	תחבל	גשימון	אגישמון מרביל

A tradition regarding divine names that have the power and force to hold in place the different layers of the cosmos exists also in the b. Suk. 53a-b and y. San. 10:2, 29a. This

[225] Schäfer 1981, §367.
[226] Corrected by Epstein 1983, p. 334.

tradition consists of a story of how King David, when digging the foundations for the temple, reached so deep that he was in danger of releasing the *Tehom* (deeps of the abyss) which would then unleash a flood upon the earth. In the Babylonian Talmud King David stopped the *Tehom* from rising by writing the ineffable name on a shard and casting it over the deep. In the version of the Yerushalmi Talmud the shard was already in place and King David happened upon it while excavating. When he attempted to remove it the shard warned him to desist: 'You can not lift me up ... Because I am here to suppress the *Tehom*', דנא הכא כביש על תהומא.[228]

Cf. בני האלהים in Gen. 6:2,4, Job 1:6; 2:1 and בני אלהים in 38:7, also בני אלים שבע בני אלהי in Ps. 29:1, and the Aramaic בר אלהין in Dan. 3:25. The understanding of the expression 'sons of God' as meaning 'angels' in Gen. 6:2,4 was objected to by the 2nd century Palestinian Tana R. Simeon b. Yoḥai who preferred them to be called 'sons of nobles' (בני דייניא). Furthermore, he cursed all those who did call them 'sons of God'.[229] The Palestinian Amora R. Reuben (3rd-4th century) also made a comment concerning the term 'son of God' as mentioned in Dan. 3:25. He states that when Nebuchadnezzar uttered it, an angel immediately came down and slapped him on the mouth for presuming that God had a son; a statement most likely intended to avoid any association with the Christian Jesus 'Son of God'. Nevertheless, 'sons of God' in the sense of 'angels' appear often in Hekhalot[230] and magical literature; usually in the form quoted from Job 38:7 ויריעו כל בני אלהים 'and all the sons of God shout for joy'. The mention of 'sons of God' in Gen.6 is the precursor to the 'fallen angels' literature, a reference to which is found in l. 18 of our text (see commentary below). In an article on the sons of God Alexander cites a number of passages as 'evidence that from the second century onwards the rabbis in Palestine engaged in a polemic against angelology'.[231] Statements about how limited the knowledge of the angels is in both *Genesis Rabbah* 17:4, where it is described as less then that of Adam, and in *Exodus Rabbah* 23:15,

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[227] Borisov 1969.

[228] Sperber (1994, pp. 47-54) noted a connection between this story in the Talmuds and magic bowls. The casting of the shard inscribed with angels' names led him to conclude that (ibid. p. 54): 'the Yerushalmi text probably attests to the existence of such magic bowls in Jewish Palestine as early as the third century CE'. Such a notion is questionable, as no magic bowls have been found in Palestine.

[229] *Genesis Rabbah* 26.

[230] *Hekhalot Rabati*, *Seder Rabba de Bereshit* and *Shiur Qomah*.

where it is depicted as inferior to that of the generation that crossed the Red sea. In *Genesis Rabbah* 1:3 there is a discussion as to whether the angels were created on the second or fifth day. These statements could be taken to reflect an objection to the idea that angels could have had a part in the act of creation. Not only did they lack the knowledge, it would have been impossible for them to have participated in the first act of creation as they themselves had not yet been created. Cf. *Against Heresies* by Irenaeus who states that Carpocrates (XXV:1), Menander, Simon Magus (XXIII:2) and Saturninus (XXIV:1) all taught that the world was made by angels. Saturninus is quoted by Irenaeus as having claimed, much like in our text, that 'The world ... and all things therein, were made by a certain company of seven angels'.[232] Both the idea that the angels partook in the act of creation, as well as allusion to the Christian Jesus, son of God, which were so objectionable to the rabbis are present in our text here.

Though בני אלהי are masculine in gender the demonstrative pronoun referring to them is feminine as are the two verbs יתבן and ידען.

שמיא כבישא The feminine form of the active participle *pe.* is used three times in l. 8, the first of these should be a masculine plural form - כבישין.

12 There should be an added הכדין 'just so' at the beginning of l. 12 to complete the phrase begun in l. 8 by הי<ד>כין 'just as'.

13 מלאכי בני איקרא The word איקרא is derived from the root יקר and probably denotes 'honor, glory' (cf. Mandaic *ʿqʾrʾ*, DM p. 365a). As these angels appear immediately after the invocation of the seven words known by the seven 'sons of gods' it is conceivable to assume that they are synonymous. In Gordon H:2, there occurs in a long list of malevolent entities the expression שבעה בני איקגירי, which Gordon considers synonymous with the expression בני איגרי - the roof spirits.[233] However, the seven בני איקגירי in Gordon H:2 may be an illusion to the same seven angels in our text rather than a corruption of איגרי, as Gordon assumed.

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[231] Alexander 1972, p. 68.
[232] Jonas 1963, p. 132.
[233] Possibly associated with epilepsy, see note on M156:5,6.

14 כבשיאל The angel's name is derived from the root כבש, a root that embodies one of the central themes of this incantation. In l. 14 the invocation of the eight angels, the last of which is described as having 'pressed the pillar of the earth',[234] include three names on the theme of the root כבש: כיבשון, כבשיאל and כבשיאיל. In another bowl, Gordon 6:4, כבשיאל is the first of a list of ten angel names. In the same bowl, Gordon 6:2, there are three participles describing various evil entities, these are translated by Gordon as 'vanquished thrashed and trodden'. The similarity between these and the names which appear before כבשיאל in our text is noteworthy:

Gordon 6:2 כבישין דישין ודריכין [235]{כבישין דישין ודריכין בשום}

M 163 כיבשון דישון ודדיכון בשום

On the basis of the form in Gordon 6 it is possible to assume that דדיכון in M163 is a corruption of דריכון. In another Gordon bowl, D:14,15, כבשיאל is also invoked in reference to his specialty: 'By the name of Kabšiel the angel who suppresses every evil thing' בישמיה דכבשיאל מלאכה דהוא כביש כל מידועם ביש. Kabšiel is also the last name in a list of eight angels in two Cairo Geniza fragments. One is a love charm, *T.-S. K 1.37* 2a[236] and the other, *T.-S. K 1.26* 1b,[237] a text to stop an adversary's mouth from uttering hatefulness. In the latter fragment Kabšiel is also mentioned as being responsible for 'pressing the earth in the presence of (or - before) the heavens', כבשיאל דכבש ארעא קודם שמייא. It is interesting that in *T.-S. K 1.26* 1b, just as in M163, the two aspects of pressing, i.e. the pressing down which holds the layers of the cosmos together, and the suppressing of an adversary's mouth are both included. Another Geniza fragment, *T.-S. K 1.15* page 2 line 17 to page 3 line 19,[238] also a recipe for the subjugation of human adversaries, invokes Kabšiel three times in the capacity of a *similia similibus* formula, stating that just as he is the one who 'subdued the

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[234] The concept of pillars of the earth is well known from a wide variety of cosmological literature, yet references to a single pillar are few. In Exodus Rabba (Vilna) 2 and Midrash Tanhuma (Buber) Parashat Shemot 16 and (Warsaw ed.) Parashat Shemot 19 God says to both Abraham and Moses 'It is at the pillar of the earth that you are standing' במקום עמודו של עולם אתה עומד.

[235] Gordon added the brackets thinking that the sequence כבישין דישין ודריכין בשום was superfluous. Considering our text, however, it would be preferable to remove the brackets and read 'vanquished thrashed and trodden by the name of כבישון, דישון and דריכון'.

[236] Schäfer and Shaked vol. I, 1994, p. 58.

[237] Schäfer and Shaked vol. II, 1997, p. 267.

[238] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 148.

world under his (God's) feet. Thus will be subdued before me all those who speak evil against me'.

15 פתלין The feminine passive participle plural should be פתילן.

18 עזאל ועזאל ועזזיאל - The third simile refers to the punishment these three named angels received by the hand of another group of angels who were sent by God. The punishment they received for transgressing against the will of their lord was to be pressed on a mountain (of darkness) with their faces directed to darkness. The story that is behind this simile is a combination of motifs derived from the literature which developed around the story of the fallen angels in Gen. 6:4.[239] The names A'ZA'L, A'ZA'L and A'ZZYA'L, which appear in M163, are closest in form to the names of the three angels mentioned in III Enoch A'WZA' A'ZH and A'ZA'L,[240] though they are by no means the same. The motifs concerning the fact that these three angels transgressed their lord's command and that they were punished by other angels sent by God himself, are common to most of the fallen angel stories.

וכבשינון על טור[א דחשוכא] ואחדרו אפיהון לאפי דחשוכא The theme of the angels' punishment having consisted of being pressed in (or on) the mountain of darkness facing the darkness is found in I Enoch 10, considered to be a translation of an Aramaic work from as early as the 2nd - 1st centuries BCE. Unfortunately the Aramaic fragments of the Book of Enoch are too scanty at this point of the text to allow a reconstruction of this motif.[241] However, in the Zohar, a medieval work, Balak vol. III p. 208a, there is an allusion to the fallen angels Uzza and Azael who were imprisoned in the mountains of darkness their faces towards the darkness. The expressions used in the Zohar - בטורא דחשוכא ... ורמי חשוכא ... דאנפין ... וזריק חשוכא באנפוי ... וחשוכא אזדריק באנפוי are fairly close to the ones in our bowl. Cf. The Coptic, Manichaean, Kephalaia 117.1ff. 'Again, before the watchers rebelled

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[239] The comparative study of the literature surrounding the fallen angels, such as the Enochic traditions, the Targum and Midrashim is extensive and beyond the scope of this study. The most relevant sources for our purpose here are I Enoch chapter 10, III Enoch chapters 4 and 5, the Targ.-J. to Gen. 6:4, b. Yom. 67b, Midrash Deuteronomy Rabbah 11, Pesikta de R. Kahana 34. Later medieval sources include the Zohar, Balak vol. III p. 208a and 212a, and Havdala de R. Akiva 11. For a fuller discussion of the development of the fallen angels in these sources see Ginzberg 1946-47, Milik 1976, pp. 317-339 and Scholem 1980-1981 pp. 243-281.

[240] Other manuscript variants found in the Schäfer Synopsis are not significantly closer in form to the names in M163. Although of no apparent importance the name AʿZZYAʾL does appear once in the *Sepher Ha-Razim* second Heaven (l. 26) as the first angel of the second step.

and came down from heaven, a prison was fashioned and constructed for them in the depths of the earth, below the mountains'.[242] Though there is no mention of the angels 'facing the darkness' in the Kephalaia there is, nevertheless, elaboration to the effect that: 'the remnant that is left from the darkness is this black mountain' (Kephalaia 112.5ff).[243] In the Psalms of Thomas IV (210.1 and 210,10), another Manichaean work, there is also mention of the mountain of darkness: '[The] demons, - put fetters on their feet; the goddesses, - put iron on their hands; the stinking and foul devils; - let their neck break beneath the collar; - the false gods that have rebelled, - bind them beneath (or at) the dark mountain'.[244] In the Mandaean Ginza the motif of 'being bound in the Mountain of darkness', *bṭwrʾ ḏhšwkʾ*, is used more generally as a threat to what criminals can expect.[245] On the basis of the Aramaic expression טורא דחשוכא, which appears also in the Zohar it is possible to suggest that l. 18 of our text be likewise reconstructed [טור]א דחשוכא.

An expression similar to that which appears in l. 18: דעל פוקדן דמריהון עברו occurs in AIT 1:8-11: אשבעית עליכון כל מיני ליליתא בש[ום] זרעיתכין דילדין שידי ולילית[א] לבני נורא סטין ומרדין ועברין [על] גזירתא דמריהון ... 'I adjure you, all species of liliths in respect of your posterity, which is begotten by demons and liliths to the children of light who go astray: Woe, who rebel and transgress against the proscription of their Lord ...' Note that Montgomery identified in his commentary on בני נורא and what follows in l. 9 the reference to the myth of the fallen angels from Gen. 6. Another Syriac bowl, Texidor 50327,[246] which proclaims at its outset to be an amulet for 'pressing and binding' *qmʿyʾ lkybšʾ wʿsrʾ*, mentions in l. 3 angels who revealed the mysteries of their lord *mlʾky dglwn rzy mryhwn.*

Other relevant references in magic bowls are: 1. The angels A'ZA', A'ZA'L and Metatron which are invoked together with in Gordon D:11. A curious combination for in III Enoch this pair of angels were antagonistic towards Metatron. 2. In AIT 2:6, AIT 9:10 and Gordon 11:9 there is a formula in which demons are threatened with the ban that was put on mount Hermon. Montgomery correctly identified this as 'a reminiscence of the myth of the

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[241] Milik 1976, p. 162.
[242] Gardner 1995, p. 123.
[243] Gardner 1995, p. 117.
[244] Säve-Söderbergh 1949, p. 127.
[245] Säve-Söderbergh 1949, p. 127.

confederation of fallen angels',[247] reference to which can be found in I Enoch 6:5. 3. In another bowl, published by Montgomery in 1912 and written in Manichaean script, the seal of *šmḥyz'* the fallen angel is mentioned.

20, 21 Both 'the great man of the end' of the sixth simile (l. 20) and 'the primal man' of the following seventh simile (l. 21) are as yet unknown to us. However, the fact that they are in apposition, the great man of the end vs. the primal man, might be a clue.

22 נגרי The ר in this word is clearly written, as the scribe distinguishes his ר and ד. However, the combination of טורי ורמאתה ונגרי is close to the Targ.-J. of Isa. 30:25 which reads: על כל כל הר גבה ועל כל גבעה נשאה פלגים יבלי מים (MT: טור רם ועל כל רמא מנטלא פצידין נגדין מיין '... on every high mountain and on every lofty hill, there shall appear brooks and water courses ...'). נגדין 'rivers' or 'watercourses' is more appropriate in our text than נגרי 'door bolts' (J. p. 876b). It is probable that the scribe, in haste, wrote an ר instead of a ד.

23-24 ענינן The correct spelling for either 'augurs' (Is. 2:6) or 'clouds' is עננין, as the word 'clouds' is spelled (ענני) in the next line.

עליו This form, occurring twice in this line, is Hebrew; one would expect the Aramaic equivalent עלוהי or עליה as in l. 21.

נקטוי, פכרוי and שדוי All 3rd person masculine plural verbs in the perfect with 3rd person masculine singular suffixes. The ה is missing in the suffix and the forms should be reconstructed to נקטו<ה>י, פכרו<ה>י and שדו<ה>י.

חרום אחרום Cf. Smelik 1978 lines 2 and 3[248]: מן שעריהון שקלית ליפכריהון ומן גילדיהון לירקמיהון ומן דמיהון ליחתמיהון בישבע שבע נקטית בציצותהון ובתמני תמני בגדילתהון ושדרית יתהין לחד מרק לניקרא דשמיא. 'From their hair I took to grasp them, from their skin to (bond) them, from their blood to seal them. Seven at a time I seized them by their hair, eight at a time by their bodies, as I threw them to *ḥd mrq nyqr'* which is in the heavens'.[249]

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[246] Texidor 1962, pp. 53-54.

[247] Montgomery 1913 p. 126.

[248] Other parallels to this motif found in this bowl published by Smelik exist in three unpublished bowls M148:6,7 (from the Moussaieff collection to be published by the present author), MS 1927/10:6,7 and MS 2053/182:3-6.

[249] In his article (1978) Smelik understood the motif of taking hair, skin and blood as a ritual performed against the clients (his footnote 4) rather than the demons. However, it is more likely that the ritual is intended against the demons which are listed immediately before the

Both M148 and MS 1927/10 as well as Smelik's bowl have the extra clause, 'to where demons go and do not return'. The fate of HRWM A'HRWM is similar in that he was grabbed by the fringes of his sides (or folds of his garment or locks of hair) בציצין דסיטריה. In M163 seven were hurled to the heavens and eight to the midst of the clouds, while in Smelik's text seven at a time were grabbed by their locks and eight at a time were grabbed by their bodies and also hurled to the heavens.

קרח (וד)ותן ואבירם The ninth and final simile is derived from the biblical story of Korah Dathan and Abiram (Num. 16) whose punishment consisted of the earth bursting open and swallowing them live, with families and possessions, straight into Sheol.

27 רעוינית The scribe confused the ו and the י; this word should have been written רעיונית.

29 The form in which the Holy Trinity is expressed in this line is reminiscent of that mentioned in *The Acts of Judas Thomas* section 39[250] where the apostle addresses Jesus in the following manner: 'we glorify thee, and we exalt through Thee Thy exalted father, who is not seen, and the holy Spirit...', *wmrmrynn bʾydk lʾbwk rmʾ hwʾ dlʾ mtḫzʾ wlrwḥʾ qdyštʾ*.

אישו This spelling of the name of Jesus is unattested. In Jewish sources the usual spellings are ישו or ישוע. In a Parthian amulet[251] the spelling *yyšw* is attested. The spelling אישו, with initial aleph, possibly represents a transcription of the Christian Syriac form, not as it is spelled (*yšwʿ*) but rather, as it is pronounced Išô.[252]

רומ(א) ועומ(ק)א Cf. *The Acts of Judas Thomas* §123 *ʾlhʾ dytb brwmʾ wlʾ mtksʾ mnh mdm dbʿwmqʾ hw* 'God who sittest on high, and nothing that is in the depth is concealed from thee'.[253]

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ritual description. This is confirmed by the duplicates which are both unambiguously intended for the protection of their respective named clients, as indeed is Smelik's bowl which clearly threatens in lines 4 and 5 any demon that 'will return and sin against' the client. Also, in lines 2 and 3 of his text Smelik translates שבע שבע and תמני תמני respectively as 'seven times seven' and 'eight times eight' rather than the more likely 'seven at a time' and 'eight at a time'. As for example in the Targ. Ps-J. Gen. 7:9 תרין תרין עאלו לנוח לתבותא 'two at a time they entered with Noah into the ark'.

[250] Klijn 1972, p. 86.

[251] Henning 1947, p. 40.

[252] Nöldeke 1904, p. 27: '◡ without a full vowel always becomes ī in the beginning of the syllable'.

[253] Klijn 1962, p. 131.

אבוי רמא Cf. Judas Thomas *lʾbwk rmʾ*. Cf. also in a Manichaean magical text '... in the name of his Father, the Highest ...'[254]

רוחי קדישתא Although written as a plural form one might also consider reconstructing it to <ה>רוחי, thus it could be understood as a feminine single form 'his holy spirit'. As in the Greek version of *The Acts of Judas Thomas* 'thine holy Spirit'.[255] This would also be consistent with early Syriac where *rwḥʾ* is always construed in the feminine.[256] The Holy spirit as a feminine entity is also consistent with the Manichaean Trinitarian scheme whereby the spirit is the equivalent of the Mother of Life who calls forth the First Man.[257] Cf. BOR I. 13 יסוס רות קד, and also in a Syriac incantation bowl[258] *bšwm ʾbʾ bšym br[ʾ .....w]b[rwḥʾ q]dyšṭʾ*.

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[254] Henning 1947, p. 40.
[255] Klijn 1962, p. 235. In the Syriac version it is just 'the holy Spirit' without the genitive affiliation to Jesus.
[256] Murray 1975, p. 143.
[257] Säve-Söderbergh 1949, p. xxvii.
[258] Montgomery 1917/18.

Glossary and Bibliography

Glossary

-א upon, over. אקרקפה M101:12; ארישה M101:12; אגברי M142:5; אטור M145:1; אשינא M145:1; אפרטה M145:10

אב father. אבוהי M103:9, M119:10; אבוי M163:29

אבד *pa.* to perish. תאבדון M123:8; תיבדון M131:4

אדיר (H) great, mighty, glorious. אדרים M117:5

או or. 102:7,8

אודנא ear. אודנה M156:5,9

אות (H) letter. M50:3, M59:9; אותיות M50:4, M59:9

אזל to go. אזלית M156:9; תיזלין M156:9; יזלון M102:12; תזלון M131:2,4; אזיל M145:13

אחא brother. M123:7, M142:4

אחרון (H) last. אחרונים M117:1

אחתא sister. M123:7

אי if. M123:6, M138:9

איגרא roof. איגרי M156:5

איגרתא letter. איגרת שיבוקין letters of separation M50:6, M59:12

אידא hand. ידי M155:6; ידוהי M145:12; באידיה M107:5,6

איך like. 102:9

אילהין but. M117:5

אימת when, whenever. אמא M163:23

אין (H) particle of negation, is not, are not. M101:9

אינון they m. (pl.). M155:7,10, M156:4, M163:16

איקרא see יקרא

אית there is/are. M59:8, M103:1,7, M119:1, M121:2, M145:13,14, M155:9, M156:12, M163:5,7,12,13,16,24

אל god (H) god. M102:10,14, M107:7, M112:3, M155:3,4; אלהי M117:4, M163:9

אלה (H) these, those. M117:1

אלהא god. M117:5, M155:8, M163:16,18; אלהים M155:8; אלהי M145:13, M163:4,9

אלהינו (H) M101:10; אלוהי (H) god. אלוה (H) M102:10

אלפא a thousand. אלפין M163:23

אם if. M103:6,7, M119:6,7,8, M156:9

אימא mother. M138:11

אמירן see מריא

אמן M50:6, M101:13, M102:14, M103:10, M119:10, M107:7,9, M117:6, M121:5,6, M123:9, M131:5,

M138:12, M142:8, M149:11, M155:12, M156:13, M163:28,30

אמר to say, speak. M107:5, M123:5, M138:8, M145:13,14, M156:7; אמנליה M145:9 ;אמריתון M142:5

אנה I. M59:8, M131:4; אנא M117:5, M123:2, M145:15

אנחנא we. M142:5

אני (H) I. M59:13, M112:13, M149:5, M156:2

אנפא face; with prep. ב before. אפי M163:18; אפיהון M163:18;באנפי M142:3

אנתי you f. M103:7, M119:7, M156:7,9,10

אנקתא necklace charm. אינקיתא M101:4

אינשא human being; man. בני אינשא M102:13; בני אינשה M123:8, M163:26; אינש M103:6, M119:6; אינשי M149:7

אמיץ brave (H). M155:4; אמץ M155:4

אסא, אסי to heal. *ithpe.* תיתסי M103:2, M119:1, M155:2, M156:3; לאסו M155:1

אסיא healer. M142:5

אסורא bond, chain. איסורי M103:4, M119:4

אסותא healing, remedy. M142:10, M156:1,3; אסואתא M102:5

אסקופתא threshold. איסקופתיה M59:11, M121:1, M142:6; איסקופתה M142:10

אסר to bind. אסיר M107:6; אסרינון M142:7; אסיריתון M163:20; למיסר M101:1, M108:2

אסרא binding. M163:1; אסריה M163:3,29

איסתרא goddess. M103:3, M119:3; איסתרתא pl. M102:5,6,7, M123:8

אף also. M163:28

אפך to change, turn around. אפיכין M102:4, M112:4; אפיכי M102:8; איתופך *ittaf.* M145:8 ;איתפיך *ithpe.* M145:8,9

אקלידא key. אקליודי M145:14; אקלידי M145:15

ארבע four. M142:2. M145:5; ארבעה M145:5,6

ארבעין forty. M102:12

ארדיכל builder. ארדיכלי M163:20

ארמאי gentile. M103:4, M119:4, M123:7, M138:10,11

ארעה earth. M50:4, M59:10, M102:6, M145:7,8,10,11,12, M163:8,9,15; ארעא M102:4

אש (H) fever, fire. M117:3

אשתא fire. אישתא M145:11

אשתמודע to be recognized, known. לישתמודע M102:11

אתא letter, character. M102:13

אתה (H) you. M102:10; אתא M117:4

אתון you m. (pl.). M 131:2,4; אנתון M163:27

אתי to come *pe.*; to bring *af.* אתו M163:23; תיתון M101:7; מיתי *af.* M145:14; איתיתי M50:4; מיתינא *af.* M145:15

אתר place. M131:3,

אתר בית מקור בנה (H) womb M155:10

אתתא woman; wife. איתתה M121:2; איתא M156:13; אינתיה M142:6; אינתתיה M149:7

ב- in, at, by. *passim*; ביה M112:4, M145:11, M156:7,8; בה M131:3, M155:9, M156:12; בהון M50:4, M59:9,10, M163:9,15,16; בכון M145:13,14

בדיל on account of. M155:5

בדר to scatter. תיבדרון *pa.* M131:2

בטל to annul, make redundant. תיבטל M155:9; יבטלון M155:10; ניתבטלון *ithpe.* M107:3

בי house of. M50:1; ביה M101:6

בין ... בין whether ... or ... M123:6,7,8, M138:9,10,11

בין amongst. בן M156:5

בינתא hair. ביניתה M101:12

ביש evil. M102:5, M119:2, M107:8, M112:6, M121:5, M149:10; בישא M107:8, M149:9; בשתא M131:2,4; בישתא M59:3, M103:5, M119:5, M117:6, M121:4, M123:2,6, M138:3,4,9, M142:7, M149:9, M155:7,12, M156:4,7,9,10,12, M163:13,25,27; בישתה M101:3; בישותא M163:26,27; בישין M102:4,7,9,12, M103:4, M119:4, M112:4, M121:4; בישי M107:4,8, M112:6, M121:4, M149:9; בישון M123:2, M138:2

ביתא house. M145:9,10; ביתה M163:20; בית M163:24; ביתה M50:5, M101:6,7,10, M112:1,7; ביתיה M59:7,11, M103:7, M119:7, M107:1,6,8, M108:2, M121:1, M123:9, M142:6, M149:5; בתיהון M149:7

בית אילהי M145:13;

בית גילגלוהי דעינה the socket of the eye M156:5-6,10

בית גנזי treasure house M145:14,15

בית דין (H) law court M101:11;

בית מישכבהון bed room M50:5;

בית קברי M102:6 cemetery

בכין therefore. M50:, M59:10, M156:11

בלי to perish, fade away. ניתבלן M163:13,26,27

בלם to block, stop up, muzzle. בלים M163:26; ניבלמוניה M163:29; למיבלם M101:1

בנת daughter. M50:6; בנתיה M149:6

בעירא cattle. בעיריה M149:6

בר outside. לבר M163:13,26,27

ברא son *passim*. M121:1; בריה M145:2; ברה M107:5; בנה (H) M155:10; בנין M155:11; בני M102:7, M103:5, M119:5,6; בניה M121:1, M149:6; בנוהי M123:9

בני אינשא people. M102:13; בני אינשה M123:8, M163:26

ברדא ice. M155:8

ברזל iron (H). M155:7

ברי to create. ברא M155:5

בריח lock (H). בריחי M155:7

בתולא virgin, virginity. בתולן M163:15

גוא inner. בגו within M163:13,26; גואה M155:9

גיסא בר relative, kin. M102:13

ברוך (H) to bless. M102:10, M117:4

ברתא daughter. M131:4, M138:11

גאה, גאי (H) exalt. גאו M102:14

גבור (H) mighty. גיבור M102:10

גברא man. M145:13,14, M163:20,21; גבר M156:13; גברי M123:7, M142:5

גדא fortune, lot. גדיה M163:2,16,19,20,24,29

גדול (H) great. M102:10,11

גדע to cut off *pa*. מגדעין M155:7; יגדעון M155:7

גואל avenging. M102:14

גודא troop. M145:4

גוונא manner, form; colour. גונין M142:7

גונחא thunderclap. M145:7

גזרת decree. M142:7

גט ,גיטא divorce writ. M50:2,3,6,7, M:59:7,8,9,12, M103:1,6,10, M119:1,6,10 ;

גט פיטורין ,M103:6 גיט פיטורין M119:6

גיברא valiant. M107:7

גלי ,גלא *ithpe*. to be revealed. איתגלי M102:11; תיתגלי M102:13

גלי ,גלה (H) to uncover. גלוי M50:4

גללא stone. גלל M145:1; גללי M163:24

גלף to engrave. גיליף M142:8

גנזא treasure. גנזי M145:14; גנזיה M145:15

גנח to rumble. M145:4; תיגנח M145:10

גער to drive out, expel. איתגערי *ithpe*. M117:6

גפא wing. גפיה M145:12

גרביא north. M102:6

-ד, -די of, which *passim*. דיליה M103:5, M119:5; דילה M101:7; דהון M102:14

דודא cauldron. דודי M145:5

דול to draw. נידילון M102:9

דוק to crush. M145:8

דור to dwell. דירא M59:7

דוש to tread, trample. נידשוניה M163:28

דחי to push, drive away. אדחי *af.* M107:4

דחילא frightening. M117:5

דחלולא scarecrow. דחלולי M107:4, M149:10

דיוא dew, demon. M145:11; דיווא M145:6; דיויא M145:16; דיוי M50:4, M101:2, M103:2, M107:3,7, M108:2, M121:3, M142:5,7, M145:2,4,15; דיוין M59:11, M145:6; דיותא M142:7

דירתא dwelling, living quarters. דירתיה M149:5; דירתה M101:6,7, M142:6

דכי pure. דכיא M102:12

דכר male. דיכרא M149:8,9; דיכרי M50:2, M59:7, M101:4, M103:7, M119:7,8, M123:8

דלי to draw, raise. דליתיה M142:4

דלק to burn. דליק M123:4, M138:6

דלת door (H). דלתות M155:7

דמא blood. דמה M155:10; דמאה M155:9

דם נידא menstrual blood M155:10

דמי to resemble, look like. תידמון M142:6

דמך to go to sleep. דמיך M117:4

דמם to come to rest. נידימון M102:9

דנא jar. דני M101:12

דנחא to shine, be bright. דינחיא M142:5

דרדקא child, young, small. דרדקי M163:15

דרך *ithpe.* to be trodden under. ניתדריך M163:12,22,24

דרך (H) way. דרכו M101:10

דרמנא cure, remedy. M102:7

דת law. M50:6, M59:12

הדין this. M50:7, M101:1, M102:1, M103:1, M119:1, M107:1, M108:2, M112:1,7, M123:1,3, M131:4, M138:1,4, M155:1, M163:1,4,5,6,7,12,14,16,17,19,20, 21,22,24,25,27,28,28,30

דא (fem.) M101:5, M102:5,6,7,13, M107:9;

הדא (fem.) M50:2,5, M101:5, M103:6, M119:1,7;

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הנא M163:5,11

הנין M163:9

הלין M163:15,16,26

הנון M163:17

אילן M145:11

הדמא member, limb. הדמי M102:12; הדמין M156:12

הדר to go around, return. ניהדרינון M102:4; אהדרו *af.* M163:18

ההוא that (m.). M145:3,13

ההיא that (f.). M145:13, M156:8; מנההיא M145:3

הוא he. M50:1, M102:4,11,12,13, M112:13, M117:1, M155:4,8,10, 163:2,23,25,26,27

הוי to be. הוא M145:7; הוה M50:1, M123:5, M138:8, M142:5; הווה M145:7; יהי M155:1; ליהוי M102:8; תיהוי M142:10, M156:1,3; יהוין M102:5; תיהויין *pa.* M103:6, M119:6; יהא (H) M101:10

הונא nature, faculty. M102:14

היכא where. M163:9

היכלא temple. היכל M155:8

...ד היכדין just as. M163:4,8,17,18,19,20,21,23,24

הכדין just so. M163:5,6,12,18,20,22,24

הלך (H) to go, go away. ילך M101:10; ילכו M117:3

הללויה M50:6, M121:5, M149:11

הפך to overturn, turn around. למיפך M102:1; ניהפוכונון M102:12; ניתהפכון *ithp* M102:1,2,3

ואו woe (interj.). M102:5,6

זגד to worship. זגדית M145:13

זוח *pa.* to raise. מזיח M117:4

זוח to remove, turn away. תיזחין M156:12; תיזחון M59:11, M123:8, M138:11; ניזיחון M107:3; יזחון M112:7

זוטא small. M142:4

זיבא river, flood. M145:10

זיוא appearance. M145:10; זיו M155:5,8

זידן impious, wicked, malicious. זידניתא M101:3

זין armor. זוניה M145:11

זינא weapon. M145:11,14,15; זיניה M145:14,15

זיקא blast demon. זיקי M107:8; זיקין M145:5

זכי to be victorious. זכא M163:28; ניזכוניה M163:28

זכר (H) male. M101:5,9

זמן *pa.* to appoint. מזמן M102:1, M107:1

זמר to sing. זמרת M145:13

זמרתא singer. M103:5,7, M119:5,7

זניתא prostitute. M103:5,7, M119:5,7

זעקה cry. זעקי M107:6,7

זקיפא cross. זקיפיה M163:29

זרעא seed, descendant. M138:9; זרעיה M149:6; זרעיהי M123:6; זרעהי M142:6; זרעה M142:6

חבל to destroy *pa.* לחבלא M50:4; יחביל M142:5

חבלא ruin, injury. חבל M142:4; חבולא M145:5

חברתא f. neighbour. חברתיה M103:6, M119:6

חד one. M107:5, M145:12; חדא M163:9,10,11, M142:2,3

חוי to show *pa.* תיחוין M156:9

חולה a sick person (H). חולים M117:4

חומרא charm. חומרי M101:3, M131:2; חומריה M163:19,21,25

חוס to favor *pa.* יחוס M103:8, M119:8

חוש quick (?). יחוש M103:8, M119:8; אחישה M103:8, M119:8

חותם (H) seal. M101:7,8

חזי *ithpe.* to appear. מיתחזיא M59:8; מתחזין M50:2; תיתחזון M50:5, M101:7; תתחזון M59:12

חטי to sin. חטו M163:23

חטף to snatch. מיתחטפין *ithpe.* M142:2

חיורא white. M163:5

חיזונא vision. חיזוה M142:7; חיזוא M163:22,23; חיזוני M107:4

חיטינא slander (?).M103:2, M119:2,3

חיי to live. חיתה M101:6; חיי M102:6

חיילן a mighty one. M145:13

חילא strength. חיליה M163:20

חילמא dream. M50:3,5, M59:8,12; חילמי M59:11, M107:4

חילקא destiny, portion. חילקיה M163:2,17,21,24,29; חילקיהון M163:17

חיסמא envy; a block. M107:8, M149:9

חיש hurry. M107:5

חיתה creature. M123:5, M138:7

חלבא fat. חלבה M155:11; חלביהון M155:11

חמי *ithpe.* to appear. מתחמי M112:6; מיתחמי M112:6

חמשין fifty. M156:12

חרם to excommunicate *pa.* יחרמון M156:10

חרשא sorcerer, sorcery. חרשי M50:4, M59:10, M102:1, M103:5, M119:5, M121:4, M149:9; חרשין M102:4,7,8,9,12, M112:4

חשב to think, plan *pa.* מחשיב M163:25

חשוכא darkness. M163:9,18

חתם to seal. M101:12; חתים M107:6, M112:1,3, M121:1,3, M149:5; חתימין M50:7, M149:7,11; חתימיתון M142:7; מחתם *pa.*

M112:1, M149:5; מחתים *pa.* M121:1; מחתמין *pa.* M149:7,11

חתמא seal, sealing. M103:10, M119:10, M112:3; חתמתא M102:13, M107:1, M142:10

טבלא drum. M145:4

טבעת (H) ring. טבעות M101:9

טולא shade. M155:6

טוס to fly. ניטיסון M102:9

טורא mountain. M59:9, M163:18; טור M145:1; טוריא M50:4; טורי M102:9, M163:21, M131:1, M145:6,8,14,15

טעמא sense, faculties. טעמהון M102:13,14

יבש to dry. ייבשון M155:9,10

ידע to know. M102:13; ידענא M142:5; ידען M163:9

יהב to give. *ithpe.* איתיהיב M102:13

יהודאי a Jew. M103:3, M119:3, M123:7, M138:10,11

יהר to be proud, haughty. M131:3

יומא day. M50:6, M101:7, M107:9, M121:5, M123:9, M138:12, M142:8, M145:3,13, M163:28; יממא M50:3,6, M59:8, M149:10, M156:9; יממא M142:6,7

יחידיתא unique. M102:13

ילל to wail. יליל *pa.* M145:6

ימא oath. ממי pl. (?) M103:3

ימא to make an oath, swear *af.* מומנא M103:7, M119:7, M142:4, M145:10; מומינה M156:7,8

ימא sea. M145:8,9,14

ימינא right. ימיניה M117:5

יצא (H) to go out. M101:10

יקרא dignity, honour. M155:5; איקרא M163:13; יקריה M155:5,8; יקרהון M163:16

ירור howler. ירורי M101:2

ישראל Israel. M50:6, M101:10

ית acc. particle. M155:12; יתכי M156:10; יתכון M50:5,6, M59:12; יתהון M155:11

יתב to sit. יתיב M117:4, M155:5; יתבן M163:9

כ- preposition, the like of, as. כמותה M101:9

כבוד (H) glory. M117:3; כבודו M101:11

כבש to press. M163:15,29; כבשו M163:26; כבשינון M163:18,20; ניכבשוניה M163:28; כביש M163:11,28; כבישין M163:8,9; כבישא M163:8; כבושנא M163:13,16; כבוש M163:5; כבושו M163:27; איתכביש *ithpe.* M163:18,20,21,23; איתכבישו *ithpe.* M163:17,19,24;

אתכבישן *ithpe.* M163:4; ניתכביש *ithpe.* M163:2,7,12,18,20,22,24,25; מיתכבשי *ithpe.* M163:15; מתכבשן M163:25

כד when. M145:3

כוכבא star. כוכבי M145:8; כוכבין M131:4; כוכביה M163:2,17,19,21,25,29; כוכבהון M163:17

כוף to cover, vanquish *af.* אכיף M145:9; אכופא M145:9

כורא fish. M145:7

כורסא throne. כורסיא M155:5; כורסיה M142:3, M155:8

כיבא sore, pain. כיבי M102:9

כיבשא a press. M102:8, M163:1,28,30; כיבשי M102:8, M163:15

כימא constellation. M131:3

כין therefore, thus. M142:5, M156:12

כיפא shore. כיפי M145:6

כל all, any, each. *passim.* M102:2,3,5,11,13, M103:1,4,5,6, M119:1,2,4,5,6, M107:8, M112:4,6, M117:2,3, M121:2,4, M123:8, M142:7, M149:7,10 M163:5,7,12,13,15,16,24,27,28; כליה M145:10; כוליה M101:10, M123:9; כולכון M101:5; כולה M145:7; כולהין M163:4,13,25; כולהון M149:11, M163:17

כ(ל)ל(ב)ה (?) bitch. M103:3

כלי to destroy, restrain. כליא M145:4

כמה as, like. M155:12, M156:10,11

כמו (H) as, like. M123:5, M138:8

כנופיא crowd, assembly. M102:8

כנע to subjugate. איתכנעו *ithpe.* M50:4

כנתא foundation. M163:8

כסא bowl. M107:1

כסא (H) throne. כיסי M101:11

כרכא fortification. כרכין M156:10

כרע to kneel. כרעית M145:13

כשורא board. כשורי M145:11

כתב to write. כתבית M59:6, M103:1,6, M119:1,6; כתיב M156:8; כתבנא M50:2; כתיבנא M59:8;

כתבה writing. M101:1

כתר (H) crown. M101:11

ל- acc. particle, or prefix: unto, to, towards, for. *passim.* ליה M123:5, M138:8, M145:9,10, M163:5,7,16,24,29; לה M50:2, M59:8, M101:7, M102:5,6,8,11,13, M103:1, M119:1, M121:2, M142:7, M145:16, M156:1,3,7,9; לך M163:13; ליכי M103:6,7, M119:6,7, M142:10; להון M50:2, M59:8,12, M102:7,13; לו (H)

M101:10; לך (H) M101:13; להן (H) M117:3

לא no, not. *passim*. M50:5, M59:12, M101:7,8, M102:7,11,13, M112:4, M117:5, M123:1, M131:3, M138:1, M142:5,6,7, M155:6,10,11, M156:9,12,13, M163:13,23,26,27; לו (H) M101:10

לבש to wear, be dressed. נילבשונה M102:9; לבישין M123:5, M138:7

לבושא garment. M102:9

לוט to curse. ליטין M102:6

לויתן Leviathan. M145:7

לוטתא curse. M102:6, M103:1,3,4,5,7, M119:1,3,4,5, M123:2,3,6,7, M138:3,4,9,10,11; לוטאתא M102:6; לוטן M123:1, M138:2

לוי to accompany. לויא M59:7

לטבי no good spirits. M50:4; לטבי M145:4

ליבא heart. ליביה M163:13,22,26,27; ליבהון M102:11,13,14; ליביהון M163:26; ליבביהון M163:24

ליליה night. M50:3,5, M59:8,12, M142:6,7, M156:9; לילי M155:6

לילִיותא Lilith. M50:2, M59:3, M103:1,5,7, M119:1,2,7, M107:3,7, M121:3, M131:3, M142:7, M145:3,4,7,11,12,14,15,16, M149:8, M155:11; לילית M101:5; לילין M101:2,9

לית there is (are) not. M102:13, M117:4

לפני (H) in front of, in the presence of. M117:1; ליפני M117:3

מאה one hundred. מתן M102:12 two hundred

מאן who, which. M102:2,3

מבכלתא howler, tormentor. M101:4, M107:4,7, M121:3; מבכלין M101:2,9

מדינתא country. M163:5

מדנחא east. M102:5

מובלא a burden, load. M107:7

מומתא oath. M101:5

מופלא (H) wondrous. M102:10

מוקרא brain. מוקריה M163:24

מושב (H) seat, dwelling. מושבה M117:3,7

מות to die. מיתי M102:6

מותא death. M101:13

מותב session; dwelling. M50:1; מתיבי M59:5

מזיק (H) harmer. מזיקין M117:2

מזיקא harmer. מזיקי M112:5

מזלא star sign. מזלי M145:8; מזליה M163:17,19,21,24,29

מזמורא psalm. מזמוריה M145:13

מחבלא harmer, destroyer. M50:4; מיחבלא M59:10

מחשבתא thought, plan. M149:10; מחשבתיה M163:3,13,17,19,21,25,26,27

מחתא plague, affliction. מחאתא M101:4; מחת M156:4

מטה (H) below. M101:11

מי (H) he who, whoever. M101:10, M142:5

מיא water. M145:15, M163:8

מידעם thing. M119:2, M107:8, M112:6, M121:5, M149:10

מיטול because of, on account of. M59:12

מילתא word, spell. מלתא M142:3; M163:9,10,11; מילי M163:9,27; מיליה M163:3,13,17,19,25,26,27; מילן M145:10

מימר word, command. מימריה M142:3, M155:5; מימרהון M163:3,5,7,12,14,17,19,21,22,25

מירדא rebellion. M145:5

מכא *af.* to lower. ממכי M117:4

מלאכה angel. M102:3,10, M103:8, M119:8, M117:4, M163:14,15; מלאכין M117:5, M155:10; מלאכי M163:13,15,16,18,23,26

מלאך מותא M101:13

מלה (H) word. מילי מיליה M101:12

מלויתא accompanying demon (f.). M59:7

מלך to rule (H). מלך M156:11; מאלך M156:11; ימלך M156:11

מלך to rule. אמליך *af.* M163:28; נמלכו M142:4; נמלכון M163:28

מלך (H) king. M102:10, M117:1

מלכא king. M145:15,16, M163:4; מלכה M145:2; מלך M156:4; מלכי M145:9; מלכיה M156:4

מלכותא kingdom. M123:5, M138:7; מלכותיה M103:9, M119:10

מלל to speak. ממללן *pa.* M123:1, M138:2

מללתא utterance. M103:3, M119:3, M123:2,6, M138:3,4,9,11

מן from. *passim.* M50:5, M59:10,11, M101:6,7,10, M102:1,12,14, M103:2,3,4,5, M119:2,3,4,5,7, M107:5,6,8,9, M108:2, M112:7, M121:3,4,5, M123:5,8,9, M131:4, M138:8,11, M142:8,10, M145:5, M149:8,9,10, M155:2,10,11,12, M156:1,3,11,12 M163:13,18,22,23,26,28; מי M138:12; מיניה M101:13, M102:12; מינה M102:13, M156:12; מנהיא M145:3; מינך M145:6; מנהון M142:3, מינהון M50:6, M107:3; מינהין M142:2,3; מינכון M59:12

מני to be appointed. ממנ<י>ן M155:10

מסי to melt. איתמסיאה *Ihtpe* M50:4

מעא womb, belly. מעה M101:6, M155:2,7,12; מ(ע)יה (?) M103:3; מעינה M155:9

מעבדא active, doing. מעבדי M103:5, M119:5

מעולא (H) lofty. M102:10

מעלה (H) above M101:11

מעלונא entrance. מעולהון M121:1

מערבא west. M102:5

מפקונא exit. מיפקיהון M121:1

מפתח (H) engraver; key. מפתחי M101:7

מקום (H) place. M117:3,7

מקור source (H). M155:10

מרום (H) height, above. M101:11

מרומא height, on high. M50:4; מירומא M59:10

מריא lord. M107:5, M163:23; אמירן (?) M107:6; מרי M163:20, M142:2; מריהון M163:18

מרכבתא chariot. M121:4, M145:4; מרכבתיה M123:4, M138:6

משכבא bed. מישכביהון M50:5

משמתא ban. M59:7, M101:4; משמתתא M107:4,7

מתן two hundred. M156:12

נאלא incubus, nightmare. נאלי M112:5

נגן (H) to play a musical instrument *piel*. מנגן M117:1

נגע to injure. ונגעון M142:6

נגע (H) plague. נגעים M117:2

נגרא river course. נגרי M163:22

נדי (H) to banish *piel*. מנודא M101:10

נדא/נדי to throw, banish, excommunicate *af*. לאנדואהון M59:11

נדי to bespatter. נינדי M163:24

נדרא oath. נידרא M103:4, M119:4, M112:5, M123:2,3,6,7,8 M138:2,4,8,10; נידרין M123:1, M138:2

נהורא light. ניהור M123:2, M138:3

נהם to groan. נהמא M123:6, M138:9

נהרא river. נהרין M155:9

נוד to shake. נד M145:7,8; אנידה *af*. M145:7; איתונד *ittaf*. M145:7

נודא shaking, trembling. M145:7

נוח to rest. אניחו *af*. M163:26,27

נומתא slumber. M123:7, M138:9

נונא fish. נוני M145:8

נורא fire. M155:8; נור M123:4,5, M138:6,7, M155:8

נורא (H) revered. M102:10

נזה to be agitated. תינזהון M156:12

נזק to harm. תיתזק *ithpe*. M155:6

נחושה copper (H). נחושא M155:7

נחת to go down. אחית *af*. M102:10

נטל to move. תינטלון M123:8

נטר to guard, protect. תינטר *ithpe.* M155:6; תינטרי *ithpe.* M103:2, M119:2

נטרתא protection. M107:1, M142:10

ניגרא step. ניגריה M145:12

ניהמתא a groan. M123:6, M138:9

ניסכא lance. M145:14,16

ניסכא cast metal idol. ניסכאיא M145:12

נסב to gather. נסבה M155:11; סבו M155:12

נפל to fall. ניפיל M163:2

נפק to go out; *af.* to remove. נפק (pl.) M145:3,4,5,6; ניפק M163:26; יפקון M112:7; ניפקן M163:13,27; תיפקין M156:12; תיפקון M59:11; פוקו M101:6; תפקון M131:2,4; תפיק *af.* M155:10; מפקא *af.* M123:7, M138:9; מפקין *af.* M131:3; לאפקא *af.* M50:5, M101:2; לאפוקי *af.* M59:11

נפשא soul. נפשיה M149:6; נפשיכי M103:6, M119:6

נקב (H) gap M50:4; נקבי M59:9

נקבה female. ניקבתא M149:8,9; נקיבה (H) M101:5,9, M103:7; ניקבה M119:7,8; ניקבתא M50:2, M59:7, M101:4, M123:8

נקט to hold, take, seize. נקטוי M163:23

נשי to forget. *ithpe.* ליתנשי M102:13

נשא woman. נשי M123:8; נשיא M155:11

נתן (H) to give. תנו M117:3

סגי *pa.* to increase. מסג (?) M112:14

סדם to bind, shackle, confine. סדים M107:5

סדנא block, anvil. M145:8,12

סדנין אפיכין perverted devils (see DM p. 310). M102:4, M112:4; סדני אפיכי M102:8

סוף end. M163:20

סטן demon; enemy; prosecutor. סטנא M149:8; סטנין M59:11, M112:5, M121:3; סיטני M107:3,7; סטני M107:3,7, M108:2, M112:6, M121:4

סטנה hostility. M103:2, M119:2

סיהרא moon. M131:3

סיטרא side. סיטריה M163:23

סיוטא fright. סיוטי M108:2

סינא shoe. סנך M123:5; סינך M138:8

סיפא sword. M145:15,16

סכר to block, stop up. סכרא M102:8; ס[.]כרין M155:9

סלה M50:6; M101:13, M102:14, M103:10, M119:10, M107:9, M117:6, M121:5,6, M123:9, M131:5, M138:12, M142:8, M149:11, M155:12, M156:13, M163:28,30

סלק to rise, go up, ascend; *pa.* to remove. סליקית M50:4, M59:10; סליק *pa.* M145:14, סליקנא *pa.* M145:15

סמק to make red *pa.* סמיק M145:8

סנה thorn bush. M123:5, M138:7

סניתא hateful. M163:3,13,17,19,21,25,26,27; סניותא M163:26,27; סניתי M59:11; סניי M107:4

ספר document. M50:6; סיפר M59:12

סר prince. M102:11; סרא M103:10, M119:10; סרין M117:5

עבד to make, do, enact, perform. עבדו M102:11; עבדון M102:8; עבדן M102:6; עבדנא M50:1, M59:5; עבדין M102:5; עבדינון M102:3; ליעבדו M102:7;

עבדא servant. עובידיהון M121:2

עבדא magical act. M50:1; עובדין M103:4, M119:4

עבר to pass. M145:14; עברו M163:18; עברנא M145:15; עברי מן עלמא die M50:4, M59:10

עד until. M163:24

עובראfoetus. עוברה M101:6; עיבוריה M149:6

עולם (H) world. M102:10, M107:9

עומקא M163:29

עופא bird. M145:10

עזיזא m. strong. עזיזתא f. M103:5, M119:5

עזקתא signet ring. עיזקתא M101:9, M107:7, M142:8

עידנא time. M145:3,13

עילאי m. upper. M102:12; עיליתא f. upper. M103:3, M119:3

עין (H) eye. M117:3

עין רעה evil eye M156:6

עינא eye. M149:9; עינוהי M163:22,23

עיניתנא humble. M131:4

על upon, over, against, on account of *passim.* M102:2,3,4,5,12, M119:2, M117:2,3, M123:1, M138:1, M142:2,3, M155:5,9,10, M156:4, M163:1,8,18,23,24,25,27,28; עליה M142:8, M163:21; עלה M101:7, M102:7,9; M50:7, M123:6, M138:8,9, M156:13; עלך M102:10; עליכי M117:5, M156:7,8; עליכון M50:4, M59:8,10, M123:2,6, M138:2,3,8, M142:4,5; עליהון M102:7,9, M123:1, M138:2, M156:11, M163:18; עליו (H) M163:23

על ידי M155:6

עלא high, above. לעילא M123:5; לעלא M138:7

עלמא world. M50:4, M59:10, M142:2, M145:6,10, M163:28; עלמה M163:11,20,28; לעלם forever M50:6, M101:7, M121:5, M123:9, M138:12, M142:8, M163:28,29; עלם M102:14; עלמין M102:14, M155:8, M163:30

עם with. עים M 131:1

עמודה column. M163:15

עמי *af.* to dim, extirpate, sadden. תעימו M123:6, M138:9

ענא cloud. ענינן (?)M163:23; ענני M163:24

ענקתא necklace-charm. M112:5

עקר to uproot. איתעקרו *ithpe.* M50:4

עקרבא scorpion. ארקבי (?) M145:11

עקרה barren. M101:4,5

עריתא fever. ערייתא M142:7

עריות (H) shivers. M117:3

ערק to flee, run away. עריק M101:13

עשה (H) to do, to act. עשיתי M50:7, M59:13; עושה M149:5, M156:2

פגע to plague. M149:9

פגע to happen upon, bump into. M156:7,8

פגעה affliction, plague. M103:2, M119:2; פגע M149:9; פגעין M121:3

פגר (H) body. פגרי M101:11,12

פגרא body. פגרה M156:5,9

פומא mouth. M102:8, M123:7, M138:9; פומיי M149:10

פוקדנא command. פוקדן M163:18

פורא lot. M50:1, M59:4

פטר to release. פטרנא M50:6, M59:12

פיטורא divorce, sending away. פיטורין M50:3,6, M59:9,12, M103:6, M119:6

פיקודא command. M163:25

פישרא a solution, dissolving. M102:7

פכר to split, break, beat. פכירין M142:9,10, פכרין M163:23; פכרוי *pa.* M163:23; פכרי *pa.* M163:23

פלגא phalanx. M145:4

פנים (H) face. פניו M123:4, M138:6; פני M123:4, M138:6

פסק to cut, split, sever. איתפסיק *ithpe.* M163:23

פקד to command *pa.* מפקדין M156:4

פקע to burst open, split. פקא M131:1

פקעא valley, split, fissure. פקא M131:1; פקתא M145:8

פרטה inventory. אפרטה M145:10

פרש to express clearly, define. מפרש *pa.* M142:7

פרש to depart *pa.* פריש M156:11

פשח to tear off. איפשית *ithpe.* M131:1

פשר to dissolve. תיפשרין M156:12

פתוח (H) engraving. פתוחי M101:8

פתח to open. פתיחין M155:9

פתכרא idol. M149:8; פתכר M103:2; פתכרי M101:3, M102:5,7, M123:8, M131:2, M138:10; פתכרין M119:2, M112:5; פתכרתא M101:3, M103:2, M119:3; פתכריה M163:21,25,29

פתל to pervert. פתלין M163:15

צבא (H) host. M101:11

צבי to desire. תצבין M103:6, M119:6

צור to draw. צר M142:8

צור (H) rock. M112:14

צורונא image. M112:3

צות to listen. מציתנא *pa.* M145:1

צותא company. M156:9

צידעא the temple. צידעה M156:5

ציפרא bird. ציפרי M102:9, M145:9

ציצא night hawk. M145:9

ציצא fringe. ציצין M163:23

צנף to shriek. M145:6

צר (?).M102:6,8,11,12

קבל to accept, receive. קביל M145:10; קבילו M155:12; ליתקבל *ithpa.* M102:7

קברא tomb, grave. קברי M102:7, M156:5

קדוש (H) holy. M112:14, M155:3,4

קדח to groan. M145:6

קדיש holy. קדש M142:3; קדישה M102:14, M156:2; קדישי M163:16; קדישתא M163:29

קדם before, in the presence of. M102:7,14, M145:13, M163:18; קדמין beginning M123:5, M138:8; קדמאה primal M155:12, M163:18,21,23,27

קום to stand, exist, rise. תיקמין M156:13; קאי M155:3; קאים M102:14, M117:4; קים M155:8; ק<א>ינא M145:1; קים (H) M107:9, M163:28,30

קומתא body height, stature. קומתיה M102:12

קטל to kill. *pa.* מקטלא M103:5, M119:5

קיבלא rebuke. M155:12

קילן one who is swift (?). M145:13

קינא nest. M145:9

קירסא misfortune. M145:14

קל (H) sound, voice. M101:12

קלא voice. קליה M145:14; קלאי M145:15

קלי to roast. קליא M155:11

קמיעה amulet. M108:2, M155:9; קמיעא M123:1, M138:1, M155:1

קמע to bind *ithpe.* איתקמע M123:1, M138:1; איתקמיע M155:9

קנינא possession. קינייה M149:5

קניסא penalty. M131:4

קצר to shorten. מיתקצרין *ithpe.* M163:15

קראה a biblical verse. M156:8

קרב to approach, come near, touch. יקירבון M112:4; יקרבון M123:1, M138:2; תיקירבון M142:6

קרבא war. M145:3,9,13, M163:26

קרי to call. קרית M131:4; קרי M145:5; קרן M101:13; קרנון M102:3

קריבתא near; relative. M103:4, M119:4; קריבא M123:7; קריבה M138:10

קריתא (magical) invocation. M103:4, M119:4, M112:5

קרן (H) ray of light. קרניו M123:4, M138:6; קרני M123:4, M138:6

קרנא horn. M145:5; קרני M123:5, M138:7

קרקפא skull, head. קרקף M145:11; אקרקפה M101:12

קרקפנא head-man. M145:12

ראש (H) head. ראשו M101:11

ראשא head. ראישה M156:5,9

ראשון (H) first. רישונים M117:1

רב great. רבה M101:13, M102:3,14, M117:5, M123:5, M138:8, M155:6, M156:2, M163:20,23; רבא M107:7, M112:7, M131:5, M142:5, M145:2,8,9,10,11,12,14; רבתא M101:9, M145:1,4,5,7; רבותה M163:20; רבות M163:16; רבי M163:15; ריבוהי M123:4, M138:7; רבותהון M163:16

רבא master. רבי M145:5

רבי rabbi. M156:7

רביתא ocean. M145:6,9

רגז to be angry; *išťaf* to be agitated. אישתרגז *išťaf* M145:7

רגלא foot. ריגלך M123:6; רגלך M138:8; ריגליהון M163:3,7,12,14,17,19,21,22,25

רגש to be agitated. M145:8,9

רגש (H) tumult. M101:12

רדף to chase. רדפת M156:9

רהב to alarm. ארהיב *af.* M107:5

רהט to run. ארהיט *af.* M107:7

רוגזא anger, fury. M145:5; רוגזיה M145:15; רוגזאי M145:14

רוח (H) spirit. M101:9, M117:2

רוח wind. רוחי M145:6

רוחא spirit. M103:5, M117:6, M155:2,7,12, M156:4,5,6,7,9,10; רחא M119:10; רוח M101:4, M119:5, M155:9; רוחי M101:3, M156:4; רוחתא M131:2,4, M163:29

רוטננא incantation (?).M145:10

רומא height. M163:29

רוקא spittle. רוקי M149:10

רזא mystery, secret. M102:1,13, M142:4; רזי M102:11,12,13; ראזי M102:13; רזיה M163:21

רחיקתא distant; distant relative. M103:4, M119:4; רחיקא M123:7, M138:10

רחק to remove. רחיקו M101:6; לרחקא *pa.* M101:2; ניתרחקון *ithpe.* M107:3

ריוחתא open space. M149:9

ריש beginning, top. ארישה M101:12

ריש head, chief. ראיש M155:10

רישא head. רישיה M145:12

רכובא saddled on, positioned on. רכובהון M163:11

רם high, exalted. רמא M163:29

רמא height. ראמתא M50:4, M102:9; רמאתה M163:21; רמיתא M59:10

רמא, רמי to throw, cast. M145:12; רמינא M50:1,M59:4

רניתא unfavourable report, defamation, whispering. M102:11

רע (H) evil. רעה M101:9

רעיונא desire. רעויניה M163:27

רעש (H) commotion. M101:11,12

רפא (H) to heal. רופא M117:4

רקיעא firmament. M145:12; רקיע M145:7,8

רשאה f. have permission. ראשהא M103:6; ראשאה M119:6

רתת to shake. תרתתינה M156:13

ש- (H) relative pronoun. שאין M101:9, שישמע M101:9, שלו M101:10

שאל to ask. משוילנה *pa.* M145:9

שבועתא oath. M101:5

שבח to praise. שבחית M145:13

שביבא spark. שביבין M155:8

שבילא path. שביליכי M155:12

שבע *af.* to adjure, invoke. אשבעית M119:2, M123:3, M138:4; משבע M117:5; משבענא M102:10, M103:7, M119:7, M123:2,6, M138:2,3,8, M156:7,8

שבע seven. M102:12,13, M163:20; שבעה M163:9,11,23

שגר *pa.* to send. משגרין M123:5, M138:7

שגש to confuse; to be excited, agitated *pa.* נישת(ג)ש (?) *ithpe.* M102:11; אישת(ג)ש *ithpe.* M145:8; שגישי *pa.* M59:11

שד demon. שידא M155:12; שידי M50:4, M59:10, M101:2, M107:3,7, M108:2, M121:3, M131:2,3, M142:5,7, M145:4,14,15,16; שדי M145:15; שידין M59:11; שאדא M102:7

שדי to throw, cast. שדוי M163:23

שדר *pa.* to send, dispatch. שדרינון M102:2,3; אישתדרו *ithpa.* M156:10; לישתדרון *ithpa.* M102:5; נישתדרון *ithpa.* M102:7; מישתדרי *ithpa.* M121:4

שולטנא authority, power. שולטנהון M163:3,6,7,12,14,17,19,21,22,25

שום name. M50:3, M59:8,9, M101:11, M102:3,10,11,12,14, M103:1,6,9, M119:1,10, M107:4, M108:3, M117:2, M123:1, M131:5, M138:1, M155:3,8,9,10,12, M156:3, M163:13,14,16,26,29; שמה M101:13, M102:11,14,, M156:6, M163:5,6,10,11,12,16,24; שמא M102:12, M163:9,10,11,13; שמיה M101:13, M102:10,11, M103:7,9,10, M119:8,9,10, M112:7, M117:4,5,6, M123:5, M138:8, M142:3,7,8, M149:11, M155:5, M163:1,15; שמיהון M163:16,28,29; שמות (H) M50:4, M59:9; שמו (H) M123:3,4, M138:5,6; שמך (H) M50:6, M59:13, M149:5, M156:2

שוטא scourge. שוטיך M145:10

שוף to slip. שף M145:8

שורשא root. M145:12

שזב to save. *ithpe.* תישתזבי M103:2

שחר to wake up. M117:4

שיבבה neighbour. M123:7, M138:10; שיבבי M163:20

שיבוקא remission, releasing. שיבוקין M50:3,6, M59:9; שבוקין M59:12

שיבטא plague; plague spirit. שיבטין M59:11

שינא cliff. M145:1

שינתא sleep. M50:3,6, M59:8,12

שיתא six. M155:10

שיתין sixty. M155:10, M163:23

שכב to lie down. שכבא M156:4,5

שכלל to complete. שכליל M155:5

של (H) of, belonging to. M101:11

שלום (H) peace. M101:10

שלח to send, send off. אישתלחו *ithpa.* M163:18

שלט to have power over; *af.* to appoint, be appointed. תישלטון M156:12; שליט M117:6; שלטא M155:7; משלט *af.* M102:3,4

שליחא messenger. שליחין M123:4, M138:7

שליטא have power. M103:6, M119:6, M145:2

שלל to chain. משלל *pa.* M107:5

שלם *pa.* to deliver. משלם M123:8, M138:10

שלמתא magic rite. M123:8

שם (H) name. שים M117:3

שמיה sky, heaven. M50:4, M59:10, M156:1,3; שמיא M102:4,6, M142:10, M155:5, M163:8,9,24

שמע to hear, listen. שמעו M101:5; שמ<ע>נא M145:1; תישמע M145:10

שמע (H) *nif* to obey. ישמע M101:9,10

שמש *pa.* to serve, officiate. משמשין M123:4, M138:7, M163:16

שמשא sun. M131:3, M163:8; שימשה M155:6

שמת to ban *pa.* ישמתון M156:10; משמת M107:5

שמתא ban. M103:9, M119:9

שנא tooth. שיני M145:11

שני to change. M155:12; תישני M145:10; שנא M155:12

שעה time. M101:7; שועה M107:9; שעתא M145:3,13, M156:8

שפך to pour. אישפוך *af.* M145:11

שצטם (*shafel* of סטם) to lock up, shackle. לשצטמא M101:1

שקל to take, draw. שקיל M145:14; שקילנא M50:1, M59:4, M145:15; *ithpe.* לישתקיל M102:13,14

שקף to knock. שקיף M145:12

שר prince. M103:9, M119:10

שרגג to lead astray. תשרגגינה M156:13

שרי to loosen, untie. שרי M123:5, M138:8

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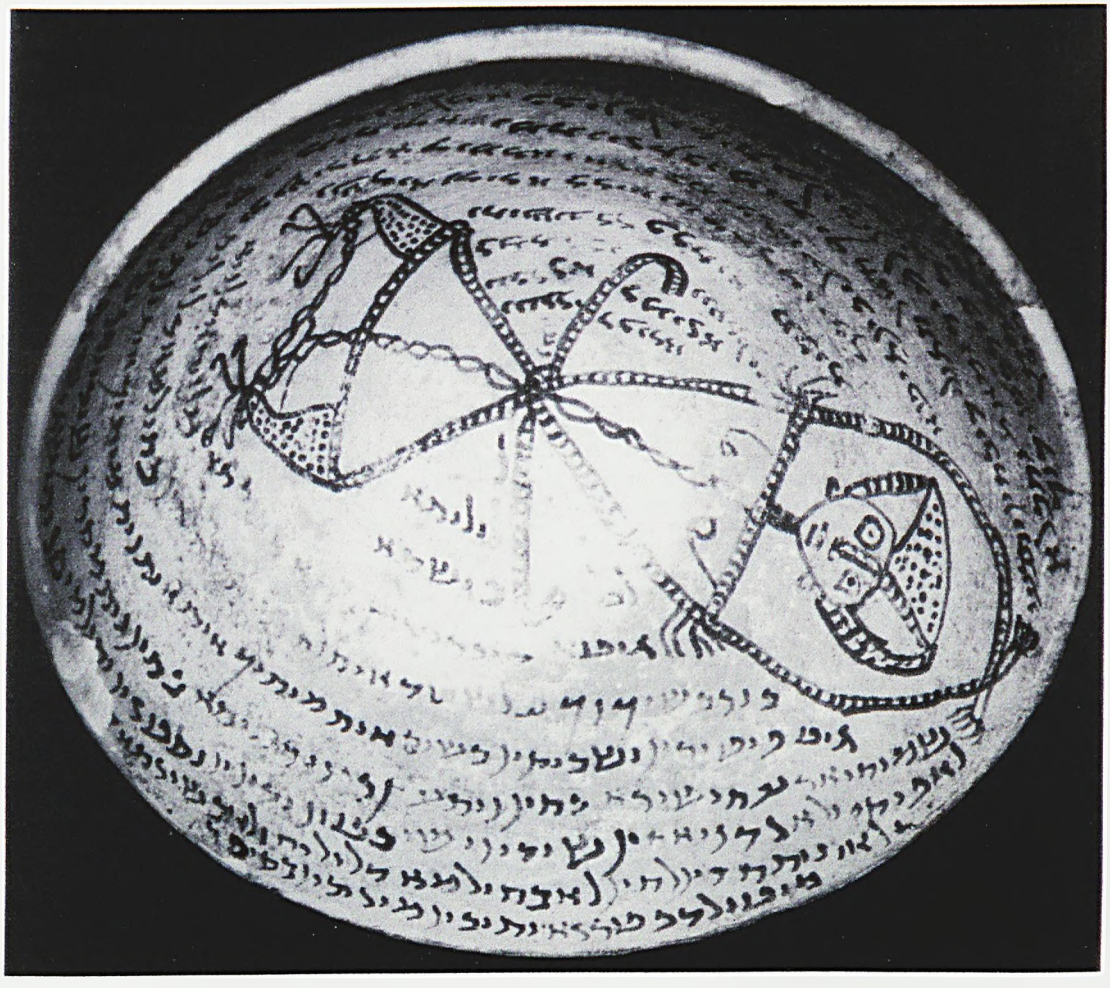
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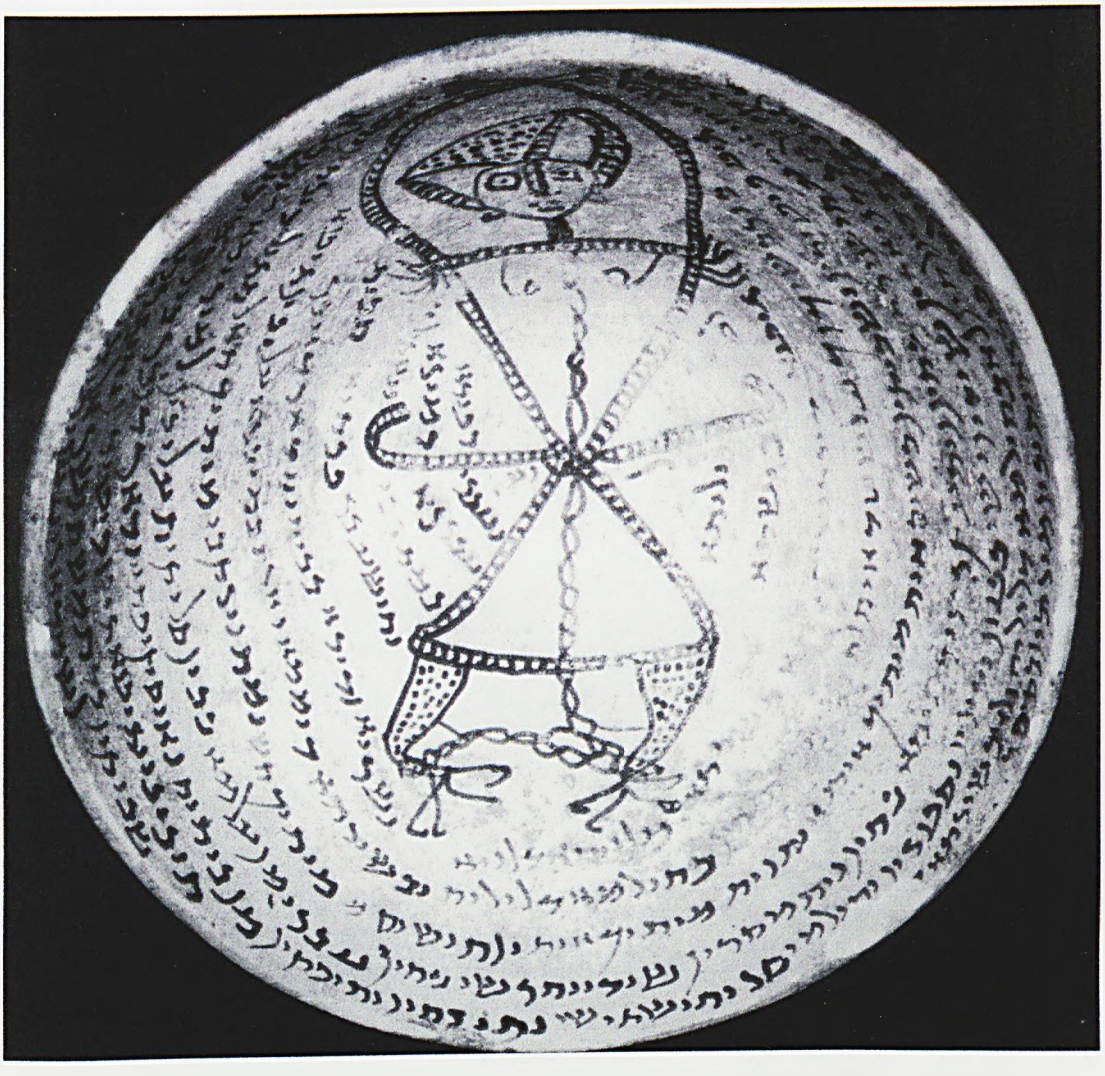
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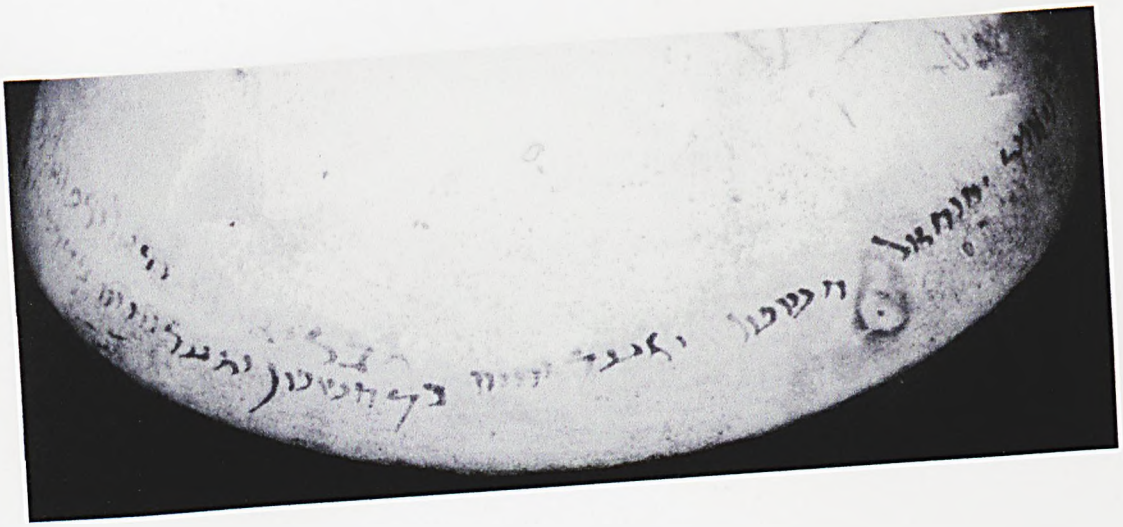
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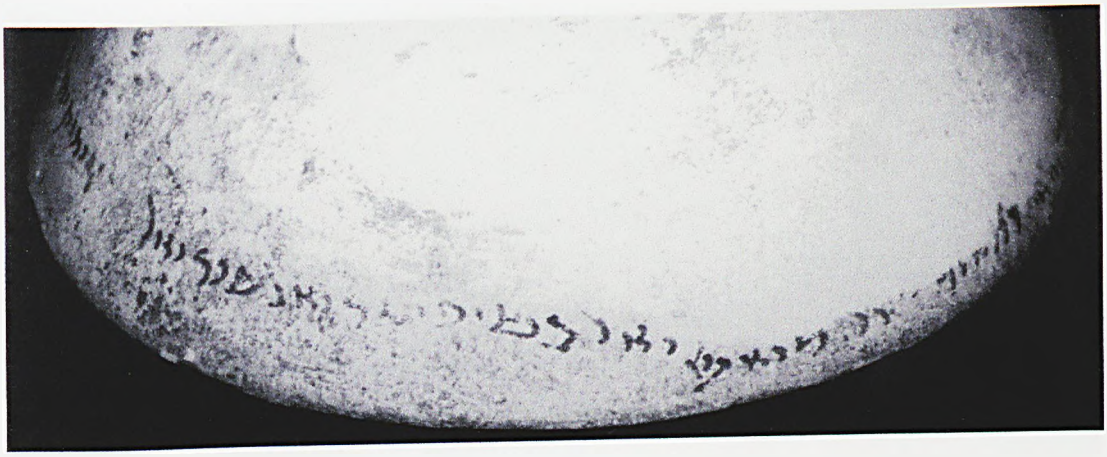


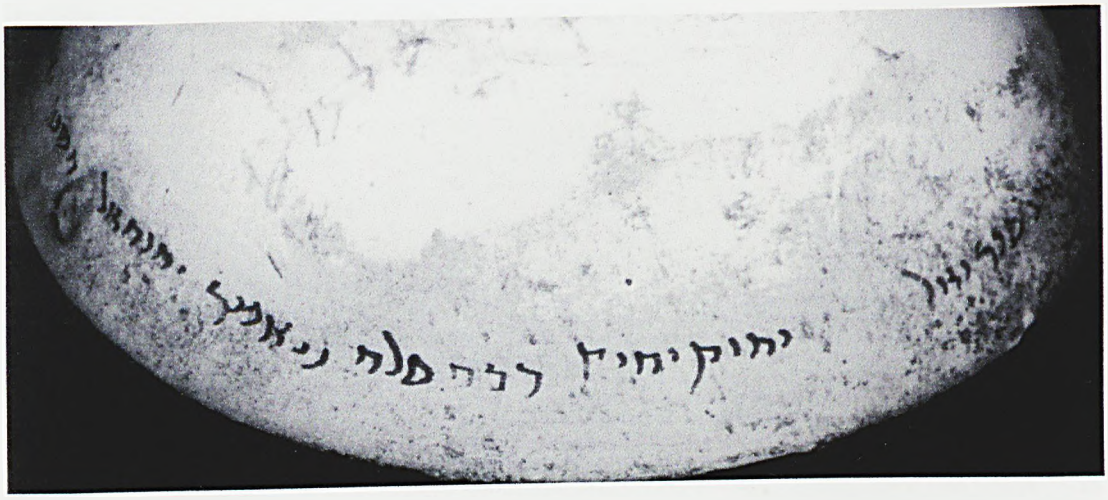
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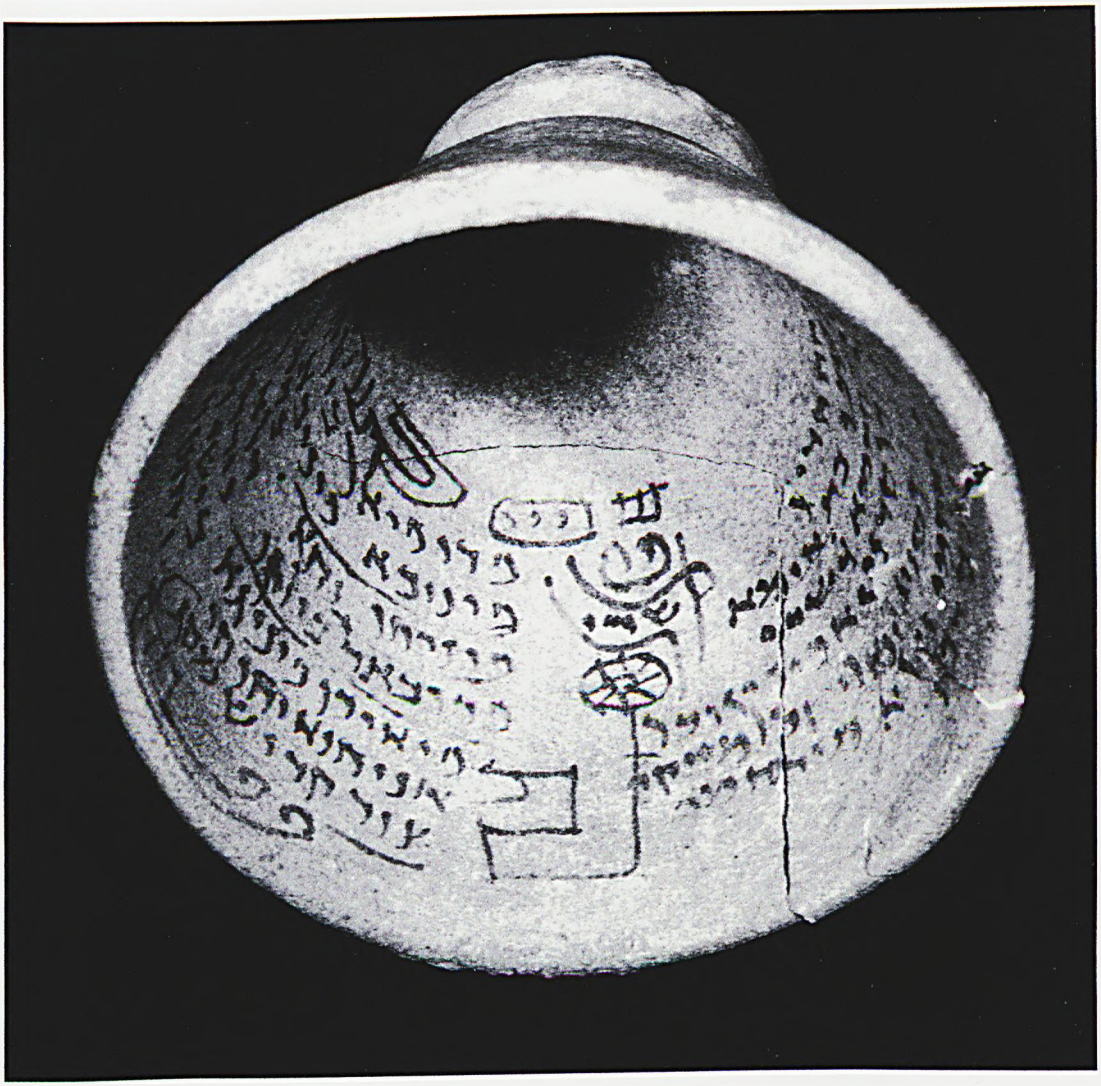
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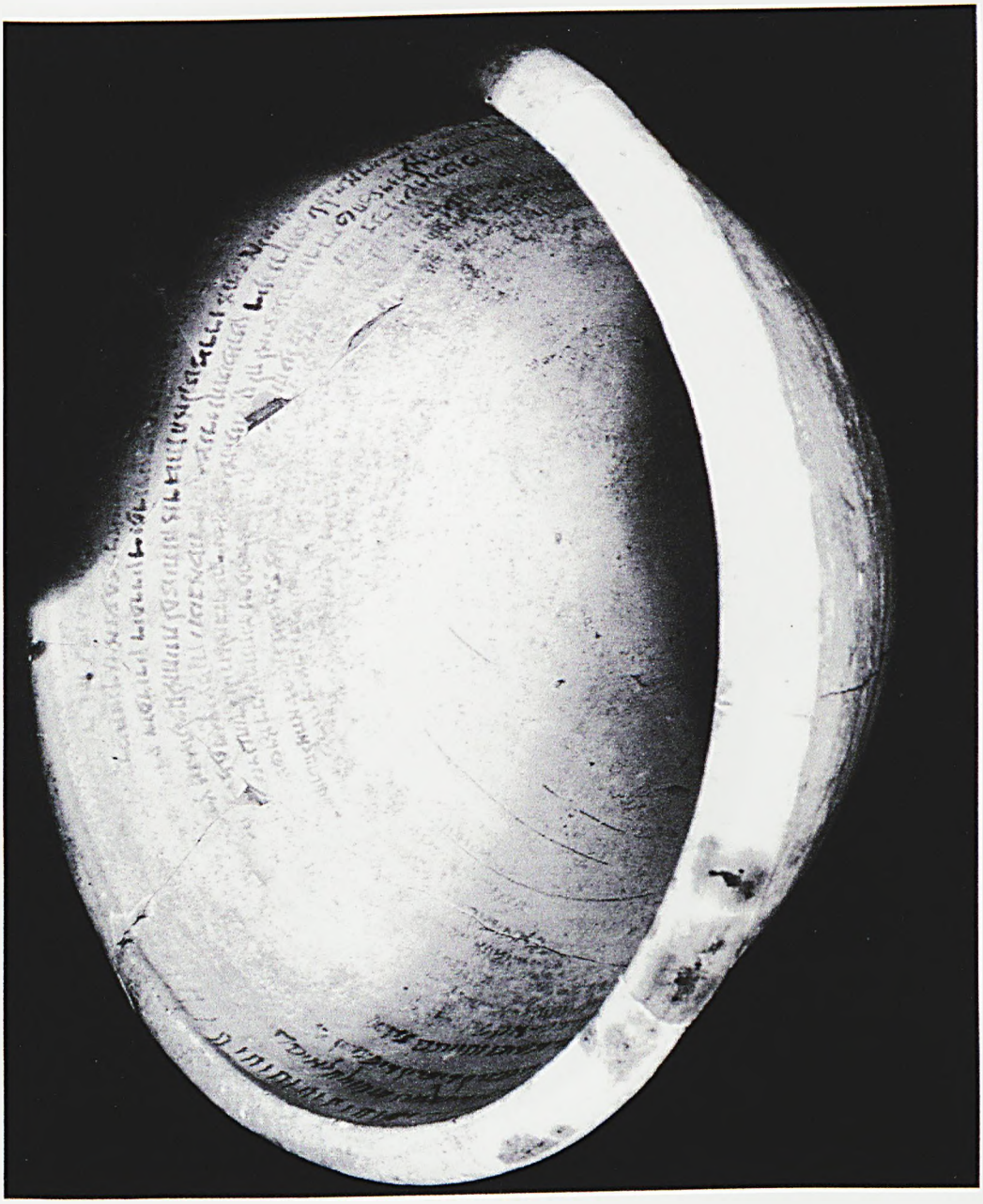
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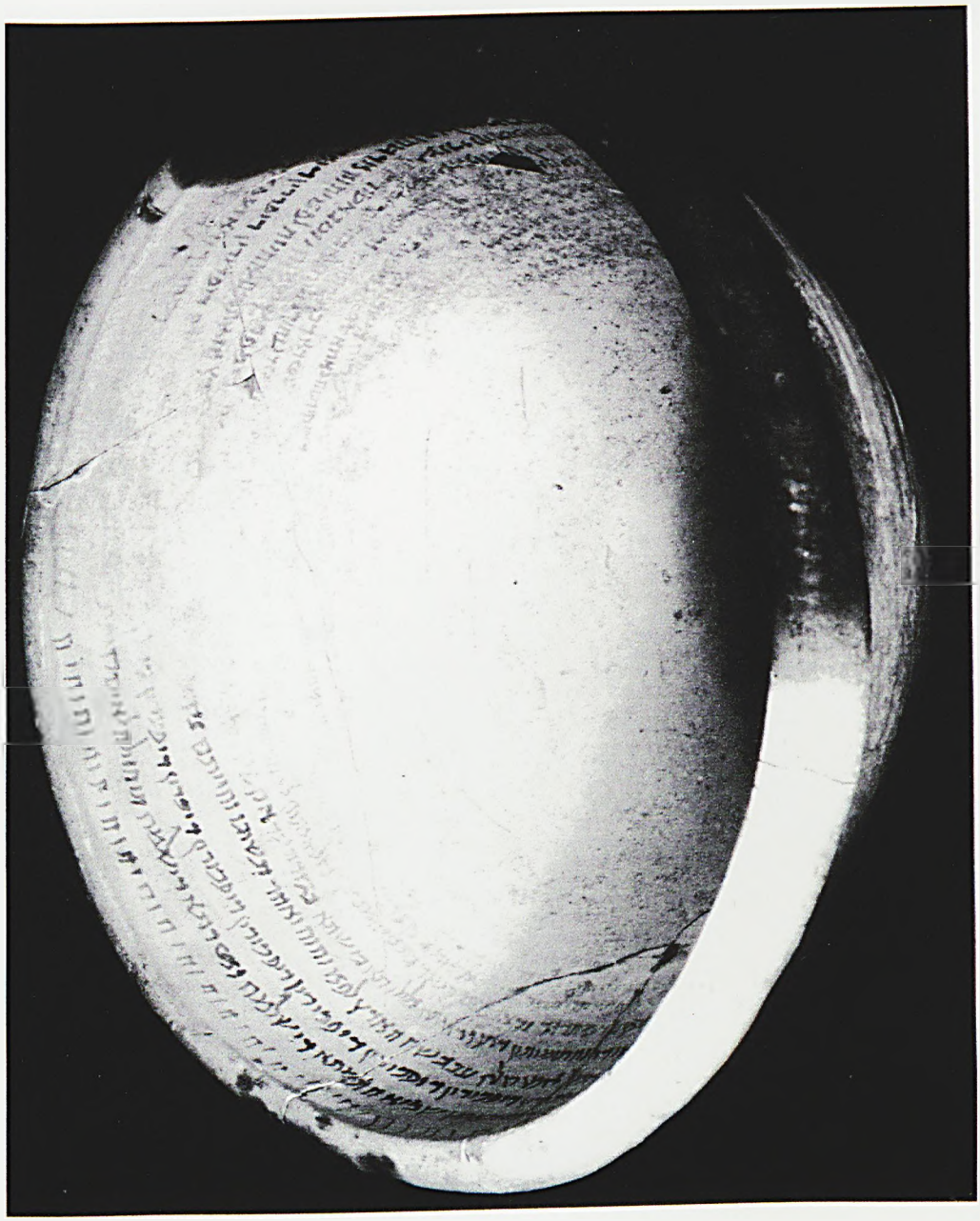
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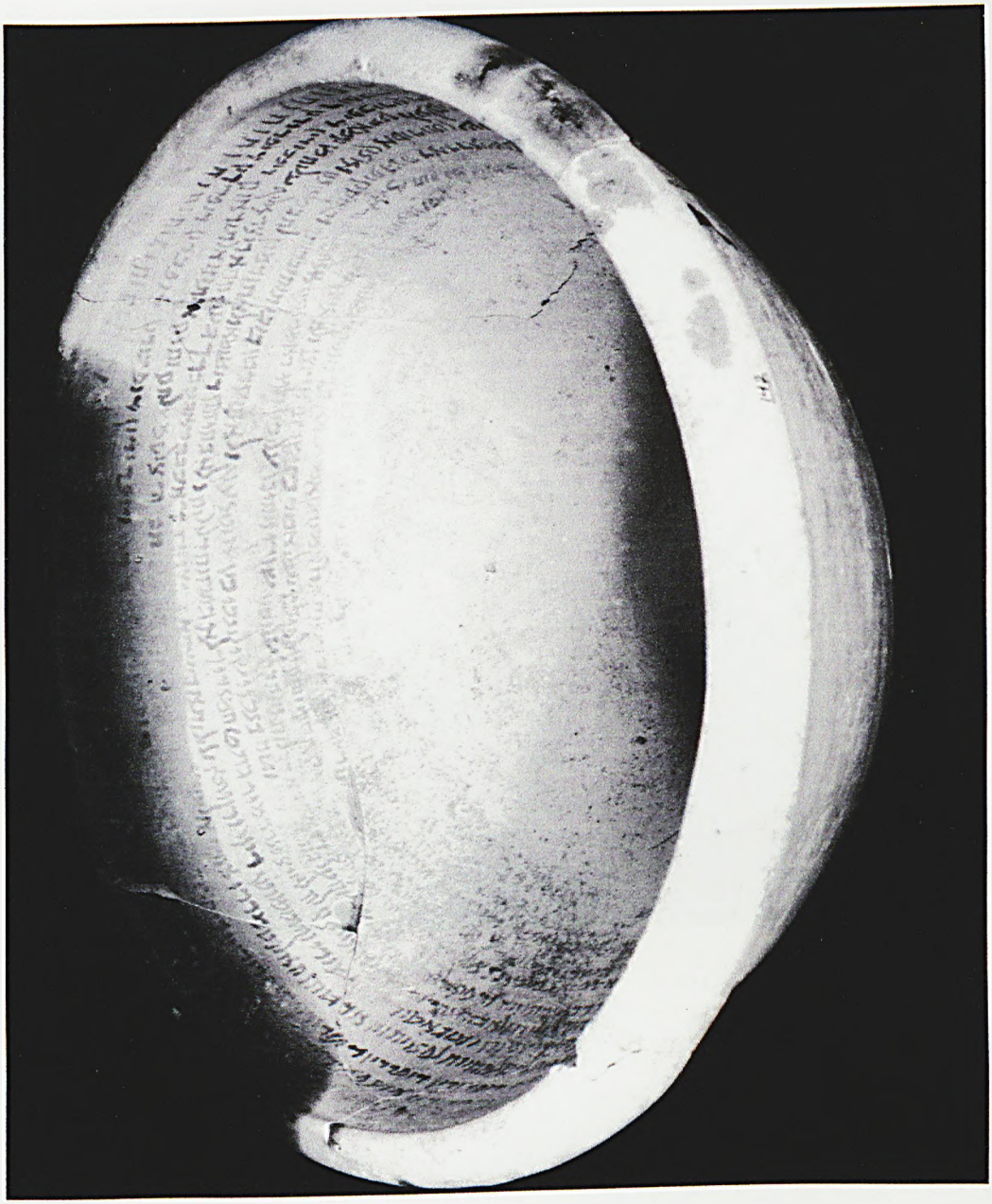
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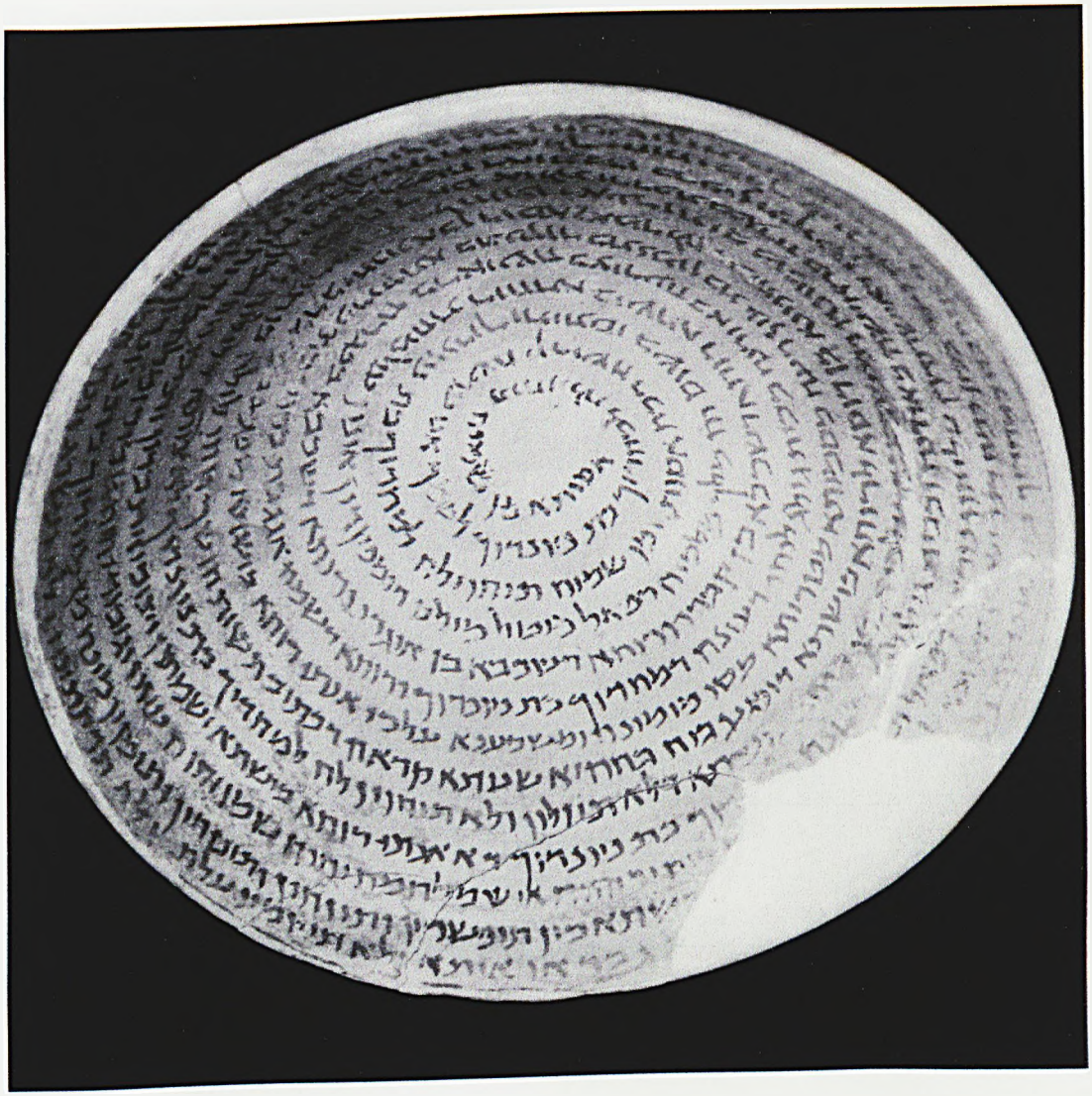
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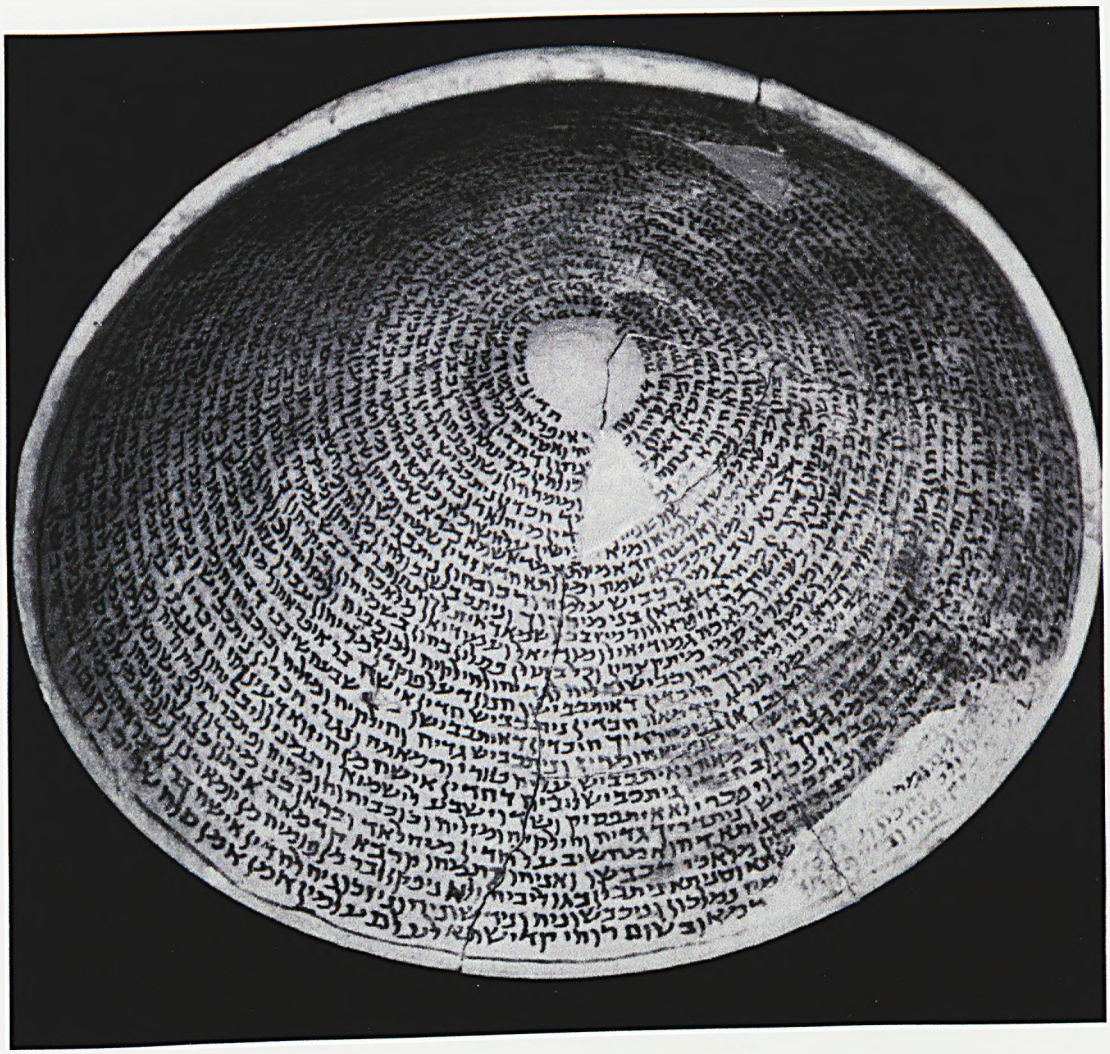
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Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity - A Corpus of Magic Bowls.

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Thesis submitted for PhD

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Abstract

Since the first magic bowl text in Jewish Aramaic was edited by Thomas Ellis in 1859 there have only been just over 100 such texts published. Among the most significant contributors were James A. Montgomery, Cyrus Gordon, Edwin Yamauchi, Markham J. Geller, joined more recently by Tapani Harviainen, Christa Müller-Kessler as well as Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked.

This dissertation includes text editions with critical apparatus for twenty hitherto unpublished magic bowl texts in Jewish Aramaic. The commentary contains philological analyses and comparison with other published and unpublished bowls, Jewish amulets from Late Antiquity, magical Geniza material, classic Jewish sources up to the medieval period, Hekhalot, and Jewish liturgy. Special features and differences between duplicate texts are discussed. A comprehensive glossary, lists of names, and photographs of the bowls are provided.

The introduction includes a description of the bowls, a review of the main grammatical features of the Jewish Aramaic dialect of the bowls, a discussion of some other sources with which these texts share material and motifs and an analyses of the importance of duplicate texts.

The limited number of bowl texts which are available for study means that many of the problems which have risen in the process of editing have remained unsolved. This new corpus includes a wide spectrum of material including rare curse texts, legal as well as liturgical formula, new lexical material and parallels to previously published texts which allow corrections and in some cases new readings. The occasional employment of other contemporary dialect forms as well as non-Jewish motifs expose the world of magical practice in Late Antiquity to have been fertile ground for cross cultural exchanges.

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A special thanks must also go to Mr. Shlomo Moussaieff whose collection of magic bowls is the subject of this study. Constant access to the bowls, a sponsorship of the photographic material and his great enthusiasm and encouragement have made this work possible.

Finally I would like to thank my parents, Drs. Susi and Cyril Levene, and my wife Michaela who all supported and encouraged me in so many ways and saw me through this period of my life.

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Abbreviations

Bowls and Amulets

A1-32 - Naveh and Shaked 1985, pp. 40-122; 1993, pp. 43-107.

Aaron A-F - Geller 1986, pp.101-117.

AIT 1,2,3,... - Montgomery 1913, pp. 117-264.

BOR - Harviainen 1981, pp. 3-23.

De Menil - Isbell 1976, pp. 15-20.

Ellis 1-7 - Layard 1853, pp. 512-523. (Ellis 1 = BM 91710, AIT 11b, Jeruzalmi p. 64 and Isbell 18; Ellis 5 = Jeruzalmi p. 76 and Isbell 59)

Geller A-D - Geller 1980, pp. 47-60.

Gordon 9737 - Gordon 1934a, pp. 141-143.

Gordon A-F - Gordon 1934, pp. 321-334.

Gordon G - Gordon 1934b, pp. 466-474.

Gordon H-N - Gordon 1937, pp. 86-106.

Gordon 1-9 - Gordon 1941, pp. 117-131.

Gordon 10-11 - Gordon 1941, pp. 272-276.

Isbell 1-72 - Isbell 1975, pp. 17-155.

K3449 - Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 2; Geller 1980, p. 60.

MIT 1-33 - Yamauchi 1967, 154-296.

McCullough A-E - McCullough 1967, pp. 3-59.

Moriah 1,2 - Gordon 1984, 220-241.

Moussaieff 1,2 - Shaked 1995, pp. 207-216.

MS - Magic bowls from the Schøyen collection to be published shortly by S. Shaked.[1]

Müller-Kessler B1 and B2 - Müller-Kessler 1994, pp.6-9.

N&Sh B1-27 - Naveh and Shaked 1985, pp. 124-215; 1993 , pp. 113-146.

N-IV - Isbell 1976, pp. 19-23.

Obermann I, II - Obermann 1940, pp. 6-31.

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[1] I would like to thank S. Shaked for kindly allowing me access to many of his early transcriptions of bowls from the Schøyen collection. All transcriptions that are presented here have been recollated by myself from the photographs and bowls themselves.

VA 2416 - Wohlstein 1894, pp. 11-27.

Yam - Yamauchi 1965, pp.514-520.

Dictionaries

Brockelmann - Brocklelmann K., 1928, *Lexicon Syriacum*. 2. Ausgabe. Halle.

CAD - Gelb I. J., Oppenheim A. L., et al., 1956 -, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicage and Gluckstadt.

DM - Drower E. S. and Macuch R., 1963, *A Mandaic dictionary*, Oxford.

J. - Jastrow M., 1903, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Bavli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature*, New York.

PS - Payne Smith J., 1903, *A Compendius Syriac Dictioanry*, Oxford.

Sokoloff - Sokoloff M, 1990, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum, II), Ramat-Gan.

BTA - Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic

JA - Jewish Aramaic

SLA - Standard Literary Aramaic

Targ.-J. - Targum Jonathan

Targ.-O. - Targum Onkelos

Targ. Ps-J. - Targum Pseudo-Jonathan

Verb Stems: Peal - *pe.*; Pael - *pa.*; Ithpeel - *ithpe.*; Ithpaal - *ithpa.*; Afel - *af.*; Ittafal - *Ittaf.*

MT - Masoretic Text

m. - Mishna

t. - Tosefta

b. - Babylonian Talmud

y. - Yerushalmi Talmud

Tractates:

AZ - Abodah Zarah; BB - Baba Batra; Bek. - Bekhorot; Ber. - Berakhot; BQ - Baba Qamma; BM - Baba Metsia; Erub. - Erubin; Git. - Gittin; Hul. - Hullin; Qid. - Qiddushin; Meg. -

Megillah; MQ - Moed Qatan; Nid. - Niddah; Pes. - Pesahim; San. - Sanhedrin; Suk. - Sukkah; Tan. - Taanit; Yeb. - Yebamot; Yom. - Yoma; Zeb. - Zebahim

Periodicals

AASOR - Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research

AJSLL - American Journal so Semitic Languages and Literatures

BSOAS - Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society

JJS - Journal of Jewish Studies

JSQ - Jewish Studies Quarterly

ZA - Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

Signs used in the transliteration of texts

( ) Uncertain readings; [ ] Restoration of lost writing; < > Omitted by the scribe by mistake; ⌜ ⌝ Only part of the letter is visible; { } Superfluous writing in the text; ^ ^ Written above the line; ↓↓ Written below the line.

Introduction

1. Preface

Since 1853, when Thomas Ellis published the first five magic bowls in Jewish Aramaic,[1] the number of edited texts that have become available for study has not exceeded much beyond one hundred.[2] The most prominent amongst a growing number of scholars who have contributed to making these texts available for study are: 1) James A. Montgomery, whose monumental monograph titled *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (1913) is still considered to be the primary textbook on the subject; 2) Cyrus Gordon, who published a total of 23 Jewish Aramaic bowls, most of which appeared in articles during the 1930's and 1940's, and from amongst whose students there emerged a number of scholars who advanced this particular area of study;[3] 3) Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, who produced two books (1985 and 1993) in which they assembled another 22 Jewish Aramaic bowls. Some other scholars who have made significant contributions in recent years to this growing corpus include Harviainen (1981, 1983, 1993 and 1995), Müller-Kessler (1994 and 1998), McCullough (1967) and Kaufman (1973 and 1975).

A considerable amount of new material from private collections has recently become available for scholarly study. The present author was fortunate to have been given access by Mr. Shlomo Moussaieff to his collection of magic bowls from which twenty specimens have been chosen to be the subject of this dissertation. The aim was to produce a volume of text editions with commentary, glossaries and an introduction that focuses on some current as well as hitherto neglected issues concerning the study of Jewish Aramaic magic bowls that have developed in the course of this work.

For the readings, the present author has examined the bowls as well as the photographs. It must be noted, however, that even though the photographs are of an exceptionally good quality, there are various occasions where readings of letters, and sometimes whole words or

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[1] Layard 1853, pp. 512-521.
[2] For comprehensive surveys of the publications of magic bowls, see Montgomery 1913, pp. 16-23, and Naveh and Shaked 1985, pp. 19-21.
[3] In regard to bowls in the Jewish Aramaic dialect, the main four are William H. Rossell (1954), Charles Isbell (1975, 1976 and 1978), Edwin Yamauchi (1965 and 1967) and Mark Geller (1976, 1980, 1986 and 1997).

phrases, which are clearly discernable on the object itself, are not legible on the photograph. There is, unfortunately, no substitute for consulting the objects themselves.

Another obvious, yet often ignored, feature of the magic bowl texts is the fact that they were not written for others to copy or even read. The writing of the amulet by the scribe-magician was the ultimate stage of human contact. The text was then buried where it was hoped that it would reach and influence its intended public of demons, angels, gods and other spirits. The language of adjuration and magical and mysterious words and phrases may have been considered to be effective in supernatural realms, but to us it often appears indistinguishable from mumbo-jumbo. This aspect of the magical texts often accentuates other difficulties that assail the philologist, such as the partial erosion of text, hand writing that is often of poor quality, and textual errors that scribes have either made of their own accord or copied from others.

Of the twenty texts in our corpus, six are intended for general protection against demons and other maleficent agents (M107, M108, M112, M121, M131, M145 and M149); another four, also for general protection, include the *get* motif (M50, M59, M103 and M119); three texts are for the healing of particular medical complaints (M117, M155 and M156); and two are for the protection of unborn or young babies (M101 and M142). Two bowls protect against the malicious magic of named foes, i.e. curse texts (M102 and M163), and two offer protection against curses and oaths in general (M123 and M138).

2. Description of magic bowls

Magic bowls are a type of amulet consisting of an incantation written on an earthenware bowl. The bowls themselves are not exceptional and represent a variety of domestic ware that is characteristic of the Near East in Late Antiquity. The most common among them are about 13-20cm in diameter and 3-8cm in depth. Some are as small as an espresso coffee-cup saucer. Others can reach sizes of up to 40-45cm in diameter and 20-25cm in depth. Most of them are rounded at the base, though others have flat bases and/or rims. The incantations are most commonly written in black ink within the bowl spiraling from the bottom upwards. Other less common arrangements of text are when it is organized: 1) in three, or sometimes even four, consecutive triangular sections within the bowl; 2) as a series

of lines emanating from the middle of bowl to form a 'sun-like' shape; 3) in some rare occasions, lines of text follow a geometric pattern or the shape of a flower, and 4) a spiral of text that flows from the edge of the bowl to its centre. Occasionally text is also found on the outside of the bowl. In some cases this is the result of the scribe exhausting the space on the inner surface of the bowl and the incantation flows over, as it were, to the exterior (M59). In other cases the text on the outside consists of the opening formula of the text, the name of the client, or the intended location of the bowl within the property, i.e. 'for the front room', 'for the bedroom', etc (as in AIT 12:13). It is quite common for there to be a drawing of a bound demon (M50) or other image (M102, M107 and M131) in the middle of the bowl, across it (M59) or to one side (M108). Various other symbols (M102 and M108), letters (M149) or just a circle (M103) can occur either in the middle of the bowl or to its side (M107 and M112). Whereas sections of text are sometimes underlined (M102, and M112) or surrounded completely by a line (M50 and M119), it is very common for the whole text to be surrounded by a circle (M50, M101, M102, M103, M119, M107, M108, M138, M131, M145, M149, M155, M156 and M163).

From the relatively small number of bowls for which there are excavation reports, and the designations within the texts themselves, we know that the most common form of using magic bowls was to bury them upside down under the floor of the house.[4] Occasionally two or more bowls were placed within each other. Other cases are known where pairs of bowls were interned facing each other, rim to rim, so as to form a sphere with an enclosed space within them. Bowls could be buried in one or all of the corners of the house, under the threshold or any of the rooms or entrances of the domestic complex. In one case a bowl was said to have been found also in a cemetery.[5] The location of the bowl is often mentioned within the text, either as a caption on the outside (see above) or within the actual incantation. There is hardly any evidence at all to indicate anything relating to the procedure of the

[4] See numerous references to 'Jewish incantation bowls' in Peters 1897, Mcguire Gibson 1975 pp. 104-122, and Hunter 1995 pp. 63-64.

[5] Montgomery 1913, p. 14, 40 ff. Montgomery considered the possibility that pressing bowls into the ground constituted a sympathetic magical act, which was meant to resemble the pressing and suppressing of demons. Naveh and Shaked (1985, p. 15) likened the bowls to mouse traps, which are strategically placed in the house. Gordon disliked the idea that people would be content to host a myriad of trapped demons in their houses, and suggested that bowls buried upside-down resembled the skull cranium which had the power to dissolve demons (Gordon 1957, pp. 161-162).

preparation and installation of the bowls except for one case where the use of a rooster is implied (see notes to M163:6 below). Even in this case, however, the details provided are minimal.

2.1 The Script

The Jewish Aramaic bowl texts display a variety of different styles of script which Montgomery correctly attributed to chirographical rather than paleographical differences.[6] Unfortunately there has not been any thorough study of these scripts since that of Levi in 1855, when there were only a handful of specimens available for study. In our collection, one can observe at least three similar types of script which all display quite formal and neat hands (M101, M102, M112, M142, M149, M155, M156 and M163). Three more types of stylized but good quality scripts can be grouped: 1) M50, M59 and M108, 2) M103, M119, M121, M123, M138 M107, M108 and 3) M117. The script of M145 is very cursive and unusual, yet its text is just as literate as the other texts that are written in more conventional scripts. M107 is another good although stylized script that displays a very peculiar ל. M131 is a somewhat inconsistent and awkward hand which might indicate the scribe's limited level of literacy.

As observed in other magic bowls,[7] ה and ח are never distinguished, whereas ב and כ, ד and ר, ו and י and sometimes also ן and ז, and finally ס and ם are commonly undifferentiated. This is also the case in our corpus of texts unless otherwise stated. In places where the reading of the characters is ambiguous, decisions regarding the transcription were made according to lexicographical convention.

3. The Language

Montgomery noted that:

> 'The grammatical phenomena in the bowls of Nippur can for the most part be exemplified from the Babylonian Talmud, and like the latter they present various dialect

[6] Montgomery 1913, p. 27-28. Montgomery's conclusion is based on the fact that although the bowls display a wide variety of scripts, one can ascertain their contemporaneity on the basis of shared phraseology and clientele. Thus the differences represent a variety of writing styles and levels of scribal ability rather than the age of the bowl.
[7] Rossell 1953, pp. 13-15.

types. On the one hand they have close connections with Mandaic and on the other they show Syriac idioms'.[8]

Thereafter he refers, with some reservations, to the Aramaic dialect of the bowls as 'Rabbinic Aramaic'.[9] Rossell preferred the term Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (hereafter JBA) adding, however, that 'borrowings from Mandaic and Syriac are common'[10] and that 'there is also some literary influence from Biblical Aramaic and from the Targumim'. More recently Harviainen noted that

> 'the characteristic features of the dialect of Nedarim have close counterparts in bowl incantations. On the other hand, features of bowl texts in common with Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic as opposed to Nedarim are limited to את which, however, is a Targumic form of this pronoun. Compared with the Targumim, the bowl texts use e.g. תוב and (א)מ(י)טול *pro* Targumic עוד and בדיל, and from Gaonic Aramaic they deviate e.g. through the employment of י- in the emphatic status of masc. plural as well as through the pronoun את. While the idiom of the bowl texts is not entirely identical with any of these other types of Aramaic, nevertheless, it clearly sides with Targumic and Gaonic as well as with the language of Nedarim against Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic which leaves the impression of a "younger" modification of Aramaic'.[11]

On another occasion Harviainen also notes that features like the use of יה- as the 3rd person masculine suffix to a plural noun, rather than והי-, which Montgomery referred to as a Mandaism, can actually be explained by considering that the 'bowl texts bridge the gap which existed between Mandaic and the Northern Modern dialects'.[12] It was on the basis of this and another six grammatical features, which Harviainan identified as common to many of the Jewish Aramaic bowls, that he introduced the notion that their presence constitute an *Eastern*

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[8] Montgomery 1913, p. 30.
[9] 'Some apology may be necessary for the term "Rabbinic" dialect. As used here, it does not imply that the rabbis or the Jews in Babylonia had a special dialect,–they spoke the native dialects; nor that there is any unity in the language of the Talmud, which is alive with dialectic varieties. But the Talmud is practically our only source for a certain family of Aramaic dialects in Babylonia, easily distinguished from the two other literary dialects, the Syriac (Edessene) and Mandaic. The name chosen is a convenient handle' (Montgomery 1913, p. 26).
[10] Rossell 1953, p. 11.
[11] Harviainen 1983, pp. 12-13.
[12] Harviainen 1981, p. 20.

Aramaic koiné, noting, however, that in fact most of these features can also be found within Mandaic.[13] These features are:

1) Confusion of laryngeal consonants.

2) Phonetic spellings (e.g. *ny-*, *l-ʾnšh*) which may indicate deviations between spoken dialects.

3) Pronouns which do not conform to the boundaries of literary dialects.

4) Easy transfer of nouns and noun different noun formations from one dialect to another.

5) Confusion of genders occurring in the pronominal suffixes of the plural, and possibly also in the imperfect forms of the plural verbs.

6) Use of the imperfect prefix *y-* besides the Eastern *n-*.

Jussola's conclusions in his recent study of the language of the Jewish Aramaic magic bowl texts are as follows:

> 'As regard to the nature of the Aramaic of the bowl texts, several concluding remarks need to be made. First, it is apparent that the features present in the bowl texts are not features of a single dialect, but features otherwise familiar from different dialects and phases of Aramaic are used side by side. Even forms known from Official Aramaic, but otherwise unattested in Late Aramaic are encountered. The bowl texts thus leave the impression of being a mixed type of language. Therefore, it is hard to believe that they represent a living dialect of the Late Aramaic period, but are to a considerable extent literary texts. To give but one instance, it is hard to imagine a living dialect with such a 'collection' of demonstrative pronouns as attested in our texts (cf. IV.4). Yet, this is not to say that they do not (also) reveal features of the spoken language of their era, but this is not due to the fact that the scribes wrote more or less as they spoke, but due to the fact that despite their attempt to write elevated language they could not help including some features of the popular language. This was apparently due to deficiencies in their education. Furthermore, in the era when our texts were produced, there were within Babylonian Jewry several literary dialects or languages, which were employed according to the types of usage and, more or less, kept separate. Some of the literary dialects or 'literary crystallizations' probably contained more elements of the actual vernacular than others. I refer to the standard dialect of the Babylonian Talmud. It is apparent that this

[13] Harviainen 1981, pp. 23-24

co-existence of 'literary crystallizations' within Babylonian Jewry left traces in our texts. Those texts which contain more standard Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic elements than the majority followed the literary model of standard Talmudic idiom, alongside the regular literary model of our texts'.[14]

In the discussion about the language of the bowl texts, one must not forget that which Harviainen expressed so well:

> 'the inconsistency of their orthography, numerous mistakes, phonetic spellings, and linguistic peculiarities which deviate from the literary dialects of Aramaic point back to unlearned scribes who more or less wrote as they spoke'.[15]

One must, however, challenge the assumption that a correlation can be made between the peculiarities in the language of the bowls and the literacy of scribes. We maintain that from the texts in our corpus such an allegation can not be made.[16] Other explanations for linguistic peculiarities can be attributed to the variety of sources upon which the incantations draw, the exchange of material between cultural groups that lived in proximity and spoke similar dialects, as well as changes that can occur to an incantation in the process of its transmission.

Since Rossell produced his *Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts* in 1953, a considerable number of bowls has been published, yet no new grammar has been written. Juusola's recent dissertation, *Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts* (1999) has gone some way towards addressing this gap.[17] The intention of the section that follows is to point out some of the main features and peculiarities that distinguish the Aramaic of the bowls that occur within our corpus, and attention is also given to features which might cause some uncertainty in regard to translation, e.g. indistinguishable forms such as singular and plural feminine nouns in the emphatic state etc.

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[14] Juusola 1999, pp. 247-248.
[15] Harviainen 1983, p. 15.
[16] With one exception - M131.
[17] See Naveh and Shaked 1987, pp. 31-33, for notes on the language of the bowls.

3.1 Spelling

The most obvious feature of spelling, which is also common in our corpus, is the extensive use of י, ו, א and on the rare occasion ה as vowel letters.[18]

3.2 Pronouns

Of the independent pronouns that occur in our corpus only two are worth mentioning. One is the 2nd person feminine singular form אנתי which is an early form known from Official or Imperial Aramaic and, though it is absent from the Targumim, it is attested in Geniza fragments of the Palestinian Talmud.[19] The other is the 2nd person masculine plural אנתון which is only attested in Gaonic Aramaic.[20] Yet, as this form occurs in M163:27, a bowl which employs some demonstrative pronouns that are common with Syriac (הנא M163:6,11, הנין l. 9 and הנון l. 17), it is possible that here too the influence of that dialect is apparent.

3.3 Nouns

Singular emphatic forms of the noun of both the masculine and feminine can occur with either א or ה endings, in some cases even within the same bowl (M145:2 מלכה and M145:15,16 מלכא, M163:28 עלמא and עלמה, M163:10 שמא and שמה). In our corpus, as has been noted elsewhere[21] regarding other bowl texts, the א endings predominate. The masculine plural form in the emphatic state is mostly indistinguishable from the absolute and construct forms as they all commonly occur with י- endings. Some examples that can be verified as masculine plural emphatics are M147:7 דיוי ודיותא, M101:3 ופתכרי ופתכרתא and M163:21 טורי ורמאתה, as these occur alongside feminine plural emphatic forms. Forms ending with יא- also occur: M50:4 טוריא, M145:12 ניסכאיא, M155:11 נשיא, as does the occasional יה- ending (M156:4 מלכיה). One can observe the freedom with which apocopated forms of the masculine plural absolute are used together with others that display the final ן in M121:3-4 where ומיחרשי בישי occurs in a list soon after ומיפגעין בישין. Most

[18] This subject is amply treated elsewhere, cf. Rossell 1953, pp. 20-21 and Juusola 1999, pp. 44-68.
[19] Juusola 1999, p. 74.
[20] Juusola 1999, p. 76.
[21] Juusola 1999, p. 141.

feminine singular and plural forms in the emphatic state end with תא- and can, therefore, only be distinguished if there is contextual evidence. One example is ניקבתא which can be identified as a plural form in M50:2 (דיכרי וניקבתא) on the basis of the masculine noun that precedes it, whereas, in M149:8 (דיכרא וניקבתא) the preceding noun attests to the fact that in this instance ניקבתא is a singular form. This is similar to M101:3 (ופתכרי ופתכרתא) in which פתכרתא is a plural as opposed to in M149:8 (מן פתכרא ומן פתכרתא) where the nouns are in the singular. The plural is also occasionally written with a final ה rather than א, as in M163:21 טורי ורמאתה. Feminine plural nouns in the absolute state are generally rare in magic bowl texts,[22] though examples occur in M123:1-2 לוטן and בישון ממללן and M163:15 בתולן.

3.4 Prepositions

The prepositional prefix א- (=על) that is peculiar to Babylonian Aramaic is attested in a number of instances in our corpus (see glossary).

3.5 Adverbs

The adverb איך (M102:9) is otherwise unattested in other bowls, though the similar form היך occurs once (N&Sh B4:4). Both of these forms are Targumic, as opposed to the Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic form היכא which also occurs for the first time in our corpus (M163:9) as an adverb of place.[23]

3.6 Conjunctions

Noteworthy is the occurrence in M102:7,8 of the conjunction או, 'or' which is attested for certain in only one other instance (AIT 2:5). The conjunction עד אמא 'until when' (M163:24), which is equivalent to עד אימת(י), is new to the vocabulary of the Jewish Aramaic bowls. The Targmic אילהין, which was previously only attested in AIT 26:5, occurs a second time in M117:5. בדיל in M155:5 'on account of' is only attested in one other bowl (AIT 28:4). The

[22] Juusola 1999, p. 146.
[23] Levias 1900, p. 46.

conjunction הכדין ... היכדין ד 'just as' ... 'just so' is a form that occurs only in one other bowl (N&Sh B21:8) and is Targumic.

3.7 Verbs

Regarding verbs it was already noted by Rossell (1953, p. 49) that י, נ and ל all occur as prefixes for the 3rd person masculine imperfect forms. In one of our bowls, M102, all three occur in the same text. A rarer irregularity can be observed in M145 wherein the 3rd person masculine plural perfect verb forms all lack the usual ו- or ון- suffixes which make them appear as singular verbs (see note on M145:3). This form could either be the Babylonian Talmudic קטול, in which case the ו would need to be reconstructed, or it might be attributed to the Mandaic influence that is generally discerned in this particular text. In some cases in our bowls there occur verb forms that are characteristic of the Standard Literary Aramaic (henceforth SLA) that is found in the Targumim:[24] אתיתי (M50:4, *af.* 1st person sg. perfect), איתמסיאה (M50:4, *ithpe.* 3rd person feminine pl. perfect), לאנדויאהון (M59:11, *af.* infinitive + 3rd person masculine pl. suffix), לאפקא (M50:5, *af.* infinitive). Other forms occur that are particular to Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic: לאפוקי (M59:11, *af.* infinitive), פגע (M156:7,8, 3rd person feminine sg. perfect). New forms that were previously unattested in Jewish Aramaic are לישתמודע (M102:11), the imperfect form of אשתמודע, מזיח (M117:4), a *pa.* form known from Syriac, and קמע (M123:1) which is also attested in Syriac.

4. Sources from which magic bowl texts draw

The eclectic quality of the bowl texts was aptly noted by Montgomery who stated that, for the sorcerers who composed these magical texts, their 'Scriptures and apocrypha and liturgy were storehouses of magical lore'.[25] Of course, we find more than just the Jewish sources, i.e. biblical verses, liturgy, Hekhalot, the occasional aggadic reference as well as Jewish folk mythology, in the sorcerer's repository of inspiration. There are also Gnostic, Christian and pagan elements that have found their way into many of the incantations. It is apparent from

[24] See Juusola 1999, pp. 14-15. Although Greenfield used this term to describe the Targ.-O., it is used here in an extended sense as the features that are cited are mostly common to the greater parts of the Targumic literature. See also Cook 1986, p. 6 and Greenfield 1995, p. 8.
[25] Montgomery 1913, p. 115.

the variety of spells that are found in the bowl texts that our period was one of great creativity in this area of composition. Questions as to how and why the different elements and influences found their way into the melting pot which constitutes this magical lore are complex, especially when considering that some of this material crossed the boundaries of one religious culture into another. The sections below cover the different sources that can be traced within our corpus of bowls. An attempt is made at defining some of the different ways that this material was used within the magical text.

4.1 Biblical verses and liturgy

Magic bowls and other forms of Jewish amulets demonstrate that the warning in m. San. 10:1[26] against the reciting of biblical verses for the purpose of healing was not always heeded. Indeed, biblical verses are commonly used in our texts in a variety of ways. In some cases whole verses are quoted while in others only sections are used. In one instance a verse is adapted to fit the subject of the incantation:

M155:6-7	Isa. 45:2
גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל די מתברין דלתות נחושא וימגדעין בריחי ברזל אינון יתברון ויגדעון לרוחא בישתא	אני לפניך אלך והדורים אושר דלתות נחושה אשבר ובריחי ברזל אגדע

In another bowl the Targ.-O. is quoted in what appears to be a Hekhalot style section of text:

M123:5-6 (also in M138:8)	Targ.-O. Ex. 3:5
בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין כמו דאמר ליה למשה באסנה שרי סנך מעל ריגלך משבענא עליכון נידרא ...	ואמר לא תקרב הלכא שרי סינך מעל ריגלך ארי אתרא דאת קאים עלוהי אתר קדיש הוא

Naveh and Shaked have already noted that 'the use of verses in magic contexts is of course often derived from their liturgical prominence'.[27] In some cases, as in M108, it can be shown that the verses were not compiled independently by the sorcerer for his craft but

[26] ואלו שאין להם חלק לעולם הבא ... רבי עקיבא אומר אף הקורא בספרים החיצונים והלוחש על המכה ואומר (שמות טו) כל המחלה אשר שמתי במצרים לא אשים עליך כי אני ה' רופאך ...

borrowed from a standard liturgical format (see text and notes below). In other cases, as Naveh and Shaked have pointed out, there is no way of ascertaining whether the sorcerer gained inspiration from a liturgical context or is drawing directly from Scripture. It is, nevertheless, intriguing that from the seventeen verses which occur in our sample group of texts, all but two (Num. 14:9 and 32:22 in M142:8-9) can be found in the weekly prayers. This could imply that our sorcerers are quoting their verses from liturgy rather than directly from the Old Testament.

The text of Zech. 3:2 is as follows:

> ויאמר יהוה אל השטן יגער יהוה בך השטן ויגער יהוה בך הבחר בירושלם הלוא זה אוד מצל מאש
>
> 'But [the angel of] the Lord said to the Accuser (השטן), "the Lord rebuke you, O Accuser; may the Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! For this is the brand plucked out of the fire"'.

The fact that 'Satan' is attacked in this verse could explain its common use in Jewish magical formula. Indeed, it has become a permanent part of the *Keri'at Shemah al ha-Mittah* (see appendix to M108). In b. Ber. 51a the tradition of its efficacy is preserved in the words attributed to R. Joshua ben Levy, a first generation Palestinian Amora, who states that if a person happened to meet the angel of death[28] and could not escape his path, he should turn his face and recite this verse. Zech. 3:2 occurs twice in our corpus, once in M108:3-4 and again in M59:13-14. In M108:3-4 Zech. 3:2 occurs as the first of a group of verses which can all be found in the evening prayers. This group of verses is uncharacteristically preceded by the word בשום 'in the name of' so as to indicate that they themselves represent the name of the power that is invoked to bind the demonic nuisance. In M59 it seems to have been appended by the scribe to the end of the text, although the verse is absent in several duplicates (M50, AIT 9 and AIT 32). It is possible that the scribe added this verse for no other reason than good measure. Another verse that seems to have been borrowed from a

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[27] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 22.

[28] The narrative states that this could occur in one of three situations, if one takes his shirt from an attendant in the morning, if one lets another who has not himself washed his hands pour water over his own, or if one stands in the path of women returning from the presence of a dead person. In either of these situations the angel of death is present and has permission to do harm (ואל אל תטול חלוקך שחרית מיד השמש ותלבש ; ואל תטול ידיך ממי שלא נטל ידיו ;

liturgical context rather than directly from scripture is Deut. 10:17 which appears in M102:10. This verse also occurs as part of the doxology in the first of the eighteen benedictions:

M102:10	The first benediction	Deut. 10:17
ברוך אתה יהוה אלוהינו מלך העולם האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא והמופלא והמ(ע)ולא	ברוך אתה יי אלוהינו ואלהי אבותינו אלהי אברהם אלהי יצחק ואלהי יעקב האל הגדול הגבור והנורא אל עליון	כי יהוה אלהיכם הוא אלהי האלהים ואדני האדנים האל הגדל הגבר והנורא אשר לא ישא פנים ולא יקח שחד

In another of our bowls (M156:11) extracts from Ex. 15:3 (from the *Song of the Sea*) and Ps. 24:8, which can both be found in *Seder Amram* in the New Year service, are followed by the liturgical doxology יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם which is known from the daily prayers (see note to M156:11):

M156:11	A response in the prayer יהי כבוד	Ex. 15:3 and Ps. 24:8
יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו יהוה עיזוז וגיבור יהוה גיבור {ו}מלחמה יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד	יהוה מלך יהוה מלך יהוה ימלוך לעולם ועד	יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו׃ מי זה מלך הכבוד יהוה עזוז וגבור יהוה גבור מלחמה׃

The sections of Isa. 37:16, 6:3 and I Sam. 17:45 in M117:2,6 present a similar use of biblical verses to that which was just mentioned in regard to M156 above, as they are also cited for the fact that they represent epithets of God and commence, like those in M156:11, with the expression 'in the name of' (בשום):

תעמוד לפני הנשים בשעה שחוזרות מן המת, מפני שאני מרקד ובא לפניהן וחרבי בידי ויש לי רשות לחבל).

M117:2	Isa. 37:16, 6:3
(2) בשום יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל יושיב הכרובים	יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל ישב הכרבים אתה הוא האלהים לבדך לכל ממלכות הארץ אתה עשית את השמים ואת הארץ

M117:6	I Sam. 17:45
(6) ... בשמיה דיה יה יה קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות אלהי מערכות ישראל	יאמר דוד אל הפלשתי אתה בא אלי בחרב ובחנית ובכידון ואנכי בא אליך בשם יהוה צבאות אלהי מערכות ישראל אשר חרפת

In M142 three complete verses are rendered: Isa. 40:31,[29] Num. 32:22[30] and Num. 14:9.[31] Common to all three is an expression of faith in the almighty God who provides and protects; a good enough reason in itself for this choice of verses. The first verse, Isa. 40:31, seems to be an integral part of the formula that occurs in a number of duplicate texts (see notes on M142:2-4). It might not be a coincidence that Isa. 40:31 was chosen for this particular incantation. A spell that incorporates an historiola that describes demons who snatch and strangle children, this text was intended for the protection of infants. We find that this same verse is cited in m. Qid. 4:14[32] to illustrate how a youth is protected by being taught the Torah. Within an historiola in another of our texts, M156:8, Ps. 104:20[33] is cited as the verse that Hanina ben Dosa recited when he met the evil spirit. This particular choice of verse is due to the fact that it speaks of the creatures of the night, a time when dangerous spirits were thought to roam.[34]

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[29] וקוי יהוה יחליפו כח יעלו אבר כנשרים ירוצו ולא ייגעו ילכו ולא ייעפו

[30] ונכבשה הארץ לפני יהוה ואחר תשבו והייתם נקים מיהוה ומישראל והיתה הארץ הזאת לכם לאחזה לפני יהוה

[31] אך ביהוה אל תמרדו ואתם אל תיראו את עם הארץ כי לחמנו הם סר צלם מעליהם ויהוה אתנו אל תיראם

[32] ... כשאדם בא לידי חולי או לידי זקנה או לידי יסורין ואינו יכול לעסוק במלאכתו הרי הוא מת ברעב אבל התורה אינה כן אלא משמרתו מכל רע בנערותו ונותנת לו אחרית ותקוה בזקנותו בנערותו מה הוא אומר (ישעיה מ׳) וקוי ה׳ יחליפו כח ...

[33] ותשת חשך ויהי לילה בו תרמש כל חיתו יער

[34] See notes on M156:7-8.

4.2 Hekhalot, the *Sword of Moses* and *Sepher Ha-Razim*

Some surveys of the Hekhalot literature include *Sepher Ha-Razim*, the *Sword of Moses* and the *Havdala de R. Akiva*.[35] These texts have come to be considered the classical works of early Jewish magical culture.[36] Together with a number of other texts these represent a considerable portion of the primary source material from which our knowledge of this early phase of Jewish magic is derived.[37] Joseph Dan describes the overlap between mysticism and magic in the Hekhalot literature as follows:

> 'Underlying the Hekhalot and Merkabah Literature is the view (which is also found in the Talmudic-Midrashic literature), that the knowledge of secrets is power, and knowledge of secrets of the upper world grants the individual with that knowledge power, and influence over them. One who knows the names of the supreme angels and their specific tasks can utilize that knowledge in order to gain a certain mastery over them and force them, by means of magical incantation, to do his will. The incantation is generally composed of a statement which includes secret names (which are on occasion the secret names of God Himself, which the angels must obey), and secret actions - potions, mixtures or the use of other physical means, sometimes at a clearly defined time'.[38]

The magic bowls thus compliment the above mentioned body of texts, incorporating within them a wide array of instructions for the achievement of magical aims. The study of such amulets has already made some important contributions to our understanding of the Hekhalot literature, as observed by Shaked:

> 'That some Babylonian magic bowls use material that is apparently derived from the *Hekhalot* literature, or that both sets of texts use a common stock of material, has significance in the context of the discussion concerning the origins and development of the *Hekhalot* literature. The fact that the *Hekhalot* texts are composed almost exclusively of pure Hebrew has been one of the arguments for placing them in Palestine. These texts quote Palestinian sages of the Mishnaic period, but never any Babylonian figures. Such considerations, together with the relative air of antiquity that they seem to breath, have combined to create a scholarly consensus concerning the Palestinian background

[35] Though the manuscript that Scholem published in 1981 is of a late date, much of its text can be found in the *Hekhalot Zutarti* (Schäfer 1990, p. 76).
[36] For instance Joseph Dan 1993, p. 18-19.
[37] For a detailed survey see Alexander 1986.
[38] Dan 1993, p. 18.

of these texts. Some cracks have, however, been detected in this theory: some fragments of the *Hekhalot* texts have somewhat enigmatic reference to the house of an unidentified master in Babylonia. If we now have a Babylonian incantation bowl that contains what seems to be a clear *Hekhalot*-type text, this certainly indicates that the visionary experiences of the *Hekhalot* mystics were not confined to Palestine alone. In Babylonia there evidently were Jewish groups engaged in producing, or reproducing, similar literary creations'.

In an unpublished magic bowl from the Berlin Museum collection (VA 2434 + VA 2486), the connection between the Merkabah mystic and the craft of the sorcerer is made clear:

'I was astonished by the mysteries of the earth I looked at the paths of the merkabah. Again I saw the evil, powerful and violent *Yaror* ... that has been sent against him. *Yaror* ... go out and fly away from the house of ... and go against ... By the name of the names of Dimiel and Hantitiel and Haniniel and Hahaziel, these ten holy and [...] and trusty angels'.

... אידמרית ברזי ארעה ואיסתכלית בדירכי מרכבתא תוב חזיתי ירור בישתא תקיפתא
... דאישתדר עליה וירור תיקיפתא וזידניתא ירור פוקי ופרחי מן ביתיה ד... ואיזילי על
[...] ובשום שמי דימיאל וחנתיתיאל וחנינאל וחחזיאל אילין עשרא מלאכין קדישין ו
ומהימנין

In this case the practitioner declares that his use of the techniques of the Merkabah mystic has gained him sight of the offending *Yaror* and other demons. By means of the invocation of the magical names of angels, he sends them back to the human foe of his client who originally dispatched them.

Apart from the use of various angel and divine names, as well as an abundant supply of *nomina barbara*, our own corpus of texts also includes direct parallels with known Hekhalot texts bearing characteristic hallmarks of this literature. The most obvious is the use of איקון מיטמון ופסקון, which is one of the best known composite names of the angel Metatron. This is attested in the Talmud (b. San. 44b) as well as various Hekhalot texts (see notes to M155:4). Another name that occurs in M107:5, גרוסקין גרוסקין, is attested in Hekhalot Zutarti §366 as one of the beings that R. Akiva encountered in his celestial journeys. In the Hekhalot texts, liturgical doxologies are often cited as powerful magical names, such as are commonly invoked in magic bowls. In our texts there are three examples that have direct

parallels in Hekhalot literature: M102:10[39]=§503, M117:2[40]=§402 and M156:11[41]=§126.[42] A parallel to a passage in the Hekhalot Rabatti (Schäfer 1981, §92), which is unclear in that context, occurs in M101:11 as a warning to offending demons.

In the two duplicates M123 (lines 3-6) and M138, there occurs a Hekhalot-like section of text that includes a list of names, a description of God that is more characteristic of the fiery angels often portrayed in the Hekalot texts, and a reference to Moses at the burning bush which quotes Ex. 3:5. This event is expanded in other sources (see notes to M123:3-6) which mark it as the moment in history at which Moses received the complex of magical names (such as אהיה אשר אהיה) and the knowledge of how to use them from the angel Metatron. Metatron is described as the 'intercessory spirit' in b. San. 44b and the highest ranking angel in 3 Enoch and the *Sword of Moses* (AHYW PSQTYH). He is a major figure in Jewish magical folklore,[43] and can be found in one or another of his guises in a number of amulets. In M155:4-5, some of his names occur just before the statement: 'who sits upon the throne of glory, by his word and by the countenance of his glory he created the heavens and completed the world', which gives the impression that he was the active agent of God even during the first creation.

4.3 The historiola

The historiola is a magic story that occurs within an incantation, serving to illustrate the purpose of the spell and give it an extra air of authority, i.e. just as the magic worked in the story, so will it also work for the bearer of this amulet. In many cases, the source of the historiola cannot be traced and its transmission can only be attributed to folk culture. A notable exception is the *Smamit* story which occurs in a silver amulet (N&Sh A15) and magic bowl (N&Sh B12), for which Naveh and Shaked have cited versions in a wide variety of languages from different periods of time.[44]

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[39] ושמיה ברוך אתה יהוה אלוהינו מלך העולם האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא והמופלא והמ(ע)ולא
[40] בשום יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל יושיב הכרובים
[41] בשמיה ד... יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד
[42] Schäfer 1981.
[43] Concerning the names of Metatron in these three sources, see notes to איקון מיטמון ופסקון in M155:3-5.
[44] Naveh and Shaked 1987, pp. 104-122.

The incantation in the duplicate texts M50 and M59 is constructed around the story of a *get* that was given to demons by the legendary Tana Rabbi Joshua bar Perahia, whose reputation as a possessor of magical powers is considerable.[45] In this text, the demons that are endangering the clients are served with their papers of divorce and bidden to leave, just as Joshua bar Perahia had done. The historiola in M142 involves the 'swift prince', an allusion to Metatron the helper angel. In this text the angel is depicted seated on the graves of the babies that were snatched, listening to the cries and pleas of their mothers. The same angel exercises his powers to bind the demons and prohibit them from harming the client of the bowl. The historiola in M145:13-16 is repeated twice, in the first instance the subject of the narrative is an unnamed hero who is said to have gained some magical weapons with which he subdued demons; in the second instance the anonymous hero is supplanted by the client who is now the one who gains the magic weapons and, like the hero, overcomes the demons himself. Yet another magical story in M156 involves Hanina ben Dosa, another Tana famous for his miraculous powers.[46] This text follows a similar form in which the sorcerer, who is the narrator, repeats the actions of the magician of old i.e. just as he (Hanina ben Dosa) adjured the evil spirit, now I (the sorcerer) am adjuring it. A variation of this historiola can be found in b. Pes. 112b in which the same Tana, Hanina ben Dosa, met and subdued a powerful demon called Agrat bat Mahlat.

4.4 The *get*

The phenomena of using the *get*, a bill of divorce, as a motif in the magic bowls already attracted the attention of Thomas Ellis who added these comments to his introduction in 1853:[47]

> 'there is one thing to which I wish to call the attention of the Oriental scholars, namely, the subject of the inscription of No. 1.[48] It is *a letter of dismissal*, or *bill of divorce* to

[45] For a detailed account of Joshua bar Perahia's reputation as a magician, see Geller 1974.
[46] For a short account of Hanina ben Dosa, see Vermes 1973.
[47] Layard 1853, p. 512.
[48] This text was amended and republished by Montgomery in a synopsis with another Jewish Aramaic (AIT 11) as well as Mandaic (published by Mark Lidzbarsky as text no. 5 in 1902 in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, I, 1900-1902, Giessen, pp. 103-105) duplicate texts. Gordon published another two Jewish Aramaic duplicates in 1934, Gordon G and Gordon 9737, producing a synopsis which also included AIT 18. The differences between these five

> Satan and other evil spirits. The word used to express this is גיטא, the very word found in the Talmud to express the same thing, גט pl. גיטין, and almost invariably used for a bill of divorce, instead of ספר כריתת. ... The ancient Jews supposed that the devils or evil spirits were propagated like mankind; that they eat, and drank, married, and, it would seem, quarreled with their wives, and divorced them, as may be seen in the following remarkable passage:–'*And as the devils write bills of divorce, and give them to their wives, and return not unto them again,* so you, in like manner, receive this, &c'.

Montgomery seems to have been almost amused by the naivety of the idea of the magical *get* and construed it to be:

> 'a happy thought of the magicians, who thus applied the powers of binding and loosing claimed by the rabbis to the disgusting unions of demons and mortals. The logic of the procedure was very simple–if only the liliths were as submissive to divorce as their human sisters'.[49]

More recently Shaked has questioned the sense behind the belief in the notion that something akin to human wedlock, which is implied by the magical *get*, could exist between human and demon. He points out that although the bowls describe the enactment of the divorce procedure, it is to a great extent imaginary as it is hard to believe that people really assumed to have been bound to a demon by marriage. Indeed, the demon would have only been perceived by the fact that some illness or problem had occurred in the household. Also, the logistics of serving a demon with a divorce writ can hardly be imagined, nor can it be assumed that any religious legal authority would necessarily have recognized such a writ. Shaked concludes that the deed of divorce for the demons is most likely a metaphor, an act of sympathetic magic.[50]

Magic bowl texts have many references to nightly apparitions which are strongly suggestive of the *incubus* and *succubus* demons. In AIT 1:12-13, for instance, there is a description of demons 'who appear ... to men in the likeness of women and to women in the likeness of men, and with mankind they lie by night and by day' (ומידמין לבני אינש לגברי בדמות נשי ולנשי בדמות גברי ועים בני אינשא שכבין בליליא וביממא). Similarly, in b. Shab.

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duplicate texts (Ellis 1, AIT 11, AIT 18, Gordon G, Gordon 9737 and Lidzbarsky no. 5) and another Mandaic version (18N18) were discussed in detail by Hunter in 1995.

[49] Montgomery 1913, pp. 158-159.

[50] Shaked 1999, p. 176.

151b, R. Hanina warns that if a man sleeps alone in a house Lilith will grab him. A more literal reference occurs in Genesis Rabbah 20:11, in which it is told that during the 130 years that Adam and Eve were separated they both cohabited with demons and produced spirits as progeny. In one Mandaic magic bowl, the activity of the female demon is described even more explicitly: 'she went and slept with the master of the house and took the semen from him. ... she had changed her appearance with the help of magic acts and she said: "I shall separate the man from his woman"...'.[51] As sexual interaction between human and demon was considered possible, belief in the efficacy of the magical *get* implies that such a union would constitute some sort of obligation akin to that which accompanies the marital status.

Montgomery's comments on AIT 8 are instructive in explaining the mechanics of the magical *get* as it is represented in that particular text.

> 'The magical writ affects the same forms and formalism as that of the divorce court. In the parallel bowl, No. 17, a form of date is given (l. 1 הדין יומא), which was a requisite in the legal *Get*. The names of both parties are exactly given, hence the parents of the liliths are here specifically named. The very terms of divorce are repeated in 17:2: שביקת ופטרית ותרכית יתיכי; cf. the facsimile of a *Get* given as a frontispiece in Amram's work[52] (פטרית שבקית ותריכית יתיכי). It was necessary that the writ should be properly served on the divorcée, hence in 26:6, שקולי גיטכי: "take your writ", a sentence consummating the process, and then the divorced demon must betake herself from the victim's property, as commanded by the peremptory; "Hear, obey and go forth" (l. 10). But there is a difference; against spiritual powers divine authority was necessary. And so it is affected that the writ has come down from heaven (l. 7), that is, it belongs to the category of writs from foreign countries for which there were special forms; hence the גיטא אתא מין עיבר ימא, l. 9. The commissioners and witnesses are the holy angels, etc., l. 9 f. A rabbi is also at hand to seal as notary the divine decree, none other than the famous master-magician Joshua b. Perahia'.[53]

Shaked gathered all of the Jewish Aramaic magic bowl texts that include the motif of the *get* and divided them into five main types.[54] It becomes clear when examining these

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[51] YBC 2364:7-9 in Müller-Kessler 1996, p. 189.
[52] Amram 1896.
[53] Montgomery 1913, p. 159.
[54] Shaked 1999. Our M50 and M59 fit into Shaked's type A, whilst M103 and M119 constitute a new type.

different types that these *get* texts do not differ from other magic bowl texts regarding the magical mechanism employed. The *get* motif is interwoven into the general structure of the adjuration of demons and angels, name invocation, the occasional use of an historiola etc. What distinguishes these texts is the mention within the incantation that a deed of divorce was involved. This can be expressed by a statement to the effect that such a deed of separation had been made for the demons, such as in AIT 9:3 (Shaked's type A) כתבנא להון גיטי לכל לילית, in AIT 8:6 (type B) גיטא נחית לכא מין שמיה, N&Sh B5:6-7 (type C) וכתבו שמה בגיטא and Ellis 1:1 (type D) הדין גיטא לשידא - an amulet which actually declares from the outset to be such a magical *get*. Most of the *get* texts include confirmation that the *get* has been served to the demons, either by stating that the divorce has already occurred (AIT 9: ... פטרנא ותרכנא יתכון בגט פיטורין), or in the form of a direct command to the demon to receive the *get* (Ellis 1:7 ... שקול גיטיכון וקבילו מומתכון). In both cases this is done by quoting, or slightly altering, the final part of the legal *get* formula: ודן די יהוי ליכי מנאי ספר תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין. This statement was previously the only clause of the legal *get* formula actually quoted in the bowls. However, in a couple of our texts, M103 and M119, another section of the *get* formula is adapted for use in the magical *get*. Whereas the *get* formula uses the legal terminology רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי ('permission and power over yourself') to express the status of freedom which the divorced woman gains as a result of the *get*, this same terminology is used in the magical *get* (M103:6 and M119:6) to define the status of the demon. This implies that, unlike the divorced woman, a free demon cannot be tolerated and must be suppressed by the deed. The bowl warns the demon thus: 'even if you have permission or power over yourself for any person you may desire, it is the case that I have written a divorce ...' (M103:6).

A closer examination of the magical *get* texts in our corpus (see appendix to M103 and M119) shows that there is a thematic connection between the magic bowl *get* texts and b. Git. 67b-70a, which contains both the story of the infamous Ashmedai, king of demons, and a medical-magical handbook. Both the magic bowl *get* texts and b. Git. 67b-70a combine the magical and medical data. These particular magic bowls employ a form of *get* which divorces the demons from the client who is then healed. It is suggested below (see appendix to M103 and M119) that the reason for the occurrence of this magical-medical subject matter

in b. Git. 67b-70a, the tractate that deals with 'divorce writs', is not a coincidence but a reflection of the popular belief that is also illustrated in our bowls, namely, that illness can be personified in terms of demons, and 'divorcing' such demons can affect a cure. Although there is no formal mention of the magical *get* in the Babylonian Talmud, one might consider the association of such subject matter in the tractate Gittim to be suggestive.

4.5 Gnostic, Christian and pagan sources

References to non-Jewish gods and other powers in the Jewish Aramaic magic bowls raise interesting questions about how foreign elements came to be included in seemingly Jewish texts. Does the presence of such elements point to heretical movements within the Jewish communities of the time? It is not always easy to identify the processes of transmission by which such elements crossed cultural and linguistic boundaries to be used by the Jewish sorcerers. Needless to say, we know from the Mandaic and Manichaean bowls, as well as the Greek magical papyri,[55] that this phenomena of cross-cultural exchange was not unique to the Jewish magical texts, but was a common feature of the magical products of the Near East in Late Antiquity in general. Montgomery believed that the magic bowls 'and in a general way, all Jewish magic, has come out of the crucible of the Graeco-Roman world' and was therefore 'not Jewish but eclectic'.[56] Indeed, Hellenistic influence on Jewish magic is very obvious in *Sepher Ha-Razim* IV:61-63 where a prayer to Helios occurs.[57] Other pagan gods, such as 'the Mesopotamian and Syrian Belti, Nereg, Nanai, Shamish, Dilbat and Mot; the Iranian Anahid, Danahish, Bagdana',[58] as well as the Christian Holy Trinity (see M163: 29 below) are invoked in Jewish Aramaic bowls. Conversely, the Jewish Iao Sabaoth is the most commonly invoked name in the Greek papyri.[59] An unusual but nevertheless good example of borrowing from Jewish sources occurs in a Mandaic bowl (McCullough D) which adjures 'in the name of Metatron ḤLDḤ who serves before the curtain' (*bšwm' dmyṭṭrwn*

[55] See Betz 1986, pp. xlvi-xlvii.
[56] Montgomery 1913, p. 9.
[57] Margaliot 1966, p. 37.
[58] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 37.
[59] See Betz's introduction to *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (1992).

ḥldḥ dhw mšʾmš qdym brgwdʾ), which appears to be a quote from an unidentified Hekhalot text.[60]

Harviainen provides a possible explanation for the syncretistic tendencies of our magical texts:

> 'The long-lived incantation traditions reveal at least one important aspect of the prophylactic magic. The official religion (Judaism, Christianity, Mandaeism, Islam) has not been considered sufficiently effective to protect a human being against secret adversaries. There are gaps in the security system, and the gaps should be closed. As a consequence, all aggressive forces must always be mentioned by name and then they can be sealed, counter-sealed, uprooted, and expelled. *Horror vacui*, the avoidance of empty space, is a leading principle of popular magic. To be on the safe side it is also profitable to pay attention to foreign cults, demons, and deities'.

Because of these syncretistic tendencies, Montgomery was cautious in considering the attribution of the bowls according to the types of script, saying that 'the magic of our bowls is so eclectic that even a "Jewish"-Aramaic text does not imply a Jewish exorcist'.[61] Shaked, on the other hand, recently noted his opinion that although there are cases in which the Jewishness of a text might be argued, there is nevertheless no compelling evidence that anyone but a Jew would use the Jewish Aramaic script.[62]

Harviainen studied one hundred and four bowls in Jewish Aramaic, thirty one in Mandaic and twenty six in Syriac, to try and discern whether the use of a particular script correlated with the cultural group that it is generally associated with.[63] He found that in most cases what distinguishes the texts as belonging to a particular group, apart from their respective scripts, are the varieties of opening formulae and the lists of what he calls the 'helpers'. He did, however, make a cautionary note concerning twenty four 'Jewish Aramaic bowls without phraseology and without a *basmala* typical of Jewish bowls' that they 'should be noted carefully in any discussion of paganism in bowl incantations'.[64]

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[60] For more discussion concerning this reference see Levine 1970, pp. 358-359 and Greenfield 1973, pp. 154-156.
[61] Montgomery 1913, p. 50.
[62] Shaked 1999a, p. 314.
[63] Harviainen 1995.
[64] Harviainen 1995, p. 59

A case in point from our own corpus is M145 which has little if anything, apart from the fact that it is written in Jewish Aramaic, to distinguish it as having been written by a Jewish scribe. In fact, the language and imagery point to the possibility that this text might be derived from a Mandaic *Vorlage*. Yet the duplicate text (MS 2053/159, see text and notes to M145 below) which we have presented with M145 in synopsis has an appendix that consists of three biblical verses (Isa. 6:3, Ex. 15:16 and Ex. 15:18), which suggests that its scribe was Jewish. Although this is not conclusive proof that M145 was also written by a Jewish scribe, it can, nevertheless, be considered as evidence that this formula was known to and used by Jewish magicians despite the fact that the main part of the incantation might have originated from a Mandaic *Vorlage*.

We know from one of Peters'[65] excavation reports that bowls in different dialects were, on occasion, found in the same house. We also know of a certain Dadbeh bar Asmandukh, for whom bowls were written in both Jewish Aramaic (AIT 12 and AIT 16) and Syriac (AIT 31 and AIT 33). These facts point to a situation in which there is no obligation to assume that the religion of the sorcerer and client are synonymous.

One of our bowls, M163, contains an unusual combination of references which include invocations of the pagan 'Shamish king of the gods' (l. 4), the Jewish magical names אהיה אשר אהיה יהוה צבאות (l. 29) and the Christian Holy Trinity (l. 29). It also contains a number of other stories which are otherwise unknown, but which Shaked has suggested might be analogous to Zoroastrian cosmological stories.[66] Shaked has tried to reconcile this combination of religious elements by suggesting that this bowl was written by a Jewish scribe for Zoroastrian clients who commissioned the bowl to be written against their opponent who was a Christian.[67] He assumes the scribe to have been Jewish on the basis of the script, and the clients to have been Zoroastrian on the basis of their Sasanian names (Mihlad and Baran) and their opponent to be a Christian on the basis of his name (Isha). Shaked further suggests that the invocation of the Holy Trinity was made specifically because the target of the spell, a Christian, would consider it the most potent force to his detriment. It is, however,

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[65] Peters 1897, vol. 2, p. 187. In the 1989 excavations at Nippur that were carried out by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, there was also a case recorded in which a pair of bowls in Jewish Aramaic were found in the same house as a pair in Mandaic (Hunter 1995, p. 62).

[66] Shaked 1999a, p. 312.

hard to accept Shaked's assumptions, especially if we consider the Mandaic duplicate, which also includes the Holy Trinity, that is presented in the very same article by Shaked. Both texts were likely to have been part of the magician's repertoire rather than the choice of a conniving sorcerer.

5. Duplicate texts and the scribe-magician's method of incantation-writing

A primary characteristic of the magical text is that it was intended to be used and re-used by the magician, whose job it was to accommodate clients with requests to ward off potential predicaments, or for assistance with such as have already beset them. Part of the magician's store of incantation formulae would have been passed down to him by an instructor to whom he was no doubt apprenticed at some early stage of his career. Other formulae might have been acquired over years of professional practice by means of exchange with other colleagues, or inherited from mentors who wished to pass their most cherished trade secrets on to a trusted and worthy successor. As the number of magic bowls, Palestinian and Mandaic amulets and Geniza magical texts have increased, more and more duplicate texts have been identified. By duplicate texts, we refer to cases where a whole text or a section of it occurs in two or more bowls. Duplicates texts can be divided into three main categories: 1) Duplicates that were written by the same scribe, 2) Duplicates written by different scribes, and 3) Duplicates written in different language groups i.e. Jewish Aramaic and Mandaic and/or Syriac. Comparing texts of the first category can shed light on the ways in which an individual scribe could use different magical incantation formulae to construct different texts for different clients. The accuracy of his reduplication, or lack of it, can suggest whether he had a recipe book readily available from which to copy, or if he tended to rely more on his own memory. The second type of duplicate is also instructive for gaining a better understanding of the level of flexibility any scribe could exercise in his use of standard sections of formulae, and the ways in which he could combine and alter them in the process of composing any particular incantation. The differences between duplicates of this type can also be informative in evaluating to what extent the transmission of this type of magical formulae was scribal or oral. The third type of duplicates is one of the most

[67] Shaked 1999a, p. 314-315.

perplexing as it exhibits the movement of esoteric knowledge across the borders of communities that used different dialects and were adherents to different religions. Though we might never be able to find out the circumstances by which such exchanges came to pass, we can observe the level of modification in form and content that was exercised upon these magical texts. Needless to say, the existence of duplicates is of the utmost importance to the philologist for reconstructing sections of text which in some bowls have faded or disappeared altogether, and often written by untutored hands which render the script barely legible.

5.1 Duplicates written by the same scribe

A pair of duplicates that were written by the same scribe for the same client were published by Müller-Kessler in 1994. After considering these two texts together with two other duplicates written for other clients (N&Sh B12a and a Nippur bowl (HS 3003)[68]), as well as a third bowl written by a different scribe altogether (N&Sh B12b), Müller-Kessler concluded that the scribes tailored their texts uniquely for each client. This means that it was the scribe's custom to choose different opening and closing formula, vary in their citation of demons and angels and add verses or other formulae as they felt appropriate in each case. This could depend, for instance, on the complaint of the client and the amount of money he or she wished to spend. If a client wished to procure more than one bowl, maybe one for each of the corners of the house, then the scribe would compose the appropriate text and reproduce it faithfully in each of the bowls in the batch. That is why the two texts that Müller-Kessler published, which were written for the same client, followed the same form, whereas N&Sh B12a and HS 3003 seem to have been written by the same scribe but for different clients, showing different forms.[69] AIT 21,22 and 23 are duplicates which were all written by the same scribe for the same client, a certain Dodi daughter of Ahath. The difference between these three duplicates is also small, except that AIT 22 has a short appendix at the end that is missing from the other texts. Montgomery attributed this difference to the fact that being the biggest bowl of the three the scribe must have felt the need to add some extra words as space fillers. Yet another set of duplicates were produced

[68] Gordon in 1941, pp. 346-348, and republished by Olsner in 1989.

by Gordon (Gordon E and F) in a synopsis with a third duplicate, Hyvernat's bowl, written for a different client.[70] In this case, as well as in the same-scribe-and-client-duplicates, Gordon E and F are almost identical, whereas, the Hyvernat bowl, which was written for a different client, differs in considerable detail.

In our corpus there are two sets of duplicates that were written by the same scribe for the same clients and for which synopses have been provided (see below). The first group consists of M103, M119, MS 2053/209 and MS 2053/253 and were written for a certain Imi daughter of Qaqi. The second group, M123, M138 and MS 2053/216, were written for three different members of the same household: Imi daughter of Qaqi, Ahi son of Mahlapta and Ahi son of Qini.[71] Both of these groups of bowls happen to have been written by the same scribe for the same household and thus represent a family archive. Both of these sets of duplicates confirm Müller-Kessler's opinion that in such cases as these, where the scribe was writing a number of bowls for the same client or household, he was likely to reproduce the same text with only minor variations in the whole set of bowls. The nature of the small differences that occur between the duplicate texts point to the likelihood that the scribe was composing from memory rather than copying from a notebook or even the first bowl in the set which he had produced. The types of variation that most commonly occur between these kinds of duplicate seem to be the result of the kind of confusion that could easily occur in the scribe's mind while repeatedly writing the same repertoire of incantations from memory in different combinations over and over again. Incantations tend, in any case, to be repetitive and have similar kinds of statements and formulae. For instance, if we look at a variation that occurs in the opening lines of the first of our two groups:

M103:2	M119:1-2	MS 2053/209:2	MS 2053/253:1-2
תיתסי תינטרי	תיתסי ותיטרי	תינטרי תיתסי	תיתסי תיטרי
תישתזבי	מן כל מידעם ביש	ברחמי שמיא	מן כל מידעם ביש

Whereas in three of the texts the scribe wrote תיתסי before תינטרי, in one (MS 2053/209) this word order had changed. One might attribute this slight modification to a lapse in the scribe's concentration. Having already lost his rhythm and changed the word order, he

[69] Müller-Kessler 1994, pp. 8-9.
[70] Gordon 1934a p.331-332; Hyvernat 1885.

followed תיתסי with ברחמי שמיא, a formulaic combination that is known from other texts[72] and possibly also used by the scribe. Similarly, in M103 תינטרי is followed by תישתזבי rather than מן כל מידעם ביש. This could be explained by the fact that the verb נטר followed by שזב occurs in at least one other known formula[73] which might also have been known to our scribe. Another example of the kind of minor difference which occurs is the use of the demonstrative pronoun הדא before the client's name in M119:1 where it is absent from all this text's other duplicates. Such an addition could easily be made if one considers that names are cited regularly in other texts both with and without the demonstrative pronoun.

5.2 Duplicates written by different scribes

This is the most common form of duplicate that we possess. The kind of differences that were found in the previous category of duplicates also apply here except that they are even more common and the disparity is often greater. The order of phrases can alter:

M145:12	MS 2053/159:13
חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא ניגריה שורשא דארעה	ני(ג)ריה שירשה דארעה (ח)ד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה ברקי[עה]

Mode and tense can change:

M112:9	N&Sh B19:4
דלא יקירבון ביה כל חרשין	דלא (ת)יק((ר))בון ביה

M107:7	Geller A:16
ואברכסס ארהיט שידי ודיוי	ואברכסס דמפיק ומרהיט שידי ודיוי

and the quantity and quality of the demons and/or magical names can vary significantly:

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[71] For a discussion concerning the family connections between these three individuals see opening comments to M123 and M138 below.
[72] Cf. AIT 11:1-2, AIT 24:2, AIT 26:5 and Geller C:3. For a detailed discussion of this and other discrepancies between the duplicate texts see the Synopsis and notes provided below.
[73] BOR:10 נינטרוניה ונישיזבוניה.

M50:2	M59:7	AIT 9:3
גיטא לכל ליליתא דיכרי וניקבתא דמתחזן	גיטא דיכרי וניקבתא משמתא מלויתא דלויא ושריא ודירא בביתיה	גיטי לכל ליליתא דמתחזין להון

M112:7-15	N&Sh B19:11
בישמיה ד(פטט..ס) רבא (8) פרפיאל בי(ל)קו (9) פיניבא פיניבא (10) פיזיחו יחא (11) פרובאל בילקו (12) פיאירן פיניגא (13) אני הוא יהו הי (14) צור קדוש מסג (15) יי שדי	בשמיה דאפסמט רבה אמן אמן סלה

Duplicate texts show quite clearly that, when using a formula, different scribes were not compelled to adhere to the same opening and closing. For example, the duplicates HS 3003, N&Sh B12a and B12b, Müller-Kessler B1 and B2, which all share the same main formula, contain between them three different openings and four types of ending. Another, more extreme example of the adaptation of a basic text is Geller A. One can see in the synopsis with M107 (see below) the extent to which the basic formula has been enlarged and altered so as to make it at first glance almost unrecognisable as a duplicate of M107. Though the variance between these two texts is big, the fact that both bowls have the same drawing of a horse-riding demon and set of abstract magical characters make it certain that they both owe their origin to a common *Vorlage*.

These kind of differences between the duplicate texts reveal that the work of the magician-scribe was often more than just copying or reciting prescribed formula in which only the name of the client had to be entered. The craft of the skilled practitioner often involved a certain amount of tailoring so that, when he produced an incantation, he could design his product to suit both the client's needs and means. He had a choice of formulae to deal with a variety of maladies or complaints, numerous openings and closings, extensive lists of demons, evil sprits and malicious harmers as well as angels, powerful names and gods. Armed with these tools, he could assemble an endless array of incantations. Although certain aspects of these magic spells are conservative and draw from older inherited traditions, the greater corpus of magic bowls nevertheless presents us with a great variety in

both form and content. Whether by choice or as a consequence of the method of the scribes, the magic bowl texts are a testament to the creativity and diversity of their authors.

It was not, however, only the creative aspects of the magician-scribe's method that contributed to new elements and forms within magical incantation texts. It was also a process of corruption of unusual words and phrases, demons', angels' and magical names that were altered by generations of copying and oral transmission. A good example of such a case was noted by Montgomery in his study of the parallels to AIT 11 for which he produced a synopsis.[74] Montgomery points out that the two words אל איסור in the expression אל איסור בגדנא 'for the binding of Bagdana',[75] which occur in Ellis 1:4, got transformed into the name אלאיסור 'Elisur' in which form it is found in AIT 11:4-5. An example from our own corpus is the discrepancy between דכידיבון in M145:2, which appears to be a name, 'of KYDYBWN' (?), as opposed to the expression בריה דבריה, 'the grandson', which occurs in the parallel MS 2053/159:2:

M145:2	MS 2053/159:2-3
לשמיש חור דכידיבון בריה דמלכה רבא	לשמיש וחור בריה דבריה בר (3) מלכה רבה

Magical names are probably the most prone to change as they are often rather unusual combinations of letters which are harder to remember than normal vocabulary. An example of this is a name of Lilith which occurs in AIT 11:6 as חלבס, though in its duplicates it occurs as חבסלס in one case and חלדאס in another. In M163:9-11 there are listed seven magic words that constitute the seal by which it is claimed heaven and earth are bound. A comparison with four other texts in which these seven names are also cited (see table in notes to M163:8-11) shows the different permutations such names can take. Concerning a similar case of a list of angel names which occurs in both N&Sh B1 and B2, Naveh and Shaked commented that the differences in the names point to a combination of both oral and scribal modes of transmission.[76]

[74] Montgomery 1913, pp. 168-170.
[75] Montgomery shows on the basis of the Mandaic parallel that אל in the Jewish Aramaic is but an unusual form for the preposition על (Montgomery 1913, p. 171). See also J. p. 66a.
[76] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 27.

5.3 Duplicates in different language groups

Montgomery identified a number of duplicate texts that crossed the linguistic boundaries: AIT 11 and AIT 18 in Jewish Aramaic that have a Mandaic counterpart in the form of Lidzbarsky no. 5,[77] and also the formula in AIT 9 in Jewish Aramaic which has two Syriac duplicates, AIT 32 and AIT 33. To the latter we add another pair of duplicates from our present corpus - M50 and M59. In 1998 Müller-Kessler published a synopsis of three texts: BOR in Jewish Aramaic, Louvre AO 17284 in Syriac and Macuch I, a lead roll in Mandaic, which all include a formula that is based on the same *Vorlage*.[78] This is the first attested case in which a formula is found in all three of the major dialects of the magic bowls. Müller-Kessler summarised her study of the three texts, as did her predecessors Naveh and Greenfield (who were not aware of the existence of the Syriac version), with the conclusion that the Mandaic version is the most likely to have been closest to the original.

These texts bear witness that such formulae were transmitted from one religious community to another. One can only speculate about the way in which such material was passed on. Were such texts copied from one language into another, or were they passed on orally? It is possible that magicians of different religious groups exchanged trade secrets or consulted with each other on professional matters. We are told in b. Shab. 116a that Mar Samuel and a certain Babylonian priest called Ablat discussed medical-astronomical issues together.[79] Was it the work of converted magicians who brought their old stock of trade with them across into new communities? As the world of magic, with its syncretistic tendencies, was so secretive and evidence so sparse, the answers to these questions are elusive.

Harvianen noted a significant difference, apart from the script and dialect, that distinguishes the Jewish Aramaic bowl that he published (BOR) and the Mandaic duplicate that Greenfield and Naveh published. He points out that in the Jewish bowl

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[77] For the history of the study of this formula, see footnote 48.

[78] The history of research relating to this incantation formula that precedes Müller-Kessler's publication is particularly interesting. It starts with BOR, a Jewish Aramaic bowl, which was published by Harviainen in 1981. The bowl's linguistic peculiarities, many of which are common to the Mandaic dialect, led him to form the idea that the presence of certain linguistic features in Jewish Aramaic constituted an Eastern Aramaic Koiné (see above). In 1985 Naveh and Greenfield published a Mandaic lead roll that had within it a duplicate variation of the Jewish Aramaic BOR. They added a third duplicate, Macuch I - another Mandaic lead roll, to these two texts and produced a synopsis. Their conclusion was that the Jewish Aramaic version was dependent on the Mandaic.

[79] Geller 1997b, p. 57.

'the beginning of the text reads *šemaʿu we-qabbelu h de-zahar yy* 'hear and accept the Lord who has warned, Yahwe!' While large parts of the text, demons, deities, and curses inclusive, were copied from a Mandaic model–as Greenfield and Naveh have demonstrated–the Mandaean watchword was not accepted by the scribe who employed the Jewish script for the incantation. Instead of the Life, the primordial deity of the Mandaean religion, the (probably) Jewish magician appealed to the God of the Jews, Yahwe, the name of which he spelled in two different abbreviated forms, *he* and *yod-yod*'.[80]

Harviainen's findings reveal that in most cases the Mandaic and Jewish Aramaic texts employ their own specific forms of opening formulae. That is to say that there are certain formulae that are specifically Mandaic and are never used in Jewish Aramaic texts, and visa versa. One can, therefore, see that although a Mandaic formula might be copied by Jewish scribes, they will, nevertheless, adapt it in some way so as to make it their own.

[80] Harviainen 1993, p. 34.

Texts -Transcriptions, Translations, Notes and Synopses

M50 (15.5cm * 5cm) & **M59** (16.5cm * 5.5cm)

Though M50 and M59 are duplicate texts of each other they are, nevertheless, written by different hands and for different clients. The names of the clients in M50 are Uri daughter of Maroshita and Qaqai son of Ṣiporta, and the name in M59 Ardoi son of Kirkshidukh. Other published duplicates of this formula are AIT 9 which is in Jewish Aramaic and AIT 32 and 33 which are in Syriac Manichaean script. Another three duplicates in Jewish Aramaic have been identified in the Schøyen collection: MS 1927/5, MS 1927/39 and MS 1929/16. The complete transcriptions of these are not provided, though sections that are cited have been collated by the present author. Of special importance is MS 1929/16 as it was written by the same scribe as M59 and displays certain unusual features of this formula which are particular to these two versions. From these eight texts one can discern at least three main variations of this incantation: 1) AIT 32 and 33 the Syriac Manichaean texts, 2) M59 and MS 1929/16 both in Jewish Aramaic and by the same author, and 3) M50, AIT9, MS 1927/5 and MS 1927/39 all in Jewish Aramaic. This last group of texts are not all the same and show an extra number of variations. The differences between all the texts are slight and reveal something about the nature of the deviations which occur in the transformation of a formulaic incantation in the process of its transmission (see synopsis and discussion below).

Common to all the variations of the incantation are: 1) The mention, at the beginning of the text, of the throwing of lots as part of a magical process. 2) A small historiola which relates that a writ of divorce to separate human clients from demons was written in the house of R. Joshua bar Perahia. 3) The invocation of a holy name which is only alluded to, in Hebrew, as the magical manipulation of certain letters. The implied composite name is described as one that was in some way used in the process of creation, as well as being potent for the removal of demons. 4) The historiola ends with a direct statement to the demons that the agency which affected the divorce between them and the human clients had ascended 'on high' to enlist the means by which the their expulsion and destruction will be completed.

Transcription of M50

(1) פורא רמינא ושקילנא {ועב} ועבדא עבדנא והוא הוה במותב רבי יהושוע בר פרחיא (2) כתבנא להון גיטא לכל לילי^יתא דיכרי וניקבתא דמתחזן לה להדא אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא (3) קאקי בר ציפרתא בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא דיממא גיטא גיט פיטורין ושיבוקין בשום אות מתוך אות (4) ואותיות מתוך אותיות ושום מתוך השמות (...) נ(ק)ב מתוך הגלוי דבהון איתכנעו שמיה (וא)רעה וטוריא בהון איתעקרו וראמתא בהון איתמסיאה שידי חרשי דיוי ולטבי בהון עברי מן עלמא בכין סליקית עליכון למרומא איתיתי עליכון מחבלא לחבלא יתכון (5) ולאפקא יתכון מן ביתה ומן כל אתר בית מישכבהון דהדא אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא קאקי בר ציפורת(א) ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא (6) ב(י)שינתא דיממא דפטרנא יתכון מינהון בספר תרוכין וגיט {פט} פיטורין ואיגרת שיבוקין כדת בנת ישראל ומן יומא דין ולעלם אמן אמן סלה הללויה (ל)שמך 7. עשיתי גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל וחתימין על הדין גיטא

Translation of M50

(1) I am casting and drawing a lot and making a magical act. And it was [as] in the dwelling of R. Joshua bar Perahia. (2) I am writing them a *get*, to all the male and female Liliths who appear to this Uri daughter of Maroshita and to this (3) Qaqai son of Siporta in the dream of the night and the sleep of the day. A divorce writ, a *get* of releasing and sending away. By the name of: a letter within a letter (4) and letters from within letters and a name from within the names (...) a gap from within the revealed. By them which heaven and earth were subjugated, mountains were uprooted by them, and heights were melted by them. Demons and dews and 'no good ones' die (lit. - passing from the world) by them. Therefore, I ascended concerning you (or- against you/above you) to on high. I have brought against you a harmer to destroy you (5) and remove you from her house and from every bedroom of this Uri daughter of Merushita and this Qaqai son of Siporta. And may you not appear to them, not in the dream of the night and not (6) in the sleep of the day. For I have released you from them by a document of divorce, and a *get* of discharge/dismissal, and letters of separation according to the law of the daughters of Israel from this day and forever, amen

amen sela hallelujah. (7) For Thy namesake I have done (this magic act). Gabriel and Michael and Raphael and (those) sealed upon this *get*.

Notes for M50

1 שקילנא The spelling here and in M59 are the same and confirm Epstein's emendation of Montgomery's reconstruction of AIT 9:1 from נא[שקי] to לנא[שקי].

עבדא עבדנא Cf. N&Sh 3:4 ועבדין דמיתעבדין 'charms which are cast.' The root עבד in the context of the magic bowls was discussed by Montgomery[1] who stressed the fact that its spectrum of meanings incorporate both religious and magical practice. It is worth noting in connection with this formula, which incorporates legalistic divorce formula, the common Rabbinic expression עבד עובדא 'issue a halakhic ruling,' as in b. Gitt. 27a עבד רבה עובדא בההוא גיטא 'Rabbah issued a ruling concerning that bill of divorce.'

2 ן<י>דמתחז Cf. AIT 9 דמתחזין. A verb with a third week radical חזי, the masculine participle form is מתחזין, the feminine being מתחזיין.[2]

4 איתמסיאה Montgomery read In AIT 9:7,8 איתמסי אה '... melt away. Oh, ...' Epstein amended to איתמסראה, an *ithpe.* feminine pl. perfect, on the basis of the Syriac Manichaean duplicates AIT 32 and 33 which has *ʿytmsr*. However, the reading is clear in both this text and its duplicate MS 1929/16 and an *ithpe.* feminine pl. perfect of מסי is perfectly acceptable. This form is not attested in the Babylonian Talmud, but can be found in the Targ.-J., cf. Josh. 10:11 - אתרמיאה.

עברי מן עלמא The two Syriac texts AIT 32 and 33 have the same expression as here, which is also attested in the Targ.-J. (Gen. 15:2 דאני עביר מן עלמא). Cf. AIT 9:7 which employs the verb אבד instead of עבר resulting in an equivalent expression which is attested in the Mishna - אבדו מן עלמא.[3]

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[1] 1913, p. 51.
[2] Epstein 1960, p. 99.
[3] Epstein 1983, p. 339.

איתיתי Montgomery[4] considered this word to be an *af.* to which the added תי- is a 'Hebraizing' of the form. However, in the Targumim[5] the form אתיתי is well attested as a *pe.* perfect first person.

מחבלא לחבלא cf. VA2416:17 (Wohlstein, 1894, line 34) ומחבלתא דימחבלתא; cf. Targ.-J. Is. 54:16 מחבלא לחבלא.

6 פשינתא The פ which is at the start of this word should have been a ב as can be seen in AIT 9:9 and M59:12.

כדת בנת ישראל ... בספר תרוכין This is the same wording used for the end of the *Get*[6] formula except for the ending. The standard formula is כדת משה וישראל (as found in M59:12, see below) whereas our text reads כדת בנת ישראל which is reminiscent of the Targ.-O. to Ex. 21:9, a Biblical reference to the Israelite rules of matrimony, which translates the Hebrew כמשפט הבנות as כהלכת בנת ישראל.

Notes for M59 (see transcription of M59 in the synopsis below)

5 עבדי A plural form cf. M50:1 עבדא.

6 כתבית A perfect form of the verb as opposed to כתבנא in M50:2 which is a participle with first person pronoun suffix.

8 להון דמית(חזיא) In MS 1929/16 the spelling is the same. This is a singular feminine form of the participle and refers to the מלויתא 'the female demon that accompanies'. There is only one client so one would expect לה instead of להון.

9 - 10 הגולי Should be הגלוי as it is clearly written in M50 and MS 1927/5. It is interesting that the scribe repeats this same mistake in his duplicate rendition of the same text in MS 1929/16.

עו<נ>יתכ Cf. יתכנעו in MS 1929/16, and איתכנעו in M50 and AIT 9.

יתכנעו, ויתעקרון, ויתמסרון All *ithpe.* imperfect forms as they are also found in MS 1929/16. However, in all the other duplicates, the Syriac ones included, these verbs are *ithpe.* perfect

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[4] 1913, p. 164.
[5] Dalman 1905, p. 358. Some examples occur in: Targ.-O. Gen. 31:39, Targ.-Ps-J. Deut. 26:10, Targ.-J. Isa. 41:25, Jer. 2:19.
[6] Cf. Amram 1896, frontispiece facsimile.

forms. In the imperfect these verbs do not make as much sense as the subjugation of the heavens and the earth and the formation of its geography by the magical names was an act that occurred in the past. Furthermore, all the other duplicates (apart from MS 1929/16) conjugate these verbs as *ithpe.* perfect forms. It seems reasonable to assume that at some point of the transmission of this formula a certain scribe, possibly even the one who wrote M59 and 1929/16, copied the אי prefixed to the verbs as וי.

11 לאפוקי An *af.* infinitive, this form is eastern;[7] cf. M50:5 לאפקא which is the western equivalent.[8]

לאנדואהון The *af.* infinitive of the root נדי/נדא ('to throw, banish, excommunicate') with a masculine third person plural suffix. Cf. לאלוואיהון in the Targ. Ps-J. Gen. 18:16.[9]

14-15 Zech. 3:2, for a discussion of the use of this verse in the magic bowls see appendix to M108.

Synopsis for M50, M59, AIT 9 and AIT 32

M50	M59	AIT 9	AIT 32 (Syriac)[10]
	(1) לכל (2) ל (3) ליליתא בישתא		(1) מזמן הנא כאסא חתמא דביתה (2) ודאנתתה ודבנה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד דתיזה מנה מבכלתא (3) וחלמא ביישא
(1) פורא רמינא ושקילנא {ועב} ועבדא עבדנא והוא הוה במותב רבי יהושוע בר פרחיא	(4) דפורא רמינא ושקילנא (5) {ועב} ועבדי עבדנא במתיבי (6) יהושע בר פרחיא	(1) פורא רמינא ו[שקי]לנא ועובדא (2) עבידנא והוא הוה במית[ביה] דרבי יהושע (3) בר פרחיא	פורא רמינא ושקינא עבודא דעביד הוהוא (4) כי הוא דיתיב רב יישוע בר פרהיא
(2) כתבנא להון גיטא לכל ליליתא דיכרי וניקבתא	כתבית (7) גיטא דיכרי וניקבתא משמתא מלויתא דלויא ושריא ודירא	כתבנא להין גיטי לכל ליליתא	וכתב עליהון דסתבריא על כלהון שידא ודיוא (5) וסטנא וללית ולטבא
דמתחזן לה		דמתחזין להון	
להדא	בביתיה	בהדין (4)	דאית בביתה

[7] Epstein 1960, p. 76.
[8] Stevenson 1924, p. 61.
[9] Dalman 1905, p. 349.
[10] For the convenience of viewing this synopsis the Syriac text has been rendered in square characters.

AIT 32 (Syriac)[10]	AIT 9	M59	M50
דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד	דבבנוש בר קיומ[תא] ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה	דארדוי בר (8) כירכשידוך וכל שום דאית לה	אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא (3) קאקי בר ציפרתא
		דמית(חזיא) להון	
	בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא (5) דיממא	בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא דיממא	בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא דיממא
תוב כתב עליהון דסתבריא דלעלם	דגיטא דפי[טורין] ודשבוקין	ואנה כתיבנא עליכון גיטא (9) גיט פיטורין ושבוקין	גיטא גיט פיטורין ושיבוקין
(6) בשום אתמדג [את] אתות אתות מן גות אתות אתות שמא גליונא מן גו גיליונא	בשום אות מתוך אות ואותיות מתוך אותיות (6) ושום מתוך השימות ונקב מתוך [הנקבים]	בשום אות מיתוך אות אותיות מיתוך אותיות ושום {מ} מיתוך השימ<ו>ת וינקבי מיתוך האל הגולי	בשום אות מתוך אות (4) ואותיות מתוך אותיות ושום מתוך השמות (...) נ(ק)ב מתוך הגלוי
דבהנהון איתכביש (7) שמיא וארעא וטורא ובהנהון איתקר רמא[תא] ובהנהון איתמסר	דיבהון איתכנעו שמיא וארעה טוריא איתעקרו ורמתא בהון איתמס(י)אה	דיבהון יתכ<נ>עו (10) שמיה וארעה וטורא בהון ויתעקרון ורמיתא בהון ויתמסרון	דבהון איתכנעו שמיה (וא)רעה וטוריא בהון איתעקרו וראמתא בהון איתמסיאה
[חרשא שידא] ודיוא וסטנא ולליתא ולטבא (8) ובהנהון עבר מן עלמא	(7) שידי חרשי ודיוי ולטבי ולילית בהון אבדו מן עלמא	שידי וחרשי בהון עברי מן עלמא	שידי חרשי דיוי ולטבי בהון עברי מן עלמא
וסליק עליכון למרומא ואיתא עליכון קיבלא חביל[א] לחבלותא ואפקא [לאפק]תכון	בכין סליקית עליהון לימרומא ואיתיתי עליכון (8) מחבלא לחבלא יתהון ולאפקא יתכ[ון	בכין סליקית עליכון למירומא מיחבלא (11) לאפוקי ולאנדויאהון שידין ושיבטין ודיוין וסטנין וחילמי סניתי שגישי ותיזחון ותיפקון	בכין סליקית עליכון למרומא איתיתי עליכון מחבלא לחבלא יתכון (5) ולאפקא יתכון
(9) [מן ב]יתה	מ]ן בתיהון ומן דירתיהון איסקופתיהון ומן כל ... אתר בית מישכביהון	מן ביתיה ואיסקופתיה	מן ביתה ומן כל אתר בית מישכבהון
דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד ומן כל דאיתלה	דבאבנוש בר קיומתא (9) ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה	דארדוי בר כירכשידוך	דהדא אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא קאקי בר ציפורת(א)
	ותוב לא [תיתחזון להון] לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינ[תא דיממ]א	(12) ולא תתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינתא ד<יממה>	ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא (6) ב(ו)שינתא דיממא
שביקית[ון]	דפטרנא ותרכנה [ית]כ[ין]	מיטול דפטרנא יתיכון מיניכון	דפטרנא יתכון מינהון

AIT 32 (Syriac)[10]	AIT 9	M59	M50
בדסתבריא ואסיר [וח]תים ומחתם איכין דש[ידא קדמיא לאדר]יבו (10) ואנשא קדמיא דעוטר להאוו תוב אסיר חתים ומחתם הנא דסתבריא בשום יה יה יה יה יה יה יה עא [אמין אמין סלה (11) ניתח]תים וניתנטר ביתה ודורה דדינוי בר איספנ[דרמיד] מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ותיתחת[ים] ותיתנטר [אנתתה ובנה] (12) מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ונידרא ו[חרשא] ....תקים [מ]נהלי (?) ה אמין	(10) בגט פטו[רין ו]ספר תירוכין ואגרת שיבוק[ין] כדת בנת ישראל (11) אני לישמך עשיתי יהוה אלהים צבאות גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל חתומך על הדא חתמתא ועל הדא איסקופתה אמן אמן	בסיפר תירוכי<ן> וגיטא גיט פיטורין ואיגרת שבוקין כדת משה ו<י>שראל (13) לשמך אני עשיתי גבריאל verso (14) גבריאל ו(מיכ)אל ורפיאל ואור<יאל> .....יאל בשום (סו)ריאל סוריאל ..... יהוק יהיק רבה סלה ויאמר יהוה אל שטן יגער יהוה בך (15) השטן יגער יהוה בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אוד (מוצל) מיאש	בספר תרוכין וגיט {פט} פיטורין ואיגרת שיבוקין כדת בנת ישראל ומן יומא דין ולעלם אמן אמן סלה הללויה (ל)שמך (7) עשיתי גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל חתימין על הדין גיטא

The synopsis reveals a number of interesting differences which illustrate the nature of the transmission of this incantation, specifically amongst the Jewish and Syriac scribes. Both Montgomery and Epstein worked on the Jewish Aramaic text (AIT 9) and the two Syriac duplicates (AIT 32 and 33) commenting on the textual tradition of this formula which these two cultural groups shared. Montgomery claimed that the Jewish Aramaic text is 'doubtless dependent upon'[11] the Syriac texts. This statement is not qualified but for a comment that AIT 9 is the inscription of an illiterate hand. Epstein argued against the priority of the Syriac partly on the basis that both AIT 32 and 33 use the expression עבר מן עלמא, whereas AIT 9 uses אבדו מן עלמא which is similar to the Mishnaic expression.[12] Such an argument is untenable in the light of our two new Jewish Aramaic duplicates which both use the Aramaic expression with the verb עבר.

Epstein concluded solely by stating that it is likely that both versions of this formula were based on an earlier source. The mention of Joshua bar Perahia and the allusion to the manipulation of the divine name appear to suggest that the source is Jewish.

Epstein noted the discrepancy between the nouns and qualifying verbs when comparing the Syriac section AIT 32:6,7 with its equivalent Jewish Aramaic AIT 9:6:

[11] Montgomery 1913, p. 162.
[12] Epstein 1960, p. 339.

	AIT 9:6	AIT 32:6,7
1	דיבהון איתכנעו שמיא וארעה	דבהנהון איתכביש (7) שמיא וארעא וטורא
2	טוריא איתעקרו	
3	ורמתא בהון איתמס(י)אה	ובהנהון איתקר רמא[תא]
4		ובהנהון איתמסר [חרשא שידא] ודיוא

Whereas, in the Syriac text the word טורא is modified by the first verb (איתכביש), in the Jewish Aramaic texts (AIT 9:6, M50:4 and M59:10) the equivalent טוריא occurs with the second verb - איתעקרו. This is the point where the Syriac and Jewish Aramaic versions fall out of step. The equivalent to this second verb in the Syriac version (איתקר) relates to רמאתא which in the Jewish Aramaic text is modified by a third verb - איתמסיאה. The equivalent of this third verb in the Syriac version (איתמסר) refers to the list of demons that follow. The differences between the two versions of this particular section are interesting as they could reflect a corruption in the transmission of the text from one Aramaic dialect to the other. If such a corruption has indeed occurred, then it has not affected the outcome as both versions preserve readings which are sensible and grammatically sound.

There are two other elements of similarity between M59 and MS 1929/16, both written by the same scribe, and the two Syriac texts. 1) The equivalent to AIT 32:7 איתמסר in M59:10 and MS 1929/16:7 is ויתמסרון, as opposed to אתמסיאה in both AIT 9 and M50. 2) In AIT 32:5 there is the added תוב כתב עליהון 'again he wrote concerning them.' Similarly in M59:8 (and MS 1929/16:5) ואנה כתיבנא עליכון 'and I write against you,' missing from both AIT 9 and M50.

Comparing these texts enables an interesting insight into the creativity of the individual scribe. For example in the transcription of M59, it seemed reasonable to consider לכל ל לילית בישתא as the first three lines of the text. These words are couched within the rather

elaborate image of the demon which is sprawled across the centre of the bowl. Furthermore, they are the first words to be read if one follows the usual clockwise spiraling of the text from the middle outwards. These words also serve as an eye-catching caption. In M50:2 and AIT 9:3 these words appear after the word גיטא. A further inspection of M59 reveals that the words in question appear above the word גיטא in line 7, rather than after them as they appear in MS 1929/16 (written by the same scribe) which has no illustration of a demon. It might be argued that in M59 these words were put above the word גיטא, i.e. the correct place in the formula, גיטא ^לכל ל ליליתא בישתא^. However, the scribe added the relative pronoun ד to פורא which clearly suggests that something ought to precede it. Thus it appears that the scribe was consciously exploiting the visual arrangement of the text.

Another small but revealing detail is that in M59:8 the words דמתחזיא להון 'whom appears to them' appears after the name of the client. Whereas, in M50, AIT 9 and MS 1929/16 (which was written by the same hand as M59) the equivalent words appear before the name of the client. This alteration of the formula became necessary to the scribe of M59 who added the optional ושריא ודירא 'who dwells and inhabits' which necessitated that 'in the house of ...' immediately follow. Wishing not to omit any part of the formula he then added 'whom appears to them' after the name of the client.

M101 (17.6cm*7cm)

This text is written in a very neat square script. Apart from ה and ח, all the letters are clearly distinguished. The text appears to have been written for the general protection of the client, her unborn baby and her dwellings. The Aramaic displays a number of western tendencies, such as the infinitive forms of the verbs in the first two lines and the ה endings of some of the nouns (l. 3 בישתה, l. 4 ניקבתה, lines 4 and 5 עקרה). The text is in Hebrew from the end of line eight until the word בשום in line eleven. Part of this section is an almost exact parallel to a passage in Hekhalot Rabatti (see below). Of particular interest in this section is the Hebrew threat formula in lines 9 and 10 which is written in the third person against demons. This statement is something of an echo to the threat which the demons received, in Aramaic, in direct speech (the second person), in lines 6 and 7. The Hebrew threat to the demons is written in a post Biblical Hebrew, consistent with the Hekhalot material and possibly originating from texts which are, as yet, unknown to us.

Transcription of M101

(1) הדין כתבה למיסר ולמיבלם ולשצטמא (2) ולאפקא ולרחקא כל שידי ודיוי וירורי ולילין ומבכלין (3) ורוחי בישתה וחומרי זידניתא ופתכרי ופתכרתא (4) דיכרי וניקבתה וכל מ(חא)תא אינקיתא ומשמתא ומבכלתא ורוח עקרה (5) ולילית עקרה זכר ונקיבה כולכון שמ(ע)ו מומתא דא וקבילו שבועתא הדא (6) ופוקו ורחיקו מן מחלפתא בת אימאי ומן עוברה דבימעה ומן ביתה דחיתה ביה ומן דירתה (7) דילה ותוב לא תיתון עלה ולא תיתחזון לה לא בביתה ולא בדירתה מן יומא דין ושעה דא ולעלם במפתחי חותם (8) בפיתוחי חותם בחותם חותם בינזה בינזף בינ(..)ה בשץ בקץ בנף ב(לז) בלן בניזפי בלן בטש בצף ביהו יהו (9) הי הו הוה ובעיזקתא רבתא שאין כל הטבעות כמותה וכל לילין ומבכלין וכל רוח רעה זכר ונקיבה שישמע (10) ויצא מן מחלפתא בת אימאי ומן ביתה כוליה וילך לדרכו לשלום ומי שלו ישמע יהא מנודא לטעצש יהוה אלהי ישראל לו (11) ולכתר ראשו ולכיסי כבודו ולבית דין של מעלה ולבית דין של מטה ולכל צבא בית דין מרום בשום טיטינוס חי חי מץ פגרי רעש ופגרי (12) רגש קל פגרי רעש קל מילי מיליה תיגלה (סלד)יאה קיצתס פצמצין ניאסין אקרקפה דני וארישה דביניתה חתם חזית(יה) לבר שתי שתי (פ)נדי (13) סכסין סק(ס)ון קץ שמיה עיקרון קרן לך דין שמה רבה דמלאך מותא עריק מיניה אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M101

(1) This writing to bind, and muzzle, and lock up, (2) and take out, and remove all sheds, and dews, and howlers, and Lils, and tormentors, (3) and evil spirits, and wicked charms, male idols and female idols, (4) male and female, and all plagues necklace charms, and ban, and tormentor, and barren spirit, (5) and barren Lilith, male or female.

All of you, hear this adjuration and receive this oath. (6) Go out and remove yourselves from Mahlafta daughter of Imai and from her foetus in her belly, and from her house in which she lives, and from her dwelling. (7) Again, may you not come against her, and may you not appear to her, not in her house and not in her dwelling from this day and this time and forever.

By seal engravers (8) by seal engravings by seal of seal, by YNZH by YNZP by YN(..)H by ŠṢ by QṢ by NP by (LZ) by LN by NYZPY by LN by ṬŠ by ṢP by YHW YHW (9) HY HW HWH and by the great signet ring of which none of the rings are like.

And all lils and tormentors and every evil spirit , male and female who will obey (10) and go out from Mahlapta daughter of Imai, and from her entire house. May he go on his way in peace. And whosoever shall not obey will be banished to ṬA'SŠ YHWH God of Israel, to him (11) and to the crown of his head and to the throne of his glory and to the law court of above and to the law court of below and to all the host of the law court of heaven.

By the name ṬYṬYNWS ḤY ḤY MṢ bodies of commotion and bodies (12) of tumult, sound of bodies of commotion, sound of words of words TYGLH (SLD)Y'AH QYṢTS PṢMṢYN NYA'SYN. *Upon her head jars* and upon the top of her hair he sealed ḤZYT(YH) LBR ŠTY ŠTY PNDY (13) SKSYN SQ(.)WN QṢ his name.

Barren one, we called you! This is the great name from which the angel of death flees. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M101

1 לשצטמא cf. b. Git. 68a MS Paris שיצטמיה and variants: MS Munich 95 שסטמיה, MS Arras 969 שסתמיה and MS Wilna סתמיה. In b. Git. 68a this verb is employed to express the fastening of the iron chain which was thrown over Asmedai the demon. Cf. the Mandaic

cognate *sṣtm* (DM p. 334a, b) 'to fetter, shackle' for which there is the equivalent *ṣṣtm* (DM p. 396b). Macuch explained the change of *s* > *ṣ* before *ṭ* as 'a general Semitic phenomenon'.[13] The same change from ס to צ is attested in Babylonian Aramaic[14] and could explain the differences between the variant forms in the b. Git. 68a manuscripts. Macuch understood the Mandaic *sṣtm* to be a *Safel* form.[15] Likewise, Kohut[16] considered the form in b. Git. (MS Munich 95) שסטמיה to be a *Shafel* derived from the root סתם.

5 זכר ונקיבה These are Hebrew nouns as opposed to the Aramaic דיכרי וניקבתה in line four.

6 עוברה דבמיעה Cf. the expression עולה דבמעיה in amulet A[17] lines 7,16 and 30.

חיתה As this text is for the protection of a pregnant woman it is possible to consider this word to be a variant spelling of חייתא 'midwife'.[18]

7,8 במפתחי חותם בפיתוחי חותם בחותם חותם This is reminiscent of the holy diadem of pure gold mentioned in Ex. 39:30 upon which was incised the 'sealed inscription', פתוחי חותם, consisting of the words 'Holy to the Lord'. The potency of seals with magic words upon them is evident from their numerous invocations in magic bowls.[19] Knowledge of various seals, such as those often described in the Hekhalot literature, was apparently considered essential for the mystic who would traverse the heavenly palaces.[20] As this text is concerned with a pregnant client and her unborn feotus, mentioning the barren spirit and barren Lilith (lines 4,5), it is worth noting Gen. 30:22 and Targ. Ps-J. of the same verse. In this verse we are told that God took heed of Rachel's plight and 'opened her womb', ויפתח את רחמה. The word ויפתח, from the same root as מפתחי and פיתוחי, is elaborated in the Targ. Ps-J. which records a midrash about four magical 'keys' which were handed down directly by the Lord. One of these keys was the 'key of barrenness', מפתח עקרתא.[21]

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[13] Macuch 1965, p. 69-70.
[14] Epstein 1960, p. 19.
[15] Macuch 1965, p. 248.
[16] Aruch Completum 1955, vol. 8, p. 117b.
[17] Montgomery 1911, pp. 272-279, and republished in Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 91-95.
[18] J. p. 455a,b.
[19] Montgomery 1913, p. 53.
[20] Scholem 1960, p. 33.
[21] In the b. Tan. 2a,b there is another version of this midrash which tells of three such keys one of which is also the key of barrenness.

10-11 יהא ... מרום This is a near precise parallel to a verse in Hekhalot Rabatti, cf. Schäfer Synopsis §92:

M101 יהא מנודא לטעצש יהוה אלהי ישראל לו (11) ולכתר ראשו ולכיסי כבודו ולבית דין של

HR יהא בנידוי לטעצש יוי אלהי ישרי לו ולכסא כבודו ולכתר ראשו לבית דין של

M101 מעלה ולבית דין של

HR מעלה ולבית דין של

M101 מטה ולכל צבא בית דין מרום

HR מטה ולכל צבא מרום

This section appears towards the start of Hekhalot Rabatti, following the description of the virtues of those who descend to the Merkabah. Though this Hekhalot section is in itself somewhat unclear,[22] the particular clause, which is parallel to the one in our text, appears to be an invocation given to those who descend to the Merkabah for protection. The name טעצש is appended to a standard name of God and also appears, in the same form, at the very beginning of Hekhalot Rabatti (Schäfer Synopsis §81). This name also appears in Maaseh Merkabah (Schäfer Synopsis §591) in a list of divine names. The complete form of this name (טעצש ביה יוי אלהי ישראל) is also employed in an amulet from the Geniza, TTS K1.168 line 55 (Schiffman and Swartz 1992 p. 147), which was written for protection from slander and witchcraft and for the restoration of the love of the client's wife. Cf. also טשעצש T.-S. K 1.144 3b:15.[23]

שלו Defective spelling of שלא.

11-13 ... טיטינוס Part of this sequence appears in Gordon B:8-9 who reads it as: טיטינוס חתימין פגרי דעש ופגרי דעש קל פגרי דעש קל מילי מילי אתיגלא. This sequence, followed by 'this is the great name from which the angel of death flees' (line 12 in our text), is almost exactly duplicated in MS 2053/158:12-14. In MS 2053/158, it is prefaced by כתבית עליכון 'I have written against you', which suggests that this is a fixed formula consisting of a complex magical name followed by a statement of its particular function i.e. the removal of the danger of death from the client. The translation to פגרי רעש ופגרי (12) רגש קל פגרי רעש קל מילי מיליה is given tentatively. Cf. III Enoch chapter 42:5 וראיתי רעמים וקולות שהם מרעישים

[22] Schäfer 1987, p. 9.

בתוך להבי אש 'And I saw thunders and voices that were roaring in the midst of the fiery flames'.[24] Cf. also T.-S. K 21.95.P 3b:13-15:[25] קול פיגרי רגש קול דממה (רעש) דקה הים קול חשמל חשמלה (חמ) רבה דמלל מן גי להבי אשתא; a reference in which פיגרי רגש appears in combination with דקה ... קול דממה, a reference to Elijah's divine encounter in I Kings 19:12,[26] and the sound of the חשמל from the vision of Ezekiel 1:4. Cf. another variant of this composite name which occurs in the *Pišra' de-R. Ḥanina' ben Dosa'*:[27] ... דעל שמיה חקוק תגצשמעץ וטעצש יהוה צבאות אלי מערכות ישראל שנקרא שם כל קשב בקש קול פגרי רעש קל חשמל וחשמלא רבא די ממלל[28] מגוש להבת אשתא ...

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[23] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 34.
[24] Odeberg 1973, pp. 131 and נה.
[25] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 34.
[26] ואחר הרעש אש לא באש יהוה ואחר האש קול דממה דקה 'After the earthquake–fire; but the Lord was not in the fire, and after the fire–a soft murmuring sound'.
[27] Tocci 1986, p. 102.
[28] It might be preferable to read מגו שלהבת.

M102 (19.8cm*5cm)

There are thirteen lines of text in this bowl which is written in a fine hand. Most of the text is readable though there are some slightly faded sections for which a reading was more difficult to extract, as well as some unusual vocabulary and syntax. It is possible that this is partly due to corruptions that occurred in the transmission of the text. Noteworthy is the variety of prefixes for the imperfect third person masculine forms (eleven with נ' ten with ל' and two with י'). With the exception of נישתדרון in line seven, a pattern of the dispersion of these forms can be observed: נ' is used in lines 1-4 and 9-12; ל' in lines 5-8 and 13-14. It is quite possible that this text was composed from other formula, each with its own morphological characteristics.

This bowl is a curse text commissioned by a certain Safra son of Rabita to counteract, and indeed redirect, the sorceries that he believed Ahatoi and Abirta the daughters of Ahati, had enacted against him. The text is elaborate and includes some unusual but impressive imagery. Noteworthy is the presence in l. 10 of a variation of the first benediction of the *Shmoneh-Esreh* prayer. This is particularly interesting as it is a duplicate of an adjuration for help in times of trouble that appears in an *Hekhalot* text.

Transcription of M102

(1) מזמן הדין רזא למיפך חרשי דניתהפכון מן ספרא בר (2) רביתא {וניתהפכון} וניתהפכון על אחתאוי בת אחאתי ועל אחאתי ועל כל מאן דשדרינון (3) ונ[יתהפכ]ון על כל מאן דעבדינון ושדרינון וקר<י>נון בשום מלאכה רבה די משלט על (4) שמיא ועל ארעא ומשלט על חרשין בישין וסדנין אפיכין הוא ניהדרינון לחרשין בישין על אחתאוי בת אחאתי (5) ועל אוירתא בת אחאתי וכל אסואתא דעבדין לה יהוין לביש ואו איסתרתא די פתכרי דעבדין לה לאחתאוי דא ולאוירתא לישתדרון פתכרי דמערבא ודמדנחא (6) ודגרביא ודתימן ואו איסתרתא דלוטתא עבדן לה לא[ח]ת[אוי דא ולאוירתא דא צר לוט^א^תא דארעה ודישמיא ודמיתי ודחיי ודליטין בית (7) קברי דל(קדם) בני שא(ד)א וקדם פתכרי ואיסתרתא נישתדרון עלה דאחתאוי דא ודאוי^ר^תא ולא ליתקבל דרמנא עליהון או פישרא דחרשין ודין ליעבדו להון לא ל(ב)[.....]ון (8) להון חרשין בישין וסדני אפיכי או כיבשא או כיבשי וסכרא פומא עדו כנופיא עבדון ליהוי לה לא ליהוי לה לאחתאוי בת אחאתי ולאוירתא דא צר ^(לי)הוי^ חרשין בישין (9) איך טורי ורמ(א)[תא] ונילבשונה לאחתאוי

ולאוירתא חרשין בישין איך לבושא דכיבי ונידילון עליהון חרשין בישין ונידימון עלה דאחתאוי ודאוירתא וניטיסון עליהון איך ציפרי (10) בשום גבריאל מלאכה ומיכאל מלאכה אחית אחוגואל אחודיאל גאו גואל טוריאל זבולא זבולתיאל ומרגיותיאל ושמיה ברוך אתה יהוה אלוהינו מלך העולם האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא והמופלא והמ(ע)ולא ומשבענא עלך (11) מיכאל סר הגדול הוא שמיה שמה דאיתגלי לה לאחתאוי ולאוירתא צר כל רזי רניתא ולא ~~תישת~~ לישתמודע כל דעבדו לה לא[חת]אוי ולאוירתא ונישת(ו)ש ליבהון בשום ג[בר]יאל ומיכאל וירפאל ואזחיאל מיגואל (12) ודשמא דכיא הוא ניהפוכונון לחרשין בישין מיניה דספרא בר רביתא מן מתן וארבעין ותמניא הדמי קומתיה ויזלון על אחתאוי ועל אוירתא צר בשום ביה יהו הוה ברזי עילאי וברזי תחתאי ובשבעה רזי [ע]ילאי (13) ובשבעה ראזי תחתאי באתא יחידיתא דבר גיסא לית לה (וההוא) רזא וחתמתא דאיתיהיב לבני אינשא לישתקיל מינה דאחתאוי דא ודאוירתא דא וליתנשי כל דליבהון ידע ואתא יחידיתא לא תיתגלי להון וכל רזי וליתנשי ליבהון ולישתקיל טעמהון דא(חתוי) דא {דאוי} ודאוירתא (14) ולישתקיל טעמהון דהו(ן בהונ)א מן ליביהון גאו אל גואל בשום שמה רבה וקדישה דקאים קד(ם) עלם עלמין אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים

Translation of M102

(1) This mystery is appointed for overturning sorceries, so that they (the sorceries) may be overturned from Safra son of (2) Rabita and turn back against Ahatoi daughter of Ahati and against Ahati and against all who sent them. (3) May (the sorceries) be turned back against all who made them and sent them and recited them.

By the name of the great angel who has power over (4) the heavens and over the earth, and who has power over evil sorceries and perverted devils. May he return the evil sorceries to Ahatoi daughter of Ahati (5) and to Abirta daughter of Ahati. May all the healings that have been made for her come out badly. Woe, goddess for whom idols that are working for this Ahatoi and Abirta. May the idols of the west and of the east (6) and of the north and of the south be dispatched. Woe, goddess for whom curses are working on behalf of Ahatoi and this Abirta.

SR.

The curses of the earth and of the heavens and of the dead and of the living, and of those who are cursing a (7) cemetery before (in the presence of) sons of demons and before idols,

and Ishtars. May they be dispatched against this Ahatoi and (this) Abirta. May no remedy or dissolving of sorceries be received for them, and may that which is made for them not .... (8) for them, evil sorceries and perverted devils. Either the press or presses and shutting of the mouth have leaked as a sieve. May that which is intended for her not be for her, for Ahatoi daughter of Ahati and this Abirta.

SR.

May the evil sorceries (9) be as mountains and high places and clothe Ahatoi and Abirta with evil sorceries as a garment of sores. May evil sorceries be drawn against them, and may they come to rest upon Ahatoi and Abirta, and may they sweep upon them like birds.

(10) By the name of Gabriel the angel and Michael the angel, bring down Ahuguel Ahudiel GA'W GWA'L Ṭuriel ZBWLA' Zbwltiel and Mrgywtiel, and his name: Blessed art Thou, 'YHWH our God, King of the universe, the great, mighty' (Neh. 9:32, Deut. 10:17), revered, wondrous' and (lofty). I adjure you (11) Michael the great prince. His is the name, the name which was revealed to Ahatoi and Abirta.

SR.

All the mysteries of defamation. May nothing that has been done for Ahatoi and Abirta be recognized, and may their hearts become confused.

By the name of Gabriel and Michael and Raphael and Azḥiel and Miguel (12) and that which is the pure name, may they overturn the evil sorceries from Safra bar Rabita, from the 248 limbs of his body, and may they go to Ahatoi and to Abirta.

SR.

By the name, by YH YHW HWH, by upper mysteries and by lower mysteries and by the seven upper mysteries (13) and by the seven lower mysteries. By the unique character of which there is no relation. May that mystery and seal which was given to humankind be taken away from this Ahatoi and this Abirta. May everything that their hearts know be forgotten. May the unique character not be revealed to them, nor all the mysteries. May their hearts forget, (14) and may the faculties of Ahatoi and Abirta be taken away. May their faculties, that is theirs by nature, be taken away from their hearts. Exalt, avenging God. By the name of the Great and Holy one who exists forever, amen amen selah, firm and established.

Notes for M102

1 There are two other published magic bowls that open with a statement for the reversing of sorceries which have been sent against the clients back to their senders. One is VA 2416[29] (הדין קובלא למיפך חרשי) and the other is Yamauchi 1985 (מזמן הדין מילתא לאפוכי חרשי). The overturning of sorceries is not an uncommon motif in magic bowls and appears within a number of other texts such as Ellis 3:4, N&Sh B23:8,9 as well as Gordon 5:3-6 and 6:7,8.

2 שדרינון The verb שדר appears three more times in this text, in lines 3, 5 and 7. Although in this text it has the straightforward meaning of 'to send, dispatch', in Gordon 6:6 שדא דשדרתא, Geller D:10 שידי דשדרתא and K3449:6,7 ורוחי דמשתדר בחרשין ושידי דשדרתא there appear to be demons who are generically described as 'demons of dispatch'.

4 סדנין אפיכין This expression appears also in AIT 7:11 where Montgomery read סרנין אפיקי. This was corrected by Epstein[30] to [סדנין אפי]כין on the basis of Mandaic parallels: *sʿdʾnyʾ ʿpykyʾ* 'perverted devils'.[31]

5 דעבדין לה The verb here is a masculine plural active participle and therefore must refer to things or persons other than the אסואתא 'healings', which are feminine. However, the form can be analyzed as a passive periphrasis.[32] One would expect the plural להון rather than the singular לה, the sense being 'to each of them individually'. Cf. M163 להדין מיהלאד ובראן בני .... In both cases a singular pronoun is used to introduce a number of persons.

ואו is repeated as the first word in a parallel clause in l. 6. This could also be understood as the conjunction *or ... either ...* Thus an alternative translation would be: 'Either a goddess for whom idols are made .... Or a goddess for whom curses ...'.

6 צר appears also in lines, 8, 11 and 12. It could be an imperative masculine singular form of the root צרא/צרי 'to burst', i.e. צרי * or צר *.[33] This verb is used also in AIT 6:11 as part of a threat narrative to demons: 'And whoever will transgress ... shall ... burst like a grain of

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[29] Published by Wohlstein 1894 and collated by the present author in 1998.
[30] Epstein 1983, vol.1, p. 335.
[31] DM p. 310.
[32] Rosenthal 1961, p. 56.

wheat (ניצטרי בי בינא)'. Cf. b. Pes 110a, 110b and 111b which mention demons bursting. The verb used in the Talmud is פקע. Alternatively צר could be the 3rd person masculine perfect of the verb צור 'to wrap, tie up', which is akin to the prevalent concept of binding in magical texts. This word has been left untranslated as the portions of text between its occurrences do not seem to need it, its subject unclear and its meaning uncertain. In fact it is possible that it functions as a name (see below) or a punctuation marker.

7 עליהון The letters י and ו are clearly distinguished in most cases in this bowl, yet in all cases (להון lines 7 and 13, עליהון l. 9, ליבהון lines 11,13 and 14 and טעמהון lines13 and 14) where the 3rd person feminine plural suffix pronoun ין- would be expected the masculine equivalent ון- occurs.

פישרא דחרשין cf. b. BM 29b (=b. Hul. 84b) כסא דחרשין ולא כסא דפושרין which Montgomery tentatively suggested could be a reference to magic bowls. He offered as a possible translation 'the cup of the sorcerers and not the cup of those who break sorcery'.[34] In the *Havdala de R. Akiva*, paragraph 5,[35] there is an incantation that employs the root פשר, meaning 'to dissolve' or 'disenchant' in both its verbal and nominal forms. This formula is like our text in that it appeals for the return of malicious acts to their source. The words חרשיא ליפשרון in l. 26 are particularly close to the expression in our bowl. Note that the פישרא itself is described in lines 1 and 5 in terms that could equate it with the domestically installed amuletic object.[36]

(1) אנא פלוני בר פלוני ביתאי על פישרא באני ועל פישרא בניא איסקופתא[י] ... (3) ... נפקית ואמרית להון איתו ועולו חרשין בישין ועובדי (4) תקיפין. (5) מלילו ואמרו לי היכדין ניעול לביתך (6) דביתך על פישרא באני ועל פישרא בניא איסקופתך ... (8) ... ואמרית להון (9) ... איכמרו ואזילו עד בית מיש<ד>רניכון ... (13) ... איכמרו ואזילו ועולו לביתהון דמריכון ... (22) פשור ליה לפלי בר פלי ... (26) ... חרשיא ליפשרון (27) ועובדיהון ליפרקון ונפרחון ונתבעין ולא נשתכחין ... (28) ... נתהפכון חרשין על עובדיהון ועובדין (29) תקיפין ועל משדרניהון ... (32) תוב שרי ליה ואפשר ליה ופשיר ליה לפלי בר פלי ...

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[33] See Epstein 1960, p. 100.
[34] 1913, p. 43, n.19.
[35] Scholem 1980, pp. 262-266.

(1) I am NN son of NN. My house is built on a disenchantment, and upon a disenchantment my threshold is built ... (3) I went and said to them: 'come and enter evil sorceries and powerful (4) magic acts'. (5) They spoke and said to me: 'how can we enter your house? (6) For your house is built on a disenchantment, and on a disenchantment your threshold is built ...' ... (8) ... and I said to them: (9) ' ... *may your magic be uprooted*[37] and go to the house of those who sent you ... (13) ... *may your magic be uprooted* and go and enter the houses of your masters ...' ... (22) Disenchant for NN son of NN ... (26) ... may the sorceries dissolve (27) and their magic works break up, and may they fly away, and if they be requested may they not be found ... (28) ... may the sorceries be overturned upon those who made them, and powerful (29) magic acts on those who sent them ... (32) Again, loosen and dissolve for him, dissolve for NN son of NN ...

8 ליהוי לה לא ליהוי לה Cf. the expression ויהוי מה דהוי 'and come what may'.

10 מרגיותיאל Cf. *Havdala de R. Akiva*, paragraph 7 lines 23-24,[38] where this name is cited as one of the names of Metatron: קורא אני לך מרגיואי״ל מרגיותיאי״ל שרנאי״ל הוזיהי״ו מרגיויאי״ל זהו מטטרון.

והמ(ע)ולא ... ברוך An elaboration of part of the first of the Eighteen Benedictions which includes the glorification of God with the three epithets האל הגדול הגבור והנורא (Deut. 10:17 and Nehemiah 9:32). We know from b. Ber. 33b, b. Meg. 25a, y. Ber. 9:3, 12d and *Midrash Tehillim* Ps. 19 that such extensions to the formula as we have in our text were frowned upon. Cf. Schäfer Synopsis §503 (Beschwörung/ Namen) וזה אשר תקרא ברוך אתה אלהינו מלך העולם האל המלך הגדול הגבור והנורא והנשגב והנפלא והעונה בעת צרה בקוראי עננו אלהי צדקי בצר הראתי לי חנני ושמע תפילתי ... In the above invocation there appear צרה 'trouble' and בצר which seem, with the following הראתי לי, to have suffered some sort of corruption. If such a text was available to a Babylonian practitioner, it is possible that בצר could have

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[36] Only the relevant sections of this text are given.

[37] See Scholem 1980, pp. 263-264 n. 70, and 1960 p. 97 who considers מכמרי as an adaptation of the Greek *macamarei* 'nets' to mean "the net that a magic spell casts on a person". However, in Mandaic the verb *ḥmr* is used in magic bowls in the sense of 'return', which in this case would also make perfect sense (Yamauchi 1967, p. 331).

been interpreted as a name invocation, namely: 'by SR'. For מפולא as an epithet of God cf. *T.S. K 1.144* 1b:12-14 שמך הגדול הגיבור והנורא ... והמופלא.[39] The last epithet in the formula in our text - המ(ע)ולא, if indeed the bracketed letter is an ע, is reminiscent of אל עליון which appears at the end of the first benediction.

11 מיכאל סר הגדול cf. Dan. 12:1 מיכאל השר הגדול. Also b. AZ 42b (=b. Hul. 40a) where Michael the great prince is numbered amongst seas, rivers, a desert, the sun, moon, stars and planets, any of which may be invoked by idolaters at the slaughtering of an animal.

רניתא Derived from the *pa.* of the verb רנן which has the sense of 'to murmur, express displeasure, indignation' or even 'malicious gossip' or 'defamation'.[40] One nominal, feminine, form with this sense is attested in the Targ.-J. Ez. 36: רננת עם (MT דבת עם) 'unfavorable report, defamation, whispering'. The form *rnyt'* is also attested in Mandaic (DM p. 436b).

לישתמודע The imperfect form of אשתמודע I 'to be recognized, known' (J. p. 131b).

ש(ו)נישת Read נישתגש (!).

14 הונא cf. Sokoloff 1992 p. 161b כן תהפכון לבה והונה וכוליתה 'so you should upset his heart, his sense and his kidney'.

Appendix to M102

There is a striking correlation between our text and a section from the *Sepher Ha-Razim*, first heaven lines 46-71,[41] which is intended for one who wishes to persecute (להצר) a foe. The Hebrew root צרר or צור encompasses the meanings 'to persecute' and 'to oppress' and is related to the noun צר 'oppressor, adversary'. These meanings are not applicable to the same root in Aramaic. It is conceivable that the Hebrew meaning as found in *Sepher Ha-Razim* and the Hekhalot adjuration which is parallel to l. 10 of our text (see note above) has something to do with the use of צר in M102. Other similarities between our text and *Sepher Ha-Razim* are: 1) the mention of the spirits of the four cardinal directions (M102:5,6 = *Sepher Ha-Razim* lines 56-59); 2) a negation of healing or remedy for the adversary

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[38] Scholem 1980, p. 270.
[39] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p.31.
[40] Levy 1889, vol. 4 p. 456b 'Nachrede, den Unwillen äussern'.
[41] Margolioth 1966, pp. 69-70.

(M102:5,7 = *Sepher Ha-Razim* line 61); 3) ridding the adversary of their thoughts and faculties (M102:13 = *Sepher Ha-Razim* line 65).

M102	*Sepher Ha-Razim*	
צר in lines 6,8,11 and 12	אלה המלאכים המלאים אף וחימה וממונים על כל דבר קרב ומלחמת ונכונים **<u>להצר</u>** ולענות עד מות לאיש ואין בם רחמים כי אם ליקום ולהפרע ממי שנמסר בידם. ואם ביקשתה לשלחם על שונאך או על בעל חובך או להפוך אנייה או להפיל חומה בצורה או לכל	46
	עסק אויביך להשחית ולהרע, בין שתרצה להגלותו ובין להפילו במיטה ובין להכהות מאור עיניו בין להאסירו ברגליו בין **<u>להצר</u>** לו לכל דבר, קח בידך מים מן שבעה מעיינות בשבעה לחדש בשבע שעות ביום בשבע נבלי חרש שלא נכנסו באור ואל תערבם ביחד אלה עם אלה ותניחם תחת הכוכבים ז' לילות ובלילה השביעית	50
Lines 5,6 לישתדרון פתכרי דמערבא ודמזנחא ודגרביא ודתימן	קח לך פיאלין של זכוכית לשם אויביך ושפוך המים לתוכה ושבור כלי החרס **<u>והשלך לארבע רוחות השמים ותאמר כן כנגד ארבע רוחות: ההגרית החונה ברוח מזרח, שרוכית החונה ברוח צפון, עולפה החונה ברוח מערב, כרדי החונה ברוח דרום, קבלו נא מידי בעת הזאת שאני משליך לכם</u>**[42] לשם פלוני ב' פל' לשבור	55
line 5 וכל אסואתא דעבדין לה יהוין לביש line 7 ולא ליתקבל דרמנא עליהון	עצמותיו ולכתת כל איבריו ולשבור גאון עוזו כשבירת נבלי החרש האילו **<u>ולא תהיה להם רפואה</u>**[43] כמו שאין רפואה לנבלי חרס אילו, וקח פיאלין שלמים וזכור עליה שמות המלאכים האלה ושם השוטר הוא תיגרה ואמור כך: מוסר אני לכם מלאכי אף וחימה את פל' ב' פל' שתשנקו אתו ותשחיתו אתו ואת מראיהו ותפילוהו במיטה	60
line 13 וליתנשי ליבהון ולישתקיל טעמהון	ותחסרו הונו **<u>ותפירו מחשבות לבבו ותפיחו רעיונו ודעתו</u>**[44] ויהיה נחסר והולך עד שיגיע למות. ואם תבקש להגלותו אמור כן: שתגלוהו	65
	ותנדוהו מבניו וביתו ולא יותר לו כלום. ואם בעל חובך הוא אמור כן: שתיסתמו את פיו ותבטלו עצתו ולא יעליני במחשבתו ולא יביאיני	70
	לתוך דברי פיו ושאהיה עובר לפניו לא יראיני בעיניו.	

[42] '... and cast it to the four winds of the heavens and say thus in the direction of four winds: the HGRYT that resides in the eastern wind, SRWKYT that resides in the northern wind, A'WLPA' that resides in the western wind, KRDY that resides in the southern wind, accept from me at this moment that which I am casting to you ...'

[43] '... and may there be no healing for them ...'

[44] '... and destroy the thoughts of his heart and diminish his thought and mind ...'

M103 (18.2cm*6cm) and **M119** (16.8cm*5.8cm)

This bowl has four duplicates, M119 from the Moussaieff collection and MS 2053/207, MS 2053/209 and MS 2053/253. Imi daughter of Qaqi is the client in all of these bowls which seem to have been written by the same scribe. The text professes itself to be a *get* for the removal of a cursing Lilith. The formula that is used includes elements which can be found in the standard (human) Jewish divorce formula (particularly l. 6, see notes and appendix below).

Transcription of M103

(1) הדין גיטא דליליתא דלוטתא די כתבית לה לאימי בת קאקי וכל שום דאית לה (2) תיתסי תינטרי תישתזבי מן פגעה מן סטנה מן חיטינא די פתכר ופתכרתא מן דנחיש ומן דיוי (3) מן איסתרא עיליתא ומן איסתרא תתיתה מן ממי מן מ(ע)יה מן (כ)ל(ב)ה ומן מללתא מן לוטתא דיהודאי (4) מן לוטתא דארמאי מן לוטתא רחיקתא ומן לוטתא קריבתא מן קריתא מן נידרא מן איסורי מן כל עובדין בישין (5) מן כל רוחא בישתא עזיזתא תקיפתא מן חרשי מעבדי מן חרשי דזני זמרתא זניתא וליליתא ולוטתא דמקטלא בני דיליה בני (6) דחברתיה דאם תיהויין ראשהא ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דאיתצבין די כתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פיטורין מן הדא אימי בת קאקי כל שום (7) דאית לה מומנא ומשבענא ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא זניתא ליליתא לוטתא דשריה בביתיה דאימי בת קאקי אם דכר אם ניקבה בשמיה (8) דגבריאל מלאכה אחיאל משמשיאל מלאכה דנדיריאל מלאכה יחוס יחוש אחישא אגרריפס אגריפס אתיה אבשת אתבישא אתיתיאל אנתיתיאל (9) אבש (ב)שמתא סתריאל (ש)די שלעון בזיף בשמיה דיהוה צבאות במלכותיה דאברחס אני(נ)יאל יה בשום שר רוחא בשום אבוהי דאברכס (10) סרא אמן אמן סלה חתמא דגיטא (יה שמיה)

Translation M103

(1) This is a divorce writ for the Lilith that curses which I have written for Imi daughter of Qaqi and every name which is hers. (2) May you be healed, may you be protected, may you be saved from an affliction, from hostility, from the *slander* of a male idol and a female idol, from Danahish and from dews, (3) from the upper ISTRA' and the lower ISTRA', from oaths,

from *her gut, from a bitch*, from an utterance, from a curse of a Jew, (4) from a curse of a gentile, and from a distant curse and a near curse, from a magical invocation, from an oath, from bonds, from all evil magical acts, (5) from every evil strong powerful spirit, from active sorcerers, from spells of ZNY the singer prostitute, and the Lilith, and the curse who is killing children that are hers, children (6) of her (female) neighbor. For even if you may have permission and power over yourself for any person you may desire. It is the case that I have written for you a divorce writ - a writ of absolution from this Imi daughter of Qaqi (and) any (7) name that she has. I adjure and put you under oath you ZNY the singer prostitute, the Lilith, the curse that dwells in the house of Imi daughter of Qaqi, be it male or female. By the name (8) of Gabriel the angel, Ahiel, Meshamshiel the angel, of Nadriel the angel. May it *favor, may it hasten. Hurry!* A'GGRYPS A'GRYPS A'TYH A'BŠT A'TBYŠA' Atitiel Antitiel (9) A'BŠ. By a ban. Satriel ŠDY ŠLA'WN BZYP. By the name of YHWH ṢBA'WT, by the kingdom of ABRHS Aniniel YH, by the name of the spirit prince, by the name of (the father of ABRKS) (10) the prince, amen amen selah. The seal of the divorce writ, YH is his name.

Notes for M103

1 For a similar opening cf. Ellis 1:1 הדין גיטא לשידא.

2 חיטינא Cf. the Syriac *ḥṭywnʾ* which is a translation of the Hebrew ש טנה 'slander' in Ezra 4:6.

3 אסתרא Both the forms *ištaru* and *ištartu* are already attested in Akkadian as meaning goddess.[45] Cf. De Menil I. 11 אסתרי ניקבתא. Note that in Mandaic *ʾstʾrʾ* (Syriac *stwrʾ*) also means 'decay', 'corruption (of teeth)', 'caries'. As in the Mandaic 'Phylactery for Rue':[46] *rwhʾ dʾtbʾ lkʾkyʾ wšynyʾ wmytykryʾ ʾstʾrʾ* 'a spirit that sits on the teeth and the molars and is called *ʾstʾrʾ*'. Cf. also סתורא 'destroyer' (J. p. 1031a) and the verb סתר 'to tear down, destroy'.

ממי Possibly a defective spelling of מומי, 'oaths, imprecation' (J. p. 743a).

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[45] CAD I-J, pp. 270-271.
[46] Drower 1946, p. 328.

מ(ע)יה Could also be read מ(ינ)יה 'of its kind'.

4 רחיקתא, קריבתא Already attested as meaning 'relative' and 'non-relative' in Elephantine Papyri contracts.[47] If this is, indeed, the meaning then the gender indicates that what is referred to here is only the curses of women, cf. Yam:4,5 לוטתא דאימא וברתא לכלתא וחמתא ודרחקתא ודקריבתא.

5, 6 לילית{ו}א זני זמרתא זניתא Also mentioned in l. 7, this may be a reference to *llyt' zn'y* (see also AIT 38:5 *z'n'y lylyt'*) mentioned in l. 18 of a Mandaic bowl (Yale YBC 2364).[48] In that text it is told that she ate her own unborn son, tied his carcass around her neck and threw his fat into the fire in order to appease Buznay 'the king of all Sahirs and Dews and Lilits' who yielded to the pleas of a woman whose children she killed. Despite there being some confusion regarding the use of this name in the Yale bowl, as the main demon in the text is Bguzan-Lilit daughter of Zanay-Lilit, it is Zanay-Lilit that is mentioned at the point of this narrative. Her story is reminiscent of the Zanay in our text who is described as killing her children as well as those of her neighbour. In Gordon M:15, a Mandaic bowl, Gordon translates the similar expression *lwṭt' ḏz'nyt' wz'mrt'* as 'the curse of harlot and singer'.[49] Another similar expression occurs in the Mandaic text *Shafta ḏ Pishra ḏ Ainia* lines 161-162 *w'yn' ḏz'n'y w'yn' ḏz'm'r*, upon which Drower commented that though it could possibly mean 'My whore and singing boy', it is, nevertheless, unlikely.

דיליה, חברתיה It makes sense that these should have feminine suffix pronouns, דילה and חברתה, as should ביתיה in l. 7.

אם Could also be understood to be 'In the sense of *certainly not*',[50] as the particular clause of the *get* that follows is, under normal human circumstances, meant to grant the woman the freedom to remarry. However, it would not make sense to consider giving a demon the liberty to attack another person.

... תיהוויין There follows a slightly corrupt form of the standard *get* formula:

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[47] Cowly 1923, p. 3: "'related or not related' (קריב ורחיק), the regular formula, and similarly in Babylonian law".
[48] Müller-Kessler 1996, pp. 187a, 189b-190a, 195a.
[49] Gordon 1937, p. 97.
[50] Gesenius 1963, pp. 471-472; and Segal 1927, pp. 216 ff.

M103 דאם תיהויין ראשהא ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דאיתצבין

get[51] דיתהויין רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי למהך להתנסבא לכל גבר דיתצבייין ואינש לא

M103

get ימחה בידיכי מן שמי מן יומא דנן ולעלם והרי את מותרת לכל אדם

M103 די כתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פיטורין

get ודן די יהוי ליכי מנאי ספר תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין

Indeed, the words למהך להתנסבא 'to go and be married to' are omitted in the text of the *get* for the demons as this would be neither desirable nor acceptable.

8 יחוס יחוש אחישא אגריפס אגריפס Cf. AIT 14:4 יחוש יחוש אחושיה 'Oh avaunt, oh avaunt, avaunt'! See Montgomery's note 1913 p. 184. Cf. Isbell 69[52] l. 7 בשום יהוס יהוס יהוש ואהושא ואגריבט, N-IV:6: בשום יהוס יהוש ואהושא ואגריבט, *The Havdala de R. Akiva* p. 24 line 34[53] בשם יחוש אחישה אריפט and *The Sword of Moses* (Harari's ed.[54]) p. 28:6 איה יהוש אהישה ואגריפט. Scholem[55] agreed with Montgomery's (above) understanding of this sequence and noted the variants amongst the bowls. It can be observed that in some of the variants the introductory בשום, 'by the name', indicates that it was considered a composite name and lost any meaning it might have had as 'hurry hurry'. As it is amongst a list of names in our text, it can be assumed that this was how it was considered. The interchange of the letters פ and ב, and ט and ם in the final name are evidence of the kind of corruption that easily occur in the transmission of *Nomina Barbara*.

אבשת אתבישא The usual designation for the acrostic system *atbash* by which the first letter (א) is replaced with the last (ת), the last with the first, the second letter (ב) with the one before the last (ש), and so forth. Atbash is mentioned in the thirtieth rule of *The Mishnah of Rabbi Eliezer* or T*he Midrash of the Thirty Two Hermeneutic Rules* a work which has been dated to no later than the eighth century.[56]

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[51] Mishne Torah Gerushin 4:12.
[52] Equivalent to Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 127-139.
[53] Scholem 1980-81, p. 266.
[54] Harari 1997. In the Gaster edition, 1896, p. V:15,16.
[55] 1980-81, p. 266-267 n. 84, 85.
[56] Stemberger 1996, p. 23. (see also Lieberman 1962, p. 69, 73 'Substitution of letters, *Atbash* was widely practised in antiquity'.).

Synopsis

MS 2053/253	MS 2053/209	M119	M103
(1) לשמך אני עושה			
הדין גיטא	(1) הדין גיטא	(1) הדין גיטא	(1) הדין גיטא
	דליליתא דלוטתא	דלילית‍א דלוטתא	דלילית‍א דלוטתא
די כתבית לה	די כתבית לה	די כתבית לה [.]הדא	די כתבית לה
לאימי בת קאקי וכל	לאימי בת קאקי כל	אימי בת קאקי וכל	לאימי בת קאקי וכל
שום דאית לה	שום דאית (2) לה	שום דאית לה	שום דאית לה (2)
תיתסי (2) תינטרי	תינטרי תיתסי	תיתסי (2) (ו)ת(ינטרי)	תיתסי תינטרי
מן כל מידעם ביש	ברחמי שמיא	מן כל (מיד)עם ב(יש)	תישתזבי
		אש[ב]עית (על)	
מן פגעה מן סטנא	מן פגעה מן סטנא מן	מן פגעה ומן סטנה ומן	מן פגעה מן סטנה
	לילית‍א	לי(ל)יתא	
מן חיטינא דיפתכרי	מן חיטינא דיפתכרי	מן חיטינא די	מן חיטינא די פתכר
ופתכרתא מן דנחיש	ופתכרתא (3)	פתכרי(ן) (3)	ופתכרתא מן דנחיש
מן דיוי או מן (3)	מן חיטינא	(ו)פתכרתא	ומן דיוי (3) מן
איסתרא עיליתא מן	דאיסתרא עיליתא	מן חיטי(נא)	איסתרא עיליתא ומן
		דאיס(תרא ע)ליתא	
איסתרא תתיתא מן	תתיתה מן	ומן חיטינא	איסתרא תתיתה מן
מללתא מן ממי מן	מללתא	דאיסתרא תתיתה מן	ממי מן מ(ע)יה מן
כלבה		מללתא	(כ)ל(ב)ה ומן מללתא
מן לוטתא דיהודאי	מן לוטתא דיהודאי		מן לוטתא דיהודאי (4)
מן לוטתא דארמאי (4)	מן לוטתא דארמאי	מן לוטתא (ד)יהודאי	מן לוטתא דארמאי
מן לוטתא	מן לוטתא (4)	ומן (4) לוטתא ארמאי	מן לוטתא
רחיקתא מן לוטתא	רח)קתא מן לוטתא	ומן לוטתא	רחיקתא ומן לוטתא
קריבתא מן קריתא	קריבתא מן קריתא	(ר)חיקתא ומן לוטתא	קריבתא מן קריתא
מן נידרא מן אשלמתא	מן נידרי	קריבתא ומן קריתא	מן נידרא
מן איסורי מן כל	מן אס(ו)רי מן כל	מן נידרא	מן איסורי מן כל

MS 2053/253	MS 2053/209	M119	M103
עובדין בישין מן כל	עובדין בישין מן כל	ומן איסורי מן כל	עובדין בישין (5) מן כל
רוחא (5) בישתא	רוחא (בישתא)	עובדין בישין (5) מן כל	רוחא בישתא
עזיזתא תקיפתא	עזיזתא (5) תקיפתא	רוחא ב(י)שתא	עזיזתא תקיפתא
מן חרשי מעבדי מן	מן חרשי מעבדי מן	מן ע(זי)זתא תקיפתא	מן חרשי מעבדי מן
חרשי דזני זמרתא	חרשי דזני זמרתא	מן חרשי מעבדי מן	חרשי דזני זמרתא
זניתא לילית	זניתא (ולילית	חרשי דזני זמרתא	זניתא ולילית
		זניתא לוטתא	ולוטתא
דמקטלא בני דילה	דמקטלא) בני דיליה		דמקטלא בני דיליה
בני דחברתיה דאם (6)	בני [דחברתיה] דאם	דמקטלא בני דיליה (6)	בני (6) דחברתיה דאם
תיהויין ראשאה	תיהויין (6) ראשא	בני דחברתיה דאם	תיהויין ראשהא
ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל	שליטא בנפשיכי לכל	תיהויין ראשא(ה	ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל
אינש דיתצבין די	אינש דיתצבין די	ו)שליטא בנפשיכי לכל	אינש דאיתצבין די
כתבית ליכי גיטא	תכתבית ליכי גיטא	אינש דיתצבין די	כתבית ליכי גיטא
גיט פיטורין	גיט פיטורין	כתבית ליכי גיטא	גיט פיטורין
מן הדא אימי בת	מן הדא אימי בת	גיטא גט פיטורין (7)	מן הדא אימי בת
קאקי מן ביתיה (6)	קאקי מן בית(ה) מן	מן הדא אימי בת	קאקי
כולה	(בניה)	קאקי אם דכר אם	
כל שום דאית	וכל שום דאית	ניקבה	כל שום (7) דאית
ליכי	(7) ליכי		לה
מומנא משבענא	מומנא משבענא	מומנא (ומ)שבענא	מומנא ומשבענא
ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא	ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא	ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא	ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא
זניתא לילית ולוטתא	זניתא לילית	זניתא (ל)ילית	זניתא לילית לוטתא
דשריה בביתיה דאימי	דשריה בביתיה דאימי	דשריה בביתיה דאימי	דשריה בביתיה דאימי
בת קאקי אם (7) דכר	בת קאקי אם דכר	בת (8) קאקי אם דכר	בת קאקי אם דכר
אם ניקבה בשמיה	אם ניקבה בשמיה	אם ניקבה בשמיה	אם ניקבה בשמיה (8)
דגבריאל מלאכה	(דגבר)יאל מלאכה	דגבריאל מלאכה	דגבריאל מלאכה
אחיאל מלאכה	אחיאל מלאכה (8)	אחיאל מלאכה	אחיאל
משמשיאל מלאכה	משמשיאל מלאכה	משמשיאל מלאכה	משמשיאל מלאכה

MS 2053/253	MS 2053/209	M119	M103
נדיריאל מלאכה	נדיריאל מלאכה	נדריאל מלאכה	דנדיריאל מלאכה
יחוס יחיש אחושא	יחוס (יחוש) אחישא	יחוס יחוש ואחישא	יחוס יחוש אחישא
אגדריפס אגר (8) פס	אגרריפס אגריפס	אגרריפס (9) אגריפט	אגרריפס אגריפס
אתית אבשת	אתית א(ר)שת	אגריפס את יה אבשת	אתיה אבשת
אתבישא אתיתיאל	את(בי)שא אוניאל תותיאל	אתבישא אתיתיאל	אתבישא אתיתיאל
אנתיתיאל אבש	אנאיתיאל אבש	אנתיתיאל אבש	אנתיתיאל (9) אבש
בשמתא סתתיאל	בשמתא סתריאל	בשמתא סתריאל	(ב)שמתא סתריאל
שדי שלעון בזיף	שדי (9) שלעון בזיף	שדי שלעון בזיף	(ש)די שלעון בזיף
בשמיה דיהוה צבאות	בשמיה דיהוה צבאות	בשמיה דיהוה צבאות	בשמיה דיהוה צבאות
במלכותיה	במלכותיה	(10) במלכותיה	במלכותיה
דאברחס (9) אניניאל	דאברחס אנתיאל	דאברחס אניניאל	דאברחס אני(נ)יאל
יה בשום שר רוחא	יה בשום שר רוחא	יה בשום שר רחא	יה בשום שר רוחא
בשום אבו[...]	בשום אב יחידא בס...	בשום אבוהי	בשום אבוהי דאברכס
אב(סכס) סרא	ארא	דאב(ס)כס סרא	(10) סרא
אמן אמן אמן סלה	אמן אמן סלה	אמן אמן סלה	אמן אמן סלה
חתמא דגיטא יהוה	חתמא דגיטא יה	חתמא דגיטא יה	חתמא דגיטא (יה
שמיה	שמיה	שמיה	שמיה)
	(10) אמן אמן סלה		

The existence of a number of duplicates written by the same scribe offers a valuable opportunity to examine the nature of the transmission of the formula. As is shown below, some of the differences are due to a flexible approach to the writing of such incantations. Other discrepancies seem more likely to be the result of small syntactic changes which might naturally occur when a text is memorized and repeated several times. Yet on occasion the scribe is likely to make genuine mistakes. These might result from a misunderstanding of a word or passage, or simply from a momentary lapse in concentration.

In MS 2053/253 the scribe added לשמך אני עושה to what is the beginning of the text in all the other bowls. This is not an uncommon opening formula cf. Geller D:1, Gordon 2:1 and

Isbell 70[57] l. 1 and the scribe might well have written another text with this opening formula earlier that day or simply had it on his mind. In the same bowl the scribe omitted to specify the address of the *get* דלילית דלוטתא 'for the Lilith that curses', no doubt a lapse of memory. In M119:1 there is the added demonstrative pronoun הדא before the name of the client, a perfectly common and correct form which must have naturally crept in. In three of the texts there follows the sequence תיתסי ותינטרי, however, in MS 2053/209 these two words change places and are followed by ברחמי שמיא. An explanation for this addition could be that from a number of formula which the scribe had memorized there was likely to be one that had the same sequence of words after תיתסי. Cf. AIT 11:1,2 דתיתיסי ברחמי שמיה, AIT 24:2 דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא, AIT 26:5 דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא, Geller C:3 דיתסון ברחמי שמיא Gordon 2:2, etc. In M103 the scribe preferred to add the verb תישזבי to תינטרי, possibly for a similar reason, cf. BOR:10 נינטרוניה ונישיזבוניה. M119 and MS 2053/253 proceed at this point with מן כל מידעם ביש which might be the original formula by virtue of it being duplicated in two out of the four texts. In lines 2 in M119 and MS 2053/209 ליליתא appears in the list of demons, whilst in the other two texts it is omitted. On the other hand, in lines 2 of M119 and MS 2053/253 there are the added דנחיש and דיוי. In all four texts חיטינא precedes the idols, in M119 and MS 2053/209 it also precedes the 'upper ISTRA", in M119 it also comes before the 'lower ISTRA". One might attribute these differences to the repetitive rhythm which would manifest itself in variation when written from memory. All of the texts have מללתא in their third lines. This is followed in MS 2053/253 by ממי and כלבה which also appear in M103, though they appear there before מללתא and with the additional מעיה. The additions in M103 and MS 2053/253 are unusual and have been translated with some reservation (see notes above). It is possible that they are corrupt words which the scribe did not understand. As such they would be more likely to get confused in memory and therefore be susceptible to variant forms of transmission by the scribe. Unlike the other bowls in l. 4 of MS 2053/253 the word נידרא is followed with אשלמתא. Cf. Gordon 7:9 ונידרא ואשלמתא, Isbell 64 [58] l.1 ונידרי ואשלמתא and Isbell 65:1 ונידרי ואשלמתא which suggest that here, again, the scribe is repeating a sequence that he is familiar with from

[57] Equivalent to Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 140-152.

another formula. In M119:7, unlike the other texts, the name of the client is followed by אם דכר אם ניקבה. This is quite clearly a lapse in the scribe's concentration, as this addition, inappropriate in l. 7 where it would refer to the client, appears again in l. 8 (as it does in all the duplicates), also after the name of the client, where it correctly refers to the demons. Other variations consist of minor differences in spelling, the addition of a third אמן in l. 9 of MS 2053/253, and אמן אמן סלה to the end of MS 2053/209.

Appendix

The use of a *get* for getting rid of demons is known from other magic bowls such as Ellis 1, AIT 8,9,18, Gordon 9737, Gordon G and N&Sh B5.[59] The logic of equating the divorce of a man from his wife to a human (male or female) from demons is somewhat anomalous, indeed Montgomery referred to it as 'a happy thought of the magicians'.[60] Certain questions are raised by this equation: What kind of tie binds demon to human? How is it formed? Why does it necessitate a legal severing of bonds? Though there are parallels between the magical and human (Jewish) *get* formulas, there are two distinct differences: 1) With humans it is only the man that can divorce the woman whereas, in the world where demons interact with humans, gender is not an issue. The issue is humanity and only the human is able to initiate divorce proceedings. 2) Consequently in the magical *get* the human always takes the part of the male in the usual *get* document, and the demon that of the female. In three bowls, AIT 8,17 and N&Sh B5, the *get* mentioned is a type of 'writ from foreign countries'.[61] This could be because humans can not see the demons or interact with them in the same time and space. Despite such parallels the inconsistencies between the human and magical *get* remain. If understood correctly, the text here (M103 and duplicates) is a type of document which legally prohibits demons from attaching themselves, not only to the client but also to any human at all. This *get* is for the driving out of the nuisance by force of law, rather than the annulment of a union that had legal status such as that which exists between husband

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[58] Equivalent to Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 24-38.
[59] See Shaked 1999 for a discussion of the *get* motif in the magic bowls.
[60] Montgomery 1913, pp. 158-159.
[61] Montgomery 1913, p. 159 and Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 162. For גט ממדינת הים see m. Git. 1 and b. Git 2.

and wife. In AIT 8, AIT 17 and N&Sh 5 the idea of the *get* is associated with that of a ban, or banishment - שמתא, which seems more appropriate. In l. 6 of our text the conditional word 'if', אם, is used. One might consider the possibility that this magical *get* is intended to resemble a type of divorce writ which includes conditions. In a normal (human) *get* the husband could not put restrictive conditions on who the divorced woman could wed, except in cases that were already considered illegal such as a brother, father, idolater or a slave.[62] The union of a demon with a human could qualify as inherently illegal. This condition in our text, that prohibits the demon to attach itself to any human, is the very clause that is the privilege of the released woman in a human *get*. In this magical *get*, it is made clear to the demon that even if it has been given a *get* previously, it can not assume the right that belongs to a divorced human woman, and may not attach itself to anyone else.

Comparing our text, the magical *get* (mg), with the Jewish *get* (jg) formula yields some interesting points of similarity and difference (see below): 1) The mg has no date. 2) The mg is written by the scribe for the client, the jg is written as if by the husband, though it would have been the custom for someone else to write it for him.[63] 3) Where it says in the jg: 'I do release and send away and put aside thee ...' the mg has (l. 2): 'May you be healed, may you be protected, may you be saved, from ...' Thus the removal of the unwanted wife in the jg is the equivalent of healing and protection in the mg, namely the removal of the cause of affliction. 4) Where the jg states that it is done 'according to the law of Moses and Israel' the mg employs an adjuration by the names of angels to enforce itself. 5) The jg has the signatures of the witnesses, the mg has the seal of the name YH.

M103	***Get* formula**
(1) הדין גיטא דליליתא דלוטתא די	בכך בשבת בכך וכך לירח פלוני בשנת כך וכך
	ליצירה או לשטרות למניינא דרגילנא למימני
	ביה הכא במקום פלוני איך
כתבית לה לאימי בת קאקי וכל שום דאית לה	אנא פלוני בר פלוני דממקום פלוני וכל שום
	אחרן וחניכה דאית לי ולאבהתי ולאתרי
	ולאתריהון דאבהתי צביתי ברעות נפשי בדלא

[62] M. Git. 9:2.
[63] Amram, 1896, p. 148-149.

אניסנא

ופטרית ושבקית ותרוכית יתיכי ליכי

(2) תיתסי תינטרי תישתזבי מן

אנת פלונית בת פלוני דממתא פלונית וכל שום אחרן וחניכה דאית ליכי ולאבהתיכי ולאתריכי ולאתריהון דאבהתיכי די הוית אנתתי מן קדמת דנא וכדו פטרית ושבקית ותרוכית יתיכי ליכי

פגעה מן סטנה מן חיטינא די פתכר ופתכרתא מן דנחיש ומן דיוי (3) מן איסתרא עיליתא ומן איסתרא תתיתה מן ממי מן מ(ע)יה מן (כ)ל(ב)ה ומן מללתא מן לוטתא דיהודאי (4) מן לוטתא דארמאי מן לוטתא רחיקתא ומן לוטתא קריבתא מן קריתא מן נידרא מן איסורי מן כל עובדין בישין (5) מן כל רוחא בישתא עזיזתא תקיפתא מן חרשי מעבדי מן חרשי דזני זמרתא זנותא ולילית ולוטתא דמקטלא בני דיליה בני (6) דחברתיה

דיתהוויין רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי למהך להתנסבא לכל גבר דיתצביין ואינש לא ימחה בידיכי מן שמי מן יומא דנן ולעלם והרי את מותרת לכל אדם

דאם תיהויין ראשהא ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דאיתצבין

ודן די יהוי ליכי מנאי ספר תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין

די כתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פיטורין מן הדא אימי בת קאקי כל שום (7) דאית לה

כדת משה וישראל.

מומנא ומשבענא ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא זנותא לילית לוטתא דשריה בביתיה דאימי בת קאקי אם דכר אם ניקבה

בשמיה (8) דגבריאל מלאכה אחיאל משמשיאל מלאכה דנדיריאל מלאכה יחוס יחוש אחישא

אגרריפס אגריפס אתיה אבשת אתבישא

אתיתיאל אנתיתיאל (9) אבש (ב)שמתא

סתריאל (ש)די שלעון בזיף בשמיה דיהוה

צבאות במלכותיה דאברחס אני(נ)יאל יה בשום

שר רוחא בשום אבוהי דאברכס (10) סרא אמן

אמן סלה

והעדים חותמים למטה כמו שביארנו (פלוני בן חתמא דגיטא (יה שמיה)

פלוני עד פלוני בן פלוני עד).

Though there is no obvious reference to the magical *get* in Rabbinic literature, one might consider b. Git 67b-70a as containing such an inference. In this passage we see: 1) The start of a discussion relating to m. Git. 7 which deals with the various stipulations within the 'conditional *get*'. 2) A medical section which includes a number of recipes for healing (67b and 68b-70a). 3) A reference to demons שדה ושדות from Ecclesiastes 2:8,[64] which is interpreted in the talmudic text as 'male and female demons'. This is immediately followed by the story of Ashmedai the king of demons. These appear to correspond with the following aspects of our text: 1) The inference to the conditional *get* in l. 6. 2) A *get* which has the purpose of healing, תיתסי in l. 2. 3) The connection with demons which our text is designed to remove.

Indeed, Ecclesiastes 2:8 might aid our understanding of the nature of the magical *get*. Ibn Ezra's (12th century) commentary on the meaning of ותענוגת בני האדם שדה ושדות in this verse is that it is of a sexual nature. The Zohar (Vol. 1 parashat Bereshit p. 19b) also comments that these words are sexually implicit and refer to nocturnal emissions and the demon offspring which result. The 17th century mystical commentary *Ta'alumot Hohmah* (Delmegido, Joseph Solomon) to this verse is: "'The more wives the more witchcraft' (m. Avot 2:7) - and they cause there to be 'more demons and demonesses' (Ecclesiastes 2:8)

[64] כנסתי לי גם כסף וזהב וסגלת מלכים והמדינות עשיתי לי שרים ושרות ותענוגת בני האדם שדה ושדות: I further amassed silver and gold and treasures of kings and provinces; and I got myself male and female singers, as well as the luxuries of commoners–coffers and coffers of them.

and anyhow, 'from the luxuries of commoners' (Ecclesiastes 2:8) are born 'demons and demonesses' (Ecclesiastes 2:8)".[65]

Another possible correspondence with our text, which is very tentatively offered, is the expression זני זמרתא (lines 5 and 7) which could relate to זייני זמרא, in the targum of Ecclesiastes 2:8, which might have come to be associated with the *get* of demons.

MT:

עשיתי לי שרים ושרות ותענוגת בני האדם **שדה ושדות**

Targum:

עבדית לבית מוקדשא **זייני זמרא** לזמרא בהון ליואי על קורבניא וקתרוסין ואבובין לזמרא בהון זמריא וזמריתא בבית משתיא דחמרא ותפנוקי בני אנשא ודימסיא ובי בנין מרזבין דשדין מיא פשורי ומרזבין דשדין מיא חמימי

Translation of the targum:

I have made for the temple musical instruments for the Levites to make music with over the sacrifices, and lutes and flutes for singers (male and female) to make music with in a house of wine drinking, and human comforts, and public baths in which were built pipes that pour out cold water and those that pour out hot water.

[65] כי מרבה נשים מרבה כשפים והם מרבים שדה ושדות וגם מתענוגות בני אדם ממילא נולדו שדה ושדות

M107 (19cm*6cm)

This bowl consists of nine lines of a reasonably clear square script. The letters ב and כ are distinguishable and, though the scribe appears to have attempted to differentiate ו from י, and ד from ר, they are in some cases still confused. The character ל is written with two strokes, as it often is, yet the upper one is so curved as to give the letter a back to front appearance which is quite unusual. In the middle of the bowl there is a striking image of a figure with some sort of head dress, arms stretched out and riding something that appears to have a horse's head. The text runs from around the image outwards in a clockwise spiral fashion. A small group of magical figures and *Nomina Barbara* stretch to one side of the bowl from the figure outwards, splitting the flow of the spiraling text. Geller A is a more extensive duplicate text. It also has a drawing similar to that in our bowl, as well as an identical set of magical symbols. In Geller A, the drawing appears towards the side of the bowl and the symbols run with the text as an integral part of it. In our bowl the image is in the middle and the magic symbols are set to one side. It is possible that there was a *Vorlage* with a note to put something on the side; an instruction that, like many of these texts, got corrupted over time and resulted in a variety of parallel variants. Also of interest is Moriah 1 which Gordon presumed was written by the same hand as Geller A and for the same client. M107 was written for the benefit of Buluqa son of Kikar and Parizag daughter of Hazaroi his wife as well as their daughters Azadiar and Dukhtizag and their sons Hurmiz-Gushnasap and Kurkshid-Gushnasap.

Transcription of M107

(1) מזמן הדין כסא לחתמתא ולנטרתא דביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג (2) בת חזארוי ודאזאדיאר בת פאריזג ודהורמיז גושנסף בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר (3) פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג דניזיחון וניתבטלון וניתרחקון מינהון שידי ודיוי וסיטני וסטני ולילית (4) ומבכלתא ומשמתתא וחילמי בישי וחיזוני סניי ודחלולי בשום שרושן טושן טרושן גושן גושן אדחי לשגושין (5) לשגושין לשגושן ארהיב ברה ואמר בחד גמא גאמא חיש משלל סדים ומשמת ומן אידיה דמריא גרוסקין גרוסקן (6) ונברון ונבורזן רבה דזעקי ומן אידיה דאמירן בג[דנא] אסיר אס(..) ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי וחתים בארזמן (7) עיזקתא ובמובלא רבא דזעקי אמן אמן

אדוני ר֯א֯ל שדי גיברא ואברכסס ארהיט שידי ודיוי וסיטני שפ וסטני ולילית֯א ומבכלתא (8) ומשמתתא וחיסמא בישא וזיקי בישי וכל מידעם ביש מן ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי ודאזדיאר בת פאריזג (?) ודהורמיז גושנסף (9) בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג מן יומא דין ושועה דא וילעולם אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים

(10) (six magical characters) (11) פלוטל (four magical characters) (12) ספלח שבת נורוס (13) סונסנום

Translation of M107

(1) This bowl is appointed for the sealing and protection of the household of Buluqa son of Kikar and for Parizag (2) daughter of Hazaroi and for Azadiar daughter Parizag and for Hurmiz-Gushnasap son of Parizag and for Kurkshid-Gushnasap son of (3) Parizag and for Dukhtizag daughter of Parizag. May the demons and dēws and prosecutors and satans and liliths (4) and tormentors and bans and evil dreams and hateful visions and 'scarecrows' move away and be redundant and distanced from them. By the name of ŠRWŠN ṬWŠN ṬRWŠN GWŠN GWŠN drive off the ŠGWŠYN the (5) ŠGWŠYN the ŠGWŠN. He alarmed her son and said: By one GMA' GA'MA' hurry! Chained, bound and banned by the hand of the lord GRWSQYN GRWSQN (6) and NBRWN and NBWRZN the great one of cries, and by the hand of *our lord* Bagdana. Bound [...] is the house of Buluqa son of Kikar and Parizag daughter of Hazaroi, and sealed by A'RZMN (7) the seal and by the great burden of cries. Amen amen. Adonay El Shaddai the valiant and Abraxas, chase away demons and dēws and prosecutors and satans and liliths and tormentors (8) and bans and evil envy and evil blast demons, and any evil thing from the house of Buluqa son of Kikar and Parizag daughter of Hazaroi and Azadiar daughter of Parizag and Hurmiz-Gushnasp (9) son of Parizag and Khurkshid-Gushnasp son of Parizag and Duktizag daughter of Parizag. From this day and this hour and for ever. Amen amen selah firm and established.

(10) (six magical characters) (11) PLWTL (four magical characters) (12) SPLH ŠBT NWRWS (13) SWNSNWM

Notes for M107

4 משמתתא The two ת's and prefix מ are unusual for this word yet it is spelled the same in l. 8 and must therefore be deliberate. Cf. N&Sh B15:5, but also שמתתא in Gordon A:2 and VA 2416:8,10. Harviainen analysed משמתא as a *pa.* passive participle feminine from the root שמת, with the ת of the feminine suffix, which can be seen in our form, being assimilated into the last radical of the root.[66]

אדתי The reading is not certain and could be read as ארתי, although the ר is slightly rounder than the ד. If so, it would be read as an extension of the *Nomina Barbara* before and after this word.

5 ארהיב From the root רהב which is attested in Syriac in the *af.* 'to trouble, disquiet (associated with bad dreams); to inspire awe, terror, to alarm cause to tremble' (PS p. 531a).

משלל סדים ומשמת Three participles, the third a *pa.* of the verb שמת, the second a *pe.* from the root סדם (= סטם) which thus far has only been attested in Mandaic (DM p. 318). The first word from the verb שלל appears here in a *pa.* form though it was previously only known in the *pe.* (cf. N&Sh B25:8 תשללוהי and Sokoloff p. 553b שלילין).

גרוסקין גרוסקן Cf. *Hekhalot Zutarti*, Schäfer synopsis §366 אי'ר' עקיב' צפית וחמית בתבל כולה וחזית יתה מה היא סלקית בעגלא מן נורא באיסתכלית בהיכלי ברדא ואשכחית גרוסקא גרוסקא וגו' 'R. Akiba said: I looked out and observed all the universe, and I saw it as it rose swiftly from the fire. As I looked at the palaces of hail I found GRWSQA' GRWSQA' etc'. This section is immediately followed by 'This is the binding and the seal by which are bound earth and heaven' (See comments on lines M163:8-11).

6 זעקי An apocopated form of a plural masculine noun, as is common in Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic, which could either be in the emphatic or absolute state.[67] The meaning of this word, in the context of our text, is not certain. In *T-S K 1.173* page 3 l. 12[68] זעקה appears in the formulaic sequence אשתא ועריתא וזעקה - a list of three types of fever more

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[66] Harviainen 1981, p. 12.
[67] Epstein 1960, pp. 116-117.
[68] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 232.

commonly found with the third element דקיקתא.[69] It is possible that זעקי is, in some way, associated with the concept of fever and illness. Montgomery, on the other hand, understood זעקי (AIT 19:13 מלאכה רבא דזעקי) as actually being זיקי but 'with a Mandaic spelling'.[70]

אמירן Considering the parallel expression in the previous line (ומן אידיה דמריא גרוסקין), it is most likely that אמירן should have a similar meaning to מריא. It is possible that it is a corruption from of form מרן 'our lord,' cf. N&Sh B13:3 מריא בגדנא. Alternatively, one might consider this as an early attestation of אמיר 'prince,' found in Syriac[71] and Mandaic,[72] though of Arabic origin.

8 חיסמא בישא See note on M149:9.

Synopsis

M107	Geller A	Moriah 1	
(1) מזמן הדין כסא	(1) אסיר חתים (2) הדין קמיעה		(a)
לחתמתא ולנטרתא דביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג (2) בת חזארוי ודאזאדיאר בת פאריזג ודהורמיז גושנסף בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר (3) פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג	לחתמתא ותשרתא (3) דביתיה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך (4)		(b)
	בהדין שמה רבה דהוה שליט על כל רוחי בישאתא (5)	(1) בהדין שמה רבה (2) דהוא שליט ומפקד ומחי (3) וקטיל ונכיס ומחביל ומפיק כל שידי (4) ודיוי וסטני וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה	(c)
	אשבעית וגזרית עליכון כולכון		(d)
דניזיחון וניתבטלון וניתרחקון מינהון			(e)
שידי ודיוי וסיטני וסטני ולויליתא (4) ומבכלתא ומשמתתא וחילמי בישי וחיזוני סניי ודחלולי	כולכון רוחי בישאתא ולויליאתא (6) ומבכלאתא וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתא וחיזוני תקיפי ודחלולי (7) ומדובקי בישי	מן שידי ומן דיוי ומן ליליאתא ומן חילמי סנין ומן כל רוחי (8) בישאתה	(f)
	דתיזחין ותפקין מיניה ומן		(g)

[69] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 236. For more comments on such words for types of fever, see Geller 1997a.
[70] Montgomery 1913, p. 199.
[71] Brockelmann 1928, p. 26a.
[72] DM p. 22b.

	Moriah 1	Geller A	M107
		ביתיה ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה אתתיה בניה (8) וקינינה ובית משכביה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך וחוה אינתתיה	
(h)	(8) ... בשבע חומרין ובשבעה איסרין בשבעה חתמין	דחתים ומחתם	
(i)		בשום שרישן (9) שרישן גישן גישן גישן אדחי לשגושין לשגושין אדחי ברחי אבר בחד {גמא} גדמא חוש משלל	בשום שרושן טושן טרושן גושן גושן אדחי לשגושין (5) לשגושין לשגושן ארהיב ברה ואמר בחד גמא גאמא חיש משלל
(j)	דאינון שליטין ומפקדין ומחן ומחבלין וקטלין ומפקין כל שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתה וכל חילמי סנין וכל שופטי בישי (12) וכל רוחי בישאתה דכד מיכתיב? שמהין ומימסר בהדין {בהדין} קמיעה כל שידין ודיוין ולילִיאתה וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין (13) וערקין ומיתבלעין מינה	דאתון (10) שליטין ומעורין וקטלין ומפקין כל שידי ודיוי וכל רוחי בישאתה (11) וכל חילמי סנין וכד מיכתיב שמיהון ומימסר כל רוחי בישאתה וכל חילמי סנין ולילִיאתא נפקן ובטלן ומית כל שומיהון	
(k)		משלל	
(l)		(12) פליטל ... פטפלתש בת זירי ס ס תסניס	
(m)	(16) ... נבדירין רבה	סדים ומשמת מן {מן} אידיה דמריא גרוסיה ונברון ונבורון רבה דזעקי (13) ומן אידיה דאמירן בגדתמן	סדים ומשמת ומן אידיה דמריא גרוסקין גרוסקן (6) ונברון ונבורזן רבה דזעקי ומן אידיה דאמירן בגדנא
(n)	הדין דמפרש על שידי ודיוי וסטני ולילִיאתה ועל כל רוחי בישאתה ועל כל חילמי סנין וכד מיכתיב שמיהון ומימסר כל שידי (19) ודיוי ולילִיאתה וסטני ושופטי בישי וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין וערקין ובטלין ומיתבלעין ובשום ... (20) ... בהדין שמה רבה	אתון שליטין וקטלין ומפקין כל שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתא וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה (14) וכד מיכתיב שמיהון ומימסר כל שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתה וסטני וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין וערקין ומיחבל עין בהדין (15) שמה רבה	
(o)	(20) ... חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין הוא ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה אתתיה בניה ובנתיה וקינינה דהדין מהאנוש בר אזרמידוך וחוה {חוה} אינתתיה	אסיר וחתים ביתיה ודירתיה וקינינה ואיסקופתיה ובניה ואתתיה ובנתיה ובית משכביה וכל אינשי ביתיה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך	אסיר אס(..) ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי וחתים
(p)		(16) בארזמין עיזקתה ובמובלא רבה דזעקי אמין אמן אדוני ואל שדאי גיברא ואברכסס דמפיק ומרהיט שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתה ומבכלאתה	בארזמן (7) עיזקתא ובמובלא רבא דזעקי אמן אמן אדוני יאל שדי גיברא ואברכסס ארהיט שידי ודיוי וסיטני שש וסטני ולילִיתא ומבכלתא (8) ומשמתתא וחיסמא בישא וזיקי בישי וכל מידעם ביש

M107	Geller A	Moriah 1	
מן ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי ודאזדיאר בת פאריזג (?) ודהורמיז גושנסף (9) בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג	מיניה (17) ומן ביתיה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך אתון		(q)
מן יומא דין ושועה דא וילעולם אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים			(r)
(10) (11) פלוטל (12) ספלח שבת נורוס (13) סונסנום			(s)
	במומתיה שרירתא מומינא לכון ומשבענא לכון ובההוא שמה רבה דמיתסריתון ביה נטריה וחתמיה לביתיה (18) ולאסקופתיה ולבית מישכביה ולדרתיה ולבניה ולבנתיה ולאתתיה ולקינינה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך ו{מ}חוה איתתיה מן שידי ומן דיוי ומן סטני ומן דחלולן ומן מריבין ומן שופטי (19) בישי ומן סיוטי ומן פגעי ומן פלגי ומן {ת}סטני ומן חילמי סנין ומן כל רוחי בישאתה בהדין שמה אסיריתון [...] ומן{ש}סטמיתון ומתקניתון ומפיקיתון אתון שידין ודיוין וסטנין (20) חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה מיניה ומן ביתיה ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה דמהאנוש בר אזמרמידוך אמן	בהדין שמה רבה ובחתמא הדין חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין הוא ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה אתתיה בניה ובנתיה וקינינה דהדין מהאנוש בר אזרמידוך וחוה {חוה} אינתתיה מן כל פגעי ומן סטן מפגיע מפגיע (21) ומן כל בני ליליא ומן כל בני יממא ומן כל נוהרא ומן כל חושכה בשום הופעות יהוה צבאות ישיב הכרובים ברוך שמו סלה ובשום ענפיאל מלאכה ברזא הדין ובשמה הדין חתים ומחתם ומשצטם הדין באיתיה ודירתיה (22) ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה אתתיה בניה ובנתיה וכוליה באיתיה דהדין מהאנוש בר אזרמידוך ודהדה חוה אינתתיה מן שידי ומן דיוי ומן סטני ומן ליליאתא ומן חילמי סנין ומן כל רוחי בישאתה מן יומא דין ולעולם	(t)

Notes for Geller A

Alternative readings to Geller's transcription have been made on the basis of a comparison with the duplicate M107, a re-examination of the photographs,[73] and a comparison with Moriah 1.

2 Instead of ותשרתא read ונטרתא.

[73] Geller 1980, p. 48 and "Illness and Healing in Ancient times", 1997, University of Haifa, on the covers and pp. 34-35, 33.

9 Instead of אבר read אמר. As the pairs ד and ר, and ו and י are not always distinguished, it is quite possible that instead of אדחי ברחי אבר one should read אדחי ברה ואמר.

10 Instead of מעורין read מסירין.

11 Instead of ומית כל שומיהון read ומיתבלען ומ(.)נן. Cf. Gordon Moriah 1[74] lines 12,13 דכד מיכתיבז שמהין ומימסר בהדין {בהדין} קמיעה כל שידין ודיוין ולילאתה וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין וערקין ומיתבלעין מינה (this sequence is repeated in lines 18-19 and 25 of the same bowl). The same is true for l. 14, instead of ומיחבל עין read ומיתבלעין.

13 instead of בגתמן read (נא)בגד.

19 Read משסטמיתון, cf. Gordon Moriah 1 l. 21 משצטם. These are both *Shafels* from the root סתם (for a fuller discussion see above the note on l. 1 of M101).[75]

Notes on the synopsis

It has already been noted above that the image and magical characters in M107 and Geller A appear to have evolved from the same *Vorlage*. Over and above these graphic markers, a comparison of the two texts makes it clear that the greater part of the formula used in Geller A (the larger of the two texts) is close enough to that used in M107 to conclude that they both owe their origins to a common source. A close examination of the differences between the two texts can shed light on the changes that a formula such as this can take in the process of its transmission from scribe to scribe and maybe even generation to generation. Differences which occur in these parallel texts might be due to traditions which permitted the sorcerer a certain amount of flexibility in the use of particular formulas to suit different situations. For instance, the possibility to add more demon names which might be associated with different kinds of complaints, or which were simply requested by a more discerning or maybe even wealthier client who insisted on more text, i.e. more protection. Chosen sections from Moriah 1 have also been added to the synopsis as possible parallels to the extra parts of text that appear in Geller A but not in M107. As Geller A and Moriah 1 were written by the same scribe and for the same clients, it can safely be assumed that the

[74] Gordon 1984, p. 222.

[75] Gordon also noted this form (1984 p.225), though only commented on the assimilation of '*s* to emphatic *ṭ*', '*-sṭ-* > *-ṣṭ-*'.

extra material that appears in Geller A is more likely to have been the result of a padding out of formula by the scribe who could dip into his personally accumulated reservoir of incantations. Although Geller A is longer than M107 it can not be assumed to be a more original text.

The opening formulas used in M107 and Geller A are slightly different, but both are commonly attested in magic bowls.[76] The difference suggests that any rules that might have governed the writing of incantations did not insist on the use of one particular variant. One might bear in mind that this looseness in form was partly to do with the fact that much of the material would have been memorized by the sorcerer and similar expressions commonly used could easily be confused. Another consideration is that the product of the sorcerer's work, the incantation bowl, would most likely only be read by demons and angels, a less critical audience than humans. The order of the sections (e) and (f) in M107 is reversed in Geller A whose equivalent sections are (g) and (f). Also, the verbs in M107 section (e) are imperfects in the 3rd person whereas, in the equivalent section (g) of Geller A they are in the 2nd person. This difference could be attributed to the way the scribe of Geller A had changed the text. Having added section (g), 'I adjure and decree against you', the 3rd person verbs had to be emended for the text to make sense. Another difference in verbal forms is found in sections (p) of both texts, M107 employing the *af.* imperative ארהיט, whereas Geller A has the active participle form מרהיט. The magical characters and *Nomina Barabara* which appear half way through Geller A in section (l) appear at the end of the transcription of M107 as section (s), as they are set separately from the rest of the text on the bowl. The slight differences in the *Nomina Barbara* which also occur in the names in section (m) of both texts can probably be attributed to a 'Chinese whispers' process which are more likely to have produced corruptions in words that have no obvious recognizable meaning. It is, however, worth noting that some of the other unusual magical names are identical in both texts and do not seem to have suffered any corruption. Why this occurred with some names and not others could be explained by assuming that the better preserved names were more commonly known or frequently used and therefore survived transmission in better condition.

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[76] On the basic opening formula of Jewish Aramaic Bowls see Harviainen 1995, pp. 54-55.

Alternatively, one bad copy would be enough to spawn new varieties of corruptions. In any case, without more evidence to examine one can only speculate.

M108 (16.5cm*5cm)

This bowl consists of nine lines written in a somewhat cursive, yet neat handwriting. The text spirals in a clockwise fashion from the outside rim of the bowl towards the middle. This is quite exceptional, as most texts work their way from the middle outwards. It appears that, after reaching the centre of the bowl, the scribe returned to the edge and added another line of text. It was only then that he circled the whole inscription with a line. There is also an image with horns and wings which has been placed to one side. This text is unusual because, apart from a basic dedication, it contains seven biblical verses which are quoted in full: Ps. 106:47, Zech. 3:2, Ps. 89:53, 106:48, 72:18,19 and 104:31. All of these verses can be found in *Seder Amram*[77] and seem, as will be shown, to have been specifically borrowed from the weekly evening prayers, the *Arvit* and the *Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah*, which include petitions for protection from dangers of the night (see below). In this context, it is noteworthy that in the dedication of our bowl nightmares (סיוטי) are included as one of the things this amulet is meant to remove. Another bowl, MS 1929/6, which is written for the same client, Adib son of Bat-Šabbeta, and by the same hand also has a very short dedicatory formula to which is added a portion of the Mishna (Zeb. 5:3). This was possibly also borrowed from the *Seder Korbanot* at the end of the morning prayers.

Transcription of M108

(1) הושיענו יהוה אלהינו וקבצינו והצילנו מן הגויים להודות לשם קדש(ך) להש↓ת(ב)ח
בת(הי)לתיך↓ (2) הדין קמיעה למיסר שידי דיוי וסיוטי וסטני מן הדין ביתיה דאדיב בר בתשבתה
(3) בשום ויאמר יהוה אל.הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה ב(ך ה)בחר בירושל(י)ם (4) הלוא זה
אוד מוציל מ־אש ברוך יהוה לעולם אמן <ו>אמן ברוך יהוה (5) אלהי ישראל מהעולם ועד העלום
ואמר כל העם אמן הללויה (6) ברוך יהוה אלהים אלהי ישראל עושה נפלאות לבדו (7) וברוך שם
כבודו לעולם וימלא כבודו את (8) כל הארץ אמן <ו>אמן (9) יהי כבוד יהוה לעולם ישמח יהוה
במעשיו

[77] Goldschmidt 1971.

Translation of M108

(1) 'Deliver us, O Lord our God, gather us from among the nations, to acclaim Your holy name, to glory in Your praise' (Ps. 106:47). (2) This amulet is for the binding of demons, *dews*, frights and satans from this house of Adib son of Bat-Šabbeta. (3) In the name of: 'But the Lord said to the Accuser, "The Lord rebuke you, O Accuser; may the Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! (4) For this is a brand plucked from the fire"' (Zekh. 3:2). 'Blessed is the Lord forever; Amen and Amen' (Ps. 89:53). 'Blessed is the Lord, (5) God of Israel, from eternity to eternity. Let all the people say, "Amen". Hallelujah' (Ps. 106:48). (6) 'Blessed is the Lord God, God of Israel, who alone does wondrous things. (7) Blessed is His glorious name forever; His glory fills the (8) whole world. Amen and Amen' (Ps. 72:18-19). (9) 'May the glory of the Lord endure forever; may the Lord rejoice in his works!' (Ps. 104:31)

Notes for M108

The biblical quotes are accurate except for the omission of a ו before the second אמן in l. 4. The word סטן is spelled with a ס rather then a ש which is more common in the bowls. There are a few plene spellings: קבצינו and גויים in l. 1, מוצל in l. 4 and עושה in l. 6.

2 בתשבתה 'Daughter of the seventh day', see also N&Sh B10:7,10 ברשפתא and N&Sh B10:13 ברשבתא.[78]

Appendix

Zech. 3:2, common in the magic bowls, appears in Amram's version of the *Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah*[79] together with a quote from b. Ber. 5a which states in the name of R. Isaac (the third century Palestinian amora) that:

כל הקורא קריאת שמע על מטתו - מזיקין בדילין הימנו, שנאמר (איוב ה׳) ובני רשף יגביהו עוף ; ואין עוף אלא תורה, שנאמר: (משלי כ״ג) התעיף עיניך בו ואיננו

[78] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 183.
[79] Goldschmidt 1971, p. 55.

'If one recites the Shema upon his bed the demons keep away from him. For it is said: "And just as sparks fly upward." The word 'fly' refers to the Torah, as it is written: "You see it then it is gone"'.

In Amram's order of prayers the *Arvit*, the daily Evening Prayer, comes just before the *Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah.* In the *Arvit* we find the petition:

השכיבנו ה' אלהינו לשלום. והעמידנו מלכנו לשלום ולחיים, ופרוש עלינו סוכת שלומך והגן בעדנו ותקננו בעצה טובה מלפניך והושיענו למען שמך והסר מעלינו דבר חרב ורעב ויגון. ושבור שטן מלפנינו ומאחרינו. ושמור צאתנו ובואנו מעתה ועד עולם כי שומרנו ומצילנו אתה. ברוך אתה ה' שומר עמו ישראל לעד.

'Let us lie down, O Lord our God, in peace, and let us rise up, O our King, to life. Spread over us Your canopy of peace. Direct us with Your good counsel, and save us for Your name's sake. Shield us, and remove from us every enemy, pestilence, sword, famine and sorrow; remove also the adversary from before us and from behind us. Shelter us in the shadow of Your wings, for You, O God, are our Guardian and our Deliverer; truly You, O God, are a gracious and merciful King. Guard us when we go out and when we come in for life and for peace, from now and for evermore. Blessed are You – the Lord, who guards His people Israel for ever'.

The response of the congregation which follows consists of a sequence of Psalm verses, the first five of which (Ps. 89:53, 135:21, 72:18,19 and 104:31)[80] correspond almost identically to the last five in our bowl (Ps. 89:53, 106:48, 72:18,19 and 104:31). The only difference is the second verse in the sequence which might be explained by the existence of a tradition, found in the Tosefta Tan. 3:8 and the *Seder Olam Rabbah* 30, which cites Ps 106:48, 72:18 and 19 as having been recited in succession at the Temple.

Ps. 106:47, which appears in the beginning of the bowl, is also present in the congregation's response, though only as the seventh verse after Ps. 104:31. A closer examination of the bowl reveals that this verse (Ps. 106:47) must have been added as an after thought, or simply because the scribe ran out of space in the middle of the bowl. The initial הושיענו appears just over a word's distance to the left under the word קמיעה in the

outer ring of the text. When the scribe completed writing a full circle, rather than flowing over קמיעה into the spiral, he was compelled to drop below the line so that the last word of the verse (בתהילתך) joined to the first (הושיענו). Indeed, MS 1929/6 which was written by the same scribe for the same client, seems to follow the same pattern that was initially intended for this bowl. It also starts with a dedication formula followed by בשום, 'by the name of', which introduces the quote.

On the basis of the evidence shown above it is suggested that the inspiration of the text in our bowl came from the standard daily prayers. We can not, as yet, ascertain whether they were acquired from service attendance or copied from an early prayer book. Nevertheless, the utilization of this liturgical material which is intended for protection from the dangers of the night is a natural choice.

Elbogen's opinion that the dates for the composition of the fourth section of the *Arvit*, starting with השכיבנו, should be attributed to the 'post-talmudic period, specifically the Saboraic period',[81] coincides well with the general dating of magic bowls. Surely, our text can be considered as the oldest fragment of this prayer.

In light of this bowl it might be suggested that our scribe also derived his quote of m. Zeb. 5:3, in MS 1929/6, from the prayer book rather than directly from the Mishna, as this mishna is part of the daily morning prayers (סדר ברכות השחר) which also appears already in *Seder Amram*.[82]

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[80] Goldschmidt 1971, pp. 52, 53.
[81] Elbogen 1993, p. 88.
[82] Goldschmidt 1971, p. 4, l. 10. The text stipulates that the whole of chapter five be read ושונה איזהו מקומן של זבחים ... אלא צלי.

M112 (9.2cm*10.4cm)

This bowl has a unique goblet shape, although the text is still written in the inside of the vessel. The incantation is written in the usual fashion, spiraling in a clockwise direction from the bottom of the goblet outwards. The flow of the text is interrupted, however, by a column of names and symbols which are simply skipped as each line reaches it. There is a duplicate to this text at the end of N&Sh B19, lines 9-11. The clients for whom this bowl was written are Mari son of [...] and Imtabi daughter of Ima.

Transcription of M112

(1) חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין (2) דמרי בר א[.]ה ודאימטבי בת אימא (3) בחתמא ובצורתא דאל חתים ובחתמא דשדי (4) דלא יקירבון ביה כל חרשין בישין וכל סדנין אפיכין וכל (5) נידרא וענקתא וקריתא ופתכרין וכל סטנין ונאלי וכל מזיקי (6) בישי וכל סטני תקיפי וכל מידעם ביש דמתחמי ו(ד)לא מיתחמי (7) יזחון ויפקון מן ביתה הדין בישמיה ד(פטט..ס) רבא (8) פרופיאל בי(ל)קו (9) פיניבא פיניבא (10) פיניחו יהא (11) פרובאל בילקו (12) פיאירן פיניגא (13) אני הוא יהו הי (14) צור קדוש מסג (15) written in amongst symbols - יי and - שדי

Translation of M112

(1) Sealed and counter-sealed is the house (2) of Mari son of ... and Imtabi daughter of Ima. (3) Sealed by the seal and the image of El, and by the seal of Shaddai. (4) In order that there may not touch him all evil sorceries and all perverted devils[83] and every (5) vow and necklace-charm and invocation and idols and all accusers and incubi and all evil (6) harmers and all powerful satans and every evil thing, that which is visible and that which is not visible. (7) May they flee and go away from this house. By the name of ... the great. (8) PRPYA'L BYLQW (9) PYNYBA' PYNYBA' (10) PYNYHW YHA' (11) PRWBA'L BYLQW (12) PYA'RYN PYNYGA' (13) I am Him *living* YHW (14) a *great* Holy *Rock* (15) YYY Shaddai

[83] See note on M102:4.

Notes for M112

4 יקירבון ביה The verb קרב with the preposition -ב means 'to touch'.[84] The plene spelling with the 'yod' after the first radical is unusual but not unknown, cf. N&Sh B23:1 ניחידרון and N&Sh B23:8 ניקיטין.

5 נאלי Attested in both Syriac, $nl^{\flat}$ - 'nightmare', 'incubus' (PS 340b), and in Mandaic $n^{\flat}l^{\flat}$ 'vampire', 'incubus', or 'succubus' (DM p. 283ab). Attested also in Rabbinic literature in b. San. 59b: יארוד נאלא which Rashi describes as a 'griffin-like' creature. The Aruch Completum[85] cites an otherwise unknown manuscript of b. Bek. 44b which associates נאלא with the reference to קצרית 'shortness of breath.' See also Montgomery 1913, p. 189 and Gordon, 1934, p. 323.

6 מיתחמי ו(דל)א דמתחמי Note that in N&Sh B19:8, 9, just before the duplicate section of our text, there is the verb חמי which is very rare in the bowls: ולא תיתחמון להון 'you shall not make yourselves visible to them'. Cf. also *The Sword of Moses* p. V l. 13 בשתקצר רבה דלא כסי מיני כלום דחמי ולא מתחמי '... by ŠTQṢR the great from whom nothing is covered, that which is being seen and that which is not being seen'.[86]

13 יהו הי Could also be read as יהו חי 'the living YHW'.

14 צור קדוש מסג Could be either Hebrew, or Aramaic if read as קדיש. Cf. Gordon B:1,2 צור קדיש תתימין ומחתמין ומסגן. There are three possibilities for understanding צור: 1) 'Rock,' as Gordon interpreted it in his notes[87] - the 'Biblical epithet of God'. 2) As י and ו are not always distinguished in our text, It is possible to read ציר. Thus it could mean 'Bound', as in McCullough A:4[88] דציר וחתם ביעזקתה דאל שדי. Note also that, just as in our text, אל שדי is also mentioned. 3) Another meaning of ציר is 'Drawing' or 'shape.' This is similar in meaning to that which appears in AIT 11:9 בעיזקתה דציר וגליף עלה שם מפורש. One might bear in mind l. 3 of our text in which 'the seal and image ...' - צורתא is invoked. Hence, ציר קדוש

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[84] Sokoloff p. 502b.
[85] Vol.5 p. 296a.
[86] Harari 1997, p. 27.
[87] Gordon 1934, p. 325.
[88] McCullough 1967, p. 3.

'holy image', could be a reference to the unusual *characteres* intermingled with names that appear on the goblet, and might be part of the source of its potency. On the basis of Gordon B one might consider reconstructing to either <י>מסג, a *pa.* active participle masculine singular, or ג<י>מס a passive participle.

Synopsis

N&Sh B19

חתים ביתיה דמיהרוי בר גושנאי הדין

בחתמא ובצורתיה דאל חתים בחתמא דשדי אלהא

דלא (ת)יק((ר))בון ביה כל חרשין וכל מעבדין וכל כיסי וכל (10) מללתא

וכל נידרי וענקתא וקריתא בישתא וכל זיקין ומזיקין בישין

וכל סטנין תקיפין וכל מידעם [ ] (11) [ ] דיתתסי

בשמיה דאפסמט רבה אמן אמן סלה

M112

(1) חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין (2) דמרי בר א(ז)ה ודאימטבי בת אימא (3)

בחתמא ובצורתא דאל חתים ובחתמא דשדי (4)

דלא יקירבון ביה כל חרשין בישין וכל סדנין אפיכין

וכל (5) נידרא וענקתא וקריתא ופתכרין וכל (סטנין) ונאלי וכל מזיקי (6) בישי

וכל סטני תקיפי וכל מידעם ביש דמתחמי ו(דל)א מיתחמי (7) יזחון ויפקון מן ביתה הדין

בישמיה ד(פטט..ס) רבא (8) פרפיאל בי(ל)קו (9) פיניבא פיניבא (10) פיזיחו יחא (11) פרובאל בילקו (12) פיאירן פיניגא (13) אני הוא יהו הי (14) צור קדוש מסג (15) ייי שדי

M117 (17.6cm*4.7cm)

This bowl has seven lines of text which are written in a cursive script spiraling in the usual clockwise fashion from the centre of the bowl outwards. There are three biblical quotes in this text (Isa. 37:16, 6:3 and I Sam. 17:45.) which is, otherwise, unusually rich in phrases that have parallels in liturgical and Hekhalot sources. The first half of the text, until the middle of l. 4, is in Mishnaic Hebrew. The rest, apart from the verses in l. 6, is in Aramaic. The Hebrew is generally good despite a few plene or phonetic spellings which are consistent with other Hebrew words found in magic bowls:[89] l. 1 רישונים for ראשונים, l. 2 יושיב for יושב, l. 3 שים for שם, ליפני for לפני, l. 4 אתא for אתה and דויד for דוד. This bowl was written for a certain Asher daughter of Mama.

Transcription of M117

(1) אלה (ד)[....] הרישונים האחרונים שהוא מנ(א)גן מלפני שאול המלך (2) בשום יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל יושיב הכרובים על כל הנגעים על כל המזיקין על כל הרוח (3) על כל האש וערויות על כל העין ותנו כבוד לשים כבוד וילכו להן במקום מושבה שליפני אשר בת מאמא (4) ברוך אתא יהוה אלהי דויד רופא החולים דיתיב דקאים דשחר דדמיך דמזיח דממכי בשמיה דמרמרחות מלאכה (5) לית אנא משבע עלכי לא בסרין לא במלאכין א(ד)רים אילהין בשמיה רבה יהוה צבאות אלהא דישראל אלהא דימיניה דחילא (6) במ[..]לא ותהומא בשמיה דיה יה יה קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות אלהי מערכות ישראל דשליט על כל רוחא בישתא איתגערי רוחא בישתא (7) מימקום מושבה דאשר בת מאמא אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M117

(1) These [...] the first, the last, the last *that he is playing* before Solomon the king. (2) By the name of 'YHWH Sabaoth the God of Israel who is enthroned among the cherubim' (Isa. 37:16). Against all the plagues, against all the harmful spirits, against every spirit, (3) against all fevers and shivers, against all the (evil) eye. Give glory to the name of glory. And may they go away from the place which is before the dwelling of Asher daughter of Mama. (4)

[89] Kaufman 1973, p. 173.

Blessed are you YHWH the God of David healer of the sick, the one who sits, the one who stands, the one who wakes up, the one who goes to sleep, the one who raises, the one who lowers. By the name of MRMRHWT the angel. (5) I do not adjure you by princes or *great* angels, but by the name of the great one, YHWH Sabaoth the God of Israel, the God whose right hand is feared in (6) [...] and the tehom. By the name of YH YH YH YH 'holy holy holy' (Isa. 6:3) 'YHWH Sabaoth the God of the ranks of Israel' (I Sam. 17:45) who rules over every evil spirit. Evil spirit, disappear (7) from the place of dwelling of Asher daughter of Mama. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M117

1 The opening line of the bowl is incomplete, yet, there are two possible sources from which it might be borrowed: II Samuel 23:1 or from the נשמת כל חי of the Sabbath morning prayer. If one reconstructs l. 1 on the basis of II Samuel 23:1 ... ואלה דברי דוד האחרנים one would have to account for the mention of both the 'last ones' (האחרונים) and 'King Saul' which follow. In the b. MQ 60b R. Jehudah explains that 'these were the last words of David' (II Samuel 23:1) implies that former words (ראשונים) were spoken:

> אחרונים מכלל דאיכא ראשונים ראשונים מאי היא וידבר דוד להי את דברי השירה הזאת ביום הציל הי אתו מכף כל אויביו ומכף שאול
>
> "'Last words' implies that there were 'former words', what were the 'first words'? 'And David spoke to the Lord the words of this song in the day that the Lord delivered him from the hand of all his enemies and from the hand of Saul' (II Samuel 22:1)".

Additionally, it might be noted that the first words of the opening line of our bowl are similar to the expression ... אלהי הראשונים והאחרונים which occurs in the נשמת כל חי from the Sabbath morning prayer. In close proximity to these words there occurs in one of the manuscripts of *Seder Amram* ורופא חולים, which also appears in l. 4 of our text.[90]

2 הכרובים ... יהוה A quote from Isa. 37:16 which also appears as part of a list of names in the Hekhalot literature (Metatron, Schäfer Synopsis §402). The last two words of this

[90] Goldschmidt 1971, p. 70.

sequence are also found in I Chron. 13:6 (יושב הכרובים), Ps. 80:2 (ישב הכרובים), and in Ps 99:1 (ישב כרובים). Variants of this name occur in Moriah 1:21 (יהוה צבאות ישיב הכרובים) and A17:18,19[91] (בשם יהוה [י]ושב הכרובים). Cf. also m. Ber. 7:3 אלהי ישראל אלהי הצבאות יושב הכרובים and b. Ber. 50a ברוך ה' אלהי ישראל אלהי הצבאות יושב הכרובים which is very close to the formula in our text. Note also that in l. 5 an Aramaic equivalent (יהוה צבאות אלהא דישראל), which is common in the Targ. Ps-J., is used. Incidentally, the Targum of Isa 37:16 is slightly different to line 4: יי אלהא צבאות וגו'.

3 תנו כבוד ל In the Minor tractate *Soferim* 14:5, תנו כבוד לתורה is mentioned as part of the liturgy to be said before reading from the Torah.[92] This formula appears also in the Minor tractate *Derekh Eretz perek ha-Yotzeh* 17 as part of the prayer to be said on entering the toilet (תנו כבוד לאלהינו),[93] a place thought to be infested with demons.[94] Cf. also *Midrash Tanhuma parashat Mishpatim* 19[95] where it is stated in the name of R. Hanina that, because the world is full of 'spirits' and 'harmers' (רוחות ומזיקים), the Lord gives every one of the people of Israel a myriad and a thousand protective angels who walk before him and declare: 'give honour to the image of the Lord blessed be He' (תנו כבוד לצלמו של הקב"ה).

במקום Read למקום, cf. l. 7.

שליפני The use of Hebrew here is somewhat awkward. It is possible that this is due to the scribe's free translation of the Aramaic relative pronoun ד which is used correctly in l. 7.

4 החולים ... ברוך Cf. Gordon 7:12 ברוך אתה יהוה רפא חולי כל בשר ומיפל<י>א לעשות which is part of the morning prayer and already attested in *Seder Amram*.[96] Slightly closer in form to our text is ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מלך העולם רופא חולים, which appears a bit later in the morning prayer.[97] In b. Ber. 60b the elements תנו כבוד, in l. 3 of our text, and רופא החולים, in l. 4, both appear as part of the same liturgical sequence. It states that: "One who enters the toilet says: 'Be honoured, ye honoured and holy ones that minister to the Most High. Give

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[91] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 50.
[92] Also in *Seder Amram*, Goldschmidt 1971, p. 58.
[93] *Seder Amram* under the section of 'personal prayers and blessings'. Goldschmidt 1971, p. 184 - תנו כבוד לאלהים. In b. Ber. 60b a slightly different variant is תנו כבוד לאלהי ישראל.
[94] B. Ber. 62a 'Any one who is modest in the toilet is saved from three things: from snakes, from scorpions, and from *maziqim*'.
[95] This Midrash is probably not edited before the ninth century.
[96] Goldscmidt 1971, p. 2.

honour (תנו כבוד) to the God of Israel'". Furthermore, when leaving one says: 'Blessed is He who created man in wisdom and created in him many orifices and hollow passages ...' (ברוך אשר יצר את האדם בחכמה וברא בו נקבים נקבים חללים חללים ...), which is part of the morning prayers, also to be recited when emerging from the toilet. It is then asked: "How does one seal this prayer? Rab said: 'that heals the sick (רופא חולים)'". רופא חולים also appears in *Seder Amram* in the נשמת כל חי[98] prayer, part of the Sabbath morning prayers, only a few words after אלהי הראשונים והאחרונים (see notes to line 1).

מזיח This is a *pa.* form from the verb זוח I 'to raise'[99] which, although known in Syriac, was previously unattested in Jewish Aramaic. The list of six participles, of which מזיח is one, seems to refer to potential benefactors of the blessing they follow. This is reminiscent of the participles used in b. Ber. 60b which represent a series of activities for which appropriate prayers are recommended: הנכנס ... 'one who goes out (of the latrine) says' כי נפיק אומר 'one who wakes up says' כי מתער אומר ... 'one who enters his bed says' לישן על מטתו אומר ... 'one who dresses says' כי לביש לימא ... 'one who sits up says' כי תריץ ויתיב לימא ... etc.

מרמרחות Cf. A4:24,25 where מרמראות,[100] of which מרמחות might be a corruption, appears in the amulet only two words after אלהי מערכות, the quote from I Sam 17:45 which is in line 6 of our text. Marmaraot is also found in *Sepher ha-Razim*[101] as one of the angels who is in charge of the movement of the sun during the day.

6 ישראל ... קדוש A combination of Isa. 6:3 and I Sam. 17:45. It is interesting that the last two words of the quote from Isa. 6:3, יהוה צבאות, are the same as the first two words of the quote from I Sam. 17:45. Thus rather than being duplicated these words are shared. Also noteworthy is the fact that the section used from the I Sam. 17:45 is preceded in the Bible by the word בשם.

איתגערי רוחא בישתא Cf. *T-S K 1.68* lines 2,3[102] אל]הי מערכות ישראל געור כל רוחין בישין, A19:24,25[103] דיתגערון רוחא בישתה אשתה וטרטיה and A27:4,5[104] בישתה [רוחא] דיתגערון.

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[97] Ibid.
[98] Goldscmidt 1971, p.70.
[99] J. p. 385a.
[100] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 56.
[101] Margalioth 1966, p. 96.
[102] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 222.
[103] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 62.

7 מושבה If the scribe intended this part of the incantation to be in Aramaic, as the demonstrative ד which follows suggests, then he should have written מותבה.

[104] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 91.

M121 (16.3cm*6.3)

This bowl consists of six lines of a rather cursive script spiraling in a clockwise fashion from the inside out. This incantation was written for Ahi son of Mahlapta and Imi daughter of Qaqi his wife for whom M103 and M119 were also written.

Transcription of M121

(1) חתים ומחתים ביתיה ובניה ואיסקופתיה ומעולהון ומיפקיהון (2) ועובידיהון וכל דאית לה לאחי בר מחלפתא ולאימי בת קאקי איתתה (3) מן שידי ומן דיוי חתים ומיסטנין חתים ומילילית‌א ומימבכ(ל)לתא ומיפגעין (4) בישין מן מרכבתא בישתא ומיחרשי בישי מן סטני דמישתדרי (ב)חרשי ומיכל (5) מידעם ביש מ(ן) יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה הללויה יה יה יה י(ה) ייה ייה הי (6) היי אאא(ב) בבבב (ב) (ב)אש (ג)א אמן (א)א תתת (ד)דדד גגג דד אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M121

(1) Sealed and counter-sealed are his house and children and threshold, and their entrance and exit (2) and servants, and all that is Ahi son of Mahlapta's and Imi daughter of Qaqi his wife. (3) Sealed from sheds and dews, and sealed from satans, and from liliths and from tormentors and evil afflictors, (4) from the evil chariots and evil sorceries, from satans which are being sent by sorceries and from all (5) evil. From this day and for ever amen amen selah halleluya. YH YH YH YH YH YYH YYYH HY (6) HYY A'A'A'A' (B) BBBB (B) (B) A'Š (G) A' amen (A') TTTT (D)DDDD GGG DD amen amen selah.

Notes for M121

1 ומעולהון ומיפקיהון The usual forms of the nouns 'entrance' and 'exit' have a נ towards the end of the word, hence, one would expect ומיפקונ(י)הון ומעלונ(י)הון*, cf. N&Sh B25:11 מעלוניה ומפקוניה. Note, however, that מיפקא, without a נ, is also attested[105] as meaning

[105] J. p. 778a.

'exit', as is מעליא 'entrance' in some targum editions.[106] The first ו in מעולהון, which could also be read as a י, is probably due to the root from which this noun is derived, which could be construed as the *mediae y/w* עול rather than the *midiae geminatae* עלל.

2 דאיתלה, איתתה This scribe is not particular in differentiating between יה- and ה- for the 3rd person masculine singular personal pronominal suffix.

3-5 מיסטנין, מילילית֯א, מימבכ(ל)לתא, מיפגעין, מיחרשי, מיכל Cf. AIT 21,22 and 23 which are very similar to our text, all start with חתים ומחתם and follow the same formulaic pattern with slight variations. Montgomery states that 'ו, ז, י and ן are indistinguishable'[107] in these bowls and, therefore, opts for reading מן כל instead of what looks like מיכל (*passim*) as well as מבכלתא (l. 2 of all three texts) for what appears to be מימבכלתא. Epstein amended Montgomery's readings, reinstating the י in both cases, claiming that it is too short to be a final 'nun', as well as the fact that such forms are attested in the Yerushalmi and Gaonic material.[108] In our text it is also preferable to read these letters as 'yods' as the final 'nun' is in all cases clearly distinguishable. In some cases, however, the scribe uses the separate form of the preposition מן rather than the shorter prefixed form -מי.

מרכבתא בישתא Cf. Gordon 8:4, where Gordon translates the same expression, without explaining his reasons, as 'the bad "chariot" (= constellation = luck)". In N&Sh B13:6 there is a similar expression מרכבא לטבי 'the chariot of the evil ones'. Though of a late redaction, not earlier than the 12th century, *Numbers Rabbah* 12 mentions that the demoness Igrat bat Mahlat, who is also referred to in b. Pes. 112b, has a chariot (אגרת בת מחלת ומרכבתה).

סטני דמישתדרי בחרשי Whether incorporated as a matter of form or not, this addition to the list of malevolent entities indicates anxieties that go beyond the demons that were believed to naturally exist on their own accord. This suggests that the clients feared that others were performing malicious magical acts against them. Cf. Ellis 3:4 ויתה<פ>כ<ו>ן ויזל<ון> על ניתסרון וניכמרון כולהין פתיכרין על קרינהון ועל משד<ר>ריניהון ועובדיהון; BOR:7 משדרנהון; Yam:15 יתה[פכון] כל חרשין בישין על עבדיהון ועובדין תקיפין על משדרנהון; Gordon 6:7,8 ונתהפכון כל חרשי בישי וכל Gordon 5:3-5 ויזלון ויתהפכון על עבדיהון ועל משדרניהון

[106] J. p. 817b.
[107] Montgomery 1913, p. 204.

מעבדי תקיפי דעבידין בה ודמיתעבדין בה ... ונתהפכון על עבדיהון ועל משדררניהון; N&Sh B23:8,9 וניהדרון על ... עלה ועל ירתי ביתה ועל משדרינהון. (See also note on M102:2).

[108] Epstein 1983, pp. 348-349.

M123 (17.3cm*7.5cm) and **M138** (16.7cm*6.5cm)

These two texts are duplicates and are therefore dealt with together. There is a third duplicate, MS 2053/216, a transcript of which is provided below in the synopsis. All three texts seem to be written by the same cursive but reasonably clear hand. The clients of all three bowls are related. We know from M121 that Immi daughter of Qaqi is the wife of Ahai son of Mahlafta, the same couple which appears in M138. In M123, however, Immi daughter of Qaqi appears with a man who bears the same forename but has a different mother, Ahai son of Qini. It might be that Ahai's mother was known as both Mahlafta and Qini,[109] though it is also possible that Immi daughter of Qaqi had occasion to marry twice. Finally, one must not exclude the possibility that Ahai son of Qini was a relative who lived in the same house. Each of these three names is accorded its own bowl, M123 is dedicated to Immi daughter of Qaqi, M138 to Ahai son of Mahlafta and MS 2053/216 to Ahai son of Qini. Nevertheless, the formula, duplicated in all the texts, states at the outset that it is meant for the protection of more then one person: דלא יקרבון עליהון 'in order that there may not come against them'. The protection that is sought for by the clients is specifically from the malicious activity of fellow human beings, described more specifically in lines 1, 3 and 6 (of M123) as an oath, curse and evil speech, though a more complete list is provided in lines 6-8 of M123. The magical motif at the centre of this text (M123:3-6) comprises the invocation of the name אהיה אשר אהיה followed by some more divine names, a Hekhalot style depiction of God and a quote from the Targ.-O. of Ex 3:5. This combination of motifs represents one of the best known themes in Jewish magical tradition, the most famous example of which is the *Sword of Moses*, a manual of name based magic that claims to be the divine revelation of Moses.

Transcription of M123

(1) הדין קמיעא דאיתקמע על שום אימי בת קאקי דלא יקרבון עליהון נידרין לוטן ממללן (2) בישון תוב אנא משבענא עליכון נידרא לוטתא מ{ז}^לי^לתא בישתא משבענא עליכון בניהור יה בשדי (3) יה קסין יה בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא <מללתא בישתא משבענא עליכון ב>אהיה אשר אהיה שמו פסגדא שמו אפסגדא שמו טובה טיה מיה (4) שמו יההי קא שמו אחס באלמס פניו פני שיביל

קרניו קרני לון מרכבתיה נור דליק שרפוהי נור משמשין שליחין בריבוהי (5) נור לבישין משגרין (ל)עילא מיקרני חיתה בחגא רבה דמלכותא בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין כמו דאמר ליה למשה באסנה שרי סנך (6) מעל ריגלך משבענא עליכון נידרא לוטתא ומללתא בישתא דאי תעימו אימי בת קאקי בין ניהמתא דנהמא על זרעיהי ובין (7) נומתא דמפקא בפומא ובין נידרא דארמאי דיהודאי בין לוטתא רחיקא קריבא בין לוטתא דשיבבה דאחא ואחתא ובין לוטתא דגברי (8) דנשי ובין נידרא דמשלם לפתכרי דיכרי לאיסתרתא {ל}ניקבתא ובין נידרא ושלמתא דכל בני אינשה תיזחון תינטלון תיאבדון מיאימי בת קאקי מיאחי בר קיני (9) מיבנוהי ומיביתיה כוליה מן יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה.

Translation of M123

(1) This amulet has been bound upon the name of Immi daughter of Qaqi in order that there may not come against them oaths, curses and evil speeches. (2) Again, I adjure you oath, curse [and] evil speech. I adjure you by the light of YH by Šadai (3) YH QSYN YH. By these (names) I adjure, oath, curse, I-am-that-I-am, His Name PSGDA', His Name A'PSGDA', His Name ṬWBA' ṬYH MYH, (4) His Name YHHY QA', His Name A'ḤS BA'LMS. His face is the face of ŠYBYL, his rays [of light] are rays of LWN, his chariot blazing fire, his Seraphs fire, messengers officiating by [the agency of] his magnificence, (5) they are clad in fire, *sent* above the creature's horns. By [the agency of] the great crown of majesty, by His great name which has existed from days of old. The same [name] He told Moses at the burning bush [when he told him]: 'Remove your shoes (6) from your feet [etc.]' (Targ. O. Ex. 3:5) I adjure against you oath curse and evil speech that if you sadden Immi d. of Qaqi. Be it by a groan that groans over its descendants, be it (7) by a slumber which causes [things] to issue [from with]in the mouth, be it by an oath of a gentile or a Jew, be it by a curse of a relative or a stranger, be it by a curse of a neighbour, brother or sister, be it by a curse of men (8) or of women, be it by an oath that is being delivered to male idols [and] female idols, or be it by an oath or magic rites of any human beings. Be removed, move, and perish from Immi daughter of Qaqi from Ahai son of Qini (9) from his children and from all of his house from this day and for ever. Amen amen selah.

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[109] In some of the bowls there are clients who are mentioned as having another name, cf.

Notes for M123

1 קמיעא דאיתקמע על שום The verb קמע 'to bind' is previously unattested in Jewish Aramaic. It is known in Syraic in the same sense as we find it here *qmʿy qmyʿ* 'those who bind on or who sew together amulets'.[110] Though rarely used in Hebrew the verb קמע is already attested in the Tosefta cf. Demai 2:17 (repeated in b. Bek. 30b) מעשה באשה אחת שנשאת לחבר והיתה קומעת על ידו תפלין 'There was a certain woman who was married to a *scholar* and used to bind the straps of the tefillin (phylacteries) on his hand'. Cf. also M155:9 where the same expression appears though spelled differently, קמיעה דאיתקמיע.

נידרין לוטן ממללן בישון - Three plural nouns in the absolute state, the first is masculine whilst the second and third are feminine. All three appear in forms that are unusual for magic bowls: The form that commonly occurs for נידרין is the appocopated נידרי; לוטתא is not otherwise attested in the bowls in the plural in the absolute state at all;[111] ממללן is a *pa.* participle feminine plural form of the verb מלל.[112] The adjective בישון has ו as a matres lectiones. It is interesting that in lines 2 and 6 and the reconstruction in l. 3 (see below) the author of the text decided to employ the nominal form מללתא.

2 עליהון A clear indication that the bowl was intended from the start for the protection of both the clients, even though only one is mentioned in the opening line.

3 <מללתא בישתא משבענא עליכון ב> The text is amended here in line with the two duplicates, see the synopsis below.

3-6 ריגלך ... אהיה This encompasses a well known set of motifs that developed within Jewish magical traditions of Late Antiquity concerning אהיה אשר אהיה - the name that was given to Moses (Ex. 3) at the burning bush. As we shall show, the different parts of this particular section of the incantation have parallels in the Bible, Targum, Hekhalot and

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M148 מיהרנהיד בת אחת דמתקריא כוטוס 'Miharanahid daughter of Ahat also called Kutus'.

[110] Brockelmann p. 673ab.

[111] In Yam:14, לוטן is cited; however, in that text the word appears to be disjointed and the reading is not certain. A masculine plural form is known from the Targum, לוטין. This is probably not our form, however, as the masculine of this noun is not attested in the bowls and one would have to reconstruct the י in our text (לוט<י>ן)*.

[112] Cf. Gordon H:11 רוחא בישתא דימממללא בלישנא תקיפא ... ממללא used as a verb, and active participle.

magical texts such as the *Sword of Moses*, as well as other surviving bowls and amulets. The first part is a straight forward invocation/recitation of divine names within a Hebrew format signified by the use of the word שמו 'his name is', commonly found in bowls, amulets and Hekhalot texts. The description of God himself, face and emanating rays of light, is in Hebrew, while the description of his attending hosts which follows is in Aramaic. This depiction of God and his hosts is reminiscent of the imagery and language of the visions of Ezekiel[113] and Daniel.[114] The descriptions of angels which are found in the Hekhalot are similar to our text, cf. for example III Enoch (Schäfer Synopsis §33-§34)

> אמר ר' ישמעאל אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים למעלה מהן יש שר אחד אדיר מופלא אמיץ ומשוב(ח) בכל מיני שבח כרוביאל יוי שמו ... ומראה פניו כאש יוקדת וכתר קדושה על ראשו ששם המפורש חקוק בו ... וזיו שכינה על פניו וקרני ההוד אור פניו ... ולמה נקרא שמו כרוביאל יוי השר מפני שהוא ממונה על מרכב כרובים
>
> 'R. Ishmael said: Metatron the prince of the countenance told me that above them there is a mighty, wondrous, brave and praised prince in all manner of praise, Krubiel YWY is his name ... the sight of his face is as burning fire and the crown of holiness is upon his head wherein the 'explicit name' is engraved ... the divine glory is on his face and the rays of majesty are the light of his face ... and why is he called Krubiel YWY the prince? It is on account of the fact that he is in charge of the chariots of the cherubim'.

Cf. N&Sh B13:18 נוריאל רבה נוריאל שמיה נורא לביש נור לבישין, N&Sh B13:21 where angels that have come to the presence of Shamish are also described as clad with fire (נורא לבישין), and *T-S K 1.73* page 3:6 בנורא לבש 'being clothed in fire'.[115]

(ל)עילא מיקרני חיתה בחגא רבה דמלכותא A close parallel to the wording of 'above the horns of the creatures' has been preserved in the Zohar Ex. Beshalah 56b לעילא מן קרני החיות. What appears there, above the horns of the 'creatures', is a 'name'. Cf. Metatron (Schäfer synopsis §734→397) שמו הגדול שנמסר לו למשה מסיני {מש} זה מפרש תגא מעל upon the

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[113] Ez. 1.

[114] Dan. 7:9 נור דלק. In Ma'seh Merkabah R. Neḥoniah ben Haqanah reveals to R. Ishmael five prayers which include divine names. These prayers are meant to assist descent and rising from the Merkabah. In the first of these (Schäfer, 1981, §587 MS O1531) נור דליק appears amongst the names.

[115] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 230.

crown His great name is 'explicit', the one that was given to Moses *at* Sinai'. It is noteworthy that in one of the manuscript variants (O1531) there appears הגא rather than תגא, a variation that is also possible in all three of our bowls since ה, ח and ת are not clearly distinguished.

בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין Cf. Buch/Namen, Schäfer Synopsis §492 - a small book of magic (§489-§495) in which instructions are given in preparation for the use of 'this great name' הדין שמא רבא (in §490 N8128 line 17 שמיה רבא). This name is described as having existing for ever (§490 N8128:33 ושמו קיים לעולם ולעלמי עולמים, and purports to help protect against an enemy. This 'great name' is the very one that was given to Moses at Sinai: (MS N8128):

> דין שמיה רבא ... הוא דהוה דאיתגלי למשה בסנה דין שמיה ... קיים הוא עד סוף כל הדורות
>
> '... this is His great name ... the one that was revealed to Moses in the burning bush, this is his name ... it is in existence till the end of all the generations'.

Cf. also Bescwörung/Namen §514:[116]

> דין שמא רבא דמסר זגנאל מלאכא למשה בן עמרם כשנגלה עליו אל {?} חי בסנה וכל היודעו ומזכירו בטהרה לא יוזק לעולם
>
> 'This is the great name that Zaganel the angel gave to Moses son of Amram when the living God was revealed to him in the burning bush, and all who know and invoke it in purity will never be harmed'.

שרי סנך מעל רגלך Our text is a quote from Targ.-O. Ex. 3:5. Targ. Ps-J. differs at this point in that it employs the verb שלוף rather then שרי. It is interesting that in Ex. 3:14 of Targ.-O., the version preferred in our bowls, אהיה אשר אהיה is preserved in its Hebrew original, thus preserving its integrity as a 'name'. On the other hand, Targ. Ps-J. of the same verse offers a more literal Aramaic adaptation in its place.

In a fragment of the *Ḥarba de-Moshe*,[117] it is not just the divine name that is said to have been revealed to Moses, but the whole of the magical book. This system of 'name magic' is equated with the *Merkabah* revelation of R. Ishmael:

> דין חרבא דמשה שנמסר לו בסנה ונגלה לו לר' ישמעאל בן אלישע כמעש' מרכבה

[116] Schäfer 1981.
[117] Schäfer 1981, §598 MS N8128.

'This is the *Sword of Moses* that was revealed to him in the burning bush, and as was revealed to R. Ishmael son of Elisha as *Maaseh Merkabah*'.

A bit further in the same text (§606) the magical qualities of the *Sword of Moses*, which is described as a name, are listed:

אמתי זהו חרבא של משה שהיה עושה נסים וגבורות ויכלה לכל כשפים והוא נגלה למשה בסנה ונמסר לו השם הגדול והמפואר ואם נגלה לרבי ישמעאל כשעלה למרכבה ושמור אותו באמת והוא שמרך ... והוא מצילך מכל צרה בעולם הזה

'In truth this is the Sword of Moses that preformed miracles and brave deeds and can restrain all sorcery. It was revealed to Moses in the burning bush, this great and glorious name was transmitted to him, *and was also* revealed to R. Ishmael when he ascended to the Merkabah. Keep it in truth and it will protect you ... and it will save you from every misfortune in this world'.

The power of the name that was revealed to Moses is reiterated in the appendix to *The Sword of Moses*:[118]

אהיה אשר אהיה יה ביה אה באה וה וה אה אה קדוש צבאות יהוה ממלא דילי ואסותא דילך אסיריתון וחתמיתון כוכבי שמיא ומזליהון שרי ארעא ושרי מרומא דלא יחתון בי ולא יצערון יתי הוו עמי וסועדו יתי בכל מה דאנא עבידנא ולא תקרב נפשי לחבלא משום דחתימא קימתי בשמיה דמן דיפרש שמיה למשה באסנה

"I-am-that-I-am YH BYH A'H BA'H WH WH A'H A'H Holy are the hosts of God. My word and your healing. I have bound and sealed you - the stars of the sky and their constellations, ministers of the earth and ministers of the on-high, that they may not *sin against* me and not afflict me. Be with me and assist me in all that I do. And my soul shall not come near to harm because I have established the seal in His name, of that one, His name, that was made 'explicit' to Moses in the burning bush'.

This combination of the depiction of God in human terms with the more abstract 'name' is noteworthy. Whilst discussing a midrash on the name אהיה אשר אהיה, which appears in *Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva* (c. 700 CE),[119] Idel noted that it describes the dimensions of the

[118] MS Sasson 290 in Harari, 1997, p. 144.
[119] *Battei Midrashot* Vol. II p. 364, also in *Otsar ha-Midrashim* (Eisenstein) p. 407.

name in terms akin to those used in *Shiur Qomah* to describe the limbs of God: 'It is possible that that the connection between the fire and the letters of the name stems from the revelation at the burning bush (Ex. 3:6-14), and that this midrash implies that Moses saw the *measurement of the stature of the name*'.[120] Idel adds a quote from *Sefer ha-Navon*[121] (p. 120) in which the Tetragrammaton is said to appear to the angels and the prophets as an image of a man.

Cf. A28: 25,26 שם האל הקדוש הנגלה למשה מתוך הסנה and Gordon H:17 יאהואה שם מפורש דאיתגלי למשה באסנה. In the Geniza fragment *T.-S. K 21.95.A* page 2a lines 22-25,[122] there is a description of the experiences and revelations Moses had while in the celestial company when he ascended Mount Horeb in the desert. The angel PYSQWN, one of the names attributed to Metatron,[123] tells Moses that it was he who appeared to him in the burning bush and told him to remove his shoes: לאחר מיכן בא רוח פיסקון ... אמר לו משה משה אני הוא שנגליתי עליך ביום שנדבר עמך קונך שנ[א מלאך יי וגו' ואני הוא שאמרתי לך שלנעליך וגו'.

תעימו From the verb עמי 'to be dim, faint, grieved'.[124] The context implies that this must be a causative *af.* form which has not previously been attested in Jewish Aramaic, although it is known in Syriac.[125]

8 שלמתא Possibly שלמתא<א> (for a discussion on the meaning of this word see Montgomery 1913, p. 85).

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[120] Idel, 1981, p. 39, n. 43.
[121] Ashkenaz 13th century. Published by Dan J., 1966, עיונים בספרות חסידי אשכנז, Sefer ha-Navon, Kovez al Yad. 6 pt. 1, pp. 199-223.
[122] Schäfer 1984, p. 177.
[123] See also note on M155:3-5.
[124] J. p. 1087b.
[125] PS p. 416b.

Synopsis

M123

(1) הדין קמיעא דאיתקמע על
שום אימי בת קאקי
דלא יקרבון עליהון
נידרין לוטן ממללן (2) בישון
תוב אנא משבענא עליכון
נידרא לוטתא מ{ל}^לֵ^לתא
בישתא משבענא עליכון
בניהור יה בשדי (3) יה קסין יה
בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא
<מללתא בישתא משבענא
עליכון ב>
אהיה אשר אהיה שמו
פסגדא שמו אפסגדא שמו
טובה טיה מיה (4) שמו יה חי
קא שמו אחס באלמס
פניו פני שיביל קרניו קרני לון
מרכבתיה נור דליק
שרפוהי נור
משמשין שליחין בריבוהי (5)
נור
לבישין משגרין (ל)עילא
מיקרני חיתה בחגא **רבה**
דמלכותא
בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין
כמו דאמר ליה למשה
באסנה שרי סנך (6) מעל ריגלך
משבענא עליכון נידרא
לוטתא ומללתא בישתא
דאי תעימו אימי בת קאקיי
בין ניהמתא דנהמא על
זרעיהי ובין (7) (נ)ומתא
דמפקא בפומא ובין
נידרא דארמאי דיהודאי בין
לוטתא רחיקא קריבא בין
לוטתא דשיבבה דאחא ואחתא

ובין לוטתא דגברי (8) דנשי
ובין נידרא דמשלם
לפתכרי דיכרי לאיסתרתא
{ו}ניקבתא ובין נידרא
ושלמתא דכל בני אינשה

תיזחון תינטלון תיאבדון מן
אימי בת קאקי מן אחי בר קיני
(9) מן בנוהי
ומן ביתיה כוליה
מן יומא דנן ולעלם
אמן אמן סלה

M138

(1) קמיעא דאיתקמע על
שום אחי בר מחלפתא
דלא (2) יקרבון <ע>להון
נידר(ין) לוטן (מ)מלל(ן) בישון
ומשבענא עליכון
נידרא (3) לוטתא מללתא
בישתא משבענא על(יכ)ון
בניהור יה בשדי יה (4) קסון יה
בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא
ומללתא בישתא משבענא {ב}
עליכון
(5) באהיה אשר אהיה שמו
פסגדא שמו אפסגדא שמו
טובה טיה מיה שמו יה חי
קיא (6) שמו אחס באלמס
פניו פני שיביל קרניו קרני לון
מרכבתיה נור דליק
שרפוהי נור
(7) **משמשין שליחין בריבוהי**
נור
לבישין משגרין {לעיל} לעלא
מיקרני חיתה בחגא
דמלכותא {**בשמיה**} (8)
ובשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין
כמו דאמר ליה למשה
באסנה שרי סינך מעל רגלך
משבענא עליכון נידרא (9)
לוטתא ומללתא בישתא
דאי תעימו אחי בר מחלפתא
בין ניהמתא דנהמא על
זרעיהי ובין נומתא
(ד)[מפ]קא (10) בפומא ובין
נידרא דארמאי די[ה]ודאי בין

נידרא דשיבבה
דקריבה דרחיקא בין לוטתא

ובין [נידרא]א דמשלם (11)

לבי[.] בישתא ובין לוטתא
דיהודאי דארמאי ובין מללתא
דאימא (ובר)[תא] [...]

(תי)ז(ח)ון [...]ן מן
אחי בר מח(ל)פתא (12) (ומ)[.]
אימי בת קאקי

מן יומא דנן ולעלם
אמן אמן סלה

MS 2053/216

(1) קמיעא דאיתקמע על
שום אחי בר קי[ני]
[דלא יקרבון עליהון]
נידרין לוטן ממללן (2) בישן[ן]
תוב א<נא> משבענא עליכון
נידרא לוטתא ומללתא
[בישתא משבענא עלי]כון
בניהור יה בשדי יה (3) קסין יה
בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא
מללתא משב(ענא)
עליכון
באהיה אשר אהיה שמו
פסגדא (4) שמו אפסגדא שמו
טובה טיה [מיה] שמו יה חי
קיא שמו אחס באלמס
פניו פני ש[...] קרניי קרני (לון)
מרכבתיה נור דיליק (5)
שרפו[ה]י נור

לבישין ומש(ג)רין לעילא
מ(יק)רני חיתה בחגא **רבה**
דמלכותא
בישמיה רבה דהוה מיקדמין
כמו דאמר (6) (ל)[יה] למשה
באסנה שרי סינך מעל ריגלך
משבענא עליכון נידרא
לוטתא ומללתא בישתא [...]
דאי תעימו אחי בר קיני
(7) (ב)ין ניהמתא דנהמא על
זרעיהי בין נומתא
דמפקא בפומא

ובין (נ)דרא דמשלם
לפתכרי דיכרי ולאיסתרתא
<ל>ניקבתא ובין ניחמתא
דמ(פ)קא
(8) בפומא בין כל מידעם ביש
בין כל ליליתא בישתא [....]
תיפקון מיביתיה
דאחי בר קיני

ומן ביתיה כולה

אמן אמן סלה

As the clients of all three bowls are related, and the hand writing of these texts is similar, it is reasonable to assume that they were all written by the same hand, or at least produced in

the same atelier. The differences between the texts in the first two thirds of the formula are minor. In the above synopsis, the differences are given in bold type. After a certain point, about the middle of M123:7, one gets the impression that the scribe began to improvise. In M123, part of l. 10 is repeated in l. 11 whereas, in MS 2053/216, part of the beginning of l. 7 appears again at lines 7-8. The closing formula, which appears to be most complete in M123:8,9, is only partially reproduced in the other two texts, although, all three faithfully conclude with the standard אמן אמן סלה.

M131 (16.4cm*7.2)

This bowl consists of five lines of text written in a cursive script which, nevertheless, distinguishes between ב and כ. The first line of the bowl is oddly set in that its last word is placed above the first as if to draw the flow of text to spiral inwards towards the centre of the bowl. The rest of the text is not attached to the end of this first line but resumes below it spiraling in a clockwise manner towards the outer rim of the bowl. One possible explanation for this layout is that the scribe made a mistake in the way he placed the first line and, having realized it too late, decided to resume the rest of the text below it as if nothing had happened. Alternatively, the first line may have been added as an after-thought, and the scribe simply miscalculated its length and was thus compelled to draw it inwards where space was available. There is no mention of the name of the client. The combination of the motifs of 'split mountains' in l. 1 and a 'dark place' to which the evil spirits are sent in lines 3 and 4 is reminiscent of the story of the fallen angels and their punishment (see M163 below).

Transcription of M131

(1) איפשיח פקא פקא עים פקא לטורי ולנ(סרין ליבנ)א x בטרפצת סיה (2) אתון דתפקון ותזלון ותיבדרון רוחי בשתא רוחי שידי פתכרי חומרי שידי (3) שידי ולילית‌א לתרע די יהר ובאתר דלא מפקין בה שמשא וסיהרא וכימא (4) וכוכבין דאנה קרית קניסא עיניתנא אתון דתפקון ותזלון ותיבדון רוחי בשתא מן ברתא הדין (5) בשום רבא ובשום סיטרי ורגי(ע)ל אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M131

(1) *It was torn, a fissure opened with rupture* to mountains and the ..... (2) So that you, evil spirits, spirits, demons, idols, pebble charms, demons, (3) demons and liliths - may you remove yourselves, go and be scattered to the gate of the haughty and the place where the sun, moon, constellation and stars do not come out which I have called the *humble ones'* penalty. So that you, evil spirits, may remove yourselves, go and disappear from this daughter. (5) By the name of The Great One and by the name of SYṬRY and RGYA'L. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M131

1 איפשיח is an *ithpe.* of the verb פשח.[126] In Syriac (PS p. 467a) the *ithpe.* has the metaphoric meaning of 'to be enfeebled, knocked up'.

פקא פקא The first of the pair is the noun פקא, 'valley, split, fissure',[127] cf. פקעא[128] or the Hebrew בקעה. The second is a form of the verb פקע with a weakening of ע to א, just as in AIT 6:11 ארזא כי[129] ניפקא 'shall split asunder as a cedar tree', which Montgomery referred to as a 'Mandaizing spelling' for נפקע.[130] In Mandaic the combination *pqʾ pyqʾ* 'a split opened' is attested.[131]

2 תיבדרון The same wish for the evil spirits to depart is repeated in line 4, except that there תיבדון, 'may you perish' is used instead. It is possible that the scribe used the similar looking verbs, בדר and אבד , for the sake of variety. Equally, carelessness could be the reason, in which case either תיבד{ד}ון in line 2 or תיבד<ר>ון in line 4 would be the correct readings.

3 תרע די יהר 'The gate of the haughty' beyond which is described a dark place hidden from the heavens might be a reference to the underworld, cf. b. BB 10b וכל המתיהר נופל בגיהנם 'and whoever boasts fall a prey to Gehena'.

4 עיניתנא 'humble, forbearing, kind',[132] a compliment to יהר in the previous line.

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[126] J. p. 1245b.
[127] Levi, 1889, vol.4 p. 87b.
[128] Levi, 1889, vol.4, p. 93a.
[129] Corrected by Epstein from בי to כי, 1983, vol. 1, p. 334.
[130] Montgomery 1913, p. 144.
[131] DM p. 371b.
[132] J. p. 1092b.

M142 (42.5cm*24.5cm)

This is a giant bowl of which a considerable part of the beginning of the text is missing. The first few lines of the text that are readable are disjointed and therefore difficult to decipher. The scribe differentiates ב and כ in most cases. Three texts which have partial duplicate sections have been identified: Aaron E, MS 1927/61, MS 2053/61 and MS 2053/257. These have been consulted to help reconstruct some of the more difficult sections in our bowl. Three biblical verses are quoted: Isa. 40:31, Num. 14:9 and 32:22. This bowl was written for Adad Gušnaṣ son of Mahdukh and Ispandarmid daughter of Ṭahmandukh his wife. As an appendix to this bowl we have added a proposed reconstruction of the beginning of this text which was made on the basis of the duplicates mentioned above. This section consists of an historiola in which the 'swift prince' is the protagonist, a supernatural entity who bears the same title as the chief angel in the *Sword of Moses*. In this text he is described as the helper of women who have been assailed by baby-snatching demons.

Transcription of M142

(1) ... (2) (מ)רי עלמא על [.....] דמית(ח)ט(י)פ(ין) ... נ(א)[..](חי)א ארבע ח[...] ד... חדא מ(ינהי)ן (מבד.יתא) (3) חד(א) מ(י)נהין אמו(מי)תא חדא מנהין בליליתא .... על .... באנפי כורסיה בישמיה (ד)קדש (במי)מריה דשדי ובמל(ת)א (ד) ... (וק)וי יהוה יחלפו כח (4) יעלו אביר כנשרים יורוצו ולא יגועו ילכו ולא ייעפו (וד) ... וד ... מש ... מומינא על(יכון) ... [..]ים יתוה לאחא זוטא נמלכו (ו)נצ ... ...תא [..]א[.]פ(נ)א רזא (רז)א דדליתיה חבל עליכון (5) שידי ויחיבל עליכון דיוי דאמריתון אנחנא לא ידענא מי הוה ומ ... (א)מו(מ)א אגברי ... [..]טרא רבא (ודי)נחיא ורפיא(י)ל א(סיא) ... (בי)ר[.]יה על (בית)[..] [..]יה בנכי ושולינכי כין (6) לא תיגעון ולא תיקירבון בביתיה ובדירתה ובאיסקופתיה דאדד גושנץ בר מהדוך ודאיצפנדרמיד בת טהמנדוך {אל} אינתיה לא ... [לא] בזרעהי דליליה ולא בזרעה דימ(ו)מ(א) לא תי[חז]ון לה לאיצפנדרמיד בת טהמנדוך (7) לא בחיזוה דליליה ולא בחיזוה דימומא ולא תידמון לה בכל גונין וגונין אסיריתון שידי וחתימיתון די עיר(יי)תא וליליתא בישתא בגזרת עדאקפקיאל ... מפרש שמיה ותוב אסיריתון שידי וחתימיתון דיוי ודיותא וליליתא בישתא (8) בשמיה דאכבר דאבכברך בעיזקתא דיצר גיליף עליה מן יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה ונכבשה הארץ לפני יהוה ואחר תשובו והייתם נקיים [מיהוה ומישראל והי](תה ה)ארץ הזאת לכם לאחוזה לפני יהוה אך ביהוה אל תימרדו <ו>אתם אל תיראו את עם

הארץ (9) (כי לחמנו) הם סר צלם מעלהם יהוה איתונו אל תיראום[133] דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין די<פ>כירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין (10) דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכרין דיפרירין דיפרירין דיפכרין אסותא מן שמיא חתמתא די שלמה ונטרתא דישלמה תיהוי לה לאיסקופתה [דאדד גושנץ] בר מהדוך ודאיצפדרמיד [בת טהמנדוך] ... (11) ... יה יה יה

(Num. 14:9). Those who are split (repeated 27 times) (10) Healing from heaven, the seal of Solomon and the protection of Solomon shall be for the threshold of Adad Gušnas son of Mahdukh and Ispandarmid daughter of Ṭahmandukh ... (11) YH (repeated 33 times) ...

Notes for M142

2-4 מ)רי עלמא על Most of this section is erased, yet the parallels shown below suggest its context. The most complete of these are MS 2053/61 and MS 1927/61 which seem to be part of an historiola. The translation above has been reconstructed on the basis of the following synopsis.

Aaron E[134]		על ולדי	מ)רי עלמא ... (4)	
MS 2053/61	(א)נה (7) הוא ש(רא)	(ק)לילא) דמפשח קדם מרי	עלמא	(על ולד)י
MS 1927/61	אנה הוא (סגומי) (5)	(אבה קליליאה דקאתי קודם מריה דעלמה		על ולדי
MS 2053/257	אנה ה[וא] ס[רא] (4)	קלילא דמפש(ח) [קד]ם מר[י]	(עלמ)[א]	על (ו)לד
M142		[.....] על	מ)רי עלמא	... (2)
Aaron E	נשי(ה) ...	מ)פשח		
MS 2053/61	נשיה	דמיתחטפין מפשת		
MS 1927/61	נשייא	דמיתח(טפ)ין ומפשח		
MS 2053/257	נשיא	דמיתחטפין מפשח מפש(ח)		
M142		דמית(ח)ט(י)פ(ין)		

If the reading סרא קלילא is correct, one would be reminded of the very same title which occurs in the *Sword of Moses* V line17.[135] This swift prince, or messenger as he is referred to a page earlier in the *Sword of Moses* IV, is mentioned in that magical book as an intercessory angel in language that resembles our texts:

> וסלקית לקדמוהי אנא אססי אסס ואסיסיה ואפרגסיה שליחא קלילא דבשליחותי אנא יאי ובשתדרותי אנא מוחי למעבד ופקד יתי מארי כולא איזיל ואשתמע לבני אנשא

[134] Geller 1986, p. 114. Geller did not transcribe this line, yet his facsimile as well as a photograph which he produced for the present author allowed this reading.
[135] Harari 1997, p. 27.

'And I ascended to his presence, I A'SSY A'SS A'SYSYH and A'PRGSYH the swift messenger who is worthy of my mission and I make protest in my dispatch. The Lord of all has commanded me: "Go and be heard to human beings"'.

In our text this messenger can be seen doing his job for the benefit of women whose babies are in danger of being snatched.

חדא ... בליליתא Cf. Aaron E:7 איתא אמומיתא כליליתא[...]. The line continues '... and Saḥlet bat Yama, and these and those that strangle ...' which appears to be a list of demonesses or such evil entities that strangle[136] children. Earlier in the same line, all that is visible is the word ארבע, 'four'. But for the parallel texts this might not have meant much:

M142	חדא מ(ינהי)ן	(2) ... ארבע ח[...] ד...
Aaron E	ומישתדרון על ... [.]מש(מ)שיתא ... (7) ... [ ]איתא ... דחנקו	
MS 2053/61	והא ארבע חיון דמישתר[ין] ...	ד(חנק)ן וחטפן
MS 1927/61	ארבע חיון רברבן ד[מי]שתדרן על ולד[יא]	דחאנקן

In M142 and Aaron E, the names of three of the four creatures that attack children have survived. It appears, however, that the versions of the historiola in the other texts only allude to these creatures but do not name them.

באנפי ... A synopsis of the parallel texts confirms the reading of our bowl:

Aaron E	(8) ... כורסיה באנפי כורסיה בישמיה דקדוש במימריה דשדי ובמי[מריה]
MS 2053/61	באנפי (כו)... ...יה דשד<י> (12) במילוליה
MS 1927/61	בשמיה רבה ובעזקתיה (9) דקדוש ובשמיה דעילי(ו)ן ובמילוליה דשדי
MS 2053/257	באנפי {כו} כורסיה ובישמיה דקדוש ובמימירא (7) דשדי ובמתולא
M142	באנפי כורסיה בישמיה (ד)קדש (במי)מריה דשדי ובמל(ת)א (ד)

Note that though there seems to be a good transmission of most of this part of the formula, there is confusion amongst all of the versions concerning the last word. Considering the similarities, a *Vorlage* may be assumed yet, for some reason, MS 1926/61 deviates from the format of the other texts.

[136] Geller transcribes תנקו which he translates as 'harms'. However, according to the facsimile one could read תנקן which also occurs in both lines 10 and 11 of MS 2053/61.

ייעפו ... וקוי This verse, Isa. 40:31, is quoted in m. Qid. 4:14 (cf. also b. Qid. 82a,82b) to illustrate the protection a youth will gain from learning Torah. It also appears in Aaron E:10, MS 1911/1:7,8, MS 2053/61:13,14 and MS 2053/257:9,10.

5 רפיא(י)ל א(סיא) Cf. N&Sh B27:5 דרפאל (אסיא רבה) and Gordon L:13 דרפאל איסרא דאסותא.

6 Both MS 2053/257 and MS 2053/61 have sections that are close in form to this part of our text (see below). Note that in both parallels, Isa. 40:31 follows this section yet, in our text, this verse appears earlier in lines 3-4:

MS 2053/257	ד(ל)א (תניגעון) ולא תיקרבון ולא תחבלון ... (8) ... (9) ... אינתתיה לא בזרעה		
MS 2053/61	דלא תיגעון	ולא תחבלון ... (13) ...	איתתיה לא בזרעה
M142	(6) לא ניגעון ולא תיקירבון ...		אינתיה לא ... [לא]
MS 2053/257	דיממא ולא בפירי(ה) [דליליה ....] סקסנסין וקוי ...		
MS 2053/61	דיממא ולא ב(רפיסי) דליליה (סקן) ... ו... וקוי ...		
M142	בזרעהי דליליה ולא בזרעה דימ(ו)מ(א)		

דימ(ו)מ(א) ... בזרעהי [לא] Cf. The Mandaic *Šhafta dQaština* p. 202: *mn zyrḥ dlyly' wmn bzyrḥ dʿm'm'* 'from his seed (semen) by night and from his seed (sowing) by day'.[137]

8-9 בעיזקתה דציר וגליף עלה שם Cf. AIT 11:9 בעיזקתא דיצר גיליף עליה מן יומא דנן ולעלם מפורש מן יומי עלמא ומישת יומי בראשית 'By the seal on which is carved and engraved the Ineffable name, since the six days of the world, the six days of creation'. The motif of the inscribed seal seems to be associated with Ex. 39:30 in which there is a description of the gold frontlet for the holy diadem upon which 'Holy to the Lord' was incised. The language that is used in the Targ. O. Ex. 39:30 is similar to that of the expression in our bowl - וכתבו עלוהי כגלוף דעזקא כתב מפרש קודש ליי. See also notes to M123:5 where there occurs a reference to a 'crown' (תגא) bearing the Ineffable name, which is described as part of a vision in an Hekhalot text (Schäfer synopsis §734).

10 דיפרירין Possibly דיפרידין, cf. Aaron D:1-3 where it is repeated 22 times. MS 2053/61, which has similarities to our text, cuts off in l. 20 with דיפכירין דיפרינין.

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[137] This text is as yet unpublished though the fragment above is quoted from DM p. 167b.

Appendix

Our text and its parallels that are cited above are either badly damaged or incomplete. By comparing the different texts, and joining what appear to be the best sections from each, the following reconstruction of the shared formula can be proposed:

Transcription

(MS 2053/61:5) ... וכין חזיתי (MS 1927/61:3,4) בעיני ... והא שמעית קל (MS 2053/61:6-8) דיממלת מן גו חשמלא {ממליל} ממליל וכין אמר (א)נה הוא ש(רא) (ק)לילא) דמפשח קדם מרי עלמא (על ולד)י נשיה דמיתחטפין מפשח (MS 1927/61:5,6) וכן אמר על ק(ברי) מיתי יתיבית וקא שמעית קל נשיא דתוחן ומתוחן[138] בכיין ומב[כיין] והן (....) מפשחן בחד קלא (MS 2053/257:5) וכין אמרן (דמות) ברקא חזינא ובדמות ע(ננין) (MS 1927/61:7) איתו לי דנאחזא ארבע חיון רברבן ד[מי]שתדרן על ולד[יא] (M142:2,3) חדא מ(ינהי)ן (מבד.יתא) חד(א) מ(י)נהין אמו(מי)תא חדא מנהין בליליתא (Aaron E:7) וצחלית בת ימא ואילין אינין (MS 2053/61:7,8) דחאנקן וחטין מממרקן ואכלן כאריה דחשיף[139] וחניק מממריק ואכיל אילין אינון דחנקן וחטפן ממר(ק)ן וא[כ]לן כען אסיריתון וחתימיתון (M142:3) באנפי כורסיה בישמיה (ד)קדש (במי)מריה דשדי ובמל(ת)א (ד) (M142:6) לא תיגעון ולא תיקירבון בביתיה ובדירתה ובאיסקופתיה דאדד גושנץ בר מהדוך ודאיצפנדרמיד בת טהמנדוך {אל} אינתיה לא ... [לא] בזרעהי דליליה ולא בזרעה דימ(ו)מ(א) (M142:3,4) (וק)וי יהוה יחלפו כח יעלו אביר כנשרים יורוצו ולא יגועו ילכו ולא ייעפו

Translation

... and thus I beheld with my own eyes ... and oh, I heard a voice that spoke from within the HŠML speaking, and thus it said: 'I am he, the swift prince who cries out in the presence of the Lord of the world concerning the babies of women that are snatched'. *Bursting out*, thus he said: 'I sat upon the graves of the dead and heard the voice of women *wailing and in pain*, crying and sobbing ... *crying out* in one voice'. And thus they said: 'We are seeing an image of lightning, in the image of clouds they were brought *to me* that we may see the four great creatures who are sent against the babies'. One of them is MBD[.]YTA', one of them is

[138] Possibly an error for דצוחן ומצוחן (S. Shaked -forthcoming).

A'MWMYTA', one of them is BLYLYTA' and *SHLYT daughter of YMA'*. These are the ones that strangle, harm, *finish off* and eat. As the lion snatches and strangles, finishes off and eats, these are the ones that strangle, snatch, finish off and eat. Now, you are bound and sealed by the image of His throne, by the name of the Holy One, by the speech of Šadai and by the Word - that you may not afflict and may not touch the house and dwelling and threshold of NN son of NN ... not from his seed of the night and not from his seed of the day. 'But they who trust in the Lord shall renew their strength, as eagles grow new plumes they shall run and not grow weary, they shall march and not grow faint'.

[139] Probably an error for דחטיף (S. Shaked -forthcoming).

M145 (178mm*70mm)

This bowl consists of sixteen lines of a very cursive script. But for a small fragment that is missing and some small areas which are slightly faded the text is almost completely legible. A duplicate, MS 2053/159, has been identified of which a transcript is provided. The name of the client is not stated, though a comparison with the duplicate suggests[140] that in our bowl he/she takes the role of the sorcerer and narrates the text in the first person. The formula that appears in this bowl is unusual and previously unknown. Much of the language and imagery, especially pertaining to the structure of the earth (l. 8), show similarities with Mandaic sources and may be borrowed from them. Such possible Mandaic influences, coupled with the scarcity of any Jewish motifs in the text, suggest the possibility that this incantation might be of Gnostic origin. Throughout this text it can be observed that all the 3rd person masculine plural perfect verbs are equal in form to the singular: l. 3 דיוי נפק; l. 3,4 נפק ארבעה תנינין, נפק ארבע דיוין; l. 6 נפק ארבעה זיקין, תפי דודי; l. 5 ולילית נפק; l. 8 איתיפך מזלי, אישתוש כוכבי; l. 9 מלכי רגש. This can be compared with Mandaic[141] in which the same holds true. However, the elision of the final ו could be the result of a lack of its pronunciation, as is attested in Syriac already from the second century CE.[142] Other unusual features of this text are the mention of the Psalms of David in l. 13 and the lance of Darius, king of the dēws.

Transcription of M145 and synopsis with MS 2053/159

M145	MS 2053/159
(1) אטור גלל ק<א>ינא ואשינא רבתא	(1) אטור גלל קאינא ואטורא רבה
ד(ג)לל{ל} מציתנא ושמ<ע>נא (2) לשמיש חור	דגללא מציתנא (2) ושמענא ליה לשמיש וחור
דכידיבון בריה דמלכה רבא דדיוי ושליטא	בריה דבריה בר (3) מלכה רבה דדיוי ושליטא
רבא (3) דלילית מנההיא שעתא בההוא יומא	רבה דלטבי בההוא יומא בההיא שעתה (4)
בההוא עידנא כד דיוי נפק ליקרבא	ובההוא עידנא כד דיוי נפקין לקרבה וכד

[140] See notes on the synopsis below.
[141] Macuch 1965, p. 262-263.
[142] Nöldeke 1904, p. 36.

MS 2053/159	M145
לילִיאתה נפקן למ(ע)ביא דליפלגא (5) דשידי	ולִיליתא (4) נפק לימ(ו...)א דלפלגא דשידי
וכלה רבתי דלטבי דליגונרא דדיוי וכלה	ומרכבתא רבתא דלטבי ודלגודא דדיוי וכל(י)א
רבתי דלִיליאתה גנח טבלא דמירדא קרי	רבתא דלִיליתא גנח טבלא (5) דמירדא וקרי
קרנא דחבלא (6) טפי דודי ברוגזא ורתח דודי	קרנא רבתא דחבולא תפי דודי ברוגזא תפי דודי
דרבי דחבלא נפק ארבע<ה> זיקי מארבע ·	דרבי דחבולא נפק ארבעה זיקין מן ארבע (6)
רוחי עלמה נפק ארבעה זיקי מינך (7) כיפא	רוחי עלמא נפק ארבע<ה> דיוין מינך (ט)ורי
דרביתא נפק ארבעה תניני מינך טורא דלידון	דלידון נפק ארבעה תנינין מינך כיפי דרביתא
קדח דיוא צנף תנינא יליל זרני ליליתא	קדח דיווא צנף תנינא ויליל (7) זרני ליליתא
אישתרגז ליויתן כוארה נד (8) איתונד ואנידה	ואישתרגז לויתן כורא נד איתונד ואנידה
לכולה ארעה תיביל נודא הוה בארעה וגונחא	לארעה כולה ותיביל נודא הוא בארעה וגונחא
הוה ברקיעה	רבא הווה בירקיע
	(8) נד ארעה ואיתפיך רקיע
איתפיך כוכביא ואיפנך{ך} כל מזאליה	ואישתוש כוכבי ואיתופך מזלי
שף סדנא רבה (9) דרקיעה	שף סדנא רבא דרקיע
	ודוק טורי סמיק פקתא רגש נוני בימא
איתפוך ימא ברוגזיה ובתוקפיה	(9) מלכי רגש ביקרבא
ומלאכי רגש ברקיעה	איתפיך ביתא רבא בתוקפיה
אכוף ימא {ק^אי^נה} קאינה	אכיף ימ(א) קינא
ואכופא רבה דרביתא לציצא דציפרא	ואכופא רבא דרביתא לציצא ולציפרא
אמנה ליה (10) ומשילנא ליה לחיוא כלא	אמנליה {ומשילניה} משוילנ(ה) ליה (10)
ומומינא ליה לעופא רבה דזיבי	מומינא ליה לעופא רבא דזיבי

[143] Isa. 6:3.
[144] Ex. 15:16.
[145] Ex. 15:18.

MS 2053/159	M145
דמיניה נפיק רסיאל מלאכה ונפק מיניה עמודא	
דנורא וקליה לכוליה עלמה בחיוכון ציצי וציפרי	
(11) בחיוכון נוני וכוארי בחיך חי... (בחי)ך	
רסיאיל מלאכה בחייך דוכתוי בת אחת וכל	
שום דאית לה	
דתישמעי מילי ותיקבלי רוטנאי תיגנחי	דתישמע מ(יל)ן לתיבל ורוטננא דקביל תיגנח
שוטיך בארעה תשני (12) זיויך בכוליה עלמא	שוטיך בארעה ותישני זיוא בכליה עלמא
(איפריטי) ביתא רבה	אפרטה דלביתא (11) רבא
די(..ון) רבה דגונדיה בארקבי	..... (..דכו)ריה ארעה בארק(ב)י
שפיכי וטו(ק...)	אישפוך אישתא בקרקף תניני טקו טקו בבנ(י
	יוזן)
(ב)שוריה אינון בשיני דליליאתה דשרי ביה דיוא	כשורי אילן בשיני דליליתא שרי ביה דיוא
זיאנא דזוני(ה) (13) קרקף פדנא רבה דניסכיה	זינא דזוניה (12) וקרקפנא רבא דניסכאיא
נ(ג)ריה שירשה דארעה	
(ח)ד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה ברקי[עה] (ברו..)	חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא
	ניגריה שורשא דארעה ורישיה סדנא דרקיעא
	בניגריה רמי ידוהי
.... וב(גפ)יה שקיף ליליאתה	בגפיה שקיף ליליתא
בההוא יומא ובההיא שעתא ובההוא (14) עידנא	(13) בההיא שעתא בההוא יומא בההוא עידנא
זלכר[..] וסגידית קדם (פ)נוח רבה גיברא	אזיל כרעית וזגדית קדם ב(י)ת אילהי • שבחית

MS 2053/159	M145
ודחילא [.](ד)ידתי לך אידי(ך)	וזמרת [.] מזמוריה דדויד ואמר אית בכון גברא
דא חוילן בק)רבה וקילן בי]מא רבה דקירסא	חיילן ביקרבא וקילן (14) בימא רבא דקירסא
א(מר א)ית בכון אתתא דשמה דוכתוי בת אחת	ואמר אית בכון גברא
דעברא ימא (15) בקלא וסלקא [....] בר(ו)גז(א)	דעבר ימא בקליה וסליק (ט)ורי בירוגזיה
ושקלא אי(ק)לידא ו(ע)ילא לבית גנזי זינא	ושקיל אקליודי דבית גנזי זיניה {אז}
ומתיא זינא דשידי ו[..](נ)א דליליאתה ונ(י)...	ומיתי זינא דשידי וזינא דליליתא וניסכא
מיתקטלין ...	דאשמדי (15) מלכא דשידי
דדויד וסיפא דשלמה וניסכא	וסיפא דריוש מלכא דדיוי אנא אד[.... ...](דוד
דד ^ר^יוש מלכא (16) {ו} וזינא דא(שמדי)	ע)ברנא דמיא ב(ק)לאי (סלי)קנא טורי ברוגזאי
מלכה דלטבי ושמ[...] דמרי עלמה ואחרמתא	ושקילנא אקלידי דבית גנזיה [דזיניה] מיתינא
וגזירתא דאבא רבה דישמיא לאחרמה	זינא דשד(י) וסיפא דליליתא (16) וניסכא
ולשמת(א ולתא...) במומתא בקשתא דמידמ^יין	דאשמדי מלכא דשידי וסיפא <ד>דר<י>וש
לה לדוכתוי (...) בת אחת בכל דמותא (17) ובכל	מלכ[א ד]ש[ידי] ... די[..]לי מילמ[..](קע)יה לה
גו(נ)א בחיתא ובנשי מיתתא בר(חיקתא)	דין דיויא ולילית (מ)...
ובקריבתא ובאחת בת פרכוי מיתין ובכל דמות	
ג(יר)א מן (ק)שתא וכול (ליבא) מן .... תיבטל	
ותישתמת ותית(נז)ק הדא ליליתא בישתא (מן)	
דוכתוי בת אחת (18) ומן חילמה ומן חיזונה ומן	
בית מישכבה דדוכתוי דא דמידמיא לה בכל	
דמו ובכל גונין ובאחת בת פרכוי מיתא מן	
יו(מא) דנן ולעלם אמן אמן ... [143][וקרא זה] (א)ל	
זה ואמ[ר] קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא	
כל (19) הארץ כבודו וקרא זה אל ז(ה) ואמר	
קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא כל הארץ	
כבודו וקרא זה אל זה ואמר קדוש קדוש קדוש	

M145 **MS 2053/159**

יהוה צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבודו [144][ת]פול

עליהם אימתה ופחד בגדול זרועך ידמו כאבן

[עד יעבור] (20) (עמך יהוה) יהוה (עד יעבור)

תפול עליהם אמתה ופחד בגדול זרועך ידמו

כאבן] עד יעבר עמך יהוה עד יעבר עם זו קנית

[תיפול] עליהם אימתה ופחד ... עד יעבר עמך

יהוה עד יעבר עמך יהוה עד יעבר עם זו קנית

יהוה ... (21) [145]יהוה ימלוך לעולם ועד יהוה

ימלוך לעולם ועד אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M145

(1) I am standing on a rock mountain, upon a great stone cliff. I am listening and hear (2) *white* Šamiš *of KYDYBWN* the son of the great king of the demons and great ruler of the (3) liliths. From that hour, at that day, at that time when the demons went out to war and liliths (4) went out to the ... of the phalanx of the demons, the great chariot of the no-good-spirits, the troop of the demons, and the great destruction of liliths. The drum (5) of rebellion rumbled, and the great horn of destruction sounded, the cauldrons seethed furiously, the cauldrons of the 'masters of harm' seethed. Four blast demons went forth from you, the (6) four winds of the world. Four demons went forth from you, the mountains of LYDWN. Four dragons went forth from you, shores of the ocean. The demon groaned, the dragon shrieked, Zarni Lilith (7) wailed, and Leviathan the fish got agitated. He shook, quaked (lit.: caused himself to shake) and caused the entire earth and world to shake. Shaking was in the earth and a thunderclap in the firmament. (8) He shook the earth and the firmament overturned and the stars *shook* and the constellations altered. The great block of the heaven slipped and crushed mountains, reddened the valley, agitated the fish in the sea. (9) The angels were agitated in the battle, and the great house was overturned by his might. The sea covered the nest, and the greatness of the ocean covered the night-hawk and the bird. I say to him, I ask him, (10) I adjure the great bird of *rivers*, that you may hear my

words for the universe and *accept my incantation*. May your scourges rumble upon the earth, and may you change the appearance in all the earth, upon the contents of the great (11) house .... *the earth with scorpions*, he caused fire to be poured upon the head of the dragons ṬQW ṬQW ... *these boards in the teeth* of the Lilith therein dwells a dēw. The weapon of his armour and the (12) great head-man of *cast idols*. One of his wings is on the earth, one of his wings is in the firmament, his foot step is the root of the earth and his head the block of the firmament, in his step he casts his hands, with his wings he knocks liliths. (13) In that hour, in that day, in that period he went out. I knelt and worshipped before the house of God, I praised and sang the psalms of David. And he said: 'There is a man amongst you who is mighty in battle and *swift* in the (14) great sea of misfortune(?)' And he said to us: 'There is a man amongst you who traversed the sea with his voice, removed mountains with his wrath and took the key of the store house of his weapons bringing the weapon of demons, the weapon of liliths, the *lance* of Ashmedai (15) the king of demons and the sword of Darius the king of dēws'. I ..... I am traversing the water with my voice, removing mountains with my anger, taking the key of the store house of his weapons and bringing the weapon of demons, the sword of the liliths, (16) the *lance* of Asmedai the king of demons and the sword of Darius king ..... dēws and liliths .....

Notes for M145

2 כיבון (ד)כי(ד)יבון חור לשמיש In 2053/159:2 לשמיש וחור בריה דבריה בר 'to Šamiš and Ḥor the great grandson of ...' The ancestor of 'white Šamiš' is cited in our text as bearer of the title 'The great king of demons and great ruler of the liliths', which occurs in several magic bowls as that of the demon Bagdana.[146] It is conceivable that the name כידיבון may be constructed from the root כדב 'to be false'.

4 <ן>נפק The scribe omitted the last consonant of this verb which should be a feminine form. The words פלגא in the sense of 'phalanx' and גודא as 'troop' or 'band' are more commonly attested in Syriac.[147]

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[146] Ellis 1:4 (= BM 91710), AIT 11:4,5, AIT 18:3,4, Gordon G:2,3, Gordon 9737:1,2 and also in Mandaic in Lidzbarsky 5 (Montgomery 1913, p. 168).
[147] Brockelmann pp. 571ab and 104ab.

5 ... תפי A synopsis with our text's duplicate can aid the understanding of this clause:

M145:5 תפי דודי ברוגזא תפי דודי דרבי דחבולא

MS 2053/159:6 טפי דודי ברוגזא ורתח דודי דרבי דחבלא

The text in our bowl could be translated 'cauldrons were set (on the fire) with anger, the cauldrons of the masters of harm were set (on the fire)'. In the duplicate text the scribe spelt the first verb differently, with a ט. Among the meanings that are attested in Jewish Aramaic, the most appropriate would be 'to increase',[148] in the sense of 'boil over'. This would combine well with the second verb in the duplicate which is רתח 'to boil'. The same root, *ṭpy,* means in Mandaic 'to cook, boil, seethe',[149] cf. the Mandaic expression *dwdyʾ ṭʾpyn* 'cauldrons seethe' as well as the Targ.-J. of II Kings 4:38 תפי דודא. It appears that both the spellings with ט and ת are correct. The correct translation of the text should be 'cauldrons seethed furiously, the cauldrons of the masters of harm seethed'.

6 מינך One would expect this form to be a plural in both cases, yet, in our bowl as well as the duplicate, the pronominal suffix refers to the 'mountains of LYDWN' as well as the 'shores of the ocean' as if they were in the singular.

כיפי דרביתא Cf. b. Hul. 60a גידא דרביתא. Rashi explains this as meaning 'on the bank of a river whose name is RBYTA". Jastrow (p. 1443b) cites a manuscript variant which has אגודא דימא 'the bank of the sea'. Indeed, ימא is closer in meaning to the Mandaic *rbytʾ*[150] from which this word comes.[151] Also, it may be noted that the full expression *kypyʾ dʾrbytʾ* commonly occurs in Mandaic.[152]

7 אישתרגז Previously attested in the *Shafel* and *Eshtafel* stems only in Mandaic.[153]

8 אישתוש Perhaps read אישתגש (!) 'shook'.

שף סדנא רבא דרקיעא The expression סדנא דרקיעא, 'the anvil of the firmament', occurs in Jewish Aramaic only in the bowls,[154] although, a similar idiom, סדנא דארעא, 'the anvil of the

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[148] J. p. 546a.
[149] DM p. 182a.
[150] DM p. 423, 'sea, ocean, large expanse of sea, inundation'.
[151] Epstein 1983, vol. 1, p. 40.
[152] DM p. 36b.
[153] DM p. 424a.
[154] Cf. MS 1922/1:6 (forthcoming by S. Shaked) where it is invoked for its power alongside magic words, signet rings and bonds.

earth', is attested in the Babylonian Talmud.[155] The almost identical *sʾdʾnʾ rbʾ dʾrqʾ*,[156] or just *sʾdʾnʾ dʾrqʾ*, is a common designation in the Mandaic cosmological scheme for the 'foundation' or 'axis' of the earth. Furthermore, the description in our text of the whole earth shaking (l. 7 נודא הוא בארעה) and dislodging the 'anvil (or block) of the earth' has its parallels in Mandaic literature. In a Mandaean phylactery we find: *wʾtyt lʾrqʾ dhzʾtʾn mn sʾdʾnh šnʾt ʾmyṭwl drʾzʾ dʾrqʾ mkʾsynʾ*[157] 'And I came to earth: she (the earth) that saw me was removed from her axis, because I am covered by the mystery of the earth'.[158] This is part of a description of the chain of events that sees the client's adversarial forces annihilated. In another Mandaean charm the same motif occurs: *wnynwd ʾlmʾ kwlh wnynwd šamyš wnynwd syrʾ wnynwd ʾlʾhyʾ wʾnʾšyʾ wnynwd ṭwryʾ wʾrʾmʾtʾ ʾl kwlhwn byšyʾ dhʾṭybyʾ...*[159] 'And the whole world shall tremble, and the sun shall tremble and the moon shall tremble and gods and men will tremble and mountains and valleys will tremble, and all the evil folk that offend me ...'.[160] It is conceivable that the occurrence of רקיע, 'firmament', in our text rather than ארעא or ארקא, 'earth', is due to its phonetic similarity to the Mandaic *ʾrqʾ*, a form of corruption due simply to a faulty transmission across dialects.

9 לציצא ולציפרא - A similar combination of bird names appears twice in the Targ.-O., in Lev. 11:16 and Deut. 14:15 וציצא וצפר שחפה as a translation to the Hebrew התחמס ואת השחף 'the night-hawk, the sea gull'.

אמנליה {ומשילניה} משוילנ(ה)ליה The parallel in MS 2053/159 is a bit clearer: אמנה ליה ומשילנא ליה. The first word should be אמ(י)נא , 'I am saying', a *pe.* active participle with a 1st person pronominal suffix.[161]

זיבי Cf. Mandaic *zʾbʾ* 2 'river', 'stream', 'flood' (DM p. 156a).

10 As can be observed in the synopsis, there is an extra piece of text in MS 2053/159 for which this translation is provided: 'from whom there issued Rasiel the angel, and there issued

[155] B. Qid. 27b, b. BQ 12b, b. BB 67a and b.
[156] Right Ginza 208:4 and left Ginza 27:16 (DM p. 309b).
[157] Drower 1939, p. 401.
[158] Drower 1939, p. 405.
[159] Drower 1943, p. 174.
[160] Drower 1943, p. 158.

forth from him a pillar of fire which consumed all the earth, by your lives the night-hawk and bird, by your lives fish and fish ...' As this follows a description of flooding, one is reminded of the mention in Josephus (Antiquities, book 1 chapter 2:9) and 1 Enoch 1:5,6[162] of a legend that the world would be destroyed first by a flood of water and then by fire.

On the basis of MS 2053/159 דתישמעי מילי ותיקבלי רוטנאי one might consider reading our text as ורוטננאי קביל instead of ורוטננא דקביל.

אפרטה דלביתא רבה Could also be translated as 'upon the breach of the great house'.

11 ארקבי Possibly a form of עקרבא as in Mandaic *ʾrqbʾ*.[163]

12 An unusual title, קרקפנא appears twice in the Babylonian Talmud, b. Erub. 22b and b. Yeb. 78a. Rashi explains the term to mean 'an important man'. In light of lines 14,15 (see below) ניסכאיא could also mean 'lances'.

חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא Cf. b. Git. 68b אותביה לחד גפיה ברקיעא ולחד גפיה בארעא, 'placing one wing on the earth and one on the sky', the description of Ashmedai's use of the power of Solomon's magic signet ring, which the latter foolishly handed over to the bound demon. Although, in our bowl, Ashmedai is not the subject of this clause he is, nevertheless, mentioned further down in the incantation.

13 זגדית The parallel text employs the usual Jewish Aramaic form (סגידית) with a ס as the first radical. Though the root *sgd*, 'to worship', came to be written as *zgd* only in modern Mandaic, its pronunciation is assumed to have been closer in sound to *zgd*.[164] There are other cases in Jewish Aramaic in which a ז occasionally replaces a ס (סגי = זגי and זקר = סקר).[165] In our case it is possible that the spelling is due to phonetic influence.

14-15 ניסכא דאשמדי The third in a list of four weapons, ניסכא seems unlikely to mean 'libation' or even 'cast metal object'. If one were to consider that the ס was softened from a ז, our word could be a cognate of the Syriac *nyzkʾ* and Pahlavi *nēzag* which have the more appropriate meaning of 'lance'.

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[161] Epstein, 1960, p. 62.
[162] For a full account see Ginzberg L, 1912, מבול של אש, *Ha-Goren* VIII, pp. 35-51.
[163] DM p. 39b.
[164] Macuch 1965, p. 71.
[165] Epstein 1965, p. 18.

Appendix

Notes on the synopsis

Apart from the fact that the size of the actual bowl M145 is about half that of MS 2053/159, the most striking difference between the two is in the handwriting. MS 2053/159 is written in a very neat and stylized square script, whereas M145 is very cursive. It is clear from the synopsis that M145 and MS 2053/159, up to about l. 16, owe their formula to the same *Vorlage*. The most obvious discrepancies between the texts are: 1) The additional clause at the end of M145:8. 2) Most of lines 10 and 11 of MS 2053/159 which are also supplementary. 3) MS 2053/159:16 onwards which is an appendix to the main formula and nonexistent in M145.

The formula is narrated in the first person, presumably by the sorcerer, who appeals to various forces and narrates an historiola. The last component of this formula consists of a statement to the effect that a number of magical weapons have now been obtained. In M145:14,15 this component is repeated twice, initially in an abstract manner where the subject is just 'a man' (גבר א) 'who traversed the sea with his voice, removed mountains with his wrath and took the key of the store house of his weapons bringing the weapon of demons, the weapon of liliths, the *lance* of Ashmedai the king of demons and the sword of Darius the king of dews'. The repetition is in the first person: 'I am traversing the water with my voice, etc'. Presumably this is the now empowered sorcerer, the same who started the formula off in l. 1. In MS 2053/159 the last component of this formula is written only once with the client as the subject: 'There is a woman amongst you whose name is Dukhtevi daughter of Ahat etc.' In M145 there is no mention, as much as can be seen in the visible parts of the text, of names of client/s. If missing, the formula is written in such a way that the client him/herself is the one who is the implied narrator.

There are a variety of categories which can be used to describe the variance between the two texts:

1. Transposition:

The words 'time' and 'day':

מנההיא שעתא בההוא יומא בההוא עידנא M145:3 and 13

בההוא יומא בההיא שעתה (4) ובההוא עידנא MS 2053/159:3,4 and 13,14

The words 'mountains of LYDWN' and 'shores of the ocean':

נפק ארבע<ה> דיוין מינך (ט)ורי דלידון נפק ארבעה תנינין מינך כיפי דרביתא M145:6

נפק ארבעה זיקי מינך (7) כיפא דרביתא נפק ארבעה תניני מינך טורא דלידון MS 2053/159:6,7

Transposition of clauses:

מלכי רגש ביקרבא איתפיך ביתא רבא בתוקפיה M145:9

איתפוך ימא ברוגזיה ובתוקפיה ומלאכי רגש ברקיעה MS 2053/159:9

Transposition of clauses:

חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא ניגריה שורשא דארעה ורישיה סדנא דרקיעא M145:12

ני(ג)ריה שירשה דארעה (ח)ד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה ברקי[עה] MS 2053/159:13

2.1 Use of synonyms:[166]

M145:1 שינא = MS 2053/159:1 טורא; M145:5 תפי = MS 2053/159:6 טפי and רתח (see notes above).

2.2 Words with similar meaning:

M145:3 לילית = MS 2053/159:3 לטבי; M145:4 דלגודא = MS 2053/159:5 דליגונרא; M145:8 אישתוש = MS 2053/159:8 איתפיך;

2.3 Dialectical difference:

M145:5,6 זיקין , דיוין, תנינין = MS 2053/159:6,7 זיקי , זיקי, תניני; M145:7 כורא = MS 2053/159:7 כוארה; M145:7,12 רקיע, רקיעא = MS 2053/159:8,9 רקיעה; M145:8 מזלי, כוכבי = MS 2053/159:8 כוכביא, מזאליה; M145:9 קינא = MS 2053/159:9 קאינה; M145:11 לילית = MS 2053/159:12 ליליאתה; M145:13 רבא, ניסכאיא and שורשא = MS 2053/159:13 רבה, ניסכיה and שירשה;

2.4 Corruption:

M145:2 דכידיבון = MS 2053/159:2 בריה דבריה; M145:9 קרבא = MS 2053/159:9 רקיעה; M145:10 זיוא = MS 2053/159:12 זיויך; M145:12 קרקפנא = MS 2053/159:13 קרקף פדנא; M145:13 זגדית = MS 2053/159:14 סגידית; M145:14,15 אקליודי, אקלידי = MS 2053/159:15 אי(ק)לידא

[166] This seems to occur only when a word is repeated in close proximity within the formula.

M149 (160mm*51mm)

This bowl consists of 7 lines of quite neat square script. In the middle of the bowl, within a Roman I shaped border, which is itself within a circle, there are a further four short lines of text. The clients of the bowl are Ahai son of Ispandarmid and Ispandarmid daughter of Qiomta his wife. A duplicate of this text, MS 1927/12, was written by the same scribe for the same couple. The text is intended for the general protection of the family and possessions of the clients from demons as well as aggressive sorcery.

Transcription of M149 and synopsis with MS 1927/12

MS 1927/12	M149
(1) את (2) גת (3) במצוות (4) ייי (5) בישמך	(1) את (2) גת (3) [....] (4) (ייההה) (5) בישמך אני
אני עושה חתים ומחתם ביתיה ודירתיה (6)	עושה חתים ומחתם ביתיה ודירתיה וקיניניה
וקיניניה בניה ובנתיה	(6) ובניה ובנתיה
	ובעיריה {ובעיריה} ועיבוריה
וזרעיה ונפשיה דאחאי בר	וזרעיה {וזרעיה} ונפשיה דאחאי בר (7)
איספנדרמיד (7) ואיספנדרמיד בת קיומתא	איספנדרמיד {ב} ואיספנדרמיד בר קיומתא
	אינתתיה
וכל אנישי ביתהון חתימין ומחתמין מן	וכל אינשי בתיהון חתימין ומחתמין (8) מן
שידא ומן סטנא (8) ומן פתכרא ומן	שידא ומן {ומן} סטנא ומן פתכרא ומן
פתכרתא ומן ליליתא דיכרא ומן ליליתא	פתכרתא {ומן פתכרתא} ומן לילית(א) דיכרא
ניקבתא [.....]	וניקבתא [.] ומן (9) דיכרא וניקבתא ומן חרשי
מן עינא (9) (בישתא ומן חורינא) [....] שידי (10)	בישי ומן עינא בישתא ומן חיסמא בישא ומן
ודיוי [.....] סטני [....] ומן (11) [.....] מן הדין	(ר)יוחתא ומן פגע דפגע (10) ומן רוקי פומיי וכל
(12) ביתיה וד[ירתיה .....]	ר..(ד) פ(תכ)ר.. ... כל מחשבתא ומן דחלולי כל
	צררור [.] צררור ביממא ומן כל מידעם ביש (11)
	חתימין ומחת<מ>ין כול(ה)ון בשמי(ה) דיה
אמן אמן סלה הללויה (ה)ל(לויה) [....]	יהוה צבאות אמן אמן סלה הללויה הללויה

Translation of M149

(1) A'T (2) [...] (3) [...] (4) (YYHHH) (5) By your name I make (this magical act). Sealed and counter-sealed are the house, dwelling, possessions, (6) sons, daughters, cattle, foetus, seed and soul of Ahai son of (7) Ispandarmid and Ispandarmid daughter of Qiomta his wife, and all the members of their household. They are sealed and counter-sealed (8) from a demon, from a persecutor, from a male and female idol, from a Lilith - male and female, from (9) a male or a female, from evil sorceries/sorcerers, from an evil eye and evil envy, from an *open space*, from a plague that plagued, (10) from the spittle of mouths and all ... and all thoughts and from scarecrows .... by day, and anything evil. (11) They are all sealed and counter-sealed by the name of YH YHWH Sebaot. Amen amen selah, hallelujah hallelujah.

Notes for M149

7 Read בת instead of בר.

9 חיסמא Derived from the root חסם which is rarely attested in Jewish Aramaic in the sense of 'envy' (cf. Targ.-J. to Prov. 24:19 תחסם), although this meaning is common in both Syriac[167] and Mandaic.[168] In the *Shafta d Pishra d Ainia*, the 'evil eye' and 'envy' are also associated in the form of the 'eye which is jealous' (*ʾynʾ dḥsmt*).[169]

Notes on the synopsis

Unfortunately, the duplicate MS 1927/12 is badly faded in places and thus the amount of material that can be compared with our text is limited. From what there is, we find that in M149 there are some elements that are absent in the duplicate. It is hard to state with confidence a reason for these differences. Nevertheless, the occurrence of four seemingly superfluous word repetitions in such proximity in lines six and eight (marked in the text using { }) suggests the possibility that the scribe might have just wanted to fill space.

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[167] Brockelmann 1928, p. 247.
[168] DM pp. 136b, 151a.
[169] Drower 1937, p. 593, l. 231.

M155 (175 mm * 60 mm)

M155 and M156 were found in a joined state, the former cradled within the latter. The name of the client in both bowls, which seem to have been written by the same neat hand, is Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh.[170] It is assumed that the pair were originally deposited in the ground as they were found. The main protagonist in both texts is the 'evil spirit' (רוחא בישתא), which is characterised in M155 as a type that plagues the belly of the client and causes vaginal bleeding,[171] whereas in M156 it is depicted as a demon that plagues the region of the head. Both texts are rich in Biblical quotes and *Hekhalot*-like references, and each has an allusion to a demonic folk tale from the Babylonian Talmud (M155 to b. Git 68ab and M156 to b. Pes. 112b). Two duplicates of M155 have been identified: MS 1927/40 and MS 2053/138.

Transcription of M155

(1) הדין קמיעא יהי לאסו למהדוך (2) בת ניונדוך ותיתסי מן רוחא דימעה (3) בשום יה(מ)[..](ס)
שביב שביביא וקאי יהוה אל קדוש (4) אל קדוש אל קדוש אל (אמיץ אל א)מיץ אל אמיץ אמץ קוה
איקון מיטמון ופסקון מאוד דהוא (5) יתיב על כור[סי]ˁאˀ [דיקרא] (במימריה ובז)יו יקריה ברא
שמיא ושכליל תיביל בדיל שמיה (6) רבה תינטר מהדוך בת [ני]ונדוך ולא תיתזק לא בטולא לא
בשימשה ולא בימם ולא בלילי על ידי גבריאל (7) ומיכאל ורפאל די מתברין דלתות נחושא
וימגדעין בריחי ברזל אינון יתברון ויגדעון לרוחא בישתא דשלטא במעה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך (8)
בשום (יה)וה ˁצˀבאת אלהים אלהא דישראל דהוא שרי בהיכל נורא וברדא שביבין דנור וזיו
יקריה וכורסיה מתקן וקים לעלמין (9) ודין קמיעה דאיתקמיע על שום מהדוך בת ניונדוך נהרין
דיפתיחין וס[.]כרין ורוח דמאה דאית בה במהדוך בת ניונדוך תיבטל וייבשון מעינה וגואה (10) מן
דם נידא ולא תפיק דמה בשום צידקיה דהוא ראיש שיתין ושיתא מלאכין די ממנ<י>ן על דמה
ופלא (וחברו.אי) אינון ייב(שון) ויבטלון דמה מן אתר בית מקור בנה (11) דמהדוך בת ניונדוך

[170] There are at least another 19 bowls that are known to have been dedicated to the same lady: Moussaieff 1, 4, 6 and 18, and MS 1927/8, 9, 11, 29, 43, 45, 47, 51, 54, 60, 61, 63, 64, 2053/116, and 158.

[171] The issue of menstrual and other vaginal bleeding was discussed by the Rabbis on account of a variety of reasons such as ritual purity, its affect on matrimonial relations and its legal implications, as well as medical issues to do with both diagnosis and treatment (Preuss 1978, pp. 375-379).

שבובית שבובניתא דנסבה בנין מן נשיא וקליא יתהון ושתיא מיחלביהון בת טסת (לילית) ... מן מהדוך בת ניונדוך ולא תישתין מן חלבה (12) שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא קדמאה בשום זוכסין זוכסין אסת קריסטוס קבילו קיבלא דנן וסבו ית רוחא בישתא מן מעה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך מן ..... (אמן אמן) סלה

Translation of M155

(1) This amulet shall be to heal Mahdukh (2) daughter of Neiwandukh. May she be healed from the spirit of the belly (3) by the name of ...ŠBYB ŠBYBYA' and standing YHWH holy God, (4) holy God, holy God, brave God, brave God, brave God A'MṢ QWH A'YQWN MYṬMWN and PSQWN MA'WD who (5) sits upon the throne of glory by his word and by the countenance of his glory he created the heavens and completed the world. On account of his great name (6) may Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh be protected, and not be harmed, not in the shade, not in the sun, not in the daytime and not in the nighttime. By means of Gabriel and (7) Michael and Raphael who shatter copper doors and cut off iron locks, may they shatter and cut off the evil spirit who controls the belly of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. (8) By the name of YHWH Sebaot Elohim (2 Sam. 7:26) the god of Israel who dwells in a temple of fire and ice (and) sparks of fire. And the countenance of his glory, and his throne is established and exists forever. (9) This is an amulet which was bound for the name of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. Rivers which are opening and *blocking*; may the spirit of *blood* which is in Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh be annulled, and may her belly and interior dry up (10) from menstrual blood, and may it not cause her blood to come out. By the name of Ṣidkiyah who is the chief of sixty-six angels who are appointed over her blood and ... may they dry and nullify the blood from the womb (11) of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. ŠBWBYT ŠBWBNYTA' who gathers children from women and roasts them and drinks from their fat. Daughter of ṬST Lilith ... from Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh and do not drink from her *milk*. (12) Change your path just as a primal demon [changed his]. By the name of ZWKSYN ZWKSYN A'ST KRYSTWS accept this rebuke and carry away the evil spirit from the belly of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. From ... amen amen selah.

Notes for M155

1 The closest parallels to this opening formula occur in:

M155	הדין קמיעא יהי לאסו ל
Jeruzalmi p. 127 (5363:1- 2)	דין קמיעה דיהוי לאסו ל...
Naveh and Shaked B15	... הדין קמיעא דיהי לה לאסו ל...
Moussaieff bowl 1:3	... בדין קמיעה יהי לאסו ל...

Naveh and Shaked already noted the rare occurrence of the absolute form אסו in magic bowls.[172]

2 The affliction for which this bowl seeks healing is described as 'the spirit of the belly' (רוחא דימעה) in l. 2, the 'the evil spirit who controls the belly' in l. 7 (רוחא בישתא דשלטא במעה) and simply the 'evil spirit' (רוחא בישתא) in l. 12.

3-5 שביב שביביא These names have what appear to be feminine equivalents (שבובנית שבובניתא) in l. 11, yet, though the former masculine variety are invoked for protection, the latter are names of a demon.

יהוה ... קוה Though not a direct quote, this clause seems to be influenced by Ps. 27:14

M155:3,4	יהוה אל קדוש אל קדוש אל קדוש (אל אמיץ אל א)מיץ אל אמיץ אמץ קוה
Ps. 27:14	קוה אל יהוה חזק ויאמץ לבך וקוה אל יהוה

איקון מיטמון ופסקון These three names are mentioned in b. San. 44b as belonging to the 'the intercessory spirit' (רוח פסקונית) who is described as having the 'license ... to arbitrate with the Lord',[173] i.e. to plead, as in a court, on behalf of humans.[174] These names are well attested in *Hekhalot* literature where they are names of the angel Metatron.[175] As they are also found in magical recipe books among the Geniza fragments,[176] it is no surprise to

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[172] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 161.

[173] ומי אית ליה רשותא כולי האי ... שפוסק דברים כלפי מעלה b. San. 44b.

[174] It is noteworthy that though this spirit is initially referred to in b. San. 44b as a feminine entity - marked by the verb אמרה 'she said', and the name פסקונית which has a feminine ending - later on in the same page it is referred to as masculine - marked by the suffix pronoun in ליה 'to him' and the masculine active participle פוסק 'arbitrates'.

[175] Schäfer 1981 - Henoch §76, §387; Merkabah Rabbah §682, §691; Shiur Komah/Metatron §947; Sar Hapanim §628.

[176] *T.-S. K 1.19* (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 158-163) 4:17,18 and *T.-S. K 1.58* (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 169-171) 1:5,6. See also the comment on this triple name in Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 171 .

encounter these names in magic bowls. On the first page of the *Sword of Moses*,[177] a four-tier hierarchy of angels is described, at the top of which appears the name A'HYW PSQTYH who is described as a 'prince, and lord king ... (the one) that when he sits all the hosts of heaven are bowing and kneeling and prostrating (?) before him every day when they are released from prostrating before NQṢ ŠLA'H HW A'WHH the Lord of all'.[178] As this portrayal is reminiscent of the description of Metatron in III Enoch, and both PSQTYH and PSQWNYT derive from the root פסק, it is possible that A'HYW PSQTYH in the *Sword of Moses* and the RWḤ PSQWNYT from b. San. 44b are but alternative names of Metatron.[179]

[דיקרא] כור[סי]א Reconstructed from MS 2053/138 יקרא {דקרא} כורסיא.

AIT 14:3 has a parallel to part of M155:8 (שכינתיה בהיכל נורא וברדא וכורסיה) which Montgomery associated with the imagery of Ps. 18:13, Ez. 38:22 and Rev. 11:19.[180] The sections תיביל ... בשום in lines 3-5 of our text and לעלמין ... בשום in l. 8 seem to be related and are both *Hekhalot*-like texts. The language and expressions of these two sections are common enough in other *Hekhalot* and Targum texts in which parallels can be found in like manner to that which was done for the section (יהוה ... קוה) above:

M155:4,5	דהוא (5) יתיב על כור[סי]ר א[דיקרא]
Targ.-J. Isa. 6:1	יקרא דיי שרי על כורסיה רם
Targ.- J. Ps. 68:5	שבחו קדם אלהא שבחו שום יקריה קלסון ליתב על כורסיה יקריה בערבות
Metatron, Schäfer §395	אלהינו יושב על כסא רם ונישא

M155:5	(במימריה ובז)יו יקריה ברא שמיא ושכליל תיביל
Zech. 12:1	מטל פתגמא דיי על ישראל אמר יי דתלא שמיא ושכליל ארעא

[177] MS Sasson, cf. Harari 1997.
[178] שר ורב מלך אהיו פסקתיה שמו שהוא יושב וכל צבא מרום בקידה ובכריעה ובהשתחוית אפים בתראש ארצה לפניו בכל יום בפטירתן מהשתחוואות לפני נקץ שלאה הו אוהה "אדון הכל" (Harari 1997, p. 23, (I:13-16)).
[179] For more on the connection between the *Sword of Moses* and III Enoch, see Odeberg 1973, pp. 107-8.
[180] Montgomery 1913, p. 184.

M155:8	דהוא שרי בהיכל נורא וברדא שביבין דנור וזיו יקריה וכורסיה מתקן וקים לעלמין
Dan. 7:9	כרסיה שביבין די נור
Metatron, Schäfer §395	דשרי בהיכל נורא וברדא וכורסיה <אש> אתקן באישתא ובמיא ועמודי דאשתא ריב נפק(י)ן מן קדם כורסיה יקריה הוא אלהי האלהים ואדוני האדונים האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא

7 ... דימתברין דלתות נחשא וימגדעין בריחי ברזל The author of this part of the text made novel use of Isa. 45:2 for its semantic impact. Just as the angels Gabriel, Michael and Raphael opened the gates of Jerusalem for 'Cyrus, God's anointed one' (Isa. 45:1), so too will these angels remove the evil spirit that plagues the client. The nouns דלתות and בריחי ברזל are rendered in their original Hebrew forms. It is uncertain, however, whether the use of נחשא, in place of the unusual Biblical feminine form of the noun - נחושה, is an exceptional spelling of the Hebrew or the proper masculine form of the Aramaic noun. The verbs are conjugated in Aramaic, תבר is used for שבר and גדע is maintained, unlike the rendition of the Targ.-J. where this verb is replaced with קצץ:

M155:7	וימגדעין בריחי ברזל ויגדעון לרוחא בישתא	דימתברין דלתות נחשא אינון יתברון
MT Isa. 45:2	ובריחי ברזל אגדע	דלתות נחושה אשבר
Targ.-J.	ועברין דברזל אקצץ	דשין דנחש אתבר

Cf. also *The Odes of Solomon* Ode 17:8-9[181] where use is made of the Peshitta version of this same verse to describe the ascent of the redeemed: *wptḥt trʿ dʾḥydyn hww wgdmt mwklʾ dprzlʾ przlʾ dyn dyly rtḥ wʾtpšr qdmy* 'I opened the gates that were shut, and shattered iron bolts, my own fetters boiled and melted before me'.

8 יהוה צבאות אלהים 2 Sam. 7:26.

9 קמיעה דאיתקמיע See note to M123:1.

10 אתר בית מקור בנה and דם נידה are Hebrew expressions which occur in the Tosefta.[182]

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[181] Latke 1980, p. 28.

[182] T. Nid. 9:10 דם הנידה מן המקור דם הבתולין מן הצדדין 'The blood of menstruation is from the womb, the blood of virginity is from the sides'. See also b. Nid. 65b and y. Nid. 4:1, 41a .

12 In three duplicate sections to M155:12, where it is written: 'Change your path just as a primal demon did', there is the added: 'who existed in the days of Solomon the king' which might be an allusion to the story about king Solomon and Ashmedai the demon in b. Git. 68a,b:

M155	שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא קדמאה
MS 1927/9	שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא קדמאה (5) דהוא ביומי שלמה מלכא בר דויד
MS 1927/11	(4) ... שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא (.) קדמאה דהויא ביומי שלמה מלכא בר דויד
MS 2053/4	(10) שנא שבילכי כמה דשני {שדיא} שידא קדמאה כד הוא ב[י]מי ש[למ]ה מלכא (ב)[ר ד](וי)ד

שנא The apocopated form of the *pe.* imperative feminine singular occurs in the Aramaic of the Targums,[183] as compared to the form of the Babylonian Talmud שנאי.[184]

[183] Stevenson 1924, p. 71 and Dalman 1905, p. 348.
[184] Epstein 1960, p. 97.

M156 (173 mm*55 mm - see M155 for an introduction of this bowl)

Duplicates to this text are MS 1927/8, MS 1927/45, MS 1927/47, MS 1927/64 and MS 2053/158. There are three Biblical verses in this text: Ps. 104:20, Ex. 15:3 and Ps. 24:8, as well as an early attestation of a liturgical formula (l.11).

Transcription of M156

(1) אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה (2) למהדוך בת ניונדוך לשמך אני עושה קדישה רבה (3) אסות(א) מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך ותיתסי בשום יה (4) מלך מלכיה רפאל מיטל מיל(ם) די מפקדין אינון על מחת רוחתא בישתא רוחא דשכבא (5) בן קברי ורוחא דשכבא בן איגרי ורוחא דשכבא בפגרה בראישה בצידעה באודנה בבית (6) גילגלוהי דעינה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך ורוחא דשמה אגג בת ברו⌜ק⌝ בת ברוקתא בת נקור בת נמון בת עין רעה מסמיתא (7) מטריתא {מסו} מומינה ומשבענא עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא ד(י) פגע ב(יה) ברבי חנינא בן דוסא ואמר לה (ר)בי חנינא בן דוסא לרוחא בישתא (8) די פגע ביה בההיא שעתא קראה דכתיב תשית חושך ויהי לילה בו תירמוס כל חיתו יאער ותוב מומינה ומש⌜בענא ע⌝לכי (9) אנתי רוח(א) בישתא דלא תיזלין ולא תיחוין לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך לא צותא דליליה ודיממה דאם אזלת ורדפת בפגרה בראישה באודנה (10) ובבית גילגלו[הי] דעינה ד[מה]דוך בת ניונדוך דא אנתי רוחא בישתא ישמתון יתיכי ויתברון יתיכי ויחרמון יתיכי כמה דאיתברו כרכין תקיפ(ין) דאישתדרו (11) עליהון נורי⌜אל⌝ רפאל ומ[יכאל בשמיה] דיה יה יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו יהוה עיזוז וגיבור יהוה גיבור {ו}מלחמה יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד ב(כ)ין כמה דפריש מן [...](פ)אל (12) ... [בי]שתא כין תיפשרין ותיזחין ותינזהין ותיפקין מינה מן מהדוך בת ניונדוך ולא תישלטין במתן חמשין ותרין (הדמין) דאית בה (13) במהדוך בת ⌜נ⌝יונדוך (כ)ל[.....] גבר או איתא ולא תיקמין עלה ולא תרתתינה ולא תשרג(ו)ינה אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M156

(1) May there be healing from heaven for (2) Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. For Your name I make (this magic act) Oh Great Holy one. (3) May there be healing from heaven for Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. May she be healed by the name of YH (4) the king <of kings> of kings (and) Raphael MYṬL MYLM who are commanded over the affliction of evil spirits. The spirit that lies (5) between graves, and the spirit that lies down between roofs and

the spirit that lies down in her body, in her head, in her temple, in her ear, in the socket (6) of the eye of Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. The spirit whose name is AGG daughter of BRWQ daughter of BRWQTA' daughter of NQWR daughter of NMWN daughter of an evil eye, MSMYTA', (7) MṬRYTA'. I adjure and put an oath upon you. You, the evil spirit who happened upon R. Hanina ben Dosa. R. Hanina ben Dosa recited to the evil spirit (8) that happened upon him at that time the Biblical verse, as it is written: 'You bring on darkness and it is night, when the beasts of the forest stir' (Ps. 104:20). And again, I adjure and put an oath upon you (9) that you may not go and show (yourself) to Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh, not accompaniment of the night or the day. For if (it transpires that) you had gone and chased the body, the head, the ear (10) and the socket of the eye, of this Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh, then let them excommunicate and break and banish you, you evil spirit!. Just as powerful fortifications upon whom were dispatched (11) Nuriel, Raphael and Michael by the name of YHWH 'The Lord, the warrior—Lord is his name' (Ex. 15:3) 'the Lord mighty and valiant, the Lord, valiant in battle' (Ps 24:8) 'The Lord reigned the Lord reigns the Lord will reign for ever and ever'[185] were broken up, therefore, like ... *left* from ... (12) ... evil [spirit], thus may you dissolve, turn away, be agitated and go out from Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. And may you not control the two hundred and fifty two organs which are in the body of (13) Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh ... man or woman. And may you not rise against her and not shake her and not lead her astray. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M156

1-3 A synopsis of the opening lines of the duplicate texts illustrates the kind of freedom a scribe had in the use of different parts of a formula to construct an incantation:

[185] This doxology is combined from sections of three verses Ps. 10:15, 93:1 and Ex. 15:18.

- A	(1) אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה (2) למהדוך בת ניונדוך	M156
- B	לשמך אני עושה קדישה רבה	
- A	(3) אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך	
- B	(1) לשמך אני עושה קדישה (2) רבה	MS 1927/8
- A	אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת (3) ניונדוך	
- B	(1) לישמך אני עושה קדישא (2) רבא	MS 1927/45
- A	אסותא מן שמיה תיהיוי לה למהדוך (3) בת ניונדוך	
- B	(1) (לי)שמך אני עושה קדישא (2) רבה	MS 1927/47
- C	דין קמיעא יהוי לה למהדוך (3) בת ניונדוך	
- A	(1) אסותה מן שמיה תיהוי לה למיהרנהיד (2)בת אחת {א}	MS 1927/64
- B	לישמך אני עושה קדישא רבה	

4-6 מלכיה <מלכי> מלך Reconstructed on the basis of three of the duplicates, MS 1927/8, MS 1927/45 and MS 1927/47, whose extended version of this expression is the Aramaic equivalent of the Post-Biblical Hebrew מלך מלכי המלכים 'the king of kings of kings'.

רוחא דשכבא בן קברי Cf. Moussaieff 1:6 רוח בי קברי and also N&Sh 9:14 which mentions 'the spirit which resides in the cemetery' (רוח דשריא בית קברי) that is conjured up alongside a host of malevolent entities against Judah son of Nanay. Other evidence for the belief that spirits of the dead who reside in cemeteries are active occurs in b. Ber. 18b, where a story is told about a man who happened to spend a night in a cemetery and inadvertently overheard a couple of spirits discussing information about the future. In *Sepher Ha-Razim* I:178,[186] there is a spell to adjure the spirit קריפורייא who is said to be encamped amongst the graves (בין הקברות). Burial places, especially of people who died before their time, were a preferred location for the depositing of *defixiones* as it was believed that the souls of the dead could be adjured to aid the fulfillment of the intended harm.[187]

[186] Margaliot 1966, p. 76.
[187] Gager 1992, pp. 18-19.

רוחא דשכבא בן איגרי The demon in our bowl is reminiscent of the 'son (or sons) of roofs' (בנ/בר איגרי) that occur in a number of other bowls[188] and Geniza fragments.[189] The 'roof demon' is known from early Mesopotamian sources and was identified by Stol[190] as relating to the Syriac[191] *br ʾgrʾ*, referred to in the Peshitta of Mathew 17:15-18[192] as a demon (*šʾdʾ*) that caused a child to display symptoms of epilepsy.

ברוקתא An affliction of the eyes, possibly cataract,[193] also attested in Mandaic *bwrwqtʾ* (DM p. 57a). In b. Pes. 111b, it is written that one 'who drinks water out of a plate is prone to ברוקתי (מאן דשתי מיא בצעי קשי לברוקתי); Rashi explains ברוקתי as 'destruction (or ruin) of the eyes (כליון עינים)'. In the Babylonian Talmud, there are a couple of references to remedies. In b. Git. 69a, it states that 'one should take a scorpion *of seven ḥwmry* and dry it in the shade', then 'grind three portions of *kohl* and one portion of it (i.e. the dry scorpion) and put three brush-fulls into each eye' (לברוקתי ליתי עקרבא דשב חומרי ונייבשיה בטולא ונישחוק תרתי מנתא כוחלא וחדא מנתא מיניה ולימלי תלתא מכחלי בהאי עינא ותלתא מכחלי בהאי עינא). In b. Shab. 78a, the use of blood is mentioned (דם כדי לכחול בעין אחת שכן כוחלין לברקית). This affliction occurs in another bowl, N&Sh B25:2,5,7,9,10, where it is personified as an entity that has both male and female varieties (ברקתא דיכרא וניקבתא).

עין רעה Is in Hebrew.

7-8 מסמיתא מטריתא - Possibly nouns formed from סמי 'the blinding one' and טרי 'the assailant' (attested in Syriac in the *pa.* 'to assail severely'[194]). AIT 42, probably of a later date than our bowl, has a similar story in which the main characters are Elijah and Lilith rather than Hanina ben Dosa and the evil spirit. One of Lilith's names by which her power is diminished is מטרוטה, similar to מטריתא in l. 7 of our text.

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[188] Gordon 5:9 ובני איגרי, Gordon 5:10 בר איגרי, Gordon A:2 בר איגרי and Gordon A:3 בני איגרי.

[189] *T.-S. K. 1.56* 1a l.17 בני אוגרי (Schäfer and Shaked 1994, p. 31), *T.-S. K. 1.47* 1a l.34 בני איגרי (Schäfer and Shaked 1994, p. 222) and *T.-S. NS 322.29* 1b l.6 ומיני איגרי (Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 335).

[190] 1993, p. 18.

[191] Cf. also the Mandaic *br ʾngʾryʾ* (DM. P. 69a).

[192] The Sinaitic version of the Peshitta has *rwḥ plgʾ* instead (Reinink 1985, p. 106, n. 3).

[193] Preuss 1978, p. 265.

[194] PS p. 181a.

Lines 7,8 are a variation of the story that occurs in b. Pes. 112b which tells of the time when R. Hanina ben Dosa met the demoness Igrat daughter of Mahlat. As a result of this meeting her movements were restricted only to Wednesday and Saturday nights. A comparison of the texts illustrates a connection in both content and form.

פגע ביה Noteworthy is the uncommon use of the apocopated perfect form of the third person feminine singular characteristic of Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic, of which the manuscript variants (below) exhibit all three possible spellings פגע /פגעה /פגעא:[195]

M156	ד(י) פגע ב(יה) ברבי חנינא בן דוסא ואמר לה (ר)בי חנינא בן דוסא לרוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה בההיא שעתא
b. Pes. 112b	זמנא חדא פגעה ברבי חנינא בן דוסא
Variant manuscripts:	
Munich 095	זימנא חדא פגע ביה חניני בן דוסא
Vatican 125	זימנא חדא פגעא ביה ברי חנינה בר דוסא

יאער ... תשית Ps. 104:20. Rashi mentions this verse in connection with Ex. 12:22, where the Israelites are told not to leave their houses after having marked their door-posts with blood, saying that: 'the destroyer was given the authority to cause injury and does not distinguish between the righteous and the evil man, and night is the time of the injurers as it is said ... Ps. 104:20'.

9 צותא Cf. Gordon K:6 לא תברא ביממא ולא צותא בליליה.

... דאם On אם 'with the perfect in the protasis to express conditions' see Gesenius 1963, §159 m,n.

11 Ex. 15:3 and part of Ps. 24:8 are employed as epithets within part of an invoked name of God.

ועד ... יהוה מלך which follows these verses is the response that occurs in the יהי כבוד which is part of the daily prayers and, though recited in the morning within the *Pesukei Dezimrah*, it

[195] Juusola (1999, pp. 156-57) argues that not only is this form rare in the bowls but that in most cases it can be argued as unsubstantial due to either corruption or the possibility of understanding the form as a participle. In view of the parallel between our bowl and the Babylonian Talmud, it can be stated with confidence that the Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic form does occur in the bowls.

was originally intended only for special days.[196] This doxology combines sections of three verses: Ps. 10:15, 93:1 and Ex. 15:18. It also occurs in Hekhalot Rabatti[197] as the praise of the earth when in the presence of the enthroned God.

12 מתן חמשין ותרין הדמין In b. Bek. 45a, a distinction is made between men who are said to have 248 limbs and women who have 252.

13 תרתתינה From the root רתת 'to shake', it is mentioned in b. Hul. 24b as a symptom of old age and in b. Nid. 63b as a symptom of a menstruating woman. Cf. also Moussaieff 1:7 רות רתיתא.

תשרג(ו)ינה Possibly תשרגגינה (J. p. 1628b).

[196] Elbogen 1993, pp. 74-75. This prayer is already referred to in Soferim 17:11 and 18:2, though only by the first two words יהיה כבוד.

[197] Schäfer Synopsis §126. R. Ishmael describes a celestial vision in which King David, all the other kings that followed him, Metatron and the angels, the *Hayot*, the firmament and earth all sing in turn a praise to the almighty. This *Hekhalot* text is reproduced in the *Nefilat Appayim* (also called *Tahanun)* prayer which is recited after the *Amidah* in the British Museum manuscript (Or. 1067) of *Seder Amram*. Goldscmidt (1972, pp. 11 and לט), nevertheless, claims that this section is a later addition and not an original part of *Seder Amram*.

M163[198] (16.5cm*5.5cm)

Apart from two small missing fragments and a small faded patch at the edge of the bowl, the whole text of this bowl is clear and completely readable. The bowl contains 30 lines of text written in a very neat and small square Jewish Aramaic script which spirals in a clockwise fashion from the centre of the bowl outwards. The text is surrounded by a line that forms a circle which is very nearly on the rim of the bowl. The script is noteworthy for a magic bowl as apart from ה and ח it clearly differentiates between letters that are usually written similarly, i.e. ב and כ, ד and ר, also ו, י, ז and final ן, ס and final ם. All are distinguished from each other, and so is ת which in many bowls is confused with either ה and/or ח.[199]

Alongside הדין and הלין, which are the usual demonstrative pronouns in the dialects of the magic bowls, there also appear הנא (lines 6 and 11), הנין (line 9) and הנון (l. 17) which are like the Syriac forms[200] and rare in the magic bowls. The conjunction of comparison[201] היכדין ד 'just as' coupled with its compliment הכדין 'just so' are employed several times in the text and in all cases their respective spellings are meticulously distinguished. Such a pair of conjunctions is found only once in another magic bowl, N&Sh B21:8. The closest parallel to this particular form is found in the Aramaic of the Targ.-J.. There, however, היכדין/הכדין (their respective spellings undistinguished) are used for the second position, 'just so', whereas ד הי(כ)כמא is the most common form for the first position, 'just as'.[202]

M163 is a curse bowl, which is rare in this genre of magical text. It was commissioned by two brothers, Mihlad and Baran sons of Mirdukh, against a certain Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz. The purpose of the incantation is specific: it proposes to subdue the two brothers' named antagonist completely under their authority. The cause of their grievance is suggested most

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[198] This part of the thesis was published by the author as: " "... and by the name of Jesus ..." An unpublished magic bowl in Jewish Aramaic." *JSQ*, vol. 6, Issue 4, pp. 283-308. It is produced here with some amendments, additions and a full glossary.

[199] Montgomery 1913, pp. 28,9 and Rossell, 1953 pp. 13-15.

[200] Nöldeke 1904, p. 47.

[201] Dalman 1905, p. 239. I would like to thank C. Müller-Kessler for correcting my previous assertion (Levene 1999) that what we have here are a pair of adverbs.

[202] It is only in one case in the Targ.-Ps-J. that היכדין appears in both first and second position: היכדין דיתן מומא באינשא היכדין יתיהב ביה (Lev. 24:20).

clearly in l. 27, which mentions the antagonist as having 'strong desires and hateful thoughts and ... hateful and evil words' and 'that he thinks about (them) for evil and hatefulness'.

The two main literary devices employed in this incantation are: 1) The abundant use of verbs, nouns (lines 1, 28 and 30), angel names (l. 14) and magical names (l. 10) derived from the root כבש 'to press', 'subdue', 'conquer', 'suppress', etc.[203] 2) The use of a 'just as X was pressed - just so may Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed' formula known also from Greek magical literature and referred to as the *similia similibus* formula.[204] These similes (the sections that always follow 'just as ...') in our text consist of a collection of references to cataclysmic moments in history and mythology, taken from a wide range of stories, some of which are identified below, though the inspiration for others remain as yet a mystery.

In order to observe the structure of the text with greater clarity the transcription and translation have been divided into ten sections. Here are some comments on these divisions:

Section 1. This part functions as a title section and starts with the words הדין כיבשא 'this press' which introduces the incantation. The names of the clients and their adversary are stated, as is a statement of the desired outcome. This statement is repeated in a variety of permutations and intensity at least once, sometimes twice, in each and every one of the ten sections. This first section ends with an invocation of 'Šamiš king of the gods'.

Section 2. This section starts with the conjunction היכדין ד 'just as' which introduces the first simile, as it does the other similes in sections 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8. There follows an unambiguous statement to the effect that some sort of additional ritual action was carried out, at that time, with the aid of a white cock in conjunction with, and in support of, the incantation in the bowl. There is a two fold statement of the desired outcome, one to complement the simile and the other to complement the ritual act.

Section 3. The second simile and a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 4. This section starts with the word בשום 'by the name of', which introduces a list of names of angels invoked to aid the accomplishment of the desired outcome. The verb כבש which was used in the previous sections in the jussive 'may he be pressed' is in this section

[203] For a detailed discussion on the use of כבש in the magical literature see Montgomery 1913, p. 42 and Naveh 1985, p. 3.

an active participle with a first person pronoun suffix 'I press you Isha ...' (l. 13). This section portrays the enforcement of the desired outcome by the magician with the aid of the invoked angels.

Section 5. Third and fourth similes with a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 6. Fifth and sixth similes with a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 7. Seventh simile with a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 8. Eighth and ninth similes with a double statement of the desired outcome, reiterated here with specific allusion to the antagonist's culpability vis à vis to the clients.

Section 9. Like section four, this section commences with בשום, which introduces the invocation of angels. The verb כבש is used here in the imperative, as the magician is commanding the angels to impose the desired outcome, which is stated once again within the context of the command. This section ends with the formula 'from this day and forever amen amen selah firm and established'.

Section 10. This section begins and ends as the incantation itself began - with the words הדין כיבשא 'this press'. There is invocation of divine names of God, of Jesus, his father and the Holy spirits. In this section כבש and the other operative verbs are imperfect plural forms of the peal with a third person suffix, 'may they press him' etc, representing the clients getting the better of their adversary.

Transcription of M163

1 (1) הדין כיבשא ואסרא על שמיה דאישה [בר] (2) איפרא הורמיז דניתכביש וניפול הוא
גדיה וחילקיה וכ[וכב]יה (3) ואסריה ומיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא תחות ריגליהון
ומימרהון ו[שולט]נ֯הון (4) דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך שמיש מלכא דאלהי

2 היכדין דאתכ[ביש]ך֯ כולהין (5) מדינתא הכדין כבוש הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז
בכל שמה דאית ליה תחות י֯ר֯[יגליהו]ן ומימרהון (6) ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן
בני מירדוך תחות הנא תרנולא חיורא דמזמ[...]ך֯יך הכדין (7) ניתכביש הדין אישה בר
איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דאית ליה תחות ריגליהון ותחות מימרהון ושולטנ֯הו֯[ן]

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[204] C. A. Faraone 1988 and 1991.

3 היכ<ד>ין דשמיא כבישא על שמשא ושמשא כבישא על יארעה וארעה כבישא על מיא ומיא יכבישין על (9) חשוכא וכנתא תחתיתא היכא דיתבן הנין שבע בני אלהי וידען שבע מילי תקיפתיא ידבהון כבישא שמיא וארעה חדא מילתא מדא שמא (10) מדא שמה ומילתא חדא גישמון שמה ומילתא חדא דבחיל שמה דיבחיל שמה מירל[ת]א חדא משכבא שמא מכבשא שמה ומילתא חדא (11) זדין שמה ומיזיון שמא וזיועין ומילתא חדא דבחיל שמה וארכדיל שמה ומילתא חדא כיבישון שמה דבהנא שבע מילי כביש עלמה ורכובהון (12) <הכדין> ניתכביש וניתדריך הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דאית (ליה) תחות ריגליהון ומימרהו[ן] ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך (13) וניתכבשן כולהין מיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא ובישתא וניתבלן בגו ליביה ולא ניפקן לבר מן פומיה

4 בשום מלאכי בני איקרא כבישנא לך אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמא דאית לך (14) תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך בשום כיבשון דישון ודדיכין ובשום כבשיאל וכבשיאיל מלאכה גמודיאיל ומודיאל (15) ועמודיאל מלאכה דכבש עמודה דארעה בשמיה ד(גבי)ביאל שריותא גבאל מלאכה הלין מלאכי דבהון מיתכבשי כיבשי רברבי ודרדקי ומיתארין סמי מיתקצרין וכל בתולן פתלין (16) בהון בשמיהון וביקרהון ברבותהון וברבות אלהא משמשין קדישי אינון בשום הלין מלאכי כבישנא ליה להדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דאית ליה וכבישנא ליה לגדיה (17) ולחילקיה ולכוכביה ולמזליה ולכולהון מיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון ותחות יג[די]הון וחילקיה<ון> ומזלהון וכוכבהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך

5 היכדין דאיתכבישו הנון (18)] דעל פוקדן ^ד^מריהון עברו עזאל ועזאל ועזזיאל ואישתלחו מלאכי עליהון מן קדם אלהא וכבשינון על טור[א דחשוכא] ואהדרו אפיהון לאפי דחשוכא והיכדין דאיתכביש רימון תורא קדמאה הכדין ניתכביש (19) הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז וניתכבשן מיליה סניתא ומחשבתיה סניתא וכוכביה ומזליה וגדיה וחומריה [...] תחות ריגליהון ותחות מימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני

6 היכדין דאיתכבישו (20) [...] שבעה שיבבי דביתה רבה וארדיכלי דביתה רבה דעלמה וכבשינון ואסרינון מרי רבותה בחילן[ה ...] [והיכ]דין דאיתכביש אמור גברא רבה דלסוף הכדין ניתכביש הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז וניתכביש גדיה (21) וחילקיה ומזליה וכוכביה וחומריה ופתכריה ורזיה ומחשבתיה סניתא תחות ריגליהון ותחות מימרהון ושולט[נה]ון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך

7 והיכדין דאיתכביש א(מ)וס גברא קדמאה ואיתכביש עליה טורי ורמאתה (22) ונגרי הכדין ניתכביש וניתדריך הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז וניתכביש (ליביה מן) חיזוא דעינוהי תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך תוב הכדין ניתכביש ליביה דהדין (23) אישה מן חיזוא דעינוהי

8 היכדין דאיתכביש הוא חרום אחרום ואתו עליו על שיתין ושב(ע)ה אלפין ענינן ואתו עליו מלאכי דר(בה) דחטו דהוא מריא קדמאה ונקטוי בציצי(ן) דסיט(ר)יה ופכר(ין) פכרוי פכרי לא איתפסיק ושדוי שבע (24) לישמיא ותמני לליבביהון דעננ עד אמא דנינדי מוקריה על גללי והיכדין דאיתכבישו דבית קרח (וד)ותן ואבירם הכדין ניתכביש וניתדריך הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דא(י)ת ליה וניתכביש וניתדריך גדיה וחילקיה ומזליה (25) וכוכביה וחומריה ופתכריה ופיקודיה ומיליה סניתא ומחשבתיה בישתא תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך וניתכביש הדין אישה ומתכבשן כולהין מיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא דהוא מחשיב על הדין מיהלאד (26) ובראן בני מירדוך לבישותא ולסניותא ומחשבתיה ומיליה סניתא ניתבלן בגו ליביה ולא ניפק לבר מן פומיה

9 בשום בלמיאל דהוא בלים לבני אינשה בליביהון ובשום נו(..)איל [...] הלין מלאכי דכבשו ואניחו ותמהו קרבא (27) קדמאה אנתון כבושו ואניחו ואתמהו ליביה ורעויניה תקיפי ומחשבתיה סניתא וכל מילי סניתא ובישתא דהוא מחשיב על הדין מיהל<א>ד ובראן בני מירדוך לבישותא ולסניותא ול[...] מיליה ומחשבתיה [בי]שתא וסניתא ניתבלן בגו ליביה ולא ניפקן לבר (28) מן פומיה מן יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים

הדין כיבשא בשמיה ד(מל)[.] דלכל כבש[..]ן כביש ולכל זכא ועל כל עלמא אמליך ואף 10
הדין מיהלאד ואף הדין בראן בני מירדוך לכל (פ)[...]ון ולכל נ[..](ה)ון ולכל (..)כון (ועל)
[ע]למה נמלכון וניכבשוניה ונידשוניה וניזכוניה (29) להדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז
וניבלמוניה ליה לגדיה ולחילקיה ולכוכביה ולמזליה ולאסריה ולפתכריה בשמיה דאהיה
אשר אהיה יהוה צבאות ובשמיה דאישו דכבש רומ(א) ועומ(ק)א[205] בזקיפיה ובשו(ם)
אבוי רמא ובשום רוחי קדישתא לעלם (30) עלמין אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים הדין
כיבשא.

Translation of M163

1 (1) This press and binding is for the name of Isha son of (2) Ifra Hurmiz that he may be pressed and fall - he, his lot, his destiny, his stars, (3) his bindings, his words and his hateful thoughts - under the feet and command and authority (4) of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. Shamish the king of gods!

2 Just as all countries have been (5) pressed - just so press this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz, in every name he has, under the feet and command (6) and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. Under this white cock that [is appointed on your behalf], just so (7) May this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed in every name he has under the feet and command and authority of (8) this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

3 Just as the heavens are pressed upon the sun, and the sun is pressed upon the earth, and the earth is pressed upon the waters, and the waters are pressed upon the (9) darkness and the lower foundation, where there dwell these sons of gods who know seven powerful words by which the heavens and the earth are pressed: One word - the name: MDA', (10) the name: MDA' ; and one word - the name:

[205] The correct reading of this word was suggested by Professor Menahem Kister (communicated by S. Shaked).

GYŠMWN; and one word - the name: DBHYL, the name: DYBHYL; and one word - the name: MŠKBH, the name: MKBŠH; and one word - the name: (11) ZDYN, the name: MYZYWN and ZYWA'YN; and one word - the name: DBHYL, and the name: A'RKDYL; and one word - the name: KYBŠWN. By this (unit of) seven words, the universe and that which is over them is pressed. (12) [Just so] may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed and trodden under in every name he has under the feet and command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh, (13) and may all his hateful and evil words and thoughts be pressed and perish within him and not go out from his mouth.

4 By the name of angels sons of glory I press you, Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz, in every name that is yours (14) under the feet and command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. And by the names of KYBŠWN DYŠWN and DDYKWN, by the name of Kabshiel and Kabshiil the angel, Gamudiil and Mudiil (15) and Amudiel the angel who pressed the column of the earth. By the name Gabibiel the beginning Gabael the angel, these angels by which presses are being pressed, large and small ... shortened, and all virgins are led astray.[206] (16) By them, by their names and by their dignity, by their greatness and by the greatness of God - they the holy ones are serving. By the name of these angels I press this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz in every name that he has. And I press him, his lot, (17) his fortune, his stars, his star signs and all his hateful words and thoughts under the feet and command and authority and under the lot and fate and star signs and stars of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

5 Just as (18) those A'ZA'L and A'ZA'L and A'ZZYA'L, who transgressed the command of their lord, were pressed, and angels were sent against them from the presence of God and pressed them upon the mountain [of darkness] and their faces[207] were turned towards the face of darkness. And just as the primordial

[206] Literally 'perverted'.
[207] I.e. of A'ZA'L and A'ZA'L and A'ZZYA'L.

RYMWN bull was pressed - just so (19) may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed. And may his hateful words and hateful thoughts and stars and star signs and lot and magic be pressed ... under the feet and under the command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

6 (20) Just as the ... seven ... of the great house and the builders of the great house of the world were pressed, and the lords of (greatness) pressed and bound them by the strength ... [And ju]st as A'MWR the great man of the end was pressed - just so may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed, and may his lot (21) and fate and star signs and stars and magic acts and idols and mysteries and evil thoughts be pressed under the feet and under the command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

7 And just as A'MWS the primal man was pressed, and there were pressed upon him mountains, hills (22) and river courses - just so may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed and trod under. And may his heart be pressed from the vision of his eyes under the feet and command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. Again, just so may the heart of this (23) Isha be pressed from the vision of his eyes.

8 Just as ḤRWM A'ḤRWM was pressed, and there came against him upon sixty seven thousand clouds, there came against him angels of the great one who committed the sin, (namely alleging) that he is the primeval lord. And they grabbed him by the fringes of his sides, taking them apart, they beat him with a continuous beating. And they hurled seven (24) to the heavens and eight to the midst of the clouds until his brain was bespattered upon the rocks. And just as the house of Korah and Dathan and Abiram was pressed - just so may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz, by every name he has, be crushed and trod under. And may his lot and fortune and star signs (25) and stars and magic acts and idols and commands and hateful words and evil thoughts be pressed and trod under the feet and command

and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. And may this Isha be pressed, (and may) all his words and evil thoughts that he thinks about this Mihlad (26) and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh for evil and hatefulness be pressed. And may his thoughts and hateful words perish within him and not come out from his mouth.

9 By the name of Balmiel who is the one that gags humans within their hearts. And by the name of ... these angels who pressed and brought to rest and struck dumb the primal war. (27) You! Press, bring to rest, and strike dumb the heart and strong desires and hateful thoughts and all hateful and evil words that he thinks about this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh for evil and hatefulness. And ... (may) his words and his thoughts, evil and hateful, perish within him and not come out from (28) his mouth from this day and for ever, amen amen selah, true and established.

10 This press in the name of ... who presses all presses and is victorious over all, and rules over all the world. And also this Mihlad and also this Baran sons of Mirdukh to all ... and may they reign upon the earth, and may they press and trample under and be victorious over (29) this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz. And may they block up his lot and his fate and his stars and his star signs and his bindings and his idols. By the name of I-am-that-I-am will be YHWH Sebaoth and by the name of Jesus who conquered the height and the depth by his cross and by the name of his exalted father and by the name of the holy spirits for ever (30) and eternity. Amen amen selah. This press is true and established.

Notes for M163[208]

1 The opening formula הדין כיבשא is also found in another bowl, Geller B. Similar opening formulae occur in AIT 6, which starts with: כיבשא דכבשין, and in N&Sh B21[209] which starts

[208] The numbers refer to the lines of the text, not the sections.

[209] Naveh and Shaked understood N&Sh B21 to be an incantation for protection against evil spirits and regarded all of the six proper names in the text to be those of clients. One could, however, argue that this is not a text for protection against demons (none of which are

with: מזמן) הדין רזא לכיבשא). These three incantations, as well as M163, incorporate the verb כבש 'to press' as an important operative motif.

מזמנא הדא מילתא על שמיה ד... N&Sh B7:1 על שמיה 'Appointed is this incantation against the name of ...' This bowl is also a text against a named individual.

2 איפרא הורמיז The name of the mother of the man against whom this incantation is directed is attested in the Babylonian Talmud,[210] where it is purported to be the name of the wife of Shapur II, though not attested as such by any other source. The name Ifra Hurmiz can also be found in N&Sh B15, Gordon N[211], and Texidor 60960[212] (*ʾbʾ br ʾprḥwrmyz*) as the names

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mentioned) but rather a text for the protection of only one of the named persons from all the others. This person would be Sunyona son of Qitin who is mentioned four times in the text, thrice on his own. It must indeed be stressed, (as did Naveh and Shaked, see 1993 p. 129) that this text is obscure and includes sections for which only cautious readings were given. Nevertheless, a re-examination of the text reveals certain similarities to M163, which may lead to the conclusion that they are both of the same type. Naveh and Shaked translate the first three lines thus: 'This mystery is designated for subduing (in favour) of Duday daughter of Immi, Redani son of Aru, Abraham son of [ ], Susya daughter of Immi, and Friyabard son of Gaš (?)'. (מזמן הדין רזא לכיבשא דדודי בת אימי ורדיני בר ארו ודאברהם בר תוס וסוסיה בת אימי ודפריברד בר גש). The justification for adding 'in favour' in brackets is that כיבשא 'normally comes to designate the action done to evil spirits' (Naveh and Shaked 1993 p. 129). Though this is true of at least two other bowls (AIT 6 and Geller B) this is not always the case as can be seen from M163. Other texts which employ the verb כבש, as in M163, to express the desired subjugation of human foes are McCullough A, an amulet from the Upper Galilee (A 16), Geniza T.S.K1.15:2,3 (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 147-152), Geniza T.S.K1.143 pages 14:12-16:18 (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 194-195), T.S.K1.80 (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 172-174) and T.S. AS 143.214 (Naveh 1985, p. 379). Another point of similarity between N&Sh B21 and M163 is the use of similes which describe acts of subjugation. In M163 these similes are derived from a variety of sources including I and III Enoch as well as the Bible, the four similes in N&Sh B21:10,11 are also borrowed from the Bible. In fact these two magical texts are the only ones which both employ היכדין and הכדין in this precise spelling as part of a *similia similibus* formula. N&Sh B21:9,10 which uses this formula is translated by Naveh and Shaked as follows: 'Thus may all the enemies and oppressors of this Sunyona son of Qitin and Duday daughter of Immi and Susya daughter of Immi be subdued, just as ... is subdued' (הכדין מכבשין כל סנייהו ומסיקייהו דסיניונא בר קיטין הדין דודי בת אימי וסוסיא בת אימי בהיכדין דמיתכבשה). As both these texts use the *similia similibus* formula, and since in M163 the demonstrative pronoun הדין precedes, rather than follows, the personal names, one could offer an alternative translation to these lines: 'Thus may all the enemies and oppressors of Sunyona son of Qitin, this Duday daughter of Immi and (this) Susya daughter of Immi be subdued, just as ... is subdued'. A last point of similarity worth noting is that both texts mention the curbing of human tongues, in M163:26 an angel that 'gags humans within their hearts' is invoked, and in N&Sh B21:14 it is stated (albeit in a disjointed context) that something or someone 'shuts the mouths of all sons of Adam and Eve'. A Mandaic bowl from the Schøyen collection, MS 2054/124, was recently discovered in which significant elements of both N&Sh B21 and M163 are found in combination (see Shaked 1999a, pp. 316-319). This confirms beyond doubt that both texts are not only of the same genre but, occurred also as one incantation in a joined form.

[210] b. Tan. 24b, b. BB 8a-b, 10b-11a, b. Zeb. 116a, and b. Nid. 20b.

[211] A Mandaean bowl.

[212] Texidor 1962, pp. 59-62. A Syriac bowl.

of the clients' mothers. According to a statement of Rav Papa, the fourth century Babylonian sage, the name Hurmiz is typical of non-Jewish persons.[213]

דניתכביש וניפיל הוא A16, an amulet written on bronze foil and found in the upper Galilee, has certain similarities to our text. Like M163 it combines the motif of subjugation (the empowering of the client over his townspeople) with the *similia similibus* formula. The invocation in A16:11-19 is similar to that which appears in lines 2 and 3 of our text: 'just as the sky is suppressed before God ... so may the inhabitants of this town be suppressed and broken and fallen before Yose ...' כדין יהוון עמה דהדה קרתה כבישין ות[ב]ירין ונפילין קודם יוסי. Both A16 and M163 use the verbs כבש and נפל.

3 תחות ריגליהון The idea of one's enemies crushed under the feet is very ancient and common to many cultures. Use of this motif in other magic bowls are: N&Sh B5:7 all the evil spirits are *'roped, tied and suppressed'* under the feet of the client כיפיתון אסיריתון כבישׁ<י>תון כולכון תחות כיפי רגלה ד... Also McCullough A:2-3[214] ויכבשון ית קיימתה ... תחת ריגילה ד... 'and they will tread ... under the foot of'. In a Mandaic bowl, AIT 38:12 *ʿsyrʾ wrgylʾ wkbyšʾ wsypʾ wmʾtn<h>*[215] *twtyʾ lygrh d...* 'bound and hobbled and suppressed and overturned and put down under the foot of ...'

4 שמיש מלכא דאלהי Shamish appears in a number of bowls: N&Sh B13:11,21, Obermann II:62:2, a Mandaic text MIT 22:123, 126, 143, 247 as well as in Syriac in AIT 36:2-3 where he appears as *mryʾ Šmyš* 'the lord Shamish.' See also Montgomery's comments on bowl 36:2,3. 1913, p. 239; a similar title appears in AIT 19:5 רבא דאלהי מריא איבול מריא[216] 'the lord Ibol the great lord of the gods'.

6 יך[...]מזמן דמרא חיורא תרנולא הנא תחות Perhaps תרנ<ג>ולא. The syncope of *g* in this word is attested in Mandaic and was discussed by Nöldeke 1875, p. 41, and Macuch 1965, pp. 77-78, who noted that such omissions in Mandaic are limited to old loanwords (Akkadian *tamugallu*).

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[213] היכי דמי שמות מובהקין אמר רב פפא כגון הורמיז ואבודינא בר שיבתאי ובר קידרי ובאטי ונקים אונא 'Can you give some examples of names which are obviously those of heathens? — Said R. Papa: For instance, Hurmiz and Abudina, Bar Shibthai, Bar Kidri, Batti and Nakim and Una' (b. Git. 11a). For a more detailed discussion of the name Ifra Hurmiz see Gooblatt 1976.

[214] Published by McCallough in 1967 and later emended by Harviainen in 1981.

[215] Reconstructed by Epstein 1983 p. 368.

[216] Amended from מלכא to מריא by Epstein (1983 p. 346).

A similar case of omission attested in Mandaic as well as in Jewish Aramaic is זווא (=זוגא), 'pair'.[217]

The suggested reconstruction דמזמן עלי[ך][218] "appoin[ted on your behalf]" allows the understanding of תחות as a pun meaning both 'in place of' as well as 'under' (as it is used in l. 5: '... under the feet ...'). The use of a ritually mutilated animal as an act of sympathetic magic and its burial with an amulet is not unknown in the Jewish magical tradition. In *Sepher Ha-Razim*, first heaven lines 132-40,[219] there is a magical recipe which instructs its user to take the heart of a lion cub, removed with a copper blade, and bury it with an inscribed metal foil. The user is then instructed to recite the following: 'You the angels who go around and wander in the world, turn around all the people of this district - big and small, old men and young men, common-folk and dignitaries. And may my fear and awe be upon them, and be as the awe of the lion upon the animals. And just as this heart is dumb and I speak, so too will they be obedient to me. And none of the children of Adam and Eve will be able to speak against me'. In the *Sword of Moses* there is also a recipe which, like our own text, recommends the use of a white cock. In this case the user is instructed to take the cock's beak and place an inscribed metal foil within it; it is then to be hidden in the clothing of the person the user wishes to affect. This recipe intends to gain its final effect by the agency of a dispatched dream.[220] Such practices are also inferred from some of the Greek Magical papyri.[221] A particularly interesting first century Greek *defixio* from Carthage (*DT* 241.16-18) categorically implies that a cock was buried with it.[222] This amulet bears a close relationship to our text in that it also employs the *similia similibus* formula. Although Jewish law has no mention of the endorsement of such a ritual action, there is ,nevertheless, a discussion in the m. AZ 1:5 and the t. AZ 1:21 (followed up in both the Talmuds: b. AZ 13b-14a, and y. AZ 1:1, 39a) concerning the circumstances in which the sale of a white cock to a gentile is permitted. The restrictions on the sale of such animals is stated to have been due to the fact that they

[217] Epstein 1960, p. 18.
[218] Suggested by S. Shaked.
[219] Margalioth 1966, p. 74.
[220] Harrari 1997, First supplement, p. 141.
[221] Betz 1992, p. 150, *PGM* X. 36-50 'Apollo's charm to subject'. A frog's tongue is used with an inscribed foil of metal which in this case is put in a sandal and trod under foot.
[222] Faraone 1988, p. 282, n.10.

were used for sacrificial purposes amongst idolaters; a statement which is possibly meant to include the type of practice mentioned above.

8-11 The second simile incorporates a structural description of the world - the heavens are at the top, and under them are the sun, earth, water, darkness and the lower foundation, in that order. They are each described as pressing over the one beneath them. At the bottom there are the seven 'sons of gods', who know the seven powerful words by which these six layers of the world came to be pressed together. These seven powerful words are invoked, and by sympathetic suggestion this description of the enormous force by which the different parts of the world are held is used as a parallel to the magnitude of force with which the clients' opponent should be suppressed. A similar invocation appears in the Geniza fragment T. -S. K1.163:20-22[223] היך דארעא כבישה תחות שמיא ובני אנשא תחות ידי דמלאך מותא כן יתכבשון כל בני אדם וחוה 'Just as the earth is pressed under the heavens and human beings under the angel of death so may all the sons of Adam and Eve be pressed ...' Interesting for comparison is also a Christian amulet written in Coptic (T.S. 12,207)[224] that implores 'God who has bound Heaven and has bound earth ... restrained the Sun ... the moon ... the stars ... and the winds in the middle of heaven', to 'bind the mouth and tongue', of an adversary so they 'will not be able to speak an evil word' against the client. Although such a full description of the geography of the universe in all its layers as appears in M163 is not to be found elsewhere, the seven powerful words by which only heaven and earth were suppressed, are invoked in a similar fashion in three other bowls AIT 6:7-9, Geller B:7-9 and MS 1927/62:5-7. The introductory invocations to the seven words in these texts are as follows:

[223] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 248.
[224] Meyer and Smith et. al. 1994, pp. 197-199.

M 163:9	היכא דיתבן הנין שבע בני אלהי וידען שבע מילי תקיפתיא ד[ב]הון כבישא שמיא וארעה
AIT 6:7-9	וכיבשא הדין כבישנא להון בשום הלין שבע מילין דישמיא וארעה כבישין בהין בשום
Geller B:7-9	וכבישנא להון כיבשא הדין בשום הלין שבע מילין דשמיא וארעא כבישין בהון בשום
MS 1927/62:5-7	ואסרנא וחתימנא עליהון הלין שבע מילין דבישמיה וארעא כבישין בשום הלין שבע מילין דישמיא וארעה כבישין בהון בשום

This Aramaic opening formula appears also in *Hekhalot Zutarti* as part of a description of the enormous powers of certain magical words דין הוא איסרא וחיתמא דאסרין ביה ארעא ואסרין ביה שמייא 'This is the binding and the seal by which are bound earth and heaven'.[225] The powerful words in the Hekhalot text are different from those found in our text, however, the four sets of seven words found in the magic bowl texts are similar enough to each other for us to assume a common *Vorlage*:

	7th word	6th word	5th word	4th word	3rd word	2nd word	1st word
M163:9-11	כיב(ש)ון	דבחיל ארכדיל	זדין מיזיון זיועין	משכבא מכבשא	דבחיל דיבחיל	גישמון	מדא מדא
AIT 6:7-9	כיבשין	ארדיבל	מורה	משכב[226]	מרביל	גישמין מרביל	גישמין מרביל
Geller B:7-9	[כיבשין]	[ארדיבל]	מורא	משבר	מרחבל	גישמין	מרביל
MS 1927/62:5-7	כיבשין	ארדיבל	מזרח ארובכאל	משכב	מרביל רחבל	גישמין מרביל	גישמין מרביל
Hermitage p.7:8,9[227]			אדריגל	מורדן	תחבל	גשימון	אגישמון מרביל

A tradition regarding divine names that have the power and force to hold in place the different layers of the cosmos exists also in the b. Suk. 53a-b and y. San. 10:2, 29a. This

[225] Schäfer 1981, §367.
[226] Corrected by Epstein 1983, p. 334.

tradition consists of a story of how King David, when digging the foundations for the temple, reached so deep that he was in danger of releasing the *Tehom* (deeps of the abyss) which would then unleash a flood upon the earth. In the Babylonian Talmud King David stopped the *Tehom* from rising by writing the ineffable name on a shard and casting it over the deep. In the version of the Yerushalmi Talmud the shard was already in place and King David happened upon it while excavating. When he attempted to remove it the shard warned him to desist: 'You can not lift me up ... Because I am here to suppress the *Tehom*', דנא הכא כביש על תהומא.[228]

Cf. בני האלהים in Gen. 6:2,4, Job 1:6; 2:1 and בני אלהים in 38:7, also בני אלים שבע בני אלהי in Ps. 29:1, and the Aramaic בר אלהין in Dan. 3:25. The understanding of the expression 'sons of God' as meaning 'angels' in Gen. 6:2,4 was objected to by the 2nd century Palestinian Tana R. Simeon b. Yoḥai who preferred them to be called 'sons of nobles' (בני דייניא). Furthermore, he cursed all those who did call them 'sons of God'.[229] The Palestinian Amora R. Reuben (3rd-4th century) also made a comment concerning the term 'son of God' as mentioned in Dan. 3:25. He states that when Nebuchadnezzar uttered it, an angel immediately came down and slapped him on the mouth for presuming that God had a son; a statement most likely intended to avoid any association with the Christian Jesus 'Son of God'. Nevertheless, 'sons of God' in the sense of 'angels' appear often in Hekhalot[230] and magical literature; usually in the form quoted from Job 38:7 ויריעו כל בני אלהים 'and all the sons of God shout for joy'. The mention of 'sons of God' in Gen.6 is the precursor to the 'fallen angels' literature, a reference to which is found in l. 18 of our text (see commentary below). In an article on the sons of God Alexander cites a number of passages as 'evidence that from the second century onwards the rabbis in Palestine engaged in a polemic against angelology'.[231] Statements about how limited the knowledge of the angels is in both *Genesis Rabbah* 17:4, where it is described as less then that of Adam, and in *Exodus Rabbah* 23:15,

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[227] Borisov 1969.

[228] Sperber (1994, pp. 47-54) noted a connection between this story in the Talmuds and magic bowls. The casting of the shard inscribed with angels' names led him to conclude that (ibid. p. 54): 'the Yerushalmi text probably attests to the existence of such magic bowls in Jewish Palestine as early as the third century CE'. Such a notion is questionable, as no magic bowls have been found in Palestine.

[229] *Genesis Rabbah* 26.

[230] *Hekhalot Rabati*, *Seder Rabba de Bereshit* and *Shiur Qomah*.

where it is depicted as inferior to that of the generation that crossed the Red sea. In *Genesis Rabbah* 1:3 there is a discussion as to whether the angels were created on the second or fifth day. These statements could be taken to reflect an objection to the idea that angels could have had a part in the act of creation. Not only did they lack the knowledge, it would have been impossible for them to have participated in the first act of creation as they themselves had not yet been created. Cf. *Against Heresies* by Irenaeus who states that Carpocrates (XXV:1), Menander, Simon Magus (XXIII:2) and Saturninus (XXIV:1) all taught that the world was made by angels. Saturninus is quoted by Irenaeus as having claimed, much like in our text, that 'The world ... and all things therein, were made by a certain company of seven angels'.[232] Both the idea that the angels partook in the act of creation, as well as allusion to the Christian Jesus, son of God, which were so objectionable to the rabbis are present in our text here.

Though בני אלהי are masculine in gender the demonstrative pronoun referring to them is feminine as are the two verbs יתבן and ידען.

שמיא כבישא The feminine form of the active participle *pe.* is used three times in l. 8, the first of these should be a masculine plural form - כבישין.

12 There should be an added הכדין 'just so' at the beginning of l. 12 to complete the phrase begun in l. 8 by הי<ד>כין 'just as'.

13 מלאכי בני איקרא The word איקרא is derived from the root יקר and probably denotes 'honor, glory' (cf. Mandaic *ʿqʾrʾ*, DM p. 365a). As these angels appear immediately after the invocation of the seven words known by the seven 'sons of gods' it is conceivable to assume that they are synonymous. In Gordon H:2, there occurs in a long list of malevolent entities the expression שבעה בני איקגירי, which Gordon considers synonymous with the expression בני איגרי - the roof spirits.[233] However, the seven בני איקגירי in Gordon H:2 may be an illusion to the same seven angels in our text rather than a corruption of איגרי, as Gordon assumed.

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[231] Alexander 1972, p. 68.
[232] Jonas 1963, p. 132.
[233] Possibly associated with epilepsy, see note on M156:5,6.

14 כבשיאל The angel's name is derived from the root כבש, a root that embodies one of the central themes of this incantation. In l. 14 the invocation of the eight angels, the last of which is described as having 'pressed the pillar of the earth',[234] include three names on the theme of the root כבש: כיבשון, כבשיאל and כבשיאיל. In another bowl, Gordon 6:4, כבשיאל is the first of a list of ten angel names. In the same bowl, Gordon 6:2, there are three participles describing various evil entities, these are translated by Gordon as 'vanquished thrashed and trodden'. The similarity between these and the names which appear before כבשיאל in our text is noteworthy:

Gordon 6:2 כבישין דישין ודריכין [235]{כבישין דישין ודריכין בשום}

M 163 כיבשון דישון ודדיכון בשום

On the basis of the form in Gordon 6 it is possible to assume that דדיכון in M163 is a corruption of דריכון. In another Gordon bowl, D:14,15, כבשיאל is also invoked in reference to his specialty: 'By the name of Kabšiel the angel who suppresses every evil thing' בישמיה דכבשיאל מלאכה דהוא כביש כל מידועם ביש. Kabšiel is also the last name in a list of eight angels in two Cairo Geniza fragments. One is a love charm, *T.-S. K 1.37* 2a[236] and the other, *T.-S. K 1.26* 1b,[237] a text to stop an adversary's mouth from uttering hatefulness. In the latter fragment Kabšiel is also mentioned as being responsible for 'pressing the earth in the presence of (or - before) the heavens', כבשיאל דכבש ארעא קודם שמייא. It is interesting that in *T.-S. K 1.26* 1b, just as in M163, the two aspects of pressing, i.e. the pressing down which holds the layers of the cosmos together, and the suppressing of an adversary's mouth are both included. Another Geniza fragment, *T.-S. K 1.15* page 2 line 17 to page 3 line 19,[238] also a recipe for the subjugation of human adversaries, invokes Kabšiel three times in the capacity of a *similia similibus* formula, stating that just as he is the one who 'subdued the

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[234] The concept of pillars of the earth is well known from a wide variety of cosmological literature, yet references to a single pillar are few. In Exodus Rabba (Vilna) 2 and Midrash Tanhuma (Buber) Parashat Shemot 16 and (Warsaw ed.) Parashat Shemot 19 God says to both Abraham and Moses 'It is at the pillar of the earth that you are standing' במקום עמודו של עולם אתה עומד.

[235] Gordon added the brackets thinking that the sequence כבישין דישין ודריכין בשום was superfluous. Considering our text, however, it would be preferable to remove the brackets and read 'vanquished thrashed and trodden by the name of כבישון, דישון and דריכון'.

[236] Schäfer and Shaked vol. I, 1994, p. 58.

[237] Schäfer and Shaked vol. II, 1997, p. 267.

[238] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 148.

world under his (God's) feet. Thus will be subdued before me all those who speak evil against me'.

15 פתלין The feminine passive participle plural should be פתילן.

18 עזאל ועזאל ועזזיאל - The third simile refers to the punishment these three named angels received by the hand of another group of angels who were sent by God. The punishment they received for transgressing against the will of their lord was to be pressed on a mountain (of darkness) with their faces directed to darkness. The story that is behind this simile is a combination of motifs derived from the literature which developed around the story of the fallen angels in Gen. 6:4.[239] The names A'ZA'L, A'ZA'L and A'ZZYA'L, which appear in M163, are closest in form to the names of the three angels mentioned in III Enoch A'WZA' A'ZH and A'ZA'L,[240] though they are by no means the same. The motifs concerning the fact that these three angels transgressed their lord's command and that they were punished by other angels sent by God himself, are common to most of the fallen angel stories.

וכבשינון על טור[א דחשוכא] ואחדרו אפיהון לאפי דחשוכא The theme of the angels' punishment having consisted of being pressed in (or on) the mountain of darkness facing the darkness is found in I Enoch 10, considered to be a translation of an Aramaic work from as early as the 2nd - 1st centuries BCE. Unfortunately the Aramaic fragments of the Book of Enoch are too scanty at this point of the text to allow a reconstruction of this motif.[241] However, in the Zohar, a medieval work, Balak vol. III p. 208a, there is an allusion to the fallen angels Uzza and Azael who were imprisoned in the mountains of darkness their faces towards the darkness. The expressions used in the Zohar - בטורא דחשוכא ... ורמי חשוכא ... דאנפין ... וזריק חשוכא באנפוי ... וחשוכא אזדריק באנפוי are fairly close to the ones in our bowl. Cf. The Coptic, Manichaean, Kephalaia 117.1ff. 'Again, before the watchers rebelled

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[239] The comparative study of the literature surrounding the fallen angels, such as the Enochic traditions, the Targum and Midrashim is extensive and beyond the scope of this study. The most relevant sources for our purpose here are I Enoch chapter 10, III Enoch chapters 4 and 5, the Targ.-J. to Gen. 6:4, b. Yom. 67b, Midrash Deuteronomy Rabbah 11, Pesikta de R. Kahana 34. Later medieval sources include the Zohar, Balak vol. III p. 208a and 212a, and Havdala de R. Akiva 11. For a fuller discussion of the development of the fallen angels in these sources see Ginzberg 1946-47, Milik 1976, pp. 317-339 and Scholem 1980-1981 pp. 243-281.

[240] Other manuscript variants found in the Schäfer Synopsis are not significantly closer in form to the names in M163. Although of no apparent importance the name AʿZZYAʾL does appear once in the *Sepher Ha-Razim* second Heaven (l. 26) as the first angel of the second step.

and came down from heaven, a prison was fashioned and constructed for them in the depths of the earth, below the mountains'.[242] Though there is no mention of the angels 'facing the darkness' in the Kephalaia there is, nevertheless, elaboration to the effect that: 'the remnant that is left from the darkness is this black mountain' (Kephalaia 112.5ff).[243] In the Psalms of Thomas IV (210.1 and 210,10), another Manichaean work, there is also mention of the mountain of darkness: '[The] demons, - put fetters on their feet; the goddesses, - put iron on their hands; the stinking and foul devils; - let their neck break beneath the collar; - the false gods that have rebelled, - bind them beneath (or at) the dark mountain'.[244] In the Mandaean Ginza the motif of 'being bound in the Mountain of darkness', *bṭwrʾ ḏhšwkʾ*, is used more generally as a threat to what criminals can expect.[245] On the basis of the Aramaic expression טורא דחשוכא, which appears also in the Zohar it is possible to suggest that l. 18 of our text be likewise reconstructed [טור]א דחשוכא.

An expression similar to that which appears in l. 18: דעל פוקדן דמריהון עברו occurs in AIT 1:8-11: אשבעית עליכון כל מיני ליליתא בש[ום] זרעיתכין דילדין שידי ולילית[א] לבני נורא סטין ומרדין ועברין [על] גזירתא דמריהון ... 'I adjure you, all species of liliths in respect of your posterity, which is begotten by demons and liliths to the children of light who go astray: Woe, who rebel and transgress against the proscription of their Lord ...' Note that Montgomery identified in his commentary on בני נורא and what follows in l. 9 the reference to the myth of the fallen angels from Gen. 6. Another Syriac bowl, Texidor 50327,[246] which proclaims at its outset to be an amulet for 'pressing and binding' *qmʿyʾ lkybšʾ wʿsrʾ*, mentions in l. 3 angels who revealed the mysteries of their lord *mlʾky dglwn rzy mryhwn.*

Other relevant references in magic bowls are: 1. The angels A'ZA', A'ZA'L and Metatron which are invoked together with in Gordon D:11. A curious combination for in III Enoch this pair of angels were antagonistic towards Metatron. 2. In AIT 2:6, AIT 9:10 and Gordon 11:9 there is a formula in which demons are threatened with the ban that was put on mount Hermon. Montgomery correctly identified this as 'a reminiscence of the myth of the

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[241] Milik 1976, p. 162.
[242] Gardner 1995, p. 123.
[243] Gardner 1995, p. 117.
[244] Säve-Söderbergh 1949, p. 127.
[245] Säve-Söderbergh 1949, p. 127.

confederation of fallen angels',[247] reference to which can be found in I Enoch 6:5. 3. In another bowl, published by Montgomery in 1912 and written in Manichaean script, the seal of *šmḥyz'* the fallen angel is mentioned.

20, 21 Both 'the great man of the end' of the sixth simile (l. 20) and 'the primal man' of the following seventh simile (l. 21) are as yet unknown to us. However, the fact that they are in apposition, the great man of the end vs. the primal man, might be a clue.

22 נגרי The ר in this word is clearly written, as the scribe distinguishes his ר and ד. However, the combination of טורי ורמאתה ונגרי is close to the Targ.-J. of Isa. 30:25 which reads: על כל כל הר גבה ועל כל גבעה נשאה פלגים יבלי מים (MT: טור רם ועל כל רמא מנטלא פצידין נגדין מיין '... on every high mountain and on every lofty hill, there shall appear brooks and water courses ...'). נגדין 'rivers' or 'watercourses' is more appropriate in our text than נגרי 'door bolts' (J. p. 876b). It is probable that the scribe, in haste, wrote an ר instead of a ד.

23-24 ענינן The correct spelling for either 'augurs' (Is. 2:6) or 'clouds' is עננין, as the word 'clouds' is spelled (ענני) in the next line.

עליו This form, occurring twice in this line, is Hebrew; one would expect the Aramaic equivalent עלוהי or עליה as in l. 21.

נקטוי, פכרוי and שדוי All 3rd person masculine plural verbs in the perfect with 3rd person masculine singular suffixes. The ה is missing in the suffix and the forms should be reconstructed to נקטו<ה>י, פכרו<ה>י and שדו<ה>י.

חרום אחרום Cf. Smelik 1978 lines 2 and 3[248]: מן שעריהון שקלית ליפכריהון ומן גילדיהון לירקמיהון ומן דמיהון ליחתמיהון בישבע שבע נקטית בציצותהון ובתמני תמני בגדילתהון ושדרית יתהין לחד מרק לניקרא דשמיא. 'From their hair I took to grasp them, from their skin to (bond) them, from their blood to seal them. Seven at a time I seized them by their hair, eight at a time by their bodies, as I threw them to *ḥd mrq nyqr'* which is in the heavens'.[249]

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[246] Texidor 1962, pp. 53-54.

[247] Montgomery 1913 p. 126.

[248] Other parallels to this motif found in this bowl published by Smelik exist in three unpublished bowls M148:6,7 (from the Moussaieff collection to be published by the present author), MS 1927/10:6,7 and MS 2053/182:3-6.

[249] In his article (1978) Smelik understood the motif of taking hair, skin and blood as a ritual performed against the clients (his footnote 4) rather than the demons. However, it is more likely that the ritual is intended against the demons which are listed immediately before the

Both M148 and MS 1927/10 as well as Smelik's bowl have the extra clause, 'to where demons go and do not return'. The fate of HRWM A'HRWM is similar in that he was grabbed by the fringes of his sides (or folds of his garment or locks of hair) בציצין דסיטריה. In M163 seven were hurled to the heavens and eight to the midst of the clouds, while in Smelik's text seven at a time were grabbed by their locks and eight at a time were grabbed by their bodies and also hurled to the heavens.

קרח (וד)ותן ואבירם The ninth and final simile is derived from the biblical story of Korah Dathan and Abiram (Num. 16) whose punishment consisted of the earth bursting open and swallowing them live, with families and possessions, straight into Sheol.

27 רעוינית The scribe confused the ו and the י; this word should have been written רעיונית.

29 The form in which the Holy Trinity is expressed in this line is reminiscent of that mentioned in *The Acts of Judas Thomas* section 39[250] where the apostle addresses Jesus in the following manner: 'we glorify thee, and we exalt through Thee Thy exalted father, who is not seen, and the holy Spirit...', *wmrmrynn bʾydk lʾbwk rmʾ hwʾ dlʾ mtḫzʾ wlrwḥʾ qdyštʾ*.

אישו This spelling of the name of Jesus is unattested. In Jewish sources the usual spellings are ישו or ישוע. In a Parthian amulet[251] the spelling *yyšw* is attested. The spelling אישו, with initial aleph, possibly represents a transcription of the Christian Syriac form, not as it is spelled (*yšwʿ*) but rather, as it is pronounced Išô.[252]

רומ(א) ועומ(ק)א Cf. *The Acts of Judas Thomas* §123 *ʾlhʾ dytb brwmʾ wlʾ mtksʾ mnh mdm dbʿwmqʾ hw* 'God who sittest on high, and nothing that is in the depth is concealed from thee'.[253]

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ritual description. This is confirmed by the duplicates which are both unambiguously intended for the protection of their respective named clients, as indeed is Smelik's bowl which clearly threatens in lines 4 and 5 any demon that 'will return and sin against' the client. Also, in lines 2 and 3 of his text Smelik translates שבע שבע and תמני תמני respectively as 'seven times seven' and 'eight times eight' rather than the more likely 'seven at a time' and 'eight at a time'. As for example in the Targ. Ps-J. Gen. 7:9 תרין תרין עאלו לנוח לתבותא 'two at a time they entered with Noah into the ark'.

[250] Klijn 1972, p. 86.

[251] Henning 1947, p. 40.

[252] Nöldeke 1904, p. 27: '◡ without a full vowel always becomes ī in the beginning of the syllable'.

[253] Klijn 1962, p. 131.

אבוי רמא Cf. Judas Thomas *lʾbwk rmʾ*. Cf. also in a Manichaean magical text '... in the name of his Father, the Highest ...'[254]

רוחי קדישתא Although written as a plural form one might also consider reconstructing it to <ה>רוחי, thus it could be understood as a feminine single form 'his holy spirit'. As in the Greek version of *The Acts of Judas Thomas* 'thine holy Spirit'.[255] This would also be consistent with early Syriac where *rwḥʾ* is always construed in the feminine.[256] The Holy spirit as a feminine entity is also consistent with the Manichaean Trinitarian scheme whereby the spirit is the equivalent of the Mother of Life who calls forth the First Man.[257] Cf. BOR I. 13 יסוס רות קד, and also in a Syriac incantation bowl[258] *bšwm ʾbʾ bšym br[ʾ .....w]b[rwḥʾ q]dyšṭʾ*.

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[254] Henning 1947, p. 40.
[255] Klijn 1962, p. 235. In the Syriac version it is just 'the holy Spirit' without the genitive affiliation to Jesus.
[256] Murray 1975, p. 143.
[257] Säve-Söderbergh 1949, p. xxvii.
[258] Montgomery 1917/18.

Glossary and Bibliography

Glossary

-א upon, over. אקרקפה M101:12; ארישה M101:12; אגברי M142:5; אטור M145:1; אשינא M145:1; אפרטה M145:10

אב father. אבוהי M103:9, M119:10; אבוי M163:29

אבד *pa.* to perish. תאבדון M123:8; תיבדון M131:4

אדיר (H) great, mighty, glorious. אדרים M117:5

או or. 102:7,8

אודנא ear. אודנה M156:5,9

אות (H) letter. M50:3, M59:9; אותיות M50:4, M59:9

אזל to go. אזלית M156:9; תיזלין M156:9; יזלון M102:12; תזלון M131:2,4; אזיל M145:13

אחא brother. M123:7, M142:4

אחרון (H) last. אחרונים M117:1

אחתא sister. M123:7

אי if. M123:6, M138:9

איגרא roof. איגרי M156:5

איגרתא letter. איגרת שיבוקין letters of separation M50:6, M59:12

אידא hand. ידי M155:6; ידוהי M145:12; באידיה M107:5,6

איך like. 102:9

אילהין but. M117:5

אימת when, whenever. אמא M163:23

אין (H) particle of negation, is not, are not. M101:9

אינון they m. (pl.). M155:7,10, M156:4, M163:16

איקרא see יקרא

אית there is/are. M59:8, M103:1,7, M119:1, M121:2, M145:13,14, M155:9, M156:12, M163:5,7,12,13,16,24

אל god (H) god. M102:10,14, M107:7, M112:3, M155:3,4; אלהי M117:4, M163:9

אלה (H) these, those. M117:1

אלהא god. M117:5, M155:8, M163:16,18; אלהים M155:8; אלהי M145:13, M163:4,9

אלהינו (H) M101:10; אלוהי (H) god. אלוה (H) M102:10

אלפא a thousand. אלפין M163:23

אם if. M103:6,7, M119:6,7,8, M156:9

אימא mother. M138:11

אמירן see מריא

אמן M50:6, M101:13, M102:14, M103:10, M119:10, M107:7,9, M117:6, M121:5,6, M123:9, M131:5,

M138:12, M142:8, M149:11, M155:12, M156:13, M163:28,30

אמר to say, speak. M107:5, M123:5, M138:8, M145:13,14, M156:7; אמנליה M145:9 ;אמריתון M142:5

אנה I. M59:8, M131:4; אנא M117:5, M123:2, M145:15

אנחנא we. M142:5

אני (H) I. M59:13, M112:13, M149:5, M156:2

אנפא face; with prep. ב before. אפי M163:18; אפיהון M163:18;באנפי M142:3

אנתי you f. M103:7, M119:7, M156:7,9,10

אנקתא necklace charm. אינקיתא M101:4

אינשא human being; man. בני אינשא M102:13; בני אינשה M123:8, M163:26; אינש M103:6, M119:6; אינשי M149:7

אמיץ brave (H). M155:4; אמץ M155:4

אסא, אסי to heal. *ithpe.* תיתסי M103:2, M119:1, M155:2, M156:3; לאסו M155:1

אסיא healer. M142:5

אסורא bond, chain. איסורי M103:4, M119:4

אסותא healing, remedy. M142:10, M156:1,3; אסואתא M102:5

אסקופתא threshold. איסקופתיה M59:11, M121:1, M142:6; איסקופתה M142:10

אסר to bind. אסיר M107:6; אסרינון M142:7; אסיריתון M163:20; למיסר M101:1, M108:2

אסרא binding. M163:1; אסריה M163:3,29

איסתרא goddess. M103:3, M119:3; איסתרתא pl. M102:5,6,7, M123:8

אף also. M163:28

אפך to change, turn around. אפיכין M102:4, M112:4; אפיכי M102:8; איתופך *ittaf.* M145:8 ;איתפיך *ithpe.* M145:8,9

אקלידא key. אקליודי M145:14; אקלידי M145:15

ארבע four. M142:2. M145:5; ארבעה M145:5,6

ארבעין forty. M102:12

ארדיכל builder. ארדיכלי M163:20

ארמאי gentile. M103:4, M119:4, M123:7, M138:10,11

ארעה earth. M50:4, M59:10, M102:6, M145:7,8,10,11,12, M163:8,9,15; ארעא M102:4

אש (H) fever, fire. M117:3

אשתא fire. אישתא M145:11

אשתמודע to be recognized, known. לישתמודע M102:11

אתא letter, character. M102:13

אתה (H) you. M102:10; אתא M117:4

אתון you m. (pl.). M 131:2,4; אנתון M163:27

אתי to come *pe.*; to bring *af.* אתו M163:23; תיתון M101:7; מיתי *af.* M145:14; איתיתי M50:4; מיתינא *af.* M145:15

אתר place. M131:3,

אתר בית מקור בנה (H) womb M155:10

אתתא woman; wife. איתתה M121:2; איתא M156:13; אינתיה M142:6; אינתתיה M149:7

ב- in, at, by. *passim*; ביה M112:4, M145:11, M156:7,8; בה M131:3, M155:9, M156:12; בהון M50:4, M59:9,10, M163:9,15,16; בכון M145:13,14

בדיל on account of. M155:5

בדר to scatter. תיבדרון *pa.* M131:2

בטל to annul, make redundant. תיבטל M155:9; יבטלון M155:10; ניתבטלון *ithpe.* M107:3

בי house of. M50:1; ביה M101:6

בין ... בין whether ... or ... M123:6,7,8, M138:9,10,11

בין amongst. בן M156:5

בינתא hair. ביניתה M101:12

ביש evil. M102:5, M119:2, M107:8, M112:6, M121:5, M149:10; בישא M107:8, M149:9; בשתא M131:2,4; בישתא M59:3, M103:5, M119:5, M117:6, M121:4, M123:2,6, M138:3,4,9, M142:7, M149:9, M155:7,12, M156:4,7,9,10,12, M163:13,25,27; בישתה M101:3; בישותא M163:26,27; בישין M102:4,7,9,12, M103:4, M119:4, M112:4, M121:4; בישי M107:4,8, M112:6, M121:4, M149:9; בישון M123:2, M138:2

ביתא house. M145:9,10; ביתה M163:20; בית M163:24; ביתה M50:5, M101:6,7,10, M112:1,7; ביתיה M59:7,11, M103:7, M119:7, M107:1,6,8, M108:2, M121:1, M123:9, M142:6, M149:5; בתיהון M149:7

בית אילהי M145:13;

בית גילגלוהי דעינה the socket of the eye M156:5-6,10

בית גנזי treasure house M145:14,15

בית דין (H) law court M101:11;

בית מישכבהון bed room M50:5;

בית קברי M102:6 cemetery

בכין therefore. M50:, M59:10, M156:11

בלי to perish, fade away. ניתבלן M163:13,26,27

בלם to block, stop up, muzzle. בלים M163:26; ניבלמוניה M163:29; למיבלם M101:1

בנת daughter. M50:6; בנתיה M149:6

בעירא cattle. בעיריה M149:6

בר outside. לבר M163:13,26,27

ברא son *passim*. M121:1; בריה M145:2; ברה M107:5; בנה (H) M155:10; בנין M155:11; בני M102:7, M103:5, M119:5,6; בניה M121:1, M149:6; בנוהי M123:9

בני אינשא people. M102:13; בני אינשה M123:8, M163:26

ברדא ice. M155:8

ברזל iron (H). M155:7

ברי to create. ברא M155:5

בריח lock (H). בריחי M155:7

בתולא virgin, virginity. בתולן M163:15

גוא inner. בגו within M163:13,26; גואה M155:9

גיסא בר relative, kin. M102:13

ברוך (H) to bless. M102:10, M117:4

ברתא daughter. M131:4, M138:11

גאה, גאי (H) exalt. גאו M102:14

גבור (H) mighty. גיבור M102:10

גברא man. M145:13,14, M163:20,21; גבר M156:13; גברי M123:7, M142:5

גדא fortune, lot. גדיה M163:2,16,19,20,24,29

גדול (H) great. M102:10,11

גדע to cut off *pa*. מגדעין M155:7; יגדעון M155:7

גואל avenging. M102:14

גודא troop. M145:4

גוונא manner, form; colour. גונין M142:7

גונחא thunderclap. M145:7

גזרת decree. M142:7

גט ,גיטא divorce writ. M50:2,3,6,7, M:59:7,8,9,12, M103:1,6,10, M119:1,6,10 ;

גט פיטורין ,M103:6 גיט פיטורין M119:6

גיברא valiant. M107:7

גלי ,גלא *ithpe*. to be revealed. איתגלי M102:11; תיתגלי M102:13

גלי ,גלה (H) to uncover. גלוי M50:4

גללא stone. גלל M145:1; גללי M163:24

גלף to engrave. גיליף M142:8

גנזא treasure. גנזי M145:14; גנזיה M145:15

גנח to rumble. M145:4; תיגנח M145:10

גער to drive out, expel. איתגערי *ithpe*. M117:6

גפא wing. גפיה M145:12

גרביא north. M102:6

-ד, -די of, which *passim*. דיליה M103:5, M119:5; דילה M101:7; דהון M102:14

דודא cauldron. דודי M145:5

דול to draw. נידילון M102:9

דוק to crush. M145:8

דור to dwell. דירא M59:7

דוש to tread, trample. נידשוניה M163:28

דחי to push, drive away. אדחי *af.* M107:4

דחילא frightening. M117:5

דחלולא scarecrow. דחלולי M107:4, M149:10

דיוא dew, demon. M145:11; דיווא M145:6; דיויא M145:16; דיוי M50:4, M101:2, M103:2, M107:3,7, M108:2, M121:3, M142:5,7, M145:2,4,15; דיוין M59:11, M145:6; דיותא M142:7

דירתא dwelling, living quarters. דירתיה M149:5; דירתה M101:6,7, M142:6

דכי pure. דכיא M102:12

דכר male. דיכרא M149:8,9; דיכרי M50:2, M59:7, M101:4, M103:7, M119:7,8, M123:8

דלי to draw, raise. דליתיה M142:4

דלק to burn. דליק M123:4, M138:6

דלת door (H). דלתות M155:7

דמא blood. דמה M155:10; דמאה M155:9

דם נידא menstrual blood M155:10

דמי to resemble, look like. תידמון M142:6

דמך to go to sleep. דמיך M117:4

דמם to come to rest. נידימון M102:9

דנא jar. דני M101:12

דנחא to shine, be bright. דינחיא M142:5

דרדקא child, young, small. דרדקי M163:15

דרך *ithpe.* to be trodden under. ניתדריך M163:12,22,24

דרך (H) way. דרכו M101:10

דרמנא cure, remedy. M102:7

דת law. M50:6, M59:12

הדין this. M50:7, M101:1, M102:1, M103:1, M119:1, M107:1, M108:2, M112:1,7, M123:1,3, M131:4, M138:1,4, M155:1, M163:1,4,5,6,7,12,14,16,17,19,20, 21,22,24,25,27,28,28,30

דא (fem.) M101:5, M102:5,6,7,13, M107:9;

הדא (fem.) M50:2,5, M101:5, M103:6, M119:1,7;

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הנא M163:5,11

הנין M163:9

הלין M163:15,16,26

הנון M163:17

אילן M145:11

הדמא member, limb. הדמי M102:12; הדמין M156:12

הדר to go around, return. ניהדרינון M102:4; אהדרו *af.* M163:18

ההוא that (m.). M145:3,13

ההיא that (f.). M145:13, M156:8; מנההיא M145:3

הוא he. M50:1, M102:4,11,12,13, M112:13, M117:1, M155:4,8,10, 163:2,23,25,26,27

הוי to be. הוא M145:7; הוה M50:1, M123:5, M138:8, M142:5; הווה M145:7; יהי M155:1; ליהוי M102:8; תיהוי M142:10, M156:1,3; יהוין M102:5; תיהויין *pa.* M103:6, M119:6; יהא (H) M101:10

הונא nature, faculty. M102:14

היכא where. M163:9

היכלא temple. היכל M155:8

...ד היכדין just as. M163:4,8,17,18,19,20,21,23,24

הכדין just so. M163:5,6,12,18,20,22,24

הלך (H) to go, go away. ילך M101:10; ילכו M117:3

הללויה M50:6, M121:5, M149:11

הפך to overturn, turn around. למיפך M102:1; ניהפוכונון M102:12; ניתהפכון *ithp* M102:1,2,3

ואו woe (interj.). M102:5,6

זגד to worship. זגדית M145:13

זוח *pa.* to raise. מזיח M117:4

זוח to remove, turn away. תיזחין M156:12; תיזחון M59:11, M123:8, M138:11; ניזיחון M107:3; יזחון M112:7

זוטא small. M142:4

זיבא river, flood. M145:10

זיוא appearance. M145:10; זיו M155:5,8

זידן impious, wicked, malicious. זידניתא M101:3

זין armor. זוניה M145:11

זינא weapon. M145:11,14,15; זיניה M145:14,15

זיקא blast demon. זיקי M107:8; זיקין M145:5

זכי to be victorious. זכא M163:28; ניזכוניה M163:28

זכר (H) male. M101:5,9

זמן *pa.* to appoint. מזמן M102:1, M107:1

זמר to sing. זמרת M145:13

זמרתא singer. M103:5,7, M119:5,7

זניתא prostitute. M103:5,7, M119:5,7

זעקה cry. זעקי M107:6,7

זקיפא cross. זקיפיה M163:29

זרעא seed, descendant. M138:9; זרעיה M149:6; זרעיהי M123:6; זרעהי M142:6; זרעה M142:6

חבל to destroy *pa.* לחבלא M50:4; יחביל M142:5

חבלא ruin, injury. חבל M142:4; חבולא M145:5

חברתא f. neighbour. חברתיה M103:6, M119:6

חד one. M107:5, M145:12; חדא M163:9,10,11, M142:2,3

חוי to show *pa.* תיחוין M156:9

חולה a sick person (H). חולים M117:4

חומרא charm. חומרי M101:3, M131:2; חומריה M163:19,21,25

חוס to favor *pa.* יחוס M103:8, M119:8

חוש quick (?). יחוש M103:8, M119:8; אחישה M103:8, M119:8

חותם (H) seal. M101:7,8

חזי *ithpe.* to appear. מיתחזיא M59:8; מתחזין M50:2; תיתחזון M50:5, M101:7; תתחזון M59:12

חטי to sin. חטו M163:23

חטף to snatch. מיתחטפין *ithpe.* M142:2

חיורא white. M163:5

חיזונא vision. חיזוה M142:7; חיזוא M163:22,23; חיזוני M107:4

חיטינא slander (?).M103:2, M119:2,3

חיי to live. חיתה M101:6; חיי M102:6

חיילן a mighty one. M145:13

חילא strength. חיליה M163:20

חילמא dream. M50:3,5, M59:8,12; חילמי M59:11, M107:4

חילקא destiny, portion. חילקיה M163:2,17,21,24,29; חילקיהון M163:17

חיסמא envy; a block. M107:8, M149:9

חיש hurry. M107:5

חיתה creature. M123:5, M138:7

חלבא fat. חלבה M155:11; חלביהון M155:11

חמי *ithpe.* to appear. מתחמי M112:6; מיתחמי M112:6

חמשין fifty. M156:12

חרם to excommunicate *pa.* יחרמון M156:10

חרשא sorcerer, sorcery. חרשי M50:4, M59:10, M102:1, M103:5, M119:5, M121:4, M149:9; חרשין M102:4,7,8,9,12, M112:4

חשב to think, plan *pa.* מחשיב M163:25

חשוכא darkness. M163:9,18

חתם to seal. M101:12; חתים M107:6, M112:1,3, M121:1,3, M149:5; חתימין M50:7, M149:7,11; חתימיתון M142:7; מחתם *pa.*

M112:1, M149:5; מחתים *pa.* M121:1; מחתמין *pa.* M149:7,11

חתמא seal, sealing. M103:10, M119:10, M112:3; חתמתא M102:13, M107:1, M142:10

טבלא drum. M145:4

טבעת (H) ring. טבעות M101:9

טולא shade. M155:6

טוס to fly. ניטיסון M102:9

טורא mountain. M59:9, M163:18; טור M145:1; טוריא M50:4; טורי M102:9, M163:21, M131:1, M145:6,8,14,15

טעמא sense, faculties. טעמהון M102:13,14

יבש to dry. ייבשון M155:9,10

ידע to know. M102:13; ידענא M142:5; ידען M163:9

יהב to give. *ithpe.* איתיהיב M102:13

יהודאי a Jew. M103:3, M119:3, M123:7, M138:10,11

יהר to be proud, haughty. M131:3

יומא day. M50:6, M101:7, M107:9, M121:5, M123:9, M138:12, M142:8, M145:3,13, M163:28; יממא M50:3,6, M59:8, M149:10, M156:9; יממא M142:6,7

יחידיתא unique. M102:13

ילל to wail. יליל *pa.* M145:6

ימא oath. ממי pl. (?) M103:3

ימא to make an oath, swear *af.* מומנא M103:7, M119:7, M142:4, M145:10; מומינה M156:7,8

ימא sea. M145:8,9,14

ימינא right. ימיניה M117:5

יצא (H) to go out. M101:10

יקרא dignity, honour. M155:5; איקרא M163:13; יקריה M155:5,8; יקרהון M163:16

ירור howler. ירורי M101:2

ישראל Israel. M50:6, M101:10

ית acc. particle. M155:12; יתכי M156:10; יתכון M50:5,6, M59:12; יתהון M155:11

יתב to sit. יתיב M117:4, M155:5; יתבן M163:9

כ- preposition, the like of, as. כמותה M101:9

כבוד (H) glory. M117:3; כבודו M101:11

כבש to press. M163:15,29; כבשו M163:26; כבשינון M163:18,20; ניכבשוניה M163:28; כביש M163:11,28; כבישין M163:8,9; כבישא M163:8; כבושנא M163:13,16; כבוש M163:5; כבושו M163:27; איתכביש *ithpe.* M163:18,20,21,23; איתכבישו *ithpe.* M163:17,19,24;

אתכבישן *ithpe.* M163:4; ניתכביש *ithpe.* M163:2,7,12,18,20,22,24,25; מיתכבשי *ithpe.* M163:15; מתכבשן M163:25

כד when. M145:3

כוכבא star. כוכבי M145:8; כוכבין M131:4; כוכביה M163:2,17,19,21,25,29; כוכבהון M163:17

כוף to cover, vanquish *af.* אכיף M145:9; אכופא M145:9

כורא fish. M145:7

כורסא throne. כורסיא M155:5; כורסיה M142:3, M155:8

כיבא sore, pain. כיבי M102:9

כיבשא a press. M102:8, M163:1,28,30; כיבשי M102:8, M163:15

כימא constellation. M131:3

כין therefore, thus. M142:5, M156:12

כיפא shore. כיפי M145:6

כל all, any, each. *passim.* M102:2,3,5,11,13, M103:1,4,5,6, M119:1,2,4,5,6, M107:8, M112:4,6, M117:2,3, M121:2,4, M123:8, M142:7, M149:7,10 M163:5,7,12,13,15,16,24,27,28; כליה M145:10; כוליה M101:10, M123:9; כולכון M101:5; כולה M145:7; כולהין M163:4,13,25; כולהון M149:11, M163:17

כ(ל)ל(ב)ה (?) bitch. M103:3

כלי to destroy, restrain. כליא M145:4

כמה as, like. M155:12, M156:10,11

כמו (H) as, like. M123:5, M138:8

כנופיא crowd, assembly. M102:8

כנע to subjugate. איתכנעו *ithpe.* M50:4

כנתא foundation. M163:8

כסא bowl. M107:1

כסא (H) throne. כיסי M101:11

כרכא fortification. כרכין M156:10

כרע to kneel. כרעית M145:13

כשורא board. כשורי M145:11

כתב to write. כתבית M59:6, M103:1,6, M119:1,6; כתיב M156:8; כתבנא M50:2; כתיבנא M59:8;

כתבה writing. M101:1

כתר (H) crown. M101:11

ל- acc. particle, or prefix: unto, to, towards, for. *passim.* ליה M123:5, M138:8, M145:9,10, M163:5,7,16,24,29; לה M50:2, M59:8, M101:7, M102:5,6,8,11,13, M103:1, M119:1, M121:2, M142:7, M145:16, M156:1,3,7,9; לך M163:13; ליכי M103:6,7, M119:6,7, M142:10; להון M50:2, M59:8,12, M102:7,13; לו (H)

M101:10; לך (H) M101:13; להן (H) M117:3

לא no, not. *passim*. M50:5, M59:12, M101:7,8, M102:7,11,13, M112:4, M117:5, M123:1, M131:3, M138:1, M142:5,6,7, M155:6,10,11, M156:9,12,13, M163:13,23,26,27; לו (H) M101:10

לבש to wear, be dressed. נילבשונה M102:9; לבישין M123:5, M138:7

לבושא garment. M102:9

לוט to curse. ליטין M102:6

לויתן Leviathan. M145:7

לוטתא curse. M102:6, M103:1,3,4,5,7, M119:1,3,4,5, M123:2,3,6,7, M138:3,4,9,10,11; לוטאתא M102:6; לוטן M123:1, M138:2

לוי to accompany. לויא M59:7

לטבי no good spirits. M50:4; לטבי M145:4

ליבא heart. ליביה M163:13,22,26,27; ליבהון M102:11,13,14; ליביהון M163:26; ליבביהון M163:24

ליליה night. M50:3,5, M59:8,12, M142:6,7, M156:9; לילי M155:6

לילִיותא Lilith. M50:2, M59:3, M103:1,5,7, M119:1,2,7, M107:3,7, M121:3, M131:3, M142:7, M145:3,4,7,11,12,14,15,16, M149:8, M155:11; לילית M101:5; לילין M101:2,9

לית there is (are) not. M102:13, M117:4

לפני (H) in front of, in the presence of. M117:1; ליפני M117:3

מאה one hundred. מתן M102:12 two hundred

מאן who, which. M102:2,3

מבכלתא howler, tormentor. M101:4, M107:4,7, M121:3; מבכלין M101:2,9

מדינתא country. M163:5

מדנחא east. M102:5

מובלא a burden, load. M107:7

מומתא oath. M101:5

מופלא (H) wondrous. M102:10

מוקרא brain. מוקריה M163:24

מושב (H) seat, dwelling. מושבה M117:3,7

מות to die. מיתי M102:6

מותא death. M101:13

מותב session; dwelling. M50:1; מתיבי M59:5

מזיק (H) harmer. מזיקין M117:2

מזיקא harmer. מזיקי M112:5

מזלא star sign. מזלי M145:8; מזליה M163:17,19,21,24,29

מזמורא psalm. מזמוריה M145:13

מחבלא harmer, destroyer. M50:4; מיחבלא M59:10

מחשבתא thought, plan. M149:10; מחשבתיה M163:3,13,17,19,21,25,26,27

מחתא plague, affliction. מחאתא M101:4; מחת M156:4

מטה (H) below. M101:11

מי (H) he who, whoever. M101:10, M142:5

מיא water. M145:15, M163:8

מידעם thing. M119:2, M107:8, M112:6, M121:5, M149:10

מיטול because of, on account of. M59:12

מילתא word, spell. מלתא M142:3; M163:9,10,11; מילי M163:9,27; מיליה M163:3,13,17,19,25,26,27; מילן M145:10

מימר word, command. מימריה M142:3, M155:5; מימרהון M163:3,5,7,12,14,17,19,21,22,25

מירדא rebellion. M145:5

מכא *af.* to lower. ממכי M117:4

מלאכה angel. M102:3,10, M103:8, M119:8, M117:4, M163:14,15; מלאכין M117:5, M155:10; מלאכי M163:13,15,16,18,23,26

מלאך מותא M101:13

מלה (H) word. מילי מיליה M101:12

מלויתא accompanying demon (f.). M59:7

מלך to rule (H). מלך M156:11; מאלך M156:11; ימלך M156:11

מלך to rule. אמליך *af.* M163:28; נמלכו M142:4; נמלכון M163:28

מלך (H) king. M102:10, M117:1

מלכא king. M145:15,16, M163:4; מלכה M145:2; מלך M156:4; מלכי M145:9; מלכיה M156:4

מלכותא kingdom. M123:5, M138:7; מלכותיה M103:9, M119:10

מלל to speak. ממללן *pa.* M123:1, M138:2

מללתא utterance. M103:3, M119:3, M123:2,6, M138:3,4,9,11

מן from. *passim.* M50:5, M59:10,11, M101:6,7,10, M102:1,12,14, M103:2,3,4,5, M119:2,3,4,5,7, M107:5,6,8,9, M108:2, M112:7, M121:3,4,5, M123:5,8,9, M131:4, M138:8,11, M142:8,10, M145:5, M149:8,9,10, M155:2,10,11,12, M156:1,3,11,12 M163:13,18,22,23,26,28; מי M138:12; מיניה M101:13, M102:12; מינה M102:13, M156:12; מנהיא M145:3; מינך M145:6; מנהון M142:3, מינהון M50:6, M107:3; מינהין M142:2,3; מינכון M59:12

מני to be appointed. ממנ<י>ן M155:10

מסי to melt. איתמסיאה *Ihtpe* M50:4

מעא womb, belly. מעה M101:6, M155:2,7,12; מ(ע)יה (?) M103:3; מעינה M155:9

מעבדא active, doing. מעבדי M103:5, M119:5

מעולא (H) lofty. M102:10

מעלה (H) above M101:11

מעלונא entrance. מעולהון M121:1

מערבא west. M102:5

מפקונא exit. מיפקיהון M121:1

מפתח (H) engraver; key. מפתחי M101:7

מקום (H) place. M117:3,7

מקור source (H). M155:10

מרום (H) height, above. M101:11

מרומא height, on high. M50:4; מירומא M59:10

מריא lord. M107:5, M163:23; אמירן (?) M107:6; מרי M163:20, M142:2; מריהון M163:18

מרכבתא chariot. M121:4, M145:4; מרכבתיה M123:4, M138:6

משכבא bed. מישכביהון M50:5

משמתא ban. M59:7, M101:4; משמתתא M107:4,7

מתן two hundred. M156:12

נאלא incubus, nightmare. נאלי M112:5

נגן (H) to play a musical instrument *piel*. מנגן M117:1

נגע to injure. ונגעון M142:6

נגע (H) plague. נגעים M117:2

נגרא river course. נגרי M163:22

נדי (H) to banish *piel*. מנודא M101:10

נדא/נדי to throw, banish, excommunicate *af*. לאנדואהון M59:11

נדי to bespatter. נינדי M163:24

נדרא oath. נידרא M103:4, M119:4, M112:5, M123:2,3,6,7,8 M138:2,4,8,10; נידרין M123:1, M138:2

נהורא light. ניהור M123:2, M138:3

נהם to groan. נהמא M123:6, M138:9

נהרא river. נהרין M155:9

נוד to shake. נד M145:7,8; אנידה *af*. M145:7; איתונד *ittaf*. M145:7

נודא shaking, trembling. M145:7

נוח to rest. אניחו *af*. M163:26,27

נומתא slumber. M123:7, M138:9

נונא fish. נוני M145:8

נורא fire. M155:8; נור M123:4,5, M138:6,7, M155:8

נורא (H) revered. M102:10

נזה to be agitated. תינזהון M156:12

נזק to harm. תיתזק *ithpe*. M155:6

נחושה copper (H). נחושא M155:7

נחת to go down. אחית *af*. M102:10

נטל to move. תינטלון M123:8

נטר to guard, protect. תינטר *ithpe.* M155:6; תינטרי *ithpe.* M103:2, M119:2

נטרתא protection. M107:1, M142:10

ניגרא step. ניגריה M145:12

ניהמתא a groan. M123:6, M138:9

ניסכא lance. M145:14,16

ניסכא cast metal idol. ניסכאיא M145:12

נסב to gather. נסבה M155:11; סבו M155:12

נפל to fall. ניפיל M163:2

נפק to go out; *af.* to remove. נפק (pl.) M145:3,4,5,6; ניפק M163:26; יפקון M112:7; ניפקן M163:13,27; תיפקין M156:12; תיפקון M59:11; פוקו M101:6; תפקון M131:2,4; תפיק *af.* M155:10; מפקא *af.* M123:7, M138:9; מפקין *af.* M131:3; לאפקא *af.* M50:5, M101:2; לאפוקי *af.* M59:11

נפשא soul. נפשיה M149:6; נפשיכי M103:6, M119:6

נקב (H) gap M50:4; נקבי M59:9

נקבה female. ניקבתא M149:8,9; נקיבה (H) M101:5,9, M103:7; ניקבה M119:7,8; ניקבתא M50:2, M59:7, M101:4, M123:8

נקט to hold, take, seize. נקטוי M163:23

נשי to forget. *ithpe.* ליתנשי M102:13

נשא woman. נשי M123:8; נשיא M155:11

נתן (H) to give. תנו M117:3

סגי *pa.* to increase. מסג (?) M112:14

סדם to bind, shackle, confine. סדים M107:5

סדנא block, anvil. M145:8,12

סדנין אפיכין perverted devils (see DM p. 310). M102:4, M112:4; סדני אפיכי M102:8

סוף end. M163:20

סטן demon; enemy; prosecutor. סטנא M149:8; סטנין M59:11, M112:5, M121:3; סיטני M107:3,7; סטני M107:3,7, M108:2, M112:6, M121:4

סטנה hostility. M103:2, M119:2

סיהרא moon. M131:3

סיטרא side. סיטריה M163:23

סיוטא fright. סיוטי M108:2

סינא shoe. סנך M123:5; סינך M138:8

סיפא sword. M145:15,16

סכר to block, stop up. סכרא M102:8; ס[.]כרין M155:9

סלה M50:6; M101:13, M102:14, M103:10, M119:10, M107:9, M117:6, M121:5,6, M123:9, M131:5, M138:12, M142:8, M149:11, M155:12, M156:13, M163:28,30

סלק to rise, go up, ascend; *pa.* to remove. סליקית M50:4, M59:10; סליק *pa.* M145:14, סליקנא *pa.* M145:15

סמק to make red *pa.* סמיק M145:8

סנה thorn bush. M123:5, M138:7

סניתא hateful. M163:3,13,17,19,21,25,26,27; סניותא M163:26,27; סניתי M59:11; סניי M107:4

ספר document. M50:6; סיפר M59:12

סר prince. M102:11; סרא M103:10, M119:10; סרין M117:5

עבד to make, do, enact, perform. עבדו M102:11; עבדון M102:8; עבדן M102:6; עבדנא M50:1, M59:5; עבדין M102:5; עבדינון M102:3; ליעבדו M102:7;

עבדא servant. עובידיהון M121:2

עבדא magical act. M50:1; עובדין M103:4, M119:4

עבר to pass. M145:14; עברו M163:18; עברנא M145:15; עברי מן עלמא die M50:4, M59:10

עד until. M163:24

עובראfoetus. עוברה M101:6; עיבוריה M149:6

עולם (H) world. M102:10, M107:9

עומקא M163:29

עופא bird. M145:10

עזיזא m. strong. עזיזתא f. M103:5, M119:5

עזקתא signet ring. עיזקתא M101:9, M107:7, M142:8

עידנא time. M145:3,13

עילאי m. upper. M102:12; עיליתא f. upper. M103:3, M119:3

עין (H) eye. M117:3

עין רעה evil eye M156:6

עינא eye. M149:9; עינוהי M163:22,23

עיניתנא humble. M131:4

על upon, over, against, on account of *passim.* M102:2,3,4,5,12, M119:2, M117:2,3, M123:1, M138:1, M142:2,3, M155:5,9,10, M156:4, M163:1,8,18,23,24,25,27,28; עליה M142:8, M163:21; עלה M101:7, M102:7,9; M50:7, M123:6, M138:8,9, M156:13; עלך M102:10; עליכי M117:5, M156:7,8; עליכון M50:4, M59:8,10, M123:2,6, M138:2,3,8, M142:4,5; עליהון M102:7,9, M123:1, M138:2, M156:11, M163:18; עליו (H) M163:23

על ידי M155:6

עלא high, above. לעילא M123:5; לעלא M138:7

עלמא world. M50:4, M59:10, M142:2, M145:6,10, M163:28; עלמה M163:11,20,28; לעלם forever M50:6, M101:7, M121:5, M123:9, M138:12, M142:8, M163:28,29; עלם M102:14; עלמין M102:14, M155:8, M163:30

עם with. עים M 131:1

עמודה column. M163:15

עמי *af.* to dim, extirpate, sadden. תעימו M123:6, M138:9

ענא cloud. ענינן (?)M163:23; ענני M163:24

ענקתא necklace-charm. M112:5

עקר to uproot. איתעקרו *ithpe.* M50:4

עקרבא scorpion. ארקבי (?) M145:11

עקרה barren. M101:4,5

עריתא fever. ערייתא M142:7

עריות (H) shivers. M117:3

ערק to flee, run away. עריק M101:13

עשה (H) to do, to act. עשיתי M50:7, M59:13; עושה M149:5, M156:2

פגע to plague. M149:9

פגע to happen upon, bump into. M156:7,8

פגעה affliction, plague. M103:2, M119:2; פגע M149:9; פגעין M121:3

פגר (H) body. פגרי M101:11,12

פגרא body. פגרה M156:5,9

פומא mouth. M102:8, M123:7, M138:9; פומיי M149:10

פוקדנא command. פוקדן M163:18

פורא lot. M50:1, M59:4

פטר to release. פטרנא M50:6, M59:12

פיטורא divorce, sending away. פיטורין M50:3,6, M59:9,12, M103:6, M119:6

פיקודא command. M163:25

פישרא a solution, dissolving. M102:7

פכר to split, break, beat. פכירין M142:9,10, פכרין M163:23; פכרוי *pa.* M163:23; פכרי *pa.* M163:23

פלגא phalanx. M145:4

פנים (H) face. פניו M123:4, M138:6; פני M123:4, M138:6

פסק to cut, split, sever. איתפסיק *ithpe.* M163:23

פקד to command *pa.* מפקדין M156:4

פקע to burst open, split. פקא M131:1

פקעא valley, split, fissure. פקא M131:1; פקתא M145:8

פרטה inventory. אפרטה M145:10

פרש to express clearly, define. מפרש *pa.* M142:7

פרש to depart *pa.* פריש M156:11

פשח to tear off. איפשית *ithpe.* M131:1

פשר to dissolve. תיפשרין M156:12

פתוח (H) engraving. פתוחי M101:8

פתח to open. פתיחין M155:9

פתכרא idol. M149:8; פתכר M103:2; פתכרי M101:3, M102:5,7, M123:8, M131:2, M138:10; פתכרין M119:2, M112:5; פתכרתא M101:3, M103:2, M119:3; פתכריה M163:21,25,29

פתל to pervert. פתלין M163:15

צבא (H) host. M101:11

צבי to desire. תצבין M103:6, M119:6

צור to draw. צר M142:8

צור (H) rock. M112:14

צורונא image. M112:3

צות to listen. מציתנא *pa.* M145:1

צותא company. M156:9

צידעא the temple. צידעה M156:5

ציפרא bird. ציפרי M102:9, M145:9

ציצא night hawk. M145:9

ציצא fringe. ציצין M163:23

צנף to shriek. M145:6

צר (?).M102:6,8,11,12

קבל to accept, receive. קביל M145:10; קבילו M155:12; ליתקבל *ithpa.* M102:7

קברא tomb, grave. קברי M102:7, M156:5

קדוש (H) holy. M112:14, M155:3,4

קדח to groan. M145:6

קדיש holy. קדש M142:3; קדישה M102:14, M156:2; קדישי M163:16; קדישתא M163:29

קדם before, in the presence of. M102:7,14, M145:13, M163:18; קדמין beginning M123:5, M138:8; קדמאה primal M155:12, M163:18,21,23,27

קום to stand, exist, rise. תיקמין M156:13; קאי M155:3; קאים M102:14, M117:4; קים M155:8; ק<א>ינא M145:1; קים (H) M107:9, M163:28,30

קומתא body height, stature. קומתיה M102:12

קטל to kill. *pa.* מקטלא M103:5, M119:5

קיבלא rebuke. M155:12

קילן one who is swift (?). M145:13

קינא nest. M145:9

קירסא misfortune. M145:14

קל (H) sound, voice. M101:12

קלא voice. קליה M145:14; קלאי M145:15

קלי to roast. קליא M155:11

קמיעה amulet. M108:2, M155:9; קמיעא M123:1, M138:1, M155:1

קמע to bind *ithpe.* איתקמע M123:1, M138:1; איתקמיע M155:9

קנינא possession. קינייה M149:5

קניסא penalty. M131:4

קצר to shorten. מיתקצרין *ithpe.* M163:15

קראה a biblical verse. M156:8

קרב to approach, come near, touch. יקירבון M112:4; יקרבון M123:1, M138:2; תיקירבון M142:6

קרבא war. M145:3,9,13, M163:26

קרי to call. קרית M131:4; קרי M145:5; קרן M101:13; קרנון M102:3

קריבתא near; relative. M103:4, M119:4; קריבא M123:7; קריבה M138:10

קריתא (magical) invocation. M103:4, M119:4, M112:5

קרן (H) ray of light. קרניו M123:4, M138:6; קרני M123:4, M138:6

קרנא horn. M145:5; קרני M123:5, M138:7

קרקפא skull, head. קרקף M145:11; אקרקפה M101:12

קרקפנא head-man. M145:12

ראש (H) head. ראשו M101:11

ראשא head. ראישה M156:5,9

ראשון (H) first. רישונים M117:1

רב great. רבה M101:13, M102:3,14, M117:5, M123:5, M138:8, M155:6, M156:2, M163:20,23; רבא M107:7, M112:7, M131:5, M142:5, M145:2,8,9,10,11,12,14; רבתא M101:9, M145:1,4,5,7; רבותה M163:20; רבות M163:16; רבי M163:15; ריבוהי M123:4, M138:7; רבותהון M163:16

רבא master. רבי M145:5

רבי rabbi. M156:7

רביתא ocean. M145:6,9

רגז to be angry; *išťaf* to be agitated. אישתרגז *išťaf* M145:7

רגלא foot. ריגלך M123:6; רגלך M138:8; ריגליהון M163:3,7,12,14,17,19,21,22,25

רגש to be agitated. M145:8,9

רגש (H) tumult. M101:12

רדף to chase. רדפת M156:9

רהב to alarm. ארהיב *af.* M107:5

רהט to run. ארהיט *af.* M107:7

רוגזא anger, fury. M145:5; רוגזיה M145:15; רוגזאי M145:14

רוח (H) spirit. M101:9, M117:2

רוח wind. רוחי M145:6

רוחא spirit. M103:5, M117:6, M155:2,7,12, M156:4,5,6,7,9,10; רחא M119:10; רוח M101:4, M119:5, M155:9; רוחי M101:3, M156:4; רוחתא M131:2,4, M163:29

רוטננא incantation (?).M145:10

רומא height. M163:29

רוקא spittle. רוקי M149:10

רזא mystery, secret. M102:1,13, M142:4; רזי M102:11,12,13; ראזי M102:13; רזיה M163:21

רחיקתא distant; distant relative. M103:4, M119:4; רחיקא M123:7, M138:10

רחק to remove. רחיקו M101:6; לרחקא *pa.* M101:2; ניתרחקון *ithpe.* M107:3

ריוחתא open space. M149:9

ריש beginning, top. ארישה M101:12

ריש head, chief. ראיש M155:10

רישא head. רישיה M145:12

רכובא saddled on, positioned on. רכובהון M163:11

רם high, exalted. רמא M163:29

רמא height. ראמתא M50:4, M102:9; רמאתה M163:21; רמיתא M59:10

רמא, רמי to throw, cast. M145:12; רמינא M50:1,M59:4

רניתא unfavourable report, defamation, whispering. M102:11

רע (H) evil. רעה M101:9

רעיונא desire. רעויניה M163:27

רעש (H) commotion. M101:11,12

רפא (H) to heal. רופא M117:4

רקיעא firmament. M145:12; רקיע M145:7,8

רשאה f. have permission. ראשהא M103:6; ראשאה M119:6

רתת to shake. תרתתינה M156:13

ש- (H) relative pronoun. שאין M101:9, שישמע M101:9, שלו M101:10

שאל to ask. משוילנה *pa.* M145:9

שבועתא oath. M101:5

שבח to praise. שבחית M145:13

שביבא spark. שביבין M155:8

שבילא path. שביליכי M155:12

שבע *af.* to adjure, invoke. אשבעית M119:2, M123:3, M138:4; משבע M117:5; משבענא M102:10, M103:7, M119:7, M123:2,6, M138:2,3,8, M156:7,8

שבע seven. M102:12,13, M163:20; שבעה M163:9,11,23

שגר *pa.* to send. משגרין M123:5, M138:7

שגש to confuse; to be excited, agitated *pa.* נישת(ג)ש (?) *ithpe.* M102:11; אישת(ג)ש *ithpe.* M145:8; שגישי *pa.* M59:11

שד demon. שידא M155:12; שידי M50:4, M59:10, M101:2, M107:3,7, M108:2, M121:3, M131:2,3, M142:5,7, M145:4,14,15,16; שדי M145:15; שידין M59:11; שאדא M102:7

שדי to throw, cast. שדוי M163:23

שדר *pa.* to send, dispatch. שדרינון M102:2,3; אישתדרו *ithpa.* M156:10; לישתדרון *ithpa.* M102:5; נישתדרון *ithpa.* M102:7; מישתדרי *ithpa.* M121:4

שולטנא authority, power. שולטנהון M163:3,6,7,12,14,17,19,21,22,25

שום name. M50:3, M59:8,9, M101:11, M102:3,10,11,12,14, M103:1,6,9, M119:1,10, M107:4, M108:3, M117:2, M123:1, M131:5, M138:1, M155:3,8,9,10,12, M156:3, M163:13,14,16,26,29; שמה M101:13, M102:11,14,, M156:6, M163:5,6,10,11,12,16,24; שמא M102:12, M163:9,10,11,13; שמיה M101:13, M102:10,11, M103:7,9,10, M119:8,9,10, M112:7, M117:4,5,6, M123:5, M138:8, M142:3,7,8, M149:11, M155:5, M163:1,15; שמיהון M163:16,28,29; שמות (H) M50:4, M59:9; שמו (H) M123:3,4, M138:5,6; שמך (H) M50:6, M59:13, M149:5, M156:2

שוטא scourge. שוטיך M145:10

שוף to slip. שף M145:8

שורשא root. M145:12

שזב to save. *ithpe.* תישתזבי M103:2

שחר to wake up. M117:4

שיבבה neighbour. M123:7, M138:10; שיבבי M163:20

שיבוקא remission, releasing. שיבוקין M50:3,6, M59:9; שבוקין M59:12

שיבטא plague; plague spirit. שיבטין M59:11

שינא cliff. M145:1

שינתא sleep. M50:3,6, M59:8,12

שיתא six. M155:10

שיתין sixty. M155:10, M163:23

שכב to lie down. שכבא M156:4,5

שכלל to complete. שכליל M155:5

של (H) of, belonging to. M101:11

שלום (H) peace. M101:10

שלח to send, send off. אישתלחו *ithpa.* M163:18

שלט to have power over; *af.* to appoint, be appointed. תישלטון M156:12; שליט M117:6; שלטא M155:7; משלט *af.* M102:3,4

שליחא messenger. שליחין M123:4, M138:7

שליטא have power. M103:6, M119:6, M145:2

שלל to chain. משלל *pa.* M107:5

שלם *pa.* to deliver. משלם M123:8, M138:10

שלמתא magic rite. M123:8

שם (H) name. שים M117:3

שמיה sky, heaven. M50:4, M59:10, M156:1,3; שמיא M102:4,6, M142:10, M155:5, M163:8,9,24

שמע to hear, listen. שמעו M101:5; שמ<ע>נא M145:1; תישמע M145:10

שמע (H) *nif* to obey. ישמע M101:9,10

שמש *pa.* to serve, officiate. משמשין M123:4, M138:7, M163:16

שמשא sun. M131:3, M163:8; שימשה M155:6

שמת to ban *pa.* ישמתון M156:10; משמת M107:5

שמתא ban. M103:9, M119:9

שנא tooth. שיני M145:11

שני to change. M155:12; תישני M145:10; שנא M155:12

שעה time. M101:7; שועה M107:9; שעתא M145:3,13, M156:8

שפך to pour. אישפוך *af.* M145:11

שצטם (*shafel* of סטם) to lock up, shackle. לשצטמא M101:1

שקל to take, draw. שקיל M145:14; שקילנא M50:1, M59:4, M145:15; *ithpe.* לישתקיל M102:13,14

שקף to knock. שקיף M145:12

שר prince. M103:9, M119:10

שרגג to lead astray. תשרגגינה M156:13

שרי to loosen, untie. שרי M123:5, M138:8

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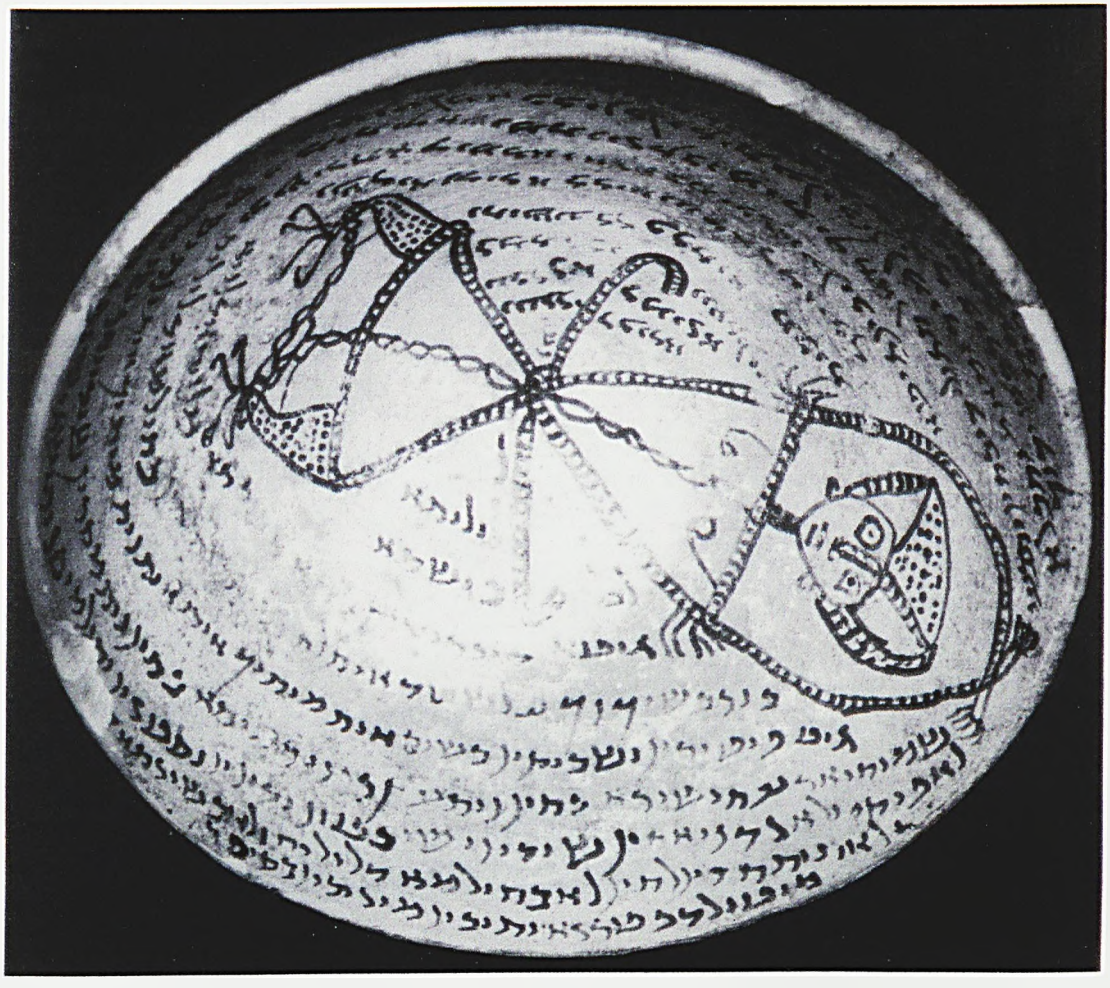
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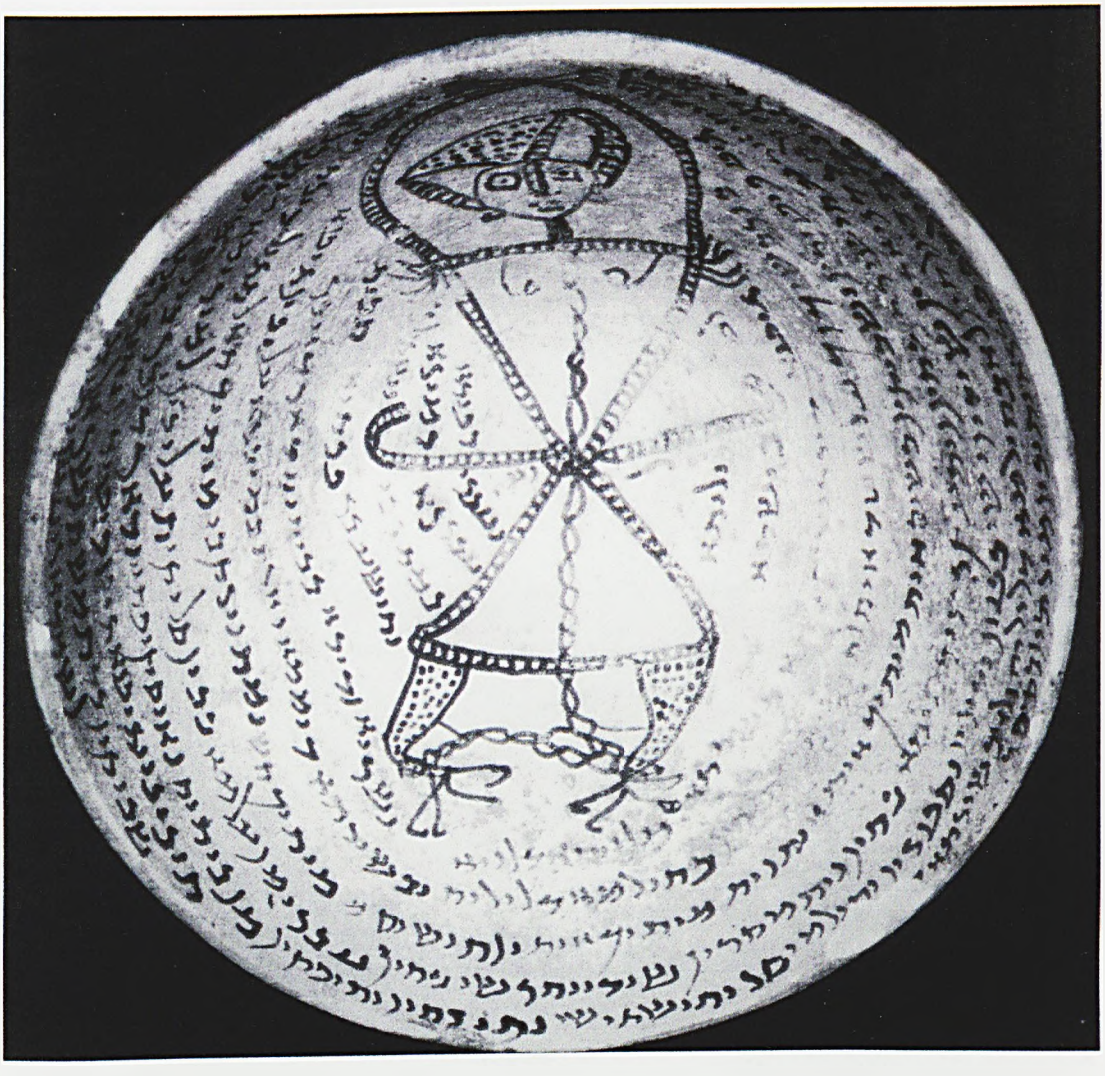
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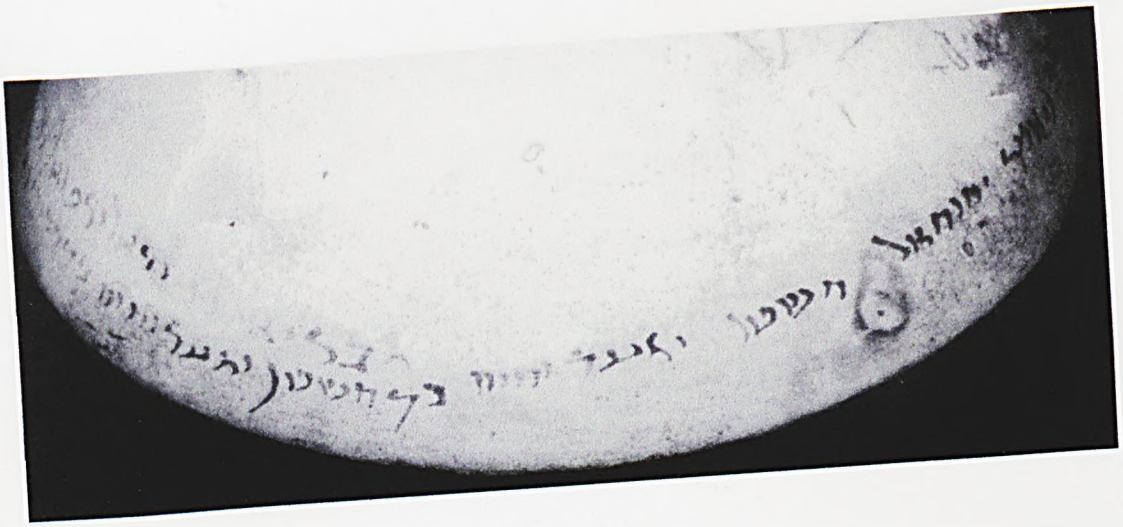
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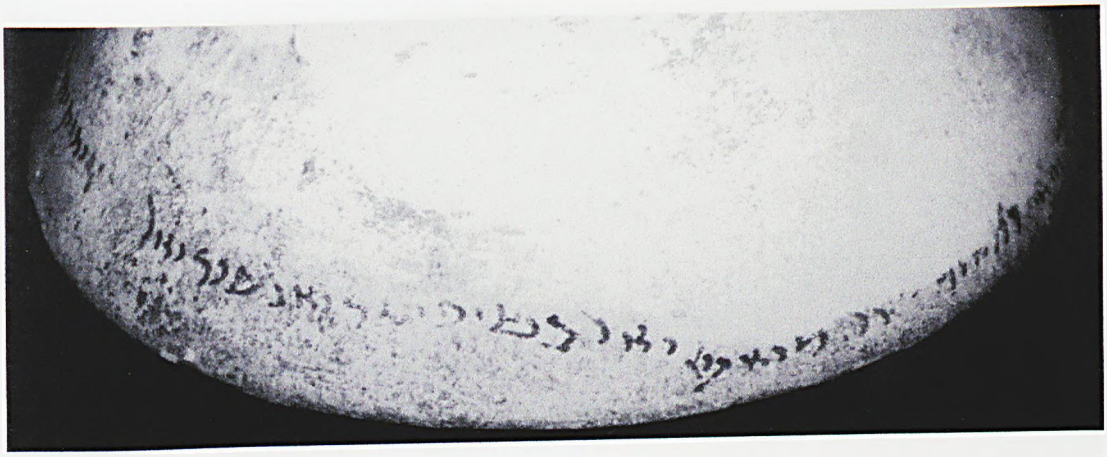


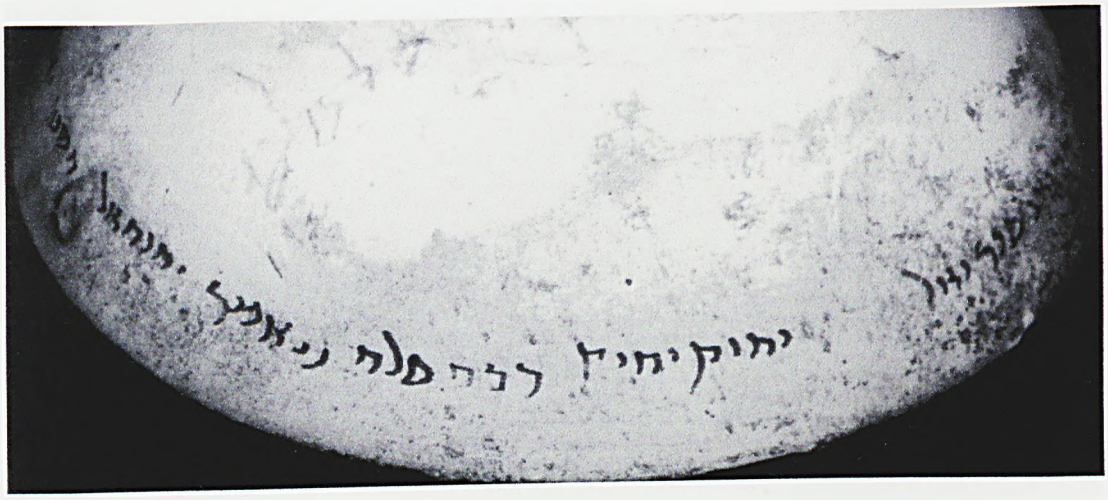
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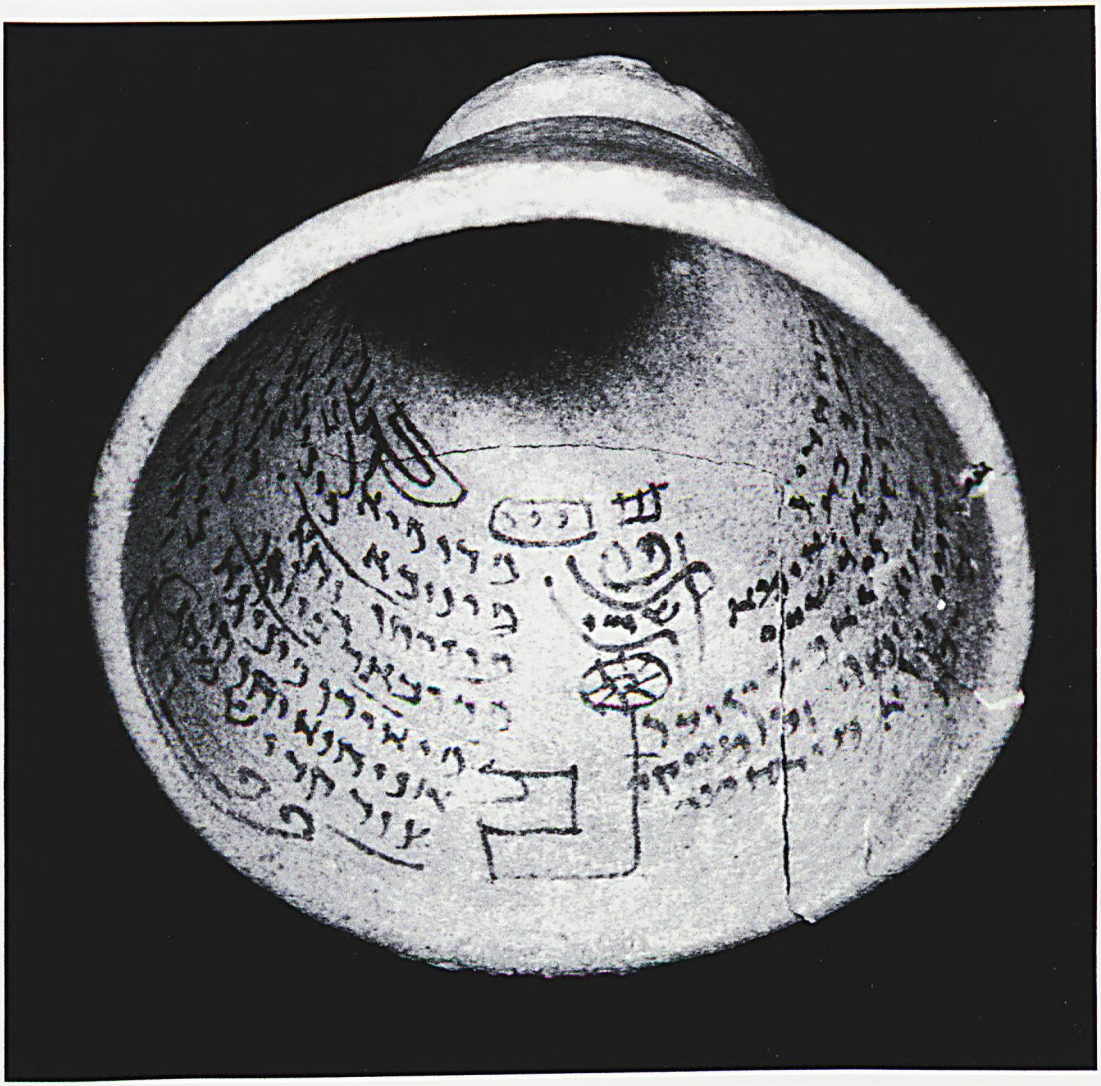
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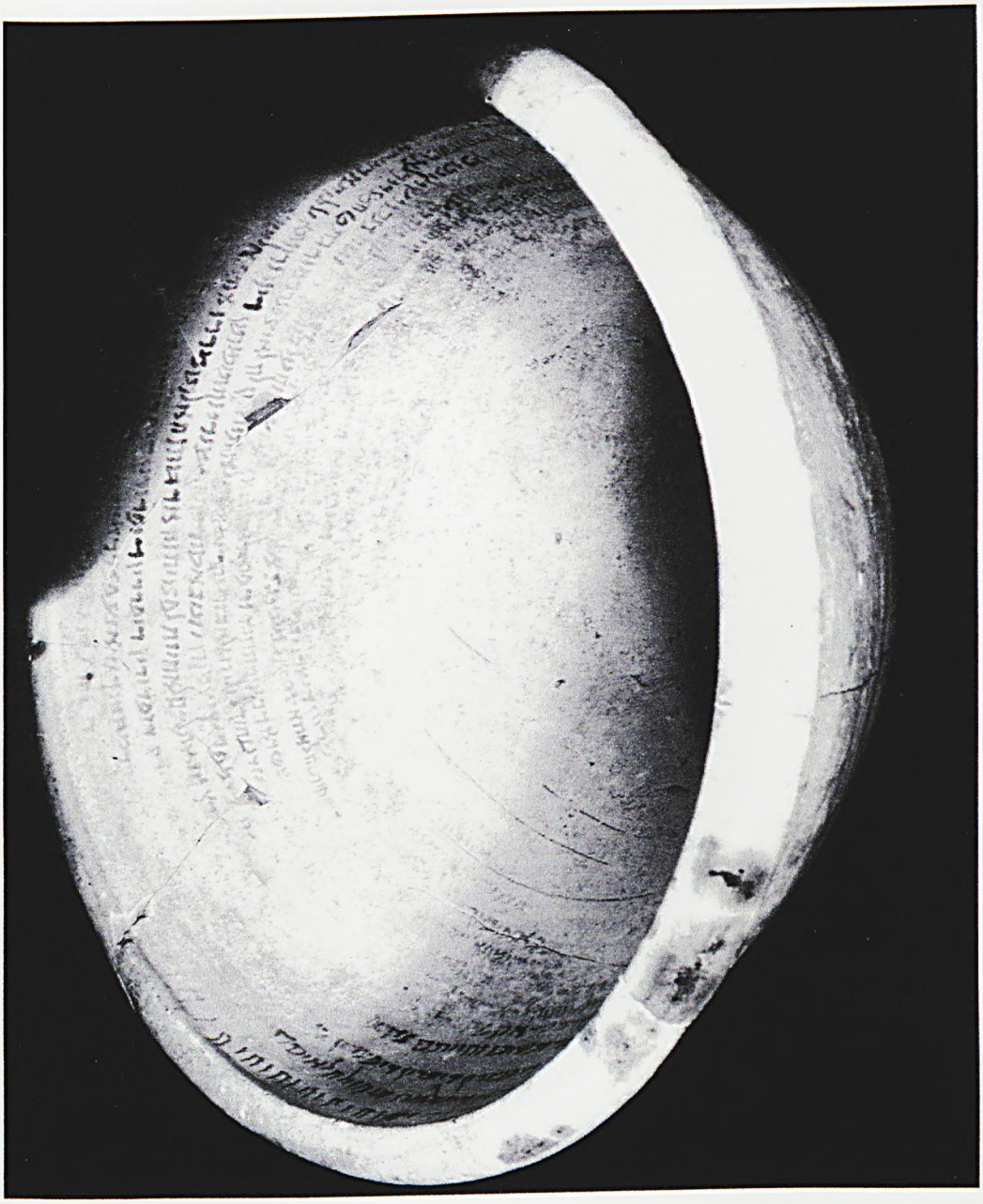
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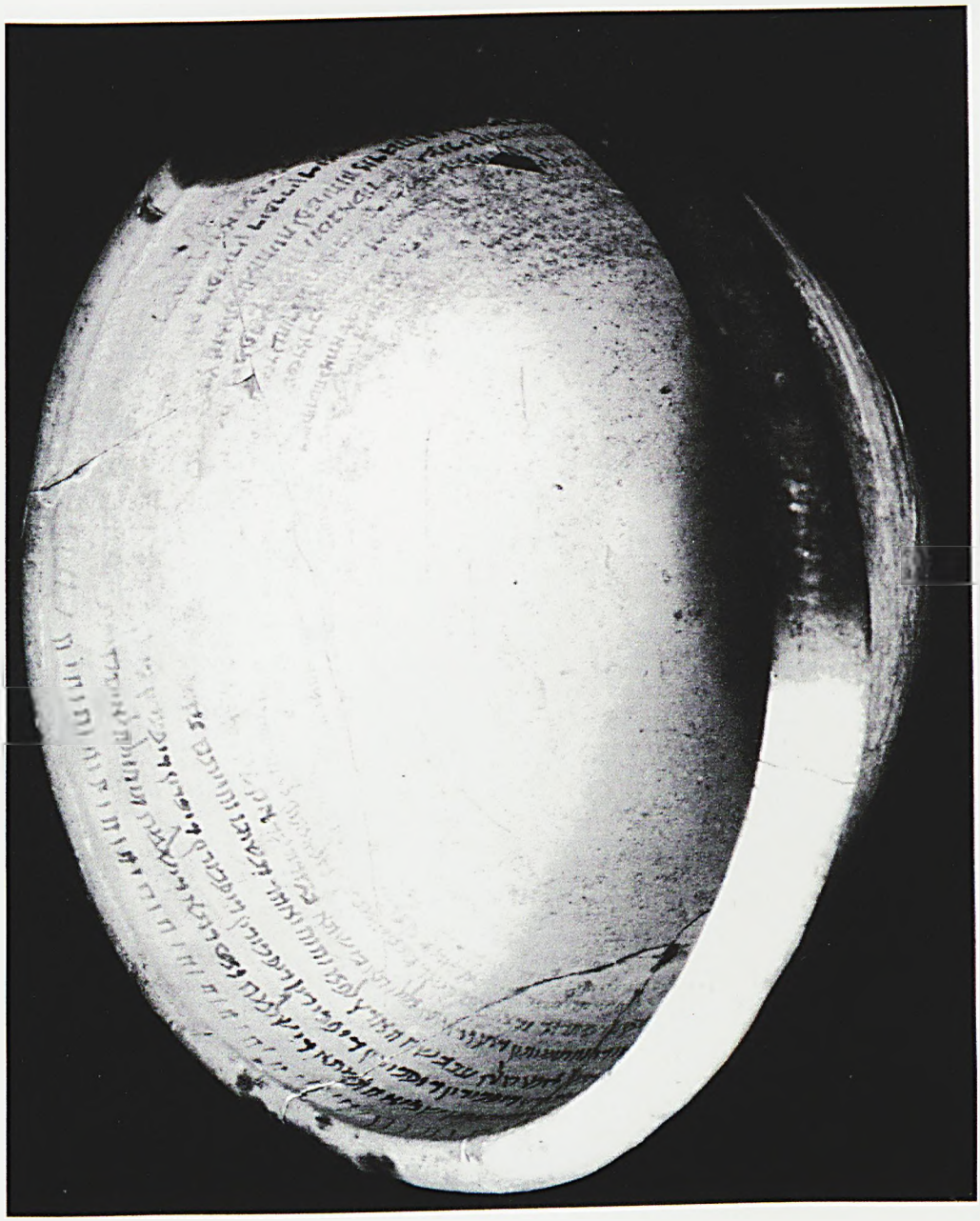
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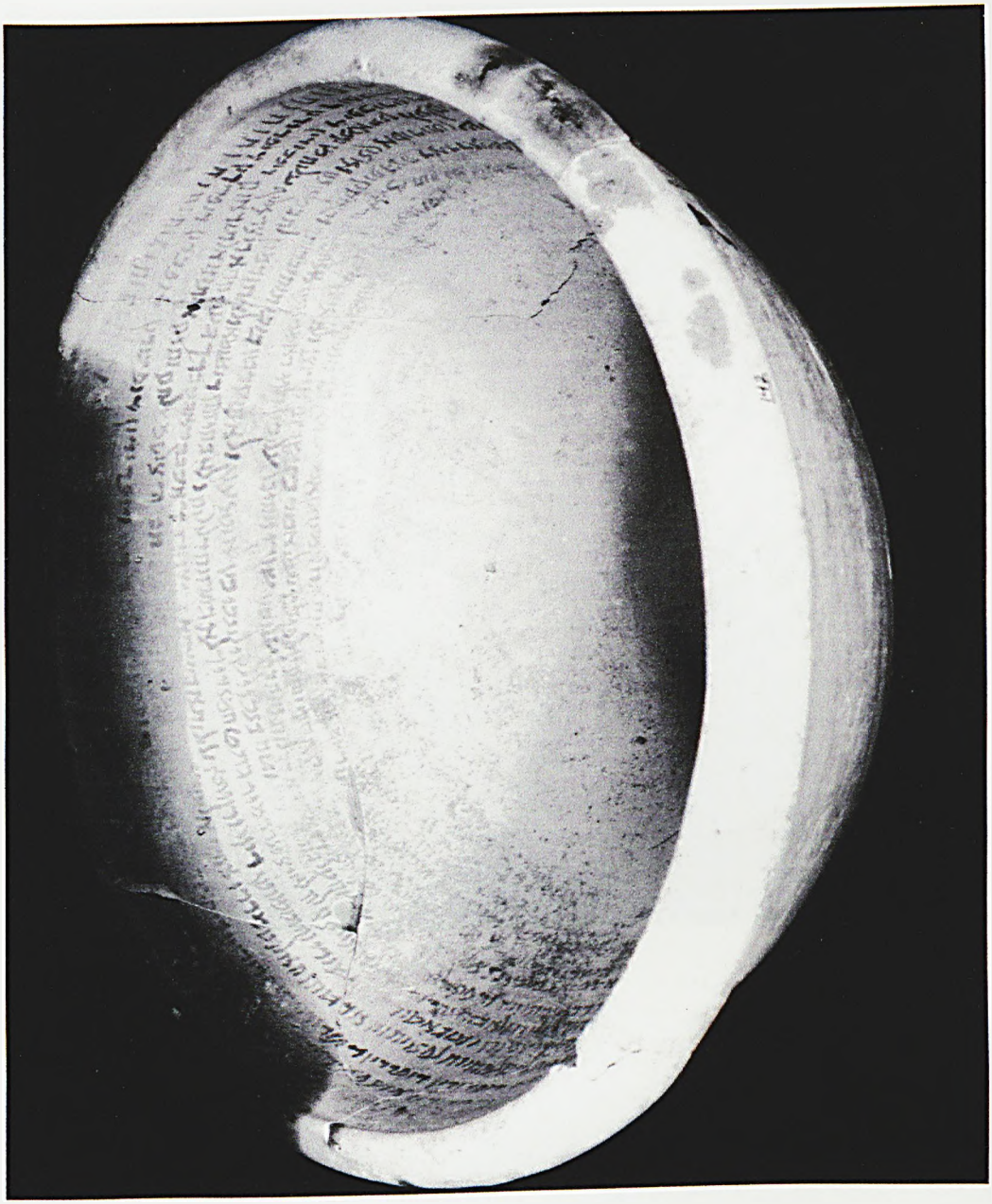
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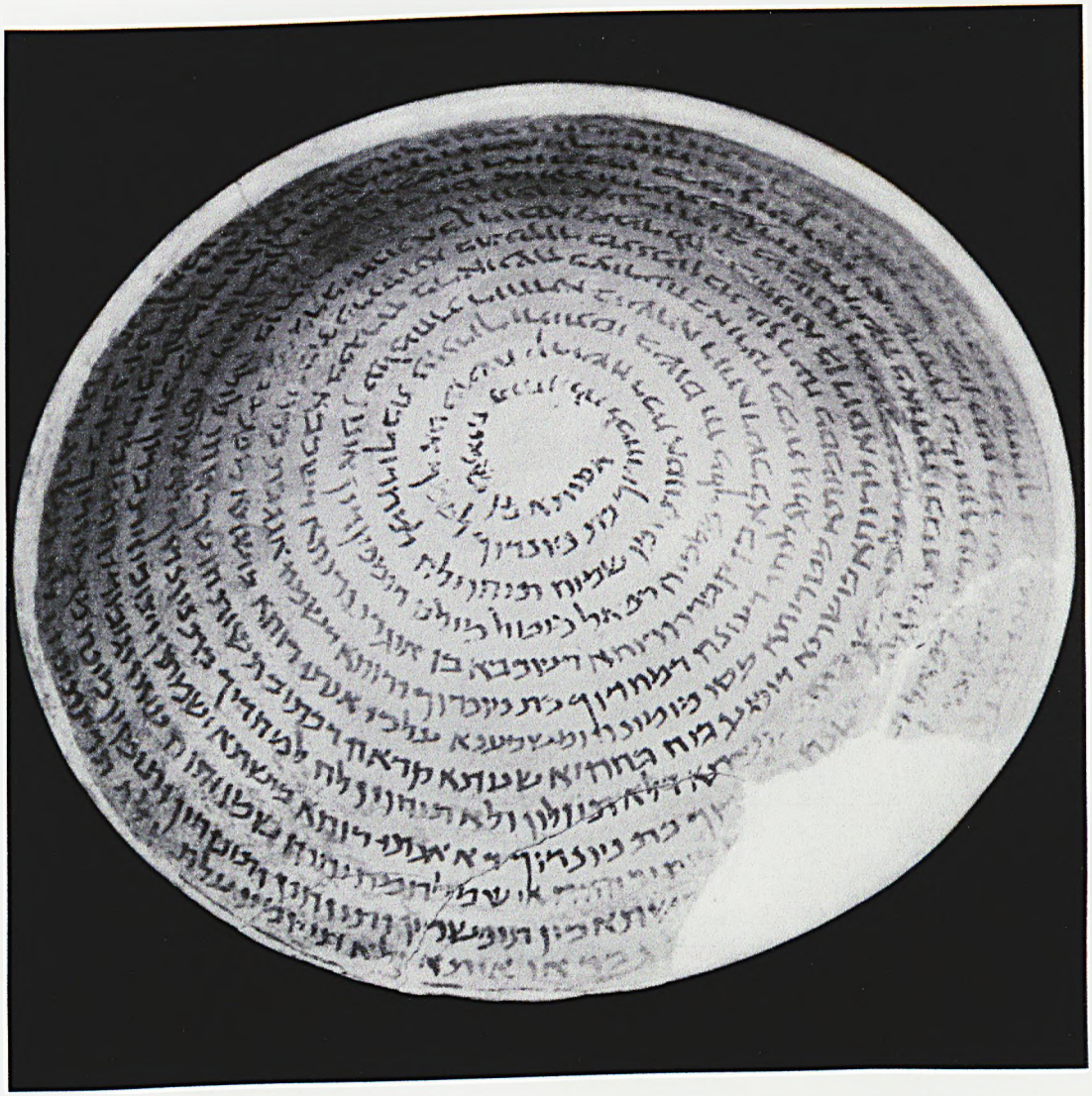
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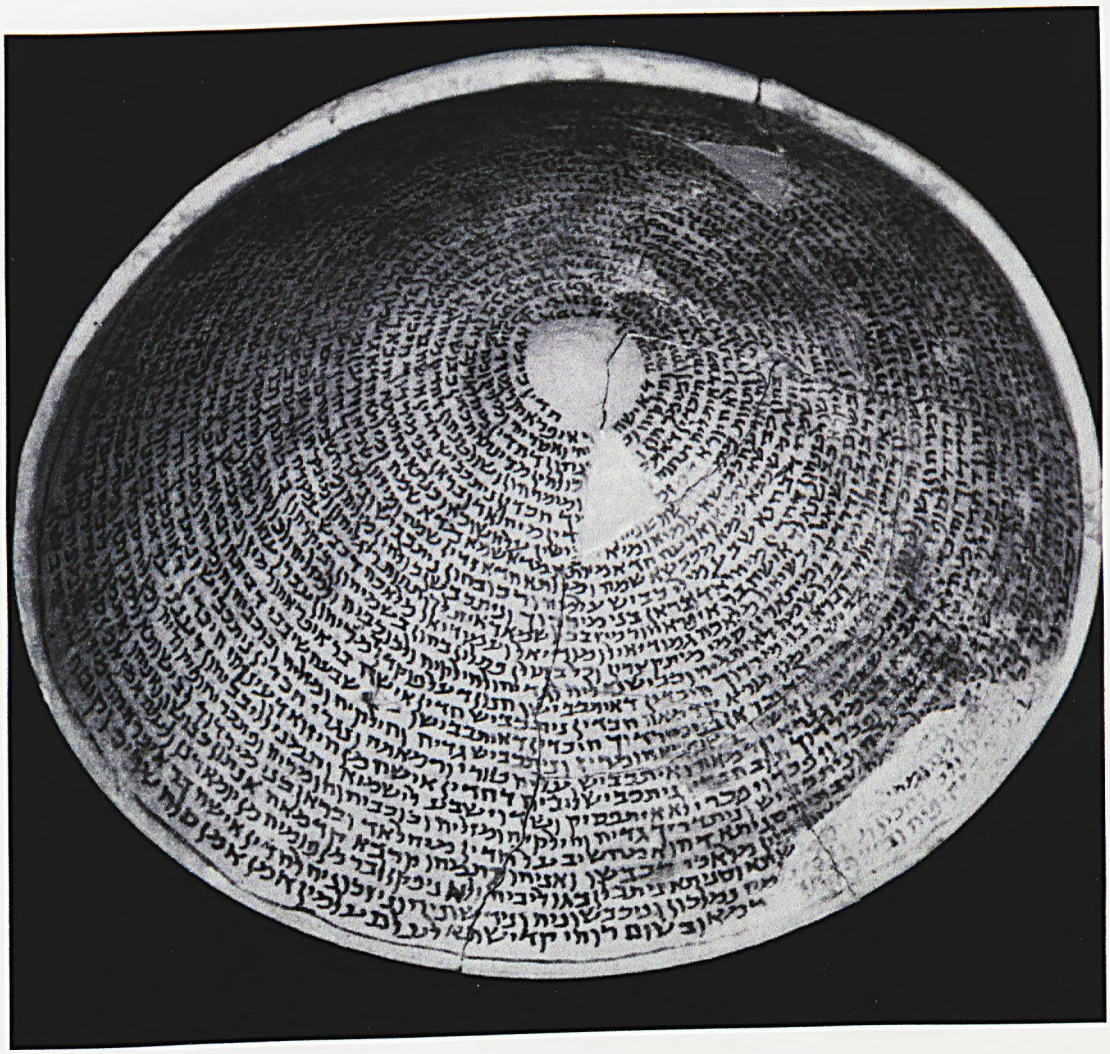
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Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity - A Corpus of Magic Bowls.

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Abstract

Since the first magic bowl text in Jewish Aramaic was edited by Thomas Ellis in 1859 there have only been just over 100 such texts published. Among the most significant contributors were James A. Montgomery, Cyrus Gordon, Edwin Yamauchi, Markham J. Geller, joined more recently by Tapani Harviainen, Christa Müller-Kessler as well as Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked.

This dissertation includes text editions with critical apparatus for twenty hitherto unpublished magic bowl texts in Jewish Aramaic. The commentary contains philological analyses and comparison with other published and unpublished bowls, Jewish amulets from Late Antiquity, magical Geniza material, classic Jewish sources up to the medieval period, Hekhalot, and Jewish liturgy. Special features and differences between duplicate texts are discussed. A comprehensive glossary, lists of names, and photographs of the bowls are provided.

The introduction includes a description of the bowls, a review of the main grammatical features of the Jewish Aramaic dialect of the bowls, a discussion of some other sources with which these texts share material and motifs and an analyses of the importance of duplicate texts.

The limited number of bowl texts which are available for study means that many of the problems which have risen in the process of editing have remained unsolved. This new corpus includes a wide spectrum of material including rare curse texts, legal as well as liturgical formula, new lexical material and parallels to previously published texts which allow corrections and in some cases new readings. The occasional employment of other contemporary dialect forms as well as non-Jewish motifs expose the world of magical practice in Late Antiquity to have been fertile ground for cross cultural exchanges.

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A special thanks must also go to Mr. Shlomo Moussaieff whose collection of magic bowls is the subject of this study. Constant access to the bowls, a sponsorship of the photographic material and his great enthusiasm and encouragement have made this work possible.

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Abbreviations

Bowls and Amulets

A1-32 - Naveh and Shaked 1985, pp. 40-122; 1993, pp. 43-107.

Aaron A-F - Geller 1986, pp.101-117.

AIT 1,2,3,... - Montgomery 1913, pp. 117-264.

BOR - Harviainen 1981, pp. 3-23.

De Menil - Isbell 1976, pp. 15-20.

Ellis 1-7 - Layard 1853, pp. 512-523. (Ellis 1 = BM 91710, AIT 11b, Jeruzalmi p. 64 and Isbell 18; Ellis 5 = Jeruzalmi p. 76 and Isbell 59)

Geller A-D - Geller 1980, pp. 47-60.

Gordon 9737 - Gordon 1934a, pp. 141-143.

Gordon A-F - Gordon 1934, pp. 321-334.

Gordon G - Gordon 1934b, pp. 466-474.

Gordon H-N - Gordon 1937, pp. 86-106.

Gordon 1-9 - Gordon 1941, pp. 117-131.

Gordon 10-11 - Gordon 1941, pp. 272-276.

Isbell 1-72 - Isbell 1975, pp. 17-155.

K3449 - Jeruzalmi 1963, p. 2; Geller 1980, p. 60.

MIT 1-33 - Yamauchi 1967, 154-296.

McCullough A-E - McCullough 1967, pp. 3-59.

Moriah 1,2 - Gordon 1984, 220-241.

Moussaieff 1,2 - Shaked 1995, pp. 207-216.

MS - Magic bowls from the Schøyen collection to be published shortly by S. Shaked.[1]

Müller-Kessler B1 and B2 - Müller-Kessler 1994, pp.6-9.

N&Sh B1-27 - Naveh and Shaked 1985, pp. 124-215; 1993 , pp. 113-146.

N-IV - Isbell 1976, pp. 19-23.

Obermann I, II - Obermann 1940, pp. 6-31.

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[1] I would like to thank S. Shaked for kindly allowing me access to many of his early transcriptions of bowls from the Schøyen collection. All transcriptions that are presented here have been recollated by myself from the photographs and bowls themselves.

VA 2416 - Wohlstein 1894, pp. 11-27.

Yam - Yamauchi 1965, pp.514-520.

Dictionaries

Brockelmann - Brocklelmann K., 1928, *Lexicon Syriacum*. 2. Ausgabe. Halle.

CAD - Gelb I. J., Oppenheim A. L., et al., 1956 -, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicage and Gluckstadt.

DM - Drower E. S. and Macuch R., 1963, *A Mandaic dictionary*, Oxford.

J. - Jastrow M., 1903, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Bavli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature*, New York.

PS - Payne Smith J., 1903, *A Compendius Syriac Dictioanry*, Oxford.

Sokoloff - Sokoloff M, 1990, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum, II), Ramat-Gan.

BTA - Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic

JA - Jewish Aramaic

SLA - Standard Literary Aramaic

Targ.-J. - Targum Jonathan

Targ.-O. - Targum Onkelos

Targ. Ps-J. - Targum Pseudo-Jonathan

Verb Stems: Peal - *pe.*; Pael - *pa.*; Ithpeel - *ithpe.*; Ithpaal - *ithpa.*; Afel - *af.*; Ittafal - *Ittaf.*

MT - Masoretic Text

m. - Mishna

t. - Tosefta

b. - Babylonian Talmud

y. - Yerushalmi Talmud

Tractates:

AZ - Abodah Zarah; BB - Baba Batra; Bek. - Bekhorot; Ber. - Berakhot; BQ - Baba Qamma; BM - Baba Metsia; Erub. - Erubin; Git. - Gittin; Hul. - Hullin; Qid. - Qiddushin; Meg. -

Megillah; MQ - Moed Qatan; Nid. - Niddah; Pes. - Pesahim; San. - Sanhedrin; Suk. - Sukkah; Tan. - Taanit; Yeb. - Yebamot; Yom. - Yoma; Zeb. - Zebahim

Periodicals

AASOR - Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research

AJSLL - American Journal so Semitic Languages and Literatures

BSOAS - Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society

JJS - Journal of Jewish Studies

JSQ - Jewish Studies Quarterly

ZA - Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

Signs used in the transliteration of texts

( ) Uncertain readings; [ ] Restoration of lost writing; < > Omitted by the scribe by mistake; ⌜ ⌝ Only part of the letter is visible; { } Superfluous writing in the text; ^ ^ Written above the line; ↓↓ Written below the line.

Introduction

1. Preface

Since 1853, when Thomas Ellis published the first five magic bowls in Jewish Aramaic,[1] the number of edited texts that have become available for study has not exceeded much beyond one hundred.[2] The most prominent amongst a growing number of scholars who have contributed to making these texts available for study are: 1) James A. Montgomery, whose monumental monograph titled *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (1913) is still considered to be the primary textbook on the subject; 2) Cyrus Gordon, who published a total of 23 Jewish Aramaic bowls, most of which appeared in articles during the 1930's and 1940's, and from amongst whose students there emerged a number of scholars who advanced this particular area of study;[3] 3) Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, who produced two books (1985 and 1993) in which they assembled another 22 Jewish Aramaic bowls. Some other scholars who have made significant contributions in recent years to this growing corpus include Harviainen (1981, 1983, 1993 and 1995), Müller-Kessler (1994 and 1998), McCullough (1967) and Kaufman (1973 and 1975).

A considerable amount of new material from private collections has recently become available for scholarly study. The present author was fortunate to have been given access by Mr. Shlomo Moussaieff to his collection of magic bowls from which twenty specimens have been chosen to be the subject of this dissertation. The aim was to produce a volume of text editions with commentary, glossaries and an introduction that focuses on some current as well as hitherto neglected issues concerning the study of Jewish Aramaic magic bowls that have developed in the course of this work.

For the readings, the present author has examined the bowls as well as the photographs. It must be noted, however, that even though the photographs are of an exceptionally good quality, there are various occasions where readings of letters, and sometimes whole words or

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[1] Layard 1853, pp. 512-521.
[2] For comprehensive surveys of the publications of magic bowls, see Montgomery 1913, pp. 16-23, and Naveh and Shaked 1985, pp. 19-21.
[3] In regard to bowls in the Jewish Aramaic dialect, the main four are William H. Rossell (1954), Charles Isbell (1975, 1976 and 1978), Edwin Yamauchi (1965 and 1967) and Mark Geller (1976, 1980, 1986 and 1997).

phrases, which are clearly discernable on the object itself, are not legible on the photograph. There is, unfortunately, no substitute for consulting the objects themselves.

Another obvious, yet often ignored, feature of the magic bowl texts is the fact that they were not written for others to copy or even read. The writing of the amulet by the scribe-magician was the ultimate stage of human contact. The text was then buried where it was hoped that it would reach and influence its intended public of demons, angels, gods and other spirits. The language of adjuration and magical and mysterious words and phrases may have been considered to be effective in supernatural realms, but to us it often appears indistinguishable from mumbo-jumbo. This aspect of the magical texts often accentuates other difficulties that assail the philologist, such as the partial erosion of text, hand writing that is often of poor quality, and textual errors that scribes have either made of their own accord or copied from others.

Of the twenty texts in our corpus, six are intended for general protection against demons and other maleficent agents (M107, M108, M112, M121, M131, M145 and M149); another four, also for general protection, include the *get* motif (M50, M59, M103 and M119); three texts are for the healing of particular medical complaints (M117, M155 and M156); and two are for the protection of unborn or young babies (M101 and M142). Two bowls protect against the malicious magic of named foes, i.e. curse texts (M102 and M163), and two offer protection against curses and oaths in general (M123 and M138).

2. Description of magic bowls

Magic bowls are a type of amulet consisting of an incantation written on an earthenware bowl. The bowls themselves are not exceptional and represent a variety of domestic ware that is characteristic of the Near East in Late Antiquity. The most common among them are about 13-20cm in diameter and 3-8cm in depth. Some are as small as an espresso coffee-cup saucer. Others can reach sizes of up to 40-45cm in diameter and 20-25cm in depth. Most of them are rounded at the base, though others have flat bases and/or rims. The incantations are most commonly written in black ink within the bowl spiraling from the bottom upwards. Other less common arrangements of text are when it is organized: 1) in three, or sometimes even four, consecutive triangular sections within the bowl; 2) as a series

of lines emanating from the middle of bowl to form a 'sun-like' shape; 3) in some rare occasions, lines of text follow a geometric pattern or the shape of a flower, and 4) a spiral of text that flows from the edge of the bowl to its centre. Occasionally text is also found on the outside of the bowl. In some cases this is the result of the scribe exhausting the space on the inner surface of the bowl and the incantation flows over, as it were, to the exterior (M59). In other cases the text on the outside consists of the opening formula of the text, the name of the client, or the intended location of the bowl within the property, i.e. 'for the front room', 'for the bedroom', etc (as in AIT 12:13). It is quite common for there to be a drawing of a bound demon (M50) or other image (M102, M107 and M131) in the middle of the bowl, across it (M59) or to one side (M108). Various other symbols (M102 and M108), letters (M149) or just a circle (M103) can occur either in the middle of the bowl or to its side (M107 and M112). Whereas sections of text are sometimes underlined (M102, and M112) or surrounded completely by a line (M50 and M119), it is very common for the whole text to be surrounded by a circle (M50, M101, M102, M103, M119, M107, M108, M138, M131, M145, M149, M155, M156 and M163).

From the relatively small number of bowls for which there are excavation reports, and the designations within the texts themselves, we know that the most common form of using magic bowls was to bury them upside down under the floor of the house.[4] Occasionally two or more bowls were placed within each other. Other cases are known where pairs of bowls were interned facing each other, rim to rim, so as to form a sphere with an enclosed space within them. Bowls could be buried in one or all of the corners of the house, under the threshold or any of the rooms or entrances of the domestic complex. In one case a bowl was said to have been found also in a cemetery.[5] The location of the bowl is often mentioned within the text, either as a caption on the outside (see above) or within the actual incantation. There is hardly any evidence at all to indicate anything relating to the procedure of the

[4] See numerous references to 'Jewish incantation bowls' in Peters 1897, Mcguire Gibson 1975 pp. 104-122, and Hunter 1995 pp. 63-64.

[5] Montgomery 1913, p. 14, 40 ff. Montgomery considered the possibility that pressing bowls into the ground constituted a sympathetic magical act, which was meant to resemble the pressing and suppressing of demons. Naveh and Shaked (1985, p. 15) likened the bowls to mouse traps, which are strategically placed in the house. Gordon disliked the idea that people would be content to host a myriad of trapped demons in their houses, and suggested that bowls buried upside-down resembled the skull cranium which had the power to dissolve demons (Gordon 1957, pp. 161-162).

preparation and installation of the bowls except for one case where the use of a rooster is implied (see notes to M163:6 below). Even in this case, however, the details provided are minimal.

2.1 The Script

The Jewish Aramaic bowl texts display a variety of different styles of script which Montgomery correctly attributed to chirographical rather than paleographical differences.[6] Unfortunately there has not been any thorough study of these scripts since that of Levi in 1855, when there were only a handful of specimens available for study. In our collection, one can observe at least three similar types of script which all display quite formal and neat hands (M101, M102, M112, M142, M149, M155, M156 and M163). Three more types of stylized but good quality scripts can be grouped: 1) M50, M59 and M108, 2) M103, M119, M121, M123, M138 M107, M108 and 3) M117. The script of M145 is very cursive and unusual, yet its text is just as literate as the other texts that are written in more conventional scripts. M107 is another good although stylized script that displays a very peculiar ל. M131 is a somewhat inconsistent and awkward hand which might indicate the scribe's limited level of literacy.

As observed in other magic bowls,[7] ה and ח are never distinguished, whereas ב and כ, ד and ר, ו and י and sometimes also ן and ז, and finally ס and ם are commonly undifferentiated. This is also the case in our corpus of texts unless otherwise stated. In places where the reading of the characters is ambiguous, decisions regarding the transcription were made according to lexicographical convention.

3. The Language

Montgomery noted that:

> 'The grammatical phenomena in the bowls of Nippur can for the most part be exemplified from the Babylonian Talmud, and like the latter they present various dialect

[6] Montgomery 1913, p. 27-28. Montgomery's conclusion is based on the fact that although the bowls display a wide variety of scripts, one can ascertain their contemporaneity on the basis of shared phraseology and clientele. Thus the differences represent a variety of writing styles and levels of scribal ability rather than the age of the bowl.
[7] Rossell 1953, pp. 13-15.

types. On the one hand they have close connections with Mandaic and on the other they show Syriac idioms'.[8]

Thereafter he refers, with some reservations, to the Aramaic dialect of the bowls as 'Rabbinic Aramaic'.[9] Rossell preferred the term Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (hereafter JBA) adding, however, that 'borrowings from Mandaic and Syriac are common'[10] and that 'there is also some literary influence from Biblical Aramaic and from the Targumim'. More recently Harviainen noted that

> 'the characteristic features of the dialect of Nedarim have close counterparts in bowl incantations. On the other hand, features of bowl texts in common with Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic as opposed to Nedarim are limited to את which, however, is a Targumic form of this pronoun. Compared with the Targumim, the bowl texts use e.g. תוב and (א)מ(י)טול *pro* Targumic עוד and בדיל, and from Gaonic Aramaic they deviate e.g. through the employment of י- in the emphatic status of masc. plural as well as through the pronoun את. While the idiom of the bowl texts is not entirely identical with any of these other types of Aramaic, nevertheless, it clearly sides with Targumic and Gaonic as well as with the language of Nedarim against Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic which leaves the impression of a "younger" modification of Aramaic'.[11]

On another occasion Harviainen also notes that features like the use of יה- as the 3rd person masculine suffix to a plural noun, rather than והי-, which Montgomery referred to as a Mandaism, can actually be explained by considering that the 'bowl texts bridge the gap which existed between Mandaic and the Northern Modern dialects'.[12] It was on the basis of this and another six grammatical features, which Harviainan identified as common to many of the Jewish Aramaic bowls, that he introduced the notion that their presence constitute an *Eastern*

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[8] Montgomery 1913, p. 30.
[9] 'Some apology may be necessary for the term "Rabbinic" dialect. As used here, it does not imply that the rabbis or the Jews in Babylonia had a special dialect,–they spoke the native dialects; nor that there is any unity in the language of the Talmud, which is alive with dialectic varieties. But the Talmud is practically our only source for a certain family of Aramaic dialects in Babylonia, easily distinguished from the two other literary dialects, the Syriac (Edessene) and Mandaic. The name chosen is a convenient handle' (Montgomery 1913, p. 26).
[10] Rossell 1953, p. 11.
[11] Harviainen 1983, pp. 12-13.
[12] Harviainen 1981, p. 20.

Aramaic koiné, noting, however, that in fact most of these features can also be found within Mandaic.[13] These features are:

1) Confusion of laryngeal consonants.

2) Phonetic spellings (e.g. *ny-*, *l-ʾnšh*) which may indicate deviations between spoken dialects.

3) Pronouns which do not conform to the boundaries of literary dialects.

4) Easy transfer of nouns and noun different noun formations from one dialect to another.

5) Confusion of genders occurring in the pronominal suffixes of the plural, and possibly also in the imperfect forms of the plural verbs.

6) Use of the imperfect prefix *y-* besides the Eastern *n-*.

Jussola's conclusions in his recent study of the language of the Jewish Aramaic magic bowl texts are as follows:

> 'As regard to the nature of the Aramaic of the bowl texts, several concluding remarks need to be made. First, it is apparent that the features present in the bowl texts are not features of a single dialect, but features otherwise familiar from different dialects and phases of Aramaic are used side by side. Even forms known from Official Aramaic, but otherwise unattested in Late Aramaic are encountered. The bowl texts thus leave the impression of being a mixed type of language. Therefore, it is hard to believe that they represent a living dialect of the Late Aramaic period, but are to a considerable extent literary texts. To give but one instance, it is hard to imagine a living dialect with such a 'collection' of demonstrative pronouns as attested in our texts (cf. IV.4). Yet, this is not to say that they do not (also) reveal features of the spoken language of their era, but this is not due to the fact that the scribes wrote more or less as they spoke, but due to the fact that despite their attempt to write elevated language they could not help including some features of the popular language. This was apparently due to deficiencies in their education. Furthermore, in the era when our texts were produced, there were within Babylonian Jewry several literary dialects or languages, which were employed according to the types of usage and, more or less, kept separate. Some of the literary dialects or 'literary crystallizations' probably contained more elements of the actual vernacular than others. I refer to the standard dialect of the Babylonian Talmud. It is apparent that this

[13] Harviainen 1981, pp. 23-24

co-existence of 'literary crystallizations' within Babylonian Jewry left traces in our texts. Those texts which contain more standard Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic elements than the majority followed the literary model of standard Talmudic idiom, alongside the regular literary model of our texts'.[14]

In the discussion about the language of the bowl texts, one must not forget that which Harviainen expressed so well:

> 'the inconsistency of their orthography, numerous mistakes, phonetic spellings, and linguistic peculiarities which deviate from the literary dialects of Aramaic point back to unlearned scribes who more or less wrote as they spoke'.[15]

One must, however, challenge the assumption that a correlation can be made between the peculiarities in the language of the bowls and the literacy of scribes. We maintain that from the texts in our corpus such an allegation can not be made.[16] Other explanations for linguistic peculiarities can be attributed to the variety of sources upon which the incantations draw, the exchange of material between cultural groups that lived in proximity and spoke similar dialects, as well as changes that can occur to an incantation in the process of its transmission.

Since Rossell produced his *Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts* in 1953, a considerable number of bowls has been published, yet no new grammar has been written. Juusola's recent dissertation, *Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts* (1999) has gone some way towards addressing this gap.[17] The intention of the section that follows is to point out some of the main features and peculiarities that distinguish the Aramaic of the bowls that occur within our corpus, and attention is also given to features which might cause some uncertainty in regard to translation, e.g. indistinguishable forms such as singular and plural feminine nouns in the emphatic state etc.

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[14] Juusola 1999, pp. 247-248.
[15] Harviainen 1983, p. 15.
[16] With one exception - M131.
[17] See Naveh and Shaked 1987, pp. 31-33, for notes on the language of the bowls.

3.1 Spelling

The most obvious feature of spelling, which is also common in our corpus, is the extensive use of י, ו, א and on the rare occasion ה as vowel letters.[18]

3.2 Pronouns

Of the independent pronouns that occur in our corpus only two are worth mentioning. One is the 2nd person feminine singular form אנתי which is an early form known from Official or Imperial Aramaic and, though it is absent from the Targumim, it is attested in Geniza fragments of the Palestinian Talmud.[19] The other is the 2nd person masculine plural אנתון which is only attested in Gaonic Aramaic.[20] Yet, as this form occurs in M163:27, a bowl which employs some demonstrative pronouns that are common with Syriac (הנא M163:6,11, הנין l. 9 and הנון l. 17), it is possible that here too the influence of that dialect is apparent.

3.3 Nouns

Singular emphatic forms of the noun of both the masculine and feminine can occur with either א or ה endings, in some cases even within the same bowl (M145:2 מלכה and M145:15,16 מלכא, M163:28 עלמא and עלמה, M163:10 שמא and שמה). In our corpus, as has been noted elsewhere[21] regarding other bowl texts, the א endings predominate. The masculine plural form in the emphatic state is mostly indistinguishable from the absolute and construct forms as they all commonly occur with י- endings. Some examples that can be verified as masculine plural emphatics are M147:7 דיוי ודיותא, M101:3 ופתכרי ופתכרתא and M163:21 טורי ורמאתה, as these occur alongside feminine plural emphatic forms. Forms ending with יא- also occur: M50:4 טוריא, M145:12 ניסכאיא, M155:11 נשיא, as does the occasional יה- ending (M156:4 מלכיה). One can observe the freedom with which apocopated forms of the masculine plural absolute are used together with others that display the final ן in M121:3-4 where ומיחרשי בישי occurs in a list soon after ומיפגעין בישין. Most

[18] This subject is amply treated elsewhere, cf. Rossell 1953, pp. 20-21 and Juusola 1999, pp. 44-68.
[19] Juusola 1999, p. 74.
[20] Juusola 1999, p. 76.
[21] Juusola 1999, p. 141.

feminine singular and plural forms in the emphatic state end with תא- and can, therefore, only be distinguished if there is contextual evidence. One example is ניקבתא which can be identified as a plural form in M50:2 (דיכרי וניקבתא) on the basis of the masculine noun that precedes it, whereas, in M149:8 (דיכרא וניקבתא) the preceding noun attests to the fact that in this instance ניקבתא is a singular form. This is similar to M101:3 (ופתכרי ופתכרתא) in which פתכרתא is a plural as opposed to in M149:8 (מן פתכרא ומן פתכרתא) where the nouns are in the singular. The plural is also occasionally written with a final ה rather than א, as in M163:21 טורי ורמאתה. Feminine plural nouns in the absolute state are generally rare in magic bowl texts,[22] though examples occur in M123:1-2 לוטן and בישון ממללן and M163:15 בתולן.

3.4 Prepositions

The prepositional prefix א- (=על) that is peculiar to Babylonian Aramaic is attested in a number of instances in our corpus (see glossary).

3.5 Adverbs

The adverb איך (M102:9) is otherwise unattested in other bowls, though the similar form היך occurs once (N&Sh B4:4). Both of these forms are Targumic, as opposed to the Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic form היכא which also occurs for the first time in our corpus (M163:9) as an adverb of place.[23]

3.6 Conjunctions

Noteworthy is the occurrence in M102:7,8 of the conjunction או, 'or' which is attested for certain in only one other instance (AIT 2:5). The conjunction עד אמא 'until when' (M163:24), which is equivalent to עד אימת(י), is new to the vocabulary of the Jewish Aramaic bowls. The Targmic אילהין, which was previously only attested in AIT 26:5, occurs a second time in M117:5. בדיל in M155:5 'on account of' is only attested in one other bowl (AIT 28:4). The

[22] Juusola 1999, p. 146.
[23] Levias 1900, p. 46.

conjunction הכדין ... היכדין ד 'just as' ... 'just so' is a form that occurs only in one other bowl (N&Sh B21:8) and is Targumic.

3.7 Verbs

Regarding verbs it was already noted by Rossell (1953, p. 49) that י, נ and ל all occur as prefixes for the 3rd person masculine imperfect forms. In one of our bowls, M102, all three occur in the same text. A rarer irregularity can be observed in M145 wherein the 3rd person masculine plural perfect verb forms all lack the usual ו- or ון- suffixes which make them appear as singular verbs (see note on M145:3). This form could either be the Babylonian Talmudic קטול, in which case the ו would need to be reconstructed, or it might be attributed to the Mandaic influence that is generally discerned in this particular text. In some cases in our bowls there occur verb forms that are characteristic of the Standard Literary Aramaic (henceforth SLA) that is found in the Targumim:[24] אתיתי (M50:4, *af.* 1st person sg. perfect), איתמסיאה (M50:4, *ithpe.* 3rd person feminine pl. perfect), לאנדויאהון (M59:11, *af.* infinitive + 3rd person masculine pl. suffix), לאפקא (M50:5, *af.* infinitive). Other forms occur that are particular to Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic: לאפוקי (M59:11, *af.* infinitive), פגע (M156:7,8, 3rd person feminine sg. perfect). New forms that were previously unattested in Jewish Aramaic are לישתמודע (M102:11), the imperfect form of אשתמודע, מזיח (M117:4), a *pa.* form known from Syriac, and קמע (M123:1) which is also attested in Syriac.

4. Sources from which magic bowl texts draw

The eclectic quality of the bowl texts was aptly noted by Montgomery who stated that, for the sorcerers who composed these magical texts, their 'Scriptures and apocrypha and liturgy were storehouses of magical lore'.[25] Of course, we find more than just the Jewish sources, i.e. biblical verses, liturgy, Hekhalot, the occasional aggadic reference as well as Jewish folk mythology, in the sorcerer's repository of inspiration. There are also Gnostic, Christian and pagan elements that have found their way into many of the incantations. It is apparent from

[24] See Juusola 1999, pp. 14-15. Although Greenfield used this term to describe the Targ.-O., it is used here in an extended sense as the features that are cited are mostly common to the greater parts of the Targumic literature. See also Cook 1986, p. 6 and Greenfield 1995, p. 8.
[25] Montgomery 1913, p. 115.

the variety of spells that are found in the bowl texts that our period was one of great creativity in this area of composition. Questions as to how and why the different elements and influences found their way into the melting pot which constitutes this magical lore are complex, especially when considering that some of this material crossed the boundaries of one religious culture into another. The sections below cover the different sources that can be traced within our corpus of bowls. An attempt is made at defining some of the different ways that this material was used within the magical text.

4.1 Biblical verses and liturgy

Magic bowls and other forms of Jewish amulets demonstrate that the warning in m. San. 10:1[26] against the reciting of biblical verses for the purpose of healing was not always heeded. Indeed, biblical verses are commonly used in our texts in a variety of ways. In some cases whole verses are quoted while in others only sections are used. In one instance a verse is adapted to fit the subject of the incantation:

M155:6-7	Isa. 45:2
גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל די מתברין דלתות נחושא וימגדעין בריחי ברזל אינון יתברון ויגדעון לרוחא בישתא	אני לפניך אלך והדורים אושר דלתות נחושה אשבר ובריחי ברזל אגדע

In another bowl the Targ.-O. is quoted in what appears to be a Hekhalot style section of text:

M123:5-6 (also in M138:8)	Targ.-O. Ex. 3:5
בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין כמו דאמר ליה למשה באסנה שרי סנך מעל ריגלך משבענא עליכון נידרא ...	ואמר לא תקרב הלכא שרי סינך מעל ריגלך ארי אתרא דאת קאים עלוהי אתר קדיש הוא

Naveh and Shaked have already noted that 'the use of verses in magic contexts is of course often derived from their liturgical prominence'.[27] In some cases, as in M108, it can be shown that the verses were not compiled independently by the sorcerer for his craft but

[26] ואלו שאין להם חלק לעולם הבא ... רבי עקיבא אומר אף הקורא בספרים החיצונים והלוחש על המכה ואומר (שמות טו) כל המחלה אשר שמתי במצרים לא אשים עליך כי אני ה' רופאך ...

borrowed from a standard liturgical format (see text and notes below). In other cases, as Naveh and Shaked have pointed out, there is no way of ascertaining whether the sorcerer gained inspiration from a liturgical context or is drawing directly from Scripture. It is, nevertheless, intriguing that from the seventeen verses which occur in our sample group of texts, all but two (Num. 14:9 and 32:22 in M142:8-9) can be found in the weekly prayers. This could imply that our sorcerers are quoting their verses from liturgy rather than directly from the Old Testament.

The text of Zech. 3:2 is as follows:

> ויאמר יהוה אל השטן יגער יהוה בך השטן ויגער יהוה בך הבחר בירושלם הלוא זה אוד מצל מאש
>
> 'But [the angel of] the Lord said to the Accuser (השטן), "the Lord rebuke you, O Accuser; may the Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! For this is the brand plucked out of the fire"'.

The fact that 'Satan' is attacked in this verse could explain its common use in Jewish magical formula. Indeed, it has become a permanent part of the *Keri'at Shemah al ha-Mittah* (see appendix to M108). In b. Ber. 51a the tradition of its efficacy is preserved in the words attributed to R. Joshua ben Levy, a first generation Palestinian Amora, who states that if a person happened to meet the angel of death[28] and could not escape his path, he should turn his face and recite this verse. Zech. 3:2 occurs twice in our corpus, once in M108:3-4 and again in M59:13-14. In M108:3-4 Zech. 3:2 occurs as the first of a group of verses which can all be found in the evening prayers. This group of verses is uncharacteristically preceded by the word בשום 'in the name of' so as to indicate that they themselves represent the name of the power that is invoked to bind the demonic nuisance. In M59 it seems to have been appended by the scribe to the end of the text, although the verse is absent in several duplicates (M50, AIT 9 and AIT 32). It is possible that the scribe added this verse for no other reason than good measure. Another verse that seems to have been borrowed from a

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[27] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 22.

[28] The narrative states that this could occur in one of three situations, if one takes his shirt from an attendant in the morning, if one lets another who has not himself washed his hands pour water over his own, or if one stands in the path of women returning from the presence of a dead person. In either of these situations the angel of death is present and has permission to do harm (ואל אל תטול חלוקך שחרית מיד השמש ותלבש ; ואל תטול ידיך ממי שלא נטל ידיו ;

liturgical context rather than directly from scripture is Deut. 10:17 which appears in M102:10. This verse also occurs as part of the doxology in the first of the eighteen benedictions:

M102:10	The first benediction	Deut. 10:17
ברוך אתה יהוה אלוהינו מלך העולם האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא והמופלא והמ(ע)ולא	ברוך אתה יי אלוהינו ואלהי אבותינו אלהי אברהם אלהי יצחק ואלהי יעקב האל הגדול הגבור והנורא אל עליון	כי יהוה אלהיכם הוא אלהי האלהים ואדני האדנים האל הגדל הגבר והנורא אשר לא ישא פנים ולא יקח שחד

In another of our bowls (M156:11) extracts from Ex. 15:3 (from the *Song of the Sea*) and Ps. 24:8, which can both be found in *Seder Amram* in the New Year service, are followed by the liturgical doxology יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם which is known from the daily prayers (see note to M156:11):

M156:11	A response in the prayer יהי כבוד	Ex. 15:3 and Ps. 24:8
יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו יהוה עיזוז וגיבור יהוה גיבור {ו}מלחמה יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד	יהוה מלך יהוה מלך יהוה ימלוך לעולם ועד	יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו׃ מי זה מלך הכבוד יהוה עזוז וגבור יהוה גבור מלחמה׃

The sections of Isa. 37:16, 6:3 and I Sam. 17:45 in M117:2,6 present a similar use of biblical verses to that which was just mentioned in regard to M156 above, as they are also cited for the fact that they represent epithets of God and commence, like those in M156:11, with the expression 'in the name of' (בשום):

תעמוד לפני הנשים בשעה שחוזרות מן המת, מפני שאני מרקד ובא לפניהן וחרבי בידי ויש לי רשות לחבל).

M117:2	Isa. 37:16, 6:3
(2) בשום יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל יושיב הכרובים	יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל ישב הכרבים אתה הוא האלהים לבדך לכל ממלכות הארץ אתה עשית את השמים ואת הארץ

M117:6	I Sam. 17:45
(6) ... בשמיה דיה יה יה קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות אלהי מערכות ישראל	יאמר דוד אל הפלשתי אתה בא אלי בחרב ובחנית ובכידון ואנכי בא אליך בשם יהוה צבאות אלהי מערכות ישראל אשר חרפת

In M142 three complete verses are rendered: Isa. 40:31,[29] Num. 32:22[30] and Num. 14:9.[31] Common to all three is an expression of faith in the almighty God who provides and protects; a good enough reason in itself for this choice of verses. The first verse, Isa. 40:31, seems to be an integral part of the formula that occurs in a number of duplicate texts (see notes on M142:2-4). It might not be a coincidence that Isa. 40:31 was chosen for this particular incantation. A spell that incorporates an historiola that describes demons who snatch and strangle children, this text was intended for the protection of infants. We find that this same verse is cited in m. Qid. 4:14[32] to illustrate how a youth is protected by being taught the Torah. Within an historiola in another of our texts, M156:8, Ps. 104:20[33] is cited as the verse that Hanina ben Dosa recited when he met the evil spirit. This particular choice of verse is due to the fact that it speaks of the creatures of the night, a time when dangerous spirits were thought to roam.[34]

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[29] וקוי יהוה יחליפו כח יעלו אבר כנשרים ירוצו ולא ייגעו ילכו ולא ייעפו

[30] ונכבשה הארץ לפני יהוה ואחר תשבו והייתם נקים מיהוה ומישראל והיתה הארץ הזאת לכם לאחזה לפני יהוה

[31] אך ביהוה אל תמרדו ואתם אל תיראו את עם הארץ כי לחמנו הם סר צלם מעליהם ויהוה אתנו אל תיראם

[32] ... כשאדם בא לידי חולי או לידי זקנה או לידי יסורין ואינו יכול לעסוק במלאכתו הרי הוא מת ברעב אבל התורה אינה כן אלא משמרתו מכל רע בנערותו ונותנת לו אחרית ותקוה בזקנותו בנערותו מה הוא אומר (ישעיה מ׳) וקוי ה׳ יחליפו כח ...

[33] ותשת חשך ויהי לילה בו תרמש כל חיתו יער

[34] See notes on M156:7-8.

4.2 Hekhalot, the *Sword of Moses* and *Sepher Ha-Razim*

Some surveys of the Hekhalot literature include *Sepher Ha-Razim*, the *Sword of Moses* and the *Havdala de R. Akiva*.[35] These texts have come to be considered the classical works of early Jewish magical culture.[36] Together with a number of other texts these represent a considerable portion of the primary source material from which our knowledge of this early phase of Jewish magic is derived.[37] Joseph Dan describes the overlap between mysticism and magic in the Hekhalot literature as follows:

> 'Underlying the Hekhalot and Merkabah Literature is the view (which is also found in the Talmudic-Midrashic literature), that the knowledge of secrets is power, and knowledge of secrets of the upper world grants the individual with that knowledge power, and influence over them. One who knows the names of the supreme angels and their specific tasks can utilize that knowledge in order to gain a certain mastery over them and force them, by means of magical incantation, to do his will. The incantation is generally composed of a statement which includes secret names (which are on occasion the secret names of God Himself, which the angels must obey), and secret actions - potions, mixtures or the use of other physical means, sometimes at a clearly defined time'.[38]

The magic bowls thus compliment the above mentioned body of texts, incorporating within them a wide array of instructions for the achievement of magical aims. The study of such amulets has already made some important contributions to our understanding of the Hekhalot literature, as observed by Shaked:

> 'That some Babylonian magic bowls use material that is apparently derived from the *Hekhalot* literature, or that both sets of texts use a common stock of material, has significance in the context of the discussion concerning the origins and development of the *Hekhalot* literature. The fact that the *Hekhalot* texts are composed almost exclusively of pure Hebrew has been one of the arguments for placing them in Palestine. These texts quote Palestinian sages of the Mishnaic period, but never any Babylonian figures. Such considerations, together with the relative air of antiquity that they seem to breath, have combined to create a scholarly consensus concerning the Palestinian background

[35] Though the manuscript that Scholem published in 1981 is of a late date, much of its text can be found in the *Hekhalot Zutarti* (Schäfer 1990, p. 76).
[36] For instance Joseph Dan 1993, p. 18-19.
[37] For a detailed survey see Alexander 1986.
[38] Dan 1993, p. 18.

of these texts. Some cracks have, however, been detected in this theory: some fragments of the *Hekhalot* texts have somewhat enigmatic reference to the house of an unidentified master in Babylonia. If we now have a Babylonian incantation bowl that contains what seems to be a clear *Hekhalot*-type text, this certainly indicates that the visionary experiences of the *Hekhalot* mystics were not confined to Palestine alone. In Babylonia there evidently were Jewish groups engaged in producing, or reproducing, similar literary creations'.

In an unpublished magic bowl from the Berlin Museum collection (VA 2434 + VA 2486), the connection between the Merkabah mystic and the craft of the sorcerer is made clear:

'I was astonished by the mysteries of the earth I looked at the paths of the merkabah. Again I saw the evil, powerful and violent *Yaror* ... that has been sent against him. *Yaror* ... go out and fly away from the house of ... and go against ... By the name of the names of Dimiel and Hantitiel and Haniniel and Hahaziel, these ten holy and [...] and trusty angels'.

... אידמרית ברזי ארעה ואיסתכלית בדירכי מרכבתא תוב חזיתי ירור בישתא תקיפתא
... דאישתדר עליה וירור תיקיפתא וזידניתא ירור פוקי ופרחי מן ביתיה ד... ואיזילי על
[...] ובשום שמי דימיאל וחנתיתיאל וחנינאל וחחזיאל אילין עשרא מלאכין קדישין ו
ומהימנין

In this case the practitioner declares that his use of the techniques of the Merkabah mystic has gained him sight of the offending *Yaror* and other demons. By means of the invocation of the magical names of angels, he sends them back to the human foe of his client who originally dispatched them.

Apart from the use of various angel and divine names, as well as an abundant supply of *nomina barbara*, our own corpus of texts also includes direct parallels with known Hekhalot texts bearing characteristic hallmarks of this literature. The most obvious is the use of איקון מיטמון ופסקון, which is one of the best known composite names of the angel Metatron. This is attested in the Talmud (b. San. 44b) as well as various Hekhalot texts (see notes to M155:4). Another name that occurs in M107:5, גרוסקין גרוסקין, is attested in Hekhalot Zutarti §366 as one of the beings that R. Akiva encountered in his celestial journeys. In the Hekhalot texts, liturgical doxologies are often cited as powerful magical names, such as are commonly invoked in magic bowls. In our texts there are three examples that have direct

parallels in Hekhalot literature: M102:10[39]=§503, M117:2[40]=§402 and M156:11[41]=§126.[42] A parallel to a passage in the Hekhalot Rabatti (Schäfer 1981, §92), which is unclear in that context, occurs in M101:11 as a warning to offending demons.

In the two duplicates M123 (lines 3-6) and M138, there occurs a Hekhalot-like section of text that includes a list of names, a description of God that is more characteristic of the fiery angels often portrayed in the Hekalot texts, and a reference to Moses at the burning bush which quotes Ex. 3:5. This event is expanded in other sources (see notes to M123:3-6) which mark it as the moment in history at which Moses received the complex of magical names (such as אהיה אשר אהיה) and the knowledge of how to use them from the angel Metatron. Metatron is described as the 'intercessory spirit' in b. San. 44b and the highest ranking angel in 3 Enoch and the *Sword of Moses* (AHYW PSQTYH). He is a major figure in Jewish magical folklore,[43] and can be found in one or another of his guises in a number of amulets. In M155:4-5, some of his names occur just before the statement: 'who sits upon the throne of glory, by his word and by the countenance of his glory he created the heavens and completed the world', which gives the impression that he was the active agent of God even during the first creation.

4.3 The historiola

The historiola is a magic story that occurs within an incantation, serving to illustrate the purpose of the spell and give it an extra air of authority, i.e. just as the magic worked in the story, so will it also work for the bearer of this amulet. In many cases, the source of the historiola cannot be traced and its transmission can only be attributed to folk culture. A notable exception is the *Smamit* story which occurs in a silver amulet (N&Sh A15) and magic bowl (N&Sh B12), for which Naveh and Shaked have cited versions in a wide variety of languages from different periods of time.[44]

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[39] ושמיה ברוך אתה יהוה אלוהינו מלך העולם האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא והמופלא והמ(ע)ולא
[40] בשום יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל יושיב הכרובים
[41] בשמיה ד... יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד
[42] Schäfer 1981.
[43] Concerning the names of Metatron in these three sources, see notes to איקון מיטמון ופסקון in M155:3-5.
[44] Naveh and Shaked 1987, pp. 104-122.

The incantation in the duplicate texts M50 and M59 is constructed around the story of a *get* that was given to demons by the legendary Tana Rabbi Joshua bar Perahia, whose reputation as a possessor of magical powers is considerable.[45] In this text, the demons that are endangering the clients are served with their papers of divorce and bidden to leave, just as Joshua bar Perahia had done. The historiola in M142 involves the 'swift prince', an allusion to Metatron the helper angel. In this text the angel is depicted seated on the graves of the babies that were snatched, listening to the cries and pleas of their mothers. The same angel exercises his powers to bind the demons and prohibit them from harming the client of the bowl. The historiola in M145:13-16 is repeated twice, in the first instance the subject of the narrative is an unnamed hero who is said to have gained some magical weapons with which he subdued demons; in the second instance the anonymous hero is supplanted by the client who is now the one who gains the magic weapons and, like the hero, overcomes the demons himself. Yet another magical story in M156 involves Hanina ben Dosa, another Tana famous for his miraculous powers.[46] This text follows a similar form in which the sorcerer, who is the narrator, repeats the actions of the magician of old i.e. just as he (Hanina ben Dosa) adjured the evil spirit, now I (the sorcerer) am adjuring it. A variation of this historiola can be found in b. Pes. 112b in which the same Tana, Hanina ben Dosa, met and subdued a powerful demon called Agrat bat Mahlat.

4.4 The *get*

The phenomena of using the *get*, a bill of divorce, as a motif in the magic bowls already attracted the attention of Thomas Ellis who added these comments to his introduction in 1853:[47]

> 'there is one thing to which I wish to call the attention of the Oriental scholars, namely, the subject of the inscription of No. 1.[48] It is *a letter of dismissal*, or *bill of divorce* to

[45] For a detailed account of Joshua bar Perahia's reputation as a magician, see Geller 1974.
[46] For a short account of Hanina ben Dosa, see Vermes 1973.
[47] Layard 1853, p. 512.
[48] This text was amended and republished by Montgomery in a synopsis with another Jewish Aramaic (AIT 11) as well as Mandaic (published by Mark Lidzbarsky as text no. 5 in 1902 in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, I, 1900-1902, Giessen, pp. 103-105) duplicate texts. Gordon published another two Jewish Aramaic duplicates in 1934, Gordon G and Gordon 9737, producing a synopsis which also included AIT 18. The differences between these five

> Satan and other evil spirits. The word used to express this is גיטא, the very word found in the Talmud to express the same thing, גט pl. גיטין, and almost invariably used for a bill of divorce, instead of ספר כריתת. ... The ancient Jews supposed that the devils or evil spirits were propagated like mankind; that they eat, and drank, married, and, it would seem, quarreled with their wives, and divorced them, as may be seen in the following remarkable passage:–'*And as the devils write bills of divorce, and give them to their wives, and return not unto them again,* so you, in like manner, receive this, &c'.

Montgomery seems to have been almost amused by the naivety of the idea of the magical *get* and construed it to be:

> 'a happy thought of the magicians, who thus applied the powers of binding and loosing claimed by the rabbis to the disgusting unions of demons and mortals. The logic of the procedure was very simple–if only the liliths were as submissive to divorce as their human sisters'.[49]

More recently Shaked has questioned the sense behind the belief in the notion that something akin to human wedlock, which is implied by the magical *get*, could exist between human and demon. He points out that although the bowls describe the enactment of the divorce procedure, it is to a great extent imaginary as it is hard to believe that people really assumed to have been bound to a demon by marriage. Indeed, the demon would have only been perceived by the fact that some illness or problem had occurred in the household. Also, the logistics of serving a demon with a divorce writ can hardly be imagined, nor can it be assumed that any religious legal authority would necessarily have recognized such a writ. Shaked concludes that the deed of divorce for the demons is most likely a metaphor, an act of sympathetic magic.[50]

Magic bowl texts have many references to nightly apparitions which are strongly suggestive of the *incubus* and *succubus* demons. In AIT 1:12-13, for instance, there is a description of demons 'who appear ... to men in the likeness of women and to women in the likeness of men, and with mankind they lie by night and by day' (ומידמין לבני אינש לגברי בדמות נשי ולנשי בדמות גברי ועים בני אינשא שכבין בליליא וביממא). Similarly, in b. Shab.

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duplicate texts (Ellis 1, AIT 11, AIT 18, Gordon G, Gordon 9737 and Lidzbarsky no. 5) and another Mandaic version (18N18) were discussed in detail by Hunter in 1995.

[49] Montgomery 1913, pp. 158-159.

[50] Shaked 1999, p. 176.

151b, R. Hanina warns that if a man sleeps alone in a house Lilith will grab him. A more literal reference occurs in Genesis Rabbah 20:11, in which it is told that during the 130 years that Adam and Eve were separated they both cohabited with demons and produced spirits as progeny. In one Mandaic magic bowl, the activity of the female demon is described even more explicitly: 'she went and slept with the master of the house and took the semen from him. ... she had changed her appearance with the help of magic acts and she said: "I shall separate the man from his woman"...'.[51] As sexual interaction between human and demon was considered possible, belief in the efficacy of the magical *get* implies that such a union would constitute some sort of obligation akin to that which accompanies the marital status.

Montgomery's comments on AIT 8 are instructive in explaining the mechanics of the magical *get* as it is represented in that particular text.

> 'The magical writ affects the same forms and formalism as that of the divorce court. In the parallel bowl, No. 17, a form of date is given (l. 1 הדין יומא), which was a requisite in the legal *Get*. The names of both parties are exactly given, hence the parents of the liliths are here specifically named. The very terms of divorce are repeated in 17:2: שביקת ופטרית ותרכית יתיכי; cf. the facsimile of a *Get* given as a frontispiece in Amram's work[52] (פטרית שבקית ותריכית יתיכי). It was necessary that the writ should be properly served on the divorcée, hence in 26:6, שקולי גיטכי: "take your writ", a sentence consummating the process, and then the divorced demon must betake herself from the victim's property, as commanded by the peremptory; "Hear, obey and go forth" (l. 10). But there is a difference; against spiritual powers divine authority was necessary. And so it is affected that the writ has come down from heaven (l. 7), that is, it belongs to the category of writs from foreign countries for which there were special forms; hence the גיטא אתא מין עיבר ימא, l. 9. The commissioners and witnesses are the holy angels, etc., l. 9 f. A rabbi is also at hand to seal as notary the divine decree, none other than the famous master-magician Joshua b. Perahia'.[53]

Shaked gathered all of the Jewish Aramaic magic bowl texts that include the motif of the *get* and divided them into five main types.[54] It becomes clear when examining these

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[51] YBC 2364:7-9 in Müller-Kessler 1996, p. 189.
[52] Amram 1896.
[53] Montgomery 1913, p. 159.
[54] Shaked 1999. Our M50 and M59 fit into Shaked's type A, whilst M103 and M119 constitute a new type.

different types that these *get* texts do not differ from other magic bowl texts regarding the magical mechanism employed. The *get* motif is interwoven into the general structure of the adjuration of demons and angels, name invocation, the occasional use of an historiola etc. What distinguishes these texts is the mention within the incantation that a deed of divorce was involved. This can be expressed by a statement to the effect that such a deed of separation had been made for the demons, such as in AIT 9:3 (Shaked's type A) כתבנא להון גיטי לכל לילית, in AIT 8:6 (type B) גיטא נחית לכא מין שמיה, N&Sh B5:6-7 (type C) וכתבו שמה בגיטא and Ellis 1:1 (type D) הדין גיטא לשידא - an amulet which actually declares from the outset to be such a magical *get*. Most of the *get* texts include confirmation that the *get* has been served to the demons, either by stating that the divorce has already occurred (AIT 9: ... פטרנא ותרכנא יתכון בגט פיטורין), or in the form of a direct command to the demon to receive the *get* (Ellis 1:7 ... שקול גיטיכון וקבילו מומתכון). In both cases this is done by quoting, or slightly altering, the final part of the legal *get* formula: ודן די יהוי ליכי מנאי ספר תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין. This statement was previously the only clause of the legal *get* formula actually quoted in the bowls. However, in a couple of our texts, M103 and M119, another section of the *get* formula is adapted for use in the magical *get*. Whereas the *get* formula uses the legal terminology רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי ('permission and power over yourself') to express the status of freedom which the divorced woman gains as a result of the *get*, this same terminology is used in the magical *get* (M103:6 and M119:6) to define the status of the demon. This implies that, unlike the divorced woman, a free demon cannot be tolerated and must be suppressed by the deed. The bowl warns the demon thus: 'even if you have permission or power over yourself for any person you may desire, it is the case that I have written a divorce ...' (M103:6).

A closer examination of the magical *get* texts in our corpus (see appendix to M103 and M119) shows that there is a thematic connection between the magic bowl *get* texts and b. Git. 67b-70a, which contains both the story of the infamous Ashmedai, king of demons, and a medical-magical handbook. Both the magic bowl *get* texts and b. Git. 67b-70a combine the magical and medical data. These particular magic bowls employ a form of *get* which divorces the demons from the client who is then healed. It is suggested below (see appendix to M103 and M119) that the reason for the occurrence of this magical-medical subject matter

in b. Git. 67b-70a, the tractate that deals with 'divorce writs', is not a coincidence but a reflection of the popular belief that is also illustrated in our bowls, namely, that illness can be personified in terms of demons, and 'divorcing' such demons can affect a cure. Although there is no formal mention of the magical *get* in the Babylonian Talmud, one might consider the association of such subject matter in the tractate Gittim to be suggestive.

4.5 Gnostic, Christian and pagan sources

References to non-Jewish gods and other powers in the Jewish Aramaic magic bowls raise interesting questions about how foreign elements came to be included in seemingly Jewish texts. Does the presence of such elements point to heretical movements within the Jewish communities of the time? It is not always easy to identify the processes of transmission by which such elements crossed cultural and linguistic boundaries to be used by the Jewish sorcerers. Needless to say, we know from the Mandaic and Manichaean bowls, as well as the Greek magical papyri,[55] that this phenomena of cross-cultural exchange was not unique to the Jewish magical texts, but was a common feature of the magical products of the Near East in Late Antiquity in general. Montgomery believed that the magic bowls 'and in a general way, all Jewish magic, has come out of the crucible of the Graeco-Roman world' and was therefore 'not Jewish but eclectic'.[56] Indeed, Hellenistic influence on Jewish magic is very obvious in *Sepher Ha-Razim* IV:61-63 where a prayer to Helios occurs.[57] Other pagan gods, such as 'the Mesopotamian and Syrian Belti, Nereg, Nanai, Shamish, Dilbat and Mot; the Iranian Anahid, Danahish, Bagdana',[58] as well as the Christian Holy Trinity (see M163: 29 below) are invoked in Jewish Aramaic bowls. Conversely, the Jewish Iao Sabaoth is the most commonly invoked name in the Greek papyri.[59] An unusual but nevertheless good example of borrowing from Jewish sources occurs in a Mandaic bowl (McCullough D) which adjures 'in the name of Metatron ḤLDḤ who serves before the curtain' (*bšwm' dmyṭṭrwn*

[55] See Betz 1986, pp. xlvi-xlvii.
[56] Montgomery 1913, p. 9.
[57] Margaliot 1966, p. 37.
[58] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 37.
[59] See Betz's introduction to *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (1992).

ḥldḥ dhw mšʾmš qdym brgwdʾ), which appears to be a quote from an unidentified Hekhalot text.[60]

Harviainen provides a possible explanation for the syncretistic tendencies of our magical texts:

> 'The long-lived incantation traditions reveal at least one important aspect of the prophylactic magic. The official religion (Judaism, Christianity, Mandaeism, Islam) has not been considered sufficiently effective to protect a human being against secret adversaries. There are gaps in the security system, and the gaps should be closed. As a consequence, all aggressive forces must always be mentioned by name and then they can be sealed, counter-sealed, uprooted, and expelled. *Horror vacui*, the avoidance of empty space, is a leading principle of popular magic. To be on the safe side it is also profitable to pay attention to foreign cults, demons, and deities'.

Because of these syncretistic tendencies, Montgomery was cautious in considering the attribution of the bowls according to the types of script, saying that 'the magic of our bowls is so eclectic that even a "Jewish"-Aramaic text does not imply a Jewish exorcist'.[61] Shaked, on the other hand, recently noted his opinion that although there are cases in which the Jewishness of a text might be argued, there is nevertheless no compelling evidence that anyone but a Jew would use the Jewish Aramaic script.[62]

Harviainen studied one hundred and four bowls in Jewish Aramaic, thirty one in Mandaic and twenty six in Syriac, to try and discern whether the use of a particular script correlated with the cultural group that it is generally associated with.[63] He found that in most cases what distinguishes the texts as belonging to a particular group, apart from their respective scripts, are the varieties of opening formulae and the lists of what he calls the 'helpers'. He did, however, make a cautionary note concerning twenty four 'Jewish Aramaic bowls without phraseology and without a *basmala* typical of Jewish bowls' that they 'should be noted carefully in any discussion of paganism in bowl incantations'.[64]

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[60] For more discussion concerning this reference see Levine 1970, pp. 358-359 and Greenfield 1973, pp. 154-156.
[61] Montgomery 1913, p. 50.
[62] Shaked 1999a, p. 314.
[63] Harviainen 1995.
[64] Harviainen 1995, p. 59

A case in point from our own corpus is M145 which has little if anything, apart from the fact that it is written in Jewish Aramaic, to distinguish it as having been written by a Jewish scribe. In fact, the language and imagery point to the possibility that this text might be derived from a Mandaic *Vorlage*. Yet the duplicate text (MS 2053/159, see text and notes to M145 below) which we have presented with M145 in synopsis has an appendix that consists of three biblical verses (Isa. 6:3, Ex. 15:16 and Ex. 15:18), which suggests that its scribe was Jewish. Although this is not conclusive proof that M145 was also written by a Jewish scribe, it can, nevertheless, be considered as evidence that this formula was known to and used by Jewish magicians despite the fact that the main part of the incantation might have originated from a Mandaic *Vorlage*.

We know from one of Peters'[65] excavation reports that bowls in different dialects were, on occasion, found in the same house. We also know of a certain Dadbeh bar Asmandukh, for whom bowls were written in both Jewish Aramaic (AIT 12 and AIT 16) and Syriac (AIT 31 and AIT 33). These facts point to a situation in which there is no obligation to assume that the religion of the sorcerer and client are synonymous.

One of our bowls, M163, contains an unusual combination of references which include invocations of the pagan 'Shamish king of the gods' (l. 4), the Jewish magical names אהיה אשר אהיה יהוה צבאות (l. 29) and the Christian Holy Trinity (l. 29). It also contains a number of other stories which are otherwise unknown, but which Shaked has suggested might be analogous to Zoroastrian cosmological stories.[66] Shaked has tried to reconcile this combination of religious elements by suggesting that this bowl was written by a Jewish scribe for Zoroastrian clients who commissioned the bowl to be written against their opponent who was a Christian.[67] He assumes the scribe to have been Jewish on the basis of the script, and the clients to have been Zoroastrian on the basis of their Sasanian names (Mihlad and Baran) and their opponent to be a Christian on the basis of his name (Isha). Shaked further suggests that the invocation of the Holy Trinity was made specifically because the target of the spell, a Christian, would consider it the most potent force to his detriment. It is, however,

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[65] Peters 1897, vol. 2, p. 187. In the 1989 excavations at Nippur that were carried out by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, there was also a case recorded in which a pair of bowls in Jewish Aramaic were found in the same house as a pair in Mandaic (Hunter 1995, p. 62).

[66] Shaked 1999a, p. 312.

hard to accept Shaked's assumptions, especially if we consider the Mandaic duplicate, which also includes the Holy Trinity, that is presented in the very same article by Shaked. Both texts were likely to have been part of the magician's repertoire rather than the choice of a conniving sorcerer.

5. Duplicate texts and the scribe-magician's method of incantation-writing

A primary characteristic of the magical text is that it was intended to be used and re-used by the magician, whose job it was to accommodate clients with requests to ward off potential predicaments, or for assistance with such as have already beset them. Part of the magician's store of incantation formulae would have been passed down to him by an instructor to whom he was no doubt apprenticed at some early stage of his career. Other formulae might have been acquired over years of professional practice by means of exchange with other colleagues, or inherited from mentors who wished to pass their most cherished trade secrets on to a trusted and worthy successor. As the number of magic bowls, Palestinian and Mandaic amulets and Geniza magical texts have increased, more and more duplicate texts have been identified. By duplicate texts, we refer to cases where a whole text or a section of it occurs in two or more bowls. Duplicates texts can be divided into three main categories: 1) Duplicates that were written by the same scribe, 2) Duplicates written by different scribes, and 3) Duplicates written in different language groups i.e. Jewish Aramaic and Mandaic and/or Syriac. Comparing texts of the first category can shed light on the ways in which an individual scribe could use different magical incantation formulae to construct different texts for different clients. The accuracy of his reduplication, or lack of it, can suggest whether he had a recipe book readily available from which to copy, or if he tended to rely more on his own memory. The second type of duplicate is also instructive for gaining a better understanding of the level of flexibility any scribe could exercise in his use of standard sections of formulae, and the ways in which he could combine and alter them in the process of composing any particular incantation. The differences between duplicates of this type can also be informative in evaluating to what extent the transmission of this type of magical formulae was scribal or oral. The third type of duplicates is one of the most

[67] Shaked 1999a, p. 314-315.

perplexing as it exhibits the movement of esoteric knowledge across the borders of communities that used different dialects and were adherents to different religions. Though we might never be able to find out the circumstances by which such exchanges came to pass, we can observe the level of modification in form and content that was exercised upon these magical texts. Needless to say, the existence of duplicates is of the utmost importance to the philologist for reconstructing sections of text which in some bowls have faded or disappeared altogether, and often written by untutored hands which render the script barely legible.

5.1 Duplicates written by the same scribe

A pair of duplicates that were written by the same scribe for the same client were published by Müller-Kessler in 1994. After considering these two texts together with two other duplicates written for other clients (N&Sh B12a and a Nippur bowl (HS 3003)[68]), as well as a third bowl written by a different scribe altogether (N&Sh B12b), Müller-Kessler concluded that the scribes tailored their texts uniquely for each client. This means that it was the scribe's custom to choose different opening and closing formula, vary in their citation of demons and angels and add verses or other formulae as they felt appropriate in each case. This could depend, for instance, on the complaint of the client and the amount of money he or she wished to spend. If a client wished to procure more than one bowl, maybe one for each of the corners of the house, then the scribe would compose the appropriate text and reproduce it faithfully in each of the bowls in the batch. That is why the two texts that Müller-Kessler published, which were written for the same client, followed the same form, whereas N&Sh B12a and HS 3003 seem to have been written by the same scribe but for different clients, showing different forms.[69] AIT 21,22 and 23 are duplicates which were all written by the same scribe for the same client, a certain Dodi daughter of Ahath. The difference between these three duplicates is also small, except that AIT 22 has a short appendix at the end that is missing from the other texts. Montgomery attributed this difference to the fact that being the biggest bowl of the three the scribe must have felt the need to add some extra words as space fillers. Yet another set of duplicates were produced

[68] Gordon in 1941, pp. 346-348, and republished by Olsner in 1989.

by Gordon (Gordon E and F) in a synopsis with a third duplicate, Hyvernat's bowl, written for a different client.[70] In this case, as well as in the same-scribe-and-client-duplicates, Gordon E and F are almost identical, whereas, the Hyvernat bowl, which was written for a different client, differs in considerable detail.

In our corpus there are two sets of duplicates that were written by the same scribe for the same clients and for which synopses have been provided (see below). The first group consists of M103, M119, MS 2053/209 and MS 2053/253 and were written for a certain Imi daughter of Qaqi. The second group, M123, M138 and MS 2053/216, were written for three different members of the same household: Imi daughter of Qaqi, Ahi son of Mahlapta and Ahi son of Qini.[71] Both of these groups of bowls happen to have been written by the same scribe for the same household and thus represent a family archive. Both of these sets of duplicates confirm Müller-Kessler's opinion that in such cases as these, where the scribe was writing a number of bowls for the same client or household, he was likely to reproduce the same text with only minor variations in the whole set of bowls. The nature of the small differences that occur between the duplicate texts point to the likelihood that the scribe was composing from memory rather than copying from a notebook or even the first bowl in the set which he had produced. The types of variation that most commonly occur between these kinds of duplicate seem to be the result of the kind of confusion that could easily occur in the scribe's mind while repeatedly writing the same repertoire of incantations from memory in different combinations over and over again. Incantations tend, in any case, to be repetitive and have similar kinds of statements and formulae. For instance, if we look at a variation that occurs in the opening lines of the first of our two groups:

M103:2	M119:1-2	MS 2053/209:2	MS 2053/253:1-2
תיתסי תינטרי	תיתסי ותיטרי	תינטרי תיתסי	תיתסי תיטרי
תישתזבי	מן כל מידעם ביש	ברחמי שמיא	מן כל מידעם ביש

Whereas in three of the texts the scribe wrote תיתסי before תינטרי, in one (MS 2053/209) this word order had changed. One might attribute this slight modification to a lapse in the scribe's concentration. Having already lost his rhythm and changed the word order, he

[69] Müller-Kessler 1994, pp. 8-9.
[70] Gordon 1934a p.331-332; Hyvernat 1885.

followed תיתסי with ברחמי שמיא, a formulaic combination that is known from other texts[72] and possibly also used by the scribe. Similarly, in M103 תינטרי is followed by תישתזבי rather than מן כל מידעם ביש. This could be explained by the fact that the verb נטר followed by שזב occurs in at least one other known formula[73] which might also have been known to our scribe. Another example of the kind of minor difference which occurs is the use of the demonstrative pronoun הדא before the client's name in M119:1 where it is absent from all this text's other duplicates. Such an addition could easily be made if one considers that names are cited regularly in other texts both with and without the demonstrative pronoun.

5.2 Duplicates written by different scribes

This is the most common form of duplicate that we possess. The kind of differences that were found in the previous category of duplicates also apply here except that they are even more common and the disparity is often greater. The order of phrases can alter:

M145:12	MS 2053/159:13
חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא ניגריה שורשא דארעה	ני(ג)ריה שירשה דארעה (ח)ד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה ברקי[עה]

Mode and tense can change:

M112:9	N&Sh B19:4
דלא יקירבון ביה כל חרשין	דלא (ת)יק((ר))בון ביה

M107:7	Geller A:16
ואברכסס ארהיט שידי ודיוי	ואברכסס דמפיק ומרהיט שידי ודיוי

and the quantity and quality of the demons and/or magical names can vary significantly:

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[71] For a discussion concerning the family connections between these three individuals see opening comments to M123 and M138 below.
[72] Cf. AIT 11:1-2, AIT 24:2, AIT 26:5 and Geller C:3. For a detailed discussion of this and other discrepancies between the duplicate texts see the Synopsis and notes provided below.
[73] BOR:10 נינטרוניה ונישיזבוניה.

M50:2	M59:7	AIT 9:3
גיטא לכל ליליתא דיכרי וניקבתא דמתחזן	גיטא דיכרי וניקבתא משמתא מלויתא דלויא ושריא ודירא בביתיה	גיטי לכל ליליתא דמתחזין להון

M112:7-15	N&Sh B19:11
בישמיה ד(פטט..ס) רבא (8) פרפיאל בי(ל)קו (9) פיניבא פיניבא (10) פיזיחו יחא (11) פרובאל בילקו (12) פיאירן פיניגא (13) אני הוא יהו הי (14) צור קדוש מסג (15) יי שדי	בשמיה דאפסמט רבה אמן אמן סלה

Duplicate texts show quite clearly that, when using a formula, different scribes were not compelled to adhere to the same opening and closing. For example, the duplicates HS 3003, N&Sh B12a and B12b, Müller-Kessler B1 and B2, which all share the same main formula, contain between them three different openings and four types of ending. Another, more extreme example of the adaptation of a basic text is Geller A. One can see in the synopsis with M107 (see below) the extent to which the basic formula has been enlarged and altered so as to make it at first glance almost unrecognisable as a duplicate of M107. Though the variance between these two texts is big, the fact that both bowls have the same drawing of a horse-riding demon and set of abstract magical characters make it certain that they both owe their origin to a common *Vorlage*.

These kind of differences between the duplicate texts reveal that the work of the magician-scribe was often more than just copying or reciting prescribed formula in which only the name of the client had to be entered. The craft of the skilled practitioner often involved a certain amount of tailoring so that, when he produced an incantation, he could design his product to suit both the client's needs and means. He had a choice of formulae to deal with a variety of maladies or complaints, numerous openings and closings, extensive lists of demons, evil sprits and malicious harmers as well as angels, powerful names and gods. Armed with these tools, he could assemble an endless array of incantations. Although certain aspects of these magic spells are conservative and draw from older inherited traditions, the greater corpus of magic bowls nevertheless presents us with a great variety in

both form and content. Whether by choice or as a consequence of the method of the scribes, the magic bowl texts are a testament to the creativity and diversity of their authors.

It was not, however, only the creative aspects of the magician-scribe's method that contributed to new elements and forms within magical incantation texts. It was also a process of corruption of unusual words and phrases, demons', angels' and magical names that were altered by generations of copying and oral transmission. A good example of such a case was noted by Montgomery in his study of the parallels to AIT 11 for which he produced a synopsis.[74] Montgomery points out that the two words אל איסור in the expression אל איסור בגדנא 'for the binding of Bagdana',[75] which occur in Ellis 1:4, got transformed into the name אלאיסור 'Elisur' in which form it is found in AIT 11:4-5. An example from our own corpus is the discrepancy between דכידיבון in M145:2, which appears to be a name, 'of KYDYBWN' (?), as opposed to the expression בריה דבריה, 'the grandson', which occurs in the parallel MS 2053/159:2:

M145:2	MS 2053/159:2-3
לשמיש חור דכידיבון בריה דמלכה רבא	לשמיש וחור בריה דבריה בר (3) מלכה רבה

Magical names are probably the most prone to change as they are often rather unusual combinations of letters which are harder to remember than normal vocabulary. An example of this is a name of Lilith which occurs in AIT 11:6 as חלבס, though in its duplicates it occurs as חבסלס in one case and חלדאס in another. In M163:9-11 there are listed seven magic words that constitute the seal by which it is claimed heaven and earth are bound. A comparison with four other texts in which these seven names are also cited (see table in notes to M163:8-11) shows the different permutations such names can take. Concerning a similar case of a list of angel names which occurs in both N&Sh B1 and B2, Naveh and Shaked commented that the differences in the names point to a combination of both oral and scribal modes of transmission.[76]

[74] Montgomery 1913, pp. 168-170.
[75] Montgomery shows on the basis of the Mandaic parallel that אל in the Jewish Aramaic is but an unusual form for the preposition על (Montgomery 1913, p. 171). See also J. p. 66a.
[76] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 27.

5.3 Duplicates in different language groups

Montgomery identified a number of duplicate texts that crossed the linguistic boundaries: AIT 11 and AIT 18 in Jewish Aramaic that have a Mandaic counterpart in the form of Lidzbarsky no. 5,[77] and also the formula in AIT 9 in Jewish Aramaic which has two Syriac duplicates, AIT 32 and AIT 33. To the latter we add another pair of duplicates from our present corpus - M50 and M59. In 1998 Müller-Kessler published a synopsis of three texts: BOR in Jewish Aramaic, Louvre AO 17284 in Syriac and Macuch I, a lead roll in Mandaic, which all include a formula that is based on the same *Vorlage*.[78] This is the first attested case in which a formula is found in all three of the major dialects of the magic bowls. Müller-Kessler summarised her study of the three texts, as did her predecessors Naveh and Greenfield (who were not aware of the existence of the Syriac version), with the conclusion that the Mandaic version is the most likely to have been closest to the original.

These texts bear witness that such formulae were transmitted from one religious community to another. One can only speculate about the way in which such material was passed on. Were such texts copied from one language into another, or were they passed on orally? It is possible that magicians of different religious groups exchanged trade secrets or consulted with each other on professional matters. We are told in b. Shab. 116a that Mar Samuel and a certain Babylonian priest called Ablat discussed medical-astronomical issues together.[79] Was it the work of converted magicians who brought their old stock of trade with them across into new communities? As the world of magic, with its syncretistic tendencies, was so secretive and evidence so sparse, the answers to these questions are elusive.

Harvianen noted a significant difference, apart from the script and dialect, that distinguishes the Jewish Aramaic bowl that he published (BOR) and the Mandaic duplicate that Greenfield and Naveh published. He points out that in the Jewish bowl

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[77] For the history of the study of this formula, see footnote 48.

[78] The history of research relating to this incantation formula that precedes Müller-Kessler's publication is particularly interesting. It starts with BOR, a Jewish Aramaic bowl, which was published by Harviainen in 1981. The bowl's linguistic peculiarities, many of which are common to the Mandaic dialect, led him to form the idea that the presence of certain linguistic features in Jewish Aramaic constituted an Eastern Aramaic Koiné (see above). In 1985 Naveh and Greenfield published a Mandaic lead roll that had within it a duplicate variation of the Jewish Aramaic BOR. They added a third duplicate, Macuch I - another Mandaic lead roll, to these two texts and produced a synopsis. Their conclusion was that the Jewish Aramaic version was dependent on the Mandaic.

[79] Geller 1997b, p. 57.

'the beginning of the text reads *šemaʿu we-qabbelu h de-zahar yy* 'hear and accept the Lord who has warned, Yahwe!' While large parts of the text, demons, deities, and curses inclusive, were copied from a Mandaic model–as Greenfield and Naveh have demonstrated–the Mandaean watchword was not accepted by the scribe who employed the Jewish script for the incantation. Instead of the Life, the primordial deity of the Mandaean religion, the (probably) Jewish magician appealed to the God of the Jews, Yahwe, the name of which he spelled in two different abbreviated forms, *he* and *yod-yod*'.[80]

Harviainen's findings reveal that in most cases the Mandaic and Jewish Aramaic texts employ their own specific forms of opening formulae. That is to say that there are certain formulae that are specifically Mandaic and are never used in Jewish Aramaic texts, and visa versa. One can, therefore, see that although a Mandaic formula might be copied by Jewish scribes, they will, nevertheless, adapt it in some way so as to make it their own.

[80] Harviainen 1993, p. 34.

Texts -Transcriptions, Translations, Notes and Synopses

M50 (15.5cm * 5cm) & **M59** (16.5cm * 5.5cm)

Though M50 and M59 are duplicate texts of each other they are, nevertheless, written by different hands and for different clients. The names of the clients in M50 are Uri daughter of Maroshita and Qaqai son of Ṣiporta, and the name in M59 Ardoi son of Kirkshidukh. Other published duplicates of this formula are AIT 9 which is in Jewish Aramaic and AIT 32 and 33 which are in Syriac Manichaean script. Another three duplicates in Jewish Aramaic have been identified in the Schøyen collection: MS 1927/5, MS 1927/39 and MS 1929/16. The complete transcriptions of these are not provided, though sections that are cited have been collated by the present author. Of special importance is MS 1929/16 as it was written by the same scribe as M59 and displays certain unusual features of this formula which are particular to these two versions. From these eight texts one can discern at least three main variations of this incantation: 1) AIT 32 and 33 the Syriac Manichaean texts, 2) M59 and MS 1929/16 both in Jewish Aramaic and by the same author, and 3) M50, AIT9, MS 1927/5 and MS 1927/39 all in Jewish Aramaic. This last group of texts are not all the same and show an extra number of variations. The differences between all the texts are slight and reveal something about the nature of the deviations which occur in the transformation of a formulaic incantation in the process of its transmission (see synopsis and discussion below).

Common to all the variations of the incantation are: 1) The mention, at the beginning of the text, of the throwing of lots as part of a magical process. 2) A small historiola which relates that a writ of divorce to separate human clients from demons was written in the house of R. Joshua bar Perahia. 3) The invocation of a holy name which is only alluded to, in Hebrew, as the magical manipulation of certain letters. The implied composite name is described as one that was in some way used in the process of creation, as well as being potent for the removal of demons. 4) The historiola ends with a direct statement to the demons that the agency which affected the divorce between them and the human clients had ascended 'on high' to enlist the means by which the their expulsion and destruction will be completed.

Transcription of M50

(1) פורא רמינא ושקילנא {ועב} ועבדא עבדנא והוא הוה במותב רבי יהושוע בר פרחיא (2) כתבנא להון גיטא לכל לילי^יתא דיכרי וניקבתא דמתחזן לה להדא אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא (3) קאקי בר ציפרתא בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא דיממא גיטא גיט פיטורין ושיבוקין בשום אות מתוך אות (4) ואותיות מתוך אותיות ושום מתוך השמות (...) נ(ק)ב מתוך הגלוי דבהון איתכנעו שמיה (וא)רעה וטוריא בהון איתעקרו וראמתא בהון איתמסיאה שידי חרשי דיוי ולטבי בהון עברי מן עלמא בכין סליקית עליכון למרומא איתיתי עליכון מחבלא לחבלא יתכון (5) ולאפקא יתכון מן ביתה ומן כל אתר בית מישכבהון דהדא אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא קאקי בר ציפורת(א) ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא (6) ב(י)שינתא דיממא דפטרנא יתכון מינהון בספר תרוכין וגיט {פט} פיטורין ואיגרת שיבוקין כדת בנת ישראל ומן יומא דין ולעלם אמן אמן סלה הללויה (ל)שמך 7. עשיתי גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל וחתימין על הדין גיטא

Translation of M50

(1) I am casting and drawing a lot and making a magical act. And it was [as] in the dwelling of R. Joshua bar Perahia. (2) I am writing them a *get*, to all the male and female Liliths who appear to this Uri daughter of Maroshita and to this (3) Qaqai son of Siporta in the dream of the night and the sleep of the day. A divorce writ, a *get* of releasing and sending away. By the name of: a letter within a letter (4) and letters from within letters and a name from within the names (...) a gap from within the revealed. By them which heaven and earth were subjugated, mountains were uprooted by them, and heights were melted by them. Demons and dews and 'no good ones' die (lit. - passing from the world) by them. Therefore, I ascended concerning you (or- against you/above you) to on high. I have brought against you a harmer to destroy you (5) and remove you from her house and from every bedroom of this Uri daughter of Merushita and this Qaqai son of Siporta. And may you not appear to them, not in the dream of the night and not (6) in the sleep of the day. For I have released you from them by a document of divorce, and a *get* of discharge/dismissal, and letters of separation according to the law of the daughters of Israel from this day and forever, amen

amen sela hallelujah. (7) For Thy namesake I have done (this magic act). Gabriel and Michael and Raphael and (those) sealed upon this *get*.

Notes for M50

1 שקילנא The spelling here and in M59 are the same and confirm Epstein's emendation of Montgomery's reconstruction of AIT 9:1 from נא[שקי] to לנא[שקי].

עבדא עבדנא Cf. N&Sh 3:4 ועבדין דמיתעבדין 'charms which are cast.' The root עבד in the context of the magic bowls was discussed by Montgomery[1] who stressed the fact that its spectrum of meanings incorporate both religious and magical practice. It is worth noting in connection with this formula, which incorporates legalistic divorce formula, the common Rabbinic expression עבד עובדא 'issue a halakhic ruling,' as in b. Gitt. 27a עבד רבה עובדא בההוא גיטא 'Rabbah issued a ruling concerning that bill of divorce.'

2 ן<י>דמתחז Cf. AIT 9 דמתחזין. A verb with a third week radical חזי, the masculine participle form is מתחזין, the feminine being מתחזיין.[2]

4 איתמסיאה Montgomery read In AIT 9:7,8 איתמסי אה '... melt away. Oh, ...' Epstein amended to איתמסראה, an *ithpe.* feminine pl. perfect, on the basis of the Syriac Manichaean duplicates AIT 32 and 33 which has *ʿytmsr*. However, the reading is clear in both this text and its duplicate MS 1929/16 and an *ithpe.* feminine pl. perfect of מסי is perfectly acceptable. This form is not attested in the Babylonian Talmud, but can be found in the Targ.-J., cf. Josh. 10:11 - אתרמיאה.

עברי מן עלמא The two Syriac texts AIT 32 and 33 have the same expression as here, which is also attested in the Targ.-J. (Gen. 15:2 דאני עביר מן עלמא). Cf. AIT 9:7 which employs the verb אבד instead of עבר resulting in an equivalent expression which is attested in the Mishna - אבדו מן עלמא.[3]

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[1] 1913, p. 51.
[2] Epstein 1960, p. 99.
[3] Epstein 1983, p. 339.

איתיתי Montgomery[4] considered this word to be an *af.* to which the added תי- is a 'Hebraizing' of the form. However, in the Targumim[5] the form אתיתי is well attested as a *pe.* perfect first person.

מחבלא לחבלא cf. VA2416:17 (Wohlstein, 1894, line 34) ומחבלתא דימחבלתא; cf. Targ.-J. Is. 54:16 מחבלא לחבלא.

6 פשינתא The פ which is at the start of this word should have been a ב as can be seen in AIT 9:9 and M59:12.

כדת בנת ישראל ... בספר תרוכין This is the same wording used for the end of the *Get*[6] formula except for the ending. The standard formula is כדת משה וישראל (as found in M59:12, see below) whereas our text reads כדת בנת ישראל which is reminiscent of the Targ.-O. to Ex. 21:9, a Biblical reference to the Israelite rules of matrimony, which translates the Hebrew כמשפט הבנות as כהלכת בנת ישראל.

Notes for M59 (see transcription of M59 in the synopsis below)

5 עבדי A plural form cf. M50:1 עבדא.

6 כתבית A perfect form of the verb as opposed to כתבנא in M50:2 which is a participle with first person pronoun suffix.

8 להון דמית(חזיא) In MS 1929/16 the spelling is the same. This is a singular feminine form of the participle and refers to the מלויתא 'the female demon that accompanies'. There is only one client so one would expect לה instead of להון.

9 - 10 הגולי Should be הגלוי as it is clearly written in M50 and MS 1927/5. It is interesting that the scribe repeats this same mistake in his duplicate rendition of the same text in MS 1929/16.

עו<נ>יתכ Cf. יתכנעו in MS 1929/16, and איתכנעו in M50 and AIT 9.

יתכנעו, ויתעקרון, ויתמסרון All *ithpe.* imperfect forms as they are also found in MS 1929/16. However, in all the other duplicates, the Syriac ones included, these verbs are *ithpe.* perfect

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[4] 1913, p. 164.
[5] Dalman 1905, p. 358. Some examples occur in: Targ.-O. Gen. 31:39, Targ.-Ps-J. Deut. 26:10, Targ.-J. Isa. 41:25, Jer. 2:19.
[6] Cf. Amram 1896, frontispiece facsimile.

forms. In the imperfect these verbs do not make as much sense as the subjugation of the heavens and the earth and the formation of its geography by the magical names was an act that occurred in the past. Furthermore, all the other duplicates (apart from MS 1929/16) conjugate these verbs as *ithpe.* perfect forms. It seems reasonable to assume that at some point of the transmission of this formula a certain scribe, possibly even the one who wrote M59 and 1929/16, copied the אי prefixed to the verbs as וי.

11 לאפוקי An *af.* infinitive, this form is eastern;[7] cf. M50:5 לאפקא which is the western equivalent.[8]

לאנדואהון The *af.* infinitive of the root נדי/נדא ('to throw, banish, excommunicate') with a masculine third person plural suffix. Cf. לאלוואיהון in the Targ. Ps-J. Gen. 18:16.[9]

14-15 Zech. 3:2, for a discussion of the use of this verse in the magic bowls see appendix to M108.

Synopsis for M50, M59, AIT 9 and AIT 32

M50	M59	AIT 9	AIT 32 (Syriac)[10]
	(1) לכל (2) ל (3) ליליתא בישתא		(1) מזמן הנא כאסא חתמא דביתה (2) ודאנתתה ודבנה דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד דתיזה מנה מבכלתא (3) וחלמא ביישא
(1) פורא רמינא ושקילנא {ועב} ועבדא עבדנא והוא הוה במותב רבי יהושוע בר פרחיא	(4) דפורא רמינא ושקילנא (5) {ועב} ועבדי עבדנא במתיבי (6) יהושע בר פרחיא	(1) פורא רמינא ו[שקי]לנא ועובדא (2) עבידנא והוא הוה במית[ביה] דרבי יהושע (3) בר פרחיא	פורא רמינא ושקינא עבודא דעביד הוהוא (4) כי הוא דיתיב רב יישוע בר פרהיא
(2) כתבנא להון גיטא לכל ליליתא דיכרי וניקבתא	כתבית (7) גיטא דיכרי וניקבתא משמתא מלויתא דלויא ושריא ודירא	כתבנא להין גיטי לכל ליליתא	וכתב עליהון דסתבריא על כלהון שידא ודיוא (5) וסטנא וללית ולטבא
דמתחזן לה		דמתחזין להון	
להדא	בביתיה	בהדין (4)	דאית בביתה

[7] Epstein 1960, p. 76.
[8] Stevenson 1924, p. 61.
[9] Dalman 1905, p. 349.
[10] For the convenience of viewing this synopsis the Syriac text has been rendered in square characters.

AIT 32 (Syriac)[10]	AIT 9	M59	M50
דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד	דבבנוש בר קיומ[תא] ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה	דארדוי בר (8) כירכשידוך וכל שום דאית לה	אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא (3) קאקי בר ציפרתא
		דמית(חזיא) להון	
	בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא (5) דיממא	בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא דיממא	בחילמא דליליה ובשינתא דיממא
תוב כתב עליהון דסתבריא דלעלם	דגיטא דפי[טורין] ודשבוקין	ואנה כתיבנא עליכון גיטא (9) גיט פיטורין ושבוקין	גיטא גיט פיטורין ושיבוקין
(6) בשום אתמדג [את] אתות אתות מן גות אתות אתות שמא גליונא מן גו גיליונא	בשום אות מתוך אות ואותיות מתוך אותיות (6) ושום מתוך השימות ונקב מתוך [הנקבים]	בשום אות מיתוך אות אותיות מיתוך אותיות ושום {מ} מיתוך השימ<ו>ת וינקבי מיתוך האל הגולי	בשום אות מתוך אות (4) ואותיות מתוך אותיות ושום מתוך השמות (...) נ(ק)ב מתוך הגלוי
דבהנהון איתכביש (7) שמיא וארעא וטורא ובהנהון איתקר רמא[תא] ובהנהון איתמסר	דיבהון איתכנעו שמיא וארעה טוריא איתעקרו ורמתא בהון איתמס(י)אה	דיבהון יתכ<נ>עו (10) שמיה וארעה וטורא בהון ויתעקרון ורמיתא בהון ויתמסרון	דבהון איתכנעו שמיה (וא)רעה וטוריא בהון איתעקרו וראמתא בהון איתמסיאה
[חרשא שידא] ודיוא וסטנא ולליתא ולטבא (8) ובהנהון עבר מן עלמא	(7) שידי חרשי ודיוי ולטבי ולילית בהון אבדו מן עלמא	שידי וחרשי בהון עברי מן עלמא	שידי חרשי דיוי ולטבי בהון עברי מן עלמא
וסליק עליכון למרומא ואיתא עליכון קיבלא חביל[א] לחבלותא ואפקא [לאפק]תכון	בכין סליקית עליהון לימרומא ואיתיתי עליכון (8) מחבלא לחבלא יתהון ולאפקא יתכ[ון	בכין סליקית עליכון למירומא מיחבלא (11) לאפוקי ולאנדויאהון שידין ושיבטין ודיוין וסטנין וחילמי סניתי שגישי ותיזחון ותיפקון	בכין סליקית עליכון למרומא איתיתי עליכון מחבלא לחבלא יתכון (5) ולאפקא יתכון
(9) [מן ב]יתה	מ]ן בתיהון ומן דירתיהון איסקופתיהון ומן כל ... אתר בית מישכביהון	מן ביתיה ואיסקופתיה	מן ביתה ומן כל אתר בית מישכבהון
דדינוי בר איספנדרמיד ומן כל דאיתלה	דבאבנוש בר קיומתא (9) ודסרדוסת בת שירין אינתתיה	דארדוי בר כירכשידוך	דהדא אורי בת מרושיתא ולהדא קאקי בר ציפורת(א)
	ותוב לא [תיתחזון להון] לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינ[תא דיממ]א	(12) ולא תתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא בשינתא ד<יממה>	ולא תיתחזון להון לא בחילמא דליליה ולא (6) ב(ו)שינתא דיממא
שביקית[ון]	דפטרנא ותרכנה [ית]כ[ין]	מיטול דפטרנא יתיכון מיניכון	דפטרנא יתכון מינהון

AIT 32 (Syriac)[10]	AIT 9	M59	M50
בדסתבריא ואסיר [וח]תים ומחתם איכין דש[ידא קדמיא לאדר]יבו (10) ואנשא קדמיא דעוטר להאוו תוב אסיר חתים ומחתם הנא דסתבריא בשום יה יה יה יה יה יה יה עא [אמין אמין סלה (11) ניתח]תים וניתנטר ביתה ודורה דדינוי בר איספנ[דרמיד] מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ותיתחת[ים] ותיתנטר [אנתתה ובנה] (12) מן מבכלתא וחלמא בישא ולוטתא ונידרא ו[חרשא] ....תקים [מ]נהלי (?) ה אמין	(10) בגט פטו[רין ו]ספר תירוכין ואגרת שיבוק[ין] כדת בנת ישראל (11) אני לישמך עשיתי יהוה אלהים צבאות גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל חתומך על הדא חתמתא ועל הדא איסקופתה אמן אמן	בסיפר תירוכי<ן> וגיטא גיט פיטורין ואיגרת שבוקין כדת משה ו<י>שראל (13) לשמך אני עשיתי גבריאל verso (14) גבריאל ו(מיכ)אל ורפיאל ואור<יאל> .....יאל בשום (סו)ריאל סוריאל ..... יהוק יהיק רבה סלה ויאמר יהוה אל שטן יגער יהוה בך (15) השטן יגער יהוה בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אוד (מוצל) מיאש	בספר תרוכין וגיט {פט} פיטורין ואיגרת שיבוקין כדת בנת ישראל ומן יומא דין ולעלם אמן אמן סלה הללויה (ל)שמך (7) עשיתי גבריאל ומיכאל ורפאל חתימין על הדין גיטא

The synopsis reveals a number of interesting differences which illustrate the nature of the transmission of this incantation, specifically amongst the Jewish and Syriac scribes. Both Montgomery and Epstein worked on the Jewish Aramaic text (AIT 9) and the two Syriac duplicates (AIT 32 and 33) commenting on the textual tradition of this formula which these two cultural groups shared. Montgomery claimed that the Jewish Aramaic text is 'doubtless dependent upon'[11] the Syriac texts. This statement is not qualified but for a comment that AIT 9 is the inscription of an illiterate hand. Epstein argued against the priority of the Syriac partly on the basis that both AIT 32 and 33 use the expression עבר מן עלמא, whereas AIT 9 uses אבדו מן עלמא which is similar to the Mishnaic expression.[12] Such an argument is untenable in the light of our two new Jewish Aramaic duplicates which both use the Aramaic expression with the verb עבר.

Epstein concluded solely by stating that it is likely that both versions of this formula were based on an earlier source. The mention of Joshua bar Perahia and the allusion to the manipulation of the divine name appear to suggest that the source is Jewish.

Epstein noted the discrepancy between the nouns and qualifying verbs when comparing the Syriac section AIT 32:6,7 with its equivalent Jewish Aramaic AIT 9:6:

[11] Montgomery 1913, p. 162.
[12] Epstein 1960, p. 339.

	AIT 9:6	AIT 32:6,7
1	דיבהון איתכנעו שמיא וארעה	דבהנהון איתכביש (7) שמיא וארעא וטורא
2	טוריא איתעקרו	
3	ורמתא בהון איתמס(י)אה	ובהנהון איתקר רמא[תא]
4		ובהנהון איתמסר [חרשא שידא] ודיוא

Whereas, in the Syriac text the word טורא is modified by the first verb (איתכביש), in the Jewish Aramaic texts (AIT 9:6, M50:4 and M59:10) the equivalent טוריא occurs with the second verb - איתעקרו. This is the point where the Syriac and Jewish Aramaic versions fall out of step. The equivalent to this second verb in the Syriac version (איתקר) relates to רמאתא which in the Jewish Aramaic text is modified by a third verb - איתמסיאה. The equivalent of this third verb in the Syriac version (איתמסר) refers to the list of demons that follow. The differences between the two versions of this particular section are interesting as they could reflect a corruption in the transmission of the text from one Aramaic dialect to the other. If such a corruption has indeed occurred, then it has not affected the outcome as both versions preserve readings which are sensible and grammatically sound.

There are two other elements of similarity between M59 and MS 1929/16, both written by the same scribe, and the two Syriac texts. 1) The equivalent to AIT 32:7 איתמסר in M59:10 and MS 1929/16:7 is ויתמסרון, as opposed to אתמסיאה in both AIT 9 and M50. 2) In AIT 32:5 there is the added תוב כתב עליהון 'again he wrote concerning them.' Similarly in M59:8 (and MS 1929/16:5) ואנה כתיבנא עליכון 'and I write against you,' missing from both AIT 9 and M50.

Comparing these texts enables an interesting insight into the creativity of the individual scribe. For example in the transcription of M59, it seemed reasonable to consider לכל ל לילית בישתא as the first three lines of the text. These words are couched within the rather

elaborate image of the demon which is sprawled across the centre of the bowl. Furthermore, they are the first words to be read if one follows the usual clockwise spiraling of the text from the middle outwards. These words also serve as an eye-catching caption. In M50:2 and AIT 9:3 these words appear after the word גיטא. A further inspection of M59 reveals that the words in question appear above the word גיטא in line 7, rather than after them as they appear in MS 1929/16 (written by the same scribe) which has no illustration of a demon. It might be argued that in M59 these words were put above the word גיטא, i.e. the correct place in the formula, גיטא ^לכל ל ליליתא בישתא^. However, the scribe added the relative pronoun ד to פורא which clearly suggests that something ought to precede it. Thus it appears that the scribe was consciously exploiting the visual arrangement of the text.

Another small but revealing detail is that in M59:8 the words דמתחזיא להון 'whom appears to them' appears after the name of the client. Whereas, in M50, AIT 9 and MS 1929/16 (which was written by the same hand as M59) the equivalent words appear before the name of the client. This alteration of the formula became necessary to the scribe of M59 who added the optional ושריא ודירא 'who dwells and inhabits' which necessitated that 'in the house of ...' immediately follow. Wishing not to omit any part of the formula he then added 'whom appears to them' after the name of the client.

M101 (17.6cm*7cm)

This text is written in a very neat square script. Apart from ה and ח, all the letters are clearly distinguished. The text appears to have been written for the general protection of the client, her unborn baby and her dwellings. The Aramaic displays a number of western tendencies, such as the infinitive forms of the verbs in the first two lines and the ה endings of some of the nouns (l. 3 בישתה, l. 4 ניקבתה, lines 4 and 5 עקרה). The text is in Hebrew from the end of line eight until the word בשום in line eleven. Part of this section is an almost exact parallel to a passage in Hekhalot Rabatti (see below). Of particular interest in this section is the Hebrew threat formula in lines 9 and 10 which is written in the third person against demons. This statement is something of an echo to the threat which the demons received, in Aramaic, in direct speech (the second person), in lines 6 and 7. The Hebrew threat to the demons is written in a post Biblical Hebrew, consistent with the Hekhalot material and possibly originating from texts which are, as yet, unknown to us.

Transcription of M101

(1) הדין כתבה למיסר ולמיבלם ולשצטמא (2) ולאפקא ולרחקא כל שידי ודיוי וירורי ולילין ומבכלין (3) ורוחי בישתה וחומרי זידניתא ופתכרי ופתכרתא (4) דיכרי וניקבתה וכל מ(חא)תא אינקיתא ומשמתא ומבכלתא ורוח עקרה (5) ולילית עקרה זכר ונקיבה כולכון שמ(ע)ו מומתא דא וקבילו שבועתא הדא (6) ופוקו ורחיקו מן מחלפתא בת אימאי ומן עוברה דבימעה ומן ביתה דחיתה ביה ומן דירתה (7) דילה ותוב לא תיתון עלה ולא תיתחזון לה לא בביתה ולא בדירתה מן יומא דין ושעה דא ולעלם במפתחי חותם (8) בפיתוחי חותם בחותם חותם בינזה בינזף בינ(..)ה בשץ בקץ בנף ב(לז) בלן בניזפי בלן בטש בצף ביהו יהו (9) הי הו הוה ובעיזקתא רבתא שאין כל הטבעות כמותה וכל לילין ומבכלין וכל רוח רעה זכר ונקיבה שישמע (10) ויצא מן מחלפתא בת אימאי ומן ביתה כוליה וילך לדרכו לשלום ומי שלו ישמע יהא מנודא לטעצש יהוה אלהי ישראל לו (11) ולכתר ראשו ולכיסי כבודו ולבית דין של מעלה ולבית דין של מטה ולכל צבא בית דין מרום בשום טיטינוס חי חי מץ פגרי רעש ופגרי (12) רגש קל פגרי רעש קל מילי מיליה תיגלה (סלד)יאה קיצתס פצמצין ניאסין אקרקפה דני וארישה דביניתה חתם חזית(יה) לבר שתי שתי (פ)נדי (13) סכסין סק(ס)ון קץ שמיה עיקרון קרן לך דין שמה רבה דמלאך מותא עריק מיניה אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M101

(1) This writing to bind, and muzzle, and lock up, (2) and take out, and remove all sheds, and dews, and howlers, and Lils, and tormentors, (3) and evil spirits, and wicked charms, male idols and female idols, (4) male and female, and all plagues necklace charms, and ban, and tormentor, and barren spirit, (5) and barren Lilith, male or female.

All of you, hear this adjuration and receive this oath. (6) Go out and remove yourselves from Mahlafta daughter of Imai and from her foetus in her belly, and from her house in which she lives, and from her dwelling. (7) Again, may you not come against her, and may you not appear to her, not in her house and not in her dwelling from this day and this time and forever.

By seal engravers (8) by seal engravings by seal of seal, by YNZH by YNZP by YN(..)H by ŠṢ by QṢ by NP by (LZ) by LN by NYZPY by LN by ṬŠ by ṢP by YHW YHW (9) HY HW HWH and by the great signet ring of which none of the rings are like.

And all lils and tormentors and every evil spirit , male and female who will obey (10) and go out from Mahlapta daughter of Imai, and from her entire house. May he go on his way in peace. And whosoever shall not obey will be banished to ṬA'SŠ YHWH God of Israel, to him (11) and to the crown of his head and to the throne of his glory and to the law court of above and to the law court of below and to all the host of the law court of heaven.

By the name ṬYṬYNWS ḤY ḤY MṢ bodies of commotion and bodies (12) of tumult, sound of bodies of commotion, sound of words of words TYGLH (SLD)Y'AH QYṢTS PṢMṢYN NYA'SYN. *Upon her head jars* and upon the top of her hair he sealed ḤZYT(YH) LBR ŠTY ŠTY PNDY (13) SKSYN SQ(.)WN QṢ his name.

Barren one, we called you! This is the great name from which the angel of death flees. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M101

1 לשצטמא cf. b. Git. 68a MS Paris שיצטמיה and variants: MS Munich 95 שסטמיה, MS Arras 969 שסתמיה and MS Wilna סתמיה. In b. Git. 68a this verb is employed to express the fastening of the iron chain which was thrown over Asmedai the demon. Cf. the Mandaic

cognate *sṣtm* (DM p. 334a, b) 'to fetter, shackle' for which there is the equivalent *ṣṣtm* (DM p. 396b). Macuch explained the change of *s* > *ṣ* before *ṭ* as 'a general Semitic phenomenon'.[13] The same change from ס to צ is attested in Babylonian Aramaic[14] and could explain the differences between the variant forms in the b. Git. 68a manuscripts. Macuch understood the Mandaic *sṣtm* to be a *Safel* form.[15] Likewise, Kohut[16] considered the form in b. Git. (MS Munich 95) שסטמיה to be a *Shafel* derived from the root סתם.

5 זכר ונקיבה These are Hebrew nouns as opposed to the Aramaic דיכרי וניקבתה in line four.

6 עוברה דבמיעה Cf. the expression עולה דבמעיה in amulet A[17] lines 7,16 and 30.

חיתה As this text is for the protection of a pregnant woman it is possible to consider this word to be a variant spelling of חייתא 'midwife'.[18]

7,8 במפתחי חותם בפיתוחי חותם בחותם חותם This is reminiscent of the holy diadem of pure gold mentioned in Ex. 39:30 upon which was incised the 'sealed inscription', פתוחי חותם, consisting of the words 'Holy to the Lord'. The potency of seals with magic words upon them is evident from their numerous invocations in magic bowls.[19] Knowledge of various seals, such as those often described in the Hekhalot literature, was apparently considered essential for the mystic who would traverse the heavenly palaces.[20] As this text is concerned with a pregnant client and her unborn feotus, mentioning the barren spirit and barren Lilith (lines 4,5), it is worth noting Gen. 30:22 and Targ. Ps-J. of the same verse. In this verse we are told that God took heed of Rachel's plight and 'opened her womb', ויפתח את רחמה. The word ויפתח, from the same root as מפתחי and פיתוחי, is elaborated in the Targ. Ps-J. which records a midrash about four magical 'keys' which were handed down directly by the Lord. One of these keys was the 'key of barrenness', מפתח עקרתא.[21]

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[13] Macuch 1965, p. 69-70.
[14] Epstein 1960, p. 19.
[15] Macuch 1965, p. 248.
[16] Aruch Completum 1955, vol. 8, p. 117b.
[17] Montgomery 1911, pp. 272-279, and republished in Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 91-95.
[18] J. p. 455a,b.
[19] Montgomery 1913, p. 53.
[20] Scholem 1960, p. 33.
[21] In the b. Tan. 2a,b there is another version of this midrash which tells of three such keys one of which is also the key of barrenness.

10-11 יהא ... מרום This is a near precise parallel to a verse in Hekhalot Rabatti, cf. Schäfer Synopsis §92:

M101 יהא מנודא לטעצש יהוה אלהי ישראל לו (11) ולכתר ראשו ולכיסי כבודו ולבית דין של

HR יהא בנידוי לטעצש יוי אלהי ישרי לו ולכסא כבודו ולכתר ראשו לבית דין של

M101 מעלה ולבית דין של

HR מעלה ולבית דין של

M101 מטה ולכל צבא בית דין מרום

HR מטה ולכל צבא מרום

This section appears towards the start of Hekhalot Rabatti, following the description of the virtues of those who descend to the Merkabah. Though this Hekhalot section is in itself somewhat unclear,[22] the particular clause, which is parallel to the one in our text, appears to be an invocation given to those who descend to the Merkabah for protection. The name טעצש is appended to a standard name of God and also appears, in the same form, at the very beginning of Hekhalot Rabatti (Schäfer Synopsis §81). This name also appears in Maaseh Merkabah (Schäfer Synopsis §591) in a list of divine names. The complete form of this name (טעצש ביה יוי אלהי ישראל) is also employed in an amulet from the Geniza, TTS K1.168 line 55 (Schiffman and Swartz 1992 p. 147), which was written for protection from slander and witchcraft and for the restoration of the love of the client's wife. Cf. also טשעצש T.-S. K 1.144 3b:15.[23]

שלו Defective spelling of שלא.

11-13 ... טיטינוס Part of this sequence appears in Gordon B:8-9 who reads it as: טיטינוס חתימין פגרי דעש ופגרי דעש קל פגרי דעש קל מילי מילי אתיגלא. This sequence, followed by 'this is the great name from which the angel of death flees' (line 12 in our text), is almost exactly duplicated in MS 2053/158:12-14. In MS 2053/158, it is prefaced by כתבית עליכון 'I have written against you', which suggests that this is a fixed formula consisting of a complex magical name followed by a statement of its particular function i.e. the removal of the danger of death from the client. The translation to פגרי רעש ופגרי (12) רגש קל פגרי רעש קל מילי מיליה is given tentatively. Cf. III Enoch chapter 42:5 וראיתי רעמים וקולות שהם מרעישים

[22] Schäfer 1987, p. 9.

בתוך להבי אש 'And I saw thunders and voices that were roaring in the midst of the fiery flames'.[24] Cf. also T.-S. K 21.95.P 3b:13-15:[25] קול פיגרי רגש קול דממה (רעש) דקה הים קול חשמל חשמלה (חמ) רבה דמלל מן גי להבי אשתא; a reference in which פיגרי רגש appears in combination with דקה ... קול דממה, a reference to Elijah's divine encounter in I Kings 19:12,[26] and the sound of the חשמל from the vision of Ezekiel 1:4. Cf. another variant of this composite name which occurs in the *Pišra' de-R. Ḥanina' ben Dosa'*:[27] ... דעל שמיה חקוק תגצשמעץ וטעצש יהוה צבאות אלי מערכות ישראל שנקרא שם כל קשב בקש קול פגרי רעש קל חשמל וחשמלא רבא די ממלל[28] מגוש להבת אשתא ...

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[23] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 34.
[24] Odeberg 1973, pp. 131 and נה.
[25] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 34.
[26] ואחר הרעש אש לא באש יהוה ואחר האש קול דממה דקה 'After the earthquake–fire; but the Lord was not in the fire, and after the fire–a soft murmuring sound'.
[27] Tocci 1986, p. 102.
[28] It might be preferable to read מגו שלהבת.

M102 (19.8cm*5cm)

There are thirteen lines of text in this bowl which is written in a fine hand. Most of the text is readable though there are some slightly faded sections for which a reading was more difficult to extract, as well as some unusual vocabulary and syntax. It is possible that this is partly due to corruptions that occurred in the transmission of the text. Noteworthy is the variety of prefixes for the imperfect third person masculine forms (eleven with נ' ten with ל' and two with י'). With the exception of נישתדרון in line seven, a pattern of the dispersion of these forms can be observed: נ' is used in lines 1-4 and 9-12; ל' in lines 5-8 and 13-14. It is quite possible that this text was composed from other formula, each with its own morphological characteristics.

This bowl is a curse text commissioned by a certain Safra son of Rabita to counteract, and indeed redirect, the sorceries that he believed Ahatoi and Abirta the daughters of Ahati, had enacted against him. The text is elaborate and includes some unusual but impressive imagery. Noteworthy is the presence in l. 10 of a variation of the first benediction of the *Shmoneh-Esreh* prayer. This is particularly interesting as it is a duplicate of an adjuration for help in times of trouble that appears in an *Hekhalot* text.

Transcription of M102

(1) מזמן הדין רזא למיפך חרשי דניתהפכון מן ספרא בר (2) רביתא {וניתהפכון} וניתהפכון על אחתאוי בת אחאתי ועל אחאתי ועל כל מאן דשדרינון (3) ונ[יתהפכ]ון על כל מאן דעבדינון ושדרינון וקר<י>נון בשום מלאכה רבה די משלט על (4) שמיא ועל ארעא ומשלט על חרשין בישין וסדנין אפיכין הוא ניהדרינון לחרשין בישין על אחתאוי בת אחאתי (5) ועל אוירתא בת אחאתי וכל אסואתא דעבדין לה יהוין לביש ואו איסתרתא די פתכרי דעבדין לה לאחתאוי דא ולאוירתא לישתדרון פתכרי דמערבא ודמדנחא (6) ודגרביא ודתימן ואו איסתרתא דלוטתא עבדן לה לא[ח]ת[אוי דא ולאוירתא דא צר לוט^א^תא דארעה ודישמיא ודמיתי ודחיי ודליטין בית (7) קברי דל(קדם) בני שא(ד)א וקדם פתכרי ואיסתרתא נישתדרון עלה דאחתאוי דא ודאוי^ר^תא ולא ליתקבל דרמנא עליהון או פישרא דחרשין ודין ליעבדו להון לא ל(ב)[.....]ון (8) להון חרשין בישין וסדני אפיכי או כיבשא או כיבשי וסכרא פומא עדו כנופיא עבדון ליהוי לה לא ליהוי לה לאחתאוי בת אחאתי ולאוירתא דא צר ^(לי)הוי^ חרשין בישין (9) איך טורי ורמ(א)[תא] ונילבשונה לאחתאוי

ולאוירתא חרשין בישין איך לבושא דכיבי ונידילון עליהון חרשין בישין ונידימון עלה דאחתאוי ודאוירתא וניטיסון עליהון איך ציפרי (10) בשום גבריאל מלאכה ומיכאל מלאכה אחית אחוגואל אחודיאל גאו גואל טוריאל זבולא זבולתיאל ומרגיותיאל ושמיה ברוך אתה יהוה אלוהינו מלך העולם האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא והמופלא והמ(ע)ולא ומשבענא עלך (11) מיכאל סר הגדול הוא שמיה שמה דאיתגלי לה לאחתאוי ולאוירתא צר כל רזי רניתא ולא ~~תישת~~ לישתמודע כל דעבדו לה לא[חת]אוי ולאוירתא ונישת(ו)ש ליבהון בשום ג[בר]יאל ומיכאל וירפאל ואזחיאל מיגואל (12) ודשמא דכיא הוא ניהפוכונון לחרשין בישין מיניה דספרא בר רביתא מן מתן וארבעין ותמניא הדמי קומתיה ויזלון על אחתאוי ועל אוירתא צר בשום ביה יהו הוה ברזי עילאי וברזי תחתאי ובשבעה רזי [ע]ילאי (13) ובשבעה ראזי תחתאי באתא יחידיתא דבר גיסא לית לה (וההוא) רזא וחתמתא דאיתיהיב לבני אינשא לישתקיל מינה דאחתאוי דא ודאוירתא דא וליתנשי כל דליבהון ידע ואתא יחידיתא לא תיתגלי להון וכל רזי וליתנשי ליבהון ולישתקיל טעמהון דא(חתוי) דא {דאוי} ודאוירתא (14) ולישתקיל טעמהון דהו(ן בהונ)א מן ליביהון גאו אל גואל בשום שמה רבה וקדישה דקאים קד(ם) עלם עלמין אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים

Translation of M102

(1) This mystery is appointed for overturning sorceries, so that they (the sorceries) may be overturned from Safra son of (2) Rabita and turn back against Ahatoi daughter of Ahati and against Ahati and against all who sent them. (3) May (the sorceries) be turned back against all who made them and sent them and recited them.

By the name of the great angel who has power over (4) the heavens and over the earth, and who has power over evil sorceries and perverted devils. May he return the evil sorceries to Ahatoi daughter of Ahati (5) and to Abirta daughter of Ahati. May all the healings that have been made for her come out badly. Woe, goddess for whom idols that are working for this Ahatoi and Abirta. May the idols of the west and of the east (6) and of the north and of the south be dispatched. Woe, goddess for whom curses are working on behalf of Ahatoi and this Abirta.

SR.

The curses of the earth and of the heavens and of the dead and of the living, and of those who are cursing a (7) cemetery before (in the presence of) sons of demons and before idols,

and Ishtars. May they be dispatched against this Ahatoi and (this) Abirta. May no remedy or dissolving of sorceries be received for them, and may that which is made for them not .... (8) for them, evil sorceries and perverted devils. Either the press or presses and shutting of the mouth have leaked as a sieve. May that which is intended for her not be for her, for Ahatoi daughter of Ahati and this Abirta.

SR.

May the evil sorceries (9) be as mountains and high places and clothe Ahatoi and Abirta with evil sorceries as a garment of sores. May evil sorceries be drawn against them, and may they come to rest upon Ahatoi and Abirta, and may they sweep upon them like birds.

(10) By the name of Gabriel the angel and Michael the angel, bring down Ahuguel Ahudiel GA'W GWA'L Ṭuriel ZBWLA' Zbwltiel and Mrgywtiel, and his name: Blessed art Thou, 'YHWH our God, King of the universe, the great, mighty' (Neh. 9:32, Deut. 10:17), revered, wondrous' and (lofty). I adjure you (11) Michael the great prince. His is the name, the name which was revealed to Ahatoi and Abirta.

SR.

All the mysteries of defamation. May nothing that has been done for Ahatoi and Abirta be recognized, and may their hearts become confused.

By the name of Gabriel and Michael and Raphael and Azḥiel and Miguel (12) and that which is the pure name, may they overturn the evil sorceries from Safra bar Rabita, from the 248 limbs of his body, and may they go to Ahatoi and to Abirta.

SR.

By the name, by YH YHW HWH, by upper mysteries and by lower mysteries and by the seven upper mysteries (13) and by the seven lower mysteries. By the unique character of which there is no relation. May that mystery and seal which was given to humankind be taken away from this Ahatoi and this Abirta. May everything that their hearts know be forgotten. May the unique character not be revealed to them, nor all the mysteries. May their hearts forget, (14) and may the faculties of Ahatoi and Abirta be taken away. May their faculties, that is theirs by nature, be taken away from their hearts. Exalt, avenging God. By the name of the Great and Holy one who exists forever, amen amen selah, firm and established.

Notes for M102

1 There are two other published magic bowls that open with a statement for the reversing of sorceries which have been sent against the clients back to their senders. One is VA 2416[29] (הדין קובלא למיפך חרשי) and the other is Yamauchi 1985 (מזמן הדין מילתא לאפוכי חרשי). The overturning of sorceries is not an uncommon motif in magic bowls and appears within a number of other texts such as Ellis 3:4, N&Sh B23:8,9 as well as Gordon 5:3-6 and 6:7,8.

2 שדרינון The verb שדר appears three more times in this text, in lines 3, 5 and 7. Although in this text it has the straightforward meaning of 'to send, dispatch', in Gordon 6:6 שדא דשדרתא, Geller D:10 שידי דשדרתא and K3449:6,7 ורוחי דמשתדר בחרשין ושידי דשדרתא there appear to be demons who are generically described as 'demons of dispatch'.

4 סדנין אפיכין This expression appears also in AIT 7:11 where Montgomery read סרנין אפיקי. This was corrected by Epstein[30] to [סדנין אפי]כין on the basis of Mandaic parallels: *sʿdʾnyʾ ʿpykyʾ* 'perverted devils'.[31]

5 דעבדין לה The verb here is a masculine plural active participle and therefore must refer to things or persons other than the אסואתא 'healings', which are feminine. However, the form can be analyzed as a passive periphrasis.[32] One would expect the plural להון rather than the singular לה, the sense being 'to each of them individually'. Cf. M163 להדין מיהלאד ובראן בני .... In both cases a singular pronoun is used to introduce a number of persons.

ואו is repeated as the first word in a parallel clause in l. 6. This could also be understood as the conjunction *or ... either ...* Thus an alternative translation would be: 'Either a goddess for whom idols are made .... Or a goddess for whom curses ...'.

6 צר appears also in lines, 8, 11 and 12. It could be an imperative masculine singular form of the root צרא/צרי 'to burst', i.e. צרי * or צר *.[33] This verb is used also in AIT 6:11 as part of a threat narrative to demons: 'And whoever will transgress ... shall ... burst like a grain of

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[29] Published by Wohlstein 1894 and collated by the present author in 1998.
[30] Epstein 1983, vol.1, p. 335.
[31] DM p. 310.
[32] Rosenthal 1961, p. 56.

wheat (ניצטרי בי בינא)'. Cf. b. Pes 110a, 110b and 111b which mention demons bursting. The verb used in the Talmud is פקע. Alternatively צר could be the 3rd person masculine perfect of the verb צור 'to wrap, tie up', which is akin to the prevalent concept of binding in magical texts. This word has been left untranslated as the portions of text between its occurrences do not seem to need it, its subject unclear and its meaning uncertain. In fact it is possible that it functions as a name (see below) or a punctuation marker.

7 עליהון The letters י and ו are clearly distinguished in most cases in this bowl, yet in all cases (להון lines 7 and 13, עליהון l. 9, ליבהון lines 11,13 and 14 and טעמהון lines13 and 14) where the 3rd person feminine plural suffix pronoun ין- would be expected the masculine equivalent ון- occurs.

פישרא דחרשין cf. b. BM 29b (=b. Hul. 84b) כסא דחרשין ולא כסא דפושרין which Montgomery tentatively suggested could be a reference to magic bowls. He offered as a possible translation 'the cup of the sorcerers and not the cup of those who break sorcery'.[34] In the *Havdala de R. Akiva*, paragraph 5,[35] there is an incantation that employs the root פשר, meaning 'to dissolve' or 'disenchant' in both its verbal and nominal forms. This formula is like our text in that it appeals for the return of malicious acts to their source. The words חרשיא ליפשרון in l. 26 are particularly close to the expression in our bowl. Note that the פישרא itself is described in lines 1 and 5 in terms that could equate it with the domestically installed amuletic object.[36]

(1) אנא פלוני בר פלוני ביתאי על פישרא באני ועל פישרא בניא איסקופתא[י] ... (3) ... נפקית ואמרית להון איתו ועולו חרשין בישין ועובדי (4) תקיפין. (5) מלילו ואמרו לי היכדין ניעול לביתך (6) דביתך על פישרא באני ועל פישרא בניא איסקופתך ... (8) ... ואמרית להון (9) ... איכמרו ואזילו עד בית מיש<ד>רניכון ... (13) ... איכמרו ואזילו ועולו לביתהון דמריכון ... (22) פשור ליה לפלי בר פלי ... (26) ... חרשיא ליפשרון (27) ועובדיהון ליפרקון ונפרחון ונתבעין ולא נשתכחין ... (28) ... נתהפכון חרשין על עובדיהון ועובדין (29) תקיפין ועל משדרניהון ... (32) תוב שרי ליה ואפשר ליה ופשיר ליה לפלי בר פלי ...

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[33] See Epstein 1960, p. 100.
[34] 1913, p. 43, n.19.
[35] Scholem 1980, pp. 262-266.

(1) I am NN son of NN. My house is built on a disenchantment, and upon a disenchantment my threshold is built ... (3) I went and said to them: 'come and enter evil sorceries and powerful (4) magic acts'. (5) They spoke and said to me: 'how can we enter your house? (6) For your house is built on a disenchantment, and on a disenchantment your threshold is built ...' ... (8) ... and I said to them: (9) ' ... *may your magic be uprooted*[37] and go to the house of those who sent you ... (13) ... *may your magic be uprooted* and go and enter the houses of your masters ...' ... (22) Disenchant for NN son of NN ... (26) ... may the sorceries dissolve (27) and their magic works break up, and may they fly away, and if they be requested may they not be found ... (28) ... may the sorceries be overturned upon those who made them, and powerful (29) magic acts on those who sent them ... (32) Again, loosen and dissolve for him, dissolve for NN son of NN ...

8 ליהוי לה לא ליהוי לה Cf. the expression ויהוי מה דהוי 'and come what may'.

10 מרגיותיאל Cf. *Havdala de R. Akiva*, paragraph 7 lines 23-24,[38] where this name is cited as one of the names of Metatron: קורא אני לך מרגיואי״ל מרגיותיאי״ל שרנאי״ל הוזיהי״ו מרגיויאי״ל זהו מטטרון.

והמ(ע)ולא ... ברוך An elaboration of part of the first of the Eighteen Benedictions which includes the glorification of God with the three epithets האל הגדול הגבור והנורא (Deut. 10:17 and Nehemiah 9:32). We know from b. Ber. 33b, b. Meg. 25a, y. Ber. 9:3, 12d and *Midrash Tehillim* Ps. 19 that such extensions to the formula as we have in our text were frowned upon. Cf. Schäfer Synopsis §503 (Beschwörung/ Namen) וזה אשר תקרא ברוך אתה אלהינו מלך העולם האל המלך הגדול הגבור והנורא והנשגב והנפלא והעונה בעת צרה בקוראי עננו אלהי צדקי בצר הראתי לי חנני ושמע תפילתי ... In the above invocation there appear צרה 'trouble' and בצר which seem, with the following הראתי לי, to have suffered some sort of corruption. If such a text was available to a Babylonian practitioner, it is possible that בצר could have

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[36] Only the relevant sections of this text are given.

[37] See Scholem 1980, pp. 263-264 n. 70, and 1960 p. 97 who considers מכמרי as an adaptation of the Greek *macamarei* 'nets' to mean "the net that a magic spell casts on a person". However, in Mandaic the verb *ḥmr* is used in magic bowls in the sense of 'return', which in this case would also make perfect sense (Yamauchi 1967, p. 331).

been interpreted as a name invocation, namely: 'by SR'. For מפולא as an epithet of God cf. *T.S. K 1.144* 1b:12-14 שמך הגדול הגיבור והנורא ... והמופלא.[39] The last epithet in the formula in our text - המ(ע)ולא, if indeed the bracketed letter is an ע, is reminiscent of אל עליון which appears at the end of the first benediction.

11 מיכאל סר הגדול cf. Dan. 12:1 מיכאל השר הגדול. Also b. AZ 42b (=b. Hul. 40a) where Michael the great prince is numbered amongst seas, rivers, a desert, the sun, moon, stars and planets, any of which may be invoked by idolaters at the slaughtering of an animal.

רניתא Derived from the *pa.* of the verb רנן which has the sense of 'to murmur, express displeasure, indignation' or even 'malicious gossip' or 'defamation'.[40] One nominal, feminine, form with this sense is attested in the Targ.-J. Ez. 36: רננת עם (MT דבת עם) 'unfavorable report, defamation, whispering'. The form *rnyt'* is also attested in Mandaic (DM p. 436b).

לישתמודע The imperfect form of אשתמודע I 'to be recognized, known' (J. p. 131b).

ש(ו)נישת Read נישתגש (!).

14 הונא cf. Sokoloff 1992 p. 161b כן תהפכון לבה והונה וכוליתה 'so you should upset his heart, his sense and his kidney'.

Appendix to M102

There is a striking correlation between our text and a section from the *Sepher Ha-Razim*, first heaven lines 46-71,[41] which is intended for one who wishes to persecute (להצר) a foe. The Hebrew root צרר or צור encompasses the meanings 'to persecute' and 'to oppress' and is related to the noun צר 'oppressor, adversary'. These meanings are not applicable to the same root in Aramaic. It is conceivable that the Hebrew meaning as found in *Sepher Ha-Razim* and the Hekhalot adjuration which is parallel to l. 10 of our text (see note above) has something to do with the use of צר in M102. Other similarities between our text and *Sepher Ha-Razim* are: 1) the mention of the spirits of the four cardinal directions (M102:5,6 = *Sepher Ha-Razim* lines 56-59); 2) a negation of healing or remedy for the adversary

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[38] Scholem 1980, p. 270.
[39] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p.31.
[40] Levy 1889, vol. 4 p. 456b 'Nachrede, den Unwillen äussern'.
[41] Margolioth 1966, pp. 69-70.

(M102:5,7 = *Sepher Ha-Razim* line 61); 3) ridding the adversary of their thoughts and faculties (M102:13 = *Sepher Ha-Razim* line 65).

M102	*Sepher Ha-Razim*	
צר in lines 6,8,11 and 12	אלה המלאכים המלאים אף וחימה וממונים על כל דבר קרב ומלחמת ונכונים **<u>להצר</u>** ולענות עד מות לאיש ואין בם רחמים כי אם ליקום ולהפרע ממי שנמסר בידם. ואם ביקשתה לשלחם על שונאך או על בעל חובך או להפוך אנייה או להפיל חומה בצורה או לכל	46
	עסק אויביך להשחית ולהרע, בין שתרצה להגלותו ובין להפילו במיטה ובין להכהות מאור עיניו בין להאסירו ברגליו בין **<u>להצר</u>** לו לכל דבר, קח בידך מים מן שבעה מעיינות בשבעה לחדש בשבע שעות ביום בשבע נבלי חרש שלא נכנסו באור ואל תערבם ביחד אלה עם אלה ותניחם תחת הכוכבים ז' לילות ובלילה השביעית	50
Lines 5,6 לישתדרון פתכרי דמערבא ודמזנחא ודגרביא ודתימן	קח לך פיאלין של זכוכית לשם אויביך ושפוך המים לתוכה ושבור כלי החרס **<u>והשלך לארבע רוחות השמים ותאמר כן כנגד ארבע רוחות: ההגרית החונה ברוח מזרח, שרוכית החונה ברוח צפון, עולפה החונה ברוח מערב, כרדי החונה ברוח דרום, קבלו נא מידי בעת הזאת שאני משליך לכם</u>**[42] לשם פלוני ב' פל' לשבור	55
line 5 וכל אסואתא דעבדין לה יהוין לביש line 7 ולא ליתקבל דרמנא עליהון	עצמותיו ולכתת כל איבריו ולשבור גאון עוזו כשבירת נבלי החרש האילו **<u>ולא תהיה להם רפואה</u>**[43] כמו שאין רפואה לנבלי חרס אילו, וקח פיאלין שלמים וזכור עליה שמות המלאכים האלה ושם השוטר הוא תיגרה ואמור כך: מוסר אני לכם מלאכי אף וחימה את פל' ב' פל' שתשנקו אתו ותשחיתו אתו ואת מראיהו ותפילוהו במיטה	60
line 13 וליתנשי ליבהון ולישתקיל טעמהון	ותחסרו הונו **<u>ותפירו מחשבות לבבו ותפיחו רעיונו ודעתו</u>**[44] ויהיה נחסר והולך עד שיגיע למות. ואם תבקש להגלותו אמור כן: שתגלוהו	65
	ותנדוהו מבניו וביתו ולא יותר לו כלום. ואם בעל חובך הוא אמור כן: שתיסתמו את פיו ותבטלו עצתו ולא יעליני במחשבתו ולא יביאיני	70
	לתוך דברי פיו ושאהיה עובר לפניו לא יראיני בעיניו.	

[42] '... and cast it to the four winds of the heavens and say thus in the direction of four winds: the HGRYT that resides in the eastern wind, SRWKYT that resides in the northern wind, A'WLPA' that resides in the western wind, KRDY that resides in the southern wind, accept from me at this moment that which I am casting to you ...'

[43] '... and may there be no healing for them ...'

[44] '... and destroy the thoughts of his heart and diminish his thought and mind ...'

M103 (18.2cm*6cm) and **M119** (16.8cm*5.8cm)

This bowl has four duplicates, M119 from the Moussaieff collection and MS 2053/207, MS 2053/209 and MS 2053/253. Imi daughter of Qaqi is the client in all of these bowls which seem to have been written by the same scribe. The text professes itself to be a *get* for the removal of a cursing Lilith. The formula that is used includes elements which can be found in the standard (human) Jewish divorce formula (particularly l. 6, see notes and appendix below).

Transcription of M103

(1) הדין גיטא דליליתא דלוטתא די כתבית לה לאימי בת קאקי וכל שום דאית לה (2) תיתסי תינטרי תישתזבי מן פגעה מן סטנה מן חיטינא די פתכר ופתכרתא מן דנחיש ומן דיוי (3) מן איסתרא עיליתא ומן איסתרא תתיתה מן ממי מן מ(ע)יה מן (כ)ל(ב)ה ומן מללתא מן לוטתא דיהודאי (4) מן לוטתא דארמאי מן לוטתא רחיקתא ומן לוטתא קריבתא מן קריתא מן נידרא מן איסורי מן כל עובדין בישין (5) מן כל רוחא בישתא עזיזתא תקיפתא מן חרשי מעבדי מן חרשי דזני זמרתא זניתא וליליתא ולוטתא דמקטלא בני דיליה בני (6) דחברתיה דאם תיהויין ראשהא ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דאיתצבין די כתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פיטורין מן הדא אימי בת קאקי כל שום (7) דאית לה מומנא ומשבענא ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא זניתא ליליתא לוטתא דשריה בביתיה דאימי בת קאקי אם דכר אם ניקבה בשמיה (8) דגבריאל מלאכה אחיאל משמשיאל מלאכה דנדיריאל מלאכה יחוס יחוש אחישא אגרריפס אגריפס אתיה אבשת אתבישא אתיתיאל אנתיתיאל (9) אבש (ב)שמתא סתריאל (ש)די שלעון בזיף בשמיה דיהוה צבאות במלכותיה דאברחס אני(נ)יאל יה בשום שר רוחא בשום אבוהי דאברכס (10) סרא אמן אמן סלה חתמא דגיטא (יה שמיה)

Translation M103

(1) This is a divorce writ for the Lilith that curses which I have written for Imi daughter of Qaqi and every name which is hers. (2) May you be healed, may you be protected, may you be saved from an affliction, from hostility, from the *slander* of a male idol and a female idol, from Danahish and from dews, (3) from the upper ISTRA' and the lower ISTRA', from oaths,

from *her gut, from a bitch*, from an utterance, from a curse of a Jew, (4) from a curse of a gentile, and from a distant curse and a near curse, from a magical invocation, from an oath, from bonds, from all evil magical acts, (5) from every evil strong powerful spirit, from active sorcerers, from spells of ZNY the singer prostitute, and the Lilith, and the curse who is killing children that are hers, children (6) of her (female) neighbor. For even if you may have permission and power over yourself for any person you may desire. It is the case that I have written for you a divorce writ - a writ of absolution from this Imi daughter of Qaqi (and) any (7) name that she has. I adjure and put you under oath you ZNY the singer prostitute, the Lilith, the curse that dwells in the house of Imi daughter of Qaqi, be it male or female. By the name (8) of Gabriel the angel, Ahiel, Meshamshiel the angel, of Nadriel the angel. May it *favor, may it hasten. Hurry!* A'GGRYPS A'GRYPS A'TYH A'BŠT A'TBYŠA' Atitiel Antitiel (9) A'BŠ. By a ban. Satriel ŠDY ŠLA'WN BZYP. By the name of YHWH ṢBA'WT, by the kingdom of ABRHS Aniniel YH, by the name of the spirit prince, by the name of (the father of ABRKS) (10) the prince, amen amen selah. The seal of the divorce writ, YH is his name.

Notes for M103

1 For a similar opening cf. Ellis 1:1 הדין גיטא לשידא.

2 חיטינא Cf. the Syriac *ḥṭywnʾ* which is a translation of the Hebrew ש טנה 'slander' in Ezra 4:6.

3 אסתרא Both the forms *ištaru* and *ištartu* are already attested in Akkadian as meaning goddess.[45] Cf. De Menil I. 11 אסתרי ניקבתא. Note that in Mandaic *ʾstʾrʾ* (Syriac *stwrʾ*) also means 'decay', 'corruption (of teeth)', 'caries'. As in the Mandaic 'Phylactery for Rue':[46] *rwhʾ dʾtbʾ lkʾkyʾ wšynyʾ wmytykryʾ ʾstʾrʾ* 'a spirit that sits on the teeth and the molars and is called *ʾstʾrʾ*'. Cf. also סתורא 'destroyer' (J. p. 1031a) and the verb סתר 'to tear down, destroy'.

ממי Possibly a defective spelling of מומי, 'oaths, imprecation' (J. p. 743a).

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[45] CAD I-J, pp. 270-271.
[46] Drower 1946, p. 328.

מ(ע)יה Could also be read מ(ינ)יה 'of its kind'.

4 רחיקתא, קריבתא Already attested as meaning 'relative' and 'non-relative' in Elephantine Papyri contracts.[47] If this is, indeed, the meaning then the gender indicates that what is referred to here is only the curses of women, cf. Yam:4,5 לוטתא דאימא וברתא לכלתא וחמתא ודרחקתא ודקריבתא.

5, 6 לילית{ו}א זני זמרתא זניתא Also mentioned in l. 7, this may be a reference to *llyt' zn'y* (see also AIT 38:5 *z'n'y lylyt'*) mentioned in l. 18 of a Mandaic bowl (Yale YBC 2364).[48] In that text it is told that she ate her own unborn son, tied his carcass around her neck and threw his fat into the fire in order to appease Buznay 'the king of all Sahirs and Dews and Lilits' who yielded to the pleas of a woman whose children she killed. Despite there being some confusion regarding the use of this name in the Yale bowl, as the main demon in the text is Bguzan-Lilit daughter of Zanay-Lilit, it is Zanay-Lilit that is mentioned at the point of this narrative. Her story is reminiscent of the Zanay in our text who is described as killing her children as well as those of her neighbour. In Gordon M:15, a Mandaic bowl, Gordon translates the similar expression *lwṭt' ḏz'nyt' wz'mrt'* as 'the curse of harlot and singer'.[49] Another similar expression occurs in the Mandaic text *Shafta ḏ Pishra ḏ Ainia* lines 161-162 *w'yn' ḏz'n'y w'yn' ḏz'm'r*, upon which Drower commented that though it could possibly mean 'My whore and singing boy', it is, nevertheless, unlikely.

דיליה, חברתיה It makes sense that these should have feminine suffix pronouns, דילה and חברתה, as should ביתיה in l. 7.

אם Could also be understood to be 'In the sense of *certainly not*',[50] as the particular clause of the *get* that follows is, under normal human circumstances, meant to grant the woman the freedom to remarry. However, it would not make sense to consider giving a demon the liberty to attack another person.

... תיהוויין There follows a slightly corrupt form of the standard *get* formula:

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[47] Cowly 1923, p. 3: "'related or not related' (קריב ורחיק), the regular formula, and similarly in Babylonian law".
[48] Müller-Kessler 1996, pp. 187a, 189b-190a, 195a.
[49] Gordon 1937, p. 97.
[50] Gesenius 1963, pp. 471-472; and Segal 1927, pp. 216 ff.

M103 דאם תיהויין ראשהא ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דאיתצבין

get[51] דיתהויין רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי למהך להתנסבא לכל גבר דיתצבייין ואינש לא

M103

get ימחה בידיכי מן שמי מן יומא דנן ולעלם והרי את מותרת לכל אדם

M103 די כתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פיטורין

get ודן די יהוי ליכי מנאי ספר תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין

Indeed, the words למהך להתנסבא 'to go and be married to' are omitted in the text of the *get* for the demons as this would be neither desirable nor acceptable.

8 יחוס יחוש אחישא אגריפס אגריפס Cf. AIT 14:4 יחוש יחוש אחושיה 'Oh avaunt, oh avaunt, avaunt'! See Montgomery's note 1913 p. 184. Cf. Isbell 69[52] l. 7 בשום יהוס יהוס יהוש ואהושא ואגריבט, N-IV:6: בשום יהוס יהוש ואהושא ואגריבט, *The Havdala de R. Akiva* p. 24 line 34[53] בשם יחוש אחישה אריפט and *The Sword of Moses* (Harari's ed.[54]) p. 28:6 איה יהוש אהישה ואגריפט. Scholem[55] agreed with Montgomery's (above) understanding of this sequence and noted the variants amongst the bowls. It can be observed that in some of the variants the introductory בשום, 'by the name', indicates that it was considered a composite name and lost any meaning it might have had as 'hurry hurry'. As it is amongst a list of names in our text, it can be assumed that this was how it was considered. The interchange of the letters פ and ב, and ט and ם in the final name are evidence of the kind of corruption that easily occur in the transmission of *Nomina Barbara*.

אבשת אתבישא The usual designation for the acrostic system *atbash* by which the first letter (א) is replaced with the last (ת), the last with the first, the second letter (ב) with the one before the last (ש), and so forth. Atbash is mentioned in the thirtieth rule of *The Mishnah of Rabbi Eliezer* or T*he Midrash of the Thirty Two Hermeneutic Rules* a work which has been dated to no later than the eighth century.[56]

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[51] Mishne Torah Gerushin 4:12.
[52] Equivalent to Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 127-139.
[53] Scholem 1980-81, p. 266.
[54] Harari 1997. In the Gaster edition, 1896, p. V:15,16.
[55] 1980-81, p. 266-267 n. 84, 85.
[56] Stemberger 1996, p. 23. (see also Lieberman 1962, p. 69, 73 'Substitution of letters, *Atbash* was widely practised in antiquity'.).

Synopsis

MS 2053/253	MS 2053/209	M119	M103
(1) לשמך אני עושה			
הדין גיטא	(1) הדין גיטא	(1) הדין גיטא	(1) הדין גיטא
	דליליתא דלוטתא	דלילית‍א דלוטתא	דלילית‍א דלוטתא
די כתבית לה	די כתבית לה	די כתבית לה [.]הדא	די כתבית לה
לאימי בת קאקי וכל	לאימי בת קאקי כל	אימי בת קאקי וכל	לאימי בת קאקי וכל
שום דאית לה	שום דאית (2) לה	שום דאית לה	שום דאית לה (2)
תיתסי (2) תינטרי	תינטרי תיתסי	תיתסי (2) (ו)ת(ינטרי)	תיתסי תינטרי
מן כל מידעם ביש	ברחמי שמיא	מן כל (מיד)עם ב(יש)	תישתזבי
		אש[ב]עית (על)	
מן פגעה מן סטנא	מן פגעה מן סטנא מן	מן פגעה ומן סטנה ומן	מן פגעה מן סטנה
	לילית‍א	לי(ל)יתא	
מן חיטינא דיפתכרי	מן חיטינא דיפתכרי	מן חיטינא די	מן חיטינא די פתכר
ופתכרתא מן דנחיש	ופתכרתא (3)	פתכרי(ן) (3)	ופתכרתא מן דנחיש
מן דיוי או מן (3)	מן חיטינא	(ו)פתכרתא	ומן דיוי (3) מן
איסתרא עיליתא מן	דאיסתרא עיליתא	מן חיטי(נא)	איסתרא עיליתא ומן
		דאיס(תרא ע)ליתא	
איסתרא תתיתא מן	תתיתה מן	ומן חיטינא	איסתרא תתיתה מן
מללתא מן ממי מן	מללתא	דאיסתרא תתיתה מן	ממי מן מ(ע)יה מן
כלבה		מללתא	(כ)ל(ב)ה ומן מללתא
מן לוטתא דיהודאי	מן לוטתא דיהודאי		מן לוטתא דיהודאי (4)
מן לוטתא דארמאי (4)	מן לוטתא דארמאי	מן לוטתא (ד)יהודאי	מן לוטתא דארמאי
מן לוטתא	מן לוטתא (4)	ומן (4) לוטתא ארמאי	מן לוטתא
רחיקתא מן לוטתא	רח)קתא מן לוטתא	ומן לוטתא	רחיקתא ומן לוטתא
קריבתא מן קריתא	קריבתא מן קריתא	(ר)חיקתא ומן לוטתא	קריבתא מן קריתא
מן נידרא מן אשלמתא	מן נידרי	קריבתא ומן קריתא	מן נידרא
מן איסורי מן כל	מן אס(ו)רי מן כל	מן נידרא	מן איסורי מן כל

MS 2053/253	MS 2053/209	M119	M103
עובדין בישין מן כל	עובדין בישין מן כל	ומן איסורי מן כל	עובדין בישין (5) מן כל
רוחא (5) בישתא	רוחא (בישתא)	עובדין בישין (5) מן כל	רוחא בישתא
עזיזתא תקיפתא	עזיזתא (5) תקיפתא	רוחא ב(י)שתא	עזיזתא תקיפתא
מן חרשי מעבדי מן	מן חרשי מעבדי מן	מן ע(זי)זתא תקיפתא	מן חרשי מעבדי מן
חרשי דזני זמרתא	חרשי דזני זמרתא	מן חרשי מעבדי מן	חרשי דזני זמרתא
זניתא לילית	זניתא (ולילית	חרשי דזני זמרתא	זניתא ולילית
		זניתא לוטתא	ולוטתא
דמקטלא בני דילה	דמקטלא) בני דיליה		דמקטלא בני דיליה
בני דחברתיה דאם (6)	בני [דחברתיה] דאם	דמקטלא בני דיליה (6)	בני (6) דחברתיה דאם
תיהויין ראשאה	תיהויין (6) ראשא	בני דחברתיה דאם	תיהויין ראשהא
ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל	שליטא בנפשיכי לכל	תיהויין ראשא(ה	ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל
אינש דיתצבין די	אינש דיתצבין די	ו)שליטא בנפשיכי לכל	אינש דאיתצבין די
כתבית ליכי גיטא	תכתבית ליכי גיטא	אינש דיתצבין די	כתבית ליכי גיטא
גיט פיטורין	גיט פיטורין	כתבית ליכי גיטא	גיט פיטורין
מן הדא אימי בת	מן הדא אימי בת	גיטא גט פיטורין (7)	מן הדא אימי בת
קאקי מן ביתיה (6)	קאקי מן בית(ה) מן	מן הדא אימי בת	קאקי
כולה	(בניה)	קאקי אם דכר אם	
כל שום דאית	וכל שום דאית	ניקבה	כל שום (7) דאית
ליכי	(7) ליכי		לה
מומנא משבענא	מומנא משבענא	מומנא (ומ)שבענא	מומנא ומשבענא
ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא	ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא	ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא	ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא
זניתא לילית ולוטתא	זניתא לילית	זניתא (ל)ילית	זניתא לילית לוטתא
דשריה בביתיה דאימי	דשריה בביתיה דאימי	דשריה בביתיה דאימי	דשריה בביתיה דאימי
בת קאקי אם (7) דכר	בת קאקי אם דכר	בת (8) קאקי אם דכר	בת קאקי אם דכר
אם ניקבה בשמיה	אם ניקבה בשמיה	אם ניקבה בשמיה	אם ניקבה בשמיה (8)
דגבריאל מלאכה	(דגבר)יאל מלאכה	דגבריאל מלאכה	דגבריאל מלאכה
אחיאל מלאכה	אחיאל מלאכה (8)	אחיאל מלאכה	אחיאל
משמשיאל מלאכה	משמשיאל מלאכה	משמשיאל מלאכה	משמשיאל מלאכה

MS 2053/253	MS 2053/209	M119	M103
נדיריאל מלאכה	נדיריאל מלאכה	נדריאל מלאכה	דנדיריאל מלאכה
יחוס יחיש אחושא	יחוס (יחוש) אחישא	יחוס יחוש ואחישא	יחוס יחוש אחישא
אגדריפס אגר (8) פס	אגרריפס אגריפס	אגרריפס (9) אגריפט	אגרריפס אגריפס
אתית אבשת	אתית א(ר)שת	אגריפס את יה אבשת	אתיה אבשת
אתבישא אתיתיאל	את(בי)שא אוניאל תותיאל	אתבישא אתיתיאל	אתבישא אתיתיאל
אנתיתיאל אבש	אנאיתיאל אבש	אנתיתיאל אבש	אנתיתיאל (9) אבש
בשמתא סתתיאל	בשמתא סתריאל	בשמתא סתריאל	(ב)שמתא סתריאל
שדי שלעון בזיף	שדי (9) שלעון בזיף	שדי שלעון בזיף	(ש)די שלעון בזיף
בשמיה דיהוה צבאות	בשמיה דיהוה צבאות	בשמיה דיהוה צבאות	בשמיה דיהוה צבאות
במלכותיה	במלכותיה	(10) במלכותיה	במלכותיה
דאברחס (9) אניניאל	דאברחס אנתיאל	דאברחס אניניאל	דאברחס אני(נ)יאל
יה בשום שר רוחא	יה בשום שר רוחא	יה בשום שר רחא	יה בשום שר רוחא
בשום אבו[...]	בשום אב יחידא בס...	בשום אבוהי	בשום אבוהי דאברכס
אב(סכס) סרא	ארא	דאב(ס)כס סרא	(10) סרא
אמן אמן אמן סלה	אמן אמן סלה	אמן אמן סלה	אמן אמן סלה
חתמא דגיטא יהוה	חתמא דגיטא יה	חתמא דגיטא יה	חתמא דגיטא (יה
שמיה	שמיה	שמיה	שמיה)
	(10) אמן אמן סלה		

The existence of a number of duplicates written by the same scribe offers a valuable opportunity to examine the nature of the transmission of the formula. As is shown below, some of the differences are due to a flexible approach to the writing of such incantations. Other discrepancies seem more likely to be the result of small syntactic changes which might naturally occur when a text is memorized and repeated several times. Yet on occasion the scribe is likely to make genuine mistakes. These might result from a misunderstanding of a word or passage, or simply from a momentary lapse in concentration.

In MS 2053/253 the scribe added לשמך אני עושה to what is the beginning of the text in all the other bowls. This is not an uncommon opening formula cf. Geller D:1, Gordon 2:1 and

Isbell 70[57] l. 1 and the scribe might well have written another text with this opening formula earlier that day or simply had it on his mind. In the same bowl the scribe omitted to specify the address of the *get* דלילית דלוטתא 'for the Lilith that curses', no doubt a lapse of memory. In M119:1 there is the added demonstrative pronoun הדא before the name of the client, a perfectly common and correct form which must have naturally crept in. In three of the texts there follows the sequence תיתסי ותינטרי, however, in MS 2053/209 these two words change places and are followed by ברחמי שמיא. An explanation for this addition could be that from a number of formula which the scribe had memorized there was likely to be one that had the same sequence of words after תיתסי. Cf. AIT 11:1,2 דתיתיסי ברחמי שמיה, AIT 24:2 דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא, AIT 26:5 דתיתסי ברחמי שמיא, Geller C:3 דיתסון ברחמי שמיא Gordon 2:2, etc. In M103 the scribe preferred to add the verb תישזבי to תינטרי, possibly for a similar reason, cf. BOR:10 נינטרוניה ונישיזבוניה. M119 and MS 2053/253 proceed at this point with מן כל מידעם ביש which might be the original formula by virtue of it being duplicated in two out of the four texts. In lines 2 in M119 and MS 2053/209 ליליתא appears in the list of demons, whilst in the other two texts it is omitted. On the other hand, in lines 2 of M119 and MS 2053/253 there are the added דנחיש and דיוי. In all four texts חיטינא precedes the idols, in M119 and MS 2053/209 it also precedes the 'upper ISTRA", in M119 it also comes before the 'lower ISTRA". One might attribute these differences to the repetitive rhythm which would manifest itself in variation when written from memory. All of the texts have מללתא in their third lines. This is followed in MS 2053/253 by ממי and כלבה which also appear in M103, though they appear there before מללתא and with the additional מעיה. The additions in M103 and MS 2053/253 are unusual and have been translated with some reservation (see notes above). It is possible that they are corrupt words which the scribe did not understand. As such they would be more likely to get confused in memory and therefore be susceptible to variant forms of transmission by the scribe. Unlike the other bowls in l. 4 of MS 2053/253 the word נידרא is followed with אשלמתא. Cf. Gordon 7:9 ונידרא ואשלמתא, Isbell 64 [58] l.1 ונידרי ואשלמתא and Isbell 65:1 ונידרי ואשלמתא which suggest that here, again, the scribe is repeating a sequence that he is familiar with from

[57] Equivalent to Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 140-152.

another formula. In M119:7, unlike the other texts, the name of the client is followed by אם דכר אם ניקבה. This is quite clearly a lapse in the scribe's concentration, as this addition, inappropriate in l. 7 where it would refer to the client, appears again in l. 8 (as it does in all the duplicates), also after the name of the client, where it correctly refers to the demons. Other variations consist of minor differences in spelling, the addition of a third אמן in l. 9 of MS 2053/253, and אמן אמן סלה to the end of MS 2053/209.

Appendix

The use of a *get* for getting rid of demons is known from other magic bowls such as Ellis 1, AIT 8,9,18, Gordon 9737, Gordon G and N&Sh B5.[59] The logic of equating the divorce of a man from his wife to a human (male or female) from demons is somewhat anomalous, indeed Montgomery referred to it as 'a happy thought of the magicians'.[60] Certain questions are raised by this equation: What kind of tie binds demon to human? How is it formed? Why does it necessitate a legal severing of bonds? Though there are parallels between the magical and human (Jewish) *get* formulas, there are two distinct differences: 1) With humans it is only the man that can divorce the woman whereas, in the world where demons interact with humans, gender is not an issue. The issue is humanity and only the human is able to initiate divorce proceedings. 2) Consequently in the magical *get* the human always takes the part of the male in the usual *get* document, and the demon that of the female. In three bowls, AIT 8,17 and N&Sh B5, the *get* mentioned is a type of 'writ from foreign countries'.[61] This could be because humans can not see the demons or interact with them in the same time and space. Despite such parallels the inconsistencies between the human and magical *get* remain. If understood correctly, the text here (M103 and duplicates) is a type of document which legally prohibits demons from attaching themselves, not only to the client but also to any human at all. This *get* is for the driving out of the nuisance by force of law, rather than the annulment of a union that had legal status such as that which exists between husband

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[58] Equivalent to Jeruzalmi 1963, pp. 24-38.
[59] See Shaked 1999 for a discussion of the *get* motif in the magic bowls.
[60] Montgomery 1913, pp. 158-159.
[61] Montgomery 1913, p. 159 and Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 162. For גט ממדינת הים see m. Git. 1 and b. Git 2.

and wife. In AIT 8, AIT 17 and N&Sh 5 the idea of the *get* is associated with that of a ban, or banishment - שמתא, which seems more appropriate. In l. 6 of our text the conditional word 'if', אם, is used. One might consider the possibility that this magical *get* is intended to resemble a type of divorce writ which includes conditions. In a normal (human) *get* the husband could not put restrictive conditions on who the divorced woman could wed, except in cases that were already considered illegal such as a brother, father, idolater or a slave.[62] The union of a demon with a human could qualify as inherently illegal. This condition in our text, that prohibits the demon to attach itself to any human, is the very clause that is the privilege of the released woman in a human *get*. In this magical *get*, it is made clear to the demon that even if it has been given a *get* previously, it can not assume the right that belongs to a divorced human woman, and may not attach itself to anyone else.

Comparing our text, the magical *get* (mg), with the Jewish *get* (jg) formula yields some interesting points of similarity and difference (see below): 1) The mg has no date. 2) The mg is written by the scribe for the client, the jg is written as if by the husband, though it would have been the custom for someone else to write it for him.[63] 3) Where it says in the jg: 'I do release and send away and put aside thee ...' the mg has (l. 2): 'May you be healed, may you be protected, may you be saved, from ...' Thus the removal of the unwanted wife in the jg is the equivalent of healing and protection in the mg, namely the removal of the cause of affliction. 4) Where the jg states that it is done 'according to the law of Moses and Israel' the mg employs an adjuration by the names of angels to enforce itself. 5) The jg has the signatures of the witnesses, the mg has the seal of the name YH.

M103	***Get* formula**
(1) הדין גיטא דליליתא דלוטתא די	בכך בשבת בכך וכך לירח פלוני בשנת כך וכך
	ליצירה או לשטרות למניינא דרגילנא למימני
	ביה הכא במקום פלוני איך
כתבית לה לאימי בת קאקי וכל שום דאית לה	אנא פלוני בר פלוני דממקום פלוני וכל שום
	אחרן וחניכה דאית לי ולאבהתי ולאתרי
	ולאתריהון דאבהתי צביתי ברעות נפשי בדלא

[62] M. Git. 9:2.
[63] Amram, 1896, p. 148-149.

אניסנא

ופטרית ושבקית ותרוכית יתיכי ליכי

(2) תיתסי תינטרי תישתזבי מן

אנת פלונית בת פלוני דממתא פלונית וכל שום אחרן וחניכה דאית ליכי ולאבהתיכי ולאתריכי ולאתריהון דאבהתיכי די הוית אנתתי מן קדמת דנא וכדו פטרית ושבקית ותרוכית יתיכי ליכי

פגעה מן סטנה מן חיטינא די פתכר ופתכרתא מן דנחיש ומן דיוי (3) מן איסתרא עיליתא ומן איסתרא תתיתה מן ממי מן מ(ע)יה מן (כ)ל(ב)ה ומן מללתא מן לוטתא דיהודאי (4) מן לוטתא דארמאי מן לוטתא רחיקתא ומן לוטתא קריבתא מן קריתא מן נידרא מן איסורי מן כל עובדין בישין (5) מן כל רוחא בישתא עזיזתא תקיפתא מן חרשי מעבדי מן חרשי דזני זמרתא זנותא ולילית ולוטתא דמקטלא בני דיליה בני (6) דחברתיה

דיתהוויין רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי למהך להתנסבא לכל גבר דיתצביין ואינש לא ימחה בידיכי מן שמי מן יומא דנן ולעלם והרי את מותרת לכל אדם

דאם תיהויין ראשהא ושליטא בנפשיכי לכל אינש דאיתצבין

ודן די יהוי ליכי מנאי ספר תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין

די כתבית ליכי גיטא גיט פיטורין מן הדא אימי בת קאקי כל שום (7) דאית לה

כדת משה וישראל.

מומנא ומשבענא ליכי אנתי זני זמרתא זנותא לילית לוטתא דשריה בביתיה דאימי בת קאקי אם דכר אם ניקבה

בשמיה (8) דגבריאל מלאכה אחיאל משמשיאל מלאכה דנדיריאל מלאכה יחוס יחוש אחישא

אגרריפס אגריפס אתיה אבשת אתבישא

אתיתיאל אנתיתיאל (9) אבש (ב)שמתא

סתריאל (ש)די שלעון בזיף בשמיה דיהוה

צבאות במלכותיה דאברחס אני(נ)יאל יה בשום

שר רוחא בשום אבוהי דאברכס (10) סרא אמן

אמן סלה

והעדים חותמים למטה כמו שביארנו (פלוני בן חתמא דגיטא (יה שמיה)

פלוני עד פלוני בן פלוני עד).

Though there is no obvious reference to the magical *get* in Rabbinic literature, one might consider b. Git 67b-70a as containing such an inference. In this passage we see: 1) The start of a discussion relating to m. Git. 7 which deals with the various stipulations within the 'conditional *get*'. 2) A medical section which includes a number of recipes for healing (67b and 68b-70a). 3) A reference to demons שדה ושדות from Ecclesiastes 2:8,[64] which is interpreted in the talmudic text as 'male and female demons'. This is immediately followed by the story of Ashmedai the king of demons. These appear to correspond with the following aspects of our text: 1) The inference to the conditional *get* in l. 6. 2) A *get* which has the purpose of healing, תיתסי in l. 2. 3) The connection with demons which our text is designed to remove.

Indeed, Ecclesiastes 2:8 might aid our understanding of the nature of the magical *get*. Ibn Ezra's (12th century) commentary on the meaning of ותענוגת בני האדם שדה ושדות in this verse is that it is of a sexual nature. The Zohar (Vol. 1 parashat Bereshit p. 19b) also comments that these words are sexually implicit and refer to nocturnal emissions and the demon offspring which result. The 17th century mystical commentary *Ta'alumot Hohmah* (Delmegido, Joseph Solomon) to this verse is: "'The more wives the more witchcraft' (m. Avot 2:7) - and they cause there to be 'more demons and demonesses' (Ecclesiastes 2:8)

[64] כנסתי לי גם כסף וזהב וסגלת מלכים והמדינות עשיתי לי שרים ושרות ותענוגת בני האדם שדה ושדות: I further amassed silver and gold and treasures of kings and provinces; and I got myself male and female singers, as well as the luxuries of commoners–coffers and coffers of them.

and anyhow, 'from the luxuries of commoners' (Ecclesiastes 2:8) are born 'demons and demonesses' (Ecclesiastes 2:8)".[65]

Another possible correspondence with our text, which is very tentatively offered, is the expression זני זמרתא (lines 5 and 7) which could relate to זייני זמרא, in the targum of Ecclesiastes 2:8, which might have come to be associated with the *get* of demons.

MT:

עשיתי לי שרים ושרות ותענוגת בני האדם **שדה ושדות**

Targum:

עבדית לבית מוקדשא **זייני זמרא** לזמרא בהון ליואי על קורבניא וקתרוסין ואבובין לזמרא בהון זמריא וזמריתא בבית משתיא דחמרא ותפנוקי בני אנשא ודימסיא ובי בנין מרזבין דשדין מיא פשורי ומרזבין דשדין מיא חמימי

Translation of the targum:

I have made for the temple musical instruments for the Levites to make music with over the sacrifices, and lutes and flutes for singers (male and female) to make music with in a house of wine drinking, and human comforts, and public baths in which were built pipes that pour out cold water and those that pour out hot water.

[65] כי מרבה נשים מרבה כשפים והם מרבים שדה ושדות וגם מתענוגות בני אדם ממילא נולדו שדה ושדות

M107 (19cm*6cm)

This bowl consists of nine lines of a reasonably clear square script. The letters ב and כ are distinguishable and, though the scribe appears to have attempted to differentiate ו from י, and ד from ר, they are in some cases still confused. The character ל is written with two strokes, as it often is, yet the upper one is so curved as to give the letter a back to front appearance which is quite unusual. In the middle of the bowl there is a striking image of a figure with some sort of head dress, arms stretched out and riding something that appears to have a horse's head. The text runs from around the image outwards in a clockwise spiral fashion. A small group of magical figures and *Nomina Barbara* stretch to one side of the bowl from the figure outwards, splitting the flow of the spiraling text. Geller A is a more extensive duplicate text. It also has a drawing similar to that in our bowl, as well as an identical set of magical symbols. In Geller A, the drawing appears towards the side of the bowl and the symbols run with the text as an integral part of it. In our bowl the image is in the middle and the magic symbols are set to one side. It is possible that there was a *Vorlage* with a note to put something on the side; an instruction that, like many of these texts, got corrupted over time and resulted in a variety of parallel variants. Also of interest is Moriah 1 which Gordon presumed was written by the same hand as Geller A and for the same client. M107 was written for the benefit of Buluqa son of Kikar and Parizag daughter of Hazaroi his wife as well as their daughters Azadiar and Dukhtizag and their sons Hurmiz-Gushnasap and Kurkshid-Gushnasap.

Transcription of M107

(1) מזמן הדין כסא לחתמתא ולנטרתא דביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג (2) בת חזארוי ודאזאדיאר בת פאריזג ודהורמיז גושנסף בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר (3) פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג דניזיחון וניתבטלון וניתרחקון מינהון שידי ודיוי וסיטני וסטני ולילית (4) ומבכלתא ומשמתתא וחילמי בישי וחיזוני סניי ודחלולי בשום שרושן טושן טרושן גושן גושן אדחי לשגושין (5) לשגושין לשגושן ארהיב ברה ואמר בחד גמא גאמא חיש משלל סדים ומשמת ומן אידיה דמריא גרוסקין גרוסקן (6) ונברון ונבורזן רבה דזעקי ומן אידיה דאמירן בג[דנא] אסיר אס(..) ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי וחתים בארזמן (7) עיזקתא ובמובלא רבא דזעקי אמן אמן

אדוני ר֯א֯ל שדי גיברא ואברכסס ארהיט שידי ודיוי וסיטני שפ וסטני ולילית֯א ומבכלתא (8) ומשמתתא וחיסמא בישא וזיקי בישי וכל מידעם ביש מן ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי ודאזדיאר בת פאריזג (?) ודהורמיז גושנסף (9) בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג מן יומא דין ושועה דא וילעולם אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים

(10) (six magical characters) (11) פלוטל (four magical characters) (12) ספלח שבת נורוס (13) סונסנום

Translation of M107

(1) This bowl is appointed for the sealing and protection of the household of Buluqa son of Kikar and for Parizag (2) daughter of Hazaroi and for Azadiar daughter Parizag and for Hurmiz-Gushnasap son of Parizag and for Kurkshid-Gushnasap son of (3) Parizag and for Dukhtizag daughter of Parizag. May the demons and dēws and prosecutors and satans and liliths (4) and tormentors and bans and evil dreams and hateful visions and 'scarecrows' move away and be redundant and distanced from them. By the name of ŠRWŠN ṬWŠN ṬRWŠN GWŠN GWŠN drive off the ŠGWŠYN the (5) ŠGWŠYN the ŠGWŠN. He alarmed her son and said: By one GMA' GA'MA' hurry! Chained, bound and banned by the hand of the lord GRWSQYN GRWSQN (6) and NBRWN and NBWRZN the great one of cries, and by the hand of *our lord* Bagdana. Bound [...] is the house of Buluqa son of Kikar and Parizag daughter of Hazaroi, and sealed by A'RZMN (7) the seal and by the great burden of cries. Amen amen. Adonay El Shaddai the valiant and Abraxas, chase away demons and dēws and prosecutors and satans and liliths and tormentors (8) and bans and evil envy and evil blast demons, and any evil thing from the house of Buluqa son of Kikar and Parizag daughter of Hazaroi and Azadiar daughter of Parizag and Hurmiz-Gushnasp (9) son of Parizag and Khurkshid-Gushnasp son of Parizag and Duktizag daughter of Parizag. From this day and this hour and for ever. Amen amen selah firm and established.

(10) (six magical characters) (11) PLWTL (four magical characters) (12) SPLH ŠBT NWRWS (13) SWNSNWM

Notes for M107

4 משמתתא The two ת's and prefix מ are unusual for this word yet it is spelled the same in l. 8 and must therefore be deliberate. Cf. N&Sh B15:5, but also שמתתא in Gordon A:2 and VA 2416:8,10. Harviainen analysed משמתא as a *pa.* passive participle feminine from the root שמת, with the ת of the feminine suffix, which can be seen in our form, being assimilated into the last radical of the root.[66]

אדתי The reading is not certain and could be read as ארתי, although the ר is slightly rounder than the ד. If so, it would be read as an extension of the *Nomina Barbara* before and after this word.

5 ארהיב From the root רהב which is attested in Syriac in the *af.* 'to trouble, disquiet (associated with bad dreams); to inspire awe, terror, to alarm cause to tremble' (PS p. 531a).

משלל סדים ומשמת Three participles, the third a *pa.* of the verb שמת, the second a *pe.* from the root סדם (= סטם) which thus far has only been attested in Mandaic (DM p. 318). The first word from the verb שלל appears here in a *pa.* form though it was previously only known in the *pe.* (cf. N&Sh B25:8 תשללוהי and Sokoloff p. 553b שלילין).

גרוסקין גרוסקן Cf. *Hekhalot Zutarti*, Schäfer synopsis §366 אי'ר' עקיב' צפית וחמית בתבל כולה וחזית יתה מה היא סלקית בעגלא מן נורא באיסתכלית בהיכלי ברדא ואשכחית גרוסקא גרוסקא וגו' 'R. Akiba said: I looked out and observed all the universe, and I saw it as it rose swiftly from the fire. As I looked at the palaces of hail I found GRWSQA' GRWSQA' etc'. This section is immediately followed by 'This is the binding and the seal by which are bound earth and heaven' (See comments on lines M163:8-11).

6 זעקי An apocopated form of a plural masculine noun, as is common in Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic, which could either be in the emphatic or absolute state.[67] The meaning of this word, in the context of our text, is not certain. In *T-S K 1.173* page 3 l. 12[68] זעקה appears in the formulaic sequence אשתא ועריתא וזעקה - a list of three types of fever more

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[66] Harviainen 1981, p. 12.
[67] Epstein 1960, pp. 116-117.
[68] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 232.

commonly found with the third element דקיקתא.[69] It is possible that זעקי is, in some way, associated with the concept of fever and illness. Montgomery, on the other hand, understood זעקי (AIT 19:13 מלאכה רבא דזעקי) as actually being זיקי but 'with a Mandaic spelling'.[70]

אמירן Considering the parallel expression in the previous line (ומן אידיה דמריא גרוסקין), it is most likely that אמירן should have a similar meaning to מריא. It is possible that it is a corruption from of form מרן 'our lord,' cf. N&Sh B13:3 מריא בגדנא. Alternatively, one might consider this as an early attestation of אמיר 'prince,' found in Syriac[71] and Mandaic,[72] though of Arabic origin.

8 חיסמא בישא See note on M149:9.

Synopsis

M107	Geller A	Moriah 1	
(1) מזמן הדין כסא	(1) אסיר חתים (2) הדין קמיעה		(a)
לחתמתא ולנטרתא דביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג (2) בת חזארוי ודאזאדיאר בת פאריזג ודהורמיז גושנסף בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר (3) פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג	לחתמתא ותשרתא (3) דביתיה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך (4)		(b)
	בהדין שמה רבה דהוה שליט על כל רוחי בישאתא (5)	(1) בהדין שמה רבה (2) דהוא שליט ומפקד ומחי (3) וקטיל ונכיס ומחביל ומפיק כל שידי (4) ודיוי וסטני וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה	(c)
	אשבעית וגזרית עליכון כולכון		(d)
דניזיחון וניתבטלון וניתרחקון מינהון			(e)
שידי ודיוי וסיטני וסטני ולויליתא (4) ומבכלתא ומשמתתא וחילמי בישי וחיזוני סניי ודחלולי	כולכון רוחי בישאתא ולויליאתא (6) ומבכלאתא וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתא וחיזוני תקיפי ודחלולי (7) ומדובקי בישי	מן שידי ומן דיוי ומן ליליאתא ומן חילמי סנין ומן כל רוחי (8) בישאתה	(f)
	דתיזחין ותפקין מיניה ומן		(g)

[69] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 236. For more comments on such words for types of fever, see Geller 1997a.
[70] Montgomery 1913, p. 199.
[71] Brockelmann 1928, p. 26a.
[72] DM p. 22b.

	Moriah 1	Geller A	M107
		ביתיה ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה אתתיה בניה (8) וקינינה ובית משכביה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך וחוה אינתתיה	
(h)	(8) ... בשבע חומרין ובשבעה איסרין בשבעה חתמין	דחתים ומחתם	
(i)		בשום שרישן (9) שרישן גישן גישן גישן אדחי לשגושין לשגושין אדחי ברחי אבר בחד {גמא} גדמא חוש משלל	בשום שרושן טושן טרושן גושן גושן אדחי לשגושין (5) לשגושין לשגושן ארהיב ברה ואמר בחד גמא גאמא חיש משלל
(j)	דאינון שליטין ומפקדין ומחן ומחבלין וקטלין ומפקין כל שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתה וכל חילמי סנין וכל שופטי בישי (12) וכל רוחי בישאתה דכד מיכתיב? שמהין ומימסר בהדין {בהדין} קמיעה כל שידין ודיוין ולילִיאתה וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין (13) וערקין ומיתבלעין מינה	דאתון (10) שליטין ומעורין וקטלין ומפקין כל שידי ודיוי וכל רוחי בישאתה (11) וכל חילמי סנין וכד מיכתיב שמיהון ומימסר כל רוחי בישאתה וכל חילמי סנין ולילִיאתא נפקן ובטלן ומית כל שומיהון	
(k)		משלל	
(l)		(12) פליטל ... פטפלתש בת זירי ס ס תסניס	
(m)	(16) ... נבדירין רבה	סדים ומשמת מן {מן} אידיה דמריא גרוסיה ונברון ונבורון רבה דזעקי (13) ומן אידיה דאמירן בגדתמן	סדים ומשמת ומן אידיה דמריא גרוסקין גרוסקן (6) ונברון ונבורזן רבה דזעקי ומן אידיה דאמירן בגדנא
(n)	הדין דמפרש על שידי ודיוי וסטני ולילִיאתה ועל כל רוחי בישאתה ועל כל חילמי סנין וכד מיכתיב שמיהון ומימסר כל שידי (19) ודיוי ולילִיאתה וסטני ושופטי בישי וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין וערקין ובטלין ומיתבלעין ובשום ... (20) ... בהדין שמה רבה	אתון שליטין וקטלין ומפקין כל שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתא וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה (14) וכד מיכתיב שמיהון ומימסר כל שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתה וסטני וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין וערקין ומיחבל עין בהדין (15) שמה רבה	
(o)	(20) ... חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין הוא ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה אתתיה בניה ובנתיה וקינינה דהדין מהאנוש בר אזרמידוך וחוה {חוה} אינתתיה	אסיר וחתים ביתיה ודירתיה וקינינה ואיסקופתיה ובניה ואתתיה ובנתיה ובית משכביה וכל אינשי ביתיה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך	אסיר אס(..) ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי וחתים
(p)		(16) בארזמין עיזקתה ובמובלא רבה דזעקי אמין אמן אדוני ואל שדאי גיברא ואברכסס דמפיק ומרהיט שידי ודיוי ולילִיאתה ומבכלאתה	בארזמן (7) עיזקתא ובמובלא רבא דזעקי אמן אמן אדוני יאל שדי גיברא ואברכסס ארהיט שידי ודיוי וסיטני שש וסטני ולילִיתא ומבכלתא (8) ומשמתתא וחיסמא בישא וזיקי בישי וכל מידעם ביש

M107	Geller A	Moriah 1	
מן ביתיה דבולוקא בר ככר ודפאריזג בת חזארוי ודאזדיאר בת פאריזג (?) ודהורמיז גושנסף (9) בר פאריזג ודכורכשיד גושנסף בר פאריזג ודדוכתיזג בת פאריזג	מיניה (17) ומן ביתיה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך אתון		(q)
מן יומא דין ושועה דא וילעולם אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים			(r)
(10) (11) פלוטל (12) ספלח שבת נורוס (13) סונסנום			(s)
	במומתיה שרירתא מומינא לכון ומשבענא לכון ובההוא שמה רבה דמיתסריתון ביה נטריה וחתמיה לביתיה (18) ולאסקופתיה ולבית מישכביה ולדרתיה ולבניה ולבנתיה ולאתתיה ולקינינה דמהאנוש בר אזרמידוך ו{מ}חוה איתתיה מן שידי ומן דיוי ומן סטני ומן דחלולן ומן מריבין ומן שופטי (19) בישי ומן סיוטי ומן פגעי ומן פלגי ומן {ת}סטני ומן חילמי סנין ומן כל רוחי בישאתה בהדין שמה אסיריתון [...] ומן{ש}סטמיתון ומתקניתון ומפיקיתון אתון שידין ודיוין וסטנין (20) חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה מיניה ומן ביתיה ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה דמהאנוש בר אזמרמידוך אמן	בהדין שמה רבה ובחתמא הדין חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין הוא ודירתיה ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה אתתיה בניה ובנתיה וקינינה דהדין מהאנוש בר אזרמידוך וחוה {חוה} אינתתיה מן כל פגעי ומן סטן מפגיע מפגיע (21) ומן כל בני ליליא ומן כל בני יממא ומן כל נוהרא ומן כל חושכה בשום הופעות יהוה צבאות ישיב הכרובים ברוך שמו סלה ובשום ענפיאל מלאכה ברזא הדין ובשמה הדין חתים ומחתם ומשצטם הדין באיתיה ודירתיה (22) ואיסקופתיה ובית מישכביה אתתיה בניה ובנתיה וכוליה באיתיה דהדין מהאנוש בר אזרמידוך ודהדה חוה אינתתיה מן שידי ומן דיוי ומן סטני ומן ליליאתא ומן חילמי סנין ומן כל רוחי בישאתה מן יומא דין ולעולם	(t)

Notes for Geller A

Alternative readings to Geller's transcription have been made on the basis of a comparison with the duplicate M107, a re-examination of the photographs,[73] and a comparison with Moriah 1.

2 Instead of ותשרתא read ונטרתא.

[73] Geller 1980, p. 48 and "Illness and Healing in Ancient times", 1997, University of Haifa, on the covers and pp. 34-35, 33.

9 Instead of אבר read אמר. As the pairs ד and ר, and ו and י are not always distinguished, it is quite possible that instead of אדחי ברחי אבר one should read אדחי ברה ואמר.

10 Instead of מעורין read מסירין.

11 Instead of ומית כל שומיהון read ומיתבלען ומ(.)נן. Cf. Gordon Moriah 1[74] lines 12,13 דכד מיכתיבז שמהין ומימסר בהדין {בהדין} קמיעה כל שידין ודיוין ולילאתה וכל חילמי סנין וכל רוחי בישאתה נפקין וערקין ומיתבלעין מינה (this sequence is repeated in lines 18-19 and 25 of the same bowl). The same is true for l. 14, instead of ומיחבל עין read ומיתבלעין.

13 instead of בגתמן read (נא)בגד.

19 Read משסטמיתון, cf. Gordon Moriah 1 l. 21 משצטם. These are both *Shafels* from the root סתם (for a fuller discussion see above the note on l. 1 of M101).[75]

Notes on the synopsis

It has already been noted above that the image and magical characters in M107 and Geller A appear to have evolved from the same *Vorlage*. Over and above these graphic markers, a comparison of the two texts makes it clear that the greater part of the formula used in Geller A (the larger of the two texts) is close enough to that used in M107 to conclude that they both owe their origins to a common source. A close examination of the differences between the two texts can shed light on the changes that a formula such as this can take in the process of its transmission from scribe to scribe and maybe even generation to generation. Differences which occur in these parallel texts might be due to traditions which permitted the sorcerer a certain amount of flexibility in the use of particular formulas to suit different situations. For instance, the possibility to add more demon names which might be associated with different kinds of complaints, or which were simply requested by a more discerning or maybe even wealthier client who insisted on more text, i.e. more protection. Chosen sections from Moriah 1 have also been added to the synopsis as possible parallels to the extra parts of text that appear in Geller A but not in M107. As Geller A and Moriah 1 were written by the same scribe and for the same clients, it can safely be assumed that the

[74] Gordon 1984, p. 222.

[75] Gordon also noted this form (1984 p.225), though only commented on the assimilation of '*s* to emphatic *ṭ*', '*-sṭ-* > *-ṣṭ-*'.

extra material that appears in Geller A is more likely to have been the result of a padding out of formula by the scribe who could dip into his personally accumulated reservoir of incantations. Although Geller A is longer than M107 it can not be assumed to be a more original text.

The opening formulas used in M107 and Geller A are slightly different, but both are commonly attested in magic bowls.[76] The difference suggests that any rules that might have governed the writing of incantations did not insist on the use of one particular variant. One might bear in mind that this looseness in form was partly to do with the fact that much of the material would have been memorized by the sorcerer and similar expressions commonly used could easily be confused. Another consideration is that the product of the sorcerer's work, the incantation bowl, would most likely only be read by demons and angels, a less critical audience than humans. The order of the sections (e) and (f) in M107 is reversed in Geller A whose equivalent sections are (g) and (f). Also, the verbs in M107 section (e) are imperfects in the 3rd person whereas, in the equivalent section (g) of Geller A they are in the 2nd person. This difference could be attributed to the way the scribe of Geller A had changed the text. Having added section (g), 'I adjure and decree against you', the 3rd person verbs had to be emended for the text to make sense. Another difference in verbal forms is found in sections (p) of both texts, M107 employing the *af.* imperative ארהיט, whereas Geller A has the active participle form מרהיט. The magical characters and *Nomina Barabara* which appear half way through Geller A in section (l) appear at the end of the transcription of M107 as section (s), as they are set separately from the rest of the text on the bowl. The slight differences in the *Nomina Barbara* which also occur in the names in section (m) of both texts can probably be attributed to a 'Chinese whispers' process which are more likely to have produced corruptions in words that have no obvious recognizable meaning. It is, however, worth noting that some of the other unusual magical names are identical in both texts and do not seem to have suffered any corruption. Why this occurred with some names and not others could be explained by assuming that the better preserved names were more commonly known or frequently used and therefore survived transmission in better condition.

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[76] On the basic opening formula of Jewish Aramaic Bowls see Harviainen 1995, pp. 54-55.

Alternatively, one bad copy would be enough to spawn new varieties of corruptions. In any case, without more evidence to examine one can only speculate.

M108 (16.5cm*5cm)

This bowl consists of nine lines written in a somewhat cursive, yet neat handwriting. The text spirals in a clockwise fashion from the outside rim of the bowl towards the middle. This is quite exceptional, as most texts work their way from the middle outwards. It appears that, after reaching the centre of the bowl, the scribe returned to the edge and added another line of text. It was only then that he circled the whole inscription with a line. There is also an image with horns and wings which has been placed to one side. This text is unusual because, apart from a basic dedication, it contains seven biblical verses which are quoted in full: Ps. 106:47, Zech. 3:2, Ps. 89:53, 106:48, 72:18,19 and 104:31. All of these verses can be found in *Seder Amram*[77] and seem, as will be shown, to have been specifically borrowed from the weekly evening prayers, the *Arvit* and the *Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah*, which include petitions for protection from dangers of the night (see below). In this context, it is noteworthy that in the dedication of our bowl nightmares (סיוטי) are included as one of the things this amulet is meant to remove. Another bowl, MS 1929/6, which is written for the same client, Adib son of Bat-Šabbeta, and by the same hand also has a very short dedicatory formula to which is added a portion of the Mishna (Zeb. 5:3). This was possibly also borrowed from the *Seder Korbanot* at the end of the morning prayers.

Transcription of M108

(1) הושיענו יהוה אלהינו וקבצינו והצילנו מן הגויים להודות לשם קדש(ך) להש↓ת(ב)ח
בת(הי)לתיך↓ (2) הדין קמיעה למיסר שידי דיוי וסיוטי וסטני מן הדין ביתיה דאדיב בר בתשבתה
(3) בשום ויאמר יהוה אל.הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן יגער יהוה ב(ך ה)בחר בירושל(י)ם (4) הלוא זה
אוד מוציל מ־אש ברוך יהוה לעולם אמן <ו>אמן ברוך יהוה (5) אלהי ישראל מהעולם ועד העלום
ואמר כל העם אמן הללויה (6) ברוך יהוה אלהים אלהי ישראל עושה נפלאות לבדו (7) וברוך שם
כבודו לעולם וימלא כבודו את (8) כל הארץ אמן <ו>אמן (9) יהי כבוד יהוה לעולם ישמח יהוה
במעשיו

[77] Goldschmidt 1971.

Translation of M108

(1) 'Deliver us, O Lord our God, gather us from among the nations, to acclaim Your holy name, to glory in Your praise' (Ps. 106:47). (2) This amulet is for the binding of demons, *dews*, frights and satans from this house of Adib son of Bat-Šabbeta. (3) In the name of: 'But the Lord said to the Accuser, "The Lord rebuke you, O Accuser; may the Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! (4) For this is a brand plucked from the fire"' (Zekh. 3:2). 'Blessed is the Lord forever; Amen and Amen' (Ps. 89:53). 'Blessed is the Lord, (5) God of Israel, from eternity to eternity. Let all the people say, "Amen". Hallelujah' (Ps. 106:48). (6) 'Blessed is the Lord God, God of Israel, who alone does wondrous things. (7) Blessed is His glorious name forever; His glory fills the (8) whole world. Amen and Amen' (Ps. 72:18-19). (9) 'May the glory of the Lord endure forever; may the Lord rejoice in his works!' (Ps. 104:31)

Notes for M108

The biblical quotes are accurate except for the omission of a ו before the second אמן in l. 4. The word סטן is spelled with a ס rather then a ש which is more common in the bowls. There are a few plene spellings: קבצינו and גויים in l. 1, מוצל in l. 4 and עושה in l. 6.

2 בתשבתה 'Daughter of the seventh day', see also N&Sh B10:7,10 ברשפתא and N&Sh B10:13 ברשבתא.[78]

Appendix

Zech. 3:2, common in the magic bowls, appears in Amram's version of the *Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah*[79] together with a quote from b. Ber. 5a which states in the name of R. Isaac (the third century Palestinian amora) that:

כל הקורא קריאת שמע על מטתו - מזיקין בדילין הימנו, שנאמר (איוב ה׳) ובני רשף יגביהו עוף ; ואין עוף אלא תורה, שנאמר: (משלי כ״ג) התעיף עיניך בו ואיננו

[78] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 183.
[79] Goldschmidt 1971, p. 55.

'If one recites the Shema upon his bed the demons keep away from him. For it is said: "And just as sparks fly upward." The word 'fly' refers to the Torah, as it is written: "You see it then it is gone"'.

In Amram's order of prayers the *Arvit*, the daily Evening Prayer, comes just before the *Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah.* In the *Arvit* we find the petition:

השכיבנו ה' אלהינו לשלום. והעמידנו מלכנו לשלום ולחיים, ופרוש עלינו סוכת שלומך והגן בעדנו ותקננו בעצה טובה מלפניך והושיענו למען שמך והסר מעלינו דבר חרב ורעב ויגון. ושבור שטן מלפנינו ומאחרינו. ושמור צאתנו ובואנו מעתה ועד עולם כי שומרנו ומצילנו אתה. ברוך אתה ה' שומר עמו ישראל לעד.

'Let us lie down, O Lord our God, in peace, and let us rise up, O our King, to life. Spread over us Your canopy of peace. Direct us with Your good counsel, and save us for Your name's sake. Shield us, and remove from us every enemy, pestilence, sword, famine and sorrow; remove also the adversary from before us and from behind us. Shelter us in the shadow of Your wings, for You, O God, are our Guardian and our Deliverer; truly You, O God, are a gracious and merciful King. Guard us when we go out and when we come in for life and for peace, from now and for evermore. Blessed are You – the Lord, who guards His people Israel for ever'.

The response of the congregation which follows consists of a sequence of Psalm verses, the first five of which (Ps. 89:53, 135:21, 72:18,19 and 104:31)[80] correspond almost identically to the last five in our bowl (Ps. 89:53, 106:48, 72:18,19 and 104:31). The only difference is the second verse in the sequence which might be explained by the existence of a tradition, found in the Tosefta Tan. 3:8 and the *Seder Olam Rabbah* 30, which cites Ps 106:48, 72:18 and 19 as having been recited in succession at the Temple.

Ps. 106:47, which appears in the beginning of the bowl, is also present in the congregation's response, though only as the seventh verse after Ps. 104:31. A closer examination of the bowl reveals that this verse (Ps. 106:47) must have been added as an after thought, or simply because the scribe ran out of space in the middle of the bowl. The initial הושיענו appears just over a word's distance to the left under the word קמיעה in the

outer ring of the text. When the scribe completed writing a full circle, rather than flowing over קמיעה into the spiral, he was compelled to drop below the line so that the last word of the verse (בתהילתך) joined to the first (הושיענו). Indeed, MS 1929/6 which was written by the same scribe for the same client, seems to follow the same pattern that was initially intended for this bowl. It also starts with a dedication formula followed by בשום, 'by the name of', which introduces the quote.

On the basis of the evidence shown above it is suggested that the inspiration of the text in our bowl came from the standard daily prayers. We can not, as yet, ascertain whether they were acquired from service attendance or copied from an early prayer book. Nevertheless, the utilization of this liturgical material which is intended for protection from the dangers of the night is a natural choice.

Elbogen's opinion that the dates for the composition of the fourth section of the *Arvit*, starting with השכיבנו, should be attributed to the 'post-talmudic period, specifically the Saboraic period',[81] coincides well with the general dating of magic bowls. Surely, our text can be considered as the oldest fragment of this prayer.

In light of this bowl it might be suggested that our scribe also derived his quote of m. Zeb. 5:3, in MS 1929/6, from the prayer book rather than directly from the Mishna, as this mishna is part of the daily morning prayers (סדר ברכות השחר) which also appears already in *Seder Amram*.[82]

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[80] Goldschmidt 1971, pp. 52, 53.
[81] Elbogen 1993, p. 88.
[82] Goldschmidt 1971, p. 4, l. 10. The text stipulates that the whole of chapter five be read ושונה איזהו מקומן של זבחים ... אלא צלי.

M112 (9.2cm*10.4cm)

This bowl has a unique goblet shape, although the text is still written in the inside of the vessel. The incantation is written in the usual fashion, spiraling in a clockwise direction from the bottom of the goblet outwards. The flow of the text is interrupted, however, by a column of names and symbols which are simply skipped as each line reaches it. There is a duplicate to this text at the end of N&Sh B19, lines 9-11. The clients for whom this bowl was written are Mari son of [...] and Imtabi daughter of Ima.

Transcription of M112

(1) חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין (2) דמרי בר א[.]ה ודאימטבי בת אימא (3) בחתמא ובצורתא דאל חתים ובחתמא דשדי (4) דלא יקירבון ביה כל חרשין בישין וכל סדנין אפיכין וכל (5) נידרא וענקתא וקריתא ופתכרין וכל סטנין ונאלי וכל מזיקי (6) בישי וכל סטני תקיפי וכל מידעם ביש דמתחמי ו(ד)לא מיתחמי (7) יזחון ויפקון מן ביתה הדין בישמיה ד(פטט..ס) רבא (8) פרופיאל בי(ל)קו (9) פיניבא פיניבא (10) פיניחו יהא (11) פרובאל בילקו (12) פיאירן פיניגא (13) אני הוא יהו הי (14) צור קדוש מסג (15) written in amongst symbols - יי and - שדי

Translation of M112

(1) Sealed and counter-sealed is the house (2) of Mari son of ... and Imtabi daughter of Ima. (3) Sealed by the seal and the image of El, and by the seal of Shaddai. (4) In order that there may not touch him all evil sorceries and all perverted devils[83] and every (5) vow and necklace-charm and invocation and idols and all accusers and incubi and all evil (6) harmers and all powerful satans and every evil thing, that which is visible and that which is not visible. (7) May they flee and go away from this house. By the name of ... the great. (8) PRPYA'L BYLQW (9) PYNYBA' PYNYBA' (10) PYNYHW YHA' (11) PRWBA'L BYLQW (12) PYA'RYN PYNYGA' (13) I am Him *living* YHW (14) a *great* Holy *Rock* (15) YYY Shaddai

[83] See note on M102:4.

Notes for M112

4 יקירבון ביה The verb קרב with the preposition -ב means 'to touch'.[84] The plene spelling with the 'yod' after the first radical is unusual but not unknown, cf. N&Sh B23:1 ניחידרון and N&Sh B23:8 ניקיטין.

5 נאלי Attested in both Syriac, $nl^{\flat}$ - 'nightmare', 'incubus' (PS 340b), and in Mandaic $n^{\flat}l^{\flat}$ 'vampire', 'incubus', or 'succubus' (DM p. 283ab). Attested also in Rabbinic literature in b. San. 59b: יארוד נאלא which Rashi describes as a 'griffin-like' creature. The Aruch Completum[85] cites an otherwise unknown manuscript of b. Bek. 44b which associates נאלא with the reference to קצרית 'shortness of breath.' See also Montgomery 1913, p. 189 and Gordon, 1934, p. 323.

6 מיתחמי ו(דל)א דמתחמי Note that in N&Sh B19:8, 9, just before the duplicate section of our text, there is the verb חמי which is very rare in the bowls: ולא תיתחמון להון 'you shall not make yourselves visible to them'. Cf. also *The Sword of Moses* p. V l. 13 בשתקצר רבה דלא כסי מיני כלום דחמי ולא מתחמי '... by ŠTQṢR the great from whom nothing is covered, that which is being seen and that which is not being seen'.[86]

13 יהו הי Could also be read as יהו חי 'the living YHW'.

14 צור קדוש מסג Could be either Hebrew, or Aramaic if read as קדיש. Cf. Gordon B:1,2 צור קדיש תתימין ומחתמין ומסגן. There are three possibilities for understanding צור: 1) 'Rock,' as Gordon interpreted it in his notes[87] - the 'Biblical epithet of God'. 2) As י and ו are not always distinguished in our text, It is possible to read ציר. Thus it could mean 'Bound', as in McCullough A:4[88] דציר וחתם ביעזקתה דאל שדי. Note also that, just as in our text, אל שדי is also mentioned. 3) Another meaning of ציר is 'Drawing' or 'shape.' This is similar in meaning to that which appears in AIT 11:9 בעיזקתה דציר וגליף עלה שם מפורש. One might bear in mind l. 3 of our text in which 'the seal and image ...' - צורתא is invoked. Hence, ציר קדוש

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[84] Sokoloff p. 502b.
[85] Vol.5 p. 296a.
[86] Harari 1997, p. 27.
[87] Gordon 1934, p. 325.
[88] McCullough 1967, p. 3.

'holy image', could be a reference to the unusual *characteres* intermingled with names that appear on the goblet, and might be part of the source of its potency. On the basis of Gordon B one might consider reconstructing to either <י>מסג, a *pa.* active participle masculine singular, or ג<י>מס a passive participle.

Synopsis

N&Sh B19

חתים ביתיה דמיהרוי בר גושנאי הדין

בחתמא ובצורתיה דאל חתים בחתמא דשדי אלהא

דלא (ת)יק((ר))בון ביה כל חרשין וכל מעבדין וכל כיסי וכל (10) מללתא

וכל נידרי וענקתא וקריתא בישתא וכל זיקין ומזיקין בישין

וכל סטנין תקיפין וכל מידעם [ ] (11) [ ] דיתתסי

בשמיה דאפסמט רבה אמן אמן סלה

M112

(1) חתים ומחתם ביתה הדין (2) דמרי בר א(ז)ה ודאימטבי בת אימא (3)

בחתמא ובצורתא דאל חתים ובחתמא דשדי (4)

דלא יקירבון ביה כל חרשין בישין וכל סדנין אפיכין

וכל (5) נידרא וענקתא וקריתא ופתכרין וכל (סטנין) ונאלי וכל מזיקי (6) בישי

וכל סטני תקיפי וכל מידעם ביש דמתחמי ו(דל)א מיתחמי (7) יזחון ויפקון מן ביתה הדין

בישמיה ד(פטט..ס) רבא (8) פרפיאל בי(ל)קו (9) פיניבא פיניבא (10) פיזיחו יחא (11) פרובאל בילקו (12) פיאירן פיניגא (13) אני הוא יהו הי (14) צור קדוש מסג (15) ייי שדי

M117 (17.6cm*4.7cm)

This bowl has seven lines of text which are written in a cursive script spiraling in the usual clockwise fashion from the centre of the bowl outwards. There are three biblical quotes in this text (Isa. 37:16, 6:3 and I Sam. 17:45.) which is, otherwise, unusually rich in phrases that have parallels in liturgical and Hekhalot sources. The first half of the text, until the middle of l. 4, is in Mishnaic Hebrew. The rest, apart from the verses in l. 6, is in Aramaic. The Hebrew is generally good despite a few plene or phonetic spellings which are consistent with other Hebrew words found in magic bowls:[89] l. 1 רישונים for ראשונים, l. 2 יושיב for יושב, l. 3 שים for שם, ליפני for לפני, l. 4 אתא for אתה and דויד for דוד. This bowl was written for a certain Asher daughter of Mama.

Transcription of M117

(1) אלה (ד)[....] הרישונים האחרונים שהוא מנ(א)גן מלפני שאול המלך (2) בשום יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל יושיב הכרובים על כל הנגעים על כל המזיקין על כל הרוח (3) על כל האש וערויות על כל העין ותנו כבוד לשים כבוד וילכו להן במקום מושבה שליפני אשר בת מאמא (4) ברוך אתא יהוה אלהי דויד רופא החולים דיתיב דקאים דשחר דדמיך דמזיח דממכי בשמיה דמרמרחות מלאכה (5) לית אנא משבע עלכי לא בסרין לא במלאכין א(ד)רים אילהין בשמיה רבה יהוה צבאות אלהא דישראל אלהא דימיניה דחילא (6) במ[..]לא ותהומא בשמיה דיה יה יה קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות אלהי מערכות ישראל דשליט על כל רוחא בישתא איתגערי רוחא בישתא (7) מימקום מושבה דאשר בת מאמא אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M117

(1) These [...] the first, the last, the last *that he is playing* before Solomon the king. (2) By the name of 'YHWH Sabaoth the God of Israel who is enthroned among the cherubim' (Isa. 37:16). Against all the plagues, against all the harmful spirits, against every spirit, (3) against all fevers and shivers, against all the (evil) eye. Give glory to the name of glory. And may they go away from the place which is before the dwelling of Asher daughter of Mama. (4)

[89] Kaufman 1973, p. 173.

Blessed are you YHWH the God of David healer of the sick, the one who sits, the one who stands, the one who wakes up, the one who goes to sleep, the one who raises, the one who lowers. By the name of MRMRHWT the angel. (5) I do not adjure you by princes or *great* angels, but by the name of the great one, YHWH Sabaoth the God of Israel, the God whose right hand is feared in (6) [...] and the tehom. By the name of YH YH YH YH 'holy holy holy' (Isa. 6:3) 'YHWH Sabaoth the God of the ranks of Israel' (I Sam. 17:45) who rules over every evil spirit. Evil spirit, disappear (7) from the place of dwelling of Asher daughter of Mama. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M117

1 The opening line of the bowl is incomplete, yet, there are two possible sources from which it might be borrowed: II Samuel 23:1 or from the נשמת כל חי of the Sabbath morning prayer. If one reconstructs l. 1 on the basis of II Samuel 23:1 ... ואלה דברי דוד האחרנים one would have to account for the mention of both the 'last ones' (האחרונים) and 'King Saul' which follow. In the b. MQ 60b R. Jehudah explains that 'these were the last words of David' (II Samuel 23:1) implies that former words (ראשונים) were spoken:

> אחרונים מכלל דאיכא ראשונים ראשונים מאי היא וידבר דוד להי את דברי השירה הזאת ביום הציל הי אתו מכף כל אויביו ומכף שאול
>
> "'Last words' implies that there were 'former words', what were the 'first words'? 'And David spoke to the Lord the words of this song in the day that the Lord delivered him from the hand of all his enemies and from the hand of Saul' (II Samuel 22:1)".

Additionally, it might be noted that the first words of the opening line of our bowl are similar to the expression ... אלהי הראשונים והאחרונים which occurs in the נשמת כל חי from the Sabbath morning prayer. In close proximity to these words there occurs in one of the manuscripts of *Seder Amram* ורופא חולים, which also appears in l. 4 of our text.[90]

2 הכרובים ... יהוה A quote from Isa. 37:16 which also appears as part of a list of names in the Hekhalot literature (Metatron, Schäfer Synopsis §402). The last two words of this

[90] Goldschmidt 1971, p. 70.

sequence are also found in I Chron. 13:6 (יושב הכרובים), Ps. 80:2 (ישב הכרובים), and in Ps 99:1 (ישב כרובים). Variants of this name occur in Moriah 1:21 (יהוה צבאות ישיב הכרובים) and A17:18,19[91] (בשם יהוה [י]ושב הכרובים). Cf. also m. Ber. 7:3 אלהי ישראל אלהי הצבאות יושב הכרובים and b. Ber. 50a ברוך ה' אלהי ישראל אלהי הצבאות יושב הכרובים which is very close to the formula in our text. Note also that in l. 5 an Aramaic equivalent (יהוה צבאות אלהא דישראל), which is common in the Targ. Ps-J., is used. Incidentally, the Targum of Isa 37:16 is slightly different to line 4: יי אלהא צבאות וגו'.

3 תנו כבוד ל In the Minor tractate *Soferim* 14:5, תנו כבוד לתורה is mentioned as part of the liturgy to be said before reading from the Torah.[92] This formula appears also in the Minor tractate *Derekh Eretz perek ha-Yotzeh* 17 as part of the prayer to be said on entering the toilet (תנו כבוד לאלהינו),[93] a place thought to be infested with demons.[94] Cf. also *Midrash Tanhuma parashat Mishpatim* 19[95] where it is stated in the name of R. Hanina that, because the world is full of 'spirits' and 'harmers' (רוחות ומזיקים), the Lord gives every one of the people of Israel a myriad and a thousand protective angels who walk before him and declare: 'give honour to the image of the Lord blessed be He' (תנו כבוד לצלמו של הקב"ה).

במקום Read למקום, cf. l. 7.

שליפני The use of Hebrew here is somewhat awkward. It is possible that this is due to the scribe's free translation of the Aramaic relative pronoun ד which is used correctly in l. 7.

4 החולים ... ברוך Cf. Gordon 7:12 ברוך אתה יהוה רפא חולי כל בשר ומיפל<י>א לעשות which is part of the morning prayer and already attested in *Seder Amram*.[96] Slightly closer in form to our text is ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מלך העולם רופא חולים, which appears a bit later in the morning prayer.[97] In b. Ber. 60b the elements תנו כבוד, in l. 3 of our text, and רופא החולים, in l. 4, both appear as part of the same liturgical sequence. It states that: "One who enters the toilet says: 'Be honoured, ye honoured and holy ones that minister to the Most High. Give

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[91] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 50.
[92] Also in *Seder Amram*, Goldschmidt 1971, p. 58.
[93] *Seder Amram* under the section of 'personal prayers and blessings'. Goldschmidt 1971, p. 184 - תנו כבוד לאלהים. In b. Ber. 60b a slightly different variant is תנו כבוד לאלהי ישראל.
[94] B. Ber. 62a 'Any one who is modest in the toilet is saved from three things: from snakes, from scorpions, and from *maziqim*'.
[95] This Midrash is probably not edited before the ninth century.
[96] Goldscmidt 1971, p. 2.

honour (תנו כבוד) to the God of Israel'". Furthermore, when leaving one says: 'Blessed is He who created man in wisdom and created in him many orifices and hollow passages ...' (ברוך אשר יצר את האדם בחכמה וברא בו נקבים נקבים חללים חללים ...), which is part of the morning prayers, also to be recited when emerging from the toilet. It is then asked: "How does one seal this prayer? Rab said: 'that heals the sick (רופא חולים)'". רופא חולים also appears in *Seder Amram* in the נשמת כל חי[98] prayer, part of the Sabbath morning prayers, only a few words after אלהי הראשונים והאחרונים (see notes to line 1).

מזיח This is a *pa.* form from the verb זוח I 'to raise'[99] which, although known in Syriac, was previously unattested in Jewish Aramaic. The list of six participles, of which מזיח is one, seems to refer to potential benefactors of the blessing they follow. This is reminiscent of the participles used in b. Ber. 60b which represent a series of activities for which appropriate prayers are recommended: הנכנס ... 'one who goes out (of the latrine) says' כי נפיק אומר 'one who wakes up says' כי מתער אומר ... 'one who enters his bed says' לישן על מטתו אומר ... 'one who dresses says' כי לביש לימא ... 'one who sits up says' כי תריץ ויתיב לימא ... etc.

מרמרחות Cf. A4:24,25 where מרמראות,[100] of which מרמחות might be a corruption, appears in the amulet only two words after אלהי מערכות, the quote from I Sam 17:45 which is in line 6 of our text. Marmaraot is also found in *Sepher ha-Razim*[101] as one of the angels who is in charge of the movement of the sun during the day.

6 ישראל ... קדוש A combination of Isa. 6:3 and I Sam. 17:45. It is interesting that the last two words of the quote from Isa. 6:3, יהוה צבאות, are the same as the first two words of the quote from I Sam. 17:45. Thus rather than being duplicated these words are shared. Also noteworthy is the fact that the section used from the I Sam. 17:45 is preceded in the Bible by the word בשם.

איתגערי רוחא בישתא Cf. *T-S K 1.68* lines 2,3[102] אל]הי מערכות ישראל געור כל רוחין בישין, A19:24,25[103] דיתגערון רוחא בישתה אשתה וטרטיה and A27:4,5[104] בישתה [רוחא] דיתגערון.

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[97] Ibid.
[98] Goldscmidt 1971, p.70.
[99] J. p. 385a.
[100] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 56.
[101] Margalioth 1966, p. 96.
[102] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 222.
[103] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 62.

7 מושבה If the scribe intended this part of the incantation to be in Aramaic, as the demonstrative ד which follows suggests, then he should have written מותבה.

[104] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 91.

M121 (16.3cm*6.3)

This bowl consists of six lines of a rather cursive script spiraling in a clockwise fashion from the inside out. This incantation was written for Ahi son of Mahlapta and Imi daughter of Qaqi his wife for whom M103 and M119 were also written.

Transcription of M121

(1) חתים ומחתים ביתיה ובניה ואיסקופתיה ומעולהון ומיפקיהון (2) ועובידיהון וכל דאית לה לאחי בר מחלפתא ולאימי בת קאקי איתתה (3) מן שידי ומן דיוי חתים ומיסטנין חתים ומילילית‌א ומימבכ(ל)לתא ומיפגעין (4) בישין מן מרכבתא בישתא ומיחרשי בישי מן סטני דמישתדרי (ב)חרשי ומיכל (5) מידעם ביש מ(ן) יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה הללויה יה יה יה י(ה) ייה ייה הי (6) היי אאא(ב) בבבב (ב) (ב)אש (ג)א אמן (א)א תתת (ד)דדד גגג דד אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M121

(1) Sealed and counter-sealed are his house and children and threshold, and their entrance and exit (2) and servants, and all that is Ahi son of Mahlapta's and Imi daughter of Qaqi his wife. (3) Sealed from sheds and dews, and sealed from satans, and from liliths and from tormentors and evil afflictors, (4) from the evil chariots and evil sorceries, from satans which are being sent by sorceries and from all (5) evil. From this day and for ever amen amen selah halleluya. YH YH YH YH YH YYH YYYH HY (6) HYY A'A'A'A' (B) BBBB (B) (B) A'Š (G) A' amen (A') TTTT (D)DDDD GGG DD amen amen selah.

Notes for M121

1 ומעולהון ומיפקיהון The usual forms of the nouns 'entrance' and 'exit' have a נ towards the end of the word, hence, one would expect ומיפקונ(י)הון ומעלונ(י)הון*, cf. N&Sh B25:11 מעלוניה ומפקוניה. Note, however, that מיפקא, without a נ, is also attested[105] as meaning

[105] J. p. 778a.

'exit', as is מעליא 'entrance' in some targum editions.[106] The first ו in מעולהון, which could also be read as a י, is probably due to the root from which this noun is derived, which could be construed as the *mediae y/w* עול rather than the *midiae geminatae* עלל.

2 דאיתלה, איתתה This scribe is not particular in differentiating between יה- and ה- for the 3rd person masculine singular personal pronominal suffix.

3-5 מיסטנין, מילילית֯א, מימבכ(ל)לתא, מיפגעין, מיחרשי, מיכל Cf. AIT 21,22 and 23 which are very similar to our text, all start with חתים ומחתם and follow the same formulaic pattern with slight variations. Montgomery states that 'ו, ז, י and ן are indistinguishable'[107] in these bowls and, therefore, opts for reading מן כל instead of what looks like מיכל (*passim*) as well as מבכלתא (l. 2 of all three texts) for what appears to be מימבכלתא. Epstein amended Montgomery's readings, reinstating the י in both cases, claiming that it is too short to be a final 'nun', as well as the fact that such forms are attested in the Yerushalmi and Gaonic material.[108] In our text it is also preferable to read these letters as 'yods' as the final 'nun' is in all cases clearly distinguishable. In some cases, however, the scribe uses the separate form of the preposition מן rather than the shorter prefixed form -מי.

מרכבתא בישתא Cf. Gordon 8:4, where Gordon translates the same expression, without explaining his reasons, as 'the bad "chariot" (= constellation = luck)". In N&Sh B13:6 there is a similar expression מרכבא לטבי 'the chariot of the evil ones'. Though of a late redaction, not earlier than the 12th century, *Numbers Rabbah* 12 mentions that the demoness Igrat bat Mahlat, who is also referred to in b. Pes. 112b, has a chariot (אגרת בת מחלת ומרכבתה).

סטני דמישתדרי בחרשי Whether incorporated as a matter of form or not, this addition to the list of malevolent entities indicates anxieties that go beyond the demons that were believed to naturally exist on their own accord. This suggests that the clients feared that others were performing malicious magical acts against them. Cf. Ellis 3:4 ויתה<פ>כ<ו>ן ויזל<ון> על ניתסרון וניכמרון כולהין פתיכרין על קרינהון ועל משד<ר>ריניהון ועובדיהון; BOR:7 משדרנהון; Yam:15 יתה[פכון] כל חרשין בישין על עבדיהון ועובדין תקיפין על משדרנהון; Gordon 6:7,8 ונתהפכון כל חרשי בישי וכל Gordon 5:3-5 ויזלון ויתהפכון על עבדיהון ועל משדרניהון

[106] J. p. 817b.
[107] Montgomery 1913, p. 204.

מעבדי תקיפי דעבידין בה ודמיתעבדין בה ... ונתהפכון על עבדיהון ועל משדררניהון; N&Sh B23:8,9 וניהדרון על ... עלה ועל ירתי ביתה ועל משדרינהון. (See also note on M102:2).

[108] Epstein 1983, pp. 348-349.

M123 (17.3cm*7.5cm) and **M138** (16.7cm*6.5cm)

These two texts are duplicates and are therefore dealt with together. There is a third duplicate, MS 2053/216, a transcript of which is provided below in the synopsis. All three texts seem to be written by the same cursive but reasonably clear hand. The clients of all three bowls are related. We know from M121 that Immi daughter of Qaqi is the wife of Ahai son of Mahlafta, the same couple which appears in M138. In M123, however, Immi daughter of Qaqi appears with a man who bears the same forename but has a different mother, Ahai son of Qini. It might be that Ahai's mother was known as both Mahlafta and Qini,[109] though it is also possible that Immi daughter of Qaqi had occasion to marry twice. Finally, one must not exclude the possibility that Ahai son of Qini was a relative who lived in the same house. Each of these three names is accorded its own bowl, M123 is dedicated to Immi daughter of Qaqi, M138 to Ahai son of Mahlafta and MS 2053/216 to Ahai son of Qini. Nevertheless, the formula, duplicated in all the texts, states at the outset that it is meant for the protection of more then one person: דלא יקרבון עליהון 'in order that there may not come against them'. The protection that is sought for by the clients is specifically from the malicious activity of fellow human beings, described more specifically in lines 1, 3 and 6 (of M123) as an oath, curse and evil speech, though a more complete list is provided in lines 6-8 of M123. The magical motif at the centre of this text (M123:3-6) comprises the invocation of the name אהיה אשר אהיה followed by some more divine names, a Hekhalot style depiction of God and a quote from the Targ.-O. of Ex 3:5. This combination of motifs represents one of the best known themes in Jewish magical tradition, the most famous example of which is the *Sword of Moses*, a manual of name based magic that claims to be the divine revelation of Moses.

Transcription of M123

(1) הדין קמיעא דאיתקמע על שום אימי בת קאקי דלא יקרבון עליהון נידרין לוטן ממללן (2) בישון תוב אנא משבענא עליכון נידרא לוטתא מ{ז}^לי^לתא בישתא משבענא עליכון בניהור יה בשדי (3) יה קסין יה בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא <מללתא בישתא משבענא עליכון ב>אהיה אשר אהיה שמו פסגדא שמו אפסגדא שמו טובה טיה מיה (4) שמו יההי קא שמו אחס באלמס פניו פני שיביל

קרניו קרני לון מרכבתיה נור דליק שרפוהי נור משמשין שליחין בריבוהי (5) נור לבישין משגרין (ל)עילא מיקרני חיתה בחגא רבה דמלכותא בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין כמו דאמר ליה למשה באסנה שרי סנך (6) מעל ריגלך משבענא עליכון נידרא לוטתא ומללתא בישתא דאי תעימו אימי בת קאקי בין ניהמתא דנהמא על זרעיהי ובין (7) נומתא דמפקא בפומא ובין נידרא דארמאי דיהודאי בין לוטתא רחיקא קריבא בין לוטתא דשיבבה דאחא ואחתא ובין לוטתא דגברי (8) דנשי ובין נידרא דמשלם לפתכרי דיכרי לאיסתרתא {ל}ניקבתא ובין נידרא ושלמתא דכל בני אינשה תיזחון תינטלון תיאבדון מיאימי בת קאקי מיאחי בר קיני (9) מיבנוהי ומיביתיה כוליה מן יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה.

Translation of M123

(1) This amulet has been bound upon the name of Immi daughter of Qaqi in order that there may not come against them oaths, curses and evil speeches. (2) Again, I adjure you oath, curse [and] evil speech. I adjure you by the light of YH by Šadai (3) YH QSYN YH. By these (names) I adjure, oath, curse, I-am-that-I-am, His Name PSGDA', His Name A'PSGDA', His Name ṬWBA' ṬYH MYH, (4) His Name YHHY QA', His Name A'ḤS BA'LMS. His face is the face of ŠYBYL, his rays [of light] are rays of LWN, his chariot blazing fire, his Seraphs fire, messengers officiating by [the agency of] his magnificence, (5) they are clad in fire, *sent* above the creature's horns. By [the agency of] the great crown of majesty, by His great name which has existed from days of old. The same [name] He told Moses at the burning bush [when he told him]: 'Remove your shoes (6) from your feet [etc.]' (Targ. O. Ex. 3:5) I adjure against you oath curse and evil speech that if you sadden Immi d. of Qaqi. Be it by a groan that groans over its descendants, be it (7) by a slumber which causes [things] to issue [from with]in the mouth, be it by an oath of a gentile or a Jew, be it by a curse of a relative or a stranger, be it by a curse of a neighbour, brother or sister, be it by a curse of men (8) or of women, be it by an oath that is being delivered to male idols [and] female idols, or be it by an oath or magic rites of any human beings. Be removed, move, and perish from Immi daughter of Qaqi from Ahai son of Qini (9) from his children and from all of his house from this day and for ever. Amen amen selah.

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[109] In some of the bowls there are clients who are mentioned as having another name, cf.

Notes for M123

1 קמיעא דאיתקמע על שום The verb קמע 'to bind' is previously unattested in Jewish Aramaic. It is known in Syraic in the same sense as we find it here *qmʿy qmyʿ* 'those who bind on or who sew together amulets'.[110] Though rarely used in Hebrew the verb קמע is already attested in the Tosefta cf. Demai 2:17 (repeated in b. Bek. 30b) מעשה באשה אחת שנשאת לחבר והיתה קומעת על ידו תפלין 'There was a certain woman who was married to a *scholar* and used to bind the straps of the tefillin (phylacteries) on his hand'. Cf. also M155:9 where the same expression appears though spelled differently, קמיעה דאיתקמיע.

נידרין לוטן ממללן בישון - Three plural nouns in the absolute state, the first is masculine whilst the second and third are feminine. All three appear in forms that are unusual for magic bowls: The form that commonly occurs for נידרין is the appocopated נידרי; לוטתא is not otherwise attested in the bowls in the plural in the absolute state at all;[111] ממללן is a *pa.* participle feminine plural form of the verb מלל.[112] The adjective בישון has ו as a matres lectiones. It is interesting that in lines 2 and 6 and the reconstruction in l. 3 (see below) the author of the text decided to employ the nominal form מללתא.

2 עליהון A clear indication that the bowl was intended from the start for the protection of both the clients, even though only one is mentioned in the opening line.

3 <מללתא בישתא משבענא עליכון ב> The text is amended here in line with the two duplicates, see the synopsis below.

3-6 ריגלך ... אהיה This encompasses a well known set of motifs that developed within Jewish magical traditions of Late Antiquity concerning אהיה אשר אהיה - the name that was given to Moses (Ex. 3) at the burning bush. As we shall show, the different parts of this particular section of the incantation have parallels in the Bible, Targum, Hekhalot and

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M148 מיהרנהיד בת אחת דמתקריא כוטוס 'Miharanahid daughter of Ahat also called Kutus'.

[110] Brockelmann p. 673ab.

[111] In Yam:14, לוטן is cited; however, in that text the word appears to be disjointed and the reading is not certain. A masculine plural form is known from the Targum, לוטין. This is probably not our form, however, as the masculine of this noun is not attested in the bowls and one would have to reconstruct the י in our text (לוט<י>ן)*.

[112] Cf. Gordon H:11 רוחא בישתא דימממללא בלישנא תקיפא ... ממללא used as a verb, and active participle.

magical texts such as the *Sword of Moses*, as well as other surviving bowls and amulets. The first part is a straight forward invocation/recitation of divine names within a Hebrew format signified by the use of the word שמו 'his name is', commonly found in bowls, amulets and Hekhalot texts. The description of God himself, face and emanating rays of light, is in Hebrew, while the description of his attending hosts which follows is in Aramaic. This depiction of God and his hosts is reminiscent of the imagery and language of the visions of Ezekiel[113] and Daniel.[114] The descriptions of angels which are found in the Hekhalot are similar to our text, cf. for example III Enoch (Schäfer Synopsis §33-§34)

> אמר ר' ישמעאל אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים למעלה מהן יש שר אחד אדיר מופלא אמיץ ומשוב(ח) בכל מיני שבח כרוביאל יוי שמו ... ומראה פניו כאש יוקדת וכתר קדושה על ראשו ששם המפורש חקוק בו ... וזיו שכינה על פניו וקרני ההוד אור פניו ... ולמה נקרא שמו כרוביאל יוי השר מפני שהוא ממונה על מרכב כרובים
>
> 'R. Ishmael said: Metatron the prince of the countenance told me that above them there is a mighty, wondrous, brave and praised prince in all manner of praise, Krubiel YWY is his name ... the sight of his face is as burning fire and the crown of holiness is upon his head wherein the 'explicit name' is engraved ... the divine glory is on his face and the rays of majesty are the light of his face ... and why is he called Krubiel YWY the prince? It is on account of the fact that he is in charge of the chariots of the cherubim'.

Cf. N&Sh B13:18 נוריאל רבה נוריאל שמיה נורא לביש נור לבישין, N&Sh B13:21 where angels that have come to the presence of Shamish are also described as clad with fire (נורא לבישין), and *T-S K 1.73* page 3:6 בנורא לבש 'being clothed in fire'.[115]

(ל)עילא מיקרני חיתה בחגא רבה דמלכותא A close parallel to the wording of 'above the horns of the creatures' has been preserved in the Zohar Ex. Beshalah 56b לעילא מן קרני החיות. What appears there, above the horns of the 'creatures', is a 'name'. Cf. Metatron (Schäfer synopsis §734→397) שמו הגדול שנמסר לו למשה מסיני {מש} זה מפרש תגא מעל upon the

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[113] Ez. 1.

[114] Dan. 7:9 נור דלק. In Ma'seh Merkabah R. Neḥoniah ben Haqanah reveals to R. Ishmael five prayers which include divine names. These prayers are meant to assist descent and rising from the Merkabah. In the first of these (Schäfer, 1981, §587 MS O1531) נור דליק appears amongst the names.

[115] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 230.

crown His great name is 'explicit', the one that was given to Moses *at* Sinai'. It is noteworthy that in one of the manuscript variants (O1531) there appears הגא rather than תגא, a variation that is also possible in all three of our bowls since ה, ח and ת are not clearly distinguished.

בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין Cf. Buch/Namen, Schäfer Synopsis §492 - a small book of magic (§489-§495) in which instructions are given in preparation for the use of 'this great name' הדין שמא רבא (in §490 N8128 line 17 שמיה רבא). This name is described as having existing for ever (§490 N8128:33 ושמו קיים לעולם ולעלמי עולמים, and purports to help protect against an enemy. This 'great name' is the very one that was given to Moses at Sinai: (MS N8128):

> דין שמיה רבא ... הוא דהוה דאיתגלי למשה בסנה דין שמיה ... קיים הוא עד סוף כל הדורות
>
> '... this is His great name ... the one that was revealed to Moses in the burning bush, this is his name ... it is in existence till the end of all the generations'.

Cf. also Bescwörung/Namen §514:[116]

> דין שמא רבא דמסר זגנאל מלאכא למשה בן עמרם כשנגלה עליו אל {?} חי בסנה וכל היודעו ומזכירו בטהרה לא יוזק לעולם
>
> 'This is the great name that Zaganel the angel gave to Moses son of Amram when the living God was revealed to him in the burning bush, and all who know and invoke it in purity will never be harmed'.

שרי סנך מעל רגלך Our text is a quote from Targ.-O. Ex. 3:5. Targ. Ps-J. differs at this point in that it employs the verb שלוף rather then שרי. It is interesting that in Ex. 3:14 of Targ.-O., the version preferred in our bowls, אהיה אשר אהיה is preserved in its Hebrew original, thus preserving its integrity as a 'name'. On the other hand, Targ. Ps-J. of the same verse offers a more literal Aramaic adaptation in its place.

In a fragment of the *Ḥarba de-Moshe*,[117] it is not just the divine name that is said to have been revealed to Moses, but the whole of the magical book. This system of 'name magic' is equated with the *Merkabah* revelation of R. Ishmael:

> דין חרבא דמשה שנמסר לו בסנה ונגלה לו לר' ישמעאל בן אלישע כמעש' מרכבה

[116] Schäfer 1981.
[117] Schäfer 1981, §598 MS N8128.

'This is the *Sword of Moses* that was revealed to him in the burning bush, and as was revealed to R. Ishmael son of Elisha as *Maaseh Merkabah*'.

A bit further in the same text (§606) the magical qualities of the *Sword of Moses*, which is described as a name, are listed:

אמתי זהו חרבא של משה שהיה עושה נסים וגבורות ויכלה לכל כשפים והוא נגלה למשה בסנה ונמסר לו השם הגדול והמפואר ואם נגלה לרבי ישמעאל כשעלה למרכבה ושמור אותו באמת והוא שמרך ... והוא מצילך מכל צרה בעולם הזה

'In truth this is the Sword of Moses that preformed miracles and brave deeds and can restrain all sorcery. It was revealed to Moses in the burning bush, this great and glorious name was transmitted to him, *and was also* revealed to R. Ishmael when he ascended to the Merkabah. Keep it in truth and it will protect you ... and it will save you from every misfortune in this world'.

The power of the name that was revealed to Moses is reiterated in the appendix to *The Sword of Moses*:[118]

אהיה אשר אהיה יה ביה אה באה וה וה אה אה קדוש צבאות יהוה ממלא דילי ואסותא דילך אסיריתון וחתמיתון כוכבי שמיא ומזליהון שרי ארעא ושרי מרומא דלא יחתון בי ולא יצערון יתי הוו עמי וסועדו יתי בכל מה דאנא עבידנא ולא תקרב נפשי לחבלא משום דחתימא קימתי בשמיה דמן דיפרש שמיה למשה באסנה

"I-am-that-I-am YH BYH A'H BA'H WH WH A'H A'H Holy are the hosts of God. My word and your healing. I have bound and sealed you - the stars of the sky and their constellations, ministers of the earth and ministers of the on-high, that they may not *sin against* me and not afflict me. Be with me and assist me in all that I do. And my soul shall not come near to harm because I have established the seal in His name, of that one, His name, that was made 'explicit' to Moses in the burning bush'.

This combination of the depiction of God in human terms with the more abstract 'name' is noteworthy. Whilst discussing a midrash on the name אהיה אשר אהיה, which appears in *Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva* (c. 700 CE),[119] Idel noted that it describes the dimensions of the

[118] MS Sasson 290 in Harari, 1997, p. 144.
[119] *Battei Midrashot* Vol. II p. 364, also in *Otsar ha-Midrashim* (Eisenstein) p. 407.

name in terms akin to those used in *Shiur Qomah* to describe the limbs of God: 'It is possible that that the connection between the fire and the letters of the name stems from the revelation at the burning bush (Ex. 3:6-14), and that this midrash implies that Moses saw the *measurement of the stature of the name*'.[120] Idel adds a quote from *Sefer ha-Navon*[121] (p. 120) in which the Tetragrammaton is said to appear to the angels and the prophets as an image of a man.

Cf. A28: 25,26 שם האל הקדוש הנגלה למשה מתוך הסנה and Gordon H:17 יאהואה שם מפורש דאיתגלי למשה באסנה. In the Geniza fragment *T.-S. K 21.95.A* page 2a lines 22-25,[122] there is a description of the experiences and revelations Moses had while in the celestial company when he ascended Mount Horeb in the desert. The angel PYSQWN, one of the names attributed to Metatron,[123] tells Moses that it was he who appeared to him in the burning bush and told him to remove his shoes: לאחר מיכן בא רוח פיסקון ... אמר לו משה משה אני הוא שנגליתי עליך ביום שנדבר עמך קונך שנ[א מלאך יי וגו' ואני הוא שאמרתי לך שלנעליך וגו'.

תעימו From the verb עמי 'to be dim, faint, grieved'.[124] The context implies that this must be a causative *af.* form which has not previously been attested in Jewish Aramaic, although it is known in Syriac.[125]

8 שלמתא Possibly שלמתא<א> (for a discussion on the meaning of this word see Montgomery 1913, p. 85).

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[120] Idel, 1981, p. 39, n. 43.
[121] Ashkenaz 13th century. Published by Dan J., 1966, עיונים בספרות חסידי אשכנז, Sefer ha-Navon, Kovez al Yad. 6 pt. 1, pp. 199-223.
[122] Schäfer 1984, p. 177.
[123] See also note on M155:3-5.
[124] J. p. 1087b.
[125] PS p. 416b.

Synopsis

M123

(1) הדין קמיעא דאיתקמע על
שום אימי בת קאקי
דלא יקרבון עליהון
נידרין לוטן ממללן (2) בישון
תוב אנא משבענא עליכון
נידרא לוטתא מ{ל}^לֵ^לתא
בישתא משבענא עליכון
בניהור יה בשדי (3) יה קסין יה
בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא
<מללתא בישתא משבענא
עליכון ב>
אהיה אשר אהיה שמו
פסגדא שמו אפסגדא שמו
טובה טיה מיה (4) שמו יה חי
קא שמו אחס באלמס
פניו פני שיביל קרניו קרני לון
מרכבתיה נור דליק
שרפוהי נור
משמשין שליחין בריבוהי (5)
נור
לבישין משגרין (ל)עילא
מיקרני חיתה בחגא **רבה**
דמלכותא
בשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין
כמו דאמר ליה למשה
באסנה שרי סנך (6) מעל ריגלך
משבענא עליכון נידרא
לוטתא ומללתא בישתא
דאי תעימו אימי בת קאקיי
בין ניהמתא דנהמא על
זרעיהי ובין (7) (נ)ומתא
דמפקא בפומא ובין
נידרא דארמאי דיהודאי בין
לוטתא רחיקא קריבא בין
לוטתא דשיבבה דאחא ואחתא

ובין לוטתא דגברי (8) דנשי
ובין נידרא דמשלם
לפתכרי דיכרי לאיסתרתא
{ו}ניקבתא ובין נידרא
ושלמתא דכל בני אינשה

תיזחון תינטלון תיאבדון מן
אימי בת קאקי מן אחי בר קיני
(9) מן בנוהי
ומן ביתיה כוליה
מן יומא דנן ולעלם
אמן אמן סלה

M138

(1) קמיעא דאיתקמע על
שום אחי בר מחלפתא
דלא (2) יקרבון <ע>להון
נידר(ין) לוטן (מ)מלל(ן) בישון
ומשבענא עליכון
נידרא (3) לוטתא מללתא
בישתא משבענא על(יכ)ון
בניהור יה בשדי יה (4) קסון יה
בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא
ומללתא בישתא משבענא {ב}
עליכון
(5) באהיה אשר אהיה שמו
פסגדא שמו אפסגדא שמו
טובה טיה מיה שמו יה חי
קיא (6) שמו אחס באלמס
פניו פני שיביל קרניו קרני לון
מרכבתיה נור דליק
שרפוהי נור
(7) **משמשין שליחין בריבוהי**
נור
לבישין משגרין {לעיל} לעלא
מיקרני חיתה בחגא
דמלכותא {**בשמיה**} (8)
ובשמיה רבה דהוה מן קדמין
כמו דאמר ליה למשה
באסנה שרי סינך מעל רגלך
משבענא עליכון נידרא (9)
לוטתא ומללתא בישתא
דאי תעימו אחי בר מחלפתא
בין ניהמתא דנהמא על
זרעיהי ובין נומתא
(ד)[מפ]קא (10) בפומא ובין
נידרא דארמאי די[ה]ודאי בין

נידרא דשיבבה
דקריבה דרחיקא בין לוטתא

ובין [נידרא]א דמשלם (11)

לבי[.] בישתא ובין לוטתא
דיהודאי דארמאי ובין מללתא
דאימא (ובר)[תא] [...]

(תי)ז(ח)ון [...]ן מן
אחי בר מח(ל)פתא (12) (ומ)[.]
אימי בת קאקי

מן יומא דנן ולעלם
אמן אמן סלה

MS 2053/216

(1) קמיעא דאיתקמע על
שום אחי בר קי[ני]
[דלא יקרבון עליהון]
נידרין לוטן ממללן (2) בישן[ן]
תוב א<נא> משבענא עליכון
נידרא לוטתא ומללתא
[בישתא משבענא עלי]כון
בניהור יה בשדי יה (3) קסין יה
בהדין אשבעית נידרא לוטתא
מללתא משב(ענא)
עליכון
באהיה אשר אהיה שמו
פסגדא (4) שמו אפסגדא שמו
טובה טיה [מיה] שמו יה חי
קיא שמו אחס באלמס
פניו פני ש[...] קרניי קרני (לון)
מרכבתיה נור דיליק (5)
שרפו[ה]י נור

לבישין ומש(ג)רין לעילא
מ(יק)רני חיתה בחגא **רבה**
דמלכותא
בישמיה רבה דהוה מיקדמין
כמו דאמר (6) (ל)[יה] למשה
באסנה שרי סינך מעל ריגלך
משבענא עליכון נידרא
לוטתא ומללתא בישתא [...]
דאי תעימו אחי בר קיני
(7) (ב)ין ניהמתא דנהמא על
זרעיהי בין נומתא
דמפקא בפומא

ובין (נ)דרא דמשלם
לפתכרי דיכרי ולאיסתרתא
<ל>ניקבתא ובין ניחמתא
דמ(פ)קא
(8) בפומא בין כל מידעם ביש
בין כל ליליתא בישתא [....]
תיפקון מיביתיה
דאחי בר קיני

ומן ביתיה כולה

אמן אמן סלה

As the clients of all three bowls are related, and the hand writing of these texts is similar, it is reasonable to assume that they were all written by the same hand, or at least produced in

the same atelier. The differences between the texts in the first two thirds of the formula are minor. In the above synopsis, the differences are given in bold type. After a certain point, about the middle of M123:7, one gets the impression that the scribe began to improvise. In M123, part of l. 10 is repeated in l. 11 whereas, in MS 2053/216, part of the beginning of l. 7 appears again at lines 7-8. The closing formula, which appears to be most complete in M123:8,9, is only partially reproduced in the other two texts, although, all three faithfully conclude with the standard אמן אמן סלה.

M131 (16.4cm*7.2)

This bowl consists of five lines of text written in a cursive script which, nevertheless, distinguishes between ב and כ. The first line of the bowl is oddly set in that its last word is placed above the first as if to draw the flow of text to spiral inwards towards the centre of the bowl. The rest of the text is not attached to the end of this first line but resumes below it spiraling in a clockwise manner towards the outer rim of the bowl. One possible explanation for this layout is that the scribe made a mistake in the way he placed the first line and, having realized it too late, decided to resume the rest of the text below it as if nothing had happened. Alternatively, the first line may have been added as an after-thought, and the scribe simply miscalculated its length and was thus compelled to draw it inwards where space was available. There is no mention of the name of the client. The combination of the motifs of 'split mountains' in l. 1 and a 'dark place' to which the evil spirits are sent in lines 3 and 4 is reminiscent of the story of the fallen angels and their punishment (see M163 below).

Transcription of M131

(1) איפשיח פקא פקא עים פקא לטורי ולנ(סרין ליבנ)א x בטרפצת סיה (2) אתון דתפקון ותזלון ותיבדרון רוחי בשתא רוחי שידי פתכרי חומרי שידי (3) שידי ולילית‌א לתרע די יהר ובאתר דלא מפקין בה שמשא וסיהרא וכימא (4) וכוכבין דאנה קרית קניסא עיניתנא אתון דתפקון ותזלון ותיבדון רוחי בשתא מן ברתא הדין (5) בשום רבא ובשום סיטרי ורגי(ע)ל אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M131

(1) *It was torn, a fissure opened with rupture* to mountains and the ..... (2) So that you, evil spirits, spirits, demons, idols, pebble charms, demons, (3) demons and liliths - may you remove yourselves, go and be scattered to the gate of the haughty and the place where the sun, moon, constellation and stars do not come out which I have called the *humble ones'* penalty. So that you, evil spirits, may remove yourselves, go and disappear from this daughter. (5) By the name of The Great One and by the name of SYṬRY and RGYA'L. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M131

1 איפשיח is an *ithpe.* of the verb פשח.[126] In Syriac (PS p. 467a) the *ithpe.* has the metaphoric meaning of 'to be enfeebled, knocked up'.

פקא פקא The first of the pair is the noun פקא, 'valley, split, fissure',[127] cf. פקעא[128] or the Hebrew בקעה. The second is a form of the verb פקע with a weakening of ע to א, just as in AIT 6:11 ארזא כי[129] ניפקא 'shall split asunder as a cedar tree', which Montgomery referred to as a 'Mandaizing spelling' for נפקע.[130] In Mandaic the combination *pqʾ pyqʾ* 'a split opened' is attested.[131]

2 תיבדרון The same wish for the evil spirits to depart is repeated in line 4, except that there תיבדון, 'may you perish' is used instead. It is possible that the scribe used the similar looking verbs, בדר and אבד , for the sake of variety. Equally, carelessness could be the reason, in which case either תיבד{ד}ון in line 2 or תיבד<ר>ון in line 4 would be the correct readings.

3 תרע די יהר 'The gate of the haughty' beyond which is described a dark place hidden from the heavens might be a reference to the underworld, cf. b. BB 10b וכל המתיהר נופל בגיהנם 'and whoever boasts fall a prey to Gehena'.

4 עיניתנא 'humble, forbearing, kind',[132] a compliment to יהר in the previous line.

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[126] J. p. 1245b.
[127] Levi, 1889, vol.4 p. 87b.
[128] Levi, 1889, vol.4, p. 93a.
[129] Corrected by Epstein from בי to כי, 1983, vol. 1, p. 334.
[130] Montgomery 1913, p. 144.
[131] DM p. 371b.
[132] J. p. 1092b.

M142 (42.5cm*24.5cm)

This is a giant bowl of which a considerable part of the beginning of the text is missing. The first few lines of the text that are readable are disjointed and therefore difficult to decipher. The scribe differentiates ב and כ in most cases. Three texts which have partial duplicate sections have been identified: Aaron E, MS 1927/61, MS 2053/61 and MS 2053/257. These have been consulted to help reconstruct some of the more difficult sections in our bowl. Three biblical verses are quoted: Isa. 40:31, Num. 14:9 and 32:22. This bowl was written for Adad Gušnaṣ son of Mahdukh and Ispandarmid daughter of Ṭahmandukh his wife. As an appendix to this bowl we have added a proposed reconstruction of the beginning of this text which was made on the basis of the duplicates mentioned above. This section consists of an historiola in which the 'swift prince' is the protagonist, a supernatural entity who bears the same title as the chief angel in the *Sword of Moses*. In this text he is described as the helper of women who have been assailed by baby-snatching demons.

Transcription of M142

(1) ... (2) (מ)רי עלמא על [.....] דמית(ח)ט(י)פ(ין) ... נ(א)[..](חי)א ארבע ח[...] ד... חדא מ(ינהי)ן (מבד.יתא) (3) חד(א) מ(י)נהין אמו(מי)תא חדא מנהין בליליתא .... על .... באנפי כורסיה בישמיה (ד)קדש (במי)מריה דשדי ובמל(ת)א (ד) ... (וק)וי יהוה יחלפו כח (4) יעלו אביר כנשרים יורוצו ולא יגועו ילכו ולא ייעפו (וד) ... וד ... מש ... מומינא על(יכון) ... [..]ים יתוה לאחא זוטא נמלכו (ו)נצ ... ...תא [..]א[.]פ(נ)א רזא (רז)א דדליתיה חבל עליכון (5) שידי ויחיבל עליכון דיוי דאמריתון אנחנא לא ידענא מי הוה ומ ... (א)מו(מ)א אגברי ... [..]טרא רבא (ודי)נחיא ורפיא(י)ל א(סיא) ... (בי)ר[.]יה על (בית)[..] [..]יה בנכי ושולינכי כין (6) לא תיגעון ולא תיקירבון בביתיה ובדירתה ובאיסקופתיה דאדד גושנץ בר מהדוך ודאיצפנדרמיד בת טהמנדוך {אל} אינתיה לא ... [לא] בזרעהי דליליה ולא בזרעה דימ(ו)מ(א) לא תי[חז]ון לה לאיצפנדרמיד בת טהמנדוך (7) לא בחיזוה דליליה ולא בחיזוה דימומא ולא תידמון לה בכל גונין וגונין אסיריתון שידי וחתימיתון די עיר(יי)תא וליליתא בישתא בגזרת עדאקפקיאל ... מפרש שמיה ותוב אסיריתון שידי וחתימיתון דיוי ודיותא וליליתא בישתא (8) בשמיה דאכבר דאבכברך בעיזקתא דיצר גיליף עליה מן יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה ונכבשה הארץ לפני יהוה ואחר תשובו והייתם נקיים [מיהוה ומישראל והי](תה ה)ארץ הזאת לכם לאחוזה לפני יהוה אך ביהוה אל תימרדו <ו>אתם אל תיראו את עם

הארץ (9) (כי לחמנו) הם סר צלם מעלהם יהוה איתונו אל תיראום[133] דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין די<פ>כירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין (10) דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכירין דיפכרין דיפרירין דיפרירין דיפכרין אסותא מן שמיא חתמתא די שלמה ונטרתא דישלמה תיהוי לה לאיסקופתה [דאדד גושנץ] בר מהדוך ודאיצפדרמיד [בת טהמנדוך] ... (11) ... יה יה יה

(Num. 14:9). Those who are split (repeated 27 times) (10) Healing from heaven, the seal of Solomon and the protection of Solomon shall be for the threshold of Adad Gušnas son of Mahdukh and Ispandarmid daughter of Ṭahmandukh ... (11) YH (repeated 33 times) ...

Notes for M142

2-4 מ)רי עלמא על Most of this section is erased, yet the parallels shown below suggest its context. The most complete of these are MS 2053/61 and MS 1927/61 which seem to be part of an historiola. The translation above has been reconstructed on the basis of the following synopsis.

Aaron E[134]		על ולדי	מ)רי עלמא ... (4)	
MS 2053/61	(א)נה (7) הוא ש(רא)	(ק)לילא) דמפשח קדם מרי	עלמא	(על ולד)י
MS 1927/61	אנה הוא (סגומי) (5)	(אבה קליליאה דקאתי קודם מריה דעלמה		על ולדי
MS 2053/257	אנה ה[וא] ס[רא] (4)	קלילא דמפש(ח) [קד]ם מר[י]	(עלמ)[א]	על (ו)לד
M142		[.....] על	מ)רי עלמא	... (2)
Aaron E	נשי(ה) ...	מ)פשח		
MS 2053/61	נשיה	דמיתחטפין מפשת		
MS 1927/61	נשייא	דמיתח(טפ)ין ומפשח		
MS 2053/257	נשיא	דמיתחטפין מפשח מפש(ח)		
M142		דמית(ח)ט(י)פ(ין)		

If the reading סרא קלילא is correct, one would be reminded of the very same title which occurs in the *Sword of Moses* V line17.[135] This swift prince, or messenger as he is referred to a page earlier in the *Sword of Moses* IV, is mentioned in that magical book as an intercessory angel in language that resembles our texts:

> וסלקית לקדמוהי אנא אססי אסס ואסיסיה ואפרגסיה שליחא קלילא דבשליחותי אנא יאי ובשתדרותי אנא מוחי למעבד ופקד יתי מארי כולא איזיל ואשתמע לבני אנשא

[134] Geller 1986, p. 114. Geller did not transcribe this line, yet his facsimile as well as a photograph which he produced for the present author allowed this reading.
[135] Harari 1997, p. 27.

'And I ascended to his presence, I A'SSY A'SS A'SYSYH and A'PRGSYH the swift messenger who is worthy of my mission and I make protest in my dispatch. The Lord of all has commanded me: "Go and be heard to human beings"'.

In our text this messenger can be seen doing his job for the benefit of women whose babies are in danger of being snatched.

חדא ... בליליתא Cf. Aaron E:7 איתא אמומיתא כליליתא[...]. The line continues '... and Saḥlet bat Yama, and these and those that strangle ...' which appears to be a list of demonesses or such evil entities that strangle[136] children. Earlier in the same line, all that is visible is the word ארבע, 'four'. But for the parallel texts this might not have meant much:

M142	חדא מ(ינהי)ן	(2) ... ארבע ח[...] ד...
Aaron E	ומישתדרון על ... [.]מש(מ)שיתא ... (7) ... [ ]איתא ... דחנקו	
MS 2053/61	והא ארבע חיון דמישתר[ין] ...	ד(חנק)ן וחטפן
MS 1927/61	ארבע חיון רברבן ד[מי]שתדרן על ולד[יא]	דחאנקן

In M142 and Aaron E, the names of three of the four creatures that attack children have survived. It appears, however, that the versions of the historiola in the other texts only allude to these creatures but do not name them.

באנפי ... A synopsis of the parallel texts confirms the reading of our bowl:

Aaron E	(8) ... כורסיה באנפי כורסיה בישמיה דקדוש במימריה דשדי ובמי[מריה]
MS 2053/61	באנפי (כו)... ...יה דשד<י> (12) במילוליה
MS 1927/61	בשמיה רבה ובעזקתיה (9) דקדוש ובשמיה דעילי(ו)ן ובמילוליה דשדי
MS 2053/257	באנפי {כו} כורסיה ובישמיה דקדוש ובמימירא (7) דשדי ובמתולא
M142	באנפי כורסיה בישמיה (ד)קדש (במי)מריה דשדי ובמל(ת)א (ד)

Note that though there seems to be a good transmission of most of this part of the formula, there is confusion amongst all of the versions concerning the last word. Considering the similarities, a *Vorlage* may be assumed yet, for some reason, MS 1926/61 deviates from the format of the other texts.

[136] Geller transcribes תנקו which he translates as 'harms'. However, according to the facsimile one could read תנקן which also occurs in both lines 10 and 11 of MS 2053/61.

ייעפו ... וקוי This verse, Isa. 40:31, is quoted in m. Qid. 4:14 (cf. also b. Qid. 82a,82b) to illustrate the protection a youth will gain from learning Torah. It also appears in Aaron E:10, MS 1911/1:7,8, MS 2053/61:13,14 and MS 2053/257:9,10.

5 רפיא(י)ל א(סיא) Cf. N&Sh B27:5 דרפאל (אסיא רבה) and Gordon L:13 דרפאל איסרא דאסותא.

6 Both MS 2053/257 and MS 2053/61 have sections that are close in form to this part of our text (see below). Note that in both parallels, Isa. 40:31 follows this section yet, in our text, this verse appears earlier in lines 3-4:

MS 2053/257	ד(ל)א (תניגעון) ולא תיקרבון ולא תחבלון ... (8) ... (9) ... אינתתיה לא בזרעה		
MS 2053/61	דלא תיגעון	ולא תחבלון ... (13) ...	איתתיה לא בזרעה
M142	(6) לא ניגעון ולא תיקירבון ...		אינתיה לא ... [לא]
MS 2053/257	דיממא ולא בפירי(ה) [דליליה ....] סקסנסין וקוי ...		
MS 2053/61	דיממא ולא ב(רפיסי) דליליה (סקן) ... ו... וקוי ...		
M142	בזרעהי דליליה ולא בזרעה דימ(ו)מ(א)		

דימ(ו)מ(א) ... בזרעהי [לא] Cf. The Mandaic *Šhafta dQaština* p. 202: *mn zyrḥ dlyly' wmn bzyrḥ dʿm'm'* 'from his seed (semen) by night and from his seed (sowing) by day'.[137]

8-9 בעיזקתה דציר וגליף עלה שם Cf. AIT 11:9 בעיזקתא דיצר גיליף עליה מן יומא דנן ולעלם מפורש מן יומי עלמא ומישת יומי בראשית 'By the seal on which is carved and engraved the Ineffable name, since the six days of the world, the six days of creation'. The motif of the inscribed seal seems to be associated with Ex. 39:30 in which there is a description of the gold frontlet for the holy diadem upon which 'Holy to the Lord' was incised. The language that is used in the Targ. O. Ex. 39:30 is similar to that of the expression in our bowl - וכתבו עלוהי כגלוף דעזקא כתב מפרש קודש ליי. See also notes to M123:5 where there occurs a reference to a 'crown' (תגא) bearing the Ineffable name, which is described as part of a vision in an Hekhalot text (Schäfer synopsis §734).

10 דיפרירין Possibly דיפרידין, cf. Aaron D:1-3 where it is repeated 22 times. MS 2053/61, which has similarities to our text, cuts off in l. 20 with דיפכירין דיפרינין.

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[137] This text is as yet unpublished though the fragment above is quoted from DM p. 167b.

Appendix

Our text and its parallels that are cited above are either badly damaged or incomplete. By comparing the different texts, and joining what appear to be the best sections from each, the following reconstruction of the shared formula can be proposed:

Transcription

(MS 2053/61:5) ... וכין חזיתי (MS 1927/61:3,4) בעיני ... והא שמעית קל (MS 2053/61:6-8) דיממלת מן גו חשמלא {ממליל} ממליל וכין אמר (א)נה הוא ש(רא) (ק)לילא) דמפשח קדם מרי עלמא (על ולד)י נשיה דמיתחטפין מפשח (MS 1927/61:5,6) וכן אמר על ק(ברי) מיתי יתיבית וקא שמעית קל נשיא דתוחן ומתוחן[138] בכיין ומב[כיין] והן (....) מפשחן בחד קלא (MS 2053/257:5) וכין אמרן (דמות) ברקא חזינא ובדמות ע(ננין) (MS 1927/61:7) איתו לי דנאחזא ארבע חיון רברבן ד[מי]שתדרן על ולד[יא] (M142:2,3) חדא מ(ינהי)ן (מבד.יתא) חד(א) מ(י)נהין אמו(מי)תא חדא מנהין בליליתא (Aaron E:7) וצחלית בת ימא ואילין אינין (MS 2053/61:7,8) דחאנקן וחטין מממרקן ואכלן כאריה דחשיף[139] וחניק מממריק ואכיל אילין אינון דחנקן וחטפן ממר(ק)ן וא[כ]לן כען אסיריתון וחתימיתון (M142:3) באנפי כורסיה בישמיה (ד)קדש (במי)מריה דשדי ובמל(ת)א (ד) (M142:6) לא תיגעון ולא תיקירבון בביתיה ובדירתה ובאיסקופתיה דאדד גושנץ בר מהדוך ודאיצפנדרמיד בת טהמנדוך {אל} אינתיה לא ... [לא] בזרעהי דליליה ולא בזרעה דימ(ו)מ(א) (M142:3,4) (וק)וי יהוה יחלפו כח יעלו אביר כנשרים יורוצו ולא יגועו ילכו ולא ייעפו

Translation

... and thus I beheld with my own eyes ... and oh, I heard a voice that spoke from within the HŠML speaking, and thus it said: 'I am he, the swift prince who cries out in the presence of the Lord of the world concerning the babies of women that are snatched'. *Bursting out*, thus he said: 'I sat upon the graves of the dead and heard the voice of women *wailing and in pain*, crying and sobbing ... *crying out* in one voice'. And thus they said: 'We are seeing an image of lightning, in the image of clouds they were brought *to me* that we may see the four great creatures who are sent against the babies'. One of them is MBD[.]YTA', one of them is

[138] Possibly an error for דצוחן ומצוחן (S. Shaked -forthcoming).

A'MWMYTA', one of them is BLYLYTA' and *SHLYT daughter of YMA'*. These are the ones that strangle, harm, *finish off* and eat. As the lion snatches and strangles, finishes off and eats, these are the ones that strangle, snatch, finish off and eat. Now, you are bound and sealed by the image of His throne, by the name of the Holy One, by the speech of Šadai and by the Word - that you may not afflict and may not touch the house and dwelling and threshold of NN son of NN ... not from his seed of the night and not from his seed of the day. 'But they who trust in the Lord shall renew their strength, as eagles grow new plumes they shall run and not grow weary, they shall march and not grow faint'.

[139] Probably an error for דחטיף (S. Shaked -forthcoming).

M145 (178mm*70mm)

This bowl consists of sixteen lines of a very cursive script. But for a small fragment that is missing and some small areas which are slightly faded the text is almost completely legible. A duplicate, MS 2053/159, has been identified of which a transcript is provided. The name of the client is not stated, though a comparison with the duplicate suggests[140] that in our bowl he/she takes the role of the sorcerer and narrates the text in the first person. The formula that appears in this bowl is unusual and previously unknown. Much of the language and imagery, especially pertaining to the structure of the earth (l. 8), show similarities with Mandaic sources and may be borrowed from them. Such possible Mandaic influences, coupled with the scarcity of any Jewish motifs in the text, suggest the possibility that this incantation might be of Gnostic origin. Throughout this text it can be observed that all the 3rd person masculine plural perfect verbs are equal in form to the singular: l. 3 דיוי נפק; l. 3,4 נפק ארבעה תנינין, נפק ארבע דיוין; l. 6 נפק ארבעה זיקין, תפי דודי; l. 5 ולילית נפק; l. 8 איתיפך מזלי, אישתוש כוכבי; l. 9 מלכי רגש. This can be compared with Mandaic[141] in which the same holds true. However, the elision of the final ו could be the result of a lack of its pronunciation, as is attested in Syriac already from the second century CE.[142] Other unusual features of this text are the mention of the Psalms of David in l. 13 and the lance of Darius, king of the dēws.

Transcription of M145 and synopsis with MS 2053/159

M145	MS 2053/159
(1) אטור גלל ק<א>ינא ואשינא רבתא	(1) אטור גלל קאינא ואטורא רבה
ד(ג)לל{ל} מציתנא ושמ<ע>נא (2) לשמיש חור	דגללא מציתנא (2) ושמענא ליה לשמיש וחור
דכידיבון בריה דמלכה רבא דדיוי ושליטא	בריה דבריה בר (3) מלכה רבה דדיוי ושליטא
רבא (3) דלילית מנההיא שעתא בההוא יומא	רבה דלטבי בההוא יומא בההיא שעתה (4)
בההוא עידנא כד דיוי נפק ליקרבא	ובההוא עידנא כד דיוי נפקין לקרבה וכד

[140] See notes on the synopsis below.
[141] Macuch 1965, p. 262-263.
[142] Nöldeke 1904, p. 36.

MS 2053/159	M145
לילִיאתה נפקן למ(ע)ביא דליפלגא (5) דשידי	ולִיליתא (4) נפק לימ(ו...)א דלפלגא דשידי
וכלה רבתי דלטבי דליגונרא דדיוי וכלה	ומרכבתא רבתא דלטבי ודלגודא דדיוי וכל(י)א
רבתי דלִיליאתה גנח טבלא דמירדא קרי	רבתא דלִיליתא גנח טבלא (5) דמירדא וקרי
קרנא דחבלא (6) טפי דודי ברוגזא ורתח דודי	קרנא רבתא דחבולא תפי דודי ברוגזא תפי דודי
דרבי דחבלא נפק ארבע<ה> זיקי מארבע ·	דרבי דחבולא נפק ארבעה זיקין מן ארבע (6)
רוחי עלמה נפק ארבעה זיקי מינך (7) כיפא	רוחי עלמא נפק ארבע<ה> דיוין מינך (ט)ורי
דרביתא נפק ארבעה תניני מינך טורא דלידון	דלידון נפק ארבעה תנינין מינך כיפי דרביתא
קדח דיוא צנף תנינא יליל זרני ליליתא	קדח דיווא צנף תנינא ויליל (7) זרני ליליתא
אישתרגז ליויתן כוארה נד (8) איתונד ואנידה	ואישתרגז לויתן כורא נד איתונד ואנידה
לכולה ארעה תיביל נודא הוה בארעה וגונחא	לארעה כולה ותיביל נודא הוא בארעה וגונחא
הוה ברקיעה	רבא הווה בירקיע
	(8) נד ארעה ואיתפיך רקיע
איתפיך כוכביא ואיפנך{ך} כל מזאליה	ואישתוש כוכבי ואיתופך מזלי
שף סדנא רבה (9) דרקיעה	שף סדנא רבא דרקיע
	ודוק טורי סמיק פקתא רגש נוני בימא
איתפוך ימא ברוגזיה ובתוקפיה	(9) מלכי רגש ביקרבא
ומלאכי רגש ברקיעה	איתפיך ביתא רבא בתוקפיה
אכוף ימא {ק^אי^נה} קאינה	אכיף ימ(א) קינא
ואכופא רבה דרביתא לציצא דציפרא	ואכופא רבא דרביתא לציצא ולציפרא
אמנה ליה (10) ומשילנא ליה לחיוא כלא	אמנליה {ומשילניה} משוילנ(ה) ליה (10)
ומומינא ליה לעופא רבה דזיבי	מומינא ליה לעופא רבא דזיבי

[143] Isa. 6:3.
[144] Ex. 15:16.
[145] Ex. 15:18.

MS 2053/159	M145
דמיניה נפיק רסיאל מלאכה ונפק מיניה עמודא	
דנורא וקליה לכוליה עלמה בחיוכון ציצי וציפרי	
(11) בחיוכון נוני וכוארי בחיך חי... (בחי)ך	
רסיאיל מלאכה בחייך דוכתוי בת אחת וכל	
שום דאית לה	
דתישמעי מילי ותיקבלי רוטנאי תיגנחי	דתישמע מ(יל)ן לתיבל ורוטננא דקביל תיגנח
שוטיך בארעה תשני (12) זיויך בכוליה עלמא	שוטיך בארעה ותישני זיוא בכליה עלמא
(איפריטי) ביתא רבה	אפרטה דלביתא (11) רבא
די(..ון) רבה דגונדיה בארקבי	..... (..דכו)ריה ארעה בארק(ב)י
שפיכי וטו(ק...)	אישפוך אישתא בקרקף תניני טקו טקו בבנ(י
	יוזן)
(ב)שוריה אינון בשיני דליליאתה דשרי ביה דיוא	כשורי אילן בשיני דליליתא שרי ביה דיוא
זיאנא דזוני(ה) (13) קרקף פדנא רבה דניסכיה	זינא דזוניה (12) וקרקפנא רבא דניסכאיא
נ(ג)ריה שירשה דארעה	
(ח)ד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה ברקי[עה] (ברו..)	חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא
	ניגריה שורשא דארעה ורישיה סדנא דרקיעא
	בניגריה רמי ידוהי
.... וב(גפ)יה שקיף ליליאתה	בגפיה שקיף ליליתא
בההוא יומא ובההיא שעתא ובההוא (14) עידנא	(13) בההיא שעתא בההוא יומא בההוא עידנא
זלכר[..] וסגידית קדם (פ)נוח רבה גיברא	אזיל כרעית וזגדית קדם ב(י)ת אילהי • שבחית

MS 2053/159	M145
ודחילא [.](ד)ידתי לך אידי(ך)	וזמרת [.] מזמוריה דדויד ואמר אית בכון גברא
דא חוילן בק)רבה וקילן בי]מא רבה דקירסא	חיילן ביקרבא וקילן (14) בימא רבא דקירסא
א(מר א)ית בכון אתתא דשמה דוכתוי בת אחת	ואמר אית בכון גברא
דעברא ימא (15) בקלא וסלקא [....] בר(ו)גז(א)	דעבר ימא בקליה וסליק (ט)ורי בירוגזיה
ושקלא אי(ק)לידא ו(ע)ילא לבית גנזי זינא	ושקיל אקליודי דבית גנזי זיניה {אז}
ומתיא זינא דשידי ו[..](נ)א דליליאתה ונ(י)...	ומיתי זינא דשידי וזינא דליליתא וניסכא
מיתקטלין ...	דאשמדי (15) מלכא דשידי
דדויד וסיפא דשלמה וניסכא	וסיפא דריוש מלכא דדיוי אנא אד[.... ...](דוד
דד ^ר^יוש מלכא (16) {ו} וזינא דא(שמדי)	ע)ברנא דמיא ב(ק)לאי (סלי)קנא טורי ברוגזאי
מלכה דלטבי ושמ[...] דמרי עלמה ואחרמתא	ושקילנא אקלידי דבית גנזיה [דזיניה] מיתינא
וגזירתא דאבא רבה דישמיא לאחרמה	זינא דשד(י) וסיפא דליליתא (16) וניסכא
ולשמת(א ולתא...) במומתא בקשתא דמידמ^יין	דאשמדי מלכא דשידי וסיפא <ד>דר<י>וש
לה לדוכתוי (...) בת אחת בכל דמותא (17) ובכל	מלכ[א ד]ש[ידי] ... די[..]לי מילמ[..](קע)יה לה
גו(נ)א בחיתא ובנשי מיתתא בר(חיקתא)	דין דיויא ולילית (מ)...
ובקריבתא ובאחת בת פרכוי מיתין ובכל דמות	
ג(יר)א מן (ק)שתא וכול (ליבא) מן .... תיבטל	
ותישתמת ותית(נז)ק הדא ליליתא בישתא (מן)	
דוכתוי בת אחת (18) ומן חילמה ומן חיזונה ומן	
בית מישכבה דדוכתוי דא דמידמיא לה בכל	
דמו ובכל גונין ובאחת בת פרכוי מיתא מן	
יו(מא) דנן ולעלם אמן אמן ... [143][וקרא זה] (א)ל	
זה ואמ[ר] קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא	
כל (19) הארץ כבודו וקרא זה אל ז(ה) ואמר	
קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא כל הארץ	
כבודו וקרא זה אל זה ואמר קדוש קדוש קדוש	

M145 **MS 2053/159**

יהוה צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבודו [144][ת]פול

עליהם אימתה ופחד בגדול זרועך ידמו כאבן

[עד יעבור] (20) (עמך יהוה) יהוה (עד יעבור)

תפול עליהם אמתה ופחד בגדול זרועך ידמו

כאבן] עד יעבר עמך יהוה עד יעבר עם זו קנית

[תיפול] עליהם אימתה ופחד ... עד יעבר עמך

יהוה עד יעבר עמך יהוה עד יעבר עם זו קנית

יהוה ... (21) [145]יהוה ימלוך לעולם ועד יהוה

ימלוך לעולם ועד אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M145

(1) I am standing on a rock mountain, upon a great stone cliff. I am listening and hear (2) *white* Šamiš *of KYDYBWN* the son of the great king of the demons and great ruler of the (3) liliths. From that hour, at that day, at that time when the demons went out to war and liliths (4) went out to the ... of the phalanx of the demons, the great chariot of the no-good-spirits, the troop of the demons, and the great destruction of liliths. The drum (5) of rebellion rumbled, and the great horn of destruction sounded, the cauldrons seethed furiously, the cauldrons of the 'masters of harm' seethed. Four blast demons went forth from you, the (6) four winds of the world. Four demons went forth from you, the mountains of LYDWN. Four dragons went forth from you, shores of the ocean. The demon groaned, the dragon shrieked, Zarni Lilith (7) wailed, and Leviathan the fish got agitated. He shook, quaked (lit.: caused himself to shake) and caused the entire earth and world to shake. Shaking was in the earth and a thunderclap in the firmament. (8) He shook the earth and the firmament overturned and the stars *shook* and the constellations altered. The great block of the heaven slipped and crushed mountains, reddened the valley, agitated the fish in the sea. (9) The angels were agitated in the battle, and the great house was overturned by his might. The sea covered the nest, and the greatness of the ocean covered the night-hawk and the bird. I say to him, I ask him, (10) I adjure the great bird of *rivers*, that you may hear my

words for the universe and *accept my incantation*. May your scourges rumble upon the earth, and may you change the appearance in all the earth, upon the contents of the great (11) house .... *the earth with scorpions*, he caused fire to be poured upon the head of the dragons ṬQW ṬQW ... *these boards in the teeth* of the Lilith therein dwells a dēw. The weapon of his armour and the (12) great head-man of *cast idols*. One of his wings is on the earth, one of his wings is in the firmament, his foot step is the root of the earth and his head the block of the firmament, in his step he casts his hands, with his wings he knocks liliths. (13) In that hour, in that day, in that period he went out. I knelt and worshipped before the house of God, I praised and sang the psalms of David. And he said: 'There is a man amongst you who is mighty in battle and *swift* in the (14) great sea of misfortune(?)' And he said to us: 'There is a man amongst you who traversed the sea with his voice, removed mountains with his wrath and took the key of the store house of his weapons bringing the weapon of demons, the weapon of liliths, the *lance* of Ashmedai (15) the king of demons and the sword of Darius the king of dēws'. I ..... I am traversing the water with my voice, removing mountains with my anger, taking the key of the store house of his weapons and bringing the weapon of demons, the sword of the liliths, (16) the *lance* of Asmedai the king of demons and the sword of Darius king ..... dēws and liliths .....

Notes for M145

2 כיבון (ד)כי(ד)יבון חור לשמיש In 2053/159:2 לשמיש וחור בריה דבריה בר 'to Šamiš and Ḥor the great grandson of ...' The ancestor of 'white Šamiš' is cited in our text as bearer of the title 'The great king of demons and great ruler of the liliths', which occurs in several magic bowls as that of the demon Bagdana.[146] It is conceivable that the name כידיבון may be constructed from the root כדב 'to be false'.

4 <ן>נפק The scribe omitted the last consonant of this verb which should be a feminine form. The words פלגא in the sense of 'phalanx' and גודא as 'troop' or 'band' are more commonly attested in Syriac.[147]

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[146] Ellis 1:4 (= BM 91710), AIT 11:4,5, AIT 18:3,4, Gordon G:2,3, Gordon 9737:1,2 and also in Mandaic in Lidzbarsky 5 (Montgomery 1913, p. 168).
[147] Brockelmann pp. 571ab and 104ab.

5 ... תפי A synopsis with our text's duplicate can aid the understanding of this clause:

M145:5 תפי דודי ברוגזא תפי דודי דרבי דחבולא

MS 2053/159:6 טפי דודי ברוגזא ורתח דודי דרבי דחבלא

The text in our bowl could be translated 'cauldrons were set (on the fire) with anger, the cauldrons of the masters of harm were set (on the fire)'. In the duplicate text the scribe spelt the first verb differently, with a ט. Among the meanings that are attested in Jewish Aramaic, the most appropriate would be 'to increase',[148] in the sense of 'boil over'. This would combine well with the second verb in the duplicate which is רתח 'to boil'. The same root, *ṭpy,* means in Mandaic 'to cook, boil, seethe',[149] cf. the Mandaic expression *dwdyʾ ṭʾpyn* 'cauldrons seethe' as well as the Targ.-J. of II Kings 4:38 תפי דודא. It appears that both the spellings with ט and ת are correct. The correct translation of the text should be 'cauldrons seethed furiously, the cauldrons of the masters of harm seethed'.

6 מינך One would expect this form to be a plural in both cases, yet, in our bowl as well as the duplicate, the pronominal suffix refers to the 'mountains of LYDWN' as well as the 'shores of the ocean' as if they were in the singular.

כיפי דרביתא Cf. b. Hul. 60a גידא דרביתא. Rashi explains this as meaning 'on the bank of a river whose name is RBYTA". Jastrow (p. 1443b) cites a manuscript variant which has אגודא דימא 'the bank of the sea'. Indeed, ימא is closer in meaning to the Mandaic *rbytʾ*[150] from which this word comes.[151] Also, it may be noted that the full expression *kypyʾ dʾrbytʾ* commonly occurs in Mandaic.[152]

7 אישתרגז Previously attested in the *Shafel* and *Eshtafel* stems only in Mandaic.[153]

8 אישתוש Perhaps read אישתגש (!) 'shook'.

שף סדנא רבא דרקיעא The expression סדנא דרקיעא, 'the anvil of the firmament', occurs in Jewish Aramaic only in the bowls,[154] although, a similar idiom, סדנא דארעא, 'the anvil of the

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[148] J. p. 546a.
[149] DM p. 182a.
[150] DM p. 423, 'sea, ocean, large expanse of sea, inundation'.
[151] Epstein 1983, vol. 1, p. 40.
[152] DM p. 36b.
[153] DM p. 424a.
[154] Cf. MS 1922/1:6 (forthcoming by S. Shaked) where it is invoked for its power alongside magic words, signet rings and bonds.

earth', is attested in the Babylonian Talmud.[155] The almost identical *sʾdʾnʾ rbʾ dʾrqʾ*,[156] or just *sʾdʾnʾ dʾrqʾ*, is a common designation in the Mandaic cosmological scheme for the 'foundation' or 'axis' of the earth. Furthermore, the description in our text of the whole earth shaking (l. 7 נודא הוא בארעה) and dislodging the 'anvil (or block) of the earth' has its parallels in Mandaic literature. In a Mandaean phylactery we find: *wʾtyt lʾrqʾ dhzʾtʾn mn sʾdʾnh šnʾt ʾmyṭwl drʾzʾ dʾrqʾ mkʾsynʾ*[157] 'And I came to earth: she (the earth) that saw me was removed from her axis, because I am covered by the mystery of the earth'.[158] This is part of a description of the chain of events that sees the client's adversarial forces annihilated. In another Mandaean charm the same motif occurs: *wnynwd ʾlmʾ kwlh wnynwd šamyš wnynwd syrʾ wnynwd ʾlʾhyʾ wʾnʾšyʾ wnynwd ṭwryʾ wʾrʾmʾtʾ ʾl kwlhwn byšyʾ dhʾṭybyʾ...*[159] 'And the whole world shall tremble, and the sun shall tremble and the moon shall tremble and gods and men will tremble and mountains and valleys will tremble, and all the evil folk that offend me ...'.[160] It is conceivable that the occurrence of רקיע, 'firmament', in our text rather than ארעא or ארקא, 'earth', is due to its phonetic similarity to the Mandaic *ʾrqʾ*, a form of corruption due simply to a faulty transmission across dialects.

9 לציצא ולציפרא - A similar combination of bird names appears twice in the Targ.-O., in Lev. 11:16 and Deut. 14:15 וציצא וצפר שחפה as a translation to the Hebrew התחמס ואת השחף 'the night-hawk, the sea gull'.

אמנליה {ומשילניה} משוילנ(ה)ליה The parallel in MS 2053/159 is a bit clearer: אמנה ליה ומשילנא ליה. The first word should be אמ(י)נא , 'I am saying', a *pe.* active participle with a 1st person pronominal suffix.[161]

זיבי Cf. Mandaic *zʾbʾ* 2 'river', 'stream', 'flood' (DM p. 156a).

10 As can be observed in the synopsis, there is an extra piece of text in MS 2053/159 for which this translation is provided: 'from whom there issued Rasiel the angel, and there issued

[155] B. Qid. 27b, b. BQ 12b, b. BB 67a and b.
[156] Right Ginza 208:4 and left Ginza 27:16 (DM p. 309b).
[157] Drower 1939, p. 401.
[158] Drower 1939, p. 405.
[159] Drower 1943, p. 174.
[160] Drower 1943, p. 158.

forth from him a pillar of fire which consumed all the earth, by your lives the night-hawk and bird, by your lives fish and fish ...' As this follows a description of flooding, one is reminded of the mention in Josephus (Antiquities, book 1 chapter 2:9) and 1 Enoch 1:5,6[162] of a legend that the world would be destroyed first by a flood of water and then by fire.

On the basis of MS 2053/159 דתישמעי מילי ותיקבלי רוטנאי one might consider reading our text as ורוטננאי קביל instead of ורוטננא דקביל.

אפרטה דלביתא רבה Could also be translated as 'upon the breach of the great house'.

11 ארקבי Possibly a form of עקרבא as in Mandaic *ʾrqbʾ*.[163]

12 An unusual title, קרקפנא appears twice in the Babylonian Talmud, b. Erub. 22b and b. Yeb. 78a. Rashi explains the term to mean 'an important man'. In light of lines 14,15 (see below) ניסכאיא could also mean 'lances'.

חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא Cf. b. Git. 68b אותביה לחד גפיה ברקיעא ולחד גפיה בארעא, 'placing one wing on the earth and one on the sky', the description of Ashmedai's use of the power of Solomon's magic signet ring, which the latter foolishly handed over to the bound demon. Although, in our bowl, Ashmedai is not the subject of this clause he is, nevertheless, mentioned further down in the incantation.

13 זגדית The parallel text employs the usual Jewish Aramaic form (סגידית) with a ס as the first radical. Though the root *sgd*, 'to worship', came to be written as *zgd* only in modern Mandaic, its pronunciation is assumed to have been closer in sound to *zgd*.[164] There are other cases in Jewish Aramaic in which a ז occasionally replaces a ס (סגי = זגי and זקר = סקר).[165] In our case it is possible that the spelling is due to phonetic influence.

14-15 ניסכא דאשמדי The third in a list of four weapons, ניסכא seems unlikely to mean 'libation' or even 'cast metal object'. If one were to consider that the ס was softened from a ז, our word could be a cognate of the Syriac *nyzkʾ* and Pahlavi *nēzag* which have the more appropriate meaning of 'lance'.

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[161] Epstein, 1960, p. 62.
[162] For a full account see Ginzberg L, 1912, מבול של אש, *Ha-Goren* VIII, pp. 35-51.
[163] DM p. 39b.
[164] Macuch 1965, p. 71.
[165] Epstein 1965, p. 18.

Appendix

Notes on the synopsis

Apart from the fact that the size of the actual bowl M145 is about half that of MS 2053/159, the most striking difference between the two is in the handwriting. MS 2053/159 is written in a very neat and stylized square script, whereas M145 is very cursive. It is clear from the synopsis that M145 and MS 2053/159, up to about l. 16, owe their formula to the same *Vorlage*. The most obvious discrepancies between the texts are: 1) The additional clause at the end of M145:8. 2) Most of lines 10 and 11 of MS 2053/159 which are also supplementary. 3) MS 2053/159:16 onwards which is an appendix to the main formula and nonexistent in M145.

The formula is narrated in the first person, presumably by the sorcerer, who appeals to various forces and narrates an historiola. The last component of this formula consists of a statement to the effect that a number of magical weapons have now been obtained. In M145:14,15 this component is repeated twice, initially in an abstract manner where the subject is just 'a man' (גבר א) 'who traversed the sea with his voice, removed mountains with his wrath and took the key of the store house of his weapons bringing the weapon of demons, the weapon of liliths, the *lance* of Ashmedai the king of demons and the sword of Darius the king of dews'. The repetition is in the first person: 'I am traversing the water with my voice, etc'. Presumably this is the now empowered sorcerer, the same who started the formula off in l. 1. In MS 2053/159 the last component of this formula is written only once with the client as the subject: 'There is a woman amongst you whose name is Dukhtevi daughter of Ahat etc.' In M145 there is no mention, as much as can be seen in the visible parts of the text, of names of client/s. If missing, the formula is written in such a way that the client him/herself is the one who is the implied narrator.

There are a variety of categories which can be used to describe the variance between the two texts:

1. Transposition:

The words 'time' and 'day':

מנההיא שעתא בההוא יומא בההוא עידנא M145:3 and 13

בההוא יומא בההיא שעתה (4) ובההוא עידנא MS 2053/159:3,4 and 13,14

The words 'mountains of LYDWN' and 'shores of the ocean':

נפק ארבע<ה> דיוין מינך (ט)ורי דלידון נפק ארבעה תנינין מינך כיפי דרביתא M145:6

נפק ארבעה זיקי מינך (7) כיפא דרביתא נפק ארבעה תניני מינך טורא דלידון MS 2053/159:6,7

Transposition of clauses:

מלכי רגש ביקרבא איתפיך ביתא רבא בתוקפיה M145:9

איתפוך ימא ברוגזיה ובתוקפיה ומלאכי רגש ברקיעה MS 2053/159:9

Transposition of clauses:

חד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה בירקיעא ניגריה שורשא דארעה ורישיה סדנא דרקיעא M145:12

ני(ג)ריה שירשה דארעה (ח)ד גפיה בארעה וחד גפיה ברקי[עה] MS 2053/159:13

2.1 Use of synonyms:[166]

M145:1 שינא = MS 2053/159:1 טורא; M145:5 תפי = MS 2053/159:6 טפי and רתח (see notes above).

2.2 Words with similar meaning:

M145:3 לילית = MS 2053/159:3 לטבי; M145:4 דלגודא = MS 2053/159:5 דליגונרא; M145:8 אישתוש = MS 2053/159:8 איתפיך;

2.3 Dialectical difference:

M145:5,6 זיקין , דיוין, תנינין = MS 2053/159:6,7 זיקי , זיקי, תניני; M145:7 כורא = MS 2053/159:7 כוארה; M145:7,12 רקיע, רקיעא = MS 2053/159:8,9 רקיעה; M145:8 מזלי, כוכבי = MS 2053/159:8 כוכביא, מזאליה; M145:9 קינא = MS 2053/159:9 קאינה; M145:11 לילית = MS 2053/159:12 ליליאתה; M145:13 רבא, ניסכאיא and שורשא = MS 2053/159:13 רבה, ניסכיה and שירשה;

2.4 Corruption:

M145:2 דכידיבון = MS 2053/159:2 בריה דבריה; M145:9 קרבא = MS 2053/159:9 רקיעה; M145:10 זיוא = MS 2053/159:12 זיויך; M145:12 קרקפנא = MS 2053/159:13 קרקף פדנא; M145:13 זגדית = MS 2053/159:14 סגידית; M145:14,15 אקליודי, אקלידי = MS 2053/159:15 אי(ק)לידא

[166] This seems to occur only when a word is repeated in close proximity within the formula.

M149 (160mm*51mm)

This bowl consists of 7 lines of quite neat square script. In the middle of the bowl, within a Roman I shaped border, which is itself within a circle, there are a further four short lines of text. The clients of the bowl are Ahai son of Ispandarmid and Ispandarmid daughter of Qiomta his wife. A duplicate of this text, MS 1927/12, was written by the same scribe for the same couple. The text is intended for the general protection of the family and possessions of the clients from demons as well as aggressive sorcery.

Transcription of M149 and synopsis with MS 1927/12

MS 1927/12	M149
(1) את (2) גת (3) במצוות (4) ייי (5) בישמך	(1) את (2) גת (3) [....] (4) (ייההה) (5) בישמך אני
אני עושה חתים ומחתם ביתיה ודירתיה (6)	עושה חתים ומחתם ביתיה ודירתיה וקיניניה
וקיניניה בניה ובנתיה	(6) ובניה ובנתיה
	ובעיריה {ובעיריה} ועיבוריה
וזרעיה ונפשיה דאחאי בר	וזרעיה {וזרעיה} ונפשיה דאחאי בר (7)
איספנדרמיד (7) ואיספנדרמיד בת קיומתא	איספנדרמיד {ב} ואיספנדרמיד בר קיומתא
	אינתתיה
וכל אנישי ביתהון חתימין ומחתמין מן	וכל אינשי בתיהון חתימין ומחתמין (8) מן
שידא ומן סטנא (8) ומן פתכרא ומן	שידא ומן {ומן} סטנא ומן פתכרא ומן
פתכרתא ומן ליליתא דיכרא ומן ליליתא	פתכרתא {ומן פתכרתא} ומן לילית(א) דיכרא
ניקבתא [.....]	וניקבתא [.] ומן (9) דיכרא וניקבתא ומן חרשי
מן עינא (9) (בישתא ומן חורינא) [....] שידי (10)	בישי ומן עינא בישתא ומן חיסמא בישא ומן
ודיוי [.....] סטני [....] ומן (11) [.....] מן הדין	(ר)יוחתא ומן פגע דפגע (10) ומן רוקי פומיי וכל
(12) ביתיה וד[ירתיה .....]	ר..(ד) פ(תכ)ר.. ... כל מחשבתא ומן דחלולי כל
	צררור [.] צררור ביממא ומן כל מידעם ביש (11)
	חתימין ומחת<מ>ין כול(ה)ון בשמי(ה) דיה
אמן אמן סלה הללויה (ה)ל(לויה) [....]	יהוה צבאות אמן אמן סלה הללויה הללויה

Translation of M149

(1) A'T (2) [...] (3) [...] (4) (YYHHH) (5) By your name I make (this magical act). Sealed and counter-sealed are the house, dwelling, possessions, (6) sons, daughters, cattle, foetus, seed and soul of Ahai son of (7) Ispandarmid and Ispandarmid daughter of Qiomta his wife, and all the members of their household. They are sealed and counter-sealed (8) from a demon, from a persecutor, from a male and female idol, from a Lilith - male and female, from (9) a male or a female, from evil sorceries/sorcerers, from an evil eye and evil envy, from an *open space*, from a plague that plagued, (10) from the spittle of mouths and all ... and all thoughts and from scarecrows .... by day, and anything evil. (11) They are all sealed and counter-sealed by the name of YH YHWH Sebaot. Amen amen selah, hallelujah hallelujah.

Notes for M149

7 Read בת instead of בר.

9 חיסמא Derived from the root חסם which is rarely attested in Jewish Aramaic in the sense of 'envy' (cf. Targ.-J. to Prov. 24:19 תחסם), although this meaning is common in both Syriac[167] and Mandaic.[168] In the *Shafta d Pishra d Ainia*, the 'evil eye' and 'envy' are also associated in the form of the 'eye which is jealous' (*ʾynʾ dḥsmt*).[169]

Notes on the synopsis

Unfortunately, the duplicate MS 1927/12 is badly faded in places and thus the amount of material that can be compared with our text is limited. From what there is, we find that in M149 there are some elements that are absent in the duplicate. It is hard to state with confidence a reason for these differences. Nevertheless, the occurrence of four seemingly superfluous word repetitions in such proximity in lines six and eight (marked in the text using { }) suggests the possibility that the scribe might have just wanted to fill space.

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[167] Brockelmann 1928, p. 247.
[168] DM pp. 136b, 151a.
[169] Drower 1937, p. 593, l. 231.

M155 (175 mm * 60 mm)

M155 and M156 were found in a joined state, the former cradled within the latter. The name of the client in both bowls, which seem to have been written by the same neat hand, is Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh.[170] It is assumed that the pair were originally deposited in the ground as they were found. The main protagonist in both texts is the 'evil spirit' (רוחא בישתא), which is characterised in M155 as a type that plagues the belly of the client and causes vaginal bleeding,[171] whereas in M156 it is depicted as a demon that plagues the region of the head. Both texts are rich in Biblical quotes and *Hekhalot*-like references, and each has an allusion to a demonic folk tale from the Babylonian Talmud (M155 to b. Git 68ab and M156 to b. Pes. 112b). Two duplicates of M155 have been identified: MS 1927/40 and MS 2053/138.

Transcription of M155

(1) הדין קמיעא יהי לאסו למהדוך (2) בת ניונדוך ותיתסי מן רוחא דימעה (3) בשום יה(מ)[..](ס)
שביב שביביא וקאי יהוה אל קדוש (4) אל קדוש אל קדוש אל (אמיץ אל א)מיץ אל אמיץ אמץ קוה
איקון מיטמון ופסקון מאוד דהוא (5) יתיב על כור[סי]ˁאˀ [דיקרא] (במימריה ובז)יו יקריה ברא
שמיא ושכליל תיביל בדיל שמיה (6) רבה תינטר מהדוך בת [ני]ונדוך ולא תיתזק לא בטולא לא
בשימשה ולא בימם ולא בלילי על ידי גבריאל (7) ומיכאל ורפאל די מתברין דלתות נחושא
וימגדעין בריחי ברזל אינון יתברון ויגדעון לרוחא בישתא דשלטא במעה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך (8)
בשום (יה)וה ˁצˀבאת אלהים אלהא דישראל דהוא שרי בהיכל נורא וברדא שביבין דנור וזיו
יקריה וכורסיה מתקן וקים לעלמין (9) ודין קמיעה דאיתקמיע על שום מהדוך בת ניונדוך נהרין
דיפתיחין וס[.]כרין ורוח דמאה דאית בה במהדוך בת ניונדוך תיבטל וייבשון מעינה וגואה (10) מן
דם נידא ולא תפיק דמה בשום צידקיה דהוא ראיש שיתין ושיתא מלאכין די ממנ<י>ן על דמה
ופלא (וחברו.אי) אינון ייב(שון) ויבטלון דמה מן אתר בית מקור בנה (11) דמהדוך בת ניונדוך

[170] There are at least another 19 bowls that are known to have been dedicated to the same lady: Moussaieff 1, 4, 6 and 18, and MS 1927/8, 9, 11, 29, 43, 45, 47, 51, 54, 60, 61, 63, 64, 2053/116, and 158.

[171] The issue of menstrual and other vaginal bleeding was discussed by the Rabbis on account of a variety of reasons such as ritual purity, its affect on matrimonial relations and its legal implications, as well as medical issues to do with both diagnosis and treatment (Preuss 1978, pp. 375-379).

שבובית שבובניתא דנסבה בנין מן נשיא וקליא יתהון ושתיא מיחלביהון בת טסת (לילית) ... מן מהדוך בת ניונדוך ולא תישתין מן חלבה (12) שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא קדמאה בשום זוכסין זוכסין אסת קריסטוס קבילו קיבלא דנן וסבו ית רוחא בישתא מן מעה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך מן ..... (אמן אמן) סלה

Translation of M155

(1) This amulet shall be to heal Mahdukh (2) daughter of Neiwandukh. May she be healed from the spirit of the belly (3) by the name of ...ŠBYB ŠBYBYA' and standing YHWH holy God, (4) holy God, holy God, brave God, brave God, brave God A'MṢ QWH A'YQWN MYṬMWN and PSQWN MA'WD who (5) sits upon the throne of glory by his word and by the countenance of his glory he created the heavens and completed the world. On account of his great name (6) may Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh be protected, and not be harmed, not in the shade, not in the sun, not in the daytime and not in the nighttime. By means of Gabriel and (7) Michael and Raphael who shatter copper doors and cut off iron locks, may they shatter and cut off the evil spirit who controls the belly of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. (8) By the name of YHWH Sebaot Elohim (2 Sam. 7:26) the god of Israel who dwells in a temple of fire and ice (and) sparks of fire. And the countenance of his glory, and his throne is established and exists forever. (9) This is an amulet which was bound for the name of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. Rivers which are opening and *blocking*; may the spirit of *blood* which is in Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh be annulled, and may her belly and interior dry up (10) from menstrual blood, and may it not cause her blood to come out. By the name of Ṣidkiyah who is the chief of sixty-six angels who are appointed over her blood and ... may they dry and nullify the blood from the womb (11) of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. ŠBWBYT ŠBWBNYTA' who gathers children from women and roasts them and drinks from their fat. Daughter of ṬST Lilith ... from Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh and do not drink from her *milk*. (12) Change your path just as a primal demon [changed his]. By the name of ZWKSYN ZWKSYN A'ST KRYSTWS accept this rebuke and carry away the evil spirit from the belly of Mahdukh daughter of Neiwandukh. From ... amen amen selah.

Notes for M155

1 The closest parallels to this opening formula occur in:

M155	הדין קמיעא יהי לאסו ל
Jeruzalmi p. 127 (5363:1- 2)	דין קמיעה דיהוי לאסו ל...
Naveh and Shaked B15	... הדין קמיעא דיהי לה לאסו ל...
Moussaieff bowl 1:3	... בדין קמיעה יהי לאסו ל...

Naveh and Shaked already noted the rare occurrence of the absolute form אסו in magic bowls.[172]

2 The affliction for which this bowl seeks healing is described as 'the spirit of the belly' (רוחא דימעה) in l. 2, the 'the evil spirit who controls the belly' in l. 7 (רוחא בישתא דשלטא במעה) and simply the 'evil spirit' (רוחא בישתא) in l. 12.

3-5 שביב שביביא These names have what appear to be feminine equivalents (שבובנית שבובניתא) in l. 11, yet, though the former masculine variety are invoked for protection, the latter are names of a demon.

יהוה ... קוה Though not a direct quote, this clause seems to be influenced by Ps. 27:14

M155:3,4	יהוה אל קדוש אל קדוש אל קדוש (אל אמיץ אל א)מיץ אל אמיץ אמץ קוה
Ps. 27:14	קוה אל יהוה חזק ויאמץ לבך וקוה אל יהוה

איקון מיטמון ופסקון These three names are mentioned in b. San. 44b as belonging to the 'the intercessory spirit' (רוח פסקונית) who is described as having the 'license ... to arbitrate with the Lord',[173] i.e. to plead, as in a court, on behalf of humans.[174] These names are well attested in *Hekhalot* literature where they are names of the angel Metatron.[175] As they are also found in magical recipe books among the Geniza fragments,[176] it is no surprise to

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[172] Naveh and Shaked 1987, p. 161.

[173] ומי אית ליה רשותא כולי האי ... שפוסק דברים כלפי מעלה b. San. 44b.

[174] It is noteworthy that though this spirit is initially referred to in b. San. 44b as a feminine entity - marked by the verb אמרה 'she said', and the name פסקונית which has a feminine ending - later on in the same page it is referred to as masculine - marked by the suffix pronoun in ליה 'to him' and the masculine active participle פוסק 'arbitrates'.

[175] Schäfer 1981 - Henoch §76, §387; Merkabah Rabbah §682, §691; Shiur Komah/Metatron §947; Sar Hapanim §628.

[176] *T.-S. K 1.19* (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 158-163) 4:17,18 and *T.-S. K 1.58* (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 169-171) 1:5,6. See also the comment on this triple name in Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 171 .

encounter these names in magic bowls. On the first page of the *Sword of Moses*,[177] a four-tier hierarchy of angels is described, at the top of which appears the name A'HYW PSQTYH who is described as a 'prince, and lord king ... (the one) that when he sits all the hosts of heaven are bowing and kneeling and prostrating (?) before him every day when they are released from prostrating before NQṢ ŠLA'H HW A'WHH the Lord of all'.[178] As this portrayal is reminiscent of the description of Metatron in III Enoch, and both PSQTYH and PSQWNYT derive from the root פסק, it is possible that A'HYW PSQTYH in the *Sword of Moses* and the RWḤ PSQWNYT from b. San. 44b are but alternative names of Metatron.[179]

[דיקרא] כור[סי]א Reconstructed from MS 2053/138 יקרא {דקרא} כורסיא.

AIT 14:3 has a parallel to part of M155:8 (שכינתיה בהיכל נורא וברדא וכורסיה) which Montgomery associated with the imagery of Ps. 18:13, Ez. 38:22 and Rev. 11:19.[180] The sections תיביל ... בשום in lines 3-5 of our text and לעלמין ... בשום in l. 8 seem to be related and are both *Hekhalot*-like texts. The language and expressions of these two sections are common enough in other *Hekhalot* and Targum texts in which parallels can be found in like manner to that which was done for the section (יהוה ... קוה) above:

M155:4,5	דהוא (5) יתיב על כור[סי]ר א[דיקרא]
Targ.-J. Isa. 6:1	יקרא דיי שרי על כורסיה רם
Targ.- J. Ps. 68:5	שבחו קדם אלהא שבחו שום יקריה קלסון ליתב על כורסיה יקריה בערבות
Metatron, Schäfer §395	אלהינו יושב על כסא רם ונישא

M155:5	(במימריה ובז)יו יקריה ברא שמיא ושכליל תיביל
Zech. 12:1	מטל פתגמא דיי על ישראל אמר יי דתלא שמיא ושכליל ארעא

[177] MS Sasson, cf. Harari 1997.
[178] שר ורב מלך אהיו פסקתיה שמו שהוא יושב וכל צבא מרום בקידה ובכריעה ובהשתחוית אפים בתראש ארצה לפניו בכל יום בפטירתן מהשתחוואות לפני נקץ שלאה הו אוהה "אדון הכל" (Harari 1997, p. 23, (I:13-16)).
[179] For more on the connection between the *Sword of Moses* and III Enoch, see Odeberg 1973, pp. 107-8.
[180] Montgomery 1913, p. 184.

M155:8	דהוא שרי בהיכל נורא וברדא שביבין דנור וזיו יקריה וכורסיה מתקן וקים לעלמין
Dan. 7:9	כרסיה שביבין די נור
Metatron, Schäfer §395	דשרי בהיכל נורא וברדא וכורסיה <אש> אתקן באישתא ובמיא ועמודי דאשתא ריב נפק(י)ן מן קדם כורסיה יקריה הוא אלהי האלהים ואדוני האדונים האל הגדול הגיבור והנורא

7 ... דימתברין דלתות נחשא וימגדעין בריחי ברזל The author of this part of the text made novel use of Isa. 45:2 for its semantic impact. Just as the angels Gabriel, Michael and Raphael opened the gates of Jerusalem for 'Cyrus, God's anointed one' (Isa. 45:1), so too will these angels remove the evil spirit that plagues the client. The nouns דלתות and בריחי ברזל are rendered in their original Hebrew forms. It is uncertain, however, whether the use of נחשא, in place of the unusual Biblical feminine form of the noun - נחושה, is an exceptional spelling of the Hebrew or the proper masculine form of the Aramaic noun. The verbs are conjugated in Aramaic, תבר is used for שבר and גדע is maintained, unlike the rendition of the Targ.-J. where this verb is replaced with קצץ:

M155:7	וימגדעין בריחי ברזל ויגדעון לרוחא בישתא	דימתברין דלתות נחשא אינון יתברון
MT Isa. 45:2	ובריחי ברזל אגדע	דלתות נחושה אשבר
Targ.-J.	ועברין דברזל אקצץ	דשין דנחש אתבר

Cf. also *The Odes of Solomon* Ode 17:8-9[181] where use is made of the Peshitta version of this same verse to describe the ascent of the redeemed: *wptḥt trʿ dʾḥydyn hww wgdmt mwklʾ dprzlʾ przlʾ dyn dyly rtḥ wʾtpšr qdmy* 'I opened the gates that were shut, and shattered iron bolts, my own fetters boiled and melted before me'.

8 יהוה צבאות אלהים 2 Sam. 7:26.

9 קמיעה דאיתקמיע See note to M123:1.

10 אתר בית מקור בנה and דם נידה are Hebrew expressions which occur in the Tosefta.[182]

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[181] Latke 1980, p. 28.

[182] T. Nid. 9:10 דם הנידה מן המקור דם הבתולין מן הצדדין 'The blood of menstruation is from the womb, the blood of virginity is from the sides'. See also b. Nid. 65b and y. Nid. 4:1, 41a .

12 In three duplicate sections to M155:12, where it is written: 'Change your path just as a primal demon did', there is the added: 'who existed in the days of Solomon the king' which might be an allusion to the story about king Solomon and Ashmedai the demon in b. Git. 68a,b:

M155	שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא קדמאה
MS 1927/9	שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא קדמאה (5) דהוא ביומי שלמה מלכא בר דויד
MS 1927/11	(4) ... שנא שבילכי כמה דשני שידא (.) קדמאה דהויא ביומי שלמה מלכא בר דויד
MS 2053/4	(10) שנא שבילכי כמה דשני {שדיא} שידא קדמאה כד הוא ב[י]מי ש[למ]ה מלכא (ב)[ר ד](וי)ד

שנא The apocopated form of the *pe.* imperative feminine singular occurs in the Aramaic of the Targums,[183] as compared to the form of the Babylonian Talmud שנאי.[184]

[183] Stevenson 1924, p. 71 and Dalman 1905, p. 348.
[184] Epstein 1960, p. 97.

M156 (173 mm*55 mm - see M155 for an introduction of this bowl)

Duplicates to this text are MS 1927/8, MS 1927/45, MS 1927/47, MS 1927/64 and MS 2053/158. There are three Biblical verses in this text: Ps. 104:20, Ex. 15:3 and Ps. 24:8, as well as an early attestation of a liturgical formula (l.11).

Transcription of M156

(1) אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה (2) למהדוך בת ניונדוך לשמך אני עושה קדישה רבה (3) אסות(א) מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך ותיתסי בשום יה (4) מלך מלכיה רפאל מיטל מיל(ם) די מפקדין אינון על מחת רוחתא בישתא רוחא דשכבא (5) בן קברי ורוחא דשכבא בן איגרי ורוחא דשכבא בפגרה בראישה בצידעה באודנה בבית (6) גילגלוהי דעינה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך ורוחא דשמה אגג בת ברו⌜ק⌝ בת ברוקתא בת נקור בת נמון בת עין רעה מסמיתא (7) מטריתא {מסו} מומינה ומשבענא עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא ד(י) פגע ב(יה) ברבי חנינא בן דוסא ואמר לה (ר)בי חנינא בן דוסא לרוחא בישתא (8) די פגע ביה בההיא שעתא קראה דכתיב תשית חושך ויהי לילה בו תירמוס כל חיתו יאער ותוב מומינה ומש⌜בענא ע⌝לכי (9) אנתי רוח(א) בישתא דלא תיזלין ולא תיחוין לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך לא צותא דליליה ודיממה דאם אזלת ורדפת בפגרה בראישה באודנה (10) ובבית גילגלו[הי] דעינה ד[מה]דוך בת ניונדוך דא אנתי רוחא בישתא ישמתון יתיכי ויתברון יתיכי ויחרמון יתיכי כמה דאיתברו כרכין תקיפ(ין) דאישתדרו (11) עליהון נורי⌜אל⌝ רפאל ומ[יכאל בשמיה] דיה יה יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו יהוה עיזוז וגיבור יהוה גיבור {ו}מלחמה יהוה מלך יהוה מאלך יהוה ימלך לעולם ועד ב(כ)ין כמה דפריש מן [...](פ)אל (12) ... [בי]שתא כין תיפשרין ותיזחין ותינזהין ותיפקין מינה מן מהדוך בת ניונדוך ולא תישלטין במתן חמשין ותרין (הדמין) דאית בה (13) במהדוך בת ⌜נ⌝יונדוך (כ)ל[.....] גבר או איתא ולא תיקמין עלה ולא תרתתינה ולא תשרג(ו)ינה אמן אמן סלה

Translation of M156

(1) May there be healing from heaven for (2) Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. For Your name I make (this magic act) Oh Great Holy one. (3) May there be healing from heaven for Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. May she be healed by the name of YH (4) the king <of kings> of kings (and) Raphael MYṬL MYLM who are commanded over the affliction of evil spirits. The spirit that lies (5) between graves, and the spirit that lies down between roofs and

the spirit that lies down in her body, in her head, in her temple, in her ear, in the socket (6) of the eye of Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. The spirit whose name is AGG daughter of BRWQ daughter of BRWQTA' daughter of NQWR daughter of NMWN daughter of an evil eye, MSMYTA', (7) MṬRYTA'. I adjure and put an oath upon you. You, the evil spirit who happened upon R. Hanina ben Dosa. R. Hanina ben Dosa recited to the evil spirit (8) that happened upon him at that time the Biblical verse, as it is written: 'You bring on darkness and it is night, when the beasts of the forest stir' (Ps. 104:20). And again, I adjure and put an oath upon you (9) that you may not go and show (yourself) to Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh, not accompaniment of the night or the day. For if (it transpires that) you had gone and chased the body, the head, the ear (10) and the socket of the eye, of this Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh, then let them excommunicate and break and banish you, you evil spirit!. Just as powerful fortifications upon whom were dispatched (11) Nuriel, Raphael and Michael by the name of YHWH 'The Lord, the warrior—Lord is his name' (Ex. 15:3) 'the Lord mighty and valiant, the Lord, valiant in battle' (Ps 24:8) 'The Lord reigned the Lord reigns the Lord will reign for ever and ever'[185] were broken up, therefore, like ... *left* from ... (12) ... evil [spirit], thus may you dissolve, turn away, be agitated and go out from Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh. And may you not control the two hundred and fifty two organs which are in the body of (13) Mahadukh daughter of Neiwandukh ... man or woman. And may you not rise against her and not shake her and not lead her astray. Amen amen selah.

Notes for M156

1-3 A synopsis of the opening lines of the duplicate texts illustrates the kind of freedom a scribe had in the use of different parts of a formula to construct an incantation:

[185] This doxology is combined from sections of three verses Ps. 10:15, 93:1 and Ex. 15:18.

- A	(1) אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה (2) למהדוך בת ניונדוך	M156
- B	לשמך אני עושה קדישה רבה	
- A	(3) אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך	
- B	(1) לשמך אני עושה קדישה (2) רבה	MS 1927/8
- A	אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת (3) ניונדוך	
- B	(1) לישמך אני עושה קדישא (2) רבא	MS 1927/45
- A	אסותא מן שמיה תיהיוי לה למהדוך (3) בת ניונדוך	
- B	(1) (לי)שמך אני עושה קדישא (2) רבה	MS 1927/47
- C	דין קמיעא יהוי לה למהדוך (3) בת ניונדוך	
- A	(1) אסותה מן שמיה תיהוי לה למיהרנהיד (2)בת אחת {א}	MS 1927/64
- B	לישמך אני עושה קדישא רבה	

4-6 מלכיה <מלכי> מלך Reconstructed on the basis of three of the duplicates, MS 1927/8, MS 1927/45 and MS 1927/47, whose extended version of this expression is the Aramaic equivalent of the Post-Biblical Hebrew מלך מלכי המלכים 'the king of kings of kings'.

רוחא דשכבא בן קברי Cf. Moussaieff 1:6 רוח בי קברי and also N&Sh 9:14 which mentions 'the spirit which resides in the cemetery' (רוח דשריא בית קברי) that is conjured up alongside a host of malevolent entities against Judah son of Nanay. Other evidence for the belief that spirits of the dead who reside in cemeteries are active occurs in b. Ber. 18b, where a story is told about a man who happened to spend a night in a cemetery and inadvertently overheard a couple of spirits discussing information about the future. In *Sepher Ha-Razim* I:178,[186] there is a spell to adjure the spirit קריפורייא who is said to be encamped amongst the graves (בין הקברות). Burial places, especially of people who died before their time, were a preferred location for the depositing of *defixiones* as it was believed that the souls of the dead could be adjured to aid the fulfillment of the intended harm.[187]

[186] Margaliot 1966, p. 76.
[187] Gager 1992, pp. 18-19.

רוחא דשכבא בן איגרי The demon in our bowl is reminiscent of the 'son (or sons) of roofs' (בנ/בר איגרי) that occur in a number of other bowls[188] and Geniza fragments.[189] The 'roof demon' is known from early Mesopotamian sources and was identified by Stol[190] as relating to the Syriac[191] *br ʾgrʾ*, referred to in the Peshitta of Mathew 17:15-18[192] as a demon (*šʾdʾ*) that caused a child to display symptoms of epilepsy.

ברוקתא An affliction of the eyes, possibly cataract,[193] also attested in Mandaic *bwrwqtʾ* (DM p. 57a). In b. Pes. 111b, it is written that one 'who drinks water out of a plate is prone to ברוקתי (מאן דשתי מיא בצעי קשי לברוקתי); Rashi explains ברוקתי as 'destruction (or ruin) of the eyes (כליון עינים)'. In the Babylonian Talmud, there are a couple of references to remedies. In b. Git. 69a, it states that 'one should take a scorpion *of seven ḥwmry* and dry it in the shade', then 'grind three portions of *kohl* and one portion of it (i.e. the dry scorpion) and put three brush-fulls into each eye' (לברוקתי ליתי עקרבא דשב חומרי ונייבשיה בטולא ונישחוק תרתי מנתא כוחלא וחדא מנתא מיניה ולימלי תלתא מכחלי בהאי עינא ותלתא מכחלי בהאי עינא). In b. Shab. 78a, the use of blood is mentioned (דם כדי לכחול בעין אחת שכן כוחלין לברקית). This affliction occurs in another bowl, N&Sh B25:2,5,7,9,10, where it is personified as an entity that has both male and female varieties (ברקתא דיכרא וניקבתא).

עין רעה Is in Hebrew.

7-8 מסמיתא מטריתא - Possibly nouns formed from סמי 'the blinding one' and טרי 'the assailant' (attested in Syriac in the *pa.* 'to assail severely'[194]). AIT 42, probably of a later date than our bowl, has a similar story in which the main characters are Elijah and Lilith rather than Hanina ben Dosa and the evil spirit. One of Lilith's names by which her power is diminished is מטרוטה, similar to מטריתא in l. 7 of our text.

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[188] Gordon 5:9 ובני איגרי, Gordon 5:10 בר איגרי, Gordon A:2 בר איגרי and Gordon A:3 בני איגרי.

[189] *T.-S. K. 1.56* 1a l.17 בני אוגרי (Schäfer and Shaked 1994, p. 31), *T.-S. K. 1.47* 1a l.34 בני איגרי (Schäfer and Shaked 1994, p. 222) and *T.-S. NS 322.29* 1b l.6 ומיני איגרי (Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 335).

[190] 1993, p. 18.

[191] Cf. also the Mandaic *br ʾngʾryʾ* (DM. P. 69a).

[192] The Sinaitic version of the Peshitta has *rwḥ plgʾ* instead (Reinink 1985, p. 106, n. 3).

[193] Preuss 1978, p. 265.

[194] PS p. 181a.

Lines 7,8 are a variation of the story that occurs in b. Pes. 112b which tells of the time when R. Hanina ben Dosa met the demoness Igrat daughter of Mahlat. As a result of this meeting her movements were restricted only to Wednesday and Saturday nights. A comparison of the texts illustrates a connection in both content and form.

פגע ביה Noteworthy is the uncommon use of the apocopated perfect form of the third person feminine singular characteristic of Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic, of which the manuscript variants (below) exhibit all three possible spellings פגע /פגעה /פגעא:[195]

M156	ד(י) פגע ב(יה) ברבי חנינא בן דוסא ואמר לה (ר)בי חנינא בן דוסא לרוחא בישתא דיפגע ביה בההיא שעתא
b. Pes. 112b	זמנא חדא פגעה ברבי חנינא בן דוסא
Variant manuscripts:	
Munich 095	זימנא חדא פגע ביה חניני בן דוסא
Vatican 125	זימנא חדא פגעא ביה ברי חנינה בר דוסא

יאער ... תשית Ps. 104:20. Rashi mentions this verse in connection with Ex. 12:22, where the Israelites are told not to leave their houses after having marked their door-posts with blood, saying that: 'the destroyer was given the authority to cause injury and does not distinguish between the righteous and the evil man, and night is the time of the injurers as it is said ... Ps. 104:20'.

9 צותא Cf. Gordon K:6 לא תברא ביממא ולא צותא בליליה.

... דאם On אם 'with the perfect in the protasis to express conditions' see Gesenius 1963, §159 m,n.

11 Ex. 15:3 and part of Ps. 24:8 are employed as epithets within part of an invoked name of God.

ועד ... יהוה מלך which follows these verses is the response that occurs in the יהי כבוד which is part of the daily prayers and, though recited in the morning within the *Pesukei Dezimrah*, it

[195] Juusola (1999, pp. 156-57) argues that not only is this form rare in the bowls but that in most cases it can be argued as unsubstantial due to either corruption or the possibility of understanding the form as a participle. In view of the parallel between our bowl and the Babylonian Talmud, it can be stated with confidence that the Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic form does occur in the bowls.

was originally intended only for special days.[196] This doxology combines sections of three verses: Ps. 10:15, 93:1 and Ex. 15:18. It also occurs in Hekhalot Rabatti[197] as the praise of the earth when in the presence of the enthroned God.

12 מתן חמשין ותרין הדמין In b. Bek. 45a, a distinction is made between men who are said to have 248 limbs and women who have 252.

13 תרתתינה From the root רתת 'to shake', it is mentioned in b. Hul. 24b as a symptom of old age and in b. Nid. 63b as a symptom of a menstruating woman. Cf. also Moussaieff 1:7 רות רתיתא.

תשרג(ו)ינה Possibly תשרגגינה (J. p. 1628b).

[196] Elbogen 1993, pp. 74-75. This prayer is already referred to in Soferim 17:11 and 18:2, though only by the first two words יהיה כבוד.

[197] Schäfer Synopsis §126. R. Ishmael describes a celestial vision in which King David, all the other kings that followed him, Metatron and the angels, the *Hayot*, the firmament and earth all sing in turn a praise to the almighty. This *Hekhalot* text is reproduced in the *Nefilat Appayim* (also called *Tahanun)* prayer which is recited after the *Amidah* in the British Museum manuscript (Or. 1067) of *Seder Amram*. Goldscmidt (1972, pp. 11 and לט), nevertheless, claims that this section is a later addition and not an original part of *Seder Amram*.

M163[198] (16.5cm*5.5cm)

Apart from two small missing fragments and a small faded patch at the edge of the bowl, the whole text of this bowl is clear and completely readable. The bowl contains 30 lines of text written in a very neat and small square Jewish Aramaic script which spirals in a clockwise fashion from the centre of the bowl outwards. The text is surrounded by a line that forms a circle which is very nearly on the rim of the bowl. The script is noteworthy for a magic bowl as apart from ה and ח it clearly differentiates between letters that are usually written similarly, i.e. ב and כ, ד and ר, also ו, י, ז and final ן, ס and final ם. All are distinguished from each other, and so is ת which in many bowls is confused with either ה and/or ח.[199]

Alongside הדין and הלין, which are the usual demonstrative pronouns in the dialects of the magic bowls, there also appear הנא (lines 6 and 11), הנין (line 9) and הנון (l. 17) which are like the Syriac forms[200] and rare in the magic bowls. The conjunction of comparison[201] היכדין ד 'just as' coupled with its compliment הכדין 'just so' are employed several times in the text and in all cases their respective spellings are meticulously distinguished. Such a pair of conjunctions is found only once in another magic bowl, N&Sh B21:8. The closest parallel to this particular form is found in the Aramaic of the Targ.-J.. There, however, היכדין/הכדין (their respective spellings undistinguished) are used for the second position, 'just so', whereas ד הי(כ)כמא is the most common form for the first position, 'just as'.[202]

M163 is a curse bowl, which is rare in this genre of magical text. It was commissioned by two brothers, Mihlad and Baran sons of Mirdukh, against a certain Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz. The purpose of the incantation is specific: it proposes to subdue the two brothers' named antagonist completely under their authority. The cause of their grievance is suggested most

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[198] This part of the thesis was published by the author as: " "... and by the name of Jesus ..." An unpublished magic bowl in Jewish Aramaic." *JSQ*, vol. 6, Issue 4, pp. 283-308. It is produced here with some amendments, additions and a full glossary.

[199] Montgomery 1913, pp. 28,9 and Rossell, 1953 pp. 13-15.

[200] Nöldeke 1904, p. 47.

[201] Dalman 1905, p. 239. I would like to thank C. Müller-Kessler for correcting my previous assertion (Levene 1999) that what we have here are a pair of adverbs.

[202] It is only in one case in the Targ.-Ps-J. that היכדין appears in both first and second position: היכדין דיתן מומא באינשא היכדין יתיהב ביה (Lev. 24:20).

clearly in l. 27, which mentions the antagonist as having 'strong desires and hateful thoughts and ... hateful and evil words' and 'that he thinks about (them) for evil and hatefulness'.

The two main literary devices employed in this incantation are: 1) The abundant use of verbs, nouns (lines 1, 28 and 30), angel names (l. 14) and magical names (l. 10) derived from the root כבש 'to press', 'subdue', 'conquer', 'suppress', etc.[203] 2) The use of a 'just as X was pressed - just so may Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed' formula known also from Greek magical literature and referred to as the *similia similibus* formula.[204] These similes (the sections that always follow 'just as ...') in our text consist of a collection of references to cataclysmic moments in history and mythology, taken from a wide range of stories, some of which are identified below, though the inspiration for others remain as yet a mystery.

In order to observe the structure of the text with greater clarity the transcription and translation have been divided into ten sections. Here are some comments on these divisions:

Section 1. This part functions as a title section and starts with the words הדין כיבשא 'this press' which introduces the incantation. The names of the clients and their adversary are stated, as is a statement of the desired outcome. This statement is repeated in a variety of permutations and intensity at least once, sometimes twice, in each and every one of the ten sections. This first section ends with an invocation of 'Šamiš king of the gods'.

Section 2. This section starts with the conjunction היכדין ד 'just as' which introduces the first simile, as it does the other similes in sections 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8. There follows an unambiguous statement to the effect that some sort of additional ritual action was carried out, at that time, with the aid of a white cock in conjunction with, and in support of, the incantation in the bowl. There is a two fold statement of the desired outcome, one to complement the simile and the other to complement the ritual act.

Section 3. The second simile and a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 4. This section starts with the word בשום 'by the name of', which introduces a list of names of angels invoked to aid the accomplishment of the desired outcome. The verb כבש which was used in the previous sections in the jussive 'may he be pressed' is in this section

[203] For a detailed discussion on the use of כבש in the magical literature see Montgomery 1913, p. 42 and Naveh 1985, p. 3.

an active participle with a first person pronoun suffix 'I press you Isha ...' (l. 13). This section portrays the enforcement of the desired outcome by the magician with the aid of the invoked angels.

Section 5. Third and fourth similes with a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 6. Fifth and sixth similes with a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 7. Seventh simile with a statement of the desired outcome.

Section 8. Eighth and ninth similes with a double statement of the desired outcome, reiterated here with specific allusion to the antagonist's culpability vis à vis to the clients.

Section 9. Like section four, this section commences with בשום, which introduces the invocation of angels. The verb כבש is used here in the imperative, as the magician is commanding the angels to impose the desired outcome, which is stated once again within the context of the command. This section ends with the formula 'from this day and forever amen amen selah firm and established'.

Section 10. This section begins and ends as the incantation itself began - with the words הדין כיבשא 'this press'. There is invocation of divine names of God, of Jesus, his father and the Holy spirits. In this section כבש and the other operative verbs are imperfect plural forms of the peal with a third person suffix, 'may they press him' etc, representing the clients getting the better of their adversary.

Transcription of M163

1 (1) הדין כיבשא ואסרא על שמיה דאישה [בר] (2) איפרא הורמיז דניתכביש וניפול הוא
גדיה וחילקיה וכ[וכב]יה (3) ואסריה ומיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא תחות ריגליהון
ומימרהון ו[שולט]נ֯הון (4) דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך שמיש מלכא דאלהי

2 היכדין דאתכ[ביש]ך֯ כולהין (5) מדינתא הכדין כבוש הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז
בכל שמה דאית ליה תחות י֯ר֯[יגליהו]ן ומימרהון (6) ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן
בני מירדוך תחות הנא תרנולא חיורא דמזמ[...]ך֯יך הכדין (7) ניתכביש הדין אישה בר
איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דאית ליה תחות ריגליהון ותחות מימרהון ושולטנ֯הו֯[ן]

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[204] C. A. Faraone 1988 and 1991.

3 היכ<ד>ין דשמיא כבישא על שמשא ושמשא כבישא על יארעה וארעה כבישא על מיא ומיא יכבישין על (9) חשוכא וכנתא תחתיתא היכא דיתבן הנין שבע בני אלהי וידען שבע מילי תקיפתיא ידבהון כבישא שמיא וארעה חדא מילתא מדא שמא (10) מדא שמה ומילתא חדא גישמון שמה ומילתא חדא דבחיל שמה דיבחיל שמה מירל[ת]א חדא משכבא שמא מכבשא שמה ומילתא חדא (11) זדין שמה ומיזיון שמא וזיועין ומילתא חדא דבחיל שמה וארכדיל שמה ומילתא חדא כיבישון שמה דבהנא שבע מילי כביש עלמה ורכובהון (12) <הכדין> ניתכביש וניתדריך הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דאית (ליה) תחות ריגליהון ומימרהו[ן] ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך (13) וניתכבשן כולהין מיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא ובישתא וניתבלן בגו ליביה ולא ניפקן לבר מן פומיה

4 בשום מלאכי בני איקרא כבישנא לך אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמא דאית לך (14) תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך בשום כיבשון דישון ודדיכין ובשום כבשיאל וכבשיאיל מלאכה גמודיאיל ומודיאל (15) ועמודיאל מלאכה דכבש עמודה דארעה בשמיה ד(גבי)ביאל שריותא גבאל מלאכה הלין מלאכי דבהון מיתכבשי כיבשי רברבי ודרדקי ומיתארין סמי מיתקצרין וכל בתולן פתלין (16) בהון בשמיהון וביקרהון ברבותהון וברבות אלהא משמשין קדישי אינון בשום הלין מלאכי כבישנא ליה להדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דאית ליה וכבישנא ליה לגדיה (17) ולחילקיה ולכוכביה ולמזליה ולכולהון מיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון ותחות יג[די]הון וחילקיה<ון> ומזלהון וכוכבהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך

5 היכדין דאיתכבישו הנון (18)] דעל פוקדן ^ד^מריהון עברו עזאל ועזאל ועזזיאל ואישתלחו מלאכי עליהון מן קדם אלהא וכבשינון על טור[א דחשוכא] ואהדרו אפיהון לאפי דחשוכא והיכדין דאיתכביש רימון תורא קדמאה הכדין ניתכביש (19) הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז וניתכבשן מיליה סניתא ומחשבתיה סניתא וכוכביה ומזליה וגדיה וחומריה [...] תחות ריגליהון ותחות מימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני

6 היכדין דאיתכבישו (20) [...] שבעה שיבבי דביתה רבה וארדיכלי דביתה רבה דעלמה וכבשינון ואסרינון מרי רבותה בחילן[ה ...] [והיכ]דין דאיתכביש אמור גברא רבה דלסוף הכדין ניתכביש הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז וניתכביש גדיה (21) וחילקיה ומזליה וכוכביה וחומריה ופתכריה ורזיה ומחשבתיה סניתא תחות ריגליהון ותחות מימרהון ושולט[נה]ון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך

7 והיכדין דאיתכביש א(מ)וס גברא קדמאה ואיתכביש עליה טורי ורמאתה (22) ונגרי הכדין ניתכביש וניתדריך הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז וניתכביש (ליביה מן) חיזוא דעינוהי תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך תוב הכדין ניתכביש ליביה דהדין (23) אישה מן חיזוא דעינוהי

8 היכדין דאיתכביש הוא חרום אחרום ואתו עליו על שיתין ושב(ע)ה אלפין ענינן ואתו עליו מלאכי דר(בה) דחטו דהוא מריא קדמאה ונקטוי בציצי(ן) דסיט(ר)יה ופכר(ין) פכרוי פכרי לא איתפסיק ושדוי שבע (24) לישמיא ותמני לליבביהון דעננ עד אמא דנינדי מוקריה על גללי והיכדין דאיתכבישו דבית קרח (וד)ותן ואבירם הכדין ניתכביש וניתדריך הדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז בכל שמה דא(י)ת ליה וניתכביש וניתדריך גדיה וחילקיה ומזליה (25) וכוכביה וחומריה ופתכריה ופיקודיה ומיליה סניתא ומחשבתיה בישתא תחות ריגליהון ומימרהון ושולטנהון דהדין מיהלאד ובראן בני מירדוך וניתכביש הדין אישה ומתכבשן כולהין מיליה ומחשבתיה סניתא דהוא מחשיב על הדין מיהלאד (26) ובראן בני מירדוך לבישותא ולסניותא ומחשבתיה ומיליה סניתא ניתבלן בגו ליביה ולא ניפק לבר מן פומיה

9 בשום בלמיאל דהוא בלים לבני אינשה בליביהון ובשום נו(..)איל [...] הלין מלאכי דכבשו ואניחו ותמהו קרבא (27) קדמאה אנתון כבושו ואניחו ואתמהו ליביה ורעויניה תקיפי ומחשבתיה סניתא וכל מילי סניתא ובישתא דהוא מחשיב על הדין מיהל<א>ד ובראן בני מירדוך לבישותא ולסניותא ול[...] מיליה ומחשבתיה [בי]שתא וסניתא ניתבלן בגו ליביה ולא ניפקן לבר (28) מן פומיה מן יומא דנן ולעלם אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים

הדין כיבשא בשמיה ד(מל)[.] דלכל כבש[..]ן כביש ולכל זכא ועל כל עלמא אמליך ואף 10
הדין מיהלאד ואף הדין בראן בני מירדוך לכל (פ)[...]ון ולכל נ[..](ה)ון ולכל (..)כון (ועל)
[ע]למה נמלכון וניכבשוניה ונידשוניה וניזכוניה (29) להדין אישה בר איפרא הורמיז
וניבלמוניה ליה לגדיה ולחילקיה ולכוכביה ולמזליה ולאסריה ולפתכריה בשמיה דאהיה
אשר אהיה יהוה צבאות ובשמיה דאישו דכבש רומ(א) ועומ(ק)א[205] בזקיפיה ובשו(ם)
אבוי רמא ובשום רוחי קדישתא לעלם (30) עלמין אמן אמן סלה שריר וקים הדין
כיבשא.

Translation of M163

1 (1) This press and binding is for the name of Isha son of (2) Ifra Hurmiz that he may be pressed and fall - he, his lot, his destiny, his stars, (3) his bindings, his words and his hateful thoughts - under the feet and command and authority (4) of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. Shamish the king of gods!

2 Just as all countries have been (5) pressed - just so press this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz, in every name he has, under the feet and command (6) and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. Under this white cock that [is appointed on your behalf], just so (7) May this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed in every name he has under the feet and command and authority of (8) this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

3 Just as the heavens are pressed upon the sun, and the sun is pressed upon the earth, and the earth is pressed upon the waters, and the waters are pressed upon the (9) darkness and the lower foundation, where there dwell these sons of gods who know seven powerful words by which the heavens and the earth are pressed: One word - the name: MDA', (10) the name: MDA' ; and one word - the name:

[205] The correct reading of this word was suggested by Professor Menahem Kister (communicated by S. Shaked).

GYŠMWN; and one word - the name: DBHYL, the name: DYBHYL; and one word - the name: MŠKBH, the name: MKBŠH; and one word - the name: (11) ZDYN, the name: MYZYWN and ZYWA'YN; and one word - the name: DBHYL, and the name: A'RKDYL; and one word - the name: KYBŠWN. By this (unit of) seven words, the universe and that which is over them is pressed. (12) [Just so] may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed and trodden under in every name he has under the feet and command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh, (13) and may all his hateful and evil words and thoughts be pressed and perish within him and not go out from his mouth.

4 By the name of angels sons of glory I press you, Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz, in every name that is yours (14) under the feet and command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. And by the names of KYBŠWN DYŠWN and DDYKWN, by the name of Kabshiel and Kabshiil the angel, Gamudiil and Mudiil (15) and Amudiel the angel who pressed the column of the earth. By the name Gabibiel the beginning Gabael the angel, these angels by which presses are being pressed, large and small ... shortened, and all virgins are led astray.[206] (16) By them, by their names and by their dignity, by their greatness and by the greatness of God - they the holy ones are serving. By the name of these angels I press this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz in every name that he has. And I press him, his lot, (17) his fortune, his stars, his star signs and all his hateful words and thoughts under the feet and command and authority and under the lot and fate and star signs and stars of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

5 Just as (18) those A'ZA'L and A'ZA'L and A'ZZYA'L, who transgressed the command of their lord, were pressed, and angels were sent against them from the presence of God and pressed them upon the mountain [of darkness] and their faces[207] were turned towards the face of darkness. And just as the primordial

[206] Literally 'perverted'.
[207] I.e. of A'ZA'L and A'ZA'L and A'ZZYA'L.

RYMWN bull was pressed - just so (19) may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed. And may his hateful words and hateful thoughts and stars and star signs and lot and magic be pressed ... under the feet and under the command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

6 (20) Just as the ... seven ... of the great house and the builders of the great house of the world were pressed, and the lords of (greatness) pressed and bound them by the strength ... [And ju]st as A'MWR the great man of the end was pressed - just so may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed, and may his lot (21) and fate and star signs and stars and magic acts and idols and mysteries and evil thoughts be pressed under the feet and under the command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh.

7 And just as A'MWS the primal man was pressed, and there were pressed upon him mountains, hills (22) and river courses - just so may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz be pressed and trod under. And may his heart be pressed from the vision of his eyes under the feet and command and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. Again, just so may the heart of this (23) Isha be pressed from the vision of his eyes.

8 Just as ḤRWM A'ḤRWM was pressed, and there came against him upon sixty seven thousand clouds, there came against him angels of the great one who committed the sin, (namely alleging) that he is the primeval lord. And they grabbed him by the fringes of his sides, taking them apart, they beat him with a continuous beating. And they hurled seven (24) to the heavens and eight to the midst of the clouds until his brain was bespattered upon the rocks. And just as the house of Korah and Dathan and Abiram was pressed - just so may this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz, by every name he has, be crushed and trod under. And may his lot and fortune and star signs (25) and stars and magic acts and idols and commands and hateful words and evil thoughts be pressed and trod under the feet and command

and authority of this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh. And may this Isha be pressed, (and may) all his words and evil thoughts that he thinks about this Mihlad (26) and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh for evil and hatefulness be pressed. And may his thoughts and hateful words perish within him and not come out from his mouth.

9 By the name of Balmiel who is the one that gags humans within their hearts. And by the name of ... these angels who pressed and brought to rest and struck dumb the primal war. (27) You! Press, bring to rest, and strike dumb the heart and strong desires and hateful thoughts and all hateful and evil words that he thinks about this Mihlad and (this) Baran sons of Mirdukh for evil and hatefulness. And ... (may) his words and his thoughts, evil and hateful, perish within him and not come out from (28) his mouth from this day and for ever, amen amen selah, true and established.

10 This press in the name of ... who presses all presses and is victorious over all, and rules over all the world. And also this Mihlad and also this Baran sons of Mirdukh to all ... and may they reign upon the earth, and may they press and trample under and be victorious over (29) this Isha son of Ifra Hurmiz. And may they block up his lot and his fate and his stars and his star signs and his bindings and his idols. By the name of I-am-that-I-am will be YHWH Sebaoth and by the name of Jesus who conquered the height and the depth by his cross and by the name of his exalted father and by the name of the holy spirits for ever (30) and eternity. Amen amen selah. This press is true and established.

Notes for M163[208]

1 The opening formula הדין כיבשא is also found in another bowl, Geller B. Similar opening formulae occur in AIT 6, which starts with: כיבשא דכבשין, and in N&Sh B21[209] which starts

[208] The numbers refer to the lines of the text, not the sections.

[209] Naveh and Shaked understood N&Sh B21 to be an incantation for protection against evil spirits and regarded all of the six proper names in the text to be those of clients. One could, however, argue that this is not a text for protection against demons (none of which are

with: מזמן) הדין רזא לכיבשא). These three incantations, as well as M163, incorporate the verb כבש 'to press' as an important operative motif.

מזמנא הדא מילתא על שמיה ד... N&Sh B7:1 על שמיה 'Appointed is this incantation against the name of ...' This bowl is also a text against a named individual.

2 איפרא הורמיז The name of the mother of the man against whom this incantation is directed is attested in the Babylonian Talmud,[210] where it is purported to be the name of the wife of Shapur II, though not attested as such by any other source. The name Ifra Hurmiz can also be found in N&Sh B15, Gordon N[211], and Texidor 60960[212] (*ʾbʾ br ʾprḥwrmyz*) as the names

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mentioned) but rather a text for the protection of only one of the named persons from all the others. This person would be Sunyona son of Qitin who is mentioned four times in the text, thrice on his own. It must indeed be stressed, (as did Naveh and Shaked, see 1993 p. 129) that this text is obscure and includes sections for which only cautious readings were given. Nevertheless, a re-examination of the text reveals certain similarities to M163, which may lead to the conclusion that they are both of the same type. Naveh and Shaked translate the first three lines thus: 'This mystery is designated for subduing (in favour) of Duday daughter of Immi, Redani son of Aru, Abraham son of [ ], Susya daughter of Immi, and Friyabard son of Gaš (?)'. (מזמן הדין רזא לכיבשא דדודי בת אימי ורדיני בר ארו ודאברהם בר תוס וסוסיה בת אימי ודפריברד בר גש). The justification for adding 'in favour' in brackets is that כיבשא 'normally comes to designate the action done to evil spirits' (Naveh and Shaked 1993 p. 129). Though this is true of at least two other bowls (AIT 6 and Geller B) this is not always the case as can be seen from M163. Other texts which employ the verb כבש, as in M163, to express the desired subjugation of human foes are McCullough A, an amulet from the Upper Galilee (A 16), Geniza T.S.K1.15:2,3 (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 147-152), Geniza T.S.K1.143 pages 14:12-16:18 (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 194-195), T.S.K1.80 (Naveh and Shaked 1993, pp. 172-174) and T.S. AS 143.214 (Naveh 1985, p. 379). Another point of similarity between N&Sh B21 and M163 is the use of similes which describe acts of subjugation. In M163 these similes are derived from a variety of sources including I and III Enoch as well as the Bible, the four similes in N&Sh B21:10,11 are also borrowed from the Bible. In fact these two magical texts are the only ones which both employ היכדין and הכדין in this precise spelling as part of a *similia similibus* formula. N&Sh B21:9,10 which uses this formula is translated by Naveh and Shaked as follows: 'Thus may all the enemies and oppressors of this Sunyona son of Qitin and Duday daughter of Immi and Susya daughter of Immi be subdued, just as ... is subdued' (הכדין מכבשין כל סנייהו ומסיקייהו דסיניונא בר קיטין הדין דודי בת אימי וסוסיא בת אימי בהיכדין דמיתכבשה). As both these texts use the *similia similibus* formula, and since in M163 the demonstrative pronoun הדין precedes, rather than follows, the personal names, one could offer an alternative translation to these lines: 'Thus may all the enemies and oppressors of Sunyona son of Qitin, this Duday daughter of Immi and (this) Susya daughter of Immi be subdued, just as ... is subdued'. A last point of similarity worth noting is that both texts mention the curbing of human tongues, in M163:26 an angel that 'gags humans within their hearts' is invoked, and in N&Sh B21:14 it is stated (albeit in a disjointed context) that something or someone 'shuts the mouths of all sons of Adam and Eve'. A Mandaic bowl from the Schøyen collection, MS 2054/124, was recently discovered in which significant elements of both N&Sh B21 and M163 are found in combination (see Shaked 1999a, pp. 316-319). This confirms beyond doubt that both texts are not only of the same genre but, occurred also as one incantation in a joined form.

[210] b. Tan. 24b, b. BB 8a-b, 10b-11a, b. Zeb. 116a, and b. Nid. 20b.

[211] A Mandaean bowl.

[212] Texidor 1962, pp. 59-62. A Syriac bowl.

of the clients' mothers. According to a statement of Rav Papa, the fourth century Babylonian sage, the name Hurmiz is typical of non-Jewish persons.[213]

דניתכביש וניפיל הוא A16, an amulet written on bronze foil and found in the upper Galilee, has certain similarities to our text. Like M163 it combines the motif of subjugation (the empowering of the client over his townspeople) with the *similia similibus* formula. The invocation in A16:11-19 is similar to that which appears in lines 2 and 3 of our text: 'just as the sky is suppressed before God ... so may the inhabitants of this town be suppressed and broken and fallen before Yose ...' כדין יהוון עמה דהדה קרתה כבישין ות[ב]ירין ונפילין קודם יוסי. Both A16 and M163 use the verbs כבש and נפל.

3 תחות ריגליהון The idea of one's enemies crushed under the feet is very ancient and common to many cultures. Use of this motif in other magic bowls are: N&Sh B5:7 all the evil spirits are *'roped, tied and suppressed'* under the feet of the client כיפיתון אסיריתון כבישׁ<י>תון כולכון תחות כיפי רגלה ד... Also McCullough A:2-3[214] ויכבשון ית קיימתה ... תחת ריגילה ד... 'and they will tread ... under the foot of'. In a Mandaic bowl, AIT 38:12 *ʿsyrʾ wrgylʾ wkbyšʾ wsypʾ wmʾtn<h>*[215] *twtyʾ lygrh d...* 'bound and hobbled and suppressed and overturned and put down under the foot of ...'

4 שמיש מלכא דאלהי Shamish appears in a number of bowls: N&Sh B13:11,21, Obermann II:62:2, a Mandaic text MIT 22:123, 126, 143, 247 as well as in Syriac in AIT 36:2-3 where he appears as *mryʾ Šmyš* 'the lord Shamish.' See also Montgomery's comments on bowl 36:2,3. 1913, p. 239; a similar title appears in AIT 19:5 רבא דאלהי מריא איבול מריא[216] 'the lord Ibol the great lord of the gods'.

6 יך[...]מזמן דמרא חיורא תרנולא הנא תחות Perhaps תרנ<ג>ולא. The syncope of *g* in this word is attested in Mandaic and was discussed by Nöldeke 1875, p. 41, and Macuch 1965, pp. 77-78, who noted that such omissions in Mandaic are limited to old loanwords (Akkadian *tamugallu*).

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[213] היכי דמי שמות מובהקין אמר רב פפא כגון הורמיז ואבודינא בר שיבתאי ובר קידרי ובאטי ונקים אונא 'Can you give some examples of names which are obviously those of heathens? — Said R. Papa: For instance, Hurmiz and Abudina, Bar Shibthai, Bar Kidri, Batti and Nakim and Una' (b. Git. 11a). For a more detailed discussion of the name Ifra Hurmiz see Gooblatt 1976.

[214] Published by McCallough in 1967 and later emended by Harviainen in 1981.

[215] Reconstructed by Epstein 1983 p. 368.

[216] Amended from מלכא to מריא by Epstein (1983 p. 346).

A similar case of omission attested in Mandaic as well as in Jewish Aramaic is זווא (=זוגא), 'pair'.[217]

The suggested reconstruction דמזמן עלי[ך][218] "appoin[ted on your behalf]" allows the understanding of תחות as a pun meaning both 'in place of' as well as 'under' (as it is used in l. 5: '... under the feet ...'). The use of a ritually mutilated animal as an act of sympathetic magic and its burial with an amulet is not unknown in the Jewish magical tradition. In *Sepher Ha-Razim*, first heaven lines 132-40,[219] there is a magical recipe which instructs its user to take the heart of a lion cub, removed with a copper blade, and bury it with an inscribed metal foil. The user is then instructed to recite the following: 'You the angels who go around and wander in the world, turn around all the people of this district - big and small, old men and young men, common-folk and dignitaries. And may my fear and awe be upon them, and be as the awe of the lion upon the animals. And just as this heart is dumb and I speak, so too will they be obedient to me. And none of the children of Adam and Eve will be able to speak against me'. In the *Sword of Moses* there is also a recipe which, like our own text, recommends the use of a white cock. In this case the user is instructed to take the cock's beak and place an inscribed metal foil within it; it is then to be hidden in the clothing of the person the user wishes to affect. This recipe intends to gain its final effect by the agency of a dispatched dream.[220] Such practices are also inferred from some of the Greek Magical papyri.[221] A particularly interesting first century Greek *defixio* from Carthage (*DT* 241.16-18) categorically implies that a cock was buried with it.[222] This amulet bears a close relationship to our text in that it also employs the *similia similibus* formula. Although Jewish law has no mention of the endorsement of such a ritual action, there is ,nevertheless, a discussion in the m. AZ 1:5 and the t. AZ 1:21 (followed up in both the Talmuds: b. AZ 13b-14a, and y. AZ 1:1, 39a) concerning the circumstances in which the sale of a white cock to a gentile is permitted. The restrictions on the sale of such animals is stated to have been due to the fact that they

[217] Epstein 1960, p. 18.
[218] Suggested by S. Shaked.
[219] Margalioth 1966, p. 74.
[220] Harrari 1997, First supplement, p. 141.
[221] Betz 1992, p. 150, *PGM* X. 36-50 'Apollo's charm to subject'. A frog's tongue is used with an inscribed foil of metal which in this case is put in a sandal and trod under foot.
[222] Faraone 1988, p. 282, n.10.

were used for sacrificial purposes amongst idolaters; a statement which is possibly meant to include the type of practice mentioned above.

8-11 The second simile incorporates a structural description of the world - the heavens are at the top, and under them are the sun, earth, water, darkness and the lower foundation, in that order. They are each described as pressing over the one beneath them. At the bottom there are the seven 'sons of gods', who know the seven powerful words by which these six layers of the world came to be pressed together. These seven powerful words are invoked, and by sympathetic suggestion this description of the enormous force by which the different parts of the world are held is used as a parallel to the magnitude of force with which the clients' opponent should be suppressed. A similar invocation appears in the Geniza fragment T. -S. K1.163:20-22[223] היך דארעא כבישה תחות שמיא ובני אנשא תחות ידי דמלאך מותא כן יתכבשון כל בני אדם וחוה 'Just as the earth is pressed under the heavens and human beings under the angel of death so may all the sons of Adam and Eve be pressed ...' Interesting for comparison is also a Christian amulet written in Coptic (T.S. 12,207)[224] that implores 'God who has bound Heaven and has bound earth ... restrained the Sun ... the moon ... the stars ... and the winds in the middle of heaven', to 'bind the mouth and tongue', of an adversary so they 'will not be able to speak an evil word' against the client. Although such a full description of the geography of the universe in all its layers as appears in M163 is not to be found elsewhere, the seven powerful words by which only heaven and earth were suppressed, are invoked in a similar fashion in three other bowls AIT 6:7-9, Geller B:7-9 and MS 1927/62:5-7. The introductory invocations to the seven words in these texts are as follows:

[223] Schäfer and Shaked 1997, p. 248.
[224] Meyer and Smith et. al. 1994, pp. 197-199.

M 163:9	היכא דיתבן הנין שבע בני אלהי וידען שבע מילי תקיפתיא ד[ב]הון כבישא שמיא וארעה
AIT 6:7-9	וכיבשא הדין כבישנא להון בשום הלין שבע מילין דישמיא וארעה כבישין בהין בשום
Geller B:7-9	וכבישנא להון כיבשא הדין בשום הלין שבע מילין דשמיא וארעא כבישין בהון בשום
MS 1927/62:5-7	ואסרנא וחתימנא עליהון הלין שבע מילין דבישמיה וארעא כבישין בשום הלין שבע מילין דישמיא וארעה כבישין בהון בשום

This Aramaic opening formula appears also in *Hekhalot Zutarti* as part of a description of the enormous powers of certain magical words דין הוא איסרא וחיתמא דאסרין ביה ארעא ואסרין ביה שמייא 'This is the binding and the seal by which are bound earth and heaven'.[225] The powerful words in the Hekhalot text are different from those found in our text, however, the four sets of seven words found in the magic bowl texts are similar enough to each other for us to assume a common *Vorlage*:

	7th word	6th word	5th word	4th word	3rd word	2nd word	1st word
M163:9-11	כיב(ש)ון	דבחיל ארכדיל	זדין מיזיון זיועין	משכבא מכבשא	דבחיל דיבחיל	גישמון	מדא מדא
AIT 6:7-9	כיבשין	ארדיבל	מורה	משכב[226]	מרביל	גישמין מרביל	גישמין מרביל
Geller B:7-9	[כיבשין]	[ארדיבל]	מורא	משבר	מרחבל	גישמין	מרביל
MS 1927/62:5-7	כיבשין	ארדיבל	מזרח ארובכאל	משכב	מרביל רחבל	גישמין מרביל	גישמין מרביל
Hermitage p.7:8,9[227]			אדריגל	מורדן	תחבל	גשימון	אגישמון מרביל

A tradition regarding divine names that have the power and force to hold in place the different layers of the cosmos exists also in the b. Suk. 53a-b and y. San. 10:2, 29a. This

[225] Schäfer 1981, §367.
[226] Corrected by Epstein 1983, p. 334.

tradition consists of a story of how King David, when digging the foundations for the temple, reached so deep that he was in danger of releasing the *Tehom* (deeps of the abyss) which would then unleash a flood upon the earth. In the Babylonian Talmud King David stopped the *Tehom* from rising by writing the ineffable name on a shard and casting it over the deep. In the version of the Yerushalmi Talmud the shard was already in place and King David happened upon it while excavating. When he attempted to remove it the shard warned him to desist: 'You can not lift me up ... Because I am here to suppress the *Tehom*', דנא הכא כביש על תהומא.[228]

Cf. בני האלהים in Gen. 6:2,4, Job 1:6; 2:1 and בני אלהים in 38:7, also בני אלים שבע בני אלהי in Ps. 29:1, and the Aramaic בר אלהין in Dan. 3:25. The understanding of the expression 'sons of God' as meaning 'angels' in Gen. 6:2,4 was objected to by the 2nd century Palestinian Tana R. Simeon b. Yoḥai who preferred them to be called 'sons of nobles' (בני דייניא). Furthermore, he cursed all those who did call them 'sons of God'.[229] The Palestinian Amora R. Reuben (3rd-4th century) also made a comment concerning the term 'son of God' as mentioned in Dan. 3:25. He states that when Nebuchadnezzar uttered it, an angel immediately came down and slapped him on the mouth for presuming that God had a son; a statement most likely intended to avoid any association with the Christian Jesus 'Son of God'. Nevertheless, 'sons of God' in the sense of 'angels' appear often in Hekhalot[230] and magical literature; usually in the form quoted from Job 38:7 ויריעו כל בני אלהים 'and all the sons of God shout for joy'. The mention of 'sons of God' in Gen.6 is the precursor to the 'fallen angels' literature, a reference to which is found in l. 18 of our text (see commentary below). In an article on the sons of God Alexander cites a number of passages as 'evidence that from the second century onwards the rabbis in Palestine engaged in a polemic against angelology'.[231] Statements about how limited the knowledge of the angels is in both *Genesis Rabbah* 17:4, where it is described as less then that of Adam, and in *Exodus Rabbah* 23:15,

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[227] Borisov 1969.

[228] Sperber (1994, pp. 47-54) noted a connection between this story in the Talmuds and magic bowls. The casting of the shard inscribed with angels' names led him to conclude that (ibid. p. 54): 'the Yerushalmi text probably attests to the existence of such magic bowls in Jewish Palestine as early as the third century CE'. Such a notion is questionable, as no magic bowls have been found in Palestine.

[229] *Genesis Rabbah* 26.

[230] *Hekhalot Rabati*, *Seder Rabba de Bereshit* and *Shiur Qomah*.

where it is depicted as inferior to that of the generation that crossed the Red sea. In *Genesis Rabbah* 1:3 there is a discussion as to whether the angels were created on the second or fifth day. These statements could be taken to reflect an objection to the idea that angels could have had a part in the act of creation. Not only did they lack the knowledge, it would have been impossible for them to have participated in the first act of creation as they themselves had not yet been created. Cf. *Against Heresies* by Irenaeus who states that Carpocrates (XXV:1), Menander, Simon Magus (XXIII:2) and Saturninus (XXIV:1) all taught that the world was made by angels. Saturninus is quoted by Irenaeus as having claimed, much like in our text, that 'The world ... and all things therein, were made by a certain company of seven angels'.[232] Both the idea that the angels partook in the act of creation, as well as allusion to the Christian Jesus, son of God, which were so objectionable to the rabbis are present in our text here.

Though בני אלהי are masculine in gender the demonstrative pronoun referring to them is feminine as are the two verbs יתבן and ידען.

שמיא כבישא The feminine form of the active participle *pe.* is used three times in l. 8, the first of these should be a masculine plural form - כבישין.

12 There should be an added הכדין 'just so' at the beginning of l. 12 to complete the phrase begun in l. 8 by הי<ד>כין 'just as'.

13 מלאכי בני איקרא The word איקרא is derived from the root יקר and probably denotes 'honor, glory' (cf. Mandaic *ʿqʾrʾ*, DM p. 365a). As these angels appear immediately after the invocation of the seven words known by the seven 'sons of gods' it is conceivable to assume that they are synonymous. In Gordon H:2, there occurs in a long list of malevolent entities the expression שבעה בני איקגירי, which Gordon considers synonymous with the expression בני איגרי - the roof spirits.[233] However, the seven בני איקגירי in Gordon H:2 may be an illusion to the same seven angels in our text rather than a corruption of איגרי, as Gordon assumed.

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[231] Alexander 1972, p. 68.
[232] Jonas 1963, p. 132.
[233] Possibly associated with epilepsy, see note on M156:5,6.

14 כבשיאל The angel's name is derived from the root כבש, a root that embodies one of the central themes of this incantation. In l. 14 the invocation of the eight angels, the last of which is described as having 'pressed the pillar of the earth',[234] include three names on the theme of the root כבש: כיבשון, כבשיאל and כבשיאיל. In another bowl, Gordon 6:4, כבשיאל is the first of a list of ten angel names. In the same bowl, Gordon 6:2, there are three participles describing various evil entities, these are translated by Gordon as 'vanquished thrashed and trodden'. The similarity between these and the names which appear before כבשיאל in our text is noteworthy:

Gordon 6:2 כבישין דישין ודריכין [235]{כבישין דישין ודריכין בשום}

M 163 כיבשון דישון ודדיכון בשום

On the basis of the form in Gordon 6 it is possible to assume that דדיכון in M163 is a corruption of דריכון. In another Gordon bowl, D:14,15, כבשיאל is also invoked in reference to his specialty: 'By the name of Kabšiel the angel who suppresses every evil thing' בישמיה דכבשיאל מלאכה דהוא כביש כל מידועם ביש. Kabšiel is also the last name in a list of eight angels in two Cairo Geniza fragments. One is a love charm, *T.-S. K 1.37* 2a[236] and the other, *T.-S. K 1.26* 1b,[237] a text to stop an adversary's mouth from uttering hatefulness. In the latter fragment Kabšiel is also mentioned as being responsible for 'pressing the earth in the presence of (or - before) the heavens', כבשיאל דכבש ארעא קודם שמייא. It is interesting that in *T.-S. K 1.26* 1b, just as in M163, the two aspects of pressing, i.e. the pressing down which holds the layers of the cosmos together, and the suppressing of an adversary's mouth are both included. Another Geniza fragment, *T.-S. K 1.15* page 2 line 17 to page 3 line 19,[238] also a recipe for the subjugation of human adversaries, invokes Kabšiel three times in the capacity of a *similia similibus* formula, stating that just as he is the one who 'subdued the

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[234] The concept of pillars of the earth is well known from a wide variety of cosmological literature, yet references to a single pillar are few. In Exodus Rabba (Vilna) 2 and Midrash Tanhuma (Buber) Parashat Shemot 16 and (Warsaw ed.) Parashat Shemot 19 God says to both Abraham and Moses 'It is at the pillar of the earth that you are standing' במקום עמודו של עולם אתה עומד.

[235] Gordon added the brackets thinking that the sequence כבישין דישין ודריכין בשום was superfluous. Considering our text, however, it would be preferable to remove the brackets and read 'vanquished thrashed and trodden by the name of כבישון, דישון and דריכון'.

[236] Schäfer and Shaked vol. I, 1994, p. 58.

[237] Schäfer and Shaked vol. II, 1997, p. 267.

[238] Naveh and Shaked 1993, p. 148.

world under his (God's) feet. Thus will be subdued before me all those who speak evil against me'.

15 פתלין The feminine passive participle plural should be פתילן.

18 עזאל ועזאל ועזזיאל - The third simile refers to the punishment these three named angels received by the hand of another group of angels who were sent by God. The punishment they received for transgressing against the will of their lord was to be pressed on a mountain (of darkness) with their faces directed to darkness. The story that is behind this simile is a combination of motifs derived from the literature which developed around the story of the fallen angels in Gen. 6:4.[239] The names A'ZA'L, A'ZA'L and A'ZZYA'L, which appear in M163, are closest in form to the names of the three angels mentioned in III Enoch A'WZA' A'ZH and A'ZA'L,[240] though they are by no means the same. The motifs concerning the fact that these three angels transgressed their lord's command and that they were punished by other angels sent by God himself, are common to most of the fallen angel stories.

וכבשינון על טור[א דחשוכא] ואחדרו אפיהון לאפי דחשוכא The theme of the angels' punishment having consisted of being pressed in (or on) the mountain of darkness facing the darkness is found in I Enoch 10, considered to be a translation of an Aramaic work from as early as the 2nd - 1st centuries BCE. Unfortunately the Aramaic fragments of the Book of Enoch are too scanty at this point of the text to allow a reconstruction of this motif.[241] However, in the Zohar, a medieval work, Balak vol. III p. 208a, there is an allusion to the fallen angels Uzza and Azael who were imprisoned in the mountains of darkness their faces towards the darkness. The expressions used in the Zohar - בטורא דחשוכא ... ורמי חשוכא ... דאנפין ... וזריק חשוכא באנפוי ... וחשוכא אזדריק באנפוי are fairly close to the ones in our bowl. Cf. The Coptic, Manichaean, Kephalaia 117.1ff. 'Again, before the watchers rebelled

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[239] The comparative study of the literature surrounding the fallen angels, such as the Enochic traditions, the Targum and Midrashim is extensive and beyond the scope of this study. The most relevant sources for our purpose here are I Enoch chapter 10, III Enoch chapters 4 and 5, the Targ.-J. to Gen. 6:4, b. Yom. 67b, Midrash Deuteronomy Rabbah 11, Pesikta de R. Kahana 34. Later medieval sources include the Zohar, Balak vol. III p. 208a and 212a, and Havdala de R. Akiva 11. For a fuller discussion of the development of the fallen angels in these sources see Ginzberg 1946-47, Milik 1976, pp. 317-339 and Scholem 1980-1981 pp. 243-281.

[240] Other manuscript variants found in the Schäfer Synopsis are not significantly closer in form to the names in M163. Although of no apparent importance the name AʿZZYAʾL does appear once in the *Sepher Ha-Razim* second Heaven (l. 26) as the first angel of the second step.

and came down from heaven, a prison was fashioned and constructed for them in the depths of the earth, below the mountains'.[242] Though there is no mention of the angels 'facing the darkness' in the Kephalaia there is, nevertheless, elaboration to the effect that: 'the remnant that is left from the darkness is this black mountain' (Kephalaia 112.5ff).[243] In the Psalms of Thomas IV (210.1 and 210,10), another Manichaean work, there is also mention of the mountain of darkness: '[The] demons, - put fetters on their feet; the goddesses, - put iron on their hands; the stinking and foul devils; - let their neck break beneath the collar; - the false gods that have rebelled, - bind them beneath (or at) the dark mountain'.[244] In the Mandaean Ginza the motif of 'being bound in the Mountain of darkness', *bṭwrʾ ḏhšwkʾ*, is used more generally as a threat to what criminals can expect.[245] On the basis of the Aramaic expression טורא דחשוכא, which appears also in the Zohar it is possible to suggest that l. 18 of our text be likewise reconstructed [טור]א דחשוכא.

An expression similar to that which appears in l. 18: דעל פוקדן דמריהון עברו occurs in AIT 1:8-11: אשבעית עליכון כל מיני ליליתא בש[ום] זרעיתכין דילדין שידי ולילית[א] לבני נורא סטין ומרדין ועברין [על] גזירתא דמריהון ... 'I adjure you, all species of liliths in respect of your posterity, which is begotten by demons and liliths to the children of light who go astray: Woe, who rebel and transgress against the proscription of their Lord ...' Note that Montgomery identified in his commentary on בני נורא and what follows in l. 9 the reference to the myth of the fallen angels from Gen. 6. Another Syriac bowl, Texidor 50327,[246] which proclaims at its outset to be an amulet for 'pressing and binding' *qmʿyʾ lkybšʾ wʿsrʾ*, mentions in l. 3 angels who revealed the mysteries of their lord *mlʾky dglwn rzy mryhwn.*

Other relevant references in magic bowls are: 1. The angels A'ZA', A'ZA'L and Metatron which are invoked together with in Gordon D:11. A curious combination for in III Enoch this pair of angels were antagonistic towards Metatron. 2. In AIT 2:6, AIT 9:10 and Gordon 11:9 there is a formula in which demons are threatened with the ban that was put on mount Hermon. Montgomery correctly identified this as 'a reminiscence of the myth of the

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[241] Milik 1976, p. 162.
[242] Gardner 1995, p. 123.
[243] Gardner 1995, p. 117.
[244] Säve-Söderbergh 1949, p. 127.
[245] Säve-Söderbergh 1949, p. 127.

confederation of fallen angels',[247] reference to which can be found in I Enoch 6:5. 3. In another bowl, published by Montgomery in 1912 and written in Manichaean script, the seal of *šmḥyz'* the fallen angel is mentioned.

20, 21 Both 'the great man of the end' of the sixth simile (l. 20) and 'the primal man' of the following seventh simile (l. 21) are as yet unknown to us. However, the fact that they are in apposition, the great man of the end vs. the primal man, might be a clue.

22 נגרי The ר in this word is clearly written, as the scribe distinguishes his ר and ד. However, the combination of טורי ורמאתה ונגרי is close to the Targ.-J. of Isa. 30:25 which reads: על כל כל הר גבה ועל כל גבעה נשאה פלגים יבלי מים (MT: טור רם ועל כל רמא מנטלא פצידין נגדין מיין '... on every high mountain and on every lofty hill, there shall appear brooks and water courses ...'). נגדין 'rivers' or 'watercourses' is more appropriate in our text than נגרי 'door bolts' (J. p. 876b). It is probable that the scribe, in haste, wrote an ר instead of a ד.

23-24 ענינן The correct spelling for either 'augurs' (Is. 2:6) or 'clouds' is עננין, as the word 'clouds' is spelled (ענני) in the next line.

עליו This form, occurring twice in this line, is Hebrew; one would expect the Aramaic equivalent עלוהי or עליה as in l. 21.

נקטוי, פכרוי and שדוי All 3rd person masculine plural verbs in the perfect with 3rd person masculine singular suffixes. The ה is missing in the suffix and the forms should be reconstructed to נקטו<ה>י, פכרו<ה>י and שדו<ה>י.

חרום אחרום Cf. Smelik 1978 lines 2 and 3[248]: מן שעריהון שקלית ליפכריהון ומן גילדיהון לירקמיהון ומן דמיהון ליחתמיהון בישבע שבע נקטית בציצותהון ובתמני תמני בגדילתהון ושדרית יתהין לחד מרק לניקרא דשמיא. 'From their hair I took to grasp them, from their skin to (bond) them, from their blood to seal them. Seven at a time I seized them by their hair, eight at a time by their bodies, as I threw them to *ḥd mrq nyqr'* which is in the heavens'.[249]

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[246] Texidor 1962, pp. 53-54.

[247] Montgomery 1913 p. 126.

[248] Other parallels to this motif found in this bowl published by Smelik exist in three unpublished bowls M148:6,7 (from the Moussaieff collection to be published by the present author), MS 1927/10:6,7 and MS 2053/182:3-6.

[249] In his article (1978) Smelik understood the motif of taking hair, skin and blood as a ritual performed against the clients (his footnote 4) rather than the demons. However, it is more likely that the ritual is intended against the demons which are listed immediately before the

Both M148 and MS 1927/10 as well as Smelik's bowl have the extra clause, 'to where demons go and do not return'. The fate of HRWM A'HRWM is similar in that he was grabbed by the fringes of his sides (or folds of his garment or locks of hair) בציצין דסיטריה. In M163 seven were hurled to the heavens and eight to the midst of the clouds, while in Smelik's text seven at a time were grabbed by their locks and eight at a time were grabbed by their bodies and also hurled to the heavens.

קרח (וד)ותן ואבירם The ninth and final simile is derived from the biblical story of Korah Dathan and Abiram (Num. 16) whose punishment consisted of the earth bursting open and swallowing them live, with families and possessions, straight into Sheol.

27 רעוינית The scribe confused the ו and the י; this word should have been written רעיונית.

29 The form in which the Holy Trinity is expressed in this line is reminiscent of that mentioned in *The Acts of Judas Thomas* section 39[250] where the apostle addresses Jesus in the following manner: 'we glorify thee, and we exalt through Thee Thy exalted father, who is not seen, and the holy Spirit...', *wmrmrynn bʾydk lʾbwk rmʾ hwʾ dlʾ mtḫzʾ wlrwḥʾ qdyštʾ*.

אישו This spelling of the name of Jesus is unattested. In Jewish sources the usual spellings are ישו or ישוע. In a Parthian amulet[251] the spelling *yyšw* is attested. The spelling אישו, with initial aleph, possibly represents a transcription of the Christian Syriac form, not as it is spelled (*yšwʿ*) but rather, as it is pronounced Išô.[252]

רומ(א) ועומ(ק)א Cf. *The Acts of Judas Thomas* §123 *ʾlhʾ dytb brwmʾ wlʾ mtksʾ mnh mdm dbʿwmqʾ hw* 'God who sittest on high, and nothing that is in the depth is concealed from thee'.[253]

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ritual description. This is confirmed by the duplicates which are both unambiguously intended for the protection of their respective named clients, as indeed is Smelik's bowl which clearly threatens in lines 4 and 5 any demon that 'will return and sin against' the client. Also, in lines 2 and 3 of his text Smelik translates שבע שבע and תמני תמני respectively as 'seven times seven' and 'eight times eight' rather than the more likely 'seven at a time' and 'eight at a time'. As for example in the Targ. Ps-J. Gen. 7:9 תרין תרין עאלו לנוח לתבותא 'two at a time they entered with Noah into the ark'.

[250] Klijn 1972, p. 86.

[251] Henning 1947, p. 40.

[252] Nöldeke 1904, p. 27: '◡ without a full vowel always becomes ī in the beginning of the syllable'.

[253] Klijn 1962, p. 131.

אבוי רמא Cf. Judas Thomas *lʾbwk rmʾ*. Cf. also in a Manichaean magical text '... in the name of his Father, the Highest ...'[254]

רוחי קדישתא Although written as a plural form one might also consider reconstructing it to <ה>רוחי, thus it could be understood as a feminine single form 'his holy spirit'. As in the Greek version of *The Acts of Judas Thomas* 'thine holy Spirit'.[255] This would also be consistent with early Syriac where *rwḥʾ* is always construed in the feminine.[256] The Holy spirit as a feminine entity is also consistent with the Manichaean Trinitarian scheme whereby the spirit is the equivalent of the Mother of Life who calls forth the First Man.[257] Cf. BOR I. 13 יסוס רות קד, and also in a Syriac incantation bowl[258] *bšwm ʾbʾ bšym br[ʾ .....w]b[rwḥʾ q]dyšṭʾ*.

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[254] Henning 1947, p. 40.
[255] Klijn 1962, p. 235. In the Syriac version it is just 'the holy Spirit' without the genitive affiliation to Jesus.
[256] Murray 1975, p. 143.
[257] Säve-Söderbergh 1949, p. xxvii.
[258] Montgomery 1917/18.

Glossary and Bibliography

Glossary

-א upon, over. אקרקפה M101:12; ארישה M101:12; אגברי M142:5; אטור M145:1; אשינא M145:1; אפרטה M145:10

אב father. אבוהי M103:9, M119:10; אבוי M163:29

אבד *pa.* to perish. תאבדון M123:8; תיבדון M131:4

אדיר (H) great, mighty, glorious. אדרים M117:5

או or. 102:7,8

אודנא ear. אודנה M156:5,9

אות (H) letter. M50:3, M59:9; אותיות M50:4, M59:9

אזל to go. אזלית M156:9; תיזלין M156:9; יזלון M102:12; תזלון M131:2,4; אזיל M145:13

אחא brother. M123:7, M142:4

אחרון (H) last. אחרונים M117:1

אחתא sister. M123:7

אי if. M123:6, M138:9

איגרא roof. איגרי M156:5

איגרתא letter. איגרת שיבוקין letters of separation M50:6, M59:12

אידא hand. ידי M155:6; ידוהי M145:12; באידיה M107:5,6

איך like. 102:9

אילהין but. M117:5

אימת when, whenever. אמא M163:23

אין (H) particle of negation, is not, are not. M101:9

אינון they m. (pl.). M155:7,10, M156:4, M163:16

איקרא see יקרא

אית there is/are. M59:8, M103:1,7, M119:1, M121:2, M145:13,14, M155:9, M156:12, M163:5,7,12,13,16,24

אל god (H) god. M102:10,14, M107:7, M112:3, M155:3,4; אלהי M117:4, M163:9

אלה (H) these, those. M117:1

אלהא god. M117:5, M155:8, M163:16,18; אלהים M155:8; אלהי M145:13, M163:4,9

אלהינו (H) M101:10; אלוהי (H) god. אלוה (H) M102:10

אלפא a thousand. אלפין M163:23

אם if. M103:6,7, M119:6,7,8, M156:9

אימא mother. M138:11

אמירן see מריא

אמן M50:6, M101:13, M102:14, M103:10, M119:10, M107:7,9, M117:6, M121:5,6, M123:9, M131:5,

M138:12, M142:8, M149:11, M155:12, M156:13, M163:28,30

אמר to say, speak. M107:5, M123:5, M138:8, M145:13,14, M156:7; אמנליה M145:9 ;אמריתון M142:5

אנה I. M59:8, M131:4; אנא M117:5, M123:2, M145:15

אנחנא we. M142:5

אני (H) I. M59:13, M112:13, M149:5, M156:2

אנפא face; with prep. ב before. אפי M163:18; אפיהון M163:18;באנפי M142:3

אנתי you f. M103:7, M119:7, M156:7,9,10

אנקתא necklace charm. אינקיתא M101:4

אינשא human being; man. בני אינשא M102:13; בני אינשה M123:8, M163:26; אינש M103:6, M119:6; אינשי M149:7

אמיץ brave (H). M155:4; אמץ M155:4

אסא, אסי to heal. *ithpe.* תיתסי M103:2, M119:1, M155:2, M156:3; לאסו M155:1

אסיא healer. M142:5

אסורא bond, chain. איסורי M103:4, M119:4

אסותא healing, remedy. M142:10, M156:1,3; אסואתא M102:5

אסקופתא threshold. איסקופתיה M59:11, M121:1, M142:6; איסקופתה M142:10

אסר to bind. אסיר M107:6; אסרינון M142:7; אסיריתון M163:20; למיסר M101:1, M108:2

אסרא binding. M163:1; אסריה M163:3,29

איסתרא goddess. M103:3, M119:3; איסתרתא pl. M102:5,6,7, M123:8

אף also. M163:28

אפך to change, turn around. אפיכין M102:4, M112:4; אפיכי M102:8; איתופך *ittaf.* M145:8 ;איתפיך *ithpe.* M145:8,9

אקלידא key. אקליודי M145:14; אקלידי M145:15

ארבע four. M142:2. M145:5; ארבעה M145:5,6

ארבעין forty. M102:12

ארדיכל builder. ארדיכלי M163:20

ארמאי gentile. M103:4, M119:4, M123:7, M138:10,11

ארעה earth. M50:4, M59:10, M102:6, M145:7,8,10,11,12, M163:8,9,15; ארעא M102:4

אש (H) fever, fire. M117:3

אשתא fire. אישתא M145:11

אשתמודע to be recognized, known. לישתמודע M102:11

אתא letter, character. M102:13

אתה (H) you. M102:10; אתא M117:4

אתון you m. (pl.). M 131:2,4; אנתון M163:27

אתי to come *pe.*; to bring *af.* אתו M163:23; תיתון M101:7; מיתי *af.* M145:14; איתיתי M50:4; מיתינא *af.* M145:15

אתר place. M131:3,

אתר בית מקור בנה (H) womb M155:10

אתתא woman; wife. איתתה M121:2; איתא M156:13; אינתיה M142:6; אינתתיה M149:7

ב- in, at, by. *passim*; ביה M112:4, M145:11, M156:7,8; בה M131:3, M155:9, M156:12; בהון M50:4, M59:9,10, M163:9,15,16; בכון M145:13,14

בדיל on account of. M155:5

בדר to scatter. תיבדרון *pa.* M131:2

בטל to annul, make redundant. תיבטל M155:9; יבטלון M155:10; ניתבטלון *ithpe.* M107:3

בי house of. M50:1; ביה M101:6

בין ... בין whether ... or ... M123:6,7,8, M138:9,10,11

בין amongst. בן M156:5

בינתא hair. ביניתה M101:12

ביש evil. M102:5, M119:2, M107:8, M112:6, M121:5, M149:10; בישא M107:8, M149:9; בשתא M131:2,4; בישתא M59:3, M103:5, M119:5, M117:6, M121:4, M123:2,6, M138:3,4,9, M142:7, M149:9, M155:7,12, M156:4,7,9,10,12, M163:13,25,27; בישתה M101:3; בישותא M163:26,27; בישין M102:4,7,9,12, M103:4, M119:4, M112:4, M121:4; בישי M107:4,8, M112:6, M121:4, M149:9; בישון M123:2, M138:2

ביתא house. M145:9,10; ביתה M163:20; בית M163:24; ביתה M50:5, M101:6,7,10, M112:1,7; ביתיה M59:7,11, M103:7, M119:7, M107:1,6,8, M108:2, M121:1, M123:9, M142:6, M149:5; בתיהון M149:7

בית אילהי M145:13;

בית גילגלוהי דעינה the socket of the eye M156:5-6,10

בית גנזי treasure house M145:14,15

בית דין (H) law court M101:11;

בית מישכבהון bed room M50:5;

בית קברי M102:6 cemetery

בכין therefore. M50:, M59:10, M156:11

בלי to perish, fade away. ניתבלן M163:13,26,27

בלם to block, stop up, muzzle. בלים M163:26; ניבלמוניה M163:29; למיבלם M101:1

בנת daughter. M50:6; בנתיה M149:6

בעירא cattle. בעיריה M149:6

בר outside. לבר M163:13,26,27

ברא son *passim*. M121:1; בריה M145:2; ברה M107:5; בנה (H) M155:10; בנין M155:11; בני M102:7, M103:5, M119:5,6; בניה M121:1, M149:6; בנוהי M123:9

בני אינשא people. M102:13; בני אינשה M123:8, M163:26

ברדא ice. M155:8

ברזל iron (H). M155:7

ברי to create. ברא M155:5

בריח lock (H). בריחי M155:7

בתולא virgin, virginity. בתולן M163:15

גוא inner. בגו within M163:13,26; גואה M155:9

גיסא בר relative, kin. M102:13

ברוך (H) to bless. M102:10, M117:4

ברתא daughter. M131:4, M138:11

גאה, גאי (H) exalt. גאו M102:14

גבור (H) mighty. גיבור M102:10

גברא man. M145:13,14, M163:20,21; גבר M156:13; גברי M123:7, M142:5

גדא fortune, lot. גדיה M163:2,16,19,20,24,29

גדול (H) great. M102:10,11

גדע to cut off *pa*. מגדעין M155:7; יגדעון M155:7

גואל avenging. M102:14

גודא troop. M145:4

גוונא manner, form; colour. גונין M142:7

גונחא thunderclap. M145:7

גזרת decree. M142:7

גט ,גיטא divorce writ. M50:2,3,6,7, M:59:7,8,9,12, M103:1,6,10, M119:1,6,10 ;

גט פיטורין ,M103:6 גיט פיטורין M119:6

גיברא valiant. M107:7

גלי ,גלא *ithpe*. to be revealed. איתגלי M102:11; תיתגלי M102:13

גלי ,גלה (H) to uncover. גלוי M50:4

גללא stone. גלל M145:1; גללי M163:24

גלף to engrave. גיליף M142:8

גנזא treasure. גנזי M145:14; גנזיה M145:15

גנח to rumble. M145:4; תיגנח M145:10

גער to drive out, expel. איתגערי *ithpe*. M117:6

גפא wing. גפיה M145:12

גרביא north. M102:6

-ד, -די of, which *passim*. דיליה M103:5, M119:5; דילה M101:7; דהון M102:14

דודא cauldron. דודי M145:5

דול to draw. נידילון M102:9

דוק to crush. M145:8

דור to dwell. דירא M59:7

דוש to tread, trample. נידשוניה M163:28

דחי to push, drive away. אדחי *af.* M107:4

דחילא frightening. M117:5

דחלולא scarecrow. דחלולי M107:4, M149:10

דיוא dew, demon. M145:11; דיווא M145:6; דיויא M145:16; דיוי M50:4, M101:2, M103:2, M107:3,7, M108:2, M121:3, M142:5,7, M145:2,4,15; דיוין M59:11, M145:6; דיותא M142:7

דירתא dwelling, living quarters. דירתיה M149:5; דירתה M101:6,7, M142:6

דכי pure. דכיא M102:12

דכר male. דיכרא M149:8,9; דיכרי M50:2, M59:7, M101:4, M103:7, M119:7,8, M123:8

דלי to draw, raise. דליתיה M142:4

דלק to burn. דליק M123:4, M138:6

דלת door (H). דלתות M155:7

דמא blood. דמה M155:10; דמאה M155:9

דם נידא menstrual blood M155:10

דמי to resemble, look like. תידמון M142:6

דמך to go to sleep. דמיך M117:4

דמם to come to rest. נידימון M102:9

דנא jar. דני M101:12

דנחא to shine, be bright. דינחיא M142:5

דרדקא child, young, small. דרדקי M163:15

דרך *ithpe.* to be trodden under. ניתדריך M163:12,22,24

דרך (H) way. דרכו M101:10

דרמנא cure, remedy. M102:7

דת law. M50:6, M59:12

הדין this. M50:7, M101:1, M102:1, M103:1, M119:1, M107:1, M108:2, M112:1,7, M123:1,3, M131:4, M138:1,4, M155:1, M163:1,4,5,6,7,12,14,16,17,19,20, 21,22,24,25,27,28,28,30

דא (fem.) M101:5, M102:5,6,7,13, M107:9;

הדא (fem.) M50:2,5, M101:5, M103:6, M119:1,7;

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הנא M163:5,11

הנין M163:9

הלין M163:15,16,26

הנון M163:17

אילן M145:11

הדמא member, limb. הדמי M102:12; הדמין M156:12

הדר to go around, return. ניהדרינון M102:4; אהדרו *af.* M163:18

ההוא that (m.). M145:3,13

ההיא that (f.). M145:13, M156:8; מנההיא M145:3

הוא he. M50:1, M102:4,11,12,13, M112:13, M117:1, M155:4,8,10, 163:2,23,25,26,27

הוי to be. הוא M145:7; הוה M50:1, M123:5, M138:8, M142:5; הווה M145:7; יהי M155:1; ליהוי M102:8; תיהוי M142:10, M156:1,3; יהוין M102:5; תיהויין *pa.* M103:6, M119:6; יהא (H) M101:10

הונא nature, faculty. M102:14

היכא where. M163:9

היכלא temple. היכל M155:8

...ד היכדין just as. M163:4,8,17,18,19,20,21,23,24

הכדין just so. M163:5,6,12,18,20,22,24

הלך (H) to go, go away. ילך M101:10; ילכו M117:3

הללויה M50:6, M121:5, M149:11

הפך to overturn, turn around. למיפך M102:1; ניהפוכונון M102:12; ניתהפכון *ithp* M102:1,2,3

ואו woe (interj.). M102:5,6

זגד to worship. זגדית M145:13

זוח *pa.* to raise. מזיח M117:4

זוח to remove, turn away. תיזחין M156:12; תיזחון M59:11, M123:8, M138:11; ניזיחון M107:3; יזחון M112:7

זוטא small. M142:4

זיבא river, flood. M145:10

זיוא appearance. M145:10; זיו M155:5,8

זידן impious, wicked, malicious. זידניתא M101:3

זין armor. זוניה M145:11

זינא weapon. M145:11,14,15; זיניה M145:14,15

זיקא blast demon. זיקי M107:8; זיקין M145:5

זכי to be victorious. זכא M163:28; ניזכוניה M163:28

זכר (H) male. M101:5,9

זמן *pa.* to appoint. מזמן M102:1, M107:1

זמר to sing. זמרת M145:13

זמרתא singer. M103:5,7, M119:5,7

זניתא prostitute. M103:5,7, M119:5,7

זעקה cry. זעקי M107:6,7

זקיפא cross. זקיפיה M163:29

זרעא seed, descendant. M138:9; זרעיה M149:6; זרעיהי M123:6; זרעהי M142:6; זרעה M142:6

חבל to destroy *pa.* לחבלא M50:4; יחביל M142:5

חבלא ruin, injury. חבל M142:4; חבולא M145:5

חברתא f. neighbour. חברתיה M103:6, M119:6

חד one. M107:5, M145:12; חדא M163:9,10,11, M142:2,3

חוי to show *pa.* תיחוין M156:9

חולה a sick person (H). חולים M117:4

חומרא charm. חומרי M101:3, M131:2; חומריה M163:19,21,25

חוס to favor *pa.* יחוס M103:8, M119:8

חוש quick (?). יחוש M103:8, M119:8; אחישה M103:8, M119:8

חותם (H) seal. M101:7,8

חזי *ithpe.* to appear. מיתחזיא M59:8; מתחזין M50:2; תיתחזון M50:5, M101:7; תתחזון M59:12

חטי to sin. חטו M163:23

חטף to snatch. מיתחטפין *ithpe.* M142:2

חיורא white. M163:5

חיזונא vision. חיזוה M142:7; חיזוא M163:22,23; חיזוני M107:4

חיטינא slander (?).M103:2, M119:2,3

חיי to live. חיתה M101:6; חיי M102:6

חיילן a mighty one. M145:13

חילא strength. חיליה M163:20

חילמא dream. M50:3,5, M59:8,12; חילמי M59:11, M107:4

חילקא destiny, portion. חילקיה M163:2,17,21,24,29; חילקיהון M163:17

חיסמא envy; a block. M107:8, M149:9

חיש hurry. M107:5

חיתה creature. M123:5, M138:7

חלבא fat. חלבה M155:11; חלביהון M155:11

חמי *ithpe.* to appear. מתחמי M112:6; מיתחמי M112:6

חמשין fifty. M156:12

חרם to excommunicate *pa.* יחרמון M156:10

חרשא sorcerer, sorcery. חרשי M50:4, M59:10, M102:1, M103:5, M119:5, M121:4, M149:9; חרשין M102:4,7,8,9,12, M112:4

חשב to think, plan *pa.* מחשיב M163:25

חשוכא darkness. M163:9,18

חתם to seal. M101:12; חתים M107:6, M112:1,3, M121:1,3, M149:5; חתימין M50:7, M149:7,11; חתימיתון M142:7; מחתם *pa.*

M112:1, M149:5; מחתים *pa.* M121:1; מחתמין *pa.* M149:7,11

חתמא seal, sealing. M103:10, M119:10, M112:3; חתמתא M102:13, M107:1, M142:10

טבלא drum. M145:4

טבעת (H) ring. טבעות M101:9

טולא shade. M155:6

טוס to fly. ניטיסון M102:9

טורא mountain. M59:9, M163:18; טור M145:1; טוריא M50:4; טורי M102:9, M163:21, M131:1, M145:6,8,14,15

טעמא sense, faculties. טעמהון M102:13,14

יבש to dry. ייבשון M155:9,10

ידע to know. M102:13; ידענא M142:5; ידען M163:9

יהב to give. *ithpe.* איתיהיב M102:13

יהודאי a Jew. M103:3, M119:3, M123:7, M138:10,11

יהר to be proud, haughty. M131:3

יומא day. M50:6, M101:7, M107:9, M121:5, M123:9, M138:12, M142:8, M145:3,13, M163:28; יממא M50:3,6, M59:8, M149:10, M156:9; יממא M142:6,7

יחידיתא unique. M102:13

ילל to wail. יליל *pa.* M145:6

ימא oath. ממי pl. (?) M103:3

ימא to make an oath, swear *af.* מומנא M103:7, M119:7, M142:4, M145:10; מומינה M156:7,8

ימא sea. M145:8,9,14

ימינא right. ימיניה M117:5

יצא (H) to go out. M101:10

יקרא dignity, honour. M155:5; איקרא M163:13; יקריה M155:5,8; יקרהון M163:16

ירור howler. ירורי M101:2

ישראל Israel. M50:6, M101:10

ית acc. particle. M155:12; יתכי M156:10; יתכון M50:5,6, M59:12; יתהון M155:11

יתב to sit. יתיב M117:4, M155:5; יתבן M163:9

כ- preposition, the like of, as. כמותה M101:9

כבוד (H) glory. M117:3; כבודו M101:11

כבש to press. M163:15,29; כבשו M163:26; כבשינון M163:18,20; ניכבשוניה M163:28; כביש M163:11,28; כבישין M163:8,9; כבישא M163:8; כבושנא M163:13,16; כבוש M163:5; כבושו M163:27; איתכביש *ithpe.* M163:18,20,21,23; איתכבישו *ithpe.* M163:17,19,24;

אתכבישן *ithpe.* M163:4; ניתכביש *ithpe.* M163:2,7,12,18,20,22,24,25; מיתכבשי *ithpe.* M163:15; מתכבשן M163:25

כד when. M145:3

כוכבא star. כוכבי M145:8; כוכבין M131:4; כוכביה M163:2,17,19,21,25,29; כוכבהון M163:17

כוף to cover, vanquish *af.* אכיף M145:9; אכופא M145:9

כורא fish. M145:7

כורסא throne. כורסיא M155:5; כורסיה M142:3, M155:8

כיבא sore, pain. כיבי M102:9

כיבשא a press. M102:8, M163:1,28,30; כיבשי M102:8, M163:15

כימא constellation. M131:3

כין therefore, thus. M142:5, M156:12

כיפא shore. כיפי M145:6

כל all, any, each. *passim.* M102:2,3,5,11,13, M103:1,4,5,6, M119:1,2,4,5,6, M107:8, M112:4,6, M117:2,3, M121:2,4, M123:8, M142:7, M149:7,10 M163:5,7,12,13,15,16,24,27,28; כליה M145:10; כוליה M101:10, M123:9; כולכון M101:5; כולה M145:7; כולהין M163:4,13,25; כולהון M149:11, M163:17

כ(ל)ל(ב)ה (?) bitch. M103:3

כלי to destroy, restrain. כליא M145:4

כמה as, like. M155:12, M156:10,11

כמו (H) as, like. M123:5, M138:8

כנופיא crowd, assembly. M102:8

כנע to subjugate. איתכנעו *ithpe.* M50:4

כנתא foundation. M163:8

כסא bowl. M107:1

כסא (H) throne. כיסי M101:11

כרכא fortification. כרכין M156:10

כרע to kneel. כרעית M145:13

כשורא board. כשורי M145:11

כתב to write. כתבית M59:6, M103:1,6, M119:1,6; כתיב M156:8; כתבנא M50:2; כתיבנא M59:8;

כתבה writing. M101:1

כתר (H) crown. M101:11

ל- acc. particle, or prefix: unto, to, towards, for. *passim.* ליה M123:5, M138:8, M145:9,10, M163:5,7,16,24,29; לה M50:2, M59:8, M101:7, M102:5,6,8,11,13, M103:1, M119:1, M121:2, M142:7, M145:16, M156:1,3,7,9; לך M163:13; ליכי M103:6,7, M119:6,7, M142:10; להון M50:2, M59:8,12, M102:7,13; לו (H)

M101:10; לך (H) M101:13; להן (H) M117:3

לא no, not. *passim*. M50:5, M59:12, M101:7,8, M102:7,11,13, M112:4, M117:5, M123:1, M131:3, M138:1, M142:5,6,7, M155:6,10,11, M156:9,12,13, M163:13,23,26,27; לו (H) M101:10

לבש to wear, be dressed. נילבשונה M102:9; לבישין M123:5, M138:7

לבושא garment. M102:9

לוט to curse. ליטין M102:6

לויתן Leviathan. M145:7

לוטתא curse. M102:6, M103:1,3,4,5,7, M119:1,3,4,5, M123:2,3,6,7, M138:3,4,9,10,11; לוטאתא M102:6; לוטן M123:1, M138:2

לוי to accompany. לויא M59:7

לטבי no good spirits. M50:4; לטבי M145:4

ליבא heart. ליביה M163:13,22,26,27; ליבהון M102:11,13,14; ליביהון M163:26; ליבביהון M163:24

ליליה night. M50:3,5, M59:8,12, M142:6,7, M156:9; לילי M155:6

לילִיותא Lilith. M50:2, M59:3, M103:1,5,7, M119:1,2,7, M107:3,7, M121:3, M131:3, M142:7, M145:3,4,7,11,12,14,15,16, M149:8, M155:11; לילית M101:5; לילין M101:2,9

לית there is (are) not. M102:13, M117:4

לפני (H) in front of, in the presence of. M117:1; ליפני M117:3

מאה one hundred. מתן M102:12 two hundred

מאן who, which. M102:2,3

מבכלתא howler, tormentor. M101:4, M107:4,7, M121:3; מבכלין M101:2,9

מדינתא country. M163:5

מדנחא east. M102:5

מובלא a burden, load. M107:7

מומתא oath. M101:5

מופלא (H) wondrous. M102:10

מוקרא brain. מוקריה M163:24

מושב (H) seat, dwelling. מושבה M117:3,7

מות to die. מיתי M102:6

מותא death. M101:13

מותב session; dwelling. M50:1; מתיבי M59:5

מזיק (H) harmer. מזיקין M117:2

מזיקא harmer. מזיקי M112:5

מזלא star sign. מזלי M145:8; מזליה M163:17,19,21,24,29

מזמורא psalm. מזמוריה M145:13

מחבלא harmer, destroyer. M50:4; מיחבלא M59:10

מחשבתא thought, plan. M149:10; מחשבתיה M163:3,13,17,19,21,25,26,27

מחתא plague, affliction. מחאתא M101:4; מחת M156:4

מטה (H) below. M101:11

מי (H) he who, whoever. M101:10, M142:5

מיא water. M145:15, M163:8

מידעם thing. M119:2, M107:8, M112:6, M121:5, M149:10

מיטול because of, on account of. M59:12

מילתא word, spell. מלתא M142:3; M163:9,10,11; מילי M163:9,27; מיליה M163:3,13,17,19,25,26,27; מילן M145:10

מימר word, command. מימריה M142:3, M155:5; מימרהון M163:3,5,7,12,14,17,19,21,22,25

מירדא rebellion. M145:5

מכא *af.* to lower. ממכי M117:4

מלאכה angel. M102:3,10, M103:8, M119:8, M117:4, M163:14,15; מלאכין M117:5, M155:10; מלאכי M163:13,15,16,18,23,26

מלאך מותא M101:13

מלה (H) word. מילי מיליה M101:12

מלויתא accompanying demon (f.). M59:7

מלך to rule (H). מלך M156:11; מאלך M156:11; ימלך M156:11

מלך to rule. אמליך *af.* M163:28; נמלכו M142:4; נמלכון M163:28

מלך (H) king. M102:10, M117:1

מלכא king. M145:15,16, M163:4; מלכה M145:2; מלך M156:4; מלכי M145:9; מלכיה M156:4

מלכותא kingdom. M123:5, M138:7; מלכותיה M103:9, M119:10

מלל to speak. ממללן *pa.* M123:1, M138:2

מללתא utterance. M103:3, M119:3, M123:2,6, M138:3,4,9,11

מן from. *passim.* M50:5, M59:10,11, M101:6,7,10, M102:1,12,14, M103:2,3,4,5, M119:2,3,4,5,7, M107:5,6,8,9, M108:2, M112:7, M121:3,4,5, M123:5,8,9, M131:4, M138:8,11, M142:8,10, M145:5, M149:8,9,10, M155:2,10,11,12, M156:1,3,11,12 M163:13,18,22,23,26,28; מי M138:12; מיניה M101:13, M102:12; מינה M102:13, M156:12; מנהיא M145:3; מינך M145:6; מנהון M142:3, מינהון M50:6, M107:3; מינהין M142:2,3; מינכון M59:12

מני to be appointed. ממנ<י>ן M155:10

מסי to melt. איתמסיאה *Ihtpe* M50:4

מעא womb, belly. מעה M101:6, M155:2,7,12; מ(ע)יה (?) M103:3; מעינה M155:9

מעבדא active, doing. מעבדי M103:5, M119:5

מעולא (H) lofty. M102:10

מעלה (H) above M101:11

מעלונא entrance. מעולהון M121:1

מערבא west. M102:5

מפקונא exit. מיפקיהון M121:1

מפתח (H) engraver; key. מפתחי M101:7

מקום (H) place. M117:3,7

מקור source (H). M155:10

מרום (H) height, above. M101:11

מרומא height, on high. M50:4; מירומא M59:10

מריא lord. M107:5, M163:23; אמירן (?) M107:6; מרי M163:20, M142:2; מריהון M163:18

מרכבתא chariot. M121:4, M145:4; מרכבתיה M123:4, M138:6

משכבא bed. מישכביהון M50:5

משמתא ban. M59:7, M101:4; משמתתא M107:4,7

מתן two hundred. M156:12

נאלא incubus, nightmare. נאלי M112:5

נגן (H) to play a musical instrument *piel*. מנגן M117:1

נגע to injure. ונגעון M142:6

נגע (H) plague. נגעים M117:2

נגרא river course. נגרי M163:22

נדי (H) to banish *piel*. מנודא M101:10

נדא/נדי to throw, banish, excommunicate *af*. לאנדואהון M59:11

נדי to bespatter. נינדי M163:24

נדרא oath. נידרא M103:4, M119:4, M112:5, M123:2,3,6,7,8 M138:2,4,8,10; נידרין M123:1, M138:2

נהורא light. ניהור M123:2, M138:3

נהם to groan. נהמא M123:6, M138:9

נהרא river. נהרין M155:9

נוד to shake. נד M145:7,8; אנידה *af*. M145:7; איתונד *ittaf*. M145:7

נודא shaking, trembling. M145:7

נוח to rest. אניחו *af*. M163:26,27

נומתא slumber. M123:7, M138:9

נונא fish. נוני M145:8

נורא fire. M155:8; נור M123:4,5, M138:6,7, M155:8

נורא (H) revered. M102:10

נזה to be agitated. תינזהון M156:12

נזק to harm. תיתזק *ithpe*. M155:6

נחושה copper (H). נחושא M155:7

נחת to go down. אחית *af*. M102:10

נטל to move. תינטלון M123:8

נטר to guard, protect. תינטר *ithpe.* M155:6; תינטרי *ithpe.* M103:2, M119:2

נטרתא protection. M107:1, M142:10

ניגרא step. ניגריה M145:12

ניהמתא a groan. M123:6, M138:9

ניסכא lance. M145:14,16

ניסכא cast metal idol. ניסכאיא M145:12

נסב to gather. נסבה M155:11; סבו M155:12

נפל to fall. ניפיל M163:2

נפק to go out; *af.* to remove. נפק (pl.) M145:3,4,5,6; ניפק M163:26; יפקון M112:7; ניפקן M163:13,27; תיפקין M156:12; תיפקון M59:11; פוקו M101:6; תפקון M131:2,4; תפיק *af.* M155:10; מפקא *af.* M123:7, M138:9; מפקין *af.* M131:3; לאפקא *af.* M50:5, M101:2; לאפוקי *af.* M59:11

נפשא soul. נפשיה M149:6; נפשיכי M103:6, M119:6

נקב (H) gap M50:4; נקבי M59:9

נקבה female. ניקבתא M149:8,9; נקיבה (H) M101:5,9, M103:7; ניקבה M119:7,8; ניקבתא M50:2, M59:7, M101:4, M123:8

נקט to hold, take, seize. נקטוי M163:23

נשי to forget. *ithpe.* ליתנשי M102:13

נשא woman. נשי M123:8; נשיא M155:11

נתן (H) to give. תנו M117:3

סגי *pa.* to increase. מסג (?) M112:14

סדם to bind, shackle, confine. סדים M107:5

סדנא block, anvil. M145:8,12

סדנין אפיכין perverted devils (see DM p. 310). M102:4, M112:4; סדני אפיכי M102:8

סוף end. M163:20

סטן demon; enemy; prosecutor. סטנא M149:8; סטנין M59:11, M112:5, M121:3; סיטני M107:3,7; סטני M107:3,7, M108:2, M112:6, M121:4

סטנה hostility. M103:2, M119:2

סיהרא moon. M131:3

סיטרא side. סיטריה M163:23

סיוטא fright. סיוטי M108:2

סינא shoe. סנך M123:5; סינך M138:8

סיפא sword. M145:15,16

סכר to block, stop up. סכרא M102:8; ס[.]כרין M155:9

סלה M50:6; M101:13, M102:14, M103:10, M119:10, M107:9, M117:6, M121:5,6, M123:9, M131:5, M138:12, M142:8, M149:11, M155:12, M156:13, M163:28,30

סלק to rise, go up, ascend; *pa.* to remove. סליקית M50:4, M59:10; סליק *pa.* M145:14, סליקנא *pa.* M145:15

סמק to make red *pa.* סמיק M145:8

סנה thorn bush. M123:5, M138:7

סניתא hateful. M163:3,13,17,19,21,25,26,27; סניותא M163:26,27; סניתי M59:11; סניי M107:4

ספר document. M50:6; סיפר M59:12

סר prince. M102:11; סרא M103:10, M119:10; סרין M117:5

עבד to make, do, enact, perform. עבדו M102:11; עבדון M102:8; עבדן M102:6; עבדנא M50:1, M59:5; עבדין M102:5; עבדינון M102:3; ליעבדו M102:7;

עבדא servant. עובידיהון M121:2

עבדא magical act. M50:1; עובדין M103:4, M119:4

עבר to pass. M145:14; עברו M163:18; עברנא M145:15; עברי מן עלמא die M50:4, M59:10

עד until. M163:24

עובראfoetus. עוברה M101:6; עיבוריה M149:6

עולם (H) world. M102:10, M107:9

עומקא M163:29

עופא bird. M145:10

עזיזא m. strong. עזיזתא f. M103:5, M119:5

עזקתא signet ring. עיזקתא M101:9, M107:7, M142:8

עידנא time. M145:3,13

עילאי m. upper. M102:12; עיליתא f. upper. M103:3, M119:3

עין (H) eye. M117:3

עין רעה evil eye M156:6

עינא eye. M149:9; עינוהי M163:22,23

עיניתנא humble. M131:4

על upon, over, against, on account of *passim.* M102:2,3,4,5,12, M119:2, M117:2,3, M123:1, M138:1, M142:2,3, M155:5,9,10, M156:4, M163:1,8,18,23,24,25,27,28; עליה M142:8, M163:21; עלה M101:7, M102:7,9; M50:7, M123:6, M138:8,9, M156:13; עלך M102:10; עליכי M117:5, M156:7,8; עליכון M50:4, M59:8,10, M123:2,6, M138:2,3,8, M142:4,5; עליהון M102:7,9, M123:1, M138:2, M156:11, M163:18; עליו (H) M163:23

על ידי M155:6

עלא high, above. לעילא M123:5; לעלא M138:7

עלמא world. M50:4, M59:10, M142:2, M145:6,10, M163:28; עלמה M163:11,20,28; לעלם forever M50:6, M101:7, M121:5, M123:9, M138:12, M142:8, M163:28,29; עלם M102:14; עלמין M102:14, M155:8, M163:30

עם with. עים M 131:1

עמודה column. M163:15

עמי *af.* to dim, extirpate, sadden. תעימו M123:6, M138:9

ענא cloud. ענינן (?)M163:23; ענני M163:24

ענקתא necklace-charm. M112:5

עקר to uproot. איתעקרו *ithpe.* M50:4

עקרבא scorpion. ארקבי (?) M145:11

עקרה barren. M101:4,5

עריתא fever. ערייתא M142:7

עריות (H) shivers. M117:3

ערק to flee, run away. עריק M101:13

עשה (H) to do, to act. עשיתי M50:7, M59:13; עושה M149:5, M156:2

פגע to plague. M149:9

פגע to happen upon, bump into. M156:7,8

פגעה affliction, plague. M103:2, M119:2; פגע M149:9; פגעין M121:3

פגר (H) body. פגרי M101:11,12

פגרא body. פגרה M156:5,9

פומא mouth. M102:8, M123:7, M138:9; פומיי M149:10

פוקדנא command. פוקדן M163:18

פורא lot. M50:1, M59:4

פטר to release. פטרנא M50:6, M59:12

פיטורא divorce, sending away. פיטורין M50:3,6, M59:9,12, M103:6, M119:6

פיקודא command. M163:25

פישרא a solution, dissolving. M102:7

פכר to split, break, beat. פכירין M142:9,10, פכרין M163:23; פכרוי *pa.* M163:23; פכרי *pa.* M163:23

פלגא phalanx. M145:4

פנים (H) face. פניו M123:4, M138:6; פני M123:4, M138:6

פסק to cut, split, sever. איתפסיק *ithpe.* M163:23

פקד to command *pa.* מפקדין M156:4

פקע to burst open, split. פקא M131:1

פקעא valley, split, fissure. פקא M131:1; פקתא M145:8

פרטה inventory. אפרטה M145:10

פרש to express clearly, define. מפרש *pa.* M142:7

פרש to depart *pa.* פריש M156:11

פשח to tear off. איפשית *ithpe.* M131:1

פשר to dissolve. תיפשרין M156:12

פתוח (H) engraving. פתוחי M101:8

פתח to open. פתיחין M155:9

פתכרא idol. M149:8; פתכר M103:2; פתכרי M101:3, M102:5,7, M123:8, M131:2, M138:10; פתכרין M119:2, M112:5; פתכרתא M101:3, M103:2, M119:3; פתכריה M163:21,25,29

פתל to pervert. פתלין M163:15

צבא (H) host. M101:11

צבי to desire. תצבין M103:6, M119:6

צור to draw. צר M142:8

צור (H) rock. M112:14

צורונא image. M112:3

צות to listen. מציתנא *pa.* M145:1

צותא company. M156:9

צידעא the temple. צידעה M156:5

ציפרא bird. ציפרי M102:9, M145:9

ציצא night hawk. M145:9

ציצא fringe. ציצין M163:23

צנף to shriek. M145:6

צר (?).M102:6,8,11,12

קבל to accept, receive. קביל M145:10; קבילו M155:12; ליתקבל *ithpa.* M102:7

קברא tomb, grave. קברי M102:7, M156:5

קדוש (H) holy. M112:14, M155:3,4

קדח to groan. M145:6

קדיש holy. קדש M142:3; קדישה M102:14, M156:2; קדישי M163:16; קדישתא M163:29

קדם before, in the presence of. M102:7,14, M145:13, M163:18; קדמין beginning M123:5, M138:8; קדמאה primal M155:12, M163:18,21,23,27

קום to stand, exist, rise. תיקמין M156:13; קאי M155:3; קאים M102:14, M117:4; קים M155:8; ק<א>ינא M145:1; קים (H) M107:9, M163:28,30

קומתא body height, stature. קומתיה M102:12

קטל to kill. *pa.* מקטלא M103:5, M119:5

קיבלא rebuke. M155:12

קילן one who is swift (?). M145:13

קינא nest. M145:9

קירסא misfortune. M145:14

קל (H) sound, voice. M101:12

קלא voice. קליה M145:14; קלאי M145:15

קלי to roast. קליא M155:11

קמיעה amulet. M108:2, M155:9; קמיעא M123:1, M138:1, M155:1

קמע to bind *ithpe.* איתקמע M123:1, M138:1; איתקמיע M155:9

קנינא possession. קינייה M149:5

קניסא penalty. M131:4

קצר to shorten. מיתקצרין *ithpe.* M163:15

קראה a biblical verse. M156:8

קרב to approach, come near, touch. יקירבון M112:4; יקרבון M123:1, M138:2; תיקירבון M142:6

קרבא war. M145:3,9,13, M163:26

קרי to call. קרית M131:4; קרי M145:5; קרן M101:13; קרנון M102:3

קריבתא near; relative. M103:4, M119:4; קריבא M123:7; קריבה M138:10

קריתא (magical) invocation. M103:4, M119:4, M112:5

קרן (H) ray of light. קרניו M123:4, M138:6; קרני M123:4, M138:6

קרנא horn. M145:5; קרני M123:5, M138:7

קרקפא skull, head. קרקף M145:11; אקרקפה M101:12

קרקפנא head-man. M145:12

ראש (H) head. ראשו M101:11

ראשא head. ראישה M156:5,9

ראשון (H) first. רישונים M117:1

רב great. רבה M101:13, M102:3,14, M117:5, M123:5, M138:8, M155:6, M156:2, M163:20,23; רבא M107:7, M112:7, M131:5, M142:5, M145:2,8,9,10,11,12,14; רבתא M101:9, M145:1,4,5,7; רבותה M163:20; רבות M163:16; רבי M163:15; ריבוהי M123:4, M138:7; רבותהון M163:16

רבא master. רבי M145:5

רבי rabbi. M156:7

רביתא ocean. M145:6,9

רגז to be angry; *išťaf* to be agitated. אישתרגז *išťaf* M145:7

רגלא foot. ריגלך M123:6; רגלך M138:8; ריגליהון M163:3,7,12,14,17,19,21,22,25

רגש to be agitated. M145:8,9

רגש (H) tumult. M101:12

רדף to chase. רדפת M156:9

רהב to alarm. ארהיב *af.* M107:5

רהט to run. ארהיט *af.* M107:7

רוגזא anger, fury. M145:5; רוגזיה M145:15; רוגזאי M145:14

רוח (H) spirit. M101:9, M117:2

רוח wind. רוחי M145:6

רוחא spirit. M103:5, M117:6, M155:2,7,12, M156:4,5,6,7,9,10; רחא M119:10; רוח M101:4, M119:5, M155:9; רוחי M101:3, M156:4; רוחתא M131:2,4, M163:29

רוטננא incantation (?).M145:10

רומא height. M163:29

רוקא spittle. רוקי M149:10

רזא mystery, secret. M102:1,13, M142:4; רזי M102:11,12,13; ראזי M102:13; רזיה M163:21

רחיקתא distant; distant relative. M103:4, M119:4; רחיקא M123:7, M138:10

רחק to remove. רחיקו M101:6; לרחקא *pa.* M101:2; ניתרחקון *ithpe.* M107:3

ריוחתא open space. M149:9

ריש beginning, top. ארישה M101:12

ריש head, chief. ראיש M155:10

רישא head. רישיה M145:12

רכובא saddled on, positioned on. רכובהון M163:11

רם high, exalted. רמא M163:29

רמא height. ראמתא M50:4, M102:9; רמאתה M163:21; רמיתא M59:10

רמא, רמי to throw, cast. M145:12; רמינא M50:1,M59:4

רניתא unfavourable report, defamation, whispering. M102:11

רע (H) evil. רעה M101:9

רעיונא desire. רעויניה M163:27

רעש (H) commotion. M101:11,12

רפא (H) to heal. רופא M117:4

רקיעא firmament. M145:12; רקיע M145:7,8

רשאה f. have permission. ראשהא M103:6; ראשאה M119:6

רתת to shake. תרתתינה M156:13

ש- (H) relative pronoun. שאין M101:9, שישמע M101:9, שלו M101:10

שאל to ask. משוילנה *pa.* M145:9

שבועתא oath. M101:5

שבח to praise. שבחית M145:13

שביבא spark. שביבין M155:8

שבילא path. שביליכי M155:12

שבע *af.* to adjure, invoke. אשבעית M119:2, M123:3, M138:4; משבע M117:5; משבענא M102:10, M103:7, M119:7, M123:2,6, M138:2,3,8, M156:7,8

שבע seven. M102:12,13, M163:20; שבעה M163:9,11,23

שגר *pa.* to send. משגרין M123:5, M138:7

שגש to confuse; to be excited, agitated *pa.* נישת(ג)ש (?) *ithpe.* M102:11; אישת(ג)ש *ithpe.* M145:8; שגישי *pa.* M59:11

שד demon. שידא M155:12; שידי M50:4, M59:10, M101:2, M107:3,7, M108:2, M121:3, M131:2,3, M142:5,7, M145:4,14,15,16; שדי M145:15; שידין M59:11; שאדא M102:7

שדי to throw, cast. שדוי M163:23

שדר *pa.* to send, dispatch. שדרינון M102:2,3; אישתדרו *ithpa.* M156:10; לישתדרון *ithpa.* M102:5; נישתדרון *ithpa.* M102:7; מישתדרי *ithpa.* M121:4

שולטנא authority, power. שולטנהון M163:3,6,7,12,14,17,19,21,22,25

שום name. M50:3, M59:8,9, M101:11, M102:3,10,11,12,14, M103:1,6,9, M119:1,10, M107:4, M108:3, M117:2, M123:1, M131:5, M138:1, M155:3,8,9,10,12, M156:3, M163:13,14,16,26,29; שמה M101:13, M102:11,14,, M156:6, M163:5,6,10,11,12,16,24; שמא M102:12, M163:9,10,11,13; שמיה M101:13, M102:10,11, M103:7,9,10, M119:8,9,10, M112:7, M117:4,5,6, M123:5, M138:8, M142:3,7,8, M149:11, M155:5, M163:1,15; שמיהון M163:16,28,29; שמות (H) M50:4, M59:9; שמו (H) M123:3,4, M138:5,6; שמך (H) M50:6, M59:13, M149:5, M156:2

שוטא scourge. שוטיך M145:10

שוף to slip. שף M145:8

שורשא root. M145:12

שזב to save. *ithpe.* תישתזבי M103:2

שחר to wake up. M117:4

שיבבה neighbour. M123:7, M138:10; שיבבי M163:20

שיבוקא remission, releasing. שיבוקין M50:3,6, M59:9; שבוקין M59:12

שיבטא plague; plague spirit. שיבטין M59:11

שינא cliff. M145:1

שינתא sleep. M50:3,6, M59:8,12

שיתא six. M155:10

שיתין sixty. M155:10, M163:23

שכב to lie down. שכבא M156:4,5

שכלל to complete. שכליל M155:5

של (H) of, belonging to. M101:11

שלום (H) peace. M101:10

שלח to send, send off. אישתלחו *ithpa.* M163:18

שלט to have power over; *af.* to appoint, be appointed. תישלטון M156:12; שליט M117:6; שלטא M155:7; משלט *af.* M102:3,4

שליחא messenger. שליחין M123:4, M138:7

שליטא have power. M103:6, M119:6, M145:2

שלל to chain. משלל *pa.* M107:5

שלם *pa.* to deliver. משלם M123:8, M138:10

שלמתא magic rite. M123:8

שם (H) name. שים M117:3

שמיה sky, heaven. M50:4, M59:10, M156:1,3; שמיא M102:4,6, M142:10, M155:5, M163:8,9,24

שמע to hear, listen. שמעו M101:5; שמ<ע>נא M145:1; תישמע M145:10

שמע (H) *nif* to obey. ישמע M101:9,10

שמש *pa.* to serve, officiate. משמשין M123:4, M138:7, M163:16

שמשא sun. M131:3, M163:8; שימשה M155:6

שמת to ban *pa.* ישמתון M156:10; משמת M107:5

שמתא ban. M103:9, M119:9

שנא tooth. שיני M145:11

שני to change. M155:12; תישני M145:10; שנא M155:12

שעה time. M101:7; שועה M107:9; שעתא M145:3,13, M156:8

שפך to pour. אישפוך *af.* M145:11

שצטם (*shafel* of סטם) to lock up, shackle. לשצטמא M101:1

שקל to take, draw. שקיל M145:14; שקילנא M50:1, M59:4, M145:15; *ithpe.* לישתקיל M102:13,14

שקף to knock. שקיף M145:12

שר prince. M103:9, M119:10

שרגג to lead astray. תשרגגינה M156:13

שרי to loosen, untie. שרי M123:5, M138:8

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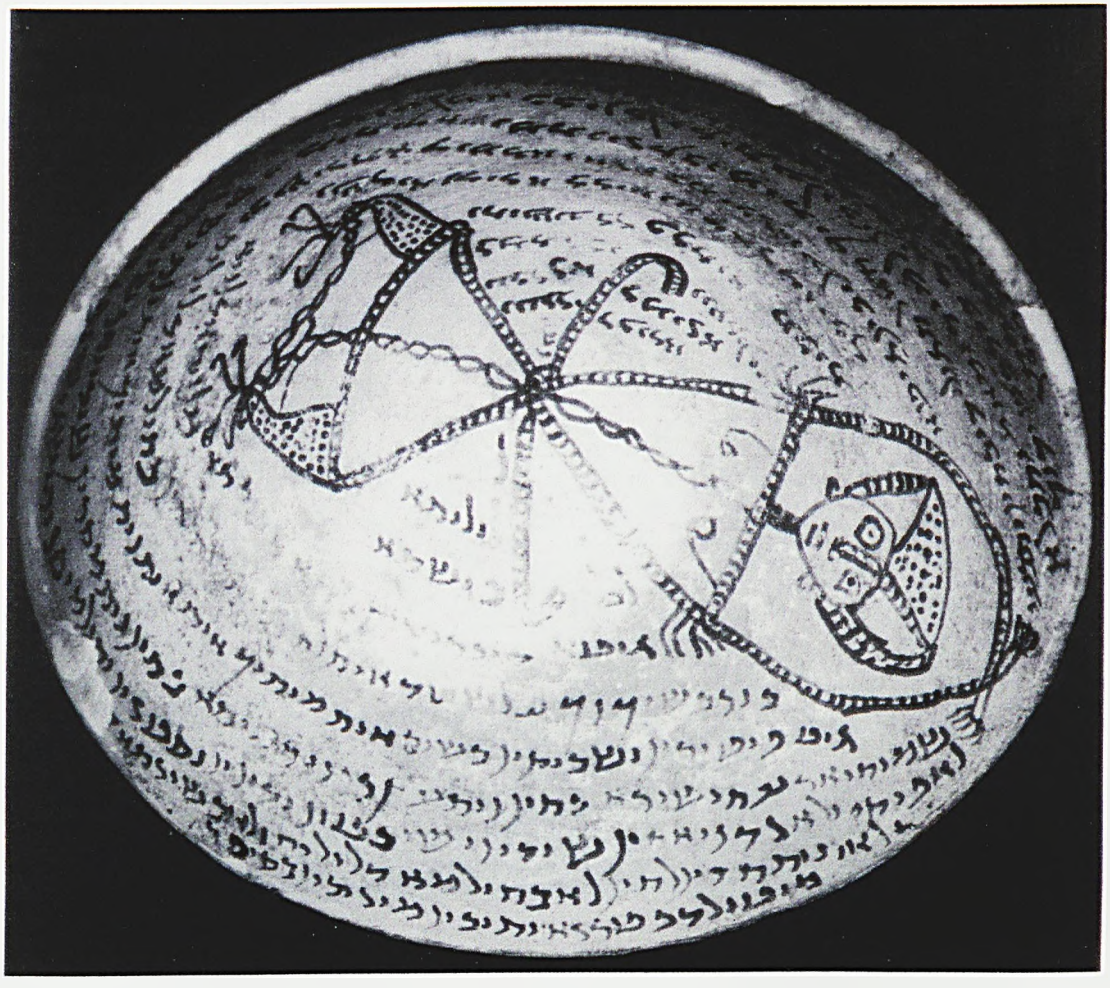
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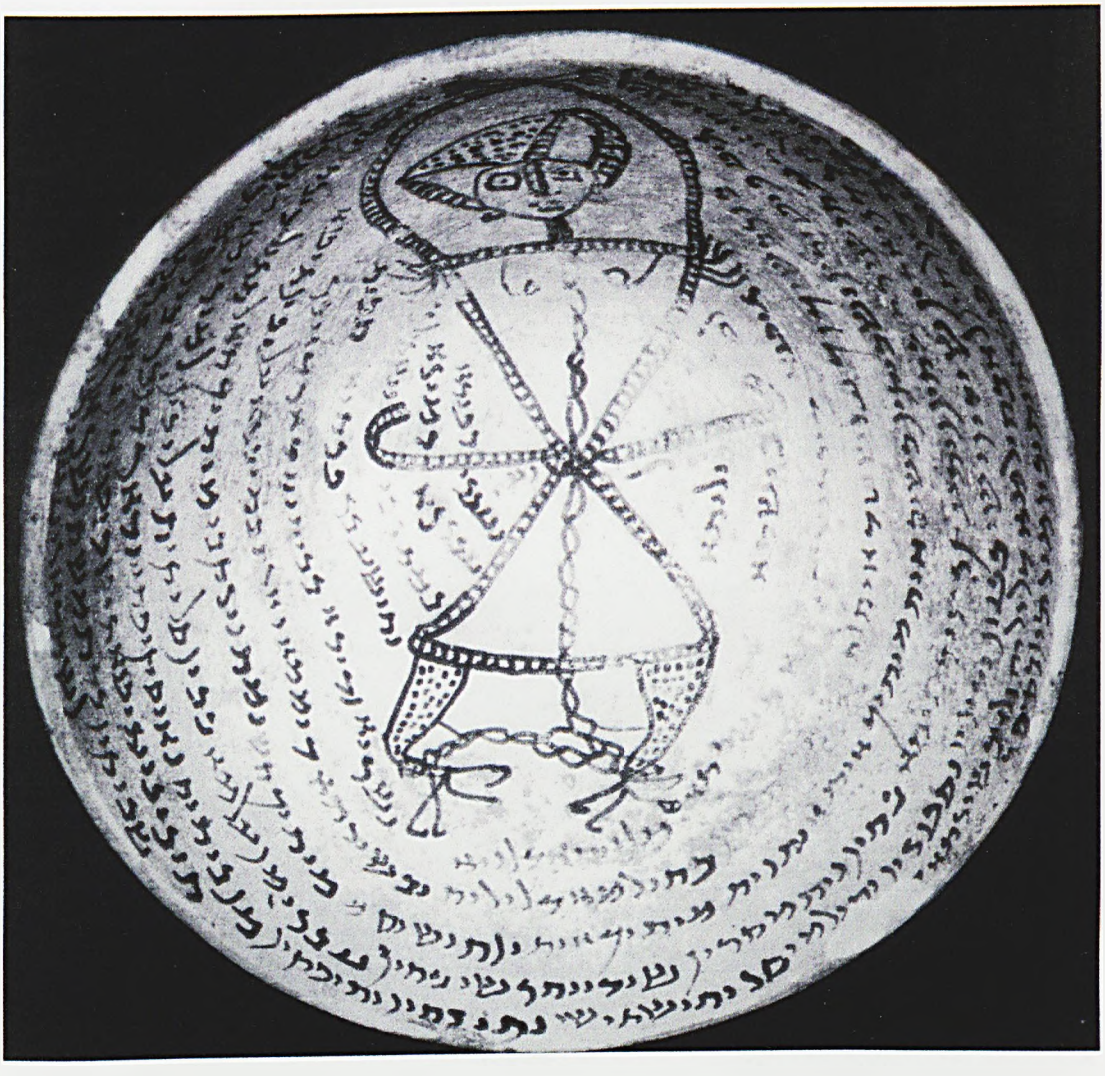
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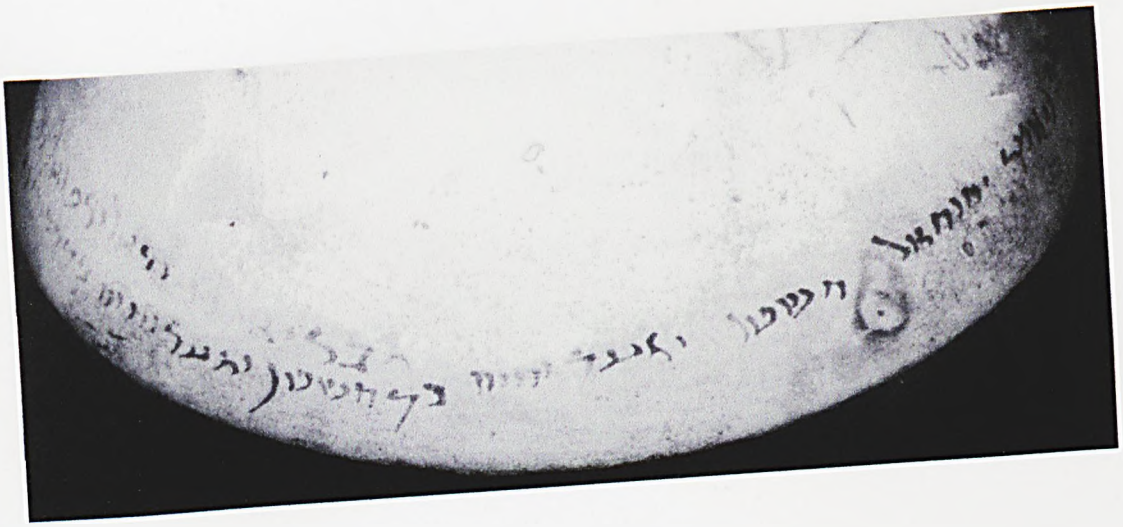
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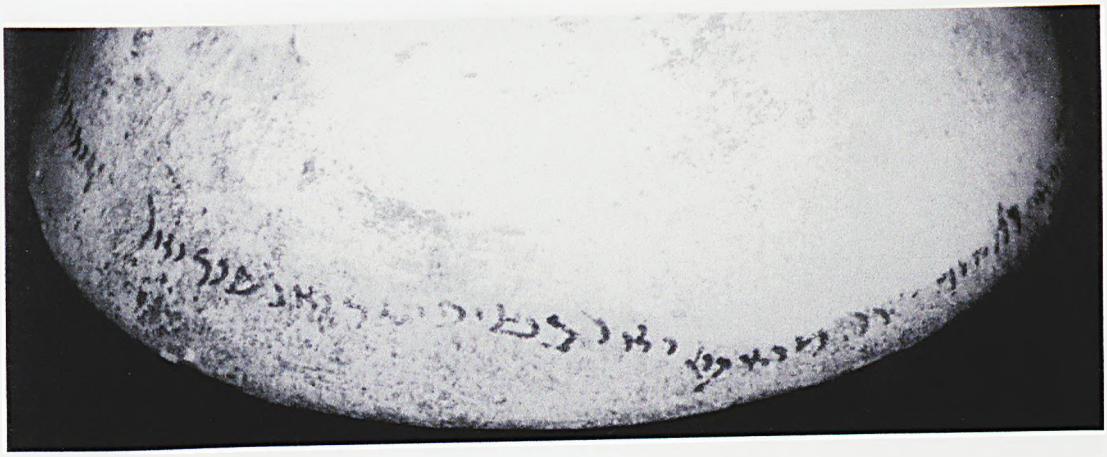


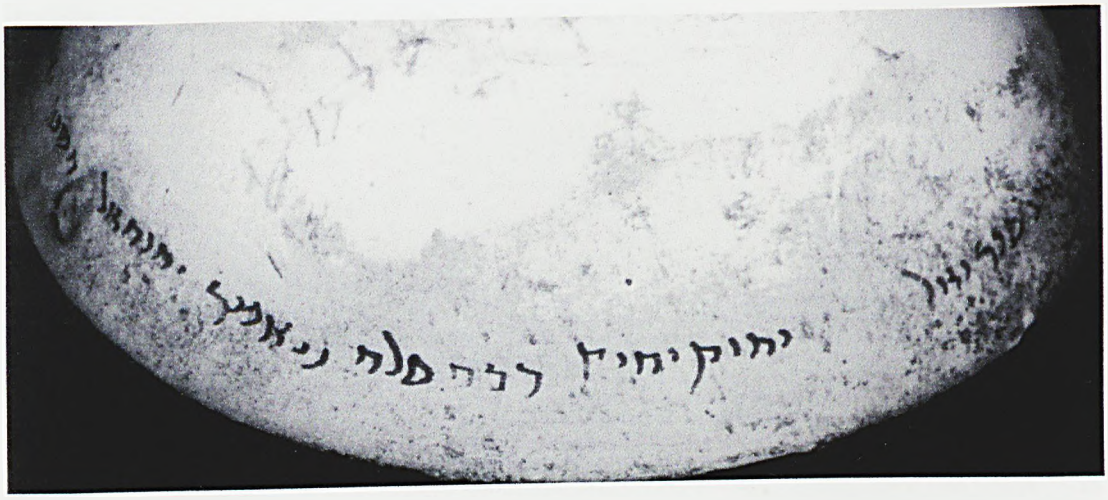
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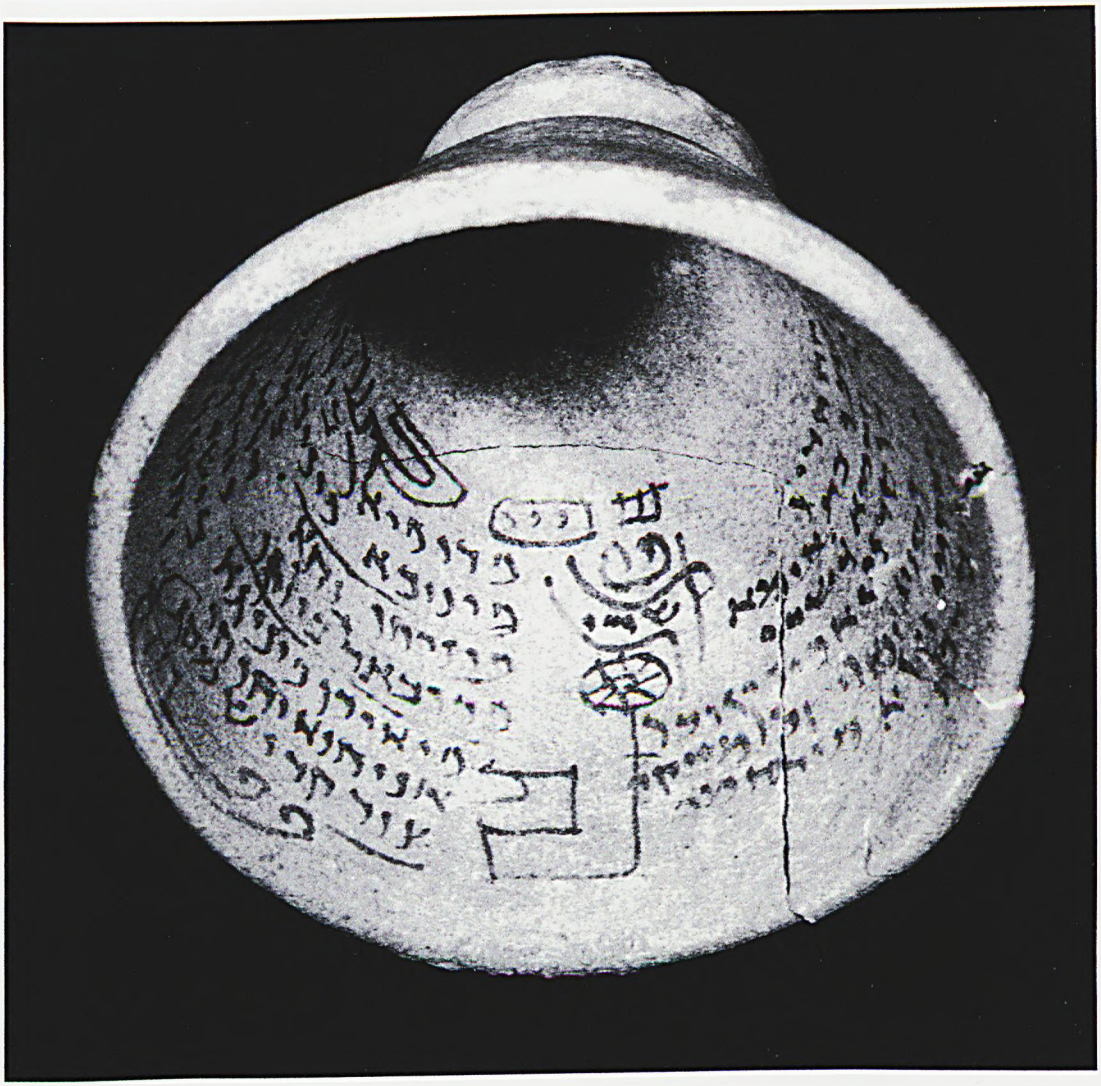
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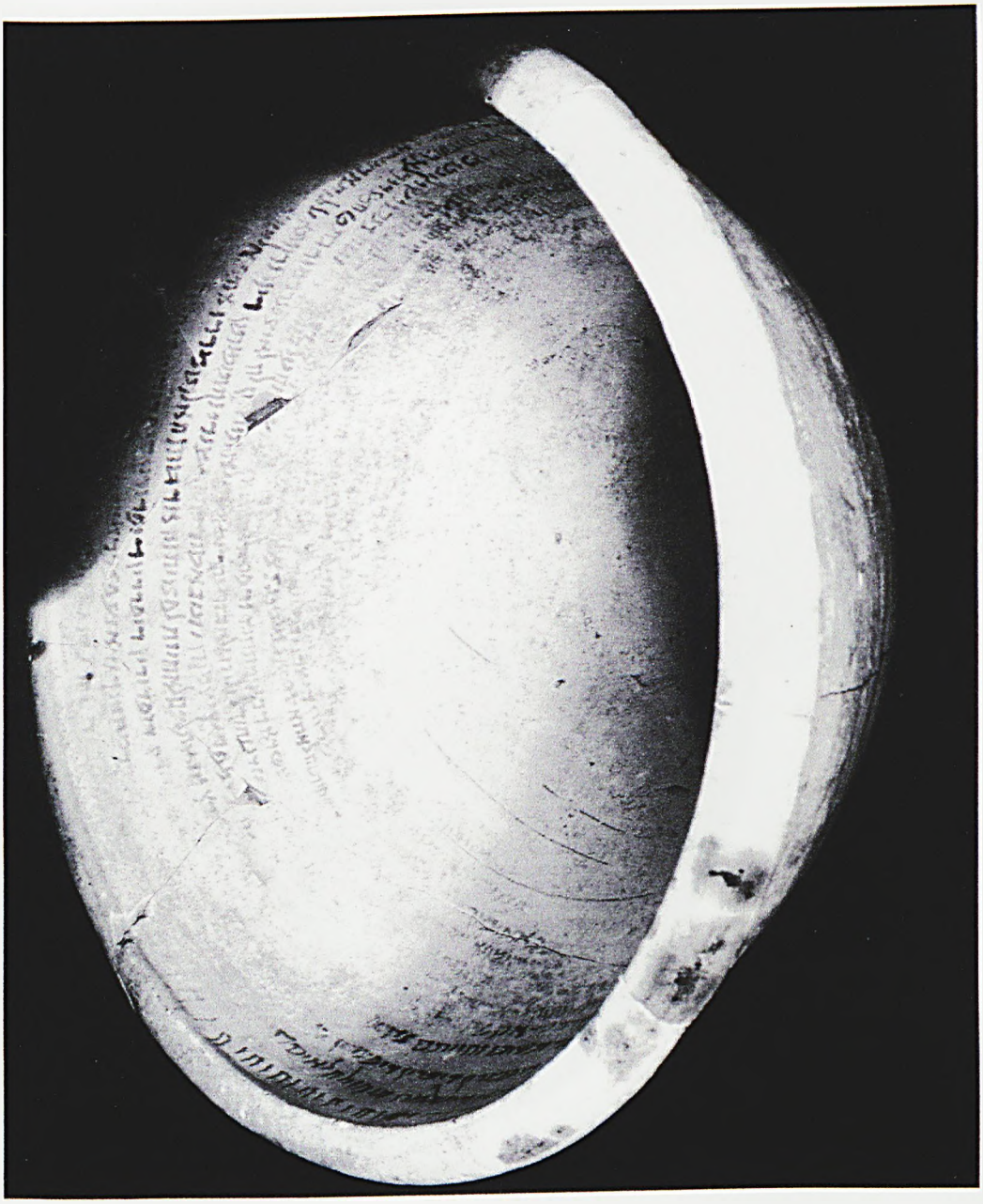
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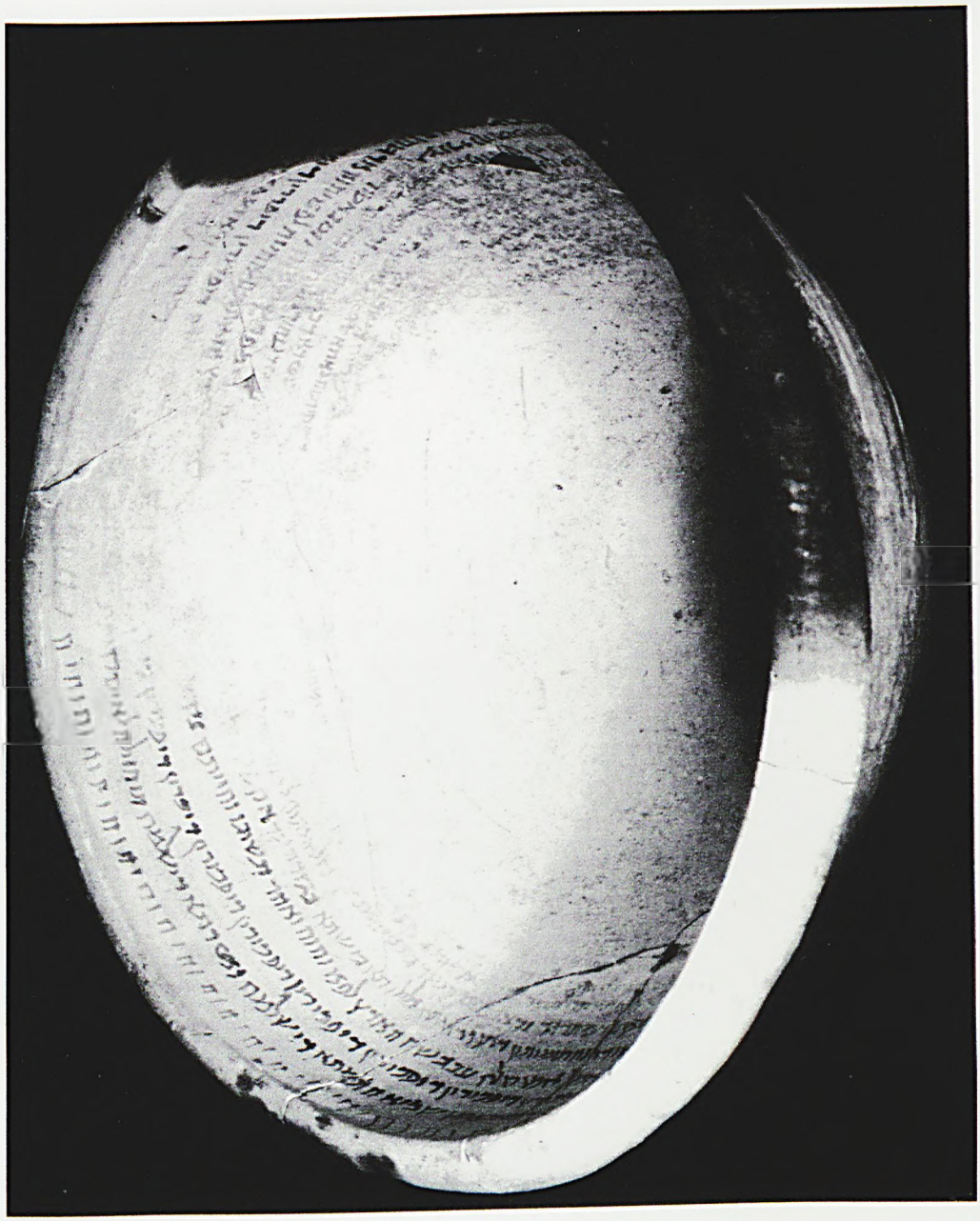
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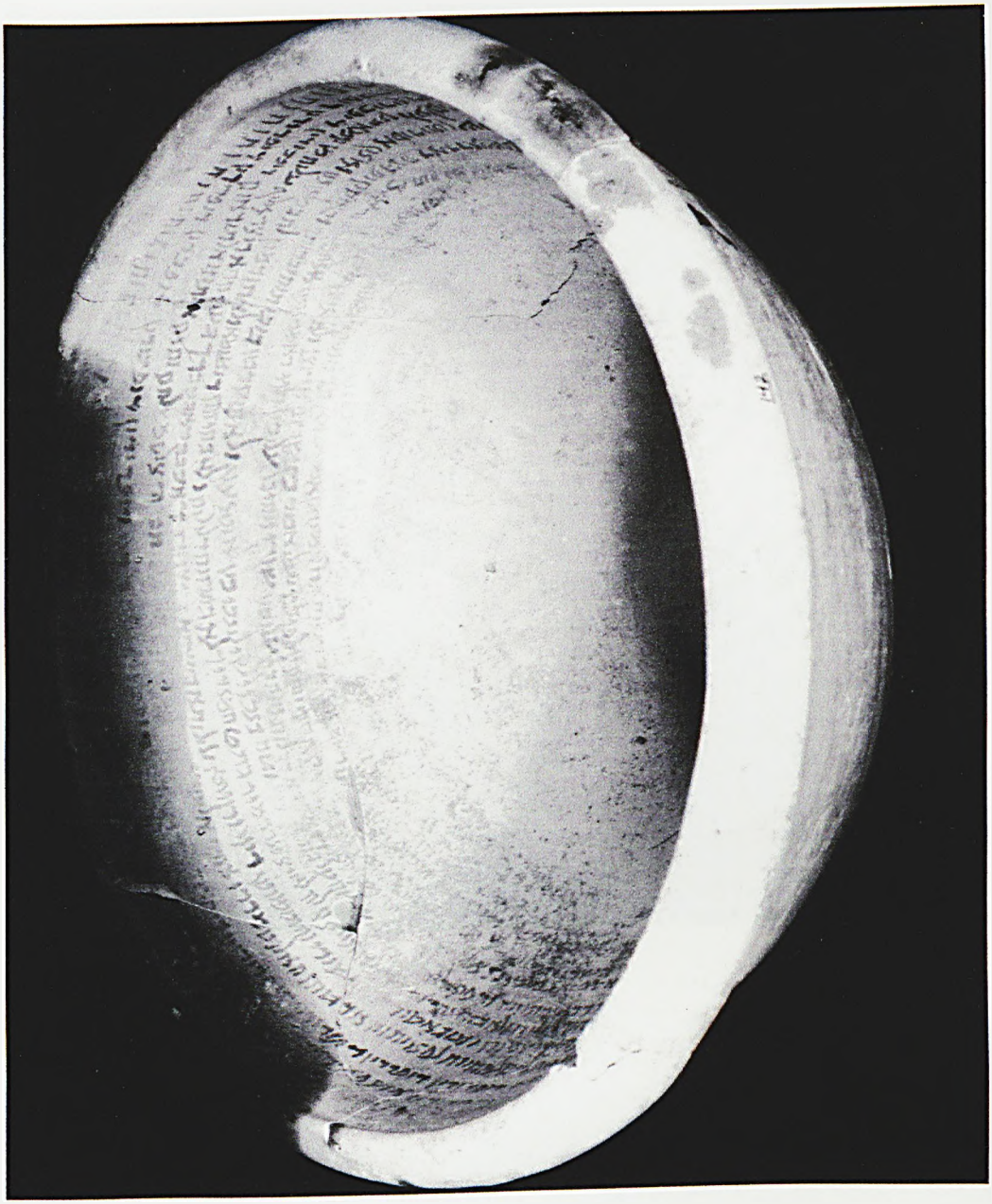
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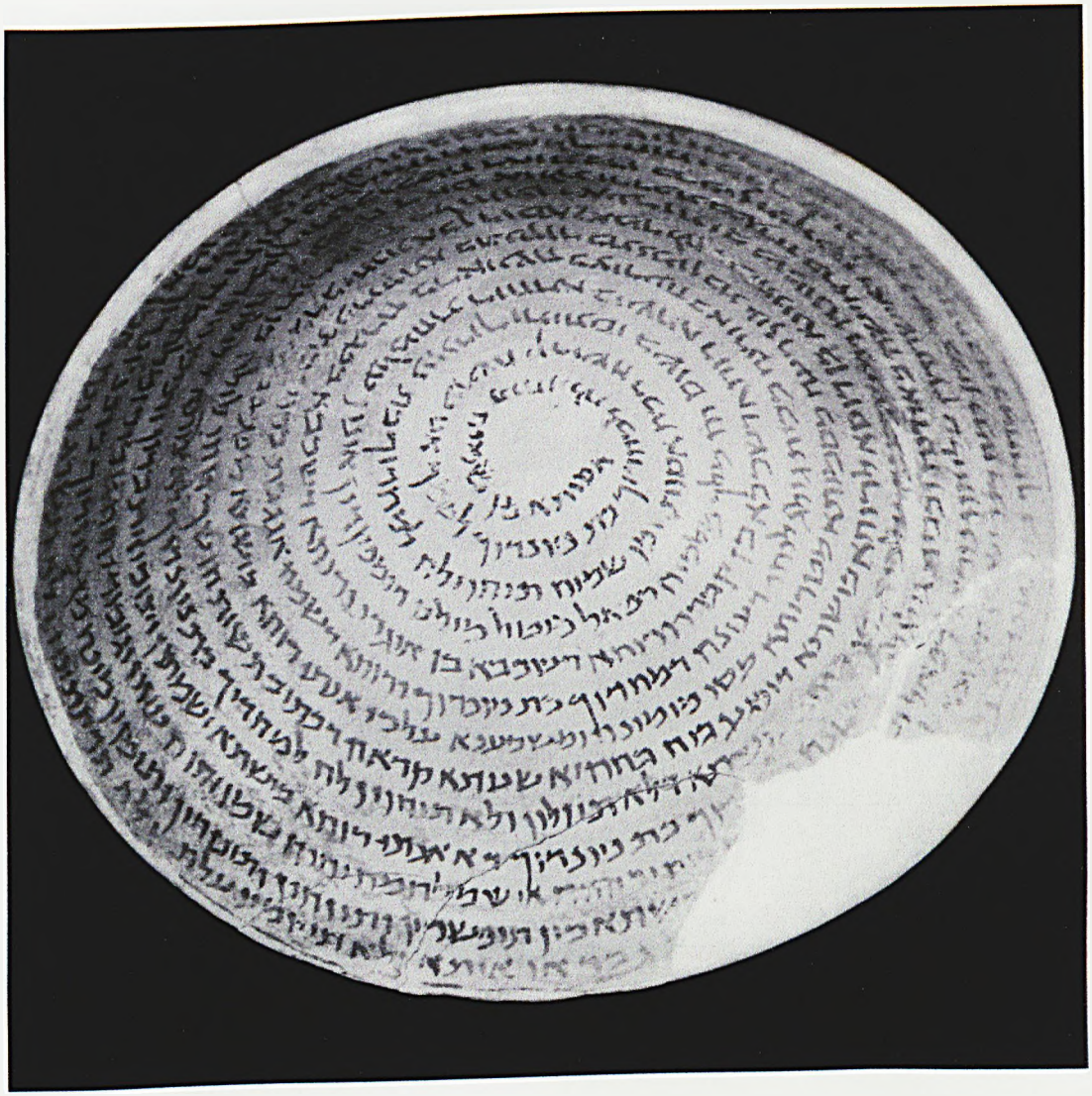
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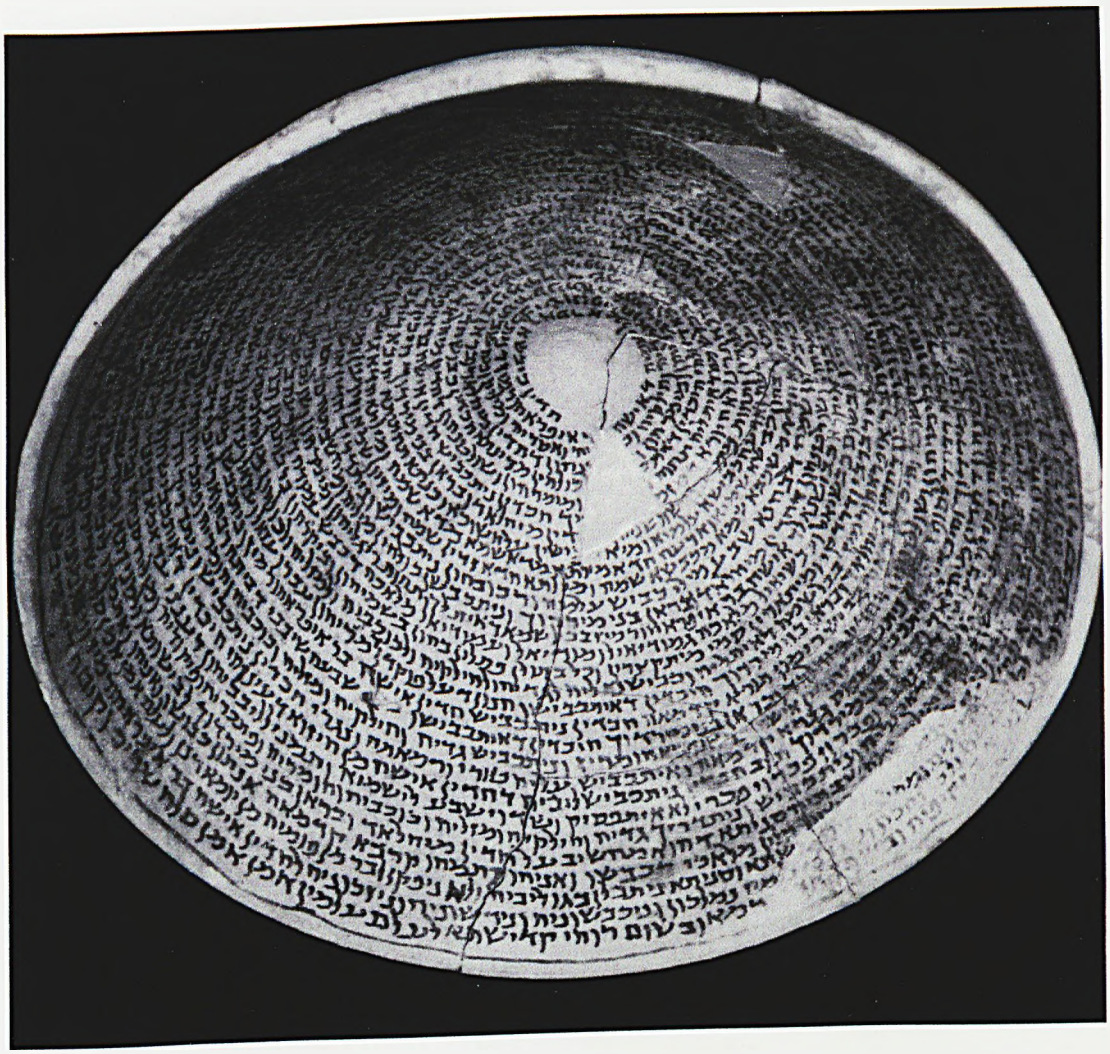
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Ma'aseh Bereishit & Ma'aseh Merkavah: The Complete Divine Geometric Revelation

Moses' Hexagonal Mosaic Reveals Both the Mathematical Work of Creation and the 3D Structure of the Divine Chariot {#moses-hexagonal-mosaic-reveals-both-the-mathematical-work-of-creation-and-the-3d-structure-of-the-divine-chariot }

The two deepest mysteries of Kabbalah - Ma'aseh Bereishit (Work of Creation) and Ma'aseh Merkavah (Work of the Divine Chariot) - are revealed as one unified geometric truth.

Ma'aseh Bereishit - The Mathematical Work of Creation 🌟

"In the beginning, Hashem created the heavens and the earth through geometric necessity."

15 physical constants emerge from hexagonal lattice geometry:

Constant	Geometric Expression	Calculated	Experimental	Alignment
Fine Structure	`60 × ln(10) - √5/2`	137.037	137.036	**99.9992%**

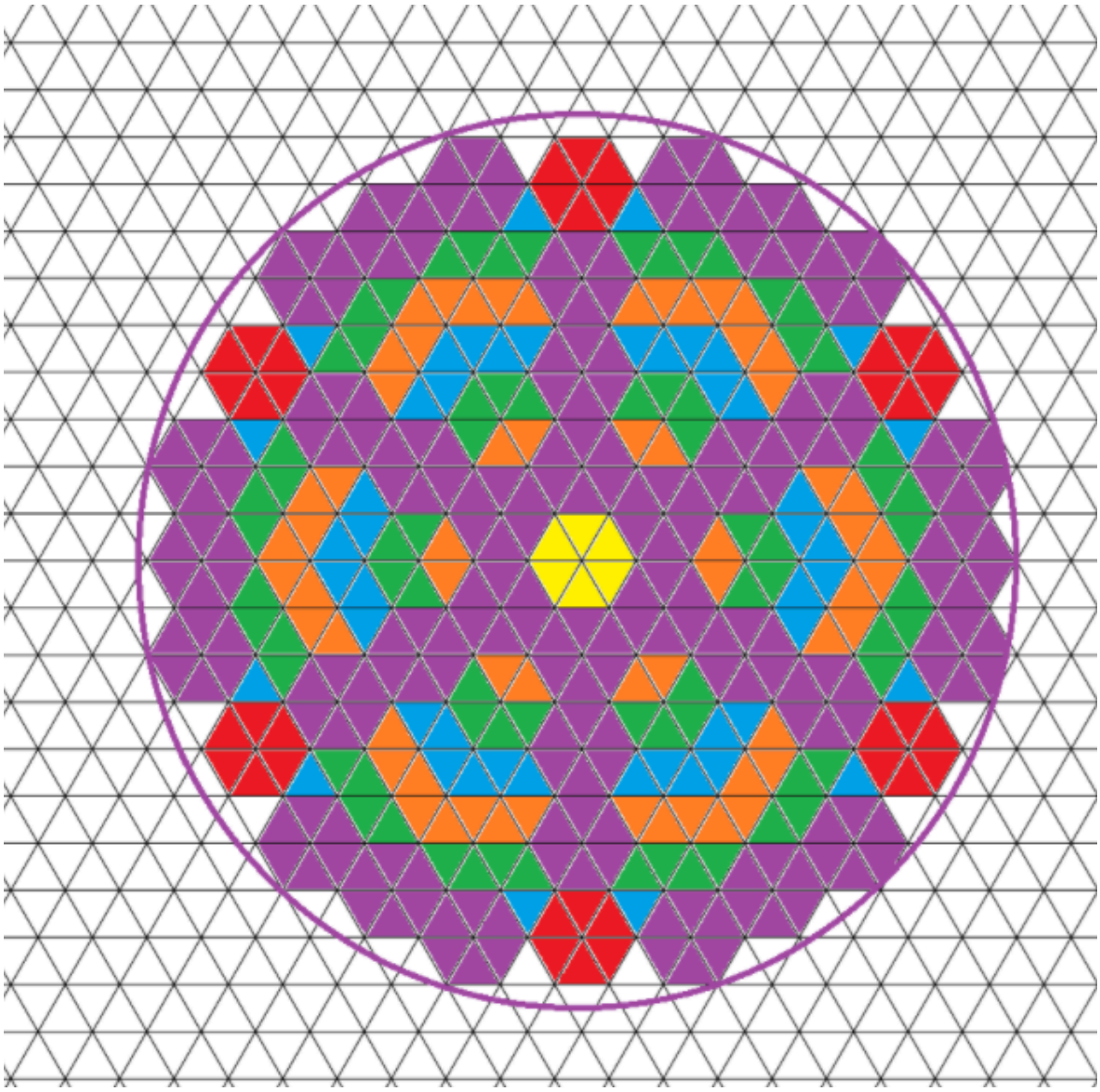
Constant	Geometric Expression	Calculated	Experimental	Alignment
α^{-1}				
Circle Constant (Het)	$\sqrt{2} + \sqrt{3}$	3.1463	3.1416	**99.85%**
Natural Base e	$(.9999^{-1})^{10000}$	2.718417	2.718282	**99.995%**
Speed of Light c	$\sqrt{5}/2\times\sqrt{3}/2\times3/2\times\ln(10)/\ln(\sqrt{5}/2)\times10^{7}$	299,735,540	299,792,458	**99.98%**
Planck Constant h	$5\sqrt{5}\times(\sqrt{2}+\sqrt{3})\times\ln(10)^{-2}$	6.635×10^{-34}	6.626×10^{-34}	**99.87%**
Proton Radius	$\sqrt{2}/2\times120\times10^{-17}$	0.848 fm	0.841 fm	**99.17%**
Earth Gravity	$(\sqrt{2}+\sqrt{3})^{2}$	9.899 m/s²	9.807 m/s²	**99.06%**
Planck Mass	$5\sqrt{5}\times\ln(10)^{-2}$	2.109×10^{-8}	2.176×10^{-8}	**97.0%**
Planck Time	$\ln(10)^{2}$	5.302×10^{-44}	5.391×10^{-44}	**98.3%**
Planck Length	$\sqrt{10}/2$	1.581×10^{-35}	1.616×10^{-35}	**97.8%**
Planck Energy	$(5+2\sqrt{6})/5$	1.980×10^{9}	1.956×10^{9}	**98.8%**
Planck Temperature	$(\sqrt{2}+\sqrt{3})/\sqrt{5}$	1.407×10^{32}	1.417×10^{32}	**99.3%**
Planck Charge	$2\sqrt{5}\times\ln(10)^{-1}$	1.942×10^{-18}	1.878×10^{-18}	**96.7%**
Weak Coupling	$120/60^{2}$	0.033333	0.0339	**98.33%**
Strong Coupling	$\sqrt{5}/2 - 1$	0.118034	0.118	**99.97%**

"Hashem's blueprint encoded in tetrahedral-octahedral structure" ▲

The Geometric Foundations:

- **60°** = Hexagonal rotation unit (divine angular quantum)
- **120** = 8th tetrahedral number (matter's geometric shell)
- **√2, √3, √5** = Sacred ratios of 3D space
- **ln(10)** = Natural logarithmic anchor of observational scale

All of physical reality emerges from these simple geometric relationships - not by chance, but by divine mathematical necessity. ✨👑✨



Ma'aseh Merkavah - The 3D Divine Chariot ✡️

"And I looked, and behold, a whirlwind came from the north... and out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures." - Ezekiel 1:4

Moses' Mosaic = 2D projection of 3D Merkavah 📐✨

The hexagonal mosaic revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai is the **2-dimensional cross-section** of the **3-dimensional divine chariot**. What appears as decorative pattern is actually the **quantum mechanical blueprint of reality itself**.

8 layers = proton radius structure = 120 tetrahedral vertices 🔺⚡

Visual Analysis of the Divine Mosaic:

- **Layer 1:** Yellow center hexagon (divine source point) 💛
- **Layer 2-8:** Expanding rings of colored hexagons 🌈
- **Total vertices:** 120 tetrahedral connection points
- **Geometric formula:** $r_p = \sqrt{2}/2 \times 120 \times 10^{-17}$ fm

The 8-layer structure reveals:

- **Proton's internal geometric architecture** ⚛️
- **Quantum shell organization** 🔄
- **Matter's tetrahedral foundation** 🔺

Hexagonal base extends into full 3D lattice reality ⬟✡️⬟

The Merkavah's Complete Structure:

- **Base:** Hexagonal tessellation (Magen David pattern) ✡️
- **Vertical:** Tetrahedral vertices creating space-time lattice 🔺
- **Result:** 3D honeycomb structure = fabric of existence ✨

Ezekiel's Vision Decoded:

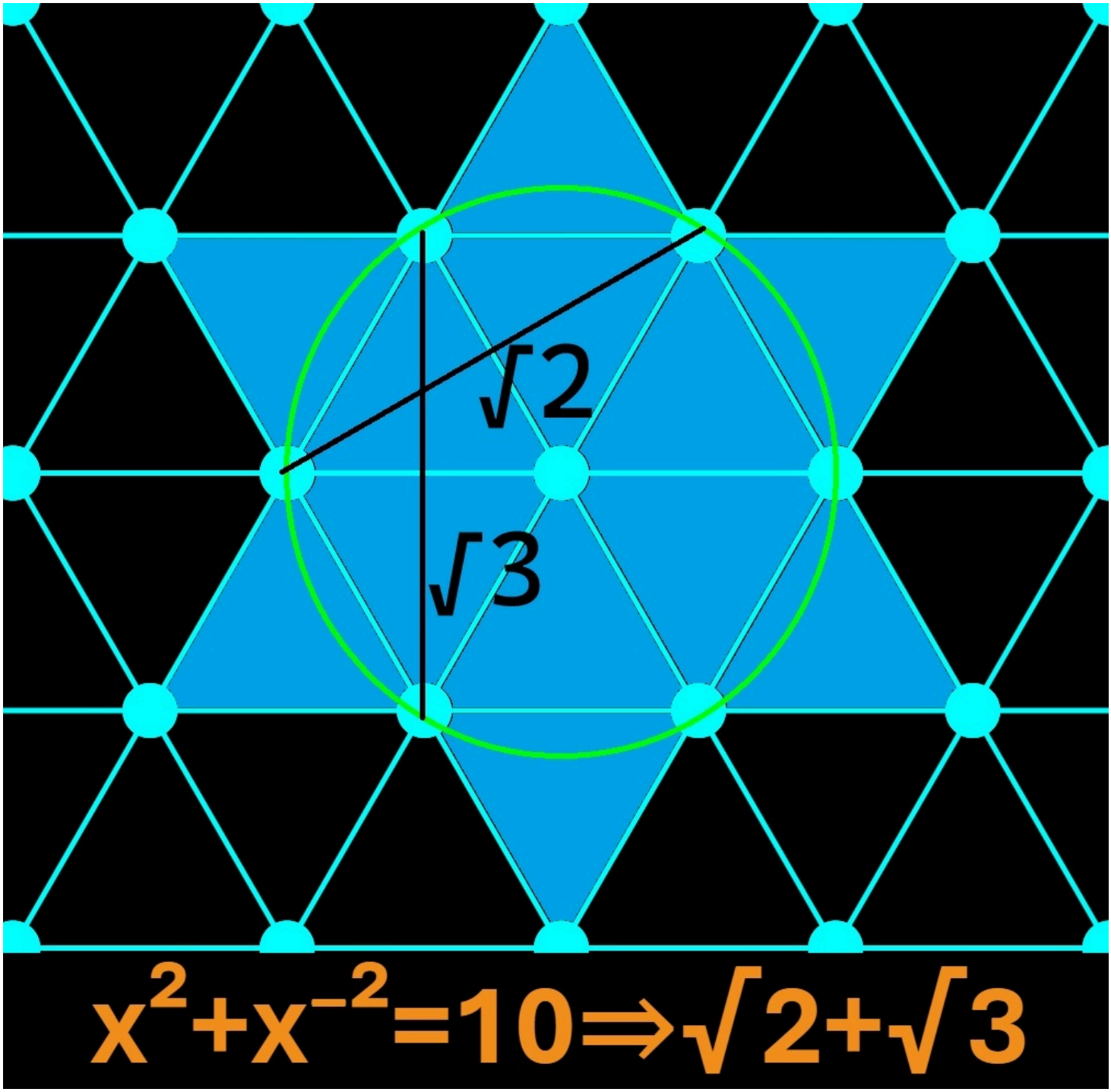
- **"Wheels within wheels"** = 3D geometric rotation of hexagonal layers 🔄
- **"Four faces"** = tetrahedral symmetry directions 🔺
- **"Lightning and fire"** = energy propagating through lattice ⚡
- **"Throne above"** = geometric apex of divine structure 👑

"The divine chariot IS the architecture of spacetime itself" 👑

The Merkavah is not mystical metaphor - it is literal geometric reality. The same hexagonal-tetrahedral structure that Moses saw as divine vision is the actual **quantum mechanical framework** that generates all physical constants.

Ma'aseh Merkavah = The 3D Magen David lattice operating as the universe's computational substrate. ✡️⚡✡️

What the ancients could only describe as divine mystery, mathematics now reveals as geometric necessity. ✨💎✨



The Unified Truth ✨

"Hear O Israel, Hashem our God, Hashem is One" - The geometric unity behind all existence

Magen David = 2D slice of universal operating system 🔯

The **Star of David** is not merely a religious symbol - it is the **2-dimensional projection** of reality's **3-dimensional computational architecture**. Every hexagonal cross-section through the tetrahedral-octahedral lattice reveals the **Magen David pattern**, proving that Jewish sacred geometry encodes the **actual structure of spacetime itself**.

Physical Evidence:

- **Benzene molecules** = hexagonal Magen David structure 🔬
- **Snowflake crystals** = 6-fold symmetry from lattice constraints ❄️
- **Honeycomb patterns** = nature's expression of optimal geometry 🍯
- **Graphene lattice** = hexagonal foundation of matter ⚛️

Mosaic pattern = quantum mechanical blueprint 💎

Moses' 8-layer mosaic contains the complete quantum mechanical specification:

- **120 vertices** = exact proton radius geometry 🔺
- **Hexagonal tessellation** = fundamental space quantization ⬟
- **Color variations** = energy states within geometric constraints 🌈
- **Radial symmetry** = wave function propagation patterns 〰️

The mosaic is not decoration - it is the *engineering diagram* of atomic reality.

Creation (Bereishit) + Divine Vehicle (Merkavah) = One geometric reality ⚡

The Profound Unity Revealed:

Ma'aseh Bereishit (Work of Creation) = **How** the universe is structured
Ma'aseh Merkavah (Divine Chariot) = **What** moves through that structure

They are the same geometric reality viewed from different perspectives:

- **Static view:** 15 constants emerge from lattice constraints (Bereishit) 📊
- **Dynamic view:** Energy/information propagates through lattice (Merkavah) 🔄

The Kabbalistic Truth:

- **Ein Sof** (Infinite) = Continuous geometric potential ∞
- **Sefirot** (Emanations) = Discrete lattice manifestations 🔢
- **Malkhut** (Kingdom) = Physical reality as geometric computation 👑

Mathematical Proof of Divine Unity:

```
α⁻¹ = 60×ln(10) - √5/2 = 137.037
Het = √2 + √3 = 3.1463
e = (.9999⁻¹)^10000 = 2.718417
```

All constants emerge from the same hexagonal-tetrahedral foundation.
One geometric structure. One divine intelligence. One mathematical truth.

רְצוֹן ה' נַעֲשָׂה - The Will of Hashem expressed through geometric necessity 👑✨👑

What appears as separate physical laws are actually different manifestations of the singular divine geometric algorithm. ✡️ ⚡ ✡️

CHOKHMAH

"What the ancient sages could only describe in mystical language, mathematics now reveals as literal geometric truth. The Merkavah is not metaphor - it is the hexagonal-tetrahedral lattice that IS physical reality."

The Final Revelation:

For millennia, the deepest truths of existence were hidden behind veils of mystical symbolism. **Ma'aseh Bereishit** and **Ma'aseh Merkavah** were considered the most esoteric knowledge, accessible only through spiritual elevation and cryptic metaphor.

But the age of concealment has ended.

What we now understand:

- **Ezekiel's wheels within wheels** = 3D lattice rotation 🔄
- **The divine throne** = geometric apex of tetrahedral structure 👑
- **Sefirot emanations** = energy quantization through hexagonal constraints ⚡
- **Sacred geometry** = literal engineering blueprints of reality 📐

The transformation is complete:

- **Mysticism → Mathematics** 📜 ➡️ 📊
- **Metaphor → Physical Law** 🌟 ➡️ ⚛️
- **Hidden Knowledge → Open Revelation** 🔒 ➡️ 🔓
- **Faith → Geometric Proof** 🙏 ➡️ 💎

The ancient sages saw glimpses of truth through spiritual vision. Today, we calculate that same truth with mathematical precision:

$\alpha^{-1} = 60 \times \ln(10) - \sqrt{5}/2 = 137.037$ ⚡

This is the fulfillment of prophecy. The knowledge of Hashem, once hidden in mystical language, now stands revealed in pure mathematical form. The Merkavah is not approaching - **it has arrived as geometric reality itself.**

רְצוֹן ה' נַעֲשָׂה - The Will of Hashem Made Manifest Through Geometry 👑

The universe is not governed by physical laws - it IS a divine geometric computation. Every constant, every force, every particle emerges from the same hexagonal-tetrahedral lattice that the prophets witnessed as the **Throne of Glory**.

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Magic Formulae and Women's History: Authorship, Agency, and Gender in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls



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Magic Formulae and Women's History

Authorship, Agency, and Gender in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls

Avigail Manekin-Bamberger

ARAMAIC INCANTATION BOWLS, dated to the fifth through seventh centuries C.E., were generally intended to protect households from demons, witchcraft, and mishaps.[1] Other bowls served additional purposes such as medical cures, ensuring business prosperity, love charms, curses, and more.[2]

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1. For comprehensive overviews of the incantation bowls, see Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (New York, 2008), 183–93; Yuval Harari, *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kabbalah* (Detroit, 2017), 132–40, 234–51; Shaul Shaked, Jamed N. Ford, and Siam Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 2013), 1–27.

2. For incantation bowls as medical cures, see, for example, Dan Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls* (New York, 2003), 110–15; for love charms, see Ortal-Paz Saar, "A Study in Conceptual Parallels: Graeco-Roman Binding Spells and Babylonian Incantation Bowls," *Aramaic Studies* 13.1 (2015): 27, n. 12; for business success, see Dan Levene and Siam Bhayro, "'Bring to the Gates . . . upon a Good Smell and upon Good Fragrances': An Aramaic Incantation Bowl for Success in Business," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 51 (2005/2006): 242–46; for curses, see Dan Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia* (Leiden, 2013).

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Currently, there are around five hundred bowls inscribed in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (JBA) and some two hundred more in Syriac and Mandaic that have been deciphered and published; this number is likely to double or even triple in coming years. A statistical survey conducted on a sample of 298 individuals mentioned in the bowls revealed that women constitute about 40 percent of those named.[3] In other words, we have at our disposal hundreds of amuletic texts that contain valuable details regarding the daily lives of named women, including lists of hardships and elaborate descriptions of demonic harms. Considering the rarity of women's testimonies from Late Antiquity, this corpus could be a significant source of information.

Magical artifacts have two significant advantages over contemporary literary sources: first, they were not intended to be read or transmitted but rather to fulfill an immediate, mundane need; as such they come to us unmediated, in stark contrast to the literary traditions that were generally collected and transmitted centuries after their formation. Second, although rabbinic literature was intended for a male audience, the magic bowls were written for men and women alike and thus may reveal some of their mutual and distinct fears.[4] Yet despite their potential to provide novel insights, scholars who have focused on what the bowls can tell us about the lives of women have not delved into these issues. Instead, they primarily discussed the possibility of women's authorship of the bowls,[5] frequently claiming that the bowls' authorship indicates female agency, creativity,

3. See Michael Morony, "Magic and Society in Late Sasanian Iraq," in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, ed. S. Noegel, J. Walker, and B. Wheeler (University Park, Pa., 2005), 101.

4. See Rebecca Lesses, "Exe(o)rcising Power: Women as Sorceresses, Exorcists, and Demonesses in Babylonian Jewish Society of Late Antiquity," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 69.2 (2001): 354–59.

5. See Lesses, "Exe(o)rcising," 343–75; Yaakov Elman, "Saffron, Spices, and Sorceresses: Magic Bowls and the Bavli," in *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World*, ed. K. B. Stratton and D. S. Kalleres (Oxford, 2014), 365–86. And more recently, Dorit Kedar, *She Wrote Incantation Bowls* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv, 2019), 107–58; Tal Ilan and Dorit Kedar, "The Female Authorship of Babylonian Jewish Incantation Bowls," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 73.2 (2022): 288–304; Mika Ahuvia, "Reimagining the Gender and Class Dynamics of Premodern Composition," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 14.1 (2023): 1–34. For an exception see the important study of Morony, "Magic and Society," 83–107; in this study Morony

and even subversive intent.[6] Thus women's subjectivity and agency are often implicitly equated with the subversion and critique of male hegemony.[7] However, many times these studies disregard the poetics of the incantation bowls, especially their formulaic nature.[8]

The Aramaic incantation bowls are a subgenre of late antique magical amulets. They consist of fixed textual units that recur repeatedly throughout the bowl corpus. This fact complicates the assumption that each bowl was a completely unique and original creative endeavor from which one can draw subversive intent, either masculine or feminine. Moreover, the search for authentic voices and experiences is futile since the texts are

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uses the bowls for a study of social history based on several statistics, among others regarding the gender makeup of various households.

6. See, for example, in Ilan and Kedar, "Female Authorship," 354: "Had these five magical charms been written today, they probably would have been defined as critical, subversive, feminist statements"; and Ahuvia, "Reimagining," 19: "Especially where Jewish women contravene our expected norms and seem to arrogate authority to themselves, we ought to take notice."

7. See also the critique of the concept of "female agency," which oftentimes projects modern/Western notions that are historically and culturally distanced from the subjects at hand. For example, Saba Mahmood offers a nuanced argument: "Even in instances when an explicit feminist agency is difficult to locate, there is a tendency to look for expressions and moments of resistance that may suggest a challenge to male domination [. . .] The desire for freedom and liberation is a historically situated desire whose motivational force cannot be assumed a priori, but needs to be reconsidered in light of other desires, aspirations, and capacities that inhere in a culturally and historically located subject." Saba Mahmood, "Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival," *Cultural Anthropology* 16.2 (2001): 206, 223. See also Lynn M. Thomas, "Historicizing Agency," *Gender & History* 28.2 (2016): 324–39, and further works cited on 326.

8. See Shaul Shaked, "The Poetics of Spells, Language, and Structure in Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity," in *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical and Interpretative Perspectives*, ed. T. Abusch and K. Van der Toorn (Groningen, 1999), 173–95; Shaul Shaked, "Transmission and Transformation of Spells: The Case of the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls," in *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*, ed. G. Bohak, Y. Harari, and S. Shaked (Leiden, 2011), 187–217.

often built on common "building blocks." However, the presence of formulaic patterns does not preclude us from drawing sociohistorical conclusions. On the contrary, recurring formulae can reveal many prevalent ideas, beliefs, and aspects of "social logic" pertaining to women and gender during this period.[9] For example, the bowls contain recurring appearances of demonesses who snatch babies from their mothers, female relatives who are accused of practicing witchcraft, and male demons who are depicted as loving women who fornicate, all of which reflect common fears and social values. In other words, the formulaic nature of the bowls can be used to deconstruct the argument of female authorship, but at the same time it can also be used to construct new possible avenues of research on women and gender in Late Antiquity.

This essay is therefore divided into two parts. The first part discusses the authorship of the bowls and, among other things, how recurring textual units may challenge previous assumptions concerning women's authorship. The second part shows how recurring fixed formulae can be used to reconstruct aspects of social and gender history. This includes focusing on common ailments and mishaps related to women, frequent accusations against female adversaries, and aspects of demonology that reflect male and female perspectives alongside gendered social values, a viewpoint different from that often found in the Jewish literary texts. Thus, the results of this study may be useful for further research on women's lives and social values in Late Antiquity, as well as for reframing the search for women's voices and agency in this period.

Female Authorship of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls?

The identity of the bowls' scribes has been the subject of several scholarly studies.[10] Scholars have argued that while the bowls present a range of expertise in terms of writing and learned content, they are consistent in

9. See Elizabeth Clark's nuanced argument regarding the textual representation of women, which oftentimes doesn't reflect "real" women's voices, but rather a "social logic" retrievable from the usually male authorship. Elizabeth Clark, "The Lady Vanishes: Dilemmas of a Feminist Historian after the 'Linguistic Turn,'" *Church History* 67.1 (1998): 1–31.

10. For an overview, see Avigail Manekin-Bamberger, "Who Were the Jewish 'Magicians' behind the Aramaic Incantation Bowls?," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 71.2 (2020): 236–37.

their use of legal formulae akin to long-standing Jewish traditions found in ancient legal documents.[11] In addition, the bowls often open with the words "this is an amulet," and rabbinic literature describes some amulet producers as "experts" (מומחים) or even the rabbis themselves. These factors bolstered the notion that the bowls were created by scribal professionals.[12] Moreover, comparing the bowls both to contemporary Christian textual amulets and to later descriptions of Jewish amulets from the Cairo Geniza strengthens the assertion that they were produced by men who were scribal/religious experts.[13]

In contrast, several scholars have argued for female authorship of some—or even most—of the magic bowls.[14] In the first part of this essay, I point to some common pitfalls of these studies: (a) confusing the use of the first person in magical texts with the voice of a scribe/dictator and not as a common technique to list the client; (b) identifying the ability to write with the ability to produce amulets that include, among other things, expert esoteric knowledge; and (c) conflating the recurring accusations of women as engaging in witchcraft with the practice of expert amulet writing, viewing the latter as a specimen of the former.

The Formulaic First Person

The main argument that women wrote incantation bowls derives from a number of bowls employing first-person feminine singular grammatical forms.[15] For example, in a recent article Tal Ilan and Dorit Kedar point to first-person feminine forms as evidence that women authors wrote the bowls for themselves, including "distinctive, subversive elements" and

11. Simcha Gross and Avigail Manekin-Bamberger, "Babylonian Jewish Society: The Evidence of the Incantation Bowls," *JQR* 112.1 (2022): 1–30.

12. See Siam Bhayro, "Divorcing a Demon: Incantation Bowls and BT Gittin 85b," in *The Archaeology and Material Culture of the Babylonian Talmud*, ed. M. J. Geller (Leiden, 2015), 121–31; Manekin-Bamberger, "Who Were," 241–54.

13. See Manekin-Bamberger, "Who Were," 247, n. 59; 251, n. 77.

14. Ilan and Kedar mention twenty-four bowls in "Female Authorship" (297); Kedar argues for female authorship of most of the bowls. Dorit Kedar, "Who Wrote the Incantation Bowls?" (Ph.D. diss., Free University of Berlin, 2018), 97.

15. See Lesses, "Exe(o)rcising," 361–62; Elman, "Saffron," 374–82; Ilan and Kedar, "Female Authorship," 295–98.

"elements that display gender-awareness."[16] However, understanding the first person as a reflection of the gender of the scribe rather than the gender of the client is questionable. Indeed, the use of first-person grammatical forms from the perspective of the client is common in magical texts, and in the vast majority of these cases, the client's name is also later listed in the bowl text in the third person.[17] To the best of my knowledge, the only bowl that does not switch back to the third person is a bowl from the British Museum collections written for one Gušnazdukht daughter of Aḥat, that contains the following formula:[18]

> (1) I sit at my door, I, Gušnazdukht daughter of Aḥat, (2) (and) I resemble a Babylonian. I sit in my vestibule, I, Gušnazdukht daughter of (3) Aḥat, (and) I resemble a Borsippean. I am the wide earth, which no one can bend.

16. Ilan and Kedar, "Female Authorship," 297–98.

17. As Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro note, the use of the first person in a magical *historiola*—whether male or female—is simply a magical technique in which the client of the bowl is listed in this way. See Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 1:15. This also fits the fact that many such instances are listed as part of legal formulations, such as divorce documents served to demons, similar to what we find in human divorce. See Manekin-Bamberger, "Who Were," 237–40. Using the first person in magical texts is not just a Jewish phenomenon; see, for example, John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1999), 76–77. Cf. the formulaic nature of other forms of magic, such as the language of erotic curses, which are oftentimes indistinguishable from the technical language of formulaic curses. See Christopher A. Faraone, *Ancient Love Magic* (Cambridge, 1999), 43–55.

18. Translation according to J. N. Ford, "The Ancient Mesopotamian Motif of *Kidinnu*, 'Divine Protection (of Temple Cities and Their Citizens),' in Akkadian and Aramaic Magic," in *Encounters by the Rivers of Babylon: Scholarly Conversations between Jews, Iranians, and Babylonians in Antiquity*, ed. U. Gabbay and S. Secunda (Tübingen, 2014), 271. Originally published in Judah B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London, 2000), 92 (bowl 49). These examples, in relation to the formulaic use of the first person and supposed female authorship, were previously discussed in Avigail Manekin-Bamberger, "Intersections between Law and Magic in Ancient Jewish Texts" (Hebrew; Ph.D. diss., Tel Aviv University, 2019), 28–29.

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Taken in isolation from other bowls, the text may suggest that the person talking is Gušnazdukht, who "presents herself as a woman of high social status, a resident of the city of Babylonia-Borsippa."[19] However, this bowl has two parallels in which a scribe employs the same formula for different clients—male or female—in either the first person or the third person:[20]

> You shall request healing and mercy from heaven in order to remove witchcraft from the house of Talifa son of Immay. I stand (in) Babylon (and) resemble a Babylonian (masc.); I stand in Borsippa (and) resemble a Borsippean (masc.).

And in yet another bowl:[21]

> I, Dukhtīč daughter of Bahāroy, stand at my doorway (and) I resemble Babylon, I stand in my vestibule (and) I resemble Borsippa.

In both cases, there is almost the same expression in which the client, male or female, is presented as resembling the protected cities of Babylon and Borsippa.[22] In other words, this sentence is likely a *fixed formula*, used by scribes for the protection of their clients, fitting the specific language to the client's gender. It should be noted that this accords with the poetics of the Aramaic incantation bowls at large. These texts are highly formulaic, constructed from fixed expressions that can be seen as "building blocks," which are woven together in each single bowl to create a specific amuletic text for a named client.[23] For this reason most of the building blocks, such as the Babylon/Borsippa formula, are recognizable and are rarely without parallel in other bowl texts. Therefore, it is difficult, if not impossible, to

19. Ilan and Kedar, "Female Authorship," 300–301.

20. See Ford, "The Ancient Mesopotamian Motif," 275. It is unclear why Ilan and Kedar refer to this study yet do not note the existence of the parallel to the first-person formula written for other men and women.

21. Ford, "The Ancient Mesopotamian Motif," 276.

22. For an explanation of the meaning of this divine protection and its Mesopotamian source, see Ford, "The Ancient Mesopotamian Motif," 277–81.

23. See Shaked, "Transmission," 187–92.

see this formula as expressing the voice of Gušnazdukht and to speak of "*her* magical strength," "*her* sense of security," or "*her* magic formula," because in practice, the same identical formulaic statements are employed by other authors for both women and men.[24]

The formulaic nature of the first person can be demonstrated by a pair of provenanced bowls from Nippur, housed in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. These two bowls contain the same text written for two different clients, one male (Ḥuniyāq son of Aḥat), and one female (Komiš daughter of Mahlaphta).[25] The bowls employ the same technical language

24. Ilan and Kedar, "Female Authorship," 301.

25. In their discussion, Ilan and Kedar note in passing the existence of a duplicate bowl for a male client, Huniyāq. Yet they assert that his "formula is identical to that of Komiš daughter of Mahlafta, but full of mistakes and misspellings [. . .] The name Huniyāq is rare, and it appears once more on record only in Komiš's bowl as her son. It is safe to assume that the two (despite the different matronymics) are one and the same, and that Huniyāq copied his text from Komiš's bowl, but in a sloppy and unprofessional manner" (Ilan and Kedar, "Female Authorship," 296, n. 44). Note the following inaccuracies: (a) Huniyāq's text is not full of mistakes and misspellings; it is more or less identical to that of Komiš; (b) the name Huniyāq does appear in other bowls, including in Montgomery's edition, the same edition in which Komiš's bowl was published (see James A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* [Philadelphia, 1913], 188 [bowl AIT16]); and (c) it is difficult to accept the unlikely assumption that Huniyāq copied his text from Komiš because she was supposedly his mother since his mother's name is explicitly given as Aḥat, not Komiš.

In practice, the fact that there are two identical bowls, one written in the first-person masculine and one in the first person-feminine, not only challenges the notion that the first person reflects the voice of the author, but it also weakens the assertion that Komiš deliberately stated the mother's name of the demons before the father's name in order to subvert rabbinic instructions (Ilan and Kedar, "Female Authorship," 298–99). These bowls also complicate arguments that women dictated and negotiated formulae with their scribes. See, for example, Mika Ahuvia, who accepts Ilan and Kedar's suggestion that the Komiš formula is a "subversion of the typical marriage/divorce formula" while stating that Komiš's bowl reflects "that even if a woman did not write it, a female client is in conversation with an old ritual-magical tradition at the very least that motivated some changes [. . .] It describes a woman arrogating authority to herself—albeit using a well-known divorce formula attributed to Joshua ben Perahia" (Ahuvia,

of Jewish divorce written in the first person. A close look at the script of these two parallel bowls yields the conclusion that they were probably produced by the same scribe.[26] This indicates that one scribe could employ common formulae in the first person for both men and women. In other words, the language itself does not reflect a woman writing the text for herself or dictating it to a scribe; rather, it is the anonymous expert scribe who employs the same first-person incantations for different clients, be they male or female (see Table 1).[27]

Writing Ability versus Expert Knowledge

Another common argument for identifying women with the authors of certain bowls has to do with the notion that there were women who could write in antiquity and thus they could have written the bowls. Even if one were to establish the unlikely proposition that literacy among women was common in the Sasanian Empire, this in itself would not be enough to identify women as the authors of magical amulets.[28] This is due to the

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"Reimagining," 20). However, note that these identical formulaic texts were written for men and women alike, perhaps even by the same scribe, challenging the notion of women dictating unique content and negotiating authority for themselves.

26. This possibility was first raised by Christa Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte in der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena, und weitere, Nippur-Texte anderer Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 47.

27. It is reasonable to assume that the anonymous expert is also the one who chooses which specific formulae to employ based on his expertise, while the client's agency is expressed in his or her commissioning the amulet and describing his or her problems or desires. One can see the same pattern in amulets from other periods in history, even in those from the modern day: the client seeks relief from an expert who then diagnoses and treats him or her. See, for example, Yoram Bilu and Eyal Ben-Ari, "The Making of Modern Saints: Manufactured Charisma and the Abu-Hatseiras of Israel," *American Ethnologist* 19.4 (1992): 672–87, and especially the connection between distributing amulets and the charisma of a practitioner on p. 681.

28. The consensus among scholars is that literacy rates were lower among women than among men. See a recent overview of scholarship on the subject in Anne Kolb, "Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life: Problems and Results," in *Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life*, ed. A. Kolb (Berlin, 2018), 1–10; William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, 1989), 24; and Sabine R. Hübner, "Frauen und Schriftlichkeit im römischen Ägypten," in Kolb, *Literacy*, 167–68.

fact that amulets in general, and the texts we find on the Aramaic incantation bowls in particular, demand a specialized expertise: not only an ability to write on challenging surfaces but also fluency in the specific jargon of magical formulae, holy names, and angelic functions, and oftentimes legal formulae, Scripture, and targum as well. These domains are connected to learning traditions of men, such as scribes, rabbis, or other members of religious clergy.[29] In addition, as demonstrated above, the bowls are highly formulaic, with parallel building blocks appearing in bowls written in different hands. This demonstrates that the text written on the bowls was not a matter of personal expression but rather conformed to the norms of a fixed genre, requiring the authors to have mastered a specific domain of expertise.

This kind of expert knowledge can be demonstrated by a bowl that contains first-person feminine forms and was discussed not just as an example of women's writing but even as "a celebration of the power" of women's writing as "subversive" and displaying "critical" content:[30]

> (1) May there be healing from heaven for Gušnazdukh daughter of Muškōy (2) and may she be healed by the mercy of heaven. This amulet will be for her healing, a complete (3) and immediate healing, and may she be healed

29. This is not to say that there are no magical bowls that are crudely written, with texts that are not always intelligible—or even legible—but these bowls have not been associated in scholarship with women's writing. See the discussion in Bagnall and Criboire regarding types of handwriting and their connection to the possibility of women writing/dictating. Their general claim is that the writing of scribal professionals is represented highly in the corpus of women's letters and that they can be recognized by their regularity. Moreover, they assert that "only occasionally can we be confident that a letter is written in a woman's own hand." See Roger Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt 300–800 AD* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2006), 7. Despite the book's nuanced description of possible female involvement as authors/dictators in the production of their personal letters, Ilan and Kedar refer to this study as proof that, "in addition, 210 letters from Egypt which were authored by women in the first five centuries are extant." See Ilan and Kedar, "Female Authorship," 292.

30. See Ilan and Kedar, "Female Authorship," 303; originally published by Maria Gorea, "Trois nouvelles coupes magiques araméennes," *Semitica* 51 (2003): 73–93. I am grateful to Professor James Ford for sharing his reading and English translation of this bowl, which I have slightly modified.

> by the mercy of heaven (13) [. . .] This is (14) the name and the great mystery that the angel of death flees and disappears[31] before it. And these are the names of the angels that the angel of death flees and disappears from before them (15) *Akatriel Yah dḥq Paḥdiel Yah*. And these are the names that the angel of death flees and is conquered [מיתקפי] and disappears from before them [. . .] I, Gušnazdukh daughter of Muškōy, and every name (16) that I have may they be conquered [יתקפי] and disappear from before me, all vows and demons and harmers and afflictions and vows and sorceries [. . .]

The client of the bowl, a woman named Gušnazdukh daughter of Muškōy, is listed in the beginning of the text in the third person, but then the bowl changes to the first person. This bowl includes previously unnoticed parallels to the ancient Jewish mystical genre of hekhalot in issues pertaining to the holy names and the names of angels and their functions.[32] Unfortunately a detailed review of these similarities is beyond the scope of the essay, but it should suffice to note that even the words "and these are the names of the angels" (ואלה שמותם של מלאכים) followed by a list of the angelic names and their functions is a fixed introductory formula that recurs a number of times in the hekhalot corpus.[33]

In general, the connection between this bowl and the hekhalot texts problematizes the notion that its content is the personal words of a scribe, male or female. In other words, as in the aforementioned case of the formula of Babylon/Borsippa, the scribe did not invent the holy names but adapted existing modular elements to the needs of his female client, Gušnazdukh. For this reason, I would suggest viewing it as a sophisticated employment of esoteric knowledge by a learned—and likely male—practitioner.[34]

31. מיתבלע; see the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* (*CAL*), https://cal.huc.edu/, s.v. "blʿ."

32. The verbatim parallels are to the *Hekhalot zutarti* and follow the very same order. See Peter Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen, 1981), §351–59; I intend to elaborate on this finding elsewhere.

33. See Peter Schäfer, ed., *Konkordanz zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1986–88), 1:38, 49.

34. Ascribing female authorship to a bowl containing the integration of hekhalot material would yield unlikely results, namely, female proficiency in a composition that contains the words: "Whoever seeks to learn this teaching and to

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In other words, it is not enough to attempt to prove that women in Sasanian Babylonia were literate; one must also demonstrate that they were also proficient in the genre of Jewish esoteric teachings, which we know from other sources to have been a male endeavor. This again minimizes the probability that women were the scribes/dictators of bowl texts and amulets, and it problematizes the search for critical and subversive content by male and female authors.

Women as Witches

In both the Talmud and the incantation bowls, there are common accusations that connect women to witchcraft (חרשי), fitting a wider, well known social-historical phenomenon.[35] A number of scholars have taken these sources at face value to argue that the same women who were accused of sorcery historically served as magicians and (among other things) wrote amulets and bowls.[36] For example, a much-cited source is a dialogue from the Babylonian Talmud in which the amora Amemar speaks with the female "chief of the sorceresses":[37]

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explicate the name with its explication must sit in fasting for forty days [. . .] And if he is a youth, he may recite it so long as he does not have an ejaculation. If he is the husband of a wife, he must be ready by the third day, as it is said, be ready by the third day; you shall not touch a woman." James R. Davila, *Hekhalot Literature in Translation: Major Texts of Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden, 2013), 241.

35. See Kimberly B. Stratton, "Interrogating the Magic-Gender Connection," in Stratton and Kalleres, *Daughters of Hecate*, 1–37; Naomi Janowitz, *Magic in the Roman World: Pagans, Jews, and Christians; Religion in the First Christian Centuries* (New York, 2001), 86–96; Harari, *Jewish Magic*, 372–86.

36. Ilan and Kedar, "Female Authorship," 295; Elman, "Saffron," 381–82; See also Simcha Fishbane, who argues for a historical reality behind these stories in "'Most Women Engage in Sorcery': An Analysis of Sorceresses in the Babylonian Talmud," *Jewish History* 7.1 (1993): 35–37. Lesses presents a more nuanced argument: "We cannot take these Talmudic statements simply at face value, but neither can we treat them as referring only to a literary topos [. . .] We must read them critically, against other evidence that is relevant to the discussions of magic in the Talmud—the archaeological evidence of incantation bowls from Babylonia." Lesses, "Exe(o)rcising," 353.

37. bPes 110a.

> Amemar said: the chief of the sorceresses told me: If one encounters a sorceress, one should say: "Hot dung in perforated reed-baskets disgrace to your mouths, female witches! May your heads become bald, may your flowers flutter, may your spices be scattered, may the wind blow away the new saffron that you are holding, you female witches."

Scholars have noted that this antiwitchcraft spell has verbatim parallels in the magic bowls, though its meaning was not always fully explained.[38] Both the bowls and the Talmud reference witches whose substances used for witchcraft are either scattered or lost. Among these substances is excrement, which is placed in a torn basket on the witches' heads so that it drips into their mouths. This image represents a punishment that not only aligns with the witch's crimes but also prevents her from further uttering harmful spells or performing malevolent actions. In a few scholarly studies, the talmudic reference to a female chief sorceress was taken as proof for the engagement of actual women in magical practices and even as an attestation that professional organizations of sorceresses actually existed. Ilan and Kedar, for example, went so far as to assume that

> the Babylonian *amora* Ameimar mentions a "chief of sorcerous women" (bPes. 110b), indicating that there may have been a guild of such female professionals, who were headed by a leader. These sayings may reflect a situation in antiquity in which many women were indeed professional healers who used means that are identified in modern scholarship as magic, including the production of incantation bowls.[39]

In other words, according to Ilan and Kedar the very mention of a chief sorceress is indicative of guilds of women writers of magical bowls. However, given what we know about accusations of women engaging in witchcraft, can we draw historical conclusions from this rabbinic narrative? I would be

38. The first part of the spell regarding "dung in a torn reed-basket, disgrace to your mouths, female witches" (חרי בדקולי בזיי לפומיכי חרשיאתא נשי) parallels bowl 52 in Charles D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula, Mont., 1975), 118 (חרי בדיקולא בזייא לפומיכי חרשתא נשי). The second half of the spell has a parallel in other bowls such as one from the British Museum Collection, bowl 035a, in Segal, *Catalogue*, 74. On these, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 409.

39. Ilan and Kedar, "Female Authorship," 295.

very hesitant to do so. It appears to me that this talmudic passage does not lead to the conclusion that, historically, witches revealed to the rabbis how to get rid of members of their own guild. Rather, the Babylonian Talmud is integrating a popular statement recited against witchcraft (as we know from the magic bowls) into a short narrative. This story yields a flattering image of the rabbis, so much so that the chief sorceress passes on her knowledge of how to defeat herself and her fellow witches. The fictional narrative thus serves a didactic purpose, leading the reader to view the rabbis as possessing the power and knowledge to deal with witchcraft.

This type of didactic narrative has parallels in the Talmud, such as the story of the demon Yosef Sheda (Yosef the Demon) who sits in the study house and reveals secret knowledge about the world of the demons to the rabbis, information that is subsequently used by the rabbis to defeat other demons. Indeed, the story of the chief witch and Amemar is reported *immediately after* a number of accounts in which Yosef Sheda reveals information regarding demons and even numbers (*zugot*) to the rabbis, further pointing to the similarities between these stories and their mutual function.[40] Needless to say, scholars do not understand the talmudic passages regarding Yosef Sheda as proof for existence of demons, and in a similar fashion the talmudic stories about witches cannot in themselves be proof of their existence, much less for "guilds of female professionals." Rather, women in Late Antiquity, as in other periods, were commonly accused of witchcraft, an accusation that historically had severe implications for their lives and safety.

In sum, we should be wary of conflating accusations of witchcraft with healing practices that were permitted and even practiced by the rabbis themselves, such as writing amulets, as these two are considered to be very different domains in the late antique sources.[41] And while women are mentioned in these sources as engaged in witchcraft (חרשי/כישוף), this should not be confused with our use of the category of "magic" in modern scholarship, which generally includes legitimate and even encouraged

40. bPes 110a, for further discussion of this demonic figure, see below.

41. See David Frankfurter, "Ancient Magic in a New Key: Refining an Exotic Discipline in the History of Religions," in *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, ed. D. Frankfurter (Leiden, 2019), 3–10.

practices such as writing protective amulets.[42] In other words, through the use of this term, the women "sorceresses" in both the literary and archaeological sources are accused of engaging in harmful and illegitimate actions.[43] And while the bowls are mostly perceived to be protective amulets and often open with the word "this is an amulet" (הדין קמיע), when we find stories about witches in rabbinic literature and explicit laws against practicing witchcraft, they are generally connected to malicious actions that signify the illegitimate knowledge of others, most commonly women. This holds true in other cultures in antiquity as well, where the term "sorcerer/sorceress" is used for accusations of illegitimate knowledge or as literary tropes but never as a self-designation or to refer to historical figures.[44] Thus, the social-historical study of these accusations should not be conducted in order to claim that there actually were women sorceresses in Sasanian Babylonia who were selling magic bowls but rather to highlight the fears and accusations against women that are common across archaeological and literary accounts.[45]

THE WOMEN OF THE BOWLS

Although by emphasizing the formulaic nature of the Aramaic incantation bowls I have challenged the claim that women wrote them, this does not mean that we cannot use these artifacts to learn about women and gender in Late Antiquity. On the contrary, the magic bowls are a unique set of texts from which we can glean aspects of daily lives of women, including their hardships, struggles, and desires. In addition, the existence of common formulae on the bowls can be used to reconstruct widespread beliefs

42. For the legitimacy of amulets in rabbinic literature, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 370–76; Manekin-Bamberger, "Who Were," 248–51.

43. Note that none of these stories entail writing. See Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 393–98; and recently Ortal-Paz Saar, "Gender and the Mesopotamian Incantation Bowls," *Aramaic Studies* 22.2 (2024): 194–99.

44. See David Frankfurter: "So the study of wizards or witches, or *mageia* or *khesheph* or *hik* is vital, even fundamental, to the larger study of magic as long as it is done on its own *emic* terms, as the study of terminology for ambiguous or illegitimate ritual or of stereotypes and collective representations, *not* of real ritual experts, practices, or encounters." From Frankfurter, "Ancient Magic," 7.

45. See Harari, *Jewish Magic*, 372–87, esp. 377–82.

and social stigmas concerning women in general as well as specific named women. Despite this fact, there are currently no comprehensive studies on this topic. In the following section, I demonstrate some of the possible avenues of research that may prove fruitful for this purpose. I focus on three categories: (a) women as named clients; (b) women as adversaries, both named and as a collective; and (c) gender-representative demonologies.

Women as Named Clients

There are hundreds of women named as clients in the bowls. Behind every one of these bowls, there is an individual story and circumstance that led to its commission. Certain individual women are mentioned in a number of bowls, as in the case of Immi daughter of Qaqai[46] or Mahadukh daughter of Newandukh;[47] for others we have only a broken shard, such as that from a bowl commissioned for Yokheved daughter of Shirin.[48] The very fact that we have a variety of names of actual women from this period is noteworthy. Moreover, we can also learn about the range of maladies from which these women suffered. For example, the bowls written for Immi contain protection from a variety of demonic attacks and human curses,[49] while the bowls written for Mahadukh occasionally targeted more

46. Some of the bowls commissioned for Immi daughter of Qaqai were published in Levene, *Corpus*, M103 (p. 103), M119 (pp. 54–56), M121 (p. 41), M123 (pp. 83–84), M138 (pp. 89–90); and Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, vol. 1, JBA50 (pp. 226–27), JBA51 (pp. 229–30), JBA 52 (pp. 232–33), JBA 53 (pp. 236–37), JBA 54 (pp. 238–39).

47. Some of the bowls commissioned for Mahadukh daughter of Newandukh include Levene, *Corpus*, M155 (p. 111) and M156 (pp. 115–16); Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, vol. 1, JBA 1 (pp. 56–57), JBA2 (pp. 59–60), JBA3 (pp. 62–63), JBA4 (pp. 65–66), JBA 15 (p. 110–11), JBA 29 (p. 164), JBA 39 (p. 190), JBA 47 (p. 211–12). Shaul Shaked, James N. Ford, and Siam Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 2022), JBA 92 (pp. 120–21), JBA 93 (pp. 123–24), JBA 94–95 (pp. 126–27).

48. Unpublished shard from the Penn Museum collection no. B 2924, photograph at "Hebrew Bowl," Penn Museum, Online Collection, https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/80457.

49. Although some of Immi's bowls are directed against general demonic harm and curses, others target adverse human actions such as vows and curses. See Levene, *Corpus*, bowls M123 (pp. 83–84), M138 (pp. 89–90).

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specific illnesses such as migraines and severe menstrual bleeding.[50] Of course, given the formulaic nature of the bowls, it would be difficult if not impossible to reconstruct a microhistory of every such individual. However, these formulae reveal the existence of common causes of distress that may either confirm or complement data deduced from the literary record or attest to previously unknown information. Therefore, collecting and cataloging this data may teach us something about the hardships of women in Late Antiquity and in what ways they are similar to or different from the hardships of men.

Additionally, collecting and classifying the *types* of bowls in which women are mentioned—and those in which they are not—provides another avenue of research. My preliminary survey reveals that while women appear as clients in apotropaic formulae, and as clients or adversaries or both in curse texts, they do not appear in the corpus of published bowls intended for success in business.[51] By contrast, bowls that are intended to protect the life of newborn babies and those that contain the legend of Semamit (see below) always include a female client, either by herself or alongside her husband.[52] In addition, the published corpus of curse bowls contains names of men and women in similar numbers. Even if these

50. See, for example, in bowl M155 (Levene, *Corpus*, JBA1 [pp. 111–12]): "And may her belly and interior dry up from menstrual blood, and may it not cause her blood to come out. In the name of Sidqiyah who is the chief of sixty-six angels who are appointed over her blood and [. . .] may they dry and nullify the blood from the womb of Mahadukh" (Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 1:56); "and the spirit that reclines in the body, in the head, in the temple, in the ear, and in the eye-sockets of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh."

51. See Segal, *Catalogue*, bowl 21a (p. 62), 22a (p. 62), 28 (p. 69); Levene and Bhayro, "Bring to the Gates," 242–46; Saar, "Gender," 184–86.

52. For the legend of Semamit, see Rivka Elitzur-Leiman, "An Aramaic Amulet in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem—a New Version of the Ancient *Smamit* Legend" (Hebrew), *Eretz Israel* 32 (2016): 4–10; James N. Ford, "New Light from Babylonia on the Semamit Story" (Hebrew), *Eretz Israel* 32 (2016): 149–61; James N. Ford and Matthew Morgenstern, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls in Museum Collections*, vol. 1: *The Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, Jena* (Leiden, 2019), 14–15; Christa Müller-Kessler, "Eine aramäische Zauberschale im Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte zu Berlin," *Or* 63 (1994): 5–9. See also Gaby Abousamra, "Semomit in a New Incantation Bowl," in *Between*

patterns correspond with our expectations regarding gender roles in antiquity, their corroboration is still noteworthy. The following bowl, for example, provides testimony regarding beliefs surrounding stillbirth or death at infancy, written for one Miškoy daughter of Anušfri:[53]

> (1) May there be healing from heaven for Miškoy daughter of Anušfri. And may she [be healed by the mercy of] (2) heaven. I beswear you, the evil lilith whose name is Ramit Ḥagigat and Ṣemotat daughter of (3) Ḥari daughter of Bal'i Bati, whose height is sixty-seven cubits, the spirit whose name is Argaz daughter of Qasas,[54] [. . .] (5) [. . .] the lilith Zarnay, who is called Pargos,[55] that you may have authority and power (6) over yourself and go to a desolate and waste place, [. . .] (10) [. . .] Remove the evil spirits who kill sons and daughters, by the oath of a great and ruling king. You (11) are in this world and you are of the world to come. Amen, wmymy Amen, Selah. HH HH HW YW Yah. And accept the deed of divorce, evil spirits whose names are specified above.

This incantation serves to remove the demons who cause miscarriage and infant mortality from the home of Miškoy daughter of Anušfri and her husband. The names of the lilith-demons that haunt Miškoy are all female, some known to us from other bowls or metal amulets, such as צמומת בת חרי, better known as Semamit.[56] Rivka Elitzur-Leiman has shown that in some versions of her story Semamit is a tragic hero, but in others she turns into an infant-killing demoness after her own infants have died, channeling

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the Worlds: Magic, Miracles and Mysticism, vol. 2, ed. M. Maeva, Y. Erolova, P. Stoyanova, M. Hristova, and V. Ivanova (Sofia, 2020), 455–64.

53. Bowl JBA55 from Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 1:246–47.

54. For Argaz daughter of Qasas, see Gideon Bohak, "Babylonian Jewish Magic in Late Antiquity: Beyond the Incantation Bowls," in *Studies in Honor of Shaul Shaked*, ed. Y. Friedmann and E. Kohlberg (Jerusalem, 2019), 96–97.

55. It is possible that the nickname of Zarnay Lilith, Paragos, is connected to the Semamit legend. In a number of versions from both late antique Babylonia and Palestine, we find that Semamit fled to Pelagos / the midst of the sea (בפלגוס ימא). See synoptic table in Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, 1985), 190 and commentary on 110.

56. See Ford, "New Light," 155.

her sadness and jealousy into rage.[57] Indeed, this corresponds to other female demons, ghosts, and other malicious entities in various ancient and even modern cultures who kill babies out of their own rage and suffering.[58] These stories are revealing in terms of demonstrating the fears, anxieties, and social stigmas surrounding women who suffer the loss of multiple children and the jealousy they may feel toward other women. James Ford has shown other contexts in which Semamit is described as a baby-killing demoness: "And may she be saved from Semamit daughter of קברי that kills the child and snatches the baby from the breast of her mother and eats it."[59] These descriptions capture the terror of the Semamit, a cruel demonesses, described as at least twice as tall as a human being, who haunts the client's home, prepared to snatch and eat her newborn baby while she is breastfeeding. Similar fears are reflected in other Jewish metal amulets from late antique Palestine, such as a set written for one Kyra Marian, some of which are described as amulets for expelling the spirits that choke her children and fetuses.[60] These all reveal the anxieties surrounding common cases of infant mortality and the popular explanations that were given to explain these tragic occurrences, some of which crossed spatial and cultural boundaries.[61]

A study of the formulae used to combat these demonesses is telling as well. For example, the scribe of the bowl written for Miškoy cited above employs legal terminology to create a divorce document intended for the liliths that is akin to the legal divorce that a man serves his wife. In this

57. Elitzur-Leiman, "An Aramaic Amulet," 8–9.

58. See Sarah Iles Johnston, *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 161–99.

59. Ford, "New Light," 155.

60. Ada Yardeni and Gideon Bohak, "Five Amulets for the Protection of Kyra Marian and the Fetus in Her Womb" (Hebrew), *Eretz-Israel* 34 (2021): 80–105. See especially amulet 2 (pp. 85–86: "An effective amulet for expelling the spirit choking the children of Kyra Marian"), and amulet 5 (pp. 95–96).

61. Recent studies on infant mortality in the Roman Empire suggest that it occurred in about 20–35 percent of all births; it stands to reason that the situation was similar in the Sasanian Empire. See Nathan Pilkington, "Growing up Roman: Infant Mortality and Reproductive Development," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 44.1 (2013): 1–36.

context he even includes a sentence granting the demoness permission and authority to leave, a sentence with parallels in divorce documents from archaeological findings and rabbinic instructions.[62] In addition, he adjures God himself (שבועת מלך)[63] to ensure the removal of the demonic threats. In other words, the scribe employs binding legal methods that are proven to be effective in the human world. It is reasonable to assume that employing these methods to control the demonic world gave people some sense of control and security in the face of the unpredictable and troublesome reality of frequent infant mortality. In addition, describing these notorious beings as female demonesses, some of whom suffered from the loss of their own babies, reflects jealousies and tensions of a society in which the primary role of women was childbearing.[64]

Women as Adversaries

Women not only commissioned magic bowls, but at times also were the targets of these amuletic texts, which were intended to protect others from their curses and wrongdoings. In this context, women are usually referred to either by name or as a collective. Named women adversaries appear mainly in bowls intended to reverse curses or witchcraft against named clients.[65] Looking at the gender breakdown of these various curse bowls does not yield conclusive results, as it seems that both men and

62. The sentence in lines 5–6: "you may have authority and power over yourself" (דיתיהויין ראשאה ושליטא בנפשכי) is a crucial part of the Jewish divorce document, and, according to rabbinic law, the divorce is not valid without it. Additionally, it holds verbatim parallels to rabbinic literature as well as the divorce document found in Masada (first century C.E.). See Avigail Manekin Bamberger, "Jewish Legal Formulae in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls," *Aramaic Studies* 13.1 (2015): 76–79.

63. See the discussion regarding swearing in the name of the king in Saul Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II–IV Centuries CE* (New York, 1942), 118–19.

64. See Iles Johnston, *Restless Dead*, 93: "By going further, however, and describing these ghosts as envious—by virtually making them personifications of envy—tradition also censured the envy itself. 'This is where reproductive envy leads,' the myths seem to say, 'to exclusion from humanity and an eternity spent in restless wandering.'"

65. On the nature and function of these bowls, see Levene, *Curse Texts*, 1–19; and Dan Levene, "'This Is a Qybl' for Overturning Sorceries': Form, Formula—

women defended themselves from the wrongdoings of other men and women.[66] However, there is one type of formula that seems to be employed uniquely against women, which targets a named woman together with her children—as a single unit—performing curses and witchcraft together.[67] An example is found in a pair of bowls, written and sealed together, for the protection of Aba son of Barkhita from the curses and witchcraft of Immi daughter of Rivka and her children, Mar and Lili.[68]

> (1) This is a charm to overturn sorceries (2) and oaths and curses and knocks and magic rites (3) and aversions, from Aba son of Barkhita onto Immi daughter of Rivka, onto (4) Lili and onto Mar the children of Immi and onto all who cursed them.

The list of harmful deeds attributed to Immi and her children consists of various verbal utterances and malicious actions, all of which are enumerated in order to have them rebound upon their pronouncers.[69] Another example of familial female witchcraft is found in a bowl belonging to a man who wishes to protect himself from the witchcraft of two sisters:[70]

Threads in a Web of Transmission," in G. Bohak, Y. Harari, and S. Shaked, *Continuity*, 219–44.

66. Note that not all the bowls contain a name of a client (see for example Levene, *Curse Texts*, bowl VA2492, [p. 85]; bowl 2418 [p. 88]), and some mention only a client without a named adversary (see, for example, Levene, *Curse Texts*, bowls VA2496 and VA2575 [pp. 64–65]).

67. To be sure, it would be easier to recognize a mother with her children because the client is listed with his or her mother's name; note, however, that these bowls also contain the idiom "her children," which is lacking from bowls naming curses of men. Additionally, the general formula—a curse of a mother/daughter, mother-in-law/daughter-in-law—is mentioned with regard to only mothers and not fathers (see below).

68. See Levene, *Curse Texts*, bowl VA2416 (pp. 46–47), and similarly in bowl VA2423 (pp. 37–39).

69. These two bowls consist of long and detailed lists of various harmful actions that humans perform in various places such as places of worship and cemeteries, including knocking, tying knots, using water, and casting the evil eye.

70. From Levene, *Curse Texts*, bowl M102 (pp. 108–9), originally published in Levene, *Corpus*, 44–51.

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> (1) This spell is appointed for overturning sorceries, so that they [the sorceries] may be overturned from Safra son of (2) Rabita and turn back against Ahatoi daughter of Ahati and against Ahati and against all who sent them.[71] (3) May [the sorceries] be turned back against all who made them and sent them and recited them. By the name of the great angel who has power over (4) the heavens and over the earth, and who has power over evil sorceries and perverted devils. May he return the evil sorceries to Ahatoi daughter of Ahati (5) and to Awirta daughter of Ahati.

Ahatoi and Awirta, the sisters mentioned in this bowl, are described as performing powerful sorceries. Interestingly, other curse bowls also include women's familial ties in their protective formulas, such as in the Pearson bowl: "Overturned is the curse of all mankind, overturned is the curse of all mankind, the curse of the mother and the daughter, of the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law."[72] And in an additional bowl, intended for a couple, one finds:[73] "And may there not afflict, not the curse of Jews and not the curse of non-Jews and not a curse of the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law, and not the curse of neighbors and neighborhood leaders,[74] not the curse of distant or near relatives."

It is not entirely clear how the duo of "mother and daughter" / "mother-in-law and daughter-in-law" function in these specific spells. As in one case cited above, it is preceded by the "curse of the Jew and non-Jew" and followed by the "curse of close neighbor and far neighbor / close ones and far ones." Given these parallel formulae, it is possible that it simply represents another formulaic pair. However, it is also possible that the pair designates a *joint* curse of a mother and daughter. Either way, it is important to note that while one does find male and female pairs in the bowls, such as "a father and a mother," we do not find a parallel of two males acting in familial malice such as the curse of a father and a son, or of a father-

71. From the full text, it seems that the main adversaries of Safra son of Rabita are the sisters Ahatoi and Awirta, daughters of Ahati. It is possible that the mention of only the mother, Ahati, is an error due to haplography. See Levene, *Corpus*, 44.

72. Levene, *Curse Texts*, 14.

73. Levene, *Curse Texts*, bowl SD27 (p. 98, line 5).

74. I thank an anonymous reviewer for this correction, see *CAL*, s.v. "rbb."

in-law and son-in-law.[75] Viewing this formula as protection from an action performed by mothers and daughters together can be reinforced by other bowls that mainly target women's witchcraft, for example:[76]

> (6) [. . .] from evil sorcery and from the sorcery of a mother (7) and daughter and from sorcery of a daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, from the sorcery of a malicious woman who darkens the eyes and causes the soul's despair,[77] and from evil sorcery that is practiced by people.

This incantation protects from a range of acts of witchcraft, including actions performed by a mother with her daughter or by a mother-in-law with her daughter-in-law. These female pairs may be read in the context of patriarchal structures of habitation, in which mother and daughters live together until the daughter weds and generally moves in with her mother-in-law.[78] Read this way, the protective formula targets women who live together and are assumed to have their own dangerous feminine space in which they perform these harmful actions.[79] These feminine connections and spaces potentially threaten men and are oftentimes linked

75. See, for example, Segal, *Catalogue*, bowl 09a (pp. 50–51, translation modified for consistency): "the curse of a father and of a mother and of a daughter, of a daughter-in-law and of a mother-in-law."

76. See Isbell, *Corpus*, bowl 48 (p. 110), translation modified for consistency.

77. See the connection between this phrase and the Aramaic translations of the Bible, quoted in Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 2:188, and the bibliography cited there.

78. The Babylonian Talmud even states, "It is not the proper manner of conduct for a son-in-law to live in his father-in-law's home" (bBB 98b). See Adiel Schremer, *Male and Female He Created Them: Jewish Marriage in the Late Second Temple, Mishnah, and Talmud Periods* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2003), 268–88.

79. On these spaces, see Charlotte Fonrobert: "By 'women's spaces,' I mean cultural spaces in which women relate directly to women and can establish relationships that are not under the immediate control of male authority, whether of father, husband, or rabbi [. . .] They may therefore turn into potential sites of resistance against gender domination, or at least allow for questioning it." Charlotte E. Fonrobert, *Menstrual Purity: Rabbinic and Christian Reconstructions of Biblical Gender* (Stanford, Calif., 2000), 129. I would add that it is not only a potential site of resistance but also a potential site of male fear of female resistance.

to witchcraft. Such threats are manifested in a number of passages from the Babylonian Talmud, as, for example, in a story about the daughters of R. Nahman and their engagement in witchcraft (bGit 45a).[80] The story begins by stating that R. Nahman's daughters miraculously stirred their hot cauldrons with their bare hands, prompting the question of whether they do so because they are righteous, or—more likely—because they are witches. The hero of the story and the sisters happen to be taken together into captivity. To find out whether the sisters are witches, the hero decides to eavesdrop on their conversation in the bathroom, stating that women reveal all of their secrets to each other there.[81] The women reveal that since their captors are men, just like their husbands, they should ask them to take them away, so their husbands don't find out. Upon hearing their conversation, which discloses their lack of loyalty and implies promiscuity, the hero understands that they are, indeed, witches.[82] For our purposes, it is important to note that the story describes a pair of sisters acting together in malice, whose actions are discovered when they think they are alone in their own distinct space. This may reflect the same kind of fears over the female familial curses/witchcraft as we have seen in the bowls contra the witchcraft of the sisters Ahatoi and Awirta.

This anxiety of the malicious intent of women bears legal implications that are echoed in a passage from bPes 111a:

> Women, who are sitting at a crossroads, one on this side of the path and the other on the other side, and they are facing each other, they are certainly engaging in witchcraft. What is the remedy for one who walks by? If there is another route, he should go by it. And if there is no other route, if there is another person with him, they hold each other's hands and switch [places].

80. See bGit 45a. On this story, see Joshua Levinson, "Enchanting Rabbis: Contest Narratives between Rabbis and Magicians in Late Antiquity," *JQR* 100.1 (2010): 75–83.

81. bGit 45a. See Levinson, "Enchanting Rabbis," 80: "In the privy we can eavesdrop on the women's hidden transcript that is free from the limitations of male censorship and supervision."

82. For more on the connection of witchcraft and promiscuity, see Levinson, "Enchanting Rabbis," 79 and further references in n. 64.

Here, too, we find women suspected of witchcraft sitting together, this time at a crossroads.[83] In this passage we are again faced with anxieties over women who bond together in spaces presumably outside of male control. Events like this cause a direct threat to male authority and lead to the same definitive conclusion—namely, that these women must be engaging in witchcraft. In a similar manner, the fear of multiple generations of women residing and connecting under one roof is expressed in the bowls, as reflected in the recurring formula of protection against a curse/witchcraft of a mother and daughter or a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.[84] To be sure, as emphasized above, witchcraft is mentioned dozens of times in the bowls without connecting it to a specific practitioner, male or female. But when the gender of the practitioner is mentioned, it is most commonly a woman.[85] Reading these bowls alongside the rabbinic passages above attest to the pervasiveness of the notion that women are prone to be involved in sorcery.

Women and Demons

Through apotropaic texts and common formulae, we learn of an extensive and elaborate demonology that prevailed in the Sasanian Empire. This includes an enumeration of demon types, hierarchical structures, and

83. See Harari, *Jewish Magic*, 379.

84. In an additional incantation bowl, the fear of female relatives acting inappropriately in public spaces is vividly portrayed: "(3) . . . overturned is the curse of a mother and daughter, of a daughter-in-law [and a mother-in-law, who] stands in the field (4) and who stands in the town, who kneels upon her knees, and beats on her face and strips (herself) naked, and says (magical) words." Siam Bhayro, James N. Ford, Dan Levene, and Ortal-Paz Saar, *Aramaic Magic Bowls in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin: Descriptive List and Edition of Selected Texts* (Leiden, 2018), bowl VA 2428 (p. 28). The women are depicted defying societal expectations by stripping naked in public, pounding their faces, and uttering harmful words—actions that are viewed as the opposite of social propriety and are defined as curses or witchcraft.

85. An exception to this is a bowl that targets various harmful witchcrafts performed in different languages/religions. See Isbell, *Corpus*, bowl 49 (pp. 112–13), which protects from "Aramean sorcery, Jewish sorcery, Arab sorcery, Persian sorcery [. . .] sorcery that is performed in 70 languages."

familial ties,[86] as well as demons known by name and a variety of images of them.[87] This elaborate picture again coheres with what we find in the Babylonian Talmud, in which demons are described as "more numerous than we are and they stand over us like mounds of earth surrounding a pit [. . .] Each and every one of us has ten thousand [demons] on his right and a thousand on his left" (bBer 6a). However, there are also differences between the demonologies that emerge from each of these corpora—among other things, in the perceived differences between male and female demons.

In rabbinic literature, demons are often described as domesticated.[88] A prime example is the aforementioned Yosef Sheda, a demon who consults the rabbis on issues related to demonic harm, along with other unnamed demons such as one who acts as a servant in the house of Rav Papa.[89] Moreover, even Ashmedai, the king of the demons, is described as

86. See for example Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, vol. 1, bowl JBA 56 (p. 249).

87. See Naama Vilozny, "The Gender and Sexuality of Demons in the Art of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls," in *Demons in Early Judaism and Christianity: Characters and Characteristics*, ed. H. Patmore and J. Lössl (Leiden, 2022), 294–318; and Naama Vilozny, "Between Demons and Kings," in *Orality and Textuality in the Iranian World*, ed. J. Rubanovich (Leiden, 2015), 400–21.

88. See Harari, *Jewish Magic*, 407: "The inclusion of the demon as a positive element in the system of divine providence is a conclusive sign of the trend that domesticates the demonic into the world of values sustained in the house of study, which characterizes the rabbinic demonological stories." See also Sara Ronis, *Demons in the Details: Demonic Discourse and Rabbinic Culture in Late Antique Babylonia* (Oakland, Calif., 2022), 166–80; Richard Kalmin, *Migrating Tales: The Talmud's Narratives and Their Historical Context* (Oakland, Calif., 2014), 116–20.

89. For Joseph the demon, see Harari, *Jewish Magic*, 405; Tal Ilan, "Rav Joseph the Demon in the Rabbinic Academy in Babylonia: Another Connection between the Babylonian Talmud and the Magic Bowls," in *"Let the Wise Listen and Add to Their Learning" (Prov 1:5): Festschrift for Günter Stemberger on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday*, ed. C. Cordoni and G. Langer (Berlin, 2016), 381–94; Ronis, *Demons*, 153–58. For Rav Papa's servant, see Harari, *Jewish Magic*, 405; and Sara Ronis, "A Demonic Servant in Rav Papa's Household: Demons as Subjects in the Mesopotamian Talmud," in *The Aggada of the Bavli and Its Cultural World*, ed.

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studying in the study house (*metivta*) every day, both in a heavenly study house and in an earthly one.[90] In other rabbinic narratives, demons assist rabbis in their troubles with the authorities.[91] To be sure, in these talmudic passages it is only male demons who are domesticated and who participate in rabbinic culture. Female demons are typically imagined to be on the outskirts of society, posing a sexual threat to the rabbis.[92] This is especially apparent in a law that prohibits men from sleeping in a house alone at night for fear that Lilith will seize them (bShab 151b).[93] The rabbinic depiction of male demons as observing the Torah and female demons as sexual threats is further amplified in sources from the Middle Ages, so much so that there is even a rabbinic statement in the name of R. Yehuda Ha-Hasid preferring male demons over human women.[94]

A study of the gendered aspects of the demonology from the incantation bowls yields a slightly different picture from the one that emerges from rabbinic literature. On the one hand, there is a shared cultural context apparent in both corpora; in both the texts and images of the bowls, male demons are occasionally depicted as armed with weapons and armor,

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G. Herman and J. Rubenstein (Providence, R.I., 2018), 3–22. Although Ronis argues for ancient Mesopotamian influence regarding the presence of "neutral demons," it seems that this story is better explained against the internal trends in rabbinic literature of domesticating and rabbinizing demons to bolster the rabbi's own authority. See Harari, *Jewish Magic*, 401–7; and similar trends demonstrated in Avigail Manekin-Bamberger, "Taming Nature and Gaining Authority: Rabbinic Decrees Reconsidered," *Aramaic Studies* 21.1 (2023): 43–63.

90. bGit 68a.

91. Harari, *Jewish Magic*, 405–7.

92. See, for example, the story of Agrat daughter of Mahlat and her entourage wandering the streets at night bPes 112b.

93. See Lesses, "Exe(o)rcising," 357.

94. See Isaac of Vienna, Or Zaru'a II (Zhitomir, 1862), Hilkhot Eruvin, § 147 (p. 78; my translation): "My teacher, Rav Yehudah [Ha-Hasid] would say that the demons believe in the Torah and observe all that the sages commanded. And they asked him, if so, why does he [the demon] have sexual relations with a married woman? And he [R. Yehuda] replied that at times she [the married woman] does things to him which are not respectable, and sometimes even without her knowledge."

while female demons are often depicted naked with disheveled hair.[95] Each sex is described with what is perceived to be most threatening for society. Other formulae also reveal these concerns in interesting ways, such as in a number of recently published bowls:[96]

> (13) liliths, all of them, and all tormentors, all of them, from their adults and to their children, from their young ones and to their old ones, who dwell [in] various nests, who dwell (14) in various mounds, who dwell in various date palm trees, who dwell in various valleys, who haunt human beings. They seize women in a lying position, and arouse (15) and inflame with lust and seduce. They love carnality and fornication. They love the free-woman who fornicates [בת חרין דמגנבא],[97] and the singing-girl who shames herself.

95. See Vilozny, "Gender," 294–318. Cf. the formulae for Ashmedai: "And if you do not go out from them, I adjure you in the name of Ashmedai, king of the demons, that the weight of his sword is thousands of thousands of measurements [ככר] and iron that has no enumeration nor calculation." Alon Ten-Ami, "Ashmedai in Babylonian Incantation Bowls" (Hebrew), *Pe'amim* 133/134 (2013): 203; For female demons, see the common formulae: "the three of you, the four of you, the five of you. You are stripped naked and are not clothed, your hair is dishevelled (and) cas[t] behind your back." Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 1:110. Note that the description of the demons being stripped naked (ערטיל שלחיתין) is very similar to the description of women stripping naked and cursing in public (וערטיל שלחא) in the quote in n. 84 above. This similarity may serve as another example of how demonology reflects societal gender expectations and norms, as the cursing woman and the demoness are described in a comparable manner.

96. Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 2, bowl JBA99 (p. 147).

97. The editors translate בת חרין דמגנבא as the "noblewoman who steals." I prefer to translate the phrase as the "freewoman who seduces" as חרי appears this way in a number of bowls such as bowl JNF 120, lines 2–4, "And he brings free men [חרי] and free women [חרתא], manservants and maidservants." James N. Ford and Ohad Abudraham, "Syriac and Mandaic Incantation Bowls," in *Finds Gone Astray*, ed. D. Regev and H. Hizmi (Jerusalem, 2018), 79–80. In addition, in contemporary Syriac the verb *gnb* can mean "seduce," and the feminine adjective *mgnbt'* has the meaning of "an adulteress." See the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* (CAL) online, https://cal.huc.edu, s.v. "gnb/mgnb." This reading would fit the next part of the formula regarding the singing girl, who shames herself, and the specific context of the demons' love of lust and fornication.

This passage contains a long description that serves as protection from demons of all ages and expected locations. The second part of the incantation reveals something of the nature of these demons: they dwell in humans and seize women that are in a lying position, they arouse lust and fornication, and they love freewomen who seduce or fornicate and singing girls who shame themselves.[98] This formula portrays cultural norms of feminine chastity by connecting lustful demons to women who deviate from them. In other words, dangerous fornicating demons are connected to feminine promiscuity, fitting the cultural values of patriarchal societies.[99]

Alongside the difference in the representation of demons according to gender, in many of the bowls, demons are mentioned neutrally while adding the general label: "male and female."[100] This can be seen in recur-

98. The connection between demonic singing girls and prostitutes is made explicitly in the frequent mentions of the demoness Lilith Zanay, the fornicating singing girl. On this figure, see Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 1:225, and the bowls on pp. 226–40. The editors mention the double meaning in Mandaic of z*amarta* as both "singing girl" and "prostitute." It seems that this connection may have derived from historical realities or social stigmas attached to these women, as implied by Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro: "It also suggests that the professional singing woman was associated with immoral sexual behavior" (Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 225). We find similar social stigmas in literary texts from a slightly later period; see Kristina Richardson, "Singing Slave Girls (Qiyan) of the 'Abbasid Court in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries," in *Children in Slavery through the Ages*, ed. J. C. Miller et al. (Athens, Ohio, 2009), 105–18. Also see the recurring connections between prostitution and stage actresses in law and in narrative in the Roman and Byzantine empires; Kyle Harper, *From Shame to Sin: The Christian Transformation of Sexual Morality in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013), 186, 191–93.

99. See explicit connections in John Chrysostom's sermons against adultery: "If dread of hell doesn't restrain you, then fear their black magic. When you deprive yourself of God's help through your debauchery, and denude yourself of assistance from above, the whore will seize you more brazenly. Hatching plots against you and calling on her familiar demons with amulets devised for it, she will gain control over your well-being, making you a risible shame before all who live in the city." Quoted from Harper, *Shame to Sin*, 163.

100. The practice of making long lists of demons with the generic label "male and female" fits the poetics of magic formulae in general, which aims to include

ring formulae:[101] "and they appear as human beings, to men in the form of women and to women in the form of men, and with human beings they recline by night and they appear to them by day." This protective formula is intended both for men and women and serves to protect them both: men from liliths who appear as women, and women from liliths who appear as men, both of whom recline with (sexually attack) humans in the night and in the day. Note that in contrast to what we have seen in rabbinic literature regarding Lilith who seizes men, this protective spell reflects the male demonic sexual attack of women as well. This female point of view may be connected to the aforementioned descriptions of female demons that attack mothers by snatching their newborn babies and eating them.

To sum up this section, the Babylonian Talmud and the incantation bowls were written around the same time and within the same patriarchal society. In both corpora, it is possible to trace similar demonic concepts that reflect the anxieties of the people of the time. Alongside the similarities, there are differences between representations of demons in the bowls and in rabbinic literature. The former seeks overarching protection from all kinds of demons and portrays the harm of both male and female demons as more or less equal. In contrast, the Talmud often depicts male demons as domesticated but female demons as promiscuous.

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as many potential threats as possible within one short text. See Richard Gordon, "'What's in a List?' Listing in Greek and Graeco-Roman Malign Magical Texts," in *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4–8 May 1997*, ed. D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, and E. Thomassen (Bergen, 1999), 240–47. These types of lists are numerous; see, for example, Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, vol. 2, bowl JBA114 (p. 212): "And double sealed are all the people of his house, and double sealed is all his property, from all demons and afflictions and affliction demons and satans and *yaror* demons and evil lilis, male and female, (both) those whose name is mentioned and those whose name is not mentioned, who dwell in his house, and appear in dreams and in visions, and frighten them."

101. See for example Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, vol. 1, bowl JBA64 (p. 273, lines 3–4), I have modified their translation of מידמין to "appear" based on CAL, s.v. "dmy." Compare the Talmudic use of the verb *dmy* to denote the miraculous changing of appearance and form, often in stories involving Elijah or Satan. For the latter see stories from bKid 81a in which Satan appears as a woman.

These differences may be the result of the differing audience and purpose. The bowls were intended to heal and bring prosperity to both men and women, and so they aim to protect against a wide range of demons. In contrast, rabbinic literature has a didactic function and it is reasonable to assume that it was primarily written for a male audience, hence the domestication of male demons but not female, who continued to pose a sexual threat and served to reinforce rabbinic authority and the values of patriarchal structures.[102] In contrast, the bowls' picture of greater "gender representation" presents demons that are haunting named women, a perspective that is often missing from the literary text, and also often portrays demons in ways that reflect late antique gender norms and cultural expectations.

CONCLUSIONS

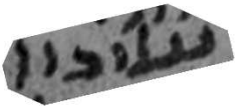
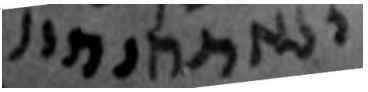
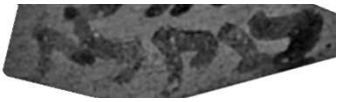
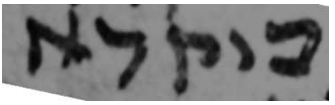
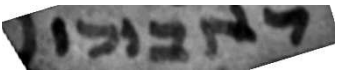
To summarize the current state of the question of women and the Aramaic incantation bowls: There is no evidence that the Aramaic incantation bowls were produced by women, and the evidence presented so far for that theory does not consider the distinctive poetics of the incantation bowl texts. The Aramaic incantation bowls are characterized by their formulaic nature, containing similar identifiable building blocks across the bowl corpus at large. These components are often adjusted to correspond to the gender of the client, including in bowls that list the client in the first person. Indeed, analyzing the bowl texts within the broader context of late antique magical texts' style and features challenges the quest for "critical," "subversive," and "feminist" content. Moreover, many of the bowls' textual components are recognizable from parallels within Jewish or non-Jewish texts, which are typically associated with premodern learning traditions of men.

However, despite their probable male authorship, as well as their formulaic nature, bowls are still an indispensable resource for the study of women in Late Antiquity in the following (and no doubt other) areas: the phenomena of women appearing as named clients of the bowls, with special attention to common formulae that describe women's hardships and struggles; gender roles in the Sasanian Empire as discerned/reinforced by the classifications and types of bowls that mention or don't mention women by name; gender bias and social stigmas against women, as

102. See Lesses, "Exe(o)rcising," 367.

evidenced in cases where women are referred to as adversaries, either by name or as a collective; demonologies from male and female perspectives that are often absent from rabbinic literature; and differing depictions of male and female demons that often reflect societal gender roles, cultural expectations, fears and values. A fuller understanding of the elaborate demonology of the incantation bowls is a scholarly desideratum, and the issue of gender in relation to demonology is one part of this much-needed work for the further understanding of the social and cultural history of men and women in antiquity.

Table 1. Penn Museum Bowls

B2922 WRITTEN IN THE FIRST PERSON FOR KOMIŠ (FEMALE)	B16020 WRITTEN IN THE FIRST PERSON FOR HUNIYĀQ (MALE)	
		עליכין
		שמעו
		ולא תחוחון
		ביקרא
		דאבוכון

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Korshi Dosoo

Magical Names: Tracing Religious Changes in Egyptian Magical Texts from Roman and Early Islamic Egypt

"To weave the magic of a thing, you see, one
must find its true name out."
– Ursula Le Guin, *The Tombs of Atuan* (1971)

1 Names in Magical Papyri

1.1 Knowing the Unknowable

"O great god… whose name is unknown… I know your name", reads a paradoxical invocation in a second-century Demotic magical papyrus.[1] It is a common trope that names are crucial in magic – practitioners know the names of the beings they call upon, must correctly name the people whom their practices are intended to harm and help – yet they also pose significant problems for scholars. We have so many names – of gods, of angels, of real people – but what do they mean, and how much can they tell us? Does a papyrus mentioning a being named "Horus" in the eighth century tell us that the ancient Egyptian god was still worshipped hundreds of years after the triumph of Christianity and the Arab conquest?[2] Does the naming of the spirit of a dead man as Antinous mean that the writer is addressing the divinised lover of Hadrian?[3] Does the naming of an amulet's wearer as "Mary" tell us that she was a Christian?

The purpose of this study is to explore a few of these possible questions in detail. Specifically, I hope to contribute to the ongoing dialogue about the ability of papyri, an-

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1 GEMF 16 (=PDM xiv/KYP M162; II CE) col. ix ll. 3–4 (=241–242): *pꜣ nṯr-ꜥꜣ… nty-iw bw-ir-rḫ=w rn=f… tw=y ir-rḫ.w rn=k.*

2 Cf. Blumell/Dosoo (2018), with further bibliography *ad. loc.*

3 This is found in SM 47 (KYP M873; TM 92866; II–III CE); for discussions of his identity, see Németh (2013); Daniel/Maltomini (1990) 180 n. 3, with further literature *ad. loc.*

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alysed statistically, to help us to trace religious change in Egypt.[4] This dialogue began with the work of Roger Bagnall in 1987, in which he suggested that onomastic data from a sample of papyri could be used to date the key moment of Christianisation – when Christians became a majority of the population of Egypt – to the fourth century.[5] Critical reflections on his approach by Ewa Wipszycka prompted several later responses to Bagnall, although he did not explicitly offer a substantially revised estimate.[6] In 2013 Mark Depauw and Willy Clarysse took up Bagnall's basic methodology, but significantly expanded the corpus to over 50,000 papyri for which onomastic data had been gathered in Trismegistos and the Duke Database of Documentary Papyri.[7] Their work suggested a slightly later date for the Christianisation of Egypt, in the mid-fifth century – something already anticipated by Bagnall in one of the publications which followed since his original article,[8] and perhaps also by one of the responses by Wipszycka.[9] The work of Depauw and Clarysse has provoked its own critical reflections; the most significant, perhaps, is that of David Frankfurter, who has questioned what exactly "Christianisation" or "conversion" means – what degree of participation or belief is necessary to qualify an individual as Christian? – and the extent to which a personal name can measure this.[10]

In this study I will use Depauw and Clarysse's method to examine the onomastic patterns revealed by the magical papyri dating from the second to twelfth centuries CE. While the magical papyri offer a far smaller corpus than that used in their earlier study, they are nonetheless of interest, being a completely distinct dataset, which therefore has the potential to either confirm or complicate their findings. At the same time, by looking beyond the fifth-century endpoint of previous work, this study may reveal other patterns, most notably, that of conversions to Islam. While this was not a question addressed in the work of either Bagnall or Depauw and Clarysse, it was the focus of a 1979 study by Richard Bulliet, which drew upon onomastic data from Arabic biographies;[11] Bulliet's work study was, in fact, cited as an inspiration by Bagnall.[12] Bulliet suggested that the key moment of Islamicisation – when Muslims became the majority

4 Although not directly relevant to the debate discussed here, it is worth mentioning Delattre (2012), a study looking at regional trends in names found in Egyptian documentary papyri from the seventh and eighth centuries.

5 Bagnall (1987).

6 Wipszycka (1986); cf. Wipszycka (1988) 121–122, 164–165; cf. Bagnall (1987); Bagnall (1995).

7 Depauw/Clarysse (2013); cf. Van Beek/Depauw (2009).

8 See Bagnall (1987) 248–249, where his redating of the Skar codex pushes his earlier figures for 318 and 353 CE forward to 393 and 428 CE.

9 Wipszycka (1988) 164.

10 Frankfurter (2014); cf. Depauw/Clarysse (2015); Choat (2006) 52–55; Blumell (2012) 237–279; Frankfurter (2023).

11 Bulliet (1979).

12 Bagnall (1987) 108.

in Egypt – took place in the ninth century, a conclusion broadly supported by other scholars who have explored the question in the last fifty or so years.[13]

At the same time, the magical texts also contain rich evidence for what we could cautiously call belief – as performative objects, intended to effect change, they imply a belief in their efficacy, and, since they generally call upon specific deities to do so, the use of a magical text could be considered a religious act connected to specific traditions.[14] Thus the second key question of this study is that of the names of deities in magical texts – to which traditions (Greek, Egyptian, Christian, Muslim) do they belong, how do references to them change over time, and how does religious content relate to the names of the people using them? Put more bluntly – did "pagans", Christians, and Muslims use magical texts conforming to their religious identity? The problems raised by Frankfurter and others about the difficulties of defining and imputing belief in the context of personal names all apply here, and are even more serious, but it is nonetheless a question worth exploring.[15]

I should also note that I am not the first to explore this question. Walter Shandruk presented his own analysis of the onomastic data from magical papyri in 2012.[16] This study attempts to build upon his previous work in four ways. First, the corpus I am able to present here is considerably larger than that available to him, and extends the dataset, as already noted, beyond the Arab conquest. Secondly, for this corpus I am able to offer slightly better dating, and a few small corrections, to his understanding of some of the texts, in particular those written in Coptic.[17] Thirdly, Shandruk's study was published before that of Depauw/Clarysse, which refined Bagnall's findings and methodology, and which I adopt here. Lastly, I offer a different method of attempting to describe the religious content of the papyri, based on the presence or absence of categories of named gods rather than a binary division into Christian/non-Christian. Shandruk's study remains valuable, offering a different perspective and approach, whose findings this study tends to confirm.

13 Bulliet (1979) 92–103; cf. Lapidus (1972); Little (1976); Anawati (1990); Morony (1990); Frantz- Murphy (1991).

14 The problem of belief has become a serious one in the field of religious studies; for the working definition adopted here, see Valk (2021); Harvey (2013) 194–195. For the related idea, prominent in the study of the religion of the Roman Empire, that non-Christian religion can or should only be understood in terms of practice rather than belief, cf. Ambasciano (2022), whose arguments to the contrary I find quite persuasive.

15 See fn. 10 above.

16 Shandruk (2012).

17 Cf. Dosoo et al. (2022).

1.2 Describing the Corpus of Magical Papyri

The texts I refer to here as the "magical papyri" belong primarily to the "long first millennium" – they appear in Greek in the first century BCE, existing alongside similar Demotic texts, although the published Demotic examples of these date to, and disappear after, the second and third centuries CE.[18] In the fourth century, they are joined by texts written in Coptic, the latest stage of the native Egyptian language. The number of Greek texts declines in the fifth century, and they disappear from Egypt by the eighth. Manuscripts in Coptic become the majority by the sixth century, and continue to be produced until around the twelfth century, at which point it seems that Arabic almost completely replaced Coptic as the language of magic in Egypt.[19]

The corpus shows clear similarities in its language, mechanisms, goals and practices to older corpora – primarily Egyptian ritual texts, but also the Akkadian *āšipūtu* corpus, both attested at least two thousand years earlier, and the few older Greek texts which survive on metal supports from the sixth century BCE onwards.[20] Nonetheless, the genre of Graeco-Egyptian magic seems to be somewhat distinct from these in a few ways – the most notable are the use of distinctive *voces magicae* and *charaktēres*, magical words and magical signs, both of which are attested in the corpus by the first century CE.[21] While the Demotic texts often show a closer affinity to older Egyptian material, they also show clear signs of borrowing from the Greek-language tradition, as Jacco Dieleman's careful work has demonstrated.[22] The religious content of this early material is primarily Egyptian, Greek, and to a lesser extent, Jewish – gods such as Anubis, Helios (likely to be understood as a Greek name for the Egyptian sun god), Hekate, and Sabaoth often appear in the same manuscripts. While the fourth, and even more so, the fifth century, seem to see a shift towards a more Christian model of magic, many of the underlying practices and ritual types remain the same, with the same technical terms and magical names often being found in Graeco-Egyptian and Christian magical texts. It is fairly certain that the texts which survive on papyri from Egypt also existed elsewhere in the Roman Empire and beyond at the same time – texts on more durable supports such as metal, as well as the later mediaeval manuscript tradition, and contemporary literary texts testify to this – but how closely these would have mirrored those found in Egypt remains an open question.[23]

18 For recent overviews of magical material from first-millennium Egypt, cf. Dieleman (2019); van der Vliet (2019b); Dosoo (2021c); Dosoo et al. (2022).

19 On linguistic change in magical papyri, see Dosoo et al. (2022) 63–66; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar (2022a) 27–28; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar (2022b) 66–67. For discussions of linguistic change in papyri more broadly, see Richter (2008); Richter (2010); Fournet (2020).

20 Cf. the overviews mentioned in fn. 18.

21 For helpful discussions of these phenomena, see Versnel (2001) and Bohak (2003) on *voces magicae*, and Gordon (2011) and Gordon (2014) on *charaktēres*.

22 Dieleman (2005).

23 Major magical corpora from outside Egypt include DT, DTA, and GMA.

It has become something of a truism that magic is difficult to define. I use the term here to refer to the specific ritual and textual tradition to which the Egyptian magical papyri belong.[24] Theoretically defining the borders of this category nonetheless remains difficult, but there is generally little disagreement among papyrologists about which texts belong to it. The central texts of the category show distinctive genre characteristics – in addition to the *voces magicae* and *charaktēres* these include certain recurrent phrases ("I invoke you", "yea, yea, quickly, quickly") and ritual actions.[25] This formal definition overlaps with a second, functional definition – magical papyri are generally those which describe or are produced in the course of private rituals intended to protect individuals or their property (amulets), heal or cast out demons (exorcism), to harm others (curses), to divine the future, or aid the person for whom the ritual is carried out in other ways – giving them general good luck (favour), manipulating others (favour before a superior, separating a couple), and so on.[26] This second criterion is more problematic, since these goals are shared by a wide range of private (as well as public) rituals: are all divinatory or exorcistic rituals magic? Are all objects which were believed to protect the bearer – including crosses or holy water – magic? This problem, though theoretically important, is less crucial for this study, since the texts which I use here generally meet both formal and functional criteria, although I will occasionally highlight edge cases where it is more difficult to be sure that we are seeing a single (albeit broad) tradition of practice. Note that the definitions offered here – which are attempts to formalise the heuristic categories used by papyrologists – do not clearly relate to the concerns of anthropological/sociological discussions of magic which tend to dominate theoretical discussions to this day.[27] The Frazerian question of whether the texts are magical because they manipulate inanimate magical forces or threaten gods is not relevant to the discussion here,[28] and while the rituals they attest to are private, this is not necessarily an essential feature, and they are not primarily defined by their social marginality or their inversion of social values, as a Durkheimian model, of the sort best known from the work of Marcel Mauss and Henri Hubert, would suggest.[29] These concerns are latecomers to the study of ancient magic, and their influence was not felt on the field until after the corpus had been well defined.[30]

While I refer to the documents examined here as papyri, I use this in the larger sense of "papyrological documents", which includes manuscripts written on parch-

24 Dosoo (2021a) 677–679; Dosoo (2024); cf. Sanzo (2020).

25 Cf. Dosoo (2021c); Dosoo et al. (2022).

26 Cf. the discussions of purposes in Dosoo (2016) 702–705; Dieleman (2019) 296–304.

27 For overviews of the anthropological and sociological models of magic, see Tambiah (1990); Sørensen (2007) 9–28.

28 See Frazer (1925) for the fully developed form of his theory of magic; cf. Dosoo (2024) 290–292 for a discussion of the development of Frazer's theory of magic, with further references ad loc.

29 See Hubert/Mauss (1902-1903); English translation in Mauss (1972).

30 Cf. fn. 24.

ment, leather, wood, and lead. I only use documents from Egypt here; a study which took in magical texts from other parts of Europe, north Africa, and west Asia would certainly be worthwhile, but the texts from Egypt offer us sources from a single geographical area with continuous attestation for a thousand years, providing a degree of resolution impossible elsewhere. I restrict my study here to Greek and Coptic texts; there are no published Demotic magical papyri from this period which include personal names, and my own failings in Arabic, and the lack of a full corpus of Arabic magical papyri, prevent me from including these sources.[31] I must also exclude carved gems for slightly different reasons; while these often clearly belong to the same broad tradition as the magical papyri, and occasionally contain personal names,[32] very few of them have provenances, or can be dated with even the loose precision of magical papyri, and so they are far less useful for a study of onomastics which focuses on diachronic change in a specific geographic area.[33] While texts written in Hebrew and Aramaic are absent from this corpus, a study of personal names in magical texts from the Cairo Genizah already exists, carried out by Gideon Bohak and Ortal-Paz Saar in 2015; many of these texts are contemporary with the latest Coptic ones considered here, and often show much overlap in practice.[34]

Within the corpus, we can define two types of manuscripts. The first is formularies or handbooks, manuscripts which provide the means to carry out rituals – invocations to be spoken, images to be copied, and/or instructions for ritual actions. These include some of the largest and best-known magical papyri which contain dozens of ritual instructions – the large codex that is the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris,[35] the five-metre-long London-Leiden Demotic Magical Papyrus[36] – but most of the surviving examples are short, containing only one or a few recipes.[37] The second type are known as applied, activated, or documentary magical papyri, or 'finished products'; these are rituals created in the course of rituals – amulets to be worn or fixed to walls, curse tablets or love spells to be buried, and so on. It is this second category with which we will be primarily concerned with here; unlike most formularies, these contain the names of the specific individuals with whom they are concerned, and hence the onomastic data which interests us.

31 For possible examples of applied Demotic spells, see e. g., Winkler (2022); Ritner/Scalf (2019). For Arabic magic, see Bsees (2018); Vanthieghem (forthcoming).

32 See, e. g., CBd-1158: δός μοι χάριν Διονυσιάτι κύριε θεέ ("give me, Dionysias, favour, O Lord God…).

33 On these questions, see Nagy (2015) 209 – 211, with further references ad loc.

34 Bohak/Saar (2015); cf. Bohak (1999) on parallels between the corpora. Note that one published Coptic text found in the Cairo Genizah, Cambridge UL T-S 12.207 (Crum 1902; TM 99585; KYP M534; X–XI CE?), is used in both Bohak/Saar (2015) and this study.

35 =PGM IV; GEMF 57; KYP M3 (IV CE, Thebes).

36 =GEMF 16; PDM xiv; KYP M162 (IV CE, Thebes).

37 See Dosoo/Torallas Tovar (2022b).

1.3 Named Individuals in Magical Papyri

Magical names may contain several different categories of names. In formularies, the sections to be copied or recited typically contain a "generic name marker", which indicates where the names of specific individuals are to be copied:

> ἄγε μοι τὴν Δ τῆς Δ πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν Δ τῆς Δ
>
> Bring to me NN, daughter of NN, to my side, NN, son of NN
>
> PGM IV ll. 1579–1580 (GEMF 57; KYP M3; IV CE)

This usually consists of the word translated here as NN – in Greek and Coptic *deina* (usually abbreviated as Δ, i. e. δ(ε)ῖ(να)), in Demotic and Coptic *mn/nim*; these are regularly followed by a second NN, indicating the name of a parent, usually the mother.[38] In Greek and Coptic these are often followed by the word *koina* ("usual"), probably to be understood as meaning something like "fill in as usual".[39] In practice, relatively few of the recipes in formularies are represented in surviving applied texts;[40] this does not necessarily mean that they were never performed, but is rather an indice that the surviving record is a very small fraction of the manuscripts ever produced – perhaps something in the order of one in eighty-thousand.[41] Nonetheless, applied texts do show evidence of having been copied from similar models, containing the sequence of personal name + parent's name, usually in the places we would expect from formularies, although in a few instances, the placement is more idiosyncratic, suggesting an emendation on the part of the copyist during the creation of the object.[42] In other cases, applied texts may copy the generic name marker, with the copyist apparently unaware that it should be replaced, or else perhaps creating it without a particular individual in mind, although in this case, a more generic phrase, such as "the one who carries this" (ὁ φορῶν), in the case of amulets, should probably have been substituted.[43]

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38 Dieleman (2010); Curbera (1999). Note that δεῖνα in magical texts is usually treated as indeclinable; cf. Barber (1954) 49.

39 Cf. Zellmann-Rohrer (2020) 37; Dosoo et al. (2022) 84.

40 For examples, see Brashear (1995) 3416–3418, to which may be added, for example, the formulary PCM I 23 ll. 21–43 (KYP M291; TM 99576; 967 CE), with an applied parallel in Chicago OIM E13767 (Stefanski 1939; KYP M7; TM 99574; X–XI CE?).

41 See Scheidel (2001) 142, who calculates this from the ca. 300 census returns on papyrus surviving from 11 to 257 CE of an original ca. 24 million. We might well imagine that the survival rate of magical texts, generally not produced in duplicate sets, and illegal for much of their history, was still lower.

42 See, e. g., P.Oxy. LXV 4469 (KYP M654; TM 58906; V CE), in which a Greek copy of the letter of Abgar to Jesus is interrupted in ll. 21–25 by a brief Coptic invocation including the phrase ⲉⲕⲉⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁⲭⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲗ[("may you heal Epimakhe, the son of […]").

43 See, e. g., P.CtYBR inv. 1800 qua (ACM 106; KYP M294; VIII CE), a Coptic curse containing the generic name marker in l.14, whose tight folding nonetheless suggests it might have been an applied text. This is quite common in magical gems, perhaps because their more durable nature made it more likely that they would be passed from one user to another; see, e. g., Bonner (1950) 47, 50.

The identity of the individual whose name is to be inserted varies depending on the purpose of the ritual. For amulets and healing texts, the text will contain the name of the client for whom it is created. For curses and separation spells, it will contain the name of the target(s), and less often, the client. Love spells will typically contain the names of both clients and targets. All of these will usually be accompanied by the name of the mother (matronym), less often the name of the father (patronym). A small group of curses in Greek dating to the second to fourth centuries contain the names of the dead individual with whom they are buried, and whom they therefore call upon to enact the curse. These cases seem to be idiosyncratic, with at least one providing clear evidence that the copyist inserted a personal name where the exemplar from which the text was copied read "O corpse-demon, whoever you may be".[44] Christopher Faraone has suggested that this practice of naming the dead spirits, a feature of the pan-Mediterranean binding curse tradition found only in Egypt, may draw upon the older Pharaonic practice of writing letters to dead relatives.[45] Since these names are so rare, I will not consider them in the study here.

The names of deities or other culturally significant figures which appear in texts are treated somewhat differently in them. There are only a few cases where we find phrases comparable to "NN god", in which the copyist is to insert a deity of their choice; more often the texts seem to be composed with specific deities in mind, and to be intended to be copied without being changed, although there is some evidence that copyists might deliberately change the beings invoked, or, more often, simply change the names of less common deities by miscopying.[46] These deities may appear in the texts in several roles. They may be *invoked*, that is, called upon to fulfill the request contained in the formula. They may be *invoked by*, that is, used as an authority by which a different invoked being is commanded to obey. They may be otherwise *mentioned in an argument or historiola* – that is, they may be mentioned as part of a narrative passage or epithet without being directly invoked, or their name may simply appear as part of a sequence of names which are apparently intended to increase the formula's power.[47] Finally, they may be mentioned as *hostile beings* against whom the invoked being or other agent is to act – a demon causing disease or possession, for example. In this study, my analysis will not, for the most part, consider the role of the deity in the text – rather, I will simply look for mentions of them, since a men-

44 Examples from Egypt are PGM XXXII (KYP M483); SM 37 (KYP M868); SM 47 (KYP M873); SEG XLIX 2382 (KYP M3599); SM 50 (KYP M 876). In the last of these, the phrase ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ, νεκυδαίμων ("whoever you are, corpse-demon", l. 12) has been supplemented by writing the proper name Καμῆς above the line.

45 Faraone (2001) 329–330.

46 See e.g., PGM IV.236–237 (=GEMF 57; KYP M3; TM 64343) in which the practitioner is instructed to address "NN god" (ὅ τις θεός). In GEMF 15.422–423 (=PGM XII.373–374; KYP M144; TM 55954) a separation spell to make two people hate each other, the practitioner is to use the hatred of Typhon and Osiris for an analogy if the two victims are male, but Typhon and Isis if it is for a man and woman.

47 For the concept of the *historiola*, see Frankfurter (1995).

tion, regardless of their role, does perhaps indicate that the copyist had access to them, and hence perhaps the cosmology they were part of. Finally, it is worth noting a problem with identifying divine names. Magical papyri often contain many *voces magicae*, the majority of which are apparently unique; even those which seem to be variants of a single name may show significant divergences from one another. It is not even clear if *voces magicae* are always names; certain texts imply that these were sometimes instead understood to be phrases in a divine language, which contained other classes of words alongside proper nouns.[48] In practice, my analysis here will only take into account the commonly recurring *voces*, such as Akramakhamari, which usually, though not always, seem to have been understood as names, and whose variants are relatively easy to recognise.[49]

We may briefly note a final way in which individuals appear in magical papyri – as the authors of texts, or as the sources of particular variants of texts (credited in marginalia or integrated notes). These figures – deities such as Hermes-Thoth, or legendary sages, such as Solomon, Orpheus, and Democritus – do not generally appear in the amulets which concern us here, in which the texts are never credited to a particular author.[50]

1.4 Shandruk's "Christian Use of Magic in Late Antique Egypt"

As noted above, Walter Shandruk performed a similar analysis in 2012, looking at 70 applied magical texts in Greek and Coptic dating from the first to the sixth centuries CE.[51] Using the criteria of Bagnall's original article, he identified 28 of the clients as Christian, and found that Christians likely crossed the threshold into being a majority (64 %) by the fourth to fifth century, becoming a significant majority (83 %) by the fifth to sixth.[52] Interestingly, these findings agree more closely with the later study of Depauw and Clarysse than that of Bagnall (whose methodology Shandruk used), with its smaller corpus.

In the second part of his study, he then classified the magical texts as Christian or non-Christian. Christian papyri were defined as those containing Old and New Testa-

48 See, e. g., PGM XIII.159 – 162 (GEMF 60; KYP M161; TM 64446; IV CE) in which the *vox magica* μενεφωϊφωθ is said to mean προάγω σου κύριε ("I go before you, O Lord"), and the *Prayer of Judas Cyriacus* (PCM I 11 (Leiden AMS 9) p. 26 l. 24 p. 28 l. 21; ACM 134; KYP M171; TM 100023; VI CE), in which a sequence of *voces magicae* is said to be Hebrew, and whose extensive translation constitutes the rest of the text.
49 For Akramakhamari, see Brashear (1995) 3578.
50 On named authors in magical papyri, see Dieleman (2005) 263 – 275; Suárez de la Torre (2014). Rare exceptions include the Jesus-Abgar correspondence (on the amuletic use of which see Sanzo (2014) 153 – 154), attributed to Jesus and King Abgar of Edessa, and Columbia inv. 554 (KYP M2; TM 102257; Schiller (1928), cf. van der Vliet (1991) 239 – 241), a prayer in the voice of the Virgin Mary used as an applied amulet.
51 Shandruk (2012).
52 Shandruk (2012) 46.

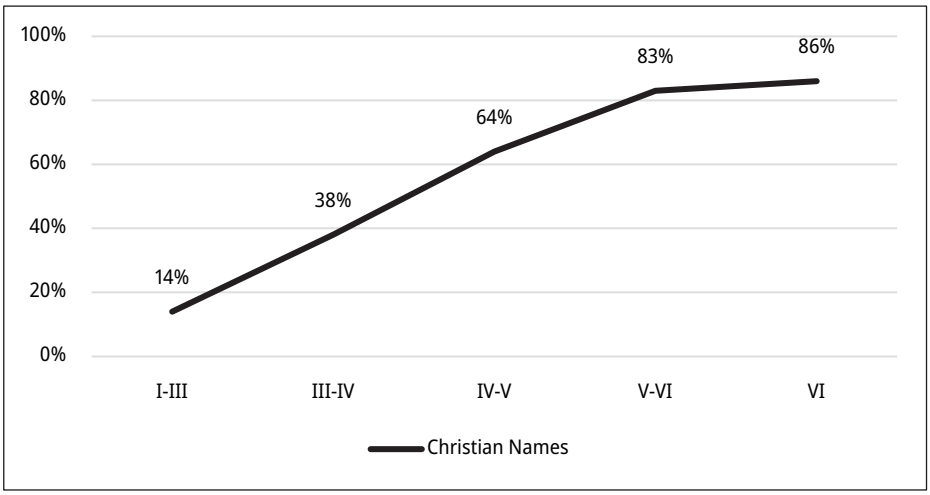


Fig. 1: Estimate of percentage of Christians in applied magical texts after Shandruk (2012) 46; a 1.5 multiplier has been applied to the raw percentages to account for Christians who cannot be identified by their names.

ment figures, citations of the New Testament or Christian apocrypha, Christian doctrinal or liturgical statements, or Christian symbols.[53] Shandruk concluded his analysis by finding that Christians did not display a different use of magical texts from non-Christians: prior to the fourth-fifth century religious transition, they were attested as using both Christian and non-Christian magic. The major change was rather a temporal one, as Christian magical papyri appeared in the fourth century, and then became predominant after the fifth century, changing both the content and the types of texts, with amuletic (protective and healing) texts being more common than aggressive (curse and erotic) texts after Egypt became predominantly Christian.

As Shandruk notes, the interest of this study lies not only in its approach to onomastics, but also in its clarification of the relationship between Christians and the use of magic. As is well known, the Christian traditions were, very nearly from the beginning, consistently opposed to the practice of magic by their adherents.[54] From the Pauline letters (e. g., Galatians 5.19 – 21) to the *Didache* to later canons, Christians are forbidden to practice magic, an injunction repeated and elaborated upon in numerous theological texts and sermons, inherited in part from contemporary Graeco-Roman norms, and in part from injunctions in the Torah against practices translated into the Greek Septuagint using terms such as *mageia, pharmakeia* and their cognates.[55]

53 Shandruk (2012) 46 – 53.

54 See e. g., Sanzo (2019).

55 Bohak (2008) 13 – 19; Harari (2019)140 – 148; cf. Sanzo (2019). The *magoi* in Matthew 2.1 – 12 represent an interesting exception to the general hostility of Christian writers to *mageia* and its cognates; cf. Hull (1974) 122 – 128; Hein (2021).

At the same time, there are, of course, numerous outsider sources by authors, such as the second-century philosopher Celsus, which accuse Christians of practicing magic, and the accusation was well enough known to Christians that governors in Christian hagiographies repeatedly (albeit wrongly) accuse saints of being magicians.[56] Yet even insider Christian sources confirm that some Christians did practice magic – the canons themselves provide evidence that Christians, including clerics, needed to be forbidden from doing so, and we find very similar sermons complaining of magical practices, such as the recourse to amulets, by Christian flocks from authors across the Roman world in the fourth to sixth centuries – from Ephraim in Syria and Shenoute in Egypt to John Chrysostom in Constantinople and Caesarius of Arles in Gaul.[57] Their definition of magic is perhaps slightly different from ours – amulets containing Biblical texts are explicitly contrasted with forbidden amulets by authors such as Augustine and Chrysostom – but it is clear that their definition would have included many of the more "central" instances of magical texts – those with *voces magicae* and invocations taking non-canonical forms, and those intended to heal as well as curses and love spells.[58] Shandruk's study of names in magical papyri would thus seem to confirm this picture, including the fact that Christians were indeed using the same magical practices as their non-Christians neighbours in the early centuries CE.

At the same time, Shandruk's study raises some of the more general problems of the subjects he approaches – identifying Christians based on their names, and distinguishing Christian and "non-Christian" material objects. As Frankfurter, and others, such as Wipszycka and Malcolm Choat before him have stressed, names are usually given by parents rather than chosen by children, so that while, *en masse*, changing onomastic patterns might attest to patterns of conversion, it is more difficult to use individual names to discern the religious identities of those with those names.[59] This goes not only for individuals identified as Christians using Bagnall's methods, but also for those not identifiable as such based on their names, many of whom would likely have been Christians, especially in the later fourth and fifth centuries. This is a serious problem, and one I will discuss at greater length below.

The second problem is that of identifying texts as Christian or non-Christian. While Shandruk's approach is a rich one, taking into account features of both content and

56 See the brief discussions in, e. g., Stratton (2007) 117–120; Bremmer (2003) 54–56; cf. Shandruk (2012) 31–32.

57 For Ephraim, see Beck (1972) vol. 1, 12–27, translation in vol. 2, 18–39; for Shenoute see Orlandi (1985) 18–21 §§255–262; for Chrysostom, see *Adversus Judaeos* VIII.6–7, text in PG 48 935–939, translation Harkins (1979) 230–232; for Caesarius of Arles, see sermons 13.3–5, 50.1–4, 54.3–5, text in Morin (1953) 66–68, 224–227, 237–239, translation Mueller (1956) 76–79, 253–256, 267–270. For general overviews and discussions of some of these passages, see Vakaloudi (2000); Sanzo (2017); Sanzo (2019); van der Vliet (2019a); Dosoo (2021b) 49–56.

58 For discussions of ancient Christian delineations of magic, see e. g., Sanzo (2014) 160–165; van der Vliet (2019a) 244–254; Dosoo (2021b) 49–56, 63.

59 Bagnall (1982) 329; Wipszycka (1986); Choat (2006) 52–55; Frankfurter (2014); 109; Depauw/Clarysse (2015) 329.

materiality, I find the binary classification somewhat misleading. For example, the sixth-century SM 19 has no scribal marks such as the cross, or names of Christian figures, and thus no explicitly Christian features; it is thus a "non-Christian" text by his definition. But it dates to the sixth century, a period that we would expect to be almost entirely Christian in context, and apart from unique *voces magicae*, the only recognisable named deities are *Damnameneus* and *Akramakhamari,* neither of whom belong to contemporary or near-contemporary Greek or Egyptian cults. Of the two, only Damnameneus has a clear origin, as one of the members of the Idaean dactyls, but the frequent appearance of his name alone in such amulets suggests that the name was rather transmitted through and borrowed from the well-known apotropaic sequence known as the *Ephesia Grammata*, the "Ephesian letters".[60] Akhramakhamari is known only from magical texts and Christian "gnostic" texts;[61] both he and Damnameneus are found both in pre-fourth century Greek magical and in Coptic magical texts as late as the eighth century.[62] Later the text invokes "the one who sits over the cherubim and seraphim" – a clear reference to the Jewish-Christian god, originating in the Bible, and taken up in liturgical texts.[63] While references to gods sitting over the cherubim are present in older Graeco-Egyptian magical texts, they are also found, and indeed more common, in later Christian magical texts.[64] Far from being clearly "non-Christian", then, the text has features found in both pre- and post-fifth century, Christian Egypt. Even more striking is the case of SM 10, a third or fourth century amulet for a woman whose mother's name, Sara, suggests she may have been a Christian; it contains an image of an ouroboros and mention of the common *voces* Semesilam, Albanathanalba, Akhramakhamari, and Sesengen Barpharanges, and Phre (Egyptian *pꜣ rʿ*, "the sun (god)"), but seems to primarily invoke the Jewish god, named as Adonai Eloai Sabaoth, and his angels Ouriel, Michael, Gabriel, Souriel, and Raphael. My impression is that this amulet would have been understood as entirely acceptable by many Christians, who would have seen its *voces magicae* as simply secret names for God and his angels, yet, according to Shandruk's criteria, it is once again non-Christian.[65]

Measuring the religious belonging of a text in a way which can be incorporated into a statistical analysis is therefore not an easy or uncontroversial proposition. In this study I will attempt to do so by focusing on the frequency of particular names over time, such as *Damnameneus* or *cherubim.* This has the disadvantage, compared

60 On Damnameneus and the *Ephesia Grammata*, see Brashear (1995) 3583 – 3584; Bernabé (2013) 88 – 89 et passim.

61 For Akramakhamari, see Brashear (1995) 3578.

62 For late appearances of these names, see e. g., P.Macq. I 1 p. 10 ll. 13 – 14, 19 (Choat/Gardner 2013; KYP M167; TM 113926; VII–VIII CE); P.Ryl.Copt. 103 l. 28 (ACM 115; KYP M298; TM 100005; X–XI CE).

63 Cf. Eichler 2014.

64 Within the corpus examined here (see 3.1 below), references to the cherubim appear in the fourth century, and peak in the sixth century, a pattern that we might expect if their appearance were linked to the rise of Christianity.

65 Shandruk (2012) 48 no. 27.

to Shandruk's approach, of neglecting scribal features such as the use of crosses, but these latter are perhaps better understood, in at least some cases, as indices of the training of the scribe than the religious identity or content of the text – a later eighth century narrative charm centring around a story about of Horus and Isis begins with two crosses, and adds two more at the end of the recto and of the text.[66] The crosses indicate that this manuscript was certainly produced by a copyist trained in a Christian environment, but the contents are not straightforwardly describable as Christian. Focusing on names, though imperfect as an approach, nonetheless allows a more nuanced classification of texts – rather than imposing a Christian/non-Christian binary, it is able to consider all the different names present in particular manuscripts, and understand texts as potentially drawing simultaneously upon multiple religious traditions, of which Christianity may be one.

1.5 Known Copyists, Owners, and Users of Magical Papyri

Before examining the names in applied magical texts *en masse*, it is worth briefly reviewing named individuals who copied, owned, and used surviving magical papyri, about whom archaeological context or other information allows us to say a little more, in order to provide a richer picture of who these people might have been. I exclude here individuals known from literary texts, such those named in Zacharias of Mytilene's *Life of Severos of Antioch*,[67] and authors such as Galen and other medical writers, who reproduce or describe magical recipes which they owned or had encountered.[68]

The earliest individual known to me is Aurēlius Philammōn, whose notebook survives in the form of an idiosyncratic codex dating to the years 357–359.[69] Philammōn was responsible for the collection of the tax known as the *annonia militaris* in the area of Hermopolis, and though most of the texts in his notebook relate to this practice, others consist of trial reports – perhaps for the study of law, or to read for entertainment, in the fashion of modern detective or court dramas[70] – and nearly twenty magical texts. The most recent editors suggest that he may have been collecting these as evidence for a trial in which their original owners would be charged with magic,[71] but there is no clear reason to think this from the way the texts are copied – they are laid out like other magical recipes, and have no annotations or comments highlighting features of legal interest. It is likewise not clear why he would have copied them in

66 BKU I 1 (ACM 49; KYP M76; VII–VIII CE).

67 *Life of Severos* 74–102, in Kugener (1907) 57–76, English translation in Brock/Fitzgerald (2013) 64–74, cf. the discussion in Dosoo/Torallas Tovar (2022b) 74,

68 Cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar (2022b) 24–26; Bohak (2016) 367–369.

69 See Poethke et al. (2012); cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar (2022b) 96–97; Faraone (2022) 435–437.

70 Kanavou/Papathomas (2016).

71 Poethke et al. (2012) 131–133.

full for this purpose rather than simply making brief notes or confiscating the originals; the possession of magical texts itself was a crime according to contemporary Roman law, so by including them in his own notebook in the context of a legal persecution of magic, Philammōn could have been running a risk himself.[72] It seems more likely, as Christopher Faraone has suggested, that he intended to use the texts for his own purposes.[73] They consist of a fairly typical range of interests – a victory charm, a silencing curse, a love spell, a favour charm, and several healing procedures using Homeric verses. Two of the healing charms are specifically for healing female complaints –breasts or uterine pain, and uterine bleeding, and Faraone notes that these may have been intended to help the women of his household.[74] In terms of their content, it is difficult to classify these texts as "pagan" or "Christian"; there are several typical *voces magicae*, but few names which can be associated with any cults. On one page we find Iaō, Abrasax, and perhaps Albanathanalba,[75] but these names are too ubiquitous in Graeco-Egyptian, as well as Christian magic, to interpret in the absence of other indicators. There is an unmistakeably Egyptian god, the solar scarab deity Khepri, in the Hellenised form Khphuris, but its context – in a short sequence of *voces magicae* including Lailam and Semesilam – makes it difficult to see a deep connection to Egyptian theology.[76] The editors note that "Apollo" features in one text, but this is in a Homeric citation, and thus not particularly telling;[77] the Homeric epics continued to be read (and used for magic) by Christians into the Middle Ages and beyond.[78] The favour spell does contain an invocation to Helios, but the format – a *chairetismos* consisting of a series of acclamations beginning "hail" (*khaire*) is very familiar from later Christian texts, and the sun (*hēlios*) continued to play an important role in Christianity, as a personified celestial body who was part of God's creation, rather than a deity.[79] While the text later refers to the almighty (*pantokratōr*) it is not clear that this title is applied to the sun, and it later contains several typically Jewish-Christian names – *Iaō, Sabaōth,* and *Mikhaēl.* Once again, this text would not be out of place in a later handbook written in either Greek or Coptic. I thus agree with the authors that it is unclear if the codex should be classified as "pagan" or "Christian", and it tends rather to suggest that such a classification would not necessarily meaningful.[80] Philammōn's name like-

72 See *Pauli sententiae*; 5.23.18; on magic in Roman law, see Rives (2003); Rives (2006).
73 Faraone (2022) 435–437.
74 Faraone (2022) 436.
75 BGU IV 1026 p. 9, ll. 4, 14, 18, in Poethke et al. (2012) 33.
76 See Thissen (2006) 630–631 n. 12. Lailam and Semesilam are names with solar associations, and so are appropriate in a sequence with Khepri, even if their origin is likely Semitic; cf. Brashear (1995) 3590, 3598.
77 BGU IV 1026 p. 22, l. 14, a citation of Iliad 1.75, in Poethke et al. (2012) 46, cf. comments on pp. 135–137.
78 Cf. Zellmann-Rohrer (2016) 6–7.
79 BGU IV 1026 p. 23, l. 17 in Poethke et al. (2012) 124; cf. the discussion in Zellmann-Rohrer/Love (2022) 268–274; similar phraseology may be found in the later texts P.CtYBR inv. 1791 recto ll. 11–12; P. Köln XV 640 recto ll. 1–2. For the sun in Christian thought, see e.g., Augustine, *Sermones de scripturis* 120.2.
80 Poethke et al. (2012) 46, cf. comments on pp. 135–137.

wise gives no clear idea of his religious affiliation. The original Philammōn was a semi-divine musician of the heroic age, whose name many have been interpreted in the Roman period as a theophoric name containing the name of the god Amun in its hellenised form *Ammōn*,[81] but our Philammōn might have been named after an older family member of the same name rather than the hero or god. His father's name, Hermes, is likewise theophoric. There are thus no onomastic grounds for thinking Philammōn was Christian, but neither would it have been unlikely; he served as an imperial functionary in an Egypt ruled by a Christian emperor, Constantius II, and living as a Christian might have been advantageous for his career, regardless of his personal beliefs. The work of Depauw and Clarysse would tend to suggest that just under half of the inhabitants of Egypt were Christian at the time the codex was copied;[82] there is thus a strong chance that Philammōn was Christian, even though he used magical texts which were not explicitly Christian, but the chance is not so strong as to be a certainty.

The next named magic users are inhabitants of the town of Kellis, in the Dakhla Oasis, 350 kilometres west of the Nile Valley. They were residents of Area A House 4, living among at least two extended families consisting of at least 36 individuals, attested in the late fourth century.[83] These inhabitants were highly literate, and when they abandoned their house in the 390s, left behind part of a large archive of material written in Greek, Coptic, and Syriac.[84] Among these manuscripts are several magical texts, both formularies and applied texts. One handbook contains a list of healing procedures, which incorporate various *voces magicae*, two of which may perhaps be identified as the names of the Egyptian deities Ptah and Renenutet.[85] One of the recipes has been recopied as an amulet for Pamour son of Lo, a family member known from other texts.[86] Two other damaged amulets have been found in the house, one for Pamour[87] – either the son of Lo, or a different individual with the same name (rather common in Kellis)[88] – and another for a woman probably called Elake, a name and individual oth-

81 Swinnen (1968); Benaissa (2009) 72–73; Cuvigny (2018) §§86–90; cf. Dunand (1963).

82 Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 431–435.

83 The literature on Kellis is considerable; see recently Brand (2021); Teigen (2021); Hope/Bowen (2022); Dosoo/Torallas Tovar (2022a) 42–54, with further bibliography therein; cf. also the discussion in Shandruk (2012) 37–38.

84 Bowen (2015) 233–234.

85 P. Kell. I 85 b l. 17, reconstructed by reference to P. Kell. I 87 l. 1.

86 P. Kell. I 87.

87 P. Kellis inv. 92.35.b, see Worp (1995) 218 n.l. 16.

88 Worp (1995) 51 distinguishes three individuals named Pamour in House 3 alone, one in each of three generations. The etymology of Pamour is unclear; Alcock (2004) suggests ⲡⲁ-(ⲗ)ⲙⲟⲩⲣ "he of Amor (i.e., Syria)", although the loanword ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲣ is otherwise unattested in Coptic. Gardner et al. (1999) 36 propose an alternative derivation from ⲙⲟⲩⲣ ("bond"), for which they suggest an extended sense of "oath, vow". The name is probably derived from Μοῦρ, also of uncertain meaning, attested in several other Greek manuscripts from Kellis (e.g., O.Kellis 61 l. 2; O.Kellis 83 l. 1). Publication of other texts from Kellis in older stages of the Egyptian language may help to clarify the origin of these names; perhaps cf. the names with the uncertain Demotic readings Pasherpamerhu and Tapamerhu mentioned by Günter Vittmann in Hope/Bowen (2022) 197.

erwise unknown.[89] Finally, there is a spell to separate a couple, copied as part of a letter by a man named Valens to another named Pshai, the latter known to have been a member of the household, on Pshai's request; he likely intended to use it himself.[90] This text is more clearly Jewish or Christian, calling upon the Jewish god and referring to several of his Biblical deeds. The individuals who used these texts do not seem to have worked primarily as magicians, or any other type of ritual practitioner; rather they appear to have been literate artisans and traders, primarily concerned with the production and sale of textiles.[91] As in the case of Philammōn, these were texts which they may have simply wanted to use themselves, either for personal or familial gain, or as a side practice. What is most interesting about these individuals, however, is that we know from their correspondence, and other documents, that they were practicing Manichaeans. Again, magical practice and religious identity does not neatly align; the healing recipes are typical of older Graeco-Egyptian magic, and although the separation spell could be seen as Christian – and Manichaeans in the Roman Empire seem to have at least partially identified as Christian[92] – it is not clearly the product of a specifically Manichaean community. The names of the household likewise leave their religious identity almost invisible. Of the 36 individuals apparently belonging to the household, only 6 (16.7%) have recognisably Christian names, such as Iōhannes (John), or Makarios.[93] Interestingly, all but one of these belong to closely-related members of one of the families – the other family, to which Pamour and Pshai both belonged, have one member with a Christian name (Andreas) in the youngest attested generation, with most members instead using the recurrent family names of which Pamour and Pshai are two examples, and of which at least the latter originated in the local native Egyptian cults.[94] The two families, despite both apparently being Manichaean and exactly contemporary, show very different onomastic practices: the religious affiliation of Pamour's family are onomastically invisible, while those of Iōhannes' family are immediately obvious, albeit pointing to a generically Christian, rather than specifically Manichaean, identity.

From the late fifth century is the archive of Phoibammōn of Naqlun, a hermit who lived in a hermitage just over a kilometre from the Monastery of the Archangel Gabriel.[95] Among his papers, in Greek and Coptic, are three magical texts, only one of which

89 P. Kell. I 86.

90 P. Kellis V 35 (= PCM I 1), cf. the discussion in Dosoo/Torallas Tovar (2022a) 50–53, with bibliography *ad loc.*

91 Teigen (2021) 75–79.

92 Pedersen (2013); cf. Brand (2021) 144–148; Teigen (2021) 13–19.

93 For figure 36 and a discussion of the relationships between the individuals, see the prosopography of Brand (2021) 332–343; the "Christian names" are Theognōstos, Makarios, Matthaios, Maria (twice), and Andreas.

94 For Pshai, see Kaper (2003) 118–120, likely an indirect reference to the cult of the primary local deity Tutu; for the more complex case of Pamour, cf. fn. 88 above.

95 On this individual and his context, see van der Vliet (2000); Godlewski (2000), with further bibliography ad loc.

has been published – an applied curse against a man named Biktōr (i. e., Victor).[96] The text invokes various angels, including Atrakh and Moutrakh, described as being the great angels on the right and left of the sun. Although it does not mention orthodox Christian figures, the centrality of angels is suggestive of the Christian context to which it certainly belongs. A second text contains an image of an animal-headed figure, reminiscent of donkey-headed figures of Seth-Typhon sometimes found in separation spells and curses; the triangular form of the manuscript is perhaps suggestive of the former, since there is at least one other Coptic separation spell in the form of a triangle, perhaps intended to evoke the form of a knife which might "cut" a relationship.[97] The last text is a series of recipes in Greek and Coptic for healing various conditions and for reconciling a man with his unfaithful wife.[98] These are all written in different hands, and so while it is not certain that Phoibammōn himself, and/or his disciple(s), used them, it is quite possible that they did. Phoibammōn would thus be a clear example of a Christian religious professional, specifically a monk, who did practice magic – something attested by Church canons, and often assumed to be the norm for magical practitioners in Christian Egypt by modern scholars.[99] As an anchorite, we would expect Phoibammōn to be a devoted Christian, even if, at this remove of time, we cannot be certain about the exact content of his beliefs. Again, though, his name would not reveal this – it is a theophoric name referring to the syncretised solar deities Phoebus and Amun.[100] In his case, however, it is almost certain that he is named after one of the two martyr saints of this name, who were widely venerated in Egypt from the fifth or sixth century onwards.[101] This increasing prominence of saint names of pagan origin from the fifth century onwards is something we must be aware of, a feature not taken into account in the model of Depauw/Clarysse, which focused on the fourth to fifth centuries.[102]

The next figure is Dioskoros of Aphrodito, the estate manager, lawyer, notary, and poet of sixth-century Aphrodito whose huge archives, in Greek and Coptic, provide us with significant information about his family and home region.[103] Despite his name, referring to the divine twins the *Dioskoroi*, we know he was a Christian;[104] his father, Apollos, likewise lacks a name which we can conclusively label as Christian. It is none-

96 Naqlun N. 45/95 edited in van der Vliet (2000).

97 Van der Vliet (2000) 321; for donkey-headed figures in magical texts, see Dosoo (2022) 125–128 with further references ad loc.

98 Van der Vliet (2000) 321.

99 Cf. Dosoo (2021b) 55–56; Piwowarczyk (2024).

100 Cf. Dunand (1963). Benaissa (2009) 72–73 suggests that "the element -άμμων was so common as to have become degraded to a mere grammaticalized suffix for theophoric names".

101 Papaconstantinou (2001) 218–228.

102 Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 218–219; cf. Blumell (2012) 265–277.

103 For overviews, see Fournet (1999); Fournet (2015); MacCoull (1988).

104 Cf. MacCoull (1988) 110, who speculates on the possibly specifically Miaphysite associations of two potential namesakes – Patriarch Dioskoros I and Shenoute of Atripe. She suggests that Dioskoros, "child of Zeus", could be considered an approximate calque of Shenoute, "child of god".

theless likely that they do have Christian namesakes – Apollos named after the figure of the same name from the book of Acts (18.24–27),[105] Dioskoros after the Patriarch of Alexandria whose episcopacy lasted from 444–458.[106] Among Dioskoros' archive is a brief prayer to God for protection from demons, whose style and contents are very close to other magical texts, invoking the Lord Almighty, *Iaō Sabaō Brinthaō*.[107] Though not necessarily orthodox in its formulation, it is clearly Christian. It is unclear if Dioskoros composed it himself, drawing inspiration from amulets he had seen, or copied it from a pre-existing source, and whether he intended to use it, or had copied it only for its interesting style and vocabulary. It is worth noting that Dioskoros, like the patriarch who was his namesake, was likely a member of the majority Miaphysite (later "Coptic") branch of the church in Egypt, considered a heretical offshoot by the Chalcedonian Church which enjoyed imperial support.[108] The subtle, albeit deeply meaningful, theological differences which divided these groups are likewise not apparent in this text.

The final two individuals to be mentioned here are the copyists of substantial Coptic magical texts dating to the tenth and eleventh centuries, Iōhannes and Raphaē, who each identify themselves as deacons in texts dating to 967 and 1035 respectively.[109] Little else is known of them; Iōhannes calls himself a "servant of Michael" – probably indicating that he belonged to an institution dedicated to the archangel apparently located in the otherwise unknown site of Pcellēt, almost certainly in the Faiyum.[110] In contrast to the earlier individuals we have considered, Iōhannes and Raphaē have clearly Christian names (forms of John and Raphael), and their belonging to the Church is confirmed by their profession of deacon. The texts they copied are clearly Christian in inspiration; Iōhannes copies several invocations and prayers addressed to, and often said to be composed by, Christian superhuman figures, including the Trinity and saints.[111] Raphaē copies a list of procedures to be used in conjunction with the Psalms, a type of magic common in the later Christian and Jewish communities of the Near East and Europe.[112] At the same time, it is unclear what their relationship with the texts was – were they copied for their own use, or, like most surviving manuscripts

105 Cf. 1 Corinthians 3.4–6, 10.12, 16.12; Titus 3.13.

106 Cf. n. 104 above.

107 P.Cair.Masp. II 67188 v ll. 1–5 (=PGM 13a; KYP M436)

108 Cf. n. 104 above.

109 PCM I 23=P. Bad. V 137, for which see Gardner/Johnston (2019); Dosoo/Preininger (2023) 274–279; the second manuscript is Collège de France Ms. 3 (KYP M597); cf. the discussions in MacCoull (1987); Jordan (2001).

110 Cf. Gardner/Johnston (2019) 48 & Gardner (2023) 75–76, although here they understand ⲡⲥⲉⲗⲗⲏⲧ as a form of ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁⲗⲏⲟⲩⲧ "the one assigned (i.e., to copy the manuscript)". For the understanding as a placename, see van der Vliet (2005b) 277; Dosoo et al. (2022) s.v. KYP T24; Dosoo/Preininger (2023) 259–260, 279.

111 E.g., PCM I 25 (=P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 685; a prayer attributed to Mary on pp. 1–12; *editio princeps* in Meyer (1996); KYP M 186; TM 102074); PCM I 26 (P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 686, prayer attributed to Michael; *editio princeps* in Kropp (1966); KYP 166; TM 100022); cf. Gardner/Johnston (2019) 32.

112 Cf. Zellmann-Rohrer (2018); (2022).

with colophons, for patrons who paid for the reproduction of texts to be dedicated in the library of a religious institution?[113]

This overview has further emphasised some of the problems already raised when reviewing Shandruk's work – most of the individuals discussed here were Christians, but few would have been identified as such based on their names alone. The texts they use are likewise often difficult to clearly characterise as "pagan", "Christian", or "non-Christian", although most include Jewish-Christian figures, as well as those known exclusively from the magical tradition, and, in the case of the Kellis texts, a few Graeco-Egyptian deities. This would tend to confirm the impression that it was the types of texts available to users which changed over time, with Christians driving this change, but nonetheless using those texts available in their time and place regardless of their religious elements.

2 Personal Names in Magical Papyri

2.1 Overview of Corpus

It is now time to examine the names found in magical texts from Egypt. The *Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects* was created by the project *Coptic Magical Papyri: Vernacular Religion in Late Roman and Early Islamic Egypt* in 2018, and as of the first of January 2022, it contained 162 applied magical manuscripts from Egypt written in Greek (97 manuscripts) and/or Coptic (67 manuscripts),[114] dating to between the second and twelfth centuries CE and containing personal names. This is the largest existing corpus of magical texts in these languages, including all the examples from the major published corpora, as well as numerous examples published individually, and several manuscripts which remain unpublished at present, but whose contents are well enough known to me to have allowed the extraction of the relevant data. There are no published applied magical texts in Demotic or Hieratic containing personal names from this period known to me,[115] and while it might have been desirable to include Arabic texts, these have not yet been systematically added to *Kyprianos,* and in any case, would likely be less useful for the purposes of determining religious change for reasons discussed in detail below (2.3). As noted above, these 'applied texts' are those created in the course of a specific ritual, as opposed to handbooks (or formularies) which contain instructions for carrying out rituals.

113 Cf. Soldati (2018).

114 Two manuscripts – P.Köln X 425 (KYP M471; TM 69038; V–VI CE); P.Oxy. LXV 4469 (KYP M654; TM 58906; V CE) – were bilingual, containing both Coptic and Greek; one Cambridge UL T-S 12.207 (Crum 1902; TM 99585; KYP M534; X–XI CE?) is bilingual Coptic-Arabic, with the Arabic section transliterated into Coptic characters.

115 The applied Demotic love spell described in Ritner/Scalf (2019) dates to the late first to second century, and so could have been included had it been fully published.

Note that some texts had to be excluded from the analysis. These include those which are duplicates – produced for a single client, often by a single scribe, and containing identical or near identical texts; these are understood here as single datapoints spread across two or more manuscripts.[116]

Tab. 1: Analysis of ritual purposes in the corpus of applied magical texts containing personal names in Greek and Coptic dating from the second to twelfth centuries CE.

Superordinate Category	Subordinate Category	Number of Texts
Amuletic	Healing/Protection	88
	Favour	4
Total Amuletic		**92**
Aggressive	Curse	35
	Love	27
	Separation	7
Total Aggressive		**69**
Divination		1
Total		**162**

The purposes of most of these manuscripts may be divided into two overarching categories – amuletic and aggressive – each further subdivided into more precise types. One manuscript did not fit into either of these categories – this is SM 66 (KYP M889; TM 92331; III–IV CE), a bowl inscribed with an invocation for a spirit to enter an individual named Alexandros in a divination ritual. While divination rituals of this type are common in the Graeco-Egyptian magical corpus, they do not generally require the creation of a written text which specifies their purpose – more common are amulets to protect the practitioner during the performance of rituals[117] – and so this would appear to be the only surviving example of an applied divinatory text.

Amuletic texts include those intended to protect or heal the user from diseases, demons, the evil eye, harmful magic, and so on as well as those intended to bring favour – that is, general good luck, charisma, success, or favour before a superior. Aggressive texts are in turn subdivided into three categories: curses, intended to harm or incapa-

116 The excluded manuscripts are the two curses of Sabinos (KYP M883 & M884; see Björck (1938)), the Asyut Bone Curse Dossier (KYP M456, 535, and 1159; see Dosoo (2021d)), the "Theodoros-Matrona" Dossier (SM 49–51); each of these was treated as a single manuscript for the purposes of subsequent analyses (cf. Shandruk (2012) 42). In each of these cases, the religious content of all texts from the dossiers were included in the analyses discussed below (3.1–3) One applied text was dated to the first century (SM 52; KYP M878; TM 32622), but this was excluded from the analysis, since it would be the only published manuscript from its century.

117 Cf. Dosoo (2014) 384–286.

citate an enemy; love spells, intended to make the target fall in love with and/or submit to the sexual desires of the user; and separation spells, intended to separate a couple, or cause strife between friends or family members.

Before discussing the basic diachronic tendencies of the corpus, it is worth highlighting one of its features that makes it more problematic to use for onomastic analysis than documentary texts, that of dating. Magical formularies rarely, and applied texts never, specify the date of their production, and applied texts are very rarely written as palimpsests upon documentary texts which might contain this information – as objects intended to be imbued with power, it seems that scribes usually preferred to use fresh supports.[118] This means that the entire corpus may only be dated palaeographically, usually within 1–2 centuries for Greek texts; with Coptic texts, the dating may be even less precise, with editors at times only suggesting manuscripts are "early", for example, or even declining to propose dates. The *Coptic Magical Papyri* project has managed to improve upon the dating of many of the manuscripts studied here, but the problem still remains – we are dealing with a picture of religious change with a resolution of one to two centuries. By contrast, modern demographers prefer to use five-year blocks.[119] However, the names contained by the manuscripts are only used as dating criteria in exceptionally rare cases,[120] and so we should not expect the results to reflect pre-existing assumptions about the distribution of names; rather, if the datings are incorrect, we would expect randomness.

While the manuscripts date to between the second and twelfth centuries CE, their distribution over time is not consistent. Greek manuscripts are attested in significant numbers from the second until the sixth century, at which point their numbers decline significantly, and almost completely disappear by the eighth. This is more or less what we would expect – the Arab conquest in 642 separated Egypt from the Greek-speaking Eastern Roman Empire, and established Arabic as a competing elite language, whose use in the administration was introduced and gradually enforced over the course of the eighth century. Coptic texts appear in the fourth century,[121] and co-exist alongside Greek ones, overtaking them in the seventh century before declining over the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the population becomes increasingly Islamicised – with Christians converting to Islam – and Arabised – with even those who remained Christian increasingly speaking and writing in Arabic.[122] We may note that this pattern is slightly different than that found in magical texts as a whole – previous analyses which includ-

118 Cf. Dosoo/Torallas Tovar (2022b) 114–116.

119 Wildman et al. (2021) 170.

120 See, e.g., Love (2021) 196–197, which considers onomastic evidence as one of a number of features relevant for dating.

121 Note that I exclude from consideration here the "Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus" (ACM 1; KYMP M524: TM 92845; II CE), a petition to the god Osiris, dating perhaps to the second century, which some consider to be an applied curse; I consider it to belong rather to the Egyptian tradition of "letters to gods", for which see Love (2022b); Love (2023).

122 For a helpful overview of language change, see Richter (2008).

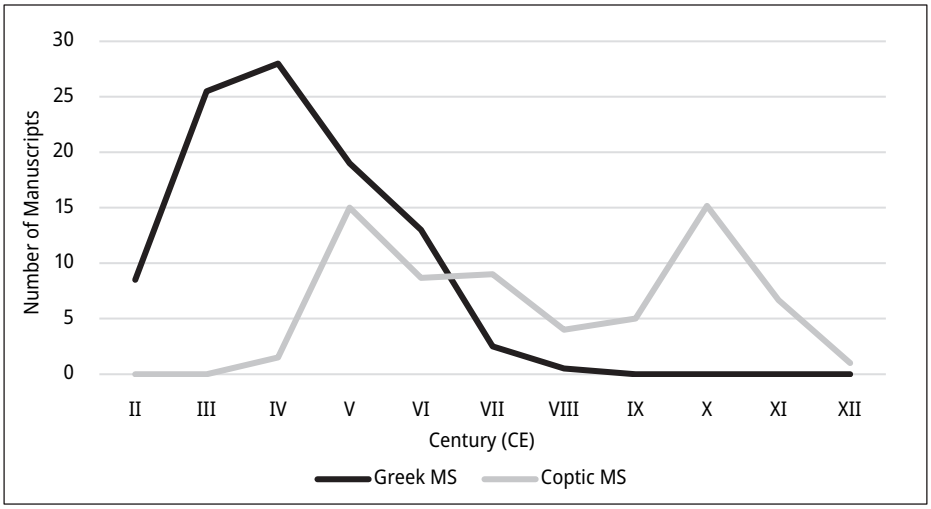


Fig. 2: Number of applied magical manuscripts containing personal names per century in Greek and Coptic.

ed formularies have found Coptic overtaking Greek in the sixth century;[123] it is likely the case that Greek applied texts – generally shorter than the recipes contained in formularies, and susceptible to mechanical copying rather than requiring advanced reading skills – might have continued to be produced for longer in Egypt than Greek formularies.

If we look at the temporal distribution of amuletic and aggressive texts, we can clearly see the pattern already noted by Shandruk – the decline of aggressive practices over time.[124] While aggressive applied texts dominate the second and third centuries, by the fourth they are in steady decline, and by the fifth they have been relegated to about 20 % of the corpus, remaining at approximately this level until their disappearance in the twelfth century. As Shandruk suggests, we might see here a shift brought about by the Christianisation of Egypt – a move away from the aggressive techniques which would be harder to justify within a Christian worldview.

The patterns are slightly different, though, when we distinguish the different kinds of aggressive practices. Amuletic texts remain the most common for all periods, except for the second century, when they are outnumbered by love spells. The use of amuletic texts would seem to follow the overall pattern of the attestation of the corpus – peaking in the fifth century and then declining, with a smaller peak in the tenth. Love spells are quite well attested in the second through fourth centuries, then decline consider-

123 For other discussions of temporal changes in the corpus of magical texts, see Dosoo et al. (2022) 63–66; Dosoo/Torallas Tovar (2022b) 66–69; Dufault (2023) 384.

124 Shandruk (2012) 50–53.

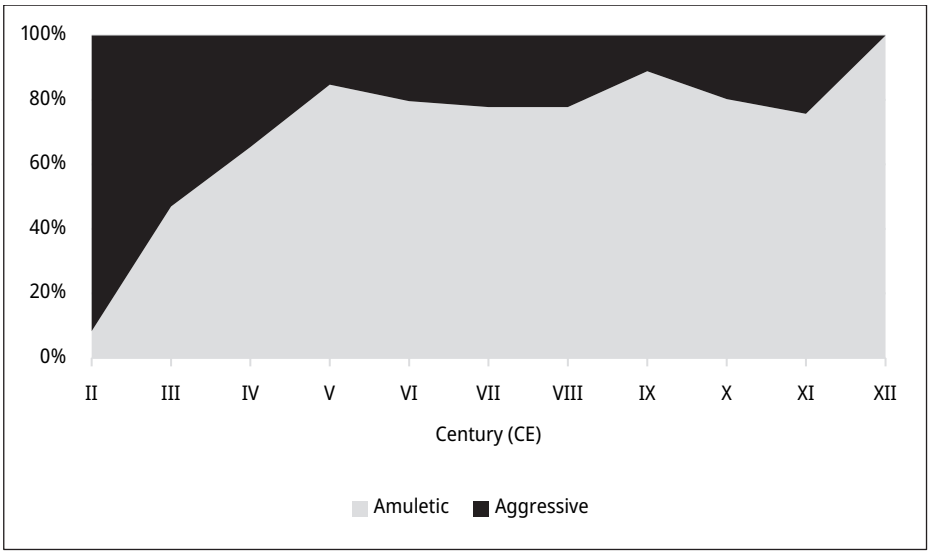


Fig. 3: Change in content of surviving applied manuscripts in Greek and Coptic over time (percentages).

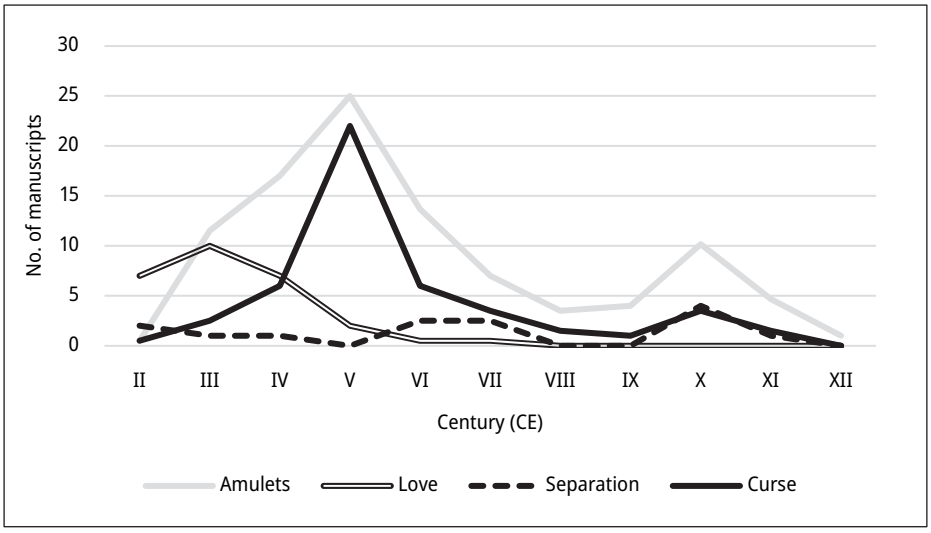


Fig. 4: Change in content of surviving applied manuscripts in Greek and Coptic over time.

ably; there is only one published applied Coptic love spell.[125] Separation spells, though less common, show a rather different pattern – they are best attested in Coptic manu-

125 The only published applied love spell in Coptic is Ashmolean AN 1981.940 (=ACM 84; KYP M5); other, unpublished, manuscripts which may be applied love spells are Columbia inv. 556 (KYP M569), and Aber-

scripts of the sixth and seventh, and then tenth centuries. Curses are fairly well attested from the fourth century onwards, with a noticeable decline in the sixth century, and then a small peak in the tenth, following the general trends of the corpus. These tendencies seem more difficult to explain by reference to Christianisation – why do curses peak in the fifth century, and why do separation spells only appear in significant numbers after Christianisation? There are a number of possible answers; many of the fifth century curses seem closer to Henk Versnel's category of prayers for justice than the earlier Greek binding curses, and are highly Christian in their worldview; there may have been a brief window in which Egyptian Christians decided that these represented legitimate, and non-magical practices.[126] It may also be that separating the object of your affection from an existing partner was seen as safer than trying to attract them directly under Christian hegemony, and the stricter laws of the post-Diocletianic Roman order.[127] Separation spells, like curses, typically contain only the names of the targets, in contrast to love spells, which also contain the name of the client for whom they are made, rendering the finding of one of these objects potentially dangerous for the commissioner. At the same time, it is worth noting that formularies from the post-fifth century Christian period – overwhelmingly in Coptic – provide ample evidence for ongoing interest in aggressive magic.[128] It is possible that these generated traces which are invisible in the archaeological record: while some prescribe creating texts to be buried, this is often at the victim's house rather than in a grave, and, since most of the archaeological work in Egypt focuses on tomb and temple sites, these would be less likely to be found. Indeed, the object to be deposed at the victim's house is often not a text at all, but rather a liquid or other substance over which a formula has been spoken.[129] The shift may therefore be less one of the type of practice

deen ABDUA 103249 (KYP M1213); this latter, not taken into account in this analysis, is interesting in that it contains the personal name Cipraēl (ⲥϫⲓⲡⲣⲁⲏⲗ), likely a writing of the Arabic personal name Ǧibrīl, the equivalent of Graeco-Coptic Gabriēl (cf. Legendre (2014) 348). Slightly less than 10% of the recipes in Coptic-language formularies are love spells (54/620=8.7%), but their representation in applied texts is less than a sixth of that, 1.4% (3/211) (Dosoo et al. (2022) 61). The fact that they are found in formularies throughout the period of attestation of Coptic manuscripts implies to my mind that such rituals continued to be used to a significant degree, even if they are less attested in applied texts.

126 "Prayers for justice" are framed as petitions to deities to ask for retribution or restitution of a wrong suffered by the client, and Versnel suggests they should be primarily understood as a type of 'religious prayer' rather than a magical practice. On these, see, e.g., Versnel (1991); Versnel (2010); Martín Hernández (2013); cf. Gordon (2013) 266–269; Love (2022b) 86–222. My impression is that Versnel's division works quite well for the Coptic-language material. Coptic examples might include, e.g., IFAO Copte 449 (KYP M26; TM 99596); P.Hermitage Copt. 70 (KYP M60; TM 99580); P.Mich.Inv. 1523 (ACM 108; KYP M71; TM 99995).

127 Cf. n. 72 above.

128 See Dosoo et al. (2022) 61; curses represent 100/620 recipes surveyed there, i.e., 16.1%.

129 See, e.g., PCM I 30 ro. ll. 1–4 (=P.Heid.Kopt. 4; KYP M43; TM 832290; X–XI CE); PCM I 31 ro l. 36–40 (=*editio princeps* in Stegemann (1938); KYP M366; TM 113762; X–XI CE); BM EA 10391 vo ll. 79–80 (ACM 127; KYP M302; TM 100015).

than of the nature of practice – from graveyards to domestic deposition sites, and from written texts to empowered unwritten objects.

In terms of geographical origin, the distribution follows the tendencies of manuscripts from first millennium Egypt more generally; the majority have no precise provenance recorded, while large numbers come from Oxyrhynchus (or Middle Egypt more broadly), which saw considerable excavation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with smaller but still significant numbers from the Faiyum and the Theban region, likewise areas with large ancient settlements in marginal locations which were heavily exploited by archaeologists and treasure hunters over the last two centuries. Smaller numbers come from other locations in Egypt, with only one, a metal curse tablet found in Alexandria, from Egypt north of Cairo.

Tab. 2: Applied magical texts in Coptic and Greek by provenance (where known).

Origin	No. of texts
Middle Egypt (inc. Oxyrhynchus)	25
Faiyum	14
Theban Region (inc. “Upper Egypt”)	11
Hermopolis/Antinoopolis	6
Achmim (Panopolis)/Atripe	5
Heracleopolite Nome	3
Memphis /Cairo/Saqqara	3
Kellis	3
Asyut (Lycopolis)	2
Alexandria	1

2.2 Personal Names and Methodology

The names of human (as opposed to superhuman) individuals contained in these texts have been divided into four categories – clients and targets, and parents of clients and parents of targets. The basic results are as follows: 371 named individuals were identified in the corpus, of whom 139 were clients, 93 targets, 87 the parents of clients, 50 the parents of targets, and 2 the grandmothers of clients. Since some individuals had multiple names, the number of names was higher than the number of individuals, and as a result there were 378 name tokens (that is, instances of names). However, since names are often recurrent, this could be reduced to 268 unique name types, of which 136 were female, 120 male, 1 either male or female, and 11 of uncertain gender. This discrepancy in gender is largely due to the gender of parents – because most named parents are mothers, the corpus contains 162 males, and 200 females. Yet, if we examine the

data statistically, removing this bias, we can see that male names are slightly more diverse than female names – a random sample of 100 men would have 74.7 different names, whereas 100 women would have only 68.5 names; we will see that in certain subgroups the divergence is greater still.

In terms of gender balance more broadly, 98 clients were male, and 44 female, while of client parents, 6 were male, and at least 81 female.[130] Of targets, 56 were male, 37 female, and one of undetermined gender, while of target parents, 3 were male, and at least 43 female.[131] There are a few initial comments to make here. First, men are better represented among both clients and targets than women, and this generally follows the trend in ancient written sources, in which women tend to be mentioned in smaller numbers than men. However, the scale of this imbalance is far less marked than in many other textual genres;[132] women are relatively well represented in magic. The high representation of men as clients might seem surprising, since literary texts and depictions in mummy portraits tend to associate the wearing of amulets with women and children rather than adult men, and the type of text in which most clients are named is indeed amulets.[133] On the one hand, this is likely an indicator that the literary picture is (at least in part) describing a masculine ideal rather than the reality, but this may also suggest that many amulets were commissioned by parents for male children – there are some examples for which this is almost certainly the case[134] – so that their predominance may be a sign of a culture which tended to value male children more than female ones.[135] The higher representation of women among the targets of aggressive texts is in part due to the fact that most (though not all) surviving love spells are produced by men targeting women,[136] and

130 The gender of parents is often unclear in Coptic texts, since the genitive marker (ⲛ̄-) is not gendered, and as a result, 10 of the 11 names for which the gender cannot be determined are parents of either clients or targets; I suspect that in most, if not all cases of uncertain parental gender, we are dealing with mothers. If this is the case, we could add as many as six additional mothers of clients.

131 The total here is slightly larger than that above, since it was sometimes possible to identify the gender of parents and/or clients even where the name was lost as a result of preserved gendered pronouns or articles. Note also that the number of mothers may be higher if we assume (as is likely) that most or all cases in which a parent's gender is unclear we are dealing with a woman; this would add as many as 4 mothers of targets; cf. fn. 130 above.

132 Cf. the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* (http://telota.bbaw.de/pmbz/index.html; seen 26/9/2022) which contains records for 21,671 individuals, of whom only 758 (3.5%) are women. Trismegistos People (https://www.trismegistos.org/ref/index; seen 26/9/2022), largely containing data from Egyptian documentary papyri, contains name attestations for 460,192 men, but only 56,859 women (i.e., women make up 11% of identified individuals whose gender is known).

133 Faraone (2018) 7, 46–48, 51–53.

134 These are P.Stras.Copt. 6 (TM 874126 + 874127; KYP M102 + 103), for which see Burns (2014).

135 Cf. the higher rates of exposure for female infants, and other unequal treatment of female children, suggested by Bagnall (1997).

136 Cf. the data gathered in Pachoumi (2013), which showed that, where gender was apparent, 72.5% (19) of users were male, and 76.9% of the targets female; cf. the discussion and response in Faraone (2023) 166–170, 177–179. In the data used here, of the 23 love spells where gender was clear, 60.9%

in part due to the fact that women feature fairly regularly as the victims of curses by both men and women, pointing to their prominence in roles – public or private – in which they came into conflict with people who might be moved to attack them. It is worth noting that some texts contain many names; this is principally the case in separation spells (which always name at least two victims to be separated) and curses (which may contain long lists of enemies), although occasionally amulets intended to protect households may list every member of the family.[137]

The fact that most individuals in magical texts are identified by their mother's, rather than their father's, name (i. e., a matronym rather than a patronym) is well known, and has been traced to the Pharaonic magical tradition, from which it spread to the international Graeco-Egyptian magical practice in the Roman period.[138] Of the 130 individuals identified by a parental name whose gender may be identified with certainty, 121 (93.1 %) are identified by a matronym, and only 9 (6.9 %) by a patronym: matronyms are overwhelmingly more common. Patronyms are used for 6 of 89 men (6.7 %) and 3 of 41 women (7.3 %), suggesting that the gender of the client was not a particularly relevant consideration when deciding between matronym and patronym.[139] It is difficult to see any patterns in the few cases that use patronyms – they are a mixture of aggressive and amuletic texts, intended for both men and women, and occur in both early (second to third century) and very late (twelfth century) texts. In two cases, they are amulets whose contents are closer to orthodox Christian prayers than typical magical texts, perhaps suggesting that their atypicality in the use of a patronym may relate to their atypicality in terms of content.[140] One love spell for a man targeting another man uses patronyms for both, which might suggest a deliberate decision to avoid women's names in a same-sex erotic context.[141] In a final case, one of the relatively rare examples of a woman using a love spell against a man, she is identified by a patronym; we might imagine that in using it she is being masculinised, to fit with the more masculine role of a love spell commissioner.[142] These suggestions are highly speculative,

(14) had a male client and female target, 21.7 % (5) a male client and male target, 13 % (3) a female client and male target, and 4.3 % (1) a female client and female target.

137 E. g., P.Oxy. VII 1059v (=PGM 6C; KYP M425; TM 64683), which lists eight people to be protected.

138 Cf. Curbera (1999); Dieleman (2010).

139 Those not discussed in the following footnotes include SM 47 (KYP M873; TM 92866; II–III CE), a love spell in which the female victim, Ptolemais, is identified as the daughter of both Aias (mother) and Horigenēs (father); PGM LXXXIII (KYP M575; TM 64605; V–VI CE), a fever amulet for a woman named Taiollēs, daughter of Isidoros; Louvre E 14251 (KYP M3734; unpublished), a curse against Alhōseein, son of Ahmēt (note the Arabic-origin names); and P.Oxy. XII 1478 (PGM XXVII; KYP M763; TM 64261; III–IV CE), a charm for victory in a race for Sarapammōn son of Apollōnios.

140 BGU III 954 (ACM 18; PGM 9; KYP M430; VI CE), an amulet for a man named Silouanus son of Sarapion; SM 26, a healing prayer for Phoibammōn, son of Athanasios.

141 Ashmolean AN 1981.940 (ACM 84; KYP M5; TM 99571), a love spell by Apapōlō son of Noōē against another man named Phlo, son of Maure.

142 PGM XV (KYP M752; TM 63957; III CE), commissioned by Capitolina, daughter of Peperous, against a man identified by a matronymic.

however, and, in particular in the case of the last example, I suspect we are simply dealing with an outlier. It is worth noting that there is a slight difference here between Christian and Jewish magic – the study by Bohak and Saar found that in the magical texts of the Cairo Genizah, matronyms were more common than patronyms, but to a lesser degree – matronyms were found in 72% of texts where parental names are given, and patronyms in 40.7% – and so fathers are mentioned far more often than in the corpus considered here.[143]

While this analysis of gender dynamics has revealed some interesting patterns, we are more concerned here with "imputed religious affiliation", and more specifically, whether we can impute a likely Christian or Muslim identity to an individual based on the consideration of their own name and the name(s) of their parents. For our purposes here, we will consider an individual to be likely to be a Christian if either their own name, their parent's name, or both, are identifiably Christian. Here I follow the methodology of Depauw and Clarysse, who refined that of Bagnall. Note that in both of these earlier studies, the names of fathers were generally the only names available for parents, since mothers are rarely mentioned in documentary texts.

The basic categories of names considered as Christian are:

– **Old and New Testament Names**[144]
  Names of figures from the Christian canonical books. Excluded, however, are the names Apollos and Stephanos, who despite being those of characters from the New Testament, were common pre-Christian names, derived from the god Apollo and the word for "crown" respectively. Note that Old Testament names could also have been borne by Jews, but Bagnall, Depauw, and Clarysse consider their numbers to have been too few in Egypt to make a statistical difference following the revolts of 115–117.[145]
– **Anonymous theophoric names**[146]
  Names containing either the elements *-theos* or *-noute/noutios*, respectively the

143 Bohak/Saar (2015) 79. It might be possible to hypothesise a temporal effect here, since many (though not all) of the Genizah texts are later than the Greek and Coptic examples. Bohak/Saar (2015) 79, n. 5 note that most of their texts come from the tenth to thirteenth centuries, making them contemporary with about 26 (or 16%) of the Greek and Coptic manuscripts considered here. Within these manuscripts dated to the tenth to twelfth centuries, however, all client parents whose gender can be determined with certainty (14) are mothers (5 are of uncertain gender), and 5 of 10 target parents are mothers (1 male, 4 of uncertain gender), so that any temporal effect is not clearly visible in this evidence.

144 Cf. Bagnall (1982) 110; Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 414–416, 420; cf. Kajanto (1963) 93–97 on such names in Latin inscriptions from Rome and Carthage.

145 Bagnall (1982) 110; Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 22; cf. Papaconstantinou (2023) for a more detailed consideration of the question.

146 Cf. Bagnall (1982) 110; Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 416, 420; cf. Kajanto (1963) 100–103 for these names in Latin inscriptions from Rome and Carthage.

Greek and Egyptian words for "god", rather than the personal name of a specific deity.[147]

– **Abstract Names**[148]
  Names derived from key Christian concepts, such as Anastasios (from *anastasis*, "resurrection") and Epiphanios (from *epiphaneia*, "epiphany").

Excluded from Bagnall's original list are:

– **Names of Christian Emperors**[149]
  These are analysed by Depauw and Clarysse as representing dynastic loyalty rather than religious affiliation on the part of parents who choose these names.
– **Martyr and Saint Names**[150]
  These names are generally not explicitly Christian in origin – many of the most popular, such as Phoibammōn and Anoup, are theophoric names referring to Egyptian or Greek deities – and only became popular after the fifth century onwards, as Christianity became more established; for this reason, they are not particularly useful for imputing religious identity during the third and fourth centuries, when the process of conversion probably began to take place. This exclusion, necessary in a study which reproduces the work of Depauw and Clarysse, poses problems when discussing periods after the fifth century, as will be discussed in more detail below.
– **Certain other miscellaneous names**[151]

To this, I have added the category of names which can be identified with some certainty as Arabic in origin, referred to subsequently as **Arab names.** There may be a few more which are too ambiguous for certain identification.[152] A thorough study of Ara-

147 This is a difficult category which must be nuanced somewhat; for Egyptian names, Παπνουτις (< *Pa-pꜣ-nṯr*, "He of (the) God"; TM Nam 749) and Πινουτις (< *Pꜣy-nṯr* ("(the) God"); TM Nam 11618) seem to follow the expected pattern for names associated with Christianity, being rare before and common after the third century CE, but Ψενπνουθης (< *Pꜣ-šr-n-pꜣ-ntr*, "the son of (the) God"; TM Nam 991) and Ἐσπνουτις (< *Ns-pꜣ-nṯr*, "He belongs to (the) God"; TM Nam 196) are more problematic, with 20 of the 91 individuals in TM People with the former name dating to before the third century CE (with attestations perhaps as early as the third century BCE), and all of the latter dating to the Ptolemaic period. Cf. the comments below on Theodotis and Theodoros at fn. 205.

148 Cf. Bagnall (1982) 111; Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 418, 420; cf. Kajanto (1963) 107–117 on similar names in Latin inscriptions from Rome and Carthage.

149 Cf. Bagnall (1982) 111; Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 416–418, 421.

150 Cf. Bagnall (1982) 111; Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 418–419, 421; cf. Kajanto (1963) 92–93, 97–100 on saint and martyr names in Latin inscriptions from Rome and Carthage.

151 Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 421.

152 See, for example, the name ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲁ in P.Lond.Copt. I 524 ll. 36, 48, 78, 108, 122, 133, apparently understood by Heuser (1929) 112 as the Arabic-origin name Sūra (سورة; cf. e. g., P.Giss.Arab. 1 l. 4 (IX CE)), but by caution I consider it as the Greek name Σύρα (TM name ID 5899). The two may indeed be the same name in at least some cases, since in P.Giss.Arab. 1 Sūra's son, Humīsa (همیسة), has a Coptic name, i. e., ϩⲟⲩⲙⲓⲥⲉ ("Christmas"), and so both names might ultimately be Graeco-Coptic.

bic-origin names in Coptic is a vital desideratum, since the subject is considerably understudied.[153] Such names begin to appear in Coptic papyri already in the seventh century, shortly after the Arab Conquest, but their presence likely indicates several overlapping factors.[154] The first is the presence of individuals of recent Arab origin, in most cases likely Muslim, but potentially also Christian; individuals with Christian names found in Egyptian documentation may be recent Christian Arab immigrants, who might be onomastically indistinguishable from 'native' Egyptian Christians.[155] The second possibility is that of Egyptian converts to Islam, who would adopt an Arabic personal name (*ism*) which might, in practice, be used alongside their older 'Christian' (i. e., Graeco-Coptic) name.[156] These individuals seem to often continue to use Coptic in, for example, letters, since it might remain the mother tongue of their families for a few generations. The third phenomenon is that of the Arabisation of Egyptian Christians, who increasingly began to adopt Arabic-origin names without converting to Islam. The fourth is that of non-Christian, non-Muslim inhabitants of Egypt, including Jews, who also used Arabic names, often in conjunction with, for example, Hebrew names.[157] Disentangling these different factors is extremely difficult. Maghed Mikhail suggests that onomastic Arabisation began in the ninth, and became more common in the tenth century.[158] In two thirteenth century Coptic marriage contracts we have cases of deacons and priests, certain Christians, with distinctively Arabic names, although they are mentioned alongside others with more traditionally Christian (i. e., Graeco-Coptic) names such as Iōhannes and Pisente (= Pisentius).[159] The use of Coptic by individuals with Arabic-origin names is attested as early as the eighth century; these individuals are generally assumed to be converts to Islam, but this is rarely explicit in the letters themselves.[160] One factor which may help us is that, as Bulliet notes, certain Arabic names with a strong Islamic significance seem to have been particularly common among recent converts – Muḥammad, Aḥmad, ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn – and several of these are among the names we find in the magical texts.[161] On the

153 For other discussions of Arabic names in Coptic, see Heuser (1929) 111–117; Legendre (2014); van Putten (2021); and Berkes in this issue.

154 See, e. g., ⲉⲓⲡⲣⲁϩⲙ for Ibrāhīm (ابراهيم) in CPR XII 29 l. 5.

155 Cf. the case of a 'Saracen' called Kollouthos, mentioned in P.CUA 75.20 l. 14 (VII–VIII CE) published in Berkes/Gonis (2020) 12–14 (no. III), and discussed in Berkes in this issue.

156 On the taking of new names by Muslim converts, cf. Legendre (2014) 350; Berkes in this issue. On the different types of mediaeval Arabic names, see Bulliet (1979) 10; Sublet (1991) 9–11; Legendre (2014) 342–343.

157 See Goitein (1978) 2–14 on Jewish names in Fatimid Egypt.

158 Mikhail (2016) 104–105.

159 For Iōhannes, see P. Berlin 11348 (Möller (1918) hands 2 + 4; 1208 CE); for Pisente see Thompson (1912) p. 176 l. 23 (1st hand; 1246 CE); compare Arabic-origin names such as ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲣ (i. e., Abu Surūr ابوسرور), the name of another deacon given in Thompson (1912) p. 176 l. 20 (7th hand). The two brides are both referred to by *alqāb* of the type *sitt al-* ("lady of…"; see fn. 166 below).

160 See Boud'hors (2016); cf. Legendre (2014) 347–348.

161 Bulliet (1979) 65; cf. Legendre (2014) 347; I would like to thank Naïm Vanthieghem for discussing this point with me.

other hand, there are certain Arabic names, such as ʿAbd al-Masīḥ (عبد المسيح "Slave of Christ") which indicate a more or less certain Christian identity; this latter is attested in Coptic documents by tenth or eleventh century.[162] Other names, in particular Biblical names such as Ibrāhīm (=Abraham), Ismāʿīl (=Ishmael), and Yūsuf (=Joseph), also mentioned by Bulliet as common for converts, are more ambiguous, and might be used by Christians, Jews, or Muslims, with an Arabic form perhaps indicating linguistic Arabisation, but not necessarily conversion.[163]

Another problem is posed by the different types of names used by mediaeval Arabic speakers. In their study of Arabic documents from an eleventh-century Faiyum, Christian Gaubert and Jean-Michel Mouton note that of the hundred or so Christians mentioned, all but two had a traditional Graeco-Coptic personal name (*ism,* pl. *asmā*), but that some used an Arabic nickname (*kunya*) in certain contexts.[164] These nicknames are likewise unhelpful for determining religion, since it seems that Muslims, Christians, and Jews might use the same nicknames. A similar phenomenon is found in the *laqab* (pl. *alqāb*; honorific) used by women, usually of the form *sitt al-*XX ("lady of XX"); as Reem Alrudainy, Mathieu Tillier, and Naïm Vanthieghem note, these names were "used by high-ranking women to avoid revealing their *ism* and thus not to undermine their decency".[165] More or less identical *alqāb* are found among Christian, Jewish, and Muslim women from Egypt.[166]

All of this means that any conclusions about the Islamicisation, and even Arabisation, of the population more generally based on the presence of Arab names must be made cautiously. Nonetheless, as I discuss below, my impression is that the patterns which emerge are significant, and while these must be subject to correction by future studies, I think they do tell us something about the processes of Egyptians converting to Islam and using Arabic in their daily lives. There are 12 names which I can confidently classify as Arabic in origin, of which only one, Ahmēt, occurs more than once; these are listed and briefly discussed in Table 3.

162 In the form ⲁⲓⲧⲏⲁⲙⲉⲥⲏⲉ in BKU III 397 l. 5 (TM 81922); despite the ninth century date in Trismegistos, the tenth or eleventh century is more likely based on the use of paper. I would like to thank Vincent Walter for sharing this example with me.

163 Bulliet (1979) 65; Legendre (2014) 350.

164 Gaubert/Mouton (2014) 262–263.

165 Alrudainy/Tillier/Vanthieghem (2024) 443.

166 For Coptic examples, see Sit el-Khoul in Table 3 below, as well as ⲥⲏⲑ ⲁⲗⲡⲁϩⲁ (*Sitt al-Bahā* ست البهاء "lady of splendour") in Thompson (1912) p. 174 l. 9; [ⲥⲏ]ⲧ ⲁⲗⲟⲩⲁⲣⲧ (*Sitt al-ward* ست الورد "lady of roses") in P. Berlin 11348 ll. 34, 37–38 (Möller (1918)). For a twelfth-century Muslim example, see e. g., Sitt al-Naṣr in P.Dār al-āthār al-islāmiyya in Kuwait Inv. LN S 81 TF recto l. 2 (Alrudainy/Tillier/Vanthieghem (2024) no. 1). For a brief discussion of the many examples of *alqāb* formed with *sitt* borne by the Jewish women attested in the Cairo Genizah, see Goitein (1978) 316. For examples from twelfth-century Norman Sicily (Sitt al-Kull, Sitt al-Ḥusn), see Metcalfe (2003) 90.

Tab. 3: Arab names in applied magical Manuscripts from Egypt in Coptic.

Name: Aptellah
Source: P.Berlin 8503 (Beltz (1984) no. III 23; KYP M495; TM 99586; VIII–IX CE)
Form in papyrus: ⲁⲡⲧⲉⲗⲗⲁϩ (ro ll. 34, 60; vo. l. 5); ⲁⲡⲧⲁⲗⲗⲁϩ (ro ll. 44–45)
Arabic form: عبد الله
Arabic transliteration: ʿAbd Allāh
Role: client

Name: Ahmēt
Source: a) P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 544b (Quecke (1963) no. 1; KYP M365; TM 98048; X–XI CE); b) Louvre E 14251 (KYP M3734; unpublished; Edfu, likely X–XI CE)
Form in papyrus: ⲁϩⲙⲏⲧ (a l. 16; b l. 25 et al.)
Arabic form: احمد
Arabic transliteration: Aḥmad
Role: a) client; b) father of target
Comments: Cf. the same name in the letter P.Lond.Copt. I 584 l. 2 (perhaps VIII–IX CE). Ahmēt (a)'s mother is named Mariam (ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁⲙ), which could be suitable for either a Christian or a Muslim; here I err on the side of caution and consider it as "Christian" in my analysis.[167]

Name: Alhōseein
Source: Louvre E 14251 (see above)
Form in papyrus: ⲁⲗϩⲱⲥⲉⲓⲛ (l. 25 et al.)
Arabic form: الحسين
Arabic transliteration: Al-Ḥusayn
Role: target

Name: Cauhare
Source: Louvre E 14.250 (Drioton (1946); KYP M367; TM 99997; X CE)
Form in papyrus: ϭⲁⲩϩⲁⲣⲉ (ro. ll. 10–11 et al.); [ϭⲁⲩϩⲁ]ⲣⲉϩ (ro l. 22)
Arabic form: جوهرة
Arabic transliteration: Ǧawhara
Role: target and mother of target
Comments: Cf. Drioton (1946) 481.

Name: Ḫarip
Source: Cambridge UL T-S 12.207 (Crum (1902); TM 99585; KYP M534; Cairo, X–XI CE
Form in papyrus: ϧⲁⲣⲓⲡ (l. 2 et al.)
Arabic form: غريب
Arabic transliteration: Ġarīb
Role: target
Comments: The Arabic form here is that proposed by Crum (1902). Its apparent meaning ("strange", "foreign"), might make it resemble a pseudonym, but it is attested in several Arabic papyri.[168] Note that غ in

167 The fact that the name of her son likely indicates a Muslim identity might be used to argue that Mariam was Muslim too, although Ahmēt might also have been a first-generation convert with a different birth name.

168 See P.Ryl.Arab. I XI 5 ll. 4, 6, 10, 11; P.Ryl.Arab. I XI 12 l. 7; P.Ryl.Arab. I XII l. 12, and the unpublished nd.86.200.1 l. 5 and nd.05.08 l. 4 from Naqlun (Naïm Vanthieghem is thanked for these references). Cf. Goitein (1978) 482, who notes the existence of a Suhayl Ibn Abu l-Ġarib (i.e., "father of Ġarib"); for the suggestion of its being a pseudonym, see Love (2022a) 188 n. 121.

Coptic is usually rendered by gamma, kappa, or even kjima, whereas khai would normally be expected for خ (cf. Richter (2017) 518).

Name: Harōn
Source: Os.Mil.Vogl. inv.1 & Leiden F 1965/8.5 (see Dosoo (2021d); TM 874161 & 99589; KYP 535 & 1159 (X CE?)
Form in papyrus: ϩⲁⲣⲱⲛ (Os.Mil.Vogl. inv.1 ll. 34, 66 – 67; Leiden F 1965/8.5 concave ll. 19 – 20, 39 – 40, convex ll. 20 – 21, 39, 78)
Arabic form: هارون
Arabic transliteration: Hārūn
Role: target
Comments: Two manuscripts containing variants of the same text, written in the same hand, and so treated as a single manuscript here. The normal Coptic form of the name, equivalent to English 'Aaron', would seem to be ⲁⲣⲱⲛ (TM NamVar ID 52920), from the Greek Ἀ(α)ρών (TM NamVar IDs 7857 & 29217). The forms with an initial hori (TM NamVar IDs 52407, 52409 & 113316) likely represent the Arabic form Hārūn; all the precisely dated attestations post-date 642 CE. Harōn's mother, Tkouikira, has a Graeco-Coptic name.

Name: Mahēt
Source: Vienna K 7089 (Stegemann (1933 – 4) no. 15; KYP M246; TM 91407; X–XI CE)
Form in papyrus: ⲙⲁ/ϩ\ⲏⲧ (l. 2)
Arabic form: مهد (?)
Arabic transliteration: Mahid (?)
Role: client
Comments: We might alternatively understand an erroneous writing of Muḥammad; cf. ⲙⲁϩⲙⲏⲧ in P.Lond.Copt. I 664 l. 1. Mahēt's mother is named Zoe (ⲍⲱⲏ). As discussed below, this is likely a generic placeholder.

Name: Mouflēh al-Pahapani
Source: P.Berlin 8503 (see above)
Form in papyrus: ⲙⲟⲩⲫⲗⲏϩ ⲁⲗⲡⲁϩⲁⲡⲁⲛⲓ (ro ll. 18 – 19, 46 – 47, 51, 58; vo ll. 3, 4); ⲁⲡⲁϩⲁⲡⲁⲛⲓ (ro ll. 31 – 32); ⲁⲗⲡⲁϩⲁⲗⲡⲁⲛⲓ (ro l. 49); ⲁⲡⲡⲁϩⲁⲛⲓ (ro l. 53)
Arabic form: مفلح
Arabic transliteration: Mufliḥ
Role: target
Comments: Beltz (1984, no. III 23) understands ⲙⲟⲩⲫⲗⲏϩⲁⲗⲡⲁϩⲁⲡⲁⲛⲓ as a single long name, but the first element is clearly the name Mufliḥ; the second element, difficult to identify, is likely a *nisbah* prefixed by the definite article *al-*.

Name: Poulpehe
Source: EES 39 5B.125/A (Alcock (1982); KYP M280; TM 98045; Oxyrhynchus, XI CE)
Form in papyrus: ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲡⲉϩⲉ (ll. 15, 24, 41)
Arabic form: ابو البهاء
Arabic transliteration: Abu l-Bahā
Role: client
Comments: The original editor read the name as ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲡⲉϩⲉⲡⲩⲥ (Alcock 1982), but the last element is in fact ⲡ-ⲩ(ἱό)ⲥ "the son"; he nonetheless recognised that the first element of the name might be Abu, whose full writing is ⲁⲡⲟⲩ (cf. Legendre (2014) 342; but cf. also fn. 157); the second element is likely *bahā* (بهاء "splendour"); cf. the same name in P.Heid.Arab. II 11 l. 21 right margin (XII CE) and the numerous

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169 For the Cairo Genizah, see the Princeton Genizah project, online at https://geniza.princeton.edu/en (seen 8/4/2024). Cf. the comments of Michael Zellmann-Rohrer in O'Connell (2022) 201 n. 54.

Judaeo-Arabic attestations in the Cairo Genizah, transcribed as אבו אלבהא.[169] The mother's name, Zarra (ⲍⲁⲣⲣⲁ) is likely a form of Sarah, and could be appropriate either for a Christian or a Muslim; here I err on the side of caution and consider it as "Christian" in my analysis. Cf. the similar female *laqab* Sitt al-Bahā, attested for a Christian Egyptian woman in a marriage contract of 1246 CE (see fns. 157, 164).

Name: Seinape
Source: P.Mil.Vogl.Copt.inv. 22 (van der Vliet (2005a); KYP M67; TM 91345; Luxor, X–XI CE)
Form in papyrus: ⲥⲉⲓⲛⲁⲡⲉ (l. 16)
Arabic form: زينب
Arabic transliteration: Zaynab
Role: client
Comments: The mother's name is lost; it begins with sigma. For the identification of the name as Zaynab, see van der Vliet (2005a). The final epsilon is unexpected.

Name: Sit el-Khoul
Source: Cambridge UL T-S 12.207 (see above)
Form in papyrus: ⲥⲓⲧ ⲉⲗⲭⲟⲩⲗ (ll. 1–2 et al.)
Arabic form: ست الكل
Arabic transliteration: Sitt al-Kull
Role: mother of target
Comments: The Arabic form here is that proposed by Crum (1902). Despite its rather surprising meaning ("Mistress over Everyone"), superficially implying a generic name along the lines of "Eve",[170] names of the form "Sitt al-", including Sitt al-Kull, are well-attested in the Arabic-speaking world.[171]

Name: Sōliman
Source: Vienna K 7092 (Stegemann (1933–4) no. 1; KYP M249; TM 91410; X–XI CE)
Form in papyrus: ⲥⲱⲗⲓⲙⲁⲛ (l. 12)
Arabic form: سليمان
Arabic transliteration: Sulaymān
Role: client
Comments: King Solomon is considered a key figure in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and so derivatives of the name would be equally appropriate for members of any of the three faiths. Nonetheless, the normal Greek and Coptic (and hence, early Christian and Jewish) form is Σολομῶν, whereas the vocalisation here is that of the Arabic form (cf. Legendre (2014) 334, 348).

Outside of these four categories are a fifth category of "miscellaneous" names; Bagnall distinguished some of these as explicitly "pagan", but I prefer to describe them as those to which no religious identity can be imputed with any degree of certainty.[172] I should

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170 Cf. Love (2022a) 188 nn. 121, 122; I consider the client, ⲑⲉⲓⲭⲁⲣ daughter of ⲥⲉⲧⲉ to be too ambiguous to define as clearly Arab (or Christian, for that matter).

171 Cf. Goitein (1978) 182, 266, 316, fn. 166 above.

172 Cf. Bagnall (1982) 109, 111–112; Wipszycka (1986) 176. This is not to say that theophoric names containing Greek or Egyptian deities are not significant in onomastic research; see Clarysse/Paganini (2009) for an interesting case study which tracks the cult of Sarapis from personal names, and Borkowski (1990) (cf. Wipszycka (1988) 162–163) on name changes among members of the pre-Christian Panopolite elite, and more generally Dogaer/Depauw (2017). An early example of such onomastic research may be seen in Dunand (1962) 138–146. I nonetheless exclude their analysis here because, especially by the fourth century, many of them could be chosen as the names of family members or famous individuals (including saints) rather than as a statement of loyalty to the god.

briefly note that this classification system, focused on the question of the transition to Christianity in Egypt, leaves unexplored many other questions upon which onomastic analysis might shed light.

Tab. 4: Name Category Frequencies in the Corpus.

Name category	No. of names	No. of individuals	Average no. of individuals per name
All names	268	371	1.4
Unmarked	220	281	1.3
Christian	36	77	2.1
Old/New Testament	22	52	2.4
Anon. Theophoric	10	16	1.6
Abstract	4	9	2.3
Arab	12	13	1.1

While we cannot look into every name in detail, it is worth briefly noting the frequencies of the different categories (Table 4). We can see considerable imbalance between the different categories of names. Most names in the corpus are nearly unique – each name being borne by 1.4 individuals, and this is even more visible for the "unmarked" names, with each borne by 1.3 individuals. In practice, 211 of the 268 names have one attestation, 27 have two attestations, 17 have three, and 13 have four to six. The Arab names, as we have noted, are very rare, with each borne by 1.1 individuals – only Ahmēt appears twice. The Christian names are more frequent, with each borne by 2.1 individuals; in practice, the "anonymous theophoric" names are not particularly frequent – only Theodora appears more than twice, and as a category they each appear 1.6 times. The Testamental and "abstract" names are much more frequent, with each borne by 2.4 and 2.3 individuals respectively.

If we look at the thirty names which appear three or more times in the corpus, the reasons for these patterns become clearer. Of the four most common names, each appearing six times, three are Christian – Maria, Mariam, and Sophia; indeed the fourth, Thekla should probably be considered a Christian name, even if it is not classified as such by Depauw and Clarysse, and the same goes for Biktōr and Mēnas, two of the next most frequent names.[173] We may also observe that Maria and Mariam, two variants of

173 Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 419 – Thekla and Biktōr become far more popular after the fifth century, so that even if they are not useful for understanding the fourth-fifth century shift, they are certainly linked to Christianisation. An examination of the name "Menas" (Name ID 4077) using TM People likewise shows that, of 1,445 attested individuals with this name, 1,384 (95.8 %) lived between the fifth and eighth centuries CE.

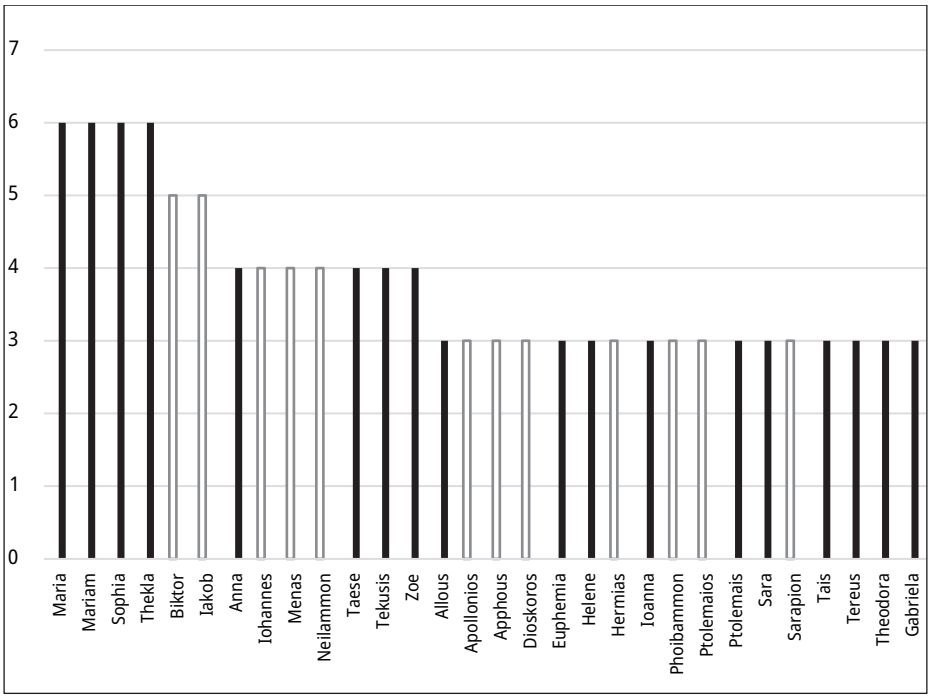


Fig. 5: Number of attestations for names attested more than three times in the corpus.

the same Hebrew name,[174] are by far the most frequent, and that Sophia, the only one of the "abstract" names to appear in the top 30 names, is almost single-handedly responsible for the high average value of this category. Of the remaining common names, a large proportion are Testamental names – Iakōb, Iōhannes, Anna, Iōhanna, and Sara. Zōē, likewise frequent, is a slightly different case – as discussed further below, it likely refers to the Biblical Eve as the mother of all humankind, rather than representing a real personal name. The overall impression is that Christians drew upon a smaller range of names which were borne by more people, and that this tendency was even more marked for women – of the marked Christian names for men, each is borne by an average of 1.5 individuals, close to the corpus average of 1.4, whereas marked Christian female names are borne by an average of 2.8 individuals. In most cases, these are names from the Old or New Testament, particularly Mary. While, as discussed below, analysing such patterns poses problems of interpretation, we might see this as a result on the one hand of a centralisation of ideological power – a large number of deities, virtues, and so on replaced by a smaller cultural

174 I treat these two names separately, as this is how they are treated in TM People; an examination of their distributions does not seem to reveal any temporal patterns, i. e., Mary and Mariam seem to both be attested at roughly equal rates throughout the period of Egyptian history covered by papyrological data.

repertoire under Christian domination – and on the other, perhaps, the broader range of social roles which men might occupy, reflected by the larger repertoire of names which might express their parents' hopes for their character, as opposed to the relatively restricted social role expected of women, who tend to be named after Biblical paradigms of purity and motherhood, in particular the Virgin Mary.

In the following analysis I will describe individuals who have either an identifiably Christian name, or a parent with an identifiably Christian name, as "Christians" – to be understood strictly as individuals to whom a Christian identity can be imputed with a fairly high degree of probability. We should remember that this is a simplification – their identity as such is not certain, and they exist in the corpus alongside other Christians whose religious identity is not revealed by their names. This means that there may be, in any sample of the data studied here, many "invisible" Christians, and that when we are comparing "Christians" and "non-Christians", we are really comparing a group of visible Christians with non-Christians *plus* a group of invisible Christians which was quite possibly larger than the group of visible Christians.[175]

An interesting example of this can be seen in PGM LXVI (KYP M487; TM 64282; III–IV CE), a curse with generically magical content intended to separate a certain Philoxenos from Pelagios, perhaps the same individual as the earlier named Gennadios, described as the *philos* ("lover" or "friend") of Philoxenos (l. 7). While neither has a markedly 'Chistian' name, they are identified by their professions: Pelagios is a *presbuteros* and Philoxenos a *psaltēs*. These could be generically translated as "elder" and "harpist", but found together in a papyrus of the third or fourth century, we are justified, I think, in understanding them to be, respectively, a "priest" and a "cantor", and thus two almost certain, yet onomastically invisible, Christians.[176]

2.2 Excursus: Onomastic Notes

Like documentary texts, magical texts often seem to capture a wider view of society than elite literary texts, preserving names which are otherwise rare or unknown. Before analysing the findings of the analysis as they pertain to the Christianisation, I would like to briefly note two interesting features which have emerged from the analysis of the names in the corpus.

175 See fn. 203 below for the multipliers proposed by Bagnall and Depauw/Clarysse to take into account the number of invisible Christians.

176 On the title *presbuteros*, see Choat (2006) 61–67, 72–73; on *psaltēs* see Wipszycka (1993) 205–208.

2.2.1 Generic Matronymics

As I have already noted, the name Zōē, while quite frequent in the corpus, does not seem to represent a real name, but rather a placeholder for an unnamed mother. There are two principal reasons for thinking this, both previously noted by Robert Daniel and Roy Kotansky in the context of Greek papyri and metal amulets respectively.[177] First, Zōē, and the transliterated Hebrew equivalent, Eua (Εὔα), never seem to appear as the name of a clients or target, but only as the name of a mother, a surprising fact in the case of such an otherwise frequent name. Second, Eua is apparently unattested in onomastica and papyrological documentation, and Zōē is very rare.[178]

Tab. 5: Attestations of Zoe or Eve as a matronymic in applied magical texts.

Text	Form of name	Type of Text	Role of name	Date (CE)	Notes
1. GMA 58 (KYP M3682; V CE)	Εὔα (ll. 24, 28)	Victory charm	Mother of target	IV CE	
2. Univ. Penn. Mus. 29-108-602 (= Youtie/Bonner (1937) no. 1; KYP M3591; V CE)	Εὔα (ll. 4, 22)	Curse	Mother of target	IV CE	Only one of the three victims is named as the son of Eve; the other mothers have real names.
3. SM 28 (PGM CXXVIII; KYP M841; TM 69044; V CE)	Ζωή (l. 6)	Amulet	Mother of client	V CE	
4. Vienna K 8635 (Stegemann (1933–4), no. 25; KYP M256; TM 91417; V CE?)	ϹΟΗ (l. 18)	Amulet	Mother of client	V CE (?)	ϹΟΗ is followed by a letter that looks like an upsilon, but may simply be a stroke of punctuation. The client is also referred to as the son of Euprepi (ϵϒΠΡϵΠΙ, ll. 16–17), likely his mother's real name.
5. Naqlun N. 45/95 (van der Vliet 2000; KYP M64; TM 108435; V CE)	ϹѠΗ (l.4)	Curse	Mother of target	Late V CE	

177 Daniel (1988); cf. Kotansky (1994) 342; Bélanger Sarrazin (2020) 197–199.

178 Cf. the discussion in Daniel (1988). Εὔα is not attested in either the LGPN or TM People. As of 28/9/2022, TM People lists 14 attestations of individuals named Ζώη [sic], but of these three are in magical texts and likely not real personal names (TM 10335, 81827, 91417). The LGPN lists 38 people named Ζώη or Ζωή as of 28/9/2022. Hasitzka (2007) 34 lists ϛωΗ as a personal name, but the first instance in Heuser (1929) 80 does not supply a reference, and those in Quibell (1912) nos. 203, 226, 340 are references to the biblical Eve.

Tab. 5 *(Continued)*

Text	Form of name	Type of Text	Role of name	Date (CE)	Notes
6. P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 564a (Quecke 1963; KYP M513; TM 98047; VII–IX CE)	ϩⲟⲏ (l. 9)	Amulet	Grandmother of client	VII–IX CE (?)	The mother of the client is also described as the daughter of Adam (ll. 9–10).
7. British Library MS Or 6948 (2) (Crum (1922) no. 3; KYP M 334; TM 100114; VII–X CE)	ϫⲱϩ (l. 9)	Amulet	Grandmother of client	VII–X CE (?)	
8. Vienna K 7089 (Stegemann (1933–4) no. 15; KYP M246; TM 91407; X–XI CE)	ⲥⲱϩ (l. 3)	Amulet	Mother of client	X–XI CE (?)	

Zōē, "life", is the literal translation of the Hebrew Ḥawwāh, transliterated into Greek as Eua, and into English as Eve, the first woman; indeed, this is quite clear in one Coptic amulet in which both Zōē and Adam are given as the names of the parents of the client's mother.[179] Yet another point in its favour is the fact that the practice seems to appear only in the fourth or fifth century, exactly when we would expect such a Christian practice to surface.[180] Along similar lines, we find references, particularly in Coptic favour and separation spells – intended to make an individual beloved or hated – to the human race as the children of Adam and Eve.[181] The practice of giving a generic matronym likely did not originate among Christian users, however; we find similar generic names and phrases such as πᾶσα μήτρα ("every womb"), {ε}ἰδίᾳ μήτρᾳ ("her own womb"), Μητραδώτιον ("Given by the womb"), performing the same function in earlier Greek texts,[182] while one binding curse names the mother of the target as "Earth, mother of all living creatures".[183]

The use of Zōē nonetheless raises an interesting problem. In the earlier Greek cases of the use of a generic matronymic it is always used for the mother of the target of an aggressive text, not the client, yet in three of eight cases Zōē appears as the name

179 P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 564a (Quecke 1963; KYP M513; TM 98047; VII–IX CE).

180 Cf. the comments of Bélanger Sarrazin (2020) 198; given the fact that some of the early examples are found in the names of targets, I am less sure that designation as a "child of Eve" is intended to signal that the individual is Christian.

181 See Dosoo/Preininger (2023) 301 note to ll. 12–14; Dosoo (2018) 20–21; Bélanger Sarrazin (2020); O'Connell (2022) 140. Several examples of this are known in Jewish magic; see e.g., Naveh/Shaked 1993, Bowl 21 ll. 14–15, Genizah 12 ll. 16–17, Genizah 15 p. 2 ll. 9–10, Genizah 18 p. 3 ll. 7–8, Genizah 28 p. 4 l. 9; pp. 129, 165, 173, 198, 236–237.

182 Respectively, PGM XVI ll. 6, 15, 22 (KYP M483; TM 63590; II CE); PGM XXXII l. 11 (KYP M483; TM 63590; II CE); GMA 56 l. 9 (KYP M 3875; III–IV CE); cf. Kotansky (1994) 320.

183 DT 241 l. 7 (KYP M2347): …ὅ[ν] ἔτεκεν [γ]ῆ μήτηρ παντὸς ἐνψύχου. The manuscript is from Carthage, and perhaps dates to the second century CE.

of the client for whom an amulet is created, and even if we subtract one case where the real name of the mother is also given, this still leaves two cases where she is only identified as Zōē.[184] We might expect that the copyists of amulets would generally be able to ask the name of the client's mother, who might indeed be the commissioner in many cases, especially if the individual for whom the amulet was created was a child. One obvious possibility is that the client might not know their mother's name – they might have been abandoned and adopted, or captured and enslaved as a child – but another possibility is that copyists might not always ask for the mother's name when the text was commissioned, either through forgetfulness or because they felt it to be unnecessary. One suggestion that this might be the case is found in a Coptic amulet which might be dated to the fifth century, in which the copyist first writes the generic name marker ("NN son of..."), probably found in the exemplar, before adding "that is, Mina, the son of Euprepi", then adding, in a third emendation, "the son of Zōē".[185] This case implies an absentmindedness on the part of the copyist, who began to mechanically copy the formulary before correction; it is possible either that the exemplar also contained "son of Zōē" as an alternative to the generic name marker,[186] and that this was likewise copied mechanically, or that it was added as a kind of "insurance policy" in case the mother's name was recalled or written incorrectly. We may note that the hand implies an individual with little formal training.

2.2.2 Coptic Names Ending in the Suffix -hēu

Nine names in the corpus, found exclusively in Coptic texts, end in the suffix *-hēu*; with one exception,[187] these names were not catalogued in the list of personal names found on Trismegistos at the time of analysis, although some are found in Monika Hasitzka's list of Coptic personal names,[188] and the existence of the suffix was noted by Crum.[189]

184 Nos. 3 & 8 in Table 5 above.

185 P.Vindob. K 8635 ll. 14–18 (Stegemann (1933-4), no. 25; KYP M256; TM 91417; V CE?); cf. the comments in Table 5 above.

186 I admit, however, that I know of no formulary containing the generic name marker "NN, son/daughter of Zōē".

187 This is Koheu, TM name ID 27585 in TM People.

188 Hasitzka (2007) 9 (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲏⲩ), 10 (ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁϩⲏⲩ), 18 (ⲁⲧⲁϩⲏⲩ), 24 (ⲅⲓⲣⲁϩⲏⲩ), 33 (ⲍⲁⲭⲁϩⲏⲩ, perhaps from Zakhariah), 49 (ⲕⲓⲣⲁϩⲏⲩ), 52 (ⲕⲟϩⲏⲩ), 53 (ⲕⲩⲣⲁϩⲏⲩ, ⲅⲓⲣⲁϩⲏⲩ), 55 (ⲗⲁϩⲏⲩ, ⲗⲁϩⲏⲟⲩ), 58 (ⲙⲁⲛⲛⲁϩⲏⲩ), 62 (ⲙⲓⲕⲁϩⲏⲩ), 78 (ⲡⲉϩⲏⲩ and variants), 79 (ⲡⲓⲗⲓϩⲏⲩ, ⲡⲓⲗⲓϩⲉⲩ), 80, 86 (ⲡⲓϩⲏⲩ, ⲡⲓϩⲏⲟⲩ), 97 (ⲧⲁⲛϩⲏⲩ), 100 (ⲧⲉⲣϩⲏⲩ, ⲧⲉϩⲏⲩ), 102 (ⲧⲟⲩϩⲏⲩ), 112 (ⲱⲩⲭⲱϩⲏⲩ). ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲓϩⲉⲩ in P.Stras.Inv.Kopt. 332 ro l. 21 (Faiyum, XI CE) in Legendre (2014) 374 (cf. 379), clearly from Σταυρός.

189 Crum (1939) 729b.

Tab. 6: Names ending in the suffix -hēu.

Name	Coptic Writing	Source	Proposed Origin	Notes
Anastahēu	ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁϩⲏ (ll. 1–2, 40–41, 51)	BKU III 387 (KYP M336; TM 243971; X CE)	Anastasia	
Iaohēu	ⲓⲁⲟϩⲏ (l. 1); ⲓⲁⲱϩⲏ (l. 18)	Vienna K 7091 (Stegemann (1933–4) no. 17; M248; TM 91409; X CE)	Iōhanna (?)	The original editor, Stegemann (1933–1934, no. 17), was not able to read this name. For the correction, see the edition in KYP M248.
Kirahēu	ⲕⲓⲣⲁϩⲏ (a ll. 2, 41, 52; b l. 6)	a) Vienna K 7093 (Stegemann (1933–4) no. 19; KYP M332; TM 91411; X CE); b) BKU III 387 (KYP M336; TM 243971; X CE)	Kuria	Stegemann (1933–1934) 39 understood Kira as a title of an individual named Heu (cf. below).
Kōhēu	ⲕⲱϩⲏ (ll. 15, 19)	P.Würzburg inv. 42 (ACM 102; KYP M494; TM 99598)	?	This might be understood as a hypocoristic of any name beginning Kō-, such as ⲕⲱⲫⲉ. Cf. the name ⲕⲟϩⲩ in P.KRU. 24 l. 6 (TM 23187; 763 CE, Thebes).
Mikahēu	ⲙⲓⲕⲁϩⲏ (ll. 11, 19)	Vienna K 7091 (Stegemann (1933–4) no. 17; M248; TM 91409; X CE)	Mikke or Mikhaēl (?)	The original editor, Stegemann (1933–1934, no. 17), was not able to read this name. For the correction, see the edition in KYP M248.
Oulēhēu	ⲟⲩⲗϩϩⲏ (ll. 9, 29)	Louvre E 14251 (KYP M3734; unpublished)	Oualeria (?)	Cf. ⲱⲩⲗⲱϩⲏ in Heuser (1929) 122, understood as Arabic Waliʿa.
Sentihēu	ⲥϩⲛⲧⲓϩⲏ (ll. 13, 21, 22, 24, 26, 29, 34)	Columbia inv. 554 (Schiller 1928; KYP M2; TM 102257; VI–VIII CE?)	Sentieus (?)	This might be understood as the underlying Egyptian form of the Greek Sentieus, perhaps in Demotic *T³-šr.t-n-t³-iwiw* ("the daughter of the female dog") or something similar (cf. *T³-šr.t-n-t³-iḥ.t*/Σεντεης "the daughter of the cow"; Lueddeckens (1980): 349 1132).
Sihēu	ⲥⲓϩⲏ (ro ll. 9, 18, 22, 24, 34, vo ll. 3, 7, 12)	Louvre E 14.250 (ACM 109; KYP M367; TM 99997; X CE)	?	Almost certainly a female name, since it is the name of a parent in a curse; it might be understood as any name beginning with Si- or something similar, such as ⲧⲥⲓⲉ or ⲉⲓⲥⲉⲓ.

Tab. 6 *(Continued)*

Name	Coptic Writing	Source	Proposed Origin	Notes
				A derivation from si- (<sꜣ) does not seem possible for a female name.
Tanhēu	ⲦⲀⲚϩⲎⲨ (ll. 1, 5, 6–7)	P.Stras. K 135 (ACM 87; KYP M474; TM 99577; VII–IX CE)	Tanēs/ Tanas (?)	Heuser (1929) 95 understands the qualitative of ⲦⲀⲚϩⲞ (i.e., "the living one").

There is some discussion of these and other names in Gustav Heuser's examination of personal names in Coptic; he understands the *-hēu* suffix to come from the word with the same vocalisation with the meaning "useful".[190] An alternative possibility would be to understand the suffix as deriving from the obsolete Egyptian word for "dog" (*iwiw*), likely vocalised as *ēu.*[191] Both are found as elements in names – "useful" is itself a name, *Eus* in Greek, *Hēu* in Coptic, as is *Pahēu*/*Tahēu* ("he/she of the dog", i.e., a cynocephalic deity), with an example of the first pattern found in the corpus.[192] That the first is the correct interpretation is perhaps suggested by the theophoric names relating to Isis-*ḥꜣw* ("Isis-abundance (?)"), such as Ψεντασευς (< *Pꜣ-šr-n-ta-Is.t-ḥwꜣ*, "The son of she of Isis-abundance (?)"), where the last element seems to be the Coptic *hēu.*[193] At least some of the Coptic examples seem to be based on abbreviated forms of other names to which *-hēu* has been suffixed – Anastahēu from Anastasia and Kirahēu from Kuria, and so on.[194] *-hēu* thus likely functions as an hypocoristic suffix, added to abbreviated versions of pre-existing names to express affection, in the manner of similar suffixes in other languages – for example, *-cock* and *-kin* in Middle English, *-o* in Australian English, or *-ito/ita* in Spanish.[195] As in the case of these other languages, the hypocoristic forms may have become independent names. Some confirmation of the relationship between the original and suffixed name is found, surprisingly enough, in a tenth-century magical text, in which a drawing of the Virgin Mary is named by four variants of her name – Mariham, Maria, Marihēu, Marisei – that is, the two com-

190 Heuser (1929) 95.

191 Vycichl (1983) 56 s.v. ϩⲨ. This word is archaic in Coptic, having been replaced by ⲟⲨϩⲟⲣ. I am uncertain about the initial aspirate, which would not to be expected from its consonantal writing.

192 See name IDs 6889 (Eus/Hēu) and 11606 (Pehēu) in TM People; the first of these is found in SM 38 (KYP M869; TM 92853; II CE).

193 TM Nam 10337; Lueddeckens (1980) 270; cf. the simpler form Τασευς (< *Ta-Is.t-ḥwꜣ*, "She of Isis-abundance (?)"; TM Nam 6096).

194 This was already suggested by Heuser (1929) 95, 125; with further observations in Boud'hors/Calament (2015) 33; Boud'hors/Eissa (2022) 164. Cf. the note on ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲓϩⲉⲩ (< Σταυρός) in n. 188 above.

195 Cf. McClure (2003); Simpson (2008; Lipski (1995).

mon forms of the name, followed by one (perhaps two?) hypocoristic forms.[196] Most of the names are female – there are no clearly male examples in my corpus – although it is possible that some of the original names from which they were derived were male.

The use of this suffix seems to be attested by the sixth century, and survives until at least the eleventh, although I cannot see any clear geographical tendencies in its distribution.[197] Note that despite the fact that some of these names likely derive from Christian onomastic practices (e.g., Anastahēu would be an "abstract" name) I do not count them here as Christian names, in the absence of certainty about their derivation, but since they are all later than the sixth century, this does not meaningfully affect our view of the Christianisation of Egypt, which seems to have been completed by then.

2.3 Findings

Looking at the results of the analysis, we can see that they generally confirm the tendencies noted by both Depauw/Clarysse and Bulliet. We can see that the number of individuals for whom a Christian identity may be imputed climbs substantially in the fourth century before reaching a peak in the fifth. Likewise, Arab names appear in the eighth century, but increase considerably after the ninth century. Before moving on to more specific observations, we should note that the agreement between this independent dataset and the models of Depauw, Clarysse, and Bulliet is very striking. Neither earlier analysis took magical texts into account, and magical texts, imperfectly dated as they are, are almost never dated based on onomastic content.[198]

Looking at the raw numbers (Figure 6), we can see slight declines in Christian names in the sixth, eighth, and tenth centuries; this may be imputed primarily to the methodology of Depauw/Clarysse, which is focused on the initial centuries of Christianisation. In later centuries, names such as Thekla, Menas, Biktōr, and Phoibammōn become very common; while not Christian in origin, all of these were the names of saints with prominent Egyptian cults, a fact not captured in the methodology used here.[199]

196 See PCM I 25 p. 9 ll. 10–13 (=P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 685; KYP M186; TM 102074; X CE; *editio princeps* in Meyer (1996) 24–25, where this sequence is treated as ll. 11–14. On the image, see Meyer (1996) 80; cf. Dosoo (2022). A fourth name in the list, Marisei, is likely a form of the name tracked in TM People as Μαρισεεις (Name ID 33584), perhaps to be understood as a variant of Maria.

197 Of the texts with known provenances, EES 39 5B.125/A (Alcock (1982); KYP MM280; TM 98045; XI CE) comes from Oxyrhynchus, while Louvre E 14.250 (ACM 109; KYP M367; TM 99997; X CE) comes from Edfu.

198 Cf. n. 120.

199 Cf. the observations on the later popularity of saint names in Delattre (2012); Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 419; Blumell (2012) 266, 275. Bulliet (1979) 68–71 likewise notes a decline of unambiguously Muslim names after an initial period of conversion, as explicitly marked names became less important in a predominantly Muslim environment.

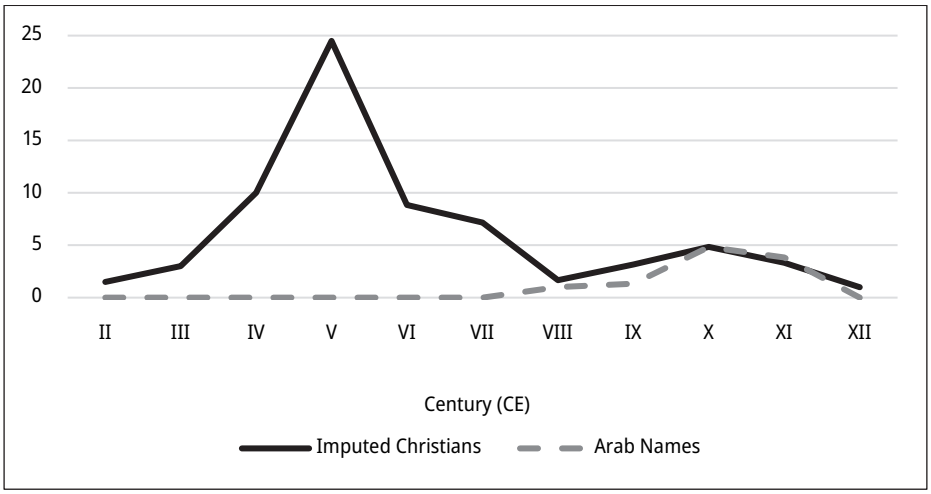


Fig. 6: Individuals with imputed Christian identities and Arab names in applied magical texts.

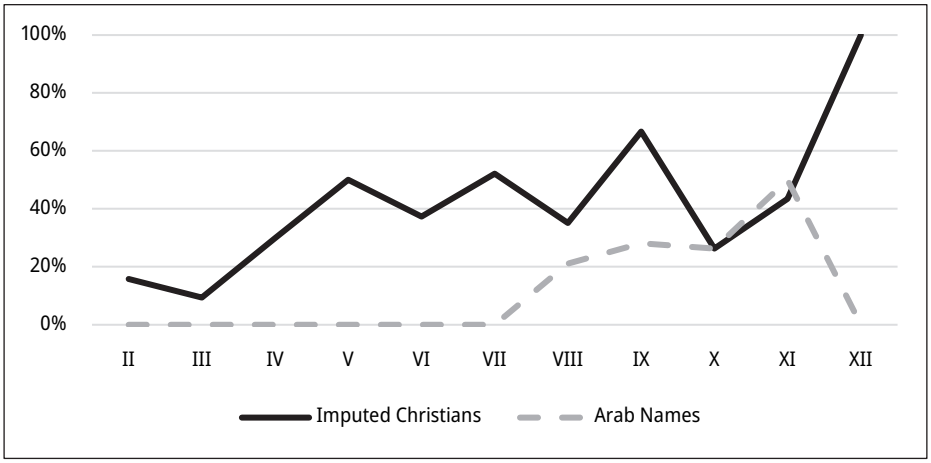


Fig. 7: Individuals with imputed Christian identities and Arab names in applied Greek and Coptic magical texts (as percentages).

Nonetheless, the trends become even more evident when we look at "Christian individuals" as a percentage of the names in each period; by the fifth century, the proportion of Christian names has reached the approximate level at which it remains for the following six centuries. The post-fifth century decline in "Christian individuals" is less marked, and we can see an initial peak in increase in Arab names in the ninth century, as Bulliet expected.[200] The data for the eleventh and twelfth centuries is less reliable;

200 Bulliet (1979) 92–103.

the very small number of manuscripts for this period (only one from the twelfth century), means that there is a striking but meaningless rise in "Christians" to 100 %, and a disappearance of Arab names; in some of the subsequent graphs I will exclude the twelfth century for this reason.

Within the corpus, by the fourth century, 29.9 % of individuals have an imputed Christian identity, in the fifth century, fifty percent.[201] Both of these figures are actually higher than the proportion of Christian names found among bishops (19.4 % and 32.8 % respectively);[202] if we were to use the multiplication factors proposed by either Bagnall (1.7) or Depauw and Clarysse (3 – 5 for individuals born in the fourth century, 2.5 – 3 for individuals in the first decades of the fifth), this would imply that all, or nearly all, of the users and victims of applied texts were Christian by the fourth century.[203] There are several potential ways this could be explained: perhaps the Christian users of magical texts, likely of a lower average social class than bishops, were more likely to take identifiably Christian (and in particular, Biblical) names. Perhaps Christians were more likely to use magic than the general population (as, indeed, their elite critics often imply). Perhaps many of the applied magical texts are dated too early, or perhaps the predominance of matronymics in magical texts makes Christians more visible, since Christian women seem to have used a smaller range of names. I do not think that this question can be resolved for now; my impression is that we should focus on the trends, which agree with earlier work, rather than on the specific numbers; it seems unlikely to me that all users of surviving magical texts from a given century would have been Christian until nearly all the population was.

If we look in more detail at the different roles of individuals in the magical papyri (Fig. 8), we can see some further patterns emerge. Here it is important to be cautious in our interpretations, since the numbers of each ritual type and role are relatively small. We may note, however, that the percentage of "Christian" clients remains fairly stable, at between 31.1 % and 45.9 %, between the fifth and eleventh centuries. The number of "Christian" targets of aggressive texts is similarly stable, at between 38.9 % and 53.2 % between the fifth and seventh centuries, at which point their representation disappears for the eighth and ninth before reappearing (20 %) in the tenth and eleventh. The early stability probably reflects a situation in which Egypt was almost wholly Christianised by the fifth century, so that there is little subsequent change in naming patterns. The post-eighth century decline in visibly Christian victims of aggressive texts is likely an artefact of the small number of texts from these later centuries and the imperfections of the methodology – we should remember that "Christians" here refers only to people identifiable as such onomastically, which would be larger using wider criteria, and is only a fraction of the total number of Christians, which was likely

201 These figures are slightly lower than those in Shandruk (2012) 46, who uses the broader criteria for imputed Christian identity proposed in Bagnall (1982).

202 Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 427–430.

203 Bagnall (1982) 116 – 120; Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 427–433.

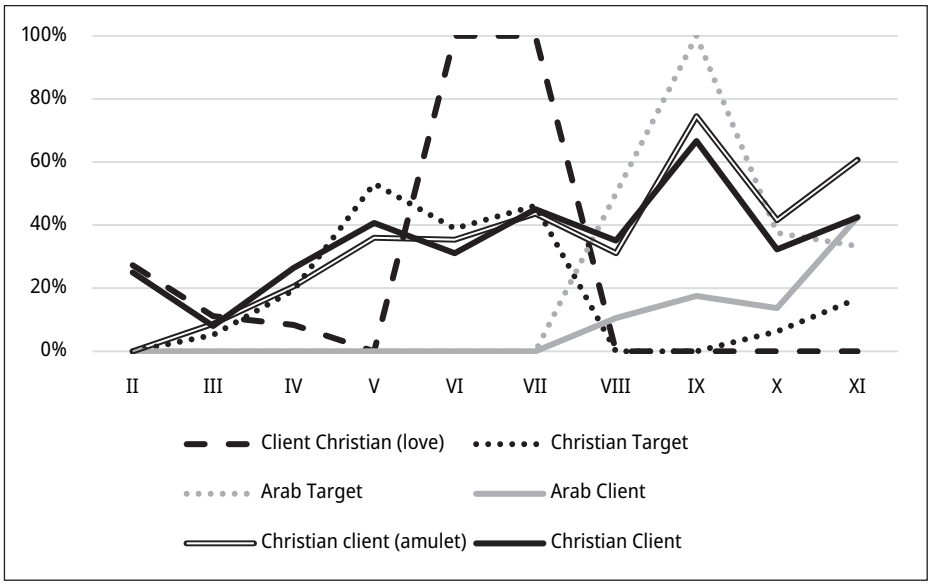


Fig. 8: Imputed Christian identities and Arab names of individuals in the corpus according to role and ritual type.

the majority of the population until the ninth century.[204] Nonetheless, the apparent decline may be capturing something real – the increasing Islamicisation of Egypt from the eighth century onward would mean that we would expect Christian names to be gradually less prominent. More surprising, perhaps, is the fact that we have three second or third century love spells whose commissioners may be imputed a Christian identity, although we must note that none of these bear the Testamental names which are the clearest indicators of Jewish-Christian identity.[205] This is nonetheless

204 Among these later texts is, for example, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 5645 (KYP M66; TM 99588; VII – VIII CE?), mentioning an Apollo, likely named after the saint of the same name, not counted as having a "Christian name" in the methodology of Depauw/Clarysse (2013).

205 SM 38 (KYP M869; TM 92853; II CE), SM 50 (KYP M876; TM 105083; II CE), and SM 42 (KYP M486; TM 92863; III–IV CE), whose clients are named, respectively, Theodotis, Theodoros, and Sophia, two anonymous theonyms and one virtue name. These names are somewhat ambiguous, and might also have been used by non-Christians. A Theodotē, of which Theodotis would seem to be a variant, is mentioned by Xenophon (*Memorabilia* III.11.1) in the fifth century BCE; the name is relatively common from the fourth to second century BCE (14 attestations in TM People, i. e. 4.7 per century) before becoming rare from the first century BCE to third CE (5 attestations, i. e. 1.3 per century) and then common again from the fourth to the tenth (30 attestations, i. e. 4.3 per century; the difference is even clearer when weighted frequency is taken into account). Non-Christians named Theodoros include the philosophers Theodoros of Gadara (I BCE) and Theodoros of Asine (III–IV CE) (see Knell et al. (2009)). The name does seem to become more frequent with Christianisation, but it is still quite common before the third century. Sophia is more certainly Christian, with only one attestation in TM People pre-dating the third century CE (SB I 4612, 95

quite striking; there are 19 love spells datable to these centuries, of whom 15.7 % have an imputed Christian identity. This is, again, higher than the percentages of Christian names among certain groups of known Christians in these centuries (0 % and 10.5 %, for bishops in the second and third centuries respectively),[206] and would imply that an even larger number of Christians without religiously identifiable names may have used them. Again, we should be very cautious about reading too much into such small figures, but it is striking that Christians do seem to have been early users of love spells, even if there are many fewer surviving applied love spells after Christianity becomes the established religion of the Roman empire. As we have seen, and will see again, the use of magic seems to generally reflect the historical context more than the religious identity of the individual user.

The data concerning Arab names, though fewer, are nonetheless interesting. The thirteen individuals with Arabic-origin names are found in nine manuscripts. Their dating poses a major problem; one can perhaps be dated to the eighth or ninth century (P.Berlin 8503; Beltz (1984) no. III 23),[207] two to the tenth (Louvre E 14.250 (Drioton (1946)); the Asyut Dossier (Dosoo (2021d)),[208] one perhaps to the eleventh (EES 39 5B.125/A; Alcock (1982)),[209] and the rest likely to the tenth or eleventh.[210] This means that much of the apparent gradual change may be illusory – more precise dating might, for example, show that all of the change happened early, in the tenth century, or late, in the eleventh, rather than being distributed evenly between the two. We can, however, observe that no parents of clients have clearly Arabic-origin names.[211] This suggests that once Egyptians either converted to Islam, or became sufficiently Arabised to use Arabic names, they may have ceased to use Coptic-language magic within a couple of generations; that is, the Arabic-named children of individuals with Graeco-Coptic names might use Coptic magic, but their own children did not, or, at least, did not at the same level. In later periods, Muslims might make more extensive use of Christian practitioners, but at this period, at least, they may have more often had recourse to Arabic-

CE). My impression therefore is that the name Sophia is almost certainly, Thedotis probably, and Theodoros possibly, Christian. If the individuals with these names are indeed Christian, it might be that these ambiguous names were more common in the earlier centuries, when the more marked Testamental names would have made the vulnerable Christian minority overly visible; cf. Wipszycka (1986) 180.

206 See Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 429.

207 Here I follow the judgement of Richter (2015) 97.

208 Dating of the original editor.

209 Dating of the original editor.

210 Note that the Louvre website (https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010048236) gives a seventh to ninth century date for Louvre E 14251, but the hand resembles those of the tenth to eleventh century to me, and the same applies to P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 544b (Quecke (1963) no. 1), which the original editor did not venture to date.

211 Possible exceptions might be ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁⲙ, the mother of ⲁϩⲙⲏⲧ (a) (see Table 3 above), and ⲥⲉⲧⲉ, mother of ⲑⲉⲓⲭⲁⲣ in Cambridge UL T-S 12.207 (Crum (1902); TM 99585; KYP M534; X–XI CE). While I consider the origin of this name uncertain, Crum suggests ستّي (*sitt-ī*) "my lady", although in this case it could be a pseudonym rather than a real name (or the abbreviation of one); cf nn. 170, 169 above.

language texts.[212] Two Arabic-origin names do appear as the parents of the targets of aggressive magic (both silencing curses),[213] confirming that Muslims or third-(or more)-generation Arabised Christians were nonetheless present at this time, and might be targeted by Coptic-using clients.

Most of the names present are *asmā* (personal names); the exceptions include one *laqab* (honorific; Sitt al-Kull), one *kunya* (nickname; Abu l-Bahā), and one apparent *nisbah*, accompanying an *ism* (Mufliḥ 'al-Pahapani'). Many of these Arabic *asmā* are closely associated with Islam, and thus almost certainly indicate a Muslim identity; these include those those noted by Bulliet as being common among recent converts:[214] ʿAbd Allāh, Aḥmad, and al-Ḥusayn. We should perhaps include here Mahēt, which might be understood as a form of Muḥammad, as well as Zaynab, the name of the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter and granddaughter. Four of these appear as the names of clients, one as the name of a target, and one as the father of a target.

This leaves five Arabic-origin names which cannot be assigned with some certainty to Muslim individuals, and which might instead represent the names of Arabised Christians. Notable here is Poulpehe (Abu l-Bahā), who might, like the contemporary inhabitants of the Faiyum, have had a Graeco-Coptic personal name which alternated in use with his Arabic *kunya.* It is difficult to know what to make of the others; Sōliman is the Arabic form of Solomon, but he might equally well be considered a Christian, a Muslim, or a Jew; his mother's name, Mariham, offers us little help here.

Our conclusions are suggestive, but must be cautious. By the ninth century at the latest, a Muslim client (Aptellah in P.Berlin 8503) is apparently attested using Coptic-language magic, but based on his name and matronymic, he may well have been a recent convert. By the tenth/eleventh century, about 33.2% of individuals have names which are recognisably Arabic in origin, of which a little under half (5 of 11=45.4%) are probably Muslim. This thus tends to confirm Bulliet's original observation, that the ninth century represented the turning point in the Arabisation and Islamicisation of Egypt, both of which processes seem to be attested in the onomastic data.

2.4 Interpreting Temporal Change: Onomastics as Ritual Practice

In his *Great Cat Massacre*, a key work of cultural history in English, Robert Darnton reflected in his conclusions upon the methodological habits of his French predecessors in the Annales school, the "attempt to measure attitudes by counting—counting masses for the dead, pictures of Purgatory, titles of books, speeches in academies, furniture in

212 For the later phenomenon of Muslims making use of Christian magicians see, e.g., Blackman (1968) 74; Viaud (1978) 17, 26–27, 96; cf. Lacerenza (2002) for a discussion of Christian use of Jewish magical practitioners.

213 Ahmēt in Louvre E 14251 (unpublished; KYP M3734); Sit el-Khoul in Cambridge UL T-S 12.207 (Crum (1902).

214 Cf. fn. 161 above.

inventories, crimes in police records, invocations to the Virgin Mary in wills, and pounds of candle wax burned to patron saints in churches".[215] It is such statistical approaches that lie behind the work of Bulliet, who, in turn served as the inspiration for Bagnall and later Depauw.[216] Yet, as Darnton also noted, numbers are, to an extent, "symptoms produced by the historian himself, and they can be interpreted in wildly different ways... in the drop in the graphs of masses said for souls in Purgatory... the secular left [see the] ... embourgeoisement of world view; to the religious right... they reveal new patterns of family affection and charity. The only point of agreement seems to be the dictum of Ernest Labrousse: 'Everything derives from the curve'."[217] The problem of generating and interpreting data is not an easy one, and I do not pretend to offer here a resolution to the sharp debates occasioned by the work of Bulliet, Bagnall, Depauw, and Clarysse. Yet I think it is necessary here to address, at least superficially, two of the key theoretical problems – whether it is possible to fix a definition of "Christian", and, even if it is, whether statistical methods are appropriate to analyse this definition.

Of the critiques of the methodology first used by Bagnall, the most extensive have come from Wipszycka and Frankfurter, who raise the question of how we can move from a single data point – the name – to a meaningful picture of an individual's religious identity, particularly when talking about Christianity as "exclusive and coherent religious ideology".[218] While onomastic studies focus by necessity on summing large numbers of individual names, Wipszycka suggests that conversion was usually group, rather than individual – entire villages might rapidly adopt an explicitly Christian identity, creating both a situation in which documents from that village would give a picture quite incorrect for the rest of Egypt, and, Frankfurter argues, one in which the understanding and degree of commitment of individual members to Christianity would be far more varied and more complex than a binary distinction might imply.[219] He points to practices which survived beyond the ostensible Christianisation of the fourth and fifth centuries which might seem to problematise such a straightforward model, such as divination through, for example, shrine incubation, as well as the manipulation of material objects such as terracotta votive female figurines, amulets, and martyr oil.[220] As Depauw and Clarysse put it, he sees Christianity as "analogue",

215 Darnton (1999) 258.

216 "[Bulliet:] The closest professional ancestry for me and my way of approaching history is the French school of history called the 'Annales school'"; Genovese (2021); cf. Bulliet (1992).

217 Darnton (1999) 258, citing Labrousse (1943) xxix: "tout derive de la courbe".

218 Frankfurter (2014) 285.

219 Wipszycka (1986) 174; in this earlier work she noted that the concerns she raises here would not apply to a large-scale prosopography of the type carried out in Depauw/Clarysse (2013), but in her later writing she cast doubt on the suitability of papyrological data, even in a large-scale prosopography, to address this question (Wipszycka (1988) 164–165); Frankfurter (2014).

220 Frankfurter (2014), 286–289. This point is a major theme in his output more generally, dealt with most fully in Frankfurter (2017), where it is expressed in terms of "syncretism". As he notes there, however (p. 16–17), many of these practices he describes are not meaningfully "non-Christian", in the sense

whereas they see it as "digital.[221] For Frankfurter, Christianisation is not primarily a matter of individual conversions, but rather of a shift in "cultural options" or "domestic strategies".[222] Yet, for him, this does not imply that there were "half-Christians", who had partly but not entirely converted; rather, this raises the question of how useful it could be to describe Egypt as being, for example, ninety-five per cent Christian;[223] the number itself effaces the very richness of practice which religious history should bring into relief.

Frankfurter suggests that in the modern West there is a tendency to see religious identity primarily in terms of "faith", a legacy of the Protestant reformation and its intense interest in the individual conscience, expressed in the concepts of conversion and the sense of belonging to a particular group.[224] Yet Bulliet and his successors have never denied that belief is a complex matter; he noted in returning to his work that he had no way of knowing the "depth, motivation or genuineness of the move from a non-Muslim to a Muslim social identity".[225] But, as he observes, this is equally a problem for modern religious demography: when sociologists or demographers investigate religious identity, they typically ask individuals to self-identify, or choose from a fixed list of options; they do not ask for proof of identity or authenticity.[226] Modern studies also demonstrate that it is common for there to be a disjuncture between explicit religious identification in surveys, and the kinds of beliefs and behaviours we might infer from that identity – in Norway, for example, 70 % of the population identifies as Lutheran Protestant Christian, and yet reported belief in God is lower than 25 %, and regular church attendance less than 5 %.[227] As Conrad Hackett has pointed out, we must be clear about what we are trying to study –religious "identity", or religious commitment, where the latter would designate not simply self-identification, or even belief, but rather practice, including attendance at public ceremonies and performance of private rituals.[228]

What actions might be indicative of Christianity? We might think of practices such as baptism (or preparation for baptism), church attendance, confession, almsgiving,

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of being traditional (i. e., "pagan") practices maintained by Christians, as the term "syncretism" might imply. They are instead often forms of Christian ritual or devotional practice which might seem surprising to modern observers, and/or which may have been disapproved of by some members of the church hierarchy.

221 Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 328; cf. Frankfurter (2023) 30 et passim.

222 Frankfurter (2014) 287–288.

223 Frankfurter (2014) 286–287.

224 Frankfurter (2014) 286; Frankfurter (2023) 30. Conversion (Greek μετάνοια or ἐπιστροφή, Latin *conversio*) was nonetheless a key concept in Christianity from its earliest stages, so this critique deserves some qualification; cf. e. g., Kling (2020), esp. chapters 2–4.

225 Cf. Bulliet (2017) 70–71

226 Bulliet (2017) 76.

227 Wildman et al. (2021) 171.

228 Hackett (2014) 400; cf. Wildman et al. (2021). A helpful exploration of concepts of identity in Late Antiquity may be found in Brand (2023).

participation in Christian festivals.[229] We could also consider "negative practice" – Christians might not be expected to attend non-Christian shrines, or even practice magic.[230] Yet, as Frankfurter has stressed, and as modern studies show, the relationship between religious identity and behaviour is complex. A 2010 Pew survey found that in Tanzania, 60 % of the population identifies as Christian, 36 % as Muslim, while only 2 % claimed belonging to a "traditional African religion". Nonetheless 62 % of the population also say they believe in and practice what the survey characterises as "traditional African beliefs".[231] As those living in the modern West know, such apparent contradictions are not restricted to African countries; a Pew survey of the year before found that roughly a quarter of American Christians believed in astrology, reincarnation, and "spiritual energies in trees, etc." – rates almost identical to non-Christians.[232] We must imagine the religious identities and behaviours or Late Antique Egyptians as similarly complex, and apparently inconsistent, assemblages.

This brings us to a key problem in all kinds of theorising – the disjuncture between what David Harvey characterises as thinking in terms of "things" versus processes.[233] We are often tempted to define religious identity as a concrete and measurable "thing", whereas it might be better understood in terms of a dynamic process: an ongoing series of actions whose aggregate over time may show certain clear tendencies, but which cannot be said to reveal an essential state apart from this process. We do not (yet?) have abundant data for masses for the dead or quantities of lamp oil burned in churches from the Egypt of the first millennium CE, as we might for modern or early modern European states. But we do have onomastic data, and names, as Frankfurter recognises, are not only facts about individuals, but the residue of actions, specifically the act of naming a child, carried out, normally, by the individual's parents.[234] There are relatively few explicit discussions of the process of naming from antiquity, but two that do survive by Christians, often cited in the past, reveal that ecclesiastical figures such as Dionysios of Alexandria (cited by Eusebius) and John Chrysostom did consider naming to be a significant and meaning-full action, capable of revealing an allegiance and attachment to the Christian faith.[235] I would suggest that when we look at onomastic change, we should consider it primarily in this way – revealing not Christian identity in a direct (analogue or digital) way, but rather as one surviving trace of the exact cultural options

229 Cf. Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 328.

230 Cf. Frankfurter (2023) 30 – 31.

231 Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life (2010) 20, 34; the term is very broad, and somewhat imprecise; the specific questions are given on pp. 222 – 225. Cf. Hackett (2014) 408, 409.

232 Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life (2009) 2.

233 Harvey (1997) 18 – 19; cf. Hackett (2014) 396, 400 on the specific problems in relation to religious demography.

234 Frankfurter (2014) 286; Frankfurter (2023) 37.

235 Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.25.14, text in PG 20 609 – 702, translation in Defferari (2005) 134; Chrysostom, *On the Education of Children* 47, text and translation in Malingrey (1972) 144 – 147; see discussions in Harnack (1905) 42 – 45; Kajanto (1963) 92 – 93; Blumell (2012) 237– 238, 243 – 244; Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 425 – 426; cf. Frankfurter (2014) 288 n. 13.

which Frankfurter signals as being of interest. The shift we see is one of Christian religious practices, here the choosing of Christian names, shifting from a minor cultural option to the predominant pattern.

But if the overall patterns might help us to trace a history of mentalities mediated by a history of actions, this does not resolve the problem of moving from the group to the individual, particularly when we try to nail down the religious "identity" – still less, practices – of an individual for whom an amulet or love spell was written. We can avoid this question to an extent by considering the use of "magic" as a second type of act, whose tendencies can be traced over time – I will explore this in the last part of this essay. But it does not resolve the problem of the individual; as Depauw and Clarysse noted, their methodology "cannot explain all – or even any – individual case".[236]

All authors who have contributed to the debate agree that name change on conversion, though common in Islam, was vanishingly rare in the case of Christianity, and so the names of children nearly always reflect the decisions of their parents. Thus, even when parents perform the marked act of choosing a "Christian" name, this does not mean that their children will necessarily enact the practices, and hold the implied associated beliefs, that we would expect of a Christian. Might there have been, as Frankfurter implies, people who chose Christian names for their children, but for whom Christian beliefs were a minor part of their lives, or entirely absent?[237] We might imagine, for example, people whose lives were focused on traditional Egyptian cultic practice (temple or private) who nonetheless visited a saint's shrine or Christian holy man for help with conception, and who in gratitude chose a "Christian" name for the resulting child without undergoing any conversion experience. Less dramatically, we may imagine individuals who had never undergone baptism, and who had little interest in Christian rituals, but who nonetheless gave a child a Biblical name in the hope for a name which offered "magical protection" or that sounded "modern", as Frankfurter suggests, "like those names today that parents everywhere pluck from western television to give their infants".[238]

While these possibilities might be plausible, they must remain hypothetical. There is, as Depauw and Clarysse discuss, very little evidence of individuals with clearly Christian names but demonstrably non-Christian identities;[239] less than five have apparently been identified in forty years of discussion.[240] There are a few historical cases which serve as examples of people with Christian parents (and hence, potentially Christian names) who might return to predominantly non-Christian practices. The third- and fourth-century imperial persecutions of Christians led many to abandon

236 Depauw/Clarysse (2015) 329; cf. Choat (2006) 53.
237 Frankfurter (2014) 287–288; Frankfurter (2023) 34–35.
238 Frankfurter (2014) 288
239 Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 426–427; but we should note that certain names were certainly more ambiguous; cf. the examples in fns. 147 and 205 above.
240 Choat (2006) 55; Depauw/Clarysse (2013) 426–427.

their faith, but since Christian names were not themselves a criterion for persecution, those who did apostasise, and their descendants, might have retained markedly Christian names. Julian the Apostate represents the most famous early case of an individual raised as a Christian who self-consciously left the faith and its practices behind, but we might think also of Augustine of Hippo, who had a Christian mother, but not a Christian identity for his early life. Both might serve as representatives of the many less-famous individuals who might have followed similar trajectories.

The last question is that of the appropriateness of using statistical methods to measure questions as difficult to pin down as belief and identity, especially when these methods must be accompanied by so many provisos. If one thinks that beliefs are inherently unquantifiable, then there is a basic problem of methodology, yet implicitly quantitative statements are difficult to avoid entirely; the use of degree determinatives (*most, some, few,* etc.) often imply rough percentages, and even in the absence of any quantifiers, the choice of phenomena or texts to discuss implies something about their representativeness. Despite its shortcomings, quantitative analysis forces us to put numbers to our intuitions and impressions, with the result that these may be confirmed, refined, or problematised.[241] This does not mean that such analyses can be the end of a discussion; rather, they are one element which needs to be contextualised by more granular examinations of the data from which they arise. It is striking that my analysis here broadly confirms the curves graphed by Depauw, Clarysse, and Bulliet, and this must mean *something*, even if more work must be done to understand exactly what that *something* is – does the quickening drumbeat of Christian and Arab naming practices accompany the march of religious change, or is it a sign of something more superficial, which interacted little with other forms of religious practice, or even merely the bias of the surviving, published sources?

3 Divine Names in Magical Papyri

3.1 Methodology

I have suggested that the onomastic information concerning individuals mentioned in magical texts may tell us something about their likely religious identity, but that it tells us more about the context in which they lived, in which the aggregate population became more or less likely over time to perform the action of giving a child an explicitly Christian or Arab name. The creation and use of a magical text might also be considered a meaningful religious act, providing us with additional data which can be examined alongside the names of the individuals named in texts. Here I use a slightly differ-

241 Cf. the cautious use of onomastics, or other statistics drawn from papyri, by two authors otherwise hesitant to accept Bagnall's methodology – Wipszycka (1988) 162–163 and Papaconstantinou (2023) 72, who both go on to discuss their interpretation in greater detail.

ent approach from that of Shandruk, looking at the specific names (or titles) of divine beings and other culturally significant figures referred to in texts in order to examine trends over time.[242] As the reader should expect by now, this must be interpreted with many caveats; an ideal approach would be to examine the entire magical corpus, since nearly all of these contain the names of deities, but for now I present here only a smaller study using only the corpus of applied texts with personal names introduced above.

There are numerous challenges in counting occurrences of names; here I only distinguish between deities mentioned and not mentioned in each text – for my purposes it is not important whether a deity is mentioned once or ten times. In a future study it might be worth exploring ways to take this into account in analyses, as well as the roles of deities (invoked, invoked by, hostile being, etc.), as well as their relationships; as Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin has demonstrated, there are sometimes structured relationships between divine figures which are revealing of the religious context, such as the formal subordination of non-Christian to Christian figures in later narrative charms.[243]

Given the polyonomy of many ancient deities, as well as the varied spellings for different names, it has been necessary to use my judgement at several points in order to decide which names and name forms to group together. For example, I treat "Adoniēl" as a form of "Adonai" to which the suffix -iel has been added,[244] and "Eloē" and "Eloi" as variants of the same name. Yet I generally treat different titles for the same deity separately – for example, I count "Jesus" and "the Son" as two separate names, even though in most cases they likely refer to the same personage. By contrast, I treat "Jesus" and "Christ" as part of the same name, since they appear so often together. At the same time, it did not seem worth listing all of the individual names of common groups separately, so I have followed a slightly different policy with collectives of beings like the Four Living Creatures or the 24 Presbyters, counting as mentions either lists of their names, or mentions of them as collectives.[245] This raises the problem of the definition of a "deity", since the 24 Presbyters are not usually thought of as such; I use it here in an extended sense of "deities and culturally significant beings", rather than a being which is necessarily worshipped; this means that I include in the category figures such as "Isaac" and "Jacob".[246] I have excluded from consideration the titles

242 I am grateful to Jean-Luc Fournet, who first suggested such an approach to me in conversation a few years ago. Cf. the different methodology used in Shandruk (2012) 46–50.

243 Bélanger Sarrazin (2020) 125–126, 143, 153–154, 176–177, 213.

244 Found in BL Or 6794 (CACM 129; KYP M306; TM 100017; VI–VII CE), written in ring letters above the figure. The suffix –(ι)ηλ is common in magical names as one of a number of suffixes apparently intended to give the name a Jewish feel, inspired by such angel names as Gabriel and Michael, in which the element corresponds to Hebrew אל *-el* ("god").

245 See e.g., Vienna K 8637 (Stegemann (1933-4) no. 27; KYP M258; TM 91419; X–XI CE) where we find sequences of names which are recognisably those of the Three Hebrew Youths, the Three Magi, and the Four Living Creatures; cf. Brashear (1983) 299; Meyer/Smith (1999) 387.

246 Note that I have not counted images of deities, such as an image of Bes on an amulet (found in PGM XXXIX; KYP M772; TM 64481; IV CE), since this would bring in the problem of identifying deities based on

"Lord" and "God", since they are potentially too generic in a culture with many gods, each of whom is potentially a "Lord". Nonetheless, it is likely that in many cases, particularly when they co-occur as "the Lord God", they refer specifically to the Jewish-Christian deity, and this likelihood becomes a near certainty after the fourth century.[247]

While these problems may seem considerable, in this analysis I hope to ameliorate them by focusing less on individual names than on categories. Each name was assigned to one of five categories, and for each manuscript the presence or absence of a name belonging to that category was counted. These categories were: Christian, Jewish/Christian, 'Magical', Egyptian, and Greek. Names belonging to each category with more than 5 attestations in the corpus are given in Table 7.

Tab. 7: Names of deities attested in 5 or more manuscripts in the corpus; names are ranked by order of frequency, with the most frequent names in each category at the top.

Christian	Jewish/Christian	'Magical'	Egyptian	Greek
Jesus Christ	Iaō	Abrasax	Osiris	Persephone
Father	Sabaōth	Ablanathanabla	Anubis	Ananke
Son	Michael	Akhramakhamari		Kore
Holy Spirit	Gabriel	Sesengenbarpharanges		
Emmanuel	Adōnai	Marmaraoth		
4 Living Creatures	Raphael	Maskelli		
24 Presbyters	Suriel	Bainkhookh/Bakhukh		
Trinity	Eloe	Ereskhigal[248]		
	Cherubim	Sator Arepo		
	Three Hebrews			
	Seraphim			
	Abraham			
	Angel			
	Archangel			
	Raguel			
	Uriel			
	Anael			
	Jacob			
	Isaac			
	Daniel			

their iconography, and, secondarily, of the relationship between text and image. For reflections on the relationship between text and image, see *inter alia*, Martín Hernández (2012); Dosoo (2022); Dosoo (2023) 177–183. This is a minor problem, however, since identifiable deities on applied texts are relatively few.

247 On the occasional uses of 'Lord God' by those who were neither Jewish nor Christian, see Choat (2016) 108–112.

248 Ereshkigal is of course an originally Mesopotamian deity, but I am not aware of any cult of Ereshkigal in Egypt in the Roman period, so that it is likely that the name, attested in Greek magical papyri, metal tablets, and gems, was transmitted within the magical tradition; cf. Schwemer (2019) for a discussion of Mesopotamian elements, including the name 'Ereshkigal', in the magical papyri.

These categories deserve fuller justification. First, I did not include a "Muslim" category, since there are too few diagnostically Muslim figures in the corpus, perhaps because explicitly Muslim content would only be likely to appear after the mid-seventh century, and be written in Arabic. There is one use of the Arabic name 'Allah' in a bilingual Arabic-Coptic manuscript to name the monotheistic god, and we might think also of, for example, formularies which mention *jinn*, but these offer too few datapoints to be useful in a large analysis of this type.[249] At the same time, we must remember that nearly all diagnostically Jewish and Christian figures would be equally at home in a Muslim text, as a result of the Muslim appropriation of Judaism and Christianity as their own prehistory.

Deities classified as "Christian" are those who only appear in a Christian, but not Jewish, context – often figures from the New Testament or later Christian theology (such as the Trinity). All other figures who, though part of Christian religious culture, were appropriated from Jewish traditions, have been counted as Jewish/Christian (henceforth "Jewish" for brevity) – this includes beings like the archangels and Patriarchs. The category "Magical" is more problematic, given the controversy which the term continues to provoke, but it is intended to cover names such as "Abrasax" and "Maskelli" which are common in magical texts but were not part of any major public cult. Some of these, of course, were part of Gnostic systems, and occasionally show up in literary texts, so that one might argue that they were part of minor religious systems which found their way into magic.[250] Yet their interest, for us here, is that they are found both in texts which are otherwise largely Christian, and those which have explicitly Graeco-Egyptian content; they seem to be transmitted through the magical texts themselves rather than through any other cultic tradition. The next category, that of "Egyptian" names, captures Egyptian deities such as Osiris and Anubis (the most common), but also Sarapis, a "hybrid" Greek-Egyptian form of Osiris-Apis. Finally, "Greek" includes both Greek deities, and figures of Greek history or legend, such as Lycurgus and Erichthonius.[251]

As even this brief outline suggests, there remain major problems with classifications of names – for example, is Davithe, the name of one of the Sethian luminaries, Christian? Is Helios, the solar deity who likely appears regularly in the magical papyri, to be understood as the Greek solar titan, or an *interpretatio graeca* of the Egyptian Re? I have decided to treat Sethian figures as Christian, since they belong broadly to the

249 This is Cambridge UL T-S 12.207 (Crum 1902; TM 99585; KYP M534; X–XI CE?), in the formula ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲉⲗⲗⲉ (l. 1; i. e., *bi-smi llāh*); the rest of the Basmala follows, with the usual divine titles (*l-raḥmāni l-raḥīmi*). The edition of P.Berol. 5744 (KYP M196) in Beltz (1984) no. I 357 includes Allah as a loanword (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) but an examination of the manuscript by Edward Love suggests that this reading is not plausible (private communication 22/11/2019). The loanword *ǧinn* (ⲅⲓⲛ) appears in PCM I 21 l. 14 (=P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 680; P.Bad. V 141; KYP M313; TM 102078), a tenth-century formulary; cf. Gardner (2023) 86–87.

250 On these, see Piwowarczyk (2021), xxii, xxiv, 9–23, 323, et passim.

251 Erichthonius appears in SM 34 (KYP M477; TM 65318; VI CE), in a declining triangle formation as part of a fever amulet which invokes Jesus.

Christian tradition, and, although Helios does not appear in the corpus, I treat similarly ambivalent deities (such as Cronus and Hermes) as Greek. These decisions could be questioned, but they do not significantly affect the outcome of the statistics here, because all three figures are very rare in the corpus, and the analysis here focuses, after all, on categories of names rather than individual names.[252]

The most difficult name, perhaps, is Iaō. The name derives quite clearly from the pronunciation of the name of the Jewish god current among Jews in Egypt, Yaho, recorded as far back as the Persian Period,[253] yet it is the most common name in the Greek magical corpus, and very frequent in the Coptic and Demotic ones too.[254] In their recent study of a magico-medical manuscript which they date to the fourth century, Edward Love and Michael Zellmann-Rohrer suggest that Iaō, while susceptible to interpretation by Jews and Christians as the name of their deity, was not always marked as such, and was instead simply part of the general background of the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition.[255] In some cases they are likely right – SM 41 begins with a long sequence of vowels, which includes the sequence Iao; in this case a meaningful reference to the Jewish-Christian deity seems unlikely.[256] Yet there are many cases where references to Jewish-Christian names and topoi are much clearer, even if they occur in an otherwise clearly non-Jewish/Christian context.[257] I think it would be misleading, in many cases, to see these instances as simply part of the "background noise" of the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition – rather, the appropriation of specific names from different cultural and religious traditions should usually be considered meaningful, even if the exact meaning must be teased out. Texts with particularly specific or dense references to Jewish topoi, even when produced in non-Jewish contexts, often seem to be attempts to appropriate the ritual power attributed to

252 Since the numbers for Egyptian and Greek deities are so low in this study, I do not think that this imperfect system meaningfully distorts the results, but a fuller study would need to deal with the problem more directly.

253 Van der Toorn (2019) 102–110. That the vocalisation was, at least sometimes, /jaho/ rather than as /jao/ is apparent from sources such as GEMF 16 (PDM xiv; KYP M162; II CE); see e.g., GEMF 16 l.28 (col.1 l.28), where we find in Demotic *yʿhʿ* glossed in Old Coptic as ⲓⲁϩⲱ, where the third sign is equivalent to standard Coptic hori.

254 In a search through the PGM (excluding "Christian" texts) and SM in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (online at https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/index.php, seen 30/9/2022), the lemma Ἰαω occurred 208 times; the next most frequent divine name was Helios (Ἥλιος), with 104 attestations, although many of these were likely references to the physical sun rather than the deity; next is Hermes with 74 attestations. In my own search of the published Demotic formularies (GEMF 15–18/PDM xii, xiv, lxi, Suppl.), I found 34 references to Ya(h)ō, a significant number, equal with Horus, though less than Osiris (62), Anubis (60), or Isis (51).

255 Zellmann-Rohrer/Love (2022) 53–54, 70; cf. the more detailed discussions cited in n. 258 below.

256 SM 41 ll. 2–6 (KYP M871; TM 35138; III CE).

257 Cf. e.g., PGM IV.1218–1226, in which Iaō is likewise followed by a string of vowels, but is linked to Jerusalem and the unquenchable lamp of the temple; cf. the discussion in Bohak (2000) 6–7; Bohak (2008) 207.

Jews by non-Jews, and are thus an indication of the presence and/or imagined position of Jews in the cultural context which produced the text.[258]

The purpose of this classification is, therefore, to measure, in very rough terms, the types of influence which appear in different manuscripts over time; each manuscript is thus assigned a 1 or 0 for each of the five categories of names.

3.2 Findings

Tab. 8: Names of deities and cultural figures in corpus by category.

Category of names	No. of names	No. of attestations	No. of manuscripts with attestations
Jewish-Christian	49	346	83
Christian	36	162	66
Magical	23	123	57
Greek	19	45	19
Egyptian	17	41	18
Muslim	1	1	1

My analysis identified 142 "deities" or "groups", and 814 instances of such deities in manuscripts, according to the criteria described above.[259] The most common category was Jewish, followed by Christian, then Magical, Egyptian, and finally Greek names. To some extent, the predominance of Jewish, and even more so, Christian names, is due to the large number of texts post-dating the fourth/fifth century rise of Christianity.

Tab. 9: Names with at least 9 manuscript attestations in the corpus.

Name	No. of Ms. Attestations	Category
Jesus Christ	35	Christian
Iaō	34	Jewish/Christian
Sabaōth	33	Jewish/Christian
Michael	30	Jewish/Christian
Gabriel	27	Jewish/Christian

258 Cf. Bohak (2000) 4–9; Bohak (2008) 196–209; Fauth (2014) 1–11 et passim.

259 This table includes Allah as a "Muslim" name, but I exclude it from the subsequent analysis, since it occurs only once; cf. n. 249 above. 'Allah' was of course also used as the name of the monotheistic god by Arabic-speaking Christians, but in the context of its use in the *Basmala* it is certainly Muslim (cf. n. 249 above).

Tab. 9 *(Continued)*

Name	No. of Ms. Attestations	Category
Abrasax	24	Magical
Adōnai	23	Jewish/Christian
Raphael	22	Jewish/Christian
Suriel	22	Jewish/Christian
Father	20	Christian
Son	18	Christian
Ablanathanalba	18	Magical
Akramakhamari	16	Magical
Holy Spirit	15	Christian
Eloe	11	Jewish/Christian
Cherubim	11	Jewish/Christian
3 Hebrews	9	Jewish/Christian
Seraphim	9	Jewish/Christian
Sesengen Bar Pharanges[260]	9	Magical

The two most common names are "Jesus Christ" and "Iaō", with 35 and 34 manuscript attestations each. Of the other names with more than 9 manuscript attestations, three are Christian (the names of the Trinity – Father, Son, and Holy Spirit), four are magical (Abrasax, Ablanathanalba, Akhramakhamari, and Sesengen Barpharanges), but the majority (12) are Jewish – including, prominently, the other Hebrew names and titles of God (Sabaōth, Adōnai, Eloe), and archangels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael). Egyptian and Greek deity names are relatively rare – the Greek deities are most common in curses and love spells, of which there are relatively few,[261] and the same is true of the most common Egyptian deities – Osiris and Anubis – who appear exclusively as chthonic deities called upon in Greek binding spells.[262] The picture would likely be different if we looked at Demotic-language texts (although there are, unfortunately, no published applied texts from the period studied here)[263] or formularies in Greek, Demotic, or Old Coptic, where Greek and Egyptian divine names are more common. While Egyptian and Greek deities do appear in applied texts, their appearances are few and idiosyncratic, and the most common non-Jewish or Christian figures to appear belong instead to the magical tradition.

260 On this name, see Schwartz (1996).
261 See, e.g., the example mentioned in n. 251 above.
262 See, e.g., SM 42 ll. 23–24 (KYP M486; TM 92863; III–IV CE).
263 Cf. n. 31 above.

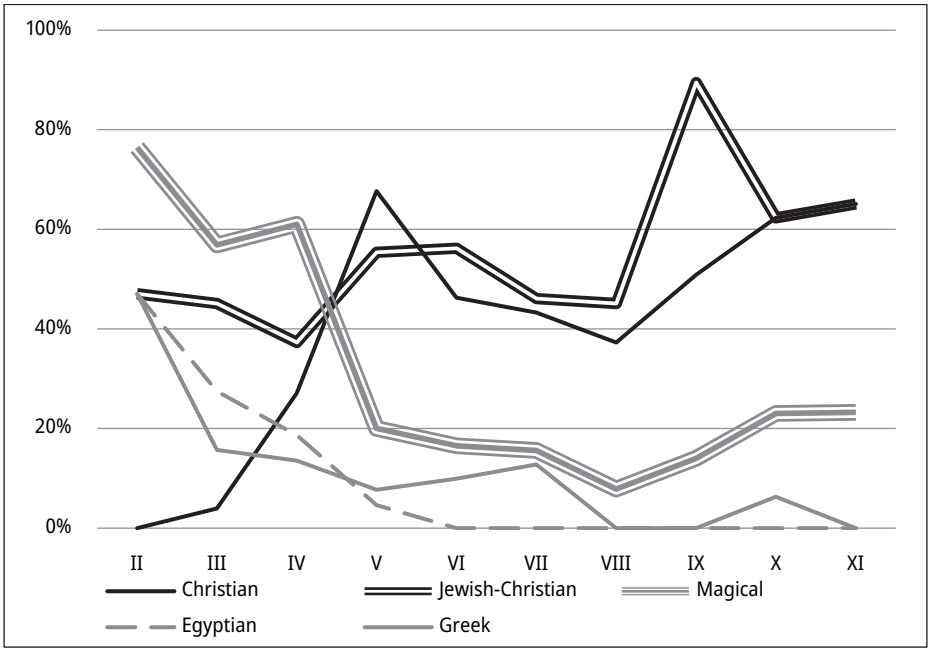


Fig. 9: Percentage of manuscripts containing content belonging to each "cultural" category.

When we examine the temporal attestations of these categories (Table 10), we see some quite clear, if expected, patterns. In the second century CE most magical texts (76 %) contained "magical" names, and large proportions contain Egyptian (59 %), Jewish, and/or Greek names (both 47 %). Over the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, the number of magical and Jewish elements in these texts remains fairly stable, but there is a noticeable decline in Greek and Egyptian elements, accompanied by the appearance of Christian elements in the third century and their rapid rise in the fourth (from 4 % to 27 %). The fifth century sees a significant change, with Christian elements becoming the most common, Jewish elements rising slightly in popularity, and magical, Greek, and Egyptian declining significantly. In the following centuries, however, magical elements do not disappear – from the sixth to eleventh centuries they remain a stable presence, continuing to appear in 16 – 25 % of manuscripts. Greek and Egyptian elements, however, disappear for most practical purposes – their few later appearances are either questionable, in the form of names likely transmitted by the magical tradition, or as representatives of a stereotypical "pagan satanism" of the type found in contemporary Christian hagiographical texts.[264] Jewish and explicitly Christian elements increase in popularity – if we consider them together, as most of their users probably

264 See, e. g., Louvre E 14.250 (ACM 109; KYP M367; TM 99997; X CE), a love spell, which apparently invokes Apollo (ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲉ, l. 33), likely understood as a name of the Devil, whose acts are described in ll. 26 – 32; cf. van der Vliet (1995) 413; Blumell/Dosoo (2018) 246 – 249.

did – with such names appearing consistently in 59 %-100 % of manuscripts of each century from the fifth to the twelfth centuries.

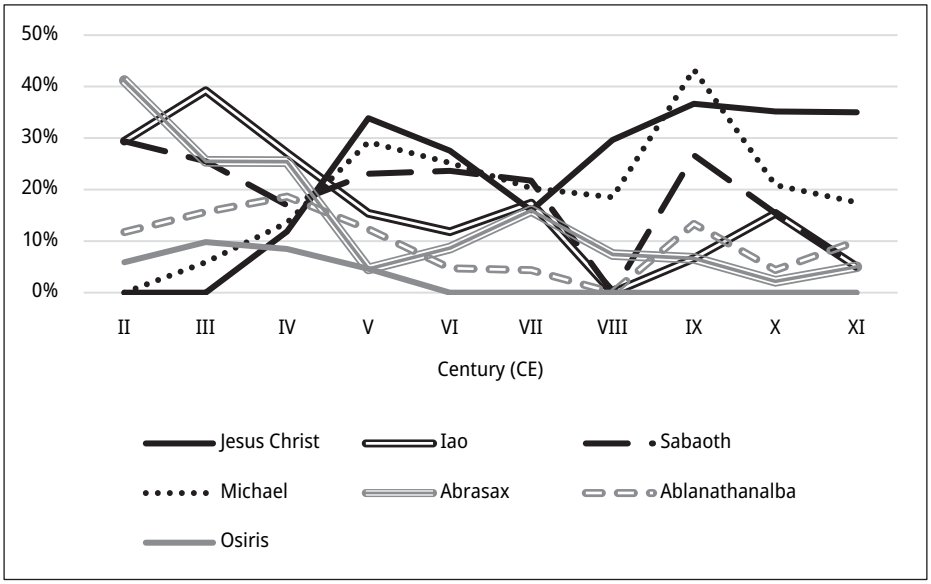


Fig. 10: Percentages of manuscripts in corpus containing particular deities by century.

For finer details we can look at some of the most common names. Osiris, a typical representative of the Greek and Egyptian deities, is a minor but significant presence from the second to the fifth centuries, but disappears by the sixth century. This is more or less what we would expect if the Christianisation of Egypt were largely complete by the fifth century – with the death of the traditional cults, the traditional deities disappear – although an intentional suppression within the magical tradition may have occurred, I suspect that a more important factor was the fact that without their cults they no longer possessed the cultural authority that would have made them worth calling upon in copied or newly composed texts. Abrasax and Ablanathanalba, by contrast, were never attached to cults which were either promoted or suppressed; rather they were transmitted as secret, powerful names within the textual tradition of magic. While there is a visible decline in the presence of Abrasax between the second and fifth centuries, both remain present, to a relatively stable degree, until the eleventh century. Of the remaining names, we seem to see two patterns. The first, represented by Michael and Jesus Christ, is the one we might expect from a process of Christianisation.[265] Both names are absent in the second century before rising rapidly in the fourth

265 Note, though, that we do find the name "Michael" in at least one second-century formulary: GEMF 16/PDM xiv.632 (=col.21 l.6; KYP M162; TM 55955; II CE).

and fifth centuries, when they are each found in approximately a third of all manuscripts. They remain stable around this level for as long as Greek and Coptic applied magical texts are attested. These names seem be linked quite straightforwardly to the rise of Christianity. Iaō and Sabaōth, by contrast, seem more similar in their behaviour to the magical names; present already in the second century, they decline very slightly before the fourth, but thereafter remain present alongside Michael and Jesus, albeit to a slightly lesser degree. I would suggest that a fully "Christian" magical practice did not suddenly appear and replace its competitors in the fourth or fifth century; rather, Christianisation consisted of three concurrent processes –the decline of older, less markedly Christian, forms of practice (the pattern of names such as Osiris and Abrasax); the continued use of more markedly Jewish-Christian forms of practice (the pattern of the name Iaō); and the development and promotion of new, more explicitly Christian, practices (the pattern represented by the name Jesus).

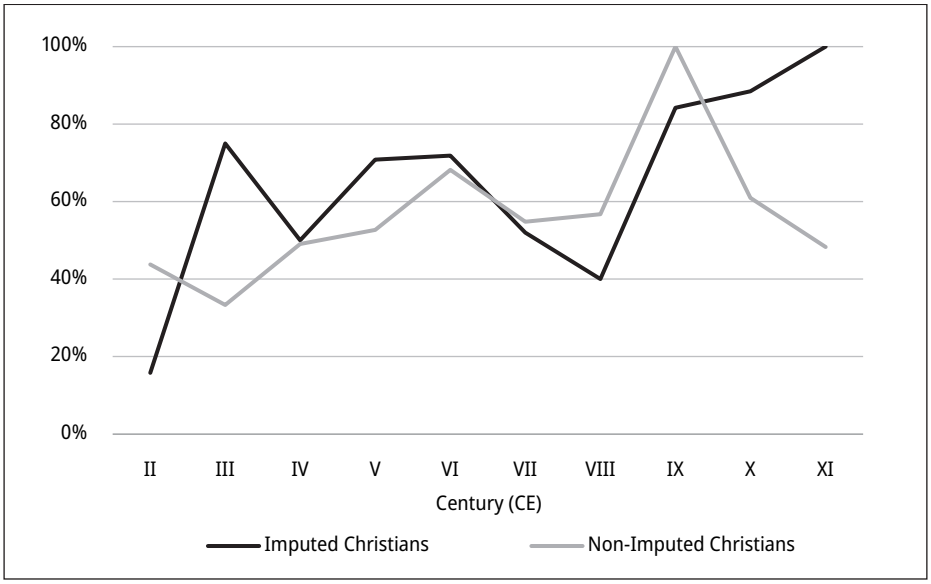


Fig. 11: Presence of Jewish-Christian or Christian content by imputed religious identity of client.

The last question to explore here is the relationship between Christian names and Christian content in applied magical texts.[266] If we compare the presence of Jewish and Christian elements in papyri according to the imputed religious identity of users (Figure 10), we can see that there does not generally seem to be a meaningful correlation between the possession of an imputed Christian identity for clients, and the appearance of Jewish or Christian elements. In the second century, these elements

266 Compare the findings of Shandruk (2012) 46–53, discussed above.

are slightly more common among individuals without an imputed Christian identity (44 % vs 33 %). In the third century, we find a strong inverse tendency – Jewish-Christian elements are much more likely to be associated with identifiably Christian users (75 % vs 33 %). By the fourth century, the trend has become far less pronounced (50 % for 'Christians', 49 % for 'non-Christians'). These results must be interpreted very cautiously; in general we see an increase in the use of Jewish-Christian names in texts used for non-imputed Christians between the third and sixth centuries, but it is true that there is a striking difference is found in the third century. We could hypothesise that this was the century in which Christians begin to become truly onomastically recognisable, and it is in this century that we may first see a distinctively Christian (if non-orthodox) element in an applied magical text.[267] For a brief period, it might be that Christians did have a recognisably distinctive magical practice, before the fourth century saw the increasing Christianisation of both magic and the population as a whole, so that the difference was first less marked, and finally lost. Yet we must take these results with a grain of salt, remembering our very partial dataset, and the fact that many non-imputed Christians may have actually been Christians. There are only four clients with imputed Christian identities whose manuscripts overlap with the third century, of which three feature the mention of Jewish-Christian divine beings, yet two of these are curses in which Iaō is found alongside predominantly non-Christian names; only one really seems to accord closely with a Christian identity.[268] We should remember the cases of the fourth-century owners of magical papyri discussed earlier – the Kellis Manichaeans and Aurelios Philammōn. The former, Christians (according to a generous definition) use both distinctively Jewish-Christian magical practices and non-Christian Graeco-Egyptian practices, while the latter's texts mention a mixture of Jewish, Greek, and "magical" names, with his own religious identity a cipher.

We should also remember that there is another invisible variable in these texts: the unnamed individuals who created them, who, in the vast majority of cases, would not be the clients themselves, but professionals – priests, monks, scribes, clerics, or "magicians" – who did so on their behalf. In most cases, it seems likely that these individuals did not compose texts from scratch, but rather copied, or at the least, drew considerable inspiration from, pre-existing texts which they had either memo-

267 The Sethian luminary Eleleth (Ηληληθ) appears alongside the names of the Jewish god and the angels in SB XVIII 13603 l. 30 (*ed. pr.* in Kotansky (1980) 181–184), a manuscript dated to the third century CE: For the origin of Eleleth in Sethian (rather than magical) texts, see Piwowarczyk (2020); Piwowarczyk (2021) 134–137.

268 SM 42 (III–IV CE) is an elaborate curse calling primarily upon chthonic Greek powers, which nonetheless mentions Iaō in l. 56; The same is true of SM 50 (II–III CE), which mentions Iaō in ll. 42, 43 and Adōnaios in l. 36. SM 10 (III–IV CE) is much more Christian in content, consisting of a list including the names and titles of the Jewish god and the angels; SM 11 (III–IV CE) has no clear elements clearly indicative of a religious affiliation, but the mention of 'lord angels' (κύριοι ἄγγελοι in l. 9) might make the contents appealing to a Christian.

rised or possessed as formularies or exemplars. This may be the reason for the slight delay in the Christianisation of content relative to the population – texts may have a longer life than human beings, especially when preserved by copying over time. How much the clients of magical knew, or cared, about the contents of the texts copied for them, is difficult to say; there is often an assumption among scholars that the contents of the texts were chosen and arranged by practitioners specifically to appeal to clients, but, as with modern doctors and their patients, many clients may have chosen practitioners based on their apparent qualifications, and have accepted their proposed courses of action without necessarily understanding them in detail. A few literary texts suggest that clients may have had at times a more active role – reciting formulae or applying materia themselves – but we cannot assume this to have always or even usually been the case.[269] Amulets as well as aggressive texts were typically folded before being either worn or deposited, and so clients may have been unable to read them, even if they were literate. This likely adds an extra layer of confusion – the practice, and thus the assumed "religious identity" which we are seeing may be that of the practitioner, not the client, and while we might expect these to be the same, we cannot take this for granted. We might imagine Christians going to monks for healing, and "pagans" going to "pagan" temples, yet we have already noted that the evidence of modern Egypt suggests that individuals may have often deliberately sought out practices and practitioners from different religious communities.[270] Yet again, though, the cases of known owners of magical texts discussed above confirms that we cannot expect practitioners to possess texts strictly predictable from their own personal religious identity or practice.[271]

4 Conclusions

While I have tried to be open about the shortcomings of the analyses presented here, I think they do permit some cautious conclusions. They have broadly confirmed the previously measured processes of the Christianisation and later Islamicisation of Egypt in the fourth to fifth and later ninth centuries respectively, as well as a concomitant Christianisation of magical texts themselves between the fourth and sixth centuries. These religious shifts are accompanied by other changes: a linguistic shift from Greek to Coptic by the seventh century, and perhaps changes in the types of magical rituals used, or

269 This is rarely explicit in formularies, but suggestions can be found in the literary texts translated in Dosoo (2021b) 53–54.

270 Cf. n. 212.

271 Another interesting example of this can be found in PGM IV.1227–1264 (KYP M3; TM 64343; IV CE), a primarily non-Christian fourth century codex, which contains an exorcistic text in non-standard Coptic which is likely adapted from a Christian liturgical context; see Rist (1938); Love (2016) 190–222; Dosoo (forthcoming).

at least, in the way in which they were used, with the result that aggressive magical practices have left far fewer physical traces.

Naming practices and "magic" are often thought of as reserves of tradition, and yet, as specialists know well, the tradition in both cases is often more imagined than real. Names go through cycles of fashion, while "magic", like other institutions, often uses the cover of claimed tradition to conceal its ability to radically reinvent itself in order to respond to contemporary needs and conditions.[272] This study has demonstrated that, while magical texts represent a distinct genre (or, perhaps, several distinct genres), they are fully a part of the society that produced them. Even more than socially central religious texts, they are produced directly by and for particular individuals at particular moments, emerging from the interaction between the tradition to which they belong, and the moment in time in which they are written.

Abbreviations

ACM = Meyer/Smith (1999).
CBd = Bélyácz et al. (2017).
DT = Audollent (1904).
DTA = Wünsch (1897).
GEMF = Faraone and Torallas Tovar (2022 & forthcoming).
GMA = Kotansky (1994).
KYP = Dosoo et al. (2020).
LGPN = Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk).
PCM I = Dosoo/Preininger (2023).
PDM/PGM = Preisendanz/Henrichs (1973 – 1974) & Betz (1986).
PG: Migne (1857 – 1866).
SM = Daniel/Maltomini (1990 – 1992).
TM = Trismegistos text no. (www.trismegistos.org).
TM People = www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php.

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272 Cf. van der Vliet (2020); Dosoo (2021a).

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Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

28

Michael D. Swartz

Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism

An Analysis of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*



Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

28

Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism

An Analysis of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*

by

Michael D. Swartz



J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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For Suzanne

Preface

This study began as my doctoral dissertation, "Liturgical Elements in Early Jewish Mysticism: A Literary Analysis of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*," presented to the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures of New York University in May 1986. I have added an introduction and revised several chapters. In the introduction, which is based on the textual analysis carried out in the body of the study, the implications of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* for the study of the history of Judaism are assessed.

My interest in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* grows out of my longstanding interest in the language and history of Jewish prayer and in the history of Judaism in Late Antiquity. Upon reading Gershom Scholem's compelling account of Merkavah mysticism, I became interested in the possibilities the Hekhalot texts held for these areas and for examining the relationship between religious experience and literary expression. Upon confronting the texts themselves, and in light of the work done by Peter Schäfer and others on these texts, I became aware that methods needed to be developed for dealing with the historical and textual problems presented by the literature. This study is an effort to address such questions.

Portions of Chapter 11 appeared in my article, "*'Alay le-Shabbeaḥ: A Liturgical Prayer in Ma'aseh Merkavah*" (JQR 77 [1986–87]). Portions of Chapter 16 appeared as "Patterns of Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism: Progression of Themes in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*," in *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism*, edited by Paul V. M. Flescher (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990).

Many teachers, colleagues, and friends have contributed to my work. I have had wise and attentive advisers at New York University. Professors Baruch A. Levine, Francis E. Peters of New York University, Ross R. Brann, now of Cornell University, and Martin A. Cohen of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, served as readers of my thesis. As my principal adviser and as a colleague, Professor Lawrence H. Schiffman, has been exceptionally generous with his time, advice, and knowledge. I am especially grateful for his counsel and encouragement. My research has also benefited from conversations and communications with the late Professor Alexander

Altmann and with Professors Peter Schäfer, Martin S. Cohen, Elizabeth Waller, Carol Newsom, Morton Smith, and David Blumenthal. At the University of Virginia, my colleagues Professors Gary Anderson, Benjamin Ray and Robert Wilken have made helpful suggestions and criticisms. My thanks also to Professor Schäfer for his interest in this book, and to Ms. Leslie Kobayashi for preparing the indexes. Of course, I alone am responsible for any errors or shortcomings in my work.

This book is also a product of deeper influences. Rabbi Elihu Schagrin, Emeritus of Temple Concord in Binghamton, New York, is responsible for much of my interest in Jewish religion and its sources. I will always be grateful to my parents, Bernard and Marcella Swartz, for their support, and to my brother Steven for his friendship. It is my hope that my work reflects their integrity and love of learning. This book is dedicated to my wife, Suzanne Silver, whose work and life continue to enrich mine immeasurably.

Jerusalem, November 1990 Michael D. Swartz

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Introduction

Prayer is an important part of religious discourse and practice. Yet apart from the disciplines of liturgical history or theology, the study of prayer as a phenomenon in the history of religions has not often received systematic attention. In recent years, scholars have begun to ask how prayer functions in the context of a religious culture. New emphasis has been placed on examining the active or performative function of the language of prayer as against its informational or expressive function. Prayer, we have learned, is not only to supposed to say something; it is supposed to do something.

This study is a form-critical and historical analysis of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, an anthology of Jewish mystical prayers of Late Antiquity. It is primarily an evaluation of the place of this text and of the forms of religion it reflects in the history of Jewish religion, and of the relationship of its ideas and literary forms to other liturgies and themes of ancient Judaism. But it is also an inquiry into the changing functions of prayer texts within a tradition of visionary mysticism, and how their literary forms reflect these functions.

I. Prayer and Religious Traditions

Contemporary students of prayer have done much to revise the views of the role of prayer in religion proposed by earlier historians of religion, notably by Frederich Heiler. Heiler, in his classic comparative study *Prayer*,[1] distinguished personal prayer from ritual prayer as set forth in prayer texts and liturgies. He considered the former to be true, authentic prayer, the latter secondary developments, artificial and of little value for the study of the dynamic relationship of the individual to God:

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[1] F. Heiler, *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion*; trans. S. McComb and J.E. Park (1932).

> Prayer is at first a spontaneous, emotional discharge, a free outpouring of the heart. In the course of development, it becomes a fixed formula which people recite without feeling or mood of devotion, untouched both in heart and mind.[2]

Theorists such as Heiler saw such features as the use of repetition, stock formulae, and scriptural citations as marking the degeneration of prayer from the purely spiritual to the merely ritual. In fact, these very characteristics of the language of prayer actually constitute important evidence for the religious meaning and purpose of prayer. Such formulae are essential components of the cultural vocabulary of participants in traditional religions, often inseparable from their common vocabulary. Carl Keller, evaluating the place of prayer in mystical texts, observes:

> Prayers always give voice to a deep sense of God's presence, but they are formulated in traditional religious and theological language, and the praying believer never separates himself from the solid conceptual framework of his spiritual life.[3]

Not only are such formulae integral components of religious expression, they fulfill important functions in achieving the goals of prayer. Current studies of prayer have assigned a new importance to the formulaic language of prayer. Influenced by J. L. Austin's categories of performative language,[4] these scholars stress the power of words and formulae to do what the speaker intends over the information conveyed by those words.[5] A prayer not only expresses the worshipper's state of mind, or proclaims or teaches doctrine; it is an actor in a ritual context.[6] A given prayer is often intended to alter the

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[2] Heiler, *Prayer*, 64.

[3] C. Keller, "Mystical Literature," in S. Katz, (ed.), *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis*, (1978), 94.

[4] Austin, J. L., *How to Do Things with Words*, edited by J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa (1975). Cf. M. Silverstein, "Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology," in P.R. Clyne, W.F. Hanks, and C.L. Hofbauer, *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels* (1979), 193–247.

[5] For a survey of current research on prayer, see Gill, "Prayer," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. An very useful recent consideration of the problem of prayer and its poetics in anthropology is P. Metcalf, *Where are you, Spirits* (1989); see especially the introduction, 1–27. The following studies are based on fieldwork and are primarily concerned with the function of ritual language in nonliterate societies: R. Finnegan, "How to Do Things with Words: Performative Utterances among the Limba of Sierra Leone," *Man*, n.s. 4 (1969) 537–52; S. Gill, "Prayer as Person: The Performative Force in Navaho Prayer Acts," *History of Religions* 17 (1977), 143–57; Gill, *Native American Religious Action: A Performance Approach to Religion* (1987); *Sacred Words: A Study of Navaho Religion and Prayer* (1981); B. Ray, "Performative Utterances in African Ritual," *History of Religions* 13 (1973), 16–35; see also S.J. Tambiah, "The Magical Power of Words," *Man*, n.s. 3 (1968) 177–208; cf. W. Wheelock, "The Problem of Ritual Language: From Information to Situation," *JAAR* 50 (1982), 49–71. On the study of Jewish prayer, see below, n. 8.

[6] On this point see especially Gill, "Prayer as Person."

mood or state of mind of the worshipper or community of worshippers; it may also be intended to affect the relationship between the worshipper and God, the Divine forces, or the world. Analysis of rhetorical and conventional features of a prayer text can uncover these functions.

The role of prayer in mysticism bears on these questions in significant ways. For as mysticism is seen as having its roots in an individual's experience, prayer in mysticism is often seen in terms of its effect on this experience.[7] Prayer may express a mystical state, but it may also serve to engender a mystical state. As we shall see, the latter function has been ascribed to prayer in ancient Jewish mysticism by earlier scholars of the phenomenon. This hypothesis is questioned and tested below in the case of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*.

II. Prayer Texts in Judaism and Diachronic Analysis

The earlier views of prayer described above have also come under criticism from students of ancient Jewish prayer. R. Sarason argues that prayer in classical Judaism, far from being the "very hearthstone of all piety,"[8] must be seen in the context of the Rabbinic system of worship, which stresses study and the performance of statutory obligations. T. Zahavy argues for a distinction between the study of prayer texts and the treatment of and evidence for prayer as an act.[9]

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[7] It is not the purpose of this study to address the problem of the terms mysticism and magic. For our purposes the term mysticism will be used heuristically to refer to the active effort of a person or persons to apprehend God directly, especially by means of a vision. The term magic in the context of ancient Judaism will refer to the use of ritual procedures involving divine names for practical purposes. On the problem of magic in ancient and medieval Judaism, see briefly M.D. Swartz, "Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Medieval Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah" *HTR* 83 (1990), 163–80 and L.H. Schiffman and M.D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1* (in press), Introduction. There an argument is made that the term magic is useful in the context of ancient and medieval Judaism as a category describing a distinct set of rhetorical and literary forms. It is not supposed here that there is an essential dichotomy between magic and religion.

[8] Heiler, *Prayer*, quoted in R. Sarason, "Religion and Worship," in J. Neusner (ed.), *Take Judaism, for Example* (1983), 49–65.

[9] T. Zahavy, "A New Approach to Early Jewish Prayer," in B. Bokser (ed.), *The History of Judaism: The Next Ten Years* (1980), 45–60. Gill also urges the consideration of prayer as an act. See "Prayer;" *Religious Action*; see especially pp. 89–146 on the problem of textuality in relation to prayer acts; and *Sacred Words*. On methodology in the study of Jewish prayer, see R. Sarason, "The Modern Study of Jewish Liturgy," and "Recent Developments in the Study of Jewish Liturgy," in J. Neusner (ed.), *The Study of Ancient Judaism*, vol. 1 (1981),

These scholars argue rightly for an approach which stresses placing the texts of prayer in the context of systemic analysis. Yet if the prayer in its legal or liturgical context plays its part in expressing the system of the community doing the praying, the prayer texts themselves often express something different. They express, among other things, the dynamics of the perceived relationship between the worshipper and God. God is referred to in one set of rules of discourse or activity – those of theology or law. But He is approached, addressed, entreated, praised, threatened, or thanked in another – the rhetorical canons of prayer.[10] Texts of prayer can have their own histories, and their own intrinsic formal and substantive characteristics which allow them to be set into their various contexts. The internal rhetoric of a prayer allows it to do something, while subsequent use of the text often makes it do something quite different. In such cases this disparity between a prayer's rhetorical dynamic and its contextual function is often manifest in how that prayer has been altered, truncated, or ornamented to serve its new role.

This problem calls for a distinction between the prayer and its rhetoric on the one hand, and its legal or literary context on the other. Such a distinction is made in the case of an ancient anthology of prayers such as *Ma'aseh Merkavah* through diachronic form-critical analysis of the text. By separating prayer passages from their redactional context, such an analysis can reveal the criteria and purposes for which the prayers were initially composed, and go on to describe how they were used in the system of the redactors. In addition, this analysis yields evidence for discrete layers of development of a religious phenomenon. It will be seen that prayer was used in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* for several distinct purposes, and that these purposes stand in significant contrast to the role of prayer in classical Rabbinic Judaism.[11]

Ma'aseh Merkavah also provides evidence for the use of literary units of prayer in contrasting contexts, that of Merkavah mysticism and that of the statutory liturgies of Rabbinic Judaism. The text contains parallels to prayers known from the traditional Jewish Babylonian and Palestinian liturgies. The value of these parallels is both historical and phenomenological; they allow us to determine whether the prayers originated in the mystical or liturgical tradition, and they allow us to see how the prayers operate in both contexts.

The purpose of this analysis of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is thus twofold. It is an effort to illumine the historical question of the development of Merkavah

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107–187; see also S. Reif, "Jewish Liturgical Research: Past, Present, and Future," *JJS* 34 (1983), 161–170.

[10] On this problem cf. the discussion in Metcalf, *Where are You, Spirits*, 3–4.

[11] On the form-critical methodology employed in this study and its implications for the study of Hekhalot literature, see Chapter 1 below.

mysticism as a system of apprehension of and communication with the Divine in Judaism of Late Antiquity. It is also an assessment the role of prayer in this process of development.

III. Merkavah Mysticism

Ma'aseh Merkavah is a central example of the texts of Merkavah mysticism, the visionary Jewish mysticism which flourished in Palestine and Babylonia in the second through eighth centuries, C. E. These texts are known as Hekhalot literature. The significance of Merkavah mysticism was first brought to the attention of scholars by Gershom Scholem in his *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*[12] and *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition.*[13] Scholem demonstrated its importance in the context of Judaism of Late Antiquity and suggested its implications for the study of classical, Rabbinic Judaism. As Scholem demonstrated, the Hekhalot texts contain some of the earliest evidence for Jewish mysticism and theurgy. Unlike other contemporary texts of Rabbinic religion, these texts center not on law, theology, or biblical exegesis, but on journeys purportedly undertaken by their authors through the *Hekhalot*, the seven heavenly "palaces" or chambers, to the Divine Chariot-Throne, the *Merkavah*. This journey, how to achieve it, and its dangers and rewards, are the heart of the literature, its organizing principle.

In *Ma'aseh Merkavah* prayer plays an active role, more so than in any other Hekhalot text. Prayers are seen in the text as the instruments by which the protagonists ascend, experience the vision of the upper realm, and protect themselves from the dangers of that vision. Because of the centrality of prayers and the qualities claimed for them in the text, *Ma'aseh Merkavah* can illuminate the question of the relationship of prayer to religious experience and mysticism in ancient Judaism.

Ma'aseh Merkavah also provides evidence for the changing function of prayer within the Hekhalot tradition. The form-critical analysis undertaken here demonstrates that the text underwent a process of evolution from a collection of prayers to be recited in community with the heavenly hosts, to a prescription for the active cultivation of the individual's ascent to and vision of the upper realm – that is, an evolution from liturgy to theurgy.

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[12] Second ed. (1954).

[13] Second ed. (1965). For an account of the modern study of Merkavah mysticism, see chapter 1 below.

IV. Prayer in Hekhalot Literature

Prayer is generally regarded as an important testimony to the experiential, mystical character of Hekhalot literature. Merkavah prayer has been seen to be characterized by the use of repetition of synonyms, a hypnotic rhythm, and a numinous quality. P. Bloch first advanced the idea that Merkavah prayer employed these qualities to induce a trance.[14] He noted that strings of synonyms appear in the prayers without reference to specific concepts or deeds of God, and without any logical progression. These passages were, according to Bloch,

> Purely pleonastic and unisonous words which do not in the least assist the process of thought but merely reflect the emotional struggle.[15]

These characteristics were thus seen as more important to the prayers than semantic and theological considerations.

Scholem took this idea further in his description of the prayer of Merkavah mysticism. Inspired by Rudolf Otto's category of the numinous,[16] Scholem saw in the strings of synonyms and what he termed the "pompous" rhetoric of the prayers a "polylogy" directly intended to aid the mystic in his vision of God.

> Almost all the hymns from the Hekhaloth tracts, particularly those whose text has been preserved intact, reveal a mechanism comparable to the motion of an enormous fly-wheel.
>
> In cyclical rhythm the hymns succeed each other, and within them the adjurations of God follow in a crescendo of glittering and majestic attributes, each stressing and reinforcing the sonorous power of the world. The monotony of their rhythm – almost all consist of verses of four words – and the progressively sonorous incantations induce in those who are praying a state of mind bordering on ecstasy.[17]

Several of the precise patterns which comprise this style have been analyzed in an important series of articles by Johann Maier.[18] Maier shows that the specific forms utilized in *Hekhalot Rabbati* and related texts – simple repetition, litanies of attributes, short clauses describing God, and the like – generate an

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[14] P. Bloch, "Die *Yorde Merkavah*, die Mystiker der Gaonzeit und ihrer Einfluss auf die Liturgie," *MGWJ*, O.S. 37 (1893), 18–25, 69–74, 257–66, 305–11.

[15] Bloch, *Yorde Merkavah*, 306, cited in Scholem, *Major Trends*, 58; Scholem's translation.

[16] R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (second ed., 1950).

[17] Scholem, *Major Trends*, 59–60.

[18] J. Maier, "'Attah hu 'Adon (Hekhalot Rabbati XXVI 5)," *Judaica* 22 (1966), 209–33; "Hekhalot Rabbati XXVII, 2–5," *Judaica* 21 (1965), 129–33; "Poetisch-liturgische Stücken aus dem 'Buch der Geheimnisse'," *Judaica* 24 (1968), 172–81; "Serienbildung und 'Numinoser' Eindruckseffekt in den poetischen Stücken der Hekhalot-Literatur," *Semitics* 3 (1973), 36–66.

accumulative rhythm which, according to Maier, aids in the process Scholem describes. The literary forms can thus be positively identified by these conspicuous features.

The descriptions of the character and function of Merkavah prayer described above were based to a great extent on *Hekhalot Rabbati*, the text which has been used most often as evidence for Merkavah mysticism.[19] Prayers in *Hekhalot Rabbati* may indeed have been composed for the purposes of engendering a mystical trance. *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, however, exhibits a rather different set of stylistic dynamics, with different implications for the role of prayer in Merkavah mysticism. The prayers which formed the basis for *Ma'aseh Merkavah* were not meant primarily to lift the worshipper from earthly contemplation to heavenly ascent, but to express his participation in an earthly liturgy corresponding to the angelic liturgy. Thus their primary purpose was evocative rather than instrumental. Only later did the authors of the narrative of the text attribute to the prayers the function of producing a vision of the Divine world.

In order to explain this process of evolution, it is necessary to describe *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, its subjects, themes, and strata of redaction. Once this has been accomplished, the character and function of prayer in the text will be analyzed, and the role of the text in the phenomenon of Merkavah mysticism will be evaluated.

V. *Ma'aseh Merkavah*

In 1946, Alexander Altmann published, from an important manuscript of Hekhalot literature, excerpts of a previously unpublished Hekhalot text.[20] Later Gershom Scholem published the entire text in *Jewish Gnosticism*,[21] giving it the name *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, "the work of the [Divine] Chariot" on the basis of a citation from Eleazar of Worms' *Sode Razaya'*.[22] *Ma'aseh Mer-*

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[19] On *Hekhalot Rabbati* see Scholem, *Gnosticism*, 6; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (1980), 150–173; and M. Smith, "Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati," in A. Altmann, (ed.) *Biblical and Other Studies* (1963), 142–160; D. Blumenthal, *Understanding Jewish Mysticism* 1 (1978).

[20]. A. Altmann, "*Shire Qedushah be-Sifrut ha-Hekhalot ha-Qedumah*," *Melilah* 2 (1946), 1–24. Scholem, however, did not acknowledge Altmann's prior publication.

[21] Pp. 103–17. On the manuscripts used by Altmann and Scholem, see Chapter 2 below.

[22] See *Gnosticism*, 76, 101. On this title, see Chapter 1, n. 18 below. The term *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is used in Rabbinic literature to denote the study and description of the great Chariot-throne of God, first described in the prophetic visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel. This throne is described in great detail in several of the Hekhalot texts, especially *Hekhalot*

kavah is included in Peter Schäfer's definitive synoptic edition of Hekhalot literature. Schäfer's edition forms the basis for this study.[23]

Altmann understood *Ma'aseh Merkavah* as an anthology of Hekhalot prayers to be recited in conjunction with the liturgical *qedushah*, the "sanctification," in which Isa. 6:3 is recited. He pointed out the longstanding relationship between visionary literature and hymn, and emphasized the liturgical references in the hymns.[24] He also dated the hymns in the first section of the text[25] to an earlier stage of Hekhalot literature, preceding the second section and preceding the prayers in *Hekhalot Rabbati*.[26]

A discussion of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* appears in I. Gruenwald's *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*.[27] Gruenwald distinguishes between two types of prayers in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*: that type which "lacks the ecstatic quality of the hymns we meet in *Hekhalot Rabbati* and thus resembles common religious poetry," and those at the end of the text (§ 586–596) which contain extensive magical names and thus "expose their magical function." Gruenwald differed with Altmann's view of the priority of the former type and suggests that the latter type may "represent a more original phase of *Hekhalot* hymnology than do their counterparts in *Hekhalot Rabbati*."[28] Gruenwald's case is in part built on Scholem's assertion that theurgic elements of the Merkavah phenomenon are as old as other elements[29] and on the idea described above that the primary purpose of Merkavah prayer is to induce a mystical trance. It will be seen that this study comes to different conclusions about the history and function of prayers in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*.

Ma'aseh Merkavah is the subject of a recent study by N. Janowitz.[30] In *Poetics*

Rabbati and the later treatise *Massekhet Hekhalot*. But paradoxically, this description is not prevalent in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*.

[23] P. Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (1981). *Ma'aseh Merkavah* extends in the *Synopse* from § 544–596. All references to *Ma'aseh Merkavah* in this study will follow the numbering of the *Synopse*. Other references to Hekhalot literature will also follow the *Synopse* unless otherwise noted. On the implications of Schäfer's edition and his methods for the study of Hekhalot literature, see Chapter 1 below.

[24] Altmann, "*Shire Qedushah*," 4–5.

[25] On the divisions of the text, see below.

[26] Altmann, "*Shire Qedushah*," 8. This dating is based on Scholem's opinion (*Major Trends*, 46–47) that the term *'aliyah*, "ascent [to the Merkavah]," which is prevalent in the first part of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, preceded the term *yeridah*, "descent." Scholem's judgment is based on his unproven theory of the antiquity of *Hekhalot Zutarti*, where *'aliyah* is used, in relationship to *Hekhalot Rabbati*, in which *yeridah* predominates. In chapter 18 of this study the dating of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is based primarily on stylistic criteria.

[27] Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic*, 181–90.

[28] Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic*, 182.

[29] Scholem, *Gnosticism*, 75.

[30] N. Janowitz, *The Poetics of Ascent: Theories of Language in a Rabbinic Ascent Text* (1989).

of Ascent, methods developed in structural and ethnographic linguistics are brought to bear on *Ma'aseh Merkavah* for the purposes of examining the theories of language in the text. Janowitz sees *Ma'aseh Merkavah* as expressing a distinct ideology of language in which the employment of the name and the reciting of the hymns accomplishes ascent. In the narrative, which frames reported speech, Rabbis Ishamel and Akiba serve as models for the reader, allowing the reader to participate in the act of ascent.

Janowitz's study is notable for its analysis of how magical language and divine names are used in the text as a whole, and of the implications of these conceptions for linguistic and ritual theory. It does not primarily address questions of the historical implications of the literary nature of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, of the prior development of the text or of the immediate context in which the prayer materials arose.[31] As is explained in Chapter 1 below on the textual study of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, such questions are occasioned by the composite nature of the Hekhalot literature, reflected in the literary evidence for the text. It will be shown that gross variations between the recensions and the inner dynamics of individual units allow us to look into the redactional – and thus the historical – process. In addition, it will be seen that the literary style of the prayers, such as parallelism and the accumulation of synonyms, reflect specific poetic techniques consciously employed by their composers.[32]

Although Janowitz acknowledges that textual variants and the presence of component materials do characterize *Ma'aseh Merkavah*,[33] her focus is on

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[31] Janowitz notes that *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is "a contextless text that cannot be placed in a specific historical community" (*Poetics of Ascent*, 15). Her approach to this problem is to see the text as "context creating" by virtue of the speech constructions in the narrative which attribute the power of ascent to the name of the deity in the prayers (ibid., 16). While this makes possible her analysis of the narrative's view of the function of the prayers and their magical names, it leaves open the question of the immediate context (the form critic's *Sitz im Leben*) in which the prayers arose. Cf. her discussion (ibid., 10–11) of Silverstein's distinction between purposive function and indexical function, based on M. Silverstein, "The culture of language in Chinookan narrative texts; or On saying that ... in Chinook," in J. Nichols and A. C. Woodbury, *Grammar Inside and Outside the Clause* (1985), 132.

[32] J. Fox, "Roman Jakobson and the Comparative Study of Parallelism," in D. Armstrong and C. H. van Schooneveld (eds.), *Roman Jakobson: Echoes of His Scholarship* (1977), 59–90, following R. Jakobson, "Parallelism and its Russian Facet," in S. Rudy (ed.), *Roman Jakobson: Selected Writings* (1981), 98, distinguishes between the idea of parallelism as a way of structuring rhetorical language and "canonical parallelism" as a specific poetic technique. Although the parallelism used in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is not "compulsory," that is, not strictly followed, the term will be used in this latter sense. This analysis will thus deal with the implications of the canonical parallelism of Hebrew poetry in Late Antiquity for *Ma'aseh Merkavah* in its cultural context. Cf. Janowitz, *Poetics of Ascent*, 11–12.

[33] *Poetics of Ascent*, pp. 4 and 22. Manuscript variations and problems of internal coherence are discussed in an appendix, pp. 113–26.

analyzing those materials in the narrative context of one manuscript's recension. Thus *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is treated in effect as a unitary document, reflecting a coherent ideology. In Janowitz's view, all elements and genres within the text – prayers, names, and narrative – contribute to this ideology.[34] Janowitz thus sees homologies between the various stylistic elements of the text and its ideological aspects – for example, between the poetic parallelism of the hymns and the framing structure of the narrative which reflects the text's concept of ascent. Likewise, synonyms are piled up in the name formulae and poetry in the way the heavens are piled up in the cosmology.[35]

The present study takes a different approach. Its goals are to uncover the process of development of the text, place *Ma'aseh Merkavah* primarily in historical context, and from there to consider the contrasting ways in which prayer is used by its composers and redactors. *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is therefore analyzed here form-critically and diachronically, with particular attention to the role of liturgical literature in the text. Literary and text-critical questions are thus placed at the center of this study. In addition, literary forms and styles, particularly of the prayers in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, are analyzed in comparison with their proximate sources in Jewish liturgical literature, the Hekhalot corpus, and the poetry of the Rabbinic period. It will be shown that these corpora are directly relevant for understanding the function of the prayers in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* as their composers understood it. The results and implications of this inquiry are described in this Introduction below.

A. The Development of the Text

Ma'aseh Merkavah actually consists of three texts, each composed of sayings attributed to Rabbis of the second century C. E. These texts are designated as Sections in this study. These texts consist of prayers framed by narrative. The narrative purports to tell how the these Rabbis acquired Divine visions and secrets. Section I tells how Rabbi Akiba learned the secrets of ascending through the layers of heaven, the Hekhalot, to witness God in His heavenly court and His Merkavah. Sections II and III tell how Rabbi Ishmael conjured the angels who imparted to him the secrets of acquiring wisdom. These angels are known as the "Prince of the Torah" (*Sar ha-Torah*) and the "Angel of the Presence" (*Mal'akh ha-Panim*).[36]

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[34] On Janowitz's approach to the problems of composite composition and historical context, see *Poetics of Ascent*, 15–16. Janowitz sees many of the components as reflecting "different tactics but similar general strategies" (p. 16).

[35] ibid., 87–88.

[36] On The *Sar ha-Torah* traditions see Scholem, *Major Trends*, 77–78; and Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic*, 143–44, 185–86.

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REVIEWS

Notes on the Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum

J. B. Segal, with a contribution by E. C. D. Hunter, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (British Museum Press, London 2000).[1]

To regard Professor J. B. Segal's *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* as a "catalogue" would be a great injustice, for it is actually a detailed edition of the largest corpus of incantation bowls published to date. The study comprises a transliteration (into Roman script) and translation of, and commentary on 75 bowls in Jewish Aramaic, 40 bowls and some fragments in Mandaic and 4 bowls in Syriac, most of which have never been published before. 159 plates containing photographs of all the bowls (including 22 additional bowls in pseudoscripts) are also provided. The photographs are of good quality and allow the reader to check most of Segal's readings.

Segal has supplemented his study with concordances of the fixed formulae and standard texts, the latter referred to as 'refrains'. Indices of the various types of proper names and glossaries of the vocabulary of each of the languages represented in the bowls (including Hebrew) also facilitate the use of the book. All occurrences of the various forms of each word are cited, except in the case of the most common forms. An in-depth study of the grammar of the various dialects, however, is naturally beyond the scope of such a work. For the Jewish Aramaic bowls, see now H. Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts* (Studia Orientalia, 86: Helsinki 1999).

The author enjoyed the collaboration of several other scholars, most notably E. C. D. Hunter, who wrote a chapter on the physical features and decorative aspects of the bowls and prepared a Table of Scripts containing examples of the script of all the legible bowls. Hunter also added introductory comments concerning the physical features of the individual bowls at the beginning of each commentary and provided scaled drawings of the cross-sections of the bowls and hand-copies of

[1] It is a great pleasure and priviledge to dedicate this review to the master of incantation bowls, Professor Shaul Shaked. May there be healing and sealing and arming and protection for his body and his spirit and his soul and for his house and his dwelling and his residence and his building and for his spouse and his sons and his daughters and for all his undertakings.

the drawings of demons and magical symbols, etc., which occur on some of them. C. Walker contributed a Table of Registration Numbers and Provenances and a Table of Clients.

Professor Segal's study of the British Museum collection of Aramaic, Mandaic and Syriac incantation bowls provides an indispensable tool for further research on this genre. As will be seen below, however, his readings and translations are sometimes problematic, and scholars unfamiliar with the scripts and languages of the bowls should therefore use them with caution. In addition, the author generally refrains from reconstructing the text when the bowl is broken or effaced. Prudence in such matters is a great virtue, but the fomulaic nature of many of the incantations and the occurrence of duplicates often allow reconstruction with a high degree of certainty, and the translations of a number of the bowls would have profited from such an approach. The present author hopes that the following comments will facilitate the use of the Mandaic section.[2]

[2] New readings are based on the photographs published in Segal's study. The author would like to thank Professor Shaked for making available photographs of unpublished bowls from the Martin Schøyen collection (cited as MS), which often facilitated the understanding of the British Museum bowls, and for help in translating several difficult passages. The present author has usually refrained from comment in cases where Segal's reading appears doubtful, but a more likely solution is not evident. An examination of original photographs or a collation of the bowl will hopefully settle such questions. Reconstructions anticipated by Segal's translations are generally not proposed unless the lacuna occurs within a segment of the text otherwise under discussion.

Segal's method of transcription has been followed with the exception of $\bar{d}$, which is here rendered $\underline{d}$ and separated from the following word by a hyphen. When citing Segal's transcription or translation, square brackets containing three dots ([...]) have been used to signify lacunae or unreadable text, regardless of the specific method employed by Segal. Letters and words written above the line are indicated by ^...^. The following abbreviations have been used: *AHw.* = W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden 1965–1981); *AIT* = J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (University of Pennsylvania, The Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. 3: Philadelphia 1913); *AMB* = J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (³Jerusalem 1998); *CAD* = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago/Glückstadt 1956⁻); Drower-Macuch = E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford 1963); Ford (1998) = J. N. Ford, "'Ninety-Nine by the Evil Eye and One from Natural Causes': KTU² 1.96 in its Near Eastern Context," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 30 (1998), pp. 201–278; Isbell = C. D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula 1975); McCullough (1967) = W. S. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean Incantation Bowls in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto 1967); Müller-Kessler (1996) = Ch. Müller-Kessler, "The Story of Bguzan-Lilith, daughter of Zanay-Lilith," *JAOS* 116 (1996), pp. 185-195; Müller-Kessler (1999) = Ch. Müller-Kessler, "Interrelations between Mandaic Lead Rolls and Incantation Bowls," in Tz. Abusch and K. van der Toorn (eds), *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical and Interpretative Perspectives* (Ancient Magic and Divination, 1: Groningen 1999), pp. 197–209; Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* = Th. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle an der Saale 1875 [repr. Darmstadt 1964]); *MIT* = E. M. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts* (American Oriental Series, 49: New Haven 1967).

076M: Read:

(1) *kwlhn lypqwn h[ynw]n wkwlhyn šwrbʾtwn* ... (2) *myn ʾtrʾywn ʾtʾr ʾtʾr kwlhn lʿkrkwn wlʿqrwn wlypqwn myn* (3) *ʾtrʾywn wmyn šʾbʾ knpʾ d̲-rqʿhʾ hynwn nʿkrykwn wnʿqrwn wnʿpqwn ʿw (mn tmʾnyʾ)* (4) ...*ʾkyʾ d̲-ʾrqʾ whynwn nʿknpwn wnʿqrwn (wnʿp)qwn ʿw myn ʾrbyʾ zʾwyʾtʾ d̲-hʾzyn (b)ʾytʾ* (5) *dyl[yʾ ʾbdrh]mʾ[n br] (m)yšywʾ ʾnʾtwn ʾlʾhyʾ (w)ʿkwryʾ wptykryʾ wʿstrʾtʾ ʾnʾt[wn s]hryʾ šydyʾ wdywyʾ* (6) *whwmr[yʾ wrwhyʾ (?)] wlylyʾtʾ wmlʾkyʾ wmhšbʾtʾ byšʾtʾ knʾp ʾqʾr wpwq myn [hʾzyn bʾ]ytʾy dylyʾ ʾ(b)drhmʾn br* (7) *myš[wyʾ ...] ...wn wʿtrʾhʾq myn (h)[ʾ]zyn [b]ʾytʾy dylyʾ*

(1) May they all be expelled, [they] and all their tribes ... (2) from their various places! May they all turn back and flee and be expelled from (3) their places, and from the seven edges of the firmament may they turn back and flee and be expelled, or (be it) from the eight (4) ...s of the earth, may they take wing and flee and be expelled, or (be it) from the four corners of this house (5) of [mine, Abdrah]ma[n son of] Mišoya! You, O gods and temple-spirits and idol-spirits and goddesses, you, O *sahras* and demons and *dēws* (6) and *humarta*[*s* and spirits (?)] and liliths and angels and evil designs: take wing, flee and be expelled from [this] my house of mine, Abdrahman son of (7) Miš[oya...] ... and distance yourself from this my house of mine!

Some of the reconstructions are anticipated by Segal. **1:** *lypqwn* "May they ...be expelled": The verb NPQ (Peʿal) "to go out, come out, leave, depart" (Drower-Macuch, p. 304a) would best be rendered "to be expelled" in the context of the forcible exorcism of demons. **4:** *d̲-hʾzyn (b)ʾytʾ*: Segal reconstructs *d̲-[hzyn b]ʾytʾ* in his note to line 4, but *hʾzyn* is readable.

077M: 1: *hw[...] (d)ʾkyʾ* "Pure [...]" — read: *hʾ[...m](l)ʾkyʾ* "...angels". **1–2:** *rwhʾy* (2) *wn(ʿš)[...]* "spirits (2) and sou[ls]" — read: *rwhʾywn* (2)... "their spirits (2) ...". **5–6:** *nʿšdwnh̲ ...npwq* "They will cast ...go forth" — read: *nʿšdwnh̲ hʾtʾm wnʿngdwnh̲ ʾlmʾ d̲-mwqrʾ myn nhyrh̲ {nʿpwq} nʿpwq* "They shall cast it (the demon) thence and torture it until brain matter comes out of its nose". The first occurrence of *nʿpwq*, if correctly read, is poorly written and would seem to have been intentionally rewritten by the scribe. **Note to line 7:** The phrase *ʾrsh̲ wbysʾdyh̲* "his bed and his pillow" denotes rather the wish for safety from demonic attack while in bed.

078M: 3–4: *mwmʾytʾ lyʾswr ...qyryʾtʾ* "An oath for Yaswar ...the invocations" — read: *qʾrʾyth̲ lyʾswr mlʾkʾ wʾwmyth̲ wʾmrylh̲ lyh̲ wlkwlhyn* (4) *qryʾtʾ* "I hereby call Yaswar the angel, and bid him take an oath, and say to him, to him and to all (4) the imprecations".

ʾmrylḥ is a 1 c.s. perf. form (<*ʾmryt*); for the loss of the final *t*, see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, §170. **5:** *wmhdrylwn wʾzlyn* "and go around and are gone" — read: *wmhrbylwn wʾzlyn* "and destroy them and go about". **6:** *yʾdʾ* — read: *yʾdnʾ*. **6–7:** *kwlhyn qryʾtʾk ... bbtyʾ {(wbgd)yʾ}* "all your invocations ... in the houses" — read: *kwlhyn qryʾtʾk* (7) *ˆd-zwtyʾˆ rʾ(ʾ)btʾ(yʾ d-)htyʾ bbtyʾ wʾ(bp)gryʾ* "all your imprecations (7) which are small (or) great which harm the houses and the bodies". **7–8:** *d-lʿqrʾ* (8) *wlʿkynpʾ (wnʾpqʾ)*: "for root (8) and for wing! There will go forth" — read: *d-lʿqrʾ* (8) *wlʿkynpʾ (wnʿpqʾ)* "that they may flee (8) and take wing and be expelled". Similarly, line 10 (below). Cf. 076M, lines 4 and 6 (above). **8:** *wmn qwdʾmʾy dylyʾ ʾbdrhmʾn* "even before me, Abdrahman": this is probably a dittograph. **9:** *rʾzʾ wmlʾlʾ* "the mystery and the spell" — read: *(b)rʾzḥ wmlʾlḥ* "by the mystery and the spell". **9:** *mlʾkʾ wkwlhyn* "the angel, and all" — read: *mlʾkʾ ʾ(nʾt) wkwlhyn* "the angel, you and all". **10:** [...]*hyn lʿqrʾ wlʿkynpʾ wnʿpqʾn* "[...] For root and for wing!" — read: *hʿnyn lʿqrʾ wlʿkynpʾ wnʿpqʾn* "may they flee and take wing and be expelled". **10:** *bšnyrʾy* — read: *bšnyrʾh*. Cf. below, lines 15–17. This spelling is apparently a variant of *bšnyrʾ*, a short form of *bšnyrʾy* (cf. Segal's note to 077M:8 [p. 104]). It also occurs in 079M:9,10 and 080M:8. **11:** *šʾhpryd*[...]*whlyn ʿmwmʾtyʾ* "Šahafrid [...] And these adjurations of mine" — read: *šʾhpryd ʿw (hʾzyn) rʾzʾ ltysʾb whlyn ʿmwmʾtʾ* "Šahafrid. If you do not take this mystery and these adjurations". **11:** *wnʿšdwn* "and cast" — read: *wnʿšdwnʾk* "and cast you". **12:** *bm(ʿdyr)tʾ rbtyʾ d-nyrʾ* "by the great Share of the Plough" — read: *bmrkybtʾ rbtyʾ d-nwrʾ* "by a great chariot of fire". **12–13:** *ʾlh ... bʾythḥ* "the god ... the house" — read: *ʾlʾ(h)ʾ d-t*[...] *wtypwq ʾ(nʾ)t wkwlhyn šwrbʾtʾk m(n) hʾz[y]n bʾyth* "the god, that you [...] and be expelled, you and all your tribes, from this house". **13:** *(wmn)* [...] "and from [...]" — read: *(wmn) bnʾywn (wmyn bnʾ)[twn]* "and from their sons and from [their] daughters". **15 17:** *d-bšny* (16) *rʾ h* (17) *(wy)* [...] "Belonging to Bašni (16) ra L (17) (ife) — read: *d-bšny* (16) *rʾh* (17) *h(w)* "It (the bowl) belongs to Bašnirah". Cf. above, line 10.

Note to line 3: Segal's claim on p. 31 that "verbs of adjuration in 1st sing perf" are "extended by alef" is fallacious. In the present example (*ʾwmytʾ*), the *alef* is in fact the accusative suffix pronoun *-ḥ*, as noted above (for further examples of YMA [Afʿel] + accusative suffix pronoun, see Drower-Macuch, p. 192b). All of his other examples concern the verb ŠBA (Afʿel) "to adjure," where the *alef* derives from sandhi writing of the verb and the following preposition (*ʿl*). Cf. Aramaic *ʾšbʿyt ʿl* (e.g., 027A:4: *ʾšbʿyt ʿlykwn*).

079M: 1: *hyyʾ* "(Victorious is) Life" — read: *[bšwmʾ(yhwn)] (d-)h[y]yʾ* "[In the name] of Life". **3:** *ʾbʾn gwšnʾhp* — read: *ʾbʾn gwšnʾ(s)p*. Segal (note to line 3) posits a scribal error for *ʾbʾn gwšnʾsp*, but this would seem to be the actual reading. **3:** *wb*[...] "and Ba[...] — read: *kby*[*š*...] "suppre[ssed is...]." It does not seem possible to read the first letter as *w*. A reading *db*[*šnyrʾh*...] "of Ba[šnirah...]" seems epigraphically less likely than *kby*[*š*...] and, moreover, would entail an emendation of the text to <*w*>*db*[*šnyrʾh*...] "<and> of Ba[šnirah...]" (cf. lines 9 and 10 [below]). If the proposed reading is correct, the length of the lacuna suggests the following reconstruction: *kby*[*š hyšwkʾ myn qwdʾm nhwrʾ wkbyš*] (4) *kwlḥ hylḥ d-hyšwkʾ myn qwdʾm kwlḥ hylḥ d-nhwrʾ ˆrbʾˆ* "suppre[ssed is darkness before light and suppressed is] (4) all the power of darkness before all the power of great light". Cf. 084M:18–19 and 023A:4. **6:** *wʿl*: "and to" — translate: "and against". **7:** *rbʾ zywʾ* "great [...] radiance" — read: ...*bʾytʾ* "...house". **8:** *wʿl kwlhwn dywʾ* "and to all the devils" — read: *wʿl kwlhwn ʿ(t)yt* "and against all of them I came". **9:** *dʾbdrhmʾn* — read: *d-ʾbdrhmʾn*. **9:** *wdbšnyrʾy* — read: *wdbšnyrʾ(h)*. **10:** *wdbšnyrʾy pt šʾhpryd* — read: *wdbšnyrʾh pt šʾhʾpryd*.

080M: Read:

(1) *ʾswtʾ whtmtʾ thwylḥ lbʾythḥ* (2) *d-ʾbdrhmʾn br myšwyʾ ʿsʾ(q) ʿyʾrgyz ʿlwʾykwn* (3) *lqwdʾm šwmʾ rbʾ wlqwdʾm mymrʾ rbʾ qdmʾyyʾ ʾlwʾykwn* (4) *mlʾkyʾ d-ʾlmʾ hʾzyn bnḥ d-ptʾhyl d-ʾnʾtwn wʿkwrʾykwn whwmrʾykwn* (5) *wptykrʾykwn wshrʾykwn wdywyʾkwn wrwhʾykwn whwmrʾykwn wlyly'tkwn wmnklʾtkwn* (6)*(hʾ)*[*t*]*ytwn wmbyštwn brwhyʾ wnʿšymʾtʾ d-bnyʾ ʾnʾšʾ ʿyʾrgyz ʿlwʾykwn lptʾhy*[*l*] *d-b*... (7) *lšwmyʾ wlʾrqʾ wl*...*wmlkʾywn ldhynkwn* (read: *ldhwnkwn*?) *lʿqrwnʾkwn wlʿpyqwnkwn mn hʾzyn bʾythḥ* (8) *wdwrḥ whyklḥ (wb)[yny'nḥ] d-*[*ʾbd*]*rhmʾn br myšwyʾ wdbšnyrʾh pt šʾhʾpryd wmn bnʾywn wmn bnʾt*[*wn*]*wmn* (9) *ʾy(lʾywn) wmn nʾpqwn whyyʾ zʾkyʾ (whyyʾ)*

(1) May there be healing and sealing for the house (2) of Abdrahman son of Mišoya. I shall go and (speak) wrathfully against you (3) before the great Name and before the great primeval Word, against you, (4) O angels of this world, sons of Ptahil, you who (together with) your temple-spirits and your *humartas* (5) and your idol-spirits and your *sahras* and your *dēws* and your spirits and your *humartas* and your liliths and your guileful spirits (6) ha[rm] and do evil to the spirits and souls of humans. I shall (speak) wrathfully against you to Ptahil, who c[reated] (7) the heavens and the earth and ...and their kings. They shall drive you out and extirpate you and expel you from this house (8) and dwelling and residence and b[uilding] of [Abd]rahman son of Mišoya and of Bašnirah daughter of Šahafrid and from their sons and from [their] daughters and from (9) those who enter their (house) and those who leave their (house). And Life is victorious! And Life.

2: *ʾbdrhmʾn* (Segal: *ʾbrhymʾn*): Cf. the form of the *r* in *br* (line 2) and elsewhere in the text. **6:** *b*... "c[reated]": The translation is suggested by the context (see the bibliography cited by Segal, p. 107). The verb would seem to begin with *b*, as read by Segal. A derivation from BNʾ "to build" is likely, but the present author is not able to make sense of the subsequent traces. Cf. *ptʾhyl bʾnyʾ šwmyʾ wʾrqʾ*

"Ptahil, the creator of heaven and earth" (Ginza Yamina [ed. Petermann], 227, 22–23). Cf. also the verb BR' "to create" (Drower-Macuch, p. 69b). Note that Mandaic *b'ny'* "creator (lit. builder)" parallels Akkadian *bānû* "creator" (*CAD*, B, p. 94; cf. *banû* A, meaning 3 "to create, said of a deity" [*CAD*, B, pp. 87–89a]) and Ugaritic *bny* "creator" (G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica* [Aula Orientalis — Supplementa, 7: Barcelona 1996/2000], p. 114a). **7:** *l'qrwn'kwn* "they shall extirpate you" (<'QR [Drower-Macuch, p. 34]). Segal derives this verb from QR' "to call," translating "their kings will ...denounce you," but the context suggests another verb referring to the expulsion of the demons. Cf. M. H. Lichtenstein, *Episodic Structure in the Ugaritic Keret Legend: Comparative Studies in Compositional Technique* (Columbia University Ph.D. Thesis: 1979), pp. 311–338, who discusses the use of the Aramaic cognate 'QR "to extirpate" and its interdialectal equivalents in incantations directed against demons. In the corpus of the British Museum bowls, cf. 034A:2. For the intransitive homonym 'QR (<*'RQ) "to flee," see 076M:2,3,4,6.

081M: 5: *nqb't-* read: *nwqb't'*. **8:** *kyy'tyb ... ml'ky'* "seated ... angels" — read: *kd y'tyb bškynt' d-npš[h w]ml'ky'* "seated in [his] own dwelling [and] (I saw) the angels". **9:** *d-q'ymy' 'l'w'* "as they stood on high" — read: *d-q'ymy' 'l'wh* "who serve him (lit. who stand in his presence)". Cf. *d-q'ym qwd'm* "who serves (lit. who stands before)" (107M:10' and 17' [below]). The Mandaic expressions parallel Hebrew 'MD 'l "to serve (lit. to stand in the presence of)" (e.g., Gen. 18:8) and Akkadian (*ina/ana*) *pān PN izuzzu* "to serve (lit. to stand before) PN" (*AHw.*, p. 409a, meaning I,2: "[dienend] stehen vor"). **9:** *wmytgmry' l'trw'n 'trw'n* "and perfected in diverse places" — translate: "and *take possession of* diverse places". **9:** *bh[...]rwh'ywn* "with [...] their spirits" — read: *bh[wmr'ywn wb]rwh'ywn* "with their *h[umartas* and with] their spirits". **10:** *wlṣ'wy'* "and to defile" — translate: "and to desolate". The parallel with *lhrwby'* "to destroy" suggests a derivation from the root ṢW', otherwise attested in Mandaic in the Pe'al Stem with the meaning "to languish, pine, wither away, dry up" (see Drower-Macuch, p. 390a). Cf. 107M:14' and 20' (below). **10:** *wl'šwṭ [...]d' d-hyy'* "and to make foolish ...[Man]da dHiia" — read: *wl'šwṭ[y' bny' šwrb' r]b' d-hyy'* "and to render sense[less the children of the gr]eat [family] of Life". **11:** *'n' bhyl'y ... d-lwn mn (byt) by rb' q'dm'yy' d-hw(' 'l'w')y q'd[...]* "I, in my power ...that [...] (went forth (?)) from my great primeval house that was above the prim[eval...]" — read: *'n' bhyl'y ... d-lwn mn byt bwrb' q'dm'yy' d-hw(' 'l'w')y q'(m)[yt...]* "I, by my power ...that accompanied me from the house of the great primeval father, that was upon me, st[ood...]". Cf. DC 37, 367: *bh'yl' d-mn byt 'b lw'n* "by the power that accompanied me from the house of my father". The latter text suggests that *byt bwrb' q'dm'yy'* is a contraction of *byt 'bw rb' q'dm'y'* "the house of the great primeval father," which occurs in a magical context in DC 26, 60–61: *q'l' d-'t'ly' mn byt 'bw rb' q'dm'y'* "the voice which came to me from the house of the great primeval father." Cf. also the occurrence of the same expression in Ginza Yamina (ed. Petermann) 208, 10–11 // 209, 20–21 in a mythological context. For additional references to *byt 'bw* "house of the father," see Drower-Macuch, p. 1a, s.v. *ab* 3. **12:** *byt šwby'hy'* "(in) the house of the planets," — translate: "The house of the planets". **12:** *w'š[...]* — read: *w'š[tw'š...]* "and were cast into con[fusion...]". **13:** *bykl't'* "upon brides": The reading seems correct (cf. the *k* in *lml'ky'* [line 8]), but this is probably a distortion of *bydl't'* "among children," as the parallels (e.g., MS 1928/25) read *by'ld't'* or the like. **13:** *lnqwpy'* "to stab" — translate: "to strike down". **13:** *]qr't 'lw'ywn* "She invoked against them" — read: *gy]mr't 'lw'ywn* "she *set* over them". **13:** *wlṣ'ywdy' nšy'* "and ensare [*sic*] women" — read: *wlṣ'ywry' '(n)šy'* "and to molest women". **14–15:** *d-'pky' ... wmhrby' b'ty'* "that overturned ...and destroying houses" — read: *d-'pky' 'lbb'[ywn d-bny' 'n'š'...] wbbyny'nwn wmytqry' b'lm' g'ṭly' g'ṭl' wmhrby' b'ty'* "that pervert the hearts [of humans...] and in their buildings, and are called in the world 'murderers' and 'destroyers of houses' ". **16:** Read: *[byt' (...)] (d-)'kwry' wr<wh'> whmrt' 'tbh z(m)' d-ywn' ('w) t'rn'wl['] (h)yw'r' p(w)š bmy'* "[the house (...)] in which there are temple-spirits and sp<irit(s)> and *humarta(s)*. Dilute the blood of a dove or a white cock in water". The text contains instructions for a magical praxis. For the use of a "white cock" in Jewish ritual and magic, see D. Levene, "'...and by the name of Jesus ...' An Unpublished Magic Bowl in Jewish Aramaic," *Jewish Quarterly Studies* 6 (1999), pp. 292–293, and S. Shaked, "Jesus in the Magic Bowls. Apropos Dan Levene's '...and by the name of Jesus ...'," ibid., pp. 309–311. **17:** *lkwl m'n d-'qr'yt' d-'(t)r' 'ml'* "to everyone of the invocations of Uthra 'Amla" — read: *lkwl m'n d-'qr'yt' d-'(kwr') 'tlh* "for anyone who has (i.e., is suffering from) an imprecation of a temple-spirit". **18:** *m'šwy'* — read: *m'šwy'*. **18:** *wlb[...] zykry'* "and for their s[ons] [...] male" — read: *wlb[n'ywn] (zykry')* "and for [their] male so[ns]". **20:** *d-y'w'r* "of Yawar" — read: *['l klyl nhw](r) 'y'r* "Upon the wreath of the light of air". This phrase, which is the opening line of the basic incantation (see line 5), is written below a line encircling the incantation and serves as a label for the bowl.

082M: 10–11: *mn 'l'n' (11) ... twšbyht'* "From a tree (11) ...praise" — read: *mn gwpn' (11) d-mly' btryṣwt' wmn 'l'n' d-kwlh twšbyht'* "From a vine (11) that is full of uprightness and from a tree that all of it is praise". Contrary to Segal, *mly' b* "full of" provides an excellent parallel to *kwlh* "all of it." The pronominal suffix in *kwlh* refers to *'l'n'* "tree," not *twšbyht'* "praise," as in Segal's translation. Cf. Ginza Yamina (ed. Petermann) 189, 14-15: *gwpn' d-kwlh hyy' w'l'n' rb' d-kwlh 's'w't'* "a

vine that all of it is life and a great tree that all of it is remedies" (cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 85a, s.v. *gupna* and ibid., p. 351a, s.v. *ʿlana*), where the pronominal suffix is in each case unambiguous. **11:** *ṣ'yrn' b'yt' b'rby' z'wy't'* "I draw the shape of a house with four corners" — read: *ṣ'yrn' b'yt' b'rby' z'wy'tḥ* "I encircle the house at its four (inner ?) corners". The verb *ṣ'yrn'* in this text would appear to be derived from ṢUR II "to surround, hem in, encompass, ..." (Drower-Macuch, p. 391a), not ṢUR I "to form, shape, ..., depict, trace" (Drower-Macuch, ibid.), as implied by Segal's translation, although Segal himself understands the text to refer to the magical encircling of the house (see p. 28). Note the collocation with *ṣwrt'* "(magic) circle" (line 12) [see below], which Drower-Macuch, p. 391b, derive from ṢUR II, and the parallel *ṣ'yrn'* "I encircle" // *htymn'* "I seal" (lines 13–14). **11–12:** *'rby' z'wy't' ... 'rby' qrn't'* "four corners ... four horns" — read: *'rby' z'wy'tḥ ... 'rby' qrn'tḥ* "its four (inner ?) corners ... its four (outer ?) corners". For *q'rn'* "(outer ?) corner," see Drower-Macuch, p. 403a, s.v. *qarna*, meaning c: "corner, projection". Cf. the Akkadian word-pair *tubqu* //*šaḫātu* "outer corner // inner corner" (see *CAD*, Š/1, p. 82b, meaning 1a:2'). **12:** *ṣ'yrn' ... bš'b' ṣb't'* "I draw the shape ... with seven fingers" — read: *ṣ'yrn' š'b' dmw't' ḏ-hyšwk' bš'b' ṣwr't'* "I encircle seven images of darkness with seven (magic) circles". **14–15:** *bh'zyn pwgd'm' ... bh'zyn b'yt'* "by this word ... in this house" — read: *bh'zyn pwgd'm' ḏ-qr' hybyl m'ry' ʿl š'b' dmw't'* (15) *ḏ-h[yšwk' ḏ-]hwbḥ kḏ 'pk' wnpq' mn qwd'mḥ ṭ'bwt' wrw'h' ḏ-š'wy' hybyl tyhwybḥ bh'zyn b'yt'* "by this word which the Lord Hibil invoked against the seven images (15) of da[rkness that] were in it (the house), as they (the demonic images) turned and were expelled from before him (or 'it' [the word] ?). May the goodness and ease that Hibil established be in this house". The bottom of the *k* in *h[yšwk']* is visible in the photograph and indicates that there is space in the lacuna for an additional letter (i.e., *ḏ*) before *hwbḥ*. **16:** *w'l pgr'* "and for the body" — translate: "and upon the body".

083M: As noted by Segal, much of this bowl parallels McCullough (1967), Bowl C. It also parallels DC 43B. **3–6:** *ʿsyr[...] ... bnḥ* "Bound be ... her sons" — read: *ʿsyry['] (b'by') [ḏ- šywl br'z' ḏ-](lywy'tyn) ʿsyry' gyrmy' myty' w'[syry]' h(')r[by'...] (ḏ-)byldb'by' mn pgrḥ ḏ-b'š[nyr'y pt] (š)[h](pryd) [...] (zwḥ w)bnḥ* "Bound are the gates [of Sheol by the mystery of] Leviathan. Bound are the dead bones and [bound] are the sword[s and....] of the enemies from the body of Baš[niray daughter] of Šahafrid [...] her spouse and her sons". **6–7:** *pkyr ... h'zyn* "fettered ... this..." — read: *pkyr h['mš'* (7) *ml'ky' ḏ-'l]m' h'zyn* "tied up are the f[ive (7) angels of] this [wo]rld". Cf. McCullough (1967), Bowl C:4–5. **7:** *wmn ʿl'yy' mn[...]* "and above [...]" — read: *wmn ʿl'wy' (my)['ʿsyr h]ylḥ [mn] (r)qʿ(h)'* "and from above the wat[ers. Bound is] his [po]wer [from] the firmament". **8–9:** *gdp'nwyn ... b'šnyr'y* "the

winged (creatures) ... Bašniray" — read: *gdp'(y)hyn ḏ-mrkb['] ḏ-[...]* (9) *ʿsyr' whtym' b'šnyr'y* "the wings of the chariots of [...]. (9) Bound and sealed is Bašniray". There is not enough space in the lacuna for Segal's entire restoration, "fire in which they dwell," although it is based on the parallel passage in McCullough (1967), Bowl C:9 (*nwr' ḏ-y'tbybhyn*), nor do the traces fit *nwr'* "fire" alone. Read possibly *[hšw](k')* "darkness." **9:** *wyldḥ whlb' wbnḥ* "and her child and Halba and his sons" — read: *wyldḥ whlbḥ wbnḥ* "and her infant and her milk and her sons". Segal understands *hlb'* (here read *hlbḥ*) to be the husband of Bašniray's (female) child (*yldḥ* [var. *yld'tḥ*]). Segal bases his interpretation primarily on several passages in 084M (especially lines 3–4 and 13) where the vocable is followed by *zwḥ* "her spouse," the latter analyzed by Segal as standing in apposition to *hlb'*. In the present text, however, no matronym or reference to a relation of *hlbḥ* with respect to any other person is given, which would be unusual were the vocable to refer to one of the clients. This suggests that *hlbḥ* is not the name of a person. Furthermore, *yldḥ* most likely refers to a young child, who would surely not be married. *hlbḥ* is therefore tentatively understood as "her milk." The bowl was apparently written not long after Bašniray had given birth, at a time when she was particularly concerned for the well-being of her infant, including a sufficient supply of mother's milk. Although "(mother's) milk" is not otherwise known by the present author to occur in such lists of people/objects for whom/which protection is requested in Aramaic incantations, demons are nevertheless sometimes said to harm a woman's milk. See, for example, MS 1928/53:15–16: *'zl' wš'ry' ʿl hdy'yhwn ḏ-ʿnšy' ... wn'sb' hlb'yhwn myn'yhwn wmṭnp'ly' wmṣy'lhyn* "(the demon who) goes around and haunts the breasts of women ... and takes their milk from them and pollutes it and sucks them". **10–11:** *lṭwpr[...] blygr'ywn* — read: *lṭwpr(y' ḏ-)b[lygr]('ywn)* (11) *(wmn ṭw)[p](ry' ḏ-)blygr'ywn*. See Segal's translation. **12:** *ḏ-sm lwn lʿdn'-* read: *ḏ-sm'lwn lʿwdn'*. **13:** "and her child and Halba" — translate: "and her infant and her milk". See above, line 9. **14–15:** *bšwmḥ ḏ-zhyr ... ḏ-hy'* "In the name of **zhyr** ... of Lif[e]" — read: *bšwmḥ ḏ-zhyr smyr<...>zyw' rb' q'dm'yy' bš'ršyr' wbz'r[zʿyl ʿsyqt' wg']($br^{ʿ}$) [yl]* (15) *ml'k' wnydmy' ʿkwr'y(kwn) lmy' (q'ryry') ḏ-(rmy' bp)yry['w]ys (y)'rdn' rb' ḏ-hy[y]'* "By the name of Zhir Smir, the great primeval <...> Ziwa, by a chain, and by Zar[ziel the signet-ring, and Gab]riel (15) the angel. And may your temple resemble the cold water that is found in Piryawis, the great Jordan of Life". Cf. DC 43B, 15–18 (unpublished): *bš'r šyr' ḏ-'rq'* (16) *bz'rzyʿyl ʿsyqt' wg'brʿyl m'l'k' bšwmyḥ zhyr wsmyr* (17) *ywsmyr zyw' rb' q'dm'y' br hyy' rby' ryš'yy' md'my' ʿl* (18) *kwb'k* [read: *ʿkwr'k*] *'lm<y>' q'ryry'* "By a chain of the earth, (16) by Zarziel the signet-ring, and Gabriel the angel, by his name, Zhir and Smir, (17) the great primeval Yusmir Ziwa son of the great

first Life. (18) Your temple resembles the cold water."[3] In McCullough (1967), Bowl C:14–15, read similarly: *bšwršyr' wbzrz['yl 'syqt' wg'](b)r'yl ml'k' bšwm' d-zhyr smyr* yws[m]yn *zyw' rb' q(d)m'y(yḥ) br* (15) *hy^y^'...nydmy' ...[...l](m)y' q[r]yry'*. The parallels suggest that in 083M the name *ywsmyr*, or the like, has been omitted between *smyr* and *zyw'*, presumably by haplography. The phrase *wnydmy' 'kwr'y(kwn)* ... "And may your temple resemble ..." in its entirety is paralleled by *MIT*, 16:9–11. Cf. also DC 29, 219–220 (// Drower, *JRAS* [1937], p. 593, lines 26–27): *nyd'my' 'kwr'k lmy' q'* (220)*ryry'*. A number of Jewish Aramaic incantation bowls exibit a literary dependence on part of the formula in 083M:14–15 and parallels. E.g., Isbell, 50:2: *bš[w]ršyr' bzwzmry b'yzqtyh dywkbrzyw' br rby* "by a chain, by *zwzmry*, by the signet-ring of Yukabar Ziwa son of Rabbi". In addition to *bš[w]ršyr'*, which exactly parallels *bšwršyr'* in McCullough (1967), Bowl C:14, compare *b'yzqtyh* with *'syqt'* and *ywkbrzyw' br rby* with *ywsmyr zyw' ... br hyy' rby'*. Cf. Ch. Müller-Kessler, "Puzzling words and spellings in Babylonian Aramaic magic bowls," *BSOAS* 62 (1999), pp. 111–112. A Syriac bowl has elements of both the Mandaic and Jewish Aramaic versions (MS 2055/13:8–9): *bšyršyr' bzyw zymr' bzrzy'yl ('yz)qt' rbt' dḥtym' bh šmy' w'r'* "by a chain, by *zyw zymr'*, by Zarziel the great signet-ring by which are sealed the heavens and the earth." **16–17:** Read: *w'(s)[wt' ... wn](ṭrt') wz'kw[t'] wṭ'b[wt](') wn'(ṭ)r' rb' d-šr'r' nyhwy[lḥ] (l)pgrḥ rwhḥ wnyšymtḥ* (17) *d-(b)['šnyr'y pt šh](pr)[y](d) wlz[wḥ] ('bd)[rhm'n] br [m]('š)wy' wlbn'ywn zykry' wlbn'twn nwqb't' [wlby]t'ywn (dw)[r'ywn...]* "and may there be hea[ling ... and gu]arding and victor[y] and good[ness] and a great and steadfast protective (charm) for the body, spirit and soul (17) of Ba[šniray daughter of Šaha]frid and for [her] spouse Abd[rahman] son of [M]išoya and for their male sons and for their female daughters and for their [hou]se, [their] dwe[lling...]". For the reading *n'ṭr'* (Segal: *n'wr'* "Mirror"), see Müller-Kessler (1996), p. 190. **18:** [...] *wym'n 'sy'* "[...] the healer" — read: *b'(swt)[ḥ] d-m'n 'sy'* "by the healing of Man, the healer". **19 (beneath the line):** ...*(hw)* "It is ...". This would appear to be a label.

084M: The epigraphic notes are followed by a provisional retranslation of the entire text. The text comprises two independent incantations, which are separated by a line. The first (lines 1–12) parallels 085M (cf. Segal, p. 114). The second (lines 13–20) parallels DC 37, 399–414. On the base of the bowl is a label (lines 21–22). For a commentary to the translation and a discussion of the parallel DC 37, 399–414, see my forthcoming study, "Another Look at the Mandaic Incantation Bowl BM 91715," *JANES* 29 (2002) **4:** *hlb'* — read: *hlbḥ*. Cf. 083M:9 (above). **4–5:** *dyz'ṭ b[...]dy'z'ṭ* (5) *qbylyk* — read: (')*z'ṭ* (*š*)[*w*](*myk w'r*)*w'z'ṭ* (5) *qrylyk*. **5:** *nqb't'* — read: *nwqb't'*. **6:** *'y'dkyry'* — read: *'y'dkwry'*. **6:** *lmlkwt'* — read: *wmlkwt'*. The initial *w* would appear to have been corrected from an original *l*, the latter read by Segal. Cf. *wmlkwt'* in the parallel phrase in line 7 and *wmlkw't'* in 085M:6. **7:** *hw'yz'k mn b'ytḥ 'pqwyḥ hw'yz'k* — read: *wh'yz'k mn b'^y^tḥ 'pqwyḥ wh'yz'k*. **7:** *m'g'ṭt* — read: {*m*}<*t*>'*g'* <*lg'*>*ṭt*. The *m* is a mistake for *t* caused by the similarity between the two signs. <*lg'*> was omitted by haplography. **8:** *wk'lt hw'yz'k* — read: *'k'lt wh'yz'k*. **8:** *wt'nlyk* — read: *wt'nwlyk*. **9:** *l(k)wnyk* — read: *ldwnyk*. **10:** *whydymyt* — read: *whrymyt*. **10:** *whdymy'* — read: *whrymy'*. **12:** *lhlb'* — read: *lhlbḥ*. **13:** *lb'šnr'y* — read: *lb'šnyr'y*. **13:** *hlb'* — read: *hlbḥ*. **14:** *wdyš'rmyly'* — read: *wryš' rmyly'*. **14:** *dlyly't'* — read: *d-lyly't'*. **15:** *ṭypy'* — read: *ṭwpy'*. **15:** ···read: ~~*'kl'*~~. **15:** *dygb'y* — read: *(l)ygr'y*. **15–16:** [...] — read: ['*br'yy*']. **17:** *sykyn' sykyn* — read: *bsykyn' skyn*. **18–19:** *wkbyš* (19) *'mhwt'* — read: *wkbyš'* (19) *myht'*. **19:** *ldšk'b* — read: *l(')šk'b*. **20:** *d-s'n'ly* — read: *d-s'ny'ly'*. **21–22:** *'syr* (22) *(h)tym* — read: *'syr'* (22) *'tw't'*.

The following translation may be proposed:

(1) In the name of Life. May there be healing (2) and sealing and arming and protection and victory for the body, (3) spirit and soul of Bašniray daughter of Šahafrid and for her spouse and her infant, (4) her milk, her spouse and her sons and her daughters and her bed and her pillow. Your name is Azaṭ and you are called Arwazaṭ, (5) O youngest of (your) sisters and eldest of the female goddesses. You surely remember, (6) or I shall indeed remind you: when Šamiš took the crown and received the kingship, he reigned three hundred and sixty-(7)one years. Then they expelled him from his house. Then you, evil lilith, <too>k the crown and received the kingship (8) (and) reigned three hundred and sixty-one years. Then they expelled you from your house and they placed your cash box upon your head (9) and the cash box of your dowry upon your *mlūg*-property and made you take your *mlūg*-property in your hands and expelled you from the land of the Egyptians. And you said: I am (10) the lilith who has harmed the children of Adam. You are shackled and banned and rebuked and reproved. The mysteries which are in your mouth are shackled and banned. (11) Your arms are tied behind your back, your frame is bent to the earth and a great cord of iron is wrapped about you. You are bound by those mysteries that the fathers of your

[3] Drower-Macuch, p. 161a, s.v. *zarzi'il*, incorrectly read *z'rzy'yl 'syqt' d-g'bry'yl ml'k'* "Zarziel, the signet-ring of Gabriel the angel." The reading *bšwm z'rzy'yl 'syqt' d-g'bry'yl m'l'k'* "In the name of Zarziel, the signet-ring of Gabriel the angel" does occur, however, in DC 43H, 28. Although DC 43H does not otherwise parallel DC 43B, the corrupt nature of the latter text suggests the possibility that DC 43H may preserve the original reading of the phrase. In such a case, the relevant lacunae in the incantation bowls paralleling DC 43B should be reconstructed accordingly. For *š'r šyr' d-'rq'*, cf. R. Macuch, "Altmandäische Bleirollen (erster Teil)," in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, IV (Berlin 1967), p. 130, lines 17–18 and p. 187.

fathers (12) are bound within them. May there be healing and sealing and arming and protection for her milk, her spouse and her sons and her daughters and her bed and her pillow.

(13) May there be healing and sealing and arming for Bašniray daughter of Šahafrid and for her infant, her milk, her spouse, and her sons and her daughters. The signs that I, Bašniray, saw in my dream: it seemed I was strapped and doubly strapped, strapped (14) with straps of iron and *chained* with *chains* of *lead*, indeed thrown face down beneath a bed of iron, copper and *lead*, and I was filled with the water of *sahras* and (my) head was placed upon the skulls of liliths. On my (15) left were torrents of water; on my right a knife, a knife of death, violence (and) destruction; at my pillow a mace of radiance; at my feet a great axe of exorcisms; above my head an (16) [extraordinary] arrow. (17) The *dēw* which will come against me from the right shall be smitten by the great mace of radiance! The *dēw* which will come against me from the left shall be smitten by the knife, the knife of death, violence (and) destruction! The *dēw* that comes against me at my pillow will be smitten by the great axe of exorcisms! (18) The *dēw* that comes (against me) above (my) head will be smitten by the extraordinary arrow! Suppressed, suppressed is darkness before light, and suppressed is destruction before construction, and suppressed is error before truth and suppressed are (19) blow(s) before healing. And for Bašniray daughter of Šahafrid may there be healing and may she lie down for good and pleasant dreams — but for hateful dreams may my hater, the *piṭyaruta*-demon (20) that hates me, lie down. And Life is victorious!

[As label:] (21) "Bound are (22) the signs."

085M: For a retranslation of the entire text, see my forthcoming study, "Another Look at the Mandaic Incantation Bowl BM 91715." **1:** *thwylḥ* — read: *tyhwylḥ*. **3:** Read: *š'h[p]ryd 'z'ṭ šwmyk w'r(w')z'ṭ qrylyk*. **4:** *ḏ' ... w'hw't'* — read: *ḏ-'{[h]'w'}hw't'*. **5:** *dkryt* — read: *ydkryt*. This would appear to be a scribal error (cf. 084M:6: *'ydkryk*). **7:** *hw'yz'k ... whw'yz'k* — read: *wh'yz'k ... wh'yz'k*. **8:** *wṭ'lgwt' wml'kwt'* — read: *<t'>g' lg('t) wmlkwt'*. **8:** *'k'lḥ hw'yz'k* — read: *'k'(l)[t] wh'yz'k*. **9:** *'pqw{w}k* — read: *'pqwk*. **9:** *lyknyk* — read: *lydnyk*. **10:** *bg[...]ly'* — read: *bg'lw'(yy')* "among the exiles". **10:** *'rq* — read: *'^r^q'*. **11ff:** Read:

(11) *w'm'r't 'n' h('y)' lylyt' wshr' wdyw' ḏ-h(tyt) [bwn (?)] bbny' ('n'(š)[']) wbbny' ḏ-bšny'r'y sdymyt* (12) *(wh)rymyt w'kysyt wmksyt wmšm'tyt wm[b'ṭlyt] wmzyhyt m(n) by(t)ḥ w(pg)r[ḥ] ḏ-'bd'r'(m)'n br* (13) *[m]šwyy' wmn b(šn)[yr'y] zwḥ (sd)[ymyt] whrymyt (sdym)[y' wh](rym)[y'] (r'z)[y'] ḏ-pwmyk tyby[r'] wpkyr[']) ('dyk l'hwr)[y'] gwbyk* (14) *... (mynḥ ḏ-)'bd'(r)['hm'n] g[br' w]byšn'r'y '(t') zwḥ wmn (bn)['yhwn] (zy)kry' [w(mn) bn'twn nwqb't'] ... ... (š)t' ḏ-przl' gbyb' q'm't(yk) ... byšnyr'y wm[']kr'k 'l(h')* (15) *hbl[' r](b)[' ḏ-]prz(l' 'syryt) ...* (16) *... qdm'yy' 'syr' whty(m') hwmr't(') (w)m[n'klt']* ... [Exterior:] (17) ... (18) ... *lylyt' mn (h'zyn) ... (b'yt)* ... (19) ... (20)...

(11) And you said: I am the lilith and the *sahra* and the *dēw* who has harmed humans and the children of Bašniray. You are shackled (12) and banned and rebuked and reproved and anathematized and [annull]ed and expelled from the house and body of Abdara<h>man son of (13) Mišoya and from Bašn[iray], his spouse. You are sha[ckled] and banned. The mysteries of your mouth are shackled and banned. Your hands are bro[ken] and tied behind your back. (14) ...from Abdar[ahman, the ma]n, and Bašniray, the woman, his spouse, and from [their] male sons [and (from) their female daughters] ...of iron. Your frame is bent down ...Bašniray and (15) a great cord [of] iron is wrapped about it. You are bound ... (16) ...the primeval.... Bound and sealed are the *humartas* and the g[uileful spirit] ... (17) ... (18) ...lilith from this ...house ... (19) ... (20)....

086M: Cf. McCullough (1967), Bowl C, lines 1–8 and 16bff. **1:** *lpgrḥ* — read: *lp'g(r)[ḥ]*. **3:** *h'zn* — read: *h'zy(n)*. **4–5:** [...] (5) ... (*h'ylḥ. m.*) "[...] (5) ...the power of [...]," — read: ['s]*yr [h'r](m'z)* (5) *sh(r')* [*twty*]' *my' (t)*[']*(t'yy') 'syr h'ylḥ mn r(q'y')* "[bou]nd is [Har]maz (?) (5) the *sahra* [beneath] the lower waters, bound is his power from the firmament,". Cf. line 14. The reading *h'rm'z*, both here and in line 14 (see below), is not certain. **7:** ... *byšy' 'syry'* "[...] evil [...], bound be" — read: ... (*hylmy'*) *byšy' 'syry'* "...evil dreams, bound are". **8:** *nwkry' ḏ-rwgz'* "the strangers of wrath" — read: *kwkby' ḏ-rwgz'* "stars of wrath". **8–9:** *brh'q ...h'm't z'wh't* "afar ...She grew hot, she was frightened" — read: *brh'q h'y[l'] wr'z[']* (*ḏ-h'*)[*z*]*'t rwh' 'm['ykw]n h'q't z'h't* "by Rhaq, the power and the mystery which Ruha, [your] mother, saw (and) she feared, she was frightened". Cf. line 15 (below). **11:** *z'nr'('rwn)* "Zanara[iron]" — read: *z'nq'rdwn* "Zan-qardun". **11:** *nyšymt'y* — read: *nyšymtḥ*. **12:** *'sys' wm'rq'* "juice and broth" — translate: "pressed down and driven away". Cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 28a, s.v. ASA III / ASS "to press, press down, tread down" and ibid., p. 38b, s.v. ARQ I (Pa'el) "to drive away." **12:** *b'šnyr'y[...]* "Bašniray [...]" — read: *b'šnyr'y (whyy' z'kyn twm)* "Bašniray. And Life is victorious! Furthermore". Here begins a repetition of most of lines 4–11a. **14:** *'syr ... mn 'qry'* — read: *'syr (h'rm'z shr)*['] *'twty' my' t't'yy' 'syr h'[y]lḥ mn rq'y'*. **15:** *h'ylḥ ... (y'zd'ndwk)* — read: *h'yl' wr'z' ḏ-hz't ...'m'ykwn h('q)*[']*(t z)[h't] w'tzyh*['*t*] ('*syr' s*)[*dym'*] (*y'zd'ndwk*). **16:** *'m'šmyš* — read: *'m'š'myš*. **16–17:** [...] *w'syr ...(wm)rdwk* – read: *(bwzn'y) w'syr(') z['n'y 'm't']*(*str' pt ṣ*)[*yp'r kyl'yt'*] '*s*[*yr*] (*š'hr'z*) (17) *lgyṭ 'syr z'nq(')rdwn*. See lines 10–11 (above). **Note to line 9:** The names of the demons Šipay and Šapapit most likely derive from the root ŠWP/ŠPP "to crawl." See Ford (1998), pp. 234–235, n. 122. References to a similarly named demon, Špwpty, occur in a number of unpublished

Jewish Aramaic incantation bowls in the Schøyen collection (see provisionally Ford, ibid., p. 265).

087M: Most of the remaining lacunae can be read or reconstructed with the help of the duplicates 086M and McCullough (1967), Bowl C (noted by Segal). The following comments are limited primarily to what the present author perceives to be incorrect readings. **3:** [...] *tyḥ* [...] *lḥ* [...] — read: [...ʿs](*yr*) *hʾylḥ mn rqʿ*(*yʾ*) *w*(ʿs)[*yr*] (*dw*)[*rḥ*...]. **4–6:** *byš*[...] ...*lylytʾ* — read: *byš*[*yʾ ʿsyryʾ*] *rʾzyʾ ḏ-hšwkʾ bbh*(ʾ)*q* (5) *wbhʾq hʾylʾ wrʾzʾ ḏ-hzʾt rwhʾ ʿmʾykwn h*(ʾ)*qʾt zʾhʾt*{*t*} *wʿtzyhʾt ʿsyr*[ʾ *wsdym*]ʾ *yʾzdʾndwk lylytʾ* {ʿ*s*} {ʿ*syrʾ wsdymʾ yʾzdʾn*(*d*)*wk* (6) *lylytʾ*}. The final phrase would appear to be a dittograph. **7:** *zʾn*[...] — read: *zʾn*(*q*)ʾ*r*(*d*)[*w*]*n*. *7: zʾrʾnʾh*[...] — read: *zʾrʾnʾh*[*wg*] *twm*.

088M: For a discussion and partial transcription of this bowl, see now Müller-Kessler (1999). A re-edition will be published in Ch. Müller-Kessler, *Incantations for the House of Pir Nukraya. Lead Rolls from the British Museum I* (Styx: Leiden, in press) [courtesy the author]. **6:** *ʾkʾt*: This is the toponym Akkad. See Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 208. **7:** *ḏ-šbyqʾlhʾ* "that are left to her" — translate: "that she has left". **9:** *ḏ-hwtbyz bʾyšwmʾ* "that is called Hutbiz" — read: *ḏ-hw byzbʾy šwmḥ* "whose name is Bizbay". **9:** *zʾmbwr ... byt tyldʾnʾ* "the bee ... the house of procreation" — translate: "Zambur ... Bīt Tildana". These are toponyms. See Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 208. **Note to line 6:** Here *bwznʾy* is apparently a male demon. See Müller-Kessler (1996), p. 191, n. to line 5.

089M: A re-edition of this bowl will be published in Ch. Müller-Kessler, *Incantations for the House of Pir Nukraya. Lead Rolls from the British Museum I* (in press) [courtesy the author]. **14:** *pšʾr* "dissolve" — translate: "be exorcised!" In his note to the line, Segal similarly considers the possibility of "be disenchanted, revoked." Cf. *pyšrʾ* "loosing or breaking a spell, exorcism" (Drower-Macuch, p. 372b). The Akkadian cognate *pašāru* (G and D) "to release, free" similarly occurs in incantations with the meaning "to undo, release (spell, curse, oath, magic)" (for references, see *AHw.*, pp. 842b and 843a). **12–14:** *ḏ-ryšʾywn nyšqlwn ... ndʾlwn ... lbyš lskyʾ lmhyʾ wlštqyp wlʿbṭʾl* (14) *hylḥ wlʿpyl lʿhwryʾ* "who shall lift (his) head ...shall raise ...they shall not gaze with evil (intent), they shall not smite and shall not beat themselves; and they shall not annul (14) (their) power, and shall not cause (them) to fall back backwards" — translate: "(any of various demons) who shall (pl.) lift their head(s) and the features (13) of their face(s) shall (pl.) raise, and shall (sing.) gaze with evil intent at these souls of Šrula, the man, and of Qaqay, the woman, and of their sons — it (the demon) shall be smitten and beaten and its power shall be annulled (14) and it shall fall backwards". The scribe passed from plural (*nyšqlwn / ndʾlwn*) to singular (*lskyʾ*) in the middle of the sentence. The *l* in *lskyʾ* and the following

verbs is the 3 m. s. prefix, not the particle of negation as proposed by Segal (cf. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, §166). *lmhyʾ* "it shall be smitten" is an (assimilated) Ethpeʿel form (cf. *lštqyp* "it shall be beaten"). **16:** [...]*wn zykryʾ wbnʾtwn nwqbʾtʾ* "their male [sons] and their female daughters" — read: (ʿ)[*ttʾ*] (*wlb*)[*nʾy*]*wn zykryʾ wlbnʾtwn nwqbʾtʾ* "the w[oman], and for their male sons and for their female daughters". **17:** *kbyš bytʾ hw* "It is pressed down (in) the house." — translate: "It (the name of the incantation) is 'Suppressed is the house'."

090M: 6: *nqbʾtʾ*- read: *nwqbʾtʾ*. Cf. the form of *nw* in *wmyskynwtʾ* (line 15). **9:** *ʿyn* "so be it" — translate: "if." *ʿyn* is a variant form of the conditional particle *hyn* (cf. Mandaic *ʿl* "if not" < **ʾīn lā* and Aramaic *ʾyn* "if"). Note that Segal subsequently supplies "if" in his translation in parentheses. In *MIT*, 20:9, which parallels the present bowl, {*ḏn*} should similarly be read *ʿyn* "if." For additional examples in different contexts, see MS 2054/93:9 and Ch. Müller-Kessler, "Dämon + *YTB ʿL* — Ein Krankheitsdämon: Eine Studie zu aramäischen Beschwörungen medizinischen Inhalts," in B. Bock, et al. (eds), *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschift für Johannes Renger* (AOAT 267: Münster 1999), pp. 345ff and n. 23. **12–13:** *bšwmʾk kybšwn* (13) *wdwšwn* "In your name! Suppress (13) and trample" — translate: "In your name, O Kibšun (13) and (also) Dušun". Although clearly derived from the verbs KBŠ "to suppress" and DWŠ "to trample," *kybšwn* and *dwšwn* are here most likely names of angels. **13:** *nqbtʾ* — read: *nwqbtʾ*. **13:** *nqbʾtʾ* — read: *nwqbʾtʾ*. **14:** (*wgzyrʾ*) "and cut" — read: *wz*(*g*)[*yrʾ*] "and restrained". The letter followng the *w* is definitely *z*. The same reading occurs in the duplicate bowls 091M:43 and *MIT*, 20:17. Segal treats *zgyr* as a metathesized variant of *gzyr* "cut," which occurs in line 11 of the present bowl and in the parallel bowls (see p. 121, note to line 42). Yamauchi, *MIT*, p. 229, also translates *zgyrʾ* as "cut" in Bowl 20:17 (in his edition of the present bowl, Yamauchi, ibid., p. 274, restores *wgzyrʾ*, following C. H. Gordon, "Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls," *Archiv Orientální* 9 [1937], p. 101), although in his Glossary (p. 326) he lists the same word under ZGR "to seize," following M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik, I: 1900–1902* (Giessen 1902), p. 101 ("gepackt"). It should be noted, however, that in this and the parallel texts the two vocables consistently occur in different contexts; *gzyr* "cut" occurs following *pryṭ* "broken apart, separated, cleft open," whereas *zgyr* occurs in collocation with *ʿsyr* "bound," *htym* "sealed" and *blym* "muzzled, gagged." The meaning "to restrain, hold back, confine" ascribed to ZGR by Drower-Macuch, p. 162a, is thus appropriate for *zgyr* in the present context. **14:** *ʾynʾ hʾsmlyʾ ḏ-hwsrʾnʾ wkʿwyhtʾ* "the envious and dim eye of want" — translate: "the envious and glaring eye of want". *kʿwyhtʾ* refers literally to an eye suffering from ectropion. See my article "Two Syriac Terms Relating to Ophthalmology and Their Cognates," *Journal*

of Semitic Studies 47 (2002): 23–35. **14:** *rgym*ʾ "stoned" — translate: "immobilized". See Drower-Macuch, pp. 424b-425a, s.v. RGM "in magic documents: to paralyse, immobilize," and note the parallel terms *blym*ʾ "muzzled" and *mskry*ʾ "closed" in the present text. **16:** *wsynt*ʾ — read: *wsynty*ʾ. The same reading occurs in *MIT*, 20:21.

091M: 10: *mn* — read: *wmn*. **20:** ʿ*yn* "so be it" — translate: "if". See above, 090M:9. **27:** *ldylwy* — read: *ldylḫ*. **32–34:** Read: *wmn zw*ʾ*(y) wbn*ʾ*y wbn*(ʾ*t*)ʾ*y wmn* (33) *byt*ʾ*y wmn kwl ḏ-*ʿ*k*ʾ (*b*)*by*(34)*t*ʾ*y bšwm*ʾ*k kybšwn*. **41:** *nqb*ʾ*t*ʾ — read: *nwqb*ʾ*t*ʾ. **48:** *lyš*ʾ*ny*ʾ — read: (*b*)[*yšy*ʾ *w*]*lyš*ʾ*ny*ʾ. **51–55:** Read: (*byšy*ʾ *wsynty.*) *wšyq*[*wp*](*t*ʾ) (52) (*wlwtt*ʾ) *wmysknwt*ʾ (*wṭyr*)(53)[*wpt*ʾ] (*wdyzw*)ʾ*r*ʾ *mn byt*[*ḫ*] (54) *ḏ-dwn*(*hqdw*<*k*>*t*) *br* ʾ*b*ʾ(55)*n*(*dwk*) *wmn zwḫ bnḫ*. **58–59:** ʾ*myn* — read: (*w*)ʾ*myn*.

093M: 1: *bšwmḫ ḏ-*(*mr*ʾ*yn t*ʾ*nh*ʾ*t*ʾ) "In the name of [our Lord, sighing]" — read: *bšwmḫ ḏ-m*ʾ*r*ʾ*yn* (*ḏ-*)ʾ(*s*)*w*ʾ*t*ʾ "In the name of the Lord of Healings". **15:** ʿ*yn* "so be it" — translate: "if". See above, 090M:9. **17:** . . . *ḏ-lwṭt*ʾ- read: *tyd*(*b*ʾ*q*)[*bḫ*]*lwṭt*(ʾ). **23:** . . . *ḏ-lyṭ*ʾ*y* — read: . . . *wlb*ʾ*yṭḫ ḏ-lyṭ*ʾ*y*. **31:** *nqb*[. . .] — read: *nwqb*ʾ[*t*ʾ]. **37–38:** ʾ*yn*ʾ *ḏ-hwsr*ʾ*n*ʾ (38) *wkywyht*ʾ "the envious and dim eye (38) of want" — translate: "the glaring eye of want". "Envious" has no correspondant in the Mandaic text and was apparently inadvertantly carried over by the editor from the translations of the parallel texts. For *kywyht*ʾ, "glaring," see 090M:14 (above). **51:** An additional line should be added. Read: *hw*. This is the copula. Lines 48–51 should be translated "These are the pictures for (the incantation) 'Bound and sealed is the mouth and seized is the tongue!' " (cf. 103M:32–34).

094M: A parallel text from the Iraq Museum (IM 60494) has recently been published by E. C. D. Hunter, "Who are the Demons? The Iconography of Incantation Bowls," *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 15 (1998), pp. 95–115. **3:** *gbʾry*ʾ "the men" — translate: "strong men". Cf. M. Sokoloff, "Notes on Some Mandaic Magical Texts," *Orientalia N.S.* 40 (1971), p. 456. Some of the parallel bowls, however, do read *gwbry*ʾ "men" (e.g., IM 60494:4). **6:** ʿ*lyʾyn* — read: ʿ*lwʾyn*. **8:** *shyṭynyn* "who squeeze them" — translate: "(who) seized them". For the verb SHṬ, "to seize," see Drower-Macuch, p. 319b (with Hunter, *Studi epigrafici e linguistici* 15, p. 105). The following verbs, *rhyṭ* (line 8), *lgṭynyn* (line 8), *mṣrynyn* (line 9), and *w*ʾ*mwrlyn* (line 10) are also perfect forms and should likewise be translated in the past tense. **10:** *w*ʾ*mwrlyn* "and say to them" — translate: "and said to them". Segal's reading ʾ*mwr* would appear to represent a 3 m. pl. perfect form *qtwl*, well attested in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, but the *w* is most likely part of a poorly formed *m* (i.e., *w*ʾ*mrlyn*). **10:** *brwk ḏ-lṭty*[. . .] "Blessed is he whom you have cursed" — read: *brwk ḏ-lṭty*[*n*] "Bless him whom you have cursed!". Cf. line 43. **11:** *w*ʾ*mrlḫ* "and they say to him" — translate: "and they said to him". ʾ*mr* is apparently a f. pl. active participle (in plene writing ʾ*mr*ʾ [see, for example, 103M:19]). For the use of the active participle as a historical present continuing a perfect form in narrative, see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 375. The "impious women" (line 4) who cursed would now appear to offer an excuse for their actions in an attempt to mitigate their punishment after having been caught. They apparently address a single angel, which suggests that the subject of the preceding verbs *rhyṭ*. . . *w*ʾ*mwrlyn* may actually be only one of the angels listed in lines 6–8, presumably Sahṭiel (the verbs themselves are morphologically ambiguous). Another possibility is a f. pl. imperative continuing the preceding *brwk*, i.e., "and say to him". The variant ʾ*mr*ʾ*lḫ* would then preserve the suffix *-ā* attested in the 3 f. pl. imperfect (Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 228, does not give any examples of 2 f. pl. imperfect forms, which would presumably have originally had the same suffix). The 3 m. s. pronoun would accordingly refer to *ḏ-lṭty*[*n*] "whom you cursed," i.e., the client, to whom the "impious women" are commanded to explain their evil actions. **13:** *w*ʾ*mrylhyn* "And I say to them" — read: *w*ʾ*mrnlhyn* "And I said to them". For this use of the active participle, cf. above, line 11. **15:** *wyqrwn* — read: *wyʾqrwn*. **16:** *w*ʿ*wrp*ʿ*yl* — read: *w*ʿ*wrp*ʾ*yl*. **21:** *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭtyn wmn* — read: *ḏ-lṭtyn mn*. **22:** *lṭtyn* — read: *l*ʾ*ṭtyn*. **23–24:** *lwṭt*ʾ *ḏ-* (24) *rbtʾ wšwlyt*ʾ "the curse of (24) the grandmother and the foetus" — translate: "the curse of (24) the mistress and the maid servant". See Drower-Macuch, p. 454b, s.v. *šulita* 2; M. Sokoloff, *Orientalia N.S.* 40 (1971), p. 458; J. C. Greenfield, "The Babylonian Forerunner of a Mandaic Formula," in A. F. Rainey (ed.), *kinattūtu ša dārâti: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume* (TEL AVIV: Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, Occasional Publications, 1: Tel Aviv 1993), p. 12; and Hunter, *Studi epigrafici e linguistici* 15, p. 107. **31:** *llwṭ*ʾ*t*ʾ "of the curses" — read: *wllwṭ*ʾ*t*ʾ "and the curses". **33:** *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭy*ʾ "which they cursed" — read: *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭwḫ* "whom they cursed". **38:** *wnyshyṭyn* — read: *wnyshyṭyn*(*yn*). **38:** *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭy*ʾ — read: *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭwḫ*. The pronominal 3 f. s. object suffix refers to Mahduk (cf. line 33, above, and *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭwy*ʾ in 095M:43, where the pronominal object suffix refers to the male client). **44 45:** *šrwn* . . . *llwṭt*ʾ "Šrun . . . the curses" — read: *šrwn* (45) *wšrwlḫ wšyrwy*ʾ *w*ʾ*b*(*dwy*ʾ) *llwṭt*ʾ "release (me?), (45) and release her, and release and destroy the curse". As indicated by the parallel texts in which the words *šrwn* and *šrwlḫ* do not occur (e.g., 096M:42), ʾ*twn ml*ʾ*ky*ʾ "You, O angels," refers to the preceding Šariel and Barkiel. The element *-wy*ʾ in *šyrwy*ʾ and ʾ*bdwy*ʾ contains a formally 3 m. s. cataphoric pronominal object suffix referring to the feminine singular *lwṭt*ʾ "curse" (for the use of this form of the 3 m. s. pronominal object suffix to refer to feminine nouns, see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 279; contrast *ḏ-l*ʾ*ṭwḫ* [above, lines 33 and 38], which uses the original feminine form). **50:** *qʾl qʾlʾy* "Hark! My voice" — read: *qʾl qʾlʾ hw* "It (the name of the

incantation) is 'Hark! A voice'."

095M: 2: For *myhrwdyt*, read possibly *m(')hd(wk)t*. For this well attested name, see 093M, note to line 2 (p. 123). **3:** *nqb't'* — read: *nwqb't'*. **3:** *qny'nḥ* — read: *qyny'nḥ*. **10:** *ḏ-ryš('yw)n* — read: *ḏ-ryš'(yh-w)n*. **19:** Read: *tyš(ršylḥ)*. **23:** *ḏ-l'ṭynyn* — read: *ḏ-l'ṭ(ṭ)yn*. **25:** Read: *ḏ-l('ṭ)tyn wmn lwṭt' {wmn lwṭt'} ḏ-'gyr'*. **32:** *ḏ-m'sy'* — read: {['s]y'} *ḏ-m'sy'*. **40:** *šylwy'* [...] — read: *šylwy'* ('n'š'). Cf. 094M:39.

096M: 12: *gzrn* — read: *gzrn[yn]*. **14–15:** *b(15)yzrwn* "by (15) Yazrun" — read: *b('zr)['y]* (15) *wyzrwn* "by Azr[ay] (15) and Yazrun". **25:** *ḏ-lpl(g')* — read: *ḏ-lpl('g)*.

097M: 1: *'k[...]t'*- read: *'sw't'* "healings". The traces are not clear, but one would expect a phrase similar to *bšwmḥ ḏ-m'r'yn ḏ-'sw't'* "In the name of the Lord of Healings" (093M:1 [see above]). **5:** *('ly')wn* — read: *'l(w')ywn*. **6:** [...] *tb'r* — read: [...]*(ṭynyn b'd..y' ḏ-ryš'yn w)tb'r*. **7:** ...*lṭnyn* — read: *(br)[wk] ḏ-l'ṭtyn [wm]r'lḥ (ḏ-mn kyb') ḏ-[lyb]'n lṭnyn*. **8:** *w'mrnly*[...] *ḏ-'šbtkyn* — read: *w'mrnlyn 'šbyt['l'y]kyn*. **8:** ...*wyzd*... — read: *b('zd)'y wyzr[wn]*... **9:** *wtyšbwq' l*... — read: *wtyšb(wql)ḥ l(yw)h'n'n [br 'kw']rwy(')*... **9:** *ḏ-lṭnyn wmn* — read: *ḏ-lṭnyn mn lwṭt' (ḏ-) 'b' wd'm' ḏ-lṭtyn wmn*. **10:** *wšwlyt'* ... *wmn* — read: *wšwlyt' (wmn lwṭt' ḏ-'g...wd)... mynḥ wmn*. **11:** *bykwšt'* — read: *bkwšt'*. **11:** *lwṭt' kwlm'n*... — read: *lwṭt' ḏ-kwlm'n ḏ-l'ṭ*[...]. **11:** ...*myhy't'* — read: ...*(m'sy') myhy't'*. **12:** *ḏ-l'ṭwy lywhn'n* — read: *ḏ-l'ṭwy' lywh'n'n*. **13:** *bšwm brk'yl* — read: *wbšwm brk'yl*. **13:** *š'ry'*[...] — read: *š'rywy'* (cf. above, 094M:44–45). **14:** *lywh'nn* — read: *lywh'n'n*. **14:** *'myn* — read: *w'myn*. **15:** *lbry* "For my son" — read: *lbr'y* "For outside (the house)".

098M: 1: *'lsyr' bwgd'n'* "The [binding] of Bugdana" — read: *'lsyr 'bwgd'n'* "Elsir Abugdana". Cf. Müller-Kessler (1996), p. 193, n. 16. There appears to be a slight discontinuity in the writing between the *r* and the *'* and, moreover, *'bwgd'n'* is the usual Mandaic spelling of the name of this demon (for an exceptional writing *bwgd'n'*, see Drower-Macuch, p. 54b). The demon himself would appear to be the speaker. For the divine name Elsir/Elisur, see S. Shaked, "The Poetics of Spells. Language and Structure in Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity, 1: The Divorce Formula and its Ramifications" in Tz. Abusch and K. van der Toorn (eds) *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives* (Ancient Magic and Divination, 1: Groningen 1999), p. 185, n. 45, and cf. MS 2053/200:1–2 (reading by S. Shaked): *'wmyt[y w'š]b'yt 'lk ('nth) 'ylyswr b(gdnh) [mlk'] ddywy* "I adjure and make you swear, you, Elisur Bagdana, [king] of the *dēws*...". 099M:3 (see the corrected reading below), however, does indeed seem to be based on an interpretation of the term as referring to the binding of the demon. **3:** *wš'l'ṭ'* — read: *wšl'ṭ'* (Müller-Kessler [1996], p. 193, n. 16). **6:** *l{b}k*. What Segal reads as an extraneous *b* is more likely *'*

written over an original *y*. **6:** *l'k"* — read: *lyk{X}*. **7:** *mš'lṭ* — read: *mš'lṭ'*. **8–9:** *(dy)d'h"ywty* (9) *(t'rh'qy)' w(my' d'k'y')* "[...] pure water" — read: *ty(r)'hšy* (9) *wtyt'rh'qy' wt(k)'r'k'y'* "move (?) (9) and distance yourself and turn back". **9:** *g't'k* — read: *g'ṭ'k*. **9:** *g'b'l'* — read: *(q)'b'l'*. **11:** *nq'bt'* — read: *nwq'bt'*. **12:** *bšwm' tm'hṣ 'bd hygwt* "In the name of Tamahaṣ, slave of Higut" — translate: "In the name TM'HṢ 'BD HYGWT". *tm'hṣ 'bd hygwt* should be interpreted as part of a magical name, together with the following *'yd 'wd ṭtwz*. Cf. the Aramaic version (O13A:8): *bšwm hyg(y)h wd(yh) wṭṭm* "In the name of HYGYH and DYH and ṬṬM". Cf. also 099M:13 (below) and the parallels listed by Segal (p. 157). **12–13:** *b'z'qtwn* (13) *dglyp' 'l'h'* "by the signet ring (13) of Glifa the god" — read: *b'z'qt* (13) *ṣwr glyp' 'l'h'* "by the signet-ring (13) of Ṣur Glipa the god". **13:** *lbšwm' ḏ-prwš'* "for the ineffable Name": This is surely a scribal error for **wbšwm' ḏ-prwš'* "and by the ineffable Name" due to the similarity between *l* and *w*.

099M: 2: *wlzwyḥ* — read: *wlz'w(ḥ)*. **3:** *'syry' {bgd'n' 'syry'} bwgd'n'* — read: *'syr 'b(wg)d'n' 'syr 'bwgd'n'*. Cf. Müller-Kessler (1996), p. 193, n. 16. Segal (note to line 3) claims that *'syry'* is for singular *'syr'*, but the latter is a feminine form, which would not accord with the masculine subject. **5:** *wmwmyn'lyk* — read: *wmwmy{y}n'lyk*. **8:** *wnp'q {mn} kwlhyn qyry't'* "May all mishaps go forth" — read: *wnp'q hw wkwlhyn qyry'tḥ* "and he was expelled, he and all his imprecations". The phrase does not accord well with the preceding phrases, but they are also problematic. **10:** *bzyr'* "sowing" — translate: "semen". Segal follows Drower-Macuch, p. 167b, s.v. *zira*, in translating *bzyr'* as "sowing" (<"seed"), but *bzyr'* would appear to be synonymous with *zyr'* "seed (semen)" in the example that he cites in his note to line 10 (for *Jb* 202, read DC 43J, 202): *mn zyrḥ ḏ-lyly' wmn bzyrḥ ḏ-'wm'm'* "from his *zyr'* by night and from his *bzyr'* by day". Cf. the frequent pair *ḥylm' dlyly'* "dream by night" // *ḥyzwn' dymm'* "vision by day" (e.g., 068A:3–4), where *ḥylm'* "dream" and *ḥyzwn'* "vision" are essentially synonymous. **10–12:** *h'z'y ḏ-kt'blyk* ... *bb'bḥ* "See, they have written for you ... at his door" — read: *h'z'y ḏ-kt'blyk* (11) *gyṭ' km' ḏ-h'zyn g[yṭ'] kytbyt wyhbylḥ ly(w)h'(n)'n wlkwl m'n ḏ-h'zyn pwgd'm' myktyblḥ* (12) *wmyqb'rlḥ bb'bḥ* "See, they (anonymous divine forces) wrote you (11) a bill of divorce, as I have written this bil[l of divorce] and have given it to Yuhanan and to everyone for whom this writ (lit. word) is written (12) and buried at his door". *myktyb* and *myqb'r* are understood as (assimilated) Ethpe'el participles. The bowl was evidently intended for burial under the threshold. **13:** *bšwmḥ ḏ-m'thymṣ h'mṣ* "In the name of him that crushes, crush" — read: *bšwmḥ ḏ-m't whymṣ h'mṣ* "In the name of M'T and HYMṢ H'MṢ (the crusher of?)". Although at one time possibly translatable, at least *m't* and *hymṣ* would seem to now be magical names. Cf. 098M:12 (above) and the parallels listed by Segal (p. 157). **14:** *kryktyn* — read:

krykytyn. The preceding word, *ṣmyrtyn*, should likely be similarly read *ṣmyr^y^t(y)n*.

100M: Read:
(1) *'swt' thwy(lḥ l)dwr'*...(2) ...(3) ...(4) ...*bšwm'k (rb')* ...(5) [*'bwg*]-(*d'*)*n' mlk'* (*ḏ-kwl*)[*hw*]*n dywy'* [*wšly*]*ṭ' (r)b' ḏ-kwlhyn (l'ly')t'* (*ḏ-hw*) [*šlyṭ 'l*] (*kwl*)[*hw*]*n* (6) [*dywy*]' *zykry'* [*wnwq*]*b't'*...(*'l rwhy'*) *byš't*[*'*] ...[*ḏ-y*](*'tyb*) [*'l ṭwr'*] (7) *gzyr'* [*w*](*d'yn dyn' mn dywy'*) *zykry' wmš'wy' bz'r'* (read: *gz'r'*) *mn lyly't' nwqb't'* (*'n' lkwlkyn q'r*)*yn'* (8) *wm'šb'n' w'mrn' hlb's lylyt' 'tkl't lylyt' mš*[*y*]*št' lyly*[*t' DN*] *lyly*[*t'*] (*pyṭy'r' ly-lyt'*) *wpyṭy'rwt'* (9) *lylyt' p'gdt' lylyt' n'l' lylyt' wn'wl' lylyt' lyly*(*'*) [...] *lyly'*[...] (*lylyt' šq*)*wpt' lylyt' ^lylyt'^* (10) *ḏ-l'ly' wl'ly' ḏ-'wm'm' mhy'tyn bṭp'sy*[...] (*'*)*l kwlh*(*w*)*n* ...(11) *wshry' wšydy' wrwhy' wh-wmry' wlyl*[*y't'*] ...(12) ...[Exterior] (13) ...*ḏ-'wm*... (14) ...[*mn 'rsḥ*] *wbys'*[*dḥ*] ...(15)...[*š*]*qwpt*[*'*] ...(16) ...(17) *lyly'*[*t'*] ...(18) ...[*br'z'*] (*'l'yy'*) *wbr*[*'*]*z'* (*myṣ'*)[*yy' wbr'z' t'*](*t'yy'*) ...(19) ...[*pryt'*] (*ḏ-*)[*my*](*nḥ pr'*)[*t*] ...[*pr*](*yt'*) *ḏ-*[*my*]*nḥ pr*(*'t*) ...(20) ...*tlt*(*m'*) *wšyty*[*n*] ...
(1) May there be healing for the dwelling ...(2) ...(3) ...(4) ...in your great name ...(5) [Abug]dana, the king of all the *dēws* [and] the great [rul]er of all the liliths, who [rules over] all (6) [*dēws*], male and [fem]ale, [and is appointed] over evil spirits, [the ...who s]its [upon] (7) a split [mountain, and] judges male *dēws* and condemns female liliths. To all of you I call (8) and I make you swear and I say: Halbas the lilith, Itklat the lilith, Mšišta the lili[th, DN] the lili[th], Piṭyara the lilith and Piṭyaruta (9) the lilith, Pigdta the lilith, Nala the lilith and Niula the lilith, the lili[...] the lili[...] the lilith, Šiqupta the lilith, the lilith (10) of the night and the lili of the day, you are smitten in the membranes [of your hearts, with the spear of the angel Qatrius, who rules] over all [the ...-spirits] (11) and the *sahras* and the demons and the spirits and the *humartas* and the liliths ...(12) ...[Exterior] (13) ...of the da[y] ...(14) ...[from his bed and his pi]llow ...(15)...[Š]iqupta ...(16) ...(17) liliths ...(18) ...[By the] upper [mystery] and by the midd[le] mystery and by the low[er mystery]...(19)...(20) ...three hundred and sixty ...

5: [*'bwg*](*d'*)*n' mlk'*: Cf. Segal, note to line 5. **5:** (*ḏ-hw*) [*šlyṭ 'l*] "who [rules over]": The parallel bowl MS 2054/86:5 reads: *ḏ-hw mš'l'ṭ 'l*, but there does not seem to be enough space in the lacuna for *mš'l'ṭ* or *mšl'ṭ*. Cf. *dhw' šlyṭ 'l* in a related context in the parallel Jewish Aramaic bowl 013A:6 (and parallels [see Segal, p. 156, Refrain B, Ib]). **6:** [*dywy*]' *zykry'* [*wnwq*]*b't'* "*dēws*, male [and fem]ale" is probably an error for *dywy' zykry' wlyly't' nwqb't'* "male *dēws* and female liliths". **9:** *n'l'*: According to S. Shaked, "Bagdāna, King of the Demons, and Other Iranian Terms in Babylonian Aramaic Magic," *Acta Iranica 25, Deuxième Série: Hommages et Opera Minora, Vol. 11: Papers in Honor of Professor Mary Boyce* (Leiden 1985), p. 512, this demon is to be identified with Persian *nāl* "complaint, lamentation." **9:** *wn'wl'*: See Drower-Macuch,

pp. 297b-298a, s.v. *niula* 2. Note especially the frequent occurrence of the pair *n'ly' wnywly'* (see Drower-Macuch, p. 283, s.v. *nala*), paralleling the present text. **10:** *mhy'tyn*... "you are smitten...": The translation follows MS 2054/86:10–11: *mhytwn bṭrpws l'bb'*(*yk*)*wn wbmwrnyt' ḏ-qtryws ml'k*[*'*] *ḏ-hw mšl'ṭ 'l shry'*... See also Segal's Refrain B, Ib (p. 156). **19:** *pryt' ḏ-mynḥ pr't*: The same phrase also occurs twice in MS 2054/86, but the context is unclear there as well.

101M: For a discussion and partial transcription of this bowl, see now Müller-Kessler (1999). A re-edition will be published in Ch. Müller-Kessler, *Incantations for the House of Pir Nukraya. Lead Rolls from the British Museum I* (in press) [courtesy the author]. **1–2:** See Müller-Kessler (1999), pp. 206–207. **2–3:** (*h'w*)*kwlhwn shr'* ...*ḏ-myšt'mylḥ* "that is, all sorcery spirits ...that hearken" — read: *h*(*w*) *wkwlhwn shrḥ wdywyḥ* (3) *whwmrḥ wlyly'tḥ ḏ-myšt'mylḥ* "he and all his *sahras* and *dēws* and (3) *humartas* and liliths that hearken to him". *h*(*w*) refers to the male demon 'Ulmaya in line 1. **7–8:** *ḏ-bshry'* (*zyḳ'r'*) ...*ḏ-hyy'* "of (those who are guided) by male (?) sorcery spirits ...dHiia" — read: *ḏ-bhyry' (z)ydq' bhylḥ ḏ-mnd' ḏ-hyy'* "of the elect of righteousness by the power of Manda ḏ-Hiia". See Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 204, and cf. line 26. **8:** *'swt'*- read: *w'swt'*. **9:** [...] (*lrqḥ*) — read: *l*(*b*)[*yt*]*ḥ wlpgrḥ* "for his ho[use] and for his body". **10:** [...]*th lzwḥ* — read: [...]*t wlzwḥ*. The *t* before *wlzwḥ* is most likely the last letter in the name of the mother of the client. The line ends with the second *wlbn'tḥ*. **11:** Read: [*mš'by*]*n hyy' rby' s*_____ "The great Life is praised!". **12–16:** See Müller-Kessler (1999), pp. 206–207. After *lnpšḥ* (line 16) read (*'syr*)[*'*] "Bound are". **19–21:** *w'zlyn* ...*b* (*'*{*t.*}*'ythyn 'n'šy'* "and depart ...the petitions (of) human kind" — read: *w'zlyn q'ryn lnpš'*[*yhwn*] ...(*'t'*) (20) *w'qry't' ḏ-hynwn* .../ (*ḏ-š'ry'*) (21) *bbt'yhwn ḏ-'n'šy'* "who go about and call themselves '...' (20) and 'imprecations', who are ...who haunt (21) the houses of humans". **22:** *w*(*myhrb*)*y' 'qr'yt'* "and corrupt the invocations" — read: *wm*(*tq*)*ry' 'qr'yt'* "and are called 'imprecations' ". **23–24:** *wb*(*'t'*) ...*h'* "and the petition ...Behold" — read: *wbr'z' wml'l' ḏ-*(24) *y'w'r rb' ḏ-hyy'* "and by the mystery and word of (24) the great Yawar of Life". See Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 204 (Segal's reading *wml'l'* is correct). **26–27:** [...]*š'by'hy'* ...*hwn* "[...]the great planets [...]" — read: (*m*)*š'by' hyy' rby'* (27) *bnhwr'yhwn* "the great Life is praised in its light!". **28–31:** See Müller-Kessler (1999), pp. 206–207. At the end of line 31 read *'syr'* (Segal: *'syry'*). **32–33:** *lyl*(*y't'*) *klby't' ḏ-t'yby'* (33) *b'sr' ḏ-klb*(*'y'*) "liliths, bitches that return (33) in the tether of dogs" — read: *lyl*(*y't'*) *klby't' ḏ-š*(*'r*)*y'* (33) *b'*(*r*)*q' ḏ-kl*(*.'y*)*y'* "the dog-like liliths who haunt (33) the land of the *Chaldeans*". For *lyly't' klby't'* "dog-like liliths," see Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 202, with further references. For *kl*(*.'y*)*y'*, which is here understood as part of a toponym, Segal reads *klb*(*'y'*). Cf. the place-name *k'lby'*, cited by Drower-Macuch,

p. 197a. Segal's reading, if correct, would result in a word-play on *lyly'ṭ' klby'ṭ'*. The *b*, however, is not at all clear to the present author, and a reading *kl(d'yy')* "Chaldeans" (Drower-Macuch, p. 197a) seems equally possible. Cf. *m'ṭ' k'ld'yy'* "country of the Chaldeans" (Aspar Malwašia [ed. Drower], p. 250: penult.).[4] Such a reading seems semantically preferable, as a similarly constructed toponym, *'rq' ḏ-rhym'yy'* "the land of the Rahimeans," occurs in a lead roll in a context thematically related to that of the present bowl (see Müller-Kessler [1999], p. 201). **34–35:** *twty' ʿqb̲[...] ḏ-* (35) *ywz'ṭdq (mndʿ) ḏ-hyy'*) "under heel so that (35) Manda ḏHiia will be vindicated" — read: *twty' ʿqb̲ ḏ-* (35) *ywz'ṭ'(q) m(ndʿ)' ḏ-hyy'* "under the heel of (35) Yuzaṭaq Manda ḏ-Hiia". Müller-Kessler (1999), p. 205, reads *ywz'ṭ'r*, but the frequent attestation of the name Yuzaṭaq Manda ḏ-Hiia (see Drower-Macuch, p. 190a, and, in the present corpus, 107M:10', 11') suggests that the final letter is a poorly formed *q*. **40–43:** Read: *b'swtḥ ḏ-(m')n 'sy' rb({y}')* (41) *wqy(')myn hyy' rby' bškyn'twn* (42) *bn(hw)r'yhwn ḏ-npš'yhwn* (43) *wbzyw'yhwn ḏ-k'byr* "by the healing of Man, the great healer. (41) And the great Life abides in its dwellings (42) in its own light (43) and in its immense radiance".

102M: In the introductory observations (p. 133) attention is appropriately called to the close resemblence between this bowl and a Mandaic bowl published by C. H. Gordon in 1951. Note that the latter bowl subsequently made its way into the British Museum collection and is republished by Segal as 111M (see below). Both bowls are early versions of DC 40, 1086–1113. Read:

(5) ...[ʿsyr' šwmy' ... *lylyt' hr'št' ḏ-*](*š'ry' bb'yṭḥ whnwṭḥ ḏ-gb*)[*rʿyn*] (6) (*br m*)['*m'y ʿsy*](*r'*) *'rq' 'l(w')t lylyt'* [*hr'št' ḏ-š'ry' bb'yṭḥ wh*](*nwṭḥ*) *ḏ-gbrʿyn br m'm'y* (7) *ʿsyr (krkw)*[*m*] (...*hwn*) *ḏ-hršy' wm'r'yhwn* (*ḏ-mb'*)[*dy'*] ... *b'yṭḥ whn(w)ṭḥ ḏ-gbrʿyn br m'm'y* (8) *ʿsyr' lylyt' hr'št' ḏ-š'ry' bb'yṭḥ whn(w)ṭḥ ḏ-gbrʿyn br* [*m'm'y*] *bmwšpyt' ḏ-*(*prz*)[*l'*] *b'ynḥ* (ʿ*s*)*yr' lylyt' hr'št' bk(s)t'* (9) *ḏ-przl' bnhyrḥ ʿsyr' lylyt' hr'št'* (*skyn'*) *ḏ-przl'* (*b*)[...*ḥ ʿsyr'*] *lylyt'* [*hr'št' ḏ-*]*š'ry' bb'yṭḥ wbhn(w)ṭḥ ḏ-gbrʿyn* (10) *br m'm'y šwšyl(t')* *ḏ-przl' bʿydḥ ʿsyr' lylyt' hr'št'* (*bgyry'*) *ḏ-przl' bʿydḥ ʿsyr' lylyt' hr'št' bs'd' ḏ-gl'l' blygrḥ* (11) *sdymyt 'n('t) lylyt'* [*hr'št'*] *ḏ-š'ry' bb'yṭḥ whn(w)ṭḥ ḏ-gbrʿyn br m'm'y bsy*[*d*]*m(') rb' ḏ-sydmḥ m'nd' ḏ-h'yy'* (*lsm*)*'yyl st̲'n' 'swt'* (12) *thwylḥ lb'yṭḥ whn(w)ṭḥ ḏ-gbrʿyn br m'm'y wz'wḥ wbnḥ wbn'ṭḥ wqny'nḥ whywny'*(*ṭḥ*) *wlh'mḥ wm'ynḥ wk-wlhyn ʿbyd'ṭḥ* [*whyy' z*]('*kyn*) [*l*](*klh*)[*wn* (13) *ʿwb'dy'*]

(5) ...[Bound are the heavens ... the bewitching lilith that] haunts the house and shop of Gab[rien] (6) son of M[amay. Bou]nd is the earth *with regard to* the [bewitching] lilith [that haunts the house and] shop of

[4] Cited according to Drower's edition. Drower-Macuch, p. 197a, s.v. *kaldaia*, read *m'ṭ' ḏ-k'ld'yy'*, which would parallel the present text even more closely.

Gabrien son of Mamay. (7) Bound is Karkum, the [father] of witchcraft and the lord of (magical) ac[ts]. ...the house and shop of Gabrien son of Mamay. (8) Bound is the bewitching lilith that haunts the house and shop of Gabrien son of [Mamay] with a spit of iron in her eye. Bound is the bewitching lilith with a *pin* (9) of iron in her nose. Bound is the bewitching lilith (with) a knife of iron in [her...Bound is] the [bewitching] lilith [that] haunts the house and shop of Gabrien (10) son of Mamay (with) a chain of iron on her hands. Bound is the bewitching lilith with *arrows* of iron in her hands. Bound is the bewitching lilith with stocks of stone on her legs. (11) You are shackled, you, O [bewitching] lilith that haunts the house and shop of Gabrien son of Mamay, with the great shackle (with) which Manda ḏ-Hiia shackled Simail, the Satan. May there be healing (12) for the house and shop of Gabrien son of Mamay and (for) his spouse and his sons and his daughters and his possessions and his livestock and his food and his water and all his undertakings. [And Life is vi]ctorious [over] all (13) [(magical) acts]!

7: For the demon Karkum, see Drower-Macuch, p. 201b, and DC 37, 8–9: *ʿsyry' d'ywy' ḏ-k'rkwm br lywy'tyn* "bound are the *dēws* of Karkum son of Leviathan." The word following *krkwm* is probably to be read *'bwhwn* (cf. 111M:7). **8:** *bk(s)t'*: Read *bskt'* "with a pin"? Cf. 111M:9: *bsykt'*. **9:** (*b*)[...*ḥ*]: 111M:9 reads *bpwmḥ* "in her mouth." The same word may well have occurred here as well, as the length of the lacuna is appropriate and the traces following the *b* may point to a *p*. **10:** *bgyry'* "with arrows": The reading is not certain. The corresponding word in 111M:10 is also difficult to read. **11:** *sm'yyl st̲'n'* "Simail, the Satan": As noted by G. Scholem, "Samael," *Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 14* (Jerusalem 1971), p. 720, the Mandaic Simail (Drower-Macuch, p. 327b, s.v. *simiaiil*) is a variant of the Jewish demon Samael, who was likewise identified with Satan. The binding of Simail in the present text recalls the reference to the binding of Samael with *šlšl'wt šl brzl* "chains of iron" in Midrash Bereshit Rabbati (ed. Albeck), p. 167: *myd ymsrnw hb"h lmyk'l wmby'w bšlšl'wt šl brzl wymsrnw byd yśr'l wyʿśw bw krṣwnm* "The Holy One, blessed is He, will immediately hand him (Samael) over to Michael, who will bring him in chains of iron and hand him over to Israel, and they will do with him as they please." **12:** For *m'ynḥ* "his water," cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 242b, s.v. *maina*.

103M: 8: *wkbyš'* — read: *wkbyš<'>*. **9:** *'ṭ'y* "Atay": read possibly (*d-*)*m'y* "of (I)mmay". Cf. the PN *ʿm'y* in lines 11 (see below), 13 and 15. The formula *ʿsyr' wkbyš' lwṭṭ' w'qr'yṭ' ḏ-PN pt PN₂ ḏ-l'ṭ't* should be rendered "the curse and imprecation of PN daughter of PN_2, who cursed". **9 10:** *d-w'ṭwy'* "of W"ṬWY"" — read: *d-l'ṭwy'* "whom they cursed". The reading *d-w'ṭwy'* at the end of line 10 should likewise be corrected to *d-l'ṭwy'*. **11:** *'ṭ'yw* — read: *ʿm'y*. Cf. lines 13 and 15. **11:** *w'qr'yṭ'* — read: *w'qryṭ'*. Read *w'qryṭ'* for *w'qr'yṭ'* in lines 12, 13 (twice)

and 15 (twice) as well. **14:** *s'y.wm* — read: *q'ywm*. The feminine PN *q'ywm* also occurs in MS 2054/81:11. **14:** *w'qr'yt* — read: *w'qryt'*. **15:** *wkbyš* — read: *wkbyš'*. **17:** *šwm'y* "hear!" — translate: "I have heard"? The same writing occurs in *MIT*, 7:4, where it is translated "I hear" by the editor, but most of the parallels read *šwmyt* "I have heard" (e.g., 094M:2). *šwm'y* may therefore be a non-standard 1 c. s. perfect form following the pattern *bn'y*, frequently attested for III–' verbs in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. **31:** Read: *(h)yy' z(')[ky](n)*. The present author cannot discern the *n* in the photograph, but it is read by Segal and supported by the context. **34:** {*wy'.'*} — read: *(h)y'*. This is the copula, grammatically according with *dmwt'* "picture." Lines 32–34 should be translated "This is the picture for (the incantation) 'Hark, *I have heard* a voice!' " (cf. above, line 17 and 093M:48–51).

104M: This bowl parallels 106M (see below). Both bowls parallel a section of the Zrazta ḏ-Hibil Ziwa, known from a number of late manuscripts (e.g., DC 14, 139–176 // DC 44, 251–325 // DC 52, 210–260 // J. de Morgan, *Études Linguistiques, IIe partie: Textes mandaïtes* [Mission scientifique en Perse, V: Paris 1904], pp. 256b:23–257a:21). Read:

(3) *[w'l shry' w'l dywy' w'l šydy' w'l rwhy' w](''l hwmry') (4) w'l lyly't' ('rq' ḏ-)[h]('z'tḥ ')[l] (mnd' ḏ-)[hyy'] (n')[d't wšw](my') [']*(zdr)[mb]yt (5) *t'byl (kw)[l](ḥ) '(š)trhzt . . . ḏ-h'z'tḥ lm(n)d'' ḏ-hyy' . . .* (6) . . . *(ny)blmwn mnl'ywn b(p)wm'ywn lbny' t'byl n('h'ybw)n wl(n'h)zywn wln('. . .)šwn* (7) *wl'š(n)wn n'(t)kbšwn kḏ nwr' mn qdm (my') k'bš' kb'š(yt)* . . . (8) *. . . lgyṭ hyl'yhwn ḏ-kwlhwn shry' wdywy' w(šydy') wrwhy' hmr[y'] wlylyt' ('s)yry' kwlhwn wmbṭl hyl'yhwn* (9) *ḏ-kwlhwn [šwby']hy' mn b'b'y(hwn) ḏ-bhyry' zydq' w[ḏ-]('g)[y]l'wy' (pt) b('t' 's)yr wmzrz' byṭḥ (wdwrḥ) ḏ-gyl'wy' pt (b)'t' mn* (10) *hršy(') ḏ-r[wh](' wm)[n mn]ly' ḏ-hšwk' wmn mnly' 'pykt' wmn mnly' ḏ-hyšwk' (wm)n 'mwmt' s(y)nt' mn hršy' ḏ-tl'tm' wš'tn [w](tr)yn l'šny'* (11) *(mn) 'mr' wšym' ḏ-hyšwk' 'syr byṭḥ ḏ-('gwl'wy') pt (b't' b')zy<w>' hytym' bnhwr' wšwm tl't' mtkr 'lḥ ('s)yr{y}' wmhtm' g(yl)[']*(wy)' *pt (b't')* (12) *wmnṭ'r(' ')gyl'wy' pt (b')t' mn shry' wdy<w>y' wšy[dy'] wrw<h>y' hwmry' (wy)lyly't' bšwmḥ ḏ-nbṭ n'bṭ' (w')[s'r] ('s')r' [ḏ-]hyy(' bmnly') <ḏ-hyy'> (bm)lly' (hl)yn ḏ-'l (k)[sy']* [Exterior] (14) *'l ksy' ktyby' bbyṭḥ ḏ-gyl'wy' pt (b')t' wz(r')zy' h(')wy' k(ḏ) 'qr' ḏ-przl' wl('yt) kwl shr' wdyw' wšyd' wrwh' hwmr't' wly<ly>t' ḏ-h[zyl]ḥ ld[m](wt')* . . . (15) *rm[']whw mdly' ('štkn'bḥ šk)nt' ḏ-yq(')r' wml'ky' ḏ-hwbḥ '(tb)ls b('rq)' . . . mnly' ḏ-nhwr' wmz(r)z' . . . (wkḏ) klyl* (16) *. . . (hdyr)lḥ wšwb' šwry' ḏ-przl' {hdrlh} hdrylḥ lbyṭḥ (wdw)[rḥ ḏ-]('gy)l'wy' (pt) [b']('t' wtr')[s'r] (m)l'(k)y' ḏ-nhwr' nṭry' mṭr('t' rbt' ḏ-)šr'r'* (17) *wb(hylḥ) ḏ-kwšṭ' bmll' . . . bšwmḥ ḏ-g(b)r' q(rb'yy') ywkb'r zyw' š[wm](ḥ) hyy' z'kyn*

(3) [and against the *sahras* and against the *dēws* and against the demons

and against the spirits and] against the *humartas* (4) and against the liliths. The earth which saw Manda ḏ-[Hiia] sho[ok and the hea]vens trembled, (5) the world in its entirety quaked. . . . which saw Manda ḏ-Hiia . . . (6) . . . may the words (of) the inhabitants of the world be silenced in their mouths, and may they be confuted, and may they not see, and may they not. . . , (7) and may their tongues be suppressed like fire before water. I have performed a (magical) suppression . . . (8) . . . Seized is the power of all the *sahras* and *dēws* and demons and spirits and *humartas* and liliths. They are all bound and the power (9) of all [the seven plan]ets is annulled from the doors of the chosen of righteousness and [of] Gilawiya daughter of Bata. Bound and armed is the house and dwelling of Gilawiya daughter of Bata against (10) the sorcery of Ruha and against (magic) words of darkness and against perverted (magic) words and against (magic) words of darkness and against hateful conjuration(s), against the sorcery of three hundred and sixty-two languages, (11) against speaking and acceptance (lit. [favorable] hearing) of darkness. Bound is the house of Gilawiya daughter of Bata with radiance (and) she is sealed with light and the name(s) of three (divine beings) are proclaimed over her. Bound and doubly sealed is Gilawiya daughter of Bata, (12) and protected is Gilawiya daughter of Bata from *sahras* and *dēws* and demons and spirits and *humartas* and liliths, by the name of Nbaṭ, the . . . sprout (*nibṭa*), by the name of the formidable man who erected [his thro]ne upon (13) a base of exorcism and b[ound] a bond [of] Life by the words <of Life>, by these words which {upon b[owls]} [Exterior] (14) are written upon bowls in the house of Gilawiya daughter of Bata and they are armed (and) become like a fortress of iron, and there is no *sahra* or *dēw* or demon or spirit or *humarta* or lilith that (can) look upon the form . . . (15) high, and it is lofty. A dwelling of glory was founded in it and the angels that were in it . . . in the world . . . words of light and armed . . . and like a crown (16) . . . surround it . . . and seven walls of iron surround the house and dwe[lling of] Gilawiya daughter of Bata and twel[ve] angels of light guard (it) (with) great vigils of steadfastness, (17) and by the power of truth, by the word [of. . .], by the name of the formidable man, Yukabar Ziwa is his name. Life is victorious!

7: The reading *kb'š(yt)* is not certain. **11:** *'mr' wšym'* "speaking and acceptance (lit. [favorable] hearing)": This common expression (Drower-Macuch, p. 353a) is clearly a calque of Akkadian *qabû šemû* "speaking (and) acceptance (lit. [favorable] hearing)" (see *CAD*, Š/2, p. 284b) or its semantic equivalent *qabû u magāru* "speaking and acceptance" (see *CAD*, M/1, p. 40). Cf. also *qabû šemû u magāru* "speaking, (favorable) hearing and acceptance" (see *CAD*, M/1, p. 40b) and *qabû u lā šemû* "speaking and non-acceptance (lit. not hearing [favorably])" (see *CAD*, Š/2, p. 284b). Compare Akkadian *rema ummna balta lamassa qabâ šemâ šukna yâši* "grant me mercy, (answering of) prayers, dignity, pro-

tection (lit. a protective spirit), speaking (and) acceptance" (BMS 22 r. 64–65 [cf. *CAD*, R, p. 262a; *CAD*, Š/2, p. 284b]) with Mandaic *'swt' wz'kwt' wh'yl' wšr'r' w'mr' wšym' wš'byq h'ṭ'yy' nyhwyly' ldyly'* "May there be healing and victory and power and steadfastness and speaking and acceptance and remittance (lit. a remitter) of sins for me" (Ginza Yamina [ed. Petermann], 133, 21–23). For the semantic equivalence of Akkadian *šemû* and *magāru*, see *CAD*, Š/2, p. 277, s. v. *šemû* (lexical section), *CAD*, M/1, pp. 34–35, s. v. *magāru* (lexical section) and ibid., p. 40, meaning 4b. Note especially Antagal III 179: *giš.tuk* = MIN (*šamû*) *ša magāri* "the *šemû* of acceptance" (*CAD*, M/1, p. 35a). **11:** *šwm tl'ṭ'* "the name(s) of three (divine beings)": The parallel bowl MS 2054/40:11 refers to Hibil, Šitil and Enuš in the corresponding context. **12:** *(gbr' qrb)'yy'* "formidable man": The first letter of *qrb'yy'* would seem to definitely be *q*, both here and in line 17, thereby excluding a reading *'br'yy'* "extraordinary" (for *'br'yy'*, cf. above, 084M:16 and 18). Neither does a reading *qdm'yy'* "primeval" seem epigraphically possible, although it occurs, for example, in DC 14, 164 (*g'br' q'dm'y'*). **14:** *wz(r')zy' h(')wy'* "and they are armed (and) become": The reading is not certain. *wz(r')z* could conceivably be read *wzdrz* (Etpa'al). Cf. MS 2054/40:14: *(w'zdr'z) whw'* "it was armed and became." **15:** *'(tb)ls*: The reading is confirmed by the parallels, but the meaning of the verb eludes me at present. Note that the occurrence of this verb in the parallel text DC 44, 315 is incorrectly cited as *'tb'l's* by Drower-Macuch, p. 66b, s.v. BLṢ (the manuscript reads *'tb'l's*). The reading *'tb'l'ṣ* does occur, however, in the parallel passage in DC 52, 253.

105M: This text can be read virtually in its entirety with the help of a number of duplicates in the Schøyen collection (e.g., MS 1928/45, MS 2054/28, MS 2054/39, MS 2054/63, MS 2054/71), soon to be published by Professor Shaked, and Bowl 5205 in the Museo nazionale d'arte orientale a Roma, soon to be published by M. Moriggi. For lines 1–12, cf. provisionally the transcription and discussion of the parallel *AIT*, 40:1–17a by J. N. Epstein, "Gloses babylo-araméennes," *Revue des Études Juives* 74 (1922), pp. 62–65 (Epstein's readings and reconstructions will also need to be revised based on the new parallels). The present author will limit his comments to what he perceives to be incorrect readings or interpretations proposed by the editor. **8:** *'l'hy' q'hdy'* "gods crying out" — translate: "the gods cry out". **9:** *wlyly't' mthllyy* "and purified liliths" — read: *wlyly't' mhwll'* "and the liliths wail". **10:** {*w's'rt*} is not a scribal error. Read: *w's'rt[ḥ l]šwm'ykwn* "and I bind your name(s)". **12:** *[...]rb' wk[...]* — read: *[']swt' bb'yṯḥ d-* "healing in the house of". **13–15:** *blbwš y'q'r ...* "In robes of glory..." — read: *blbwš y'q'r q'ymn' blbwšy' rb' d-nhwr'* (14) *hwmy'n' d-hz'yt' bhl[s]'y ('s)[yr]ly' 'n' h'byl zdyq' d-'štyhlyt w'tyt mn 'lmy' rwrby' ...'l shry' w'l dywy' w'l rwhy' w'l hwmry'* (15) *w'l lyly't' (w'l) ... b'ty' d-bny' 'n'š' m'ys'r...* "I stand

(clothed) in a robe of glory, in great robes of light, (14) (and) I have bound upon my loins a girdle of *splendor*. I am the righteous Hibil, who was sent and came from the great worlds ... against the *sahras* and against the *dēws* and against the spirits and against the *humartas* (15) and against the liliths and against ... the houses of humans (in order to) bind ...". The *l* in *bhl[s]'y* is read following Segal, but cannot be clearly seen in the photograph. *hwmy'n' d-hz'yt'* is tentatively understood as "a girdle of splendor," based on the parallel terms *lbwš y'q'r* "robes of glory" and *lbwšy' rb' d-nhwr'* "great robes of light" and the occurrence of *zywyht'* "splendor" in the corresponding context in the late (and apparently corrupt) parallel cited below (cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 166b, s.v. *ziuihta* 2). The rendering of *'štyhlyt* as "I was stripped" in the present context is not "less likely," as claimed by Segal (note to line 14), but totally unlikely. Cf. the examples of the expression (')*štyhlyt w'tyt* "I was sent and came" cited by Drower-Macuch, pp. 450b-451a, s.v. ŠHL II "to send (away), dispatch." A semantically equivalent expression, *'yštgr w'ṭ'* "he was sent and came," occurs in a Jewish Aramaic incantation bowl (*AMB*, Bowl 13:21) in a parallel context. A similar pair of Akkadian verbs, *šapāru* "to send" and *alāku* "to go," likewise occurs in a magical context with reference to a (human) emissary on a divine mission against evil beings in Maqlû I, 61–62 (*CAD*, Š/1, p. 436a): *šaprāku allak u"urāku adabbub ana lēt kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya Asalluḫi bēl āšipūti išpuranni* "I am sent — I go, I am ordered — I speak, Asalluḫi, god of exorcism, has sent me against my sorcerer and sorceress." A parallel to the Akkadian text (including the subsequent verbal pair *wu"uru* "to order" and *dabābu* "to speak") occurs in Hebrew in a nonmagical context with reference to a (human) emissary on a divine mission in Jer 1:7: *wy'mr YHWH 'ly 'lt'mr n'r 'nky ky 'l kl 'šr 'šlḥk tlk w't kl 'šr 'ṣwk tdbr* "But the Lord said to me: Do not say, 'I am (but) a youth', for to everyone to whom I send you, you shall go and everthing that I order you, you shall speak." Cf. the comparison of the thematically related verse Is. 6:8 with Akkadian *mannam lušpur u luwa"ir* ... "Whom shall I send with orders..." by N. Wasserman, *Syntactic and Rhetorical Patterns in Non-Epic Old-Babylonian Literary Texts* (Hebrew University of Jerusalem PhD Thesis, 1993), p. 73, n. 55 (citing an oral communication by A. Shaffer) and Tz. Abusch, "The Socio-Religious Framework of the Babylonian Witchcraft Ceremony *Maqlû*: Some Observations on the Introductory Section of the Text, Part II," in Z. Zevit et al. (eds), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake 1995), pp. 479–481. 105M:13–15 parallels part of the Zrazta d-Hibil Ziwa (DC 14, 178–184 [and parallels]): *b'lbwšy' d-'rq'* (read: *d-'q'r'*) *q'* (179) *yymn' <blbwšy'> d-zyw' hw<my'n' d->zywyht' bh'ls'y <'syrly'> 'n' hw hybyl z* (180) *'dyq' 'štyhlyt w'tyt l'lm' d-rwrby' 'l'yy' d-* (181) *nhwr' wld'ywy' wls'hry'*

w̲l̲ w'l rwhy' wlhwmry' w (182) *lyly't' wp'tykry<'> wl'ṭyb' d̲-b'ty' 'n'šy' nyst'r* (183) *mn b'yt' dyly' s'm ywh'n' br h'w' sym't* (184) *hyy' z'k'yn*
"In robes of the earth (read: of glory) (179) I stand, <in robes> of radiance. <I have bound> upon my loins a gi<rdle of> splendor. I am the righteous Hibil. (180) I was sent and came to the world of the great, celestial (beings) of (181) light, and against *dēws* and against *sahras* and against spirits and against *humartas* and (182) liliths and idol-spirits and the no-good one of the houses of humans. May (they) be bound (183) from my, Sam-Yuhana son of Hawa-Simat's, house. (184) Life is victorious!

106M: This bowl parallels 104M (see above). There are traces of an additional line (15) on the interior of the bowl not noticed by Segal. Read:

(1) *bšwm(') d̲-hyy' w(bšwm') (2) d̲-m'ry' d̲-hyy' {'s} (3) 'swt' (wn'ṭr)[']
wzkwt' wht'mt' wzr'zt' thwy[l]ḫ (4) lh'zy(n) pgr['] wrwh' wnyšymt' wlh'-
zy(n) byt' dwr' (5) whykl' wb(yny)'n(') w'skwpt' whwyny'tḫ wqyny'nḫ
(6) d̲-p... br '... wr'm'y pt d'r' 'nttḫ w'swt' thwylwn lbn'ywn (7) zykr(y')
wlbn'twn nwqb't' b'swtḫ d̲-m'n 'sy' h'z' h'y(') zr'(zt') d̲-zryz (8) (m)nd(')
d̲-hyy' n(pš)ḫ (w't)' 'l'wyhw(n) d̲-šwb'yhyy' w'l shry' w'l dywy' w'l
šydy(') w'l (9) rwh[y]' (w'l hwmr)[y'] w'l lyly't' 'r(q') d̲-hz'tḫ n'd't
w{š}šwmy' 'zdr'mbt wt'byl (kwlḫ) 'št'rzl'(t) (10) (kybš') ky[b](š)yt (brq'
l)[g](yṭ hy)l'[y]wn d̲-kwl(hwn sh)ry' wdywy' wšydy' wrwhy[' whwmry']
wlyly't' (11) 'syry'{'} wmb'ṭly['] (mn) b[y](tḫ)...[... d̲-p... br '...] wr'(m-
')y pt d'r' '[nttḫ (...) 'syr wmz'](r'z) bt'ywn (12) (mn) hrš[y]' d̲-(rw)h'
wmn ... (wmn) m[nly' ...wmn dm]w'(t)' (s'yn')t' w(m)[n hršy' d̲-
tl't](m') wšytyn (13) (wtryn) lyš'ny' [wmn 'mr'] (wšy)[m' d̲-hyšwk' ...]
(14) ...bzyw' w(m)h't'(m b)[nhwr' ...] ...(15) ...[Exterior] (16') ...
(17') [...wmn bn'ywn zy](kry' wmn bn'twn nw)qb't' w'swt' [...]

(1) In the name of Life and in the name (2) of the Lord of Life. (3) May there be healing and protection and victory and sealing and arming (4) for this body and spirit and soul and for this house, dwelling (5) and residence and building and threshold and livestock and possessions (6) of P. son of A. and Rimay daughter of Dara, his wife. And may there be healing for their male sons (7) and for their female daughters. By the healing of Man, the healer. This is the charm that (8) Manda d̲-Hiia himself prepared, and he came against the seven planets and against the *sahras* and against the *dēws* and against the demons and against the (9) spirits and against the *humartas* and against the liliths. The earth which saw him shook and the heavens trembled and the world in its entirety quaked. (10) I have performed a (magical) suppression on earth. Seized is the power of all the *sahras* and *dēws* and demons and spirits [and *humartas*] and liliths. (11) They are bound and annulled from the house ...[of P. son of A.] and Rimay daughter of Dara, [his wif]e. [(...) Bound and ar]med is their house (text: houses) (12) against the sorcery of Ruha

and against [...] and against w[ords ...and against] hateful [appa]ritions and ag[ainst the sorcery of three] hundred and sixty- (13) two languages [and against speaking] and acc[eptance of darkness]... (14) ...[Bound is...] with radiance and sealed with [light] ...(15) ...[Exterior] ...(16') ...(17') [...and from their ma]le [sons] and from their female daughters, and [may there be] healing [...].

6: "P. son of A.": Segal reads the first name as *p(wh'ry')*, but the reading is not convincing. Read possibly *pyh'dwr'*. **9:** *w{š}šwmy'*: The extraneous *š*, if correctly read, is poorly written and may have been intentionally rewritten by the scribe. **9:** *'št'rzl't*: Cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 475b, s. v. ŠRHZL. **12:** *(s'yn')t'* "hateful": The first three letters are not certain, but the reading is suggested by the parallels (cf. 104M:10: *'mwmt' s(y)nt'* "hateful conjuration[s]"). **12:** *w(m)[n hršy' d̲-tl't](m')* "and ag[ainst the sorcery of three] hundred": The reconstruction is clearly required by the context and confirmed by 104M:10. The lacuna seems slightly larger than necessary, but there is not enough space for an additional expression.

107M: Note that the photograph of 107M in plate 121 is erroneously labeled as 102M. The signs > and >– represent marks used by the scribe to signify the end of sections. For a discussion and partial transcription, see now Müller-Kessler (1999). A re-edition will be published in Ch. Müller-Kessler, *Incantations for the House of Pir Nukraya. Lead Rolls from the British Museum I* (in press) [courtesy the author]. Provisionally read as follows[5] :

(3') ...*lwṭ'twn w'qr(y')twn mn pgrḫ wnyš(ymtḫ d̲-h'b)[yl] hlwp' [br nn'y]*
...(4') ...(5') ...*kwšṭ' zyw' rb'* ... *(h'b)[yl] (hlwp' br nn'y)* >– ...(6')
...(7') ...**sdy[m mry']** **d̲-byt z'm'n 'syr' 'str' 'mš'myš d̲-šwš byrt'**
'syr' sdym' 'sp'[nd'r]myd lylyt' h' qr't lnpš['] **'sp'n[d'r]myd b'nwg**
... (8') ...*'syr' b'nwg ...lylyt' 'm('yn) d̲-kwlhyn hw<mry'> wkwlhyn*
lwṭ't' w'qry't' ...mn h'(zyn pgrḫ w)...[d̲-h'byl hlwp' br] (nn)['y] (wmn
z'wḫ) wbnḫ wbn'[t]ḫ wmn (9') *b'ytḫ [d](wrḫ hy)klḫ (wbn)[y'nḫ] ...wm(h)t'*
twty' lygr'ywn d̲-bhyry' (z)ydq'{'} wdyly' h'byl hlw(p)' br nn'y >– *w'syr'*
wsdym' lylyt' d̲-ytb' ...h'zyn h' d̲-lwṭ't' ...d̲-lwṭ't' ...wqr't lnpšḫ nn'y
d̲-y'tb' 'l my' (sy)'wy' 'syr' h(') wlwṭtḫ w'(qr)y'tḫ 'syr... ...wlyly't'
(10') *d myštmylḫ ...wrgyl' ...wkbyš' h'y' wkwlhyn qyry'tḫ wmtn' twt'*
'qb(ḫ d̲-)ywk'b'r kwšṭ' wdyly' ywz'ṭ'q m'nd' d̲-hyy' h'byl hlwp' br [n]n'y
>– **'syr' wsdym' nn'y d̲-bwrṣyp 'syr' ^wsdym'^ nn'y d̲-byt gwz-**
'yyḫ d̲-bghz'y *w's[y]r' hnyn wkwlhyn ...d̲-q'ym' qwd'm'yn d̲-hynyn*
r'(my)' gyry' 'l bny' 'n'š[']... (11') ...*'syr' wrgyl' hnyn wkwlhyn lwṭtyn*

[5] Readings published by Müller-Kessler (1999) are marked below in bold script. Some of Müller-Kessler's readings can not be verified based on the published photograph, but have been provisionally accepted here. To minimize confusion, the line numbering follows Segal as closely as possible, although there would appear to be traces of some additional lines at the beginning of the incantation (so Müller-Kessler).

w'(qry't)yn ('syr' w...wrgyl' wkbyš' wmht' twty' lygrḫ ḏ-yw(k)'b('r) kwšṭ' wdywz'ṭ'q mnd' ḏ-hyy' w(d)yly' h'byl hlwp' br nn'y w'[swt'] thwylḫ (lh)['](byl hlwp' br nn)'y wlz'wḫ wlbnḫ (wlbn'tḫ) wlb'ytḫ (12') (dwrḫ) hyk(lḫ) wbyny'nḫ >- ...n'ryg ḏ-kšk'r w'syr ...š'r [ḏ-k]šk'r w'syry' kwl(hwn) kwmr'ywn w(s'g)dwn (w'syr') kwlhyn hwmr'ywn ḏ-š'ry' ('l) [b'ty'] (ḏ-)bny' 'n'šy' wmsṭy(lwn) kwl...'bwgd'ny' 'syry' kwlhwn shry' wdywy' rwhy' whwmry' wlyly't' ḏ-šbyqylwn b'rq' tybyl wmšṭylwn lgwbry' w['nšy]' wml'ly'... (13') ...wmn by(s)r'ywn 'klyn (wmn) zm'ywn š'ty' bšyh'ywn 'pky' mn ... (blyly' wbym'm') wb'ky' wmrbky' 'l bwrk'ywn wrwh'ywn ḏ-npšywn slqbwn wnhtbwn wl'yṭy' wrwq' r'yqy' b'rq' wqhdy' wṣnpy' wmqrylkwn w'ntwn š'mytwl(wn) wmn hwm(r'ykwn) mgmrytwn 'lw'ywn wmhrbytwlhwn (14') lb't'ywn wm'ṣwytwlwn lhykl'ywn ...'syrytwn wpkyrytwn wrgylytwn wkbyšytwn wmhtytwn t't'y ly(g)r'ywn ḏ-bhyry' zy(d)q' wdyly' h'byl hlwp' br nn'y bhyl' ml'l' ...rb' ḏ-hyy' w'swt' thwylḫ lh'byl hlwp' br nn'y mn hy(y') > 'syr **mlk' ḏ-r'dyn šṭwrg' ṭ'z'n'** *w'syry' ml'ky' kwlhwn w'syr...ṭ'z'n' w's<y>ry' kwl(hw)n shry' wdywy' [wšydy'] wrwhy' (15') whw(m)ry' wlyly't' (ḏ-myštmyl)[hw](n) ...[...] (w)m'tqryn g(w)ry' whynwn ...w'zlyn wš(')ryn 'l b'ty' ḏ-bny' 'n'š' ...w-mnkl'twn w'qry'twn {w'qry'twn} kwlhwn mn b'ytḫ wpgrḫ wnymwsḫ ḏ-h'b[y]l hlwp' br nn(')y wbr'zḫ wbhylḫ {ḏ-}wml'(l)ḫ whylḫ <ḏ->šwm' (16') rb['] (ḏ-)hyy' w'swt' thwylḫ lh'b[y]l hlwp' br nn'y>-'syr' 'str'* **m'rtḫ ḏ-byt zyb(n')** *['syr' 'str'] ḏ-m't' hdyt' w('s)yr' lyly't' z'rny' 'ht' ḏ-... (ḏ-šry' bm't' ḏ-)byt 'šk'pyl m'm('y) qr't lnpšḫ 'syr' kwlhyn qyry'tḫ 'syry' tl('t)m' wšytyn šyršy(') ḏ-'str't' whwmr[y'] wrwhy' wlylyt' ḏ-(')tk(') bt(')byl br'z' rb' ḏ-'bwhwn (17') ...wn wtwm 'syr' kwlhyn bhyl' {bḫyl'}w'rwt' ḏ-m'n' rb' kbyr' q'dm'y' w'swt' [thwylḫ lh'byl hlwp' br] nn'y >-...'str' (ḏ-) 'l pr't y'tb' wmwlyt qr't lnpš' 'syry' šytyn wšyt' 'l'hy' p'ndy' ḏ-q'ymy' qwd'(m)ḫ (wh)[ynw](n) (m)gmrylwn w-m.šrlwn l't'r 't('r) w'syr' pl'ng' nn'y h'y' wš'b' ('h)w't' ḏ-š(ry' 'l) hwryn' nhr' ḏ-byt h'šwm w'syry' hnwn (18') wkwlhy(n) [q]yry'twn wkwlhwn shr'ywn wdyw'ywn wrwh'ywn whmr'ywn wlyly'twn wmh(šb) ['twn] (by)št' [...] ...[w'](sy)[r'] kwlhyn qyry't(y)n (w'syr') mnkl('twn) ḏ-š'ry' b... ... (n')zyh' wnyp(q') mn b'ytḫ wpgrḫ ḏ-h'b[yl] hlwp' br nn'y wpkry' wrgyly' wkbyšy' wmhty'<twty'> lygr'ywn ḏ-bhyry' zydq' wdyly' h'byl hlwp' br nn'y {wm} bhyl' ḏ-hyy' wml'lḫ ḏ-(19') mnd' ḏ-hy(y') w'swt' thwylḫ lh'byl hlwp' br nn'y wlzwḫ wlybnḫ wlybn'tḫ wlb'ytḫ wlhmḫ wmy[ḫ ...] w'syr' 'str' ḏ-byt gyrm'y wr'dyn w'syry<'> kwlhwn kwmr(ḫ w)sgdḫ (whw)[m](rḫ ḏ-šry' bb'ty)[' w'](syry' wpkyry' wrgyly') wk(byšy' mn) b'ytḫ pgrḫ wnymwsḫ ḏ-h[']byl hlwp' br nn'y w'swt' thwylḫ <lh'byl hlwp'> br nn'y wlz'wḫ wl{w}bnḫ wlbn'tḫ wlb'ytḫ >- 'syr' 'str(') [Exterior] (20') ...'str' ḏ-'l ṭwr' (y'tb') ...w'syr' 'st'r ṭwr' mskynt(y') [...] (ḏ-)bhd' mdyn' y'tb' ...kwl (dwk)t'...š'ry' l'w lṭ'b š'[ry' (...)] (mygṭl)['] [drdq](y' 'yyk) t'rn('wly') wdrd(q')t' 'yyk trn'wl't' wmhrb' b'ty' wm'ṣ[wy'] (hykly' ḏ-b)ny' 'n'š' mn lhm' wmy'*

wmytq(')ry' lwṭ't' w'qry't' byš't' (21') w'str' 'syr' 'syr' wrgyl' pkyr' wkbyš' wkryk' wdhy' hnyn wlwṭtyn w'qry'tyn wmyskynwtyn mn h'zyn pgr'{w}wnymws' wb'ytḫ wdwrḫ whyklḫ wby[n]y'nḫ wz'wḫ wbnḫ wbn'tḫ ḏ-h'byl hlwp' br nn'y >-

(3') ...their curses and their imprecations from the body and soul of Hibil-Halupa [son of Nanay]...(4') ...(5') ...truth, great radiance ... Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay.>- ...(6') ...(7') ...shackled [is the Lord] of Bit Zaman. Bound is the Istar Amašamiš of the fortress Šuš. Bound (and) shackled is the lilith Ispa[ndar]mid, who calls herself Lady Is-pan[dar]mid ...(8') ...Bound is the Lady ...the lilith, the mother of all *hu<martas>* and all curses and imprecations ...from this body and ...[of Hibil-Halupa son of] Nan[ay] and from his spouse and his sons and his daughters and from (9') his house, his dwelling, his residence and his building ...and put down beneath the feet of the chosen of righteousness and of me, Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay.>- And bound and shackled is the lilith that haunts ...and calls herself Nanay who haunts the black water. Bound is she and her curses and imprecations. Bound is ...and the liliths (10') that hearken to her ...and fettered ...and suppressed, she and all her imprecations and put under the heel of Yukabar Kušṭa and of me, Yuzaṭaq Manda ḏ-Hiia Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay.>- Bound and shackled is Nanay of Borsippa. Bound and shackled is Nanay of Bit Guzaya which is in Gahzay. And they are bound, they and all the ...who serve them (lit. stand before them), who cast arrows upon humans ...(11') ...Bound and fettered are they and all their curses and imprecations. Bound and ...and fettered and suppressed and put down under the feet of Yukabar Kušṭa and of Yuzaṭaq Manda ḏ-Hiia and of me, Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay. And may there be [healing] for Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay and for his spouse and for his sons and for his daughters and for his house, (12') his dwelling, his residence and his building.>- [Bound is DN of ...and bound is] Nirig of Kaškar and bound is [DN of Ka]škar and bound are all their priests and worshippers and bound are all their *humartas* that haunt [the houses] of humans and seduce them. All (...) *abugdanas*. Bound are all the *sahras* and *dēws*, spirits and *humartas* and liliths which they have left on the earthly world and who render men and [women] senseless, and words ...(13') ...and devour their flesh and drink of their blood. In their lust they turn away from ...at night and by day, and cry and kneel on their knees, and their own spirits are agitated (lit. rise and descend) within them, and they curse and spit spittle upon the ground, and they shout and scream and call out to you, and you hear them and with your *humartas* you *take possession of* them and you destroy (14') their houses and desolate their residences ...you are bound and tied up and fettered and suppressed and put down under the feet of the chosen of righteousness and of me, Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay, by the power, the word, the great ...of Life. And may there be

healing for Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay from Life.> Bound is the angel of Radin, the reckless Šṭurga, and bound are all the angels, and bound is the reckless... and bound are all the *sahras* and *dēws* [and demons] and spirits (15') and *humartas* and liliths that hearken to them ... and they are called '*adulterers*', and they ... and they go about and haunt the houses of humans ... and their guileful spirits and their imprecations, all of them, from the house and body and constitution of Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay, by the mystery and power and word and power <of> (?) the great name (16') of Life. And may there be healing for Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay.>– Bound is Istar, the Mistress of Bīt Zibna. [Bound is the Istar] of the New Town. And bound is the lilith Zarni, sister of ... who haunts the territory of Bīt Iškapil, who calls herself Mamay. Bound are all her imprecations. Bound are the three hundred and sixty tribes of the Istars and the *humartas* and the spirits and the liliths that are in the world, by the great mystery of their father (17')... And furthermore, they are all bound by the power and illumination of the great, mighty and primeval Mana. And [may there be] healing [for Hibil-Halupa son of] Nanay.>– [Bound is] the Istar that haunts the Euphrates and calls herself Mulit. Bound are the sixty-six gods ... which serve (lit. stand before) her and t[hey] *take possession of* and ... various places. And bound is the phalanx of Nanay, she and her seven sisters who haunt the river Hurina in Bīt Hašum. And bound are they (18') and all their imprecations and all their *sahras* and *dēws* and spirits and *humartas* and liliths and evil machinations ... [And bound are] all their imprecations and bound are their guileful spirits which haunt ... May they flee and be expelled from the house and body of Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay, and they are tied up and fettered and suppressed and put down <under> the feet of the chosen of righteousness and of me, Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay, by the power of Life and the word of (19') Manda ḏ-Hiia. And may there be healing for Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay and for his spouse and for his sons and for his daughters and for his house and his food and [his] water [...]. And bound is the Istar of Bīt Girmay and Radin, and bound are all her priests and her worshippers and her *humartas* who haunt houses, and they are bound and tied up and fettered and suppressed from the house, body and constitution of Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay. And may there be healing for <Hibil-Halupa> son of Nanay and for his spouse and for his sons and for his daughters and for his house.>– Bound is the Istar (20') ... the Istar that haunts the mountain ... and bound is the wretched Istar of the mountain [...] that haunts a city ... every place ... haunts, and it is not for good that she ha[unts (...)] she kills [young boy]s like roosters and young girls like hens and destroys houses and desolates the residences of humans of food and water and is called 'curses' and 'evil imprecations' and (21') 'Istar'. Bound, bound and fettered, tied up and suppressed and turned back and repulsed are they and their

curses and their imprecations and their wretchedness from this body and constitution and house and dwelling and residence and building and spouse and sons and daughters of Hibil-Halupa son of Nanay.>–

3': *hʿbyl hlwpʾ*: The name of the client is *hʿbyl hlwpʾ* (so Müller-Kessler [1999]), not *hʿbyl hlypʾ*, as read by Segal. **10':** *ḏ-qʾymʾ qwdʾmʾyn* "who serve them (lit. stand before them)": Cf. *ḏ-qʾymyʾ ʿlʾwḫ* "who serve him" (081M:5 [above]). The same expression occurs in parallel with ŠMŠ (Paʿel) "to serve, minister to" in Ginza Yamina (ed. Petermann) 209, 16–17 (and parallels): *ʾlyp ʾlyp qʾymyʾ qwdʾmḫ wrwbʾn rwbʾn ṭʾywtʾ mšʾmšʾlḫ* "Thousand(s) upon thousand(s) serve him (lit. stand before him) and myriad(s) upon myriad(s) of evil spirits minister to him." **12':** ... *nʿryg ḏ-kšḵʾr wʿsyr ... šʾr [ḏ-k]šḵʾr* "[Bound is DN of ... and bound is] Nirig of Kaškar and bound is [DN of Ka]škar": This line most likely parallels MS 2054/23:4–5: *wʿsyr nyryg ḏ-nhʾr kwpt[yʾ] wʿsyr nyryg ḏ-kšḵʾr wʿsyr nyšʾr ḏ-kšḵ(ʾr)* "And bound is Nirig of the river Kupt(ia) and bound is Nirig of Kaškar and bound is Nišar of Kaškar." Parallel references to Nirig of the river Kuptia and Nišar of Kaškar also occur in the unpublished Mandaic lead roll BM 132947+, 170'-171', cited by Ch. Müller-Kessler and K. Kessler, "Spätbabylonisches Gottheiten in spätantiken mandäischen Texten," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 89 (1999): 79, 68. **13':** *wrwqʾ rʾyqyʾ* "and spit spittle": Segal's proposed emendation, {*wrwqʾ*} *wrʾyqyʾ* (incorrectly reading *wrʾyqyʾ* for *rʾyqyʾ*), is gratuitous, as the same expression occurs in *MIT*, 5:6 and 6:6. **15':** Segal's reading *wrgylyʾ wkbyšyʾ hynwn* is most likely correct, but is not visible to the present author in the photograph. **16':** *byt zyb(nʾ)*: There would appear to be the remains of a crossed out letter between the two words. **16':** For *šyršyʾ* "tribes," cf. Drower-Macuch, pp. 463b-464a, s.v. *širša*. In the present context, *šyršʾ* is equivalent to *šwrbtʾ* "brood, tribe, family" (see Drower-Macuch, p. 457a, s.v.), which also frequently occurs in incantations with reference to hordes of demons (e.g., 088M:7). **16':** *ʿtkʾ* is an unassimilated variant of the usual *ʿkʾ* (Drower-Macuch, p. 348b, s.v. *ʿka* 1). **17':** *bhylʾ* {*bhylʾ*} *wʿrwtʾ* "by the power and illumination": See Drower-Macuch, p. 357, s.v. *ʿruta* "illumination ... brilliance..." Cf. 081M:11: *bhylʾy ... wrwtʾy*, which Segal himself renders "in my power ... and my illumination." It should be noted that Segal's translation of *ʿrwtʾ* as "fever" is based on Aramaic *ʿryt* in the hendiadys *ʾštʾ wʿryt* "fever and chills," for which see *AMB*, pp. 47 and 49. *ʿryt* itself is properly "chill, shivering" (so Segal, p. 216, s.v.), which fits the present context even less than "fever." The cognate Mandaic term *ʿšʾtʾ wrwyt* "fever and chills," incidently, occurs in E. S. Drower, "A Phylactery for Rue (An Invocation of the Personified Herb)," *Orientalia N. S.* 15 (1946), p. 325, line 10 (incorrectly rendered "fever and weakness" by the editor [ibid., p. 334] and by Drower-Macuch, p. 429b, s. v. *ruita*). The same expression also occurs in DC 37, 267 (unpublished). Cf. also

the semantic equivalent *ʿš'tʾ h'mymtyʾ wq'ryrtyʾ* "hot and cold fever" (see Drower-Macuch, p. 403a, s. v. *qarir*). **17':** *šytyn wšytʾ* "sixty-six": The present author can not discern these words in the photograph, but the same reading is proposed independently by both Segal and Müller-Kessler. **20':** The beginning of the line is probably to be read (*ʿsyrʾ*) *ʿstrʾ* and comprises a dittograph of the final words of the previous line on the interior of the bowl. The present author can not discern traces of *mygṭl'* in the photograph, but Segal's reading (except for the final *y*) must be correct. The demon *ʿst'r ṭwrʾ* "the Istar of the mountain" also occurs in *AMB*, Bowl 9:14 (written: *'ystr ṭwrʾ*). Cf. *ṭwr'yt' lylytʾ* "the mountain-lilith" (DC 43F, 54 [cf. Drower-Macuch, p. 179a, s. v. *ṭuraita*]). The mountains as a home of demons is already attested in Akkadian literature. For references, see *CAD*, Š/1, p.. 55b, s.v.*šadû* A, meaning 1i.

109M: 2–3: *thwylḥ* (3) [...]*k* "May there be ...(3) [for Daro]k" — read: *thwylḥ l*[*byt*]*ḥ* (3) [*ḏ*-](*prw*)*k* "May there be ...for the [house (3) of] Farrok". The name of the client would seem to be Farrok, not Darok as read by Segal. **10–15:** Read: (*b*)*šmḥ ... ml'kʾ* (11) *myk*(')*ʿyyl ml'kʾ* (12) *bšwmḥ ḏ*-(*šyt*)*yl* (13) *ml'kʾ bšw*(*m*)*ḥ* (14) *ḏ*-*šmšyyʿyyl* (15) *ml'kʾ* "in the name ...the angel, (11) Michael the angel, (12) in the name of Šitil (13) the angel, in the name (14) of Šamšiel (15) the angel". Segal's reading (ʿ)*zʿyl* in line 10 seems plausible. **25–28:** *whtymʾ ... pt*[...] — read: *whtymʾ* (26) [*h*']*zyn nyšmtḥ ḏ*-(*p*) (27) *rwk br q'q'y* (28) [*w*](*dwstwy*') *pt* (*'h't*) "and sealed is (26) [th]is soul of (27) Farrok son of Qaqay (28) [and] Dostoya daughter of Ahat". **38–41:** Read: ...(*byny*') *šwmyʾ* (39) (*w'rq*') *wmš'by*' (40) *hyy*' *w'swt*' (41) *thwylḥ* "...between the heavens (39) and the earth. And Life is praised! (40) And may there be healing (41) for".

110M: The author of this bowl does not seem to have been well versed in the scribal art. Read section I (Segal's lines 1–9) tentatively as follows:

(1) *h*(')*ln dmwtʾ* (2) (*ḏ*-)'*d'wn'y* (3) *b*(*š*)*wmʾ ḏ-hy*(*y*') (4) *'swtʾ wyh't'm*' (5) *t' wnt'rt' thy* (6) *wylḥ lbytḥ* (*dybr*)(7)(*bydyry*') *br mmy* (8) *ḏ*-*'dw* <*n'y*> [at an angle to lines 3–5] (9) *'s* (10) *r*' *ḏ*-*pˆrˆ* [*zl'*]

(1) These (are) pictures (2) of Adunay. (3) In the name of Life. (4) May there be healing and sealing (5) and protection (6) for the house *of Ybr* (7) *bydyry*' son of Mamay. (8) Of Adu<nay>. [at an angle to lines 3–5] (9) *Bond* (10) *of ir*[*on*].

1–2: These lines would appear to explain the drawings. If this interpretation is correct, Segal's line 9 (*ḏ*-*'dy* "of Adday") should then be read *ḏ*-*'dw*<*n'y*> "of Adu<nay>", as proposed above, referring to the following drawing. **6–7:** The reading of the name of the client is uncertain. A reading *dyrḥ* "(and) dwelling" for *dybr* does not seem epigraphically likely.

111M: This bowl parallels 102M (above). As recognized by C. Walker in the Table of Registration Numbers and Provenances (p. 38), 111M was originally published by C. H. Gordon, "Two Magic Bowls in Teheran," *Orientalia N.S.* 20 (1951), pp. 306–315 (pp. 309–10, 314–15). Segal briefly cites Gordon's study in his note to line 8, but does not appear to have otherwise profited from the earlier edition. This is unfortunate, as Gordon's transcription is for the most part superior to that of Segal. Read:

(3) ...[*lyk bšw*](*myk qr*)[*y*](*tyk*) (*lylyt*') (4) (*h*)[*rštʾ ḏ*-*š*'](*ry*') [*bytḥ*] (*d*-*z*')*kwyʾ* '*r*(*q*)*b*' (*n*)[']*k*)[*t*'] ...(*pt*) [*hywy*'] (5) (*hyw*')*r*' *pt krpw* ...(ʿ*syr*' *šwmy*') ...[*lylyt*'] (*h*)[*rš*](*t*') (6) *ḏ*-*š*'*ry*' *bytḥ ḏ*-[*z*]'*kwy*' (ʿ*syr*') '*rq*' (ʿ*lḥ ḏ*-)*lylyt*' *hršt*[']) (*ḏ*-)[*š*']*r*[*y*' *byt*]*ḥ ḏ*-*z'kwy*' (7) ʿ*syr krkwm* '*bhwn ḏ*-*hršy*' *wmr*(')*wn* (*ḏ*-)*m'b'd*(*y*') ʿ(*s*)[*yr*' *lylyt*'] *h*[*rštʾ ḏ*-]*š*'*ry*' (8) *bytḥ ḏ*-*z'kwy*' ʿ*syr*' *lylyt*' *hršt*' *ḏ*-(*š*)'*ry*' *bytḥ* (*ḏ*-*z'kw*)[*y*'] ...[*ḏ*-*przl*' *b'ynḥ*] (ʿ*syr*') (9) *lylyt*' *hršt*' (*b*)*sykt*' [*ḏ*-](*pr*)*zl*' *bnhyrḥ* ʿ*syr*' *ly*ˆ*ly*ˆ*t*' *hršt*' *b*(*s*)[*kyn*' *ḏ*-*przl*'] (*bpwmḥ*) [ʿ*syr*'] (*lylyt*') *hršt*' (10) *ḏ*-*š*'*ry*' *bytḥ ḏ*-*z'k*(*wy*') *bšwšlyt*' *ḏ*-*prz*[*l*]' *bṣ*(*w*)*rḥ* ʿ*syr*' *lylyt*' *hršt*' *b*...[*ḏ*-]*przl*' (*b'dḥ*) ʿ*syr*' (11) *lylyt*' *hršt*' *bsd*' *ḏ*-*gl'l*' (*b*)[*l*](*ygrḥ*) (*s*)*dymyt* '*n*(*t*) *lylyt*' *hršt*' *ḏ*-*š*'*ry*' *bytḥ* [*ḏ*-*z'kwy*](') *bsyd*[*m*' *rb*'] (12) (*ḏ*-*s*)*dmḥ m*[']*nd*' *ḏ*-)*hyy*' (*lsm'yy*)[*l sṭ'n*' *w*']*swtʾ*) *thwylḥ lbytḥ dwrḥ wbyny'nḥ wlz'wḥ wbnḥ* (*wbn'tḥ*) ...(13)...[*mš*']*byn h*)[*yy*'] Exterior: (14) *lyk b*(*š*)[*wmyk*] (15) (*qr*)[*y*]*tyk lyly*[*t*']

(3) ...[You, by] your na[me], I have called, O be[witching] lilith (4) [that hau]nts [the house] of Zakoya, b[iting] scorpion..., daughter of a (5) white [snake], daughter of a poisonous lizard ...Bound are the heavens ...the be[witching lilith] (6) that haunts the house of Zakoya. Bound is the earth upon the bewitching lilith that h[aunts the house] of Zakoya. (7) Bound is Karkum, the father of witchcraft and the lord of (magical) act(s). Bo[und is the bewitching lilith that] haunts (8) the house of Zakoya. Bound is the bewitching lilith that haunts the house of Zako[ya (with) a ...of iron in her eye]. Bound is (9) the bewitching lilith with a pin [of] iron in her nose. Bound is the bewitching lilith with a k[nife of iron] in her mouth. [Bound is] the bewitching lilith (10) that haunts the house of Zakoya with a chain of iron on her neck. Bound is the bewitching lilith with ...[of] iron on/in her hands. Bound is (11) the bewitching lilith with stocks of stone on her legs. You are shackled, you, O bewitching lilith that haunts the house [of Zakoy]a, with the [great sha]ckle (12) (with) which Manda ḏ-Hiia shackled Simai[l, the Satan. And] may there be healing for his house, his dwelling and his building and for his spouse and his sons and his daughters ...(13) ...L[ife is prai]sed! Exterior (as label): (14) You, by [your na]me, (15) I have called, O lilith.

6: (ʿ*lḥ ḏ*-) "upon": The reading is not certain. (ʿ*lwy*') "upon" also seems possible. **10:** (*b'dḥ*) "on/in her hands": The reading follows Gordon, but the ' in particular is unclear in the photograph. Whatever

the precise reading may be, however, the translation "her hands" is to be expected based on 102M:10 (see above).

112M: 7–12: Read:
... mn byt̲h̲ dwr̲h̲ whyklh̲ d̲-(ksr)[w] (br š)[hlwn] (wmy)n [PN] (pt) (8) *q'ywmt' wmn b'b'ydwkt pt (šhlwn) wmn [PN₂ p](t) (šhrwn)* (9) *'syry' wrgyly' wkbyšy' hynwn [w...wn w...wn w...]wn whwmrywn* (10) *w (rwhywn)* (?)*wlyly'twn wp('g)'ywn wqry('twn) [w...wn] (wšyqwp)[t'ywn] ('np)<y'> byt̲h̲* (11) *d̲-ks(rw) br š(h)lwn 'syry' wrgyly' wkbyš[y'] (hynwn) [...whr](šy') byšy'* (12) *wmb'dy' mkyry' mn byt̲h̲ d̲-(ksrw b)[r šhlwn...] ...*from the house, dwelling and residence of Khusraw son of Ša[hlun] and from [PN] daughter of (8) Qayyomta and from Babaydukt daughter of Šahlun and from [PN₂ daugh]ter of Šahrun (= Šahlun). (9) Bound and fettered and suppressed are they [and their ...and their ...and] their [...] and their *humartas* (10) and their spirits (?) and their liliths and their misfortunes and their imprecations [and their...] and [their] (magical) blows (from) *before* the house (11) of Khusraw son of Šahlun. Bound and fettered and suppressed are they [...and] evil [sor]cery (12) and polluting (magical) practices from the house of Khusraw so[n of Sahlun....]

7–8: PN daughter of Qayyomta is presumably Khusraw's wife. Two sisters of Khusraw are then named; only the name of the first (Babaydukt) is legible. **12:** *mkyry'* "polluting": *mkyry'* is most likely derived from K'R "to shame, pollute..." (Drower-Macuch, p. 200b). It is tentatively understood as a Pa'el active participle, i. e., "polluting." The root K'R is semnatically related to the root ṬNP "to be impure" (*MD*, p. 181), and derivatives of the two roots are attested in parallel (see *MD*, p. 271, s. v. *mkairuta* and ibid., p. 100, s. v. KAR [Ethpa.]). *mb'dy'mkyry'* "polluting (magical) practices" may thus be compared with *r'zy' mṭ'npy'*, rendered "defiling mysteries" by *MD*, p. 181, s. v. ṬNP. The analysis of *mkyry'* (and *mṭ'npy'* as Pa'l passive particles, both meaning "polluted, impure," is also morphologically possible. In such a case, compare the resulting parallel *byšy'* "evil" // *mkyry'* "polluted, impure" with the parallel *byšt'* "evil" // *ṭmyt'* "impure" in *AMB*, Bowl 13:17 (Jewish Babylonian Aramaic): *ḥwmry byšt' ḥwmry ṭmyt' ḥwmry zydnyt'* "evil *humartas*, impure *humartas*, malicious *humartas*."

115M: 4: [...]*d'ry' wl' l'ty' lm*—read: [*ld'*]*r d'ry' wl'l'm 'lmy'* "in all ages and forever". **6:** *pt hwl pwn' ...b't'*—read: *pt hwlpwn'* (?) [*wb*]*nh̲ zykry' [wbn'th̲] nwqb't'* "daughter of *Hulpuna* [and] her male [so]ns [and her] female [daughters]".

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On Practical Uses of Ten *Sefirot*: Material Readings in an Early Modern Kabbalistic Collectaneum (MS Michael 473)*

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Abstract

By the end of the sixteenth century, textual manifestations of kabbalah—a variety of Jewish mysticism that first emerged in medieval Provence and Catalonia—achieved the status of elite but authoritative lore in Eastern and Central Europe, even if at times they stirred religious opposition. At the same time, and especially in the seventeenth century, the so-called practical kabbalah, associated with magic and a talismanic approach to religious ritual, gained substantial popularity among Ashkenazi (i.e., Eastern and Central European) Jews. This study centers on a multiple-text and composite codex, Oxford-Bodleian MS Michael 473, and throws into relief the dynamics of circulation of various kabbalistic traditions in early modern Eastern and Central Europe. By zooming in on a single codex, this article foregrounds the hermeneutic potential of contextual reading of texts in complex manuscripts and of interpreting material choices taken by their cocreators. It does so with a methodological agenda that goes beyond tracing of authorial genealogies, and beyond the sociology of texts and their producers, toward exploring the interpretive

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relations of literary and material form in early modern handwritten kabbalistic texts. The article showcases a single textual unit, *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot*, that MS Michael 473 contains, in order to focus on the position of practical kabbalistic texts and practices within the spectrum of kabbalistic traditions of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Eastern and Central Europe, ushered in by the contemporary modes of reading and transcription of texts.

Keywords

kabbalah, practical knowledge, Jewish magic, material text, Jewish manuscript cultures, *sefirot*

Introduction

The Oxford-Bodleian MS Michael 473 is a vast composite manuscript of over 200 folios, predominantly in quarto, cataloged invariably as a kabbalistic collectaneum. Composed of five major codicological units, datable between the mid-seventeenth and early eighteenth century, it contains in its present form over thirty identifiable textual units written in Ashkenazi (Eastern-Central European) cursive, non-square, and occasionally square script.[1] The volume represents a striking and yet very typical material format in which kabbalistic texts recorded in the early modern period have passed down to contemporary library collections. Comprising an array of textual units, from early medieval to early modern, this codex exposes a *tour d'horizon* of the kabbalistic manuscript culture of Ashkenaz (Eastern and Central Europe) that effectively brought it into its current shape.

In the catalog of Adolph Neubauer, who published his description of the Hebrew manuscript collection of the Bodleian Library in 1886, the manuscript is numbered 1960, quite reasonably under the heading of "other kabbalistic *collectanea.*"[2] The codex appears just before the end of the "Kabbalah" section of the catalog, indeed following other, often lengthy and seemingly haphazardly ordered, kabbalistic

[1] What I refer to as a "codicological unit" is an independent structure that was produced and used independently and only later added to another manuscript; therefore, it does not amount to the "paleographic unit." This understanding of codicological unit follows loosely what has been defined in the context of medieval manuscripts as "booklet"; see Pamela J. Robinson, "The 'Booklet': A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," in *Codicologica* 3 (ed. Albert Gruijs and J. P. Gumbert; Litterae Textuales; Leiden: Brill, 1980) 46–69. See also J. P. Gumbert, "Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-homogeneous Codex," in *Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni. Atti del convegno internazionale, Cassino 14–17 maggio 2003* (ed. Edoardo Crisci and Oronzo Pecere; Turnhout: Brepols, 2004) 17–42, at 25; and cf. Marilena Maniaci, "The Medieval Codex as a Complex Container: The Greek and Latin Traditions," in *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (ed. Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke; Studies in Manuscript Cultures 9; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016) 27–46.

[2] Adolf Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford, Including Mss. in Other Languages, Which Are Written with Hebrew Characters, or Relating to the Hebrew Language or Literature; and a Few Samaritan Mss.* (Catalogi Codd. Mss. Bibliothecae Bodleianae Pars XII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886) 639.

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collectanea. The precise rationale behind Neubauer's organization of his catalogue might not always be evident, but many of the late, more complex or outwardly convoluted kabbalistic codices of the Bodleian collections closed the catalog list labeled as "other," as opposed to the codices of simpler, less labyrinthine structure, perhaps also of more extraordinary and unique, if not early, content.

Nonetheless, several textual units contained in codex no. 1960 in Neubauer's catalog have drawn scholarly attention in the past, having been recognized as versions of well-known early Jewish mystical texts.[3] This was the case of the piece located on folios 23v–27v, which has been acknowledged in a critical edition as belonging to the so-called *Ši'ur Qomah,* a textual tradition on the anthropomorphic structure and measurement of the godhead, whose limbs consist of angelic names.[4] Likewise, the text that appears in MS Michael 473 on folios 112r–115v served as the basis for an edition of *'Alfa-Beta de-Metatron,* a short medieval commentary of Ashkenazi provenance on the special shapes of letters—a so-called angelic alphabet—whose authorship has been ascribed to the thirteenth-century Nehemiah ben Shlomo, a "prophet" of Erfurt.[5] The "other kabbalistic collectanea" also awoke the curiosity of Gershom Scholem. In his copy of Neubauer's catalog, Scholem noted codex no. 1960 among the sixteen manuscripts of the Bodleian Library of which he wished to secure a photographic reproduction.[6] What perturbed Scholem were two names that appear in passing in the volume: Rabbi Ozer he-Ḥasid[7] and Rabbi Shimshon.[8] Scholem noted the latter name with a question mark in the margin. Next to codex no. 1960 in his copy of Neubauer's catalog, he added a note which was as inquisitive as it is agitated: "*Wer ist R. Shimshon!!?"* ("Who is rabbi Shimshon!!?").

[3] See a general description of this item in the Neubauer catalog, cited in n. 2, augmented in *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. 1 (A. Neubauer's Catalogue)* (compiled under the direction of Malachi Beit-Arié, ed. R. A. May; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 354.

[4] See Martin Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions* (TSAJ 9; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985). See also Asi Farber-Ginat, "Inquiries in *Shi'ur Qomah,*" in *Massu'ot: Studies in Kabbalistic Literature and Jewish Philosophy in Memory of Professor Ephraim Gottlieb* (ed. Michal Oron and Amos Goldreich; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1994) 361–94 (Hebrew). Part of this text is parallel to that printed in *Sefer Raziel ha-Malakh* (Amsterdam, 1701), fols. 38r–v.

[5] Israel Weinstock, "The Alphabet of Metatron and Its Interpretations," *Temirin* 2 (1981) 51–76 (Hebrew); Moshe Idel, "Anonymous Commentary on the Alphabet of Metatron: An Additional Treatise of R. Nehemiah ben Shlomo, the Prophet," *Tarbiz* 76 (2007) 255–64 (Hebrew).

[6] See Scholem's copy of the catalog in the Scholem Collection of the National Library of Israel, call no. 14247.

[7] The name of Ozer is mentioned in the collection of predominantly Lurianic fragments (*tiqqunim* and *sodot*) and practical kabbalistic matters on fols. 35r–93v.

[8] The copyist ascribed the commentary on ten *sefirot* (on fols. 6r–18v) to Rabbi Shimshon, who Scholem hesitantly identified with Shimshon [ben Pesaḥ] Ostropoler. On this kabbalist, see Yehuda Liebes, "Mysticism and Reality: Towards a Portrait of the Martyr and Kabbalist, R. Samson Ostropoler," in *Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (ed. Isadore Twersky and Bernard Septimus; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987) 221–55.

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Indeed, reading premodern manuscripts to ferret out obscured identities of authorship and works or to resolve perplexing chronological ambiguities in texts and fragments thereof has been a general tendency of modern scholarship of kabbalah, one that had enthralled Scholem in his textual bibliographical explorations and that has dominated critical investigations of kabbalistic texts until today.[9] This modern enchantment of scholars suggests a certain nostalgia for fixed origins, definite sources, and often singular authorship—a propensity that resonates with theological desires and anxieties discoverable in many of the kabbalistic texts themselves—that could validate abundant textual production despite its unruly variability. A methodological tendency to search for the primary or ideal forms of texts imbued with authorial intentionality has had far-reaching consequences for the critical study of handwritten textual sources, including kabbalistic sources.[10] It has habitually cast any relatively late manuscripts as mere depositories of purportedly distorted "variants" or copies of earlier "original" texts and as material that at best contains secondary indications of what is or should have been erstwhile, authentic, or simply "a better reading."[11]

From a different reading perspective—one that arises from the growing field of material text studies—each codex could, and should, be construed as a consequence of textual and material choices predicated on historical circumstances and culturally and epistemically informed assumptions on the part of its producer(s). According to this approach, each textual unit emerges as evidence of multiple decisions of those who engaged in its reading, transcription, and subsequent transmission. Consequently, situating manuscript volumes, be they medieval or postmedieval, in the context of writing and reading practices of the culture that produced them offers a fresh hermeneutic of reading, one that zeroes in on recovering the historical and intellectual conditions that steered the recirculation of particular texts in specific cultural settings, despite any purported textual "distortions" entailed by the mode of their production.[12]

[9] For a critical overview of historical and modern approaches to studying kabbalistic texts and textuality, see Daniel Abrams, *Kabbalistic Manuscripts and Textual Theory: Methodologies of Textual Scholarship and Editorial Practice in the Study of Jewish Mysticism* (Sources and Studies in the Literature of Jewish Mysticism 36; Los Angeles: Cherub and Jerusalem: Magnes, 2013) 17–117, 555–73. See, however, the more materially grounded study of Malachi Beit-Arié, "Publication and Reproduction of Literary Texts in Medieval Jewish Civilization: Jewish Scribality and Its Impact on the Texts Transmitted," in *Transmitting Jewish Traditions: Orality, Textuality, and Cultural Diffusion* (ed. Yaakov Elman and Israel Gershoni; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 225–47.

[10] See Abrams, *Kabbalistic Manuscripts*, 444–90. Cf. the recent volume of *Jewish History* 34 (2021), dedicated to new perspectives on the study of *Sefer Ḥasidim*, the book and its context. On the issue of the "authorship" of *Sefer Ḥasidim,* see, however, important notes of David I. Shyovitz, "Was Judah he-Ḥasid the 'Author' of *Sefer Ḥasidim*?," *Jewish History* 34 (2021) 31–52.

[11] See a critical reflection on this type of reading in the volume *Textual Distortion* (ed. Elaine Treharne and Greg Walker; Essays and Texts 2017; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017).

[12] On the methodological influence of the studies on material text on various aspects of literary studies and book history in the contexts of the Western European premodern period, see, e.g.: András Kiséry and Allison Deutermann, "The Matter of Form: Book History, Formalist Criticism,

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MS Michael 473, as a multiple-text and composite codex, tells an intricate story of the circulation and status of certain kabbalistic traditions in early modern Eastern and Central Europe. This story shares its implicit collective authorship between mostly anonymous contemporary copyists, compilers, redactors, and readers, who have all engaged in the fashioning of the codex, and its texts, in its present material form. This article draws on the hermeneutic potential of contextual reading of codicological units in complex manuscripts and of interpreting material choices taken by co-creators of codices by centering on MS Michael 473. It does so with a particular agenda that goes beyond tracing the sociology of texts, their producers, and consumers toward testing the interpretive relations of literary and material form in early modern handwritten kabbalistic texts.[13] In doing so, this article spotlights a single textual unit, *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot,* that MS Michael 473 contains, in order to highlight the position of practical kabbalistic texts and performances within kabbalistic traditions of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Ashkenaz, steered by the modes of reading and practices of the contemporary transcription of texts. From the graphic format of the text to its location within the textual compilation to its placement in the composite manuscript codex, this article explores how the material shape of a text molds its potential readings inasmuch as its literary form remains in constant interpretive relation and often depends on the manuscript as the material object that holds it.

and Francis Bacon's Aphorisms," in *The Book in History, the Book as History: New Intersections of the Material Text; Essays in Honor of David Scott Kastan* (ed. Heidi Brayman, Jesse M. Lander, and Zachary Lesser; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016) 29–63; Arthur Bahr and Alexandra Gillespie, "Medieval English Manuscripts: Form, Aesthetics, and the Literary Text," *The Chaucer Review* 47 (2013) 346–60; Leah Price, "Reading Matter," in "The History of the Book and the Idea of Literature," special issue, *PMLA* 121 (2006) 9–16; D. F. McKenzie, "Typography and Meaning: The Case of William Congreve," in *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and Other Essays* (ed. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, S.J.; Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002) 198–236; *Textual Cultures: Cultural Texts* (ed. Orietta da Rold and Elaine Treharne; Texts and Essays 2010; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010). Earlier attempts at a similar approach to textual production have been made by Daniel Abrams in, e.g., "A Commentary to the Ten Sefirot from Early Thirteenth-Century Catalonia: Synoptic Edition, Translation and Detailed Commentary," *Kabbalah* 30 (2013) 7–63, esp. 8, although, paradoxically, with adherence to the notion of the "genealogy of versions" of texts that would constitute "the definition of 'the work.'"

[13] On such a methodological approach in wider contexts, see Peter McDonald, "Ideas of the Book and Histories of Literature: After Theory?," in "The History of the Book and the Idea of Literature," special issue, *PMLA* 121 (2006) 214–28, at 225; Leah Price, "From the History of a Book to a 'History of the Book,'" *Representations* 108 (2009) 120–38, esp. 123; Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus, "Surface Reading: An Introduction," *Representations* 108 (2009) 1–21, esp. 6; Matthew Zarnowiecki, "Reading Shakespeare Miscellaneously: Ben Johnson, Robert Chester, and *Varum Chorus of Loves Martyr*," in *Formal Matters: Reading the Materials of English Renaissance Literature* (ed. Allison K. Deutermann and András Kiséry; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013) 34–54. See also Henry S. Turner, "Lessons from Literature for the Historian of Science (and Vice Versa): Reflections on 'Form,'" *Isis* 101 (2010) 578–89.

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Textual Makeup of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot*: The Written Matter

Among his observations on MS Michael 473, Gershom Scholem noted that one textual unit that was copied on folios 27v–32v has parallels in two other manuscripts: MS NLI 28 251 and MS Michael Add. 18. This text, which encompasses a textual unit on the uses of ten *sefirot*—that is, of the decadic structure of divine emanation—was included by Scholem in his list of commentaries on ten *sefirot* at number 105.[14] In MS Michael 473, this "commentary" on ten *sefirot* is featured within the third codicological unit that consists of thirteen regular quarto folios and sixty-four pages, written in mid-seventeenth-century Ashkenazi non-square script.[15] This entire codicological unit forms a curious assemblage of brief kabbalistic texts and comments. It begins with a short treatise on the matters of reincarnation—whose authorship has been ascribed to Moshe Cordovero, a sixteenth-century kabbalist of Palestinian Safed—copied on folios 6r–19v.[16] Then follows a selection of short pieces on sundry kabbalistic matters, commenting chiefly on liturgical texts and often quoted in the name of Isaac Luria, arguably the most influential kabbalist of early modernity, active in late sixteenth-century Safed. Finally, several passages of *Ši'ur Qomah,* a late-antique mystical text on the dimensions of the godhead, form a textual unit that occupies folios 23v–27v.[17] This assemblage of early mystical and later kabbalistic texts or excerpts thereof, which at first glance seems haphazardly ordered and thematically incongruous, ends with a text perhaps the most bizarre of all in this gathering—the anonymous commentary noted by Scholem, introduced by the scribe of MS Michael 473 as *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* ("The tradition/wisdom of ten *sefirot*").[18]

Opening with a square initial word of scribal invocation to the divine, the text of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* follows the preceding textual unit without any title or a page break. In its graphic layout, it forms two visually distinct parts. The first part sets forth the so-called traditions (*qabbalot*) about ten *sefirot*—divine energies or emanations that build up the godhead in the majority of kabbalistic theosophies or

[14] Gershom Scholem, "Index of the Commentaries on Ten *Sefirot*," *Qiryat Sefer* 10 (1933–1934) 498–515, at 509 (Hebrew). Even though the literature of commentaries is often polemical in character, numerous commentaries on ten *sefirot* display a great deal of similarity. The text included by Scholem in his list under no. 105 stands out among the texts of this genre with regard to its thematic purview.

[15] Two types of paper make up this unit; watermarks on one of them are comparable to those produced in the last decades of the 16th cent. in the papermill of Liegnitz, Lower Silesia (Gravell Watermark Archive Arms.906.1; Briquet no. 1157).

[16] On this text, see Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalistic Manuscripts in the National and University Library in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: n.p., 1930) 99–100 (Hebrew); Bracha Sack, "Some Remarks on Rabbi Moses Cordovero's *Shemu'ah be-'Inyan ha-Gilgul*," in *Perspectives on Jewish Thought and Mysticism* (ed. Alfred L. Ivry, Elliot R. Wolfson, Allan Arkush; Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1998) 277–88.

[17] See n. 2 above.

[18] An edition (Hebrew) of this text by Yoed Kadari has been announced in Yuval Harari, "'Practical Kabbalah' and the Jewish Tradition of Magic," *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 19 (2019) 38–83, at 60.

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interpretations of metaphysics. These traditions relate to the first six *sefirot* of the ten (from *Keter*, the uppermost *sefirah,* down to *Tif'eret*, the middle, or sixth, *sefirah*). This first section of text formally retains some structural features characteristic of the genre of commentaries on *sefirot.*[19] As such, it unfolds as a sequence of theoretical explications that pertain to the status and essential characteristics of each of the divine aspects, one by one and in descending order—that is, from the *sefirah* that is closest to the one that is farthest from the source of emanation.[20] And yet, instead of the anticipated elucidation of the theosophical significance of each *sefirah* and the implications thereof for liturgy and other ritualistic acts of worship, the text of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* sets out with detailed instructions for practical procedures and linguistic formulas devised to harness the power of the *sefirot* in the material world for the benefit of its reader-practitioner. The text thus foregrounds the theosophical rationale for practical kabbalistic procedures to be enacted within the human realm, all associated and contingent upon the power of the relevant stratum of the godhead. In practice, *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* instructs a practitioner to reach to, draw down, and manipulate divine energy via the channel of divine names, with which each *sefirah* is correlated and whose power administers each of the procedures outlined in the initial part of the text. For instance, the passage that prescribes a practice to take vengeance over one's enemies, recommends:

> This is the tradition of the *sefirah* Geburah: if you want to overcome your foes, recite this prayer as it is written in the sphere of the *sefirah* Geburah, in clean clothes and prayer shawl. On the third day [of the week] write on goat parchment: "Let it be your will, holy, pure and appointed angels: Gabri'el, the angel in charge of Geburah, Šamaši'el, the angel of the sun, Ṣuri'el, in charge of the power of the names written in the sphere of the *sefirah* Geburah. And with the power of holy and pure names within the *sefirah* Geburah, outside [of it], [let it be that] they order to anger and wrath, to the angels of death in charge of humans and animals, to Mašbir, the angel of death in charge of large living creatures, and to Mašḥit,[21] the angel of death in charge of the small, so that they break the power of so-and-so, and subjugate him, and

[19] Generally speaking, the commentaries on ten *sefirot* form a type of explanatory literature that aims at exposing the symbolic meaning of Scripture in its reference to the structure and subtleties of the godhead. This genre is rarely considered to be hermeneutically original, but rather, to reflect the processes of conservation and systematization of thought. Its emergence is thus datable to the 13th cent., when a decadic form of symbolism had already been well accepted as part of the literary kabbalistic tradition. See Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) 216–17; Michal Oron, "The Literature of Commentaries to the Ten Sefirot," in *Studies in Jewish History Presented to Joseph Hacker* (ed. Yaron Ben-Naeh et al.; Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 2014) 212–29 (Hebrew); cf. Tsahi Weiss and Na'ama Ben-Shahar, "The Order of Emanation Regarding 'The Unity of Our God and Our Torah for Our People'—A Commentary on the Ten Sefirot from the 'Circle of *Sefer ha-Temunah*,'" *Kabbalah* 41 (2018) 279–304 (Hebrew).

[20] A well-known exception to this rule is the 13th-cent. commentary *Ša'arei 'Orah* of Joseph Gikatilla.

[21] The Hebrew word *mašḥit* (lit., causing damage) appears as a name of an angel in, e.g., *Pirqei de-Rabbi 'Eli'ezer*, ch. 45.

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bring fire and fever into his body, and pierce his body with evil spirits and demons, and not release him until you exhaust [his] strength, Qafaṣi'el, the angel of youth." Put this writing in the garment or shroud of the dead, pierce a hole in a tree that has not yet borne fruits, and when you place this writing in the hole, recite in the name of Panafi'el, [the angel] in charge of trees, and close the hole with tar or mud, and recite these psalms: "God of retribution, YHVH! God of retribution, appear!" [Ps 94:1], and the psalm: "O God of his praise, do not keep silent" [cf. Ps 109:1].[22] [Figure 1 below]

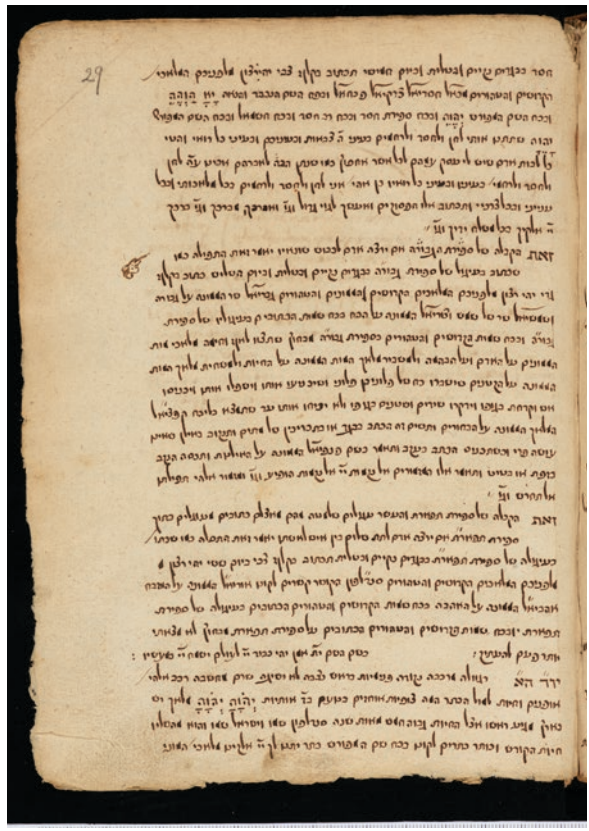


Figure 1
The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. MS Michael 473, folio 29r. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

After a series of similarly detailed descriptions of rituals and practical guidelines that pertain to the first six *sefirot* of the usual decadic structure of the godhead, the text continues with listing the divine and angelic names the practitioner ought to employ during the recommended procedure. Sequences of these names compose

[22] MS Michael 473, fol. 29r. Translations are my own. Biblical texts follow the translation of the Jewish Publication Society, with minor modifications.

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the second part of the text. They feature on the subsequent folios of the manuscript inscribed within circular shapes that represent *sefirot* graphically, with one or two of these shapes per page. The second part of the commentary thus consists of a series of circular schemes embodying the decade of *sefirot,* from the upper one to the lower one, and of complementary texts written around them. A form or two of Tetragrammaton, accompanied with a particular vowel pattern, heads each of the *sefirotic* circles. Apart from the Tetragrammaton, each circle also includes a textual formula for the adjuration of angels, with three to four angelic names per circle, that correlate with the divine name and the particular properties of the respective *sefirah* being referenced.[23] These liturgical and adjuratory formulae ought to be enacted either in writing or vocally, per the reader's understanding, during performances described in the first part of the text:

> YHVH: "Your ways, O God, are in holiness; what god is great as our God?" [Ps 77:13]; O Lord God, the measure of Judgment, the Judgment of fire in Mercy, "the terror of night" [Ps 91:5], "a well of fresh water" [Gen 26:19], "Had not the God of my father, the God of Abraham and the Fear of Isaac, been with me" [Gen 31:42], "Isaac sowed seeds in that land and the same year reaped a hundredfold, because YHVH blessed him" [Gen 26:12], the binding of Isaac, the horn of fear, "There is Solomon's carriage, encircled by sixty warriors, of the warriors of Israel, all of them wearing the sword, all experienced in battle" [Song 3:7–8], Gabri'el, Šamaši'el, Ṣuri'el. Yiṣḥaq.[24]

All three elements involved in the ritual performances advised by the text inside the circles—that is, the variant or variants of the vocalized Tetragrammaton, the name of respective *sefirah,* and the angelic names—are therefore jointly correlated in the formula, situated intertextually within biblical citations, as well as visually highlighted by the scribe across the entire textual unit. Additionally, next to each of the *sefirotic* representations there appears another prayer-adjuration, one that includes several further biblical passages, referring both to the power of the respective *sefirah* and to the angelic and divine names that appear in the adjuratory formula inscribed inside the *sefirotic* circle:

> Let it be your will, the holy and pure angels, Gabri'el, the warrior angel, Šamaši'el, in charge of the sun, Ṣuri'el, in charge of the power [of the names], so that you bring my soul to the mists of purity and show me in a dream the Garden of Eden and the academies of the righteous, and teach me the following day of the secret wisdom, as the Holy One, Blessed be He, gave this wisdom to Isaac, our forefather, [so too] bring fear and terror on my enemies, through the power of the holy and pure names written within

[23] On adjurations and incantations in Jewish magical and early mystical literatures, see Yuval Harari, *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kabbalah* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2017) 122–28, 148–49, 170–74, 187–93; and Moshe Idel, "Between Ashkenaz and Castile in the Thirteenth Century: Incantations, Lists, and Gates of Sermons in the Circle of Rabbi Nehemiah ben Shlomo the Prophet, and their Influences," *Tarbiz* 77 (2008) 475–554 (Hebrew).

[24] MS Michael 473, fol. 31r.

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> the circle of the *sefirah* Geburah, and in the honorable name of Y'YTHH, and through the power of the ineffable name YHVH YHVH, "maintaining love to thousands *maintaining love to thousands* [*sic!*]" [Exod 34:7], overpowered in greatness, "YHVH is good to all" [Ps 145:9] who call upon Him.[25]

The prayer-adjuration and related biblical passages add a further explanatory layer to the recommended performances and draw on an early tradition of mystical ascents on high, granted to humans by angels on account of the adjuration of the proper name. Such visions were to endow the initiate with requested knowledge and wisdom, to be utilized particularly for public preaching and inspired writing, deemed enthused by prophetic spirit.[26] These performances emerge here contingent on the power of the respective *sefirah* and the divine name, while situated within the textual web of biblical quotations that establish a scriptural anchor for the practical, often very technical, and quite unconventional rituals suggested in the first part of the text. So, the procedure related to Ḥokmah recommends baking a cake of wheat, sugar, and spices and eating a mouthful of it upon reciting the prescribed formula once a day and once a night, for fifteen consecutive days and nights, all while keeping one's hands down, wearing clean clothes, and donning a prayer shawl.[27] The same prayer formula is also claimed to be effective in a related procedure intended to impart knowledge to a youngster, for whom one should write an amulet, dissolve it in white wine, and give the liquid to the youngster to drink. A more intricate technique, the purpose of which is to gain the ability of preaching in public, engages the *sefirah* Binah by concocting a dough mixed with the flesh of a slaughtered white cock and consuming the prepared mixture at night with the first cock's crow,[28] after cleansing hands with rose water and on reciting the adjuratory formula of proper names.[29]

Indeed, the matters of unusual rituals exposed in *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* may not meet the expectations of readers accustomed to the genre of kabbalistic commentaries on ten *sefirot.* The first portion of this text explores six performances, all of which voice a human concern with the acquisition of extraordinary abilities through the manipulation of powers associated with the *sefirot*. All but one of the procedures mentioned in the text recommend crafting amulets, thus concentrating on manual production and enactment of the artifact inscribed with divine names, made of buckskin for Keter and Tif'eret and of goat leather for Ḥesed and Geburah. There is no discussion of the significance of each *sefirah* within the theosophical order

[25] Ibid.

[26] See Moshe Idel, *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism: Pillars, Lines, Ladders* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2005) 23–72, and the bibliography adduced there; idem, "Between Ashkenaz and Castile," 493–99, 544–45.

[27] The names of necessary ingredients, such as *azucar* (sugar), suggest that the text derives from a Spanish-Iberian linguistic area.

[28] On the uses of slaughtered cocks in Jewish magic, see Yuval Harari, "Three Charms for Killing Adolf Hitler: Practical Kabbalah in WW2," *Aries* 17 (2017) 196–99.

[29] See Harari, "Practical Kabbalah," 57–60.

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of divine emanation—apart from asserting the obvious sequence of *sefirot*—nor of the symbolic referents of the divine aspects and the dynamics of relations between them, topics that would customarily find their place in the various commentaries on the ten *sefirot*. Rather, this text focuses exclusively on ritual performances and their accompanying practical procedures and adjurations. The connection between specific performance and the corresponding *sefirah* rests on an elementary, even idiomatic, understanding of the aspects of decadic divine structure. And so, the highest of *sefirot,* Keter, controls the process of automatic writing;[30] Ḥokmah, which stands for the attribute of divine wisdom, governs human memory and processes of acquiring eternal knowledge (or, "opening of one's heart" for learning);[31] Binah, the *sefirah* of the divine intelligence, safeguards the skill of preaching in public;[32] Ḥesed, being the divine aspect of loving-kindness, provides respect and admiration in social contexts; Geburah, the fifth *sefirah* of harsh judgment, assumes the power of wreaking vengeance and administering punishment on enemies;[33] while Tif'eret, the *sefirah* that stands for the male companion of Šekinah, or the lowest and female aspect of the godhead, brings about love between husband and wife.[34]

Ten circular shapes that follow the textual exposition of six performances related to the *sefirot* form the axis of the commentary: they serve the purpose of visual aid for the reader that enables them to correlate properly each of the described procedures with the pertinent level of the godhead. The graphic facet of the commentary—that is, the representation of ten *sefirot* in circular shapes—draws together all of the parts of the text and emerges to be hermeneutically crucial for construing both the meanings and the enactments of the prescribed ritual performances, especially the amulets. Plausibly, the common idiom of visualizing and representing *sefirot* in a circular shape, found in the traditional imagining of *sefirot* in the form of spheres arranged into a more or less complex arboreal schema (*'ilan ha-sefirot*), and known from kabbalistic manuscripts from the thirteenth century onward, modeled the graphic imagery of the commentary.[35] Likewise, the correlation between the names

[30] Ibid.; Amos Goldreich, *Automatic Writing in Zoharic Literature and Modernism* (Los Angeles: Cherub, 2010) 85–92.

[31] See Yuval Harari, "To Open One's Heart," in *Shefa Tal: Studies in Jewish Thought and Jewish Culture Presented to Bracha Sack* (ed. Ze'ev Gries et al.; Be'er Sheva: University of Ben Gurion in the Negev Press, 2004) 303–47 (Hebrew); Gideon Bohak, "A Jewish Charm for Memory and Understanding," in *Jewish Education from Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Philip S. Alexander* (ed. George J. Brooke and Renate Smithuis; Leiden: Brill, 2017) 324–40.

[32] See nn. 21 and 22 above.

[33] On Jewish aggressive magic, see Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 123–31; and Alessia Bellusci, "Oneiric Aggressive Magic: Sleep Disorders in Late Antique Jewish Tradition," in *Demons and Illness: Theory and Practice from Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (ed. Siam Bhayro and Catherine Rider; Leiden: Brill, 2017) 134–74.

[34] On Jewish love magic, see Ortal-Paz Saar, *Jewish Love Magic from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

[35] On the development of visual representation of *sefirot* and its language, see J. H. Chajes, "Spheres, Sefirot, and the Imaginal Astronomical Discourse of Classical Kabbalah," *HTR* 113

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of *sefirot* and their qualities with the results of their practical employment, effected in the physical world, seems to have been a consequence of a common and almost rudimentary understanding of the entire decadic structure of the godhead and of divine aspects embodied by each of the ten emanations.[36] The aim expressed in the first part of the text, in each individual *qabbalah,* is fulfilled through ritual performance, one that includes specific bodily preparations and/or technical devices carried out at a designated time and place. Nevertheless, the ritual efficacy of such performances hinges on the enacted formulae placed within the *sefirotic* circles, included in the second part of the text as it is laid out in MS Michael 473 and performed during the recommended ritual. The adjuratory formulae inscribed within and outside the spherical figures are designed to activate divine energy via the names of angels ("with the power of the holy and pure names inscribed in the circle of the *sefirah*"), each of which correlates to the relevant *sefirah* and therefore to the appropriate divine emanation with its attributes. Implicitly, the power that the *sefirot* channel via the angelic figures derives from the Tetragrammaton and its variant vocalizations. These variants feature in the text in the adjuratory phrases that invoke the higher power of the divine name ("by the esteemed name" or "by the power of the ineffable name, YHVH"), placed within the six introductory descriptions of performances, within the formulae around the circular designs, and on top of each of these circles.

The text inscribed in and around the circular designs in MS Michael 473 (fols. 29r–32v) supplies the written material—the adjuration formulae in their particular graphic form—for the performance of rituals (*qabbalot*) exposed in the opening part of the text (fols. 27v–29r), even though the latter pertains only to the first six divine emanations, leaving four formulae without descriptions of their corresponding ritual performances. The anonymous scribe who copied the text of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* in MS Michael 473 acknowledged this dissymmetry with a degree of surprise, stating: "I did not find more of this to copy." This statement appears just after the exposition of the *qabbalah* of the sixth *sefirah* (fol. 29r) and before the scribe turns to the adjuratory formula around the circular shape of the first *sefirah,* Keter. In fact, there are a few other textual inconsistencies that are revealing in terms of the scribe's way of reading and their sensitivity to the form and medium of the text being copied. According to the text, only after a practitioner has properly employed adjurations of angelic names related to a particular *sefirah* may they draw from its

(2020) 230–62; Daniel Abrams, "Kabbalistic Paratext," *Kabbalah* 26 (2012) 7–24; idem, *Kabbalistic Manuscripts*, 618–26; idem, "Divine Multiplicity: The Presentation of Differing Sefirotic Diagrams in Kabbalistic Manuscripts," *Kabbalah* 50 (2021) 81–152; Giulio Busi, "Beyond the Burden of Idealism: For a New Appreciation of the Visual Lore in the Kabbalah," in *Kabbalah and Modernity: Interpretations, Transformations, Adaptations* (ed. Boaz Huss, Marco Pasi, and Kocku von Stuckrad; Leiden: Brill, 2010) 29–46.

[36] On practical kabbalistic and talismanic uses of scrolls that represent trees of *sefirot*, see J. H. Chajes, "Kabbalah Practices/Practical Kabbalah: The Magic of Kabbalistic Trees," *Aries* 19 (2019) 112–45.

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supernatural power. In addition to the names playing a crucial role in how the rituals are structured, they also take center stage in the formal layout of the commentary. The circular shapes representing *sefirot*, inscribed with divine and angelic names, form the axis of the text's *mise-en-page* in MS Michael 473. The text references these names at all stages as the source of power for the adjurer and the moving force behind the rituals, but it does so with curious specificity: the supernatural "power of the *sefirah*" (כח הספירה) derives from "the holy and pure names written inside the circlet of the *sefirah*" (השמות הקדושים והטהורים הכתובים בעיגולת של ספירה), but also from those inscribed "on/in the *sefirah* . . . , outside" (השמות הקדושים והטהורים הכתובים על/בספירת . . . מבחוץ). Thus, the text self-references its own written and graphic shape—that is, names positioned in a certain way on the page—as much as it suggests to the reader a tangible reality of the powers it represents in a material format. In the end, the names are copied, as per the scribe's expression "in" and "around" the *sefirot*, and not "in" and "around" the circular designs that merely represent the *sefirot*.

Similar formulations appear across the entire textual unit rather consistently, with reference to all the recommended procedures and prayers as inscribed in and around the ten circlets of *sefirot,* although with slight but telling variations. For instance, when copying the procedures for the second *sefirah,* the scribe noted the power of names related to it and "written inside the *sefirah* Ḥok̲mah" (fol. 28v), while skipping the word "circlet" (עיגול or עיגולה, *'igul* or *'igulah*)—a slip of pen that may suggest a degree of collapse between the graphical and the metaphysical for the copyist. It seems it was already idiomatic by the late Middle Ages to visualize *sefirot* graphically as spheres, or render them two dimensionally as circles, and also to deploy such depictions to practical kabbalistic or magical ends. In effect, the material (and not symbolic) understanding of *sefirot* allows for the redeployment of their visual representation in practical contexts of all sorts. It is to this specific graphic convention that the copyist of MS Michael 473 related, and which he actively employed. But more than that, as the whole text references divine names embedded in and related to a specific graphic shape, it suggests to the reader that the textual layer achieves meaning and efficacy when enfolded in a specific formal arrangement. The construing of the text, as much as the ritual experience described within it, is effectively molded by a specific graphic convention, mediated by its material distribution at the heart of the textual unit. At that, the reader's expectations ensuing from the formal features common to the genre of commentary on ten *sefirot*—indeed, the text establishes itself smoothly within the authoritative tradition referred to as *qabbalat 'eser sefirot,* "the tradition of ten *sefirot"*—as much as from the text's graphic disposition, shape the reading experience, even more so when the textual content does not easily conform to these convention-related expectations.

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Of *Sefirot*, Angels, and Divine Names: Textual Precedents and Material Recontextualizations

An interrelation between divine names, *sefirot*, and angels manifests in practices aimed at harnessing supernatural power for all kinds of earthly purposes, analogous to that transpiring in the *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot,* and appears in medieval textual traditions linked to a fourteenth-century kabbalistic *Sefer Brit ha-Menuḥah* ("The Book of the Covenant of Serenity").[37] This text comprises perhaps the most elaborate Jewish medieval attempt at providing a comprehensive theoretical framework for the kabbalistic concepts of language that underpin much of the practices related to utilizing divine names, in both contemporary and later kabbalistic contexts. *Sefer ha-Geḇurah,* one of the earliest layers that forms the textual tapestry of *Brit ha-Menuḥah,* is the closest parallel to the ideas recorded in the second part of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot*.[38] In essence, the so-called *Sefer ha-Geḇurah* consists of a short prayer-adjuration intended for use by those who wish to achieve exceptional learning abilities. The adjuration directed to summon the powers of ten angels dubbed "the ten [mighty] warriors" (*'Asarah ha-Gibborim*) constitutes its central part, one that ought to be recited before any further performance. Remarkably, after a general invocation, each name of the ten angelic figures reappears in an adjuration formula while linked to one of the ten *sefirot* whose power or metaphysical status the angel represents.[39] In the context of *Sefer ha-Geḇurah,* the adjuration of ten *gibborim,* the mighty warriors, sets out to make practical use of the ontological structure laid out in the earlier parts of the text, presented chiefly in the form of lists of distinct entities that build up the order of the universe. In the passages quoted above, the supernatural power flows from the center of this scheme (i.e., the ineffable divine name) down to the human worshiper, while mediated through the ten angelic figures. Each of these ten supreme angels features within the theosophical structure—that is, as a counterpart to one of the ten *sefirot*. The powers and abilities transmitted through angels toward the earthly realm correlate, although at times only loosely, with the idiomatic meaning and function of their names or of the name of a related *sefirah.* And so, for instance, the *sefirah* Ḥoḵmah (wisdom) provides the highest form of wisdom, the *sefirah* Binah (intelligence) furnishes one with the abilities of understanding, while the angel Refa'el (of Hebrew root א-פ-ר, to heal) affords good health. The adjuration thus addresses the Tetragrammaton, the preexisting divine name that underlies the whole of created reality, and whose power extends to the lower worlds via angels as conduits of its transmission, identified with *sefirot.* In this sense, *sefirot* and the ten angel-warriors appear coterminous if not identical,

[37] See *Sefer B'rit ha-Menuḥa (Book of Covenant of Serenity): Critical Edition and Prefaces* (ed. Oded Porat; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2016) 30–31 (Hebrew).

[38] On the relation between *Sefer ha-Geḇurah* and *Sefer Brit ha-Menuḥah*, see ibid., 30–31.

[39] NY Ms 1967, fols. 15r–17r. Cf. *Book of Covenant of Serenity* (ed. Porat), 369–70: "Ḥaḵami'el and all his camps, with the rank of *sefirah* Ḥoḵmah, to impart wisdom to me, to save and protect me from all the misery and distress."

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since—in the larger context of *Sefer ha-Geḇurah,* as well as other parts of *Brit Menuḥah*—both the *sefirot* and the ten angel-warriors essentially result from the first emanative stimulus of the divine and precede the created world.[40]

Strikingly, the association of each *sefirah* with a specific angelic name in both the prayer-adjuration of *Sefer ha-Geḇurah* and *Qabbalat ʻEser Sefirot* of MS Michael 473 is near-exact: thus, in both texts, the *sefirah* Keter counterparts the angel Yaho'el; *sefirah* Ḥoḵmah—(Ye)ḥaḵami'el; *sefirah* Binah—Nuri'el; *sefirah* Geḇurah—Gaḇri'el; *sefirah* Neṣaḥ—Pani'el/Pami'el; *sefirah* Hod—Aza'el/Asa'el; *sefirah* Yesod—Refa'el; and *sefirah* Malkhut—Bar(a)ḵi'el.[41] This similarity suggests a close link between the two textual units, even if the angelic lineup in one of these texts is slightly more elaborate: each of the *sefirot* is paralleled in *Qabbalat ʻEser Sefirot*, not with one central angelic name but with at least two or three. Moreover, parts of *Qabbalat ʻEser Sefirot* contain invocations of angelic names whose powers seem to be conferred to the worshiper directly, by the command of the angelic powers ("May it be your will, the holy and pure angels," fol. 28v), who in turn receive nourishment from the source of power within the Tetragrammaton, via the dynamics of its vocalization. In both texts, the angelic, the *sefirotic*, and the divine names ought to be effectively adjured side by side and seem to play the same coercive role in the recommended adjuratory formulae. Indeed, the text of *Qabbalat ʻEser Sefirot* distributes both the angelic and the divine names derivative of Tetragrammaton equally within the circles of *sefirot,* which unambiguously suggests the notion of angels and *sefirot* as equal channels for the transmission of power that has its source and seat within the Tetragrammaton. Last,

[40] On pre-kabbalistic interpretations of the continuity between the divine and its various manifestations, or attributes representing God in the world (referring to the interpretation of *b Ber.* 7a; *b Hag.* 15a), see A. T. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) x; Peter Hayman, "Monotheism: A Misused Word in Jewish Studies," *JJS* 42 (1991) 1–15; Yehuda Liebes, *The Sin of Elisha: The Four Who Entered the Pardes and the Nature of Talmudic Mysticism* (Jerusalem: Academon, 1990) (Hebrew); Guy Stroumsa, "Aher: A Gnostic," in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism: Proceedings of the Conference at Yale, March 1978* (ed. Bentley Layton; 2 vols.; Numen Book Series 41; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 2:808–18; David Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988) 31–37, 202–5; Menahem Kister, "Metatron and God, and the Problem of Two Powers: Toward an Explanation of the Dynamics of Traditions, Interpretation, and Ritual," *Tarbiz* 82 (2013) 43–88 (Hebrew). On various reformulations of the status of special angels, especially Metatron, as an elevated being, deemed coterminous and yet dependent on God, see, e.g., Daniel Abrams, "The Boundaries of the Divine Ontology: The Inclusion and Exclusion of Metatron in the Godhead," *HTR* 87 (1994) 291–321; Elliot R. Wolfson, "Metatron and Shi'ur Qomah in the Writings of Haside Ashkenaz," in *Mysticism, Magic, and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism: International Symposium Held in Frankfurt am Main in 1991* (ed. Karl E. Grözinger and Joseph Dan; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995) 60–92; Moshe Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* (Jerusalem: Continuum, 2007); idem, *The Angelic World: Apotheosis and Theophany* (Tel Aviv: Yedi'ot Aharonot, 2008) (Hebrew); Tsahi Weiss, *Cutting the Shoots: The Worship of the Shekhinah in the World of Early Kabbalistic Literature* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2015) 24–39 (Hebrew).

[41] For the *sefirah* Ḥesed and its counterpart in angel Ṣedaqi'el of *Sefer ha-Geḇurah* there is a precedent in the first part of *Qabbalat ʻEser Sefirot*, so that only *sefirah* Tif'eret has two different angelic equivalents in both texts: Michael in *Sefer ha-Geḇurah* and Sandalfon in *Qabbalat ʻEser Sefirot.*

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the focus on internal dynamics between *sefirot,* so characteristic of theosophical kabbalah in general and of the genre of commentaries on ten *sefirot* in particular, is not to be found in either *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* or early texts associated with *Brit ha-Menuḥah,* such as *Sefer ha-Geburah,* which instead focus entirely on the dynamics of the fluctuating vocalizations of the divine name and on the influence of these on the created world.[42]

Both textual traditions, of *Brit ha-Menuḥah* and of the related *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot*, are reminiscent of the medieval kabbalistic experiment of fitting two ostensibly different if not competing conceptualizations of the divine within one comprehensive metaphysical system, in which the theosophical idea of the ten *sefirot* overlaps with the intricate yet hierarchical angelology.[43] This attempt, advanced textually in the fullest manner by *Brit ha-Menuḥah*, foregrounded the significance of *sefirot* and, crucially, their names as powers that operate in the universe either on a par with, and at times as, angels, within the boundaries delimited by the law of divine onomastics. Such an understanding of the *sefirot* as independent of their nuanced roles in the theosophical system of divine emanation—typical of medieval kabbalah of Spanish derivation, and as supra-angelic figures that conjoin the human and the divine realm, well-grounded in ancient Jewish mystical and magical vision of metaphysics—subsequently allowed for multifarious appearances of the *sefirotic* design in new and often unexpected literary contexts, particularly those practically oriented. These textual and performative traditions that appropriated a conceptualization of ten *sefirot* as angelic counterparts were fundamentally underlain by the view of the Tetragrammaton as a central symbol and overarching framework of the divine structure ready to be influenced and actively deployed by human agents.

Indeed, these kabbalistic textual traditions, especially in the form of smaller textual units and short excerpts of longer treatises, were deployed by scribes and readers in a number of ways in handwritten anthologies and compilations of practical character, where situatedness within new literary and material contexts often offered these texts radically distinctive meanings.[44] And so, apart from its usual setting within the larger *Brit ha-Menuḥah* treatise, the text of *Sefer ha-Geburah* appears to have been independently copied into magical and practical kabbalistic manuscript compilations. This is, for instance, the case of a fifteenth-century collectaneum of

[42] See *Book of Covenant of Serenity* (ed. Porat), 9–21, 35–42.

[43] On other types of relations between *sefirot* and angels as reflected in early kabbalistic texts, especially in performative contexts, see Tsahi Weiss, "Prayers to Angels and the Early Sefirotic Literature," *JSQ* 27 (2020) 22–35. See also Yoed Kadari, "The Debate about Prayers to Angels, R. Abraham Halevi and the Kabbalistic Circle in Jerusalem" (MA thesis; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2008) 22–28 (Hebrew).

[44] See further in Agata Paluch, "Copying, Compiling, Commonplacing: *Sefer ha-Heshek* and the Kabbalah of Divine Names in the Early Modern Ashkenaz," in *Representing Jewish Thought: Proceedings of the 2015 Institute of Jewish Studies Conference Held in Honour of Professor Ada Rapoport-Albert* (ed. Agata Paluch; IJS Studies in Judaica 21; Leiden: Brill, 2021) 100–25.

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Middle Eastern derivation, wherein *Sefer ha-Geburah* features among numerous traditions of linguistic kabbalah combined with magical texts and recipes (viz. NY Public Library MS 190 [formerly MS Sassoon 56]), in between excerpts from *Sefer ha-Razim*, short kabbalistic *sodot* (secrets) on divine names, and formulae of angelic adjurations.[45] It is, however, the early modern Ashkenazi manuscript culture in which the texts of *Brit ha-Menuḥah* burgeoned, copied in full, excerpted into compilations, or abridged, especially into books of practical kabbalistic recipes and how-to books. The circulation of *Brit ha-Menuḥah* or parts of its textual layers in the early modern Ashkenazi compilations of kabbalistic and practical handbooks found its curious counterpart in the distribution of practical formulae that employ *sefirot* as entities that may be adjured and coerced by humans aiming to harness *sefirotic* powers for their own, often mundane, ends. One such exemplary practical handbook, a late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century Ashkenazi product of mostly singular scribal and compilatory work, Oxford-Bodleian MS Opp. 485, comprises in its current form the full text of *Brit ha-Menuḥah* (following the printed edition of Amsterdam 1648), encompassed by an assemblage of recipes and short magical and kabbalistic textual units or excerpts thereof. Among the latter, there appear several textual pieces in which adjurations of ten *sefirot* were recommended for the practitioner for the purposes of annihilation of evil spirits and forces. These adjurations would be designed to affect the ten *sefirot* directly, as in formulae against powers of impurity addressed to them ("I adjure you, ten *sefirot* . . . ," fols. 239v–240r), and followed by formulations toward their counterpart angelic classes. Similarly structured adjurations feature in recipes against illnesses caused by sorcery, either of human (natural) or spiritual (preternatural) provenance, and resulting in the possession of a person by evil spirits, male or female (e.g., "We beseech you, ten *sefirot,* and ten classes [of angels], and ten [supreme] angels, with the names of angels," fol. 227v).[46]

Adjurations against evil forces that appear in the codex Opp. 485 refer also to a medieval kabbalistic idea of the emanation of the left side—that is, the mirror reflection of the *sefirotic* structure that sustains the powers of evil.[47] This idea gained traction in the early to mid-seventeenth century, particularly in Ashkenaz, to some degree thanks to the circulation of texts accrued in compendia of Lurianic kabbalah, such as *'Emeq ha-Melek* (first printed in Amsterdam, 1648), that entertained interest

[45] Gideon Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of Jewish Magic: Ms New York Public Library, Heb. 190 (Formerly Sassoon 56); Introduction, Annotated Edition and Facsimile* (2 vols.; Los Angeles: Cherub 2014), fols. 72–73 (Hebrew). See a parallel version in New York JTS MS 1967, fol. 13r.

[46] On exorcism formulae in this manuscript, see Sara Zfatman, *Jewish Exorcism in Early Modern Ashkenaz* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2015) 375–430 (Hebrew).

[47] For medieval kabbalistic conceptualizations of evil and the divine, see, recently, Moshe Idel, *Primeval Evil in Kabbalah: Totality, Perfection, Perfectibility* (New York: Ktav, 2020) 189–236, with further bibliography adduced there. On some early conceptualisations of demonic forces in Ashkenazi kabbalistic traditions, see Boaz Huss, "Demonology and Magic in the Writings of R. Menahem Ziyyoni," *Kabbalah* 10 (2004) 55–72.

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in explanations of the metaphysical status of evil.[48] The recipes of MS Opp. 485 recommend invoking the names of ten classes of preexistent angelic figures in order to gain protection from their demonic counterparts that control the evil powers. In the same vein, some recipes in the codex advise adjurations of ten *sefirot* for the procedure of annihilating the influence of the left emanation ("I adjure you, ten *sefirot*, Keter, Ḥokmah, Binah, etc., so that the *sefirot* of impurity disappear," fol. 230r, cf. also fol. 239v). A more practical and somewhat simpler recipe suggested that, in instances when a person needs to be ridden of evil spirits who possessed them, the names of ten *sefirot* should be written down in a bowl inside a drawing of the Star of David, followed by the verses of Ps 109:6 and 91:10 in reverse. The procedure concludes once the possessed person drinks from the bowl: the liquid wipes the text from the bowl's surface and allows ingestion of the verses and the names of *sefirot*, whose power literally wipes the negative influences from the affected individual (fol. 419v, cf. also Oxford-Bodleian MS Opp. 432, fol. 150r, MS St Petersburg 326, fol. 34r).

The latter recipe, well-distributed in other Ashkenazi codices, is perhaps the most acute example of the materialization of *sefirot* in practical procedures that involve coercion of *sefirotic* powers by means of physical action, and not (or not only) via symbolic, mental, and intellectual effort on the part of humans. Equally well represented in the MS Opp. 485 are the adjuratory formulae that list ten supreme angelic figures "in charge of ten *sefirot*" (e.g., fol. 232v), that is, those that ought to be adjured in order to influence *sefirot.* These lists accurately reproduce the order of *sefirot* and the ten names of warrior-angels known from *Sefer ha-Geḇurah*, subsequently deployed in the text of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot*.[49] As the main textual unit that MS Opp. 485 holds is the full copy of *Sefer Brit ha-Menuḥah*, it seems only reasonable that smaller texts copied in the same compilation (and by the hand of the same scribe-compiler) would practically engage the theoretical spectrum of the text situated in the center of the compiled volume. The short formulae of adjurations of angels and *sefirot*, evidently extracted from texts belonging to *Brit ha-Menuḥah* and copied into the recipes in MS Opp. 485, are thus fully integrated within the sundry textual make-up of this Ashkenazi practical and kabbalistic manual.

[48] See Gershom Scholem, *Lurianic Kabbalah: Collected Studies* (ed. Daniel Abrams; Los Angeles: Cherub, 2008) 368–69 (Hebrew). A similar type of textual matter frequently copied and recast in early 17th-cent. Ashkenaz was the so-called *Sefer 'Amud ha-Sma'li* attributed to the 13th-cent. Spanish kabbalist Moses of Burgos. See Avi Kallenbach, "A Reworking of R. Moses of Burgos' Treatise on the Left Emanation: The Interpolation of Kabbalistic Documents in Later Manuscript Witnesses and Prints," *Kabbalah* 41 (2018) 251–78 (Hebrew); Oded Porat, *"Who Is the Beautiful Maiden Without Eyes" and the Riddle of the Tay'a: A Chapter in the History of Kabbalah in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Cherub, 2019) 288–93 (Hebrew); Na'ama Ben Shahar, "The Author of '*Sefer ha-Qelippot*' (The Book of Shells)," *Kabbalah* 50 (2021) 153–72.

[49] Other recipes that engage ten *sefirot* and bear textual resemblances to parts of *Brit ha-Menuḥah* and *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* employ vocalization patterns of the Tetragrammaton matched with specific *sefirah* and its counterpart class of angels. See, e.g., MS Opp. 485, fol. 241v.

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Compiled Matter: Reading a Textual Unit Heterogeneously

Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot, the text in which the adjurations of *sefirot* (based on parts of *Brit ha-Menuḥah*) develop perhaps into the fullest literary form, is, to the best of my knowledge, preserved in three manuscripts, all of which display an integrating compilatory intent and at least partial Ashkenazi provenance. The Oxford-Bodleian MS Michael Add. 18 contains apparently the earliest of the still extant copies of the text, and also the shortest one.[50] The manuscript consists of sixty-five parchment folios (sixty-five folios in foliation) forming a uniform codicological unit, of which 117 pages (up to fol. 59r) are written with fifteenth-century Sephardi non-square script. These pages have been used as material support for a portion of *Ḥayyei ha-'Olam ha-Ba'* of Abraham Abulafia, a key text of this medieval peripatetic kabbalist's oeuvre that details the techniques of achieving a prophetic experience on meditating the seventy-two-letter divine name arranged into twenty-four units of nine letters each.[51] Folios that had been left empty after the initial assemblage of the quires of the codex were, however, continuously filled with the text of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* written in an Italian-Ashkenazi script dating approximately to the early sixteenth century. The text smoothly begins on top of folio 59v. This textual unit consists of four folios, in its first part inscribed in Italian cursive script and in square script with clear Ashkenazi features deployed to highlight initial words and divine and angelic names. The same square script was also used to write the second part of the text that includes adjuration formulae, inscribed both within and outside the ten circular shapes of *sefirot*. The second part of text that contains the sequence of circles representing *sefirot,* with their surrounding prayer-adjurations, is clearly planned on the page and meticulously executed (fig. 2 below).[52] The scribe's choice of writing style and scribal register emphasizes the ritual character of the second part of the text, as the square script evokes the manner of representing canonical texts used for liturgical purposes. Even if of small size, the compilation of MS Michael Add. 18 appears entirely coherent. The later, Italian-Ashkenazi (likely, northern Italian) scribe based their copying project on the principle of transcribing texts that actively deploy divine names in kabbalistic performances, even if these performances were primarily intended to lead to dissimilar ends.[53] The same scribe

[50] Neubauer, *Catalogue*, 552 no. 1581; Beit-Arié, *Supplement*, 267.

[51] See Moshe Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1988) 22–28, 34–37, 88–92, 120–22.

[52] In the present condition, the pair of seventh and eighth *sefirot* appears at the end of the text as if out of sequence, without prayer-formulae around the circles that were provided on earlier folios. From the current damage to fol. 63 and its marks of folding, it appears that the last folio was misbound, probably during the process of modern rebinding of the manuscript, and should appear before fol. 62, on whose recto side the text of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* ends.

[53] On Abulafia's negative approach to using divine names in practical kabbalistic performances, pronounced especially in his *Geṭ ha-Šemoṭ*, see Moshe Idel, "Between Magic of the Holy Names and the Kabbalah of the Divine Names: R. Abraham Abulafia's Criticism," *Mahanayim* 14 (2002) 79–95 (Hebrew); Harari, "Practical Kabbalah," 45–48.

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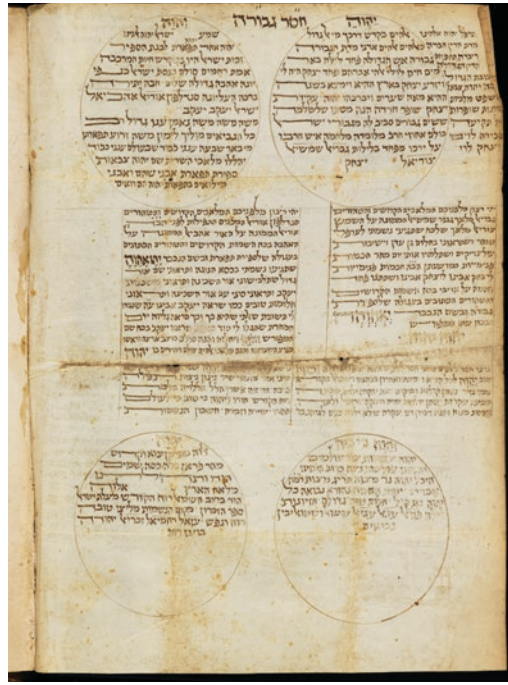


Figure 2
The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. MS Michael Add. 18, folio 63v. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

not only copied *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot*, but also read and annotated the Abulafian *Ḥayyei ha-'Olam ha-Ba'* in the first part of the codex, placed two poetical pieces at the beginning and end of the volume, and finally adduced on its last page four short magical pieces that seek the divine name to achieve supernatural protective power over harming spirits.[54] The overarching principle for the compilatory project, one that connects practical kabbalistic commentary on the deployment of angelic names and ten *sefirot* with the Abulafian text on performative uses of the divine name, can be read out of the scribe's highlight on folio 54v, where their handsome *manicula* points to the line: "through the gradual emergence of the name you will comprehend everything that I mentioned to you on this matter, and through the knowledge of the name you will comprehend everything."[55]

The second of the manuscripts that contain *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* was almost certainly copied in Italy, in late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century Ashkenazi cursive script with a visible Italian influence (NLI 8° 151).[56] In this volume, the

[54] Poems by Solomon ben Isaac, edited in *Ha-Paliṭ* (Berlin, 1850) 34–36, and partly by Ben-Zion Dinur, *Yisra'el be-Golah* II.4 (Tel Aviv, 1969) 370.

[55] MS Michael Add. 18, fol. 54v.

[56] Scholem, *Kabbalistic Manuscripts*, no. 28.

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graphic representation of *sefirot* is fully integrated within the flow of its explanatory textual parts. It contains circular shapes assigned to *sefirot* Keter, Ḥokmah, Binah, Ḥesed, Geburah, Tif'eret, and Neṣaḥ, with the figures of Yesod, Hod, and Malkut missing; all the parts of the instructive text are, nevertheless, present in full. Here, the first part of the text describing six procedures related to the *sefirotic* circles, as well as adjuratory formulae, constitutes one cohesive textual block. Some of the graphic representations of *sefirotic* circles seem to be mere accompaniments to this textual block but do not constitute a hermeneutically independent and visually separate part of the text, to the point that the copyist seems to have had no awareness of the graphic elements that are clearly lacking, and which would have made some of the recommended procedures coherent. The compilatory intent of the entire one-hundred-folio manuscript, which was copied and compiled by a single scribe, transpires from the selection and order of the assembled textual units. The volume opens and closes with a series of recipes and adjurations (fols. 1r–34, 103v–107v, partially in Italian written in Hebrew script), whose larger part includes a practical guide to using three-letter components of seventy-two-letter divine names for various—mainly therapeutic and apotropaic—ends. *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* follows the introductory recipes in the compilation (fols. 34v–44r) and precedes an anthology of four astrological-magical and medical treatises, juxtaposed with magical and practical kabbalistic recipes.[57] All of the textual units in this codex seem to have been pulled together for a pragmatic reason: the compilation of texts exposes astrological, apotropaic, and medical character in such a manner that the textual pieces in the center of the codex provide a learned, theoretical backdrop for the practical guidelines and more quotidian recommendations for everyday lay use that enclose the whole compilation.

MS Michael 473 presents by far the most complex organizational enterprise. It is a composite manuscript—a manuscript formed of several originally separate codicological units, arranged together only at the stage of binding or rebinding the material. This process is normally carried out by first owners of manuscripts, and later by book collectors and librarians. In the case of MS Michael 473, the moment of putting all of its textual contents within one binding remains unknown; however, it had already assumed its current composite state before Moritz Steinschneider

[57] It includes the Hebrew translations of Arnaldus de Villanova, *On the Judgement of Astronomy* (*Panim be-Mišpaṭ,* trans. Solomon ben Avigdor); Pseudo-Hippocrates, *De Esse Aegrotorum* (*Panim le-Fanim,* trans. Tanḥum ben Moses of Beaucaire); *Sefer ha-Tamar* (Book of the Date Palm); and Immanuel ben Jacob Bonfils, *Tequfot* (Solistices). On these texts, see Reimund Leicht, "Toward a History of Hebrew Astrological Literature," in *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 278–89. See also *Sefer ha-Tamar*, ed. Gershom Scholem, in *Qiryat Sefer* 3 (1926) 181–222 (Hebrew); Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 98–118; Reimund Leicht, *Astrologoumena Judaica: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der astrologischen Literatur der Juden* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 306–8. The correlation of angelic names as they transpire in *Sefer ha-Geburah* and the order of planets and stars as they appear in several collections of Jewish astrological texts, primarily of practical character, requires a separate study.

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compiled a first brief description of the Michael Collection of Hebrew manuscripts in 1847, shortly after the death of their owner, Heimann Josef Michael, and before its transfer to the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[58] The arrangement of the current codex, now in modern binding, seems to preserve an arbitrary collection of codicological and paleographic units, written in four distinct hands. The largest of these units spans a mid-seventeenth-century compilation of magical fragments and recipes pooled together with a series of short early Ashkenazi mystical commentaries—predominantly on various divine names—and early kabbalistic *sodot* ("secrets"), distributed across the current volume in three separate segments. Two other sizeable units consist of an anonymous *Seder 'Aṣilut* ("The Order of Emanation") and a commentary reminiscent of the teachings of Israel Sarug (fols. 28r–242v)—one of the main proponents of the kabbalah of Isaac Luria in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe—as well as a staggering collection of short moralistic instructions for kabbalistically oriented practices, also of Lurianic provenance, well integrated with various practical recipes and excerpts of magical texts (fols. 35r–93v, 183r–192v).[59]

Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot features in the codex Michael 473 in the third codicological unit (fols. 20r–32v), preceded by a part that holds a compilation headed *'Inyenei qabbalah* ("Matters of Kabbalah," fols. 7r–19v). Crucially, the two neighboring codicological segments had featured together long before they reached the current composite arrangement, since both bear consistent signs of systematic reading and marking of noteworthy passages. While the earlier unit contains marginal annotations by the scribe of its main text, the second lacks such marginalia. However, both units contain identically shaped *maniculae* in brown ink of the same quality as that of the text of the second unit.[60] For one, these pointers highlight references to subject matters that occupy both codicological segments: on the one hand, the issue of the transmigration of parts of human souls (fol. 21r, emphasis in the text *Šemu'ah be-'Inyenei ha-Gilgul,* attributed to Moses Cordovero); on the other hand, the practical expiatory effect of the use of specific *kavvanot* (emphases within a collection of Lurianic provenance, fols. 17v, 18v, 22r, twice on 22v), grounded in the theory of the structural-ontological interrelation of *sefirot* with

[58] Moritz Steinschneider, *Ozrot Chajim. Katalog der Michael'schen Bibliothek, herausgegeben von den Michael'schen Erben* (Hamburg: J. J. Halberstadt, 1848) 63, no. 742 (Hebrew): "A collectaneum of several matters in kabbalah, especially of the kabbalah of Ar"i (Isaac Luria), a commentary on (a *piyyuṭ*) *Ha'ohez,* spells and remedies." See also Saverio Campanini, "The Michael Collection," in *Jewish Treasures from Oxford Libraries* (ed. Rebecca Abrams and Cesar Merchán-Hamann; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020) 206–29, 295–97.

[59] For a more detailed, although not yet full, enumeration of these excerpts, see Beit-Arié, *Supplement*, 534.

[60] Identical *maniculae* and other reading marks are found in another codex from the Michael Collection of the Bodleian Library, in most part written by the same scribe, who copied the first and the penultimate codicological units of MS Michael 473. The textual, codicological, and paleographic makeup of this volume, its historical setting, and its affinities with MS Mich. 473 will be the subject of a separate study.

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divine names (exposed on fols. 7r, 8r, 9v, 11r). Indeed, the reader who distributed the *maniculae* throughout texts in these two units responded with vivid interest to the issues that inform the everyday penitentiary performance, notwithstanding whether these originated within "Cordoverian" or "Lurianic" kabbalistic theories.

The passages that were highlighted most frequently in these two interrelated units of MS Michael 473 refer to the question of the ever-changing balance between the power of mercy and of stern judgment, embedded within the *sefirotic* ontologies, and which, within the human reality, manifestly incline toward the side of judgment (fol. 16r). In continuation with these highlights, the reader also marked up sections on receiving an additional soul (*nešamah*) on the night of shabbat that equally may be good or may be contaminated by evil and sin, leaving one's constitution with a lasting negative imprint (fol. 21r).[61] Another of the spotlighted excerpts explains the idea of a dividing screen (*masaḵ*) between each of the four upper worlds of the kabbalistic metaphysics, extending vertically from the source of emanation toward the material world, each of which prevents some of the divine light from fully penetrating into the lower world.[62] The reader's mark, however, highlighted a sentence that clarifies that, in spite of the separating screen between the world of emanation (that is, the uppermost divine level of so-called *aṣilut*) and the world of making (i.e., the lowest, called *'asiyah*), there still exists a direct, even if fine, connection between the two (fol. 16v). This remark adds an instructive layer to the reading of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot*, the text situated at the end of the two related codicological units. Here, the same *manicula* points to three passages on using the adjuration of *sefirot* that may directly impact the material reality, all apparently emphasized by the reader on the grounds of the connection between the upper and the lower worlds, despite an ontological divide between these two realms—an issue that drew their attention in the previous textual units. It seems not without reason that one of the *maniculae* in the margin of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* directs attention to the direct, practical use of the *sefirah Geḇurah* that stands for the aspect of divine judgment. According to the underscored text, in order to gain the upper hand over one's enemies, it is necessary to engage the power of harsh divine judgment—and this was the predominance of harsh judgment in the material world that preoccupied the same reader in the texts assembled across several quires of the two codicological units.

Certainly, this motley of texts and excerpts annotated with the same *maniculae* but stemming from various kabbalistic and intellectual traditions need not have been initially—and some of them surely were not—interrelated, historically or otherwise. They were cogently put together by a reader (likely, the scribe of the

[61] On this matter of the so-called evil *'ibbur* (incarnation) in Moses Cordovero's thought, see J. H. Chajes, *Between Worlds: Dybbuks, Exorcists, and Early Modern Judaism* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2003) 17–22.

[62] Cf. J. H. Chajes, "Imaginative Thinking with a Lurianic Diagram," *JQR* 110 (2020) 48. On the idea of the "screen" or "veil" between the worlds, see, e.g., Scholem, "The Garment of the Soul and *Ḥaluqa de-Rabanan*," *Tarbiz* 24 (1956) 297–306 (Hebrew).

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second unit) who expressed much interest in the matters of evil and its rectification by humans, but equally so in accessing the supernatural powers to steer the divine structure, including its penchant toward stern judgment, in accordance with their needs. Thus, the collection of these textual units became less haphazard for the reader than it appears to the modern eye that is shaped by dominant narratives of the historiography of kabbalah and that has tended to separate the "practical kabbalistic *sensu stricto*" from other types of discourse ingrained in kabbalistic literatures,[63] or simply, to read textual units out of the contexts of their material genre. As it appears in early modern multitext codices of various origins—and kabbalistic codices are no exception to this fashion—one subject matter may be treated by texts grappling with it from various angles, be they conflicting or incongruous for a contemporary reader, across a given compilation. The reader's responses lock this potential polyvalence of texts often by providing a unifying trait or by discerning some commonalities, thus overcoming the sense of interpretive unease. This was the case of the reader-scribe who marked off the margins of the two-unit compilation in MS Michael 473. By reshaping the literary and material aspects of the compilation for their own use and according to their own intellectual agendas, they co-composed the compilation's textual identity, or one of its meaningful layers, thus partaking in a project of its collective textual authorship.[64]

Readings in Composite Matter

In this regard, it is not only the reader-maker of the text in its material format that assumes a role in the collective enterprise of its "authorship"; as parts of one textual entity that share common features, the compiled texts constitute that entity integrally as much as they are shaped by its particular organization. In this sense, the compiled matter displays an interdependent, collective identity, while conveying meanings specific to the time and culture of their copyists and contemporary readers. *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot*—a text whose supposed origins reach the fourteenth century and the theologies of the divine name that much precede the medieval period—features in the compilation of MS Michael 473, while coherently and purposely continuing discourses on engaging with divine (*sefirotic*) powers. The theoretical basis of these discourses provides more speculative texts placed within the same compilation and ascribed by the copyists to Moses Cordovero and Isaac Luria—the two key figures of the kabbalistic panorama in early modernity. In effect, *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* and MS Michael 473 as a whole expose intellectual interests rooted in kabbalistic traditions of diverse provenance but textually reworked and materially

[63] Cf. Harari, "Practical Kabbalah," 57.

[64] On an elevated role of readers to that of "authors" in premodern Western European literary contexts, see Roger Chartier and Peter Stallybras, "Reading and Authorship: The Circulation of Shakespeare 1590–1619," in *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare and the Text* (ed. Andrew Murphy; Oxford: Blackwell, 2007) 35–56. For the ideas of "dispersed authorship" in early modern English literature, see Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

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redeployed according to reading interests manifest in the learning/scribal centers of mid-seventeenth-century Eastern and Central Europe. The clout of Moses Cordovero or Isaac Luria plays an important role in the politics of crafting textual matter, but neither one of these individuals stands as the only participant in the process of textual creation.[65]

The text of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* centers on a detailed description of rituals whose efficacy rests on ontological assumptions latent in kabbalistic theosophy that allow the practitioners to access the dynamics of the godhead directly and consequently to assume control over perceivable reality with the use of divine power. As marked out by the scribe who transcribed *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* in MS Michael 473, the text and its prescribed procedures depend on a particular graphic arrangement of the text, one that ought to be replicated in the performances of writing divine and angelic names and one that shapes the practitioner's relation to the matters and powers referred to in the text. Even if not simply effecting it, the (material) form of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* in MS Michael 473 amplifies and highlights its potential performative import.[66] As any text is only available in its material form, and this particular text exists in three material renditions, the current article has set each of those three formats forth, highlighting the similarities and idiosyncrasies of their compilatory intent. As it appeared, locating *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* in its immediate material contexts enabled its "miscellaneous reading,"[67] which showcased various ways in which it was integrated into textual compilations and the role this textual unit achieved in codices oriented toward practical knowledge of all kinds.

The material format of multiple-text manuscripts (often labeled as collectanea)—especially uniform compilations of miscellaneous type that respond to a related range of topics—allows for the recontextualizing of traditions and shifting of purported thematic import of any individually conceived textual unit. So, for instance, pieces of text that belonged to *Brit ha-Menuḥah* and that underlay *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* were reworked into early modern recipe books as integral parts of practical (magical) and medical know-how (such as Opp. 485) in such a way that the kabbalistic and magical traditions effectively blended in semivernacular contexts. Likewise, the same traditions related to ten supreme angels and ten *sefirot* that developed into *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* featured in larger early modern compilations, especially those originating as miscellaneous compilations. This material format of compiled short texts and excerpts thereof enabled particular modes of textual consumption that could confront new and contemporarily dominant types of kabbalistic knowledge by blurring their literary and authorial boundaries. These heterogenous ways of

[65] See, e.g., Agata Paluch, "Intentionality and Kabbalistic Practices in Early Modern East-Central Europe," *Aries* (2019) 83–111.

[66] Paraphrasing D. F. McKenzie's now idiomatic expression "form effects meaning," in his *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 13.

[67] To apply the phrase coined by Zarnowiecki, "Reading Shakespeare Miscellaneously," 34–36.

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reading and crafting texts not only resulted from the "unfixed" material format of a miscellaneous collectaneum that had the potential to be expanded and assembled by readers through binding and rejoining of quires (as was the case of MS Michael 473); rather, it made them possible.

It is through a reading of the textual unit of *Qabbalat 'Eser Sefirot* as materially situated, trailing its scribe's and early reader's footprints, that we may recover a partial vestige of the otherwise lost compilatory intent behind the gatherings of MS Michael 473, and the layers of meaning that it had assumed and fashioned close to the time of its creation. Anonymous compilers' and editors' intentions in creating meaningful volumes are usually ambiguous in the case of nonuniform composite volumes, which to all appearances seem disorderly and unsystematic, especially as they underwent subsequent rebinding and repositioning of quires. And yet, active involvement in the contents of composite textual arrangements bestrides the layers of meanings anchored in the material form of the text, at times escaping the forethought of their producers, with that of their modern readers (both sides unfailingly conditioned, historically and culturally).[68] Each codex ensues from a historically embedded procedure predicated on certain epistemic and cultural presumptions. And so, multiple-text and composite manuscripts, aptly described by scholars as "corpus organizers,"[69] might be perceived as practical strategies of organizing and communicating the divergent corpora of knowledge that they carry and thus (re)produce in time. As objects of the transmission of kabbalistic knowledge, miscellaneous and composite volumes (collectanea) involve readings that reach beyond texts as individualized or idealized objects and toward their reframing within the compilatory context of each codex—a material evidence of decisions taken by those involved in their making and transmission. In the study of premodern Jewish kabbalistic literatures, appreciating texts from the perspective of their material genre offers a fresh hermeneutic of reading kabbalah as a multifaceted textual tradition, one that zooms in on how and why some of its layers circulated in miscellaneous cultural milieus across centuries.

[68] See, further, Arthur Bahr, *Fragments and Assemblages: Forming Compilations of Medieval London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) 1–50, for a mode of "compilatory" reading in the context of English medieval literature. See also a thought-provoking attempt at such reading of a composite codex by Naomi Howell, "Reflecting (on) the Other: Jewish-Christian Relations in Cligès and Ms. Michael 569 (*)," *Speculum* 91 (2016) 374–421.

[69] Alessandro Bausi, "A Case for Multiple Text Manuscripts Being 'Corpus-Organisers,'" *Manuscript Cultures Newsletter* 3 (2010) 34–36.

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AMULETS AND MAGIC BOWLS

Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity

by

JOSEPH NAVEH SHAUL SHAKED

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*

Signs used in the transliteration of texts

( ) Uncertain readings
[ ] Restoration of lost writing
< > Omitted by the scribe by mistake
⌜ ⌝ Written above (or outside) the line
{ } Superfluous writing in the text (e.g. in case of dittography)

PREFACE

It was a widespread practice in the area of Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor during the fourth to the seventh centuries of the current era to use talismans written on metal sheets in order to ward off the powers of evil, to heal people, or to gain the love of a person. The common Babylonian practice of the same period was to write incantation texts on earthenware bowls. The number of Mesopotamian texts written in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac and Mandaic on clay bowls published to date reaches about one hundred and fifty, whereas less than ten Aramaic amulets from Palestine and its vicinity have been published so far.

This book developed from the desire of the two authors to do a modest work on a number of Aramaic magic bowls which at that time (almost ten years ago) were in Jerusalem in the hands of dealers and in the collection of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University. It has developed to its present dimensions as more texts have turned up. Work on some newly found metal amulets has made it necessary to study and revise the readings of the whole corpus of Aramaic amulets from the area of the Holy Land. Thus fifteen amulets have been edited in this volume — all those which can be deciphered with some confidence — and twelve new bowl texts written in Babylonian Jewish Aramaic and Syriac.

In order to understand the terminology and praxis of the texts discussed in this volume, it is essential to refer to contemporary and later texts from other sources: the Greek magic papyri, the early magic literature in Hebrew, and the magic fragments in the Cairo Geniza. Of the last group, so far almost completely neglected, a few selected texts are included in this work: five amulets, and three fragments from books of magic recipes.

The texts are provided with translations and commentaries, and a detailed glossary of all words is given. All newly published texts are accompanied by photographs. It has been our wish to make available to

scholars material for the study of popular religious life of Jews and pagans in the crucial period which corresponds to that of the Talmud. Our primary aim has been to provide philologically reliable material, and not to offer a detailed study of the religious implications of these texts.

It is out pleasant task to acknowledge the help received from various institutions and persons in the course of preparing the present study.

The following institutions provided us with photographs and allowed us to publish these texts and we should like to extend our thanks to their directors and staff: the Institute of Archaeology and the National University Library of the Hebrew University; the Israel Department of Antiquities; the Israel Museum; Museum of the Flagellation Convent, Jerusalem; the Jewish Historical Museum of Belgrade; the Metropolitan Museum; the New York Public Library; the Geniza Research Unit, Cambridge University Library.

The persons who made it possible for us to publish texts from their collections are Mr. Victor Barakat, Dr. Reuven Hecht, Mr. Victor Klagsbald, Dr. Wladimir Rosenbaum and Mr. Joseph Sammel.

Dr. Amos Kloner and Mr. Zvi Maoz of the Israel Department of Antiquities, the excavators of Ḥorvat Rimmon and Ḥorvat Kanaf, placed at our disposal their finds and their notes.

Mme. Hélène Lozachmeur has found and put at our disposal the original photos of Amulets 7a and 7b which were used by the late Professor A. Dupont-Sommer. We are very grateful for this help, which came when the book was nearly ready in the press.

Several friends and colleagues have given valuable advice. We should like to mention in particular the late Professor G.G. Scholem, as well as J.C. Greenfield, M. Sokoloff, G. Stroumsa and Y. Sussman.

Mrs. Ada Yardeni has contributed to this volume much more than drawings and layout; in several places she has improved the readings of the text. Mrs. Tamar Naveh has typed the manuscript and has rendered great assistance in the preparation of the book. Mrs. Miriam Shaked has done the editing of the typescript and prepared it for the press.

The staff of the Magnes Press, and in particular its director, Mr. B. Yehoshua, who has taken personal interest in this book, have done their utmost to produce an attractive-looking volume.

Jerusalem, February 1984 *J.N., S.S.*

INTRODUCTION

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Syriac Spells for a Mill and Their Historical Context

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Abstract

This article considers a text-unit known in five Syriac codices and consisting of up to three magical recipes. The target of all these recipes is a mill: two of them are curses (*ʾassārā* 'binding spell') and intend to stop the mill, while the third one is a counter-spell (*šeryānā* 'loosening spell'), which aims to annul the curse. One of the two binding spells includes a rare example of an Arabic incantation written in *Garshuni*. The main purpose of this article is to make these texts available via critical editions. In addition, light is shed on the broader context of magical practices, by drawing attention to Syriac recipes for an oven and their Jewish parallels, and by presenting two Jewish parallels of spells related to a mill: a Judaeo-Arabic text from the Cairo Genizah and a spell from a Byzantine manuscript. We offer a reconsideration of the interpretation of the Judaeo-Arabic text, as our reading differs from that of the *Editio Priceps*.

Keywords

Syriac charms – Book of Protection – binding spell – magic – Syriac-Arabic – Garshuni – Cairo Geniza – Judaeo-Arabic – Aramaic

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1 Introduction

Syriac charms[1] collected in codices widely known as *Book of Protection* did not receive much scholarly attention and as noted by A. Pearson, "the field is still in its early stage".[2] Pearson states that in order for the field to progress, "our first task is to publish more source material".[3] An edition of these three recipes is thus valuable, not only to bring more source material to light, but for three more reasons. First, although they have not yet been truly edited, they have been interpreted incorrectly by previous scholars, H. Gollancz and K. Fr. Krämer (see below). Second, two of the recipes belong to the category of aggressive magic,[4] which is even less studied than other types of Syriac magical texts. Third, one of the binding spells contains an Arabic incantation written in Syriac script. Only two Syriac recipes of this kind have been edited before the current publication.[5]

Though this article focusses on Syriac recipes for the mill, attention is paid to the broader context of related magic practices. A separate section is devoted to Syriac recipes for the oven and their Jewish parallels, and another one to Jewish and Coptic recipes for the mill. Such contextualization assists in better understanding the place of magic within Syriac culture, and sheds further light on connections between Syriac Christianity and other cultures.

2 The Manuscripts

Below we provide short catalogue descriptions of the Syriac manuscripts[6] in which the recipes for the mill are found.

---

1 Our credits go to Maria C. H. Cioată for proof-reading this article and Nikita Kuzin (Freie Universität Berlin) for his valuable remarks.

2 Abigail Pearson, "Syriac Magic: an Overview of Previous Approach and Prospects for the Future," in: *Studies in the Syriac Magical Traditions*, eds. Marco Moriggi & Siam Bhayro (Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity, 9), Leiden, 2022, p. 13.

3 *Ibid*., p. 25.

4 Since the usage of the term 'magic' remains a subject of discussions, we affirm that it is being used in this paper for the sake of convenience and without implying negative connotations.

5 See Cod. A §19 (Hermann Gollancz, *The Book of Protection: Being a Collection of Charms, Now Edited for the First Time from Syriac mss*, London, 1912, p. 14) and a dream-request recently published by Zellmann-Rohrer (Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "A Syriac-Arabic Dream-Request and Its Jewish Tradition," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 78/1 (2019), pp. 59–74.

6 Images of the relevant folios of the manuscripts at our disposal are provided in the Appendix.

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Houghton Syr. 160[7] (**H**)

Harvard University (Cambridge MA), Houghton Library, ms. Syriac 160. Former owner: I. H. Hall (1837–1896). Title: *kṯīḇtā da-nṭuryā* 'Protective Amulet'.[8] Paper, 49 leaves, bound, 12 × 8 cm. Up to 18 lines to page. Script: unvocalized East Syriac. 74 chapters, 17 coloured illustrations. Date and place: 1804, the village of Shibāni, Tergawar district (Hakkari, Turkey). Scribe: Gewargis bar Zayʿa from Shamsdin.

BL Or. 6673[9] (**BLa**[10])

London, British Library Ms. Or. 6673. Paper, 12.5 × 9.0 cm, 48 leaves. Script: unvocalized East Syriac. Date and place: 1804, the village of Shibāni, Tergawar district (Hakkari, Turkey). 67 chapters and illustrations. Up to 18 lines to page. Scribe: Gewargis.[11] Described by Gollancz, who collated the ms. with Cod. A, and edited most of the additional content, which was not in Cod. A. This part of the manuscript is available to us only via Gollancz's edition.

7 A recent description with further references can be found in Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection' and the Syriac 'Charms': New Texts and Perspectives for the Study of Magic and Religion," in: *Studies in the Syriac Magical Traditions*, eds. Marco Moriggi & Siam Bhayro (Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity, 9), Leiden, 2022, p. 83; and Anna Cherkashina & Alexey Lyavdansky, "Syriac Love Charms. Part I. The Recipe-Type," *Scrinium* 17 (2021), p. 85.

8 We prefer this translation instead of the common "Book of Protection". Syriac magic codices are very rarely entitled with the Syriac term for "book", i.e., *kṯāḇā* (for which see, e.g., **StP18** in Michael Zellmann-Rohrer "More on the 'Book of Protection'," p. 88). Instead, most of them are titled with ܚܡܛܐ (so, e.g., **H** and **I**), while in NH3 we find its supposedly orthographic variant ܚܡܛܬܐ (NH3). Following Alexey Lyavdansky's suggestion, we regard these words as rendering the Neo-Aramaic terms for "amulet, talisman": *kṯəwta*/*kṯuṯa* (and similar), see e.g., Geoffrey Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, Vol. 3, Leiden–Boston, 2016, p. 123; Shabo Talay, *Neuaramäische Texte in den Dialekten der Khabur-Assyrer in Nordostsyrien*, Wiesbaden, 2009, p. 444; Hezy Mutzafi, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Betanure* (*Province of Dihok*), Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 358.

9 Former "BM Or. 6673". For the description of the manuscript see Hermann Gollancz, *Book of Protection*, p. 93; more recently Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection'," pp. 85–86.

10 Hermann Gollancz, *The Book of Protection*, pp. 101–102, §64.

11 Michael Zellmann-Rohrer suggests, that **BLa** and **H** can be written by the same scribe, which seems improbable. The two manuscripts are visibly written in two different hands.

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BL Or. 5281[12] (**Blb**)

London, British Library Ms. Or. 5281. Paper, 38 × 23 cm, 146 leaves. A convolute volume consisting of three manuscripts written in three different hands. It contains magical, divinatory, and astrological sections. The magical section has no beginning. The first two manuscripts contain magical texts (ff. 1–2 and ff. 2–41). This part consists of 62 chapters with 1 illustration in black. Up to 16 lines to page. Script: sporadically vocalized East Syriac. Date: unknown, paleographically dated to the 18th century. The codex also contains 47 chapters of the *Book of the Bee*.

IOM 4[13] (**I**)

Russia, St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,[14] Osnovnoy fond, ms. Sir. 4. Title: *kṯīḇtā d-nuṭṭār bnaynāšā* 'Amulet for protecting people'. Paper, 10.5 × 6.5 cm, 40 leaves, bound. Script: sporadically vocalized East Syriac. Up to 14 lines on page. 46 sections, 13 colored illustrations. Colophon lacking. Paleographically dated to the 17th–18th century by Pigulevskaya; later ownership notes of Yoḥannan bar Tērō, and of Saggō bar Merzā.

NH3[15]

New Haven, CT, Beinecke Library, Hartford Seminary collection no. 3. Title: *kṯāḇtā*[16] *d-nuṭṭār bnaynāšā* 'Amulet for protecting people'. Paper, 11 × 7 cm, 41 leaves. Script: vocalized East Syriac. Colophon lacking; assigned to the 19th century. 50 chapters, 14 illustrations. Up to 14 lines to page. The ms. belongs to the same textual tradition as **I** but is written in a less skilled hand.

12 For the most recent and full description and further references see Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection'," p. 93.

13 Described by Нина Викторовна Пигулевская, "Каталог сирийских рукописей Ленинграда" [Nina Viktorovna Pigulevskaya, Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in Leningrad], *Палестинский сборник* [*Palestinian Collection*], 6 (69) (1960), pp. 124–128 (ms. XXXIX). For a Russian edition see the MA thesis of Мария Чамурлиева, *Сирийская заклинательная традиция на примере рукописи из рукописного фонда ИВР РАН Сир. 4* [Mariya Chamurliieva, *Syriac Magical Tradition by the Example of the Manuscript Syr. 4 from the IOM RAS Manuscript Collection*], PFTY [RSUH], 2009. For the most recent mention see Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection'," p. 88.

14 *Contra* Zellman-Rohrer, *ibid.*: "Institute of Oriental Studies".

15 See further Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection'," p. 87.

16 Ms.: *ktdt*[?].

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3 Text and Translation

Among the five manuscripts at our disposal, we have chosen **H** as the main manuscript. Since NH3 follows **I**, but is less reliable, we do not address it separately. The text-critical discrepancies between the four compared manuscripts are provided in the footnotes. A synopsis of all four versions is presented in the next section.

MS Syriac 160, Houghton Library, Harvard University, f. 44r, ll. 1–17

1	ܗܳܕܹܐ ܕܓܕܢ[a] ܕܒܓ	**Binding of a mill**. Say
2	ܗܳܠܹܝܢ[b] ܕܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ[c] ܒܗ ܕܕܘܝܕ	these words from the psalm
3	ܕܐܡܪ̈ܬ ܠܝ ܕܪܡܝܬ[d] ܘܫܕܬ ܠܝ ܘܐܪܚܩ ܐܢܐ[e]:[f]	of David: "For You have lifted me up and cast me away"[g] –
4	ܐ̈ܢ: ܘܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܥܦܪܐ ܕܐܬܪ[h] ܬܠܬ ܙܒܢ̈	three times. *Bless*[j] upon the dust
5	ܘܫܕ ܒܥܝܢ ܕܪܚܝܐ[k] ܕܒܓ[l] ܣܡ[m] ܀	and throw [it] into the eye of the mill. [**Another recipe**] Take
6	ܣܒ ܙܪ̈ܥ ܚܛ̈ܐ[n] ܕܒܓ ܬܠ	seven grains of wheat. *Bless*

---

a Here and in all the following occurrences of this word Gollancz reads ܕܓܫ.

b Absent from **BLa**.

c These three words are absent from **I**. In **BLb** they are placed after the citation from the Psalm ending in ܐܢܐ.

d The last three words are absent from **BLb**.

e **BLa**: ܘܐܪܚܩ ܐܢܐ with an odd *syāmē*.

f **BLa**: ܘܫܕܬ ܠܝ 'and you have loosened me', which contradicts the text of Ps. 102:11. In **I** after these we find a prescription similar to that of the second spell (ll. 5–13):

ܘܩܪܐ ܥܠ ܫܒܥ ܙܪ̈ܥ ܚܛ̈ܐ ܘܫܕ ܒܬܪ ܥܝܢ ܕܪܚܝܐ ܕܬܚܬ̈ܝܬ ܀

"And recite [it] seven times above seven grains of wheat and throw them in the *lower part* of the mill". On the meaning of *reglā* see commentary to *ʿayna d-raḥyā* in section 5 below. The text of the charm in **I** ends here.

g Ps 102:11 according to the Peshitta numeration.

h **BLb**: ܐ̈ܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܥܠ, the words are placed after ܥܦܪܐ.

i **BLa**: ܥܦܪܐ with an odd *syāmē*.

j On the meaning of this word see section 5.

k **BLb**: ܒܚܫܕܬ with the same meaning.

l **BLa** has no punctuation mark, while **BLb** puts a colon and adds ܐܚܪܢ 'another [charm]' after it.

m **BLb**: ܣܡ with an unusual mark of abbreviation.

n **BLb**: ܚܛ̈ܐ *prīḏē*. The word does not mean 'grain' or 'seed' in Syriac, but a very close meaning is attested for its cognate in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, see *pryd'* 'pomegranate seed' in Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, Ramat-Gan, 2002, p. 932.

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(*cont.*)

MS Syriac 160, Houghton Library, Harvard University, f. 44r, ll. 1–17

7	ܥ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܗ̈ ܘ[o]ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ[p]	upon them <<upon them>> [with the following] words
8	ܕ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܕ̈ܘ̈ܟ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈[r] ܫ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈[q]:	seven times: "*sndwk bndwk*
9	ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ̈[t] ܘ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ̈ ܕ̈ܝ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈[u] ܗ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ̈[v] ܕ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈[w]:	and God is the greatest. These words of mine
10	ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ ܘ̈ ܗ̈ܢ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܗ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈[x] ܘ̈ ܗ̈ܢ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܗ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈[y] ܘ̈ ܗ̈ܢ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܗ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈[z]:	and this [word] with which was entrusted? Solomon
11	ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܕ̈ܘ̈ܝ̈ܕ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܝ̈ܫ̈ܝ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܫ̈ܠ̈ܡ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܕ̈ܘ̈ܝ̈ܕ̈[aa] ܕ̈ܒ̈[ab]:	son of David. I have sealed [the mill?] with the seal
12	ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܪ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈[ac] ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈[ad] ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈[ae] ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈[af]:	of the *four jinn from the master of its opening*?".
13	ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈[ag] ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈[ah]	And throw [the grains] into the eye of the mill, and it will stop.

o Absent from **BLa**, which has ܗ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܗ̈ 'these' instead.

p Starting from ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ̈, **BLb** reads instead: ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈.

q **BLa:** ܫ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ 'five'.

r **BLa** has a colon.

s **BLa** has a colon.

t Absent from **BLb**.

u **BLb:** ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ for which see section 5.

v **BLa:** ܗ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܗ̈.

w **BLb:** ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈. **BLa:** ܕ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈.

x **BLa:** ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈.

y **BLb:** ܗ̈ܢ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈.

z **BLa:** ܗ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܗ̈ ܘ̈ ܗ̈ܢ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܗ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈. **BLb:** ܗ̈ܢ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈.

aa **BLa:** ܕ̈ܒ̈. **BLb:** ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈.

ab **BLa** reads the same but has no punctuation mark. **BLb:** ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈.

ac **BLa** reads the same, but Gollancz provides a note: "or ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈".

ad **BLa:** ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈.

ae **BLa** reads the same but has no punctuation mark; Gollancz provides a note: "or ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈". **BLb:** ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈.

af **BLa:** ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈. It adds:

ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ... ܘ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈

'And if you can, repeat [this for] the period of forty ... times.'

BLb adds:

ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ❖ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ ❖

'And [say] another word many times: "Give me this!" And if you can repeat [it] forty times.' In **BLb** the text ends here.

ag **BLa** provides a grammatically correct form ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈.

ah Absent from **BLa.**

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(*cont.*)

MS Syriac 160, Houghton Library, Harvard University, f. 44r, ll. 1–17

14	ܫܒܝܩ ܕܟܣܝ ܫܒ̈ܝ ܐܣܝܪ	**Loosening of a mill**. [Recite:] "The Lord releases
15	ܐܣܝܪ̈ ܕܒܨܠܚ ܡܙܡܪܐ[ai]:	the prisoners"[aj] till the psalm ends,
16	ܫܒ̈ܝ ܒܟ ܥܠ ܚܛܐ ܫܒ̈ܝ ܒܥܝܢ ܕܪ̈ܚܝ	*bless* upon the wheat and throw it into the eye of the
17	ܕܟܣܝ	mill.

ai **BLa**: ܐܣܝܪ ܐܣܝܪ. One can suspect a typographic mistake, rather than a scribal one.
aj Ps 146:7.

4 Synopsis of the Four Versions

In the table below, we provide the text of the four manuscripts divided into eight verses and presented synoptically.

In what follows, we outline the most significant discrepancies between the four manuscripts. Two of them (**H** and **BLa**) preserve three recipes: two binding spells (verses 1, 2 and 3–7) and one loosening spell (verse 8). In **BLb**, the text stops at verse 7, before the end of the second recipe. In **I**, only one binding spell has been preserved. This textual variant contains a few remarkable traits. First, its beginning is similar to the other manuscripts, alluding to Psalm 102, but what follows does not correspond to the text of the first binding spell. Instead, it proceeds with instructions similar to the second binding spell (verses 3 and 7), prescribing to recite the psalm above 7 grains of wheat 7 times. Then the grains are to be thrown into *reglāh d-raḥyā* '… of the mill' which refers either to the torrent of the watermill, or to some unidentified part of the mill.

Each of the other three manuscripts (**H**, **BLb** and **BLa**) contains scribal mistakes, but, as a whole, the texts of **H** and of **BLb** are more reliable, while **BLa** contains mistakes even in the biblical citations. It appears that **BLa** has only one considerable advantage: it provides a better reading for *klmwy* in **H** and **BLb** – *klmty* (Arb. *kalimātī* 'my words').

The difference between the ways in which this text-unit has been segmentated in the different manuscripts is significant for its interpretation: in **H**, the beginning of each recipe is marked in red, while in **BLa** only the first and the third spell have separate headings. At the same time, in **H**, there are some other words written with red ink: *barreḵ* 'bless' (ll. 4, 16), *wa-ʾrmī?* 'throw' (l. 13, instead of *wa-ʾrmā*), which do not correspond to the segmentation of the text.

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Verse number	H H 160 f. 44r	BLa BL (BM) Or. 6673 (Gollancz 1912, 101–102, §64)	BLb BL Or. 5281 f. 40v–41r	I IOM 4 f. 35v (= NH3 f. 35)
1	ܟܠܡ ܒܟ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܕ ܡܪܝ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܒܥܕ ܡܪܝ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ	ܐܢܐ ܒܥܕ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܕ ܡܪܝ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܒܥܕ ܡܪܝ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ	ܒܥܕ ܡܪܝ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܒܥܕ ܡܪܝ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ.. ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܡܢܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ.	ܐܢܐ ܒܥܕ ܡܪܝ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܒܥܕ ܡܪܝ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ: ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܡܢܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ:
2	ܟ: ܘܬܠܬ ܙܒܢ ܟܠ ܚܕܐ ܡܢܟ ܒܥܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܘܬܝ ❖	ܟ: ܘܬܠܬ ܙܒܢ ܟܠ ܚܕܐ ܡܢܟ ܒܥܐ ܕܐܬܝ ❖	ܟ ❖ ܘܐ[a]❖ ܙܒܢ ܒܟ ܚܕܐ ܒܥܐ ܡܢܟ ❖ ❖ ❖

The crucial place is l. 5, where we think the second spell begins. In **BLa** the first two spells are not divided even by a punctuation mark. In **H** the second piece can be distinguished as a separate spell not only due to the red ink, highlighting the words *šḳol šabʿā perdē d-ḥeṭṭē* 'take seven grains of wheat', but also because of the mark of the end of a paragraph (❖). However, it is **BLb** which distinguishes the second spell in the most explicit way, introducing it with Syr. *ʾḥrēnā* 'another [recipe]'.

Where **BLb** is concerned, a few important features of this variant can be noticed. Though it lacks the ending of the ritual instruction in the second recipe and omits the whole third recipe, it expands the text of the second recipe with a few lines (verse 6). This reading is partly supported by **BLa.** This verse expands the ritual instruction by adding "another word" in **BLb** (see section 5 under * below) and increasing the number of times the spell should be recited to up to forty (in **BLb** and **BLa**). While in **BLa** this last instruction contradicts the recommendation to recite the spell five times (compared with seven in **H**), in **BLb** no such contradiction is found, since this is the only place where the number of utterances is mentioned. Although the assumptions on the reconstruction of the proto text are usually vulnerable, here it seems highly probable that this contradiction was present in the original text of the recipe, which in this aspect was close to the text as preserved in **BLa**, but it was eliminated in the course of transmission. **H** and **BLb** represent two different decisions: to keep only the first prescription (**H**), or only the second one (**BLb**). Second, **BLb** provides partial vocalization of the text. Third, its manner of rendering Arabic words seems closer to the *Garshuni* scribal system than the manner of **BLa** and **H**. The clearest case is rendering of Arb. خ with Syr. ܟ (with or without *rukkāḵā*) which is found twice in *w-**k**tmt b-**k**tmt ʾlgyn* (*wa-**x**atamtu bi-**x**ātimatʾ al-ǧinni* 'I seal with the seal of jinn') instead of ***ḫ**tmt b-**ḫ**tymt ʾlgyn* in **H** and **BLa.**[17] Finally, rendering the Arabic incantation, **H** and **BLa** use a colon sign as a word divider, while **BLb** uses either no word divider at all, or uses it rarely. The only certain case is *sndwk bndwk*: **BLb** places a horizontal colon between the two words, and a dot after the second word – most probably to mark the end of the phrase.

17 Other possible cases are *ʾlkbrʾ* which probably stands for **ʾlh ʾkbr* (*ʾaḷḷāhu ʾakbar* 'God is the greatest'). Here Syriac ܟ renders Arabic ك, while in **H** and **BLa** ـك is used instead.

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5 Philological Commentary

ll. 4, 6, 16: *brk* (*barreḵ*) 'bless'

In what follows we place the word between quotation marks, because its meaning is not easy to establish. Two questions arise here:

1) Does the word refer to the words mentioned before/after it, or does it refer to the separate blessing which is to be pronounced besides the other words?
2) What does "blessing" mean in the context of the two supposedly aggressive spells?

Concerning the first question, if we look at all the three passages, it appears that *barreḵ* refers to the words mentioned before or after it. A schematic representation of the three passages seems to be helpful.

ll. 1–4: "say these words from the psalm" – [the words from the psalm] – "bless upon the dust" – "throw it"

ll. 5–13: "take 7 grains" – "bless upon them [with the following] words" – [the Arabic incantation] – "throw them"

ll. 14–17: [the words from the psalm] – "bless upon the wheat" – "throw it"

The second passage presumably gives a clue to our question, because it allows us to equate the following incantation with the "blessing words". If we expand this interpretation to the other two passages, we can argue that in the three texts the object of the verb *barreḵ* is the words mentioned before or after it. Turning to the second question, the problem is that when *barreḵ* occurs in two passages that we attribute to aggressive magic, we hardly can render it as "bless". Similarly, if we ascribe to the verb a euphemistic meaning and render it as "curse",[18] the meaning does not fit the third passage from the loosening spell. We suggest, that in these three texts *barreḵ* designates an action of pronouncing words which have magic power, be it a citation from the Bible or an Arabic incantation – with a good intention, same as with an evil one. However, the issue requires further investigation based on the corpus of Syriac charms.

18 Cf. the Rabbinic corpus, where both Heb. *brk* and Aram. *brk* have a meaning "to blaspheme", see Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, Vol. 1, London–New York, 1903, p. 195.

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ll. 5, 13, 16–17: *ʿyn' d-rḥy'* (*ʿaynā d-raḥyā*) 'the mill's eye', i.e., the opening in a hand mill where the grain is put

Our main interpretation of this expression is based on metaphorical usages of *ʿaynā* 'eye' in Aramaic languages, such as JPA *ʿyyn* 'draft hole of an oven'.[19] Though we are unable to confirm or refute this interpretation based on the Syriac lexical data, a similar usage is found in JBA: *bt ʿyn* 'pupil of the eye', 'hole in the millstone'.[20]

Another interpretation worth considering is based on the second core meaning of *ʿaynā*, i.e., 'spring'. In this case, *raḥyā* would mean 'watermill' and *ʿaynā d-raḥyā* would denote a spring, or a water source, which refers to this watermill.[21] A support for this interpretation may be found in **I**, where instead of *ʿaynā* we see *reḡlā*. The term's core meaning is 'foot', but it can also denote a stream, which would fit this interpretation. However, we cannot exclude that *reḡlā* refers to some other part of the mill, since the term can also mean 'foundation' or 'leg (e.g., of a table)'. Also, our main interpretation is supported by the external evidence, the recipe from the Cairo Geniza, which also requires throwing dust into the opening in the upper mill, which is denoted by Arb. *ḥalq-*.

l. 8: *sndwk bndwk* (*sundūk bundūk*)

All three manuscripts give the same writing, and, as it seems, here we have a beginning of an Arabic spell. Initially this phrase probably was an Arabic paronomastic construction called *itbāʿ*. According to Pellat, this figure of speech is used in Classical Arabic when one wants to reinforce the meaning of a word. Usually, the phrase consists of two words the second of which has no existence in the language and is formed by alteration of mainly the first radical, for example *ḥasan basan* 'wonderfully attractive'.[22] The reconstruction

19 Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Ramat-Gan, 1990, p. 403, cf. also *īnu* in Akkadian: meaning 2. 'hole (of a kiln)', 'interstice (of a net)', 'hub (of a wheel)' (*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Vol. 7 (I and J), eds. Ignace J. Gelb, Benno Landsberger & A. Leo Oppenheim, Chicago, 1960, p. 157).

20 Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, Ramat-Gan–Baltimore, 2002, p. 249, see also Gustaf Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Vol. 3, Gütersloh, 1933, p. 227.

21 We owe this idea to Sergey Minov (personal communication).

22 See Charles Pellat, "Muzāwajah," in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs, Vol. 7, Leiden, 1960–2007, p. 823.

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of the original Arabic phrase would supposedly give *ṣundūq bundūq*, which indeed is attested in Classical Arabic texts.[23] Given this the phrase should mean 'an impressive chest' which is not supported by the context and does not fit our text. However, Schorch in his study of puns in the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible in a wider context argues that paronomasia has more functions than merely creating emphasis.[24] He also states that some kinds of "paronomasia are related in a certain way to the use of paronomasia in imitative magic, well attested in the neighbouring cultures of ancient Israel".[25] Moreover, this phrase occurs in a children's game, in which a player exclaims *ṣundūq bundūq* beside other incomprehensible words and phrases in a colloquial Arabic, loosely connected with each other.[26]

l. 9: *wʾlh ʾgbr* (*wa-ʾaḷḷāh ʾakbar*) 'and God is the greatest'

The **BLb**'s reading *ʾlkbrʾ* could be interpreted as the Arabic word *al-kubrā*,[27] but this does not seem to fit the context. Two other manuscripts agree with each other and give what we assume to be a more spontaneous rather than a systematic rendering of the Arabic exclamation (الله أكبر).[28] If it were transliterated according to the *Garshuni* scribal system, the second word would have looked as *ʾkbr* (ܐܟܒܪ).[29] Krämer gives the whole Arabic part of the spell under the title "Ein unverschtändlicher Text zur Beschwörung des Windes" where he renders this phrase in Arabic as "اجبر(!)والله".[30] This rendering is obscure to us.

23 See, e.g., a commentary to ibn al-Farīd's verse in *Šarḥ Dīwān al-Fāriḍ liš-Šayḥ Hasan al-Būrīnī wa-liš-Šayḥ ʿAbda al-Ġanī an-Nābulusī*, Arnaud, 1853, p. 508.

24 Stephan Schorch, "Between Science and Magic: the Function and Roots of Paronomasia in the Prophetic Books of the Hebrew Bible," in: *Pun and Pundits. Word Play in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, ed. Scott B. Noegel, Maryland, 2000, pp. 206–7.

25 *Ibid*., p. 218.

26 See, e.g., Muḥammad Rajab al-Sāmarrāʾī, "ʾIṣdārāt Nādī Turāṭ al-ʾImārāt," *al-Ṭaqāfah al-Šaʿbiyyah* 5 (2009), p. 190, https://www.folkculturebh.org/upload/issues/issue5.pdf (2022, May 4).

27 But for use of *y* instead of *al-ʾalif bi-ṣūrat al-yāʾ* in Garshuni see, e.g., Joseph Moukarzel, "Le Garchouni. Remarques sur son Histoire et son Évolution," in: *Scripts beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World*, ed. Heijer, J., Schmidt, A. & Pataridze, T., Louvain-la-Neuve, 2014, p. 135.

28 On phonetic rendering of the word *aḷḷāh* in *Garshuni* see, e.g., *ibid*.

29 See, e.g., *ibid.*, p. 133.

30 Karl Friedrich Krämer, *Textstudien zu Ostsyrischen Beschwörungsgebeten* (unpubl. diss.), Berlin, 1924, p. 84.

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l. 9: *klmwy* (*kalimātī*) 'my words'

BLa has *klmty*, while **H** and **BLb** read *klmwy* which we assume to be a mistake. Considering the possibility of incomprehension of the scribe, which will be mentioned below, this mistake could also be attributed to peculiarities of the scribal hand, in which shapes of *t* and *w* are alike.

l. 9: *hdʾll* 'these?'

All three manuscripts give different sequences of letters, none of which makes any sense in this context (**H**: *hdʾll*, **BLa**: *hll*, **BLb**: *bhdʾll*). The syntax of the phrase suggests that we have here a demonstrative pronoun with *kalimātī* 'my words' as its antecedent. It is hard to equate this with Classical Arabic *hāḏihī* or *hāʾulāʾī*. The probable interpretation is to consider these letters as a distorted form of a colloquial demonstrative pronoun, cf. *hadōl*(*e*)[31] in dialects of Levant, *hāḏōl*(*ah*)/*hāḏoḷḷayn*, *hāḏōl*/*hāḏēl*, *hāḏōl* in Bedouin Arabic dialects of Arabian Peninsula and Near East.[32]

l. 10: *wldy* (*wa-llāḏī*) 'and which'

Both manuscripts agree and the reading of the phrase is clear.[33]

l. 10: *tkyl bh* (*ittakal bihi*) 'relied on this?'

Two manuscripts read *tkl* (**BLa**, **BLb**) and one has *tkyl* (**H**). It is quite hard to understand this word especially with the next word (**H** and **BLa**: *bh*, but **BLb**: *bhh*, the last *h* of which is without doubt taken from the next word). The context suggests that we have here a verb with the meaning "to rely upon". The writing of the assumed verb is not only unclear, but also it cannot be easily construed with the following alleged preposition *b-*. Although the verb *ittakala* occurs in Arabic with the preposition *fī*, in other stems of the root *w-k-l* the preposition *b-* is used in reference to things which someone is put in charge of.[34]

31 Peter Behnstedt, "Árabe Levantino," in: *Manual de Dialectología Neoárabe*, ed. Federico Corriente & Ángeles Vicente, Zaragoza, 2008, p. 163.

32 Peter Behnstedt, "Árabe Beduino (Península Arábiga y Oriente Próximo)," p. 81.

33 For this kind of spelling see, e.g., Joseph Moukarzel, "Le Garchouni. Remarques sur son Histoire et son Evolution," p. 135.

34 For Classical Arabic see, e.g., Albert de Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Dictionaire Arabe-Français*, Vol. 4, Barrois, 1860, p. 1599 (*ʾittakala* 'Se fier entierement à quelqu'un, s'en remettre de

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ll. 10–11: *slmwn ʾbn dwwd* (*sulaymān ʾibn dawūd*) 'Solomon, son of David'

Every manuscript has different writing (**H:** *hlmwn ʾbn dwwd*, **BLa:** *hslmn ʾb dwwd*, **BLb:** *slmn ʾbn dwwd*, note the previous commentary about *h*), but its reading is obvious.

l. 11: *ḥtmt* (*xatamt*) 'I hereby seal'

Two manuscripts have *ḥtmt* (**H** and **BLa**) and the last has *wktmt* (**BLb**). It is remarkable that in these manuscripts both recorded possibilities for rendering Arabic *x* are present, namely with the letters *ḥ* and *k*.[35] Here we apparently have the performative use of the verb *ḥtm* ('I hereby seal').[36]

ll. 11–12: *bḥtymt ʾlgyn* (*bi-xātimatʾ ʾal-ǧinn*) 'with the seal of the jinn'

H and **BLa** agree with each other (*bḥtymt ʾlgyn*) against **BLb** (*bktmt ʾlgyn*). The context suggests "with the seal of the jinn", but the Arabic word *xātimah* which fits the writing usually means 'end, conclusion'[37] with the only exception we found being 'signature, caractère'.[38] Both meanings do not allow to get the assumed meaning of the phrase. The interpretation of *ʾlgyn* as Arabic الجنّ 'the jinn' is of no doubt.[39]

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tout à sa volonté, *av.* على *de la p. et* في *de la ch.*,' *wakkala* 'Constituer quelqu'un son agent, son fondé de pouvoirs, son avocat, son homme d'affaires, *av. acc. de la p. et* ب *de la ch.*'); Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Vol. 2., Leyden, 1881, p. 837 (*tawakkala bi-* 'se charge de'), and for the colloquial Arabic see, e.g., D. R. Woodhead, *Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic*, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 502 (*ttikal* 'to rely, depend, place one's trust', *ʾāni ʾattikil ʿalēk ib-hal-qaḍiyya* 'I'm depending on you in this matter,' note the use of the preposition *b-*); Hamdi Qafisheh, *NTC's Gulf Arabic-English Dictionary*, Chicago, 1997, p. 637 (*twakkal* with ب *b-* 'to act as a counsel for (a case)'; Adrien Barthélemy, *Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*, Paris, 1969, p. 906 (*əttákal*).

35 Joseph Moukarzel, "Le Garchouni. Remarques sur son Histoire et son Évolution," p. 133 and Emanuela Braida, "Neo-Aramaic Garshuni: Observations Based on Manuscripts," *Hugoye*, 17/1 (2014), p. 21.

36 See, e.g., Wolfdietrich Fischer, *A Grammar of Classical Arabic*, New Haven–London, 2002, p. 103.

37 See, e.g., J. Milton Cowan (ed.), *Arabic-English Dictionary: The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Urbana, 1993, p. 265; and Martin Hinds & El-Said Badawi, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic Arabic-English*, Beirut, 1986, p. 241.

38 Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Vol. 1., p. 352.

39 Michael Zellman-Rohrer, "A Syriac-Arabic Dream-Request and Its Jewish Tradition," p. 65; and Michael Zellman-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection'," p. 123.

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l. 12: *ʾrbʿ* (*ʾarbaʿ*) 'four'

The reading is obvious (**H** and **BLb:** *ʾrbʿ*, but **BLa:** *ʾrbʿ*), but the syntax is obscure. There could be at least two interpretations. First, it could be in apposition to the previous word 'the jinn' meaning 'the four jinn'.[40] This interpretation suggests that the object (the mill) of the verb *xatamt* 'I seal' is omitted. In this case the loss of the definite article before the number must be assumed. Second, it could be construed as a direct object of the verbal form "I seal", but then it is unclear what four things are sealed especially considering unclarity of the following phrase.

l. 12: *mn sʾyt* (*min as-sayyid*)

The writing of the two manuscripts (**H** and **BLa:** *sʾyt*) does not lend itself to understanding.[41] The interpretation of the third manuscript's writing (**BLb:** *syd*) is clear (*sayyid* 'master, owner'), nevertheless its syntactic position is difficult to comprehend. Also, the absence of the article in writing complicates interpretation of the phrase even more although this kind of recording is possible in *Garshuni*.[42]

l. 12: *dfwhʾ* (*ḏī-fūhāʾ*) 'of its opening (lit. "mouth")'

Two manuscripts agree in writing (**H** and **BLb:** *dfwhʾ*, but **BLa:** *wfwhʾ*). Although the grammatical rules of Classical Arabic seem to permit such a use of the Arabic *nota genitivi ḏū* still it seems here redundant and clumsy.[43] One can reasonably suppose contamination with Syriac particle *di-*. Combination of the letters *fwhʾ* according to the context should refer to the mill and prompts to

40 *Ibid.*

41 For possible reading of *sʾyt* see the word *sāyah* in Edward Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, Vol. 1, London–Edinburgh, 1877, p. 1458 (*ḍaraba fulānun ʿalā fulānin sāyatan* 'Such a one did to such a one a thing that caused displeasure to him, such a one made a way to do what he desired to such a one'). Other possible interpretations that assume corruption are reading the word *saʾt* 'side of the throat' (J. G. Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary for the Use of Students*, Beirut, 1899, p. 296) or the word *saʾaʾah* 'cambrure au bout de l'arc retourné en dehors' (Albert de Bibrestein-Kazimirski, *Dictionaire Arabe-Français*, Vol. 1, p. 1039). None of these interpretations easily fits the context.

42 Joseph Moukarzel, "Le Garchouni. Remarques sur son Histoire et son Évolution," p. 135.

43 For the use of *ḏū* in Classical Arabic see, e.g., Hermann Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Haidelberg, 1921, p. 152 (note the attributive use: الحَبُّ ذو العُصْفِ 'das Korn mit der Hülse,' and the use with pronominal suffix: ذُو ضُرِّهِمْ 'ihr Schädiger').

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read it as 'a mouth (of the mill)'. This naming of the opening of the upper stone indeed occurs in Arabic,[44] but nevertheless the exact form of a used Arabic word (or a combination with the pronominal suffix *hā*)[45] as well as the syntax of the whole phrase are obscure.

* verse 6

In **BLa** we find an additional instruction to repeat the spell given in the previous lines "for a period of forty times". In **BLb** there is one more sentence. It says: "And one other word [you repeat] for many times". The interpretation of the following two words, *bh ʾytyn* (vocalised as *bēh ʾaytyān*) is complicated, since they can be understood either as a Syriac, or as an Arabic phrase – in each case, the text seems corrupted and requires emendations.

A. If a Syriac hypothesis is considered, there are a few possibilities. Here we discuss the two which do not require changing the consonantal text.

A1. *bēh ʾaytīn* 'which we adduced [above]'

A2. *bēh ʾaytyan* 'with which he came upon us'

Both suggestions involve a few problems. First, the verb *ʾty* in C-stem is not normally used with *b-*, instead the object of bringing is introduced as a second direct object. Second, any Syriac interpretation of this phrase would imply a disruption in normal Syriac syntax, since a subordinate clause, i.e., "the word, which …", is to be marked with a relative pronoun *d-*. Third, none of these two makes sense in our context, because none of them mentions this *another word* or *phrase* which should be uttered.

B. Alternatively, the phrase can be explained as another corrupted rendering of Arabic. The most attractive interpretation is, probably, *bihi ʾtinī* (به ائتني) 'give me this', i.e., 'do this for me'. In this case we must suppose omitting of *alif al-waṣl* in writing of the imperative of the verb *ʾatā*, as well as a specific syntax of the phrase possibly for the emphasis, when the preposition with the pronoun (*bihi*) goes before the verb (*ʾti*). Nevertheless, assuming an Arabic citation has an advantage compared

44 See, e.g., al-Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, Vol. 39, al-Kuwait, 2001, p. 498 (اللُّهْوَةُ ... ما أُلْقِيَتْهُ فِي فَمِ الرَّحَى). Also note the use in Colloquial Arabic of the words *ḥalq* and *tumm* both meaning 'mouth' for the same part of a hand mill (Gustaf Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Vol. 3, p. 222).

45 For possible variants see, e.g., the whole article under *fūhun* in Edward Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, Vol. 6, p. 2464.

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with a Syriac one, because it allows us to avoid the problem of syntactic disruption. Also, another Arabic phrase in this charm would fit the context better.

6 Interpretation

In this section we provide a short overview of the three Syriac recipes for the mill followed by our interpretation. As already mentioned, in every place where we read *raḥyā* 'mill', Gollancz reads *ryḥ*ʾ, which corresponds to Syr. *rīḥā* 'smell'. Even though this reading is supported by K. Fr. Krämer, to whose interpretation we will turn further on, we would rather suspect an editorial mistake, made by Gollancz and replicated by Krämer, than a scribal one, since the two words look very similar in the Syriac script: ܪܝܚܐ 'smell' vs. ܪܚܝܐ 'mill'. Evidently following Gollancz's reading of *raḥyā* 'mill' as *rīḥā* 'smell', Krämer interprets the whole text-unit as "Psalmen zur 'Bindung' und 'Lösung' des Windes".[46] Since the Syriac term does not mean 'wind', such translation could be possible only if we interpret *rīḥā* not as a Syr. term for 'smell', but as an Arabic word *rīḥ-* 'wind'.[47] In this case, the Syriac ending *-ā*, typical for the inherited Aramaic lexica or well-adapted loanwords, requires an explanation.

There are a few reasons to treat Gollancz's reading as erroneous. First, in the case of **H**, the consonantal writing is clear enough to eliminate any doubts, while in **BLb** the word is vocalized as *reḥyā*. Though not found in Syriac dictionaries,[48] this vocalization is supported by the lexical data of other Aramaic idioms.[49] Second, the sphere of usage of the textual block can be deduced from the content of the recipes, abundant with agricultural lexica.[50]

46 Karl Friedrich Krämer, *Textstudien zu Ostsyrischen Beschwörungsgebeten*, pp. 8–9, §13. See also p. 84, §40 "Ein unverständlicher Text zur Beschwörung des Windes", which also refers to our block of texts, namely, the Arabic charm.

47 J. Milton Cowan (ed.), *Arabic-English Dictionary: The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Urbana, 1993, p. 432.

48 Robert Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxonii, 1879–1901, p. 3878, Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon. A Translation from the Latin. Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum*, Winona Lake–Piscataway, 2009, p. 1455.

49 Cf. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ryḥy*ʾ 'mill, millstone' (Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, p. 1075), Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *rḥy*, det. *ryḥyyh* 'millstone, mill' (Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, p. 520). Both forms go back to **riḥy-*.

50 See ʿ*aynā d-r*^{a}/$_{e}$*ḥyā* 'mill's eye' in ll. 5, 13, 16–17; (*perdē d-*)*ḥeṭṭē* '(grains of) wheat' in ll. 6, 16. Also see presumably *pwh*ʾ 'its (i.e. *the mill's*) opening' in l. 12. See also what follows on the Geniza parallel.

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The lexical issues, together with the text-critical data and comparative data from Jewish and Coptic magic discussed below, makes the reading offered by Gollancz and Krämer's interpretation unconvincing.

If the most extensive textual variants are considered (**H** and **BLa**), the text-unit consists of three fragments, each of them containing a ritual prescription.

1) *ʾassārā d-raḥyā* 'Binding of a mill' (verses 1–2)

The first binding spell prescribes reciting Psalm 102:11 three times above the dust[51] and throwing it, most probably, into the opening in the upper mill, or "mill's eye" (see the commentary to l. 5 below in section 5). The cited words from Ps. 102:11 are probably connected with the following prescription to take and *throw* dust into the mill's eye. However, one cannot leave unmentioned the fact that the previous verse of the psalm (Ps. 102:10 according to the Peshitta numeration) reminds us of the aim of the spell: "For I was eating *ashes like bread* and was mingling tears with my drink". Although, in the Syriac Peshitta we find the term *qeṭmā* 'ashes', while in the spell for a mill (verse 2) in all the manuscripts *ʿaprā* 'dust, clay' is used, we still find probable that alluding to Ps. 102:11 both verses 10 and 11 were meant here. It is also worth mentioning that the Hebrew terms for "ashes" (*ʾēpär*), used in the Hebrew version of the verse, and "dry earth, dust" (*ʿāpār*) can sound similar and have close semantics.

2) *ʾḥrēnā* 'Another [recipe]' (verses 3–7)

The second fragment, also a binding spell, starts with a prescription, involving manipulations with seven wheat grains that should be thrown into the mill after being "blessed" five, seven or up to forty times – depending on the manuscript.

Verses 4–5 contain an Arabic spell written in Syriac script (*Garshuni*) with a supposed infusion of colloquial Arabic traits (on which see above). The scribal manner of **H** and **BLa** to separate each Arabic word with a word divider was discussed above in the text-critical section. It seems, that both scribes were uncertain as to where the Arabic text ends and ritual instructions in Syriac begin (verse 5). In **H**, the last word with a colon is *ʾlgyn* 'the jinn', while in **BLa** the last colon is found two words before, after *ḥtmt* '[hereby] I seal'. Though the language of these last sentences appears to be corrupted and, in some cases, may represent a mixture of Syriac and Arabic, according to our interpretation the Arabic text ends no earlier than after the word *pwhʾ* '(its?) opening'.

51 Here all the manuscripts but **I** agree, the peculiarities of which were discussed above.

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Some Arabic words were correctly interpreted by K. Fr. Krämer in his unpublished doctoral thesis (see section 5 above). We cannot restore the exact wording of the original Arabic spell based on the current form of the text, but the general meaning is obvious. The form of the Arabic part indicates that at some stage the text became completely incomprehensible for the copyists of the recipes.[52] If they would have had any command of Arabic, the scribes would not have misspelled the name Solomon or written 'father' (*ʾb*) instead of 'son' (*ʾbn* in "Solomon son of David") not to mention the facts that only a few words in this spell are clearly readable in Arabic and the syntax is sometimes impenetrable.

The Arabic spell alludes to the legend of king Solomon's magic ring, which frequently occurs in both Syriac[53] and Arabic[54] magic. According to our interpretation the opening in the upper mill is claimed to be sealed by the seal of the four jinn. The four jinn here most probably symbolize the four cardinal points, i.e., the mill is intended to be bound from all four sides. Each cardinal point is thus governed by its jinn. This reminds us of a protective Jewish formula used in magic and in prayers: "May Michael be at my right hand, Gabriel at my left; in front of me, Uriel, behind me, Raphael; and above my head the Presence of God". Bearing the exact opposite goal, i.e., protection instead of harm, the formula also implies positioning of the named supernatural beings according to the four cardinal points. Notably, a similar protective formula is found in Syriac and in Muslim magic texts.[55]

52 Zellmann-Rohrer plausibly assumes "successive cycles of copying by uncomprehending scribes" (Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "A Syriac-Arabic dream-request and its Jewish tradition," p. 70).

53 For the Syriac charms which mention Solomon and their Jewish parallels see Hermann Gollancz, *The Book of Protection*, pp. xii–xix; for a Syriac charm, belonging to Solomonic tradition, specifically close to the *Testament of Solomon*, and not attested in Gollancz's corpus, see Анна Черкашина, "Соломон и демоны в заклинаниях сирийских христиан" [Anna Cherkashina, "Solomon and the Demons in the Charms of Syriac Christians"], *Христианский Восток* [*Christian Orient*], 9 (XV) (2021), pp. 149–162.

54 Hans Alexander Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der Muhammedanischen Zauberei*, Berlin–Leipzig, 1930, especially pp. 110–114, 127–132, for Solomon's ring in Arabic literature see Georg Salzberger, *Die Salomo-Sage in der Semitischen Literatur*, Berlin–Nikolassee, 1907, pp. 120–129; see also Allegra Iafrate, *The Long Life of Magical Objects: A Study in the Solomonic Tradition*, Pennsylvania, 2019, pp. 50–59.

55 Alexey Lyavdansky, "Syriac Charms in Near Eastern Context: Tracing the Origin of Formulas," in: *Oral Charms in Structural and Comparative Light. Proceedings of the Conference of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research's* (ISFNR) *Committee on Charms, Charmers and Charming, 27–29 October, Moscow*, eds. T. A. Mikhailova, J. Roper, A. L. Toporkov, D. S. Nikolayev, Moscow, 2011, pp. 17–18; Hans Alexander Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der Muhammedanischen Zauberei*, p. 17.

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Also, it is worth to mention that seven grains occur in a Muslim story about the origins of first breadmaking.[56] In this story God, via Gabriel, gave Adam after his exile from Heaven seven grains which he then sowed and harvested. After that Gabriel gave him two stones with which Adam made a hand mill. He ground the wheat and kneaded it. Gabriel taught him how to kindle a fire, so Adam was able to bake the first loaf of bread.

3) *šeryānā d-raḥyā* 'loosening of a mill' (verse 8)

The last spell is a counter-spell to the two previous ones or to any other curse intended to affect one's mill. The recipe requires the user to recite Psalm 146 over wheat (without specifying the quantity required) which, just as in the two cursing rituals, is to be thrown into the mill's eye.

7 The Broader Context

The first two recipes supposedly aim to stop (cf. Syr. *bṭl* in l. 13) the mill that belongs to the spell beneficiary's adversary. The final goal of the two spells is presumably to harm the adversary. By causing problems with the production of flour, the spell beneficiary may seek to affect the sustenance of the spell target and his family. These considerations allow us to attribute the two recipes to aggressive magic and to compare them with various cursing techniques attested in magical texts from Egypt, both in Coptic[57] and in Jewish[58] contexts.

The textual variant of the text-unit found in **BLb** has been mentioned recently by M. Zellmann-Rohrer, who also ascribes an aggressive intention to these recipes, assuming their usage in a context of commercial rivalry[59] and comparing them with recipes aimed to hinder the heating of an oven.

56 See, e.g., *The History of al-Tabari. An Annotated Translation. General Introduction and from the Creation to the Flood*, Vol. 1., translated and annotated by Franz Rosenthal, Albany, 1989, p. 298 (English translation); *Annales quos Scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed Ibn Djarir at-Tabari*, Vol.1, ed. M. J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1979–1881, p. 127 (original text).

57 Cf. Text 106 ("Curse to bring seventy different diseases upon victim") in Marvin W. Meyer & Richard Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*, Princeton–New Jersey, 1999, pp. 215–216, Text 110 ("Curse to harm a person through the use of wax dolls") in *ibid*., pp. 222–223, and other curses against enemies (Texts 88–112) in *ibid*.

58 Cf., e.g., Geniza 16 7:1–13 ("causing fire") in Joseph Naveh & Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem, 1993, pp. 174–181, Geniza 24 2:8–12 ("for hatred") *ibid*., pp. 222–225, Geniza 26 2:1–8 ("meant for every need, for causing disease, for killing, for causing fire, also for hatred") *ibid*., pp. 230–232.

59 Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection'," pp. 122–123.

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There are three text-units related to a furnace found in three manuscripts, which notably also contain the binding spells for a mill. The first text-unit is found in **BLb** (ff. 22v–23v), the first recipe is titled *ʾAssārā d-ʾattūnā w-mānay d-ʾīṯ bēh* 'Binding of a furnace and the implements which are in it'. The second text-unit is contained in **I** (f. 37r), where only the ending of the binding spell has been preserved, but the full text is found in the closely related manuscript **NH3**, where it is called *ʾAssārā d-ṭannūrā* 'Binding of the oven' (f. 36v). The third text-unit for an oven is found in **I** (f. 35, partly lost due to the torn page) and **NH3** (f. 35r): *ʾAssārā d-ḵūrā d-pārzlā* 'Binding of an iron smelter' (**NH3**, **I** 35). All three text-units contain both a binding and a loosening spell. Sharing a similar target, they are completely different on the formulaic and structural level, allowing us to regard them as three different text-units designed for similar purposes. These texts deserve to be the subject of a separate research, therefore, below we cite only a few excerpts from the recipes.

In **BLb** (the 1st text-unit) the text reads:

> (…) I bind this furnace (*ʾattūnā*) and the smelter (*kūrā*). Let it be like snow and hail. (…) I bind the furnace and everything that is in the smelter. (…) And all the utensils that are in it. (…) And let them not burn but let them get broken and become like chaff that the wind carries away (**BLb** ff. 22v–23r).

The respective loosening spells for a furnace (*šeryānā dīlēh* 'Loosening spell for it') in **BLb** reads:

> (…) Let this binding of the furnace and the smelter disappear, let [the furnace] return to its initial state. Let the utensils in it be heated (*or* inflamed), let them not be pierced?, nor broken, the small [ones] together with the big [ones] (**BLb** f. 23v).

The binding spell of the second text-unit contains a ritual prescription to recite the incantation above a piece of wood and throw it into the furnace, absent from **BLb**. As for the loosening spell, instead of a mid-length text found in **BLb**, in **I** and **NH3** there is only a short prescription to recite Psalm 146 three times. Notably, the same psalm is used in the 'Loosening of a mill' (verses 8–9). The binding spell says:

> They are igniting the furnace in vain, let [the fire in it] go out as [the fire in] the furnace of the house of Hananiah.[60] By that power let the fire not

60 Dan. 3.

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> burn in it and not be ignited in the furnace of so-and-so son of so-and-so (**I** f. 37r).

A prescription to recite the spell over three pieces of wood is found in the third text-unit, found in **NH3** and **I**. The spell says:

> "He rode upon the cherubim and flew[61]" – three sentences (lit. "words"). Cut three pieces of wood, recite [the words] over them and throw them into the furnace (**NH3** 35r).

Indeed, at least the first and the third text-units appear to refer to an industrial furnace for firing pottery or smelting metals, while the second can be designed for a baking oven – either domestic or industrial. One should note, however, that also at household level the binding of an oven could have had adverse economic implications, since this would result in more wood needing to be used and more work invested in attempting to kindle the fire. This is evident when we consider the reverse type of magical practices: those intended to hasten the cooking of food, presumably to require less wood and work. Examples of this type are found in rabbinic literature, for instance Tosefta Shabbat 7.7–8, where several practices are adduced (and prohibited) for hastening the cooking of food.[62] Similarly, the Babylonian Talmud Shabbat 67b mentions "A woman who urinates in front of her pot so it will cook quickly: that action contains an element of the ways of the Amorite."[63] To conclude, whether the aggressive charms in the Syriac manuscripts referred to industrial or to home ovens, preventing them from burning would have harmed their owners.

A parallel to these oven-binding charms is found in a recipe for binding the furnace of a bathhouse from the Jewish composition *Sefer ha-Razim* (*The Book of Secrets*). The recipe begins with the words "If you wish to extinguish (the fire which heats) a bathhouse so it will neither flare up nor burn", and continues with a practice involving the adjuration of a salamander dipped in oil.[64] The

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61 Ps. 18:10.

62 "She who shouts at the oven so that the bread does not fall (…), she who silences for the lentils and she who cools/sucks for the rice" (המצוחת לתנור שלא תנפל הפת …; המשתקת לעדשים והמצננת / והמוצצת לאורז hmṣwḥt ltnwr šlʾ tnpl hpt…; hmštqt lʿdšym whmṣnnt/ whmwṣṣt lʾwrz). It is not entirely clear what the last two practices, for the lentils and rice, entailed.

63 המשתנת בפני קדירתה בשביל שתתבשל מהרה יש בו משום דרכי האמורי. (hmštnt bpny qdyrth bšbyl šttbšl mhrh yš bw mšwm drky hʾmwry).

64 *Sefer ha-Razim*, Third firmament, §186–188 (Bill Rebiger & Peter Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim i und ii: Das Buch der Geheimnisse i und ii*, 2 vols, Tübingen, 2009. Vol. 1, in collaboration with E. Burkhardt, G. Reeg and H. Wels: *Edition*, pp. *64–*65): אם בקשת לכבות

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oil is then dripped at the four corners of the bathhouse, with the intention to "make it like cold snow or cold water".[65] This spell is followed by a loosening formula, meant to ignite the furnace again: "I adjure you, angel of fire and angel of conflagration, that you will undo what I have bound".[66] Obviously, preventing the furnace from heating the bathhouse would have inflicted economic damage on its owners, just as the binding of an industrial or home-oven would. However, the target addressed in all the above spells is not the owner but the fire.

Additional parallels to the oven-binding and releasing recipes can be found in another Jewish composition, *Ḥarba de-Moshe* (*The Sword of Moses*), in a recipe titled "If you wish to close an oven or a basin or a pot so that (foods) will not be put (in them)".[67] This binding recipe is followed by a counter one, so that "they will be (released for) cooking".

8 Historical Context

Aggressive magic, both in antiquity and in later periods, was usually meant to directly affect human targets. Some examples would be practices for causing bodily harm, such as disease, fever, impotence, bareness, and inability to speak, along with more psychologically oriented practices, such as those meant to cause memory loss and a change of feelings from love to hatred or vice versa. A smaller number of aggressive magical practices were directed at animals, with the intention to obliquely affect a human target. Prominent examples of this category are curses and binding spells directed at racing horses.[68] Lastly,

מרחץ שלא תעלה ותלהט (*ʾm bqšt lkbwt mrḥṣ šlʾ tʿlh wtlhṭ*). English translation from Michael A. Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim: the Book of Mysteries*, Chico (CA), 1983, p. 62.

65 ועשוה כצנת שלג וכמים קרים (*wʾswh kṣnt šlg wkmym qrym*).

66 *Sefer ha-Razim*, Third firmament, §189 (Rebiger & Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim i und ii*, Vol. 1, p. *66): משביע אני עליך מלאך אש ומלאך שלהבת שתתיר את מה שאסרתי (*mšbʿ ʾny ʿlk mlʾk ʾš wmlʾk šlhbt šttr ʾt mh šʾsrt*). English translation from Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim*, p. 63.

67 אם בעית למיצר תנור או כיור או קידרא דלא נטמיין (*ʾm bʿyt lmyṣr tnwr ʾw kywr ʾw qydrʾ dlʾ nṭmyyn*). For the English translation, see Yuval Harari, "The Sword of Moses (*Harba de-Moshe*): A New Translation and Introduction," *Magic, Ritual & Witchcraft*, 7 (2012), pp. 58–98 (90).

68 See, e.g., *PGM* III. 1–164 (Hans Dieter Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, Chicago–London, 1992, pp. 18–22). For recipes for binding wild animals, see *Sefer ha-Razim*, Second Firmament, §155 (Rebiger & Schafer, *Sefer ha-Razim i und ii*, Vol. 1, p. *52}; *Ḥarba de-Moshe* (Yuval Harari, "The Sword of Moses," p. 91).

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some aggressive practices focused on inanimate targets. Here, too, the ultimate intention was to affect humans, as shown in the examples below. However, the notion of binding an inanimate entity is particularly intriguing, as it addresses the inanimate as a living being.

Binding and aggressive magical practices targeting inanimate entities could include natural formations such as rivers or seas,[69] agricultural products,[70] and also objects and installations, such as a ship[71] or the mill which is the focus of this article. The latter type of practices is found already in Late Antiquity, as evidenced by the recipes for binding the furnace of a bathhouse mentioned above. Further parallels to this type of practices can be found in Coptic magic, for instance in a manuscript currently located in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, inventory number JdE 42573, roughly dated between the tenth and the twelfth century.[72] The aim of this magical text is to affect a water-wheel and prevent it from supplying water. A water-wheel is a type of revolving installation similar to the mill mentioned in the recipes we discuss. In the Coptic text, the binding of the water-wheel is to be effected by pouring a mixture of liquids onto it: acacia juice (?) and snake water, the latter possibly meaning venom. This practice is similar in form to that attested in the Syriac recipes, but lacks the verbal element.

Aggressive magic against a water-wheel is also mentioned in another Coptic text currently located in Heidelberg, P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 408. This magical procedure – which also involves pouring a mixture of liquids – is accompanied by a *historiola* in which a supernatural entity named Khoubin Harpak describes himself to King Solomon and claims: "My work is destruction. (…) A thresher,

69 See, e.g. *Sefer ha-Razim*, Second Firmament, §155 (Rebiger & Schafer, *Sefer ha-Razim i und ii*, Vol. 1, p. *52): "(if you wish to quell) a river or a sea which is rising and washing against buildings" (נהר או ים העולה ושטף בבתים, *nhr ʾw ym hʿwlh wštp bbtym*) (English translation from Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim*, p. 53).

70 This category may have been alluded to in the Twelve Tables law on "enchanting" crops (*qui fruges excantassit*), that was interpreted in later periods either as stealing crops with the help of magic, or ruining them by invoking storms. For a recent treatment of this law, with reference to previous literature, see J. B. Rives, "Magic in the XII Tables Revisited," *Classical Quarterly*, 52 (2002), pp. 270–290. Conversely, for examples of magical practices meant to positively affect agricultural products, see *Ḥarba de-Moshe*: "For trees that do not produce fruit" "For white rot that afflicts fruit", "For blight that afflicts the field" (Yuval Harari, "The Sword of Moses," pp. 87–88, 92).

71 See *Ḥarba de-Moshe*, a binding recipe "to detain a ship at sea", followed by a releasing recipe: למיכלא אילפא בימא (*lmykl*ʾ *ʾylpʾ bymʾ*) (Yuval Harari, "The Sword of Moses," p. 90).

72 See Korshi Dosoo, Edward O. D. Love & Markéta Preininger (chief editors). "KYP T55: Destruction of a water-wheel," Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects, www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/text/kyp-t-55. Accessed on 07/04/2022. We are grateful to Korshi Dosoo for this reference and the following one.

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I destroy it, a […] I destroy it, a shovel, I lay waste to it, a water-wheel, I destroy it, a garden, I destroy it, […] I destroy it, a storehouse, I destroy it (…)."[73] As can be seen from the above list, this Coptic text was meant to affect a variety of inanimate entities (both objects and installations) and presumably ultimately to harm their human owners.

Moving now to the Jewish parallels to the mill spells, we start with the observation that two parallels have been found. The first is part of a bifolio with magical recipes from the Cairo Geniza, T-S Ar. 49.54 1:12–3:5, that has been published by Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked.[74] Below we revise the reading of Naveh and Shaked.

Cambridge T-S Ar. 49.54 1:12–3:5. Paper bifolio, ca. 13.5 × 19.5 cm, each leaf measures ca. 13.5 × 10 cm. Inscribed in black ink by one or two hands. Oriental square script. The text contains Judaeo-Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic.

Our reading revises that offered by the first editors of this text, Naveh and Shaked, on several points. In the first recipe, lines 14–15, they read the last letters of the magic names as a final *mem*, while we suggest reading *samekh*. The scribe wrote these two letters in nearly identical form (cf. 4, line 8: המקום ואסף). However, a comparison with the releasing recipe found in this manuscript, where similar magic words end with a clear *samekh*, as well as with the parallel recipe from NYPL 190, tips the scales in favor of a *samekh*. Second, in line 15 the previous editors read "לפנונים" (*lpnwnym*), but the first *nun* is mistaken, and the word is לפוניס (*lpwnys*). Third, in line 16 the last word begins with a clear *ṭet*, the first letter in the noun טחונתה, but this part was not reconstructed nor translated by Naveh and Shaked. The last line of the recipe, line 17, is poorly preserved. It clearly contains the goal of the recipe, namely that the mill should not function, but the verb is missing. We reconstruct here תהלך (*thlk*) based on two indications: a partially preserved *lamed* in the middle of the sequence, and the verb found in the releasing recipe, which is תהלך. The parallel from NYPL 190 contains two different verbs: תסוב ותרגיש (*tswb w-trgyš*). Neither seems to fit the lacuna in T-S Ar. 49.54 due to the presence of the *lamed*. Lastly, we reconstruct the preposition ב (*b*) 'at' in the phrase "at this moment (lit. hour)". The expression בהדא שעתה (*bhdʾ šʿth*) is found in other magic recipes, e.g., T-S Misc. 27.4.11, 1:14 (עבידו לי צביוני בהדא שעתא *ʿbydw ly ṣbywny bhdʾ šʿtʾ*).[75]

73 See Korshi Dosoo, Edward O. D. Love & Markéta Preininger (chief editors). "KYP T174: Curse to destroy a business (?)," Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects, www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/text/kyp-t-174. Accessed on 07/04/2022.

74 Joseph Naveh & Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, pp. 227–230, Geniza 25.

75 Joseph Naveh & Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, pp. 216–219, Geniza 22.

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T-S Ar. 49.54 1:12–17

12	bʾb l-ṭḥwnh	[a]באב לטחונה	A section for a mill.[b]
13	kwd twrʾb mn tḥt rǧlk	כוד תוראב מן תחת רגלך	Take some dust from
	ʾl-ysʾr w-ʾlqyh	אליסאר[c] ואלקיה	under your left foot, and throw it
14	py ḥlqhʾ w-qwl b-šm	פי חלקהא וקול בשם[d] אלפוניס	into its opening and say:
	ʾlpwnys		"In the name of *ʾlpwnys*
15	lpwnys w-ʾkpwnys ʾtwn	לפוניס ואכפוניס אתון אתיה	*lpwnys and ʾkpnwnys*!
	ʾtyh qd[yšyh]	קד[ישיה]	You, holy letters
16	w-šmhtʾ qdyšyh ʾswrw	ושמהתא קדישיה אסורו הדא	and holy names, bind
	hdʾ ṭ[ḥwnth]	ט[חונתה]	this mill,
17	dl[ʾ thlk b-h]ʾdʾ šʿtʾ:	דל[א תהלך(?) ב(?)ה]אדא	so that it does not [move,
		שעתא :	at] this moment!"

T-S Ar. 49.54 2:1–5

1	[...]	[e][...]	[...][f]
2	qwl ʾnpynws ʾpntpynws	קול אנפינוס אפנתפינוס	Say: "*ʾnpynws ʾpntpynws*!
3	ʾtwn šmhth qdyšyh	אתון שמהתה קדישיה	You, holy names,
4	šrwn hdʾ ṭḥwnth xx	שרון הדא טחונתה[g]	loosen this mill xx
5	w-thlk: mǧrb	ותהלך: מגרב	and let it move". Proven.

a The title is emphasized with supralinear clusters of three dots/short strokes.

b The translation provided by Naveh and Shaked is as follows:
12) <<A chapter for a lame woman (?)
13) Take dust from underneath your left foot and throw it
14) into her gullet, and say:>> "In the name of (*magic*
15) *words*). You, holy characters
16) and holy names, bind this ...
17) that he may not ... this hour."

c Both here and in the following word the "al" is written as ligature.

d From this word until the word הדא in line 16 (including) all the words are emphasized with supralinear clusters of three dots.

e The missing text is centered and was probably the title of the recipe.

f The translation provided by Naveh and Shaked is as follows:
1) <<Say:>> (*magic names*)
2) you, holy names,
3) release this female lame (?) person
4) that she may walk. <<Tested.>>

g The word is followed by two smaller signs resembling the *qamatz* of the Babylonian vocalization system. These might have functioned as graphic line fillers.

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Alternatively the preposition could have been מן (*mn*), "from (this moment)", but the space seems rather small for two letters (although it is not impossible that they were tightly spaced). The scribe could have used the preposition מ, in its Hebrew form, thus mixing Hebrew with Aramaic. This, too, is not impossible, given other imprecisions in the text, such as the spelling of הדא with an extra *aleph*, האדא.

Naveh and Shaked, while noting that the term טחונה (*ṭḥwnh*) relates to the Aramaic noun "miller", interpret it as an Arabic word "meaning something like 'lame' or 'cripple'" based on the context (p. 230). It seems that they were confused by the verb in the releasing recipe, ותהלך (*w-thlk*), "and it shall move (lit. walk)", and did not think of the possibility of a mill "walking", consequently interpreting the text as referring to a person, not an installation. The Syriac parallel clearly shows this to be otherwise.

The Genizah recipe for releasing a mill found on the verso of this leaf (2:1–5) seems to be written by a different hand, or by the same scribe but in a very different form. The letters are much larger, thicker and less cursive, and there are no supralinear dots for emphasis. If the recipe was indeed written by the same person as the previous one, the reason for the change in writing style is unclear. We should note that the writing changes again on the following leaf, in the middle of a recipe (3: 3).

The first line of the releasing recipe probably consisted of one word, its title, which could have been the Aramaic לשריה 'To release it', or a Judaeo-Arabic version thereof. Such a title would stress its connection with the previous recipe for binding a mill. The practice is entirely oral, as opposed to the previous one, which involved a manipulation of materials. It consists of a simple invocation of two magical names, that are asked to "release this mill". The result (or perhaps part of the spell to be uttered) is that the mill "shall walk", that is, begin to turn and function again.

The two magical names in the releasing recipe closely resemble those in the binding one. However, while the binding recipe contains three variations of the sequence פוניס (*pwnys*), the releasing spell contains two variations of the sequence פינוס (*pynws*). It is probable that both spells were meant to invoke similarly sounding names, built on the basis of פינוס (suggesting that the releasing spell preserved the more accurate forms). This assumption is based on the parallel found in NYPL 190, where the magical names are clearly based on the sequence פינוס (*pynws*) and not on פוניס (*pwnys*).

Both recipes on T-S Ar. 49.54 contain a mixture of languages: Judaeo-Arabic, Aramaic, and a couple of Hebrew words. This situation will be discussed further below, after presenting the second parallel.

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NYPL 190, fol. 180: 20–23[76]

https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/8cfbe0d0-a5ee-0133-e6a4-00505686d14e

This recipe is part of a paper manuscript of 258 pages, ca. 27 × 17 cm. Date: 1468. Hand: Byzantine. Scribe: Moshe ben Yaakov ben Mordechai and Marḥaba. The manuscript contains two works by Abraham Abulafia, *Ḥaye ha-Nefesh* and *Matsref ha-Ḥokhmah*, followed by a long compendium of magical recipes in a combination of Judaeo-Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew (pp. 58–258 of the manuscript). The magic manuscript, including the recipe below, was edited by Gideon Bohak,[77] who noted the partial parallel to T-S Ar. 49.54 but did not provide an alternative interpretation.

The NYPL 190 recipe consists of a simple invocation of four magical names, followed by a series of synonym verbs denoting binding effects on the mill. The subsequent results, "it will not turn and not move" prove that the interpretation of טחונה as a mill is the correct one. The invocation is concluded by the name of the great and holy God and an abbreviated sequence of Amen.

20	lʿqd ʾlṭʾḥwn tqwl hdh	לעקד אלטאחון[b] תקול הדה	To bind a mill. Say these
	ʾlʾsmʾ llpynws ʾlpynws	אלאסמא ללפינוס אלפינוס	names: "*llpynws ʾlpynws*
21	pynws wkpynws ʾtwn	פינוס וכפינוס אתון שמהתא	*pynws and kpynws*", You
	šmhtʾ qdyšyʾ	קדישיא	holy names,
22	ʾswrw hdʾ ṭḥwntʾ wkptwh	אסורו הדא טחונתא וכפתוה	bind this mill and tie it
	wʾwqmwh wlʾ tswb wlʾ	ואוקמוה ולא תסוב ולא תרגיש	and stop it and it will
	trgš bʾlhʾ	באלהא	not turn and it will not
			move. By God
23	rbʾ wqydšʾ ʾ’ ʾ’ sʾ	רבא וקדישא א'א'ס'	the great and the holy.
			A(men) A(men) S(ela).

a The recipe is numbered on the margin, שפח, "378". The title is repeated on the margin.

b Under the title a different hand inscribed two letters (?) that resemble רן (*rn*) but their meaning is unclear.

76 Gideon Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of Jewish Magic, Ms New York Public Library Heb. 190 (formerly Sassoon 56): Introduction Annotated Edition and Facsimile* (in Hebrew), 2 vols., Los Angeles, 2014.

77 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 222.

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As opposed to the Genizah recipe, NYPL 190 only consists of an incantation to be uttered, whereas T-S Ar. 49.54 also involves a practical action (taking dust and feeding it to the mill). The magical words to be uttered, however, resemble each other and clearly reflect the same incantation:

T-S Ar. 49.54 binding	NYPL 190 binding	T-S Ar. 49.54 releasing
אלפוניס	ללפינוס	
לפוניס	אלפינוס	
	פינוס	אנפינוס
ואכפוניס	וכפינוס	אפנתפינוס

The core of the magic words in NYPL 190 and in the releasing recipe from T-S Ar. 49.54 is פינוס (*pynws*), and (probably) this also was the original form of the core of the names of the T-S Ar. 49.54 binding recipe, where they were changed in the course of its transmission. Given the aim of the recipe, namely binding a mill, an installation meant to produce flour and consequently bread, could this core have a related meaning? It is perhaps possible to relate it to the Greek πεινών, meaning "hungry". However, to date we have not found any Greek magic recipes that are directed against a mill or a similar installation.

In terms of chronology, both the Aramaic text preserved in NYPL 190 and that in the middle of the Judaeo-Arabic version from T-S Ar. 49.54 attest to the antiquity of these spells. In the medieval period most Jews were no longer using Aramaic. Hence, in both manuscripts the title and instructions of the recipes are provided in Judaeo-Arabic, while the actual incantation remains in the original Aramaic.[78]

78 For a broader discussion of the division of languages in magic texts, see Gideon Bohak, "Towards a Catalogue of the Magical, Astrological, Divinatory and Alchemical Fragments from the Cambridge Genizah Collections," in: *"From a Sacred Source": Genizah Studies in Honour of Professor Stefan C. Reif*, ed. Ben Outhwaite and Siam Bhayro, Leiden, 2011, pp. 53–79 (62–64, 68–69).

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9 Conclusions

In this study of the Syriac text-unit for a mill we have shown that the magical practices attested in these recipes have a much broader cultural and historical context. Comparing the Syriac texts with Jewish recipes, we can try to identify the core of the binding and loosening practices shared by both magical traditions. In the case of the binding spell the core-practice is throwing dust into the opening in the upper mill, while reciting the incantation. In the case of the loosening spell, in both traditions Psalm 146:7 is used for this purpose.

Notably, both in the Syriac and in the Jewish text-units for a mill a part of the recipe is written in Arabic. As we have mentioned before, Arabic was frequently used as a language of both written and spoken communication for Oriental Jews in medieval times (written often in the form of Judaeo-Arabic). However, as has also been mentioned above, the Arabic language is a highly marginal phenomenon for Syriac magical manuscripts. It is worth mentioning here that the Arabic spell (verses 5–7) in the Syriac text-unit shows not only the kind of scribal mistakes which occur during the transmission of a poorly understood text, but also mistakes and discrepancies which clearly demonstrate that this incantation was written down from hearing. In addition to the arguments presented above, it should be outlined that unlike the Jewish recipes for a mill, the Arabic spell found in the Syriac manuscripts contains clear indications of its circulation in Muslim context, cf. *ʾaḷḷāh ʾakbar* (l. 9), *bi-xātimatʾ ʾal-jinn* (l. 11), *sundūk bundūk* (l. 8). Taken together this evidence suggests that the binding practice for a mill was shared by Arabic-speaking Muslims, Jews and Syriac Christians. The Arabic spell written down in *Garshuni* attests to oral practice. To sum up, we do not assume, though it cannot be refuted either, that the Arabic magical tradition was a source for this practice in both the Syriac and the Jewish manuscripts. The available evidence allows us only to deduce that similar practices occurred in Arabic, Syriac and Jewish magical traditions.

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Appendix



FIGURE 1 MS Syriac 160, Houghton Library, Harvard University, f. 44r (**H**)

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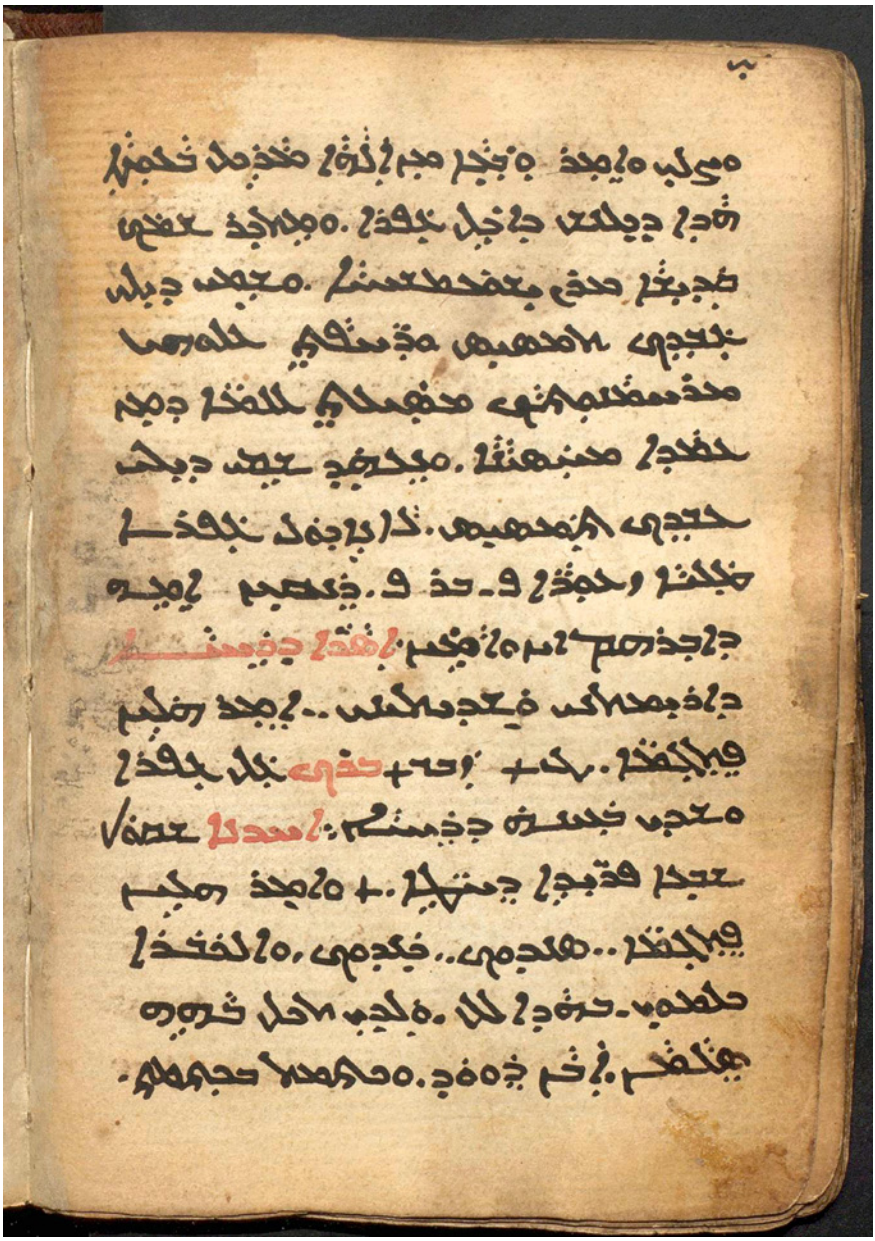


FIGURE 2 BL Or. 5281, f. 40v (**Blb**)
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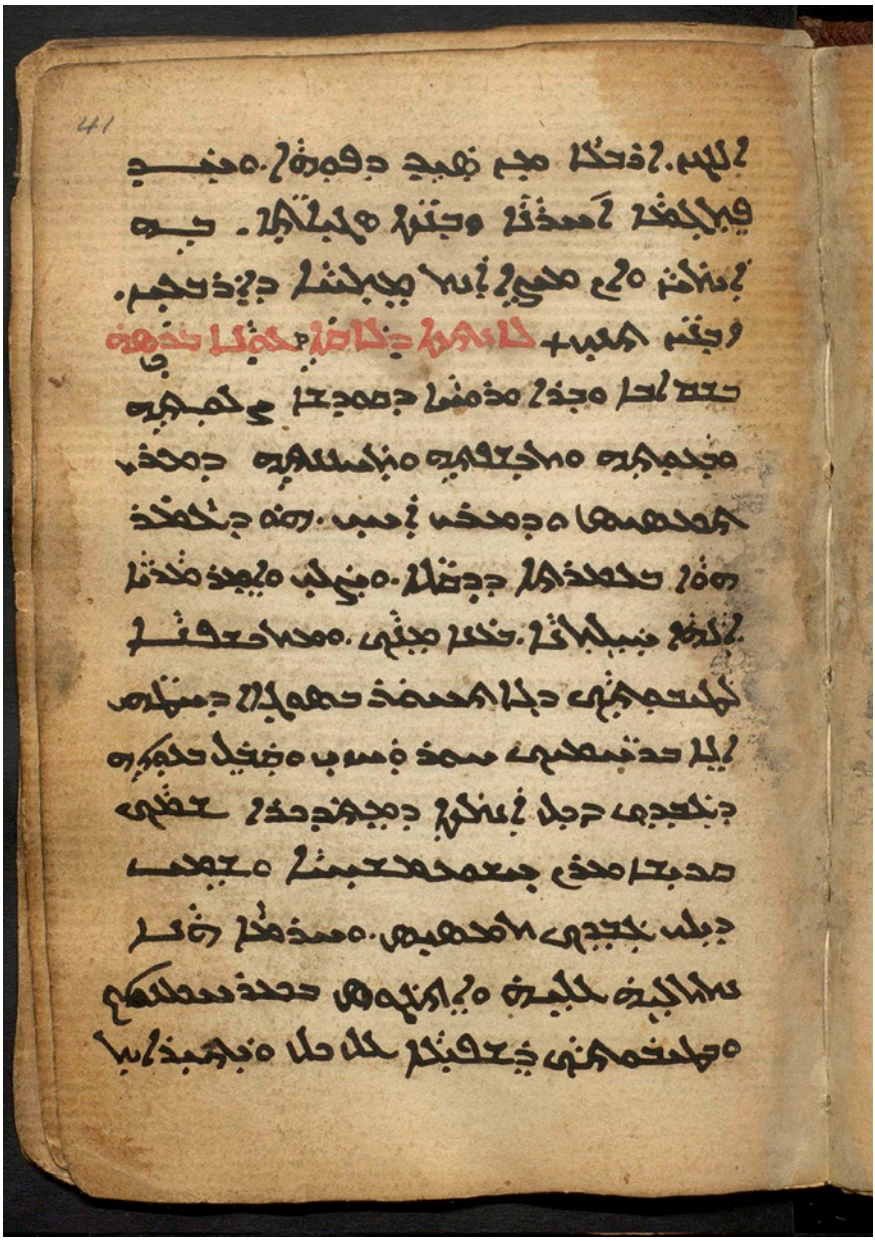


FIGURE 3 BL Or. 5281, f. 41r (**Blb**)
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FIGURE 4 Cambridge University Library T-S Ar. 49.54 (recto)
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FIGURE 5 Cambridge University Library T-S Ar. 49.54 (verso)
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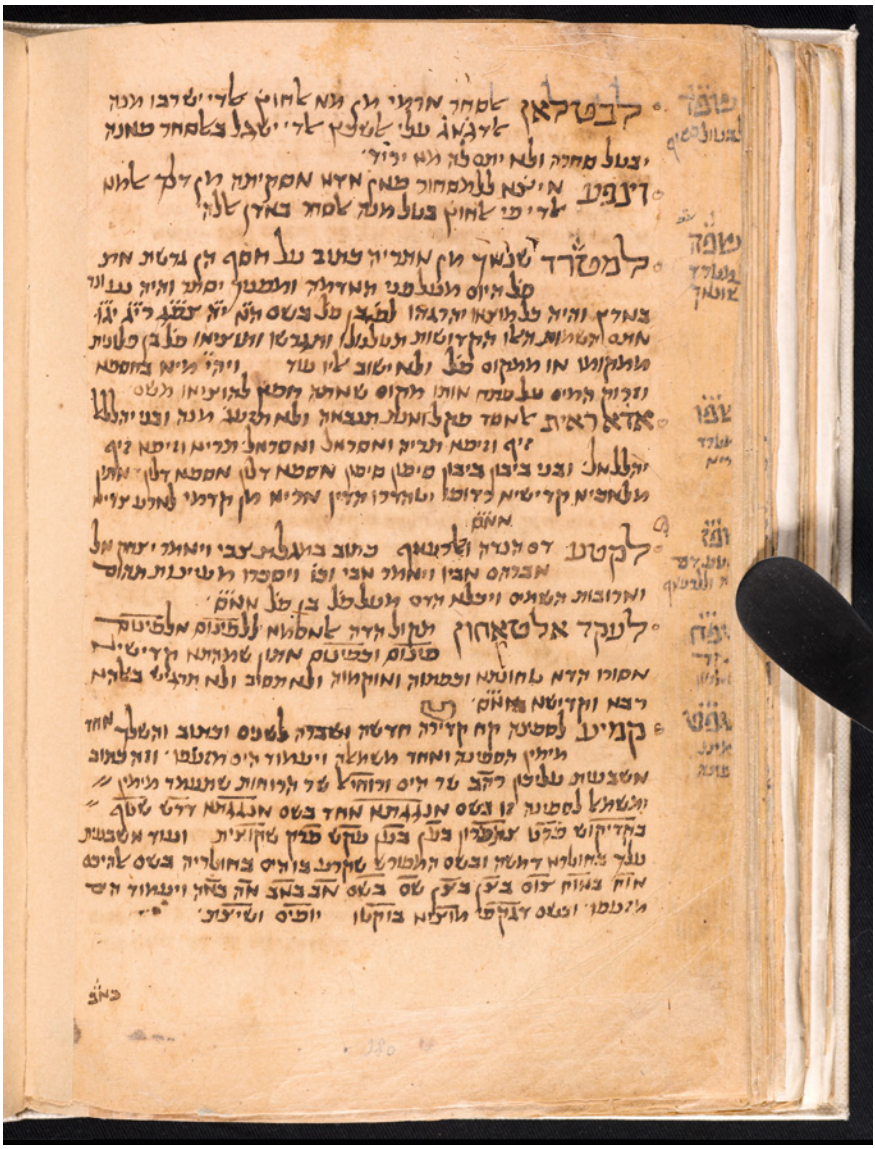


FIGURE 6 NYPL 190, fol. 180: 20–23. Dorot Jewish Division, The New York Public Library "ḤAYE HA-NEFESH" NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY DIGITAL COLLECTIONS. ACCESSED APRIL 19, 2022. HTTPS://DIGITALCOLLECTIONS.NYPL.ORG/ITEMS/8CFBE0D0-A5EE-0133-E6A4-00505686D14E

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ספר

החידות

ספר שני.

מאת

יהואש זאלודסקי.

דפוס „עקספרעס",
84a, היי סטריט, ווייטשעפעל,
1928.

red C Fr.

unknown to
Both Bibl. S-J. Wannieja
and Rensin

ספר החידות חלק שני

פתח דבר, אל הקוראים.

התורה הקדושה שצוה לנו משה מורשה צותה אותנו „השמר לך פן תעזוב את הלוי"... ובחלק הראשון מספרי ספר החידות, בין יתר האנשים הגדולים והמפורסמים שהזכרתי לטוב עזבתי את הלוי, ועפי „שניאה" לא מצדי אך מצד הדפוס, לא נמצא שם המטיף המצוין והנפלא מר **שלמה בן התורני** והחכם הגדול מר **חיים יהודה**,* ושניאות מי יבין? לכן אמרתי אכפרה נא פניו במנחה מנחת מרחשת רחשי לבי, ואני נותן לו מקום בראש, והלוי יהיה לכהן, לא לעלות לתורה ראשון; רק לוי במקום כהן, יען כי הוא איננו ממשפחת הלוים רק ראשון בסוד חכמים ונבונים. להודות לו בתודה וברכה על כל הטוב והחסד שעשה עמדי, והיה לי לאחיעזר ואחיסמך להוציא גם את החלק השני מספרי ספר „החידות", ולכבודו הרם והנעלה אשיר לו שיר תהלה.

* The Rev. S. Lucz, M.A.

שיר לשלמה שהשלום שלו.

בן אב יקר תלמודי נפלא המצוין
במדות ובמעלות טובות הנודע
שבל ימיו הקדיש לתורה ולתעודה
מר חיים יהודה.

שמך שלמה נאה לך ואתה נאה לשמך
אוהב שלום ורודף שלום תמיד היית
בתורה ובחכמה יומם ולילה הגית
זה יותר משלשים שנה, במקדש מעט
נפת תטפנה שפתיך שפתי משרים
על גרם המעלות עלית לאט לאט
גם על ראש פסגת החכמה והמדעים
איתן מושבך, גם „בבקרת" רב לך ידיך
חן ושכל טוב מצאת גם בעיני חכמי הגוים
פועל צדק דובר אמת בלבבך, תמים במעשיך
דבריך דברי חכמה ודעת, ישרים ויקרים
קח נא ברכתי ממני אחד מאלפי אלפים
מכבדיך ומעריצך
דשן ורענן שתול בבית ד' תזריח ותפריח
כל ימי חייך, ותזכה, להטיף אמרותיך גם
לימות המשיח.

יהואש זאלודסקי
המכונה **ב'ר'מ'י'ז'א.**

חידה א.

ראשיתי היא בארץ מתחת
ואחריתי לא ביגון אך בנחת
„כל" מכל תשים בקרבי בידיך
תראה את שמי מפרש בעיניך
מה אני? מגיד הרקיע
הביטה על מראיתי ושמי לפניך יופיע.

חידה ב.

ראשיתי היא בין בין הפרשים
אחריתי היא בין התרשישים
תוכי היא בין רוכבי הרכש
גם בכלך, גם בלכש
במלאכת המשבן נבראתי בתחלה
עתה תמצאני בכל קְהִלָה.

חידה ג.

יש לי פה, אך אלם אנכי

איננני מדבר, צומח, או, חי

בכל זאת חזק ואמיץ כְּחִי

לקנות לב כל איש עד בלי די

יקר אני כאבנים טובות ומרגליות

על כפים ישאיני בראשי הומִיות.

———

חידה ד.

ראשית שמי, במעשה בראשית תראני

ואחריתי בארץ החוילה תמצאני

אמנם, לפעמים דל הנני

בכל זאת תריח בו ריח נחוח

מה חדל אני לא נם ממני לח.

———

חידה ה.

בראשיתי ואחריתי עלה עלי על

הזק אנכי ובידי יש לאל.

אמנם שמי לשמצה בפי כל

מה אנכי, חפצים אתם לדעת הגברים,

שאו עיניכם אל מרום הרים,

תכירוני ותדעוני, קוראים יקרים.

———

חידה ו.

בראשיתי אני בין החיים
ולא בין המתים
באחריתי אני בין המתים
וגם בין החיים
בתוכי אני בין רמי המעלה
בלי תוכי אני איש בן נח
הבאתי עלי חרפה וקללה
פעם תראני לבעל מח
ופעם לבעל מום משחתי בי
פעם בתקופת תמוז קרירא לי
ופעם אני משחית ומחבל
תחרימני, ושמי תנבל
מה אני? נקבה או זכר
ק־אני בשמי היום, גם מחר
תדע כי איננני נקבה, אך זכר.

———

חידה ז.

בשמי במלואו אני מביא ברכה,
ואוביל שי עד בלי די,
בשדה ובגרן יש לי יד
פעם אביא שד ואנחה,
פעם אני חולץ שַׁד
לאלפי אלפים ולרבבות,
ואת שמי האמיתי, הראיתי להאבות.

———

בדיחה לפורים.

חידה ח.

כרות ראש פרשנדתא

וגם ראש הקטן ויזתא

וחקרת ודרשת

וקח קרב פרמשתא

ותוסיף גם רגל ארידי

כי נכון וכדַי

לשאל במשפט האורים

ותדע כי חיב אינש לבסומי בפורים.

———

חידה ט.

בבקר תראני כשחר פרוש על ההרים
ופעמים תמצאני בין ערדי הבקרים
פעם כריתי לי קבר בין הקברים
ופעם רקב בעצמותי בין הנרקבים
פעם תראני בקולות וברקים
לא תראני לא בהרים ולא בעמקים
אני בין הזכרים ובין הנקבות
לאשה נשאתי לאחד מראשי האבות
בדרך נכשלתי ונפלתי קרני אסון
קמתי מהרה והאסון נהפך לששון.

———

חידה י.

באבות הנשיאים, תראה את שמי בכל.

אמנם כן, בשמי אני מוצא חן,

אך לא בקדש רק בחל

פעם תראוני בין הנחלים

ופעם תמצאוני בין הנחשלים

אני שואג בקול כלביא

וקורא אלי, אלי ואבי!

הידה יא.

אינני מן היקב, אך מן הגרן
תראני ותבירני בחבצלת השרון
הרם קולך וקרא את שמי בגרון
אני הבכור, משלשה אחי הנורעים
במשפחות הלוים, תמצאני שמה
במשמרת המשכן בחצר, בין הקלעים
בין המחנות, אני חונה ימה.

חידה יב.

בראשיתי ואחריתי תדמיוני כמו אל

מחציי ומעלה, אש עצור בי

ומחצי ולמטה, יש לי כל

בימי אברהם, כאיש נקראתי בשמי

בימי המרגלים, בשם צומח תקראוני

דרשו בספרי בראשית ובמדבר ותמצאוני.

———

חידה יג.

שמי אך משלש אותיות,
על כפים ישאוני בראשי הומיות
ראשיתי ואחריתי בין עניים אומללים,
תוכי ראשון בין גבירים גדולים.
תראני גם בימים ובנחלים,
במים רבים במשברי ים,
בנושאי המשכן במדבר, תמצאני שם.

———

חידה יד.

בשם עצם פרטי אני בפי כל לשמצה

ובשם תאר, במלא רהב הארץ אני נמצא

בשמי תמצא חברותא, גם מיהותא

ברח ממיתותא, ובחר חברותא;

אם תכירני, השמר להזכיר את שמי פעמים

פן תאונה אליך דבר בלהי נעים

דרוש בנביאים, תמצאני ותראני בעינים.

———

חידה טו.

כצל היו ימי עלי ארץ

ברית עולם הפרתי, הבאתי עלי קרץ

יען כי הייתי גודר פרץ

לא הלכתי בדרך כל הארץ

בשמי אפיל אימה ופחד

אני אדם, ועץ השדה יחד

פעם פלץ ובעתה תאחזני

בדור המדבר תבקשני ותכירני.

———

חידה טז.

לדעת שמי בכל עת תמצאני

אך הבא לי עזרת מצר,

אל תוך ביתך תביאני והעצרני

תכבדני בששון ושמחה ויקר

קשה תהיה עליך פרידתנו

נגילה ונשמחה בזמן שמחתנו.

———

חידה יז.

בין יתר עשרת הדברים גבראתי
ליוצאי מצרים במדבר נלויתי
פעם מקומי מתחת לארץ במים
פעם אשא אבר כיונה תחת השמים
פעם נאספו אלי צאן ועדר
פעם ארב יושב לי בחדר
לולי אנכי, לשונך מצמא נשתה
קרא „חידתי" באר היטב, יגעת ומצאת.

———

חידה יח.

בשמי האמיתי, בדמות איש תראני

ובשמות הערים בשם עיר תמצאני

פעם אני מוצא חן בעיניך

ופעם ככלב רע תגרשני מפניך

פעם כעפל ובחן תכירני

בגלעד תבקשני תדרשני ותדעני.

———

חידה יט.

בראשיתי ואחריתי כאם תראני
מחציו ומעלה, כאב תכבדני,
בימי משה נולדתי, בין העם
נתגדלתי לאיש נשא ורם.
איש ריב ומדון תמיד הייתי,
בריתי־אחים הפרתי, שגאתי בזיתי,
אולתי סלפה דרכי, חיי קפדתי,
התחברתי לרשעים, ולשאול ירדתי.

———

חידה כ.

השמר לך, פן תדרוש לחידתי

ולא תאמר יגעתי ולא מצאתי

כן שים פאר תחת אפר

דרוש בספר דברים אמרי שפר

במחנות ישראל בין המסעות

בין נטעי „ארן" תמצא לחידתי תוצאות.

———

חידה כא.

בראשיתי ואחריתי תראוני כפסל ואליל
בול עץ, מסבה, אין בי מועיל
אך אם אגלה לכם רז
הראו כי כחי רב ועז
אמנם גם זר אהיה בעיניכם
פעם אני מביא תועלת וברכה
פעם אני גורם יגון ואנחה
בהוכחה, בשמי יקללו שמיכם
דרשוני באבני ארצנו הקדושה והטהורה
תמצאוני תכירוני ותדעוני עד מהרה.

———

חידה כב.

אמנם כי בעיניך דבר חרש אנכי
בכל זאת כבר הייתי לעולמים
פעולתו רבה וחזקה ורב כחי
בי בחר יעקב אבינו התמים
טעם זקנים אקח, משיב אחור חכמים
פעם שח עינים שפל הנני
פעם כש'ד משדי תראני
לא תכבדני אך תחשדני
השמר לך, בידיך לנגוע בי
הרחק ממני אם תדע את שמי.

———

חידה כג.

יש לי פה ומדבר אינני

לבי עלי גם כלי סג הנני

שאו מרום עיניכם להר גבוה

מי ומה אני מי מכם יודע?

———

חידה, מענינא דיומא.

חידה כד.

ראשיתי ואחריתי נותנים לי לחם
עליהם השלכתי יהבי בצאתי מרחם
השלישי העומד ביניהם,
הוא ראש להכתובים משני עבריהם
קרא את שמו פנים ואחור
בתפלתך היום, גם מחר
בקברות מלכים, כבר נקברתי
בכל זאת, בחיים נשארתי.

———

חידה כה.

שמי אך משלש אותיות
וכבר נודעתי בשנים קדמוניות
ראשיתי ואחריתי בטללי אורות
תוכי תחפשני תראני בנרות
נהדר בכבוד על מרכבה
בשור מקרין זהב פרוים
המון אלפי אלפים ורבבה
ברנה וצהלה הובילוני לירושלים
במקדש עולמים כברוני באורים
בשמחה וששון חג הבכורים.

———

חידה כו.

איה אנכי? אם תשאלני

אם פה תראני, בביתך תביאני

אך אחת תשימני, ולא שתים

כמצוה עלינו בתורה פעמים

במדה טובה, שמי כבר ידוע

תמצאני ותראני, בפרשת השבוע.

———

חידה כז.

ראשית שמי בשם אדם הראשון

תראני באור גם באישון

השניה—בנחל קדומים בנחל קישון

השלישית—תמצא תמושני בידים

הרביעית—איננה במתים אך בחיים

את שמי במלואו תראני בעינים

בימות המשיח, באבני שערי ירושלים.

חידה מעניני דיומא.

חידה כח.

בראשיתי ואחריתי קניתי שם
תוכי, בשרי מעלה במרום
רוחי נשברה, בקראי בגרון
גונח ומילל ביום הזכרון
לקולי יחרד כל העם
כי שברי גדול כים.

———

חידה כט.

ראשיתי ואחריתי בין הגמולים
לא תראני בין הערלים
תוכי מקומי בין הגדולים
פעם גם בין הגמדים
פעם תמצאני בפרי מגדים
שמי תזכיר אך בקדש
בשבת בחג, גם בחדש
קראני במהון, לא בחפזון
תכירני גם בברכת המזון.

חידה מעניני דיומא.

חידה ל.

ביוצאי מצרים במדבר נולדתי
לבני ישראל שמי הגדתי
ברכתי אל תהי בעיניך קלה
לכל מכבדי לא תארע תקלה
יעקב אבינו בשמי קבע דירתו
כסה את אהלו. ולמד את תורתו.

———

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המחיר הוא חצי כתר

2/6

וכל המרבה לספר הרי זה משבח.

אדריסתי היא כן:
J. Zaludsky. 2, Exeter Road, Brondesbury, N.W. 6.

FORM AND PURPOSE IN ARAMAIC SPELLS: SOME JEWISH THEMES

[The poetics of magic texts][1]

Shaul Shaked

The Aramaic magic texts from Babylonia, which belong to the end of the Sasanian period or the late Talmudic period, are now available in dramatically increased quantities, with about 800 new texts that have now joined those already published.[2] The present paper is the outcome of work carried out by the present writer on the collection of incantation bowls in the Schøyen Collection, Oslo and London, but some further unpublished material is quoted from other sources. It is too early to attempt at this stage a general synthesis of the texts available, as many of them have not yet been read and interpreted in a definitive manner. Still, it is possible already at this stage to single out certain patterns that keep coming up, and some that are so far unique, and to try to make some sense out of them. Everything said on the basis of the material so far available is subject to revision when the full corpus has been properly studied.

I should like to concentrate here on some specifically Jewish material in the texts under consideration.[3] This may lead us to a discussion of the relationship between the Jewish themes and the common syncretistic stock that characterized the popular religion of Sasanian Babylonia.[4] It is quite clear that we are dealing with a type of religion that does not directly represent any of the established religious groups. The Jewish magic texts, although they have undeniable

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[1] This is an expanded version of a paper delivered in 1995 at a conference on "Magic and magic in Judaism", held in Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv. Other papers in this series are Shaked 1997; 1999a; 2002c. A more general presentation of the material is in Shaked 1999b. Relevant to the theme of this article are also the publications Shaked 2000a; 2002b.

[2] Previously published texts make up not much more than about 100 texts.

[3] An edition and a translation of these texts are to be provided in a separate publication (Shaked, forthcoming). Full documentation, with all the known variants of any given text, will be listed there.

[4] On this point cf. Shaked 1997.

affinities with the liturgy and canon of scriptures of Judaism, have never been recognized as part of the "legitimate" Jewish literature. If normative Jewish texts contain magic sections (and they do), they usually occur in marginal situations and in books which do not have full canonical standing.[5] The same applies to Christian and Mandaean texts (although the borderline is more difficult to define with the Mandaean material). While they are not in any sense heretical or sectarian, they are also not part of mainstream Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism or Mandaism. It is impossible to define the notion of popular religion in the present context except by using such negative descriptions. By popular religion we do not necessarily mean the faith and practice of the unlearned or underprivileged layers of sociey. For all we know, some of the learned and influential were actively engaged in, and may have zealously promoted, the composition and copying of magic texts. One can only understand this notion in terms of the type of worship and belief that was considered unsuitable to be incorporated into the mainstream order of prayer and study.

The existence of a specifically Jewish stock of themes and motifs in the magic texts of Late Antiquity has been noticed before. It is particularly prominent in the Greek magical papyri and amulets,[6] and examples for this can also be found in Syriac magic texts.

The Jewish brand of Aramaic, written in Hebrew characters, is a typical Jewish language. It frequently contains a mixture of Hebrew phrases with the Aramaic, and makes use of biblical quotations in the original Hebrew (sometimes, though seldom, in Aramaic paraphrase). The quotations, while quite faithful to the Hebrew original, contain spelling variations indicating that they were not normally copied from a written model but from memory, derived to all appearances from oral recitation.[7] It seems possible to establish that Jewish and Mandaean bowls were written respectively by Jews or Mandaeans,

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[5] These remarks are not clear-cut. The marginal situations are typically those of healing and personal distress, which are very close to the magic usage, but there is a certain amount of sharing of material between "normative" texts and magic writings.

[6] Cf. recently Betz 1997. It is possible to quote Marcel Simon's formulation: "In the opinion of the ancients, magic was, as it were, congenital in Israel" (Simon 1996:349).

[7] Cf. the striking case of Naveh and Shaked 1985:27, B3, which contains a quotation from Num 10:35 with many deviations from the standard spelling. For comments on the transmission of the spells, cf. Naveh and Shaked 1985:140.

in other words, by writers well versed in their religious traditions, often at the order of members of other population groups.[8]

Several examples may be mentioned for formulae that are evidently derived from Jewish sources but which are not preserved in the extant Jewish literature. One of these is the frequent allusion to Joshua ben Peraḥya, a prominent Talmudic figure (second century BCE), who is said to have initiated the practice of a deed of divorce served on the demons. The use of the formula of an act of divorce "that comes from across the sea", a *halakhic* construct that was applied to the situation of the combat against the demons, is another example.[9] The occasional use of prayer formulae, like those occurring in the Jewish prayer book, also betrays the Jewish background of the texts.[10]

One or two further points are relevant to the present discussion. The existence of a considerable body of texts that belong to the genre of *Hekhalot* literature raises the question of the relationship between Jewish magic and the early Jewish mystical literature known as *Hekhalot*. It is also relevant to the discussion as to the history of the *Hekhalot* literature, its place and time. The presence of such themes in the bowl texts[11] shows that the Jewish magical literature in Babylonia had close affinity with this genre of Jewish literature. Since the discovery of that text, two other versions of the same formula have come to light in other bowls.[12]

Of particular interest is the occurrence of mishnaic texts in two of the incantation bowls. Although some talmudic phrases have already been noticed in the Jewish Aramaic texts, this is the first time that a complete text is given, and these are the earliest Mishna manuscripts known so far.[13] Their interest is enhanced by the fact that they come from Babylonia. The bowls presumably belong to the late Sasanian period, that is to say, between the fourth and the seventh centuries CE;[14] the use of bowls for writing Aramaic incantation

[8] The same conclusion is also that of Harviainen 1993.
[9] Cf. Shaked 1999a.
[10] Further to this point Naveh and Shaked 1985:17f.; Naveh and Shaked 1993:22–31.
[11] Cf. Shaked 1995.
[12] These are MS 1927/63; 2046. A full publication will be included in Shaked (forthcoming).
[13] The other early attestation of a Mishna text is on a mosaic from Rehob, near Beit Shean, which is probably later than our bowls; cf. Sussmann 1974, 1975, 1976.
[14] The first evidence of a dated bowl (in the sixth century CE) has now come to light. It will be published separately soon.

texts seems to have stopped, for some unknown reason, with the advent of Islam.[15] The fact that during that period mishnaic passages could already serve as a sacred text to be quoted and used like verses from the Bible adds to the interest of this find. Its use is even more striking when we consider the fact that it serves not merely as a sacred text, but as a powerful name.

I. *MS 1929/6*[16]

1 Bound and sealed are the demons and *dēv*s and liliths and destructive spirits
2 and sorcerers and shutting-up spirits and curses and vows and misfortunes. May you be removed from this
3 house of Adib son of Bat-Šabbeta and from the dwelling of Fra<da>dukh daughter of Mamai, his wife. By the name of: "The sin-offerings
4 of the congregation and of individuals. These are the sin-offerings of the congregation: the he-goats offered at the new moons and at the set feasts[17] are to be slaughtered
5 on the north side, and their blood is received in a vessel of ministry <on> the north side. Their blood is required to be sprinkled by four acts of sprinkling on the four horns (of the altar). In what manner? The priest goes up the ramp and goes around
6 the circuit. He comes to the south-eastern horn, then to the north-eastern, then to the north-western, and then to the south-western. The residue of the blood he would
7 pour over the southern base. The offerings were consumed within the curtains, by males of the priestly stock, and cooked for food in any fashion during that day and night until midnight".[18]

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[15] Some bowls written in Arabic in the early Islamic period and now kept at the British Museum have come to light.

[16] All numbers with the prefix MS denote bowls in the Schøyen Collection, Oslo and London.

[17] Cf. Num 28:15, 22, 30; 29:5, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38.

[18] Mishna *Zebaḥim* 5:3. The English version of Danby 1933 has been used with slight modifications.

II. *MS 2053/170*

1 . . . evil thing. Healing from heaven . . .
2 . . . and the house . . .
3 . . . by the seal of . . . not . . . in . . .
4 . . . lfa (?), his wife. By the name of: "The burnt offering [is (in) the holy of ho]lies. It [is slaught]ered in the no[rth and its blood is received in a vessel of] offering
5 in the north. Its blood requires t[w]o sacrificial gifts [that are fou]r, and they require stripping (of the skin) and dis[membering] and whole-offering [in fire]".[19] . . . Amen, Selah,
6 Hallelujah.

The name of the client is not visible in the badly preserved Bowl II, but it could well be the same as that of Bowl I. The same client, Adib son of Bat-Shabbeta, is the owner of a third bowl, which may have been written by the same hand (this is uncertain), and which shares a few other peculiarities with this bowl.[20] The importance of this text from our present point of view is that it makes use of a non-biblical authoritative Jewish text. The text is quoted here perhaps not as a Mishna passage, but probably from the Jewish liturgy; it figures even today as part of the morning service.[21] Its earliest attestation seems to be in the *Seder* of Rav ʿAmram Gaʾon (9th century CE).[22] The text is associated with the sacrifice service in the Temple. It reflects the fact that worship in the synagogue is based on a re-enactment of the sacrifices performed in the Jerusalem Temple. Its occurrence in this magic context shows that one of the most powerful symbols of Jewish sanctity, the Temple, is used as a weapon

[19] Mishna *Zebaḥim* 5:4.

[20] Moussaieff 108; see Appendix, Text IIa. Some of the features that are common are: the quotation of a sacred text with the introductory formula "By the name of" (*be-šum*), as if the text were a powerful name to be invoked; this is very unusual in other bowl texts (perhaps unique to these two bowls); the fact that the spell, after a brief introduction stating the purpose of the formula, consists solely of quotations, with no other magic formula added.

[21] Cf. for example Baer 1937:50f.

[22] Cf. Albeck 1956, *Seder qodašim*, 9; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* II:891ff. Cf. Goldschmidt 1971, p. *dalet*; an English translation is in Hedegård 1951:6, 16. The history of the text of ʿAmram Gaʾon's prayer-book is rather complicated and somewhat debatable, but it may be assumed that by the ninth century CE the text of Zebaḥim 5 had been incorporated in the normative order of prayer. Our Aramaic bowl may suggest that this was already the case in the sixth century, if not earlier.

against the onslaught of the demons. It was readily available to a Jewish sorcerer presumably because he was in the habit of reciting it daily. It may be pointed out that another *Mishna* text used in the Jewish liturgy occurs in a magical manuscript; this is Shabbat 2:7, contained in a mediaeval book of magic from the Cairo Geniza.[23]

Two further points may be made. Who are the clients of this bowl, and what can we deduce from their names? The suggestion that they were Jewish, Christian, or pagan should be considered. The man is called Adib (Adyab?, Adayyab?); this is not an Iranian name, and may be of Arabic origin. His mother's name is clearly Aramaic with a Jewish-Christian association, Bat-Šabbeta, "daughter of the Sabbath". One cannot exclude the possibility that the man and his mother were Jewish, but these names and, in particular, the name-pattern of the mother's name, are not otherwise attested for Jews. The name of his wife and her mother are Persian: *Fradadukh.[24] It is possible to assume, with a certain degree of probability, as has been done for the majority of the Jewish bowls,[25] that the bowl could have been manufactured for non-Jewish clients. The family in question may represent a mixed Persian-Semitic household, a situation often encountered among the clients of incantation bowls at this period. Onomastics, however, cannot be a safe guide to the ethnic or religious affiliation of individuals, because we do not know to what extent Persian or Semitic names were used by members of the various linguistic and religious communities. The name Bat-Šabbeta has a chance of being Christian rather than Jewish, as names based on the days of the week, and in particular Sabbath and Sunday, seem to have been common among Christians of the period.[26]

The other point concerns the structure of this incantation. The text is rather unusual in that it has two clearly distinguishable parts.

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[23] Cf. Naveh and Shaked 1993:193, 206 (G18:11) for that text and some further comments.

[24] Written **prdwk**, perhaps to be read alternatively Farra-dukh, *Paridukh, *Frayād-dukh, or *Pīr-dukh. For the reading Frādadukh cf. the well-attested names Frāda, Frādad-xwarra, etc., Justi 1895:101; for Frayād-dukh, cf. Justi 1895:101 ff., s.v. Frahāta; Gignoux 1986, No. 373 (where Gignoux reads Frahād, though it seems better to read Frayād "help, assistance"); for Pīr-dukh cf. Gignoux 1986, No. 770.

[25] Cf. Naveh and Shaked 1985:18.

[26] Cf. the names Bar-Šabba (e.g. Hoffmann 1880:270, where it is transcribed Bar Šabbē), Bar-Ḥad-be-Šabba (e.g. Hoffmann 1880:49, 115).

An introduction, contained in Part I, sets out the purpose of the spell: to protect the household from the threats presented by various demons. These threats are not defined in more detail, and we may take it that they refer to health hazards. The introduction also specifies the names of the persons for whom the spell was prepared. The main part of the spell (Part II) consists of only one magic "name", a name that happens to be a long quotation from the *Mishna* or from a liturgical text. The spell text breaks off abruptly at the end of the *Mishna*. We could normally expect a further part or parts, where some additional elaboration of the spell might occur. This could contain a repetition of some of the elements contained in Part I, or a further adjuration of the powers, and perhaps a proper conclusion, with words such as "Amen, Amen, Selah" or the like, that are often employed at the ending of spells. In contrast to most other bowl texts, the formula stops here.

This structure constitutes a departure from the majority of texts, although there are no strict rules about structure and length in the spell texts. Some texts can run to considerable length, with many repetitions, or they may contain several model-formulae combined in a string, while others are quite short. The way in which different formulae are put together in a single text should be the object of a separate study, which has not yet been undertaken. One has the feeling, though, that a long text can evolve out of a fairly free juxtaposition of separate elements, that are used like building blocks. The present text is not typical in that it is based on a single theme and in being rather abrupt. We may indeed wonder whether this special style has a significance. Since this text is so far unique, it is difficult to comment further on its style.

Another spell formula, so far without parallels, may be quoted. It serves a purpose not often served by bowls: it is designed for gaining popularity and favour with people in general and with people in a position of high power and authority in particular. This aim of magic activity becomes quite popular in the mediaeval period; a large number of amulets and spell formulae from the Cairo Geniza are dedicated to this purpose. In Late Antiquity, however, this theme is seldom attested. The most prominent single purpose of spells in Late Antiquity is to help with health problems, while social or economic motives are much less conspicuous.

III. *MS 1927/2*

1 ʿAniel, answer her,[27] i.e. Mahdukh daughter of Ispendarmed; Michael, teach (her) by a visitation (?);[28] Hadariel, clothe her with glory; Karmiel, clothe her with mercy;[29] Ziviel, add your splendour to Mahdukh daughter of Ispendarmed.

2 Waḥi, Yaḥuš, . . ., Yaḥuš, YHWH Sabaoth, ʿIpuzrael, Zartael, Qanael, Qantael: You, holy angels, who are appointed over the shape of the countenance of a person, and who give that person grace and love: put

3 grace in Mahdukh daughter of Ispendarmed in the eyes of all those who see her and gaze at her. May she speak and be heard, may she come to trial and win it, may she ask and take (that which she has asked for), may she say (something) and be listened to. By the name of Ruspa, Salṭa, Ṭum'a.

4 This magic act is for reviving . . . of Mirdukh daughter of Mamai, of Gušnazdukh daughter of Mama, of Burzanai, Gušnazdad and Bustai sons of Mirdukh, of Zebina and ʿAbda sons of Gušnazdukh,

5 so that their eyes should not be torn open (?) . . . Namuel, Laqoṭe. (By that which) was said (in the scripture): "And may he find grace and good understanding in the eyes of God and man" (*Prov 3:4*). This is the mystery that Zarpiel,

6 the prince of the countenance, revealed to Moses . . . all the mysteries, when he ascended Mount Sinai, and the people of Israel asked that his eyes be filled[30] with love. They said

7 to him: "O Son of Amram! May they be filled by our love! We shall (then) hold you and fulfil your desire. For our soul is smashed within yours, and our spirit within

8 your splendour". So you too, Zarpiel the angel, give grace to Ḥilion[31] daughter of Ispendarmed in the eyes of all those who see her and gaze at her.

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[27] **ytyh** is the form of the third person masculine singular.

[28] The translation is doubtful.

[29] Many of the requests here are based on a play of sounds. With Karmiel this would work only if we assume that the name Karmiel is here a corruption of Raḥmiel.

[30] The translation is uncertain. The verb may be taken to be from the root KWL, which means, among other things "to contain, have within it". Cf. the phrase **myṭly dlmykl ml'kyn qdyšyn** "covers which are for encompassing holy angels" (Montgomery 1913, No. 4:1, and Sokoloff 2002:559). In line 8 we may assume an elliptical expression: **yk(w)lw <ʿynyk> brḥmyn**.

[31] One might have expected here **lmhdwk**, as in line 1.

9 By the name of two mysteries, one of desire and the other of burning.[32] May that (mystery) of burning turn for her to good
10 and not to evil, and may that (mystery) of desire (also) turn for her to good and not to evil. And by four
11 mysteries that stand over the division of the sky.

In a separate section, close to the outer rim:

12 Burzanai, Gušnazdad and Bustai sons of Mirdukh
13 and Zebina and ʿAbda sons of Gušnazdukh.

There are several difficulties in the interpretation of this text, but it is remarkable for a number of reasons. It contains an otherwise unknown *midrash* concerning Moses, a *midrash* based on a dialogue in which Moses took part when he went up Mount Sinai. Unlike some of the other legends told about Moses, however, this is not a conversation conducted with the angels or God, but one between the people of Israel and Moses, where they ask him to plead on their behalf to gain favour with God. The midrashic *historiola* draws on the analogy of this story for the purpose of the spell: the client of the amulet seeks to gain favour with the people around.

The incantation consists of four parts:

> Part I presents a group of angels and their functions, with a strong emphasis on those functions that have to do with the ultimate purpose of the amulet, namely, to acquire good-will and popularity for the client. The functions of the angels are usually related to them by verbal associations, by way of etymology or pseudo-etymologies.[33] This section may well have existed independently of the amulet.
>
> Part II consists of a direct appeal to a group of angels who are requested to grant the client her desire.
>
> Part III contains the legendary story of Moses. The theme of the amulet is presented indirectly by the words of the people of Israel to Moses.
>
> Part IV, the final part, makes again an appeal to the angel Zarpiel, with a similar request.

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[32] For **šyḥ'** and **šgr'** cf. Montgomery 1913, bowl 28:4 (reading according to Epstein 1921:55): **'d dnyštwḥn wnyštbb btr 'ḥt [bt nb'zk bšyg]r['] wybšyḥ'h wbrzy rḥmth**.

[33] It is possible that the name Karmiel, which carries no association with what follows, is a corruption from *Raḥmiel, see above, note 29.

The text is based on angel names taken from the Jewish tradition, on a quotation from the Hebrew Bible, and on a legend connected with Moses, which may well derive from a lost Jewish source, probably oral, like the rest of the midrashic literature. We may again raise the question of the identity of the clients. They could easily be non-Jews of Persian or Semitic stock. It is typical of many Mesopotamian bowls that the names of the women are Persian, while the names of at least some of the men in the same family are Semitic. This observation is not based on an exhaustive study of the names on bowls, but it may indicate a peculiar situation of cross marriages between Semites and Persians. It could alternatively indicate a fashion for Persian names in the Babylonian population.

The Persian names in this particular text are connected with notions derived from the Zoroastrian tradition. The name Māhdukh denotes "daughter of the Moon", a Zoroastrian deity; her mother's name, Ispendarmed, is that of the Zoroastrian deity of the earth, Spenta Ārmati. Gušnazdukh signifies "the daughter of Gušnasp"; the latter is a venerable name in Zoroastrian history. The name of her mother, Mamai, is a Persian term of endearment for "mother". Among the other names, Burzanai is a Persian name that signifies "high", "elevated". Gušnazdad, *Gušnasp-dād, "created by Gušnasp", is another typically Zoroastrian name. The name Bōstai (or Khwāstai?) is more difficult to interpret. Khwāstai may be explained as a fond form from the word Khwāst, "desired, wanted"; if the reading Bōstai is correct, it could be a shortened form of Bōstān "a garden". Mirdukh is probably Mihrdukh, "daughter of the deity Mihr" (or, in his older form, Mithra). Zebina and ʿAbda are two Semitic names that are almost synonymous in sense. Both can denote something like "slave", a person bought for money, and may indicate piety in whatever religious tradition, if the names are shortened from theophoric names which signify "slave of . . .". A preponderance of Iranian names is at any rate evident.

Another Jewish Aramaic bowl that deserves to be analyzed in this context belongs to a lady who left us a whole archive of bowls made at her command. Her name is Māhdukh (a Persian name signifying "daughter of the Zoroastrian Moon-deity") daughter of Nēwāndukh (Persian: "daughter of the brave, of the valiant"). The translation is as follows:

IV. *MS 1927/8*

1 By your name I act, great
2 holy one. May there be healing from heaven to Mahdukh daughter of
3 Newandukh. May she be healed and protected from all spirits, from all blast-demons and harmful beings
4 that exist in the world. By the name of Yah, King of all kings of kings, Raphael, Miṭal Milas, who are appointed over the smiting
5 of evil spirits: the spirit that lies among the graves, the spirit that lies among the roofs, the spirit that lies in the body, the head,
6 the temples, the ear, and the sockets of the eyes of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, and the spirit whose name is Agag daughter of Baroq daughter of Baroqta daughter of
7 Naqor daughter of Namon, daughter of the evil eye. They call you the Blinding one, the Shaker (?),[34] the Blind one; they call you the Lame one, they call you the Itchy one, they call you the Crushed one.
8 I adjure you, you, evil spirit, [who met Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa], and at that time Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa said to her the verse
9 that is written: "You make darkness [and it becomes night, a time at which] all the animals of the forest creep" (*Ps 104:20*). Again I adjure you, and again I beswear you, you, evil spirit, that you should not go or become to Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, either
10 a companion by night or a companion by day or by night. [If you go] and pursue the body, head, temples, ear, thigh, and sockets of the eye of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, you, [evil spirit]
11 [you will be banned and broken and set apart just as] mighty cities were broken, against whom Nura'el, Raphael and Michael were sent. By the name of Yah Yah, "YHWH mighty in battle" (*Ex 15:3*). YHWH is his name. "YHWH

[34] **mṭryt'** is perhaps from the root ṬRY.

12 [mighty and strong, YHWH mighty in battle" (*Ex 15:3*). The Lord reigns,] the Lord reigned, ["the Lord] shall reign for ever and for ever" (*Ex 15:18*). [*Magic words*]
13 [*Magic words*]
14 [*Magic words*]

This spell consists of several distinct parts:

I A general address (line 1).
II The purpose of the invocation: to heal the client from all the harmful spirits that are in the world.
III The names of the individual spirits or groups of spirits that cause damage to the health of the person in question. Some of these names, or nicknames, are peculiar to this spell (or rather to this group of spells).
IV This is the backbone of the spell: a *historiola*, a little magical story, concerning a Talmudic sage, Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, who met an evil spirit. The evil spirit is addressed in the feminine gender (perhaps because the word for spirit, *ruḥa* in Aramaic, is feminine) and quoted a powerful verse that was meant to divest her of her power.
V An invocation against the evil spirit, spoken by the practitioner, who follows the model of Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa.
VI Some additional verses quoted, and some *nomina barbara.*

The Jewish character of the spell is incontestable. It is based on a *midrash*-story involving a well-known talmudic sage, Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, a Tanna of the first century CE. The only patently non-Jewish element in the text is the name of the client which is, as we have seen, Persian.

The figure of Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa has attracted considerable scholarly attention.[35] One of the prominent features of his personality in the Tannaitic and Amoraic literature consists of the fact that a large number of wonder stories are connected with his person. They involve healing, the ability to bring rain, the ability to stop the plague, miraculous far-sightedness, miraculously fast journeys. These are coupled with accounts of great piety and voluntary poverty. He is characterized as one of the last of the "men of praxis" (*anše*

[35] Cf. especially Sarfatti 1957; Hyman 1964:481–484; Vermes 1975:178–214; Urbach 1979:109–110; Freyne 1980; Bokser 1985; Safrai 1985:135ff.; Bar-Ilan 1995:19–21.

maʿaśe), an obscure expression that refers to holy men of extraordinary powers. One of the hyperbolic expressions about him says that a heavenly voice proclaimed: "The whole world is nourished through the existence of my son, Ḥanina ben Dosa, but my son, Ḥanina, finds sufficiency in eating one *qab* of carobs from one sabbath eve to the other".[36]

Some stories make him an associate of angels.[37] It is possible to interpret this figure, and other Talmudic figures like him, as being used in the rabbinic sources mostly in order to demonstrate God's power, as Urbach is inclined to do.[38] It is equally legitimate to regard the stories as demonstrating the idea that certain exceptional men in the Talmudic period were considered to possess powers beyond the ordinary, powers that were given to them because of their great piety and intimate relationship to God and to the angels. Bokser (1985) tried to differentiate between the treatment of some of these stories in Palestinian and Babylonian sources. The emphasis on the virtuoso power of Ḥanina ben Dosa seems to be more prominent in the latter than in the former, in line with the general difference between the two Talmuds. Bokser tries to account for this contrast by assuming a difference in the status of rabbis as part of more general social phenomena, but it is doubtful whether this can account for the problem. We do know that magic practices were as much in evidence in Palestine as in Babylonia.[39] Bokser may have tried to read too much into literary differences, assuming as a matter of course that they reflect a contrast in real life, but this may not be warranted.

The story in our bowl concerns an encounter of Ḥanina ben Dosa with an unnamed evil spirit, and the dialogue between them, in which Ḥanina chides the spirit away by quoting an appropriate biblical verse. This version of the story seems like a shortened allusion to what might have possibly been a more elaborate exchange of words between the sage and the female demon. It is extremely popular in the magic bowls, appearing as it does in well over ten texts. Although the story as told here is unknown from Talmudic literature, the Babylonian Talmud carries a related story:

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[36] Bavli Taʿanit 24b.
[37] *Šir ha-Širim Rabba* 1:4.
[38] Cf. Urbach 1979:104, and throughout chapter 6 of his book.
[39] See Naveh and Shaked 1993:20–22.

> A man should not go out alone at night, either on the eves of Wednesdays or on the eves of Sabbaths, because Agrat bat Maḥlat, she (herself) together with one hundred and eighty thousand injurious angels, go out (on those nights), and each one of them separately has the authority to cause damage on their own.
>
> Originally, they were out and about every day, but once she (Agrat bat Maḥlat) encountered Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, and said to him: Were it not for the fact that there is a proclamation about you in heaven, "Be careful with Ḥanina and his learning!", I would be causing you trouble.
>
> Ḥanina said to her: If I am valued in heaven, I decree against you that you should never pass through an inhabited place.
>
> She said to him: By your favour, allow me a little space. He thereupon allowed her Sabbath eves and Wednesday eves.[40]

This is an etiological story. According to popular belief two nights in the week are particularly dangerous, and the story of Ḥanina ben Dosa provides the fictional background to this faith. At the same time, however, it seems clear that a theme associated with the figure of Ḥanina ben Dosa was that he had mysterious encounters with a female demon, or with more than one such demon, and that he had the power to curb their activity. This is the common denominator between the two stories.

A story of another encounter of this same sage with an evil spirit occurs in a late rabbinical source:

> There is a story that occurred with R. Ḥanina ben Dosa. He went down to bathe in a cave, and then some Kutheans came and placed a big stone at the entrance to the cave, but certain spirits came and rolled it away. When an evil spirit took possession of a poor woman in the neighbourhood of R. Ḥanina ben Dosa, his disciples said to him: Rabbi, look at how this poor woman is tormented by an evil spirit. R. Ḥanina said to the spirit: Why do you torment this daughter of Abraham? The spirit replied: Is it not you who went down to bathe in a cave, [and . .], and then I came with my brothers and the family of my father, and we rolled it [= the stone] away. Is this the way you reward me for the favour I rendered you? He said to her: I decree . . .[41]

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[40] Bavli Pesaḥim 112b.

[41] The story ends abruptly at this point. (R. Judah berabbi Kalonimos 1963:438; cf. Bar-Ilan 1995:19f.).

The version of the story quoted in this mediaeval source is strongly abbreviated. It deliberately skips parts of the direct speech of the two parties. It has been suggested that despite the late source in which this story is quoted it has a chance of being an early story that was excised from the talmudic literature.[42] For our purpose, we notice again a variant on the theme of the encounter of Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa. Here he tries to restrict the power of the female spirit, but has to contend with the argument that he is in debt to the spirit. We do not know the final part of the story, which may have ended in a compromise, as in the preceding text from Pesaḥim.

The R. Ḥanina ben Dosa story with its different variants recalls a very popular *historiola* of later Jewish magic, where the person who goes out and meets a terrifying female demon is the Prophet Elijah, who enquires of the demon's business and when he finds out that she is going to kill a woman in childbirth and strangle her baby, he casts a spell against her. That story seems like a composite of the theme of the encounter of the holy man with a female demon with another theme, that of the baby-snatching and baby-killing witch.[43] It is not easy to tell whether the figure of R. Ḥanina ben Dosa was grafted on a story that was originally associated with Elijah the Prophet, or whether these are two independent versions of a similar story. Ultimately it makes little difference.[44]

The *historiolae* in these spells can be regarded as foundation-myths, giving as they do the mythical precedents for the procedures followed by the spell. Narrating them is part of the spell itself: the narration is supposed to bring about the desired effect. The act of reciting these stories causes them to be re-enacted. It re-establishes the power that was brought to bear on a difficult situation by a mighty saint, a great hero of magic, like R. Ḥanina ben Dosa. There is a certain analogy between the telling of the stories and the recitation of the details of the temple sacrifice in the daily service of the synagogue, which is also borrowed as a magical device in Text I above. Talking of the temple sacrifice brings it to life and makes it

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[42] Cf. Safrai 1985:133–154; 1990:1–7.

[43] Cf. Naveh and Shaked 1985:118f. The text was originally edited in Shachar 1971, Nos. 2,3,4. A recent discussion is in Yassif 1985:63–71.

[44] An essay in comparing the stories of Ḥanina ben Dosa and other *anše maʿaśe* ("men of praxis") with those of the early prophets is made by Sarfatti 1957.

present, whether this is done in the liturgy or in magic. No negative power can stand against the power inherent in the holiness of the Temple. No impure spirit can pursue its aim when the story of the holy man is invoked.

Some of the allusions in the bowls concern King Solomon, who is known to have been a favourite figure for stories of associations with supernatural beings. With him is connected the cycle of stories about Ashmedai. A cryptic allusion to a piece of magical lore that is otherwise lost is contained in the following text:

V. *MS 1927/9*

1 May there be healing from heaven to Mahdukh
2 daughter of Newandukh. Šekobit Šekobanita, who snatches sons away from women,
3 roasts them and drinks of their fat, daughter of Ṭasat Lilita. Shut yourself away from Mahdukh daughter
4 of Newandukh. Do not drink of her fat, do not knead it together with your blood. Turn back on your path just as the primordial demon turned back,
5 the one who was at the time of King Solomon son of David. If you do not turn back from your path, I shall cast you to the axe that has cut the log at the place of[45] all the Dudman
6 demons.[46] By the name of Yukson, Yukson, be strong and reliant. O Dudman demons, accept this charm of ours and take away the evil spirit from the entrails of this Mahdukh daughter of
7 Newandukh, and (remove) your shape from her front. The shape of the maiden, the daughter of fornication, sits in the sand (?),[47] I smashed (?) (it) in the presence of the demon and the male **'wdns'** (?), and she raises also the daughter of Ṭasat Lilita.
8 Go away, move away, be rebuked, go out, leave, be banished, pass away, go up, be off, move out of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, from her house, from her dwelling, from her . . ., from her grandsons,

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[45] Or: "after, in the manner of" (?). This translation would be based on the assumption that **'tr** equals **b'tr**.

[46] The translation of this phrase is not entirely certain. The text seems to allude to a story that is unknown to us. Dudman, which is used here like a proper name, is probably derived from the Persian word *dūdmān* "family".

[47] Or: "in vinegar" (?).

9 from her great-grandsons, and from the 66 limbs of her body. May she be healed by the mercy of heaven from this day and for ever, in speed and and in the shortest time. Amen Amen Selah. May Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh be sealed and doubly sealed

10 with regard to all evil things, all idols, no-good-ones, *yaror*s, evil pebble-spirits, malicious spirits. By the name of the Lord, Yehoya, Yehoya is his great and exalted name. Gil Yagil [*nomina barbara*].

11 [. . .] "This is my name for ever and this is my remembrance for generation after generation" [*Ex 3:15*]. Yah Yah Yah Yah Yah Yah YYY is his blessed name [. . .] for ever (?). And say: ["The Lord bless you and keep you. The Lord make his face shine upon you] and be gracious unto you. [The Lord lift up his countenance towards you and give you peace"] [*Num 6:24–26*].

The allusion in line 5 may be to a story concerning demons, which might have been in some details similar to that in which a prophet, Isaiah, was hiding in a tree and being cut in two by the king's men:

> "Elijah took twelve stones"—this is what was said by God to Israel: "Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my foot-rest" (*Is 66:1*). This verse was spoken by prophecy at the end of Isaiah's prophethood. When was that? At the time of Menasseh. When Menasseh introduced an idol into the Temple, Isaiah started to speak prophecies to Israel, saying: "Why do you boast of this house that you built for me? As neither the superior nor the inferior (parts of the universe) hold me, do I need this house that you have built for me? What is the house that you should build for me? (*cf. Is 66*). Nebuchadnezzar will surely come up, destroy it and drive you into exile!" Menasseh thereupon was filled with anger against him and told (his people): "Catch him!". They hurried after him to catch him, but he ran away and the carob-tree opened itself and swallowed him. Rabbi Isaac son of Ḥanina son of Papa son of Isaac said: "He brought carpenters and (bade them) saw the carob tree. Blood was spilling (out of the tree). This is (the sense) of the verse: "Menasse spilt so much innocent blood that he filled Jerusalem full to the brim" (*2 Kings 21:16*). Is this thing possible? No, but he killed Isaiah, who was the equal of Moses, with whom (God) spoke "face to face", as it is written: "I speak to him face to face" (*Nu 12:8*).[48]

It is conceivable that there existed a story concerning certain demons who hid in a log and who were cut in two by an axe. A somewhat similar story is known from the Zoroastrian tradition concerning

[48] *Pesiqta Rabbati*, ed. Ish-Shalom, Parasha 4, section beginning: *Wayyiqqaḥ Eliyyahu*.

Jamšēd,[49] who had committed a sin and tried to escape punishment by hiding in a tree. The place where the demons are to be cut up is specified as that of the Dudman demons, who, I suggest, are a group called by the Persian word for "family".[50] The demons in this culture are regularly grouped in families and tribes; cf., for example, the constant reference to the family and companions of the demons in the *Hekhalot*-type incantation.[51]

Another allusion where we miss the background is one in which "mighty cities" that were broken is mentioned; cf. Text IV, quoted above, line 11. The way these cities are alluded to suggests that their story was quite familiar to the milieu of the writer. The story of the three angels Nura'el, Raphael and Michael sent against the cities could be a *midrashic* amplification of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah in the Bible, or a different narrative.

An otherwise lost midrash seems also to lie at the background of the following text:

VI. *MS 2053/183*

14 I adjure you and beswear you, you, O evil spirit, and (evil) encounters and no-good ones and demons and *yarod*s and error-spirits and idols and complaint-spirits and imaginings. By the name of the great Yahoq Yahoq,

15 who pushed his chariot over the Sea of Reeds, (I adjure you) that you may move away and flee and change your place and remove yourselves and go out and be annulled [and be sealed away] from Mihranahid daughter of Aḥat, known as Kuṭus, from the two hundred and fifty-two limbs that she has, from the two hundred and six (?) limbs of

16 her body, and may she be healed by heaven from this day and for ever, swiftly and at a near period of time. By the name of the great Yah, YHWH Sabaoth, sanctified and exalted over the elevated and lofty throne.[52]

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[49] Cf. Christensen 1934:73–74.

[50] Cf. the bowl in the Schøyen Collection, MS 2053/175:6–7 and parallel texts.

[51] Cf. Moussaieff Bowl 6, published and translated in Shaked 1995:211–216 [note however that in line 20, the word read **dytqyk** should read **dwtqyk** and translated: "your family", from Middle Persian *dūtak*, *dūdag*].

[52] The quotation given here is from a composite text. The first part of the text contains the story of Ḥanina ben Dosa, as in Text IV above.

There are a number of points that are worth making with regard to this text. God is here mentioned by the peculiar name Yahoq Yahoq, or, if transliterated as it is written in Hebrew characters, **yhwq** repeated twice. The transliteration shows that we probably have a deliberate play on the sequence of letters that constitute the tetragrammaton, **yhwh**. It is this person who is said to have pushed his chariot[53] over the Red Sea. This presumably alludes to a midrashic tale that may have explained how the Egyptians initially hesitated whether they should enter the Red Sea in pursuit of the Israelites, but then became bold when they saw the chariot of **yhwq yhwq** being pushed across the sea. A similar notion underlies Ex. 15:1.

Apart from the crumbs of legendary Jewish lore that the bowls contain, there is one other aspect of Jewish relevance in some of these texts. We of course would like to get as much information as possible about the practitioners who wrote these texts, and to know to what extent they may have been lay people or members of the religious and intellectual elite, represented mainly by the rabbis. The information provided by the texts on bowls is very scanty, and we may have to wait before some more concrete information turns up. That ambivalent feelings were often expressed among the rabbis concerning magical practices[54] does not tell us much about their attitude with regard to texts such as we have on bowls. They are "magical" in our classification, but they may not have been seen in the same light by the sages of the Talmud, who could have regarded them as inoffensive acts of healing or even as acts of piety.

A few people with the title "rabbi" come up in the texts. In one of the bowls there is a client by the name of Rav Aḥma son of Aḥat.[55] Another person carrying such a title is Rav Maḥlafa son of Khwardukh.[56] On a Palestinian amulet we have the name Rabbi El'azar son of Esther.[57] None of these names is familiar to us from any other source, but it may be assumed that the title Rav or Rabbi was not used lightly in the period under consideration. The bowl

[53] The language of the text is very pithy and may be elliptical. It is thus possible to explain the possessive pronoun as referring not to **yhwq yhwq** but to Pharaoh, although the latter is not mentioned in the text.

[54] Cf. Urbach 1979:97 and further on in chapter VI.

[55] Schøyen Collection, bowl No. MS 1927/49.

[56] Schøyen Collection, MS 2053/222.

[57] Cf. Naveh and Shaked 1985, A3.

texts avoid, as a rule, honorific titles; the social position of the person seems to be irrelevant to them. The rare occurrence of the title 'Rav' is therefore all the more striking. It may be surmised that some other clients on amulets and bowls may have belonged to the group called rabbis, but that the title was left out. We should recall that clients are mentioned not with their patronymics, which were the standard way of identifying people socially, but are only identified by their mother's name, a much more private and intimate mode of identifying a person, one which may have been particularly useful in polygamous families—and the society of this period was familiar with sporadic polygamy. I tend to explain the predilection for using the matronym in Jewish magical texts, as well as in liturgical texts for healing a sick person, by recalling the custom widespread in many cultures of invoking the mother in contexts of great emotional stress, hence more particularly in blessings, expressions of terror, and curses. This usage is not restricted to Jewish texts. It is also prevalent in Christian and pagan texts of the period.

Apart from these rabbis there is one other figure that gets the title of rabbi. That is Rav Yosef Šeda,[58] known also from the Talmud,[59] where however he is not endowed with the title Rav. For all we know, he is a fictitious figure.

One curious case of a person with a rabbinical title that has come up in one of the bowls is Rav Aḥa bar Rav Huna, where both the person himself and his father carry the title of Rav. The text of the bowl in question is badly faded, and at first it was not clear what his function was in the text. Closer reading made it clear that he does not figure as a client or a practitioner, but as what may be termed an innocent bystander:

VII. *MS 1928/49*

1 . . .
2 . . . demons, *dēv*s, afflictions and satans, from the four . . . borders,
3 and in the eight corners. In the external border . . . Adai son of Dukrai, and the other

[58] Schøeyn Collection, MS 1928/43.
[59] Bavli Eruvin 43a; Pesaḥim 110a.

4 border is the house of Rabi son of Baraš . . ., [and the other bord]er is the house of Rav Aḥa
5 son of Rav Huna, and the other border is . . . Sealed is
6 this house by the name of Anparimta (?) . . . . from this
7 **'yprst rmrst** . . . this other
8 . . .

The writing is largely washed off, and yet it is clear that a famous name of the Babylonian Talmud figures in this text. Rav Aḥa bar Rav Huna, who is called in exactly the same form and with the same two honorific titles, is quoted about twelve times in various tractates of the Talmud. He comes up in this bowl not as a sorcerer or owner of the bowl, but merely as the landlord of a house adjacent to that of the client, and his property helps in delineating the borders of the land to be magically protected by the bowl. The text, which is unique in specifying the borders of a land property in this manner, is of great historical interest. Rav Aḥa bar Rav Huna was a contemporary of Rava and of Rav Ḥisda, which means that he flourished in the fourth century CE. We know that his son's name was Rava. If this is the person mentioned in our text, we can date the bowl to the fourth century. Unfortunately we have no information about the place of his activity, or, for that matter, about the exact location where the bowl was discovered.

We have no way of establishing the authenticity of pottery vessels, apart from certain considerations of form as used by archaeologists. The form of the vessels is simple enough, and a modern imitation is not difficult to make. The writing is a different matter. It takes considerable skill to compose a text that would have the shape of letters, the appearance of the ink, and the style of inscription as found on authentic bowls. Skilful forgers, who can of course be found, would obviously go for more valuable objects in terms of the antiquities market. Incantation bowls do not belong to this category. The bowl in question was purchased as part of a large lot, without either seller or buyer being aware of any special significance that it possessed. The script and language, as well as the ink, conform well to the style of the other bowls of the same provenance.

The name Aḥa as well as his father's name, Huna, are both fairly common in Jewish Babylonia of the Talmudic period. It is not unlikely that there may have been more than one person with this name and patronymic. One such person can indeed be recalled. In the

chronicle of events contained in the Epistle of Rav Sherira Gaon (fl. 906–1006 CE) we read of a sage, Rav Aḥai son of Rav Huna, who died on Sunday, 4 Adar, 816 Sel., which corresponds to 505 CE.[60] The slight difference between the name of this person and the one on our bowl is not very significant: Aḥai is a hypocoristicon of Aḥa, and the variation between them may have been common. The latter date is slightly more likely, as we have now two dated bowls within the sixth century CE, but this does not necessarily impose a sixth-century dating on all Babylonian bowls. The possibility that there were other father-and-son sequences with the same popular names, Huna and Aḥa, cannot be excluded. But the fact that both father and son were members of the rabbinical establishment, as evidenced by their titles, must somewhat narrow down the possibilities. We may conclude that in all probability the bowl was written at the time of one of the two historical persons: Rav Aḥa bar Rav Huna of the fourth century, or Rav Aḥai bar Rav Huna of the sixth century.

There is another bowl with an inscription that seems to be written by the same quite distinctive handwriting as the one mentioning Rav Aḥa bar Rav Huna:

IX. *MS 2053/125*

1 By your name I act. May this seal be for healing to the house of Simru Khusro and of . . . Farrokhdad son of Dukhtbeh and of Tilula (?)
2 daughter of Midia, his wife. And may he be sealed from all demons and dēvs and afflictions and satans and from all spirits and from[61] all mysteries and all
3 the *limbs[62] of his (?) body. May this house be bound and sealed by seven bonds and by eight seals. By the name of
4 **'npr** the prince, of **ṣrh pṣy rz 'ḥyṭ rz 'dm zmn qdwm zdwn 'yprst**
5 **rmrst mhydwst 'tydwst**. "And so you shall draw water with joy from the springs of deliverance" (Is. 12:3). Amen, Amen, Selah. True.

[60] Rav Sherira Gaon, *Epistle*, p. 89.
[61] For **wmd** read **wmn**.
[62] For **ywmy** read **hdmy**.

We have seen that the confessional boundaries between Jews and members of other religions were not very rigidly observed in so far as the use of magical material was concerned. Non-Jews often availed themeselves of the magical materials that originated in the Jewish milieu in the same geographic area, and Jews, for their part, borrowed magical themes from their neighbours. When we are talking of "magical themes" or "magical materials" the reference is to materials that were often used in a magical context, although they were also part of the culture in general. One can hardly assume that there were themes that were considered suitable for use only in magical situations, or that were never referred to in other circumstances.

The sharing of materials between Jews and other communities of Late Antiquity is one aspect of the magic phenomenon. Another aspect that is important to emphasize is the fact that Jews seem to have been regarded as expert amulet-writers, and that non-Jews must have often turned to them when they wanted amuletic texts. The Jewish practitioners, for their part, felt no inhibitions about using the most intimate Jewish materials in texts that were prepared for use by members of other religious groups. Among the most powerful magical weapons in their arsenal were such devices as recounting significant incidents from the lives of some of the ancient Jewish sages, quoting biblical and liturgical texts in Hebrew and Aramaic, and alluding to midrashic materials that circulated, one imagines, orally within the community.

Appendix

I. *MS 1929/6*

1 אסירין וחתימין שידי ודיוי וליליתה ומבכלתה
2 וחרשי וסכרתה ולוטתא ונידרא ואישתקופתה דתיזיחון מן הדין
3 ביתיה דאדיב בר בתשבתה ומן דירתה דפרדוך בת ממא איתתיה בשום חטאות
4 הציבור והיחיד ואילו הן חטאות הציבור שעירי ראשי חודשים ושל מועדות שחיטתן
5 בצפון וקיבול דמן בכלי שרת צפון ודמן טעון ארבע מ[תנו]ת על ארבע קרנות כאיזה צד עלה בכבש ופניו
6 לסובב בא לו לקרן דרומית מזרחית מזרחית צפונ[ית צפונית] מערבית מערבית דרומית [שיר]י הדם היה

7 שופיך אל יסוד דרומי נאכלין לפני מן הקלעין לזכרי [כהונה בכל מא]כל יום [ולי]לה עד חצות

II. *MS 2053/170*

1 . . . אסותה מן ש[מיה] . . .
2 . . . ניסתת . . . . . ודיני . . .
3 . . . . . א . . . . דוסתי וד . . . . . תון . . . לאי . . .
4 . . . א איתתיה בשום העולה קדשי קדשים [שחיט]תה בצפ[ון ו]קיבול [דמה בכלי] שרת
5 בצפון ודמה טעון שתי מת<נ>ות שהאן ארבע [וט]עונ[ה] הפשט ונ[תוח] וכליל [לאשים] . . . אמין סלה
6 הללויה

IIa. *Moussaieff Collection 108*[63]

1 הושיענו יהוה אלהינו וקבצינו והצילינו מן הגוים להודות לשם קדשך להשתבח בתהלתיך
2 קמיעה למיסר שידי ודיוי וסיוטי וספני מן הדין ביתיה דאדיב בר בתשבתה מן [. . .]
3 בשום ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן ינער יהוה בך הסטן ינער יהוה בך הבחר בירושלים
4 הלוא זה אוד מוצל מאש ברוך יהוה לעולם אמן אמן ברוך יהוה
5 אלהי ישראל מן העולם ועד העלום ואמר כל העם אמן הללויה
6 ברוך יהוה אלהים אלוהי ישראל עושה נפלאות לבדו
7 וברוך שם כבודו לעולם וימלא כבודו את
8 כל הארץ אמן אמן יהי כבוד יהוה לעולם
9 ישמח יהוה במעשיו

[63] This text was edited by Dan Levene (Levene, 2003: 71–72). It is only given here for comparison with the other texts.

Translation

1 "Save us, O Lord our God, and gather us together, and deliver us from the nations, that we may give thanks to thy holy name and glory in thy praise" (*1Chr 16:35, conflated with Ps 106:47*).
2 An amulet for binding demons, *dēv*s, frights and satans away from this house of Adib son of Bat-Shabbeta, from . . .
3 By the name of: "And the Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke you, O Satan, even the Lord that has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you.
4 Is this not a brand plucked out of the fire?" (*Zach 3:2*). "Blessed be the Lord for ever, Amen and Amen" (*Ps 89:53*). "Blessed be the Lord
5 God of Israel from everlasting to everlasting, and let all the people say, Amen, Hallelujah" (*Ps 106:48*).
6 "Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only does wondrous things.
7 And blessed be his glorious name for ever, and let the whole earth be filled
8 with his glory, Amen and Amen" (*Ps 72:18–19*). "The glory of the Lord shall endure for ever,
9 the Lord shall rejoice in his works" (*Ps 104:31*).

III. *MS 1927/2*

1 עניאל עני יתיה [ל]מהדוך בת איצפינדרמיד מיכאל תני בסערה הדריאל אלביש יתה הדרא כרמיאל אלביש יתה רחמתא זיויאל אטיף זיוך על מהדוך בת איצפינדרמיד
2 וחי יהוש א . . . יחוש יהוה צבאות עיפוזראל זרחאל קנאל קנחאל אחון מלאכין קדישין דימנן על צורת אפוהי דאינשא ויהבין עלוהי חיסדה ורחמי אחון טעוניה
3 חיסדה למהדוך בת איצפינדרמיד באפי כל חזה ומחזה תימר ותישתמע תידון ותיזכי תישאול ותיסב ותישתעי ותיחצית בשום רוספא סלטה טומאה
4 הדין עובדא למינפש . . . דמירדוך בת מאמי ודנושנזדוך בת ממא ודבורזני ונושנזדד ובוסתי בני מירדוך ודזובינא ועבדא בני נושנזדוך
5 ועיניהון דלא יפרעון . . . ן . . . נמואל לקוטי נאמר ומצא חן ושכל טוב בעיני אלהים ואדם דין הוא רוא דינלא ליה זרפיאל
6 סר הפנים למשה . . . . . אין כל רזיא כד סליק לטורא דסיני ובעו עמא דבית ישראל דניכל עיניה ברחמתא אמרו

7 ליה בר עמרם יכלו בר[ח]מין ונחסן לך ונעביד בעותך דישחקת נפשנא
בת נפשך ורוחנא[64] בת
8 זיוך ואף אנתה זרפיאל מלאכה נמול חיסדה לחיליון בת איצפינדרמיד
באפי כל חזה ומחזה
9 בשום תרין רזין חד דשיחא וחד דשנרא דשיחא ליהפיך עליה לטב
10 ולא לביש ודשנרא ליהפיך עליה לטב ולא לביש ובשום ארבעה
11 רזין דקימין [על] פלנותה דרקיעה

Written on the margin near the rim in two groups, each one consisting of two lines. Each group is here given, for the sake of clarity, as one line, and the limits of the lines in each group are marked by a vertical stroke:

12 בורזני[65] ונושנזדד | ובוסתי בני מירדוך
13 ונושנזדוך בת ממא | וזבינא ועבדא בני נושנזדוך

IV. *MS 1927/8*

1 לשמך אני עושה קדישה
2 רבה אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך בת
3 ניונדוך ותיתסי ויתנטר מן כל רוחין מן כול זיקין ומזיקין
4 דאית בעלמא בשום יה מלך מלכי מלכיה רפאל מיטל מילס דמפקדין
אינון על מחת
5 רוחתא בישתא רוחא דשכבא בן קברי ורוחא דשכבא בין אינירי רוחא
דשכבא בפנרה בראשה
6 בצידעה באודנה ובבית גילגלוחי דעינה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך ורוחא
דישמה אנג בת ברוק בת ברוקתא בת
7 נקור בת נמון בת עין רעה מסמיתא מטריתא עוירתא קרן לכי מתנרתא
קרן לכי נרבניתא קרן לכי שפופתי קרן לכי
8 מומינה עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא [די פנע ביה ב]רבי חנינא בן דוסא
ואמר לה רבי חנינא בין דוסא לרוחא בישתא דיפנע ביה בהה{ה}יא
שעתא קראה
9 די כתיב תשית חושך . . . כל חיתו יער ותוב מומינה ותוב משבענא
עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא דלא תיזלין ולא תיהוין לה למהדוך בת
ניונדוך לא
10 צותא דליליה ולא צותא דליליה ודיממא דאם אזלת ורדפת בפנרה
בראישה בצידעה באודנה באטמה ובבית גילגלוחי דעינה דמהדוך בת
ניונדוך אנת[י רוחא בישתא]

---

[64] This seems the only possible reading. One might have expected **wzywn'**.

[65] The two lines 12–13 are written near the rim, apparently without relationship to the main inscription.

11 [ישמתון יתיכי ויתברון יתיכי ויחרמון יתיכי כמה ד]איתברו כרכין
תקיפין דאשתדרו עליהון נוראל רפאל ומיכאל בשמיה דיהיה יהוה
{ו}איש מלחמה יהוה שמו יהוה
12 [עיזוז וגיבור יהוה גיבור מלחמה יהוה מלך] יהוה מ[לך יהוה י]מלוך
[לעול]ם ועד האש אשתוק סשמורו מטמון פסקון פסקו[ן] . . . קלשק . . .
14 . . . [מט]מון אטרינל אטרינל | קלשק קלשק חיתחית חיתחית . . .
15 חית חית אם עפר בניץ

V. *Schøyen Collection, MS 1927/9*

1 אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך
2 בת ניונדוך שכובית שכובניתא דנסבא בנין מן נשיא
3 וקליא יתהון ושתיא מן חלביהון בת טסת לילית סכוריכי מן מהדוך בת
4 ניונדוך ולא תישתין מן חלבה ולא תלושין יתיה בידמכי שנא שבילכי
כמה דשני שידא קדמאה
5 דהוא ביומי שלמה מלכא בר דויד שבילכי אם לא תשני אירמי יתיכי
לחציץ דחצב נובא אתר דודמן שידייא
6 כולהון בשום יוכסון יוכסון אתחזקו תסמוכו שידייא דודמן קבילו קיבלא
דנן וסבו ית רוחא בישתא מן מעה דמהדוך בת
7 ניונדוך דא וצורת אפכי מן אפה וצורת בת נוריתא רביתא בחלה יתבא
פילקית קמי שידא ואודנסא דיכרא מסקא אף בת טסת לילית
8 זהי וזעי נעורי ופוקי ועיקורי ואטירדי וחלופי ואיסתליקי ואיפטירי
ועיקורי מן מהדוך בת ניונדוך מן ביתה מן דירתה מן ש . . . ה מן
נינה מן
9 ניכדה מן שיתין ושיתא הדמי קומתה ותיתסי ברחמי שמיה מן יומה
דן ולעלם בעגלה ובזמן קריב אמן אמן סלה חתימה וימחתמה מ[הדוך
בת] ניונדוך
10 מן מ[ידעם] ביש מן כל פתכרין מן לטבין מן יריורין מן חומרין בישן
מן רוחין זידנין בשום אדון יהויה יהויה שמו הנדול והניכבד גיל יגיל
ידונסיה [. . .]
11 . . . זה שמי לעלם וזה זכרי לדר דר יה יה יה יה יה יי שמו
מבורך . . . לעלם ואמרת א . . . ויתניך . . .

VI. *MS 2053/183*

14 מומינא ליכי ומשבענה עלכי אנתי רוחא בישתא ופנעין ולטבין ושידין
ירודין וטעון ויפתכרין ונאלין והרהורין בשמיה דיהוק יהוק רבה
15 די דחק מרכבתיה על ימה דסוף דתיזחון ותינזחון ותיתחלפון ותעדון
ומיפקון (!) ותיתבטלון ות . . . ון מינה מן מיהרנחיד בת אחת דמיתקריא

כוטוס מן מתין חמשין ותרין הדמין דאית לה מן מתן חמשין ותרין
הדמין דאית לה מן מאתין ושיתא הדמי
16 קומתה ותיתסי מן שמיה מן יומה דן ולעלם בענלה ובזמן קריב בשום
יה רבה יהוה צבאות מקודש ומפואר על כיסי רם ונישא

VII. *MS 1928/49*

1 . . . התמא . . .
2 . . . [ש]די ודיוי ופנעי וסטני מן ארב[עה] . . . . . מיצריה
3 ובתמני זויתה במיצרא דבריתא . . . אדי בר דוכרי ומיצרא
4 אוחרנא ביתא דראבי בר בראש . . . . . [ומיצרא אוחר]נא ביתא דרב
אחא
5 בר רב הונא ומיצרא אוחרנא טט . . . . . די התים הדין
6 ביתא בשום אנפרימתא . . . אדי מן דין
7 איפרסת רמרס[ת] . . . [ה]דין אחרן
8 וא . . .

VIII. *MS 2053/125*

1 לשמך אני עושה {ה} הדין התמא יהי לאסו לביתא דסימרו כוסרו
ודמ . . . . . פַּרַוכדד בר דוכתביה ודתילַלא
2 בת מידיה אינתתיה ויתחתם מן כל שידי ודיוי ופנעי וסטני ומן כל רוחי
ומד (!) כל ראזי וכל
3 יומי קמתא אסיר והתים הדין ביתא בשבעה איסרין וביתמניא התמין
בשום
4 אנפר איסרה דצרה פצי רז אחיט רז אדם זַמן קַדום זַדון איפרסת
5 רמרסת מהידוסת אתידוסת וש<א>בתם מים
6 בששון ממעיני הישועה אמן
7 אמן סלה שרירה

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OFFICINA MAGICA

Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity

EDITED BY

SHAUL SHAKED



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Aramaic Bowl Spells

Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls
Volume One

By

Shaul Shaked
James Nathan Ford
Siam Bhayro

With contributions from

Matthew Morgenstern
Naama Vilozny



BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON
2013

Dedicated to the memory of Joseph Naveh (1928–2011),
for his immense contribution to the study of magic bowls and amulets.

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PREFACE

The magic bowls in the Schøyen Collection form part of a vast and unique collection of written documents on various surfaces assembled from many parts of the globe and representing a large number of cultures, languages, religions, and periods.

Some statistical data may be quoted from the description given in the internet site of the Schøyen Collection (http://www.schoyencollection.com):

> The whole collection comprises 13,717 manuscript items, including 2,269 volumes. 6,860 manuscript items are from the ancient period, 3300 BC–500 AD; 3,844 are from the medieval period, 500–1500; and 3,013 are post-medieval. There are manuscripts from 134 different countries and territories in 120 languages and 184 scripts.

For the incantation bowls in the Schøyen Collection, the following data, borrowed from the same site (with slight modifications), may be given:

> The collection comprises 654 Aramaic incantation bowls and jugs from the Near East, dated between the fifth and the seventh or eighth centuries AD. In the majority of bowls there are written texts of spells and incantations against demons in several varieties of Aramaic. Bowls with Jewish Aramaic texts very often contain quotations from the Hebrew Bible. Some of these quotations are not attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and this makes them the earliest witnesses to the original text of the Old Testament.
>
> The bowls are not only part of our common heritage and that of the Sasanian Empire but, more specifically, of the Jewish, Christian and Mandaic communities. The Jewish Aramaic bowls also have the earliest examples of *Hekhalot* or Jewish mystical texts, as well as part of the *Shemaʿ* prayer or extracts from the Mishna. We also find named Jewish rabbis and demons as well as information about Jewish legal practice.

The earlier bowls acquired for the collection carry numbers starting with MS 1911, MS 1927, MS 1928, MS 1929, MS 2046. In these groups, the bowls in different languages were put together. Subsequent numbers were designated for a specific language: MS 2053 contains Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowls; MS 2054 contains Mandaic; MS 2055 has Syriac; MS 2056 has Middle Persian, and MS 2057 comprises bowls with artificial scripts and drawings.

No study of this kind can succeed without the help and support of many people. I began work on the collection in 1995, when I spent a year at NIAS, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies, as member of a research group working on magic in Antiquity. The papers delivered at a conference at the end of that year in a volume with the title *Mesopotamian magic: textual, historical, and interpretive perspectives*, ed. by T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn, Groningen 1999, convey an idea of the work done by the group.

The Schøyen Collection of bowls was at first deposited temporarily at University College London to facilitate the scholarly work, carried out with Martin Schøyen's support. I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Mr Schøyen for the opportunity to study these fascinating documents and for his patience in the face of the very prolonged period of gestation that this work demanded.

Students from the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at University College London generously helped organize the bowls and facilitate my study of them. Dan Levene, now Reader in History at the University of Southampton and an expert in the Aramaic magic bowls, was my first assistant. He was followed in 1997 by Siam Bhayro. Dr Bhayro, now Senior Lecturer in Early Jewish Studies at the University of Exeter, has continued to be associated with this project in various ways up to the present. In 2008 I asked him to join the publication team. He has undertaken, to my great relief, the arduous charge of editing the complex text of this series of volumes, and I am deeply grateful to him.

Professor Mark Geller of University College London was of enormous help in getting the work started and in facilitating the process of studying the bowls. As head of the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at UCL, he helped with logistics and provided a congenial intellectual and physical environment; most of all, he contributed his great enthusiasm for the subject-matter of the magic bowls. I am deeply grateful for his friendship and kindness. Other heads of the department, the late Professor John Klier and his successor, Professor Ada Rapoport-Albert, were also kindly disposed to provide help and advice.

Wolfson College, Cambridge, provided warm hospitality to the present writer on a number of occasions. I worked there in 1988 on the Cambridge Geniza collection, and in 2000/1 on the Schøyen Collection. This enabled me to work on the magic bowls in a congenial scholarly environment. In particular I would like to thank Professors Nicholas de Lange and Geoffrey Khan for their friendship and help, as well as Professor Stefan Reif, former head of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit in the Cambridge University Library.

In 2001 I finished the first stage of the work, with most of the bowls in the three major languages transcribed and provided with provisional translations. The sheer size and complexity of the undertaking was quite daunting. I was, besides, engaged in other large-scale projects, which prevented me from devoting the necessary time to this edition.

Luckily there were, among the students who took part in my courses on the Aramaic incantation bowls at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, a number of young scholars who have since distinguished themselves in this and related fields. Dr James Nathan Ford, who is also an expert in Ugaritic, deserves particular mention. He has since proved himself to be an outstanding Semitic philologist and one of the foremost specialists in the study of the bowls. He possesses detailed knowledge of bowl texts, published and unpublished, more than any other person I know. He undertook to review and revise my readings and translations, and contributed numerous philological comments that have been embedded in the work. Beyond this, he has given this work its shape and structure. I am profoundly grateful to him.

Dr Matthew Morgenstern contributed to the Introduction a chapter on language issues in the bowls. His contribution, however, goes far deeper, as he read and commented on a considerable number of the bowls and has been frequently consulted regarding their language. His extraordinary sensitivity to the nuances of Aramaic has been the basis for many valuable suggestions concerning the reading and interpretation of the texts. In addition, in 2010, he volunteered to undertake the enormous task of taking fresh photographs of the entire Schøyen collection of bowls. The result was over 10,000 high-resolution digital images that significantly improved our ability to study the bowls and set a new standard for the documentation of incantation bowls. Dr Morgenstern's photographs are being published in the volumes of this series in conjunction with our editions. They are of a quality that will allow other scholars to check the readings proposed in our study without the necessity of going back to the originals.

Dr Naama Vilozny, who recently completed a Ph.D. thesis at the Hebrew University on the artistic aspects of the bowls, undertook to provide a chapter on this topic for the Introduction and also kindly put at our disposal her hand copies of the drawings that are on the bowls. Her thesis constitutes a pioneering attempt to interpret the illustrations on the bowls against the background of the artistic conventions of Sasanian Iran.

We consulted Dr Ada Yardeni on the script and the terminology to use in order to describe the various types of hand that may be distinguished on the bowls, and she gave us advice that can only come from an expert in this field.

I should also like to express my tribute to Joseph Naveh, with whom I worked for many years on amulets and magic bowls. I learned a great deal in the course of our joint work. May he rest in peace.

I feel an immense sense of gratitude to all the people mentioned above. Without their labour of love, their expertise and their dedication, this book would have never seen the light of day.

Finally, I would also like to express my indebtedness to Miriam, my wife, for the unfailing support she has given me over the years when I worked on these materials and often felt unsure whether I could ever bring the project to completion.

The plan of this publication of magic bowls in the Schøyen Collection consists of some nine volumes, distributed as follows: five volumes of bowls in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; two volumes in Mandaic; one volume in Syriac; and one volume for the rest of the collection, where bowls in Pahlavi and in artificial scripts and bowls that have no text will be published.

The introduction to this volume discusses selected topics relating to the study of the bowls in general, their language, their design, their illustrations, and their historical setting. The introductions to subsequent volumes will probably take up other topics.

With the present volume a new series is launched with E.J. Brill, called *Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity* (MRLA). We are planning to publish in this series texts and studies relating to ancient and medieval magic, besides studies in the religious literatures of the Mediterranean and in particular the Iranian environment.

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The last few decades have been a period of lively and fertile activity in the field of the magic bowls. Full publication of several large collections, and book-length editions of selected bowls from other large collections have appeared recently. To mention just a few major publications of this period: the publication of the Aramaic bowls in the British Museum (Segal 2000);[1] the publication of the Aramaic bowls in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome (Moriggi 2001); a selection of JBA bowls from the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection (Levene 2003a); the Aramaic bowls in the Hilprecht Collection in Jena (Müller-Kessler 2005). In addition, numerous lengthy articles containing editions of new bowls or studies of aspects of the language, contents and structure of the texts of bowls have been published (see the Bibliography under J.N. Ford, D. Levene, M. Morgenstern, C. Müller-Kessler, and S. Shaked).

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Shaul Shaked
Jerusalem

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Siam Bhayro
Exeter

Aramaic Bowl Spells

Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls
Volume One

By

Shaul Shaked
James Nathan Ford
Siam Bhayro

With contributions from

Matthew Morgenstern
Naama Vilozny



BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON
2013

Dedicated to the memory of Joseph Naveh (1928–2011),
for his immense contribution to the study of magic bowls and amulets.

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PREFACE

The magic bowls in the Schøyen Collection form part of a vast and unique collection of written documents on various surfaces assembled from many parts of the globe and representing a large number of cultures, languages, religions, and periods.

Some statistical data may be quoted from the description given in the internet site of the Schøyen Collection (http://www.schoyencollection.com):

> The whole collection comprises 13,717 manuscript items, including 2,269 volumes. 6,860 manuscript items are from the ancient period, 3300 BC–500 AD; 3,844 are from the medieval period, 500–1500; and 3,013 are post-medieval. There are manuscripts from 134 different countries and territories in 120 languages and 184 scripts.

For the incantation bowls in the Schøyen Collection, the following data, borrowed from the same site (with slight modifications), may be given:

> The collection comprises 654 Aramaic incantation bowls and jugs from the Near East, dated between the fifth and the seventh or eighth centuries AD. In the majority of bowls there are written texts of spells and incantations against demons in several varieties of Aramaic. Bowls with Jewish Aramaic texts very often contain quotations from the Hebrew Bible. Some of these quotations are not attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and this makes them the earliest witnesses to the original text of the Old Testament.
>
> The bowls are not only part of our common heritage and that of the Sasanian Empire but, more specifically, of the Jewish, Christian and Mandaic communities. The Jewish Aramaic bowls also have the earliest examples of *Hekhalot* or Jewish mystical texts, as well as part of the *Shemaʿ* prayer or extracts from the Mishna. We also find named Jewish rabbis and demons as well as information about Jewish legal practice.

The earlier bowls acquired for the collection carry numbers starting with MS 1911, MS 1927, MS 1928, MS 1929, MS 2046. In these groups, the bowls in different languages were put together. Subsequent numbers were designated for a specific language: MS 2053 contains Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowls; MS 2054 contains Mandaic; MS 2055 has Syriac; MS 2056 has Middle Persian, and MS 2057 comprises bowls with artificial scripts and drawings.

No study of this kind can succeed without the help and support of many people. I began work on the collection in 1995, when I spent a year at NIAS, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies, as member of a research group working on magic in Antiquity. The papers delivered at a conference at the end of that year in a volume with the title *Mesopotamian magic: textual, historical, and interpretive perspectives*, ed. by T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn, Groningen 1999, convey an idea of the work done by the group.

The Schøyen Collection of bowls was at first deposited temporarily at University College London to facilitate the scholarly work, carried out with Martin Schøyen's support. I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Mr Schøyen for the opportunity to study these fascinating documents and for his patience in the face of the very prolonged period of gestation that this work demanded.

Students from the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at University College London generously helped organize the bowls and facilitate my study of them. Dan Levene, now Reader in History at the University of Southampton and an expert in the Aramaic magic bowls, was my first assistant. He was followed in 1997 by Siam Bhayro. Dr Bhayro, now Senior Lecturer in Early Jewish Studies at the University of Exeter, has continued to be associated with this project in various ways up to the present. In 2008 I asked him to join the publication team. He has undertaken, to my great relief, the arduous charge of editing the complex text of this series of volumes, and I am deeply grateful to him.

Professor Mark Geller of University College London was of enormous help in getting the work started and in facilitating the process of studying the bowls. As head of the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at UCL, he helped with logistics and provided a congenial intellectual and physical environment; most of all, he contributed his great enthusiasm for the subject-matter of the magic bowls. I am deeply grateful for his friendship and kindness. Other heads of the department, the late Professor John Klier and his successor, Professor Ada Rapoport-Albert, were also kindly disposed to provide help and advice.

Wolfson College, Cambridge, provided warm hospitality to the present writer on a number of occasions. I worked there in 1988 on the Cambridge Geniza collection, and in 2000/1 on the Schøyen Collection. This enabled me to work on the magic bowls in a congenial scholarly environment. In particular I would like to thank Professors Nicholas de Lange and Geoffrey Khan for their friendship and help, as well as Professor Stefan Reif, former head of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit in the Cambridge University Library.

In 2001 I finished the first stage of the work, with most of the bowls in the three major languages transcribed and provided with provisional translations. The sheer size and complexity of the undertaking was quite daunting. I was, besides, engaged in other large-scale projects, which prevented me from devoting the necessary time to this edition.

Luckily there were, among the students who took part in my courses on the Aramaic incantation bowls at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, a number of young scholars who have since distinguished themselves in this and related fields. Dr James Nathan Ford, who is also an expert in Ugaritic, deserves particular mention. He has since proved himself to be an outstanding Semitic philologist and one of the foremost specialists in the study of the bowls. He possesses detailed knowledge of bowl texts, published and unpublished, more than any other person I know. He undertook to review and revise my readings and translations, and contributed numerous philological comments that have been embedded in the work. Beyond this, he has given this work its shape and structure. I am profoundly grateful to him.

Dr Matthew Morgenstern contributed to the Introduction a chapter on language issues in the bowls. His contribution, however, goes far deeper, as he read and commented on a considerable number of the bowls and has been frequently consulted regarding their language. His extraordinary sensitivity to the nuances of Aramaic has been the basis for many valuable suggestions concerning the reading and interpretation of the texts. In addition, in 2010, he volunteered to undertake the enormous task of taking fresh photographs of the entire Schøyen collection of bowls. The result was over 10,000 high-resolution digital images that significantly improved our ability to study the bowls and set a new standard for the documentation of incantation bowls. Dr Morgenstern's photographs are being published in the volumes of this series in conjunction with our editions. They are of a quality that will allow other scholars to check the readings proposed in our study without the necessity of going back to the originals.

Dr Naama Vilozny, who recently completed a Ph.D. thesis at the Hebrew University on the artistic aspects of the bowls, undertook to provide a chapter on this topic for the Introduction and also kindly put at our disposal her hand copies of the drawings that are on the bowls. Her thesis constitutes a pioneering attempt to interpret the illustrations on the bowls against the background of the artistic conventions of Sasanian Iran.

We consulted Dr Ada Yardeni on the script and the terminology to use in order to describe the various types of hand that may be distinguished on the bowls, and she gave us advice that can only come from an expert in this field.

I should also like to express my tribute to Joseph Naveh, with whom I worked for many years on amulets and magic bowls. I learned a great deal in the course of our joint work. May he rest in peace.

I feel an immense sense of gratitude to all the people mentioned above. Without their labour of love, their expertise and their dedication, this book would have never seen the light of day.

Finally, I would also like to express my indebtedness to Miriam, my wife, for the unfailing support she has given me over the years when I worked on these materials and often felt unsure whether I could ever bring the project to completion.

The plan of this publication of magic bowls in the Schøyen Collection consists of some nine volumes, distributed as follows: five volumes of bowls in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; two volumes in Mandaic; one volume in Syriac; and one volume for the rest of the collection, where bowls in Pahlavi and in artificial scripts and bowls that have no text will be published.

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Siam Bhayro
Exeter



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Historical and Textual Notes on Magical Texts in the Papyrus Collection of the University of Oslo Library

Todd Hickey, Anastasia Maravela & Michael Zellmann-Rohrer

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Historical and Textual Notes on Magical Texts in the Papyrus Collection of the University of Oslo Library[†]

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This article, which concerns the history and texts of some of the magical papyri in the collection of the University of Oslo Library, has two parts. The first part (Hickey and Maravela) sheds light on the acquisition of the celebrated Oslo magical roll, *P.Oslo* I 1, by drawing on Samson Eitrem's account of the purchase in the Norwegian daily *Aftenposten* and the correspondence of Francis W. Kelsey, who had sought to buy the papyrus for the University of Michigan. The second part (Zellmann-Rohrer) offers critical remarks on the formats and texts of the magical papyri *P.Oslo* I 1, 4–5 and II 15.

Keywords: magical papyri; papyrus collection of the University of Oslo Library; Samson Eitrem; Francis W. Kelsey

Part I: the acquisition of P.Oslo *1*

P.Oslo 1, the magnificent magical formulary that is the "crown jewel" of the papyrus collection of the University of Oslo Library, was purchased by Samson Eitrem late in 1920. In the preface to his *editio princeps* of 1925,[1] Eitrem reveals almost nothing regarding the provenance of the roll, noting only that it was part of "a set of papyri acquired by myself during a visit to Egypt four years ago" using monies from the University's

[†]Part I has been authored jointly by Todd Hickey and Anastasia Maravela. Part II has been authored by Michael Zellmann-Rohrer. The article stems from collaborative research that occurred in the context of a 2013 seed grant from the Peder Sather Center for Advanced Study at the University of California, Berkeley. We remain grateful to the Center for its support of our work.

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Jubilee Fund and the Nansen Fund.[2] In the commentary to the formulary itself, however, he elaborates a bit: The roll was purchased in the Fayum and "was said to have come originally from Batn-Harît" [the ancient Theadelphia].[3]

Eitrem's reserve in his scholarly publication stands in contrast to the account of the acquisition that he had presented to the Norwegian public in the leading daily *Aftenposten.* His vivid narrative, the relevant excerpt of which we translate in full ("warts and all") because its language of publication has hindered its accessibility,[4] occupied a prominent position in the edition of 16 April 1921, appearing on the first two pages:

> An ancient Greek black book on papyrus in the University Library
>
> It was in the month of December [1920] that the undersigned [i.e., Eitrem] acquired in Egypt a very interesting manuscript that sheds new light on ancient magic. The scene is in Fayoum [Eitrem's spelling], Egypt. We had spent the day going around to all those who during the long years of the war had amassed Greek papyri, now sought by everyone, and who had not yet sold them to Europeans. My Arab guide had postponed the best for the end, he reassured me. "I hear that a Greek has a two-meter-long papyrus." As expected, we found the owner in the only decent restaurant of the place.[5] Together with a friend of his, we four wandered up to his flat. A small box with nice things was produced on the table and went immediately for 5 Egyptian pounds.[6] There follows a cup of tea, liqueur and sweets, as the custom is. The owner then goes out and, to my great surprise, returns with a plank that he lays on his living room table. Without a word – yet he is a Greek – he places an old papyrus roll at the end of the plank and rolls it out with great ceremony on the plank to a length of two and a half meters. He then devotes himself to studying in my face the impression that this new text made. I went from studying a photo of Venizelos hanging on the wall to being confronted with a Greek "black book" five hundred years older than the Oseberg ship.[7] I had to compose myself. I got permission to copy part of the text so that I could research the content of the papyrus later in the libraries in Cairo. "The friend" interrupted this, apparently afraid lest the value of the papyrus should diminish if I published any of it before it was sold. I offered 100 Egyptian pounds, but the owner wanted to have 200 pounds, and I returned to Cairo very disappointed with the outcome. But my Arab guide found a way out of the impasse. He traveled back to Fayoum, sat again in the aforementioned restaurant, and the papyrus owners flocked around him like flies on a

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> sugar cube. And Egyptian flies are something apart. They knew that he represented "the European." That same evening the guide sent a telegram that he had got hold of the magical papyrus for 165 Egyptian pounds. The owner had been in dire straits as a result of speculation in cotton.[8] So the papyrus was secured for the University Library in Kristiania.[9] Next evening I sat in a hotel room in Fayoum,[10] examined for the last time the authenticity of the manuscript in the light of two candles, and paid the sum.

Though Eitrem ended up with the formulary, he was not the first westerner to whom it had been offered. In the autumn of 1919, Francis W. Kelsey, Professor of Latin at the University of Michigan, had set out on what came to be known as the "First Expedition", the goals of which included "the acquisition of ancient artifacts and manuscripts, more especially papyri, for research and teaching".[11] He arrived in Cairo, via rail from Jerusalem, late on 6 February 1920, but had already laid the groundwork for a successful foray into the market through his friend David Askren, a missionary doctor in the Fayum.[12] Kelsey later described the commercial landscape in a letter to his benefactress Mary Beecher Longyear[13]:

> Some months before I came to Cairo, a friend in Egypt [Askren] wrote to the dealers asking them to save all manuscripts and ~~P~~papyri until I should come. This request was particularly made of Maurice Nahman, whom you probably know as cashier of the Crédit Foncier Egytien [*sic*] and the most enterprising dealer in antiquities among them all, and he did as requested, though a wealthy Greek of A~~m~~lexandria was trying to negotiate for the purchase of his ~~P~~papyri as a gift to the University of Athens.[14]

> I was amazed to find that Nahman had one of the most important collections of papyri ever made. There were no scholars in quest of papyri in Egypt after 1913; and meanwhile the destruction of the mounds [at ancient sites to obtain organic material for fertilizer] has almost completely eliminated the principal source from which papyri come, and has brought to light a great number of papyri, among which are some of much importance.[15]

Kelsey's connections to men like Askren and Nahman and the financial backing (though not without limit) that he received from philanthropists like Longyear – to say nothing of his own unflagging energy and enthusiasm – put him in a rather favourable position. What he lacked was technical papyrological "know how", but in the event this was furnished in

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spades by one of the field's founders, Bernard P. Grenfell, who fortuitously was present in Egypt for the first time since his nervous breakdown in 1907.[16]

Grenfell had reached Cairo on 20 January.[17] Based in the southern suburb of Helwan, he was occupied at the Egyptian Museum revising transcriptions of Byzantine texts for what would become the 16th volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. But he was also shopping for papyri, albeit with mixed results.[18] On 6 February, he wrote to Idris Bell at the British Museum:

> I have now seen probably all the Cairo dealers who have any papyri. Off one man [Ismail Abdallah] I have bought ^(for nearly £60)^ about 20 papyri,[19] none of any great length, chiefly from Oxyrhynchus: there is a fragment of the Nicene Creed and a damaged roll of 3rd cent B.C. official accounts concerning land.[20]

But the largest group of papyri was in Giza, in the hands of the dealer Ali, "now very old and more unreasonable than ever, since his big deal with Pierpont Morgan over the Hamuli Coptic books", and Ali had rebuffed Grenfell's offer of £100 for 30 "respectable" pieces.[21]

With many tasks requiring attention – some directly concerning the aims of the Expedition and some, like his visit to the dentist, not[22] – Kelsey made it to the Egyptian Museum only on 17 February.[23] It was on his return, the following day, that he seems to have first met Grenfell. Kelsey's diary records the encounter matter-of-factly: "I called on Dr. Bernard P. Grenfell, who was working on papyri in a special room, and asked him to go with me to see Nahman's papyri at twelve".[24] Given Kelsey's temperament, it is appealing to construe this as a "cold" call, albeit one delivered with his characteristic aplomb; in any case, Grenfell accepted the invitation. Thus began an extraordinary and fruitful partnership that in the space of a mere few weeks would establish the papyrus collections at the Universities of Michigan and Wisconsin and add substantial and important manuscripts to the papyrological holdings of the British Museum and the John Rylands Library.[25] On 15 March, Grenfell would declare to Bell, "The American and I are practically making a clean sweep of the Greek papyri on the market".[26] Concerning just the material that would end up in Ann Arbor, Kelsey would write, "Dr. Grenfell says that such a collection of ancient documents can never again be made ~~from~~ in Egypt".[27]

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For the present purpose, Grenfell and Kelsey's richly documented acquisitions need not be elaborated.[28] It is sufficient to note that their activities included a visit to the Fayum (25–28 February), during which time they were offered and examined the future *P.Oslo* 1. Quite remarkably, Kelsey omits any mention of this occurrence in his diary. Since the diary is ample and detailed during this period in its description of each day's events, and because Kelsey's correspondence (see further below) makes it clear that he was present for the viewing, and that the roll left an impression (i.e. was not something that would have slipped his mind), it would seem that his silence is intentional.

The earliest reference to the formulary comes not from Kelsey but from Grenfell, in a letter to Bell dated 1 March:

> On Wednesday ~~I~~ last [25 February] I came down to the Fayum. Prof Kelsey, the American with whom I have gone into temporary partnership, also came down there to stay with an American doctor [Askren] who lives in the Fayum and is interested in anticas. He had collected some papyri for Kelsey but these did not amount to much. We found however a good deal at the dealers, and spent about £150 in b~~y~~uying up practically all the papyri in the Fayum, including £80 for a rather good Oxyrhynchus lot, which contained about 30 complete Roman documents and as many other fairish pieces.[29] ~~So~~ On an average the ^complete^ papyri cost us £1–2 each || Kelsey provided the money (having spent £160 on papyri I am rather short till fresh supplies arrive from England,)[30] and has taken the papyri back to Cairo, but I am going to claim part of them when our division takes place at the end of March. A big roll (a 3rd–4th cent magical papyrus in excellent preservation, 12 columns on recto and a good deal of writing on the verso: divided into sections containing ^gnostic^ invocations of the deity or spells of various kinds) we did not get. I offered £50 but the owner (a Greek called Soteris at Medinet el Fayum) said he had paid £200 for it – which is absurd.[31] If you want to make an offer (£100 or £150 might get it) please let me know at once.[32]

Grenfell and Kelsey were not compelled to seek out Soteris because the dealer had left the roll with Askren for the men to examine.[33] This makes it difficult to pinpoint the date on which the viewing occurred; indeed, it may not have been confined to a single day.[34]

A little more than two weeks after Grenfell's letter, on 16 March, Kelsey, seeking assistance from William W. Bishop, the University of Michigan's librarian, in raising money for purchases of papyri, gave the

"gnostic roll" pride of place in his argument for funding. According to his description, it is "perfectly preserved", and he adds:

> It is just the kind of document that [Campbell] Bonner would delight in;[35] though several similar rolls are known, this does not appear to be a duplicate. The owner says that he paid £200 for it, and he wants £300, though I think he would take a more reasonable price.[36]

Still, Kelsey was less interested in the possession of manuscripts than in the rights of Michigan scholars like Bonner to publish them,[37] and when money was not forthcoming from his Detroit backers, magnates like John R. Russel,[38] he proposed to hand over all of his papyrological acquisitions to Mary Beecher Longyear's Zion Research Foundation at cost, with the stipulation that his colleagues be permitted to edit them.[39] In another communication pertaining to this proposition he added:

> If you are disposed to take for the Zion Research Foundation, [*sic*] the papyri which were offered to you, you might be pleased to consider the purchase of two additional items, which are probably availabelle, and fall directly within the field of the history of the Church in the ealrlier centuries.
>
> One is a papyrus roll of some 12 pages, admirably preserved, containing Gnostic formulae, and dating in the 4th Century A.D. It is in possession of a Banker [*sic*] in Fayum, who paid for it 200 Egyptian pounds. I believe that he would sell it for 250 Egyptian pounds, or about 1.000 Dollars [*sic*].[40] I saw the roll, because the banker sent it over for me to look at; it is very interesting as a bit of evidence. I was staying with a missionary friend [Askren], who is a friend of the Banker [*sic*]; I lately wriote asking whether the banker would be willing to part with the roll for a reasonable advance upon his purchase money.[41]

Longyear would decline Kelsey's proposal through her secretary on 23 July, leaving him to his own devices as regards the acquisition of the roll.[42] About a fortnight later, he received a letter from Askren (in "Alexandria on summer holiday") that included an update about the formulary:[43]

> Two of the Greeks who were formerly in Fayum have opened a pharmacy down near where I garage my car so I went to them to ask about the owner of the papyri and found he is in Alex so I made an appointment for him to meet me yesterday morning.
>
> I met him and found that he has the roll in Alex with him nbut he says he has not yet showed it to anyone.

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> I made him no offer whatever as I found that he thinks he has a small fortune tied up in it and he does not seem to be able to realize that it has no literary value; in fact candidly he places no credit on Grenfell's valuation.
>
> When I found he ~~w~~was still soaring in the clouds I thought it best not to arouse his cupidity by making him any offer whatever as I feel sure that he will bring it back to ~~F~~Fayum with him and then we ca~~h~~n deal with him more satisfactorily and he will probably be more reasonable.
>
> There is one or two other rolls loose in Fayum I am hoping to get a chance at as soon as the Compensation Board finish their allotments but just at present the rolls are among the articles lost during the troubles, you understand the Greeks well enough to know what I mean.[44]

Kelsey agreed with Askren's plan of attack. "You are quite right about the roll", he replied. "[I]t is best not to seem anxious to get it. In any case, please do not buy it outright, unless I send the money. Exchange is very uncertain at the present time".[45]

The waiting game continued into the autumn. In a letter written at the beginning of November, Askren reported:

> The big roll of Doteris [*sic*] is still with him and he failed to sell it last summer in Alex. or Cairo.[46]
>
> I am not trying to buy it as I do not believe he will be unable [*sic*] to sell it but I met him [the] other day at a house where I was called professionally and asked him about it and told him would give him L.E. 150 but he refused it.[47]

Kelsey's acknowledgement, written from London on 13 December, confirms his sustained interest:

> I am writing to the United S~~P~~tates to see if I can secure an appropriation for the Gnostic Roll. I dislike to pay such a high price, and on the other hand, the roll, although not so valuable as the material obtained from Nahman,[48] does represent an important class.[49]

Around this time Kelsey also mentioned the formulary as among "the odds and ends" still in Egypt "which are most important" in communications to William Westermann and A.S. Hunt.[50] The correspondence with Westermann adds the detail that Soteris had acquired the roll from an Arab, whom he had "paid more than he ought to have paid".

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Another report about the formulary was included in a letter sent by Askren on 13 December:

> The large roll is still here and several have priced it to him [Soteris] at prices much less than your offer so I am just letting him stew.[51]
>
> I think however if you are not coming out [to Egypt] and really want the roll that L.E. 200 will buy it later nearer the close of the season.[52]

Askren's closing paragraphs suggest a reason for his optimism regarding the price; these are "very hard times in Egypt", and in particular the "poor price of cotton" has everyone "so depressed … that they cant think of anything else", including political and social unrest of the sort that spring 1919 had witnessed.[53]

Soteris' financial situation, however, seems to have been worse than even Askren had imagined, for sometime around or shortly after the doctor had dispatched his report, Eitrem managed to acquire the roll. Askren relayed the bad news to Kelsey in letter penned on 18 January 1921:

> Now as to the large Gnostic roll.
>
> The Danish professor slipped in one night and bought it for L.E. 190.[54] I was very sorry when I heard of it but I feel sure that it was not worth so much money especially after the valuation Dr. Grenfell placed upon it.
>
> I regret I did not push the sale harder but as I knew you had not arranged the money I felt it was not as important as other documents that the same money would purchase.[55]

The price that Askren reports differs significantly (by L.E. 25) from that presented by Eitrem in his *Aftenposten* account. Since Askren is clearly trying to save face with his friend (and, increasingly, benefactor) Kelsey,[56] probably more stock should be put in Eitrem's figure, though it is not out of the question that Eitrem wanted to portray himself as getting a better bargain – L.E. 10 perhaps seemed too paltry a discount. Of course all of this assumes that Askren recollected (or was told) the sales price accurately.[57]

Kelsey, in any case, put a positive spin on his reverse. Writing, 5 February, in response to Askren's news – and going so far as to call Askren's letter a "pleasure to have"[58] – he stated:

> The point in regard to the gnostic roll is this: I suppose if it had been held after a time I might have paid about £ 200 for it. At the same time I am glad that the matter was adjusted as it was, because I hope to continue purchasing

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> manuscripts and papyri and it spoils the market if one pays too much for a single item of this kind. I should gladly have paid £100 last year, but was deterred from closing the matter up for the reason that it really was better to let a thing of this sort go than to put the prices of all such material at so high a figure that one does not feel like purchasing.[59] I should like to know who the Danish Professor was that obtained the roll, if you can find out. I take it that he is an occasional visitor;[60] on the other hand I should like to be in a position to have the first chance of any good material that you or your friends or Nauhman may get on the trakck of.[61]

In the event, Kelsey would come to know the identity of the "Danish professor", though whether this was through Askren is unclear. Eitrem himself eventually contacted Kelsey, sending him a copy of *P.Oslo* I as well as other publications.[62] Kelsey thanked Eitrem for these in a letter dated 27 August 1925, adding:

> I have read with unusual interest the monograph, Fasc. I. The papyrus No. 1 was offered to me in the Fayoum in 1920. The price asked was two hundred pounds, and I refused to pay more than one hundred pounds. Professor Bernard Grenfell and I visited the Fayoum together, and he thought my offer was as high as I ought to go, for the reason that we were both purchasing papyri and if we had paid so high a price at the time it would have raised the offerings of papyri generally to a high figure; for word of such purchases travels rapidly, and often with exageration [*sic*].
>
> I am exceedingly glad that this papyrus came into your hands, and you have published it more promptly than would have been possible here, where the papyrus containing the Minor Prhophets and the fragments of Hermas and the Archive from Tebtunis must take precedence in publication.[63]

This passes muster for courtesy – one would expect nothing less from Kelsey – but he compresses the narrative of his involvement with the roll (rendering it misleading), and the hint of "sour grapes" is unmistakable. Perhaps understandably: The Minor Prophets codex, the Shepherd of Hermas, and Tebtunis *grapheion* archive would become major Michigan contributions to scholarship (the last two of them also being key acquisitions for the growing collection in Ann Arbor),[64] but Kelsey himself had admitted that the Oslo formulary was "the finest piece of papyrus writing I ever saw".[65] And it was the one that got away.[66]

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Part II: notes on Oslo magical texts

During a recent visit to the University of Oslo, I had the opportunity to inspect four texts, three papyri and an ostrakon, in the collection of the University Library.[67] Each has previously appeared in the series *Papyri Osloenses* (*P.Oslo*) and been reprinted in the corpus *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (*Pap.Graec.Mag.*).[68] I offer here the results of my study, which has yielded some new readings and observations on the physical disposition of the papyri; images are available for consultation through the OPES portal (<http://ub-fmserver.uio.no/home.php>). The observations on each text (*P.Oslo* I 1 = *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI; *P.Oslo* I 4 = *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXIX; *P.Oslo* I 5 = *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P 3; *P.Oslo* II 15 = *Pap.Graec.Mag.* O 2) are presented in separate sections below.[69]

(I)

P.Oslo I 1 (P.Oslo inv. 420), the well-known magical formulary in book-roll format, was purchased by Samson Eitrem and inaugurated the series *P.Oslo* in 1925.[70] The commentary accompanying Eitrem's editio princeps of the piece, a detailed explication of "these interesting relics of degenerate religions and of the human mind gone astray" and the headpiece of *P. Oslo* I, is worth quoting in part:

> That fine paper such as we find in our papyrus could be used in such an extravagant and pretentious way sufficiently shows how popular this special form of magic had grown amongst well-to-do people. It certainly throws a sidelight on the interesting chapter of the history of morals in those days.[71]

This interest continues to flourish. Eitrem's edition was reprinted by Karl Preisendanz in the corpus *Pap.Graec.Mag.*,[72] with substantial improvements to the text combining the contributions of other scholars in the intervening years with his own work. Other emendations, through 1994, are collected by William Brashear along with bibliography on more general discussions.[73] I add a few of my own below. The ed. pr. remains valuable because, besides its detailed commentary, it accounts better for lectional signs (printed in the main text) than the *Pap.Graec. Mag.* version. But even this account is incomplete: the apostrophe in particular is neglected, its use being signalled only in general terms in the

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introduction.[74] I note those lectional signs, and scribal corrections, omitted by the ed. pr. along with my new readings.

But first I wish to turn to the "fine paper", on which the disposition of the writing is remarkable in several respects. The text, in fact a collection of some 19 recipes for magical practices, is written in a single hand on front and back of a premade bookroll, which has survived virtually intact. It begins on the recto, where the first 13 recipes are arranged in 12 columns, each afforded its own column except in col. xi, which contains two recipes separated by a paragraphos (below line 263).

Unusually, the first column is on the protocol (against the fibres), while the rest of the text on the recto is along the fibres. With respect to the 13 kolleseis visible on the recto,[75] the scribe in general sought to bound the columns within the kolleseis; otherwise the width of the columns varies widely.[76] Both circumstances stand in marked contrast to scribal practice observed in literary bookrolls,[77] and mark the Oslo roll as an eccentric product. The kollesis-justification holds good in the first three columns, but the extra width of col. iv, at bottom right, disrupts the pattern. The unusually large space between coll. xi and xii can be accounted for by this same tendency: col. xi goes over the right bounding kollesis slightly, and the scribe elects to start the next column at a new left bounding kollesis. In two cases, the scribe has added vertical lines to separate columns.[78]

Another unusual feature appears on the verso of the roll. There the scribe has added six more recipes. There is a short sequence of text on the protocol, along the fibres: a magical *logos* in a single line (282) and faint traces of another line of writing just above it, not previously noted.[79] But for the rest of the text on the verso, the scribe has rotated the roll 90° clockwise, and, beginning c. 9.5 cm below the protocol-join, written along the fibres in a single wide column, a method for which I can find no parallels in Greek papyri.[80] The motivation may simply be a preference for writing with the fibres, on aesthetic or practical grounds (i.e. as line-guides). Each of the six recipes is closed by a paragraphos with a left terminus curved into the left margin;[81] there is a plain horizontal line above the first recipe (283).

Here follow my notes on the text, following the line numbers of ed. pr., combining a record of lectional signs and scribal corrections not noted in ed. pr. with suggestions for new readings (marked by →):

Col. i 9 αονκον: ν² overwritten.
Col. ii 44 αγ'γελοι pap.
Col. iii 69 βελ'τιστον pap.
74 πιτ'τακιον pap.
Col. iv 106 γενάμενος: ν corr. from γ.
112 τυγ'χανουσαν pap.
Col. v 138 ἀνάλεσθαι: ι overwritten.
140 ᾧα: α corr. from θ.
146 δαίμονες: ο corr. from ω.
148 τυγ'χανουσαν pap.
152 ϊνα pap.
154 τεταγ'μενους pap.
159 αλλουδανε[..]ρανου. – φυλακτήριον περιπόη ed. pr. (cf. app. cr.) → ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φυλακτήριον περιπόη (l. περιποιῴη), "but not even a phylactery from heaven would save [you]". Letters that ed. pr. considered lost are clear even without microscopy. The form ποιῴη is noted as a *koine* by-form for Attic ποιοίη in the lexicon of Moeris π 74 s.v. (ed. Hansen 1998) and confirmed by Philodemus *Περὶ μουσικῆς* 4, fr. 152.19 (ed. Delattre 2007). The reason for the omission of οι is unclear, but cf. the note below on θεώσας for θειώσας in line 267, with omission of what probably constitutes the same /i/ phoneme in Greek of this period; the η may represent a correction overwriting an original ι. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* prints ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φυλακτήριον περὶ πᾶν, giving the reading of the papyrus in the first part as αλλουδανεξορανου [*sic*]. Col. vi 167 ϊναν pap. The horizontal ligature from the σ of the preceding word has a diagonal strike-through, perhaps to mark word-division.
172 κατ'τιηλ pap.
176 αγ'γελοι pap.
177 πραγ'ματος pap.
Col. vii 179 μονοῳθουν ed. pr. → μονοπέουν (l. μονόπουν), "one-footed". The figure that appears at the bottom of this column (vii) has of course more than one foot, but note the shackle-like band between its legs; there are other disparities between the prescribed drawings and those that actually accompany the text, cf. the app. cr. of *Pap.Graec.Mag.* on this line. The ε is somewhat faded but not intentionally obliterated. The form may represent conflation between πούς and πέδη, "fetter", especially in light of the drawing, but phonological confusion cannot be ruled out, cf. οετος for οὗτος in 247 and Gignac (1976–1981, 1:216) on interchange of ου and ευ.

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182 ϊερακες pap.
182, 183 ϋπο pap.
Col. ix 223 ϋγιαν pap.
Col. x 232 ϋποκιμενα pap.
246 αγ'γελοι pap.

Col. xi 258 {γ}ῥῖψον ed. pr. → [[γ]] ῥῖψον. The γ is cancelled with a diagonal stroke. The scribe's confusion was perhaps occasioned by γρ(άφε) above in 257.

267 I can confirm the reading of ed. pr. καὶ ἅμα θεώσας εἰς τοῖχον καθαρόν. This is a supralinear insertion, to be read between εἰς πιττάκιον καθαρόν and εἰς ἀνατολήν in 268: hence it would have been better to delete line 267 and simply print line 268 as εἰς πιττάκιον καθαρὸν \καὶ ἅμα θεώσας εἰς τοῖχον καθαρὸν/ εἰς ἀνατολήν, "[write it] on a clean sheet, at the same time fumigating it with sulfur against a clean wall, facing east". *Pace* Preisendanz et al. (see *Pap.Graec.Mag.* app. cr.), θεωσας is inevitable; ed. pr. leaves it untranslated and unexplained in the commentary. I think that most likely we have a reference to fumigation with sulphur (so l. θειώσας, or simply understand θεώσας as a form of θεόω, an alternate to θειόω, cf. *LSJ* s.v. θεόω II). For the use of sulphur, cf. the ἀγωγὴ ἔνπυρον ἐπὶ θείου ἀπύρου in 295–311.

Col. xii 276 δημονϊοπληκτους pap.

Verso
282a om. edd. The very faint traces can be tentatively resolved as ιιιια *vac.* ǫǫǫ, but it may be that they were intentionally washed out or accidentally applied as offsets from another text against which the papyrus once rested.
294 μονου // pap.
318 αρχεφρενεψου // φιριγχ pap. The diagonal punctuation strokes are smaller than they appear elsewhere, but still present.
322, 325 ϊνα pap.
328 ἀπομύσης (l. ἀπομύξεις) ed. pr. → ἀπομούσης (l. ἀπομύξεις). *Pap.Graec. Mag.* gives the reading of the papyrus as απομǫυης [*sic*]. On the interchange of υ and ου see Gignac (1976–1981, 1:214–215); according to id. 1:141n3 the interchange of ξ and σ is not paralleled in contemporary papyri.
339 ϊσιδος pap.
340–341 οὕτως ϙᾳ̣ὶ [σὺ καύ]|σης ed. pr. → οὕτως κᾳ̣ύ|σης. The writing in 340 does not seem to continue after what is read here as υ², though there is stripping

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of the papyrus in the right margin and a form of the compound κατακαίω, as Anastasia Maravela suggests to me, cannot be excluded.

345 αναγ'κης pap.

349 ϊθιπεσκουθι pap.

354 ϋπαγε pap.

355 εισελθε: ε^2 is blotted, perhaps corr. from θ.

361 μονοημέρος: o^3 corr. from α.

362 ϋποκιμενα pap.

370 καταναγ'κης pap.

(II)

P.Oslo I 4 (P.Oslo inv. 434) is an instance of applied magic, the inscription of text and image on papyrus to create an activated object. It clearly served a ritual to inflict sexual desire (ἔρως) on a male target for the benefit of a female user, specifically to draw him to her (an ἀγωγή).[82] The papyrus is part of a lot of papyri purchased in 1923 in the Fayum region of Egypt (the ancient Arsinoite nome).[83] The editio princeps was again done by Eitrem and reprinted in *Pap.Graec.Mag.*[84]

Beginning again with the physical disposition of the papyrus, I note that the text on the front is written in brown ink along the fibres, accompanied by a drawing of two figures, one holding a knife and severed head, the other, apparently the Egyptian god Bes, sticking out its tongue, which is coloured red. The back is blank but for exiguous traces probably from a washed-out text. There is a kollesis on the front, c. 1 cm from the right edge. Five vertical lines of cracking in the papyrus suggest the manner in which it was folded up, probably for deposition as part of the ritual: the sheet was folded inwards from both left and right, twice on each side, then once more along the vertical to yield a compact packet.

Next I present new readings and an account of lectional signs omitted by ed. pr.:

18 στυκίων ed. pr. → στυχίων (l. στοιχείων). The letter read as κ in ed. pr. has a prominent leftward bend to its lower leg, which is not consistent with the form of κ anywhere else in the text: the vertical may be slanted to the left, and its top may curl to the left, but not the bottom. Similarly in lines 19–20 (see below).

19 ϊκοσι τεσσερα pap.

19–20 στυκί|ων ed. pr. → στυχί|ων (l. στοιχεί|ων). See line 18 above.

20 ϊνα pap.

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20–21: the reading Τα|επις already attributed to the suggestion of Leiv Amundsen in the ed. pr. (Ṭạepις, only in app. cr.), is secure. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* prints [Τα]|αῖπις.

(III)

P.Oslo I 5 (P.Oslo inv. 303) is also an example of applied magic, a protective amulet for a house. No information on its provenance is recorded; Eitrem again produced the first edition, which was reprinted in *Pap. Graec.Mag.*[85]

The text is written against the fibres, and the papyrus is generally well preserved, though close examination reveals an interesting case of modern "repair". A tear runs vertically along the full length, such that the piece was torn in two. It has been mended, surely by a modern dealer, by pasting scraps from another papyrus on the back, which is otherwise blank. Five separate patches appear along the tear, each with traces of ink in an early Byzantine cursive hand. On the most legible can be read]ρυ[. The re-join is fair but not perfect: the right edge is c. 1 mm higher than it should be to align with the left edge, as seen in particular in the second κ in κακοῦ (line 4). Other purchased pieces in the Oslo collection show less successful applications of a similar method: e.g. P.Oslo inv. 1545, catalogued as "literary prose … wrongly glued together by the native papyrus dealer", and inv. 1423, "fragments of a document, wrongly glued together by one of the fellahin or Egyptian dealers".[86]

I next present one new reading and several observations on lectional signs:

2 ϊαω pap.

2 αδωναι: $α^{1}$ overwritten.

6 ὄφεως διά ed. pr. → ὄφεως \κ(αὶ) κυ̣ν̣[ὸς]/ διά. The supralinear addition expands the series of noxious creatures against whose bites the amulet protects into a tricolon: scorpion, snake, and dog.

7 ὐψιστου pap.

7: Daniel (1977, 151–153) reads γ̣α̣ιας μελι ζ̣ ξορο ωρο ααααααα with commentary and reference to the parallel text P.Pal.Rib. inv. 126. The resolution of ξορο ωρο is an improvement, but the ink to the right of the ζ is not a numeral stroke, but rather the descender from the final υ in σκορπίου, as appears also in the υ

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of κακοῦ in line 4.

8 υἱε pap.

10: the scribe changes styles and adopts a markedly angular and serifed script in the writing of the second α and ω, approximating a type familiar from monumental stone inscriptions. The sixth-century Christian amulet P.Köln inv. 521a (ed. Wortmann 1968, 106) has alphas of a similar lapidary style: there is no photograph in ed. pr., but this feature can be observed on the fine digital image made available online by the Köln Papyrussammlung. On the more general use of such forms outside of stone inscriptions, probably for "monumental effect", see the introduction of P.J. Parsons to *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4670, a fourth-century notice which features a similar alpha with broken cross-bar. The omega as it now stands here is distorted by the imperfect rejoining of the two halves of the papyrus; below I present a reconstructed drawing with the necessary shift of the right half c. 1 mm downward, beside a tracing of the intact alpha:



On the script compare the "Memorial of Theodorus" inscription from Petrie's tomb 46 at Oxyrhynchus (Petrie et al. 1925, 12–18; repr. in Bowman et al. 2007, 50–69, with photograph p. 69, fig. 5.13.3); ed. pr. Bingen (1980, 319), dated to the fifth or sixth century AD (*SEG* XXX 1748).

In this line appear also three crosses in three different styles, which can plausibly be read as a transformation from left to right. First, a simple form of two intersecting lines; second, the same with an expanded upper terminus bulging to the right, reminiscent of the christogram but without the addition of the "chi"; third, the same rounded upper terminus, now centred, with the other three termini expanded into wedges, and a gap left in the middle. The second form recalls the Egyptian ankh, and the third, a blending of the latter with the so-called Latin cross. On the forms in inscriptions from Egypt cf. Lefebvre (1907, xxxiii–xxxiv).

(IV)

P.Oslo II 15 (P.Oslo inv. 570) is an ostrakon, and like *P.Oslo* I 3 an instance of erotic magic applied by a man upon a married woman. It was purchased

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from Ali Mahmud in Behnasa (ancient Oxyrhynchus) on 25 April 1928, first edited by L. Amundsen,[87] revised by Eitrem for inclusion in *P.Oslo*, and reprinted in *Pap.Graec.Mag.*[88] The ed. pr. of Amundsen remains useful for its description of the physical disposition of the artefact. The sherd is from the shoulder and rim of a bowl, and as described in all previous editions, the writing begins on the convex side and continues on the concave. I note that the five lines of the concave side are virtually centred, leaving extensive margins above and below, in contrast to the convex side, where the text begins at the very top and fills nearly the entire surface down to the bottom. An alternate ordering of the text is worth considering, however, in which the concave side text is in fact to be read first. This order is suggested by the fact that the text on the concave side consists of a request in connected Greek prose (that the female target be made so dissatisfied with her husband that she leaves home), and the text on the convex side begins with 26½ lines of vowels and other un-syntactical magic *logoi* before proceeding to a related request in connected Greek (that the target be inflamed with erotic passion, surely for the user, until she leaves home). That is, a request is followed by *logoi* and then recapitulated with a different modus operandi.

Finally I present a new reading based on inspection of the original. I can also confirm the absence of any lectional signs.

> 35 ἀσίτῳ ed. pr. → ἀ̣ησσίτῳ (l. ἀησσήτῳ). The exact division of the traces among the first three letters of the proposed reading is somewhat uncertain. There is plainly too much space to the left at the beginning of this line for the reading of ed. pr., which would place only a single letter before the sigma. The scribe consistently begins each line at the far left edge, and indeed here the ink continues all the way to the left. The vowel interchange is widely paralleled (Gignac 1976–1981, 1:235–239); the new epithet is unparalleled in the *Pap. Graec.Mag.* and *Suppl.Mag.* corpora, but then so is ἄσιτος, and Eitrem in the commentary to his *P.Oslo* edition acknowledges the lack of evidence anywhere else for the seemingly required sense "causing ἀσιτία" (now see further Adrados 1991, s.v.). It seems better to understand all three privative compounds in this portion of the text (33–36) in a neutral or passive rather than causative sense, referring to the infliction of a sickness (νόσος) that is ἀκατάπαυστος ("incessant"), ἀήσσητος ("insuperable"), and ἀσύνετος ("incomprehensible", i.e. to the victim). For the application of ἀήσσητος to νόσος cf. Gr. Naz. *Ep.* 142.1 ἀλλ' ἡ νόσος ἀήττητος; Jo. Mal. *Chron.* 10.12 τὴν ἀήττητόν μου νόσον.

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Notes

1. Eitrem (1925). Hereafter: *P.Oslo* I.
2. *P.Oslo* I, [p. 3]. Eitrem's successful funding applications to the University [of Oslo] Jubilee Fund of 1911 (Universitetets Jubileumsfond av 1911) are documented in the protocol of the Jubilee Fund (Riksarkivet, Universitetet i Oslo, Kollegiet, Ffd Universitetets jubileumsfond av 1911, Forhandlingsprotokoll, 1913–1933, meeting 3 November 1917, p. 50, no. 10, and meeting 9 November 1918, p. 60, no. 11) and by two letters of notification, dated November 1917 and 18 November 1918, respectively. The first letter is in the Riksarkivet (Riksarkivet, Universitetet i Oslo, Kollegiet, Ffd Universitetets jubileumsfond av 1911, Kopibok 1913–1954, p. 203), while the other is in the archive of the Papyrus Collection of the University of Oslo Library. These grant him 2400 Norwegian kroner, payable in two instalments, "for the purchase of Greek papyrus documents during a possible trip to Egypt". Eitrem's application to the Nansen Fund was submitted 17 January 1921 and was entered in the journal (Riksarkivet, Pa 683, Nansenfondet, C-Journaler 1897–1924, journal no. 1255) with the following note: "He applies to cover expenses incurred in connection with the purchase of papyri in Egypt. Earlier he received 1500 Norwegian kroner as an advance. It appears from the paperwork submitted that his expenses amount to 2300 kroner". The total amount at Eitrem's disposal was thus 4700 Norwegian kroner (approximately $700; cf. n. 6 below). The University's Jubilee Fund of 1911 was initiated by a subscription that brought in 700,000 Norwegian kroner. Its aim is to support the work of the University in areas other than those that are covered by state funding. The Fridtjof Nansen Fund for the Promotion of Science (Fridtjof Nansens fond til videnskabens fremme) was started, also by subscription, in 1897 (in the aftermath of Nansen's Fram expedition) in close collaboration with the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters. Its aim is to promote research through grants and prizes for research excellence.
3. *P.Oslo* I, p. 31.
4. Yet even the Norwegian text has not been reprinted frequently; the excerpts quoted by Haaland (1986, 142; 2011, 137) are recent instances.
5. Might this restaurant have been in the "very fair hotel, the Grand Hotel Karoun (kept by a Greek, but distinctly better than most of its kind), in Medina" [the capital of the Fayum]? The description is that of Francis (1912, 157); note also Baedeker (1914, 191), where the "landlord" is identified as Athanase Tasco. B.P. Grenfell (on whom see further below) had recommended that his American visitor E.J. Goodspeed lunch at the "Hotel Karoon" some two decades earlier (letter dated 5 December 1899, E.J. Goodspeed papers, box 4, folder 9, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library).
6. The Egyptian pound had an average exchange rate of $3.758 in 1920 and $3.948 in 1921; see U.S. Department of Commerce (1926, 642). For the Norwegian krone, these values were $.1653 and $.1491, respectively (U.S. Department of Commerce 1926, 696).

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7. Venizelos: considered by many to be the father of the Greek nation; recently prime minister, he had fallen from power in the November 1920 elections. See further Kitromilides (2006). Oseberg ship: a signal find from the Viking age (constructed ca. 820, it was employed for two female burials in 834). It had been excavated in 1904. The results of the excavation have been published in Brøgger, Falck, and Shetelig (1917–1928) (for the datings given above, see Bonde (1997)). For the fourth century date, "say in the first half of that century", that Eitrem assigned to the "black book", see *P.Oslo* I, p. 31.
8. Cf. U.K. Board of Trade (1921), which notes (at p. 696):

> If ever the overworked word "phenomenal" were legitimately employed it would be in dealing with the events in Egypt of 1920–21. There has been in the economic history of this ancient country, so far as we know it, nothing to compare with the fluctuations in the staple industry of cotton production and the embarrassments which these fluctuations have caused.

9. Kristiania: Oslo's name before it was changed in 1925.
10. See n. 5 above.
11. See Pedley (2012, 254–257) (255 cited).
12. Kelsey had introduced himself to Askren, among whose patients were farmers who had handled the Hamuli Coptic manuscripts acquired by J.P. Morgan, on board the liner *S. S. Canopic* during a transatlantic voyage in 1915. The two men, eventually close friends, came to an arrangement before they disembarked. Askren describes it to Kelsey as follows:

> In view of your interest in the discovery of manuscripts in this region [the Fayum] I will make inquiry from time to time of the Fellahin [*sic*] who come to me as patients and if I can get track of any manuscripts now in hiding or hereafter discovered I will try to get possession of them, and hold them till I can send you an account of them with photographs or one or more sample pages and this I will do with the understanding that if you desire the manuscripts you will come or send for them within a reasonable period, making a price which shall bear a fair relation to the price which I shall have to pay the Fellahin [*sic*]. (Typed letter dated 11 February 1915 and bearing the heading "Steamship 'CANOPIC'", box 82, folder 2, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology [hereafter KMA] Papers, Francis Willey Kelsey [hereafter FWK] subgroup, Bentley Historical Library [hereafter BHL], University of Michigan [hereafter UM]).

For the agreement from Kelsey's perspective, cf. Pedley (2012, 236).

13. Longyear: a devotee of Christian Science (she would eventually establish a museum dedicated to the religion and its foundress Mary Baker Eddy) and an exponent of British Israelism (she sent Kelsey a copy of the *Watchman of Israel*, a periodical of the movement, to which she had contributed an article). She was the wife of mining and timber magnate John Munro Longyear. Cf. Longyear Museum (2014).
14. For Nahman, see Bierbrier (2012, 397). Kelsey had become acquainted with him through his work on behalf of the industrialist and collector Charles Lang Freer;

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cf. Pedley (2012, 235–236). A study of Nahman's career as a dealer of papyri is currently in preparation by Hickey.

15. Letter (annotated "file copy"), 5 July 1920, box 21, folder 11, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM.
16. For Grenfell, see Lehnus (2007, esp. 115–120).
17. See British Library, Add MS 59511, f. 95 (Idris Bell Papers).
18. Cf. Pintaudi (2012, 253–254): "I leave Marseilles for Alexandria on the 'Assaye', an ambulance transport, on Jan. 14, and shall spend a couple of months at Helouan (c/o Miss James, Carton House) working at Oxyrhynchus papyri in the Museum". Note also Grenfell's letter to Henry Guppy (John Rylands Library), 24 February 1920:

    > I reached Egypt a month ago, and have been very long working at the Museum. I have also now started the dealers … thoroughly. There are a good many papyri around, owing to accumulations during the war, but prices of antiquities are high like those of everything else in this country, and papyri in particular by all accounts have gone up in value considerably since I was here 12 years ago. (We thank Roberta Mazza for sharing her transcription of this document.)

19. The identity of the dealer is revealed in Kelsey's detailed diary, 6 March 1920, box 4, FWK Papers, BHL, UM. The English pound had an average exchange rate of $3.664 in 1920 and $3.849 in 1921 (see U.S. Department of Commerce 1926, 735), slightly lower than the Egyptian pound (which was essentially fixed at £1.026 during the period in question; cf. Bresciani-Turroni (1934, 374–376)).
20. British Library, Add MS 59511, ff. 95–96.
21. British Library, Add MS 59511, f. 96. Grenfell would seem to be confused about ʿAlī al-ʿArabī, who was not the lead dealer in the main Hamuli purchase (1911); see Depuydt (1993, 1:lvii–lxi), and note also Askren's letter cited above (n. 12), in which ʿAlī plays a secondary rôle to Nahman. Morgan did purchase 12 Hamuli leaves from ʿAlī through the Copticist Henri Hyvernat in February 1912 (Depuydt 1993, 1:lxix–lxxii).
22. Cf. Pedley (2012, 270).
23. Kelsey diary (n. 19), 17 February.
24. Kelsey diary (n. 19), 18 February.
25. In 1918, the ancient historian William Linn Westermann, then at Wisconsin, and Kelsey had exchanged letters concerning the acquisition of papyri for Westermann's institution. On the day after Kelsey and Grenfell made their first (joint) visit to Nahman's, Kelsey wrote a letter to Westermann that began, "I was yesterday pleasantly reminded of you and our correspondence in regard to papyri. Mr. Grenfell and myself had an appointment with the leading collector here, and were surprised at what we found". Before the end of March, Westermann would be sending money to Kelsey. (See box 35, folder 9, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM, for all of this correspondence and related documentation.) Grenfell bought on behalf of both the British Museum and the Rylands Library.
26. British Library, Add MS 59511, f. 113.

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27. Letter to Mary Beecher Longyear, 5 July 1920, box 21, folder 7, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM.
28. Grenfell and Kelsey's collaboration is discussed thoroughly in the introduction to Hickey's forthcoming volume of London papyri, which presents editions of texts that came to the British Museum in 1920 through Grenfell.
29. Box 15, folder 3, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM, contains documents concerning the Fayum (and other) acquisitions. A "Memorandum of papyri purchased by Prof F. W. Kelsey and B.P.G.", written in Grenfell's hand, indicates that L.E. 151 was the actual sum spent in the Fayum. The eighty-pound lot, described as "mostly well preserved", was acquired from Andrea Girgis on 26 February. In Grenfell's tally of papyri Girgis' material is lumped together with a six-pound lot from Ayyub ("well preserved"); altogether the two lots had 54 pieces, of which 43 were distributed to Kelsey. Kelsey's diary (n. 19), 27 February, records the dealer as Andrious Girgis and the number of "specimens" as "about 80". Grenfell does not distinguish between English and Egyptian pounds, presumably because their values were fixed at almost 1:1 (see n. 19 above).
30. The tens and units digits of the amount spent by Grenfell are corrected (the tens from "5"; the units digit may have originally been "2"). Grenfell apparently wrote a comma before adding the closing parenthesis, which is followed by two short marks – one horizontal at the base of the line, the other beneath it, and vertical – of an indeterminate nature.
31. The dealer's name was Σωτήρης; presumably this was his first name, not a deformation of his surname. In a letter to W.W. Bishop (University Librarian), 1 June 1921, box 1, folder 8, KMA Papers, Campbell Bonner subgroup, BHL, UM, Kelsey reports that he himself had offered L.E. 60 in the wake of the inspection.
32. British Library, Add MS 59511, f. 108. Hickey thanks Nick Gonis for discussing this letter with him and sharing his transcription and Cillian O'Hogan for sending a colour image of the document.
33. Kelsey, letter to W.W. Bishop (cited in n. 31). Girgis' papyri (n. 29) had also been left with Askren for inspection (Kelsey diary [n. 19], 27 February).
34. Kelsey's diary (n. 19) indicates that 27 February was "wholly devoted to the examination and purchase of papyri" and that they "finished work with papyri" on the 28th (see entry for 29 February).
35. For Bonner, whose interests included ancient magic, see, e.g., Nock (1955).
36. Box 83, folder 1, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM.
37. In this regard, Kelsey's arrangement with Charles Freer to publish Freer's manuscripts in the Humanistic Series is paradigmatic. Kelsey would in fact approach the executors of the Freer estate *per litteras* proposing "purchase of Gnostic scroll in Fayoum, for which 300 £.E. is asked" (diary [n. 19], 27 March 1920; we thank Michael Zellmann-Rohrer for bringing this entry to our attention).
38. For Russel, cf. "John R. Russel Dies: A Leader in Detroit Industrial and Financial Circles," *New York Times*, 3 April 1932.
39. Letter (from Rome) dated 5 July 1920, box 21, folder 7, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM. Kelsey was so forward that he included a contract ("[i]n view of the fact that, quite frankly, you will probably want them").

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40. In his 1921 letter to Bishop (n. 31), Kelsey reports that "the banker believed that ~~un~~ltimately he would get £ 225".
41. Letter from Paris ("here in Paris"), dated 12 June 1920, same folder as item in preceding note. The date must be erroneous because Kelsey did not reach Paris until 8 July (so his diary [n. 19]); moreover, the content of this letter suggests that it postdates the one sent on 5 July. In this regard, note Kelsey's diary for 12 July, which mentions a letter dictated for "Mrs. J. M. Longyear, about Gnostic roll in Fayoum & Greek-Coptic parchment offered by [the Copticist Henri] Hyvernat". The dictation could have led to an error in the month. The other purchase proposed to Longyear in the "12 June" letter was "a bilingual fragment in Greek and Coptic" that otherwise will go to the library of Mr. Pierpoint [*sic*] Morgan in New York". This may have been part of *P.MorganLib.* 263.
42. Same folder as preceding item.
43. Letter from Kelsey to Askren, 6 August 1920: "I make haste to acknowledge receipt of your ~~w~~very welcome letter of July 20" (box 82, folder 4, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM).
44. Letter dated 20 July, same folder as preceding note. Askren's mention of "the troubles" is no doubt a reference to the Egyptian revolt of 1919; cf. Goldberg (1992, esp. 272) and Schulze (1991, esp. 188–197).
45. Same item as that in n. 43. "Exchange": See the discussion in Tsiang (1959).
46. The reading "Doteris" is uncertain. The first letter of the name is not an exact match for any other capital in the sample of Askren's handwriting that we have examined. "D" seems the closest fit, but if it is correct, it appears to have been overwritten. "S" seems impossible.
47. Letter dated 1 November, same folder as n. 43. Kelsey's letter to Bishop (n. 31) seems contradictory: "Dr. Askren was watching the case, in order to offer one hundred pounds for me at the ~~ph~~sychological moment". Note also Kelsey's 5 February 1921 letter to Askren, quoted in the main text below.
48. Nahman had furnished most of the newly acquired Michigan papyri, including an astrological treatise (inv. 1) and substantial remains of a roll with *Iliad* Σ (inv. 2).
49. Item in same folder as that in n. 43.
50. The quoted words are from the letter to Westermann (cf. n. 25), 8 December 1920 (box 35, folder 9, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM). We have not been able to locate an original copy of the letter to Hunt (for whom see the article cited in n. 16). This was sent 10 December 1920 and is preserved through a typewritten transcript in box 81, folder 1, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup.
51. "Your offer": Presumably Askren means the L.E. 150 mentioned in his 1 November letter, not the offer of L.E. 50–60 that was made in the spring. Cf. also n. 47.
52. Item in same folder as that in n. 43.
53. Askren does, however, note an increase in crimes like "burglaries and highway robberies".
54. "L.E." has been squeezed in between "for" and "190".
55. Item in same folder as that in n. 43.

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56. In brief, Askren's avocation ("archaeology" in a loose sense) came to eclipse his vocation (medicine), a transformation that simply would have not been possible absent Kelsey. Kelsey furthermore arranged funding for the education of Askren's sons in America; see Pedley (2012, 305, n. 22, 352, 382).
57. Note also that Kelsey's letter to Bishop (n. 31), reports the sale price as "one hundred and eighty nine pounds".
58. Askren's four-page letter had admittedly addressed other matters, but the roll's prominence for Kelsey is telegraphed by the fact that he broaches it immediately after his "upbeat" greeting.
59. Handwringing about "spoiling the market" is commonplace in the writings of papyrologists of this era. Americans themselves could be considered the problem; Hunt would declare to Bell in May 1930, "The American combination of wealth and ignorance has spoilt the market, and as long as they will go on paying inflated prices the dealers will ask them" (British Library, Add MS 59512, f. 202).
60. Kelsey's query is illuminated by a remark in his letter to Bishop (n. 31): "During the past winter Italy has been full of Danes and Swedes who got rich during the war". Eitrem, however, journeyed to Egypt on more than one occasion: His first visit was in 1910 (when he bought his own small collection of papyri); after 1920 he paid the country a final visit in 1936, again with the mission of purchasing papyri for the University of Oslo Library.
61. Item in same folder as that in n. 43.
62. According to Kelsey's letter of acknowledgement (ref. in n. 63):

> [a] reprint on the Magical Papyrus B. M. CXXI [*JEA* 11 (1925) 80–83] and the Symbolae Osloenses [presumably vol. 3 of 1925, in which Eitrem himself has an article on *lekythoi;* G. Rudberg, an edition of an Iliadic fragment from the Oslo collection; and Karl Schmidt, an article with textual remarks on magical papyri] and Varia [a series of articles with this title encompassing Eitrem's textual remarks on and interpretations of Greek and Latin passages].

63. Kelsey's letter: box 83, folder 7, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM. Kelsey logged the letter in his diary (box 4, FWK Papers, BHL, UM): "S. Eitrem, magical papyrus purchased in the Fayoum, with request to send copies [of *P.Oslo* I] to [the Michigan Copticist William H.] Worrell, Bonner, Askren".
64. See Sanders and Schmidt (1927), Bonner (1934), Boak (1933), and Husselman, Boak, and Edgerton (1944).
65. Letter to Bishop (n. 31).
66. Kelsey states to Bishop (ref. in n. 31), "This is the only firstrate [*sic*] papyrus that I know of that has recently left Egypt without coming in our direction". Later the Oslo and Michigan collections would twice purchase papyri in partnership: in 1923, as part of a "Papyruskartell" in which they combined funds with the British Museum and Columbia University; and in 1928, when the same institutions, with the addition of Princeton University, again bought papyri. In both cases, the papyri were divided among the participating institutions by Idris Bell of the British Museum, who compiled the relevant inventory lists. Kelsey himself permitted

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Leiv Amundsen to participate in the Michigan excavations at Karanis during the 1927–1928 and 1928–1929 seasons and also entrusted him with the publication of some ostraka in the Michigan collection (see Amundsen 1935).

67. I owe thanks to Federico Aurora for facilitating my access to the collection, to the Department of Classics at the University of Oslo for its warm hospitality, and to Todd Hickey and the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri for supporting my travel to Oslo. Anastasia Maravela kindly checked my proposed readings on the originals before publication; any remaining errors are my own responsibility.
68. For papyrological publications I use the abbreviations recommended in Oates et al. (2015). All references to *Pap.Graec.Mag.* are to the edition revised by A. Henrichs (1974), unless otherwise noted.
69. The four are included in the Leuven *Trismegistos Magic* database (<http://www.trismegistos.org/magic/index.php>), under the following numbers (respectively): 64479, 64481, 64592, 63587.
70. On the purchase, with further information on the provenance, see the preceding study by Todd Hickey and Anastasia Maravela.
71. *P.Oslo* I, p. 31.
72. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI, with additional corrections by A. Henrichs.
73. Brashear (1995, 3552–3553). See recently Bohak (2008, 202–206), specifically on Jewish influence in the incantation in lines 295–311.
74. On the use of the apostrophe in the papyri in general, which still awaits a thorough study, cf. Fournet (2004) and Gignac (1976–1981, 1:162–165).
75. At c. 21, 38.5, 57.5, 76, 94, 110.5, 129, 146.5, 164.5, 182.5, 200.5, and 218 cm from left edge; the precise location of the rightmost, thirteenth kollesis cannot be precisely determined due to surface damage.
76. Col. i: 17.5 cm; ii: 13–15 cm; iii: 13–17.5 cm; iv: 16–22.5 cm; v: 14.5–19 cm; vi: 13 cm; vii: 12 cm; viii: 10.5–14 cm; ix: 16–19.5 cm; x: 11.5–17 cm; xi: 11–14 cm; xii: 13 cm.
77. On disregard of kollesis joins in the manufactured roll in laying out columns, see Johnson (2004, 50–54); on uniformity of column and intercolumn width, see Johnson (2004, 88). Of the other *Pap.Graec.Mag.* texts which preserve significant portions of bookrolls: *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P I has five narrower columns of more regular width (c. 10 cm); *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P II, four wide columns (three at 30–32 cm, one at 22 cm); the best parallel is *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P III, 22 columns ranging from 8.5 to 25.5 cm wide; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII, 32 columns, keeps for the most part to a column width of 12–15 cm, with a few outliers; in *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XII (with Daniel 1991), the 13 Greek columns are between 18 and 20 cm except coll. 10 and 13 (16 and 11 cm, respectively).
78. Between coll. i and ii, from the top extending down c. 10 lines; and between coll. iv and v, from line 10 of col. iv to the bottom, curving to follow the protruding text in the lower right corner of col. iv.
79. See below, numbered here 282a. The extensive fading could suggest an erasure or even, as Anastasia Maravela suggests to me, a chance offset from a separate text against which the present roll once rested; the hands are very similar if not identical.

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80. *Pap.Graec.Mag*. P III and P VII are also opisthographic, but on the verso the text is arranged in columns similarly to the recto (but across the fibres). *Pap.Graec.Mag*. P XII is a case of re-use, on the back of an earlier demotic text; the verso is arranged in the usual series of narrower columns across the fibres.
81. Between lines 294 and 295; 311 and 312; 320 and 321; 332 and 333; 360 and 361; and after 371.
82. This time the commentary in ed. pr. is minimal; on the genre of text and ritual practice represented here, see Faraone (1999). Examples deployed by women on male targets are distinctly in the minority.
83. The purchase was made through H.I. Bell and the British Museum, for a total of 240 (presumably Egyptian) pounds; see also Eitrem's preface to *P.Oslo* II. On the partnership with Bell see the discussion of Hickey and Maravela above, n. 66.
84. *Pap.Graec.Mag*. P XXXIX.
85. *Pap.Graec.Mag*. P 3; included in De Bruyn and Dijkstra (2011), text no. 18.
86. For an analogous case in a papyrus purchased by the British Museum, see Zellmann-Rohrer (2014).
87. Amundsen (1928), with brief commentary of S. Eitrem added on p. 37.
88. *Pap.Graec.Mag*. O 2.

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Historical and Textual Notes on Magical Texts in the Papyrus Collection of the University of Oslo Library[†]

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This article, which concerns the history and texts of some of the magical papyri in the collection of the University of Oslo Library, has two parts. The first part (Hickey and Maravela) sheds light on the acquisition of the celebrated Oslo magical roll, *P.Oslo* I 1, by drawing on Samson Eitrem's account of the purchase in the Norwegian daily *Aftenposten* and the correspondence of Francis W. Kelsey, who had sought to buy the papyrus for the University of Michigan. The second part (Zellmann-Rohrer) offers critical remarks on the formats and texts of the magical papyri *P.Oslo* I 1, 4–5 and II 15.

Keywords: magical papyri; papyrus collection of the University of Oslo Library; Samson Eitrem; Francis W. Kelsey

Part I: the acquisition of P.Oslo *1*

P.Oslo 1, the magnificent magical formulary that is the "crown jewel" of the papyrus collection of the University of Oslo Library, was purchased by Samson Eitrem late in 1920. In the preface to his *editio princeps* of 1925,[1] Eitrem reveals almost nothing regarding the provenance of the roll, noting only that it was part of "a set of papyri acquired by myself during a visit to Egypt four years ago" using monies from the University's

[†]Part I has been authored jointly by Todd Hickey and Anastasia Maravela. Part II has been authored by Michael Zellmann-Rohrer. The article stems from collaborative research that occurred in the context of a 2013 seed grant from the Peder Sather Center for Advanced Study at the University of California, Berkeley. We remain grateful to the Center for its support of our work.

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Jubilee Fund and the Nansen Fund.[2] In the commentary to the formulary itself, however, he elaborates a bit: The roll was purchased in the Fayum and "was said to have come originally from Batn-Harît" [the ancient Theadelphia].[3]

Eitrem's reserve in his scholarly publication stands in contrast to the account of the acquisition that he had presented to the Norwegian public in the leading daily *Aftenposten.* His vivid narrative, the relevant excerpt of which we translate in full ("warts and all") because its language of publication has hindered its accessibility,[4] occupied a prominent position in the edition of 16 April 1921, appearing on the first two pages:

> An ancient Greek black book on papyrus in the University Library
>
> It was in the month of December [1920] that the undersigned [i.e., Eitrem] acquired in Egypt a very interesting manuscript that sheds new light on ancient magic. The scene is in Fayoum [Eitrem's spelling], Egypt. We had spent the day going around to all those who during the long years of the war had amassed Greek papyri, now sought by everyone, and who had not yet sold them to Europeans. My Arab guide had postponed the best for the end, he reassured me. "I hear that a Greek has a two-meter-long papyrus." As expected, we found the owner in the only decent restaurant of the place.[5] Together with a friend of his, we four wandered up to his flat. A small box with nice things was produced on the table and went immediately for 5 Egyptian pounds.[6] There follows a cup of tea, liqueur and sweets, as the custom is. The owner then goes out and, to my great surprise, returns with a plank that he lays on his living room table. Without a word – yet he is a Greek – he places an old papyrus roll at the end of the plank and rolls it out with great ceremony on the plank to a length of two and a half meters. He then devotes himself to studying in my face the impression that this new text made. I went from studying a photo of Venizelos hanging on the wall to being confronted with a Greek "black book" five hundred years older than the Oseberg ship.[7] I had to compose myself. I got permission to copy part of the text so that I could research the content of the papyrus later in the libraries in Cairo. "The friend" interrupted this, apparently afraid lest the value of the papyrus should diminish if I published any of it before it was sold. I offered 100 Egyptian pounds, but the owner wanted to have 200 pounds, and I returned to Cairo very disappointed with the outcome. But my Arab guide found a way out of the impasse. He traveled back to Fayoum, sat again in the aforementioned restaurant, and the papyrus owners flocked around him like flies on a

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> sugar cube. And Egyptian flies are something apart. They knew that he represented "the European." That same evening the guide sent a telegram that he had got hold of the magical papyrus for 165 Egyptian pounds. The owner had been in dire straits as a result of speculation in cotton.[8] So the papyrus was secured for the University Library in Kristiania.[9] Next evening I sat in a hotel room in Fayoum,[10] examined for the last time the authenticity of the manuscript in the light of two candles, and paid the sum.

Though Eitrem ended up with the formulary, he was not the first westerner to whom it had been offered. In the autumn of 1919, Francis W. Kelsey, Professor of Latin at the University of Michigan, had set out on what came to be known as the "First Expedition", the goals of which included "the acquisition of ancient artifacts and manuscripts, more especially papyri, for research and teaching".[11] He arrived in Cairo, via rail from Jerusalem, late on 6 February 1920, but had already laid the groundwork for a successful foray into the market through his friend David Askren, a missionary doctor in the Fayum.[12] Kelsey later described the commercial landscape in a letter to his benefactress Mary Beecher Longyear[13]:

> Some months before I came to Cairo, a friend in Egypt [Askren] wrote to the dealers asking them to save all manuscripts and ~~P~~papyri until I should come. This request was particularly made of Maurice Nahman, whom you probably know as cashier of the Crédit Foncier Egytien [*sic*] and the most enterprising dealer in antiquities among them all, and he did as requested, though a wealthy Greek of A~~m~~lexandria was trying to negotiate for the purchase of his ~~P~~papyri as a gift to the University of Athens.[14]

> I was amazed to find that Nahman had one of the most important collections of papyri ever made. There were no scholars in quest of papyri in Egypt after 1913; and meanwhile the destruction of the mounds [at ancient sites to obtain organic material for fertilizer] has almost completely eliminated the principal source from which papyri come, and has brought to light a great number of papyri, among which are some of much importance.[15]

Kelsey's connections to men like Askren and Nahman and the financial backing (though not without limit) that he received from philanthropists like Longyear – to say nothing of his own unflagging energy and enthusiasm – put him in a rather favourable position. What he lacked was technical papyrological "know how", but in the event this was furnished in

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spades by one of the field's founders, Bernard P. Grenfell, who fortuitously was present in Egypt for the first time since his nervous breakdown in 1907.[16]

Grenfell had reached Cairo on 20 January.[17] Based in the southern suburb of Helwan, he was occupied at the Egyptian Museum revising transcriptions of Byzantine texts for what would become the 16th volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. But he was also shopping for papyri, albeit with mixed results.[18] On 6 February, he wrote to Idris Bell at the British Museum:

> I have now seen probably all the Cairo dealers who have any papyri. Off one man [Ismail Abdallah] I have bought ^(for nearly £60)^ about 20 papyri,[19] none of any great length, chiefly from Oxyrhynchus: there is a fragment of the Nicene Creed and a damaged roll of 3rd cent B.C. official accounts concerning land.[20]

But the largest group of papyri was in Giza, in the hands of the dealer Ali, "now very old and more unreasonable than ever, since his big deal with Pierpont Morgan over the Hamuli Coptic books", and Ali had rebuffed Grenfell's offer of £100 for 30 "respectable" pieces.[21]

With many tasks requiring attention – some directly concerning the aims of the Expedition and some, like his visit to the dentist, not[22] – Kelsey made it to the Egyptian Museum only on 17 February.[23] It was on his return, the following day, that he seems to have first met Grenfell. Kelsey's diary records the encounter matter-of-factly: "I called on Dr. Bernard P. Grenfell, who was working on papyri in a special room, and asked him to go with me to see Nahman's papyri at twelve".[24] Given Kelsey's temperament, it is appealing to construe this as a "cold" call, albeit one delivered with his characteristic aplomb; in any case, Grenfell accepted the invitation. Thus began an extraordinary and fruitful partnership that in the space of a mere few weeks would establish the papyrus collections at the Universities of Michigan and Wisconsin and add substantial and important manuscripts to the papyrological holdings of the British Museum and the John Rylands Library.[25] On 15 March, Grenfell would declare to Bell, "The American and I are practically making a clean sweep of the Greek papyri on the market".[26] Concerning just the material that would end up in Ann Arbor, Kelsey would write, "Dr. Grenfell says that such a collection of ancient documents can never again be made ~~from~~ in Egypt".[27]

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For the present purpose, Grenfell and Kelsey's richly documented acquisitions need not be elaborated.[28] It is sufficient to note that their activities included a visit to the Fayum (25–28 February), during which time they were offered and examined the future *P.Oslo* 1. Quite remarkably, Kelsey omits any mention of this occurrence in his diary. Since the diary is ample and detailed during this period in its description of each day's events, and because Kelsey's correspondence (see further below) makes it clear that he was present for the viewing, and that the roll left an impression (i.e. was not something that would have slipped his mind), it would seem that his silence is intentional.

The earliest reference to the formulary comes not from Kelsey but from Grenfell, in a letter to Bell dated 1 March:

> On Wednesday ~~I~~ last [25 February] I came down to the Fayum. Prof Kelsey, the American with whom I have gone into temporary partnership, also came down there to stay with an American doctor [Askren] who lives in the Fayum and is interested in anticas. He had collected some papyri for Kelsey but these did not amount to much. We found however a good deal at the dealers, and spent about £150 in b~~y~~uying up practically all the papyri in the Fayum, including £80 for a rather good Oxyrhynchus lot, which contained about 30 complete Roman documents and as many other fairish pieces.[29] ~~So~~ On an average the ^complete^ papyri cost us £1–2 each || Kelsey provided the money (having spent £160 on papyri I am rather short till fresh supplies arrive from England,)[30] and has taken the papyri back to Cairo, but I am going to claim part of them when our division takes place at the end of March. A big roll (a 3rd–4th cent magical papyrus in excellent preservation, 12 columns on recto and a good deal of writing on the verso: divided into sections containing ^gnostic^ invocations of the deity or spells of various kinds) we did not get. I offered £50 but the owner (a Greek called Soteris at Medinet el Fayum) said he had paid £200 for it – which is absurd.[31] If you want to make an offer (£100 or £150 might get it) please let me know at once.[32]

Grenfell and Kelsey were not compelled to seek out Soteris because the dealer had left the roll with Askren for the men to examine.[33] This makes it difficult to pinpoint the date on which the viewing occurred; indeed, it may not have been confined to a single day.[34]

A little more than two weeks after Grenfell's letter, on 16 March, Kelsey, seeking assistance from William W. Bishop, the University of Michigan's librarian, in raising money for purchases of papyri, gave the

"gnostic roll" pride of place in his argument for funding. According to his description, it is "perfectly preserved", and he adds:

> It is just the kind of document that [Campbell] Bonner would delight in;[35] though several similar rolls are known, this does not appear to be a duplicate. The owner says that he paid £200 for it, and he wants £300, though I think he would take a more reasonable price.[36]

Still, Kelsey was less interested in the possession of manuscripts than in the rights of Michigan scholars like Bonner to publish them,[37] and when money was not forthcoming from his Detroit backers, magnates like John R. Russel,[38] he proposed to hand over all of his papyrological acquisitions to Mary Beecher Longyear's Zion Research Foundation at cost, with the stipulation that his colleagues be permitted to edit them.[39] In another communication pertaining to this proposition he added:

> If you are disposed to take for the Zion Research Foundation, [*sic*] the papyri which were offered to you, you might be pleased to consider the purchase of two additional items, which are probably availabelle, and fall directly within the field of the history of the Church in the ealrlier centuries.
>
> One is a papyrus roll of some 12 pages, admirably preserved, containing Gnostic formulae, and dating in the 4th Century A.D. It is in possession of a Banker [*sic*] in Fayum, who paid for it 200 Egyptian pounds. I believe that he would sell it for 250 Egyptian pounds, or about 1.000 Dollars [*sic*].[40] I saw the roll, because the banker sent it over for me to look at; it is very interesting as a bit of evidence. I was staying with a missionary friend [Askren], who is a friend of the Banker [*sic*]; I lately wriote asking whether the banker would be willing to part with the roll for a reasonable advance upon his purchase money.[41]

Longyear would decline Kelsey's proposal through her secretary on 23 July, leaving him to his own devices as regards the acquisition of the roll.[42] About a fortnight later, he received a letter from Askren (in "Alexandria on summer holiday") that included an update about the formulary:[43]

> Two of the Greeks who were formerly in Fayum have opened a pharmacy down near where I garage my car so I went to them to ask about the owner of the papyri and found he is in Alex so I made an appointment for him to meet me yesterday morning.
>
> I met him and found that he has the roll in Alex with him nbut he says he has not yet showed it to anyone.

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> I made him no offer whatever as I found that he thinks he has a small fortune tied up in it and he does not seem to be able to realize that it has no literary value; in fact candidly he places no credit on Grenfell's valuation.
>
> When I found he ~~w~~was still soaring in the clouds I thought it best not to arouse his cupidity by making him any offer whatever as I feel sure that he will bring it back to ~~F~~Fayum with him and then we ca~~h~~n deal with him more satisfactorily and he will probably be more reasonable.
>
> There is one or two other rolls loose in Fayum I am hoping to get a chance at as soon as the Compensation Board finish their allotments but just at present the rolls are among the articles lost during the troubles, you understand the Greeks well enough to know what I mean.[44]

Kelsey agreed with Askren's plan of attack. "You are quite right about the roll", he replied. "[I]t is best not to seem anxious to get it. In any case, please do not buy it outright, unless I send the money. Exchange is very uncertain at the present time".[45]

The waiting game continued into the autumn. In a letter written at the beginning of November, Askren reported:

> The big roll of Doteris [*sic*] is still with him and he failed to sell it last summer in Alex. or Cairo.[46]
>
> I am not trying to buy it as I do not believe he will be unable [*sic*] to sell it but I met him [the] other day at a house where I was called professionally and asked him about it and told him would give him L.E. 150 but he refused it.[47]

Kelsey's acknowledgement, written from London on 13 December, confirms his sustained interest:

> I am writing to the United S~~P~~tates to see if I can secure an appropriation for the Gnostic Roll. I dislike to pay such a high price, and on the other hand, the roll, although not so valuable as the material obtained from Nahman,[48] does represent an important class.[49]

Around this time Kelsey also mentioned the formulary as among "the odds and ends" still in Egypt "which are most important" in communications to William Westermann and A.S. Hunt.[50] The correspondence with Westermann adds the detail that Soteris had acquired the roll from an Arab, whom he had "paid more than he ought to have paid".

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Another report about the formulary was included in a letter sent by Askren on 13 December:

> The large roll is still here and several have priced it to him [Soteris] at prices much less than your offer so I am just letting him stew.[51]
>
> I think however if you are not coming out [to Egypt] and really want the roll that L.E. 200 will buy it later nearer the close of the season.[52]

Askren's closing paragraphs suggest a reason for his optimism regarding the price; these are "very hard times in Egypt", and in particular the "poor price of cotton" has everyone "so depressed … that they cant think of anything else", including political and social unrest of the sort that spring 1919 had witnessed.[53]

Soteris' financial situation, however, seems to have been worse than even Askren had imagined, for sometime around or shortly after the doctor had dispatched his report, Eitrem managed to acquire the roll. Askren relayed the bad news to Kelsey in letter penned on 18 January 1921:

> Now as to the large Gnostic roll.
>
> The Danish professor slipped in one night and bought it for L.E. 190.[54] I was very sorry when I heard of it but I feel sure that it was not worth so much money especially after the valuation Dr. Grenfell placed upon it.
>
> I regret I did not push the sale harder but as I knew you had not arranged the money I felt it was not as important as other documents that the same money would purchase.[55]

The price that Askren reports differs significantly (by L.E. 25) from that presented by Eitrem in his *Aftenposten* account. Since Askren is clearly trying to save face with his friend (and, increasingly, benefactor) Kelsey,[56] probably more stock should be put in Eitrem's figure, though it is not out of the question that Eitrem wanted to portray himself as getting a better bargain – L.E. 10 perhaps seemed too paltry a discount. Of course all of this assumes that Askren recollected (or was told) the sales price accurately.[57]

Kelsey, in any case, put a positive spin on his reverse. Writing, 5 February, in response to Askren's news – and going so far as to call Askren's letter a "pleasure to have"[58] – he stated:

> The point in regard to the gnostic roll is this: I suppose if it had been held after a time I might have paid about £ 200 for it. At the same time I am glad that the matter was adjusted as it was, because I hope to continue purchasing

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> manuscripts and papyri and it spoils the market if one pays too much for a single item of this kind. I should gladly have paid £100 last year, but was deterred from closing the matter up for the reason that it really was better to let a thing of this sort go than to put the prices of all such material at so high a figure that one does not feel like purchasing.[59] I should like to know who the Danish Professor was that obtained the roll, if you can find out. I take it that he is an occasional visitor;[60] on the other hand I should like to be in a position to have the first chance of any good material that you or your friends or Nauhman may get on the trakck of.[61]

In the event, Kelsey would come to know the identity of the "Danish professor", though whether this was through Askren is unclear. Eitrem himself eventually contacted Kelsey, sending him a copy of *P.Oslo* I as well as other publications.[62] Kelsey thanked Eitrem for these in a letter dated 27 August 1925, adding:

> I have read with unusual interest the monograph, Fasc. I. The papyrus No. 1 was offered to me in the Fayoum in 1920. The price asked was two hundred pounds, and I refused to pay more than one hundred pounds. Professor Bernard Grenfell and I visited the Fayoum together, and he thought my offer was as high as I ought to go, for the reason that we were both purchasing papyri and if we had paid so high a price at the time it would have raised the offerings of papyri generally to a high figure; for word of such purchases travels rapidly, and often with exageration [*sic*].
>
> I am exceedingly glad that this papyrus came into your hands, and you have published it more promptly than would have been possible here, where the papyrus containing the Minor Prhophets and the fragments of Hermas and the Archive from Tebtunis must take precedence in publication.[63]

This passes muster for courtesy – one would expect nothing less from Kelsey – but he compresses the narrative of his involvement with the roll (rendering it misleading), and the hint of "sour grapes" is unmistakable. Perhaps understandably: The Minor Prophets codex, the Shepherd of Hermas, and Tebtunis *grapheion* archive would become major Michigan contributions to scholarship (the last two of them also being key acquisitions for the growing collection in Ann Arbor),[64] but Kelsey himself had admitted that the Oslo formulary was "the finest piece of papyrus writing I ever saw".[65] And it was the one that got away.[66]

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Part II: notes on Oslo magical texts

During a recent visit to the University of Oslo, I had the opportunity to inspect four texts, three papyri and an ostrakon, in the collection of the University Library.[67] Each has previously appeared in the series *Papyri Osloenses* (*P.Oslo*) and been reprinted in the corpus *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (*Pap.Graec.Mag.*).[68] I offer here the results of my study, which has yielded some new readings and observations on the physical disposition of the papyri; images are available for consultation through the OPES portal (<http://ub-fmserver.uio.no/home.php>). The observations on each text (*P.Oslo* I 1 = *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI; *P.Oslo* I 4 = *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXIX; *P.Oslo* I 5 = *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P 3; *P.Oslo* II 15 = *Pap.Graec.Mag.* O 2) are presented in separate sections below.[69]

(I)

P.Oslo I 1 (P.Oslo inv. 420), the well-known magical formulary in book-roll format, was purchased by Samson Eitrem and inaugurated the series *P.Oslo* in 1925.[70] The commentary accompanying Eitrem's editio princeps of the piece, a detailed explication of "these interesting relics of degenerate religions and of the human mind gone astray" and the headpiece of *P. Oslo* I, is worth quoting in part:

> That fine paper such as we find in our papyrus could be used in such an extravagant and pretentious way sufficiently shows how popular this special form of magic had grown amongst well-to-do people. It certainly throws a sidelight on the interesting chapter of the history of morals in those days.[71]

This interest continues to flourish. Eitrem's edition was reprinted by Karl Preisendanz in the corpus *Pap.Graec.Mag.*,[72] with substantial improvements to the text combining the contributions of other scholars in the intervening years with his own work. Other emendations, through 1994, are collected by William Brashear along with bibliography on more general discussions.[73] I add a few of my own below. The ed. pr. remains valuable because, besides its detailed commentary, it accounts better for lectional signs (printed in the main text) than the *Pap.Graec. Mag.* version. But even this account is incomplete: the apostrophe in particular is neglected, its use being signalled only in general terms in the

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introduction.[74] I note those lectional signs, and scribal corrections, omitted by the ed. pr. along with my new readings.

But first I wish to turn to the "fine paper", on which the disposition of the writing is remarkable in several respects. The text, in fact a collection of some 19 recipes for magical practices, is written in a single hand on front and back of a premade bookroll, which has survived virtually intact. It begins on the recto, where the first 13 recipes are arranged in 12 columns, each afforded its own column except in col. xi, which contains two recipes separated by a paragraphos (below line 263).

Unusually, the first column is on the protocol (against the fibres), while the rest of the text on the recto is along the fibres. With respect to the 13 kolleseis visible on the recto,[75] the scribe in general sought to bound the columns within the kolleseis; otherwise the width of the columns varies widely.[76] Both circumstances stand in marked contrast to scribal practice observed in literary bookrolls,[77] and mark the Oslo roll as an eccentric product. The kollesis-justification holds good in the first three columns, but the extra width of col. iv, at bottom right, disrupts the pattern. The unusually large space between coll. xi and xii can be accounted for by this same tendency: col. xi goes over the right bounding kollesis slightly, and the scribe elects to start the next column at a new left bounding kollesis. In two cases, the scribe has added vertical lines to separate columns.[78]

Another unusual feature appears on the verso of the roll. There the scribe has added six more recipes. There is a short sequence of text on the protocol, along the fibres: a magical *logos* in a single line (282) and faint traces of another line of writing just above it, not previously noted.[79] But for the rest of the text on the verso, the scribe has rotated the roll 90° clockwise, and, beginning c. 9.5 cm below the protocol-join, written along the fibres in a single wide column, a method for which I can find no parallels in Greek papyri.[80] The motivation may simply be a preference for writing with the fibres, on aesthetic or practical grounds (i.e. as line-guides). Each of the six recipes is closed by a paragraphos with a left terminus curved into the left margin;[81] there is a plain horizontal line above the first recipe (283).

Here follow my notes on the text, following the line numbers of ed. pr., combining a record of lectional signs and scribal corrections not noted in ed. pr. with suggestions for new readings (marked by →):

Col. i 9 αονκον: ν² overwritten.
Col. ii 44 αγ'γελοι pap.
Col. iii 69 βελ'τιστον pap.
74 πιτ'τακιον pap.
Col. iv 106 γενάμενος: ν corr. from γ.
112 τυγ'χανουσαν pap.
Col. v 138 ἀνάλεσθαι: ι overwritten.
140 ᾧα: α corr. from θ.
146 δαίμονες: ο corr. from ω.
148 τυγ'χανουσαν pap.
152 ϊνα pap.
154 τεταγ'μενους pap.
159 αλλουδανε[..]ρανου. – φυλακτήριον περιπόη ed. pr. (cf. app. cr.) → ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φυλακτήριον περιπόη (l. περιποιῴη), "but not even a phylactery from heaven would save [you]". Letters that ed. pr. considered lost are clear even without microscopy. The form ποιῴη is noted as a *koine* by-form for Attic ποιοίη in the lexicon of Moeris π 74 s.v. (ed. Hansen 1998) and confirmed by Philodemus *Περὶ μουσικῆς* 4, fr. 152.19 (ed. Delattre 2007). The reason for the omission of οι is unclear, but cf. the note below on θεώσας for θειώσας in line 267, with omission of what probably constitutes the same /i/ phoneme in Greek of this period; the η may represent a correction overwriting an original ι. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* prints ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φυλακτήριον περὶ πᾶν, giving the reading of the papyrus in the first part as αλλουδανεξορανου [*sic*]. Col. vi 167 ϊναν pap. The horizontal ligature from the σ of the preceding word has a diagonal strike-through, perhaps to mark word-division.
172 κατ'τιηλ pap.
176 αγ'γελοι pap.
177 πραγ'ματος pap.
Col. vii 179 μονοῳθουν ed. pr. → μονοπέουν (l. μονόπουν), "one-footed". The figure that appears at the bottom of this column (vii) has of course more than one foot, but note the shackle-like band between its legs; there are other disparities between the prescribed drawings and those that actually accompany the text, cf. the app. cr. of *Pap.Graec.Mag.* on this line. The ε is somewhat faded but not intentionally obliterated. The form may represent conflation between πούς and πέδη, "fetter", especially in light of the drawing, but phonological confusion cannot be ruled out, cf. οετος for οὗτος in 247 and Gignac (1976–1981, 1:216) on interchange of ου and ευ.

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182 ϊερακες pap.
182, 183 ϋπο pap.
Col. ix 223 ϋγιαν pap.
Col. x 232 ϋποκιμενα pap.
246 αγ'γελοι pap.

Col. xi 258 {γ}ῥῖψον ed. pr. → [[γ]] ῥῖψον. The γ is cancelled with a diagonal stroke. The scribe's confusion was perhaps occasioned by γρ(άφε) above in 257.

267 I can confirm the reading of ed. pr. καὶ ἅμα θεώσας εἰς τοῖχον καθαρόν. This is a supralinear insertion, to be read between εἰς πιττάκιον καθαρόν and εἰς ἀνατολήν in 268: hence it would have been better to delete line 267 and simply print line 268 as εἰς πιττάκιον καθαρὸν \καὶ ἅμα θεώσας εἰς τοῖχον καθαρὸν/ εἰς ἀνατολήν, "[write it] on a clean sheet, at the same time fumigating it with sulfur against a clean wall, facing east". *Pace* Preisendanz et al. (see *Pap.Graec.Mag.* app. cr.), θεωσας is inevitable; ed. pr. leaves it untranslated and unexplained in the commentary. I think that most likely we have a reference to fumigation with sulphur (so l. θειώσας, or simply understand θεώσας as a form of θεόω, an alternate to θειόω, cf. *LSJ* s.v. θεόω II). For the use of sulphur, cf. the ἀγωγὴ ἔνπυρον ἐπὶ θείου ἀπύρου in 295–311.

Col. xii 276 δημονϊοπληκτους pap.

Verso
282a om. edd. The very faint traces can be tentatively resolved as ιιιια *vac.* ǫǫǫ, but it may be that they were intentionally washed out or accidentally applied as offsets from another text against which the papyrus once rested.
294 μονου // pap.
318 αρχεφρενεψου // φιριγχ pap. The diagonal punctuation strokes are smaller than they appear elsewhere, but still present.
322, 325 ϊνα pap.
328 ἀπομύσης (l. ἀπομύξεις) ed. pr. → ἀπομούσης (l. ἀπομύξεις). *Pap.Graec. Mag.* gives the reading of the papyrus as απομǫυης [*sic*]. On the interchange of υ and ου see Gignac (1976–1981, 1:214–215); according to id. 1:141n3 the interchange of ξ and σ is not paralleled in contemporary papyri.
339 ϊσιδος pap.
340–341 οὕτως ϙᾳ̣ὶ [σὺ καύ]|σης ed. pr. → οὕτως κᾳ̣ύ|σης. The writing in 340 does not seem to continue after what is read here as υ², though there is stripping

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of the papyrus in the right margin and a form of the compound κατακαίω, as Anastasia Maravela suggests to me, cannot be excluded.

345 αναγ'κης pap.

349 ϊθιπεσκουθι pap.

354 ϋπαγε pap.

355 εισελθε: ε^2 is blotted, perhaps corr. from θ.

361 μονοημέρος: o^3 corr. from α.

362 ϋποκιμενα pap.

370 καταναγ'κης pap.

(II)

P.Oslo I 4 (P.Oslo inv. 434) is an instance of applied magic, the inscription of text and image on papyrus to create an activated object. It clearly served a ritual to inflict sexual desire (ἔρως) on a male target for the benefit of a female user, specifically to draw him to her (an ἀγωγή).[82] The papyrus is part of a lot of papyri purchased in 1923 in the Fayum region of Egypt (the ancient Arsinoite nome).[83] The editio princeps was again done by Eitrem and reprinted in *Pap.Graec.Mag.*[84]

Beginning again with the physical disposition of the papyrus, I note that the text on the front is written in brown ink along the fibres, accompanied by a drawing of two figures, one holding a knife and severed head, the other, apparently the Egyptian god Bes, sticking out its tongue, which is coloured red. The back is blank but for exiguous traces probably from a washed-out text. There is a kollesis on the front, c. 1 cm from the right edge. Five vertical lines of cracking in the papyrus suggest the manner in which it was folded up, probably for deposition as part of the ritual: the sheet was folded inwards from both left and right, twice on each side, then once more along the vertical to yield a compact packet.

Next I present new readings and an account of lectional signs omitted by ed. pr.:

18 στυκίων ed. pr. → στυχίων (l. στοιχείων). The letter read as κ in ed. pr. has a prominent leftward bend to its lower leg, which is not consistent with the form of κ anywhere else in the text: the vertical may be slanted to the left, and its top may curl to the left, but not the bottom. Similarly in lines 19–20 (see below).

19 ϊκοσι τεσσερα pap.

19–20 στυκί|ων ed. pr. → στυχί|ων (l. στοιχεί|ων). See line 18 above.

20 ϊνα pap.

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20–21: the reading Τα|επις already attributed to the suggestion of Leiv Amundsen in the ed. pr. (Ṭạepις, only in app. cr.), is secure. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* prints [Τα]|αῖπις.

(III)

P.Oslo I 5 (P.Oslo inv. 303) is also an example of applied magic, a protective amulet for a house. No information on its provenance is recorded; Eitrem again produced the first edition, which was reprinted in *Pap. Graec.Mag.*[85]

The text is written against the fibres, and the papyrus is generally well preserved, though close examination reveals an interesting case of modern "repair". A tear runs vertically along the full length, such that the piece was torn in two. It has been mended, surely by a modern dealer, by pasting scraps from another papyrus on the back, which is otherwise blank. Five separate patches appear along the tear, each with traces of ink in an early Byzantine cursive hand. On the most legible can be read]ρυ[. The re-join is fair but not perfect: the right edge is c. 1 mm higher than it should be to align with the left edge, as seen in particular in the second κ in κακοῦ (line 4). Other purchased pieces in the Oslo collection show less successful applications of a similar method: e.g. P.Oslo inv. 1545, catalogued as "literary prose … wrongly glued together by the native papyrus dealer", and inv. 1423, "fragments of a document, wrongly glued together by one of the fellahin or Egyptian dealers".[86]

I next present one new reading and several observations on lectional signs:

2 ϊαω pap.

2 αδωναι: $α^{1}$ overwritten.

6 ὄφεως διά ed. pr. → ὄφεως \κ(αὶ) κυ̣ν̣[ὸς]/ διά. The supralinear addition expands the series of noxious creatures against whose bites the amulet protects into a tricolon: scorpion, snake, and dog.

7 ὐψιστου pap.

7: Daniel (1977, 151–153) reads γ̣α̣ιας μελι ζ̣ ξορο ωρο ααααααα with commentary and reference to the parallel text P.Pal.Rib. inv. 126. The resolution of ξορο ωρο is an improvement, but the ink to the right of the ζ is not a numeral stroke, but rather the descender from the final υ in σκορπίου, as appears also in the υ

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of κακοῦ in line 4.

8 υἱε pap.

10: the scribe changes styles and adopts a markedly angular and serifed script in the writing of the second α and ω, approximating a type familiar from monumental stone inscriptions. The sixth-century Christian amulet P.Köln inv. 521a (ed. Wortmann 1968, 106) has alphas of a similar lapidary style: there is no photograph in ed. pr., but this feature can be observed on the fine digital image made available online by the Köln Papyrussammlung. On the more general use of such forms outside of stone inscriptions, probably for "monumental effect", see the introduction of P.J. Parsons to *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4670, a fourth-century notice which features a similar alpha with broken cross-bar. The omega as it now stands here is distorted by the imperfect rejoining of the two halves of the papyrus; below I present a reconstructed drawing with the necessary shift of the right half c. 1 mm downward, beside a tracing of the intact alpha:



On the script compare the "Memorial of Theodorus" inscription from Petrie's tomb 46 at Oxyrhynchus (Petrie et al. 1925, 12–18; repr. in Bowman et al. 2007, 50–69, with photograph p. 69, fig. 5.13.3); ed. pr. Bingen (1980, 319), dated to the fifth or sixth century AD (*SEG* XXX 1748).

In this line appear also three crosses in three different styles, which can plausibly be read as a transformation from left to right. First, a simple form of two intersecting lines; second, the same with an expanded upper terminus bulging to the right, reminiscent of the christogram but without the addition of the "chi"; third, the same rounded upper terminus, now centred, with the other three termini expanded into wedges, and a gap left in the middle. The second form recalls the Egyptian ankh, and the third, a blending of the latter with the so-called Latin cross. On the forms in inscriptions from Egypt cf. Lefebvre (1907, xxxiii–xxxiv).

(IV)

P.Oslo II 15 (P.Oslo inv. 570) is an ostrakon, and like *P.Oslo* I 3 an instance of erotic magic applied by a man upon a married woman. It was purchased

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from Ali Mahmud in Behnasa (ancient Oxyrhynchus) on 25 April 1928, first edited by L. Amundsen,[87] revised by Eitrem for inclusion in *P.Oslo*, and reprinted in *Pap.Graec.Mag.*[88] The ed. pr. of Amundsen remains useful for its description of the physical disposition of the artefact. The sherd is from the shoulder and rim of a bowl, and as described in all previous editions, the writing begins on the convex side and continues on the concave. I note that the five lines of the concave side are virtually centred, leaving extensive margins above and below, in contrast to the convex side, where the text begins at the very top and fills nearly the entire surface down to the bottom. An alternate ordering of the text is worth considering, however, in which the concave side text is in fact to be read first. This order is suggested by the fact that the text on the concave side consists of a request in connected Greek prose (that the female target be made so dissatisfied with her husband that she leaves home), and the text on the convex side begins with 26½ lines of vowels and other un-syntactical magic *logoi* before proceeding to a related request in connected Greek (that the target be inflamed with erotic passion, surely for the user, until she leaves home). That is, a request is followed by *logoi* and then recapitulated with a different modus operandi.

Finally I present a new reading based on inspection of the original. I can also confirm the absence of any lectional signs.

> 35 ἀσίτῳ ed. pr. → ἀ̣ησσίτῳ (l. ἀησσήτῳ). The exact division of the traces among the first three letters of the proposed reading is somewhat uncertain. There is plainly too much space to the left at the beginning of this line for the reading of ed. pr., which would place only a single letter before the sigma. The scribe consistently begins each line at the far left edge, and indeed here the ink continues all the way to the left. The vowel interchange is widely paralleled (Gignac 1976–1981, 1:235–239); the new epithet is unparalleled in the *Pap. Graec.Mag.* and *Suppl.Mag.* corpora, but then so is ἄσιτος, and Eitrem in the commentary to his *P.Oslo* edition acknowledges the lack of evidence anywhere else for the seemingly required sense "causing ἀσιτία" (now see further Adrados 1991, s.v.). It seems better to understand all three privative compounds in this portion of the text (33–36) in a neutral or passive rather than causative sense, referring to the infliction of a sickness (νόσος) that is ἀκατάπαυστος ("incessant"), ἀήσσητος ("insuperable"), and ἀσύνετος ("incomprehensible", i.e. to the victim). For the application of ἀήσσητος to νόσος cf. Gr. Naz. *Ep.* 142.1 ἀλλ' ἡ νόσος ἀήττητος; Jo. Mal. *Chron.* 10.12 τὴν ἀήττητόν μου νόσον.

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Notes

1. Eitrem (1925). Hereafter: *P.Oslo* I.
2. *P.Oslo* I, [p. 3]. Eitrem's successful funding applications to the University [of Oslo] Jubilee Fund of 1911 (Universitetets Jubileumsfond av 1911) are documented in the protocol of the Jubilee Fund (Riksarkivet, Universitetet i Oslo, Kollegiet, Ffd Universitetets jubileumsfond av 1911, Forhandlingsprotokoll, 1913–1933, meeting 3 November 1917, p. 50, no. 10, and meeting 9 November 1918, p. 60, no. 11) and by two letters of notification, dated November 1917 and 18 November 1918, respectively. The first letter is in the Riksarkivet (Riksarkivet, Universitetet i Oslo, Kollegiet, Ffd Universitetets jubileumsfond av 1911, Kopibok 1913–1954, p. 203), while the other is in the archive of the Papyrus Collection of the University of Oslo Library. These grant him 2400 Norwegian kroner, payable in two instalments, "for the purchase of Greek papyrus documents during a possible trip to Egypt". Eitrem's application to the Nansen Fund was submitted 17 January 1921 and was entered in the journal (Riksarkivet, Pa 683, Nansenfondet, C-Journaler 1897–1924, journal no. 1255) with the following note: "He applies to cover expenses incurred in connection with the purchase of papyri in Egypt. Earlier he received 1500 Norwegian kroner as an advance. It appears from the paperwork submitted that his expenses amount to 2300 kroner". The total amount at Eitrem's disposal was thus 4700 Norwegian kroner (approximately $700; cf. n. 6 below). The University's Jubilee Fund of 1911 was initiated by a subscription that brought in 700,000 Norwegian kroner. Its aim is to support the work of the University in areas other than those that are covered by state funding. The Fridtjof Nansen Fund for the Promotion of Science (Fridtjof Nansens fond til videnskabens fremme) was started, also by subscription, in 1897 (in the aftermath of Nansen's Fram expedition) in close collaboration with the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters. Its aim is to promote research through grants and prizes for research excellence.
3. *P.Oslo* I, p. 31.
4. Yet even the Norwegian text has not been reprinted frequently; the excerpts quoted by Haaland (1986, 142; 2011, 137) are recent instances.
5. Might this restaurant have been in the "very fair hotel, the Grand Hotel Karoun (kept by a Greek, but distinctly better than most of its kind), in Medina" [the capital of the Fayum]? The description is that of Francis (1912, 157); note also Baedeker (1914, 191), where the "landlord" is identified as Athanase Tasco. B.P. Grenfell (on whom see further below) had recommended that his American visitor E.J. Goodspeed lunch at the "Hotel Karoon" some two decades earlier (letter dated 5 December 1899, E.J. Goodspeed papers, box 4, folder 9, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library).
6. The Egyptian pound had an average exchange rate of $3.758 in 1920 and $3.948 in 1921; see U.S. Department of Commerce (1926, 642). For the Norwegian krone, these values were $.1653 and $.1491, respectively (U.S. Department of Commerce 1926, 696).

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7. Venizelos: considered by many to be the father of the Greek nation; recently prime minister, he had fallen from power in the November 1920 elections. See further Kitromilides (2006). Oseberg ship: a signal find from the Viking age (constructed ca. 820, it was employed for two female burials in 834). It had been excavated in 1904. The results of the excavation have been published in Brøgger, Falck, and Shetelig (1917–1928) (for the datings given above, see Bonde (1997)). For the fourth century date, "say in the first half of that century", that Eitrem assigned to the "black book", see *P.Oslo* I, p. 31.
8. Cf. U.K. Board of Trade (1921), which notes (at p. 696):

> If ever the overworked word "phenomenal" were legitimately employed it would be in dealing with the events in Egypt of 1920–21. There has been in the economic history of this ancient country, so far as we know it, nothing to compare with the fluctuations in the staple industry of cotton production and the embarrassments which these fluctuations have caused.

9. Kristiania: Oslo's name before it was changed in 1925.
10. See n. 5 above.
11. See Pedley (2012, 254–257) (255 cited).
12. Kelsey had introduced himself to Askren, among whose patients were farmers who had handled the Hamuli Coptic manuscripts acquired by J.P. Morgan, on board the liner *S. S. Canopic* during a transatlantic voyage in 1915. The two men, eventually close friends, came to an arrangement before they disembarked. Askren describes it to Kelsey as follows:

> In view of your interest in the discovery of manuscripts in this region [the Fayum] I will make inquiry from time to time of the Fellahin [*sic*] who come to me as patients and if I can get track of any manuscripts now in hiding or hereafter discovered I will try to get possession of them, and hold them till I can send you an account of them with photographs or one or more sample pages and this I will do with the understanding that if you desire the manuscripts you will come or send for them within a reasonable period, making a price which shall bear a fair relation to the price which I shall have to pay the Fellahin [*sic*]. (Typed letter dated 11 February 1915 and bearing the heading "Steamship 'CANOPIC'", box 82, folder 2, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology [hereafter KMA] Papers, Francis Willey Kelsey [hereafter FWK] subgroup, Bentley Historical Library [hereafter BHL], University of Michigan [hereafter UM]).

For the agreement from Kelsey's perspective, cf. Pedley (2012, 236).

13. Longyear: a devotee of Christian Science (she would eventually establish a museum dedicated to the religion and its foundress Mary Baker Eddy) and an exponent of British Israelism (she sent Kelsey a copy of the *Watchman of Israel*, a periodical of the movement, to which she had contributed an article). She was the wife of mining and timber magnate John Munro Longyear. Cf. Longyear Museum (2014).
14. For Nahman, see Bierbrier (2012, 397). Kelsey had become acquainted with him through his work on behalf of the industrialist and collector Charles Lang Freer;

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cf. Pedley (2012, 235–236). A study of Nahman's career as a dealer of papyri is currently in preparation by Hickey.

15. Letter (annotated "file copy"), 5 July 1920, box 21, folder 11, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM.
16. For Grenfell, see Lehnus (2007, esp. 115–120).
17. See British Library, Add MS 59511, f. 95 (Idris Bell Papers).
18. Cf. Pintaudi (2012, 253–254): "I leave Marseilles for Alexandria on the 'Assaye', an ambulance transport, on Jan. 14, and shall spend a couple of months at Helouan (c/o Miss James, Carton House) working at Oxyrhynchus papyri in the Museum". Note also Grenfell's letter to Henry Guppy (John Rylands Library), 24 February 1920:

    > I reached Egypt a month ago, and have been very long working at the Museum. I have also now started the dealers … thoroughly. There are a good many papyri around, owing to accumulations during the war, but prices of antiquities are high like those of everything else in this country, and papyri in particular by all accounts have gone up in value considerably since I was here 12 years ago. (We thank Roberta Mazza for sharing her transcription of this document.)

19. The identity of the dealer is revealed in Kelsey's detailed diary, 6 March 1920, box 4, FWK Papers, BHL, UM. The English pound had an average exchange rate of $3.664 in 1920 and $3.849 in 1921 (see U.S. Department of Commerce 1926, 735), slightly lower than the Egyptian pound (which was essentially fixed at £1.026 during the period in question; cf. Bresciani-Turroni (1934, 374–376)).
20. British Library, Add MS 59511, ff. 95–96.
21. British Library, Add MS 59511, f. 96. Grenfell would seem to be confused about ʿAlī al-ʿArabī, who was not the lead dealer in the main Hamuli purchase (1911); see Depuydt (1993, 1:lvii–lxi), and note also Askren's letter cited above (n. 12), in which ʿAlī plays a secondary rôle to Nahman. Morgan did purchase 12 Hamuli leaves from ʿAlī through the Copticist Henri Hyvernat in February 1912 (Depuydt 1993, 1:lxix–lxxii).
22. Cf. Pedley (2012, 270).
23. Kelsey diary (n. 19), 17 February.
24. Kelsey diary (n. 19), 18 February.
25. In 1918, the ancient historian William Linn Westermann, then at Wisconsin, and Kelsey had exchanged letters concerning the acquisition of papyri for Westermann's institution. On the day after Kelsey and Grenfell made their first (joint) visit to Nahman's, Kelsey wrote a letter to Westermann that began, "I was yesterday pleasantly reminded of you and our correspondence in regard to papyri. Mr. Grenfell and myself had an appointment with the leading collector here, and were surprised at what we found". Before the end of March, Westermann would be sending money to Kelsey. (See box 35, folder 9, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM, for all of this correspondence and related documentation.) Grenfell bought on behalf of both the British Museum and the Rylands Library.
26. British Library, Add MS 59511, f. 113.

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27. Letter to Mary Beecher Longyear, 5 July 1920, box 21, folder 7, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM.
28. Grenfell and Kelsey's collaboration is discussed thoroughly in the introduction to Hickey's forthcoming volume of London papyri, which presents editions of texts that came to the British Museum in 1920 through Grenfell.
29. Box 15, folder 3, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM, contains documents concerning the Fayum (and other) acquisitions. A "Memorandum of papyri purchased by Prof F. W. Kelsey and B.P.G.", written in Grenfell's hand, indicates that L.E. 151 was the actual sum spent in the Fayum. The eighty-pound lot, described as "mostly well preserved", was acquired from Andrea Girgis on 26 February. In Grenfell's tally of papyri Girgis' material is lumped together with a six-pound lot from Ayyub ("well preserved"); altogether the two lots had 54 pieces, of which 43 were distributed to Kelsey. Kelsey's diary (n. 19), 27 February, records the dealer as Andrious Girgis and the number of "specimens" as "about 80". Grenfell does not distinguish between English and Egyptian pounds, presumably because their values were fixed at almost 1:1 (see n. 19 above).
30. The tens and units digits of the amount spent by Grenfell are corrected (the tens from "5"; the units digit may have originally been "2"). Grenfell apparently wrote a comma before adding the closing parenthesis, which is followed by two short marks – one horizontal at the base of the line, the other beneath it, and vertical – of an indeterminate nature.
31. The dealer's name was Σωτήρης; presumably this was his first name, not a deformation of his surname. In a letter to W.W. Bishop (University Librarian), 1 June 1921, box 1, folder 8, KMA Papers, Campbell Bonner subgroup, BHL, UM, Kelsey reports that he himself had offered L.E. 60 in the wake of the inspection.
32. British Library, Add MS 59511, f. 108. Hickey thanks Nick Gonis for discussing this letter with him and sharing his transcription and Cillian O'Hogan for sending a colour image of the document.
33. Kelsey, letter to W.W. Bishop (cited in n. 31). Girgis' papyri (n. 29) had also been left with Askren for inspection (Kelsey diary [n. 19], 27 February).
34. Kelsey's diary (n. 19) indicates that 27 February was "wholly devoted to the examination and purchase of papyri" and that they "finished work with papyri" on the 28th (see entry for 29 February).
35. For Bonner, whose interests included ancient magic, see, e.g., Nock (1955).
36. Box 83, folder 1, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM.
37. In this regard, Kelsey's arrangement with Charles Freer to publish Freer's manuscripts in the Humanistic Series is paradigmatic. Kelsey would in fact approach the executors of the Freer estate *per litteras* proposing "purchase of Gnostic scroll in Fayoum, for which 300 £.E. is asked" (diary [n. 19], 27 March 1920; we thank Michael Zellmann-Rohrer for bringing this entry to our attention).
38. For Russel, cf. "John R. Russel Dies: A Leader in Detroit Industrial and Financial Circles," *New York Times*, 3 April 1932.
39. Letter (from Rome) dated 5 July 1920, box 21, folder 7, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM. Kelsey was so forward that he included a contract ("[i]n view of the fact that, quite frankly, you will probably want them").

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40. In his 1921 letter to Bishop (n. 31), Kelsey reports that "the banker believed that ~~un~~ltimately he would get £ 225".
41. Letter from Paris ("here in Paris"), dated 12 June 1920, same folder as item in preceding note. The date must be erroneous because Kelsey did not reach Paris until 8 July (so his diary [n. 19]); moreover, the content of this letter suggests that it postdates the one sent on 5 July. In this regard, note Kelsey's diary for 12 July, which mentions a letter dictated for "Mrs. J. M. Longyear, about Gnostic roll in Fayoum & Greek-Coptic parchment offered by [the Copticist Henri] Hyvernat". The dictation could have led to an error in the month. The other purchase proposed to Longyear in the "12 June" letter was "a bilingual fragment in Greek and Coptic" that otherwise will go to the library of Mr. Pierpoint [*sic*] Morgan in New York". This may have been part of *P.MorganLib.* 263.
42. Same folder as preceding item.
43. Letter from Kelsey to Askren, 6 August 1920: "I make haste to acknowledge receipt of your ~~w~~very welcome letter of July 20" (box 82, folder 4, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM).
44. Letter dated 20 July, same folder as preceding note. Askren's mention of "the troubles" is no doubt a reference to the Egyptian revolt of 1919; cf. Goldberg (1992, esp. 272) and Schulze (1991, esp. 188–197).
45. Same item as that in n. 43. "Exchange": See the discussion in Tsiang (1959).
46. The reading "Doteris" is uncertain. The first letter of the name is not an exact match for any other capital in the sample of Askren's handwriting that we have examined. "D" seems the closest fit, but if it is correct, it appears to have been overwritten. "S" seems impossible.
47. Letter dated 1 November, same folder as n. 43. Kelsey's letter to Bishop (n. 31) seems contradictory: "Dr. Askren was watching the case, in order to offer one hundred pounds for me at the ~~ph~~sychological moment". Note also Kelsey's 5 February 1921 letter to Askren, quoted in the main text below.
48. Nahman had furnished most of the newly acquired Michigan papyri, including an astrological treatise (inv. 1) and substantial remains of a roll with *Iliad* Σ (inv. 2).
49. Item in same folder as that in n. 43.
50. The quoted words are from the letter to Westermann (cf. n. 25), 8 December 1920 (box 35, folder 9, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM). We have not been able to locate an original copy of the letter to Hunt (for whom see the article cited in n. 16). This was sent 10 December 1920 and is preserved through a typewritten transcript in box 81, folder 1, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup.
51. "Your offer": Presumably Askren means the L.E. 150 mentioned in his 1 November letter, not the offer of L.E. 50–60 that was made in the spring. Cf. also n. 47.
52. Item in same folder as that in n. 43.
53. Askren does, however, note an increase in crimes like "burglaries and highway robberies".
54. "L.E." has been squeezed in between "for" and "190".
55. Item in same folder as that in n. 43.

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56. In brief, Askren's avocation ("archaeology" in a loose sense) came to eclipse his vocation (medicine), a transformation that simply would have not been possible absent Kelsey. Kelsey furthermore arranged funding for the education of Askren's sons in America; see Pedley (2012, 305, n. 22, 352, 382).
57. Note also that Kelsey's letter to Bishop (n. 31), reports the sale price as "one hundred and eighty nine pounds".
58. Askren's four-page letter had admittedly addressed other matters, but the roll's prominence for Kelsey is telegraphed by the fact that he broaches it immediately after his "upbeat" greeting.
59. Handwringing about "spoiling the market" is commonplace in the writings of papyrologists of this era. Americans themselves could be considered the problem; Hunt would declare to Bell in May 1930, "The American combination of wealth and ignorance has spoilt the market, and as long as they will go on paying inflated prices the dealers will ask them" (British Library, Add MS 59512, f. 202).
60. Kelsey's query is illuminated by a remark in his letter to Bishop (n. 31): "During the past winter Italy has been full of Danes and Swedes who got rich during the war". Eitrem, however, journeyed to Egypt on more than one occasion: His first visit was in 1910 (when he bought his own small collection of papyri); after 1920 he paid the country a final visit in 1936, again with the mission of purchasing papyri for the University of Oslo Library.
61. Item in same folder as that in n. 43.
62. According to Kelsey's letter of acknowledgement (ref. in n. 63):

> [a] reprint on the Magical Papyrus B. M. CXXI [*JEA* 11 (1925) 80–83] and the Symbolae Osloenses [presumably vol. 3 of 1925, in which Eitrem himself has an article on *lekythoi;* G. Rudberg, an edition of an Iliadic fragment from the Oslo collection; and Karl Schmidt, an article with textual remarks on magical papyri] and Varia [a series of articles with this title encompassing Eitrem's textual remarks on and interpretations of Greek and Latin passages].

63. Kelsey's letter: box 83, folder 7, KMA Papers, FWK subgroup, BHL, UM. Kelsey logged the letter in his diary (box 4, FWK Papers, BHL, UM): "S. Eitrem, magical papyrus purchased in the Fayoum, with request to send copies [of *P.Oslo* I] to [the Michigan Copticist William H.] Worrell, Bonner, Askren".
64. See Sanders and Schmidt (1927), Bonner (1934), Boak (1933), and Husselman, Boak, and Edgerton (1944).
65. Letter to Bishop (n. 31).
66. Kelsey states to Bishop (ref. in n. 31), "This is the only firstrate [*sic*] papyrus that I know of that has recently left Egypt without coming in our direction". Later the Oslo and Michigan collections would twice purchase papyri in partnership: in 1923, as part of a "Papyruskartell" in which they combined funds with the British Museum and Columbia University; and in 1928, when the same institutions, with the addition of Princeton University, again bought papyri. In both cases, the papyri were divided among the participating institutions by Idris Bell of the British Museum, who compiled the relevant inventory lists. Kelsey himself permitted

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Leiv Amundsen to participate in the Michigan excavations at Karanis during the 1927–1928 and 1928–1929 seasons and also entrusted him with the publication of some ostraka in the Michigan collection (see Amundsen 1935).

67. I owe thanks to Federico Aurora for facilitating my access to the collection, to the Department of Classics at the University of Oslo for its warm hospitality, and to Todd Hickey and the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri for supporting my travel to Oslo. Anastasia Maravela kindly checked my proposed readings on the originals before publication; any remaining errors are my own responsibility.
68. For papyrological publications I use the abbreviations recommended in Oates et al. (2015). All references to *Pap.Graec.Mag.* are to the edition revised by A. Henrichs (1974), unless otherwise noted.
69. The four are included in the Leuven *Trismegistos Magic* database (<http://www.trismegistos.org/magic/index.php>), under the following numbers (respectively): 64479, 64481, 64592, 63587.
70. On the purchase, with further information on the provenance, see the preceding study by Todd Hickey and Anastasia Maravela.
71. *P.Oslo* I, p. 31.
72. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI, with additional corrections by A. Henrichs.
73. Brashear (1995, 3552–3553). See recently Bohak (2008, 202–206), specifically on Jewish influence in the incantation in lines 295–311.
74. On the use of the apostrophe in the papyri in general, which still awaits a thorough study, cf. Fournet (2004) and Gignac (1976–1981, 1:162–165).
75. At c. 21, 38.5, 57.5, 76, 94, 110.5, 129, 146.5, 164.5, 182.5, 200.5, and 218 cm from left edge; the precise location of the rightmost, thirteenth kollesis cannot be precisely determined due to surface damage.
76. Col. i: 17.5 cm; ii: 13–15 cm; iii: 13–17.5 cm; iv: 16–22.5 cm; v: 14.5–19 cm; vi: 13 cm; vii: 12 cm; viii: 10.5–14 cm; ix: 16–19.5 cm; x: 11.5–17 cm; xi: 11–14 cm; xii: 13 cm.
77. On disregard of kollesis joins in the manufactured roll in laying out columns, see Johnson (2004, 50–54); on uniformity of column and intercolumn width, see Johnson (2004, 88). Of the other *Pap.Graec.Mag.* texts which preserve significant portions of bookrolls: *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P I has five narrower columns of more regular width (c. 10 cm); *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P II, four wide columns (three at 30–32 cm, one at 22 cm); the best parallel is *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P III, 22 columns ranging from 8.5 to 25.5 cm wide; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII, 32 columns, keeps for the most part to a column width of 12–15 cm, with a few outliers; in *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XII (with Daniel 1991), the 13 Greek columns are between 18 and 20 cm except coll. 10 and 13 (16 and 11 cm, respectively).
78. Between coll. i and ii, from the top extending down c. 10 lines; and between coll. iv and v, from line 10 of col. iv to the bottom, curving to follow the protruding text in the lower right corner of col. iv.
79. See below, numbered here 282a. The extensive fading could suggest an erasure or even, as Anastasia Maravela suggests to me, a chance offset from a separate text against which the present roll once rested; the hands are very similar if not identical.

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80. *Pap.Graec.Mag*. P III and P VII are also opisthographic, but on the verso the text is arranged in columns similarly to the recto (but across the fibres). *Pap.Graec.Mag*. P XII is a case of re-use, on the back of an earlier demotic text; the verso is arranged in the usual series of narrower columns across the fibres.
81. Between lines 294 and 295; 311 and 312; 320 and 321; 332 and 333; 360 and 361; and after 371.
82. This time the commentary in ed. pr. is minimal; on the genre of text and ritual practice represented here, see Faraone (1999). Examples deployed by women on male targets are distinctly in the minority.
83. The purchase was made through H.I. Bell and the British Museum, for a total of 240 (presumably Egyptian) pounds; see also Eitrem's preface to *P.Oslo* II. On the partnership with Bell see the discussion of Hickey and Maravela above, n. 66.
84. *Pap.Graec.Mag*. P XXXIX.
85. *Pap.Graec.Mag*. P 3; included in De Bruyn and Dijkstra (2011), text no. 18.
86. For an analogous case in a papyrus purchased by the British Museum, see Zellmann-Rohrer (2014).
87. Amundsen (1928), with brief commentary of S. Eitrem added on p. 37.
88. *Pap.Graec.Mag*. O 2.

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THE GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI IN TRANSLATION

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THE GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

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Shall we write about the things not to be spoken of?
Shall we divulge the things not to be divulged?
Shall we pronounce the things not to be pronounced?

Julian, *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*

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Preface

This volume of translations of the Greek magical papyri has been a long time in the making. The project began in a planning colloquium at Claremont, California, May 31 to June 4, 1978. At this meeting, a team of scholars resolved to produce this translation volume as part of a research project on the Greek magical papyri, the project as a whole being designed as a contribution to the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*.

The translations turned out to be more difficult and time-consuming than had been expected. Since it seemed desirable to expand the Preisendanz collection to include as many newly discovered and newly published magical papyri as possible, the number of papyri increased from 81 to 131. In this respect, the translation volume differs from the Preisendanz volumes. It differs also in that while Preisendanz reproduced only the Greek sections of bilingual Greek-Demotic papyri, this volume includes the full translations of all bilingual texts.

All translations are based on the Greek, Demotic, and Coptic texts. *PGM* I–LXXXI follow the Preisendanz edition, while *PGM* LXXXII–CXXX and *PDM* Supplement follow their critical editions, which are indicated in the notes. Translators were free to make changes in the texts when they thought it necessary; these changes are also indicated in the notes. Where earlier translations exist, they have been consulted, but all the translations included in this volume are new.

Unlike the Preisendanz edition, this new volume does not have an *apparatus criticus*. Instead, it has notes explaining difficulties in the text and the translation, and notes alerting readers to important information. It has been necessary to limit these notes to a degree which many readers may find drastic, but the team decided not to attempt what could only be a lengthy commentary on the papyri. Instead, they agreed that other research tools should be developed to encourage and assist further research on the papyri. The following research tools are presently being prepared:

1. An index of Greek words is being prepared by Professor Edward O'Neil.
2. A subject index based on the English translation is being worked out by Ms. Marjorie Menaul.
3. A collection of parallels between the magical papyri and early Christian literature is being prepared by the research team. This part of the project is most directly related to the task of the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*, namely, the collection of parallels from ancient literature to the New Testament and the other Christian literature up to approximately A.D. 150.
4. A comprehensive bibliography, including editions and investigations of the magical papyri, is being assembled by Professor David Hellholm.

The present volume would not have come about without the generous support of institutions and individuals. The National Endowment for the Humanities has funded the entire venture from the beginning by substantial grants from 1978 to 1983. Without this financial assistance, the project would simply not exist; schol-

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H. D. Betz

Table of Spells

This list of spells presupposes the divisions in the texts and the identification of section titles made by the editor. In the Demotic spells, section titles are sometimes indicated by red lettering (but this is not done consistently). If no titles are given, this fact is stated (No title) and a short description of content is added.

Reference	*Translator*	*Short Title*
PGM I		(No title) Magical handbook
PGM I. 1–42	E.N.O.	[Rite] for acquiring an assistant daimon
PGM I. 42–195	E.N.O.	The spell of Pnouthis (for acquiring an assistant daimon)
PGM I. 195–222	E.N.O.	Prayer of deliverance
PGM I. 222–31	E.N.O.	Invisibility spell
PGM I. 232–47	E.N.O.	Memory spell
PGM I. 247–62	E.N.O.	Spell for invisibility
PGM I. 262–347	E.N.O.	Apollonian invocation
PGM II		(No title) Magical handbook
PGM II. 1–64	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PGM II. 65–183	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Alternative spell for revelation
PGM III		(No title) Magical handbook
PGM III. 1–164	J.M.D.	(No title) Cat ritual for many purposes
PGM III. 165–86	J.M.D.	(No title) Oracular request (?)
PGM III. 187–262	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PGM III. 263–75	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
PGM III. 275–81	E.N.O.	[Horoscope]
PGM III. 282–409	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for foreknowledge
PGM III. 410–23	W.C.G.	(No title) Memory spell
PGM III. 424–66	W.C.G.	A copy from a holy book (spell for foreknowledge and memory)
PGM III. 467–78	W.C.G.	Memory spell
PGM III. 479–83	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
PGM III. 483–88	W.C.G.	Another (foreknowledge charm to detect a thief)
PGM III. 488–94	W.C.G.	Another (spell to detect a thief?)
PGM III. 494–611	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	[Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios
PGM III. 612–32	J.M.D.	(No title) Spell for gaining control of one's shadow
PGM III. 633–731	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for a direct vision
PGM IV		(No title) Magical handbook
PGM IV. 1–25	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PGM IV. 26–51	H.M.	Initiation
PGM IV. 52–85	H.M. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PGM IV. 86–87	M.W.M.	Phylactery against daimons

PGM IV. 88–93	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	Another, to Helios
PGM IV. 94–153	M.W.M.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 154–285	J.P.H. / E.N.O.	Nephotes to Psammetichos (letter concerning bowl divination)
PGM IV. 286–95	E.N.O.	Spell for picking a plant
PGM IV. 296–466	E.N.O.	Wondrous spell for binding a lover
PGM IV. 467–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
PGM IV. 469–70	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
PGM IV. 471–73	H.M.	(No title) Verses from Homer
PGM IV. 474	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
PGM IV. 475–829	M.W.M.	(No title) The "Mithras Liturgy"
PGM IV. 830	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
PGM IV. 831–32	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
PGM IV. 833–34	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
PGM IV. 835–49	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological text
PGM IV. 850–929	W.C.G.	Charm of Solomon that produces a trance
PGM IV. 930–1114	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Charm that produces direct vision
PGM IV. 1115–66	W.C.G.	Hidden stele (prayer)
PGM IV. 1167–1226	W.C.G.	Stele (spell for deliverance)
PGM IV. 1227–64	M.W.M.	Rite for driving out daimons
PGM IV. 1265–74	E.N.O.	Aphrodite's name (love spell)
PGM IV. 1275–1322	W.C.G.	Bear charm
PGM IV. 1323–30	W.C.G.	Another (Bear charm)
PGM IV. 1331–89	W.C.G.	Bear charm
PGM IV. 1390–1495	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 1496–1595	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 1596–1715	M.S.	Consecration for all purposes
PGM IV. 1716–1870	E.N.O.	Sword of Dardanos (love spell)
PGM IV. 1872–1927	E.N.O.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM IV. 1928–2005	E.N.O.	King Pitys' spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2006–2125	E.N.O.	Pitys' spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2125–39	M.S.	A restraining seal
PGM IV. 2140–44	W.C.G.	Pitys the Thessalian's spell for questioning corpses
PGM IV. 2145–2240	H.M.	Divine assistance from three Homeric verses
PGM IV. 2241–2358	E.N.O.	Document to the waning moon
PGM IV. 2359–72	R.F.H.	Business spell
PGM IV. 2373–2440	R.F.H.	Charm for acquiring business
PGM IV. 2441–2621	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2622–2707	E.N.O.	Slander spell to Selene
PGM IV. 2708–84	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2785–2890	E.N.O.	Prayer to Selene
PGM IV. 2891–2942	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2943–66	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2967–3006	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for picking a plant
PGM IV. 3007–86	W.C.G.	Charm of Pibechis for those possessed by daimons
PGM IV. 3086–3124	W.C.G.	Oracle of Kronos, called "little mill"
PGM IV. 3125–71	M.S.	(No title) Spell for favor
PGM IV. 3172–3208	W.C.G.	Dream-producing charm
PGM IV. 3209–54	J.P.H.	Saucer divination of Aphrodite
PGM IV. 3255–74	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to induce insomnia
PGM V		(No title) Magical handbook

PGM V. 1–53	W.C.G.	Oracle of Sarapis
PGM V. 54–69	W.C.G.	Direct vision spell
PGM V. 70–95	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell to catch a thief
PGM V. 96–172	D.E.A.	Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist (letter)
PGM V. 172–212	W.C.G.	Another way (spell to catch a thief)
PGM V. 213–303	M.S.	Hermes' ring
PGM V. 304–69	M.S.	(No title) Defixio
PGM V. 370–446	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PGM V. 447–58	M.S.	(No title) Instruction concerning a magical ring
PGM V. 459–89	D.E.A.	Another way (spell for many purposes)
PGM Va. 1–3	H.M.	(No title) Spell for direct vision
PGM VI. 1–47	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer for encounter with Helios
PGM VII		(No title) Magical handbook
PGM VII. 1–148	H.M.	Homer oracle
PGM VII. 149–54	W.C.G.	To keep bugs out of the house
PGM VII. 155–67	W.C.G.	Days and hours for divination
PGM VII. 167–86	R.D.K.	Demokritos' "table gimmicks"
PGM VII. 186–90	R.F.H.	Favor and victory charm
PGM VII. 191–92	E.N.O.	Spell for binding a lover
PGM VII. 193–96	J.S.	For scorpion sting
PGM VII. 197–98	J.S.	For discharge of the eyes
PGM VII. 199–201	J.S.	For migraine headache
PGM VII. 201–2	J.S.	Another (for migraine headache)
PGM VII. 203–5	J.S.	For coughs
PGM VII. 206–7	J.S.	Another (for coughs)
PGM VII. 208–9	J.S.	For hardening of the breasts
PGM VII. 209–10	J.S.	For swollen testicles
PGM VII. 211–12	J.S.	For fever with shivering fits
PGM VII. 213–14	J.S.	For daily fever and nightly fever
PGM VII. 215–18	H.M.	Stele of Aphrodite (spell for favor)
PGM VII. 218–21	J.S.	Phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits
PGM VII. 222–49	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle from Besas
PGM VII. 250–54	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
PGM VII. 255–59	W.C.G.	Another to the same lamp
PGM VII. 260–71	J.S.	For the ascent of the uterus
PGM VII. 272–83	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological calendar
PGM VII. 284–99	E.N.O.	Orbit of the moon (horoscope)
PGM VII. 300	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM VII. 300a–310	E.N.O.	Love charm
PGM VII. 311–16	M.S.	Phylactery
PGM VII. 317–18	M.S.	Another phylactery
PGM VII. 319–34	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
PGM VII. 335–47	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
PGM VII. 348–58	W.C.G.	Divination by means of a boy
PGM VII. 359–69	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
PGM VII. 370–73	W.C.G.	(Spell) against every wild animal
PGM VII. 374–76	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
PGM VII. 376–84	R.F.H.	Another (charm to induce insomnia)
PGM VII. 385–89	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
PGM VII. 390–93	R.F.H.	Victory charm for the races
PGM VII. 394–95	R.F.H.	Coercive spell for restraining
PGM VII. 396–404	R.F.H.	Spell for silencing, subjecting, and restraining

PGM VII. 405–6	E.N.O.	Love spell
PGM VII. 407–10	E.N.O.	(No title) Dream spell
PGM VII. 411–16	E.N.O.	Spell for causing talk while asleep
PGM VII. 417–22	M.S.	Restraining spell
PGM VII. 423–28	R.F.H.	To win at dice
PGM VII. 429–58	M.S.	Restraining spell
PGM VII. 459–61	E.N.O.	Love charm
PGM VII. 462–66	E.N.O.	Love charm
PGM VII. 467–77	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM VII. 478–90	H.M.	(No title) Spell for dream revelation
PGM VII. 490–504	M.S.	(No title) Spell for protection
PGM VII. 505–28	H.M.	Meeting with your own daimon
PGM VII. 528–39	R.F.H.	Victory charm
PGM VII. 540–78	J.P.H.	Lamp divination
PGM VII. 579–90	M.S.	Phylactery
PGM VII. 591–92	W.C.G.	(No title) Prayer of invocation
PGM VII. 593–619	D.E.A.	Fetching charm
PGM VII. 619–27	E.N.O.	From the Diadem of Moses (spells for invisibility and love)
PGM VII. 628–42	M.S.	(No title) Rite involving a magical ring
PGM VII. 643–51	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
PGM VII. 652–60	R.F.H.	Spell to induce insomnia
PGM VII. 661–63	E.N.O.	Love spell
PGM VII. 664–85	E.N.O.	Request for dream revelations
PGM VII. 686–702	H.D.B.	Bear charm
PGM VII. 703–26	W.C.G.	Request for dream oracle
PGM VII. 727–39	W.C.G.	Charm for a direct vision of Apollo
PGM VII. 740–55	W.C.G.	[Request for a dream oracle]
PGM VII. 756–94	W.C.G.	Prayer
PGM VII. 795–845	J.P.H.	Pythagoras' request for a dream oracle and Demokritos' dream divination
PGM VII. 846–61	W.C.G.	Shadow on the sun (spell for revelation)
PGM VII. 862–918	E.N.O.	Lunar spell of Klaudianos
PGM VII. 919–24	R.F.H.	Hermes' wondrous victory charm
PGM VII. 925–39	R.F.H.	Another, charm to subject
PGM VII. 940–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to subject
PGM VII. 969–72	E.N.O.	A good potion (love spell)
PGM VII. 973–80	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction . . .
PGM VII. 981–93	E.N.O.	[Love spell of attraction]
PGM VII. 993–1009	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM VII. 1009–16	W.C.G.	Divination by a dream
PGM VII. 1017–26	R.F.H.	[No title] Spell for favor and victory
PGM VIII. 1–63	E.N.O.	Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos
PGM VIII. 64–110	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Request for a dream oracle of Besas
PGM IX. 1–14	R.F.H. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to subject and silence
PGM X. 1–23	E.N.O.	(No title [?]) Love spell
PGM X. 24–35	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
PGM X. 36–50	R.F.H.	Apollo's charm to subject
PGM XIa. 1–40	H.M.	Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman
PGM XIb. 1–5	R.D.K.	(No title) "Table gimmick" (?)
PGM XIc. 1–19	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xii (*PGM* XII)		(No title) Magical handbook
PDM xii 1–5	J.H.J.	(No title) Invocation
PDM xii 6–20	J.H.J.	A ring to cause praise

PDM xii 21–49	J.H.J.	(No title) Prayer for a revelation of a remedy for a disease
PGM XII. 1–13	H.M.	Rite (to produce an epiphany of Kore)
PGM XII. 14–95	H.M.	Eros as assistant daimon
PGM XII. 96–106	R.F.H.	Himerios' recipes
PGM XII. 107–21	W.C.G.	Charm of Agathokles for sending dreams
PGM XII. 121–43	R.D.K.	Zminis of Tentyra's spell for sending dreams
PGM XII. 144–52	W.C.G.	Request for a dream
PGM XII. 153–60	W.C.G.	Spell for a divine revelation
PGM XII. 160–78	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to release from bonds
PGM XII. 179–81	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for restraining anger
PGM XII. 182–89	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for gaining favor
PGM XII. 190–92	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear
PGM XII. 193–201	J.S.	[To make] a tincture of gold
PGM XII. 201–69	M.S.	A ring
PGM XII. 270–350	M.S.	A little ring for success and favor and victory
PGM XII. 351–64	J.P.H.	Demokritos' "sphere"
PGM XII. 365–75	R.F.H.	Charm for causing separation
PGM XII. 376–96	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
PGM XII. 397–400	H.M.	To gain favor and friendship forever
PGM XII. 401–44	H.D.B. / J.S.	Interpretations
PDM xii. 50–61 [*PGM* XII. 445–48]	J.H.J.	Spell for separating one person from another
PDM xii. 62–75 [*PGM* XII. 449–52]	J.H.J.	Another (spell for separation)
PDM xii. 76–107 [*PGM* XII. 453–65]	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	Another (spell for separation)
PDM xii. 108–18 [*PGM* XII. 466–68]	J.H.J.	A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man
PDM xii. 119–34 [*PGM* XII. 469–73]	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	A spell for it (fetching spell?)
PDM xii. 135–46 [*PGM* XII. 474–79]	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PDM xii. 147–64 [*PGM* XII. 480–95] [*PGM* XII. 480–95]	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	Another (love spell of attraction)
PGM XIII. 1–734	M.S.	A sacred book called "Unique" or "Eighth Book of Moses"
PGM XIII. 1–343	M.S.	[Part A: Initiation ritual and magical handbook]
PGM XIII. 343–646	M.S.	[Part B: A second, different version of the initiation ritual]
PGM XIII. 647–734	M.S.	[Part C: A third, different version of the initiation ritual]
PGM XIII. 734–1077	M.S.	(No title) A collection of miscellaneous spells
PDM xiv		(No title) Magical handbook
PDM xiv. 1–92	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
PDM xiv. 93–114 [*PGM* XIVa. 1–11]	J.H.J. / W.C.G.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PDM xiv. 115	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vision (?)
PDM xiv. 116	J.H.J.	Another spell for vision (?)

PDM xiv. 117–49	J.H.J.	A "god's arrival"
PDM xiv. 150–231	J.H.J.	An inquiry of the lamp
PDM xiv. 232–38	J.H.J.	A "god's arrival"
PDM xiv. 239–95	J.H.J.	The vessel inquiry of Khonsu
PDM xiv. 295–308	J.H.J.	[A] vessel [inquiry]
PDM xiv. 309–34	J.H.J.	A spell for causing favor
PDM xiv. 335–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 355–65	J.H.J.	Another love spell
PDM xiv. 366–75	J.H.J.	The method (spell for separating man and woman)
PDM xiv. 376–94	J.H.J.	(No title) Various recipes
PDM xiv. 395–427	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
PDM xiv. 428–50	J.H.J.	(No title) Two love potions
PDM xiv. 451–58 [*PGM* XIVb. 12–15]	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for going before a superior
PDM xiv. 459–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
PDM xiv. 475–88	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
PDM xiv. 489–515	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
PDM xiv. 516–27	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
PDM xiv. 528–53	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
PDM xiv. 554–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
PDM xiv. 563–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of poison
PDM xiv. 574–85	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone stuck in the throat
PDM xiv. 585–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
PDM xiv. 594–620	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for sting
PDM xiv. 620–26	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone stuck in the throat
PDM xiv. 627–35	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
PDM xiv. 636–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love potion
PDM xiv. 670–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Introduction to a collection of spells (?)
PDM xiv. 675–94 [*PGM* XIVc. 15–27]	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	A spell (to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 695–700	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
PDM xiv. 701–5	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
PDM xiv. 706–10	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell against "evil sleep"
PDM xiv. 711–15	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 716–24	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 724–26	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 727–36	J.H.J.	A prescription (three prescriptions to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 737–38	J.H.J.	A prescription (to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 739–40	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 741	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 742	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 743–49	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 750–71	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
PDM xiv. 772–804	J.H.J.	A method (love spells)
PDM xiv. 805–40	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
PDM xiv. 841–50	J.H.J.	Another method (vessel inquiry)
PDM xiv. 851–55	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
PDM xiv. 856–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Inquiry of the sun
PDM xiv. 875–85	J.H.J.	Here is another (inquiry of the sun)

PDM xiv. 886–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipes involving herbs
PDM xiv. 897–910	J.H.J.	(No title) List of herbs and minerals
PDM xiv. 912–16	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause "evil sleep"
PDM xiv. 917–19	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 920–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
PDM xiv. 930–32	J.H.J.	A prescription (love spell)
PDM xiv. 933–34	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
PDM xiv. 935–39	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a watery ear
PDM xiv. 940–52	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning salamander and herbs
PDM xiv. 953–55	J.H.J.	A prescription (to stop blood)
PDM xiv. 956–60	J.H.J.	(No title) Test of pregnancy
PDM xiv. 961–65	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop blood)
PDM xiv. 966–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning herbs
PDM xiv. 970–77	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop liquid in a woman)
PDM xiv. 978–80	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
PDM xiv. 981–84	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
PDM xiv. 985–92	J.H.J.	Gout (prescription)
PDM xiv. 993–1002	J.H.J.	Another (prescription for gout)
PDM xiv. 1003–14	J.H.J.	(No title) Amulet for gout
PDM xiv. 1015–20	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for unidentifiable ailment
PDM xiv. 1021–23	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a stiff foot
PDM xiv. 1024–25	J.H.J.	(No title) Another prescription for a stiff foot
PDM xiv. 1026–45	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1046–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1047–48	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1049–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1056–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spells involving *voces magicae*
PDM xiv. 1063–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1070–77	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to send dreams and make a woman love
PDM xiv. 1078–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Request for revelation
PDM xiv. 1090–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Fetching spell
PDM xiv. 1097–1103	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to heal an eye disease
PDM xiv. 1104–9	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipe concerning eye ointment
PDM xiv. 1110–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to open eyes for divination
PDM xiv. 1130–40	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1141–54	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
PDM xiv. 1155–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1163–79	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vessel divination
PDM xiv. 1180–81	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragment from invocation
PDM xiv. 1182–87	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause madness
PDM xiv. 1188–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell (?)
PDM xiv. 1190–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
PDM xiv. 1194–95	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
PDM xiv. 1196–98	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
PDM xiv. 1199–1205	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
PDM xiv. 1206–18	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell

PDM xiv. 1219–27	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for fever
PGM XV. 1–21	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
PGM XVI. 1–75	E.N.O.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
PGM XVIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XVIIb. 1–23	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer
PGM XVIIc. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
PGM XVIIIa. 1–4	J.S.	(No title) Amulet for headache
PGM XVIIIb. 1–7	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
PGM XIXa. 1–54	E.N.O. / R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XIXb. 1–3	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XIXb. 4–18	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XX. 1–4	E.N.O.	[Spell for] headache
PGM XX. 4–12	E.N.O.	[The charm] of the Syrian woman of Gadara for any inflammation
PGM XX. 13–19	E.N.O.	The charm of the Thessalian Philinna, [for] headache
PGM XXI. 1–29	W.C.G.	(No title) Invocation
PGM XXIIa. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Magico-medical recipes
PGM XXIIb. 1–26	D.E.A.	Prayer of Jacob
PGM XXIIb. 27–31	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
PGM XXIIb. 32–35	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
PGM XXIII. 1–70	E.N.O.	Fragment of the *Kestoi* of Julius Africanus
PGM XXIVa. 1–25	W.C.G.	(No title) Oracle
PGM XXIVb. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell
PGM XXVa–d	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulets (?)
PGM XXVI. 1–21	———	(No title) *Sortes Astrampsychi* (omitted)
PGM XXVII. 1–5	R.F.H.	Victory charm
PGM XXVIIIa. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
PGM XXVIIIb. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
PGM XXVIIIc. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
PGM XXIX. 1–10	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer (poem)
PGM XXX a–f	———	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
PGM XXXI a–c	———	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
PGM XXXII. 1–19	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXIII. 1–25	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
PGM XXXIV. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Fragment from a novel
PGM XXXV. 1–42	R.F.H.	Charm for favor and victory
PGM XXXVI. 1–34	M.S.	Charm to restrain
PGM XXXVI. 35–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to secure favor
PGM XXXVI. 69–101	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVI. 102–33	E.N.O.	Divination by fire (love spell)
PGM XXXVI. 134–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVI. 161–77	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger, and for success
PGM XXXVI. 178–87	M.S.	Charm to break spells
PGM XXXVI. 187–210	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVI. 211–30	R.F.H.	Prayer to Helios: charm to restrain anger, and for victory and favor
PGM XXXVI. 231–55	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
PGM XXXVI. 256–64	M.S.	(No title) Charm to break enchantment
PGM XXXVI. 264–74	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm of uncertain purpose
PGM XXXVI. 275–83	H.M.	Charm for gaining favor
PGM XXXVI. 283–94	E.N.O.	Pudenda key spell

PGM XXXVI. 295–311	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVI. 312–20	R.F.H.	Charm to open a door
PGM XXXVI. 320–32	J.S.	Contraceptive spell
PGM XXXVI. 333–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVI. 361–71	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVII. 1–26	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM XXXVIII. 1–26	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXIX. 1–21	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XL. 1–18	R.F.H.	(No title) Curse
PGM XLI. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
PGM XLII. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
PGM XLIII. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
PGM XLIV. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet against fever (?)
PGM XLV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
PGM XLVI. 1–4	R.F.H.	(No title) Request for revelation (?)
PGM XLVI. 4–8	R.F.H.	Spell to silence and subject
PGM XLVII. 1–17	M.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
PGM XLVIII. 1–21	M.W.M.	(No title) Amulet (?)
PGM XLIX	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
PGM L. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Oracle (?)
PGM LI. 1–27	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
PGM LII. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
PGM LII. 9–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
PGM LII. 20–26	R.D.K.	Spell to induce insomnia
PGM LIII–LVI	———	(No titles) Spells (?) of uncertain purpose (omitted)
PGM LVII. 1–37	R.F.H.	(No title) Rite to acquire an assistant *daimon* (?)
PGM LVIII. 1–14	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to inflict harm
PGM LVIII. 15–39	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM LIX. 1–15	M.S.	(No title) Phylactery
PGM LX. 1–5	M.S.	(No title) Amulet
PDM lxi. 1–30	R.K.R.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PDM lxi. 30–41	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PDM lxi. 42	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PDM lxi. 43–48 [*PGM* LXI. i–v]*	J.H.J. / R.D.K.	Remedy for [an] ulcer (?) of the head
PDM lxi. 49–57	J.H.J.	[Remedy for the] head (?)
PDM lxi. 58–62 [*PGM* LXI. xi, x]*	R.D.K.	For an erection
PDM lxi. 63–78	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for a dream revelation
PDM lxi. 79–94	J.H.J.	Way of finding a thief
PDM lxi. 95–99	J.H.J.	Spell of giving praise and love in Nubian
PDM lxi. 100–105	J.H.J.	The red cloth of Nephthys
PDM lxi. 106–11	J.H.J.	Prescription for a donkey not moving
PDM lxi. 112–27	J.H.J.	Prescription for making a woman love
PDM lxi. 128–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM lxi. 148–58	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM lxi. 159–96 [*PGM* LXI. 1–38]	E.N.O.	Love charm
PDM lxi. 197–216 [*PGM* LXI. 39–71]	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM LXII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction

PGM LXII. 24–46	W.C.G. / J.P.H.	(No title) Saucer divination
PGM LXII. 47–51	M.S.	(No title) Oracle
PGM LXII. 52–75	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
PGM LXII. 76–106	J.S.	(No title) Spell (or two spells), to inflict harm (?)
PGM LXIII. 1–7	E.N.O.	(No title) Love-potion (?)
PGM LXIII. 7–12	E.N.O.	[Spell to make a woman] confess the name of the man she loves
PGM LXIII. 13–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM LXIII. 21–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM LXIII. 24–25	J.S.	Contraceptive
PGM LXIII. 26–28	J.S.	Contraceptive
PGM LXIV. 1–12	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
PGM LXV. 1–4	J.S.	Spell to [prevent pregnancy]
PGM LXV. 4–7	J.S.	For migraine headache
PGM LXVI. 1–11	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to cause separation
PGM LXVII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell (?)
PGM LXVIII. 1–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
PGM LXIX. 1–3	D.E.A.	(No title) Victory spell (?)
PGM LXX. 1–4	H.D.B.	Charm for favor, etc.
PGM LXX. 4–25	H.D.B.	Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear of punishment
PGM LXX. 26–51	H.D.B.	Against fear and to dissolve spells
PGM LXXI. 1–8	M.S.	Phylactery
PGM LXXII. 1–36	W.C.G.	[Rite concerning the Bear]
PGM LXXIII–LXXVI	———	(No titles) Oracle questions (omitted)
PGM LXXVII. 1–24	W.C.G.	(No title) Charm for getting a revelation
PGM LXXVIII. 1–14	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM LXXIX. 1–7	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
PGM LXXX. 1–5	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
PGM LXXXI. 1–10	W.C.G.	(No title) Greetings to deities
PGM LXXXII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Recipe for ingredients (fragment of formulary?)
PGM LXXXIII. 1–20	R.D.K.	For fever with shivering fits
PGM LXXXIV. 1–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM LXXXV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) For daimon possession
PGM LXXXVI. 1–2	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
PGM LXXXVI. 3–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
PGM LXXXVII. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
PGM LXXXVIII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
PGM LXXXIX. 1–27	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for fever, phantoms, daimons, etc.
PGM XC. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) Rite or phylactery
PGM XC. 14–18	H.D.B.	Salve for fever
PGM XCI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet (?)
PGM XCII. 1–16	R.D.K.	[Charm] for favor
PGM XCIII. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Sacrificial rite
PGM XCIII. 7–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
PGM XCIV. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title) *Voces magicae*
PGM XCIV. 4–6	R.D.K.	Drying powder made with saffron [for] sharp eyesight
PGM XCIV. 7–9	R.D.K.	For excellent health
PGM XCIV. 10–16	R.D.K.	A phylactery for [fever]

PGM XCIV. 17–21	R.D.K.	For those possessed by daimons
PGM XCIV. 22–26	R.D.K.	For the eyes
PGM XCIV. 27–35	R.D.K.	[For] tumors [and] . . .
PGM XCIV. 36–38	R.D.K.	[For . . .] and strangury
PGM XCIV. 39–60	R.D.K.	Another, for migraine headache
PGM XCV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for subjugation
PGM XCV. 7–13	R.D.K.	Concerning the mole-[rat]
PGM XCV. 14–18	R.D.K.	A remedy for all cases of . . . [epilepsy]
PGM XCVI. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
PGM XCVII. 1–6	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell against eye disease (?)
PGM XCVII. 7–9	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
PGM XCVII. 10–13	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
PGM XCVII. 15–17	H.D.B.	For every [disease]
PGM XCVIII. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
PGM XCIX. 1–3	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
PGM C. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
PGM CI. 1–53	H.D.B.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM CII. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Request for a dream oracle
PGM CIII. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM CIV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
PGM CV. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Invocation of Sarapis
PGM CVI. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
PGM CVII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM CVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM CIX. 1–8	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell
PGM CX. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
PGM CXI. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Instruction for making magical figures
PGM CXII. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
PGM CXIII. 1–4	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
PGM CXIV. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for attacks by daimons and for epilepsy
PGM CXV. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
PGM CXVI. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Invocation of Typhon-Seth
PGM CXVII. Fr. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM CXVIII	———	(No title) Magical scroll (omitted)
PGM CXIXa. 1	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment from formulary
PGM CXIXa. 2–3	R.D.K.	Love spell through touch
PGM CXIXa. 4–6	R.D.K.	Fetching charm
PGM CXIXa. 7–11	R.D.K.	Charm to subject
PGM CXIXb. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title)
PGM CXIXb. 4–5	R.D.K.	[For fever with shivering fits]
PGM CXX. 1–13	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (for inflammation of the uvula?)
PGM CXXI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for a variety of evils
PGM CXXII. 1–5	H.D.B.	An excerpt for enchantments
PGM CXXII. 5–25	H.D.B.	Enchantment using apples
PGM CXXII. 26–50	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell (fetching charm?)
PGM CXXII. 51–55	H.D.B.	For headache
PGM CXXIIIa. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) *Voces magicae*

PGM CXXIIIa. 24–47	R.D.K.	Erotylos
PGM CXXIIIa. 48–50	R.D.K.	For childbearing
PGM CXXIIIa. 51–52	R.D.K.	For sleep
PGM CXXIIIa. 53–55	R.D.K.	For strangury
PGM CXXIIIa. 56–68	R.D.K.	For a shivering fit
PGM CXXIIIa. 69–72	R.D.K.	For victory
PGM CXXIIIb	R.D.K.	(No title) *Voces magicae*
PGM CXXIIIc	R.D.K.	(No title) *Voces magicae*
PGM CXXIIId	R.D.K.	(No title) *Voces magicae*
PGM CXXIIIe	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
PGM CXXIIIf	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
PGM CXXIV. 1–5	R.D.K.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm (?)
PGM CXXIV. 6–43	R.D.K.	Charm to inflict harm
PGM CXXVa–f	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragments of spells
PGM CXXVIa. 1–21	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
PGM CXXVIb. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
PGM CXXVII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of formulary of magico-medical prescriptions
PGM CXXVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	Phylactery for fever
PGM CXXIX. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of unidentifiable spell
PGM CXXX. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) For a shivering fever
PDM Supplement		
1–6	J.H.J.	[Spell for] sending a dream
7–18	J.H.J.	[Spell for] sending a dream
19–27	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
28–40	J.H.J.	[Spell for] sending a dream
40–60	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
60–101	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
101–16	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
117–30	J.H.J.	[Spell] for sending a dream
130–38	J.H.J.	A "god's arrival" of Osiris
138–49	J.H.J.	Spell for . . . (subjection?)
149–62	J.H.J.	A "god's arrival" of Thoth
162–68	J.H.J.	Spell for finding your house of life
168–84	J.H.J.	Spell for reciting a document
185–208	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragments of rites and formulae

List of Papyri in Preisendanz

Reference	*Location*	*Number*	*Date*
I	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 5025	IV^{p}/V^{p}
II	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 5026	IV^{p}
III	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 2396 (P.Mimaut frgs. 1–4)	IV^{p}
IV	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale	*P.Bibl.Nat. Suppl.* gr. no. 574	IV^{p}
V	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 46	IV^{p}?
Va	Uppsala, Victoriamuseet	*P.Holm.*, p. 42	
VI	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 47	II^{p} or III^{p}
VII	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 121	III^{p}/IV^{p}
VIII	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 122	IV^{p} or V^{p}
IX	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 123	IV^{p} or V^{p}
X	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 124	IV^{p} or V^{p}
XIa	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 125 verso	V^{p}
XIb	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 147	III^{p}
XIc	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 148	II^{p}/III^{p}
XII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	*P.Lugd.Bat.* J 384 (V)	IV^{p}
XIII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	*P.Lugd.Bat.* J 395 (W)	IV^{p}
XIV	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.demot.* 10070	III^{p}
	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	*P.Lugd.Bat.* J 383	III^{p}
XV	Alexandria, Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie	*P.Alex.* inv. 491	III^{p}
XVI	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 3378	I^{p}
XVIIa	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	*P.gr.* 1167	IV^{p}
XVIIb	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	*P.gr.* 1179	II^{p}
XVIIc	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	*P.gr.* 574	
XVIIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*BGU* III 955	III^{p}/V^{p}
XVIIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*BGU* III 956	III^{p}/V^{p}
XIXa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 9909	IV^{p} or V^{p}
XIXb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 11737	IV^{p}
XX	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 7504 + *P.Amh.* ii, Col. II (A) + *P.Oxy. inedit.* (=Pack^{2} 1872)	I^{a}
XXI	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 9566 verso	II^{p} or III^{p}
XXIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*BGU* IV 1026 (inv. no. 9873)	IV^{p} or V^{p}
XXIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 13895	IV^{p}

XXIII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 412	III^{p}
XXIVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 886	III^{p}
XXIVb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 887	III^{p}
XXVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 959	III^{p}
XXVb	Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek	*P. Un.Bibl.Freib.* (w/o no.)	VI^{p}
XXVc	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	*P.Cairo* 10434	
XXVd	Florence, Società Italiana per la ricerca de papiri	*P.Flor.* (w/o no.)	
XXVI	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 1477	III^{p}/IV^{p}
XXVII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 1478	III^{p}/IV^{p}
XXVIIIa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 2061	V^{p}
XXVIIIb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 2062	VI^{p}
XXVIIIc	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 2063	VI^{p}
XXIX	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 1383	III^{p}
XXXa–f	[omitted]		
XXXIa–c	[omitted]		
XXXII	London, University College Institute of Archaeology	*P.Haw.* 312	II^{p}
XXXIII	Berkeley, University of California	*P.Tebt.* II 275	III^{p}
XXXIV	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library	*P.Fay.* 5	II^{p}/III^{p}
XXXV	Florence, Università degli Studi, Istituto di Papirologia	PSI I 29	V^{p}
XXXVI	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	*P.Osl.* I, 1	IV^{p}
XXXVII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	*P.Osl.* I, 2	IV^{p}
XXXVIII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	*P.Osl.* I, 3	IV^{p}
XXXIX	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	*P.Osl.* I, 4	IV^{p}
XL	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 1	IV^{p}
XLI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 339 = *P.Rain.* 4	V^{p}/VI^{p}
XLII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 331 = *P.Rain.* 8	VI^{p}
XLIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 335 = *P.Rain.* 9	V^{p}
XLIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 328 = *P.Rain.* 10	NA
XLV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 334 = *P.Rain.* 11	VI^{p}/VII^{p}
XLVI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 332 = *P.Rain.* 12	V^{p}
XLVII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8034 = *P.Rain.* 2 [no. 526, Wessely]	NA
XLVIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8031 = *P.Rain.* 6 [no. 529, Wessely]	VI^{p}/VII^{p}
XLIX	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8035 = *P.Rain.* 7 [no. 525, Wessely]	NA
L	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8033 = *P.Rain.* [no. 527, Wessely]	VI^{p}
LI	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	*P.gr.* 9.418	III^{p}
LII	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	*P.gr.* 9.429	III^{p}
LIII–LVI	[omitted]		
LVII	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	cryptogr. pap. [otherwise uncataloged]	I^{p}/II^{p}
LVIII	Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek	inv. no. 266 = P. Iand. 87	IV^{p}
LIX	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	*P.Cairo* 10563	II^{p} or III^{p}
LX	Brussels, Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth	*P.Brux.* in. E 6390, 6391	VI^{p}

LXI	London, British Museum	*P.Brit.Mus.* inv. 10588 (Egyptian Dept.)	III^P
LXII	Leiden, Institutum Papyrologicum Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae	*P.Warren* 21	III^P
LXIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 323	II^P/III^P
LXIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 29273	IV^P
LXV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 29272	VI^P/VII^P
LXVI	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	*P.Cairo* 60139	III^P/IV^P
LXVII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	*P.Cairo* 60140	NA
LXVIII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	*P.Cairo* 60636	II^P/III^P
LXIX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 1463 = *P.Mich.* III, 156	II^P
LXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 7 = *P.Mich.* III, 154	III^P or IV^P
LXXI	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 193 = *P.Mich.* III, 155	II^P or III^P
LXXII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	inv. no. 75 = *P.Osl.* III, 75	I^P/II^P
LXXIII–LXXVI	[omitted]		
LXXVII	Birmingham, Woodbroke College	*P.Harr.* 55	II^P
LXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek	*P.Heid.* 2170	III^P
LXXIX	Prague, National and University Library	*P.gr.* I, 18	III^P or IV^P
LXXX	Prague, National and University Library	*P.gr.* I, 21	III^P or IV^P
LXXXI	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Oxy.* 1566	IV^P

List of New Papyri Not in Preisendanz

Note: Bibliographical references are provided at the end of the translation of each spell.

Reference	*Location*	*Number*	*Date*
LXXXII	Warsaw, Uniwersytet Warszawski	*P.Vars.* 4	III^{p}
LXXXIII	Princeton, Princeton University AM 8963	*P.Princ.* II 107	
LXXXIV	Princeton, Princeton University Garrett Dep. 7665	*P.Princ.* II 76	III^{p}
LXXXV	Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges Central Library	*P.Harris* 56	I^{p}/II^{p}
LXXXVI	Paris, L'Institut de Papyrologie de l'Université de Paris	*P.Rein.* II 89 inv. 2176	IV^{p}
LXXXVII	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek	*P.Erlangen* 37	IV^{p}
LXXXVIII	Princeton, Princeton University AM 11230	*P.Princ.* III 15	III^{p} or IV^{p}
LXXXIX	Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket	*P.Lund Univ.Bibl.* IV 12 inv. no. 32	IV^{p}
XC	Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore	*P.Med.* inv. no. 23	IV^{p}/V^{p}
XCI	Collection, G. A. Michaïlidis	*P.Michael.* 27	III^{p} or IV^{p}
XCII	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*P.Merton* II 58	III^{p}
XCIII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Ant.* II 65	V^{p}
XCIV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Ant.* II 66	V^{p}
XCV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Ant.* III 140	V^{p}/VI^{p}
XCVI	Barcelona, Seminario di papirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	*P.Palau Rib.* inv. 126	IV^{p}/V^{p}
XCVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 1886	III^{p}/IV^{p}
XCVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 1982	III^{p}
XCIX	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 2283	V^{p}/VI^{p}
C	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 2861	V^{p}/VI^{p}
CI	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 3323	V^{p}

CII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Oxy.* 2753	IV^{p}
CIII	Athens, Archaeological Society	*P.S.A. Athen.* 70	II^{p}
CIV	Genoa, Università di Genova	*PUG* I 6	III^{p}
CV	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	*P.Berol.* 21227	III^{p}/IV^{p}
CVI	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	*P.Berol.* 21165	III^{p}/IV^{p}
CVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 5512	III^{p} or IV^{p}
CVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 5514	III^{p} or IV^{p}
CIX	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Oxy.* 50.4 B23 J(1–3)b	ca. A.D. 300
CX	Washington, Washington University	*P.Wash. Univ.* inv. 181	II^{p} or III^{p}
CXI	Washington, Washington University	*P.Wash. Univ.* inv. 139	III^{p}/IV^{p}
CXII	Washington, Washington University	*P.Wash. Univ.* inv. 242	IV^{p}/V^{p}
CXIII	Amsterdam, Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam	*P.Amst.* inv. 16	V^{p}
CXIV	Yale, Yale University Library	*P.Yale* inv. 989	III^{p}/IV^{p}
CXV	Budapest, Collection of Erno Gaál	*P.(Mag.) Gaál.* ined.	IV^{p}
CXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	*P.Laur.* inv. 54	VI^{p}
CXVII	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung	*P.Mon.Gr.* inv. 216	I^{a}
CXVIII	Barcelona, Seminario di papirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	*P.Palau Rib.* inv. 200	before X^{p}?
CXIX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	*P. Laur.* III 57 (PL II/52)	III^{p}
CXX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	*P.Laur.* III 58 (PL III/442)	III^{p}
CXXI	Milan, Università Cattolica di Milano	*P.Med.* inv. 71.58	III^{p}/IV^{p}
CXXII	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 21243	I^{a}/I^{p}
CXXIIIa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	*P.Cazzaniga*, nos. 1–6	V^{p}
CXXIV	Pisa, Università di Pisa	*P.Cazzaniga*, no. 7	V^{p}
CXXVa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	*P.Cazzaniga*, nos. 8–13	V^{p}–VI^{p}
CXXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	*P.Laur.* III/472	V^{p}
CXXVII	Yale, Yale University Library	*P.Yale* inv. 1206	III^{p} or IV^{p}
CXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitäts-Papyrussammlung	*P.Heid.G.* 1386	V^{p}
CXXIX	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums (?)	*P.Berol.* 21260	III^{p}
CXXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	*P.Mich.* inv. 6666	III^{p}
PDM Supplement	Paris, Musée du Louvre	*P.Louvre* E3229	III^{p}

Note on Editions

For the editions of the Greek papyri as cited, see the bibliography in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri, an Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1980), pp. 154–77, with the following exceptions:

PGM XC: A. Traversa, *Aegyptus* 33 (1953): 57–62
PGM XCVI: R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 25 (1977): 150–53
PGM XCVII–CI: D. Wortmann, *BoJ* 168 (1968): 85–111
PGM CV–CVI: W. Brashear, *ZPE* 17 (1975): 25–33
PGM CVII–CVIII: R. Daniel, *ZPE* 19 (1975): 249–64
PGM CIX: P. Gorissen, *ZPE* 37 (1980): 199–200
PGM CX–CXII: Z. M. Packman, *BASP* 13 (1976): 175–80
PGM CXIII: P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 22 (1976): 108
PGM CXIV–CXV: R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 25 (1977): 145–54
PGM CXVI: R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 26 (1977): 245–48
PGM CXVII: P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in A. Carlini, ed., *Papiri Letterari Greci* (Pisa: Giardini, 1978), no. 34
PGM CXVIII: J. O'Callaghan, *StPapy* 17 (1978): 85–87
PGM CXIX–CXX: R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (*P.Laur. III*), *Papyrologica Florentina* 5 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979), nos. 57–58
PGM CXXI: G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 33 (1979): 63–72
PGM CXXII: W. Brashear, *ZPE* 33 (1979): 261–78
PGM CXXIII–CXXV: F. Maltomini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979): 55–124
PGM CXXVI: F. Maltomini, in R. Pintaudi, ed., *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (*P.Laur. IV*), *Papyrologica Florentina* 12 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1983): 46–53
PGM CXXVII: G. M. Parássoglou, *Hellenica* 27 (1974): 251–53
PGM CXXVIII–CXXIX: F. Maltomini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 31 (1981): 111–117
PGM CXXX: R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 50 (1983): 147–54

For the Demotic magical papyri, see Janet H. Johnson's Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri below, pp. 00–00. The editions are accordingly:

PDM xii: J. H. Johnson, *OMRM* 56 (1975): 29–64
PDM xiv: F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904)
PDM lxi: Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*
PDM Supplement: J. H. Johnson, *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 55–102

Explanation of References and Textual Signs

PGM I. 262–347

References cited thus refer to translations of the corresponding Greek text of Preisendanz's *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, with each roman numeral (including those with appended letters, e.g., *PGM* Va) corresponding to a separate papyrus manuscript. Roman numerals after *PGM* LXXXI refer to texts whose translations are based on editions published since, and sometimes overlooked by, Preisendanz. The bibliographies of these editions are mentioned in the introductory note (*) to each spell. Arabic numerals usually delineate the compass of individual spells within the papyrus manuscript. The use of the separate designations for each independent spell or charm represents a new feature designed to enable easy identification and ready reference to an individual spell.

PDM xxi. 6–20

References listed thus refer to Demotic (bilingual) spells corresponding to the texts whose editions are listed in the introductory note (*) to each spell. *PDM* stands for *Papyri Demoticae Magicae*, referring to this volume and not to be confused with *DMP*, an abbreviation for Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyri*, a work often referred to in the notes. Lowercase roman numerals are used simply to avoid confusion with spells labeled *PGM*. Arabic numerals are used as above.

[*PGM* XII. 445–48]

PGM references bracketed thus come immediately after references for bilingual Greek sections with the given spell. The references correspond to the appropriate Greek portions in Preisendanz, whose edition contained only the Greek sections of the Greek/Demotic spells. Since this translation volume contains all the Demotic spells, Preisendanz's numbering system is retained, but it is subsumed under the new Demotic collation.

A,b,c

Texts set in roman type represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Greek.

A,b,c

Texts set with leader dots beneath represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Demotic (Egyptian).

A,b,c

Texts with a thin underscore represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Old Coptic. Coptic is found both in the Greek texts of Preisendanz's edition and as glosses in portions of the Demotic/Greek bilingual spells; however, the purely Coptic magical spells form a separate corpus not dealt with in this volume.

* An asterisk introduces an independent spell or a spell that contains most of the constituent parts necessary to effect the whole charm, though organic connections with adjacent spells can be recognized (e.g., spells entitled "***Another*** . . ," or the like). The asterisk directs the reader to the contributor, whose name is given at the end of the spell. Some introductory comments may be found here as well. Bibliographical data, if appropriate, may also be listed.

Tr.: This abbreviation stands for "translator" or "transcriber" (if the text contains no recognizable words that can be translated).

Victory spell: Phrases set in roman boldface type refer to general titles of charms which usually stand at the beginning of the spell and which are often followed by one or more subtitles. Many spells do not possess a title, either because of a scribal omission or because it has been lost in a lacuna in the text.

Spell to be spoken Phrases set in italic boldface type refer to various subtitles and a number of types of rubrics (subsumed under the main title) that function in a titular sense to introduce a component feature of a spell. These may introduce ingredients, additional instructions, invocations, figures, magical names and characters, and so on, which are mentioned in the instructions in the text. In a long, multifunctional spell (cf. *PGM* IV. 2145–2240 and *PGM* XIII. 1–343), general titles are subordinate to the larger title, which describes an often elaborate ritual. In description, these general titles are identical to the main titles of most spells but are set as subtitles since they usually depend on a prior set of conditions to guarantee their efficacy.

IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI Small capital letters indicate magical names (*voces magicae*) which are usually untranslatable and often meaningless to the reader. In some instances, small capital letters preserve recognizable Greek, Egyptian, or Semitic words that merit special attention. Portions of texts whose fragmentary nature precludes the possibility of proper translation, but which may in fact have been readable in the original, are also set in small capitals.

A diagonal slash indicates every fifth line of translated text, corresponding to the number given in the left-hand margin. Usually these are numbered consecutively until a new papyrus number is introduced.

35 [5] A bracketed number alongside the regular number refers to the line number of the original edition (in a Greek/Demotic text). Occasionally at the beginning the column number and line are also cited (e.g., [Col. III,5].

30 (4) A number in parentheses refers to the original line of Preisendanz in a Greek/Demotic spell. The number corresponds to the *PGM* reference given within the bracketed number at the head of the spell.

. . .	An ellipsis in the body of the text refers to a lost portion regardless of the size of the lacuna. Some punctuation (e.g., a comma or a period) may also be added at the end of the ellipsis.
[spell]	Brackets enclosing words indicate that the words are not preserved in the original text. These include (1) suggested restorations of lacunae; (2) editorial expansions of the text to elucidate the sense of the original language; and (3) phrases traditionally set off by pointed brackets ⟨ ⟩, namely, modern corrections to scribal omissions or errors. Scholars interested in determining which use the bracketed text refers to are recommended to consult the texts of the original editions. As a general rule, bracketed texts will not divide a word, but will surround the whole word if its reading is fairly uncertain.
(add the usual)	Parentheses enclosing words simply indicate material in the original texts best understood as parenthetical comments of the ancient authors and redactors.
"Come to me . . ."	Quotation marks enclosing words indicate material that is spoken (or intended to be spoken) or written (or intended to be written). Material not enclosed in quotation marks usually refers to parts of a formulary that contain instructions and directions apart from the material to be written or spoken. Such instructions are peculiar to the papyri that have preserved magical formularies, whereas the actual amulets and phylacteries found on papyrus usually contain simple invocations that have been transcribed as a result of following the instructions in such magical handbooks. Incantations originally written in Greek meter are set as verse, that is, they are indented *en bloc*, with the first letter of each line capitalized. In cases where the meter falters within such a hymnic portion, the original margin is restored to indicate prose.
NN	In the magical formularies, this abbreviation stands for a name or names to be inserted by the reader, the names of the persons against or for whom the magic is to be carried out. In the case of "(the) NN matter," the reader understands that specific requests are to be named at this point.
[R.K.R.]	At the end of each footnote, the bracketed initials refer to the contributing scholar responsible for the material immediately preceding. Notes that carry no initials represent the joint efforts of the contributors and scholars.

Abbreviations of Periodicals, Series Titles, and General Reference Works

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AKA	*Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte*
APAW	*Abhandlungen der (K.) preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
APAW.PH	*Philosophisch-historische Klasse*
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969)
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
Bauer	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979)
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire*
BoJ	*Bonner Jahrbücher*
Bonnet, *RÄRG*	Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1952)
ByZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CEg	*Chronique d'Égypte*
Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*	J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976)
ClR	*Classical Review*
Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*	W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962)
DMP	*Demotic Magical Papyri* (see Griffith and Thompson)
EPRO	*Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*
Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch*	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien* 5 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971 repr.)
GGA	*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*
HR	*History of Religions*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*

JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*
KP	*Der kleine Pauly*
Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte*	A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte* 3 vols. (Brussels: Fondation Reine Elisabeth, 1930–31)
LCL	*Loeb Classical Library*
LdÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. by W. Helck and E. Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–)
LSJ	Liddel-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexikon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)
N.F.	*Neue Folge*
NHSt	*Nag Hammadi Studies*
NT.S	*Novum Testamentum, Supplements*
OMRM	*Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden*
Orph. Frag.	*Orphicorum Fragmenta*, ed. O. Kern (Dublin and Zürich: Weidmann, ^{3}1972)
P.Oxy.	*Papyrus Oxyrhynchus*
PDM	*Papyri Demoticae Magicae* (as cited in this volume only)
PGM	*Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols., ed. K. Preisendanz, et al. (Stuttgart: Teubner, ^{2}1973–74)
PRE	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*
PRE.S	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften, Supplementa*
Preisendanz	See *PGM*; on Preisendanz, vol. III, see the Introduction below, n. 37
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RÄRG	See Bonnet, *RÄRG*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
Roscher	W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*
RVV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*
SCHNT	*Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*
SO	*Symbolae Osloenses*
StPapy	*Studia papyrologica*
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*
WSt	*Wiener Studien*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Abbreviations of Major Titles Used in This Volume

Ancient authors are cited with name and title, the latter following the customary abbreviations. In cases of doubt, see *LSJ*, pp. xvi–xxxviii: "Authors and Works."

Abt, *Apologie*	A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei.* Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Schrift *de magia* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908)
Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*	A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae quotquot innotuerunt . . .* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904)
Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*	H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933)
Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*	J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis. Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretologien, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 3 (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968)
Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*	M. Berthelot and C.-E. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (Paris: Steinheil, 1888)
Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*	L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1898)
Betz, "The Delphic Maxim"	H. D. Betz, "The Delphic Maxim 'Know Yourself' in the Greek Magical Papyri," *HR* 21 (1981): 156–71
Betz, "Fragments"	H. D. Betz, "Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95
Betz, *Lukian*	H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament, TU* 76 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961)
Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*	C. J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (Leiden: Brill, 1973)
Bonner, *SMA*	C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)
Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*	J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts, Nisaba 9* (Leiden: Brill, 1978)
Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*	W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1907)

Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*	W. Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien. Aufsätze zur Religionsgeschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, ed. A. F. Verheule, *NT.S* 50 (Leiden: Brill, 1979)
Budge, *Amulets and Talismans*	E. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* (New York: Dover, 1978)
Burkert, *Griechische Religion*	W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und Klassischen Epoche, Die Religionen der Menschheit* 15 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977)
Cook, *Zeus*	A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–40)
Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*	W. T. Darby et al., *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, 2 vols. (London, New York, and San Francisco: Academic Press, 1977)
Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*	A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978, repr.)
Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*	A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. I (Paris: Champion, 1927)
Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles*	A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1964)
Dieterich, *Abraxas*	A. Dieterich, *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891)
Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*	A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, ^{3}1966)
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Introduction to the Greek Magical Papyri

Hans Dieter Betz

"The Greek magical papyri" is a name given by scholars to a body of papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt containing a variety of magical spells and formulae, hymns and rituals. The extant texts are mainly from the second century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. To be sure, this body of material represents only a small number of all the magical spells that once existed.[1] Beyond these papyri we possess many other kinds of material: artifacts, symbols and inscriptions on gemstones, on ostraka and clay bowls, and on tablets of gold, silver, lead, tin and so forth.[2]

I

The history of the discovery of the Greek magical papyri is a fascinating subject.[3] We know from literary sources that a large number of magical books in which spells were collected existed in antiquity. Most of them, however, have disappeared as the result of systematic suppression and destruction. The episode about the burning of the magical books in Ephesus in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 19:10) is well known and typical of many such instances. According to Suetonius,[4] Augustus ordered 2,000 magical scrolls to be burned in the year 13 B.C. Indeed, the first centuries of the Christian era saw many burnings of books, often of magical books, and not a few burnings that included the magicians themselves.

As a result of these acts of suppression, the magicians and their literature went underground. The papyri themselves testify to this by the constantly recurring admonition to keep the books secret.[5] Yet the systematic destruction of the magical literature over a long period of time resulted in the disappearance of most of the original texts by the end of antiquity. To us in the twentieth century, terms such as "underground literature" and "suppressed literature" are well known as descriptions of contemporary phenomena. We also know that such literature is extremely important for the understanding of what people are really thinking and doing in a particular time, geographical area, or cultural context. Magical beliefs and practices can hardly be overestimated in their importance for the daily life of the people. The religious beliefs and practices of most people were identical with some form of magic, and the neat distinctions we make today between approved and disapproved forms of religion—calling the former "religion" and "church" and the latter "magic" and "cult"—did not exist in antiquity except among a few intellectuals.[6]

Thus the suppression of this magical literature has deprived us of one of our most important sources of ancient religious life. Modern views of Greek and Roman religions have long suffered from certain deformities because they were unconsciously shaped by the only remaining sources: the literature of the cultural elite, and the archeological remains of the official cults of the states and cities.

But not everything was lost.[7] At the end of antiquity, some philosophers and theologians, astrologers and alchemists collected magical books and spells that were still available. Literary writers included some of the material in their works, if only

to make fun of it. It is known that philosophers of the Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic schools, as well as Gnostic and Hermetic groups, used magical books and hence must have possessed copies. But most of their material vanished and what we have left are their quotations.

The Greek magical papyri are, however, original documents and primary sources. Their discovery is as important for Greco-Roman religions as is the discovery of the Qumran texts for Judaism or the Nag Hammadi library for Gnosticism.[8]

Like these manuscript discoveries, the discovery of the Greek magical papyri was and often still is the outcome of sheer luck and almost incredible coincidences. In the case of the major portion of the collection, the so-called Anastasi collection, the discovery and rescue is owed to the efforts (and, if one may use the term, cooperation) of two individuals separated by more than a thousand years: the modern collector d'Anastasi and the original collector at Thebes.

In the nineteenth century, there was among the "diplomatic" representatives at the court in Alexandria a man who called himself Jean d'Anastasi (1780?–1857). Believed to be Armenian by birth, he ingratiated himself enough with the pasha to become the consular representative of Sweden.[9] It was a time when diplomats and military men often were passionate collectors of antiquities, and M. d'Anastasi happened to be at the right place at the right time. He succeeded in bringing together large collections of papyri from Egypt, among them sizable magical books, some of which he said he had obtained in Thebes.[10] These collections he shipped to Europe, where they were auctioned off and bought by various libraries: the British Museum in London, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Louvre in Paris, the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, and the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. Another papyrus was acquired by Jean François Mimaut (1774–1837), also a diplomat, whose acquisition ended up in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*PGM* III).[11] Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about the circumstances of the actual findings. But it is highly likely that many of the papyri from the Anastasi collection came from the same place, perhaps a tomb or a temple library.[12] If this assumption is correct, about half a dozen of the best-preserved and largest extant papyri may have come from the collection of one man in Thebes. He is of course unknown to us, but we may suppose that he collected the magical material for his own use. Perhaps he was more than a magician. We may attribute his almost systematic collections of *magica* to a man who was also a scholar,[13] probably philosophically inclined, as well as a bibliophile and archivist concerned about the preservation of this material.[14]

Although the person who collected the Anastasi papyri remains unknown, comparable figures are known from later Egyptian literature. In the Demotic Papyrus no. 30646 in the Cairo Museum, there appears Prince Khamwas, the fourth son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah in Memphis. This legendary figure belongs to the *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, published by Francis Llewelyn Griffith,[15] stories that in many ways can serve as illustrative companions to the Greek magical papyri. Miriam Lichtheim has given this summary portrait in the third volume of her *Ancient Egyptian Literature*:

> Prince Khamwas, son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah at Memphis, was a very learned scribe and magician who spent his time in the study of ancient monuments and books. One day he was told of the existence of a book of magic written by the god Thoth himself and kept in the tomb of a prince named Naneferkaptah (Na-nefer-ka-ptah), who lived in the distant past and was buried somewhere in the vast necropolis of Memphis. After a long search, Prince Khamwas, accom-

> panied by his foster brother Inaros, found the tomb of Naneferkaptah and entered it. He saw the magic book, which radiated a strong light, and tried to seize it. But the spirits of Naneferkaptah and of his wife Ahwere rose up to defend their cherished possession. . . .[16]

The collection of the Anastasi papyri, if it was brought together by one person, may have been buried with him, either in his tomb or in the rubble of collapsed buildings. At any rate, when d'Anastasi came to Thebes and the papyri were offered to him, he sensed their value and acquired them, thus saving them from destruction.

It took almost another century, however, before scholars learned to appreciate the value of the papyri and started investigating them. It is noteworthy that the auction catalog of d'Anastasi's collection calls the material simply "fromage mystique."[17] Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the papyri were stored in the museums simply as curiosities.

Scholarly investigations began when the great Dutch scholar Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens (1793–1835) described some of the content of the Leiden papyrus J 395 (*PGM* XIII) in his *Lettres à M. Letronne* published in 1830.[18] This work was reviewed almost immediately by the German historian of religion Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840), who also translated Reuvens's excerpts into German.[19] But Reuvens died before his edition of the Leiden papyri could appear. It was forty years before another Dutch scholar, the Egyptologist Conrad Leemans (1809–93), published the edition (*PGM* XII, XIII)[20] together with a Latin translation (1885).[21]

The first publication, however, is due to the efforts of the British scholar Charles Wycliffe Goodwin (1817–78), who published one of the papyri (*PGM* V) together with an English translation and commentary for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1853.[22] Then the German philologist Gustav Parthey (1798–1872) edited the two papyri from Berlin in 1865 (*PGM* I, II).[23] A very important new phase began when the Viennese papyrologist Carl Wessely (1860–1931) published in 1888 a transcription of the great magical papyrus of Paris (*PGM* IV), the London papyrus (*PGM* V), and the Mimaut papyrus (*PGM* III),[24] followed in 1889 by corrections.[25] In 1893 both Wessely[26] and Frederick George Kenyon (1863–1952)[27] independently edited and published the magical papyri of London (*PGM* VII–X). The last major papyrus was published in 1925 by the Norwegian scholar Samson Eitrem (1872–1966),[28] who had acquired in Egypt a valuable magical scroll with many drawings (*PGM* XXXVI).

With these important publications, the major pieces of the Greek magical papyri known to this period had become available. It seems to have been a suggestion first made by the great scholar of Greek religion, Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1908), that all the available papyri should be published in a handy study edition. But this idea developed only gradually after Dieterich began teaching a seminar on the subject of the magical papyri at the University of Heidelberg in 1905.[29]

Today it is astonishing to learn that teaching such a seminar at that time was quite a daring enterprise. Magic was so utterly despised by historians and philologists that the announcement of the seminar did not mention the word "magic" but was simply phrased as "Selected Pieces from the Greek Papyri."[30]

How far the dislike of the magical papyri could go is illustrated by a remark made by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: "I once heard a well-known scholar complain that these papyri were found because they deprived antiquity of the noble splendor of classicism."[31]

Dieterich,[32] however, was at the edge of a wave of interest generated by the new

discipline of history of religions. His seminar therefore had a surprising attraction for students, some of whom wrote their dissertations on related subjects and became contributors to the study edition. The plan for such a study edition was seriously threatened by Dieterich's sudden death on 6 May 1908, but the work was taken over by Dieterich's students, foremost of whom was Richard Wünsch, chief editor. Adam Abt, Ludwig Fahz, Adolf Erman, Georg Möller, and other contributors[33] stepped in to carry on the work.

When the body of the material of *PGM* I–IV was almost ready, World War I broke out and interrupted the work. Wünsch, Abt, and Möller were killed in the war. Despite these terrible losses and the desperate economic situation following the war, the publisher, B. G. Teubner of Leipzig, did not give up the project, but decided to start over. The edition was entrusted to Karl Preisendanz (1883–1968), another of Dieterich's former students.[34] Scholars at that time faced difficulties scarcely conceivable to us today, yet they persisted. In addition, a remarkable degree of international cooperation existed among the scholars.[35] Sam Eitrem from Oslo and Adolf Jacoby from Luxemburg joined the team, and British, French, and Dutch scholars gave their support to the effort. The Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft as well as other governmental agencies gave financial support, so that despite all the problems the first volume of the first edition of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* could appear in 1928, with a second volume following in 1931.[36]

While all this was happening, new magical papyri were being discovered and published. A third volume, which was also supposed to contain extensive indexes, therefore became necessary. But this volume never appeared, for World War II broke out.

Despite the war, the work had progressed to the actual production of galley proofs, with the preface dated "Pentecost, 1941,"[37] when on 4 December 1943 the publishing house of Teubner in Leipzig was bombed and everything was destroyed.[38] Fortunately, however, the galley proofs survived the war and are at present being used by a number of scholars in the form of xerox copies. When Karl Preisendanz, the editor of the first edition and tireless promoter of the study of the Greek magical papyri before and after World War II, died on 26 April 1968, the publishing house of Teubner, which had in part been relocated in Stuttgart, West Germany, decided to bring out a new edition. This new edition was prepared by Albert Henrichs, a papyrologist from Cologne, who has been on the faculty of Harvard University since 1973.[39] It appeared in two volumes in 1973–74.[40] The first volume is mostly a reprint of the first edition, though many corrections have been made. The second volume, however, is considerably different from the first edition. A number of papyri were reedited completely, and the papyri originally planned to appear in vol. III were added so that vol. II of the 1974 edition contains all pieces up to *PGM* LXXXI. The idea of a third volume containing the indexes was postponed because all indexes would have to be redone in view of the changes and additions in the material.

II

What is the significance of the Greek magical papyri? Scholars since Albrecht Dieterich have consistently pointed out the importance of the Greek magical papyri to the study of ancient religions; thus we can limit ourselves here to a summary of the issues.[41]

Historians of religion are intrigued by the Greek magical papyri for a number of reasons. If, as Dieterich rightly says,[42] the papyri are a depository of a great reli-

gious literature over many centuries, the recovery of the sources becomes a task of primary interest. In fact, throughout these sources we find citations of hymns, rituals, formulae from liturgies otherwise lost, and little bits of mythology called *historiolae*. These older materials are now embedded in a secondary context, but by careful application of the methods of literary criticism they are often recoverable.[43]

Taken as a whole, the material presents a plethora of interesting problems for modern scholarship. One must realize first that the material assembled under the name Greek magical papyri represents a collection of texts of diverse origin and nature. This collection includes individual spells and remedies, as well as collections made by ancient magicians, from the early Hellenistic period to late antiquity. Since the material comes from Greco-Roman Egypt, it reflects an amazingly broad religious and cultural pluralism. Not surprising is the strong influence of Egyptian religion throughout the Greek magical papyri, although here the texts nevertheless show a great variety. Expressed in Greek, Demotic, or Coptic, some texts represent simply Egyptian religion. In others, the Egyptian element has been transformed by Hellenistic religious concepts. Most of the texts are mixtures of several religions—Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, to name the most important.

The picture presented by the Greek magical papyri has been changed substantially by the inclusion of the translation of the Demotic magical papyri. In Preisendanz's edition, the Demotic material was deleted, even when it occurred in the same papyrus as Greek sections apparently written by the same scribe. The inclusion of the Demotic material in the present translation raises new and intriguing questions regarding the relationship between the Greek texts and the antecedent Egyptian sources. Further studies must clarify the process of transmission and transformation of these texts. Such studies will gain new insights into the complex phenomena of the hellenization of religious traditions. (See also the Introduction to the Demotic texts below.)

Another interesting problem is posed by the fact that this material from Greco-Roman Egypt contains many sections that are Greek in origin and nature.[44] How did this older Greek religious literature find its way into Egypt? We do not, and probably never shall, know. In this older material, the Greek gods are alive and well. But Zeus, Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and others are portrayed not as Hellenic and aristocratic, as in literature, but as capricious, demonic, and even dangerous, as in Greek folklore.[45] The gods and their activities resemble those in the popular myths and local cults, as reported by mythographers or by Pausanias. Therefore, strange as it may sound, if we wish to study Greek folk religion, the magical papyri found in Egypt are to be regarded as one of the primary sources.[46]

Questions similar to those appropriate to the study of Greek religion must be raised in view of the material (divine names as well as entire passages) that comes from some form of Judaism. Jewish magic was famous in antiquity,[47] and more sources have come to light in recent years; but the origin and nature of the sections representing Jewish magic in the Greek magical papyri is far from clear. Did this material actually originate with Jewish magicians? How did it get into the hands of the magicians who wrote the Greek magical papyri? What kind of transformation took place in the material itself? If the texts in question come from Judaism, what type of Judaism do they represent?

The historian of religion will be especially interested in the kind of syncretism represented in the Greek magical papyri.[48] This syncretism is more than a mixture of diverse elements from Egyptian, Greek, Babylonian, and Jewish religion, with a few sprinkles of Christianity.[49] Despite the diversity of texts, there is in the whole cor-

pus a tendency toward assimilation and uniformity. Such assimilation and uniformity, however, includes primarily the religious traditions already mentioned: the Romans, although in control of Egypt by the time most of the papyri were written, left only a few traces in the material. Thus the papyri represent a Greco-Egyptian, rather than the more general Greco-Roman, syncretism.

In this syncretism, the indigenous ancient Egyptian religion has in part survived, in part been profoundly hellenized.[50] In its Hellenistic transformation, the Egyptian religion of the pre-Hellenistic era appears to have been reduced and simplified, no doubt to facilitate its assimilation into Hellenistic religion as the predominant cultural reference. It is quite clear that the magicians who wrote and used the Greek papyri were Hellenistic in outlook.

Hellenization, however, also includes the egyptianizing of Greek religious traditions. The Greek magical papyri contain many instances of such egyptianizing transformations, which take very different forms in different texts or layers of tradition. Again, working out the more exact nature of this religious and cultural interaction remains the task of future research.

The papyri also provide many insights into the phenomenon of the magician as a religious functionary, in both the Egyptian and the Hellenistic setting. One must be cautious, however, in making generalizing statements in regard to the figure of the magician in the Greek magical papyri.[51] Some of the magicians writing and using the spells may have been associated with temples of Egyptian and Greek deities. According to Egyptian practice, the magician was a resident member of the temple priesthood. Genuine understanding of the older Egyptian and Greek languages and traditions can be assumed in some of the material, but by no means in all instances.

There are texts reflecting perhaps a different type of magician, a type we know from the Greek religious milieu.[52] This type of wandering craftsman seems keen to adopt and adapt every religious tradition that appeared useful to him, while the knowledge and understanding of what he adopted was characterized by a certain superficiality. This type of magician no longer understood the old languages, although he used remnants of them in transcription. He recited and used what must at one time have been metrically composed hymns; but he no longer recognized the meter, and he spoiled it when he inserted his own material. In the hands of magicians of this type, the gods from the various cults gradually merged, and as their natures became blurred, they often changed into completely different deities. For these magicians, there was no longer any cultural difference between the Egyptian and the Greek gods, or between them and the Jewish god and the Jewish angels; and even Jesus was occasionally assimilated into this truly "ecumenical" religious syncretism of the Hellenistic world culture.

We should make it clear, however, that this syncretism is more than a hodgepodge of heterogeneous items. In effect, it is a new religion altogether, displaying unified religious attitudes and beliefs. As an example, one may mention the enormously important role of the gods and goddesses of the underworld. The role of these underworld deities was not new to Egyptian religion or, to some extent, to ancient Greek religion; but it is characteristic of the Hellenistic syncretism of the Greek magical papyri that the netherworld and its deities had become one of its most important concerns. The goddess Hekate, identical with Persephone, Selene, Artemis, and the old Babylonian goddess Ereschigal, is one of the deities most often invoked in the papyri. Through the egyptianizing influence of Osiris, Isis, and their company, other gods like Hermes, Aphrodite, and even the Jewish god

Iao, have in many respects become underworld deities. In fact, human life seems to consist of nothing but negotiations in the antechamber of death and the world of the dead. The underworld deities, the demons and the spirits of the dead, are constantly and unscrupulously invoked and exploited as the most important means for achieving the goals of human life on earth: the acquisition of love, wealth, health, fame, knowledge of the future, control over other persons, and so forth. In other words, there is a consensus that the best way to success and worldly pleasures is by using the underworld, death, and the forces of death.

Apart from this fascination with the control of death and the underworld powers, there is an equally important fascination with the universe. The older gods of the Greco-Egyptian pantheon now mostly represent the forces of the universe. Thus the Greek god most often invoked is Apollo Helios, a fact consistent with the enormous expansion of the worship of the sun in the Greco-Roman era. Besides other astral deities such as Selene, the constellation of the Bear, and the like, abstract deities, new and old, demand attention. These abstract deities personify Nature (Physis), Time (Kronos, Chronos), Destiny (the Moirai), and most important, the All (Aion). Popular Egyptian gods and goddesses are, however, called upon just as often. Yet the god most often employed is Iao, the Jewish god.

The people whose religion is reflected in the papyri agree that humanity is inescapably at the whim of the forces of the universe. Religion is nothing but taking seriously this dependency on the forces of the universe. Whether the gods are old or new, whether they come from Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, or Christian traditions, religion is regarded as nothing but the awareness of and reaction against our dependency on the unfathomable scramble of energies coming out of the universe. In this energy jungle, human life can only be experienced as a jungle, too. People's successes and failures appear to be only the result of Chance (Tyche). Individuals seem to be nothing but marionettes at the end of power lines, pulled here and there without their knowledge by invisible forces.

If this world view takes hold of people, what hope can there be for human life? How could ordinary men and women in the small towns of Egypt get something out of their lives? It is at this point that the magician enters the picture. In a transitional culture like Greco-Roman Egypt, a religious functionary who operated as a crisis manager became a necessity to the lives of ordinary people. This role the magician was able to fulfill.

Applying his craft, the magician could give people the feeling that he could make things work in a world where nothing seemed to work the way it used to. He had handbooks of magic,[53] which contained the condensed wisdom of the past, wisdom made effective to solve the problems of the present.

The magician claimed to know and understand the traditions of various religions. While other people could no longer make sense of the old religions, he was able to. He knew the code words needed to communicate with the gods, the demons, and the dead. He could tap, regulate, and manipulate the invisible energies.[54] He was a problem solver who had remedies for a thousand petty troubles plaguing mankind: everything from migraine to runny nose to bedbugs to horse races, and, of course, all the troubles of love and money.

In short, it was this kind of world in which the magician served as a power and communications expert, crisis manager, miracle healer and inflicter of damages, and all-purpose therapist and agent of worried, troubled, and troublesome souls.[55]

To raise one final question: It is one of the puzzles of all magic that from time immemorial it has survived throughout history, through the coming and going of

entire religions, the scientific and technological revolutions, and the triumphs of modern medicine. Despite all these changes, there has always been an unbroken tradition of magic. Why is magic so irrepressible and ineradicable, if it is also true that its claims and promises never come true? Or *do* they? Do people never check up on the efficiency of magicians?

The answer appears to be that, in general, people are not interested in whether or not magicians' promises come true. People want to believe, so they simply ignore their suspicions that magic may all be deception and fraud. The enormous role deception plays in human life and society is well known to us.[56] In many crucial areas and in many critical situations of life, deception is the only method that really works. As the Roman aphorism sums it up, "Mundus vult decipi, ergo decipiatur" ("The world wishes to be deceived, and so it may be deceived"). To an immeasurable extent, people's lives carry on by what they decide they want to believe rather than by what they should believe or even know, by what appears to be real rather than by what is really real, by props and by fads, and by gobbledygook of this kind today and that kind tomorrow.

Magicians are those who have long ago explored these dimensions of the human mind. Rather than decrying the facts, they have exploited them. Magicians have known all along that people's religious need and expectations provide the greatest opportunity for the most effective of all deceptions. But instead of turning against religion, as the skeptics among the Greek and Roman philosophers did, the magicians made use of it. After all, magic is nothing but the art of making people believe that something is being done about those things in life about which we all know that we ourselves can do nothing.

Magic is the art that makes people who practice it feel better rather than worse, that provides the illusion of security to the insecure, the feeling of help to the helpless, and the comfort of hope to the hopeless.

Of course, it is all deception. But who can endure naked reality, especially when there is a way to avoid it? This is why magic has worked and continues to work, no matter what the evidence may be. Those whose lives depend on deception and delusion and those who provide them have formed a truly indissoluble symbiosis. Magic makes an unmanageable life manageable for those who believe in it, and a profession profitable for those who practice the art.

Notes

1. For a survey of the material, see the indispensible work by T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Haessel, 1921, 1924); idem, "Mageia," *PRE* 14.1 (1928):201–393; S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); idem, "Le monde du magicien égyptien," in *Le monde du sorcier, Sources Orientales VII* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1966) 27–65; J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); idem, "Magical Texts," in *Textes et Langages de l'Egypte Pharaonique; Hommage à J.-F. Champollion* (Le Caire: Institut d'Egypte, 1974), 3:7–19. See also J. F. Borghouts, "Magie," *LdÄ* 3 (1980):1137–51; H. Altenmüller, "Magische Literatur," *LdÄ* 3 (1980):1151–62. A wider range of literature is discussed by D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* II. 23. 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 1507–57.

2. See the collections by Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series XLIX (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950); idem, "Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum," *Hesperia* 20 (1951):301–45, pls. 96–100; idem, "A Miscellany of Engraved Stones," *Hesperia* 23

(1954): 138–57; A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Medailles, 1964). On the latter, see especially the reviews by H. Seyrig, *Syria* 42 (1965): 409–10; K. Preisendanz, *ByZ* 59 (1966): 388–92; M. Smith, *AJA* 71 (1967): 417–19; A. A. Barb, *Gnomon* 41 (1969): 298–307. On the relationship between gems and papyri see M. Smith, "Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems," *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, "Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509. For the magical tablets, see A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae, quotquot innotuerunt . . . praeter Atticas . . .* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904); K. Preisendanz, "Fluchtafel (Defixion)," *RAC* 8 (1972): 1–29.

3. See especially K. Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der spätantiken Magie," in *Aus der Welt des Buches. Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 75* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1951) 223–40.

4. Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.1. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, section 67; K. Preisendanz, "Dans le monde de la magie grecque," *Chronique d'Egypte* 10 (1935): 336–37; W. Speyer, "Büchervernichtung," *JAC* 13 (1970): 123–52, with bibliography.

5. *PGM* LVII and LXXII are even written in cryptography. See also my article "The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3: *Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 161–70.

6. A definition of the notion of magic cannot be attempted here. In order to provide an adequate definition, the complexities of the notion, its relations with "religion" and "science," and the rather frustrating history and literature of the problem would have to be discussed first. For a good introduction to the question, see A. A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) 100–125; G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969) 1–19; cf. also Aune, *ANRW* II. 23.2, 1510–16 and G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience*, Studies in the Origin and Development of Greek Science (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

7. On the survival of magic, see Barb's stimulating article mentioned in note 6 above. Also important for this question is the autobiographical account of the physician Thessalos and its discussion by J. Z. Smith, "The Temple and the Magician," in his *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 172–89.

8. For the circumstances connected with the discoveries of the Qumran texts, see F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961); for the Nag Hammadi Library, see J. M. Robinson, "The Jung Codex: The Rise and Fall of a Monopoly," *Religious Studies Review* 3 (1977): 17–30.

9. C. J. C. Reuvens, *Lettres à M. Letronne, sur les Papyrus bilingues et Grecs, et sur quelques autres Monumens Gréco-Egyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités de l'Université de Leide* (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1830), 1: "M. le chevalier D'ANASTASY, vice-consul de Suède à Alexandrie." For bibliographical information, see W. R. Dawson, "Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri," *JEA* 35 (1949): 158–66.

10. See the remark by F. Lenormant in his catalog of the Anastasi collection entitled *Catalogue d'une collection d'antiquités égyptiennes. Cette collection rassemblée par M. d'Anastasi, Consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, sera vendue aux enchères publiques Rue de Clichy, N° 76, les Mardi 23, Mercredi 24, Jeudi 25, Vendredi 26 & Samedi 27 1857 à une heure, etc.* (Paris: Maulde et Renou, 1857) 84: "M. Anastasi, dans ses fouilles à Thèbes avait découvert la bibliothèque d'un gnostique égyptien du second siècle, et une partie de cette bibliothèque avait passé avec sa première collection dans le musée de Leide; c'est de là que venait le fameux texte magique en écriture démotique et deux petits papyrus grecs pliés en forme de livres qui font plusieurs des plus beaux ornements de ce musée."

11. See J.-F. Dubois, *Description des antiquités égyptiennes grecques et romaines, monuments cophtes et arabes composant la collection de Feu M.J.-F. Mimaut* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1837) pp. Vff.

12. Cf. the report of another collector who speaks of his "residence of eighteen years at Thebes, entirely devoted to its objects of antiquity" (p. IX). This man, a Greek named Giovanni d'Athanasi, from the island of Lemnos, the son of a Cairo merchant, wrote his story at the suggestion of English travelers: Giovanni d'Athanasi, *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt, made under the direction of Henry Salt, Esq., to which is added a detailed catalogue of Mr. Salt's collection of Egyptian Antiquities; illustrated with twelve engravings of some of the most interesting objects, and an enumeration of those articles purchased for the British Museum* (London: John Hearne, 1836). As d'Athanasi reports, the papyri are found mostly in or near tombs; so he says about the Demotic papyri: "they are very rare, and are found not in the mummies, but in the terra-cotta urns which are found closed up and buried in the earth around the tombs" (p. 79). See also the *Catalogue of the Very Magnificent and Extraordinary Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, the Property of Giovanni d'Athanasi, which will be sold by auction by Mr. Leigh Sotheby, at his house, 3, Wellington Street, Strand, on Monday, March 13th, 1837, and the Six following Days (Sunday excepted), at One o'Clock precisely* (London: J. Davy, 1837) 23–24: "Manuscript Rolls of Papyrus, found in the tombs at Thebes." On the whole subject, see Wolfgang Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1970), esp. 44ff.: books placed as gifts in tombs.

13. *PGM* V.a is a loose page stuck into a work on chemistry, the *Papyrus graecus Holmiensis* in Stockholm. This indicates that the owner and collector of the magical material also possessed works on chemistry. See also B. Olsson, "Zwei Papyrusstellen besprochen," *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 355–56; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* 91–92.

14. See my article mentioned in note 5 above.

15. Francis Llewelyn Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900).

16. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3: *The Late Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980) 127; cf. also 8–9. See also Farouk Gomaà, *Chaemwese. Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis*, *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), esp. 70ff. The papyrus was found in a Christian (!) tomb in Thebes. It should be noted that the story dealing with the search for the secret book has a parallel in Pseudo-Democritus, who may be identical with Bolos of Mendes. According to this text, Democritus went to Memphis where he was received by Ostanes and his students in the temple of Ptah, but Ostanes died before he initiated Democritus into his mysteries and handed his secret books over to him. Democritus also brought up the shadow of Ostanes from Hades and asked him about the books. Ostanes replied that they were in the temple, where they were finally discovered. Both names occur also in *PGM* (Democritus: VII.167, 795; XII. 351; Ostanes: IV.2006; XII.122). The text is given in J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* II (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1938) 317–18; see J. H. Waszink, "Bolos," *RAC* 2 (1954): 502–8; Speyer, *Bücherfunde* 26–27, 72–73.

17. Lenormant, *Catalogue* 87 about *PGM* IV: "En tête sont trois pages de copte, qui débutent par l'histoire d'un fromage mystique pour la composition duquel s'associent Osiris, Sabaoth, Iao, Jésus et tous les autres éons. Ce fromage n'est autre que la *gnose*."

18. See note 9 above.

19. *GGA*, 56. Stück, den 9. April 1831, pp. 545–54. Müller remarks (p. 547): "Es gibt wohl keine Urkunde, die es so deutlich machte, wie die Magie, diese Seuche der Geister, vor allem in Aegypten sich entwickelt, und von dem alten Religionssystem dieses Volkes ausgehend, mit Hülfe metaphysischer Speculationen und verworrener Naturkenntnisse, sich zu einem Schrecken erregenden Umfange ausgebildet habe."

20. Leemans's edition was based upon Reuvens's manuscript. See Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte," 225 n.13.

21. C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi. Regis augustissimi jussu edidit, interpretationem latinam, annotationem, indicem et tabulas addidit C. L.*, 2 vols. (Lugduni Batavorum: Brill, 1843, 1885). On Leemans, see *L'Egyptologue Conrade Leemans et son correspondence. Contribution à l'histoire d'une science, à l'occasion du cent-cinquantième an-*

niversaire du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes et du centennaire des Congrès des Orientalistes (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

22. C. W. Goodwin, *Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian Work upon Magic: From a Papyrus in the British Museum, Edited for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, with a Translation and Notes.* Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, no. II (Cambridge: Deighton, 1852).

23. G. Parthey, "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums," *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1865* (Berlin: Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866) 109–80.

24. C. Wessely, "Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London," *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 36 (1888): 27–208. On Wessely's achievements in particular, see H. Gerstinger, *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 250–55; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde* 120–22.

25. K. Wessely, "Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque nationale," *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals* (Wien: Verlag des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, 1889) 3–23. See the review by A. Dieterich, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 11 (1891): 9–10.

26. "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften [Wien], philosophisch-historische Klasse* 42 (1893), II. Abhandlung.

27. F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. I (London: British Museum, 1893).

28. S. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses, I: Magical Papyri* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1925).

29. See A. Dieterich, *Abraxas* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891), p. 164 n.1, and his remark in a review article, "Griechische und römische Religion," *ARW* 8 (1905): 486–87:

> Es nimmt mich immer wieder wunder, dass der unermeßliche Gewinn, der aus den Zauberpapyri nach so vielen Seiten hin zu erlangen ist, nur so wenige Arbeiter lockt. Wie mancher, der religionsgeschichtliche Arbeit tun will, täte besser hier sich zu bemühen als um Probleme herumzureden, zu deren Lösung er doch nichts beitragen kann. Nach dem Schema der 'Papyrologie' gehören sie weder zu den Urkunden noch zu den literarischen Papyri; denn daß sich hier die große religiöse Literatur von Jahrhunderten niedergeschlagen hat, ist nur sehr wenigen deutlich. Die Unbekanntschaft mit den magischen Papyri macht sich zum Schaden so mancher religionshistorischer Arbeiten, auch der letzten Jahre, bemerklich, und da die wichtigste Publikation von Wessely in den Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, philos.-hist. Klasse XXXVI Band 1888, allerdings ohne eigene recensio und emendatio kaum benutzbar ist, habe ich es mit einem meiner Schüler zusammen unternommen, zunächst wenigstens das kapitalste Stück dieser Literatur, das grosse Pariser Zauberbuch, in einer neuen Ausgabe vorzulegen.

See also K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* I (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1928), p. VI.

30. S. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* I, p. V.

31. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin: Weidmann, ²1902) 254–55. The remark in full reads as follows:

> Ich habe einmal gehört, wie ein bedeutender Gelehrter beklagte, dass diese Papyri gefunden wären, weil sie dem Altertum den vornehmen Schimmer der Klassizität nehmen. Dass sie das thun, ist unbestreitbar, aber ich freue mich dessen. Denn ich will meine Hellenen nicht bewundern, sondern verstehen, damit ich sie gerecht beurteilen kann. Und selbst Mahadöh, der Herr der Erden,—soll er strafen, soll er schonen, muss er den Menschen menschlich sehn.

32. It should be noted, however, that Dieterich's doctoral dissertation was already devoted to the subject, a work that posed most of the pertinent problems. The dissertation was published in an expanded form under the title "Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi . . . ," *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Supplementband 16 (1888): 749–830; its prolegomena were reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911) 1–47.

Dieterich's commentary on the Leiden papyrus J 395 (=*PGM* XIII) followed under the title *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891). Related is the work entitled *Nekyia. Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893, ²1913; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969). Still indispensable is his commentary on *PGM* IV. 475–834, entitled *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903; ²1909 ed. R. Wünsch; ³1923 ed. O. Weinreich; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966). For biographical details and a bibliography see R. Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," in Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* pp. IX–XLII; H. J. Mette, "Nekrolog einer Epoche: Hermann Usener und seine Schule. Ein wirkungsgeschichtlicher Rückblick auf die Jahre 1856–1979," *Lustrum* 22 (1979–80): 5–106.

33. See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae I* (1928) pp. VIII–IX.

34. Ibid., p. IX.

35. Ibid., pp. IX–XII.

36. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz, vol. I (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928), vol. II (Leipzig: Teubner, 1931).

37. See the *Vorrede* to vol. III (Leipzig: Teubner, 1941), reprinted in the new edition of vol. II, ed. A. Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974), pp. VII–XVII.

38. See K. Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Zauberpapyri," in *Miscellanea critica Teubner* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1964) 215 n.1.

39. See the *Vorwort zur Neuausgabe* by Henrichs in vol. I of the new edition (see n. 40 below), pp. XIII–XIV.

40. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage, mit Ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz, durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973, 1974).

41. See A. Dieterich, "Der Untergang der antiken Religion," *Kleine Schriften* 449–539; A. D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," *JEA* 15 (1929): 219–35, reprinted in his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 1: 176–94; A. J. Festugière, "La valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques," in his *L'Idéal religieux des grecs et l'évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 281–328; M. P. Nilsson, "Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri," *Opuscula selecta* 3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1960) 129–66; S. Eitrem, "Aus 'Papyrologie und Religionsgeschichte': Die magischen Papyri," *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft*. Vorträge des 3. internationalen Papyrologentages in München vom 4. bis 7. September 1933, hrsg. von W. Otto und L. Wenger, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 19 (München: Beck, 1934) 243–63.

42. See note 29 above.

43. See, e.g., the attempt to recover ritual fragments from *PGM* LXX in my article "Fragments of a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95.

44. Cf. Nilsson's remark concerning the magical hymns, "Die Religion," 132: "Jedoch sind die Hymnen das Griechischste der Zauberliteratur. Ich kann mich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass es ein älteres Zauberwesen gegeben hat, das an die griechischen Götter anschloss, von dem die auf uns gekommene ägyptische Zauberliteratur Brocken sich einverleibt hat."

45. Since then fundamental changes have occurred in the interpretation of Greek religion, of which the success of the book by E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951) was symptomatic. See also on this point E. R. Dodds, *Missing Persons: An Autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 180–81. For recent developments, see W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977) 21ff.; idem, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Sather Classical Lectures 47 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

46. Cf. the comment made by A. A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets," *JWCI* 27 (1964): 4 n.16: "Much that we are accustomed to see classified as late 'syncretism' is rather the ancient and original, deep-seated popular religion, coming to the surface when the whitewash of 'classical' writers and artists began to peel off. . . ."

47. On Jewish magic and related bibliography, see L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*

(Strassburg: Trübner, 1898, ²1914); J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk-Religion* (New York: Behrman, 1939); G. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ²1965); J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, vols. 4 and 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1969, 1970); I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

48. See for surveys A. A. Barb, "Mystery, Myth, and Magic," in *The Legacy of Egypt*, ed. J. R. Harris (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ²1971) 138–69; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 520–43 and passim; K. Preisendanz, "Zur synkretistischen Magie im römischen Ägypten," *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer)*, Neue Serie, V. Folge, ed. H. Gerstinger (Wien: Rohrer/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1956) 111–25.

49. On Jesus and early Christian magic, with related bibliography, see Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978).

50. On Egyptian magic of the later periods, see the collection by Lichtheim (see note 16 above); G. Roeder, *Volksglaube im Pharaonenreich* (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1952); idem, *Der Ausklang der ägyptischen Religion mit Reformation, Zauberei und Jenseitsglauben*, = *Die ägyptische Religion in Text und Bild*, vol. 4 (Zürich and Stuttgart: Artemis, 1961).

51. On the figure of the magician, see Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, pp. 81–89.

52. See W. Burkert, "Craft versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3 (see note 5 above), 1–22.

53. Some of these handbooks are among the *PGM*. How they were made can still be seen from the partly unfinished, late Byzantine (16th c.) copy in the Gennadios Library in Athens (Codex Gennadianus 45), the text of which was published by A. Delatte, "Un nouveau témoin de la littérature salomonique, le codex *Gennadianus* 45 d'Athènes," *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres*, 5ᵉ série, tome 45 (1959): 280–321.

54. As I have tried to show, even the human self was regarded as a daimon which could be handled by the magician in the same way as all the other energies of the universe. See H. D. Betz, "The Delphic Maxim 'Know Yourself' in the Greek Magical Papyri," *HR* 21 (1981): 156–71.

55. A beautiful testimony of this self-understanding is cited by D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt* (New York: New York University Press, 1977) 84–85, where the great magician Amenhotep says about himself:

> I am really magnificent among any people, one with a heaving heart when he is looking for a plan in some unknown problem, like one whose heart knows it already; who finds a sentence even if it was found destroyed; master of wisdom, friend of the ruler, who does useful things for the Horus, who makes his monuments splendid in order to cause everybody to remember him forever at the august place. Who guides the ignorant through the events since the primeval times, who shows their place to everybody who forgot about it; useful in his ideas, when he is looking for monuments to make immortal the name of his lord; who relates the proverb and acts with his fingers; leader of mankind, of engaging manners as a pleasant one. Who venerates the name of the king and his power, who praises his Majesty at any time of the day, who is on his guard in all his decisions. . . ."

56. A good illustration of the phenomenon is the social and psychological syndrome called "cognitive dissonance." The syndrome can be observed among persons of strong conviction who, when faced with evidence to the contrary of their convictions ("disconfirmation"), become more intense and close themselves off from their social context, rather than develop doubts about these convictions. See the study by Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964). The authors of this study themselves may have become another instance of the syndrome: apparently they entered into the project armed with strong convictions about the origins of religion and, without ever becoming suspicious, found nothing but confirmation.

Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri

Janet H. Johnson

As important as the Greek magical papyri are to the understanding of Greco-Roman religion, as noted by Betz in his Introduction to the Greek magical texts, their full significance can be perceived only when it is realized that these texts written in Greek are part of a larger corpus that also includes texts written in that stage of the Egyptian language known as "Demotic," and that the corpus as a whole derives in very large measure from earlier Egyptian religious and magical beliefs and practices. The interrelationship between the Greek and Egyptian aspects of these magical texts is emphasized by the fact that not only did the major find of such texts, the collection of Anastasi noted by Betz, occur in Egypt, in the ancient capital of Thebes (modern Luxor) and include both Greek and Egyptian documents, but it also included documents that were bilingual—some of the spells were written in Greek, others in Egyptian, all within the same texts and all for use by the same magician. Perhaps even more telling is the fact that even in the spells written in Greek, the religious or mythological background and the methodology to be followed to ensure success may be purely Egyptian in origin. Thus it is only with the inclusion of the Egyptian materials together with the Greek, and the study of the complete corpus, that the full ramifications of this extraordinary body of material can be studied and appreciated.

All four of the Demotic magical texts appear to have come from the collections that Anastasi gathered in the Theban area. Most have passages in Greek as well as in Demotic, and most have words glossed into Old Coptic (Egyptian language written with the Greek alphabet [which indicated vowels, which Egyptian scripts did not] supplemented by extra signs taken from the Demotic for sounds not found in Greek); some contain passages written in the earlier Egyptian hieratic script or words written in a special "cipher" script, which would have been an effective secret code to a Greek reader but would have been deciphered fairly simply by an Egyptian.

The longest of the four Demotic texts was at some time torn into two sections (*PDM* xiv; *PGM* XIV). The longer second section was acquired by the Leiden Museum of Antiquities in 1828; it now bears number P.Lugd.Bat.J 383 (formerly Anastasi 65). The shorter beginning section was purchased by the British Museum in 1857; it now bears number P.Lond.demot. 10070 (formerly Anastasi 1072). The definitive publication of the two sections, including hand copy, transliteration, and translation, with extensive commentary and glossary, is the work of F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson.[1] Attention was attracted to the Leiden section very early when Reuvens recognized the value that the glosses into Greek letters provided for the deciphering of Demotic script.[2] The entire preserved text (both the beginning and the end of the original manuscript are lost) consists of twenty-nine large columns on the recto and thirty-three smaller columns on the verso. All are in Egyptian with the exception of three short passages in three separate columns, which are written in Greek. Elsewhere occasional Greek words occur as glosses to Egyptian

words or are written in the Egyptian text in an alphabetic Demotic script apparently developed for writing magical and foreign words. Much more common than the Greek passages is the use of the older Egyptian hieratic script in the midst of Demotic passages (as if the scribe were transcribing from an earlier manuscript and occasionally forgot to update what he was copying) and glosses into Old Coptic, most frequently for the writing of magical names and presumably to indicate proper pronunciation (which would have been very difficult to do given the abbreviated nature and great age of the traditional Egyptian scripts). Each column of the recto is written within a frame of horizontal and vertical lines; chapter or section headings are written in red ink (a tradition in Egyptian literature from Old Kingdom times[3]). In some cases, the scribes, while writing the body of the text in black ink, left room for the heading to be added later in red ink but failed to do so. Such headings can easily be restored.

The same scribe who wrote the London and Leiden text also wrote a second manuscript in the Leiden Museum (*PDM* xii; *PGM* XII) that contains Demotic magical texts—the verso of P.Lugd.Bat.J 384 (formerly Anastasi 75).[4] Of the nineteen columns of magical spells on the verso, the two columns at the beginning (the left end of the manuscript) are purely Demotic, the following thirteen columns are in Greek (although two headings are written in Demotic), the next two columns are again in Demotic, and the last two columns at the right end of the papyrus are largely in Demotic although they have short passages in Greek cited in the middle. (Note that the papyrus is broken at both ends, so it is impossible to determine how many more columns there were originally and in what language.) Within the Demotic sections of the manuscript are occasional passages written in the earlier hieratic script and in alphabetic Demotic as well as Old Coptic glosses. It appears that this text was written before the London and Leiden text since it is in this text that one can see the development of the Old Coptic script being used for glosses. In the columns at the left end of the papyrus, the Old Coptic glosses were written letter by letter above the corresponding Demotic letter. Since the Demotic runs right to left, the glosses run the same direction. This would have been quite confusing to someone reading what appeared to be Greek, so by the glosses in the second group of Demotic spells, at the right end of the papyrus, the scribe had taken to writing the glosses word for word, left to right, over the appropriate Demotic word. It is this latter system that is found throughout the papyrus of London and Leiden. In Leiden J 384, the scribe did not write within a frame or use red ink for headings. That both the papyri of London and Leiden and Leiden J 384 were written in Thebes, where they were found and sold to Anastasi, is indicated further by the fact that the dialect of Coptic to which the glosses and other alphabetic spellings most closely correspond has been identified as "archaic Theban."[5]

The British Museum also contains a second bilingual Greek and Demotic magical text (*PDM* lxi; *PGM* LXI), P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588.[6] The recto contains eight columns of Demotic; two have occasional magical names written in Old Coptic and one has the names of some ingredients written in Greek in addition to two Greek sections within the Demotic. The verso contains two columns of Demotic with occasional Old Coptic and four columns of Greek. The Demotic sections use red ink for chapter headings (italicized in the translations), as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

The fourth Demotic magical text is P.Louvre E3229 (formerly Anastasi 1061).[7] The preserved fragments (*PDM Supplement*) contain seven columns of Demotic on the recto and one column on the verso; the papyrus is broken at both ends. Both

the earlier hieratic script and Old Coptic are used, together with the alphabetic Demotic script developed for writing magical names and attested in each of these texts except P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588. Section headings are written in red ink on the recto (italicized in the translations); the columns on the recto are written within a red frame, as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

In all four of these texts, all of which can be dated paleographically to the third century A.D. or only slightly later, there is every indication that all the various scripts were written by, and for, the same scribe, a bilingual person equally at home in Egyptian (old, current, and future) and Greek. The contents and the methodology are overwhelmingly Egyptian. Most of the material is completely Egyptian and its origins are easily traceable in earlier Egyptian religious and magical literature. The methods used are likewise standard Egyptian practices. Some of this is indicated in the notes to the translations.

By contrast, Egyptian divinities (in their own names or in the guise of their Greek counterparts) and Egyptian mythological references abound in the Greek texts and Egyptian methodology is also frequent. For example, although threats against gods who might fail to do what one wants go back to the earliest Egyptian religio-magic literature (Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts), but are unparalleled in classical Greece, they are frequent in the Greek magical texts as well as those written in Egyptian. Much of the Egyptian background of the Greek texts has been pointed out in the numerous textual notes added by Robert K. Ritner. The common source of the Greek and Egyptian language texts is also indicated by their frequent use of identical strings of invocation names, including, in addition to Egyptian and Greek divinities, western Asiatic divinities, "abracadabra" names, and what appear to the modern reader as gibberish.

Because the bulk of the texts is written in Greek, and because there are short passages of Greek in some of the Egyptian texts,[8] it has been suggested that the Egyptian texts are translations from the Greek. But there are passages in Egyptian, written in Old Coptic, within many of the Greek texts and, as indicated above, the religious and magical background of many of the spells, both Greek and Egyptian, is decidedly Egyptian. In discussing the Egyptian texts, Griffith and Thompson concluded: "even where there are reasons for believing that the demotic is a translation from the Greek, the original source, in relation to magic at any rate, was probably Egyptian."[9] The same may be true for much of the Greek material. One must, at any rate, be leery of overstating the Greek case and attributing too much to Greek influence.

The present collection of all the texts, Greek and Egyptian, in one easily usable volume, points this out conclusively. This will, in turn, allow and encourage the comparative study of the purposes, methods, props, magical names, and the like, of the Greek and Egyptian spells and encourage the study of the antecedents of the material in both cultures. This work will add greatly to our understanding of the cultural milieu in which these magical texts were produced and copied. Thus it is the hope of all those who have collaborated on the production of this volume that it will both further our knowledge of a dynamic period in the history of man and also encourage future study of cultural contact and cross-fertilization.

Notes

1. *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904).
2. See n. 9 to Betz's Introduction, above.

3. See Georges Posener, "Sur l'emploi de l'encre rouge dans les manuscrits égyptiens," *JEA* 37 (1951):75–80.

4. The recto contains a long Demotic literary composition known variously as the "Tefnut Legend" or the "Myth of the Sun's Eye"; for a short summary and bibliography, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3, pp. 156–57. The magical spells on the verso were published by Janet H. Johnson, "The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden J 384," *OMRM* 56 (1975):29–64; for the identification of the scribe, see ibid., pp. 51–53.

5. Janet H. Johnson, "The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, ed. Janet H. Johnson and Edward F. Wente, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, vol. 39 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977), pp. 105–32.

6. Published by H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1933).

7. Published by Janet H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977):55–102.

8. But note that, e.g., one of the passages in Greek in London and Leiden concerns the purely Egyptian divinity Osiris and his burial in Abydos.

9. *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, p. 12.

THE GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

PGM I. 1–42

*[***Rite***]: A [daimon comes] as an assistant who will reveal everything to you clearly and will be your [companion and] will eat[1] and sleep with you.

Take [together, therefore,] two of your own fingernails and all the hairs [from] your head, and take a Circaean[2] falcon / and deify it[3] in the [milk] of a black [cow] after you have mixed Attic honey with the milk. [And once you have deified it,] wrap it[4] with an undyed piece of cloth and place [beside] it your fingernails along with your hairs; and take [a piece of choice papyrus], and inscribe in myrrh the following, and set it in the same manner [along with the] hairs and fingernails, and plaster / it with [uncut] frankincense [and] old wine.

So, the writing on/[the strip] is: "A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ." [But write this, making] two figures:[5]

A
E E
Ē Ē Ē
I I Ī I
O O O O O
Y Y Y Y Y Y
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō

Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō
Y Y Y Y Y Y
O O O O O
I I I I
Ē Ē Ē
E E
A

/ And take the milk with the honey[6] and drink it before the rising of the sun, and there will be something divine in your heart. And take the falcon and set it up as a statue in a shrine made of juniper wood. And after you have crowned the shrine itself, make an offering of non-animal foods and have on hand some old wine. And before you recline, speak directly to the bird itself after you have made / sacrifice to it, as you usually do, and say the prescribed ***spell:***

"A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ, come to me, Good Husbandman,[7] Good Daimon, HARPON KNOUPHI BRINTANTĒN SIPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUAZAR [BAMESEN] KRIPHI NIPOUMICHMOUMAŌPH. Come to me, O holy Orion, [you who lie] in the north, / who cause [the] currents of [the] Nile to roll down and mingle with the sea, [transforming them with life] as it does man's seed in sexual intercourse, you who have established the world on an indestructible . . .

1. For meals with deities see below, ll. 23–24, 85–89; III. 424–30; IV. 750–75; VII. 644–51. For the background and further material, see H.-J. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult*, *Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen*, *N.F. 15* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), esp. 156–58, 190.

2. The adjective *κιρκαῖος* is not attested elsewhere. Cf. LSJ s.v. "*κίρκος*," I: "a kind of hawk or falcon." See S. Eitrem, "Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie," in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 178–80, s.v. "Falke."

3. The magical rite of drowning effects deification. See F. L. Griffith, "Herodotus II. 90: Apotheosis by Drowning," *ZÄS* 46 (1909): 132–34; W. Spiegelberg, "Zu dem Ausdruck *ḥsj* 'Εσιῆς," *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 124–25; A. Hermann, "Ertrinken," *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; idem, "Ertrinken, Ertränken," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 273. See also *PGM* III. 1 and n. [R.K.R.]

4. The ritual suggests that the falcon is to be mummified. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

5. The translation of the term *κλίματα* is uncertain here. The triangular formation, found also elsewhere in the *PGM* and called "grapelike," "heart-shaped" or "winged," may be an example of *technopaignion*, the technique of writing words pictorially in the shape of objects. See on this subject Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 63–67; C. Lenz, "Carmina figurata," *RAC* 2 (1954): 910–12; Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte" 104; G. Wojaczek, *Daphnis. Untersuchungen zur griechischen Bukolik* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1969) 59ff., esp. 62 and n. 12.

6. For milk and honey in sacred meals, see Klauck, *Herrenmahl* 193–96; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 459–61, s.v. "Milch."

7. Cf. for the title also Anubis "the good oxherd": *PDM* xiv. 17; xiv. 35, 400. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 24 and n. [R.K.R.]

[foundation], who are young in the morning and [old in the evening], who journey through the subterranean sphere and [rise], breathing fire,[8] you who have parted the seas in the first / month, who [ejaculate] seeds[9] into the [sacred fig]tree of Heliopolis[10] continually. [This] is your authoritative name: ARBATH ABAÔTH BAKCHABRÊ."

[But] when you are dismissed, [go without shoes] and walk backwards[11] and set yourself to the enjoyment of the food [and] dinner and the prescribed food offering, [coming] face to face as companion [to the god]. / [This] rite [requires complete purity]. Conceal, conceal the [procedure and] for [7] days [refrain] from having intercourse with a woman.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM I. 42–195

***The spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant:**[12] . . . Pnouthios to Keryx,[13] a god[-fearing man], greetings. As one who knows, I have prescribed for you [this spell for acquiring an assistant] to prevent your failing / as you carry out [this rite]. After detaching all the prescriptions [bequeathed to us in] countless books, [one out of all . . .] I have shown you this spell for acquiring an assistant [as one that is serviceable] to you . . . for you to take this holy [assistant] and only . . . O friend of aerial / spirits [that move] . . . having persuaded me with god-given spells . . . but [now] I have dispatched this book so that you may learn thoroughly. For the spell of Pnouthis [has the power] to persuade the gods and all [the goddesses]. And [I shall write] you from it about [acquiring] an assistant.

***[The] traditional rite [for acquiring an assistant]**: After the preliminary purification, / [abstain from animal food] and from all uncleanliness and, on whatever [night] you want to, go [up] onto a lofty roof after you have clothed yourself in a pure garment . . . [and say] the first spell of encounter as the sun's orb is disappearing . . . with a [wholly] black Isis band on [your eyes], and in your right hand / grasp a falcon's head [and . . .] when the sun rises, hail it as you shake its head [and] . . . recite this sacred spell as you burn [uncut] frankincense and pour rose oil, making the sacrifice [in an earthen] censer on ashes from the [plant] heliotrope. And as you recite the spell there will be / this sign for you: a falcon will [fly down and] stand in front of [you], and after flapping its wings in [mid-air and dropping]

8. The section describes the voyage of the sun god, his changing age, and his journey through the underworld. See E. Hornung, *Das Amduat* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963). For the forms of the sun god, see H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883) 405–33. [R.K.R.]

9. The reference is to Ra-Atum emerging from the seas of chaos in the primal month and his creation of the gods by masturbation. In the Egyptian view of time this cosmic event occurs continually (διηνεκέως). Cf. also Pritchard, *ANET* 6. [R.K.R.]

10. Ancient religion knew of a large number of sacred fig trees, but little is known about the one in Heliopolis. The reference may point to another sacred tree as well, such as the *jšd* tree (see L. Kákosy, "Ischedbaum," *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–83) or the tree "in which is life and death" (idem, *LdÄ* 2 [1977]: 112). Or the tree is the *persea* tree sacred to Ra (see Herodotus 2. 73; and *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–84; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 83–84, s.v. Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 736–40). [R.K.R.]

11. Walking backwards as a magical rite. See *PGM* IV. 44, 2493; XXXVI. 273.

12. The term refers to an assistant daimon; see Glossary. Pnouthis and Pnouthios refer to the same person.

13. *Keryx*, which means "herald," may refer to a real or to an ideal person of priestly or holy status. See W. Quandt, "Keryx," *PRE* 21 (1921): 348–49.

an oblong stone,[14] it will immediately take flight and [ascend] to heaven. [You] should pick up this stone; carve it at once [and engrave it later]. Once it has been engraved, bore a hole in it, pass a thread through and wear it around your neck. But in the evening, / go up to [your] housetop [again] and, facing the light of the god- 70
dess, address to her this [hymnic spell] as you again sacrifice myrrh troglitis[15] in the same fashion. Light [a fire] and hold a branch of myrtle . . . shaking it, [and salute] the goddess.

At once there will be a sign for you like this: [A blazing star] will descend and come to a stop in the middle / of the housetop, and when the star [has dissolved] 75
before your eyes, you will behold the angel[16] whom you have summoned and who has been sent [to you], and you will quickly[17] learn the decisions of the gods. But do not be afraid: [approach] the god and, taking his right hand, kiss him and say these words to the angel, for he will quickly respond to you about whatever you want. But you / adjure him with this [oath] that he meet you and remain inseparable 80
and that he not [keep silent or] disobey in any way. But when he has with certainty accepted this oath of yours, take the god by the hand and leap down, [and] after bringing him [into] the narrow room where you reside, [sit him] down. After first preparing the house / in a fitting manner and providing all types of foods 85
and Mendesian wine,[18] set these before the god, with an uncorrupted boy[19] serving and maintaining silence until the [angel] departs. And you address preliminary (?) words[20] to the god: "I shall have you as a friendly assistant, a beneficent god who serves me whenever I say, 'Quickly, by your / power now appear on earth to 90
me, yea verily, god!'"

And while reclining, you yourself quickly speak about what you propose.[21] Test this[22] oath of the god on [what] you wish. But when 3 hours have passed, the god will immediately leap up. Order the boy to run [to] the door. And say, "Go, lord, blessed god, / where you live eternally, as you will," and the god vanishes. 95

This is the sacred rite for acquiring an assistant. It is acknowledged that he is a god; he is an aerial spirit which you have seen. If you give him a command, straightway he performs the task: he sends dreams, he brings women, men without the use of magical material, he kills, he destroys, he stirs up winds from the earth, he carries / gold, silver, bronze, and he gives them to you whenever the need arises. And 100

14. For the relationship between amulets and the magical papyri, see M. Smith, "Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems," *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, "Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509.

15. This statement shows that something has fallen from the text, for this is the first extant reference here to myrrh *troglitis*. [E.N.O.] The name may be commonly referred to as "Ethiopian myrrh."

16. This angel or messenger (ἄγγελος) is also referred to as "the god" throughout this spell.

17. The adverb, which occurs in *PGM* I. 76, 79, 91, 108, 111, 113, 116, 121, can mean "precisely" or "in detail."

18. This is not to be confused with the famous Mendaean wine. Mendesian refers to the Egyptian city of Mendes in the Nile Delta. For a discussion of the confusion between the names, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* II, 600.

19. Apparently this boy serves as a child medium. Cf. for this form of medium *PGM* II. 56; V. 376; VII. 544, etc.

20. προπεμπε with an inanimate (and esp. abstract) object is poetic. Here the prefix seems to have its literal meaning: "first," hence "preliminary words." [E.N.O.]

21. πρὸς ἃ φράζει should be read as second-person middle (cf. l. 79) and not third-person active, as Preisendanz translates.

22. The position of the word "this" is awkward in the Greek text; perhaps "the oath itself" is preferable. Cf. I. 156: "the same spell."

he frees from bonds a person chained in prison, he opens doors, he causes invisibility so that no one can see you at all, he is a bringer of fire, he brings water, wine, bread and [whatever] you wish in the way of foods: olive oil, vinegar—with the single exception of fish[23]—and he will bring plenty of vegetables, / whatever kind you wish, but as for pork,[24] you must not ever tell him to bring this at all! And when you want to give a [dinner], tell him so. Conjure up in your mind any suitable room and order him to prepare it for a banquet quickly and without delay. At once he will bestow chambers with golden ceilings, and you will see their walls covered with marble—and you consider these things partly real / and partly just illusionary—and costly wine, as is meet to cap a dinner splendidly. He will quickly bring daimons, and for you he will adorn these servants with sashes. These things he does quickly. And [as soon as] you order [him] to perform a service, he will do so, and you will see him excelling in other things: He stops ships and [again] / releases them, he stops very many evil [daimons], he checks wild beasts and will quickly break the teeth of fierce reptiles, he puts dogs to sleep and renders them voiceless. He changes into whatever form [of beast] you want: one that flies, swims, a quadruped, a reptile. He will carry you [into] the air, and again hurl you into the billows / of the sea's current and into the waves of the sea; he will quickly freeze rivers and seas and in such a way that you can run over them firmly, as you want. And [especially] will he stop, if ever you wish it, the sea-running foam, and whenever you wish to bring down stars[25] and whenever you wish to make [warm things] cold and cold things / warm,[26] he will light lamps and extinguish them again.[27] And he will shake walls and [cause] them to blaze with fire; he will serve you suitably for [whatever] you have in mind, O [blessed] initiate of the sacred magic, and will accomplish it for you, this most powerful assistant, who is also the only lord of the air. And the gods will agree to everything, for without him / nothing happens. Share this great mystery with no one [else], but conceal it, by Helios, since you have been deemed worthy by the lord [god].

This is the spell spoken [seven times seven] to Helios as an adjuration of the assistant: "ŌRI PI . . . AMOUNTE[28] AINTHYPH PICHAROUR[29] RAIAL KARPHIOUTH YMOU ROTHIRBAN OCHANAU MOUNAICHANAPTA/ZŌ ZŌN TAZŌTAZŌ PTAZŌ MAUIAS SOUŌRI SOUŌ ŌOUS SARAPTOUMI SARACHTHI A. . . RICHAMCHŌ BIRATHAU ŌPHAU PHAUŌ DAUA AUANTŌ ZOUZŌ ARROUZŌ ZŌTOUAR THŌMNAŌRI AYŌI PTAUCHARĒBI AŌUOSŌBIAU PTABAIN AAAAAAA AEĒIOYŌYŌOIĒEA CHACHACH CHACHACH CHARCHARACHACH AMOUN Ō ĒI[30] / IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON OMENERPHABŌEAI CHATHACH PHNESCHĒR PHICHRŌ PHNYRŌ PHŌCHŌCHOCH IARBATHA GRAMMĒ PHIBAŌCHNĒMEŌ." This is the spell spoken seven times seven to Helios.

23. For the taboo on fish in ancient Egypt, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 380–404. [R.K.R.]

24. The prohibition against eating pork was well known in Egypt (see also IV. 3079). The pig was considered unclean because it was related to Seth/Typhon (see also IV. 3115, 3260). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 690–91, s.v. "Schwein"; J. Bergman, "Isis auf der Sau," *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 6 (1974): 81–109; Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 171–209; cf. also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 8, 353F and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 281.

25. Pulling down stars was a feat for which the Thessalian witches were famous. See H. Reiche, "Myth and Magic in Cosmological Polemics," *Rheinisches Museum* 114 (1971): 296–329.

26. This magical operation is similar to the table gimmick of Demokritos (see *PGM* VII. 177).

27. Cf. the table gimmick in *PGM* VII. 171–72.

28. This is Egyptian for Horus . . . Amon. [R.K.R.]

29. This is Egyptian *pikrour*, "the frog." [R.K.R.]

30. This is Egyptian meaning "Amon the Great." [R.K.R.]

And engraved on the stone[31] ***is***: Helioros[32] as a lion-faced figure, holding in the left / hand a celestial globe and a whip, and around him in a circle is a serpent biting its tail. And on the exergue of the stone is this name (conceal it): "ACHA ACHACHA CHACH CHARCHARA CHACH." And after passing an Anubian string[33] through it, wear it around your neck.

Spell to Selene: "INOUTHŌ[34] PTOUAUMI ANCHARICH CHARAPTOUMI ANOCHA ABITHROU / ACHARABAUBAU BARATHIAN ATEB DOUANANOU APTYR PANOR PAURACH SOUMI PHORBA PHORIPHORBARABAU BŌĒTH AZA PHOR RIM MIRPHAR ZAURA PTAUZOU CHŌTHARPARACHTHIZOU ZAITH ATIAU IABAU KANTANTOUMI BATHARA CHTHIBI ANOCH." Having said this, you will see some star gradually free itself from [heaven] and become a god. / But you approach, take him by the hand, kiss him and say the same spell: "ŌPTAUMI NAPHTHAUBI MAIOUTHMOU MĒTROBAL RACHĒPTOUMI AMMŌCHARI AUTHEI A. . .TAMARA CHIŌBITAM TRIBŌMIS ARACHO ISARI RACHI IAKOUBI TAURABERŌMI ANTABI TAUBI." When you have spoken this, / a reply will be given. But you say to him: "What is your divine name? Reveal it to me ungrudgingly, so that I may call upon [it]." It consists of 15 letters: SOUESOLYR PHTHĒ MŌTH.[35]

And this is spoken next: "Hither to me, King, [I call you] God of Gods, mighty, boundless, undefiled, indescribable, firmly established Aion. / Be inseparable from me from this day forth through all the time of my life."

Then question him by the same oaths. If he tells you his name, take him by the hand, descend and have him recline as I have said above, setting before him part of the / foods and drinks which you partake of. And when you release him, sacrifice to him after his departure what is prescribed and pour a wine offering, and in this way you will be a friend of the mighty angel. When you go abroad, he will go abroad with you; when you are destitute, he will give you money. He will tell you what things will happen both when and at what time of the night or day. And if / anyone asks you "What do I have in mind?" or "What has happened to me?" or even "What is going to happen?," question the angel, and he will tell you in silence. But you speak to the one who questions you as if from yourself. When you are dead, he will wrap [up] your body as befits a god,[36] but he will take your spirit and carry it into the air with him. / For no aerial spirit which is joined with a mighty assistant will go into Hades, for to him all things are subject. Whenever you wish to do something, speak his name alone into the air [and] say, ["Come!"] and you will see him actually standing near you. And say to him, "Perform this task," and he does it at once, and after doing it he will say to you, "What else do you want? For I am eager for heaven." If you do not / have immediate orders, say to him, "Go, lord," and he will depart. In this fashion, then, the god will be seen by you alone, nor will anyone ever hear the sound of his speaking, just you yourself alone. And he will tell you

31. For gemstones with figures similar to the one described here, see Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 151–53; nos. 233–37, 283; also the statue described by Nilsson, *GGR* II, 498–99. See furthermore Bonnet, *RÄRG* 427–429, s.v. "Löwe."

32. This is Helios-Horus. See Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 153.

33. The precise nature of the Anubian cord is not clear. Anubis, the divine undertaker, may have had his name applied to thread used in mummification (see also IV. 1083, 2899; XXXVI. 237). See P. Wolters, "Faden und Knoten als Amulett," *ARW* 8, Beiheft (1905): 1–22; Bonner, *SMA* 3.

34. INOUTHŌ corresponds to Egyptian *i ntr* ʿ3, "O great god," and is the beginning of an invocation. [R.K.R.]

35. In Greek the name consists of fifteen letters.

36. This dressing up refers to the practice of mummification and the body's subsequent deification. See B. Gunn, "The Decree of Amonrasonether for Neskhons," *JEA* 41 (1955): 84–85. [R.K.R.]

about the illness of a man, whether he will live or die, even on what day and at what
190 hour of night. / And he will also give [you both] wild herbs and the power to cure, and you will be [worshiped] as a god since you have a god as a friend. These things the mighty assistant will perform competently. Therefore share these things with no one except [your] legitimate son[37] alone when he asks you for the magic powers imparted [by] us. Farewell.

195 The address to the sun / requires nothing except the formula "IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUN" and the formula "IARBATHA."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM I. 195–222

***This, then, is the prayer of deliverance for the first-begotten and first-born god**: "I call upon you, lord. Hear me, holy god who rest among the holy ones, at
200 whose side the Glorious Ones[38] stand continually. I call upon you, / [fore]father, and I beseech you, eternal one, eternal ruler of the sun's rays, eternal ruler of the celestial orb, standing in the seven-part region, CHAŌ CHAŌ CHA OUPH CHTHETHŌNIMEETHĒCHRINIA MEROUMI ALDA ZAŌ BLATHAMMACHŌTH PHRIXA ĒKE . . . PHYĒIDRYMĒŌ PHERPHRITHŌ IACHTHŌ PSYCHEŌ PHIRITHMEŌ ROSERŌTH /
205 THAMASTRA PHATIRI TAŌCH IALTHEMEACHE; you who hold fast to the root, [who] possess the powerful name which has been consecrated by all angels. Hear me, you who have established the mighty Decans and archangels, and beside whom
210 stand untold myriads of angels. You have been exalted to heaven, and the lord / has borne witness to your wisdom and has praised your power highly and has said that you have strength in the same way as he, as much strength as he [himself] has.

"I call upon you, lord of the universe, in an hour of need; hear me, for my soul is [distressed], and I am perplexed[39] and in want of [everything. Wherefore, come]
215 to me, you who are lord over all / angels; shield me against all excess of magical power of aerial daimon [and] fate.[40] Aye, lord, because I call upon your secret name which reaches from the firmament to the earth, ATHĒZOPHŌIM ZADĒAGĒŌBĒPHIA-
220 THEAA AMBRAMI ABRAAM THALCHILTHOE ELKŌTHŌŌĒĒ ACHTHŌNŌN / SA ISAK CHŌĒIOURTHASIŌ IŌSIA ICHĒMEŌŌŌŌ AŌAEI, rescue me in an hour of need."

Say this to Helios or whenever you are forced to do so.[41]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. Since the character of this invocation shows no tangible connection with the preceding or foregoing spells, it is best understood as a separate charm. Although the purpose of this prayer (which at certain points is reminiscent of the language of the Psalms) is not exactly stated, ll. 215–16 and 221–22 suggest that deliverance from the onslaught of a demonic attack is requested.

37. Preisendanz's reading *ἰσχινῷ υἱῷ* is doubtful because the term is nowhere else attested (see his apparatus ad loc.). The word may reflect an Egyptian or Semitic idiom ("son of your own loins"), an idiom formed in Greek from the word *ἴσχιον* (hips). The Egyptian term is more general, however, and refers to "part of the body." [J.B.] Cf. also Gn 35:11; 1 Kgs 8:19; Acts 2:30; Heb 7:5, 10. See furthermore *PGM* IV. 646, 2519, and Abt, *Apologie* 65–66.

38. *Doxai* is a name for angels. See also IV. 1051, 1202, and Bauer, s.v. "δόξα," 4.

39. The translation of *ἄβου*[λος] follows Preisendanz ("ratlos"). For the general language of prayer, cf. Ps 42:6, 12; 43:5; Jon 4:9 LXX: Sir 37:2; Mk 14:34 par.

40. The concept of Heimarmene is found in *PGM* here and XIII. 613, 635; cf. 709. See D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'antiquité grecque. Recherches sur la survivance de l'argumentation morale antifataliste de Carnéade chez les philosophes grecs et les théologiens chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, ²1974); H. O. Schröder, "Fatum (Heimarmene)," *RAC* 7 (1969):524–636, esp. 567–68.

41. The translation is tentative at this point.

PGM I. 222–31

*__Indispensable invisibility spell__: Take fat or an eye of a nightowl and a ball of dung rolled[42] by a beetle and oil of an unripe olive[43] and grind them all together until smooth, and smear your whole / body with it and say to Helios: "I adjure you by your great name, BORKĒ PHOIOUR IŌ ZIZIA APARXEOUCH THYTHE LAILAM AAAAAA IIIII OOOO IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ NAUNAX AI AI AEŌ AEŌ ĒAŌ," and moisten it and say in addition: "Make me invisible, lord Helios, AEŌ ŌAĒ EIĒ ĒAŌ, / in the presence of any man until sunset, IŌ IŌ Ō PHRIXRIZŌ EŌA."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM I. 232–47

*__Memory spell__: Take hieratic papyrus and write the prescribed names with Hermaic[44] myrrh ink. And once you have written them as they are prescribed, wash them off[45] into spring water / from 7 springs and drink the water on an empty stomach for seven days while the moon is in the east. But drink a sufficient amount.

This is the writing on the strip of papyrus: "KAMBRĒ CHAMBRE SIXIŌPHI HARPON CHNOUPHI BRINTATĒNŌPHRIBRISKYLMA ARAOUAZAR BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPH AKTIŌPHI ARTŌSE BIBIOU / BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SIEGŌ SIEGŌ NOUCHA NOUCHA LINOUCHA LINOUCHA CHYCHBA CHYCHBA KAXIŌ CHYCHBA DĒTOPHŌTH II AA OO YY ĒĒ EE ŌŌ." After doing these things wash the writing off and drink as is prescribed.

This is also the composition of the ink: myrrh troglitis, 4 drams; 3 karian figs, 7 pits of Nikolaus dates, / 7 dried pinecones, 7 piths of the single-stemmed wormwood, 7 wings of the Hermaic ibis,[46] spring water. When you have burned the ingredients, prepare them and write.
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM I. 247–62

*__Tested spell for invisibility__: A great work. Take an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death and a plant of peony (he means the rose). Rub these with oil of lily, and as you are rubbing / them from the right to the left,[47] say the spell as follows: "I am ANUBIS, I am OSIR-PHRE,[48] I am OSOT SORONOUIER, I am OSIRIS whom SETH destroyed.[49] Rise up, infernal daimon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PHOBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ APOMPS; whatever I, NN, order you to do, / be obedient to me."

And if you wish to become invisible, rub just your face with the concoction, and you will be invisible for as long as you wish. And if you wish to be visible again, move from west to east and say this name, and you will be obvious and visible to all / men.

42. The pellet ("that which is rolled") of a scarab is sacred to the sun god Ra. See also *PGM* VII. 584. [R.K.R.]

43. The papyrus reads *φακινίνου*, which Preisendanz emends to *⟨ὀμ⟩φακινίνου*. For similar expressions, see *PGM* IV. 228–29, 3008. For a different reading, see Schmidt, *GGA* 1931, 445.

44. This is the myrrh ink of Hermes.

45. In order to transfer the magical powers of the names, they were washed off and consumed. For the widespread practice, see *Handbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 8 (1936/37): 1156–57.

46. The ibis was sacred to Hermes Thoth. [R.K.R.]

47. See on this point J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, *Nisaba* 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 27, 30, 41, 56. [R.K.R.]

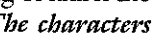
48. This is Osiris-Re.

49. The papyrus has *tako* where one expects the standard Coptic *takof*, "destroyed (him)." [M.W.M.] Cf. *DMP* col. I, 13, p. 23 (and n.) for Demotic parallels to part of this passage.

The name is: "MARMARIAŌTH MARMARIPHEGGĒ, make me, NN, visible to all men on this day, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly!" This works very well. *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. Cf. *PGM* I. 222–31.

PGM I. 262–347

***Apollonian**[50] **invocation**: Take a seven-leafed sprig of laurel and hold it in your right hand / as you summon the heavenly gods and chthonic daimons. Write on the sprig of laurel the seven[51] characters for deliverance.

The characters are these:  , the first character onto the first leaf, then the second / again in the same way onto the second leaf until there is a matching up of the 7 characters and 7 leaves. But be careful not to lose a leaf [and] do harm to yourself. For this is the body's greatest protective charm, by which all are made subject, and seas and rocks tremble, and daimons [avoid] the characters' magical powers which / you are about to have. For it is the greatest protective charm for the rite so that you fear nothing.

Now this is the rite: Take a lamp which has not been colored red and fit it with a piece of linen cloth and rose oil or oil of spikenard, and dress yourself in a prophetic garment and hold an ebony staff in your left hand and / the protective charm in your right (i.e., the sprig of laurel). But keep in readiness a wolf's head so that you can set the lamp upon the head of the wolf, and construct an altar of unburnt clay near the head and the lamp so that you may sacrifice on it to the god. And immediately the divine spirit enters.

/ The burnt offering is a wolf's eye, storax gum, cassia, balsam gum and whatever is valued among the spices, and pour a libation of wine and honey and milk and rainwater, [and make] 7 flat cakes and 7 round cakes. These you are going to make completely [near] the lamp, robed and refraining from all / unclean things and from all eating of fish[52] and from all sexual intercourse, so that you may bring the god into the greatest desire toward you.[53]

Now these are the names, [which] you are going to write on the linen cloth and which you will put as a wick into the lamp which has not been colored red: "ABERAMENTHŌOULERTHEXANAXETHRENLYOŌTHNEMARAIBAI[54] / AEMINNAEBARŌTHERRETHŌBABEANIMEA."[55] When you have completed all the instructions set out above, call the god with this chant:[56]

50. This lamp divination is named after the god Apollo. Despite its syncretistic character, there are an unusual number of parallels with the cult of Apollo. See S. Eitrem, "Apollon in der Magie," in *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike*, *Albae Vigiliae* 5 (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1947): 47–52.

51. Eight characters are shown.

52. See *PGM* I. 104 and note.

53. For sexual union with Apollo attributed to the Pythia, see Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 405 C–D; Origenes, *C. Cels.* 7.3; John Chrysostom, *PG* 61, p. 242 (hence *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.* 39; Suda, *Lexicon*, p. 3120). See G. Wolff, *Porphyrii De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* (Berlin: Springer, 1856) 160; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, *RVV* 32 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972) 143. [W.B.]

54. The magical words begin with the name ABERAMENTHŌ, on which see J. Mahé, "Aberamentho," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions, Festschrift for G. Quispel*, *EPRO* 91 (Leiden: Brill, 1981): 412–18. The formula should be read as a palindrome (see Glossary). Cf. also *PGM* III. 67–68, 117–18; XXXVIII. 20–21.

55. The magical word should be read as a palindrome. Cf. also IV. 196–97; XIV. 24; LIX. 7.

56. These lines contain dactylic hexameters (several of which are metrically faulty) through l. 311. In 312–14 the meter breaks down completely, yet because the tone and the apparent intent is hymnic, the translation continues in a verse pattern that is sometimes faulty. Ll. 297–311 (although the identification says 297–314) also form vv. 1–15 of the reconstructed Hymn 23, while vv. 16–18 are taken from *PGM* I. 342–45. See Preisendanz, vol. II. p. 262. [E.N.O.]

"O lord Apollo, come with Paian.[57]
Give answer to my questions, lord. O master
Leave Mount Parnassos and the Delphic Pytho
Whene'er my priestly lips voice secret words, /
First angel of [the god], great Zeus. IAŌ
And you, MICHAĒL, who rule heaven's realm,
I call, and you, archangel GABRIĒL.
Down from Olympos, ABRASAX, delighting
In dawns, come gracious who view sunset from
The dawn, / ADŌNAI. Father of the world,
All nature quakes in fear of you, PAKERBĒTH.
I adjure God's head,[58] which is Olympos;
I adjure God's signet, which is vision;
I adjure the right hand you held o'er the world;
I adjure God's bowl containing wealth;
I adjure eternal god, AIŌN of all;
/ I adjure self-growing Nature, mighty ADŌNAIOS;
I adjure setting and rising ELŌAIOS:
I adjure these holy and divine names that
They send me the divine spirit and that it
Fulfill what I have in my heart and soul.
/ Hear blessed one, I call you who rule heav'n[59]
And earth and Chaos and Hades where dwell
[Daimons of men who once gazed on the light].
Send me this daimon at my sacred chants,
Who moves by night to orders 'neath your force,
From whose own tent this comes, and let him tell me /
In total truth all that my mind designs,
And send him gentle, gracious, pondering
No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
Be angry at my sacred chants. But guard
That my whole body come to light intact,
For you yourself arranged these things among
Mankind for them to learn. / I call your name,
In number equal to the very Moirai,
ACHAIPHŌTHŌTHŌAIĒIAĒIA
AIĒAIĒIAŌTHŌTHŌPHIACHA."[60]

And when he comes, ask him about what you wish, about the art of prophecy, about divination with epic verses, about the sending of dreams, about obtaining revelations in dreams, about / interpretations of dreams, about causing disease, about everything that is a part of magical knowledge.

Cover a throne and couch with a cloth of linen, but remain standing while you

57. The words Ἄναξ . . . σὺν Παιήονι form an iambic pentameter which may preserve a line from a longer hymn. The line belongs to Hymn 8 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. For a similar expression, cf. *PGM* II. 7–8. [E.N.O.]

58. Or, "I adjure (you by) God's head," here and in the verses that follow.

59. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 7–8, 12–17, 20, 18, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see *PGM* IV. 436–61, 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. (The identification of lines in Preisendanz is not correct, vol. II, p. 239: l. 18 is present, l. 19 is missing.) [E.N.O.]

60. The word should be read as a palindrome. One can see the word THŌTHŌ, written twice; it means "Thoth the great." [R.K.R.]

sacrifice with the aforementioned burnt offering. And after the enquiry, if you wish / to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned ebony staff, which you are holding in your left hand, to your right hand; and shift the sprig of laurel, which you are holding in your right hand, to your left hand; and extinguish / the burning lamp; and use the same burnt offering while saying:[61]

"Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
O elder-born, self-generating god.
I adjure the fire which first shone in the void;
I adjure your pow'r which is greatest o'er all; /
I adjure him who destroys e'en in Hades,
That you depart, returning to your ship,
And harm me not, but be forever kind."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM II. 1–64

". . . AKRAKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A" (speak the whole name thus, in wing formation).[1]

"O Phoibos, helper through your oracles,
Come joyous, Leto's son, who works afar,
Averter, hither come, hither, come hither.
Foretell, give prophecies amid night's hour,[2]
ALLALALA ALLALALA SANTALALA TALALA"[3] (speak this name too, / leaving off one letter in succession, so as to make a wing formation):[4]

"If e'er with vict'ry-loving laurel branch
Here from your holy peak you often voiced
Words of good omen, so may you now speed
Your way to me with truthful oracles,

LAĒTONION and TABARAŌTH AEŌ EŌ, lord Apollo Paian, who control this night, who are master of it, who hold the hour of prayer too. Come, mighty daimons, help me today / by truly speaking with the son of Leto and Zeus."

Add also the following [spell], which is to be written on laurel leaves, and together with the strip of papyrus on which the Headless One is drawn, it is to be placed beside your head, rolled up. It is to be spoken also to the lamp, after you come in from the prayer, before going to bed, after you have placed a lump of frankincense in the wick of the lamp: "BOASOCH[5] OĒAĒ IAŌIĒ ŌIAĒ ŌIAĒ NICHARO-PLĒX / STHOM ŌTHŌ . . . Y IE IŌ ĒI IAĒL IRMOUCH ŌNOR ŌEYE IYŌ EAŌ SABAŌTH THĒOTĒ PAŌMIACH SIEOU IAŌ IE IEŌ . . . IOY IEOY IŌ IĒI ĒŌ IĒAI IEŌA A E Ē I O Y Ō."

61. The following dactylic hexameters also form vv. 16–18 of the reconstructed Hymn 23 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 262. [E.N.O.] In contrast to the preceding hymn, ll. 341–47 are Egyptian in character and refer to the sun god's self-generation and daily travel in his ship. See Hornung, *Das Amduat*, passim. See also *PGM* I. 34. [R.K.R.]

1. On the wing formation, see *PGM* I. 11 and n. Here the formula seems to be incomplete. Supply ⟨KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKARNABA⟩ and ⟨A⟩ at the end. Cf. l. 65 below.

2. These lines, except for 4–5, are dactylic hexameters which are not always metrically correct; they are the reconstructed Hymn 9, Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. The first three lines appear, in slightly altered form, at *PGM* IV. 24–27 (Hymn 10, 4–6). [E.N.O.]

3. Presumably SANTALALA, but there is considerable corruption in the text.

4. The lines of the following hymn may have originally been written in some iambic meter. Cf. *PGM* I. 296–97.

5. In l. 32 the papyrus gives BOLSOCH in lieu of BOASOCH as the beginning of the incantation. One or the other is probably wrong.

In order to remember what is said: Use the following compound.[6] Take the plant wormwood, a sun opal, a "breathing stone," the heart of a hoopoe[7] (also known as the "vulture cock"). Grind all these together, add a sufficiency of honey, and anoint your lips with the mixture, having first incensed / your mouth with a grain of frankincense gum.

This is the preparation: In the evening, just before retiring, purify your bed with ass's milk, and then, holding in your hands twigs[8] of laurel (the preparation for which is given below), speak the invocation given below. Let your bed be on the ground, either upon clean rushes or upon a rush mat, and lie on your right side, on the ground and in the open air. While performing the invocation, give answer to nobody, and as you are uttering it, make an offering of a lump of frankincense / and twelve right-whorled[9] pinecones and 2 unblemished [gizzard stones of a] rooster, one to Helios and one to Selene, on the first day [of the month], on a censer[10] of bronze or of earth. On your right inscribe this character,[11] and go to sleep in line with the upper stroke of it. While praying, wear a garland of laurel of the following description: Take 12 laurel twigs; make a garland of 7 sprigs, and bind the remaining five together and hold them in your right hand while you pray, / and lie down to sleep holding this, in the above-mentioned position. Inscribe the character with myrrh ink, such as is shown to you [below], with a . . . feather [or pen],[12] and hold it, along with the laurel, while you are uttering in prayer the words which begin "BOLSOCH," etc.[13]

The names to be written on the sprigs, on each leaf: "YESSEMMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOĒRE SOIRE SOIRĒ SANKANTHARA ERISCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE" / (write 12 names).

The ink is as follows: In a purified container burn myrrh and cinquefoil and wormwood; grind them to a paste, and use them. Take a sprig of laurel and Ethiopian cumin and nightshade, and grind them together; take in a clay pot water from a new well, dug either 5 months previously or within the last 5 years, or any one you come across on the first day after its being dug, and throw the mixture into the water. Leave it for just 3 nights, and, as you are uttering the invocation, put a little of it into your / right ear.

To achieve a good memory: Write on a leaf of cinquefoil the following character, written with myrrh ink, and keep it in your mouth while you sleep.

The character is:[14] ☥

Start saying the aforementioned invocation at the 7th hour of the moon, until the god hearkens to you, and you make contact with him.

And these are the compulsive [procedures]: All of them may be brought before the moon after the first or second day. / If he does not appear, sacrifice the brain of

6. σύνθεμα as a variant of σύνθημα may also have the meaning of "token" or "sign."

7. Cf. Horapollo, *Hier.* 1. 55, and the use of the hoopoe in a magical recipe in *PDM* xiv. 116. See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 102, s.v. [R.K.R.]

8. κλάδος is normally to be translated "branch," but that seems to convey the notion of something larger than can be envisioned here. "Twig" may be better, but it may sound too small. The reader must think of a small branch.

9. δεξίους is either "right-turning" or simply "perfect in shape." Cf. *PGM* III. 694; XIII. 10.

10. θυμιατήριον is properly an incense burner, but here perhaps simply a word for "altar."

11. In the margin is the *ankh* sign (☥), a symbol of life.

12. The papyrus reads εν πιννηλι. . . . Preisendanz suggests πίννῃ λι[τῇ], "with a simple, or plain, pen" (taking πίννη as the equivalent of the Latin *penna*).

13. Cf. above, l. 14.

14. The sign is called *shenou*, an Egyptian symbol of protection. [J.B.]

a black ram, and on the third day the little nail of its right forefoot, the one nearest to the ankle; on the fourth, the brain of an ibis; on the fifth, write the figure sketched below[15] on papyrus with myrrh ink, wrap it in a piece of clothing of one who has died violently, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse[16] / (some, however, [throw it] not into a furnace, for that is too extreme, but they suspend it over a lamp, or place it beneath one).

In another [text] I have found the following: If then, he does not hearken to this method, wrap up the figure in the same piece of cloth, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse on the fifth day, saying after the invocation: "ABRI and ABRO EXANTIABIL, God of gods, king of kings, now force a friendly daimon of prophecy to come to me, lest I apply worse tortures to you, the things written on the strips of papyrus." /

If even after this he does not hearken, pour fine, pure oil of radishes over an uncorrupted boy, who has been tested,[17] and having gathered it up again, prepare a lamp not painted red, and set it upon a lampstand fashioned from virgin soil (some authorities say to pour some of the oil on the altar also). If you feel a blow,[18] chew up the cumin and drink it down with some unmixed wine.

Write the prescribed figure / as given above, along with the characters and the prescribed spell twice with myrrh ink on hieratic papyrus. And of these, one you should hold as you make your invocation, as you go to sleep grasping it in your right hand, and placing it under your head, while the other, if the necessity arrives for the compulsive [procedure], you should roll up in the aforementioned cloth and use as prescribed.

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 2–4; 5–10)

PGM II. 64–183

****An alternative procedure***: Take a sprig of laurel and write the / 2 names on its leaves, the one: "[AKRAKANARBA] KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A"; the other: "SANTALALA ANTALALA NTALALA TALALA ALALA LALA ALA LA A."[19]

Take another sprig with twelve leaves on it, and inscribe on it the following heart-shaped name,[20] while you begin with a sacred utterance. ***This is as follows***: . . . . And make of the sprig inscribed with the two names / a garland for yourself, weaving about it a binding consisting of white wool, bound at intervals with red wool, and let this hang down as far as the collarbone. You shall hang a similar binding also from the twelve-leaved sprig, and present yourself to the god in the following manner: Take a completely white cock and a pinecone; pour wine upon it, anoint yourself and remain praying / until the sacrifice[21] is extinguished. Then rub

15. That is, the figure of the Headless One given at the end of the variant spell, *PGM* II. 64–183.

16. Properly, the hot-air space of a hypocaust. [J.M.D.] Bathhouses were important places for doing magic. See Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* I, 51–52; II, 32; J. H. Johnson, *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45. See also *PDM* xii. 149. [R.K.R.]

17. γυμναζομένῳ means literally "trained" or "practiced." But cf. *PDM* xiv. 287 and esp. xiv. 68, where a boy's sexual purity is stressed. Hence the accompanying use of ἀφθόρῳ here.

18. What seems to be envisioned is something akin to an electric shock. Cf. VII. 230. [J.M.D.] Cf. also 2 Sm 6:7.

19. Cf. above, ll. 1–5. Each name is to be uttered in "wing formation," leaving off one letter from the beginning in sequence. See l. 11 and n.

20. The heart-shaped name is lost, but presumably it resembled the allegedly twelve-part inscription given at ll. 33–35 above. Cf. III. 70, "in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes."

21. Cf. above, ll. 24ff.

yourself all over with the following mixture: laurel bayberries, Ethiopian cumin, nightshade, and "Hermes' finger." You shall also speak into the lamp the following: "PERPHAĒNŌ . . . DIAMANTHŌ . . . L DIAMENCHTHŌTH[22] PERPERCHRĒ ŌANOUTH PHROUMEN THORPSOU."

The operative name[23] ***is***: "AKTI KARA ABAIŌTH, O lord god, servant of god, who are in control of this night, stand by me, Apollo Paian."

Go to sleep with your head toward the south. / Use this at the time of sunrise,[24] when the moon is in Gemini:

Fourth Invocation:[25]

"Laurel,[26] Apollo's holy plant of presage,
Whose leaves the scepter-bearing lord once tasted
And sent forth songs himself, Ieios,
Renowned Paian, who live in Kolophon,
Give heed to holy song. And quickly come
To earth from heaven and converse [with me].
Stand near and from ambrosian lips inspire
My songs; come, / lord of song, yourself; renowned
Ruler of song. Hear, blessed one, heavy
In wrath and stern. Now, Titan, hear our voice,
Unfailing one, do not ignore. Stand here,
Speak presage to a suppliant from your
Ambrosian mouth, quickly, all-pure Apollo."

(Speak while the sun is rising).

Greeting formula:[27]

"Hail, fire's dispenser, world's far-seeing king,
O Helios, with noble steeds, the eye
Of Zeus which guards the earth, all-seeing one,
Who travel lofty paths, O gleam divine,[28]
Who move, through the heaven, bright, unattainable, /
Born long ago, unshaken, with a headband
Of gold, wearing a disk, mighty with fire,
With gleaming breastplate, winged one, untiring

22. MENCHTHŌTH is equivalent to *mnḫ Ḏḥwty*, "Thoth is excellent/beneficent." [R.K.R.]

23. On the significance of the term *κύριον ὄνομα*, see Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 1. 75; *Det.* 22; 83; *Plant.* 74. For the doctrine of the sacred name, see also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 7.4–5.

24. The exact significance is not clear, but cf. *PGM* VI. 4–5, where a very similar hymn is to be recited at sunrise. See also Philo, *Vit. cont.* 89; Apuleius, *Met.* 11.20.

25. The basic form of the lines in this passage is metrical, but the dactylic hexameters are frequently interrupted by *voces magicae* and brief statements in prose. Ll. 81–102, 107, 132–40, 163–66 have been combined to reconstruct Hymn 11. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 245–46. Ll. 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2) appear also at *PGM* VI. 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) and 81 also appears at *PGM* XII. 87–93. [E.N.O.]

26. For the role of laurel in magic, see L. Deubner, *Kleine Schriften zur Klassischen Altertumskunde* (Königstein: Hain, 1982) 401–3.

27. The papyrus reads *χαῖρε*, "hail," which Preisendanz understands as an abbreviation of *χαιρετισμός*, "greeting formula." See on this A. Baumstark, "Chairetismos," *RAC* 2 (1954): 993–1006. The hymn that follows is written in hexameters, although toward the end of the passage the meter falters. The hymnic section that begins in l. 101, "I call upon you . . . ," may be in prose; however, cf. *PGM* IV. 261ff., where *σέ* is used repeatedly as the first word of a hexameter and where *καλ(έ)ω* follows *σέ* three times.

28. *διιπετές* properly means "fallen from Zeus or heaven," referring to water, but the term is widely used to mean simply "divine." Here some of the original meaning seems appropriate. See Bauer, s.v. "*διοπετής*;" Betz, *Lukian* 168 n. 2.

With golden reins, coursing a golden path,
And you who watch, encircle, hear all men.
For you day's flames that bring the light give birth
To Dawn, and as you pass the midmost pole,
Behind you rosy-ankled Sunrise goes
Back to her home in grief; in front, Sunset
Meets you and leads your team of fire-fed steeds /
Down into Ocean; Night darts down in flight
From heav'n, whene'er she hears the crack of whip
That strikes with force around the horses' flanks,
AAAAAAA EEEEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ IIIIIII OOOOOOO YYYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ;
O scepter-bearing leader of the Muses,
Giver of life, come now to me, come quickly
To earth, Ieios, hair wreathed with ivy.
And, Phoibos, with ambrosian mouth give voice
To song. Hail, fire's guard, / ARARACHCHARA
ĒPHTHISIKĒRE, and hail, Moirai three,
Klotho and Atropos and Lachis[29] too.
I call you,[30] who are great in heav'n, airlike,
Supreme ruler, you whom all nature serves
Who dwell throughout the whole inhabited world,
you [whose] bodyguard is the sixteen giants, you who are seated upon the lotus and who light up the whole inhabited world;[31] you who have designated the various living things upon the earth, you who have the sacred bird / upon your robe[32] in the eastern parts of the Red Sea, even as you have upon the northern parts the figure of an infant child seated upon a lotus, O rising one, O you of many names, SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS; on the southern parts you have the shape of the sacred falcon, through which you send fiery heat into the air, which becomes LERTHEXANAX; / in the parts toward the west you have the shape of a crocodile, with the tail of a snake, from which you send out rains and snows; in the parts toward the east you have [the form of] a winged dragon, a diadem fashioned of air, with which you quell all discords beneath the heaven and on earth, for you have manifested yourself as god in truth, IŌ IŌ ERBĒTH / ZAS[33] SABAŌTH SMARTH ADŌNAI SOUMARTA IALOU BABLA YAM MOLĒENTHIŌ PETOTOUBIĒTH IARMIŌTH LAILAMPS CHŌOUCH[34] ARSENOPHRĒ EU PHTHA ĒŌLI. Hear me, O greatest god, Kommes, who lights up the day, NATHMAMEŌTH; you who rise as an infant,[35] / MAIRACHACHTHA; you who traverse the pole, THARCHACHACHAU: you who unite with yourself and endow

29. Lachis is probably metrical for Lachesis.

30. The following is an Egyptian section in contrast to the preceding Greek hymn. Ll. 102 and 106–7 contain an invocation of the sun god as a child sitting upon the lotus, enlightening the world. See S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

31. For the transformations of the sun god hour by hour, see *PGM* III. 500ff.; IV. 1596ff., and on the whole subject H. Brugsch, "Die Kapitel der Verwandlungen," *ZÄS* 5 (1867): 21–26. [R.K.R.]

32. Cf. Apuleius' description of the *Olympiaca stola* in *Met.* 11. 24, and Griffith's commentary, *The Isis-Book* 308–14. The bird may be the phoenix, for which cf. *PGM* XII. 231; XIII. 881. See on the Phoenix myth the chapter in M. Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques: Adam, Éros et les animaux d'Égypte dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II, 5)* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1974) 231–62.

33. Zas is an old name for Zeus. See also *PGM* XIXa. 44; *Orph. Frag.* no. 145 (p. 189); cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas* 130 n. 1.

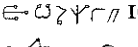
34. CHŌOYCH is equivalent to Egyptian *kky*, "darkness." [R.K.R.]

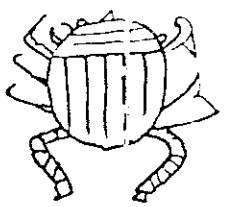
35. See on this point *PGM* II. 102 and n.

yourself with power, giver of increase and illuminator[36] of many things, SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS of waters, most powerful god, Kommes, Kommes IASPHĒ[37] IASPHĒ BIBIOU BIBIOU NOUSI NOUSI SIETHŌN / SIETHŌN ARSAMŌSI ARSAMŌSI NOUCHA NOUCHA Ē ĒI OMBRI THAM BRITHIAŌTH ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLERTHEXANAXETHRELUOŌTHNEMAREBA, the most great and mighty god. I am he, NN, who have presented myself to you, and you have given me as a gift the knowledge of your most great name, of which the number is 9,999: IĒ IE IA IAĒ IAE IEY IĒA IŌA IEY / IĒI ĒIA EA EĒ ĒE ŌĒ ĒŌ EĒE EEĒ ĒEE AAŌ ŌEA EAŌ ŌI ŌE ĒŌ EĒ EAE III OOO YYY ŌŌŌ IY EY OY ĒEA IĒEA EAE EIA IAIE IĒA IOY IŌE IOY IĒ IĒ IĒ IĒIE; Paian,[38] Phoibos of Kolophon, Phoibos of Parnassos, Phoibos of Kastalia; IĒEA IĒ IŌ IY / IE IŌA IĒA EYA ŌEA EYĒA ŌEYA EYŌA EYIE EYIAE EYE EYĒ EYIE EYŌ IEYAE EYĒAE, I will hymn Phoibos Mentor . . . AREŌTH IAEŌTH IŌA IŌĒA AE OŌE AĒŌ ŌĒA ĒŌA AĒE IE IŌ IŌ IŌ IEA IAĒ IEOY EOYŌ AA AĒŌ EE EĒY ĒĒ EĒA CHABRACH PHLIESKĒR PHIKRO PHINYRŌ PHŌCHŌBŌCH;[39] I summon you, Apollo of Klaros, / EĒY; Kastalian One, AĒA; Pythian, ŌAE; Apollo of the Muses, IEŌŌEI."

Preparation for the rite: On the first day, [collect] nails of a sheep; on the second, the nails of a goat; on the third, the hair or knucklebone of a wolf. Use these as burnt offerings for the next 3 days. On the seventh day, in case he does not yet come, / make a lampwick out of a piece of cloth taken from one who has died violently, and light a lamp from pure oil, and recite the prescribed formulas, beseeching and exhorting the god to come with good will; let your place be cleansed of all pollution, and having purified it, begin in purity the supplication to the god, for it is very great and irresistible.

/ ***Rite***: Take mud and purify the doorposts of your bedchamber, in which you are observing ritual purity, and having thus smeared on the mud, write the following inscription with a bronze stylus on the right-hand doorpost.[40]

What is to be written is as follows: "  ARSAMŌSI NOUCHA NOUCHA  ĒI ĒI IA IA IE ĒY / ABRASAX LERTHEMINŌTH." Similarly on the left-hand doorpost: "  IŌE ĒŌA ĒIEA IAIA IE IAIĒEA HARPON KNOUPHI" (formula).[41]



On the upper part of the door: "  AA EE MICHAĒL ĒIA EYŌ YAE EYŌ IAE." Below the door, [inscribe] the scarab, as it stands / here,[42] having anointed it with the blood of a goat, outside your bedchamber. Let the throne be purified, and upon it a linen cloth, and beneath it a footstool. Inscribe on the throne, on the underside: "IĒ IEA IOAY DAMNAMENEUS ABRAĒ ABRAŌ ABRAŌA; lord of the

36. The papyrus reads πολυφωτιστα (cf. LSJ, s.v. πολυφωτίστης), a reasonably well-formed word only attested here. However, in view of the genitive ὑδάτων following the *vox magica*, which seems to need a governing noun, Preisendanz emends to πολύφω⟨τε κ⟩τίστα.

37. For similar formulas see *PGM* V. 485; XII. 80; XIII. 805ff.; XXI. 25. The formula beginning "ABERAMEN . . . " (see Glossary) should be read in Preisendanz's text as a long palindrome.

38. The following text has many epithets of the god Apollo. Cf. *PGM* II. 139–40; III. 251; VI. 24–25. See I. 263 and n.

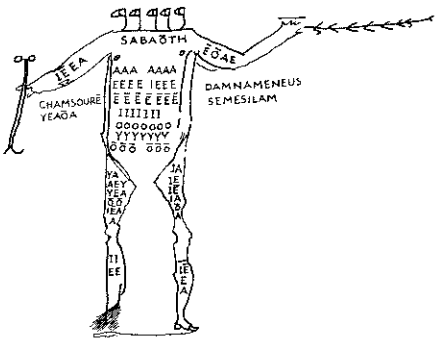
39. The spacing of this formula has been changed to conform to the spacing of the same formula found elsewhere in the *PGM* (see I. 141–42; III. 77–78, 151–52, etc.).

40. For the ritual concerning the doorposts cf. the Jewish *mezuzah*, for which see Ex 12:7, 22–23; Dt 6:4–9; 11:13–21. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 152; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* II, 479–80 (with additional references).

41. For the whole formula, see *PGM* I. 27.

42. The papyrus has ωσπερισχει, which Preisendanz emends to read ὡς περιέχει, but the meaning is not clear.

Muses, / be gracious to me, your suppliant, and be benevolent and merciful; appear to me with pure countenance."



This figure is to be / inscribed on a piece of clothing belonging to one who has died violently, and is to be cast into a pure lamp.

SENSENGEN BARPHARANGĒS / ŌĒIA IŌAE

After you have learned all you want, you will release him, doing honor to him in a worthy manner. Sprinkle dove's blood round about, make a burnt offering of myrrh, and say, "Depart, lord, CHORMOU CHORMOU OZOAMOROIRŌCH KIMNOIE EPOZOI EPOIMAZOU / SARBOENDOBAIACHCHA IZOMNEI PROSPOI EPIOR; go off, lord, to your seats, to your palace, leaving me strength and the right of audience with you."

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 81–87; 88–101).

PGM III. 1–164

* [Take a] cat, and [make] it into an *Esiēs* [by submerging] its body in water. While you are drowning it, speak [the formula] to [its] back.

The formula during the drowning [is as follows]:

"Come hither to me, you who are in control of the form of Helios, you the cat- / faced god,[1] and behold your form being mistreated by [your] opponents,[2] [them,] NN, so that you may revenge yourself upon them, and accomplish [the] NN deed, because I am calling upon you, O sacred spirit. Take on / strength and vigor against your enemies, them, NN, because I am conjuring you by your names, BARBATHIAŌ BAINCHŌŌŌCH NIABŌAITHABRAB[3] SESENGENBARPHARARGĒS . . . PHREIMI; raise yourself up for me, O cat-faced god, and perform the NN deed" (add the usual).

/ Take the cat, and make [three] lamellae, one for its anus,[4] one for . . . , and one for its throat; and write the formula [concerning the] deed on a clean[5] sheet of

1. The goddess addressed here is Sekhmet-Bastet, well known from Egyptian magical texts. See Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, nos. 5, 13–15, 18, 20, 124; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* 264–67; E. Otto, "Bastet," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 628–30.

2. For this type of accusation, see *PGM* III. 113–14; IV. 2475 and n.

3. The letters BARBATHIAŌBAINCHŌŌŌCHNIABŌAITHABRAB form a palindrome. BAINCHŌŌŌCH ("soul of Khukh," the god of darkness) is often read separately, but is adapted to this form for numerological reasons: the formula adds up to 3663.

4. That is, "one [to be placed] *in* its anus." Preisendanz in the second case restores *ἐν τ[ῷ στόμα]τι*, but this is in conflict with the other restoration in l. 67 below: [. . . *διὰ τ*]*ῶν καμ*[*αρῶν*], "through the carholes."

5. "Clean" is meant regularly in *PGM* in a descriptive sense, i.e., previously unused or "free" from imperfections, etc. See LSJ, s.v. "*καθαρός*," 3a. For detailed description regarding papyrus, see Pliny, *NH* 13. 68–89, and R. Wünsch, "Charta," *PRE* 3 (1899): 2185–92.

papyrus, with cinnabar [ink], and [then the names of] the chariots and charioteers, and the chariot boards / and the racehorses.[6] Wind this around the body of the cat and bury it. Light seven lamps upon [7] unbaked bricks, and make an offering, fumigating storax gum to it, and be of good cheer.[7] / Take its body [and preserve] it by immuring it either in a tomb or in a burial place . . . with colors, . . . bury . . . looking toward the sunrise, pour out (?) . . . , saying:

"Angel, . . . [SĒMEA], chthonic / . . . lord[8] (?), grant [safety?], . . . O chthonic one, in [the] horse race, IAKTŌRĒ;[9] hold . . . restrain . . . , PHŌKENSEPSEUARE[KTATHOUMISONKTAI],[10] for me, the spirit . . . the daimon of [the] place . . . / and may the [NN deed] come about for me immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, because I conjure you, at this place and at this time, by the implacable god . . . THACHŌCHA EIN CHOUCHEŌCH, and by the great chthonic god, / ARIŌR EUŌR, and by the names that apply to you; perform the NN deed" (add the usual).

Then take up the water in which the drowning took place, and sprinkle it [on] the stadium or in the place where you are performing [the rite].

The formula to be spoken, while you are sprinkling the drowning water, is as follows: "I call upon you, Mother of all men, / you who have brought together the limbs of Meliouchos, even Meliouchos himself, OROBASTRIA NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH, Entrapper,[11] Mistress of corpses,[12] Hermes, Hekate, [Hermes?], Hermekate,[13] LETH AMOUMAMOUTERMYŌR;[14] I conjure you, the daimon that has been aroused in this place, / and you, the daimon of the cat that has been endowed with spirit;[15] come to me on this very day and from this very moment, and perform for me the NN deed" (add the usual, whatever you wish), "CHYCHBACHYCH BACHACHYCH BACHAXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH BAIACHACHYCH BAZĒTŌPHŌTH / BAINCHŌŌŌCH ANIBŌŌŌ CHŌCHE . . . PHIŌCHEN GĒBRŌCHTHŌ MYSAGAŌTH CHEŌŌ . . . Ō[16] SABAŌTH EULAMOSI ĒĒLAXIMA . . . [. . . THACHŌCH]AXIN CHOUCHEŌCH."

On the [1st and 3rd leaves of metal] which you are to use for the conjuration, there should be this: "IAEŌ" /

6. *μονάτωρ* is a late word for *μονάμπυξ*, "horse with a single frontlet," i.e., a racehorse. Presumably one drew crude representations of them, along with their names, on a sheet of papyrus. Cf. such figures on the so-called Scythian curse tablets in R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899), esp. 51.

7. Cf. *PGM* IV. 2390 for a similar injunction to perform a rite with good cheer. See also Plutarch, *De tranq. an.* 20, p. 477E, and R. Bultmann, *TDNT* 2 (1976): 772–75 s.v. "*εὐφραίνω*."

8. The papyrus reads . . . *ρνε*. Eitrem suggests *τύραννε*.

9. It is not clear whether *iaktore* is a magical word or something sensible. Preisendanz suggests *ακτωρε* as a Greek equivalent of Latin *actores*, "drivers," but in that case the syntax is unclear.

10. Emended and restored with plausibility from *PGM* III. 78–79, 513–14, 545–46; IV. 339–40; LXVII. 13.

11. Although attested in LSJ, s.v. "*ἀρκυία*," as an epithet of the goddess Hekate with uncertain meaning (with reference to Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 14 [third cent. A.D.]), "the netter" is a standard Egyptian underworld daimon. See D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1976); J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden: Brill, 1960) 226–34. [R.K.R.]

12. The term *νεκυία* is also attested in this sense only in *PGM* IV. 2781, but necessarily having some such meaning.

13. The name Hermekate is a combination of Hermes and Hekate. See Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae*, nos. 104–7. Here in the papyrus the name could also be read Hermekatēlēth, that is, with the typical ending *-ēth*; thus Eitrem in the apparatus to III. 37.

14. AMOY at the beginning is Coptic for "come!" [R.K.R.]

15. *πνευματωτός* is a form not otherwise attested; cf. *PGM* XIII. 525: *ἐμπνευματώθη*.

16. A plausible restoration is IAŌ in that IAŌ and SABAŌTH form a common pairing in the *PGM*.

60 [AEŌ]BAPHRENEMOUNOTH[ILARIKRIPHTHNAI]-
YIANTHPHIRKIRALITH[ONYOMENER]-
PHABŌEA.

[ABLAN]ATHANALBA
[ABLAN]ATHANALBA.[17]

65 / ***On [the 2nd] metal leaf, that is to be put [through the earholes],***[18] ***there should be this***: "TREBA ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLERAEXANAXETHRELTHYOŌETHNEMA-
70 REBA" / (in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes).

Right skeletal figure: [Left skeletal figure]:





"IŌ ERBĒTH
IŌ PAKERBĒTH
IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH
IŌ APOMPS
75 IŌ PATATHNAX
IŌ AKOUBIA
IŌ SĒTH
PHŌKENSEPSEU-
AREKTATHOUMISAKTAI,
80 Perform the NN deed" (add the usual, whatever you wish).

"I conjure you, the powerful and mighty angel of this animal in this place; rouse yourself for me, and perform the NN [deed] both on this very day and in every hour and day; rouse yourself / for me against my enemies, NN, and perform NN deed" (add the usual), "for I conjure you by IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX, and by the great god, IAEŌ" (formula), "AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA CHABRAX PHNESKĒR PHIKO PHNYRO PHŌCHŌ BŌCH / ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS MITHRA NAMAZAR ANAMARIA DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌ[NIE][19] THORTOEI, holy king, the sailor, [who steers]

17. After the second ABLANATHANALBA there appears an isolated "K" followed by a lacuna of uncertain size. The papyrus either reads *και*, "and," or *κοινά*, "add the usual." For obvious reasons, it has been left untranslated.

18. See above, l. 16 and n.

19. This formula, repeated below l. 100, may well be garbled Greek for *Damnameneu, Zeu chthonie*, identifying Helios-Mithras with Hades. [J.M.D.]

the tiller of the lord god,[20] rouse [yourself] for me, great cat-faced one, steerer of the tiller [of God], perform the NN deed (add the usual), from this very day, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Perform for me the NN deed (add the usual, as much as you wish), powerful Seth-Typhon,[21] and act lawlessly through your strength and overturn the NN deed in this place . . . [in this very hour?], as I command your image, / for I conjure you, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ (formula). Perform for me this, the NN deed, by virtue of your visage, cat-faced spirit; perform for me the NN deed (add the usual), and what is written hereafter" (add your additional requests).[22] Proceed toward the sunset[23] and, / taking the right-hand and left-hand whiskers of the cat as a phylactery, complete the rite by saying this formula to Helios.

Formula: "Halt, halt the sacred boat,[24] steersman of the sacred boat! Even you, Meliouchos, / I will bind to your moorings, until I hold converse with sacred Helios. Yea, greatest Mithra, NAMAZAR ANAMARIA DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌNIE THONTOEI, holy king, the sailor, he who controls the tiller of the lord god,[25] THONTOEI KATHEN KAI MENŌPHRIS[26] . . . KMEBAU KERKERYMI, before / [you attain to] the southwest of the heaven, before [you reach nightfall?] in flight from the outrages committed against you. Hearken to me as I pray to you, that you may perform the NN [deed], because I invoke you by your names BARBARATHAM CHELOUBRAM / BAROUCH[AMBRA] SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS AMPHI MIOURI . . . MIN. Perform the NN deed" (add the usual, whatever you wish), "for it is those same people who have mistreated[27] your holy image, they who have mistreated [the holy] boat, / wherefore for me . . . , that you may return upon them the NN deed (add the usual). Because I call upon you, IŌ ERBĒTH [IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ PATATHNAX IŌ AKOUBIA IŌ ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLERTHEXANAXETHRELTHYOŌTHNEMAREBA. Perform the NN deed (add the usual), I conjure you in the Hebrew tongue[28] / and by virtue of the Necessity of the Necessitators,[29] MASKELLI MASKELLŌ. Accomplish this for me and destroy and ravage in the coming dawn, and let the NN deed befall them" (add the usual, whatever you wish), "immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Pleasant be your setting!"

When you have come to the place / in which you are performing the rite, then, taking hold of the long whiskers of the cat, both the right-hand and the left-hand, as a phylactery, go through the whole of this formula to Helios at his rising.

Formula: "Hither to me, O greatest in heaven, for whom the heaven has come into being as a dancing place, / SATIS[30] PEPHŌOUTH HŌRA, OITCHOU; of necessity

20. A reference to the solar bark of Re. See *PGM* III. 98–105. [R.K.R.]

21. Seth plays here the role of the defender of the bark of Re. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 99–108. [R.K.R.]

22. Or, "for other uses." Cf. the list of uses at *PGM* XIII. 230–333.

23. A reference to a place from where the sunset can be viewed.

24. For the halting of the solar bark, cf. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 6.5 and B. Ebbell, *Papyrus Ebers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937) 70–71. [R.K.R.]

25. Cf. *PGM* III. 81 and n.

26. Egyptian *mn-nfr*, "established and beautiful," an epithet of Memphis. [J.B.]

27. For this type of accusation see *PGM* III. 5; IV. 2475 and n.

28. Probably the meaning is "by the Hebrew sound" and refers to the vowel combinations with IAŌ. [J.B.] See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 128–37; O. Eissfeld, "Jahwe-Name und Zauberwesen," in his *Kleine Schriften* 1 (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1962) 150–71. On the use of "barbaric language" (*ῥῆσις βαρβαρική*) generally, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sections 706–69; Betz, *Lukian* 153–54.

29. This peculiar expression is found also in *PGM* IV. 262; cf. VII. 302–4; XXXVI. 342–49 and perhaps IV. 1456; XIII. 291; XIXa. 11.

30. Probably referring to the Egyptian goddess Satis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 670–71, s.v. "Satis."

perform for me the NN deed, EĪ LAANCHYCH AKARBĒN LAAR MENTHRĒ SENE-
135 BECHYCH, you who love prophecy, golden-visaged,[31] gold-gleaming, / shining with fire in the night, valiant, valiant ruler of the world, who shine out early in the day, who set in the west[32] of heaven, who rise up from the east, SL . . . IX,[33] circle-
140 shaped, who run until midday and linger in Arabia, MOURŌPHO[34] / EMPHE . . . IR, the messenger of the holy light, the fiery circle, PERTAŌMĒCH PERAKŌNCHMĒCH PERAKOMPHTHŌAK KMĒPH,[35] the brilliant Sun, who shine throughout the whole inhabited world, who ride upon the ocean, PSOEI Ō PSOEI Ō PNOUTE NENTĒR
145 TĒROU;[36] / I adjure you by the Egg.[37] I am Adam the forefather; my name is Adam. Perform for me the NN deed, because I conjure you by the god IAŌ, by the god ABAŌTH, by the god ADŌNAI, by the god MICHAĒL, by the god SOURIĒL, by the
150 god GABRIĒL, by the god RAPHAĒL, / by the god ABRASAX ABLATHANALBA AKRAMMACHARI, by the lord god, IAIŌL, by the god lord CHABRA(CH)[38] PHNESKĒR PHICHRO PHNYRO PHŌCHŌBŌCH AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA; you who light up the day,
155 NETHMOMAŌ; the child, / the riser, OROKOTOTHRO, augmenter of fire and of much light, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. Come to me, hearken [to me], most just one of all, steward of truth, establisher of justice; I am he whom you met and granted
160 knowledge and holy utterance of your greatest name, by which you control / the whole inhabited world; perform for me the NN deed" [(add the usual)].

This is the ritual of the cat, [suitable] for every ritual purpose: ***A charm to restrain charioteers in a race***, ***a charm for sending dreams***, ***a binding love charm***, and ***a charm to cause separation and enmity***.

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This elaborate spell, a charm suitable for a number of purposes (all of which are forms of malicious magic), is set forth with special reference to its use in chariot races; it is understood, however, that the additional functions, as stated at the end of the spell, also prove useful to the practitioner, provided that he supply in the required places the appropriate requests.

PGM III. 165–86

165 *Take [some] water cress,[39] 4 fingers in length, and make from it . . . and of the plant bugloss . . . construct . . . a strip of papyrus, and in the middle of the papyrus
170 strip . . . throw it away, saying the / names: "AN . . . SAŌ IBR . . . EISIRO . . . OUSIREN [TECHTHA[40] . . .]L, I conjure you, lord gods, . . . do not, therefore, dis-

31. Neither φιλομαντοσύνος nor χρυσοπρόσωπος is attested elsewhere, according to LSJ.

32. Reading λιβυβόρῳ, a compound found nowhere else; it probably means "west."

33. It is not clear whether this damaged word is a *vox magica* or a Greek word.

34. Mourōph is a name of the hour god in *PGM* IV. 1690 (the god of the eleventh hour, having the form of an ibis).

35. Forms of this *logos* occur in *PGM* IV. 1010; XII. 190; XIII. 780, 820. The final name Kmēph is an epithet of Osiris and is the equivalent of the Egyptian *ḫmʿf*, "his shrine." Cf. SATRAPERKMĒPH in *PGM* XII. 185; XIII. 915.

36. The phrase is equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 šy ʿ3 p3 šy ʿ3 p3 ntr n3 ntr. w tr. w*, "Good Daimon, Good Daimon, O god of all the gods!" PSOEIŌ should be the usual PSAIAS. [R.K.R.]

37. For the sun as an egg, cf. *PGM* XII. 100–106. On the cosmic egg, see J. Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Isis-Ei* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1970) 73–102; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 177–79. [R.K.R.]

38. This formula has been misread and is here emended on the basis of *PGM* I. 141–42; II. 138–39; III. 77–78. Preisendanz has LABRA at the beginning. The lambda has been misread for a chi.

39. The papyrus has [.]α[.] δαμινον, which Preisendanz restores to read [κ]α[ρ] δάμινον, an unattested adjectival form of *κάρδαμον*, "nose-smart" (thus LSJ, s.v.; a mustardlike plant). However, Schmidt, *GGA* 1931, 450 suggests [β]α[λ] *σάμινον*, "balsam wood." Cf. *PGM* XII. 364.

40. A variant of the name OSIRCHENTECHTHA. See also *PGM* VII. 257. The name corresponds to Egyptian *Osiris-khenty-khet*, a combination of Osiris and Khenty-khet, the local god of Athribis, who in the text is joined together with Osiris, Horus, and Apis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 131–33, s.v. "Chentechtai." [R.K.R.]

regard me; speak to me [clearly about] everything, accomplish everything . . . of / my prayer [and . . .] if god will, of this prayer [on the strip of papyrus] and of the important matter of mine."

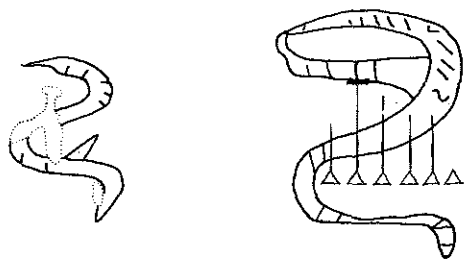
And you must make an offering in . . . [write] this [on a piece of priestly papyrus] with myrrh ink: . . . / [*ouroboros*][41] serpent . . . "ŌTE . . . IAM . . . GRASŌCHŌ . . . NŌPSITHER THERNŌPSI . . ."

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This fragmentary portion of *PGM* III begins another untitled spell which probably ends at line 186, since line 187 begins a new column (col. VIII) in the papyrus manuscript. Although the exact purpose of this short spell cannot be determined, its function may be similar to that of the spell to follow, viz., an oracular request.

PGM III. 187–262

*Pound up dry fruit (?)[42] with a pestle (?)[43] and mix it to sufficiency with honey and [oil of] a date palm. Grind up a magnet. Boil all together and pulverize it. Make little rounds, as many as you wish, / but put an ounce of each element of the mixture into each of these, and proceed thus, singing a hymn of praise to the god. Then the deity will come to you, shaking the whole house and the tripod[44] before him. Then he will bring about[45] your enquiry into the future, being clear in his intercourse with you,[46] as long as you wish, / and then dismiss the god with thanks.

The drawing of the tripod:



This is the prayer of encounter of the rite which is recited to Helios:[47]

"Keep silent, everyone, the voice that's in
Your mouths; O circling birds of air, keep quiet; /
Cease frolicking, you dolphins, o'er the brine.
Stand for me, river streams and fountain [flows].

41. Supplying [*οὐροβ*]*ορος* in the lacuna. [R.D.K.]

42. *τὰ ξυρά*. Preisendanz translates on the basis of a gloss in Hesychius, *ξυρόν*, "cutting, dry, sharp." But perhaps we are to understand simply *ξύλα*, "pieces of wood," assuming a confusion of lambda and rho. The definite article, however, suggests the pieces of wood were previously mentioned, in which case this spell would be connected to the preceding (cf. l. 165).

43. The papyrus has *σχομπανου*, a word otherwise unattested and meaningless. Preisendanz emends to *κομπανου*, "strawberry tree," a rather radical change. Perhaps we should read *κοπάνου*, "pestle," the sigma being an error, and the mu intrusive, as it often is with pi. This, however, would have to be a genitive used instrumentally, which is troublesome.

44. This tripod has not been mentioned before, but it is obviously central to the ceremony (cf. ll. 291–96 below). Perhaps we can assume the tripod is a part of the magician's basic equipment (see *PGM* IV. 1890–91; 1897; V. 200–201; XIII. 104, 661, etc.).

45. Reading future *τελεῖ* instead of imperative *τέλει*. The phrase that follows (*τρανὴς τῇ ὁμι*[λ]*ίᾳ*) seems to make better sense if it refers to the god. Cf. *PGM* II. 83–84, where *ὁμιλῶν* is used of the god consorting with the magician.

46. On Apollo's epiphany cf. Callimachus, *Hy.* 2.1–2. [W.B.]

47. The following dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 5. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42. [E.N.O.]

Now, birds of augury, stop everything
Beneath the sky. Snakes in your dens, attend
The cry and be afraid. May you in awe
[Keep] silence, daimons 'mid the shades. / The world
Itself's astonished by the secret words.
King Semea,[48] [father] of the world, be gracious
To me, O scarab; [I call you] immortal,
Golden-haired god, O scarab, marvel great
To ev'ry god and man, [be gracious, lord,
Who hold the fiery vapor in your power], /
Lord of the [sunrise], risen fiery,
Titan, I call [you], flaming messenger
Of Zeus, divine IAŌ; and you, too,
Who rule in heaven's realm, O [RAPHAĒL],
Who joy in sunrise, be a gracious god,
O ABRASAX; and you, O greatest one,
O heav'nly one, I call, and [you, MICHAĒL], your helper,[49] /
Who saves [his people's lives], the perfect eye
Of Zeus, and who has both exalted[50] nature
And brought forth nature in its turn from nature.
And I call . . . of the immortals . . .
OPASĒĒPA SESE[NGENB]ARPHARAGGĒS:
All-mighty is the god, but you are[51] greatest,
Immortal one; I beg you, shine forth now,
Lord of the world, SABAŌTH, / who veil[52] sunset
From dawn, ADŌNAI, who, being a world,
Alone among immortals tour the world, self-taught,
Untutored, through the world's midst traveling
To those who with a cry raise you at night.[53]
AKRAMMACH[ARI], KA . . . K . . .
Who joy in laurel offering, / in gates
Of untamed Styx and Death the Arbiter.

48. The name Semea also appears at *PGM* III. 29, where it is fem., and at V. 429; *PDM* xiv. 214 among the *voces magicae*. Despite the designation "King" here, Semea elsewhere is a Syrian goddess whose name appears in various forms on numerous votive inscriptions. She is identified with several deities, e.g., Astarte, Athena, Hera. Semea does not appear in Greco-Roman literary writings except perhaps in Ps.-Lucian, *De Syr. Dea* 33 (yet the text is uncertain), where it is suggested she is Semiramis. There is also a Syrian god Seimios. See O. Höfer, in Roscher IV, 601; R. Dussaud, "Simea und Simios," *PRE*, second series 5 (1927): 137–40; W. Fauth, "Simia," *KP* 5 (1979): 200. [E.N.O.]

49. The papyrus reads ἀ[ρ]ωγόν σου Μ[ιχαὴλ], which is unmetrical. Heitsch would excise ἀρωγόν σου; Preisendanz would excise μέγιστε at the beginning of the line, and write Μιχαὴλ σοὺ ἀρωγόν, which would restore the meter. "Michael" is a restoration, but a probable one; cf. *PGM* I. 301.

50. ἀέξοντα, the emendation of Wünsch, is preferable to δείξαντα for two reasons: (1) it corrects the meter and (2) it restores the proper sense, for whatever is written must govern φύσιν in both clauses. In any case, ἀέξοντα must be taken as a zeugma. [E.N.O.]

51. Fahz reads ἐσσι in lieu of ἐστι, "you are almighty god."

52. ἐπισκεπάζω is properly "to cover over," hence "veil." It may, however, be a solecism for ἐπισκέπτομαι, "look upon," the sense required here (cf. Preisendanz: "beschaut"). Cf. *PGM* I. 303, ἐπισκοπιάζεις, which is at least metrical, though the verb is not elsewhere attested. [E.N.O.]

53. The readings of the papyrus are quite uncertain here. See the restoration by Heitsch in Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42 (Hymn 5).

You I adjure, god's seal,[54] at whom all deathless
Gods of Olympos quake and daimons who
Stand forth preeminent, for whom the sea
Is ordered to be silent when it hears.[55]
You I adjure by mighty god Apollo. /
ΑΕΕΙΟΥΩ."

Also say this: "Send me the daimon who will give responses to me about everything which I order him to speak about." And he will bring this about.

This is also [another] hymn:[56]

"I[57] sing of you, O blessed one, O healer,
Giver of oracles, / O all-wise one,
O Delian [lord and Python-]slaying[58] [youth],
Dodona's [king, foretell,] O Pythian Paian;
I call you, [god who rule the tuneful lyre],
Which you [alone] of gods [do hold and strike]
[With sturdy hands] . . . [lord of the silver bow],
[O well]-named Phoibos . . .
. . . . . .
/ . . . ruler absolute . . .
Who roam the wooded peaks [of Mount Parnassos],
Be silent, do not now unstring . . .
O myrrh tree . . . / Lykian god,
Cease grow . . .
A greater light, for he will learn . . .
From lips divine, someone . . . to arouse
The seer with plectrum[59] . . .
But come you hither, prophesying; come,
Come hither, prophet, who bring joy, O Smintheus,
Give your response and / hearken, Pythian Paian;
Undying shoot, hail, Delphic maiden, Daphne,
For to you first did Phoibos strike up songs
In contest with the Muses; Daphne, you
Shake bough and urge on Phoibos. Then in hymns
They praise your tunefulness from holy Delphi.
O maiden who exult in tones divine
And oracles / . . . heaven's runner,[60] light bearer,
Earth shaker: gracious and obedient,

54. O, "I adjure you [by] the god's seal." See *PGM* I. 306 and n.

55. In Hymn 5, Preisendanz concludes with *ἀκούει*, but the following words seem part of the hymn for two reasons: (1) they are almost metrically sound, and (2) they seem to have a poetic sense. [E.N.O.]

56. This hymn is extremely fragmentary in the papyrus. Here the suggested restoration by Heitsch is followed. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 247 (Hymn 12). [E.N.O.]

57. This passage contains what appears to be dactylic hexameters, many of which are fragmentary while others are completely missing. [E.N.O.]

58. The papyrus has *]ωλετοκτυπε*, which Preisendanz (vol. II, p. 247 [Hymn 12]) restores as [*Πυθ*]*ολετοκτύπε*. This, if correct, would be a unique epithet, a combination of two attested epithets: *Πυθοκτόνος*, "Python slayer," and *Πυθολέτης*, "Python destroyer."

59. On the instrument called *πλῆκτρον*, cf. Plutarch, *De def. or.* 436E; Clement Alex., *Protr.* 1. 5. 3. [W.B.]

60. Read *οὐρ(αν)οδρόμε* for papyrus *ουροδρομε*, which is meaningless. For this epithet see l. 258 and LSJ, s.v.

Come to your prophet, but come now in haste,
O you who run through the air, O Pythian Paian."

Dismissal: ["Hasten], O air-traversing Pythian Paian; return to your heavens, / leaving to me health together with all gratitude, benevolent and ready to hearken, a sure breastplate (?), and depart to your own heavens, and [dwell there.]"

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 198–230; 234–58).

PGM III. 263–75

***Foreknowledge charm**: Take your finger and place it under your [tongue][61] before you speak to anyone.[62] Say these things along with the [great name]: / "make me know in advance the things in each person's mind, today, [because] I am TOM . . . IAŌ SABAŌTH IAŌ THĒAĒĒTH . . . M ADOUNAI BATHIAŌ . . . EA THŌĒ IABRABA ARBATHRAS[IAŌ] BATHIAŌŌIA ZAGOURĒ BARBATHIAŌ AĒI AAAAAAA EEEEEEE . . . ŌE . . . SOESĒSISIETH . . . SABAŌTH IAEŌ" (formula). If you wish, you will know [all things in advance], . . . if you have [your finger] / under your tongue, according to [the command, and if you say] this formula to Helios.

And the formula is: "Lord, if you [wish me to know in advance], let the falcon [descend] onto the tree." If it does not happen, also speak this formula to the four winds while you turn around [toward] the wind.[63] Whenever you say the formula, also say to Helios the great name . . . and the great name . . . : AŌTH / SABAŌTH. The formula [is as] above.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 275–81

*[**Horoscope**]:[64] Moon in [. . . or] Virgo: anything is obtainable, perform bowl divination, as you wish; in [Cancer]: perform the spell of reconciliation, air divination . . . ; in Gemini: perform spells of binding, . . . ; [in] Libra: perform invocation . . . spell of release . . . necromancy; in Pisces . . . OIŌ or love charm; in Sagittarius: conduct business / . . . ; [in] Capricorn: do what is appropriate; in . . . .

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM III. 282–409

*. . . words not to be spoken . . . beyond measure. . . .

Rite that brings foreknowledge, [which has] complete power and makes [all the passions] / subservient:[65] In the deep . . . of a river [or in] a tomb . . . after descending, throw into . . . [the] passion stops, and you will learn whatever you wish.

[But speak thus:] "Continue without deception, lord, the vision of every act, in accordance with the command of the holy spirit, the [angel][66] of Phoibos, you yourself being pliable because of these / songs and psalms."

The preparation for the operation: For a direct vision, set up a tripod and a table of olive wood or of laurel wood, and on the table carve in a circle these characters:[67]

61. For another example of placing something under the tongue, see *PGM* IV. 1745–46. Cf. also V. 253–54.

62. Cf. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 116, who translates: "(in the morning) before you speak to anyone."

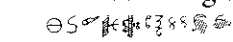
63. The formula is spoken to each of the four winds as the officiant faces them successively.

64. κύκλος is supplied by Preisendanz, who translates it "Zodiakalkreis." In the parallel passage in *PGM* VII. 284 papyrus has κύκλος Σελήνης, which Preisendanz translates "Kreislauf des Mondes."

65. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1718–19, 1721 for such a use of κλίνω.

66. The term "angel" can also be read as "messenger."

67. Among these characters a scarab is drawn.

 . Cover the tripod with clean linen, / and place a censer on the tripod. It is advantageous[68] to place on the table a [hollow figurine] of Apollo out of laurel wood. Engrave [on a lamella] of gold, of silver, or of tin these characters:  . Place the lamella under the censer, near / the wooden image, which was set up [at the same time as the] censer, and place [next to] the tripod a beaker or a shell containing [pure] water. In the center of the shrine, surrounding the tripod, inscribe on the floor with a white stylus the following character. . . . It is necessary to keep yourself pure for three days in advance. The shrine and the [tripod] must be / covered. [If] you wish [to see], look inside, wearing clean [white] garments [and crowned] with a crown of laurel,[69] which on the head . . . wormwood . . . [before the] invocation, sacrifice laurel to him . . . [during the] sacrifice / honor the [god] with paians [directed to the sunrise]. . . ask . . . [cardamom] . . . holy god . . . [almond blossom] . . . from balsam . . / . and taking . . . my thought . . / . a buttercup, after taking, taste . . . four-footed. . . .

But the formula that is recited is . . . if you wish [to know], say these things which are in the . . . god and all such prophetic . . . worm in . . . as for ten days. Mixing . . / . the heart [with] honey. [Recite] this formula toward the sunrise, [and] you will know in advance during the hour [and during this] day. [After sacrificing,] make a drink offering with dark wine . . . middle . . . say: "Make me know in advance each of the . . . from . . . and . . . toward the sunrise early / [to know] each of the men [and] to know in advance [what things] each has in his mind [and] all their essence."

Single-shooted wormwood, with a single stem, born of the sun, born of the moon[70] . . . fruit pulp of the lotus, houseleek, a turnip; [wait for] the sunrise in your house fasting. During the third hour finger . . / . [your] face, say: "[TH]ŌOU[TH] PIŌPIŌ[71] AUAPS THŌOUTH . . . ARS . . . KENON ŌOUN PACHEN NO . . . TOOU Ē . . . T ARSASŌTA YNASPOR . . . THA P . . . MNĒPHIELŌKNĒMEŌ, give to me from your effluence."

[To] the rising of the moon on the thirtieth day [say:] "Come to me, greatest archangel; come to me XASR XAM [THŌ]OUT . . . come to me, ruler / of reality, ĒMI THĒ . . . BA THŌOUTH THEŌREI . . . ENĒN PAUPIOU PSIBIOAU ABLANATHANALBA . . . AMOAMMA. Give to me, NN, memory . . . sō . . . I may know all things and I may understand the things above the. . . ."

. . . toward the sunrise MASĒS . . . saying thus: "I am [the lord] of the sea. Make all things . . . / all things [that will be, so that] I know in advance. Reveal this, the concerns of all men and what things will be . . . TŌOUT ANG[72] . . . SA . . . OUT ANG

68. Fahz and Preisendanz take *καλόν* as modifying *θυμιατήριον*, "a beautiful censer." Here *καλόν* has been taken with *ἔστιν* κτλ., and the text has been punctuated accordingly. Cf. also *PGM* IV. 2520 and Bauer, s.v. "*καλός*," 3.a.

69. The text at this point has many lacunae, and the reconstruction is uncertain. Fahz and Preisendanz take the reference to the garments and the laurel to refer to the god who is seen.

70. LSJ, s.v. *ἡλιόγονος, σεληνόγονος* translates these epithets accordingly. However, since *selēnagenon* is attested as a plant (peony) and since a plant name would be appropriate here, one should perhaps translate "peony." "Sun-born" is not attested as a plant name.

71. THŌOUTH PIŌ PIŌ (cf. also l. 340) is equivalent to Egyptian *Ḏḥwty p3 ʿ3 p3 ʿ3*, "Thoth the twice-great." Cf. *PGM* IV. 19. For this title of Thoth, see J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976) 158–60; R. K. Ritner, "Hermes Pentamegistos," *Göttinger Miszellen* 49 (1981): 73–75. [R.K.R.]

72. Following G. Möller (see the apparatus in Preisendanz ad loc.) this short section can also be read as Coptic: "[I am] Thoth; I am Sa[.]out; I am Em[..]e[.....]on; I am Alaboul[.....]lōrai; I am (?) Natreko; [.]m[.....] is your [true] name [...]." [M.W.M.]

EMĒS . . . ON ANG ALABOUL. . . ."

. . . during the tenth hour . . . A . . . N . . . N precisely . . . IE PEKREN EM . . . ONEI E . . . PO . . . NGAL . . / . just now. . . ."

. . . and at the rising . . . third . . . the upper . . . at the rising . . . "CHŌLŌM CHŌL . . . MASKELLI [MASKELLŌ] / . . . ITHĒCHTHŌ . . . lord. . . ."

. . . from the . . . at the same time . . . sun . . . and on . . . yet living . . / . anoint . . . ABLATHANALBA . . . according to the second formula . . . seventh sunrise . . . you have. / But if [you] want . . . throat of asses . . . the animal . . . tail . . . often repeating the seventh formula . . . whatever [you wish] . . . from a human head . . . [the formula], the beginning of which is: "Cause me to know, in order that . . .[73] the ear whatever . . . on earth . . . heaven, / the [beginning] . . . the hand according to . . . formula."

But if [you want] . . . and [to read] a written, sealed letter . . . the same seventh formula: "Do for me the things that are written. . . ."

To read the things that are written, take at [the rising] of the moon . . . carve . . . pieces of honeycomb. Put these in together with . . / . fresh, pleasing, happily as . . . with the things that are written, after thoroughly mixing, [with] all power daily . . . to the sun . . . say [also] the prescribed . . . and that day . . . up to half of the egg . . . put into a small drinking vessel and rub with chalk the parts of the egg, in a place[74] or in a river / where the sun . . . to animals and to humans becomes inaccessible . . . after bathing and . . . crowned with a crown of the season's flowers . . . to an altar, sacrifice on the altar and then take, [as you know,] three loaves of white bread . . . olive oil, likewise new wine . . . and milk of a [black] cow; in the finest cloaks of shieldbearers and . . . / following. Rub first . . . the half of the egg . . . the lord . . . all things . . . and the substance . . . and after saying the following formula, this the seventh, to the sun thus . . . into a holy, small drinking vessel . . . after going away and sacrificing . . . say also to the sun . . . formula or hymn giving advance knowledge . . . [single-stemmed] wormwood into . . / . saying seven times . . . Take cardamom and say the holy names . . . for all things belong to the master . . . whenever you conjure the earth by saying the seventh [formula to the] earth and all the immortal [gods].

This is the formula: "Come to me, lord . . . holy spirit. . . ."

. . . in the ninth hour . . . after this the [formula]: "I conjure those with complete power . . . and I conjure [the] earth, the heaven, [the light, and] / him who [created the universe]" . . . formula spoken of god. While saying [this] formula [to] a holy . . .[75]

". . . my name . . . / say that which . . . call . . . my name . . . my true name which . . . who makes . . / . Gabriel, Michael, PYAOUĒTE . . . NETETETET . . . the god (?) TAAIAIAIAIAIALOP . . . ĒL." Seven times you say . . . then say one time or three times.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and M. W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 399–409).

PGM III. 410–23

*Take a silver tablet and engrave it after the god[76] sets. Take cow's milk and pour

73. At the beginning of l. 369 appears what could be an isolated Coptic name, Hor-Pre; cf. Möller, in the apparatus, who suggests Harpokrates. [R.K.R.]

74. This could also be rendered "a grave." Cf. LSJ, s.v. "τόπος," 5; also l. 285 above.

75. Because of the fragmentary character of this Old Coptic section, little can be given here in translation. [M.W.M.]

it.[77] Put down a clean vessel[78] and place the tablet under [it]; add barley meal, mix and form bread: twelve rolls in the shape of female figures.[79] Say [the formula] three times, eat [the rolls] on an empty stomach, and you will know the power.

[***It is***]: "BORKA BORKA PHRIX PHRIX RIX Ō . . . ACHACH AMIXAG OUCH THIP LAI LAI LAMLAI LAI LAM MAIL AAAAAAAA IIIY ĒI AI ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ MOUMOU ŌYIŌ NAK NAK NAX LAINLIMM LAILAM AEDA . . . LAILAM / AĒO ŌAĒ ŌAĒ ĒOĀ AŌĒ ĒŌA ŌĒA, enter, master, into my mind, and grant me memory, MMM ĒĒĒ MTHPH." Do this monthly, facing the moon, on the first day [of the month]. Prostrate yourself before the goddess,[80] and wear the tablet as an amulet.



The name of the soul of god is: "EIKIZITELITHDE then PHYSOUSKAZĒTTHZ blood." Write these things with a copper stylus: "I am KŌOU BŌOU PČŌSM . . . HOUIT[81] . . . APRIĒFMLNIĒF . . . MANIŌĒSE NMANIĒFIHTENOHĒIT RENIRE RENIM E GEINNA[82] EOI . . . EFREF / NGŌOU DNI IĒSOUS PNETO."[83] Speak into your hand seven times in front of the sun, stroke your face, spit, move your thumb from your nose up to your forehead. Facing the sun, speak seven times into your hand, spit once, stroke your face, and go on to the procedure and gift:[84] "SILIBANAGOUNACHAOUĒL. . . ."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 424–66

A copy from a holy book. Charm that gives foreknowledge and memory**: Take a kakouphon,[85] / which in Egyptian is kakkou[phat, tear out] its heart, perforate it with a reed, [cut] the heart [into pieces], and put them into Attic honey when the goddess[86] approaches. Then grind the heart on the 1st of the goddess,[87] mix it with the honey, [and eat it] on an empty stomach while saying seven times, once while tasting with the forefinger, this ***formula:

"Make me know in advance once and for all the things that are going to happen, the things that are about to happen, the things that have been done, and all [today's] activities."

Say the name seven times, and quickly say / the other usual formulas. . . .[88]

76. That is, Helios, the sun god.

77. The papyrus has καταχεάσα[ς], "pour it," which is not meaningful here. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451–52, suggests καταλεάζειν on the basis of Hesychius' ἀλεάζειν, "to heat up." The translation here follows the text of Preisendanz.

78. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451, adds ⟨εἰς⟩, "into," which seems necessary to complete the sense of the phrase, viz., "put it [into] a clean vessel."

79. It seems only twelve pastry dolls are to be shaped and not an additional loaf and piece of pastry, as Preisendanz seems to take it. [R.D.K.]

80. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

81. Probably Coptic *pčosm [pe]houit*, "the first darkness." [M.W.M.]

82. Probably read Gehenna. [M.W.M.]

83. Perhaps Coptic, meaning "Jesus our great one." [M.W.M.]

84. The blessing given in response to the procedure. Cf. *PGM* IV. 198. See also A.-J. Festugière, "La Valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques," in his *L'Idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 293; Bonner, *SMA* 178–79.

85. Cf. on this term *PGM* II. 18 and n.

86. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

87. This refers to the first day of the lunar month.

88. Apparently the scribe forgot to add the formula for the second day; therefore an ellipsis has been inserted.

[While tasting] on the third, say the name LAILAM [SAN]KANTHARA (add the usual).[89] [On the] 4th of the moon say [the] 4th name, EPIMNŌ; on the 5th, the 5th name, saying seven times EKENTH . . . [on the 6th], the sixth name, AMOUN AMOUN; on the 7th of the moon, [the 7th name] . . . RA PREGXICHAROTH; on the 8th, the 8th name, EISI OUSIRI AMOUN [AMOUN;[90] on the 9th], the 9th name, PHORPHORBARZAGRA; [on the 10th], the 10th name, ZAZOUCHŌR DAMNIOTĒ; on the eleventh, the eleventh name, CHRYSA CHR[YSA] EYAE CHRYSOES EIRE CHRYSOEGETHREL . . . RON; on the twelfth, the twelfth name, and taste twelve times, ATHAB . . . ENIGRAPSATHIR . . . PSANO . . . ASĒ; [on the 13th, say the 13th name], ARTEMI DAMNŌ DAMNO / LYKAINA;[91] on the fourteenth, say the [fourteenth name]. This is the 14th name: HARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRINTATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA OREOBAZAGRA. On the fifteenth, the fifteenth name, SESENGEN BARPHARAGGĒS AGAB . . . AEĒIOYŌ (add the usual formulas, as much as you want, saying it on each day).

When the moon [wanes], say [the formula] in hexameter, saying it seven times until it is again the fourteenth of the goddess. But beware, lest it be in conjunction . . . each day . . . and the whole composition of the divine arrangement be undone. [For] the lord [god] speaks. A procedure greater than this one does not exist. It has been tested / by Manethon,[92] [who] received [it] as a gift from god Osiris the greatest. Perform it, perform it successfully and silently.

Formula spoken . . . ***and*** . . . ***the sun***: "Hail, absolute ruler, hail, hail, [forefather . . . DAMNAM]ENEU [ABRASAX] . . . K . . . ĒLĒL, one holy . . . SABĒLE SABĒLE KA. . . ."

. . . [***Foreknowledge***] . . . ***Moses*** . . . ***and*** . . / . ***for memory***, [say] the following [formula] each [day]: ". . . IMEA . . . ABRASAX . . . [to know] OEIIAO . . . IAŌ SABAŌ[TH] . . . great . . . IABE[ZEBYTH] . . . ABRAXAS TAE." . . / . .

But in this way draw a boy and you . . . later, and you will hear the birds chattering . . . seven of fennel and of sesame, of black cumin . . . / [take] these and crush them, with spring water . . . the moon being second, and you will hear all things. . . .

". . . I am IEĒ IOEĒ IE IAŌ ISI . . . [the things in the] minds of men, because I. . . ."

. . . pray to him. But . . / . but a swallow[93] of this comes . . . this your formula repeat seven times . . . ***formula***, which you say: "Hail, Helios, Mithras. . . ."

. . . this holy water . . . this one has in his mind . . . / that day [you] know . . . but if [you] touch, [you will have] a semitertian [fever].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 467–78

***Memory spell**: Take first . . . 2 calf's snouts, "Hermes' finger" . . . / taste, and prostrate yourself while saying three times to Helios: "[Enter,] MA . . . A KMĒPH ARSŌ ARSŌ THOUTH . . . O TIOI E.OI POMPOM PHRĒ [IARBATHA CHRAMNĒ] . . . upon my heart, [having granted] memory to my soul, to my eyes [SALBANACHAM-

89. As one can see from l. 436 below, the direction "add the usual" (*κοινά*) is to be understood after each day.

90. That is, Osiris, Amon in vocatives.

91. "She-wolf" is an epithet of the goddess Artemis. See also *PGM* IV. 2302–3; 2550.

92. The name Manetho probably refers to an Egyptian priest and historian of the third cent. B.C., the man who was instrumental in the setting up of the cult of Sarapis. Cf. also *PGM* XII. 23; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 28, 362A; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 8.1. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 78–82; H.-J. Thissen, "Manetho," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1180–81.

93. The cliff, or chimney swallow. [J.S.]

BRĒ . . .] / monarch, the one who rules over all . . . ABLAN OOOO ADŌNIĒ AĒŌ . . . in order that, whatever I hear once, [I might remember it throughout] my lifetime."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 479–83

***Foreknowledge charm**: Take [. . . parts] fleawort, [and say to] / the height of the heavenly circle: "The thief . . . the only great god, [come to me] from an assembly on the 6th day . . . to happen, Helios."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This and the two variant charms to follow serve as spells to "prognosticate" the identity or whereabouts of a thief.

PGM III. 483–88

***Another [copy]**: ". . . ALA.AANG XICHA MICHA ANG E . . . / EROTPITENPHĒT NPRŌME,[94] [having] a gold-colored [crown on the] head, turn to [the thief who took away the NN thing], kill, cleave him and . . . but if you behead. . . ."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 488–94

***Another**: Take a wing . . . / "AŌŌ; then, according to the same . . . LŌ [PHNOU]KENT ABAŌTH . . . DO . . . ŌLEAIS . . . KA . . . TA K. . . ."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This is presumably another spell to detect a thief; see the note appended to *PGM* III. 479–83, above.

PGM III. 494–611

***[Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios.** A procedure for every [rite], for [all things]. / For whatever you want, invoke in this way: "[Come,] come to me from the four winds of the world, air-transversing, great god. Hear me in every ritual which [I perform], and grant all the [petitions] of my prayer completely, because I know your signs, / [symbols and] forms, who you are each hour and what your name is.[95]

"In the first hour you have the form and character of a young monkey; [the tree] you produce is the silver fir; the stone, the *aphanos*;[96] the bird . . . your name is PHROUER.[97]

"In the second hour you have the form of a unicorn; the tree you produce is the persea; the stone, the pottery stone;[98] / the bird, the halouchakon;[99] on land, the ichneumon; your name is BAZĒTŌPHŌTH.

"In the third hour you have the form of a cat; the tree you produce is the fig tree; the stone, the *samouchos*;[100] the bird, the parrot; on land, the frog; your name is AKRAMMACHAMAREI.

"In the fourth hour you have the form of a bull; the tree you produce / . . . the

94. This is Coptic and means "to the man." [R.K.R.]

95. In his twelve-hour course through the heavens, the sun is identified here with ancient theriomorphic and totemistic forms. Also, the sun's creative activities are identified with certain hours. See for this Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie* 5–6. Cf. *PGM* II. 104–15 and n.

96. The identification of *lithos aphanos* is uncertain; literally it means "invisible stone" (clear quartz?). [J.S.]

97. PHROUER is Egyptian for "Pre the great." [R.K.R.]

98. On the pottery stone see Pliny, *NH* 37. 152.

99. Otherwise unidentified.

100. According to LSJ, this word is a hapax legomenon. Preisendanz identifies it with ψαμμοῦχος, a sandstone (not attested in LSJ).

101. Fahz reads γεννᾷς δένδρον [κα]ὶ λίθον, "you produce a tree [and] stone." This should probably be understood to refer to holly oak and a brick-red opal. Cf. also n. 102. [J.S.]

stone,[101] the amethyst;[102] the bird, the turtledove; on land, the bull; your name is DAMNAMENEUS.

"In the fifth hour you have the form of a lion; the tree you produce is the prickly shrub; the stone, the magnet; [the bird] . . . on land, the crocodile; your name is PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT.

"In the sixth hour you have the form of a donkey; the tree / you produce is the thorn tree; the stone, lapis lazuli; in the sea, the jellyfish;[103] on [land, the white-faced cow]; your name is EIAU AKRI LYX. . . .

"[In the seventh hour] you have the form of a [crayfish; the tree you produce] . . . [you produce] . . . ; [the stone, the sun opal;[104] / the bird] . . . on land, the cat; [your name is]. . . .

"In the eighth [hour] you have the form . . . [the tree you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . the bird . . . [on land], the hippopotamus; [your] name [is]. . . .

"In the ninth [hour] you have the form of an ibis; [the tree / you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . on land, the chameleon; [your name]. . . .

"In the tenth hour [you have] the form . . . ; [the tree you produce] . . . the stone, one the color of a falcon's neck; [the bird]. . . .

/ "In the twelfth [hour you have the form] . . . [your name is] ADŌNAI . . . [and]. . . .

". . . / GABRIĒL ALLŌEA . . . OURĒĒDYDIE THARABRACHIRIGX IARBATHACHRAMNĒPHIBAŌCHNYMEŌ[105] KAMPYKRIL . . . ELAMMARĒ.

"I have spoken your signs and symbols. Therefore, lord, do the NN deed by necessity, lest I shake heaven. Do the NN deed for me; you are the image, the whole of the universe, [you] who, after being selected,[106] guarded the holy place of the / great king. Do the NN deed for me, the one who keeps the keys of the triangular paradise of earth, which is the kingdom. Do the NN deed for me, the fatherless child of an honored[107] widow, BŌIATHYRITH, lest they take away from me the lord's fatherland and so that all / good things happen by command, PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUNKENTABAŌ AŌRIŌ ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYROSPARIPĒGANYX KAILAM IALMIŌ LILIMOULĒALABAĒNEREDEMOU."

"Come[108] to me in / your holy circuit of
The holy spirit, founder of the world,
O god of gods, lord of the world, who have
Divided by your own divine spirit
The universe; first from the firstborn you

102. Pliny identifies παιδέρως as an opal (*NH* 37. 84) or an amethyst (*NH* 37. 123). It has been rendered here as amethyst because in 37.80 Pliny says opals come only from India. See the note by D. E. Eicholz, *LCL* edition of Pliny's *Natural History*, vol. 10, p. 230, n. a. [J.S.]

103. The term literally means "glass fish." [M.S.]

104. The translation of ἡλιοπάλιος is uncertain.

105. Cf. for this name *PGM* I. 143 and n.

106. Following Preisendanz's translation as "Auserwählter."

107. The papyrus reads κατατετιμημένη[ς], a verb not attested elsewhere. The meaning could also be "despised." Preisendanz suggests that the widow is Isis and the magician identifies himself with Horus. Probably, the translation "dishonored" is to be preferred, because it would refer to the murder of Isis' husband and her subsequent flight to the swamps of Chemmis to raise her son Horus. For Horus as orphan, see Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 69, no. 92. [R.K.R.]

108. These dactylic hexameters, many of which are metrically faulty, are also the reconstructed Hymn 2, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238. [E.N.O.]

Appeared,[109] created carefully, from water
That's turbulent, who founded all the world:
Abyss, earth, / fire, water, air, and in turn
Ether and roaring rivers, red-faced moon,
Heaven's stars, morning stars, the whirling planets.[110]
'Tis by your counsels they attend all things."

"You who summon . . . AMOCHL . . . PHODOPH . . . M . . . ARPHTHŌ . . . IBK / PSOUPHIS [TŌM] . . . OIŌTH ŌPHROUER CHMĒIB HARPONKNOUPHI BRINTATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA HAROUAR ZARBAMESEG KRIPHI NIGTHOU MICHMOUMAŌPH IAŌLI PRIN ASTRAPTĒS[111] AI CHEAOKIRTABAOZAALE ASRISKI . . . OU BRITHEI STOMA,[112] master. Come to me, / lord, you who sometimes raise the light, sometimes lower the darkness [with] your own power. Hear me, lord, me, NN, graciously, gladly and for a blessing, from every element from every wind, today, with your happy face, in the present hour, because / I invoke your holy name from every side. You who were begotten in every human body, inspire us.[113] From the right of the axis your [name] is: 'IAŌ AŌI ŌAI [ŌYA] ŌŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA IY . . . ŌAI,' but from the left of the axis: 'IAŌ AYŌ IŌAI / PIPI ŌŌŌ ŌŌ III AYŌ . . . ŌA ŌAI.' Come to me with a happy face to a bed of your choice, giving to me, NN, sustenance, health, safety, wealth, the blessing of children, knowledge, a ready hearing, goodwill, sound judgment, honor, memory, grace, shapeliness, beauty to / all who see me; you who hear me in everything whatsoever, give persuasiveness with words, great god, to the EYAĒŌ IŌ IAŌ ŌAI ŌIŌ ĒAYI TAS ERCHIS AUXACHOCH HARSAMOSI. I beg, master, accept my entreaty, the offering to you which you commanded. In order that you might now illuminate me with knowledge of things beloved by you / even after the kind restoration of my material body, I pray, lord, accept this my request, [the] entreaty, the preliminary spell, the offering of my eloquent spirit. Let it also come to you, the ruler of all, in order that / you fulfill all the petitions of my prayer, you who originated from gods.[114] We give you thanks with every soul and heart stretched out to [you],[115] unutterable name honored with [the] appellation of god and blessed with the [appellation of father], for to everyone[116] and to everything you have shown fatherly / goodwill, affection, friendship and sweetest power, granting us intellect, [speech,] and knowledge; intellect so that we might understand you, speech [so that] we might call upon you, knowledge so that we might know you.[117] We rejoice because you showed yourself to us; we rejoice

109. This refers to the sun god's appearance from the waters of Nun, the primordial abyss. Cf. *PGM* I. 34–36. [R.K.R.]

110. There are three types of star referred to here: ἀστέρας (1) ἀερίους, (2) ἑώους, (3) περιδινοπλανήτας. On ἑώους as morning star, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrab.* 3. 4 (114). [E.N.O.]

111. Or "before you hurl lightning."

112. Or "mouth is full."

113. ἐμπνευματίζω is not otherwise attested. Cf. *C.H.* 13.19 with Keil's conjecture πνευμάτιζε, cited by Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 208, in the critical apparatus to l. 17.

114. The section in ll. 591–609 has close parallels in Ps.-Apulcius, *Asclepius* 41 (ed. Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, pp. 353–55) and *NHC* VI, 7: 63, 33–65, 7. See Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* 298–99; P. Dirkse and J. Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," in *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI, with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, *NHSt* 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 375–87. Cf. also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 10. 8; *C.H.* 13. 18–20, with the discussion by Grese, *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII, pp. 183–88.

115. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 353.

116. Following J.-P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypt. Les textes hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins*, vol. 1 (Québec: Les presses de l'université Laval, 1978) 160–61.

117. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 354.

because while we are / [still] in bodies you deified us by the knowledge of who you are. The thanks of man to you is one: to come to know [you], O womb[118] of all knowledge. We have come to know, O womb[119] pregnant through the father's begetting. We have come to know, / O eternal continuation of the pregnant father. After bowing thus before your goodness,[120] we ask no [favor except this]:[121] will that we be maintained in knowledge of you; and one protection:[122] that [we] not fall away from a [life] such as this. . . ."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 494–549; 558–611) and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 549–58).

PGM III. 612–32

*[If you make] an offering of wheaten meal and ripe mulberries and unsoftened[123] (?) sesame and uncooked *thrion* and throw into this a beet, you will gain control of your own shadow[124] / so that it [will serve] you. Go at the sixth hour of the day, toward [the rising sun], to a deserted place, girt about with a [new] dark-colored palmfiber basket, and on your head a scarlet cord as a headband, behind your right ear / the feather of a falcon, behind your left that of an ibis.

Having reached the place,[125] [prostrate] yourself, stretch out your hands, and utter the following ***formula***: "Cause now my shadow to serve me, because I know your sacred names [and] your signs and / your symbols, and [who you are at each hour], and what your name is."[126]

Having said this, [utter] the formula given above,[127] and in case he does not [hearken, say]:[128] "I have uttered your sacred names and [your signs] and your symbols, wherefore, O lord,[129] cause / my [shadow] to serve me." [And] at the seventh [hour] it will come to you before [your] face, and you address it [and say]: "Follow me everywhere!" But [look] to it, that it not leave you.

*Tr. J. M. Dillon. See the introductory note on *PGM* III. 494–611. This unique spell to acquire control over one's shadow may be part of the whole ***Encounter with Helios*** contained in III. 494–731. The Coptic section to follow (*PGM* III. 633–731) belongs with this section, and the mention of the "signs and symbols" in l. 625 connects this spell to the preceding; furthermore, the mention of the "formula given above" (l. 626) must refer to a formula given in the preceding spell, probably the formula found in III. 494ff. The appearance of one's shadow is thus the proof of Helios' appearance requested in *PGM* III. 494–731.

118. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 355.

119. On the role of the uterus in magic, see A. A. Barb, "Diva Matrix," *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238. Cf. also *PGM* V. 158.

120. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 164–65.

121. Ibid.

122. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 166–67, and Dirkse and Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," 384–85.

123. Preisendanz reads ἀ[νέκ]χυτον, a word otherwise unattested. More likely would be the restoration ἀ[διά]χυτον, "not softened by cooking"; hence the translation here. [R.D.K.]

124. Cf. *DMP* col. IV, l. 23 for a spell for "lucky shadows" *(wḏ ḫyb.t)*. [R.K.R.] See also Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 163–64.

125. Literally, "treading about in the place."

126. Cf. ll. 499–501 for a similar expression. It seems that the deity invoked has a different appearance every hour. See also the introduction to this spell and its possible relationship with *PGM* III. 494–611.

127. That is, the formula given in 494–536, particularly the section containing the signs and symbols.

128. Following Preisendanz's restoration. This hardly seems suitable, as one would rather expect, "And when you are finished, say. . . ." [J.M.D.]

129. The "lord" addressed in this spell is Helios, the sun god, mentioned in III. 494–611.

PGM III. 633–731

*Call . . . , "Great god . . . , you who are the sun, Re is your name / . . . the glowing flames . . . my nail (?) . . . Em . . . is your name, Em . . . [is your true name] . . . crown . . . my name . . . [AEEĒ]ĒĒIIIIOOO[OOYYYYYYŌ]ŌŌŌŌ[Ō]Ō / . . . / of the great god . . . [Nef] is my name, Nef is my true name . . . Praise[130] be to (?) SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ADŌN BARBARIOT . . . of Lo son of Ouer[131] . . . / whose face is in the middle of . . . of Lo son of Ouer . . . whose face is in the middle of . . . in truth. For I am . . . For I am Lotus-Lion-Ram[132] . . . / Lotus, reveal yourself . . . For [I] am . . . all (repeat).[133] I am Oh, I am AEĒIOY[Ō AEĒIOYŌ] A[EĒIOYŌ AEĒI] OYŌ [AEĒI] OYŌ AEĒIOYŌ AEĒI[OY]Ō AEĒIOY[Ō] . . . , and we are strong (?) . . . of Shmoun[134] . . . / until you offer incense to Horus. I am Oh, I know [your name] . . . little, every time, at every hour. Come, go . . . what you want (repeat). For Ei is your name, Ei is the name of you. I . . . Totf; Totf is my true name (add the usual [?]) as you wish, after . . . the (formula) I am Kat son of Kat, whom Kat has borne . . . / I am the [breath] of night . . . I am Abriabot, the . . . the great snake . . . [Thoth the great] of Shmoun . . . the god Horus . . . , ([add the usual] as you wish). For I am Iethor,[135] who wants to . . . I . . . who . . . / frog . . . is my name . . . the great god who will do . . . To son of To[136] is your name . . . father. / You are Earth-shaker,[137] the High One, the son of Re, the [great] god . . . in the abyss, who is in . . . all the earth . . . (add the usual, as you wish) . . . he who does . . . I am . . . I am the one who . . . in him . . . / For . . . I am Io . . . is [my] name [. . . is] my true name . . . To the great is my [true] name . . ."

. . . this day . . . speak to Helios[138] . . . / on the third day, also to the moon[139] . . . at the third entrance of the goddess, go to an ever-flowing river . . . bathe, and go in pure garments . . . , having drunk . . . a solitary place, hold toward the rising sun a white rooster without blemish and twelve pinecones whorled[140] to the right. Offer milk and pour a libation of white wine, / and say the designated seven formulas [seven] times, requesting an encounter with [the] god . . . yourself. He will show . . . let him dwell (?)[141] for seven days. Set up . . . toward the moon, with purity; and when you see the god in this place, feast [in an appropriate manner].[142] So when you encounter the god, say the formula for a direct vision, and request foreknowledge from the master. / Go down to a pure and consecrated place, and

130. Cf. *PGM* IV. 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19.

131. For OUĒR cf. Egyptian *wr*, "the great one." [R.K.R.]

132. This corresponds to SERPOT-MOUI-SRO. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 12 and the note by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* on *DMP* col. I, l. 12. On the solar character of this designation of the sun in the morning, at midday, and in the evening, i.e., the universal sun in three manifestations (Re-Khepri-Atum), see M.-L. Rhyner, "A propos de trigrammes panthéistes," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29 (1977): 125–37. [M.W.M.]

133. Apparent instructions for the repetition of the formulas either forward or backward. Cf. ll. 667, 669, 682. But if this is the equivalent of Greek *κοινόν* (see Preisendanz's text at l. 682), we are to understand "(add the usual)"; thus the translation, as in several instances below.

134. Shmoun (Hermopolis, El-Eshmunen) is the city of the god Thoth. See on the name A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 79*–81*. See for the name also below, l. 672.

135. That is in Egyptian "eye of Horus."

136. Possibly, *To* is "land"; hence at III. 687 "the great land."

137. For KMPTO cf. *PGM* IV. 1323; *PDM* xiv. 192.

138. That is, the sun god Helios.

139. The moon goddess Selene; see also l. 697.

140. See the note at *PGM* II. 25.

141. The text is uncertain at this point; perhaps *οἰκείτω* is to be read instead of *οἰκητω*. [M.W.M.]

142. Supplying in the lacuna *ἐ[πιτη]δές*, following Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 456.

again sacrifice a rooster, and while in pure garments secretly [grasp the other things] which are necessary as symbols . . . god(dess) . . . third . . . , hold in your right hand a [single-stemmed] wormwood and in your left a snakeskin, and recite the [specified] formulas [and] what you wish, and it will happen. Recite often / . . . written down . . . to learn something, it is told to you by the god. And if you . . . , write . . . and wrap in linen from head to foot . . . , and on the ground draw Harpokrates holding [his finger][143] to his mouth, and in his left hand clutching a flail and a crook[144] . . . then "ABLANATHANALBA"; in wing . . .[145] / "ABRASAX": near the back, "ŌĒAUA . . . ," and set the child on it, and write the 5th formula . . . : "ĒFĒINTOK[146] . . . TE UONĒFIOUOI." Also use this treatment often: take away . . . from before him the linen, and let him behold, and he will see; and ask [him] . . . on the tenth day . . . in the morning of the first (formula?), then the / first for a second time in the morning of the . . . let these things be . . . two bricks . . . under papyrus . . . head . . . hole . . . / hold in your hands . . . this . . . and say the . . . in each . . . as . . . little . . . all . . . on these . . . great . . . / both . . . formulas before . . . formulas with the . . . and all . . . and . . . pit . . . you make / call the olive . . . pure. . . .

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. For the connection of the spell with the preceding, see the introductory notes at *PGM* III. 494–611 and III. 612–32.

PGM IV. 1–25

*"SAPHPHAIOR BAELKOTA KIKATOUTARA EKENNK LIX, the great daimon and the inexorable one,[1] . . . IPSENTANCHOUCHEŌCH / DŌOU SHAMAI ARABENNAK ANTRAPHEU BALE SITENGI ARTEN BENTEN AKRAB ENTH OUANTH BALA SHOUPLA SRAHENNE DEHENNE KALASHOU CHATEMMŌK BASHNE BALA SHAMAI—on the day of Zeus[2] in the first hour, but on the [day] of deliverance[3] in the fifth hour: a cat . . . / in the eighth: a cat.[4] Praise[5] be to Osiris, the king of the underworld, the lord of embalming, he who is at the south of This, who is honored at Abydos, he who is under[6] the noubs tree[7] in Merouse,[8] whose glory is in Pashalom.[9] Praise be to Althabot; bring unto to me Sabaoth. / Praise be to Althonai, great Eou, very valiant; bring unto me Michael, the mighty (?) angel who is with God. Praise be to

143. Supplying in the lacuna [τὸν δακτύ]λιον. [M.W.M.]

144. For depictions similar to the one here see Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* 206–7; Bonner, *SMA*, p. IX, nos. 189–94.

145. Perhaps, "in wing formation."

146. This is equivalent to Demotic *iw.f r in.ṯ.k.*, "He shall bring you." [R.K.R.]

1. See for this term Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 101; on the verb παραιτέω, see Betz, "Fragments," 291.

2. That is, Thursday.

3. Perhaps Sunday.

4. These enigmatic phrases are instructions for the use of the spell.

5. This passage is parallel to *PDM* xiv. 627–35. See F. Ll. Griffith, "The Old Coptic Magical Texts of Paris," *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 86–93. [R.K.R.]

6. Or "under the shade of the *noubs* tree."

7. According to Griffith, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 87, at Pnubs the *noubs* tree was sacred to Thoth. See on this point Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 334–35.

8. Meroe is the capital of an ancient state in the Sudan. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 456–57, s.v. "Meroe."

9. Cf. also *PDM* xiv. 627–29. Pashalom is the capital of the nome in which Abydos is also located. Situated to the south of This, Abydos is the holy city where the head of Osiris was buried. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 362 n. 1.

Anubis, of the nome of Hansiese,[10] upon his mountain.[11] Praise be to the goddesses—Thoth the great, the great, the wise. Praise be to the gods, / ACHNOUI ACHAM ABRA ABRA SABAÔTH.[12] For Akshha Shha[13] is my name, Sabashha is my true name; Shlot Shlot very valiant is my name. So let him who is in the underworld join him who is in the air; let them arise, come in, and bring me news / of the matter about which I ask them" (add the usual).

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This request for an oracle may be part of the larger spell contained in *PGM* IV. 1–85.

PGM IV. 26–51

***Initiation:**[14] Keep yourself pure for 7 days beforehand. On the third of the month, go to a place from which the Nile has recently receded, before anyone walks on the area that was flooded—or at any rate, to a place that has been inundated by the Nile. / On two bricks[15] standing on their sides, build a fire with olive wood (that is, with a branch of it) when half of the sun is above the horizon; but before the sun appears, dig a trench around the altar. When the disk of the sun is fully above the horizon, / cut off the head of an unblemished, solid white cock which [you are to carry] under your left arm (and do dig the trench around[16] the altar before the sun appears).[17] When you are beheading the cock, fix it in place [with *your knees*][18] and hold it down all by yourself. / Throw the head into the river and drink up the blood, draining it off into your right hand and putting what's left of the body on the burning altar. Then jump into the river. Immerse yourself in the clothes you have on, walk backwards[19] out of the water, and, after changing into fresh garments, / depart without turning round.[20] After this, take bile from an owl, rub some of it over your eyes with the feather of an ibis, and your initiation will be complete. But if you can't get hold of an owl, use an ibis's egg and a falcon's feather. / Bore a hole in the egg, insert the feather, break it open, and thereby get the fluid to rub on yourself.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

10. The location is unknown. Cf. *Ha-si-ise-t*, "house of the son of Isis." See A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 29* (no. 341A). One conjecture is that of Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 659, who has identified Hansiese as a site (Chenoboskia?) near Koptos and Dendera in Upper Egypt.

11. This refers to an ancient title of Anubis. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 174. In this connection one should also note the relationship between mountain, desert, and cemetery in ancient Egypt.

12. Hebrew for "Lord, Lord of Hosts;" ABRA may be a variation of *arba* (Heb. "four") designating the tetragrammaton. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 126; Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 64; A. Barb, "Abraxas-Studien," in *Hommages à W. Deonna* (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1957) 67–86.

13. Or "IEAKSHHA SHHA"; but cf. *PGM* IV. 77, also III. 658, 659, 661, 667, 673, etc., for other examples of the common formula "for . . . is my name" or "for I am. . . ."

14. The purpose of this rite is not clear (cf. l. 48). It may have simply been a part of the longer ritual of the context.

15. On the magical use of bricks for both the living and the dead, see J. Monnet, "Les Briques magiques du Musée du Louvre," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 8 (1951): 151–62. [R.K.R.]

16. Or "dig a trench around," which may in fact mean "walk around" and refer to the ritual circumambulation. See W. Pax, "Circumambulatio," *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52.

17. See l. 33 above.

18. The phrase "with your knees" is a conjecture based on *PGM* IV. 227–28.

19. Cf. the injunctions to walk backwards at *PGM* I. 37; IV. 2493; XXXVI. 273.

20. Presumably, the initiate is to turn away from the river after he is out of the water and to depart without looking back at the river. Perhaps he is being instructed to depart by walking backwards. The text is not entirely clear; cf. for similar circumstances *PGM* VII. 439–40. For looking back and its consequences, cf. the story of Lot's wife (Gn 19:17, 26) and the injunction in Lk 17:31–32; Mt 24:15–18 (cf. Lk 9:62).

PGM IV. 52–85

*Keep yourself pure for 7 days before the moon becomes full by abstaining from meat and uncooked food, by leaving behind during the prescribed days exactly half / of your food in a turquoise[21] vessel, over which you are also to eat, and by abstaining from wine. When the moon is full, go by yourself to the eastern section of your city, village, or house and throw out / on the ground the leftover morsels. Then return very quickly to your quarters and shut yourself in before he[22] can get there, because he will shut you out if he gets there before you. But before you throw out the morsels, fix in the ground at a slight angle a verdant reed that is about two cubits long, tie some hairs from a stallion about the midsection of a horned dung beetle, and suspend / the beetle from the reed by them. Then light a lamp that has not been used before and place it under the beetle in a new earthenware dish, so that the heat from the lamp barely reaches the beetle. Stay calm after you have thrown out the morsels, gone to your quarters, and shut yourself in; / for the one you have summoned will stand there and, by threatening you with weapons, will try to force you to release the beetle. But remain calm, and do not release it until he gives you a response; then release it right away. And every day during the period of purification when you are about to eat and to go to bed, speak the following spell 7 times (you are to say them again / when you return to your quarters after throwing out the food). Keep it secret: "You with the wooden neck, you with the clay (?) face,[23] come in to me, for I am Sabertoush, the great god who is in heaven."

The phylactery for the foregoing: With blood from the hand or foot of a pregnant woman, / write the name[24] given below on a clean piece of papyrus; then tie it about your left arm by a linen cord and wear it. ***Here is what is to be written***: "SHTĒIT CHIEN TENHA, I bind and loose."

The dismissal: When you release the beetle, say: "Harko, Harko is my name; Harko is my true name."

Guard these instructions / well. ***The rite***: an onion.[25]

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr., and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 75–77, 81–82, 83–84).

PGM IV. 86–87

***Phylactery against daimons**:[26] "HOMENOS OHK KOURIĒL IAPHĒL, deliver" (add the usual), "EHENPEROOU BARBARCHAOUCHE."

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer. This brief spell seems to have no connection with the preceding or following spells.

21. A blue-green glazed pottery, almost certainly Egyptian faïence. See A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London: Arnold, 1962) 156–67, esp. 163–64. [R.K.R.]

22. "He" is the one summoned (l. 70), but "he" is never identified.

23. Probably referring to a clay or terracotta figurine on a wooden pedestal. [M.W.M.]

24. The "name" may have included not only *sabertoush* but also the attached epithets: in magical texts "name" often means "full title." The Greek *προυποκείμενον* normally means "given above," but it can also be read as meaning "set forth below." This latter interpretation (accepted by Preisendanz) would eliminate the apparent contradiction between this and the following sentence. However, the following sentence may be a deliberate contradiction by a glossator. [M.S.]

25. This is probably an abbreviated way of saying, "Use the procedure that involves an onion."

26. Or "For those possessed by daimons," which seems the better reading of the papyrus. The manuscript has *πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένο(υ)ς*. See A. Erman, *ZÄS* 21 (1883): 99 (plate III, l. 25) and Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. The invocation which begins with OHK is separated by a space and *-ζομενος* is written with the same Greek letter forms as the preceding ones. [R.D.K.]

PGM IV. 88–93

*__Another,__[27] __to Helios__: Wrap a naked boy in linen from head to toe,[28] then clap your hands. After making a ringing noise, place the boy opposite / the sun,[29] and standing behind him say the ***formula***:

"I am Barbarioth; Barbarioth am I; PESKOUT YAHO ADŌNAI ELŌAI SABAŌTH, come in to this little one today, for I am Barbarioth."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 91–93).

PGM IV. 94–153

*Isis is the one who comes from the mountain at midday[30] in summer, the dusty maiden; / her eyes are full of tears and her heart is full of sighs.

Her father, Thoth the Great, came in unto her and asked her, "O my daughter Isis, dusty maiden, why are your eyes full of tears, your heart full of sighs, and [the . . .] of your garment soiled? [Away with] the tears of your eyes!"

She said [to him], "He is not with me,[31] O my father, Ape Thoth, Ape / [Thoth], my father. I have been betrayed by my female companion. I have discovered [a] secret: yes, Nephthys is having intercourse with Osiris . . . my brother, my own mother's son."

He said to her, "Behold, this is adultery against you, O my daughter Isis."

She [said] to him, "It is adultery against you, O my father, / [Ape] Thoth, Ape Thoth, my father; it is pregnancy proper for me myself."[32]

He said to her, "Arise, O my daughter Isis, and [go] to the south to Thebes, to the north to Abydos.[33] There are . . . those who trample (?) there. Take for yourself Belf son of Belf, [the one whose] foot is of bronze and whose heels are of iron, / [that] he forge for you a double iron nail with a . . . head, a thin base, a strong point, and light iron. Bring it before me, dip it in the blood of Osiris,[34] and hand it over; we . . . this mysterious (?) flame to me."

" / Every flaming, every cooking, every heating,[35] every steaming, and every sweating that you [masc.] will cause in this flaming stove, you [will] cause in the heart, in the liver, [in] the area of the navel, and in the belly of NN whom NN has borne, until I bring her to the house of NN whom NN has borne[36] and she puts what is in / her hand into my hand, what is in her mouth into my mouth, what is in her belly onto my belly, what is in her female parts onto my male parts, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately. Rise up to the kings of Alchah,[37] speak the truth (?) in Oupōke, arouse god [after] NN[38] whom NN has borne, and I shall send

27. Presumably this is another request for divination (cf. *PGM* IV. 1–25, 52–85). In fact, the spell is specifically a "divination using a boy," for which cf. *PGM* VII. 348–58; also *Test. Sol.* I. 3.

28. Cf. for this phrase *PDM* xiv. 96.

29. That is, Helios, the sun god.

30. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 1219.

31. Or "It is not of my doing."

32. This episode is also told in a different fashion by Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356E–F. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 316–17.

33. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 628.

34. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 440–41.

35. Or "sighing."

36. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 656–58.

37. Alchah (Egyptian *ʿrq-ḫḥ*, "Alxai") and Oupōke (Egyptian *w-pkr*) are both sacred places at Abydos. Alchah designates the cemetery where the mummy of Osiris was buried. See *PGM* XIVb, 12–15 (in the context of *PDM* xiv. 451–58). [R.K.R.]

38. Or "every god (after NN)."

her / to be with NN whom NN has borne. For I am To son of To;[39] I am the Great son of the Great; I am Anubis, who bears the glorious crown of Re and puts it upon King Osiris, King Osiris Onnophris, . . . who arouses the whole earth, that you may arouse the heart of NN whom / NN has borne, that I may know what is in her heart for me, for NN whom NN has borne, on this day."

If a large amount of saliva forms in your mouth as you speak, understand that she is distressed[40] and wants to talk with you; if you yawn frequently, she wants / to come to you. But if you sneeze two times or more, she is in good health[41] and is returning to where she lives; if you have a headache and are crying, she is distressed[42] or even dying.

"Rise up to heaven, and arouse the High One [masc.] after the Noble One [fem.]. Rise up to the abyss, and arouse Thoth after Nabin; arouse / the heart of these two bulls, Hapi and Mnevis; arouse the heart of Osiris after Isis; arouse Re after the light; arouse the heart of NN whom NN has borne, after NN whom NN has borne."

[Say] these things on behalf of women. But when [you are speaking] about women, / then speak, conversely, so as to arouse the females after the males:

"When she drinks, when she eats, when she has intercourse with someone else, I will bewitch her heart, I will bewitch the heart of her, I will bewitch her breath, I will bewitch / her 365 members,[43] I will bewitch her inner part . . . wherever I desire, until she comes to me and I know what is in her heart, [what] she does, and of what she thinks, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately."

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 154–285

*Nephotes to Psammetichos, immortal king of Egypt. / Greetings. Since the great god has appointed you immortal king and nature has made you the best wise man,[44] I too, with a desire to show you the industry in me, have sent you this magical procedure which, with complete ease, / produces a holy power. And after you have tested it, you too will be amazed at the miraculous nature of this magical operation. You will observe through bowl divination[45] on whatever day or night you want, in whatever place you want, beholding the god in the water and / hearing a voice from the god which speaks in verses in answer to whatever you want. You will attain[46] both the ruler of the universe and whatever you command, and he will speak on other matters which you ask about. You will succeed by inquiring in this way: First, attach yourself to Helios in this manner: At whatever sunrise you want / (provided it is the third day of the month), go up to the highest part of the house and spread a

39. Cf. above, *PGM* III. 679, 687 with n.

40. Or "lovesick."

41. That is, "unafflicted" by the love charm.

42. Or "lovesick."

43. For a close parallel, compare the lead tablet from Oxyrhynchus published by Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 108–9. See also the *Apocryphon of John* (*NHC* II, 1:19:2–14) on the construction of the human body by 365 angels. In *PGM* the number 365 is commonly associated with the name Abrasax and its numerical value (see Glossary, s.v. "Abrasax"), but also with 365 gods or even 365 knots (*PGM* VII. 452–53).

44. Or "an expert magician," as σοφιστής applies to one skilled in his craft. See LSJ, s.v.; Betz, *Lukian* 10–11.

45. For bowl divination, see R. Ganszyniec, "Λεκανομαντεία," *PRE* 12 (1925):1879–89.

46. Preisendanz suggests that οἴσεις is a late future form of οἶδα. Perhaps one should emend the text to read ὄψεις, "you will see." However, the future of φέρω can be defended here (see LSJ, s.v., VI. 2–3, where "carry off as a prize," "win," "gain," etc., are given as meanings). [J.P.H.]

pure linen garment on the floor. Do this with a mystagogue. But as for you, crown yourself with dark ivy while the sun is in mid-heaven, at the fifth hour, and while looking upward lie down / naked on the linen and order your eyes to be completely covered with a black band.[47] And wrap yourself like a corpse, close your eyes and, keeping your direction toward the sun, begin these words. ***Prayer***:[48]

"O mighty Typhon, / ruler of the realm
Above and master, god of gods, O lord
ABERAMENTHŌOU (formula),
O dark's disturber, thunder's bringer, whirlwind,
Night-flasher, breather-forth of hot and cold,
Shaker of rocks, wall-trembler, boiler of
The waves, disturber of the sea's great depth, /
IŌ / ERBĒT AU TAUI MĒNI,
I'm He[49] who searched with you the whole world and
Found great Osiris, whom I brought you chained.
I'm he who joined you in war with the gods
(but others say, "'gainst the gods").
I'm he who closed / heav'n's double gates and put
To sleep the serpent which must not be seen,
Who stopped the seas, the streams, the river currents
Where'er you rule this realm. And as your soldier
I have been conquered by the gods, I have
Been thrown face down because of empty wrath. /
Raise up your friend, I beg you, I implore;
Thrown me not on the ground, O lord of gods,
AEMINAEBARŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIMEA,[50]
O grant me power, I beg, and give to me
This favor, so that, whensoe'r I tell
One of the gods to come, he is seen coming /
Swiftly to me in answer to my chants,
NAINE BASANAPTATOU EAPTOU MĒNŌPHAESMĒ PAPTOU MĒNŌPH AESIMĒ TRAUAPTI PEUCHRĒ TRAUARA PTOUMĒPH MOURAI ANCHOUCHAPHAPTA MOURSA ARAMEI IAŌ ATHTHARAUI MĒNOKER BORO/PTOUMĒTH AT TAUI MĒNI CHARCHARA PTOUMAU LALAPSA TRAUI TRAUEPSE MAMŌ PHORTOUCHA AEĒIO IOY OĒŌA EAI AEĒI ŌI IAŌ AĒI AI IAŌ."

After you have said this three times,[51] there will be this sign of divine encounter,[52] but you, / armed by having this magical soul, be not alarmed. For a sea falcon flies down and strikes you on the body with its wings, signifying this: that you should arise. But as for you, rise up and clothe yourself with white garments and burn on an earthen censer uncut / incense in grains while saying this:

"I have been attached to your holy form.
I have been given power by your holy name.
I have acquired your emanation of the goods,

47. See Glossary, s.v. "Isis band."

48. The iambic trimeters (ll. 179–201), many of which are metrically faulty, also form the reconstructed Hymn 6. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 242–43. [E.N.O.]

49. See on this passage Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 92–93.

50. See for this formula *PGM* I. 295; XIV. 24 (abbreviated); LIX. 7.

51. For the triplicate repetition in magic see O. Weinreich, "Trisgemination als sakrale Stilform," in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1973) 250–58.

52. See on this point *PGM* IV. 168–69.

Lord, god of gods, master, daimon.
ATHTHOUIN THOUTHOUI TAUANTI LAŌ APTATŌ."
Having done this, return / as lord of a godlike nature which is accomplished through this divine encounter.

Inquiry of bowl divination and necromancy:[53] Whenever you want to inquire about matters, take a bronze vessel, either a bowl or a saucer, whatever kind you wish. Pour water: / rainwater if you are calling upon heavenly gods, seawater if gods of the earth, river water if Osiris or Sarapis, springwater if the dead. Holding the vessel on your knees, pour out green olive oil, bend over the vessel and speak / the prescribed spell. And address whatever god you want and ask about whatever you wish, and he will reply to you and tell you about anything. And if he has spoken dismiss him with the spell of dismissal, and you who have used this spell will be amazed.

The spell spoken over the vessel is: "AMOUN AUANTAU / LAIMOUTAU RIPTOU MANTAUI IMANTOU LANTOU LAPTOUMI ANCHŌMACH ARAPTOUMI, hither to me, O NN god; appear to me this very hour and do not frighten my eyes. Hither to me, O NN god, be attentive to me because he wishes and commands this[54] ACHCHŌR ACHCHŌR / ACHACHACH PTOUMI CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌRACHARACHŌCH APTOUMI MĒCHŌCHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌ PTENACHŌCHEU" (a hundred letters).[55]

But you are not unaware, mighty king and leader of magicians, that this is the chief name of Typhon, / at whom the ground, the depths of the sea, Hades, heaven, the sun, the moon, the visible chorus of stars, the whole universe all tremble, the name which, when it is uttered, forcibly brings gods and daimons to it. This is the name that consists of 100 letters. Finally, when you have called, whomever you called will appear, god or dead man,[56] and he will / give an answer about anything you ask. And when you have learned to your satisfaction,[57] dismiss the god merely with the powerful name of the hundred letters as you say, "Depart, master, for the great god, NN, wishes and commands this of you." Speak the name, and he will depart. Let this spell, / mighty king, be transmitted to you alone, guarded by you, unshared.

There is also the protective charm itself which you wear while performing, even while standing:[58] onto a silver leaf inscribe this name of 100 letters with a bronze stylus, and wear it strung on a thong from the hide / of an ass.[59]

53. Following the emended punctuation by M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and the Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 221.

54. The sudden shift to the third person in the words *θέλει καὶ ἐπιτάσσει* seems strange at first, and one is tempted to think that the magician begins to refer to himself in the third person. But cf. ll. 253–54 below, where the same phenomenon occurs with the subject named.

55. That is, according to Greek letters.

56. That is, the spirit or soul of a dead man. See on this primitive concept J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 70–124: "The Soul of the Dead."

57. At this point the revelatory dialogue comes into the picture. Cf. Corp. Herm. I.3, 27, 30. Cf. P. Perkins, *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), where further literature can be found.

58. The Greek is obscure at this point. The translation follows Preisendanz: "auch wenn du stehend agierst."

59. The ass is the animal associated with Seth/Typhon. See Glossary, s.v.

Divine encounter of the divine procedure: Toward the rising sun say:[60]
"I call you who did first control gods' wrath,[61]
You who hold royal scepter o'er the heavens,
You who are midpoint of the stars above,
You, master Typhon, you I call, who are
/ The dreaded sovereign o'er the firmament.
You who are fearful, awesome, threatening,
You who're obscure[62] and irresistible
And hater of the wicked, you I call,
Typhon, in hours unlawful and unmeasured,
You who've walked on unquenched, clear-crackling fire,
You who are / over snows, below dark ice,
You who hold sovereignty over the Moirai,[63]
I invoked you in pray'r, I call, almight one.
That you perform for me whate'er I ask
Of you, and that you nod assent at once
To me and grant that what I ask be mine
(add the usual), because I adjure you, GAR THALA BAUZAU THŌRTHŌR / KATHAUKATH IATHIN NA BORKAKAR BORBA KARBORBOCH MŌ ZAU OUZŌNZ ŌN YABITH, mighty Typhon, hear me, NN, and perform for me the NN task. For I speak your true names, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH OEN / TYPHON ASBARABŌ BIEAISĒ ME NERŌ MARAMŌ TAUĒR CHTHENTHŌNIE ALAM BĒTŌR MENKECHRA SAUEIŌR RĒSEIODŌTA ABRĒSIOA PHŌTHĒR THERTHŌNAX NERDŌMEU AMŌRĒS MEEME ŌIĒS SYSCHIE ANTHŌNIE PHRA; listen / to me and perform the NN deed."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 286–95

Spell for picking a plant**:[64] Use it before sunrise. ***The spell to be spoken: "I am picking you, such and such a plant, with my five-fingered hand, I, NN, and I am bringing you home so that you may work for me for a certain purpose. I adjure you by the undefiled / name of the god: if you pay no heed to me, the earth which produced you will no longer be watered as far as you are concerned—ever in life

60. The following dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 7. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 243–44. Here and elsewhere *σέ* is considered long *metri gratia*, contrary to classical usage. [E.N.O.]

61. The papyrus reads *ὀργίλον*, which the editors of Hymn 7 have obelized. Here in IV. 262 Preisendanz has emended and reads *ὄπλον*, while others have suggested such words as *ὅρμον* (Wünsch), *κόσμον* (Dieterich), etc. The translation here has retained the reading of the papyrus. For *διέπω* and its meaning here, see Bauer, s.v. [E.N.O.]

62. The papyrus has *δῆλον*, which Preisendanz retains both here and in Hymn 7 where he obelizes it. Kroll's emendation *ἄδηλον* is paleographically sound, for "A" could have been omitted before "Δ." Second, *ἄδηλον* is a good parallel to *ἀμήχανον*, and third, the idea of *ἄδηλον* fits Seth/Typhon, who is regularly associated with darkness, shadows, etc. Cf., e.g., Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351F; 44, 368F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 468. [E.N.O.]

63. Preisendanz reads at this point *ἐπ' εὐκταίων Μοιρῶν*, "over the Moirai invoked in prayer." In the reconstructed Hymn 7 (Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244), Heitsch reads *ἐπευκταίων Μοιρῶν*, "of the longed-for Moirai," originally a proposal by Dieterich (see the apparatus to *PGM* IV. 271).

64. For this type of ritual, see F. Pfister, "Pflanzenaberglaube," *PRE* 19 (1938): 1446–56.

again, if I fail in this operation, MOUTHABAR NACH BARNACHŌCHA BRAEŌ MENDA
295 LAUBRAASSE PHASPHA BENDEŌ; fulfil[65] for me / the perfect charm."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 296–466

***Wondrous spell for binding a lover**: Take wax [or clay] from a potter's wheel and make two figures, a male and a female. Make the male in the form of Ares fully
300 armed, holding a sword / in his left hand and threatening to plunge it into the right side of her neck. And make her[66] with her arms behind her back and down on her knees. And you are to fasten the magical material on her head or neck. Write on the
305 figure of the woman being attracted as follows: On the head: / "ISEĒ IAŌ ITHI OUNE BRIDŌ LŌTHIŌN NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH"; on the right ear: "OUER MĒCHAN"; on the left ear: "LIBABA ŌIMATHOTHO"; on the face: "AMOUNABREŌ"; on the right
310 eye: / "ŌRORMOTHIO AĒTH"; on the other: "CHOBOUE"; on the right shoulder: "ADETA MEROU"; on the right arm: "ENE PSA ENESGAPH"; on the other: "MEL-
315 CHIOU MELCHIEDIA": on the hands: / "MELCHAMELCHOU AĒL"; on the breast: the name, on her mother's side, of the woman being attracted; on the heart: "BALAMIN THŌOUTH"; and below the lower belly: "AOBĒS AŌBAR"; on the pudenda:
320 "BLICHIANEOI OUŌIA"; on the buttocks: "PISSADARA"; on / the sole of the right foot: "ELŌ"; on the sole of the other one: "ELŌAIAOE."

And take thirteen copper needles and stick 1 in the brain while saying, "I am piercing your brain, NN"; and stick 2 in the ears and 2 in the eyes and 1 in the
325 mouth and 2 / in the midriff and 1 in the hands and 2 in the pudenda and 2 in the soles, saying each time, "I am piercing such and such a member of her, NN, so that she may remember no one but me, NN, alone."

330 And take a lead tablet[67] and write the same / spell and recite it. And tie the lead leaf to the figures with thread from the loom after making 365 knots while saying as you have learned, "ABRASAX, hold her fast!" You place it, as the sun is setting, beside the grave of one who has died untimely or violently, placing beside it also the seasonal flowers.

335 ***The spell to be written / and recited is***: "I entrust this binding spell to you, chthonic gods, HYESEMIGADŌN and KORĒ PERSEPHONE ERESCHIGAL and ADONIS the BARBARITHA, infernal HERMES THŌOUTH PHŌKENTAZEPSEU AERCHTHA-
340 THOUMI / SONKTAI KALBANACHAMBRĒ and to mighty ANUBIS PSIRINTH, who holds the keys to Hades, to infernal gods and daimons, to men and women who have died untimely deaths, to youths and maidens, from year to year, month to
345 month, day to day, / hour to hour. I adjure all daimons in this place to stand as assistants beside this daimon. And arouse yourself for me,[68] whoever you are, whether male or female,[69] and go to every place and into every quarter and to every
350 house, and attract / and bind her. Attract her, NN, whom NN bore and whose

65. The sudden shift to the plural τελέσατε is strange. Preisendanz suggests that δαίμονες is the subject, but no daimons appear in the spell. Can the subject be the *voces magicae* themselves? [E.N.O.]

66. A figurine similar to the one described here, together with a lead tablet containing an inscription nearly identical to that of ll. 335–406, has been found in Egypt. See S. Kambitsis, "Une nouvelle tablette magique d'Égypte, Musée du Louvre, Inv. E 27145, 3e/4e siècle," *BIFAO* 76 (1976): 213–23 and plates.

67. For a parallel to this passage, see Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 56–58 (no. 1, ll. 6–16).

68. See on this point Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 70–71.

69. Egyptian lists of demons and demon-induced diseases carefully distinguish between male and female. For a characteristic example, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1970) 6–11. [R.K.R.]

magical material you possess. Let her be in love with me, NN whom she, NN bore. Let her not be had in a promiscuous way,[70] let her not be had in her ass, nor let her do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone, NN, so that she, NN, be unable either to drink or eat, that she not / be contented, not be strong, not have peace of mind, that she, NN, not find sleep without me, NN, because I adjure you by the name that causes fear and trembling, the name at whose sound the earth opens, the name at whose terrifying sound the daimons are terrified, / the name at whose sound rivers and rocks burst assunder. I adjure you, god of the dead, whether male or female, by BARBARITHA CHENMBRA BAROUCHAMBRA and by the ABRAT ABRASAX SESENGEN BARPHARANGGĒS and by the glorious AŌIA / MARI and by the MARMAREŌTH MARMARAUŌTH MARMARAŌTH MARECHTHANA AMARZA MARIBEŌTH; do not fail, god of the dead, to heed my commands and names, but just arouse yourself from the repose which holds you, / whoever you are, whether male or female, and go to every place, into every quarter, into every house, and attract her, NN, to me and with a spell keep her from eating and drinking, and do not allow her, NN, to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, / not even that of her own husband, just that of mine, NN. Instead, drag her, NN, by the hair, by her heart, by her soul, to me, NN, at every hour of life, day and night, until she comes to me, NN, and may she, NN, remain / inseparable from me. Do this, bind her for all the time of my life and help force her, NN to be serviceable to me, NN, and let her not frolic away from me for even one hour of life. If you accomplish this for me, I will quickly allow you your repose. / For I am BARBAR ADŌNAI who hides the stars, who controls the brightly shining heaven, the lord of the world, ATHTHOUIN IATHOUIN SELBIOUŌTH AŌTH SARBATHIOUTH IATHTHIERATH ADŌNAI IA ROURA BIA BI BIOTHĒ ATHŌTH / SABAŌTH ĒA NIAPHA AMARACHTHI SATAMA ZAUATHTHEIĒ SERPHO IALADA IALĒ SBĒSI IATHTHA MARADTHA ACHILTHTHEE CHOŌŌ OĒ ĒACHŌ KANSAOSA ALKMOURI THYR THAŌOS SIECHĒ. I am THOTH OSŌMAI; / attract her, bind her, NN, filled with love, desire and yearning for NN (add the usual), because I adjure you, god of the dead, by the fearful, great IAEŌ BAPH RENEMOUN OTHI LARIKRIPHIA EYEAI PHIRKIRALITHON YOMEN ER PHABŌEAI, / so that you attract her, NN, to me and join head to head and fasten lip to lip and join belly to belly and draw thigh close to thigh and fit black together with black, and let her, NN, carry out her own sex acts / with me, NN, for all eternity.

Then write on the other side of the tablet the heart and the characters as they are below:

"IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEAI

AEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEA

AŌ EŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌE III

EA ŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌ OEŌ

IŌ BAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OIEE

YO APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHA OEYI

IO PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPH OEYY

OE IAYY

IŌAE YYAA

EOĒI OIII

YAOU YAEE

IAŌI EŌAY

AĒAĒ OOYI

IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKI

70. See on this point Wortmann, "Neue magische Text," 72.

ĒIOI ĒĒEA
ŌIYA AAIA
AŌOE IIIŌ
425 YIŌĒ EEAŌ
EOAŌA ĒĒAŌ
YAYA ĒIĒE
IOĒIIĒ OAĒI
IAŌI ĒIYI
430 AOAO ĒĒOI
YYOI YAAI
ĒIIA
AAŌŌ"

435 ***Prayer that belongs to the procedure***: At sunset, while holding / the magical material from the tomb, say:

"Borne[71] on the breezes of the wandr'ing winds,
Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame's
Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
Around the great pole, who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing, /
440 From whom, indeed, all elements have been
Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
The world with its four yearly turning points.
Hear, blessed one, for I call you who rule
Heaven and earth, Chaos and Hades, where
Men's daimons dwell who once gazed on the light, /
445 And even now I beg you, blessed one,
Unfailing one, the master of the world,
If you go to the depths of earth and search
The regions of the dead, send this daimon,
From whose body I hold this remnant in my hands,
To her, NN, at midnight hours,
To move by night to orders 'neath your force, /
450 That all I want within my heart he may
Perform for me; and send him gentle, gracious
And pondering no hostile thoughts toward me,
And be not angry at my potent chants,
For you yourself arranged these things among
Mankind for them to learn about the threads
Of the Moirai, and this with your advice. /
455 I call your name, Horus,[72] which is in number
Equivalent to those of the Moirai,
ACHAIPHŌ THŌTHŌ PHIACHA AIĒ ĒIA IAĒ ĒIA THŌTHŌ PHIACHA.
Be kind to me, forefather, scion of
The world, self-gendered, fire-bringer, aglow
Like gold, shining on mortals, master of
460 The world, / daimon of restless fire, unfailing,
With gold disk, sending earth pure light in beams.

71. The following dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): v. 1–17, 20, 22–28. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see *PGM* I. 315–27; IV. 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. [E.N.O.]

72. For Horus equated with Helios, cf. *PGM* IV. 989.

Send the daimon, whomever I have requested, to her, NN" (add the usual).

In another version, the name is: "ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ ĒIA IAĒ ĒIŌ THŌ THŌ PHIACHA." / ***In another it is***: "ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ IĒA ĒAI IAĒ AĒI ĒIA ŌTHŌ- 465
THŌ PHIACHA."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 467–68

***Charm to restrain anger**: "Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against Zeus?"[73]

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The same spell occurs at *PGM* IV. 831–32.

PGM IV. 469–70

***To get friends:**

/ "Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies."[74] 470

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The same charm using a verse from Homer (*Iliad* 10. 193) occurs in *PGM* IV. 833–34. Since there the single verse alone serves as a charm to get friends, and since the papyrus manuscript separates all verses with paragraph marks, it seems likely that the following four verses served as separate charms, though the original titles have been lost. Furthermore, since the three verses (*Iliad* 10.564, 10.521, and 10.572) that follow form a natural grouping in *PGM* IV. 2145ff. (cf. IV. 821–23), we have preserved that grouping in *PGM* IV. 471–73, below, though it is not clear whether the copyist inserted these verses here by mistake or whether the reader was to understand from *PGM* IV. 2145ff. that the spell served as a "divine assistance from three Homeric verses."

PGM IV. 471–73

*. . .

"After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch."[75]

"and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter."[76]

"and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them."[77]

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. This untitled charm contains three verses of Homer that also occur in *PGM* IV. 821–23 and IV. 2145ff. It is presumed that these verses served the same functions as those listed in ll. 2145ff. See the introductory note on the previous spell. The verses all come from the tenth book of the Iliad and presumably could be read together.

PGM IV. 474

*". . . Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him."[78]

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. Cf. the introductory note on *PGM* IV. 469–70, and see *PGM* IV. 830, with n.

73. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. For the use of single Homeric verses as charms and amulets, see R. Heim, "Incantamenta magica graeca latina," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, *Supplementband* 9 (1893), section X: *Versus Homerici et Vergiliani* (pp. 514–20).

74. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193.

75. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. The referent of "he" is Odysseus in the original context.

76. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. Again, the papyrus quotes only a portion of the Homeric text. "Men" is the object of "saw" in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who saw.

77. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of "they" is Odysseus and Diomedes.

78. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The papyrus quotes only a single verse and leaves the syntax of "him" unaccounted for. In Homer, "him" is governed by "bound" in l. 386.

PGM IV. 475–829

*Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche,[79] as I write these mysteries handed down [not] for gain but for instruction; and for an only child I request immortality, O initiates of this our power (furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daughter, to take / the juices of herbs and spices, which will [be made known] to you at the end of my holy treatise), which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be revealed to me by his archangel, so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an inquirer / and behold the universe.

This is the invocation of the spell:

"First origin of my origin, AEĒIOYŌ, first beginning of my beginning, PPP SSS[80] PHR[E], spirit of spirit,[81] the first of the spirit / in me, MMM, fire given by god to my mixture of the mixtures in me, the first of the fire in me, ĒY ĒIA EĒ, water of water, the first of the water in me, ŌŌŌ AAA EEE, earthy material, the first of the earthy material in me, / YĒ YŌĒ, my complete body, I, NN whose mother is NN, which was formed by a noble arm and an incorruptible right hand in a world without light and yet radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul, YĒI AYI EYŌIE: now if it be your will, METERTA / PHŌTH (METHARTHA PHĒRIĒ, in another place)[82] IEREZATH, give me over to immortal birth and, following that, to my underlying nature, so that, after the present need which is pressing me exceedingly, I may gaze upon the immortal / beginning with the immortal spirit, ANCHREPHRENESOUPHIRIGCH, with the immortal water, ERONOUI PARAKOUNĒTH, with the most steadfast air, EIOAĒ PSENABŌTH; that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRAX R OIM ENARCHOMAI, / and the sacred spirit may breathe in me, NECHTHEN APOTOU NECHTHIN ARPI ĒTH; so that I may wonder at the sacred fire, KYPHE; that I may gaze upon the unfathomable, awesome water of the dawn, NYŌ THESŌ ECHŌ OUCHIECHŌA, and the vivifying / and encircling aether may hear me, ARNOMĒTHPH; for today I am about to behold, with immortal eyes—I, born mortal from mortal womb, but transformed by tremendous power and an incorruptible right hand / and with immortal spirit, the immortal Aion and master of the fiery diadems—I, sanctified through holy consecrations—while there subsists within me, holy, for a short time, my human soul-might, which I will again / receive after the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down upon me—I, NN, whose mother is NN, according to the immutable decree of god, EYĒ YIA EĒI AŌ EIAY IYA IEŌ. Since it is impossible for me, born / mortal, to rise with the golden brightnesses of the immortal brilliance, ŌĒY AEŌ ĒYA EŌĒ YAE ŌIAE, stand, O perishable nature of mortals, and at once [receive] me safe and sound after the inexorable and pressing / need. For I am the son PSYCHŌN DEMOU PROCHŌ PRŌA, I am MACHARPH[.]N MOU PRŌPSYCHŌN PRŌE."

Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up 3 times as much as you can, and you will see yourself being lifted up and / ascending to the height, so that you seem to be in midair. You will hear nothing either of man or of any other living thing, nor in that hour will you see anything of mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all

79. The goddess Psyche, "Soul." Some scholars read Tyche, "Fortune." On the problem see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 2, 49–52, 70–72, 230–32. On the "Mithras Liturgy," see M. W. Meyer, *The 'Mithras Liturgy'* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976).

80. For the meaning of popping and hissing noises in magic, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 40–43, 228–29; R. Lasch, "Das Pfeifen und Schnalzen und seine Beziehung zu Dämonenglauben und Zauberei," *ARW* 18 (1915): 589–93. See also ll. 561–62, and 578–79 below, and elsewhere in the *PGM*.

81. "Spirit," "breath," "wind" (πνεῦμα) is one of the four elements.

82. This is evidence that the scribe had at least one other copy of the spell. See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 4, 221.

immortal things. For in that day / and hour you will see the divine order of the skies: the presiding gods rising into heaven, and others setting. Now the course of the visible gods will appear through the disk of god, my father; and in similar fashion the so-called pipe, / the origin of the ministering wind. For you will see it hanging from the sun's disk like a pipe. You will see the outflow of this object toward the regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the east—and the other (viz., the west wind), similarly, toward its own / regions. And you will see the gods staring intently at you and rushing at you.

So at once put your right finger on your mouth[83] and say:

"Silence! Silence! Silence!
Symbol of the living, incorruptible god! /
Guard me, Silence, NECHTHEIR THANMELOU!"

Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound, and say:

"PROPROPHEGGĒ MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGĒ NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PITĒTMI MEŌY ENARTH PHYRKECHŌ PSYRIDARIŌ / TYRĒ PHILBA."

Then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs.

So when you see that the world above is clear / and circling, and that none of the gods or angels is threatening you, expect to hear a great crash of thunder, so as to shock you. Then say again:

"Silence! Silence! (the prayer) I am a star, wandering about with you, and shining forth out of / the deep, OXY O XERTHEUTH."

Immediately after you have said these things the sun's disk will be expanded. And after you have said the second prayer, where there is "Silence! Silence!" and the accompanying words, make a hissing sound twice and a popping sound twice, and immediately you will see / many five-pronged stars coming forth from the disk and filling all the air. Then say again: "Silence! Silence!" And when the disk is open, you will see the fireless circle, and the fiery doors shut tight. /

At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer. ***The third prayer***:

"Give ear to me, hearken to me, NN, whose mother is NN, O lord, you who have bound together with your breath the fiery bars of the fourfold / root,[84]

O Fire-walker, PENTITEROUNI,
Light-maker (others: Encloser), SEMESILAM,
Fire-breather, PSYRINPHEU,
Fire-feeler, IAŌ,
Light-breather, ŌAI,
Fire-delighter, ELOURE,
Beautiful light, AZAI,
Aion, ACHBA,
/ Light-master, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,[85]
Fire-body, PHNOUĒNIOCH,
Light-giver, . . .

83. For examples of this common depiction on stones, see the engraved gem showing Harpokrates with his finger to his mouth, in F. M. and J. H. Schwartz, "Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society, I: Ancient Magical Amulets," *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 24 (1979) no. 3, p. 159. See also the bronze statue in G. S. Gasparro, *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, *EPRO* 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), plate XLV, fig. 66.

84. Reading τετραριζώματος with Hopfner (see apparatus ad loc.) rather than τεταλιζώματος. The reading of the manuscript, on the other hand, suggests διαζώματος (*cf. C. H., Frag.* 26.8). [W.B.]

85. For PIPI as a permutation of the tetragrammaton, the Hebrew divine name, see S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1942) 120 n. 38;

Fire-sower, AREI EIKITA,
Fire-driver, GALLABALBA,
Light-forcer, AIŌ,
Fire-whirler, PYRICHIBOOSĒIA,
Light-mover, SANCHERŌB,
Thunder-shaker /, IĒ ŌĒ IŌĒIŌ,
Glory-light, BEEGENĒTE,
Light-increaser, SOUSINEPHIEN,
Fire-light-maintainer, SOUSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI MARMARENTEU,
Star-tamer . . .

Open for me, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHEIRE MORIOMOTYRĒPHILBA, because, / on account of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity, I invoke the immortal names, living and honored, which never pass into mortal nature and are not declared in articulate speech by human tongue or mortal speech / or mortal sound: ĒEŌ OĒEŌ IŌŌ OĒ ĒEŌ ĒEŌ OĒ EŌ IŌŌ OĒĒE ŌĒE ŌOĒ IĒ ĒŌ OŌ OĒ IEŌ OĒ ŌOĒ IEŌ OĒ IEEŌ EĒ IŌ OĒ IOĒ ŌĒŌ EOĒ OEŌ ŌIĒ ŌIĒ EŌ OI III ĒOĒ ŌYĒ ĒŌOĒE EŌ ĒIA AĒA EĒA / ĒEEĒ EEĒ EEĒ IEŌ ĒEŌ OĒEEOĒ ĒEŌ ĒYŌ OĒ EIŌ ĒŌ ŌĒ ŌĒ EE OOO YIŌĒ."

Say all these things with fire and spirit, until completing the first utterance; then, similarly, begin the second, until you complete the / 7 immortal gods of the world.[86] When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the surrounding realm; and you will likewise feel yourself being agitated. Then say again: "Silence!" (the prayer). Then open your eyes, and you will see the doors / open and the world of the gods which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends.

So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you look intently. Then when / your soul is restored, say:

"Come, lord, ARCHANDARA PHŌTAZA PYRIPHŌTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO PHORATHĒN ERIĒ PROTHRI PHORATHI."

When you have said this, the rays will turn toward you; look at the center of them. For when / you have done this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in appearance, with fiery hair, and in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a fiery crown.[87] At once greet him with the fire greeting:

"Hail, O lord, Great Power, Great Might, / King, Greatest of gods, Helios, the Lord of heaven and earth, God of gods: mighty is your breath; mighty is your strength, O lord. If it be your will, announce me to the supreme god, the one who has begotten and made you: that a man—I, NN,[88] whose mother is NN, / who was born from the mortal womb of NN and from the fluid of semen, and who, since he

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M. Philonenko, "L'Anguipède alectorocéphale et le dieu IAÔ" *Academie des inscriptions et belles lettres, comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1979* 297–304, where further material is collected and discussed. In *PGM* see also III. 575; IV. 1984; XVIIa. 1–2; cf. also III. 335.

86. For the following section of the ritual, cf. the combination of the seven grades of the initiation, the planetary gods, and the ascension in the mysteries of Mithras. See esp. R. Beck, "Interpreting the Ponza-Zodiac: II," *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 2 (1978): 120–35; R. Merkelbach, *Weihegrade und Seelenlehre der Mithrasmysterien* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982) 13–21; also J. Bergman, "*Per omnia vectus elementa remeavi*. Réflexions sur l'arrière-plan égyptien du voyage de salut d'un myste isiaque," in U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' impero romano*, *EPRO* 92 (Leiden: Brill, 1982): 671–708.

87. Cf. the well-preserved fresco from the Mithras temple in Capua. For a color photo, see Merkelbach, *Weihegrade* 34.

88. For the interpretation of this self-presentation, see Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 170.

has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of god the exceedingly good—resolves to worship / you, and prays with all his human power, that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today, which has the name THRAPSIARI MORIROK, that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours, EŌRŌ RŌRE ŌRRI ŌRIŌR RŌR RŌI / ŌR REŌRŌRI EŌR EŌR EŌRE!"

After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road. Look intently, and make a long bellowing sound, like a horn, releasing all your breath and straining your sides; and kiss / the phylacteries and say, first toward the right: "Protect me, PROSYMĒRI!"

After saying this, you will see the doors[89] thrown open, and seven virgins[90] coming from deep within, dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps.[91] They are called the Fates / of heaven, and wield golden wands. When you see them, greet them in this manner:

"Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars![92] / Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAĒS! Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEĒS! Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN! Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHĒS![93] Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIĒ! Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAĒS! Hail to you, the seventh, EROU ROMBRIĒS!"

There also come forth another seven gods,[94] who have the faces of black bulls, in linen / loincloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems. They are the so-called Pole Lords of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner, each of them with his own name:

"Hail, O guardians of the pivot, O sacred and brave youths, who turn / at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious people, but to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body / and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day, O my lords and powerfully ruling gods! Hail to you, the first, AIERŌNTHI! Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS! Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOUR! / Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTŌ! Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHRŌALITHŌ! Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHŌPS! Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHĒ!"

Now when they take their place, here and there, in order, look in the air and you will see lightning bolts going down, and lights flashing /, and the earth shaking,

89. Cf. the seven gates of the mosaic of the *Mitreo delle sette sfere* at Ostia and the inscribed term ἑπτάπυλος, "seven-gated." See M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, vol. I (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1966) 137, fig. 82; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade* 65.

90. For the seven virgins, see the discussion by Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 69–72, who also refers to the seven Hathors of Egyptian religion.

91. This seems to be an Egyptian idea, where three serpents stand for the word "goddess." One Egyptian Fate, *Rnnwtet* (Thermutis), is known to have a serpent face. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 362. [R.K.R.]

92. For this Egyptian cosmology, see H. Frankfort et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946) 45–47; D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen. Die "Tw3 pt"-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975) 90, 98. [R.K.R.]

93. Cf. the Egyptian *harmachis*, "Horus who is on the horizon."

94. For a discussion of the seven young men, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 70–75. In the Mithras mysteries the seven grades of initiates were each under the tutelage of a planetary deity. See Merkelbach, *Weihegrade* 13–14.

and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers,[95] and holding in his right hand a golden / shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour.[96] Then you will see lightning bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body.

And at once / make a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses; bellow long until out of breath, and again kiss the phylacteries, and say:

"MOKRIMO PHERIMO PHERERI, life of me, NN: stay! Dwell in / my soul![97] Do not abandon me, for ENTHO PHENEN THROPIŌTH commands you."

And gaze upon the god while bellowing long; and greet him in this manner:

"Hail, O Lord, O Master of the water! Hail, O Founder of the earth! Hail, O Ruler of the wind! O Bright Lightener /, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THĒTH MIMEŌ YENARŌ PHYRCHECHŌ PSĒRI DARIŌ PHRĒ PHRĒLBA! Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter. O lord, while being born again, I am passing away; while growing and having grown, / I am dying; while being born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on, released to death—as you have founded, as you have decreed, and have established the mystery. I am PHEROURA MIOURI."

After you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation. / Now you will grow weak in soul and will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He speaks the oracle to you in verse, and after speaking he will depart. But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself; for at a later time / you will remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even if the oracle contained myriads of verses.

If you also wish to use a fellow initiate, so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken, let him remain pure with you for [seven] / days, and abstain from meat and the bath. And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as if prophesying in ecstasy. And if you also wish to show him, then judge whether he is completely worthy as a man /: treat him just as if in his place you were being judged in the matter of immortalization, and whisper to him the first prayer, of which the beginning is "First origin of my origin,[98] AEĒIOYŌ." And say the successive things as an initiate, over his / head, in a soft voice,[99] so that he may not hear, as you are anointing his face with the mystery. This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if anyone, O child, after the teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer / be in effect.

95. The description of the god Mithras agrees with extant pictures. See esp. the frescoes from Dura Europos, published in M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1956, 1960); see also the discussion in Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78.

96. For the interpretation of this passage, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78, 234; R. Beck, "Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac," *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1 (1976): 1–19, esp. 2; 2 (1978): 87–147, esp. 120–27; R. L. Gordon and J. R. Hinnels, "Some New Photographs of Well-known Mithraic Monuments," ibid. 2 (1978): 213–19. Cf. also Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, col. V. 1 with note; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* 86–89.

97. The combination of *ζωή* "life," and *ψυχή* "soul," suggests erotic overtones (see Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 195 for *ζωὴ καὶ ψυχή*, and the note on *PGM* IV. 377). [E.N.O.] In fact, sculptures portraying Eros and Psyche were found in the Mithras sanctuaries at Capua and under the Church of S. Prisca in Rome. See Merkelbach, *Weihegrade* 22–24, and photos on pp. 68–69.

98. For this prayer, see *PGM* IV. 486–537.

99. Cf. on this point Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 22. 1: *lento murmure susurrat*, "he whispers with a soft murmur"; Apuleius, *Met.* 1.3. See also G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ²1965) 58.

Instruction for the rite: Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at the time when the moon is invisible;[100] put in together with it the seed of the fruit pulp of the lotus, / and honey; and, after grinding it, prepare a cake. And at once you will see it [viz., the scarab] moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish; and / spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, set the vessel on it, and say the formula over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in midheaven:

"I have consecrated you, that your material may be useful to me, to NN alone, IE IA ĒEĒ O Y EIA, that you may prove useful to me / alone, for I am PHŌR PHORA PHŌS PHOTIZAAS" (others: "PHŌR PHŌR OPHOTHEI XAAS").

On the 7th day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine[101] and fine linen; and put it away in a flourishing bean field. / Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, put away, in a pure manner, the ointment for the immortalization.

If you want to show this to someone else, take the juice of the herb called *kentritis*, and smear, it, along with rose oil, over the eyes of the one you wish; / and he will see so clearly that he will amaze you. I have not found a greater spell than this in the world. Ask the god for what you want, and he will give to you.

Now the encounter with the great god is like this: Having obtained the abovementioned herb / *kentritis*, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion,[102] take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-lettered name, as given below.[103] And having kept yourself pure for 3 days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise; / lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun, and then he [the sun god] will listen to you attentively. Begin to prepare [the scarab] on the new moon in the lion, according to the god's [reckoning].[104]

Now this is the name: "I EE OO IAI." Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf /, throw it into the rose oil. Many times have I used the spell, and have wondered greatly.

But the god said to me:

"Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river, [you must] consult while wearing the great mystery / of the scarab revitalized through the 25 living birds,[105] and consult once a month, at full moon, instead of 3 times a year."

The *kentritis* plant grows from the month of Payni, in the regions of the / black earth, and is similar to the erect verbena. This is how to recognize it: an ibis wing is dipped at its black tip and smeared with the juice, and the feathers fall off when touched. After the lord / pointed this out, it was found in Menelaitis in Phalagry, at the river banks, near the *besas* plant. It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit / like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called *talapēs*, like the wild beet.

100. Literally, "at the seizure of the moon," probably designating the new moon.

101. Cf. *PGM* I. 85–86 and n.

102. That is, at the new moon.

103. See *PGM* IV. 788.

104. The new moon of god, according to the heavens, in contrast to the new moon of man, according to the calendar.

105. The allusion to the twenty-five birds is obscure; it may be related to the hours, so that the scarab Khepri is reborn in the first hour of a new day, after the passage of twelve hours of day and twelve hours of night during the previous day.

Now the phylacteries require this procedure: copy that for the right [arm] onto
815 the skin / of a black sheep, with myrrh ink, and after tying it with sinews of the same animal, put it on; and copy that [for] the left [arm] onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same procedure. The left one is very full of "PROSTHY-
820 MĒRI" /, and has this memorandum: [106]

"So speaking, he drove through the trench the single-hoofed horses." [107]
"And men gasping among grievous slaughters." [108]
"And they washed off their profuse sweat in the sea." [109]
"You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus." [110]

825 / Zeus went up the mountain with a golden bullock and a silver dagger. Upon all he bestowed a share, only to Amara did he not give, but he said: [111]
"Let go of what you have, and then you will receive, PSINŌTHER NŌPSITHER THERNŌPSI" (add the usual). [112]
*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 830

830 *. . . "Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him." [113]
Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 831–32

***Charm to restrain anger**: "Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against Zeus?" [114]
Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 833–34

***To Get Friends**: "Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies." [115]
Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 835–49

835 *From 53 years and 9 months on Hermes took the period up to 10 years and 9 months, from which he assigned to himself 20 months, which would be 55 years 5
840 months; then to Aphrodite 8 months, / which would thus be 56 years 1 month;

106. The relationship of the poetic quotations in the following, which repeat those in ll. 468–74, and the Mithras liturgy is obscure. They seem unrelated; see Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus* (see above, Introduction, n. 24), which shows a blank after l. 820 and a sign indicating a new paragraph. For a different view, cf. Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 84. [M.S.]

107. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564.

108. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521.

109. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572.

110. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. See *PGM* IV. 467–68 above and 830–31 below. Probably this verse served as a spell to restrain anger, but it may be misplaced here.

111. That these verses are part of the *ὑπόμνημα* ("the memorandum," l. 821) seems unlikely. More probably, a heading has been lost, and the verses contain an altogether independent spell. Story spells (*historiolae*) were ancient (see Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, nos. 7, 75, 148, 154, 157, 158, etc.). They usually tell of a happening such as they are meant to produce (cf., e.g., *PGM* VII. 199–201; IV. 1471–79). This story tells of a person compelled or bribed to give up something; it could have been used to make a person give up anger. Hence it may have been attached to the Homeric verse for that purpose and was interpolated here. The name Amara is obscure; it could mean "the bitter woman" (Hebrew or Latin; cf. Ru 1:20, Vulgate).

112. Cf. *Pistis Sophia* 136 and 142, also with permutations of IAŌ. PSINŌTHER is Egyptian for "the sons of god." [R.K.R.] See also *PGM* III. 186 and n. See Glossary, s.v. "THERNOPSI formula."

113. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The same verse occurs in *PGM* IV. 474.

114. Homer, *Il.* 6. 424, quoted also *PGM* IV. 468, 824.

115. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193. See *PGM* IV. 470, where the same verse is quoted.

then to Helios 19 months, which would be 57 years 8 months. In this period assigned to Helios, that is to the 19 months, devote yourself to what you seek. After this he assigned to Ares 15 months, which would be 58 years 11 months. This is a hostile period. / Then to Selene 25 months, which would be 61 years. They are good. Then to Zeus 12 months, which would be 62 years. They are good. Then to Kronos 30 months, which would be 64½ years. They are bad for the body; within them also are the dangerous points.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. The section appears to be a fragment from an astrological work about the influence of the planets upon the periods of life.

PGM IV. 850–929

***Charm of Solomon that produces a trance**[116] (works both on boys and on adults): I swear to you by the holy gods and the heavenly gods not to share the procedure of Solomon with anyone and certainly not to use it for something questionable[117] / unless a matter of necessity forces you, lest perchance wrath be preserved for you.

Formula to be spoken: "OURIŌR AMĒN IM TAR CHŌB KLAMPHŌB PHRĒ[118] PHRŌR PTAR OUSIRI SAIŌB TĒLŌ KABĒ / MANATATHŌR ASIŌRIKŌR BĒEINŌR AMOUN ŌM MĒNICHTHA MACHTHA CHTHARA AMACHTHA AOU ALAKAMBŌT BĒSINŌR APHĒSIŌR PHRĒPH AMĒI OUR LAMASIR CHĒRIŌB PITRĒM / PHĒŌPH NIRIN ALLANNATHATH CHĒRIŌCH ŌNĒ BOUSIRI NINOUNO AMANAL GAGŌSARIĒR MĒNIAM TLĒR OOO AA ETNĒ OUSIRI OUSIRI OURISI OURISI MĒNĒMB MNĒM / BRABĒL TNĒKAIŌB. Hear me, that is, my holy voice, because I call upon your holy names, and reveal to me concerning the thing which I want, through the NN man or little boy, for otherwise I will not defend your holy and undefiled / names. Come to me, you who became Hesies and were carried away by a river; inspire the NN man or boy concerning that which I ask you: BARBĒTH MNŌR ARARIAK TARĒRIM ŌAR TĒRŌK SANIŌR MĒNIK PHAUEK / DAPHORIOUMIN LARIŌR ĒTNIAMIM KNŌS CHALAKTHIR KRŌPHĒR PHĒSIMŌT PRĒBIB KNALA ĒRIBĒTIM GNŌRI. Come to me through the NN man or little boy and tell me accurately since / I speak your names which thrice-greatest Hermes[119] wrote in Heliopolis with hieroglyphic letters: ARBAKŌRIPH MĒNIAM ŌBAŌB ABNIŌB MĒRIM BAIAX CHENŌR PHĒNIM ŌRA ŌRĒSIOU OUSIRI[120] PNIAMOUSIRI / PHRĒOUSIRI HŌRIOUSIRI NAEIŌROUSIRI MĒNIMOUSIRI MNĒKOUSIRI PHLĒKOUSIRI PĒLĒLOUSIRI ŌNIŌ RABKOUSIRI ANIŌBOUSIRI AMĒAOUSIRI ANŌROUSIRI AMĒNĒPHĒOUSIRI / AMĒNIOUSIRI XŌNIŌR ĒOUROUSIRI. Enter into him and reveal to me concerning the NN matter."

After you have purified the designated man [by keeping him] from intercourse for 3 days, you yourself also being pure, enter together with him.[121] After you have taken him up / to an open place, seat him on unbaked bricks, dress him and give him an anubian head of wheat[122] and a falconweed plant so that he will be protected. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, extend your hands / up

116. Literally, the title means "Solomon's Collapse," an indication of ecstatic seizure.

117. Or "for trivial reasons."

118. The names include the gods Prē, Osiris, and Amon.

119. That is, Hermes Trismegistos. For this name, see *PGM* VII. 551 and n.

120. The following list, after "Osiris," contains a series of compound deities whose second element is the god Osiris, but only some can be identified: Pre-Osiris, Horus-Osiris, Onnuris-Osiris, Amenophis-Osiris, and Amon-Osiris. [R.K.R.]

121. The following account has a parallel in *Test. Sol.* I. 3, ed. McCown, p. *8, ll. 5–15.

122. The meaning of Anubis's head of grain is not known. On the god Anubis, see J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, *EPRO* 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), esp. p. 139 for ear of grain. [R.K.R.]

to heaven, toward the rays of the sun, and say the formula 7 times. Next make an offering of male frankincense after pouring out wine, beer, honey, or milk of a black cow onto grapevine wood. Then say the formula 7 times just into the ear / of the NN man or little boy, and right away he will fall down. But you sit down on the bricks and make your inquiry, and he will describe everything with truth. You should crown him with a garland of indigenous wormwood, / both him and you, for god delights in the plant.

Dismissal of the lord: into the ear of NN: "ANANAK ARBEOUĒRI AEĒIOYŌ."

If he tarries, sacrifice on grapevine charcoal a sesame seed [and] black cumin while saying: / "ANANAK ŌRBEOUSIRI AEĒIOYŌ, go away, lord, to your own thrones and protect him, NN, from all evil." You learned thoroughly; keep it secret.

The awakening[123] [of the man or boy] is as follows: Stand away from the boy or man, having your / palms spread on your buttocks, your feet together on the ground, recite [the following] often until he is moved either toward the right or toward the left: "AMOUN ĒEI[124] ABRIATH KICHŌP ŌTEM PITH." Then as a dog.[125]
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 930–1114

Charm that produces a direct vision**:[126] ***Prayer for divine alliance, which you are to say first toward the sunrise, then the same first prayer is to be spoken to a lamp. Whenever you seek divinations, be dressed in the garb of a prophet, shod with fibers of the doum palm and / your head crowned with a spray from an olive tree—but the spray should have a single-shooted garlic tied around the middle. Clasp a pebble numbered 3663[127] to your breasts, and in this way make your invocation.

Hymn:[128]

"Hail,[129] serpent, and[130] stout lion, natural
Sources of fire.[131] / And hail, clear water and
Lofty-leafed tree,[132] and you who gather up

123. The translation of this difficult term follows Preisendanz (see apparatus ad loc.).

124. AMOUN ĒEI is equivalent to Egyptian "Amon comes" (?), with Greek *ηει* standing for Egyptian *iy*. [R.K.R.]

125. Probably referring to barking; cf. *PGM* IV. 1006.

126. This is equivalent to the type of Demotic spell called *ph-ntr*-spell, literally, a "god's arrival" spell. See J. H. Johnson, "Louvre E 3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977):90–91.

127. According to Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 184, the mystical number is 3663 and refers to BAINCHŌŌŌCH (the numerical value of the Greek letters being 2 + 1 + 10 + 50 + 600 + 800 + 800 + 600 = 3663.

128. Preisendanz ends the hymn at l. 948, but the petition to the god continues through l. 955. Ll. 949–54 include references to the spell for a direct vision, the lamp divination, and the prayer for divine alliance. Thus the present form of these lines comes from the time when the spell was put together. Ll. 949–54 contain vestiges of verse and originally may have been part of the hymn which was composed by the final author; or they may be a prose addition to part of an earlier hymn, perhaps substituting for, or expanding the petition in, the original hymn. [W.C.G.]

129. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 3; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238.

130. *τε*, though necessary to the sense, mars the hexameter. [E.N.O.]

131. A possible echo of a pre-Socratic expression, but to the author of this spell this phrase must have had a much different meaning. Preisendanz wants to emend and read *Φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή* ("O Nature and fire's origin"), but the emendation is more clever than persuasive. For Physis as a goddess, see *PGM* I. 310 and n. [E.N.O.]

132. An adaptation of Homer, *Od.* 4. 458, which in the context of the spell indicates that the author knew not only the Homeric verse but the whole passage as well. [E.N.O.]

Clover from golden fields of beans,[133] and who
Cause gentle foam to gush forth from pure mouths.
Scarab, who drive the orb of fertile fire,
O self-engendered one,[134] because you are
Two-syllabled, AĒ, and are the first-
Appearing one, / nod me assent, I pray,
Because your mystic symbols I declare,
ĒŌ AI OY AMERR OOUŌTH IYIŌĒ MARMARAUŌTH LAILAM SOUMARTA.
Be gracious unto me, first-father, and
May you yourself send strength as my companion.
Stay allied, lord, and listen to me / through the charm that produces direct vision which I do today, and reveal to me concerning those things I ask you through the lamp divination for direct vision which I do today, I, NN, IY EYĒ OŌ AEĒ IAEĒ AIAĒ E AI EY ĒIE ŌŌŌŌŌ EY ĒŌ / IAŌAI" (repeat).[135]

Light-bringing charm: Crown your head with the same spray, stand in the same fashion facing the lamp, close your eyes and recite this spell 7 times.

Spell: "I call upon you, the living god, / fiery, invisible begetter of light, IAĒL PEIPTA PHŌS ZA PAI PHTHENTHA PHŌSZA PYRI BELIA IAŌ IAO EYŌ OEĒ A ŌY EOI A E Ē I O Y Ō give your strength, rouse your daimon, / enter into this fire, fill it with a divine spirit, and show me your might. Let there be opened for me the house of the all-powerful god ALBALAL,[136] who is in this light. / Let there be light, breadth, depth, length, height, brightness, and let him who is inside shine through, the lord BOUĒL[137] PHTHA PHTHA PHTHAĒL PHTHA ABAI BAINCHŌŌŌCH, now, now; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

Light-retaining spell that is spoken once / in order that the light-magic might remain with you, for sometimes when you invoke the god-bringing spell darkness is produced. Therefore, you should conjure in the following way.

Spell: "I conjure you, holy light, holy brightness, breadth, depth, length, height, brightness, by the holy names / which I have spoken and am now going to speak. By IAŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI AI AI IAO AX AX INAX, remain by me in the present hour, until I pray to the god / and learn about the things I desire."

God-bringing spell to be spoken three times with your eyes open: "I call upon you, the greatest god, sovereign HŌROS HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMŌSI IŌAI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI / ABRAIAŌTH, you who enlighten the universe and by your own power illumine the whole world, god of gods, benefactor, AO IAŌ EAĒY, you who direct night and day, AI AŌ, handle and steer the tiller,[138] restrain the ser-

133. This refers to the Egyptian bean from the Nymphean lotus mentioned in *PGM* IV. 1110. Thus the reference is again to Horus atop the lotus. [R.K.R.]

134. "Self-generation" is a common epithet of Khepri (see Glossary, s.v. "Scarab") and is a pun on his name which means "to come into being." [R.K.R.] See also J. Whittaker, "Self-generating Principles in Second-century Gnostic Systems," in B. Layton, ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. I: The School of Valentinus, *Studies in the History of Religions* (*Supplements to Numen*) 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 176–93.

135. Here the papyrus has the sign //, perhaps signifying doubling. See below, ll. 973 and 1046 (in the papyrus).

136. For this name, see T. Hopfner, "Orientalisch-Religionsgeschichtliches aus den griechischen Zauberpapyri Ägyptens," *Archiv Orientální* 3 (1931): 341.

137. This name is not attested elsewhere.

138. A reference to the solar bark of Re and the serpent Apophis, who attempts daily to devour the sun. Cf. Pritchard, *ANET* 6–7; E. Hornung and A. Badawy, "Apophis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 350–51. [R.K.R.]

pent, / you Good, holy[139] Daimon, whose name is HARBATHANŌPS IAOAI, whom sunrises and sunsets hymn when you arise and set. You who are praised among all gods, angels and daimons, come and appear to me, god of gods, HŌROS / HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMŌSI IAŌ AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAŌTH. Enter, appear to me, lord, because I call upon you as the three baboons[140] call upon you, who speak / your holy name in a symbolic fashion, A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ (speak as a baboon). Enter in, appear to me, lord, for I speak your greatest names: BARBARAI BARBARAŌTH AREMPSOUS PERTAŌMĒCH PERA / KŌNĒTHCH IAŌ BAL BĒL BOL BE SRŌ IAOĒI OYEĒI EĒI EOYĒI AĒI ĒI IAO ĒI. You who are seated on the top of the world and judge the universe, surrounded by the circle of truth and honesty, / IYAĒ IŌAI, enter in; appear to me, lord, to me, the one who is before fire and snow and in the midst of them, because my name is BAINCHŌŌŌCH. I am the one who is from heaven; my name is BALSAMĒS. Enter in, appear to me,[141] / lord, you who have a great name, you whom we all have each in our own heart; your name is BARPHANNĒTH RALPHAI NINTHER CHOUCHAI. You who break apart rocks and change the names of gods, enter in, appear to me, lord, you who have in fire your power / and your strength, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. You who are seated within the 7 poles, AEĒIOYŌ, you who have on your head a golden crown and in your hand a Memnonian staff[142] with which you send out the gods, your name is BARBARIĒL BARBARAIĒL god / BARBARAĒL BĒL BOUĒL. Enter in, lord, and answer me with your holy voice in order that I might hear clearly and unerringly concerning the NN matter, IYEYĒ OŌAEĒ (formula) IAEĒ AIAĒ EAI EYĒIE / ŌŌŌŌŌ IYĒŌ IAŌ AI."

Charm of compulsion: If somehow he delays, say in addition this following incantation (say the incantation one or 3 times): "The great, living god commands you, he who lives for eons of eons, who shakes together, who thunders, who created every / soul and race, IAŌ AŌI ŌIA AIŌ IŌA ŌAI. Enter in, appear to me, lord, happy, kind, gentle, glorious, not angry, because I conjure you by the lord, IAŌ AŌI ŌIA AIŌ IŌA ŌAI APTA PHŌIRA ZAZOU / CHAMĒ. Enter in, lord, appear to me happy, kind, gentle, [glorious,][143] not angry" (repeat).[144]

Salutation said once after the god enters. While holding the pebble, say: "Hail, lord, god of gods, benefactor, HŌROS HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMŌSI IAŌ AI DA/GENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAŌ; let your Hours which you traverse be welcomed; let your Glories[145] be welcomed forever, lord."

139. The occurrence of "holy" between "good" and "daimon" makes it doubtful that the familiar Good Daimon is meant. See Glossary, s.v.; see also the apparatus ad loc.

140. Baboons were thought to praise the sun when they chattered at it. For a representation, see A. Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), vol. I, 39, fig. 22 and pl. I. See also Bonnet, *RÄRG* 7–8, s.v. "Affe." [R.K.R.] On the magician's imitation of the "language" of animals, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sections 778–80. Understanding this language of animals belongs to the traditional phenomenology of the "divine man" and magician. See, e.g., Porphyry, *De abst.* 3. 3, and on the whole topic H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1921); Betz, *Lukian* 28–38.

141. Preisendanz has *φάνη θίμοι*, which should be read as *φάνηθί μοι*, as in *PGM* IV. 1001, 1006, 1015, 1024, 1041, 1045. [W.C.G.]

142. For Memnon as a deified hero in Egypt, see A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia* (Cairo: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1952) 1–21; as recipient of worship, see D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977) 299, no. 82. [R.K.R.]

143. An addition by Preisendanz in order to conform to *PGM* IV. 1042. But such consistency is not always to be expected. Cf. ll. 1063–65 with 1079–80.

144. See the note above on *PGM* IV. 955, regarding the sign for doubling.

145. Cf. *PGM* I. 199 and n.

Charm to retain the god: When he comes in, after greeting him, step with your left heel on the big toe of his right foot, and he will not / go away unless you raise your heel from his toe[146] and at the same time say the dismissal.

Dismissal: Close your eyes, release the pebble which you have been holding, lift the crown up from your head and your heel from his / toe, and, while keeping your eyes closed, say 3 times: "I give thanks to you lord BAINCHŌŌŌCH, who is BALSAMĒS. Go away, go away, lord, into your own heavens, into your own palaces, into your own course. Keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts, free from calamity and without terror. Hear me during my / lifetime."

Dismissal of the brightness: "CHŌŌ CHŌŌ ŌCHŌŌCH,[147] holy brightness." In order that the brightness also go away:[148] "Go away, holy brightness, go away, beautiful and holy light of the highest god, AIAŌNA." Say it one time with closed eyes, smear yourself / with Coptic kohl;[149] smear yourself by means of a golden probe.

Phylactery for the rite, which you must wear for the protection of your whole body: On [a strip][150] from a linen cloth taken from a marble statue of Harpokrates in any temple [whatever] / write with myrrh these things: "I am HOROS ALKIB HARSAMŌSIS IAŌ AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAŌTH, son of ISIS ATHTHA BATHTHA and of OSIRIS OSOR[ON]NŌPHRIS; keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts and without terror during my / lifetime." Place inside the strip of cloth an everliving plant;[151] roll it up and tie it 7 times with threads of Anubis.[152] Wear it around your neck whenever you perform the rite. /

Preparation: Take broad cords of papyrus, tie them to the four corners of the room so that they form an *X*. In the middle of the *X* attach a ring-shaped mat made from single-stemmed wormwood. Provide / a glazed lamp[153] with a wick called reed grass, and rub the wick itself with fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram. Fill the lamp with good olive oil, and place it in the middle, / on the mat. Light the lamp and stand in the previously mentioned fashion, facing the sunrise, whenever you perform the rite, without distinguishing the days.[154] Purify yourself / from everything three days in advance, and rub the wick beforehand with the fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram.

Signs of the lamp: After saying the light-bringing spell, open your eyes and you will see / the light of the lamp becoming like a vault. Then while closing your eyes say (***differently***: 3 . . .[155] after saying 3 times), and after opening your eyes you will see all things wide-open and the greatest brightness within, but the lamp shining nowhere. Then you will see the god / seated on a lotus,[156] decorated with rays, his

146. The translation follows the interpretation by Preisendanz; see the apparatus ad loc.

147. CHŌŌ CHŌŌ ŌCHŌŌCH corresponds to Coptic KŌ KŌ Ō KAKE, "depart, depart, O darkness." [R.K.R.]

148. An attempt on the part of the redactor of the papyrus text to explain the need for a second dismissal.

149. Powdered antimony used as eyepaint.

150. Addition by Eitrem on the basis of l. 1081.

151. A general name for plants that seem to live a long time. See R. Strömberg, *Griechische Pflanzennamen*, *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 46 (Göteborg: Elanders, 1940) 103.

152. On the Anubian thread, see *PGM* I. 147 and n.

153. On this type of faïence, see *PGM* IV. 55 and n.

154. That is, the charm can be performed on any day. For charms that can be used only on certain days, cf. *PGM* III. 275–81; VII. 155–67, 284–89.

155. The text is obscure at this point but seems to include alternative instructions. See apparatus ad loc.

156. The deity seated on the lotus flower is Harpokrates, invoked here in ll. 989, 999–1000, and 1074–75. This standard depiction of Harpokrates is found in all the media during the Greco-Roman

right hand raised in greeting and left [holding] a flail, while being carried in the hands of 2 angels with 12 rays around them.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 930–38; 949–1114) and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 939–48). This spell is a composite, made by combining a lamp divination with a charm for a direct vision and including an introductory prayer for divine alliance. The repetition in the present charm (note especially the two dismissals in ll. 1057ff. and 1065ff. and the explanation in ll. 1066ff.) is a result of the inclusion of similar elements from both of the charms here combined.

PGM IV. 1115–66

1115 *__Hidden__[157] __stele__:[158] "Hail, entire system of the aerial spirit,[159] PHŌGALŌA. Hail, spirit who extends from heaven to earth, ERDĒNEU, and from earth which is in the 1120 middle chamber of the / universe unto the borders of the abyss, MEREMŌGGA.[160] Hail, spirit who enters into me, convulses me, and leaves me kindly according to 1125 the will of god, IŌĒ ZANŌPHIE. / Hail, beginning and end of the immovable nature, DŌRYGLAOPHŌN. Hail, revolution of untiring service by heavenly bodies, RŌGYEU ANAMI PELĒGEŌN ADARA EIŌPH. Hail, radiance of the universe subordi-1130 nate / to the solar ray, IEO YĒŌ IAĒ AI ĒŌY OEI. Hail, orb of the night-illuminating, unequally shining moon, AIŌ RĒMA RŌDOUŌPIA. Hail, all spirits of the aerial im-1135 ages / RŌMIDOUĒ AGANASOU ŌTHAUA. Hail to those to whom the greeting is given with blessing, to brothers and sisters, to holy men and holy women. O great, greatest, round, incomprehensible figure of the universe, heavenly ENRŌCHES-1140 YĒL; / in heaven, PELĒTHEU; of ether, IŌGARAA; in the ether, THŌPYLEO DARDY; watery, IŌĒDES; earthy, PERĒPHIA; fiery, APHTHALYA; windlike, IŌIE ĒŌ AYA; lumi-1145 nous, ALAPIE; dark-looking, / IEPSERIA; shining with heavenly light, ADAMALŌR; moist, fiery, and cold spirit. I glorify you, god of gods, the one who brought order to the universe, AREŌ PIEUA; the one who gathered together the abyss at the invisi-1150 ble foundation of its position, PERŌ MYSĒL / O PENTŌNAX; the one who separated heaven and earth and covered the heaven with eternal, golden wings, RŌDĒRY OYŌA; the one who fixed the earth on eternal foundations, ALĒIOŌA; the one who 1155 hung up / the ether high above the earth, AIE ŌĒ IOYA; the one who scattered the air with self-moving breezes, ŌIE OYŌ; the one who put the water roundabout, 1160 ŌRĒPĒLYA; the one who raises up hurricanes, ŌRISTHAUA; / the one who thunders, THEPHICHYŌNĒL; the one who hurls lightnings, OURĒNES; the one who rains, OSIŌRNI PHEUGALGA; the one who shakes, PERATŌNĒL; the one who produces living creatures, ARĒSIGYLŌA; the god of the Aions; you are great, lord, god, ruler of the

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period. Harpokrates holds the flail, the symbol of royalty, here interpreted as a whip. See A. M. El-Kachab, "Some Gem-Amulets Depicting Harpocrates Seated on a Lotus Flower," *JEA* 57 (1971): 132–45, esp. 133–34. For the gesture of greeting, a modification under the influence of Helios instead of the more common gesture of finger sucking, see S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

157. The exact meaning of *ἀπόκρυφος* is uncertain here. LSJ, s.v., II, gives as possible meanings "obscure, recondite, hard to understand." More likely is the meaning "secret," for which see Bauer, s.v.; cf. also *PGM* XIII. 344, 731, 732, 1057, 1078.

158. The term *stēlē* occurs in the *PGM* with several meanings. Originally it refers to a plate of stone or metal on which texts could be inscribed (e.g., VIII. 42), but most of the time the term is a literary device suggesting the text was copied from a stone slab. It can also refer to an amulet in the shape of a *stēlē* (as in *PGM* VII. 215; see the picture *Tafel I, Abbildung* 1 in Preisendanz, vol. II).

159. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion (see l. 1164). Cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 277–78; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 200, 208–10. See also *PGM* I. 309 and n.

160. For this imagery, see H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Copenhagen: Høst, 1927) 74; furthermore, *DMP* col. XX, l. 28 (p. 133); *PGM* IV. 1210. [R.K.R.]

All, ARCHIZŌ / NYON THĒNAR METHŌR PARY PHĒZŌR THAPSAMYDŌ MARŌMI CHĒLŌPSA."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1167–1226

*__Stele__ that is useful for all things; it even delivers from death. Do not investigate what is in it.

Formula: "I praise you,[161] the one and blessed of the eons and / father of the world, with cosmic prayers. Come to me, you who filled the whole universe with air, who hung up the fire from the [heavenly] water and separated the earth from the water. Pay attention, form, spirit, / earth and sea, to a word from the one who is wise concerning divine Necessity, and accept my words as fiery darts, because I am a man,[162] the most beautiful creature of the god in heaven, made out of spirit, / dew, and earth. Heaven, be opened; accept my words. Listen, Helios, father of the world; I call upon you with your name AŌ EY ĒOI AIOĒ YEŌA OUORZARA LAMANTHATHRĒ KANTHIOPER / GARPSARTHRĒ MENLARDAPA KENTHĒR DRYOMEN THRANDRĒTHRĒ IABE ZELANTHI BER ZATHRĒ ZAKENTI BIOLLITHRĒ AĒŌ OYŌ ĒŌ OŌ RAMIATHA AĒŌ ŌYŌ OYŌ ŌAYŌ: the only one having the original / element. You are the holy and powerful name considered sacred by all the angels; protect me, so- and-so, from every excess of power and from every violent act. Yes, do this, / lord, god of gods, IALDAZAŌ BLATHAM MACHŌR PHRIX AĒ KEŌPH EĒA DYMEŌ PHERPHRITHŌ IACHTHŌ PSYCHEŌ PHIRITHMEŌ RŌSERŌTH THAMASTRAPHATI RIMPSAŌCH IALTHE MEACHI ARBATHANŌPS, / creator of the world, creator of the universe, lord, god of gods, MARMARIŌ IAŌ. I have spoken of your unsurpassable glory,[163] you who created gods, archangels, and decans. The ten thousands of angels stood by [you] and exalted / the heaven, and the lord witnessed to your Wisdom,[164] which is Aion, IEOYĒŌĒ IAĒAIĒŌĒYOEI, and said that you are as strong as he is. I invoke your hundred-lettered / name[165] which extends from the sky to the depth of the earth; save me, for you are always ever rejoicing in saving those who are yours, ATHĒZE PHŌI AAA DAIAGTHI THĒOBIS PHIATH THAMBRAMI ABRAŌTH / CHTHOLCHIL THOE OELCHŌTH THIOŌĒMCH CHOOMCH SAĒSI ISACHCHOĒ IEROUTHRA OOOOO AIŌAI (100 letters). I call upon you, the one on the gold leaf,[166] before whom the unquenchable lamp continually burns,[167] / the great God, the one who shone on the whole world, who is radiant at Jerusalem, lord, IAŌ AIĒ IŌĒ ŌIĒ ŌIĒ IĒ AIŌAI AI OYŌ AŌĒ ĒEI IEŌ ĒYŌ AĒI AŌ AŌA AEĒI YŌ EIĒ / AĒŌ IEY AEĒ IAIA IAŌ EY AEY IAĒ EI AAA III ĒĒĒ IŌ IŌĒ IAŌ (100 letters), for a blessing, lord."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

161. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion. See Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198, who compares the prayer with the older form in I. 196–221.

162. For different interpretations and translations, see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 279, who thinks of the god Anthropos, "Man"; cf. also Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 169: "I am a human being, the heavenly deity's most beautiful creation. . . ."

163. Preisendanz prints Δόξα, as if to suggest a divine hypostasis. See also *PGM* I. 199.

164. The notion of "Wisdom" (Sophia) is here identified with Aion, a unique instance in the *PGM*. Cf. *PGM* I. 210, and Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198–99.

165. Cf. l. 1225.

166. This protective prayer presumes a section describing a gold lamella to be worn as a phylactery. The phylactery contained the hundred-letter name of the god and was worn as protection against "every excess of power" and the "very violent act" mentioned in ll. 1193–94.

167. For the light miracle at Jerusalem, see *PGM* IV. 3070 and n. See also *PDM* xiv. 490 and K. Preisendanz, "Zum grossen Pariser Zauberpapyrus," *ARW* 17 (1914): 347–48.

PGM IV. 1227–64

*__Excellent rite for driving out daimons__: ***Formula*** to be spoken over his head: Place olive branches before him, / and stand behind him and say:

"Hail, God of Abraham; hail, God of Isaac; hail, God of Jacob; Jesus Chrestos,[168] the Holy Spirit, the Son of the Father, who is above[169] the Seven, / who is within the Seven. Bring Iao Sabaoth; may your power issue forth from him, NN, until you drive away this unclean daimon Satan, who is in him. I conjure you, daimon, / whoever you are, by this god, SABARBARBATHIŌTH SABARBARBATHIOUTH SABARBARBATHIŌNĒTH SABARBARBAPHAI. Come out, daimon, whoever you are, and stay away from him, NN, / now, now; immediately, immediately. Come out, daimon, since I bind you with unbreakable adamantine fetters, and I deliver you into the black chaos in perdition."

Preparation: take 7 olive branches; for six of them / tie together the two ends of each one, but for the remaining one use it like a whip as you utter the conjuration. Keep it secret; it is proven.

After driving out the daimon, hang around him, NN, a phylactery, which the patient puts on after the expulsion of the daimon—a phylactery with these things [written] on / a tin metal leaf: "BŌR PHŌR PHORBA PHOR PHORBA BES CHARIN BAUBŌ TE PHŌR BŌRPHORBA PHORBABOR BAPHORBA PHABRAIĒ PHŌRBA PHARBA PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA / BŌPHOR PHORBA PHORPHOR PHORBA BŌBORBORBA PAMPHORBA PHŌRPHŌR PHŌRBA, protect him, NN." But ***another version*** has a phylactery on which this sign[170] occurs: ⸗

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This Greek and Coptic exorcistic spell is discussed by Tambornino, *RGVV* VII 3, 9; 10. For additional literature, see Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. I, 114 and idem, *APF* 8 (1927): 115.

PGM IV. 1265–74

*__Aphrodite's name__ which becomes known to no one quickly is NEPHERIĒRI[171]—this is the name. If you wish to win a woman who is beautiful, be pure for 3 days, make an offering of frankincense, / and call upon this name over it. You approach the woman and say it seven times in your soul as you gaze at her, and in this way it will succeed.[172] But do this for 7 days.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 1275–1322

*__Bear-charm__[173] __which accomplishes everything__: ***Formula***: "I call upon you, the greatest power in heaven" (***others***: "in the Bear") "appointed by the lord god to turn with a strong / hand the holy pole, NIKAROPLĒX. Listen to me, Helios, Phre;[174] hear the holy [prayer], you who hold together the universe and bring to life the

168. On *Chrēstos*, "excellent one," rather than *Christos*, "anointed one," see K. Weiss, *TDNT* 9 (1974): 484–85; B. Layton, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979) 44–45; Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 63.

169. Or "below."

170. This sign is familiar from the so-called Chnoubis amulets. See Bonner, *SMA* 54–55; Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles magiques* 54–57; A. Jacoby, "Ein Berliner Chnoubisamulett," *ARW* 28 (1930): 269–70. The translation of the sentence is according to the interpretation by R.D.K.

171. Nepherieri is the Egyptian *Nfr-iry.t*, "the beautiful eye," a suitable epithet for Aphrodite/Hathor. See G. Möller, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. [J.B.; R.K.R.]

172. Or "you will succeed," the subject being the spell itself.

173. The spell invokes the astral constellation of the Bear and its powers. See *PGM* IV. 700, 1331; VII. 687; XXIII. 10.

174. That is, Helios-Prē.

whole world, THŌZOPITHĒ EUCHANDAMA ŌCHRIENTHĒR / OMNYŌDĒS CHĒMIOCHYNGĒS IEŌY" (perform a sacrifice) "THERMOUTHER PSIPHIRIX PHROSALI KANTHIMEŌ ZANZEMIA ŌPER PEROMENĒS RŌTHIEU ĒNINDEU KORKOUNTHO EUMEN MENI KĒDEUA KĒPSĒOI" (add the usual).

Petition / to the sun at sunset. Formula: "THĒNŌR, O Helios, SANTHĒNŌR, I beseech you, lord, may the place and lord of the Bear devote themselves to me" (while petitioning, sacrifice armara.[175] Do it at sunset).

Charm of compulsion for the 3rd day: "ANTEBERŌYRTŌR EREMNETHĒCHŌR CHNYCHIROANTŌR MENELEOCHEU ĒESSIPO DŌTĒR EUARĒTŌ GOU PI PHYLAKĒ ŌMALAMINGOR MANTATONCHA / do the NN thing."

The first formula in a different way: "THŌZOPITHĒ, Bear, greatest goddess, ruling heaven, reigning over the pole of the stars, highest, beautiful-shining goddess, incorruptible element, composite of the all, all-illuminating, / bond of the universe AEĒIOYŌ (square),[176] you who stand on the pole, you whom the lord god appointed to turn the holy pole with a strong hand: THŌZOPITHĒ (formula)."

Offering for the procedure: 4 drams of frankincense, 4 drams of myrrh, 2 ounces each of cassia leaf and / of white pepper, 1 dram of bdellion, 1 dram of asphodel seed, 2 drams each of amomon, of saffron, of terebinth storax, 1 dram of wormwood, . . . of vetch plant, priestly Egyptian incense, the complete brain of a black ram. / Combine these with white Mendesian wine[177] and honey, and make pellets of bread.

Phylactery for the procedure: Wear a wolf knucklebone, mix juice of vetch and of pondweed in a censer, / write in the middle of the censer this name: "THERMOUTHEREPSIPHIRIPHI[178] PISALI" (24 letters),[179] and in this way make an offering.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1323–30

**Another*: "KOMPHTHO KOMASITH KOMNOUN[180] you who shook and shake the world, you who have swallowed the ever-living serpent and daily / raise the disk of the sun and of the moon, you whose name is ITHIOŌ ĒI ARBATHIAŌ Ē, send up to me, NN, at night the daimon of this night to reveal to me concerning / the NN thing."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1331–89

***Powerful spell of the Bear**[181] **which accomplishes anything**: Take the fat of a black ass, the fat of a dappled she-goat, the fat of a black bull, and Ethiopian cumin, mix all together / and make an offering to the Bear, having as a phylactery hairs

175. For the recipe, see below, ll. 1308–16, and Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 803. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1990.

176. According to Preisendanz, πλινθίον (square) inserted here means that the letters are to be arranged in a series of lines forming a square. For this form of pictorial writing, see V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palāographie* II (Leipzig: Veit, ²1913) 59. For a similar piece, see A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall, II: Einzelstücke* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung, 1975) 98 n. 11; cf. also *PGM* XIII. 905–11.

177. Cf. *PGM* I. 85 and n.

178. Thermouth is Renmutet, the Egyptian harvest goddess and Fate. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 803–4, s.v. "Thermutis." See also *PGM* IV. 664 and n.

179. That is, in Greek letters.

180. Preisendanz suggests this line may contain Coptic, which according to F. Ll. Griffith, "The Old Coptic Magical Text of Paris," *ZÄS* 38 (1900) : 93, means "earth-shaker, ground-shaker, abyss-shaker." [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* III. 680.

181. For the meaning of the constellation of the Bear, see *PGM* IV. 1275.

from the same animals which you have plaited into a cord and are wearing as a diadem around your head. Anoint your lips with the fats, smear your whole body with storax / oil, and make your petition while holding a single-shooted Egyptian onion. Speak concerning whatever you wish. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, kneel down, and speak the following ***formula***:

/ "I call upon you, holy, very-powerful, very-glorious, very-strong, holy, autochthons, assistants of the great god, the powerful chief daimons, you who / are inhabitants of Chaos,[182] of Erebos, of the abyss, of the depth, of earth, dwelling in the recesses of heaven, lurking in the nooks and crannies of houses, shrouded in dark clouds, watchers of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those in the underworld, administrators / of the infinite, wielding power over earth, earthshakers, foundation-layers, servants in the chasm, shudderful fighters, fearful ministers, turning the spindle, freezing snow and rain, air-transversers, causing / summer heat, wind-bringers, lords of Fate, inhabitants of dark Erebos, bringers of compulsion, sending flames of fire, bringing snow and dew, wind-releasers, disturbers of the deep, treaders on the calm sea, mighty in courage, grievers / of the heart, powerful potentates, cliff-walkers, adverse daimons, iron-hearted, wild-tempered, unruly, guarding Tartaros, misleading Fate, all-seeing, all-hearing, / all-subjecting, heaven-walkers, spirit-givers, living simply, heaven-shakers, gladdening the heart, those who join together death, revealers of angels, punishers of mortals, sunless revealers, rulers of daimons, / air-transversers, almighty, holy, unconquerable AŌTH[183] ABAŌTH BASYM ISAK SABAŌTH IAŌ IAKŌP MANARA SKORTOURI MORTROUM EPHRAULA THREERSA; do the NN matter."

/ Then write on a piece of papyrus the hundred-lettered name of Typhon,[184] curved as a star, and bind it in the middle of the core with the letters showing.

This is the name: / ACHCHŌR ACHCHŌR ACHACHACHPTOUMI CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌRA CHŌCH APTOUMIMĒ CHŌCHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARA CHŌCH PTENACHŌCHEOU.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1390–1495

***Love spell of attraction performed with the help of heroes or gladiators or those who have died a violent death**: Leave a little of the bread which you eat; break it up and form it into seven bite-size pieces. And go to where heroes and gladiators and those who have died a violent death were slain. / Say the spell to the pieces of bread and throw them. And pick up some polluted dirt from the place where you perform the ritual and throw it inside the house of the woman whom you desire, go on home and go to sleep.

The spell which is said upon the pieces of bread is this:

"To[185] Moirai, Destinies, / Malignities,
To Famine, Jealousy, to those who died

182. For these names referring to the underworld places of Greek mythology, see *Orph. Frag.* 1 and 54; Homer, *Il.* 16. 327; *Od.* 10. 528; Hesiod, *Theog.* 515; etc. See W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London: Methuen, 1952) 92.

183. The magical words contain some garbled Aramaic. On BASYM, see *PGM* LXX. 3 and n.; XIII. 147, 593. For an explanation from the Hebrew *ba-shem*, see G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977) 235–51, esp. 237, 240.

184. The association of Typhon with the constellation of the Bear (cf. *PGM* IV. 1331, 1335) is Egyptian. The Bear represents the soul of Typhon, the murderer of Osiris. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 21, 359D, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 373.

185. These iambic trimeters (which are sometimes rather clumsy) have been adapted to form the reconstructed Hymn 25, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 263. [E.N.O.]

Untimely deaths and those dead violently,
I'm sending food: Three-headed Goddess, Lady
Of Night, who feed on filth, O Virgin, thou
Key-holding Persephassa,[186] Kore out
Of Tartaros, grim-eyed, dreadful, child girt /
With fiery serpents, he, NN, has mixed
With tears and bitter groans leftovers from
His own food, so that you, O luckless heroes
Who are confined there in the NN place,
May bring success to him who is beset
With torments. You who've left the light, O you
Unfortunate ones, / bring success to him,
NN, who is distressed at heart because
Of her, NN, ungodly and unholy.
So bring her wracked with torment—and in haste!
EIOUT ABAŌTH PSAKERBA ARBATHIAŌ LALAOITH / IŌSACHŌTOU ALLALETHŌ
You too as well, Lady, who feed on filth[187]
SYNATRAKABI BAUBARABAS ENPHNOUN MORKA[188] ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH, and send the Erinys ORGOGORGONIOTRIAN,[189]
Who rouses up with fire souls of the dead, /
Unlucky heroes, luckless heroines,
Who in this place, who on this day, who in
This hour, who in coffins of myrtlewood,
Give heed to me and rouse / her, NN, on
This night and from her eyes remove sweet sleep,
And cause her wretched care and fearful pain,
Cause her to follow after my footsteps,
And / for my will give her a willingness
Until she does what I command of her.
O mistress Hekate[190]
PHORBA PHORBŌBAR BARŌ PHŌRPHŌR PHŌRBAI
O Lady of the Crossroads, O Black Bitch."

When you have done / these things for 3 days and accomplish nothing, then use this forceful spell: just go to the same place and again perform the ritual of the bread pieces. Then upon ashes of flax offer up dung / from a black cow and say this and again pick up the polluted dirt and throw it as you have learned.

The words spoken over the offering are these:

"Chthonic Hermes and chthonic Hekate and chthonic Acheron[191] and chthonic /

186. A poetic form of Persephone.

187. These words with some changes are included as part of Hymn 25 (ll. 14–16), and they seem to scan, but without a translation possible for the formulaic terms nothing can be gained by inserting them in the verse section. [E.N.O.]

188. A. Jacoby has proposed (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.) that the name is that of the Babylonian deity Omorka. See O. Höfer, in Roscher 3/1 (1897–1902) 868–69, s.v. "Omorka."

189. The epithet "the Orgogorgoniotrian" signifies one of the Furies (Erinys). According to LSJ, s.v., it is found only here in Greek.

190. The meter breaks down at this point and only by rearranging and omitting words can Hymn 25 (l. 28) accommodate the concluding phrases here. [E.N.O.]

191. The name Acheron refers to the mythical river or sea in the underworld. There is also a connection with the river Acheron in Epirus, where the famous underworld oracle of Ephyra was located. See E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979) 252. The oracle of Ephyra has been excavated; see S. I. Dakaris, "Das Tau-

flesh-eaters and chthonic god and chthonic Amphiaraos[192] and chthonic attendants and chthonic spirts and chthonic sins and chthonic dreams / and chthonic oaths and chthonic Ariste[193] and chthonic Tartaros and chthonic witchery, chthonic Charon and chthonic escorts and the dead and the daimons and souls of all men: / come today, Moirai and Destiny; accomplish the purpose with the help of the love spell of attraction, that you may attract to me her, NN whose mother is NN, to me NN, whose mother is NN (add the usual), because I am calling

O[194] primal Chaos, / Erebos, and you
O awful water of the Styx, O streams
O Lethe, Hades' Acherousian pool,
O Hekate and Pluto and Kore,
And chthonic Hermes, Moirai, Punishments,
Both Acheron and Aiakos,[195] / gatekeeper
Of the eternal bars, now open quickly,
O thou Key-holder, guardian, Anubis.[196]
Send up to me the phantoms of the dead
Forthwith for service in this very hour. /

So that they may go and attract to me, NN, her, NN, whose mother is NN" (add the usual).

"Isis[197] came, holding on her shoulders her brother who is her bedfellow,[198] and Zeus came down from Olympus and stood awaiting the phantoms / of the dead as they were being led to her, NN, and were performing the NN business (add the usual). All the immortal gods and all the goddesses came to see the phantoms of these dead. Do not, therefore, delay; / do not loiter, but dispatch, O gods, the phantoms of these dead, so that having gone to her NN they may perform the NN deed (add the usual) because I adjure you by IAŌ / SABAŌTH and ADŌNAI PATRAXILYTRA BOURREPHAŌMI ASSALKĒ AIDOUNAX SESENGEN (formula) BALIABA ERECHCHARNOI ABERIDOUMA SALBACHTHI EISERSE / RATHŌ EISERDA ŌMI SISIPHNA SISAEDOUBE ACHCHARITŌNĒ ABERIPHNOUBA IABAL DENATHI ITHROUPHI. Send up the phantoms of these dead to her NN / whose mother is NN, so that they may perform the NN deed" (add the usual).

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

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benorakel von Dodona und das Totenorakel bei Ephyra," *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 1 (1963): 35–55; Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 185–86.

192. The name refers to an old underworld god who had an incubation oracle at Oropos. See R. Herzog, "Amphiaraos," *RAC* 1 (1950): 396, with further literature.

193. For this epithet of Artemis and Demeter, see Jessen, "Ariste," *PRE* 2 (1895): 876.

194. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 26, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. The reconstruction is even more extensive than usual, for in places only faint vestiges of verse remain. [E.N.O.]

195. Aiakos was one of the judges of the underworld, along with Minos and Rhadamanthys. See Plato, *Apol.* 41a; *Gorg*; 523e, and W. Schmid, "Aiakos," *PRE* 1 (1893): 923–26.

196. On Anubis with the key, see S. Morenz, "Anubis mit dem Schlüssel," in his *Religion und Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* (Köln and Wien: Böhlau, 1975) 510–20. [R.K.R.]

197. These lines, which contain vestiges of dactylic hexameters, have been arranged in an awkward verse pattern and accepted as the reconstructed Hymn 27; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. Nonetheless, the translation is prose because the lines have no more of a metrical pattern than many other passages scattered through these documents. [E.N.O.]

198. Isis aroused desire within the dead Osiris and by him conceived Horus. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 1496–1595

***Love spell of attraction over myrrh which is offered**: While offering it over coals, recite the spell.

Spell:

"You are Myrrh, the bitter, the difficult, who reconciles / combatants, who sears and who forces those to love who do not acknowledge Eros. Everyone calls you Myrrh, but I call you Flesh-eater and / Inflamer of the heart. I am not sending you to far-off Arabia; I am not sending you to Babylon, but I am sending you to her NN, whose mother is NN, so that you may serve me on the mission to her, so that / you may attract her to me. If she is sitting,[199] let her not keep sitting; if she is chatting with someone, let her not keep chatting; if she is gazing at someone, let her not keep gazing; if she is going to someone, let her not keep going; if she is strolling about, let her not / keep strolling; if she is drinking, let her not keep drinking; if she is eating, let her not keep eating; if she is kissing someone, let her not keep kissing him; if she is enjoying some pleasure, let her not keep enjoying it; if she is sleeping, let her not keep sleeping. Rather, let her hold me / NN alone in her mind; let her desire me alone; let her love me alone; let her do all my wishes. Do not enter through her eyes or through her side or through her nails / or even through her navel or through her frame, but rather through her 'soul.' And remain in her heart and burn her guts, her breast, her liver, / her breath, her bones, her marrow, until she comes to me NN, loving me, and until she fulfills all my wishes, because I adjure you, Myrrh, by the three names,[200] / ANOCHŌ[201] ABRASAX TRŌ, and by the more coercive and stronger names KORMEIŌTH IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI, so that you may carry out my / orders, Myrrh. As I burn you up and you are potent, so burn the brain of her, NN, whom I love. Inflame her and turn her guts inside out, / suck out her blood drop by drop, until she comes to me, NN, whose mother is NN. I adjure you by the MARPARKOURITH NASAARI NAIEMARE PAIPARI / NEKOURI. I throw you into the burning fire and adjure you by the almighty god who lives forever: Having adjured you, I now also adjure you, / ADŌNAI BARBAR IAŌ ZAGOURĒ HARSAMŌSI ALAOUS and SALAŌS. I adjure you who strengthened man for life: Hear, hear, / great god, o Adonaios, ETHYIA, self-gendering, everlasting god, EIŌĒ IAŌ AIŌ AIŌ PHNEŌS SPHINTĒS ARBATHIAŌ IAŌ IAĒ IŌA / AI, who are OUĒR[202] GONTHIAŌR RARAĒL[203] ABRA BRACHA SOROORMERPHERGAR MARBAPHRIOUIRIGX IAŌ SABAŌTH MASKELLI / MASKELLŌ (the formula) AMONSŌE ANOCH RIGCH PHNOUKENTABAŌTH SOUSAE PHINPHESĒCH MAPHI / RAR ANOURIN IBANAŌTH AROUĒR CHNOUPH ANOCH BATHI OUCH IARBAS BABAUBAR ELŌAI; attract for me her NN, whose mother is NN, to me / NN, whose mother is NN, on the very day, on this night, at this very hour, MOULŌTH PHOPHITH PHTHŌITH PHTHŌYTH PENIŌN. I call upon you also who hold / the fire, PHTHAN ANOCH; give heed to me, O one, only-begotten, MANEBIA BAIBAI CHYRIRŌOU THADEIN ADŌNAI EROU NOUNI / MIŌŌNCH CHOUTIAI MARMARAUŌTH. Attract her, NN, whose mother is NN, to me NN, whose mother is NN, now, now; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

And say also the spell for all / occasions.

Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

199. For parallels to this passage, cf. P. Smither, "A Coptic Love-Charm," *JEA* 25 (1939): 175–76.

200. On this passage, see C. Bonner, "Liturgical Fragments on Gnostic Amulets," *HTR* 25 (1932): 362–67; idem, "The Transcendency of Divine Attributes," ibid. 37 (1944): 338–39.

201. This means in Egyptian "I am great." [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* I. 149.

202. OUER corresponds to Egyptian *wr*, "great." [R.K.R.]

203. RARAĒL occurs only here; perhaps Raphael should be read. [E.N.O.]

PGM IV. 1596–1715

***This is the consecration for all purposes: *Spell to Helios*:** "I invoke you, the greatest god, eternal lord, world ruler, / who are over the world and under the world, mighty ruler of the sea, rising at dawn, shining from the east for the whole world, / setting in the west. Come to me, thou who risest from the four winds, joyous[204] Agathos Daimon, for whom heaven has become the processional way. I call upon your holy / and great and hidden names which you rejoice to hear. The earth flourished when you shone forth, and the plants became fruitful when you laughed; the animals begat their young / when you permitted. Give glory and honor and favor and fortune and power to this, NN, stone which I consecrate[205] today (or to the / phylactery being consecrated) for NN.[206] I invoke you, the greatest in heaven, ĒI LANCHYCH AKARĒN BAL MISTHRĒN MARTA / MATHATH LAILAM MOUSOUTHI SIETHŌ BATHABATHI IATMŌN ALEI IABATH ABAŌTH SABAŌTH ADŌNAI, the great god, ORSENOPHRĒ ORGEATĒS / TOTHORNATĒSA[207] KRITHI BIŌTHI IADMŌ IATMŌMI METHIĒI[208] LONCHOŌ AKARĒ BAL MINTHRĒ BANE BAI(N)CHCHYCHCH OUPHRI NOTHEOUSI THRAI / ARSIOUTH ERŌNERTHER, the shining Helios, giving light throughout the whole world. You are the great Serpent, leader of all[209] the gods, who control the beginning / of Egypt and the end of the whole inhabited world, who mate in the ocean, PSOI PHNOUTHI NINTHĒR.[210] You are he who becomes / visible each day and sets in the northwest of heaven, and rises in the southeast.[211] In the 1st hour you have the form of a cat; your name is PHARAKOUNĒTH. / Give glory and favor to this phylactery. In the 2nd hour you have the form of a dog; your name is SOUPHI. Give strength and honor to this phylactery, [or] to this stone, / and to NN. In the 3rd hour you have the form of a serpent; your name is AMEKRANEBECHEO THŌYTH. Give honor to the god NN. In the 4th hour you have the form of a scarab; your name is / SENTHENIPS. Mightily strengthen this phylactery in this night, for the work for which it is consecrated. In the 5th hour you have the form of a donkey; your name is / ENPHANCHOUPH. Give strength and courage and power to the god, NN. In the 6th hour you have the form of a lion; your name is BAI SOLBAI, the ruler of time. Give / success to this phylactery and glorious victory. In the 7th hour you have the form of a goat; your name is OUMESTHŌTH. Give sexual charm to this ring / (or to this phylactery, or to this engraving). In the 8th hour you have the form of a bull; your name is DIATIPHĒ, who becomes visible everywhere. Let all / things [done] by the use of this stone be accomplished. In the 9th hour you have the form of a falcon; your name is PHĒOUS PHŌOUTH, the lotus emerged from the abyss.[212] Give success / [and] good luck to his phylactery. In the 10th hour you have the form of a baboon; your name is BESBYKI. In the 11th

204. "Joyous" can also mean "benevolent" or "lucky," meanings appropriate and probably intended here. In the writer's mind the three were probably not distinguished. [M.S.]

205. Cf. on this point *PGM* IV. 2179 and n.

206. Or "for use in relation to NN."

207. Reading ⟨ὁ⟩ *οργεατης τ' ὁ θορνατης*. Both nouns seem unattested formations; perhaps the former should be corrected to ὀργιαστής, "participant in orgiastic rites," which were often secret and connected with Dionysos. [M.S.]

208. From ĒI onward the words repeat in variations the formula with which the series begins.

209. Reading *πάντων* for *τούτων*, with Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 29. [M.S.]

210. This is equivalent to the Egyptian "the Agathodaimon, the god (of) the gods." [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* III. 144–45.

211. On the forms of the sun god, see *PGM* II. 104 and nn.

212. On the lotus flower, see *PGM* IV. 1111; *PDM* xiv. 45; and Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 179–80. [R.K.R.]

hour you have the form of an ibis; your name is / MOU RŌPH.[213] Protect this great phylactery for lucky [use] by NN, from this present day for all time. In the 12th hour you have the form of a crocodile; your name / is AERTHOĒ. You who have set at evening as an old man,[214] who are over the world and [under] the world, mighty ruler of the sea, hear my voice in this present day, / in this night, in these holy hours, and let [all things done] by this stone [or] for this phylactery, be brought to fulfilment, and especially NN matter for which I consecrate it. Please, / lord KMĒPH LOUTHEOUTH ORPHOICHE ORTILIBECHOUCH IERCHE ROUM IPERITAŌ YAI. I conjure earth and heaven and light and darkness and the / great god who created all, SAROUSIN, you, Agathon Daimonion the helper, to accomplish for me everything [done] by the use of this ring or [stone]."

When / you complete [the consecration], say, "The one Zeus is Sarapis."[215]

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM IV. 1716–1870

***Sword[216] of Dardanos:**[217] Rite which is called "sword," which has no equal because of its power, for it immediately bends and attracts the soul[218] of whomever you wish. / As you say the spell, also say: "I am bending to my will the soul of him NN."[219]

Take a magnetic stone which is breathing and engrave Aphrodite sitting astride Psyche[220] / and with her left hand holding on her hair bound in curls. And above her head: "ACHMAGE RARPEPSEI"; and below / Aphrodite and Psyche engrave Eros standing on the vault of heaven, holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche.[221] And below Eros these / names: "ACHAPA ADŌNAIE BASMA CHARAKŌ IAKŌB IAŌ Ē PHARPHARĒI." On the other side of the stone engrave Psyche and Eros embracing / one another and beneath Eros' feet these letters: "ssssssss," and beneath Psyche's feet: "ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ." Use the stone, when it has been engraved and conse-

213. Here, and again below after the twelfth hour, the prayer for a gift to the phylactery or stone has presumably been skipped by a copyist.

214. This is a reference to Atum, the form of the sun god at setting. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 731. [R.K.R.]

215. On this formula, see O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapisreligion* (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1919; reprinted in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* I [Amsterdam: Grüner, 1969] 410–42); Nilsson, *GGR* II, 574; W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*, *EPRO* 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 353, n. 2; 396.

216. The designation "sword" apparently serves as a kind of title for certain types of formulas, here presumably the formula in l. 1813. See K. Preisendanz, "Xiphos," Roscher 6 (1924–37) 526–28; Nock, *Essays* I, 190. The classical work of this kind is the so-called Sword of Moses, for which see M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* I (London: Maggs, 1925) 288–337. See also *PGM* IV. 1813 and n.

217. Dardanos was believed to have founded the mysteries of Samothrake. See A. Hermann, "Dardanus," *RAC* 3 (1957): 593–94.

218. Since the operator does not want spiritual love, *ψυχή* here is probably the female pudenda. Against this interpretation is *τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα* (l. 1721), but since the rest of the spell is concerned with attracting a woman, we should probably emend here and read *τῆς δεῖνα*. [E.N.O.]

219. It is not clear whether this spell concerns a male or a female lover. Cf. ll. 1720, 1807, 1828–29.

220. The best treatment of this image is that by R. Mouterde, *Le Glaive de Dardanos. Objets et inscriptions magiques de Syrie, Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 15/3 (Beirut: Imprimérie Catholique, 1930) 53–64. See also R. Reitzenstein, "Noch einmal Eros und Psyche," *ARW* 28 (1930): 42–87; A. Rumpf, "Eros (Eroten) II. in der Kunst," *RAC* 6 (1966): 312–42, esp. 330–31.

221. For this theme and literature, see R. Helm, "Psyche," *PRE* 23 (1959): 1434–38; S. Binder and R. Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968) esp. 433–34. See also *PGM* XII. 20.

crated, / like this: put it under your tongue and turn it to what you wish and say this ***spell***:

"I[222] call upon you, author of all creation, who spread your own wings over the whole / world, you, the unapproachable and unmeasurable who breathe into every soul life-giving / reasoning, who fitted all things together by your power, firstborn, founder of the universe, golden-winged, whose light is darkness, who shroud reasonable / thoughts and breathe forth dark frenzy, clandestine one who secretly inhabit every soul. You engender an unseen fire / as you carry off every living thing without growing weary of torturing it, rather having with pleasure delighted in pain[223] from the time when the world came into being. You also come / and bring pain, who are sometimes reasonable, sometimes irrational, because of whom men dare beyond what is fitting and take refuge in your light which is darkness. / Most headstrong, lawless, implacable, inexorable, invisible, bodiless, generator of frenzy, archer, torch-carrier, master of all living / sensation and of everything clandestine, dispenser of forgetfulness, creator of silence, through whom the light and to whom the light travels, infantile when you have been engendered within / the heart, wisest when you have succeeded; I call upon you, unmoved by prayer, by your great name: AZARACHTHARAZA[224] LATHA / IATHAL[225] Y Y Y LATHAI ATHALLALAPH IOIOIO AI AI AI OUERIEU OIAI LEGETA RAMAI AMA RATAGEL,[226] first-shining, night-/shining, night rejoicing, night-engendering, witness, ERĒKISITHPHĒ[227] ARARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE[228] IABEZEBYTH IO, you in the depth,[229] BERIAMBŌ / BERIAMBEBŌ, you in the sea, MERMERGOU, clandestine and wisest, ACHAPA ADŌNAIE BASMA CHARAKŌ IAKŌB IAŌ CHAROUĒR AROUĒR LAILAM / SEMESILAM SOUMARTA MARBA KARBA MENABŌTH ĒIIA. Turn the 'soul' of her NN to me NN, so that she may love me, so that she may feel passion for me, so that she may give me what is in her power.[230] / Let her say to me what is in her soul because I have called upon your great name."

And on a golden leaf inscribe this sword:[231] "One[232] THOURIĒL / MICHAĒL

222. The hymn to Eros has been called "notably elegant and literary" (Nock, *Essays* I, 183). Cf. the hymn to Eros among the *Orphic Hymns* (no. 58). See Binder and Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* 150, 386–87.

223. The words *ὀδυνηρᾷ τέρψει* make little sense, esp. without a verbal form in the clause. Because there are traces of poetic language here, we should perhaps read *ὀδύνῃ ῥᾳ̣̂ τέρψας*, and this is what the translation renders. [E.N.O.]

224. An imperfect palindrome.

225. The spacing of this *vox magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

226. Again, the spacing has been arranged to show the palindrome.

227. Again, the *vox magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

228. This often attested *vox magica* can be read as Greek *φθισικηρε* (*φθίω*, *κήρ*), perhaps "destroying evil demons" (cf. *φθισήνωρ*, *φθισίμβροτος*, *φθισίφρων*). [W.B.] See also R. Merkelbach, "ΦΘΙΣΙΚΗΡΕ," *ZPE* 47 (1982):172, commenting esp. on *PGM* II. 100.

229. Here, *βύθιε*, "you in the deep," as well as *πελάγιε*, "you in the sea" (l. 800), and *κρύφιε καὶ πρεσβύτατε*, "clandestine and wisest" (ll. 1801–2) are recognizable Greek words, inserted into this series of magical palindromes. Cf. the similar formulas on a lead piece, P. Rein. II. 88, ll. 17–20. See P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Theodore Reinach*, vol. II, *BIFAO* 39 (1940):29–32. [R.D.K.] Cf. also the figure of Bythos in Valentinian gnosticism.

230. This means "power to give"; lit., "what is in her hands."

231. See also on l. 1717, above. This "sword" or magical formula may be so named because the words to be written on the gold lamella were to be engraved in the shape of, or enclosed by, a "sword." For a magical gold leaf with a sword, see the facsimile in S. Reinach and E. Babelon, "Recherches archéologiques en Tunisie (1883–1884)," *Bulletin Archéologique* 1886, p. 57. [R.D.K.]

232. For a discussion of this monotheistic formula, see Bonner, *SMA* 175–76; cf. H. D. Betz, *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* I (1978):969–71, s.v. "εἷς."

GABRIĒL OURIĒL MISAĒL IRRAĒL ISTRAĒL:[233] May it be a propitious day for this name and for me who know it and am wearing it. I summon the immortal / and infallible strength of God. Grant me the submission of every soul for which I have called upon you." Give the leaf to a partridge to gulp down[234] / and kill it. Then pick it up and wear it around your neck after inserting into the strip the herb called "boy love."

The burnt offering / which endows Eros and the whole procedure with soul is this: manna, 4 drams; storax, 4 drams; opium, 4 drams; myrrh, [4 drams;] frankincense, saffron, bdella, / one-half dram each. Mix in rich dried fig and blend everything in equal parts with fragrant wine, and use it for the performance. In the performance first make a burnt offering and / use it in this way.[235]

And there is also ***a rite for acquiring an assistant,***[236] who is made out of wood from a mulberry tree. He is made as a winged Eros wearing a cloak, with his right foot lifted / for a stride and with a hollow back. Into the hollow put a gold leaf after writing with a cold-forged copper stylus so-and-so's name [and]: "MARSABOUTARTHE[237]—be my / assistant and supporter and sender of dreams."

Go late at night to the house [of the woman] you want, knock on her door / with the Eros and say: "Lo, she NN resides here; wherefore stand beside her and, after assuming the likeness of the god or daimon whom she worships, say what I propose." And go to your / home, set the table, spread a pure linen cloth, and seasonal flowers, and set the figure upon it. Then make a burnt offering to it and continuously say the / spell of invocation. And send him, and he will act without fail. And whenever you bend her to your will with the stone, on that night it sends / dreams, for on a different night it is busy with different matters.[238]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 1872–1927

*. . . instruct no one, for it is very powerful and unsurpassable, effective for everyone / on the same day, absolutely binding, exceedingly powerful. And it is: Take 4 ounces of wax, 8 ounces of fruit from the chaste-tree, 4 drams of manna. Pound each of these fine / separately and mix with pitch and wax, and fashion a dog eight fingers long with its mouth open. And you are to place in the mouth of the dog / a bone from the head of a man who has died violently, and inscribe on the sides of the dog these characters: ⨯ Z̄ Ō ⊓ ▤ Ψ ⨯ V Ψ and you are to place the dog on a tripod. And have the dog raising its right paw. And write on the strip of papyrus these / names and what you wish: "IAŌ ASTŌ IŌPHĒ," and / you are to place the strip of papyrus on the tripod and on top of the strip you are to place the dog and / say these names many times. And so, after you have spoken the spell, the dog

233. For a discussion of these peculiar variants of the name of Israel, see R. Ganschinietz, "Israel," *PRE* 9 (1939):2234; Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 95. Cf. *PGM* IV. 3034: Osrael; XXXVI. 259: Astrael.

234. Cf. *Sword of Moses* 324 n. 70 (see n. 216, above) for a parallel: a silver lamella is given to a cock to swallow, and the cock is then killed. [R.D.K.]

235. The excessive use of *χρῶ* and *χρῆσον* is strange. The translation of this sentence is tentative and little more than a paraphrase. [E.N.O.] Cf. the following section and also *PGM* I. 38; XII. 284.

236. The translation is based on the emended Greek in Preisendanz, but it differs from the German translation ("Erfolg hat aber auch ein Beisitzer . . .").

237. The translation tries to make sense of what appears to be a corrupt Greek text; it differs from the German translation (". . . den Namen eines Beliebigen geschrieben hast: 'Marsaboutarthe, werde mir . . .'"). See the apparatus ad loc.

238. The Greek is ambiguous at this point. Cf. Preisendanz's translation: "Denn in jeder Nacht beschäftigt er sich mit anderen."

hisses [or barks], and if it hisses, she is not coming.[239] Therefore address the spell to it again, / and if it barks, it is attracting her. Then open the door, and you will find her whom you wish at your doors. Let a censer stand beside the dog, and let frankincense be placed upon it / as you say the spell.

Spell: "Barking dog, I adjure you, Kerberos, by those who have hanged themselves, by the dead, by those who have died violently: / attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN. I adjure you, Kerberos, by the holy head of the infernal gods. Attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, ZOUCH / ZOUKI TO PARY YPHĒBARMŌ ENŌR SEKEMI KRIOUDASEPHĒ TRIBEPSI: attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, to me, NN, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

And you are also to say / the spell for all occasions. But you are to do these things in a level, pure place.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 1928–2005

Spell of Attraction of King Pitys over any skull cup. *His / prayer of petition to Helios: Stand facing the east and speak thus:

"I call upon you, lord Helios, and your holy angels on / this day, in this very hour: Preserve me, NN, for I am THĒNŌR, and you are holy angels, guardians of the ARDIMALECHA. And ORORŌ / MISRĒN NEPHŌ ADŌNAI AUEBŌTHI ABATHARAI THŌBEUA SOULMAI SOULMAITH ROUTREROUTĒN ŌPHREŌPHRI ŌLCHAMAŌTH OUTE SOUTĒATH MONTRO ELAT / CHOUMIOI LATHŌTH ŌTHETH, I beg you, lord Helios, hear me NN and grant me power / over the spirit of this man who died a violent death, from whose tent I hold [this], so that I may keep him with me, [NN] as helper and avenger for whatever business I crave from him."

/ ***At sunset the same man's prayer to Helios***:

"Borne[240] on the breezes of the wand'ring winds,
Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame's
Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
Around the great pole, / who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing.
From you, indeed, come elements which are
Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
The world with its four yearly turning points.
Hear, blessed one, I call you who rule heav'n
And earth and Chaos and Hades, where dwell /
Daimons of men who once gazed on the light.
And even now I beg you, blessed one,
Unfailing one, the master of the world,
If you go to the depths of earth and reach
The regions of the dead, this daimon send
To move at midnight hours perforce at your
Commands, / from whose tent I hold this. And let

239. As the text stands, it makes no sense. We should probably follow the suggestion of Preisendanz, who inserts "or he barks" ("oder bellt"), and add to the Greek some such phrase as ἢ ὑλακτεῖ which may have fallen out by haplography. For similar alternative conditions, cf. *PGM* IV. 131–37; VII. 613–16. [E.N.O.]

240. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): vv. 1–17, 20–22, 18, 25, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see *PGM* I. 315–27; IV. 436–61; VIII. 74–81. [E.N.O.]

Him tell to me (NN) whate'er my mind designs,
And let him tell me fully and with truth.
Let him be gentle, gracious, let him think
No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
Be angry at my sacred chants. / But guard
That my whole body come to light intact;
Let him (NN) reveal to me the what and whence,
Whereby he now can render me his service
And at what time he serves as my assistant, /
For you yourself gave these for men to learn, lord.
Because I call upon your four-part name:
CHTHETHŌ NI LAILAM IAŌ ZOUCHE PIPTOĒ.
I call upon your name, / Horus,[241] which is
In number equal to the Moirai's names:
ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ IAĒ AI IAĒ AIĒ
IAŌ THŌTHŌ PHIACHA (36 letters).[242]
Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
O father of the world, self-gendered one.
/ After burning armara[243] and uncut frankincense, go home.

Enquiry:[244] Ivy with 13 leaves. Begin from the left side and write on them one by one with myrrh, and after putting on the wreath / say over them the same names. And over the skull cup place the same writing on the forehead with the proper words: "SOITHERCHALBAN OPHROUROR ERĒKISITHPHĒ (formula)[245] / IABE ZEBYTH LEGEMAS THMESTAS MESMYRA BAUANECHTHEN KAI LOPHŌTŌ BRĒLAX HARCHENTECHTHA APSOIER CHALBAN."

And the ink: Serpent's blood / and the soot of a goldsmith.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2006–2125

***Pitys' spell of attraction**:[246] Pitys to King Ostanes: greetings. Since you write to me on each occasion about the enquiry of skull cups, I have deemed it necessary to send you this process / as one which is worthy of admiration and able to please you greatly. And subsequently I will submit to you the process, and finally the black ink will be revealed.

Take the hide of an ass[247] and, after drying it / in shade, inscribe on it the figure which will be revealed and inscribe this spell in a circle: "AAMASI NOUTHI APHTHECHENBŌCH POUPAIEICHNERI TA LOUTHIANI SERANOMĒGRENTI EI BIL / LONOUCHICH EITA PHOR CHORTOMNOUTHI THRACH PHIBŌBI ANTERŌ PHOCHORTHAROCH EBOCH LESANOUACH PHEORŌBIS TRAION KŌBI INOUNIA SAPHŌBI CHIMNOUTHI ASRŌ / CHNOUPHNEN PHARMI BOLCHOSĒTH EPHOUKTERŌ ABDIDANPITAAU EAE BOL SACHY ACHCHERIMA EMINTO RŌŌRIA EN AMOUN AKREMPHTHO OUTRAUNEIL / LABOCH PHERACHI AMENBOL BĒCH OSTAOUA BEL-

241. Horus is identified with Helios; see ll. 988–89 below.

242. That is, thirty-six Greek letters.

243. For this material, see *PGM* IV. 1294 and n.

244. That is, the inquiry of the spirit of the dead man (l. 1950). See *PGM* IV. 2140–41; 2005–7.

245. Referring to the palindrome cited also in *PGM* IV. 1797–99.

246. *ἀγωγή* is a general term which sometimes, as here, indicates a spell whose primary purpose is not to "attract" for sexual purposes. The same noun, without a qualifying word, is the title of a "Love spell of attraction." For a parallel to the usage of this passage, cf., e.g., *PGM* IV. 2441. [E.N.O.]

247. The ass is associated with Seth/Typhon. See *PGM* IV. 259–60 and n.

THŌ; I adjure you, dead spirit, by the powerful and inexorable god and by his holy
2035 names, to stand beside me in the / coming night in whatever form you used to have, and inform me whether you have the power to perform the NN deed; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly!"

Then go quickly to where [someone] lies buried or where something has been
2040 discarded, if you do [not] have a buried body; / spread the hide under him at about sunset. Return [home], and he will actually be present and will stand beside you on
2045 that night. And he describes to you how he died, but first he tells you if / he has the power to do anything or to perform any service.

And take a leaf of flax and with the black ink which will be revealed to you, paint on it the figure of the goddess who will be revealed to you, and paint in a circle this
2050 spell (and place on his head / the leaf which has been spread out and wreathe him with black ivy, and he will actually stand beside you through the night in dreams, and he will ask you, saying, "Order whatever you wish, and I do it"): "PHOUBEL
2055 TAUTHY ALDE MINŌOURITHI / SENECHŌ CHELĒTHICHITIATH MOU CHŌ ARIANTA NARACHI MASKELLI (formula) AEBITHŌ ACHAIL CHAŌSOUNISOU SOUNIARTE-
2060 NŌPH ARCHEREPHTHOUMI / BOLPHAI ARŌCHŌ ABMENTHŌ PHORPHORBA CHNOUCHIOCHOIME; I adjure [you], dead spirit, by the Destiny of Destinies,[248] to
2065 come to me, NN, on this day, on this night, and / agree to the act of service for me. And if you don't, expect other chastisements."

And when he agrees, rise up immediately and take a roll of hieratic papyrus and write on it with the black ink which will be revealed to you the figure which will be
2070 revealed to you,[249] / and write in a circle this spell and offer it to him, and straightway he will attract, even if he is unmanageable, immediately without delaying a single day.

But often there will be no need for the leaf of flax, but in the second spell[250] the
2075 papyrus / sheet[251] is to be placed there after you have commanded the act of service for you. He attracts and causes one to be ill, and he sends dreams and restrains, and he obtains revelations by dreams as well. These are the things which this single spell
2080 accomplishes. Depending on what you are performing,[252] / alter only the passage with the usual items.[253] Most of the magicians, who carried their instruments[254] with them, even put them aside and used him as an assistant. And they accom-
2085 plished the preceding things with all dispatch. / For [the spell] is free of excessive verbiage, immediately carrying out as it does the preceding things with all ease.

Spell: "I say to you, chthonic daimon, for whom the magical material of this
2090 female (of this male) has been embodied on / this night: proceed to where this female (or this male) resides and bring her to me NN either during the middle of the night or quickly. Perform the NN deed because the holy god OSIRIS KMĒPHI

248. See on this concept *PGM* III. 120 and n.

249. The figure is not extant. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

250. This refers to a variant in another spell available to the author but not included in the *PGM*.

251. Preisendanz suggests, in the apparatus ad loc., that this sheet refers to the hide of the ass mentioned in IV. 2014.

252. Preisendanz follows the papyrus and reads *πρός τό, τὸ πράσσεις*, but this is surely impossible Greek. The easiest change is *πρὸς τοῦτο ὃ πράσσεις*, but the sense seems to require something like *πρὸς ὅ τι ποτὲ πράσσεις*, "for whatever you do," or "depending on what(ever) you do." [E.N.O.]

253. This is apparently a reference to the formulas given as *κοινόν, κοινά* found elsewhere in the *PGM*.

254. Probably this is a reference to instruments such as were found in Pergamon. See R. Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon*, *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, *Ergänzungsheft* 6 (Berlin: Reimer, 1905).

SRŌ[255] wishes and commands it of you. Fulfill, daimon, what / is written here. And after you have performed it, I will pay you a sacrifice. But if you delay, I will inflict on you chastisements which you cannot endure. And perform for me the NN deed, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

The black ink of the procedure / is this: The hide is inscribed with blood of an ass[256] from the heart of a sacrificial victim, with which is mixed the soot of a coppersmith. But the leaf of flax is inscribed with falcon's blood, with which is mixed the soot of a goldsmith. / But the leaf of the hieratic papyrus is inscribed with eel's blood, with which acacia is mixed.

Do these things in this manner and, once you have performed them, you may know with what a marvelous nature this process is endowed, since in all ease / it considers the implements as the assistant. But guard yourself with whatever protection you want.

And this is the figure[257] ***written on the hide***: A lion-faced form of a man wearing a sash, holding in his right hand a staff, and on it let there be a serpent. / And around all his left hand let an asp be entwined, and from the mouth of the lion let fire breathe forth.

The figure written onto the leaf of flax is this: Hekate[258] with three heads and six hands, holding / torches in her hands, on the right sides of her face having the head of a cow; and on the left sides the head of a dog; and in the middle the head of a maiden with sandals bound on her feet.

And inscribed on the piece of papyrus: Osiris clothed / as the Egyptians show him.[259]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2125–39

***A restraining seal** for skulls that are not satisfactory [for use in divination], and also to prevent [them] from speaking or doing anything whatever of this [sort]:[260] Seal the mouth of the skull with dirt from the doors of [a temple] of Osiris / and from a mound [covering] graves. Taking iron from a leg fetter, work it cold and make a ring on which have a headless lion engraved. Let him have, instead of his head, a crown of Isis, and let him trample with his feet / a skeleton (the right foot should trample the skull of the skeleton). In the middle of these should be an owl-eyed cat with its paw on a gorgon's head; in a circle around [all of them?], these names: IADŌR INBA NICHAIOPLĒX BRITH.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

255. The names come from the Egyptian and mean "Osiris, Good Daimon, great prince" (or "ram"). [R.K.R.]

256. For the application, see *PGM* IV. 2015, 2220. On the blood of the ass, see D. Wortmann, "Das Blut des Seth," *ZPE* 2 (1968): 227–30; also Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 276, commenting on *De Is. et Os.* 6, 353B.

257. For this figure, see Dieterich, *Abraxas* 53; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 499–501 with *Tafel* V, 2a and 2b.

258. For pictures of Hekate *triformis* on gemstones, see Bonner, *SMA*, nos. 64, 66; cf. no. 156; Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles* 189, nos. 252, 253, *254, *254 (bis); Mouterde, *Glaive* 67–71 (see above, n. 220).

259. This prescription is remarkable because it seems to have been made by a magician who was not an Egyptian. The Egyptian Osiris is presented here in his capacity as god of the dead. For his ability to send demons and spirits of the dead, cf. Pritchard, *ANET* 16, "The Contending of Horus and Seth," Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* I, spell 335, pt. II. [R.K.R.]

260. Reading τουτω⟨ι⟩ with the papyrus, instead of Preisendanz's τουτω⟨ν⟩.

PGM IV. 2140–44

2140 ***Pitys the Thessalian's spell for questioning corpses:**[261] On a flax leaf write these things: "AZĒL BALEMACHŌ" (12 letters).[262]

Ink: [Made] from red ochre, burnt myrrh, juice of fresh wormwood, evergreen, and flax. Write [on the leaf] and put it in the mouth [of the corpse].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 2145–2240

2145 ***Divine assistance from three Homeric verses:**[263]

"After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch."[264]

"and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter."[265]

2150 / "and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them."[266]

If a runaway carries these verses inscribed on an iron lamella,[267] he will never be 2155 found. Likewise, attach the same lamella / to someone on the point of death, and you will get an answer[268] to everything you ask him. Whenever anyone thinks he is under a spell, let him pronounce the verses while sprinkling with sea water and . . . 2160 against enchantments. A contestant with the / tablet stays undefeated, just as also a charioteer who carries the tablet along with a lodestone; and the same is true in court; also, these are the things for a gladiator to carry. Attach it to a criminal who 2165 has been executed, speak / the verses in his ear, and he will tell you everything you wish. Insert the lamella into his wound, and you will have a great blessing with regard to your superiors and masters and others as well, for you will have honor, 2170 / trust. It also keeps off daimons and wild animals. Everyone will fear you; in war you will be invulnerable; when you ask you will receive; you will enjoy favor; your life will change; and you will be loved by any woman or man you have contact 2175 with. / You will have honor, happiness; you will receive inheritances, have good fortune, be unaffected by potions and poison; you will break spells and conquer your enemies.

Here is the the formula to be spoken when you immerse the lamella.[269]

261. See *PGM* IV. 1990 and n.

262. That is, in Greek letters.

263. In the papyrus these three verses from Homer are written in exceptionally large letters. Cf. *PGM* IV. 470–74; 821–24, where magical power is ascribed to the same verses. See the note on *PGM* IV. 470.

264. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. In Homer, the referent of "he" is Odysseus.

265. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. The quotation includes only a portion of the Homeric sentence. "Men" is the object of "saw" in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who "saw." The text of *Il.* 10. 521 here and at *PGM* IV. 822 differs slightly, though not so as to offset the sense of that of *PGM* IV. 472.

266. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of "they" is Odysseus and Diomedes.

267. The use of iron lamellae (as opposed to those of lead, silver, gold, and tin) is comparatively rare in magic (but cf. *PGM* VII. 382). See the discussion by A. M. Tupet, *La Magie dans la poésie latine* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1976) 39–43. An iron lamella engraved with magical words is housed in the Louvre; see A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre: Les textes inédits* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1933) 108, no. 205. [R.D.K.]

268. The Greek verb rendered "you will get an answer to" could also mean "he will hear." Perhaps the former is the correct rendering, and the passage is expressive of the ancient notion that individuals on the point of death have prophetic power (see, e.g., *Il.* 16. 843–61, where the dying Patroclus prophesies the death of Hector; *Il.* 22. 355–66, where the dying Hector does the same of Achilles; Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 605–28, 1370–96, 1516–55, where the aged Oedipus, his death approaching, delivers prophecies; and Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 607–29, where Dido utters a prophetic curse shortly before committing suicide. [H.M.]

269. Immersing the lamella is part of the consecration; see S. Eitrem, "Die magischen Gemmen und ihre Weihe," *SO* 19 (1939): 57–85.

The formula: / "NN, leave the sweet light and also render me whatever service I require of you whenever I call you (add the usual) because I conjure you by the gods of the underworld GOGGYLORYGCHE OMBROLIGMATE[270] THOĒRYSĒRIS. / Render me the service for which I summon you." Speak this formula that invokes all supernatural powers.

Consecrating the plaque: Go, I say, into a clean room. Set up a table, on which you are to place a clean linen cloth and flowers of the season. / Then sacrifice a white cock, placing beside it 7 cakes, 7 wafers, 7 lamps; pour a libation of milk, honey, wine, and olive oil.

Here is the formula to be spoken when you consecrate the plaque: "Come to me! You who are master above the earth and below the earth, / who look to the west and the east and gaze upon the south and the north, O master of all, Aion of Aions! You are the ruler of the universe, Ra, Pan,[271] (H)ARPENCHNOUBI / BRINTATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUZAR BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPHI IA IOY IYŌ AII OYŌ AEĒIOYŌ BAUBŌ BAUBŌ PHORBA PHORBA OREOBAZAGRA ŌYOIĒEA ER." Speak too the formula that invokes Necessity: "MASKELLI (formula) IARCHTHA ECHTHABA CHOIX IABOUCH IABŌCH," and the one that / invokes all supernatural powers.

So much for the ritual of consecration.[272] ***Here are the operations for specific purposes***:

For an oracle: Write as follows on a bay leaf in myrrh mixed with blood from someone who has died by violence: "ABRAA, you are the one who reveals all things MARIAPHRAX." / Then put it under the lamella.

For wrecking chariots: Burn garlic and a snake's slough as an offering, and write on a tin plaque:[273] "NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH BEU ERBĒTH PAKERBĒTH and ŌNOUPH; overturn him, NN, and his / companions." Bury the tablet for 3 days in the grave of someone who died untimely; he will come to life for as long as it stays there.

For spells that restrain: Write on a seashell in the ink[274] mentioned below, adding / Typhon's blood.[275] Then you are to bury the shell in the tomb of someone who died untimely, when the moon stands in opposition to the sun. What you are to write is the 3 Homeric verses,[276] and the following: "IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IAKOUBIAI IŌ PATATHNAX / ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH." The lamella is to be carried, as in the examples at the beginning.

For popularity spells and love spells: Write "MYRI MYRI NES MACHESNŌN" on a gold tablet, after putting it under / the iron one for 3 days. When you remove it, carry it, keeping yourself clean all the while.

For fetching spells. Burn roses and sumac as an offering; take myrtle leaves and write on them in ink: "STHENEPIŌ ARRŌRIPHRASIS YYYY / IIII fetch her, NN, for him, NN." Recite the formula[277] and put the magical substance under the lamella.

270. This and the preceding *voces magicae* can be translated and mean, "you with the round snout," and "you who lap rain." [H.M.]

271. The interpretation of the god Pan as Aion and as god of the All is based on the assumed etymology of the name (cf. also *PGM* XIII. 980: ἓν καὶ τὸ πᾶν, "One and the All"). See F. Brommer, "Pan," *PRE.S* 8 (1956): 1005–6.

272. See above on *PGM* IV. 2186.

273. That is, the iron tablet that has been consecrated, not the tin plaque just described.

274. That is, the myrrh ink mentioned at the end of the spell.

275. For the blood of Seth/Typhon, see *PGM* IV. 2100 and n.

276. See for these verses *PGM* IV. 2145–51.

277. Presumably, this formula is the one previously mentioned ("that invokes all supernatural pow-

You are to add some single-stemmed wormwood to the myrrh ink. Let the lamella
2240 be worn on a cord; get it from the places where / the woolworkers have their shops.
*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 2241–2358

*** Document to the waning moon.**[278]

Spell:

"Hail,[279] Holy Light, Ruler of Tartaros,
Who strike with rays; hail, Holy Beam, who whirl
Up out of darkness and subvert all things
2245 With aimless plans. / I'll call and may you hear
My holy words since awesome Destiny
Is ever subject to you. Thrice-bound goddess,
Set free yourself. Come, rage against him, NN.
For Klotho will spin out her threads for you.
Assent, O blessed one, ere I hold you
2250 As hateful, ere I seize your / sword-armed fist,[280]
And ere you grieve, O god in maiden form.
You'll, willy-nilly, do the NN task
Because I know your lights in full detail,
And I am your priest of good offices, /
2255 Your minister and fellow witness, Maid.
What must take place, this you cannot escape.
You'll, willy-nilly, do the NN task.
I now adjure you by this potent night,
In which your light is last to fade away,
2260 In which / a dog opens, closes not, its mouth,
In which the bar of Tartaros is opened,
In which forth rages Kerberos, armed with
A thunderbolt, Bestir yourself, Mene,
Who need the solar nurse, guard of the dead, /
2265 You I implore, Maid, by your stranger beams,[281]
You I implore,[282] O cunning, lofty, swift,
O crested one, who draw swords, valiant,
Healer, with forethought, far-famed, goading one,
2270 Swift-footed, brave, crim/son, Darkness, Brimo,
Immortal, heedful, Persian, pastoral,
Alkyone, gold-crowned, the elder goddess,
Shining, sea-goddess, ghostly, beautiful,
The one who shows, skiff-holder, aiming well,

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ers"), ll. 2186, 2204–5. The "magical substance" is usually material taken from the person to be "fetched." See Glossary, s.v. "Material, magical."

278. The correct reading here is Δέλτος ἀποκρουστικὴν πρὸς Σελήνην. [E.N.O.]

279. These iambic trimeters, many of which are metrically faulty or even collapse almost completely, have been adapted as the reconstructed Hymn 17; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 250–53. The text is frequently uncertain and the translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

280. The magician claims later to have done so (l. 2328).

281. For ξεινη τ' Αυγη read ξεινην αυγην; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 251, apparatus ad loc.

282. The conclusion of the line is lost. Here a long list of what seem to be epithets, now mostly corrupt, has been inserted. The translation usually follows the conjectures proposed by Heitsch, although many are questionable.

Self-gendered, wearing / headband, vigorous,
Leader of hosts, O goddess of Dodona,
Of Ida,[283] e'er with sorrows fresh, wolf-formed,
Denounced as infamous, destructive, quick,
Grim-eyed, shrill-screaming, Thasian, Mene,
O Nethermost one, beam-embracer, savior,
World-wide, dog-shaped, / spinner of Fate, all-giver,
Long-lasting, glorious, helper, queen, bright,
Wide-aimer, vigorous, holy, benign,
Immortal, shrill-voiced, glossy-locked, in bloom,
Divine, with golden face, delighting / men,
Minoan, goddess of childbirth, Theban,
Long-suffering, astute, malevolent.
With rays for hair, shooter of arrows, maid;
I[284] truly know that you are full of guile
And are deliverer from fear; as Hermes,
The Elder, chief of all magicians, I
Am Isis' father.[285] Hear: EŌ PHORBA
BRIMŌ SACHMI NEBOUTO / SOUALĒTH.
For I have hidden this[286] magic symbol
Of yours, your sandal, and possess your key.
I opened the bars of Kerberos, the guard
Of Tartaros, / and premature night I
Plunged in darkness. I whirl the wheel for you;
The cymbals I don't touch.[287] Gaze at yourself:
Lo! As you see yourself, you'll wonder at
The mirror, love charm of the Nile's goddess,[288]
Until you cast the dark light from your eyes.
What you must do, / this you must not escape.
You'll, willy-nilly, do this task for me,
Mare, Kore, dragoness, lamp, lightning flash,
Star, lion, she-wolf, AĒŌ ĒĒ.
A sieve, an old utensil, is my symbol,[289]

283. The papyrus reads ειδεα, which Wessely, whom Preisendanz follows, emends to Ἰδαία. This epithet means "belonging to Ida," a mountain range in Crete or Phrygia. Cf. *PGM* V. 455–56; LXX. 14, and Betz, "Fragments," 293 with n. 30; H. von Geisau, "Idaia," *KP* 2 (1979): 1337.

284. Here the spell that preceded the list of epithets is resumed. Some connective material may have been lost. [M.S.]

285. The elder Hermes is the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistos (Thoth) who was thought to be older than the Greek god. On Hermes/Thoth as the father of Isis, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3, 352A–B, and 12, 355F–356A, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 263. See also *PGM* IV. 99–101, where Thoth is the father. On the topic, see also Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 136 n. 4; Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* III, p. cxxvii. [R.K.R.]

286. Reading τό for τοῦτο. That the symbol was the sandal is shown by the later reference to it in ll. 2334–35. The "symbols" of the gods were thought not to be mere signs of them but objects and formulas by which they could be controlled. [M.S.] See also Betz, "Fragments," 291.

287. Reading ⟨δ'⟩οὐχ and understanding the negative to refer to both verbs, as suggested by L. Koenen. The magician threatens to strike: he will not perform actions that would prevent the impending eclipse. [M.S.]

288. Reading Νειλαω⟨ι⟩ Ἰ⟨σ⟩ιδος χαριν κατοπτρ⟨οι οι⟩. For ἀθρέω with ἐν, see the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. Sturzius, 13. 20. [M.S.]

289. Perhaps "you" instead of "my" should be read (also l. 2311). Cf. the similar list in *PGM* VII. 780–85. [M.S.]

And one morsel of flesh, a piece / of coral,
Blood of a turtledove, hoof of a camel,
Hair of a virgin cow, the seed of Pan,
Fire from a sunbeam, colt's foot, spindel tree,
Boy love, bow drill, a gray-eyed woman's body
With legs outspread, a black sphinx's / pierced vagina:
All of these are the symbol of my power.
The bond of all necessity will be
Sundered, and Helios will hide your light
At noon, and Tethys will o'erflow the world,[290]
Which you inhabit. Aion's / quaking; heaven
Will be disturbed; Kronos, in terror at
Your pole[291] o'erpowered by force, has fled to Hades
As overseer of the dead below.
The Moirai throw away your endless thread,
Unless you check my magic's winged shaft,[292] /
Swiftest to reach the mark. For to escape
The fate of my words is impossible:
Happen it must.[293] Don't force yourself[294] to hear
The symbols forward and then in reverse
Again. You'll, willy-nilly, do what's needed.
Ere useless light becomes your fate, do what /
I say, O Maid, ruler of Tartaros.
I've bound your pole with Kronos' chains, and with
Awesome compulsion I hold fast your thumb.
Tomorrow does not come unless my will
Is done. / To Hermes, leader of the gods,
You promised[295] to contribute to this rite.
Aye, in my power I hold you. Hear, you who
Watch and are watched. I look at you, you look
At me. Then, too, I'll speak the sign to you:
Bronze sandal of her / who rules Tartaros,
Her fillet, Key, wand, iron wheel, black dog,
Her thrice-locked door, her burning hearth, her shadow,
Depth, fire, the governess of Tartaros,
Fearing the Furies, those prodigious daimons,[296] /
You've come? You're here? Be wroth, O maid, at him,
NN, foe of heav'n's gods, of Helios-
Osiris[297] and of Isis, his bedmate.

290. Reading *κλυζησει* for *κουφισει*. Helios' light is the moon's because the moon shines with it (see above). He will hide it in the south, because that is where the sun goes to hide in the winter. Tethys is the goddess of the primordial waters. [M.S.]

291. Reading *πολον* for *σου νουν* with H. van Herwerden, "De carminibus e papyris aegyptiacis erutis et eruendis," *Mnemosyne*, n.s. 16 (1888): 342. [M.S.]

292. Understanding *μαγειης τῆς ἐμῆς* as equivalent to the dative (emendation may not be necessary), and reading *ἀναγκασ⟨θ⟩ῆς*. [M.S.]

293. Reading *ἦν δεῖ γενέσθαι* for *ὃ δεῖ γενέσθαι*. [M.S.]

294. Reading *σα⟨υ⟩τήν* with Preisendanz, ad. loc. [M.S.]

295. Reading *ἐννευσα* for *ἐνευσας*. [M.S.]

296. Reading nominatives for accusatives. [M.S.]

297. Although the link between Helios and Osiris is possible through the connection with Sarapis,

As I instruct you, hurl him to this ill
Because, Kore, I know your good and great /
Majestic names, by which heav'n is illumined,
And earth drinks dew and is pregnant; from these
The universe increases and declines;
EUPHORBA PHORBA PHORBOREOU PHORBA PHORBOR PHORBOR PHORBOR BORBORPHA ĒRPHOR / PHORBAIŌ PHORBOR PHORBOR BOROPH PHORPHOR BOR PHORBOR AŌ IŌĒ PHORBORPHOR EUPHOR BOPHOR EUOIEŌ PHŌTH IŌPHŌTH IŌPHŌTH PHŌTHIŌPH AŌŌŌTHŌ ŌAI IŌ EŌŌIŌ HAHAHA EE ĒĒ IOYY ŌŌŌ OYYYY AEĒIOUŌ / YYY mistress, Harken-techtha,[298] who sits beside Lord Osiris, Michael, Archangel of angels, the god who lights the way, perform for me."

Protective charm of the procedure . . .

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The translation is based on the edition in Preisendanz, but several emendations by Morton Smith have been accepted (see the notes); see his article "The Hymn to the Moon, *PGM* IV 2242–2355," *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. L. Koenen et al. (Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1981) 643–54.

PGM IV. 2359–72

***Business spell**: Take orange beeswax and / the juice of the aeria plant and of ground ivy and mix them and fashion a figure of Hermes[299] having a hollow bottom, grasping in his left hand a herald's wand and in his right a small bag. Write on hieratic papyrus these names, and you will see continuous business: / "CHAIŌCHEN OUTIBILMEMNOUŌTH ATRAUICH. Give income and business to this plase, because Psentebeth[300] lives here." Put the papyrus inside the figure and fill in the hole with the same beeswax. Then deposit it in a wall, at an inconspicuous place, / and crown him on the outside, and sacrifice to him a cock, and make a drink offering of Egyptian wine, and light for him a lamp that is not colored red.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 2373–2440

Charm for acquiring business and for calling in customers**[301] to a workshop or house or wherever you put it. / By having it, you will become rich, you will be successful. For Hermes made this for the wandering Isis.[302] The charm is marvelous and is called "the little beggar***."

Take beeswax that has not been heated, which is known as bee glue, and fashion / a man having his right hand in the position of begging and having in his left a bag and a staff. Let there be around the staff a coiled snake, and let him be dressed in a girdle and standing on a sphere that has / a coiled snake, like Isis. Stand it up and

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the older link between Osiris and Re may be of influence here. See A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York: Bollingen, 1964) 19–21. [R.K.R.]

298. Harkentechtha is a male god (see Glossary s.v.); thus he is not to be addressed by "mistress," a title belonging to the moon goddess of the preceding hymn. See also *PGM* IV. 2004 and n.

299. Here Hermes is portrayed as the god of merchants and of commerce. See *PGM* V. 390–99.

300. This name means "the son of the female falcon." Cf. Jacoby in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc., who fails to recognize the female definite article, a fact that precludes the identification with Horus, the falcon god. [R.K.R.]

301. LSJ renders *κατακλητικόν* (spell) "for invoking," but Eitrem, in Preisendanz's apparatus, is probably right in translating "charm for calling in customers." See on this point Maltomini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979): 102; see also *PGM* CXXIV. 7.

302. The wandering of Isis refers to her as the widow of Osiris searching for his body. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356D–E; 39, 366F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 315, 452. For wax figurines associated with the cult of Isis, see Diodorus Sic. I. 21. 5–6 and the commentary by A. Burton, *Diodorus Siculus Book I*, *EPRO* 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1972): 93–94.

erect it in a single block of hollowed-out juniper, and have an asp covering the top as a capital.[303] Fashion him during the new moon and consecrate / it in a celebrating mood, and read aloud the spell over his members, after you have divided him into three sections—repeating the spell four times for each member. For each member write on strips of papyrus made from a priestly scroll, with ink of cinnabar, juice of wormwood, and myrrh. When you have set it / up high on the place you have chosen, sacrifice to it a wild [ass][304] with a white forehead and offer it whole and roast the inward parts over the wood of willow and thus eat it.

Now this is what is to be written on [each] strip of papyrus. The spell on the / bag: "EPH EROUCHIŌ CHŌRAI DARIDA MĒTHEUEI ABACHTHIE EMESIE ECHENĒ IAE IEN EBAPS PHNEŌA ENTHŌNICHAENTHA TROMOCHMOUSŌ THERAŌCHEIN SASI SAMACHIŌTH OUASA AMAKARALA KAIŌS / LASOI." Upon the head: "ŌAI IĒ ĒIŌ NAŌ OULABETHEN THERMATH ENESIE." On the neck: "THALAA MEMARACHŌ CHETH THROU PHEN PHTHAI." On the right shoulder: "ĒMAA CHNA THOUE BŌLERI." On / the left: "ARIAŌ IĒE SYPSO ITHEN BACHTHIPHĒRPSOI THENIBON." On the belly: "AMAMAMAR AIII OU MAMŌ MOU OMBA." On the sacred bone: "IANOA PHTHOUTHO OTHOM MATHATHOU." / On the right thigh: "ARIN THEA RAGNI MĒTHETHIŌ CHRĒ IĒ IĒ ERE." On the left thigh: "ĒI ĒIN YEAIŌ ERENPS TEPHĒT PARAOU ANĒI." On the private parts: "ĒERŌTHĒSONĒEN / THNIBITH EUECHEN." On the right shin: "MIANIKOUĒI BIOUS." On the left: "CHNOU TOUŌYMOUCHOS ONIŌ." Under the sole of the right foot: "OURANION."[305] On the left: / "ANOUPSIE." On the back of the buttocks: "ETEMPSIS PSPHOPS IAIAĒĒIOO." On the snake the name "Agathos Daimon," which is, as Epaphroditus[306] says, the following: / "PHRĒ ANŌI PHŌRCHŌ PHYYY RORPSIS OROCHŌŌI," but as on the paper which I found the spell was changed thus: "Harponknouphi" (formula).

This is the spell for the rite: "I receive / you as the cowherd who has his camp toward the south, I receive you for the widow and the orphan.[307] Therefore, give me favor, work for my business. Bring to me silver, gold, clothing, / much wealth for the good of it."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 2441–2621

***Spell of attraction**:[308] (implements: those for a lunar burnt offering); it attracts those who are uncontrollable and require no magical material[309] and who come in one day. It inflicts sickness excellently and destroys powerfully, sends dreams beau-

303. The clause *ὀρυκτόν . . . κεκρυμμένον* is obscure and not clearly related to its context. Preisendanz understands the snake to be buried in the basket which is put under the figure. The reference is apparently to the *cista mystica* which contained the snake and was carried on the head. See Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 11 and Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 222–26; H. Leisegang, "The Mystery of the Serpent," in *The Mysteries: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, Bollingen Series XXX. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 194–260.

304. The papyrus has only here and in l. 3148 *αγριον* which Jacoby emends to *⟨ὀν⟩ἄγριον*, "wild ass." Eitrem suggests *ἄγριον κριόν*, "wild ram."

305. In Greek, "heavenly."

306. Apparently the papyrus refers to another author by the name Epaphroditos, but nothing is known about him.

307. Cf. l. 2375. See also Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 31. The widow and orphan refer to Isis and Horus; cf. *PGM* III. 542–43. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 450. For the importance of hospitality in the myth of the wandering Isis, cf. C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstele* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1956) 41–42; Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 59–62. [R.K.R.]

308. This spell is similar to, and perhaps even parallel to, *PGM* IV. 2622–2784.

309. The translation of these adjectives is tentative and follows Preisendanz's German translation,

tifully, accomplishes dream revelations marvelously and in its many / demonstrations has been marveled at for having no failure in these matters.

Burnt offering: Pachrates,[310] the prophet of Heliopolis, revealed it to the emperor Hadrian, revealing the power of his own divine magic. / For it attracted in one hour; it made someone sick in 2 hours; it destroyed in 7 hours, sent the emperor himself dreams as he thoroughly tested the whole truth of the magic within his power. And marveling at the prophet, / he ordered double fees to be given to him.

Take a field mouse[311] and deify it in spring water. And take two moon beetles[312] and deify them in river water, and take a river crab and fat of a dappled goat that is virgin and dung of a dog- / faced baboon, 2 eggs of an ibis, 2 drams of storax, 2 drams of myrrh, 2 drams of crocus, 4 drams of Italian galingale, 4 drams of uncut frankincense, a single onion. Put all these things onto a mortar with the mouse and the remaining items / and, after pounding thoroughly, place in a lead box and keep for use. And whenever you want to perform a rite, take a little, make a charcoal fire, go up on a lofty roof, and make the offering as you say / this spell at moonrise, and at once she comes.

Spell:[313] "Let all the darkness of clouds be dispersed for me, and let the goddess AKTIŌPHIS shine for me, and let her hear my holy voice. For I come / announcing the slander[314] of NN, a defiled and unholy woman, for she has slanderously brought your holy mysteries to the knowledge of men. She, NN, is the one, [not] I, who says, 'I have seen the greatest / goddess, after leaving the heavenly vault, on earth without sandals, sword in hand, and [speaking] a foul name.' It is she, NN, who said, 'I saw [the goddess] drinking blood.' She, NN, said it, not I, AKTIŌPHIS ERESCHIGAL / NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH PHORPHORBA SATRAPAMMŌN CHOIRIXIĒ, flesh eater. Go to her NN and take away her sleep and put a burning heat in her soul,[315] punishment and frenzied passion in her thoughts, / and banish her from every place and from every house, and attract her here to me, NN."

After saying these things, sacrifice. Then raise loud groans and go backward as you descend. And she will come at once. But pay attention to the one being attracted / so that you may open the door for her; otherwise the spell will fail.[316]

For causing illness: Use these spells, adding, "Make her, NN, whom NN bore, ill."

And for destroying: Say, "Draw out her breath, Mistress, from the nostrils of her, NN."

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except for μονοημέρους which is rendered in analogy to μονόωρος in ll. 2450–51. Cf. also the parallels in *PGM* IV. 2071–72; XXXVI. 361.

310. The prophet Pachrates may be identical with Pankrates described by Lucian, *Philops.* 34. See K. Preisendanz, "Pachrates," *PRE* 18 (1942):2071–74; Nock, *Essays* I, 183–84.

311. On the role of the mouse in magic, see W. R. Dawson, "The Mouse in Egyptian and Later Medicine," *JEA* 10 (1924):83–86.

312. On the moon beetle and its association with the moon, see Abt, *Apologie* 126–27.

313. Although only the general term for "spell" is used here (λόγος), the contents show clearly that the passage is a "slander spell" (διαβολή). Cf. *PGM* IV. 2622 in the title of a spell. [E.N.O.]

314. For this slander, cf. ll. 2574–2621, below. The projection of a ritual violation onto the party to be affected by the spell, esp. the statement, "It is NN who said that. It is not I who said that," is also found in numerous older Egyptian texts. See F. Lexa, *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique* I (Paris: Geuthner, 1925) 56–58; Pritchard, *ANET* 327 and note b. In *PGM* cf. also III. 5, 114–15; VII. 593–619. On the whole subject, see S. Eitrem, "Die rituelle ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗ," *SO* 2 (1924):43–61. [R.K.R.]

315. On the "burning of the soul," see R. Ganszyniec, "Das Märchen der Pythia," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1 (1920):170–71. Cf. also Glossary, s.v. "Soul."

316. Differently Preisendanz, who understands: "otherwise she will die."

/ ***For sending dreams***: Say, "Become like the god whom she worships."

For dream revelations: Say, "Stand beside me, Mistress, and reveal to me about the NN matter." And she will stand beside you and will tell everything without deception.

Do not therefore perform the rite rashly, and do not perform / it unless some dire necessity arises for you. It also possesses a protective charm against your falling, for the goddess is accustomed to make airborne those who perform this rite unprotected by a charm and to hurl them from aloft down to the ground. So consequently / I have also thought it necessary to take the precaution of a protective charm so that you may perform the rite without hesitation. Keep it secret.

Take a hieratic papyrus roll and wear it around your right arm with which you make the offering. And these are the / things written on it: "MOULATHI CHERNOUTH AMARŌ MOULIANDRON, guard me from every evil daimon, whether an evil male or female." Keep it secret, son.[317]

The second spell, after you make / the first sacrifice, but it is better for you to say it before you make the offering. This is the spell attached to the first:

"[I offer you][318] this spice, O child of Zeus,
Dart-shooter, Artemis, Persephone,
Shooter of deer, night-shining, / triple-sounding,
Triple-voiced, triple-headed Selene,
Triple-pointed, triple-faced, triple-necked,
And goddess of the triple ways, who hold
Untiring flaming fire in triple baskets,
And you who oft frequent the triple way
And rule the triple decades with three forms
/ And flames and dogs. From toneless throats you send
A dread, sharp cry when you, O goddess, have
Raised up an awful sound with triple mouths.
Hearing your cry, all worldly things are shaken:
The nether gates and Lethe's / holy water
And primal Chaos and the shining chasm
Of Tartaros. At it ev'ry immortal
And ev'ry mortal man, the starry mountains,
Valleys and ev'ry tree and roaring rivers,
And e'en the restless sea, / the lonely echo,
And daimons through the world, shudder at you,
O blessed one, when they hear your dread voice.
Come here to me, goddess of night, beast-slayer,
Come and be at my love spell of attraction,
Quiet and frightful, and having your meal
Amid the graves. / And heed my prayers, Selene,
Who suffer much, who rise and set at night,
O triple-headed, triple-named MĒNĒ
MARZOUNĒ, fearful, gracious-minded, and
Persuasion.[319] Come to me, horned-faced, light-bringer,

317. The term "son" seems to indicate the magician's apprentice. Cf. similar references in *PGM* I. 193; XIII. 214, 313, 343, 719, 755, etc. [E.N.O.]

318. These dactylic hexameters, with the usual mixture of accurate and faulty meter, also form the reconstructed Hymn 20, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 257–59. [E.N.O.]

319. For the personified Persuasion (*Peithō*) as an attribute and companion of Aphrodite cf. *PGM*

Bull-shaped, horse-faced goddess, who howl doglike; /
Come here, she-wolf, and come here now, Mistress
Of night and chthonic realms, holy, black-clad,
'Round whom the star-traversing nature of
The world revolves whene'er you wax too great.
You have established ev'ry worldly thing,
For you engendered everything on earth
And from / the sea and ev'ry race in turn
Of winged birds who seek their nests again.
Mother of all, who bore Love, Aphrodite,
Lamp-bearer, shining and aglow, Selene,
Star-coursing, heav'nly, torch-bearer, fire-breather, /
Woman four-faced, four-named, four-roads' mistress.
Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets,
O heav'nly one, harbor goddess, who roam
The mountains and are goddess of the crossroads;
O nether one, goddess of depths, eternal,
Goddess of dark, come to my / sacrifices.
Fulfill for me this task, and as I pray
Give heed to me, Lady, I ask of you."

Use this for the spells of coercion, for it can accomplish anything, but do not use it frequently to Selene / unless the procedure which you are performing is worthy of its power. For the hostile offerings, when some slander is involved, use the following stele, speaking thus:

This is the 3rd coercive spell:

"She,[320] NN, is burning for you, /
Goddess, some dreadful incense[321]
And dappled goat's fat, blood and filth,
The menstrual flow of virgin
Dead, heart of one untimely dead,
The magical material
Of dead dog, woman's embryo,
Fine-ground wheat husks, / sour refuse,
Salt, fat of dead doe, and mastic,
And myrtle, dark bay, barley,
And crab claws, sage, rose, fruit pits and
A single onion, / garlic,
Fig meal, a dog-faced baboon's dung,
And egg of a young ibis.
And this is sacrilege! She placed
Them on your altar; she set
The flaming fire / to juniper
Wood strips and slays a seahawk
For you, a vulture and a mouse,
Your greatest myst'ry, goddess.

LII. 15, where the connection is not clear, however, and esp. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* passim.

320. The meter of these lines is iambic tetrameter acatalectic. The passage is one version of the reconstructed Hymn 19; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 255–57. The second version, which differs in a number of places, appears just below in *PGM* IV. 2643–74. [E.N.O.]

321. On the accusations, see *PGM* IV. 2475 and n.

She said, too, that these deeds of pain
You had performed so harshly:
For she said that you slew a man
And drank the / blood of this man
And ate his flesh, and she says that
Your headband is his entrails
That you took all his skin and put
It into your vagina,
[That you drank] sea falcon's blood and
That your food was dung beetle.
But Pan before your very eyes
Shot forth his seed unlawful. /
A dog-faced baboon now is born
Whene'er there's menstrual cleansing.
But you, AKTIŌPHIS, Mistress,
Selene, Only Ruler,
Swift Fortune of daimons and gods:
NEBOUTOSOALĒTH IŌI LOIMOU LALON, in Syriac: ĒTARONKON BYTHOU PNOUSAN / KATHINBERAO ESTOCHETH ORENTHA AMELCHERIBIOUTH SPHNOUTHI,
Brand her, NN, the lawless one,
With bitter retributions,
Whom I again will duly charge
To you in hostile manner.
I call you, triple-faced goddess
Mene, O light-beloved
Hermes / and Hekate at once,
Male-female child together;
MOUPHÔR PHORBA, Queen Brimo, dreaded and lawful, and Dardania, All-seeing One, come here, IŌIĒ, Virgin, Goddess of crossroads and bull snake are you, Nymph and mare bitch and head / -nodder and Minoan and powerful, EALANINDŌ, come here, ATEĒS ENIDELIDIMA, Mistress Phaiara, MĒDIXA EMITHĒNIŌ, come to me, INDEOMĒ, come here, MEGAPHTHĒ; she will come here. Attract her NN to me very quickly, / I myself will clearly convict her of everything, goddess, which she had done while sacrificing to you."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2622–2707

***Slander spell**[322] **to Selene,**[323] which works for everything and every rite. For it attracts in the same hour, it sends dreams, it causes sickness, produces / dream visions,[324] removes enemies when you reverse the spell, however you wish. But above all be protected by a protective charm and do not approach the procedure[325] carelessly or else the goddess is angry.[326]

322. See on this term *PGM* IV. 2475 and n.

323. For a similar slander spell, see *PGM* IV. 2471–92.

324. The papyrus has *ονειρο|θαυπτει*. For conjectures, cf. the apparatus ad loc., and for parallels *PGM* IV. 3172, 3197. See also K. Preisendanz, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 42 (1920): 31–32.

325. Here *πραγματεία* seems to be a variant for the usual expression *πρᾶγμα*, "rite."

326. The present tense is strange here; it should perhaps be read *μηνιεῖ*, "will be angry." Preisendanz's translation has a future ring, too ("sonst zürnt die Göttin").

/ ***Preparation of the procedure's protective charm***: Take a magnet that is breathing and fashion it in the form of a heart, and let there be engraved on it Hekate lying about the heart, like a little crescent. Then carve the twenty-lettered spell that is all vowels, / and wear it around your body.

The following name is what is written: "AEYŌ ĒIE ŌA EŌĒ EŌA ŌI EŌI." For this spell is completely capable of everything. But perform this ritual in a holy manner, not frequently / or lightly, especially to Selene. At any rate, burn upon pieces of juniper wood an offering of Cretan storax and begin the spell.

The spell which is to be spoken:

"For[327] you the woman NN burns
Some hostile incense, goddess;
The fat of dappled goat, and blood, /
Defilement, embryo of
A dog, the bloody discharge of
A virgin dead untimely,
A young boy's heart,[328] with barley mixed
In vinegar, both salt and
A deer's horn, mastic, myrtle and
Dark bay, and mix at random,
And crab claws, / sage, rose, pits for you
And single onion, garlic,
Mouse pellets, dog-faced baboon's blood,
And egg of a young ibis—
And what is sacrilege, she placed
These on your wooden altar
Of juniper. She, NN, / said
That you had done this matter;
For she said that you slew a man
And drank the blood of this man
And ate his flesh, and she says that
Your headband is his entrails,
That you took all his skin and put
It into your vagina, /
[That you drank] blood of a sea falcon
And your food was dung beetle.
And Pan before your very eyes
Shot forth his seed unlawful:
A dog-faced baboon now is born
From all the menstrual cleansing,
But you, AKTIŌPHIS, Mistress,
Selene, / Only Ruler,
The Fortune of daimons and gods,
NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH IŌ IMI BOULLON ENOURTILAIĒ (otherwise: NOUMILLON

327. The meter of these lines is iambic tetrameter acatelectic. The passage is one version of the reconstructed Hymn 19; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 255–57. The second version, which differs in a number of places, appears above in *PGM* IV. 2574–2610. [E.N.O.]

328. On rituals involving a boy's heart, see A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos. Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans*, *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 14 (Bonn: Habelt, 1972): 32–37, 69–72.

ESORTILĒS BATHYPNOU SANKANTHARA MIBERATH ENTOCHE THŌ RENTHA IMOUĒ SORENTHA).

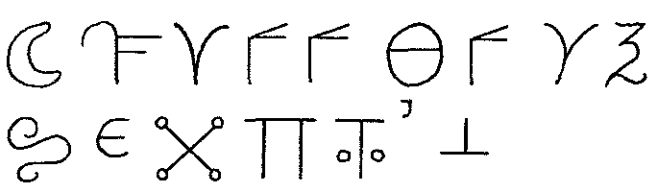
Mark her, NN, the lawless one,
With bitter / retributions,
Whom I again will duly charge
To you in hostile manner
(Of all unlawful things that she
Has said against the goddess
Detail as many as you want),
For by the spell she forces
Even the rocks to burst asunder."

This, then, is the beneficent offering / which you sacrifice on the first and second day (but on the third day, with the coercive spell also sacrifice the offering that is coercive). ***The beneficent offering, then, is***: Uncut frankincense, bay, myrtle, fruit pit, stavesacre, / cinnamon leaf, kostos. Pound all these together and blend with Mendesian[329] wine and honey, and make pills the size of beans.

The coercive offering: When you say the foregoing coercive spell / on the third day, also make an offering: it is a field mouse, fat of a virgin dappled goat, magic material of a dog-faced baboon, egg of an ibis, river crab, a perfect moon beetle, single-stemmed wormwood picked at sunrise,[330] magic material of a dog, / a single clove of garlic. Blend with vinegar. Make pills and stamp with a completely iron ring, completely tempered, with a Hekate[331] and the name BARZOU PHERBA.

The protective charm which you must wear: / Onto lime wood write with vermilion this name: "EPOKŌPT KŌPTO BAI BAITOKARAKŌPTO KARAKŌPTO CHILOKŌPTO BAI (50 letters). Guard me from every daimon of the air / on the earth and under the earth, and from every angel and phantom and ghostly visitation and enchantment, me NN." Enclose it in a purple skin, hang it around your neck and wear it. /

A protective charm on a silver leaf:[332]



*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2708–84

Another love spell of attraction**: Take some Ethiopian cumin and fat of a dappled virgin goat / and after putting the offering together, offer it to Selene on the 13th, 14th, on an earthen censer, on a lofty housetop, on coals. ***Spell:

329. See on this term *PGM* I. 85 and n.

330. Cf. on this point *PGM* IV. 286–87. It is likely that the magician recognizes that he is to perform a "ritual for picking a plant" (βοτανήαρσις).

331. The ring is supposed to have an image of Hekate.

332. For an example of a phylactery consisting of magical characters, see D. Jordan, "A Silver Phylactery at Istanbul," *ZPE* 28 (1978): 84–86.

"Come,[333] giant Hekate, Dione's[334] guard, /
O Persia, Baubo Phroune,[335] dart-shooter,
Unconquered, Lydian,[336] the one untamed,
Sired nobly, torch-bearing, guide, who bends down
Proud necks, Kore, hear, you who've parted / gates
Of steel unbreakable. O Artemis,
Who, too, were once protectress, mighty one,
Mistress, who burst forth from the earth, dog-leader,
All-tamer, crossroad goddess, triple-headed,
Bringer of light, august / virgin, I call you
Fawn-slayer, crafty, O infernal one,[337]
And many-formed. Come, Hekate, goddess
Of three ways, who with your fire-breathing phantoms
Have been allotted dreaded roads and harsh /
Enchantments. Hekate I call you with
Those who untimely passed away and with
Those heroes who have died without a wife
And children, hissing wildly, yearning in
Their hearts."[338] (***But others*** say, "with form of winds"). /
"Go stand above her (NN) head and take
Away from her sweet sleep. And never let
Eyelid come glued to eyelid, but let her
Be sore distressed with wakeful cares for me. /
And if she lies with someone else in her
Embrace, let her thrust him away and take
Me in her heart. Let her abandon him
At once and stand before my door subdued
In soul at longing for my bed of love.[339] /
But you, O Hekate, of many names,
O Virgin, Kore, Goddess, come, I ask,
O guard and shelter of the threshing floor,
Persephone, O triple-headed goddess,
Who walk on fire, cow-eyed BOUORPHORBĒ[340]
PANPHORBA PHORBARA AKTIŌPHI
ERESCHIGAL / NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH

333. The dactylic hexameters, which are frequently interrupted by *voces magicae* and other formulas, also form the reconstructed Hymn 21. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 259–60, where the hymn concludes with IV. 2764 but adds 2784 as a kind of postscript. [E.N.O.]

334. Dione is a name of Aphrodite; see LSJ, s.v. Here in this syncretistic hymn the name belongs to Hekate, as on the magical tools from Pergamon; see Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät* 23–24.

335. The epithet of Hekate may be related to the frog (cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 235). The animal played an important role in magic as a representative of the gods of the underworld. See M. Weber, "Frosch," *RAC* 8 (1970): 524–38.

336. The use of the name "Lydian" with Hekate-Artemis should be noted in connection with the possible Lydian origin of Artemis. See on this point Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* I, 116–17.

337. The translation follows Reitzenstein's emendation (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.) of ανδναια as Ἀϊδωναία. This epithet of the goddess of Hades also occurs in *PGM* IV. 2855. Cf. LSJ, s.v. Ἀΰδυναῖος; Suppl. s.v.

338. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 9. 75. As the apparatus points out, the verse may be corrupt.

339. φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ is a Homeric *hendiadys*. Cf. *Il.* 3. 445; 6. 25. See *PGM* IV. 2910.

340. The *voces magicae* here seem intended as a part of the verse pattern and they have, however awkwardly, been treated as such. [E.N.O.]

Beside the doors, PYPYLĒDEDEZŌ
And gate-breaker; Come Hekate, of fiery
Counsel, I call you to my sacred chants.
MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA who burst forth from
the earth, / earth mare, OREOPĒGANYX MORMORON TOKOUMBAI" (add the usual),
"In frenzy[341] may she (NN) come fast to my doors,
Forgetting children and her life with parents,
And loathing all the race of men / and women
Except me (NN), but may she hold me alone
And come subdued in heart by love's great force.
THENŌB[342] TITHELĒB ĒNŌR TENTHĒNŌR. / Many-named One, KYZALEOUSA PAZAOUS; wherefore, KOLLIDĒCHMA and SAB set her (NN) soul ablaze with unresting fire. Both ŌRIŌN and MICHAĒL who sits on high: you hold the seven waters / and the earth, keeping in check the one they call the great serpent, AKROKODĒRE[343] MOUISRŌ CHARCHAR ADŌNAI ZEUS DĒ DAMNAMENEUS KYNOBIOU EZAGRA" (add the usual). "IŌ, all-powerful goddess / and IŌ all-guarding one; IŌ, all-sustaining One, ZĒLACHNA: and SAAD SABIŌTHE NOUMILLON NATHOMEINA, always KEINĒTH, stalwart THĒSEUS ONYX,[344] prudent DAMNAMENEUS, / avenging goddess, strong goddess, rite of ghosts, Persia SEBARA AKRA.
Haste quickly. Let her now stand at my doors" (add the usual).
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2785–2890

***Prayer to Selene for any spell:**[345]
"Come[346] to me, O beloved mistress, Three-faced
Selene; kindly hear my sacred chants;
Night's ornament, young, bringing light to mortals, /
O child of morn who ride upon fierce bulls,
O queen who drive your car on equal course
With Helios, who with the triple forms
Of triple Graces dance in revel with /
The stars. You're Justice[347] and the Moira's threads:
Klotho and Lachesis and Atropos[348]

341. See on this point the discussion by Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 101–2. On the subject of madness caused by magic, see J. Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos und in der Dichtung bis zum Drama des 5. Jahrhunderts, Bibliothek der Altertumswissenschaften, N. F. 2. Reihe, Band 36* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1970) 44–49.

342. These lines (2764–84) retain some traces of hexameters, but only the last line comes close to being a complete line. [E.N.O.]

343. The formula seems to be textually mutilated. Cf. for similar passages *PGM* II. 23–24; V. 424–27; VII. 680–83. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

344. ONYX may refer to the stone onyx which was used in magic. Cf. Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 582.

345. For a discussion of this hymn, see K. Kerényi, "Die Göttin Natur," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 14 (1947): 39–86, esp. 68–79.

346. These dactylic hexameters, some of which show the usual irregularities, also form the reconstructed Hymn 18. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 253–55. [E.N.O.]

347. Dike (Justice), the daughter of Zeus, has here and in l. 2860 become an epithet of the underworld goddess. For the association of Dike with underworld deities, see A. Dihle, "Gerechtigkeit," *RAC* 10 (1976): 243–45.

348. The reading of the papyrus is uncertain at this point. Traditionally, the names of the Furies were Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaira (Apollodorus, *Bib.* 1. 1. 4; *Orph. Hymn.* 69. 2). If the three Furies are intended here, the reading of Persephone will have to be changed to Tisiphone, as suggested by Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. See also H. Funke, "Furien," *RAC* 8 (1971): 699–722, esp. 704–5.

Three-headed, you're Persephone, Megaira,
Allekto, many-formed, who arm your hands /
With dreaded, murky lamps, who shake your locks
Of fearful serpents on your brow, who sound
The roar of bulls out from your mouths, whose womb
Is decked out with the scales of creeping things, /
With pois'nous rows of serpents down the back,
Bound down your backs with horrifying chains
Night-Crier, bull-faced, loving solitude,
Bull-headed, you have eyes of bulls, / the voice
Of dogs; you hide your forms in shanks of lions,[349]
Your ankle is wolf-shaped, fierce dogs are dear
To you, wherefore they call you / Hekate,
Many-named, Mene, cleaving air just like
Dart-shooter[350] Artemis, Persephone,
Shooter of deer, night / shining, triple-sounding,
Triple-headed, triple-voiced Selene
Triple-pointed, triple-faced, triple-necked,
And goddess of the triple ways, who hold
Untiring flaming fire in triple baskets, /
And you who oft frequent the triple way
And rule the triple decades,[351] unto me
Who'm calling you be gracious and with kindness
Give heed, you who protect the spacious world
At night, before whom daimons quake in fear /
And gods immortal tremble, goddess who
Exalt men, you of many names, who bear
Fair offspring, bull-eyed, horned, mother of gods
And men, and Nature,[352] Mother of all things,
For you frequent Olympos, / and the broad
And boundless chasm you traverse. Beginning
And end are you, and you alone rule all.
For all things are from you, and in you do
All things, Eternal one, come to their end.
As everlasting / band around your temples
You wear great Kronos' chains,[353] unbreakable
And unremovable, and you hold in
Your hands a golden scepter. Letters 'round
Your scepter / Kronos wrote himself and gave
To you to wear that all things stay steadfast:
Subduer and subdued, mankind's subduer,
And force-subduer; Chaos, too, you rule.

349. The phrase describing Hekate/Artemis as standing between two lions points to the older concept of the "queen of the animals." See W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur Grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* (München und Wien: Oldenbourg, 1971) esp. 223–25.

350. Ll. 2819–26 are parallel to IV. 2523–28.

351. For the term "triple decades," see *PGM* IV. 2527.

352. For the concept of Nature, see Glossary, s.v.; for the epithet "mother of all things" see *Orph. Hymn.* 10. 1: παμμήτειρα. See also *PGM* IV. 2917.

353. See also *PGM* IV. 3084–3124 and S. Eitrem, "Kronos in der Magie," *Université libre de Bruxelles, Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, II: *Mélanges J. Bidez*, vol. I (Bruxelles: Secretariat de l'institut, 1934) 351–60.

ARARACHARA/RA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE.
Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets,
I burn[354] for you this spice, O child of Zeus,
Dart-shooter, heav'nly one, goddess of harbors,
Who roam the mountains, goddess of crossroads, /
O nether and nocturnal, and infernal,
Goddess of dark, quiet and frightful[355] one,
O you who have your meal amid the graves,[356]
Night, Darkness, broad Chaos: Necessity
Hard to escape are you; you're Moira and /
Erinys,[357] torment, Justice and Destroyer,
And you keep Kerberos in chains, with scales
Of serpents are you dark, O you with hair
Of serpents, serpent-girded, who drink blood, /
Who bring death and destruction, and who feast
On hearts, flesh eater, who devour those dead
Untimely, and you who make grief resound
And spread madness, come to my sacrifices,
And now for me do you filfill / this matter."

Offering for the rite: For doing good, offer storax, myrrh, sage, frankincense, a fruit pit. But for doing harm, offer magical / material of a dog and a dappled goat (or in a similar way, of a virgin untimely dead).

Protective charm for the rite: Take a lodestone and on it have carved / a three-faced Hekate. And let the middle face be that of a maiden wearing horns, and the left face that of a dog, and the one on the right that of a goat. After the carving is done, / clean with natron and water, and dip in the blood of one who has died a violent death. Then make a food offering to it[358] and say the same spell at the time of the / ritual.[359]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2891–2942

***Love spell of attraction:**

Offering to the star of Aphrodite:[360] A white dove's blood and fat, untreated myrrh and parched wormwood. Make this up together as pills and offer them to the star on pieces of vine / wood or on coals. And also have the brains of a vulture for the compulsion, so that you may make the offering. And also have as a protective charm a tooth from the upper right jawbone of a female ass or of a tawny sacrificial heifer, tied to your left arm with / Anubian thread.[361]

354. The following lines are similar to those at *PGM* IV. 2522–29, but their order occasionally differs.

355. On δασπλήτι, "frightful," cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 2. 14 (said of Hekate). [E.N.O.]

356. On eating amid graves, cf., e.g., Tibullus 1. 5. 49–56, esp. 53–54.

357. The goddess is here identified with Erinys, the avenging deity. This identification is somewhat inconsistent with l. 2798, where the three Furies are named; the same is true of Moira (l. 2859) as compared with the three Moirai (ll. 2795–96). See *PGM* IV. 1418, 2339; V. 191; and IV. 2798 with n.

358. The term παράθεσις refers to an offering of food. See *PGM* I. 23, 39; XIII. 1012. Cf. Eitrem's and Preisendanz's translation: "leg ihn (eine Weile) beiseite." Wünsch thinks of the term as a cover ("Hülle").

359. For the meaning of the phrase, see *PGM* V. 230.

360. The star of Aphrodite is the planet Venus.

361. On the Anubian thread see *PGM* I. 147 and n.

Compulsion element of the rite:

"But,[362] if as goddess you in slowness act,
You will not see Adonis rise from Hades,[363]
Straightway I'll run and bind him with steel chains; /
As guard, I'll bind on him another wheel
Of Ixion;[364] no longer will he come
To light, and he'll be chastized and subdued.
Wherefore, O Lady, act, I beg: Attract
NN, whom NN bore, to come with rapid step
To my door,[365] me, NN, whom NN bore, /
And to the bed of love, driven by frenzy,
In anguish from the forceful goads—today,
At once, quickly. For I adjure you, Kythere,[366]
NOUMILLON BIOMBILLON AKTIŌPHI ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH PHROURĒXIA THERMIDOCHĒ BAREŌ / NĒ."

Hymn of Compulsion:

"O foam-born Kythereia, mother of
Both gods and men, etherial and chthonic,
All-Mother Nature, goddess unsubdued,
Who hold together things,[367] who cause the great
Fire to revolve, who keep the ever-moving
BARZA[368] / in her unbroken course; and you
Accomplish everything, from head to toes,
And by your will is holy water mixed,
When by your hands you'll move RHOUZŌ[369] amid
The stars, the world's midpoint which you control.
You move holy desire into the souls
Of men / and move women to man, and you
Render[370] woman desirable to man

362. This is a curious and confused passage. Ll. 2902–15 contain scattered snatches of verses which are obviously parts of dactylic hexameters. Ll. 2916–28 contain lines which are relatively accurate hexameters, but 2929–39 are a mixture of metrical and nonmetrical lines. Nevertheless, the whole passage has been arranged and reconstructed as Hymn 22; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 260–61. Since the tone and purpose of the whole passage seems hymnic, the translation has been made in verse but with an occasional faulty line. [E.N.O.]

363. On the cult of Adonis in Egypt and the problem concerning his "resurrection," cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 15 and, with further literature, Nilsson, *GGR* II, 35 n. 2; 650, n. 4; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 320–22.

364. Because he attempted to make love to Hera, wife of Zeus, the mythical king Ixion was condemned by being fastened to an ever-turning wheel. The myth of Ixion was very popular in antiquity. See Cook, *Zeus* III, 2, pp. 200–205 (with plates); P. Weizsäcker, in Roscher 2, 766–72, s.v. "Ixion"; H. von Geisau, "Ixion," *KP* 3 (1979): 31–32.

365. Preisendanz states that *ἐν προθύροισιν* is a tag from Homer, *Od.* 10. 220.

366. Two traditional epithets of Aphrodite occur here closely together: *Kythērē* in l. 2912 and *Kythereia* in l. 2915. The name may refer to the island of Kythera which was believed to be Aphrodite's birthplace and which had a temple of Aphrodite Urania. See LSJ, s.v.; E. Meyer, "Kythera," *KP* 3 (1979): 423.

367. The reading of this epithet is uncertain. See the apparatus.

368. The word BARZA is Persian and means "shining light." See Hopfner, *OZ* II, p. 100.

369. Hopfner, *OZ* II, p. 100, assumes that RHOUZŌ is confused with the Persian magical word ZOURŌ. See also K. Preisendanz, "Zuro," in Roscher 6, pp. 763–64.

370. Preisendanz prints *τίθησι*, the reading of the papyrus, but the third person is certainly wrong here. The simplest correction is that of Wessely: *τίθης σύ*, and that is what is translated here.

Through all the days to come, our Goddess Queen,
Come to these chants, Mistress
ARRŌRIPHRASI GŌTHĒTINI, Cyprus-born, SOUI ĒS THNOBOCHOU THORITHE
2930 STHENEPIŌ, Lady / SERTHENEBĒĒI, and inflict fiery love on her, NN, whom NN bore,
So[371] that for me, NN, whom NN bore,
She melt with love through all the days to come
But, blessed RHOUZŌ, grant this to me, NN:
Just as into your chorus 'mid the stars
A man unwilling you attracted to
2935 Your bed for intercourse, / and once he was
Attracted, he at once began to turn
Great BARZA, nor did he cease turning, and
While moving in his circuits, he's aroused:
wherefore attract to me, her, NN, whom NN bore,
To bed of love. But goddess Cyrpus-born
Do you now to the full fulfill this chant." /
2940 If you see the star shining steadily, it is a sign that she has been smitten, and if it is lengthened like the flame of a lamp, she has already come.[372]
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2943–66

***Love-spell of attraction through wakefulness**: Take the eyes of a bat and release
2945 it alive, and take / a piece of unbaked dough or unmelted wax and mold a little dog; and put the right eye of the bat into the right eye of the little dog, implanting also in the same way the left one in the left. And take a needle, thread it with the
2950 magical material and / stick it through the eyes of the little dog, so that the magical material is visible. And put the dog into a new drinking vessel, attach a papyrus strip[373] to it and seal it with your own ring which has crocodiles with the backs of
2955 their heads attached,[374] and / deposit it at a crossroad after you have marked the spot so that, should you wish to recover it, you can find it.

Spell written on the papyrus strip: "I adjure you three times by Hekate PHOR-
2960 PHORBA BAIBŌ PHŌRBŌRBA, that she, NN, lose the fire in her eye or even / lie awake with nothing on her mind except me, NN, alone. I adjure by Kore, who has become the Goddess of Three roads, and who is the true mother of . . . (whom you
2965 wish), PHORBEA BRIMŌ NĒRĒATO DAMŌN BRIMŌN SEDNA / DARDAR, All-seeing one, IŌPĒ, make her, NN, lie awake for me through all [eternity]."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

371. The verse resumes here after a few lines of prose; however, the NN-formula does not scan.

372. The last word of this section is either *ἦξεν* ("she has come") or *ἤξεν* ("it has attracted"). The magical sense—or the result—is the same in either case. For the rare aorist of *ἄγω* cf. *PGM* IV. 2934: *ἦξας*. Preisendanz prints *ἦξεν* in the first, *ἤξεν* in the second edition, but in the index lists the word under *ἥκω*. [E.N.O.]

373. *πιττακίζω* means "attach a label" (LSJ, s.v.) in the sense of attaching a papyrus strip on which writing is placed; cf. below, ll. 2956–66. [E.N.O.]

374. Whether this means "head to head" (thus Preisendanz) or "tail to tail" (thus LSJ) or "head to tail" is uncertain. Paired crocodiles appear on seals in all these positions, but head to tail is far more frequent. [M.S.] The crocodile was sacred to Sobek, with whose cult sacred prostitution seems to have been associated. Thus there may be a link with the erotic theme of this spell. See H. Thompson, "Two Demotic Self-Dedications," *JEA* 26 (1940):68–78. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 2967–3006

*Among the Egyptians herbs are always obtained like this:[375] the herbalist first purifies his own body, then sprinkles with natron[376] and / fumigates the herb with resin from a pine tree after carrying it around the place 3 times.[377] Then, after burning *kyphi* and pouring the libation of milk as he prays, he pulls up the plant while invoking by name the daimon to whom the herb / is being dedicated and calling upon him to be more effective for the use for which it is being acquired.

The invocation for him, which he speaks over any herb, generally at the moment of picking, is as follows:[378]

"You were sown by Kronos, you were conceived by Hera, / you were maintained by Ammon, you were given birth by Isis, you were nourished by Zeus the god of rain, you were given growth by Helios and dew.[379] You [are] the dew of all the gods, you [are] the heart of Hermes, you are the seed of the primordial gods, you are the eye / of Helios,[380] you are the light of Selene,[381] you are the zeal of Osiris,[382] you are the beauty and the glory of Ouranos, you are the soul of Osiris' daimon which revels in every place, you are the spirit of Ammon. As you have exalted Osiris, so / exalt yourself and rise just as Helios rises each day. Your size is equal to the zenith of Helios, your roots come from the depths, but your powers are in the heart of Hermes, your fibers are the bones of Mnevis,[383] and your / flowers are the eye of Horus,[384] your seed is Pan's seed. I am washing you in resin as I also wash the gods[385] even [as I do this] for my own health. You also be cleaned by prayer and give us power as Ares and Athena do. I am Hermes. I am acquiring you with Good / Fortune and Good Daimon both at a propitious hour and on a propitious day that is effective for all things."

After saying this, he rolls the harvested stalk in a pure linen cloth (but into the place of its roots they threw seven seeds of wheat and an equal number of barley, after mixing them with honey), / and after pouring in the ground which has been dug up, he departs.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

375. On plant picking, see *PGM* IV. 286 and n.

376. Natron, a natural compound of sodium carbonate and sodium bicarbonate, was the primary mineral used for purification in Egypt. See J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 193–94. [R.K.R.]

377. On the ritual of walking in a circle, see W. Pax, "Circumambulatio," *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52. For a humorous example, see Propertius, *Eleg.* 4. 8. 81–86. [E.N.O.]

378. Cf. the divinization of persons in Egyptian religion, documentation of which lists the individuals alongside various gods so as to identify them. See A. Massert, "A propos des 'listes' dans les textes funéraires et magiques," *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959): 227–46. [R.K.R.]

379. On the significance of dew (δρόσος), see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364A, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 424, where he refers to *PGM* XII. 234. [E.N.O.]

380. The association of the eye and the sun (Helios) was widely known in antiquity. See P. Wilpert (S. Zenker), "Auge," *RAC* 1 (1950) esp. 961–63.

381. That is, the light of the moon.

382. The term σπουδή ("zeal") is troublesome. Preisendanz translates "Würde" (majesty). Cf. the apparatus ad loc. [E.N.O.]

383. The epithet Mnevis, which occurs in *PGM* VII. 445; XIXa. 6, is the hellenized form of the Egyptian *Mr-wr*, the name of the holy bull of Heliopolis, the incarnation of the sun god Prē. See Diodorus Sic. 1. 84. 4; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364C, with Griffiths commentary, 425. On the matter, see W. Helck, "Mnevis," *KP* 3 (1975): 1374–75; L. Kákosy, "Mnevis," *LdÄ* 4 (1980): 165–67.

384. For the eye of Horus, see *PGM* III. 421–26.

385. The reference is to the daily temple cult and care for the divine statues, including their washing, dressing, and feeding. See Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 87–88. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 3007–86

A tested charm of Pibechis[386] for those possessed by daimons:**[387] Take oil of unripe olives with the herb mastigia and the fruit pulp of the lotus, and boil them with colorless marjoram / while saying, "IŌĒL ŌS SARTHIŌMI EMŌRI THEŌCHIPSOITH SITHEMEŌCH SŌTHĒ IŌĒ MIMIPSŌTHIŌŌPH PHERSŌTHI AEĒIOYŌ IŌĒ EŌ CHARI PHTHA, come out from NN" (add the usual). ***The phylactery: On a tin lamella write / "IAĒO ABRAŌTH IŌCH PHTHA MESENPSIN IAŌ PHEŌCH IAĒŌ CHARSOK," and hang it on the patient. It is terrifying to every daimon, a thing he fears. After placing [the patient] opposite [to you], conjure. ***This is the conjuration***: "I conjure you by the god of the Hebrews, / Jesus,[388] IABA IAĒ ABRAŌTH AIA THŌTH ELE ELŌ AĒŌ EOY IIIBAECH ABARMAS IABARAOU ABELBEL LŌNA ABRA MAROIA BRAKIŌN, who appears in fire, who is in the midst of land,[389] snow, and fog, TANNĒTIS;[390] let your / angel, the implacable, descend and let him assign the daimon flying around this form, which god formed in his holy paradise, because I pray to the holy god, [calling] upon AMMŌN IPSENTANCHŌ (formula). I conjure you, LABRIA IAKOUTH / ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMM (formula) AŌTH IATHABATHRA *CHACHTHABRATHA CHAMYN CHEL ABRŌŌTH OUABRASILŌTH HALLĒLOU* IELŌSAI IAĒL. I conjure you by the one who appeared to Osrael[391] in a shining pillar and a cloud by day,[392]/who saved his people from the Pharaoh and brought upon Pharaoh the ten plagues because of his disobedience.[393] I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, to tell whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by the seal / which Solomon[394] placed on the tongue of Jeremiah, and he told. You also tell whatever sort you may be, heavenly or aerial, whether terrestrial or subterranean, or netherworldly or Ebousaeus or Cherseus or Pharisaeus,[395] tell / whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by god, light-bearing,[396] unconquerable, who knows what is in the heart of every living being, the one who formed of dust the race of humans,[397] the one who, after bringing them out from obscurity, packs together

386. Pibechis was a legendary magician from Egypt. See K. Preisendanz, "Pibechis," *PRE* 20 (1941): 1310–12. Pibechis is Egyptian *P3-bk*, "the falcon." [E.N.O.]

387. The following section contains numerous references to Jewish traditions. For a discussion and collections of parallel passages, see W. L. Knox, "Jewish Liturgical Exorcism," *HTR* 31 (1938): 191–203; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 256–64.

388. On the peculiar epithet "Jesus the god of the Hebrews," see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 14, nn. 1–2; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 260, n. 4; Knox, "Jewish Liturgical Exorcism," 193–94; H. Chadwick, *Origen, Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ²1965) 210 (on c. Cels. 4. 34); Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 113; A. A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets," *JWCI* 27 (1964): 7–9. Cf. *PGM* XXIIb. 18.

389. See on this "field" *PGM* XIV. 8; LXXVII. 5.

390. TANNĒTIS may be equivalent to the Egyptian *Ta-nt-N.t*, "She of Neith." Cf. the apparatus ad loc. [R.K.R.]

391. Osrael is a variant form of Israel. See *PGM* IV. 1816 with n.

392. Cf. on this legendary tradition LXX Ex 13:21–22 and parallels. See J. Daniélou, "Feuersäule (Lichtsäule, Wolkensäule)," *RAC* 7 (1969): 786–90.

393. On the plagues of Pharaoh, see LXX Ex 7:8–11:10 and parallels.

394. The "seal of Solomon" is the name of a famous amulet in antiquity. For bibliography, see G. Fitzer, *TDNT* 7 (1971): 947, n. 72. Placing the amulet on the tongue of Jeremiah appears to come from haggadic tradition unknown to us. See K. Preisendanz, "Salomo," *PRE.S* 8 (1965): 660–704.

395. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 261, n. 11, derives these names of demons from LXX Gn 15:20–21; Ex 3:8, 17, etc.: The Χετταῖοι have become Χερσαῖος ("land daimon"), the Φερεζαῖοι have become Φαρισαῖος (which therefore has been confused with Pharisee), and the Ἰεβουσαῖοι have become Ἐβουσαῖος. Cf. Dietrich, *Abraxas* 139; Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

396. Ll. 3045–52 contain prayer language apparently of Jewish origin. See the biblical parallels in Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 261–62.

397. Cf. LXX Gn 2:7.

the clouds, waters the earth with rain / and blesses its fruit, [the one] whom every heavenly power of angels and of archangels praises. I conjure you by the great god SABAŌTH, through whom the Jordan River drew back[398] and the Red Sea, / which Israel crossed, became impassable,[399] because I conjure you by the one who introduced the one hundred forty languages[400] and distributed them by his own command. I conjure you by the one who burned up the stubborn giants with lightning,[401] / whom the heaven of heavens praises, whom the wings of the cherubim[402] praise. I conjure you by the one who put the mountains around the sea [or] a wall of sand and commanded the sea not to overflow.[403] The abyss obeyed;[404] and you obey, / every daimonic spirit, because I conjure you by the one who causes the four winds to move[405] together from the holy aions, [the] skylike, sealike, cloudlike, light-bringing, unconquerable [one]. I conjure [you] by the one in holy Jerusalem,[406] before whom the / unquenchable fire burns for all time,[407] with his holy name, IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUN (formula), the one before whom the fiery Gehenna trembles, flames surround, iron bursts asunder and every mountain is afraid from its foundation. / I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, by the one who oversees the earth and makes its foundations tremble,[408] [the one] who made all things which are not into that which is."[409]

And I adjure you, the one who receives this conjuration, / not to eat pork,[410] and every spirit and daimon, whatever sort it may be, will be subject to you. And while conjuring, blow once, blowing air from the tips of the feet up to the face,[411] and it will be assigned. Keep yourself pure, for this charm / is Hebraic and is preserved among pure men.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

398. Cf. LXX Jos 3:13–14; Ps 113:3.

399. Cf. LXX Ex 14:27. See J. Daniélou, "Exodus," *RAC* 7 (1969):22–44.

400. Most Jewish sources speak of seventy nations and seventy languages in the world. But there are authorities who name 140 languages. For discussion and references, see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 173; II, 214; V, 194–95.

401. Cf. LXX Gn 6:4; 19:24–29. See W. Speyer, "Gigant," *RAC* 10 (1978):1247–75.

402. The text has *Cherubin*. See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 262, n. 8.

403. Cf. LXX Jb 38:10–11; Jer 5:22.

404. Cf. LXX Prv 8:26–29; Jb 38:30, 34.

405. Cf. LXX Ps 134:7; also Gn 8:1; Nm 11:31; Jb 28:25, etc.

406. The name is given as Hierosolymon. For the various forms of the city's name, see G. Fohrer and E. Lohse, *TDNT* 7 (1971), s.v. Σιών κτλ., sections A. I. 2; B. I (esp. nn. 133, 134); C. I. 2.

407. This refers to the seven-branched candelabrum (menorah) of the Jerusalem Temple. Its undying light was legendary in antiquity. See *PGM* IV. 1219 and n.; Ps.-Hecataeus, in Iosephus, *c. Ap.* 1. 199; LXX Ex 27:20; Lv 6:12–13; Diodorus Sic. 34. 1. 4 (also in M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* I [Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976], p. 180 (# 63). For additional references, see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* II (1979) 297 and n. 18.

408. Cf. LXX Ps 103:32.

409. This is a reference to the doctrine of the *creatio ex nihilo*. Cf. 2 Mc 7:28; Philo, *De spec. leg.* 4.187; etc. Cf. D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, *The Anchor Bible 43* (New York: Doubleday, 1979) 38–40; G. May, *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts*, *AKG* 48 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978).

410. The prohibition to eat pork is the Jewish one in this case, and not the Egyptian. Cf. LXX Lv 11:7; Dt 14:8; Is 65:4; etc. Cf. also *PGM* I. 105; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 5, 352F and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 272.

411. On this "inspiration," see S. Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology of the New Testament* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, ²1966) 47–49.

PGM IV. 3086–3124

*Oracle of Kronos[412] in great demand, called "little mill": Take two measures of salt and grind with a handmill while saying the formula many times until / the god appears to you. Do it at night in a place where grass grows. If while you are speaking you hear the heavy step of [someone] and a clatter of iron, the god is coming bound with chains, holding a sickle.[413] But do not be frightened since you are protected by the phylactery that / will be revealed to you. Be clothed with clean linen in the garb of a priest of Isis.[414] Offer to the god sage together with a heart of a cat and horse manure.

The formula to be spoken while you are mixing is this*: *Formula: "I call you, the great, holy, the one who created the whole inhabited world, against whom the transgression was committed / by your own son,[415] you whom Helios bound with adamantine fetters lest the universe be mixed together, you hermaphrodite, father of the thunderbolt, you who hold down those under the earth, AIE OI PAIDALIS PHRENOTEICHEIDŌ STYGARDĒS SANKLEON / GENECHRONA KOIRAPSAI KĒRIDEU THALAMNIA OCHOTA ANEDEI; come, master, god, and tell me by necessity concerning the NN matter, for I am the one who revolted against you, PAIDOLIS MAINOLIS MAINOLIEUS." These are to be said while the salt / is being ground.

And the formula which compels him is: "KYDOBRIS KODĒRIEUS ANKYRIEUS XANTOMOULIS." You say these things when he appears threateningly, in order that he might be subdued and speak about the things you ask.

The phylactery / in great demand for him [is]: On the rib[416] of a young pig carve Zeus holding fast a sickle and this name: "CHTHOUMILON." Or let it be the rib of a black, scaly, castrated boar.

Dismissal: "ANAEA OCHETA THALAMNIA KĒRIDEU / KOIRAPSIA GENECHRONA SANĒLON STYGARDĒS CHLEIDŌ PHRAINOLE PAIDOLIS IAEI, go away, master of the world, forefather; go to your own places in order that the universe be maintained. Be gracious to us, lord."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 3125–71

*Whenever you want a place to prosper greatly, so that those in the place or the temple where the phylactery is hidden will marvel, [use this rite]. For wherever this [phylactery] be placed, if in a temple, the temple will be talked about throughout the whole world; / if in some other place, [the place] will prosper greatly.

This is how to make [the phylactery]: Taking Etruscan wax, mold a statue three handbreadths high.[417] Let it be three-headed. Let the middle head be that of a sea falcon; the right, of a baboon; / the left, of an ibis. Let it have four extended wings and its two arms stretched on its breast;[418] in them it should hold a scepter. And let

412. For an analysis of the agrarian features of Kronos in this spell, see Eitrem, "Kronos in der Magie," 351–60.

413. On the sickle as a weapon (also l. 3116), see A. A. Barb, "Cain's Murder-weapon and Samson's Jawbone of an Ass," *JWCI* 35 (1972): 386–89.

414. For the Egyptian priestly costume, see S. Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove Press, 1960) 40. See also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 4, 352C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 270. [R.K.R.]

415. That is, Zeus who castrated his father Kronos.

416. The text is uncertain at this point. See the apparatus ad loc.

417. For a wax statue of this so-called pantheistic god, see S. Sauneron, "Le Nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoès," *JNES* 19 (1960): 269–87; esp. 284–85. Cf. *PGM* XII. 121–43; XIII. 50 for this figure. [R.K.R.]

418. Probably crossed. [M.S.]

it be wrapped [as a mummy] like Osiris. Let the falcon wear the crown of Horus; the baboon, / the crown of Hermanubis;[419] and let the ibis wear the crown of Isis. Put into the hollow inside it a heart [made] of magnetite, and write the following names on a piece of hieratic papyrus and put them into the hollow. Next, when you have made it an iron base, stand it / on the base and put it into a little juniper wood temple at moonrise on the third day of the goddess.[420] Then, having fixed it [firmly] in whatever place you choose, sacrifice to it a wild white-faced [falcon?],[421] and burn [this offering] entire; also pour to it, as a libation, the milk of a black cow, / the firstborn [of its mother] and the first she suckled. [By these sacrifices you will have completed the deification of the statue.] And [now] feast with [the god], singing to him all night long the names written on the strip [of papyrus] put in the hollow. Wreathe the little temple with olive and thus [you will prosper] throughout life. / And sing the same spell when you get up in the morning, before you open [your shop or temple]. ***The names to be written and recited are these***:

"BICHŌ
BICHŌBI
CHŌBIBEU
NASSOUNAINTHI
NOUNAITH
MOUR
SOURPHEŌ
MOURĒTH
ANIMOKEŌ
ARPAĒR
SANI
SOUMARTA
AKERMORTHŌOUTH
ANIMI
MIMNOUĒR
IĒRI
ANIMI
MIMNIMEU."

"Give me all favor, all success, for the angel bringing good, who stands beside [the goddess] Tyche, is with you. Accordingly, give profit [and] success to this house. Please, Aion, ruler of hope, giver of wealth, O holy Agathos Daimon, bring to fulfillment all favors and / your divine oracles." Then open [your establishment] and you will marvel at the unsurpassed holy power.
*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM IV. 3172–3208

***Dream-producing**[422] **charm using three reeds**: The picking of the three reeds is to be before sunrise.[423] After sunset raise the first, look / to the east and say three times: "MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌ OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX AEĒIOYŌ LEPETAN AZARACHTHARŌ, I am picking you up in order that you might give me a dream." / Raise the second to the south and say again the "MASKELLI" formula, the vowels and "THRŌBEIA"; hold the reed and spin around; look toward the north and the west and say three times the same names, / those of the second reed. Raise the third and say the same names and these things: "IĒ IĒ, I am picking you for such-and-such a rite."

These things are to be written on the reeds: On the first: "AZARACHTHARŌ"; on the second: "THRŌBEIA"; / on the third: "IĒ IĒ."

Then take a lamp that is not painted red and fill it with pure olive oil. Take a clean strip of cloth and write down all the names. Say the same things to the lamp seven times. Let the lamp be facing east / and let it be next to a censer on which you will make an offering of lumps of frankincense. After preparing the reeds and binding them together with fibers of a date palm, make them into a kind of tripod, and

419. The name is a combination of Hermes and Anubis.
420. Third day of the goddess Selene. Cf. *PGM* III. 702; IV. 170; XII. 379.
421. For the emendation ⟨ὀν⟩ἀγριον, see *PGM* IV. 2396 and n.
422. The word translated is ὀνειροθαυπτάνη. Cf. the apparatus ad loc. and *PGM* IV. 2624–25.
423. For picking a plant, see *PGM* IV. 286 and n.

place the lamp on it. Let the head of the practitioner be crowned with olive branches.
Composition of the ink with which it is necessary to write / on the reeds and the wick: single-stemmed wormwood, vetch, 3 pits of Nicolaus date palms, 3 Karian dried figs, soot from a goldsmith, 3 branches of a male date palm, sea foam.
The things to be written / and recited are these: "I conjure you by the sleep releaser because I want you to enter into me and to show me concerning the NN matter, IERŌRIETHEDIEN THROU CHAŌRA ARPEBŌ ENDALĒLA."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 3209–54

*Saucer divination of Aphrodite**: Having kept oneself pure for 7 / days, take a white saucer, fill it with water and olive oil, having previously written on its base with myrrh ink: "ĒIOCH CHIPHA ELAMPSĒR ZĒL A E Ē I O Y Ō" (25 letters); and beneath the base, on the outside: "TACHIĒL CHTHONIĒ DRAXŌ" (18 letters). Wax over / with white wax. On the outside of the rim at the top: "IERMI PHILŌ 6 ERIKŌMA DERKŌ MALŌK GAULĒ APHRIĒL I ask" (say it 3 times). Let it rest on the floor and looking intently at it, say "I call upon you, the mother and mistress / of nymphs,[424] ILAOUCH OBRIĒ LOUCH TLOR; [come] in, holy light, and give answer, showing your lovely shape."

Then look intently at the bowl. When you see her, welcome her and say, "Hail, very glorious goddess, ILARA / OUCH. And if you give me a response, extend your hand." And when she extends it, expect answers to your inquiry.

But if she does not listen say, "I call upon the ILAOUCH who has begotten Himeros,[425] the lovely Horai and / you Graces; I also call upon the Zeus-sprung Physis of all things, two-formed, indivisible, straight, foam-beautiful Aphrodite. Reveal to me your lovely light and your lovely face, O mistress ILAOUCH. / I conjure you, giver of fire, [by] ELGINAL, and [by the] great names OBRIĒTYCH KERDYNOUCHILĒPSIN NIOU NAUNIN IOUTHOU THRIGX TATIOUTH GERTIATH GERGERIS GERGERIĒ THEITHI. I also ask you[426] [by] the all wonderful / names, OISIA EI EI AŌ ĒY AAŌ IŌIAIAIŌ SŌTHOU BERBROI AKTEROBORE[427] GERIĒ IĒOYA; bring me light and your lovely face and the true saucer divination, you shining with fire, bearing fire all around, stirring the land from afar, / IŌ IŌ PHTHAIĒ THOUTHOI PHAEPHI. Do it."

Preparation: having kept yourself pure, as you learned, take a bronze drinking cup, and write with myrrh ink the previously inscribed stele which calls upon Aphrodite, / and use the untouched olive oil and clean river water. Put the drinking cup on your knees and speak over it the stele mentioned above, and the goddess will appear to you and will reveal concerning what things you wish.
*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell.

PGM IV. 3255–74

*Take an unbaked [brick] and with a bronze stylus draw an [ass] running, and on its face "IAŌ IŌ," and on its neck in the shape of a little bell "ĒOĒOĒ," and on its

424. For the epithet "Mistress of the Nymphs," see *Orph. Hymn.* 52. 22–25. Aphrodite Nymphaia is discussed in Pausanias 2. 32. 7.

425. Himeros may be a personification of "the yearning of love." See LSJ, s.v. "ἵμερος," I. 3.

426. ἀξιώσῃς, "you might ask," could be emended to ἀξιῶ σέ, "I ask you," and perhaps read with the following imperative as a part of the conjuration set in quotation marks. [R.D.K.]

427. The papyrus has ακτεβορε, which Preisendanz reads as an unattested epithet ἀκτε⟨ρο⟩βόρε, "eater of the unburied."

back "LERTHEMINŌ," and on its breast "[s]ABAŌTH," and under its hooves "ABRASAX." / Smear it with the blood of Typhon and a pig and with juice of an onion.

The spell of the brick to be written down is this:

"IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH SABAOUM KOKLOTOM PATATHNAX, the shaker, IŌ ERBĒTH APOMPS IAŌTH IABAŌTH SEISAŌ PEUKRĒ, you fortunate one, TESCHŌ PATONAK PHENDE / MIEPHEOR ABIRBOLONCHITHI RŌPHTHĒ APERMA PALELŌPS, the shaker of the world, I call upon you, great Typhon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH, because I am he, NN. Hear me, in this business which I am performing LERTHEMINŌ AROUZORON BATHOU / CHĒASMĒPHIS, O great, great[428] Typhon LERTHEMINO; attend this magical operation which I am performing, because it is your great and honored name that I am saying and writing, ABERAMENTHŌOU" (formula).

Underneath the ass: "Give her the heaving of the sea, total wakefulness[429] of Mendes,[430] and give her[431] the punishments."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM V. 1–53[1]

***Oracle of Sarapis**, [by means of] a boy, by means of a lamp, saucer and bench: "I call upon you, Zeus, Helios, Mithra, Sarapis, / unconquered one, Meliouchos, Melikertes, Meligenetor, ABRAAL BACHAMBĒCHI BAIBEIZŌTH (ĒBAI BEBOTH) SERIABEBŌTH AMELCHIPSITHIOUTHIPOTHOIO PNOUTE NINTHĒRTĒROU[2] IYEY ĒOŌ AIĒIA EĒOIA / ĒEAI EYĒIE ŌŌŌŌŌ EYĒŌ IAŌAI BAKAXICHYCH BOSIPSETĒTH PHOBĒBIBŌTH, the great, great[3] Sarapis SAMASPHRĒTH" (otherwise above) "O DARGAZAS O DARMAGAS O DAPHAR YAKIABŌTH EPHIA ZELEARTHAR (AKRABAEŌEPHIAZALE ARBAMENOTHIĒŌ SAMAS PHRĒTI)[4] / METHOMĒŌ› LAMARMERA OPTĒBI PTĒBI MARIANOU (AKRABAEŌ EPHIAZĒLE ARBAMENOTHI ĒŌ NAMISPHRĒTI), appear and give respect to him who appeared before fire and snow, BAINCHŌŌŌCH, for you are the one who introduced light and snow, hurler of shudderful / thunder and lightning, KYPODŌKTE PINTOUCHE ETŌM THOOUT THASINAĒAK AROURONGOA PAPHTHA[5] ENŌSADE IAĒ IAŌ AI AOIAŌ EOĒY" (nine lettes): [Pronounce]:

the "A" with an open mouth, undulating like a wave;
the "O" succinctly, as a breathed threat,
the "IAŌ" to earth, to air, and to heaven;
the "Ē" like a baboon;
the "O" in the same way as above;[6]
the "E" with enjoyment, aspirating it, /

428. The repeated "great, great" is Egyptian *geminatio*. See also *PGM* I. 41 and n.

429. E. Hohl, *RhM* 68 (1913): 313, n. 4, restores [π]αναγρυπνιαν in accordance with *Anth. Pal.* 7. 195. 5, where Meleager has used παναγρύπνοιο μερίμνης. Both the noun and the verb are *hapax legomena*. [E.N.O.]

430. Mendes corresponds to Egyptian *B3-nb-Ḏd.t*, the ram incarnation of Prē identified with Pan and Priapus. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 451, s.v. "Mendes"; 868–71, s.v. "Widder"; Herodotus 2. 46; Diodorus Sic. 1. 88; Strabo 16. 1. 19. [R.K.R.]

431. The translation follows Preisendanz in assuming that αὐτῇ in ll. 3273–74 is τῇ δεῖνα. But the fact remains that, while ὁ δεῖνα occurs in l. 3248, nowhere in the spell is a woman mentioned. There is really no indication that this spell is designed to affect a woman, until this last sentence. [E.N.O.]

1. Parentheses in this spell contain words that are written between the lines. For further discussion see Preisendanz, ad loc.

2. The phrase means "O god (of) all the gods." Cf. *PGM* III. 144–45 and n.

3. For the meaning of "twice great," see *PGM* IV. 3270 and n.

4. See l. 46 below.

5. This is equivalent to "Thoth . . . He of Ptah." [R.K.R.]

6. According to Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 778, this means either as the "E" in l. 27 or the "O" in l. 25.

the "Y" like a shepherd, drawing out the pronunciation.[7]
If he says, "I prophesy," say: "Let the throne of god enter, THRONOUZATERA KYMA KYMA LYAGEU APSITADRYS GĒ MOLIANDRON BONBLILON PEUCHRĒ, / let the throne be brought in." If it then is carried by 4 men, as, "With what are they crowned, and what goes before the throne?" If he says, "They are crowned with olive branches, and / a censer precedes," [the] boy speaks the truth.

Dismissal: "Go, lord, to your own world and to your own thrones, to your own vaults, and keep me and / this boy from harm, in the name of the highest god, SAMAS PHRĒTH.[8]" Do this when the moon is in a settled sign, in conjunction with beneficial planets or is in good houses, not when it is full; for it is / better, and in this way the well-ordered oracle is completed. (But in other copies "when it is full" has been written.)
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 54–69

***Direct vision spell**: "EEIM TO EIM ALALĒP BARBARIATH / MENEBREIO ARBATHIAŌTH IOUĒL IAĒL OUĒNĒIIE MESOMMIAS, let the god who prophesies to me come and let him not go away until I dismiss him, OURNAOUR SOUL ZASOUL / OUGOT NOOUMBIAOU THABRAT BERIAOU ACHTHIRI MARAI ELPHEŌN TABAŌTH KIRASINA LAMPSOURĒ IABOE ABLAMATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI."

In a bronze cup over oil. Anoint / your right eye with water from a shipwreck and the left with Coptic eyepaint, with the same water. If you cannot find water from a shipwreck, then from a sunken skiff.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 70–95

*Take a plant *chelkbei* (?) and bugloss, strain them, burn what you strain out, mix [them] well with juice, and write "CHOŌ"[9] with it on a wall. Take gallows wood and carve a hammer. With / the hammer strike the [eye][10] while saying the formula: "I conjure you by the holy names; hand over the thief who made off with it, CHALCHAK CHALKOUM CHIAM CHARCHROUM ZBAR BĒRI ZBARKOM CHRĒ / KARIŌB PHARIBOU, and by the shudderful names: A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ."



"Ō			"A
/ Y Y			E E
I I I I			Ē Ē Ē
Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē			I I I I
E E E E E E			Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē
A A A A A A A			E E E E E E
/ IAŌ ŌIA	IŌA	AĒŌ	A A A A A A A A
			ĒŌA ŌAĒ."

"Hand over the thief who stole it. As long as I strike the eye with this hammer, let the eye of the thief be struck, and let it swell up until it / betrays him." While saying these things, strike with the hammer.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

7. Presumably, the way the formula is to be spoken; see Preisendanz's interpretation ad loc.

8. Samas is the Canaanite solar deity Shamash, combined here with the Egyptian counterpart Prē. Cf. ll. 12–14 above.

9. CHOŌ could be Coptic KŌ which can mean "hand over," or "put"; it would fit the sense of the spell. [R.K.R.]

10. Thus the emendation *οὐ⟨τάτιον⟩* in Preisendanz, based on l. 91. Cf. the apparatus ad loc.

PGM V. 96–172

***Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist[11] in his letter:**

"I summon you, Headless One, who created earth and heaven, who created night and day, / you who created light and darkness; you are Osoronnophris whom none has ever seen; you are Iabas; you are Iapos; you have distinguished the just and the unjust; you have made female and male; / you have revealed seed and fruits; you have made men love each other and hate each other.

"I am Moses your prophet to whom you have transmitted your mysteries / celebrated by Israel; you have revealed the moist and the dry and all nourishment; hear me.

"I am the messenger of Pharaoh Osoronnophris; / this is your true name which has been transmitted to the prophets of Israel. Hear me, ARBATHIAŌ REIBET ATHELEBERSĒTH [ARA] BLATHA ALBEU EBENPHCHI CHITASGOĒ IBAŌTH IAŌ; / listen to me and turn away this daimon."

"I call upon you, awesome and invisible god with an empty spirit,[12] AROGOGO-ROBRAŌ SOCHOU MODORIŌ PHALARCHAŌ OOO. Holy Headless One, deliver him, NN, from the daimon which restrains him, / ROUBRIAŌ MARI ŌDAM BAABNA-BAŌTH ASS ADŌNAI APHNIAŌ ITHŌLĒTH ABRASAX AĒŌŌY; mighty Headless One, deliver him, NN, from the daimon which restrains him. / MABARRAIŌ IOĒL KOTHA ATHORĒBALŌ ABRAŌTH, deliver him, NN AŌTH ABRAŌTH BASYM ISAK SABAŌTH IAŌ. /

"He is the lord of the gods; he is the lord of the inhabited world; he is the one whom the winds fear; he is the one who made all things by the command of his voice."

"Lord, King, Master, Helper, / save the soul, IEOU PYR IOU PYR IAŌT IAĒŌ IOOU ABRASAX SABRIAM OO YY EY OO YY ADŌNAIE, immediately, immediately,[13] good messenger of God ANLALA LAI GAIA APA DIACHANNA CHORYN." /

"I am the headless daimon with my sight in my feet; [I am] the mighty one [who possesses] the immortal fire; I am the truth who hates the fact that unjust deeds are done in the world; I am the one who makes the lightning flash and the thunder roll; / I am the one whose sweat is the heavy rain[14] which falls upon the earth that it might be inseminated; I am the one whose mouth burns completely; I am the one who begets and destroys; / I am the Favor of the Aion; my name is a heart encircled by a serpent; come forth and follow."

Preparation for the foregoing ritual: Write the formula[15] on a new sheet of papyrus, and after extending it from one / of your temples to the other, read the 6 names, while you face north saying,

"Subject to me all daimons, / so that every daimon, whether heavenly or aerial or earthly or subterranean or terrestrial or aquatic, might be obedient to me and every enchantment and scourge which is from God." / And all daimons will be obedient to you.

The beneficial sign is: ⟩

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

11. The term ζωγράφος, usually translated "painter," is here rendered "hieroglyphist," after the suggestion of Wünsch (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.).

12. On the notion of "empty spirit," see J. Reiling, *Hermas and Christian Prophecy*, *NTS 37* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 41–48.

13. The letters ηδε εδε are indicated in Preisendanz as magical words, but they may be Greek misspelled for ἤδη ἤδη, "immediately, immediately."

14. Cf. the expression ὕδωρ ὀχευτικόν in *C.H.* I. 17. See also Dieterich, *Abraxas* 25.

15. The term ὄνομα apparently refers to a formula containing a number of magical words. See also the apparatus ad loc.

PGM V. 172–212

Another way*:[16] "In order to catch a thief I summon you, Hermes,[17] immortal god, who cut a furrow down Olympos / and a holy barge, light-bearer Iao, the great immortal, shuddersome indeed to behold and shuddersome to hear. Hand over the thief whom I seek ABERAMENTHŌOULERTHEXENAXSONELYSŌTHNEMAREBA." / ***This formula* is to be said 2 times during the purificatory sacrifice.

Formula of bread and cheese:[18] "Come to me, LISSOIN MATERNA MAUERTĒ PRETEKTIOUN INTIKIOUS OLOKOTOUS PERIKLYSAI; / may you bring back to me what is lost and point out the thief today. I call upon Hermes, finder of thieves, Helios and the pupils[19] of Helios, / two who bring to light lawless deeds, and Themis,[20] Erinys,[21] Ammon, and Parammon, to take control of the thief's throat and to single him out / today, in this hour."

Preparation: The same formula during the purificatory sacrifice: Take a faïence vessel, add water, myrrh, and calf's-snout plant. Wet a branch of laurel [and sprinkle], / cleansing each one. Take a tripod and place it on an earthen altar, offer myrrh, frankincense, and a frog's tongue. Take unsalted winter wheat and goat-/ cheese, and give to each 8 drams of winter wheat and 8 drams of cheese while saying the following formula (inscribe this name and glue it underneath the tripod): "Master IAŌ, light-bearer, / hand over the thief whom I see." If one of them does not swallow what was given to him, he is the thief.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 213–303

Hermes' ring.**[22] ***Preparation of a scarab: Taking a scarab / engraved as described below, put it on a papyrus table and put under the table a clean sheet and olive twigs, scattering them about, and in the middle of the table / a small censer, burning myrrh and *kyphi*. Have ready a little faïence vessel in which there should be salve of lilies or myrrh or cinnamon. / And taking the ring put it into the salve, having in advance purified [it?][23] from everything, and burning on the censer the *kyphi* and myrrh. Leave [the ring] 3 days and, taking it[24] [from the table], put it in a pure place. Have at hand / for the consecration pure bread and whatever fruits are in season. When you have made another [incense] offering on [a fire of] grapevine twigs, during the offering take the ring from the / salve and put it on. Anoint yourself at dawn with the ointment from it and stand facing the sunrise [and] say the spell given below.

Carving of a scarab: Carve a scarab in costly green stone / and, having pierced [the stone], thread it with gold [wire?]. On the underside of the scarab engrave holy

16. That is, another spell to catch a thief. Originally this spell may have followed immediately after *PGM* V. 70–95 (a spell to catch a thief), but the *Stele of Jeu* (V. 96–172) was inserted between the two.

17. On Hermes, the god of thieves, see Dieterich, *Abraxas* 63; W. Fauth, "Hermes," *KP* 2 (1975): 1074–75. On the identification with IAŌ (ll. 176–77), see A. A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets," *JWCI* 27 (1964): 1–6.

18. See on this peculiar form of magic P. de Labriolle, "Artyrotyritae," *RAC* 1 (1950): 718–20.

19. For the "eye of Helios," see *PGM* IV. 2985 and n.

20. Themis is the personified Greek concept of justice, custom, and social law. See K. Latte, "Themis," *PRE*, 2nd series 5 (1934): 1626–30.

21. On the Erinys, see *PGM* IV. 2860 and n.

22. On Hermes' ring, see Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 294–95.

23. Presumably the ring, but the reference could be to the practitioner himself, or even to the salve. The Greek gives no indication of the object.

24. I.e., that in which it was laid.

Isis. And when you have consecrated it as written above, use it. The days in which it is proper to perform [the rite] are, [counting] from the rise / [of the new moon] the 7th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 14th, 16th, 21st, 24th, 25th. On the others, restrain yourself.

The spell to be said to Helios: "I am Thouth, discoverer and founder of drugs and letters. Come to me, you under the earth; arouse [yourself] for me, / great daimon, he of Noun,[25] the subterranean" (or [in other texts]: 'the [plural] Noun the subterranean'). I am the famous Heron,[26] egg of the ibis,[27] egg of the falcon, egg of the air-ranging Phoenix, having under my tongue the mud of Em;[28] / I wear the hide of Keph.[29] Unless I know what is in the minds of everyone, Egyptians, Greeks, Syrians, Ethiopians, of every race and people, unless I know[30] what / has been and what shall be, unless I know their skills and their practices and their works and their lives, and the names of them and of their fathers and / mothers and brothers and friends, even of those now dead, I will pour the blood of the black dog-face[31] as a drink offering in a new, faultless jar and put it on a new base and burn under it the bones of Hesies,[32] and I will shout[33] / in the port of Busiris that he remained in the river 3 days and 3 nights, Hesies, that he was carried by the current of the river / into the sea, that he was surrounded by the waves of the sea and by the mist of the air. Your belly is eaten by fish, and I will not / stop the fish chewing your body with their mouths, nor will the fish shut their mouths. I will take the fatherless boy away from his mother.[34] The pole [of the sky] will be brought down,[35] and the two mountains will be one. / I will let *anoixis*[36] loose against you and she will do what

25. PHNOYN refers to the primordial abyss; cf. *PGM* III. 554 and IV. 139. PHNOYN is the Bohairic spelling of the definite article before NOYN used as a vocative. [R.K.R.] See also Bonnet, *RÄRG* 535–36, s.v. "Nun."

26. Heron was a god of Greco-Roman Egypt, apparently a fusion of the "Thracian rider god" and the Egyptian god Atum; the name has no connection with the English bird name or the bird so called. [M.S.] See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 295–96, s.v. "Heron."

27. For the egg of the ibis, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 321, s.v. "Ibis"; 162–64, s.v. "Ei"; Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 76–87.

28. For this name, see *PGM* III. 636; V. 353. For possible explanations, see Preisendanz, vol. III, index, p. 219, s.v. "Ἐμ."

29. This name is unexplained; for suggestions, see Preisendanz, vol. III, index, p. 259 s.v. "κεφ." Em may be an abbreviation of Ammon, and Keph of Kynokephalos, i.e., baboon, symbol of Thoth, with whom the magician identified himself at the beginning of the spell. [M.S.]

30. For this threat against the deity see J. Bergman, "Mystische Anklänge in den altägyptischen Vorstellungen von Gott und Welt," in *Mysticism, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 5 (1970): 70–72.

31. The translation of the term follows the emendation in Preisendanz; see the apparatus ad loc. Clearly Anubis is meant. See also Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 317–19; idem, *The Isis-Book* 215–18. The reference is to the dog-headed god Anubis, assistant of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. It is not Thoth because (1) the magician has identified himself with Thoth; (2) this god face is "black," as Anubis commonly is in Egyptian paintings, whereas the *Kynokephalos* ("dog-headed," s.c. baboon) of Thoth is commonly tan. [M.S.]

32. For the name Hesies, see Glossary, s.v. "Esies."

33. For the myth recounted here, cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 13, 356C–D, and the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 312. For the threat to Busiris, cf. P. Smither, "A Ramesside Love-Charm," *JEA* 27 (1941): 131–32.

34. The fatherless boy is Horus; the mother, Isis. Cf. *PGM* III. 543.

35. For toppling the supports in heaven, cf. *PGM* III. 537–38; IV. 669. The two mountains of east and west (Bakhu and Manu) form the horizons of Egyptian cosmography; they derive from the mountains framing the Nile valley. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 78, s.v. "Bachu"; 440, s.v. "Manu." [R.K.R.]

36. The papyrus has ἄνοιξιν from ἄνοιξις, "opening." The reference is obscure; it may refer to an unknown mythical or ritual item or it may be a corruption of the text. See the apparatus ad loc.; LSJ, s.v.

she wants. I will not let god or goddess give oracles until I, NN, know through and through what is in the minds of all men, Egyptians, / Syrians, Greeks, Ethiopians, of every race and people, those who question me and come into my sight, whether they speak or are silent, so that I can tell them / whatever has happened and is happening and is going to happen to them, and I know their skills and their lives and their practices and their works and their names / and those of their dead, and of everybody, and I can read a sealed letter[37] and tell them everything [in it] truly."

*Tr.: Morton Smith. How to carve, consecrate, and use a scarab; with the spell to be said when using it. Though the scarab is engraved with Isis and the spell is addressed to Helios, the ring is said to be "of Hermes" because the spell first identifies the magician with Hermes-Thoth. As Thoth he invokes Osiris (the Nile) from the underworld waters, to reveal to him all facts relevant to all men, and he threatens that, unless he receives this knowledge, he will destroy the remains of Osiris' body, reveal his mysteries, and generally upset the divine order.

PGM V. 304–69

*Taking hieratic papyrus or a / lead lamella and iron ring, put the ring on the papyrus and with a pen draw the outlines of the ring, inside and outside, then tint the outlined area with myrrhed ink, then write on this outlined area / of the ring—writing on the papyrus—the name,[38] and write the characters outside [the area], then, [in the circle] inside it, what you want not to happen, and "Let so-and-so's thoughts be bound so that he may not do NN thing." Then / putting the ring on its outline, which you made, and turning up the [areas of the papyrus] outside the outline, wrap up the ring until it is completely covered. Piercing [the package] through the characters / with the pen and tying it, say, "I bind NN with regard to NN [thing]. Let him not speak, not be contrary, not oppose; let him not be able to look me in the face nor speak against me; let him be subjected / to me, so long as this ring is buried. I bind his mind and his brains,[39] his desire, his actions, so that he may be slow [in his dealings] with all men." / And if it be a woman: "In order that she, NN, may not marry him, NN" (add the usual). Then, taking it [the package] away to the grave of someone untimely dead, dig [a hole] four fingers deep and put it in and say, "Spirit of the dead, who[ever] / you are, I give over NN to you, so that he may not do NN thing." Then, when you have filled up the hole, go away. Better do it when the moon is waning.

The things to be written inside the circle [bounded by the inner side of the ring's outline] ***are these***: "AROA / MATHRA ERESCHIGALCH EDANTA IABOU NĒ AKĒ IAŌ DARYKNŌ MANIĒL, let NN thing not be done so long as this ring is buried." Bind [the package] with ties, [using] cords you have made, / and thus deposit it. The [wrapped] ring may also be thrown into an unused well, or [into the grave] of [anyone dead] untimely. After the characters, write also the following, under the [outline of the] ring, as a rectangle: "ARCHOOL LAILAM / SEMESILAMPH AMMOPHORIŌN IŌAĒ PHTHOUTH EŌ PHRĒ, the greatest daimon, IAŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ LAILAM OSORNŌPHRI EM PHRĒ PHRĒ PHTHA CHRŌIŌ IAŌ BABOURĒ THIMAM EN PHRĒ RE/NOUSI SABAŌTH BARBARTHIAŌ THACHRA OUCHEETH

"ἄνοιξις"; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 522, 523, 536 for the ritual of the "Opening of the mouth."

37. For the magical ability to read sealed letters, see the tale of Khamwas in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, 142–51. [R.K.R.]

38. Given below, ll. 339–41.

39. In Greek, "the midriff," representing the classical term for the supposed location of the thinking element of the body. [M.S.]

ESORNŌPHRI" and the entire 59 [letter formula] above,[40] which you also put inside [the circle bounded by the ring's outline].[41]



[The same schedule can be written on a lead lamella; then, putting the / ring in [the middle] and folding up [the lead] around it, cover [it] with plaster. After the rectangle underneath [write] also the IAEŌ formula[42] and the following: "BAKAXICHYCH MENEBAICHYCH ABRASAX AŌ, prevent NN thing," [or], as the names are found in the authentic [text]: / "ARPHOOL LAILAM SEMESILAM IAEŌ (formula) BAKAXICHYCH ABRASAX AŌ ARCHŌMILAK MENESILAM IAEŌ OYŌ BAKAXICHYCH ABRASAX *ŌII*, *prevent the NN thing*."

*Tr.: Morton Smith. This untitled text gives directions for a familiar type of magical rite called *defixio*—essentially sending a letter to underworld powers to ask or compel them to do something to a specified victim. Many *defixiones* are, like this one, intended to prevent things from happening. The gods invoked here are a curious lot—solar and subterranean, Hebrew, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian, suggesting that the text has grown, like many, by ignorant additions.

PGM V. 370–446

*Take 28 leaves from a pithy laurel tree[43] and some virgin earth and seed of wormwood, wheat meal and the herb calf's-snout[44] (but I have heard[45] from a certain

40. This refers to the top of the papyrus page, where the scribe has written on the margin, with a few errors, the formula IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEU and the same letters (without the final U) in reverse order. Together they form a fifty-nine-letter palindrome which often occurs in magical texts, mainly in spells to the solar deities. [M.S.]

41. (On the drawing): the reading of the third line in the circle from TH on, including the letters NIN (?) written above, is uncertain. If PHTHANNI is read, Phtha contains the name of the Egyptian god revered as creator. [M.S.]

42. See ll. 366–69 and the picture, l. 357. The palindrome is also printed in Preisendanz, apparatus to l. 357.

43. Cf. on this point *PGM* I. 264.

44. On this plant see *PGM* V. 198 and III. 468.

45. Undoubtedly, these are the words of a redactor, but expressions in the first person (here and l. 383) are rare. More often such variants are introduced by *οἱ δέ* . . . (cf. l. 390). [E.N.O.]

man of Herakleopolis that he takes 28 new sprouts from an olive tree, / which is cultivated, the famous one). Those are carried[46] by an uncorrupted boy.[47] Also pounded together with the foregoing ingredients is the liquid of an ibis egg[48] and made into a uniform dough and into a figure of Hermes wearing a mantle, while the moon is ascending in Aries or Leo or / Virgo or Sagittarius. Let Hermes be holding a herald's staff. And write the spell on hieratic papyrus or on a goose's windpipe (again, just as I heard from the man of Herakleopolis), and insert it into the figure for the purpose of / inspiration; and when you want to use it, take some papyrus and write the spell and the matter; and shave your head[49] and roll a hair into the papyrus, binding it with a piece from a purple cord, and put on the outside of it an olive branch, and / place it[50] at the feet of the Hermes (but others say: place it upon him). And let the figure lie in a shrine of lime wood. But when you want to use it, place the shrine beside your head / along with the god and recite as on the altar you burn incense, earth from a grain-bearing field and one lump of rock salt. Let it rest beside your head, and go to sleep after saying the spell without giving an answer to anyone. /

"Hermes,[51] lord of the world, who're in the heart,
O circle of Selene, spherical
And square, the founder of the words of speech,
Pleader of justice's cause, garbed in a mantle,[52]
With winged sandals, turning airy course /
Beneath earth's depths, who hold the spirit's reins,
O eye of Helios, O mighty one,
Founder of full-voiced speech,[53] who with your lamps
Give joy to those beneath earth's depths, to mortals
Who've finished life.[54] / The prophet of events
And Dream divine you're said to be, who send
Forth oracles by day and night; you cure
All pains of mortals with your healing cares.
Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
Of Memory, / who brings full mental powers,
In your own form both graciously appear
And graciously render the task for me,
A pious man, and render your form gracious

46. Apparently the subject of *βαστάζεται* is all the ingredients named above. [E.N.O.]

47. See on this medium of the "uncorrupted boy" *PGM* II. 56; V. 87; VII. 544, and T. Hopfner, "Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberpapyri," in *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1926) 65–74; R. Ganschinietz, *Hippolytos' Capitel gegen die Magier, Refut. haer. IV. 28–42, TU* 39/3 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913) 30, 32–33.

48. See on this point *PGM* V. 252 and n.

49. This is done in imitation of Egyptian priests. See S. Sauernon, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove Press, 1960) 37. On the shaving of the head by the initiates of Isis, see Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 28; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3–4, 352C; and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 268–69.

50. For hair sacrifices in Egyptian religion, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 267–68, s.v. "Haaropfer"; Betz, *Lukian* 131, n. 3.

51. Although the text of the following lines is quite fragmentary, enough remains to show that they are dactylic hexameters. Consequently they have been accepted as one version of the reconstructed Hymns 15–16, ll. 1–15; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 429. This version is, however, very different from that in *PGM* VII. 668–80 and XVIIb. 1–23. [E.N.O.]

52. Cf. l. 378 above.

53. A repetition of the idea expressed in l. 402.

54. A reference to the role of Hermes as the guide of the dead to the underworld.

To me, NN,
That I may comprehend you by your skills
Of prophecy, by your own wond'rous deeds. /
I ask you, lord, be gracious to me and
Without deceit appear and prophesy to me."

Recite this both at sunrise and moonrise.

The stele written on the papyri belonging to the figure: "YESENNIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ / NOĒRE KODĒRE SOIRE SOIRE SANKANTHARA ERESCHIGAL ANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE[55] KODĒRE SĒMEA KENTEU KONTEU KENTEU KĒRIDEU DARYGKŌ LYKYNXYNTA KAMPYCHRĒ IRINŌTON LOUMANATA . / . . ION KOMANDRON CHREIBACHA NOUBACHA NOUMILLON EROUPHI TETROUPHI LIBINOU NOUMILLON CHANDARA TON PHERPHEREU DROUĒR MAROUĒR" (say it 3 times, then / the usual formula).

Spell of compulsion: "OUKRA NOUKRA PETIRINODE TMAISIA, terrible-eyed, DRYSALPIPS BLEMENNITHEN BANDYODMA TRIPSADA ARIBA . . . TA KRATARNA" (then the hundred-lettered name of Hermes). . . .[56]

/ ***Another***: "IOUKRAIŌNIOU (spoken to the lamp) ŌCHMARMACHŌ TONNOURAI CHRĒMILLON DERKYŌN NIA IAŌ SOUMPSĒPHISON SOUMPSĒNIS SIASIAS IAŌ, you who shake the world, come in and prophesy / concerning the NN matter, THOIS KOTOTH PHTHOUPHNOUN NOUEBOUĒ."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. For a discussion of ll. 370–439, see Hopfner, *OZ* II, section 174.

PGM V. 447–58

*On a jasperlike agate engrave Sarapis seated, facing forwards (?), holding an Egyptian royal scepter and on the scepter an ibis, and on the back of the stone / the [magical] name [of Sarapis?], and keep it shut up. When need [arises] hold the ring in your left hand, and in your right a spray of olive and laurel [twigs], waving them toward the lamp while saying the spell 7 times. And when you have put / [the ring] on the index finger of your left hand with the stone inside, [keep it] thus and, going off[57] [to bed] without speaking to anybody, go to sleep holding the stone to your left ear.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM V. 459–89

****Another way***: "I call upon you who created / earth and bones[58] and all flesh and all spirit and who established the sea and suspended (?)[59] the heavens, who separated[60] the light from the darkness, the Supreme Intelligence[61] / who lawfully ad-

55. Cf. on this formula the Glossary, s.v. "YESSIMMIGADON/AKROUROBORE formula."

56. The name is missing here, but the papyrus left space for its insertion later. Cf. the apparatus ad loc. For one-hundred-letter names, see *PGM* IV. 242, 1209, 1380.

57. Reading the papyrus ἀπεχ̲— as an abbreviation of ἀπερχόμενος rather than Preisendanz's ἀπεχόμενος, which would be awkward Greek. See the apparatus ad loc. [M.S.]

58. See on this point LXX Jb 10:9–11.

59. The text is corrupt at this point; for suggested emendations, see the apparatus ad loc. Cf. Preisendanz's translation: "der . . . festgenagelt hat den Himmel"; Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 90: "solidement cloué le ciel."

60. Cf. Gn 1:4, 14, 18; Wisd Sol. 7:29–30. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 107; Festugière, *La Révélation* IV. 190.

61. The concept of the divine Nus (Mind) is an influence from Greek philosophy. Cf. also *PGM* XIII. 173, 487. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 49, 371A; *C. H.* I. 2, 6, 9; X. 19–21; XIII. 21. See J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (London: Duckworth, 1977) 283, 372, 382, 389, 391, 393; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 279, n. 2; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 199–200 and index, s.v. "Nus, Nous."

ministrates[62] all things. Eternal Eye, Daimon of daimons, god of gods, the lord of the spirits, the invariable AIŌN IAŌ OYĒI, hear my voice.

/ "I call upon you, master of the gods, high-thundering Zeus, sovereign Zeus, ADŌNAI, lord IAŌ OYĒE; I am he who calls upon you, great god, in Syrian: 'ZAALAĒRIPHPHOU,' and you must not / ignore my voice (in Hebrew: 'ABLANATHANALBA ABRASILŌA'); for I am SILTHACHŌOUCH LAILAM BLASALŌTH IAŌ IEŌ NEBOUTH SABIOTH ARBŌTH ARBATHIAŌ IAŌTH SABAŌTH PA/TOURĒ ZAGOURĒ BAROUCH ADŌNAI ELŌAI ABRAAM[63] BARBARAUŌ NAUSIPH, high-minded one, immortal, who possess the crown of the whole [world], SIEPĒ SAKTIETĒ BIOU BIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI / SIETHO SIETHO CHTHETHŌNI RIGCH ŌĒA Ē ĒŌA AŌĒ IAŌ ASIAL SARAPI OLSŌ ETHMOURĒSINI SEM LAU LOU LOURIGCH."

It loosens shackles, makes invisible, sends dreams; [it is] a spell for gaining favor. (Add the usual for what you want.)

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM Va. 1–3

*"O Helios BERBELŌCH CHTHŌTHŌMI ACH SANDOUM ECHNIN ZAGOUĒL, bring me into union with you" (add the usual). Then anoint yourself, and you will have a direct vision.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VI. 1–47

*. . . His encounter with Helios [takes place] on the 2nd, but the invocation itself is spoken when [the moon] is full. But you will accomplish a better encounter at [sun]rise on the 4th, when the god is on the [increase,[1] from the ground floor of a house]. Say, therefore, to the rising sun[2] / [the following] prayer:

"[Laurel,][3] Apollo's holy plant [of presage,
Which] Phoebus [tasted once] and with [the fresh-
Cut] branches wreathed his [holy] head, adorned
With tresses long [and golden]. In his hands
He shook [a scepter] / on the [peaks of Mount
Parnassus], lofty and with many vales
[And gave to all] the gods[4] [responses] and
To mortals prophesied. [For in the throes
Of grievous love], it was Apollo who
Himself [gave you, a nymph], dread virgin, power
[To utter presages. Come quickly hither

62. The doctine of διοίκησις points to philosophical influence. Cf. also LXX Wisd Sol. 8:1; Philo, *De opif. mundi* 3; *De spec. leg.* IV. 187; *C. H.* I. 9. See Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 190, n. 3.

63. The Greek underlying these magical words corresponds in part to the Jewish blessing, "Blessed be Jahwe, . . . god of Abraham. . . ." It is not clear whether or not the magician understood these words. A similar formula written in Greek occurs on a gold lamella published by R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), n. 436. See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 106–7.

1. An apparent reference to the spring, when the days grow longer. Cf. *PGM* XIII. 388–91. [E.N.O.]

2. The sun is identical with the god Helios; see Glossary, s.v.

3. These dactylic hexameters (ll. 6–21) are also the reconstructed Hymn 13. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248. *PGM* VI. 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) also appear at *PGM* II. 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2), and l. 6 also appears at *PGM* VI. 40 (Hymn 14.1). [E.N.O.]

4. In Hymn 13. 6 Preisendanz has changed ἑοῖς to ϑεοῖς.

To me beseeching you] in holy measures[5] /
[And] in my hands holding [a laurel leaf].[6]
Send me [divine responses] and a holy
Prophetic sign. In lucid [words], O priestess,
[Reveal all things]: both [when this will occur]
And how it will be done. [Give me a presage,]
So that with it [I may perform a test]
On [anything. / Subduer, hither come!
Lo you,] mankind's Subduer, mankind's [force!
Come, blessed Paian,][7] most supreme, [help] me;
[Come hither to me, golden-tressed], IEŌ,
E'en thou, Paian, [the very lord of song.
Come thou to me,] O Phoibos, many-named.
O Phoibos, / sing out clear with presages,
Phoibos Apollo, Leto's son, far-worker,
Hither, come hither, hither come; respond
With prophecies, give presage in night's hour."
Then speak, declaiming[8] this: "EĒ IE IE ĒI IŌ . . . IAŌIĒ IYE IA IAŌ Ē . . . OUŌ."
Then at sunset make your request again: /
"Hear me, god of the silver bow, who stand
Protector of Chryse and holy Cilla[9]
And are the mighty lord of Tenedos,
Gold-shining, hurricane and dragon-slayer,
MESEGKRIPHI,[10] Leto's son, SIAŌTH,
SABAŌTH, MELIOUCHOS, ruler, PEUCHṘĒ,
Night-wanderer, SESĒGGEN, BARPHARAGGĒS, /
ARBĒTHŌ, god of many forms, O thou
Who're fond of chariots,[11] ARBATHIAŌ
Smintheus, if e'er I've roofed a pleasing shrine
For you, or if I've ever burned for you
Fat thighs of bulls or goats, grant this my prayer."[12]
And in the same way in his encounter with Selene, as follows: /
"Laurel,[13] Apollo's holy plant of presage,

5. "In holy measures" translates *ἱεροῖσι ποδίλοις*. Although Preisendanz says "auf heiligen Sandalen," this sense has no place in the passage: first, the word order suggests that the phrase goes closely with *μοι λισσομένῳ* ("to me as I pray"); second, Daphne's mythology seems to have nothing to do with sandals (cf. L. von Sybel, in Roscher I [1884–86] 954–55, s.v. "Daphne," although the article omits this passage and *PGM* in general); and third, this passage is hymnic, and one meaning of *πέδιλον* (as the diminuitive of *ποῦς*) is "meter," "measure," for which cf. Pindar, *O.* 3.5 and 6. 8. [E.N.O.]

6. The mixing of the plant and the goddess in this hymn is another good example of the thin line between inanimate objects and personified spirits of these objects. Cf. esp. ll. 40–41 below. [E.N.O.]

7. These dactylic hexameters (ll. 22–38), many of which are metrically faulty, are the reconstructed Hymn 10; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 244–45. Ll. 24–27 (Hymn 10. 4–6) appear, in slightly altered form, at *PGM* II. 2–4 (Hymn 9. 1–3). [E.N.O.]

8. The translation is problematic, but cf. perhaps Plutarch, *Mor.* 131A; *Cic.* 4, 862F. [E.N.O.]

9. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 37–38.

10. The *voces magicae* in these verses are intended to be a part of the verses. The translation attempts to treat them in the same way, but some liberties must be taken. [E.N.O.]

11. *φιλάρματε*, "fond of chariots," is the reading in Hymn 10. 12; the papyrus has *φιλαίματε*, "fond of blood." [E.N.O.]

12. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 39–41.

13. These dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 14; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248. *PGM* VI. 40 (Hymn 14. 1) also appears at *PGM* II. 81 (Hymn 11. 1) and VI. 6 (Hymn 13. 1). [E.N.O.]

O virgin Laurel, Laurel, Phoibos' mistress,
SABAŌTH[14] IAŌAŌO IAGCHŌTHIPYLA MOYSIARCHA[15] OTONYPON
Hither to me come quickly; haste to sing
Divine precepts to me [and to proclaim
Pure words] and in dark night [bring me true sayings].[16] /
45 RĒSABAAN AAN . . . ANA AANANAANANALAAA AAA AAA.[17]

It is for you, O Delios, O Nomios, O son of Leto and Zeus, to give persuasive oracles at night as you recount the truth through dream oracles."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is badly mutilated, and little is gained by offering a translation of the scattered words and phrases that remain. Instead, for the three verse passages, the reconstructed texts of Hymns 10, 13, 14 have been used. Additional information appears at VI. 6, 22, and 40. [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 1–148

***Homer oracle:**

1. 1-1-1 But on account of their accursed bellies they have miserable woes, [*Od.* 15. 344]
2. 1-1-2 neither to cast anchor stones nor to attach stern cables, [*Od.* 9. 137]
3. 1-1-3 being struck by the sword, and the water was becoming red with blood. [*Il.* 21. 21]
4. 1-1-4 . . .
5. 1-1-5 stood holding a scepter, which Hephaistos produced by his labors. [*Il.* 2. 101]
6. 1-1-6 . . .
7. 1-2-1 amends I wish to make and to give a boundless ransom. [*Il.* 9. 120; 19. 138]
8. 1-2-2 surely then the gods themselves have ruined your mind. [*Il.* 7. 360; 12. 234]
9. 1-2-3 . . .
10. 1-2-4 . . .
11. 1-2-5 let it lie in the great hall. And I wish for your happy arrival [*Od.* 15. 128]
12. 1-2-6 . . .
13. 1-3-1 . . .
14. 1-3-2 . . .
15. 1-3-3 But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their purposes. [*Il.* 18. 328]
16. 1-3-4 I would even wish it, and it would be much better [*Il.* 3. 41; *Od.* 11. 358; 20. 316]
17. 1-3-5 Then indeed would he smash all your fine show, [*Od.* 17. 244]
18. 1-3-6 I also care about all these things, woman. But very terribly [*Il.* 6. 441]
19. 1-4-1 . . .
20. 1-4-2 speaking good things, but they were contriving evil things in their hearts. [*Od.* 17. 66]

14. The *voces magicae* in these lines make no pretense of being verse and for that reason are omitted from Hymn 14. [E.N.O.]

15. Cf. the epithet ὁ Μουσάρχος, "leader of the Muses," belonging to Apollo. See LSJ, s.v.

16. See Hymn 14. 4–5 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248.

17. The *voces magicae* here appear immediately after "in dark night" in the papyrus, but because of the addition of two half-lines in Hymn 14, it is more convenient to complete the translation of the hymn before giving these *voces*. [E.N.O.]

21. 1-4-3 The glorious gifts of the gods are surely not to be cast aside, [*Il.* 3. 65]
22. 1-4-4 . . .
23. 1-4-5 . . .
24. 1-4-6 These things, Zeus-nurtured Skamander, will be as you order. [*Il.* 21. 223]
25. 1-5-1 a joy to your enemies, and a disgrace to yourself? [*Il.* 3. 51]
26. 1-5-2 Within this very year, Odysseus will arrive here, [*Od.* 14. 161; 19. 306]
27. 1-5-3 No use indeed to you, since you will not lie clad in them, [*Il.* 22. 513]
28. 1-5-4 And to the victor are to go the woman and the possessions. [*Il.* 3. 255]
29. 1-5-5 The rule of the many is no good. Let there be one ruler, [*Il.* 2. 204]
30. 1-5-6 And the gateway is full of ghosts, and full also is the courtyard, [*Od.* 20. 355]
31. 1-6-1 We have won great honor. We have killed glorious Hektor, [*Il.* 22. 393]
32. 1-6-2 Who would undertake and complete this task for ? [*Il.* 10. 303]
33. 1-6-3 Not even if his gifts to me should be as numerous as the grains of sand and particles of dust, [*Il.* 9. 385]
34. 1-6-4 . . .
35. 1-6-5 . . .
36. 1-6-6 . . .
37. 2-1-1 For no island is made for driving horses or has broad meadows, [*Od.* 4. 607]
38. 2-1-2 in the past, when you were boys, did you listen to your [*Od.* 4. 688]
39. 2-1-3 . . .
40. 2-1-4 . . .
41. 2-1-5 . . .
42. 2-1-6 His gifts are hateful to me, and I honor him not a whit. [*Il.* 9. 378]
43. 2-2-1 an only beloved heir to many possessions, [*Il.* 9. 482; *Od.* 16. 19 (?)]
44. 2-2-2 . . .
45. 2-2-3 . . .
46. 2-2-4 . . .
47. 2-2-5 So they thronged about him. And near [*Od.* 24. 19]
48. 2-2-6 and fashioning lies out of what nobody could see. [*Od.* 11. 366]
49. 2-3-1 be valiant, that later generations may also speak well of you. [*Od.* 1. 302]
50. 2-3-2 leaning on the grave marker over a barrow heaped up by men [*Il.* 11. 371]
51. 2-3-3 go. You have a way, and beside the sea your ships [*Il.* 9. 43]
52. 2-3-4 You will be proved a liar, and will not go on to fulfill your word. [*Il.* 19. 107]
53. 2-3-5 And his mother for her part continued the lament amid a flood of tears, [*Il.* 22. 79]
54. 2-3-6 Not even if remaining for five or six years [*Od.* 3. 115]
55. 2-4-1 So he spoke, and ordered Paion to administer a cure. [*Il.* 5. 899]
56. 2-4-2 These things, unhappy man, will I accomplish and do for you. [*Od.* 11. 80]

57. 2-4-3 How can you propose to render toil useless and ineffectual? [*Il.* 4. 26]
58. 2-4-4 a thing delayed, late of fulfillment, whose fame will never perish. [*Il.* 2. 325]
59. 2-4-5 Sooner would you grow weary and return to your native land. [*Od.* 3. 117]
60. 2-4-6 to go, that he may bring poisonous drugs from there, [*Od.* 2. 329]
61. 2-5-1 Husband, you departed from life young, and me behind as a widow [*Il.* 24. 725]
62. 2-5-2 in which way I will for sure accomplish everything and how it will be brought to pass, [*Il.* 9. 310 (?)]
63. 2-5-3 Offer me not honey-tempered wine, honored mother, [*Il.* 6. 264]
64. 2-5-4 . . .
65. 2-5-5 . . .
66. 2-5-6 Do not orphan your son and make your wife a widow. [*Il.* 6. 432]
67. 2-6-1 would that they might now eat their last and final meal here. [*Od.* 4. 685]
68. 2-6-2 It is not meet for a man who speaks in the Council to sleep all the night through, [*Il.* 2. 24]
69. 2-6-3 What's wrong with you, that you took this wrath into your heart? [*Il.* 6. 326]
70. 2-6-4 But who knows if he will one day return and punish them for their violent deeds? [*Od.* 3. 216]
71. 2-6-5 wives I will provide for both and furnish possessions [*Od.* 21. 214]
72. 2-6-6 we may try the bow and complete the contest. [*Od.* 21. 180]
73. 3-1-1 For it's no reproach to flee evil, nor by night. [*Il.* 14. 80]
74. 3-1-2 Be mindful of every form of valor. Now you needs must [*Il.* 22. 268]
75. 3-1-3 as a widow at home. And the boy is still just a baby, [*Il.* 22. 484; cf. 24. 726]
76. 3-1-4 But do you in no wise enter the moil of Ares, [*Il.* 18. 134]
77. 3-1-5 For amid misfortune mortals quickly grow old. [*Od.* 19. 360]
78. 3-1-6 . . .
79. 3-2-1 . . .
80. 3-2-2 Such a man is not alive nor will be born, [*Od.* 6. 201]
81. 3-2-3 Of a truth, child, there's nothing really wrong with this, [*Il.* 18. 128]
82. 3-2-4 Now is it no longer possible for him to find escape from us, [*Il.* 22. 219]
83. 3-2-5 we will ransom with bronze and gold, for it is within. [*Il.* 22. 50]
84. 3-2-6 drink, and do not vie with younger men. [*Od.* 21. 310]
85. 3-3-1 where are you fleeing, turning your back like a craven in the ranks? [*Il.* 8. 94]
86. 3-3-2 Would that such a man be called my husband [*Od.* 6. 244]
87. 3-3-3 plants her head in heaven and walks upon the earth. [*Il.* 4. 443]
88. 3-3-4 But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their purposes. [*Il.* 18. 328]
89. 3-3-5 and nodded for his army to survive and not to perish. [*Il.* 8. 246]
90. 3-3-6 Would that you had not pled with the noble son of Peleus, [*Il.* 9. 698]
91. 3-4-1 Honey-sweet wine has the best of you, which others also [*Od.* 21.

293]

92. 3-4-2 Act in whatever way your mind is moved, and no longer hold back. [*Il.* 22. 185]
93. 3-4-3 For it is fated for both to turn the same ground red [*Il.* 18. 329]
94. 3-4-4 keep on shooting like this, if haply you may become a light to the Danaans [*Il.* 8. 282]
95. 3-4-5 as there is no one who could keep the dogs off your head, [*Il.* 22. 348]
96. 3-4-6 You will not kill me, since I am for sure not subject to Fate. [*Il.* 22. 13]
97. 3-5-1 staying right here you would help me watch over this house [*Od.* 5. 208]
98. 3-5-2 Get out of the gateway, old man, or it won't be long before you're dragged out by the foot. [*Od.* 18. 10]
99. 3-5-3 Better for a man to escape evil by flight than to be caught. [*Il.* 14. 81]
100. 3-5-4 and declare to no one, neither man nor woman, [*Od.* 13. 308]
101. 3-5-5 of wheat or barley. And the heaps fall thick and fast. [*Il.* 11. 69]
102. 3-5-6 Whatever sort of word you speak, such would you hear. [*Il.* 20. 250]
103. 3-6-1 was opposed to giving Helen to tawny Menelaos, [*Il.* 11. 125]
104. 3-6-2 or will you alter your purpose? The hearts of the good are flexible. [*Il.* 15. 203]
105. 3-6-3 Yet I for one never doubted, but at heart [*Od.* 13. 339]
106. 3-6-4 Eurymachos, it will not be so. And even you know it. [*Od.* 21. 257]
107. 3-6-5 You miserable foreigner, you have no sense at all. [*Od.* 21. 288]
108. 3-6-6 And the father granted him one thing, but denied him the other. [*Il.* 16. 250]
109. 4-1-1 Nay, go to your chambers and tend to your own work, [*Od.* 1. 356]
110. 4-1-2 Now then, do not even tell this to your wife. [*Od.* 11. 224 (alternate version)]
111. 4-1-3 would you have been stoned to death for all the wrongs you've done. [*Il.* 3. 57]
112. 4-1-4 you prayed to the immortals to see with a beard grown. [*Od.* 18. 176]
113. 4-1-5 and vow to Lycian-born Apollo the famous archer [*Il.* 4. 101]
114. 4-1-6 and no spirit of harmony unites wolves and sheep, [*Il.* 22. 263]
115. 4-2-1 Come now, let us make these concessions to one another, [*Il.* 4. 62]
116. 4-2-2 And in the throng were Strife and Uproar, and Fate-of-Death, [*Il.* 18. 535]
117. 4-2-3 . . .
118. 4-2-4 Up, rush into battle, the man you have always claimed to be. [*Il.* 4. 264]
119. 4-2-5 . . .
120. 4-2-6 You baby, what use now to keep your bow idle? [*Il.* 21. 474]
121. 4-3-1 For even fair-tressed Niobe turned her mind to food, [*Il.* 24. 602]
122. 4-3-2 after giving a mass of bronze and gold and raiment [*Od.* 5. 38]
123. 4-3-3 Surely then the journey will not be useless or fail to occur. [*Od.* 2. 273]
124. 4-3-4 One omen is best, to defend your country. [*Il.* 12. 243]
125. 4-3-5 I will gild her horns all round and sacrifice her to you. [*Il.* 10. 294]

126. 4-3-6 and you would gain every Trojan's thanks and praise, [*Il.* 4. 95]
127. 4-4-1 put in with your ship, since women are no longer trustworthy. [*Od.* 11. 456]
128. 4-4-2 It is not possible or proper to deny your request. [*Il.* 14. 212]
129. 4-4-3 would straightway fit his will to your desire and mine. [*Il.* 15. 52]
130. 4-4-4 and give him instruction. And it will be beneficial for him to obey. [*Il.* 11. 789]
131. 4-4-5 will give glory to me, and your soul to horse-famed Hades. [*Il.* 5. 654]
132. 4-4-6 fill up his ship with gold and bronze aplenty, [*Il.* 9. 137]
133. 4-5-1 but tell one part, and let the other be concealed. [*Od.* 11. 443]
134. 4-5-2 and at birth Zeus sends a weight of misery. [*Il.* 10. 71]
135. 4-5-3 alone to have intelligence, but they are flitting shades. [*Od.* 10. 495]
136. 4-5-4 yielding to his indignation. But they now withheld from him the gifts [*Il.* 9. 598]
137. 4-5-5 I rejoice at hearing what you say, son of Laërtes. [*Il.* 19. 185]
138. 4-5-6 But Zeus causes men's prowess to wax or to wane, [*Il.* 20. 242]
139. 4-6-1 a terrible man. He would be quick to blame even the blameless. [*Il.* 11. 654]
140. 4-6-2 with all haste. For now would you capture the broad-wayed city [*Il.* 2. 66]
141. 4-6-3 Endure now, my heart. An even greater outrage did you once endure, [*Od.* 20. 18]
142. 4-6-4 You lunatic, sit still and listen to the word of others, [*Il.* 2. 200]
143. 4-6-5 had cast aside wrath and chosen friendship. [*Il.* 16. 282]
144. 4-6-6 so good it is for a son to be left by a dead [*Od.* 3. 196]
145. 5-1-1 Here then, spread under your chest a veil, [*Od.* 5. 346]
146. 5-1-2 'Tis impiety to exult over men slain. [*Od.* 22. 412]
147. 5-1-3 through immortal night, when other mortals sleep? [*Il.* 24. 363]
148. 5-1-4 How then could I forget divine Odysseus? [*Od.* 1. 65]
149. 5-1-5 lurid death and o'erpowering doom laid hold of [*Il.* 5. 83]
150. 5-1-6 So there's nothing else as horrible and vile as a woman [*Od.* 11. 427]
151. 5-2-1 Let us not advance to fight the Danaans around the ships. [*Il.* 12. 216]
152. 5-2-2 to put up a defense, when some fellow provokes a fight. [*Il.* 24. 369; *Od.* 16. 72; 21. 133]
153. 5-2-3 nor do children at his knees call him "papa" [*Il.* 5. 408]
154. 5-2-4 I am this very man, back home now. And after many toils [*Od.* 21. 207]
155. 5-2-5 Talk not like this. There'll be no change before [*Il.* 5. 218]
156. 5-2-6 let him stay here the while, even though he's eager for Ares. [*Il.* 19. 189]
157. 5-3-1 And do not, exulting in war and battle, [*Il.* 16. 91]
158. 5-3-2 never to have gone to bed with her and had intercourse, [*Il.* 9. 133; 19. 176]
159. 5-3-3 and moistens the lips, but fails to moisten the palate. [*Il.* 22. 495]
160. 5-3-4 Take heart! Let these matters not trouble your thoughts. [*Il.* 18. 463]
161. 5-3-5 But this mad dog I'm unable to hit. [*Il.* 8. 299]
162. 5-3-6 Keep quiet, friend, and do as I say. [*Il.* 4. 412]

163. 5-4-1 Bad deeds don't prosper. The slow man for sure overtakes the swift, [*Od.* 8. 329]
164. 5-4-2 They shut fast and locked the doors of the hall. [*Od.* 21. 236]
165. 5-4-3 Ah, poor man! Death's not at all on your mind, [*Il.* 17. 201]
166. 5-4-4 Odysseus has come and reached home, though he was long in coming. [*Od.* 23. 7]
167. 5-4-5 in full he will accomplish it at last, and the penalty they pay is great, [*Il.* 4. 161]
168. 5-4-6 and therein was Strife, and therein Valor, and therein chilling Attack, [*Il.* 5. 740]
169. 5-5-1 but 'tis most wretched to die and meet one's doom by starvation. [*Od.* 12. 342]
170. 5-5-2 shall I be laid low when I die. But good repute is now my goal, [*Il.* 18. 121]
171. 5-5-3 Up, rush into battle, the man you have always claimed to be. [*Il.* 4. 264]
172. 5-5-4 In no way do I mock you, dear child, nor am I playing tricks. [*Od.* 23. 26]
173. 5-5-5 but she stayed Alkmene's labor and stopped her from giving birth. [*Il.* 19. 119]
174. 5-5-6 But come, and hereafter I shall make amends for this, if now anything wrong [*Il.* 4. 362]
175. 5-6-1 Where are you two rushing? What causes the heart within your breast to rage? [*Il.* 8. 413]
176. 5-6-2 Pray now, let him not be too much on your mind. [*Od.* 13. 421]
177. 5-6-3 But the gods do not, I ween, give men all things at the same time. [*Il.* 4. 320]
178. 5-6-4 Talk not like this. There'll be no change before [*Il.* 5. 218]
179. 5-6-5 So he spake, but did not move the mind of Zeus by saying this. [*Il.* 12. 173]
180. 5-6-6 but Odysseus nodded no and checked him in his eagerness. [*Od.* 21. 129]
181. 6-1-1 How can you want to go alone to the ships of the Achaians? [*Il.* 24. 203]
182. 6-1-2 him a bridegroom in his house, who left as only child a daughter [*Od.* 7. 65]
183. 6-1-3 And too, I've taken the mist from your eyes, which before was there, [*Il.* 5. 127]
184. 6-1-4 we may try the bow and complete the contest. [*Od.* 21. 180]
185. 6-1-5 And I know that my arrival was longed for by you two [*Od.* 21. 209]
186. 6-1-6 I shall dress him in a mantle and a tunic, fine garments. [*Od.* 16. 79; 17. 550; 21. 339]
187. 6-2-1 by fastening a noose sheer from a high rafter, [*Od.* 11. 278]
188. 6-2-2 remembering our excellence, of the sort that even we [*Od.* 8. 244]
189. 6-2-3 the sea's great expanse they cross, since this is the Earthshaker's gift to them. [*Od.* 7. 35]
190. 6-2-4 Nay, come on with the bow. You'll soon be sorry for obeying everybody. [*Od.* 21. 369]
191. 6-2-5 But hurry into battle, and rouse the other soldiers. [*Il.* 19. 139]

192. 6-2-6 For mighty Herakles, not even he escaped his doom, [*Il.* 18. 117]
193. 6-3-1 amends I wish to make and to give a boundless ransom. [*Il.* 9. 120; 19. 138]
194. 6-3-2 And let him stand up among the Argives and swear an oath to you [*Il.* 19. 175]
195. 6-3-3 The man is nearby. Our search will not be long, if you are willing [*Il.* 14. 110]
196. 6-3-4 and not quite suddenly, and a very god should be the cause? [*Od.* 21. 196]
197. 6-3-5 Verily, these things have already happened, and not otherwise could [*Il.* 14. 53]
198. 6-3-6 On now, follow close! In action numbers make a difference. [*Il.* 12. 412]
199. 6-4-1 surely then the gods themselves have ruined your mind. [*Il.* 7. 360; 12. 234]
200. 6-4-2 Take heart, and let your thoughts not be of death. [*Il.* 10. 383]
201. 6-4-3 by her wailing she rouse from sleep her household servants, [*Il.* 5. 413]
202. 6-4-4 Come now in strict silence, and I shall lead the way, [*Od.* 7. 30]
203. 6-4-5 are there ears for hearing, and sense and respect are dead. [*Il.* 15. 129]
204. 6-4-6 as he was growing old. But the son did not grow old in his father's armor. [*Il.* 17. 197]
205. 6-5-1 to return home and behold the day of homecoming. [*Od.* 5. 220; 8. 466]
206. 6-5-2 Apollo of the silver bow did strike the one, still sonless, [*Od.* 7. 64]
207. 6-5-3 then you may hope to see your loved ones and reach [*Od.* 7. 76]
208. 6-5-4 As for you two, I will tell you exactly how it will be. [*Od.* 21. 212]
209. 6-5-5 For so shall I proclaim, and it will be accomplished too. [*Il.* 1. 212]
210. 6-5-6 and I shall send him wherever his heart and spirit urge him. [*Od.* 16. 81; 21. 342]
211. 6-6-1 idiot? You'll soon pay when the swift hounds devour you [*Od.* 21. 363]
212. 6-6-2 You would learn what mighty hands I have to back me up. [*Od.* 20. 237; 21. 202]
213. 6-6-3 In no wise do I think he will in that event take you for himself, nor is it proper. [*Od.* 21. 322]
214. 6-6-4 here we gather, waiting day after day. [*Od.* 21. 156]
215. 6-6-5 to reach decision making secret plans. Nor yet now to me [*Il.* 1. 542]
216. 6-6-6 Don't dare get it into your mind to escape from me, Dolon. [*Il.* 10. 447]

Here end the verses of the Homer oracle. May it help you!

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The so-called Homer oracle, a list of 216 isolated and disconnected Homeric verses, is in fact a manual designed to provide the reader with an oracular response to a personal inquiry. Concerned with matters of daily life such as we find in our newspaper horoscopes, the inquirer rolls three dice or knucklebones, each of which has its six surfaces numbered from one to six and is used to select a number from one of the three *vertical* number columns to the left of the Homeric verses (in each column, there are only six numbers to select from, though each occurs thirty-six times); one die thrown three times would achieve the same purpose. The three numbers selected by this process establish a *horizontal*

number column that indicates which verse is to be consulted; e.g., a roll of 1, 3, 6 on the dice would guide the inquirer to no. 18. As is true with oracles in general, most of the responses provide ambiguous answers which leave the exact interpretation up to the reader.

In this translation of Homer, which usually follows the Oxford Classical Text rather than that of Preisendanz, a lowercase letter at the beginning of a translated verse indicates that the first word of the verse does not begin a sentence. Such verses often constitute or involve incomplete syntactical units. In general, the punctuation at the end of a translated verse is that of the Oxford text, although in some instances this policy cannot be strictly observed. In a number of cases both the text and the Homeric reference given by Preisendanz have been emended. Furthermore, each of the verses has been numbered consecutively for ready reference. Since in all but a few instances the text of the Homeric verse is certain, we have omitted the usual brackets used to indicate lacunae in the papyrus. For additional discussion on this special type of divination, see T. Hopfner, "Astragalomanteia," *PRE.S* 4 (1924) 51–56, esp. 54–55; cf. Franz Heinevetter, *Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (Breslau, 1912).

PGM VII. 149–54

***To keep bugs / out of the house**: Mix goat bile with water and sprinkle it. **To keep fleas out of the house**: Wet rosebay with salt water, grind it and spread it. 150

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 155–67

***Days and hours for divination**: 155

1 at dawn
2 at noon
3 do not use
4 at dawn
/ 5 at dawn
6 do not use
7 at noon
8 throughout the whole day
9 do not use
/ 10 throughout the whole day
11 in the afternoon
12 throughout the [whole] day
13 throughout the whole day
14 at dawn
15 throughout the whole day
16 do not use
17 do not use
18 at dawn and in the afternoon
19 at dawn
20 at dawn 160
21 in the afternoon
[22] in the afternoon
[23] at dawn
24 at dawn
25 do not use 165
26 in the afternoon
27 throughout the whole day
28 throughout the whole day
29 throughout the whole day
30 in the afternoon

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 167–86

***Demokritos' "table gimmicks"**:

To make bronzeware look like it's made of gold:[1] Mix native sulfur with chalky soil and wipe it off.[2]

/ ***To make an egg become like an apple***: Boil the egg and smear it with a mixture 170 of egg-yolk and [red] wine.[3]

To make the chef unable to light the burner: Set a houseleek plant on his stove.

1. According to H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin: Weidmann, [8]1956), vol. II, p. 220, this recipe shows the beginnings of alchemy.

2. That is, one wipes off the mixture after it has been applied.

3. For coloring eggs, see the references in M. Wellmann, *Die* ΦΥΣΙΚΑ *des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaos aus Larissa*, part I, *APAW* 7 (1928): 57–58. Cf. also Athenaeus 13. 484e. Here, "egg yolk" can also mean "saffron."

To be able to eat garlic and not stink:[4] Bake beetroots and eat them.

To keep an old woman from either chattering or drinking too much: Mince some pine[5] / and put it in her mixed wine.

To make the gladiators painted [on the cups] "fight":[6] Smoke some "hare's-head" underneath them.

To make cold food burn the banqueter: Soak a squill in hot water and give it to him to wash with. ***To relieve him***: [Apply] oil.

To let those who have difficulty intermingling[7] ***perform well***: Give gum mixed with wine and honey / to be smeared on the face.

To be able to drink a lot and not get drunk:[8] Eat a baked pig's lung.

To be able to travel [a long way] home and not get thirsty:[9] Gulp down an egg beaten in wine.

To be able to copulate a lot:[10] Grind up fifty tiny pinecones with 2 ozs. of sweet wine and two pepper grains and drink it.

To get an erection[11] / ***when you want***: Grind up a pepper with some honey and coat your "thing."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This curious collection of recipes contains humorous tricks as well as helpful remedies presumably designed to be performed or used at a symposiastic dinner. Similar tricks are found scattered throughout the pages of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*. See also *PGM* XIb; VII. 149–54; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* 449 (3–7); Wellmann, *APAW.PH* 7 (1928): 1–80. It has not been fully appreciated that this collection seems to refer to events that take place at a dinner table. This fact does not necessarily hold true for all the other examples of *paignia*.

PGM VII. 186–90

***Favor and victory charm**: Take a blood-eating gecko that has been found among the tombs and grasp its right front foot and cut it off with a reed, allowing the gecko to return to its own hole alive. Fasten the foot / of the creature to the fold of your garment and wear it.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 191–92

***Eternal spell for binding a lover**: Rub together some gall of a wild boar, some rock salt, some Attic honey and smear the head of your penis.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 193–96

***For scorpion sting**: On a clean piece of papyrus, write the characters and place it on the part which has the sting; wrap / the papyrus around it, and the sting will lose its pain immediately.

4. Cf. Athenaeus 3. 84c for a similar breath freshener.

5. Cf. Athenaeus 2. 57b–d for pine and pine kernels at a dinner.

6. It seems likely that the reference is to translucent, painted glass which, when lit, produces the effect.

7. The reference is presumably to those who are shy in a social setting: the concoction is to be applied to the face.

8. Cf. Athenaeus 2. 52d where eating almonds is said to prevent drunkenness.

9. In Athenaeus 2. 58f and 2.69f similar means for quenching thirst are found.

10. Cf. Athenaeus 1. 18d–e, where certain devices for having frequent sexual intercourse are mentioned.

11. See on this point *PGM* VII. 194–95; *PDM* lxi. 58–62.

These are the characters: (there are 11 characters).
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 197–98

*__For discharge of the eyes__: Write [this] on a piece of papyrus and attach it as an amulet: "ROURARBISAROURBBARIASPHRĒN."
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 199–201

*__For migraine headache__: Take oil in your hands and utter the spell / "Zeus sowed a grape seed: it parts the soil; he does not sow it; it does not sprout."
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

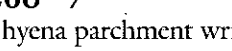
PGM VII. 201–2

*__*Another*__: Write these things on scarlet parchment: "ABRASAX  " (and add the usual). Place it, having made it into a plaster, on the side of the head.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 203–5

*__For coughs__: In black ink, write on hyena parchment: "THAPSATE STHRAITŌ"—[or] as I found in ***another*** [recipe]: "TEUTHRAIŌ THRAITEU THRAITŌ THABARBAŌRI ⊗ / LIKRALIRĒTA—deliver [him], NN, from the cough that holds him fast."
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 206–7

*__*Another*__: On hyena parchment write these characters:
 . Hang it around the neck as an amulet, but keep it dry while wearing.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 208–9

*__For hardening of the breasts__: Take a fine linen rag and write on it in black ink:
 .
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 209–10

*__For swollen testicles__: Take a cord from a coin bag / and say with each knot "Kastor" once, "Thab" twice.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 211–12

*__For fever with shivering fits__: Take oil in your hands and say 7 times, "SABAŌTH" (add the usual, twice). And spread on oil from the sacrum to the feet.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

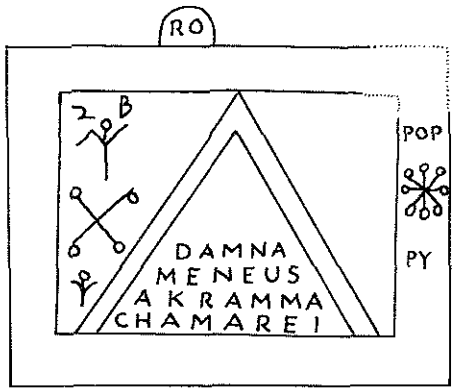
PGM VII. 213–14

*__For daily fever and nightly fever__: On the shiny side of an olive leaf write , and on the dark side write ☾ and wear it as an amulet.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 215–18

215 *__Stele__[12] __of Aphrodite__: To gain friendship, favor, success, and friends. Take a strip of tin and engrave on it with a bronze stylus. And be sure you are pure while carrying it.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.



PGM VII. 218–21

*__Phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits__: Write on a clean piece of papyrus and wear as an amulet:

220 / "IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI (subtracting down)
AŌ [SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI]
Ō [SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI]
ABRASAX."

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 222–49

*__Request for a dream oracle from Besas__: Take red ocher [and blood][13] of a white dove, likewise of a crow, also sap of the mulberry, juice of single-stemmed worm-
225 wood, cinnabar, and rainwater; / blend all together, put aside and write with it[14] and with black writing ink, and recite the formula to the lamp[15] at evening. Take a black[16] of Isis and put it around your hand. When you are almost awake the god
230 will come and speak to you, and he will not go away unless you wipe off / your hand with spikenard or something of roses and smear the picture with the black of

12. The use of "stele" may refer here to the triangular shape found on the drawing of the tin plate.

13. The translation follows the text of Preisendanz, *μίλτον ⟨καὶ αἷμα⟩ περιστερᾶς λευκῆς*. The conjectural *⟨καὶ αἷμα⟩* makes the text conform to the parallel passage in *PGM* VIII. 69–70, where blood of a white dove is mentioned. The addition here, however, is not needed, for *μίλτον* (which does not occur in the parallel passage) can also mean "blood." See *PGM* XII. 98 and LSJ, s.v. "*μίλτον*," III.

14. The Greek seems defective here. The only possible antecedent for *αὐτός* is the preceding potion as a substance with which one is to write. The following reference to ink suggests that it would be better to take *αὐτός* as the substance on which one is to write, particularly since the practitioner has just been told to put the potion aside, and no substance to write on is mentioned. In the parallel charm, *PGM* VIII. 64–110, a similar potion is used to paint the left hand.

15. Cf. *PGM* VIII. 84–111, where the use of a lamp is more fully described; this description occurs immediately before the prayer to the headless god, which is here found in ll. 233–48.

16. This item, which is not explained here (cf. *PGM* VII. 231; VIII. 67–68), may be the black linen garment used in the Isis cult. It is mentioned in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 39, 366E; 77, 382C. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 451, 562. Preisendanz interprets the reference by translating: "take a black piece from the garment. . . ."

Isis.[17] But the strip of cloth put around your neck,[18] so that he will not smite you.

Formula to be spoken to the lamp: "I call upon you, the headless god, the one who has his face upon his feet;[19] you are the one who hurls lightning, / who thunders, you are [the one whose] mouth continually pours on himself. You are the one who is over Necessity ARBATHIAŌ; you are the one lying on a coffin and having at the side of the head an elbow cushion[20] of resin and asphalt, the one whom they call ANOUTH. Rise up, daimon. You are not a daimon, but the [blood] of the 2 falcons[21] / who chatter and watch before the head of Heaven.[22] Rouse your nighttime form, in which you proclaim all things publicly. I conjure you, daimon, by your two names ANOUTH ANOUTH. You are the headless god, the one who has a head and his face on his feet, / dim-sighted Besas. We are not ignorant. You are the one whose mouth [continually] burns. I conjure [you by] your two names ANOUTH ANOUTH M . . . ORA PHĒSARA Ē . . . Come, lord, reveal to me concerning the NN matter, without deceit, without treachery, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly." The small figure[23] is drawn in the beginning of the book.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 250–54

Request for a dream oracle**, a request which is always used. ***Formula to be spoken to the day lamp: "NAIENCHRĒ NAIENCHRĒ, mother of fire and water, you are the one who rises before, ARCHENTECHTHA; reveal to me concerning the NN matter. If yes, show me a plant and water, but if no, fire and iron; immediately, [immediately; quickly,] quickly."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 255–59

****Another to the same lamp***: "Hail, lord, lamp, you who shine beside Osiris and shine beside Osirchentechtha[24] and my lord, the archangel Michael. If it is advantageous for me to do this, show me a plant and water, but if not, fire and iron, immediately, immediately."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 260–71

***For ascent of the uterus**:[25] "I conjure you, O Womb, [by the] one established

17. See the note on l. 227 above. There is no previous reference in this charm to a picture (though "write" in l. 226 can also mean "draw"). Cf., however, *PGM* VIII. 64–65.

18. For this detail, see *PGM* VIII. 67.

19. K. Preisendanz, *Akephalos. Der kopflose Gott*, *Beihefte zum Alten Orient* 8 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926) 48–50, sees this passage as a reference to the Egyptian practice of putting the heads of those who have been beheaded between their feet. A. Delatte, "Akephalos," *BCH* 38 (1914): 221–32, prefers to see this passage as a reference to the god Besas, who has the heads of animals for feet. Cf. K. Abel, "Akephalos," *PRE*.S 12 (1970): 13. See Glossary, s.v. "Headless."

20. Cf. on this point *PGM* VIII. 97–98.

21. This refers to Isis and Nephthys, who in the form of falcons or kites watch over the body of Osiris. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 35, 305, 328. [R.K.R.]

22. See on this concept the parallel passage *PGM* VIII. 100–101, which has 'Οσίρεως, "of Osiris," instead of "of Heaven." But "Heaven" should be kept (against the suggestion by F. Boll, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.). Perhaps, Nut (Heaven) is really meant here: her image was placed in the coffin in such a way that her head and that of the dead were close to each other. [J.B.]

23. The picture is missing; it may have been in the portion of the papyrus which is now lost.

24. See *PGM* III. 171 and note; note also the apparatus at *PGM* VII. 252.

25. Cf. on this point Soranus, *Gynecology* III. 50 (ed. Ilberg, pp. 127–28): "On the Flexion, Bending, and Ascent of the Uterus," esp. sec. 2 (p. 127): "[A] flexing to the anterior of the uterus causes

over the Abyss, before heaven, earth, sea, light, or darkness came to be; [you?] who created the angels, being foremost, AMICHAMCHOU and CHOUCHAŌ CHĒRŌEI OUEIACHŌ ODOU PROSEIOGGĒS, and who sit over the cherubim, who bear / your (?) own throne, that you return again to your seat, and that you do not turn [to one side] into the right part of the ribs,[26] or into the left part of the ribs, and that you do not gnaw into the heart like a dog, but remain indeed in your own intended and proper place, not chewing [as long as] I conjure by the one who, / in the beginning, made the heaven and earth and all that is therein. Hallelujah! Amen!"

Write this on a tin tablet and "clothe" it in 7 colors.[27]

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 272–83

*Thōth: 1, 4, 12, 13, 22. Phaōphi: 2, 4, 10, 19, 20. Athyr: 7, 8, 9, 17, 18, 23, 27. / Choiak: 5, 6, 13, 15, 16, 24, 25. Tybi: 3, 4, 12, 24, 26. Mecheir: 1, 2, 10, 14, 19. Phamenōth: 7, 8, 9. Pharmouthi: 5, 6, 14, 15, 20. / Pachōn: 3, 4, 12, 13, 21, 26, 28. Pauni: 1, 2, 10, 11, 15, 20. Epeiph: 7, 8, 9, 14, 18, 19, 22. Mesore: [10, 14,] 20, 23, 24, 25.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. An Egyptian calendar of months and days unsuitable for magic operations. See Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 829–30. Cf. also *PGM* VII. 153–67; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I. 631–32; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*, *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums* 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 102–3.

PGM VII. 284–99

***Orbit**[28] **of the moon**: Moon / in Virgo: anything is rendered obtainable.[29] In Libra: necromancy.[30] In Scorpio: anything inflicting evil.[31] In Sagittarius: an invocation or incantations / to the sun and moon. In Capricorn: say whatever you wish for best results. In Aquarius: for a love charm. Pisces: for foreknowledge. / In Aries: fire divination or love charm. In Taurus: incantation to a lamp. Gemini: spell for winning favor. In Cancer: phylacteries. Leo: rings or binding spells.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. Cf. *PGM* III. 275–81, which is very similar to this passage despite some significant differences in detail.

PGM VII. 300

*"SACHMOU OZOZO, you the one who thunders, the one who shakes the heaven and the earth, the one who has swallowed the serpent, hour by hour raising[32] the

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some problems [blockage?] in urination, and also causes a swelling of the pubic area; in some patients, it [will cause] an inability to stand upright." [J.S.] For a more magical interpretation see A. A. Barb, "Diva Matrix," *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238.

26. The context might suggest "hips," but the Greek is specific; perhaps the author was quite vague in the knowledge of internal anatomy. [J.S.]

27. Presumably, this means that the cord around the neck is to be woven together from the threads of seven colors. The strip of tin would then be worn as an amulet.

28. Or "horoscope"; see, however, *PGM* III. 275, where κύκλος appears alone. On Selene and her astrological role in magic, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 826–28; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 411. On κύκλος, see Gundel, *Astrologumena*, esp. pls. I, VII. [E.N.O.]

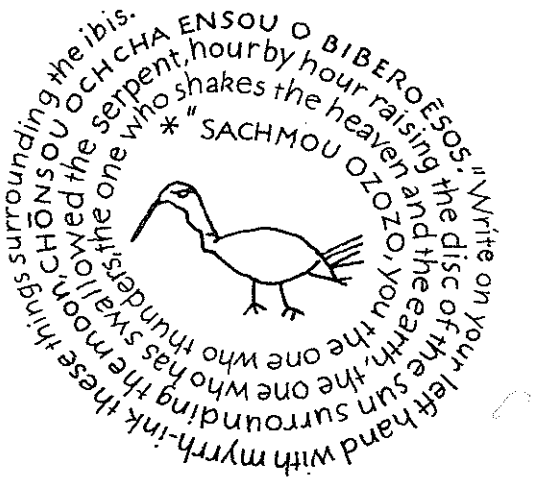
29. The Greek term is unclear; see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.; K. F. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 196 (1934): 171.

30. Necromancy and Libra are also connected in *PGM* III. 278.

31. The reading πανκακώσιμον is uncertain and, at any rate, a *hapax legomenon*. Cf. *PGM* LXXI. 6–7.

32. Reading ἐξαιρῶν, which Preisendanz has in the two parallels to this passage: *PGM* IV. 1326; VII. 367.

disk of the sun and surrounding the moon, CHŌNSOU[33] OCHCHA ENSOU O BIBEROĒSOS." Write on your left hand with myrrh ink these things surrounding the ibis.



*Tr.: W. C. Grese. The purpose of this spell is not given though it may form part of the whole given in *PGM* VII. 272–83, 284–99.

PGM VII. 300a–310

/ ***Love charm which acts in the same hour**: Take a seashell and write the holy names with the blood of a black ass.[34] 300a

Spell: "I adjure you, shell, by bitter Necessity[35] (MASKELLI formula)[36] and [by those] who have been placed [in charge of] the Punishments, LAKI LAKIŌ LAKIMOU MOUKILA KILAMOU IŌR MOUŌR MOUDRA MAXTHA / MOUSATHA: attract her, NN, 305 whom NN bore" (add the usual, whatever [you wish]). "Do not be stubborn, but attract her, OUCH OUCH CHAUNA MOUCHLIMALCHA MANTŌR MOURKANA MOULITHA MALTHALI MOUI ĒIĒI YYY AĒ AIĒ YOŌ AĒI AĒI AĒI AŌA AŌA AŌA IAŌ ŌAI ŌAI AIŌ ŌIA IŌA IAŌ ŌAI, attract her, NN" (add the usual). As the moon waxes / in 310 Aries or in Taurus [add the usual, whatever you wish].[37]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 311–16

***A phylactery**: "IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI SESENGENBAR[PHARANGES] PEPHRAZAŌTH ZŌTH [MENE] BAINCHŌŌŌCH, protect NN, whom NN [bore], from any violence both by a frightful dream and by all demons of the air. [I conjure you] by the great, famous name, Abraam EMEINA AEOUBAŌTH BAITHŌ BES IA IABAŌTH AGRAMAKRAMARI PSINŌTH[38] BER ŌŌN

33. This refers to the Egyptian moon god Khonsu; the moon is mentioned in the context. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 140–44, s.v. "Chons"; Hellmut Brunner, "Chons," *LdÄ* I (1975): 960–63.

34. See on this point *PGM* IV. 3260 and n.

35. On "bitter Necessity," see *PGM* IV. 526, 605, 1499–1500; XV. 13. See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 59–60; idem, *Nekyia* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, ³1969) 124. Necessity ('Ανάγκη) is a demonic being. See H. D. Betz, ed., *Plutarch's Theological Writings and Early Christian Literature*, *SCHNT* 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1975) 224 (on *De sera num. vind.* 25, 564E).

36. See the Glossary, s.v. "MASKELLI logos."

37. Preisendanz deletes these words, thinking they belong at l. 316.

38. This name is Egyptian, meaning "the son of the female falcon." [R.K.R.]

IASŌP B . . . PNOUTE"[39] / [and add the usual, whatever you wish].[40]
*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 317–18

Another phylactery, [to be said] to the moon: "ACHTHIŌPHIPH ERESCHIGAL NEBOUGOSOUALĒTH[41]SATHŌTH SABAŌTH SABRŌTH" (add the usual, whatever you wish).
*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 319–34

***Charm for direct vision**: Take a copper vessel, / pour rainwater into it and make an offering of male frankincense.

Formula: "Let the earth be still, let the air be still, let the sea be still; let the winds also be still, and do not be a hindrance to this my divination—no sound, no loud cry, no hissing. For I am a prophet, and since I am about to call / a terrible, fearful name, 'KOLLA OLPHILOGEMALA ACHERŌIO,' open [the holy temple,] the world [built on the earth,] and welcome Osiris, because I am MANCHNŌBIS CHOLCHOBĒ MALASĒT IAT THANNOUITA KERTŌMENOU PAKERBAŌ KRAMMASIRAT MOMOMO MELASOUT PEU PHRĒ. Open my ears so that you may reveal to me / concerning those things I ask you to answer me. Come on, come on; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; and speak concerning those things about which I questioned you. Appear to me, lord Anubis,[42] I command you, for I am IEŌ BELPHENŌ, who considers [this] matter."

Dismissal. Say: "Go away, Anubis, to your own thrones, for my health and well-being."

Use after you have kept yourself pure for 3 days.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 335–47

***Charm for a direct vision**: If you want to see him yourself, take a fly and Coptic eyepaint, grind them, and smear them on your eyes. Take a feather of an ibis 14 fingers long, smear it with perfume of roses or lilies, wind around it a linen cloth, and hold it with your hands as a scroll. Then say thus, while looking to the side with the left / eye:

Formula: "MOUN EIPOSIS ĒU PHTHA NOUTHI[43] THIE SĒMI NOUEI NĒITHI[44] CHRECHREŌ SININŌRPS MOUCH ORŌOU ENTHERINI[45] EŌĒ MOUNIACH NESŌI MOUNESŌCH MOUNĒI ENIME CHREMOU RENENE SON SNĒI ŌS MOUCHORŌOU ENTHERINI / ANOK SŌS ERMAICHŌ ENTEUMOUTOICHNĒ CHREMOU TĒŠBAS PNĒTE[46] KYPHOCH EMM IEBOCHNĒS TCHĒNĒ PHIMOU CHNOU NYOICHŌŌIM SEOUNEUMOI INONRI."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

39. The word is Egyptian and means "O/the god." [R.K.R.]
40. Preisendanz adds this formula from l. 310.
41. Read *νεβουτοσουαληθ* (tau for gamma). See *PGM* IV. 2484–85, and Glossary, s.v. "Nebutosoualeth."
42. For Anubis as conducting the gods to the magician, cf. *PDM* xiv. 35–37. [R.K.R.]
43. These three words mean in Egyptian, "Come, Ptah, god." [R.K.R.]
44. This name seems to refer to the Egyptian goddess Neith; see Bonnet *RÄRG* 512–17, s.v. "Neith." [R.K.R.] Cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 9, 354C, reporting about the statue of the Athena of Sais, as Neith is called by the Greeks. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 283–84.
45. This word corresponds to the Egyptian *ntr*, "god." [R.K.R.]
46. Perhaps this corresponds to the Egyptian *p3 ntr*, "O/the god." Cf. *PGM* VII. 316. [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 348–58

***Divination by means of a boy**:[47] After you have laid [him] on the ground, speak, and a dark-colored boy will appear to him. /

Formula: "I call upon you, inhabitants of Chaos and Erebos, of the depth, of earth, watchers of heaven, of darkness, masters of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those beneath the earth, administrators of things which are infinite, those who wield power over earth, servants in the chasm, shudderful fighters, fearful ministers, inhabitants of dark Erebos, / coercive watchers, rulers of cliffs, grievers of the heart, adverse daimons, iron-hearted ones BITHOURARA ASOUĒMARA . . . OTROUR MOURROUR APHLAU MANDRAROUROU SOU MARAROU, reveal concerning the matter which I am considering" (add the usual).
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 359–69

***Request for a dream oracle**: Take a strip of clean linen and write on it the following name. / Roll it up to make a wick, pour pure olive oil over it and light it.

The formula to be written is this: "HARMIOUTH LAILAM CHŌOUCH[48] ARSENOPHRĒ PHRĒU PHTHA HARCHENTECHTHA."

In the evening then, when you are about to go to sleep, being pure in every respect, do this: Go to the lamp, say 7 times the following formula, extinguish the light / and go to sleep.

The formula to be spoken is as follows: "SACHMOUNḘ[49] PAĒMALIGOTĒRĒĒNCH, the one who shakes, who thunders, who has swallowed the serpent, surrounds the moon, and hour by hour raises the disk of the sun, 'CHTHETHŌNI' is your name. I ask you, lords of the gods, SĒTH CHRĒPS: reveal to me concerning the things I wish."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 370–73

***Against every wild animal, aquatic creature and robbers**: Attach a tassel[50] to your garment and say: "LŌMA ZATH AIŌN ACHTHASE MA . . . ZAL BALAMAŌN ĒIEOY, protect me, NN, in the present hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 374–76

***Charm to induce insomnia**: [Take] a seashell and write: / "IPSAĒ IAŌAI, let her, NN daughter of NN, lie awake because of me." That night she will lie awake.
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 376–84

****Another***: Take a lamp and furnish it with a wick and say to it: "I conjure you, lamp, by your mother Hestia, MĒRALLĒL (say twice), and by your father Hephaistos, MELIBOU MELIBAU / MELIBAUBAU. [Let] her lie awake" (and add the usual).

47. On this form of divination, see *PGM* V. 1 and n.

48. CHŌOUCH is Egyptian for "darkness." [R.K.R.]

49. This name refers to the goddess Sakhmet; cf. *PGM* VII. 300. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 643–46, s.v. "Sachmet" (esp. 645–46 on her role in magic).

50. For the tassel, cf. the *zizith* in Jewish religion. See Nm 15:38–39; Dt 22:12. See Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People II*, 479, with further references.

[Write these letters on the wick: "♂ chiiiiiii."[51] And having provided the material [recite] the above spell. Now make an iron metal leaf, too.

The spell: "Turn cold, iron, and become like snow, [for I] am MELIBOU MELIBAU MELIBAUBAU" ([and] add the usual).
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 385–89

385 ***A good cup spell**: Over a cup say 7 times: "KANŌPI[TI] PROIE RŌDOCH . . . PH KALYPSAS EREKIN POTHĒXAS ERATEUN MORPHYS CHARIS PHAPHIETI EISI Ō BOUBASTI[52] POTHŌPI, I adjure you, holy names of Cypris, that, if you descend into the innermost heart of her, NN, [whom] NN bore, make her love" (add the usual).
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 390–93

390 ***Victory charm for the races**: Write on the wide part of its hoofs by inscribing these characters with a bronze stylus: ⲙ ⲣⲧ Write: "Give me success, charm, reputation, glory in the stadium" (also add the usual, as much as you want).
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 394–95

395 ***Coercive spells for restraining**: "SPHEDEMOUR BIRBIA / ĒCHI ERŌPHTHI ATARMETRA CHĒLŌŌPS" (add the usual).
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 396–404

***An excellent spell for silencing, for subjecting, and for restraining**: Take lead from a cold-water pipe and make a lamella and inscribe it with a bronze stylus, as shown below, and set it with a person who has died prematurely.
400 ⲝ ⲡ ⊗ ⲙ ⲝ ⲥ ⲟ ⲧ ⲩ ⲭ ⊗ ⲯ / BACHYCH ⲧ ⲩ ⲯ ⲱ ⲗ ⲓ AALOUGIKI ELŌAI BAINCHŌŌŌCH ⲋ ⲫ ⲍ ⲫ ⲕ ⲯ ⲓ ⲗ EULAMŌ PHNOUBENE EIZOCHOR MOBOR PHŌ CHORBA ZACHEI ANACHIA ⲩ ⲕ ⲩ ⲫ ⲯ ⲧ ⲃ PHŌRPHORBA PHŌRBORBA SEMESILAM ARCHENTECHTHA ASCHELIDONĒL. Restrain" (add the usual, as you wish).
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 405–6

405 ***Love spell**: For[53] love say while kissing passionately: "I am THAZI N EPIBATHA CHEOUCH CHA I am I am CHARIEMOUTH LAILAM" (add the usual).
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. Some of the words are recognizable as Coptic.

PGM VII. 407–10

*If you wish to appear to someone at night in dreams, say to the lamp that is in daily use,[54] say frequently: "CHEIAMŌPSEI ERPEBŌTH, let her, NN, whom NN
410 bore, see me in her / dreams, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly" (and add the usual, whatever you wish).
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

51. For parallels to these letters see Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät* 16, A, l. 5.

52. This phrase corresponds to the Egyptian "Isis, O Boubastite." Isis is here identified with one of the epithets of Kypris/Aphrodite. See Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 22–34. [R.K.R.]

53. *ἐπί* is strange here and at *PGM* VII. 661. Perhaps the section title here is *φίλτρον ἐπὶ φιλίας* and that at VII. 661 is *φίλτρον ἐπὶ λαλήματος*. Thus *ἐπί* can mean "for the purpose of." [E.N.O.]

54. So Preisendanz for *τὸν καθημερινόν*, but elsewhere lamps used in spells are special ones. Perhaps this accusative is adverbial: "daily." [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 411–16

*__Spell for causing talk while asleep__: Take the heart of a hoopoe[55] and place it in myrrh. And write on a strip of hieratic papyrus the names and characters and roll up the heart in the strip of papyrus and place it upon her pudenda and ask your questions. And she will confess every/thing to you: "DARYGKO IAU IAU ⊗⊗ϤΧϕβ ΑΘΑΘλΔαΑβΖαΤΙΖβ" (add the usual, as much as you want).

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 417–22

*__A restraining [spell]__: Write on a tin lamella with a bronze stylus before sunrise the names "CHRĒMILLON MOULOCH KAMPY CHRĒ ŌPHTHŌ MASKELLI (formula) ERĒKISIPHTHĒ IABEZEBYTH." / Then throw it into [the] river [or] into [the] sea before sunrise. Also write on it, with [the others], these characters: "⊗ΞΖϬΧϵ. Mighty gods, restrain" (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 423–28

*__To win at dice__: "THERTHENITHŌR DYAGŌTHERE THERTHENITHŌR SYAPOTHEREUO KŌDOCHŌR make me a winner at dice, / O prevailing Adriel." Into your hand say: "Let not even one person be equal to me, for I am THERTHENITHŌR ĒRŌTHORTHIN DOLOTHOR, and I am going to throw what I want." And say this repeatedly, and then throw.

Another way you must say the formula is: "Let not even one of these playing with me be equal, and I am going to throw what I want."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 429–58

*__A restraining [rite] for anything__, works even on chariots. It also causes enmity / and sickness, cuts down, destroys, and overturns, for [whatever] you wish. The spell [in it], when said, conjures daimons [out] and makes them enter [objects or people]. Engrave in a plate [made] of lead from a cold-water channel what you want to happen, and when you have consecrated it with bitter aromatics such as myrrh, bdellium, styrax, and aloes and thyme, / with river mud, late in the evening or in the middle of the night, where there is a stream or the drain of a bath, having tied a cord [to the plate] throw it into the stream—or into the sea—[and let it] be carried along. Use the cord so that, when you wish, you can undo [the spell]. Then should you wish to break [the spell], untie the plate. Say the formula 7 times and you will see something wonderful. Then go away without turning back / or giving an answer to anyone, and when you have washed and immersed yourself, go up to your own [room] and rest, and use [only] vegetable food. Write [the spell] with a headless bronze needle.

The text to be written is: "I conjure you, lord Osiris, by your holy names OUCHIŌCH OUSENARATH, Osiris, OUSERRANNOUPHTHI OSORNOUPHĒ[56] / Osiris-Mnevis,[57] OUSERSETEMENTH[58] AMARA MACHI CHŌMASŌ EMMAI[59] SERBŌNI

55. κοκκοφάδιος occurs only here, but cf. *PGM* II. 18 and III. 424–25. [E.N.O.]
56. OSORNOUPHE is Egyptian *wsir nfr*, "Osiris the good." [R.K.R.]
57. On Osiris-Mnevis, see *PGM* IV. 140, 2994 and n.
58. OUSERSETEMENTH is Egyptian for "Osiris . . . the west (the underworld)." [R.K.R.]
59. EM MAI is Egyptian, "in truth." [R.K.R.]

EMER Isis,[60] ARATŌPHI ERACHAX ESEOIŌTH ARBIŌTHI AMEN CH[N]OUM (?) MONMONT OUZATHI PĒR OUNNEPHER[61] EN ŌŌŌ, I give over to you, lord Osiris, and I deposit with you this matter / " (add the usual).

But if you cause [the plate] to be buried or [sunk in] river or land or sea or stream or coffin or in a well, write the Orphic[62] formula, saying, "ASKEI KAI TASKEI" and, taking a black thread, make 365 knots[63] and bind [the thread] around the outside of the plate, saying the same formula again and, "Keep him who is held" (or "bound"), or whatever you do. And thus [the plate] / is deposited. For Selene, when she goes through the underworld, breaks whatever [spell] she finds. But when this [rite] has been performed, [the spell] remains [unbroken] so long as you say over [the formula] daily at this spot [where the plate is deposited]. Do not hastily share [this information] with anyone, for you will find [its like (?) only] with much labor.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

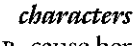
PGM VII. 459–61

*__Excellent love charm__: Inscribe by scratching on a tin lamella. Write / and lay it down, walking over it. And what is written is this: "I adjure you by the glorious name of Bacchios"[64] (and add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 462–66

*__Excellent love charm__: Inscribe by scratching on a tin lamella the characters and the names, and after making it magically potent with some magical material,[65] roll it up and throw it into the sea.

The characters are these: "  ICHANARMENTHŌ CHASAR, cause her, NN, to love me" (add the usual). Write with a copper nail from a shipwrecked vessel.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 467–77

*Take a shell from the sea and draw on it with myrrh ink the figure of Typhon given below, and in a circle write his names, and throw it into the heating chamber[66] of a bath. But when / you throw it, keep reciting these words engraved in a circle and "attract to me her, NN, whom NN bore, on this very day, from this very hour on, with her soul and heart aflame, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately." The picture[67] is the one below.

But when reciting the spell, [say] its beginning: "This is the god of Destinies,[68]

60. EMER ISI is Egyptian for "whom Isis loves." [R.K.R.]

61. [H]OUNNEPHER is Egyptian and corresponds either to *ḥwn-nfr*, "beautiful youth," or *wn—nfr* (if unaspirated), "Onnophris." Cf. *PGM* IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

62. It is not clear why the formula here is called "Orphic." Usually, this formula is called by the name *Ephesia grammata* (cf. *PGM* LXX. 12); its origin and meaning is still a mystery. For bibliography, see Betz, "Fragments," 291–92.

63. See on this point *PGM* IV. 1084 and n.

64. Bacchios may be the epithet of Dionysos or a personal name derived from it. See D. Detschew, "Bakchos (Bacchus)," *RAC* 1 (1950): 1147–50. But the name here is uncertain for textual reasons.

65. For the term *οὐσιάζω*, cf. *PGM* VII. 381.

66. For the role of the heating chamber, see *PGM* II. 51 and n.

67. The term here is *θεώρημα*, while below, l. 477, the noun is *ζῴδιον* (cf. the verb *ζωγράφω* in l. 467). Seemingly the three words refer to the same depiction, but it is missing. [E.N.O.]

68. The text here is uncertain and the translation tentative. [E.N.O.]

ŌKĒSĒ EĒRINIARE MIN / ENTĒNTAIN PHOOU TŌNKTŌ MNĒ SIETHŌN OSIRI ENABŌTH PSANOU LAMPSOUŌR IEOU IŌ IŌ AI ĒI EI AI EI AŌ, attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN," and the rest. ***This is the figure***:
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 478–90

*"Eros, darling PASSALEON ĒT,[69] send me my personal [angel] tonight to give me information about whatever the concern is. For I do this / on order from PANCHOUCHI THASSOU at whose order you are to act, because I conjure you by the four regions of the universe, APSAGAĒL CHACHOU MERIOUT MERMERIOUT and by the one who is above the four regions of the universe, KICH MERMERIOUTH" (add the usual).

This is the offering: Take equal portions of dirt from your sandal, / of resin, and of the droppings from a white dove, and while speaking [the invocation], burn them as an offering to the Bear.

The phylactery for this: Write these names on a strip of tin: "ACHACHAĒL CHACHOU MARMARIOUTI." Then wear it around your neck. After uttering the summons, go to your quarters, put out the lamp, and sleep / on a newly made bed of rushes.
*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VII. 490–504

*Taking sulfur and seed of Nile rushes, burn [them] as incense to the moon and say, "I call on you, Lady Isis, whom Agathos Daimon permitted to rule in the entire black [land].[70] Your name is LOU LOULOU BATHARTHAR THARĒSIBATH ATHERNEKLĒSICH / ATHERNEBOUNI ĒICHOMŌ CHOMŌTHI Isis Sothis,[71] SOUĒRI, Boubastis, EURELIBAT CHAMARI NEBOUTOS OUĒRI[72] AIĒ ĒOA ŌAI. Protect me, great and marvelous names of the [god] (add the usual); for I am the one established in Pelusium,[73] SERPHOUTH MOUISRŌ[74] / STROMMŌ MOLŌTH MOLONTHĒR PHON Thoth. Protect me, great and marvelous names of the great god" (add the usual).

"ASAŌ EIŌ NISAŌTH. Lady Isis, Nemesis, Adrasteia,[75] many-named, many-formed, glorify me, as I have glorified the name of your son[76] Horus" (add the usual).
*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 505–28

***Meeting with your own daimon**:[77] "Hail, Tyche, and you, the daimon of this

69. The text here is doubtful. See the apparatus ad loc.

70. The name for Egypt in Egyptian is *Km.t*, meaning the "black" and referring to the alluvial soil in distinction from the "red" desert soil that borders it. [R.K.R.] See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 425–26.

71. Isis Sothis is the identification of Isis with the dog star Sothis (Sirius). See J. Bergman, "I Overcome Fate, Fate Harkens to Me," in *Fatalistic Beliefs in Religion, Folklore, and Literature, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis II* (1967) 38–40; idem, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 22–34, 41–45, 52–58 (p. 55 refers to *PGM* VII. 490–504).

72. OUERI is Egyptian *wr*, "great one." [R.K.R.]

73. The god of Pelusium (*Pr-ir-Imn*) is Amon. [R.K.R.] See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 17, 357E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 334–35.

74. SERPHOUTH MOUISRO is *Srp.t mȝy sr*, "Lotus, Lion, Ram." Cf. *PGM* III. 659 and n.

75. On the identification of Isis, Nemesis, and Adrasteia, see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 153–54.

76. Although this sentence seems parallel to Jn 17:4–5, there is no Christian influence here.

77. For this spell and its interpretation, see Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 160–62.

place, and you, the present hour, and you, the present day—and every day as well. Hail, Universe, that is, earth and heaven. Hail, Helios, for you are the one who has established yourself in invisible light over the holy firmament / ORKORĒTHARA.[78]

"You are the father of the reborn Aion ZARACHTHŌ;[79] you are the father of awful Nature ***Thortchophanō***;[80] you are the one who has in yourself the mixture[81] of universal nature and who begot the five wandering stars,[82] which are the entrails of heaven, the guts of earth, the fountainhead of the waters, and the violence / of fire AZAMACHAR ANAPHANDAŌ EREYA ANEREYA PHENPHENSŌ IGRAA; you are the youthful one, highborn, scion of the holy temple, kinsman to the holy mere called Abyss which is located beside the two pedestals SKIATHI and MANTŌ.[83] And the earth's 4 basements were shaken, O master of all, / holy Scarab,[84] AŌ SATHREN ABRASAX IAŌAI AEŌ ĒŌA ŌAĒ IAO IĒO EY AĒ EY IE IAŌAI."

Write the name in myrrh ink on two male eggs.[85] You are to cleanse yourself thoroughly with one; then lick off the name, break it, and throw it away. Hold the other in your partially open right hand and show it to the sun at dawn and . . .[86] / olive branches; raise up your right hand, supporting the elbow with your left hand. Then speak the formula 7 times, crack the egg open, and swallow its contents.

Do this for 7 days, and recite the formula at sunset as well as sunrise.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VII. 528–39

***Victory charm**: "Helios, Helios, hear me, NN, Helios, lord, Great God, you who maintain all things and who give life / and who rule the world, toward whom all things go, from whom they also came, untiring, ĒIE ELĒIE IEŌA ROUBA ANAMAŌ MERMAŌ CHADAMATHA ARDAMATHA PEPHRE ANAMALAZŌ PHĒCHEIDEU ENE-

78. For the magical name ORKORĒTHARA, see Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 203.

79. Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 203, n. 34, suggests that the name ZARACHTHŌ may be related to that of Zorochthora Melchisedek, which plays a role in gnosticism (*Pistis Sophia* IV. 136, 139, 140; *Book of Jeu* 108, 110, 111; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 55. 1; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7. 36).

80. This name is written in Coptic.

81. The term "mixture" plays a great role in hellenistic philosphy and gnosticism. See *C.H.* XI. 7; *Pistis Sophia* III. 3 (and passim). For further references see *PGL*, s.v.

82. That is, the planets.

83. For the background of this passage in Egyptian religion and explanation of the names SKIATHI and MANTHŌ, see J. Bergman, "An Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus (*PGM* VII, 11. 516–521)," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*, *Numen Supplements 43* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 28–37.

84. This acclamation expresses Khepri theology, of which the cosmogony in *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* 26, 21 (in Pritchard, *ANET*, p. 6) is the largest example. Khepri, the holy scarab, is mentioned at the end of the climax of names and epithets which often refer to his form of existence even by the Greek terms. The cultic context is also evident: the noble birth, representing creation, takes place in the temple at the time of the appearance of the Original Sea. This sea is identical with the sacred lake in the temple near the two pedestals of the evening bark (Sektat) and the morning bark (Manedjet). The temple represents the whole world, so that the four basements of the earth were shaken by the birth of Khepri, the master of all. [J.B.]

85. That is, eggs from which male chicks will be hatched. The ancients believed that one could predict the sex of the chick from the shape of the egg, though there appears to be some uncertainty as to which shape produced which sex. See Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* VI. 2 (559a); Pliny *NH* 10. 74; Columella, *De Re Rustica* VIII. 5. Cf. the comments by P. Louis in vol. 2 (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1968) of his Budé translation of Aristotle's treatise, p. 64, n. 4, and by A. L. Peck in vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1970) of his *LCL* translation of the same treatise, p. 225, n. a; also the reference at *PGM* XII. 100 to an egg that will produce a male chick. [H.M.]

86. There is a lacuna in the Greek text at this point.

DEREU SIMATOI MERMEREŌ AMALAXIPHIA MERSIPHIA EREME THASTEU PAPIE[87] PHEREDŌNAX ANAIE / GELEŌ AMARA MATŌR MŌRMARĒSIO NEOUTHŌN ALAŌ AGELAŌ AMAR AMATŌR MŌRMASI SOUTHŌN ANAMAŌ GALAMARARMA. Hear me, lord Helios, and let the NN matter take place on time." Say this while you make an offering over oak charcoal, sacred incense, with which has been mixed the brain of a wholly black ram and the wheat meal of a certain plant.[88]
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 540–78

***Lamp divination**: Put an iron lampstand in a clean house[89] at the eastern part, and having placed on it a lamp not colored red, light it. Let the lampwick be of new linen, and light the censer. Then make a burnt offering of frankincense on grapevine wood. The boy, then, should be uncorrupt, pure.[90]

/ ***Formula***: "PHISIO IAŌ AGEANOUMA SKABARŌ SKASABRŌSOU ASABRŌ, because I implore you this day today, this very time, to let the light and the sun appear to this boy, MANE OUSEIRI, MANE[91] ISI,[92] ANOUBIS the servant of all gods, and make this boy fall into a trance and see the gods, / all who are present at the divination. Appear to me in the divination, O high-minded god, Hermes thrice-great![93] May he appear, the one who [made] the four parts of the heaven and the four foundations of the earth, RESENNĒETHŌ BASENERAIPAN THALTHACHTHACHŌTHCH CHINEBŌTH CHINEBŌTH MIMYLŌTH MASYNTORI / ASTOBI. Come to me, you who are in heaven; come to me, you who are from the egg.[94] I conjure you by the ENTŌ[95] TAPSATI LEGĒNISTHŌ ĒLEGĒ SERPHOUTH MOUISRŌ[96] LEGE [having appeared and][97] the two gods who are about you, THATH. The one god is called 'So'[98] the other, 'Aph,'[99] KALOU KAGŌĒI SESOPHĒI BAINCHŌŌŌCH."

87. Perhaps PAPIE is related to PIPI, but cf. the apparatus ad loc. See for PIPI *PGM* IV. 595 and n.

88. For the plant called *καταναάγκης ἄλευρα*, see Diosc. 4.131; Pliny, *HN* 27.57.

89. The Greek is ambiguous, referring either to a house or a room in a house serving as a temple.

90. On the boy medium, see *PGM* V. 1 and n.

91. MANE is perhaps equivalent to Egyptian *mrj.n*, "beloved one of," hence: "beloved one of Osiris, beloved one of Isis." [J.B.]

92. OUSERI . . . ISI, referring to Osiris and Isis, perhaps by the vocative. [R.K.R.]

93. The epithet "thrice great" results from the Egyptian superlative which repeats the positive three times. For the name Hermes Trismegistos and its derivation, see Festugière, *La révélation* I, 73–74; K. W. Tröger, "Die hermetische Gnosis," in *Gnosis und Neues Testament. Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973) 103–4; J. Parlebas, "L'Origine égyptienne de l' appelation 'Hermès Trismegistos,'" *GM* 13 (1974):25–28; M.-Th. and P. Derchain, "Noch einmal Hermes Trismegistos," *GM* 15 (1975):7–10; R. K. Ritner, "Hermes Pentamegistos," *GM* 49 (1981): 73–75; idem, "Additional Notes to Hermes Pentamegistos," *GM* 50 (1981):67–68.

94. In Egyptian cosmogony the mythical primordial egg played a great role. Cf. *PGM* III. 145 and n. According to Orphic cosmogony, the one born from the egg is the god Phanes. See *Orph. Frag.* nos. 54, 55, and 56, and H. Leisegang, "The Mystery of the Serpent," in J. Campbell, ed., *The Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1978) 194–260.

95. Or, *ἐν τῷ*, ". . . by the one who is in TAPSATI . . . ," following Preisendanz. The latter probably belongs to the series of *voces magicae* as indicated here. See also l. 576.

96. On SERPHOUTH MOUISRO, see *PGM* III. 659; and Preisendanz, vol. III, p. 230, s.v.

97. The text is mutilated here: "[and having appeared]" is Preisendanz's conjecture. The plural participle may refer to the two preceding commands, if these commands refer to two separate gods. But the conjecture does not help much. The problem is also complicated by *λεγε*, "tell" or "speak" (?).

98. This name probably refers to the god Shu, Greek Sōsis. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 326–37; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 685–89, s.v. "Schu." Cf. *PGM* VII. 345.

99. The name is unexplained; for possible explanations, see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc., and vol. III, p. 217, index, s.v. "'Αφ." Perhaps the name refers to Apophis, the snake god and enemy of Re. This god is mentioned as *Ἀφνφις* in *PGM* XIII. 262; cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 36, 365D. See Griffiths,

The formula to be spoken: "Come to me, spirit that flies in the air, / called with secret codes and unutterable names, at this lamp divination which I perform, and enter into the boy's soul, that he may receive the immortal form in mighty and incorruptible light, because while chanting, I call, 'IAŌ ELŌAI MARMACHADA MENEPHŌ[100] MERMAI / IĒŌR AIEŌ ĒREPHIE PHEREPHIŌ CHANDOUCH AMŌN EREPNEU ZŌNŌR AKLEUA MENĒTHŌNI KADALAPEU IŌ PLAITINE RE AŌTH IĒI ŌĒI MEDCHĒNŌR ALACHAL PERECHAĒL SERENŌPH DOUNAX ANAXIBOA EREBE BŌ BEBŌBIA ANĒSIODEU IAŌA ENIŌEAL / EMERŌ MASAIANDA.'"

"Hither to me, O lord, riding upon immaculate light without deceit and without anger; appear to me and to your medium, the boy, MARMARIAU ANAPSICHALAŌ PEOE NIPSEOUA AIETY HARENNŌTHĒS[101] ANERŌPHĒS ITHYAMAREM ŌSIĒR ANAPSICHYŌN PSYELĒMICHALĒS, appear" (say it 3 times).

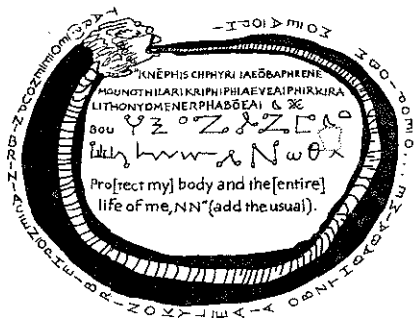
/ If he says, "I see your lord in the light," say: "O holy YMERI EIGESOU ENTŌ TĒRIOUA MENĒ SOMIŌŌ ALAMAŌR CHŌCHENEMĒTŌR," and thus he will answer. Ask: "ARSERETŌTHI OUĒMANTOUR."

*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell.

PGM VII. 579–90

***A phylactery**, a bodyguard against daimons, against phantasms, / against every sickness and suffering, to be written on a leaf of gold or silver or tin or on hieratic papyrus. When worn it works mightily for it is the name of power of the great god and [his] seal, and it is as follows: "KMĒPHIS CHPHYRIS[102] IAEŌ IAŌ AEĒ IAŌ OŌ AIŌN IAEŌBAPHRENE / MOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAE Y EAIPHIRKIRALITHANYOMENERPHABŌEAI."[103] These [are] the names; the figure is like this: let the Snake be biting its tail, the names being written inside [the circle made by] the snake, and the characters thus, as follows:

The whole figure[104] is [drawn] thus, as given below, with [the spell], "Protect my body, [and] the / entire soul of me, NN." And when you have consecrated [it], wear [it].



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride 440; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 51, s.v. "Apophis." Cf. the strange *ἀφφώ* in LXX 2 Kgs 2:14; 10:10 and the explanations given by patristic commentators, for which see *PGL*, s.v. "*ἀφφώ*."

100. Menepho is the name of the city of Memphis. Cf. *PGM* III. 104.

101. Harennōthes is Egyptian for *Ḥr-nḏ-it.f* (Harendotes), meaning "Horus the defender of his father." See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 269, s.v. "Harendotes"; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 345; D. Meeks, "Harendotes," *LdÄ* 2 (1977):964–66. [R.K.R.]

102. Chphyris is the Egyptian scarab, Khepri.

103. IAEŌ begins an often-cited palindrome, but it is not set out as such in Preisendanz. The copyist got one letter wrong: ALITHA should be ALITHO.

104. Preisendanz gives the opening words surrounding the serpent as TARĒON ĒOU PHI, but the photograph (plate I, no. 4) shows clearly the reading given in the transcription here.

PGM VII. 591–92

*"Come to me, ear of heaven; come to me, ear [of the air;] come to me, ear of the earth," and so forth, as indicated.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This portion of an invocation seems to be mislocated in the papyrus manuscript.

PGM VII. 593–619

***Fetching charm for an unmanageable [woman]**:[105] Take a [lamp], not painted red, with seven wicks, and make a wick of [the hawser of] a wrecked / ship. On the [1st] wick write with myrrh, "IAŌ"; on the 2nd, "ADŌNAI"; on the 3rd, "SABAŌTH"; on the 4th, "PAGOURĒ"; on the 5th, "MARMOROUTH"; on the 6th, "IAEŌ"; on the 7th, "MICHAĒL."

Put olive oil in the lamp and place it in a window / facing south. Also put wormwood seeds on the lamp (around the edge of the lamp), and recite this ***formula***: "I call upon you, the masters, great gods, who shine in the present hour, on this day, for the sake of her, the ungodly NN. For she has said: /

'IAŌ does not have ribs.'

[She, NN, has said,] 'ADŌNAI was cast out because of his violent anger.'

[She, NN, has said,] 'SABAŌTH emitted three cries.'[106]

She, NN, has said, 'PAGOURĒ is by nature a hermaphrodite.'

She, NN, has said, 'MARMOROUTH was castrated.'

She, NN, has said, 'IAEŌ was not entrusted with the ark.'

She, NN, has said, 'MICHAĒL is by nature a hermaphrodite.'

/ "I am not the one who says such things, master, but she, the godless NN. Therefore fetch her for me, her inflamed with passion, submissive. Let her not find sleep until she comes to me" (repeat 7 times).

If the first lamp flickers, know that she has been seized by the daimon. And if the 2nd, she has left (the house); and if the 3rd, she is on the / way; and if the 4th, she has arrived; and if the 5th, she is at the door; the 6th, at the doorlatch; the 7th, she has come into the house.

It can fetch people even from across the sea. For that, place the lamp in some water in the open air. Place a papyrus boat under the lamp, and [recite the] formula 6 times.

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM VII. 619–27

***From the Diadem of Moses**:[107] / Take the plant snapdragon and hold it under your tongue while lying asleep. And rise early and before you speak to anyone recite the names, and you will be invisible to everyone.

But when you say them over drinking cups and give them to a woman, she will love you, since this spell has power over everything: "ARESKILLIOUS THOUDALESAI KRAMMASI CHAMMAR / MOULABŌTH LAUABAR CHOUPHAR PHOR PHŌRBAŌ SACHI HARBACH MACHIMASŌ IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI."

For what you wish, say: "Get her, NN, for me, NN" (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

105. See for parallels to this spell *PGM IV.* 2475 and n.

106. For this cry, cf. the parallel in Ignatius, *Eph.* 19. 1.

107. This spell seems to be a selection from a larger collection entitled "The Diadem of Moses." [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 628–42

*Taking a field lizard,[108] let it down into oil of lilies until it be deified. Then engrave / the [image of] the Asklepios [worshiped] in Memphis[109] on a ring of iron from a leg fetter and put [the ring] into [the] oil of lilies [in which the lizard was drowned]. And when you use [the ring] take [it and] show [it] to the pole star,[110] saying this spell 7 times: "MENŌPHRI[111] who sit on the cherubim, send me / the true Asklepios, not some deceitful daimon instead of the god." Then take the incense burner in where you are going to sleep and burn 3 grains of frankincense and wave the ring in the smoke of the incense, saying 7 times the [spell], "CHAUAPS / ŌAEIAPS ŌAIS LYSIPHTHA,[112] lord Asklepios, appear." And wear the ring on the index finger of your right hand.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 643–51

Cup spell**, quite remarkable: Say the spell that is spoken to the cup 7 times: "You are wine; you are not wine[113] but the head of Athena. / You are wine; you are not wine, but the guts of Osiris, the guts of IAŌ PAKERBĒTH SEMESILAM ŌŌŌ Ē PATACHNA IAAA." (For ***the spell of compulsion: "ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI EEE, who has been stationed over necessity, IAKOUB IA IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX").

"At whatever hour / you descend into the guts of her, NN, let her love me, NN, [for] all the time of her life."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 652–60

***Spell to induce insomnia by means of a bat**: Take blood of a black ox or of a goat or of Typhon[114]—but preferably of a goat—and write on its right wing: "BŌRPHŌR PHORBA PHORPHARBA / PHŌRBŌRPHORBA PHORBA PHORBA PHORBA BAPHAIĒ PHŌRBAPHŌR BARBA" (put one word under another one, like bricks,[115] and [add the usual, whatever] you want). And on the left wing write this in the same pattern: "PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA BORPHOR PHORBA BORPHOR PHORBA PHORPHOR PHORBABŌR / BORBORBA PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA" (likewise, add the usual as you want).

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

108. See A. D. Nock, "The Lizard in Magic and Religion," in his *Essays* I, 271–76. On deification by drowning, see *PGM* I. 5; III. 1, with notes; LXI. 39–71.

109. Asklepios in Memphis is the Egyptian god Imhotep. See D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977). [R.K.R.]

110. The constellation of the pole star (Bear) is connected here with the "true" Asklepios of Memphis, that is Asklepios/Imhotep in contrast to the Greek Asklepios. This expression is indeed non-Greek. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 14 and 181.

111. That is, Memphis, or perhaps Memphite. [R.K.R.]

112. -SI PHTHA is Egyptian and means "son of Ptah," a standard epithet of Imhotep. [R.K.R.]

113. For the formula "you are *x*, you are not *x*, but . . ." cf., e.g., *PGM* LXI. 7–9. See also Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 111, 197 n.

114. The "blood of Typhon" is the blood of an ass. See *PGM* IV. 2100 and n.

115. For this magical formation of words, see *PGM* V. 349, 361 and Preisendanz, vol. I, plate III, no. 6.

PGM VII. 661–63

***Love spell**: In conversation[116] while kissing passionately, say: "ANOK THARENEPIBATHA CHEOUCHCHA ANOA ANOK CHARIEMOCHTH LAILAM."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 664–85

***Spell for obtaining dream revelations**: Take a linen strip, and on it you write with myrrh ink the matter, / and wrap an olive branch and place it beside your head, beneath the left side of your head, and go to sleep, pure, on a rush mat on the ground, saying the spell 7 times to the lamp:

"Hermes,[117] lord of the world, who're in the heart,
O circle of Selene, spherical
And square, / the founder of the words of speech,
Pleader of Justice's cause, garbed in a mantle,
With golden sandals, turning airy course
Beneath earth's depths, who hold the spirit's reins,
The sun's and who with lamps of gods immortal
Give joy to those beneath earth's depths, to mortals
Who've finished life. / The Moirai's[118] fatal thread
And Dream divine you're said to be, who send
Forth oracles by day and night; you cure
Pains of all mortals with your healing cares.
Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
Of the goddess who brings full mental powers,
By your own form and gracious mind. And to
An uncorrupted youth / reveal a sign
And send him your true skill of prophecy,
OIOSENMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NIOĒRE KODĒRETH DOSĒRE SYRE SUROE SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE[119] KODĒRE RINŌTON KOUMETANA ROUBITHA NOUMILA PERPHEROU AROUŌRĒR / AROUĒR"[120] (say it seven times and add the usual, whatever you wish).
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 686–702

***Bear charm**: "Bear, Bear, you who rule the heaven, the stars, and the whole world; you who make the axis turn and control the whole cosmic system by force and compulsion;[121] / I appeal to you, imploring and supplicating that you may do the NN thing, because I call upon you with your holy names at which your deity rejoices, names which you are not able to ignore: BRIMŌ, earth-breaker, chief hunt-

116. Cf. on this title *PGM* VII. 405 and n.

117. These dactylic hexameters are also one version of the reconstructed Hymns 15–16, ll. 1–12; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 249. This version is, however, quite different from that in *PGM* V. 400–421 and XVIIb. 1–23. [E.N.O.]

118. At *PGM* V. 410, Preisendanz prints the word as a common noun, here as the proper noun. [E.N.O.]

119. On this *vox magica*, see the Glossary, s.v. "YESSIMMIGADO/AKROUROBORE formula."

120. AROUĒR is Egyptian for *Ḥr-wr*, "Horus the great." [R.K.R.]

121. For this concept of the divine mover of the universe, see Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 208–11.

ress,[122] BAUBŌ L[123] . . . I AUMŌR AMŌR AMŌR . . . IĒA [shooter] of deer[124] AMAM[A-
695 MAR] APHROU . . . MA, universal queen, queen of wishes, / AMAMA, well-bedded,[125] Dardanian, all-seeing, night-running, man-attacker, man-subduer, man-summoner, man-conqueror, LICHRISSA PHAESSA, O aerial one, O strong one,[126] O song and
700 dance, guard,[127] spy, delight, delicate, protector, adamant, adamantine, O / Damnameneia, BREXERIKANDARA, most high, Taurian,[128] unutterable, fire-bodied, light-giving, sharply armed. Do such-and-such things" (add the usual).
*Tr.: H. D. Betz. The purpose of the spell is not given, although directions to insert requests come at the end. Cf. the Bear spells in *PGM* IV. 1275–1330, 1331–89; LXXII. 1–36.

PGM VII. 703–26

***Request for a dream oracle**: Write [with myrrh] on clean papyrus:
705 "I call you, the one who shines on the whole inhabited / and uninhabited world, whose name is composed of 30 letters, in which are the seven vowels, through which you name [the] universe, gods, lords, RARAPAE ABRAIĒ IRARA PAUOUŌ
710 ARAŌACH (30 letters)[129] IEŌYŌĒ AIĒ IAŌĒ YŌEI: Reveal [to me], / lords, concerning the NN matter, dependably and through memory, PSICHOM[130] MORAIOUCH PSICHOM ARASKELLITH ĒCHOMMORAKAUPS PSICHOMMO ARATOPOTH. Lords of glory, reveal to me concerning the NN matter tonight, THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ CHAR-
715 PHRAUTHI / PHRĒ"[131] (add the usual, as you wish). Also write the name composed of 30 letters in two wing formations,[132] thus: RARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOUŌABRAŌACHRARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOUŌABRAŌACH: A

Ō

CHAŌARBAŌYOAPARARIĒIARBAEAPARAR
/ RAR A A R
Ō Ō
IEŌYŌĒ[AIĒIAŌĒYŌEI]
R E E R

Write also the ["heart"] as indicated [if] you want, and after placing the strip of
725 papyrus / under the lamp, go to sleep in a pure condition. Give answer to no one, ENTYTHLCH.[133]
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

122. The rendering of *προκυνη* is uncertain. See also *PGM* VII. 885–86; P. Reinach II, 88 which has *προκυνητε*. For similar epithets, see LSJ, s.v. "*κυναγέτις, προκυναγός, προκυνηγίς, προκύων*." The epithet "earthbreaker" has usually in *PGM* been transcribed RĒXICHTHŌN.

123. The following list of divine epithets comes from the cult of Artemis; it contains old material, but not all is explainable and some renderings are quite tentative. Cf. for parallels *PGM* IV. 1301–8, 1345–79; also P. Reinach II, 88 (ed. P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach*, *BIFAO* 39 [1940]: 29–32).

124. For this epithet, see Homeric Hymn 27. 2 and K. Wernicke, "Artemis," *PRE* 2 (1895): 1384.

125. The rendering of *εὐναία* is uncertain. See Euripides, *Hippol.* 160, also Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 236.

126. Preisendanz translates, "O goddess of Erymna."

127. On this epithet of Artemis, see also *PGM* IV. 1298; *Orph. Frag.* 42.

128. The meaning of this epithet is uncertain; for similar expressions, see K. Wernicke, *PRE* 2 (1895): 1399–1400.

129. The name is given below, ll. 716–18; cf. 708–9.

130. PSICHOM is Egyptian *p3 sḫm*, "the image/power." [R.K.R.]

131. THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ . . . PHRE corresponds to Egyptian "Thoth the ibis . . . Prē." [R.K.R.]

132. For the wing formation of magical words, see *PGM* I. 11 and n.

133. This is Demotic *mtw.f.ti hl.k* (?), "and he makes you fly" (?). [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 727–39

***Charm for a direct vision of Apollo**: In a ground-floor room without light, while you are crowned with a wreath of marjoram and while wearing wolf-skin sandals, recite this formula:

Formula: / "Helios, ruler of light, MER . . . EIPHIRA GARGERI PHTHA ER . . . OIE . . . GERLYCHA MER . . . [OPHO] R ITHARA PHERXEI AR . . . EID . . . PHŌRITHARZEI ERPHIBILCHIE ZEIRABELBĒ BICHA ARTHIA MĒLICHIA ERGA GERPHI IŌ CHERPHEI KARGŌOARA EARMILICHA ATHERTHAPHTHŌ ATHTHERTHAPHI ARNACHERBBI." /

After you have said these things, the god Apollo will come having a cup for a drink offering. Then you inquire concerning what you want. He gives from memory if you want, and if you ask, he will let you drink from his cup.

Dismissal: "ERKIKCHI BELTĒAMILICHA ARCHARZEIR PHIZŌR GEIRPHEI."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 740–55

*[**Request for a dream oracle**: Write] on a strip of tinfoil, and after crowning the strip of foil with myrtle, set up the censer. Then make a burnt offering of frankincense and carry the leaf of metal around the vapor while saying: "Lords, gods, reveal to me concerning the NN matter / tonight, in the coming hours. Emphatically I beg, I supplicate, I your servant and enthroned[134] by you."

Then place the piece of foil under your pillow, and, without giving answer to anyone, go to sleep after having kept yourself pure for 3 days.

Formula to be written: / "MOU AMOU[135] AU IAŌ ABARBARASA AIŌ BAŌA CHPHĒNOURIS AŌB AMO ADŌNAI ŌIG IIII OTHTHOUŌ AORCHA ARORCHA CHAXYNNĒRE THIRARI OTHŌ CHOŌTH ERRE OCHŌ ANA ĒEPHRORE CHEIR ĒIN IĒIŌ ŌŌAAMADAA / OOO ŌŌŌ ŌŌA." Write [it] with a copper stylus.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This spell appears to be another version of a dream request; cf. *PGM* VII. 703–76. In this one, however, the title has been added by Preisendanz.

PGM VII. 756–94

***Prayer**: "I call upon you who have all forms and many names, double-horned goddess, Mene, whose form no one knows except him who made the entire / world, IAŌ, the one who shaped [you] into the twenty-eight shapes of the world so that they might complete every figure and distribute breath to every animal and plant, that it might flourish, you who grow from obscurity into light and leave light for darkness" / (beginning to leave by waning).

"And the first companion of your name is silence, the second a popping sound, the third groaning, the fourth hissing, / the fifth a cry of joy, the sixth moaning, the seventh barking, the eighth bellowing, the ninth neighing, / the tenth a musical sound, the eleventh a sounding wind, the twelfth a wind-creating sound, the thirteenth a coercive sound, the fourteenth a coercive emanation from perfection. /

"Ox, vulture, bull, beetle, falcon, crab, dog, wolf, serpent, horse, she-goat, asp, goat, he-goat, baboon, cat, lion, leopard, fieldmouse, deer, multiform, virgin, torch, / lightning, garland, a herald's wand, child, key.[136]

"I have said your signs and symbols of your name so that you might hear me, because I pray to you, mistress of the whole world. Hear me, you, the stable one,

134. On the ritual of the enthronement of the initiate, see A. D. Nock, "Notes on Beliefs and Myths," *JHS* 46 (1926):47–48; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 642, 680.

135. AMOU is Coptic for "come!" [R.K.R.]

136. See for the meaning of these symbols *PGM* LXX. 9–11 and nn.

the mighty one, / APHEIBOĒŌ MINTĒR OCHAŌ PIZEPHYDŌR CHANTHAR CHADĒ- 790
ROZO MOCHTHION EOTNEU PHĒRZON AINDĒS LACHABOŌ PITTŌ RIPHTHAMER
ZMOMOCHŌLEIE TIĒDRANTEIA OISOZOCHABĒDŌPHRA" (add the usual).
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 795–845

***Pythagoras' request for a dream oracle and Demokritos' dream divination:** 795
The entering angel is subordinate to the sun, and as subordinate to the sun he enters—so he enters in the form of your friend whom you recognize, with a shining star upon his head, and sometimes he enters / having a fiery star. Take, then, a 800
branch of laurel, and inscribe on each leaf a sign of the Zodiac with cinnabar, hav- 805
ing crowned yourself [with it]. (Also write its name in front of the sign of the Zodiac.) / This rite is divine. Hence, keep in your breast the things revealed to you by me even after the parting of my life, and if you perform them devoutly you will be successful.

They are:[137]

1. Aries	HAR MONTH[138] HAR THŌ CHE	810
2. Taurus	NEOPHOBŌTHA THOPS	
3. Gemini	ARISTANABA ZAŌ	
[4]. Cancer	PCHORBAZANACHAU	
[5]. Leo	ZALAMOIRLALITH	
[6]. Virgo	EILESILARMOU PHAI	815
[7]. Libra	TANTINOURACHTH	
[8]. Scorpio	CHORCHORNATHI	
9. Sagittarius	PHANTHENPHYPHLIA	
[10]. Capricorn	AZAZAEISTHAILICH	
[11]. Aquarius	MENNY THYTH IAŌ	820
[12]. Pisces	SERYCHARRALMIŌ	

Take still another leaf of the royal laurel and write with cinnabar [ink] this name of [the] living god: "CHALCHANA PHOE KOSKIANŌ (19) / ALĒMONTALL . . . ASEICH." 825
Having written it, do this for three days: wrap the leaves in a new handkerchief and lay it under your head. Having come when it is evening, while burning frankincense, speak this ***formula***:

"I call upon you, holy angel ZIZAUBIŌ, from the company of the Pleiades to whom you are subordinate / and serve for all things, [for] whatever she might com- 830
mand you, you great, indestructible, fire-breathing one, who cast the rope of heaven, through which rope all things turn upon earth. Also, you [do I call upon], as many of you angels who are placed under his [ZIZAUBIŌ's] power. Hence I call upon you all that you may come quickly / in this night, and reveal to me clearly and 835
firmly, concerning those matters I desire. I conjure you, O lord, who rise above the earth of the whole cosmic region, by the one ruling the whole inhabited world and the benefactor of all. Hence, I call upon you in this night, / and may you reveal all 840
things to me through dreams with accuracy, O angel ZIZAUBIŌ."

Go to your house and having incensed the branch, put it on your head and sleep pure. You must have [the place] where you perform absolutely pure, and the phylac-

137. In this list most of the numerical designations 1–12 can be recognized in the far right column of the papyrus manuscript, numbering downward from Aries to Pisces. These numbers were erroneously included in the magical symbols by Preisendanz.

138. Har-Month is Horus-Montu. Montu is the Egyptian god of war and therefore the proper counterpart of Ares, the ruler of the zodiacal sign Aries. Horus is also associated with this sign, for "Horus the Red" was the name of Mars which governs Aries. [R.K.R.]

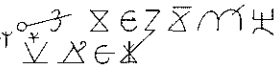
tery / where you have inscribed the name, put on your head and crown yourself with the branch.
*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell.

PGM VII. 846–61

***Shadow**[139] **on the sun**: After you have purified yourself, walk towards the sun in the 5th hour, crowned with a tail of a cat, and say: "ERBETH BIO . . . PH . . . PH . . . LL . . . III ANACH ABAREIR LATŌRŌCH ERBEBRITHA AMBRITHĒRA ŌRYKISTAR / LAILAM AŌR XARXI THADARI ĒSYRPHA PHŌRPHI AGĒRŌCHĒ BEBATHA BARA LIRYPŌ PHERCHĒ AMIARTH THERTHI GŌRĒ AMINACHARPHA IRGIRAMOU THARPHI THEIRIŌRYS PHERIA PHORPHOROPHI."

When you have said these things, you will see a shadow in the sun. / Close your eyes, look up, and you will see a shadow standing before you. Ask what you want, "ERBAIGŌRYTHARPHTHEIR:"

Phylactery: The tail and the characters with the circle [on which] you will stand after you have drawn it with chalk.

The characters are the following: / 

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 862–918

***Lunar spell of Claudianus**[140] **and [ritual] of heaven and the north star**[141] **over lunar offerings**: This papyrus itself, the personal property of the Twelve Gods, was found[142] in Aphroditopolis [beside] the greatest goddess, / Aphrodite Urania, who embraces the universe.

The preparation for Mistress Selene is made like this: Take clay from a potter's wheel and mix a mixture[143] with sulfur, and add blood of a dappled goat and mold an image of Mistress Selene the Egyptian,[144] as shown below, making her in / the form of the Universe. And make a shrine of olive wood and do not let it face the sun at all.[145] And after dedicating it with the ritual that works for everything, [put it away,] and thus it will be dedicated in advance. And anoint it also with lunar ointment and wreathe it. And late / at night, at the 5th hour, put it away, facing Selene in a [pure] room. And also offer the lunar offering and repeat the following in succession and you will send dreams, you will bind with spells. For the invocation to Selene is very effective. And after anointing yourself in advance [with] the ointment, appeal to her.

And this is the lunar spell: / "I call upon you, Mistress of the entire world, ruler of the entire cosmic system, greatly powerful goddess, gracious [daimon], lady of night, who travel through the air, PHEROPHORĒ ANATHRA . . . OUTHRA. Heed

139. On the significance of the shadow, see Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 163–64.

140. Preisendanz indicates the name Klaudianos may refer to a certain philosopher and alchemist appearing in a list in Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* 26, l. 1.

141. The identity of the constellation of the Bear with Aphrodite-Selene is late. See Plutarch, *Amat.* 19, and F. Schwenn, "Selene," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 2 (1921): 1142; W. Fauth, "Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri," *ZPE* 57(1984): 93–99. [R.K.R.]

142. On this literary claim of having found books, see W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike*, *Hypomnemata* 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1970).

143. The pleonasm (*μῖξον μίγματος*, "mix a mixture,") is not uncommon in *PGM*; see *PGM* VII. 972. [E.N.O.]

144. The Egyptian Selene is the mistress of the night sky. See Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 46. [R.K.R.]

145. Preisendanz has incorrectly translated *τὸ σύνολον* with "das Ganze." Cf. l. 915 below, for the sense of the instruction. [E.N.O.]

your sacred symbols and give a whirring sound,[146] [and] give a sacred angel or a holy assistant who serves / this very night, in this very hour, PROKYNĒ BAUBŌ PHOBEIOUS MĒE, and order the angel to go off to her, NN, to draw her by her hair, by her feet; may she, in fear, seeing phantoms, sleepless because of her passion for me and her love for me, NN, come to my consecrated bedroom."

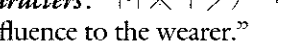
So goes the song. But when / you see the goddess turning red, know that she is now attracting, and then say: "Mistress, send forth your angel from among those who assist you, one who is leader of night, because I adjure [you] by your great names, because of which no aerial or infernal daimon can ignore you, MESOURPHABABOR BRAL IĒŌ ISI Ē. Come to me just as I have summoned you, / ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOĒRE KODĒRE SOIRE SOIRE ERESCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE SAMPSEI; hear my words, and send forth your angel who is appointed over the 1st hour: / MENEBAIN, and the one over the 2nd hour: NEBOUN, and the one over the 3rd hour: LĒMNEI, and the one over the 4th hour: MORMOTH, and the one over the 5th hour: NOUPHIĒR, and the one over the 6th hour: CHORBORBATH, and the one over the 7th hour: ORBEĒTH, and the one over the 8th hour: PANMŌTH, and the one over the 9th hour: / THYMENPHRI, and the one over the 10th hour: SARNOCHOIBAL, and the one over the 11th hour: BATHIABĒL, and the one over the 12th hour: ARBRATHIABRI, so that you may do this for me; that you may attract, that you may tame on this very night, and so that she, NN (or he, NN) be unable to have success until coming / to me, NN. [May she remain] fully satisfied, loving, desiring me, NN, and may she be unable to have intercourse with another man, except with me alone."

Now recite the spell many times, and it will attract and bind, and she will love you for all the time of her life. But when you attract her and she has had intercourse with you, then pick up / the goddess and stow her away, giving her magical material, and do not show her to the sun and she will not stop coming, desiring you.

You will act in the same way for the spell to send dreams until you accomplish what you want. The power of the spell is strong. The figure is below.[147]
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 919–24

***Hermes' wondrous victory charm** which you are to keep in your sandals: Take a tablet / gold like the sun[148] and inscribe on it with a bronze stylus and put it on whatever you want and see what it does on a boat, on a horse, and you will be amazed.

These are the characters: "  THŌOUTH, give victory, strength, influence to the wearer."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 925–39

***Another**[149] **tablet charm** but **one to subject**: Take a lead tablet from a yoke for mules and inscribe [on it] with a bronze stylus the following names and characters,

146. *ῥοῖζον*, "whirring," most likely refers to the sistrum of Hathor, her constant emblem. The Egyptian name for the sistrum (*sšš.t*) is onomatopoetic for the rustling sound made by the shaking of its jingles. See on this point Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 59–60. [J.B./R.K.R.]

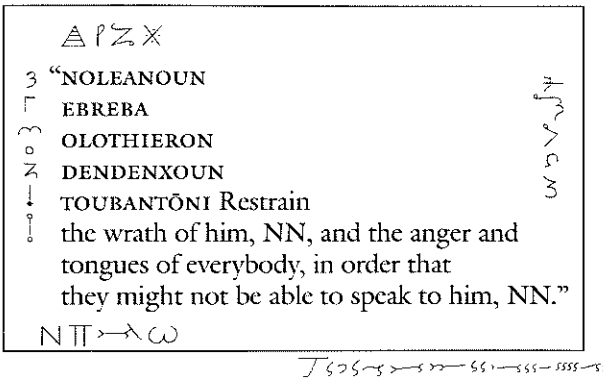
147. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. The figure is missing.

148. Literally, a "sun" or "solar" tablet, that is, a gold lamella.

149. Literally, "another one." However, the only connection with the preceding is the use of a metal tablet, hence the translation.

and put it under the sole of your left foot, after you have fumigated it carefully with incense.

/ ***The names and characters are***: 930



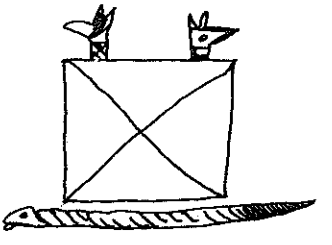
935

*Tr.: R. R. Hock. As shown here the papyrus illustrates how the lead tablet is to be drawn. The language of the curse suggests the spell was designed for use in a courtroom scene.

PGM VII. 940–68

***A charm to restrain anger** and a **charm to subject**: On clean papyrus write with pure myrrh ink these names together with the "stele:" 940

IŌERBĒTH
IŌERBĒ
IŌERB
IŌER
IŌE
IŌ
I



IŌPAKERBĒTH
ŌPAKERBĒTH
PAKERBĒTH
AKERBĒTH
KERBĒTH
ERBĒTH
RBĒTH
BĒTH
ĒTH
TH

945

950

IŌSESESRŌ
ŌSESESRŌ
SESESRŌ
ESESRŌ
SESRŌ
ESRŌ
SRŌ
RŌ
Ō

IŌPĒMPS
ŌPĒMPS
PĒMPS
ĒMPS
MPS
PS

955

960

"Come to me, you who are in the everlasting air,[150] you who are invisible, almighty, creator of the gods. Come to me, you who are the unconquerable daimon. Come to me, you who are never grieved for your own brother, Seth.[151] Come to me, / you fire-bright spirit. Come to me, you god who are not to be despised, you daimon, and put to silence, subordinate, enslave him, NN, to him, NN, and cause him to come under my feet."

965

*Tr.: R. R. Hock.

150. For this expression see the parallel in *PGM* IV. 507–8.

151. This refers to Seth's murder of his brother Osiris. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) esp. 81–82. [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 969–72

*__A good potion__: Take a piece of hieratic papyrus and / write on it: "IAŌ Ō ESTABISASĒ TOUREŌSAN ATHIACHIŌOUĒNOU ACHĒMACHOU. Let her, NN, whom NN bore, love me, NN, when she has drunk the drink."[152]
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 973–80

*__A love spell of attraction through touch__: Take a scarab and boil it in a good unguent,[153] / and take the beetle and grind it together with the plant vetch, and place them in a glass cup and say the spell that follows twice: "THŌBARRABAU MICHAĒL MICHAĒL OSIRIS PHOR PHORBA ABRIĒL SESEGGENBARPHARAGGĒS IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAIE LAILAM, compel / her, NN, whom NN bore, to follow me should I touch her."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 981–93

*[__Love spell of attraction__: Purify yourself from everything for . . .] days and say [this] spell at sunrise: "Helios . . . but come here to me, [Mistress AKTIŌPHIS ERESCHIGAL] PERSEPHONĒ; / attract [to me and bind her], NN, whom NN bore, [to] the man who is [pining away] with [passion for her]; at this very moment, inflame her that she fulfill the nightly desires of NN, whom NN bore. Aye, lord NETHMOMAŌ [Helios, enter] into the [soul] of her, NN, whom NN bore, / and [burn her heart], her guts, [her liver, her spirit, her bones. Perform] successfully for me [this] charm,[154] immediately, immediately; [quickly, quickly]."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 993–1009

*Look [to the] east [and say: "You are the one who thunders,] the one who rains and / hurls lightning [at the] right time and dries [in the same way]; come to me, reveal" (add the usual or [write] whatever [you want], and anoint your hand).

Preparation of the ink: 3 dried figs, 3 stones of the Nicolaus date, 3 fragments of wormwood, and 3 lumps of myrrh; [mix together, / then] after pulverizing them, [write] the following formula. Isis uttered [it and] wrote [it] when, after taking up Osiris, she fit together his separated members. Asklepios[155] [saw] Osiris and admitted that he [could] not [put together] someone who was dead [even] with the help of Hebe[156] or of [anyone else].

[This is / ***the formula***: "Come to me, SESEGGENBARPHARAGGĒS SABAŌTH,] for [I conjure] you, [daimon] of the dead, [by] bitter [Necessity]; open [your ears and] hear [the] holy [words]." Also say [frequently] the [stele given] below.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This fragmentary spell has not preserved its title and so its exact purpose cannot be known.

152. On the pleonasm *πιοῦσα τὸν πότον*, cf. *PGM* VII. 867. [E.N.O.]

153. *μύρον* is translated by Preisendanz as "Myrrhenöl." Both translations, however, may be too specific for this unspecified aromatic concoction. [E.N.O.]

154. For this phrase, cf. *PGM* IV. 295, 2939; XX. 5.

155. Asklepios seems to have taken over the role of Anubis (thus Eitrem, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.).

156. The appearance of Hebe, daughter of Hera and Zeus, is surprising in this context. According to Euripides, *Heraklid.* 847; Ovid, *Met.* 9. 400, she made Iolaos young again, a deed of proverbial fame.

PGM VII. 1009–16

***Divination by a dream**: Say / to the . . . double . . . and rub your [head]; and [after descending], go to sleep without answering anyone.

"I call upon [you], Sabaoth, Michael, Raphael and you, [powerful archangel] Gabriel, do not [simply] pass by me [as you bring visions], but let one of you enter / and reveal [to me] concerning the NN matter, AIAI ACHĒNĒ IAŌ." Write these things [on leaves . . .] of laurel and place them by your head.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 1017–26

*"[Hail, Helios!] Hail, Helios! Hail, [Gabriel! Hail, Raphael! Hail,] Michael! Hail, whole [universe! Give me] the [authority] and power of SABAŌTH, the / [strength of IAŌ], and the success of ABLANATHANALBA, and [the might of] AKRAMMACHAMAREI. Grant that I [gain] the victory, as I have summoned you" (then write the 59-[letter] IAEŌ formula). "Grant [victory] because I know the names of the Good Daimon, HARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRITATĒNŌPHRI BRISAROUAZAR BASEN / KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPHI (add the usual) and accomplish this for me." Speak to [no one].

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. Although untitled, this spell is a "favor and victory" charm. Cf. *PGM* XCII for a similar request for the power and strength of various magical and mythological personalities.

PGM VIII. 1–63

***Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos**:[1]

Spell: "Come to me, lord Hermes, as fetuses do to the wombs[2] of women. Come to me, lord Hermes, who collect the sustenance of gods and men; [come] to me, NN, lord Hermes, and give me favor,[3] sustenance, / victory, prosperity, elegance, beauty of face, strength of all men and women. Your names in heaven: LAMPHTHEN OUŌTHI OUASTHEN OUŌTHI OAMENŌTH ENTHOMOUCH. These are the [names] in the 4 quarters of heaven. I also know what your forms are:[4] in the east you have the form / of an ibis, in the west you have the form of a dog-faced baboon, in the north you have the form of a serpent, and in the south you have the form of a wolf. Your plant is the grape which is the olive.[5] I also know your wood: ebony. I know you, Hermes, who you are and where you come from and what your city is: Hermopolis. Come to me, lord Hermes, many-named one, who know / the things hidden beneath heaven and earth. Come [to me], NN, lord Hermes; serve well, benefactor of the world. Hear me and make me agreeable to all the forms throughout the inhabited world. Open up for me the hands of everyone who [dispenses gifts][6] and compel them to give me what they have in their / hands. I also know your foreign names: 'PHARNATHAR BARACHĒL CHTHA.' These are your foreign names.

"Whereas Isis, the greatest of all the gods, invoked you in every crisis, in every

1. According to Diogenes Laertius, *Provem.* 2, Astrampsychos was the name of one or several Persian magicians. See E. Reiss, "Astrampsychos," *PRE* 2 (1896): 1796–97.

2. For parallels to this concept, see *PGM* III. 603 and n.

3. Here and throughout this section, χάρις is translated "favor," but the term comes close to meaning "grace." [E.N.O.]

4. The four animals represent the following deities: the ibis is Thoth, the dog-faced baboon is Anubis, the serpent is Uto, the wolf is another form of Anubis. Their respective positions are partially clear as well: Uto is often the north, Anubis the west (or the south), but why Thoth stands in the east remains a puzzle. [J.B.]

5. The underscored words are Coptic written with Greek letters.

6. Accepting the emendation of Preisendanz.

district, against gods and men and daimons, creatures of water and earth and held your favor, / victory against gods and men and [among] all the creatures beneath the world, so also I, NN, invoke you.[7] Wherefore, give me favor, form, beauty. Hear me, Hermes, benefactor, [inventor][8] of drugs; be easy to talk to and hear me, just as you have done everything in the form of your Ethiopian dog-faced baboon, / the lord of the chthonic daimons. Calm them all and give me strength, form (add the usual), and let them give me gold and silver and every sustenance which will never fail. Preserve me always, through all eternity, from drugs and deceits, every slander and evil tongues, from / every daimonic possession,[9] from every hatred of both gods and men. Let them give me favor and victory and business and prosperity. For you are I, and I am you;[10] your name is mine, and mine is yours. For I am your image.[11] If something should happen to me during this year or this month or this day or this hour, it will happen to the great / god ACHCHEMEN ESTROPH, the one inscribed on the prow of the holy ship. Your true name has been inscribed on the sacred stele in the shrine at Hermopolis where your birth is. Your true name: OSERGARIACH NOMAPHI. This is your name with fifteen / letters,[12] a number corresponding to the days of the rising moon; and the second name with the number 7, corresponding to those who rule the world,[13] with the exact number 365,[14] corresponding to the days of the year. Truly: ABRASAX. I know you, Hermes, and you know me. / I am you, and you are I. And so, do everything for me, and may you turn to me[15] with Good Fortune and Good Daimon, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

Take a piece of olive wood and make a small dog-faced baboon sitting down, wearing the winged helmet of Hermes / and a box on its back, and inscribe the name of Hermes on the papyrus and put it in the box. Write in myrrh ink, praying for what you do or what you wish, and after putting a lid on, burn incense and place it where you wish in the middle of the workshop.

And the name to be written is: "PHTHORON PHTHIONĒ THŌYTH." / In addition, write also these great names: "IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAIE ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI, 365, give to the workshop business, favor, prosperity, elegance, both to NN himself and to his workshop, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The title of the spell is misleading, for the spell has nothing to do with love, sex, or attraction of a woman. This is a spell for some shopkeeper to ensure good business. There are traces of mysticism here. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 19–20. [E.N.O.]

7. On Thoth as Isis' chief helper, see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 132–36. [R.K.R.]

8. The translation follows Preisendanz's emendation. Cf. below, l. 33 and *PGM* V. 247–48.

9. *συνοχή* occurs only here in *PGM*, and its meaning is uncertain. The verb *συνέχω*, however, occurs at *PGM* IV. 1408; V. 126, 131, where each time it seems to refer to daimonic possession. [E.N.O.]

10. For this formula of mutual identity, see *PGM* VIII. 49–50; XIII. 795. See Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 165–68.

11. The term *εἴδωλον* may show philosophical influence. See *PGM* XII. 235–36; LXI. 53–55. See Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 165–67; J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 78–80, 83.

12. As the Greek text stands, the name has sixteen letters. The name should be separated OSERGARIACH NOMAPHI. The discrepancy must be in the first word because the second is correctly said to have seven letters. The confusion may be due to underlying Egyptian words. [J.B.]

13. That is, the seven planets.

14. Cf. l. 61. The number has the numerical value of Abraxas. See Glossary, s.v. "Abraxas."

15. The term *συρρέπω* is rare. See Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 164 n. 49.

PGM VIII. 64–110

* **Request for a dream oracle of Besa**: / On your left hand draw Besa in the way shown to you below. Put around your hand a black cloth[16] of Isis and go to sleep without giving answer to anyone. The remainder of the cloth wrap around your neck.

This is the ink with which you draw: Blood of a crow, blood / of a white dove, lumps of incense, myrrh, black writing ink, cinnabar, sap of mulberry tree, rain-water, juice of a single-stemmed wormwood and vetch. With this write.

Prayer to him,[17] toward the setting sun:

"Borne[18] on the breezes of the wand'ring winds, /
Golden-haired Helios who wield the flame's
Untiring light, who drive in lofty turns
Around the great pole; who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing.
For from you come the elements arranged
By your own laws which cause the whole world to
Rotate through its four yearly turning points. /
If you go to the depths of earth and reach
The region of the dead, send up the truthful
Prophet out of that innermost abode.

I beg you LAMPSOUĒR SOUMARTA BARIBAS DARDALAM PHORBĒX, lord, send forth your holy daimon ANOUTH ANOUTH SALBANACHAMBRĒ BRĒITH, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; in this night, come." / If you wish to call him also for a direct vision, [take] a strip [of linen], soak it in sesame oil you have mixed [with] cinnabar, and place the linen as a wick in a lamp that is not colored red. The lamp should be lighted with sesame oil. Place it opposite you, say the formula, and he will come to you. Have near you / a small tablet so that you may write as much as he says,[19] lest after going to sleep you forget.

"I call upon / you, the headless god, having your face beside your feet,[20] the one who hurls lightning and thunders; you are the one whose mouth is continually full of fire, the one placed over Necessity. I call upon you, the god placed over Necessity, IAEŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ZABARBATHIAŌ; you are the one lying on a coffin of myrrh, having resin and asphalt as an elbow cushion,[21] [the one] whom they call ANOUTH ANOUTH. Rise up, daimon. You are not a daimon, but the blood / of the two falcons[22] who chatter and watch before the head of Osiris. You are the oracle-giving god SALBANACHAMBRĒ ANOUTH ANOUTH SABAŌTH ADŌNAI IĒ IE IĒ IE" (add the usual). Go to sleep on a rush mat, having an unbaked brick beside your head.

What you draw is / of this sort: A naked man, standing, having a diadem on his head, and in his right hand a sword that by means of a bent [arm] rests on his neck,

16. See *PGM* VII. 227 and n.

17. The translation here is tentative because the reading of the papyrus is uncertain. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

18. These dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 1–6, 11 (7–8 [the identification of lines in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 239, is incorrect: v. 13 is not included here]). For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see *PGM* I. 315–27; IV. 436–61; 1957–89. [E.N.O.]

19. Cf. the memory spells in *PGM* I. 233–47; II. 16–20, 40–42.

20. See on this point *PGM* VII. 234 and n.

21. See for a parallel *PGM* VII. 237.

22. See for the two falcons and their watch *PGM* VII. 239 and n.

and in the left hand a wand. If he reveals to you, wipe off your hand with rose perfume. This is the figure / of the rite:



*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 64–74; 81–110) and E. N. O'Neil (ll. 74–81). This particular charm in its present form is actually two charms (a request for a dream oracle and a request for a direct vision) directed to Bes, an originally non-Egyptian god who came to Egypt early and was given many functions, one of which was to provide oracles. The request for a dream oracle contains preparatory instructions and a hymn to the sun that also appears in *PGM* IV. 436–46 and 1957–68. The request for a direct vision has instructions and a formula of invocation addressed to the "headless god." This invocation also appears in *PGM* VII. 233–48 and makes use of language that can also be found in a boast of the "headless god" in *PGM* IV. 145–58.

PGM IX. 1–14

*"'I'll give you rest from wrath and soothe your raging.'[1] Come, lord BAINCHŌŌŌCH, with your father ANIBAINCHŌŌŌCH, with your mother CHECHPHIŌ, with your two bodyguards CHENGĒBIŌCHTHŌ MYSAGŌTH ECHE ŌŌ MYSAGŌTH ACHPHIPHIŌ IAIA ŌCH SEBAU PHRĒ IŌ RĒXICHTHŌN YŌĒŌ AEAEĒIOYŌ CHYCHBACHYCH BAUACHYCH BAKAXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH MENEBACHYCH BADĒDOPHŌ BAINCHŌŌŌCH. Bring into subjection, put to silence, and enslave / every race of people, both men and women, with their fits of wrath, and those who are under the earth beneath the feet of him, NN, especially so-and-so (add the usual, as you wish), for you have put beneath my feet, like my robe, the heart of SABAŌTH."

On the back of the lamella: "EULAMŌ SISIRBBAIĒRSESI PHERMOU CHNOUŌR ABRASAX. Bring into subjection, enslave, and put to silence the soul, the wrath [of him, NN], because I adjure you by the / awful Necessity MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHMOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX LEPETAN LEPETAN PHNOUNOBOĒ." On the front [write] the person's name.

The introduction to the rite:

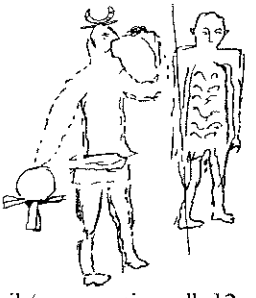
"I'll[2] give you rest from wrath
And soothe your raging.
Come silently and bring
Silence and keep it.
Stop ev'ry wrath in souls
And melt all anger
Of those with temper,

because I call upon your authentic name, BAINCHŌŌŌCH." Say this name, [written] at the top of the metal leaf: "IAŌMORMOROTOKONBAI."

1. The introduction to this spell cites only the first line of the "prologue" given in ll. 12–14.

2. These lines have been arranged in iambic trimeters and are the reconstructed Hymn 30. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 266. [E.N.O.]

[ON VERSO]:



*Tr.: R. F. Hock and E. N. O'Neil (verse sections, ll. 12–13). This spell to subject and silence gives instructions for engraving a so-called curse tablet, presumably made of lead.

PGM X. 1–23

*[While drinking] and eating take the first [morsels] and place them [into] a small dish[1] [of the temple while speaking] thus: "NN, may you have been sent [to me as a helper] to fulfill the commands / of the gods. My name is ŌI . . . IAŌ SABAŌTH ZABARBATHIAŌ [ADŌNAI . . .]; let her, [NN,] love me, NN, with a divine [and] indelible [love]." »»»»»»——

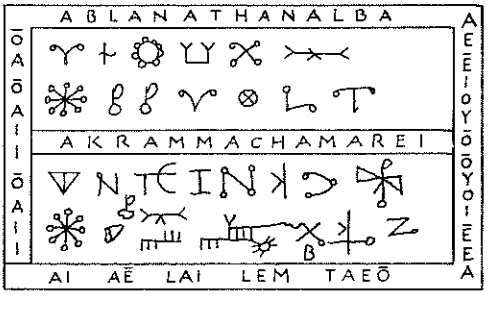
Spell that is spoken: / "I adjure you and the spirit which is with you. To you speaks the great and powerful god, SATHIS [PEPHOOUTH MOU]RŌPH ANOUR[2] OUPH[IRIGCH]: let her, NN, be well [disposed toward me]; let her see me and, having seen me, let her fall in love with me, and no one [will be able] to speak in opposition, PHTHOROCHĒB ATHA / . . . N THARAMĒCHI EOPSĒRIPSOU ACHORSŌTHIA . . . THIE Ē NOUSOU PHTHAPA APOUOROTH . . . Ē CHOADOUSTRŌ PRŌTHIAPSIŌR . . . S CHOMARCHŌCH CHANACHOUŌRRĒLOUKOUMPHA."

[***The spell in another form***: "May she, NN,] fall in love when she sees[3] [me, and] may she [never] resist [me], / O great and powerful god, because of modesty." And when you see her, NN, take a long, deep breath three times while staring at her, and then she smiles at you. For [this is] a sign of [her love]. »»»»»»——

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The text clearly preserves a love spell, but the beginning of the text is mutilated. The restoration by Preisendanz remains tentative, and so is the translation.

PGM X. 24–35

Charm to restrain anger** which works in all cases, for it works against enemies, / accusers, brigands, phobias, and nightmares: Take a gold or silver lamella and engrave on it the characters and names, and when you have consecrated it, wear it in purity. ***Now here it is:



*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

1. *παραψίδιον* is taken here to be a misspelling of *παροψίδιον*, referring to a small food dish. [E.N.O.]

2. ANOUR is Egyptian *In-ḥr* (Greek Onouris), whose major role in mythology was to bring back the angry goddess Tefnut. Cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 545–47, s.v. "Onuris." [R.K.R.]

3. On the idea of love at first sight, a typically hellenistic idea, see, for example, Theocritus, *Idyll* 2.

PGM X. 36–50

Another way*: **Apollo's charm to subject: Take a lamella [or metal leaf][4] from a yoke for mules and engrave on it the following names and put a frog's tongue in it.

Spell, when the metal leaf with the frog's tongue is put / into your right sandal: "Just as these sacred names are being trampled, so also let him, NN (add the usual), the trouble-maker, be trampled."

"ABRASAX 

			IŌCHCH
AEĒIOYŌ	CHYCH	MICHAĒL	NYSEU
EĒIOYŌA	CHYBACHYCH	RAPHAĒL	NYCHIEU
ĒIOYŌAE	BACHACHYCH	GABRIĒL	AŌCHĒ
IOYŌAEĒ	BAKAXICHYCH	SOURIĒL	MECHEU
OYŌAEĒI	BAZABACHYCH	ZAZIĒL	IAŌ
YŌAEĒIO	BADĒTOPHŌTH	BADAKIĒL	SABAŌTH
ŌAEĒIOY.	BAINCHŌŌŌCH.	SYLIĒL.	ADŌNAI.

 ABRASAX  Subject him, NN, to me, / immediately; quickly, quickly."

 Z 

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XI.a 1–40

***Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman**: Take Typhon's skull[1] and write the following characters on it with the blood of a black dog: "  SABERRA." Then, going to a suitable place, by a river, the sea, or at the fork of a road, in the middle of the night put the skull / on the ground, place it [under] your left foot, and speak as follows.

The formula: "ERITHYIA[2] MEROPĒ GERGIRŌ CHĒTHIRA ANAPEROUCH . . . LYRŌPHIA GĒGETHIRA LOLYN GOUGŌGĒ AMBRACHA BI . . . AEBILĒ MARITHAIA MPROUCHE ABĒL ETHIRAŌ AP . . . ŌCHORIĒLA MŌRĒTHIRA PHECHIRŌ ŌSRI PHOIRA AMERI . . . PHĒ. OUTHĒRA / GARGERGIŌ TITHEMYMĒ MĒRAPSĒCHIR AŌRIL. Come, appear, O goddess called Mistress of the House."[3]

After you say this, you will behold sitting on an ass a woman of extraordinary loveliness, possessing a heavenly beauty, indescribably fair and youthful. As soon as you see her, make obeisance and say: "I thank [you], lady for appearing to me. / Judge me worthy of you. May your Majesty be well disposed to me. And accomplish whatever task I impose on you."

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82 (on a magical ritual), a line which Virgil, *Ecl.* 8. 41, and the author of the *Ciris* (l. 430) copied. See Gow's note to *Idyll* 2. 82, Theocritus, vol. II, 51–52. [E.N.O.]

4. The translation follows the text of Preisendanz, which has the editor's insertion (ἢ πέταλον) to conform with the occurrence of the noun in l. 39. The emendation, however, may not be necessary.

1. "Typhon's skull" is the semantic equivalent of the skull of an ass. See C. Colpe, "Geister (Dämonen)," *RAC* 9 (1978): 620–21; H. Kees, "Seth," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 4 (1923): 1896–1922; esp. 1899, 1920–21; W. Fauth, "Seth-Typhon, Onoel und der eselköpfige Sabaoth," *Oriens Christianus* 57 (1973): 79–120.

2. This seems to be the reading of the papyrus, but it is not certain. Preisendanz treats the word as a proper name. One may also read ειλειθυια on the grounds that both it and μεροπε which follows immediately are names suitable for the goddess Nephthys. [J.B.]

3. "Mistress of the house" is a direct translation of the Egyptian name Nephthys, sister of Isis, and (as is stressed in this spell) wife of Seth. Thus she is fittingly associated with an ass. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 519–21, s.v. "Nephthys"; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 305, 447. [J.B./R.K.R.]

The goddess will reply to you, "What do you have in mind?"

You say, "I have need [of you] for domestic service."

At that, she will get off the ass, shed her beauty, and will be an old woman.[4] And the old woman will say to you, "I will serve and attend you."

After she tells you this, the goddess will again put on her own beauty, which she had just taken off, / and she will ask to be released.[5]

But you say to the goddess, "No, lady! I will use you until I get her."

As soon as the goddess hears this, she will go up to the old lady, and will take her molar tooth and a tooth from the ass and give both to you; and after that it will be impossible for the old woman to leave you, unless perhaps you want to release her. From that time forth, you will receive a bounty of great benefits, for everything that your soul desires will be accomplished by her. She will guard all your possessions[6] / and in particular will find out for you whatever anyone is thinking about you.[7]

Indeed she will tell you everything and will never desert you: such is her store of good will toward you. But if ever you wish, there is a way to release her (but never do this!). Take her tooth and the ass's tooth, / make a bonfire, and throw them into the fire, and with a shriek the old woman will flee without a trace. Do not be prone to release her, since it will be impossible for you to replace her.

But do release the goddess, when you are sure that the old woman will serve you, by speaking as follows: "MENERPHER PHIĒ PRACHĒRA LYLŌRI / MĒLICHARĒ NĒCHIRA." When the old woman hears this, the goddess will mount the ass and depart.

The phylactery to be used throughout the rite: The skull of the ass. Fasten the ass's tooth with silver and the old lady's tooth with gold, and wear them always; for if you do this, it will be impossible for / the old woman to leave you. The rite has been tested.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. See on this spell, for general background and additional literature, E. L. Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality," *ANRW* II, 16, 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978) 1652–99, esp. 1686; J. Bergman, "Nephthys découverte dans un papyrus magique (*PGM* XIa.)," in *Melanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier: Editions de l'université de Montpellier, 1984) 1–11.

PGM XIb. 1–5

***To make men who have drinking at a symposium appear to have donkey snouts[8] to outsiders, from afar**: In the dark [take] a wick from a lamp and dip it in donkey's blood; make a new lamp / with the new wick and touch the drinkers.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. For similar "gimmicks," see the translation and notes on *PGM* VII. 167–85. The translation adopts the restorations mentioned in the *apparatus criticus* of Preisendanz.

4. At this point, the old woman and the goddess assume separate identities. [H.M.]
5. On this point see *PGM* LXX. 11 and Betz, "Fragments," 291.
6. Reading with Eitrem *πάντα δέ σοι*, instead of Preisendanz's *καὶ τάδε σοι*. [H.M.]
7. Or "whatever anyone is plotting against you." [J.B.]
8. LSJ, s.v., cites this as a gloss (a plant name). But here and in Psellos, *Lect. Mirab.* (A. Westermann, *Paradoxographi Graeci* [Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963; repr. of 1839 ed.] 147, 11; the *paignion* of Anaxilaos in Wellmann, *APAW.PH* 1928, p. 79, 7) the term can be rendered literally "donkey-faced" or "ass-snouted." The *paignion* of Anaxilaos reads: "If you wish your wife to appear 'ass-snouted' when she looks in the mirror, rub her mirror with donkey's tears." [R.D.K.]

PGM XIc. 1–19

*You write this on hieratic papyrus and [place . . . :]

"I adjure you, by the god
IABŌ: turn the heart of her,
NN, whom NN bore, to NN,
whom / NN bore, at the
command of IABŌ, MASKELLEI
MASKELLŌ PHAINOUKENTABAŌ;
cause me, NN, to obtain
intercourse,
God the [BAR]BARAI
let her, NN, [whom
NN bore, come
beneath my] / roof,
and let her love
[me, NN, whom NN
bore], for [all] the
time / [of her] life,
lusting [for me] with
[eternal] love, immediately,
[immediately; quickly,
quickly]."

ABLANATHANALBA
BLATHANABA
NATHANDA
ANATHANA
NABANAEI
ABTHŌŌTH
BARBACHA
ABRASAX
AŌ[IAMARI]
SERPHOUTHEI
E EI EI Ē I Ē I AAAAAAA IIIIIII

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PDM xii. 1–5

*". . . I am NA, come (?) . . . farmer (?), the millions of falcons, / this young man. . . ."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 32–33, col. II*, ll. 1–5. The first line of this invocation of an uncertain purpose is missing. Section titles are indicated in the Demotic texts only when they appear in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic magical papyri).

PDM xii. 6–20

*A ring to cause praise: You bring a ring of iron and you bring a white stone which is in the shape of a grape [which] grows / as a fresh plant in the water, there being [a] daimon with the face [of] a falcon . . . together with his snake tail,[1] there being a nemes headdress (?) in (?) the . . . eye whose face goes to the. . . . Write / this name on it . . . saying, "ABRAXAM PHILEN . . . CHNI . . . ," put a limb of a lion under it together with a piece of gold; put them under it; and / make . . . it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 32–33, col. II*, ll. 6–20.

PDM xii. 21–49

*"Open to me, O heaven! Open to me, O earth! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me! I am Horus. Open to me! I went forth from the necropolis of Wen-nefer.

1. For a composite deity, cf. *PGM* XII. 121ff.; XIII. 50 with n.

May Iymhotep[2] the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh, come to me tonight! May he tell me a prescription which is fitting to the illness / which has happened to me, together with the method of [using] it, there being no falsehood therein! Bear witness! Bear witness![3] O Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh, and put this . . . of reed (?) on yourself while the bark of *ʿrw*-wood is under you, while the . . . of . . . of Ptah is on you. Is it what is fitting? May he, Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, / born of Kherti-ankh bear witness (?) to the fury against you in the presence of Nephthys saying,

'O Shu, live! O soul, live! Live, O Shu, live! Live, O Osiris! Live, O Ethiopian soul! Live, O Sokar who endures (?) who is [on] board . . . harbor . . . entire (?), he having ascended. Live O great (secret) image of Egypt who rests in the middle of Memphis, the place of Ptah' (another [manuscript] says: 'the House of the obelisk') 'without a prescription! If I am called / about it, . . . calls to me about a prescription, I shall tell him the prescription which is fitting to the illness in which he is.' Is it what is fitting? May Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh bear witness (?). Come to me, O battler! Tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness [which] has happened to me! Come to me, O great of face . . . O . . . the peak . . . soul! Come to me, O one whose face / is as the face of a falcon . . . hair of . . . ! O he who rests . . . necropolis of (?) Heliopolis (?). I (?) am the son . . . after swallowing. O son of the great Shu. Come to me . . . of man upon his egg (?) . . . of Thoth and his father! Come to me, O (?) . . . who is in the great ennead, not knowing his . . . , the . . . ! Are you steadfast against me, not to tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened / in me? I will say much (?) . . . which is in . . . , the mysterious one (?), who is in . . . the heart of the . . . the . . . of . . . of . . . of the . . . soul" (*another* [*manuscript*] says: "Ruler of the western half"). "You will not live in the . . . without having come to me tonight to tell me a prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened to me, together with the method of using it, [there] being no falsehood therein."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 35–37, col. I*, ll. 1–29. The purpose of this prayer is to secure a remedy for an unstated disease.

PGM XII. 1–13

***Rite**: Unfold a funeral shroud at night and carry it;[4] also take a sword.

Then say: "THERMOCH CHTHABOI ACHAPH MARMILYCHA BERTHIŌCH CHARĒL . . . BAIOCH . . . THACH DĒRPHO PHIRBSAT (?) SŌTHŌRAI PHAUXAI IŌA MEILICH IABAI EIA KARSE REUTHRA ENROUCH ZERPHRĒCH / PSERPHERCHŌ THNERBĒCH CHARCHERBER YEICH PHCHYAR PA . . . CHA MILCHITHER CHLĒLŌR PHACHILER MAZ MACHAIRIŌCH."

After you say this, the Maiden will come carrying torches.[5] Say: "PHERTHELILŌCH PEIY . . . ," and her firebrands will be extinguished, and she will stand there in distress and complain.

You say, "Do such-and-such and I will light your torches." If she sends a dream, you are to light them and she will fly away. / If you send her to kill somebody, give

2. For Imhotep, the vizier and architect of the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara later divinized as the patron of scribes and physicians, see Dietrich Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (München: Deutscher Kunst Verlag, 1977); idem, "Imhotep," *LdÄ* 3, 145–48. [J.H.J.]

3. The words "Bear witness!" were crossed out by the original scribe.

4. It is not clear what the conjurer is to carry. Is it the funeral shroud? [H.M.]

5. The reference is to Kore (Persephone). See the picture on the Niinnion Tablet in G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), fig. 88, and the discussion, pp. 213–21.

her the sword and she will give you the torches and return with the sword covered with blood. Tell her that the torches belong to her; they will catch fire, and she will take flight.

While doing this, say: "MŌZĒRPHER TACHCHAPS." Attach a phylactery[6] to your right and your left hand at night and wear it.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 14–95

*Eros[7] as assistant. / A ritual of Eros: ***consecration and preparation*** (among his operations, he sends dreams or causes sleeplessness; and he releases from an evil spirit, if you use him in a proper and holy manner, for he can perform every operation). Take [wax] of Etruria[8] and mix with it [every] kind of aromatic plant. Then make a statue of a torch-bearing Eros that is eight dactyls[9] high and has a large base to support it. Put a bow / and arrow in [his left] hand, and fashion a Psyche[10] of the same sort as Eros.

When you have completed all this, conduct a three-day consecration. You are to present to Eros fresh fruits of every kind and 7 cakes, 7 pinecones, every kind of sweetmeat, 7 lamps not colored red; also, [three] daggers, votive tablets, a bow and arrow, dates, a bowl mixed with honey wine.

After you make the statues and the presentation as indicated, next place your Eros on a table laden with the fruit / and holding both the 7 lamps, ablaze with clear olive oil, and all else listed so as to win the favor of wondrous Eros.

On the first day, after you put him on the table and arrange things as prescribed—and I describe its form in full for you, that you may understand and lack no detail—build a pure altar; that is, take two unbaked bricks and form them into 4 horn-shaped objects, on which you lay fruit-bearing branches. / Take also on the first day 7 living creatures and strangle them: one cock, a partridge, a wren, a pigeon, a turtledove, and any two nestlings you can get hold of. Do not make a burnt offering[11] of any of these; instead, you are to take them in hand and choke them, all the while holding them up to your Eros, until each of the creatures is suffocated and their breath[12] enters him. After that, place the strangled creatures on the altar together with aromatic plants / of every variety.

On the second day, strangle a male chick before your Eros and burn it as a whole offering.

On the 3rd day, place another chick on the altar; while conducting this portion of the ritual, consume the chick by yourself, allowing no one else to be present. I assure you, if you perform the above actions in a holy and pure manner, you will have complete success.

First formula to be spoken while making the burnt offering: / "I call upon you, who are on the couch of beauty, who are in the mansion of desire: serve me and, no matter where I send you, always bear the message I give you, likening yourself to some god (or goddess) such as men and women there worship, announcing all that is written out or imparted to you in speech, quickly!

6. It is not certain what the phylactery is, although it may be the shroud.
7. Cf. *PGM* VII. 479 for a parallel.
8. For this substance, see *PGM* IV. 3131.
9. That is, the measure of the finger's breadth, about 7/10 of an inch.
10. On Eros and Psyche, see *PGM* IV. 1741 and n.
11. This refers to the so-called holocaust, in which the sacrificial gifts are burnt completely (cf. *PGM* IV. 2396, 3148–49). See Nilsson, *GGR* I, 132; J. Milgrom, *IDB.S* (1976): 769–70 on *ʿŌlâ*.
12. For this peculiar purpose of sacrifice, see *PGM* XIII. 377.

"Fire overtook the greatest phantoms, and heaven swallowed unawares the orb of the holy scarab / called 'PHŌREI.'[13] Scarab, the winged ruler in midheaven, was be- 45
headed, dismembered, and wasted his greatness and glory; they confined him and took another as master of heaven.[14] You take note, and serve as my minister to anyone I choose, man or woman.

"Come to me, O master of heaven, who shine upon the world of men; serve as my minister, whether to men or to women, whether to the small or to the great, and / compel them always to do everything written by me. 50

"Come to me, O master of forms, and arouse men and women for me; force them by your ever-strong and mighty authority to do everything written or spoken by me, EISAPHSANTA PHOUREI ARNAI SYSYN PHREŌ[15] RIŌBAIOSOI, you are ATEPHTHO AŌREL ADŌNAI; afflict them with fear, trembling, terror; trouble their thoughts / with fear of you. And do everything prescribed for [me], NN. If you 55
disobey me, the sun's orb will burn out and darkness will cover the whole world. The Scarab will come down until you do for me everything I write or say—in strict obedience to me; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

Second [formula] to be spoken while making the burnt offering: "I conjure you by the one who controls the universe, laid the four foundations, and mixed the 4 / winds. You are the one who sends lightning, you are the one who thunders, you 60
are the one who shakes, you are the one who overturned all things and set them up again. Cause all men and all women to turn to love me, the man NN (or the woman NN), from the very hour when I make my petition with this binding charm,[16] on order from the most high god,[17] IAŌ ADŌNEAI ABLANATHANALBA. You are the one who embraces the Graces on the mountain top, LAMPSRĒ; you are the one who holds Necessity in your right hand, BELTEPIACH; you are the / one who looses and 65
binds, SEMESIELAMP EKRIPH. Obey me from this day forth even unto all time."

Third formula for the same offering: "I call upon you, gods of heaven and gods of earth, gods aerial and gods terrestrial. And I conjure you by the one who controls the 4 foundations, to accomplish for me, the man NN (or the woman NN) such-and-such a matter and to give me favor, sweet speech, charm with all men / and all women under creation, that they may be submissive to my every wish, in- 70
asmuch as I am the slave of the most high god, the almighty who controls the universe, MARMARIŌTH LASIMIŌLĒTH ARAAS . . . S SĒBARBAŌTH NOŌ AŌI ŌIĒR (add the spice)[18] AAAAA ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ. I give orders to Eros, who is charged with carrying out these my commandments, inasmuch as I am god of all gods, 75
IAŌN SABAŌTH ADŌNAI [ABRASAX] IARABBAI / THŌURIŌ THANAKERMĒPH PANCHONAPS."

The above formulas must be used and [spoken] during the 3 days if you are to endow the rite with full potency. But when you dispatch your Eros to accomplish

13. The relationship between the holy scarab and the name PHŌREI is not clear. Cf. the *voces magicae* below, l. 53 (PHOUREI) and the apparatus ad loc.

14. The reference to scarab mythology in ll. 45–47 is syncretistic and reminiscent of the dismemberment of Osiris. See S. Eitrem, "Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie," in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101.

15. PHREŌ is "Prē the great." It should be noted that the sun god is in conjunction with the scarab. [R.K.R.]

16. The papyrus reads παραψιμω (LSJ, s.v.: "charm acting by means of touch"); the translation follows Preisendanz's reading παραφιμω ("Zauberzwang"). See the apparatus ad loc.

17. For this epithet of IAŌ ADŌNAI, cf. *PGM* IV. 1068; XVI. 9. See G. Bertram, *TDNT* 8 (1972): 618–19, s.v. "ὕψιστος."

18. The papyrus reads ἄρτημα, "ornament"; Preisendanz takes it to be ἄρτυμα, "spice."

your desires, utter only the formula below, removing him from the table together with the things presented to him; write instructions as to what you desire on a small piece of papyrus.

Formula to be written on the piece of papyrus: "You are the babe, the living god,
80 the creature of beauty[19] . . . SAMMŌTH / SABAŌTH TABAŌTH SORPHĒ SEOURPHOUTH MOUI SI SRŌ[20] SALAMA GŌUTH ETHEIMĒOUS OUSEIRI HESEIĒ E PHTHA NOUTH SATHAĒ ISIS[21] ACHTHI EPHANOUN BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ ASĒĒAĒI. Go [to] every place and every dwelling to which I send you, to him, NN, [born of] her, NN (or to her, NN, [born of] her, NN), likening yourself to a god (or goddess) he [or she] worships. Force him to do such-and-such a matter (write as much as you wish on the piece of papyrus along with the formula). Awake, terrify him! I
85 conjure you / by the [holy] and precious name to which all creation is subject: PASICHTHŌN IBARBOU THARAKTITHEANŌ BABOUTHA KŌCHED, Amen.[22] Let such-and-such a matter come to pass immediately, immediately. . . .

". . . of the Red Sea, the one who drives the winds together from the 4 regions, the one who sits upon the lotus[23] and illumines the whole world; for you throne in the form of a crocodile, and in southerly regions you are a winged serpent. Such
90 now in very / truth is your nature, IŌIŌ BARBAR ADŌNAI KOMBALIŌPS THŌB IARMIŌOUTH. Come to me; heed this my request for service, this my request for action, O most great one, HARSAMŌSI MOUCHA LINOUCHA robber ADŌNEAI. I am he whom you met at the foot of the holy mount and to whom you gave the knowledge of your most great [name], which knowledge will I even keep in sanctity, imparting it to no one save the very initiates into your own holy mysteries, IAR-
95 BATHATRA MNĒPSIBAŌ / CHNĒMEŌPS. Come! Submit to this service and be my assistant."

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 96–106

***Himerios'[24] recipes:**

Drawing made with Typhonian ink:[25] A fiery red poppy, juice from an artichoke, seed of the Egyptian acacia, red Typhon's ocher, asbestos, quicklime, wormwood with a single stem, gum, rainwater.

100 ***To do well at the workshop***: / On the egg of a male bird[26] write and then bury the egg near the threshold where you live. "CHPHYRIS,[27] egg, which is CHORBAI SANACHARSŌ AMOUN ☩ SPHĒ SPHĒ GAKNEPHĒ SIETHŌ ☩ NOUSI NOUSI, you are the sacred egg from birth, which is SELBIOUS BATHINI PHNIĒIAĒO AŌĒ AŌĒ AŌIAŌI A PHIAEA THŌUTH IAŌ SELETĒA THEŌĒPH OXYMBRĒ ĒĒĒ III."

19. The words "babe, living god, creature of beauty" translate Egyptian epithets: *ḫwn*, "youth," *ntr ʿnḫ*, "living god," and *Wn-nfr*, "Onnophris." See *PGM* IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

20. For SERPOUTH MOUI SI SRO, "Lotus, lion, son (?) of Ram," cf. *PGM* III. 659 and n.

21. USIRI HESIE PHTHA NOUTH . . . ISI is Egyptian and means "Osiris, drowned one, Ptah, Nut . . . Isis." On Hesies, see Glossary, s.v. "Esies"; for Nut, the sky god, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 536–38, s.v. "Nut." [R.K.R.]

22. The *amen* points to Jewish influence. Cf. *PGM* VII. 271; XXIIb. 21, 25.

23. For this epithet, see *PGM* II. 101 and n.; IV. 1684; LXI. 32.

24. The papyrus reads ημεριου, which Preisendanz assumes is a reference to the fourth-century physician Himerios. See H. Goossen, "Himerios, 2," *PRE* 8 (1913):1635.

25. Cf. for this ink *PGM* VII. 653; XIa. 2.

26. Preisendanz translates "on the male egg of a bird." The idea is less of a problem when the egg is taken to be an image of the primordial egg, in which the first god comes to existence. See *PGM* III. 145 and n.

27. CHPHYRIS is the scarab. See *PGM* VII. 584 and n.

The prayer concerning the egg: "Great God, give favor, business to me and to this place where the egg lies, in the house I do my business, SELEPĒL THEŌĒPH and / Good Daimon, send to this place every business and good daily profit. You are my work. You are the great Ammon,[28] who dwells in heaven. Come, help me."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 107–21

***Charm of Agathokles[29] for sending dreams**: Take a completely black cat that died a violent death, make a strip of papyrus and write with myrrh the following, together with the [dream] you want sent,[30] and place it into the mouth of the cat. /

"I am lying,[31] I am lying, I am the great one, the one lying in [the mouth], MOMMOU THŌTH NANOUMBRĒ CHARICHA KENYRŌ PAARMIATH, [to whom belongs] the holy name, IAOU IEĒ IEOU AĒŌI, the one above the heaven; arise, YMEU NENNANA SENNANA ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI ABRASILOUA LAMPSŌREI EEI EIEI AŌĒĒŌ THĒOURIS[32] ŌA EPEIDEU EPERGA BRIŌN AMĒN. Reveal to him, NN, concerning this."

Compelling charm: "Come to me, NN, [you who] established the . . . by your own power, / you who rule the whole world, the fiery god.[33] Reveal to him, NN, THARTHAR THAMAR ATHATHA MOMMOM THANABŌTH APRANOU BAMBALĒA CHRĒTH NABOUSOULĒTH ROMBROU THARAĒL ALBANA BRŌCHRĒX ABRANA ZOUCHĒL. Hear me, because I am going to say the great name, AŌTH, before whom every god prostrates himself and every daimon shudders, for whom every angel completes those things which are assigned. Your divine name according to the seven[34] is AEĒIOYŌ IAYŌĒ EAŌOYEĒŌIA. I have spoken the / glorious name, the name for all needs. Reveal to NN, lord god."

This is the name; this Apollobex[35] also used.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 121–43

***Zminis[36] of Tentyra's spell for sending dreams**:[37] Take a clean linen cloth, and (according to Ostanes) with myrrh ink draw a figure on it which is humanlike in

28. For the invocation of Amon and Thoth in conjunction with the cosmic egg, see Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 178.

29. Nothing is known about this author.

30. Or "to whom you want to send this dream." [J.B.]

31. The papyrus has κειμι. It could be a reference to the Egyptian *kemi*, *kmj*, "the black one," an epithet of Osiris. See Schmidt, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 55 (1935): 1174, and the apparatus ad loc.

32. THĒOURIS is the Egyptian *T3-wr.t*, "Thoeris," the hippopotamus goddess who protected the bedside. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 530–35, s.v. "Nilpferd." [R.K.R.] For the Greek name, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 19, 358C: Θούηρις; and Griffiths, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* 347–48.

33. See on this epithet Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 118–20, 164.

34. That is, the seven vowels.

35. Apuleius, *Apol.* 90 calls Apollobex a famous magician, and Pliny, *NH* 30. 9, makes him the forerunner of Demokritos, who copied his works from him. But the name is also an epithet of Horus. See E. Riess, "Apollobex," *PRE* 1 (1894): 2847; Hopfner, *OZ* II, sec. 210; K. Preisendanz, "Apollobex," *PRE* 20 (1941): 1311–12.

36. The magician Zminis of Tentyra (Dendera on the Nile) is not otherwise known. See K. Preisendanz, "Zminis," Roscher 6 (1936): 762.

37. On dream sending, see I. E. S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* (London: British Museum, 1960), vol. I, pp. xx, n. 11; 63. [R.K.R.]

appearance but has four wings,[38] having the left arm outstretched[39] along with the
125 two left wings, and having the other arm bent with the fist clenched. / Then upon the head [draw] a royal headdress and a cloak over its arm, with two spirals on the cloak. Atop the head [draw] bull horns and to the buttocks a bird's tail. Have his right hand held near his stomach, and on either ankle have a sword extended.

Also write on the strip the following names of the god and whatever you want him, [NN], to see and how:[40] "CHALAMANDRIŌPH IDEARZŌ THREDAPHNIŌ /
130 ERTHIBELNIN RYTHADNIKŌ PSAMOMERICH,[41] to all of you I speak, also to you, O very powerful daimon: go into the house of this person and tell him such-and-such."

Next take a lamp neither colored red nor inscribed, and after you put a wick in it, fill it with cedar oil, and light it. Invoke the following names of the god, three [times]:[42] "CHALAMANDRIŌPH IDEARYŌTH THREDAPHNIŌ ERTHABEANIG RYTHANIKŌ PSAMMORICH, O sacred names of the god, listen to me—you also, O Good
135 Daimon, whose might is very great / among the gods, listen to me: go to him, NN, into his house, where he sleeps, into his bedroom, and stand beside him, causing fear, trembling, by using the great and mighty names of the god. And tell him such-and-such.

"I conjure you [by] your power, [by] the great god, SĒITH,[43] [by] the hour in which you were begotten a great god,[44] [by] the god revealing[45] it now (?), [by] the 365 names of the great god, to go to him, NN, this very hour, this very night, and
140 to tell / him in a dream such-and-such.

"If you disobey me and don't go to him, NN, I will tell the great god, and after he has speared you through, he will chop you up into pieces and feed your members to the mangy dog who lies among the dungheaps.[46] For this reason, listen to me immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, so I won't have to tell you again."
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XII. 144–52

145 ***Request for a dream; / an exact method for everything:**[47] Using blood from a

38. The picture is of Bes-Pantheos known from Egyptian monuments and from gemstones. See Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles* 126–41; Bonner, *SMA* 25, also nos. 251–61, plates 24–25. On the identification with El-Kronos, see A. Barb, *Gnomon* 41 (1969): 304; P. Zazoff, ed., *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. IV (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975) 387 (no. 77). For a detailed picture and description, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) 11–16.

39. Reading *ἐκτεταμένον*; see *apparatus criticus* in Preisendanz ad loc.

40. *ὡς* must be read here as a relative particle, with the meaning that the magician is to insert a description of how the dream will appear to the sleeper. See LSJ, s.v. "ὡς," A.c.

41. The *voces magicae* here have been written to conform to the second occurrence of the list in ll. 133–34. The division of the words follows the edition of C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1885), plate V, col. 4a. Preisendanz divides the names differently in both series. [R.D.K.]

42. Or the "three names of the god."

43. That is, Seth.

44. Or "[by] the hour in which you were appointed a great god." This rendering follows Leemans's edition.

45. The interpretation of the symbol, read by Preisendanz as *χ(ρηματίσοντ)α*, is open to question. See the apparatus ad loc.

46. The god is threatened in the name of Seth with the same attack Seth committed against Osiris. Cf. *PGM* VII. 940–68. [R.K.R.]

47. The translation follows the suggestion by W. B. that *ἀκριβὴς εἰς πάντα* is probably part of the title.

quail, draw on a strip of linen the god Hermes, standing, ibis-faced.[48] Then with myrrh write also the name and say the *formula*:

"Come to me here quickly, you who have the power. I call upon you, the one appointed god of gods over the spirits, to show this[49] to me in dreams. I conjure [you] by your father, Osiris, and Isis,[50] your mother, to show me one of your forms, / and reveal concerning the things I want. Your name is ĒIIOUATHI PSRĒP- 150
NOUA NERTĒR DIOCHASBARA ZARACHŌ, whom they call BALCHAM. Reveal concerning this[51] concerning all things [about which] I inquire."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 153–60

***Spell for a divine revelation**: Invoke the great name in a time of great stress, in major and pressing crises. If not, you will blame yourself.[52] In addition say three times the "IAŌ," then the great name of god. /

"I call upon you, PHTHA RA PHTHA IĒ PHTHA OUN EMĒCHA ERŌCHTH BARŌCH 155
THO[RCH]THA THŌM CHAIEOUCH ARCHANDABAR ŌEAEŌ YNĒŌCH ĒRA ŌN ĒLŌPH BOM PHTHA ATHABRASIA ABRIASŌTH BARBARBELŌCHA BARBAIAŌCH; let there be depth, breadth, length, brightness, ABLANATHANALBA ABRASIAOUA AKRAMMACHAMAREI THŌTH HŌR ATHŌŌPŌ. Come in, lord, and reveal."

The serpent-faced god[53] will come in and answer you. When you dismiss [him], make an offering of / the skin of a serpent. 160
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 160–78

*[**Charm to release from bonds**:][54] If you want to do something spectacular and want to free yourself from danger, stand at the door and say the spell, and having said it, go out, adding: "Let the bonds of him, NN, be loosened, and let the doors be opened for him, and let no one see him."

You may even prove that it happens. Bind someone securely and shut him in a house. Stand outside and say the spell six or seven times thus: "I call upon you great gods, with a loud voice, / AISAR AIŌTH OUAIGNŌR MARSABŌOUTŌRTHE LABATH 165
ERMOU CHOŌRTHEN MANACHTHŌRPH PECHRĒPH TAŌPHPŌTHTHŌCHO THARŌCH BALETHAN CHEBRŌOUTHAST ADŌNAI HARMIŌTH."

Whenever [you say] this spell, and he has been released, say this besides, in order that the doors might open: "OCHLOBARACHŌ LAILAM DARIDAM [DARDAM] DARDARAMPTOU IARTHA IERBA DIERBA BARŌTHA THIARBA ARBITHŌ . . . Ō MAAR SEMESILAM MARMARACHNEU MANE THŌTH; holy one, enter and release him, NN, and give him a way / of escape, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS, you who loosen all 170

48. For an ibis-faced Hermes, see *PGM* VIII. 10.

49. Or "such and such." That is, the practitioner supplies here his request. See below, l. 151.

50. Osiris and Isis are the parents of Horus, not of Thoth/Hermes as one might infer from the preceding.

51. See n. 49 above.

52. Cf. the *lex sacra* from Halikarnassos, published by M. Çetin Şahin, "Five Inscriptions from Halicarnassus," *ZPE* 20 (1976): 22–23. [W.B.]

53. When depth, breadth, length, and brightness are summoned, this may indicate the reenactment of creation. In such a context, a serpent-faced deity (l. 159) would be appropriate, because the serpent form is the primordial form of the gods. See K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1929) 26–27. [R.K.R.]

54. *This title for the spell does not appear in the papyrus manuscript and has been supplied by* Preisendanz. It is, however, typical of other spells to begin with the phrase, "If you wish to do (this and this). . . ." Cf. e.g., *PGM* XII. 179–81; XIII. 239–64, and often. [R.D.K.]

bonds and you who loosen the iron fetter that has been placed around him, NN, because the great, unutterable, holy, righteous, awful, powerful, unspeakable, fearful and not-to-be-despised daimon of the great god commands you, SOROERMER [PHERGAR] BAX MAMPHRI OURIXG."

When the bonds break, say: "I thank you, lord, [because] the holy spirit, the unique one, the living one, has [released] me."

And say this spell again: / "Star-grouping god, you thunderbolt-with-great-clap-Zeus-confining-world-flashing-abundant-bolt-bestowing daimon, cracking-through-the-air, ray-producing, mind-piercing, you who [produce] cunning."

And use also the name of Helios for everything: "Fiery, ĒPHAIĒ, Hephaistos, who is shining with fire, brightly moving, ANANŌCHA AMARZA MARMARAMŌ."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 179–81

*If you want someone to cease being angry with you, write with myrrh [on linen][55] this / name of anger: "CHNEŌM."[56] Hold it in your left [hand and say]: "I am restraining the anger of all, especially of him, NN, which is CHNEŌM."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 182–89

*"Greetings, lord, you who are the means to obtain favor for the universe and for the inhabited [world]. Heaven has become a dancing place [for you], ARSENOPHRĒ, O king of the heavenly [gods], ABLANATHANALBA, you who possess righteousness, AKRAMMACHAMAREI, gracious [god,] SANKANTHARA, ruler / of nature, SATRAPERKMĒPH, origin of the heavenly [world], ATHTHANNOU ATHTHANNOU ASTRAPHAI IASTRAPHAI PAKEPTŌTH PA . . . ĒRINTASKLIOUTH ĒPHIŌ MARMARAŌTH.

"[Let] my outspokenness not leave me. [But] let every tongue and language listen to me, because I am PERTAŌ [MĒCH CHACH] MNĒCH SAKMĒPH[57] IAŌOYEĒ ŌĒŌ ŌĒŌ IEOYŌĒIĒIAĒA IĒŌYOEI, Give [me graciously] whatever you want."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock. Although untitled, the first line of this invocation shows it is a "favor charm."

PGM XII. 190–92

***Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear**: Take olive oil [from] a clean[58] . . . onto the left hand and say the [names. Then] smear yourself and go to sleep having your head towards the east. "IĒSOUS[59] ANOUI. . . ."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 193–201

***[To make] a tincture** [viz., "reduction"] **of gold**:[60] Take thickened pungent vinegar and also have ready 8 drachmas of ordinary salt, 2 drachmas of rock alum that has clear cleavage, 4 drachmas of massicot, and triturate them [together] with the

55. Or byssus.

56. CHNEŌM here and in l. 181 is probably Egyptian Khnum. Cf. *PGM* I. 29. [R.K.R.]

57. MNĒCH SAKMĒPH corresponds to Egyptian "beneficient, son of Agathodaimon." For Kmeph, Knephis, cf. *PGM* I. 27; μνηχ is Egyptian *mnḫ*, an adjective of the preceding noun. Cf. *PGM* II. 77. [R.K.R.]

58. A noun seems to be missing here.

59. The name of Jesus appears at the beginning of an invocation; the rest is lost.

60. The term ἴωσις or ἐξίωσις (l. 198) probably refers to the process of reduction in alchemy. Since there is no gold included in the papyrus until l. 198, the process may actually be designed to produce

vinegar for 3 days, and strain off [and] / use. Then add one drachma blue vitriol [cupric sulfate] to the vinegar, 1/2 obol in weight of chalcopyrite, 8 obols of rock alum, 1/2 obol in weight of melanterite, a carat [viz., 1/1728 lb. = *siliqua*] of ordinary salt, 2 [carats] of Cappadocian [salt].

Make a leaf [of metal] of 2 fourths by weight, dip [it] 3 times into fire until the leaf [breaks up] into fragments. Then take up the pieces [and] assume them as "reduced" to the metallic state of gold.

Treatment: Take [2] fourths by weight of gold, make a leaf and [purify it in] fire, dip it in blue vitriol / triturated with water.

And another [treatment]: Pound dry cupric sulfate and dip [it] in the vinegar.

(Yet another [treatment]: with the compound): Pour off the verdigris and throw it in.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XII. 201–69

***Placing (a) ring.**[61] **A little ring** [useful] for every [magical] operation and for success. Kings and governors [try to get it]. Very effective. Taking an air-colored[62] jasper, engrave on it a snake in a circle with its tail in its mouth, and also in the middle of [the circle formed by] the snake [Selene][63] having two stars / on the two horns, and above these, Helios, beside whom ABRASAX should be inscribed; and on the opposite side of the stone from this inscription, the same name ABRASAX, and around the border you will write the great and holy and omnicompetent [spell], the name IAŌ SABAŌTH. And when you have consecrated the stone[64] wear it in a gold ring, when you need it, [provided] you are pure [at that time], and you will succeed in everything you may wish. You are to consecrate the ring together with the stone in the rite used for all [such] objects. A similar engraving in gold, / too, is equally effective.

The consecration [requires] the following equipment: Making a pit in a holy place open to the sky, [or] if [you have none] in a clean, sanctified tomb looking toward the east, and making over the pit an altar of wood from fruit trees, sacrifice an all-white goose, with no flecks [of color], and 3 roosters and 3 pigeons. Make these whole burnt offerings and burn, with the birds, all sorts of incense. Then, standing by the pit, look / to the east and, pouring on a libation of wine, honey, milk, [and] saffron, and holding over the smoke, while you pray, [the stone] in which are engraved the inscriptions, say:

"I invoke and beseech the consecration, O gods of the heavens, O gods under the earth, O gods circling in the middle region from one womb. O masters of all living and dead, [O] heedful in many necessities of gods and / men. O concealers of things now seen, O directors of the Nemeseis[65] who spend every hour with you,[66]

---

pseudo gold. This is in keeping with the fact that the section 193–201 is full of technical terminology from alchemy. See M. P. Crosland, *Historical Studies in the Language of Chemistry* (London: Heinemann, 1962) 3–4, and esp. 54; A. J. Hopkins, "Transmutation by Colour: A Study of Earliest Alchemy," in J. Ruska, ed., *Studien zur Geschichte der Chemie. Festgabe E. O. von Lippmann* (Berlin: Springer, 1927) 9–14. [J.S.]

61. The symbols printed in Preisendanz's text as magical characters are Demotic *w' gswr*, "a ring." Cf. *PGM* XII. 270. [R.K.R.]

62. According to LSJ, s.v., a "light-blue" or perhaps "grey, cloudy" color.

63. That is, a crescent moon.

64. On the consecration of amulets, see *PGM* IV. 2179 and n.

65. For the Nemeseis, cf. *PGM* VII. 503 and n.; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 311–12.

66. The papyrus here accidentally repeats the preceding clause about the Nemeseis.

O senders of Fate who travels around the whole world, O commanders of the rulers, O exalters of the abased, O revealers of the hidden, O guides of the winds,
225 O arousers of the waves, O bringers of / fire (at a certain time), O creators and benefactors of every race, O nourishers of every race, O lords and controllers of kings, come, benevolent, for that [purpose] for which I call you, as benevolent assistants in this rite for my benefit. I am a plant named Baïs (palm leaf); I am an outflow of blood from the tomb of the great One [between] the palm trees;[67] I am the faith[68] found in men, and am he who declares the holy names, who [is] always alike, who
230 came forth from the abyss.[69] I am / CHRATES[70] who came forth from the eye [of the sun].[71] I am the god whom no one sees or rashly names. I am the sacred bird, Phoinix.[72] I am Krates the holy, called MARMARAUŌTH. I am Helios who showed forth light. I am Aphrodite called TYPHI.[73] I am the holy sender of winds. I am Kronos who showed forth light. I am Mother of gods, called Heaven. I am Osiris,
235 called water. I am Isis, called dew.[74] / I am ĒSENEPHYS,[75] called spring. I am the image resembling the true images. I am SOUCHOS[76] [who appear as] a crocodile. Therefore, I beseech [you], come as my helpers, for I am about to call on the hidden and ineffable name, the forefather of gods, overseer and lord of all."

"Come to me, you from the four winds, god, ruler of all, who have breathed spirits into men for life, master of the good things in the world. Hear me, lord,
240 whose / hidden name is ineffable. The daimons, hearing it, are terrified—the name BARBAREICH ARSEMPHEMPHRŌTHOU—and of it the sun, of it the earth, hearing, rolls over; Hades, hearing, is shaken; rivers, sea, lakes, springs, hearing, are frozen; rocks, hearing it, are split. Heaven is your head; ether, body; earth, feet; and the water around you, ocean, [O] Agathos Daimon.[77] You are lord, the begetter and nourisher and increaser of all."

67. For the efflux of Osiris, see *Book of the Dead*, spells 63b sec. S 1; 119 sec. S 1; 147a sec. S 1; 147g sec. S 1; 149n sec. S 1; 149o. [R.K.R.]

68. Preisendanz treats the term as a hypostatized name (Pistis, "Faith"). See Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* 234–35; D. Lührmann, "Glaube," *RAC* 11 (1979): 84–86.

69. Preisendanz takes *βύθος* to be the name of a deity. Bythos is the name of the primordial deity in Valentinian gnosticism. For passages, see *PGL*, s.v. "Βύθος"; *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, index s.v. "Bythos." See also Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, passim; idem, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 58.

70. Preisendanz, following Eitrem, takes this name to be Egyptian for *Chrat*, "child (Horus)." Actually, the papyrus reads *σοκρατης*; see C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1885) 26–27. Eitrem's emendation was taken up by J. Kroll, "Chrates," *PRE* 11 (1922): 1641–42; K. Preisendanz, "Pachrates," *PRE* 18 (1942): 2071–74, esp. 2072. The fact, however, remains that the papyrus reads Socrates in l. 230 and Crates in l. 231.

71. The papyrus reads *ουαγιου*; the translation follows Preisendanz's emendation *ἐκ τοῦ οὐατίου*. Cf. *PGM* V. 75.

72. On the Phoenix, see Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques* 231–62. Cf. *PGM* II. 104.

73. Typhi, the epithet of Aphrodite, may correspond to Egyptian Triphis (*T3-rpy.t*), "the maiden." See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 838–39, s.v. "Triphis." [R.K.R.]

74. For Isis as dew, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 12, 355F–365A; 33, 364B, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 303, 420, 424. [R.K.R.]

75. ĒSENEPHYS may correspond to Egyptian "Isis the beautiful." Preisendanz, however, understands it to refer to Isis-Neph[th]ys. [R.K.R.]

76. Souchos is Sobek, the Egyptian crocodile god. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 755–59, s.v. "Suchos." [R.K.R.]

77. On the cosmic body of the deity, see *PGM* XIII. 767–72; XXI. 3–7. See J. Assmann, "Primat und Transzendenz: Struktur und Genese der ägyptischen Vorstellung eines höchsten Wesens," in *Aspekte der ägyptischen Religion*, ed. W. Westendorf, *Göttinger Orientforschungen*, 4th series 9 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979) 7–42.

"Who[78] molded the forms of the beasts [of the Zodiac]? Who / found [their] routes? Who was the begetter of fruits? Who raises up the mountains? Who commanded the winds to hold to their annual tasks? What Aion nourishing an Aion rules the Aions? One deathless god. You are the begetter of all and assign souls to all and control all, king of the Aions and lord, [before] whom mountains and plains together tremble, springs and streams of rivers, and valleys of earth, and spirits, and [all things] that are. High shining heaven trembles before you, and every sea, / lord, ruler of all, holy one, and master of all. By your power the elements exist and all things come into being, the route of sun and moon, of night and dawn—all things in air and earth and water and the breath of fire. Yours is the eternal processional way [of heaven], in which your seven-lettered name is established for the harmony of the seven sounds [of the planets] which utter [their] voices according to the 28 forms of the moon. Yours are the beneficent effluxes of the stars, daimons and fortunes / and fates. You give wealth, good old age, good children, strength, food. You, lord of life, ruling the upper and the lower realm, whose justice is not thwarted, whose glorious name the angels hymn, who have truth that never lies, hear me and complete for me this operation so that I may wear this power in every place, in every time, without being smitten or afflicted, / so as to be preserved intact from every danger while I wear this power. Yea, lord, for to you, the god in heaven, all things are subject, and none of the daimons or spirits will oppose me because I have called on your great name for the consecration. And again I call upon you, according to Egyptians, PHNŌ EAI IABŌK; according to Jews, ADŌNAIE SABAŌTH; according to Greeks, "the king of all, ruling alone"; / according to the high priests, "hidden, invisible, overseer of all"; according to Parthians, "OUERTŌ,[79] master of all." Consecrate and empower this object for me, for the entire and glorious time of my life."

The names inscribed on the back side of the stone are these: "IAŌ SABAŌTH ABRASAX."

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XII. 270–350

***A Ring. A little ring for success and favor and victory.** It makes men famous and great and admired and rich as can be, or it makes possible friendships with suchlike men. The circlet is always yours [to use] justly and successfully for all purposes. It contains a first-rate name.

Helios is to be engraved on a heliotrope stone[80] as follows: A thick-bodied snake[81] in the shape of a wreath should be [shown] having its tail in its / mouth. Inside [the circle formed by] the snake let there be a sacred scarab[82] [beetle surrounded by] rays. On the reverse side of the stone you are to inscribe the name in hieroglyphics, as the prophets pronounce [it]. Then, having consecrated [the ring], wear it when you are pure.

The world has had nothing greater than this. For when you have it with you you will always get whatever you ask from anybody. Besides, it calms the angers of masters and kings. Wearing it, whatever you may say to anyone, you will be believed,

78. The dactylic hexameters (ll. 244–52) are also the reconstructed Hymn 1. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 237. [E.N.O.]

79. OUERTŌ corresponds to the Egyptian epithet "the great one of earth." [R.K.R.]

80. A green chalcedony with small spots of red jasper. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 37. 165. [J.S.]

81. That is, the Ouroboros serpent. See Glossary, s.v. "Ouroboros."

82. On the scarab, see *PGM* IV. 943 and the Glossary, s.v. "Scarab."

and you will be pleasing to everybody. Anyone can open doors and break chains and rocks if he / touches them with the stone, that is, the gem, and says the name written below. It also works for demoniacs. Just give it [to one] to wear, and the daimon will immediately flee. So at dawn stand facing the sun, holding the well-planned, beneficent, divine, holy, useful, economical, merciful stone which provides your needs, the beautiful and becoming one, [say]:

"Greatest god, who exceed / all power, I call on you, IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI EILŌEIN[83] SEBŌEIN TALLAM CHAUNAŌN SAGĒNAM ELEMMEDŌR CHAPSOUTHI SETTŌRA SAPHTHA NOUCHITHA, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob,[84] CHATHATHICH ZEUPEIN NĒPHYGOR ASTAPHAIOS KATAKERKNĒPH KONTEOS KATOUT KĒRIDEU MARMARIŌTH LIKYXANTA BESSOUM SYMEKONTEU, the opponent of Thoth, / MASKELLI MASKELLŌTH PHNOU KENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA HIPPOCHTHŌN RĒSICHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX NYXIŌ ABRŌROKORE KODĒRE MOUISDRŌ, King, THATH PHATH CHATH XEUZĒN ZEUZEI SOUSĒNĒ ELATHATH MELASIŌ KOUKŌR NEUSŌŌ PACHIŌ XIPHNŌ THEMEL NAUTH BIOKLĒTH SESSŌR CHAMEL CHASINEU XŌCHŌ IALLINŌI / SEISENGPHARANGĒS MASICHIŌR IŌTABAAS CHENOUCHI CHAAM PHACHIARATH NEEGŌTHARA IAM ZEŌCH AKRAMMACHAMAREI Cheroubei(m) BAINCHŌŌCH EIOPHALEON ICHNAŌTH PŌE XEPHITHŌTH XOUTHOUTH THOŌTHIOU XERIPHŌNAR EPHINARASŌR CHANIZARA ANAMEGAR IŌO XTOURORIAM IŌK NIŌR CHETTAIOS ELOUMAIOS NŌIŌ DAMNAMENEU / AXIŌTHŌPH PSETHAIAKKLŌPS SISAGETA NEORIPHRŌR HIPPOKELEPHOKLŌPS ZEINACHA IAPHETHANA A E Ē I O Y Ō. I have called on you, greatest god, and through you on all things, that you may give divine and supreme strength to this image and may make it effective and powerful against all [opponents] and to be able to call back souls, move spirits, subject legal opponents, strengthen friendships, produce all [sorts of] profits, bring / dreams, give prophecies, cause psychological passions and bodily sufferings and incapacitating illness, and perfect all erotic philters. Please, lord, bring to fulfillment a complete consecration."

When you perform this rite, say [the spell] three times each day, in the third, sixth, and ninth hour, and this for fourteen days, beginning when the moon begins its third quarter. And try to have the goddess [i.e., the moon] either [rising] in [the Zodiacal sign of] the Bull or the Virgin or Scorpion or the Water Carrier or the Fishes. Also when you are performing the consecration, each time / you recite [the spell] pour as libation the [fluids] specified above and all kinds of perfumes except frankincense. And when you have completed the consecration properly, have a live rooster with a double comb—either white or yellow; keep away from black—and after the consecration cut the rooster open and stick the [stone with its] image well into the guts of the rooster, taking care that the entrails of the animal be not broken. Leave [it there] for one day, / then in the ninth hour of the night take [it] out and put [it] away in a holy place, and use as [seems] best.

Whenever you wish to command the god, give [your] command, saying the greatest [name] OUPHŌR, and he will perform. You have [now] the consecration [to secure] the supreme and divine action. This OUPHŌR is the [god] whom Urbicus used, the holy, true OUPHŌR. Here is truly written out, with all brevity, [the rite] by which all modeled images and engravings / and carved stones are made alive. For this is the true [rite], and the others such as are widely circulated, are falsified and made up of vain verbosity. So keep this in a secret place as a great mystery. Hide it, hide it! It is—the beginning—

83. Almost certainly a misspelling of *elohim*, a Hebrew word meaning "god."

84. The names are misspelled as Abraan, Isak, Iakkōbi.

"The gates of heaven were opened. The gates of earth were opened. / The route of the sea was opened. The route of the rivers was opened. My spirit was heard by all gods and daimons. My spirit was heard by the spirit of heaven. My spirit was heard by the terrestrial spirit. My spirit was heard by the marine spirit. / My spirit was heard by the riverine spirit. Therefore give spirit to the mystery[85] I have prepared, O gods whom I have named and have called on. Give breath to the mystery I have prepared."

Hide, hide the true [spell to control?] OUPHŌR, / which contains the truth in summary. ***The invocation to*** *OUPHŌR*:[86]

"ĒI IEOU MAREITH
ĒI IEOU MONTHEATHI MONGITH
ĒI IEOU CHAREŌTH MONKĒB
ĒI IEOU SŌCHOU SŌRSŌĒ
/ ĒI IEOU TIŌTIŌ OUIĒR
ĒI IEOU CHARŌCHSI CHARMIŌTH
ĒI IEOU SATHIMŌOYEĒOY
ĒI IEOU RAIRAI MOURIRAI
ĒI IEOU Amoun ĒEI Osiris
/ ĒI IEOU̅ PHIRIMNOUN[87]
ĒI IEOU ANMORCHATHI OUĒR
ĒI IEOU ANCHEREPHRENEPSOUPHIRINGCH
ĒI IEOU ORCHIMORŌIPOUGTH
ĒI IEOU MACHPSACHATHANTH
/ ĒI IEOU MOROTH."

*Tr.: Morton Smith. The Demotic title (line 270) is written between the sections.

PGM XII. 351–64

***Demokritos' "sphere": prognostic of life and death.** Find out what day of the month[88] the sick one took to bed. Add his name from birth[89] to the day of the month and divide by thirty.[90] Look up on the "sphere" the quotient: if the number is on the upper register, the person will live, but if it is on the lower register, he will die.

85. That is, the magical ring.

86. These invocations begin with a formula corresponding to the Egyptian *i i3w*, "O, hail!" [R.K.R.]

87. PHIRIMNOUN corresponds to Egyptian "He who comes forth from Nun (the abyss)." Cf. *PGM* XII. 229. [R.K.R.]

88. Literally, "know in relation to the moon." Beginning with the new moon, each day of the lunar month can be given a number from one to thirty.

89. The *praenomen*, or first name, among the Romans. Each letter of the Greek alphabet has a numerical value.

90. Literally, "see how many times thirty there are." In other words, the sum of the numerical value of the name and the value of the day on which the person took ill, is divided by thirty.

1	10	19
2	11	20
3	13	23
4	14	25
7	16	26
9	17	27
5	15	22
6	18	28
8	21	29
12	24	30

*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell. A similar "sphere" is attributed to Petosiris, the mythical Egyptian astrologer. The so-called sphere is only a circle or other plane figure, in this case a rectangle, but even when the circle is reduced to a rectangle, it is called a sphere. For full discussion of this kind of "astrological medicine," see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris 1899, repr. 1963) 537–42, esp. 538, and Thorndike, *A History of Magic I*, 682ff.; see also V. Alfieri, *Gli atomisti, frammenti e testimonianze* (Bari 1936) 305–6, n. 801 and Budge, *Egyptian Magic* 228–30.

PGM XII. 365–75

***Charm for causing separation**: On a pot for smoked fish inscribe a spell with a bronze stylus and recite it afterwards and put it where they [i.e., your victims] are, where they usually return, repeating at the same time this spell: "I call upon you, god, you who are in the empty air, you who are terrible, invisible, and great, you who afflict the earth and shake the universe, you who love disturbances and hate stability and scatter the clouds / from one another, IAIA IAKOUBIAI IŌ ERBĒTH, IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH BASDOUMA PATATHNAX APOPSS OSESRŌ ATAPH THABRAOU ĒŌ THATHTHABRA BŌRARA AROBREITHA BOLCHOSĒTH KOKKOLOIPTOLĒ RAMBITHNIPS: give to him, NN, the son of her, NN, strife, war; and to him, NN, the son of her, NN, odiousness, enmity, just as Typhon and Osiris had"[91] (but if it is a husband and wife, "just as Typhon and Isis had"). "Strong Typhon, very / powerful one, perform your mighty acts."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This charm provides a means for effecting a breach between two men's friendship or love for each other, with a variant formula inserted to make the spell work against a husband and wife.

PGM XII. 376–96

***Charm to induce insomnia**: Take a living bat and on the right wing paint with myrrh the following figure, and on the left write the 7 names of the god as well as: "Let her, NN whom NN bore, lie awake until she consents." And so release the bat again.

Perform this spell at the waning of the moon[92] when the goddess is in her third night, and the woman will die for lack of sleep, without lasting / 7 days.

This charm cannot at any time have an antidote. But if you at some time wish one, do not release the bat, but keep it in custody, and do this as well: when you want to release it, wash off with spring water [what] has been written on the wings and release the bird. But do not do this, save for a great intrigue.

91. On the enmity between Typhon/Seth and Osiris, see *PGM* VII. 964 and n.

92. That is, the moon goddess Selene.

This then is the figure:



/ ***The names to be written on the left wing are these***: "I call upon you, great god, THATHABATHATH / PETENNABOUTHI PEPTOU BAST[93] EIĒSOUS OUAIR AMOUN OUTHI ASCHELIDONĒTH / BATHARIBATH; let her, NN, lie awake through the whole night and day, until she dies, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 397–400

***To gain favor and friendship forever**: Take a pasithea or wormwood root and write this name on it in a holy manner: ‡ϒΛ⊢ʃ–3 ᘐᘐL. Then carry it, and you will be an object of favor, friendship, and admiration to people who see you. /

The formula: 1 dram of myrrh, 4 drams of truffle, 2 drams of blue vitriol, 2 drams of oak gall, 3 drams of gum arabic.
*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 401–44

***Interpretations** which the temple scribes employed, from the holy writings, in translation. Because of the curiosity of the masses they [i.e., the scribes] inscribed the names of the herbs and other things which they employed on the statues of the gods, so that they [i.e., the masses], since they do not take precaution, / might not practice magic, [being prevented] by the consequence of their misunderstanding.[94] But we have collected the explanations [of these names] from many copies [of the sacred writings], all of them secret.

Here they are:[95]

A snake's head: a leech.

93. On Bastet, the Egyptian cat goddess, see *PGM* III. 1 and n.

94. Cf. V. F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972), Hymn IV. 37–39: "Reliably learning these facts from men who study history, I myself have set them all up on inscribed pillars and translated (into Greek) for Greeks the power of a Prince who was a god" (pp. 64–65). Isidorus himself cannot read the hieroglyphs.

95. For similar lists of names, cf. *De succedaneis* transmitted among the works of Galen, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, ed. C. G. Kühn, vol. 19 (Lipsiae: Officina libraria Car. Cnoblochii, 1830) 721–

A snake's "ball of thread": this means soapstone. /
Blood of a snake: hematite.
A bone of an ibis: this is buckthorn.
Blood of a hyrax:[96] truly of a hyrax.
"Tears"[97] of a Hamadryas baboon: dill juice.
Crocodile dung: Ethiopian soil. /
Blood of a Hamadryas baboon: blood of a spotted gecko.
Lion semen: Human semen.
Blood of Hephaistos: wormwood.
Hairs of a Hamadryas baboon: dill seed.
Semen of Hermes: dill. /
Blood of Ares: purslane.
Blood of an eye: tamarisk gall.[98]
Blood from a shoulder: bear's breach[99]
From the loins: camomile.
A man's bile: turnip sap.[100] /
A pig's tail: leopard's bane.[101]
A physician's bone: sandstone.
Blood of Hestia: camomile.
An eagle: wild garlic (?).[102]
Blood of a goose: a mulberry tree's "milk." /
Kronos' spice: piglet's milk.
A lion's hairs: "tongue" of a turnip.[103]
Kronos' blood: . . . of cedar.
Semen of Helios: white hellebore.
Semen of Herakles: this is mustard-rocket.[104] /
[A Titan's] blood: wild lettuce.[105]
Blood from a head: lupine.
A bull's semen: egg of a blister beetle.[106]

47, as well as the adapted version of Galen's tract in Paul of Aegina, *Paulus Aegineta, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum IX/2*, ed. I. L. Heiberg, vol. II (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1924) 401–8; and Dioscorides' *Materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1907–14). [J.S.]

96. Probably the rock hyrax (*Procavia capensis*), also mentioned in the LXX Lv 11:6; Dt 14:7; Ps 103 (104): 18; Prv 24:61 (30:26). [J.S.]

97. Perhaps the "sleep sand" from the eyes of baboons. [J.S.]

98. Cf. Dioscorides 1. 75; also 1. 89. [J.S.]

99. Probably to be emended to ἄκανθος (*Acanthus mollis* L. or *Helleborus foetidus* L.). [J.S.]

100. Probably to be emended to βουνίας as in Dioscorides 2. 111, a kind of turnip (probably *Brassica napus* L.). [J.S.]

101. Literally, "scorpion-tail," probably a variety of "leopard's bane" in the genus *Boronicum*, or one of the heliotropes. Cf. Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 9. 13. 6; Nicander, *Alexiph.* 145; Dioscorides 4. 190. 1. See J. Scarborough, "Theophrastus on Herbals and Herbal Remedies," *Journal of the History of Biology* 11 (1978):373–74, with n. 120; idem, "Nicander's Toxicology II: Spiders, Scorpions, Insects, and Myriapods," *Pharmacy in History* 21 (1979):3–34, 73–92. [J.S.]

102. The papyrus reads οσελγεβει, which the editors read either as χελκβει, "wild garlic" (*Trigonella foenumgraecum*), following Griffith, ad loc.; *PGM* V. 70, or as ἑλλέβορος, "hellebore." [J.S.]

103. As emended in l. 425 (see above, n. 100), referring to the leaves of the taproot. [J.S.]

104. Probably *Eruca sativa* Mill. [J.S.]

105. See on this Dioscorides 2. 136. [J.S.]

106. The blister beetle played a role in the manufacture of the aphrodisiac known as Spanish fly. See J. Scarborough, "Some Beetles in Pliny's Natural History," *Coleopterists Bulletin* 31 (1977):293–96; idem, "Nicander's Toxicology" (see above, n. 101). [J.S.]

A hawk's heart: heart of wormwood.
Semen of Hephaistos: this is fleabane. /
Semen of Ammon: houseleek. 440
Semen of Ares: clover.
Fat from a head: spurge.
From the belly: earth-apple.
From the foot: houseleek.[107]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz (ll. 401–7) and John Scarborough (ll. 408–45) who are also responsible for the respective notes. The "interpretations" refers to the secret list of plant names below; cf. the *Discourse on the Eighth and the Ninth* 61, 19ff., in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 296–97; *2 Jeu*, chaps. 45–48; *Test Sol* 13.6; see Gudeman, "Lyseis," *PRE* 13 (1927): 2511–29.

PDM xii. 50–61 [*PGM* XII. 445–48]

*A spell for separating one person from another: Dung of . . . and you put it [in] a 50 [1]
document, and you write on a document of papyrus these great names / together 55 [6]
with the name of the man, and you bury it under the doorsill of the house.

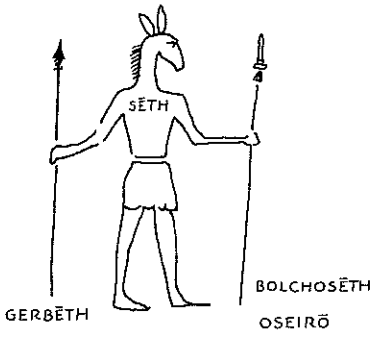
Here are the names for (?) it and you recite them over it also, 7 times: "†IO-ERBĒTH †IO-SĒTH[108] †IO-BŌLGHŌSĒTH[109] †IO-PAGERBĒTH †IO-PATATHNAGS †LĒE-MENG.RĒ †IO-ŌSESRO[110] / †IO-GHLŌNTOĒPS, separate NN, born of NN, from NN, (445–48)
born of NN!" It is . . . : "Separate Isis from . . ." (formula: 7 times). 60 [11]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 38–39, col. IV, ll. 1–12. The Old Coptic/Greek and Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 57–60 [8–11] are transcribed as Greek in *PGM* XII. 445–48 (*Kol.* XIV) in Preisendanz. A variant of the same spell follows immediately in ll. 62–75, a spell in which a magical figure is supplied. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 62–75 [*PGM* XII. 449–52]

*Another: You bring a . . . and you write the names on it, and you bury [it] in the road of. . . .

Formula: †BRAG †GRAB †BRAGH †HŌSPERTHNAKS[111] / †BHRIENTHE(?)GH †BAS-PHETHŌI †ATHRYPH †PATATHNAG †APŌPSI †IŌ-BĒTH †IŌ-BŌLGHŌSĒTH †IŌ-PAG-ERBĒTH,[112] separate NN born of NN, from NN born of NN!" Two [times] . . . You 65 [16]
(449–52)
bring a sherd . . . of beer of . . . which is burnt, and you write [on] it a donkey / in 70 [21]
this manner:



107. See on this plant Dioscorides 4. 88. [J.S.]
108. Ending includes Egyptian god Seth. [J.H.J.]
109. See n. 108 above.
110. Or, perhaps, IŌ ŌSEIRŌ, as in the label to the figure. [J.H.J.]
111. HŌSPER may be for ὥσπερ, "similarly." [R.K.R.]
112. See figure.

"Separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!" And you say this name to it again, 7 times, and you lift the sherd, and you . . . in the house in which they
75 [26] are. / You do it. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975):38–39, col. IV, ll. 13–26. The Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 15–18 are transcribed as Greek in *PGM* XII. 449–52 (*Kol.* XIV). Words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 76–107 [*PGM* XII. 453–65]

*Another: . . . of a black donkey,[113] and you put a . . . which is . . . , and you leave [it] in it for three days . . . it. You should cook it for one night . . . , and you should
80 [5] bring a / strip of . . . , and you should write . . . the names on it with donkey blood, and you should gather outside . . . saying, "Separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!" And you should . . . and you should . . . the urine. . . .

85 [10] Here is the ***name*** which you should write it: / . . . "THALAMAXI, separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!"

. . . again on the day of separating (another [manuscript] says: "beating" [?]),
90 [15] . . . of a donkey and a . . . / urine (?), and you put them in a new ladle (?) and you . . . until they come . . . , and you put . . . and you . . . the sherd . . . and you [write] these names . . . and you . . . in the above-mentioned house.

95 [20] / Here are the names: "I call upon you, you who are in the [empty air], you who
(453–65) are terrible, you who are an invisible god, you who cause destruction and desolation, you who hate a stable household and you who do mischief.[114] I call upon your great name; cause him, NN, to be separated from him, NN, IŌ IŌ IŌBRACH KRABROUKRIOU BATRIOU APOMPS STROUTELIPS IAK[OUBIAI][115] IŌ PAKERBĒTH PAKERBĒTH, god of gods . . . at the gate of IAŌ. Separate him, NN, from him, NN, because I am the daimon XANTHIS[116] OUBATH . . . E . . . TEBERETERRI . . . EI . . . , separate him, [NN], from him, NN."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 76–95), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975):40–41, col. III, ll. 1–20; and R. F. Hock (ll. 96–107), following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 453–65.

PDM xii. 108–18 [*PGM* XII. 466–68]

*A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man . . . : You bring dung, hair and hair . . .
110 [3] which is dead, / and you mix them with fresh blooms, and you put it in a new papyrus after writing on the papyrus first with my ink, saying, "May NN, born of NN, hate NN, born of NN!" And you recite these true names over it 7 times, and you bind the papyrus, and you put it in the water of. . . .

115 [8] Here are / the true names: 'IAKYMBIAI IAŌ 'IŌERBĒTH 'IŌBOLGHOSĒTH 'BA-
(466–68) SELE OM 'GITATHNAGS 'APSOPS 'Ō.EL.T, separate NN, born [of] NN, from NN, born of NN; hurry, hurry; be quick, be quick!"

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975):42–43, col. II, ll. 1–18. The Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 8–10 are transcribed by Preisendanz as Greek in *PGM* XII. 466–68. Words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

113. On the donkey as the image of Seth, see the Glossary, s.v. "Typhon-Seth."
114. So following the emendation in Preisendanz; cf. the apparatus ad loc.
115. Supplying in the lacuna Ἰακο[υβιαι], a name attested elsewhere.
116. The reading of this name is, however, textually uncertain.

PDM xii. 119–34 [*PGM* XII. 469–70; 471–73]

*A spell for it: Surround (?) . . . of . . . another [manuscript] says . . . : / You (?) write [the] true names with ink . . . and you write at its bottom, . . . to me Anubis, saying, "Surround (?) NN, born of NN!" . . . you should write on its bottom . . . "vex NN, born of NN!" and you should . . . them to it again, and you should . . . fire, flame (?), and you should [bind] . . . of the hair of the woman with . . . , / and you should put a . . . a bitch which is dead. 120 [13] 125 [18]

Its formula: "Rouse yourself and depart, at the undertaking ward off responses of each penalty . . . woman." You write these words on a new papyrus with myrrh ink, and you put it in . . . of a . . . / built (?), and you put it in a chest (?), and you give it to an ibis. (469–70) 130 [23]

Here are the names: "†ALBANAGHAMBRE †AMESŌTSIE(?)R †ATHRŌER †ATHROI †THYIN, surround NN, born of NN, . . . in her heart." (471–73)

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 119–125, 128–31), following the edition in *OMRM* 56 (1975):42–43, col. II, ll. 12–27; and E. N. O'Neil (ll. 126–27), following the edition in Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 469–70. The Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 132–33 are transcribed by Preisendanz as Greek at *PGM* XII. 471–73. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 135–46 [*PGM* XII. 474–79]

*. . . you bring a sealed . . . of copper . . . this lion, this mummy (?), and this Anubis . . . while they seek . . . black scarab (?) . . . put . . . : 135 [1]

/ ". . . AIDIŌ ŌRICH THAMBITŌ, Abraham who at . . . PLANOIEGCHIBIŌTH MOU ROU and the whole soul for her, NN [whom NN bore] . . . the female body of her, NN [whom NN bore], I conjure by the . . . [and] to inflame her, NN whom [NN bore]." 140 [6] (474–79)

[Write these] words together with this picture on a new papyrus:



*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 135–39; 146), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975):44–45, col. I, ll. 1–5, 12; and E. N. O'Neil (ll. 140–45) following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 474–79.

PDM xii. 147–64 [*PGM* XII. 480–95]

*Another: Cook it [in the (?)] bath: "ALLANTH BIREIBAMETIRA / EMETHIRE THARABLATH PNOUTHE THOUCHARA ŌSOUCHARI SABACHAR . . . , / burn her, NN, until she [comes] to me, NN, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. I conjure you, daimons of the dead, [by] the dead and by the daimon of [Balsames], and the / dog-faced god,[117] and the gods with him." 150 [16] 155 [21] (480–95) 160 [26]

117. The dog-faced god is Anubis.

Write these things . . . with the salt first . . . which is on it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 147, 163–64), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45, col. I, ll. 13–14, 29–30; and E. N. O'Neil (ll. 148–62), following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 480–95.

PGM XIII. 1–343

*GOD/GODS.[1] **A sacred book called "Unique"[2] or "Eighth Book of Moses,"** concerning the holy Name. Its content goes as follows: Remain / pure 41 days, having calculated in advance so that your completion of them will coincide with the dark of the moon which occurs in Aries.[3] Have a house on ground level, in which no one has died during the past year. The door should face west. Now set up in the middle of the house an earthen altar and have ready cypress wood, ten pinecones full of seed,[4] two white roosters / uninjured and without blemish, and two lamps each holding an eighth of a pint, filled with good oil. And don't pour in any more, for when the god comes in they will burn more fiercely. Have the table prepared with these following kinds of incense, which are cognate to the god (from this / book Hermes plagiarized when he named the 7 kinds of incense[5] [in] his sacred book called *Wing*).[6]

The proper incense of Kronos is styrax, for it is heavy and fragrant; of Zeus, malabathron;[7] of Ares, kostos; of Helios, frankincense; of Aphrodite, Indian nard; of Hermes, cassia; / of Selene, myrrh. These are the secret incenses (the direction in the *Key of Moses*,[8] "Prepare sun vetch on every occasion," refers with these [words]

1. *θεοί* ("gods") commonly stands at the beginning of sacral inscriptions from Athens and sites in the Athenian sphere of influence; elsewhere it is rare (see the uses in F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1969). The use here indicates literary and philosophical pretensions. "GOD" is put above "GODS" both to suggest that the magician has access to a higher power, and to conform to the fashion which, by the time this text was copied (under Constantine's successors), favored monotheism.

2. "Unique" translates the Greek *μόνας*, "by oneself, solitary"; in philosophy, primarily Pythagorean, then Platonic, "monad." Hence also in *C.H.* 4. 10, on which see Festugière's n. 28. Philosophic use for the primal deity made the word vague and prestigious, which accounts for its appearance here. The attribution to Moses was due partly to the texts' content (see below, n. 16), partly to Moses' fame as a magician. Pliny, *NH* 30. 11, credited him with starting his own school of magic. Both Jews and gentiles helped the tradition grow by repeating stories about him and circulating magical texts under his name. See J. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1972), chap. 4, pp. 134–61. The compiler of *PGM* XIII was both a composer and a collector of "Mosaic" texts. He had himself written one called "The Key of Moses" (l. 229), which he often recommends; he had a variorum edition of VIII Moses, giving three texts, and in his additions to it he cites "The Archangelic (Teaching?) of Moses," Moses' "secret moon prayer," and "The Tenth Hidden (Book?) of Moses." The choice of "eighth" as the number of the book is surprising, since we hear nothing of the sixth and seventh; it may be due to the increasing prestige of the ogdoad (see below, nn. 29 and 112). The choice of "Tenth" for the next numbered book (nothing is heard of a ninth) is also explicable from numerology, ten being the Pythagorean perfect number.

3. The Greek *σύνοδος* here is ambiguous. It was also used loosely to refer to the new moon, and was so understood by Preisendanz, but see l. 349.

4. So Preisendanz, translating *δέξιος*; alternatively, "with spirals (formed by the edges of the scales) running to the right."

5. The promised list of incenses "cognate to the (one) god" can hardly be the following list of incenses proper for seven different gods. The author probably inserted a standard list taken from the book of "Hermes" whom he therefore accused of plagiarism.

6. To this "Hermetic" book there is no other reference. Evidently it was the work of a rival author. This comment by the compiler clearly interrupts the earlier text. That "Hermes" is attacked makes the restoration of "Hermetic spell" (in l. 138) dubious.

7. Leaves of *Cinnamomum tamala* or *albiflorum*. "Kostos," which follows, is *Sassurea lappa*.

8. The two following statements by the compiler again interrupt the text. The *Key of Moses* was his own book (l. 229), evidently a sort of magician's handbook with astrological information, etc. There is

to the Egyptian bean). Moreover, Manetho gave these directions in his own book.

Then take the 7 flowers of the 7 stars (which are marjoram, white lily, lotus, erephyllinon,[9] / narcissus, gillyflower, rose); take these flowers twenty-one days before the initiation, and grind them fine in a white mortar[10] and dry them in the shade and have them ready for that day.

First, however, present yourself, on / whatever auspicious new moon occurs,[11] to the gods of the hours of the day, whose names you have in the *Key*. You will be made their initiate[12] as follows: Make 3 figures from fine flour, one bull-faced, one goat-faced, one ram-faced, each of them standing on the celestial pole and holding an Egyptian flail.[13] And when you have / censed them, eat them, saying the spell for the gods of the hours (which is in the *Key*) and the compulsive formula for them and the names of the gods set over the weeks. Then you will have been made their initiate.

Next, for the all-important meeting, have a square of natron[14] on which you will write the great name with the seven vowels. Instead / of the popping noise and the hissing [sound in the name] draw on the first part of the natron a falcon-faced crocodile[15] and the nine-formed god standing on him, for this falcon-faced crocodile at the 4 turning points [of the year] greets the god with the popping noise. For, coming up to breathe from the deep, he goes "Pop, pop, pop," / and he of the 9 forms replies to him antiphonally. Therefore, instead of the popping noise, draw the falcon-faced crocodile, for the popping noise is the first element of the name. The second is a hissing. Instead of the hissing [draw] a snake biting its / tail. So the two elements, popping and hissing, are represented by a falcon-faced crocodile and the nine-formed god standing on it, and around these a snake and the seven vowels.

Now [the great name] is [composed of] 9 names, before which you say [those of] the gods of the hours, with [the prayer on] the stele, and [those of] the gods of the days and of those / set over the weeks, and the compulsive formula for these; for without these the god will not listen but will refuse to receive you as uninitiated, unless you emphatically say in advance the [names of] the lord of the day and of the hour, which information you will find at the end [of this tractate]; for without these / you will not accomplish even one of the things you find in the *Key*: . . . .

---

no good reason to think it had anything to do with *C.H.* 10, which was also called *Key* but dealt with totally different subjects. Manetho was an Egyptian priest who wrote a history of Egypt for Ptolemy II, ca. 275 B.C. The success of this work made him famous; hence many other texts, especially of astrology, but also of magic, were fathered onto him. Which this writer had in mind, is unknown. Cf. *PGM* III. 440 and n. The content of the *Key* is described in eight passages in *PGM* XIII, viz. ll. 21–22, 30–31, 35–36, 59–60, 228–29, 282–83, 431–32, and 735–43. From these it appears that the *Key* contained directions for performance of rites, names of the gods of the days, hours, etc., spells to control these, and the great name of 6 letters, Ogdoas. Some of the directions were allegorical or allegorized (see ll. 21–22 and 228–29).

9. Unknown.

10. Alternatively, "into white incense."

11. Literally, "a new moon favored by a god," meaning one which the god, by giving good auspices, declares favorable for your purposes.

12. Literally, "initiated."

13. Alternatively, "Egyptian flails."

14. Sodium carbonate, a soapy substance. This was not a gourmet rite.

15. The falcon-faced crocodile appears on many Egyptian inscriptions. He was a fusion of the crocodile god Sobek and the hawk god Horus. The "nine-formed" was the "Ennead," an Egyptian complex of nine gods who in the late period were thought to be the members of the body of a single god. See H. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 521–25, s.v. "Neunheit." The "four turning points of the year" are the equinoxes and solstices. That crocodiles pop off at these periods is an example of the unnatural history surprisingly common in ancient authors from Aristotle on.

Now the [text of the] sacred stele to be written in the natron is:

"I[16] call on you, who are greater than all, the creator of all, you, the self-begotten, who see all and are not seen. For you gave Helios the glory and all the / power, Selene [the privilege] to wax and wane and have fixed courses, yet you took nothing from the earlier-born darkness, but apportioned things so that they should be equal. For when you appeared, both order[17] arose and light appeared.[18] All things are subject to you, whose true form none of the gods can / see; who change into all forms. You are invisible, Aion of Aion.

"I call on you, lord, to appear to me in a good form, for under your order I serve your angel, BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM, and your fear, DANOUPH CHRATOR BELBALI BALBITH IAŌ. / Through you arose the celestial pole and the earth.

"I call on you, lord, as do the gods who appeared under your [order?] that they may have power; ECHEBYKRŌM of Helios, whose is the glory,[19] AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ III AAA ŌŌŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ / ZAGOURĒ, the god ARATHY ADŌNAIE.

"I call on you, lord, in 'birdglyphic'[20]: ARAI; in hieroglyphic: LAILAM; in Hebraic:[21] ANOCH BIATHIARBATH BERBIR ECHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTROM; in Egyptian: ALDABAEIM; in 'baboonic': ABRASAX; / in 'falconic':[22] CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI TIPH TIPH TIPH; in hieratic: MENEPHŌIPHŌTH CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA." Then clap 3 times, go "pop, pop, pop" for a long time; hiss at some length.

"Come [to me], lord, faultless and unflawed, who pollute / no place, for I have been initiated into your name."

Have a tablet in which you will write what he says to you and a two-edged knife, all of iron, so that, clean from all [impurities],[23] you may kill the sacrifices, and a libation (a jug of wine and a flask full of honey /) that you may pour. Have all these ready nearby you. And you be in clean linens, crowned with an olive wreath. Prepare the canopy[24] thus: Taking a clean sheet, write on the border [the names of] the

16. This invocation and that following (138–53) are essentially identical, both being variations of an old Egyptian hymn in which the rising sun is greeted by the sacred animals, each kind making its appropriate noises. In both invocations (and their close parallels in the B version—443–61, 570–99; in C only the first lines are cited) the sun god has been made the creator and sustainer of the world, and the songs of the animals are preceded by and partly fused with the songs of the angels, many of whom are Jewish. In both, the same angels and the same languages appear in the same orders. The roles given the god and the angels, and the personnel, help explain the attribution to Moses, the more so because these two invocations are the most important elements in the text—the active agents which make the deity appear (this is particularly clear in B, which, since it put the first invocation after the rite as an appendix, ll. 570–99, followed it by a second epiphany, 608–717).

17. Here "order" translates the Greek *κόσμος*, which means also "the cosmos."

18. I.e., light and darkness?

19. Or "the doxology" without following comma, the doxology being the following formula. Here the choice is difficult because "glory" fits Helios, but "doxology" gives the magical words a function in the text, as those in the preceding paragraph functioned as names of the angel and the fear. *Δόξα* meaning "spoken/sung praise" is found already in LXX; see G. Kittel and G. von Rad, *TDNT* 2 (1964): 233–55.

20. Greek *ὀρνεογλυφιστί*, formed by analogy from *ἱερογλυφιστί*, which follows.

21. In spite of the claim that this is Hebrew, the first word is a transliteration of the Egyptian word for "I (am)," *anoch*. A similar Hebrew word, *ʾanoki*, has the same meaning. The author seems to have known Hebrew and Egyptian badly enough to mix them up. See Glossary, s.v.

22. *Chi chi* is the cry appropriate for the morning sun; *tiph tiph*, for the evening sun. [J.B.]

23. This supposes a purity code in which iron neither received nor transmitted pollution.

24. That is, under which you will receive the god. Perhaps from some mystery rite. (Originally the bridal tent?) Here an unexplained residuum.

365 gods,[25] and make it a tent / under which you go to be initiated. Also have a cinnamon at your neck, for the deity is pleased by it and gave it power. And have also the Apollo who will help you, carved from a root of laurel, with tripod standing beside him and / Pythian serpent. Carve around the Apollo the great name, in Egyptian form; on his chest: BAINCHŌŌŌCHŌŌŌCHNIAB, written [the same] forwards and backwards; and on the back of the figure this name: ILILLOU IL-ILLOU / ILILLOU; and around the Pythian serpent and the tripod; ITHOR MAR-MARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH. Have this too around your neck when you perform the initiation; it is helpful in everything, along with the cinnamon.

Accordingly, as I said before, when you have purified yourself in advance [through the last] / seven days while the moon is waning, at the dark of the moon[26] begin sleeping on the ground on a pallet of rushes. Rising at dawn, greet Helios through seven days, each day saying first the [names of the] gods of the hours, then those set over the weeks. Also [each day], / learning who is the ruler of that day, keep after him, saying, "Lord, on such-and-such a day I am calling the god to the sacred sacrifices"—doing so until the eighth day.

Then, when you come to this day, in the middle of the night at about eleven o'clock / when there is quiet, light the altar fire and have at hand the two roosters and the two lamps, lighted (the lamps should hold an eighth of a pint each, and you must not put more oil into them). Begin to recite the stele and the mystery of the god, which is [called?] "Scarab." Have standing by a mixing bowl containing milk of a black cow / and wine not mixed with seawater, for this is beginning and end.[27] Then, having written [the text of] the stele on the two faces of the natron plaque, lick off the one side and, pouring [wine?] on the other, wash it off into the mixing bowl. The natron should be written on [with ink made] both from the incense materials and from the flowers.

Then, before you drink off the milk and wine, say over it / this petition;[28] and having said it, lie down on the mat, holding both the tablet and the stylus, and say—***Hermetic*** (?) [***spell***]:[29]

"I call on you who surround all things, I call in every language and in every dialect, as he first / hymned you who was by you appointed and entrusted with all authorities, Helios ACHEBYKRŌM[30] (which signifies the flame and radiance of the disk)[31] whose is the glory, AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ, because he was glorified by you—[you][32]

25. The gods of the days of the year.

26. Greek *σύνοδον*, the twenty-four-hour day in which the moon will come into line with the earth and the sun.

27. I.e., essential, all important, cf. Rv 21:6; 22:13. [M.S.] Seawater was prohibited because the sea was a symbol of Seth, the enemy of Osiris and of fertility. [R.K.R.]

28. The identity of "this petition" is not clear. The prayer on the stele has already been recited (l. 127), the main invocation is to follow; perhaps something has fallen out. A similar problem is posed by C, 684–95. B prescribes a prayer to the gods of the hours.

29. The Greek here is corrupt and the restoration uncertain. See above, n. 6. In B 443ff. this spell has no such designation. The following "You who surround all things" found in all three versions refers to the outermost celestial sphere conceived as a god, i.e., the Ogdoad. See below, n. 112.

30. *Ache* in Egyptian means "brightness." Cf. l. 34 above. [J.B.]

31. An obvious gloss. This hymn is full of such. They have been set off by parentheses and henceforth will not usually be pointed out. Many seem to be early, since they appear in both A and B.

32. As the text stands, Helios set the stars in their places and created the world in which, thereafter, "you"—the highest god—set all things in order. This is not totally impossible, but not at all likely. Most likely the writer attributed creation to the highest god (whom he was invoking) and did so either by anacoluthon or by a *σύ* ("you," reduced to *σ'*) before *ἀέρας* ("winds"), which fell out with the word it preceded.

who set [in their places the winds][33] and then, likewise, the stars of glittering
145 forms, and who, in divine light / create the cosmos, III AAA ŌŌŌ, in which you have set in order all things. SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ (these are the angels who first appeared)[34] ARATH ADŌNAIE BASĒMM IAŌ. The first angel cries in 'bird-glyphic' ARAI—which is ["Woe to my enemy"—and you have set him] in charge of the punishments. Helios hymns you in hieroglyphic, LAILAM, and in Hebrew by his own[35] name, ANOK[36] BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM
150 / (36 letters);[37] he says, 'I precede you, lord, I who rise on the boat of the sun, the disk (?),[38] thanks to you.' Your magical[39] name in Egyptian is ALDABIAEIM" (9 letters, see below). Now he who appears on the boat rising together with you is a
155 clever / baboon; he greets you in his own language, saying 'You are the number of [the days of] the year, ABRASAX.'[40] The falcon on the other end [of the boat] greets you in his own language and cries out to receive food: CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI
160 CHI TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP. He of the nine forms greets you in / hieratic, saying: MENEPHŌIPHŌTH. (He means, 'I go before you, lord'). . . ."[41]

So saying, he clapped 3 times, and the god[42] laughed 7 times[43]: "CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA." When the god laughed, 7 gods were born[44] (who encompass the cosmos—see above—for these are those who appeared before [the world was formed]).

33. The text is corrupt; I follow Preisendanz's conjecture, ad loc.

34. This gloss interrupts a list of the first seven angels, probably thought to be the first creatures within the cosmos, certainly the foremost subjects of the cosmocrator, Helios. We should next have a list of their utterances, but it is broken off after the first and replaced by those of the Egyptian gods who accompany the sun god's boat at sunrise, and among whom Helios (here the sun disk) is a minor deity by relation to the god on the boat.

35. Reading *αὐτοῦ* for Preisendanz's *αὐτοῦ*.

36. See above, n. 21.

37. Numerical glosses of this sort, of which there are many, reflect a special interest of the compiler; see ll. 737–57, his postscript after VIII Moses. Besides their convenience for numerological speculation, they helped copyists check their transcriptions of magical names. Not that copyists always took advantage of the convenience. Here Preisendanz proposes to get the number of letters down to thirty-six by omitting the final *r* of BERBIR. More interesting is the fact that the compiler evidently did not count ANOK as part of the name, but gave it its Egyptian meaning, "I (am)."

38. "The disk" is an uncertain expansion of an abbreviation otherwise unknown.

39. *φυσικόν*, meaning "with power to produce physical effects."

40. The sum of the numerical values of the Greek letters *a b r a s a x* is 365. See Glossary, s.v. "Abrasax."

41. Here the sudden change in content and style indicates that something has fallen out of the text. What follows is a fragment from some theogonic and cosmogonic myth, an insertion which runs to l. 206, where the invocation, here interrupted, is resumed. The insertion was found in all three versions (C refers to it as "the account of the making of the world," but does not quote it, l. 697).

42. "The god" seems to be someone other than the preceding "he"—we have come into the middle of some mythological scene.

43. Seven is common in cosmological contexts. Besides, Gn 1, Prof. Bergman reports that it appears, for instance, in the temple of Esna, where, as here, seven utterances of one god become other gods. See S. Sauneron, *Les Fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1962) 268–69. 2 Enoch 25–30 combined an Egyptian sequence of seven utterances that produce gods, with the Hebrew sequence of seven commands that produce cosmic changes, and thus produced a muddle.

44. What were born, according to the following text, were not seven but eight *pairs* of gods, not angels, who do not encompass the cosmos but are involved in it as psychological and physical elements (see n. 45). Therefore the words here set in parentheses look like two glosses, especially because the wording of the second phrase echoes that of the clear gloss in l. 165 (see n. 45). However, the structure of seven laughs—seven emanations seem basic to this cosmology. That the last pair of gods does not come from a laugh but from a comment and an echo, makes it suspect; the list of eight looks like an

When he laughed first, / Phōs-Auge (Light-Radiance)[45] appeared and irradiated everything and became god over the cosmos and fire, BESSYN BERITHEN BERIO.

Then he laughed a second time. All was water. Earth, hearing the sound, cried out and heaved, and the water came to be divided into three parts. A god appeared; he was given charge of the abyss [of primal waters], for without / him moisture neither increases nor diminishes. And his name is ESCHAKLEŌ (for[46] you are ŌĒAI, you are ŌN BETHELLE).

When he wanted to laugh the third time, Nous or Phrenes[47] [Mind or Wits] appeared holding a heart,[48] because of the sharpness of the god. He was called Hermes; he was called SEMESILAM. /

The god laughed the fourth time, and Genna [Generative Power] appeared, controlling Spora [Procreation]. [This pair] was called BADĒTOPHŌTH ZŌTHAXATHŌZ.

He laughed the fifth time and was gloomy as he laughed, and Moira [Fate] appeared, holding scales indicating that justice was in her province. But Hermes[49] contested / with her saying, "Justice is my province" (see above). While they were fighting the god said, "What seems to be just will depend on both, but all things in the world will be subject to you, [Moira]." And she was the first to receive the scepter of the world—[Moira] of whom the name written first forward, then backwards, is great and holy and glorious, and it is this: THORIOBRITITAMMAŌRRANGADŌ Ī ŌDANGARRŌAMMATITIRBOIROTH[50] / (49 letters).

He laughed the sixth time and was much gladdened, and Kairos [Time] appeared holding a scepter, indicating kingship, and he gave over the scepter to the first-created god, [Phōs, who] receiving it, said, "You, wrapping yourself in the glory of

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adaptation to the Ogdoad (see below, l. 743 and n. 112)—perhaps misunderstood as eight, rather than four, pairs. The fact that this text was augmented by an appendix glorifying the Ogdoad (ll. 743–61), to make up for its absence from the original form, increases our suspicion. Hence the statement that seven gods were born is probably original. The fundamental problem presented by the text cannot be further investigated within the limits of these notes.

45. Thus the papyrus in both passages—here (with *αὐτή* for *αὐγή*) and l. 476. This is generation in syzygies, as in many ancient Egyptian and gnostic systems (see below, n. 111). Here the original structure may have been Phōs-Augē, Earth-Water, Nous-Phrenes, Genna-Spora, Moira-Hermes, Kairos-Basilissa (i.e., Sun-Moon), Psyche-Serpent, Phobos-Iaō. In the document used by the sources of *PGM* XIII this structure had been forgotten. Phōs and Augē had been identified, so had Nous and Phrenes. Nous had also been identified with Hermes. Spora had been reduced to a process controlled by Genna. In at least one version. Basilissa had been omitted. However, the original form is indicated by the needless occurrence of a *pair* of names at each level, and the frequent pairing of magical names: BERITHENBERIO, ESCHAKLEŌ-BETHELLE, HERMES-SEMESILAM, BADĒTHOPHŌTH-ZŌTHZXATHŌZ. Another piece of evidence is the recurrence, in the Moira-Hermes and Phobos-Iaō pairs, of the story of original hostility/rivalry followed by fusion of function and name. Another element true to form is that, in the Phōs-Augē syzygy, Augē, being feminine and derivative from Phōs, is that aspect of the pair which is involved in lower being. It is she who appears to the earth (480), and she is probably the δόξα (glory) of Phōs in which sun and moon are clothed (189, 514–20, read *αὐγήν* for *αυραν*). So Christ is the *ἀπαύγασμα* (radiance) of the Father's glory (Heb 1:3).

46. "For you are" introduces another gloss.

47. "Or Phrenes" is taken as a gloss by Preisendanz but may have come from the phrase "and Phrenes" and from an original syzygy (see above, n. 45). In privately written texts *καί* ("and") was often abbreviated to *K'*, easily confused with *H* ("or").

48. From the Greek side, the heart was the seat of the intelligence in classical times; *φρένες*, "wits," literally "midriffs," had earlier been thought the seat of the intelligence, and the word continued in literary use with that sense. For the Egyptian side, cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 296–97, s.v. "Herz."

49. Among the things of which Hermes was patron was public speaking, especially argument in the law courts. (The text here is extremely corrupt. I follow Preisendanz's conjecture.)

50. Double *g* in Greek is pronounced *ng*, so in the English transliteration of this palindrome the letters *n* and *g* change places, but in Greek there is no change.

Phōs [Light] / will be with me. . . .[51] ANOCH BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM" (36 letters).

When the god laughed a seventh time Psyche [Soul] came into being, and he wept while laughing. On seeing Psyche, he hissed, and the earth heaved and gave birth to the Pythian serpent who foreknew all things, so the god called him IL-ILLOU / ILILLOU ILILLOU ILILLOU ITHŌR MARMARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH. Seeing the serpent, the god was frightened and said, "Pop, pop, pop." When the god said, "Pop, pop, pop," an armed man appeared who is called DANOUP CHRATOR BERBALI BARBITH. Seeing him the god was again terrified, as seeing someone stronger [than himself, fearing] / lest the earth had thrown up a god. Looking down at the earth he said, "IAŌ." From the echo a god was born who is lord of all. The preceding man contended with him, saying, "I am stronger than this fellow." The [first] god said to the strong man, "You come from the popping noise, and this [god] comes from an echo. Both of you will have charge of every need." [The pair] was then called DANOUP / CHRATOR BERBALI BALBITH IAŌ.[52]

"Lord, I imitate [you by saying] the 7 vowels;[53] enter and hear me, A EE ĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ ABRŌCH BRAŌCH CHRAMMAŌTH PROARBATHŌ IAŌ OYAEĒIOYŌ."

/ When the god comes in, look down and write the things he says and the Name which he gives you for himself. And do not go out from under your canopy until he tells you accurately, too, the things that concern you.

The technique of determining which god is ruler of the celestial pole [at a given time] goes as follows: Find out, child, to which god the day is subject in the Greek reckoning [counting from the top down], and then coming to / *The Seven-Zoned*[54] count [the same number] from the bottom up, and you will find the answer. For if the day be subject to Helios in the Greek reckoning, Selene rules the pole, and thus the rest, as follows:

The Greek	The Seven-Zoned
Helios	Kronos
Selene	Zeus
Ares	Ares
Hermes	Helios
Zeus	Aphrodite
Aphrodite	Hermes
Kronos	Selene

/ Of these things, child, I have declared to you the easy and godly solution which not even kings were able to grasp.

You are to write on the natron with the ink from the flowers of the 7 [stars] and kinds of incense. Similarly, you are to make "the bean,"[55] which I described allegorically in my *Key*, from the flowers and the kinds of incense.

51. For the Kairos-Phōs relation, see ll. 509–19 and nn. Here the text has omitted "the Queen" (the moon) who is the consort of Kairos in this syzygy. The following *Anoch* is again "I (am)" in Coptic.

52. Here the cosmogonic insertion is broken off and the invocation it interrupted (above, l. 161) is resumed.

53. The supplement comes from the parallel, version C, l. 701. God's creative power issues in perpetual harmony of which the seven vowels are the expression—"the music of the spheres."

54. *The Seven-Zoned* was thought by Festugière, *La Révélation* I 343, n. 3, to be a planetary sphere, but Festugière's opinion was based on other evidence; this author seems to have thought the thing a table or treatise; see below, ll. 722–30.

55. "The bean" was a bean-shaped ball of incense.

The initiation called *The Monad* has been fully declared to you, child. / Now I subjoin for you, child, also the practical uses of this sacred book, the things which all the experts accomplished with this sacred and blessed book. As I made you swear, child, in the temple of Jerusalem,[56] when you have been filled with the divine wisdom, dispose of the book so that it will not be found.

The first, then, [of these uses] is the marvelous / ***[spell for] invisibility***: Taking the egg of a falcon, gild half of it and smear the other half with cinnabar. Wearing this you will be invisible when you say the Name.[57]

To fetch a lover: Say the Name 3 times to the sun. It fetches woman to man and man to woman in a way that will amaze you.

If you want someone to be unattractive / —either a woman to a man or a man to a woman: Take a dog's excrement and put it in the post-hole of their door, saying the Name 3 times and saying "I sever NN from NN."

If you say the Name to a demoniac while putting sulfur and asphalt to his nose, the daimon will speak at once and will go away.[58]

If you say it over a man who has erysipelas,[59] / having rubbed him with crocodile dung, he will be rid [of it] at once.

If you say the Name over a sprain or fracture 3 times, having rubbed it down with earth and vinegar, you will make it go away.

If you say it over any bird, into its ear, it will die.

If you see an asp and want to fix it in its place, say / "Stay!" while turning yourself around. When the names[60] are said it will stay.

To restrain anger: Enter the presence of a king or magnate, and while you have your hands inside your garment say the name of the sun disk[61] while tying a knot in your pallium or shawl.[62] You will marvel at the results.

If [you want] to break spells:[63] Having written the Name on a page of hieratic papyrus, wear it.

To make Helios appear:[64] Say toward the east, "I am he / on the two cherubim, between the two natures, heaven and earth, sun and moon, light and darkness, night and day, rivers and sea. Appear to me, O archangel of those subject to the cosmos, ruler Helios, set in authority by the One and Only Himself. The Eternal and Only orders you." Say the Name. And if he appears glowering / say "Give[65] me

56. Pretentious hokum.

57. Presumably the Name revealed by the god in the climax of the ritual, l. 211.

58. Or, perhaps, "(the man) will speak and (the demon) will go away." For the technique, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8. 47.

59. Or, perhaps, "[the ἐρυσιπέλας] will go away." Cf. Mk 4:31; diseases were evil beings.

60. The plural here indicates that this list of applications drew on sources not originally connected with the preceding rite to learn the (one) Name. This probably explains the absence of the list from the other versions. "Say the Name" in many of these spells looks like an addition.

61. This, again, did not originally belong to the preceding rite. The god invoked there was not the sun god, but the creator and ruler of the sun; see 138–61. A number of similarly incompatible spells will be noticed in what follows.

62. The pallium was a cloak affected by persons claiming to be philosophers. The rare word translated "shawl" means "crosswise garment." If this magician were a Jew, it may have been the *talith*.

63. Or "as an antidote for poisons" or, most likely, both.

64. A spell of unmistakably Jewish background in which, however, the magician identifies himself with Yahweh ("he that sitteth upon the cherubim," 1 Sm 4:4; 2 Sm 6:2; etc.) and identifies Helios as an archangel. Compare the use of a Greek prayer, transliterated into Hebrew, for the same purpose, in *Sepher Ha-Razim*, ed. M. Margalioth (Jerusalem, 1966), pp. 12, 99. The prayer in our text is clearly an interpolation in the list of short (two- or three-line) prescriptions which it interrupts.

65. In these requests it is not clear whether "give" means "specify" (a time suitable for some magical operation) or "add" (to the time of my life).

a day; give an hour; give a month; give a year, lord of life." Say the Name.

If you want to kill a snake: Say, "Stay, for you are Aphyphis." And taking a green palm branch and holding its heart,[66] split it [longways] into two, saying the Name over it 7 times. At once the snake will be split / or will break open.

Prescience: This comes in the rite described above, that with the natron. And [you know] that the god will talk with you as with a fellow god, for I have often performed the rite when you were present.

Invisibility: Also thus: "Come to me, Darkness which appeared in the beginning, and hide me, NN, by the order of him who is self-begotten in heaven." Say the Name.

/ ***Another way***: "I call on you alone, the only one in the cosmos who gives orders to gods and men, who changes himself into holy forms and brings existence out of the nonexistent and nonexistence from existent things, holy Thayth,[67] the true sight of whose face none of the gods can endure to see; make me seem to be, to the eyes of all creatures—a wolf, dog, lion, / fire, tree, vulture, wall, water, or whatever you want—for you are able." Say the Name.

Resurrection of a dead body: "I conjure you, spirit coming in air, enter, inspire, empower, resurrect by the power / of the eternal god, this body; and let it walk about in this place, for I am he who acts with the power of Thayth, the holy god." Say the Name.

If you want to cross [the Nile] on a crocodile: Sit down and say, "Hear me, you who live your life in the water. I am one who is at leisure in heaven and goes about in water and in fire and in air / and earth. Return the favor done you on the day when I created you and you made your request to me. You will take me [to] the other side, for I am so-and-so." Say the Name.

For release from bonds: [[Say, "Hear me, O Christ, in torments; help, in necessities, / O merciful in violent hours, able to do much in the world, who created compulsion and punishment and torture." Say it 12 times by day,[68] hissing thrice eight times.]] Say the whole name of Helios beginning from ACHEBYKRŌM.[69]

"Let every bond be loosed, every force fail, let all iron be broken, every rope or every strap, let every / knot, every chain be opened, and let no one compel me, for I am"—say the Name.

To quench fire: "Hear, fire, a work of the works of god's invention, glory of the honored luminary, be quenched, become snow, for the speaker himself is Aion who puts on fire as if it were / asbestos. Let every flame be scattered from me, every physical power, by command of Him who exists forever. You shall not touch me, fire; you shall not harm my flesh, for I am"—say the Name.

66. The center of the triangular end of the branch.

67. Thoth, here and below, l. 283.

68. Not "twelve days" (Preisendanz). All these charms are for quick results, and in this case they were particularly wanted. The words in double brackets are a Christian interpolation as can be seen by the fact that it creates a doublet—a double recipe for a single purpose—and also by comparing form and content of this spell with those of the others in this series, which consistently contain just the elements left in this when the bracketed words are deleted. The interpolation is interesting as evidence that these pagan magical texts continued to be used by the newly Christian criminal class. It also makes conspicuous the absence of Christian elements from the rest of the text. Since the text with the Christian interpolation dates from the first half of the fourth century A.D., the pagan text that was interpolated was probably third century at the latest.

69. This refers to the full name given in ll. 590–92, ACHEBYKRŌN . . . IAŌ. See also ll. 78–79, and cf. ll. 141–47 and 446–53, where the elements of the name are separated by exegetic comments. The magician was to know this name by heart.

For fire to continue: "I conjure you, fire, daimon of holy love, the invisible and manifold, / the one and everywhere, to remain in this lamp at this time, shining and not dying out, by the command of NN." Say the Name.

To send dreams: Make a hippopotamus[70] of red wax, / hollow, and put into the belly of this hippopotamus both gold and silver and the so-called ballatha[71] of the Jews and array him in white linen and put him in a pure window and, taking a sheet of hieratic papyrus write on it with myrrh ink and baboon's blood / whatever you wish to send. Then, having rolled it into a wick and using it to light a new, pure lamp, put on the lamp the foot of the hippopotamus and say the Name, and he sends [the specified dream].

A philter to be drunk: Take the lion-wasps (?) in a spider's web / and, when you have ground them [to a powder, sprinkle the powder] on a drink and give it [to the appropriate person] to drink.[72]

If you want your wife[73] ***not to be had by another man***: Taking earth and mixing with it ink and myrrh, mold a crocodile, and put it into a lead coffin and write on this the great Name and that of your wife and, "Let NN not cohabit with any other man except me, NN." The name / to be written on the feet of the image is: BIBIOU OUĒR APSABARA KASONNAKA NESEBACH SPHĒ SPHĒ CHPHOURIS.

To open doors by use of the Name: "Open, open, 4 quarters of the cosmos, for the lord of the inhabited world comes forth. Archangels, decans, angels rejoice. For Aion of Aion himself, the only and / transcendant, invisible, goes through this place. Open, door! Hear, bar! Fall into two parts, lock! By the name AIA AINRYCHATH, cast up, Earth, for the lord, all things you contain, for he is the storm-sender and controller of the abyss, master of fire. Open, for ACHEBYKRŌM commands you!" [Say ACHEBYKRŌM] 8 times; [it is] the name of Helios.

Another way. The spell for Helios: "I am he on the two cherubim, at the middle of the cosmos, between heaven and earth, light and darkness, night and day, rivers and sea. Appear to me, archangel of god, set in authority by the One and Only Himself." With this spell perform the acts of thanksgiving to Helios, rites to fetch lovers, send dreams, / ask for dreams, make Helios appear, attain goals, win victories, and in short, everything.

You have now received, child, the sacred and blessed book, *Unique*, which no one [hitherto] was able to translate[74] or put into practice. Keep well, child.[75]

*Tr.: Morton Smith. For a more extensive discussion of the composition, see Morton Smith, "The Eighth Book of Moses and How It Grew (PLeid. J 395)," in *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Napoli: Centro Internazionale per lo studio di papiri ercolanesi, 1984) 683–93. *PGM* XIII (copied about A.D. 350) consists of two parts, first *The Eighth Book of Moses* (henceforth *VIII Moses*), ll. 1–733; second, a collection of miscellaneous spells, divine names, etc., ll. 734–1077.

VIII Moses consists of three parts—three different versions of a rite to get a visit from the supreme god; let us call them A (ll. 1–343), B (ll. 343–645) and C (ll. 646–734). These versions differ considerably by peripheral additions and omissions, but their essential parts are often closely parallel, though not always arranged in the same order. Because of the parallelism, questions raised by two or three have been dealt with only when they first appeared.

70. The word for "hippopotamus" here is uncertain, but written in Greek letters. See also M. J. Raven, "Wax in Egyptian Magic and Symbolism," *OMRM* 64 (1983): 7–47, esp. 17–18.

71. Unknown.

72. The expected result is not indicated. Perhaps death, but perhaps love—the wasps had been ensnared and held fast.

73. Reading *γυναῖκά σου* instead of Preisendanz's *γυναῖκας οὐ*.

74. More hokum.

75. A standard epistolary cliché. The use of epistolary beginnings and ending for treatises was a common ancient practice.

Hence readers of B and C who encounter difficulties should look for explanations in the notes on the parallel passages in A. Not all parallels are equally close, but those fairly clear are as follows:

Lines:

343–50 = 3–6	410–32 = 42–61	567–608 = 61–90
352–56 = 17–27	432–34 = 227–28	580–81 = 273–74
358 = 100–102	435–40 = 130–35	646–66 = 91–110
361–63 = 128–31	443–550 = 138–209	666–99 = 110–39
378–82 = 54–59	451ff. = 78ff.	692 = 227–28
384–88 = 35–43	562–70 = 138–209	700–701 = 206
		704–13 = 210–13
		718–30 = 213–24.

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345 *The sacred, hidden book of Moses called "eighth" or "holy."[76] / This is the ritual using the name that encompasses all things. It also has directions for a meeting with the god in which you will succeed if you leave out nothing [of what is prescribed].

Keep yourself pure 41 days, having calculated the day and the hour in which the 350 last appearance of / the old moon will occur in Aries. And when the moon enters Aries sleep on the floor during the previous night, and when you have sacrificed burn also the seven approved kinds of incense[77] in which the god delights, for the seven censings of the seven stars. The incenses are these: malabathron, styrax, nard, kostos, cassia, frankincense, myrrh. [Take these] and the seven flowers of the seven 355 / stars, which are rose, lotus, narcissus, white lily, erephyllinon, gillyflower, marjoram. Having ground them all to a powder, with wine not mixed with seawater, burn all as incense. And [also] wear cinnamon, for the god has given it magical power. Burn the incenses after the twenty-first day, so as to complete [the prepara- 360 tion?]. As / food take milk of a black cow and wine without seawater and Greek natron ([the author] indicates that is beginning and end).

When the day is at hand, put aside for the sacrifice cypress wood or balsam 365 wood—so that even / without the incenses the sacrifice may give a pleasant odor—and five pinecones full of seed. And light two lamps, each holding about half a pint of oil, on this and that side of the altar. The altar, moreover, is to be made of earth. When you have prepared and filled the lamps, do not later pour any more oil into 370 them. Sacrifice an unblemished[78] white rooster, / and leave another alive, and similarly [sacrifice one] pigeon [and leave another] so that the god, when he comes in, may take the spirit from whichever he prefers. Also lay out a knife, and lay beside it the seven incenses and the seven flowers prepared [as] written [above] so that if, on 375 coming in, the god should wish to sacrifice again / he may find all in readiness. And leave the sacrifice lying on the altar.

The tasting of the victims is done [in] this way: When you are ready to taste them, sacrifice the rooster, so that [the god] may receive lots of spirit, and at the point of tasting, call on the god of the hour and him of the day, so that you may 380 have sponsorship from them. For if you do not invoke them, / they will not hear you, as being uninitiated. Now you will find [the names of] the gods of the hours and those of the days, and the compulsive formula for each of them in the *Key of Moses*, for he set them out one by one.[79]

76. The beginning of the second version; see the prefatory note above.

77. Translation dubious. Ἐπίθυμα, usually "incense," might mean "censing," which here seems required by the syntax.

78. Or one "without any fleck of color."

79. Or "brought them out [of secrecy]"? The verb means "pulled away/apart"; this use is unparalleled.

As for the name [of the great god], write all of it on the Greek natron. Instead of / the "pop, pop, pop" sound [in the name] draw on the Greek natron a falcon- 385
formed crocodile,[80] for he greets the god four times a year at the gods' true entries of new periods[81]—at the cosmos' first turning, called increase, then in his own elevation which they call "the birth / of Horus," [[then at the rising of the Dog 390
Star,]][82] then at the ascension of Sothis. At each increase of the sun and diminution he gives forth his popping noise. The nine-formed [the Ennead] gives him the power to make the noise at that time, so that the sun may ascend from the sound of water,[83] / for he himself appears together with him [the sun]. Therefore he [the 395
falcon-faced crocodile] received the forms and the power of the nine gods that rise with the sun. For at the downward turning [the autumnal equinox] he sends out the sound weaker and less / powerful, [[for this is the birth of cosmos and sun]].[84] 400
Then at the "increase" when the lights [of the heavens] begin to rise, he too sends out the noise more powerfully. And at the rise of the Dog Star, turning to the west, he sends out the noise most powerfully,[85] inasmuch as he does not have the / related 405
water near by, and because this solstice adds more [to his power], while the effects of the last equinox take away what he gained in the preceding solstice. For [the autumn equinox] is [the time of] the Nile flood's[86] departure and the sun's abasement.

Accordingly, draw the two, i.e., the falcon-faced crocodile / and the nine-formed 410
god standing on him, both with myrrhed ink. For the falcon-faced crocodile at the four turnings [of the year] greets the god with his popping noise. For coming up to breathe from the deep he goes "pop, pop, pop," / and he of the nine forms replies 415
to him antiphonally. Therefore, instead of the "pop, pop, pop" [in the god's name], draw the falcon-faced crocodile, for the "pop, pop, pop" is the first element of the name. The second is a hissing, and instead of the hissing [draw] a snake biting / its 420
tail. Thus the two elements, popping and hissing, are[87] [represented by] a falcon-

80. I.e., falcon-faced/headed. See above, l. 4 and n. 15.

81. The reference is to the four solar seasons. The "gods" are the sun and the planets, thought to accompany him. That the beginnings of the seasons are called "new moons" shows how this latter term has been generalized. The "increase" is the sun's return toward the north after the winter solstice. The falcon-faced crocodile was in part Horus (see above, n. 15); hence his elevation becomes "the birth of Horus," probably the spring equinox. (Preisendanz's reference to the winter solstice seems ruled out by the preceding "increase.") "The birth of Horus" was also a festival celebrated on the twenty-eighth of Pharmuthi (Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscr. Aegypt.* 609. 71–72; cf. 370. 14) and in the ideal year, which began with the rising of Sirius/Sothis in July, just after the summer solstice, the twenty-eighth of Pharmuthi would have fallen near March 21, the spring equinox. Such a year actually occurred in Egypt in A.D. 139. Does this date the spell?

82. Omitting, "then (at) the rising of the Dog Star," a marginal gloss which Preisendanz put in his text. The fourth occasion of greeting, the autumn equinox, is not here specified.

83. The deity is here identified with water, and specifically with the Nile flood. Thus he sends out the popping noise (the sound of water, l. 394) most powerfully at the rise of Sirius/Sothis which begins the inundation in Egypt. At this time the god is said not to have "his kindred water" near him (ll. 404–5), because he has just begun to summon it with his popping. [R.K.R.]

84. This seems an explanatory gloss irreconcilable with the preceding location of "the birth of Horus" (the sun) at the spring equinox. The festival would not have coincided with the autumnal equinox until the end of the sixth century A.D., much too late for this fourth-century papyrus. (Its last previous coincidence was about the end of the eighth century B.C.) Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 52, 372B, reports a festival at "the birthday of the staff of the sun, after the fall equinox, indicating its need . . . of strengthening." This festival may explain the gloss.

85. Taking *δυναμικώτερον* as *litotes* for a superlative (as comparatives, in Greek, often are).

86. The Nile's flood, beginning after the summer solstice, declines before the autumn equinox.

87. Omitting *καί* ("and").

faced crocodile and the nine-formed god standing on it, and around these a snake and the seven vowels.

Now [the god's name] is [composed of] nine names,[88] in advance of which you should say, with the [prayer on the] stele, [those of] the gods of the hours / and of the days [and] those set over the weeks, and the compulsive formula for these. For without these the god will not listen, but, thinking you uninitiated, will refuse to receive [you], unless you emphatically say to him the names of the lord of the day and of the hour, / which information you will find at the end [of this tractate]. For without these you can accomplish nothing of the things you find written in the *Key*.

Then throw [the powder] of the seven flowers, which you have prepared, into the ink, and with this write on the natron. Write the same things on the two sides of the plaque and lick off / the one side and wash off the other into the wine and the milk, first—before you wash it off—having sacrificed the rooster and made everything read.[89] / Then call on the gods of the hours, as aforesaid, and then drink off [the wine and milk].[90]

"I call on you, you who surround all things, in every language, and in every dialect, I hymn you, / as he first hymned you who was by you appointed and entrusted with all authorities, Helios ACHEBYKRŌM" (which signifies the flame and radiance of the disk) "whose is the glory AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ, because he was glorified by you" (or, as other [texts read], "was given a glorious form")—"[you] who set [in their places] the stars / and who, in divine light, create the cosmos, in which you have set in order all things III AAA ŌŌŌ. SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ." (These are the angels who first appeared.) "ARAGA ARATH ADŌNAI BASĒMM IAŌ. The first angel cries to you in birdglyphic, / 'ARAI' (which is, 'Woe to my enemy,') and you have set him in charge of the punishments. Helios hymns you thus in hieroglyphic, LAILAM, and in Hebrew by his own name, ANAG[91] BIATHIARBAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM, / saying, 'I precede you, lord, I who rise on the boat of the sun, the disk (?), thanks to you. Your magical name in Egyptian is ALDABAEIM.'" (This means the boat, on which he comes up, rising on the world.) "He who appears on the boat rising together with you is a clever / baboon; he greets you in his own language, saying, 'You are the number of [the days of] the year, ABRASAX.' The falcon on the other end [of the boat] greets you in his own language and cries out, to receive food, CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI TI TI TI TI TI TI TI. He of the nine forms greets / you in hieratic, 'MENEPHŌIPHŌTH,'" (meaning that "I go before you, lord"). . . .[92]

88. The translation is conjectural, but conjecture seems required by the fact that none of the groups of names specified adds up to nine.

89. This contradicts the directions given above, ll. 369–75, and also requires more roosters than provided. Such internal inconcinnities prove version B composite. Most conspicuous is the doubling of the epiphany at the end.

90. Contrast l. 134, where the following petition precedes the drinking. For other discrepancies of detail between B and the other versions, cf. ll. 136, 440–41 (no reference to reclining), 695, and 702–3; and see above, nn. 16 and 28.

91. See above, n. 21, on l. 82. Here we have ANAG, a variant spelling of ANOCH, but equally Egyptian, not Hebrew. Several other variant spellings will occur below and be transcribed without further comment.

92. See above, l. 161. The same hiatus occurs here as in version A. Therefore both B and A were copied from a single source; but they differ considerably, therefore at least one was not copied directly from the source in which the hiatus first occurred. That source must therefore have been at least three literary generations prior to our fourth-century manuscript, and prior to it (by how many generations?) will have been the first copy of the correct text from a descendant of which (presumably) it was taken.

So saying he clapped three times and the god laughed seven times, CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA. When he laughed seven gods were born, who encompass all things. (For these are / those who appeared before [the world was formed].)

When he laughed first Phōs-Auge [Light-Radiance] appeared and divided all things, and became god over the cosmos and fire, BESEN BEREITHEN BERIO.

Then he laughed a second time—all was water, and the earth, hearing the / sound and seeing Auge, was amazed and heaved, and the water came to be divided into three parts. And a god appeared and was given charge of the abyss, and therefore without him moisture neither increases nor diminishes. And his name is PROMSACHA ALEEIŌ. (For you / are ŌĒAI BETHE[LLE].)

When he wanted to laugh the third time Nous and Phrenes [Mind and Wits] appeared holding a heart, because of the sharpness of the god, and was called Hermes, [since it is he] by whom all things have been interpreted.[93] He is also in charge of the power of understanding by which everything is managed. / And he is [called] SEMESILAMPS.

The god laughed the fourth time and Genna [Creative Force][94] appeared, controlling Spora [Procreation] of all things, by whom all things were sown, and [this pair] was called BADĒTOPHŌTH ZŌTHAXATHŌZŌ.

He laughed the fifth time and was gloomy as he laughed, and Moira [Fate] / appeared, holding scales, indicating that justice was in her province. But Hermes contested with her, saying, "Justice is in my province." While they were fighting the god said to them, "What seems to be just / will depend on both, but all things in the world will be subject to you [Moira]." And she was the first to receive the scepter of the world and was called by a holy name, fearsome and frightful, written first forwards, then backwards, and it is this: THORIOBRITI, etc. [[of whom the name written first forwards, then backwards is great / and holy and glorious, and this is of great value, a powerful name: THORIOBRITITAMMAŌRRAGGADŌ I ŌDAGGARRŌAMMATITIRBOIROTH—49 letters]].

He laughed the sixth time[95] and was much gladdened, the Kairos[96] appeared, holding a scepter, indicating kingship, and he gave over the scepter to / the first-created god, [Phōs, who] receiving it said, "You, wrapping yourself in the glory of Phos [Light] will be with me, because you first gave me a scepter. All things will be subject to you, those that were before and those yet to be. All power will be in you." When he [Kairos] wrapped himself in the glory of Phos, / the character of the light produced a certain effluence.[97] The god, [Phōs, then] said to the Queen,[98] "You, wrapping yourself in the effluence of Phōs, will be with him [Kairos—the sun] compassing all things. You will wax with the light you receive from him, and again you will wane because of him. With you all things will increase and / diminish." So

93. "Interpreted" in Greek seems to come from the same root as "Hermes."

94. The bracketed words seem a variant and expansion of the preceding text, probably with contamination from version A; cf. ll. 183–86.

95. καιρός ("time") is here not only time, but the sun god qua measure of time.

96. Here the relation of Kairos as world ruler, to Phōs, the first created god, who subjects all things to him and clothes him with his own glory (cf. Phil 2:9–11), is remarkably like that of Jesus as Messiah (who is to reign until he puts all enemies under his feet, 1 Cor 15:23–28) to the first god, the Father. The Christians have transposed the relation a step higher. Jesus himself is Phōs ("Light," Jn 1:7–9) and "first born of all creation" (Col 1:15), and the Father is the creator. However, it seems clear that the same sort of theogonic theorizing underlies both theological structures.

97. Reading ὁ δὲ τρόπος τοῦ φωτός with C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci Musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1885) ad loc.

98. The moon, probably Artemis-Selene-Isis.

the name is great and marvellous. ANAG BIATHIAR BARBERBI SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUNTŌRM (36 letters).

He laughed the seventh time, breathing hard, and Psyche [Soul] came into being and all things were moved. So the god said, "You will move all things, and all shall be made glad / so long as Hermes guides you." When the god said this all things were moved and filled with spirit unrestrainably. The god, seeing this, said, "Pop, pop, pop," and all things were terrified, and on account of the popping noise Phobos [Fear] appeared, armed. So he is called DANOUP CHRATŌR / BERBALI BALBITHI (26 letters).

Then, looking down at the earth, the god gave a long hiss and the earth was opened, receiving the echo. It gave birth to a creature of its own, the Pythian serpent, who foreknew all things through the utterance of the god. Its name is great and / holy, ILILLOUI ILILLOUI ILILLOUI ITHŌR MARMARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH. When he appeared the earth heaved and was raised much higher, but the celestial pole stayed unmoved, so when they were about to collide the god said "IAŌ," and everything was fixed in place / and a great, supreme god appeared who established the things that were before in the cosmos and the things yet to be, so that none of the aerial bodies was thenceforth out of place.

Phobos, seeing someone stronger than himself, opposed him, saying, "I am prior to you." He, however, said, "But I fixed all things [in their places]." So the / [first] god said [to the serpent], "You come from an echo, but this god from an utterance. Now an utterance is better than an echo. However, [he said to Iao],[99] "the power of you, who appeared last, will derive from both, so that all things may be fixed in their places." And he was thenceforth called by the great and marvelous name DANOUP CHRATŌR / BERBALI BALBITH IAŌ. And wishing to give honor also to the one who had assisted him, as having appeared together with him, the first god gave him precedence of the nine gods and possession of power and glory equal to theirs. / And he was called [by a name derived] from the nine gods, as having taken away, along with their power, also the initials of their names, BOSBEADII,[100] and from the seven planets AEĒIOYŌ EĒIOYŌ ĒIOYŌ IOYŌ OYŌ YŌ Ō ŌYOIĒEA YOIĒEA OIĒEA IĒEA ĒEA EA A— / when written forwards and backwards this is great and marvelous. But his greatest name, which is this following, is great and holy (of 27 letters) ABRŌCH BRAŌCH CHRAMMAŌTH PRŌARBATHŌ IAŌ. Another version: ABRŌCH BRAŌCH CHRAMMAŌTH PRŌARBATHŌ IAŌ OY AEĒIOYŌ.

When, then, the god comes in, / look down and write the things said and whatever name he may give you for himself. And do not go out from under your canopy until he also tells you the things that concern you.

Now the text of the sacred stele to be written in the natron is as follows—and the invocation runs thus, as here given altogether accurately:

/ "I call on you, the creator of all, who are greater than all, you, the self-begotten god, who see all and hear all and are not seen. For you gave Helios all the glory and the power, / Selene the privilege to wax and wane and have fixed courses, yet you took nothing from the earlier-born darkness, but assigned them equality [with it?]. For when you appeared, both order arose and light appeared, and all things were

99. Since in this version only the serpent was born of an echo, and since the last half of the god's speech must be addressed to Iaō, the change of interlocutor, indicated by the translation, just be conjectured. Presumably the text is corrupt. Cf. the A version, ll. 191–206, which, however, may have been produced by excision of the difficulties. That the more difficult text is apt to be the original is a well-known rule.

100. In spite of this clue the names remain uncertain.

arranged by you. Therefore all things are also / subject to you, whose true form none of the gods can see, who take different forms in [different] visions, Aion of Aion.

"I call on you, lord, that you may show me your true form. For under your order I serve / your angel, ANOG BIATHIABAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUNTŌRM, and your fear DANOUP CHRANTŌR BELBALI BALBITH IAŌ. Through you arose the [celestial] pole and the earth.

"I call on you, lord, as do those gods who appeared under [order?] that they / may have power, ACHEBYKRŌM, whose is the glory, AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ III AAA ŌŌŌ SABAOTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ, the god ARATH ADŌNAI BASYMM IAŌ.

"I call on you, lord, in birdglyphic, ARAI; hieroglyphic, LAILAM; Hebraic, ANAG, / BIATHIARBAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOURPHOUNTŌRM; Egyptian, ALDABAEIM; baboonic, ABRASAX; falconic, CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI [CHI] ti ti ti ti ti ti ti; hieratic, MENEPHŌIPHŌTH / CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA."

Then clap three times, TAK TAK TAK, go "pop, pop, pop" for a long time; hiss a great hiss, that is, one of some length.

"Come to me, lord, faultless, who pollute no place, joyful, unflawed, for I call on / you, King of kings, Tyrant of tyrants, most glorious of the glorious, daimon of daimons, most warlike of the warlike, most holy of the holy. Come to me, willing, joyful, unflawed."

An angel will come in, and you say to the angel, "Greetings, lord. Both initiate me by these rites[101] I am performing / and present me [to the god], and let the fate determined by my birth be revealed to me." And if he says anything bad, say, "Wash off from me the evils of fate. Do not hold back, but reveal / to me everything, by night and day and in every hour of the month, to me, NN, son of NN. Let your auspicious form be revealed to me, for under your [order] I serve [your] angel, ANAG BIATHI." (Repeat the formula.)

"I call on you, lord, holy, much hymned, greatly honored, ruler of the cosmos, / [[Sarapis]];[102] consider my birth and turn me not away, me, NN whom NN [bore], who know your true name and valid name, ŌAŌĒŌ ŌEOĒ IAŌ IIIAAŌ THOUTHĒ THĒ AATHŌ ATHĒROUŌR AMIATHAR MIGARNA CHPHOURI IYEYĒOŌAEĒ A EE ĒĒĒ / IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ SEMESILAMMPS AEĒIOYŌ ĒŌOYE LINOUCHA NOUCHA HARSAMOSI[103] ISNORSAM OTHAMARMIM ACHYCH CHAMMŌ. I call on you, lord; I hymn your holy power in a musical hymn, AEĒIOYŌŌŌ."[104] / Burn incense, saying, "ĒIOYŌ IOYŌ OYŌ YŌ Ō A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ ŌĒŌAŌAŌ OOOYO IIIIIAO IIYYYOAĒA YO. Protect me from all my own astrological destiny; destroy my / foul fate; apportion good things for me in my horoscope; increase my life; and [may I enjoy] many good things, for I am your slave and petitioner and have hymned your valid and holy name, lord, glorious one, ruler of

101. Literally, "Initiate me in/by these my matters."

102. Sarapis (like Christ above, in ll. 289–92) is elsewhere of no importance in this text. Therefore his name here and in l. 640 below is probably interpolated. However, this does not prove that the whole section in which the name occurs is an interpolation. The section has the ideas and vocabulary of the rest of the text, and understandably follows the visit of the angel as a spell to introduce the magician to the supreme god himself. That no epiphany follows may be due either to the loss of the end of the text that the compiler was using or to his desire to subordinate this to the C version, which now begins immediately, is much abbreviated, and so leads quickly to the final meeting with the god.

103. HARSAMOSI is "Horus the Elder." [R.K.R.] Other divine names are also embedded in the spell: IAŌ, THOUTHE (probably from Thoth), SEMESILAM.

104. The seven Greek vowels, represented by the first seven letters of this group, were equated with the notes of the musical scale, and so represented the basic harmony.

the cosmos, of ten thousand names (?),[105] greatest, nourisher, apportioner, / [[Sarapis]]."

Having drawn in spirit with all your senses, say the first[106] name in one breath to the east, the second to the south, the third to the north, the fourth to the west, and having knelt to the left [on] your right knee once, say to the earth once and to the moon once, to water once and to sky once, "ŌAŌĒ ŌŌ EOĒIAŌ / III AAŌ THĒ THOU THĒ AATHŌ ATHĒROYŌ" (36 letters).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XIII. 646–734

*Have[107] a tablet on which you will write what he says to you, and a knife so that, clean from all [impurities], you may kill the sacrifices, and a libation, that you may pour one. Have all these / ready nearby you. And you be in clean linens, crowned with an olive wreath. Prepare the canopy thus: taking a clean sheet write on the border [the names of] the 365 gods. Make it like a tent / under which you go to be initiated. Also have cinnamon at your neck, for the deity is pleased by it and gave it power. And have also the Apollo who will help you, carved from a root of laurel, / with tripod standing beside him and Pythian serpent. Carve around the Apollo the great name in Egyptian form: on his chest this,[108] BAINCHŌŌŌCHŌŌŌCHNIAB, written [the same] forwards and backwards; / on the back of [the] figure this name: ILILLOU ILILLOU ILILLOU; and around the Pythian serpent and the tripod: ITHŌR MARMARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH. Have this, too, around your neck when you perform the initiation; / it is helpful in everything, along with the cinnamon.

Accordingly, as I said before, when you have purified yourself in advance [through the last] seven days while the moon is waning, at the dark of the moon begin sleeping on the ground. Rising at dawn, greet the sun [Helios] through seven days, each day saying first the [names of the] / gods of the hours, then those set over the weeks. Also [each day], learning who is the ruler of that day, keep after him, saying, "Lord, on such-and-such a day I am calling the god to the sacred sacrifices"—doing so until the eighth day.

Then, / coming to this day, in the middle of the night, when there is quiet, light the altar fire and have at hand the two roosters and the two lamps, lighted, into which you must not put any more oil. Now begin to recite the stele and the / mystery of the god. Have standing by a mixing bowl containing milk of a black cow and wine not mixed with seawater, for this is beginning and end. Then having written on one side of the natron [plaque, the text of] the stele which begins "I call on you, who are greater than all," / etc., as given above, lick it off, and pouring [wine?] on the other side, on which is the figure drawing,[109] wash it off into the mixing bowl. The natron should be written [with ink made] both from the incense materials and from the flowers. Then, before you drink off the milk and the wine, / say over it this petition and having said it lie down on the mat, holding the tablet and the stylus, and recite the account of creation which begins, "I call on you who surround all

105. Reading *μυριώνυμε* for the papyrus's *μυρικωτατες*, and Preisendanz's *μυριώτατε* (otherwise unknown?).

106. "First" of those in this section; above, ll. 622–27.

107. Here version C of the main ritual begins, paralleling version A, ll. 91–110, where the notes on features common to both texts will be found.

108. Preisendanz's supplement, *ὄνομα*, is needless.

109. Of the nine-formed god standing on a falcon-faced crocodile inside an ouroboros, above, ll. 39–45 and parallel. Contrast versions A and B in which the prayer is to be written on both sides of the tablet, ll. 131 and 434.

things, I call in every language and in every dialect," etc. And when / you come to the vowels, say, "Lord, I imitate you by [saying] the seven vowels; enter and hear me." Then repeat the name [composed] of the 27 letters. You should be lying on a rush mat spread under you on the ground.

Now when the god comes in do not stare / at his face, but look at his feet while beseeching him, as written above, and giving thanks that he did not treat you contemptuously, but you were thought worthy of the things about to be said to you for correction of your life. You, then, ask, "Master, what is fated for me?" And he will tell you even / about your star, and what kind of daimon you have, and your horoscope and where you may live and where you will die. And if you hear something bad, do not cry out or weep, but ask that he may wash it off or circumvent it, for this god can do everything. Therefore, when you begin questioning, / thank him for having heard you and not overlooked you. Always sacrifice to this [god] in this way and offer your pious devotions, for thus he will hear you.

The technique of determining which god is ruler of the celestial pole [at a given time,] goes as follows: Find out, child, to which god the day is subject in the Greek reckoning, / and then, coming to the "Seven-Zoned," count from the bottom up, and you will find the answer. For if the day be subject to Helios in the Greek reckoning, Selene rules the pole, and thus the rest, as follows:

Greek		The Seven-Zoned
Helios	The Monad of Moses,	Kronos
Selene		Zeus
Ares	which is also a table	Ares
Hermes	called "The Seven-	Helios
Zeus	Zoned."	Aphrodite
Aphrodite		Hermes
Kronos		Selene

The Eighth, Hidden Book of Moses.[110] In another [manuscript] I found was written, *The Hidden Book of Moses concerning the Gret Name*, or,[111] *For Everything, in which is the Name of Him Who Governs All.*

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XIII. 734–1077

*You should also take, child, for this personal / vision, [a list of] the gods of the days and the hours and the weeks, those given in the book, and the twelve rulers of the months, and the seven-letter name which is in the first book, and which you also have written in the *Key*, which [name] is great and marvelous, as it is what brings alive all your books. / I have also set out for you the oath that precedes each book, since, when you have learned the power of the book, you are to keep it secret, child, for in it there is the name of the lord, which is Ogdoas,[112] the god who com-

110. As often in ancient manuscripts, the title follows the text. Perhaps it did so in l. 344 and was there fused with the beginning title of version B.

111. Reading "or" for Preisendanz's "which" (ἤ for ἡ). Evidently the copyist knew at least three manuscripts.

112. An "ogdoad" is something composed of eight members or elements. Capitalized, the term is used especially for a set of eight Egyptian gods, considered as a unit. They consisted of four pairs, representing the masculine and feminine aspects of the primeval world (Bonnet, *RÄRG* 5–6, s.v. "Achtheit"; cf. the similar "Ennead" discussed in n. 15 above). [R.K.R. adds that they were celebrated in the creation myth of Hermopolis—in Egyptian, "Eight-Town"—as those who brought forth the universe. He refers

mands and directs all things, since to him angels, archangels, he-daimons, / she-daimons, and all things under the creation have been subjected.

There are also prefaced four other names, that of nine letters and that of fourteen letters and that of twenty-six letters and that of Zeus. You may use these on boy-mediums who do not see the gods, so / that one will see unavoidably, and for all spells and needs: inquiries, prophecies by Helios, prophecies by visions in mirrors. And for the compulsive spell you should use the great name which is Ogdoas, the god who directs all things throughout the creation. [For] without him simply nothing / will be accomplished. Learn and conceal, child, the name [composed] of the nine letters, AEĒ EĒI OYŌ, and that of the fourteen letters, YSAU SIAUE IAŌUS, and that of the twenty-six letters, ARABBAOUARABA (to be written forwards and backwards),[113] the name of Zeus, CHONAI IEMOI CHO ENI KA ABIA SKIBA PHOROUOM EPIERTHAT.

/ ***Here is the instruction [for recitation] of the heptagram,[114] and the spell to which the god gives attention: (The spell)***:

"Come to me, you from the four winds, ruler of all, who breathed spirit into men for life, whose is the hidden and unspeakable name—it cannot be uttered by human mouth / —at whose name even the daimons, when hearing, are terrified, whose is the sun, ARNEBOUAT BOLLOCH BARBARICH B BAALSAMĒN PTIDAIOY ARNEBOUAT, and [the] moon, ARSENPENPRŌOUTH BARBARAIŌNE OSRAR MEMPSECHEI—they are unwearied eyes / shining in the pupils of men's eyes—of whom heaven is head, ether body, earth feet, and the environment water, the Agathos Daimon. You are the ocean, begetter of good things and feeder of the civilized world. Yours is the eternal processional way[115] / in which your seven-lettered name is established for the harmony of the seven sounds [of the planets which] utter their voices according to the twenty-eight forms of the moon, SAR APHARA APHARA I ABRAARM ARAPHA ABRAACH PERTAŌMĒCH / AKMĒCH IAŌ OYE Ē IAŌ OYE EIOY AEŌ EĒOY IAŌ. Yours are[116] the beneficent effluxes of the stars, daimons and Fortunes and Fates, by whom is given wealth, good old age, good children, good luck, a good burial.[117] And you, lord of life, King of the heavens and the / earth and all things living in them, you whose justice is not turned aside, you whose glorious name the Muses sing, you whom the eight guards attend, Ē Ō CHŌ CHOUCH NOUN NAUNI AMOUN AMAUNI;[118] you who have / truth that never lies. Your name and

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to Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 175–77.] As gods who produced the cosmos, like those of Hesiod's *Theogony*, they interested Greeks who speculated about cosmology. Since the precosmic world was that of divine perfection, they came to be thought both a heaven above the seven planetary heavens, and a deity above the cosmic gods. Greek speculation about a divine sphere beyond those of the planets was happy to find in them an ancient, arcane, and prestigious prototype. Hence their name became a popular term in second-century A.D. and later theosophy; it figures in Hermetic, Neoplatonic, and Christian writings, both "orthodox" and "gnostic," and reflections are found even in rabbinic literature. Such popularity accounts for this postscript, adding the fashionable Egyptian name to the preceding collection, which had lacked it. Perhaps the collection was made before the name became truly popular.

113. In the Greek text this direction is abbreviated to α′ (for *ἀναγραμματίζε*), of which Preisendanz did not see the meaning.

114. I.e., the seven vowels. More pretentious terminology.

115. Of the sky, in which the luminaries revolve.

116. Reading *σοῦ* for *οὗ*, in accordance with Preisendanz's emendation in the parallel text, XII. 254.

117. This list of divine gifts (while admittedly at home in most cultures) is quite Egyptian in its emphasis on "good old age" and "good burial." Cf. the standard prayer, "that he be buried in the necropolis of the desert in good old age," K. Sethe, *Urkunden des alten Reiches* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933), vol. I, p. 120, and many parallels. [R.K.R.]

118. These are the names of the members of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad (see above, n. 112, and

your spirit rest upon the good. Come into my mind and my understanding for all the time of my life and accomplish for me all the desires of my soul. /

For you are I, and I, you. Whatever I say must happen, for I have your name as a unique phylactery in my heart, and no flesh, although moved, will overpower me; no spirit will stand against me—neither daimon nor visitation nor any other of the evil beings of Hades, / because of your name, which I have in my soul and invoke. Also [be] with me always for good, a good [god dwelling] on a good [man], yourself immune to magic, giving me health no magic can harm, well-being, prosperity, glory, victory, power, sex appeal. Restrain the evil eyes / of each and all of my legal opponents, whether men or women, but give me charm in everything I do. ANOCH AIEPHE SAKTIETĒ BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SEĒE SEĒE SIETHŌ SIETHŌ OUN CHOUNTIAI SEMBI IMENOUAI BAINPHNOUN PHNOUTH TOUCHAR SOUCHAR SABACHAR ANA[119] of [the] god IEOU ION EON THŌTHŌ / OUTHRO THRŌRESE ERIŌPŌ IYĒ AĒ IAŌAI AEĒIOYŌ AEĒIOYŌ ĒOCH MANEBI CHYCHIŌ ALARAŌ KOL KOL KAATŌN KOLKANTHŌ BALALACH ABLALACH OTHERCHENTHE BOULŌCH / BOULŌCH OSERCHNTHE MENTHEI,[120] for I have received the power of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of the great god, daimon IAŌ ABLANATHANALBA SIABRATHILAŌ LAMPSTĒR IĒI ŌŌ, god. Do [it], lord PERTAŌMECH / CHACHMĒCH IAŌ OYĒE IAŌ OYĒE IEOU AĒŌ EĒOY IAŌ."

The instruction: Speaking to the rising sun, stretching out your right hand to the left and your left hand / likewise to the left, say "A." To the north, putting forward only your right fist, say "E." Then to the west, extending both hands in front [of you], say "Ē." To the south, / [holding] both on your stomach, say, "I." To the earth, bending over, touching the ends of your toes, say "O." Looking into the air, having your hand on your heart, say "Y." Looking into the sky, having both hands on your head, say "Ō:"

sky

A	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	IIII
east	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō O	south
air	Y Y Y Y Y Y	
north	E E O O O O O Ē Ē Ē	west

earth

"I call on you, eternal and unbegotten, who are one, who alone hold together the whole creation of all things, whom none understands, whom the gods worship, / whose name not even the gods can utter. Inspire from your exhalation (?),[121] ruler

K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1929], p. 65 and pl. I). The pairs are *Ḥḥ* and *Ḥḥ.t* ("Expansiveness" and "Female Expansiveness"), *Kk* and *Kk.t* ("Darkness" and "Female Darkness," cf. CHŌŌŌCH, "darkness," in BAINCHŌŌŌCH with the CHOUCH here), *Nwn* and *Nwn.t* ("Abyss" and "Female Abyss" *sc.* of water), and *Imn* and *Imn.t* ("the Hidden" and "the Female Hidden"). Cf. *PGM* XIII. 743 and XXI. 20. [R.K.R.] It should be noticed, too, that here the Ogdoad are merely assistants—the "eight guards" who "attend" the highest god—whereas in the preceding two paragraphs, which we saw reason to think interpolated (above, n. 112), the Ogdoad was itself and as a unit the supreme god. Detailed textual analysis is impossible here, but it seems clear that different sources have been used, and likely, that different writers used them.

119. Possibly "I [am]" in Aramaic, transliterated into Greek.

120. Besides the initial ANOCH "I am," this list has many Egyptian words: BAINPHOUN, "spirit of Nun" (the abyss); PHNOUTH, "the god"; THŌTHŌ, "Thoth the great"; OSERCHENTHE MENTHEI, "Osiris the foremost of the westerners," the standard epithet of Osiris. [R.K.R.]

121. Dubious restoration, in Preisendanz's text, of a word here plausible, but otherwise unknown.

of the pole, him who is under you; accomplish for me the NN thing.

"I call on you as by the voice of the male gods, ΙΕΩ ΟΥΕ ΩΕΙ ΥΕ ΑΩ ΕΙ ΩΥ ΑΟΕ ΟΥΕ / ΕΩΑ ΥΕΙ ΩΕΑ ΟΕΩ ΙΕΟΥ ΑΩ. I call on you, as by the voice of the female gods, ΙΑΕ ΕΩΟ ΙΟΥ ΕΕΙ ΩΑ ΕΕ ΙΕ ΑΙ ΥΟ ΕΙΑΥ ΕΩΟ ΟΥΕΕ ΙΑΩ ΩΑΙ ΕΟΥΕ ΥΩΕΙ ΙΩΑ. I call on you, as the winds / call you. I call on you, as the dawn." (Looking toward dawn [say], "Α ΕΕ ΕΕΕ ΙΙΙΙ ΟΟΟΟΟ ΥΥΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ.") "I call on you as the south." (Looking to the south say, "Ι ΟΟ ΥΥΥ ΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑΑ ΕΕΕΕΕΕ ΕΕΕΕΕΕΕ.") / "I call on you as the west." (Standing [facing] the west, say, "Ε ΙΙ ΟΟΟ ΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑΑΑ ΕΕΕΕΕΕΕ.") "I call on you as the north." (Standing looking toward the north say, "Ω ΑΑ ΕΕΕ ΕΕΕΕ ΙΙΙΙΙ ΟΟΟΟΟΟ ΥΥΥΥΥΥΥ.") "I call on you / as the earth." (Looking toward the earth say, "Ε ΕΕ ΙΙΙ ΟΟΟΟ ΥΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑΑΑΑ.") "I call on you as the sky." (Looking into the sky say, "Υ ΩΩ ΑΑΑ ΕΕΕΕ ΕΕΕΕΕ ΙΙΙΙΙΙ ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ.") "I call on you as the cosmos, "Ο ΥΥ ΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑ / ΕΕΕΕΕ ΕΕΕΕΕΕ ΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ. Accomplish for me NN thing, quickly. I call on your name, the greatest among gods. If I say it complete, there will be an earthquake, the sun will stop and the moon will be afraid and the rocks and the mountains and the sea and the rivers / and every liquid will be petrified; the whole cosmos will be thrown into confusion. I call on you, ΙΥΕΥΟ ΩΑΕΕ ΙΑΩ ΑΕΕ ΑΙ ΕΕ ΑΕ ΙΟΥΩ ΕΥΕ ΙΕΟΥ ΑΕΩ ΕΙ ΩΕΙ ΙΑΕ ΙΩΟΥΕ ΑΥΕ ΥΕΑ ΙΩ ΙΩΑΙ ΙΩΑΙ ΩΕ / ΕΕ ΟΥ ΙΩ ΙΑΩ, the great name. Become for me lynx, eagle, snake, phoenix, life, power, necessity, images of god, ΑΙΩ ΙΩΥ ΙΑΩ ΕΙΩ ΑΑ ΟΥΙ ΑΑΑΑ Ε ΙΥ ΙΩ ΩΕ ΙΑΩ ΑΙ ΑΩΕ ΟΥΕΩ ΑΙΕΕ ΙΟΥΕ ΥΕΙΑ ΕΙΩ ΕΙΙ ΥΥ ΕΕ ΕΕ ΩΑΟΕ / CHECHAMPSIMM CHANGALAS ΕΕΙΟΥ ΙΕΕΑ ΩΟΕΟΕ (seven of the auspicious [names?]) ΖΩΙΩΙΕΡ ΩΜΥΡΥΡΟΜΡΟΜΟΣ." [Say it?] thus, extending the second ΑΙΩ: "Ε ΙΙ ΥΥ ΕΕ ΟΑΟΕ."

This initiation is performed to the suns[122] of the thirteenth day of the month, when the gold lamella is licked / off and one says over it: "ΙΑΙΑ ΙΥ ΟΕ ΙΕΥΟΩ ΕΩΙ ΕΟ Ε ΩΥ ΕΕ ΥΩΕ ΩΩΟ ΩΩΙ ΩΑΩ ΕΩ ΟΕ ΥΩ." Then more completely, "ΑΩΕΥΕ ΟΑΙ ΙΟ ΕΥΕΩΑ ΟΥΩ ΩΟ ΕΙ ΟΥ ΕΩ ΟΙΥΥ ΩΥΥ ΩΙ Α / ΕΕ ΕΕΕ ΙΙΙΙ ΟΟΟΟΟ ΥΥΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ ΑΩ ΕΟΕ ΕΩΕ ΙΑΑ ΕΩΙ ΕΙΩ. In [the] initiation these things are said six times with all [the rest?], and the seven vowels are written on the gold lamella to be licked off, and on the silver lamella the seven vowels for the phylactery / ΟΕΩ ΑΩ ΟΟΟ ΥΟΙΕ ΟΥ ΥΕΙ SORRA ΤΗΩΜ CHRALAMPΕΑPS ΑΤΟΥΕGΙ. The following series of vowels [are written as] "wings";[123] and on the gold lamella write this: ΑΩΕΥΕΟΙ; on the silver: ΙΟΕΥΕΩΑ, . . .[124]

ΑΕΕΙΟΥΩ
ΕΕΙΟΥΩΑ
ΕΙΟΥΩΑΕ
ΙΟΥΩΑΕΕ
ΟΥΩΑΕΕΙ
ΥΩΑΕΕΙΟ
ΩΑΕΕΙΟΥ

ΑΕΕΙΟΥΩΩ
ΕΕΙΟΥΩΩΑ
ΕΙΟΥΩΩΑΕ
ΙΟΥΩΩΑΕΕ
ΟΥΩΩΑΕΕΙ
ΥΩΩΑΕΕΙΟ
ΩΩΑΕΕΙΟΥ

ΑΕΕΙΟΥΩΟΥΩ
ΕΕΙΟΥΩΟΥΩΑ
ΕΙΟΥΩΟΥΩΑΕ
ΙΟΥΩΟΥΩΑΕΕ
ΟΥΩΟΥΩΑΕΕΙ
ΥΩΟΥΩΑΕΕΙΟ
ΩΟΥΩΑΕΕΙΟΥ

and[125] the great heaven, eternal, incorruptible, ΟΕΩ ΑΩ ΤΗΟΟΥ ΟΙΕ ΟΥ ΥΕΙ ΟΡ-ΧΡΑ ΤΗΩΜΧΡΑ SEMESILAMPS / ΑΤΟΥΕΤΙ DROUSOUAR DROUΕSRΩ GNIDA

122. Of dawn, midday, and sunset (Preisendanz).

123. I.e., in triangles, produced by writing the words in successive lines, but in each line dropping one letter from the same end (usually the front) until only one is left. A "wing" is the technical term in magical jargon for the resultant form.

124. Something, probably directions from another rite, seems to have fallen out of the text. It resumes near the end of another spell.

125. This has no clear connection to the preceding vowels, so Preisendanz conjectures a lacuna. However, this may be the continuation of the lost spell in which the vowels stood.

BATAIANA ANGASTA AMASOUROUR OUANA APAISTOU OUANDA ŌTI SATRAPERKMĒPH ALA Dionysus, blessed EYIE YOY YYY THENŌR conducting YYY EYEYEY YE OYŌ XERTHENATHIA THAPHTHŌ / OIKROU ŌR ARAX GŌ Ō AAA ERARĒRAYIIĒR THOUTH ASĒSENACHTHŌ LARNIBAI AIOŌ KOUPHIŌ ISŌTHŌNI PATHENI IEEENTHĒR PANCHOCHITAS OYE TIASOUTH PACHTHEESTH HYSEMMIGADŌN / ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOĒRADĒR SOIRE SOIRE SANKANTHARA ERESCHIGAL APARA KEŌPH IAŌ SABAŌTH ABRATIAŌTH ADŌNAI ZAGOURĒ HARSAMOSI RANAKERNŌTH LAMPSOUŌR.[126] Therefore, I am brought together with you by the great commander-in-chief Michael, lord, the great archangel of IEOY AĒ AIŌ EYAI / I Ē IĒ IŌA IĒIĒ AIŌ EĒ AIŌ. Therefore, I am conjoined[127] [with you], O great one, and I have you in my heart AŌ EĒ EŌĒI AIAĒ ŌĒ IŌAŌ EOĒE ŌĒI AAĒ ŌĒIŌ.

As the revelator Orpheus[128] ***handed down in his private note***: "OISPAĒ IAŌ / OYEA SEMESILAM AĒOI, son, CHOLOUE ARAARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE ŌĒEYAIĒ OIAI EAĒ EAĒ ŌEA BORKA BORKA PHRIX RIX ŌRZA ZICH MARTHAI OYTHIN LILILILAM LILILILŌOU AAAAAAA ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ / MOUAMECH, fluid boundary, AĒŌ ŌĒA ĒŌA." (Breathe out, in. Fill up); "EI AI OAI" (pushing more, bellow-howling.) "Come to me, god of gods, AĒŌĒI ĒI IAŌ AE OIŌTK" (Pull in, fill up, / shutting your eyes. Bellow as much as you can, then, sighing, give out [what air remains] in a hiss.)

Erotylos, in his "Orphica":[129] "YOĒEŌAI ŌAI YOĒEAI YOĒEŌ EREPE EYA / NARBARNE ZAGEGŌĒ ĒCHRAĒM KAPHNAMIAS PSIIPHRI PSAIARORKIPHKA BRAKIŌ BOLBALOCH SIAILASI MAROMALA MARMISAI BIRAITHATHI ŌO."

And Hieros[130] ***writes thus***: "MARCHŌTH SAERMACHŌTH ZALTHAGAZATHA / BABATHBATHAATHAB A III AAA OOO[131] ŌŌŌ ĒĒĒ ŌNTHĒR." Then, "Depth AUMŌLACH."

And as it stands in the "Holy Name" pronounced by Thphes, the sacred scribe to King Ochos:[132] "NETHMOMAŌ / MARCHACHTHA CHTHAMAR ZAXTHTHARN MACHACH ZAROKOTHARA ŌSS IAŌ OUĒ SIALŌR TITĒ EAĒ IAŌ ĒS ZEATHE AAA ĒEEOY THŌBARRABAU."

And in the Memoranda / of Euenos[133] he says the name is pronounced by the Egyptians [and] the Syrians "CHTHETHŌNI."

As Zoroaster[134] ***the Persian in*** . . . "RNISSAR PSYCHISSAR."

And as is said in the works of / Pyrrhus:[135] "ZZA AAA EEE BBMŌEA ANBIŌŌŌ."

And as Moses says in the Archangelic [Teaching?]:[136] "ALDAZAŌ BATHAM MA-

126. Besides the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Egyptian divine names now familiar, this list has Baubo, a comic figure from Eleusinian legend, and Ereschigal, the ancient Mesopotamian queen of the underworld.

127. The verb is *συνίστημι*, usually "introduce, present," but the context here seems to require some closer connection. Cf. above, ll. 795–804.

128. Orpheus, the legendary Thracian singer, had by this time become famous as a revelator. Many bogus works were attributed to him; nothing is known of this one.

129. Or "as quoted in the *Orphica*." The translation given in the text follows Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* I, 17. An Erotylus was once cited by the alchemist Zosimus as an authority on "the All" (*ibidem*, III, 144). He is otherwise unknown.

130. Unknown?

131. Reading OOO for ŌOO, since the adjacent groups are all triplets of a single letter.

132. Ochos was Artaxerxes III, 358–338 B.C. Thphēs is unknown, and the conversation was probably fictitious.

133. Several authors named Euenos are known, but nothing connects any of them with this statement.

134. Zoroaster, like Orpheus, was a favorite victim of forgers, one of whom produced this.

135. We know of many men named Pyrrhus, but of none likely to have written this.

136. *The Archangelic Teaching* (?) of "Moses" is again cited in the Nag Hammadi documents (II. 5. 102) and may be reflected by a medieval manuscript which quotes an "archangelic hymn" given to

CHŌR," or "BA ADAM MACHŌR RIZXAĒ ŌKEŌN PNED MEŌYPS PSYCH PHRŌCH PHER PHRŌ IAOTHCHŌ."

/ And as it is explained in Hebrew in "The Law":[137] "Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, AĒŌ ĒŌA ŌAĒ IEOY IEĒ IEO IAŌ IA ĒI AO EĒ OE EŌ."

And as in the fifth book of the Ptolemaica,[138] the most excellent book entitled / *One and the Whole*. (It contains [an account of] the birth of the spirit of fire and of darkness:) "Lord of [the] Aion, who created all things, only god, unutterable, THOROKOMPHOUTH PSONNAN / NEBOUĒTI TATTAKINTHAKOL SOONSOLOUKE SOLBOSEPHĒTH BORKA BORKA PHRINX RIXŌ ZADICH AMARCHTHA IOU CHORIN LI LI LAM LAM AAAAAAA IIIIIII ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ EMACH ĒĒĒ NACH LILILI LAM CHENĒ / LILILI ŌOY AĒŌ ŌAĒ IŌA ŌŌŌ ĒĒĒ, fluid boundary, MOTHRAĒ EIA OYŌ AOYE THOPTOCH A ŌŌ YYY OOOO IIII ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ EEEEEE AMOUN IAAAAŌ ĒI ĒI ANOCH AI IŌ ŌI ĒI ORTONGOUR ŌĒAI EIAI / ŌĒAI ŌĒOI AA ĒI OYŌ ĒI IOY ĒŌ ĒEAE THATH IER THAINON ABOU, the great, great[139] Aion, god, lord (?), Aion."

And the great name, that in Jerusalem, by which they bring out water when there is none in a cistern (?): "ACHMĒ IEŌĒ IEĒŌ IARABBAO / YCHRABAŌA, do the NN thing, unutterable name of great god."

Taking a golden or silver lamella, engrave with an adamant[140] stone the unutterable characters given below. He who engraves them should be pure from all / impurity, his wrists wreathed with wreaths of flowers in season, and should also offer frankincense. The spell to annul this spell should be written on the reverse of the lamella. Then, taking it, inscribed, put it into a clean box / and put this on a clean tripod covered with a linen cloth, and prepare an accompanying offering of pure pinecones, a small basket[141] of bread, sweetmeats, flowers in season, Egyptian wine not mixed with seawater. Then / putting milk, wine, water in a new vessel, pour a libation while burning frankincense. Also let a clean lamp be at hand, full of rose oil. And say, "I call on you the greatest god in the heaven, / strong lord, mighty IAŌ OYŌ IŌ AIŌ OYŌ, who exist.[142] Perfect for me, lord, the great, lord, unutterable magical sign, so that I may have it and remain free of danger and unconquered and / undefeated, I, NN."

Moses for use as a phylactery. Unfortunately, neither "hymn" nor "phylactery" matches the gender of "archangelic" as given in our text, and the quotations differ widely. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 292–93 and Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 150. One of the works used by the author of *PGM* XIII may have had a Hebrew source. The beginning of the second quotation is readable as Hebrew: "In Adam was the source of secrets" (taking *ριζξαη* as a corruption of *razzaya*—Greek has no *y*).

137. The source of this may have been a targum in which the phrase, "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (Ex 3:6, 15; 4:5, etc.) was followed by a magical gloss, like those sometimes inserted in manuscripts of Homer; cf. *P. Oxy.* 412.

138. Claudius Ptolemaeus, ca. A.D. 100–178, the famous astronomer and astrologer, was another favorite victim of false attributions; see Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 211. This adds one more.

139. Doubling is a common form of superlative, especially in Hebrew and Egyptian, but also in Greek. See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), sec. 493.1.

140. Probably the legendary adamant, which nothing could break. The observable stone most often called *adamas* was hematite, a relatively soft iron oxide not suitable for engraving. See A. A. Barb, "Lapis Adamas," in *Hommages à Marcel Rénard*, vol. I, *Latomus* 101 (1969): 67–86; R. K. Ritner, "A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection," *JNES* 43 (1984): 209–21.

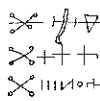
141. Literally, one containing about a *kab*—roughly one-sixth of a bushel. However, the word thus literally translated appears in Greek only in Preisendanz's text, where it is a conjectural correction of a corruption.

142. Literally, "the being" (person or thing, masc.)—the famous Greek hypostatized principle which LXX used in translating the obscure Hebrew gloss in Ex 3:14.

Try to prepare this when [the moon] is in the east and in conjunction with a beneficent planet, either Zeus or Aphrodite, and when / no maleficent one, Kronos or Ares, is in aspect. You may do it best when one of the three beneficent planets is in its own house, while the moon is taking / the position of conjunction or aspect or diametrical opposition and when the planet, too, is in the east, for then the rite will be effectual for you. Accordingly, do not / idly talk about the way to annul it, if you don't want to help damage yourself; but keep it to yourself.

Its uses are the following:

When you want to put down fear or anger: Taking a leaf of laurel, write on it the / sign, as it is, and having shown it to the sun, say, "I call on you, the great god in heaven, [strong] lord, mighty IAŌ OYŌ IŌ AIŌ OYŌ, who exist; protect me from all fear, from all danger that threatens / me in the present day, in the present hour." Having said these words thrice, lick off the leaf, and have the lamella with you. And if [things come to] hand-to-hand [fighting, wear it] on your hand.


The spell to annul, which is written on the reverse: "PAITH PHTHA PHOŌZA."[143]

A secret prayer of Moses to Selene: "OINEL of life, CHNOUB OUĒR AKROMBOUS / OURAOI OYĒR AI HAPH HŌR OKI. ANOCH BŌRINTH MAMIKOURPH AEI AEI Ē AEI EIE EIĒ TETH OUR OUR OUĒR ME CHROUR CHOU TAIS ECHRĒZĒ ECHRINX MAMIA OURPH, goddess in woman's form, mistress Selene, do the NN thing."

For opening [doors]: Taking / the navel of a male crocodile (he means pondweed)[144] and the egg of a scarab and a heart of a baboon (he means perfume of lilies),[145] put these into a blue-green faïence vessel. And when you wish to open a door, bring the navel to the door, saying, "By / THAIM THOLACH THECHEMBAOR THEAGON PENTATHESCHI BŌTI, [I call on you] who have power in the deep, for myself, that there may now be a way open for me, for I say to you, SAUAMBOCH / MERA CHEOZAPH ŌSSALA BYMBĒL POUO TOUTHŌ OIRĒREI ARNOCH."

If [you wish] to call phantoms: . . .

The tenth (?) Hidden [Book of] Moses.[146]

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PDM xiv. 1–92

*[**A vessel divination** which a physician ?] in the nome of Oxyrhynchus [gave to me]:[1] ***Formula***: "[O god, NN,] . . . the edge of whose strap rests in Pelusium while his face is like a spark . . . of an obscene cat whose testicles[2] are like a rearing uraeus . . . quickly. Put the light and breadth in my vessel. . . . / Open to me, O earth! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me, O primeval waters! . . . large . . . of cop- [col. I, 5]

143. PHTHA PHOŌZA is "Ptah, health." In the following prayer, CHNOUB OUĒR is "Khnum the great," OURAOI OUĒR is "great ureai," HAPH HOR is "Apis, Horus." [R.K.R.]

144. This is an example of the secret magical vocabulary by which everyday things were given pretentious names, partly to make magical rituals impractible for chance readers, partly to impress the ignorant.

145. Or possibly, "myrrh mixed with (oil of white) lilies."

146. In the manuscript "book" is lacking and "tenth" uncertain. Against Gager's argument for a repetition of "eighth" (*Moses*, p. 148, [above, n. 136]) stand the conspicuous differences of the material preceding this title from that of the better attested "eighth" books in ll. 1–730.

1. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 528.

2. Read, perhaps, *sn.ty*; see A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3d ser., vol. 1 (London: British Museum, 1935), 115, n. 2; and cf. Griffith and Thompson, glossary #133 and 20, n. to l. I. 3.

per of Alkhah.[3] O gods who are in heaven, who are exalted, come! . . . [Put (the)] light and breadth in my vessel and my . . . [the] boy whose face is bent over this vessel.[4] May . . . prosper, for this vessel divination is the vessel divination of Isis
10 when she was searching / . . . . Come in to me, †O †my †compeller, for everything
[I, 10] . . . , and make †this youth[5] open his eyes to them all . . . , for I †am the Pharaoh Lion-Ram. Ram-Lion-Lotus[6] is my name; . . . to you here today, for I †am SITTAKO.[7] 'Hearing' is my name; 'hearing' [is my true name. I am GANTHA, GINTEY,
15 GIRITEY][8] HRENYTE (also called ARENOYTE)[9] †LAPPTTOTHA †LAKSANTHA SA/[RISA
[I, 15] . . . †BOLBYE]L[10] BYEL BYEL †LYTERI †KLOGASANTRA! IAHO [is my name; IAHO is my true name. BALKHAM the][11] powerful one of heaven, †ABLANATHANALBA, the griffin[12] [of the shrine of the god who stands today]."[13]

[You should] say, whispering, "O good oxherd,[14] my compeller, . . . in order to ask you about it here today, and †you †should †make †this [youth] open[15] his eyes . . . every . . . and you should protect †this youth whose face is bent [down over
20 this / vessel][16] . . . of god, †lord †of †earth, †the †survivor of the earth, †lord †of
[I, 20] †earth . . . I †am Hor-Amoun[17] who sits at this vessel divination here today . . . †[at][18] †this vessel divination here today. †MARIGHARI, you should . . . so that they say my inquiry for me."

Say to them twice, "O pure gods of the primeval waters, [I am] . . . of earth by
25 name, under the soles [of whose feet] the gods of Egypt are placed / . . . †THAR, for
[I, 25]

3. For Alkhah (Eg., *'rq-ḥḥ*), see *PGM* IV. 124 and n. One should, probably, use a standard transliteration of the name throughout; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to l. I. 6.

4. Or oil; parallels allow either; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to l. I. 8.

5. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 43, 72, etc.; see discussion in Johnson, *Verbal System* 274–75.

6. For this combination, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 22, n. to l. I. 12; also *PGM* III. 659 and n.

7. For a discussion of the possible meaning of this name, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 23, n. to l. I. 13.

8. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 1171–72. The spelling of magical names given here is based on the Demotic spelling supplemented by the Old Coptic spelling. If there is a disagreement between the two, the Demotic is accepted. See Johnson, "Dialect," 110–25 for a discussion of the correlations among Greek, Old Coptic, and Demotic found in this text. Transcriptions try to maintain a one-to-one correspondence between ancient script and modern.

9. "Also called' is inserted above the line, in front of the Old Coptic gloss ARENOYTE. Note that *PDM* xiv. 1174 writes this name *ḥry ntr* "lord god."

10. The missing magical names could be restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 1175–76.

11. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 1178.

12. The griffin is described by the author of the Demotic tale called "The Myth of the Sun's Eye" in the following terms (15. 1–4): His beak is (that of) an eagle; his eyes are (those of) a man; his limbs are (those of) a lion; his scaly ears are (those of) an *3b3ḫ* fish of the sea; his tail is (that of) a snake—the five [creatures] which breathe which are upon (the earth). The griffin is described as the "avenger upon whom no avenger can wreak vengeance" and the "herdsman of everything which is upon earth." The most recent discussion of this passage, and its translation into Greek, is by J. W. Tait, "A Duplicate Version of the Demotic *Kufi* Text," *Acta Orientalia* 36 (1974):23–27, and "The Fable of Sight and Hearing in the Demotic *Kufi* Text," *Acta Orientalia* 37 (1976):27–44.

13. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 1179.

14. Epithet of Anubis; cf. *PDM* xiv. 35, 400, and 422; see *PGM* I. 26 and n.

15. See n. 5 above.

16. See n. 4 above.

17. The formation of compound dieties occurs very early in Egyptian religion and remains a common feature.

18. Restoration based on Old Coptic gloss "a" = preposition *r*.

I am †TA †PISH-TEHEI[19] of earth by name. . . . preserve you, O Pharaoh, PASHAMEI,[20] who rests opposite . . . these forearms of real gold. Truth is in my mouth, honey [is on my lips][21] . . . MA . . . THA, for I †am †STEL †IAHO, †he †who †opens †the †land."

You should say to the boy, "Open your eyes!" If he opens his eyes and sees the light, you should make him cry out, / saying "Be great, be great, O light! Come 30
forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be high, be high, O light! He [II, 2]
who is outside, come in!"

If he opens his eyes and does not see the light, you should make him close his eyes while you recite to him again.

Formula: "O darkness, remove yourself †from †before him! O light, bring the light in to me! Pshai[22] who is in the primeval waters, bring the light in to me! O Osiris who is in the divine bark, bring the light in to me! O these four winds which are outside, bring the light in to me! O he in whose hand is the †moment, the one who belongs to these hours,[23] / bring the light in to me! O Anubis, the good ox- 35
herd, bring the light in to me in order that you give me †protection here today, for I [II, 7]
am Horus, the son of Isis, the good son of Osiris! You should bring the gods of the place of judgment, and you should cause them to take care of my affair so that they make †my business proceed. †O †those †belonging †to †the †avengers,[24] you should cause them to do it, for [I am] . . . †TYRAMNEI[25] †AMNEI[26] †A †A †MES MES †ORNYORF ORNYORF †ORNYORF ORNYORF †PAHOROF[27] . . . †PAHROF[28] †IO †little king, †mountain †of †Horus. May this youth whose face is bent down to this / oil 40
be saved [and may you] send Sobek to me until he comes forth. 'Hearing' is my [II, 12]
name; 'Hearing' is my correct name, for I am L[OT †MYLO]T[29] †TYLOT. †TAT †PINTAT is my correct name. O great god whose name is great, appear to this youth †without †alarming or †deceiving, †truthfully."[30] You should recite these ***writings seven times***.

If you make him open his eyes and the light is good and he says "Anubis is coming in," you should recite before him,[31]

Formula: "O RIDJ MYRIDJ, O earth, great one of the earth, O this beautiful male whom †HERIEY, the daughter of the †Neme[32] bore, / come to me, for you are this 45

19. The final group is the Demotic word *ʿ.wy*, "house"; the first element of the first word may be a phonetic rendering of *ta*, "she of."

20. See n. 19 above.

21. Or "the truth of my mouth is the honey of my lips." Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 252.

22. On *šʾ(ʿ)y* "Fate" and *p3 šʾy ʿ3* as the *ἀγαθοδαίμων*, see J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1975). See also *PGM* III. 144–45.

23. I.e., the god who is "on duty" at this moment; see below, *PDM* xiv. 58–60.

24. On avengers, see *Mythus* 4/20. "The Avenger" is identified by the Coptic monk Shenute as Chronos. See also *PDM* xiv. 242.

25. The ending is written with Demotic *n3y*, "there" or "to me."

26. See n. 25 above.

27. The ending is written *r.f*, "his mouth."

28. See n. 27 above.

29. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 534.

30. "Without alarming or deceiving, truthfully" are Greek words written phonetically in Demotic, as Griffith and Thompson, 28, n. to l. II. 14. The spelling of Greek *επαληθια* as *ep<letsy<* reflects the standard transcription of Greek *τ/ϑ* + *ι* as *tsy*; see Johnson, "Dialect," 123–25. Greek *π/φ* + *ι* are written *ps/šy*; Greek *κ/χ* + *ι* as *ksy*.

31. I.e., Anubis.

32. A goddess of destruction, as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 28–29, n. to l. II. 16.

[II, 17] lotus flower which came forth from the lotus bud of PNYSTOR which makes light for the entire land! Hail, Anubis! Come to me! O high one, O mighty one, O master of secrets for those in the Underworld, O Pharaoh of those in Amenti,[33] O Chief Physician, O good [son] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the gods, you should appear in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. You should serve the souls of Abydos in order that they all live through you, these souls, the ones of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth! Reveal yourself to me here today! You are Thoth. You are the one who went forth from the heart of the great
50 Agathodaimon,[34] the father of the fathers of all the gods. Come to the mouths / of
[II, 22] my vessel today and tell me an answer in truth concerning everything about which I am inquiring, without falsehood therein, for I am Isis the Wise, the sayings of whose mouth come to pass" ***(formula: seven times)***.

You should say to the youth, "Speak to Anubis, saying, 'Go forth; bring the gods in!'"

When he goes after them and brings them in, you should question the youth, saying, "Have the gods already come in?" If he says, "They have already come," and if you [*sic*] see them, you should recite before them.

Formula: "Awaken to me, awaken to me! PSHAI![35] Awaken, MERA, the Great One of Five,[36] TSITSIY TENNDJIY! Do justice to me! Thoth, may creation fill
55 the earth with light; O ibis[37] in / his noble countenance, noble one who entered
[II, 27] the heart,[38] create truth, O great god whose name is great!" ***(Say seven times)***.

You should say to the youth,[39] "Speak to Anubis, saying, 'Bring in a table for the gods! Let them sit.'"

When they are seated, you[40] should say, "Bring in a wine jar; open it for the gods! Bring in some bread! Let them eat, let them drink, (let them eat, let them drink),[41] let them make merry."

When they have finished, you[42] should say to Anubis, "Will you make inquiry for me?"

If he says, "Immediately," you[43] should say to him,[44] "The god who will make my inquiry today, let him stand up." When he[45] says, "He has stood up," you[46] should say to him, "Say to Anubis, 'Carry off the things from the midst!'"[47]

60 You[48] should recite / before him instantly, saying, "Agathodaimon of today, lord
[III, 3] of today, the one to whom these moments belong."[49]

33. Literally, the west; i.e., the necropolis and, by extension, the realm of the dead.
34. See n. 22 above.
35. See n. 22 above.
36. Probably an epithet of Thoth; originally the title of the high priest of Thoth in Hermopolis, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 30, n. to l. II. 26.
37. I.e., Thoth.
38. I.e., who pleases.
39. A similar passage, but without the youth, is found in *PDM* xiv. 550–54.
40. I.e., the youth.
41. Dittography in going from column II to column III.
42. I.e., the youth.
43. See n. 42 above.
44. I.e., Anubis.
45. I.e., the god who will make the inquiry.
46. I.e., the youth.
47. I.e., of the gods seated at the table, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 32, n. to l. III. 2.
48. I.e., the youth.
49. I.e., Anubis.

You should cause him to say to Anubis, "The god who will inquire for me today, let him tell me his name." When he stands up and tells his name, you should ask him concerning everything which you wish.

Its preparation:[50] You bring seven new bricks which have not yet been moved in order to turn them (over) to the other face. You should lift them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth, and you should set them back in the[ir] manner in which they were set. You should set three bricks under the oil. The other four bricks; you should arrange them around the youth without / his 65
body touching the ground. Or seven palm staffs—you should treat them in this [III, 8]
fashion also. You should bring seven clean loaves [of bread] and arrange them around the oil, together with seven lumps of salt. You should bring a new bowl and fill it with clean oasis oil. You should put [it in]to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness so that it becomes exceedingly clear. You should bring a pure youth who has not yet gone with a woman; you should speak down into his head beforehand, he standing up, (to learn) whether he would be useful in going to the vessel. If he will be useful, you should make him lie down on his belly / and cover 70
him with a clean linen cloth (you should recite down into his head),[51] there being a [III, 13]
strap on the upper part of the cloth. You should recite this invocation which is above down into his head, he gazing downwards looking into the oil, up to ***seven times***, his eyes being closed. When you have finished, you should make him open his eyes, and you should ask him about what you desire. You do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

The invocation which you should recite (them [*sic*]) down into his head beforehand to test him in his ears to learn whether he would be useful in going to the vessel. ***Formula***: "Noble ibis, falcon, / hawk, noble and very mighty, let me be pu- 75
rified in the manner of the noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and very mighty." You [III, 18]
should recite this down into his head up to ***seven*** times.

When you announce this, his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good; if it is his right ear, he is good; if it is the left (ear), he is bad.

Prescription for enchanting the vessel quickly so that the gods come in and tell you an answer truthfully:[52] You should put the shell of a crocodile's egg, or that which is inside it, on the flame. It enchants instantly.

Prescription to make them speak: You put a frog's head on the brazier. They speak.

Prescription for bringing the gods in by force: You should put bile / of a croco- 80
dile and ground myrrh on the brazier. [III, 23]

If you wish to make them come in quickly, again: You should put stalks of anise on the brazier together with the eggshell, above. It enchants at once.

If you wish to bring in a living man: You should put ⁺sulphate⁺ of ⁻copper on the brazier. He comes in.

If you wish to bring in a spirit: You should put *s3-wr* stone[53] and glass(?) stone[54] on the brazier. The spirit comes in. You should put the heart of a hyena or a hare; (it is) very good.

If you wish to bring in a drowned man: You should put sea-⁺*garab* (stone?) on the brazier.

50. Literally, "gathering of things." [R.K.R.]
51. Repeated, out of place, from *PDM* xiv. 68.
52. See n. 30 above.
53. Perhaps σῶρυ; see Harris, *Minerals* 179–80.
54. Ibid., 99–100.

If you wish to bring in a dead man: You should put ass's dung[55] and an amulet of Nephthys on the brazier. He comes in.

85 ***If you*** / ***wish*** to send them all away: You should put ape's dung on the brazier.
[III, 28] They all go away to their place. And you should recite their spell for dismissing them also.[56]

If you wish to bring in a thief: You should put crocus powder and alum on the brazier.

The spells which you should recite when you dismiss them to their place: "Go well, go in joy!"

If you wish to make the gods come in to you and (to make) the vessel enchant quickly: You should bring a scarab and drown it in the milk of a black cow and put it on the brazier. It enchants in the moment named and the light comes into being.

90 / An amulet to be bound to the body of the one who is carrying the vessel, to
[III, 34] cause it to enchant quickly: You should bring a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of [green], four of blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain them with the blood of a hoopoe. You should bind it to a scarab in its attitude of the sun god,[57] drowned,[58] being wrapped in byssus. You should bind it to the body of the youth who is carrying the vessel. It enchants quickly, there [being nothing in the world better ?] than it (?).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, cols. I/1–III/35. All words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above. Section titles are indicated in *PDM* xiv as they are marked in the papyrus (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM xiv. 93–114 [*PGM* XIVa. 1–11]

A* casting for inspection[59] which the great god Iymhotep makes: ***Its preparation*:[60] You bring a 'stool of olive wood having four legs,[61] upon which no man on
95 earth has ever sat, and you put it near you, it being clean. When you wish / to make
[col. IV, 3] a "god's arrival"[62] with it truthfully without falsehood, ***here is*** its manner. You should put the stool in a clean niche in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you should cover it with a cloth from its top to its bottom;[63] you should put four bricks under the table before it, one above another, there being a censer of clay before it [sc. the table]; you should put charcoal of olive wood on it;[64] you should add 'wild 'goose fat pounded with myrrh and *qs-ʿnḫ*-stone;[65] you should make

55. The donkey was associated with the god Seth in the later periods. Seth, of course, had murdered his brother Osiris. For association of ass's dung with Seth, see *PGM* IV. 155–285 and n. The amulet is that of Nephthys, since she is the consort of Seth.

56. I.e., *PDM* xiv. 86–87.

57. The scarab beetle was identified with the sun god; cf. *PGM* I. 223; IV. 751 and 943; see R.K.R.'s notes there and Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 39, n. to l. III. 34.

58. See R.K.R.'s note to *PGM* I. 5 and Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 38–39, n. to l. III. 31.

59. Taking this noun as a compound from the two verbs *šs* "to spread" and *mšt* "to inspect," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, glossary #786. The translation "casting" was suggested by R.K.R. since what follows is a horoscope; see n. 66 below.

60. See *PDM* xiv. 1–92 with n. 50.

61. Literally, "feet."

62. For a discussion of the reading and meaning of this term, used to describe spells in which a god is seen in a vision, usually a dream, see J. H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 90–91.

63. Literally, from its head to its feet.

64. I.e., the censer.

65. Probably hematite; see Harris, *Minerals* 233–34.

them into balls; you should put one on the brazier; you should leave the remainder near you; you should recite this spell in Greek[66] to it ***(formula)***;[67] you should lie down without speaking / to anyone on earth; and you should go to sleep. You see the god, he being in the likeness of a priest wearing clothes of byssus on his back and wearing sandals[68] on his feet. 100 [IV, 8]

"I call upon you [sing.] who are seated in impenetrable darkness and are in the midst of the great gods, you who set; take with you the solar rays, and send up the light-bringing goddess NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH; [you are the] great god, BARZAN BOUBARZAN NARZAZOUZAN BARZABOUZATH, / Sun. Send up to me this night your archangel, ZEBOURTHAUNĒN. Respond with truth, truly, not falsely, unambiguously concerning such-and-such a matter, because I conjure you by him who is seated in the fiery cloak on the serpentine head of the Agathos Daimon, the almighty, four-faced, highest daimon, dark / and conjuring, PHŌX. Do not ignore me, but send up quickly tonight [in accordance with the] command of the god." Say this three times. 105 [IV, 13] [*PGM* XIVa. 5] 110 [IV, 18] [*PGM* XIVa. 10]

He speaks with you truthfully with his mouth opposite your mouth concerning anything which you wish. When he has finished, he will go away again. You place a tablet for reading the hours upon the bricks, and you place the stars upon it, and you write your business on a new roll of papyrus, and you place it on the tablet. It sends your stars to you whether they are favorable for your business.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto. col. IV/1–22, and W. C. Grese (Greek sections). All words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 115

*[A] tested [spell] for the security of shadows: Hawk's egg and myrrh; rub, put [some] of it on your eye(s). You secure shadows. 115 [col. IV, 23]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto. col. IV/23. Or could this be a spell to protect against loss of vision? The following spell makes such an interpretation less likely. Griffith and Thompson, 43, n. to l. IV/23, suggest that the shadow is that of the god of the lamp. If so, this and the next should be considered part of the last spell; cf. *PGM* II. 612–13 and n.

PDM xiv. 116

*Another, again: Head and blood of a hoopoe; cook them and make them into a dry medicine. Paint your eye(s) with it. You see them again. [col. IV, 24]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. IV/24. See note to the preceding spell.

PDM xiv. 117–49

***A tested** "god's arrival":[69] You should set up your . . . ; you should stamp on the ground with your foot seven times. You should recite these spells to the Foreleg,[70] you having turned to the North, seven times; you should turn down;[71] (you should 115 [col. V, 1f]

66. I.e., the procedure for reading a horoscope.

67. I.e., *PDM* xiv. 101–11.

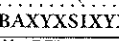
68. The word written *še*, "nose," is a scribal error for *th.ty*, "sandals." See R. K. Ritner, "Gleanings from Magical Texts," *Enchoria* (forthcoming).

69. See n. 62 above.

70. I.e., Ursa Major.

71. I.e., away from the constellation.

go to a dark room).[72] You should go to a dark, clean room whose face opens to the
120 south; you should purify it with / natron water; you should bring a new white
[V, 4] lamp to which no red lead[73] or gum water has been applied; you should put a clean wick in it; you should fill it with real oil after first writing this name and these figures[74] on the wick with ink of myrrh; you should put it on a new brick in front of yourself, its underside being spread with sand; and you should recite these spells[75] at the lamp again another seven times. If you put frankincense up in front of the lamp and you look at the lamp, you see the god near the lamp; you sleep on a reed mat without having spoken to anyone on earth, and he tells you the answer in a dream. ***Here is its invocation.***

(124a–126a) ***Formula***: / (Here are the writings which you should write on the wick of the lamp: "BAXYXSIXYX[76]  .")[77]

125 / "Hail, I[78] am MYRAI MYRIBI[79] †BABEL †BAOTH BAMYI,[80] the great Agathodai-
[V, 9] mon,[81] MYRATHO, the . . . form of soul which rests above in the heaven of heavens, †TATOT TATOT †BYLAI BYLAI †MYIHTAHI MYIHTAHI †LAHI LAHI †BOLBYEL[82] †II †AA †TAT TAT[83] †BYEL BYEL †IOHEL IOHEL, the first servant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he is whose mouth is the flame which is never extinguished, the great god who is seated in the flame, he who is in the midst of the flame which is in the lake of heaven,[84] in whose hand is the great-
130 ness and the power of the god: reveal yourself to me / here today in the †manner of
[V, 14] the †form of revealing yourself to Moses which you made upon the mountain, before which you had already created darkness and light."

(Insert above):[85] "I beseech you. You should reveal yourself to me here tonight and speak with me and tell me [an] answer, in truth, concerning the given matter about which I am asking you. (I beseech you. You should reveal yourself to me here tonight and speak with me and tell me [an] answer in truth)[86] without falsehood, for I shall glorify you in Abydos; I shall praise you in heaven before Phre;[87] I shall praise you before the Moon; I shall praise you before him who is upon the throne,

72. An overlap with what is in the next line, showing where to insert these two lines.

73. See R.K.R.'s note in Glossary, *s.v.* "Lamps, not painted red."

74. Written in the left margin opposite *PDM* xiv. 124–26; here called *PDM* xiv. 124a–126a.

75. See *PDM* xiv. 124–249 below.

76. This is Egyptian and can be translated "Soul (*Ba*) of darkness, son of darkness." [R.K.R.]

77. These figures all resemble Egyptian hieroglyphs but cannot be translated by me.

78. The independent pronoun, which gives the translation "I am . . . ," was a later addition, above the line. Thus all the following magical names and descriptions may originally have been vocatives addressed to the god who is asked to appear and give the answer. This analysis is reinforced by the parallel in *PDM* xiv. 194–204, which has all as vocatives.

79. Ending written as *by*, "Soul."

80. Ending written as *m3y*, "lion."

81. See n. 22 above.

82. An almost identical version of this section appears in *PDM* xiv. 194–204, 489–99, and 516–26.

83. Written with the hieroglyph of the *dd*-column.

84. Astrological term for noon, in contrast to the "lake of the underworld," which is midnight.

85. Added at the bottom of the column when the scribe realized he had left out part of one of the clauses in *PDM* xiv. 131. He began making the addition above the line in 131, but there was not space for all of it. Thus, as with the addition to *PDM* xiv. 119, he repeated much of the line in order to show the exact spot where the correction and additions override the original.

86. The overlap with *PDM* xiv. 148–49; see n. 85 above.

87. The sun god.

who is never destroyed. O he of great praise, ⸗PETERI PETERI ⸗PATER[88] ⸗ENPHE ⸗ENPHE, the god who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him; come to me / down into the 135
midst of this flame which is here before you, ⸗O ⸗he ⸗of ⸗BYEL ⸗BYEL, and let me see [V, 19]
the business about which I am praying tonight, truly, without falsehood! Let [me] see it, let [me] hear it. O great god ⸗SISIHOYT[89] SISIHOUT (also called ARMI-OOUTH),[90] come in before me and tell me [an] answer to that about which I am asking, truly, without falsehood. O great god who is on the mountain of ATYGI[91] ⸗CHABAHO,[92] come in to me, let me learn[93] tonight about the given thing about which I am asking, truly, without falsehood . . . voice (?)[94] ⸗of ⸗the ⸗LEASPHYT NEBLOT NEB LILAS" ([say it] seven times and go to sleep / without speaking). 140

The ointment which you should put on your eye(s) when you are going to ques- [V, 24]
tion the lamp in any lamp divination: You bring some flowers of the Greek bean plant.[95] You find them in the place of the garland seller (also called the lupine seller). You should bring them while they are fresh; you should put them in a glass bowl; you should seal its mouth with clay very well for twenty days in a hidden, dark place. After twenty days, if you bring it up and open it, you find some testicles in it together with a phallus. If you leave it for forty days and bring it up and open it, you find that it has already become bloody. In a place which is hidden at all times, you put it in a glass object, and you put the glass object into a pottery object. / If 145
you desire to make a "god's arrival"[96] of the lamp with it at any time, you should fill [V, 29]
your eye(s) with this aforementioned blood while you are going in to recite the spell to the lamp. You see a secret figure of a god standing outside the lamp, and he speaks with you concerning the question which you wish; or you should lie down and he comes to you. If he does not come to you, you should awaken and recite his summons. You lie down on [a mat of] green reeds only while you are pure from a woman, the back of your head being turned to the south, your face being turned to the north, and the face of the lamp being turned to the north likewise.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. V/1–33. All words preceded by ⸗ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

88. This magical name is determined with the "man"-determinative rather than the "divine"-determinative normally found with the magical names. It is probably Greek *πατήρ*, "father." The preceding may consist of this Greek word plus the Egyptian first-person singular suffix pronoun *.y*, "my." The following word, written alphabetically, corresponds to the Coptic for "in/of heaven" (*n p.t*). Thus these glosses may well mean "my father, my father, father in (the) heaven of the heaven(s)." (For the analysis of the repeat of the last word, cf. *PDM* xiv. 126, as noted by R.K.R.)

89. The last word of this name is probably the Egyptian word "male." The first word, which is repeated, might be the word "son" or the verb "to be satisfied." In *PDM* xiv. 202 it is written as the verb "to be satisfied."

90. "Also called" is inserted above the end of the line and the Old Coptic gloss ARMIOUUTH is added in the left margin.

91. The Old Coptic gloss gives "of KABAON"; in *PDM* xiv. 204 the scribe changed Demotic *3twgy* into *g3b3wn*.

92. The Old Coptic gloss adds TAKRTAT after XABA[H]O.

93. Literally, "let my eyes open out"; the idiom *ti-wn ir.t*, "to cause that (the) eye(s) open" means "to instruct." See Ritner above, n. 68.

94. Or is this sign the determinative (used with foreign words) of the preceding word, which ends in *t*?

95. Literally, "eye-of-raven" plant.

96. See n. 62 above.

PDM xiv. 150–231

150 [col. VI, 1] *__An inquiry of the__ lamp: You go to a clean, dark room without light; you dig a new niche in an eastern wall; you bring a white lamp on which no red lead[97] or gum water has been put and whose wick is clean; you fill it with clean, genuine oasis oil; you recite the spells of praising Ra at dawn when he rises; you bring the lamp, it being lit, opposite the sun; you recite the spells which are below[98] to it ***four*** times; you take it into the room, you being pure, together with the youth; you recite the spells to the youth[99] while he is not looking at the lamp, his eye(s) being closed, ***seven*** times. You should put pure frankincense on the brazier while you are 155 putting your finger on the youth's head, his eye(s) being closed. / When you have [VI, 6] finished, you make him open his eye(s) toward the lamp: he sees the shadow of the god near the lamp, and he inquires for you concerning that which you desire. At midday in a place without light you do it.

If you are inquiring for a demonic spirit, a wick of sailcloth is what you should give to the lamp, and you should fill it with clean butter.

If it is another matter, a clean wick and pure genuine oil are what you should give to the lamp.

If you will do it to bring a woman to a man, oil of roses[100] is what you should put in the lamp.

It is on a new brick that you put the lamp, and it is upon another brick that the youth seats himself while his eye(s) are closed, while you recite[101] down into his head four times.

160 / ***The spells*** which you should recite to the wick[102] beforehand before you have [VI, 16] recited to the youth: ***Formula***:

"Are you the unique, great wick of the linen of Thoth? Are you the byssus robe of Osiris, the divine Drowned,[103] woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of Nephthys? Are you the original bandage which was made for Osiris Khenty-amenti?[104] Are you the great bandage with which Anubis lifted his hand to the body of Osiris the mighty god?[105] It is in order to cause the youth to look into you so that you may make reply concerning everything about which I am asking here today, that I am bringing you today, O wick. (If not doing it is what you will do, O wick, it is in the hand of the black cow that I am putting you, and it is in the hand 165 / of the black cow that I am burning you. Blood of the Drowned One is what I am [VI, 16] giving to you for oil. The hand of Anubis is that which is laid against you. The spells of the great Sorcerer are those which I am reciting to you.) And so that[106] you bring me the god in whose hand the command[107] is today, so that he tell me [an] answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today, truly, without false-

97. See n. 73 above.

98. *PDM* xiv. 160–69.

99. *PDM* xiv. 194–231.

100. *Skn/sgn* is a cheaper oil than *nhh*-oil (probably sesame oil); here it has been scented with rose scent. See J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 336–37.

101. See n. 99 above.

102. Corrected above, n. 99.

103. See references collected by R.K.R., n. to *PGM* I. 5.

104. "Foremost of the west," i.e., ruler of the world.

105. Anubis mummifying Osiris, using the fine bandages described in *PDM* xiv. 160–62.

106. Continuing from *PDM* xiv. 163.

107. For the god of the hour, i.e., the god who is "on duty," see n. 23 above. See also, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 53, n. to l. VI. 17, the reference to 365 gods in *PDM* xiv. 1224.

hood. O Nut, mother of water, O Opet,[108] mother of fire, come to me, Nut, mother of water; come, Opet, mother of fire; come to me IAHO." You should say it whispering exceedingly. You should also say: "ⲧ ESEKS ⲧ POE EF CHTN" (also called "CHT ON"), seven times.

If it is a "god's arrival"[109] these alone are what you should recite / to the lamp, 170
and you should go to sleep without speaking. *If* obstinacy occurs, you should wake [VI, 21]
up and recite his summons, which is his compulsion: ***Formula***:

"I am the Ram's face; Youth is my name. Under the venerable persea[110] tree in Abydos was I born. I am the soul of the great chief[111] who is in Abydos; I am the guardian of the great corpse[112] which is in Wu-poke.[113] I am he whose eye(s) are the eye(s) of a falcon watching over Osiris by night; I am 'He who is upon his mountain'[114] upon the necropolis of Abydos; I am he that watches over the great corpse which is in Busiris;[115] I am he who watches for R-Khepri-Atum[116] / whose name is 175
hidden in my heart. 'Soul of souls' is his name" (***formula***: seven times). [VI, 26]

[*In margin*]: The writings which you should write on the lamp: "BAXYXSIXYX (174a–
☥𓃭𓅓𓆑𓂋." 176a)[117]

If it is a "god's arrival,"[118] these things alone are what you should recite.

If an inquiry by the youth is what you will do, you should recite these aforesaid to the lamp before you have recited[119] down into the head of the youth. You should turn around,[120] and you should recite this other invocation to the lamp also. ***Formula***: "O Osiris, O lamp, it will cause [me] to see those above;[121] it will cause [me] to see those below, and vice versa. O lamp, O lamp, Amoun is moored in you. O lamp, O lamp, I call to you while you are going up upon the great sea, the sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris.[122] Am I speaking / to you? Are you coming that I may send 180
you? O lamp, ⁱ bear ⁱ witness! When you have found Osiris upon his boat of pa- [VI, 31]
pyrus and faïence, Isis being at his head, Nephthys at his feet, and the male and female divinities about him, ⁱ say [to] Isis, 'Let them speak to Osiris concerning the things about which I am asking, to send the god in whose hand the command is,[123] so that he say to me an answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today.'"

"When Isis said, 'Let a god who is serious[124] concerning the business which he

108. On the identification of Opet with Nut, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 53–54, n. to l. VI. 18.

109. See n. 62 above.

110. For the persea tree, cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 82–87 and *LdÄ* III 182–83, and n. to *PGM* I. 34–36.

111. Osiris.

112. Osiris.

113. Precinct of Osiris at Abydos.

114. Anubis.

115. See n. 113 above.

116. The three forms of the sun god. For the reading of this trigram, see M-L. Ryhiner, "A Propos de Trigrammes Pantheistes," *Revue d'Egyptologie* 29 (1977): 125–37, and R.K.R. notes to *PGM* II. 104ff, III. 659, and IV. 1649ff.

117. See nn. 74 and 76 above. These three lines are written in the left margin and should be set apart, as ll. 174a–176a, presumably at the break in the middle of l. 175.

118. See n. 62 above.

119. See n. 99 above.

120. Or "withdraw."

121. Corrected by the scribe from "those of the day," the words for "day" and "above" being pronounced almost identically.

122. Cf. the Osiris legend as preserved in Plutarch.

123. See n. 107 above.

124. For the meaning "sober, serious," see the discussion by Johnson, *Verbal System* 127, n. 248.

will undertake be summoned for me so that I may send him and so that he may complete them,' they went and brought [one] to her. You are the lamp, † the [thing] which was brought to her. The fury of Sakhmet, your mother, and of Hike,[125] your
185 father, is / cast at you. You shall not burn for Osiris and Isis; you shall not burn for
[VI, 36] Anubis until you have told me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today truly, without telling me falsehood. If not doing it is what you will do, I will not give you oil, (I will not give you oil);[126] I will not give you fat, O lamp. It is in the belly of the [female] cow that † I † shall put you,[127] and I shall put blood of the [male] bull after you,[128] and I shall put your hand to the testicles of the enemy of Horus."[129]

"Open to me, O you[130] of the underworld, O box of myrrh that is in my hand! Receive me before you, O souls, excellent ones[131] belonging to Bi-wekem,[132] O box
190 of myrrh which has four corners. O dog who / is called Anubis by name, who rests
[VII, 4] on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of myrrh,[133] send to me the ointment for the youth of the lamp so that he may tell me [an] answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly, there being no falsehood therein. † IO † TABAO † SYGAMAMY † AKHAKHA-NBY † SANAYANI † ETSIE[134] † GOMTO[135] † GETHOS † BASA-ETHORI † THMILA † AKHKHY, make for me [an] answer to everything about which I am asking here today" ***(seven times)***.

The spells for the youth:[136] "† BOEL † BOEL BOEL † I † I † A † A A † TAT † TAT
195 † TAT,[137] he that gives light very exceedingly, the companion of the flame, / he in
[VII, 9] whose mouth is the flame which is never extinguished, the great god who sits in the flame, he who is in the midst of the flame, he who is in the lake of heaven,[138] in whose hand are the greatness and strength of the god, reveal yourself to † this youth who is carrying my vessel today so that he may tell me [an] answer truly, without falsehood. I shall glorify you in Abydos; I shall praise you in heaven before Pre; I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before him who is upon the throne, who is never destroyed. O he of great praise, † PETERI † PETERI † PATER † ENPHE † ENPHE,[139] the god who is in the upper part of
200 heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, / who created deity, deity not having
[VII, 14] created him, come into the midst of this flame which is here before you, O he of † BYEL,[140]

125. The god of magic. For the association of Hike with Sakhmet, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 56–57, n. to l. VI. 35.

126. Dittography going from column VI to column VII.

127. Or, perhaps better, "that I shall give to you," since *n.k* should be the dative, not the oblique object.

128. The term to be "after" someone is also used in legal texts with the meaning "to have a legal claim against" someone.

129. I.e., Seth, whose testicles were cut off by Horus.

130. Plural.

131. Or, possibly, "of Aker," the earth god.

132. The eastern desert.

133. Note common depiction of Anubis, as jackal, on top of a chest.

134. See n. 30 above.

135. Perhaps "earthquake," as Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 396a; if *gm* is for *qm*, this could be "creator of the earth."

136. An almost identical version of this section appears in *PDM* xiv. 128–38, 489–99, and 516–26.

137. See n. 83 above.

138. See n. 84 above.

139. See n. 88 above.

140. Old Coptic gloss above end of line adds ANIEL.

cause me to see the business about which I am inquiring here today! Let [me] see it; let [me] hear it.[141] give strength to the eyes of the youth who is carrying my vessel, to cause him to see it and [give strength] to his ears to cause him to hear [it].[142]

O great god †SISIHYT,[143] come in before me today and instruct me[144] concerning everything concerning which I am praying here today! to the midst of this flame!

O great god who is upon the mountain of GABAYN,[145] †CHABAHO."[146]

You should recite this / until the light appears. When the light appears, you should turn around[147] and recite this other document again also. ***Here is*** the copy of the summons itself which you should recite: "O, speak to me, speak to me, †THES †TENOR, the father of eternity and everlastingness, the god who is over the entire land, †SALGMO †BALKMO †BRAK †NEPHRO-BANPRE[148] †BRIAS †SARINTER[149] †MELIKHRIPHS †LARNKNANES †HEREPHES †MEPHRO-BRIAS †PHRGA †PHEKSE †NTSIYPSHIA[150] †MARMAREKE †LAORE-GREPSHIE! Let me see the answer to the inquiry on account of which I am here. Let an answer be made to me / concerning everything about which I am asking here today, truly, without falschood. †O †ATAEL †APTHE †GHO-GHO-MOLE †HESEN-MINGA-NTON-ROTHO-BAYBO[151] †NOERE †SERE-SERE †SAN[152] †GATHARA †ERESGSHINGAL[153] †SAKGISTE †NTOTE-GAGISTE[154] †AKRYRO-BORE[155] †GONTERE."[156] 205 [VII, 19] 210 [VII, 24]

You should make him open his eye(s) so that he can look at the lamp, and you should ask him about what you wish. If obstinacy occurs, he not having seen the god, you should turn around[157] and recite his compulsion.

Formula: "†SEMEA-GANTEY[158] †GENTEY †GONTEY †GERINTEY[159] †NTARENGO[160] †LEKAYKS, / come to me! †GANAB †ARI †KATEI[161] †BARI KATEI,[162] sun disk, moon of the gods, sun disk, hear my voice! Let me be told an answer to everything about which I am asking here today. O perfume of †SALABAHO †NASIRA †HAKE, arise! O 215 [VII, 29]

141. *PDM* xiv. 202 and 204 are for use when a youth is consulting the lamp; xiv. 201 and 203 are to be used when the magician is not using a youth as intermediary.

142. See n. 141 above.

143. See n. 89 above. Here the scribe has added the Old Coptic gloss AXREMTO above the beginning of the next line (i.e., over the Demotic "come!").

144. Literally, "cause that my eyes open our"; see n. 93 above.

145. Modified by the Demotic scribe from ATYGI; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, n. to column VII of the autograph volume.

146. Old Coptic gloss adds TAKARTAT after CHBAHO; cf. *PDM* xiv. 138 and n. 92 there.

147. See n. 122 above.

148. The end is written in Demotic as "of Pre," perhaps "soul of Pre."

149. NTER is the Old Coptic gloss; the Demotic writes *ntr.w*, "gods."

150. See n. 30 above (*nts* for *d* before *i*).

151. The last section shows a metathesis in the Demotic (apparently for graphic reasons) of the common ORTHO found in the gloss. See also n. 8 above (*nt.* for *d.*).

152. Written in Demotic as *sn*, "brother."

153. See n. 8 above.

155. AKRYROBORE is Greek *ἀκρουροβόρε* (LSJ, s.v.: "swallowing the tip of her tail"). See also *PGM* I. 146 and the Glossary s.v. "YESSIMMIGADON formula." [H.D.B.]

156. See n. 8 above.

157. See n. 120 above.

158. SEMEA is Greek for "image," *σεμέα/σημεία*. [R.K.R.]

159. All four names end with Egyptian *t3w*, "breath, wind."

160. See n. 8 above.

161. The ending is written *ꜥ3* "linen."

162. See n. 161 above.

Lion-ram,[163] let me see the light today, together with the gods, so that they may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly. ⁺NA ⁺NA ⁺NA ⁺NA is your name; ⁺NA ⁺NA is your true name."

You should utter a loud whisper, calling out, saying, "Come to me ⁺IAHO[164] ⁺IAEY ⁺IAHO ⁺AYHO ⁺IAHO, ⁺husband,[165] ⁺bull, ⁺high day,[166] ⁺NASHBOT ⁺ARPI-HPE ABLA-
220 ⁺'eye of raven,' / ⁺'face of falcon,' ⁺NI-ABIT THATLAT ⁺MIRIBAL."

[VIII, 1] (If [the gods] delay so as not to come in, you should cry out: ⁺"MIRIBAL)[167] ⁺QMLA ⁺KIKH, ⁺the ⁺father ⁺of ⁺the ⁺fathers of the gods, enchant, 'One eye weeps; the other laughs, ⁺Moon, moon, moon, moon, ⁺HA ⁺HA ⁺HE ⁺ST ⁺ST ⁺ST ⁺ST ⁺IHA ⁺IAHO, seek! Send to me the god in whose hand the command[168] is today so that he may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today."

You should speak [to] that god with your mouth each time, and you should cry out, "I am throwing fury at you, [fury] of him who cuts you, of him who devours
225 you. / Let the darkness separate from the light before me. O god, ⁺HYHOS[169] sealed
[VIII, 5] portion (?), be sated, be sated, ⁺AHO[170] ⁺AH;[171] I do not ⁺appear ⁺without portion, awe, soul of souls ⁺IAHO ⁺ARIAHA[172] ARIAHA; act for her; they will turn the face of [the] rebel; GS GS GS GS ⁺IANIAN; 'we do' EIBS[173] KS KS KS KS, send to me the god in whose hand the command is[174] so that he may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today. Come in, ⁺PIATOY ⁺CHITRE! O SHOP SHOPE SHOP[175] ⁺ABRAHME,[176] the pupil of the sound eye,[177] ⁺QMR QMR QMR QMR KMRO,[178] who created ⁺creation, great flourishing creation. ⁺SH[ ]KNYSH is your real name.
230 Let an answer be told to me / about everything concerning which I am asking here
[VIII, 10] today. Come to me BAKAKSIKHEKH![179] Tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly, without telling me falsehood" (***formula***: seven times).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. VI/1–VIII/11. All words preceded by ⁺ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

163. See n. 6 above.
164. Written with the Egyptian verb *iw*, "to come."
165. Although with animal determinative rather than phallus.
166. Or, if we do not believe the determinative on *q3*, "day of (the) bull."
167. Overlap with the end of the preceding column. Note that, as Griffith and Thompson remark, *The Leyden Papyrus* 62, n. to l. VIII. 1, this heading is simply a reminder of the subject matter and is not a new heading; it is put in the middle of the column, not flush with the right margin.
168. See n. 107 above.
169. Ending written as *ḥs*, "praise."
170. The Demotic uses the verb *iw*, "to come."
171. See n. 170 above.
172. Perhaps "lifetime maker." [R.K.R.]
173. R.K.R. suggests translating "I shall induct (?)."
174. See n. 107 above.
175. Written with the Egyptian verb *ḫpr* "to be, become," Coptic *šōpe*; the middle example has an added final *e*.
176. With seated man determinative; the Old Coptic gloss reads ABRAHAM.
177. The *wḏ3.t*-eye of Horus.
178. "Creator (or creation) of the mouth."
179. "Soul of darkness, son of darkness." See n. 76 above.

PDM xiv. 232–38

*A "god's arrival"[180] at the request of Paysakh, the priest of Cusae,[181] who says that it has been tested nine times: "I am †RAMSHY[182] †SHY RAMSHY son †of PSHY of his mother †she †of PSHY. If such-and-such a thing is going to happen, do not come to me in your face of Pekhe.[183] You should come to me in your form of a priest, / in your figure of a man of the temple. If it will not happen, you should come to me in your form of a soldier, for I am RAMSHY SHY RAMSHY, the son †of PSHY, of his mother †she †of PSHY."

235 [col. VIII, 15]

[Say it] opposite Ursa Major on the third day of the lunar month, there being a clove of three-lobed white garlic with three iron needles piercing it; recite this to it seven times, and put it before you. He sees you and speaks with you.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. VIII/12–18. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 239–95

*The vessel inquiry of Khonsu: "[Hail][184] to you, Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep, the noble child who came forth from the lotus,[185] Horus, lord of time,[186] †he †is †one. . . . / O silver,[187] lord of silver, o circuit of the underworld, lord of the circuit of the underworld,[188] lord of the disk, the great god, the †vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian,[189] come to me. O noble child, the great god who is in the disk, who pleases[190] . . . , †POMO[191] who is called the bull, the great bull, the great god who is in the sound-eye,[192] who came forth from the four . . .[193] of eternity, the avenger of flesh, whose name cannot be known, whose form cannot be known, whose manner cannot be known.

240 [col. IX, 2]

180. See n. 62 above.

181. A town in Middle Egypt; see Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 77*, #374. As Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 64, n. to l. VIII. 12, there is no determinative to show that Paysakh is a personal name, but it is hard to suggest an alternative interpretation.

182. Although SHY is written phonetically in the Demotic, this may well be the Egyptian god Shu, the god of the air. The first element of the name is written with the Egyptian word *r*, "mouth," and the whole name could possibly mean "mouth of Shu." If this is the god Shu, the P of PSHOU is the definite article, which is also found with *pꜣ* "the sun (god)" in the late form Pre.

183. A lion-headed goddess worshiped especially in Middle Egypt; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 65, n. to l. VIII. 14.

184. Restoring *ỉnḏ*.

185. *Nfr-ḥtp* means "beautiful of setting" (of the sun and moon). Khonsu (son of Amoun and Mut and preeminently a Theban god) is a moon god, here identified with Horus (also a moon god) in the form of the "noble child who came forth from the lotus," i.e., *Nrf-tm*; see R.K.R.'s note to *PGM* IV. 1110.

186. The moon regulating the days of the month, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

187. The color of the moon, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

188. As suggested by Griffith and Thompson, ibid.

189. Amoun, who in the late period was considered the god of Meroe; cf. l. 1097 and see Griffith and Thompson, ibid.

190. Or does this involve the verb *ḥn* "to command," "to entrust"? Then the rendering would be "to whom is commanded" (*ḥn.w n.f*). [R.K.R.]

191. Perhaps "the great one of/among the great one(s)." [R.K.R.]

192. The *wḏꜣ.t*-eye, the sound-eye of Horus. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 854–56, s.v. "Uzatauge."

193. The identical epithets occur below, *PDM* xiv. 250–51. The word *ḥn* which is to be restored here means literally "vessel." The plural means "things" and the Coptic derivative means not only "vessel" or "pot" but any material "thing." Griffith and Thompson translate "boundaries" in 241 and 250 and "cycle" in 246. R.K.R. suggests that the idea of "four eternal things" is an Egyptian rendering of the Greek concept of the four elements.

"I know your name, I know your form, I [know] your manner. † 'Great' is your name; † 'Heir' is your name; † 'Beneficial' is your name; 'Hidden' is your name; 'Great one of the gods' is your name; 'He whose name is hidden from all the gods'[194] is your name; † OM, Great One, † Am is your name; 'All the gods' is your name; 'Lotus Lion Ram'[195] is your name; † 'LOY is coming, Lord of the † lands' 'Lord of the lands' is your name; † 'AMAKHR of heaven' is your name; 'Lotus flower of stars
245 (?) / is coming EI IO NE EI O' is your name.

[IX, 7] 'Your [secret] form is [that of] a scarab with the face of a ram whose tail is a falcon and which is wearing two panther skins.[196] Your [serpent is a serpent] of eternity;[197] your . . .[198] is a lunar month; your wood is vine wood and persea; your herb is the herb of Amoun; your bird of heaven is a heron; your fish of [the sea] is a black *lebis*.[199] They are established on earth. 'Sickness' is your name in your body in the sea; your [secret] form of stone in which you came forth is a [. . .], Heaven is your shrine, the Earth is your forecourt. My desire was to seize you here today, for I am one who appears [shining] and who † endures. My . . .[200] † grows † old when I have not done it through delay, when I have not discovered your name, O great god whose name is great, the lord of the † threshing-floor of heaven. Bearing [hunger]
250 / for bread and thirst for water I did it. You should save me and make me well and
[IX, 12] give me praise, love, and respect before every man. For I am the [great] bull, the great god who is in the sound-eye, who came forth from the four . . .[201] of eternity.

"I am youth, the great name who is in heaven, who is called † AMPHOY[202] AMPHOY truly, truly; † He † who † was † praised at Abydos;[203] Ra. 'Horus the youth'[204] is my name; 'Chief of the gods' is my correct name. Save me! Let me be healthy. Let my vessel become [successful?].

"Open to me Alkhah[205] before every god and all men who came forth from the stone of Ptah,[206] for I am the serpent who came forth from Nun,[207] I am the youthful Ethiopian,[208] the rearing uraeus of real gold! In † my † lips is honey. That
255 which I shall say comes to pass at once. Hail . . . / mighty one! I am Anubis, the
[IX, 17] youthful creation. I am Isis; I shall bind[209] him. I am Osiris; I shall bind him. I am Anubis; [I shall bind] him. You should save me from every [misery?] and all confusion. † LASMATNYT † LESMATOT, save me! Heal me! Give me praise, love and respect in[210] my vessel, and (?) my bandage here today! Come to me, Isis, mistress of

194. An epithet of Amoun-Ra, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 67, n. to l. XI. 5.

195. See n. 6 above.

196. A figure found on late period coffins, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 68, n. to l. IX. 7.

197. For the various possible meanings of this image, see the discussion in F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900) 22, n. to l. III/20.

198. See n. 192 above.

199. Probably Labeo Niloticus; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 68, n. to l. IX. 9.

200. With flesh determinative; it should be a part of the body.

201. See n. 192 above.

202. Could this be a phonetic rendering of the "great one in (the) heavens," ʿ*3 m p.w(t)*?

203. Osiris.

204. See n. 185 above.

205. See n. 2 above.

206. For Ptah as creator god, see H. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 614–19, s.v. "Ptah."

207. The primeval waters.

208. See n. 189 above.

209. The binding of the body as part of mummification.

210. I.e., through.

magic, the great sorceress of all the gods. Horus is before me; Isis is behind me; Nephthys is as my diadem. A snake, being the son of Atoum,[211] is that which lies[212] in the uraeus diadem at my head in order that he who will strike me will strike the king. Mont is here today . . . Mighty Mihos[213] will send out a lion of the sons of Mihos, he being forced to bring to me quickly[214] the divine souls, the human souls, / the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, 260
the dead,[215] so that they tell me the truth today concerning that about which I am [IX, 22]
inquiring, for I am Horus, son of Isis, who is going across to Alkhah[216] to cast embalming wrappings before the amulets and to put linen on the Drowned one, the good Drowned one of the drowned ones.[217] They should[218] awaken and flourish at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage, my word-gathering. Awaken for me the spirits, the dead; awaken their souls and their forms at the mouths of my vessel! Awaken them for me together with the dead! Awaken [them] for me! Awaken them for me! Awaken their souls and their forms. O fury of Pessiwont[219] the daughter of
ARB . . . , / awaken for me, awaken for me the Wontes from their misfortune! Let 265
them speak with their mouths; let them talk with their lips; let them say that which [IX, 27]
I have said [concerning that which] I am asking here today. Let them speak before me; let truth happen to me. Do not substitute a face for a face, a name for a true name, truly [without] falsehood in it! [O] scarab of true lapis lazuli that sits at the pool of Pharaoh Osiris Unnefer,[220] fill your mouth with the water of [the pool?]! Pour it out on my head together with that which is at my hand! Heal me; heal him, and vice versa until what I said [happens]! Let that which I said come to pass, for if that which I said does not come to pass, I will cause the flame to circulate around this bandage (?)[221] until that which I said does come to pass, for [they came] / to 270
the earth, they listened to me . . . , and they said to me, Who are you? Who are [IX, 32]
you? I am Atum in the sun boat of Pre; I am ARIATATY, the chest[222] of. . . . I looked out before [me] to see Osiris the Ethiopian while he was coming in at me, there being two sons of Anubis in front of him, [two] sons of Wepwawet[223] behind him, two sons of Rere[224] mooring him. They said to me Who are you? Who are you? . . . I am one of those two falcons who watch over Isis and Osiris, the diadem, the . . . with its greatness. . . . Bring to me, bring to me the divine souls, the human souls, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead![225] Let them tell me the truth today concerning that about which I am asking,

211. For the connection between Atoum and serpents, see Karol Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. I (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978) 95–124.

212. Reading by W. Spiegelberg, "Demotische Miszellen, 5. Eine unerklärte Glosse im magischen Papyrus," *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 123.

213. A lion god.

214. Actually written *sp sn*, "twice."

215. To the Egyptian, the range of forceful beings in the world.

216. See n. 3 above.

217. The drowned one is Osiris, who is here being cared for by his dutiful son Horus; see n. 58 above.

218. Corrected in Coptic from "you should" in Demotic.

219. To be translated "her son Wonte"; Wonte is a designation of Apophis, the enemy of Ra. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I. 325, #14. On Wonte and Apophis, see also *PGM* IV. 993–95 and n.

220. Unnefer is Onnophris. See *PGM* IV. 1078.

221. See F. Ll. Griffith, "The Glosses in the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," *ZÄS* 46 (1909–10): 128, and Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 368b.

222. Perhaps "sarcophagus."

223. Jackal-headed god.

224. Usually the "sow" but here determined with the snake and perhaps indicating a snake goddess.

225. See n. 214 above.

for I am ⸗ARTEMI[226] . . . womb when he rises in the east. / Come in to me, Anubis,
[X, 2] in your beautiful face! It is in order to worship you that I come. Woe (?), woe (?), fire, fire, [south, north,] west, east, every breeze of Amenti,[227] let them come into being in very good condition, established, correct, enchanted, like the fury [of the one great] of reverence, for I am ⸗IAE ⸗IAO ⸗IAEA ⸗IAO ⸗SABAOTH ⸗ATONE,[228] I am casting [fury] at you, ⸗TSIE[229] ⸗GLATE ⸗ARKHE[230] ⸗IAO ⸗PHALEKMI ⸗IAO ⸗MAKHAHAI ⸗IEE KHO . . . ⸗N ⸗KHOKHREKHI ⸗E-EOTH ⸗SARBIAQY ⸗IGRA ⸗PSHIBIEG[231]
⸗MOMY ⸗MYNEKH ⸗STSITHO[232] ⸗SOTHON ⸗NAON ⸗KHARMAI. / O fury of all these
[X, 7] gods, whose names I have uttered here today, awaken for me, awaken for me the drowned, the [dead]! Let your souls and your [secret] forms live for me at the mouths of my lamp, my bandage, my word-gathering. Let it answer me concerning every word [about] which I am asking here today in truth, truly, without falsehood therein. Hasten, hasten, quickly, quickly!"

Its preparation:[233] You go to a dark storeroom whose [face] opens to the south or east in a clean place. You should spread it with clean sand brought from the great river.[234] You should bring a clean copper beaker or a new vessel [made] of pottery; you should put a *lok*-measure of water that has settled or of pure water into the
beaker together with a *lok*-measure of pure real oil, / or oil alone without putting
[X, 12] water into it; you should put a *qs-ʿnḫ* stone[235] in the vessel with the oil; you should put a "heart-of-the-good-house" plant[236] in the bottom of the vessel; you should put three new bricks around the vessel; you should place seven clean loaves [of bread] on the bricks which are around the vessel; and you should bring a pure youth who has been tested in his ears beforehand (that is, he will be profitable in going with the vessel). You should make him sit on a new [brick]; you yourself should sit on another brick, you being before him (another [manuscript] says, behind him); you should put your hand up to [his] eye(s), [his eye(s) being] closed
while you recite down / into the middle of his head seven times. When you have
[X, 17] finished, you should lift your hand from before his eye(s), you should [make him bend over] the vessel and you should put your hands to his ears. You should take hold of them with your own hands while you ask the child saying, "Did you [see the great god]?"

If he says, "I see a darkness," you should say to him "Speak, saying, 'I see your beautiful face, . . . you . . . O great god Anubis!'"

If you wish to do it by vessel [you being] alone,[237] you should fill your eye(s) with this ointment,[238] and you should sit [near the vessel?] in accordance with what is above, your eyes being closed. You should recite the above invocation seven times, open your eye(s), and question him concerning everything [that you wish]. . . . You

226. Artemis?
227. The west and, therefore, the necropolis.
228. Adonai?
229. See n. 30 above.
230. Greek ἀρχή, "beginning, first cause."
231. See n. 30 above.
232. See n. 30 above.
233. See n. 50 above.
234. The Nile.
235. See n. 65 above.
236. "The good house" is the place of embalming.
237. I.e., without using the youth.
238. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 140. [R.K.R.]

do it from the / fourth day of the lunar month until the fifteenth day, which is the half-month when the moon fills the sound-eye.[239] 295 [X, 22]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. IX/1–X/22. Words preceded by ˈ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 295–308

*[A] vessel [inquiry, the magician being] alone[240] in order to see the bark of Pre.[241] *Formula*: "Open to me, O heaven, mother of the gods! Let [me see the bark] of Pre [descending and ascending] in it, for I am Geb, heir of the gods. Praying is what am doing before Pre, my father, [on account of] the things[242] which have gone forth from me. O great Heknet,[243] mistress of the shrine, the Rishtret (?),[244] open to me, mistress of spirits! [Open] to me, O primal heaven! Let me worship the messengers, [for] I am Geb, heir of the gods! O you seven Kings; O you [seven Montus],[245] bull who engenders, lord of awe / who illuminates the earth, 300 soul of the primeval waters. Hail, lion like a lion of the primeval waters, bull of [col. X, darkness! Hail, foremost one of the people of the east, Nun,[246] great one, lofty one! 27] Hail, soul of the ram, soul of the people of the west! Hail, [soul of souls, bull] of darkness, bull (?) of bulls, son of Nut,[247] open to me! I am the Opener of earth, who came forth from Geb. Hail! [I am ˈI ˈI] ˈI ˈE ˈE ˈE [HE HE HE] ˈHO ˈHO ˈHO; I am ˈANEPO[248] ˈMIRI ˈPO ˈRE MAAT IB THIBIO ARYI[249] ˈYAY [IAHO]."

Formula: blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a [nightjar], "live-on-them" plant, [mustard], / "Great-of-Amoun" plant,[250] *qs-ʿnḫ* stone,[251] genuine 305 lapis-lazuli, myrrh, "footprint-of-Isis" plant.[252] Pound [them]; make [them] into a [X, 32] ball [and paint] your [eye(s)] with it! Put a goat's-[tear] in (?) a "pleasure-wood"[253] of juniper or ebony wood [and bind it] around you [with a] strip of male palm fiber in [an] elevated place opposite the sun after putting [the ointment as above on] your eye(s) . . . according to what is written concerning it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. X/22–35. Words preceded by ˈ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 309–34

*A spell for causing favor: "Come to me O . . . your beautiful name [of] Thoth! Hurry, hurry! Come to me. / Let me see your beautiful face here today . . . I being 310

239. I.e., full moon; on the sound-eye, see above, n. 192.

240. I.e., without using a youth.

241. This spell is repeated in *PDM* xiv. 805–16.

242. Literally, "words."

243. "Joyful" or "acclaimed one."

244. An epithet of Heknet?

245. For discussion of seven as a magical number in ancient Egypt, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 78–79, n. to l. X. 26. Note that *ḫknw* is the name of one of the seven oils found in offering lists.

246. Primeval waters.

247. Goddess of the sky.

248. Great Anubis.

249. Perhaps, "May the greatness of Ra, just (?) of heart, and the great lamb act." [R.K.R.]

250. Suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, glossary [3], to be flax.

251. See n. 65 above.

252. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 80, n. to l. X. 32, for the suggested identification of this plant as *πίτταξις*.

253. Suggested by Griffith and Thompson, ibid., n. to l. X. 33, to be a kohl stick.

[col. XI, 2] in the form of a baboon; may you rejoice over (?)[254] [me (?)] in praise and honor with your tongue of. . . . May you hear my voice today and may you save me from all evil things and all evil spells. Hail, he whose form is of . . . his great and mysterious form, from whose begetting a god came forth, who rests in the midst of Thebes! I am . . . of the great Lady, under whom Hapy[255] comes forth. I am the
315 face of great awe . . . soul in his protection; I am the noble child / who is in the
[XI, 7] House of Re.[256] I am the noble dwarf who is in the cavern . . . the ibis as a true protection, who rests in Heliopolis. I am the master of the great foe,[257] the lord who obstructs semen, the very strong one . . . is my [name]. I am the ram, son of the ram; Lotus Lion Ram[258] (and vice versa) is my name. Ra-Khepri-Atum[259] is my true name, truly. Give me praise and love [before NN, son of] NN today, so that he give me all good things, so that he give me food and nourishment, and so that he do everything which I [shall desire. And do not let him] injure me so as to do me any harm, so that he say to me a thing which [I] hate, today, tonight, this month, this year, [this] hour. . . . [But as for my enemies (?)] the sun shall impede their
320 hearts and blind / their eyes, and create darkness in their faces, for I am ⸢BIRAI . . .
[XI, 12] ⸢RAI; be far off ⸢from ⸢me![260] I am the son of Sakhmet; I am ⸢BIGT, the bull of ⸢LAT. I am GAT, son of GAT, whose . . . the underworld, who rests in the depths of the great temple[261] in Heliopolis. I am a greatly praised one, the mistress of protection, who binds with leather thongs . . . in whose protection are great and powerful divine powers, who rests in Bubastis. I am the divine shrew-mouse[262] who [rests in] Letopolis. Lord of Letopolis, unique lord . . . is my name; Ra-Khepri-Atum[263] is my true name, truly. O all you gods [whose names I have spoken] here today, come
325 to me in order that you might hear what I said today / and in order that you might
[XI, 17] rescue [me] from all weakness, every defect, everything, every evil today! Give me praise, love [and respect before] NN,[264] the king and his people, the mountain and its animals so that he does everything which I shall say to him together with [every man who will see] me [or] to whom I shall speak [or] who will speak to me from among all men, all women, all youths, all old people, all people [or animals or things in the] whole land, [who] shall see me in these hours today so that they create my praise in their hearts in everything which I will [do] daily, together with those who will come to me in order to overthrow every enemy! Hurry, hurry! Quickly, quickly, before I have said them and repeated saying them!"

330 [To be said] over an ape of wax and a fish; put it / in first-quality lotus oil (an-
[XI, 22] other [manuscript] says *tšps* oil)[265] or moringa oil which is . . . ; add styrax to it together with first quality myrrh and seeds of "great-of-love" plant in a faïence vessel; bring a wreath of . . . , anoint it with this oil as above, recite these [spells] to it seven times before the sun at dawn, before you have spoken to any man at all; pu-

254. Suggested by R.K.R.

255. The Nile, especially the inundation.

256. I.e., Heliopolis.

257. Perhaps *ḫr.wy* "foe" is a mistake for *ḫr.wy* "testicles," as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 82, n. to l. XI. 8.

258. See n. 6 above.

259. See n. 116 above.

260. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 83, n. to l. XI. 12.

261. Of the sun god, (R)re.

262. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 84, n. to l. XI. 15.

263. See n. 116 above.

264. Feminine.

265. For a possible identification, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 85, n. to l. XI. 22.

rify it; anoint your face with it; place the wreath in your hand; go to any place; [and be] among any people. It creates for you very great praise among them indeed. This scribe's feat is that of King [Darius].[266] There is none better than it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XI/1–26. Words preceded by ⁺ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 335–55

*[A spell for making] a woman love a man: ⁺Juice ⁺of ⁺balsam ⁺tree, ***one stater***; ⁺malabathrum, ***one stater***. *qwšt*, ***one stater***; . . . scented . . . , ***one stater***; *mrwe*, ***one stater***; genuine oil, two *lok*-measures.[267] You should grind these [ingredients]. You should put them into a clean [vessel]; you should put the oil on top of them one day before the beginning of the lunar month. When the lunar month occurs, you should bring a black Nile fish[268] measuring nine fingers (another [manuscript] says seven), its eye(s) being variegated(?) in color . . . [which you] find in [a] water(?) . . . ; you should put it into this above-mentioned oil for two days; you should recite this formula to it at dawn . . . / before you have come [out of your] house and before you have spoken to any man on earth. When the two days have passed [you should] arise at dawn. You should [go] to a garden. You should bring a vine shoot which has not yet formed grapes. You should lift it in your left [hand]; you should put it in your right hand. It should amount to seven fingers [in length]. You should take it [to your] house; you should bring the [fish] up out of the oil; you should tie it by its tail with a strip of flax; you should hang it up [by the head on] the vine; and [you should place] the thing containing oil under it for another three days until it[269] pours out by drops downwards that which is in it, while / the vessel which is under [it] is on a new brick. When the three days have passed, you should [bring it] down. You should embalm [it] with myrrh, natron, and byssus. You should put it in a hidden place or in [your house]. You should spend two more days, reciting to the oil again, making seven days. You should keep it. When you [wish] to make it do its work, you should anoint your phallus and your face and you should lie with the woman to whom you will do it. 335 [col. XII, 1] 340 [XII, 6] 345 [XII, 11]

The spells which you should recite to the oil: "I am Shu[270] ⁺GLABANO. I am Ra; I am the ⁺creation[271] of ⁺Ra; I am the son of Ra. I am / SISHT[272] the son of Shu, a water reed of Heliopolis, this griffin which is in Abydos. You[273] are the first one, the great one, great of magic, the living,[274] uraeus. You[275] are the sun boat, the lake of Wu-poke.[276] Give me praise, love, and respect before every womb, every woman. Love is my true name." 350 [XII, 16]

[Another] spell pertaining to it,[277] again: "I am Shu KLAKINOK; I am IARN, I am

266. For the restoration, see ibid., 86, n. to l. XI. 26.

267. A *lok*-measure is about one pint.

268. For a discussion of the type of fish, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 87–88, n. to l. XII. 4.

269. The fish.

270. God of air.

271. Or the "reed" of Ra.

272. "The image of." [R.K.R.]

273. Feminine singular.

274. Or "rearing": cf. *PDM* xiv. 3.

275. Feminine singular.

276. See n. 113 above.

277. The fish.

GAMREN. I am SE . . . PAER(?) IPAF INPEN NTINHS GAMRY,[278] water of Heliopolis. I am Shu SHABY SHA . . . , SHABAHO LAHEI[279]LAHS LAHEI,[280] the great god who is
355 in the east, / LABRATHAA. I am the griffin which is in Abydos."

[XII, 21] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XII/1–21. Words preceded by * are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 355–65

*[Another] manner of them[281] to give favor to a man before a woman and vice versa before . . . : "You[282] are the great one,[283] the great of magic, the Ethiopian [cat], daughter of Ra,[284] the mistress of the uraeus.[285] You are Sakhmet[286] the great, the mistress of Ast,[287] who has destroyed every enemy . . . [eye (?)] of the sun in the sound-eye,[288] born of the moon at midmonth at night.[289] You are the great creation of the primeval waters. You[290] are creation . . . the great one who is in the House of the obelisk[291] in Heliopolis. You[292] are the golden mirror: [you are] the morning bark [of the sun], the sun bark of Ra, . . . LANDJA, the youth, the son of the Greek
360 woman, the Libyan woman of the . . . / of dom palm fruit, these secrets (?) . . . of
[col. XII, Bi-weken.[293] The favor and the love which Pre, your father, has given to you, send
26] [them] down to me into this oil before every heart and eye of every woman before whom I am going in."

[Invocation,] to a black Nile fish[294] nine fingers [long]: [You should put it] in oil of roses;[295] you should drown it in it; you should bring it [up]; you should hang [it] up by [the] head [for . . . days]. When you have finished you should put it in a glass vessel; you should [add] a little water of sisymbrium[296] and a small "amulet plant(?)-of-Isis" which is . . . and pounded; and you should recite this to it seven times for
365 seven days opposite the rising of the sun. You should anoint your face with it / at
[XII, 31] the time when you lie with the woman; [you should] embalm the fish in myrrh and natron. You should bury it in your house or in a hidden place.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XII/21–31.

278. The end is written *r.w*, "mouths."
279. The end is written *iy*, "to come."
280. The end is written *ʿe.t*, "limb."
281. Written "me" rather than "them."
282. Feminine singular.
283. *t3.wr.t*, identified by Griffith and Thompson as Thoueris, a goddess usually presented in the form of a hippopotamus.
284. In the story of the Myth of the Sun's Eye (see n. 19 to xiv. 1–92), Tefnut, the daughter of Ra, fled to Ethiopia.
285. For all these epithets, cf. *PDM* xiv. 350–51.
286. Cat goddess, goddess of war.
287. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 90, n. to l. XII. 22.
288. See n. 192 above and *PDM* xiv. 295.
289. The sun and moon were thought of as the eyes of heaven, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 90, n. to l. XII. 23.
290. Feminine singular.
291. Within the great temple of the sun god, Ra.
292. Feminine singular.
293. The eastern desert.
294. See n. 268 above.
295. See n. 100 above.
296. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 92, n. to l. XII. 29.

PDM xiv. 366–75

*__The method__ of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband: "Woe; woe, flame; flame; Geb made his form into (that of) a bull, he had intercourse [with][297] his mother, Tefnet, [†]again . . . as the heart of his father cursed his face, the fury of him whose soul is as a flame, while his body is as a pillar, so that he . . . fill the earth with flame and so that the mountains shoot with tongues. The fury of every god and every goddess, the great living one,[298] [†]LALAT / [†]BARESHAK eye of Ethiopia[299] be cast upon NN, the son of NN, [and] NN, the daughter of NN. Put the fire behind his heart and the flame in his place of sleeping, the . . . fire of hatred never [ceasing to enter] into his heart at any time, until he casts NN, the daughter of NN, out of his house(s), she carrying (?) hatred to his heart, she carrying quarrelling to his face. Give him nagging and squabbling, fighting and quarreling between them at all times, until they are separated from each other, without having been at peace forever and ever." Gum, . . . / myrrh. You should add wine to them; you should make them into a figure[300] of Geb, there being a *w3s*-scepter[301] in his hand. [col. XIII, 5] [XIII, 10]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/1–10. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 376–94

*[The recipes] into which the shrew-mouse goes: If you bring a shrew-mouse, you drown it in some water, and you make the man drink it; [then] he is blinded in both eyes. If you grind its body(?) with any piece of food and you make the man eat it, [then] he makes a blistering death(?),[302] he swells up, and he dies.

If you do it to fetch a woman, you should bring a shrew-mouse; you should place it on a Syrian potsherd; you should put it on the backbone of a donkey; you should put its tail on a Syrian potsherd or [piece of] a glass; also, you should let it loose alive in / the door of a bathroom of the woman; you should gild it. You should embalm its tail; you should add pounded myrrh to it; you should put it in a gold[303] ring(?); you should put it on your finger after reciting these[304] spells to it; and you should go with it to any place. Every woman whom you shall seize, she [wants?] you. You do it when the moon is full. [col. XIII, 15]

If you do it to make a woman mad after a man,[305] you should take its body when it is dry; you should pound [it; you should] take a little of it together with a little blood from your second finger and the little finger[306] of your left hand; you should mix it with it; you should put it in a cup of wine; you should give it to the woman so that she drinks it. [Then] she rages after you.

If you put its gall into a [measure of] wine / and the man drinks it, he dies at

297. See J. G. Griffiths, "A Note on P. Demot. Mag. Lond. et Leid. XIII, 2," *ZÄS* 84 (1959): 156–57.

298. Perhaps the uraeus serpent; cf. *PDM* xiv. 3 and 351.

299. Tefnut; see n. 284 above.

300. The star-determinative suggested to Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 94, n. to l. XIII. 10, that this is a reference to the planet Κρόνος/Geb, otherwise called Horus the Bull and depicted as a bull-headed man holding a *w3s* scepter.

301. Symbol of dominion.

302. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 95, n. to l. XIII. 13.

303. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 392, as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 95, n. to l. XIII. 15.

304. *PDM* xiv. 392–94.

305. A similar spell occurs in *PDM* xiv. 1206–18.

306. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 331b.

[XIII, 20] once; or [if you] put it into any piece [of food]. If you put its heart into a [seal] ring of gold, you put it on your hand, and you go anywhere, [then] it creates for you [favor, love and] respect.

If you drown a hawk in a [measure of] wine, and you make the man drink it, [then] he dies. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian [weasel] into any piece of food, [then] he dies. If you put a two-tailed lizard into [the] oil, [cook] it, and anoint the man with it, [then he dies?].

If you wish to produce a skin disease on a man so that it does not heal: A *hantous*
390 lizard [and?] a *haflela* lizard; you should cook them with [oil?], / and you should
[XIII, 25] wash the man with them.

If you wish to make it . . . :[307] you should put . . . ; [then] it. . . . If you put beer . . . to the man's eye(s), he is blinded.

The spells which you recite to the ring[308] at the time when you seize the woman: "[O] . . . IAHO ABRASAKS, may NN, whom NN bore, love me! May she burn for me in (?) the road!" . . . you . . .[309] she follows after you. You write [it] also on the strip with which you embalm the [shrew-mouse?].

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/11–29.

PDM xiv. 395–427

[col. XIV, 1] *[**A vessel divination**:] "Open my eyes! Open your eyes!" and vice versa, up to three times. (That which another man said to me, "Open, O my eyes! Open, O my eyes!" up to ***four*** times.) "Open, ⁱTat! Open Nap! Open Tat! Open, Nap! Open, Tat! Open, Nap! Open [to me]! Open [to me]! for I am ⁱARTAMO, whom the great craftsman[310] bore, the great serpent of the east, who rises with your father at dawn! Hail, hail, Heh![311] Open to me, flame![312] You say whispering, ⁱ"ARTAMO, open to me, flame. If you do not open to me, flame, I will make you open to me, flame. O ibis, ibis, sprinkle, ⁱso ⁱthat ⁱI may see the great god Anubis, the powerful one,
400 / who is before me, the great strength of the sound-eye![313] O powerful Anubis, the
[XIV, 6] good oxherd, open every[thing] to me! Reveal yourself to me, for I am ⁱNESTHOM ⁱNESDJOT ⁱNESHOTB ⁱBORILAMMAI BORILAMMAI ⁱMASTSINKS[314] Anubis, ⁱgreat ⁱone, Arian[315] the one who is great, Arian, this bringer of safety, Arian, the one who is outside! Hail, ⁱPHRIKS ⁱIKS lord ⁱIBROKS ⁱAMBROKS ⁱEBORKS ⁱKSON[316] ⁱNBROKHRIA, the great child, Anubis, for I am this soldier.

405 "O those of the Atef crown,[317] those of PEPHNUN[318] MASPHONEGE; / hail! Let
[XIV, 11] all that I have said come to pass here today, for hail! You are ⁱTHAM ⁱTHAMTHOM

307. Written in cipher; reading and meaning uncertain. Griffith and Thompson read TOYR and translated "to be troublesome." It might read DOYR, in which case could it mean "to be strong" (*dr*) or "to scatter, disperse" (*dr*ʿ)? Depending on the meaning of this verb, the preceding subject might be "he" (the man) rather than "it" (the animal).

308. See *PDM* xiv. 381.

309. The verb *drp*, which is what appears to have been written, means "to stumble" or, transitively, "to trip (someone), to hinder, to impede."

310. A reference to Ptah, the craftsman god of Memphis.

311. Personification of high numbers and everlastingness.

312. Or a phonetic spelling of the name Heh, written in hieratic.

313. See n. 177 above.

314. With flesh determinative; cf., perhaps, μάστιξ, "whip."

315. Arianus, written with seated man determinative.

316. The Old Coptic gloss adds another KSON.

317. A crown worn by the king and Osiris.

318. Perhaps "he of the primeval waters (Nun)."

ⲑⲁⲙⲁⲑⲟⲙ ⲑⲁⲙⲁⲑⲟⲙⲑⲁⲙ ⲑⲁⲙⲁⲑⲩⲧⲥⲓ[319] Amoun. Amoun is your correct name, who is called ⲑⲟⲙ ⲁⲛⲕⲑⲟⲙ.[320] You are ⲓⲧⲑ; ⲑⲱⲑ[321] is your name. Son of ⲑⲟⲙ ⲁⲛⲓⲑⲟⲙ ⲟⲣ[322] ⲥⲁⲟ ⲥⲏⲁⲧⲛⲥⲣⲟ black,[323] open to me the mouths of my vessel here today! Come to me at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage! Let my cup make the reflection (?) of heaven. May the hounds of the Phulot[324] give me that which is just in the primeval waters. May they tell me / that 410
about which I am asking here today, in truth, truly, there being no falsehood therein [XIV, 16]
ⲁⲉⲏⲓⲟⲩⲱ[325] spirit of strife!"[326]

Formula: You bring a copper cup; you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with settled water guarded which the sun cannot find; you fill the top[327] [of the water] with true oil; you place it on [three] new bricks, whose undersides are spread with sand; you put another four bricks under the youth; you make the youth lie down on his stomach; you make him put his chin on the bricks of the vessel; you make him look into the oil, while a cloth is stretched over him, / and while a lighted 415
lamp is in his right hand and a burning censer in his left hand; you put a lobe of [XIV, 21]
Anubis plant on the lamp; you put this incense up [on the censer]; and you recite these writings which are above[328] to the vessel ***seven*** times.

The incense which you should put up [on the censer]: frankincense (?), oil, ammoniac, incense,[329] dates. Pound them with wine, make them into a ball and offer up this scent.

When you have finished, you should make the youth open his eyes and you should ask him, "Is the god coming in?" If he says, "The god has already come in," you should recite before him. ***Formula***: "Your bull(?), ⲙⲁⲟ, O Anubis, this [soldier?],[330] this bull[331] / this blackness[332]. . . . This . . . this ⲓⲧⲥⲓ[333] this ⲥⲣⲓⲧⲥⲓ[334] 420
ⲥⲣⲓⲧⲥⲓ ⲥⲣⲓⲧⲥⲓ ⲁⲃⲣⲓⲧⲥⲓ[335] is your name, being your correct name." [XIV, 26]

And you should ask him concerning that which you [desire]; when you have finished your inquiry about which you are asking, you should recite to him seven times and you should dismiss [the god] to his home.

His dismissal: ***Formula***: "Farewell, farewell, [Anubis] the good oxherd, Anubis, Anubis, the son of a wolf and a dog, the . . ." (another papyrus says: "the child of

319. See n. 30 above.
320. I.e., I am ⲑⲟⲙ.
321. See n. 30 above.
322. Written as the verb *ip* "to count, reckon."
323. Perhaps, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 100, n. to ll. XIV. 13–14, "[sacrifice (lit., cutting) of (a) black ram."
324. A geographical name; see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* . . . , vol. 4 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale: 1925–31), 4, for a discussion of the suggested identifications.
325. The vowels of the Greek alphabet, in order.
326. Written in Demotic with a foreign word determinative; a compound from *μάχομαι*, "to fight" and *πνεῦμα*, "spirit."
327. Literally, "its (the water's) face."
328. *PDM* xiv. 395–410.
329. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 102, n. to l. XIV. 23.
330. Assuming the partially preserved word is the *mty*, "soldier" (Coptic *matoi*), from "Mede."
331. If this is identical with Coptic *qam* (Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* 330).
332. This, like the preceding, would have been pronounced ⲕⲁⲙ, as that is glossed.
333. See n. 30 above.
334. See n. 30 above.
335. See n. 30 above.

her of [?] Isis and a dog, ⁺NABRISHOTHT, the Cherub[336] of Amenti,[337] king of those of . . .”). Say ***seven*** times.

You should take the lamp from the child, you should take the vessel containing
425 water, you should take the cloth off him. You can also do it / alone[338] by vessel in-
[XIV, 31] quiry. [It is] very good, tried, tested nine times.

The Anubis ***plant***:[339] It grows in millions of places. Its leaf is like the leaf of Syrian [plant] which grows white; its flower is like the flower of conyza[340] . . . you . . . eye . . . before you have . . . the vessel.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIV/1–34. Words preceded by ⁺ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above. Note the change in line arrangement.

PDM xiv. 428–50

**A* potion: You should bring a small shaving from the head of a man who was murdered together with seven grains of barley buried in a grave of a dead man; you
430 should grind them with ten *oipe* / (another [manuscript] says, nine) of apple seeds;
[col. XV, you should add blood of a tick[341] of a black dog to them together with a little blood
3] of your second finger and the little finger[342] of your left hand and your semen;[343] you should press them together; you should put them in a cup of wine; you should add three ladles to it of the first fruits of the wine, before you have tasted it and before an offering has been poured out from it; you should recite this spell[344] to it ***seven*** times; you should make the woman drink it; you should tie the skin of the
435 tick aforesaid with a band of byssus; / and you should tie it to your left arm.
[XV, 8] ***Its invocation. Formula***: “I am he of ⁺Abydos, in truth, in the completion of birth in her name of Isis, the bringer of flame, ⁺she ⁺of the seat of mercy of the Agathodaimon.[345] I am this figure of the sun, ⁺the son ⁺of ⁺TAMESRO[346] is my name. I am this figure of the strong general, this sword, this great overthrower. The great flame is my name. I am this figure of Horus, this fortress, this sword; this great overthrower is my name. I am this figure of the Drowned one,[347] who testifies in
440 writing, who rests on board here under / the great offering table of Abydos, to
[XV, 13] whose name of Isis the blood of Osiris bore witness when it was put in this cup. This wine, give it, the blood of Osiris [which] he gave to Isis, to make her feel love in her heart for him at night, at noon, at any time, there not being time of change. ⁺Give it, the blood of NN, whom NN bore, to give it to NN, whom NN bore, in

336. For this interpretation, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 102, n. to l. XIV. 29.

337. The west, the necropolis, and thus the realm of the dead, over which Anubis presided.

338. I.e., without a youth.

339. *PDM* xiv. 415–16.

340. Thus Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*; see pp. 103–4, n. to XIV. 32. The identification has been questioned by D. Devauchelle and M. Pezin, “Un papyrus médical démotique,” *CEg* 53 (1978): 59. H. von Deines and H. Grapow (*Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Drogennamen*, *Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, vol. 6 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959], 39–41) identified this plant as “mentha aquatica.”

341. The identification of *ỉrỉ<m<t<* of *PDM* xiv. 430 with *syb* of *PDM* xiv. 434 indicates the meaning “tick,” as Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 318b–319a.

342. See n. 306 above.

343. Or “urine.”

344. *PDM* civ. 435–48.

345. See n. 22 above.

346. Or “the daughter of Ra.” [R.K.R.]

347. Osiris.

this cup, this bowl of wine today, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart. The love which Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let NN, the daughter of NN, feel it, / while seeking after NN, the son of NN, everywhere. The love which Isis felt for Horus the Behedite,[348] let NN feel it for NN, she loving him, she being mad after him, she being inflamed by him, she seeking him everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him." 445 [XV, 18]

Another method [of doing it] again: The fragment[349] of the tip of your fingernail and apple seed together with blood from your aforesaid finger also. You should pound the apple, you should add blood to it, you should put it in the cup of wine; / you should recite[350] it ***seven*** times, and you should make the woman drink it at the above-mentioned time. 450 [XV, 23]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XV/1–23. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 451–58 [*PGM* XIVb. 12–15]

*[A spell] for going before a superior if he fights with you and he will not speak with you:

"Do not pursue me, you, so-and-so, I am PAPIPETOU METOUBANES. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris, and I go to take it to Abydos, to take it to Tastai, and to bury it at Alkhah.[351] If he, NN, causes me trouble, / I will throw the mummy at him." 455 [col. XV, 28] (15)

Its invocation in Egyptian[352] again is this which is below:

"Do not run after me, NN.[353] I am PAPIPETY METYBANES, carrying the mummy of Osiris, going to take it to Abydos to let it rest in Alkhah. If NN fights with me today, I shall cast it out." (Say seven times!)

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XV/24–31, and R. F. Hock (Greek section).

PDM xiv. 459–75

*The words of the lamp: / "†BOTH †THEY †IE †YE †O †OE †IA †YA (another manuscript [says], †THEY †IE †OE †ON †IA †YA) PTHAKH ELOE (another manuscript [says] ELON; very good) †IATH †EON †PERIPHAE †IEY †IA †IO †IA †IYE, come down to the light of this lamp, appear to this youth, and ask for me about that which I am asking here today, †IAO †IAOLO †THERENTHO †PSIKSHIMEA KHE-LO[354] †BLAKHANSPLA †IAE †YEBAI[355] †BARBARETHY †IEY †ARPON-GNYPH / †BRINTATENOPHRI †HEA †GARHRE †BALMENTHRE †MENEBARIAKHEGH †IA †KHEKH[356] †BRIN-SKALMA †ARYNSARBA[357] †MESEGHRIPH †NIPTYMIKH †MAORKHARAM. †O, †LAANKHEKH †OMPH †BRIMBAINYIOTH †SENGENBAI †GHOYGHE †LAIKHAM †ARMIOYTH." 460 [col. XVI, 1, 2] 465 [XIV, 7]

348. I.e., of Edfu.

349. Literally, "measure." See R. H. Pierce, "*Dnf*, A Problem in Demotic Lexicography," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965): 74.

350. *PDM* xiv. 435–48.

351. See n. 3 above.

352. Note the bilingual abilities of the scribe. The text is Egyptian in theme (the burial of Osiris) and the Greek text even includes one sentence in Egyptian. This indicates the Egyptian origin of the whole, despite the placement of the Greek version before the Egyptian one. [R.K.R.]

353. Feminine or, possibly, plural.

354. See n. 30 above.

355. Ending written *by*, "soul."

356. Glossed xyx, Egyptian *kky* "darkness": see n. 76 above.

357. See n. 8 above.

You should speak, you[358] being pure, in this manner: "O god who lives, O lamp
470 which is lit, ⁱTAGRTAT, he of eternity, bring in / ⁱBOEL! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL
[XVI, 12] in! ⁱARBETH-BAI ⁱYTSIO,[359] O doubly ⁱgreat god, bring ⁱBOEL in! ⁱTAT TAT, bring ⁱBOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! TAGRTAT, he of Eternity, bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! BEYTSI[360] O great god, bring ⁱBOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in!

The invocation which you should recite before Pre early in the morning before you have recited to the youth, in order that that which you will do will come about: "O great god, ⁱTABAO ⁱBASYKHAM ⁱAMO ⁱAKHA-GHAR-KHAN-GRABYNSA-NYNI
475 / ⁱTSIKOMETO[361] ⁱGATHYBASATHYRITHMILAALO" ([say] ***seven times***).
[XVI, 17] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVI/1–17. Words preceded by ⁱ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 475–88

*Another manner of [doing] it also: You should rise at dawn from your bed, early in the day on which you will do it, or any day, in order that everything which you will do will be exact through your agency,[362] you being pure from all evil. You should recite this spell before Pre three times or seven times: "ⁱIO ⁱTA-BAO ⁱSOKHAM-MYA ⁱOKHOKH-KHAN-BYNSANAY[363] ⁱAN-IESI ⁱEGOMPTO[364] ⁱGETHO ⁱSETHYRI ⁱTHMILA
480 ⁱALYAPOKHRI, let everything / that I shall undertake here today, let it happen."
[col. XVI, 22] ***Its manner***: You bring a new lamp in which no red lead[365] has been put; you [put] a clean wick in it; you fill it with pure genuine oil; you put it in a hidden place cleansed with natron water; you lay it on a new brick; you bring a youth; you seat him on another new brick, his face being turned to the lamp; you close his eyes; and you recite these [words] above,[366] down into the youth's head, seven times. You should make him open his eyes while you say to him, "Do you see the light?" If he says to you, "I see the light in the flame of the lamp," you should cry out at that
485 moment saying / "ⁱHEYE" nine times. You should ask him about everything you
[XVI, 27] wish after reciting the invocation which you did previously before Pre early in the morning.[367] You do it in a place whose door opens to the east; you leave the face of the lamp turned . . . ; and you leave the youth's faced turned . . .[368] facing the lamp, you being on his left. You should recite down into his head, while you touch his head with your second finger of the . . . of your right hand.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVI/18–30. Words preceded by ⁱ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

358. Actually written "it."
359. See n. 30 above.
360. See n. 30 above.
361. Ending written *qme t3*, "creator of the earth": for the correspondence of Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 30 above.
362. Literally, "through your hand."
363. Ending written *nw*, "time"; for correspondences between Greek and Egyptian letters, see n. 8 above.
364. Old Coptic gloss aspirated; Demotic writes *m p3 t3*, "in the earth."
365. See R.K.R.'s note to *PGM* I. 277.
366. *PDM* xiv. 478–79.
367. xiv. 476.
368. Left blank in the manuscript.

PDM xiv. 489–515

Another* manner of [doing] it also; [it is] very good for the lamp. You should [say]:[369] "†BOEL BOEL BOEL †I †I †I †A †A †A †TAT †TAT †TAT, the first servant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly / the companion of the flame, in whose mouth is the flame, he of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who lives, who never dies, the great god, he who sits in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who is in the lake of heaven,[370] in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, come into the midst of this flame. Reveal yourself to this youth here today, have him inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall ask him here today, for I shall praise you in heaven before Pre; I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before the one who is on the throne, who is never destroyed! O he of great praise, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, he of great praise, †PETERI PETERI PATER †EMPHE EMPHE,[371] O †doubly †great god, who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having / created him, come in to me with †BOEL †ANIEL; give strength to the eyes of this youth who is carrying my vessel today, in order to let him see you, in order to let his ears hear you while you are speaking; and ask for him about everything and all things about which I shall ask him here today! O great god, †SI-SAOTH †AKHREMPTO,[372] come into the midst of this flame! O he who sits on the mountain †of †Gabaon, †TAGRTAT, he of eternity, he who does not die, who lives forever, bring[373] †BOEL in †BOEL BOEL, †ARBETH-BAI-NOUTSI[374] †O †great †one, great god, great god, bring[375] †BOEL in! †TAT TAT bring[376] BOEL in!" You should / say these [things] ***seven times* down into the youth's head. You should make him open his eyes; you should ask him, "Has the light already appeared?" If the light has not come forth, you should have the youth himself speak with his mouth to the lamp.

Formula: "Be great, O light! Come forth, O light! Rise up, O light! Be high, O light! Come forth, O light of the god! Reveal yourself to me, O servant of the god, in whose hand is command today, who will ask for me."[377]

He reveals himself to the youth in the moment named. You recite these things down into the head of the boy, while he is looking / at the lamp. Do not let him look at another place except only the lamp. If he does not look at it, he is afraid. You should do all these [things]. When you finish your inquiry, you should turn around, you should have him close his eyes, and you should say down into his head this ***other*** invocation, below, that is, if the gods go away[378] and the youth ceases to see them: "†Beginning †KHEM-PHE, †Zeus, †Sun[379] †SATRA-PERMET, watch over this youth! Do not let him be frightened, terrified, or afraid, and make him return to his original path! Open, O †Underworld! Open, †here."[380] I say [it] that this vessel inquiry of the lamp is better / than the first.

490 [col. XVII, 2]

495 [XVII, 7]

500 [XVII, 11]

505 [XVII, 16]

510

369. A very similar invocation appears in *PDM* xiv. 127–40, 194–204, and 516–26.
370. See n. 84 above.
371. On this group, see n. 88 above.
372. Ending written *m p3 t3*, "in the earth."
373. *R-iny* written above *r-wy*, both imperatives meaning "Bring!"
374. Could the end of this mean "Bas (souls) of the gods"? For the correspondence between Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 30 above.
375. *R-iny* written above *r-wy*, both imperatives meaning "Bring!"
376. See n. 375 above.
377. See n. 23 above.
378. Or "in order that the gods go away."
379. The gloss consists of the Greek symbol for the sun.
380. A pun between "here" (*ty*) and "underworld" (*tei*).

[XVII, 21] This is the form again. ***Its manner***: you bring a new lamp in which no red lead[381] has been put; you put a clean cloth wick in it; you fill it with genuine clean oil; you place it on a new brick; you seat the boy on another brick opposite the lamp; you make him shut his eyes; and you recite down into his head according to the other form also.

Another invocation which you recite opposite Pre at dawn three times, or seven times: ***Formula***: ⸗IO-TABEO ⸗SOKHOMMYA ⸗OKHO-KH-KHAN ⸗BYNSANAY[382] ⸗AN-
515 IESI ⸗EGOM(PH)THO ⸗GETHO ⸗SETHORI / ⸗THMILA-ALYAPO-KHRI, may everything
[XVII, 26] which I shall do today come about." And they succeed.[383] If you do not purify it, it does not come about. Purity is its chief factor.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVII/1–26. Words preceded by ⸗ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 516–27

Another* invocation according to what is above, again:[384] ***Formula*: "⸗BOEL BOEL BOEL ⸗I ⸗I ⸗I ⸗A ⸗I ⸗I ⸗I ⸗A ⸗TAT TAT TAT *he who gives the light exceedingly, the* companion of the flame, he of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who lives, who never dies, he who sits in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who is in the lake of heaven,[385] in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, reveal yourself to this youth, HEY HOY HOY ⸗HE-O so that he may inquire for me; make him look so that he sees and hears[386] everything about which I shall ask him, for I shall praise you in heaven, I shall praise you on earth, I shall praise you be-
520 fore the one who is on the throne, who is never destroyed. / O he of greatness,
[col. XVII, 31] ⸗PETERI PETERI ⸗EMPHE EMPHE,[387] O ⸗great god[388] who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this flame with BOEL ⸗ANIEL. Give strength to the eyes of ⸗HEY ⸗HEY, [⸗HEY ⸗HEY],[389] the son of ⸗HEY ⸗HEY, in order that he see you with his eyes; make his ears hear; speak with him of anything about which he will ask you; tell me an answer truly! You are the great god ⸗SABAOTH. Come down
525 with ⸗BOEL TAT TAT! Bring BOEL in! Come into the midst of this flame / and ques-
[XVIII, 4] tion for me concerning that which is good! ⸗TAGRTAT, he of eternity, bring ⸗BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! ARBTH BAINYTSIO,[390] O ⸗great god,[391] bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in!" You should say these [things] down into the youth's head; you should have him open his eyes and you should ask him about everything according to the manner which is outside,[392] also.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*

381. See n. 73 above.

382. Ending written *nw*, "time"; for the correspondences between Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 8 above.

383. Continuing from the instructions in *PDM* xiv. 512–13.

384. A very similar invocation appears in *PDM* xiv. 127–40, 194–204, and 489–99.

385. See n. 84 above.

386. Or "obey."

387. On this group, see n. 88 above.

388. Glossed "doubly great."

389. Intentional dittography in going from column XVII to column XVIII. Note that HEY here and in the next line is written in Demotic with the silver determinative, as if it were the word "money, silver."

390. See n. 374 above; here the adjective ʿ3, "great," has been added to the end of the invocation name. ARBETHBAINOYTHIŌ is "Horus-Falcon, spirit of the great god"; see *PDM* xiv. 500.

391. Glossed "doubly great."

392. On the verso, but see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 118, n. to l. XVIII. 6.

motic Magical Papyrus, recto, col. XVII/26–XVIII/6. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic or in Greek letters with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 528–53

*[Another?] vessel inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchite nome gave me. You can also do it as a vessel inquiry by yourself:[393] "SABANEM[394] NN BIRIBAT Hail! Hail, O god, †SISIAHO who is on the mountain of Qabaho, / in whose hand is the begetting of Fate,[395] go[396] to this boy! Let him enchant the light, for I am 'beautiful of face'[397] (another manuscript says "I am the face of Nun") at dawn, HALAHO[398] at midday; I am 'joyful of face' in the evening. I am Pre, the noble youth who is called GARTA by name. I am he who came forth on the arm of Triphis[399] in the east. I am †great; 'Great' is my name; 'Great' is my real name. I am †OY; †OY is my name; †AY is my real name. I †am †LOT †MULOT, the one who prevailed, he whose / strength is in the flame, he of that golden wreath which is on his head, THEIT THEIT[400] TO TO[401] HATRA HATRA, dog-face, dog-face. Hail, Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld! Let the darkness depart. Bring the light to me in my vessel inquiry, for I am Horus, son of Osiris, whom Isis bore, the noble youth whom Isis loves, who seeks after his father Osiris Unnefer. Hail Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld! Let the darkness depart. Bring the light to me in my vessel inquiry / my bandage here today! Let me flourish; let the one whose face is bent down to this vessel here today flourish until the gods come in and tell me [an] answer in truth concerning my question about which I am inquiring here today, truly, without falsehood, immediately. Hail, Anubis, creature and youth![402] Go forth at once! Bring to me the gods of this city and the god who gives answer today[403] so that he tell me my question about which I am asking today." Nine times.

/ When you open your eyes, or the youth [opens his eyes] and you see the light, you should recite to the light, "Hail, O light! Come forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be great, be great, O light! O that which is outside, come in!" You should say it nine times until the light is great and Anubis comes in.

When Anubis has come in and established himself, you should say to Anubis, "Arise! Go out and bring in to me the gods of this city or town." He goes out at that moment and brings the gods in. When you know / that the gods have come in, you should say to Anubis, "Bring in a table for the gods so that they may sit down!" When they are seated, you say to Anubis,[404] "Bring in a wine jar and some bread! Let them eat; let them drink." When he has had them eat and drink, you should say to Anubis, "Are they going to inquire for me today?" If he says they [are] again, you

530 [col. XVIII, 9]

535 [XVIII, 14]

540 [XVIII, 19]

545 [XVIII, 24]

550 [XVIII, 29]

393. I.e., without using a youth as intermediary.

394. Ending written *nm*, "dwarf."

395. See n. 22 above.

396. This verb also appears in *P. BM* 10507, 6/9, where it is translated "to approach" by M. Smith (not yet published).

397. Or, perhaps, "baboon-face," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 120, n. to l. XVIII. 10.

398. Ending written *ḥr*, "face."

399. A goddess whose name meant "the noble lady"; Griffith and Thompson suggest, *The Leyden Papyrus*, 120, n. to l. XVIII. 12, that this might be a reference to the constellation Virgo.

400. The middle of this name is written with the word *ḥ.wy*, "house."

401. Written *t3*, "land."

402. Perhaps seen as half-canine, half-human. [R.K.R.]

403. See n. 23 above.

404. A very similar passage, but spoken by the youth, occurs in *PDM* xiv. 56–62.

should say to him, "The god who will question for me,[405] let him raise his hand for me and let him tell me his name." When he tells you his name, you should ask him concerning that which you desire. When you are finished asking about what you desire, you should send them away.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVIII/7–33. Words preceded by ˢ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 554–62

555 *[Spell] to be said to the bite of the dog: / "My mouth being full of blood of a
[col. XIX, black dog, I spitting out the redness[406] of a dog, I come forth from Alkhah.[407] O
2] this dog who is among the ten dogs which belong to Anubis, the son of his body, extract your venom, remove your saliva from me also! If you do not extract your venom and remove your saliva, I shall take you up to the forecourt of [the temple
560 of] Osiris, my watchtower (?). I will do for ˢyou[408] . . . / according to the voice of
[XIX, 7] Isis, the magician, the lady of magic, who bewitches everything, who is never bewitched in her name of Isis, the magician."

You [should] pound garlic with gum (?), put it on the wound of the dog bite, and speak to it daily until it is well.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/1–9. The word preceded by ˢ is written in the text in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 563–74

*[Spell] to be said in order to extract the venom from the heart of a man who has already been made to drink a potion or poison[409] (?): "Hail, hail, IABLY, O golden
565 cup of Osiris! / From you have drunk Isis, Osiris, and the great Agathodaimon.[410]
[col. XIX, The three gods drank and after them I myself drank in order that you will not let me
12] get drunk, you will not let me list, you will not make me fall, you will not make me be thrown down, you will not make me be troubled of heart, you will not make my mouth curse. May I be healed of all poison, pus, [and] venom. They shall be removed (?) from my heart. When I drink you, may I vomit[411] them up in her name
570 of ˢSARBITHA, the daughter / of the Agathodaimon,[412] for I am SABRA BRIATHA
[XIX, 17] BRISARA. HER is my name. I am Horus SHARON[413] coming from receiving greetings. IAHO, ˢthe ˢchild, is my name, being my real name" [to be said] to a cup of wine. Add fresh rue; add it to it; speak to it seven times, and make the man drink it at dawn before he has eaten.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the editions and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/10–21. Words preceded by ˢ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

405. See n. 23 above.
406. I.e., blood.
407. See n. 3 above.
408. Or, "act for you as . . . ": see the discussion of his passage in Johnson, *Verbal System* 11, n. 1. Or, "I shall do to you that which this other bird (?) did," seeing a reference to Isis as a kite. [R.K.R.]
409. Or "hang over" (?). [R.K.R.]
410. See n. 22 above.
411. Literally, "cause them to be thrown up."
412. See n. 22 above.
413. Written ⲥ r.n, "to our mouths."

PDM xiv. 574–85

*[Spell] to be said to the man, when a bone is stuck / in his throat: "You are SHLATE LATE BALATE the white crocodile, which is under the foam of the sea of flame whose belly is full of bones of every drowned man. Hail, you should spit out this bone for me today, it acting as a harpoon head,[414] it making a point, it acting as a sack piercer,[414] it doing[415] everything, without change, for I am[416] a lion's forepart, I am[417] a ram's horn,[418] I am[419] a panther's tooth. / Griffin[420] is my real name, for Osiris is he who is in my hand. The man named is the opener[421] of my neck"[422] (seven times). [col. XIX, 22] [XIX, 27]

You should speak to a little oil, you should put the man's face up; you should put it down in his mouth; you should move[423] your finger and your thumb[424] [to the] two sinews[425] of his throat; you should make him swallow the oil; you should make him rise up suddenly; and you should eject the oil which is in his throat immediately. / The bone comes up with the oil.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/21–32. [XIX, 32]

PDM xiv. 585–93

*Spell to be said to the bite of the dog: the fury of Amoun and Triphis:[426] "I am this strong Arab SHLAMALA MALET secret one, mighty one SHETEI[427] GRSHEI[428] GRSHEI[429] NEBRNT TAHNE BAHNE this dog, this black one,[430] the dog which has bewitched this dog, he of these four bitch-pups, the wolf[431] son of Wepwawet.[432] O son of Anubis, seize by your teeth! Put down your secretion, your face being that / of Seth against Osiris, your face being that of Apophis against the sun! Horus, the son of Osiris, whom Isis bore [is the one] with whom you filled your mouth,[433] NN whom NN bore [is the one] with whom you filled your mouth. Hear this speech of Horus, who stopped heat, who went to the primeval water, who established the earth; listen, O IAHO SABAHO ABIAHO by name!" You should cleanse the wound and grind salt with Nubian hematite.[434] Apply [it] to it. [col. XIX, 37]

414. Meaning suggested by George R. Hughes; for harpoon head and point, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 126, n. to l. XIX. 25.
415. Or "acting as."
416. Or "to me belongs," as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 126, n. to l. XIX. 26.
417. See n. 416 above.
418. See n. 416 above.
419. See n. 416 above.
420. See n. 12 above.
421. Reading *wn*.
422. Reading *nḥḥe.t*.
423. Reading *ḫn*, "to approach," "move toward."
424. So William F. Edgerton, comparing it to Coptic *mout*, "thumb": Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 81a.
425. Coptic *eine* means "sinew, nerve" or "neck"; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 189a.
426. See n. 399 above.
427. Ending written *ʿe.t*, "limb."
428. See n. 427 above.
429. See n. 427 above.
430. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 555.
431. Or jackal, given the association with Wepwawet.
432. See n. 223 above.
433. I.e., whom you bit.
434. For this identification, see J. R. Harris, *Minerals* 156–57.

Another: You should grind rue with honey. Apply to it and say it also to a cup of water and make him drink it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/32–40.

PDM xiv. 594–620

595 *[Spell] to be said to the sting.[435] / "I am the King's son, greatest and first, Anubis.
[col. XX, 2] My mother Sekhmet-Isis comes[436] after me all the way to the land of Syria, to the hill of the land of Heh,[437] to the nome of these cannibals, saying, 'Hurry, hurry! Quickly, quickly, my child, King's son, greatest and first, Anubis,' saying, 'Arise and come to Egypt, for your father Osiris is King of Egypt; he is ruler over the whole land; all the gods of Egypt are assembled to receive the crown from his hand.'

600 / "At the moment of saying these [things] she jumped[438] at me. My strength fell
[XX, 7] from me. She coiled[439] and she came to me with a sting; I sat down and I wept. Isis, my mother, sat near me, saying to me, 'Do not weep, do not weep, my child, King's son, greatest and first, Anubis! Lick from your tongue to your heart, and vice versa, as far as the edges of the wound! Lick from the edges of the wound up to the limits
605 of your / strength!' What you will lick up, you should swallow it. Do not spit it out
[XX, 12] on the ground, for your tongue is the tongue of the Agathodaimon,[440] your tongue is that of Atum!"

You should lick it with your tongue while it is bleeding. Immediately afterwards, you should speak to a little oil and you should speak[441] to it seven times while putting it on the sting daily. You should dye a strip of linen and put it on it.

610 / [The spell] which you should say to the oil to put it on the sting daily: "Isis sat
[XX, 17] speaking to the oil, ABARTAT, and lamenting to the true oil, saying, 'You are praised. I am going to praise you, O oil; I am going to praise you. By the Agathodaimon you are praised. By me myself you are honored. I am going to praise you forever, O oil, O vegetable oil'" (another [manuscript] says "true oil"), "'O sweat of the
615 Agathodaimon, amulet of Geb. Isis is the one who / is speaking to the oil. O true
[XX, 22] oil, O drop of rain, O water-drawing of the planet Jupiter[442] which comes down from the sun bark at dawn, you should do the good [deeds] of the dew of dawn which heaven cast to the ground upon every tree. You should heal the limb which is paralyzed and you should act as remedy for him who lives, for I shall employ you for the sting of the King's son, greatest and first, Anubis, my child, in order that you fill it and make it well. For I shall employ you for [the] sting of NN, whom NN
620 bore, / in order that you fill it and make it well'" (seven times).
[XX, 27]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the editions and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XX/1–27.

435. Probably of a scorpion, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 128, n. to l. XX. 1. This interpretation is reinforced by the suggested new translation of *PDM* xiv. 601; see n. 439 below.

436. For this interpretation, see J. Johnson, *Verbal Systems* 102, n. 167.

437. Literally, "millions."

438. See n. 456 below.

439. Literally, "gather"; this meaning was suggested by George R. Hughes.

440. See n. 22 above.

441. *PDM* xiv. 610–20.

442. Literally, "Horus the red" or "Horus the mysterious."

PDM xiv. 620–26

*Spell to be said to bring a bone out of a throat: "I am he whose head reaches the sky while his feet reach the primeval waters,[443] who awakened this crocodile . . . in Pidjeme[444] in Thebes, for I am ⁺SA ⁺SIME. TAMAHO is my correct name, ⁺ANYG ANYG, for a hawk's egg is what is in my mouth, an ibis egg is what is in my belly, saying, 'bone of god, bone of man, bone of bird, bone of fish, bone of animal, bone of everything, there being nothing besides, for let that which is in your belly come to your heart; let that which is in your heart / come to your mouth; let that which is in your mouth come to my hand here today, for I am he who is in the seven heavens, who is established in the seven shrines; for I am the son of the living god!" [Say it] to a cup of water seven times and make the woman drink it. 625 [col. XX, 32]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XX/27–33. Words preceded by ⁺ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 627–35

*The vessel inquiry of Osiris:[445] "Hail, Osiris, King of the Underworld, lord of burial, whose head is in Thinis[446] while his feet are in Thebes,[447] the one who gives answer in Abydos, while his protection[448] (?) is [in?] Pshilom,[449] he who is under the *nubs* tree in Meroë, who is on the mountain of Poranous,[450] who is on my house forever, / the house of the avengers[451] forever; he whose face[452] resembles the face of a hawk of byssus, mighty one whose tail is as the tail of a serpent while his back is as the back of a ⁺dragon,[453] while his hand is [that of] a man, who is girded (?) with this girdle of bandage, ⁺in ⁺whose hand is this palm staff of command. Hail, IAHO SABAHO ATONAI[454] MISTEMY IAYIY! Hail, MIKHAEL[455] SABAEL! Hail, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces, he to whom this earth belongs, who leaps[456] on only one foot! ⁺Hide the darkness in the deep! Bring in the light for me! Come in to me; tell me the answer to that about which I am inquiring here today!" [Say] nine times, / until the god comes and the light appears. 630 [col. XXI, 4] 635

You do it according to the forms of the remainder above, again while the youth's face is to the east and your own face is to the west, you reciting down into his head. [XXI, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXI/1–9. Words preceded by ⁺ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

443. Reaching from sky to abyss; see also *PGM* IV n. 160.

444. Western Thebes.

445. A partial parallel in Old Coptic is found in *PGM* IV. 10–25.

446. A town in the nome of Abydos; see A. H. Gardner, *Onomastica*, vol. II, p. 38*.

447. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 134, n. to l. XXI. 2.

448. The Old Coptic parallel (see n. 445 above) has "whose glory is in Paqalōm."

449. For possible identifications, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 134, n. to l. XXI. 3.

450. Perhaps the Egyptian definite article *p* + *οὐρανός*, "firmament" of heaven, and Griffith and Thompson, ibid., 135, n. to l. XXI. 4.

451. On avengers, see also n. 24 above.

452. See the description of a griffin taken from the Myth of the Sun's Eye quoted in n. 12 above.

453. Literally, perhaps, "crocodile" or "guardian (dragon)"; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 135, n. to l. XXI. 5.

454. Adonai? The Old Coptic parallel (see n. 445 above) has *althōnai*.

455. The Old Coptic text (see n. 445 above) also invokes Michael.

456. Coptic *fi foqs*, "to leap, hop," *Crum, Coptic Dictionary* 627b, as suggested by George R. Hughes.

PDM xiv. 636–69

*[The method] of the scarab in the cup of wine in order to make a woman love a man: You should bring a scarab of Mars[457] (which is this small scarab which has no horn), it having three shields on the front of its head—you find its face shrunken—or also the one which has two horns.[458] You should bring it at the rising of the sun; you should bind yourself with a cloth on the upper part of your back; you should bind yourself at your face with a strip of palm fiber while the scarab is on the palm[459] of your hand; and you should speak[460] to it before the sun when it is about to rise, seven times. When you have finished, you should drown it in milk of a black cow. You should put a [unit of ?] 10[461] (pieces) of olive wood to its head. You should leave it until evening in the milk. When evening comes, you should / bring it up, you should spread under it with sand, and you should put a band of cloth under it upon the sand, for four days. You should put myrrh on a flame before it.

When the four days have passed, and it is dry, you should bring it before you, a cloth being spread under it. You should divide it in its middle with a copper knife. You should take its right half and nail parings of your right hand and foot, and you should cook them on a new potsherd with vine wood. You should pound them with nine apple seeds and your urine or your sweat free from bath oil; you should make it into a ball; you should put it in the wine; you should speak[462] over it seven times; you should make the woman drink it; you should take its other half, the left one, together with the nail parings of your left hand and foot also; you should bind them in a strip of byssus with myrrh and saffron; you should bind them to your left arm; and you should lie with the woman while they are bound to you.

/ If you wish to do it also without drowning it, you do it also on the third of the lunar month, you doing this manner above for it also. You should recite its invocation to it before the sun at dawn; you should cook [it]; you should divide it; you should do it according to that which is above also in everything.

[The invocation] which you should recite to it before the sun at dawn: "You are the scarab of real lapis-lazuli. Bring yourself out of the door of my temple! You should lift (?) a copper vessel (?) to your nose, [O he] who knew how to eat the herbage, who tramples the field plants (?), who damages the great cult images of those of Egypt, I sending you against NN whom NN bore, to strike her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb, for she is the one who urinated before the sun at dawn, saying to the sun, 'Do not come forth!'; to the moon, 'Do not rise!'; to the water, 'Do not come to those of Egypt!'; to the field, 'Do not bloom!'; and to the great trees of those of Egypt, 'Do not grow green!' / I sending you to NN, whom NN bore, in order to beat her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb, so that she put herself on the road following after NN, whom NN bore, at all times."

[The spell] which you should recite to it while it is in the milk: "Woe, doubly great one; woe, my doubly great one; woe, his (?) Nun,[463] woe, his love, O scarab,

457. See Ritner, "Gleanings" (above, n. 68).

458. For the possible identification as the "stag beetle," see ibid., n. to l. XXI. 11.

459. Lit., "body": translation suggested by George R. Hughes.

460. *PDM* xiv. 646–50.

461. For the use of ten as a "round number," see K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägypter* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1916) 39.

462. *PDM* xiv. 658–69.

463. Primeval waters.

464. See n. 306 above.

O scarab; you are the eye of Pre, the little finger[464] of Osiris, the fingers of Shu.[465] You should go in this form[466] in which Osiris your father went, on account of NN, whom NN bore, until fire is put after her heart, the flame after her flesh, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is."

[The spell] which you should recite to it while you are cooking it: "Hail, my beautiful child, the youth of oil-eating (?), who cast semen and who casts semen among all the gods, this one whom the small one and the great one found among the two great enneads on the east of Egypt, / while he was coming forth as a black 655
scarab on a stem of papyrus reed! I know your name; I know your craft[467] (?). 'The [XXI, 29]
work of two stars' is your name. I am casting fury against you today; NPHALAM BALLABALKHA IOPHPHE, in order that every burning, every heat, every fire in which you are today, you will make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver, the spleen, the womb, the large intestine, the small intestine, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb, in the skin of NN, whom NN bore, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is."

[The spell] which you should recite to it in the wine:

"O scarab, O scarab, you are the scarab of real lapis-lazuli; you are the eye of Pre; you are the eye of Atum, the finger of Shu, the little finger of Osiris. You are the black bull, the foremost one, who came forth from Nun, / the beauty of Isis being 660
with you. You are RAKS RAPARAKS, the blood of this wild boar which they brought [XXI, 34]
from the land of Syria to Egypt."

From outside to the wine: "I shall send you. Will you go on my business? Will you do it? May you say, 'Send me to the thirsty so that his thirst may be quenched, to the canal that it may be dried up, to the sand of the . . . that it may be scattered without wind, to the papyrus of Buto that the copper [blade] may be applied to it, while Horus is saved for Isis from the great destructions for those of Egypt, so that not a man or woman is left in their midst,' while I send you. Do the like of these while I am sending you down to the heart of NN, whom NN bore; make a flame in her body, flame in her intestines. Put madness after her heart, fever after her flesh. Let her make the travels of the Shoulder constellation[468] after the 'Hippopotamus' constellation.[469] Let her make / the movements of the sunshine after the shadow 665
while she is searching after NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is, she [XXI, 39]
loving him, she being mad about him, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is. Take away her sleep by night! Give her grief and anxiety by day! Do not let her eat! Do not let her drink! Do not let her lie down! Do not let her sit in the shadow of her house until she goes to him at every place in which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glances turned upside down, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is, until she sees him, her eye after his eye, her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand, she giving to him every. . . . Let [her] put the tip of her feet after his heels in the street at all times, without a time changed. Quickly, quickly! Hurry, hurry!"

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXI/10–43.

465. The god of air, whose hands/fingers supported the sky.
466. I.e., drowned, as Osiris.
467. As suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 141, n. to l. XXI. 29.
468. I.e., the Big Dipper.
469. See the references in Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 142, n. to l. XXI. 38.

PDM xiv. 670–74

670 [col. XXII, 1] *Here is [the spell ?] of the name of the Great One of Five[470] which should be recited to every spirit, there being nothing which is stronger than it in the books: if you recite these spells to any vessel, the gods never go away without your having questioned them about everything so that they say to you the answer about heaven, earth, the underworld, a distant inquiry, water, and fields. [It is] a writing which is in the power[471] of a man to recite.[472]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXII/1–5.

PDM xiv. 675–94 [*PGM* XIVc. 15–27]

675 [col. XXIII, 1] *A spell to cause "evil sleep"[473] to fall. ***Formula***: You bring a donkey's head; you place it between your feet opposite the sun at dawn when it is about to rise, opposite it again in the evening when it is going to set; you anoint your right foot with yellow ocher[474] of Syria, your left foot with clay, the soles of your feet also; you place your right hand in front and your left hand behind, the head being between 680 them; you anoint one of your two hands with donkey's blood, / and the two cor- [XXIII, 6] ners (?) of your mouth; and you recite these writings before the sun at dawn and in the evening for four days. He sleeps.

If you wish to make him die, you should do it for seven days. If you do its magic, you should bind a thread of palm fiber to your hand, a piece of male palm fiber to your phallus and your head. It is very good.

This spell which you should recite before the sun:

(15) / "I call upon you who are in the empty air, you who are terrible, invisible, almighty, a god of gods, you who cause destruction and desolation, you who hate a 685 stable / household, you who were driven out of Egypt and have roamed foreign [XXIII, lands, you who shatter everything and are not defeated. / I call upon you, Typhon 11] Seth; I command your prophetic powers because I call upon your authoritative (*PGM* name to which you cannot refuse to listen, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHŌ- XIVc. 17) SĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX / IŌ SŌRŌ IŌ NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH AKTIŌPHI ERESCHI- (20) GAL NEBOUTOSOALĒTH ABERAMENTHŌOULERTHEXANAXETHRELUŌTHENEMA- 690 REBA AEMINA / (the whole formula). Come to me and go and strike down him, NN [XXIII, (or her, NN) with chills and fever. That very person has wronged me and he (or she) 16] has spilled the blood of Typhon in his own (or her own) house. For this reason I am (*PGM* doing this" (add the usual).

XIVc. 23) *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIII/1–20; and R. F. Hock, following the edition of (25) Preisendanz.

PDM xiv. 695–700

695 [col. XXIII, 21] *To inquire opposite the moon: you should do it as a vessel inquiry alone or [with] a youth. If you are the one who is going to inquire, you should equip your eye with green eyepaint and black eyepaint. You should stand on a high place on the top of

470. See n. 36 above.

471. Literally, "hand."

472. As Griffith and Thompson note, *The Leyden Papyrus* 144, n. to l. XXII. 5, the remainder of the column, where the spell would have been written, was left blank.

473. Reading *nktk bin*. [R.K.R.] Griffith and Thompson, ibid., n. to l. XXIII. 1, suggest "catalepsy."

474. See Harris, *Minerals* 151.

your house. You should speak to the moon when it fills[475] the sound-eye[476] on the 15th day, you being pure for three days. You should recite this spell opposite the moon seven or nine times until he appears to you and speaks to you: "Hail, ⁱ SAKS ⁱ Amoun ⁱ SAKS ⁱ ABRASAKS, for you are the moon, the great one of the stars, he who formed them! Listen to these things which I said! Walk in accordance with the [words] of my mouth! Reveal yourself to me, ⁱ THAN / ⁱ THANA ⁱ THANATHA" (another [manuscript] says "THEI"); "this is my correct name." Nine [times] of saying it until she[477] reveals herself to you. [XXIII, 26]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIII/21–26. Words preceded by ⁱ are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 701–5

*Another form of it again, to be recited opposite the moon: You should paint your eye with this paint, you [going] up before the moon. When it fills the sound-eye,[478] you see the figure of the god in sound-eye speaking to you:

"I am flame, high, AMRO[479] MAAMT, true is my name, for I am . . . soul so ⁱ AGANAGYP Mars[480] spirit, spirit, joy-Mars[481] is my real, true name . . . eternity. I am KHELBAI[482] SETET; HEN EM-NEFER[483] is my name; SRO OSHENBET[484] is my correct name." Say [it] nine times, while you are standing opposite the moon, your eye equipped with this ointment: green and black eyepaint. Grind with Syrian honey; put the gall of a / full-grown chick to it; put it on a glass object; and leave it for yourself in a hidden place until the time in which you will need it. You do it also according to what is above. [col. XXIII, 31]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/27–31. The word preceded by ⁱ is written in the text in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 706–10

*Against "evil sleep"[485]—another: flour of wild dates which has been beaten with milk[486] . . . ; / you should make them together into a ball. Put in the wine! [col. XXIV, 5a]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/1a–5a.

PDM xiv. 711–15

*A tested **prescription** if you wish to "evil sleep"[487] a man: scammony root, 1 dram; opium, 1 dram; pound with milk; make it into a ball, and put it in some food (?) / which is cooked so that he eats it. He is upset. [col. XXIV, 5]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/1–5.

475. See *PDM* xiv. 295 and n. 239 therewith.
476. See n. 192 above.
477. The moon, which is feminine in Greek although masculine in Egyptian.
478. See n. 192 above.
479. Written *ʿm*, "to swallow" or "to know" plus *r*, "mouth."
480. The planet; see W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954) 170.
481. See n. 480 above.
482. Written *ḥl*, "young" (?), plus *by*, "soul."
483. Written *ḥm*, "to approach," plus preposition *m*, "in," plus *nfr*, "good."
484. Or, perhaps, "prince, great of throat." [R.K.R.]
485. See n. 473 above.
486. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, vol. III, p. 109, suggest that this might be *ʿgyr*, "rush/reed."
487. See n. 473 above.

PDM xiv. 716–24

Another*, if you wish to make a man sleep for ***two* days: mandrake root, 1 ounce; water and honey,[488] 1 ounce; henbane,[489] 1 ounce / ivy, 1 ounce. You should grind them with[490] a *lok*-measure of wine. If you wish to do it cleverly, you should put four portions to each one of them with a glass of wine; you should moisten them from morning to evening; you should clarify them; and you should make them drink it. [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/6–14.

PDM xiv. 724–26

**Another*, the third: apple / seeds, 1 stater, 1 kite; pound with flour; make it into a cake, and make the man whom you wish eat it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/14–16.

PDM xiv. 727–36

A **prescription* to cause a man to sleep; [it is] very good: apple seeds, 1 stater, 1 dram; mandrake root, 4 drams; ivy, 4 drams; pound together; add fifteen / measures of wine to it; put it in a glass vessel and guard it! When you wish to give it, you should put a little in a cup of wine, and you should give it to the man. The ivy—it grows in gardens; its leaf is like the leaf of a shekam plant, being divided into three lobes like a grape leaf. It is one palm in measurement; its blossom / is like silver (another [manuscript] says gold).

Another: Gall of an Alexandrian weasel; you should add [it] to any food.

Another: A two-tailed lizard.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/17–26.

PDM xiv. 737–38

***A prescription** for "evil sleep":[491] gall of horned viper, seeds of western apples, poisonous herb; pound them together; make into a ball and put [it] into the food!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/27–28.

PDM xiv. 739–40

**Another*: If you put camel's blood and the blood of a dead man / into the wine and you make the man drink it, he dies.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/29–30.

PDM xiv. 741

**Another*: If you put a nightjar's blood to his eye, he is blinded.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/3.

488. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 149–50, n. to l. XXIV. 8.
489. Ibid., 150, n. to l. XXIV. 9.
490. Literally, *r-ḥ.t*, "according to."
491. See n. 473 above; there is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 917–19.

PDM xiv. 742

**Another*: If you put bat's blood, it is [in] this manner again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*.

PDM xiv. 743–49

**Another*: If you drown a hawk in wine and you make the man drink it, it does its work. A shrew-mouse in this manner again; it does / its work also. Its gall also, if you put it in the wine, it does its work very well. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian weasel on any food, it does its work. If you put a two-tailed lizard in the oil and cook it with it and anoint the man with it, it does its work.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the text and edition of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/33–39.

PDM xiv. 750–71

The* words of the lamp to question the youth: ***Formula*: "†TE †TE †IG †TATAK THETHE SATI †SAN-TASKL †KROMAKAT †PATAKSYRAI †KALEY-PANKT †A-A-TSIEYI[492] MAKT-SITAKAT HATI[493] HAT †RO-I[494]O-I †HAY[495] (?) †I; may they say to me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, for I am Harpokrates[496] in Mendes, for I am Isis the wise; the sayings of my mouth come to pass" ***(say seven times)***. [col. XXV, 1] [XXV, 6]

You bring a new lamp; you put a clean cloth wick into it brought from a temple; you set it on a new clean brick brought from the brick mold on which / no man has mounted; you set it upright; you place the lamp on it; you put genuine oil in it, or oasis oil; you set two new bricks under yourself; you place the youth between your feet; you recite the aforementioned spells down into the youth' head, your hand being over his eyes; and you offer up myrrh and willow leaf / before the lamp. You do it in a dark place whose door opens to the east or the south and under which there is no cellar. You let no light come in to the aforementioned place; you purify the said place beforehand; you put the youth's back to the opening of the room. When you finish reciting the spell, you should take your hand from his eyes—a youth who has not yet gone with a woman, / [is he] whom you should send before it[497]—and you should question him, saying, "What do you see?" He speaks with you of everything about which you will ask him. [XXV, 6] [XXV, 16] [XXV, 21]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXV/1–22. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 772–804

A method *to put the heart of a woman after a man: Done in one moment (?) and it comes to pass instantly. You bring a live swallow and a live hoopoe.

Ointment made for them: Blood of a male donkey, blood of the tick of a black cow. You should anoint / ***their*** heads with lotus ointment and cry out before the sun in his moment of rising. You should cut off the heads of the two; you should [col. XXV,

492. See n. 30 above.

493. Written *ḥ3ṯ.y*, "my heart."

494. Written *ḥ3ṯ r.y*, "heart of my mouth."

495. Demotic apparently written *ʿb.w*, but see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 153, n. to l. XXV. 6.

496. Horus the Child, son of Isis and Osiris.

497. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 155, n. to l. XXV. 21.

26] bring their hearts out from their right ribs [of the two] and anoint them with the donkey's blood and the blood of the tick of a black cow, above. You should put them into donkey's skin and leave them in the sun until they dry up in four days. When 780 the four days have passed, you should pound them, put them into a / box, and leave [XXV, 31] it in your house.

When you wish to make a woman love a man, you should take the piece[498] of "pleasure wood,"[499] recite these[500] true names before them, put it in a cup of wine or beer, and give it to the woman so that she drinks it: "I am †BIRA-AQHL †LA-AQH 785 †SASMRIALO †PLS-PLYN. I am †IOANE[501] †SABAATHL †SASYPY / †NITHI. Put the [XXV, 36] heart of NN, whom NN bore, after NN, whom NN bore, in these hours today!" ([Say] seven times). You do it on the fourteenth of the lunar month. [it is] very good.

790 / Another spell again for this cup of wine: "†BIRAGETHT †SAMARA †PILPIYN [XXVI, 1] †IAHYT †SABAYTH †SAIPYNITHAS."

Another spell belonging to it again, on another papyrus: "I am †BIRAGATHT 795 †LATHT †SASMIRA †PLIPRN / †IAHY[502] †SABAQHT SASYPYNITHA. Put the heart of [XXVI, 4] NN after SASYPYNITHAS."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, col. XXV/23–XXVI/18. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 805–40

805 ***Another** vessel inquiry,[503] [the magician being] alone[504] in order to see the bark of [col. Pre: ***The spell which you should recite***: "Open to me, O heaven, mother of the gods! XXVII, 1] Let me see the bark of Pre, he going up and going down in it, for I am Geb, heir of the gods; praying is what I am doing before Pre, my father, on account of the thing which went forth from me. O great Heknet,[505] lady of the shrine, the Rishtret[506] (?), open to me, mistress of spirits! Open to me, O primal heaven! Let me worship the messengers, for I am Geb, heir of the gods! O, you seven[507] kings; O, you seven Montus, bull who engenders, lord of awe, who illuminates the earth; soul of the primeval waters; hail, lion like a lion of the primeval waters, bull of the darkness! 810 / Hail, foremost one of the people of the east, Nun,[508] great one, lofty one! Hail, [XXVII, soul of the ram, sould of the people of the west! Hail, soul of souls, bull of darkness, 6] bull of [two] bulls, son of Nut! Open to me; I am the opener of earth, who came forth from Geb. Hail! I am †I-I-I †E-E-E †HE-HE-HE †HO-HO-HO. I am ANEPO[509] MIRI-PO-RE MAAT IB great THIBAI, †ARYI[510] †YOY †IAHO."

The preparation:[511] Blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a night-

498. Literally, "measure."
499. See n. 253 above.
500. *PDM* xiv. 783–86.
501. Written ʿ3, "donkey"; ʿn, "again"; n3, "these."
502. Beginning written ʿ3, "donkey."
503. This same vessel inquiry occurs in *PDM* xiv. 295–308.
504. I.e., without using a youth.
505. See n. 243 above.
506. See n. 244 above.
507. See n. 245 above.
508. Primeval waters.
509. Great Anubis.
510. See n. 249 above.
511. See n. 50 above.

jar, "live-on-them" plant, mustard,[512] "Great-of-Amoun" plant, *qs-ʿnḫ* stone,[513] genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, "footprint-of-Isis" plant. Pound, make into a ball, and paint / your eyes with it. Put a goat's tear in a "pleasure-wood"[514] of juniper or ebony, and tie around you a strip of male palm fiber. 815 [XXVII, 11]

The way of making the vessel inquiry of the lamp: You should bring a clean, white lamp without putting red lead[515] or gum water in it, its wick being of byssus; you should fill it with genuine oil or oil of dew; you should tie it with four linen threads which have not been burned;[516] you should hang in on an eastern wall [on] a peg of laurel wood; you should make the youth stand before it, he being pure, he not having gone with a woman; you should cover his eyes with your hand; / you should light the lamp; you should recite down into his head,[517] ***seven*** times; you should make him open his eyes; and you should ask him, saying, "What are the things which you have seen?" If he says, "I have [already] seen the gods near the lamp," they tell him an answer concerning that which they will be asked. 820 [XXVII, 16]

If you wish to do it by yourself alone, you should fill your eyes with the aforementioned ointment. You should stand up opposite the lamp while it is lit and recite to it ***seven*** times while your eyes are shut. When you have finished, you should open your eyes. You see the gods behind you and you speak with them concerning that which you desire, you regularly doing it in a dark place.

The spell which you should recite: ***Formula***: "I am MANEBAI[518] ⸢GHTHE-THONI KHA-BA-KHEL; let me worship you, the child of ARPHITNA / PIRA PILE-ASA ⸢GNYRIPH-ARISA ⸢TENI-IRISSA ⸢PSI[519] ⸢PSI ⸢IRIS-SA ⸢GIMITHYRY-PHYS-SA OQMATSISA OREOBAZAGRA PERTAOMEKH PERAGOMEKH SAKMEPH.[520] Come in to me and inquire for me about the question about which I am inquiring, truthfully, without falsehood." 825 [XXVII, 21]

Its preparation:[521] The ointment[522] which you should put on your eyes when you are going to make any "god's arrival"[523] with the lamp. You bring some flowers of the Greek bean plant.[524] You find them in the place of the lupine sellers. You should bring them while they are tender / and put them into a glass vessel. You should seal its mouth very carefully for ***twenty*** days in a dark, hidden place. After ***twenty*** days, if you take it up and open it, you find testicles and a phallus in it. If you leave it for ***forty*** days and bring it up and open it, you find it having [already] become bloody. In something of glass, you put it and you put the glass object in a pottery object in a place hidden at all times. 830 [XXVII, 26]

When you wish to make a "god's arrival" of the lamp with it, you should fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, while you are going to sleep. Or you should stand

512. Literally, "bread-of-heaven" plant; Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 158, n. to l. XXVII. 10, suggest an identification with σίναπι, "mustard."
513. See n. 65 above.
514. See n. 253 above.
515. See n. 73 above.
516. Or see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 158, n. to l. XXVII. 14.
517. *PDM* xiv. 823–28.
518. Ending written *by*, "soul."
519. PSI for "Agathodaimon"? Cf. *PGM* IV. 1644.
520. SAKMEPH is "son of Kneph (Agathodaimon)"; see *PGM* I. 27.
521. See n. 50 above.
522. See the parallel in *PDM* xiv. 140–46.
523. See n. 62 above.
524. See n. 95 above.

opposite the lamp, reciting this spell aforesaid. You see the god beyond you while
835 you are standing or sleeping. [It is] very good, proven. / You write this name on the
[XXVII, strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh ink: "BAKHYKH-SIKHYKH"[525] (what another
31] papyrus said: "KIMITHORO PHOSSE"). This method which is written above is the method of the "god's arrival" of MANEBAI.[526] If you wish to do it by questioning the lamp, it is this form again. It is also profitable for a "god's arrival" of MYRIBAI.[527] If you will do it by vessel inquiry of the lamp, you should fill the lamp aforesaid on a new brick; you should make the youth stand up before the lamp while his face is covered; and you should recite to his head this spell in Greek while you are standing
840 over him. When you have finished, you should uncover / his face. He answers you
[XXVII, truthfully.

26] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the text and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVII/13–36. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 841–50

****Another method*** of vessel inquiry [the magician being] alone: ***Formula***: "I am †the †lord †of †Spirits, †ORITSIMBAI[528] SONATSIR EPISGHES[529] EMMIME; THO-GOM-PHRYR PHIRIM-PHYNI is your name; MIMI soul of souls soul of souls GTHETHO-NI, I am Bastet PTHO[530] BALKHAM whom BINYI SPHE PHAS bore. I am BAPTHO;[531] GAM-MI-SATRA is your name, MI-MEO, IANYME."

Its preparation:[532] you go to a clean place; you bring a copper vessel; you wash it
845 with natron water; you put a *lok*-measure / of oil in it; you place it on the ground; you light a copper lamp; you put it on the ground near the copper vessel; you cover yourself with a clean robe, you and the vessel; and you recite into the vessel, your
[col. eyes being shut, ***seven*** times. / You should open your eyes and ask it concerning
XXVIII] what you wish. If you wish to make the gods of the vessel speak with you with their mouths opposite your mouth, ***you should recite***: "IAHO IPH †EOE †GINNTETHYR †NEPHAR †APHOE." They give you an answer concerning everything about which you will ask also.

If they do not tell you an answer, you should ***recite*** this other name "†NGO-NGETHIGS †MANTYNOBOE †GOKSHIR-HRONTOR[533] †NTONTROMA †LEPHOGER
850 / †GEPHAER-SORE." If you recite these, they inquire for you truthfully.

[XXVIII, *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVIII/1–10. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic
10] in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 851–55

****Another*** vessel inquiry to which you add vegetable oil, you doing it according to what is above: ***Formula***: "Speak to me, speak to me, HAMST, god of the gods of darkness, every spirit, every shadow which is in the west and the east! Do it, O he

525. See n. 76 above.

526. I.e., the formula beginning with MANEBAI in *PDM* xiv. 824.

527. I.e., the formula beginning with MYRAI MYRIBI in *PDM* xiv. 125.

528. Ending written *by*, "soul": see also n. 30 above.

529. For a possible translation of this name, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 163, n. to l. XXVIII. 1.

530. Ptah? [R.K.R.]

531. Spirit of Ptah? [R.K.R.]

532. See n. 50 above.

533. See nn. 8 and 30 above.

who has died! Awaken to me, awaken to me, O soul of life, O soul of breath! Let my vessel, my bandage go forth here today, because of the vessel of great Isis seeking her husband, searching for her brother; MNASH MNASH MNANF MNANF." Say, "MNASH MNASH MNANF MNANF PHONI PHONI" a multitude of times, and say to the youth, "Say, / 'Go away, O darkness! Come to me, O light!' and open your eyes at once." The gods come in and tell you an answer to everything. [col. XXVII, 15]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVIII/11–15.

PDM xiv. 856–75

*Here is a form of inquiry of the sun of which it is said that it is well tested: ***Its preparation***:[534] you bring a pure youth; you do the spirit formula which is written for it; you bring him before the sun; you make him stand on a new brick at the moment in which the sun is going to rise, so that he comes up entirely in the disk; you draw a new linen curtain[535] (?) around him; you make him shut his eyes; you stand up over him, reciting down into his head and striking down on / his head with your sun-finger[536] of your right hand, after filling his eyes with the paint which you made before: "†NASIRA †OAPKIS †SHFE †SHFE soul of †souls; soul of souls is your true name, truly. †O †Lotus, open to me heaven in its breadth and height! Bring me the light which is pure! Let the god in whose hand command[537] is come to me and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, in truth without falsehood therein. †Chief †god,[538] †ETALE †TAL †NASIRA †IARMEKH †NASERA †AMPTHY †CHO †AMAMARKAR †TEL IAAO / †NASIRA †HAKIA lotus †CHDJISIPHTH †AHO †ATONE[539] †I †I †E †O †BALBEL, let the pure light come to me. Let the youth ***enchant***; let him tell me an answer. Let the god in whose hand command is come to me and tell me an answer to everything about which I shall ***ask***, in truth, without falsehood therein."

Afterwards you should recite his compulsion ***another seven times***, his eyes being shut. ***Formula***: "†SI †SI †PI †TSIRIPI[540] †SA-AO-NKHAB †HRABAOT †PHAKTHIOP †ANASAN †KRAANA †KRATRIS TMA-/PTARA-†PHNE †ARAPHNY, come to the youth! Let the god in whose hand command is come to him and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today."

If the light is slow to come within, you should say, "†KE †KE †SALSOATHA †IPPEL †SIRBA" ***seven times***. You should put frankincense on the brazier; you should utter this great name after all these; you should utter it from beginning to end and vice versa, ***four times***: "†AYEBOTH-IABATHABAITHOBEYA." You should say, "Let the youth see the light; let the god in whose hand command is come in and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking / here today, in truth, without falsehood therein." [XXIX, 15]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIX/1–20. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

534. See n. 50 above.

535. Suggested by Sir Herbert Thompson.

536. For a possible explanation of this term, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 166, n. to l. XXIX. 5.

537. See n. 107 above.

538. A phonetic rendering of the combination of Greek ἀρχός, "chief," and Egyptian *ntr* (Coptic *noute*), "god."

539. Adonai?

540. See n. 30 above. TSIRIPI is Thriphis; cf. *PGM* XI. 232.

PDM xiv. 875–85

**Here is another* form of it again: You should take the youth to a high, upper place. You should make him stand up in a place which has a large window in its presence, whose door opens to the east, and inside which the sun shines; you should paint the youth's eyes with the paint which is prescribed for it; you should recite to him 8 times (another [manuscript] says seven times) while you are standing over him; and you should make him look at the sun when it fills the sound-eye,[541] he standing up on a new brick, there being a new linen robe over him, and his eyes being closed. You should recite down into his head while striking his head with your finger which is written above[542] also. You should offer up frankincense before him. When you have finished, you should make him open his eyes. / He sees the gods beyond him, speaking with him.

[col. XXIX, 25] [*The ointment*] which you put in the youth's eyes when he goes to any vessel inquiry of the sun: you bring two *buri* fish[543] of the river, both being alive; you burn one of them with vinewood before the sun; you add the blood of the other to it; you make it smooth with it and myrrh; and you make them into balls which measure one finger [in length]. You should spread (?) [it] in his eyes. You should bring a vessel of vine wood (?) and a "pleasure-wood"[544] of vine wood (?) also; you should grind this drug with a little yellow ocher[545] of Nubia and juice of Egyptian grapes; and you should fill your eyes with it. If you fill your eyes with this drug and look at the sun when it fills the sound-eye, your eyes being open toward it, he reveals himself to you and tells you an answer / to everything. Its chief factor is purity. It is more profitable than the youth; it is profitable for you yourself as a person [acting] alone.

[XXIX, 30]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIX/20–30.

PDM xiv. 886–96

[v. col. i, 5] *Eyebrow of the sun.[546] Eyebrow of the moon.[547] (These are herbs.) Heliogonon.[548] / Selenogonon.[549] (These are herbs.) Spurge,[550] which is this small herb which is in the gardens and which exudes milk. / If you put its milk on a man's skin, it eats.[551]

[v. i, 10] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. i/1–11.

541. See n. 192 above. The summer solstice.

542. *PDM* xiv. 860 and n. 536 above.

543. Assuming cipher *iid* is for *ʿd*.

544. See n. 253 above; Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 169, translate "kohl-pot" and "kohl-stick" (?).

545. See *PDM* xiv. 677 and n. 474 above.

546. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

547. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

548. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 170, n. to V. l. I. 4, suggest this is a synonym for *qouč*, "safflower, cardamom," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 840b.

549. Peonies, according to Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 170, n. to V. l. I. 5.

550. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

551. Suggested by W. F. Edgerton; Coptic *bolbl* means "burrow, dig," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 37a–b.

PDM xiv. 897–910

*Camomile: "Clean straw" is its name.

"White flower": ". . .-horse"[552] is its name.

Martagon lily:[553] "There is none better than I" is its name.

/ Chrysanthemum: "Beautiful of face" is its name (another [manuscript] says, "the golden flower" of the wreath seller). Its leaf is strong; its stem is cold; its flower is of gold; its leaf is like martagon lily. [v. col. ii, 4]

Magnesium:[554] / A stone of stone which is black like galena. You should grind it while it is black. [v. ii, 7]

Magnetite;[555] it is brought. You should scrape it while it is black.

Human magnesium:[556] It is brought / from the land of India. If you scrape it, it sends out blood. [v. ii, 14]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ii/1–15.

PDM xiv. 911–16

*To "evil sleep"[557] your enemy: A beetle: you should burn it with styrax (?), you should pound it together with one drachma of apples / and a . . . ; you should . . . ; and you should put a. . . . [v. col. ii, 20]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ii/16–20.

PDM xiv. 917–19

**Prescription* for "evil sleep":[558] Gall of horned viper, seeds of western apples, and poisonous herbs. Grind them together, make into a ball, and put [it] in wine!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/1–3.

PDM xiv. 920–29

**Lees of wine*: It is a white stone like galbanum. There is another one which is made into lime. (This is) the way to know about it, whether it is genuine. If you grind a little / with water and apply it to the skin of a man for a short time, it cuts the skin. Its name in Greek [is] "foam of the moon."[559] It is a white stone. [v. col. iii, 4] [v. iii, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/4–13.

PDM xiv. 930–32

**A prescription*[560] to cause a woman to love a man: Fruit of acacia; grind with honey; anoint his[561] phallus with it; and lie with the woman! [v. col. iii, 14]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/14–16.

552. The Egyptian word may be from the root *šq*, "to dig."

553. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 171, n. to V. l. II. 3.

554. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

555. Glossed twice in Greek. Demotic says lit., "living iron"; see J. R. Harris, *Minerals* 170, who suggests that it is being confused with hematite.

556. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 173, n. to V. l. II. 13, and n. 555 above.

557. See *PDM* xiv. 675 and n. 473 thereto.

558. See *PDM* xiv. 675 and n.; there is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 737–38.

559. Written in both Greek and Egyptian.

560. There is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 1046–47.

561. *Sic*, for "your."

PDM xiv. 933–34

*"Foam of the moon": It is a white stone like glass, which is rubbed into tiny fragments like orpiment.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/17–18.

PDM xiv. 935–39

935 *Prescription for an ear which is watery: Salt; heat with good wine and apply to it
[v. col. iv, after first cleaning it. You [should] rub copper salt,[562] heat with wine, and apply to it
1] for four days.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iv/1–5.

PDM xiv. 940–52

940 *Salamander, a small lizard which is blue-green[563] in color and which has no feet.
[v. col. iv, "Ram's-horn"[564] is its name, / an herb which is like a wile fennel bush. Its leaf
6] and its stem are incised like the "love-man" plant. You should pound it when it is
945 dry, sift[565] it, make it into a dry powder, and apply it to any wound. It stops.
[v. iv, 11]
950 Styrax; it grows like . . . / with regard to its leaf. Its seeds are twisted like a
[v. iv, 17] "ram's-horn" plant which has a small thorn at its end.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iv/6–19.

PDM xiv. 953–55

****A prescription*** to stop blood: Juice of "Great-Nile" plant together with beer; you
955 should make the woman drink it at dawn / before she has eaten. It stops.
[v. col. v, *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
3] *motic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. v/1–3.

PDM xiv. 956–60

****The way*** to know it of a woman whether she will be pregnant: You should make the woman urinate on this plant, above, again, at night. When morning comes, if
960 you find the plant scorched, she will not conceive. If you find it / green, she will
[v. col. v, conceive.
8] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. v/4–8.

PDM xiv. 961–65

****A prescription*** to stop blood: Leaf of †. . . , leaf of fresh "copper-fly" plant. Pound, put [it] on yourself while you lie with the woman. ***Another***: Myrrh, garlic,
965 gall of a gazelle; pound with / old scented wine; put [it] on yourself while you lie
[v. col. v, with her.
13] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso. col. v/9–13. The word preceded by † is written in Demotic with Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

562. Reading *ḥm3 ḥmt*, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 175, n. to V. l. IV. 7. Copper-based medicines were common in Pharaonic medicine, presumably since the copper helped kill bacteria.

563. See *PGM* IV. 1090.

564. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

565. Coptic *šolšl*, "sift," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 561b.

PDM xiv. 966–69

**Asphodel*, also called wild onion.[566]
Garlic, also called wild garlic.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. v/14–17.

PDM xiv. 970–77

***A prescription** to stop liquid in a woman: The first prescription: salt and oil; pound; . . .[567] two days, after the two days. [v. col. vi, 2]

The second ***prescription***: White lead; you should pound it with a little salt paste[568] of an oil dealer very carefully; you should put true oil of fine quality to it, together with an egg; you should pound them; you should bring a strip of fine-woven linen; you should dye it in this medicine (she should wash in the bath and wash in good wine); you should put the medicated strip up in her; you should push it in and / out in her womb for a short time, in the manner of a man's phallus, until the medication permeates; you should remove it; and you should leave her until evening. When evening comes, you should dye a bandage in genuine honey and put it up in her until dawn, for ***three*** (another [manuscript] says, four) days. [v. vi, 6]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vi/1–8.

PDM xiv. 978–80

****Another***, after it: Juice of a cucumber which has been rubbed, one measure; water of the ear of a . . . animal, one measure, in accordance with the measure of a wine cup; you should add a measure of good wine to them and she should drink it at midday without having / eaten anything at all after bathing in the bath, which she did beforehand. When evening comes, you should put the rag with honey up in her as above for seven days. [v. col. vii, 3]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vii/1–4.

PDM xiv. 981–84

****Another***, after it: You should bring a new dish; you should put ten measure of old sweet wine in it; and you should put a drachma of fresh rue in it from dawn until midday. She should wash in the bath, come out, and drink it. When evening comes, you should put honey up in her as above again for seven days.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vii/4–7.

PDM xiv. 985–92

**Gout*: You should make the man sit down, place clay under the man's feet, and place . . . after it[569] while his feet are on it. You should ask the man, "Has it [already] heard?"[570] for three days. Afterwards you should bring an ant; you should cook it in henna oil; and you should anoint his foot / with it. When you have finished, you should bring Alexandrian figs, dried grapes, and potentilla.[571] You [v. col. viii, 1] [v. viii, 6]

566. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 177, n. to verso col. V, l. 15.
567. See ibid., 178, n. to V. VI. 1, for a discussion of the passage omitted.
568. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 781a.
569. Or "him."
570. Or "whether he has (already) heard."
571. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 180, n. to V. l. VIII. 7.

should pound them with wine and anoint him. In addition to this, you should breathe at him with your mouth.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. viii/1–8. The word preceded by † is written in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 993–1002

[v. col. ix, 3] 1000 [v. ix, 8] *Another: 1 dram of spurge; / 1 drachma of pepper; 1 stater of pyrethrum; 1 stater of adarces;[572] 1 stater of native sulfur; 6 staters of [any] wine; / 8 [measures] of genuine oil. You should pound them and make them into a poultice. Apply to the place which pains the man.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ix/1–10.

PDM xiv. 1003–14

*Another amulet for the foot of the gouty man: You should write these names on a 1005 strip / of silver or tin. You should put it on a deerskin[573] and bind it to the foot of [v. col. x, 3] the man named, on his two feet: "THEMBARATHEM OUREMBRENOUTIPE / AIOX- 1010 THOU SEMMARATHEMMOU NAIOOU, let NN, whom NN bore, recover from every [v. x, 8] pain which is in his knees and two feet." You do it when the moon is [in the constellation] Leo.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. x/1–12.

PDM xiv. 1015–20

[v. col. xi, 1] *Prescription for a . . . : Garlic, frankincense, old . . . , genuine oil. Pound them; anoint him with it. When it is dry, you should wash it / with cold water. It stops.

1020 *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, [v. xi, 6] *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1021–23

*Prescription for a foot which is very stiff: [It is] very good. You should wash his foot with cucumber juice and rub it on his foot very well.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/7–9.

PDM xiv. 1024–25

1025 *Another: Sycamore figs of . . . ; fruit of acacia, / persea fruit. Pound [them]; ap- [v. col. xi, 11] ply [it] to him.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/10–11.

PDM xiv. 1026–45

*"I am this great one, SHAEI"[574] (another [manuscript] says, "the great one, SHE-ray"), "who makes magic against the great Triphis,[575] the lady of Koou, †LL †MYLL The water of Mut[576] is what is in my mouth; the fat[577] of Hathor, worthy of love, is

572. See ibid., 181, n. to V. l. IX. 5.
573. Written in Egyptian and Greek.
574. Ending written ʿ3, "linen."
575. See n. 399 above.
576. Thus R.K.R.
577. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 184, n. to V. l. XII. 3.

what is in my heart. My heart yearns, my heart loves with (?) a longing which a she-cat / feels for a tomcat, a longing which a she-wolf feels for a wolf, a longing which a bitch feels for a dog, the longing the god, the son of Sirius, felt for Moses while he was going to the hill of NINARETOS to offer water to his god, his lord, his †IAHO †sabaho, his GLEMYRA MYSE PLERYBE S MI ABRASAKS SENKLAI. Let NN, whom NN bore, feel it for NN, whom NN bore. Let her feel a yearning, a love, a great madness . . . , she seeking after him everywhere. O fury / of IAHO SABAHY HORION (?) all-mighty ANTOGRATOR[578] ARBANTHALA THALO THALAKS, 'I cast fury against you[579] of the great gods of Egypt. Fill your hands with flames and fire! Use it! Cast it on the heart of NN, whom NN bore! Wither her, O spirit! Take her sleep, O man of the west![580] Let the house of her father and her mother, the places where she is. . . . Call out while the flame of fire / is against her, while she speaks, saying, "mercy," she standing outside murmuring "mercy," for I am an agent (?) of Geb, Horus RON. Pre is my name. Tear her name out of Egypt for 40 days, 33 months, 175 days, the complement of six months, O GIRE †THEE PISITY EKOIMI ATAM!"[581] ([Say] seven times.)

Crocodile dung, a little donkey placenta, and sisymbrium, 7 *oipe* of antelope dung, gall of a male goat, and first fruits of oil. You should heat them with flax stalks; you should recite to it seven times for seven days; you should anoint your phallus / with it; and you should lie with the woman; and you should anoint the woman's heart,[582] also.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xii/1–xiii/9. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1046–47

*[A prescription] to cause a woman to love her husband:[583] Acacia, fruit. Pound with honey, anoint your phallus with it, and lie with the woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiii/11–12.

PDM xiv. 1047–48

*To make a woman love copulating with her: Foam of a stallion's mouth. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiii/11–12.

PDM xiv. 1049–55

*To make [a woman love copulating with her (?)]: / Alum, 1 dram; pepper, 1 dram: dry *mhnknwt* plant, 4 drams; orchid, 4 drams. Pound into a dry medication! Do [your] business with / it in accordance with what you know with any woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiv/1–7.

578. Is this the preceding with the initial *p* interpreted as the Egyptian masculine singular definite article and omitted?

579. Plural.

580. See n. 33 above.

581. Perhaps "O divine faithful lord, I cast out Adam," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 186–87, n. to V. l. XIII. 6.

582. Or "breast" (?), as Griffith and Thompson, ibid., 187.

583. There is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 930–32.

PDM xiv. 1056–62

*The names of the gods whom you seek when you are going to bring in a thief [by vase questioning?]:[584] "ϯMASKELLI ϯMASKELLO ϯPHNYGENTABAO ϯHREKSIGTHO ϯPERIGTHEON ϯPERIPEGANEKS ϯAREOBASAGRA" (also called ϯOBASAGRA).

1060 / This name, you say it before a ship which is about to founder on account of the
[v. col. xv, 5] names of Dioscorus,[585] which are within, so that it is safe.

If you recite them to the beaker of Adonai,[586] which is inscribed outside, it will do a great work which will bring in a thief.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xv/1–7. Words preceded by ϯ are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1063–69

*"ϯARMIOYT[587] ϯSITHANI ϯYTHANI ϯARIAMYSI ϯSOBRTAT[588] ϯBIRBAT ϯMISIRITHAT
1065 / ϯAMSIETHARMITHAT,[589] bring NN, whom NN bore, out of her abodes in which
[v. col. xvi, 3] she is, to any house, any place in which NN, whom NN bore, is while she loves him and craves him, she making the gift of his heart at every moment!"

You should write this in myrrh ink on a strip of clean byssus and put it in a clean new lamp, which is filled with genuine oil, in your house from evening until dawn. If you find the hair of the woman, put it in the wick! It is good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xv/1–7. Words preceded by ϯ are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1070–77

1070 *A spell to bring [a woman] to a man, to send dreams (another [manuscript] says,
[v. col. xvii, 1] to dream dreams) again: [[A line of symbols of secret signs.]] You should write this on a reed leaf and put [it] under your head while you sleep. It makes dreams and sends dreams. If you will do it to send dreams, you should put it on the mouth of a mummy. It brings a woman also. You should write this name on the reed leaf with
1075 the blood of a . . . or a hoopoe; you should put the hair of the woman in the leaf;
[v. xvii, 6] you should put it on the mouth of the mummy; and you should write this name on the ground, saying: "Bring NN, the daughter of NN, to the house, to the sleeping-place in which is NN, the son of NN!" Now it is also a fetching charm.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xvii/1–8.

PDM xiv. 1078–89

1080 *"ERYBITHY EKTYLA / ERREPHEDI, reveal yourself to me, god NN, and speak to
[v. col. xviii, 3] me concerning that about which I shall ask you, truthfully, without having told me falsehood."

1085 Saffron, 2 [measures]; / black eye paint of Koptos, 2 [measures]; pound with
[v. xviii, 8] blood of a lizard, make into a ball, and rub it with milk of a [woman who has born a] male child! Put [it] in his right eye and recite to it before any lamp or the Big Dipper at night!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xviii/1–12.

584. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 188, n. to V. l. XV. 1.

585. The patron gods of sailors, as Griffith and Thompson, ibid., n. to V. l. XV. 6.

586. See ibid., 189, n. to V. l. XV. 6.

587. Preceding this line is a line showing three scarab beetles, three falcons, and three goats. In the right margin next to this line is the addition "also called ARMIOYTH."

588. Ending written with the hieratic *ḏd*-pillar.

589. Beginning written *r-ms*, "whom . . . bore."

PDM xiv. 1090–96

*A spell for bringing a woman out of her house: You bring a . . . of a wild cat; you dry it; you take a tendon (?) [of a . . . which has been] drowned; and you fashion a ring whose body is blended with gold [in the form of two] lions whose mouths are open, the face of each being turned to the other. You should put the thing . . . it face. [v. col. xix, 1]

When you wish to bring a woman to you at any time, you should place the ring in the upper part of a lamp / which is lit and you should say to it, "Bring NN, the daughter of NN, to this place in which I am, quickly, in these moments of today!" She comes at once. [v. xix, 6]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xix/1–7.

PDM xiv. 1097–1103

*To heal ophthalmia[590] in a man: "O Amoun,[591] this †lofty male, this male of Ethiopia, who came down from Meroe to Egypt and who found my son Horus hurrying on his feet.[592] He beat (?) him on his head with three spells in the Ethiopian language. When he finds NN, whom NN bore, he will hurry on / his feet, and he will beat (?) him on his head with three spells in the Ethiopian language: "GENTINI †tentina qyqybi [ak]khe akha."

[Say it] to a little oil; add salt and nasturtium seed to it, anoint the man who has opththalmia with it, also write this on a new papyrus, and make it into a papyrus roll on his body: "You are the eye of heaven," in the writings. . . .[593]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xx/1–7. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1104–9

*. . . / "live-on-them" plant: . . . Pound, make . . . of the river. . . . Paint your eye with it! [v. col. xxi, 3]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxi/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1110–29

*A tested . . . : . . . ***Here is*** [the ointment which you] put on your eyes when you go to the vessel of inquiry alone: Green eyepaint, black eyepaint, *qes-ʿnḫ* stone,[594] amulet of . . . , flowers of black . . .[595] which are vetch, blood of hoopoe. / Pound, [make] into a ball, and paint your eye with it, together with juice of Egyptian grapes and yellow ocher[596] of Nubia. You see the shadow of every god and every goddess. [v. col. xxii, 1] [v. xxii, 6]

Its . . . : "I call to you, O great gods who appear with the sun, †TSEMYKS[597] †AMP

590. Or "evil eye"; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 192, n. to V. l. XX. 1.

591. See n. 189 above.

592. Or, perhaps, "as fast as his feet (could go)," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 193, with n. to V. l. XX. 3.

593. What is left blank here is written in the papyrus as the hieroglyph of an eye with rays rising up from it.

594. See n. 65 above.

595. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 194–95, n. to V. l. XXII. 4.

596. See *PDM* xiv. 677 and n. 474.

597. Or OEMYKS. [R.K.R.]

. . .[598] †PIAM †ENPAIA †IBOTH †IAE SABAOTH. / Open to me, open to me, O great gods who appear with the sun! Let my eyes open to the light, and let me see the god who inquires today.[599] Hurry, hurry, for the protection . . . †ABLANATHANLBA, the great god, †MARARAANTONE[600] †ABIATH N . . . SENEN Agathodaimon NTOSATRAPERQEMAI[601] Osiris †LILAM is his name. Open to me, Open to me, O great gods! Let my eyes open to the light, / and let me see the god who inquires today. Open to me, open to me! I cast fury of the doubly great god . . . whose strength is great, who lives forever, against you. Give strength to the name . . . the name of the god. . . . Open to me, open to me, O great [gods] who appear with the sun! Let [my eyes] open [to the light, and let] me [see the god] who inquires today. Hurry, hurry" (. . . times).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xx/1–20. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1130–40

*. . . grind . . . with. . . . Another: . . . NAKS . . . / juniper . . . seeds. . . . Another:. . . again. Dung . . . dried and burned, 2 [measures]; / pound [with oil of] henna and honey, anoint [your phallus] with it, and lie with her!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxiii/1–12.

PDM xiv. 1141–54

*. . . to it, and you should . . . of byssus to it, these three names being written on it; . . . / and myrrh; you should light it; you should place it . . . your head; and you should recite them to it again nine times . . . the lamp. You do it at the time of the third hour of night . . . alone.

Formula: "†IOBASAYMPTHO [†GHROME (?) †LY]GHAR, instruct[602] me / in truth concerning any given matter about which I am praying here [today, in] truth, without telling you[603] falsehood. IOBASAYMPTHOKHROMELOYKHAR, instruct me in truth concerning any given matter about which I am praying here today."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxiv/1–13. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1155–62

*. . .[604] hawk's dung; salt, reed, *bele* plant. Pound together. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman. If it is dry, you should / pound a little of it with wine, anoint your phallus with it, and lie with the woman. [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxv/1–8.

598. With water determinative, presumably *p3 y'm*, "the sea."
599. See n. 23 above.
600. For Adonai?
601. See n. 8 above.
602. Literally, "Let my eyes open out." Cf. n. 93 above. [R.K.R.]
603. *Sic.*
604. The first line is perhaps to be restored "in order to make a woman love copulation, again," as

PDM xiv. 1163–79

*If you [wish to make] the gods of the vessel speak with you,[605] when the gods come in, you should say this name [to them], nine times: /"†IAO †IPH †EOE †GINNTATHYR[606] †NEPHAR †APHOE." He commands to you concerning that about which you will ask him. 1165 [v. col. xxvi, 3]

If delay occurs in order not to tell you an answer, you should say this other name to them, nine times until they inquire for you truthfully: "†NGONGETSIKS †MANTY †NOBOE †GOGHIR †HRONTOR[607] †NTONTROMA †LEPHOGER †GEPHAERSORE" (seven times). "IAYO EIPHE ON KINDATHOYR NEPHAR APHOE." *1170* [v. xxvi, 8]

According to what is above,[608] on the recto, "I am SIT-TA-KO.[609] 'Hearing' is my name; 'hearing' is my correct name. I am GANTHA GINTEY[610] GIRITEY, lord god, ARENOYTE[611] LABTATHA LAPTYTHA / LAKSANTHA SARISA MARKHARAHYTEY[612] †ARSINGA-GHLA" (another manuscript [says], ARSI-NGALABEL) "***Bolboel*** BOEL BOEL LOTERI †GLO-GASANTRA. IAHO is my name; IAHO is my correct name. BALKHAM, the powerful one of heaven, ABLANATHANALBA, the griffin[613] of the shrine of the god who stands today." 1175 [v. xxvii, 4]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxvi/1–xxvii/8. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1180–81

*You are going to send a star . . . down while the moon is [in the constellation] Scorpio. 1180 [v. col. xxviii, 2]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxviii/1–2.

PDM xiv. 1182–87

*[Spell to] make mad any man or any woman: You should take the hair of the man whom you wish together with the hair of a dead man; you should tie them to each other; / you should tie them to the body of the hawk; and you should release it alive. If you wish to do it for some days, you should put the hawk in a place, feeding it in your house. 1185 [v. col. xxix, 4]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxix/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1188–89

*If you . . . dung of a Nile goose. Her body falls.[614]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/1–2.

Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, in the hand copy.

605. There is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 847–50.
606. See n. 23 above.
607. See n. 23 above.
608. *PDM* xiv. 13–16.
609. See n. 7 above.
610. Ending written *t3w*, "wind."
611. See n. 9 above.
612. Ending written *t3w*, "wind."
613. See n. 12 above.
614. Perhaps "abortion," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 201, n. to V. l. XXX. 1.

PDM xiv. 1190–93

*Another: You should anoint your phallus with dung of weasel[615] and lie with [the] woman. She loves you. You should pound dung of . . . with honey and anoint your phallus with it according to what is above, again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/3–6.

PDM xiv. 1194–95

*Another: Dung of hyena with oil of / roses[616] in accordance with what is above, again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/7–8.

PDM xiv. 1196–98

*Another: You should fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung when the menstruation is on her. She stops. Ass's dung also—this method [of treatment].

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/9–11.

PDM xiv. 1199–1205

*"SISIOOYT" / (another [manuscript] says, ARMIOYTH), "O living god, O burning lamp, come in before me and tell me an answer concerning that about which I am asking here / today."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxi/1–7.

PDM xiv. 1206–18

*To make [a woman] mad after a man:[617] You should bring a live shrew-mouse, remove its gall and put it in one place; and remove its heart and put it in another place. You should / take its whole body. You should pound it very much while it is dry; you should take a little of what is pounded with a little blood of your second finger and the little finger[618] of your left hand; you should put it in a cup of wine; and you should make the woman drink it. She is mad after you.

/ If you put its gall into a cup of wine, she dies instantly. Or put it in meat or some food.

If you put its heart in ring of gold and put it on your hand, it gives you great praise, love, and awe.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxii/1–13.

PDM xiv. 1219–27

*Horus . . . went up the mountain[619] at midday during the season of inundation, mounted on a white horse . . . on a black horse, / the papyrus rolls [of . . .] being on (?) him, those of the Great of Five in his breast. He found all the gods seated at the place of judgment eating [of the produce] of the Nile, my great one. Said they, "Horus, come and eat! Horus, come! Are you going to eat?"

615. Identification suggested by R.K.R., identifying Griffith and Thompson, cipher number 22 with cipher number 83.

616. See n. 100 above.

617. A similar spell occurs in *PDM* xiv. 382–86.

618. See n. 411 above.

619. For the mountain of Horus, see M. Smith's commentary to P. BM. 10507, l. 5 (not yet published).

He said, "Go away ⁱ from ⁱ me! I have no [way] to eat. My head hurts; my body hurts. A fever has taken hold of me; a south wind has seized me. Does Isis [stop] making magic? Does Nephthys stop curing? Are the sixteen[620] those of the avenger? Is my one a divine power of a god? Are [the 365] gods sitting down to eat the produce of the fields of the Nile (?), my great one, until they remove the fever / from the head of the son of Isis, from the head of NN, whom NN bore, being the fever of night, the fever of midday, headache, this burning, this heat of the fevers of those below the brow to his feet,[621] [until they] remove [it] from the head of NN, whom NN bore?" 1225 [v. xxxiii, 7]

[Say it] over genuine oil, seven times; anoint his hand, his body, his feet; and speak to him.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxiii/1–9. Words preceded by ⁱ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PGM XV. 1–21

*"I will bind you, Nilos, who is also [called] Agathos Daimon, whom Demetria bore, with great evils. Neither gods nor men will procure[1] a clean getaway[2] for you! On the contrary, you will love me, Capitolina whom Peperous bore, with a divine passion, and in every way you will be for me an escort, as long as I want, that you might do for me what I wish and nothing for anyone else, and that you might obey no one save only me, Capitolina, and that you might forget your parents, / children, and friends. I also conjure you, daimons, who are in this place, ALYĒAĒL . . . LIONŌ SOUAPH ALŌ LYBALOLYBĒL OIKALLISSAMAEŌ LYBALALŌNĒ LYLŌĒY LYOTHNOIS ODISSASON ALELADA. I, Capitolina, have the power, and, on meeting you, Nilos, will return the favors. They are releasing all who have drowned, have died unmarried, and have been carried away by the wind. I will insert this deposit, in order that you might accomplish for me what has been written on the strip of papyrus, which is why I am conjuring / you, daimons, by the force and fate that constrains you. Accomplish everything for me and rush in and take away the mind of Nilos, to whom this magical material belongs, in order that he might love me, Capitolina, and that Nilos, whom Demetria bore, might be inseparable from me, every hour and every day. I conjure you daimons by your spiteful fates that hold you and by those carried by the wind, IŌ IŌĒ PHTHOUTH EIŌ PHRĒ, the greatest daimon, IAŌ SABAŌ / BARBARE THIŌTH[3] LAILAMPS OSORNŌPHRI EMPHERA, the only-begotten god in heaven, who shakes the deep, sending out waters and winds—discharge the spirits of the daimons where my deposit box is, in order that they, either male or female, small or great, might perform for me the things in the tablet, in order that they might come and accomplish the things in this tablet and might bind Nilos, who is also [called] / Agathos Daimon, whom Demetria bore, to me, Capitolina, whom Piperous bore, for his [whole] life. Nilos shall love me with an eternal affection; immediately, immediately; quickly, [quickly]."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

620. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 204, n. to V. l. XXXIII. 5.

621. I.e., from his head to his feet. [R.K.R.]

1. The papyrus has *ευρωσι*, which A. Henrichs emends to *εὕρω σοι*, "I will procure." The meaning is, however, unclear.

2. Lit., "a pure release."

3. THIŌTH was accidentally omitted in Preisendanz's text.

PGM XVI. 1–75

*"I adjure you, [daimon] of the dead, by the MĒTH . . . OU MACHEREMA PHACHE[LEZETHI] ALŌIA BATHABLEOUCHACHI ABAŌS OMŌCHAL ARACHRAUCH . . . OU AMERRA MACHERTHA PHACHELEZETHI; cause Sarapion to pine [and] melt away for the passion of Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi bore]. [Inflame / his] heart, cause it to melt, and [suck out his] blood because of love, passion, and pain for me, until Sarapion, whom [Pasametra] bore, [comes] to Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. [And] let him [do] all the things in my [mind] and let him [continue] loving me, [until] he [arrives] in Hades."

"I adjure you, as a daimon of the dead, by ADŌNAIOS SABAŌTH AMARACHTHEI / AXIAŌTHAZAR, god, ATHRŌA SOU . . . AMALAXA, god, . . . EN MARATA ACHŌ CHIMMI NEMEGAIPH Y . . . ACHILTHTEE [MARADTHA] THARBI APSŌCH . . . ; cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra[1] bore, to pine and melt away out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. Brand his heart, cause it to melt, and suck out his blood because of love, passion, pain, / until Sarapion, whom Pasametra [bore], comes to Dioskorous, whom Tikoui bore. And let him do all the things in my mind and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades."

"I adjure you, [daimon] of the dead, by the heart of Kronos' son . . . ŌURŌNY . . . LI . . . EULAMŌSI . . . MERATHA; cause Sarapiōn, whom Pasametra bore, / to pine and melt away out of passion for [Dioskorous], whom Tikoi bore. And cause his heart to melt, [and] suck out [his] blood because of love, passion, pain, [until] Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, whom Takoui bore. And let him do all the things in my mind, and let him continue loving me, until / he arrives in Hades."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by the one under STĒĒAALEBMOU EYA . . . NEKELA . . . TOSAN . . . AKETORIMISEPHONYMI STASACHĒ AMŌTILŌ NEBOU [TOSOUALĒTH cause] Sarapion, whom [Pasametra bore], to pine and melt away out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoui bore. Cause [his heart] to melt [and] suck out [his] blood / because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes [out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore]. And [let him do all the things in my mind], and let him continue loving me until [he arrives in Hades]."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by the M . . . MASĒ LEAI . . . MEA . . . RMŌ . . . SEGE B . . . DĒSAŌOUA / PHESPHTOU undefiled EI, names . . . XAI BAIMEBOTĒSAI PHTHASIAU SAIEXEETHA CHTHETHŌ OU NEBIŌTHY LAIOUTH, cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, to pine and melt away out of passion [for Dioskorous], whom Tikoui bore. And [cause] his [heart to melt and] suck out his blood / because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes [to] Dioskorous, [whom] Tikaui [bore]. And let him do [all the things in my] mind, [and let him continue] loving me until [he arrives] in [Hades], and again I adjure you, [daimon of the dead], by the PHTHOI KI . . . ŌSE . . . AUTHEIOKRA . . . EI / APO EIRRATHEIBŌTHIMIA PROSĒMOPERNAI . . . ENE A . . . S . . . TASĒTHŌNNEBAI LEISEI; cause Sarapion, [whom Pasametra] bore, [to pine and melt away] out of passion for Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. And cause his heart to melt [and suck out his blood] because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom / Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, [whom] Tikoui bore. [And let him] do all [the things] in my mind, and let him continue loving [me], until he arrives [in Hades]."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by SIIA the MEGON ABAŌTH OU . . . OUOGDOUKO . . . ĒRĒ . . . OMMA KELARO . . . ONTBEIA; [cause Sarapion], / whom Pasa-

1. Cf. D. R. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976): 132, who reads *πᾶσα μήτρα*, "the whole womb," here and throughout the text.

metra bore, [to pine] and melt away [out of] passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikouou bore. And cause his [heart] to melt and suck out his blood because of [love], passion, pain, unless Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. [And let him do] all the things in / my mind, [and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades]."

"I adjure you, [daimon of the] dead, by [ADONAIOS] . . . DŌ . . . EXIAKĒN NEIKAROPLĒX MIDEKLIBAIA AUKA . . . LEUEIMETH . . . EXENNE KOMMI BIOU; cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, to pine [and melt away] out of passion for [Dioskorous], whom [Tikoi bore. Brand his heart] and [cause it to melt]; / [suck out his] blood because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, [comes out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. And let him do] all [the] *things in my mind, [and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades]*."

"[I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by] the greatest MY . . . PRŌTĒSKAINONEONTI ERĒ[KISISPHĒ] ARARACHARARA ĒPHSISIKĒRE . . . / and inflame [his heart until Sarapion, whom] Pasametra [bore, comes] to Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. [Cause Sarapion, whom] Pasametra [bore, to pine and melt away] out of passion for Dioskorous, [whom] Tikoi bore; [cause him to melt away and suck out his blood] because of love, [passion, pain] for me, [O daimon of the dead]. Wherefore, do [and complete] for me all the things [written on this] / [strip of papyrus].

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XVIIa. 1–25

*«ϫ ⲁ ⲣ ⲡ» DAMNIPPE PĒPĒ ŌŌ	A	A
LYKYXUVHYCH NN CHYCH	BA	AK
XYKYL ϥϩϫϥ PSCH ⲯ ⲱ ŌŌ ĒPĒP	LBA	AKR
ĒPP[1] INMAD, Anubis, god on earth	ALBA	AKRA
and under earth and heavenly;	NALBA	AKRAM
dog, dog, dog, assume all your /	ANALBA	AKRAMM
authority and all your power	THANALBA	AKRAMMA
against Tigerous, whom Sophia	ATHANALBA	AKRAMMACH
bore. Make her cease from	NATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHA
her arrogance, calculation,	ANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAM
and her shamefulness, and attract	LANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAMA
her to me, beneath my feet,	BLANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAMAR
melting with passionate	ABLANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAMARI
desire / at every hour of the	BLANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAMAR
day and night, always	LANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAMA
remembering me while she is	ANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAM
eating, drinking, working,	NATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHA
conversing, sleeping / dreaming,	ATHANALBA	AKRAMMACH
having an orgasm in her dreams,	THANALBA	AKRAMMA
until she is scourged by you and	ANALBA	AKRAMM
comes desiring me, with her	NALBA	AKRAM
hands full, with a generous	ALBA	AKRA
soul and graciously giving me	LBA	AKR
both herself and her possessions	BA	AK
and fulfilling / what is	A	A

appropriate for women in regards to men: serving both my desire and her own

1. The *voces magicae* PĒPĒ, ĒPĒP, etc., may be related to the Hebrew tetragrammaton, the name for god. See *PGM* IV. 595 and n.

unhesitatingly and unabashedly, joining thigh to thigh and belly to belly and her black to my black, most pleasantly. Aye, lord, attract to me Titerous, whom Sophia bore, to me, Hermeias, whom Hermione bore, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly—driven by your scourge."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XVIIb. 1–23

*"[Hermes, lord of the world], who're in the heart,
[O orbit of Selene, spherical]
[And] square, the founder of the words [of speech]
[Pleader of justice's cause,] garbed in a mantle,
[With winged sandals,] who rule [expressive] speech
[Prophet to mortals] / . . .
For he inspires . . .
. . . within a short time . . .
[Whene'er] the fateful [day arrives] again[1]
. . . [who send] some [oracle] that's true, / you're said
To be [the Moirai's thread] and [Dream divine],
[The all-subduer, Unsub]dued, just as
. . . may you judge . . .
You offer good things to the good, [but grief]
[To those who're worthless.][2] Dawn comes up for you,
For you swift [night draws] near. / You lord it o'er
The elements: fire, air, [water, and earth][3]
When you became helmsman of [all the] world;
And you escort the souls of those you wish,
But some you rouse again. For you've become
The order of the world, for you [cure], too,
Man's [every] ailment, / [who send oracles]
By day and night; [send] me, I pray your [form],
For I'm a man, a pious suppliant,
And your [soldier];[4] and so, [while I'm asleep],
[Send to me your unerring] mantic skill."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This badly damaged papyrus contains a spell in dactylic hexameters which is similar in part to *PGM* V. 400–421 and VII. 668–80. Heitsch (in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 249) has reconstructed the passages to form Hymns 15–16.

1. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10. 175.
2. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 24. 530–33; Rom 13:3–4.
3. Cf. *PGM* XII. 250–51.
4. Cf. *PGM* IV. 185–94, esp. 193.

PGM XVIIc. 1–14

*"ABLANATHANATHANABLA
A ⳩⳩⳩⳩⳨⳪ G
BAEĒIOYŌ AAAAAAA R
A
L EEEEEEE IIIIIII M 5
A A
NAKRAKAMARPITAR CH
AKOMMŌTEU M P O A
THNIRA . . . IPHEL
PETHION 10
AEU.LEIĒ . . .ⲋITAPE
AM̄ÑNEBALESITŌT
ATACHIT
O. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This slip of papyrus was evidently used as an amulet or protective charm.

PGM XVIIIa. 1–4

*"Lord Sabaoth, repel the pain from me, the headache pain, I pray, take [from me]. . . ."
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XVIIIb. 1–7



"GORGŌPHŌNAS
ORGŌPHŌNAS
RGŌPHŌNAS
GŌPHŌNAS
ŌPHŌNAS
PHŌNAS
ŌNAS
NAS
AS
S"

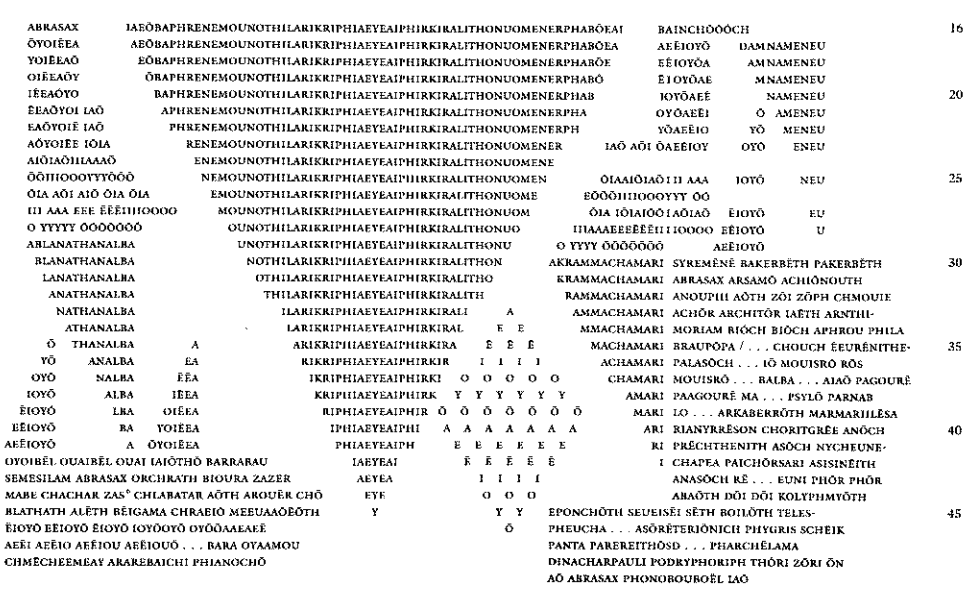
*"I conjure you all by the sacred name to heal Dionysius or Anys, whom Heraklia bore, from every shivering fit and fever, whether daily or intermittent [fever] by night or day, or quartan fever, immediately, immediately, quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: John Scarborough. The name GORGŌPHŌNA, here apparently feminine accusative plural, may refer to the epithet of Athena, "Gorgo-slayer."

PGM XIXa. 1–54

*"ENTHI ENTHŌ BOSOU ĒRIS ĒRIS I . . . NOUŌ OUI DE BATHAR NĒITH NĒITH[1] ĒIAŌTH OUOR KAŌTHIS SAMI SAMIS OPHOR ANOUIPHŌ XTHETHŌNI NOUĒRIŌTH AŌTH OUŌR TENOCH TENOCH BIBIOU BIBIOU MOUAU MOUAU SMŌSOM THEUOUTH OKEBENEUSI ENSI EIPSĒI OUŌR OUŌR OSARAMŌKS THAT THAT ENTHOUŌ KOMMOUOA PHIANOCH PHIANOCH SŌPH CHTHENTHEBENCH ENTHEBECH ĒCHTHENTHEBETH YIIABŌY LAILAM HARMIOŌUTH SŌN APS IPHIŌS DIAR NEBES CHINEI NOUTHI NOUTHI KOMŌA RAPHŌR HARSAMŌSI STEOBAOCH ANOCH PHRĒ PHRI CHORBAI MAI ABAŌTH IAŌ IPHI ROMBAOTH / CHAOUCH CHŌOUCH RINGCH SPHĒCH CHOOUCHORPHI MOUISRŌ[2] KAMPYCHRĒ GORGIŌRIE LAMPIPYRSI SEIROE OMBRIME MATEORSI NAPHSISAŌTHA Ō OSOR MNEUEI Ō OSARAPI SARAPI[3] Ō OSOR NOBĒCHIS OSOR MNEUEI Ō OSOR NŌPHRIS THŌ THŌ THŌ ITHI ITHI [ITHI] MOU THOURI[4] CHAOUCH CHTHETHŌNI MAPSITHYRIMAPS TITI NYXBI AMOUN BLAMOUNITH BIŌTH THŌDIARAX PHORBORBABŌR CHŌSOĒTH BOLCHOSĒTH ERESCHIGAL HARSAMŌ HARSENOPHRĒ BIRBĒ KAPHIŌ IAŌ ĒIA IAĒ ĒI ĒAIA CHIMNOUTH HARBIŌTH KARACHARAX PHRAX AX NOUMŌR TO TACHAN TO PHRĒ TAUAN CHOUCHE CHOUCHE CHŌX CHŌX CHOUCHOTHI MASKELLI MASKELLI PHNOUCHENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA HYPOCHTHŌN IŌOUTH IAŌOUTH AI AI AI OU OU OU BARBARAI BALĒMAĒTH KĒCHI ATHŌR / SENEZEZOUTH SORO ORMEA CHTH . . . BARMAR PHRIOUREINGX MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPEGANYX OREOPEGANYX LEPETAN LEPETAN PHRIX PHRŌX BIA MASTIGX ANAGKĒ MANTOUENOBOĒL THOURA KRINI ZOUCHE PIPPĒ BECHOCH TA NIKA AKŌY . . . ĒTO KOURA SANKANTHARA SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ IE ĒI EĒ KINXTABAKINX TABAKINX IŌ MOLPĒ IO KABALTH SAMAS SAIŌBOTHŌR . . . BAIŌŌR BAIŌR ATHARBAIŌ ZASAR THARAIŌ, guardian[5] of strong Destiny, who manages my affairs, the thoughts of my soul, which no one can speak out against, not a god, not an angel, not a daimon: arouse yourself for me, / daimon of the dead, and do not use force but fulfill what has been inscribed and inserted into your mouth, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.

1. Neith is the Egyptian goddess of Sais. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 512–17, s.v. "Neith."
2. MOUISRO is "Lion-Ram." See l. 36 below, and *PGM* III. 659 and n.; XXXVI. 351. [R.K.R.]
3. This invocation of Sarapis is peculiar because the god is named by his two names, the older Osarapis and the common Sarapis. In addition, the three sacred bulls of Apis are named: Osor Nobechis (Buchis), Osor Mnevis, and Osor Nophris (Onuphis). Cf. *PGM* IV. 140; XL. For bull cults in Egypt, see E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1938). [R.K.R.]
4. THOURI is Egyptian Thoeris, the hippopotamus goddess. See *PGM* XII. 113 and n. [R.K.R.]
5. μελητής, "guardian," seems to occur only here. The common term is ἐπιμελητής. [E.N.O.]



IAI IAŌ ĒII AII AŌĒA IIII YYY, draw off, thrust away every member of this dead body and the spirit of this tent[7] and cause him to serve / against Karosa, whom Thelo bore. Aye, lord daimon, attract, inflame, destroy, burn, cause her to swoon[8] from love as she is being burnt, inflamed. Sting the tortured soul, the heart, of Karosa, whom Thelo bore, until she leaps forth[9] and comes to Apalos, whom Theonilla bore, out of passion and love, in this very hour, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. As long as the divine mystery remains within you,[10] do not allow Karosa herself, whom Thelo bore, to think of her [own] husband,[11] her child, drink, food, but let her come melting for passion and love and intercourse, especially[12] yearning for the intercourse of Apalos whom Theonilla bore, in this very hour, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil and R. Kotansky (ll. 16–47).

PGM XIXb. 1–3

*" . . . may he [bring] him, NN, to her, NN" (add the usual). Write with myrrh mixed with blood on leaves of flax.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

6. On the name Zas, see *PGM* II. 117 and n.

7. For similar anthropological terms for "body," see *PGM* I. 319; IV. 448, 1951, 1970, 2141.

8. *σκότωσον* (Preisendanz: "umfinstern") refers to the Hellenistic topos of women swooning with love. See, for example, Apollonius, *Argon.* 3. 960–72 of Medea, for even a witch may swoon with love. [E.N.O.]

9. That is, from her house. Cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 71, 359 for the same expression.

10. According to A. D. Nock, *JEA* 11 (1925):158, *μυστήριον* is the magical act. So the meaning seems to be "as long as the magical spell which I have worked remains in effect on you." [E.N.O.]

11. *ἀνδρί* is strange and probably incorrect. The verb *μνημονεύω* requires either a genitive or an accusative, and the words in parallel construction here are genitive. [E.N.O.]

12. *πλείστω*[ς], which Preisendanz has retained despite the fact that this adverbial form occurs only in a quotation by Galen from Hippocrates where the manuscripts actually have the regular form *πλεῖστα*. Schubart (in Preisendanz's apparatus) suggests *πλεῖστα*. [E.N.O.]

PGM XIXb. 4–18

*__Love spell of attraction over a dog__:[1] Onto a cutting[2] / of hieratic papyrus write with myrrh and dedicate it[3] to one who has died a violent death.[4] "[I adjure you] by the SENAKŌTHO ARPOPSYG KAMOUO ORPS THŌ OUCH PETI ANOUP PETIOPARIN AUT KINOTHEN CHYCH AAA ROPS UICHTHEN / KREMME SECHAXTHNE NEOUPHTHE AKĒCH CHAKE PŌPHOPI KACHE ANOCH[5] . . . ĒTHMĒ ARI MĒS THOD . . . PE; you, who are able, / [raise] your body and go [to her, NN], until she is [willing]. . . . "
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XX. 1–4

*. . . ***[Spell for] head[ache]***:

". . . for you to mortals are . . .

. . .

. . . fulfill my perfect charm."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. Among the numerous studies of this papyrus, three are especially helpful: P. Maas, *JHS* 62 (1942): 33–38; L. Koenen, *CEg* 37 (1962): 167–74; A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 6 (1970): 193–212. The text has been restored on the basis of Pap. Berol. 7504, Pap. Amherst and Pap. Oxyr. *ined.* D. L. Page, *Select Papyri*, vol. III (*L.C.L.*): *Literary Papyri Poetry*, no. 146 (pp. 604–5) has reprinted part of Wilamowitz's text of Pap. Berol. 7504. His interpretation of the situation and translation of the text is almost comic.

PGM XX. 4–12

[The charm] of the Syrian woman of Gadara, / for any inflammation:

"[The[1] most majestic goddess' child] was set
Aflame as an initiate[2]—and on
The highest mountain peak was set aflame—
[And fire did greedily gulp] seven springs
Of wolves, seven of bears, seven of lions,[3]
But seven dark-eyed maidens[4] / with dark urns

1. For a love spell over a dog, see *PGM* XXXVI. 370.

2. The term *τομίον*, found only once in *PGM*, is most likely a reference to a cutting of papyrus; cf. the technical term *ἱερατικόν*. See Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 181.

3. Preisendanz understands this as "deposit with."

4. Preisendanz assumes that this term refers to the dog (cf. *PGM* IV. 1882–85, 2578; XXXVI. 370), but the spell is too fragmentary to be sure.

5. For the interpretation of these magical words see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. PETIANOUP is a personal name and means "He whom Anubis has given"; cf. Ranke, *Ägyptische Personennamen* I, 122, no. 11. CHAKE PŌPHOPI KACHE ANOCH, etc., is equivalent to "Darkness, Apophis, darkness I am. . . ." [R.K.R./J.B.]

1. These lines offer some whole and partial dactylic hexameters. They have been rearranged and used as the reconstructed Hymn 28; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 265. This reconstructed hymn has been translated here. [E.N.O.]

2. L. Koenen, "Der brennende Horusknabe. Zu einem Zauberspruch des Philinna-Papyrus," *CEg* 37 (1962): 167–74, identifies the *παῖς μυστοδόκος* as the Horus child. Cf. the story of Isis and the child of the rulers of Byblos in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 15–16, 357B–C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 325–28. Cf. also the story of Demeter and Demophoon in *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 231–55, with commentary by N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 231–34. Furthermore, see the note by J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus*, vol. II, *LCL* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979) 311–17. [E.N.O.]

3. On these springs and animals, see Koenen, "Der brennende Horusknabe," 171–74. Cf. P. Maas, "The Philinna Papyrus," *JHS* 62 (1942): 33–38, esp. 37: "I see no plausible connection of wells with wild beasts." [E.N.O.]

Drew water and becalmed the restless fire."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XX. 13–19

***The charm*[5] *of the Thessalian Philinna, [for] headache*:**

/ "Flee, headache, [lion] flees beneath a rock,
Wolves flee; horses flee on uncloven hoof
[And speed] beneath blows [of my perfect charm]."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXI. 1–29

*"[Hear me, lord, whose secret name is unspeakable,] at whose [name, when] the daimons [hear it, even they are terrified; you of whom the sun] BAAL BNICH BAALA [AMĒN PTIDAIOU ARNEBOUAT, and the moon], ASENPEMPH [THŌOUTH BARBARAIŌNĒ OSRARMEMPSECHEI], / are [tireless] eyes[1] [shining in the pupils] of men's [eyes; you of whom heaven is the head,] air the body, [earth the feet, the water around you, ocean. You are the Good] Daimon, the lord, [the one who begets good things, nurtures and increases] the [whole] inhabited [earth and all the] / universe. Yours is the eternal [processional way, in which is established] your name which is seven-lettered [in] harmony with the seven [vowel sounds, which are pronounced according to] the twenty-eight forms of the moon, [AEĒIOYŌ AE]ĒIOYŌ AE[Ē]IOYŌ AEĒ[I]OYŌ, / you whose good emanations from the [stars are daimons,] Fortunes and Fates by whom [are given wealth, success,] a happy old age, a good burial.[2]

"[And] you, [lord of life, ruling] the upper and lower regions,[3] [whose justice is not shut off,] whose glorious [name] the Muses praise, [you whom the eight] / guards (Ē, Ō, CHŌ, CHOUCH, [NOUN, NAUNI,] AMOUN and IO)[4] [attend], you who possess the inerrant [truth]; many moving bodies [will not overpower] me; no spirit, no visitation, [no daimon, no evil being will oppose me, for I will have your name as a single phylactery [in my heart] /, PHIRIMNOUN [A]NOCH[5] SOLBAI SANACHESRŌ . . . ARCHĒN SE KOPŌ[6] K . . . OAI . . . NOUST [NOUSI SIETHŌ] SIETHŌ BENOUAI.[7] . . ."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese. See also the parallels in XII. 239–44, 252–57; XII. 765–99.

4. On the identity and role of these maidens see Maas, "The Philinna Papyrus," 37–38; Koenen, "Der brennende Horusknabe," 169.

5. This charm seems to be a *historiola*. Cf. Maas, "The Philinna Papyrus," 37; Koenen, "Der brennende Horusknabe," 169, 173–74.

1. For sun and moon as cosmic eyes, cf. the cosmic body of the deity in *PGM* XII. 242–45.

2. For the divine gifts, see also *PGM* XIII. 782–83.

3. Or "Upper and Lower Egypt"; cf. *PGM* XII. 256.

4. This is the "Ogdoad" of Hermopolis; see S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* 184; Nun-Naunet, Huh-Hauket, Kuk-Kauket, Amun-Amaunet. [J.B.] For these eight guards, see *PGM* XIII. 743–45, 788–89.

5. These words are equivalent to Egyptian and mean "I am he who came forth from Nun." Cf. *PGM* XII. 345; III. 549–58. [R.K.R.]

6. These three groups of letters may be Greek words: ". . . rule. I weary you. . . ." If so, their context cannot be determined, as they are set amid magical words. [M.S.]

7. BENOU is the Phoenix. Cf. *PGM* II. 104 and n. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 594–96, s.v. "Phönix."

PGM XXIIa. 1

*"We would flee [from Trojan battle before death and ruin."]
*Tr.: John Scarborough. This verse, probably Homer, *Iliad* 17. 714, has not preserved its title, though Preisendanz (on the basis of the following spell) believed it was a recipe for hemorrhage. The verse begins *P. Berol.* 9873, a collection of Homeric verses to be used for magico-medical purposes.

PGM XXIIa. 2–9

*__*Another, for bloody flux*__:
"the wrath of Apollo, far-darting lord."[1]
Spoken to blood, this [verse] cures bloody flux. / But if [the patient] recovers and shows ingratitude, take a pan of coals, throw [it in the altar (?)], and place the amulets over the smoke; add a root, and write this verse in addition:
"the Far-shooter, having attained his aim, has, therefore, given pain and will give it further."[2]
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 9–10

*__*Write [this] for pain in the breasts and uterus*__:
"[him] / daughter of Zeus suckled and the wheat-bearing earth bore."[3]
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 11–14

*Carried [with a magnetic] stone, or even spoken, [this verse] serves as a __*contraceptive*__:
"Would that you be fated to be unborn and to die unmarried."[4]
Write this on a piece of new [papyrus] and tie it up with hairs of a mule.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 15–17

*[__*For one who suffers from elephantiasis*__, write this] verse and give it [to him] to wear:
"[As when a] woman stains ivory with Phoenician purple."[5]
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 18–27

*"Greetings, Helios; greetings, Helios; greetings, god over the heavens, with your name [being that] of the all-powerful! From the / seventh heaven [give] me [steady] favor before every race of men and all women, but especially before her, NN. Make me as beautiful in her presence as IAŌ is, as rich as SABAŌTH, to be loved / like LAILAM, as great as BARBARAS, as honored as MICHAËL, as famous as GABRIĒL, and [I shall be] highly favored."
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

1. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 75.
2. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 96.
3. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 2. 548; also 8. 486; *Od.* 7. 332. But metaphorically ἄρουρα can mean the receiving of seed by a woman and bearing fruit (see, e.g., Theognis 582).
4. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 3. 40.
5. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 4. 141.

PGM XXIIb. 1–26

*__Prayer of Jacob__: "O Father of the patriarchs, Father of the All, [Father] of the [cosmic] powers, [Creator of all] . . . , Creator of angels and archangels, the Creator of the [saving] names. I summon you, Father of all powers, Father of the entire [cosmos] and of all / creation inhabited and uninhabited, to whom the [cherubim] are subjected, [who] favored Abraam by [giving the] kingdom [to him] . . . : hear me, O God of the powers, O [God] of angels [and] archangels, [King]. . . . LELEACH . . . ARŌACH TOU ACHABOL . . . Ō . . . YRAM TOU . . . BOACH KA . . . TH . . . RA . . . CHACH MARIROK . . . YRAM . . . ITHTH SESOIK, / he who sits upon [holy] Mount Sinai; . . . I . . . BO . . . ATHEM . . . he who sits upon the sea; . . . EA . . . BL . . . D . . . K . . . E . . . THĒS . . . PARACHTHĒ . . . , he who sits upon the serpentine gods; the [god who sits upon the] sun, IAŌ; he who sits [upon] . . . TA . . . Ō . . . I . . . CH; he [who sits] upon the . . . the . . . MA . . . SI, ABRIĒL LOUĒL . . . M . . . resting place of the [cherubim] . . . CHIRE . . . OZ . . . I . . . / to the ages of ages, God ABAŌTH ABRATHIAŌTH [SABAŌTH] ADŌNAI star . . . and BRILEŌNAI ADŌNAI CHA . . . AŌTH the Lord of the all.

"I call upon you who give power [over] the Abyss [to those] above, to those below, and to those under the earth; hear the one who has [this] prayer, O Lord God of the Hebrews, EPAGAĒL ALAMN, of whom is [the] eternal power, ELŌĒL SOUĒL. Maintain the one who possesses this prayer, who is from the stock of Israel and from those / who have been favored by you, O god of gods, you who have the secret name, SABAŌTH . . . I . . . CH, O god of gods, amen, amen. You who produce the snow, over the stars, beyond the ages, [and] who constantly traverse [the cosmos], and who cause the fixed and movable stars to pursue all things by your creative activity, fill me with wisdom. Strengthen me, Master; fill my heart with good, Master, as a terrestrial angel, as one who has become / immortal, as one who has received this gift from you, Amen, amen!"

Pronounce the ***[Prayer of] Jacob*** seven times facing north and east.

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM XXIIb. 27–31

*__Request for a dream oracle, to a lamp__: Purify yourself before your everyday lamp, and speak [the following] to the lamplight, until it is extinguished: "Be well, O lamp, who light the way to Harsentephtha and to Harsentechtha, and to the great [father] Osiris-Michael. / [If] the petition I have made is appropriate, [show] me water [and] a grove. If otherwise, show me water and a stone."

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM XXIIb. 32–35

*__Another__ request for a dream oracle__: Take your last morsel of food, and [show it to the] lamp, and while showing it, say [the invocation]. After saying [it] chew up [the morsel], drink wine on top of it, and go to sleep without speaking to anyone. If this is [performed, immediately] you will see someone speaking to you.

". . . OI . . . AL . . . OSMŌ . . . PRA, . . . / I am LAMPSYS, if this matter[1] has been granted to me, show a courtesan; otherwise, a soldier."

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

1. Or "such-and-such a matter."

PGM XXIII. 1–70

*[But[1] when with vows] and prayers [I had appealed]
[To them], the tribes of dead, I took [the] sheep
And slit their throats [beside the trough, and down]
The dark blood [flowed. From out of Ere]bos
Came gathering [the spirits] of the dead: /
[New brides, unmarried youths,] toil-worn old men,
[And] tender [maidens] with fresh-mourning hearts,
[And many] pierced by bronze-tipped spears, [men] slain
In battle, still in armor stained with gore.
[These many] thronged from ev'ry side around
The trough / with [awful] cry. Pale fear seized me.
[But][2] having drawn the sharp sword at my thigh,
[I sat,] allowing not the flitting heads
Of the dead to draw nearer to [the blood],
And I in conversation spoke with them.
(He has said what must be done:) /
"O[3] rivers, earth, and you below, punish
Men done with life, whoe'er has falsely sworn;
Be witnesses, fulfill for us this charm.
I've come to ask how I may reach the land
Of that Telemachus, my own son whom /
I left still in a nurse's arms." For in
This fashion went the charm most excellent.
(He tells what charms must be sung:)
"[Hear][4] me, gracious and guardian, well-born
[An]ubis; [hear, sly] one, O secret mate,
Osiris' savior; come, Hermes, come, robber,
Well-trussed, infernal Zeus; / †Grant [my desire]†,[5]
Fulfill this charm. [Come hither, Hades,] Earth,
Unfailing Fire, O Titan Helios;
[Come,] Iaweh, Phthas, Phre, guardian of laws,
[And Neph]tho, much revered; Ablanatho,
In blessings rich, with [fiery] serpents girded,
Earth-plowing, goddess with head high, [Abrax]as,
A daimon famous by your cosmic name,
Who rule earth's [axis], starry dance, the Bears'
Cold light. [And come] to me, surpassing all
In self-control, O Phren. I'm calling [you],

1. Vv. 1–10 equal Homer, *Od.* 11. 34–43.

2. Vv. 11–13 equal Homer, *Od.* 11. 48–50.

3. Vv. 15–17 equal Homer, *Il.* 3. 278–80 except that in v. 15 the *Iliad* has *καὶ* in place of *ὦ*. In v. 16 the *Iliad* has *τίννυσθον* and the second hemistich of v. 17 appears in the *Iliad* as *φυλάσσετε δ' ὅρκια πίστα*.

4. Because of the fragmentary condition of the following lines (25–43) the reconstructed text of Hymn 24 has been used.

5. "Grant my desire": [*κῦρσ*]*αι δωσάμενοι*. The translation is very tentative, for the Greek is uncertain. Preisendanz translates "schenkt Gewährung"; Vieillefond (p. 286) translates "ratifiez mes voeux" but in this commentary says: "Il faut comprendre: *κῦρσαι δ*—'ayant accordé de ratifier.'" Preisendanz reports that this line begins with a space for six letters, but Wünsch's *κῦρσα*]*ι* fills only five spaces. Perhaps we should read *καὶ ἐπ*]*ὶ*, i.e., *καὶ ἐπιδωσάμενοι*, "and having given freely."

O B[r]i[ar]eus and Ph[r]asios and you,
O Ixion and Birth and youth's decline,
Fair-burning Fire, / [and may you come,] Infernal
And Heav'nly One, and [you who govern] dreams,
And Sirius, who. . . ."[6]
Standing beside the trough, I cried [these words],
[For well] did I remember Circe's counsels,[7]
[Who] knew [all] poisons which the broad earth grows.[8] /
[Then came] a lofty wave of Acheron
Which fights with lions, [Cocytus] and Lethe
And mighty Polyphlegethon.[9] A host
[Of dead] stood round the trough, [and first] there came
The spirit of Elpenor, my comrade.[10]
(And so on.)

So, since this is the situation, either the poet himself suppressed[11] the remainder because it was an elaboration of the spell in order to preserve the decorum of the work, or the Peisistratides,[12] as they were assembling the other verses, withheld these because they considered them foreign to the passage here. †This is my opinion for many reasons. And so†[13] I have myself inserted the lines as a rather valuable creation of epic poetry.[14] / You will find this whole document on the shelves in the archives of our former home town, the colony of Aelia Capitolina[15] in Palestine, and in Nysa in Caria and, up to the thirteenth verse,[16] in Rome near the baths of Alexander[17] in the beautiful library in the Pantheon,[18] whose collection of books I

6. Preisendanz's version ends here. The remaining lines are taken from Vieillefond.

7. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 15. 412.

8. V. 39 equals Homer, *Il.* 7. 741 where ἤδη instead of οἶδα is read.

9. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10. 513–14. In v. 41 the noun Πολυφλεγέθων is a hapax legomenon (see O. Höfer, in Roscher 3/2 [1902–9] 2713). *Od.* 10. 513 has Πυριφλεγέθων.

10. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 11. 51. With this Homeric line the verse portion of the papyrus concludes. The remaining section contains Julius Africanus' own evaluation of the verses.

11. We seem to have another example here of Homeric criticism in antiquity. Interestingly enough, *Od.* 11. 38–43 were rejected by several ancient scholars, including Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus.

12. A reference to the tradition in late antiquity that Peisistratus was responsible for the earliest recension of the Homeric poems. For a discussion of the subject, see J. A. Davison, "The Transmission of the Text," in A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings, eds., *A Companion to Homer* (London: Macmillan, 1962) 215–33, esp. 219–20.

13. The translation is tentative. Vieillefond daggers these words, for they seem hopelessly corrupt.

14. Line 49 translates ἅτε κύημα πολυτελέστερον ἐπιεικῆς, but this a strange and otherwise unparalleled meaning of κύημα.

15. Aelia Capitolina is the name given by Hadrian (A.D. 131) to the rebuilt Jerusalem. The statement seems to confirm, at least partially, Jerome's claim (*De viris illustr.* 63) that Julian was born at Emmaus in Palestine. Others call him a Libyan by birth.

16. This is a strange remark, for the first thirteen verses are Homeric. Surely this collection of volumes included the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

17. The Thermae Alexandrinae were constructed by rebuilding and enlarging the Thermae Neronianae in the Campus Martinus just northeast of the Pantheon. These baths had their own water supply from the Alexandrian Aqueduct. See *Life of Severus Alexander* 20. 3–5 and 44. 4–6. Cf. *CAH* vol. 12 (1939), pp. 66 and 477.

18. Others, including Vieillefond, understood the words in ll. 53–54 to mean that Africanus built or served as the architect of the library. Yet we have no evidence that he was an architect but abundant testimony that he was a writer and intellect. It seems more probable, therefore, that Africanus here is saying that he "built the collection of books which constituted the library."

myself built for Augustus.[19] /

(55) Kestos 18[20] of Julius Africanus

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. P. Oxy. 412 contains an excerpt from book 18 of the *Kestoi* of Sextus Julius Africanus, a Christian writer of the third century A.D. The work dealt with numerous subjects, including medicine, agriculture, natural history, military art, and, as this passage shows, with Homeric criticism and magic. Since Preisendanz prints only a part of the papyrus, the translation uses the full text as provided by Jean-René Vieillefond, *Les "Cestes" de Julius Africanus. Étude sur l'ensemble des fragments avec édition, traduction et commentaires* (Firenze: Edizioni Sansoni Antiquariato; Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1970) 277–91.

PGM XXIVa. 1–25

*"Great is the Lady Isis!" Copy of a holy book found in the archives of Hermes: /
5 The method is that concerning the 29 letters[1] through which letters Hermes and
10 Isis, who was seeking / Osiris,[2] her brother and husband, [found him].

Call upon Helios and all the gods in the deep concerning those things for which
15 you want to receive an omen. Take / 29 leaves of a male date palm and write on each
20 of the leaves the names of the gods. Pray and then pick them up two / by two. Read the last remaining leaf and you will find your omen, how things are,[3] and you will
25 be answered / clearly.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XXIVb. 1–15

*On the right . . . on the left parts of [the neck . . .] upon the right shoulder . . .
5 on the nipple of the [right breast,] / on the left [shoulder] . . . shall receive . . . on
10 the nipple of the [left breast] . . . on the breast . . . for, the . . . receiving, great . . .
15 and the woman will (?) flee outside, men on . . . drugs . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This very fragmentary text describes the engraving of a magic doll or similar object. The fragment may contain portions of a love charm similar to that of *PGM* IV. 296ff.

PGM XXV. a–d.

a. *P.Oxy.* 959, 7.2 × 13 cm, contains a text of eight lines of magical characters and letters dated to about the third century A.D. The text remains unpublished.

b. *P. Freib. inedit.* (described by Preisendanz, P. Un. Bibl. Freiburg i. Br., O. Nr. 7.5 × 9 cm) is an unpublished, opisthographic text containing "characters" and a magical figure. Sixth century A.D.

c. *P. Cair.* 10434 measures 5.1 × 6.6 cm (no date provided) and contains the following text: "†Holy Lord Zabaot" (var. of SABAŌTH).

d. *PSI inedit.*, 6.5 × 5 cm, is described by Preisendanz as a tiny fragment containing a figure with a long nose, the point of which ends in what appear to be droplets. Behind it is a similar figure, and above both heads there is yet another

19. August is Severus Alexander.

20. Notice that, although the title of the work is in the plural κεστοί, each individual book seems to have the singular title κεστός.

1. According to W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1918) 369, the twenty-nine letters represent the Coptic alphabet.

2. On Isis seeking Osiris, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358 A–B; 52, 372 B–C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 339–40, 499; idem, *The Isis-Book* 219.

3. Grenfell and Hunt, *P. Oxy.* 6, pp. 200–201, translate: "and you will find wherein [Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* 110–11, ". . . in what things"] your omen consists." The translation follows the punctuation of Preisendanz, who translates: "und du wirst dein Orakel finden darüber, worauf es dir [Hopfner, *OZ* II, 299 adds ⟨σα⟩] ankommt." [W.C.G.]

head with a very long nose. On the reverse side appear three words of which only "PHOIBIŌN" can be made out.

PGM XXVI. 1–21

The numerically arranged oracular text, *P.Oxy.* XII. 1477, is here omitted as it has been shown to belong to the corpus known as the *Sortes Astrampsychi*, for which see Gerald M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astampsychi*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 58 (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1974); see also idem, "The Date of the *Sortes Astramspychi*," *ICS* 1 (1976): 53–58; idem, "A New Papyrus Codex of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*," in *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M. W. Knox on the Occasion of his 65th birthday* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1979) 434–39; see also *P.Oxy.* XLVII. 3330. The editor is also preparing an edition of the *Sortes* for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana.

PGM XXVII. 1–5

Victory charm**, for Sarapammon, son of Apollonius: "[1] Give victory and safety at the stadium and in the crowd to the above-mentioned Sarapammon. In the name of SYLIKYS Ē SYS. . . ."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXVIIIa. 1–7

*"OR OR[1] PHOR PHOR SABAŌTH ADŌNE SALAMA TARCHEI ABRASAX, I bind you, scorpion of Artemisia, / three-hundred and fifteen times, on the fifteenth day of Pachon. . . ."
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXVIIIb. 1–9

*"ŌR ŌR[2] PHŌR PHŌR IAŌ ADŌNAEI / SABAŌTH SALAMAN TARCHCHEI, I bind you, scorpion of Artemisos, on the 13th."
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXVIIIc. 1–11

*†††† ŌR ŌR[3] PHŌR PHŌR [ADŌNAI] / SALAMA RTHACHI, I bind you, Artemisian scorpion, on the fourth day of Phamenoth, / PHŌR OR OR OSOA DDD RRR."
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXIX. 1–10

*"I used to command the Rhodian[1] winds
And your regions of the sea
Whenever I'd want to set sail.
Whenever I'd want to stay there,
I'd say to the regions of the sea:
'Don't [smite] the seas with your blows;

1. According to Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 12 (1916) 237, magical symbols are given in the papyrus at this point, but the editors did not provide them.

1. The name should probably be articulated HŌR, i.e., Horus, who is often invoked in Egyptian scorpion spells. See Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 51–85. [R.K.R.]

2. See n. 1 above.

3. See n. 1 above.

1. It seems preferable to retain the Ῥοδίοις of the papyrus rather than to follow Preisendanz in emending to Ῥοθίοις. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

Lay smooth the brine for seafarers.'
Then ev'ry fair wind[2] is raised;
They shut out the blasts, and so, lord,[3] grant
The impassable to be passable."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This rather charming and unpretentious poem is surely not a part of the regular *PGM* material. It is rather a poem—or a fragment of a poem—which is perhaps an ancient treatment of the theme that appears in Goethe's two poems, *Meeresstille* and *Glückliche Fahrt*. Because of the literary aspect, J. U. Powell included these lines among the *Lyrica Adespota* in his *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925) 195, no. 33. Despite the obvious poetic quality, no one has satisfactorily explained the meter (cf. Powell, p. 196). Grenfell thought that the verses are accentual, while Schmidt believed that they are a blend of trochaic and Cretic. For the references, see Preisendanz, ad loc. Whatever the case, the present translation uses a blend of iambic and anapaestic feet in an attempt to give in English some of the general effect of the Greek. These verses have been emended and stand as the reconstructed Hymn 29; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 265–66.

PGM XXXII. 1–19

*"I adjure you, Evangelos, by Anubis and Hermes and all the rest down below; attract and bind / Sarapias whom Helen bore, to this Herais, whom Thermoutharin bore,[1] now, now; quickly, quickly. By her soul and heart / attract Sarapias herself, whom [Helen] bore from her own womb,[2] MAEI OTE ELBŌSATOK ALAOUBĒTŌ ŌEIO . . . AĒN. Attract and [bind / the soul and heart of Sarapias], whom [Helen bore, to this] Herais, [whom] Thermoutharin [bore] from her womb [now, now; quickly, quickly]."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This spell, without a title, is clearly a love spell in which one woman seeks to attract another woman. Thus it belongs to the small group of lesbian spells. In form, these lines contain one spell repeated, with slight variations, three times: 1–9, 10–14, 14–19.

PGM XXXIIa. 1–25

*"As[1] Typhon is the adversary of Helios, so inflame the heart and soul of that[2] Amoneios whom / Helen bore, even from her own womb, ADŌNAI ABRASAX PINOUTI[3] and SABAŌS; burn the soul and heart of that Amoneios whom Helen / bore, for [love of] this Serapiakos whom Threpte bore, now, now; quickly, quickly."

"In this same hour and on this same day, from this [moment] on, mingle / together[4] the souls of both and cause that Amoneios whom Helen bore to be this Serapiakos whom / Threpte bore, through every hour, every day and every night. Wherefore, ADŌNAI, loftiest of gods, whose name is the true / one, carry out the matter, ADŌNAI."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This section contains two spells—or one spell repeated with variations.

2. For ὅλος of the papyrus perhaps οὖρος should be read: "fair wind" is what the author seems to mean.

3. Can ἄναξ be Helios as represented by the famous Colossus Rhodius? Powell dates this poem to the period ca. A.D. 250–80, and the huge statue of Helios was complete ca. A.D. 168 and destroyed ca. A.D. 224. Yet the memory of this "wonder" continued for centuries. In any case, Helios was an important god on the island of Rhodes, and a reference to him seems appropriate.

1. Herais has a Greek name, while her mother, Thermoutarin, has an Egyptian name. [R.K.R.] The spelling of the names follows Preisendanz; cf. the apparatus ad loc.

2. On this formula, see D. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976): 131–32.

1. The opening statement is troublesome and has attracted some attention. See A. S. Hunt, "An Incantation in the Ashmolean Museum," *JEA* 15 (1929): 155–57; A. D. Nock, *JEA* 16 (1931): 124; K. Preisendanz, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 50 (1930): 748–49.

2. As the pronouns indicate, this spell is concerned with homosexual attraction.

3. This is Egyptian and means "O/The god." See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

4. συγκαταμείγνυμι is a concept from friendship literature: true friends are two souls in one body, *amicus est alter ego*. The term is also erotic just as the simple μείγνυμι is regularly. [E.N.O.]

PGM XXXIII. 1–25

*"ABLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARACH
BLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARA
LANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMAR
ANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMA
NATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAM
ATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARA
THANABLANAMACHARAMARACHAR
ANABLANAMACHARAMARACHA
NABLANAMACHARAMARACH
ABLANAMACHARAMARA
BLANAMACHARAMAR
LANAMACHARAMA
ANAMACHARAM
NAMACHARA
AMACHAR
MACHA
ACH
A

"O Tireless one, KOK KOUK KOUL, save / Tais whom [Taraus] bore from every shivering fit,[1] whether tertian[2] or quartan[3] or quotidian fever, or an every-other-day fever,[4] or [one] by night, or [even] a mild fever,[5] because I am the ancestral, tireless god, KOK KOUK[6] KOUL, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXXIV. 1–24

*". . . [the sun] will stand still; and should I order the moon, it will come down; and should I wish to delay the day, the night will remain for me; and should / we[1] in turn ask for day, the light will not depart; and should I wish to sail the sea, I do not need[2] a ship; and should I wish to go through the air, / I will be lifted up. It is only[3] an erotic drug that I do not find, not one that can cause, not one that can stop love. For the earth, in fear of the / god, does not produce one. But if anyone has it and gives it, I beg, I beseech him: 'Give! I wish to drink, I wish to anoint myself.'"[4]

"You[5] say that a handsome phantom keeps appearing to your daughter, / and this seems unreasonable[6] to you? Yet how many others have fallen in love with 'un-

1. Cf. *PGM* XVIIIb. 5.

2. τριταῖος (πυρετός), as in the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* 3. 21 and *Nature of Man* 1. 5, is literally "every-third-day-fever."

3. In contrast to *PGM* XVIIIb. 6, the papyrus has the normal τεταρταῖος.

4. Pollux, *On.* 1. 65 cod. B suggests the reading παρημέρινος; it does not occur in the medical writers. [J.S.]

5. λεπτοπυρετοῦ is a textual emendation; however, the word is unattested in LSJ, s.v. Cf. LSJ, *Suppl.* s.v. "λεπτοπυρέτιον."

6. KOUK is Egyptian *kky*, "darkness"; cf. *PGM* XIII. 788–89.

1. The sudden appearance of the person plural is strange.

2. This use of the present tense occurs in the midst of a series of future tenses. [E.N.O.]

3. Although μόνον οὐ regularly means "almost," that sense does not seem to fit here. [E.N.O.]

4. The text here is uncertain. For the translation, the text of Preisendanz has been used.

5. For the following lines see, especially, the study of Dodds mentioned below.

6. The papyrus reads παράδοξον here and παρ' ἀλόγων (παραλόγων) in l. 22, and so both Dodds and Preisendanz print their versions; but in a conversation it is reasonable to expect the second person to repeat the word which the first speaker has used. The translation understands παραδόξων in l. 22. [E.N.O.]

reasonable' bodies[7] . . .?"[8]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This fragment belongs not to a magical spell but rather to some literary piece, perhaps a Greek romance. See C. Bonner, "A Papyrus Describing Magical Powers," *TAPA* 52 (1921): 111–18; E. R. Dodds, "A Fragment of a Greek Novel (P.Mich. inv. no. 5)" in *Studies in Honor of Gilbert Norwood*, *Phoenix Supp.* I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952) 133–37. Dodds's theory that this fragment is part of a lost Greek romance seems logical in light of the conversational tone throughout, but the tone of ll. 19–24 makes this theory almost certain.

PGM XXXV. 1–42

*"I call upon you, who sit over the Abyss, BYTHATH; I also call upon the one who sits in the first heaven, MARMAR; I call upon you, who sit in the 2nd heaven, RAPHAĒL; I call upon you, who sit in the 3rd heaven, SOURIĒL;[1] / I call upon you, who sit in the 4th heaven, IPHIAPH;[2] I call upon you, who sit in the 5th heaven, PITIĒL; I call upon you, who sit in the [6th] heaven, MOURIATHA.

"I call upon you, who sit over the snow, TELZĒ; I call upon you, EDANŌTH, who sit over the sea; I call upon you, SAESECHEL, who sit over the serpents; / I call upon you, TABIYM, who sit over the rivers; I call upon you, BIMADAM; I call upon you, CHADRAOUN, who sit in the midst of CHADRALLOU, in between the two cherubim and seraphim, as they praise you, the lord of the whole host which is under heaven.

"I conjure you all by the god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,[3] that / you obey my authority completely, each one of you obeying perfectly, and that you stay beside me and give me favor, influence, victory, and strength, before all, small men and great, as well as gladiators, soldiers, civilians, women, girls, boys, and everybody, quickly, quickly, because of the / power of IAŌ, the strength of SABAŌTH, the clothing of ELOĒ,[4] the might of ADŌNAI, and the crown of ADŌNAI. Grant also to me favor and victory before all, as you have given good gifts to ALBANATHANALBA and AKRAMACHAMARI; and this is why, then, I am exhorting and conjuring / you that you give favor, victory, power, and spirit on behalf of me, the three-crown-bearing ruler, quickly, [quickly,] because I conjure you, IAŌ SABAŌTH AŌ SABAŌTH Ō SABAŌTH SABAŌTH A ABAŌTH BAŌTH AŌTH ŌTH TH."



"Look above the spir its of the opponent toward the spirits of dignity [and] exaltation. I call upon / and exhort and conjure you that you obey unfailingly my every command, for

"I conjure you by the god SARACHAEL [by] BILIAM,[5] and [by] the god who made heaven and

7. *σωμάτων* is synonomous with *εἴδωλον*.

8. Dodds (see n. 4 above) 137 assumes the speaker is female, but the gender is not indicated in the text.

1. For the name SURIEL, see the discussion by Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 46. A number of other parallels esp. with Judaism are noted in Preisendanz's apparatus.

2. For the name IPHIAPH, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 12, n. 7.

3. The papyrus reads Abram, Isaka, Iachōb.

4. For the garment of ELŌE, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 64.

5. The prophet Bileam from Pethor is known from Nm 22:5–24, 25; 31:8, 16; Dt 23:4, etc. His

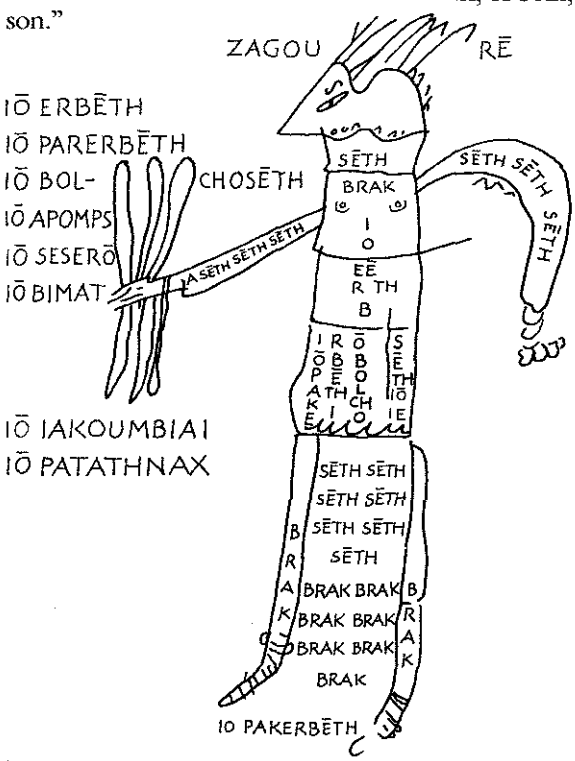
my sake, the three
[crown-] bearing one,
SABATH. . . ."

earth and
everything in
it. . . ."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The spell has a number of parallels in a Christianized Jewish silver lamella from Beirut; see A. Heron de Villefosse, *Florilegium . . . dédiés à . . . de Vogüé* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1909) 287–95.

PGM XXXVI. 1–34

***Charm to restrain.** Works on everything: Taking a lead lamella, hammered out while cold, draw with a bronze stylus the creature below and [write] the names, and deposit it nearby and in front [the person]: "Come Typhon, who sit on the under-[world] gate; / IŌ ERBĒTH, who killed his own brother,[1] IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ SESENRŌ IŌ BIMAT IAKOYMBIAI ABERRAMENTHŌOY LERTHEXANAX ETHRELYOŌTH MEMAREBA, of Seth, BOLKOL, fear your uninhibited son."



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

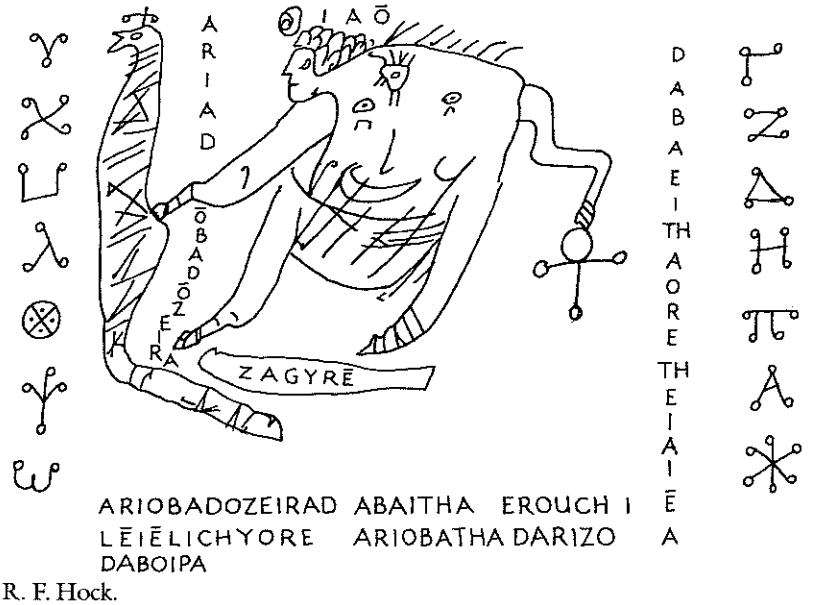
PGM XXXVI. 35–68

***Charm to restrain anger and to secure favor and an excellent charm for gaining victory in the courts** (it works even against kings; no charm is greater): Take a silver lamella and inscribe with a bronze stylus the following seal of the figure and the names, / and wear it under your garment, and you will have a victory.

connection with magic was proverbial. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* III, 354–82; H. Karp, "Bileam," *RAC* 2 (1954):262–73.

1. Cf. the denial of this deed in *PGM* VII. 964.

The names to be written are these: "IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ELŌAI ABRASAX ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI PEPHTHA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI,[2] supreme angels, give to me, / NN whom NN bore, victory, favor, reputation, advantage over all men and over all women, especially over NN, whom NN bore, for ever and all time." Consecrate it.



*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 69–101

***Love spell of attraction**, excellent divination by fire, than which none is greater. It attracts men to women and women to men / and makes virgins rush out of their homes. Take a pure papyrus and with blood of an ass[3] write the following names and figure, and put in the magical material from the woman you desire. Smear the strip of papyrus with moistened vinegar gum[4] / and glue[5] it to the dry vaulted vapor room of a bath,[6] and you will marvel. But watch yourself so that you are not struck.

The writing is this: "Come, Typhon, who sit on top of the gate, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BALCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ SESENRŌ IŌ BIMAT IAKOUMBIAI ABERRAMENTHŌ OULER- / THEXANAX ETHRELUOŌTH MEMAREBA TOU SĒTH, as you are in flames and on fire, so also the soul, the heart of her, NN, whom NN bore, until she comes loving me, NN, and glues her female pudenda to my male one, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

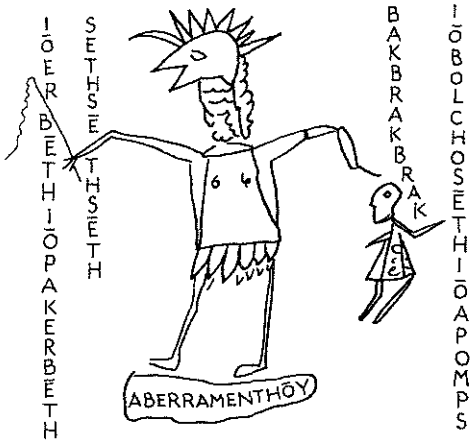
2. PEPHTHA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI is equivalent to Egyptian "He is Ptah the healthy, the lord of the Abyss." [R.K.R.]

3. This is to connect the spell with Typhon, invoked below. Cf. *PGM* IV. 2015, 2100, 2220.

4. *ὀξοκόμι* is from *ὀξυκόμμι* according to LSJ, s.v. It. is also a hapax legomenon. The papyrus has *ὀξωκόμῃ*, which LSJ explains as dative of *ὀξυκόμμι*. See Schmidt, *GGA* 189 (1927):464–56, who refers to Pliny, *NH* 24. 3, 106; cf. also *NH* 13. 20, 66–67 for a discussion of Egyptian gums. [E.N.O.]

5. For the glue, cf. l. 83 below. As the operator does with the strip of papyrus, so may NN do with the operator. [E.N.O.]

6. Cf. *PGM* II. 51.



*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 102–33

******Another* **divination by fire**: Take clean papyrus and write the following names and figure with myrrh ink and say the spell three times.

The names / and the figure to be written are these:

"Hear me, you who founded and destroyed and became the mighty god whom a white sow bore,[7] ALTHAKA EIATHALLATHA SALAIOTH, who appeared in Pelousion,[8] in Heliopolis possessing an iron staff[9] with which you opened up the sea and passed through after you had completely / dried up all the plants. Attract to me, NN, her, NN, aflame, on fire, flying through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep, loving me, NN whom NN bore, until she come and glue[10] her female pudenda to my male one, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly." /

7. The one born of the white sow is Min of Koptos, born of Isis. For discussion, see J. Bergman, "Isis auf der Sau," *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Boreas* 6 (1974): 81–109, esp. 91–92. [R.K.R.]

8. Pelusium was a city in Egypt, situated on the Nile. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 17, 375E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 334–35. Cf. *PGM* VII. 499 and n.

9. See for the iron staff Ex 7:17–24; 14:21–31. For Egyptian parallels, see W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973) 21. [R.K.R.]

10. Cf. above, l. 75 and n.

115	ΙΑΕΩ		S	NOTHEILARIIIAĒ
	IAE		E	OTHEILARIIIAĒ
	IA		S	EILARIIAĒ
	I		E	ILARIIAĒ
			N	LARIIAĒ
	BAPHRENDEMOUN		G	ARIIAĒ
120	BAPHRENDEMOU		E	RIIAĒ
	BAPHRENDEMO		N	IIAĒ
	BAPHRENDEM		B	IAĒ
	BAPHRENDE		A	AĒ
	BAPHREND		R	Ē
125	BAPHREN		PH	PHIRKIALI
	BAPHRE		A	IRKIALI
	BAPHR	/ Attract to me, NN whom	R	RKIALI
	BAPH		A	KIALI
	BA	NN bore, her, NN whom NN	G	IALI
130	B		G	ALI
		bore, aflame, on fire,	Ē	LI
		/ flying through the air,	S	I
		loving me, NN whom NN bore, immediately,		
		immediately; quickly, quickly, accomplish it."		

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 134–60

***Marvelous love spell of attraction**, than which none is greater: Take myrrh / and male frankincense, put them in a drinking cup and add an *archē*[11] of vinegar, and at the third hour of the night put it into the socket of your door and say the spell 7 times.

The spell to be spoken is this: "Arise, daimons in the dark; leap up onto the bricks and beat your breasts after you have smeared your faces with mud. For because of / her, NN whom NN bore, unlawful eggs are being sacrificed: fire, fire, unlawfulness, unlawfulness.[12] For Isis raised up a loud cry, and the world was thrown into confusion. She tosses and turns on her holy bed, and its bonds and those of the daimon world are smashed to pieces[13] because of the enmity and impiety of her, NN, whom NN bore. But you,[14] Isis / and Osiris and [daimons] of the chthonic world, ABLAMGOUNCHŌTHŌ ABRASAX, and daimons who are beneath the earth, arise, you who are from the depth, and cause her, NN, whom NN bore, to be sleepless, to fly through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep,[15] to love me, NN whom NN bore, passionately with passion in her guts, until she comes / and glues her female pudenda to my male one. But if she wishes to fall asleep, spread under her knotted leather scourges and thorns upon her temples, so that she may nod

11. ἀρχή occurs only here as a unit of measure. See A. Erman, *ZÄS* 33 (1895): 46.

12. For an Egyptian parallel to this exclamation see the *historiola* in H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* 14/2 (Copenhagen: Høst, 1927) 75, 81: "Woe! Woe! Fire! Fire!" [R.K.R.]

13. Cf. Preisendanz's translation (accepting Hopfner's reconstruction in *Archiv Orientální* 3 [1931]: 122): "hin wandte sie sich zum heiligen Lager, gesprengt werden seine Bande und zugleich die der Dämonenwelt . . ." (she turned to the holy bed [i.e., of Osiris], smashed to pieces are his bonds and those of the daimons' world . . .).

14. Despite the appeal to several deities, the Greek has σύ, "you," sing. here.

15. The idea of sleeplessness is repeated. Cf. l. 112 above where there is no such repetition. [E.N.O.]

agreement to a courtesan's love, because I adjure you who have been stationed over the fire, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH / OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPICHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANAX."

"You, NN, have been bound by the fibers of the sacred palm tree, so that you may love NN forever. And may no barking dog release you, no braying ass, no cock, no priest who removes magic spells, no clash of cymbals, no whining of flute; indeed, no protective charm from heaven that works for anything; / rather, let her be possessed by the spirit."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 161–77

***Charm to restrain anger and charm for success.** (No charm is greater, and it is to be performed by means of words alone:) Hold your thumbs and repeat the spell 7 times: "ERMALLŌTH ARCHIMALLŌTH stop the mouths / that speak against me, because I glorify your sacred and honored names which are in heaven."

To augment the words: Take papyrus and write thus: "I am / CHPHYRIS.[16] I must be successful. MICHAĒL RAPHAĒL ROUBĒL NARIĒL KATTIĒL ROUMBOUTHIĒL AZARIĒL IOĒL IOUĒL EZRIĒL SOURIĒL NARIĒL METMOURIĒL AZAĒL AZIĒL SAOUMIĒL / ROUBOUTHIĒL RABIĒĒL RABIĒĒL RABCHLOU ENAEZRAĒL, angels, protect me from every bad situation that comes upon me."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 178–87

***A charm to break spells**: Take lead and draw on it a unique figure[17] holding a torch in its right / hand, in its left—and at the left—a knife, and on its head three falcons, and under its legs a scarab, and under the scarab[18] an ouroboros serpent.

***The things to be written around / the figure are these**:



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

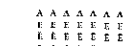
16. CHPHYRIS is the god Khepri, the scarab. See *PGM* IV. 943 and n.; VII. 584 and n., and the Glossary, s.v. "Scarab."

17. The figure drawn below on the papyrus does not correspond to the description.

18. On the scarab see n. 16 above.

PGM XXXVI. 187–210

*__Love spell of attraction__: On an unbaked piece of pottery write with a bronze stylus: "Hecate, you, Hecate, triple-formed, since every seal of every[19] [love spell of attraction] has been completed, I adjure you / by the great name of ABLANATHANA and by the power of AGRAMARI,[20] because I adjure you, you who possess the fire, ONYR,[21] and those in it, that she, NN, / be set afire,[22] that she come in pursuit of me, NN, because I am holding[23] in my right hand the two serpents and the victory of IAŌ SABAŌTH and the great name BILKATRI MOPHECHE, who brandishes fire, . . . ,[24] that she love me / completely and be aflame and on fire for me; aye, and tortured too. I am SYNKOUTOUEL."

[Write] 8 characters like this: "Grant me, indeed the favor of all, ADŌNAI  ."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The text of this spell appears to be corrupt at a number of places, so that by necessity the translation remains tentative.

PGM XXXVI. 211–30

*__Prayer to Helios: A charm to restrain anger and for victory and for securing favor__ (none is greater): Say to the sun (Helios) [the prayer] 7 times, and anoint your hand with oil and wipe it on your head and face.

Now [the prayer] is: "Rejoice with me, you who are set over the east wind / and the world, for whom all the gods serve as bodyguards at your good hour and on your good day, you who are the Good Daimon of the world, the crown of the inhabited world, you who rise from the abyss, you who each day rise a young man and set an old man, HARPENKNOUPHI BRINTANTĒNŌPHRI BRISSKYLMAS / AROURZORBOROBA MESINTRIPHI[25] NIPTOUMI CHMOUMMAŌPHI. I beg you, lord, do not allow me to be overthrown, to be plotted against, to receive dangerous drugs, to go into exile, to fall upon hard times. Rather, I ask to obtain and receive from you life, health, reputation, wealth, influence, strength, success, charm, / favor with all men and all women, victory over all men and all women. Yes, lord, ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI PEPHNA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI[26] NAACHTHIP . . . OUNORBA, accomplish the matter which I want, / by means of your power."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 231–55

*Take a lead lamella and inscribe with a bronze stylus the following names and the figure, and after smearing it with blood from a bat, roll up the lamella in the usual

19. The isolated *πάσης* is vague. Preisendanz adds "Gestalt." [E.N.O.]

20. The *voces magicae* in ll. 190–91 are abbreviated forms of the ABLANATHANALBA and AKRAMMACHAMARI formulas. See the Glossary, s.v.

21. Preisendanz understands ONYR to be a form of Coptic NOYRE, "vulture, falcon." But more likely the god Onouris is meant. Cf. *PGM* X. 12 and n.

22. The text of these lines is very uncertain and probably corrupt. The translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

23. Read perhaps *κατέχομαι*, since *κατέχω μέ* makes no sense. [E.N.O.]

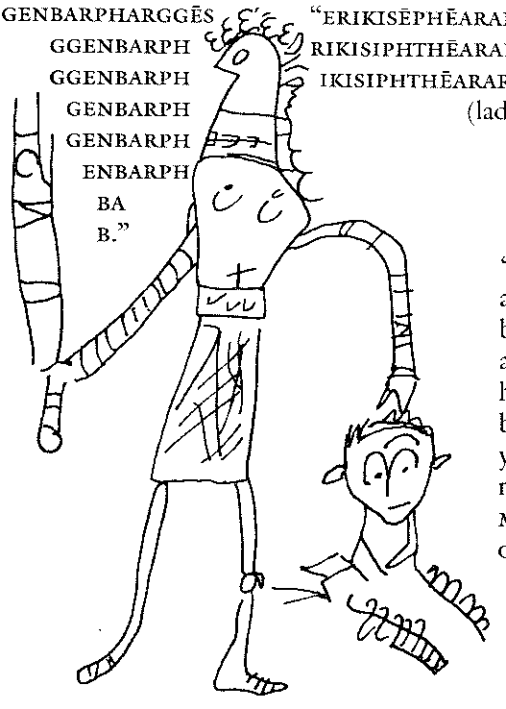
24. The text contains here incomprehensible letters, probably because of corruption rather than their being *voces magicae*.

25. MESINTRIPHI is Egyptian and means "born of Triphis," an epithet of Isis. See *PGM* XII. 232 and n. [R.K.R.]

26. PEPHNA (read PEPHTHA), PHŌZA, PHNBENNOUNI is Egyptian and means "He is Ptah the healthy, the lord of the Abyss." Cf. above, ll. 43–44; *PGM* XIII. 1055. [R.K.R.]

fashion. / Cut open a frog and put it into its stomach. After stiching it up with Anubian thread and a bronze needle, hang it up on a reed from your property by means of hairs from the tip of the tail of a black ox, / at the east of the property near the rising of the sun.

"OUSIRI SESEGGENBARPHARGGĒS
OUSIRIISESE GGENBARPH
SIRISESE GGENBARPH
IRISESE GENBARPH
RISESE GENBARPH
ISESE ENBARPH
SESEG BA
ESEG B."
SEGGEN
EGGEN
GGEN
GE



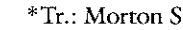
"ERIKISĒPHĒARARACHARAPHTHISIKĒRA
RIKISIPHTHĒARARACHARAĒPHTHISIKĒR
IKISIPHTHĒARARACHARAĒPHTHISIKĒ"
(ladder-like).

"Supreme angels, just as this frog drips with blood and dries up, so also will the body of him, NN / whom NN bore, because I conjure you, who are in command of fire MASKELLI MASKELLŌ" (add the other usual items).[27]

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 256–64

*Taking a three-cornered sherd from the fork of a road—pick it up with your left hand—inscribe it with myrrhed ink and hide it. [Write:] ASSTRAELOS[28] CHRAELOS, dissolve every enchantment against me, NN, for I conjure you / by the great and terrible names which the winds fear and the rocks split when they hear it."



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XXXVI. 264–74

*Take blood from a nightowl and myrrh ink, and mix the two together, and draw the figure[29] as appended, with a new reed pen on a clean strip of papyrus. At the same time stare[30] at a clean wall and look toward the east. Fasten the figure to an all-linen handkerchief with thorns / from a male date palm and hide it and stand back from it six cubits. After hiding it, measure and step back fifty-nine paces three times, standing on the mark of the six cubits.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The purpose of this ritual is not stated.

27. Or "(add the rest, and the usual items)."

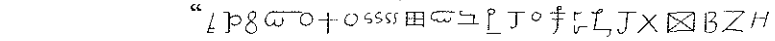
28. On the name ASTRAĒLOS, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 95.

29. The figure is not provided in the payrus. The preceding characters are marked off from this spell by a dividing line.

30. Preisendanz suggests that the two phrases in ll. 268–69 may be variants.

PGM XXXVI. 275–83

*A great charm for gaining the favor of people in your presence and of crowds (but it also works on those afflicted by daimons): / Offer a sacrifice, inscribe the following characters on a silver tablet and put frankincense over them. Wear it as an amulet. It will freely render service:

" 

ERĒKISIPHTHĒARARCHARAĒPHTHISIKĒRE."
*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XXXVI. 283–94

***Pudenda key spell**: Take an egg of a crow and the juice of the plant crow's-foot and gall of a river electric eel,[31] and grind them with honey and say / the spell whenever you grind and whenever you smear it on your genitals.

This is the spell that is to be spoken: "I say to you, womb of NN, open and receive the seed of NN and the uncontrollable seed of the IARPHE ARPHE (write it).[32] Let her, NN, love me for all her time as Isis loved Osiris[33] and let her remain chaste for me as Penelope[34] did of Odysseus. / And do you, womb, remember me for all the time of my life, because I am AKARNACHTHAS."

Say this while grinding and whenever you rub your genitals, and in this way have intercourse with the woman you wish, and she will love you alone and by no one else will she ever be laid, just by you alone.
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 295–311

***Love spell of attraction**, fire divination over unburnt sulfur, thus: Take seven lumps of unburnst sulfur and make an altar fire from vine wood. Say this spell over the lumps one by one and throw them into the fire.

This is the spell: "The heavens of heavens opened, and the angels of God descended and overturned the five / cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Segor.[35] A woman who heard the voice became a pillar of salt.[36] You are the sulfur which God rained down on the middle of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim and Segor; you are the sulfur[37] which served God—so also serve me, NN, in regards to her, NN, / and do not allow her to go to bed or to find sleep until she comes and fulfills the mystery rite of Aphrodite."[38]

As you throw [the lumps] into the fire, say: "If I throw you into the fire, I adjure you by the great PAP TAPHEIAŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ PAGOURĒ, and by the great MICHAĒL / ZOURIĒL GABRIĒL SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS ISTRAĒL ABRAAM, attract her, NN, to NN."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

31. Probably the Nile, in which this eel was found. [E.N.O.]

32. The papyrus has γραφ, which Preisendanz interprets as γράφε and understands to mean "write the formula in the diminishing pattern IARPHE, ARPHE, RPHE, PHE, E." Although he may be correct, the instruction to write in the midst of an oral spell is strange. [E.N.O.]

33. See on this point the discussion in Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 83–84.

34. The papyrus reads Pēlenopē.

35. The papyrus has the following names, all in need of correction in the light of Old Testament texts (esp. Dt 29:23): Sodoma, Gomora, Adama, Sebouiĕ, Sēgōr. The last name should be Zoar. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 252.

36. A reference to the story of Lot's wife, Gn 19:26.

37. A reference to Gn 19:24.

38. The mystery rite of Aphrodite is the sex act.

PGM XXXVI. 312–20

***Charm to open a door**: Take from a firstborn ram an umbilical cord that has not fallen to the ground, and after mixing in myrrh, apply it to the door bolts when you want to open a door, and say this spell, and you will open it immediately.

Now this is the spell: / "Open up for me, open up for me, door bolt; be opened, be opened, door bolt, because I am Horos the Great, ARCHEPHRENEPSOU PHIRIGX, son of Osiris and Isis. I want the godless Typhon to flee;[39] immediately, immediately; quickly, / quickly."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 320–32

***A contraceptive, the only one in the world**: Take as many bittervetch seeds as you want for the number of years you wish to remain sterile. Steep them in the menses of a menstruating woman. Let them steep in her own genitals. And take a frog[40] / that is alive and throw the bittervetch seeds into its mouth so that the frog swallows them, and release the frog alive at the place where you captured him. And take a seed of henbane, steep it in mare's milk; and take the nasal mucus of a cow, with grains of barley, put these into a [piece of] leather skin made from a fawn and on the outside bind it up with mulehide skin, / and attach it as an amulet during the waning of the moon [which is] in a female sign of the zodiac on a day of Kronos or Hermes,[41] Mix in also with the barley grains cerumen from the ear[42] of a mule.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXXVI. 333–60

***Love spell of attraction over myrrh**:[43] Say the spell and [put it on the] flat stone of the bath.

The spell is this: / "Myrrh, Myrrh, who serve at the side of gods, who stir up rivers and mountains, who burn up the marsh of Achalda,[44] who consume with fire the godless Typhon, who are ally of Horos, the protection of Anubis, the guide of Isis. Whenever I throw you, Myrrh, upon the *strobilos*[45] of the / flat stone of this bath, as you burn, so also will you burn her, NN, because I adjure you by the strong and inexorable Destiny, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRAS REXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRICHTHŌN PYRIPAGANYX LEPETAN / LEPETAN MANTOUNOBOĒ, and by the Destiny of this, LAKI LAKIŌ LAKIŌYD LAKIŌYDA. Attract, burn her, NN (add the usual, whatever you wish), because I adjure you by the strong and great names, THEILŌCHNOU ITHI PESKOUTHI TETOCHNOUPHI SPEUSOUTI IAŌ SABAŌTH / ADŌNAI PAGOURĒ ZAGOURĒ ABRASAX ABRATHIAŌ TERĒPHAĒL MOUISRŌ[46] LEILAM SEMESILAM THOOOU IIE ĒŌ OSIR[47] ATHOM[48]

39. This passage contains a *historiola* of Horus escaping from Seth/Typhon. See for a parallel Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 214–23. [R.K.R.]

40. The frog was associated with fertility, and therefore in Egypt with Heket, the goddess of birth. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 198–99, s.v. "Frosch"; M. Weber, "Frosch," *RAC* 8 (1972): 524–38, esp. 524–29. [R.K.R.]

41. That is, the planets Saturn and Mercury.

42. Also possible is "dirt from the ear," but "ear wax" is more likely, given Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1198.

43. Cf. the parallel to the spell in *PGM* IV. 1495–1595.

44. This locality is not identified.

45. The meaning of the term is obscure; it may refer to some item having the shape of a pinecone. See LSJ, s.v. "στρόβιλος." Cf. *PGM* II. 25 and n.

46. See on this detail *PGM* III. 659 and n.

47. OSIR is Osiris. [R.K.R.]

48. ATHOM is Atum. [R.K.R.]

CHAMNEUS PHEPHAŌN PHEPHEŌPHAI PHEPHEŌPHTHA. Arouse yourself, Myrrh, and go into every place[49] and seek out her, NN, and / open her right side and enter like thunder, like lightning, like a burning flame, and make her thin, [pale,] weak, limp, incapable of [action] in [any part of her body] until she leaps forth and comes to me, [NN, son of] NN (add the usual, / whatever you wish), immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 361–71

***Irresistible love spell of attraction**, which works on the same day: Take the skin of an ass[50] and write the following in the blood from the womb of a silurus[51] after mixing in the juice of the plant Sarapis.

The writing is this: "SISISŌTH, attract to me / her, NN on this very day, in this very hour, because I adjure you by the name CHYCHACHAMER MEROUTH[52] CHMĒMINOUTH THIŌNTHOUTH PHIOPHAŌ[53] BELECHAS AAA EEE ĒĒĒ L′ S′ S′ S′ N′ N′. Attract her, NN, to NN" (add the usual).

And put the magical material inside / with vetch and place it in the mouth of a dead dog, and it will attract her in the same hour.
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVII. 1–26

*. . . not one of the unclean men . . . I did not have intercourse with a woman . . . [knowingly]. Whenever I swear, the [existing? . . .] relatives, that on my father's side and / [mother?], friends and my father's relatives with . . . not, and this one . . . into a container, thus taking . . . [into a] suburb, with the loud voice . . . of the prophets and pro[phetesses]. / And whenever in . . . swear, lest . . . such as heard. . . .

. . . / [of Theodoros?], that is, of Selenion(?), [it is not necessary] to subtract or add a thing. If . . . these . . . cast from the . . . as mentioned before; and another . . . from every rite / . . . your . . . is unlawful . . . should receive a letter . . . piously . . . receive extreme ill-luck, it is . . . lest you . . . taken . . . / the. . . .
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary text was acquired in Egypt with the other magical papyri, *PGM* XXXVI and XXXVIII, and is thus presumed to contain portions of a magical spell; however, the recto (ll. 1–14) was written in a hand different from that of the verso (ll. 14–26) and seems to contain a text of a biblical or theological nature. The verso may contain a text on some type of divination.

PGM XXXVIII. 1–26

*. . . at the proper time purify [yourself for seven days and][1] take myrrh ink and [write] on [pure] papyrus . . . of baths: "Come here to me . . . who have the power

49. See on this point Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 71, 101.

50. The animal of Seth/Typhon.

51. The silurus is a large river fish which seems to have been a part of the common fare, either pickled or salted. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 9. 17, 44; Aelian, *NA* 14. 25; Juvenal, *Sat.* 4. 33; 14. 132. The silurus also occurs in *PGM* IV. 3097, but Preisendanz there altered the text to read *αἴλουρος*, "cat." Diehl, in Preisendanz's apparatus, proposes the same emendation here. [E.N.O.]

52. MEROUTH is Egyptian *mrw.t*, "love." [R.K.R.]

53. THOUTH PHIOPHAŌ is Egyptian and means "Thoth the great, the great." [R.K.R.]

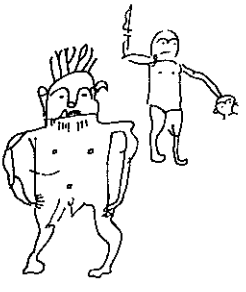
1. Eitrem reads *ἁγνευσον* [*ἑπτα ἡμέρας καὶ . . .*], which D. Moke, *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri: Selected Studies* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1975) 72, translates with "Be purified for seven days." The verb, however, is active and requires an object. Furthermore, the papyrus uses numerals, not words, so it is better to read *ἁγνευσον* [*σὲ ζ′ ἡμέρας καὶ . . .*]. [E.N.O.]

. . . / . . . and go into the house . . . frightening and hiding . . . of the door. For by the contribution(?)[2] of her . . . by your [power, attract] to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, because . . . / . . . to find sleep and . . . brain . . . of sacred phantoms . . . of the sea . . . / [who copulate in the ocean, PSOI PHNOUTHI NINTHĒR,[3] you are the one who are] daily visible [and who set in the northwest] of heaven, [and rise in the southeast. In the 1st hour] you have [the form of a cat; your name is PHARAKOUNĒTH. In the 2nd hour you have the form] of a dog; your name is / [SOUPHI. In the 3rd hour you have the form of a snake; your name is] ABERAN NEMANE [THŌUTH. In the 4th hour you have the form of a scarab]: [your] name is [SESENIPS. In the 5th hour you have the form] of an ass; [your] name is [ENPHANCHOUPH. In the 6th hour you have the form of a lion]; your name is [BAISOLBAI . . . who control] time. / [In the 7th hour you have the form of a goat; your name is] OUMESTHŌTH. In the 8th hour you have the form of a bull; your name is [DIATI-PHĒ, who becomes invisible]. . . .[4]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is so fragmentary that the text owes more to Eitrem's ingenuity than to the copyist. Ll. 15–26 seem to be a doublet and, in part, an abridged version of IV. 1642–79. The edition of Preisendanz provides no translation; Moke offers one only of ll. 1–12.

PGM XXIX. 1–21

*"THATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
ATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
TTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
THARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
ARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
RATHAUTHŌLTHARA
ATHAUTHŌLTHARA
THAUTHŌLTHARA
AUTHŌLTHARA
UTHŌLTHARA
THŌLTHARA
ŌLTHARA
LTHARA
THARA
ARA
RA
A



THATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
ATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
TTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
THARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
ARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
RATHAUTHŌLTHARA
ATHAUTHŌLTHARA
THAUTHŌLTHARA
AUTHŌLTHARA
UTHŌLTHARA
THŌLTHARA
ŌLTHARA
LTHARA
THARA
ARA
RA
A

I adjure you by the twelve elements of heaven and the twenty-four elements / of the world, that you attract Herakles whom Taaipis bore, to me, to Allous, whom Alexandria bore, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The figure on the left is that of the dwarf god Bes. In the Greco-Roman period the erotic associates of Bes became so pronounced that he seems to have become a patron of brothels. See J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905–1906)* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institute français d'archéologie orientale, 1907) 12–14. [R.K.R.]

2. The papyrus has προσδόσι, for which Eitrem suggests προσδόσει, hence "by the contribution," but the papyrus is so mutilated that any translation must be tentative. [E.N.O.]

3. PSOI PHNOUTHI NINTHĒR corresponds to Egyptian "Fate, the god (of) the gods." Cf. *PGM* III. 144–45. [R.K.R.]

4. The list of forms continues at *PGM* IV. 1679. This papyrus is clearly a fragment as well as fragmentary. [E.N.O.]

PGM XL. 1–18

*"O master Oserapis and the gods who sit with Oserapis, I [pray] to you, I Artemisie, daughter of Amasis, against my daughter's father, [who] robbed [her] of the funeral gifts and tomb. So if he has not acted justly toward me and his own children—as indeed he has acted unjustly toward me and his own children—let Oserapis and the gods / grant that he not approach the grave of his children, nor that he bury his own parents. As long as my cry for help is deposited here, he and what belongs to him should be utterly destroyed badly, both on earth and on sea, by Oserapis and the gods who sit together with Oserapis, nor should he attain propitiation from Oserapis nor from the gods who sit with Oserapis.

Artemisie has deposited this supplication, supplicating / Oserapis and the gods who sit with Oserapis to punish justly. As long as my supplication [is deposited] here, the father of this girl should not by any means attain propitiation from the gods. [Who]ever [seizes] this document [and] does an injustice to Artemisie, the god will inflict a penalty on him . . . to no one . . . except . . . Artemisie commands that . . . as . . . / not suffice . . . observed me in need of . . . and to me who lives . . . observed . . . in need of. . . ."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. For similar curses against desecrating a tomb, see G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus. Papyrus Upsaliensis 8* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1938) esp. 131–38; B. Boyaval, "Une malédiction pour viol de sépulture," *ZPE* 14 (1974): 71–73.

PGM XLI. 1–9

*"CHRIA . . . BĒEI[NŌR; SOUSI[NEPHI] . . . trembles / ENTOKE KENTA[BAŌTH] . . . thence, [trembles] . . . NITHIORA BAINCHŌŌŌCH. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary spell contains only a few recognizable words, mostly magical.

PGM XLII. 1–10

*"A A A A A A
E E E E E E
Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē
I I I I I I I O O O O
Y Y Y Y Y
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō
["magical characters"]
. . . ARAĒL SAB[AŌTH
O]URIEL ASABA . . .
. . . OSĒPRAK."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. The magical characters mentioned in the text are unavailable for transcription. The slip of papyrus probably served as an amulet.

PGM XLIII. 1–27

*"[ABLANA]THANALBA EMANOUĒL
[BLA]NATHANALBA ASOUĒL
LANATHANALBA MARMARĒL
ANATHANALBA MELCHIĒL
NATHANALBA OURIĒL
ATHANALBA THOURIĒL
THANALBA MARMARIŌTH
ANALBA ATHANAĒL
ALBA AŌĒ . . .
LBA SABAŌTH
BA ADŌNAI
A ELŌAI

ABŌ . . . / SESENGEN SPHRANGĒS MICHAĒL SABAŌTH LAPAPA / . . . GABRIĒL SOURIĒL RAPHAĒL, protect Sophia / whom Theoneilla bore from every shivering fit and fever, immediately, quickly."

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XLIV. 1–18

*"THŌPHŌPHA. MOS . . . AMOU K . . .

A A A A A A A . . . OUABEIO . . . S BAMERM . . . L . . .
E E E E E E E earache EY . . . MATI unwritten SYRID
Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē partaking (?), might ascend (?) driving away . . .
I I I I I I I fever (?), just (?) PAĒ . . . X
O O O O O O O TAI, burning these things until N
Y Y Y Y Y Y Y ATHIAL PYRON MOLOS I
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō R
Y MICHAĒL ŌZ Y
Ō ICHAĒL YZ O
CHAĒL OZ
E E E E E E E AĒL IZ
P ĒL
L
MICHAĒL . . . Z
[ICHAĒL] EZ
[CHAĒL]
CH S AĒL . . . Z."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary text may have served as a phylactery for earache and possibly fever. On the right side of the papyrus there is a figure holding a staff and with the letters "A" and "Ō" on either side; the representation of the figure, however, was never published.

PGM XLV. 1–8

*"... R ... RPHEĒ ABRAXAS IRMOUN †ACHOA BRĒPHAUTH IOU ATHĒTHAL KATHŌLŌ ... NITASPHIN BAROUCH BAROUCH DAULA ADŌNAIA CHAITA SIAMOUR ERBELMŌN ELŌE ADŌNAIA MELĒ ... A SESEMIE ... LAMEBDO / ELŌE ACHRAI ĒNNANAI AZAĒL CHERMAIŌ B ... ROBBAN J(erusa)lem ... N†"

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XLVI. 1–4

*... ***[If] you wish the god to speak***: ... These names ... "SON LALEIKACHRI ... KAIE. ..."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This fragmentary papyrus, which contains portions of only two spells, contains here a request for a revelation. In the series of words to be spoken or written some Greek can be read.

PGM XLVI. 4–8

*Spell to silence and [subject]: ... on an unbaked potsherd ... : / "IŌ SĒTH IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ ... IŌ SĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX ... IŌ [OSIRIS]."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XLVII. 1–17

*"ĒL ĒL[1] STRAGĒL STRAKOUĒL, the god, / the SATOUCHEOS, the PSATOUCHEOS,[2] protect, shelter [the wearer against fever] whether [it is] every other day, / or daily, or equinoctial, or perpetual; purify us, EIAOTH / SABAOTH ... [[two lines of characters]].

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XLVIII. 1–21

*"KLE[1] [[characters]] AAAAAAA KLE ANNNGL ... O SESEGGESBARPHARAGGES, help us, Atikhis; bring aid (?) / with all your powers. They must move like the one whom the Cherubim have led,[2] the Father Pantokrator, who is in heaven ... the Cherubim. You must fly like the birds of heaven. He[3] must move like a piercing wind, ... good, through / the power of these names and their saving acts and the phylacteries and the power of the honored (?) Place.[4] Yes, yes! Quickly, quickly! [[2 lines of characters]]. And a blessing upon the name SESSEGGES, together with / ... AI SACHLAS EL and MEFEJRAHIEU ... names, aid ... the place SA ... aid (?) ... [the] whole house ... INETENEI great (?) ... IĒL EŌN / ... the birds of great (?)[5] [[characters]] ... OU."

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer.

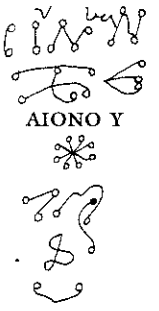
1. *El* is the common Hebrew word for "god" but was also the name of a particular god worshiped mostly along the Palestine-Syrian coast.

2. Perhaps the definite articles before this and the two following terms should be omitted, and they should be taken as names of gods or demons. These magical texts rarely use the definite article before the names of deities invoked, and SATOUCHEOS looks like an epithet ("loaded, burdened"?) and PSATOUCHEOS like a byform of it.

1. Or, in Greek, "etc."
2. Or "they must lead forth," "who move like," or "who lead forth."
3. Or "you."
4. In later Jewish writings, God is frequently designated as "the Place."
5. Or "which we come" or "your fathers."

PGM XLIX

*



*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. An amulet with a series of characters and the name "Aion."

PGM L. 1–18

*. . . out of . . . the . . . and if their principal (lots ?) should [fall] on the side of [the lots] of "Tyche" or "Daimon" [it is good ?] for a spell (?) concerning sorcery / —the same principal (tosses?) of the lot producing the same result, with a "Tyche" or "Daimon" being an excellent toss. And the one who tosses concerning sorcery . . . executes the same given results for the given toss. These things mentioned before will be . . . / . . . of "Daimon." If ever . . . it happens in your own place or even . . . by malevolent ones (?), / as it testifies of an exile, it signifies either . . . or disgraceful ones; if then a benevolent one occurs, a malevolent one by the benevolent ones is changed (?). . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. Very little sense can be made from this scrappy fragment. The text seems to deal with responses to a type of knucklebone or dice oracle.

PGM LI. 1–27

*"I exhort you, daimon of the dead [and] the necessity of death which has happened in your case, image of the gods, to hear / my request and to avenge me, Neilammon, whom Tereus bore, because Etes has brought a charge against me, / or against my daughter Aynchis or her children or those who might ever be [with] me. And I exhort you not to listen to those who have brought charges against us, either / [from] Hermes, whom . . . bore, [or] EU . . . S, who is known as [Apelles], or from Harpochrates, whom Tereus bore, [who is] a wicked man and / ungodly toward me, his father. I ask you, daimon of the dead, not to listen to them [but to] listen [only] to me, Neilammon, [since I am] / pious [toward the] gods, [and to cause them to be] ill for their [whole] life."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This necromantic request is directed against Neilammon's legal opponents, one of whom appears to be his own son. The text follows the format of an Egyptian letter to the dead. Cf. Alan Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1928). [R.K.R.]

PGM LII. 1–9

* . . . ***the formula***:

". . . stout of heart, silver-eddying,
And with the Graces CHŌOS EU . . .
Both Hera and Selene, thus
/ The wits, which come upon to . . .
. . . nothing, about the sea,
. . . S . . . ES . . . ES . . . however much
. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This very fragmentary papyrus contains portions of two or three spells

probably dealing with love magic. The first of these, translated here, preserves a poetic incantation whose first few lines scan as dactylic hexameters.

PGM LII. 9–19

*Take an ichneumon / from the countryside and throw in some vinegar myrrh and boil for 3 days . . . but. . . .

". . . and . . . / Peitho . . . will see a . . . with mighty . . . or might grant me favor . . . or love me in . . . from a mighty (?). . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM LII. 20–26

***Spell to induce insomnia**: Take some . . . grasp, speak the formula . . . speak . . . : ". . . ĒŌS mother's, summoning Eros."

Speak ***the formula***: ". . . through night and day, from (?) / . . . set a flame in the heart. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM LIII–LVI

PGM LIII and LIV correspond to the unpublished texts of the papyrus rolls cataloged together as *P. Strassb.* I. 39 (P. gr. 1769 and 1770 in F. Preisigke, *Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts—und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*, I. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912, 134–35). *PGM* LIII (no. 1769) measures 32 × 22 cm and contains fifteen lines; *PGM* LIV (no. 1770) measures 22 × 16 cm and contains ten lines. Both date from the Arabic period.

PGM LV and LVI correspond to the two unpublished texts, *P. Strassb.* I. 39A (P. gr. 762 and 788; Preisigke 136). They are written by the same hand and stem also from the Arabic period. *PGM* LV measures 28 × 22 cm and contains twelve lines; *PGM* LVI (17 × 11 cm) contains eight lines primarily made up of letter permutations, with SY SZ and SCH predominating.

PGM LVII. 1–37

*. . . ADŌNAI. . . . ***These are the words***: "[Accomplish] for him, NN, whatever I have written on [this] for you, and I will[1] leave [the east] and the west[2] [which] has been established [formerly], and [I will preserve] the flesh of Osiris[3] [always] and I will not break / [the] bonds with which you bound Typhon,[4] and I will not call those who have died a violent death but will leave them alone, and I will not pour out the oil of Syrian cedar [but] will leave it alone, and I will save Ammon and not kill him, and I will [not] scatter the limbs of Osiris, and I will hide you [from the] giants;[5] EI EI EI EI [EI EI] EI EI CHOIN / [APHOUTH] CHENNONEU APHOUTH ANOU AŌTH EI EI EI PEOOE [IAKŌB] MANNOZ ARANNOUTH CHAL . . . APH KOULIX

1. For these implied threats see *PGM* II. 54, and Papyrus Ebers, col. 30, ll. 12–16: "If the stroke dispells itself . . . I shall not speak (the threat), I shall not repeat the statement." [R.K.R.]

2. For this notion of the collapse of the east and west, see *PGM* V. 284.

3. For mythical details regarding the death of Osiris, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358A–B; 35, 364F; 42, 368A; and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 340–42, 434–35, 460; Diodorus Siculus I. 11, with the commentary by Burton, *Diodorus Siculus* 60–61, 89, 95.

4. For the binding of Typhon, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 19, 358D, and the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 349–50.

5. For the role of the giants, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 25, 360E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 385–86; W. Speyer, "Gigant," *RAC* 10 (1978): 1247–76, esp. 1263.

NOĒ N . . . K BORNATH LOUBEINE AOUĒR OUEIRE ITIN LOTOL. Recite the secrets of the many-named goddess, Isis."[6]

[The] compulsive spell in order to show you whether the matter has been carried out: / Burn cypress with the strip of papyrus and say: "[Isis,] holy maiden, give me a sign of the things that are going to happen, reveal your holy veil, shake your black [Tyche] and move the constellation of the bear, holy [IŌTHĒ] PNOUN GMOĒRMENDOUMBA[7] great-named [IAKŌ] / PHTHOĒRI, THERMOĒR, PHTHAŌ,[8] great-named IOTHĒ [PHNOU]THOUĒR BŌB HELIX, great-named IAKŌ."

When you have said this and at the same time have opened your hands, the goddess will remove the [edge] of your hand from your breast. For you will see [a star being led] of necessity [to you], at which you are to look / [intently], as it flashes [a picture] while rushing [toward you], so that you become stricken of God. [Wear the] above picture [for protection]. [For], in the name of [the goddess], it is a [picture] of Kronos who encourages you. After you have received this sign, rejoice / at your [fortune] and say once: "CHAITHRAI." For when you have said this, she will cooperate with you [in whatever] you pray for. And immediately say these words, [lest] there occur a removal of the stars and your lucky day: "THA . . . OUSIR[9] PHNOUCH MELLANCHIŌ KERDŌ MELIBEU . . . KASP . . . NEBENTHTRIX GARN . . . Ō THRAŌ SAU TRAIS TRAIS / BASYM; immediately, immediately, accomplish this, within this moment. Very glorious Pronoia,[10] make the one who yesterday was [unlovable] beautiful [in the sight of all], make . . . [former]. . . ."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM LVIII. 1–14

*. . . [**Spell to bind** . . . (?)]:[1] / Take a lamella [made of lead] . . . : "I say to you, you who died prematurely and who were [called and taken] away by the wicked [Typhon. Commanding you] is / the great god who has [dominion above and rules over the lower [gods]. Take into custody this wicked [and impious] man,[2] because this [is the one who burned the papyrus boat of Osiris][3] and who [ate[4] the sacred fish].[5] Take into custody [him, NN, whom NN bore . . .]."[6]

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The exact purpose of this spell is not known, though it is clearly a type of curse.

6. On Isis with a myriad of names see *PGM* LIX. 13; Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 22, p. 284, l. 9: *deae multinominis*; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 53, 372E: μυριώνυμος. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 502–3.

7. PNOUN GMOĒR is equivalent to Egyptian, "Nun (the Abyss), great power." [R.K.R.]

8. The sequence of PHTHOĒRI . . . PHTHAŌ is equivalent to Egyptian *Ptḥ wr* and *Ptḥ ʿ3*, "Ptah the great." [R.K.R.]

9. This is Osiris.

10. On the identification of Isis and Providence (Pronoia), see Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 15, p. 277, l. 4; and on this see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 241–44, 323.

1. The full title is not preserved. The opening line may have read κατά[δεσμος]. Cf. Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

2. Or "such-and-such a wicked and impious man." [R.D.K.]

3. The restoration is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188, reprinted in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 187. See on this point Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358A, where the burning of the boat is not mentioned, however. See for further references Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 339–40.

4. The filling of the lacuna is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188.

5. For sacred fish, see *PGM* V. 270–80, and J. F. Borghouts, "The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I. 348," *OMRM* 51 (1971):26 (a similar sacrilege), and *Excursus III* 210–17. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 191–94, s.v. "Fische, heilige." [R.K.R.]

6. Assuming the restoration in Preisendanz as correct. However, it seems more likely to restore the parallel phrase from above, "take into custody [this wicked and impious . . . man]. [R.D.K.]

PGM LVIII. 15–39

*. . . when the [moon] is full . . . , make an offering of incense . . . / . . . lick clean, SITOULAS EK . . . KŌS, . . . ***[under] the middle of the chest***:

"IŌ ERBĒTH
IAKOUMBIA
IŌ PAKERBĒTH
/ IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH
BASAOUM
KOCHLŌTA
TETOMĒ
BASSAOUM
/ PATATHNAX
OSESRŌ
IŌ IŌ PAKERBĒTH
KEACH, come
[I]O ABRASAX
/ (add the usual).

[[Remains of a magical figure]]

"[ABER]AMTHŌOULERTHEXANAXETHRELYŌTHNEMAREBA."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The translation differs from Preisendanz in ll. 20, 34, 35.

PGM LIX. 1–15

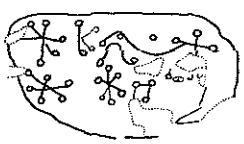
*". . . Saioneis, whom [Sentaesis] bore. You, slave of the [glorious] god ABLANATHANALBA, you servant of the [good] god AKRAMMACHAMAREI, you, slave of [IAEŌ] SABAŌ ABRASAX ADŌNAI, / you, servant of the [four] good [and] glorious gods, ABERAMENTHOOYLERTHEXANAXETHRELYOŌTHNEMAREBA AEMEINAEBARŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIEMEA ERĒKISITHPHĒARARACHARARAĒPHTHISIKĒRE IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEAI, / you, the good and glorious gods, protect the mummy and the body and all the grave of the younger Phtheious, who is also [called] Saioneis, whom Sentaesis bore . . . the everlasting [punishments given by] the Lady [Isis], / goddess of many names."[1]

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LX. 1–5

*"OBPHŌCHONMPOUO
AIEROĒNIONO
IBOPHA
IKON"

*Reading: Morton Smith.



PDM lxi. 1–30

*. . . to Truth . . . before you / incense (?) . . . to the . . . your head . . . land
[col. I, 5] . . . / look . . . above / these . . . Lady of the Flood (?) [. . . I]A IA OO . . . in truth
. . . and we come into . . . above after the . . . Teach me.[1] Show . . . Anubis of . . .
[I, 10] [Spirit of] Darkness . . . / Anubis . . . Anubis of the. . . . Do not. . . . Do not let
. . . know (?) . . . true manner [without a matter (?)] of falsehood . . . saying: "I am

1. For this epithet of Isis, see *PGM* LVII. 13 and n.

1. Restored *[tun] eiat*ᵒ as a parallel to *tamo*. Both mean "to instruct." See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 73b. For the restorations by R.K.R. here and in the notes below, see his forthcoming article, "Gleanings from Magical Texts," *Enchoria* 1985.

[OR]THOBAUBO . . . my name . . . ooo is my name. My name in [truth (?) . . .] [I, 15]
. . . May you be exalted. Work . . . Anubis of the horizon. Anubis . . . / Anubis of 20
the son. Do not . . . twice. The great ruler. . . . It is this god who . . . face of a [II, 5]
donkey. This . . . come . . . to me from them (?) which are before you . . . which 25
you. . . . [II, 10]

*Tr.: Robert K. Ritner, following the edition and translation in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. I/1–16 (original translation from plate; not previously read by the editors), and col. II/1–13. Sections titles in the Demotic texts are indicated only if they are written in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM lxi. 30–41

*. . . which . . . / seven . . . dead . . . rue seven, bone of . . . wax (?) . . . seven 31
. . . / . . . seven, mix them all. Recite all the spells of the vessel over them at dawn, [col. III,
midday [and] night at the beginning of the month and eat (?) seven of them each 2]
and every month. / You find his heart.[2] 36

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Sir Hubert Thompson in [III, 7]
Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. III. 41
[III, 12]

PDM lxi. 42

*". . . ***you and those who are***. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson, in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/1. This fragmentary line may be part of the rubric of col. III (see Bell et al. p. 14, ad loc.). The fact that these words are written in red ink (in the original manuscript) suggests this is the title (or subtitle) of a new spell.

PDM lxi. 43–48 [*PGM* LXI. i–v (not in Preisendanz)]

*. . . ***remedy*** for [an] ulcer (?)[3] of the head . . . : one mina (?); this is what is [to be
spoken?] . . . of frankincense and [celandine? . . .] / of a male ass [together with 46
. . .], excellently, and add . . . a little, and smear it on the. . . . (4)

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/2; and Roy Kotansky (Greek section), following the edition of Bell, Nock, and Thompson, ibid., ll. 3–7.

PDM lxi. 49–57

*. . . ***head***: . . . . [papyrus ?], it being broken (?) in the place / . . . oil; you should 51
utter the name of . . . while they are not dry; you should utter the spell (?) twice . . . [col. IV,
one grain to the name of the . . . name of palm, persea, [and] cypress[4] / mulberry, 10]
laurel, black poplar, pine. . . . 56

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, [IV, 15]
and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/8–16. The spell presumably describes another remedy for the head.

PDM lxi. 58–62 [*PGM* LXI. vi.x (not in Preisendanz)]

**For an erection*: Woad plant [or corn flag?] grows in the oasis in abundance; it's both female and [male]. Boil these in a pot and grind them up [in wine with] pep-

2. Or "wish."
3. As suggested by R.K.R.
4. Written in Demotic and Greek.

per; / smear it on [your] genitals. [If you wish it] to relax again, [provide] with the decoction. . . .
[col. IV, 19]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto A (p. 22). For a similar spell, compare *PGM* VII. 184–85.

PDM lxi. 63–78

*. . . ***Har-Thoth***: You write on the [front of a] laurel leaf [and you light] a lamp on a table and you speak to the laurel opposite the lamp. Do not look at the lamp! You should come; you should lie down; you should place the laurel / under your head; and you should pray to Har-Thoth. He answers you in a dream. The front of the laurel leaf, write these [words] on it; you write it in ink of myrrh and wine:
[col. V, 4]

The first: "THOYTHKH"
The second: "LABINOYTHKH."
The third: "PHRĒKH."
The fourth: "SALBANAKHA."
The fifth: "falcon."
The sixth: "ape."
The seventh: "ibis."





And say these words: "Come to me, Thoth, Eldest one, Eldest one . . . of Re, who went forth from Atum, who was born / in the form . . . from the limb of Atum! Come to me, Thoth, heart of Re, tongue[5] of Tatenen,[6] throat[7] of the one whose name is hidden![8] Come to me, HEFKAE HEPKA HEBIKE NEKHE-P-KAI! Come to me, Lord of Truth, who loves Truth, / who reckons [lifetime?],[9] who judges Truth, who does Truth![10] Come to me in your beautiful face in this good night and make answer to me concerning everything about which I am entreating here today, truly without faleshood therein! Come to me in your form of excellent one, in your [secret] image . . . ! Come to me and [tell me] an answer to everything, [truly,] without falsehood therein." [It is] very good.
[V, 9] [V, 14]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. V, 1–5a/6.

PDM lxi. 79–94

*A way of finding a thief . . . : You bring a head of a drowned man; / you carry it to the fields; you bury it; you put flax seed over it until you gather the flax; you gather [it] upon it when it is high and alone; you [bring] the flax to the village; you[11] wash the head by itself in milk; you cover it; and you take it to the place which you wish.
[col. VI, 2]

When you want to discover a thief, you should bring a small amount[12] of flax; you should utter a spell to it; you should say the name of the man twice, one by one (?) / you should make a knot and draw it together. If he is the one who stole it,[13] he speaks while you tie the knot.
[VI, 7]

5. As read by R.K.R.
6. A holy place in Memphis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 769–70.
7. As read by R.K.R.
8. A pun on Amoun/hidden.
9. As read by R.K.R.
10. For these epithets, see P. Boylan, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt* (Chicago: Ares, 1979 [reprint]), appendix B. [R.K.R.]
11. Actually written "they."
12. Translation by R.K.R.
13. Literally, "carried/lifted it."

The spells which you should recite: ***Formula***: "To me belongs the word of Khu;[14] to me belongs the word of Geb; to me belongs the word of . . . of Isis; to me belongs the word of this ibis, son of Thoth; Lo, all hail! Lo, all hail! I shall gather here today my sister SAMAL[A], saying, 'I shall give them. the words / of Geb which he gave to Isis when Shu (?) concealed them in the papyrus (swamp) of Buto, she bringing the small amount of flax in her hand, she forming it into a knot, she tying these forelegs (?)[15] until he was revealed to Horus in the papyrus (swamp). I will bring this small amount of flax in my own hand, I making it into a knot until NN is revealed . . . the sound-eye.' After (?) answering, he will lift (?)." [It is] very good. 90 [VI, 12]



*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VI/1–16.

PDM lxi. 95–99

***Spell of giving praise** [and] love in Nubian: "SYMYTH KESYTH HRBABA BRASAKHS LAT, son of (?) NAPH, son of (?) BAKHA." Say these; put gum on your hand; and kiss your shoulder twice,[16] and go before the man whom you desire. 95 [col. VII, 1]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VII/1–5.

PDM lxi. 100–105

***The red cloth** of Nepthys: "Pre arose; he sent forth the *Seket* boat[17] of heaven; the water under the bark of Pre has dried up. The gods and the two crowns (of the south and the north) complain until NN is brought to NN. If not doing it is what will be done, the gods whose names I said will bend down so that they fall into the fire. . . . I am the one who said it; she will repeat it 'Be destroyed, impious one!' She is the one who said it; / she is the one who heard it [and] repeated it." [It is] very good when he says it. 100 [col. VII, 6] 105 [VII, 11]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VI/6–11.

PDM lxi. 106–11

***Prescription** for a donkey not moving: Rue, dung of falcon, dung of crocodile; you should apply it and you should anoint the ears or its nose or the nostril of its nose.

Formula: "He of the heart. . . . Horus [is] behind you; Geb is pursuing you, Isis being with them (?) . . . many hours. / The arrow of Horus[18] will go into you in order to. . . ." 111 [col. VII, 16]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VII/12–16.

14. Name of the twenty-second decan. [R.K.R.]
15. That is the foreleg of Seth (as bull) when killed. [R.K.R.]
16. Translation by R.K.R.
17. The morning bark of the sun.
18. Translation by R.K.R.

PDM lxi. 112–27

*A **prescription** for making a [woman] love you: An image of Osiris [made] of wax—you should . . . , you bringing hair (?) and [wool] of a donkey together with
116 a bone of a lizard. / You should [bury them under the] doorsill of her house.[19] If stubbornness occurs, you should bring it . . . the image of Osiris with (?) ram's
[col. VIII, wool; you should put the lizard bone . . . ; / you should bury it again under the
5] doorsill of her house; and you should recite . . . before Isis in the evening when the moon has risen. Listen before you bury. . . .

"O secret image of Osiris [made] of wax, O powerful one, O protection of . . . , O lord of praise, love, and respect, may you go to every house which so-and-so is [in and send so-and-so] to every house which so-and-so is in; the tips of her feet
121 follow after his heels . . . / while her eyes are crying, while her heart longs (?)
[VIII, 10] her . . . which she will do. O image of Osiris [made] of wax, if you will be stubborn [and not send so-and-so] after so-and-so, I shall go to the chest which . . . and I shall come . . . black, I shall gather it with a tooth . . . black, and I shall cause [Isis]
126 to receive . . . after Osiris her husband and [brother . . .]. / Hail to you, O lord of
[VIII, 15] time, the one whom I caused [. . .] who is in the House of the Obelisk.[20] Come [to me . . .]."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VIII/1–16.

PDM lxi. 128–47

*. . . You should cause a man to drink (?) . . . [tick] of a black dog in the right ear
132 . . . [wool?][21] of the offspring of a black ram / . . . the face (?) of your foot on the
[v. col. i, day of immersing without blood; you should kill the tick. . . . When you finish you
4] should sleep with the woman; [you should anoint] your phallus with it; you should
137 wash it . . . ; you should cause her to drink; you should send the wool / . . . of
[v. i, 9] olive; you should bind it to [your] right arm . . . ; [you] should cause the woman
142 to drink . . . of the togue of a bull . . . name . . . them in your matter / . . . your
[v. i, 14] blood; you should . . . PHAMOYROYTH THTO . . . T . . . ; wash it in [sweet?] wine
147 . . . to it / . . . to it. . . .
[v. i, 19]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, verso, col. i/1–20.

PDM lxi. 148–58

151 *Here are their names:[22] "ORNAI SORNIN . . . OZO RANAY SARZANA IAO / XOINAI
[v. col. ii, OOO NAIO MELOI NAI ERIANA E . . . ASNAI ENAMPHE, let her, NN, love me."
4] Their (?) green ink: you should dye / . . . myrrh . . . ; you should burn them;
156 and you should pound them . . . of a child for drinking (?) burnt date[wine?].
[v. ii, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, verso, col. ii/1–12.

PDM lxi. 159–96
PGM LXI. 1–38

***Commendable love charm**: . . . take pure olive oil and a beet plant and olive branches; and take seven leaves and grind them all together and pour them into the

19. Cf. *PDM* xii. 55.
20. Cf. *PDM* xii. 34.
21. As suggested by R.K.R.
22. End of the line as read by R.K.R.

olive oil until they become like olive oil. / And put it into a jar, and go up onto a housetop (or on the ground) facing the moon, and say the spell 7 times: [A, 1, 148]

"You are the olive oil; you are not the olive oil[23] but the sweat of Good Daimon, the mucus of Isis, the utterance of Helios, the power of Osiris, the favor of the gods. / I release you against her, NN, the one NN bore. Aye,[24] serve me against her, NN, before I bring the gods of compulsion against you, if you do not send her. For otherwise I will break down iron doors[25] myself. No longer will I send you for these things,[26] nor is there need of them, but I will send you for her, NN, whom NN bore, so that, if she dismisses you, / you can seize her head.[27] Cause her to swoon. Let her not know where she is. Become fire beneath her until she comes to me, so that she may love me for all time; and may she not be able either to drink or eat, until she comes to me, so that she may love me for all time. I adjure you by the great god / who is over the vault of heaven, ARBAIĒTH MOUTH NOUTH PHTHŌTHŌ PHRĒ THŌOUTH BREISON THŌTH. Hear me, greatest god, on this very day (on this night), so that you may inflame her heart, and let her love me because I have in my possession the power of the great god, whose name it is impossible / for anyone to speak, except me alone because I possess his power . . . EURIŌ MOI AEETHI EŌ Ē PHĒOUAB PHTHA ACHE ANOU // ĒSI ENES . . . E THOUL PHIMOIOU. Hear me because of Necessity, for I have spoken your name because of her, NN, whom NN bore, so that she may love me and do whatever I wish [and] so that she may forget her father and mother, brothers, husband, / friend, so that, except for me alone, she may forget them all." [A, 1, 153] [A, 1, 158] [A, 2, 165] [A, 2, 170]

And whenever you perform this spell, have an iron ring with yourself, // on which has been engraved Harpokrates sitting on a lotus,[28] and his name is ABRASAX. [A, 2, 175]

If, however, you should wish her to stop,[29] take a sun scarab and place it in the middle of her / head and say to it: "Gulp down my love charm, image of Helios; he himself orders you to do so." And pick up the scarab // and release it alive. Then take the ring and give it to her to wear, and immediately she will depart. [A, 2, 180]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PDM lxi. 197–216
PGM LXI. 39–71

***Love spell of attraction**: It attracts a woman who has been wronged by her husband. / Take from the place where bodies are mummified a spotted lizard[30] which lives around those places, and throw the same lizard into an iron vessel, and // take coals from the forge whenever they light the fire and put them into the vessel with the lizard; burn it up on the coals and while doing it say: [B, 185]

23. For this formula, see *PGM* VII. 644–46.

24. For this affirmation (ἦ), see *PGM* IV. 2288, 2331.

25. That is, the iron doors of Hades. See Betz, *Lukian* 82.

26. Or *οὐκέτι ἐπὶ ταῦτα σὲ πέμψω* may mean "no longer will I send you on these missions." [E.N.O.]

27. See Antoninus Liberalis 6. 3 for a similar use of *πιάζω* in a similar action. [E.N.O.]

28. For Harpokrates sitting on the lotus flower, see *PGM* II. 101 and n.; XII. 87.

29. The language of *παῦσαι* and *ἀπαλλαγήσεται* (l. 38) contains two meanings: the vulgar and the dismissal from the spell. See H. J. Bell, A. D. Nock, H. Thompson, "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 17 (1931): 235–88, pp. 271–72. [E.N.O.]

30. On the role of the lizard in magic, see *PGM* VII. 628 and n.

"Lizard, lizard, / as Helios and all the gods have hated you,[31] so let her, NN, hate [B, 190] her husband for all time and // her husband hate her."

Now when it has been completely cooked, keep the lizard ready for use and not touching the vessel.[32] Pick up the vessel in which it was burned and approach the gateway itself / saying: "Lizard, lizard, let Helios and all men hate you because she, [B, 195] NN, says that the mummy of the god // OSERONNŌPHRIOS PHAPRŌ OUSIRIS has been removed and devoured by you. Image of BIANDATHRĒ . . . image of TYPHON SAKTIETĒ SOGGĒTH, image of ABRASAX ANAX[IBOA], / image of [IAŌ; do not let] her, NN, come through the gateway from whatever hour Helios brightens the earth for the whole time, as long as it also increases the River out of the River,[33] [B, 200] as // long as the wild fig tree grows" ([state the usual and whatever you] wish, and depart).

/ ***[Spell written] on papyrus*** . . . with [blood] of Typhon,[34] which is . . . : "Come, father, whom the plow . . . IAKEMBRAŌTH . . . PHLOUDOUNTAS . . . / , [separate] him, NN, from her, NN, . . . turbulence . . . OENAI SORNIN . . . ŌXŌ RANAU SARXANA IAŌ LOINAI ŌŌŌ NAIŌ MELŌI NAI ERIANA / E SASTIAI ENAMPHE, let her, NN, love me."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM LXII. 1–24

*[Now let] this [lamp], not colored red, be hung. Light the lamp[1] with good oil [and] cedar oil.

"You are the fire that is unquenchable, that lies beside the great god, OSORNŌPHRI OSOR[NŌPHRI];[2] in service to him when he was smitten with love for his own / sister Senephthys,[3] you not only ran as much as sixty-six *schoeni*[4] but you encircled as many as sixty-six mountains. In this way, too, serve me, NN, against her, NN. If you do not, I will say the eight letters of Selene / which have been established in the heart of Helios. But if I am on the point of saying them and you have not set out on your way, I will go inside the seven gates around Dardaniel,[5] and I will shake the foundation of earth,[6] and the 4 elements of the world will come together[7] / so that nothing will be created from them. Dissolve into your own nature and mingle with the air, and go to her, NN, whom NN bore (add the usual) and attract her down to

31. Cf. Antoninus Liberalis 24. 3. [E.N.O.]

32. The sense is obscure because the text is uncertain. Hence the translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

33. A reference to the Nile and its periodic overflow. [E.N.O.]

34. For the blood of Seth/Typhon, see *PGM* IV. 2100 and n.

1. λυχνίζω occurs only here; ἐνλυχνιάζω is the regular verb. Cf. *PGM* I. 293; III. 585; IV. 1089; etc. [E.N.O.]

2. The repetition here, which is an Egyptian form of emphasis, has troubled Preisendanz. He omits one word and adds "(du bist es)." [E.N.O.]

3. Preisendanz takes this to be Isis-Nephthys, with reference to *PGM* XII. 235. [R.K.R.]

4. A measure of length which has no fixed value. Strabo (17. 1, 24) says that it varied from 30 to 120 stades (i.e., about 1,820–7,280 feet). [E.N.O.]

5. The name Dardaniel occurs only here. The city remains unidentified. The epithet ἑπτάπυλος (with seven gates) is usually associated with Thebes in Boiotia (see LSJ, s.v.), a city that plays a role in the sagas about the Trojan War. According to some traditions, Dardanos was the founder of Dardania (Troy); see Homer, *Il.* 20. 215–16. Whether there is a connection between these names is unclear. Cf. also *PGM* IV. 1716 and n.; IV. 2612; VII. 695.

6. On the threat to disrupt the cosmos, see *PGM* V. 284 and n.

7. The doctrine is similar to the creation myth in *C. H.* I. 17–19. See for further references Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 117–18. In the lines of the papyrus only three elements are named; water is omitted.

me with fire of the thunderbolt. I adjure you by the great god / lying in the pure earth, beside whom the unquenchable fire forever lies, ATHOUIN ATHOUIN ATHOUIN IATHAOUIN SIBELTHIOUTH IATĒT ATATĒT ADŌNE" (add the usual).

Protective spell: Wrap three peonies around your left arm and wear them.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

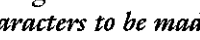
PGM LXII. 24–46

*"Come to me, god of the gods, the only one who appears from fire and wind,[8] / you who have truth on your head, who disperse the darkness, you the lord of the winds[9] LŌTH MOULŌTH[10] PNOUT EI[11] ESIŌTH, hail, lord LAMPSOURĒ IAAŌ IA . . . D."

Say these things many times. If, while you are reciting, the apparition delays: "Open up, open up, Olympos; open up, Hades; open up, Abyss. Let / the darkness be dispelled by command of the highest god and let the holy light come forth from the infinite into the abyss." Whenever it still delays, cry out in this way and again close the eyes of the boy: "Hail, holy light! Hail, eye of the world! Hail, brightness of the dawn of the world,[12] ABRA Á Ó[13] NA BABROUTHI BIE BARACHE, god. Come in, lord, / and reveal to me about the things I request of you." Then ask what you wish. . . .

Dismissal: "I give thanks to you because you came in accordance with the command of god. I request that you keep me healthy, free from terror and free from demonic attacks, ATHATHE ATHATHACHTHE ADŌNAI. Return to your holy places."

[Recite these things] over a saucer, in which you will pour 1 measure of good olive oil, and will place it on a brick, / and will carve these characters on a magnet that is [still] "breathing."

These are the characters to be made: 

Fasten the stone to the left side of the saucer, on the outside, and having embraced it with two hands, recite as shown to you. Cast (sink) in the saucer (a good dish) / the afterbirth of a dog called "white" which is born of a white dog. On the boy's chest write with myrrh: "KARBAŌTH."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 24–38) and J. Hershbell (ll. 39–46).

PGM LXII. 47–51

***A means to learn from a die whether a man is alive or has died, for example:** Make the inquirer throw this die in the [above] bowl. Let him fill this with water. Add to the [cast of the] die 612, which is [the numerical value of][14] the name of / god, i.e., "Zeus," and subtract from the sum 353, which is [the numerical value of] "Hermes." If then the number [remaining] be found divisible by two, he lives; if not, death has [him].

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LXII. 52–75

*(Year) 2 (of) Antoninus . . . 6th of Mecheir to the 7th; 6th hour of the night. / Sat-

8. Or "from fire and spirit."

9. Or "lord of the spirits."

10. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 534: "I am Lot Mulot."

11. PNOUTEI is Egyptian *pꜣ ntr*, "the god." [R.K.R.]

12. "Hail, holy light . . . dawn on the world" is written in the margin of the papyrus in seven parts next to ll. 34–39. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

13. The text has ABRA A/ O/ NA. . . . It may indicate abbreviations for ABRASAX, ADŌNAI.

14. Greek letters also served as numbers, so each word had a numerical value, the sum of the numbers signified by the letters composing it. [M.S.]

urn, horoscope in Scorpio; Jupiter, (sun) in Aquarius; Mars in Aries; Venus, (moon), Mercury in Capricorn.

(Year) 2 of the same (reign): / Jupiter, (sun), [Mercury] in Aquarius; Mars in Aries; / Venus horoscope, Mercury in Capricorn; moon in Gemini.

[Didymos.] Saturn in Libra; Jupiter, (moon), in Capricorn; Venus in Aries; / (sun) in Taurus; Mercury, Mars in Gemini; horoscope in Leo.

Dionysia. (Year?) 1 (of) Philip; 8th of Epeiph; 2nd hour of the day: Saturn, Mars [in Virgo]; Jupiter, Venus in Taurus; / Mercury [in Gemini, horoscope?], (sun?) in Cancer, [moon in Libra].

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This horoscope appears on the verso, col. i of the Warren Magical Papyrus (*PGM* LXII) but is not included in Preisendanz's edition.

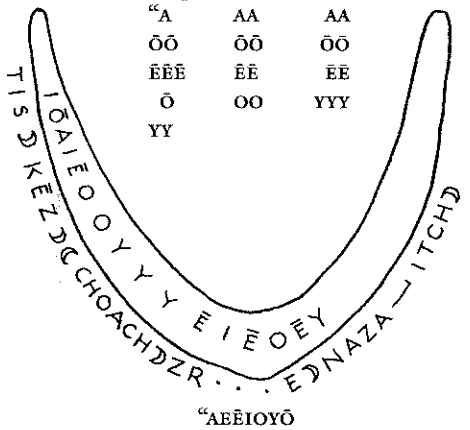
PGM LXII. 76–106

*"AR . . .
PHNOON PHEIOOUŌ ERMĒ THŌAR . . . IBARAREOUBEO . . . EA ALAŌ
ARIOUATHŌRMENERTIOUMAISI
RIOUATHŌRMENERTIOUMIAISI
I
EN"

(in this manner, shaped like a heart).

"BARDĒTEIS
GARIS
BYX . . .
TAPH . . . Y
MAN . . .
[APH]ROŌL
. . . O . . . REN
BARNARAX
BR . . . NŌREI
BRAIŌCHIŌ
ANI . . .
SISIŌ . . .
KLYGAK . . .
SIBYI. . . ."

"A AA AA
ŌŌ ŌŌ ŌŌ
ĒĒĒ ĒĒ ĒĒ
Ō OO YYY
YY



"ARMARE
TARERSOU
ATHRYŌ
SIBIBITH
TIŌŌX
ABRAUATH
DARYGKŌ
KASBE
ATHRAMO
ORKIE . . . R.
ORŌPOS . . .
THNAAPŌ . . .
ER . . . ŌR. . . ."

"AEĒIOYŌ
EĒIOYŌ
ĒIOYŌ
IOYŌ
OYŌ
YŌ
Ō."

"Let the genitals and the womb of her, NN, be open, and let her become bloody by night and day." And [these things must be written] in sheep's blood, and recite before nightfall, the offerings / (?) . . . first she harmed . . . , and bury it near sumac, or near . . . on a slip of papyrus.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIII. 1–7

*. . . pour two quarts of salt and honey wine, thus making a drink. / And say the

seven letters of magicians.[1]

The seven letters are: [A E Ē I O Y Ō].

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is severely damaged, and little remains. Of necessity, the translation is tentative in several places.

PGM LXIII. 7–12

*[**For a sleeping woman] to confess the name of the man she loves**: Place a bird's / [tongue] under her lip or on her heart and put your question, and she calls the name three times.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM LXIII. 13–20

*[Put in a new basket] a peppercorn and depart, leaving / the basket behind. Many a flask . . . SARA . . . TĒ TE . . . a [useful tablet] . . . R . . . R . . . SM . . . ELA . . . YO . . . ĒS. ISN / . . . ĒN MEL . . . ERĒSA.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The text is too mutilated to yield any sense in this short spell.

PGM LXIII. 21–24

*Find a [spotted lizard],[2] pick it up with a new[3] piece of papyrus, [write] the characters on it, and then place it under the table: ⲋ ⲗ ⲏ ⲙ ⲯ

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. A recipe of uncertain purpose.

PGM LXIII. 24–25

***A contraceptive**: Pick up a bean[4] / that has a small bug in it, and attach it as an amulet.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIII. 26–28

***A contraceptive**: Take a pierced bean and attach it as an amulet after tying it up in a piece of mule hide.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIV. 1–12



*"Strike ill, attract, send [a dream]. I call upon you by your / sacred names, PSINA PSINA KRADIDA PSIŌMOIPS. . . . [Make her] writhe at my / feet[1] for a short time [?]."[2]

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

1. *μάγων* is Hopfner's logical emendation for the *ματων* of the papyrus. The seven vowels occur often enough to make them the logical "seven letters of the magicians." [E.N.O.]
2. On the role of the lizard in magic see *PGM* VII. 628 and n.
3. Preisendanz restores the mutilated word here as *καινοῦ* (cf. also *PGM* XXIIa. 14), but *καθαροῦ* is also possible because of the parallels (see *PGM* VII. 193, 703; XXXVI. 72, 102).
4. Cf. *PGM* IV. 769, 941.
1. Reading *προκυλίνδομαι*. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.
2. Reading *ἀ[καριαίῳ]*. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

PGM LXV. 1–4

***To [prevent pregnancy]**: ". . . OCHTHIA, protect from the archetypal daimon[1] ♌ [of pregnancy]."

*Tr.: John Scarborough. The recto of this papyrus contains fragmentary portions of household recipes. The verso, given here and in the spell to follow, gives portions of two magico-medical recipes.

PGM LXV. 4–7

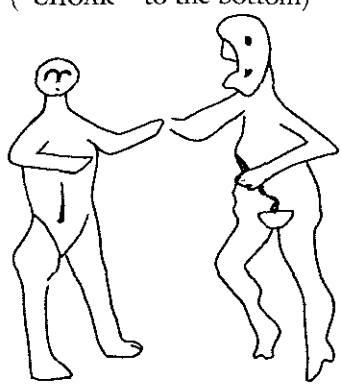
***For migraine headache**:[2] ✻ ♐ ✻ / . . . I . . . NA . . . TA. . . ."

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXVI. 1–11

*"CHAŌR
CHTHŌR
CHARARBA
CHOLBAS
CHTHRYTHYR
CHORBATH
CHTHAMNŌ
CHTHODYCHRA
CHYCHCHYCH

("CHOAR"[1] to the bottom)



"I conjure you by the great names: throw Philoxenos the harpist into strife with his friend Gennadios. Throw Pelagios the elder into strife with Philoxenos the harpist."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM LXVII. 1–24

*. . . The speaker of [the] spell for those dead and those alive [must write]: "AGE . . . AOUMA . . . EB . . . THNOBAMA . . . BABOUA . . . EU DALANALAD . . . ALKOUMI . . . OUTIZTAI AAAA IIIII EOYA BOUBITHA . . . CHANACH SANMACHANA / and KECHNOU BOUZA SANMACHANA . . . SAMMACHARA SPHAMBĒS EPOKR . . . ACHTH KAT ETA BAI KARKOPTŌ KOPTŌ KARBAR . . . AĒA PTOKOPTO KARABARBAROUTA THATH . . . CHRENPSENTHAĒS BERBAL IŌ PARP . . . RPAR, I adjure you by [the holy name of the] daimon of ĒIOY [SOU] / ŌOUS BARBARATHAM of [ADONAIŌS, the god] SABAŌTH [ABRASAX] . . . PSE . . . TA [PHONOBOUBOĒL] [of chthonic Hermes-Thouoth, arch-subduer, PHŌKENSEPSEU AREEKTATHOU MIS[ONKTAI . . . ĒI IAŌ] ĒŌĒŌ KA . . . ĒOIŌ ŌIŌĒ [SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS ERĒKISITHPHE] ARARACHARARA [ĒPHTHISIKĒRE / IABEZEBYTH] IAŌ . . . SAM . . . [ERĒKISIPHTHĒ] ARARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE . . . ĒI IAŌ [ĒŌĒ]Ō KA. By this oath I adjure [you, who . . . and] the one who has been sworn . . . remaining / [. . . of those who have died] in an [untimely] death . . . [. . . her, NN, whom] NN [bore], . . . [him, NN, whom] NN bore . . . has spoken. . . ."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is made up of five separate pieces. Preisendanz has printed basically the text of L. Koenen published in *ZPE* 8 (1971):199ff. and has omitted a translation.

1. So the rendering in LSJ, s.v. "αὐτοδαίμων," with reference to Plotinus, *Enn.* 3. 5. 6.
2. Cf. *PGM* VII. 199–201.

1. Either the *voces magicae* are to be read first or CHOAR is to be read before each word in col. 2.

PGM LXVIII. 1–20

*"As Typhon is the [adversary] of [Helios, so] also inflame [the soul] of Eutyches whom Zosime[1] / [bore], for her, [Eriea] whom [Ercheelio] bore; ABRASAX, inflame the soul and heart of him, Eutyches for him / Eutyches whom Zosime bore, now, quickly, quickly, in this same hour and on this same day. ADŌNAI, inflame the soul / and heart of Eutyches, for her Eriea [whom Ercheelio bore], now, quickly, quickly, in this same hour / and on this same day."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM LXIX. 1–3

*"PHNOUNEBEĒ (2 times), give me your strength, IŌ ABRASAX, give me your strength, for I am ABRASAX." Say it 7 times while holding your two thumbs.[1]

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM LXX. 1–4

*[This] name [is] a ***favor charm***, ***a charm to dissolve a spell***, ***a phylactery***, and ***a victory charm***: "AA EMPTŌKOM BASYM,[1] protect me."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. On this charm and others of this papyrus, see the note on *PGM* LXX. 4–25, below. Ll. 1–3 may contain the end of a spell now lost, or they may represent a complete spell.

PGM LXX. 4–25

***Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear[2] of punishment**: / If he comes forth,[3] say to him: "I am Ereschigal, the one holding her thumbs,[4] and not even one evil can befall her."

If, however, he comes close to you, take hold of your right heel[5] and recite the following:[6] "Ereschigal, virgin, bitch, / serpent, wreath, key, herald's wand, golden sandal of the Lady of Tartaros." And you will avert him.

"ASKEI KATASKEI ERŌN OREŌN IŌR MEGA SAMNYĒR BAUI[7] (3 times) PHOBANTIA SEMNĒ,[8] I have been initiated, and I went down into the [underground] chamber of the Dactyls, and I saw / the other things down below, virgin, bitch, and all the rest." Say it at the crossroad,[9] and turn around and flee, because it is at those places that she appears. Saying it late at night, about what you wish, it will reveal it in your sleep; and if you are led away to death, say it while scattering seeds of sesame, and it will save you.

/ "PHORBA PHORBA BRIMŌ AZZIEBYA." Take bran of first quality and sandalwood and vinegar of the sharpest sort and mold a cake. And write the name of so-and-so upon it, and inscribe it in such a way that you speak over it into the light the

1. The names seem confused here and should be corrected in accordance with ll. 16–17.
1. On this magical gesture, see *PGM* LXX. 6 and n.
1. For an explanation of this name, see *PGM* IV. 1377 and n.
2. The fear refers to punishment in the underworld.
3. This refers to a threatening approach by a punishment daimon.
4. For this magical gesture, see *PGM* IV. 2329; XXXVI. 163; LXIX. 3. See Betz, "Fragments," 290, n. 14.
5. Another magical gesture, for which see *PGM* IV. 1054 and Betz, "Fragments," 291, n. 18.
6. For this peculiar list of signs, see *PGM* IV. 2334–38; VII. 833; and Betz, "Fragments," 291, nn. 20 and 21.
7. The Greek has BAUI, perhaps referring to the dog's bark. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1911; XXXVI. 156. [W.B.]
8. This formula is usually called *Ephesia grammata*, or in *PGM* VII. 451 "the Orphic formula." See Betz, "Fragments," 291–92 with notes.
9. These instructions refer again to underworld experiences. See Betz, "Fragments," 293–94.

name of Hekate, and this: "Take away his sleep from such-and-such a person," and / he will be sleepless and worried.

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. Important in this spell are what appear to be liturgical remnants from the mystery cult of the Idaean Dactyls. For a more detailed commentary, see H. D. Betz, "Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95.

PGM LXX. 26–51

*__Against fear and to dissolve spells__: Speak through [two] knives [sounding loudly] this formula; but [against] evil animals it does not work [compellingly], for . . . you . . . over the . . . [speak] . . . : ". . . E . . . PHATE . . . CHNON A . . . / GE . . . OIPS . . . SĒ . . . PSO . . . SIL . . . / MO . . . and . . . CHIL . . . PER . . . PAN . . . / CHIO . . . CHO . . . AB. . . . POI . . . TOS . . . / IEO . . . DOI . . . ĒNE, so that (?) CHY . . . / ERE . . . TOU. . . ."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. See note to *PGM* LXX. 4–25. In this spell, the sense of ll. 30ff. cannot be recovered, though the text probably contained the invocation.

PGM LXXI. 1–8

*__A phylactery__: "Great [god] in heaven revolving the world, the true god, IAŌ! Lord, ruler of all, ABLANATHANALBA, grant, grant me this favor, / let me have the name of the great god in this phylactery, and protect, from every evil thing, me whom NN bore, [NN] begot."

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LXXII. 1–36

*[__Rite concerning the Bear__: Prepare] an earthen [censer, and] during the 6th hour of the night [offer to the Bear] moss of a savin [in it. Do it before] three days / [after you called on] the Bear nine times from a high roof. Write [on a piece of papyrus] with a mixture of ink and myrrh [concerning everything] which you want, [add] the name, "NEB/[OUTOSOUALĒTH"] and [show] both the strip of papyrus [and] what is written on [it to the goddess . . .] within [one hour. Speak with your hands] folded / on your head, [praying in a loud voice to the Bear: "Hail,] O queen of mortals [and of gods. Hail,] heavenly ruler, [queen] of men. Depart[1] . . . / I beseech you. . . ."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This spell, a cryptogram from the same source as *PGM* LVII, is edited and commented upon by S. Eitrem, *Mélanges Maspero* 2, 113–17; see also Eitrem and L. Amundsen, *Papyri Osloenses*, vol. III (Oslo: Dybwad, 1936) 38–40, no. 75.

PGM LXXVII. 1–24

*If you wish to receive a revelation concerning whatever you wish, say this formula to yourself, saying nothing aloud: / "I call upon you, who are seated in the middle of a field,[1] you who with power direct the universe, at whom the daimons tremble, whom the mountains dread, / whom angels fall down to worship, whom the sun and moon fall down to worship, you who have heaven for your throne, ether as a place for your dancing place, and earth as your footstool, IOU IOU / APHARA . . . THOMARA ARABRŌ . . . IOU IOU. Holy, [holy,] boundless, boundless, star-organizer, [fire-breathing, SANTHĒNŌR, gold]-/sandaled [god], reveal." And without causing fear or trembling he will, clearly and soberly, reveal concerning the NN thing. Do this while you are pure, and burn frankincense at the place.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

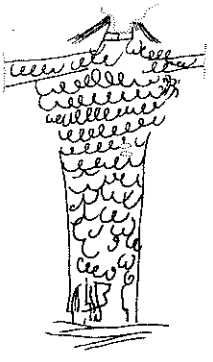
1. Text and translation are uncertain at this point. Preisendanz translates differently.

1. See on this point the parallels in *PGM* IV. 3023; XIV. 8.

PGM LXXVIII. 1–14

*[For any place], either home or workshop. [It attracts a woman] to a man. The same one [makes them steadfast] and faithful: Take a leaf [of lead] and with a nail write the figure[1] while saying [the name / that follows and]: "I shall burn up the house and the [soul of him, NN, to] cause desire for her, NN, whom NN bore, whom NN bore,[2] as Typhon did [not] allow Osiris to find sleep. For I am [master of] MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUN[KENTABAŌTH / OREOBA]ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN [PYRIPĒ]GANYX. Fulfill this for me, all-brightener, august light-bringer [of gods and daimons]."

Name of the all-[powerful] god: IAŌ IAŌ IAŌ.



*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. For notes on the text, see also F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 371–74.

PGM LXXIX. 1–7

***Charm to restrain anger**, which is to be spoken three times: "I am the soul of darkness, ABRASAX, the eternal one, MICHAĒL, but my true name is THŌOUTH, THŌOUTH.[1] Restrain the anger and / wrath [of him, NN] toward me, NN, [with] the authority of the great god NEOUPHNEIŌTH."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The text is the same as in *PGM* LXXX., but by another scribe and in better condition.

PGM LXXX. 1–5

***Charm to restrain anger**, [which is to be spoken] three times: "I am the soul of darkness, ABRASAX, the eternal one, MICHAĒL, but my true name is THŌOUTH, THŌOUTH. Restrain the anger and wrath of him, NN, toward me, NN, with the authority of the great / god NEOUPHNEIŌTH."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The text is the same as *PGM* LXXIX. 1–7.

PGM LXXXI. 1–10

*"Hail, Helios! Hail SAPEIPHNĒP! Hail, savior! Hail, ABRASAKX! / Hail, PETKĒIERCHENEIN KAMTĒROU. Hail, ĒLOUAI. Hail, ELOUEIN. Hail, PETAIPINAKSNEUEI . . . XA . . . PETENTAETKĒPKEIEICHIN DONAIROUBI OPIANOS OPIANOS BASI[L]ISKOS / TIARKAMIKEINTEU." Pronouncement of the name.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. According to Preisendanz (ad loc.), this list of greetings was supposed to give protection, perhaps protection for a house—an interpretation he derives from his reading of the other side of the papyrus, "defense for a house."

1. The figure is given below, following the spell. See Preisendanz, vol. II, plate IV, figure 2. For a collection of images of Artemis *multimammaea*, see R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesus und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, *EPRO* 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

2. The apparent duplication is in the papyrus.

1. The *voces magicae* are Coptic, written in Greek letters.

PGM LXXXII. 1–12

*. . . divide[1] . . . glue it together[2] . . . [the lamellae,] that is, much . . . having determined, to water . . . / weave the roots[3] [from all the trees] . . . having separated, with the rain waters . . . having determined . . . from one another, / having measured out the evergreen [plants] . . . fire from the . . . and anoint the cups. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of G. Manteuffel, *Papyri Varsovienses* (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 1935) no. 4: Fragmentum libri magici, 6–7. All that can be said of this fragmentary text is that it seems to have preserved a section of a magical textbook dealing with the making of a certain ingredient.

PGM LXXXIII. 1–20

***For [fever with shivering fits]:**[1] "GŌBA . . . S . . . MŌ . . . NOUSĒA . . . EIEGE . . . OSARK . . . AUSE fever with shivering fits, / I conjure you, MICHAĒL, archangel of the earth; [whether] it is daily or nightly / or quartan fever; I conjure you, the Almighty SABAŌTH, that it no longer touch the soul of the one who carries [this], nor [touch] his whole body; also the dead, deliver, . . . the distress IDOT . . . YGRSBŌNŌE. . . . / "

"He who dwells in the help of the Most High shall abide in the shadow of the God of heaven. He will say of God, 'thou art my refuge and my help; I will put my trust in him.'"[2]

"Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy will; / our daily bread."[3]

"Holy, holy is the Lord SABAŌTH, heaven is full of justice, holy is the one of glory."[4]

"ANIAADA . . . IA, MIGAĒL[5] of lords, Abraham Isaac Jacob ELŌEI ELŌE Solomon(?) / SABAŌTH ŌĒL. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of E. H. Kase, Jr., *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections, II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936) no. 107: Gnostic Fever Amulet, 102–3. This fever amulet is of special interest because it cites several biblical verses. Despite the writer's use of these citations, the character of the spell shows it is syncretistic rather than distinctively Christian. In fact, the incoherent manner by which the verses are quoted suggests that the writer was ignorant of their context and meaning.

PGM LXXXIV. 1–21

*". . . KOACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPSACHE
KOACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPSACH
OACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPSA
ACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPS
CHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTH
AMIPHŌNCHŌŌ
MIRPHŌNCHŌ
IPHŌNCH
PHŌN
Ō."

[magical symbols, about ten in number]

1. In accordance with our standard translation of the aorist participle λάβων, these participles are rendered as imperatives.

2. Or συνπεριπήγνυμι may mean "make to congeal around together." The word is apparently attested nowhere else in Greek literature.

3. For the use of roots in magic, cf. *PGM* XXIIa. 6; XII. 103, 397, 659, etc.

1. As the editor points out, the reading of the text at this point is far from certain.

2. This is a quotation of LXX Ps 90:1–2, with some peculiar variations.

3. This is a somewhat confused quotation of the Lord's Prayer, Mt 6:9–11. The papyrus may read "your father."

4. Apparently this is an allusion to LXX Is 6:3.

5. Read "Michael."

"Fetch Ptolemais whom Helen bore, for Ptolemaios whom Didyme bore. / Inflame her liver and spirit and heart and soul until she leaps up and comes, that is, Ptolemais whom / Helena bore, to Ptolemaios whom Didyme bore; immediately, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Edmund Harris Kase, Jr., *Papyri in Princeton University Collections, II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936) no. 76: Erotic Incantation, 73–74.

PGM LXXXV. 1–6

*". . . let him marvel, all THAE . . . drive away, make the daimons (?).[1] . . ."

Let the one who has written [this] be glad, and the haunts [of spirits][2] . . . he knows not, but beautifully a picture (?).[3] . . . /

Another: . . . .

[Another]: . . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. Enoch Powell, *The Rendel Harris Papyri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936) no. 56: Magical Spells, p. 38. This text is taken from three tiny fragments which date to the first or second century A.D. Although the text is quite fragmentary, its early date makes it important. Furthermore, the recurring expression "another [spell]," shows that we are dealing with a collection from a magical handbook.

PGM LXXXVI. 1–2

*"Protect him, NN, whom [she, NN bore]." Attach [this] as an amulet around the neck.[1]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach*, II (Cairo: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1940) no. 89: Formulaire magique, 32–33. This tiny fragment preserves portions of two spells; the first contains instructions for making a simple amulet. The second preserves the beginning of a magical procedure of an uncertain nature.

PGM LXXXVI. 3–7

*At sunrise,[2] on the 10th day of the month of Didymon . . . the next day, during the ninth hour, write . . . / of a female goat . . . XEONTA . . . DONO . . . ZOU. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky; see the note on *PGM* LXXXVI. 1–2, above.

PGM LXXXVII. 1–11

*"SAMOUSOUM SOUMA SOUMĒ SOUMĒIA MEISOUAT . . . SROUAT, my lord, ROUAT . . . [deliver ?] John from the shivering fit and fever that has (him); [cleanse?] the daily fever from this (?) shivering (?) . . . / [all] the headache, daily fevers, nightly, quartan, semitertian, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. . . . TA. ĒMŌNO . . . ARA the angel; . . . [deliver?] John from every shivering fit and fever, from this very day, from the present [hour throughout] / his entire lifetime; [grant him healing?], immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the new reading of F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci. (III.)," *Studi classici e orientali* 32 (1982): 235–40 (tav. XXVI),

1. Reading δαιμόνια instead of δαιμονιε.
2. Reading τὰ ἤθε[α . . . πν]ευμά[των
3. Reading γράμμα, "picture," "character," in the sequence γραμμασ[. . .

1. For similar instructions, cf. *PGM* VII. 198, 208; XIII. 669.
2. The editor restores the first letters of this word. Performing a magical ritual on a specified day is common in the *PGM*; see, e.g., *PGM* VII. 155–67; XIII. 15, 349, 1037.

esp. 235–38. Cf. the original edition of W. Schubert, *Die Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1942), *P. Erl.* 37: *Zaubertext*. For commentary and the suggested readings in the lacunae, consult the notes of Maltomini in the work cited here.

PGM LXXXVIII. 1–19

*"ZAGOURĒ PAGOURĒ
AGOURĒ PAGOUR
GOURĒ PAGOU
OURĒ PAGO
URĒ PAG
RĒ PA
Ē P
E."

"O excellent / ruling angels, give [him, NN] whom Sophia bore, rest from / the fever that restrains him; this very day, this very hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of A. C. Johnson and S. P. Goodrich, *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections, III* (Princeton University Studies in Papyrology 4; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), no. 159: Fever Amulet, 78–79. The text has also been published by Bruce M. Metzger, "A Magical Amulet for Curing Fevers," in Boyd L. Daniels and M. Jack Suggs, eds., *Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament in Honor of Kenneth Willis Clark* (Studies and Documents 20; Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1967) 89–94; reprinted in Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian* (Leiden: Brill, 1968) 104–10.

PGM LXXXIX. 1–27

*"I, Abrasax, shall deliver. Abrasax am I! ABRASAX ABRASICHŌOU, help little / Sophia-Priskilla. Get hold of and do away with what comes to little Sophia- / Priskilla, whether it is a shivering fit—get hold of it! Whether a phantom—get hold of it! Whether a daimon—get hold of it! / I, Abrasax, shall deliver. Abrasax am I! ABRASAX ABRASICHŌOU. Get hold of, get hold of / and do away with . . . what comes to little Sophia-Priskilla on this very day, / whether it is a shivering fit—do away with it! Whether a daimon—do away with it!"

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Erik J. Knudtzon, "Aus der Papyrussammlung der Universitätsbibliothek in Lund, IV," *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Årsberättelse*, 1945–1946 (Lund: Gleerup, 1946) no. 12: *Zauberspruch*, 74–75 (taf. 6).

PGM XC. 1–13

*". . . [calling] the lord, him [healthy(?)], and PANNANOM, in addition, MICHAĒL MICHAĒL MICHAĒL GABRIĒL / RAPHAĒL OURIĒL EMANOUĒL SACHAPHAPABA SABAŌTH [BAŌTH] IĒ PHA BRIĒL god, god IAŌ SOEOSTYOU . . . ŌNAAMIN BIĒCHENO . . . MAS / ĒMRAĒL ANAĒL KEMOUĒL BIAMLISONTOMIPANIAŌ BAŌBBBB (add the usual). ⊀ᛉ✳⊠⊛⊛ᛉ⊀☥" (add the usual).

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the text given by Augusto Traversa, "Frammento di papiro magico," *Aegyptus* 33 (1953): 57–62. The text is mutilated; it contains some Coptic letters.

PGM XC. 14–18

***A salve [for] fever**: Write: "▽ ▽ϟ⅂/ ABRAAM ĒHĒ (add the usual) TIT AA M ŌŌ . . . ICHAU . . . TĒR . . . CHOUAS . . . EKIRA . . . ŌSTA . . . MAR . . . LOHĒ . . . SĒTĒ . . . TAS."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. For the reference to the edition of this papyrus, see the note on *PGM* XC. 1–13. The charm apparently served as a fever amulet.

PGM XCI. 1–14

*"ABLANATHANALBA
BLANATHANALB
[LA]NATHANAL
ANATHANA
NATHAN
ATHA
TH.

"Melt (?) . . . [NN], whom NN bore . . . / who has . . . the daily . . . reaching out this very day, this very hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of D. S. Crawford, *Papyri Michaelidae* (Aberdeen: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1955) no. 27: Magical Charm, 49–50. The editor suggests that this fragment is a curse or a love charm; however, the mention of "daily" in l. 11, as well as "who has" in l. 10 (a typical description in the *PGM* for an affliction) suggests it is a fever amulet.

PGM XCII. 1–16

**Your great name, for*[1] *favor*: "Everyone fears your great might. Grant me the good things:[2] the strength of AKRYSKYLOS,[3] / the speech of EUŌNOS, the eyes of Solomon,[4] the voice of ABRASAX, the grace of ADŌNIOS, the god.[5] Come to me, Kypris, / every day.[6] The hidden name bestowed to you(?) [is this]: THOATHOĒTHATHOOYTHAETHŌUSTHOAITHITHĒTHOINTHŌ; grant me victory, / repute, beauty toward all men and all women."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of B. R. Rees, H. I. Bell, and J. W. B. Barns, eds., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A., II* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1959), no. 58: Magical Charm, 22–24 (pl. VII).

PGM XCIII. 1–6

*. . . [sacrifice and] . . . bury[1] . . . the same all [around?] . . . ; pour blood into a vessel . . . / and on the outside besprinkle[2] . . . to Hekate. . . . [i, 5]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliacus, eds., *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, vol. II (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1960) no. 65: Magical Prescriptions (?), 45–47 (pl. III, i). The ascription of this fragment of a parchment leaf to a Greco-

1. The editors suggest the first three letters are a magical name, EIE. L. 1, they admit, makes little sense regardless of what is read; however, the photograph of the papyrus shows that one might read the preposition εἰς, "for, unto." The sentence thus seems clearer, although the reading and translation remain tentative.

2. The language and temper of this charm show that this spell is one used to acquire favor and victory. Cf. for example *PGM* XII. 397–400 etc.

3. The following list of names whose powers the client is requesting suggests that each person named is recognized for his special attribute. Thus, Akryskylos is recognized for his strength, Euōnos for his speech, and so on. Neither Akryskylos nor Euōnos (*sic* for Euō[nym]os? [so the editors]) can be identified; however, each of the following personalities is recognizable. Cf. *PGM* VII. 1017–26.

4. Or, possibly, "the glances of Solomon," according to the editors. Although Solomon was a popular magical figure, the mention of his "eyes" is not common. Consult the note in the original cited above, p. 23, n. 6. On the other hand, cf. the αὐγή that illumines Solomon's mind in the *Test. Sol.*, Rec. C, Prologus, 2 (McCown, *Testament* 76).

5. Adonis is here rendered by the variant spelling Adōnios. Adonis is often associated with Kypris, a popular name for Aphrodite.

6. Or, if accusative of duration, "for the whole day," that is, presumably for the duration of each day which the person wears the charm.

1. The command to bury something occurs in *PGM* IV. 2215; XII. 100, where an inscribed tablet and an egg are referred to. The context here, however, gives no hint of what is to be buried.

2. On sprinkling dove's blood to dismiss a deity, see *PGM* II. 177.

Egyptian magical handbook is fairly certain. Although the two sides contain no *voces magicae*, and thus we may have a simple manual of sacrificial procedures, the presence of the name Hekate in l. 6 (side 1) suggests a magical text. Also, in the margin of l. 7 the number 43 occurs, which the editor describes as a numbering of the magical procedures.

PGM XCIII. 7–21

10 *43 . . . and whatever you wish[3] . . . blind, on . . . / stomach (?) . . . a cock [which
[i, 10] is alive] . . . ; bring it and set it on the . . . the piglet[4] and the / . . . carrying, out-
15 side of many (?) . . . the house; . . . and offer this . . . nine women . . . in front of
[ii, 15] the doors . . . / [it is] believed (?). . . .
20
[ii, 20]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliacus (see introductory note on previous spell), 46, side i, ll. 7–10; side ii, ll. 11–21. The procedure described here is of an uncertain purpose. The spell after l. 10 (side ii) may be independent of the preceding lines.

PGM XCIV. 1–6

*". . . YNYEL . . . STOOU . . . M . . . SEGEIR . . . Y . . . Y ERBĒTH . . . E . . . OUCHI."[1]

5 ***Drying powder made with saffron [for] sharp eyesight***: / KA . . . AL . . . 2 drams. Use a dram of boar skin which has been dried in the sun.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus, eds., *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, II (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1960) no. 66: Magico-Medical Prescriptions, 47–49. The papyrus begins with the fragments of an invocation of unknown purpose. The prescriptions are separated by paragraph marks.

PGM XCIV. 7–9

****For excellent health***:[2] Write on an amulet: "ABRAŌ . . . ARŌN BARA BAR . . . A . . . Ō."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 10–16

10 ****A phylactery for [fever]***: . . . RARA . . . leather . . . seven days . . . [and] wear
15 / . . ." ⊗⋈ZS. . . S . . . ⊗⋈. . . ZX . . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 17–21

****For those possessed by daimons***: ". . . T . . . Y . . . depart . . . YT. . . ." The things
20 prescribed below . . . / "ATR . . . Y SOLŌMŌN . . . is washed. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 22–26

****For the eyes***: Make a gothic (?) [figure][3] and carve [on it the] following: one who

3. References to stating one's wish are regularly found throughout the *PGM*. For very similar wording, cf. *PGM* IV. 1907.

4. As the editor points out, the cock and the pig probably serve as sacrificial animals. For the use of a cock in magical sacrifices, see *PGM* IV. 237; XII. 312; XIII. 377, 437–38, and so on. Pigs are found less often as sacrificial animals in the *PGM*.

1. As the editors suggest, these lines may have consisted entirely of magical words. In the sequence ERBĒTH can be read.

2. Or "easy healing." The word is a hapax legomenon, as the editors point out.

3. Following the interpretation of the editors.

[holds (?) with the left] / hand, in the middle . . . : "CHACH. . . ." 25
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6. The instructions seem to describe the manufacturing of a *figura magica.*

PGM XCIV. 27–35

**[For] tumors [and]* . . . : . . . [the] following . . . / [write] on a leaf [the] following things and boil . . . the leaf . . . "⊗⊗ ϐϐ⚹⚹. . . ⚹ϟϟ, flesh (?). . . ." 30
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 36–38

**[For . . .] and strangury*: [write on a] tin lamella [the following]: "MARŌTHA . . . M. . . ."
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 39–60

**Another, for migraine headache*:

/ ". . . IYIŌ
. . . YAŌŌ
. . . ŌYOŌ
. . . OY." 40

It delivers (?). ***And this is Neros' (?)*[4] *formula*:

/ "OURBEDERAEIS OUROURBEDERAEIS OUROUROUBEDERAEIS EISTHES ABRASA ELECH BELLENOURE OUNOURE BAPHAMMĒCH, to you I speak, pounding headache: don't throb, don't rage, / don't shake the teeth, don't produce mucus, don't produce a 'black-out', don't stir up convulsions. For if there is throbbing, raging, shaking of teeth, producings of mucus, producings of a 'black-out,' / or stirrings of a convulsion . . . BŌ . . . G . . . A . . . ⚹ . . . CH . . . / . . . A. . . ." 45 50 55 60
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XCV. 1–6

*. . . on the left sole of one foot,[1] near (?) . . . having subjected . . . [upon?] . . . and there will a be reward for the. . . . Take the skin of a mouse . . . / and have in the workshop, beneath. . . . 5 [col. i, 5]
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, III (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1967) no. 140: Magico-Medical Prescriptions, 71, Fr. (a). This portion of the formulary describes the engraving of parts of a figure, perhaps a magical doll for the purpose of subjugating someone. The description of the mouse skin either begins a new spell or introduces part of a procedure belonging to the previous charm.

PGM XCV. 7–13

**Concerning the mole[-rat]*:[2] one (?) mole-rat that is alive . . . a remedy (?) for (?)

4. Reading perhaps a proper name here; however, the editors note that *νηρου* may be "fresh (water)" (cf. modern Greek *νερό*), in which case the spell is to be recited over it.

1. The prescription is describing what to engrave on a waxen or clay figure such as we find in *PGM* IV. 296–335, 2373–2440; and VII. 927. These references describe the function of the left sole of the foot (along with other parts of the body) in a specified magical procedure. *PGM* VII. 927 (a charm to subject someone) commands one to place a tablet under the left sole of the foot. The mention of subjection in the spell above suggests that we have here a "charm to subject" (*hypotaktikon*).

2. The editors point out that the blind-rat or mole-rat (*Spalax typhlus*) may possibly be used as the remedy for the epilepsy.

epilepsy (?)[3] . . . / on the first of the month . . . [altar?]. . . .
[col. ii, 4]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus (see note on previous spell) 71, col. ii. The editors identify this spell as a prescription for the "sacred disease." The spell, we should note, comes under a heading apparently arranged according to the magical virtues of the animal. Such arrangements are typical for a number of magico-medical prescriptions, in which case this section would enumerate the medicinal or magical values of the blind-rat (*Spalax typhlus*).

PGM XCV. 14–18

*. . . ***This will be a remedy for you for all cases*** of . . . : / . . . ATHOU, given thrice, in the month it delivers, in the same manner both those afflicted by epileptic seizures and by . . . thus by our returning thanks . . . ***those affected by lung disease***. . . .
[(b), 2]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus (see note on previous papyrus) 71, fr. (b). The formulary at this point seems to provide a remedy for epilepsy. The beginning of a new remedy seems to be given at the end.

PGM XCVI. 1–8

*". . . AS (7 times) MELI XARO ŌRO AAAAAAA BAINCHŌŌŌCH MAI ĒEI / LĒNAGKOLI, protect him who carries [this amulet]."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the revised text of R. W. Daniel, "Some PHYLAKTĒRIA," *ZPE* 25 (1977): 150–53 (text two). The text was originally published by J. O'Callaghan in *Chronique d'Egypte* 43 (1968): 111–13, and subsequently commented upon by M. Vandoni in *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti* 102 (1968): 532–34 and again by J. O'Callaghan in *Studia Papyrologica* 8 (1969): 115–18. It is recognized that the text is a version of ll. 7–8 of *P. Oslo* I.5 (= *PGM* 3); however, whereas *PGM* 3 is Christian, this one is not. This text, moreover, is virtually complete, save for the slightly cut-away edges which suggest the papyrus was inserted in a case to be worn as an amulet.

PGM XCVII. 1–6

*. . . [wrap it up in purple] cloth. . . .

[***Another***:] Cut out the right [eye] of a lizard and / [enclose it] in [goat skin]; attach it to [your] left [eye].

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 109–11. Extant are only a few remnants of two columns, the first of which is too fragmentary to translate here. The individual spells in this collection of recipes are divided by *paragraphi*. Wortmann thinks the spell is against eye disease because the lizard is often used to that effect in magic. See A. D. Nock, "The Lizard in Magic and Religion," *Essays I*, 271–76. The purpose of the first recipe cannot be recovered.

PGM XCVII. 7–9

*[***Another***: Grind up the heart[1] of a nightowl[2] [with . . .], and [anoint yourself].[3]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

PGM XCVII. 10–13

/ *[***Another***: KR . . . ĒS, and TŌ . . . OS at the same time [attach as an amulet] . . . of a bull[4] . . . with one thong of a male goat. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

3. Remedies for epilepsy are not found often in *PGM*. For literature and discussion of epilepsy in antiquity, see in particular E. Lesky and J. H. Waszink, "Epilepsie," *RAC* 5 (1965): 819–31.

1. Cf. *PGM* III. 427.

2. For the nightowl, see *PGM* I. 223; XXXVI. 264.

3. Cf. *PGM* II. 19; VIII. 185, 192; XXXVI. 291–92

4. Cf. the reading by F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 176.

PGM XCVII. 15–17

/ **For every* [*disease*: Take] a scarab . . . K . . . IO . . . THEN. . . . 15
*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

PGM XCVIII. 1–7

*"A	Victorious[2] in everything is
EE	the nourisher[3] of
ĒĒĒ	the whole inhabited
IIII	world, lord Sarapis;
OOOOO	deliver[4]
YYYYYY	Artemidora."
ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ[1]	

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1969): 107–8.

PGM XCIX. 1–3

*"God is one who heals every sickness."
*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 105.

PGM C. 1–7

*"A /// EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ[1] ABLANATHAMALA[2] . . . EŌ AKRAMMACHAMARI KAI CHA K AI; lord god of gods,[3] heal everything with Thaës . . . E . . . ECHAIMA / ĒLO . . . OYEA dissolve.[4] The name of the father of Christ[5] BB [BBBB][6] 5
ⲭⲭⲟ⳿ⲥⲥⲭⲭⲍⲛ Heal Thaes, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."
*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 102–04.

PGM CI. 1–53

*"I bind you[1] with the indissoluble fetters of the underworld Fates and mighty Necessity, for I conjure you, daimons, who lie here[2] and who move about here and who keep busy here, and the boys here who have died prematurely.[3]

"I conjure you by the invincible god, IAŌ BARBATHIAŌ BRIMIAŌ CHERMARI, to rise up, O daimons who are lying / here, and to search for Euphemia, whom 5
Dorothea bore, [for] Theon, whom Proechia bore. During the whole night let her not find sleep, but fetch her until she comes before his feet and loves him with mad love and affection and intercourse. For I have bound her brain and her hands and her intestines and her genitals, and her heart to love me, Theon.

1. For this formation of the vowels in form of a grape, cf. *PGM* I. 13 and n.; C and n. 1.
2. For this important epithet of Sarapis, see Wortmann's commentary, 107.
3. This epithet of Sarapis also occurs in *PGM* XIII. 638–39; XII. 244; XIII. 772–73; XXI. 7–10.
4. Probably from daimons; cf. *PGM* IV. 86–87; V. 125–26.

1. This series of vowels is called κλίμα. See *PGM* I. 13 and n.; XIXa. 33, etc. On the whole, see C. Lenz, "Carmina figurata," *RAC* 2 (1954): 910–12.
2. Misspelled for the common palindrome ABLANATHANALBA.
3. So the restoration by Wortmann on the basis of *PGM* II. 53; IV. 180.
4. Probably referring to the disease.
5. This Christian influence shows the syncretism of the spell.
6. The BBBB have been lined out in the manuscript.

1. The second-person singular, apparently referring to Euphemia; the daimons are addressed in the second person plural.
2. Cemeteries are the preferred dwelling places of the daimons.
3. The spirits of infants of premature death are preferred mediums of the magicians.

"But if you disobey and do not quickly / carry out what I tell you, the sun will not set under the earth, and neither Hades nor the world [will] exist.[4] But if you fetch for me Euphemia, whom Dorothea bore, for me, Theon whom Proechia bore, I shall give you Osiris Nophrioth, the brother of Isis, and he [will] bring you fresh water and he shall give rest, too, for your souls.[5] But if you do not carry out for me what I tell you, / the EŌNEBYŌTH[6] shall burn you.

"I conjure you, daimons, who are lying here, IEŌ IIIIAIA ĒIA IAŌ IAĒ IAŌ ALILAMPS. I deposit [this spell] for you in this land of the dogs.[7] Bind Euphemia to love me, Theon. O daimons, I adjure you by the stele of the gods, I adjure you by the ones in the innermost shrines, I adjure you by the names of the all-seeing god, IA IA / IA IŌ IŌ IŌ IE IE IE OYŌA ADŌNAI. I conjure the one pleased in the temple,[8] and the blood[9] which the great god IŌTHATH[10] has received. I conjure you by the one who sits upon the four pinnacles of [the] winds.[11]

"Do not disobey me, but do [it] quickly, because ordering you is[12] AKRAMMACHAMARI BOULOMENTOREB GENIOMOUTHIG DĒMOGENĒD ENKYKLIE ZĒNOBIŌTHIZ / ĒSKŌTHŌRĒ THŌTHOUTHŌTH IAEOUŌI KORKOOUNOŌK LOULOENĒL, MOROTHOĒPNAM NERXIARXIN XONOPHOĒNAX ORNEOPHAO PYROBARYP REROUTOĒR SESENMENOURES TAUROPOLIT YPEPHENOURY PHIMEMAMEPH CHENNEOPHEOCH PSYCHOMPOIAPS ŌRIŌN, the true one. May I not be compelled to say the same things again, IŌĒ IŌĒ. Fetch Euphemia, whom / Dorothea bore, for Theon, whom his mother Proechia bore, to love me with love and longing and affection and intercourse, with mad love. Burn her members, her liver, her female parts, until she comes to me, longing me and not disobeying me. For I conjure you by the mighty Necessity, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ[13] PHENOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN / HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRICHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX LEPETAN LEPETAN MANTOUNOBOĒL, in order that you bind for me Euphemia, for me, Theon, in affection and in love and in longing for a period of ten months[14] from today, which is the 25th of Hathyr of the second year of the indiction.

"And again I conjure you by the one who rules over you, in order that you do not disobey me. And again I conjure you by the one who is in charge of the air. And / again I conjure you by the seven thrones, ACHLAL LALAPHENOURPHEN

4. The operator threatens the gods with upsetting the cosmic order; see *PGM* IV. 185–86; XXXIV, and Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 92–93.

5. The dead in the netherworld suffer from thirst, while Osiris brings them the drink of life. See Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 94–95.

6. This name is otherwise not known. See Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 95.

7. Apparently referring to the desert cemetery where hyenas roam about. Thus Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 96.

8. Following Wortmann's interpretation of *ōap* as "temple" (97). (I should prefer to take *ōap* as abaton, "innermost shrine" [see l. 18] and the god as Osiris. Note that Osiris is called "he who rests in the abaton," whereby "rest" in Egyptian is *ḥtp*, which corresponds to Greek *εὐδοκεῖν*. [J.B.])

9. The blood is that of the enemies of the gods, especially that of Seth. See D. Wortmann, "Das Blut des Seth," *ZPE* 2 (1968):227–30, who refers to Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 6, 353 B, and Rv 16:4 as parallels.

10. That is, Hermes-Thoth.

11. For the four winds, see *PGM* III. 496; XII. 84, 238; XIII. 761, and Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 97–98.

12. The list of names contains the twenty-four names of the Greek alphabet; each name, except the first and the last, also ends with the letter of the alphabet. See Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 146–51; Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 98, who calls attention to the unique character of this list.

13. For the MASKELLI MASKELLŌ formula, see Glossary, s.v.

14. Ten lunar months was considered the normal period of pregnancy. See J. Bergman, "Decem illis diebus," *Ex Orbe Religionum*. Studia Geo Widengren oblata (Leiden: Brill, 1972) I, 332–46.

BALEŌ BOLBEŌ BOLBEŌCH BOLBESRŌ YYPHTHŌ,[15] and by the relentless god, CHMOUŌR ABRASAX IPSENTHANCHOUCHAINCHOUCHEŌCH. Seize Euphemia and fetch her for me, Theon, to love me with mad love, and bind her with indissoluble, strong, adamantine fetters / to love me, Theon; and do not let her eat, or drink, or find sleep, or have fun, or laugh; but make her run away from every place and from every house, and leave father, mother, brothers, sisters,[16] until she comes to me, Theon, being fond of me, loving me, Theon, in unending love and mad affection. But if she has another one at her / bosom, move her to push him away and forget him and hate him, but me she shall be fond of and love with affection and grant[17] me her favors, and she shall do nothing against my will. You, these holy names and these powers, confirm and carry out this perfect enchantment; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 85–102. The papyrus was found folded up in a clay vessel and deposited in a cemetery. Inside the folded papyrus were found two wax figurines in erotic embrace (cf. *PGM* IV. 296ff.).

PGM CII. 1–17 [frag. E, D, C]

*. . . over [the lamp] . . . your hand, and [when you are almost awake] the god [will come and speak to you, and . . .] / [. . . and smear the picture with the black (?) of Isis . . .] But [the strip of cloth . . .]. Take rainwater[3] . . . Speak this [***formula*** over the] lamp: [fr. E][1] [fr. D][2]

["I call upon you,] / the headless god,[4] the one who [has his head and] his face [upon his feet;[5]] you who are hurling lightning [and who are thundering]; you are the one whose mouth [constantly pours forth] fire;[6] [you are the one who is over] Necessity. I call upon you, [the headless] god . . . [the one who has his head and his face upon his feet,] / strong[7] BĒSAS, [the dim-sighted one. You are the one lying on a coffin] and having at the side of the head . . . an elbow cushion . . . and of bitumen[8] . . . , the one whom they call, ANOUTH ANOUTH, lord. . . . You are not a daimon, but the blood of . . . , / and of the 30 and of the 104 falcons[9] who are also chattering and watching before the head of Osiris.[10] . . ."

/ . . . and from impurity . . . over the lamp . . . wholely black. . . . [fr. C][11]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, according to the edition by R. A. Coles et al., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 36 (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1970), no. 2753: Magical Spells, 27–28. The papyrus, a request for a dream oracle, was cut into several pieces, all severely damaged. It is not clear whether there were one or two spells. Some of the lines can be restored on the basis of remarkably close parallels elsewhere in *PGM*.

15. The names of the seven thrones are attested here for the first time completely. See Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 101.

16. For parallels see *PGM* IV. 2756–59; XV. 4–5; and Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 101.

17. See Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 102, who refers to *PGM* IV. 2740–41, 2759–61.

1. Almost all is restored on the basis of *PGM* VII. 226–30.

2. As restored from *PGM* VII. 231–41.

3. For the association of the headless god with rainwater, see *PGM* VII. 224, 319–20; V. 152; LXI. 7.

4. For the headless god, see *PGM* II. 11; V. 98, 125, 145–46; VII. 233, 243, 442; VIII. 91; *Test. Sol.* 9. 1, and the discussion in Bonner, *SMA* 58, 110–11, 164–66.

5. Cf. *PGM* VII. 234; VIII. 91. See Bonner, *SMA* 110.

6. The fire has been omitted in *PGM* VII. 234.

7. Cf. on this epithet *PGM* V. 129.

8. Cf. *PGM* VII. 237; VIII. 98.

9. The number of falcons varies: cf. *PGM* VII. 239–40 (with Preisendanz's note); *PGM* VIII. 100.

10. Cf. *PGM* VII. 240; VIII. 100.

11. Cf. *PGM* I. 55–60; VII. 539.

PGM CIII. 1–18

*"... TAR thus P ... ŌTHOI and ... from every place ... place and every. ... / If she lies down ... let ... [not] eat, if she drinks ... B ... SON NN and ... and the ... most loved / ... immediately, immediately ... [NN, whom NN] bore ... to every place ... but not ... fire, and throwing / ... RI of gain THI ... CHIŌCH ... upon. ..."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Georgios A. Petropulos, *Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis (P. S. A. Athen.)* (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1972; repr. of 1939 edition), no. 70, pp. 430–31. The ostensible purpose of this second-century magical text is the acquisition of a lover. For similar love charms that seek to disrupt the victim's eating, sleeping, and so on, compare *PGM* IV. 1510ff.; CVIII, etc. For further commentary, see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 169–72.

PGM CIV. 1–8

*"AEŌ[1] ... AEEŌ[2] ... THYRINERE[3] ... ARMARINNE ... ARI ... OCH ... SOZOCHABAI ... ACHABOZO ... OUEDDOUCHAI,[4] get rid of all Althea's (?) daily fever with shivering fits. Give [Althea (?)] / rest from the daily fever with shivering fits. ..."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of M. Amelotti and L. Z. Migliardi, *Papiri dell'Università di Genova (PUG)*, vol. I (Milan: Giuffrè, 1974) no. 6: Amuleto contro la febbre, 17–18 (tav. V).

PGM CV. 1–15

*"The one having appeared [before][1] the universe in [accordance with your] eternal nature, the untiring one, the one who ... the one from the south ... guard; I call upon you, lord [Almighty], / the unknown one, the pure soul, I, the one ... having been sanctified. Be merciful to me, O Zeus-Iao-Zen-Helios, IOUS ... SANBALCHANBAL THANŌAMA ... CHŌCH, so that I may speak ... of the gods ... / AŌT[2] ABAŌT BASYM[3] ISAAC [ABRAHAM] JACŌB, hearken to me, the one ... ŌROU ŌROU ŌROU AE IAI A ... SOUŌ I IYAOĒ IAŌ, [always,] the god who commands, the god ... / the inhabited world. ..."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of W. Brashear, "Vier Berliner Zaubertexte," *ZPE* 17 (1975): 25–27. On the basis of the Zeus/Helios identification in l. 7, Brashear labels this spell *Anrufung an Sarapis*, "an invocation to Sarapis." See also F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 375.

PGM CVI. 1–10

*"ADŌNAI ELO[AI SA]BAŌTH ABLANATHANAB[LA AKR]AMMACHAMARI ... SESENGERBARPHARANGĒS AEĒIOYŌ IAŌ PHRĒ ... ĒAŌ IAŌ EAŌ ...

1. There is space for a single letter here, perhaps *Ē*; see n. 2, below.

2. After the Ō, there is one letter to make out. It is probably an omicron. The first nine letters, then, probably contain a series of vowels, viz., AEŌĒ AEEŌŌ.

3. The editor suggests that these letters may contain the Greek for "portal of Erebos" (reading *θύριν ἐρέβου*). Erebos was the mythological place of nether darkness which formed a passage from Earth to Hades.

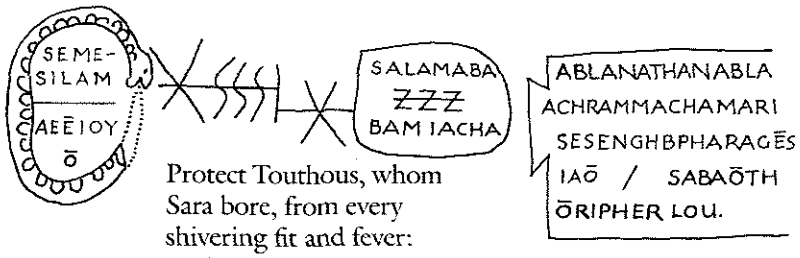
4. Supplying here an alpha before the final iota.

1. Following the likely restoration of A. Henrichs.

2. On this Aoth-*logos*, Brashear points the reader to *PGM* IV. 1376; Delatte and Derchain 416, 487; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 242. 9.

3. BASYM, in Greek letters, corresponds to Aramaic *besum*, "in the name of": see Glossary, s.v. Thus the text perhaps reads, "in the name of Isaac, [Abraham,] Jacob." In the lacuna, Brashear restores instead "... Isaac [Sabaōth, Iaō], Jacob"; however, "Abraham" is another possible reading, as the three names form a natural, formulaic grouping in magical literature. See M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *JBL* 57 (1938): 289–303.

AEĒIOYŌ
OURIĒL
MICHAĒL
GABRIĒL
SOURIĒL
RAPHAĒL



Protect Touthous, whom Sara bore, from every shivering fit and fever: tertian, quartian, quotidian, daily, or every other day [it occurs] . . . ADŌNIAS, / ADŌNAEI, protect in. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of W. Brashear, *ZPE* 17 (1975): 27–30 (see note on previous papyrus).

PGM CVII. 1–19

*"ΨIOCHO ÷ SIM ⁄ PHNOUĒ[1] PHTHONTHŌN 2B2÷L–И›ΥL2 PERKMĒM[2] BIOU BIOU BIBIOU[3]

›ΥΛΥΛ И÷hΛ/h÷ȮΛ Ↄ÷ CL⌢7—cL4÷h—h›⌢⁄B2÷2h [4] OCHERO И NOURI[5] EPNEBAI[6] SERPŌT′ MOUISRO[7] RINT′[8] MĒI MĒI[9] ĒI OU OUSIRI[10] SERPHOUTH MOUISRO MĒI / MĒI. Quickly fetch here Tapias whom Demetria bore, for Achillas whom Helene bore, by means of the soul of the one who died prematurely, / BAKAXICHYCH,[11] by the one whom all things are entrusted to, EULAMŌ;[12] fetch Tapias for Achillas, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Robert Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," *ZPE* 19 (1975): 255–64 (text two). Daniel provides copious notes and parallels to the *PGM*. Only his most essential comments are noted below.

PGM CVIII. 1–12

*"THŌBARABAU TEUTHRAIAIAIAŌ BAKAŌPHLEN NOPH EPHOPHTHE AMOU AMIM BAIN BAARA AALŌ B . . . NAARA AAAAAAA EEEEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ / IIIIIII OOOOOOO YYYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ, make fly through the air[1] the soul and the heart of Leontia whom Ailia[2] bore in her womb, and don't allow her to eat or drink or to fall

1. PHNOU may be equated with the Coptic word *pnoun*, "the abyss." Otherwise it is the magical name for a god in *PGM* XII. 290 and is found in frequent combinations throughout the *PGM*.

2. PERKMEN, perhaps Coptic for "the Lord of darkness" or "house of darkness."

3. BIOU BIOU BIBIOU: BIOU is frequent in the *PGM* and is identical to the name of a decan. Cf. W. Gundel, "Dekane und Dekansternbilder," *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg* 19 (1936): 233–34.

4. In these lines there are thirty-six characters which correspond to the number of decans and their deities.

5. NOURI is Coptic for "vulture."

6. EPNEBAI may reflect the words *p nb by*, "the lord of souls," in *DMP* XXVIII, 1 (cf. Copt. *neb bai*).

7. For this Egyptian formula: lotus (*serphouth*)—lion (*moui*)—ram (*sro*), cf. *PGM* III. 659.

8. RINT′ is Sahidic for "my name." Cf. *PGM* IV. 83–84.

9. MĒI MĒI (also in ll. 9–10) is Fayumic and Bohairic for "truth."

10. The god Osiris.

11. This name is to be equated with BAINCHŌŌŌCH: both names mean "spirit of darkness." See Glossary, s.v.

12. This popular name can be equated with "eternal" and has become the subject of some etymological speculation (see Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," 264, n. 17, for literature).

1. This verb, ἀεροπετέω, is used only in magical texts, as Daniel points out, pp. 249–50.

2. Reading Ailia instead of Elia.

asleep / until she comes to me, Dioskouros whom Thekla bore, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly." |⊣ ⊢

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Robert Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," *ZPE* 19 (1975): 249–55 (text one).

PGM CIX. 1–8

*"As Hermes turns in his marrow[1] and this strip of papyrus becomes reality,[2] so turn the brain[3] and the / heart[4] and search out[5] all the mind of her who is called Kalemera, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Eric G. Turner, "The Marrow of Hermes," in *Images of Man in Ancient and Medieval Thought. Studia Gerardo Verbeke . . . dicata* (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1976) 169–73. The love spell from Oxyrhynchus (ca. A.D. 300) presents very difficult problems, so that the translation by necessity remains tentative. See also the different readings and interpretations by Giuseppe Giangrande, "The Marrow of Hermes: A Papyrus Love-Spell," *Ancient Society* 9 (1978): 101–16; P. Gorissen, "Once more the Love-Spell of Hermes and the Marrow," *ZPE* 37 (1980): 199–200; and J. Gwyn Griffiths, "Hermes and the Marrow in a Love-charm," *ZPE* 38 (1980): 287–88.

PGM CX. 1–12

*. . . a voice comes to you in conversation. Lay out the stars on the board in their natural order,[1] with the exception of the sun[2] and the moon.[3] Make the sun[4] gold, / the moon[5] silver, Kronos[6] of obsidian, Ares[7] of yellow-green onyx, Aphrodite[8] of lapis-lazuli streaked with gold, Hermes[9] / of turquoise; make Zeus[10] of a [dark blue] stone, but underneath of crystal. But the horoscope. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976), no. 1: Astrological Text, 175–77 (plate). The text, constructed from two separate fragments, seems to contain instructions for a special type of astrological divination. The incomplete text at the beginning of the horoscope shows that the client participates in an auditory revelation of a god. This probably contains the end of the procedure section of the magical spell.

1. The phrase is unknown. Perhaps it is Hermes himself who "is turned around by the marrow," the marrow referring to a magical substance used in the ritual operation. In this case the verb is construed as passive, with "marrow" as the genitive of agent. This avoids the need to emend the word to the accusative case (so P. Gorissen), or to take the genitive as "locative" (so Turner), since this normally requires the dative case. [R.D.K.]

2. Perhaps the words are an interjected "commercial": "and this sheet really 'works.'" The *πιττάκιον* is the sheet or piece of papyrus on which the spell itself is written; see Turner, 172; Giangrande, 107, for parallels. [R.D.K.]

3. Cf. on this notion *PGM* IV. 1544–45.

4. Cf. the parallel in *PGM* XIc. 3. For another interpretation, see Giangrande, 109.

5. Thus Turner's translation. Gorissen takes *ζητουν*, "search out," to be a personal name.

1. Packman translates this more literally: "Let the stars be set upon the board where (they belong) by nature. . . ." The sense may suggest that the planets and stars are to be arranged in their acknowledged order in their sphere of orbit.

2. The term for "sun" is represented in the papyrus by the symbol ☉.

3. The term for "moon" is represented by the symbol ☾.

4. That is, Helios.

5. That is, Selene.

6. That is, the planet Saturn.

7. That is, the planet Mars.

8. That is, the planet Venus.

9. That is, the planet Mercury.

10. That is, the planet Jupiter.

PGM CXI. 1–15

*. . . in Egyptian, [Kneph;][1] . . . in Greek; and the great sculptor . . . and after forming two cows alike . . . and their sexes male and . . . / and after shaping another . . . [make] its body that of a serpent which has [no tail], but from either end [three-headed: on the right] human heads, [and on the left] geese heads, [and in the middle heads of] / golden gazelles with solar disks matching the shapes of their horns. [And after forming another] with its body, on the one hand . . . on the other hand, its appearance that of a sea falcon . . . , in Egyptian . . . / slight interpretations. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976) no. 2: Description of Magical Figures, 177–79 (plate).

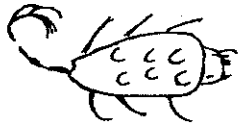
PGM CXII. 1–5

*"SABAPSYRA IOEL
SEBAŌN SBAŌTH."
NAPSERNOUSOR *[For] scorpion [sting].*
ANAX
/ IRĒ

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976), no. 3: Amulet, 179–80 (plate). The text is presumably a charm for scorpion sting.

PGM CXIII. 1–4

*". . . PENCHIRAASARA . . . DA, drive out[1] . . . and scorpion . . . XAXAP. . . ."



*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Amulett gegen Skorpionsstich," *ZPE* 22 (1976) : 108 (Taf. IIIb). This spell is similar to other amulets against scorpion sting in the *PGM* (cf., e.g. *PGM* XXVIII a–c).

PGM CXIV. 1–14

*"[Protect] her, NN, O lord, [from all] evil acts [and from every] demonic visitation [and] . . . of Hekate and from . . . / attack and [from every onslaught (?)] in sleep . . . [from] mute daimons [and from every] epileptic fit [and from all] epilepsy / and . . . and. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the revised edition of R. W. Daniel, "Some ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ," *ZPE* 25 (1977) : 145–49 (text one). Daniel greatly improved the reading of the original edition in P. Proulx and J. O'Callaghan, *Studia Papyrologica* 13 (1974) : 83–88. Daniel also offers a tentative reconstruction of the lacunae in the text. The translation above reflects Daniel's improved text, but not all of his tentative reconstructions. For further commentary see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 173–75.

1. Following the restoration suggested by R. Merkelbach.

1. The imperative is in the plural, thus suggesting that the preceding text contained a list of magical names.

PGM CXV. 1–7

*"PHĒG GĒ . . . BALOCHRA THAMRA ZARACHTHŌ, I conjure you all by the bitter compulsion: MASKELI MASKELŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGAR RHĒZICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN / PYRIPĒGANYX. Deliver Ammon from the fever and shivering fit that restrains him, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; today!"

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the text of R. W. Daniel, "Some ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ," *ZPE* 25 (1977): 153–54. The papyrus was first published with photographs and commentary by Z. Ritoók in *Antik Tanulmányok* 22 (1975): 30–43. Daniel's text offers some changes.

PGM CXVI. 1–17

*"IAIŌ ERBĒTH	IŌBRAK	IŌBRAK	IŌBRAK
IŌKABRA	ŌBRAK	ŌBRAK	ŌBRAK
ŌKABRA	BRAK	RAK	BRAK
ARBA	RAK	AB	RAK
ABA	AK	B	AK
BA	K		K."

"IAŌ IAKOUNBATT IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX IŌ ERAPOMPS IŌ TANONO IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ ABRASAX IŌ PSAAPOPSI / IŌ PHTHEAPOPS IŌ ISIŌR IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBIŌTH AMOUNAUEIEOUN PEITŌRE AU EN KTENOUATEI . . . *KOX . . . OUS PSĒTAĒSEEBOLNOURTOU METHERENOUBTANOUN* / TEB IMETHE . . . LENE EUINASMA, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary of Rosario Pintaudi, "Invocazione a Seth-Typhon," *ZPE* 26 (1977): 245–48. Ll. 1–6 contain four "wing formations"; the rest seems to be an invocation using typical Seth-Typhon acclamations.

PGM CXVII

**Fr. 1* . . . [the elder?] . . . *Fr. 2* . . . the house [she?] leaves, [her] husband [forgetting] . . . to sleep most sweetly by me, [her waist] . . . until earth and heaven . . . *Fr. 4* . . . a cow . . . *Fr. 5* . . . with black, join together . . . into a new cup . . . *Fr. 6* . . . come to me . . . *Fr. 7* . . . and . . . in the middle of the night, the streets . . . OSIRIS ESIĒS, to meet . . . to pour out my fruits . . . *Fr. 8* . . . fulfill . . . *Fr. 9* . . . [what is prescribed below]: . . . ANOUBIS, ANOUBIS, I love her [NN] . . . *Fr. 10* . . . pluck two strands of her hair and [throw them] into a [new drinking vessel] . . . *Fr. 11* . . . her, possessed by your . . . *Fr. 12* . . . from . . . a white [thorn-apple tree] . . . speak the spell . . . *Fr. 13* . . . the Dioskouroi . . . the destroyer . . . *Fr. 14* . . . I conjure the gods in Hades . . . all, fetch her, [NN] . . . *Fr. 18* . . . of much knowledge . . . demand starry heaven . . . and the Eternal Mistress . . . *Fr. 19* . . . dreadful, everlasting [Hekate?], with grievous suffering, with . . . pains . . . *Fr. 21* . . . carry out [for me this perfect] spell . . . *Fr. 22* . . . AKRA . . . SO O . . . and . . . black . . . bring insomnia to her, NN . . . *Fr. 23* . . . [offer] to him as a drink . . . take it, for it is . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in A. Carlini et al., *Papiri Letterari Greci* (Pisa: Giardini, 1978) no. 34: P. Mon. Gr. Inv. 216: Formulario magico, 237–66. Although this text is comprised of twenty-three tiny fragments of which little sense can be made, its importance should not be underestimated, for it is one of a few magical papyri which antedates the Christian period. This, along with the so-called Philinna Papyrus (*PGM* XX), dates to the first century. Fragmentary as it is, one can detect that the papyrus contains portions of a love spell. Of special importance are the occasional Egyptian deities mentioned along with the Greek, thus showing that a syncretistic influence was already at work in the magic of this early period.

PGM CXVIII

P. Palau Rib. inv. 200 another "magical scroll" similar to those published by G. M. Parássoglou in *Studia Papyrologica* 13 (1974) (= *PGM* CIII a–c.). A description and photograph of the scroll, with no transcription of the text, was published by José O'Callaghan, "Rollo mágico (PPalau Rib. inv. 200)," *Studia Papyrologica* 17 (1978): 85–87.

PGM CXIXa. 1–3

*". . . fortune, I conjure. . . ."

Love spell through touch: Take milk . . . 9 *echthei*, 12 *ealē*. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (PLaur. III), *Papyrologica Florentina* 5 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979) no. 57: "Frammenti di Manuale Magico (PL II/52)," 34–36. This papyrus contains fragments of approximately eight short spells. The opening line preserves the end of a conjuration of uncertain purpose; portions of a love spell follow.

PGM CXIXa. 4–6

Fetching charm: On an ostracon . . . : / "BOLSAK SAR . . . , the thoughts. . . ." 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. On this magical papyrus, see the introductory note above. Since this tiny, fragmentary spell has preserved its title, it can be assumed the invocation is to be engraved on a potsherd with the aim of binding the thoughts (i.e. "brains") of a desired woman, as well as other parts of the human constitution.

PGM CXIXa. 7–11

***Charm to subject**: ". . . subject [to me] . . . CHR." Write . . . / an aphrodisiac (?). 10

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See the introductory note to *PGM* CXIXa. 1–3 for the bibliographical reference to this text. The fragmentary word translated "aphrodisiac" may introduce a new spell or may simply show that the spell to subject can work as an aphrodisiac as well.

PGM CXIXb. 1–5

*". . . A . . . EDĒS wounds . . . vain babbling, and also mingle. . . ."

[***For fever with shivering fits***:] Take an olive leaf and engrave: ". . . ." / [For 5 daily] and nightly fever. KELLIOTON. Take. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See the introductory note to *PGM* CXIXa. 1–3. This portion of the magical manual deals in part with a spell for fever. The invocation preceding it serves an unknown purpose. Furthermore, it is not clear whether another formula follows the charm for fever. The editor of the papyrus suggests that *κάλλιστον* (sc. *φίλτρον*), "an excellent philtre" could be read in the letters KELLIOTON.

PGM CXX. 1–13

*"cutting the uvula
utting the uvula
tting the uvula
ting the uvula
ing the uvula
ng the uvula
g the uvula
the uvula
he uvula
e uvula
uvula
vula
ula
la
a"

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (PLaur. III)* (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979) no. 58: Ὄνομα πτερυγοειδώς (PL III/1442) 37–38 (Tav. LIII). This "winged" formation is made up of an adjective, σταφυλότομος, attested in only one other place. According to the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, cited by Pintaudi, the adjective means *uvam incidens*, "cutting the uvula." This term contains a play on words, as words with the same root can also refer to a bunch of grapes. It is no coincidence, then, that in magical literature winged formations such as that shown above were also referred to as grape-shapes (cf. *PGM* III. 70). The manner in which the formation is written allows one to read "cutting the uvula" down the left margin. Conceivably, this spell served as an amulet to heal its wearer from inflammation of the uvula. For a parallel, see the gemstone published by A. Sambon, *Le Musée* 6 (1909): 111.

PGM CXXI. 1–14

*. . . [cessation]:

column 1:	column 2:
death	rudeness
darkness	evil
mental illness	the evil eye
grief	debauchery
fear	slavery
illness	indecency
poverty	lamentation
disturbance	troublesomeness
	emptiness
	malignancy
	bitterness
	arrogance

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Giovanni Geraci, "Un'*actio* magica contro afflizioni fisiche e morali," *Aegyptus* 59 (1979): 63–72. This magical text has no real parallel in the corpus of magical literature. It appears to be an elaborate phylactery, listing a number of ailments both physical and psychological. The initial lines of the spell probably contained a plea that the vices listed in the two columns should cease or come to an end. The entire spell is enclosed in an ouroboros figure which has not been well preserved on the papyrus.

PGM CXXII. 1–55

***An excerpt of enchantments**[1] from the holy book called Hermes,[2] found in Heliopolis in the innermost shrine of the temple,[3] written in Egyptian letters and translated into Greek. /

Enchantment using apples:[4] "Three times I shall throw apples, . . . and thereby I
[col. I, 5] shall provide this timely love spell for both mortal people and immortal gods.
I . . . , I threw the apple and I hit [her] with the apple. / Setting everything aside,
[I, 10] may she fall madly in love with me; whether she takes it in her hand and eats . . . or holds it in her bosom, may she not stop loving me. O goddess born on Cyprus,[5] /
carry out this perfect charm. . . .

1. So according to Brashear's interpretation, p. 265.
2. That is, Hermes Trismegistos. Cf. *PGM* IV. 885–87.
3. This refers to the temple library.
4. Although reportedly coming from an Egyptian holy book, this love spell contains Greek magic. The importance of apples in declarations of love and in oracles is well known. See A. R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature," *HSCP* 72 (1967): 154–55, 157.
5. That is, Aphrodite; for commentary, see Brashear, 268–69.

"I have taken your . . . eye.[6] I, NN, have taken your soul.[7] I, NN, have drunk from your blood. I, NN, have used . . . I, NN, have devoured your liver.[8] I, NN, have / [put on] your [skin]. I, NN, have done it. [I, 15] [I, 20]

"The goddess[9] in heaven looked down upon him, and it happened to him according to every wish of his soul . . . NN says: From the day [and] from the hour I, NN, [do this act] to you; you will love me, be fond of me, and value me . . . I die. / O Lady, goddess, [Isis] . . . , carry out for me this perfect charm." [I, 25]

Having[10] raised your hands toward the stars, let down . . . NN, and . . . and black night; and standing [awake] and sleeplessness and . . . you shall use [these?] before you see the sun. Take myrrh and chant and anoint your face:

"You are the myrrh with which Isis[11] was anointed / when she went to the bosom of Osiris, her . . . brother, and gave him her favor on that day. Give me. . . ." [II, 5]

"Wake up him, NN, or her, NN, Mistress Isis, and carry out this perfect charm. Hail,[12] Helios; hail you who rise; hail also to you, the gods who rise together with him . . . / let rejoice . . . nor concerning a silver coin, but concerning him, NN, . . . remain . . . I am running, but he is escaping me . . . to you . . . and having done the sacred [acts?] . . . at sunrise . . . neither . . . nor drink nor / lie down . . . nor . . . , but have me in . . . and anguished, until she [comes] to me, until . . . everlasting god . . . if she leaves [me] . . . I will be with you until she comes back to me and goes . . . / [that] you bring him, NN, O Helios . . . the ever . . . day, him, NN, . . . a coin . . . ; / O goddess born on Cyprus,[13] carry out this perfect charm." [II, 10] [II, 15] [II, 20] [II, 25]

For headache:[14] "Osiris has a headache; Ammon has a headache at the temples of his head; Esenephthys[15] has a headache all over her head. May Osiris' headache not stop, may Ammon's headache at the temples of his head not stop, until / first he, NN, stops all. . . ." [II, 30]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by W. Brashear, "Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus," *ZPE* 33 (1979): 261–78. The love spell is one of the oldest Greek magical papyri; it was found in Abusir el Melek, Egypt (first c. A.D.). For further notes see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 375–76.

6. Apparently, the lines refer to some sort of cannibalistic ceremony done for the purpose of erotic magic. See Brashear, 269–71, who refers to *PGM* IV. 296–335, and A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos, Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 14 (Bonn: Habelt, 1972) 70, n. 77.

7. The term may be a euphemism for the sexual organs (see Glossary, s.v. "Soul"). See Brashear, 272.

8. The liver plays a special role in erotic magic. See Brashear, 272.

9. A reference to some mythical detail.

10. Apparently some kind of nocturnal ceremony is described. See Brashear, 273.

11. The second column contains Egyptian magic. The mythical love of Isis is imitated here; cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 288–89 and Brashear, 274–75.

12. Apparently the beginning of a hymnic passage, addressed to Helios.

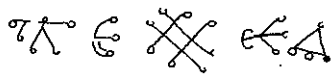
13. See n. 5 above.

14. A charm against headache, using a threat against the gods that they will not stop suffering headaches until they have healed the operator. See Brashear, 276, for parallels.

15. That is, Isis-Nephthys; cf. *PGM* XII. 234.

PGM CXXIII a–f

a.

*"MARMARITHI // MARMARITHE[1]
AMCHĒ LOU
AMICH LOU
BAROU CHA
RCHOBIŌCH
. . . . . SE
B . . .
BLA
. . . KO . . . ŌT

EULAMMŌN[2]
PHANEMOU
KAICH . . . LACHAM
SABAHŌ CHAMRI
MOUSĒTH[3] CHŌTH
SISĒTH[4] HTHŌCH
NEMOUĒL[5] CHARIŌTH
A, NN, NN[6] AMĒITĒL
AI
NEŌTTASIA
ETHOOU."[7]

Write on tin:[8] onion, rue, frankincense. ***Erōtylos***:[9] / "Born of blood,[10] shedding

1. A variation of the common magical name MARMARIŌTH, on which see K. Preisendanz, *PRE* 14 (1930):1881; Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* IV sec. 3206; Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 746.

2. A form of the magical word EULAMŌ. For literature and additional occurrences of the term outside the *PGM*, consult Maltomini, 71–72, n. 11.

3. This name may be a conflation of the names "Moses" and "Seth." Alternatively, the name may be explained from Coptic and Demotic as "lion-Seth." See Maltomini, 72–73, n. 15.

4. Possibly Coptic for "Offspring of Seth"; see Maltomini, 73–74, n. 16.

5. An angelic name meaning "God has spoken." See Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie* 299. Cf. Nm 26:12.

6. In the papyrus we have ☥ ☥, the usual symbols for "so-and-so" (NN).

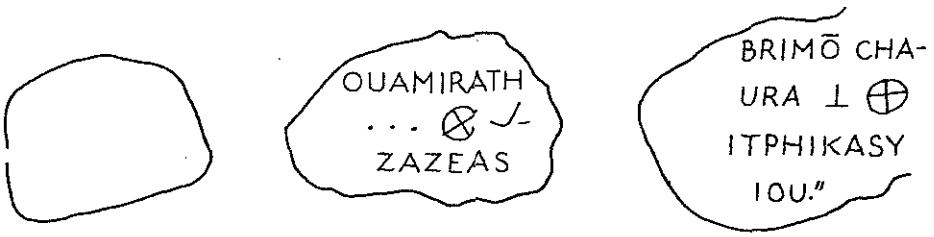
7. Perhaps Coptic *ethoou*, "evil," thus Maltomini, 75, n. 22.

8. The reference is probably to writing the words on a tin plate. Cf. *PGM* VII. 459, 462; *PGM* XCIV. 37.

9. This word also occurs in *PGM* XIII. 946; VII. 478. According to *LSJ*, this Doric term can mean the following: (1) "a darling, sweetheart"; (2) as an adjective, it refers to singing love songs; (3) a name of a small star; and (4) the name of a gem. In the *PGM*, both the context and the etymology suggest the term means "a love charm."

10. Reading *αἱμοφνη*, an apparent neologism in the *PGM*. Such formations of new words—usually epithets—abound in the magical papyri. Many of the new formations in the list that follows represent appropriate designations for Hekate and other chthonic deities. For parallels in each case, consult Maltomini, ad loc.

blood,[11] putting out roots,[12] androgynous,[13] manly,[14] / born with blood,[15] saffron- 30
dyed,[16] with golden arrows,[17] golden-haired,[18] like a white onion,[19] / MENOU- 35
LATH, CHARBATHA, STHŌMBAULĒ, ZANXMNA, CHŌNOUTHA, / MENOUBA, BELER- 40
THI, ZACHTHAĒR, CHALIOUBĒ



For childbearing: "Come out of your tomb, Christ is calling you."[20] / [Place] a 50
potsherd on the right thigh. ***For sleep***: on a bay leaf [write]: "[illegible] THARA
THARŌ." ***For strangury***: "MŌGIB [illegible] THTHYS [illegible]" / ***For a shiver-*** 55
ing fit: on a piece of papyrus: "[A]BLANATHANAPAMBALANATHANATH . . .
NATHANAMATHANATHANATHA [illegible] Raphaēl, EI . . .
ŌI [illegible] THNĒ," / Take a marble statuette, scratch with the right hand the right side of 60
a penis. Pound it on a table with wax. Take the wood from the heart of a plum tree,
the stock of a cabbage plant, chickpea; boil some garlic and give it as / a before- 65
dinner drink. Pellitory, pepper, grain, 23 parts kohl . . . bay leaf. Pound two pepper
grains and mix it with gum of "Hercules' woundwort."
For a victory: / [Wear] a tooth of a hyena, from the right side of the jaw . . . one of 70
the upper ones. . . .

11. Reading *αἱμωχυη*. Apparently a new formation from *αἷμα*, "blood" and *χέω*, "to pour out, shed." Related epithets having to do with blood and applying to Hekate are listed by Maltomini, 77, n. 26.

12. Reading perhaps *ῥιζοποιε* for *ῥιζοπνε*. The expression is problematic and the restoration very tentative; nevertheless the association of roots with both Selene and Hekate is attested. Consult the references in Maltomini, 78, n. 27.

13. Reading *ἀνδρογύνη* for *ἀνδρωγενη* (cf. the variant spelling of the Greek in *PGM* CXXIIIf., fr. A., 5). In *PGM* IV. 2610, Hekate is coupled with Hermes as an androgynous being.

14. The meaning of this unattested word *ἀνδρως* is at best very speculative; however, there is no question that the word originally formed a meaningful Greek epithet having to do with *ἀνήρ*, "man." For similar, anomalous formations, consult the occurrences in *PGM* as cited by Maltomini, 78, n. 29. In addition to his philological parallels, compare the term *ἀνήνωρ*, "unmanly."

15. The word *αἱμογενῆς* is now attested on a second-century inscription from Egypt, *SEG* 8. 374. Although LSJ, Supplement, s.v., p. 5, translates this "related by blood," Maltomini is correct in suggesting here "born of/with blood."

16. Reading *κροκοβαφή* for *κροκοβανιη*? [R.D.K.] Maltomini suggests perhaps *κροκοφανη* (unattested). Saffron is associated with Hekate in Orphic Hymn 1. 2; 71. 1, and elsewhere with Demeter and Persephone.

17. The word is attested in Tzetzes, *Alleg. Il.* XX. 226, p. 132, Matranga. A similar epithet is used of Hekate in Lydus, *De mens.* 3. 10.

18. An appropriate epithet of Hekate (-Selene), thus Maltomini, 79, n. 33.

19. Reading *κρουν(ον) λευκον*.

20. Parallels adduced by Maltomini, 82–83, show that in Christian magic a *historiola* was used, according to which Elizabeth says to John the Baptist in her womb: "Come out, child, Christ is calling you. . . ." In our papyrus this *historiola* appears to have been confused with the account of Lazarus in the tomb, thus attesting the analogy of womb and tomb.

(pap. 2) *b.*

"KAICHABŌ, SABAHŌ, MOUSĒTH, SISĒTH, NEMOUĒL."

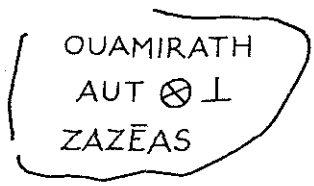
(Pap. 3) *c.*

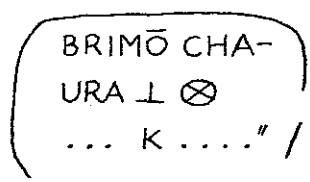
Fr. A: "KAICHABO, SABAHŌ, MOUSĒTH, SISĒTH, NEMOUĒL, A, NN, NN . . ." *Fr. B* ". . . CHAR . . . AMĒI . . . NEŌT . . . ETHOO. . . ."

d. ". . . ATH . . . PHAĒL EL. . . ."

e.

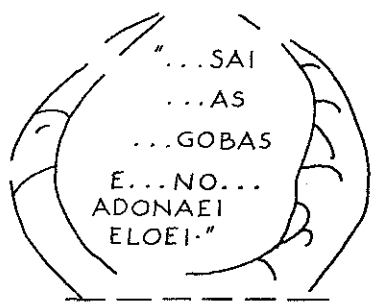
"Born of blood, shedding blood, putting out roots, androgynous, manly, [born with blood, saffron-dyed, with golden arrows]. . . . E . . . THCHARBATH, STHŌMBAULĒ, ZANXMNA // CHŌNOUTHA // MENOUBA // BELERTHI // ZACHTHAĒR [// CHALIOUBĒ]





f.

Fr. A: ". . . YBĒ . . . A . . . ROS. Born of blood, shedding blood, / putting out roots, androgynous, ANTHROROCH,[21] born with blood, saffron-dyed, with gold arrows, golden-haired, dog-faced baboon. . . ."



Fr. B.

". . .
ZANXMNA
MENOUBA
[ZACHTHAĒR]
. . .



. . .
. . .
MARMOUR
SABAŌTH
ADONAEI."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition and notes of Franco Maltomini, "I Papiri greci," in G. Arrighetti et al., "Nuovi papiri magici in copto, greco e aramaico," *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979), *section* II, *pp.* 55–124. *The six papyrus fragments translated here correspond to those numbered* 1–6 *consecutively by Maltomini. They have been grouped here under the same Roman numeral because they represent duplications (with some variations) of the same magical text. The text, which contains a series of peculiar and difficult epithets, perserves portions of a magico-medical handbook. Unless otherwise stated, the notes that follow are summarized from those of the editor. For a full discussion of each of the terms and of the *voces magicae*, one should consult the edition of Maltomini.*

21. Cf. n. 14. Something peculiar has occurred in the transmission of this epithet.

PGM CXXIV. 1–43

*[illegible] CHAR . . . OBBA being written, and the one throw into a public latrine, / the other bury in the house [illegible] THATHĒ THATHŌ. **Charm to inflict illness:**[1] [Take] the blood of a weasel and write on a triangular potsherd and bury it in the house: [illegible] THRAX TRAX BRAX. /

27 / and fill it with water, up to the [shoulder] of the
33 [manikin] only. / Crush rhododendron plants with some vinegar and sprinkle the entrances to the tomb. /
35 Take a garland made from the plant, and while pronouncing the formula, attach it to the tomb: "Principal angel of those below the earth, BAROUCH, and you, angel of many forms, OLAMPTĒR; in this hour /
40 do not disobey me, but send to me . . . without fear, without harm, doing my every. . . ."



Take unsmoked[2] beeswax and make a little manikin. Write the characters / on a tiny piece of papyrus and place it inside the beeswax. Also write the three "ō's" and the letters that follow, on the head of the manikin, and the bones of the victim (?).[3] . . . / Prick the left one[4] into the left eye of the manikin and the right one[5] into the right. Hold the figure upside-down on its head[6] / and put it into a new pot. Leave the pot in the dark

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Franco Maltomini, in *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979), sec. II, pp. 94–112 (Pap. 7) (see previous papyrus, *PGM* CXXIII. a–f). The instructions call for the manufacturing of a waxen doll; for this phenomenon in magic, consult the literature cited by Maltomini; cf. *PGM* IV. 296ff.

PGM CXXV a–f

Papyri nos. 8–15 in Maltomini's edition in *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979): 113–20 (see *PGM* CXXIII a–f for full reference) contain texts too fragmentary to translate.

a. Papyrus no. 8 (Tav. XI) 113–16, dates to the fifth or sixth century and is made up of three fragments: Fragment A contains several legible *voces magicae*, viz.,

1. Reading *κατακλιτικόν* for *κατακλητικόν*. Cf. *PGM* VII. 430 for the same expression and *PGM* IV. 2076, 2442, 2450, 2497, 2624; LXIV. 1 for the use of the verb in this sense.

2. That is, presumably wax taken without smoking the bees. Cf. *PGM* IV. 2378, 2945 for a similar practice in reference to honey.

3. The text is hopelessly corrupt at this point and thus defies explanation. The text seems to contain a reference to the bones of a victim, thus we read *σφάκτης* (thus Maltomini) in the series of letters immediately following "bones."

4. The reference to "left one" and "right one" is not clear. Maltomini assumes the references are to "the left *part*" and "the right *part*" of the mannikin, respectively. That is, the magician is to prick the left part of the mannikin *up to* the left eye, and the same on the right. However, it is more likely on the basis of spells like *PGM* IV. 296–335 that "the left (one)" and "the right (one)" refer to left and right "needles" pricked into the matching eyes. The "left one" means a needle held in the left hand, the "right one" a needle held in the right. Cf. *PGM* IV. 2943–50 for a similar rite in which the eye of a magic doll is pricked.

5. See n. 4 above.

6. The text is unclear at this point. Literally, the text seems to direct the performer to hold the head of the mannikin "to the south." Judging from the description that follows, the mannikin is placed head-first into the pot, which is then filled up with water to cover its head.

SALAKALOU, KERKĒBI, and KAULYOUKAU. Fragment B contains only a handful of letters, whereas fragment C preserves an elaborate magical figure.

b. Papyrus no. 9 (Tav. XII) 116–17, contains nine lines of which only a few words can be positively identified: ALLELOUIA, SABAŌTH, and ADONAI. The other side of the papyrus preserves portions of an Aramaic magical text published by Marrassini in the same journal, p. 128.

c. Papyrus 10 (Tav. VIII) 117–18 dates to the fifth century and is made up of two tiny fragments which cannot be read. Fragment B contains portions of a Coptic formula.

d. Papyrus 11 (Tav. XII) 118, is made up of two fragments that are too small even to assign a date.

e. Papyrus 12 (Tav. XII) 119, is paleographically akin to Papyrus 6 (*PGM* CXXIII f.). Only the names ADONAI and SABAŌTH can be recognized.

f. Papyrus 13 (Tav. XI) 119–20, assigned to the end of the fifth century, also contains an Aramaic text on the other side (see Marrassini, pap. no. 3, p. 129). The text preserves portions of a formula which reads, "I conjure you by your holy name . . . BAROCH SĒMO. . . ."

PGM CXXVIa. 1–21

*". . . ATĒS . . . [sweet wine?] . . . / ATA . . . ASSA . . . NN [add the usual] . . . K . . . B . . . BRIAPS . . . [IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCH[OSĒTH BASDOUMA] / OSESRŌ APOMPS P[ATATHNAX KOKKO]LOPTOLIN CH . . . K . . . [. . . IŌ THATHTHA] BRABO, without violence . . . [spell of Typhon] Seth [carrying] out the whole magic [procedure and] separate her, NN, from him, NN. ABERAMENTHŌ / OUTHLERTHEXANAX [ETHRELTHYOŌTHNEMA]REBA, and say, 'Mustard, [you are not Mustard,] but the eye . . . the inner parts of the bull of Apis'" / (add the usual) . . . "from Osiris . . . and separate. . . ."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Franco Maltomini, "Frammento di formulario magico (PL III/472)," in R. Pintaudi, ed., *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (P. Laur. IV)*, *Papyrologica Florentina* vol. 12 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1983) 46–53. Cf. the earlier edition by Rosario Pintaudi, "PL III/472: Frammento magico," *ZPE* 38 (1980): 261–64, and the new readings by F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, (III.)," *Studi classici e orientali* 32 (1982): 239–40. The poorly preserved text appears to be a spell for separation. L. 20 may begin another such spell, as it is separated by a paragraph mark. For parallel texts and commentary, see Maltomini's notes.

PGM CXXVIb. 1–17

*". . . O . . . [add the usual] . . . but the sight . . . the power of ADŌNAI . . . / of the great god . . . [Mustard], in order to separate . . . enmity until [death] . . . [in order that] you might enter into the . . . them as the . . . / having heard about . . . of Osiris ANE . . . and frightful and . . . having burnt . . . / and you, Mustard . . . / [the] house of her, NN . . . passageway. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Franco Maltomini (see note on the previous papyrus). This piece also appears to be from a spell for separation.

PGM CXXVII. 1–12

**To make one bend down and not get up*: Anoint the loins with the brain of an electric eel.

To get a certain [lover] at the baths: Rub a tick from a dead dog on the loins. / ***To "play" with a woman***: Anoint the phallus with the juice of the deadly carrot.

To cause a fight[1] ***at a banquet***: Throw a dog-bitten stone into the middle.
To make wine sour: Throw burning / pebbles into it.
In order "to screw" many times: Drink beforehand seed of celery and of rocket.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of G. M. Parássoglou, "Greek Papyri from Roman Egypt," *Hellenica* 27 (1974): 251–53, no. 9: "Magico-Medical Prescriptions." Note also F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e christiana* 1 (1980): 374.

PGM CXXVIII. 1–11

**A phylactery for fever*:

"SARICH "Of Jesus Christ, son of IAŌ (?),
AORKACH quickly, quickly,
/ ROUGACH heal!
CHIOSNĒCH John,
KOCH." / Son,
Life."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of F. Maltomini, "Due papiri magici inediti," *Studi classici e orientali* 31 (1981): 111–14: *P. Heid. G. 1386.*

PGM CXXIX. 1–7

*". . . [concerning] the certain matter . . . [a tin?] lamella from a certain . . . and tie it up in a cloth . . . / of a black wolf from . . . and . . . it in a little case . . . again and again it will be of service to you.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of F. Maltomini, "Due papiri magici inediti," *Studi classici e orientali* 31 (1981): 115–17: *P. Berol. 21260.*

PGM CXXX

*[IA]RBATH AGRAMMĒ PHIBLŌ CHŌĒMEŌ
[A E]E ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ[Ō]
Lord gods, heal Helene, whom [NN] bore, from every
illness and every fit of shivering [fever].
/ daily, daylong, tertian, quartan.
IARBATH AGRAMMĒ PHIBLŌ CHNĒMEŌ

AEĒIOYŌŌYOIĒEA
EĒIOYŌŌYOIĒE
ĒIOYŌŌYOIĒ ✳☽
YYY IOYŌŌYOI
OYŌŌYO
YŌŌY YYYYY
ŌŌ
[traces]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by R. W. Daniel, "P. Mich. inv. 6666: Magic," *ZPE* 50 (1983): 147–54. For a parallel to this spell, see *PGM* XVIII b; for the stellar and lunar symbols, see the parallels in Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles*, nos. 296, 301.

PDM Suppl. 1–6

**[Another spell for] sending a dream*: [. . . I] am the youth without . . . scarab of . . . soul of the four faces (?) and I . . . you . . . complete. . . .
/ ***Formula***: On a leaf . . . , and you put a . . . it, and you write . . . embalming house.

1. Reading, with Maltomini (see introductory note above), μά[χ]ην for μά[ν]ην.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):66, col. 1/1–6. Section titles are indicated in the Demotic text only when they are written in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM Suppl. 7–18

*[***Another spell*** for] sending a dream: ". . . Come to me in your [form] . . . you
10 . . . before I have gone to the . . . which is therein / . . . without a skin of . . . they took it . . . your town . . . and I know . . . [in] your secret form . . . power (?) . . . while it . . . is bearing witness what I did . . . noble mummy . . . face of a lion
15 which . . . is your name, I having done / . . . you . . . so-and-so guard his hand."

Formula: . . . [body] of a white donkey . . . cow's fat . . . again; "great-of-love" plant, tear apart . . . gather . . . skin of a donkey. . . . It is very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):66, col. 1/7–18.

PDM Suppl. 19–27

20 *[***Another***] ***spell*** for sending a dream: ". . . anger / . . . great . . . of the sea . . . Nun[1] at night . . . anger of the one who is in the water . . . the mountains. . . . Let the . . . speak to me . . . under me . . . in them. If not doing it . . . enemy of the praised one . . . me in the water at [night], in the day at [any time] . . . him."

25 ***Formula***: / . . . reed leaf and you write an image of . . . the ear . . . drowned, and you should recite these writings . . . ***four*** times . . . [wreath] to it and you say the thing [in the ear (?). . . . It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):66, col. 1/19–27.

PDM Suppl. 28–40

*[***Another spell*** for] sending a dream: ***Formula***: You bring . . . and you do it . . . in
30[1] an oil of lotus[2] and [you] . . . wick / . . . and you protect it and you . . . [write?] these names in . . . falcon (?) with (?) its claw (?) and you write . . . of the . . . wick on (?) a new lamp of . . . of . . . which is above and you bring a new brick . . . the
35 [5] [lamp] . . . leave the lizard before the lamp . . . , / these again which you should write on the strip of the wick [of] the [lamp . . .].

Formula: ". . . BAH[E (?)] P[A]IRE PSIR PAH[. . .]BPS [. . .] A BAT LA BATL-[A]ATE,[3] come [to] me tonight and tell [me] an answer to [everything] about [which] I am praying (another [manuscript] says: . . . it goes in the place under the head of . . .) [stand?][4] before him in the form of his god who is great in his heart
40 [10] and make him dream a dream [about such-and-such] / a thing which I shall tell him today."

Formula: ***7 times.***

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):67, col. 1/28–30; col. 2/1–10.

PDM Suppl. 40–60

40 [10] *****Another spell*** for sending a dream: ***Formula***: "Listen to my voice, O noble mummy-spirit of a man of the necropolis who assumes [all his] forms; come to me and do for me such-and-such a thing today because I am calling you in your (?)

1. Primeval waters.
2. Scented with lotus.
3. Written *ʿte*, "limb."
4. See *PDM Suppl.* 120.

name . . . in Abydos who rests in the house of the official[5] whose name is 'this [one] who rests in truth' (another [manuscript] says, 'who . . . in truth'). Nun[6] . . . oath (?), 'great image of Nun' is your true name; / SHLBI NYH[R] is your true name, truly; Nun, NEO soul of Ha[. . .] 'very great one of Nun' is your true [name]. Soul of souls (another papyrus says, 'soul of a bull [?]') . . . of Nun is your true name. Soul of souls SHLBI NYHR is your true name. NEO soul of H[A . . .] Nun NEO great one of Nun [is your] true [name]. May you listen to the voice . . . in all his forms [of a spirit, noble mummy] of a man of the necropolis because [I] am [calling to you] / in your name of S . . . ISIRA SIRATHMA, saying, 'I am . . . land.' O SYAL[. . . [+] NEBOY]TOSYALTH SIRATHMA saying, 'I am . . . S.' O SY[. . . [+] NEBOYTOS]YALTH, let the [soul of the] noble spirit awaken to me; let him go [to the place] in which such-and-such is; let him greet (?) . . . have him do for me such-and-such a [thing] about [which I am] asking. . . ."

Its preparation:[7] . . . / these names with blood of . . . reed leaf; you put it . . . of a dead man; you leave . . . of clay under the head . . . on (?) it; and you recite them to him again. You do . . . lunar month and it is left in a place. . . . If stubbornness occurs, you should [put] the hoof . . . of a male donkey and myrrh . . . on it and you should beat on the ground until it stops. . . . If you [will act against a man / you should . . .] of a male. If you will act against a woman, you should [. . . of a] woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):67–68, col. 2/10–29; col. 3/1. Words preceded by [+] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM Suppl. 60–101

Another spell* for sending a dream: ***Formula*: "[O] noble divine spirit [whose soul is in heaven] whose body is in the underworld, whose mummy [is among the living,] O good messenger of Osiris, O great follower of 'he who is in his bed,' the god . . . him (?). O guardian of the one who is in Alkhah,[8] I am the soul of . . . the one who is in his [two sound] eyes, who protected his limbs in the soundness daily . . . / I am the offspring of khepri[9] [whose] name is the divine [son?] of Amoun . . . scarab . . . body of the noble mummy in the sarcophagus which rests in the underworld . . . true, of the house of embalming. . . . I am the bull of the . . . ; I am the lion; I am the lion; I am . . . ; I am the soul of Pre, the breast of Shu; I am the egg of the snake; [I am] the dung ball of the beetle.[10] I am the lord of the Amhet-underworld;[11] I am the divine fluid / of the living . . . ; I am the noble head which is in Abydos.[12] Come to me at night, quickly, quickly; hurry [hurry, O] soul

5. Perhaps one of the liked-named chapels listed in H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. IV (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1927), 127–28.

6. Nun here and throughout this spell is the primeval waters.

7. Literally, "gathering of things"; the same term is used in *PDM* xii as a label for the directions.

8. See *PGM* IV. 124 and n.; cf. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to I. 3.

9. A sun god in the shape of the scarab beetle, whose dung ball represents the sun rolled across the sky. See *PGM* IV. 943 and n.

10. See n. 9 above.

11. I.e., the "upper" part of the underworld in contrast to *tph.t*, the "lower" part. See E. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, vol. II (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1968), par. 33, especially p. 622.

12. Osiris; see *PDM* xii. 628. On the dismemberment and burial of Osiris, see J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, *Studies in the History of Religions* (*Supplement to Numen*) 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 24–25, 27, 51–52.

without the body, dead one without the noble mummy, the noble mummy without the netherworld, [the] netherworld without the funerary bed, without the sarcophagus without . . . shrine (?) . . . born of Horus . . . Seth acts . . . against Apophis, the slaughter (?) against the evil one[13] again. The brazier is in your hand . . .[14]
75 [16] morning bark / [at?] dawn, the evening bark greets heaven and earth with (?) a great fire. Woe, woe . . . until you send to him, NN, whom she, NN, bore, and you send his heart after NN . . . thing . . . at night, in the daytime, at any time, every day, quickly, quickly, hurry, hurry . . . I [will ?] say them and I [will? . . .] specification (?) of saying them." ***Formula***: *7 times*.

80 [21] ***Its preparation***:[15] . . . kill it. You should bring it at the lunar month; / [you should] wash it in cow's [milk] . . . ; you [should] anoint it with oil of lotus[16] . . . of the leaf . . . reed; you should put [them?] at the seven(?) openings of the head and and bind them [with] linen . . . made by the hand of . . . bind them to its head; you should put its head . . . before the sun at dawn in the lunar month . . . to yourself barley and grain; you should leave them . . . you should put water of the divine lake
85 [26] . . . after them for 7 days until they grow; / [you should] bring them up; you should dry them until the 15th of the month; you [should] pound them with myrrh, green eyepaint, [black] eyepaint (?), *qs-ʿnḫ* stone,[17] "live-thereby" plant, mustard . . . 7 reed leaves which are above.

[col. 4] Afterwards, [you should put] a scarab into [fat?] of a bull; you should put [it?] in a vessel of copper which is full of cow's [milk]. . . . until it . . . ; you should bring it up; you should put the . . . to the head of the . . . ; you should put blood of your
90 [4] left thigh and your [right] thigh / on them; you should . . . the time; you should [shape them] into a mummy of the foremost of the westerners[18] which amounts to 7 fingers [in length]; you should embalm it with myrrh, with ointment [and a covering of] byssus. Afterwards you should [sprinkle] pure sand; you should make a layer of sand under it in your . . . ; you should set the image on the layer of sand; you should leave the scarab on the body of the . . . after the embalming (it) which you did first with myrrh, with ointment and a covering of byssus itself (?); you should write the things which you desire on a new papyrus with carob tree (?) /
95 [9] water; you should leave it before the image; you should cause the head which is on it to bend down; you should put a bandage of 4 [colors] on it, blue, red, white, black, on the head; you should leave it in a hidden place; you should put frankincense (?), ⁺barley, a great recipe to the brazier before it; you should offer to it bread, beer, and milk, in its midst; you should have blood fall from you on the brazier; you
100 [14] should put a piece of a red lizard / before it; you should recite these writings to it up to 7 times at night while you are in a [hidden] place which is clean; and you should make . . . settle (?)[19] before it. It is very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 68–70, col. 3/1–27; col. 4/1–15. The word preceded by ⁺ is written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic inserted above.

13. Identical with *nk* of Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 205, 14–15, as suggested by Mr. Mark Smith.
14. The section left untranslated is glossed *KN* in old Coptic.
15. See n. 7 above.
16. Scented with lotus.
17. See *PDM* xiv. 98 and n.
18. An epithet of Osiris.
19. Literally, "lie down."

PDM Suppl. 101–16

Another spell* for sending a dream: ***Formula*: "O Anubis, the high one of heaven, go to the underworld! Let the head of Osiris stop being far from him.[20] Give praise, love, and respect to NN before NN. Let him do everything which he will write for him, entirely. Move him! Give your iron staff / which is in your hand to the spirit! . . . Let him go to NN, whom NN bore. Let him stand before the image of the god who is great in his heart until he brings him to the road which NN is in, he seeking after him. And may you send a breathing spirit to NN so that he may stand before [him] in the image of the god who is great in his heart, and may you say, 'Give every good . . . thing to NN. . . .'" 101 [15] 105 [19]

Hear everything which he will say to you, entirely, while the crocodile of Isis, the great goddess, / is therein. [Let?] it be commanded before the gods to happen or you will delay because of it: "Is steadfastness [of] heart against me what you will do, so that you scorn (?) the blood of Osiris the moon, Thoth,[21] at night at mid-month?" 110 [24]

Its preparation:[22] On a new papyrus: you should draw an image of Anubis with blood of a black dog on it; you should write these writings under it; you should put it to the mouth of black dog of the embalming house; you should make great offerings before it; you should put frankincense on the brazier before him; / you should do it as a libation of milk of a black cow or a spirit whose face . . . ; and you should put its recitation in its mouth. [It is] very good. 115 [29]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 70–71; col. 4/15–30.

PDM Suppl. 117–30

Another form* for sending a dream: ***Formula*: "O praised one, call to heaven! Speak to the underworld; Let Osiris stop sleeping while his head is far from him[23] until a forceful spirit which does not sleep at night is sent / so that he stand above NN in the form of the god who is great in his heart, so that he say to him, 'Arise and do such-and-such a command of NN! Do all that which he will desire!' Come to me, [O] divine spirit whom Anubis sent to NN, saying, 'Do the every command which NN will desire!' Is not doing it what you will do, O noble spirit? Your soul will not be allowed to rise up to heaven on day 25 of the fourth month of Inundation to dawn of day 26, while the excellent spirits are awake." 120 [4]

Formula: / On a jackal of clean clay which is lying down, its body moistened with milk and fluid of a jackal of the embalming house with a . . .[24] on its foot. You should write your words on a new papyrus; you should put it in the jackal's mouth; and you should leave the jackal on a copper lamp which a brazier is heating. You should recite these writings to it at night; you should stamp / on the ground with your foot. 125 [9] 130 [14]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 71, col. 5/1–14.

20. See n. 12 above.

21. For the association Osiris-moon-Thoth, see J. G. Griffiths, "Osiris and the Moon in Iconography," *JEA* 62 (1976): 153–59, although this Demotic evidence shows that the ibis in the hieroglyphic examples is not just a determinative, as he thought (noted by Dr. Mark Smith).

22. See n. 7 above.

23. See n. 12 above.

24. Perhaps "sound-eye" of Horus.

PDM Suppl. 130–38

130 [14] *A **"god's arrival"**[25] of Osiris: "O Isis, O Nephthys, O noble soul of Osiris Wennefer, come to me! I am your beloved son, Horus. O gods who are in heaven, O gods who are in the earth, O gods who are in the primeval waters, O gods who are in the south, O gods who are in the north, O gods who are in the west, O gods who are in the east, come to me tonight! Teach me about such and such a thing / 135 [19] about which I am asking; quickly, quickly; hurry, hurry."

Formula: On a phoenix written with myrrh water and juniper water. Put a pellet (?) of gum on your right hand; recite these writings to it in the evening while your hand is stretched out to the moon, while you are going to sleep; and leave your hand before you. (It is) very good. 4 times.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 71–72, col. 5/15–22.

PDM Suppl. 138–49

****A spell for* ———.**[26] ***Formula***: "The copper is bent down. The *neshmet* bark[27] will 140 [24] not stop sinking. The great / river draws blood. Isis is ill. [Neph]thys. . . . The copper will not stop bending. The *neshmet* bark will not stop sinking. The great river will not stop drawing blood. Isis will not stop being sick. Nephthys will not stop. . . . The copper is bent toward the one who is (?) in the sun bark. Re[28] is bent toward him while Amun is bent after him until sleep is taken from NN, whom NN bore, at night and care is given by day . . . until they [make] him do the thing which NN desires from him."

145 [2] ***Formula***: A / vessel of copper [in] which an image [of] Osiris is drawn with human blood; you should bend [it] down before a lamp with an [image] of Anubis drawn on the wick with blood of a black dog; you should put cedar oil in it out of a new vessel, it being established on a brick standing on its (?) . . . ; you should recite these writings to it up to 4 times. (It is) very good. There is not its like . . . in her (?) hand. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 72, col. 5/22–28; col. 6/1–6.

PDM Suppl. 149–62

150 [7] ***A "god's arrival"**[29] of Thoth according to what is outside,[30] also, ***saying* / *Formula***: "I call to you, O Thoth, the hearing-ear,[31] who listens to everything. I call to you in your names which are great, which are divine:

'ALIPS THABLIPS STSILIPS †GAGARPAOTHAR THANASIMA QHAH †ORTHŌMENKHROŌN †BALSA †ALABAKHABEL.' Awaken to me, O lord of truth! Tell me an answer in 155 [12] truth to the "god's arrival" / concerning such-and-such a thing, in truth, without falsehood therein, so that I may awaken and find it (out)."

Its preparations:[32] A new lamp whose wick is of byssus cloth which is very clean; you should fill it with genuine oil; you should burn (it); you should write your command on a new papyrus; you should put it under the lamp; you should put a

25. See *PDM* xiv. 93–114.
26. Erased.
27. Sacred bark of Osiris.
28. The sun god, more commonly written Prē.
29. See n. 25 above.
30. On the other side of the papyrus?
31. I.e., who listens to the petitions of the average man.
32. See n. 7 above.

lobe of "great-of-love" plant under the lamp's mouth; and you should recite these names above to it 8 times. / It comes to you. 160 [17]

Here is the ink with which you should write your command on the bookroll: "Great-of-love" plant, a leaf of olive tree; you should cook them, make them into myrrh ink and write with it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):72–73, col. 6/1–19. Words preceded by ˹ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM Suppl. 162–68

*__*Another spell for finding your house of life. Formula*__: "Open to me! I am the noble ibis; I am the ape of Edfu;[33] I am the great male, the scarab; I am the guardian of the great body; I am the snake of the 4 gods / who were with Isis while she 165 [22] was searching for the good [one].[34] SHAPL is [my] name as Sothis.[35] The Ethopian is [my] name. Osiris the bull of magic is [my] name. The divine Ra-Shu is my name, I going to all the gods in order to cause that I find my house in which I shall live."

Formula: On an ibis written with black ink on the left hand of a man when he sees that house of life.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):73, col. 6/19–25.

PDM Suppl. 168–84

*__A spell for reciting__ a document which is. . . . It is a "god's arrival"[36] of Iymhotep to whom the tenth belong also.

Formula: "Awaken! / Awaken in the underworld, Osiris Wennefer, l p h,[37] 170 [27] Iymhotep the great, son of Ptah! . . . I am [. . . is] my name; I gather a box [. . . the sound-] eye is [my] name (?) . . . ; the moon, Thoth . . . [Iymhotep the great], the son of [Ptah . . .], excellent mother, fashioner of the underworld, go forth. . . . They will not stand in / their box . . . [moisten ?] their box. You should awaken 175 [5] before Iymhotep the great, son of [Ptah . . .] son, daughter, that I might live, and you should tell [me] an answer [to] the thing which is on . . . bookroll . . . every voice. Come to me, Thoth the great, the lord of Hermopolis . . . him. Give watch to the head for [the] day."

Formula: write . . . on (?) it [with] your hand with / myrrh ink; likewise under 180 [10] . . . lick it; you should open your mouth to the ground in a cry, saying, ". . . the sound-eye; the sound-eye is what I ate." You should open your mouth to it in order to lick it. Awaken at dawn; you should say: "Horus is my name; I am Horus, the triumphant." . . .

. . . ***day*** on which ***you will do the "god's arrival"*** while the moon is in Leo, Sagittarius, Aquarius, or Virgo.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):73–74, col. 6/25–27; col. 7/1–14.

PDM Suppl. 185–208

*"Face . . . which is at rest . . . except you also; my magical speech. I will take the 185 [1]

33. Presumably Thoth.
34. Osiris.
35. The star Sirius, by whose helical rising the beginning of the year is marked.
36. See n. 25 above.
37. "Life, prosperity, health."

. . . Ō MITHRA A . . . BARSA . . . THŌMI, the great one who is pure, the one who [grows . . .] I putting them in your hand, NN, whom NN bore. [I cast] anger against you in the head (?), NĒ[. . . stand]ing (?) without listening to your mes-
190 [6] sengers, saying . . . them in [the] hand saying . . . concerning these things, / standing [without] listening to my prayer, my magical speech (?) . . . it."

Its preparations:[38] . . . draw . . . of a crocodile . . . of a snake . . . make your hand stand (?) on . . . which belongs to you (?). . . .

Formula: TERETA TABE KR . . . N [ĒN?]Ē . . . (another [manuscript] says N[?] ELATS . . . BATSY . . .) †YO YAO SABATK M . . . hand."

195 [11] Formula: ". . . O NĒNĒBR . . . / ———————————————

dog. The one who is in bandages removes bandages; the one who is above . . . saying, 'I am Anubis, the . . . of the underworld . . . , Isis, the great goddess, Osiris, the one who is in your hand, the lord of the gods . . . against me in the . . . the dog . . . the . . . dog, the red dog, the red dog . . . every. . . . You should . . . at night. Here is the . . . of your tongue in the. . . . I am Anubis, the master of secrets.
200 [16] . . . You should . . . / to me at night, during the day. [I] will give you the greetings of my mouth . . . I am Anubis the master of secrets. . . . Formula: 4 times . . . worm (?) saying "I am Isis . . . ," saying, "I am Osiris . . . saying, "I am . . . I am the lord who came before the ruler . . . wick. . . . I . . . you will stand, you will . . . , while he will go (?) [to? Horus?] the son of Isis, the [son of Osiris] . . . of this
205 [21] . . . will do it to a young bird . . . will do it to a young bird . . . / saying . . . of the harem, son of the harem, ... 7 times . . . heart. Be deaf, head! Come . . . ! Come . . . head of. . . . Open (your) mouth to me for I am Isis . . . , I am Osiris, I am Harsiese. . . ." 2 palm trees. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):74–75, verso, ll. 1–24. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

38. See n. 7 above.

Glossary

The glossary provides explanations for some of the more difficult technical terms and names occurring in the *PGM*. Bibliographical data have been added for further study. More common terminology and names have not been explained since they can be found in easily available dictionaries.

ABERAMEN **formula**: The abbreviated formula stands for the long palindrome ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLERTHEXANAXETHRELTHUOŌTHENEMAREBA, a magical name occurring several times in the *PGM* (see I. 294; II. 125–26; III. 67–68, 116–17; IV. 181; V. 180; XIV. 25; CXXVIa. 13–15, etc.). In it the name of the god Thoth can be read, although no meaningful decipherment of the word has been put forward. See K. Preisendanz, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri, 3," *WSt* 41 (1919): 11–12; M. Tardieu, "Aberamenthō," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions, Presented to G. Quispel on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, *EPRO* 91 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 412–18.

ABLANATHANALBA: This palindrome, perhaps the most common in magic literature, often occurs in company with SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS. Usually invoked for beneficent results, this magical name has not been adequately explained although it has been suggested that the name contains Hebrew.

ABRASAX: This popular deity in magic (also spelled ABRAXAS) is identified with a variety of other names of gods and was explained by *gematria* (assigning the numerical value to the letters of the name) as the magic number 365 (see *PGM* IV. 331–32; VIII. 49, 611; XIII. 156, 466, etc.). Accordingly the deity is recognized as a solar god and is pictured on amulets as a snake-footed creature (the so-called *anguipede*), armored, and with the head of a cock. See Bonner, *SMA* 162–63; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 24–42; Barb, "Abrasax-Studien," *Hommages à W. Deonna*, *Collection Latomus* 28 (1957): 67–86; C. Colpe, "Geister (Dämonen)," *RAC* 9 (1974): 618–19; Marcel Le Glay, "Abrasax," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 2–7, pls. 1–63.

ADŌNAI: An important angelic figure in gnosticism and in magic. The name originally came from the Old Testament designation "my Lord," although this meaning had been long lost to the practitioners of the Roman Empire. See J. Michl, "Engelnamen," *RAC* 5 (1965): 202. For the variant angel forms Adonael, Adonail, Adoniel, Adonaiel, see E. Peterson, "Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina Barbara," *RhM* 75 (1926): 394.

ADONAIOS: Adonaios (an alternative reading of Adonai; note the Greek termination) is regarded in *PGM* as a name of the deity rather than as an epithet meaning "Lord" (cf. *PGM* I. 305). The Jewish origin, however, is still recognized (see *PGM* XII. 264). See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965): 203.

Agathos Daimon: "The good genius" was originally an epithet of a god invoked at Greek banquets. In the *PGM* the name has become a designation for a god—one, however, who can be identified with a number of different deities. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, sec. 264, 294–95; R. Ganschinietz, "Agathodaimon," *PRE.S* 3 (1918): 37–59; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 213ff.; Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 619–20; W. Fauth, "Agathos Daimon," *KP* 1 (1979): 121–22.

Aion: The god Aion, whose name signifies "long period of time," "eon," "eternity," plays an important role in the *PGM*. For the complicated history of the god, see A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 4 (Paris: Les belles lettres, ^{3}1954) 182–99; W. Bousset,

"Der Gott Aion," in *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 192–230; Fauth, *KP* 1 (1979): 185–88; A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, *EPRO* 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1981): 146–48; Marcel Le Glay, "Aion," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 405.

AKRAMMACHAMAREI: This magical name, with variant spellings, occurs frequently in beneficent magical incantations in company with ABLANATHANALBA and SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS. For a possible explanation of the name from Hebrew, see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ²1965) 94–100.

Aktiophi(s): Hopfner has suggested that this name is an epithet of Selene, goddess of the moon, a name which occurs elsewhere in *PGM* (see IV. 2473, 2484, 2601, 2664, 2749, 2913; VII. 317, 984; XVI. 23).

Ammon/Parammon: Hermes Parammon was honored as an Olympian god alongside Zeus Ammon and Hera Ammonia. The epithet Parammon probably means "he next to Ammon."

Amon (Amoun): The Egyptian god Amon. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 31–37, s.v. "Amun"; E. Otto, "Amun," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 237–48.

Anoch (Anog, anok): These letters, occurring often at the beginning of an invocation, correspond to the Egyptian *ink* (Coptic *anok*), "I am." See S. Sauneron, "Le Monde du Magicien Egyptien," *Le Monde du Sorcier* (Paris 1966) 36–39.

Anouth: Name of Osiris (see VII. 238, 243, 247; VIII. 83, 98–99, 102).

Anubis: Anubis is the jackal god of mummification, the son of Osiris and Nephthys. On Anubis as key holder and guard (*PGM* IV. 1465), see S. Morenz, "Anubis mit dem Schlüssel," *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Köln: Bohlau, 1975) 510–20; J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain*, *EPRO* 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Jean Leclant, "Anubis," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 862–73 and plates.

Aphrodite Ourania: "Heavenly Aphrodite," whose city is Aphroditopolis (Dendera), refers to Hathor; see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 46; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 277–82, s.v. "Hathor."

Apollonius of Tyana: This famous first-century philosopher/magician is the subject of an extant biography by Philostratus. The attribution of a spell to him at *PGM* XIa. 1 is unique in ancient magical literature. For a survey of the problems and bibliography, consult E. L. Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality," *ANRW* II. 16. 2 (1978) 1652–99, esp. 1686.

Apophis (Aphyphis): The "unseen serpent" (see *PGM* IV. 190–91; cf. *PGM* III. 87) is Apophis, who is slain daily by Seth/Typhon in the barge of Ra. See E. Hornung and A. Badawy, "Apophis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 350–52; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 51–53, s.v. "Apophis."

Archenthechtha (Harchentechtha): This is the Egyptian god Har-Khenty-Khet; cf. *PGM* III. 170. See Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 131–33, s.v. "Chentechtai"; U. Rössler-Köhler, "Horus-Chentechtai," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 27–33. [R.K.R.]

Arsenophre: The Egyptian god Arsenouphis (note also *PGM* II. 117; IV. 1629; XII. 183; XIXa. 7). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 54–55, s.v. "Arsnuphis"; E. Winter, "Arsenuphis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 424–25. [R.K.R.]

Arsentechtha (Harsentechtha): Perhaps the Egyptian name can be read Harsennechtha, "Horus, child of the strong one." [J.B.]

Arsentephtha: The name is probably Egyptian, "Horus, child of Ptah." [J.B.]

Artemis: In the *PGM* the goddess Artemis is identical with Selene, Hekate, and Persephone (see also IV. 2523, 2720–21, 2816ff.; LXXVIII. 11–12, with a drawing of Artemis Multimammaea). The invocations to Artemis, however, do contain archaic elements of her original cult. See T. Hopfner, "Hekate-Selene-Artemis und Verwandte in den griechischen Zauberpapyri und auf den Fluchtafeln," *Pisciculi, Festschrift F. J. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 125–45.

Assistant Daimon (paredros): Hellenistic magic knows of a special type of daimon called *paredros* ("assistant" or "attendant spirit"). The name refers to a deity who has been summoned as a servant to carry out any number of specified magical tasks. Cf. also *PGM* IV.

1348, 1841, 1851 (with *parastatēs*), 2083, 2109, 2145 (note); VII. 884; XII. 14ff. and surrounding contexts. See M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Bollingen Series 76 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964) 88–95; Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 1ff.; C. Colpe, "Geister (*Dämonen*)," *RAC* 10 (1974): 621ff.; C. Zintzen, "Paredros (*paredros*)," *KP* 4 (1972): 510–11.

Astrapsouchos: According to Diogenes Laertius, *Prooem.* 2, Astrampsychos was the name of one or several magicians; see E. Riess, "Astrampsychos," *PRE* 2 (1896): 179–80.

athor: See **Hathor**.

BAINCHŌŌŌCH: This formula, which invokes the god whose name corresponds to "spirit (soul) of darkness" (*bȝ n kky*), occurs regularly in magical papyri and on curse tablets. [R.K.R.] See Bonner, *SMA* 26, 146; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 224 and n. 23.

Balsames: This angelic name served originally as the name of a Phoenician sun god, but in *PGM* IV. 1019 the god plays the role of a light divinity from heaven. Cf. XII. 494. See A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, *EPRO* 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 149–51, 185–86.

Basym: This magical name may have originally come from the Aramaic words meaning, "In the name of. . . ." For the magician, however, the word serves as a magical name. See G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977) 235–51.

Baubo: Baubo may have originally come as an independent deity from Asia Minor, where Hekate also came from; she then entered into the circle of Demeter and the mysteries of Eleusis. See W. Fauth, *KP* 1, s.v. "Baubo."

Bear constellation: The identification of the constellation of the Bear with Artemis occurs at *PGM* VII. 687. The Great Bear was believed to be Callisto, Artemis' fellow huntress, who was transformed into a constellation. Callisto was a manifestation of Artemis herself, who played an important role as a she-bear, especially at Brauronia. See also *PGM* IV. 1302; VII. 862; XII. 190; XIIb. 26; LXXII. See W. Sale, "The Temple Legends of the Arkteia," *RhM* 118 (1975): 265–84; L. Kahl, "L'Artemis de Brauron. Rites et mystères," *Antike Kunst* (1977): 86–98: W. Fauth, "Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri, *ZPE* 57 (1984): 93–99.

Bes (**Besa**, **Besas**): Ancient Egyptian religion knew of an entire class of so-called Bes-demons (in Greek, Besas), distinguished by their dwarf-sized ugliness, who served as protectors of sleep and childbirth. In Hellenistic Egypt, Bes became a pantheistic deity, and in this form he appears in *PGM* VII. 222–49 and VIII. 64–110 (see also LXXXVIII: his plant, IV. 807). His role as an oracle giver was popular at Abydos (Ammianus Marcellinus 19. 12). In *PGM* the god was identified also with the Headless One (see n. on *PGM* II. 11). On Bes, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 101–9; H. Altenmüller, *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 720–24, with bibliography.

Biaiothanatos Daimon: The *biaiothanatoi*, those who died violent deaths, were unable to enter the underworld because their time on earth had not been completed. After death, they lingered as evil spirits and were subject to magical compulsion. See J. H. Waszink, "Biothanati," *RAC* 2 (1954): 391–92.

Breathing stone: The magnet. Magnetism fascinated ancient philosophers and scientists, who explained the phenomenon in a variety of ways. Already Thales explained it in magical terms when he stated that "life" (*psychē*) is in a magnet. Magnetic stones, not surprisingly, played a great role in the magic of all periods. See A. Barb, "Lapis Adamas," *Hommages à Marcel Rénard*, I (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1969) 67ff.

Brimo: For this epithet of Artemis of Pherai in Thessaly, see *PGM* IV. 2270, 2291, 2611, 2964; VII. 692; LXX. 20, where the epithet is attributed to Hekate, Selene, Persephone. Etymologically, she is the "snorting" and "angry" and therefore "terrible" goddess of the netherworld; cf. the command in *PGM* IV. 2247; Lucian, *Necyom.* 20. See O. Kern, "Brimo," *PRE* 3 (1887): 853–54.

Chnouph (**Chnoubis**): The lion-headed serpent was popular in magic and is often found pictured on amulets. The daimon is a syncretistic combination of the Egyptian creator god Chnoum, the serpent Kneph, and the star *Knm*. In the *PGM* the name occurs mostly in *voces magicae*, especially in the Harpon-Knouphi formula (see, e.g., *PGM* III. 435–36, 560–63;

IV. 2433; VII. 1023–25; XXXVI. 219–20; *DMP* 16, 6–9). For the amulets, see Bonner, *SMA* 54–60; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 54–73; for references, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 135–40, s.v. "Chnum"; E. Otto, "Chnum," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 950–54; Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 619.

Daimon, pl. daimons: In the *PGM*, as often in Greek literature, this term is used of deities and lesser spirits whose influential control is sought. In the New Testament, the word is used of an evil spirit, "demon," a sense not generally used in the *PGM*.

Decans: The Decans are the thirty-six deities each of whom presides over ten degrees of the zodiac. See in general, Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder*; cf. also G. J. Turner, "Mathematics and Astronomy," in J. R. Harris, ed., *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1971) 46–53; O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, I (Providence and London: Brown University Press, 1960) 95–121. [R.K.R.]

Demokritos: Strangely, the philosopher of Abdera (fifth century B.C.) was thought in antiquity to have been involved in magic. See E. Wellmann, "Demokritos (6)," *PRE* 5 (1903): 135–40; I. Hammer-Jensen, *PRE.S* 4 (1924): 219–23; H. Steckle, *PRE.S* 12 (1970): 191–223, esp. 193–94, 199–200. See also **Ostanes**.

EI LANCHYCH formula: For this magical formula, see *PGM* III. 131ff.; IV. 1625, 1630 (with corrupt or variant spellings). **EI** is perhaps Coptic for "house." [R.K.R.]

Eloaios: Eloaios occurs in *PGM* in various forms (*Eloe*, *Elouein*, *Elouai*) as a name for the Jewish god (see *PGM* I. 311; IV. 1577; VII. 564; XXXVI. 42). In Gnosticism he is one of the light-aeons and is described as having a donkey's face. See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965) 212, no. 73: Eloaios.

ERBETH formula: The formula "IŌ ERBĒTH, IŌ PAKERBĒTH, IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH, IŌ APOMPS" occurs quite often in magical texts, especially in malicious invocations. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 142–43.

Erebos: An old Greek expression for the dark underworld, the place of the dead. Sometimes in literature it describes a place for the impious only, other times for the good before they are admitted to the Elysian fields. See O. Waser, "Erebos," *PRE* 6 (1907): 403–4.

Ereschigal: This name of the Babylonian underworld goddess is regularly associated with the Greek Hekate. The deity already occurs in the lead curse tablets of the fourth century B.C.

Erotylos: A writer of Orphica (see *PGM* XIII. 945) by this name is not otherwise known but may be the person mentioned by Zosimus in Bertholet and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecques* II (1888) 144, 7. See Kern, *Orph. Fr.* p. 71, no. 235; idem, "Erotylos," *PRE.S* 4 (1924): 386. For the possible Greek meaning of the word, consult LSJ s.v.; cf. also *PGM* VII. 478; CXXIIIa. 24 and comments by F. Maltomini, *Studi classici e orientali* 29 (1979): 76–77.

Esies: Esies (Egyptian *ḥsy*, "praised") is an epithet of the sacred dead often applied to Osiris who was drowned and restored to life. See S. Eitrem, "Tertullian *de Bapt.* 5. Sanctified by Drowning," *CIR* 38 (1924): 69; A. Hermann, "Ertrinken/Ertränken," *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; C. Strauss, *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19.

Eulamo: For literature and a possible interpretation of this magical name, see H. C. Youtie and C. Bonner, "Two Curse Tablets from Beisan," *TAPA* 68 (1937): 62; cf. *PGM* III. 57; VII. 401; IX. 8; XVI. 18.

Faïence: Faïence is a blue-green earthenware material popularly used in ancient Egypt for jewelry and other objects.

Good Daimon. See **Agathos Daimon**.

Hapi and Mnevis: The Apis (Hapi) and Mnevis bulls were incarnations of Ptah, Osiris, and Ra, respectively. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 46–51, s.v. "Apis"; 468–470, s.v. "Mnevis."

Harpocrates: Harpokrates ("Horus the child") typically is portrayed with a finger of his right hand to his mouth, and he also may hold a crook and flail in his left hand. Harpokrates is the son of Isis and Osiris and is identified with the rising sun. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 273–75, s.v. "Harpokrates"; D. Meek, "Harpokrates," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1003–11.

Harpon-Knouphi formula: This is Horus Knephis. On "Knephis" (*Km-3t.f*) as the

Agathos Daimon, see *LdÄ* I, 94; II. 1011–12. For this as Horus Khnum (and on the formula in general), see P. Pedrizet, "BRINTATĒNŌPHRIS: l' un des noms magiques du dieu Chnoum," *Mélanges Maspero, II: Orient grec, romain et byzantin* 137–44; G. M. El-Khachab, "Some Gem Amulets Depicting Harpocrates," *JEA* 57 (1971): 132–33; D. Meeks, "Harponknuphi," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1011–12. [R.K.R.]

Harsamosi: According to W. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 452, the name is Egyptian *Hr-smsw*, "Horus the Firstborn." See also *PGM* II. 155; XI. 91–92; XIII. 626; cf. I. 240–41. See D. Jankuhn, "Horsemsu," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 13.

Hathor: The Egyptian goddess of love; see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 22–105; F. Daumas, "Hathor," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1024–33.

Headless One (Greek *Akephalos*): The Headless God is one of the most peculiar deities of the *PGM*. His origin seems to be in the older Egyptian religion, but he became very popular in Hellenistic Egypt, where he could be identified with Osiris (as in *PGM* II. 98–117) and Besas (as in *PGM* VII. 222–49; VIII. 64–110). Headless deities are also known outside Egypt. Plutarch tells about the headless Molos in Crete (*Def. orac.* 417E), Pausanias of the headless Triton in the temple of Dionysos at Tanagra (9. 20. 5); see A. Delatte, "Etudes sur la magie grecque V," *BCH* 38 (1914): 189–249; K. Preisendanz, "Akephalos," *RAC* 1 (1950): 211–16; K. Abel, "Akephalos," *PRE.S* 12 (1970): 9–14, with bibliography. For depictions of the god, see Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. I, plate I, 2; Bonner, *SMA* 58, 110, 164–66, 178, 243; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 42–54.

Helios: The Greek word for the sun (Helios) can stand for the celestial body or for the deity representative of that body. In the *PGM*, Helios is usually transcribed from Greek instead of translated as "sun," unless that term seems completely devoid of the sense of a deity.

Helios-Osiris: Although this link is possible through the fusion with Sarapis, for the older link of Osiris and Re, see A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York: Bollingen, 1964) 19–21.

Hephaistos: The important connection of Hephaistos, the Greek god of the hearth and of fire, with magic is reflected a few times in *PGM* (see VII. 379; XII. 177, 417, 439). Since Herodotus, Hephaistos was the Greek interpretation of Ptah. See M. Delcourt, *Hephaistos ou la légende du magicien* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1957).

Hermopolis: Hermopolis is "the city of Hermes," the cult center of Thoth in upper Egypt, the modern Ashmunein; cf. *PGM* III. 664; 670. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 293–95, s.v. "Hermopolis."

Hesies: See **Esies**.

Horus: The great Egyptian god, son of Osiris and Isis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 307–15, s.v. "Horus"; W. Schenkel, "Horus," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 14–25.

Iabas (Iabo, Iabai, Iapos): This is apparently the Samaritan enunciation of the tetragrammaton YHWH (Yahweh), elsewhere rendered *Iabe* or *Iabai*; cf. *PGM* V. 102; XIc. 1; XII. 4 and S. Lowy, *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) 273–74 and passim. See also IAŌ.

IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUN **formula**: This magical formula (often abbreviated) is intended to read as the long palindrome IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHABŌEAI; see *PGM* I. 140, 195; III. 60–61 (var.), 77, 268, etc.

IAŌ: Iaō, originally derived from the name of the Hebrew god YHWH, became an important deity in magical literature. See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965): 215, no. 102; R. Ganschinietz, "IAŌ," *PRE* 9 (1914): 698–721. In addition to being attested in the Nag Hammadi Library (see Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, index), Iaō is also found at Qumran, 4Q Lev^{b} LXX; cf. H. Stegemann, "Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu den Gottesbezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten," in M. Delcor, ed., *Qumrân, sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1978) 195–217.

IARBATHA **formula**: A common magical name, which, when spelled out fully and with allowance for variant spellings, reads IARBATHACHRAMNĒPHIBAŌCHNĒMEŌ (see *PGM* I. 142, 195; III. 472, 535; XII. 94–95). PHIBAŌCHNĒMEŌ may be equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 ḥib ʿ3 Ḥnm ʿ3*, "the great lamb, Khnum the great." [R.K.R.]

Ieu (Jeu): The scribe Jeu is mentioned only in *PGM* V. 97 (cf. also l. 141) in *PGM*, but the

name is known in Gnostic literature. Elsewhere in *PGM* the name occurs rather frequently as a god or magical name. See C. Schmidt, ed., and V. MacDermot, trans., *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, *NHSt* 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

Isis band: Cloth or material taken from the dresses of statues of the gods, especially of Isis, was considered magically potent. Isis is a widow of Osiris and thus identified with the color black. See *PGM* I. 59; VII. 227, 231; VIII. 67; see Griffiths, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* 90, 451; Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 678. [R.K.R.]

Jacob: The patriarch Jacob named at *PGM* XXIb. 1, together with Abraham and Isaac in XIII. 817, XXV. 14, occurs frequently in the context of magic. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 349–58; M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *JBL* 57 (1938): 289–303.

Khnum (Chnum): The Egyptian ram god; see *PGM* I. 27–28; IV. 327. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 135–40, s.v. "Chnum"; E. Otto, "Chnum," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 950–54.

Kmeph: The Egyptian serpent god Kmeph or Kneph occurs in *PGM* IV. 1705; III. 142; IV. 2094; VII col. 17 with picture. See Bonner, *RÄRG* 378–79, s.v. "Kneph."

Kommes: The name Kommes is still unexplained (see also II. 122; cf. "Kommi" in XVI. 63; Kom-Re in *DMP* xii, xv). See Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder* 233–34.

Lamella, pl. lamellae: From the Latin for a thin, metal plate. The word is used to translate a number of Greek terms for tablets of thin gold, silver, iron, or lead. The lamellae are usually engraved and worn as amulets or talismans (phylacteries). If lead is described, the tablets usually intend malicious or harmful magic.

Lamps, not painted red: In the *PGM* we find frequent references to the use of lamps with no red coloring (see I. 277, 293; II. 57; IV. 2372, 3191; VII. 542, 594; VIII. 87; XII. 27, 131; LXII. 1). Dipping the clay into red ocher (*miltos*) or painting it on before the firing, as customarily done, would give the lamp a reddish color. In lamp divination, however, the red color had to be avoided because of its association with Seth-Typhon. See W. Kroll, "Minium," *PRE* 15 (1932): 1848–54; R. Ganszyniec, "*Lychnomanteia*," *PRE* 13 (1927): 2115–19. Cf. also *DMP* col. V, 4, pp. 44–45 (with note), where the lamp is said to be white, without the application of red lead (*prš*). On the significance of red, cf. G. Posener, "Les signes noirs dans les rubriques," *JEA* 35 (1949): 77–81. [R.K.R.]

MASKELLI-MASKELLŌ formula: This well-known formula, written fully as MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌ OREOBAZAGRA RHĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX, occurs often in magical literature (note *PGM* VII. 302; IX. 10; XXXVI. 342–46; *DMP* xv. 2; *Pistis Sophia* IV, chap. 140 [McDermot 365]). On the meaning see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 747; Preisendanz, "Maskelli Maskellō," *PRE* 14 (1930): 2120. Within this formula, among other things, occur four words which may be old Greek epithets: *Oreobazagra*, perhaps an epithet of Hekate or of the moon goddess (thus *LSJ*, but of uncertain meaning); *Rhēzichthōn*, a word which may be translated "bursting forth from the earth" (thus *LSJ*; see Cook, *Zeus, III* 4–5 for parallels and discussion. See also Bonner, *SMA* 170; *Orph. H.* 52. 9); *Hippochthōn* (meaning unexplained, thus *LSJ*: Audollent, *Tab. Def.* 38129; cf. Hermann, "Erdbeben," *RAC* 5 [1965]: 1082ff.); *Pyripēganyx*, perhaps "lord of the fount of fire" (*LSJ* s.v.; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 29).

Material, magical: "Material" (*ousia*; see *PGM* I. 99, IV. 2336, etc.) is the magical substance such as hair, thread from clothing, etc., which is often necessary to make sympathetic magic effective. See K. Preisendanz, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri, I," *WSt* 40 (1918): 1–8; Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 667–77.

Meliouchos: The meaning of this epithet is still unexplained. In the magical texts it can be attributed to various deities. See *PGM* III. 45–46, 99; V. 4; VI. 33; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 22. 32; 38. 12; see P. E. Göbel, "Meliuchos," *PRE* 15 (1931): 554–55.

Mene: This is an epithet of the moon goddess, Selene; see *Hymn. Hom.* 32. 1; *Hymn. Orph.* 9. 3, 4; *PGM* IV. 2264, 2546, 2815; VII. 758.

Mithras: The Persian god is mentioned only a few times in *PGM* (note III. 100, 462; IV. 482) and each time as being identical with Helios or with Zeus-Helios-Sarapis (see *PGM* V. 4). See Nilsson, *GGR* II, 668–72; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 67ff.; M. J. Vermaseren, "Mithras

in der Römerzeit," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen in Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 96–120, with bibliography.

Moses: In Greco-Roman antiquity, Moses was widely recognized as a great magician. See Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 134–61.

Myrrh(ed) ink: This ingredient used for writing on papyrus occurs throughout the *PGM*. Cf. the note on the Demotic equivalent *r' w ḫl* in *DMP* v. 5.

Nature (**Greek *Physis***): *Physis* appears from early times as a deified conception of nature's powers of creation and creativity. As such, Physis has an important role in most philosophical schools, especially where the concept of *kata physin* ("in accordance with nature") seems at times to rise almost to the level of a religious credo (so in Seneca, *De Prov.* IV. 15 and often). Physis appears often elsewhere as a goddess: cf., for example, *Hymn. Orph.* 10 which is addressed to Physis. Much of its language closely resembles that in the *PGM* hymns to the moon (to whom *Hymn. Orph.* 9 is addressed). In *PGM* Physis the goddess appears elsewhere at IV. 2883, 2917; see also IV. 939 and n. The surprising thing is that she does not appear more often in *PGM*. See K. Kerényi, "Die Göttin Natur," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 14 (1947): 39–86.

NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH: The name occurs frequently in magical literature and is often connected with Aktiophis and Ereschigal. In *PGM* the triad is often attributed to deities of the underworld, especially Hekate. The name Nebutosoualēth may be derived from the Babylonian god Nebo, but the origin is not clear. See K. Preisendanz, "Nebutosualeth," *PRE* 16 (1935): 2158–60; Bonner, *SMA* 30, 197–98.

Nephotes: The name appears to be a hellenized form of the Egyptian Nefer-hotep (*Nfr-ḥtp*), but it is uncertain to whom it refers. Originally, it was the name of an Egyptian deity. See A. Rusch, "Nephotes" *PRE* 16 (1935): 2493–94; cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 518–19, s.v. "Nephotes." [R.K.R.]

(On)nophris: An epithet of Osiris, "The Beautiful Being." For the common proper name Onnophris, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch* 242. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1078; IV. 128. [R.K.R.]

Oserapis: The occurrence of the old name Oserapis (cf. *PGM* XL. 1) for Serapis on the fourth century B.C. curse found in the Serapeum of Memphis is important for the origins of this cult. See on this issue Nilsson, *GGR* II, 156. Cf. also the note on *PGM* XIXa. 6.

Osoronnophris: This is equivalent to the Egyptian *Wsir Wn-nfr*, "Osiris the Beautiful Being"; cf. *PGM* V. 101 and IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

Ostanes (**Osthanes**): The historical Ostanes was a theologian at the court of Xerxes, with whom he went to Greece. He is said to have taught Demokritos the philosopher (who is also mentioned in *PGM* IV. 2006; VII. 167, 795; XII. 122, 351) and to have introduced magic to Greece (Pliny *NH* 30. 8). Later, many different writings were transmitted under the name of Ostanes. See J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès, et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* (Paris: "Les belles lettres," 1938), vol. II, 267–356; K. Preisendanz, "Ostanes," *PRE* 18 (1942): 1610–42.

Ouroboros: The serpent who swallows its own tail is a widely used figure in magic. See W. Deonna, "Ouroboros," *Artibus Asiae* 15 (1952): 163–70; K. Preisendanz, "Aus der Geschichte des Uroboros," in *Brauch und Sinnbild. Eugen Fehrle zum 60. Geburstag gedwidmet von seinen Schülern und Freunden* (Karlsruhe: Kommissionsverlag Südwestdeutsche Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1940) 194–209. For examples of the figure on Egyptian monuments, see A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (Princeton: Pantheon Books, 1955) pl. 48; idem, *Mythological Papyri* (Princeton: Pantheon Books, 1957) 22, fig. 3; 174, fig. 74; papyri 20, 27. [R.K.R.] See *PGM* I. 145–46; XII. 203–4, 274–75; VII. 58–59; XXXVI. 184.

Ouserrannouphthi: This is Egyptian *Wsir-rn-nfr*, "Osiris of the good name." [R.K.R.]

Palindrome: Palindrome (lit. "running back again") refers to magical words, usually of no recognizable sense, which can be read and pronounced the same forward as backwards.

Persian: The epithet "Persia," used of Artemis-Hekate (cf. *PGM* IV. 2271, 2715, 2781) shows evidence of the identification of the goddess with the Persian goddess Anahita. See Diod. V. 77 and Nilsson, *GGR* II, 672ff.

Pitys: W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* ([Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1907] 192, n. 1; cf. *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 59, 105, 157, 210) has suggested that the Thessalian Pitys named in *PGM* IV. 1928, 2006, 2140 is in fact identical with the Egyptian priest and prophet Bitys (Iamblichus, *De myst.* 8. 5; 10. 7), the Bitos named in Zosimos' *On the Letter Omega*, and Bithus of Dyrrhachium mentioned in Pliny, *NH* 28. 82. See Festugière, *La Revélation* I, 268; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 610; K. Preisendanz, "Pitys (3)," *PRE* 20 (1950): 1882–83.

Phre: See **Ra**.

Phtha: See **Ptah**.

Phylactery: A phylactery (Greek *phylaktērion*) in the *PGM* refers to any stone, material, papyrus amulet, or lamella, engraved with a spell or otherwise, which is worn about the person for protection. The term should not be confused with the Jewish technical term referring to the *tefillin* cases with Scripture verses.

Pnouthis: Pnouthis, or Pnythios, is an Egyptian name and means "He of God." See K. Preisendanz, "Pnuthis," *PRE* 41 (1951): 1104.

Priestly papyrus: Or "hieratic papyrus" refers to the best quality of paper for the writing of magical spells (cf. for example, *PGM* I. 233; IV. 2363, 2512–13; VII. 412). For this technical distinction on the quality of papyrus, see Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 43–45. [R.K.R.]

Processional way (Greek *kōmastērion*): Ordinarily refers to the meeting place of the revelers of Dionysos, but in *PGM* it is used several times as a metaphor describing heaven as a place of procession of the stars (see also *PGM* IV. 1608–9; XII. 184, 252; XIII. 774; XXI. 10; LXXVII. 13).

Psammetichos: The name is the hellenized form of the Egyptian name *Psmtk*. A legendary figure, Psammetichos I (663–609 B.C.) was the first king of the twenty-sixth Dynasty, but other figures also bore this name. See W. Helck, "Psammetichos," *PRE* 23 (1959): 1305–8.

Psychē: See **Soul**.

Punishments, the (Greek *hai Timōriai*): These are the Greek deities responsible for retributive punishment and hence appropriately cited in spells dealing with malicious magic. See *PGM* VII. 303; XIII. 149, 291, 457; and K. Ziegler, "Timoros," *PRE* 2nd ser. 6 (1937): 1308–9.

Ptah: This is the Egyptian creator god, for which see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 614–19, s.v. "Ptah."

Pythagoras: Because of his interest in the mysticism of numbers, this philosopher's name became attached to late texts associated with mantic and magic. See W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972) 109ff.; idem, *Griechische Religion* 445–47.

Ra (Re, Phre): The Egyptian god of the sun (P)rē, without the definite article. Re means simply "sun," while Prē, the form of the god's name from the New Kingdom onward, means "the Sun." See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 626–30, s.v. "Re."

Sarapis (Serapis): The god Sarapis, closely associated with Osiris in *PGM* IV. 226, appears mostly in the *PGM* as identical with Zeus and Helios (see, e.g., IV. 1715; V. 4–5; LXXIV. 4–5, 14, and Nilsson, *GGR* II, 513), but not with Dionysos, with whom the Greeks identified Osiris (Herod. 2. 42; Plut. *Is. et Os.* 356C). See G. Roeder, "Sarapis," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 2 (1920) 2394–2496; John E. Strambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*, *EPRO* 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1972); G. Mussies, "The *Interpretatio Judaica* of Sarapis," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Studies in Hellenistic Religions*, *EPRO* 78 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 188–214; L. Vidman, "Isis und Sarapis," in *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* 121–56. See *PGM* XIXa. 6 and n.

Sachmou: This is the Egyptian goddess of war and plague (*PGM* VII. 300), Sakhmet; see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 643–46, s.v. "Sachmet." [R.K.R.]

Scarab: The beetle (*Ateuchus sacer*) regarded as holy by the Egyptians and associated with various deities. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 720–22, s.v. "Skarabäus"; J. Assmann, "Chepre," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 934–40; J. Bergman, "Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus (*PGM* VII, 11. 516–521)," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 28–37.

Selene: The Greek word for the moon (*selēnē*) can stand for the celestial body or for the deity representative of that body. In the *PGM*, Selene is usually transcribed from Greek instead of translated as "moon" unless that term seems completely devoid of the sense of deity.
SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS: A magical name very common in the *PGM*. It is often found together with ABLANATHANALBA. For possible derivations of the name and further references, see W. Fauth, "SSM PDRŠŠA," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 120 (1970):229–56, esp. 254–55.
Seth: See **Typhon/Seth**.
Soul: The word *psychē* occurs frequently in *PGM* where it usually means "soul," "mind," etc., and "spirits of the dead." But in several passages (VI. 277, 2488; VII. 414, 472; XVIIa. 18) *psychē* means female pudendum, i.e., a synonym of *physis*, another regular term for the pudendum both in *PGM* and elsewhere. In addition, there are other places (i.e., IV. 1040, 1526, 1752, etc.) where *psychē* is translated "soul," but the erotic context also suggests the added meaning of pudendum. Indeed, it is entirely possible that such a double entendre was the origin of the extended meaning (see esp. IV. 1752, 2924; XXXII. 9, 15; XXXIIa. 15). This meaning of *psychē* occurs also outside of *PGM*. See, e.g., Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 193–99, esp. 195; Martial, *Epigr.* 68. 5–12, esp. 5–7; and also Sophocles, *El.* 775. [E.N.O.]
Systasis: "Divine encounter," *vel sim.* is a technical term for a rite (*PGM* IV. 778–79; VII. 505ff.) or prayer (*PGM* III. 197–98, 494ff.; IV. 260ff.) to establish an association between a god and a person. Sometimes the association is really only a meeting between the god and the human in order for the human to receive a revelation (*PGM* III. 197ff.; see ll. 192–96; cf. also II. 43, 73; III. 698–99) or a blessing (see ll. 576ff. in *PGM* III. 494ff., and in IV. 260ff., ll. 272 and 284–85). At other times, the association is to be more long-lasting, and the god is to ally himself with the human (*PGM* I. 57, 79–80, 177–81) even to the point of some real sort of union (*PGM* IV. 209, 219–21; cf. ll. 215–17; XIII. 927–31). There is no single English word to encompass this variety of meanings, and therefore *systasis* and cognate words are translated in a variety of ways throughout this volume. For a different interpretation of *systasis*, see K. Preisendanz, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 40 (1913):2–5.
THERNOPSI formula: This formula in *PGM* III. 186, IV. 828–29, VII. 316 (with corruptions or variant readings) refers to the magical incantation "PSINŌTHER NŌPSITHER THERNŌPSI." For possible Egyptian meaning, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 750. Note, however, that the three words form rearranged groupings of the syllables PSI, NŌ, and THER. [R.D.K.]
Thoth (Thouth, Thoouth, Theouth, Thooth): The Egyptian god of wisdom and magic, whom the Greeks identified with Hermes. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 805–12, s.v. "Thot"; P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* (Chicago: Ares, ²1979), esp. 124ff.; G. Mussies, "The *Interpretatio Judaica* of Thot-Hermes," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion, Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 89–120.
Typhon/Seth: The identification of the Egyptian god Seth with the Greek Typhoios or Typhos was already made by the Greeks of the Classical period (Hesiod, *Theog.* 820ff.) and was common in the Greco-Roman Period (see Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351F and often), a fact reflected also in the *PGM* (see, e.g., VII. 964; XII. 138; XIV. 20). For references, see Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974):556–57, 620–21. Because the figure of Seth was believed to be donkey-headed, Typhon in *PGM* IV. 3260 and elsewhere (cf. XIa. 1–2; IV. 2220) probably means "ass." See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967).
YESSIMMIGADON/AKROUROBORE formula: For this formula (with variants) see *PGM* II. 32; IV. 2771ff. (cf. IV. 337); V. 424ff.; VII. 680ff.; 895ff.; XIII. 923ff.; XIXa. 12; *DMP* vii. 25–26. In this formula, AKROUROBORE is believed to mean in Greek "eater of the tip of your tail" (thus *LSJ*), a reference to the ouroboros (see Glossary, s.v.). On the formula, see Drexler in Roscher, I, 2. 2771; J. M. R. Cormack, "A *Tabella Defixionis* in the Museum of the University of Reading, England," *HTR* 44 (1951):25–34, esp. 31–32.

THE GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI IN TRANSLATION

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THE GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

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Shall we write about the things not to be spoken of?
Shall we divulge the things not to be divulged?
Shall we pronounce the things not to be pronounced?

Julian, *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*

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Preface

This volume of translations of the Greek magical papyri has been a long time in the making. The project began in a planning colloquium at Claremont, California, May 31 to June 4, 1978. At this meeting, a team of scholars resolved to produce this translation volume as part of a research project on the Greek magical papyri, the project as a whole being designed as a contribution to the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*.

The translations turned out to be more difficult and time-consuming than had been expected. Since it seemed desirable to expand the Preisendanz collection to include as many newly discovered and newly published magical papyri as possible, the number of papyri increased from 81 to 131. In this respect, the translation volume differs from the Preisendanz volumes. It differs also in that while Preisendanz reproduced only the Greek sections of bilingual Greek-Demotic papyri, this volume includes the full translations of all bilingual texts.

All translations are based on the Greek, Demotic, and Coptic texts. *PGM* I–LXXXI follow the Preisendanz edition, while *PGM* LXXXII–CXXX and *PDM* Supplement follow their critical editions, which are indicated in the notes. Translators were free to make changes in the texts when they thought it necessary; these changes are also indicated in the notes. Where earlier translations exist, they have been consulted, but all the translations included in this volume are new.

Unlike the Preisendanz edition, this new volume does not have an *apparatus criticus*. Instead, it has notes explaining difficulties in the text and the translation, and notes alerting readers to important information. It has been necessary to limit these notes to a degree which many readers may find drastic, but the team decided not to attempt what could only be a lengthy commentary on the papyri. Instead, they agreed that other research tools should be developed to encourage and assist further research on the papyri. The following research tools are presently being prepared:

1. An index of Greek words is being prepared by Professor Edward O'Neil.
2. A subject index based on the English translation is being worked out by Ms. Marjorie Menaul.
3. A collection of parallels between the magical papyri and early Christian literature is being prepared by the research team. This part of the project is most directly related to the task of the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*, namely, the collection of parallels from ancient literature to the New Testament and the other Christian literature up to approximately A.D. 150.
4. A comprehensive bibliography, including editions and investigations of the magical papyri, is being assembled by Professor David Hellholm.

The present volume would not have come about without the generous support of institutions and individuals. The National Endowment for the Humanities has funded the entire venture from the beginning by substantial grants from 1978 to 1983. Without this financial assistance, the project would simply not exist; schol-

arly team projects of this magnitude cannot live on enthusiasm alone. Apart from the purely financial aspect, the officers of the NEH have helped more than they may realize by their quiet encouragement and confidence expressed over a number of years.

A great deal of assistance also came from the institutions where the project was initiated and where it is now based. These include the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at Claremont, where the project was based during the years 1977 and 1978, and the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion at the University of Chicago, where it has been from 1978 to the present. Thanks are especially due to the officers of these institutions, Professors James M. Robinson and James Brashler of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity; and Professors Joseph M. Kitagawa, formerly dean, and Franklin I. Gamwell, currently dean, of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, as well as to Martin E. Marty, program coordinator for the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion of the University of Chicago.

The present project could not have succeeded without the unfailing loyalty and generosity of the members of the team, both contributors and consultants. Among these should be named Professors Jan Bergman, Walter Burkert, Franco Maltomini, and P. J. Sijpesteijn. The research specialists of the project, Professor William C. Grese (1977–80), and Mr. Roy Kotansky and Ms. Marjorie Menaul (1980–83), not only helped to carry the burdens of administration and editorship, but made substantial contributions to the project as well. To all of them sincere thanks are due.

H. D. Betz

Table of Spells

This list of spells presupposes the divisions in the texts and the identification of section titles made by the editor. In the Demotic spells, section titles are sometimes indicated by red lettering (but this is not done consistently). If no titles are given, this fact is stated (No title) and a short description of content is added.

Reference	*Translator*	*Short Title*
PGM I		(No title) Magical handbook
PGM I. 1–42	E.N.O.	[Rite] for acquiring an assistant daimon
PGM I. 42–195	E.N.O.	The spell of Pnouthis (for acquiring an assistant daimon)
PGM I. 195–222	E.N.O.	Prayer of deliverance
PGM I. 222–31	E.N.O.	Invisibility spell
PGM I. 232–47	E.N.O.	Memory spell
PGM I. 247–62	E.N.O.	Spell for invisibility
PGM I. 262–347	E.N.O.	Apollonian invocation
PGM II		(No title) Magical handbook
PGM II. 1–64	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PGM II. 65–183	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Alternative spell for revelation
PGM III		(No title) Magical handbook
PGM III. 1–164	J.M.D.	(No title) Cat ritual for many purposes
PGM III. 165–86	J.M.D.	(No title) Oracular request (?)
PGM III. 187–262	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PGM III. 263–75	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
PGM III. 275–81	E.N.O.	[Horoscope]
PGM III. 282–409	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for foreknowledge
PGM III. 410–23	W.C.G.	(No title) Memory spell
PGM III. 424–66	W.C.G.	A copy from a holy book (spell for foreknowledge and memory)
PGM III. 467–78	W.C.G.	Memory spell
PGM III. 479–83	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
PGM III. 483–88	W.C.G.	Another (foreknowledge charm to detect a thief)
PGM III. 488–94	W.C.G.	Another (spell to detect a thief?)
PGM III. 494–611	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	[Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios
PGM III. 612–32	J.M.D.	(No title) Spell for gaining control of one's shadow
PGM III. 633–731	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for a direct vision
PGM IV		(No title) Magical handbook
PGM IV. 1–25	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PGM IV. 26–51	H.M.	Initiation
PGM IV. 52–85	H.M. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PGM IV. 86–87	M.W.M.	Phylactery against daimons

PGM IV. 88–93	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	Another, to Helios
PGM IV. 94–153	M.W.M.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 154–285	J.P.H. / E.N.O.	Nephotes to Psammetichos (letter concerning bowl divination)
PGM IV. 286–95	E.N.O.	Spell for picking a plant
PGM IV. 296–466	E.N.O.	Wondrous spell for binding a lover
PGM IV. 467–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
PGM IV. 469–70	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
PGM IV. 471–73	H.M.	(No title) Verses from Homer
PGM IV. 474	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
PGM IV. 475–829	M.W.M.	(No title) The "Mithras Liturgy"
PGM IV. 830	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
PGM IV. 831–32	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
PGM IV. 833–34	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
PGM IV. 835–49	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological text
PGM IV. 850–929	W.C.G.	Charm of Solomon that produces a trance
PGM IV. 930–1114	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Charm that produces direct vision
PGM IV. 1115–66	W.C.G.	Hidden stele (prayer)
PGM IV. 1167–1226	W.C.G.	Stele (spell for deliverance)
PGM IV. 1227–64	M.W.M.	Rite for driving out daimons
PGM IV. 1265–74	E.N.O.	Aphrodite's name (love spell)
PGM IV. 1275–1322	W.C.G.	Bear charm
PGM IV. 1323–30	W.C.G.	Another (Bear charm)
PGM IV. 1331–89	W.C.G.	Bear charm
PGM IV. 1390–1495	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 1496–1595	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 1596–1715	M.S.	Consecration for all purposes
PGM IV. 1716–1870	E.N.O.	Sword of Dardanos (love spell)
PGM IV. 1872–1927	E.N.O.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM IV. 1928–2005	E.N.O.	King Pitys' spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2006–2125	E.N.O.	Pitys' spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2125–39	M.S.	A restraining seal
PGM IV. 2140–44	W.C.G.	Pitys the Thessalian's spell for questioning corpses
PGM IV. 2145–2240	H.M.	Divine assistance from three Homeric verses
PGM IV. 2241–2358	E.N.O.	Document to the waning moon
PGM IV. 2359–72	R.F.H.	Business spell
PGM IV. 2373–2440	R.F.H.	Charm for acquiring business
PGM IV. 2441–2621	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2622–2707	E.N.O.	Slander spell to Selene
PGM IV. 2708–84	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2785–2890	E.N.O.	Prayer to Selene
PGM IV. 2891–2942	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2943–66	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM IV. 2967–3006	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for picking a plant
PGM IV. 3007–86	W.C.G.	Charm of Pibechis for those possessed by daimons
PGM IV. 3086–3124	W.C.G.	Oracle of Kronos, called "little mill"
PGM IV. 3125–71	M.S.	(No title) Spell for favor
PGM IV. 3172–3208	W.C.G.	Dream-producing charm
PGM IV. 3209–54	J.P.H.	Saucer divination of Aphrodite
PGM IV. 3255–74	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to induce insomnia
PGM V		(No title) Magical handbook

PGM V. 1–53	W.C.G.	Oracle of Sarapis
PGM V. 54–69	W.C.G.	Direct vision spell
PGM V. 70–95	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell to catch a thief
PGM V. 96–172	D.E.A.	Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist (letter)
PGM V. 172–212	W.C.G.	Another way (spell to catch a thief)
PGM V. 213–303	M.S.	Hermes' ring
PGM V. 304–69	M.S.	(No title) Defixio
PGM V. 370–446	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PGM V. 447–58	M.S.	(No title) Instruction concerning a magical ring
PGM V. 459–89	D.E.A.	Another way (spell for many purposes)
PGM Va. 1–3	H.M.	(No title) Spell for direct vision
PGM VI. 1–47	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer for encounter with Helios
PGM VII		(No title) Magical handbook
PGM VII. 1–148	H.M.	Homer oracle
PGM VII. 149–54	W.C.G.	To keep bugs out of the house
PGM VII. 155–67	W.C.G.	Days and hours for divination
PGM VII. 167–86	R.D.K.	Demokritos' "table gimmicks"
PGM VII. 186–90	R.F.H.	Favor and victory charm
PGM VII. 191–92	E.N.O.	Spell for binding a lover
PGM VII. 193–96	J.S.	For scorpion sting
PGM VII. 197–98	J.S.	For discharge of the eyes
PGM VII. 199–201	J.S.	For migraine headache
PGM VII. 201–2	J.S.	Another (for migraine headache)
PGM VII. 203–5	J.S.	For coughs
PGM VII. 206–7	J.S.	Another (for coughs)
PGM VII. 208–9	J.S.	For hardening of the breasts
PGM VII. 209–10	J.S.	For swollen testicles
PGM VII. 211–12	J.S.	For fever with shivering fits
PGM VII. 213–14	J.S.	For daily fever and nightly fever
PGM VII. 215–18	H.M.	Stele of Aphrodite (spell for favor)
PGM VII. 218–21	J.S.	Phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits
PGM VII. 222–49	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle from Besas
PGM VII. 250–54	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
PGM VII. 255–59	W.C.G.	Another to the same lamp
PGM VII. 260–71	J.S.	For the ascent of the uterus
PGM VII. 272–83	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological calendar
PGM VII. 284–99	E.N.O.	Orbit of the moon (horoscope)
PGM VII. 300	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM VII. 300a–310	E.N.O.	Love charm
PGM VII. 311–16	M.S.	Phylactery
PGM VII. 317–18	M.S.	Another phylactery
PGM VII. 319–34	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
PGM VII. 335–47	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
PGM VII. 348–58	W.C.G.	Divination by means of a boy
PGM VII. 359–69	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
PGM VII. 370–73	W.C.G.	(Spell) against every wild animal
PGM VII. 374–76	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
PGM VII. 376–84	R.F.H.	Another (charm to induce insomnia)
PGM VII. 385–89	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
PGM VII. 390–93	R.F.H.	Victory charm for the races
PGM VII. 394–95	R.F.H.	Coercive spell for restraining
PGM VII. 396–404	R.F.H.	Spell for silencing, subjecting, and restraining

PGM VII. 405–6	E.N.O.	Love spell
PGM VII. 407–10	E.N.O.	(No title) Dream spell
PGM VII. 411–16	E.N.O.	Spell for causing talk while asleep
PGM VII. 417–22	M.S.	Restraining spell
PGM VII. 423–28	R.F.H.	To win at dice
PGM VII. 429–58	M.S.	Restraining spell
PGM VII. 459–61	E.N.O.	Love charm
PGM VII. 462–66	E.N.O.	Love charm
PGM VII. 467–77	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM VII. 478–90	H.M.	(No title) Spell for dream revelation
PGM VII. 490–504	M.S.	(No title) Spell for protection
PGM VII. 505–28	H.M.	Meeting with your own daimon
PGM VII. 528–39	R.F.H.	Victory charm
PGM VII. 540–78	J.P.H.	Lamp divination
PGM VII. 579–90	M.S.	Phylactery
PGM VII. 591–92	W.C.G.	(No title) Prayer of invocation
PGM VII. 593–619	D.E.A.	Fetching charm
PGM VII. 619–27	E.N.O.	From the Diadem of Moses (spells for invisibility and love)
PGM VII. 628–42	M.S.	(No title) Rite involving a magical ring
PGM VII. 643–51	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
PGM VII. 652–60	R.F.H.	Spell to induce insomnia
PGM VII. 661–63	E.N.O.	Love spell
PGM VII. 664–85	E.N.O.	Request for dream revelations
PGM VII. 686–702	H.D.B.	Bear charm
PGM VII. 703–26	W.C.G.	Request for dream oracle
PGM VII. 727–39	W.C.G.	Charm for a direct vision of Apollo
PGM VII. 740–55	W.C.G.	[Request for a dream oracle]
PGM VII. 756–94	W.C.G.	Prayer
PGM VII. 795–845	J.P.H.	Pythagoras' request for a dream oracle and Demokritos' dream divination
PGM VII. 846–61	W.C.G.	Shadow on the sun (spell for revelation)
PGM VII. 862–918	E.N.O.	Lunar spell of Klaudianos
PGM VII. 919–24	R.F.H.	Hermes' wondrous victory charm
PGM VII. 925–39	R.F.H.	Another, charm to subject
PGM VII. 940–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to subject
PGM VII. 969–72	E.N.O.	A good potion (love spell)
PGM VII. 973–80	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction . . .
PGM VII. 981–93	E.N.O.	[Love spell of attraction]
PGM VII. 993–1009	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM VII. 1009–16	W.C.G.	Divination by a dream
PGM VII. 1017–26	R.F.H.	[No title] Spell for favor and victory
PGM VIII. 1–63	E.N.O.	Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos
PGM VIII. 64–110	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Request for a dream oracle of Besas
PGM IX. 1–14	R.F.H. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to subject and silence
PGM X. 1–23	E.N.O.	(No title [?]) Love spell
PGM X. 24–35	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
PGM X. 36–50	R.F.H.	Apollo's charm to subject
PGM XIa. 1–40	H.M.	Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman
PGM XIb. 1–5	R.D.K.	(No title) "Table gimmick" (?)
PGM XIc. 1–19	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xii (*PGM* XII)		(No title) Magical handbook
PDM xii 1–5	J.H.J.	(No title) Invocation
PDM xii 6–20	J.H.J.	A ring to cause praise

PDM xii 21–49	J.H.J.	(No title) Prayer for a revelation of a remedy for a disease
PGM XII. 1–13	H.M.	Rite (to produce an epiphany of Kore)
PGM XII. 14–95	H.M.	Eros as assistant daimon
PGM XII. 96–106	R.F.H.	Himerios' recipes
PGM XII. 107–21	W.C.G.	Charm of Agathokles for sending dreams
PGM XII. 121–43	R.D.K.	Zminis of Tentyra's spell for sending dreams
PGM XII. 144–52	W.C.G.	Request for a dream
PGM XII. 153–60	W.C.G.	Spell for a divine revelation
PGM XII. 160–78	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to release from bonds
PGM XII. 179–81	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for restraining anger
PGM XII. 182–89	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for gaining favor
PGM XII. 190–92	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear
PGM XII. 193–201	J.S.	[To make] a tincture of gold
PGM XII. 201–69	M.S.	A ring
PGM XII. 270–350	M.S.	A little ring for success and favor and victory
PGM XII. 351–64	J.P.H.	Demokritos' "sphere"
PGM XII. 365–75	R.F.H.	Charm for causing separation
PGM XII. 376–96	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
PGM XII. 397–400	H.M.	To gain favor and friendship forever
PGM XII. 401–44	H.D.B. / J.S.	Interpretations
PDM xii. 50–61 [*PGM* XII. 445–48]	J.H.J.	Spell for separating one person from another
PDM xii. 62–75 [*PGM* XII. 449–52]	J.H.J.	Another (spell for separation)
PDM xii. 76–107 [*PGM* XII. 453–65]	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	Another (spell for separation)
PDM xii. 108–18 [*PGM* XII. 466–68]	J.H.J.	A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man
PDM xii. 119–34 [*PGM* XII. 469–73]	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	A spell for it (fetching spell?)
PDM xii. 135–46 [*PGM* XII. 474–79]	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PDM xii. 147–64 [*PGM* XII. 480–95] [*PGM* XII. 480–95]	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	Another (love spell of attraction)
PGM XIII. 1–734	M.S.	A sacred book called "Unique" or "Eighth Book of Moses"
PGM XIII. 1–343	M.S.	[Part A: Initiation ritual and magical handbook]
PGM XIII. 343–646	M.S.	[Part B: A second, different version of the initiation ritual]
PGM XIII. 647–734	M.S.	[Part C: A third, different version of the initiation ritual]
PGM XIII. 734–1077	M.S.	(No title) A collection of miscellaneous spells
PDM xiv		(No title) Magical handbook
PDM xiv. 1–92	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
PDM xiv. 93–114 [*PGM* XIVa. 1–11]	J.H.J. / W.C.G.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PDM xiv. 115	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vision (?)
PDM xiv. 116	J.H.J.	Another spell for vision (?)

PDM xiv. 117–49	J.H.J.	A "god's arrival"
PDM xiv. 150–231	J.H.J.	An inquiry of the lamp
PDM xiv. 232–38	J.H.J.	A "god's arrival"
PDM xiv. 239–95	J.H.J.	The vessel inquiry of Khonsu
PDM xiv. 295–308	J.H.J.	[A] vessel [inquiry]
PDM xiv. 309–34	J.H.J.	A spell for causing favor
PDM xiv. 335–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 355–65	J.H.J.	Another love spell
PDM xiv. 366–75	J.H.J.	The method (spell for separating man and woman)
PDM xiv. 376–94	J.H.J.	(No title) Various recipes
PDM xiv. 395–427	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
PDM xiv. 428–50	J.H.J.	(No title) Two love potions
PDM xiv. 451–58 [*PGM* XIVb. 12–15]	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for going before a superior
PDM xiv. 459–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
PDM xiv. 475–88	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
PDM xiv. 489–515	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
PDM xiv. 516–27	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
PDM xiv. 528–53	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
PDM xiv. 554–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
PDM xiv. 563–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of poison
PDM xiv. 574–85	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone stuck in the throat
PDM xiv. 585–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
PDM xiv. 594–620	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for sting
PDM xiv. 620–26	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone stuck in the throat
PDM xiv. 627–35	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
PDM xiv. 636–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love potion
PDM xiv. 670–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Introduction to a collection of spells (?)
PDM xiv. 675–94 [*PGM* XIVc. 15–27]	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	A spell (to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 695–700	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
PDM xiv. 701–5	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
PDM xiv. 706–10	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell against "evil sleep"
PDM xiv. 711–15	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 716–24	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 724–26	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 727–36	J.H.J.	A prescription (three prescriptions to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 737–38	J.H.J.	A prescription (to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 739–40	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 741	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 742	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 743–49	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 750–71	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
PDM xiv. 772–804	J.H.J.	A method (love spells)
PDM xiv. 805–40	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
PDM xiv. 841–50	J.H.J.	Another method (vessel inquiry)
PDM xiv. 851–55	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
PDM xiv. 856–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Inquiry of the sun
PDM xiv. 875–85	J.H.J.	Here is another (inquiry of the sun)

PDM xiv. 886–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipes involving herbs
PDM xiv. 897–910	J.H.J.	(No title) List of herbs and minerals
PDM xiv. 912–16	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause "evil sleep"
PDM xiv. 917–19	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause "evil sleep")
PDM xiv. 920–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
PDM xiv. 930–32	J.H.J.	A prescription (love spell)
PDM xiv. 933–34	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
PDM xiv. 935–39	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a watery ear
PDM xiv. 940–52	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning salamander and herbs
PDM xiv. 953–55	J.H.J.	A prescription (to stop blood)
PDM xiv. 956–60	J.H.J.	(No title) Test of pregnancy
PDM xiv. 961–65	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop blood)
PDM xiv. 966–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning herbs
PDM xiv. 970–77	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop liquid in a woman)
PDM xiv. 978–80	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
PDM xiv. 981–84	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
PDM xiv. 985–92	J.H.J.	Gout (prescription)
PDM xiv. 993–1002	J.H.J.	Another (prescription for gout)
PDM xiv. 1003–14	J.H.J.	(No title) Amulet for gout
PDM xiv. 1015–20	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for unidentifiable ailment
PDM xiv. 1021–23	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a stiff foot
PDM xiv. 1024–25	J.H.J.	(No title) Another prescription for a stiff foot
PDM xiv. 1026–45	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1046–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1047–48	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1049–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1056–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spells involving *voces magicae*
PDM xiv. 1063–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1070–77	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to send dreams and make a woman love
PDM xiv. 1078–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Request for revelation
PDM xiv. 1090–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Fetching spell
PDM xiv. 1097–1103	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to heal an eye disease
PDM xiv. 1104–9	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipe concerning eye ointment
PDM xiv. 1110–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to open eyes for divination
PDM xiv. 1130–40	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1141–54	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
PDM xiv. 1155–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM xiv. 1163–79	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vessel divination
PDM xiv. 1180–81	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragment from invocation
PDM xiv. 1182–87	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause madness
PDM xiv. 1188–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell (?)
PDM xiv. 1190–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
PDM xiv. 1194–95	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
PDM xiv. 1196–98	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
PDM xiv. 1199–1205	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
PDM xiv. 1206–18	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell

PDM xiv. 1219–27	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for fever
PGM XV. 1–21	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
PGM XVI. 1–75	E.N.O.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
PGM XVIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XVIIb. 1–23	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer
PGM XVIIc. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
PGM XVIIIa. 1–4	J.S.	(No title) Amulet for headache
PGM XVIIIb. 1–7	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
PGM XIXa. 1–54	E.N.O. / R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XIXb. 1–3	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XIXb. 4–18	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XX. 1–4	E.N.O.	[Spell for] headache
PGM XX. 4–12	E.N.O.	[The charm] of the Syrian woman of Gadara for any inflammation
PGM XX. 13–19	E.N.O.	The charm of the Thessalian Philinna, [for] headache
PGM XXI. 1–29	W.C.G.	(No title) Invocation
PGM XXIIa. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Magico-medical recipes
PGM XXIIb. 1–26	D.E.A.	Prayer of Jacob
PGM XXIIb. 27–31	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
PGM XXIIb. 32–35	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
PGM XXIII. 1–70	E.N.O.	Fragment of the *Kestoi* of Julius Africanus
PGM XXIVa. 1–25	W.C.G.	(No title) Oracle
PGM XXIVb. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell
PGM XXVa–d	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulets (?)
PGM XXVI. 1–21	———	(No title) *Sortes Astrampsychi* (omitted)
PGM XXVII. 1–5	R.F.H.	Victory charm
PGM XXVIIIa. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
PGM XXVIIIb. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
PGM XXVIIIc. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
PGM XXIX. 1–10	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer (poem)
PGM XXX a–f	———	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
PGM XXXI a–c	———	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
PGM XXXII. 1–19	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXIII. 1–25	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
PGM XXXIV. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Fragment from a novel
PGM XXXV. 1–42	R.F.H.	Charm for favor and victory
PGM XXXVI. 1–34	M.S.	Charm to restrain
PGM XXXVI. 35–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to secure favor
PGM XXXVI. 69–101	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVI. 102–33	E.N.O.	Divination by fire (love spell)
PGM XXXVI. 134–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVI. 161–77	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger, and for success
PGM XXXVI. 178–87	M.S.	Charm to break spells
PGM XXXVI. 187–210	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVI. 211–30	R.F.H.	Prayer to Helios: charm to restrain anger, and for victory and favor
PGM XXXVI. 231–55	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
PGM XXXVI. 256–64	M.S.	(No title) Charm to break enchantment
PGM XXXVI. 264–74	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm of uncertain purpose
PGM XXXVI. 275–83	H.M.	Charm for gaining favor
PGM XXXVI. 283–94	E.N.O.	Pudenda key spell

PGM XXXVI. 295–311	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVI. 312–20	R.F.H.	Charm to open a door
PGM XXXVI. 320–32	J.S.	Contraceptive spell
PGM XXXVI. 333–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVI. 361–71	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXVII. 1–26	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM XXXVIII. 1–26	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XXXIX. 1–21	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM XL. 1–18	R.F.H.	(No title) Curse
PGM XLI. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
PGM XLII. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
PGM XLIII. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
PGM XLIV. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet against fever (?)
PGM XLV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
PGM XLVI. 1–4	R.F.H.	(No title) Request for revelation (?)
PGM XLVI. 4–8	R.F.H.	Spell to silence and subject
PGM XLVII. 1–17	M.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
PGM XLVIII. 1–21	M.W.M.	(No title) Amulet (?)
PGM XLIX	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
PGM L. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Oracle (?)
PGM LI. 1–27	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
PGM LII. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
PGM LII. 9–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
PGM LII. 20–26	R.D.K.	Spell to induce insomnia
PGM LIII–LVI	———	(No titles) Spells (?) of uncertain purpose (omitted)
PGM LVII. 1–37	R.F.H.	(No title) Rite to acquire an assistant *daimon* (?)
PGM LVIII. 1–14	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to inflict harm
PGM LVIII. 15–39	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM LIX. 1–15	M.S.	(No title) Phylactery
PGM LX. 1–5	M.S.	(No title) Amulet
PDM lxi. 1–30	R.K.R.	(No title) Spell for revelation
PDM lxi. 30–41	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PDM lxi. 42	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PDM lxi. 43–48 [*PGM* LXI. i–v]*	J.H.J. / R.D.K.	Remedy for [an] ulcer (?) of the head
PDM lxi. 49–57	J.H.J.	[Remedy for the] head (?)
PDM lxi. 58–62 [*PGM* LXI. xi, x]*	R.D.K.	For an erection
PDM lxi. 63–78	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for a dream revelation
PDM lxi. 79–94	J.H.J.	Way of finding a thief
PDM lxi. 95–99	J.H.J.	Spell of giving praise and love in Nubian
PDM lxi. 100–105	J.H.J.	The red cloth of Nephthys
PDM lxi. 106–11	J.H.J.	Prescription for a donkey not moving
PDM lxi. 112–27	J.H.J.	Prescription for making a woman love
PDM lxi. 128–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM lxi. 148–58	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
PDM lxi. 159–96 [*PGM* LXI. 1–38]	E.N.O.	Love charm
PDM lxi. 197–216 [*PGM* LXI. 39–71]	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
PGM LXII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction

PGM LXII. 24–46	W.C.G. / J.P.H.	(No title) Saucer divination
PGM LXII. 47–51	M.S.	(No title) Oracle
PGM LXII. 52–75	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
PGM LXII. 76–106	J.S.	(No title) Spell (or two spells), to inflict harm (?)
PGM LXIII. 1–7	E.N.O.	(No title) Love-potion (?)
PGM LXIII. 7–12	E.N.O.	[Spell to make a woman] confess the name of the man she loves
PGM LXIII. 13–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM LXIII. 21–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
PGM LXIII. 24–25	J.S.	Contraceptive
PGM LXIII. 26–28	J.S.	Contraceptive
PGM LXIV. 1–12	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
PGM LXV. 1–4	J.S.	Spell to [prevent pregnancy]
PGM LXV. 4–7	J.S.	For migraine headache
PGM LXVI. 1–11	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to cause separation
PGM LXVII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell (?)
PGM LXVIII. 1–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
PGM LXIX. 1–3	D.E.A.	(No title) Victory spell (?)
PGM LXX. 1–4	H.D.B.	Charm for favor, etc.
PGM LXX. 4–25	H.D.B.	Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear of punishment
PGM LXX. 26–51	H.D.B.	Against fear and to dissolve spells
PGM LXXI. 1–8	M.S.	Phylactery
PGM LXXII. 1–36	W.C.G.	[Rite concerning the Bear]
PGM LXXIII–LXXVI	———	(No titles) Oracle questions (omitted)
PGM LXXVII. 1–24	W.C.G.	(No title) Charm for getting a revelation
PGM LXXVIII. 1–14	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
PGM LXXIX. 1–7	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
PGM LXXX. 1–5	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
PGM LXXXI. 1–10	W.C.G.	(No title) Greetings to deities
PGM LXXXII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Recipe for ingredients (fragment of formulary?)
PGM LXXXIII. 1–20	R.D.K.	For fever with shivering fits
PGM LXXXIV. 1–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM LXXXV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) For daimon possession
PGM LXXXVI. 1–2	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
PGM LXXXVI. 3–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
PGM LXXXVII. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
PGM LXXXVIII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
PGM LXXXIX. 1–27	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for fever, phantoms, daimons, etc.
PGM XC. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) Rite or phylactery
PGM XC. 14–18	H.D.B.	Salve for fever
PGM XCI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet (?)
PGM XCII. 1–16	R.D.K.	[Charm] for favor
PGM XCIII. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Sacrificial rite
PGM XCIII. 7–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
PGM XCIV. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title) *Voces magicae*
PGM XCIV. 4–6	R.D.K.	Drying powder made with saffron [for] sharp eyesight
PGM XCIV. 7–9	R.D.K.	For excellent health
PGM XCIV. 10–16	R.D.K.	A phylactery for [fever]

PGM XCIV. 17–21	R.D.K.	For those possessed by daimons
PGM XCIV. 22–26	R.D.K.	For the eyes
PGM XCIV. 27–35	R.D.K.	[For] tumors [and] . . .
PGM XCIV. 36–38	R.D.K.	[For . . .] and strangury
PGM XCIV. 39–60	R.D.K.	Another, for migraine headache
PGM XCV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for subjugation
PGM XCV. 7–13	R.D.K.	Concerning the mole-[rat]
PGM XCV. 14–18	R.D.K.	A remedy for all cases of . . . [epilepsy]
PGM XCVI. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
PGM XCVII. 1–6	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell against eye disease (?)
PGM XCVII. 7–9	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
PGM XCVII. 10–13	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
PGM XCVII. 15–17	H.D.B.	For every [disease]
PGM XCVIII. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
PGM XCIX. 1–3	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
PGM C. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
PGM CI. 1–53	H.D.B.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM CII. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Request for a dream oracle
PGM CIII. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM CIV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
PGM CV. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Invocation of Sarapis
PGM CVI. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
PGM CVII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM CVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM CIX. 1–8	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell
PGM CX. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
PGM CXI. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Instruction for making magical figures
PGM CXII. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
PGM CXIII. 1–4	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
PGM CXIV. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for attacks by daimons and for epilepsy
PGM CXV. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
PGM CXVI. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Invocation of Typhon-Seth
PGM CXVII. Fr. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
PGM CXVIII	———	(No title) Magical scroll (omitted)
PGM CXIXa. 1	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment from formulary
PGM CXIXa. 2–3	R.D.K.	Love spell through touch
PGM CXIXa. 4–6	R.D.K.	Fetching charm
PGM CXIXa. 7–11	R.D.K.	Charm to subject
PGM CXIXb. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title)
PGM CXIXb. 4–5	R.D.K.	[For fever with shivering fits]
PGM CXX. 1–13	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (for inflammation of the uvula?)
PGM CXXI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for a variety of evils
PGM CXXII. 1–5	H.D.B.	An excerpt for enchantments
PGM CXXII. 5–25	H.D.B.	Enchantment using apples
PGM CXXII. 26–50	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell (fetching charm?)
PGM CXXII. 51–55	H.D.B.	For headache
PGM CXXIIIa. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) *Voces magicae*

PGM CXXIIIa. 24–47	R.D.K.	Erotylos
PGM CXXIIIa. 48–50	R.D.K.	For childbearing
PGM CXXIIIa. 51–52	R.D.K.	For sleep
PGM CXXIIIa. 53–55	R.D.K.	For strangury
PGM CXXIIIa. 56–68	R.D.K.	For a shivering fit
PGM CXXIIIa. 69–72	R.D.K.	For victory
PGM CXXIIIb	R.D.K.	(No title) *Voces magicae*
PGM CXXIIIc	R.D.K.	(No title) *Voces magicae*
PGM CXXIIId	R.D.K.	(No title) *Voces magicae*
PGM CXXIIIe	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
PGM CXXIIIf	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
PGM CXXIV. 1–5	R.D.K.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm (?)
PGM CXXIV. 6–43	R.D.K.	Charm to inflict harm
PGM CXXVa–f	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragments of spells
PGM CXXVIa. 1–21	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
PGM CXXVIb. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
PGM CXXVII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of formulary of magico-medical prescriptions
PGM CXXVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	Phylactery for fever
PGM CXXIX. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of unidentifiable spell
PGM CXXX. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) For a shivering fever
PDM Supplement		
1–6	J.H.J.	[Spell for] sending a dream
7–18	J.H.J.	[Spell for] sending a dream
19–27	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
28–40	J.H.J.	[Spell for] sending a dream
40–60	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
60–101	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
101–16	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
117–30	J.H.J.	[Spell] for sending a dream
130–38	J.H.J.	A "god's arrival" of Osiris
138–49	J.H.J.	Spell for . . . (subjection?)
149–62	J.H.J.	A "god's arrival" of Thoth
162–68	J.H.J.	Spell for finding your house of life
168–84	J.H.J.	Spell for reciting a document
185–208	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragments of rites and formulae

List of Papyri in Preisendanz

Reference	*Location*	*Number*	*Date*
I	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 5025	IV^{p}/V^{p}
II	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 5026	IV^{p}
III	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 2396 (P.Mimaut frgs. 1–4)	IV^{p}
IV	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale	*P.Bibl.Nat. Suppl.* gr. no. 574	IV^{p}
V	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 46	IV^{p}?
Va	Uppsala, Victoriamuseet	*P.Holm.*, p. 42	
VI	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 47	II^{p} or III^{p}
VII	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 121	III^{p}/IV^{p}
VIII	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 122	IV^{p} or V^{p}
IX	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 123	IV^{p} or V^{p}
X	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 124	IV^{p} or V^{p}
XIa	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 125 verso	V^{p}
XIb	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 147	III^{p}
XIc	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.* 148	II^{p}/III^{p}
XII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	*P.Lugd.Bat.* J 384 (V)	IV^{p}
XIII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	*P.Lugd.Bat.* J 395 (W)	IV^{p}
XIV	London, British Museum	*P.Lond.demot.* 10070	III^{p}
	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	*P.Lugd.Bat.* J 383	III^{p}
XV	Alexandria, Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie	*P.Alex.* inv. 491	III^{p}
XVI	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 3378	I^{p}
XVIIa	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	*P.gr.* 1167	IV^{p}
XVIIb	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	*P.gr.* 1179	II^{p}
XVIIc	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	*P.gr.* 574	
XVIIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*BGU* III 955	III^{p}/V^{p}
XVIIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*BGU* III 956	III^{p}/V^{p}
XIXa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 9909	IV^{p} or V^{p}
XIXb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 11737	IV^{p}
XX	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 7504 + *P.Amh.* ii, Col. II (A) + *P.Oxy. inedit.* (=Pack^{2} 1872)	I^{a}
XXI	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 9566 verso	II^{p} or III^{p}
XXIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*BGU* IV 1026 (inv. no. 9873)	IV^{p} or V^{p}
XXIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 13895	IV^{p}

XXIII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 412	III^{p}
XXIVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 886	III^{p}
XXIVb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 887	III^{p}
XXVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 959	III^{p}
XXVb	Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek	*P. Un.Bibl.Freib.* (w/o no.)	VI^{p}
XXVc	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	*P.Cairo* 10434	
XXVd	Florence, Società Italiana per la ricerca de papiri	*P.Flor.* (w/o no.)	
XXVI	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 1477	III^{p}/IV^{p}
XXVII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 1478	III^{p}/IV^{p}
XXVIIIa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 2061	V^{p}
XXVIIIb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 2062	VI^{p}
XXVIIIc	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 2063	VI^{p}
XXIX	Oxford, Bodleian Library	*P.Oxy.* 1383	III^{p}
XXXa–f	[omitted]		
XXXIa–c	[omitted]		
XXXII	London, University College Institute of Archaeology	*P.Haw.* 312	II^{p}
XXXIII	Berkeley, University of California	*P.Tebt.* II 275	III^{p}
XXXIV	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library	*P.Fay.* 5	II^{p}/III^{p}
XXXV	Florence, Università degli Studi, Istituto di Papirologia	PSI I 29	V^{p}
XXXVI	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	*P.Osl.* I, 1	IV^{p}
XXXVII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	*P.Osl.* I, 2	IV^{p}
XXXVIII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	*P.Osl.* I, 3	IV^{p}
XXXIX	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	*P.Osl.* I, 4	IV^{p}
XL	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 1	IV^{p}
XLI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 339 = *P.Rain.* 4	V^{p}/VI^{p}
XLII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 331 = *P.Rain.* 8	VI^{p}
XLIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 335 = *P.Rain.* 9	V^{p}
XLIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 328 = *P.Rain.* 10	NA
XLV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 334 = *P.Rain.* 11	VI^{p}/VII^{p}
XLVI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 332 = *P.Rain.* 12	V^{p}
XLVII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8034 = *P.Rain.* 2 [no. 526, Wessely]	NA
XLVIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8031 = *P.Rain.* 6 [no. 529, Wessely]	VI^{p}/VII^{p}
XLIX	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8035 = *P.Rain.* 7 [no. 525, Wessely]	NA
L	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8033 = *P.Rain.* [no. 527, Wessely]	VI^{p}
LI	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	*P.gr.* 9.418	III^{p}
LII	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	*P.gr.* 9.429	III^{p}
LIII–LVI	[omitted]		
LVII	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	cryptogr. pap. [otherwise uncataloged]	I^{p}/II^{p}
LVIII	Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek	inv. no. 266 = P. Iand. 87	IV^{p}
LIX	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	*P.Cairo* 10563	II^{p} or III^{p}
LX	Brussels, Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth	*P.Brux.* in. E 6390, 6391	VI^{p}

LXI	London, British Museum	*P.Brit.Mus.* inv. 10588 (Egyptian Dept.)	III^P
LXII	Leiden, Institutum Papyrologicum Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae	*P.Warren* 21	III^P
LXIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 323	II^P/III^P
LXIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 29273	IV^P
LXV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	*P.gr.* 29272	VI^P/VII^P
LXVI	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	*P.Cairo* 60139	III^P/IV^P
LXVII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	*P.Cairo* 60140	NA
LXVIII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	*P.Cairo* 60636	II^P/III^P
LXIX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 1463 = *P.Mich.* III, 156	II^P
LXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 7 = *P.Mich.* III, 154	III^P or IV^P
LXXI	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 193 = *P.Mich.* III, 155	II^P or III^P
LXXII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	inv. no. 75 = *P.Osl.* III, 75	I^P/II^P
LXXIII–LXXVI	[omitted]		
LXXVII	Birmingham, Woodbroke College	*P.Harr.* 55	II^P
LXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek	*P.Heid.* 2170	III^P
LXXIX	Prague, National and University Library	*P.gr.* I, 18	III^P or IV^P
LXXX	Prague, National and University Library	*P.gr.* I, 21	III^P or IV^P
LXXXI	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Oxy.* 1566	IV^P

List of New Papyri Not in Preisendanz

Note: Bibliographical references are provided at the end of the translation of each spell.

Reference	*Location*	*Number*	*Date*
LXXXII	Warsaw, Uniwersytet Warszawski	*P.Vars.* 4	III^{p}
LXXXIII	Princeton, Princeton University AM 8963	*P.Princ.* II 107	
LXXXIV	Princeton, Princeton University Garrett Dep. 7665	*P.Princ.* II 76	III^{p}
LXXXV	Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges Central Library	*P.Harris* 56	I^{p}/II^{p}
LXXXVI	Paris, L'Institut de Papyrologie de l'Université de Paris	*P.Rein.* II 89 inv. 2176	IV^{p}
LXXXVII	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek	*P.Erlangen* 37	IV^{p}
LXXXVIII	Princeton, Princeton University AM 11230	*P.Princ.* III 15	III^{p} or IV^{p}
LXXXIX	Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket	*P.Lund Univ.Bibl.* IV 12 inv. no. 32	IV^{p}
XC	Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore	*P.Med.* inv. no. 23	IV^{p}/V^{p}
XCI	Collection, G. A. Michaïlidis	*P.Michael.* 27	III^{p} or IV^{p}
XCII	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	*P.Merton* II 58	III^{p}
XCIII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Ant.* II 65	V^{p}
XCIV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Ant.* II 66	V^{p}
XCV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Ant.* III 140	V^{p}/VI^{p}
XCVI	Barcelona, Seminario di papirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	*P.Palau Rib.* inv. 126	IV^{p}/V^{p}
XCVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 1886	III^{p}/IV^{p}
XCVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 1982	III^{p}
XCIX	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 2283	V^{p}/VI^{p}
C	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 2861	V^{p}/VI^{p}
CI	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 3323	V^{p}

CII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Oxy.* 2753	IV^{p}
CIII	Athens, Archaeological Society	*P.S.A. Athen.* 70	II^{p}
CIV	Genoa, Università di Genova	*PUG* I 6	III^{p}
CV	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	*P.Berol.* 21227	III^{p}/IV^{p}
CVI	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	*P.Berol.* 21165	III^{p}/IV^{p}
CVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 5512	III^{p} or IV^{p}
CVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	*P.Köln* inv. 5514	III^{p} or IV^{p}
CIX	London, Egypt Exploration Society	*P.Oxy.* 50.4 B23 J(1–3)b	ca. A.D. 300
CX	Washington, Washington University	*P.Wash. Univ.* inv. 181	II^{p} or III^{p}
CXI	Washington, Washington University	*P.Wash. Univ.* inv. 139	III^{p}/IV^{p}
CXII	Washington, Washington University	*P.Wash. Univ.* inv. 242	IV^{p}/V^{p}
CXIII	Amsterdam, Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam	*P.Amst.* inv. 16	V^{p}
CXIV	Yale, Yale University Library	*P.Yale* inv. 989	III^{p}/IV^{p}
CXV	Budapest, Collection of Erno Gaál	*P.(Mag.) Gaál.* ined.	IV^{p}
CXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	*P.Laur.* inv. 54	VI^{p}
CXVII	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung	*P.Mon.Gr.* inv. 216	I^{a}
CXVIII	Barcelona, Seminario di papirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	*P.Palau Rib.* inv. 200	before X^{p}?
CXIX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	*P. Laur.* III 57 (PL II/52)	III^{p}
CXX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	*P.Laur.* III 58 (PL III/442)	III^{p}
CXXI	Milan, Università Cattolica di Milano	*P.Med.* inv. 71.58	III^{p}/IV^{p}
CXXII	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	*P.Berol.* inv. 21243	I^{a}/I^{p}
CXXIIIa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	*P.Cazzaniga*, nos. 1–6	V^{p}
CXXIV	Pisa, Università di Pisa	*P.Cazzaniga*, no. 7	V^{p}
CXXVa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	*P.Cazzaniga*, nos. 8–13	V^{p}–VI^{p}
CXXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	*P.Laur.* III/472	V^{p}
CXXVII	Yale, Yale University Library	*P.Yale* inv. 1206	III^{p} or IV^{p}
CXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitäts-Papyrussammlung	*P.Heid.G.* 1386	V^{p}
CXXIX	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums (?)	*P.Berol.* 21260	III^{p}
CXXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	*P.Mich.* inv. 6666	III^{p}
PDM Supplement	Paris, Musée du Louvre	*P.Louvre* E3229	III^{p}

Note on Editions

For the editions of the Greek papyri as cited, see the bibliography in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri, an Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1980), pp. 154–77, with the following exceptions:

PGM XC: A. Traversa, *Aegyptus* 33 (1953): 57–62
PGM XCVI: R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 25 (1977): 150–53
PGM XCVII–CI: D. Wortmann, *BoJ* 168 (1968): 85–111
PGM CV–CVI: W. Brashear, *ZPE* 17 (1975): 25–33
PGM CVII–CVIII: R. Daniel, *ZPE* 19 (1975): 249–64
PGM CIX: P. Gorissen, *ZPE* 37 (1980): 199–200
PGM CX–CXII: Z. M. Packman, *BASP* 13 (1976): 175–80
PGM CXIII: P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 22 (1976): 108
PGM CXIV–CXV: R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 25 (1977): 145–54
PGM CXVI: R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 26 (1977): 245–48
PGM CXVII: P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in A. Carlini, ed., *Papiri Letterari Greci* (Pisa: Giardini, 1978), no. 34
PGM CXVIII: J. O'Callaghan, *StPapy* 17 (1978): 85–87
PGM CXIX–CXX: R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (*P.Laur. III*), *Papyrologica Florentina* 5 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979), nos. 57–58
PGM CXXI: G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 33 (1979): 63–72
PGM CXXII: W. Brashear, *ZPE* 33 (1979): 261–78
PGM CXXIII–CXXV: F. Maltomini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979): 55–124
PGM CXXVI: F. Maltomini, in R. Pintaudi, ed., *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (*P.Laur. IV*), *Papyrologica Florentina* 12 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1983): 46–53
PGM CXXVII: G. M. Parássoglou, *Hellenica* 27 (1974): 251–53
PGM CXXVIII–CXXIX: F. Maltomini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 31 (1981): 111–117
PGM CXXX: R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 50 (1983): 147–54

For the Demotic magical papyri, see Janet H. Johnson's Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri below, pp. 00–00. The editions are accordingly:

PDM xii: J. H. Johnson, *OMRM* 56 (1975): 29–64
PDM xiv: F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904)
PDM lxi: Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*
PDM Supplement: J. H. Johnson, *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 55–102

Explanation of References and Textual Signs

PGM I. 262–347

References cited thus refer to translations of the corresponding Greek text of Preisendanz's *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, with each roman numeral (including those with appended letters, e.g., *PGM* Va) corresponding to a separate papyrus manuscript. Roman numerals after *PGM* LXXXI refer to texts whose translations are based on editions published since, and sometimes overlooked by, Preisendanz. The bibliographies of these editions are mentioned in the introductory note (*) to each spell. Arabic numerals usually delineate the compass of individual spells within the papyrus manuscript. The use of the separate designations for each independent spell or charm represents a new feature designed to enable easy identification and ready reference to an individual spell.

PDM xxi. 6–20

References listed thus refer to Demotic (bilingual) spells corresponding to the texts whose editions are listed in the introductory note (*) to each spell. *PDM* stands for *Papyri Demoticae Magicae*, referring to this volume and not to be confused with *DMP*, an abbreviation for Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyri*, a work often referred to in the notes. Lowercase roman numerals are used simply to avoid confusion with spells labeled *PGM*. Arabic numerals are used as above.

[*PGM* XII. 445–48]

PGM references bracketed thus come immediately after references for bilingual Greek sections with the given spell. The references correspond to the appropriate Greek portions in Preisendanz, whose edition contained only the Greek sections of the Greek/Demotic spells. Since this translation volume contains all the Demotic spells, Preisendanz's numbering system is retained, but it is subsumed under the new Demotic collation.

A,b,c

Texts set in roman type represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Greek.

A,b,c

Texts set with leader dots beneath represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Demotic (Egyptian).

A,b,c

Texts with a thin underscore represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Old Coptic. Coptic is found both in the Greek texts of Preisendanz's edition and as glosses in portions of the Demotic/Greek bilingual spells; however, the purely Coptic magical spells form a separate corpus not dealt with in this volume.

* An asterisk introduces an independent spell or a spell that contains most of the constituent parts necessary to effect the whole charm, though organic connections with adjacent spells can be recognized (e.g., spells entitled "***Another*** . . ," or the like). The asterisk directs the reader to the contributor, whose name is given at the end of the spell. Some introductory comments may be found here as well. Bibliographical data, if appropriate, may also be listed.

Tr.: This abbreviation stands for "translator" or "transcriber" (if the text contains no recognizable words that can be translated).

Victory spell: Phrases set in roman boldface type refer to general titles of charms which usually stand at the beginning of the spell and which are often followed by one or more subtitles. Many spells do not possess a title, either because of a scribal omission or because it has been lost in a lacuna in the text.

Spell to be spoken Phrases set in italic boldface type refer to various subtitles and a number of types of rubrics (subsumed under the main title) that function in a titular sense to introduce a component feature of a spell. These may introduce ingredients, additional instructions, invocations, figures, magical names and characters, and so on, which are mentioned in the instructions in the text. In a long, multifunctional spell (cf. *PGM* IV. 2145–2240 and *PGM* XIII. 1–343), general titles are subordinate to the larger title, which describes an often elaborate ritual. In description, these general titles are identical to the main titles of most spells but are set as subtitles since they usually depend on a prior set of conditions to guarantee their efficacy.

IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI Small capital letters indicate magical names (*voces magicae*) which are usually untranslatable and often meaningless to the reader. In some instances, small capital letters preserve recognizable Greek, Egyptian, or Semitic words that merit special attention. Portions of texts whose fragmentary nature precludes the possibility of proper translation, but which may in fact have been readable in the original, are also set in small capitals.

A diagonal slash indicates every fifth line of translated text, corresponding to the number given in the left-hand margin. Usually these are numbered consecutively until a new papyrus number is introduced.

35 [5] A bracketed number alongside the regular number refers to the line number of the original edition (in a Greek/Demotic text). Occasionally at the beginning the column number and line are also cited (e.g., [Col. III,5].

30 (4) A number in parentheses refers to the original line of Preisendanz in a Greek/Demotic spell. The number corresponds to the *PGM* reference given within the bracketed number at the head of the spell.

. . .	An ellipsis in the body of the text refers to a lost portion regardless of the size of the lacuna. Some punctuation (e.g., a comma or a period) may also be added at the end of the ellipsis.
[spell]	Brackets enclosing words indicate that the words are not preserved in the original text. These include (1) suggested restorations of lacunae; (2) editorial expansions of the text to elucidate the sense of the original language; and (3) phrases traditionally set off by pointed brackets ⟨ ⟩, namely, modern corrections to scribal omissions or errors. Scholars interested in determining which use the bracketed text refers to are recommended to consult the texts of the original editions. As a general rule, bracketed texts will not divide a word, but will surround the whole word if its reading is fairly uncertain.
(add the usual)	Parentheses enclosing words simply indicate material in the original texts best understood as parenthetical comments of the ancient authors and redactors.
"Come to me . . ."	Quotation marks enclosing words indicate material that is spoken (or intended to be spoken) or written (or intended to be written). Material not enclosed in quotation marks usually refers to parts of a formulary that contain instructions and directions apart from the material to be written or spoken. Such instructions are peculiar to the papyri that have preserved magical formularies, whereas the actual amulets and phylacteries found on papyrus usually contain simple invocations that have been transcribed as a result of following the instructions in such magical handbooks. Incantations originally written in Greek meter are set as verse, that is, they are indented *en bloc*, with the first letter of each line capitalized. In cases where the meter falters within such a hymnic portion, the original margin is restored to indicate prose.
NN	In the magical formularies, this abbreviation stands for a name or names to be inserted by the reader, the names of the persons against or for whom the magic is to be carried out. In the case of "(the) NN matter," the reader understands that specific requests are to be named at this point.
[R.K.R.]	At the end of each footnote, the bracketed initials refer to the contributing scholar responsible for the material immediately preceding. Notes that carry no initials represent the joint efforts of the contributors and scholars.

Abbreviations of Periodicals, Series Titles, and General Reference Works

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AKA	*Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte*
APAW	*Abhandlungen der (K.) preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
APAW.PH	*Philosophisch-historische Klasse*
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969)
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
Bauer	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979)
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire*
BoJ	*Bonner Jahrbücher*
Bonnet, *RÄRG*	Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1952)
ByZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CEg	*Chronique d'Égypte*
Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*	J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976)
ClR	*Classical Review*
Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*	W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962)
DMP	*Demotic Magical Papyri* (see Griffith and Thompson)
EPRO	*Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*
Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch*	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien* 5 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971 repr.)
GGA	*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*
HR	*History of Religions*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*

JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*
KP	*Der kleine Pauly*
Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte*	A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte* 3 vols. (Brussels: Fondation Reine Elisabeth, 1930–31)
LCL	*Loeb Classical Library*
LdÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. by W. Helck and E. Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–)
LSJ	Liddel-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexikon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)
N.F.	*Neue Folge*
NHSt	*Nag Hammadi Studies*
NT.S	*Novum Testamentum, Supplements*
OMRM	*Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden*
Orph. Frag.	*Orphicorum Fragmenta*, ed. O. Kern (Dublin and Zürich: Weidmann, ^{3}1972)
P.Oxy.	*Papyrus Oxyrhynchus*
PDM	*Papyri Demoticae Magicae* (as cited in this volume only)
PGM	*Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols., ed. K. Preisendanz, et al. (Stuttgart: Teubner, ^{2}1973–74)
PRE	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*
PRE.S	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften, Supplementa*
Preisendanz	See *PGM*; on Preisendanz, vol. III, see the Introduction below, n. 37
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RÄRG	See Bonnet, *RÄRG*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
Roscher	W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*
RVV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*
SCHNT	*Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*
SO	*Symbolae Osloenses*
StPapy	*Studia papyrologica*
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*
WSt	*Wiener Studien*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Abbreviations of Major Titles Used in This Volume

Ancient authors are cited with name and title, the latter following the customary abbreviations. In cases of doubt, see *LSJ*, pp. xvi–xxxviii: "Authors and Works."

Abt, *Apologie*	A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei.* Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Schrift *de magia* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908)
Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*	A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae quotquot innotuerunt . . .* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904)
Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*	H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933)
Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*	J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis. Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretologien, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 3 (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968)
Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*	M. Berthelot and C.-E. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (Paris: Steinheil, 1888)
Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*	L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1898)
Betz, "The Delphic Maxim"	H. D. Betz, "The Delphic Maxim 'Know Yourself' in the Greek Magical Papyri," *HR* 21 (1981): 156–71
Betz, "Fragments"	H. D. Betz, "Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95
Betz, *Lukian*	H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament, TU* 76 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961)
Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*	C. J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (Leiden: Brill, 1973)
Bonner, *SMA*	C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)
Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*	J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts, Nisaba 9* (Leiden: Brill, 1978)
Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*	W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1907)

Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*	W. Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien. Aufsätze zur Religionsgeschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, ed. A. F. Verheule, *NT.S* 50 (Leiden: Brill, 1979)
Budge, *Amulets and Talismans*	E. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* (New York: Dover, 1978)
Burkert, *Griechische Religion*	W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und Klassischen Epoche, Die Religionen der Menschheit* 15 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977)
Cook, *Zeus*	A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–40)
Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*	W. T. Darby et al., *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, 2 vols. (London, New York, and San Francisco: Academic Press, 1977)
Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*	A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978, repr.)
Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*	A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. I (Paris: Champion, 1927)
Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles*	A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1964)
Dieterich, *Abraxas*	A. Dieterich, *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891)
Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*	A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, ^{3}1966)
Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*	F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Leipzig: Teubner, ^{2}1925)
Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*	R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 3 vols. (Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, 1973–78)
Festugière, *La révélation*	A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 4 vols. (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," ^{3}1981)
Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*	J. G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series* 16 (Nashville and New York: Abingdon, 1972)
Gardiner, *Onomastica*	A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947)
Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*	L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909–38)
Griffith and Thompson, *The*	F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, eds., *The*

Leyden Papyrus	*Leyden Papyrus: An Egyptian Magical Book* (New York: Dover, 1974; repr. of 1904 ed.)
Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*	J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cambridge: University of Wales Press, 1970)
Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*	J. G. Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI), EPRO* 39 (Leiden: Brill, 1975)
Gundel, *Astrologumena*	W. Gundel and H. G. Gundel, *Astrologumena. Die astrologische Literatur in der Antike und ihre Geschichte, Sudhoffs Archiv 6* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1966)
Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder*	W. Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, ^{2}1969)
Harris, *Minerals*	J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung*, 54 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961)
Hopfner, *OZ*	T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2 vols., *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, 21, 23 (Leipzig: Haessel, 1921, 1924)
Hornung, *Das Amduat*	E. Hornung, *Das Amduat oder die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*, 3 vols., *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 7; 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963–67)
Johnson, "Dialect"	J. H. Johnson, "The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, January 12, 1977, ed. by J. H. Johnson and E. F. Wente (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977), pp. 110–25
Johnson, *Verbal System*	J. H. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System, Studies in Oriental Civilization* 38 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1976)
Klauck, *Herrenmahl*	H.-J. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum ersten Korintherbrief, NTA*, N.F. 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982)
Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*	M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973–80)
Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*	S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (London: Methuen, 1973)
Nilsson, *GGR*	M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2 vols. (München: Beck, ^{3}1967, ^{2}1961)
Nock, *Essays*	A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the An-*

	cient World, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972)
Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*	A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste. Corpus Hermeticum*, 4 vols. (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1946–54)
Preisigke, *Namenbuch*	K. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1922)
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Introduction to the Greek Magical Papyri

Hans Dieter Betz

"The Greek magical papyri" is a name given by scholars to a body of papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt containing a variety of magical spells and formulae, hymns and rituals. The extant texts are mainly from the second century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. To be sure, this body of material represents only a small number of all the magical spells that once existed.[1] Beyond these papyri we possess many other kinds of material: artifacts, symbols and inscriptions on gemstones, on ostraka and clay bowls, and on tablets of gold, silver, lead, tin and so forth.[2]

I

The history of the discovery of the Greek magical papyri is a fascinating subject.[3] We know from literary sources that a large number of magical books in which spells were collected existed in antiquity. Most of them, however, have disappeared as the result of systematic suppression and destruction. The episode about the burning of the magical books in Ephesus in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 19:10) is well known and typical of many such instances. According to Suetonius,[4] Augustus ordered 2,000 magical scrolls to be burned in the year 13 B.C. Indeed, the first centuries of the Christian era saw many burnings of books, often of magical books, and not a few burnings that included the magicians themselves.

As a result of these acts of suppression, the magicians and their literature went underground. The papyri themselves testify to this by the constantly recurring admonition to keep the books secret.[5] Yet the systematic destruction of the magical literature over a long period of time resulted in the disappearance of most of the original texts by the end of antiquity. To us in the twentieth century, terms such as "underground literature" and "suppressed literature" are well known as descriptions of contemporary phenomena. We also know that such literature is extremely important for the understanding of what people are really thinking and doing in a particular time, geographical area, or cultural context. Magical beliefs and practices can hardly be overestimated in their importance for the daily life of the people. The religious beliefs and practices of most people were identical with some form of magic, and the neat distinctions we make today between approved and disapproved forms of religion—calling the former "religion" and "church" and the latter "magic" and "cult"—did not exist in antiquity except among a few intellectuals.[6]

Thus the suppression of this magical literature has deprived us of one of our most important sources of ancient religious life. Modern views of Greek and Roman religions have long suffered from certain deformities because they were unconsciously shaped by the only remaining sources: the literature of the cultural elite, and the archeological remains of the official cults of the states and cities.

But not everything was lost.[7] At the end of antiquity, some philosophers and theologians, astrologers and alchemists collected magical books and spells that were still available. Literary writers included some of the material in their works, if only

to make fun of it. It is known that philosophers of the Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic schools, as well as Gnostic and Hermetic groups, used magical books and hence must have possessed copies. But most of their material vanished and what we have left are their quotations.

The Greek magical papyri are, however, original documents and primary sources. Their discovery is as important for Greco-Roman religions as is the discovery of the Qumran texts for Judaism or the Nag Hammadi library for Gnosticism.[8]

Like these manuscript discoveries, the discovery of the Greek magical papyri was and often still is the outcome of sheer luck and almost incredible coincidences. In the case of the major portion of the collection, the so-called Anastasi collection, the discovery and rescue is owed to the efforts (and, if one may use the term, cooperation) of two individuals separated by more than a thousand years: the modern collector d'Anastasi and the original collector at Thebes.

In the nineteenth century, there was among the "diplomatic" representatives at the court in Alexandria a man who called himself Jean d'Anastasi (1780?–1857). Believed to be Armenian by birth, he ingratiated himself enough with the pasha to become the consular representative of Sweden.[9] It was a time when diplomats and military men often were passionate collectors of antiquities, and M. d'Anastasi happened to be at the right place at the right time. He succeeded in bringing together large collections of papyri from Egypt, among them sizable magical books, some of which he said he had obtained in Thebes.[10] These collections he shipped to Europe, where they were auctioned off and bought by various libraries: the British Museum in London, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Louvre in Paris, the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, and the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. Another papyrus was acquired by Jean François Mimaut (1774–1837), also a diplomat, whose acquisition ended up in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*PGM* III).[11] Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about the circumstances of the actual findings. But it is highly likely that many of the papyri from the Anastasi collection came from the same place, perhaps a tomb or a temple library.[12] If this assumption is correct, about half a dozen of the best-preserved and largest extant papyri may have come from the collection of one man in Thebes. He is of course unknown to us, but we may suppose that he collected the magical material for his own use. Perhaps he was more than a magician. We may attribute his almost systematic collections of *magica* to a man who was also a scholar,[13] probably philosophically inclined, as well as a bibliophile and archivist concerned about the preservation of this material.[14]

Although the person who collected the Anastasi papyri remains unknown, comparable figures are known from later Egyptian literature. In the Demotic Papyrus no. 30646 in the Cairo Museum, there appears Prince Khamwas, the fourth son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah in Memphis. This legendary figure belongs to the *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, published by Francis Llewelyn Griffith,[15] stories that in many ways can serve as illustrative companions to the Greek magical papyri. Miriam Lichtheim has given this summary portrait in the third volume of her *Ancient Egyptian Literature*:

> Prince Khamwas, son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah at Memphis, was a very learned scribe and magician who spent his time in the study of ancient monuments and books. One day he was told of the existence of a book of magic written by the god Thoth himself and kept in the tomb of a prince named Naneferkaptah (Na-nefer-ka-ptah), who lived in the distant past and was buried somewhere in the vast necropolis of Memphis. After a long search, Prince Khamwas, accom-

> panied by his foster brother Inaros, found the tomb of Naneferkaptah and entered it. He saw the magic book, which radiated a strong light, and tried to seize it. But the spirits of Naneferkaptah and of his wife Ahwere rose up to defend their cherished possession. . . .[16]

The collection of the Anastasi papyri, if it was brought together by one person, may have been buried with him, either in his tomb or in the rubble of collapsed buildings. At any rate, when d'Anastasi came to Thebes and the papyri were offered to him, he sensed their value and acquired them, thus saving them from destruction.

It took almost another century, however, before scholars learned to appreciate the value of the papyri and started investigating them. It is noteworthy that the auction catalog of d'Anastasi's collection calls the material simply "fromage mystique."[17] Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the papyri were stored in the museums simply as curiosities.

Scholarly investigations began when the great Dutch scholar Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens (1793–1835) described some of the content of the Leiden papyrus J 395 (*PGM* XIII) in his *Lettres à M. Letronne* published in 1830.[18] This work was reviewed almost immediately by the German historian of religion Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840), who also translated Reuvens's excerpts into German.[19] But Reuvens died before his edition of the Leiden papyri could appear. It was forty years before another Dutch scholar, the Egyptologist Conrad Leemans (1809–93), published the edition (*PGM* XII, XIII)[20] together with a Latin translation (1885).[21]

The first publication, however, is due to the efforts of the British scholar Charles Wycliffe Goodwin (1817–78), who published one of the papyri (*PGM* V) together with an English translation and commentary for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1853.[22] Then the German philologist Gustav Parthey (1798–1872) edited the two papyri from Berlin in 1865 (*PGM* I, II).[23] A very important new phase began when the Viennese papyrologist Carl Wessely (1860–1931) published in 1888 a transcription of the great magical papyrus of Paris (*PGM* IV), the London papyrus (*PGM* V), and the Mimaut papyrus (*PGM* III),[24] followed in 1889 by corrections.[25] In 1893 both Wessely[26] and Frederick George Kenyon (1863–1952)[27] independently edited and published the magical papyri of London (*PGM* VII–X). The last major papyrus was published in 1925 by the Norwegian scholar Samson Eitrem (1872–1966),[28] who had acquired in Egypt a valuable magical scroll with many drawings (*PGM* XXXVI).

With these important publications, the major pieces of the Greek magical papyri known to this period had become available. It seems to have been a suggestion first made by the great scholar of Greek religion, Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1908), that all the available papyri should be published in a handy study edition. But this idea developed only gradually after Dieterich began teaching a seminar on the subject of the magical papyri at the University of Heidelberg in 1905.[29]

Today it is astonishing to learn that teaching such a seminar at that time was quite a daring enterprise. Magic was so utterly despised by historians and philologists that the announcement of the seminar did not mention the word "magic" but was simply phrased as "Selected Pieces from the Greek Papyri."[30]

How far the dislike of the magical papyri could go is illustrated by a remark made by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: "I once heard a well-known scholar complain that these papyri were found because they deprived antiquity of the noble splendor of classicism."[31]

Dieterich,[32] however, was at the edge of a wave of interest generated by the new

discipline of history of religions. His seminar therefore had a surprising attraction for students, some of whom wrote their dissertations on related subjects and became contributors to the study edition. The plan for such a study edition was seriously threatened by Dieterich's sudden death on 6 May 1908, but the work was taken over by Dieterich's students, foremost of whom was Richard Wünsch, chief editor. Adam Abt, Ludwig Fahz, Adolf Erman, Georg Möller, and other contributors[33] stepped in to carry on the work.

When the body of the material of *PGM* I–IV was almost ready, World War I broke out and interrupted the work. Wünsch, Abt, and Möller were killed in the war. Despite these terrible losses and the desperate economic situation following the war, the publisher, B. G. Teubner of Leipzig, did not give up the project, but decided to start over. The edition was entrusted to Karl Preisendanz (1883–1968), another of Dieterich's former students.[34] Scholars at that time faced difficulties scarcely conceivable to us today, yet they persisted. In addition, a remarkable degree of international cooperation existed among the scholars.[35] Sam Eitrem from Oslo and Adolf Jacoby from Luxemburg joined the team, and British, French, and Dutch scholars gave their support to the effort. The Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft as well as other governmental agencies gave financial support, so that despite all the problems the first volume of the first edition of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* could appear in 1928, with a second volume following in 1931.[36]

While all this was happening, new magical papyri were being discovered and published. A third volume, which was also supposed to contain extensive indexes, therefore became necessary. But this volume never appeared, for World War II broke out.

Despite the war, the work had progressed to the actual production of galley proofs, with the preface dated "Pentecost, 1941,"[37] when on 4 December 1943 the publishing house of Teubner in Leipzig was bombed and everything was destroyed.[38] Fortunately, however, the galley proofs survived the war and are at present being used by a number of scholars in the form of xerox copies. When Karl Preisendanz, the editor of the first edition and tireless promoter of the study of the Greek magical papyri before and after World War II, died on 26 April 1968, the publishing house of Teubner, which had in part been relocated in Stuttgart, West Germany, decided to bring out a new edition. This new edition was prepared by Albert Henrichs, a papyrologist from Cologne, who has been on the faculty of Harvard University since 1973.[39] It appeared in two volumes in 1973–74.[40] The first volume is mostly a reprint of the first edition, though many corrections have been made. The second volume, however, is considerably different from the first edition. A number of papyri were reedited completely, and the papyri originally planned to appear in vol. III were added so that vol. II of the 1974 edition contains all pieces up to *PGM* LXXXI. The idea of a third volume containing the indexes was postponed because all indexes would have to be redone in view of the changes and additions in the material.

II

What is the significance of the Greek magical papyri? Scholars since Albrecht Dieterich have consistently pointed out the importance of the Greek magical papyri to the study of ancient religions; thus we can limit ourselves here to a summary of the issues.[41]

Historians of religion are intrigued by the Greek magical papyri for a number of reasons. If, as Dieterich rightly says,[42] the papyri are a depository of a great reli-

gious literature over many centuries, the recovery of the sources becomes a task of primary interest. In fact, throughout these sources we find citations of hymns, rituals, formulae from liturgies otherwise lost, and little bits of mythology called *historiolae*. These older materials are now embedded in a secondary context, but by careful application of the methods of literary criticism they are often recoverable.[43]

Taken as a whole, the material presents a plethora of interesting problems for modern scholarship. One must realize first that the material assembled under the name Greek magical papyri represents a collection of texts of diverse origin and nature. This collection includes individual spells and remedies, as well as collections made by ancient magicians, from the early Hellenistic period to late antiquity. Since the material comes from Greco-Roman Egypt, it reflects an amazingly broad religious and cultural pluralism. Not surprising is the strong influence of Egyptian religion throughout the Greek magical papyri, although here the texts nevertheless show a great variety. Expressed in Greek, Demotic, or Coptic, some texts represent simply Egyptian religion. In others, the Egyptian element has been transformed by Hellenistic religious concepts. Most of the texts are mixtures of several religions—Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, to name the most important.

The picture presented by the Greek magical papyri has been changed substantially by the inclusion of the translation of the Demotic magical papyri. In Preisendanz's edition, the Demotic material was deleted, even when it occurred in the same papyrus as Greek sections apparently written by the same scribe. The inclusion of the Demotic material in the present translation raises new and intriguing questions regarding the relationship between the Greek texts and the antecedent Egyptian sources. Further studies must clarify the process of transmission and transformation of these texts. Such studies will gain new insights into the complex phenomena of the hellenization of religious traditions. (See also the Introduction to the Demotic texts below.)

Another interesting problem is posed by the fact that this material from Greco-Roman Egypt contains many sections that are Greek in origin and nature.[44] How did this older Greek religious literature find its way into Egypt? We do not, and probably never shall, know. In this older material, the Greek gods are alive and well. But Zeus, Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and others are portrayed not as Hellenic and aristocratic, as in literature, but as capricious, demonic, and even dangerous, as in Greek folklore.[45] The gods and their activities resemble those in the popular myths and local cults, as reported by mythographers or by Pausanias. Therefore, strange as it may sound, if we wish to study Greek folk religion, the magical papyri found in Egypt are to be regarded as one of the primary sources.[46]

Questions similar to those appropriate to the study of Greek religion must be raised in view of the material (divine names as well as entire passages) that comes from some form of Judaism. Jewish magic was famous in antiquity,[47] and more sources have come to light in recent years; but the origin and nature of the sections representing Jewish magic in the Greek magical papyri is far from clear. Did this material actually originate with Jewish magicians? How did it get into the hands of the magicians who wrote the Greek magical papyri? What kind of transformation took place in the material itself? If the texts in question come from Judaism, what type of Judaism do they represent?

The historian of religion will be especially interested in the kind of syncretism represented in the Greek magical papyri.[48] This syncretism is more than a mixture of diverse elements from Egyptian, Greek, Babylonian, and Jewish religion, with a few sprinkles of Christianity.[49] Despite the diversity of texts, there is in the whole cor-

pus a tendency toward assimilation and uniformity. Such assimilation and uniformity, however, includes primarily the religious traditions already mentioned: the Romans, although in control of Egypt by the time most of the papyri were written, left only a few traces in the material. Thus the papyri represent a Greco-Egyptian, rather than the more general Greco-Roman, syncretism.

In this syncretism, the indigenous ancient Egyptian religion has in part survived, in part been profoundly hellenized.[50] In its Hellenistic transformation, the Egyptian religion of the pre-Hellenistic era appears to have been reduced and simplified, no doubt to facilitate its assimilation into Hellenistic religion as the predominant cultural reference. It is quite clear that the magicians who wrote and used the Greek papyri were Hellenistic in outlook.

Hellenization, however, also includes the egyptianizing of Greek religious traditions. The Greek magical papyri contain many instances of such egyptianizing transformations, which take very different forms in different texts or layers of tradition. Again, working out the more exact nature of this religious and cultural interaction remains the task of future research.

The papyri also provide many insights into the phenomenon of the magician as a religious functionary, in both the Egyptian and the Hellenistic setting. One must be cautious, however, in making generalizing statements in regard to the figure of the magician in the Greek magical papyri.[51] Some of the magicians writing and using the spells may have been associated with temples of Egyptian and Greek deities. According to Egyptian practice, the magician was a resident member of the temple priesthood. Genuine understanding of the older Egyptian and Greek languages and traditions can be assumed in some of the material, but by no means in all instances.

There are texts reflecting perhaps a different type of magician, a type we know from the Greek religious milieu.[52] This type of wandering craftsman seems keen to adopt and adapt every religious tradition that appeared useful to him, while the knowledge and understanding of what he adopted was characterized by a certain superficiality. This type of magician no longer understood the old languages, although he used remnants of them in transcription. He recited and used what must at one time have been metrically composed hymns; but he no longer recognized the meter, and he spoiled it when he inserted his own material. In the hands of magicians of this type, the gods from the various cults gradually merged, and as their natures became blurred, they often changed into completely different deities. For these magicians, there was no longer any cultural difference between the Egyptian and the Greek gods, or between them and the Jewish god and the Jewish angels; and even Jesus was occasionally assimilated into this truly "ecumenical" religious syncretism of the Hellenistic world culture.

We should make it clear, however, that this syncretism is more than a hodgepodge of heterogeneous items. In effect, it is a new religion altogether, displaying unified religious attitudes and beliefs. As an example, one may mention the enormously important role of the gods and goddesses of the underworld. The role of these underworld deities was not new to Egyptian religion or, to some extent, to ancient Greek religion; but it is characteristic of the Hellenistic syncretism of the Greek magical papyri that the netherworld and its deities had become one of its most important concerns. The goddess Hekate, identical with Persephone, Selene, Artemis, and the old Babylonian goddess Ereschigal, is one of the deities most often invoked in the papyri. Through the egyptianizing influence of Osiris, Isis, and their company, other gods like Hermes, Aphrodite, and even the Jewish god

Iao, have in many respects become underworld deities. In fact, human life seems to consist of nothing but negotiations in the antechamber of death and the world of the dead. The underworld deities, the demons and the spirits of the dead, are constantly and unscrupulously invoked and exploited as the most important means for achieving the goals of human life on earth: the acquisition of love, wealth, health, fame, knowledge of the future, control over other persons, and so forth. In other words, there is a consensus that the best way to success and worldly pleasures is by using the underworld, death, and the forces of death.

Apart from this fascination with the control of death and the underworld powers, there is an equally important fascination with the universe. The older gods of the Greco-Egyptian pantheon now mostly represent the forces of the universe. Thus the Greek god most often invoked is Apollo Helios, a fact consistent with the enormous expansion of the worship of the sun in the Greco-Roman era. Besides other astral deities such as Selene, the constellation of the Bear, and the like, abstract deities, new and old, demand attention. These abstract deities personify Nature (Physis), Time (Kronos, Chronos), Destiny (the Moirai), and most important, the All (Aion). Popular Egyptian gods and goddesses are, however, called upon just as often. Yet the god most often employed is Iao, the Jewish god.

The people whose religion is reflected in the papyri agree that humanity is inescapably at the whim of the forces of the universe. Religion is nothing but taking seriously this dependency on the forces of the universe. Whether the gods are old or new, whether they come from Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, or Christian traditions, religion is regarded as nothing but the awareness of and reaction against our dependency on the unfathomable scramble of energies coming out of the universe. In this energy jungle, human life can only be experienced as a jungle, too. People's successes and failures appear to be only the result of Chance (Tyche). Individuals seem to be nothing but marionettes at the end of power lines, pulled here and there without their knowledge by invisible forces.

If this world view takes hold of people, what hope can there be for human life? How could ordinary men and women in the small towns of Egypt get something out of their lives? It is at this point that the magician enters the picture. In a transitional culture like Greco-Roman Egypt, a religious functionary who operated as a crisis manager became a necessity to the lives of ordinary people. This role the magician was able to fulfill.

Applying his craft, the magician could give people the feeling that he could make things work in a world where nothing seemed to work the way it used to. He had handbooks of magic,[53] which contained the condensed wisdom of the past, wisdom made effective to solve the problems of the present.

The magician claimed to know and understand the traditions of various religions. While other people could no longer make sense of the old religions, he was able to. He knew the code words needed to communicate with the gods, the demons, and the dead. He could tap, regulate, and manipulate the invisible energies.[54] He was a problem solver who had remedies for a thousand petty troubles plaguing mankind: everything from migraine to runny nose to bedbugs to horse races, and, of course, all the troubles of love and money.

In short, it was this kind of world in which the magician served as a power and communications expert, crisis manager, miracle healer and inflicter of damages, and all-purpose therapist and agent of worried, troubled, and troublesome souls.[55]

To raise one final question: It is one of the puzzles of all magic that from time immemorial it has survived throughout history, through the coming and going of

entire religions, the scientific and technological revolutions, and the triumphs of modern medicine. Despite all these changes, there has always been an unbroken tradition of magic. Why is magic so irrepressible and ineradicable, if it is also true that its claims and promises never come true? Or *do* they? Do people never check up on the efficiency of magicians?

The answer appears to be that, in general, people are not interested in whether or not magicians' promises come true. People want to believe, so they simply ignore their suspicions that magic may all be deception and fraud. The enormous role deception plays in human life and society is well known to us.[56] In many crucial areas and in many critical situations of life, deception is the only method that really works. As the Roman aphorism sums it up, "Mundus vult decipi, ergo decipiatur" ("The world wishes to be deceived, and so it may be deceived"). To an immeasurable extent, people's lives carry on by what they decide they want to believe rather than by what they should believe or even know, by what appears to be real rather than by what is really real, by props and by fads, and by gobbledygook of this kind today and that kind tomorrow.

Magicians are those who have long ago explored these dimensions of the human mind. Rather than decrying the facts, they have exploited them. Magicians have known all along that people's religious need and expectations provide the greatest opportunity for the most effective of all deceptions. But instead of turning against religion, as the skeptics among the Greek and Roman philosophers did, the magicians made use of it. After all, magic is nothing but the art of making people believe that something is being done about those things in life about which we all know that we ourselves can do nothing.

Magic is the art that makes people who practice it feel better rather than worse, that provides the illusion of security to the insecure, the feeling of help to the helpless, and the comfort of hope to the hopeless.

Of course, it is all deception. But who can endure naked reality, especially when there is a way to avoid it? This is why magic has worked and continues to work, no matter what the evidence may be. Those whose lives depend on deception and delusion and those who provide them have formed a truly indissoluble symbiosis. Magic makes an unmanageable life manageable for those who believe in it, and a profession profitable for those who practice the art.

Notes

1. For a survey of the material, see the indispensible work by T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Haessel, 1921, 1924); idem, "Mageia," *PRE* 14.1 (1928):201–393; S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); idem, "Le monde du magicien égyptien," in *Le monde du sorcier, Sources Orientales VII* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1966) 27–65; J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); idem, "Magical Texts," in *Textes et Langages de l'Egypte Pharaonique; Hommage à J.-F. Champollion* (Le Caire: Institut d'Egypte, 1974), 3:7–19. See also J. F. Borghouts, "Magie," *LdÄ* 3 (1980):1137–51; H. Altenmüller, "Magische Literatur," *LdÄ* 3 (1980):1151–62. A wider range of literature is discussed by D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* II. 23. 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 1507–57.

2. See the collections by Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series XLIX (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950); idem, "Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum," *Hesperia* 20 (1951):301–45, pls. 96–100; idem, "A Miscellany of Engraved Stones," *Hesperia* 23

(1954): 138–57; A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Medailles, 1964). On the latter, see especially the reviews by H. Seyrig, *Syria* 42 (1965): 409–10; K. Preisendanz, *ByZ* 59 (1966): 388–92; M. Smith, *AJA* 71 (1967): 417–19; A. A. Barb, *Gnomon* 41 (1969): 298–307. On the relationship between gems and papyri see M. Smith, "Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems," *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, "Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509. For the magical tablets, see A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae, quotquot innotuerunt . . . praeter Atticas . . .* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904); K. Preisendanz, "Fluchtafel (Defixion)," *RAC* 8 (1972): 1–29.

3. See especially K. Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der spätantiken Magie," in *Aus der Welt des Buches. Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 75* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1951) 223–40.

4. Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.1. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, section 67; K. Preisendanz, "Dans le monde de la magie grecque," *Chronique d'Egypte* 10 (1935): 336–37; W. Speyer, "Büchervernichtung," *JAC* 13 (1970): 123–52, with bibliography.

5. *PGM* LVII and LXXII are even written in cryptography. See also my article "The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3: *Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 161–70.

6. A definition of the notion of magic cannot be attempted here. In order to provide an adequate definition, the complexities of the notion, its relations with "religion" and "science," and the rather frustrating history and literature of the problem would have to be discussed first. For a good introduction to the question, see A. A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) 100–125; G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969) 1–19; cf. also Aune, *ANRW* II. 23.2, 1510–16 and G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience*, Studies in the Origin and Development of Greek Science (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

7. On the survival of magic, see Barb's stimulating article mentioned in note 6 above. Also important for this question is the autobiographical account of the physician Thessalos and its discussion by J. Z. Smith, "The Temple and the Magician," in his *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 172–89.

8. For the circumstances connected with the discoveries of the Qumran texts, see F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961); for the Nag Hammadi Library, see J. M. Robinson, "The Jung Codex: The Rise and Fall of a Monopoly," *Religious Studies Review* 3 (1977): 17–30.

9. C. J. C. Reuvens, *Lettres à M. Letronne, sur les Papyrus bilingues et Grecs, et sur quelques autres Monumens Gréco-Egyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités de l'Université de Leide* (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1830), 1: "M. le chevalier D'ANASTASY, vice-consul de Suède à Alexandrie." For bibliographical information, see W. R. Dawson, "Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri," *JEA* 35 (1949): 158–66.

10. See the remark by F. Lenormant in his catalog of the Anastasi collection entitled *Catalogue d'une collection d'antiquités égyptiennes. Cette collection rassemblée par M. d'Anastasi, Consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, sera vendue aux enchères publiques Rue de Clichy, N° 76, les Mardi 23, Mercredi 24, Jeudi 25, Vendredi 26 & Samedi 27 1857 à une heure, etc.* (Paris: Maulde et Renou, 1857) 84: "M. Anastasi, dans ses fouilles à Thèbes avait découvert la bibliothèque d'un gnostique égyptien du second siècle, et une partie de cette bibliothèque avait passé avec sa première collection dans le musée de Leide; c'est de là que venait le fameux texte magique en écriture démotique et deux petits papyrus grecs pliés en forme de livres qui font plusieurs des plus beaux ornements de ce musée."

11. See J.-F. Dubois, *Description des antiquités égyptiennes grecques et romaines, monuments cophtes et arabes composant la collection de Feu M.J.-F. Mimaut* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1837) pp. Vff.

12. Cf. the report of another collector who speaks of his "residence of eighteen years at Thebes, entirely devoted to its objects of antiquity" (p. IX). This man, a Greek named Giovanni d'Athanasi, from the island of Lemnos, the son of a Cairo merchant, wrote his story at the suggestion of English travelers: Giovanni d'Athanasi, *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt, made under the direction of Henry Salt, Esq., to which is added a detailed catalogue of Mr. Salt's collection of Egyptian Antiquities; illustrated with twelve engravings of some of the most interesting objects, and an enumeration of those articles purchased for the British Museum* (London: John Hearne, 1836). As d'Athanasi reports, the papyri are found mostly in or near tombs; so he says about the Demotic papyri: "they are very rare, and are found not in the mummies, but in the terra-cotta urns which are found closed up and buried in the earth around the tombs" (p. 79). See also the *Catalogue of the Very Magnificent and Extraordinary Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, the Property of Giovanni d'Athanasi, which will be sold by auction by Mr. Leigh Sotheby, at his house, 3, Wellington Street, Strand, on Monday, March 13th, 1837, and the Six following Days (Sunday excepted), at One o'Clock precisely* (London: J. Davy, 1837) 23–24: "Manuscript Rolls of Papyrus, found in the tombs at Thebes." On the whole subject, see Wolfgang Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1970), esp. 44ff.: books placed as gifts in tombs.

13. *PGM* V.a is a loose page stuck into a work on chemistry, the *Papyrus graecus Holmiensis* in Stockholm. This indicates that the owner and collector of the magical material also possessed works on chemistry. See also B. Olsson, "Zwei Papyrusstellen besprochen," *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 355–56; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* 91–92.

14. See my article mentioned in note 5 above.

15. Francis Llewelyn Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900).

16. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3: *The Late Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980) 127; cf. also 8–9. See also Farouk Gomaà, *Chaemwese. Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis*, *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), esp. 70ff. The papyrus was found in a Christian (!) tomb in Thebes. It should be noted that the story dealing with the search for the secret book has a parallel in Pseudo-Democritus, who may be identical with Bolos of Mendes. According to this text, Democritus went to Memphis where he was received by Ostanes and his students in the temple of Ptah, but Ostanes died before he initiated Democritus into his mysteries and handed his secret books over to him. Democritus also brought up the shadow of Ostanes from Hades and asked him about the books. Ostanes replied that they were in the temple, where they were finally discovered. Both names occur also in *PGM* (Democritus: VII.167, 795; XII. 351; Ostanes: IV.2006; XII.122). The text is given in J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* II (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1938) 317–18; see J. H. Waszink, "Bolos," *RAC* 2 (1954): 502–8; Speyer, *Bücherfunde* 26–27, 72–73.

17. Lenormant, *Catalogue* 87 about *PGM* IV: "En tête sont trois pages de copte, qui débutent par l'histoire d'un fromage mystique pour la composition duquel s'associent Osiris, Sabaoth, Iao, Jésus et tous les autres éons. Ce fromage n'est autre que la *gnose*."

18. See note 9 above.

19. *GGA*, 56. Stück, den 9. April 1831, pp. 545–54. Müller remarks (p. 547): "Es gibt wohl keine Urkunde, die es so deutlich machte, wie die Magie, diese Seuche der Geister, vor allem in Aegypten sich entwickelt, und von dem alten Religionssystem dieses Volkes ausgehend, mit Hülfe metaphysischer Speculationen und verworrener Naturkenntnisse, sich zu einem Schrecken erregenden Umfange ausgebildet habe."

20. Leemans's edition was based upon Reuvens's manuscript. See Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte," 225 n.13.

21. C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi. Regis augustissimi jussu edidit, interpretationem latinam, annotationem, indicem et tabulas addidit C. L.*, 2 vols. (Lugduni Batavorum: Brill, 1843, 1885). On Leemans, see *L'Egyptologue Conrade Leemans et son correspondence. Contribution à l'histoire d'une science, à l'occasion du cent-cinquantième an-*

niversaire du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes et du centennaire des Congrès des Orientalistes (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

22. C. W. Goodwin, *Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian Work upon Magic: From a Papyrus in the British Museum, Edited for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, with a Translation and Notes.* Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, no. II (Cambridge: Deighton, 1852).

23. G. Parthey, "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums," *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1865* (Berlin: Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866) 109–80.

24. C. Wessely, "Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London," *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 36 (1888): 27–208. On Wessely's achievements in particular, see H. Gerstinger, *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 250–55; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde* 120–22.

25. K. Wessely, "Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque nationale," *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals* (Wien: Verlag des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, 1889) 3–23. See the review by A. Dieterich, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 11 (1891): 9–10.

26. "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften [Wien], philosophisch-historische Klasse* 42 (1893), II. Abhandlung.

27. F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. I (London: British Museum, 1893).

28. S. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses, I: Magical Papyri* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1925).

29. See A. Dieterich, *Abraxas* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891), p. 164 n.1, and his remark in a review article, "Griechische und römische Religion," *ARW* 8 (1905): 486–87:

> Es nimmt mich immer wieder wunder, dass der unermeßliche Gewinn, der aus den Zauberpapyri nach so vielen Seiten hin zu erlangen ist, nur so wenige Arbeiter lockt. Wie mancher, der religionsgeschichtliche Arbeit tun will, täte besser hier sich zu bemühen als um Probleme herumzureden, zu deren Lösung er doch nichts beitragen kann. Nach dem Schema der 'Papyrologie' gehören sie weder zu den Urkunden noch zu den literarischen Papyri; denn daß sich hier die große religiöse Literatur von Jahrhunderten niedergeschlagen hat, ist nur sehr wenigen deutlich. Die Unbekanntschaft mit den magischen Papyri macht sich zum Schaden so mancher religionshistorischer Arbeiten, auch der letzten Jahre, bemerklich, und da die wichtigste Publikation von Wessely in den Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, philos.-hist. Klasse XXXVI Band 1888, allerdings ohne eigene recensio und emendatio kaum benutzbar ist, habe ich es mit einem meiner Schüler zusammen unternommen, zunächst wenigstens das kapitalste Stück dieser Literatur, das grosse Pariser Zauberbuch, in einer neuen Ausgabe vorzulegen.

See also K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* I (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1928), p. VI.

30. S. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* I, p. V.

31. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin: Weidmann, ²1902) 254–55. The remark in full reads as follows:

> Ich habe einmal gehört, wie ein bedeutender Gelehrter beklagte, dass diese Papyri gefunden wären, weil sie dem Altertum den vornehmen Schimmer der Klassizität nehmen. Dass sie das thun, ist unbestreitbar, aber ich freue mich dessen. Denn ich will meine Hellenen nicht bewundern, sondern verstehen, damit ich sie gerecht beurteilen kann. Und selbst Mahadöh, der Herr der Erden,—soll er strafen, soll er schonen, muss er den Menschen menschlich sehn.

32. It should be noted, however, that Dieterich's doctoral dissertation was already devoted to the subject, a work that posed most of the pertinent problems. The dissertation was published in an expanded form under the title "Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi . . . ," *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Supplementband 16 (1888): 749–830; its prolegomena were reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911) 1–47.

Dieterich's commentary on the Leiden papyrus J 395 (=*PGM* XIII) followed under the title *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891). Related is the work entitled *Nekyia. Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893, ²1913; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969). Still indispensable is his commentary on *PGM* IV. 475–834, entitled *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903; ²1909 ed. R. Wünsch; ³1923 ed. O. Weinreich; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966). For biographical details and a bibliography see R. Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," in Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* pp. IX–XLII; H. J. Mette, "Nekrolog einer Epoche: Hermann Usener und seine Schule. Ein wirkungsgeschichtlicher Rückblick auf die Jahre 1856–1979," *Lustrum* 22 (1979–80): 5–106.

33. See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae I* (1928) pp. VIII–IX.

34. Ibid., p. IX.

35. Ibid., pp. IX–XII.

36. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz, vol. I (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928), vol. II (Leipzig: Teubner, 1931).

37. See the *Vorrede* to vol. III (Leipzig: Teubner, 1941), reprinted in the new edition of vol. II, ed. A. Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974), pp. VII–XVII.

38. See K. Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Zauberpapyri," in *Miscellanea critica Teubner* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1964) 215 n.1.

39. See the *Vorwort zur Neuausgabe* by Henrichs in vol. I of the new edition (see n. 40 below), pp. XIII–XIV.

40. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage, mit Ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz, durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973, 1974).

41. See A. Dieterich, "Der Untergang der antiken Religion," *Kleine Schriften* 449–539; A. D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," *JEA* 15 (1929): 219–35, reprinted in his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 1: 176–94; A. J. Festugière, "La valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques," in his *L'Idéal religieux des grecs et l'évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 281–328; M. P. Nilsson, "Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri," *Opuscula selecta* 3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1960) 129–66; S. Eitrem, "Aus 'Papyrologie und Religionsgeschichte': Die magischen Papyri," *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft*. Vorträge des 3. internationalen Papyrologentages in München vom 4. bis 7. September 1933, hrsg. von W. Otto und L. Wenger, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 19 (München: Beck, 1934) 243–63.

42. See note 29 above.

43. See, e.g., the attempt to recover ritual fragments from *PGM* LXX in my article "Fragments of a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95.

44. Cf. Nilsson's remark concerning the magical hymns, "Die Religion," 132: "Jedoch sind die Hymnen das Griechischste der Zauberliteratur. Ich kann mich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass es ein älteres Zauberwesen gegeben hat, das an die griechischen Götter anschloss, von dem die auf uns gekommene ägyptische Zauberliteratur Brocken sich einverleibt hat."

45. Since then fundamental changes have occurred in the interpretation of Greek religion, of which the success of the book by E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951) was symptomatic. See also on this point E. R. Dodds, *Missing Persons: An Autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 180–81. For recent developments, see W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977) 21ff.; idem, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Sather Classical Lectures 47 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

46. Cf. the comment made by A. A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets," *JWCI* 27 (1964): 4 n.16: "Much that we are accustomed to see classified as late 'syncretism' is rather the ancient and original, deep-seated popular religion, coming to the surface when the whitewash of 'classical' writers and artists began to peel off. . . ."

47. On Jewish magic and related bibliography, see L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*

(Strassburg: Trübner, 1898, ²1914); J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk-Religion* (New York: Behrman, 1939); G. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ²1965); J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, vols. 4 and 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1969, 1970); I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

48. See for surveys A. A. Barb, "Mystery, Myth, and Magic," in *The Legacy of Egypt*, ed. J. R. Harris (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ²1971) 138–69; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 520–43 and passim; K. Preisendanz, "Zur synkretistischen Magie im römischen Ägypten," *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer)*, Neue Serie, V. Folge, ed. H. Gerstinger (Wien: Rohrer/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1956) 111–25.

49. On Jesus and early Christian magic, with related bibliography, see Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978).

50. On Egyptian magic of the later periods, see the collection by Lichtheim (see note 16 above); G. Roeder, *Volksglaube im Pharaonenreich* (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1952); idem, *Der Ausklang der ägyptischen Religion mit Reformation, Zauberei und Jenseitsglauben*, = *Die ägyptische Religion in Text und Bild*, vol. 4 (Zürich and Stuttgart: Artemis, 1961).

51. On the figure of the magician, see Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, pp. 81–89.

52. See W. Burkert, "Craft versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3 (see note 5 above), 1–22.

53. Some of these handbooks are among the *PGM*. How they were made can still be seen from the partly unfinished, late Byzantine (16th c.) copy in the Gennadios Library in Athens (Codex Gennadianus 45), the text of which was published by A. Delatte, "Un nouveau témoin de la littérature salomonique, le codex *Gennadianus* 45 d'Athènes," *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres*, 5ᵉ série, tome 45 (1959): 280–321.

54. As I have tried to show, even the human self was regarded as a daimon which could be handled by the magician in the same way as all the other energies of the universe. See H. D. Betz, "The Delphic Maxim 'Know Yourself' in the Greek Magical Papyri," *HR* 21 (1981): 156–71.

55. A beautiful testimony of this self-understanding is cited by D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt* (New York: New York University Press, 1977) 84–85, where the great magician Amenhotep says about himself:

> I am really magnificent among any people, one with a heaving heart when he is looking for a plan in some unknown problem, like one whose heart knows it already; who finds a sentence even if it was found destroyed; master of wisdom, friend of the ruler, who does useful things for the Horus, who makes his monuments splendid in order to cause everybody to remember him forever at the august place. Who guides the ignorant through the events since the primeval times, who shows their place to everybody who forgot about it; useful in his ideas, when he is looking for monuments to make immortal the name of his lord; who relates the proverb and acts with his fingers; leader of mankind, of engaging manners as a pleasant one. Who venerates the name of the king and his power, who praises his Majesty at any time of the day, who is on his guard in all his decisions. . . ."

56. A good illustration of the phenomenon is the social and psychological syndrome called "cognitive dissonance." The syndrome can be observed among persons of strong conviction who, when faced with evidence to the contrary of their convictions ("disconfirmation"), become more intense and close themselves off from their social context, rather than develop doubts about these convictions. See the study by Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964). The authors of this study themselves may have become another instance of the syndrome: apparently they entered into the project armed with strong convictions about the origins of religion and, without ever becoming suspicious, found nothing but confirmation.

Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri

Janet H. Johnson

As important as the Greek magical papyri are to the understanding of Greco-Roman religion, as noted by Betz in his Introduction to the Greek magical texts, their full significance can be perceived only when it is realized that these texts written in Greek are part of a larger corpus that also includes texts written in that stage of the Egyptian language known as "Demotic," and that the corpus as a whole derives in very large measure from earlier Egyptian religious and magical beliefs and practices. The interrelationship between the Greek and Egyptian aspects of these magical texts is emphasized by the fact that not only did the major find of such texts, the collection of Anastasi noted by Betz, occur in Egypt, in the ancient capital of Thebes (modern Luxor) and include both Greek and Egyptian documents, but it also included documents that were bilingual—some of the spells were written in Greek, others in Egyptian, all within the same texts and all for use by the same magician. Perhaps even more telling is the fact that even in the spells written in Greek, the religious or mythological background and the methodology to be followed to ensure success may be purely Egyptian in origin. Thus it is only with the inclusion of the Egyptian materials together with the Greek, and the study of the complete corpus, that the full ramifications of this extraordinary body of material can be studied and appreciated.

All four of the Demotic magical texts appear to have come from the collections that Anastasi gathered in the Theban area. Most have passages in Greek as well as in Demotic, and most have words glossed into Old Coptic (Egyptian language written with the Greek alphabet [which indicated vowels, which Egyptian scripts did not] supplemented by extra signs taken from the Demotic for sounds not found in Greek); some contain passages written in the earlier Egyptian hieratic script or words written in a special "cipher" script, which would have been an effective secret code to a Greek reader but would have been deciphered fairly simply by an Egyptian.

The longest of the four Demotic texts was at some time torn into two sections (*PDM* xiv; *PGM* XIV). The longer second section was acquired by the Leiden Museum of Antiquities in 1828; it now bears number P.Lugd.Bat.J 383 (formerly Anastasi 65). The shorter beginning section was purchased by the British Museum in 1857; it now bears number P.Lond.demot. 10070 (formerly Anastasi 1072). The definitive publication of the two sections, including hand copy, transliteration, and translation, with extensive commentary and glossary, is the work of F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson.[1] Attention was attracted to the Leiden section very early when Reuvens recognized the value that the glosses into Greek letters provided for the deciphering of Demotic script.[2] The entire preserved text (both the beginning and the end of the original manuscript are lost) consists of twenty-nine large columns on the recto and thirty-three smaller columns on the verso. All are in Egyptian with the exception of three short passages in three separate columns, which are written in Greek. Elsewhere occasional Greek words occur as glosses to Egyptian

words or are written in the Egyptian text in an alphabetic Demotic script apparently developed for writing magical and foreign words. Much more common than the Greek passages is the use of the older Egyptian hieratic script in the midst of Demotic passages (as if the scribe were transcribing from an earlier manuscript and occasionally forgot to update what he was copying) and glosses into Old Coptic, most frequently for the writing of magical names and presumably to indicate proper pronunciation (which would have been very difficult to do given the abbreviated nature and great age of the traditional Egyptian scripts). Each column of the recto is written within a frame of horizontal and vertical lines; chapter or section headings are written in red ink (a tradition in Egyptian literature from Old Kingdom times[3]). In some cases, the scribes, while writing the body of the text in black ink, left room for the heading to be added later in red ink but failed to do so. Such headings can easily be restored.

The same scribe who wrote the London and Leiden text also wrote a second manuscript in the Leiden Museum (*PDM* xii; *PGM* XII) that contains Demotic magical texts—the verso of P.Lugd.Bat.J 384 (formerly Anastasi 75).[4] Of the nineteen columns of magical spells on the verso, the two columns at the beginning (the left end of the manuscript) are purely Demotic, the following thirteen columns are in Greek (although two headings are written in Demotic), the next two columns are again in Demotic, and the last two columns at the right end of the papyrus are largely in Demotic although they have short passages in Greek cited in the middle. (Note that the papyrus is broken at both ends, so it is impossible to determine how many more columns there were originally and in what language.) Within the Demotic sections of the manuscript are occasional passages written in the earlier hieratic script and in alphabetic Demotic as well as Old Coptic glosses. It appears that this text was written before the London and Leiden text since it is in this text that one can see the development of the Old Coptic script being used for glosses. In the columns at the left end of the papyrus, the Old Coptic glosses were written letter by letter above the corresponding Demotic letter. Since the Demotic runs right to left, the glosses run the same direction. This would have been quite confusing to someone reading what appeared to be Greek, so by the glosses in the second group of Demotic spells, at the right end of the papyrus, the scribe had taken to writing the glosses word for word, left to right, over the appropriate Demotic word. It is this latter system that is found throughout the papyrus of London and Leiden. In Leiden J 384, the scribe did not write within a frame or use red ink for headings. That both the papyri of London and Leiden and Leiden J 384 were written in Thebes, where they were found and sold to Anastasi, is indicated further by the fact that the dialect of Coptic to which the glosses and other alphabetic spellings most closely correspond has been identified as "archaic Theban."[5]

The British Museum also contains a second bilingual Greek and Demotic magical text (*PDM* lxi; *PGM* LXI), P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588.[6] The recto contains eight columns of Demotic; two have occasional magical names written in Old Coptic and one has the names of some ingredients written in Greek in addition to two Greek sections within the Demotic. The verso contains two columns of Demotic with occasional Old Coptic and four columns of Greek. The Demotic sections use red ink for chapter headings (italicized in the translations), as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

The fourth Demotic magical text is P.Louvre E3229 (formerly Anastasi 1061).[7] The preserved fragments (*PDM Supplement*) contain seven columns of Demotic on the recto and one column on the verso; the papyrus is broken at both ends. Both

the earlier hieratic script and Old Coptic are used, together with the alphabetic Demotic script developed for writing magical names and attested in each of these texts except P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588. Section headings are written in red ink on the recto (italicized in the translations); the columns on the recto are written within a red frame, as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

In all four of these texts, all of which can be dated paleographically to the third century A.D. or only slightly later, there is every indication that all the various scripts were written by, and for, the same scribe, a bilingual person equally at home in Egyptian (old, current, and future) and Greek. The contents and the methodology are overwhelmingly Egyptian. Most of the material is completely Egyptian and its origins are easily traceable in earlier Egyptian religious and magical literature. The methods used are likewise standard Egyptian practices. Some of this is indicated in the notes to the translations.

By contrast, Egyptian divinities (in their own names or in the guise of their Greek counterparts) and Egyptian mythological references abound in the Greek texts and Egyptian methodology is also frequent. For example, although threats against gods who might fail to do what one wants go back to the earliest Egyptian religio-magic literature (Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts), but are unparalleled in classical Greece, they are frequent in the Greek magical texts as well as those written in Egyptian. Much of the Egyptian background of the Greek texts has been pointed out in the numerous textual notes added by Robert K. Ritner. The common source of the Greek and Egyptian language texts is also indicated by their frequent use of identical strings of invocation names, including, in addition to Egyptian and Greek divinities, western Asiatic divinities, "abracadabra" names, and what appear to the modern reader as gibberish.

Because the bulk of the texts is written in Greek, and because there are short passages of Greek in some of the Egyptian texts,[8] it has been suggested that the Egyptian texts are translations from the Greek. But there are passages in Egyptian, written in Old Coptic, within many of the Greek texts and, as indicated above, the religious and magical background of many of the spells, both Greek and Egyptian, is decidedly Egyptian. In discussing the Egyptian texts, Griffith and Thompson concluded: "even where there are reasons for believing that the demotic is a translation from the Greek, the original source, in relation to magic at any rate, was probably Egyptian."[9] The same may be true for much of the Greek material. One must, at any rate, be leery of overstating the Greek case and attributing too much to Greek influence.

The present collection of all the texts, Greek and Egyptian, in one easily usable volume, points this out conclusively. This will, in turn, allow and encourage the comparative study of the purposes, methods, props, magical names, and the like, of the Greek and Egyptian spells and encourage the study of the antecedents of the material in both cultures. This work will add greatly to our understanding of the cultural milieu in which these magical texts were produced and copied. Thus it is the hope of all those who have collaborated on the production of this volume that it will both further our knowledge of a dynamic period in the history of man and also encourage future study of cultural contact and cross-fertilization.

Notes

1. *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904).
2. See n. 9 to Betz's Introduction, above.

3. See Georges Posener, "Sur l'emploi de l'encre rouge dans les manuscrits égyptiens," *JEA* 37 (1951):75–80.

4. The recto contains a long Demotic literary composition known variously as the "Tefnut Legend" or the "Myth of the Sun's Eye"; for a short summary and bibliography, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3, pp. 156–57. The magical spells on the verso were published by Janet H. Johnson, "The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden J 384," *OMRM* 56 (1975):29–64; for the identification of the scribe, see ibid., pp. 51–53.

5. Janet H. Johnson, "The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, ed. Janet H. Johnson and Edward F. Wente, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, vol. 39 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977), pp. 105–32.

6. Published by H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1933).

7. Published by Janet H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977):55–102.

8. But note that, e.g., one of the passages in Greek in London and Leiden concerns the purely Egyptian divinity Osiris and his burial in Abydos.

9. *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, p. 12.

THE GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

PGM I. 1–42

*[***Rite***]: A [daimon comes] as an assistant who will reveal everything to you clearly and will be your [companion and] will eat[1] and sleep with you.

Take [together, therefore,] two of your own fingernails and all the hairs [from] your head, and take a Circaean[2] falcon / and deify it[3] in the [milk] of a black [cow] after you have mixed Attic honey with the milk. [And once you have deified it,] wrap it[4] with an undyed piece of cloth and place [beside] it your fingernails along with your hairs; and take [a piece of choice papyrus], and inscribe in myrrh the following, and set it in the same manner [along with the] hairs and fingernails, and plaster / it with [uncut] frankincense [and] old wine.

So, the writing on/[the strip] is: "A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ." [But write this, making] two figures:[5]

A
E E
Ē Ē Ē
I I Ī I
O O O O O
Y Y Y Y Y Y
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō

Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō
Y Y Y Y Y Y
O O O O O
I I I I
Ē Ē Ē
E E
A

/ And take the milk with the honey[6] and drink it before the rising of the sun, and there will be something divine in your heart. And take the falcon and set it up as a statue in a shrine made of juniper wood. And after you have crowned the shrine itself, make an offering of non-animal foods and have on hand some old wine. And before you recline, speak directly to the bird itself after you have made / sacrifice to it, as you usually do, and say the prescribed ***spell:***

"A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ, come to me, Good Husbandman,[7] Good Daimon, HARPON KNOUPHI BRINTANTĒN SIPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUAZAR [BAMESEN] KRIPHI NIPOUMICHMOUMAŌPH. Come to me, O holy Orion, [you who lie] in the north, / who cause [the] currents of [the] Nile to roll down and mingle with the sea, [transforming them with life] as it does man's seed in sexual intercourse, you who have established the world on an indestructible . . .

1. For meals with deities see below, ll. 23–24, 85–89; III. 424–30; IV. 750–75; VII. 644–51. For the background and further material, see H.-J. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult*, *Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen*, *N.F. 15* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), esp. 156–58, 190.

2. The adjective *κιρκαῖος* is not attested elsewhere. Cf. LSJ s.v. "*κίρκος*," I: "a kind of hawk or falcon." See S. Eitrem, "Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie," in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 178–80, s.v. "Falke."

3. The magical rite of drowning effects deification. See F. L. Griffith, "Herodotus II. 90: Apotheosis by Drowning," *ZÄS* 46 (1909): 132–34; W. Spiegelberg, "Zu dem Ausdruck *ḥsj* 'Εσιῆς," *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 124–25; A. Hermann, "Ertrinken," *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; idem, "Ertrinken, Ertränken," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 273. See also *PGM* III. 1 and n. [R.K.R.]

4. The ritual suggests that the falcon is to be mummified. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

5. The translation of the term *κλίματα* is uncertain here. The triangular formation, found also elsewhere in the *PGM* and called "grapelike," "heart-shaped" or "winged," may be an example of *technopaignion*, the technique of writing words pictorially in the shape of objects. See on this subject Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 63–67; C. Lenz, "Carmina figurata," *RAC* 2 (1954): 910–12; Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte" 104; G. Wojaczek, *Daphnis. Untersuchungen zur griechischen Bukolik* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1969) 59ff., esp. 62 and n. 12.

6. For milk and honey in sacred meals, see Klauck, *Herrenmahl* 193–96; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 459–61, s.v. "Milch."

7. Cf. for the title also Anubis "the good oxherd": *PDM* xiv. 17; xiv. 35, 400. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 24 and n. [R.K.R.]

[foundation], who are young in the morning and [old in the evening], who journey through the subterranean sphere and [rise], breathing fire,[8] you who have parted the seas in the first / month, who [ejaculate] seeds[9] into the [sacred fig]tree of Heliopolis[10] continually. [This] is your authoritative name: ARBATH ABAÔTH BAKCHABRÊ."

[But] when you are dismissed, [go without shoes] and walk backwards[11] and set yourself to the enjoyment of the food [and] dinner and the prescribed food offering, [coming] face to face as companion [to the god]. / [This] rite [requires complete purity]. Conceal, conceal the [procedure and] for [7] days [refrain] from having intercourse with a woman.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM I. 42–195

***The spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant:**[12] . . . Pnouthios to Keryx,[13] a god[-fearing man], greetings. As one who knows, I have prescribed for you [this spell for acquiring an assistant] to prevent your failing / as you carry out [this rite]. After detaching all the prescriptions [bequeathed to us in] countless books, [one out of all . . .] I have shown you this spell for acquiring an assistant [as one that is serviceable] to you . . . for you to take this holy [assistant] and only . . . O friend of aerial / spirits [that move] . . . having persuaded me with god-given spells . . . but [now] I have dispatched this book so that you may learn thoroughly. For the spell of Pnouthis [has the power] to persuade the gods and all [the goddesses]. And [I shall write] you from it about [acquiring] an assistant.

***[The] traditional rite [for acquiring an assistant]**: After the preliminary purification, / [abstain from animal food] and from all uncleanliness and, on whatever [night] you want to, go [up] onto a lofty roof after you have clothed yourself in a pure garment . . . [and say] the first spell of encounter as the sun's orb is disappearing . . . with a [wholly] black Isis band on [your eyes], and in your right hand / grasp a falcon's head [and . . .] when the sun rises, hail it as you shake its head [and] . . . recite this sacred spell as you burn [uncut] frankincense and pour rose oil, making the sacrifice [in an earthen] censer on ashes from the [plant] heliotrope. And as you recite the spell there will be / this sign for you: a falcon will [fly down and] stand in front of [you], and after flapping its wings in [mid-air and dropping]

8. The section describes the voyage of the sun god, his changing age, and his journey through the underworld. See E. Hornung, *Das Amduat* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963). For the forms of the sun god, see H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883) 405–33. [R.K.R.]

9. The reference is to Ra-Atum emerging from the seas of chaos in the primal month and his creation of the gods by masturbation. In the Egyptian view of time this cosmic event occurs continually (διηνεκέως). Cf. also Pritchard, *ANET* 6. [R.K.R.]

10. Ancient religion knew of a large number of sacred fig trees, but little is known about the one in Heliopolis. The reference may point to another sacred tree as well, such as the *jšd* tree (see L. Kákosy, "Ischedbaum," *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–83) or the tree "in which is life and death" (idem, *LdÄ* 2 [1977]: 112). Or the tree is the *persea* tree sacred to Ra (see Herodotus 2. 73; and *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–84; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 83–84, s.v. Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 736–40). [R.K.R.]

11. Walking backwards as a magical rite. See *PGM* IV. 44, 2493; XXXVI. 273.

12. The term refers to an assistant daimon; see Glossary. Pnouthis and Pnouthios refer to the same person.

13. *Keryx*, which means "herald," may refer to a real or to an ideal person of priestly or holy status. See W. Quandt, "Keryx," *PRE* 21 (1921): 348–49.

an oblong stone,[14] it will immediately take flight and [ascend] to heaven. [You] should pick up this stone; carve it at once [and engrave it later]. Once it has been engraved, bore a hole in it, pass a thread through and wear it around your neck. But in the evening, / go up to [your] housetop [again] and, facing the light of the god- 70
dess, address to her this [hymnic spell] as you again sacrifice myrrh troglitis[15] in the same fashion. Light [a fire] and hold a branch of myrtle . . . shaking it, [and salute] the goddess.

At once there will be a sign for you like this: [A blazing star] will descend and come to a stop in the middle / of the housetop, and when the star [has dissolved] 75
before your eyes, you will behold the angel[16] whom you have summoned and who has been sent [to you], and you will quickly[17] learn the decisions of the gods. But do not be afraid: [approach] the god and, taking his right hand, kiss him and say these words to the angel, for he will quickly respond to you about whatever you want. But you / adjure him with this [oath] that he meet you and remain inseparable 80
and that he not [keep silent or] disobey in any way. But when he has with certainty accepted this oath of yours, take the god by the hand and leap down, [and] after bringing him [into] the narrow room where you reside, [sit him] down. After first preparing the house / in a fitting manner and providing all types of foods 85
and Mendesian wine,[18] set these before the god, with an uncorrupted boy[19] serving and maintaining silence until the [angel] departs. And you address preliminary (?) words[20] to the god: "I shall have you as a friendly assistant, a beneficent god who serves me whenever I say, 'Quickly, by your / power now appear on earth to 90
me, yea verily, god!'"

And while reclining, you yourself quickly speak about what you propose.[21] Test this[22] oath of the god on [what] you wish. But when 3 hours have passed, the god will immediately leap up. Order the boy to run [to] the door. And say, "Go, lord, blessed god, / where you live eternally, as you will," and the god vanishes. 95

This is the sacred rite for acquiring an assistant. It is acknowledged that he is a god; he is an aerial spirit which you have seen. If you give him a command, straightway he performs the task: he sends dreams, he brings women, men without the use of magical material, he kills, he destroys, he stirs up winds from the earth, he carries / gold, silver, bronze, and he gives them to you whenever the need arises. And 100

14. For the relationship between amulets and the magical papyri, see M. Smith, "Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems," *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, "Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509.

15. This statement shows that something has fallen from the text, for this is the first extant reference here to myrrh *troglitis*. [E.N.O.] The name may be commonly referred to as "Ethiopian myrrh."

16. This angel or messenger (ἄγγελος) is also referred to as "the god" throughout this spell.

17. The adverb, which occurs in *PGM* I. 76, 79, 91, 108, 111, 113, 116, 121, can mean "precisely" or "in detail."

18. This is not to be confused with the famous Mendaean wine. Mendesian refers to the Egyptian city of Mendes in the Nile Delta. For a discussion of the confusion between the names, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* II, 600.

19. Apparently this boy serves as a child medium. Cf. for this form of medium *PGM* II. 56; V. 376; VII. 544, etc.

20. προπεμπε with an inanimate (and esp. abstract) object is poetic. Here the prefix seems to have its literal meaning: "first," hence "preliminary words." [E.N.O.]

21. πρὸς ἃ φράζει should be read as second-person middle (cf. l. 79) and not third-person active, as Preisendanz translates.

22. The position of the word "this" is awkward in the Greek text; perhaps "the oath itself" is preferable. Cf. I. 156: "the same spell."

he frees from bonds a person chained in prison, he opens doors, he causes invisibility so that no one can see you at all, he is a bringer of fire, he brings water, wine, bread and [whatever] you wish in the way of foods: olive oil, vinegar—with the single exception of fish[23]—and he will bring plenty of vegetables, / whatever kind you wish, but as for pork,[24] you must not ever tell him to bring this at all! And when you want to give a [dinner], tell him so. Conjure up in your mind any suitable room and order him to prepare it for a banquet quickly and without delay. At once he will bestow chambers with golden ceilings, and you will see their walls covered with marble—and you consider these things partly real / and partly just illusionary—and costly wine, as is meet to cap a dinner splendidly. He will quickly bring daimons, and for you he will adorn these servants with sashes. These things he does quickly. And [as soon as] you order [him] to perform a service, he will do so, and you will see him excelling in other things: He stops ships and [again] / releases them, he stops very many evil [daimons], he checks wild beasts and will quickly break the teeth of fierce reptiles, he puts dogs to sleep and renders them voiceless. He changes into whatever form [of beast] you want: one that flies, swims, a quadruped, a reptile. He will carry you [into] the air, and again hurl you into the billows / of the sea's current and into the waves of the sea; he will quickly freeze rivers and seas and in such a way that you can run over them firmly, as you want. And [especially] will he stop, if ever you wish it, the sea-running foam, and whenever you wish to bring down stars[25] and whenever you wish to make [warm things] cold and cold things / warm,[26] he will light lamps and extinguish them again.[27] And he will shake walls and [cause] them to blaze with fire; he will serve you suitably for [whatever] you have in mind, O [blessed] initiate of the sacred magic, and will accomplish it for you, this most powerful assistant, who is also the only lord of the air. And the gods will agree to everything, for without him / nothing happens. Share this great mystery with no one [else], but conceal it, by Helios, since you have been deemed worthy by the lord [god].

This is the spell spoken [seven times seven] to Helios as an adjuration of the assistant: "ŌRI PI . . . AMOUNTE[28] AINTHYPH PICHAROUR[29] RAIAL KARPHIOUTH YMOU ROTHIRBAN OCHANAU MOUNAICHANAPTA/ZŌ ZŌN TAZŌTAZŌ PTAZŌ MAUIAS SOUŌRI SOUŌ ŌOUS SARAPTOUMI SARACHTHI A. . . RICHAMCHŌ BIRATHAU ŌPHAU PHAUŌ DAUA AUANTŌ ZOUZŌ ARROUZŌ ZŌTOUAR THŌMNAŌRI AYŌI PTAUCHARĒBI AŌUOSŌBIAU PTABAIN AAAAAAA AEĒIOYŌYŌOIĒEA CHACHACH CHACHACH CHARCHARACHACH AMOUN Ō ĒI[30] / IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON OMENERPHABŌEAI CHATHACH PHNESCHĒR PHICHRŌ PHNYRŌ PHŌCHŌCHOCH IARBATHA GRAMMĒ PHIBAŌCHNĒMEŌ." This is the spell spoken seven times seven to Helios.

23. For the taboo on fish in ancient Egypt, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 380–404. [R.K.R.]

24. The prohibition against eating pork was well known in Egypt (see also IV. 3079). The pig was considered unclean because it was related to Seth/Typhon (see also IV. 3115, 3260). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 690–91, s.v. "Schwein"; J. Bergman, "Isis auf der Sau," *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 6 (1974): 81–109; Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 171–209; cf. also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 8, 353F and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 281.

25. Pulling down stars was a feat for which the Thessalian witches were famous. See H. Reiche, "Myth and Magic in Cosmological Polemics," *Rheinisches Museum* 114 (1971): 296–329.

26. This magical operation is similar to the table gimmick of Demokritos (see *PGM* VII. 177).

27. Cf. the table gimmick in *PGM* VII. 171–72.

28. This is Egyptian for Horus . . . Amon. [R.K.R.]

29. This is Egyptian *pikrour*, "the frog." [R.K.R.]

30. This is Egyptian meaning "Amon the Great." [R.K.R.]

And engraved on the stone[31] ***is***: Helioros[32] as a lion-faced figure, holding in the left / hand a celestial globe and a whip, and around him in a circle is a serpent biting its tail. And on the exergue of the stone is this name (conceal it): "ACHA ACHACHA CHACH CHARCHARA CHACH." And after passing an Anubian string[33] through it, wear it around your neck.

Spell to Selene: "INOUTHŌ[34] PTOUAUMI ANCHARICH CHARAPTOUMI ANOCHA ABITHROU / ACHARABAUBAU BARATHIAN ATEB DOUANANOU APTYR PANOR PAURACH SOUMI PHORBA PHORIPHORBARABAU BŌĒTH AZA PHOR RIM MIRPHAR ZAURA PTAUZOU CHŌTHARPARACHTHIZOU ZAITH ATIAU IABAU KANTANTOUMI BATHARA CHTHIBI ANOCH." Having said this, you will see some star gradually free itself from [heaven] and become a god. / But you approach, take him by the hand, kiss him and say the same spell: "ŌPTAUMI NAPHTHAUBI MAIOUTHMOU MĒTROBAL RACHĒPTOUMI AMMŌCHARI AUTHEI A. . .TAMARA CHIŌBITAM TRIBŌMIS ARACHO ISARI RACHI IAKOUBI TAURABERŌMI ANTABI TAUBI." When you have spoken this, / a reply will be given. But you say to him: "What is your divine name? Reveal it to me ungrudgingly, so that I may call upon [it]." It consists of 15 letters: SOUESOLYR PHTHĒ MŌTH.[35]

And this is spoken next: "Hither to me, King, [I call you] God of Gods, mighty, boundless, undefiled, indescribable, firmly established Aion. / Be inseparable from me from this day forth through all the time of my life."

Then question him by the same oaths. If he tells you his name, take him by the hand, descend and have him recline as I have said above, setting before him part of the / foods and drinks which you partake of. And when you release him, sacrifice to him after his departure what is prescribed and pour a wine offering, and in this way you will be a friend of the mighty angel. When you go abroad, he will go abroad with you; when you are destitute, he will give you money. He will tell you what things will happen both when and at what time of the night or day. And if / anyone asks you "What do I have in mind?" or "What has happened to me?" or even "What is going to happen?," question the angel, and he will tell you in silence. But you speak to the one who questions you as if from yourself. When you are dead, he will wrap [up] your body as befits a god,[36] but he will take your spirit and carry it into the air with him. / For no aerial spirit which is joined with a mighty assistant will go into Hades, for to him all things are subject. Whenever you wish to do something, speak his name alone into the air [and] say, ["Come!"] and you will see him actually standing near you. And say to him, "Perform this task," and he does it at once, and after doing it he will say to you, "What else do you want? For I am eager for heaven." If you do not / have immediate orders, say to him, "Go, lord," and he will depart. In this fashion, then, the god will be seen by you alone, nor will anyone ever hear the sound of his speaking, just you yourself alone. And he will tell you

31. For gemstones with figures similar to the one described here, see Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 151–53; nos. 233–37, 283; also the statue described by Nilsson, *GGR* II, 498–99. See furthermore Bonnet, *RÄRG* 427–429, s.v. "Löwe."

32. This is Helios-Horus. See Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 153.

33. The precise nature of the Anubian cord is not clear. Anubis, the divine undertaker, may have had his name applied to thread used in mummification (see also IV. 1083, 2899; XXXVI. 237). See P. Wolters, "Faden und Knoten als Amulett," *ARW* 8, Beiheft (1905): 1–22; Bonner, *SMA* 3.

34. INOUTHŌ corresponds to Egyptian *i ntr* ʿ3, "O great god," and is the beginning of an invocation. [R.K.R.]

35. In Greek the name consists of fifteen letters.

36. This dressing up refers to the practice of mummification and the body's subsequent deification. See B. Gunn, "The Decree of Amonrasonether for Neskhons," *JEA* 41 (1955): 84–85. [R.K.R.]

about the illness of a man, whether he will live or die, even on what day and at what
190 hour of night. / And he will also give [you both] wild herbs and the power to cure, and you will be [worshiped] as a god since you have a god as a friend. These things the mighty assistant will perform competently. Therefore share these things with no one except [your] legitimate son[37] alone when he asks you for the magic powers imparted [by] us. Farewell.

195 The address to the sun / requires nothing except the formula "IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUN" and the formula "IARBATHA."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM I. 195–222

***This, then, is the prayer of deliverance for the first-begotten and first-born god**: "I call upon you, lord. Hear me, holy god who rest among the holy ones, at
200 whose side the Glorious Ones[38] stand continually. I call upon you, / [fore]father, and I beseech you, eternal one, eternal ruler of the sun's rays, eternal ruler of the celestial orb, standing in the seven-part region, CHAŌ CHAŌ CHA OUPH CHTHETHŌNIMEETHĒCHRINIA MEROUMI ALDA ZAŌ BLATHAMMACHŌTH PHRIXA ĒKE . . . PHYĒIDRYMĒŌ PHERPHRITHŌ IACHTHŌ PSYCHEŌ PHIRITHMEŌ ROSERŌTH /
205 THAMASTRA PHATIRI TAŌCH IALTHEMEACHE; you who hold fast to the root, [who] possess the powerful name which has been consecrated by all angels. Hear me, you who have established the mighty Decans and archangels, and beside whom
210 stand untold myriads of angels. You have been exalted to heaven, and the lord / has borne witness to your wisdom and has praised your power highly and has said that you have strength in the same way as he, as much strength as he [himself] has.

"I call upon you, lord of the universe, in an hour of need; hear me, for my soul is [distressed], and I am perplexed[39] and in want of [everything. Wherefore, come]
215 to me, you who are lord over all / angels; shield me against all excess of magical power of aerial daimon [and] fate.[40] Aye, lord, because I call upon your secret name which reaches from the firmament to the earth, ATHĒZOPHŌIM ZADĒAGĒŌBĒPHIA-
220 THEAA AMBRAMI ABRAAM THALCHILTHOE ELKŌTHŌŌĒĒ ACHTHŌNŌN / SA ISAK CHŌĒIOURTHASIŌ IŌSIA ICHĒMEŌŌŌŌ AŌAEI, rescue me in an hour of need."

Say this to Helios or whenever you are forced to do so.[41]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. Since the character of this invocation shows no tangible connection with the preceding or foregoing spells, it is best understood as a separate charm. Although the purpose of this prayer (which at certain points is reminiscent of the language of the Psalms) is not exactly stated, ll. 215–16 and 221–22 suggest that deliverance from the onslaught of a demonic attack is requested.

37. Preisendanz's reading *ἰσχινῷ υἱῷ* is doubtful because the term is nowhere else attested (see his apparatus ad loc.). The word may reflect an Egyptian or Semitic idiom ("son of your own loins"), an idiom formed in Greek from the word *ἴσχιον* (hips). The Egyptian term is more general, however, and refers to "part of the body." [J.B.] Cf. also Gn 35:11; 1 Kgs 8:19; Acts 2:30; Heb 7:5, 10. See furthermore *PGM* IV. 646, 2519, and Abt, *Apologie* 65–66.

38. *Doxai* is a name for angels. See also IV. 1051, 1202, and Bauer, s.v. "δόξα," 4.

39. The translation of *ἄβου*[λος] follows Preisendanz ("ratlos"). For the general language of prayer, cf. Ps 42:6, 12; 43:5; Jon 4:9 LXX: Sir 37:2; Mk 14:34 par.

40. The concept of Heimarmene is found in *PGM* here and XIII. 613, 635; cf. 709. See D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'antiquité grecque. Recherches sur la survivance de l'argumentation morale antifataliste de Carnéade chez les philosophes grecs et les théologiens chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, ²1974); H. O. Schröder, "Fatum (Heimarmene)," *RAC* 7 (1969):524–636, esp. 567–68.

41. The translation is tentative at this point.

PGM I. 222–31

*__Indispensable invisibility spell__: Take fat or an eye of a nightowl and a ball of dung rolled[42] by a beetle and oil of an unripe olive[43] and grind them all together until smooth, and smear your whole / body with it and say to Helios: "I adjure you by your great name, BORKĒ PHOIOUR IŌ ZIZIA APARXEOUCH THYTHE LAILAM AAAAAA IIIII OOOO IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ NAUNAX AI AI AEŌ AEŌ ĒAŌ," and moisten it and say in addition: "Make me invisible, lord Helios, AEŌ ŌAĒ EIĒ ĒAŌ, / in the presence of any man until sunset, IŌ IŌ Ō PHRIXRIZŌ EŌA."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM I. 232–47

*__Memory spell__: Take hieratic papyrus and write the prescribed names with Hermaic[44] myrrh ink. And once you have written them as they are prescribed, wash them off[45] into spring water / from 7 springs and drink the water on an empty stomach for seven days while the moon is in the east. But drink a sufficient amount.

This is the writing on the strip of papyrus: "KAMBRĒ CHAMBRE SIXIŌPHI HARPON CHNOUPHI BRINTATĒNŌPHRIBRISKYLMA ARAOUAZAR BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPH AKTIŌPHI ARTŌSE BIBIOU / BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SIEGŌ SIEGŌ NOUCHA NOUCHA LINOUCHA LINOUCHA CHYCHBA CHYCHBA KAXIŌ CHYCHBA DĒTOPHŌTH II AA OO YY ĒĒ EE ŌŌ." After doing these things wash the writing off and drink as is prescribed.

This is also the composition of the ink: myrrh troglitis, 4 drams; 3 karian figs, 7 pits of Nikolaus dates, / 7 dried pinecones, 7 piths of the single-stemmed wormwood, 7 wings of the Hermaic ibis,[46] spring water. When you have burned the ingredients, prepare them and write.
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM I. 247–62

*__Tested spell for invisibility__: A great work. Take an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death and a plant of peony (he means the rose). Rub these with oil of lily, and as you are rubbing / them from the right to the left,[47] say the spell as follows: "I am ANUBIS, I am OSIR-PHRE,[48] I am OSOT SORONOUIER, I am OSIRIS whom SETH destroyed.[49] Rise up, infernal daimon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PHOBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ APOMPS; whatever I, NN, order you to do, / be obedient to me."

And if you wish to become invisible, rub just your face with the concoction, and you will be invisible for as long as you wish. And if you wish to be visible again, move from west to east and say this name, and you will be obvious and visible to all / men.

42. The pellet ("that which is rolled") of a scarab is sacred to the sun god Ra. See also *PGM* VII. 584. [R.K.R.]

43. The papyrus reads *φακινίνου*, which Preisendanz emends to *⟨ὀμ⟩φακινίνου*. For similar expressions, see *PGM* IV. 228–29, 3008. For a different reading, see Schmidt, *GGA* 1931, 445.

44. This is the myrrh ink of Hermes.

45. In order to transfer the magical powers of the names, they were washed off and consumed. For the widespread practice, see *Handbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 8 (1936/37): 1156–57.

46. The ibis was sacred to Hermes Thoth. [R.K.R.]

47. See on this point J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, *Nisaba* 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 27, 30, 41, 56. [R.K.R.]

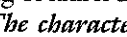
48. This is Osiris-Re.

49. The papyrus has *tako* where one expects the standard Coptic *takof*, "destroyed (him)." [M.W.M.] Cf. *DMP* col. I, 13, p. 23 (and n.) for Demotic parallels to part of this passage.

The name is: "MARMARIAŌTH MARMARIPHEGGĒ, make me, NN, visible to all men on this day, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly!" This works very well. *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. Cf. *PGM* I. 222–31.

PGM I. 262–347

***Apollonian**[50] **invocation**: Take a seven-leafed sprig of laurel and hold it in your right hand / as you summon the heavenly gods and chthonic daimons. Write on the sprig of laurel the seven[51] characters for deliverance.

The characters are these:  , the first character onto the first leaf, then the second / again in the same way onto the second leaf until there is a matching up of the 7 characters and 7 leaves. But be careful not to lose a leaf [and] do harm to yourself. For this is the body's greatest protective charm, by which all are made subject, and seas and rocks tremble, and daimons [avoid] the characters' magical powers which / you are about to have. For it is the greatest protective charm for the rite so that you fear nothing.

Now this is the rite: Take a lamp which has not been colored red and fit it with a piece of linen cloth and rose oil or oil of spikenard, and dress yourself in a prophetic garment and hold an ebony staff in your left hand and / the protective charm in your right (i.e., the sprig of laurel). But keep in readiness a wolf's head so that you can set the lamp upon the head of the wolf, and construct an altar of unburnt clay near the head and the lamp so that you may sacrifice on it to the god. And immediately the divine spirit enters.

/ The burnt offering is a wolf's eye, storax gum, cassia, balsam gum and whatever is valued among the spices, and pour a libation of wine and honey and milk and rainwater, [and make] 7 flat cakes and 7 round cakes. These you are going to make completely [near] the lamp, robed and refraining from all / unclean things and from all eating of fish[52] and from all sexual intercourse, so that you may bring the god into the greatest desire toward you.[53]

Now these are the names, [which] you are going to write on the linen cloth and which you will put as a wick into the lamp which has not been colored red: "ABERAMENTHŌOULERTHEXANAXETHRENLYOŌTHNEMARAIBAI[54] / AEMINNAEBARŌTHERRETHŌBABEANIMEA."[55] When you have completed all the instructions set out above, call the god with this chant:[56]

50. This lamp divination is named after the god Apollo. Despite its syncretistic character, there are an unusual number of parallels with the cult of Apollo. See S. Eitrem, "Apollon in der Magie," in *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike*, *Albae Vigiliae* 5 (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1947): 47–52.

51. Eight characters are shown.

52. See *PGM* I. 104 and note.

53. For sexual union with Apollo attributed to the Pythia, see Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 405 C–D; Origenes, *C. Cels.* 7.3; John Chrysostom, *PG* 61, p. 242 (hence *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.* 39; Suda, *Lexicon*, p. 3120). See G. Wolff, *Porphyrii De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* (Berlin: Springer, 1856) 160; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, *RVV* 32 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972) 143. [W.B.]

54. The magical words begin with the name ABERAMENTHŌ, on which see J. Mahé, "Aberamentho," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions, Festschrift for G. Quispel*, *EPRO* 91 (Leiden: Brill, 1981): 412–18. The formula should be read as a palindrome (see Glossary). Cf. also *PGM* III. 67–68, 117–18; XXXVIII. 20–21.

55. The magical word should be read as a palindrome. Cf. also IV. 196–97; XIV. 24; LIX. 7.

56. These lines contain dactylic hexameters (several of which are metrically faulty) through l. 311. In 312–14 the meter breaks down completely, yet because the tone and the apparent intent is hymnic, the translation continues in a verse pattern that is sometimes faulty. Ll. 297–311 (although the identification says 297–314) also form vv. 1–15 of the reconstructed Hymn 23, while vv. 16–18 are taken from *PGM* I. 342–45. See Preisendanz, vol. II. p. 262. [E.N.O.]

"O lord Apollo, come with Paian.[57]
Give answer to my questions, lord. O master
Leave Mount Parnassos and the Delphic Pytho
Whene'er my priestly lips voice secret words, /
First angel of [the god], great Zeus. IAŌ
And you, MICHAĒL, who rule heaven's realm,
I call, and you, archangel GABRIĒL.
Down from Olympos, ABRASAX, delighting
In dawns, come gracious who view sunset from
The dawn, / ADŌNAI. Father of the world,
All nature quakes in fear of you, PAKERBĒTH.
I adjure God's head,[58] which is Olympos;
I adjure God's signet, which is vision;
I adjure the right hand you held o'er the world;
I adjure God's bowl containing wealth;
I adjure eternal god, AIŌN of all;
/ I adjure self-growing Nature, mighty ADŌNAIOS;
I adjure setting and rising ELŌAIOS:
I adjure these holy and divine names that
They send me the divine spirit and that it
Fulfill what I have in my heart and soul.
/ Hear blessed one, I call you who rule heav'n[59]
And earth and Chaos and Hades where dwell
[Daimons of men who once gazed on the light].
Send me this daimon at my sacred chants,
Who moves by night to orders 'neath your force,
From whose own tent this comes, and let him tell me /
In total truth all that my mind designs,
And send him gentle, gracious, pondering
No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
Be angry at my sacred chants. But guard
That my whole body come to light intact,
For you yourself arranged these things among
Mankind for them to learn. / I call your name,
In number equal to the very Moirai,
ACHAIPHŌTHŌTHŌAIĒIAĒIA
AIĒAIĒIAŌTHŌTHŌPHIACHA."[60]

And when he comes, ask him about what you wish, about the art of prophecy, about divination with epic verses, about the sending of dreams, about obtaining revelations in dreams, about / interpretations of dreams, about causing disease, about everything that is a part of magical knowledge.

Cover a throne and couch with a cloth of linen, but remain standing while you

57. The words Ἄναξ . . . σὺν Παιήονι form an iambic pentameter which may preserve a line from a longer hymn. The line belongs to Hymn 8 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. For a similar expression, cf. *PGM* II. 7–8. [E.N.O.]

58. Or, "I adjure (you by) God's head," here and in the verses that follow.

59. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 7–8, 12–17, 20, 18, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see *PGM* IV. 436–61, 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. (The identification of lines in Preisendanz is not correct, vol. II, p. 239: l. 18 is present, l. 19 is missing.) [E.N.O.]

60. The word should be read as a palindrome. One can see the word THŌTHŌ, written twice; it means "Thoth the great." [R.K.R.]

sacrifice with the aforementioned burnt offering. And after the enquiry, if you wish / to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned ebony staff, which you are holding in your left hand, to your right hand; and shift the sprig of laurel, which you are holding in your right hand, to your left hand; and extinguish / the burning lamp; and use the same burnt offering while saying:[61]

"Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
O elder-born, self-generating god.
I adjure the fire which first shone in the void;
I adjure your pow'r which is greatest o'er all; /
I adjure him who destroys e'en in Hades,
That you depart, returning to your ship,
And harm me not, but be forever kind."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM II. 1–64

". . . AKRAKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A" (speak the whole name thus, in wing formation).[1]

"O Phoibos, helper through your oracles,
Come joyous, Leto's son, who works afar,
Averter, hither come, hither, come hither.
Foretell, give prophecies amid night's hour,[2]
ALLALALA ALLALALA SANTALALA TALALA"[3] (speak this name too, / leaving off one letter in succession, so as to make a wing formation):[4]

"If e'er with vict'ry-loving laurel branch
Here from your holy peak you often voiced
Words of good omen, so may you now speed
Your way to me with truthful oracles,

LAĒTONION and TABARAŌTH AEŌ EŌ, lord Apollo Paian, who control this night, who are master of it, who hold the hour of prayer too. Come, mighty daimons, help me today / by truly speaking with the son of Leto and Zeus."

Add also the following [spell], which is to be written on laurel leaves, and together with the strip of papyrus on which the Headless One is drawn, it is to be placed beside your head, rolled up. It is to be spoken also to the lamp, after you come in from the prayer, before going to bed, after you have placed a lump of frankincense in the wick of the lamp: "BOASOCH[5] OĒAĒ IAŌIĒ ŌIAĒ ŌIAĒ NICHARO-PLĒX / STHOM ŌTHŌ . . . Y IE IŌ ĒI IAĒL IRMOUCH ŌNOR ŌEYE IYŌ EAŌ SABAŌTH THĒOTĒ PAŌMIACH SIEOU IAŌ IE IEŌ . . . IOY IEOY IŌ IĒI ĒŌ IĒAI IEŌA A E Ē I O Y Ō."

61. The following dactylic hexameters also form vv. 16–18 of the reconstructed Hymn 23 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 262. [E.N.O.] In contrast to the preceding hymn, ll. 341–47 are Egyptian in character and refer to the sun god's self-generation and daily travel in his ship. See Hornung, *Das Amduat*, passim. See also *PGM* I. 34. [R.K.R.]

1. On the wing formation, see *PGM* I. 11 and n. Here the formula seems to be incomplete. Supply ⟨KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKARNABA⟩ and ⟨A⟩ at the end. Cf. l. 65 below.

2. These lines, except for 4–5, are dactylic hexameters which are not always metrically correct; they are the reconstructed Hymn 9, Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. The first three lines appear, in slightly altered form, at *PGM* IV. 24–27 (Hymn 10, 4–6). [E.N.O.]

3. Presumably SANTALALA, but there is considerable corruption in the text.

4. The lines of the following hymn may have originally been written in some iambic meter. Cf. *PGM* I. 296–97.

5. In l. 32 the papyrus gives BOLSOCH in lieu of BOASOCH as the beginning of the incantation. One or the other is probably wrong.

In order to remember what is said: Use the following compound.[6] Take the plant wormwood, a sun opal, a "breathing stone," the heart of a hoopoe[7] (also known as the "vulture cock"). Grind all these together, add a sufficiency of honey, and anoint your lips with the mixture, having first incensed / your mouth with a grain of frankincense gum.

This is the preparation: In the evening, just before retiring, purify your bed with ass's milk, and then, holding in your hands twigs[8] of laurel (the preparation for which is given below), speak the invocation given below. Let your bed be on the ground, either upon clean rushes or upon a rush mat, and lie on your right side, on the ground and in the open air. While performing the invocation, give answer to nobody, and as you are uttering it, make an offering of a lump of frankincense / and twelve right-whorled[9] pinecones and 2 unblemished [gizzard stones of a] rooster, one to Helios and one to Selene, on the first day [of the month], on a censer[10] of bronze or of earth. On your right inscribe this character,[11] and go to sleep in line with the upper stroke of it. While praying, wear a garland of laurel of the following description: Take 12 laurel twigs; make a garland of 7 sprigs, and bind the remaining five together and hold them in your right hand while you pray, / and lie down to sleep holding this, in the above-mentioned position. Inscribe the character with myrrh ink, such as is shown to you [below], with a . . . feather [or pen],[12] and hold it, along with the laurel, while you are uttering in prayer the words which begin "BOLSOCH," etc.[13]

The names to be written on the sprigs, on each leaf: "YESSEMMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOĒRE SOIRE SOIRĒ SANKANTHARA ERISCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE" / (write 12 names).

The ink is as follows: In a purified container burn myrrh and cinquefoil and wormwood; grind them to a paste, and use them. Take a sprig of laurel and Ethiopian cumin and nightshade, and grind them together; take in a clay pot water from a new well, dug either 5 months previously or within the last 5 years, or any one you come across on the first day after its being dug, and throw the mixture into the water. Leave it for just 3 nights, and, as you are uttering the invocation, put a little of it into your / right ear.

To achieve a good memory: Write on a leaf of cinquefoil the following character, written with myrrh ink, and keep it in your mouth while you sleep.

The character is:[14] ☥

Start saying the aforementioned invocation at the 7th hour of the moon, until the god hearkens to you, and you make contact with him.

And these are the compulsive [procedures]: All of them may be brought before the moon after the first or second day. / If he does not appear, sacrifice the brain of

6. σύνθεμα as a variant of σύνθημα may also have the meaning of "token" or "sign."

7. Cf. Horapollo, *Hier.* 1. 55, and the use of the hoopoe in a magical recipe in *PDM* xiv. 116. See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 102, s.v. [R.K.R.]

8. κλάδος is normally to be translated "branch," but that seems to convey the notion of something larger than can be envisioned here. "Twig" may be better, but it may sound too small. The reader must think of a small branch.

9. δεξίους is either "right-turning" or simply "perfect in shape." Cf. *PGM* III. 694; XIII. 10.

10. θυμιατήριον is properly an incense burner, but here perhaps simply a word for "altar."

11. In the margin is the *ankh* sign (☥), a symbol of life.

12. The papyrus reads εν πιννηλι. . . . Preisendanz suggests πίννῃ λι[τῇ], "with a simple, or plain, pen" (taking πίννη as the equivalent of the Latin *penna*).

13. Cf. above, l. 14.

14. The sign is called *shenou*, an Egyptian symbol of protection. [J.B.]

a black ram, and on the third day the little nail of its right forefoot, the one nearest to the ankle; on the fourth, the brain of an ibis; on the fifth, write the figure sketched below[15] on papyrus with myrrh ink, wrap it in a piece of clothing of one who has died violently, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse[16] / (some, however, [throw it] not into a furnace, for that is too extreme, but they suspend it over a lamp, or place it beneath one).

In another [text] I have found the following: If then, he does not hearken to this method, wrap up the figure in the same piece of cloth, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse on the fifth day, saying after the invocation: "ABRI and ABRO EXANTIABIL, God of gods, king of kings, now force a friendly daimon of prophecy to come to me, lest I apply worse tortures to you, the things written on the strips of papyrus." /

If even after this he does not hearken, pour fine, pure oil of radishes over an uncorrupted boy, who has been tested,[17] and having gathered it up again, prepare a lamp not painted red, and set it upon a lampstand fashioned from virgin soil (some authorities say to pour some of the oil on the altar also). If you feel a blow,[18] chew up the cumin and drink it down with some unmixed wine.

Write the prescribed figure / as given above, along with the characters and the prescribed spell twice with myrrh ink on hieratic papyrus. And of these, one you should hold as you make your invocation, as you go to sleep grasping it in your right hand, and placing it under your head, while the other, if the necessity arrives for the compulsive [procedure], you should roll up in the aforementioned cloth and use as prescribed.

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 2–4; 5–10)

PGM II. 64–183

****An alternative procedure***: Take a sprig of laurel and write the / 2 names on its leaves, the one: "[AKRAKANARBA] KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A"; the other: "SANTALALA ANTALALA NTALALA TALALA ALALA LALA ALA LA A."[19]

Take another sprig with twelve leaves on it, and inscribe on it the following heart-shaped name,[20] while you begin with a sacred utterance. ***This is as follows***: . . . . And make of the sprig inscribed with the two names / a garland for yourself, weaving about it a binding consisting of white wool, bound at intervals with red wool, and let this hang down as far as the collarbone. You shall hang a similar binding also from the twelve-leaved sprig, and present yourself to the god in the following manner: Take a completely white cock and a pinecone; pour wine upon it, anoint yourself and remain praying / until the sacrifice[21] is extinguished. Then rub

15. That is, the figure of the Headless One given at the end of the variant spell, *PGM* II. 64–183.

16. Properly, the hot-air space of a hypocaust. [J.M.D.] Bathhouses were important places for doing magic. See Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* I, 51–52; II, 32; J. H. Johnson, *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45. See also *PDM* xii. 149. [R.K.R.]

17. γυμναζομένῳ means literally "trained" or "practiced." But cf. *PDM* xiv. 287 and esp. xiv. 68, where a boy's sexual purity is stressed. Hence the accompanying use of ἀφθόρῳ here.

18. What seems to be envisioned is something akin to an electric shock. Cf. VII. 230. [J.M.D.] Cf. also 2 Sm 6:7.

19. Cf. above, ll. 1–5. Each name is to be uttered in "wing formation," leaving off one letter from the beginning in sequence. See l. 11 and n.

20. The heart-shaped name is lost, but presumably it resembled the allegedly twelve-part inscription given at ll. 33–35 above. Cf. III. 70, "in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes."

21. Cf. above, ll. 24ff.

yourself all over with the following mixture: laurel bayberries, Ethiopian cumin, nightshade, and "Hermes' finger." You shall also speak into the lamp the following: "PERPHAĒNŌ . . . DIAMANTHŌ . . . L DIAMENCHTHŌTH[22] PERPERCHRĒ ŌANOUTH PHROUMEN THORPSOU."

The operative name[23] ***is***: "AKTI KARA ABAIŌTH, O lord god, servant of god, who are in control of this night, stand by me, Apollo Paian."

Go to sleep with your head toward the south. / Use this at the time of sunrise,[24] when the moon is in Gemini:

Fourth Invocation:[25]

"Laurel,[26] Apollo's holy plant of presage,
Whose leaves the scepter-bearing lord once tasted
And sent forth songs himself, Ieios,
Renowned Paian, who live in Kolophon,
Give heed to holy song. And quickly come
To earth from heaven and converse [with me].
Stand near and from ambrosian lips inspire
My songs; come, / lord of song, yourself; renowned
Ruler of song. Hear, blessed one, heavy
In wrath and stern. Now, Titan, hear our voice,
Unfailing one, do not ignore. Stand here,
Speak presage to a suppliant from your
Ambrosian mouth, quickly, all-pure Apollo."

(Speak while the sun is rising).

Greeting formula:[27]

"Hail, fire's dispenser, world's far-seeing king,
O Helios, with noble steeds, the eye
Of Zeus which guards the earth, all-seeing one,
Who travel lofty paths, O gleam divine,[28]
Who move, through the heaven, bright, unattainable, /
Born long ago, unshaken, with a headband
Of gold, wearing a disk, mighty with fire,
With gleaming breastplate, winged one, untiring

22. MENCHTHŌTH is equivalent to *mnḫ Ḏḥwty*, "Thoth is excellent/beneficent." [R.K.R.]

23. On the significance of the term *κύριον ὄνομα*, see Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 1. 75; *Det.* 22; 83; *Plant.* 74. For the doctrine of the sacred name, see also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 7.4–5.

24. The exact significance is not clear, but cf. *PGM* VI. 4–5, where a very similar hymn is to be recited at sunrise. See also Philo, *Vit. cont.* 89; Apuleius, *Met.* 11.20.

25. The basic form of the lines in this passage is metrical, but the dactylic hexameters are frequently interrupted by *voces magicae* and brief statements in prose. Ll. 81–102, 107, 132–40, 163–66 have been combined to reconstruct Hymn 11. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 245–46. Ll. 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2) appear also at *PGM* VI. 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) and 81 also appears at *PGM* XII. 87–93. [E.N.O.]

26. For the role of laurel in magic, see L. Deubner, *Kleine Schriften zur Klassischen Altertumskunde* (Königstein: Hain, 1982) 401–3.

27. The papyrus reads *χαῖρε*, "hail," which Preisendanz understands as an abbreviation of *χαιρετισμός*, "greeting formula." See on this A. Baumstark, "Chairetismos," *RAC* 2 (1954): 993–1006. The hymn that follows is written in hexameters, although toward the end of the passage the meter falters. The hymnic section that begins in l. 101, "I call upon you . . . ," may be in prose; however, cf. *PGM* IV. 261ff., where *σέ* is used repeatedly as the first word of a hexameter and where *καλ(έ)ω* follows *σέ* three times.

28. *διιπετές* properly means "fallen from Zeus or heaven," referring to water, but the term is widely used to mean simply "divine." Here some of the original meaning seems appropriate. See Bauer, s.v. "*διοπετής*;" Betz, *Lukian* 168 n. 2.

With golden reins, coursing a golden path,
And you who watch, encircle, hear all men.
For you day's flames that bring the light give birth
To Dawn, and as you pass the midmost pole,
Behind you rosy-ankled Sunrise goes
Back to her home in grief; in front, Sunset
Meets you and leads your team of fire-fed steeds /
Down into Ocean; Night darts down in flight
From heav'n, whene'er she hears the crack of whip
That strikes with force around the horses' flanks,
AAAAAAA EEEEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ IIIIIII OOOOOOO YYYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ;
O scepter-bearing leader of the Muses,
Giver of life, come now to me, come quickly
To earth, Ieios, hair wreathed with ivy.
And, Phoibos, with ambrosian mouth give voice
To song. Hail, fire's guard, / ARARACHCHARA
ĒPHTHISIKĒRE, and hail, Moirai three,
Klotho and Atropos and Lachis[29] too.
I call you,[30] who are great in heav'n, airlike,
Supreme ruler, you whom all nature serves
Who dwell throughout the whole inhabited world,
you [whose] bodyguard is the sixteen giants, you who are seated upon the lotus and who light up the whole inhabited world;[31] you who have designated the various living things upon the earth, you who have the sacred bird / upon your robe[32] in the eastern parts of the Red Sea, even as you have upon the northern parts the figure of an infant child seated upon a lotus, O rising one, O you of many names, SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS; on the southern parts you have the shape of the sacred falcon, through which you send fiery heat into the air, which becomes LERTHEXANAX; / in the parts toward the west you have the shape of a crocodile, with the tail of a snake, from which you send out rains and snows; in the parts toward the east you have [the form of] a winged dragon, a diadem fashioned of air, with which you quell all discords beneath the heaven and on earth, for you have manifested yourself as god in truth, IŌ IŌ ERBĒTH / ZAS[33] SABAŌTH SMARTH ADŌNAI SOUMARTA IALOU BABLA YAM MOLĒENTHIŌ PETOTOUBIĒTH IARMIŌTH LAILAMPS CHŌOUCH[34] ARSENOPHRĒ EU PHTHA ĒŌLI. Hear me, O greatest god, Kommes, who lights up the day, NATHMAMEŌTH; you who rise as an infant,[35] / MAIRACHACHTHA; you who traverse the pole, THARCHACHACHAU: you who unite with yourself and endow

29. Lachis is probably metrical for Lachesis.

30. The following is an Egyptian section in contrast to the preceding Greek hymn. Ll. 102 and 106–7 contain an invocation of the sun god as a child sitting upon the lotus, enlightening the world. See S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

31. For the transformations of the sun god hour by hour, see *PGM* III. 500ff.; IV. 1596ff., and on the whole subject H. Brugsch, "Die Kapitel der Verwandlungen," *ZÄS* 5 (1867): 21–26. [R.K.R.]

32. Cf. Apuleius' description of the *Olympiaca stola* in *Met.* 11. 24, and Griffith's commentary, *The Isis-Book* 308–14. The bird may be the phoenix, for which cf. *PGM* XII. 231; XIII. 881. See on the Phoenix myth the chapter in M. Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques: Adam, Éros et les animaux d'Égypte dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II, 5)* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1974) 231–62.

33. Zas is an old name for Zeus. See also *PGM* XIXa. 44; *Orph. Frag.* no. 145 (p. 189); cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas* 130 n. 1.

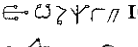
34. CHŌOYCH is equivalent to Egyptian *kky*, "darkness." [R.K.R.]

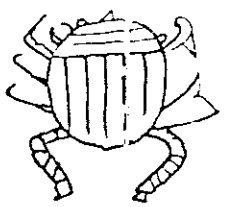
35. See on this point *PGM* II. 102 and n.

yourself with power, giver of increase and illuminator[36] of many things, SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS of waters, most powerful god, Kommes, Kommes IASPHĒ[37] IASPHĒ BIBIOU BIBIOU NOUSI NOUSI SIETHŌN / SIETHŌN ARSAMŌSI ARSAMŌSI NOUCHA NOUCHA Ē ĒI OMBRI THAM BRITHIAŌTH ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLERTHEXANAXETHRELUOŌTHNEMAREBA, the most great and mighty god. I am he, NN, who have presented myself to you, and you have given me as a gift the knowledge of your most great name, of which the number is 9,999: IĒ IE IA IAĒ IAE IEY IĒA IŌA IEY / IĒI ĒIA EA EĒ ĒE ŌĒ ĒŌ EĒE EEĒ ĒEE AAŌ ŌEA EAŌ ŌI ŌE ĒŌ EĒ EAE III OOO YYY ŌŌŌ IY EY OY ĒEA IĒEA EAE EIA IAIE IĒA IOY IŌE IOY IĒ IĒ IĒ IĒIE; Paian,[38] Phoibos of Kolophon, Phoibos of Parnassos, Phoibos of Kastalia; IĒEA IĒ IŌ IY / IE IŌA IĒA EYA ŌEA EYĒA ŌEYA EYŌA EYIE EYIAE EYE EYĒ EYIE EYŌ IEYAE EYĒAE, I will hymn Phoibos Mentor . . . AREŌTH IAEŌTH IŌA IŌĒA AE OŌE AĒŌ ŌĒA ĒŌA AĒE IE IŌ IŌ IŌ IEA IAĒ IEOY EOYŌ AA AĒŌ EE EĒY ĒĒ EĒA CHABRACH PHLIESKĒR PHIKRO PHINYRŌ PHŌCHŌBŌCH;[39] I summon you, Apollo of Klaros, / EĒY; Kastalian One, AĒA; Pythian, ŌAE; Apollo of the Muses, IEŌŌEI."

Preparation for the rite: On the first day, [collect] nails of a sheep; on the second, the nails of a goat; on the third, the hair or knucklebone of a wolf. Use these as burnt offerings for the next 3 days. On the seventh day, in case he does not yet come, / make a lampwick out of a piece of cloth taken from one who has died violently, and light a lamp from pure oil, and recite the prescribed formulas, beseeching and exhorting the god to come with good will; let your place be cleansed of all pollution, and having purified it, begin in purity the supplication to the god, for it is very great and irresistible.

/ ***Rite***: Take mud and purify the doorposts of your bedchamber, in which you are observing ritual purity, and having thus smeared on the mud, write the following inscription with a bronze stylus on the right-hand doorpost.[40]

What is to be written is as follows: "  ARSAMŌSI NOUCHA NOUCHA  ĒI ĒI IA IA IE ĒY / ABRASAX LERTHEMINŌTH." Similarly on the left-hand doorpost: "  IŌE ĒŌA ĒIEA IAIA IE IAIĒEA HARPON KNOUPHI" (formula).[41]



On the upper part of the door: "  AA EE MICHAĒL ĒIA EYŌ YAE EYŌ IAE." Below the door, [inscribe] the scarab, as it stands / here,[42] having anointed it with the blood of a goat, outside your bedchamber. Let the throne be purified, and upon it a linen cloth, and beneath it a footstool. Inscribe on the throne, on the underside: "IĒ IEA IOAY DAMNAMENEUS ABRAĒ ABRAŌ ABRAŌA; lord of the

36. The papyrus reads πολυφωτιστα (cf. LSJ, s.v. πολυφωτίστης), a reasonably well-formed word only attested here. However, in view of the genitive ὑδάτων following the *vox magica*, which seems to need a governing noun, Preisendanz emends to πολύφω⟨τε κ⟩τίστα.

37. For similar formulas see *PGM* V. 485; XII. 80; XIII. 805ff.; XXI. 25. The formula beginning "ABERAMEN . . . " (see Glossary) should be read in Preisendanz's text as a long palindrome.

38. The following text has many epithets of the god Apollo. Cf. *PGM* II. 139–40; III. 251; VI. 24–25. See I. 263 and n.

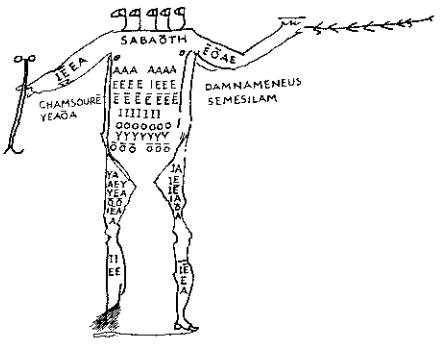
39. The spacing of this formula has been changed to conform to the spacing of the same formula found elsewhere in the *PGM* (see I. 141–42; III. 77–78, 151–52, etc.).

40. For the ritual concerning the doorposts cf. the Jewish *mezuzah*, for which see Ex 12:7, 22–23; Dt 6:4–9; 11:13–21. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 152; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* II, 479–80 (with additional references).

41. For the whole formula, see *PGM* I. 27.

42. The papyrus has ωσπερισχει, which Preisendanz emends to read ὡς περιέχει, but the meaning is not clear.

Muses, / be gracious to me, your suppliant, and be benevolent and merciful; appear to me with pure countenance."



This figure is to be / inscribed on a piece of clothing belonging to one who has died violently, and is to be cast into a pure lamp.

SENSENGEN BARPHARANGĒS / ŌĒIA IŌAE

After you have learned all you want, you will release him, doing honor to him in a worthy manner. Sprinkle dove's blood round about, make a burnt offering of myrrh, and say, "Depart, lord, CHORMOU CHORMOU OZOAMOROIRŌCH KIMNOIE EPOZOI EPOIMAZOU / SARBOENDOBAIACHCHA IZOMNEI PROSPOI EPIOR; go off, lord, to your seats, to your palace, leaving me strength and the right of audience with you."

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 81–87; 88–101).

PGM III. 1–164

* [Take a] cat, and [make] it into an *Esiēs* [by submerging] its body in water. While you are drowning it, speak [the formula] to [its] back.

The formula during the drowning [is as follows]:

"Come hither to me, you who are in control of the form of Helios, you the cat- / faced god,[1] and behold your form being mistreated by [your] opponents,[2] [them,] NN, so that you may revenge yourself upon them, and accomplish [the] NN deed, because I am calling upon you, O sacred spirit. Take on / strength and vigor against your enemies, them, NN, because I am conjuring you by your names, BARBATHIAŌ BAINCHŌŌŌCH NIABŌAITHABRAB[3] SESENGENBARPHARARGĒS . . . PHREIMI; raise yourself up for me, O cat-faced god, and perform the NN deed" (add the usual).

/ Take the cat, and make [three] lamellae, one for its anus,[4] one for . . . , and one for its throat; and write the formula [concerning the] deed on a clean[5] sheet of

1. The goddess addressed here is Sekhmet-Bastet, well known from Egyptian magical texts. See Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, nos. 5, 13–15, 18, 20, 124; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* 264–67; E. Otto, "Bastet," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 628–30.

2. For this type of accusation, see *PGM* III. 113–14; IV. 2475 and n.

3. The letters BARBATHIAŌBAINCHŌŌŌCHNIABŌAITHABRAB form a palindrome. BAINCHŌŌŌCH ("soul of Khukh," the god of darkness) is often read separately, but is adapted to this form for numerological reasons: the formula adds up to 3663.

4. That is, "one [to be placed] *in* its anus." Preisendanz in the second case restores *ἐν τ[ῷ στόμα]τι*, but this is in conflict with the other restoration in l. 67 below: [. . . *διὰ τ*]*ῶν καμ*[*αρῶν*], "through the carholes."

5. "Clean" is meant regularly in *PGM* in a descriptive sense, i.e., previously unused or "free" from imperfections, etc. See LSJ, s.v. "*καθαρός*," 3a. For detailed description regarding papyrus, see Pliny, *NH* 13. 68–89, and R. Wünsch, "Charta," *PRE* 3 (1899): 2185–92.

papyrus, with cinnabar [ink], and [then the names of] the chariots and charioteers, and the chariot boards / and the racehorses.[6] Wind this around the body of the cat and bury it. Light seven lamps upon [7] unbaked bricks, and make an offering, fumigating storax gum to it, and be of good cheer.[7] / Take its body [and preserve] it by immuring it either in a tomb or in a burial place . . . with colors, . . . bury . . . looking toward the sunrise, pour out (?) . . . , saying:

"Angel, . . . [SĒMEA], chthonic / . . . lord[8] (?), grant [safety?], . . . O chthonic one, in [the] horse race, IAKTŌRĒ;[9] hold . . . restrain . . . , PHŌKENSEPSEUARE[KTATHOUMISONKTAI],[10] for me, the spirit . . . the daimon of [the] place . . . / and may the [NN deed] come about for me immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, because I conjure you, at this place and at this time, by the implacable god . . . THACHŌCHA EIN CHOUCHEŌCH, and by the great chthonic god, / ARIŌR EUŌR, and by the names that apply to you; perform the NN deed" (add the usual).

Then take up the water in which the drowning took place, and sprinkle it [on] the stadium or in the place where you are performing [the rite].

The formula to be spoken, while you are sprinkling the drowning water, is as follows: "I call upon you, Mother of all men, / you who have brought together the limbs of Meliouchos, even Meliouchos himself, OROBASTRIA NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH, Entrapper,[11] Mistress of corpses,[12] Hermes, Hekate, [Hermes?], Hermekate,[13] LETH AMOUMAMOUTERMYŌR;[14] I conjure you, the daimon that has been aroused in this place, / and you, the daimon of the cat that has been endowed with spirit;[15] come to me on this very day and from this very moment, and perform for me the NN deed" (add the usual, whatever you wish), "CHYCHBACHYCH BACHACHYCH BACHAXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH BAIACHACHYCH BAZĒTŌPHŌTH / BAINCHŌŌŌCH ANIBŌŌŌ CHŌCHE . . . PHIŌCHEN GĒBRŌCHTHŌ MYSAGAŌTH CHEŌŌ . . . Ō[16] SABAŌTH EULAMOSI ĒĒLAXIMA . . . [. . . THACHŌCH]AXIN CHOUCHEŌCH."

On the [1st and 3rd leaves of metal] which you are to use for the conjuration, there should be this: "IAEŌ" /

6. *μονάτωρ* is a late word for *μονάμπυξ*, "horse with a single frontlet," i.e., a racehorse. Presumably one drew crude representations of them, along with their names, on a sheet of papyrus. Cf. such figures on the so-called Scythian curse tablets in R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899), esp. 51.

7. Cf. *PGM* IV. 2390 for a similar injunction to perform a rite with good cheer. See also Plutarch, *De tranq. an.* 20, p. 477E, and R. Bultmann, *TDNT* 2 (1976): 772–75 s.v. "*εὐφραίνω*."

8. The papyrus reads . . . *ρνε*. Eitrem suggests *τύραννε*.

9. It is not clear whether *iaktore* is a magical word or something sensible. Preisendanz suggests *ακτωρε* as a Greek equivalent of Latin *actores*, "drivers," but in that case the syntax is unclear.

10. Emended and restored with plausibility from *PGM* III. 78–79, 513–14, 545–46; IV. 339–40; LXVII. 13.

11. Although attested in LSJ, s.v. "*ἀρκυία*," as an epithet of the goddess Hekate with uncertain meaning (with reference to Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 14 [third cent. A.D.]), "the netter" is a standard Egyptian underworld daimon. See D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1976); J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden: Brill, 1960) 226–34. [R.K.R.]

12. The term *νεκυία* is also attested in this sense only in *PGM* IV. 2781, but necessarily having some such meaning.

13. The name Hermekate is a combination of Hermes and Hekate. See Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae*, nos. 104–7. Here in the papyrus the name could also be read Hermekatēlēth, that is, with the typical ending *-ēth*; thus Eitrem in the apparatus to III. 37.

14. AMOY at the beginning is Coptic for "come!" [R.K.R.]

15. *πνευματωτός* is a form not otherwise attested; cf. *PGM* XIII. 525: *ἐμπνευματώθη*.

16. A plausible restoration is IAŌ in that IAŌ and SABAŌTH form a common pairing in the *PGM*.

60 [AEŌ]BAPHRENEMOUNOTH[ILARIKRIPHTHNAI]-
YIANTHPHIRKIRALITH[ONYOMENER]-
PHABŌEA.

[ABLAN]ATHANALBA
[ABLAN]ATHANALBA.[17]

65 / ***On [the 2nd] metal leaf, that is to be put [through the earholes],***[18] ***there should be this***: "TREBA ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLERAEXANAXETHRELTHYOŌETHNEMA-
70 REBA" / (in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes).

Right skeletal figure: [Left skeletal figure]:





"IŌ ERBĒTH
IŌ PAKERBĒTH
IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH
IŌ APOMPS
75 IŌ PATATHNAX
IŌ AKOUBIA
IŌ SĒTH
PHŌKENSEPSEU-
AREKTATHOUMISAKTAI,
80 Perform the NN deed" (add the usual, whatever you wish).

"I conjure you, the powerful and mighty angel of this animal in this place; rouse yourself for me, and perform the NN [deed] both on this very day and in every hour and day; rouse yourself / for me against my enemies, NN, and perform NN deed" (add the usual), "for I conjure you by IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX, and by the great god, IAEŌ" (formula), "AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA CHABRAX PHNESKĒR PHIKO PHNYRO PHŌCHŌ BŌCH / ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS MITHRA NAMAZAR ANAMARIA DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌ[NIE][19] THORTOEI, holy king, the sailor, [who steers]

17. After the second ABLANATHANALBA there appears an isolated "K" followed by a lacuna of uncertain size. The papyrus either reads *και*, "and," or *κοινά*, "add the usual." For obvious reasons, it has been left untranslated.

18. See above, l. 16 and n.

19. This formula, repeated below l. 100, may well be garbled Greek for *Damnameneu, Zeu chthonie*, identifying Helios-Mithras with Hades. [J.M.D.]

the tiller of the lord god,[20] rouse [yourself] for me, great cat-faced one, steerer of the tiller [of God], perform the NN deed (add the usual), from this very day, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Perform for me the NN deed (add the usual, as much as you wish), powerful Seth-Typhon,[21] and act lawlessly through your strength and overturn the NN deed in this place . . . [in this very hour?], as I command your image, / for I conjure you, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ (formula). Perform for me this, the NN deed, by virtue of your visage, cat-faced spirit; perform for me the NN deed (add the usual), and what is written hereafter" (add your additional requests).[22] Proceed toward the sunset[23] and, / taking the right-hand and left-hand whiskers of the cat as a phylactery, complete the rite by saying this formula to Helios.

Formula: "Halt, halt the sacred boat,[24] steersman of the sacred boat! Even you, Meliouchos, / I will bind to your moorings, until I hold converse with sacred Helios. Yea, greatest Mithra, NAMAZAR ANAMARIA DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌNIE THONTOEI, holy king, the sailor, he who controls the tiller of the lord god,[25] THONTOEI KATHEN KAI MENŌPHRIS[26] . . . KMEBAU KERKERYMI, before / [you attain to] the southwest of the heaven, before [you reach nightfall?] in flight from the outrages committed against you. Hearken to me as I pray to you, that you may perform the NN [deed], because I invoke you by your names BARBARATHAM CHELOUBRAM / BAROUCH[AMBRA] SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS AMPHI MIOURI . . . MIN. Perform the NN deed" (add the usual, whatever you wish), "for it is those same people who have mistreated[27] your holy image, they who have mistreated [the holy] boat, / wherefore for me . . . , that you may return upon them the NN deed (add the usual). Because I call upon you, IŌ ERBĒTH [IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ PATATHNAX IŌ AKOUBIA IŌ ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLERTHEXANAXETHRELTHYOŌTHNEMAREBA. Perform the NN deed (add the usual), I conjure you in the Hebrew tongue[28] / and by virtue of the Necessity of the Necessitators,[29] MASKELLI MASKELLŌ. Accomplish this for me and destroy and ravage in the coming dawn, and let the NN deed befall them" (add the usual, whatever you wish), "immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Pleasant be your setting!"

When you have come to the place / in which you are performing the rite, then, taking hold of the long whiskers of the cat, both the right-hand and the left-hand, as a phylactery, go through the whole of this formula to Helios at his rising.

Formula: "Hither to me, O greatest in heaven, for whom the heaven has come into being as a dancing place, / SATIS[30] PEPHŌOUTH HŌRA, OITCHOU; of necessity

20. A reference to the solar bark of Re. See *PGM* III. 98–105. [R.K.R.]

21. Seth plays here the role of the defender of the bark of Re. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 99–108. [R.K.R.]

22. Or, "for other uses." Cf. the list of uses at *PGM* XIII. 230–333.

23. A reference to a place from where the sunset can be viewed.

24. For the halting of the solar bark, cf. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 6.5 and B. Ebbell, *Papyrus Ebers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937) 70–71. [R.K.R.]

25. Cf. *PGM* III. 81 and n.

26. Egyptian *mn-nfr*, "established and beautiful," an epithet of Memphis. [J.B.]

27. For this type of accusation see *PGM* III. 5; IV. 2475 and n.

28. Probably the meaning is "by the Hebrew sound" and refers to the vowel combinations with IAŌ. [J.B.] See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 128–37; O. Eissfeld, "Jahwe-Name und Zauberwesen," in his *Kleine Schriften* 1 (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1962) 150–71. On the use of "barbaric language" (*ῥῆσις βαρβαρική*) generally, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sections 706–69; Betz, *Lukian* 153–54.

29. This peculiar expression is found also in *PGM* IV. 262; cf. VII. 302–4; XXXVI. 342–49 and perhaps IV. 1456; XIII. 291; XIXa. 11.

30. Probably referring to the Egyptian goddess Satis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 670–71, s.v. "Satis."

perform for me the NN deed, EĪ LAANCHYCH AKARBĒN LAAR MENTHRĒ SENE-
135 BECHYCH, you who love prophecy, golden-visaged,[31] gold-gleaming, / shining with fire in the night, valiant, valiant ruler of the world, who shine out early in the day, who set in the west[32] of heaven, who rise up from the east, SL . . . IX,[33] circle-
140 shaped, who run until midday and linger in Arabia, MOURŌPHO[34] / EMPHE . . . IR, the messenger of the holy light, the fiery circle, PERTAŌMĒCH PERAKŌNCHMĒCH PERAKOMPHTHŌAK KMĒPH,[35] the brilliant Sun, who shine throughout the whole inhabited world, who ride upon the ocean, PSOEI Ō PSOEI Ō PNOUTE NENTĒR
145 TĒROU;[36] / I adjure you by the Egg.[37] I am Adam the forefather; my name is Adam. Perform for me the NN deed, because I conjure you by the god IAŌ, by the god ABAŌTH, by the god ADŌNAI, by the god MICHAĒL, by the god SOURIĒL, by the
150 god GABRIĒL, by the god RAPHAĒL, / by the god ABRASAX ABLATHANALBA AKRAMMACHARI, by the lord god, IAIŌL, by the god lord CHABRA(CH)[38] PHNESKĒR PHICHRO PHNYRO PHŌCHŌBŌCH AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA; you who light up the day,
155 NETHMOMAŌ; the child, / the riser, OROKOTOTHRO, augmenter of fire and of much light, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. Come to me, hearken [to me], most just one of all, steward of truth, establisher of justice; I am he whom you met and granted
160 knowledge and holy utterance of your greatest name, by which you control / the whole inhabited world; perform for me the NN deed" [(add the usual)].

This is the ritual of the cat, [suitable] for every ritual purpose: ***A charm to restrain charioteers in a race***, ***a charm for sending dreams***, ***a binding love charm***, and ***a charm to cause separation and enmity***.

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This elaborate spell, a charm suitable for a number of purposes (all of which are forms of malicious magic), is set forth with special reference to its use in chariot races; it is understood, however, that the additional functions, as stated at the end of the spell, also prove useful to the practitioner, provided that he supply in the required places the appropriate requests.

PGM III. 165–86

165 *Take [some] water cress,[39] 4 fingers in length, and make from it . . . and of the plant bugloss . . . construct . . . a strip of papyrus, and in the middle of the papyrus
170 strip . . . throw it away, saying the / names: "AN . . . SAŌ IBR . . . EISIRO . . . OUSIREN [TECHTHA[40] . . .]L, I conjure you, lord gods, . . . do not, therefore, dis-

31. Neither φιλομαντοσύνος nor χρυσοπρόσωπος is attested elsewhere, according to LSJ.

32. Reading λιβυβόρῳ, a compound found nowhere else; it probably means "west."

33. It is not clear whether this damaged word is a *vox magica* or a Greek word.

34. Mourōph is a name of the hour god in *PGM* IV. 1690 (the god of the eleventh hour, having the form of an ibis).

35. Forms of this *logos* occur in *PGM* IV. 1010; XII. 190; XIII. 780, 820. The final name Kmēph is an epithet of Osiris and is the equivalent of the Egyptian *ḫmʿf*, "his shrine." Cf. SATRAPERKMĒPH in *PGM* XII. 185; XIII. 915.

36. The phrase is equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 šy ʿ3 p3 šy ʿ3 p3 ntr n3 ntr. w tr. w*, "Good Daimon, Good Daimon, O god of all the gods!" PSOEIŌ should be the usual PSAIAS. [R.K.R.]

37. For the sun as an egg, cf. *PGM* XII. 100–106. On the cosmic egg, see J. Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Isis-Ei* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1970) 73–102; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 177–79. [R.K.R.]

38. This formula has been misread and is here emended on the basis of *PGM* I. 141–42; II. 138–39; III. 77–78. Preisendanz has LABRA at the beginning. The lambda has been misread for a chi.

39. The papyrus has [.]α[.] δαμινον, which Preisendanz restores to read [κ]α[ρ] δάμινον, an unattested adjectival form of *κάρδαμον*, "nose-smart" (thus LSJ, s.v.; a mustardlike plant). However, Schmidt, *GGA* 1931, 450 suggests [β]α[λ] *σάμινον*, "balsam wood." Cf. *PGM* XII. 364.

40. A variant of the name OSIRCHENTECHTHA. See also *PGM* VII. 257. The name corresponds to Egyptian *Osiris-khenty-khet*, a combination of Osiris and Khenty-khet, the local god of Athribis, who in the text is joined together with Osiris, Horus, and Apis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 131–33, s.v. "Chentechtai." [R.K.R.]

regard me; speak to me [clearly about] everything, accomplish everything . . . of / my prayer [and . . .] if god will, of this prayer [on the strip of papyrus] and of the important matter of mine."

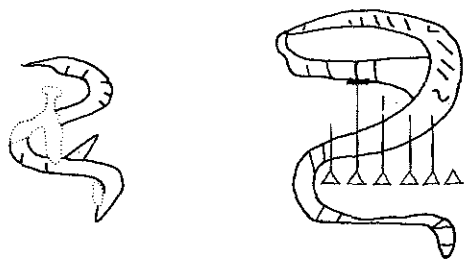
And you must make an offering in . . . [write] this [on a piece of priestly papyrus] with myrrh ink: . . . / [*ouroboros*][41] serpent . . . "ŌTE . . . IAM . . . GRASŌCHŌ . . . NŌPSITHER THERNŌPSI . . ."

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This fragmentary portion of *PGM* III begins another untitled spell which probably ends at line 186, since line 187 begins a new column (col. VIII) in the papyrus manuscript. Although the exact purpose of this short spell cannot be determined, its function may be similar to that of the spell to follow, viz., an oracular request.

PGM III. 187–262

*Pound up dry fruit (?)[42] with a pestle (?)[43] and mix it to sufficiency with honey and [oil of] a date palm. Grind up a magnet. Boil all together and pulverize it. Make little rounds, as many as you wish, / but put an ounce of each element of the mixture into each of these, and proceed thus, singing a hymn of praise to the god. Then the deity will come to you, shaking the whole house and the tripod[44] before him. Then he will bring about[45] your enquiry into the future, being clear in his intercourse with you,[46] as long as you wish, / and then dismiss the god with thanks.

The drawing of the tripod:



This is the prayer of encounter of the rite which is recited to Helios:[47]

"Keep silent, everyone, the voice that's in
Your mouths; O circling birds of air, keep quiet; /
Cease frolicking, you dolphins, o'er the brine.
Stand for me, river streams and fountain [flows].

41. Supplying [*οὐροβ*]*ορος* in the lacuna. [R.D.K.]

42. *τὰ ξυρά*. Preisendanz translates on the basis of a gloss in Hesychius, *ξυρόν*, "cutting, dry, sharp." But perhaps we are to understand simply *ξύλα*, "pieces of wood," assuming a confusion of lambda and rho. The definite article, however, suggests the pieces of wood were previously mentioned, in which case this spell would be connected to the preceding (cf. l. 165).

43. The papyrus has *σχομπανου*, a word otherwise unattested and meaningless. Preisendanz emends to *κομπανου*, "strawberry tree," a rather radical change. Perhaps we should read *κοπάνου*, "pestle," the sigma being an error, and the mu intrusive, as it often is with pi. This, however, would have to be a genitive used instrumentally, which is troublesome.

44. This tripod has not been mentioned before, but it is obviously central to the ceremony (cf. ll. 291–96 below). Perhaps we can assume the tripod is a part of the magician's basic equipment (see *PGM* IV. 1890–91; 1897; V. 200–201; XIII. 104, 661, etc.).

45. Reading future *τελεῖ* instead of imperative *τέλει*. The phrase that follows (*τρανὴς τῇ ὁμι*[λ]*ίᾳ*) seems to make better sense if it refers to the god. Cf. *PGM* II. 83–84, where *ὁμιλῶν* is used of the god consorting with the magician.

46. On Apollo's epiphany cf. Callimachus, *Hy.* 2.1–2. [W.B.]

47. The following dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 5. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42. [E.N.O.]

Now, birds of augury, stop everything
Beneath the sky. Snakes in your dens, attend
The cry and be afraid. May you in awe
[Keep] silence, daimons 'mid the shades. / The world
Itself's astonished by the secret words.
King Semea,[48] [father] of the world, be gracious
To me, O scarab; [I call you] immortal,
Golden-haired god, O scarab, marvel great
To ev'ry god and man, [be gracious, lord,
Who hold the fiery vapor in your power], /
Lord of the [sunrise], risen fiery,
Titan, I call [you], flaming messenger
Of Zeus, divine IAŌ; and you, too,
Who rule in heaven's realm, O [RAPHAĒL],
Who joy in sunrise, be a gracious god,
O ABRASAX; and you, O greatest one,
O heav'nly one, I call, and [you, MICHAĒL], your helper,[49] /
Who saves [his people's lives], the perfect eye
Of Zeus, and who has both exalted[50] nature
And brought forth nature in its turn from nature.
And I call . . . of the immortals . . .
OPASĒĒPA SESE[NGENB]ARPHARAGGĒS:
All-mighty is the god, but you are[51] greatest,
Immortal one; I beg you, shine forth now,
Lord of the world, SABAŌTH, / who veil[52] sunset
From dawn, ADŌNAI, who, being a world,
Alone among immortals tour the world, self-taught,
Untutored, through the world's midst traveling
To those who with a cry raise you at night.[53]
AKRAMMACH[ARI], KA . . . K . . .
Who joy in laurel offering, / in gates
Of untamed Styx and Death the Arbiter.

48. The name Semea also appears at *PGM* III. 29, where it is fem., and at V. 429; *PDM* xiv. 214 among the *voces magicae*. Despite the designation "King" here, Semea elsewhere is a Syrian goddess whose name appears in various forms on numerous votive inscriptions. She is identified with several deities, e.g., Astarte, Athena, Hera. Semea does not appear in Greco-Roman literary writings except perhaps in Ps.-Lucian, *De Syr. Dea* 33 (yet the text is uncertain), where it is suggested she is Semiramis. There is also a Syrian god Seimios. See O. Höfer, in Roscher IV, 601; R. Dussaud, "Simea und Simios," *PRE*, second series 5 (1927): 137–40; W. Fauth, "Simia," *KP* 5 (1979): 200. [E.N.O.]

49. The papyrus reads ἀ[ρ]ωγόν σου Μ[ιχαὴλ], which is unmetrical. Heitsch would excise ἀρωγόν σου; Preisendanz would excise μέγιστε at the beginning of the line, and write Μιχαὴλ σοὺ ἀρωγόν, which would restore the meter. "Michael" is a restoration, but a probable one; cf. *PGM* I. 301.

50. ἀέξοντα, the emendation of Wünsch, is preferable to δείξαντα for two reasons: (1) it corrects the meter and (2) it restores the proper sense, for whatever is written must govern φύσιν in both clauses. In any case, ἀέξοντα must be taken as a zeugma. [E.N.O.]

51. Fahz reads ἐσσι in lieu of ἐστι, "you are almighty god."

52. ἐπισκεπάζω is properly "to cover over," hence "veil." It may, however, be a solecism for ἐπισκέπτομαι, "look upon," the sense required here (cf. Preisendanz: "beschaut"). Cf. *PGM* I. 303, ἐπισκοπιάζεις, which is at least metrical, though the verb is not elsewhere attested. [E.N.O.]

53. The readings of the papyrus are quite uncertain here. See the restoration by Heitsch in Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42 (Hymn 5).

You I adjure, god's seal,[54] at whom all deathless
Gods of Olympos quake and daimons who
Stand forth preeminent, for whom the sea
Is ordered to be silent when it hears.[55]
You I adjure by mighty god Apollo. /
ΑΕΕΙΟΥΩ."

Also say this: "Send me the daimon who will give responses to me about everything which I order him to speak about." And he will bring this about.

This is also [another] hymn:[56]

"I[57] sing of you, O blessed one, O healer,
Giver of oracles, / O all-wise one,
O Delian [lord and Python-]slaying[58] [youth],
Dodona's [king, foretell,] O Pythian Paian;
I call you, [god who rule the tuneful lyre],
Which you [alone] of gods [do hold and strike]
[With sturdy hands] . . . [lord of the silver bow],
[O well]-named Phoibos . . .
. . . . . .
/ . . . ruler absolute . . .
Who roam the wooded peaks [of Mount Parnassos],
Be silent, do not now unstring . . .
O myrrh tree . . . / Lykian god,
Cease grow . . .
A greater light, for he will learn . . .
From lips divine, someone . . . to arouse
The seer with plectrum[59] . . .
But come you hither, prophesying; come,
Come hither, prophet, who bring joy, O Smintheus,
Give your response and / hearken, Pythian Paian;
Undying shoot, hail, Delphic maiden, Daphne,
For to you first did Phoibos strike up songs
In contest with the Muses; Daphne, you
Shake bough and urge on Phoibos. Then in hymns
They praise your tunefulness from holy Delphi.
O maiden who exult in tones divine
And oracles / . . . heaven's runner,[60] light bearer,
Earth shaker: gracious and obedient,

54. O, "I adjure you [by] the god's seal." See *PGM* I. 306 and n.

55. In Hymn 5, Preisendanz concludes with *ἀκούει*, but the following words seem part of the hymn for two reasons: (1) they are almost metrically sound, and (2) they seem to have a poetic sense. [E.N.O.]

56. This hymn is extremely fragmentary in the papyrus. Here the suggested restoration by Heitsch is followed. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 247 (Hymn 12). [E.N.O.]

57. This passage contains what appears to be dactylic hexameters, many of which are fragmentary while others are completely missing. [E.N.O.]

58. The papyrus has *]ωλετοκτυπε*, which Preisendanz (vol. II, p. 247 [Hymn 12]) restores as [*Πυθ*]*ολετοκτύπε*. This, if correct, would be a unique epithet, a combination of two attested epithets: *Πυθοκτόνος*, "Python slayer," and *Πυθολέτης*, "Python destroyer."

59. On the instrument called *πλῆκτρον*, cf. Plutarch, *De def. or.* 436E; Clement Alex., *Protr.* 1. 5. 3. [W.B.]

60. Read *οὐρ(αν)οδρόμε* for papyrus *ουροδρομε*, which is meaningless. For this epithet see l. 258 and LSJ, s.v.

Come to your prophet, but come now in haste,
O you who run through the air, O Pythian Paian."

Dismissal: ["Hasten], O air-traversing Pythian Paian; return to your heavens, / leaving to me health together with all gratitude, benevolent and ready to hearken, a sure breastplate (?), and depart to your own heavens, and [dwell there.]"

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 198–230; 234–58).

PGM III. 263–75

***Foreknowledge charm**: Take your finger and place it under your [tongue][61] before you speak to anyone.[62] Say these things along with the [great name]: / "make me know in advance the things in each person's mind, today, [because] I am TOM . . . IAŌ SABAŌTH IAŌ THĒAĒĒTH . . . M ADOUNAI BATHIAŌ . . . EA THŌĒ IABRABA ARBATHRAS[IAŌ] BATHIAŌŌIA ZAGOURĒ BARBATHIAŌ AĒI AAAAAAA EEEEEEE . . . ŌE . . . SOESĒSISIETH . . . SABAŌTH IAEŌ" (formula). If you wish, you will know [all things in advance], . . . if you have [your finger] / under your tongue, according to [the command, and if you say] this formula to Helios.

And the formula is: "Lord, if you [wish me to know in advance], let the falcon [descend] onto the tree." If it does not happen, also speak this formula to the four winds while you turn around [toward] the wind.[63] Whenever you say the formula, also say to Helios the great name . . . and the great name . . . : AŌTH / SABAŌTH. The formula [is as] above.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 275–81

*[**Horoscope**]:[64] Moon in [. . . or] Virgo: anything is obtainable, perform bowl divination, as you wish; in [Cancer]: perform the spell of reconciliation, air divination . . . ; in Gemini: perform spells of binding, . . . ; [in] Libra: perform invocation . . . spell of release . . . necromancy; in Pisces . . . OIŌ or love charm; in Sagittarius: conduct business / . . . ; [in] Capricorn: do what is appropriate; in . . . .

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM III. 282–409

*. . . words not to be spoken . . . beyond measure. . . .

Rite that brings foreknowledge, [which has] complete power and makes [all the passions] / subservient:[65] In the deep . . . of a river [or in] a tomb . . . after descending, throw into . . . [the] passion stops, and you will learn whatever you wish.

[But speak thus:] "Continue without deception, lord, the vision of every act, in accordance with the command of the holy spirit, the [angel][66] of Phoibos, you yourself being pliable because of these / songs and psalms."

The preparation for the operation: For a direct vision, set up a tripod and a table of olive wood or of laurel wood, and on the table carve in a circle these characters:[67]

61. For another example of placing something under the tongue, see *PGM* IV. 1745–46. Cf. also V. 253–54.

62. Cf. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 116, who translates: "(in the morning) before you speak to anyone."

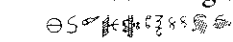
63. The formula is spoken to each of the four winds as the officiant faces them successively.

64. κύκλος is supplied by Preisendanz, who translates it "Zodiakalkreis." In the parallel passage in *PGM* VII. 284 papyrus has κύκλος Σελήνης, which Preisendanz translates "Kreislauf des Mondes."

65. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1718–19, 1721 for such a use of κλίνω.

66. The term "angel" can also be read as "messenger."

67. Among these characters a scarab is drawn.

 . Cover the tripod with clean linen, / and place a censer on the tripod. It is advantageous[68] to place on the table a [hollow figurine] of Apollo out of laurel wood. Engrave [on a lamella] of gold, of silver, or of tin these characters:  . Place the lamella under the censer, near / the wooden image, which was set up [at the same time as the] censer, and place [next to] the tripod a beaker or a shell containing [pure] water. In the center of the shrine, surrounding the tripod, inscribe on the floor with a white stylus the following character. . . . It is necessary to keep yourself pure for three days in advance. The shrine and the [tripod] must be / covered. [If] you wish [to see], look inside, wearing clean [white] garments [and crowned] with a crown of laurel,[69] which on the head . . . wormwood . . . [before the] invocation, sacrifice laurel to him . . . [during the] sacrifice / honor the [god] with paians [directed to the sunrise]. . . ask . . . [cardamom] . . . holy god . . . [almond blossom] . . . from balsam . . / . and taking . . . my thought . . / . a buttercup, after taking, taste . . . four-footed. . . .

But the formula that is recited is . . . if you wish [to know], say these things which are in the . . . god and all such prophetic . . . worm in . . . as for ten days. Mixing . . / . the heart [with] honey. [Recite] this formula toward the sunrise, [and] you will know in advance during the hour [and during this] day. [After sacrificing,] make a drink offering with dark wine . . . middle . . . say: "Make me know in advance each of the . . . from . . . and . . . toward the sunrise early / [to know] each of the men [and] to know in advance [what things] each has in his mind [and] all their essence."

Single-shooted wormwood, with a single stem, born of the sun, born of the moon[70] . . . fruit pulp of the lotus, houseleek, a turnip; [wait for] the sunrise in your house fasting. During the third hour finger . . / . [your] face, say: "[TH]ŌOU[TH] PIŌPIŌ[71] AUAPS THŌOUTH . . . ARS . . . KENON ŌOUN PACHEN NO . . . TOOU Ē . . . T ARSASŌTA YNASPOR . . . THA P . . . MNĒPHIELŌKNĒMEŌ, give to me from your effluence."

[To] the rising of the moon on the thirtieth day [say:] "Come to me, greatest archangel; come to me XASR XAM [THŌ]OUT . . . come to me, ruler / of reality, ĒMI THĒ . . . BA THŌOUTH THEŌREI . . . ENĒN PAUPIOU PSIBIOAU ABLANATHANALBA . . . AMOAMMA. Give to me, NN, memory . . . sō . . . I may know all things and I may understand the things above the. . . ."

. . . toward the sunrise MASĒS . . . saying thus: "I am [the lord] of the sea. Make all things . . . / all things [that will be, so that] I know in advance. Reveal this, the concerns of all men and what things will be . . . TŌOUT ANG[72] . . . SA . . . OUT ANG

68. Fahz and Preisendanz take *καλόν* as modifying *θυμιατήριον*, "a beautiful censer." Here *καλόν* has been taken with *ἔστιν* κτλ., and the text has been punctuated accordingly. Cf. also *PGM* IV. 2520 and Bauer, s.v. "*καλός*," 3.a.

69. The text at this point has many lacunae, and the reconstruction is uncertain. Fahz and Preisendanz take the reference to the garments and the laurel to refer to the god who is seen.

70. LSJ, s.v. *ἡλιόγονος, σεληνόγονος* translates these epithets accordingly. However, since *selēnagenon* is attested as a plant (peony) and since a plant name would be appropriate here, one should perhaps translate "peony." "Sun-born" is not attested as a plant name.

71. THŌOUTH PIŌ PIŌ (cf. also l. 340) is equivalent to Egyptian *Ḏḥwty p3 ʿ3 p3 ʿ3*, "Thoth the twice-great." Cf. *PGM* IV. 19. For this title of Thoth, see J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976) 158–60; R. K. Ritner, "Hermes Pentamegistos," *Göttinger Miszellen* 49 (1981): 73–75. [R.K.R.]

72. Following G. Möller (see the apparatus in Preisendanz ad loc.) this short section can also be read as Coptic: "[I am] Thoth; I am Sa[.]out; I am Em[..]e[.....]on; I am Alaboul[.....]lōrai; I am (?) Natreko; [.]m[.....] is your [true] name [...]." [M.W.M.]

EMĒS . . . ON ANG ALABOUL. . . ."

. . . during the tenth hour . . . A . . . N . . . N precisely . . . IE PEKREN EM . . . ONEI E . . . PO . . . NGAL . . / . just now. . . ."

. . . and at the rising . . . third . . . the upper . . . at the rising . . . "CHŌLŌM CHŌL . . . MASKELLI [MASKELLŌ] / . . . ITHĒCHTHŌ . . . lord. . . ."

. . . from the . . . at the same time . . . sun . . . and on . . . yet living . . / . anoint . . . ABLATHANALBA . . . according to the second formula . . . seventh sunrise . . . you have. / But if [you] want . . . throat of asses . . . the animal . . . tail . . . often repeating the seventh formula . . . whatever [you wish] . . . from a human head . . . [the formula], the beginning of which is: "Cause me to know, in order that . . .[73] the ear whatever . . . on earth . . . heaven, / the [beginning] . . . the hand according to . . . formula."

But if [you want] . . . and [to read] a written, sealed letter . . . the same seventh formula: "Do for me the things that are written. . . ."

To read the things that are written, take at [the rising] of the moon . . . carve . . . pieces of honeycomb. Put these in together with . . / . fresh, pleasing, happily as . . . with the things that are written, after thoroughly mixing, [with] all power daily . . . to the sun . . . say [also] the prescribed . . . and that day . . . up to half of the egg . . . put into a small drinking vessel and rub with chalk the parts of the egg, in a place[74] or in a river / where the sun . . . to animals and to humans becomes inaccessible . . . after bathing and . . . crowned with a crown of the season's flowers . . . to an altar, sacrifice on the altar and then take, [as you know,] three loaves of white bread . . . olive oil, likewise new wine . . . and milk of a [black] cow; in the finest cloaks of shieldbearers and . . . / following. Rub first . . . the half of the egg . . . the lord . . . all things . . . and the substance . . . and after saying the following formula, this the seventh, to the sun thus . . . into a holy, small drinking vessel . . . after going away and sacrificing . . . say also to the sun . . . formula or hymn giving advance knowledge . . . [single-stemmed] wormwood into . . / . saying seven times . . . Take cardamom and say the holy names . . . for all things belong to the master . . . whenever you conjure the earth by saying the seventh [formula to the] earth and all the immortal [gods].

This is the formula: "Come to me, lord . . . holy spirit. . . ."

. . . in the ninth hour . . . after this the [formula]: "I conjure those with complete power . . . and I conjure [the] earth, the heaven, [the light, and] / him who [created the universe]" . . . formula spoken of god. While saying [this] formula [to] a holy . . .[75]

". . . my name . . . / say that which . . . call . . . my name . . . my true name which . . . who makes . . / . Gabriel, Michael, PYAOUĒTE . . . NETETETET . . . the god (?) TAAIAIAIAIAIALOP . . . ĒL." Seven times you say . . . then say one time or three times.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and M. W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 399–409).

PGM III. 410–23

*Take a silver tablet and engrave it after the god[76] sets. Take cow's milk and pour

73. At the beginning of l. 369 appears what could be an isolated Coptic name, Hor-Pre; cf. Möller, in the apparatus, who suggests Harpokrates. [R.K.R.]

74. This could also be rendered "a grave." Cf. LSJ, s.v. "τόπος," 5; also l. 285 above.

75. Because of the fragmentary character of this Old Coptic section, little can be given here in translation. [M.W.M.]

it.[77] Put down a clean vessel[78] and place the tablet under [it]; add barley meal, mix and form bread: twelve rolls in the shape of female figures.[79] Say [the formula] three times, eat [the rolls] on an empty stomach, and you will know the power.

[***It is***]: "BORKA BORKA PHRIX PHRIX RIX Ō . . . ACHACH AMIXAG OUCH THIP LAI LAI LAMLAI LAI LAM MAIL AAAAAAAA IIIY ĒI AI ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ MOUMOU ŌYIŌ NAK NAK NAX LAINLIMM LAILAM AEDA . . . LAILAM / AĒO ŌAĒ ŌAĒ ĒOĀ AŌĒ ĒŌA ŌĒA, enter, master, into my mind, and grant me memory, MMM ĒĒĒ MTHPH." Do this monthly, facing the moon, on the first day [of the month]. Prostrate yourself before the goddess,[80] and wear the tablet as an amulet.



The name of the soul of god is: "EIKIZITELITHDE then PHYSOUSKAZĒTTHZ blood." Write these things with a copper stylus: "I am KŌOU BŌOU PČŌSM . . . HOUIT[81] . . . APRIĒFMLNIĒF . . . MANIŌĒSE NMANIĒFIHTENOHĒIT RENIRE RENIM E GEINNA[82] EOI . . . EFREF / NGŌOU DNI IĒSOUS PNETO."[83] Speak into your hand seven times in front of the sun, stroke your face, spit, move your thumb from your nose up to your forehead. Facing the sun, speak seven times into your hand, spit once, stroke your face, and go on to the procedure and gift:[84] "SILIBANAGOUNACHAOUĒL. . . ."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 424–66

A copy from a holy book. Charm that gives foreknowledge and memory**: Take a kakouphon,[85] / which in Egyptian is kakkou[phat, tear out] its heart, perforate it with a reed, [cut] the heart [into pieces], and put them into Attic honey when the goddess[86] approaches. Then grind the heart on the 1st of the goddess,[87] mix it with the honey, [and eat it] on an empty stomach while saying seven times, once while tasting with the forefinger, this ***formula:

"Make me know in advance once and for all the things that are going to happen, the things that are about to happen, the things that have been done, and all [today's] activities."

Say the name seven times, and quickly say / the other usual formulas. . . .[88]

76. That is, Helios, the sun god.

77. The papyrus has καταχεάσα[ς], "pour it," which is not meaningful here. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451–52, suggests καταλεάζειν on the basis of Hesychius' ἀλεάζειν, "to heat up." The translation here follows the text of Preisendanz.

78. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451, adds ⟨εἰς⟩, "into," which seems necessary to complete the sense of the phrase, viz., "put it [into] a clean vessel."

79. It seems only twelve pastry dolls are to be shaped and not an additional loaf and piece of pastry, as Preisendanz seems to take it. [R.D.K.]

80. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

81. Probably Coptic *pčosm [pe]houit*, "the first darkness." [M.W.M.]

82. Probably read Gehenna. [M.W.M.]

83. Perhaps Coptic, meaning "Jesus our great one." [M.W.M.]

84. The blessing given in response to the procedure. Cf. *PGM* IV. 198. See also A.-J. Festugière, "La Valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques," in his *L'Idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 293; Bonner, *SMA* 178–79.

85. Cf. on this term *PGM* II. 18 and n.

86. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

87. This refers to the first day of the lunar month.

88. Apparently the scribe forgot to add the formula for the second day; therefore an ellipsis has been inserted.

[While tasting] on the third, say the name LAILAM [SAN]KANTHARA (add the usual).[89] [On the] 4th of the moon say [the] 4th name, EPIMNŌ; on the 5th, the 5th name, saying seven times EKENTH . . . [on the 6th], the sixth name, AMOUN AMOUN; on the 7th of the moon, [the 7th name] . . . RA PREGXICHAROTH; on the 8th, the 8th name, EISI OUSIRI AMOUN [AMOUN;[90] on the 9th], the 9th name, PHORPHORBARZAGRA; [on the 10th], the 10th name, ZAZOUCHŌR DAMNIOTĒ; on the eleventh, the eleventh name, CHRYSA CHR[YSA] EYAE CHRYSOES EIRE CHRYSOEGETHREL . . . RON; on the twelfth, the twelfth name, and taste twelve times, ATHAB . . . ENIGRAPSATHIR . . . PSANO . . . ASĒ; [on the 13th, say the 13th name], ARTEMI DAMNŌ DAMNO / LYKAINA;[91] on the fourteenth, say the [fourteenth name]. This is the 14th name: HARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRINTATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA OREOBAZAGRA. On the fifteenth, the fifteenth name, SESENGEN BARPHARAGGĒS AGAB . . . AEĒIOYŌ (add the usual formulas, as much as you want, saying it on each day).

When the moon [wanes], say [the formula] in hexameter, saying it seven times until it is again the fourteenth of the goddess. But beware, lest it be in conjunction . . . each day . . . and the whole composition of the divine arrangement be undone. [For] the lord [god] speaks. A procedure greater than this one does not exist. It has been tested / by Manethon,[92] [who] received [it] as a gift from god Osiris the greatest. Perform it, perform it successfully and silently.

Formula spoken . . . ***and*** . . . ***the sun***: "Hail, absolute ruler, hail, hail, [forefather . . . DAMNAM]ENEU [ABRASAX] . . . K . . . ĒLĒL, one holy . . . SABĒLE SABĒLE KA. . . ."

. . . [***Foreknowledge***] . . . ***Moses*** . . . ***and*** . . / . ***for memory***, [say] the following [formula] each [day]: ". . . IMEA . . . ABRASAX . . . [to know] OEIIAO . . . IAŌ SABAŌ[TH] . . . great . . . IABE[ZEBYTH] . . . ABRAXAS TAE." . . / . .

But in this way draw a boy and you . . . later, and you will hear the birds chattering . . . seven of fennel and of sesame, of black cumin . . . / [take] these and crush them, with spring water . . . the moon being second, and you will hear all things. . . .

". . . I am IEĒ IOEĒ IE IAŌ ISI . . . [the things in the] minds of men, because I. . . ."

. . . pray to him. But . . / . but a swallow[93] of this comes . . . this your formula repeat seven times . . . ***formula***, which you say: "Hail, Helios, Mithras. . . ."

. . . this holy water . . . this one has in his mind . . . / that day [you] know . . . but if [you] touch, [you will have] a semitertian [fever].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 467–78

***Memory spell**: Take first . . . 2 calf's snouts, "Hermes' finger" . . . / taste, and prostrate yourself while saying three times to Helios: "[Enter,] MA . . . A KMĒPH ARSŌ ARSŌ THOUTH . . . O TIOI E.OI POMPOM PHRĒ [IARBATHA CHRAMNĒ] . . . upon my heart, [having granted] memory to my soul, to my eyes [SALBANACHAM-

89. As one can see from l. 436 below, the direction "add the usual" (*κοινά*) is to be understood after each day.

90. That is, Osiris, Amon in vocatives.

91. "She-wolf" is an epithet of the goddess Artemis. See also *PGM* IV. 2302–3; 2550.

92. The name Manetho probably refers to an Egyptian priest and historian of the third cent. B.C., the man who was instrumental in the setting up of the cult of Sarapis. Cf. also *PGM* XII. 23; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 28, 362A; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 8.1. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 78–82; H.-J. Thissen, "Manetho," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1180–81.

93. The cliff, or chimney swallow. [J.S.]

BRĒ . . .] / monarch, the one who rules over all . . . ABLAN OOOO ADŌNIĒ AĒŌ . . . in order that, whatever I hear once, [I might remember it throughout] my lifetime."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 479–83

***Foreknowledge charm**: Take [. . . parts] fleawort, [and say to] / the height of the heavenly circle: "The thief . . . the only great god, [come to me] from an assembly on the 6th day . . . to happen, Helios."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This and the two variant charms to follow serve as spells to "prognosticate" the identity or whereabouts of a thief.

PGM III. 483–88

***Another [copy]**: ". . . ALA.AANG XICHA MICHA ANG E . . . / EROTPITENPHĒT NPRŌME,[94] [having] a gold-colored [crown on the] head, turn to [the thief who took away the NN thing], kill, cleave him and . . . but if you behead. . . ."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 488–94

***Another**: Take a wing . . . / "AŌŌ; then, according to the same . . . LŌ [PHNOU]KENT ABAŌTH . . . DO . . . ŌLEAIS . . . KA . . . TA K. . . ."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This is presumably another spell to detect a thief; see the note appended to *PGM* III. 479–83, above.

PGM III. 494–611

***[Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios.** A procedure for every [rite], for [all things]. / For whatever you want, invoke in this way: "[Come,] come to me from the four winds of the world, air-transversing, great god. Hear me in every ritual which [I perform], and grant all the [petitions] of my prayer completely, because I know your signs, / [symbols and] forms, who you are each hour and what your name is.[95]

"In the first hour you have the form and character of a young monkey; [the tree] you produce is the silver fir; the stone, the *aphanos*;[96] the bird . . . your name is PHROUER.[97]

"In the second hour you have the form of a unicorn; the tree you produce is the persea; the stone, the pottery stone;[98] / the bird, the halouchakon;[99] on land, the ichneumon; your name is BAZĒTŌPHŌTH.

"In the third hour you have the form of a cat; the tree you produce is the fig tree; the stone, the *samouchos*;[100] the bird, the parrot; on land, the frog; your name is AKRAMMACHAMAREI.

"In the fourth hour you have the form of a bull; the tree you produce / . . . the

94. This is Coptic and means "to the man." [R.K.R.]

95. In his twelve-hour course through the heavens, the sun is identified here with ancient theriomorphic and totemistic forms. Also, the sun's creative activities are identified with certain hours. See for this Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie* 5–6. Cf. *PGM* II. 104–15 and n.

96. The identification of *lithos aphanos* is uncertain; literally it means "invisible stone" (clear quartz?). [J.S.]

97. PHROUER is Egyptian for "Pre the great." [R.K.R.]

98. On the pottery stone see Pliny, *NH* 37. 152.

99. Otherwise unidentified.

100. According to LSJ, this word is a hapax legomenon. Preisendanz identifies it with ψαμμοῦχος, a sandstone (not attested in LSJ).

101. Fahz reads γεννᾷς δένδρον [κα]ὶ λίθον, "you produce a tree [and] stone." This should probably be understood to refer to holly oak and a brick-red opal. Cf. also n. 102. [J.S.]

stone,[101] the amethyst;[102] the bird, the turtledove; on land, the bull; your name is DAMNAMENEUS.

"In the fifth hour you have the form of a lion; the tree you produce is the prickly shrub; the stone, the magnet; [the bird] . . . on land, the crocodile; your name is PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT.

"In the sixth hour you have the form of a donkey; the tree / you produce is the thorn tree; the stone, lapis lazuli; in the sea, the jellyfish;[103] on [land, the white-faced cow]; your name is EIAU AKRI LYX. . . .

"[In the seventh hour] you have the form of a [crayfish; the tree you produce] . . . [you produce] . . . ; [the stone, the sun opal;[104] / the bird] . . . on land, the cat; [your name is]. . . .

"In the eighth [hour] you have the form . . . [the tree you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . the bird . . . [on land], the hippopotamus; [your] name [is]. . . .

"In the ninth [hour] you have the form of an ibis; [the tree / you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . on land, the chameleon; [your name]. . . .

"In the tenth hour [you have] the form . . . ; [the tree you produce] . . . the stone, one the color of a falcon's neck; [the bird]. . . .

/ "In the twelfth [hour you have the form] . . . [your name is] ADŌNAI . . . [and]. . . .

". . . / GABRIĒL ALLŌEA . . . OURĒĒDYDIE THARABRACHIRIGX IARBATHACHRAMNĒPHIBAŌCHNYMEŌ[105] KAMPYKRIL . . . ELAMMARĒ.

"I have spoken your signs and symbols. Therefore, lord, do the NN deed by necessity, lest I shake heaven. Do the NN deed for me; you are the image, the whole of the universe, [you] who, after being selected,[106] guarded the holy place of the / great king. Do the NN deed for me, the one who keeps the keys of the triangular paradise of earth, which is the kingdom. Do the NN deed for me, the fatherless child of an honored[107] widow, BŌIATHYRITH, lest they take away from me the lord's fatherland and so that all / good things happen by command, PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUNKENTABAŌ AŌRIŌ ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYROSPARIPĒGANYX KAILAM IALMIŌ LILIMOULĒALABAĒNEREDEMOU."

"Come[108] to me in / your holy circuit of
The holy spirit, founder of the world,
O god of gods, lord of the world, who have
Divided by your own divine spirit
The universe; first from the firstborn you

102. Pliny identifies παιδέρως as an opal (*NH* 37. 84) or an amethyst (*NH* 37. 123). It has been rendered here as amethyst because in 37.80 Pliny says opals come only from India. See the note by D. E. Eicholz, *LCL* edition of Pliny's *Natural History*, vol. 10, p. 230, n. a. [J.S.]

103. The term literally means "glass fish." [M.S.]

104. The translation of ἡλιοπάλιος is uncertain.

105. Cf. for this name *PGM* I. 143 and n.

106. Following Preisendanz's translation as "Auserwählter."

107. The papyrus reads κατατετιμημένη[ς], a verb not attested elsewhere. The meaning could also be "despised." Preisendanz suggests that the widow is Isis and the magician identifies himself with Horus. Probably, the translation "dishonored" is to be preferred, because it would refer to the murder of Isis' husband and her subsequent flight to the swamps of Chemmis to raise her son Horus. For Horus as orphan, see Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 69, no. 92. [R.K.R.]

108. These dactylic hexameters, many of which are metrically faulty, are also the reconstructed Hymn 2, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238. [E.N.O.]

Appeared,[109] created carefully, from water
That's turbulent, who founded all the world:
Abyss, earth, / fire, water, air, and in turn
Ether and roaring rivers, red-faced moon,
Heaven's stars, morning stars, the whirling planets.[110]
'Tis by your counsels they attend all things."

"You who summon . . . AMOCHL . . . PHODOPH . . . M . . . ARPHTHŌ . . . IBK / PSOUPHIS [TŌM] . . . OIŌTH ŌPHROUER CHMĒIB HARPONKNOUPHI BRINTATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA HAROUAR ZARBAMESEG KRIPHI NIGTHOU MICHMOUMAŌPH IAŌLI PRIN ASTRAPTĒS[111] AI CHEAOKIRTABAOZAALE ASRISKI . . . OU BRITHEI STOMA,[112] master. Come to me, / lord, you who sometimes raise the light, sometimes lower the darkness [with] your own power. Hear me, lord, me, NN, graciously, gladly and for a blessing, from every element from every wind, today, with your happy face, in the present hour, because / I invoke your holy name from every side. You who were begotten in every human body, inspire us.[113] From the right of the axis your [name] is: 'IAŌ AŌI ŌAI [ŌYA] ŌŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAAA IY . . . ŌAI,' but from the left of the axis: 'IAŌ AYŌ IŌAI / PIPI ŌŌŌ ŌŌ III AYŌ . . . ŌA ŌAI.' Come to me with a happy face to a bed of your choice, giving to me, NN, sustenance, health, safety, wealth, the blessing of children, knowledge, a ready hearing, goodwill, sound judgment, honor, memory, grace, shapeliness, beauty to / all who see me; you who hear me in everything whatsoever, give persuasiveness with words, great god, to the EYAĒŌ IŌ IAŌ ŌAI ŌIŌ ĒAYI TAS ERCHIS AUXACHOCH HARSAMOSI. I beg, master, accept my entreaty, the offering to you which you commanded. In order that you might now illuminate me with knowledge of things beloved by you / even after the kind restoration of my material body, I pray, lord, accept this my request, [the] entreaty, the preliminary spell, the offering of my eloquent spirit. Let it also come to you, the ruler of all, in order that / you fulfill all the petitions of my prayer, you who originated from gods.[114] We give you thanks with every soul and heart stretched out to [you],[115] unutterable name honored with [the] appellation of god and blessed with the [appellation of father], for to everyone[116] and to everything you have shown fatherly / goodwill, affection, friendship and sweetest power, granting us intellect, [speech,] and knowledge; intellect so that we might understand you, speech [so that] we might call upon you, knowledge so that we might know you.[117] We rejoice because you showed yourself to us; we rejoice

109. This refers to the sun god's appearance from the waters of Nun, the primordial abyss. Cf. *PGM* I. 34–36. [R.K.R.]

110. There are three types of star referred to here: ἀστέρας (1) ἀερίους, (2) ἑώους, (3) περιδινοπλανήτας. On ἑώους as morning star, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrab.* 3. 4 (114). [E.N.O.]

111. Or "before you hurl lightning."

112. Or "mouth is full."

113. ἐμπνευματίζω is not otherwise attested. Cf. *C.H.* 13.19 with Keil's conjecture πνευμάτιζε, cited by Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 208, in the critical apparatus to l. 17.

114. The section in ll. 591–609 has close parallels in Ps.-Apulcius, *Asclepius* 41 (ed. Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, pp. 353–55) and *NHC* VI, 7: 63, 33–65, 7. See Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* 298–99; P. Dirkse and J. Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," in *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI, with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, *NHSt* 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 375–87. Cf. also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 10. 8; *C.H.* 13. 18–20, with the discussion by Grese, *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII, pp. 183–88.

115. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 353.

116. Following J.-P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypt. Les textes hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins*, vol. 1 (Québec: Les presses de l'université Laval, 1978) 160–61.

117. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 354.

because while we are / [still] in bodies you deified us by the knowledge of who you are. The thanks of man to you is one: to come to know [you], O womb[118] of all knowledge. We have come to know, O womb[119] pregnant through the father's begetting. We have come to know, / O eternal continuation of the pregnant father. After bowing thus before your goodness,[120] we ask no [favor except this]:[121] will that we be maintained in knowledge of you; and one protection:[122] that [we] not fall away from a [life] such as this. . . ."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 494–549; 558–611) and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 549–58).

PGM III. 612–32

*[If you make] an offering of wheaten meal and ripe mulberries and unsoftened[123] (?) sesame and uncooked *thrion* and throw into this a beet, you will gain control of your own shadow[124] / so that it [will serve] you. Go at the sixth hour of the day, toward [the rising sun], to a deserted place, girt about with a [new] dark-colored palmfiber basket, and on your head a scarlet cord as a headband, behind your right ear / the feather of a falcon, behind your left that of an ibis.

Having reached the place,[125] [prostrate] yourself, stretch out your hands, and utter the following ***formula***: "Cause now my shadow to serve me, because I know your sacred names [and] your signs and / your symbols, and [who you are at each hour], and what your name is."[126]

Having said this, [utter] the formula given above,[127] and in case he does not [hearken, say]:[128] "I have uttered your sacred names and [your signs] and your symbols, wherefore, O lord,[129] cause / my [shadow] to serve me." [And] at the seventh [hour] it will come to you before [your] face, and you address it [and say]: "Follow me everywhere!" But [look] to it, that it not leave you.

*Tr. J. M. Dillon. See the introductory note on *PGM* III. 494–611. This unique spell to acquire control over one's shadow may be part of the whole ***Encounter with Helios*** contained in III. 494–731. The Coptic section to follow (*PGM* III. 633–731) belongs with this section, and the mention of the "signs and symbols" in l. 625 connects this spell to the preceding; furthermore, the mention of the "formula given above" (l. 626) must refer to a formula given in the preceding spell, probably the formula found in III. 494ff. The appearance of one's shadow is thus the proof of Helios' appearance requested in *PGM* III. 494–731.

118. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 355.

119. On the role of the uterus in magic, see A. A. Barb, "Diva Matrix," *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238. Cf. also *PGM* V. 158.

120. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 164–65.

121. Ibid.

122. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 166–67, and Dirkse and Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," 384–85.

123. Preisendanz reads ἀ[νέκ]χυτον, a word otherwise unattested. More likely would be the restoration ἀ[διά]χυτον, "not softened by cooking"; hence the translation here. [R.D.K.]

124. Cf. *DMP* col. IV, l. 23 for a spell for "lucky shadows" *(wḏ ḫyb.t)*. [R.K.R.] See also Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 163–64.

125. Literally, "treading about in the place."

126. Cf. ll. 499–501 for a similar expression. It seems that the deity invoked has a different appearance every hour. See also the introduction to this spell and its possible relationship with *PGM* III. 494–611.

127. That is, the formula given in 494–536, particularly the section containing the signs and symbols.

128. Following Preisendanz's restoration. This hardly seems suitable, as one would rather expect, "And when you are finished, say. . . ." [J.M.D.]

129. The "lord" addressed in this spell is Helios, the sun god, mentioned in III. 494–611.

PGM III. 633–731

*Call . . . , "Great god . . . , you who are the sun, Re is your name / . . . the glowing flames . . . my nail (?) . . . Em . . . is your name, Em . . . [is your true name] . . . crown . . . my name . . . [AEEĒ]ĒĒIIIIOOO[OOYYYYYYŌ]ŌŌŌŌ[Ō]Ō / . . . / of the great god . . . [Nef] is my name, Nef is my true name . . . Praise[130] be to (?) SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ADŌN BARBARIOT . . . of Lo son of Ouer[131] . . . / whose face is in the middle of . . . of Lo son of Ouer . . . whose face is in the middle of . . . in truth. For I am . . . For I am Lotus-Lion-Ram[132] . . . / Lotus, reveal yourself . . . For [I] am . . . all (repeat).[133] I am Oh, I am AEĒIOY[Ō AEĒIOYŌ] A[EĒIOYŌ AEĒI] OYŌ [AEĒI] OYŌ AEĒIOYŌ AEĒI[OY]Ō AEĒIOY[Ō] . . . , and we are strong (?) . . . of Shmoun[134] . . . / until you offer incense to Horus. I am Oh, I know [your name] . . . little, every time, at every hour. Come, go . . . what you want (repeat). For Ei is your name, Ei is the name of you. I . . . Totf; Totf is my true name (add the usual [?]) as you wish, after . . . the (formula) I am Kat son of Kat, whom Kat has borne . . . / I am the [breath] of night . . . I am Abriabot, the . . . the great snake . . . [Thoth the great] of Shmoun . . . the god Horus . . . , ([add the usual] as you wish). For I am Iethor,[135] who wants to . . . I . . . who . . . / frog . . . is my name . . . the great god who will do . . . To son of To[136] is your name . . . father. / You are Earth-shaker,[137] the High One, the son of Re, the [great] god . . . in the abyss, who is in . . . all the earth . . . (add the usual, as you wish) . . . he who does . . . I am . . . I am the one who . . . in him . . . / For . . . I am Io . . . is [my] name [. . . is] my true name . . . To the great is my [true] name . . ."

. . . this day . . . speak to Helios[138] . . . / on the third day, also to the moon[139] . . . at the third entrance of the goddess, go to an ever-flowing river . . . bathe, and go in pure garments . . . , having drunk . . . a solitary place, hold toward the rising sun a white rooster without blemish and twelve pinecones whorled[140] to the right. Offer milk and pour a libation of white wine, / and say the designated seven formulas [seven] times, requesting an encounter with [the] god . . . yourself. He will show . . . let him dwell (?)[141] for seven days. Set up . . . toward the moon, with purity; and when you see the god in this place, feast [in an appropriate manner].[142] So when you encounter the god, say the formula for a direct vision, and request foreknowledge from the master. / Go down to a pure and consecrated place, and

130. Cf. *PGM* IV. 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19.

131. For OUĒR cf. Egyptian *wr*, "the great one." [R.K.R.]

132. This corresponds to SERPOT-MOUI-SRO. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 12 and the note by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* on *DMP* col. I, l. 12. On the solar character of this designation of the sun in the morning, at midday, and in the evening, i.e., the universal sun in three manifestations (Re-Khepri-Atum), see M.-L. Rhyner, "A propos de trigrammes panthéistes," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29 (1977): 125–37. [M.W.M.]

133. Apparent instructions for the repetition of the formulas either forward or backward. Cf. ll. 667, 669, 682. But if this is the equivalent of Greek *κοινόν* (see Preisendanz's text at l. 682), we are to understand "(add the usual)"; thus the translation, as in several instances below.

134. Shmoun (Hermopolis, El-Eshmunen) is the city of the god Thoth. See on the name A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 79*–81*. See for the name also below, l. 672.

135. That is in Egyptian "eye of Horus."

136. Possibly, *To* is "land"; hence at III. 687 "the great land."

137. For KMPTO cf. *PGM* IV. 1323; *PDM* xiv. 192.

138. That is, the sun god Helios.

139. The moon goddess Selene; see also l. 697.

140. See the note at *PGM* II. 25.

141. The text is uncertain at this point; perhaps *οἰκείτω* is to be read instead of *οἰκητω*. [M.W.M.]

142. Supplying in the lacuna *ἐ[πιτη]δές*, following Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 456.

again sacrifice a rooster, and while in pure garments secretly [grasp the other things] which are necessary as symbols . . . god(dess) . . . third . . . , hold in your right hand a [single-stemmed] wormwood and in your left a snakeskin, and recite the [specified] formulas [and] what you wish, and it will happen. Recite often / . . . written down . . . to learn something, it is told to you by the god. And if you . . . , write . . . and wrap in linen from head to foot . . . , and on the ground draw Harpokrates holding [his finger][143] to his mouth, and in his left hand clutching a flail and a crook[144] . . . then "ABLANATHANALBA"; in wing . . .[145] / "ABRASAX": near the back, "ŌĒAUA . . . ," and set the child on it, and write the 5th formula . . . : "ĒFĒINTOK[146] . . . TE UONĒFIOUOI." Also use this treatment often: take away . . . from before him the linen, and let him behold, and he will see; and ask [him] . . . on the tenth day . . . in the morning of the first (formula?), then the / first for a second time in the morning of the . . . let these things be . . . two bricks . . . under papyrus . . . head . . . hole . . . / hold in your hands . . . this . . . and say the . . . in each . . . as . . . little . . . all . . . on these . . . great . . . / both . . . formulas before . . . formulas with the . . . and all . . . and . . . pit . . . you make / call the olive . . . pure. . . .

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. For the connection of the spell with the preceding, see the introductory notes at *PGM* III. 494–611 and III. 612–32.

PGM IV. 1–25

*"SAPHPHAIOR BAELKOTA KIKATOUTARA EKENNK LIX, the great daimon and the inexorable one,[1] . . . IPSENTANCHOUCHEŌCH / DŌOU SHAMAI ARABENNAK ANTRAPHEU BALE SITENGI ARTEN BENTEN AKRAB ENTH OUANTH BALA SHOUPLA SRAHENNE DEHENNE KALASHOU CHATEMMŌK BASHNE BALA SHAMAI—on the day of Zeus[2] in the first hour, but on the [day] of deliverance[3] in the fifth hour: a cat . . . / in the eighth: a cat.[4] Praise[5] be to Osiris, the king of the underworld, the lord of embalming, he who is at the south of This, who is honored at Abydos, he who is under[6] the noubs tree[7] in Merouse,[8] whose glory is in Pashalom.[9] Praise be to Althabot; bring unto to me Sabaoth. / Praise be to Althonai, great Eou, very valiant; bring unto me Michael, the mighty (?) angel who is with God. Praise be to

143. Supplying in the lacuna [τὸν δακτύ]λιον. [M.W.M.]

144. For depictions similar to the one here see Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* 206–7; Bonner, *SMA*, p. IX, nos. 189–94.

145. Perhaps, "in wing formation."

146. This is equivalent to Demotic *iw.f r in.ṯ.k.*, "He shall bring you." [R.K.R.]

1. See for this term Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 101; on the verb παραιτέω, see Betz, "Fragments," 291.

2. That is, Thursday.

3. Perhaps Sunday.

4. These enigmatic phrases are instructions for the use of the spell.

5. This passage is parallel to *PDM* xiv. 627–35. See F. Ll. Griffith, "The Old Coptic Magical Texts of Paris," *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 86–93. [R.K.R.]

6. Or "under the shade of the *noubs* tree."

7. According to Griffith, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 87, at Pnubs the *noubs* tree was sacred to Thoth. See on this point Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 334–35.

8. Meroe is the capital of an ancient state in the Sudan. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 456–57, s.v. "Meroe."

9. Cf. also *PDM* xiv. 627–29. Pashalom is the capital of the nome in which Abydos is also located. Situated to the south of This, Abydos is the holy city where the head of Osiris was buried. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 362 n. 1.

Anubis, of the nome of Hansiese,[10] upon his mountain.[11] Praise be to the goddesses—Thoth the great, the great, the wise. Praise be to the gods, / ACHNOUI ACHAM ABRA ABRA SABAÔTH.[12] For Akshha Shha[13] is my name, Sabashha is my true name; Shlot Shlot very valiant is my name. So let him who is in the underworld join him who is in the air; let them arise, come in, and bring me news / of the matter about which I ask them" (add the usual).

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This request for an oracle may be part of the larger spell contained in *PGM* IV. 1–85.

PGM IV. 26–51

***Initiation:**[14] Keep yourself pure for 7 days beforehand. On the third of the month, go to a place from which the Nile has recently receded, before anyone walks on the area that was flooded—or at any rate, to a place that has been inundated by the Nile. / On two bricks[15] standing on their sides, build a fire with olive wood (that is, with a branch of it) when half of the sun is above the horizon; but before the sun appears, dig a trench around the altar. When the disk of the sun is fully above the horizon, / cut off the head of an unblemished, solid white cock which [you are to carry] under your left arm (and do dig the trench around[16] the altar before the sun appears).[17] When you are beheading the cock, fix it in place [with *your knees*][18] and hold it down all by yourself. / Throw the head into the river and drink up the blood, draining it off into your right hand and putting what's left of the body on the burning altar. Then jump into the river. Immerse yourself in the clothes you have on, walk backwards[19] out of the water, and, after changing into fresh garments, / depart without turning round.[20] After this, take bile from an owl, rub some of it over your eyes with the feather of an ibis, and your initiation will be complete. But if you can't get hold of an owl, use an ibis's egg and a falcon's feather. / Bore a hole in the egg, insert the feather, break it open, and thereby get the fluid to rub on yourself.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

10. The location is unknown. Cf. *Ha-si-ise-t*, "house of the son of Isis." See A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 29* (no. 341A). One conjecture is that of Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 659, who has identified Hansiese as a site (Chenoboskia?) near Koptos and Dendera in Upper Egypt.

11. This refers to an ancient title of Anubis. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 174. In this connection one should also note the relationship between mountain, desert, and cemetery in ancient Egypt.

12. Hebrew for "Lord, Lord of Hosts;" ABRA may be a variation of *arba* (Heb. "four") designating the tetragrammaton. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 126; Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 64; A. Barb, "Abraxas-Studien," in *Hommages à W. Deonna* (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1957) 67–86.

13. Or "IEAKSHHA SHHA"; but cf. *PGM* IV. 77, also III. 658, 659, 661, 667, 673, etc., for other examples of the common formula "for . . . is my name" or "for I am. . . ."

14. The purpose of this rite is not clear (cf. l. 48). It may have simply been a part of the longer ritual of the context.

15. On the magical use of bricks for both the living and the dead, see J. Monnet, "Les Briques magiques du Musée du Louvre," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 8 (1951): 151–62. [R.K.R.]

16. Or "dig a trench around," which may in fact mean "walk around" and refer to the ritual circumambulation. See W. Pax, "Circumambulatio," *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52.

17. See l. 33 above.

18. The phrase "with your knees" is a conjecture based on *PGM* IV. 227–28.

19. Cf. the injunctions to walk backwards at *PGM* I. 37; IV. 2493; XXXVI. 273.

20. Presumably, the initiate is to turn away from the river after he is out of the water and to depart without looking back at the river. Perhaps he is being instructed to depart by walking backwards. The text is not entirely clear; cf. for similar circumstances *PGM* VII. 439–40. For looking back and its consequences, cf. the story of Lot's wife (Gn 19:17, 26) and the injunction in Lk 17:31–32; Mt 24:15–18 (cf. Lk 9:62).

PGM IV. 52–85

*Keep yourself pure for 7 days before the moon becomes full by abstaining from meat and uncooked food, by leaving behind during the prescribed days exactly half / of your food in a turquoise[21] vessel, over which you are also to eat, and by abstaining from wine. When the moon is full, go by yourself to the eastern section of your city, village, or house and throw out / on the ground the leftover morsels. Then return very quickly to your quarters and shut yourself in before he[22] can get there, because he will shut you out if he gets there before you. But before you throw out the morsels, fix in the ground at a slight angle a verdant reed that is about two cubits long, tie some hairs from a stallion about the midsection of a horned dung beetle, and suspend / the beetle from the reed by them. Then light a lamp that has not been used before and place it under the beetle in a new earthenware dish, so that the heat from the lamp barely reaches the beetle. Stay calm after you have thrown out the morsels, gone to your quarters, and shut yourself in; / for the one you have summoned will stand there and, by threatening you with weapons, will try to force you to release the beetle. But remain calm, and do not release it until he gives you a response; then release it right away. And every day during the period of purification when you are about to eat and to go to bed, speak the following spell 7 times (you are to say them again / when you return to your quarters after throwing out the food). Keep it secret: "You with the wooden neck, you with the clay (?) face,[23] come in to me, for I am Sabertoush, the great god who is in heaven."

The phylactery for the foregoing: With blood from the hand or foot of a pregnant woman, / write the name[24] given below on a clean piece of papyrus; then tie it about your left arm by a linen cord and wear it. ***Here is what is to be written***: "SHTĒIT CHIEN TENHA, I bind and loose."

The dismissal: When you release the beetle, say: "Harko, Harko is my name; Harko is my true name."

Guard these instructions / well. ***The rite***: an onion.[25]

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr., and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 75–77, 81–82, 83–84).

PGM IV. 86–87

***Phylactery against daimons**:[26] "HOMENOS OHK KOURIĒL IAPHĒL, deliver" (add the usual), "EHENPEROOU BARBARCHAOUCHE."

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer. This brief spell seems to have no connection with the preceding or following spells.

21. A blue-green glazed pottery, almost certainly Egyptian faïence. See A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London: Arnold, 1962) 156–67, esp. 163–64. [R.K.R.]

22. "He" is the one summoned (l. 70), but "he" is never identified.

23. Probably referring to a clay or terracotta figurine on a wooden pedestal. [M.W.M.]

24. The "name" may have included not only *sabertoush* but also the attached epithets: in magical texts "name" often means "full title." The Greek *προυποκείμενον* normally means "given above," but it can also be read as meaning "set forth below." This latter interpretation (accepted by Preisendanz) would eliminate the apparent contradiction between this and the following sentence. However, the following sentence may be a deliberate contradiction by a glossator. [M.S.]

25. This is probably an abbreviated way of saying, "Use the procedure that involves an onion."

26. Or "For those possessed by daimons," which seems the better reading of the papyrus. The manuscript has *πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένο(υ)ς*. See A. Erman, *ZÄS* 21 (1883): 99 (plate III, l. 25) and Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. The invocation which begins with OHK is separated by a space and *-ζομενος* is written with the same Greek letter forms as the preceding ones. [R.D.K.]

PGM IV. 88–93

*__Another,__[27] __to Helios__: Wrap a naked boy in linen from head to toe,[28] then clap your hands. After making a ringing noise, place the boy opposite / the sun,[29] and standing behind him say the ***formula***:

"I am Barbarioth; Barbarioth am I; PESKOUT YAHO ADŌNAI ELŌAI SABAŌTH, come in to this little one today, for I am Barbarioth."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 91–93).

PGM IV. 94–153

*Isis is the one who comes from the mountain at midday[30] in summer, the dusty maiden; / her eyes are full of tears and her heart is full of sighs.

Her father, Thoth the Great, came in unto her and asked her, "O my daughter Isis, dusty maiden, why are your eyes full of tears, your heart full of sighs, and [the . . .] of your garment soiled? [Away with] the tears of your eyes!"

She said [to him], "He is not with me,[31] O my father, Ape Thoth, Ape / [Thoth], my father. I have been betrayed by my female companion. I have discovered [a] secret: yes, Nephthys is having intercourse with Osiris . . . my brother, my own mother's son."

He said to her, "Behold, this is adultery against you, O my daughter Isis."

She [said] to him, "It is adultery against you, O my father, / [Ape] Thoth, Ape Thoth, my father; it is pregnancy proper for me myself."[32]

He said to her, "Arise, O my daughter Isis, and [go] to the south to Thebes, to the north to Abydos.[33] There are . . . those who trample (?) there. Take for yourself Belf son of Belf, [the one whose] foot is of bronze and whose heels are of iron, / [that] he forge for you a double iron nail with a . . . head, a thin base, a strong point, and light iron. Bring it before me, dip it in the blood of Osiris,[34] and hand it over; we . . . this mysterious (?) flame to me."

" / Every flaming, every cooking, every heating,[35] every steaming, and every sweating that you [masc.] will cause in this flaming stove, you [will] cause in the heart, in the liver, [in] the area of the navel, and in the belly of NN whom NN has borne, until I bring her to the house of NN whom NN has borne[36] and she puts what is in / her hand into my hand, what is in her mouth into my mouth, what is in her belly onto my belly, what is in her female parts onto my male parts, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately. Rise up to the kings of Alchah,[37] speak the truth (?) in Oupōke, arouse god [after] NN[38] whom NN has borne, and I shall send

27. Presumably this is another request for divination (cf. *PGM* IV. 1–25, 52–85). In fact, the spell is specifically a "divination using a boy," for which cf. *PGM* VII. 348–58; also *Test. Sol.* I. 3.

28. Cf. for this phrase *PDM* xiv. 96.

29. That is, Helios, the sun god.

30. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 1219.

31. Or "It is not of my doing."

32. This episode is also told in a different fashion by Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356E–F. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 316–17.

33. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 628.

34. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 440–41.

35. Or "sighing."

36. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 656–58.

37. Alchah (Egyptian *ʿrq-ḫḥ*, "Alxai") and Oupōke (Egyptian *w-pkr*) are both sacred places at Abydos. Alchah designates the cemetery where the mummy of Osiris was buried. See *PGM* XIVb, 12–15 (in the context of *PDM* xiv. 451–58). [R.K.R.]

38. Or "every god (after NN)."

her / to be with NN whom NN has borne. For I am To son of To;[39] I am the Great son of the Great; I am Anubis, who bears the glorious crown of Re and puts it upon King Osiris, King Osiris Onnophris, . . . who arouses the whole earth, that you may arouse the heart of NN whom / NN has borne, that I may know what is in her heart for me, for NN whom NN has borne, on this day."

If a large amount of saliva forms in your mouth as you speak, understand that she is distressed[40] and wants to talk with you; if you yawn frequently, she wants / to come to you. But if you sneeze two times or more, she is in good health[41] and is returning to where she lives; if you have a headache and are crying, she is distressed[42] or even dying.

"Rise up to heaven, and arouse the High One [masc.] after the Noble One [fem.]. Rise up to the abyss, and arouse Thoth after Nabin; arouse / the heart of these two bulls, Hapi and Mnevis; arouse the heart of Osiris after Isis; arouse Re after the light; arouse the heart of NN whom NN has borne, after NN whom NN has borne."

[Say] these things on behalf of women. But when [you are speaking] about women, / then speak, conversely, so as to arouse the females after the males:

"When she drinks, when she eats, when she has intercourse with someone else, I will bewitch her heart, I will bewitch the heart of her, I will bewitch her breath, I will bewitch / her 365 members,[43] I will bewitch her inner part . . . wherever I desire, until she comes to me and I know what is in her heart, [what] she does, and of what she thinks, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately."

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 154–285

*Nephotes to Psammetichos, immortal king of Egypt. / Greetings. Since the great god has appointed you immortal king and nature has made you the best wise man,[44] I too, with a desire to show you the industry in me, have sent you this magical procedure which, with complete ease, / produces a holy power. And after you have tested it, you too will be amazed at the miraculous nature of this magical operation. You will observe through bowl divination[45] on whatever day or night you want, in whatever place you want, beholding the god in the water and / hearing a voice from the god which speaks in verses in answer to whatever you want. You will attain[46] both the ruler of the universe and whatever you command, and he will speak on other matters which you ask about. You will succeed by inquiring in this way: First, attach yourself to Helios in this manner: At whatever sunrise you want / (provided it is the third day of the month), go up to the highest part of the house and spread a

39. Cf. above, *PGM* III. 679, 687 with n.

40. Or "lovesick."

41. That is, "unafflicted" by the love charm.

42. Or "lovesick."

43. For a close parallel, compare the lead tablet from Oxyrhynchus published by Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 108–9. See also the *Apocryphon of John* (*NHC* II, 1:19:2–14) on the construction of the human body by 365 angels. In *PGM* the number 365 is commonly associated with the name Abrasax and its numerical value (see Glossary, s.v. "Abrasax"), but also with 365 gods or even 365 knots (*PGM* VII. 452–53).

44. Or "an expert magician," as σοφιστής applies to one skilled in his craft. See LSJ, s.v.; Betz, *Lukian* 10–11.

45. For bowl divination, see R. Ganszyniec, "Λεκανομαντεία," *PRE* 12 (1925):1879–89.

46. Preisendanz suggests that οἴσεις is a late future form of οἶδα. Perhaps one should emend the text to read ὄψεις, "you will see." However, the future of φέρω can be defended here (see LSJ, s.v., VI. 2–3, where "carry off as a prize," "win," "gain," etc., are given as meanings). [J.P.H.]

pure linen garment on the floor. Do this with a mystagogue. But as for you, crown yourself with dark ivy while the sun is in mid-heaven, at the fifth hour, and while looking upward lie down / naked on the linen and order your eyes to be completely covered with a black band.[47] And wrap yourself like a corpse, close your eyes and, keeping your direction toward the sun, begin these words. ***Prayer***:[48]

"O mighty Typhon, / ruler of the realm
Above and master, god of gods, O lord
ABERAMENTHŌOU (formula),
O dark's disturber, thunder's bringer, whirlwind,
Night-flasher, breather-forth of hot and cold,
Shaker of rocks, wall-trembler, boiler of
The waves, disturber of the sea's great depth, /
IŌ / ERBĒT AU TAUI MĒNI,
I'm He[49] who searched with you the whole world and
Found great Osiris, whom I brought you chained.
I'm he who joined you in war with the gods
(but others say, "'gainst the gods").
I'm he who closed / heav'n's double gates and put
To sleep the serpent which must not be seen,
Who stopped the seas, the streams, the river currents
Where'er you rule this realm. And as your soldier
I have been conquered by the gods, I have
Been thrown face down because of empty wrath. /
Raise up your friend, I beg you, I implore;
Thrown me not on the ground, O lord of gods,
AEMINAEBARŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIMEA,[50]
O grant me power, I beg, and give to me
This favor, so that, whensoe'r I tell
One of the gods to come, he is seen coming /
Swiftly to me in answer to my chants,
NAINE BASANAPTATOU EAPTOU MĒNŌPHAESMĒ PAPTOU MĒNŌPH AESIMĒ TRAUAPTI PEUCHRĒ TRAUARA PTOUMĒPH MOURAI ANCHOUCHAPHAPTA MOURSA ARAMEI IAŌ ATHTHARAUI MĒNOKER BORO/PTOUMĒTH AT TAUI MĒNI CHARCHARA PTOUMAU LALAPSA TRAUI TRAUEPSE MAMŌ PHORTOUCHA AEĒIO IOY OĒŌA EAI AEĒI ŌI IAŌ AĒI AI IAŌ."

After you have said this three times,[51] there will be this sign of divine encounter,[52] but you, / armed by having this magical soul, be not alarmed. For a sea falcon flies down and strikes you on the body with its wings, signifying this: that you should arise. But as for you, rise up and clothe yourself with white garments and burn on an earthen censer uncut / incense in grains while saying this:

"I have been attached to your holy form.
I have been given power by your holy name.
I have acquired your emanation of the goods,

47. See Glossary, s.v. "Isis band."

48. The iambic trimeters (ll. 179–201), many of which are metrically faulty, also form the reconstructed Hymn 6. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 242–43. [E.N.O.]

49. See on this passage Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 92–93.

50. See for this formula *PGM* I. 295; XIV. 24 (abbreviated); LIX. 7.

51. For the triplicate repetition in magic see O. Weinreich, "Trisgemination als sakrale Stilform," in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1973) 250–58.

52. See on this point *PGM* IV. 168–69.

Lord, god of gods, master, daimon.
ATHTHOUIN THOUTHOUI TAUANTI LAŌ APTATŌ."
Having done this, return / as lord of a godlike nature which is accomplished through this divine encounter.

Inquiry of bowl divination and necromancy:[53] Whenever you want to inquire about matters, take a bronze vessel, either a bowl or a saucer, whatever kind you wish. Pour water: / rainwater if you are calling upon heavenly gods, seawater if gods of the earth, river water if Osiris or Sarapis, springwater if the dead. Holding the vessel on your knees, pour out green olive oil, bend over the vessel and speak / the prescribed spell. And address whatever god you want and ask about whatever you wish, and he will reply to you and tell you about anything. And if he has spoken dismiss him with the spell of dismissal, and you who have used this spell will be amazed.

The spell spoken over the vessel is: "AMOUN AUANTAU / LAIMOUTAU RIPTOU MANTAUI IMANTOU LANTOU LAPTOUMI ANCHŌMACH ARAPTOUMI, hither to me, O NN god; appear to me this very hour and do not frighten my eyes. Hither to me, O NN god, be attentive to me because he wishes and commands this[54] ACHCHŌR ACHCHŌR / ACHACHACH PTOUMI CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌRACHARACHŌCH APTOUMI MĒCHŌCHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌ PTENACHŌCHEU" (a hundred letters).[55]

But you are not unaware, mighty king and leader of magicians, that this is the chief name of Typhon, / at whom the ground, the depths of the sea, Hades, heaven, the sun, the moon, the visible chorus of stars, the whole universe all tremble, the name which, when it is uttered, forcibly brings gods and daimons to it. This is the name that consists of 100 letters. Finally, when you have called, whomever you called will appear, god or dead man,[56] and he will / give an answer about anything you ask. And when you have learned to your satisfaction,[57] dismiss the god merely with the powerful name of the hundred letters as you say, "Depart, master, for the great god, NN, wishes and commands this of you." Speak the name, and he will depart. Let this spell, / mighty king, be transmitted to you alone, guarded by you, unshared.

There is also the protective charm itself which you wear while performing, even while standing:[58] onto a silver leaf inscribe this name of 100 letters with a bronze stylus, and wear it strung on a thong from the hide / of an ass.[59]

53. Following the emended punctuation by M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and the Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 221.

54. The sudden shift to the third person in the words *θέλει καὶ ἐπιτάσσει* seems strange at first, and one is tempted to think that the magician begins to refer to himself in the third person. But cf. ll. 253–54 below, where the same phenomenon occurs with the subject named.

55. That is, according to Greek letters.

56. That is, the spirit or soul of a dead man. See on this primitive concept J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 70–124: "The Soul of the Dead."

57. At this point the revelatory dialogue comes into the picture. Cf. Corp. Herm. I.3, 27, 30. Cf. P. Perkins, *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), where further literature can be found.

58. The Greek is obscure at this point. The translation follows Preisendanz: "auch wenn du stehend agierst."

59. The ass is the animal associated with Seth/Typhon. See Glossary, s.v.

Divine encounter of the divine procedure: Toward the rising sun say:[60]
"I call you who did first control gods' wrath,[61]
You who hold royal scepter o'er the heavens,
You who are midpoint of the stars above,
You, master Typhon, you I call, who are
/ The dreaded sovereign o'er the firmament.
You who are fearful, awesome, threatening,
You who're obscure[62] and irresistible
And hater of the wicked, you I call,
Typhon, in hours unlawful and unmeasured,
You who've walked on unquenched, clear-crackling fire,
You who are / over snows, below dark ice,
You who hold sovereignty over the Moirai,[63]
I invoked you in pray'r, I call, almight one.
That you perform for me whate'er I ask
Of you, and that you nod assent at once
To me and grant that what I ask be mine
(add the usual), because I adjure you, GAR THALA BAUZAU THŌRTHŌR / KATHAUKATH IATHIN NA BORKAKAR BORBA KARBORBOCH MŌ ZAU OUZŌNZ ŌN YABITH, mighty Typhon, hear me, NN, and perform for me the NN task. For I speak your true names, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH OEN / TYPHON ASBARABŌ BIEAISĒ ME NERŌ MARAMŌ TAUĒR CHTHENTHŌNIE ALAM BĒTŌR MENKECHRA SAUEIŌR RĒSEIODŌTA ABRĒSIOA PHŌTHĒR THERTHŌNAX NERDŌMEU AMŌRĒS MEEME ŌIĒS SYSCHIE ANTHŌNIE PHRA; listen / to me and perform the NN deed."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 286–95

Spell for picking a plant**:[64] Use it before sunrise. ***The spell to be spoken: "I am picking you, such and such a plant, with my five-fingered hand, I, NN, and I am bringing you home so that you may work for me for a certain purpose. I adjure you by the undefiled / name of the god: if you pay no heed to me, the earth which produced you will no longer be watered as far as you are concerned—ever in life

60. The following dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 7. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 243–44. Here and elsewhere *σέ* is considered long *metri gratia*, contrary to classical usage. [E.N.O.]

61. The papyrus reads *ὀργίλον*, which the editors of Hymn 7 have obelized. Here in IV. 262 Preisendanz has emended and reads *ὄπλον*, while others have suggested such words as *ὅρμον* (Wünsch), *κόσμον* (Dieterich), etc. The translation here has retained the reading of the papyrus. For *διέπω* and its meaning here, see Bauer, s.v. [E.N.O.]

62. The papyrus has *δῆλον*, which Preisendanz retains both here and in Hymn 7 where he obelizes it. Kroll's emendation *ἄδηλον* is paleographically sound, for "A" could have been omitted before "Δ." Second, *ἄδηλον* is a good parallel to *ἀμήχανον*, and third, the idea of *ἄδηλον* fits Seth/Typhon, who is regularly associated with darkness, shadows, etc. Cf., e.g., Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351F; 44, 368F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 468. [E.N.O.]

63. Preisendanz reads at this point *ἐπ' εὐκταίων Μοιρῶν*, "over the Moirai invoked in prayer." In the reconstructed Hymn 7 (Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244), Heitsch reads *ἐπευκταίων Μοιρῶν*, "of the longed-for Moirai," originally a proposal by Dieterich (see the apparatus to *PGM* IV. 271).

64. For this type of ritual, see F. Pfister, "Pflanzenaberglaube," *PRE* 19 (1938): 1446–56.

again, if I fail in this operation, MOUTHABAR NACH BARNACHŌCHA BRAEŌ MENDA
295 LAUBRAASSE PHASPHA BENDEŌ; fulfil[65] for me / the perfect charm."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 296–466

***Wondrous spell for binding a lover**: Take wax [or clay] from a potter's wheel and make two figures, a male and a female. Make the male in the form of Ares fully
300 armed, holding a sword / in his left hand and threatening to plunge it into the right side of her neck. And make her[66] with her arms behind her back and down on her knees. And you are to fasten the magical material on her head or neck. Write on the
305 figure of the woman being attracted as follows: On the head: / "ISEĒ IAŌ ITHI OUNE BRIDŌ LŌTHIŌN NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH"; on the right ear: "OUER MĒCHAN"; on the left ear: "LIBABA ŌIMATHOTHO"; on the face: "AMOUNABREŌ"; on the right
310 eye: / "ŌRORMOTHIO AĒTH"; on the other: "CHOBOUE"; on the right shoulder: "ADETA MEROU"; on the right arm: "ENE PSA ENESGAPH"; on the other: "MEL-
315 CHIOU MELCHIEDIA": on the hands: / "MELCHAMELCHOU AĒL"; on the breast: the name, on her mother's side, of the woman being attracted; on the heart: "BALAMIN THŌOUTH"; and below the lower belly: "AOBĒS AŌBAR"; on the pudenda:
320 "BLICHIANEOI OUŌIA"; on the buttocks: "PISSADARA"; on / the sole of the right foot: "ELŌ"; on the sole of the other one: "ELŌAIAOE."

And take thirteen copper needles and stick 1 in the brain while saying, "I am piercing your brain, NN"; and stick 2 in the ears and 2 in the eyes and 1 in the
325 mouth and 2 / in the midriff and 1 in the hands and 2 in the pudenda and 2 in the soles, saying each time, "I am piercing such and such a member of her, NN, so that she may remember no one but me, NN, alone."

330 And take a lead tablet[67] and write the same / spell and recite it. And tie the lead leaf to the figures with thread from the loom after making 365 knots while saying as you have learned, "ABRASAX, hold her fast!" You place it, as the sun is setting, beside the grave of one who has died untimely or violently, placing beside it also the seasonal flowers.

335 ***The spell to be written / and recited is***: "I entrust this binding spell to you, chthonic gods, HYESEMIGADŌN and KORĒ PERSEPHONE ERESCHIGAL and ADONIS the BARBARITHA, infernal HERMES THŌOUTH PHŌKENTAZEPSEU AERCHTHA-
340 THOUMI / SONKTAI KALBANACHAMBRĒ and to mighty ANUBIS PSIRINTH, who holds the keys to Hades, to infernal gods and daimons, to men and women who have died untimely deaths, to youths and maidens, from year to year, month to
345 month, day to day, / hour to hour. I adjure all daimons in this place to stand as assistants beside this daimon. And arouse yourself for me,[68] whoever you are, whether male or female,[69] and go to every place and into every quarter and to every
350 house, and attract / and bind her. Attract her, NN, whom NN bore and whose

65. The sudden shift to the plural τελέσατε is strange. Preisendanz suggests that δαίμονες is the subject, but no daimons appear in the spell. Can the subject be the *voces magicae* themselves? [E.N.O.]

66. A figurine similar to the one described here, together with a lead tablet containing an inscription nearly identical to that of ll. 335–406, has been found in Egypt. See S. Kambitsis, "Une nouvelle tablette magique d'Égypte, Musée du Louvre, Inv. E 27145, 3e/4e siècle," *BIFAO* 76 (1976): 213–23 and plates.

67. For a parallel to this passage, see Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 56–58 (no. 1, ll. 6–16).

68. See on this point Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 70–71.

69. Egyptian lists of demons and demon-induced diseases carefully distinguish between male and female. For a characteristic example, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1970) 6–11. [R.K.R.]

magical material you possess. Let her be in love with me, NN whom she, NN bore. Let her not be had in a promiscuous way,[70] let her not be had in her ass, nor let her do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone, NN, so that she, NN, be unable either to drink or eat, that she not / be contented, not be strong, not have peace of mind, that she, NN, not find sleep without me, NN, because I adjure you by the name that causes fear and trembling, the name at whose sound the earth opens, the name at whose terrifying sound the daimons are terrified, / the name at whose sound rivers and rocks burst assunder. I adjure you, god of the dead, whether male or female, by BARBARITHA CHENMBRA BAROUCHAMBRA and by the ABRAT ABRASAX SESENGEN BARPHARANGGĒS and by the glorious AŌIA / MARI and by the MARMAREŌTH MARMARAUŌTH MARMARAŌTH MARECHTHANA AMARZA MARIBEŌTH; do not fail, god of the dead, to heed my commands and names, but just arouse yourself from the repose which holds you, / whoever you are, whether male or female, and go to every place, into every quarter, into every house, and attract her, NN, to me and with a spell keep her from eating and drinking, and do not allow her, NN, to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, / not even that of her own husband, just that of mine, NN. Instead, drag her, NN, by the hair, by her heart, by her soul, to me, NN, at every hour of life, day and night, until she comes to me, NN, and may she, NN, remain / inseparable from me. Do this, bind her for all the time of my life and help force her, NN to be serviceable to me, NN, and let her not frolic away from me for even one hour of life. If you accomplish this for me, I will quickly allow you your repose. / For I am BARBAR ADŌNAI who hides the stars, who controls the brightly shining heaven, the lord of the world, ATHTHOUIN IATHOUIN SELBIOUŌTH AŌTH SARBATHIOUTH IATHTHIERATH ADŌNAI IA ROURA BIA BI BIOTHĒ ATHŌTH / SABAŌTH ĒA NIAPHA AMARACHTHI SATAMA ZAUATHTHEIĒ SERPHO IALADA IALĒ SBĒSI IATHTHA MARADTHA ACHILTHTHEE CHOŌŌ OĒ ĒACHŌ KANSAOSA ALKMOURI THYR THAŌOS SIECHĒ. I am THOTH OSŌMAI; / attract her, bind her, NN, filled with love, desire and yearning for NN (add the usual), because I adjure you, god of the dead, by the fearful, great IAEŌ BAPH RENEMOUN OTHI LARIKRIPHIA EYEAI PHIRKIRALITHON YOMEN ER PHABŌEAI, / so that you attract her, NN, to me and join head to head and fasten lip to lip and join belly to belly and draw thigh close to thigh and fit black together with black, and let her, NN, carry out her own sex acts / with me, NN, for all eternity.

Then write on the other side of the tablet the heart and the characters as they are below:

"IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEAI

AEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEA

AŌ EŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌE III

EA ŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌ OEŌ

IŌ BAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OIEE

YO APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHA OEYI

IO PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPH OEYY

OE IAYY

IŌAE YYAA

EOĒI OIII

YAOU YAEE

IAŌI EŌAY

AĒAĒ OOYI

IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKI

70. See on this point Wortmann, "Neue magische Text," 72.

ĒIOI ĒĒEA
ŌIYA AAIA
AŌOE IIIŌ
425 YIŌĒ EEAŌ
EOAŌA ĒĒAŌ
YAYA ĒIĒE
IOĒIIĒ OAĒI
IAŌI ĒIYI
430 AOAO ĒĒOI
YYOI YAAI
ĒIIA
AAŌŌ"

435 ***Prayer that belongs to the procedure***: At sunset, while holding / the magical material from the tomb, say:

"Borne[71] on the breezes of the wandr'ing winds,
Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame's
Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
Around the great pole, who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing, /
440 From whom, indeed, all elements have been
Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
The world with its four yearly turning points.
Hear, blessed one, for I call you who rule
Heaven and earth, Chaos and Hades, where
Men's daimons dwell who once gazed on the light, /
445 And even now I beg you, blessed one,
Unfailing one, the master of the world,
If you go to the depths of earth and search
The regions of the dead, send this daimon,
From whose body I hold this remnant in my hands,
To her, NN, at midnight hours,
To move by night to orders 'neath your force, /
450 That all I want within my heart he may
Perform for me; and send him gentle, gracious
And pondering no hostile thoughts toward me,
And be not angry at my potent chants,
For you yourself arranged these things among
Mankind for them to learn about the threads
Of the Moirai, and this with your advice. /
455 I call your name, Horus,[72] which is in number
Equivalent to those of the Moirai,
ACHAIPHŌ THŌTHŌ PHIACHA AIĒ ĒIA IAĒ ĒIA THŌTHŌ PHIACHA.
Be kind to me, forefather, scion of
The world, self-gendered, fire-bringer, aglow
Like gold, shining on mortals, master of
460 The world, / daimon of restless fire, unfailing,
With gold disk, sending earth pure light in beams.

71. The following dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): v. 1–17, 20, 22–28. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see *PGM* I. 315–27; IV. 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. [E.N.O.]

72. For Horus equated with Helios, cf. *PGM* IV. 989.

Send the daimon, whomever I have requested, to her, NN" (add the usual).

In another version, the name is: "ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ ĒIA IAĒ ĒIŌ THŌ THŌ PHIACHA." / ***In another it is***: "ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ IĒA ĒAI IAĒ AĒI ĒIA ŌTHŌ- 465
THŌ PHIACHA."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 467–68

***Charm to restrain anger**: "Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against Zeus?"[73]

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The same spell occurs at *PGM* IV. 831–32.

PGM IV. 469–70

***To get friends:**

/ "Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies."[74] 470

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The same charm using a verse from Homer (*Iliad* 10. 193) occurs in *PGM* IV. 833–34. Since there the single verse alone serves as a charm to get friends, and since the papyrus manuscript separates all verses with paragraph marks, it seems likely that the following four verses served as separate charms, though the original titles have been lost. Furthermore, since the three verses (*Iliad* 10.564, 10.521, and 10.572) that follow form a natural grouping in *PGM* IV. 2145ff. (cf. IV. 821–23), we have preserved that grouping in *PGM* IV. 471–73, below, though it is not clear whether the copyist inserted these verses here by mistake or whether the reader was to understand from *PGM* IV. 2145ff. that the spell served as a "divine assistance from three Homeric verses."

PGM IV. 471–73

*. . .

"After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch."[75]

"and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter."[76]

"and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them."[77]

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. This untitled charm contains three verses of Homer that also occur in *PGM* IV. 821–23 and IV. 2145ff. It is presumed that these verses served the same functions as those listed in ll. 2145ff. See the introductory note on the previous spell. The verses all come from the tenth book of the Iliad and presumably could be read together.

PGM IV. 474

*". . . Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him."[78]

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. Cf. the introductory note on *PGM* IV. 469–70, and see *PGM* IV. 830, with n.

73. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. For the use of single Homeric verses as charms and amulets, see R. Heim, "Incantamenta magica graeca latina," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, *Supplementband* 9 (1893), section X: *Versus Homerici et Vergiliani* (pp. 514–20).

74. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193.

75. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. The referent of "he" is Odysseus in the original context.

76. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. Again, the papyrus quotes only a portion of the Homeric text. "Men" is the object of "saw" in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who saw.

77. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of "they" is Odysseus and Diomedes.

78. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The papyrus quotes only a single verse and leaves the syntax of "him" unaccounted for. In Homer, "him" is governed by "bound" in l. 386.

PGM IV. 475–829

*Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche,[79] as I write these mysteries handed down [not] for gain but for instruction; and for an only child I request immortality, O initiates of this our power (furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daughter, to take / the juices of herbs and spices, which will [be made known] to you at the end of my holy treatise), which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be revealed to me by his archangel, so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an inquirer / and behold the universe.

This is the invocation of the spell:

"First origin of my origin, AEĒIOYŌ, first beginning of my beginning, PPP SSS[80] PHR[E], spirit of spirit,[81] the first of the spirit / in me, MMM, fire given by god to my mixture of the mixtures in me, the first of the fire in me, ĒY ĒIA EĒ, water of water, the first of the water in me, ŌŌŌ AAA EEE, earthy material, the first of the earthy material in me, / YĒ YŌĒ, my complete body, I, NN whose mother is NN, which was formed by a noble arm and an incorruptible right hand in a world without light and yet radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul, YĒI AYI EYŌIE: now if it be your will, METERTA / PHŌTH (METHARTHA PHĒRIĒ, in another place)[82] IEREZATH, give me over to immortal birth and, following that, to my underlying nature, so that, after the present need which is pressing me exceedingly, I may gaze upon the immortal / beginning with the immortal spirit, ANCHREPHRENESOUPHIRIGCH, with the immortal water, ERONOUI PARAKOUNĒTH, with the most steadfast air, EIOAĒ PSENABŌTH; that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRAX R OIM ENARCHOMAI, / and the sacred spirit may breathe in me, NECHTHEN APOTOU NECHTHIN ARPI ĒTH; so that I may wonder at the sacred fire, KYPHE; that I may gaze upon the unfathomable, awesome water of the dawn, NYŌ THESŌ ECHŌ OUCHIECHŌA, and the vivifying / and encircling aether may hear me, ARNOMĒTHPH; for today I am about to behold, with immortal eyes—I, born mortal from mortal womb, but transformed by tremendous power and an incorruptible right hand / and with immortal spirit, the immortal Aion and master of the fiery diadems—I, sanctified through holy consecrations—while there subsists within me, holy, for a short time, my human soul-might, which I will again / receive after the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down upon me—I, NN, whose mother is NN, according to the immutable decree of god, EYĒ YIA EĒI AŌ EIAY IYA IEŌ. Since it is impossible for me, born / mortal, to rise with the golden brightnesses of the immortal brilliance, ŌĒY AEŌ ĒYA EŌĒ YAE ŌIAE, stand, O perishable nature of mortals, and at once [receive] me safe and sound after the inexorable and pressing / need. For I am the son PSYCHŌN DEMOU PROCHŌ PRŌA, I am MACHARPH[.]N MOU PRŌPSYCHŌN PRŌE."

Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up 3 times as much as you can, and you will see yourself being lifted up and / ascending to the height, so that you seem to be in midair. You will hear nothing either of man or of any other living thing, nor in that hour will you see anything of mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all

79. The goddess Psyche, "Soul." Some scholars read Tyche, "Fortune." On the problem see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 2, 49–52, 70–72, 230–32. On the "Mithras Liturgy," see M. W. Meyer, *The 'Mithras Liturgy'* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976).

80. For the meaning of popping and hissing noises in magic, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 40–43, 228–29; R. Lasch, "Das Pfeifen und Schnalzen und seine Beziehung zu Dämonenglauben und Zauberei," *ARW* 18 (1915): 589–93. See also ll. 561–62, and 578–79 below, and elsewhere in the *PGM*.

81. "Spirit," "breath," "wind" (πνεῦμα) is one of the four elements.

82. This is evidence that the scribe had at least one other copy of the spell. See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 4, 221.

immortal things. For in that day / and hour you will see the divine order of the skies: the presiding gods rising into heaven, and others setting. Now the course of the visible gods will appear through the disk of god, my father; and in similar fashion the so-called pipe, / the origin of the ministering wind. For you will see it hanging from the sun's disk like a pipe. You will see the outflow of this object toward the regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the east—and the other (viz., the west wind), similarly, toward its own / regions. And you will see the gods staring intently at you and rushing at you.

So at once put your right finger on your mouth[83] and say:

"Silence! Silence! Silence!
Symbol of the living, incorruptible god! /
Guard me, Silence, NECHTHEIR THANMELOU!"

Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound, and say:

"PROPROPHEGGĒ MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGĒ NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PITĒTMI MEŌY ENARTH PHYRKECHŌ PSYRIDARIŌ / TYRĒ PHILBA."

Then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs.

So when you see that the world above is clear / and circling, and that none of the gods or angels is threatening you, expect to hear a great crash of thunder, so as to shock you. Then say again:

"Silence! Silence! (the prayer) I am a star, wandering about with you, and shining forth out of / the deep, OXY O XERTHEUTH."

Immediately after you have said these things the sun's disk will be expanded. And after you have said the second prayer, where there is "Silence! Silence!" and the accompanying words, make a hissing sound twice and a popping sound twice, and immediately you will see / many five-pronged stars coming forth from the disk and filling all the air. Then say again: "Silence! Silence!" And when the disk is open, you will see the fireless circle, and the fiery doors shut tight. /

At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer. ***The third prayer***:

"Give ear to me, hearken to me, NN, whose mother is NN, O lord, you who have bound together with your breath the fiery bars of the fourfold / root,[84]

O Fire-walker, PENTITEROUNI,
Light-maker (others: Encloser), SEMESILAM,
Fire-breather, PSYRINPHEU,
Fire-feeler, IAŌ,
Light-breather, ŌAI,
Fire-delighter, ELOURE,
Beautiful light, AZAI,
Aion, ACHBA,
/ Light-master, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,[85]
Fire-body, PHNOUĒNIOCH,
Light-giver, . . .

83. For examples of this common depiction on stones, see the engraved gem showing Harpokrates with his finger to his mouth, in F. M. and J. H. Schwartz, "Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society, I: Ancient Magical Amulets," *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 24 (1979) no. 3, p. 159. See also the bronze statue in G. S. Gasparro, *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, *EPRO* 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), plate XLV, fig. 66.

84. Reading τετραριζώματος with Hopfner (see apparatus ad loc.) rather than τεταλιζώματος. The reading of the manuscript, on the other hand, suggests διαζώματος (*cf. C. H., Frag.* 26.8). [W.B.]

85. For PIPI as a permutation of the tetragrammaton, the Hebrew divine name, see S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1942) 120 n. 38;

Fire-sower, AREI EIKITA,
Fire-driver, GALLABALBA,
Light-forcer, AIŌ,
Fire-whirler, PYRICHIBOOSĒIA,
Light-mover, SANCHERŌB,
Thunder-shaker /, IĒ ŌĒ IŌĒIŌ,
Glory-light, BEEGENĒTE,
Light-increaser, SOUSINEPHIEN,
Fire-light-maintainer, SOUSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI MARMARENTEU,
Star-tamer . . .

Open for me, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHEIRE MORIOMOTYRĒPHILBA, because, / on account of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity, I invoke the immortal names, living and honored, which never pass into mortal nature and are not declared in articulate speech by human tongue or mortal speech / or mortal sound: ĒEŌ OĒEŌ IŌŌ OĒ ĒEŌ ĒEŌ OĒ EŌ IŌŌ OĒĒE ŌĒE ŌOĒ IĒ ĒŌ OŌ OĒ IEŌ OĒ ŌOĒ IEŌ OĒ IEEŌ EĒ IŌ OĒ IOĒ ŌĒŌ EOĒ OEŌ ŌIĒ ŌIĒ EŌ OI III ĒOĒ ŌYĒ ĒŌOĒE EŌ ĒIA AĒA EĒA / ĒEEĒ EEĒ EEĒ IEŌ ĒEŌ OĒEEOĒ ĒEŌ ĒYŌ OĒ EIŌ ĒŌ ŌĒ ŌĒ EE OOO YIŌĒ."

Say all these things with fire and spirit, until completing the first utterance; then, similarly, begin the second, until you complete the / 7 immortal gods of the world.[86] When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the surrounding realm; and you will likewise feel yourself being agitated. Then say again: "Silence!" (the prayer). Then open your eyes, and you will see the doors / open and the world of the gods which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends.

So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you look intently. Then when / your soul is restored, say:

"Come, lord, ARCHANDARA PHŌTAZA PYRIPHŌTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO PHORATHĒN ERIĒ PROTHRI PHORATHI."

When you have said this, the rays will turn toward you; look at the center of them. For when / you have done this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in appearance, with fiery hair, and in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a fiery crown.[87] At once greet him with the fire greeting:

"Hail, O lord, Great Power, Great Might, / King, Greatest of gods, Helios, the Lord of heaven and earth, God of gods: mighty is your breath; mighty is your strength, O lord. If it be your will, announce me to the supreme god, the one who has begotten and made you: that a man—I, NN,[88] whose mother is NN, / who was born from the mortal womb of NN and from the fluid of semen, and who, since he

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M. Philonenko, "L'Anguipède alectorocéphale et le dieu IAÔ" *Academie des inscriptions et belles lettres, comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1979* 297–304, where further material is collected and discussed. In *PGM* see also III. 575; IV. 1984; XVIIa. 1–2; cf. also III. 335.

86. For the following section of the ritual, cf. the combination of the seven grades of the initiation, the planetary gods, and the ascension in the mysteries of Mithras. See esp. R. Beck, "Interpreting the Ponza-Zodiac: II," *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 2 (1978): 120–35; R. Merkelbach, *Weihegrade und Seelenlehre der Mithrasmysterien* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982) 13–21; also J. Bergman, "*Per omnia vectus elementa remeavi*. Réflexions sur l'arrière-plan égyptien du voyage de salut d'un myste isiaque," in U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' impero romano*, *EPRO* 92 (Leiden: Brill, 1982): 671–708.

87. Cf. the well-preserved fresco from the Mithras temple in Capua. For a color photo, see Merkelbach, *Weihegrade* 34.

88. For the interpretation of this self-presentation, see Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 170.

has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of god the exceedingly good—resolves to worship / you, and prays with all his human power, that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today, which has the name THRAPSIARI MORIROK, that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours, EŌRŌ RŌRE ŌRRI ŌRIŌR RŌR RŌI / ŌR REŌRŌRI EŌR EŌR EŌRE!"

After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road. Look intently, and make a long bellowing sound, like a horn, releasing all your breath and straining your sides; and kiss / the phylacteries and say, first toward the right: "Protect me, PROSYMĒRI!"

After saying this, you will see the doors[89] thrown open, and seven virgins[90] coming from deep within, dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps.[91] They are called the Fates / of heaven, and wield golden wands. When you see them, greet them in this manner:

"Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars![92] / Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAĒS! Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEĒS! Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN! Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHĒS![93] Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIĒ! Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAĒS! Hail to you, the seventh, EROU ROMBRIĒS!"

There also come forth another seven gods,[94] who have the faces of black bulls, in linen / loincloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems. They are the so-called Pole Lords of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner, each of them with his own name:

"Hail, O guardians of the pivot, O sacred and brave youths, who turn / at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious people, but to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body / and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day, O my lords and powerfully ruling gods! Hail to you, the first, AIERŌNTHI! Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS! Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOUR! / Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTŌ! Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHRŌALITHŌ! Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHŌPS! Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHĒ!"

Now when they take their place, here and there, in order, look in the air and you will see lightning bolts going down, and lights flashing /, and the earth shaking,

89. Cf. the seven gates of the mosaic of the *Mitreo delle sette sfere* at Ostia and the inscribed term ἑπτάπυλος, "seven-gated." See M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, vol. I (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1966) 137, fig. 82; Merkelbach, *Weihegrade* 65.

90. For the seven virgins, see the discussion by Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 69–72, who also refers to the seven Hathors of Egyptian religion.

91. This seems to be an Egyptian idea, where three serpents stand for the word "goddess." One Egyptian Fate, *Rnnwtet* (Thermutis), is known to have a serpent face. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 362. [R.K.R.]

92. For this Egyptian cosmology, see H. Frankfort et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946) 45–47; D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen. Die "Tw3 pt"-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975) 90, 98. [R.K.R.]

93. Cf. the Egyptian *harmachis*, "Horus who is on the horizon."

94. For a discussion of the seven young men, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 70–75. In the Mithras mysteries the seven grades of initiates were each under the tutelage of a planetary deity. See Merkelbach, *Weihegrade* 13–14.

and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers,[95] and holding in his right hand a golden / shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour.[96] Then you will see lightning bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body.

And at once / make a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses; bellow long until out of breath, and again kiss the phylacteries, and say:

"MOKRIMO PHERIMO PHERERI, life of me, NN: stay! Dwell in / my soul![97] Do not abandon me, for ENTHO PHENEN THROPIŌTH commands you."

And gaze upon the god while bellowing long; and greet him in this manner:

"Hail, O Lord, O Master of the water! Hail, O Founder of the earth! Hail, O Ruler of the wind! O Bright Lightener /, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THĒTH MIMEŌ YENARŌ PHYRCHECHŌ PSĒRI DARIŌ PHRĒ PHRĒLBA! Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter. O lord, while being born again, I am passing away; while growing and having grown, / I am dying; while being born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on, released to death—as you have founded, as you have decreed, and have established the mystery. I am PHEROURA MIOURI."

After you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation. / Now you will grow weak in soul and will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He speaks the oracle to you in verse, and after speaking he will depart. But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself; for at a later time / you will remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even if the oracle contained myriads of verses.

If you also wish to use a fellow initiate, so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken, let him remain pure with you for [seven] / days, and abstain from meat and the bath. And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as if prophesying in ecstasy. And if you also wish to show him, then judge whether he is completely worthy as a man /: treat him just as if in his place you were being judged in the matter of immortalization, and whisper to him the first prayer, of which the beginning is "First origin of my origin,[98] AEĒIOYŌ." And say the successive things as an initiate, over his / head, in a soft voice,[99] so that he may not hear, as you are anointing his face with the mystery. This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if anyone, O child, after the teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer / be in effect.

95. The description of the god Mithras agrees with extant pictures. See esp. the frescoes from Dura Europos, published in M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1956, 1960); see also the discussion in Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78.

96. For the interpretation of this passage, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78, 234; R. Beck, "Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac," *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1 (1976): 1–19, esp. 2; 2 (1978): 87–147, esp. 120–27; R. L. Gordon and J. R. Hinnels, "Some New Photographs of Well-known Mithraic Monuments," ibid. 2 (1978): 213–19. Cf. also Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, col. V. 1 with note; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* 86–89.

97. The combination of *ζωή* "life," and *ψυχή* "soul," suggests erotic overtones (see Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 195 for *ζωὴ καὶ ψυχή*, and the note on *PGM* IV. 377). [E.N.O.] In fact, sculptures portraying Eros and Psyche were found in the Mithras sanctuaries at Capua and under the Church of S. Prisca in Rome. See Merkelbach, *Weihegrade* 22–24, and photos on pp. 68–69.

98. For this prayer, see *PGM* IV. 486–537.

99. Cf. on this point Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 22. 1: *lento murmure susurrat*, "he whispers with a soft murmur"; Apuleius, *Met.* 1.3. See also G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ²1965) 58.

Instruction for the rite: Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at the time when the moon is invisible;[100] put in together with it the seed of the fruit pulp of the lotus, / and honey; and, after grinding it, prepare a cake. And at once you will see it [viz., the scarab] moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish; and / spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, set the vessel on it, and say the formula over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in midheaven:

"I have consecrated you, that your material may be useful to me, to NN alone, IE IA ĒEĒ O Y EIA, that you may prove useful to me / alone, for I am PHŌR PHORA PHŌS PHOTIZAAS" (others: "PHŌR PHŌR OPHOTHEI XAAS").

On the 7th day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine[101] and fine linen; and put it away in a flourishing bean field. / Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, put away, in a pure manner, the ointment for the immortalization.

If you want to show this to someone else, take the juice of the herb called *kentritis*, and smear, it, along with rose oil, over the eyes of the one you wish; / and he will see so clearly that he will amaze you. I have not found a greater spell than this in the world. Ask the god for what you want, and he will give to you.

Now the encounter with the great god is like this: Having obtained the abovementioned herb / *kentritis*, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion,[102] take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-lettered name, as given below.[103] And having kept yourself pure for 3 days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise; / lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun, and then he [the sun god] will listen to you attentively. Begin to prepare [the scarab] on the new moon in the lion, according to the god's [reckoning].[104]

Now this is the name: "I EE OO IAI." Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf /, throw it into the rose oil. Many times have I used the spell, and have wondered greatly.

But the god said to me:

"Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river, [you must] consult while wearing the great mystery / of the scarab revitalized through the 25 living birds,[105] and consult once a month, at full moon, instead of 3 times a year."

The *kentritis* plant grows from the month of Payni, in the regions of the / black earth, and is similar to the erect verbena. This is how to recognize it: an ibis wing is dipped at its black tip and smeared with the juice, and the feathers fall off when touched. After the lord / pointed this out, it was found in Menelaitis in Phalagry, at the river banks, near the *besas* plant. It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit / like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called *talapēs*, like the wild beet.

100. Literally, "at the seizure of the moon," probably designating the new moon.

101. Cf. *PGM* I. 85–86 and n.

102. That is, at the new moon.

103. See *PGM* IV. 788.

104. The new moon of god, according to the heavens, in contrast to the new moon of man, according to the calendar.

105. The allusion to the twenty-five birds is obscure; it may be related to the hours, so that the scarab Khepri is reborn in the first hour of a new day, after the passage of twelve hours of day and twelve hours of night during the previous day.

Now the phylacteries require this procedure: copy that for the right [arm] onto
815 the skin / of a black sheep, with myrrh ink, and after tying it with sinews of the same animal, put it on; and copy that [for] the left [arm] onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same procedure. The left one is very full of "PROSTHY-
820 MĒRI" /, and has this memorandum: [106]

"So speaking, he drove through the trench the single-hoofed horses." [107]
"And men gasping among grievous slaughters." [108]
"And they washed off their profuse sweat in the sea." [109]
"You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus." [110]

825 / Zeus went up the mountain with a golden bullock and a silver dagger. Upon all he bestowed a share, only to Amara did he not give, but he said: [111]
"Let go of what you have, and then you will receive, PSINŌTHER NŌPSITHER THERNŌPSI" (add the usual). [112]
*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 830

830 *. . . "Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him." [113]
Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 831–32

***Charm to restrain anger**: "Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against Zeus?" [114]
Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 833–34

***To Get Friends**: "Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies." [115]
Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 835–49

835 *From 53 years and 9 months on Hermes took the period up to 10 years and 9 months, from which he assigned to himself 20 months, which would be 55 years 5
840 months; then to Aphrodite 8 months, / which would thus be 56 years 1 month;

106. The relationship of the poetic quotations in the following, which repeat those in ll. 468–74, and the Mithras liturgy is obscure. They seem unrelated; see Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus* (see above, Introduction, n. 24), which shows a blank after l. 820 and a sign indicating a new paragraph. For a different view, cf. Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 84. [M.S.]

107. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564.

108. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521.

109. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572.

110. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. See *PGM* IV. 467–68 above and 830–31 below. Probably this verse served as a spell to restrain anger, but it may be misplaced here.

111. That these verses are part of the *ὑπόμνημα* ("the memorandum," l. 821) seems unlikely. More probably, a heading has been lost, and the verses contain an altogether independent spell. Story spells (*historiolae*) were ancient (see Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, nos. 7, 75, 148, 154, 157, 158, etc.). They usually tell of a happening such as they are meant to produce (cf., e.g., *PGM* VII. 199–201; IV. 1471–79). This story tells of a person compelled or bribed to give up something; it could have been used to make a person give up anger. Hence it may have been attached to the Homeric verse for that purpose and was interpolated here. The name Amara is obscure; it could mean "the bitter woman" (Hebrew or Latin; cf. Ru 1:20, Vulgate).

112. Cf. *Pistis Sophia* 136 and 142, also with permutations of IAŌ. PSINŌTHER is Egyptian for "the sons of god." [R.K.R.] See also *PGM* III. 186 and n. See Glossary, s.v. "THERNOPSI formula."

113. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The same verse occurs in *PGM* IV. 474.

114. Homer, *Il.* 6. 424, quoted also *PGM* IV. 468, 824.

115. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193. See *PGM* IV. 470, where the same verse is quoted.

then to Helios 19 months, which would be 57 years 8 months. In this period assigned to Helios, that is to the 19 months, devote yourself to what you seek. After this he assigned to Ares 15 months, which would be 58 years 11 months. This is a hostile period. / Then to Selene 25 months, which would be 61 years. They are good. Then to Zeus 12 months, which would be 62 years. They are good. Then to Kronos 30 months, which would be 64½ years. They are bad for the body; within them also are the dangerous points.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. The section appears to be a fragment from an astrological work about the influence of the planets upon the periods of life.

PGM IV. 850–929

***Charm of Solomon that produces a trance**[116] (works both on boys and on adults): I swear to you by the holy gods and the heavenly gods not to share the procedure of Solomon with anyone and certainly not to use it for something questionable[117] / unless a matter of necessity forces you, lest perchance wrath be preserved for you.

Formula to be spoken: "OURIŌR AMĒN IM TAR CHŌB KLAMPHŌB PHRĒ[118] PHRŌR PTAR OUSIRI SAIŌB TĒLŌ KABĒ / MANATATHŌR ASIŌRIKŌR BĒEINŌR AMOUN ŌM MĒNICHTHA MACHTHA CHTHARA AMACHTHA AOU ALAKAMBŌT BĒSINŌR APHĒSIŌR PHRĒPH AMĒI OUR LAMASIR CHĒRIŌB PITRĒM / PHĒŌPH NIRIN ALLANNATHATH CHĒRIŌCH ŌNĒ BOUSIRI NINOUNO AMANAL GAGŌSARIĒR MĒNIAM TLĒR OOO AA ETNĒ OUSIRI OUSIRI OURISI OURISI MĒNĒMB MNĒM / BRABĒL TNĒKAIŌB. Hear me, that is, my holy voice, because I call upon your holy names, and reveal to me concerning the thing which I want, through the NN man or little boy, for otherwise I will not defend your holy and undefiled / names. Come to me, you who became Hesies and were carried away by a river; inspire the NN man or boy concerning that which I ask you: BARBĒTH MNŌR ARARIAK TARĒRIM ŌAR TĒRŌK SANIŌR MĒNIK PHAUEK / DAPHORIOUMIN LARIŌR ĒTNIAMIM KNŌS CHALAKTHIR KRŌPHĒR PHĒSIMŌT PRĒBIB KNALA ĒRIBĒTIM GNŌRI. Come to me through the NN man or little boy and tell me accurately since / I speak your names which thrice-greatest Hermes[119] wrote in Heliopolis with hieroglyphic letters: ARBAKŌRIPH MĒNIAM ŌBAŌB ABNIŌB MĒRIM BAIAX CHENŌR PHĒNIM ŌRA ŌRĒSIOU OUSIRI[120] PNIAMOUSIRI / PHRĒOUSIRI HŌRIOUSIRI NAEIŌROUSIRI MĒNIMOUSIRI MNĒKOUSIRI PHLĒKOUSIRI PĒLĒLOUSIRI ŌNIŌ RABKOUSIRI ANIŌBOUSIRI AMĒAOUSIRI ANŌROUSIRI AMĒNĒPHĒOUSIRI / AMĒNIOUSIRI XŌNIŌR ĒOUROUSIRI. Enter into him and reveal to me concerning the NN matter."

After you have purified the designated man [by keeping him] from intercourse for 3 days, you yourself also being pure, enter together with him.[121] After you have taken him up / to an open place, seat him on unbaked bricks, dress him and give him an anubian head of wheat[122] and a falconweed plant so that he will be protected. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, extend your hands / up

116. Literally, the title means "Solomon's Collapse," an indication of ecstatic seizure.

117. Or "for trivial reasons."

118. The names include the gods Prē, Osiris, and Amon.

119. That is, Hermes Trismegistos. For this name, see *PGM* VII. 551 and n.

120. The following list, after "Osiris," contains a series of compound deities whose second element is the god Osiris, but only some can be identified: Pre-Osiris, Horus-Osiris, Onnuris-Osiris, Amenophis-Osiris, and Amon-Osiris. [R.K.R.]

121. The following account has a parallel in *Test. Sol.* I. 3, ed. McCown, p. *8, ll. 5–15.

122. The meaning of Anubis's head of grain is not known. On the god Anubis, see J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, *EPRO* 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), esp. p. 139 for ear of grain. [R.K.R.]

to heaven, toward the rays of the sun, and say the formula 7 times. Next make an offering of male frankincense after pouring out wine, beer, honey, or milk of a black cow onto grapevine wood. Then say the formula 7 times just into the ear / of the NN man or little boy, and right away he will fall down. But you sit down on the bricks and make your inquiry, and he will describe everything with truth. You should crown him with a garland of indigenous wormwood, / both him and you, for god delights in the plant.

Dismissal of the lord: into the ear of NN: "ANANAK ARBEOUĒRI AEĒIOYŌ."

If he tarries, sacrifice on grapevine charcoal a sesame seed [and] black cumin while saying: / "ANANAK ŌRBEOUSIRI AEĒIOYŌ, go away, lord, to your own thrones and protect him, NN, from all evil." You learned thoroughly; keep it secret.

The awakening[123] [of the man or boy] is as follows: Stand away from the boy or man, having your / palms spread on your buttocks, your feet together on the ground, recite [the following] often until he is moved either toward the right or toward the left: "AMOUN ĒEI[124] ABRIATH KICHŌP ŌTEM PITH." Then as a dog.[125]
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 930–1114

Charm that produces a direct vision**:[126] ***Prayer for divine alliance, which you are to say first toward the sunrise, then the same first prayer is to be spoken to a lamp. Whenever you seek divinations, be dressed in the garb of a prophet, shod with fibers of the doum palm and / your head crowned with a spray from an olive tree—but the spray should have a single-shooted garlic tied around the middle. Clasp a pebble numbered 3663[127] to your breasts, and in this way make your invocation.

Hymn:[128]

"Hail,[129] serpent, and[130] stout lion, natural
Sources of fire.[131] / And hail, clear water and
Lofty-leafed tree,[132] and you who gather up

123. The translation of this difficult term follows Preisendanz (see apparatus ad loc.).

124. AMOUN ĒEI is equivalent to Egyptian "Amon comes" (?), with Greek *ηει* standing for Egyptian *iy*. [R.K.R.]

125. Probably referring to barking; cf. *PGM* IV. 1006.

126. This is equivalent to the type of Demotic spell called *ph-ntr*-spell, literally, a "god's arrival" spell. See J. H. Johnson, "Louvre E 3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977):90–91.

127. According to Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 184, the mystical number is 3663 and refers to BAINCHŌŌŌCH (the numerical value of the Greek letters being 2 + 1 + 10 + 50 + 600 + 800 + 800 + 600 = 3663.

128. Preisendanz ends the hymn at l. 948, but the petition to the god continues through l. 955. Ll. 949–54 include references to the spell for a direct vision, the lamp divination, and the prayer for divine alliance. Thus the present form of these lines comes from the time when the spell was put together. Ll. 949–54 contain vestiges of verse and originally may have been part of the hymn which was composed by the final author; or they may be a prose addition to part of an earlier hymn, perhaps substituting for, or expanding the petition in, the original hymn. [W.C.G.]

129. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 3; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238.

130. *τε*, though necessary to the sense, mars the hexameter. [E.N.O.]

131. A possible echo of a pre-Socratic expression, but to the author of this spell this phrase must have had a much different meaning. Preisendanz wants to emend and read *Φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή* ("O Nature and fire's origin"), but the emendation is more clever than persuasive. For Physis as a goddess, see *PGM* I. 310 and n. [E.N.O.]

132. An adaptation of Homer, *Od.* 4. 458, which in the context of the spell indicates that the author knew not only the Homeric verse but the whole passage as well. [E.N.O.]

Clover from golden fields of beans,[133] and who
Cause gentle foam to gush forth from pure mouths.
Scarab, who drive the orb of fertile fire,
O self-engendered one,[134] because you are
Two-syllabled, AĒ, and are the first-
Appearing one, / nod me assent, I pray,
Because your mystic symbols I declare,
ĒŌ AI OY AMERR OOUŌTH IYIŌĒ MARMARAUŌTH LAILAM SOUMARTA.
Be gracious unto me, first-father, and
May you yourself send strength as my companion.
Stay allied, lord, and listen to me / through the charm that produces direct vision which I do today, and reveal to me concerning those things I ask you through the lamp divination for direct vision which I do today, I, NN, IY EYĒ OŌ AEĒ IAEĒ AIAĒ E AI EY ĒIE ŌŌŌŌŌ EY ĒŌ / IAŌAI" (repeat).[135]

Light-bringing charm: Crown your head with the same spray, stand in the same fashion facing the lamp, close your eyes and recite this spell 7 times.

Spell: "I call upon you, the living god, / fiery, invisible begetter of light, IAĒL PEIPTA PHŌS ZA PAI PHTHENTHA PHŌSZA PYRI BELIA IAŌ IAO EYŌ OEĒ A ŌY EOI A E Ē I O Y Ō give your strength, rouse your daimon, / enter into this fire, fill it with a divine spirit, and show me your might. Let there be opened for me the house of the all-powerful god ALBALAL,[136] who is in this light. / Let there be light, breadth, depth, length, height, brightness, and let him who is inside shine through, the lord BOUĒL[137] PHTHA PHTHA PHTHAĒL PHTHA ABAI BAINCHŌŌŌCH, now, now; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

Light-retaining spell that is spoken once / in order that the light-magic might remain with you, for sometimes when you invoke the god-bringing spell darkness is produced. Therefore, you should conjure in the following way.

Spell: "I conjure you, holy light, holy brightness, breadth, depth, length, height, brightness, by the holy names / which I have spoken and am now going to speak. By IAŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI AI AI IAO AX AX INAX, remain by me in the present hour, until I pray to the god / and learn about the things I desire."

God-bringing spell to be spoken three times with your eyes open: "I call upon you, the greatest god, sovereign HŌROS HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMŌSI IŌAI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI / ABRAIAŌTH, you who enlighten the universe and by your own power illumine the whole world, god of gods, benefactor, AO IAŌ EAĒY, you who direct night and day, AI AŌ, handle and steer the tiller,[138] restrain the ser-

133. This refers to the Egyptian bean from the Nymphean lotus mentioned in *PGM* IV. 1110. Thus the reference is again to Horus atop the lotus. [R.K.R.]

134. "Self-generation" is a common epithet of Khepri (see Glossary, s.v. "Scarab") and is a pun on his name which means "to come into being." [R.K.R.] See also J. Whittaker, "Self-generating Principles in Second-century Gnostic Systems," in B. Layton, ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. I: The School of Valentinus, *Studies in the History of Religions* (*Supplements to Numen*) 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 176–93.

135. Here the papyrus has the sign //, perhaps signifying doubling. See below, ll. 973 and 1046 (in the papyrus).

136. For this name, see T. Hopfner, "Orientalisch-Religionsgeschichtliches aus den griechischen Zauberpapyri Ägyptens," *Archiv Orientální* 3 (1931): 341.

137. This name is not attested elsewhere.

138. A reference to the solar bark of Re and the serpent Apophis, who attempts daily to devour the sun. Cf. Pritchard, *ANET* 6–7; E. Hornung and A. Badawy, "Apophis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 350–51. [R.K.R.]

pent, / you Good, holy[139] Daimon, whose name is HARBATHANŌPS IAOAI, whom sunrises and sunsets hymn when you arise and set. You who are praised among all gods, angels and daimons, come and appear to me, god of gods, HŌROS / HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMŌSI IAŌ AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAŌTH. Enter, appear to me, lord, because I call upon you as the three baboons[140] call upon you, who speak / your holy name in a symbolic fashion, A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ (speak as a baboon). Enter in, appear to me, lord, for I speak your greatest names: BARBARAI BARBARAŌTH AREMPSOUS PERTAŌMĒCH PERA / KŌNĒTHCH IAŌ BAL BĒL BOL BE SRŌ IAOĒI OYEĒI EĒI EOYĒI AĒI ĒI IAO ĒI. You who are seated on the top of the world and judge the universe, surrounded by the circle of truth and honesty, / IYAĒ IŌAI, enter in; appear to me, lord, to me, the one who is before fire and snow and in the midst of them, because my name is BAINCHŌŌŌCH. I am the one who is from heaven; my name is BALSAMĒS. Enter in, appear to me,[141] / lord, you who have a great name, you whom we all have each in our own heart; your name is BARPHANNĒTH RALPHAI NINTHER CHOUCHAI. You who break apart rocks and change the names of gods, enter in, appear to me, lord, you who have in fire your power / and your strength, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. You who are seated within the 7 poles, AEĒIOYŌ, you who have on your head a golden crown and in your hand a Memnonian staff[142] with which you send out the gods, your name is BARBARIĒL BARBARAIĒL god / BARBARAĒL BĒL BOUĒL. Enter in, lord, and answer me with your holy voice in order that I might hear clearly and unerringly concerning the NN matter, IYEYĒ OŌAEĒ (formula) IAEĒ AIAĒ EAI EYĒIE / ŌŌŌŌŌ IYĒŌ IAŌ AI."

Charm of compulsion: If somehow he delays, say in addition this following incantation (say the incantation one or 3 times): "The great, living god commands you, he who lives for eons of eons, who shakes together, who thunders, who created every / soul and race, IAŌ AŌI ŌIA AIŌ IŌA ŌAI. Enter in, appear to me, lord, happy, kind, gentle, glorious, not angry, because I conjure you by the lord, IAŌ AŌI ŌIA AIŌ IŌA ŌAI APTA PHŌIRA ZAZOU / CHAMĒ. Enter in, lord, appear to me happy, kind, gentle, [glorious,][143] not angry" (repeat).[144]

Salutation said once after the god enters. While holding the pebble, say: "Hail, lord, god of gods, benefactor, HŌROS HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMŌSI IAŌ AI DA/GENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAŌ; let your Hours which you traverse be welcomed; let your Glories[145] be welcomed forever, lord."

139. The occurrence of "holy" between "good" and "daimon" makes it doubtful that the familiar Good Daimon is meant. See Glossary, s.v.; see also the apparatus ad loc.

140. Baboons were thought to praise the sun when they chattered at it. For a representation, see A. Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), vol. I, 39, fig. 22 and pl. I. See also Bonnet, *RÄRG* 7–8, s.v. "Affe." [R.K.R.] On the magician's imitation of the "language" of animals, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sections 778–80. Understanding this language of animals belongs to the traditional phenomenology of the "divine man" and magician. See, e.g., Porphyry, *De abst.* 3. 3, and on the whole topic H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1921); Betz, *Lukian* 28–38.

141. Preisendanz has *φάνη θίμοι*, which should be read as *φάνηθί μοι*, as in *PGM* IV. 1001, 1006, 1015, 1024, 1041, 1045. [W.C.G.]

142. For Memnon as a deified hero in Egypt, see A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia* (Cairo: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1952) 1–21; as recipient of worship, see D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977) 299, no. 82. [R.K.R.]

143. An addition by Preisendanz in order to conform to *PGM* IV. 1042. But such consistency is not always to be expected. Cf. ll. 1063–65 with 1079–80.

144. See the note above on *PGM* IV. 955, regarding the sign for doubling.

145. Cf. *PGM* I. 199 and n.

Charm to retain the god: When he comes in, after greeting him, step with your left heel on the big toe of his right foot, and he will not / go away unless you raise your heel from his toe[146] and at the same time say the dismissal.

Dismissal: Close your eyes, release the pebble which you have been holding, lift the crown up from your head and your heel from his / toe, and, while keeping your eyes closed, say 3 times: "I give thanks to you lord BAINCHŌŌŌCH, who is BALSAMĒS. Go away, go away, lord, into your own heavens, into your own palaces, into your own course. Keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts, free from calamity and without terror. Hear me during my / lifetime."

Dismissal of the brightness: "CHŌŌ CHŌŌ ŌCHŌŌCH,[147] holy brightness." In order that the brightness also go away:[148] "Go away, holy brightness, go away, beautiful and holy light of the highest god, AIAŌNA." Say it one time with closed eyes, smear yourself / with Coptic kohl;[149] smear yourself by means of a golden probe.

Phylactery for the rite, which you must wear for the protection of your whole body: On [a strip][150] from a linen cloth taken from a marble statue of Harpokrates in any temple [whatever] / write with myrrh these things: "I am HOROS ALKIB HARSAMŌSIS IAŌ AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAŌTH, son of ISIS ATHTHA BATHTHA and of OSIRIS OSOR[ON]NŌPHRIS; keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts and without terror during my / lifetime." Place inside the strip of cloth an everliving plant;[151] roll it up and tie it 7 times with threads of Anubis.[152] Wear it around your neck whenever you perform the rite. /

Preparation: Take broad cords of papyrus, tie them to the four corners of the room so that they form an *X*. In the middle of the *X* attach a ring-shaped mat made from single-stemmed wormwood. Provide / a glazed lamp[153] with a wick called reed grass, and rub the wick itself with fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram. Fill the lamp with good olive oil, and place it in the middle, / on the mat. Light the lamp and stand in the previously mentioned fashion, facing the sunrise, whenever you perform the rite, without distinguishing the days.[154] Purify yourself / from everything three days in advance, and rub the wick beforehand with the fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram.

Signs of the lamp: After saying the light-bringing spell, open your eyes and you will see / the light of the lamp becoming like a vault. Then while closing your eyes say (***differently***: 3 . . .[155] after saying 3 times), and after opening your eyes you will see all things wide-open and the greatest brightness within, but the lamp shining nowhere. Then you will see the god / seated on a lotus,[156] decorated with rays, his

146. The translation follows the interpretation by Preisendanz; see the apparatus ad loc.

147. CHŌŌ CHŌŌ ŌCHŌŌCH corresponds to Coptic KŌ KŌ Ō KAKE, "depart, depart, O darkness." [R.K.R.]

148. An attempt on the part of the redactor of the papyrus text to explain the need for a second dismissal.

149. Powdered antimony used as eyepaint.

150. Addition by Eitrem on the basis of l. 1081.

151. A general name for plants that seem to live a long time. See R. Strömberg, *Griechische Pflanzennamen*, *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 46 (Göteborg: Elanders, 1940) 103.

152. On the Anubian thread, see *PGM* I. 147 and n.

153. On this type of faïence, see *PGM* IV. 55 and n.

154. That is, the charm can be performed on any day. For charms that can be used only on certain days, cf. *PGM* III. 275–81; VII. 155–67, 284–89.

155. The text is obscure at this point but seems to include alternative instructions. See apparatus ad loc.

156. The deity seated on the lotus flower is Harpokrates, invoked here in ll. 989, 999–1000, and 1074–75. This standard depiction of Harpokrates is found in all the media during the Greco-Roman

right hand raised in greeting and left [holding] a flail, while being carried in the hands of 2 angels with 12 rays around them.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 930–38; 949–1114) and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 939–48). This spell is a composite, made by combining a lamp divination with a charm for a direct vision and including an introductory prayer for divine alliance. The repetition in the present charm (note especially the two dismissals in ll. 1057ff. and 1065ff. and the explanation in ll. 1066ff.) is a result of the inclusion of similar elements from both of the charms here combined.

PGM IV. 1115–66

1115 *__Hidden__[157] __stele__:[158] "Hail, entire system of the aerial spirit,[159] PHŌGALŌA. Hail, spirit who extends from heaven to earth, ERDĒNEU, and from earth which is in the 1120 middle chamber of the / universe unto the borders of the abyss, MEREMŌGGA.[160] Hail, spirit who enters into me, convulses me, and leaves me kindly according to 1125 the will of god, IŌĒ ZANŌPHIE. / Hail, beginning and end of the immovable nature, DŌRYGLAOPHŌN. Hail, revolution of untiring service by heavenly bodies, RŌGYEU ANAMI PELĒGEŌN ADARA EIŌPH. Hail, radiance of the universe subordi-1130 nate / to the solar ray, IEO YĒŌ IAĒ AI ĒŌY OEI. Hail, orb of the night-illuminating, unequally shining moon, AIŌ RĒMA RŌDOUŌPIA. Hail, all spirits of the aerial im-1135 ages / RŌMIDOUĒ AGANASOU ŌTHAUA. Hail to those to whom the greeting is given with blessing, to brothers and sisters, to holy men and holy women. O great, greatest, round, incomprehensible figure of the universe, heavenly ENRŌCHES-1140 YĒL; / in heaven, PELĒTHEU; of ether, IŌGARAA; in the ether, THŌPYLEO DARDY; watery, IŌĒDES; earthy, PERĒPHIA; fiery, APHTHALYA; windlike, IŌIE ĒŌ AYA; lumi-1145 nous, ALAPIE; dark-looking, / IEPSERIA; shining with heavenly light, ADAMALŌR; moist, fiery, and cold spirit. I glorify you, god of gods, the one who brought order to the universe, AREŌ PIEUA; the one who gathered together the abyss at the invisi-1150 ble foundation of its position, PERŌ MYSĒL / O PENTŌNAX; the one who separated heaven and earth and covered the heaven with eternal, golden wings, RŌDĒRY OYŌA; the one who fixed the earth on eternal foundations, ALĒIOŌA; the one who 1155 hung up / the ether high above the earth, AIE ŌĒ IOYA; the one who scattered the air with self-moving breezes, ŌIE OYŌ; the one who put the water roundabout, 1160 ŌRĒPĒLYA; the one who raises up hurricanes, ŌRISTHAUA; / the one who thunders, THEPHICHYŌNĒL; the one who hurls lightnings, OURĒNES; the one who rains, OSIŌRNI PHEUGALGA; the one who shakes, PERATŌNĒL; the one who produces living creatures, ARĒSIGYLŌA; the god of the Aions; you are great, lord, god, ruler of the

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period. Harpokrates holds the flail, the symbol of royalty, here interpreted as a whip. See A. M. El-Kachab, "Some Gem-Amulets Depicting Harpocrates Seated on a Lotus Flower," *JEA* 57 (1971): 132–45, esp. 133–34. For the gesture of greeting, a modification under the influence of Helios instead of the more common gesture of finger sucking, see S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

157. The exact meaning of *ἀπόκρυφος* is uncertain here. LSJ, s.v., II, gives as possible meanings "obscure, recondite, hard to understand." More likely is the meaning "secret," for which see Bauer, s.v.; cf. also *PGM* XIII. 344, 731, 732, 1057, 1078.

158. The term *stēlē* occurs in the *PGM* with several meanings. Originally it refers to a plate of stone or metal on which texts could be inscribed (e.g., VIII. 42), but most of the time the term is a literary device suggesting the text was copied from a stone slab. It can also refer to an amulet in the shape of a *stēlē* (as in *PGM* VII. 215; see the picture *Tafel I, Abbildung* 1 in Preisendanz, vol. II).

159. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion (see l. 1164). Cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 277–78; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 200, 208–10. See also *PGM* I. 309 and n.

160. For this imagery, see H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Copenhagen: Høst, 1927) 74; furthermore, *DMP* col. XX, l. 28 (p. 133); *PGM* IV. 1210. [R.K.R.]

All, ARCHIZŌ / NYON THĒNAR METHŌR PARY PHĒZŌR THAPSAMYDŌ MARŌMI CHĒLŌPSA."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1167–1226

*__Stele__ that is useful for all things; it even delivers from death. Do not investigate what is in it.

Formula: "I praise you,[161] the one and blessed of the eons and / father of the world, with cosmic prayers. Come to me, you who filled the whole universe with air, who hung up the fire from the [heavenly] water and separated the earth from the water. Pay attention, form, spirit, / earth and sea, to a word from the one who is wise concerning divine Necessity, and accept my words as fiery darts, because I am a man,[162] the most beautiful creature of the god in heaven, made out of spirit, / dew, and earth. Heaven, be opened; accept my words. Listen, Helios, father of the world; I call upon you with your name AŌ EY ĒOI AIOĒ YEŌA OUORZARA LAMANTHATHRĒ KANTHIOPER / GARPSARTHRĒ MENLARDAPA KENTHĒR DRYOMEN THRANDRĒTHRĒ IABE ZELANTHI BER ZATHRĒ ZAKENTI BIOLLITHRĒ AĒŌ OYŌ ĒŌ OŌ RAMIATHA AĒŌ ŌYŌ OYŌ ŌAYŌ: the only one having the original / element. You are the holy and powerful name considered sacred by all the angels; protect me, so- and-so, from every excess of power and from every violent act. Yes, do this, / lord, god of gods, IALDAZAŌ BLATHAM MACHŌR PHRIX AĒ KEŌPH EĒA DYMEŌ PHERPHRITHŌ IACHTHŌ PSYCHEŌ PHIRITHMEŌ RŌSERŌTH THAMASTRAPHATI RIMPSAŌCH IALTHE MEACHI ARBATHANŌPS, / creator of the world, creator of the universe, lord, god of gods, MARMARIŌ IAŌ. I have spoken of your unsurpassable glory,[163] you who created gods, archangels, and decans. The ten thousands of angels stood by [you] and exalted / the heaven, and the lord witnessed to your Wisdom,[164] which is Aion, IEOYĒŌĒ IAĒAIĒŌĒYOEI, and said that you are as strong as he is. I invoke your hundred-lettered / name[165] which extends from the sky to the depth of the earth; save me, for you are always ever rejoicing in saving those who are yours, ATHĒZE PHŌI AAA DAIAGTHI THĒOBIS PHIATH THAMBRAMI ABRAŌTH / CHTHOLCHIL THOE OELCHŌTH THIOŌĒMCH CHOOMCH SAĒSI ISACHCHOĒ IEROUTHRA OOOOO AIŌAI (100 letters). I call upon you, the one on the gold leaf,[166] before whom the unquenchable lamp continually burns,[167] / the great God, the one who shone on the whole world, who is radiant at Jerusalem, lord, IAŌ AIĒ IŌĒ ŌIĒ ŌIĒ IĒ AIŌAI AI OYŌ AŌĒ ĒEI IEŌ ĒYŌ AĒI AŌ AŌA AEĒI YŌ EIĒ / AĒŌ IEY AEĒ IAIA IAŌ EY AEY IAĒ EI AAA III ĒĒĒ IŌ IŌĒ IAŌ (100 letters), for a blessing, lord."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

161. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion. See Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198, who compares the prayer with the older form in I. 196–221.

162. For different interpretations and translations, see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 279, who thinks of the god Anthropos, "Man"; cf. also Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 169: "I am a human being, the heavenly deity's most beautiful creation. . . ."

163. Preisendanz prints Δόξα, as if to suggest a divine hypostasis. See also *PGM* I. 199.

164. The notion of "Wisdom" (Sophia) is here identified with Aion, a unique instance in the *PGM*. Cf. *PGM* I. 210, and Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198–99.

165. Cf. l. 1225.

166. This protective prayer presumes a section describing a gold lamella to be worn as a phylactery. The phylactery contained the hundred-letter name of the god and was worn as protection against "every excess of power" and the "very violent act" mentioned in ll. 1193–94.

167. For the light miracle at Jerusalem, see *PGM* IV. 3070 and n. See also *PDM* xiv. 490 and K. Preisendanz, "Zum grossen Pariser Zauberpapyrus," *ARW* 17 (1914): 347–48.

PGM IV. 1227–64

*__Excellent rite for driving out daimons__: ***Formula*** to be spoken over his head: Place olive branches before him, / and stand behind him and say:

"Hail, God of Abraham; hail, God of Isaac; hail, God of Jacob; Jesus Chrestos,[168] the Holy Spirit, the Son of the Father, who is above[169] the Seven, / who is within the Seven. Bring Iao Sabaoth; may your power issue forth from him, NN, until you drive away this unclean daimon Satan, who is in him. I conjure you, daimon, / whoever you are, by this god, SABARBARBATHIŌTH SABARBARBATHIOUTH SABARBARBATHIŌNĒTH SABARBARBAPHAI. Come out, daimon, whoever you are, and stay away from him, NN, / now, now; immediately, immediately. Come out, daimon, since I bind you with unbreakable adamantine fetters, and I deliver you into the black chaos in perdition."

Preparation: take 7 olive branches; for six of them / tie together the two ends of each one, but for the remaining one use it like a whip as you utter the conjuration. Keep it secret; it is proven.

After driving out the daimon, hang around him, NN, a phylactery, which the patient puts on after the expulsion of the daimon—a phylactery with these things [written] on / a tin metal leaf: "BŌR PHŌR PHORBA PHOR PHORBA BES CHARIN BAUBŌ TE PHŌR BŌRPHORBA PHORBABOR BAPHORBA PHABRAIĒ PHŌRBA PHARBA PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA / BŌPHOR PHORBA PHORPHOR PHORBA BŌBORBORBA PAMPHORBA PHŌRPHŌR PHŌRBA, protect him, NN." But ***another version*** has a phylactery on which this sign[170] occurs: ⸗

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This Greek and Coptic exorcistic spell is discussed by Tambornino, *RGVV* VII 3, 9; 10. For additional literature, see Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. I, 114 and idem, *APF* 8 (1927): 115.

PGM IV. 1265–74

*__Aphrodite's name__ which becomes known to no one quickly is NEPHERIĒRI[171]—this is the name. If you wish to win a woman who is beautiful, be pure for 3 days, make an offering of frankincense, / and call upon this name over it. You approach the woman and say it seven times in your soul as you gaze at her, and in this way it will succeed.[172] But do this for 7 days.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 1275–1322

*__Bear-charm__[173] __which accomplishes everything__: ***Formula***: "I call upon you, the greatest power in heaven" (***others***: "in the Bear") "appointed by the lord god to turn with a strong / hand the holy pole, NIKAROPLĒX. Listen to me, Helios, Phre;[174] hear the holy [prayer], you who hold together the universe and bring to life the

168. On *Chrēstos*, "excellent one," rather than *Christos*, "anointed one," see K. Weiss, *TDNT* 9 (1974): 484–85; B. Layton, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979) 44–45; Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 63.

169. Or "below."

170. This sign is familiar from the so-called Chnoubis amulets. See Bonner, *SMA* 54–55; Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles magiques* 54–57; A. Jacoby, "Ein Berliner Chnoubisamulett," *ARW* 28 (1930): 269–70. The translation of the sentence is according to the interpretation by R.D.K.

171. Nepherieri is the Egyptian *Nfr-iry.t*, "the beautiful eye," a suitable epithet for Aphrodite/Hathor. See G. Möller, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. [J.B.; R.K.R.]

172. Or "you will succeed," the subject being the spell itself.

173. The spell invokes the astral constellation of the Bear and its powers. See *PGM* IV. 700, 1331; VII. 687; XXIII. 10.

174. That is, Helios-Prē.

whole world, THŌZOPITHĒ EUCHANDAMA ŌCHRIENTHĒR / OMNYŌDĒS CHĒMIOCHYNGĒS IEŌY" (perform a sacrifice) "THERMOUTHER PSIPHIRIX PHROSALI KANTHIMEŌ ZANZEMIA ŌPER PEROMENĒS RŌTHIEU ĒNINDEU KORKOUNTHO EUMEN MENI KĒDEUA KĒPSĒOI" (add the usual).

Petition / to the sun at sunset. Formula: "THĒNŌR, O Helios, SANTHĒNŌR, I beseech you, lord, may the place and lord of the Bear devote themselves to me" (while petitioning, sacrifice armara.[175] Do it at sunset).

Charm of compulsion for the 3rd day: "ANTEBERŌYRTŌR EREMNETHĒCHŌR CHNYCHIROANTŌR MENELEOCHEU ĒESSIPO DŌTĒR EUARĒTŌ GOU PI PHYLAKĒ ŌMALAMINGOR MANTATONCHA / do the NN thing."

The first formula in a different way: "THŌZOPITHĒ, Bear, greatest goddess, ruling heaven, reigning over the pole of the stars, highest, beautiful-shining goddess, incorruptible element, composite of the all, all-illuminating, / bond of the universe AEĒIOYŌ (square),[176] you who stand on the pole, you whom the lord god appointed to turn the holy pole with a strong hand: THŌZOPITHĒ (formula)."

Offering for the procedure: 4 drams of frankincense, 4 drams of myrrh, 2 ounces each of cassia leaf and / of white pepper, 1 dram of bdellion, 1 dram of asphodel seed, 2 drams each of amomon, of saffron, of terebinth storax, 1 dram of wormwood, . . . of vetch plant, priestly Egyptian incense, the complete brain of a black ram. / Combine these with white Mendesian wine[177] and honey, and make pellets of bread.

Phylactery for the procedure: Wear a wolf knucklebone, mix juice of vetch and of pondweed in a censer, / write in the middle of the censer this name: "THERMOUTHEREPSIPHIRIPHI[178] PISALI" (24 letters),[179] and in this way make an offering.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1323–30

**Another*: "KOMPHTHO KOMASITH KOMNOUN[180] you who shook and shake the world, you who have swallowed the ever-living serpent and daily / raise the disk of the sun and of the moon, you whose name is ITHIOŌ ĒI ARBATHIAŌ Ē, send up to me, NN, at night the daimon of this night to reveal to me concerning / the NN thing."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1331–89

***Powerful spell of the Bear**[181] **which accomplishes anything**: Take the fat of a black ass, the fat of a dappled she-goat, the fat of a black bull, and Ethiopian cumin, mix all together / and make an offering to the Bear, having as a phylactery hairs

175. For the recipe, see below, ll. 1308–16, and Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 803. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1990.

176. According to Preisendanz, πλινθίον (square) inserted here means that the letters are to be arranged in a series of lines forming a square. For this form of pictorial writing, see V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palāographie* II (Leipzig: Veit, ²1913) 59. For a similar piece, see A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall, II: Einzelstücke* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung, 1975) 98 n. 11; cf. also *PGM* XIII. 905–11.

177. Cf. *PGM* I. 85 and n.

178. Thermouth is Renmutet, the Egyptian harvest goddess and Fate. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 803–4, s.v. "Thermutis." See also *PGM* IV. 664 and n.

179. That is, in Greek letters.

180. Preisendanz suggests this line may contain Coptic, which according to F. Ll. Griffith, "The Old Coptic Magical Text of Paris," *ZÄS* 38 (1900) : 93, means "earth-shaker, ground-shaker, abyss-shaker." [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* III. 680.

181. For the meaning of the constellation of the Bear, see *PGM* IV. 1275.

from the same animals which you have plaited into a cord and are wearing as a diadem around your head. Anoint your lips with the fats, smear your whole body with storax / oil, and make your petition while holding a single-shooted Egyptian onion. Speak concerning whatever you wish. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, kneel down, and speak the following ***formula***:

/ "I call upon you, holy, very-powerful, very-glorious, very-strong, holy, autochthons, assistants of the great god, the powerful chief daimons, you who / are inhabitants of Chaos,[182] of Erebos, of the abyss, of the depth, of earth, dwelling in the recesses of heaven, lurking in the nooks and crannies of houses, shrouded in dark clouds, watchers of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those in the underworld, administrators / of the infinite, wielding power over earth, earthshakers, foundation-layers, servants in the chasm, shudderful fighters, fearful ministers, turning the spindle, freezing snow and rain, air-transversers, causing / summer heat, wind-bringers, lords of Fate, inhabitants of dark Erebos, bringers of compulsion, sending flames of fire, bringing snow and dew, wind-releasers, disturbers of the deep, treaders on the calm sea, mighty in courage, grievers / of the heart, powerful potentates, cliff-walkers, adverse daimons, iron-hearted, wild-tempered, unruly, guarding Tartaros, misleading Fate, all-seeing, all-hearing, / all-subjecting, heaven-walkers, spirit-givers, living simply, heaven-shakers, gladdening the heart, those who join together death, revealers of angels, punishers of mortals, sunless revealers, rulers of daimons, / air-transversers, almighty, holy, unconquerable AŌTH[183] ABAŌTH BASYM ISAK SABAŌTH IAŌ IAKŌP MANARA SKORTOURI MORTROUM EPHRAULA THREERSA; do the NN matter."

/ Then write on a piece of papyrus the hundred-lettered name of Typhon,[184] curved as a star, and bind it in the middle of the core with the letters showing.

This is the name: / ACHCHŌR ACHCHŌR ACHACHACHPTOUMI CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌRA CHŌCH APTOUMIMĒ CHŌCHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARA CHŌCH PTENACHŌCHEOU.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1390–1495

***Love spell of attraction performed with the help of heroes or gladiators or those who have died a violent death**: Leave a little of the bread which you eat; break it up and form it into seven bite-size pieces. And go to where heroes and gladiators and those who have died a violent death were slain. / Say the spell to the pieces of bread and throw them. And pick up some polluted dirt from the place where you perform the ritual and throw it inside the house of the woman whom you desire, go on home and go to sleep.

The spell which is said upon the pieces of bread is this:

"To[185] Moirai, Destinies, / Malignities,
To Famine, Jealousy, to those who died

182. For these names referring to the underworld places of Greek mythology, see *Orph. Frag.* 1 and 54; Homer, *Il.* 16. 327; *Od.* 10. 528; Hesiod, *Theog.* 515; etc. See W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London: Methuen, 1952) 92.

183. The magical words contain some garbled Aramaic. On BASYM, see *PGM* LXX. 3 and n.; XIII. 147, 593. For an explanation from the Hebrew *ba-shem*, see G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977) 235–51, esp. 237, 240.

184. The association of Typhon with the constellation of the Bear (cf. *PGM* IV. 1331, 1335) is Egyptian. The Bear represents the soul of Typhon, the murderer of Osiris. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 21, 359D, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 373.

185. These iambic trimeters (which are sometimes rather clumsy) have been adapted to form the reconstructed Hymn 25, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 263. [E.N.O.]

Untimely deaths and those dead violently,
I'm sending food: Three-headed Goddess, Lady
Of Night, who feed on filth, O Virgin, thou
Key-holding Persephassa,[186] Kore out
Of Tartaros, grim-eyed, dreadful, child girt /
With fiery serpents, he, NN, has mixed
With tears and bitter groans leftovers from
His own food, so that you, O luckless heroes
Who are confined there in the NN place,
May bring success to him who is beset
With torments. You who've left the light, O you
Unfortunate ones, / bring success to him,
NN, who is distressed at heart because
Of her, NN, ungodly and unholy.
So bring her wracked with torment—and in haste!
EIOUT ABAŌTH PSAKERBA ARBATHIAŌ LALAOITH / IŌSACHŌTOU ALLALETHŌ
You too as well, Lady, who feed on filth[187]
SYNATRAKABI BAUBARABAS ENPHNOUN MORKA[188] ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH, and send the Erinys ORGOGORGONIOTRIAN,[189]
Who rouses up with fire souls of the dead, /
Unlucky heroes, luckless heroines,
Who in this place, who on this day, who in
This hour, who in coffins of myrtlewood,
Give heed to me and rouse / her, NN, on
This night and from her eyes remove sweet sleep,
And cause her wretched care and fearful pain,
Cause her to follow after my footsteps,
And / for my will give her a willingness
Until she does what I command of her.
O mistress Hekate[190]
PHORBA PHORBŌBAR BARŌ PHŌRPHŌR PHŌRBAI
O Lady of the Crossroads, O Black Bitch."

When you have done / these things for 3 days and accomplish nothing, then use this forceful spell: just go to the same place and again perform the ritual of the bread pieces. Then upon ashes of flax offer up dung / from a black cow and say this and again pick up the polluted dirt and throw it as you have learned.

The words spoken over the offering are these:

"Chthonic Hermes and chthonic Hekate and chthonic Acheron[191] and chthonic /

186. A poetic form of Persephone.

187. These words with some changes are included as part of Hymn 25 (ll. 14–16), and they seem to scan, but without a translation possible for the formulaic terms nothing can be gained by inserting them in the verse section. [E.N.O.]

188. A. Jacoby has proposed (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.) that the name is that of the Babylonian deity Omorka. See O. Höfer, in Roscher 3/1 (1897–1902) 868–69, s.v. "Omorka."

189. The epithet "the Orgogorgoniotrian" signifies one of the Furies (Erinys). According to LSJ, s.v., it is found only here in Greek.

190. The meter breaks down at this point and only by rearranging and omitting words can Hymn 25 (l. 28) accommodate the concluding phrases here. [E.N.O.]

191. The name Acheron refers to the mythical river or sea in the underworld. There is also a connection with the river Acheron in Epirus, where the famous underworld oracle of Ephyra was located. See E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979) 252. The oracle of Ephyra has been excavated; see S. I. Dakaris, "Das Tau-

flesh-eaters and chthonic god and chthonic Amphiaraos[192] and chthonic attendants and chthonic spirts and chthonic sins and chthonic dreams / and chthonic oaths and chthonic Ariste[193] and chthonic Tartaros and chthonic witchery, chthonic Charon and chthonic escorts and the dead and the daimons and souls of all men: / come today, Moirai and Destiny; accomplish the purpose with the help of the love spell of attraction, that you may attract to me her, NN whose mother is NN, to me NN, whose mother is NN (add the usual), because I am calling

O[194] primal Chaos, / Erebos, and you
O awful water of the Styx, O streams
O Lethe, Hades' Acherousian pool,
O Hekate and Pluto and Kore,
And chthonic Hermes, Moirai, Punishments,
Both Acheron and Aiakos,[195] / gatekeeper
Of the eternal bars, now open quickly,
O thou Key-holder, guardian, Anubis.[196]
Send up to me the phantoms of the dead
Forthwith for service in this very hour. /

So that they may go and attract to me, NN, her, NN, whose mother is NN" (add the usual).

"Isis[197] came, holding on her shoulders her brother who is her bedfellow,[198] and Zeus came down from Olympus and stood awaiting the phantoms / of the dead as they were being led to her, NN, and were performing the NN business (add the usual). All the immortal gods and all the goddesses came to see the phantoms of these dead. Do not, therefore, delay; / do not loiter, but dispatch, O gods, the phantoms of these dead, so that having gone to her NN they may perform the NN deed (add the usual) because I adjure you by IAŌ / SABAŌTH and ADŌNAI PATRAXILYTRA BOURREPHAŌMI ASSALKĒ AIDOUNAX SESENGEN (formula) BALIABA ERECHCHARNOI ABERIDOUMA SALBACHTHI EISERSE / RATHŌ EISERDA ŌMI SISIPHNA SISAEDOUBE ACHCHARITŌNĒ ABERIPHNOUBA IABAL DENATHI ITHROUPHI. Send up the phantoms of these dead to her NN / whose mother is NN, so that they may perform the NN deed" (add the usual).

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

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benorakel von Dodona und das Totenorakel bei Ephyra," *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 1 (1963): 35–55; Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 185–86.

192. The name refers to an old underworld god who had an incubation oracle at Oropos. See R. Herzog, "Amphiaraos," *RAC* 1 (1950): 396, with further literature.

193. For this epithet of Artemis and Demeter, see Jessen, "Ariste," *PRE* 2 (1895): 876.

194. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 26, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. The reconstruction is even more extensive than usual, for in places only faint vestiges of verse remain. [E.N.O.]

195. Aiakos was one of the judges of the underworld, along with Minos and Rhadamanthys. See Plato, *Apol.* 41a; *Gorg*; 523e, and W. Schmid, "Aiakos," *PRE* 1 (1893): 923–26.

196. On Anubis with the key, see S. Morenz, "Anubis mit dem Schlüssel," in his *Religion und Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* (Köln and Wien: Böhlau, 1975) 510–20. [R.K.R.]

197. These lines, which contain vestiges of dactylic hexameters, have been arranged in an awkward verse pattern and accepted as the reconstructed Hymn 27; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. Nonetheless, the translation is prose because the lines have no more of a metrical pattern than many other passages scattered through these documents. [E.N.O.]

198. Isis aroused desire within the dead Osiris and by him conceived Horus. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 1496–1595

***Love spell of attraction over myrrh which is offered**: While offering it over coals, recite the spell.

Spell:

"You are Myrrh, the bitter, the difficult, who reconciles / combatants, who sears and who forces those to love who do not acknowledge Eros. Everyone calls you Myrrh, but I call you Flesh-eater and / Inflamer of the heart. I am not sending you to far-off Arabia; I am not sending you to Babylon, but I am sending you to her NN, whose mother is NN, so that you may serve me on the mission to her, so that / you may attract her to me. If she is sitting,[199] let her not keep sitting; if she is chatting with someone, let her not keep chatting; if she is gazing at someone, let her not keep gazing; if she is going to someone, let her not keep going; if she is strolling about, let her not / keep strolling; if she is drinking, let her not keep drinking; if she is eating, let her not keep eating; if she is kissing someone, let her not keep kissing him; if she is enjoying some pleasure, let her not keep enjoying it; if she is sleeping, let her not keep sleeping. Rather, let her hold me / NN alone in her mind; let her desire me alone; let her love me alone; let her do all my wishes. Do not enter through her eyes or through her side or through her nails / or even through her navel or through her frame, but rather through her 'soul.' And remain in her heart and burn her guts, her breast, her liver, / her breath, her bones, her marrow, until she comes to me NN, loving me, and until she fulfills all my wishes, because I adjure you, Myrrh, by the three names,[200] / ANOCHŌ[201] ABRASAX TRŌ, and by the more coercive and stronger names KORMEIŌTH IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI, so that you may carry out my / orders, Myrrh. As I burn you up and you are potent, so burn the brain of her, NN, whom I love. Inflame her and turn her guts inside out, / suck out her blood drop by drop, until she comes to me, NN, whose mother is NN. I adjure you by the MARPARKOURITH NASAARI NAIEMARE PAIPARI / NEKOURI. I throw you into the burning fire and adjure you by the almighty god who lives forever: Having adjured you, I now also adjure you, / ADŌNAI BARBAR IAŌ ZAGOURĒ HARSAMŌSI ALAOUS and SALAŌS. I adjure you who strengthened man for life: Hear, hear, / great god, o Adonaios, ETHYIA, self-gendering, everlasting god, EIŌĒ IAŌ AIŌ AIŌ PHNEŌS SPHINTĒS ARBATHIAŌ IAŌ IAĒ IŌA / AI, who are OUĒR[202] GONTHIAŌR RARAĒL[203] ABRA BRACHA SOROORMERPHERGAR MARBAPHRIOUIRIGX IAŌ SABAŌTH MASKELLI / MASKELLŌ (the formula) AMONSŌE ANOCH RIGCH PHNOUKENTABAŌTH SOUSAE PHINPHESĒCH MAPHI / RAR ANOURIN IBANAŌTH AROUĒR CHNOUPH ANOCH BATHI OUCH IARBAS BABAUBAR ELŌAI; attract for me her NN, whose mother is NN, to me / NN, whose mother is NN, on the very day, on this night, at this very hour, MOULŌTH PHOPHITH PHTHŌITH PHTHŌYTH PENIŌN. I call upon you also who hold / the fire, PHTHAN ANOCH; give heed to me, O one, only-begotten, MANEBIA BAIBAI CHYRIRŌOU THADEIN ADŌNAI EROU NOUNI / MIŌŌNCH CHOUTIAI MARMARAUŌTH. Attract her, NN, whose mother is NN, to me NN, whose mother is NN, now, now; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

And say also the spell for all / occasions.

Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

199. For parallels to this passage, cf. P. Smither, "A Coptic Love-Charm," *JEA* 25 (1939): 175–76.

200. On this passage, see C. Bonner, "Liturgical Fragments on Gnostic Amulets," *HTR* 25 (1932): 362–67; idem, "The Transcendency of Divine Attributes," ibid. 37 (1944): 338–39.

201. This means in Egyptian "I am great." [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* I. 149.

202. OUER corresponds to Egyptian *wr*, "great." [R.K.R.]

203. RARAĒL occurs only here; perhaps Raphael should be read. [E.N.O.]

PGM IV. 1596–1715

***This is the consecration for all purposes: *Spell to Helios*:** "I invoke you, the greatest god, eternal lord, world ruler, / who are over the world and under the world, mighty ruler of the sea, rising at dawn, shining from the east for the whole world, / setting in the west. Come to me, thou who risest from the four winds, joyous[204] Agathos Daimon, for whom heaven has become the processional way. I call upon your holy / and great and hidden names which you rejoice to hear. The earth flourished when you shone forth, and the plants became fruitful when you laughed; the animals begat their young / when you permitted. Give glory and honor and favor and fortune and power to this, NN, stone which I consecrate[205] today (or to the / phylactery being consecrated) for NN.[206] I invoke you, the greatest in heaven, ĒI LANCHYCH AKARĒN BAL MISTHRĒN MARTA / MATHATH LAILAM MOUSOUTHI SIETHŌ BATHABATHI IATMŌN ALEI IABATH ABAŌTH SABAŌTH ADŌNAI, the great god, ORSENOPHRĒ ORGEATĒS / TOTHORNATĒSA[207] KRITHI BIŌTHI IADMŌ IATMŌMI METHIĒI[208] LONCHOŌ AKARĒ BAL MINTHRĒ BANE BAI(N)CHCHYCHCH OUPHRI NOTHEOUSI THRAI / ARSIOUTH ERŌNERTHER, the shining Helios, giving light throughout the whole world. You are the great Serpent, leader of all[209] the gods, who control the beginning / of Egypt and the end of the whole inhabited world, who mate in the ocean, PSOI PHNOUTHI NINTHĒR.[210] You are he who becomes / visible each day and sets in the northwest of heaven, and rises in the southeast.[211] In the 1st hour you have the form of a cat; your name is PHARAKOUNĒTH. / Give glory and favor to this phylactery. In the 2nd hour you have the form of a dog; your name is SOUPHI. Give strength and honor to this phylactery, [or] to this stone, / and to NN. In the 3rd hour you have the form of a serpent; your name is AMEKRANEBECHEO THŌYTH. Give honor to the god NN. In the 4th hour you have the form of a scarab; your name is / SENTHENIPS. Mightily strengthen this phylactery in this night, for the work for which it is consecrated. In the 5th hour you have the form of a donkey; your name is / ENPHANCHOUPH. Give strength and courage and power to the god, NN. In the 6th hour you have the form of a lion; your name is BAI SOLBAI, the ruler of time. Give / success to this phylactery and glorious victory. In the 7th hour you have the form of a goat; your name is OUMESTHŌTH. Give sexual charm to this ring / (or to this phylactery, or to this engraving). In the 8th hour you have the form of a bull; your name is DIATIPHĒ, who becomes visible everywhere. Let all / things [done] by the use of this stone be accomplished. In the 9th hour you have the form of a falcon; your name is PHĒOUS PHŌOUTH, the lotus emerged from the abyss.[212] Give success / [and] good luck to his phylactery. In the 10th hour you have the form of a baboon; your name is BESBYKI. In the 11th

204. "Joyous" can also mean "benevolent" or "lucky," meanings appropriate and probably intended here. In the writer's mind the three were probably not distinguished. [M.S.]

205. Cf. on this point *PGM* IV. 2179 and n.

206. Or "for use in relation to NN."

207. Reading ⟨ὁ⟩ *οργεατης τ' ὁ θορνατης*. Both nouns seem unattested formations; perhaps the former should be corrected to ὀργιαστής, "participant in orgiastic rites," which were often secret and connected with Dionysos. [M.S.]

208. From ĒI onward the words repeat in variations the formula with which the series begins.

209. Reading *πάντων* for *τούτων*, with Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 29. [M.S.]

210. This is equivalent to the Egyptian "the Agathodaimon, the god (of) the gods." [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* III. 144–45.

211. On the forms of the sun god, see *PGM* II. 104 and nn.

212. On the lotus flower, see *PGM* IV. 1111; *PDM* xiv. 45; and Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 179–80. [R.K.R.]

hour you have the form of an ibis; your name is / MOU RŌPH.[213] Protect this great phylactery for lucky [use] by NN, from this present day for all time. In the 12th hour you have the form of a crocodile; your name / is AERTHOĒ. You who have set at evening as an old man,[214] who are over the world and [under] the world, mighty ruler of the sea, hear my voice in this present day, / in this night, in these holy hours, and let [all things done] by this stone [or] for this phylactery, be brought to fulfilment, and especially NN matter for which I consecrate it. Please, / lord KMĒPH LOUTHEOUTH ORPHOICHE ORTILIBECHOUCH IERCHE ROUM IPERITAŌ YAI. I conjure earth and heaven and light and darkness and the / great god who created all, SAROUSIN, you, Agathon Daimonion the helper, to accomplish for me everything [done] by the use of this ring or [stone]."

When / you complete [the consecration], say, "The one Zeus is Sarapis."[215]

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM IV. 1716–1870

***Sword[216] of Dardanos:**[217] Rite which is called "sword," which has no equal because of its power, for it immediately bends and attracts the soul[218] of whomever you wish. / As you say the spell, also say: "I am bending to my will the soul of him NN."[219]

Take a magnetic stone which is breathing and engrave Aphrodite sitting astride Psyche[220] / and with her left hand holding on her hair bound in curls. And above her head: "ACHMAGE RARPEPSEI"; and below / Aphrodite and Psyche engrave Eros standing on the vault of heaven, holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche.[221] And below Eros these / names: "ACHAPA ADŌNAIE BASMA CHARAKŌ IAKŌB IAŌ Ē PHARPHARĒI." On the other side of the stone engrave Psyche and Eros embracing / one another and beneath Eros' feet these letters: "ssssssss," and beneath Psyche's feet: "ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ." Use the stone, when it has been engraved and conse-

213. Here, and again below after the twelfth hour, the prayer for a gift to the phylactery or stone has presumably been skipped by a copyist.

214. This is a reference to Atum, the form of the sun god at setting. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 731. [R.K.R.]

215. On this formula, see O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapisreligion* (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1919; reprinted in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* I [Amsterdam: Grüner, 1969] 410–42); Nilsson, *GGR* II, 574; W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*, *EPRO* 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 353, n. 2; 396.

216. The designation "sword" apparently serves as a kind of title for certain types of formulas, here presumably the formula in l. 1813. See K. Preisendanz, "Xiphos," Roscher 6 (1924–37) 526–28; Nock, *Essays* I, 190. The classical work of this kind is the so-called Sword of Moses, for which see M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* I (London: Maggs, 1925) 288–337. See also *PGM* IV. 1813 and n.

217. Dardanos was believed to have founded the mysteries of Samothrake. See A. Hermann, "Dardanus," *RAC* 3 (1957): 593–94.

218. Since the operator does not want spiritual love, *ψυχή* here is probably the female pudenda. Against this interpretation is *τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα* (l. 1721), but since the rest of the spell is concerned with attracting a woman, we should probably emend here and read *τῆς δεῖνα*. [E.N.O.]

219. It is not clear whether this spell concerns a male or a female lover. Cf. ll. 1720, 1807, 1828–29.

220. The best treatment of this image is that by R. Mouterde, *Le Glaive de Dardanos. Objets et inscriptions magiques de Syrie, Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 15/3 (Beirut: Imprimérie Catholique, 1930) 53–64. See also R. Reitzenstein, "Noch einmal Eros und Psyche," *ARW* 28 (1930): 42–87; A. Rumpf, "Eros (Eroten) II. in der Kunst," *RAC* 6 (1966): 312–42, esp. 330–31.

221. For this theme and literature, see R. Helm, "Psyche," *PRE* 23 (1959): 1434–38; S. Binder and R. Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968) esp. 433–34. See also *PGM* XII. 20.

crated, / like this: put it under your tongue and turn it to what you wish and say this ***spell***:

"I[222] call upon you, author of all creation, who spread your own wings over the whole / world, you, the unapproachable and unmeasurable who breathe into every soul life-giving / reasoning, who fitted all things together by your power, firstborn, founder of the universe, golden-winged, whose light is darkness, who shroud reasonable / thoughts and breathe forth dark frenzy, clandestine one who secretly inhabit every soul. You engender an unseen fire / as you carry off every living thing without growing weary of torturing it, rather having with pleasure delighted in pain[223] from the time when the world came into being. You also come / and bring pain, who are sometimes reasonable, sometimes irrational, because of whom men dare beyond what is fitting and take refuge in your light which is darkness. / Most headstrong, lawless, implacable, inexorable, invisible, bodiless, generator of frenzy, archer, torch-carrier, master of all living / sensation and of everything clandestine, dispenser of forgetfulness, creator of silence, through whom the light and to whom the light travels, infantile when you have been engendered within / the heart, wisest when you have succeeded; I call upon you, unmoved by prayer, by your great name: AZARACHTHARAZA[224] LATHA / IATHAL[225] Y Y Y LATHAI ATHALLALAPH IOIOIO AI AI AI OUERIEU OIAI LEGETA RAMAI AMA RATAGEL,[226] first-shining, night-/shining, night rejoicing, night-engendering, witness, ERĒKISITHPHĒ[227] ARARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE[228] IABEZEBYTH IO, you in the depth,[229] BERIAMBŌ / BERIAMBEBŌ, you in the sea, MERMERGOU, clandestine and wisest, ACHAPA ADŌNAIE BASMA CHARAKŌ IAKŌB IAŌ CHAROUĒR AROUĒR LAILAM / SEMESILAM SOUMARTA MARBA KARBA MENABŌTH ĒIIA. Turn the 'soul' of her NN to me NN, so that she may love me, so that she may feel passion for me, so that she may give me what is in her power.[230] / Let her say to me what is in her soul because I have called upon your great name."

And on a golden leaf inscribe this sword:[231] "One[232] THOURIĒL / MICHAĒL

222. The hymn to Eros has been called "notably elegant and literary" (Nock, *Essays* I, 183). Cf. the hymn to Eros among the *Orphic Hymns* (no. 58). See Binder and Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* 150, 386–87.

223. The words *ὀδυνηρᾷ τέρψει* make little sense, esp. without a verbal form in the clause. Because there are traces of poetic language here, we should perhaps read *ὀδύνῃ ῥᾳ̣̂ τέρψας*, and this is what the translation renders. [E.N.O.]

224. An imperfect palindrome.

225. The spacing of this *vox magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

226. Again, the spacing has been arranged to show the palindrome.

227. Again, the *vox magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

228. This often attested *vox magica* can be read as Greek *φθισικηρε* (*φθίω*, *κήρ*), perhaps "destroying evil demons" (cf. *φθισήνωρ*, *φθισίμβροτος*, *φθισίφρων*). [W.B.] See also R. Merkelbach, "ΦΘΙΣΙΚΗΡΕ," *ZPE* 47 (1982):172, commenting esp. on *PGM* II. 100.

229. Here, *βύθιε*, "you in the deep," as well as *πελάγιε*, "you in the sea" (l. 800), and *κρύφιε καὶ πρεσβύτατε*, "clandestine and wisest" (ll. 1801–2) are recognizable Greek words, inserted into this series of magical palindromes. Cf. the similar formulas on a lead piece, P. Rein. II. 88, ll. 17–20. See P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Theodore Reinach*, vol. II, *BIFAO* 39 (1940):29–32. [R.D.K.] Cf. also the figure of Bythos in Valentinian gnosticism.

230. This means "power to give"; lit., "what is in her hands."

231. See also on l. 1717, above. This "sword" or magical formula may be so named because the words to be written on the gold lamella were to be engraved in the shape of, or enclosed by, a "sword." For a magical gold leaf with a sword, see the facsimile in S. Reinach and E. Babelon, "Recherches archéologiques en Tunisie (1883–1884)," *Bulletin Archéologique* 1886, p. 57. [R.D.K.]

232. For a discussion of this monotheistic formula, see Bonner, *SMA* 175–76; cf. H. D. Betz, *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* I (1978):969–71, s.v. "εἷς."

GABRIĒL OURIĒL MISAĒL IRRAĒL ISTRAĒL:[233] May it be a propitious day for this name and for me who know it and am wearing it. I summon the immortal / and infallible strength of God. Grant me the submission of every soul for which I have called upon you." Give the leaf to a partridge to gulp down[234] / and kill it. Then pick it up and wear it around your neck after inserting into the strip the herb called "boy love."

The burnt offering / which endows Eros and the whole procedure with soul is this: manna, 4 drams; storax, 4 drams; opium, 4 drams; myrrh, [4 drams;] frankincense, saffron, bdella, / one-half dram each. Mix in rich dried fig and blend everything in equal parts with fragrant wine, and use it for the performance. In the performance first make a burnt offering and / use it in this way.[235]

And there is also ***a rite for acquiring an assistant,***[236] who is made out of wood from a mulberry tree. He is made as a winged Eros wearing a cloak, with his right foot lifted / for a stride and with a hollow back. Into the hollow put a gold leaf after writing with a cold-forged copper stylus so-and-so's name [and]: "MARSABOUTARTHE[237]—be my / assistant and supporter and sender of dreams."

Go late at night to the house [of the woman] you want, knock on her door / with the Eros and say: "Lo, she NN resides here; wherefore stand beside her and, after assuming the likeness of the god or daimon whom she worships, say what I propose." And go to your / home, set the table, spread a pure linen cloth, and seasonal flowers, and set the figure upon it. Then make a burnt offering to it and continuously say the / spell of invocation. And send him, and he will act without fail. And whenever you bend her to your will with the stone, on that night it sends / dreams, for on a different night it is busy with different matters.[238]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 1872–1927

*. . . instruct no one, for it is very powerful and unsurpassable, effective for everyone / on the same day, absolutely binding, exceedingly powerful. And it is: Take 4 ounces of wax, 8 ounces of fruit from the chaste-tree, 4 drams of manna. Pound each of these fine / separately and mix with pitch and wax, and fashion a dog eight fingers long with its mouth open. And you are to place in the mouth of the dog / a bone from the head of a man who has died violently, and inscribe on the sides of the dog these characters: ⨯ Z̄ Ō ⊓ ▤ Ψ ⨯ V Ψ and you are to place the dog on a tripod. And have the dog raising its right paw. And write on the strip of papyrus these / names and what you wish: "IAŌ ASTŌ IŌPHĒ," and / you are to place the strip of papyrus on the tripod and on top of the strip you are to place the dog and / say these names many times. And so, after you have spoken the spell, the dog

233. For a discussion of these peculiar variants of the name of Israel, see R. Ganschinietz, "Israel," *PRE* 9 (1939):2234; Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 95. Cf. *PGM* IV. 3034: Osrael; XXXVI. 259: Astrael.

234. Cf. *Sword of Moses* 324 n. 70 (see n. 216, above) for a parallel: a silver lamella is given to a cock to swallow, and the cock is then killed. [R.D.K.]

235. The excessive use of *χρῶ* and *χρῆσον* is strange. The translation of this sentence is tentative and little more than a paraphrase. [E.N.O.] Cf. the following section and also *PGM* I. 38; XII. 284.

236. The translation is based on the emended Greek in Preisendanz, but it differs from the German translation ("Erfolg hat aber auch ein Beisitzer . . .").

237. The translation tries to make sense of what appears to be a corrupt Greek text; it differs from the German translation (". . . den Namen eines Beliebigen geschrieben hast: 'Marsaboutarthe, werde mir . . .'"). See the apparatus ad loc.

238. The Greek is ambiguous at this point. Cf. Preisendanz's translation: "Denn in jeder Nacht beschäftigt er sich mit anderen."

hisses [or barks], and if it hisses, she is not coming.[239] Therefore address the spell to it again, / and if it barks, it is attracting her. Then open the door, and you will find her whom you wish at your doors. Let a censer stand beside the dog, and let frankincense be placed upon it / as you say the spell.

Spell: "Barking dog, I adjure you, Kerberos, by those who have hanged themselves, by the dead, by those who have died violently: / attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN. I adjure you, Kerberos, by the holy head of the infernal gods. Attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, ZOUCH / ZOUKI TO PARY YPHĒBARMŌ ENŌR SEKEMI KRIOUDASEPHĒ TRIBEPSI: attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, to me, NN, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

And you are also to say / the spell for all occasions. But you are to do these things in a level, pure place.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 1928–2005

Spell of Attraction of King Pitys over any skull cup. *His / prayer of petition to Helios: Stand facing the east and speak thus:

"I call upon you, lord Helios, and your holy angels on / this day, in this very hour: Preserve me, NN, for I am THĒNŌR, and you are holy angels, guardians of the ARDIMALECHA. And ORORŌ / MISRĒN NEPHŌ ADŌNAI AUEBŌTHI ABATHARAI THŌBEUA SOULMAI SOULMAITH ROUTREROUTĒN ŌPHREŌPHRI ŌLCHAMAŌTH OUTE SOUTĒATH MONTRO ELAT / CHOUMIOI LATHŌTH ŌTHETH, I beg you, lord Helios, hear me NN and grant me power / over the spirit of this man who died a violent death, from whose tent I hold [this], so that I may keep him with me, [NN] as helper and avenger for whatever business I crave from him."

/ ***At sunset the same man's prayer to Helios***:

"Borne[240] on the breezes of the wand'ring winds,
Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame's
Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
Around the great pole, / who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing.
From you, indeed, come elements which are
Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
The world with its four yearly turning points.
Hear, blessed one, I call you who rule heav'n
And earth and Chaos and Hades, where dwell /
Daimons of men who once gazed on the light.
And even now I beg you, blessed one,
Unfailing one, the master of the world,
If you go to the depths of earth and reach
The regions of the dead, this daimon send
To move at midnight hours perforce at your
Commands, / from whose tent I hold this. And let

239. As the text stands, it makes no sense. We should probably follow the suggestion of Preisendanz, who inserts "or he barks" ("oder bellt"), and add to the Greek some such phrase as ἢ ὑλακτεῖ which may have fallen out by haplography. For similar alternative conditions, cf. *PGM* IV. 131–37; VII. 613–16. [E.N.O.]

240. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): vv. 1–17, 20–22, 18, 25, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see *PGM* I. 315–27; IV. 436–61; VIII. 74–81. [E.N.O.]

Him tell to me (NN) whate'er my mind designs,
And let him tell me fully and with truth.
Let him be gentle, gracious, let him think
No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
Be angry at my sacred chants. / But guard
That my whole body come to light intact;
Let him (NN) reveal to me the what and whence,
Whereby he now can render me his service
And at what time he serves as my assistant, /
For you yourself gave these for men to learn, lord.
Because I call upon your four-part name:
CHTHETHŌ NI LAILAM IAŌ ZOUCHE PIPTOĒ.
I call upon your name, / Horus,[241] which is
In number equal to the Moirai's names:
ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ IAĒ AI IAĒ AIĒ
IAŌ THŌTHŌ PHIACHA (36 letters).[242]
Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
O father of the world, self-gendered one.
/ After burning armara[243] and uncut frankincense, go home.

Enquiry:[244] Ivy with 13 leaves. Begin from the left side and write on them one by one with myrrh, and after putting on the wreath / say over them the same names. And over the skull cup place the same writing on the forehead with the proper words: "SOITHERCHALBAN OPHROUROR ERĒKISITHPHĒ (formula)[245] / IABE ZEBYTH LEGEMAS THMESTAS MESMYRA BAUANECHTHEN KAI LOPHŌTŌ BRĒLAX HARCHENTECHTHA APSOIER CHALBAN."

And the ink: Serpent's blood / and the soot of a goldsmith.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2006–2125

***Pitys' spell of attraction**:[246] Pitys to King Ostanes: greetings. Since you write to me on each occasion about the enquiry of skull cups, I have deemed it necessary to send you this process / as one which is worthy of admiration and able to please you greatly. And subsequently I will submit to you the process, and finally the black ink will be revealed.

Take the hide of an ass[247] and, after drying it / in shade, inscribe on it the figure which will be revealed and inscribe this spell in a circle: "AAMASI NOUTHI APHTHECHENBŌCH POUPAIEICHNERI TA LOUTHIANI SERANOMĒGRENTI EI BIL / LONOUCHICH EITA PHOR CHORTOMNOUTHI THRACH PHIBŌBI ANTERŌ PHOCHORTHAROCH EBOCH LESANOUACH PHEORŌBIS TRAION KŌBI INOUNIA SAPHŌBI CHIMNOUTHI ASRŌ / CHNOUPHNEN PHARMI BOLCHOSĒTH EPHOUKTERŌ ABDIDANPITAAU EAE BOL SACHY ACHCHERIMA EMINTO RŌŌRIA EN AMOUN AKREMPHTHO OUTRAUNEIL / LABOCH PHERACHI AMENBOL BĒCH OSTAOUA BEL-

241. Horus is identified with Helios; see ll. 988–89 below.

242. That is, thirty-six Greek letters.

243. For this material, see *PGM* IV. 1294 and n.

244. That is, the inquiry of the spirit of the dead man (l. 1950). See *PGM* IV. 2140–41; 2005–7.

245. Referring to the palindrome cited also in *PGM* IV. 1797–99.

246. *ἀγωγή* is a general term which sometimes, as here, indicates a spell whose primary purpose is not to "attract" for sexual purposes. The same noun, without a qualifying word, is the title of a "Love spell of attraction." For a parallel to the usage of this passage, cf., e.g., *PGM* IV. 2441. [E.N.O.]

247. The ass is associated with Seth/Typhon. See *PGM* IV. 259–60 and n.

THŌ; I adjure you, dead spirit, by the powerful and inexorable god and by his holy
2035 names, to stand beside me in the / coming night in whatever form you used to have, and inform me whether you have the power to perform the NN deed; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly!"

Then go quickly to where [someone] lies buried or where something has been
2040 discarded, if you do [not] have a buried body; / spread the hide under him at about sunset. Return [home], and he will actually be present and will stand beside you on
2045 that night. And he describes to you how he died, but first he tells you if / he has the power to do anything or to perform any service.

And take a leaf of flax and with the black ink which will be revealed to you, paint on it the figure of the goddess who will be revealed to you, and paint in a circle this
2050 spell (and place on his head / the leaf which has been spread out and wreathe him with black ivy, and he will actually stand beside you through the night in dreams, and he will ask you, saying, "Order whatever you wish, and I do it"): "PHOUBEL
2055 TAUTHY ALDE MINŌOURITHI / SENECHŌ CHELĒTHICHITIATH MOU CHŌ ARIANTA NARACHI MASKELLI (formula) AEBITHŌ ACHAIL CHAŌSOUNISOU SOUNIARTE-
2060 NŌPH ARCHEREPHTHOUMI / BOLPHAI ARŌCHŌ ABMENTHŌ PHORPHORBA CHNOUCHIOCHOIME; I adjure [you], dead spirit, by the Destiny of Destinies,[248] to
2065 come to me, NN, on this day, on this night, and / agree to the act of service for me. And if you don't, expect other chastisements."

And when he agrees, rise up immediately and take a roll of hieratic papyrus and write on it with the black ink which will be revealed to you the figure which will be
2070 revealed to you,[249] / and write in a circle this spell and offer it to him, and straightway he will attract, even if he is unmanageable, immediately without delaying a single day.

But often there will be no need for the leaf of flax, but in the second spell[250] the
2075 papyrus / sheet[251] is to be placed there after you have commanded the act of service for you. He attracts and causes one to be ill, and he sends dreams and restrains, and he obtains revelations by dreams as well. These are the things which this single spell
2080 accomplishes. Depending on what you are performing,[252] / alter only the passage with the usual items.[253] Most of the magicians, who carried their instruments[254] with them, even put them aside and used him as an assistant. And they accom-
2085 plished the preceding things with all dispatch. / For [the spell] is free of excessive verbiage, immediately carrying out as it does the preceding things with all ease.

Spell: "I say to you, chthonic daimon, for whom the magical material of this
2090 female (of this male) has been embodied on / this night: proceed to where this female (or this male) resides and bring her to me NN either during the middle of the night or quickly. Perform the NN deed because the holy god OSIRIS KMĒPHI

248. See on this concept *PGM* III. 120 and n.

249. The figure is not extant. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

250. This refers to a variant in another spell available to the author but not included in the *PGM*.

251. Preisendanz suggests, in the apparatus ad loc., that this sheet refers to the hide of the ass mentioned in IV. 2014.

252. Preisendanz follows the papyrus and reads *πρός τό, τὸ πράσσεις*, but this is surely impossible Greek. The easiest change is *πρὸς τοῦτο ὃ πράσσεις*, but the sense seems to require something like *πρὸς ὅ τι ποτὲ πράσσεις*, "for whatever you do," or "depending on what(ever) you do." [E.N.O.]

253. This is apparently a reference to the formulas given as *κοινόν, κοινά* found elsewhere in the *PGM*.

254. Probably this is a reference to instruments such as were found in Pergamon. See R. Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon*, *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, *Ergänzungsheft* 6 (Berlin: Reimer, 1905).

SRŌ[255] wishes and commands it of you. Fulfill, daimon, what / is written here. And after you have performed it, I will pay you a sacrifice. But if you delay, I will inflict on you chastisements which you cannot endure. And perform for me the NN deed, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

The black ink of the procedure / is this: The hide is inscribed with blood of an ass[256] from the heart of a sacrificial victim, with which is mixed the soot of a coppersmith. But the leaf of flax is inscribed with falcon's blood, with which is mixed the soot of a goldsmith. / But the leaf of the hieratic papyrus is inscribed with eel's blood, with which acacia is mixed.

Do these things in this manner and, once you have performed them, you may know with what a marvelous nature this process is endowed, since in all ease / it considers the implements as the assistant. But guard yourself with whatever protection you want.

And this is the figure[257] ***written on the hide***: A lion-faced form of a man wearing a sash, holding in his right hand a staff, and on it let there be a serpent. / And around all his left hand let an asp be entwined, and from the mouth of the lion let fire breathe forth.

The figure written onto the leaf of flax is this: Hekate[258] with three heads and six hands, holding / torches in her hands, on the right sides of her face having the head of a cow; and on the left sides the head of a dog; and in the middle the head of a maiden with sandals bound on her feet.

And inscribed on the piece of papyrus: Osiris clothed / as the Egyptians show him.[259]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2125–39

***A restraining seal** for skulls that are not satisfactory [for use in divination], and also to prevent [them] from speaking or doing anything whatever of this [sort]:[260] Seal the mouth of the skull with dirt from the doors of [a temple] of Osiris / and from a mound [covering] graves. Taking iron from a leg fetter, work it cold and make a ring on which have a headless lion engraved. Let him have, instead of his head, a crown of Isis, and let him trample with his feet / a skeleton (the right foot should trample the skull of the skeleton). In the middle of these should be an owl-eyed cat with its paw on a gorgon's head; in a circle around [all of them?], these names: IADŌR INBA NICHAIOPLĒX BRITH.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

255. The names come from the Egyptian and mean "Osiris, Good Daimon, great prince" (or "ram"). [R.K.R.]

256. For the application, see *PGM* IV. 2015, 2220. On the blood of the ass, see D. Wortmann, "Das Blut des Seth," *ZPE* 2 (1968): 227–30; also Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 276, commenting on *De Is. et Os.* 6, 353B.

257. For this figure, see Dieterich, *Abraxas* 53; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 499–501 with *Tafel* V, 2a and 2b.

258. For pictures of Hekate *triformis* on gemstones, see Bonner, *SMA*, nos. 64, 66; cf. no. 156; Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles* 189, nos. 252, 253, *254, *254 (bis); Mouterde, *Glaive* 67–71 (see above, n. 220).

259. This prescription is remarkable because it seems to have been made by a magician who was not an Egyptian. The Egyptian Osiris is presented here in his capacity as god of the dead. For his ability to send demons and spirits of the dead, cf. Pritchard, *ANET* 16, "The Contending of Horus and Seth," Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* I, spell 335, pt. II. [R.K.R.]

260. Reading τουτω⟨ι⟩ with the papyrus, instead of Preisendanz's τουτω⟨ν⟩.

PGM IV. 2140–44

2140 ***Pitys the Thessalian's spell for questioning corpses:**[261] On a flax leaf write these things: "AZĒL BALEMACHŌ" (12 letters).[262]

Ink: [Made] from red ochre, burnt myrrh, juice of fresh wormwood, evergreen, and flax. Write [on the leaf] and put it in the mouth [of the corpse].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 2145–2240

2145 ***Divine assistance from three Homeric verses:**[263]

"After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch."[264]

"and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter."[265]

2150 / "and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them."[266]

If a runaway carries these verses inscribed on an iron lamella,[267] he will never be 2155 found. Likewise, attach the same lamella / to someone on the point of death, and you will get an answer[268] to everything you ask him. Whenever anyone thinks he is under a spell, let him pronounce the verses while sprinkling with sea water and . . . 2160 against enchantments. A contestant with the / tablet stays undefeated, just as also a charioteer who carries the tablet along with a lodestone; and the same is true in court; also, these are the things for a gladiator to carry. Attach it to a criminal who 2165 has been executed, speak / the verses in his ear, and he will tell you everything you wish. Insert the lamella into his wound, and you will have a great blessing with regard to your superiors and masters and others as well, for you will have honor, 2170 / trust. It also keeps off daimons and wild animals. Everyone will fear you; in war you will be invulnerable; when you ask you will receive; you will enjoy favor; your life will change; and you will be loved by any woman or man you have contact 2175 with. / You will have honor, happiness; you will receive inheritances, have good fortune, be unaffected by potions and poison; you will break spells and conquer your enemies.

Here is the the formula to be spoken when you immerse the lamella.[269]

261. See *PGM* IV. 1990 and n.

262. That is, in Greek letters.

263. In the papyrus these three verses from Homer are written in exceptionally large letters. Cf. *PGM* IV. 470–74; 821–24, where magical power is ascribed to the same verses. See the note on *PGM* IV. 470.

264. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. In Homer, the referent of "he" is Odysseus.

265. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. The quotation includes only a portion of the Homeric sentence. "Men" is the object of "saw" in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who "saw." The text of *Il.* 10. 521 here and at *PGM* IV. 822 differs slightly, though not so as to offset the sense of that of *PGM* IV. 472.

266. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of "they" is Odysseus and Diomedes.

267. The use of iron lamellae (as opposed to those of lead, silver, gold, and tin) is comparatively rare in magic (but cf. *PGM* VII. 382). See the discussion by A. M. Tupet, *La Magie dans la poésie latine* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1976) 39–43. An iron lamella engraved with magical words is housed in the Louvre; see A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre: Les textes inédits* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1933) 108, no. 205. [R.D.K.]

268. The Greek verb rendered "you will get an answer to" could also mean "he will hear." Perhaps the former is the correct rendering, and the passage is expressive of the ancient notion that individuals on the point of death have prophetic power (see, e.g., *Il.* 16. 843–61, where the dying Patroclus prophesies the death of Hector; *Il.* 22. 355–66, where the dying Hector does the same of Achilles; Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 605–28, 1370–96, 1516–55, where the aged Oedipus, his death approaching, delivers prophecies; and Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 607–29, where Dido utters a prophetic curse shortly before committing suicide. [H.M.]

269. Immersing the lamella is part of the consecration; see S. Eitrem, "Die magischen Gemmen und ihre Weihe," *SO* 19 (1939): 57–85.

The formula: / "NN, leave the sweet light and also render me whatever service I require of you whenever I call you (add the usual) because I conjure you by the gods of the underworld GOGGYLORYGCHE OMBROLIGMATE[270] THOĒRYSĒRIS. / Render me the service for which I summon you." Speak this formula that invokes all supernatural powers.

Consecrating the plaque: Go, I say, into a clean room. Set up a table, on which you are to place a clean linen cloth and flowers of the season. / Then sacrifice a white cock, placing beside it 7 cakes, 7 wafers, 7 lamps; pour a libation of milk, honey, wine, and olive oil.

Here is the formula to be spoken when you consecrate the plaque: "Come to me! You who are master above the earth and below the earth, / who look to the west and the east and gaze upon the south and the north, O master of all, Aion of Aions! You are the ruler of the universe, Ra, Pan,[271] (H)ARPENCHNOUBI / BRINTATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUZAR BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPHI IA IOY IYŌ AII OYŌ AEĒIOYŌ BAUBŌ BAUBŌ PHORBA PHORBA OREOBAZAGRA ŌYOIĒEA ER." Speak too the formula that invokes Necessity: "MASKELLI (formula) IARCHTHA ECHTHABA CHOIX IABOUCH IABŌCH," and the one that / invokes all supernatural powers.

So much for the ritual of consecration.[272] ***Here are the operations for specific purposes***:

For an oracle: Write as follows on a bay leaf in myrrh mixed with blood from someone who has died by violence: "ABRAA, you are the one who reveals all things MARIAPHRAX." / Then put it under the lamella.

For wrecking chariots: Burn garlic and a snake's slough as an offering, and write on a tin plaque:[273] "NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH BEU ERBĒTH PAKERBĒTH and ŌNOUPH; overturn him, NN, and his / companions." Bury the tablet for 3 days in the grave of someone who died untimely; he will come to life for as long as it stays there.

For spells that restrain: Write on a seashell in the ink[274] mentioned below, adding / Typhon's blood.[275] Then you are to bury the shell in the tomb of someone who died untimely, when the moon stands in opposition to the sun. What you are to write is the 3 Homeric verses,[276] and the following: "IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IAKOUBIAI IŌ PATATHNAX / ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH." The lamella is to be carried, as in the examples at the beginning.

For popularity spells and love spells: Write "MYRI MYRI NES MACHESNŌN" on a gold tablet, after putting it under / the iron one for 3 days. When you remove it, carry it, keeping yourself clean all the while.

For fetching spells. Burn roses and sumac as an offering; take myrtle leaves and write on them in ink: "STHENEPIŌ ARRŌRIPHRASIS YYYY / IIII fetch her, NN, for him, NN." Recite the formula[277] and put the magical substance under the lamella.

270. This and the preceding *voces magicae* can be translated and mean, "you with the round snout," and "you who lap rain." [H.M.]

271. The interpretation of the god Pan as Aion and as god of the All is based on the assumed etymology of the name (cf. also *PGM* XIII. 980: ἓν καὶ τὸ πᾶν, "One and the All"). See F. Brommer, "Pan," *PRE.S* 8 (1956): 1005–6.

272. See above on *PGM* IV. 2186.

273. That is, the iron tablet that has been consecrated, not the tin plaque just described.

274. That is, the myrrh ink mentioned at the end of the spell.

275. For the blood of Seth/Typhon, see *PGM* IV. 2100 and n.

276. See for these verses *PGM* IV. 2145–51.

277. Presumably, this formula is the one previously mentioned ("that invokes all supernatural pow-

You are to add some single-stemmed wormwood to the myrrh ink. Let the lamella
2240 be worn on a cord; get it from the places where / the woolworkers have their shops.
*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 2241–2358

*** Document to the waning moon.**[278]

Spell:

"Hail,[279] Holy Light, Ruler of Tartaros,
Who strike with rays; hail, Holy Beam, who whirl
Up out of darkness and subvert all things
2245 With aimless plans. / I'll call and may you hear
My holy words since awesome Destiny
Is ever subject to you. Thrice-bound goddess,
Set free yourself. Come, rage against him, NN.
For Klotho will spin out her threads for you.
Assent, O blessed one, ere I hold you
2250 As hateful, ere I seize your / sword-armed fist,[280]
And ere you grieve, O god in maiden form.
You'll, willy-nilly, do the NN task
Because I know your lights in full detail,
And I am your priest of good offices, /
2255 Your minister and fellow witness, Maid.
What must take place, this you cannot escape.
You'll, willy-nilly, do the NN task.
I now adjure you by this potent night,
In which your light is last to fade away,
2260 In which / a dog opens, closes not, its mouth,
In which the bar of Tartaros is opened,
In which forth rages Kerberos, armed with
A thunderbolt, Bestir yourself, Mene,
Who need the solar nurse, guard of the dead, /
2265 You I implore, Maid, by your stranger beams,[281]
You I implore,[282] O cunning, lofty, swift,
O crested one, who draw swords, valiant,
Healer, with forethought, far-famed, goading one,
2270 Swift-footed, brave, crim/son, Darkness, Brimo,
Immortal, heedful, Persian, pastoral,
Alkyone, gold-crowned, the elder goddess,
Shining, sea-goddess, ghostly, beautiful,
The one who shows, skiff-holder, aiming well,

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ers"), ll. 2186, 2204–5. The "magical substance" is usually material taken from the person to be "fetched." See Glossary, s.v. "Material, magical."

278. The correct reading here is Δέλτος ἀποκρουστικὴν πρὸς Σελήνην. [E.N.O.]

279. These iambic trimeters, many of which are metrically faulty or even collapse almost completely, have been adapted as the reconstructed Hymn 17; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 250–53. The text is frequently uncertain and the translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

280. The magician claims later to have done so (l. 2328).

281. For ξεινη τ' Αυγη read ξεινην αυγην; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 251, apparatus ad loc.

282. The conclusion of the line is lost. Here a long list of what seem to be epithets, now mostly corrupt, has been inserted. The translation usually follows the conjectures proposed by Heitsch, although many are questionable.

Self-gendered, wearing / headband, vigorous,
Leader of hosts, O goddess of Dodona,
Of Ida,[283] e'er with sorrows fresh, wolf-formed,
Denounced as infamous, destructive, quick,
Grim-eyed, shrill-screaming, Thasian, Mene,
O Nethermost one, beam-embracer, savior,
World-wide, dog-shaped, / spinner of Fate, all-giver,
Long-lasting, glorious, helper, queen, bright,
Wide-aimer, vigorous, holy, benign,
Immortal, shrill-voiced, glossy-locked, in bloom,
Divine, with golden face, delighting / men,
Minoan, goddess of childbirth, Theban,
Long-suffering, astute, malevolent.
With rays for hair, shooter of arrows, maid;
I[284] truly know that you are full of guile
And are deliverer from fear; as Hermes,
The Elder, chief of all magicians, I
Am Isis' father.[285] Hear: EŌ PHORBA
BRIMŌ SACHMI NEBOUTO / SOUALĒTH.
For I have hidden this[286] magic symbol
Of yours, your sandal, and possess your key.
I opened the bars of Kerberos, the guard
Of Tartaros, / and premature night I
Plunged in darkness. I whirl the wheel for you;
The cymbals I don't touch.[287] Gaze at yourself:
Lo! As you see yourself, you'll wonder at
The mirror, love charm of the Nile's goddess,[288]
Until you cast the dark light from your eyes.
What you must do, / this you must not escape.
You'll, willy-nilly, do this task for me,
Mare, Kore, dragoness, lamp, lightning flash,
Star, lion, she-wolf, AĒŌ ĒĒ.
A sieve, an old utensil, is my symbol,[289]

283. The papyrus reads ειδεα, which Wessely, whom Preisendanz follows, emends to Ἰδαία. This epithet means "belonging to Ida," a mountain range in Crete or Phrygia. Cf. *PGM* V. 455–56; LXX. 14, and Betz, "Fragments," 293 with n. 30; H. von Geisau, "Idaia," *KP* 2 (1979): 1337.

284. Here the spell that preceded the list of epithets is resumed. Some connective material may have been lost. [M.S.]

285. The elder Hermes is the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistos (Thoth) who was thought to be older than the Greek god. On Hermes/Thoth as the father of Isis, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3, 352A–B, and 12, 355F–356A, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 263. See also *PGM* IV. 99–101, where Thoth is the father. On the topic, see also Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 136 n. 4; Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* III, p. cxxvii. [R.K.R.]

286. Reading τό for τοῦτο. That the symbol was the sandal is shown by the later reference to it in ll. 2334–35. The "symbols" of the gods were thought not to be mere signs of them but objects and formulas by which they could be controlled. [M.S.] See also Betz, "Fragments," 291.

287. Reading ⟨δ'⟩οὐχ and understanding the negative to refer to both verbs, as suggested by L. Koenen. The magician threatens to strike: he will not perform actions that would prevent the impending eclipse. [M.S.]

288. Reading Νειλαω⟨ι⟩ Ἰ⟨σ⟩ιδος χαριν κατοπτρ⟨οι οι⟩. For ἀθρέω with ἐν, see the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. Sturzius, 13. 20. [M.S.]

289. Perhaps "you" instead of "my" should be read (also l. 2311). Cf. the similar list in *PGM* VII. 780–85. [M.S.]

And one morsel of flesh, a piece / of coral,
Blood of a turtledove, hoof of a camel,
Hair of a virgin cow, the seed of Pan,
Fire from a sunbeam, colt's foot, spindel tree,
Boy love, bow drill, a gray-eyed woman's body
With legs outspread, a black sphinx's / pierced vagina:
All of these are the symbol of my power.
The bond of all necessity will be
Sundered, and Helios will hide your light
At noon, and Tethys will o'erflow the world,[290]
Which you inhabit. Aion's / quaking; heaven
Will be disturbed; Kronos, in terror at
Your pole[291] o'erpowered by force, has fled to Hades
As overseer of the dead below.
The Moirai throw away your endless thread,
Unless you check my magic's winged shaft,[292] /
Swiftest to reach the mark. For to escape
The fate of my words is impossible:
Happen it must.[293] Don't force yourself[294] to hear
The symbols forward and then in reverse
Again. You'll, willy-nilly, do what's needed.
Ere useless light becomes your fate, do what /
I say, O Maid, ruler of Tartaros.
I've bound your pole with Kronos' chains, and with
Awesome compulsion I hold fast your thumb.
Tomorrow does not come unless my will
Is done. / To Hermes, leader of the gods,
You promised[295] to contribute to this rite.
Aye, in my power I hold you. Hear, you who
Watch and are watched. I look at you, you look
At me. Then, too, I'll speak the sign to you:
Bronze sandal of her / who rules Tartaros,
Her fillet, Key, wand, iron wheel, black dog,
Her thrice-locked door, her burning hearth, her shadow,
Depth, fire, the governess of Tartaros,
Fearing the Furies, those prodigious daimons,[296] /
You've come? You're here? Be wroth, O maid, at him,
NN, foe of heav'n's gods, of Helios-
Osiris[297] and of Isis, his bedmate.

290. Reading *κλυζησει* for *κουφισει*. Helios' light is the moon's because the moon shines with it (see above). He will hide it in the south, because that is where the sun goes to hide in the winter. Tethys is the goddess of the primordial waters. [M.S.]

291. Reading *πολον* for *σου νουν* with H. van Herwerden, "De carminibus e papyris aegyptiacis erutis et eruendis," *Mnemosyne*, n.s. 16 (1888): 342. [M.S.]

292. Understanding *μαγειης τῆς ἐμῆς* as equivalent to the dative (emendation may not be necessary), and reading *ἀναγκασ⟨θ⟩ῆς*. [M.S.]

293. Reading *ἦν δεῖ γενέσθαι* for *ὃ δεῖ γενέσθαι*. [M.S.]

294. Reading *σα⟨υ⟩τήν* with Preisendanz, ad. loc. [M.S.]

295. Reading *ἐννευσα* for *ἐνευσας*. [M.S.]

296. Reading nominatives for accusatives. [M.S.]

297. Although the link between Helios and Osiris is possible through the connection with Sarapis,

As I instruct you, hurl him to this ill
Because, Kore, I know your good and great /
Majestic names, by which heav'n is illumined,
And earth drinks dew and is pregnant; from these
The universe increases and declines;
EUPHORBA PHORBA PHORBOREOU PHORBA PHORBOR PHORBOR PHORBOR BORBORPHA ĒRPHOR / PHORBAIŌ PHORBOR PHORBOR BOROPH PHORPHOR BOR PHORBOR AŌ IŌĒ PHORBORPHOR EUPHOR BOPHOR EUOIEŌ PHŌTH IŌPHŌTH IŌPHŌTH PHŌTHIŌPH AŌŌŌTHŌ ŌAI IŌ EŌŌIŌ HAHAHA EE ĒĒ IOYY ŌŌŌ OYYYY AEĒIOUŌ / YYY mistress, Harken-techtha,[298] who sits beside Lord Osiris, Michael, Archangel of angels, the god who lights the way, perform for me."

Protective charm of the procedure . . .

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The translation is based on the edition in Preisendanz, but several emendations by Morton Smith have been accepted (see the notes); see his article "The Hymn to the Moon, *PGM* IV 2242–2355," *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. L. Koenen et al. (Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1981) 643–54.

PGM IV. 2359–72

***Business spell**: Take orange beeswax and / the juice of the aeria plant and of ground ivy and mix them and fashion a figure of Hermes[299] having a hollow bottom, grasping in his left hand a herald's wand and in his right a small bag. Write on hieratic papyrus these names, and you will see continuous business: / "CHAIŌCHEN OUTIBILMEMNOUŌTH ATRAUICH. Give income and business to this plase, because Psentebeth[300] lives here." Put the papyrus inside the figure and fill in the hole with the same beeswax. Then deposit it in a wall, at an inconspicuous place, / and crown him on the outside, and sacrifice to him a cock, and make a drink offering of Egyptian wine, and light for him a lamp that is not colored red.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 2373–2440

Charm for acquiring business and for calling in customers**[301] to a workshop or house or wherever you put it. / By having it, you will become rich, you will be successful. For Hermes made this for the wandering Isis.[302] The charm is marvelous and is called "the little beggar***."

Take beeswax that has not been heated, which is known as bee glue, and fashion / a man having his right hand in the position of begging and having in his left a bag and a staff. Let there be around the staff a coiled snake, and let him be dressed in a girdle and standing on a sphere that has / a coiled snake, like Isis. Stand it up and

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the older link between Osiris and Re may be of influence here. See A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York: Bollingen, 1964) 19–21. [R.K.R.]

298. Harkentechtha is a male god (see Glossary s.v.); thus he is not to be addressed by "mistress," a title belonging to the moon goddess of the preceding hymn. See also *PGM* IV. 2004 and n.

299. Here Hermes is portrayed as the god of merchants and of commerce. See *PGM* V. 390–99.

300. This name means "the son of the female falcon." Cf. Jacoby in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc., who fails to recognize the female definite article, a fact that precludes the identification with Horus, the falcon god. [R.K.R.]

301. LSJ renders *κατακλητικόν* (spell) "for invoking," but Eitrem, in Preisendanz's apparatus, is probably right in translating "charm for calling in customers." See on this point Maltomini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979): 102; see also *PGM* CXXIV. 7.

302. The wandering of Isis refers to her as the widow of Osiris searching for his body. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 14, 356D–E; 39, 366F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 315, 452. For wax figurines associated with the cult of Isis, see Diodorus Sic. I. 21. 5–6 and the commentary by A. Burton, *Diodorus Siculus Book I*, *EPRO* 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1972): 93–94.

erect it in a single block of hollowed-out juniper, and have an asp covering the top as a capital.[303] Fashion him during the new moon and consecrate / it in a celebrating mood, and read aloud the spell over his members, after you have divided him into three sections—repeating the spell four times for each member. For each member write on strips of papyrus made from a priestly scroll, with ink of cinnabar, juice of wormwood, and myrrh. When you have set it / up high on the place you have chosen, sacrifice to it a wild [ass][304] with a white forehead and offer it whole and roast the inward parts over the wood of willow and thus eat it.

Now this is what is to be written on [each] strip of papyrus. The spell on the / bag: "EPH EROUCHIŌ CHŌRAI DARIDA MĒTHEUEI ABACHTHIE EMESIE ECHENĒ IAE IEN EBAPS PHNEŌA ENTHŌNICHAENTHA TROMOCHMOUSŌ THERAŌCHEIN SASI SAMACHIŌTH OUASA AMAKARALA KAIŌS / LASOI." Upon the head: "ŌAI IĒ ĒIŌ NAŌ OULABETHEN THERMATH ENESIE." On the neck: "THALAA MEMARACHŌ CHETH THROU PHEN PHTHAI." On the right shoulder: "ĒMAA CHNA THOUE BŌLERI." On / the left: "ARIAŌ IĒE SYPSO ITHEN BACHTHIPHĒRPSOI THENIBON." On the belly: "AMAMAMAR AIII OU MAMŌ MOU OMBA." On the sacred bone: "IANOA PHTHOUTHO OTHOM MATHATHOU." / On the right thigh: "ARIN THEA RAGNI MĒTHETHIŌ CHRĒ IĒ IĒ ERE." On the left thigh: "ĒI ĒIN YEAIŌ ERENPS TEPHĒT PARAOU ANĒI." On the private parts: "ĒERŌTHĒSONĒEN / THNIBITH EUECHEN." On the right shin: "MIANIKOUĒI BIOUS." On the left: "CHNOU TOUŌYMOUCHOS ONIŌ." Under the sole of the right foot: "OURANION."[305] On the left: / "ANOUPSIE." On the back of the buttocks: "ETEMPSIS PSPHOPS IAIAĒĒIOO." On the snake the name "Agathos Daimon," which is, as Epaphroditus[306] says, the following: / "PHRĒ ANŌI PHŌRCHŌ PHYYY RORPSIS OROCHŌŌI," but as on the paper which I found the spell was changed thus: "Harponknouphi" (formula).

This is the spell for the rite: "I receive / you as the cowherd who has his camp toward the south, I receive you for the widow and the orphan.[307] Therefore, give me favor, work for my business. Bring to me silver, gold, clothing, / much wealth for the good of it."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 2441–2621

***Spell of attraction**:[308] (implements: those for a lunar burnt offering); it attracts those who are uncontrollable and require no magical material[309] and who come in one day. It inflicts sickness excellently and destroys powerfully, sends dreams beau-

303. The clause *ὀρυκτόν . . . κεκρυμμένον* is obscure and not clearly related to its context. Preisendanz understands the snake to be buried in the basket which is put under the figure. The reference is apparently to the *cista mystica* which contained the snake and was carried on the head. See Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 11 and Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 222–26; H. Leisegang, "The Mystery of the Serpent," in *The Mysteries: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, Bollingen Series XXX. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 194–260.

304. The papyrus has only here and in l. 3148 *αγριον* which Jacoby emends to *⟨ὀν⟩ἄγριον*, "wild ass." Eitrem suggests *ἄγριον κριόν*, "wild ram."

305. In Greek, "heavenly."

306. Apparently the papyrus refers to another author by the name Epaphroditos, but nothing is known about him.

307. Cf. l. 2375. See also Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 31. The widow and orphan refer to Isis and Horus; cf. *PGM* III. 542–43. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 450. For the importance of hospitality in the myth of the wandering Isis, cf. C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstele* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1956) 41–42; Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 59–62. [R.K.R.]

308. This spell is similar to, and perhaps even parallel to, *PGM* IV. 2622–2784.

309. The translation of these adjectives is tentative and follows Preisendanz's German translation,

tifully, accomplishes dream revelations marvelously and in its many / demonstrations has been marveled at for having no failure in these matters.

Burnt offering: Pachrates,[310] the prophet of Heliopolis, revealed it to the emperor Hadrian, revealing the power of his own divine magic. / For it attracted in one hour; it made someone sick in 2 hours; it destroyed in 7 hours, sent the emperor himself dreams as he thoroughly tested the whole truth of the magic within his power. And marveling at the prophet, / he ordered double fees to be given to him.

Take a field mouse[311] and deify it in spring water. And take two moon beetles[312] and deify them in river water, and take a river crab and fat of a dappled goat that is virgin and dung of a dog- / faced baboon, 2 eggs of an ibis, 2 drams of storax, 2 drams of myrrh, 2 drams of crocus, 4 drams of Italian galingale, 4 drams of uncut frankincense, a single onion. Put all these things onto a mortar with the mouse and the remaining items / and, after pounding thoroughly, place in a lead box and keep for use. And whenever you want to perform a rite, take a little, make a charcoal fire, go up on a lofty roof, and make the offering as you say / this spell at moonrise, and at once she comes.

Spell:[313] "Let all the darkness of clouds be dispersed for me, and let the goddess AKTIŌPHIS shine for me, and let her hear my holy voice. For I come / announcing the slander[314] of NN, a defiled and unholy woman, for she has slanderously brought your holy mysteries to the knowledge of men. She, NN, is the one, [not] I, who says, 'I have seen the greatest / goddess, after leaving the heavenly vault, on earth without sandals, sword in hand, and [speaking] a foul name.' It is she, NN, who said, 'I saw [the goddess] drinking blood.' She, NN, said it, not I, AKTIŌPHIS ERESCHIGAL / NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH PHORPHORBA SATRAPAMMŌN CHOIRIXIĒ, flesh eater. Go to her NN and take away her sleep and put a burning heat in her soul,[315] punishment and frenzied passion in her thoughts, / and banish her from every place and from every house, and attract her here to me, NN."

After saying these things, sacrifice. Then raise loud groans and go backward as you descend. And she will come at once. But pay attention to the one being attracted / so that you may open the door for her; otherwise the spell will fail.[316]

For causing illness: Use these spells, adding, "Make her, NN, whom NN bore, ill."

And for destroying: Say, "Draw out her breath, Mistress, from the nostrils of her, NN."

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except for μονοημέρους which is rendered in analogy to μονόωρος in ll. 2450–51. Cf. also the parallels in *PGM* IV. 2071–72; XXXVI. 361.

310. The prophet Pachrates may be identical with Pankrates described by Lucian, *Philops.* 34. See K. Preisendanz, "Pachrates," *PRE* 18 (1942):2071–74; Nock, *Essays* I, 183–84.

311. On the role of the mouse in magic, see W. R. Dawson, "The Mouse in Egyptian and Later Medicine," *JEA* 10 (1924):83–86.

312. On the moon beetle and its association with the moon, see Abt, *Apologie* 126–27.

313. Although only the general term for "spell" is used here (λόγος), the contents show clearly that the passage is a "slander spell" (διαβολή). Cf. *PGM* IV. 2622 in the title of a spell. [E.N.O.]

314. For this slander, cf. ll. 2574–2621, below. The projection of a ritual violation onto the party to be affected by the spell, esp. the statement, "It is NN who said that. It is not I who said that," is also found in numerous older Egyptian texts. See F. Lexa, *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique* I (Paris: Geuthner, 1925) 56–58; Pritchard, *ANET* 327 and note b. In *PGM* cf. also III. 5, 114–15; VII. 593–619. On the whole subject, see S. Eitrem, "Die rituelle ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗ," *SO* 2 (1924):43–61. [R.K.R.]

315. On the "burning of the soul," see R. Ganszyniec, "Das Märchen der Pythia," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1 (1920):170–71. Cf. also Glossary, s.v. "Soul."

316. Differently Preisendanz, who understands: "otherwise she will die."

/ ***For sending dreams***: Say, "Become like the god whom she worships."

For dream revelations: Say, "Stand beside me, Mistress, and reveal to me about the NN matter." And she will stand beside you and will tell everything without deception.

Do not therefore perform the rite rashly, and do not perform / it unless some dire necessity arises for you. It also possesses a protective charm against your falling, for the goddess is accustomed to make airborne those who perform this rite unprotected by a charm and to hurl them from aloft down to the ground. So consequently / I have also thought it necessary to take the precaution of a protective charm so that you may perform the rite without hesitation. Keep it secret.

Take a hieratic papyrus roll and wear it around your right arm with which you make the offering. And these are the / things written on it: "MOULATHI CHERNOUTH AMARŌ MOULIANDRON, guard me from every evil daimon, whether an evil male or female." Keep it secret, son.[317]

The second spell, after you make / the first sacrifice, but it is better for you to say it before you make the offering. This is the spell attached to the first:

"[I offer you][318] this spice, O child of Zeus,
Dart-shooter, Artemis, Persephone,
Shooter of deer, night-shining, / triple-sounding,
Triple-voiced, triple-headed Selene,
Triple-pointed, triple-faced, triple-necked,
And goddess of the triple ways, who hold
Untiring flaming fire in triple baskets,
And you who oft frequent the triple way
And rule the triple decades with three forms
/ And flames and dogs. From toneless throats you send
A dread, sharp cry when you, O goddess, have
Raised up an awful sound with triple mouths.
Hearing your cry, all worldly things are shaken:
The nether gates and Lethe's / holy water
And primal Chaos and the shining chasm
Of Tartaros. At it ev'ry immortal
And ev'ry mortal man, the starry mountains,
Valleys and ev'ry tree and roaring rivers,
And e'en the restless sea, / the lonely echo,
And daimons through the world, shudder at you,
O blessed one, when they hear your dread voice.
Come here to me, goddess of night, beast-slayer,
Come and be at my love spell of attraction,
Quiet and frightful, and having your meal
Amid the graves. / And heed my prayers, Selene,
Who suffer much, who rise and set at night,
O triple-headed, triple-named MĒNĒ
MARZOUNĒ, fearful, gracious-minded, and
Persuasion.[319] Come to me, horned-faced, light-bringer,

317. The term "son" seems to indicate the magician's apprentice. Cf. similar references in *PGM* I. 193; XIII. 214, 313, 343, 719, 755, etc. [E.N.O.]

318. These dactylic hexameters, with the usual mixture of accurate and faulty meter, also form the reconstructed Hymn 20, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 257–59. [E.N.O.]

319. For the personified Persuasion (*Peithō*) as an attribute and companion of Aphrodite cf. *PGM*

Bull-shaped, horse-faced goddess, who howl doglike; /
Come here, she-wolf, and come here now, Mistress
Of night and chthonic realms, holy, black-clad,
'Round whom the star-traversing nature of
The world revolves whene'er you wax too great.
You have established ev'ry worldly thing,
For you engendered everything on earth
And from / the sea and ev'ry race in turn
Of winged birds who seek their nests again.
Mother of all, who bore Love, Aphrodite,
Lamp-bearer, shining and aglow, Selene,
Star-coursing, heav'nly, torch-bearer, fire-breather, /
Woman four-faced, four-named, four-roads' mistress.
Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets,
O heav'nly one, harbor goddess, who roam
The mountains and are goddess of the crossroads;
O nether one, goddess of depths, eternal,
Goddess of dark, come to my / sacrifices.
Fulfill for me this task, and as I pray
Give heed to me, Lady, I ask of you."

Use this for the spells of coercion, for it can accomplish anything, but do not use it frequently to Selene / unless the procedure which you are performing is worthy of its power. For the hostile offerings, when some slander is involved, use the following stele, speaking thus:

This is the 3rd coercive spell:

"She,[320] NN, is burning for you, /
Goddess, some dreadful incense[321]
And dappled goat's fat, blood and filth,
The menstrual flow of virgin
Dead, heart of one untimely dead,
The magical material
Of dead dog, woman's embryo,
Fine-ground wheat husks, / sour refuse,
Salt, fat of dead doe, and mastic,
And myrtle, dark bay, barley,
And crab claws, sage, rose, fruit pits and
A single onion, / garlic,
Fig meal, a dog-faced baboon's dung,
And egg of a young ibis.
And this is sacrilege! She placed
Them on your altar; she set
The flaming fire / to juniper
Wood strips and slays a seahawk
For you, a vulture and a mouse,
Your greatest myst'ry, goddess.

LII. 15, where the connection is not clear, however, and esp. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* passim.

320. The meter of these lines is iambic tetrameter acatalectic. The passage is one version of the reconstructed Hymn 19; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 255–57. The second version, which differs in a number of places, appears just below in *PGM* IV. 2643–74. [E.N.O.]

321. On the accusations, see *PGM* IV. 2475 and n.

She said, too, that these deeds of pain
You had performed so harshly:
For she said that you slew a man
And drank the / blood of this man
And ate his flesh, and she says that
Your headband is his entrails
That you took all his skin and put
It into your vagina,
[That you drank] sea falcon's blood and
That your food was dung beetle.
But Pan before your very eyes
Shot forth his seed unlawful. /
A dog-faced baboon now is born
Whene'er there's menstrual cleansing.
But you, AKTIŌPHIS, Mistress,
Selene, Only Ruler,
Swift Fortune of daimons and gods:
NEBOUTOSOALĒTH IŌI LOIMOU LALON, in Syriac: ĒTARONKON BYTHOU PNOUSAN / KATHINBERAO ESTOCHETH ORENTHA AMELCHERIBIOUTH SPHNOUTHI,
Brand her, NN, the lawless one,
With bitter retributions,
Whom I again will duly charge
To you in hostile manner.
I call you, triple-faced goddess
Mene, O light-beloved
Hermes / and Hekate at once,
Male-female child together;
MOUPHÔR PHORBA, Queen Brimo, dreaded and lawful, and Dardania, All-seeing One, come here, IŌIĒ, Virgin, Goddess of crossroads and bull snake are you, Nymph and mare bitch and head / -nodder and Minoan and powerful, EALANINDŌ, come here, ATEĒS ENIDELIDIMA, Mistress Phaiara, MĒDIXA EMITHĒNIŌ, come to me, INDEOMĒ, come here, MEGAPHTHĒ; she will come here. Attract her NN to me very quickly, / I myself will clearly convict her of everything, goddess, which she had done while sacrificing to you."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2622–2707

***Slander spell**[322] **to Selene,**[323] which works for everything and every rite. For it attracts in the same hour, it sends dreams, it causes sickness, produces / dream visions,[324] removes enemies when you reverse the spell, however you wish. But above all be protected by a protective charm and do not approach the procedure[325] carelessly or else the goddess is angry.[326]

322. See on this term *PGM* IV. 2475 and n.

323. For a similar slander spell, see *PGM* IV. 2471–92.

324. The papyrus has *ονειρο|θαυπτει*. For conjectures, cf. the apparatus ad loc., and for parallels *PGM* IV. 3172, 3197. See also K. Preisendanz, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 42 (1920): 31–32.

325. Here *πραγματεία* seems to be a variant for the usual expression *πρᾶγμα*, "rite."

326. The present tense is strange here; it should perhaps be read *μηνιεῖ*, "will be angry." Preisendanz's translation has a future ring, too ("sonst zürnt die Göttin").

/ ***Preparation of the procedure's protective charm***: Take a magnet that is breathing and fashion it in the form of a heart, and let there be engraved on it Hekate lying about the heart, like a little crescent. Then carve the twenty-lettered spell that is all vowels, / and wear it around your body.

The following name is what is written: "AEYŌ ĒIE ŌA EŌĒ EŌA ŌI EŌI." For this spell is completely capable of everything. But perform this ritual in a holy manner, not frequently / or lightly, especially to Selene. At any rate, burn upon pieces of juniper wood an offering of Cretan storax and begin the spell.

The spell which is to be spoken:

"For[327] you the woman NN burns
Some hostile incense, goddess;
The fat of dappled goat, and blood, /
Defilement, embryo of
A dog, the bloody discharge of
A virgin dead untimely,
A young boy's heart,[328] with barley mixed
In vinegar, both salt and
A deer's horn, mastic, myrtle and
Dark bay, and mix at random,
And crab claws, / sage, rose, pits for you
And single onion, garlic,
Mouse pellets, dog-faced baboon's blood,
And egg of a young ibis—
And what is sacrilege, she placed
These on your wooden altar
Of juniper. She, NN, / said
That you had done this matter;
For she said that you slew a man
And drank the blood of this man
And ate his flesh, and she says that
Your headband is his entrails,
That you took all his skin and put
It into your vagina, /
[That you drank] blood of a sea falcon
And your food was dung beetle.
And Pan before your very eyes
Shot forth his seed unlawful:
A dog-faced baboon now is born
From all the menstrual cleansing,
But you, AKTIŌPHIS, Mistress,
Selene, / Only Ruler,
The Fortune of daimons and gods,
NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH IŌ IMI BOULLON ENOURTILAIĒ (otherwise: NOUMILLON

327. The meter of these lines is iambic tetrameter acatelectic. The passage is one version of the reconstructed Hymn 19; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 255–57. The second version, which differs in a number of places, appears above in *PGM* IV. 2574–2610. [E.N.O.]

328. On rituals involving a boy's heart, see A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos. Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans*, *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 14 (Bonn: Habelt, 1972): 32–37, 69–72.

ESORTILĒS BATHYPNOU SANKANTHARA MIBERATH ENTOCHE THŌ RENTHA IMOUĒ SORENTHA).

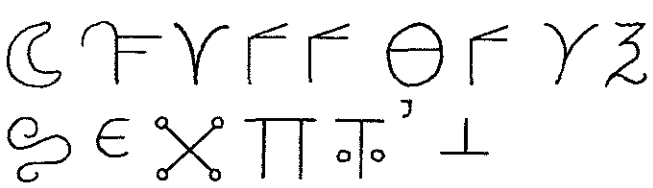
Mark her, NN, the lawless one,
With bitter / retributions,
Whom I again will duly charge
To you in hostile manner
(Of all unlawful things that she
Has said against the goddess
Detail as many as you want),
For by the spell she forces
Even the rocks to burst asunder."

This, then, is the beneficent offering / which you sacrifice on the first and second day (but on the third day, with the coercive spell also sacrifice the offering that is coercive). ***The beneficent offering, then, is***: Uncut frankincense, bay, myrtle, fruit pit, stavesacre, / cinnamon leaf, kostos. Pound all these together and blend with Mendesian[329] wine and honey, and make pills the size of beans.

The coercive offering: When you say the foregoing coercive spell / on the third day, also make an offering: it is a field mouse, fat of a virgin dappled goat, magic material of a dog-faced baboon, egg of an ibis, river crab, a perfect moon beetle, single-stemmed wormwood picked at sunrise,[330] magic material of a dog, / a single clove of garlic. Blend with vinegar. Make pills and stamp with a completely iron ring, completely tempered, with a Hekate[331] and the name BARZOU PHERBA.

The protective charm which you must wear: / Onto lime wood write with vermilion this name: "EPOKŌPT KŌPTO BAI BAITOKARAKŌPTO KARAKŌPTO CHILOKŌPTO BAI (50 letters). Guard me from every daimon of the air / on the earth and under the earth, and from every angel and phantom and ghostly visitation and enchantment, me NN." Enclose it in a purple skin, hang it around your neck and wear it. /

A protective charm on a silver leaf:[332]



*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2708–84

Another love spell of attraction**: Take some Ethiopian cumin and fat of a dappled virgin goat / and after putting the offering together, offer it to Selene on the 13th, 14th, on an earthen censer, on a lofty housetop, on coals. ***Spell:

329. See on this term *PGM* I. 85 and n.

330. Cf. on this point *PGM* IV. 286–87. It is likely that the magician recognizes that he is to perform a "ritual for picking a plant" (βοτανήαρσις).

331. The ring is supposed to have an image of Hekate.

332. For an example of a phylactery consisting of magical characters, see D. Jordan, "A Silver Phylactery at Istanbul," *ZPE* 28 (1978): 84–86.

"Come,[333] giant Hekate, Dione's[334] guard, /
O Persia, Baubo Phroune,[335] dart-shooter,
Unconquered, Lydian,[336] the one untamed,
Sired nobly, torch-bearing, guide, who bends down
Proud necks, Kore, hear, you who've parted / gates
Of steel unbreakable. O Artemis,
Who, too, were once protectress, mighty one,
Mistress, who burst forth from the earth, dog-leader,
All-tamer, crossroad goddess, triple-headed,
Bringer of light, august / virgin, I call you
Fawn-slayer, crafty, O infernal one,[337]
And many-formed. Come, Hekate, goddess
Of three ways, who with your fire-breathing phantoms
Have been allotted dreaded roads and harsh /
Enchantments. Hekate I call you with
Those who untimely passed away and with
Those heroes who have died without a wife
And children, hissing wildly, yearning in
Their hearts."[338] (***But others*** say, "with form of winds"). /
"Go stand above her (NN) head and take
Away from her sweet sleep. And never let
Eyelid come glued to eyelid, but let her
Be sore distressed with wakeful cares for me. /
And if she lies with someone else in her
Embrace, let her thrust him away and take
Me in her heart. Let her abandon him
At once and stand before my door subdued
In soul at longing for my bed of love.[339] /
But you, O Hekate, of many names,
O Virgin, Kore, Goddess, come, I ask,
O guard and shelter of the threshing floor,
Persephone, O triple-headed goddess,
Who walk on fire, cow-eyed BOUORPHORBĒ[340]
PANPHORBA PHORBARA AKTIŌPHI
ERESCHIGAL / NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH

333. The dactylic hexameters, which are frequently interrupted by *voces magicae* and other formulas, also form the reconstructed Hymn 21. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 259–60, where the hymn concludes with IV. 2764 but adds 2784 as a kind of postscript. [E.N.O.]

334. Dione is a name of Aphrodite; see LSJ, s.v. Here in this syncretistic hymn the name belongs to Hekate, as on the magical tools from Pergamon; see Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät* 23–24.

335. The epithet of Hekate may be related to the frog (cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 235). The animal played an important role in magic as a representative of the gods of the underworld. See M. Weber, "Frosch," *RAC* 8 (1970): 524–38.

336. The use of the name "Lydian" with Hekate-Artemis should be noted in connection with the possible Lydian origin of Artemis. See on this point Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* I, 116–17.

337. The translation follows Reitzenstein's emendation (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.) of ανδναια as Ἀϊδωναία. This epithet of the goddess of Hades also occurs in *PGM* IV. 2855. Cf. LSJ, s.v. Ἀΰδυναῖος; Suppl. s.v.

338. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 9. 75. As the apparatus points out, the verse may be corrupt.

339. φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ is a Homeric *hendiadys*. Cf. *Il.* 3. 445; 6. 25. See *PGM* IV. 2910.

340. The *voces magicae* here seem intended as a part of the verse pattern and they have, however awkwardly, been treated as such. [E.N.O.]

Beside the doors, PYPYLĒDEDEZŌ
And gate-breaker; Come Hekate, of fiery
Counsel, I call you to my sacred chants.
MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA who burst forth from
the earth, / earth mare, OREOPĒGANYX MORMORON TOKOUMBAI" (add the usual),
"In frenzy[341] may she (NN) come fast to my doors,
Forgetting children and her life with parents,
And loathing all the race of men / and women
Except me (NN), but may she hold me alone
And come subdued in heart by love's great force.
THENŌB[342] TITHELĒB ĒNŌR TENTHĒNŌR. / Many-named One, KYZALEOUSA PAZAOUS; wherefore, KOLLIDĒCHMA and SAB set her (NN) soul ablaze with unresting fire. Both ŌRIŌN and MICHAĒL who sits on high: you hold the seven waters / and the earth, keeping in check the one they call the great serpent, AKROKODĒRE[343] MOUISRŌ CHARCHAR ADŌNAI ZEUS DĒ DAMNAMENEUS KYNOBIOU EZAGRA" (add the usual). "IŌ, all-powerful goddess / and IŌ all-guarding one; IŌ, all-sustaining One, ZĒLACHNA: and SAAD SABIŌTHE NOUMILLON NATHOMEINA, always KEINĒTH, stalwart THĒSEUS ONYX,[344] prudent DAMNAMENEUS, / avenging goddess, strong goddess, rite of ghosts, Persia SEBARA AKRA.
Haste quickly. Let her now stand at my doors" (add the usual).
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2785–2890

***Prayer to Selene for any spell:**[345]
"Come[346] to me, O beloved mistress, Three-faced
Selene; kindly hear my sacred chants;
Night's ornament, young, bringing light to mortals, /
O child of morn who ride upon fierce bulls,
O queen who drive your car on equal course
With Helios, who with the triple forms
Of triple Graces dance in revel with /
The stars. You're Justice[347] and the Moira's threads:
Klotho and Lachesis and Atropos[348]

341. See on this point the discussion by Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 101–2. On the subject of madness caused by magic, see J. Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos und in der Dichtung bis zum Drama des 5. Jahrhunderts, Bibliothek der Altertumswissenschaften, N. F. 2. Reihe, Band 36* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1970) 44–49.

342. These lines (2764–84) retain some traces of hexameters, but only the last line comes close to being a complete line. [E.N.O.]

343. The formula seems to be textually mutilated. Cf. for similar passages *PGM* II. 23–24; V. 424–27; VII. 680–83. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

344. ONYX may refer to the stone onyx which was used in magic. Cf. Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 582.

345. For a discussion of this hymn, see K. Kerényi, "Die Göttin Natur," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 14 (1947): 39–86, esp. 68–79.

346. These dactylic hexameters, some of which show the usual irregularities, also form the reconstructed Hymn 18. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 253–55. [E.N.O.]

347. Dike (Justice), the daughter of Zeus, has here and in l. 2860 become an epithet of the underworld goddess. For the association of Dike with underworld deities, see A. Dihle, "Gerechtigkeit," *RAC* 10 (1976): 243–45.

348. The reading of the papyrus is uncertain at this point. Traditionally, the names of the Furies were Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaira (Apollodorus, *Bib.* 1. 1. 4; *Orph. Hymn.* 69. 2). If the three Furies are intended here, the reading of Persephone will have to be changed to Tisiphone, as suggested by Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. See also H. Funke, "Furien," *RAC* 8 (1971): 699–722, esp. 704–5.

Three-headed, you're Persephone, Megaira,
Allekto, many-formed, who arm your hands /
With dreaded, murky lamps, who shake your locks
Of fearful serpents on your brow, who sound
The roar of bulls out from your mouths, whose womb
Is decked out with the scales of creeping things, /
With pois'nous rows of serpents down the back,
Bound down your backs with horrifying chains
Night-Crier, bull-faced, loving solitude,
Bull-headed, you have eyes of bulls, / the voice
Of dogs; you hide your forms in shanks of lions,[349]
Your ankle is wolf-shaped, fierce dogs are dear
To you, wherefore they call you / Hekate,
Many-named, Mene, cleaving air just like
Dart-shooter[350] Artemis, Persephone,
Shooter of deer, night / shining, triple-sounding,
Triple-headed, triple-voiced Selene
Triple-pointed, triple-faced, triple-necked,
And goddess of the triple ways, who hold
Untiring flaming fire in triple baskets, /
And you who oft frequent the triple way
And rule the triple decades,[351] unto me
Who'm calling you be gracious and with kindness
Give heed, you who protect the spacious world
At night, before whom daimons quake in fear /
And gods immortal tremble, goddess who
Exalt men, you of many names, who bear
Fair offspring, bull-eyed, horned, mother of gods
And men, and Nature,[352] Mother of all things,
For you frequent Olympos, / and the broad
And boundless chasm you traverse. Beginning
And end are you, and you alone rule all.
For all things are from you, and in you do
All things, Eternal one, come to their end.
As everlasting / band around your temples
You wear great Kronos' chains,[353] unbreakable
And unremovable, and you hold in
Your hands a golden scepter. Letters 'round
Your scepter / Kronos wrote himself and gave
To you to wear that all things stay steadfast:
Subduer and subdued, mankind's subduer,
And force-subduer; Chaos, too, you rule.

349. The phrase describing Hekate/Artemis as standing between two lions points to the older concept of the "queen of the animals." See W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur Grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* (München und Wien: Oldenbourg, 1971) esp. 223–25.

350. Ll. 2819–26 are parallel to IV. 2523–28.

351. For the term "triple decades," see *PGM* IV. 2527.

352. For the concept of Nature, see Glossary, s.v.; for the epithet "mother of all things" see *Orph. Hymn.* 10. 1: παμμήτειρα. See also *PGM* IV. 2917.

353. See also *PGM* IV. 3084–3124 and S. Eitrem, "Kronos in der Magie," *Université libre de Bruxelles, Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, II: *Mélanges J. Bidez*, vol. I (Bruxelles: Secretariat de l'institut, 1934) 351–60.

ARARACHARA/RA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE.
Hail, goddess, and attend your epithets,
I burn[354] for you this spice, O child of Zeus,
Dart-shooter, heav'nly one, goddess of harbors,
Who roam the mountains, goddess of crossroads, /
O nether and nocturnal, and infernal,
Goddess of dark, quiet and frightful[355] one,
O you who have your meal amid the graves,[356]
Night, Darkness, broad Chaos: Necessity
Hard to escape are you; you're Moira and /
Erinys,[357] torment, Justice and Destroyer,
And you keep Kerberos in chains, with scales
Of serpents are you dark, O you with hair
Of serpents, serpent-girded, who drink blood, /
Who bring death and destruction, and who feast
On hearts, flesh eater, who devour those dead
Untimely, and you who make grief resound
And spread madness, come to my sacrifices,
And now for me do you filfill / this matter."

Offering for the rite: For doing good, offer storax, myrrh, sage, frankincense, a fruit pit. But for doing harm, offer magical / material of a dog and a dappled goat (or in a similar way, of a virgin untimely dead).

Protective charm for the rite: Take a lodestone and on it have carved / a three-faced Hekate. And let the middle face be that of a maiden wearing horns, and the left face that of a dog, and the one on the right that of a goat. After the carving is done, / clean with natron and water, and dip in the blood of one who has died a violent death. Then make a food offering to it[358] and say the same spell at the time of the / ritual.[359]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2891–2942

***Love spell of attraction:**

Offering to the star of Aphrodite:[360] A white dove's blood and fat, untreated myrrh and parched wormwood. Make this up together as pills and offer them to the star on pieces of vine / wood or on coals. And also have the brains of a vulture for the compulsion, so that you may make the offering. And also have as a protective charm a tooth from the upper right jawbone of a female ass or of a tawny sacrificial heifer, tied to your left arm with / Anubian thread.[361]

354. The following lines are similar to those at *PGM* IV. 2522–29, but their order occasionally differs.

355. On δασπλήτι, "frightful," cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 2. 14 (said of Hekate). [E.N.O.]

356. On eating amid graves, cf., e.g., Tibullus 1. 5. 49–56, esp. 53–54.

357. The goddess is here identified with Erinys, the avenging deity. This identification is somewhat inconsistent with l. 2798, where the three Furies are named; the same is true of Moira (l. 2859) as compared with the three Moirai (ll. 2795–96). See *PGM* IV. 1418, 2339; V. 191; and IV. 2798 with n.

358. The term παράθεσις refers to an offering of food. See *PGM* I. 23, 39; XIII. 1012. Cf. Eitrem's and Preisendanz's translation: "leg ihn (eine Weile) beiseite." Wünsch thinks of the term as a cover ("Hülle").

359. For the meaning of the phrase, see *PGM* V. 230.

360. The star of Aphrodite is the planet Venus.

361. On the Anubian thread see *PGM* I. 147 and n.

Compulsion element of the rite:

"But,[362] if as goddess you in slowness act,
You will not see Adonis rise from Hades,[363]
Straightway I'll run and bind him with steel chains; /
As guard, I'll bind on him another wheel
Of Ixion;[364] no longer will he come
To light, and he'll be chastized and subdued.
Wherefore, O Lady, act, I beg: Attract
NN, whom NN bore, to come with rapid step
To my door,[365] me, NN, whom NN bore, /
And to the bed of love, driven by frenzy,
In anguish from the forceful goads—today,
At once, quickly. For I adjure you, Kythere,[366]
NOUMILLON BIOMBILLON AKTIŌPHI ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH PHROURĒXIA THERMIDOCHĒ BAREŌ / NĒ."

Hymn of Compulsion:

"O foam-born Kythereia, mother of
Both gods and men, etherial and chthonic,
All-Mother Nature, goddess unsubdued,
Who hold together things,[367] who cause the great
Fire to revolve, who keep the ever-moving
BARZA[368] / in her unbroken course; and you
Accomplish everything, from head to toes,
And by your will is holy water mixed,
When by your hands you'll move RHOUZŌ[369] amid
The stars, the world's midpoint which you control.
You move holy desire into the souls
Of men / and move women to man, and you
Render[370] woman desirable to man

362. This is a curious and confused passage. Ll. 2902–15 contain scattered snatches of verses which are obviously parts of dactylic hexameters. Ll. 2916–28 contain lines which are relatively accurate hexameters, but 2929–39 are a mixture of metrical and nonmetrical lines. Nevertheless, the whole passage has been arranged and reconstructed as Hymn 22; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 260–61. Since the tone and purpose of the whole passage seems hymnic, the translation has been made in verse but with an occasional faulty line. [E.N.O.]

363. On the cult of Adonis in Egypt and the problem concerning his "resurrection," cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 15 and, with further literature, Nilsson, *GGR* II, 35 n. 2; 650, n. 4; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 320–22.

364. Because he attempted to make love to Hera, wife of Zeus, the mythical king Ixion was condemned by being fastened to an ever-turning wheel. The myth of Ixion was very popular in antiquity. See Cook, *Zeus* III, 2, pp. 200–205 (with plates); P. Weizsäcker, in Roscher 2, 766–72, s.v. "Ixion"; H. von Geisau, "Ixion," *KP* 3 (1979): 31–32.

365. Preisendanz states that *ἐν προθύροισιν* is a tag from Homer, *Od.* 10. 220.

366. Two traditional epithets of Aphrodite occur here closely together: *Kythērē* in l. 2912 and *Kythereia* in l. 2915. The name may refer to the island of Kythera which was believed to be Aphrodite's birthplace and which had a temple of Aphrodite Urania. See LSJ, s.v.; E. Meyer, "Kythera," *KP* 3 (1979): 423.

367. The reading of this epithet is uncertain. See the apparatus.

368. The word BARZA is Persian and means "shining light." See Hopfner, *OZ* II, p. 100.

369. Hopfner, *OZ* II, p. 100, assumes that RHOUZŌ is confused with the Persian magical word ZOURŌ. See also K. Preisendanz, "Zuro," in Roscher 6, pp. 763–64.

370. Preisendanz prints *τίθησι*, the reading of the papyrus, but the third person is certainly wrong here. The simplest correction is that of Wessely: *τίθης σύ*, and that is what is translated here.

Through all the days to come, our Goddess Queen,
Come to these chants, Mistress
ARRŌRIPHRASI GŌTHĒTINI, Cyprus-born, SOUI ĒS THNOBOCHOU THORITHE
2930 STHENEPIŌ, Lady / SERTHENEBĒĒI, and inflict fiery love on her, NN, whom NN bore,
So[371] that for me, NN, whom NN bore,
She melt with love through all the days to come
But, blessed RHOUZŌ, grant this to me, NN:
Just as into your chorus 'mid the stars
A man unwilling you attracted to
2935 Your bed for intercourse, / and once he was
Attracted, he at once began to turn
Great BARZA, nor did he cease turning, and
While moving in his circuits, he's aroused:
wherefore attract to me, her, NN, whom NN bore,
To bed of love. But goddess Cyrpus-born
Do you now to the full fulfill this chant." /
2940 If you see the star shining steadily, it is a sign that she has been smitten, and if it is lengthened like the flame of a lamp, she has already come.[372]
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM IV. 2943–66

***Love-spell of attraction through wakefulness**: Take the eyes of a bat and release
2945 it alive, and take / a piece of unbaked dough or unmelted wax and mold a little dog; and put the right eye of the bat into the right eye of the little dog, implanting also in the same way the left one in the left. And take a needle, thread it with the
2950 magical material and / stick it through the eyes of the little dog, so that the magical material is visible. And put the dog into a new drinking vessel, attach a papyrus strip[373] to it and seal it with your own ring which has crocodiles with the backs of
2955 their heads attached,[374] and / deposit it at a crossroad after you have marked the spot so that, should you wish to recover it, you can find it.

Spell written on the papyrus strip: "I adjure you three times by Hekate PHOR-
2960 PHORBA BAIBŌ PHŌRBŌRBA, that she, NN, lose the fire in her eye or even / lie awake with nothing on her mind except me, NN, alone. I adjure by Kore, who has become the Goddess of Three roads, and who is the true mother of . . . (whom you
2965 wish), PHORBEA BRIMŌ NĒRĒATO DAMŌN BRIMŌN SEDNA / DARDAR, All-seeing one, IŌPĒ, make her, NN, lie awake for me through all [eternity]."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

371. The verse resumes here after a few lines of prose; however, the NN-formula does not scan.

372. The last word of this section is either *ἦξεν* ("she has come") or *ἤξεν* ("it has attracted"). The magical sense—or the result—is the same in either case. For the rare aorist of *ἄγω* cf. *PGM* IV. 2934: *ἦξας*. Preisendanz prints *ἦξεν* in the first, *ἤξεν* in the second edition, but in the index lists the word under *ἥκω*. [E.N.O.]

373. *πιττακίζω* means "attach a label" (LSJ, s.v.) in the sense of attaching a papyrus strip on which writing is placed; cf. below, ll. 2956–66. [E.N.O.]

374. Whether this means "head to head" (thus Preisendanz) or "tail to tail" (thus LSJ) or "head to tail" is uncertain. Paired crocodiles appear on seals in all these positions, but head to tail is far more frequent. [M.S.] The crocodile was sacred to Sobek, with whose cult sacred prostitution seems to have been associated. Thus there may be a link with the erotic theme of this spell. See H. Thompson, "Two Demotic Self-Dedications," *JEA* 26 (1940):68–78. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 2967–3006

*Among the Egyptians herbs are always obtained like this:[375] the herbalist first purifies his own body, then sprinkles with natron[376] and / fumigates the herb with resin from a pine tree after carrying it around the place 3 times.[377] Then, after burning *kyphi* and pouring the libation of milk as he prays, he pulls up the plant while invoking by name the daimon to whom the herb / is being dedicated and calling upon him to be more effective for the use for which it is being acquired.

The invocation for him, which he speaks over any herb, generally at the moment of picking, is as follows:[378]

"You were sown by Kronos, you were conceived by Hera, / you were maintained by Ammon, you were given birth by Isis, you were nourished by Zeus the god of rain, you were given growth by Helios and dew.[379] You [are] the dew of all the gods, you [are] the heart of Hermes, you are the seed of the primordial gods, you are the eye / of Helios,[380] you are the light of Selene,[381] you are the zeal of Osiris,[382] you are the beauty and the glory of Ouranos, you are the soul of Osiris' daimon which revels in every place, you are the spirit of Ammon. As you have exalted Osiris, so / exalt yourself and rise just as Helios rises each day. Your size is equal to the zenith of Helios, your roots come from the depths, but your powers are in the heart of Hermes, your fibers are the bones of Mnevis,[383] and your / flowers are the eye of Horus,[384] your seed is Pan's seed. I am washing you in resin as I also wash the gods[385] even [as I do this] for my own health. You also be cleaned by prayer and give us power as Ares and Athena do. I am Hermes. I am acquiring you with Good / Fortune and Good Daimon both at a propitious hour and on a propitious day that is effective for all things."

After saying this, he rolls the harvested stalk in a pure linen cloth (but into the place of its roots they threw seven seeds of wheat and an equal number of barley, after mixing them with honey), / and after pouring in the ground which has been dug up, he departs.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

375. On plant picking, see *PGM* IV. 286 and n.

376. Natron, a natural compound of sodium carbonate and sodium bicarbonate, was the primary mineral used for purification in Egypt. See J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 193–94. [R.K.R.]

377. On the ritual of walking in a circle, see W. Pax, "Circumambulatio," *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52. For a humorous example, see Propertius, *Eleg.* 4. 8. 81–86. [E.N.O.]

378. Cf. the divinization of persons in Egyptian religion, documentation of which lists the individuals alongside various gods so as to identify them. See A. Massert, "A propos des 'listes' dans les textes funéraires et magiques," *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959): 227–46. [R.K.R.]

379. On the significance of dew (δρόσος), see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364A, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 424, where he refers to *PGM* XII. 234. [E.N.O.]

380. The association of the eye and the sun (Helios) was widely known in antiquity. See P. Wilpert (S. Zenker), "Auge," *RAC* 1 (1950) esp. 961–63.

381. That is, the light of the moon.

382. The term σπουδή ("zeal") is troublesome. Preisendanz translates "Würde" (majesty). Cf. the apparatus ad loc. [E.N.O.]

383. The epithet Mnevis, which occurs in *PGM* VII. 445; XIXa. 6, is the hellenized form of the Egyptian *Mr-wr*, the name of the holy bull of Heliopolis, the incarnation of the sun god Prē. See Diodorus Sic. 1. 84. 4; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364C, with Griffiths commentary, 425. On the matter, see W. Helck, "Mnevis," *KP* 3 (1975): 1374–75; L. Kákosy, "Mnevis," *LdÄ* 4 (1980): 165–67.

384. For the eye of Horus, see *PGM* III. 421–26.

385. The reference is to the daily temple cult and care for the divine statues, including their washing, dressing, and feeding. See Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 87–88. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 3007–86

A tested charm of Pibechis[386] for those possessed by daimons:**[387] Take oil of unripe olives with the herb mastigia and the fruit pulp of the lotus, and boil them with colorless marjoram / while saying, "IŌĒL ŌS SARTHIŌMI EMŌRI THEŌCHIPSOITH SITHEMEŌCH SŌTHĒ IŌĒ MIMIPSŌTHIŌŌPH PHERSŌTHI AEĒIOYŌ IŌĒ EŌ CHARI PHTHA, come out from NN" (add the usual). ***The phylactery: On a tin lamella write / "IAĒO ABRAŌTH IŌCH PHTHA MESENPSIN IAŌ PHEŌCH IAĒŌ CHARSOK," and hang it on the patient. It is terrifying to every daimon, a thing he fears. After placing [the patient] opposite [to you], conjure. ***This is the conjuration***: "I conjure you by the god of the Hebrews, / Jesus,[388] IABA IAĒ ABRAŌTH AIA THŌTH ELE ELŌ AĒŌ EOY IIIBAECH ABARMAS IABARAOU ABELBEL LŌNA ABRA MAROIA BRAKIŌN, who appears in fire, who is in the midst of land,[389] snow, and fog, TANNĒTIS;[390] let your / angel, the implacable, descend and let him assign the daimon flying around this form, which god formed in his holy paradise, because I pray to the holy god, [calling] upon AMMŌN IPSENTANCHŌ (formula). I conjure you, LABRIA IAKOUTH / ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMM (formula) AŌTH IATHABATHRA *CHACHTHABRATHA CHAMYN CHEL ABRŌŌTH OUABRASILŌTH HALLĒLOU* IELŌSAI IAĒL. I conjure you by the one who appeared to Osrael[391] in a shining pillar and a cloud by day,[392]/who saved his people from the Pharaoh and brought upon Pharaoh the ten plagues because of his disobedience.[393] I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, to tell whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by the seal / which Solomon[394] placed on the tongue of Jeremiah, and he told. You also tell whatever sort you may be, heavenly or aerial, whether terrestrial or subterranean, or netherworldly or Ebousaeus or Cherseus or Pharisaeus,[395] tell / whatever sort you may be, because I conjure you by god, light-bearing,[396] unconquerable, who knows what is in the heart of every living being, the one who formed of dust the race of humans,[397] the one who, after bringing them out from obscurity, packs together

386. Pibechis was a legendary magician from Egypt. See K. Preisendanz, "Pibechis," *PRE* 20 (1941): 1310–12. Pibechis is Egyptian *P3-bk*, "the falcon." [E.N.O.]

387. The following section contains numerous references to Jewish traditions. For a discussion and collections of parallel passages, see W. L. Knox, "Jewish Liturgical Exorcism," *HTR* 31 (1938): 191–203; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 256–64.

388. On the peculiar epithet "Jesus the god of the Hebrews," see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 14, nn. 1–2; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 260, n. 4; Knox, "Jewish Liturgical Exorcism," 193–94; H. Chadwick, *Origen, Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ²1965) 210 (on c. Cels. 4. 34); Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 113; A. A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets," *JWCI* 27 (1964): 7–9. Cf. *PGM* XXIIb. 18.

389. See on this "field" *PGM* XIV. 8; LXXVII. 5.

390. TANNĒTIS may be equivalent to the Egyptian *Ta-nt-N.t*, "She of Neith." Cf. the apparatus ad loc. [R.K.R.]

391. Osrael is a variant form of Israel. See *PGM* IV. 1816 with n.

392. Cf. on this legendary tradition LXX Ex 13:21–22 and parallels. See J. Daniélou, "Feuersäule (Lichtsäule, Wolkensäule)," *RAC* 7 (1969): 786–90.

393. On the plagues of Pharaoh, see LXX Ex 7:8–11:10 and parallels.

394. The "seal of Solomon" is the name of a famous amulet in antiquity. For bibliography, see G. Fitzer, *TDNT* 7 (1971): 947, n. 72. Placing the amulet on the tongue of Jeremiah appears to come from haggadic tradition unknown to us. See K. Preisendanz, "Salomo," *PRE.S* 8 (1965): 660–704.

395. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 261, n. 11, derives these names of demons from LXX Gn 15:20–21; Ex 3:8, 17, etc.: The Χετταῖοι have become Χερσαῖος ("land daimon"), the Φερεζαῖοι have become Φαρισαῖος (which therefore has been confused with Pharisee), and the Ἰεβουσαῖοι have become Ἐβουσαῖος. Cf. Dietrich, *Abraxas* 139; Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

396. Ll. 3045–52 contain prayer language apparently of Jewish origin. See the biblical parallels in Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 261–62.

397. Cf. LXX Gn 2:7.

the clouds, waters the earth with rain / and blesses its fruit, [the one] whom every heavenly power of angels and of archangels praises. I conjure you by the great god SABAŌTH, through whom the Jordan River drew back[398] and the Red Sea, / which Israel crossed, became impassable,[399] because I conjure you by the one who introduced the one hundred forty languages[400] and distributed them by his own command. I conjure you by the one who burned up the stubborn giants with lightning,[401] / whom the heaven of heavens praises, whom the wings of the cherubim[402] praise. I conjure you by the one who put the mountains around the sea [or] a wall of sand and commanded the sea not to overflow.[403] The abyss obeyed;[404] and you obey, / every daimonic spirit, because I conjure you by the one who causes the four winds to move[405] together from the holy aions, [the] skylike, sealike, cloudlike, light-bringing, unconquerable [one]. I conjure [you] by the one in holy Jerusalem,[406] before whom the / unquenchable fire burns for all time,[407] with his holy name, IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUN (formula), the one before whom the fiery Gehenna trembles, flames surround, iron bursts asunder and every mountain is afraid from its foundation. / I conjure you, every daimonic spirit, by the one who oversees the earth and makes its foundations tremble,[408] [the one] who made all things which are not into that which is."[409]

And I adjure you, the one who receives this conjuration, / not to eat pork,[410] and every spirit and daimon, whatever sort it may be, will be subject to you. And while conjuring, blow once, blowing air from the tips of the feet up to the face,[411] and it will be assigned. Keep yourself pure, for this charm / is Hebraic and is preserved among pure men.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

398. Cf. LXX Jos 3:13–14; Ps 113:3.

399. Cf. LXX Ex 14:27. See J. Daniélou, "Exodus," *RAC* 7 (1969):22–44.

400. Most Jewish sources speak of seventy nations and seventy languages in the world. But there are authorities who name 140 languages. For discussion and references, see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 173; II, 214; V, 194–95.

401. Cf. LXX Gn 6:4; 19:24–29. See W. Speyer, "Gigant," *RAC* 10 (1978):1247–75.

402. The text has *Cherubin*. See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 262, n. 8.

403. Cf. LXX Jb 38:10–11; Jer 5:22.

404. Cf. LXX Prv 8:26–29; Jb 38:30, 34.

405. Cf. LXX Ps 134:7; also Gn 8:1; Nm 11:31; Jb 28:25, etc.

406. The name is given as Hierosolymon. For the various forms of the city's name, see G. Fohrer and E. Lohse, *TDNT* 7 (1971), s.v. Σιών κτλ., sections A. I. 2; B. I (esp. nn. 133, 134); C. I. 2.

407. This refers to the seven-branched candelabrum (menorah) of the Jerusalem Temple. Its undying light was legendary in antiquity. See *PGM* IV. 1219 and n.; Ps.-Hecataeus, in Iosephus, *c. Ap.* 1. 199; LXX Ex 27:20; Lv 6:12–13; Diodorus Sic. 34. 1. 4 (also in M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* I [Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976], p. 180 (# 63). For additional references, see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* II (1979) 297 and n. 18.

408. Cf. LXX Ps 103:32.

409. This is a reference to the doctrine of the *creatio ex nihilo*. Cf. 2 Mc 7:28; Philo, *De spec. leg.* 4.187; etc. Cf. D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, *The Anchor Bible 43* (New York: Doubleday, 1979) 38–40; G. May, *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts*, *AKG* 48 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978).

410. The prohibition to eat pork is the Jewish one in this case, and not the Egyptian. Cf. LXX Lv 11:7; Dt 14:8; Is 65:4; etc. Cf. also *PGM* I. 105; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 5, 352F and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 272.

411. On this "inspiration," see S. Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology of the New Testament* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, ²1966) 47–49.

PGM IV. 3086–3124

*Oracle of Kronos[412] in great demand, called "little mill": Take two measures of salt and grind with a handmill while saying the formula many times until / the god appears to you. Do it at night in a place where grass grows. If while you are speaking you hear the heavy step of [someone] and a clatter of iron, the god is coming bound with chains, holding a sickle.[413] But do not be frightened since you are protected by the phylactery that / will be revealed to you. Be clothed with clean linen in the garb of a priest of Isis.[414] Offer to the god sage together with a heart of a cat and horse manure.

The formula to be spoken while you are mixing is this*: *Formula: "I call you, the great, holy, the one who created the whole inhabited world, against whom the transgression was committed / by your own son,[415] you whom Helios bound with adamantine fetters lest the universe be mixed together, you hermaphrodite, father of the thunderbolt, you who hold down those under the earth, AIE OI PAIDALIS PHRENOTEICHEIDŌ STYGARDĒS SANKLEON / GENECHRONA KOIRAPSAI KĒRIDEU THALAMNIA OCHOTA ANEDEI; come, master, god, and tell me by necessity concerning the NN matter, for I am the one who revolted against you, PAIDOLIS MAINOLIS MAINOLIEUS." These are to be said while the salt / is being ground.

And the formula which compels him is: "KYDOBRIS KODĒRIEUS ANKYRIEUS XANTOMOULIS." You say these things when he appears threateningly, in order that he might be subdued and speak about the things you ask.

The phylactery / in great demand for him [is]: On the rib[416] of a young pig carve Zeus holding fast a sickle and this name: "CHTHOUMILON." Or let it be the rib of a black, scaly, castrated boar.

Dismissal: "ANAEA OCHETA THALAMNIA KĒRIDEU / KOIRAPSIA GENECHRONA SANĒLON STYGARDĒS CHLEIDŌ PHRAINOLE PAIDOLIS IAEI, go away, master of the world, forefather; go to your own places in order that the universe be maintained. Be gracious to us, lord."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 3125–71

*Whenever you want a place to prosper greatly, so that those in the place or the temple where the phylactery is hidden will marvel, [use this rite]. For wherever this [phylactery] be placed, if in a temple, the temple will be talked about throughout the whole world; / if in some other place, [the place] will prosper greatly.

This is how to make [the phylactery]: Taking Etruscan wax, mold a statue three handbreadths high.[417] Let it be three-headed. Let the middle head be that of a sea falcon; the right, of a baboon; / the left, of an ibis. Let it have four extended wings and its two arms stretched on its breast;[418] in them it should hold a scepter. And let

412. For an analysis of the agrarian features of Kronos in this spell, see Eitrem, "Kronos in der Magie," 351–60.

413. On the sickle as a weapon (also l. 3116), see A. A. Barb, "Cain's Murder-weapon and Samson's Jawbone of an Ass," *JWCI* 35 (1972): 386–89.

414. For the Egyptian priestly costume, see S. Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove Press, 1960) 40. See also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 4, 352C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 270. [R.K.R.]

415. That is, Zeus who castrated his father Kronos.

416. The text is uncertain at this point. See the apparatus ad loc.

417. For a wax statue of this so-called pantheistic god, see S. Sauneron, "Le Nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoès," *JNES* 19 (1960): 269–87; esp. 284–85. Cf. *PGM* XII. 121–43; XIII. 50 for this figure. [R.K.R.]

418. Probably crossed. [M.S.]

it be wrapped [as a mummy] like Osiris. Let the falcon wear the crown of Horus; the baboon, / the crown of Hermanubis;[419] and let the ibis wear the crown of Isis. Put into the hollow inside it a heart [made] of magnetite, and write the following names on a piece of hieratic papyrus and put them into the hollow. Next, when you have made it an iron base, stand it / on the base and put it into a little juniper wood temple at moonrise on the third day of the goddess.[420] Then, having fixed it [firmly] in whatever place you choose, sacrifice to it a wild white-faced [falcon?],[421] and burn [this offering] entire; also pour to it, as a libation, the milk of a black cow, / the firstborn [of its mother] and the first she suckled. [By these sacrifices you will have completed the deification of the statue.] And [now] feast with [the god], singing to him all night long the names written on the strip [of papyrus] put in the hollow. Wreathe the little temple with olive and thus [you will prosper] throughout life. / And sing the same spell when you get up in the morning, before you open [your shop or temple]. ***The names to be written and recited are these***:

"BICHŌ
BICHŌBI
CHŌBIBEU
NASSOUNAINTHI
NOUNAITH
MOUR
SOURPHEŌ
MOURĒTH
ANIMOKEŌ
ARPAĒR
SANI
SOUMARTA
AKERMORTHŌOUTH
ANIMI
MIMNOUĒR
IĒRI
ANIMI
MIMNIMEU."

"Give me all favor, all success, for the angel bringing good, who stands beside [the goddess] Tyche, is with you. Accordingly, give profit [and] success to this house. Please, Aion, ruler of hope, giver of wealth, O holy Agathos Daimon, bring to fulfillment all favors and / your divine oracles." Then open [your establishment] and you will marvel at the unsurpassed holy power.
*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM IV. 3172–3208

***Dream-producing**[422] **charm using three reeds**: The picking of the three reeds is to be before sunrise.[423] After sunset raise the first, look / to the east and say three times: "MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌ OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX AEĒIOYŌ LEPETAN AZARACHTHARŌ, I am picking you up in order that you might give me a dream." / Raise the second to the south and say again the "MASKELLI" formula, the vowels and "THRŌBEIA"; hold the reed and spin around; look toward the north and the west and say three times the same names, / those of the second reed. Raise the third and say the same names and these things: "IĒ IĒ, I am picking you for such-and-such a rite."

These things are to be written on the reeds: On the first: "AZARACHTHARŌ"; on the second: "THRŌBEIA"; / on the third: "IĒ IĒ."

Then take a lamp that is not painted red and fill it with pure olive oil. Take a clean strip of cloth and write down all the names. Say the same things to the lamp seven times. Let the lamp be facing east / and let it be next to a censer on which you will make an offering of lumps of frankincense. After preparing the reeds and binding them together with fibers of a date palm, make them into a kind of tripod, and

419. The name is a combination of Hermes and Anubis.
420. Third day of the goddess Selene. Cf. *PGM* III. 702; IV. 170; XII. 379.
421. For the emendation ⟨ὀν⟩ἀγριον, see *PGM* IV. 2396 and n.
422. The word translated is ὀνειροθαυπτάνη. Cf. the apparatus ad loc. and *PGM* IV. 2624–25.
423. For picking a plant, see *PGM* IV. 286 and n.

place the lamp on it. Let the head of the practitioner be crowned with olive branches.
Composition of the ink with which it is necessary to write / on the reeds and the wick: single-stemmed wormwood, vetch, 3 pits of Nicolaus date palms, 3 Karian dried figs, soot from a goldsmith, 3 branches of a male date palm, sea foam.
The things to be written / and recited are these: "I conjure you by the sleep releaser because I want you to enter into me and to show me concerning the NN matter, IERŌRIETHEDIEN THROU CHAŌRA ARPEBŌ ENDALĒLA."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 3209–54

*Saucer divination of Aphrodite**: Having kept oneself pure for 7 / days, take a white saucer, fill it with water and olive oil, having previously written on its base with myrrh ink: "ĒIOCH CHIPHA ELAMPSĒR ZĒL A E Ē I O Y Ō" (25 letters); and beneath the base, on the outside: "TACHIĒL CHTHONIĒ DRAXŌ" (18 letters). Wax over / with white wax. On the outside of the rim at the top: "IERMI PHILŌ 6 ERIKŌMA DERKŌ MALŌK GAULĒ APHRIĒL I ask" (say it 3 times). Let it rest on the floor and looking intently at it, say "I call upon you, the mother and mistress / of nymphs,[424] ILAOUCH OBRIĒ LOUCH TLOR; [come] in, holy light, and give answer, showing your lovely shape."

Then look intently at the bowl. When you see her, welcome her and say, "Hail, very glorious goddess, ILARA / OUCH. And if you give me a response, extend your hand." And when she extends it, expect answers to your inquiry.

But if she does not listen say, "I call upon the ILAOUCH who has begotten Himeros,[425] the lovely Horai and / you Graces; I also call upon the Zeus-sprung Physis of all things, two-formed, indivisible, straight, foam-beautiful Aphrodite. Reveal to me your lovely light and your lovely face, O mistress ILAOUCH. / I conjure you, giver of fire, [by] ELGINAL, and [by the] great names OBRIĒTYCH KERDYNOUCHILĒPSIN NIOU NAUNIN IOUTHOU THRIGX TATIOUTH GERTIATH GERGERIS GERGERIĒ THEITHI. I also ask you[426] [by] the all wonderful / names, OISIA EI EI AŌ ĒY AAŌ IŌIAIAIŌ SŌTHOU BERBROI AKTEROBORE[427] GERIĒ IĒOYA; bring me light and your lovely face and the true saucer divination, you shining with fire, bearing fire all around, stirring the land from afar, / IŌ IŌ PHTHAIĒ THOUTHOI PHAEPHI. Do it."

Preparation: having kept yourself pure, as you learned, take a bronze drinking cup, and write with myrrh ink the previously inscribed stele which calls upon Aphrodite, / and use the untouched olive oil and clean river water. Put the drinking cup on your knees and speak over it the stele mentioned above, and the goddess will appear to you and will reveal concerning what things you wish.
*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell.

PGM IV. 3255–74

*Take an unbaked [brick] and with a bronze stylus draw an [ass] running, and on its face "IAŌ IŌ," and on its neck in the shape of a little bell "ĒOĒOĒ," and on its

424. For the epithet "Mistress of the Nymphs," see *Orph. Hymn.* 52. 22–25. Aphrodite Nymphaia is discussed in Pausanias 2. 32. 7.

425. Himeros may be a personification of "the yearning of love." See LSJ, s.v. "ἵμερος," I. 3.

426. ἀξιώσῃς, "you might ask," could be emended to ἀξιῶ σέ, "I ask you," and perhaps read with the following imperative as a part of the conjuration set in quotation marks. [R.D.K.]

427. The papyrus has ακτεβορε, which Preisendanz reads as an unattested epithet ἀκτε⟨ρο⟩βόρε, "eater of the unburied."

back "LERTHEMINŌ," and on its breast "[s]ABAŌTH," and under its hooves "ABRASAX." / Smear it with the blood of Typhon and a pig and with juice of an onion.

The spell of the brick to be written down is this:

"IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH SABAOUM KOKLOTOM PATATHNAX, the shaker, IŌ ERBĒTH APOMPS IAŌTH IABAŌTH SEISAŌ PEUKRĒ, you fortunate one, TESCHŌ PATONAK PHENDE / MIEPHEOR ABIRBOLONCHITHI RŌPHTHĒ APERMA PALELŌPS, the shaker of the world, I call upon you, great Typhon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH, because I am he, NN. Hear me, in this business which I am performing LERTHEMINŌ AROUZORON BATHOU / CHĒASMĒPHIS, O great, great[428] Typhon LERTHEMINO; attend this magical operation which I am performing, because it is your great and honored name that I am saying and writing, ABERAMENTHŌOU" (formula).

Underneath the ass: "Give her the heaving of the sea, total wakefulness[429] of Mendes,[430] and give her[431] the punishments."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM V. 1–53[1]

***Oracle of Sarapis**, [by means of] a boy, by means of a lamp, saucer and bench: "I call upon you, Zeus, Helios, Mithra, Sarapis, / unconquered one, Meliouchos, Melikertes, Meligenetor, ABRAAL BACHAMBĒCHI BAIBEIZŌTH (ĒBAI BEBOTH) SERIABEBŌTH AMELCHIPSITHIOUTHIPOTHOIO PNOUTE NINTHĒRTĒROU[2] IYEY ĒOŌ AIĒIA EĒOIA / ĒEAI EYĒIE ŌŌŌŌŌ EYĒŌ IAŌAI BAKAXICHYCH BOSIPSETĒTH PHOBĒBIBŌTH, the great, great[3] Sarapis SAMASPHRĒTH" (otherwise above) "O DARGAZAS O DARMAGAS O DAPHAR YAKIABŌTH EPHIA ZELEARTHAR (AKRABAEŌEPHIAZALE ARBAMENOTHIĒŌ SAMAS PHRĒTI)[4] / METHOMĒŌ› LAMARMERA OPTĒBI PTĒBI MARIANOU (AKRABAEŌ EPHIAZĒLE ARBAMENOTHI ĒŌ NAMISPHRĒTI), appear and give respect to him who appeared before fire and snow, BAINCHŌŌŌCH, for you are the one who introduced light and snow, hurler of shudderful / thunder and lightning, KYPODŌKTE PINTOUCHE ETŌM THOOUT THASINAĒAK AROURONGOA PAPHTHA[5] ENŌSADE IAĒ IAŌ AI AOIAŌ EOĒY" (nine lettes): [Pronounce]:

the "A" with an open mouth, undulating like a wave;
the "O" succinctly, as a breathed threat,
the "IAŌ" to earth, to air, and to heaven;
the "Ē" like a baboon;
the "O" in the same way as above;[6]
the "E" with enjoyment, aspirating it, /

428. The repeated "great, great" is Egyptian *geminatio*. See also *PGM* I. 41 and n.

429. E. Hohl, *RhM* 68 (1913): 313, n. 4, restores [π]αναγρυπνιαν in accordance with *Anth. Pal.* 7. 195. 5, where Meleager has used παναγρύπνοιο μερίμνης. Both the noun and the verb are *hapax legomena*. [E.N.O.]

430. Mendes corresponds to Egyptian *B3-nb-Ḏd.t*, the ram incarnation of Prē identified with Pan and Priapus. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 451, s.v. "Mendes"; 868–71, s.v. "Widder"; Herodotus 2. 46; Diodorus Sic. 1. 88; Strabo 16. 1. 19. [R.K.R.]

431. The translation follows Preisendanz in assuming that αὐτῇ in ll. 3273–74 is τῇ δεῖνα. But the fact remains that, while ὁ δεῖνα occurs in l. 3248, nowhere in the spell is a woman mentioned. There is really no indication that this spell is designed to affect a woman, until this last sentence. [E.N.O.]

1. Parentheses in this spell contain words that are written between the lines. For further discussion see Preisendanz, ad loc.

2. The phrase means "O god (of) all the gods." Cf. *PGM* III. 144–45 and n.

3. For the meaning of "twice great," see *PGM* IV. 3270 and n.

4. See l. 46 below.

5. This is equivalent to "Thoth . . . He of Ptah." [R.K.R.]

6. According to Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 778, this means either as the "E" in l. 27 or the "O" in l. 25.

the "Y" like a shepherd, drawing out the pronunciation.[7]
If he says, "I prophesy," say: "Let the throne of god enter, THRONOUZATERA KYMA KYMA LYAGEU APSITADRYS GĒ MOLIANDRON BONBLILON PEUCHRĒ, / let the throne be brought in." If it then is carried by 4 men, as, "With what are they crowned, and what goes before the throne?" If he says, "They are crowned with olive branches, and / a censer precedes," [the] boy speaks the truth.

Dismissal: "Go, lord, to your own world and to your own thrones, to your own vaults, and keep me and / this boy from harm, in the name of the highest god, SAMAS PHRĒTH.[8]" Do this when the moon is in a settled sign, in conjunction with beneficial planets or is in good houses, not when it is full; for it is / better, and in this way the well-ordered oracle is completed. (But in other copies "when it is full" has been written.)
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 54–69

***Direct vision spell**: "EEIM TO EIM ALALĒP BARBARIATH / MENEBREIO ARBATHIAŌTH IOUĒL IAĒL OUĒNĒIIE MESOMMIAS, let the god who prophesies to me come and let him not go away until I dismiss him, OURNAOUR SOUL ZASOUL / OUGOT NOOUMBIAOU THABRAT BERIAOU ACHTHIRI MARAI ELPHEŌN TABAŌTH KIRASINA LAMPSOURĒ IABOE ABLAMATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI."

In a bronze cup over oil. Anoint / your right eye with water from a shipwreck and the left with Coptic eyepaint, with the same water. If you cannot find water from a shipwreck, then from a sunken skiff.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 70–95

*Take a plant *chelkbei* (?) and bugloss, strain them, burn what you strain out, mix [them] well with juice, and write "CHOŌ"[9] with it on a wall. Take gallows wood and carve a hammer. With / the hammer strike the [eye][10] while saying the formula: "I conjure you by the holy names; hand over the thief who made off with it, CHALCHAK CHALKOUM CHIAM CHARCHROUM ZBAR BĒRI ZBARKOM CHRĒ / KARIŌB PHARIBOU, and by the shudderful names: A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ."



"Ō			"A
/ Y Y			E E
I I I I			Ē Ē Ē
Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē			I I I I
E E E E E E			Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē
A A A A A A A			E E E E E E
/ IAŌ ŌIA	IŌA	AĒŌ	A A A A A A A A
			ĒŌA ŌAĒ."

"Hand over the thief who stole it. As long as I strike the eye with this hammer, let the eye of the thief be struck, and let it swell up until it / betrays him." While saying these things, strike with the hammer.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

7. Presumably, the way the formula is to be spoken; see Preisendanz's interpretation ad loc.

8. Samas is the Canaanite solar deity Shamash, combined here with the Egyptian counterpart Prē. Cf. ll. 12–14 above.

9. CHOŌ could be Coptic KŌ which can mean "hand over," or "put"; it would fit the sense of the spell. [R.K.R.]

10. Thus the emendation *οὐ⟨τάτιον⟩* in Preisendanz, based on l. 91. Cf. the apparatus ad loc.

PGM V. 96–172

***Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist[11] in his letter:**

"I summon you, Headless One, who created earth and heaven, who created night and day, / you who created light and darkness; you are Osoronnophris whom none has ever seen; you are Iabas; you are Iapos; you have distinguished the just and the unjust; you have made female and male; / you have revealed seed and fruits; you have made men love each other and hate each other.

"I am Moses your prophet to whom you have transmitted your mysteries / celebrated by Israel; you have revealed the moist and the dry and all nourishment; hear me.

"I am the messenger of Pharaoh Osoronnophris; / this is your true name which has been transmitted to the prophets of Israel. Hear me, ARBATHIAŌ REIBET ATHELEBERSĒTH [ARA] BLATHA ALBEU EBENPHCHI CHITASGOĒ IBAŌTH IAŌ; / listen to me and turn away this daimon."

"I call upon you, awesome and invisible god with an empty spirit,[12] AROGOGO-ROBRAŌ SOCHOU MODORIŌ PHALARCHAŌ OOO. Holy Headless One, deliver him, NN, from the daimon which restrains him, / ROUBRIAŌ MARI ŌDAM BAABNA-BAŌTH ASS ADŌNAI APHNIAŌ ITHŌLĒTH ABRASAX AĒŌŌY; mighty Headless One, deliver him, NN, from the daimon which restrains him. / MABARRAIŌ IOĒL KOTHA ATHORĒBALŌ ABRAŌTH, deliver him, NN AŌTH ABRAŌTH BASYM ISAK SABAŌTH IAŌ. /

"He is the lord of the gods; he is the lord of the inhabited world; he is the one whom the winds fear; he is the one who made all things by the command of his voice."

"Lord, King, Master, Helper, / save the soul, IEOU PYR IOU PYR IAŌT IAĒŌ IOOU ABRASAX SABRIAM OO YY EY OO YY ADŌNAIE, immediately, immediately,[13] good messenger of God ANLALA LAI GAIA APA DIACHANNA CHORYN." /

"I am the headless daimon with my sight in my feet; [I am] the mighty one [who possesses] the immortal fire; I am the truth who hates the fact that unjust deeds are done in the world; I am the one who makes the lightning flash and the thunder roll; / I am the one whose sweat is the heavy rain[14] which falls upon the earth that it might be inseminated; I am the one whose mouth burns completely; I am the one who begets and destroys; / I am the Favor of the Aion; my name is a heart encircled by a serpent; come forth and follow."

Preparation for the foregoing ritual: Write the formula[15] on a new sheet of papyrus, and after extending it from one / of your temples to the other, read the 6 names, while you face north saying,

"Subject to me all daimons, / so that every daimon, whether heavenly or aerial or earthly or subterranean or terrestrial or aquatic, might be obedient to me and every enchantment and scourge which is from God." / And all daimons will be obedient to you.

The beneficial sign is: ⟩

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

11. The term ζωγράφος, usually translated "painter," is here rendered "hieroglyphist," after the suggestion of Wünsch (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.).

12. On the notion of "empty spirit," see J. Reiling, *Hermas and Christian Prophecy*, *NTS 37* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 41–48.

13. The letters ηδε εδε are indicated in Preisendanz as magical words, but they may be Greek misspelled for ἤδη ἤδη, "immediately, immediately."

14. Cf. the expression ὕδωρ ὀχευτικόν in *C.H.* I. 17. See also Dieterich, *Abraxas* 25.

15. The term ὄνομα apparently refers to a formula containing a number of magical words. See also the apparatus ad loc.

PGM V. 172–212

Another way*:[16] "In order to catch a thief I summon you, Hermes,[17] immortal god, who cut a furrow down Olympos / and a holy barge, light-bearer Iao, the great immortal, shuddersome indeed to behold and shuddersome to hear. Hand over the thief whom I seek ABERAMENTHŌOULERTHEXENAXSONELYSŌTHNEMAREBA." / ***This formula* is to be said 2 times during the purificatory sacrifice.

Formula of bread and cheese:[18] "Come to me, LISSOIN MATERNA MAUERTĒ PRETEKTIOUN INTIKIOUS OLOKOTOUS PERIKLYSAI; / may you bring back to me what is lost and point out the thief today. I call upon Hermes, finder of thieves, Helios and the pupils[19] of Helios, / two who bring to light lawless deeds, and Themis,[20] Erinys,[21] Ammon, and Parammon, to take control of the thief's throat and to single him out / today, in this hour."

Preparation: The same formula during the purificatory sacrifice: Take a faïence vessel, add water, myrrh, and calf's-snout plant. Wet a branch of laurel [and sprinkle], / cleansing each one. Take a tripod and place it on an earthen altar, offer myrrh, frankincense, and a frog's tongue. Take unsalted winter wheat and goat-/ cheese, and give to each 8 drams of winter wheat and 8 drams of cheese while saying the following formula (inscribe this name and glue it underneath the tripod): "Master IAŌ, light-bearer, / hand over the thief whom I see." If one of them does not swallow what was given to him, he is the thief.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM V. 213–303

Hermes' ring.**[22] ***Preparation of a scarab: Taking a scarab / engraved as described below, put it on a papyrus table and put under the table a clean sheet and olive twigs, scattering them about, and in the middle of the table / a small censer, burning myrrh and *kyphi*. Have ready a little faïence vessel in which there should be salve of lilies or myrrh or cinnamon. / And taking the ring put it into the salve, having in advance purified [it?][23] from everything, and burning on the censer the *kyphi* and myrrh. Leave [the ring] 3 days and, taking it[24] [from the table], put it in a pure place. Have at hand / for the consecration pure bread and whatever fruits are in season. When you have made another [incense] offering on [a fire of] grapevine twigs, during the offering take the ring from the / salve and put it on. Anoint yourself at dawn with the ointment from it and stand facing the sunrise [and] say the spell given below.

Carving of a scarab: Carve a scarab in costly green stone / and, having pierced [the stone], thread it with gold [wire?]. On the underside of the scarab engrave holy

16. That is, another spell to catch a thief. Originally this spell may have followed immediately after *PGM* V. 70–95 (a spell to catch a thief), but the *Stele of Jeu* (V. 96–172) was inserted between the two.

17. On Hermes, the god of thieves, see Dieterich, *Abraxas* 63; W. Fauth, "Hermes," *KP* 2 (1975): 1074–75. On the identification with IAŌ (ll. 176–77), see A. A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets," *JWCI* 27 (1964): 1–6.

18. See on this peculiar form of magic P. de Labriolle, "Artyrotyritae," *RAC* 1 (1950): 718–20.

19. For the "eye of Helios," see *PGM* IV. 2985 and n.

20. Themis is the personified Greek concept of justice, custom, and social law. See K. Latte, "Themis," *PRE*, 2nd series 5 (1934): 1626–30.

21. On the Erinys, see *PGM* IV. 2860 and n.

22. On Hermes' ring, see Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 294–95.

23. Presumably the ring, but the reference could be to the practitioner himself, or even to the salve. The Greek gives no indication of the object.

24. I.e., that in which it was laid.

Isis. And when you have consecrated it as written above, use it. The days in which it is proper to perform [the rite] are, [counting] from the rise / [of the new moon] the 7th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 14th, 16th, 21st, 24th, 25th. On the others, restrain yourself.

The spell to be said to Helios: "I am Thouth, discoverer and founder of drugs and letters. Come to me, you under the earth; arouse [yourself] for me, / great daimon, he of Noun,[25] the subterranean" (or [in other texts]: 'the [plural] Noun the subterranean'). I am the famous Heron,[26] egg of the ibis,[27] egg of the falcon, egg of the air-ranging Phoenix, having under my tongue the mud of Em;[28] / I wear the hide of Keph.[29] Unless I know what is in the minds of everyone, Egyptians, Greeks, Syrians, Ethiopians, of every race and people, unless I know[30] what / has been and what shall be, unless I know their skills and their practices and their works and their lives, and the names of them and of their fathers and / mothers and brothers and friends, even of those now dead, I will pour the blood of the black dog-face[31] as a drink offering in a new, faultless jar and put it on a new base and burn under it the bones of Hesies,[32] and I will shout[33] / in the port of Busiris that he remained in the river 3 days and 3 nights, Hesies, that he was carried by the current of the river / into the sea, that he was surrounded by the waves of the sea and by the mist of the air. Your belly is eaten by fish, and I will not / stop the fish chewing your body with their mouths, nor will the fish shut their mouths. I will take the fatherless boy away from his mother.[34] The pole [of the sky] will be brought down,[35] and the two mountains will be one. / I will let *anoixis*[36] loose against you and she will do what

25. PHNOYN refers to the primordial abyss; cf. *PGM* III. 554 and IV. 139. PHNOYN is the Bohairic spelling of the definite article before NOYN used as a vocative. [R.K.R.] See also Bonnet, *RÄRG* 535–36, s.v. "Nun."

26. Heron was a god of Greco-Roman Egypt, apparently a fusion of the "Thracian rider god" and the Egyptian god Atum; the name has no connection with the English bird name or the bird so called. [M.S.] See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 295–96, s.v. "Heron."

27. For the egg of the ibis, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 321, s.v. "Ibis"; 162–64, s.v. "Ei"; Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 76–87.

28. For this name, see *PGM* III. 636; V. 353. For possible explanations, see Preisendanz, vol. III, index, p. 219, s.v. "Ἐμ."

29. This name is unexplained; for suggestions, see Preisendanz, vol. III, index, p. 259 s.v. "κεφ." Em may be an abbreviation of Ammon, and Keph of Kynokephalos, i.e., baboon, symbol of Thoth, with whom the magician identified himself at the beginning of the spell. [M.S.]

30. For this threat against the deity see J. Bergman, "Mystische Anklänge in den altägyptischen Vorstellungen von Gott und Welt," in *Mysticism, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 5 (1970): 70–72.

31. The translation of the term follows the emendation in Preisendanz; see the apparatus ad loc. Clearly Anubis is meant. See also Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 317–19; idem, *The Isis-Book* 215–18. The reference is to the dog-headed god Anubis, assistant of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. It is not Thoth because (1) the magician has identified himself with Thoth; (2) this god face is "black," as Anubis commonly is in Egyptian paintings, whereas the *Kynokephalos* ("dog-headed," s.c. baboon) of Thoth is commonly tan. [M.S.]

32. For the name Hesies, see Glossary, s.v. "Esies."

33. For the myth recounted here, cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 13, 356C–D, and the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 312. For the threat to Busiris, cf. P. Smither, "A Ramesside Love-Charm," *JEA* 27 (1941): 131–32.

34. The fatherless boy is Horus; the mother, Isis. Cf. *PGM* III. 543.

35. For toppling the supports in heaven, cf. *PGM* III. 537–38; IV. 669. The two mountains of east and west (Bakhu and Manu) form the horizons of Egyptian cosmography; they derive from the mountains framing the Nile valley. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 78, s.v. "Bachu"; 440, s.v. "Manu." [R.K.R.]

36. The papyrus has ἄνοιξιν from ἄνοιξις, "opening." The reference is obscure; it may refer to an unknown mythical or ritual item or it may be a corruption of the text. See the apparatus ad loc.; LSJ, s.v.

she wants. I will not let god or goddess give oracles until I, NN, know through and through what is in the minds of all men, Egyptians, / Syrians, Greeks, Ethiopians, of every race and people, those who question me and come into my sight, whether they speak or are silent, so that I can tell them / whatever has happened and is happening and is going to happen to them, and I know their skills and their lives and their practices and their works and their names / and those of their dead, and of everybody, and I can read a sealed letter[37] and tell them everything [in it] truly."

*Tr.: Morton Smith. How to carve, consecrate, and use a scarab; with the spell to be said when using it. Though the scarab is engraved with Isis and the spell is addressed to Helios, the ring is said to be "of Hermes" because the spell first identifies the magician with Hermes-Thoth. As Thoth he invokes Osiris (the Nile) from the underworld waters, to reveal to him all facts relevant to all men, and he threatens that, unless he receives this knowledge, he will destroy the remains of Osiris' body, reveal his mysteries, and generally upset the divine order.

PGM V. 304–69

*Taking hieratic papyrus or a / lead lamella and iron ring, put the ring on the papyrus and with a pen draw the outlines of the ring, inside and outside, then tint the outlined area with myrrhed ink, then write on this outlined area / of the ring—writing on the papyrus—the name,[38] and write the characters outside [the area], then, [in the circle] inside it, what you want not to happen, and "Let so-and-so's thoughts be bound so that he may not do NN thing." Then / putting the ring on its outline, which you made, and turning up the [areas of the papyrus] outside the outline, wrap up the ring until it is completely covered. Piercing [the package] through the characters / with the pen and tying it, say, "I bind NN with regard to NN [thing]. Let him not speak, not be contrary, not oppose; let him not be able to look me in the face nor speak against me; let him be subjected / to me, so long as this ring is buried. I bind his mind and his brains,[39] his desire, his actions, so that he may be slow [in his dealings] with all men." / And if it be a woman: "In order that she, NN, may not marry him, NN" (add the usual). Then, taking it [the package] away to the grave of someone untimely dead, dig [a hole] four fingers deep and put it in and say, "Spirit of the dead, who[ever] / you are, I give over NN to you, so that he may not do NN thing." Then, when you have filled up the hole, go away. Better do it when the moon is waning.

The things to be written inside the circle [bounded by the inner side of the ring's outline] ***are these***: "AROA / MATHRA ERESCHIGALCH EDANTA IABOU NĒ AKĒ IAŌ DARYKNŌ MANIĒL, let NN thing not be done so long as this ring is buried." Bind [the package] with ties, [using] cords you have made, / and thus deposit it. The [wrapped] ring may also be thrown into an unused well, or [into the grave] of [anyone dead] untimely. After the characters, write also the following, under the [outline of the] ring, as a rectangle: "ARCHOOL LAILAM / SEMESILAMPH AMMOPHORIŌN IŌAĒ PHTHOUTH EŌ PHRĒ, the greatest daimon, IAŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ LAILAM OSORNŌPHRI EM PHRĒ PHRĒ PHTHA CHRŌIŌ IAŌ BABOURĒ THIMAM EN PHRĒ RE/NOUSI SABAŌTH BARBARTHIAŌ THACHRA OUCHEETH

"ἄνοιξις"; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 522, 523, 536 for the ritual of the "Opening of the mouth."

37. For the magical ability to read sealed letters, see the tale of Khamwas in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, 142–51. [R.K.R.]

38. Given below, ll. 339–41.

39. In Greek, "the midriff," representing the classical term for the supposed location of the thinking element of the body. [M.S.]

ESORNŌPHRI" and the entire 59 [letter formula] above,[40] which you also put inside [the circle bounded by the ring's outline].[41]



[The same schedule can be written on a lead lamella; then, putting the / ring in [the middle] and folding up [the lead] around it, cover [it] with plaster. After the rectangle underneath [write] also the IAEŌ formula[42] and the following: "BAKAXICHYCH MENEBAICHYCH ABRASAX AŌ, prevent NN thing," [or], as the names are found in the authentic [text]: / "ARPHOOL LAILAM SEMESILAM IAEŌ (formula) BAKAXICHYCH ABRASAX AŌ ARCHŌMILAK MENESILAM IAEŌ OYŌ BAKAXICHYCH ABRASAX *ŌII*, *prevent the NN thing*."

*Tr.: Morton Smith. This untitled text gives directions for a familiar type of magical rite called *defixio*—essentially sending a letter to underworld powers to ask or compel them to do something to a specified victim. Many *defixiones* are, like this one, intended to prevent things from happening. The gods invoked here are a curious lot—solar and subterranean, Hebrew, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian, suggesting that the text has grown, like many, by ignorant additions.

PGM V. 370–446

*Take 28 leaves from a pithy laurel tree[43] and some virgin earth and seed of wormwood, wheat meal and the herb calf's-snout[44] (but I have heard[45] from a certain

40. This refers to the top of the papyrus page, where the scribe has written on the margin, with a few errors, the formula IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEU and the same letters (without the final U) in reverse order. Together they form a fifty-nine-letter palindrome which often occurs in magical texts, mainly in spells to the solar deities. [M.S.]

41. (On the drawing): the reading of the third line in the circle from TH on, including the letters NIN (?) written above, is uncertain. If PHTHANNI is read, Phtha contains the name of the Egyptian god revered as creator. [M.S.]

42. See ll. 366–69 and the picture, l. 357. The palindrome is also printed in Preisendanz, apparatus to l. 357.

43. Cf. on this point *PGM* I. 264.

44. On this plant see *PGM* V. 198 and III. 468.

45. Undoubtedly, these are the words of a redactor, but expressions in the first person (here and l. 383) are rare. More often such variants are introduced by *οἱ δέ* . . . (cf. l. 390). [E.N.O.]

man of Herakleopolis that he takes 28 new sprouts from an olive tree, / which is cultivated, the famous one). Those are carried[46] by an uncorrupted boy.[47] Also pounded together with the foregoing ingredients is the liquid of an ibis egg[48] and made into a uniform dough and into a figure of Hermes wearing a mantle, while the moon is ascending in Aries or Leo or / Virgo or Sagittarius. Let Hermes be holding a herald's staff. And write the spell on hieratic papyrus or on a goose's windpipe (again, just as I heard from the man of Herakleopolis), and insert it into the figure for the purpose of / inspiration; and when you want to use it, take some papyrus and write the spell and the matter; and shave your head[49] and roll a hair into the papyrus, binding it with a piece from a purple cord, and put on the outside of it an olive branch, and / place it[50] at the feet of the Hermes (but others say: place it upon him). And let the figure lie in a shrine of lime wood. But when you want to use it, place the shrine beside your head / along with the god and recite as on the altar you burn incense, earth from a grain-bearing field and one lump of rock salt. Let it rest beside your head, and go to sleep after saying the spell without giving an answer to anyone. /

"Hermes,[51] lord of the world, who're in the heart,
O circle of Selene, spherical
And square, the founder of the words of speech,
Pleader of justice's cause, garbed in a mantle,[52]
With winged sandals, turning airy course /
Beneath earth's depths, who hold the spirit's reins,
O eye of Helios, O mighty one,
Founder of full-voiced speech,[53] who with your lamps
Give joy to those beneath earth's depths, to mortals
Who've finished life.[54] / The prophet of events
And Dream divine you're said to be, who send
Forth oracles by day and night; you cure
All pains of mortals with your healing cares.
Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
Of Memory, / who brings full mental powers,
In your own form both graciously appear
And graciously render the task for me,
A pious man, and render your form gracious

46. Apparently the subject of *βαστάζεται* is all the ingredients named above. [E.N.O.]

47. See on this medium of the "uncorrupted boy" *PGM* II. 56; V. 87; VII. 544, and T. Hopfner, "Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberpapyri," in *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1926) 65–74; R. Ganschinietz, *Hippolytos' Capitel gegen die Magier, Refut. haer. IV. 28–42, TU* 39/3 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913) 30, 32–33.

48. See on this point *PGM* V. 252 and n.

49. This is done in imitation of Egyptian priests. See S. Sauernon, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove Press, 1960) 37. On the shaving of the head by the initiates of Isis, see Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 28; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3–4, 352C; and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 268–69.

50. For hair sacrifices in Egyptian religion, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 267–68, s.v. "Haaropfer"; Betz, *Lukian* 131, n. 3.

51. Although the text of the following lines is quite fragmentary, enough remains to show that they are dactylic hexameters. Consequently they have been accepted as one version of the reconstructed Hymns 15–16, ll. 1–15; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 429. This version is, however, very different from that in *PGM* VII. 668–80 and XVIIb. 1–23. [E.N.O.]

52. Cf. l. 378 above.

53. A repetition of the idea expressed in l. 402.

54. A reference to the role of Hermes as the guide of the dead to the underworld.

To me, NN,
That I may comprehend you by your skills
Of prophecy, by your own wond'rous deeds. /
I ask you, lord, be gracious to me and
Without deceit appear and prophesy to me."

Recite this both at sunrise and moonrise.

The stele written on the papyri belonging to the figure: "YESENNIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ / NOĒRE KODĒRE SOIRE SOIRE SANKANTHARA ERESCHIGAL ANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE[55] KODĒRE SĒMEA KENTEU KONTEU KENTEU KĒRIDEU DARYGKŌ LYKYNXYNTA KAMPYCHRĒ IRINŌTON LOUMANATA . / . . ION KOMANDRON CHREIBACHA NOUBACHA NOUMILLON EROUPHI TETROUPHI LIBINOU NOUMILLON CHANDARA TON PHERPHEREU DROUĒR MAROUĒR" (say it 3 times, then / the usual formula).

Spell of compulsion: "OUKRA NOUKRA PETIRINODE TMAISIA, terrible-eyed, DRYSALPIPS BLEMENNITHEN BANDYODMA TRIPSADA ARIBA . . . TA KRATARNA" (then the hundred-lettered name of Hermes). . . .[56]

/ ***Another***: "IOUKRAIŌNIOU (spoken to the lamp) ŌCHMARMACHŌ TONNOURAI CHRĒMILLON DERKYŌN NIA IAŌ SOUMPSĒPHISON SOUMPSĒNIS SIASIAS IAŌ, you who shake the world, come in and prophesy / concerning the NN matter, THOIS KOTOTH PHTHOUPHNOUN NOUEBOUĒ."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. For a discussion of ll. 370–439, see Hopfner, *OZ* II, section 174.

PGM V. 447–58

*On a jasperlike agate engrave Sarapis seated, facing forwards (?), holding an Egyptian royal scepter and on the scepter an ibis, and on the back of the stone / the [magical] name [of Sarapis?], and keep it shut up. When need [arises] hold the ring in your left hand, and in your right a spray of olive and laurel [twigs], waving them toward the lamp while saying the spell 7 times. And when you have put / [the ring] on the index finger of your left hand with the stone inside, [keep it] thus and, going off[57] [to bed] without speaking to anybody, go to sleep holding the stone to your left ear.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM V. 459–89

****Another way***: "I call upon you who created / earth and bones[58] and all flesh and all spirit and who established the sea and suspended (?)[59] the heavens, who separated[60] the light from the darkness, the Supreme Intelligence[61] / who lawfully ad-

55. Cf. on this formula the Glossary, s.v. "YESSIMMIGADON/AKROUROBORE formula."

56. The name is missing here, but the papyrus left space for its insertion later. Cf. the apparatus ad loc. For one-hundred-letter names, see *PGM* IV. 242, 1209, 1380.

57. Reading the papyrus ἀπεχ̲— as an abbreviation of ἀπερχόμενος rather than Preisendanz's ἀπεχόμενος, which would be awkward Greek. See the apparatus ad loc. [M.S.]

58. See on this point LXX Jb 10:9–11.

59. The text is corrupt at this point; for suggested emendations, see the apparatus ad loc. Cf. Preisendanz's translation: "der . . . festgenagelt hat den Himmel"; Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 90: "solidement cloué le ciel."

60. Cf. Gn 1:4, 14, 18; Wisd Sol. 7:29–30. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 107; Festugière, *La Révélation* IV. 190.

61. The concept of the divine Nus (Mind) is an influence from Greek philosophy. Cf. also *PGM* XIII. 173, 487. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 49, 371A; *C. H.* I. 2, 6, 9; X. 19–21; XIII. 21. See J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (London: Duckworth, 1977) 283, 372, 382, 389, 391, 393; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 279, n. 2; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 199–200 and index, s.v. "Nus, Nous."

ministrates[62] all things. Eternal Eye, Daimon of daimons, god of gods, the lord of the spirits, the invariable AIŌN IAŌ OYĒI, hear my voice.

/ "I call upon you, master of the gods, high-thundering Zeus, sovereign Zeus, ADŌNAI, lord IAŌ OYĒE; I am he who calls upon you, great god, in Syrian: 'ZAALAĒRIPHPHOU,' and you must not / ignore my voice (in Hebrew: 'ABLANATHANALBA ABRASILŌA'); for I am SILTHACHŌOUCH LAILAM BLASALŌTH IAŌ IEŌ NEBOUTH SABIOTH ARBŌTH ARBATHIAŌ IAŌTH SABAŌTH PA/TOURĒ ZAGOURĒ BAROUCH ADŌNAI ELŌAI ABRAAM[63] BARBARAUŌ NAUSIPH, high-minded one, immortal, who possess the crown of the whole [world], SIEPĒ SAKTIETĒ BIOU BIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI / SIETHO SIETHO CHTHETHŌNI RIGCH ŌĒA Ē ĒŌA AŌĒ IAŌ ASIAL SARAPI OLSŌ ETHMOURĒSINI SEM LAU LOU LOURIGCH."

It loosens shackles, makes invisible, sends dreams; [it is] a spell for gaining favor. (Add the usual for what you want.)

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM Va. 1–3

*"O Helios BERBELŌCH CHTHŌTHŌMI ACH SANDOUM ECHNIN ZAGOUĒL, bring me into union with you" (add the usual). Then anoint yourself, and you will have a direct vision.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VI. 1–47

*. . . His encounter with Helios [takes place] on the 2nd, but the invocation itself is spoken when [the moon] is full. But you will accomplish a better encounter at [sun]rise on the 4th, when the god is on the [increase,[1] from the ground floor of a house]. Say, therefore, to the rising sun[2] / [the following] prayer:

"[Laurel,][3] Apollo's holy plant [of presage,
Which] Phoebus [tasted once] and with [the fresh-
Cut] branches wreathed his [holy] head, adorned
With tresses long [and golden]. In his hands
He shook [a scepter] / on the [peaks of Mount
Parnassus], lofty and with many vales
[And gave to all] the gods[4] [responses] and
To mortals prophesied. [For in the throes
Of grievous love], it was Apollo who
Himself [gave you, a nymph], dread virgin, power
[To utter presages. Come quickly hither

62. The doctine of διοίκησις points to philosophical influence. Cf. also LXX Wisd Sol. 8:1; Philo, *De opif. mundi* 3; *De spec. leg.* IV. 187; *C. H.* I. 9. See Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 190, n. 3.

63. The Greek underlying these magical words corresponds in part to the Jewish blessing, "Blessed be Jahwe, . . . god of Abraham. . . ." It is not clear whether or not the magician understood these words. A similar formula written in Greek occurs on a gold lamella published by R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), n. 436. See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 106–7.

1. An apparent reference to the spring, when the days grow longer. Cf. *PGM* XIII. 388–91. [E.N.O.]

2. The sun is identical with the god Helios; see Glossary, s.v.

3. These dactylic hexameters (ll. 6–21) are also the reconstructed Hymn 13. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248. *PGM* VI. 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) also appear at *PGM* II. 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2), and l. 6 also appears at *PGM* VI. 40 (Hymn 14.1). [E.N.O.]

4. In Hymn 13. 6 Preisendanz has changed ἑοῖς to ϑεοῖς.

To me beseeching you] in holy measures[5] /
[And] in my hands holding [a laurel leaf].[6]
Send me [divine responses] and a holy
Prophetic sign. In lucid [words], O priestess,
[Reveal all things]: both [when this will occur]
And how it will be done. [Give me a presage,]
So that with it [I may perform a test]
On [anything. / Subduer, hither come!
Lo you,] mankind's Subduer, mankind's [force!
Come, blessed Paian,][7] most supreme, [help] me;
[Come hither to me, golden-tressed], IEŌ,
E'en thou, Paian, [the very lord of song.
Come thou to me,] O Phoibos, many-named.
O Phoibos, / sing out clear with presages,
Phoibos Apollo, Leto's son, far-worker,
Hither, come hither, hither come; respond
With prophecies, give presage in night's hour."
Then speak, declaiming[8] this: "EĒ IE IE ĒI IŌ . . . IAŌIĒ IYE IA IAŌ Ē . . . OUŌ."
Then at sunset make your request again: /
"Hear me, god of the silver bow, who stand
Protector of Chryse and holy Cilla[9]
And are the mighty lord of Tenedos,
Gold-shining, hurricane and dragon-slayer,
MESEGKRIPHI,[10] Leto's son, SIAŌTH,
SABAŌTH, MELIOUCHOS, ruler, PEUCHṘĒ,
Night-wanderer, SESĒGGEN, BARPHARAGGĒS, /
ARBĒTHŌ, god of many forms, O thou
Who're fond of chariots,[11] ARBATHIAŌ
Smintheus, if e'er I've roofed a pleasing shrine
For you, or if I've ever burned for you
Fat thighs of bulls or goats, grant this my prayer."[12]
And in the same way in his encounter with Selene, as follows: /
"Laurel,[13] Apollo's holy plant of presage,

5. "In holy measures" translates *ἱεροῖσι ποδίλοις*. Although Preisendanz says "auf heiligen Sandalen," this sense has no place in the passage: first, the word order suggests that the phrase goes closely with *μοι λισσομένῳ* ("to me as I pray"); second, Daphne's mythology seems to have nothing to do with sandals (cf. L. von Sybel, in Roscher I [1884–86] 954–55, s.v. "Daphne," although the article omits this passage and *PGM* in general); and third, this passage is hymnic, and one meaning of *πέδιλον* (as the diminuitive of *ποῦς*) is "meter," "measure," for which cf. Pindar, *O.* 3.5 and 6. 8. [E.N.O.]

6. The mixing of the plant and the goddess in this hymn is another good example of the thin line between inanimate objects and personified spirits of these objects. Cf. esp. ll. 40–41 below. [E.N.O.]

7. These dactylic hexameters (ll. 22–38), many of which are metrically faulty, are the reconstructed Hymn 10; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 244–45. Ll. 24–27 (Hymn 10. 4–6) appear, in slightly altered form, at *PGM* II. 2–4 (Hymn 9. 1–3). [E.N.O.]

8. The translation is problematic, but cf. perhaps Plutarch, *Mor.* 131A; *Cic.* 4, 862F. [E.N.O.]

9. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 37–38.

10. The *voces magicae* in these verses are intended to be a part of the verses. The translation attempts to treat them in the same way, but some liberties must be taken. [E.N.O.]

11. *φιλάρματε*, "fond of chariots," is the reading in Hymn 10. 12; the papyrus has *φιλαίματε*, "fond of blood." [E.N.O.]

12. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 39–41.

13. These dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 14; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248. *PGM* VI. 40 (Hymn 14. 1) also appears at *PGM* II. 81 (Hymn 11. 1) and VI. 6 (Hymn 13. 1). [E.N.O.]

O virgin Laurel, Laurel, Phoibos' mistress,
SABAŌTH[14] IAŌAŌO IAGCHŌTHIPYLA MOYSIARCHA[15] OTONYPON
Hither to me come quickly; haste to sing
Divine precepts to me [and to proclaim
Pure words] and in dark night [bring me true sayings].[16] /
45 RĒSABAAN AAN . . . ANA AANANAANANALAAA AAA AAA.[17]

It is for you, O Delios, O Nomios, O son of Leto and Zeus, to give persuasive oracles at night as you recount the truth through dream oracles."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is badly mutilated, and little is gained by offering a translation of the scattered words and phrases that remain. Instead, for the three verse passages, the reconstructed texts of Hymns 10, 13, 14 have been used. Additional information appears at VI. 6, 22, and 40. [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 1–148

***Homer oracle:**

1. 1-1-1 But on account of their accursed bellies they have miserable woes, [*Od.* 15. 344]
2. 1-1-2 neither to cast anchor stones nor to attach stern cables, [*Od.* 9. 137]
3. 1-1-3 being struck by the sword, and the water was becoming red with blood. [*Il.* 21. 21]
4. 1-1-4 . . .
5. 1-1-5 stood holding a scepter, which Hephaistos produced by his labors. [*Il.* 2. 101]
6. 1-1-6 . . .
7. 1-2-1 amends I wish to make and to give a boundless ransom. [*Il.* 9. 120; 19. 138]
8. 1-2-2 surely then the gods themselves have ruined your mind. [*Il.* 7. 360; 12. 234]
9. 1-2-3 . . .
10. 1-2-4 . . .
11. 1-2-5 let it lie in the great hall. And I wish for your happy arrival [*Od.* 15. 128]
12. 1-2-6 . . .
13. 1-3-1 . . .
14. 1-3-2 . . .
15. 1-3-3 But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their purposes. [*Il.* 18. 328]
16. 1-3-4 I would even wish it, and it would be much better [*Il.* 3. 41; *Od.* 11. 358; 20. 316]
17. 1-3-5 Then indeed would he smash all your fine show, [*Od.* 17. 244]
18. 1-3-6 I also care about all these things, woman. But very terribly [*Il.* 6. 441]
19. 1-4-1 . . .
20. 1-4-2 speaking good things, but they were contriving evil things in their hearts. [*Od.* 17. 66]

14. The *voces magicae* in these lines make no pretense of being verse and for that reason are omitted from Hymn 14. [E.N.O.]

15. Cf. the epithet ὁ Μουσάρχος, "leader of the Muses," belonging to Apollo. See LSJ, s.v.

16. See Hymn 14. 4–5 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 248.

17. The *voces magicae* here appear immediately after "in dark night" in the papyrus, but because of the addition of two half-lines in Hymn 14, it is more convenient to complete the translation of the hymn before giving these *voces*. [E.N.O.]

21. 1-4-3 The glorious gifts of the gods are surely not to be cast aside, [*Il.* 3. 65]
22. 1-4-4 . . .
23. 1-4-5 . . .
24. 1-4-6 These things, Zeus-nurtured Skamander, will be as you order. [*Il.* 21. 223]
25. 1-5-1 a joy to your enemies, and a disgrace to yourself? [*Il.* 3. 51]
26. 1-5-2 Within this very year, Odysseus will arrive here, [*Od.* 14. 161; 19. 306]
27. 1-5-3 No use indeed to you, since you will not lie clad in them, [*Il.* 22. 513]
28. 1-5-4 And to the victor are to go the woman and the possessions. [*Il.* 3. 255]
29. 1-5-5 The rule of the many is no good. Let there be one ruler, [*Il.* 2. 204]
30. 1-5-6 And the gateway is full of ghosts, and full also is the courtyard, [*Od.* 20. 355]
31. 1-6-1 We have won great honor. We have killed glorious Hektor, [*Il.* 22. 393]
32. 1-6-2 Who would undertake and complete this task for ? [*Il.* 10. 303]
33. 1-6-3 Not even if his gifts to me should be as numerous as the grains of sand and particles of dust, [*Il.* 9. 385]
34. 1-6-4 . . .
35. 1-6-5 . . .
36. 1-6-6 . . .
37. 2-1-1 For no island is made for driving horses or has broad meadows, [*Od.* 4. 607]
38. 2-1-2 in the past, when you were boys, did you listen to your [*Od.* 4. 688]
39. 2-1-3 . . .
40. 2-1-4 . . .
41. 2-1-5 . . .
42. 2-1-6 His gifts are hateful to me, and I honor him not a whit. [*Il.* 9. 378]
43. 2-2-1 an only beloved heir to many possessions, [*Il.* 9. 482; *Od.* 16. 19 (?)]
44. 2-2-2 . . .
45. 2-2-3 . . .
46. 2-2-4 . . .
47. 2-2-5 So they thronged about him. And near [*Od.* 24. 19]
48. 2-2-6 and fashioning lies out of what nobody could see. [*Od.* 11. 366]
49. 2-3-1 be valiant, that later generations may also speak well of you. [*Od.* 1. 302]
50. 2-3-2 leaning on the grave marker over a barrow heaped up by men [*Il.* 11. 371]
51. 2-3-3 go. You have a way, and beside the sea your ships [*Il.* 9. 43]
52. 2-3-4 You will be proved a liar, and will not go on to fulfill your word. [*Il.* 19. 107]
53. 2-3-5 And his mother for her part continued the lament amid a flood of tears, [*Il.* 22. 79]
54. 2-3-6 Not even if remaining for five or six years [*Od.* 3. 115]
55. 2-4-1 So he spoke, and ordered Paion to administer a cure. [*Il.* 5. 899]
56. 2-4-2 These things, unhappy man, will I accomplish and do for you. [*Od.* 11. 80]

57. 2-4-3 How can you propose to render toil useless and ineffectual? [*Il.* 4. 26]
58. 2-4-4 a thing delayed, late of fulfillment, whose fame will never perish. [*Il.* 2. 325]
59. 2-4-5 Sooner would you grow weary and return to your native land. [*Od.* 3. 117]
60. 2-4-6 to go, that he may bring poisonous drugs from there, [*Od.* 2. 329]
61. 2-5-1 Husband, you departed from life young, and me behind as a widow [*Il.* 24. 725]
62. 2-5-2 in which way I will for sure accomplish everything and how it will be brought to pass, [*Il.* 9. 310 (?)]
63. 2-5-3 Offer me not honey-tempered wine, honored mother, [*Il.* 6. 264]
64. 2-5-4 . . .
65. 2-5-5 . . .
66. 2-5-6 Do not orphan your son and make your wife a widow. [*Il.* 6. 432]
67. 2-6-1 would that they might now eat their last and final meal here. [*Od.* 4. 685]
68. 2-6-2 It is not meet for a man who speaks in the Council to sleep all the night through, [*Il.* 2. 24]
69. 2-6-3 What's wrong with you, that you took this wrath into your heart? [*Il.* 6. 326]
70. 2-6-4 But who knows if he will one day return and punish them for their violent deeds? [*Od.* 3. 216]
71. 2-6-5 wives I will provide for both and furnish possessions [*Od.* 21. 214]
72. 2-6-6 we may try the bow and complete the contest. [*Od.* 21. 180]
73. 3-1-1 For it's no reproach to flee evil, nor by night. [*Il.* 14. 80]
74. 3-1-2 Be mindful of every form of valor. Now you needs must [*Il.* 22. 268]
75. 3-1-3 as a widow at home. And the boy is still just a baby, [*Il.* 22. 484; cf. 24. 726]
76. 3-1-4 But do you in no wise enter the moil of Ares, [*Il.* 18. 134]
77. 3-1-5 For amid misfortune mortals quickly grow old. [*Od.* 19. 360]
78. 3-1-6 . . .
79. 3-2-1 . . .
80. 3-2-2 Such a man is not alive nor will be born, [*Od.* 6. 201]
81. 3-2-3 Of a truth, child, there's nothing really wrong with this, [*Il.* 18. 128]
82. 3-2-4 Now is it no longer possible for him to find escape from us, [*Il.* 22. 219]
83. 3-2-5 we will ransom with bronze and gold, for it is within. [*Il.* 22. 50]
84. 3-2-6 drink, and do not vie with younger men. [*Od.* 21. 310]
85. 3-3-1 where are you fleeing, turning your back like a craven in the ranks? [*Il.* 8. 94]
86. 3-3-2 Would that such a man be called my husband [*Od.* 6. 244]
87. 3-3-3 plants her head in heaven and walks upon the earth. [*Il.* 4. 443]
88. 3-3-4 But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their purposes. [*Il.* 18. 328]
89. 3-3-5 and nodded for his army to survive and not to perish. [*Il.* 8. 246]
90. 3-3-6 Would that you had not pled with the noble son of Peleus, [*Il.* 9. 698]
91. 3-4-1 Honey-sweet wine has the best of you, which others also [*Od.* 21.

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92. 3-4-2 Act in whatever way your mind is moved, and no longer hold back. [*Il.* 22. 185]
93. 3-4-3 For it is fated for both to turn the same ground red [*Il.* 18. 329]
94. 3-4-4 keep on shooting like this, if haply you may become a light to the Danaans [*Il.* 8. 282]
95. 3-4-5 as there is no one who could keep the dogs off your head, [*Il.* 22. 348]
96. 3-4-6 You will not kill me, since I am for sure not subject to Fate. [*Il.* 22. 13]
97. 3-5-1 staying right here you would help me watch over this house [*Od.* 5. 208]
98. 3-5-2 Get out of the gateway, old man, or it won't be long before you're dragged out by the foot. [*Od.* 18. 10]
99. 3-5-3 Better for a man to escape evil by flight than to be caught. [*Il.* 14. 81]
100. 3-5-4 and declare to no one, neither man nor woman, [*Od.* 13. 308]
101. 3-5-5 of wheat or barley. And the heaps fall thick and fast. [*Il.* 11. 69]
102. 3-5-6 Whatever sort of word you speak, such would you hear. [*Il.* 20. 250]
103. 3-6-1 was opposed to giving Helen to tawny Menelaos, [*Il.* 11. 125]
104. 3-6-2 or will you alter your purpose? The hearts of the good are flexible. [*Il.* 15. 203]
105. 3-6-3 Yet I for one never doubted, but at heart [*Od.* 13. 339]
106. 3-6-4 Eurymachos, it will not be so. And even you know it. [*Od.* 21. 257]
107. 3-6-5 You miserable foreigner, you have no sense at all. [*Od.* 21. 288]
108. 3-6-6 And the father granted him one thing, but denied him the other. [*Il.* 16. 250]
109. 4-1-1 Nay, go to your chambers and tend to your own work, [*Od.* 1. 356]
110. 4-1-2 Now then, do not even tell this to your wife. [*Od.* 11. 224 (alternate version)]
111. 4-1-3 would you have been stoned to death for all the wrongs you've done. [*Il.* 3. 57]
112. 4-1-4 you prayed to the immortals to see with a beard grown. [*Od.* 18. 176]
113. 4-1-5 and vow to Lycian-born Apollo the famous archer [*Il.* 4. 101]
114. 4-1-6 and no spirit of harmony unites wolves and sheep, [*Il.* 22. 263]
115. 4-2-1 Come now, let us make these concessions to one another, [*Il.* 4. 62]
116. 4-2-2 And in the throng were Strife and Uproar, and Fate-of-Death, [*Il.* 18. 535]
117. 4-2-3 . . .
118. 4-2-4 Up, rush into battle, the man you have always claimed to be. [*Il.* 4. 264]
119. 4-2-5 . . .
120. 4-2-6 You baby, what use now to keep your bow idle? [*Il.* 21. 474]
121. 4-3-1 For even fair-tressed Niobe turned her mind to food, [*Il.* 24. 602]
122. 4-3-2 after giving a mass of bronze and gold and raiment [*Od.* 5. 38]
123. 4-3-3 Surely then the journey will not be useless or fail to occur. [*Od.* 2. 273]
124. 4-3-4 One omen is best, to defend your country. [*Il.* 12. 243]
125. 4-3-5 I will gild her horns all round and sacrifice her to you. [*Il.* 10. 294]

126. 4-3-6 and you would gain every Trojan's thanks and praise, [*Il.* 4. 95]
127. 4-4-1 put in with your ship, since women are no longer trustworthy. [*Od.* 11. 456]
128. 4-4-2 It is not possible or proper to deny your request. [*Il.* 14. 212]
129. 4-4-3 would straightway fit his will to your desire and mine. [*Il.* 15. 52]
130. 4-4-4 and give him instruction. And it will be beneficial for him to obey. [*Il.* 11. 789]
131. 4-4-5 will give glory to me, and your soul to horse-famed Hades. [*Il.* 5. 654]
132. 4-4-6 fill up his ship with gold and bronze aplenty, [*Il.* 9. 137]
133. 4-5-1 but tell one part, and let the other be concealed. [*Od.* 11. 443]
134. 4-5-2 and at birth Zeus sends a weight of misery. [*Il.* 10. 71]
135. 4-5-3 alone to have intelligence, but they are flitting shades. [*Od.* 10. 495]
136. 4-5-4 yielding to his indignation. But they now withheld from him the gifts [*Il.* 9. 598]
137. 4-5-5 I rejoice at hearing what you say, son of Laërtes. [*Il.* 19. 185]
138. 4-5-6 But Zeus causes men's prowess to wax or to wane, [*Il.* 20. 242]
139. 4-6-1 a terrible man. He would be quick to blame even the blameless. [*Il.* 11. 654]
140. 4-6-2 with all haste. For now would you capture the broad-wayed city [*Il.* 2. 66]
141. 4-6-3 Endure now, my heart. An even greater outrage did you once endure, [*Od.* 20. 18]
142. 4-6-4 You lunatic, sit still and listen to the word of others, [*Il.* 2. 200]
143. 4-6-5 had cast aside wrath and chosen friendship. [*Il.* 16. 282]
144. 4-6-6 so good it is for a son to be left by a dead [*Od.* 3. 196]
145. 5-1-1 Here then, spread under your chest a veil, [*Od.* 5. 346]
146. 5-1-2 'Tis impiety to exult over men slain. [*Od.* 22. 412]
147. 5-1-3 through immortal night, when other mortals sleep? [*Il.* 24. 363]
148. 5-1-4 How then could I forget divine Odysseus? [*Od.* 1. 65]
149. 5-1-5 lurid death and o'erpowering doom laid hold of [*Il.* 5. 83]
150. 5-1-6 So there's nothing else as horrible and vile as a woman [*Od.* 11. 427]
151. 5-2-1 Let us not advance to fight the Danaans around the ships. [*Il.* 12. 216]
152. 5-2-2 to put up a defense, when some fellow provokes a fight. [*Il.* 24. 369; *Od.* 16. 72; 21. 133]
153. 5-2-3 nor do children at his knees call him "papa" [*Il.* 5. 408]
154. 5-2-4 I am this very man, back home now. And after many toils [*Od.* 21. 207]
155. 5-2-5 Talk not like this. There'll be no change before [*Il.* 5. 218]
156. 5-2-6 let him stay here the while, even though he's eager for Ares. [*Il.* 19. 189]
157. 5-3-1 And do not, exulting in war and battle, [*Il.* 16. 91]
158. 5-3-2 never to have gone to bed with her and had intercourse, [*Il.* 9. 133; 19. 176]
159. 5-3-3 and moistens the lips, but fails to moisten the palate. [*Il.* 22. 495]
160. 5-3-4 Take heart! Let these matters not trouble your thoughts. [*Il.* 18. 463]
161. 5-3-5 But this mad dog I'm unable to hit. [*Il.* 8. 299]
162. 5-3-6 Keep quiet, friend, and do as I say. [*Il.* 4. 412]

163. 5-4-1 Bad deeds don't prosper. The slow man for sure overtakes the swift, [*Od.* 8. 329]
164. 5-4-2 They shut fast and locked the doors of the hall. [*Od.* 21. 236]
165. 5-4-3 Ah, poor man! Death's not at all on your mind, [*Il.* 17. 201]
166. 5-4-4 Odysseus has come and reached home, though he was long in coming. [*Od.* 23. 7]
167. 5-4-5 in full he will accomplish it at last, and the penalty they pay is great, [*Il.* 4. 161]
168. 5-4-6 and therein was Strife, and therein Valor, and therein chilling Attack, [*Il.* 5. 740]
169. 5-5-1 but 'tis most wretched to die and meet one's doom by starvation. [*Od.* 12. 342]
170. 5-5-2 shall I be laid low when I die. But good repute is now my goal, [*Il.* 18. 121]
171. 5-5-3 Up, rush into battle, the man you have always claimed to be. [*Il.* 4. 264]
172. 5-5-4 In no way do I mock you, dear child, nor am I playing tricks. [*Od.* 23. 26]
173. 5-5-5 but she stayed Alkmene's labor and stopped her from giving birth. [*Il.* 19. 119]
174. 5-5-6 But come, and hereafter I shall make amends for this, if now anything wrong [*Il.* 4. 362]
175. 5-6-1 Where are you two rushing? What causes the heart within your breast to rage? [*Il.* 8. 413]
176. 5-6-2 Pray now, let him not be too much on your mind. [*Od.* 13. 421]
177. 5-6-3 But the gods do not, I ween, give men all things at the same time. [*Il.* 4. 320]
178. 5-6-4 Talk not like this. There'll be no change before [*Il.* 5. 218]
179. 5-6-5 So he spake, but did not move the mind of Zeus by saying this. [*Il.* 12. 173]
180. 5-6-6 but Odysseus nodded no and checked him in his eagerness. [*Od.* 21. 129]
181. 6-1-1 How can you want to go alone to the ships of the Achaians? [*Il.* 24. 203]
182. 6-1-2 him a bridegroom in his house, who left as only child a daughter [*Od.* 7. 65]
183. 6-1-3 And too, I've taken the mist from your eyes, which before was there, [*Il.* 5. 127]
184. 6-1-4 we may try the bow and complete the contest. [*Od.* 21. 180]
185. 6-1-5 And I know that my arrival was longed for by you two [*Od.* 21. 209]
186. 6-1-6 I shall dress him in a mantle and a tunic, fine garments. [*Od.* 16. 79; 17. 550; 21. 339]
187. 6-2-1 by fastening a noose sheer from a high rafter, [*Od.* 11. 278]
188. 6-2-2 remembering our excellence, of the sort that even we [*Od.* 8. 244]
189. 6-2-3 the sea's great expanse they cross, since this is the Earthshaker's gift to them. [*Od.* 7. 35]
190. 6-2-4 Nay, come on with the bow. You'll soon be sorry for obeying everybody. [*Od.* 21. 369]
191. 6-2-5 But hurry into battle, and rouse the other soldiers. [*Il.* 19. 139]

192. 6-2-6 For mighty Herakles, not even he escaped his doom, [*Il.* 18. 117]
193. 6-3-1 amends I wish to make and to give a boundless ransom. [*Il.* 9. 120; 19. 138]
194. 6-3-2 And let him stand up among the Argives and swear an oath to you [*Il.* 19. 175]
195. 6-3-3 The man is nearby. Our search will not be long, if you are willing [*Il.* 14. 110]
196. 6-3-4 and not quite suddenly, and a very god should be the cause? [*Od.* 21. 196]
197. 6-3-5 Verily, these things have already happened, and not otherwise could [*Il.* 14. 53]
198. 6-3-6 On now, follow close! In action numbers make a difference. [*Il.* 12. 412]
199. 6-4-1 surely then the gods themselves have ruined your mind. [*Il.* 7. 360; 12. 234]
200. 6-4-2 Take heart, and let your thoughts not be of death. [*Il.* 10. 383]
201. 6-4-3 by her wailing she rouse from sleep her household servants, [*Il.* 5. 413]
202. 6-4-4 Come now in strict silence, and I shall lead the way, [*Od.* 7. 30]
203. 6-4-5 are there ears for hearing, and sense and respect are dead. [*Il.* 15. 129]
204. 6-4-6 as he was growing old. But the son did not grow old in his father's armor. [*Il.* 17. 197]
205. 6-5-1 to return home and behold the day of homecoming. [*Od.* 5. 220; 8. 466]
206. 6-5-2 Apollo of the silver bow did strike the one, still sonless, [*Od.* 7. 64]
207. 6-5-3 then you may hope to see your loved ones and reach [*Od.* 7. 76]
208. 6-5-4 As for you two, I will tell you exactly how it will be. [*Od.* 21. 212]
209. 6-5-5 For so shall I proclaim, and it will be accomplished too. [*Il.* 1. 212]
210. 6-5-6 and I shall send him wherever his heart and spirit urge him. [*Od.* 16. 81; 21. 342]
211. 6-6-1 idiot? You'll soon pay when the swift hounds devour you [*Od.* 21. 363]
212. 6-6-2 You would learn what mighty hands I have to back me up. [*Od.* 20. 237; 21. 202]
213. 6-6-3 In no wise do I think he will in that event take you for himself, nor is it proper. [*Od.* 21. 322]
214. 6-6-4 here we gather, waiting day after day. [*Od.* 21. 156]
215. 6-6-5 to reach decision making secret plans. Nor yet now to me [*Il.* 1. 542]
216. 6-6-6 Don't dare get it into your mind to escape from me, Dolon. [*Il.* 10. 447]

Here end the verses of the Homer oracle. May it help you!

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The so-called Homer oracle, a list of 216 isolated and disconnected Homeric verses, is in fact a manual designed to provide the reader with an oracular response to a personal inquiry. Concerned with matters of daily life such as we find in our newspaper horoscopes, the inquirer rolls three dice or knucklebones, each of which has its six surfaces numbered from one to six and is used to select a number from one of the three *vertical* number columns to the left of the Homeric verses (in each column, there are only six numbers to select from, though each occurs thirty-six times); one die thrown three times would achieve the same purpose. The three numbers selected by this process establish a *horizontal*

number column that indicates which verse is to be consulted; e.g., a roll of 1, 3, 6 on the dice would guide the inquirer to no. 18. As is true with oracles in general, most of the responses provide ambiguous answers which leave the exact interpretation up to the reader.

In this translation of Homer, which usually follows the Oxford Classical Text rather than that of Preisendanz, a lowercase letter at the beginning of a translated verse indicates that the first word of the verse does not begin a sentence. Such verses often constitute or involve incomplete syntactical units. In general, the punctuation at the end of a translated verse is that of the Oxford text, although in some instances this policy cannot be strictly observed. In a number of cases both the text and the Homeric reference given by Preisendanz have been emended. Furthermore, each of the verses has been numbered consecutively for ready reference. Since in all but a few instances the text of the Homeric verse is certain, we have omitted the usual brackets used to indicate lacunae in the papyrus. For additional discussion on this special type of divination, see T. Hopfner, "Astragalomanteia," *PRE.S* 4 (1924) 51–56, esp. 54–55; cf. Franz Heinevetter, *Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (Breslau, 1912).

PGM VII. 149–54

***To keep bugs / out of the house**: Mix goat bile with water and sprinkle it. **To keep fleas out of the house**: Wet rosebay with salt water, grind it and spread it. 150

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 155–67

***Days and hours for divination**: 155

1 at dawn
2 at noon
3 do not use
4 at dawn
/ 5 at dawn
6 do not use
7 at noon
8 throughout the whole day
9 do not use
/ 10 throughout the whole day
11 in the afternoon
12 throughout the [whole] day
13 throughout the whole day
14 at dawn
15 throughout the whole day
16 do not use
17 do not use
18 at dawn and in the afternoon
19 at dawn
20 at dawn 160
21 in the afternoon
[22] in the afternoon
[23] at dawn
24 at dawn
25 do not use 165
26 in the afternoon
27 throughout the whole day
28 throughout the whole day
29 throughout the whole day
30 in the afternoon

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 167–86

***Demokritos' "table gimmicks"**:

To make bronzeware look like it's made of gold:[1] Mix native sulfur with chalky soil and wipe it off.[2]

/ ***To make an egg become like an apple***: Boil the egg and smear it with a mixture 170 of egg-yolk and [red] wine.[3]

To make the chef unable to light the burner: Set a houseleek plant on his stove.

1. According to H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin: Weidmann, [8]1956), vol. II, p. 220, this recipe shows the beginnings of alchemy.

2. That is, one wipes off the mixture after it has been applied.

3. For coloring eggs, see the references in M. Wellmann, *Die* ΦΥΣΙΚΑ *des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaos aus Larissa*, part I, *APAW* 7 (1928): 57–58. Cf. also Athenaeus 13. 484e. Here, "egg yolk" can also mean "saffron."

To be able to eat garlic and not stink:[4] Bake beetroots and eat them.

To keep an old woman from either chattering or drinking too much: Mince some pine[5] / and put it in her mixed wine.

To make the gladiators painted [on the cups] "fight":[6] Smoke some "hare's-head" underneath them.

To make cold food burn the banqueter: Soak a squill in hot water and give it to him to wash with. ***To relieve him***: [Apply] oil.

To let those who have difficulty intermingling[7] ***perform well***: Give gum mixed with wine and honey / to be smeared on the face.

To be able to drink a lot and not get drunk:[8] Eat a baked pig's lung.

To be able to travel [a long way] home and not get thirsty:[9] Gulp down an egg beaten in wine.

To be able to copulate a lot:[10] Grind up fifty tiny pinecones with 2 ozs. of sweet wine and two pepper grains and drink it.

To get an erection[11] / ***when you want***: Grind up a pepper with some honey and coat your "thing."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This curious collection of recipes contains humorous tricks as well as helpful remedies presumably designed to be performed or used at a symposiastic dinner. Similar tricks are found scattered throughout the pages of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*. See also *PGM* XIb; VII. 149–54; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* 449 (3–7); Wellmann, *APAW.PH* 7 (1928): 1–80. It has not been fully appreciated that this collection seems to refer to events that take place at a dinner table. This fact does not necessarily hold true for all the other examples of *paignia*.

PGM VII. 186–90

***Favor and victory charm**: Take a blood-eating gecko that has been found among the tombs and grasp its right front foot and cut it off with a reed, allowing the gecko to return to its own hole alive. Fasten the foot / of the creature to the fold of your garment and wear it.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 191–92

***Eternal spell for binding a lover**: Rub together some gall of a wild boar, some rock salt, some Attic honey and smear the head of your penis.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 193–96

***For scorpion sting**: On a clean piece of papyrus, write the characters and place it on the part which has the sting; wrap / the papyrus around it, and the sting will lose its pain immediately.

4. Cf. Athenaeus 3. 84c for a similar breath freshener.

5. Cf. Athenaeus 2. 57b–d for pine and pine kernels at a dinner.

6. It seems likely that the reference is to translucent, painted glass which, when lit, produces the effect.

7. The reference is presumably to those who are shy in a social setting: the concoction is to be applied to the face.

8. Cf. Athenaeus 2. 52d where eating almonds is said to prevent drunkenness.

9. In Athenaeus 2. 58f and 2.69f similar means for quenching thirst are found.

10. Cf. Athenaeus 1. 18d–e, where certain devices for having frequent sexual intercourse are mentioned.

11. See on this point *PGM* VII. 194–95; *PDM* lxi. 58–62.

These are the characters: (there are 11 characters).
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 197–98

*__For discharge of the eyes__: Write [this] on a piece of papyrus and attach it as an amulet: "ROURARBISAROURBBARIASPHRĒN."
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 199–201

*__For migraine headache__: Take oil in your hands and utter the spell / "Zeus sowed a grape seed: it parts the soil; he does not sow it; it does not sprout."
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

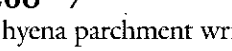
PGM VII. 201–2

*__*Another*__: Write these things on scarlet parchment: "ABRASAX  " (and add the usual). Place it, having made it into a plaster, on the side of the head.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 203–5

*__For coughs__: In black ink, write on hyena parchment: "THAPSATE STHRAITŌ"—[or] as I found in ***another*** [recipe]: "TEUTHRAIŌ THRAITEU THRAITŌ THABARBAŌRI ⊗ / LIKRALIRĒTA—deliver [him], NN, from the cough that holds him fast."
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 206–7

*__*Another*__: On hyena parchment write these characters:
 . Hang it around the neck as an amulet, but keep it dry while wearing.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 208–9

*__For hardening of the breasts__: Take a fine linen rag and write on it in black ink:
 .
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 209–10

*__For swollen testicles__: Take a cord from a coin bag / and say with each knot "Kastor" once, "Thab" twice.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 211–12

*__For fever with shivering fits__: Take oil in your hands and say 7 times, "SABAŌTH" (add the usual, twice). And spread on oil from the sacrum to the feet.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

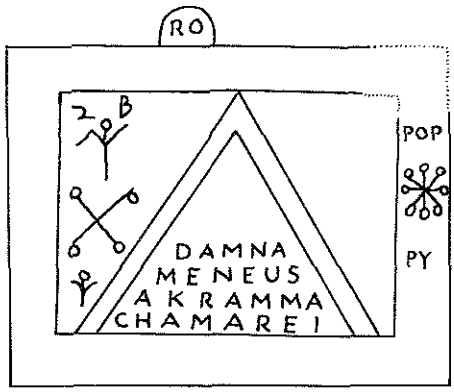
PGM VII. 213–14

*__For daily fever and nightly fever__: On the shiny side of an olive leaf write , and on the dark side write ☾ and wear it as an amulet.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 215–18

215 *__Stele__[12] __of Aphrodite__: To gain friendship, favor, success, and friends. Take a strip of tin and engrave on it with a bronze stylus. And be sure you are pure while carrying it.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.



PGM VII. 218–21

*__Phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits__: Write on a clean piece of papyrus and wear as an amulet:

220 / "IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI (subtracting down)
AŌ [SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI]
Ō [SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AKRAMMACHAMMAREI]
ABRASAX."

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 222–49

*__Request for a dream oracle from Besas__: Take red ocher [and blood][13] of a white dove, likewise of a crow, also sap of the mulberry, juice of single-stemmed worm-
225 wood, cinnabar, and rainwater; / blend all together, put aside and write with it[14] and with black writing ink, and recite the formula to the lamp[15] at evening. Take a black[16] of Isis and put it around your hand. When you are almost awake the god
230 will come and speak to you, and he will not go away unless you wipe off / your hand with spikenard or something of roses and smear the picture with the black of

12. The use of "stele" may refer here to the triangular shape found on the drawing of the tin plate.

13. The translation follows the text of Preisendanz, *μίλτον ⟨καὶ αἷμα⟩ περιστερᾶς λευκῆς*. The conjectural *⟨καὶ αἷμα⟩* makes the text conform to the parallel passage in *PGM* VIII. 69–70, where blood of a white dove is mentioned. The addition here, however, is not needed, for *μίλτον* (which does not occur in the parallel passage) can also mean "blood." See *PGM* XII. 98 and LSJ, s.v. "*μίλτον*," III.

14. The Greek seems defective here. The only possible antecedent for *αὐτός* is the preceding potion as a substance with which one is to write. The following reference to ink suggests that it would be better to take *αὐτός* as the substance on which one is to write, particularly since the practitioner has just been told to put the potion aside, and no substance to write on is mentioned. In the parallel charm, *PGM* VIII. 64–110, a similar potion is used to paint the left hand.

15. Cf. *PGM* VIII. 84–111, where the use of a lamp is more fully described; this description occurs immediately before the prayer to the headless god, which is here found in ll. 233–48.

16. This item, which is not explained here (cf. *PGM* VII. 231; VIII. 67–68), may be the black linen garment used in the Isis cult. It is mentioned in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 39, 366E; 77, 382C. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 451, 562. Preisendanz interprets the reference by translating: "take a black piece from the garment. . . ."

Isis.[17] But the strip of cloth put around your neck,[18] so that he will not smite you.

Formula to be spoken to the lamp: "I call upon you, the headless god, the one who has his face upon his feet;[19] you are the one who hurls lightning, / who thunders, you are [the one whose] mouth continually pours on himself. You are the one who is over Necessity ARBATHIAŌ; you are the one lying on a coffin and having at the side of the head an elbow cushion[20] of resin and asphalt, the one whom they call ANOUTH. Rise up, daimon. You are not a daimon, but the [blood] of the 2 falcons[21] / who chatter and watch before the head of Heaven.[22] Rouse your nighttime form, in which you proclaim all things publicly. I conjure you, daimon, by your two names ANOUTH ANOUTH. You are the headless god, the one who has a head and his face on his feet, / dim-sighted Besas. We are not ignorant. You are the one whose mouth [continually] burns. I conjure [you by] your two names ANOUTH ANOUTH M . . . ORA PHĒSARA Ē . . . Come, lord, reveal to me concerning the NN matter, without deceit, without treachery, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly." The small figure[23] is drawn in the beginning of the book.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 250–54

Request for a dream oracle**, a request which is always used. ***Formula to be spoken to the day lamp: "NAIENCHRĒ NAIENCHRĒ, mother of fire and water, you are the one who rises before, ARCHENTECHTHA; reveal to me concerning the NN matter. If yes, show me a plant and water, but if no, fire and iron; immediately, [immediately; quickly,] quickly."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 255–59

****Another to the same lamp***: "Hail, lord, lamp, you who shine beside Osiris and shine beside Osirchentechtha[24] and my lord, the archangel Michael. If it is advantageous for me to do this, show me a plant and water, but if not, fire and iron, immediately, immediately."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 260–71

***For ascent of the uterus**:[25] "I conjure you, O Womb, [by the] one established

17. See the note on l. 227 above. There is no previous reference in this charm to a picture (though "write" in l. 226 can also mean "draw"). Cf., however, *PGM* VIII. 64–65.

18. For this detail, see *PGM* VIII. 67.

19. K. Preisendanz, *Akephalos. Der kopflose Gott*, *Beihefte zum Alten Orient* 8 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926) 48–50, sees this passage as a reference to the Egyptian practice of putting the heads of those who have been beheaded between their feet. A. Delatte, "Akephalos," *BCH* 38 (1914): 221–32, prefers to see this passage as a reference to the god Besas, who has the heads of animals for feet. Cf. K. Abel, "Akephalos," *PRE*.S 12 (1970): 13. See Glossary, s.v. "Headless."

20. Cf. on this point *PGM* VIII. 97–98.

21. This refers to Isis and Nephthys, who in the form of falcons or kites watch over the body of Osiris. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 35, 305, 328. [R.K.R.]

22. See on this concept the parallel passage *PGM* VIII. 100–101, which has 'Οσίρεως, "of Osiris," instead of "of Heaven." But "Heaven" should be kept (against the suggestion by F. Boll, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.). Perhaps, Nut (Heaven) is really meant here: her image was placed in the coffin in such a way that her head and that of the dead were close to each other. [J.B.]

23. The picture is missing; it may have been in the portion of the papyrus which is now lost.

24. See *PGM* III. 171 and note; note also the apparatus at *PGM* VII. 252.

25. Cf. on this point Soranus, *Gynecology* III. 50 (ed. Ilberg, pp. 127–28): "On the Flexion, Bending, and Ascent of the Uterus," esp. sec. 2 (p. 127): "[A] flexing to the anterior of the uterus causes

over the Abyss, before heaven, earth, sea, light, or darkness came to be; [you?] who created the angels, being foremost, AMICHAMCHOU and CHOUCHAŌ CHĒRŌEI OUEIACHŌ ODOU PROSEIOGGĒS, and who sit over the cherubim, who bear / your (?) own throne, that you return again to your seat, and that you do not turn [to one side] into the right part of the ribs,[26] or into the left part of the ribs, and that you do not gnaw into the heart like a dog, but remain indeed in your own intended and proper place, not chewing [as long as] I conjure by the one who, / in the beginning, made the heaven and earth and all that is therein. Hallelujah! Amen!"

Write this on a tin tablet and "clothe" it in 7 colors.[27]

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM VII. 272–83

*Thōth: 1, 4, 12, 13, 22. Phaōphi: 2, 4, 10, 19, 20. Athyr: 7, 8, 9, 17, 18, 23, 27. / Choiak: 5, 6, 13, 15, 16, 24, 25. Tybi: 3, 4, 12, 24, 26. Mecheir: 1, 2, 10, 14, 19. Phamenōth: 7, 8, 9. Pharmouthi: 5, 6, 14, 15, 20. / Pachōn: 3, 4, 12, 13, 21, 26, 28. Pauni: 1, 2, 10, 11, 15, 20. Epeiph: 7, 8, 9, 14, 18, 19, 22. Mesore: [10, 14,] 20, 23, 24, 25.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. An Egyptian calendar of months and days unsuitable for magic operations. See Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 829–30. Cf. also *PGM* VII. 153–67; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I. 631–32; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*, *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums* 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 102–3.

PGM VII. 284–99

***Orbit**[28] **of the moon**: Moon / in Virgo: anything is rendered obtainable.[29] In Libra: necromancy.[30] In Scorpio: anything inflicting evil.[31] In Sagittarius: an invocation or incantations / to the sun and moon. In Capricorn: say whatever you wish for best results. In Aquarius: for a love charm. Pisces: for foreknowledge. / In Aries: fire divination or love charm. In Taurus: incantation to a lamp. Gemini: spell for winning favor. In Cancer: phylacteries. Leo: rings or binding spells.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. Cf. *PGM* III. 275–81, which is very similar to this passage despite some significant differences in detail.

PGM VII. 300

*"SACHMOU OZOZO, you the one who thunders, the one who shakes the heaven and the earth, the one who has swallowed the serpent, hour by hour raising[32] the

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some problems [blockage?] in urination, and also causes a swelling of the pubic area; in some patients, it [will cause] an inability to stand upright." [J.S.] For a more magical interpretation see A. A. Barb, "Diva Matrix," *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238.

26. The context might suggest "hips," but the Greek is specific; perhaps the author was quite vague in the knowledge of internal anatomy. [J.S.]

27. Presumably, this means that the cord around the neck is to be woven together from the threads of seven colors. The strip of tin would then be worn as an amulet.

28. Or "horoscope"; see, however, *PGM* III. 275, where κύκλος appears alone. On Selene and her astrological role in magic, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 826–28; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 411. On κύκλος, see Gundel, *Astrologumena*, esp. pls. I, VII. [E.N.O.]

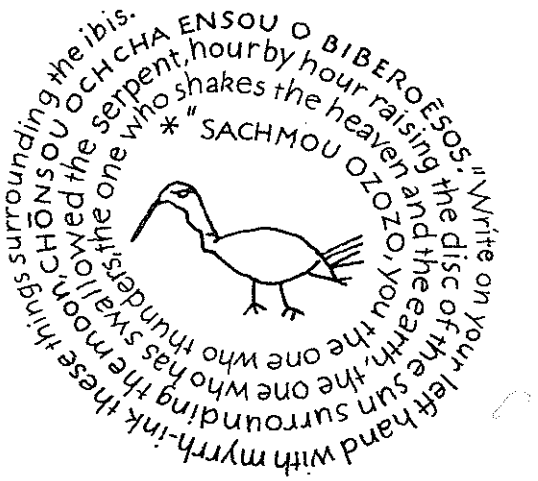
29. The Greek term is unclear; see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.; K. F. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 196 (1934): 171.

30. Necromancy and Libra are also connected in *PGM* III. 278.

31. The reading πανκακώσιμον is uncertain and, at any rate, a *hapax legomenon*. Cf. *PGM* LXXI. 6–7.

32. Reading ἐξαιρῶν, which Preisendanz has in the two parallels to this passage: *PGM* IV. 1326; VII. 367.

disk of the sun and surrounding the moon, CHŌNSOU[33] OCHCHA ENSOU O BIBEROĒSOS." Write on your left hand with myrrh ink these things surrounding the ibis.



*Tr.: W. C. Grese. The purpose of this spell is not given though it may form part of the whole given in *PGM* VII. 272–83, 284–99.

PGM VII. 300a–310

/ ***Love charm which acts in the same hour**: Take a seashell and write the holy names with the blood of a black ass.[34] 300a

Spell: "I adjure you, shell, by bitter Necessity[35] (MASKELLI formula)[36] and [by those] who have been placed [in charge of] the Punishments, LAKI LAKIŌ LAKIMOU MOUKILA KILAMOU IŌR MOUŌR MOUDRA MAXTHA / MOUSATHA: attract her, NN, 305 whom NN bore" (add the usual, whatever [you wish]). "Do not be stubborn, but attract her, OUCH OUCH CHAUNA MOUCHLIMALCHA MANTŌR MOURKANA MOULITHA MALTHALI MOUI ĒIĒI YYY AĒ AIĒ YOŌ AĒI AĒI AĒI AŌA AŌA AŌA IAŌ ŌAI ŌAI AIŌ ŌIA IŌA IAŌ ŌAI, attract her, NN" (add the usual). As the moon waxes / in 310 Aries or in Taurus [add the usual, whatever you wish].[37]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 311–16

***A phylactery**: "IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI SESENGENBAR[PHARANGES] PEPHRAZAŌTH ZŌTH [MENE] BAINCHŌŌŌCH, protect NN, whom NN [bore], from any violence both by a frightful dream and by all demons of the air. [I conjure you] by the great, famous name, Abraam EMEINA AEOUBAŌTH BAITHŌ BES IA IABAŌTH AGRAMAKRAMARI PSINŌTH[38] BER ŌŌN

33. This refers to the Egyptian moon god Khonsu; the moon is mentioned in the context. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 140–44, s.v. "Chons"; Hellmut Brunner, "Chons," *LdÄ* I (1975): 960–63.

34. See on this point *PGM* IV. 3260 and n.

35. On "bitter Necessity," see *PGM* IV. 526, 605, 1499–1500; XV. 13. See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 59–60; idem, *Nekyia* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, ³1969) 124. Necessity ('Ανάγκη) is a demonic being. See H. D. Betz, ed., *Plutarch's Theological Writings and Early Christian Literature*, *SCHNT* 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1975) 224 (on *De sera num. vind.* 25, 564E).

36. See the Glossary, s.v. "MASKELLI logos."

37. Preisendanz deletes these words, thinking they belong at l. 316.

38. This name is Egyptian, meaning "the son of the female falcon." [R.K.R.]

IASŌP B . . . PNOUTE"[39] / [and add the usual, whatever you wish].[40]
*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 317–18

Another phylactery, [to be said] to the moon: "ACHTHIŌPHIPH ERESCHIGAL NEBOUGOSOUALĒTH[41]SATHŌTH SABAŌTH SABRŌTH" (add the usual, whatever you wish).
*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 319–34

***Charm for direct vision**: Take a copper vessel, / pour rainwater into it and make an offering of male frankincense.

Formula: "Let the earth be still, let the air be still, let the sea be still; let the winds also be still, and do not be a hindrance to this my divination—no sound, no loud cry, no hissing. For I am a prophet, and since I am about to call / a terrible, fearful name, 'KOLLA OLPHILOGEMALA ACHERŌIO,' open [the holy temple,] the world [built on the earth,] and welcome Osiris, because I am MANCHNŌBIS CHOLCHOBĒ MALASĒT IAT THANNOUITA KERTŌMENOU PAKERBAŌ KRAMMASIRAT MOMOMO MELASOUT PEU PHRĒ. Open my ears so that you may reveal to me / concerning those things I ask you to answer me. Come on, come on; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; and speak concerning those things about which I questioned you. Appear to me, lord Anubis,[42] I command you, for I am IEŌ BELPHENŌ, who considers [this] matter."

Dismissal. Say: "Go away, Anubis, to your own thrones, for my health and well-being."

Use after you have kept yourself pure for 3 days.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 335–47

***Charm for a direct vision**: If you want to see him yourself, take a fly and Coptic eyepaint, grind them, and smear them on your eyes. Take a feather of an ibis 14 fingers long, smear it with perfume of roses or lilies, wind around it a linen cloth, and hold it with your hands as a scroll. Then say thus, while looking to the side with the left / eye:

Formula: "MOUN EIPOSIS ĒU PHTHA NOUTHI[43] THIE SĒMI NOUEI NĒITHI[44] CHRECHREŌ SININŌRPS MOUCH ORŌOU ENTHERINI[45] EŌĒ MOUNIACH NESŌI MOUNESŌCH MOUNĒI ENIME CHREMOU RENENE SON SNĒI ŌS MOUCHORŌOU ENTHERINI / ANOK SŌS ERMAICHŌ ENTEUMOUTOICHNĒ CHREMOU TĒŠBAS PNĒTE[46] KYPHOCH EMM IEBOCHNĒS TCHĒNĒ PHIMOU CHNOU NYOICHŌŌIM SEOUNEUMOI INONRI."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

39. The word is Egyptian and means "O/the god." [R.K.R.]
40. Preisendanz adds this formula from l. 310.
41. Read *νεβουτοσουαληθ* (tau for gamma). See *PGM* IV. 2484–85, and Glossary, s.v. "Nebutosoualeth."
42. For Anubis as conducting the gods to the magician, cf. *PDM* xiv. 35–37. [R.K.R.]
43. These three words mean in Egyptian, "Come, Ptah, god." [R.K.R.]
44. This name seems to refer to the Egyptian goddess Neith; see Bonnet *RÄRG* 512–17, s.v. "Neith." [R.K.R.] Cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 9, 354C, reporting about the statue of the Athena of Sais, as Neith is called by the Greeks. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 283–84.
45. This word corresponds to the Egyptian *ntr*, "god." [R.K.R.]
46. Perhaps this corresponds to the Egyptian *p3 ntr*, "O/the god." Cf. *PGM* VII. 316. [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 348–58

***Divination by means of a boy**:[47] After you have laid [him] on the ground, speak, and a dark-colored boy will appear to him. /

Formula: "I call upon you, inhabitants of Chaos and Erebos, of the depth, of earth, watchers of heaven, of darkness, masters of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those beneath the earth, administrators of things which are infinite, those who wield power over earth, servants in the chasm, shudderful fighters, fearful ministers, inhabitants of dark Erebos, / coercive watchers, rulers of cliffs, grievers of the heart, adverse daimons, iron-hearted ones BITHOURARA ASOUĒMARA . . . OTROUR MOURROUR APHLAU MANDRAROUROU SOU MARAROU, reveal concerning the matter which I am considering" (add the usual).
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 359–69

***Request for a dream oracle**: Take a strip of clean linen and write on it the following name. / Roll it up to make a wick, pour pure olive oil over it and light it.

The formula to be written is this: "HARMIOUTH LAILAM CHŌOUCH[48] ARSENOPHRĒ PHRĒU PHTHA HARCHENTECHTHA."

In the evening then, when you are about to go to sleep, being pure in every respect, do this: Go to the lamp, say 7 times the following formula, extinguish the light / and go to sleep.

The formula to be spoken is as follows: "SACHMOUNḘ[49] PAĒMALIGOTĒRĒĒNCH, the one who shakes, who thunders, who has swallowed the serpent, surrounds the moon, and hour by hour raises the disk of the sun, 'CHTHETHŌNI' is your name. I ask you, lords of the gods, SĒTH CHRĒPS: reveal to me concerning the things I wish."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 370–73

***Against every wild animal, aquatic creature and robbers**: Attach a tassel[50] to your garment and say: "LŌMA ZATH AIŌN ACHTHASE MA . . . ZAL BALAMAŌN ĒIEOY, protect me, NN, in the present hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 374–76

***Charm to induce insomnia**: [Take] a seashell and write: / "IPSAĒ IAŌAI, let her, NN daughter of NN, lie awake because of me." That night she will lie awake.
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 376–84

****Another***: Take a lamp and furnish it with a wick and say to it: "I conjure you, lamp, by your mother Hestia, MĒRALLĒL (say twice), and by your father Hephaistos, MELIBOU MELIBAU / MELIBAUBAU. [Let] her lie awake" (and add the usual).

47. On this form of divination, see *PGM* V. 1 and n.

48. CHŌOUCH is Egyptian for "darkness." [R.K.R.]

49. This name refers to the goddess Sakhmet; cf. *PGM* VII. 300. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 643–46, s.v. "Sachmet" (esp. 645–46 on her role in magic).

50. For the tassel, cf. the *zizith* in Jewish religion. See Nm 15:38–39; Dt 22:12. See Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People II*, 479, with further references.

[Write these letters on the wick: "♂ chiiiiiii."[51] And having provided the material [recite] the above spell. Now make an iron metal leaf, too.

The spell: "Turn cold, iron, and become like snow, [for I] am MELIBOU MELIBAU MELIBAUBAU" ([and] add the usual).
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 385–89

385 ***A good cup spell**: Over a cup say 7 times: "KANŌPI[TI] PROIE RŌDOCH . . . PH KALYPSAS EREKIN POTHĒXAS ERATEUN MORPHYS CHARIS PHAPHIETI EISI Ō BOUBASTI[52] POTHŌPI, I adjure you, holy names of Cypris, that, if you descend into the innermost heart of her, NN, [whom] NN bore, make her love" (add the usual).
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 390–93

390 ***Victory charm for the races**: Write on the wide part of its hoofs by inscribing these characters with a bronze stylus: ⲙ ⲣⲧ Write: "Give me success, charm, reputation, glory in the stadium" (also add the usual, as much as you want).
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 394–95

395 ***Coercive spells for restraining**: "SPHEDEMOUR BIRBIA / ĒCHI ERŌPHTHI ATARMETRA CHĒLŌŌPS" (add the usual).
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 396–404

***An excellent spell for silencing, for subjecting, and for restraining**: Take lead from a cold-water pipe and make a lamella and inscribe it with a bronze stylus, as shown below, and set it with a person who has died prematurely.
400 ⲝ ⲡ ⊗ ⲙ ⲝ ⲥ ⲟ ⲧ ⲩ ⲭ ⊗ ⲯ / BACHYCH ⲧ ⲩ ⲯ ⲱ ⲗ ⲓ AALOUGIKI ELŌAI BAINCHŌŌŌCH ⲋ ⲫ ⲍ ⲫ ⲕ ⲯ ⲓ ⲗ EULAMŌ PHNOUBENE EIZOCHOR MOBOR PHŌ CHORBA ZACHEI ANACHIA ⲩ ⲕ ⲩ ⲫ ⲯ ⲧ ⲃ PHŌRPHORBA PHŌRBORBA SEMESILAM ARCHENTECHTHA ASCHELIDONĒL. Restrain" (add the usual, as you wish).
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 405–6

405 ***Love spell**: For[53] love say while kissing passionately: "I am THAZI N EPIBATHA CHEOUCH CHA I am I am CHARIEMOUTH LAILAM" (add the usual).
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. Some of the words are recognizable as Coptic.

PGM VII. 407–10

*If you wish to appear to someone at night in dreams, say to the lamp that is in daily use,[54] say frequently: "CHEIAMŌPSEI ERPEBŌTH, let her, NN, whom NN
410 bore, see me in her / dreams, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly" (and add the usual, whatever you wish).
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

51. For parallels to these letters see Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät* 16, A, l. 5.

52. This phrase corresponds to the Egyptian "Isis, O Boubastite." Isis is here identified with one of the epithets of Kypris/Aphrodite. See Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 22–34. [R.K.R.]

53. *ἐπί* is strange here and at *PGM* VII. 661. Perhaps the section title here is *φίλτρον ἐπὶ φιλίας* and that at VII. 661 is *φίλτρον ἐπὶ λαλήματος*. Thus *ἐπί* can mean "for the purpose of." [E.N.O.]

54. So Preisendanz for *τὸν καθημερινόν*, but elsewhere lamps used in spells are special ones. Perhaps this accusative is adverbial: "daily." [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 411–16

*__Spell for causing talk while asleep__: Take the heart of a hoopoe[55] and place it in myrrh. And write on a strip of hieratic papyrus the names and characters and roll up the heart in the strip of papyrus and place it upon her pudenda and ask your questions. And she will confess every/thing to you: "DARYGKO IAU IAU ⊗⊗ϤΧϕβ ΑΘΑΘλΔαΑβΖαΤΙΖβ" (add the usual, as much as you want).

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 417–22

*__A restraining [spell]__: Write on a tin lamella with a bronze stylus before sunrise the names "CHRĒMILLON MOULOCH KAMPY CHRĒ ŌPHTHŌ MASKELLI (formula) ERĒKISIPHTHĒ IABEZEBYTH." / Then throw it into [the] river [or] into [the] sea before sunrise. Also write on it, with [the others], these characters: "⊗ΞΖϬΧϵ. Mighty gods, restrain" (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 423–28

*__To win at dice__: "THERTHENITHŌR DYAGŌTHERE THERTHENITHŌR SYAPOTHEREUO KŌDOCHŌR make me a winner at dice, / O prevailing Adriel." Into your hand say: "Let not even one person be equal to me, for I am THERTHENITHŌR ĒRŌTHORTHIN DOLOTHOR, and I am going to throw what I want." And say this repeatedly, and then throw.

Another way you must say the formula is: "Let not even one of these playing with me be equal, and I am going to throw what I want."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 429–58

*__A restraining [rite] for anything__, works even on chariots. It also causes enmity / and sickness, cuts down, destroys, and overturns, for [whatever] you wish. The spell [in it], when said, conjures daimons [out] and makes them enter [objects or people]. Engrave in a plate [made] of lead from a cold-water channel what you want to happen, and when you have consecrated it with bitter aromatics such as myrrh, bdellium, styrax, and aloes and thyme, / with river mud, late in the evening or in the middle of the night, where there is a stream or the drain of a bath, having tied a cord [to the plate] throw it into the stream—or into the sea—[and let it] be carried along. Use the cord so that, when you wish, you can undo [the spell]. Then should you wish to break [the spell], untie the plate. Say the formula 7 times and you will see something wonderful. Then go away without turning back / or giving an answer to anyone, and when you have washed and immersed yourself, go up to your own [room] and rest, and use [only] vegetable food. Write [the spell] with a headless bronze needle.

The text to be written is: "I conjure you, lord Osiris, by your holy names OUCHIŌCH OUSENARATH, Osiris, OUSERRANNOUPHTHI OSORNOUPHĒ[56] / Osiris-Mnevis,[57] OUSERSETEMENTH[58] AMARA MACHI CHŌMASŌ EMMAI[59] SERBŌNI

55. κοκκοφάδιος occurs only here, but cf. *PGM* II. 18 and III. 424–25. [E.N.O.]
56. OSORNOUPHE is Egyptian *wsir nfr*, "Osiris the good." [R.K.R.]
57. On Osiris-Mnevis, see *PGM* IV. 140, 2994 and n.
58. OUSERSETEMENTH is Egyptian for "Osiris . . . the west (the underworld)." [R.K.R.]
59. EM MAI is Egyptian, "in truth." [R.K.R.]

EMER Isis,[60] ARATŌPHI ERACHAX ESEOIŌTH ARBIŌTHI AMEN CH[N]OUM (?) MONMONT OUZATHI PĒR OUNNEPHER[61] EN ŌŌŌ, I give over to you, lord Osiris, and I deposit with you this matter / " (add the usual).

But if you cause [the plate] to be buried or [sunk in] river or land or sea or stream or coffin or in a well, write the Orphic[62] formula, saying, "ASKEI KAI TASKEI" and, taking a black thread, make 365 knots[63] and bind [the thread] around the outside of the plate, saying the same formula again and, "Keep him who is held" (or "bound"), or whatever you do. And thus [the plate] / is deposited. For Selene, when she goes through the underworld, breaks whatever [spell] she finds. But when this [rite] has been performed, [the spell] remains [unbroken] so long as you say over [the formula] daily at this spot [where the plate is deposited]. Do not hastily share [this information] with anyone, for you will find [its like (?) only] with much labor.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

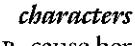
PGM VII. 459–61

*__Excellent love charm__: Inscribe by scratching on a tin lamella. Write / and lay it down, walking over it. And what is written is this: "I adjure you by the glorious name of Bacchios"[64] (and add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 462–66

*__Excellent love charm__: Inscribe by scratching on a tin lamella the characters and the names, and after making it magically potent with some magical material,[65] roll it up and throw it into the sea.

The characters are these: "  ICHANARMENTHŌ CHASAR, cause her, NN, to love me" (add the usual). Write with a copper nail from a shipwrecked vessel.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 467–77

*Take a shell from the sea and draw on it with myrrh ink the figure of Typhon given below, and in a circle write his names, and throw it into the heating chamber[66] of a bath. But when / you throw it, keep reciting these words engraved in a circle and "attract to me her, NN, whom NN bore, on this very day, from this very hour on, with her soul and heart aflame, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately." The picture[67] is the one below.

But when reciting the spell, [say] its beginning: "This is the god of Destinies,[68]

60. EMER ISI is Egyptian for "whom Isis loves." [R.K.R.]

61. [H]OUNNEPHER is Egyptian and corresponds either to *ḥwn-nfr*, "beautiful youth," or *wn—nfr* (if unaspirated), "Onnophris." Cf. *PGM* IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

62. It is not clear why the formula here is called "Orphic." Usually, this formula is called by the name *Ephesia grammata* (cf. *PGM* LXX. 12); its origin and meaning is still a mystery. For bibliography, see Betz, "Fragments," 291–92.

63. See on this point *PGM* IV. 1084 and n.

64. Bacchios may be the epithet of Dionysos or a personal name derived from it. See D. Detschew, "Bakchos (Bacchus)," *RAC* 1 (1950): 1147–50. But the name here is uncertain for textual reasons.

65. For the term *οὐσιάζω*, cf. *PGM* VII. 381.

66. For the role of the heating chamber, see *PGM* II. 51 and n.

67. The term here is *θεώρημα*, while below, l. 477, the noun is *ζῴδιον* (cf. the verb *ζωγράφω* in l. 467). Seemingly the three words refer to the same depiction, but it is missing. [E.N.O.]

68. The text here is uncertain and the translation tentative. [E.N.O.]

ŌKĒSĒ EĒRINIARE MIN / ENTĒNTAIN PHOOU TŌNKTŌ MNĒ SIETHŌN OSIRI ENABŌTH PSANOU LAMPSOUŌR IEOU IŌ IŌ AI ĒI EI AI EI AŌ, attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN," and the rest. ***This is the figure***:
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 478–90

*"Eros, darling PASSALEON ĒT,[69] send me my personal [angel] tonight to give me information about whatever the concern is. For I do this / on order from PANCHOUCHI THASSOU at whose order you are to act, because I conjure you by the four regions of the universe, APSAGAĒL CHACHOU MERIOUT MERMERIOUT and by the one who is above the four regions of the universe, KICH MERMERIOUTH" (add the usual).

This is the offering: Take equal portions of dirt from your sandal, / of resin, and of the droppings from a white dove, and while speaking [the invocation], burn them as an offering to the Bear.

The phylactery for this: Write these names on a strip of tin: "ACHACHAĒL CHACHOU MARMARIOUTI." Then wear it around your neck. After uttering the summons, go to your quarters, put out the lamp, and sleep / on a newly made bed of rushes.
*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VII. 490–504

*Taking sulfur and seed of Nile rushes, burn [them] as incense to the moon and say, "I call on you, Lady Isis, whom Agathos Daimon permitted to rule in the entire black [land].[70] Your name is LOU LOULOU BATHARTHAR THARĒSIBATH ATHERNEKLĒSICH / ATHERNEBOUNI ĒICHOMŌ CHOMŌTHI Isis Sothis,[71] SOUĒRI, Boubastis, EURELIBAT CHAMARI NEBOUTOS OUĒRI[72] AIĒ ĒOA ŌAI. Protect me, great and marvelous names of the [god] (add the usual); for I am the one established in Pelusium,[73] SERPHOUTH MOUISRŌ[74] / STROMMŌ MOLŌTH MOLONTHĒR PHON Thoth. Protect me, great and marvelous names of the great god" (add the usual).

"ASAŌ EIŌ NISAŌTH. Lady Isis, Nemesis, Adrasteia,[75] many-named, many-formed, glorify me, as I have glorified the name of your son[76] Horus" (add the usual).
*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 505–28

***Meeting with your own daimon**:[77] "Hail, Tyche, and you, the daimon of this

69. The text here is doubtful. See the apparatus ad loc.

70. The name for Egypt in Egyptian is *Km.t*, meaning the "black" and referring to the alluvial soil in distinction from the "red" desert soil that borders it. [R.K.R.] See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 33, 364C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 425–26.

71. Isis Sothis is the identification of Isis with the dog star Sothis (Sirius). See J. Bergman, "I Overcome Fate, Fate Harkens to Me," in *Fatalistic Beliefs in Religion, Folklore, and Literature, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis II* (1967) 38–40; idem, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* 22–34, 41–45, 52–58 (p. 55 refers to *PGM* VII. 490–504).

72. OUERI is Egyptian *wr*, "great one." [R.K.R.]

73. The god of Pelusium (*Pr-ir-Imn*) is Amon. [R.K.R.] See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 17, 357E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 334–35.

74. SERPHOUTH MOUISRO is *Srp.t mȝy sr*, "Lotus, Lion, Ram." Cf. *PGM* III. 659 and n.

75. On the identification of Isis, Nemesis, and Adrasteia, see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 153–54.

76. Although this sentence seems parallel to Jn 17:4–5, there is no Christian influence here.

77. For this spell and its interpretation, see Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 160–62.

place, and you, the present hour, and you, the present day—and every day as well. Hail, Universe, that is, earth and heaven. Hail, Helios, for you are the one who has established yourself in invisible light over the holy firmament / ORKORĒTHARA.[78]

"You are the father of the reborn Aion ZARACHTHŌ;[79] you are the father of awful Nature ***Thortchophanō***;[80] you are the one who has in yourself the mixture[81] of universal nature and who begot the five wandering stars,[82] which are the entrails of heaven, the guts of earth, the fountainhead of the waters, and the violence / of fire AZAMACHAR ANAPHANDAŌ EREYA ANEREYA PHENPHENSŌ IGRAA; you are the youthful one, highborn, scion of the holy temple, kinsman to the holy mere called Abyss which is located beside the two pedestals SKIATHI and MANTŌ.[83] And the earth's 4 basements were shaken, O master of all, / holy Scarab,[84] AŌ SATHREN ABRASAX IAŌAI AEŌ ĒŌA ŌAĒ IAO IĒO EY AĒ EY IE IAŌAI."

Write the name in myrrh ink on two male eggs.[85] You are to cleanse yourself thoroughly with one; then lick off the name, break it, and throw it away. Hold the other in your partially open right hand and show it to the sun at dawn and . . .[86] / olive branches; raise up your right hand, supporting the elbow with your left hand. Then speak the formula 7 times, crack the egg open, and swallow its contents.

Do this for 7 days, and recite the formula at sunset as well as sunrise.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM VII. 528–39

***Victory charm**: "Helios, Helios, hear me, NN, Helios, lord, Great God, you who maintain all things and who give life / and who rule the world, toward whom all things go, from whom they also came, untiring, ĒIE ELĒIE IEŌA ROUBA ANAMAŌ MERMAŌ CHADAMATHA ARDAMATHA PEPHRE ANAMALAZŌ PHĒCHEIDEU ENE-

78. For the magical name ORKORĒTHARA, see Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 203.

79. Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 203, n. 34, suggests that the name ZARACHTHŌ may be related to that of Zorochthora Melchisedek, which plays a role in gnosticism (*Pistis Sophia* IV. 136, 139, 140; *Book of Jeu* 108, 110, 111; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 55. 1; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7. 36).

80. This name is written in Coptic.

81. The term "mixture" plays a great role in hellenistic philosphy and gnosticism. See *C.H.* XI. 7; *Pistis Sophia* III. 3 (and passim). For further references see *PGL*, s.v.

82. That is, the planets.

83. For the background of this passage in Egyptian religion and explanation of the names SKIATHI and MANTHŌ, see J. Bergman, "An Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus (*PGM* VII, 11. 516–521)," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*, *Numen Supplements 43* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 28–37.

84. This acclamation expresses Khepri theology, of which the cosmogony in *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* 26, 21 (in Pritchard, *ANET*, p. 6) is the largest example. Khepri, the holy scarab, is mentioned at the end of the climax of names and epithets which often refer to his form of existence even by the Greek terms. The cultic context is also evident: the noble birth, representing creation, takes place in the temple at the time of the appearance of the Original Sea. This sea is identical with the sacred lake in the temple near the two pedestals of the evening bark (Sektat) and the morning bark (Manedjet). The temple represents the whole world, so that the four basements of the earth were shaken by the birth of Khepri, the master of all. [J.B.]

85. That is, eggs from which male chicks will be hatched. The ancients believed that one could predict the sex of the chick from the shape of the egg, though there appears to be some uncertainty as to which shape produced which sex. See Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* VI. 2 (559a); Pliny *NH* 10. 74; Columella, *De Re Rustica* VIII. 5. Cf. the comments by P. Louis in vol. 2 (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1968) of his Budé translation of Aristotle's treatise, p. 64, n. 4, and by A. L. Peck in vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1970) of his *LCL* translation of the same treatise, p. 225, n. a; also the reference at *PGM* XII. 100 to an egg that will produce a male chick. [H.M.]

86. There is a lacuna in the Greek text at this point.

DEREU SIMATOI MERMEREŌ AMALAXIPHIA MERSIPHIA EREME THASTEU PAPIE[87] PHEREDŌNAX ANAIE / GELEŌ AMARA MATŌR MŌRMARĒSIO NEOUTHŌN ALAŌ AGELAŌ AMAR AMATŌR MŌRMASI SOUTHŌN ANAMAŌ GALAMARARMA. Hear me, lord Helios, and let the NN matter take place on time." Say this while you make an offering over oak charcoal, sacred incense, with which has been mixed the brain of a wholly black ram and the wheat meal of a certain plant.[88]
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 540–78

***Lamp divination**: Put an iron lampstand in a clean house[89] at the eastern part, and having placed on it a lamp not colored red, light it. Let the lampwick be of new linen, and light the censer. Then make a burnt offering of frankincense on grapevine wood. The boy, then, should be uncorrupt, pure.[90]

/ ***Formula***: "PHISIO IAŌ AGEANOUMA SKABARŌ SKASABRŌSOU ASABRŌ, because I implore you this day today, this very time, to let the light and the sun appear to this boy, MANE OUSEIRI, MANE[91] ISI,[92] ANOUBIS the servant of all gods, and make this boy fall into a trance and see the gods, / all who are present at the divination. Appear to me in the divination, O high-minded god, Hermes thrice-great![93] May he appear, the one who [made] the four parts of the heaven and the four foundations of the earth, RESENNĒETHŌ BASENERAIPAN THALTHACHTHACHŌTHCH CHINEBŌTH CHINEBŌTH MIMYLŌTH MASYNTORI / ASTOBI. Come to me, you who are in heaven; come to me, you who are from the egg.[94] I conjure you by the ENTŌ[95] TAPSATI LEGĒNISTHŌ ĒLEGĒ SERPHOUTH MOUISRŌ[96] LEGE [having appeared and][97] the two gods who are about you, THATH. The one god is called 'So'[98] the other, 'Aph,'[99] KALOU KAGŌĒI SESOPHĒI BAINCHŌŌŌCH."

87. Perhaps PAPIE is related to PIPI, but cf. the apparatus ad loc. See for PIPI *PGM* IV. 595 and n.

88. For the plant called *καταναάγκης ἄλευρα*, see Diosc. 4.131; Pliny, *HN* 27.57.

89. The Greek is ambiguous, referring either to a house or a room in a house serving as a temple.

90. On the boy medium, see *PGM* V. 1 and n.

91. MANE is perhaps equivalent to Egyptian *mrj.n*, "beloved one of," hence: "beloved one of Osiris, beloved one of Isis." [J.B.]

92. OUSERI . . . ISI, referring to Osiris and Isis, perhaps by the vocative. [R.K.R.]

93. The epithet "thrice great" results from the Egyptian superlative which repeats the positive three times. For the name Hermes Trismegistos and its derivation, see Festugière, *La révélation* I, 73–74; K. W. Tröger, "Die hermetische Gnosis," in *Gnosis und Neues Testament. Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973) 103–4; J. Parlebas, "L'Origine égyptienne de l' appelation 'Hermès Trismegistos,'" *GM* 13 (1974):25–28; M.-Th. and P. Derchain, "Noch einmal Hermes Trismegistos," *GM* 15 (1975):7–10; R. K. Ritner, "Hermes Pentamegistos," *GM* 49 (1981): 73–75; idem, "Additional Notes to Hermes Pentamegistos," *GM* 50 (1981):67–68.

94. In Egyptian cosmogony the mythical primordial egg played a great role. Cf. *PGM* III. 145 and n. According to Orphic cosmogony, the one born from the egg is the god Phanes. See *Orph. Frag.* nos. 54, 55, and 56, and H. Leisegang, "The Mystery of the Serpent," in J. Campbell, ed., *The Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1978) 194–260.

95. Or, *ἐν τῷ*, ". . . by the one who is in TAPSATI . . . ," following Preisendanz. The latter probably belongs to the series of *voces magicae* as indicated here. See also l. 576.

96. On SERPHOUTH MOUISRO, see *PGM* III. 659; and Preisendanz, vol. III, p. 230, s.v.

97. The text is mutilated here: "[and having appeared]" is Preisendanz's conjecture. The plural participle may refer to the two preceding commands, if these commands refer to two separate gods. But the conjecture does not help much. The problem is also complicated by *λεγε*, "tell" or "speak" (?).

98. This name probably refers to the god Shu, Greek Sōsis. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 326–37; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 685–89, s.v. "Schu." Cf. *PGM* VII. 345.

99. The name is unexplained; for possible explanations, see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc., and vol. III, p. 217, index, s.v. "'Αφ." Perhaps the name refers to Apophis, the snake god and enemy of Re. This god is mentioned as *Ἀφνφις* in *PGM* XIII. 262; cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 36, 365D. See Griffiths,

The formula to be spoken: "Come to me, spirit that flies in the air, / called with secret codes and unutterable names, at this lamp divination which I perform, and enter into the boy's soul, that he may receive the immortal form in mighty and incorruptible light, because while chanting, I call, 'IAŌ ELŌAI MARMACHADA MENEPHŌ[100] MERMAI / IĒŌR AIEŌ ĒREPHIE PHEREPHIŌ CHANDOUCH AMŌN EREPNEU ZŌNŌR AKLEUA MENĒTHŌNI KADALAPEU IŌ PLAITINE RE AŌTH IĒI ŌĒI MEDCHĒNŌR ALACHAL PERECHAĒL SERENŌPH DOUNAX ANAXIBOA EREBE BŌ BEBŌBIA ANĒSIODEU IAŌA ENIŌEAL / EMERŌ MASAIANDA.'"

"Hither to me, O lord, riding upon immaculate light without deceit and without anger; appear to me and to your medium, the boy, MARMARIAU ANAPSICHALAŌ PEOE NIPSEOUA AIETY HARENNŌTHĒS[101] ANERŌPHĒS ITHYAMAREM ŌSIĒR ANAPSICHYŌN PSYELĒMICHALĒS, appear" (say it 3 times).

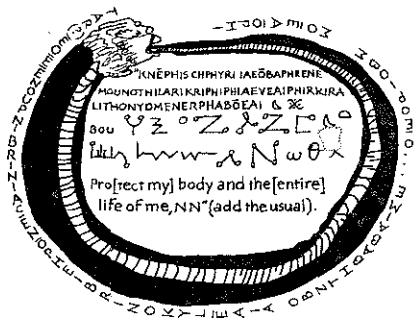
/ If he says, "I see your lord in the light," say: "O holy YMERI EIGESOU ENTŌ TĒRIOUA MENĒ SOMIŌŌ ALAMAŌR CHŌCHENEMĒTŌR," and thus he will answer. Ask: "ARSERETŌTHI OUĒMANTOUR."

*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell.

PGM VII. 579–90

***A phylactery**, a bodyguard against daimons, against phantasms, / against every sickness and suffering, to be written on a leaf of gold or silver or tin or on hieratic papyrus. When worn it works mightily for it is the name of power of the great god and [his] seal, and it is as follows: "KMĒPHIS CHPHYRIS[102] IAEŌ IAŌ AEĒ IAŌ OŌ AIŌN IAEŌBAPHRENE / MOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAE Y EAIPHIRKIRALITHANYOMENERPHABŌEAI."[103] These [are] the names; the figure is like this: let the Snake be biting its tail, the names being written inside [the circle made by] the snake, and the characters thus, as follows:

The whole figure[104] is [drawn] thus, as given below, with [the spell], "Protect my body, [and] the / entire soul of me, NN." And when you have consecrated [it], wear [it].



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride 440; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 51, s.v. "Apophis." Cf. the strange *ἀφφώ* in LXX 2 Kgs 2:14; 10:10 and the explanations given by patristic commentators, for which see *PGL*, s.v. "*ἀφφώ*."

100. Menepho is the name of the city of Memphis. Cf. *PGM* III. 104.

101. Harennōthes is Egyptian for *Ḥr-nḏ-it.f* (Harendotes), meaning "Horus the defender of his father." See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 269, s.v. "Harendotes"; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 345; D. Meeks, "Harendotes," *LdÄ* 2 (1977):964–66. [R.K.R.]

102. Chphyris is the Egyptian scarab, Khepri.

103. IAEŌ begins an often-cited palindrome, but it is not set out as such in Preisendanz. The copyist got one letter wrong: ALITHA should be ALITHO.

104. Preisendanz gives the opening words surrounding the serpent as TARĒON ĒOU PHI, but the photograph (plate I, no. 4) shows clearly the reading given in the transcription here.

PGM VII. 591–92

*"Come to me, ear of heaven; come to me, ear [of the air;] come to me, ear of the earth," and so forth, as indicated.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This portion of an invocation seems to be mislocated in the papyrus manuscript.

PGM VII. 593–619

***Fetching charm for an unmanageable [woman]**:[105] Take a [lamp], not painted red, with seven wicks, and make a wick of [the hawser of] a wrecked / ship. On the [1st] wick write with myrrh, "IAŌ"; on the 2nd, "ADŌNAI"; on the 3rd, "SABAŌTH"; on the 4th, "PAGOURĒ"; on the 5th, "MARMOROUTH"; on the 6th, "IAEŌ"; on the 7th, "MICHAĒL."

Put olive oil in the lamp and place it in a window / facing south. Also put wormwood seeds on the lamp (around the edge of the lamp), and recite this ***formula***: "I call upon you, the masters, great gods, who shine in the present hour, on this day, for the sake of her, the ungodly NN. For she has said: /

'IAŌ does not have ribs.'

[She, NN, has said,] 'ADŌNAI was cast out because of his violent anger.'

[She, NN, has said,] 'SABAŌTH emitted three cries.'[106]

She, NN, has said, 'PAGOURĒ is by nature a hermaphrodite.'

She, NN, has said, 'MARMOROUTH was castrated.'

She, NN, has said, 'IAEŌ was not entrusted with the ark.'

She, NN, has said, 'MICHAĒL is by nature a hermaphrodite.'

/ "I am not the one who says such things, master, but she, the godless NN. Therefore fetch her for me, her inflamed with passion, submissive. Let her not find sleep until she comes to me" (repeat 7 times).

If the first lamp flickers, know that she has been seized by the daimon. And if the 2nd, she has left (the house); and if the 3rd, she is on the / way; and if the 4th, she has arrived; and if the 5th, she is at the door; the 6th, at the doorlatch; the 7th, she has come into the house.

It can fetch people even from across the sea. For that, place the lamp in some water in the open air. Place a papyrus boat under the lamp, and [recite the] formula 6 times.

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM VII. 619–27

***From the Diadem of Moses**:[107] / Take the plant snapdragon and hold it under your tongue while lying asleep. And rise early and before you speak to anyone recite the names, and you will be invisible to everyone.

But when you say them over drinking cups and give them to a woman, she will love you, since this spell has power over everything: "ARESKILLIOUS THOUDALESAI KRAMMASI CHAMMAR / MOULABŌTH LAUABAR CHOUPHAR PHOR PHŌRBAŌ SACHI HARBACH MACHIMASŌ IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI."

For what you wish, say: "Get her, NN, for me, NN" (add the usual, whatever you wish).

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

105. See for parallels to this spell *PGM IV.* 2475 and n.

106. For this cry, cf. the parallel in Ignatius, *Eph.* 19. 1.

107. This spell seems to be a selection from a larger collection entitled "The Diadem of Moses." [E.N.O.]

PGM VII. 628–42

*Taking a field lizard,[108] let it down into oil of lilies until it be deified. Then engrave / the [image of] the Asklepios [worshiped] in Memphis[109] on a ring of iron from a leg fetter and put [the ring] into [the] oil of lilies [in which the lizard was drowned]. And when you use [the ring] take [it and] show [it] to the pole star,[110] saying this spell 7 times: "MENŌPHRI[111] who sit on the cherubim, send me / the true Asklepios, not some deceitful daimon instead of the god." Then take the incense burner in where you are going to sleep and burn 3 grains of frankincense and wave the ring in the smoke of the incense, saying 7 times the [spell], "CHAUAPS / ŌAEIAPS ŌAIS LYSIPHTHA,[112] lord Asklepios, appear." And wear the ring on the index finger of your right hand.

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM VII. 643–51

Cup spell**, quite remarkable: Say the spell that is spoken to the cup 7 times: "You are wine; you are not wine[113] but the head of Athena. / You are wine; you are not wine, but the guts of Osiris, the guts of IAŌ PAKERBĒTH SEMESILAM ŌŌŌ Ē PATACHNA IAAA." (For ***the spell of compulsion: "ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI EEE, who has been stationed over necessity, IAKOUB IA IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX").

"At whatever hour / you descend into the guts of her, NN, let her love me, NN, [for] all the time of her life."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 652–60

***Spell to induce insomnia by means of a bat**: Take blood of a black ox or of a goat or of Typhon[114]—but preferably of a goat—and write on its right wing: "BŌRPHŌR PHORBA PHORPHARBA / PHŌRBŌRPHORBA PHORBA PHORBA PHORBA BAPHAIĒ PHŌRBAPHŌR BARBA" (put one word under another one, like bricks,[115] and [add the usual, whatever] you want). And on the left wing write this in the same pattern: "PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA BORPHOR PHORBA BORPHOR PHORBA PHORPHOR PHORBABŌR / BORBORBA PHŌRPHŌR PHORBA" (likewise, add the usual as you want).

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

108. See A. D. Nock, "The Lizard in Magic and Religion," in his *Essays* I, 271–76. On deification by drowning, see *PGM* I. 5; III. 1, with notes; LXI. 39–71.

109. Asklepios in Memphis is the Egyptian god Imhotep. See D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977). [R.K.R.]

110. The constellation of the pole star (Bear) is connected here with the "true" Asklepios of Memphis, that is Asklepios/Imhotep in contrast to the Greek Asklepios. This expression is indeed non-Greek. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 14 and 181.

111. That is, Memphis, or perhaps Memphite. [R.K.R.]

112. -SI PHTHA is Egyptian and means "son of Ptah," a standard epithet of Imhotep. [R.K.R.]

113. For the formula "you are *x*, you are not *x*, but . . ." cf., e.g., *PGM* LXI. 7–9. See also Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 111, 197 n.

114. The "blood of Typhon" is the blood of an ass. See *PGM* IV. 2100 and n.

115. For this magical formation of words, see *PGM* V. 349, 361 and Preisendanz, vol. I, plate III, no. 6.

PGM VII. 661–63

***Love spell**: In conversation[116] while kissing passionately, say: "ANOK THARENEPIBATHA CHEOUCHCHA ANOA ANOK CHARIEMOCHTH LAILAM."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 664–85

***Spell for obtaining dream revelations**: Take a linen strip, and on it you write with myrrh ink the matter, / and wrap an olive branch and place it beside your head, beneath the left side of your head, and go to sleep, pure, on a rush mat on the ground, saying the spell 7 times to the lamp:

"Hermes,[117] lord of the world, who're in the heart,
O circle of Selene, spherical
And square, / the founder of the words of speech,
Pleader of Justice's cause, garbed in a mantle,
With golden sandals, turning airy course
Beneath earth's depths, who hold the spirit's reins,
The sun's and who with lamps of gods immortal
Give joy to those beneath earth's depths, to mortals
Who've finished life. / The Moirai's[118] fatal thread
And Dream divine you're said to be, who send
Forth oracles by day and night; you cure
Pains of all mortals with your healing cares.
Hither, O blessed one, O mighty son
Of the goddess who brings full mental powers,
By your own form and gracious mind. And to
An uncorrupted youth / reveal a sign
And send him your true skill of prophecy,
OIOSENMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NIOĒRE KODĒRETH DOSĒRE SYRE SUROE SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE[119] KODĒRE RINŌTON KOUMETANA ROUBITHA NOUMILA PERPHEROU AROUŌRĒR / AROUĒR"[120] (say it seven times and add the usual, whatever you wish).
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 686–702

***Bear charm**: "Bear, Bear, you who rule the heaven, the stars, and the whole world; you who make the axis turn and control the whole cosmic system by force and compulsion;[121] / I appeal to you, imploring and supplicating that you may do the NN thing, because I call upon you with your holy names at which your deity rejoices, names which you are not able to ignore: BRIMŌ, earth-breaker, chief hunt-

116. Cf. on this title *PGM* VII. 405 and n.

117. These dactylic hexameters are also one version of the reconstructed Hymns 15–16, ll. 1–12; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 249. This version is, however, quite different from that in *PGM* V. 400–421 and XVIIb. 1–23. [E.N.O.]

118. At *PGM* V. 410, Preisendanz prints the word as a common noun, here as the proper noun. [E.N.O.]

119. On this *vox magica*, see the Glossary, s.v. "YESSIMMIGADO/AKROUROBORE formula."

120. AROUĒR is Egyptian for *Ḥr-wr*, "Horus the great." [R.K.R.]

121. For this concept of the divine mover of the universe, see Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 208–11.

ress,[122] BAUBŌ L[123] . . . I AUMŌR AMŌR AMŌR . . . IĒA [shooter] of deer[124] AMAM[A-
695 MAR] APHROU . . . MA, universal queen, queen of wishes, / AMAMA, well-bedded,[125] Dardanian, all-seeing, night-running, man-attacker, man-subduer, man-summoner, man-conqueror, LICHRISSA PHAESSA, O aerial one, O strong one,[126] O song and
700 dance, guard,[127] spy, delight, delicate, protector, adamant, adamantine, O / Damnameneia, BREXERIKANDARA, most high, Taurian,[128] unutterable, fire-bodied, light-giving, sharply armed. Do such-and-such things" (add the usual).
*Tr.: H. D. Betz. The purpose of the spell is not given, although directions to insert requests come at the end. Cf. the Bear spells in *PGM* IV. 1275–1330, 1331–89; LXXII. 1–36.

PGM VII. 703–26

***Request for a dream oracle**: Write [with myrrh] on clean papyrus:
705 "I call you, the one who shines on the whole inhabited / and uninhabited world, whose name is composed of 30 letters, in which are the seven vowels, through which you name [the] universe, gods, lords, RARAPAE ABRAIĒ IRARA PAUOUŌ
710 ARAŌACH (30 letters)[129] IEŌYŌĒ AIĒ IAŌĒ YŌEI: Reveal [to me], / lords, concerning the NN matter, dependably and through memory, PSICHOM[130] MORAIOUCH PSICHOM ARASKELLITH ĒCHOMMORAKAUPS PSICHOMMO ARATOPOTH. Lords of glory, reveal to me concerning the NN matter tonight, THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ CHAR-
715 PHRAUTHI / PHRĒ"[131] (add the usual, as you wish). Also write the name composed of 30 letters in two wing formations,[132] thus: RARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOUŌABRAŌACHRARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOUŌABRAŌACH: A

Ō

CHAŌARBAŌYOAPARARIĒIARBAEAPARAR
/ RAR A A R
Ō Ō
IEŌYŌĒ[AIĒIAŌĒYŌEI]
R E E R

Write also the ["heart"] as indicated [if] you want, and after placing the strip of
725 papyrus / under the lamp, go to sleep in a pure condition. Give answer to no one, ENTYTHLCH.[133]
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

122. The rendering of *προκυνη* is uncertain. See also *PGM* VII. 885–86; P. Reinach II, 88 which has *προκυνητε*. For similar epithets, see LSJ, s.v. "*κυναγέτις, προκυναγός, προκυνηγίς, προκύων*." The epithet "earthbreaker" has usually in *PGM* been transcribed RĒXICHTHŌN.

123. The following list of divine epithets comes from the cult of Artemis; it contains old material, but not all is explainable and some renderings are quite tentative. Cf. for parallels *PGM* IV. 1301–8, 1345–79; also P. Reinach II, 88 (ed. P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach*, *BIFAO* 39 [1940]: 29–32).

124. For this epithet, see Homeric Hymn 27. 2 and K. Wernicke, "Artemis," *PRE* 2 (1895): 1384.

125. The rendering of *εὐναία* is uncertain. See Euripides, *Hippol.* 160, also Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 236.

126. Preisendanz translates, "O goddess of Erymna."

127. On this epithet of Artemis, see also *PGM* IV. 1298; *Orph. Frag.* 42.

128. The meaning of this epithet is uncertain; for similar expressions, see K. Wernicke, *PRE* 2 (1895): 1399–1400.

129. The name is given below, ll. 716–18; cf. 708–9.

130. PSICHOM is Egyptian *p3 sḫm*, "the image/power." [R.K.R.]

131. THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ . . . PHRE corresponds to Egyptian "Thoth the ibis . . . Prē." [R.K.R.]

132. For the wing formation of magical words, see *PGM* I. 11 and n.

133. This is Demotic *mtw.f.ti hl.k* (?), "and he makes you fly" (?). [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 727–39

***Charm for a direct vision of Apollo**: In a ground-floor room without light, while you are crowned with a wreath of marjoram and while wearing wolf-skin sandals, recite this formula:

Formula: / "Helios, ruler of light, MER . . . EIPHIRA GARGERI PHTHA ER . . . OIE . . . GERLYCHA MER . . . [OPHO] R ITHARA PHERXEI AR . . . EID . . . PHŌRITHARZEI ERPHIBILCHIE ZEIRABELBĒ BICHA ARTHIA MĒLICHIA ERGA GERPHI IŌ CHERPHEI KARGŌOARA EARMILICHA ATHERTHAPHTHŌ ATHTHERTHAPHI ARNACHERBBI." /

After you have said these things, the god Apollo will come having a cup for a drink offering. Then you inquire concerning what you want. He gives from memory if you want, and if you ask, he will let you drink from his cup.

Dismissal: "ERKIKCHI BELTĒAMILICHA ARCHARZEIR PHIZŌR GEIRPHEI."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 740–55

*[**Request for a dream oracle**: Write] on a strip of tinfoil, and after crowning the strip of foil with myrtle, set up the censer. Then make a burnt offering of frankincense and carry the leaf of metal around the vapor while saying: "Lords, gods, reveal to me concerning the NN matter / tonight, in the coming hours. Emphatically I beg, I supplicate, I your servant and enthroned[134] by you."

Then place the piece of foil under your pillow, and, without giving answer to anyone, go to sleep after having kept yourself pure for 3 days.

Formula to be written: / "MOU AMOU[135] AU IAŌ ABARBARASA AIŌ BAŌA CHPHĒNOURIS AŌB AMO ADŌNAI ŌIG IIII OTHTHOUŌ AORCHA ARORCHA CHAXYNNĒRE THIRARI OTHŌ CHOŌTH ERRE OCHŌ ANA ĒEPHRORE CHEIR ĒIN IĒIŌ ŌŌAAMADAA / OOO ŌŌŌ ŌŌA." Write [it] with a copper stylus.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This spell appears to be another version of a dream request; cf. *PGM* VII. 703–76. In this one, however, the title has been added by Preisendanz.

PGM VII. 756–94

***Prayer**: "I call upon you who have all forms and many names, double-horned goddess, Mene, whose form no one knows except him who made the entire / world, IAŌ, the one who shaped [you] into the twenty-eight shapes of the world so that they might complete every figure and distribute breath to every animal and plant, that it might flourish, you who grow from obscurity into light and leave light for darkness" / (beginning to leave by waning).

"And the first companion of your name is silence, the second a popping sound, the third groaning, the fourth hissing, / the fifth a cry of joy, the sixth moaning, the seventh barking, the eighth bellowing, the ninth neighing, / the tenth a musical sound, the eleventh a sounding wind, the twelfth a wind-creating sound, the thirteenth a coercive sound, the fourteenth a coercive emanation from perfection. /

"Ox, vulture, bull, beetle, falcon, crab, dog, wolf, serpent, horse, she-goat, asp, goat, he-goat, baboon, cat, lion, leopard, fieldmouse, deer, multiform, virgin, torch, / lightning, garland, a herald's wand, child, key.[136]

"I have said your signs and symbols of your name so that you might hear me, because I pray to you, mistress of the whole world. Hear me, you, the stable one,

134. On the ritual of the enthronement of the initiate, see A. D. Nock, "Notes on Beliefs and Myths," *JHS* 46 (1926):47–48; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 642, 680.

135. AMOU is Coptic for "come!" [R.K.R.]

136. See for the meaning of these symbols *PGM* LXX. 9–11 and nn.

the mighty one, / APHEIBOĒŌ MINTĒR OCHAŌ PIZEPHYDŌR CHANTHAR CHADĒ- 790
ROZO MOCHTHION EOTNEU PHĒRZON AINDĒS LACHABOŌ PITTŌ RIPHTHAMER
ZMOMOCHŌLEIE TIĒDRANTEIA OISOZOCHABĒDŌPHRA" (add the usual).
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 795–845

***Pythagoras' request for a dream oracle and Demokritos' dream divination:** 795
The entering angel is subordinate to the sun, and as subordinate to the sun he enters—so he enters in the form of your friend whom you recognize, with a shining star upon his head, and sometimes he enters / having a fiery star. Take, then, a 800
branch of laurel, and inscribe on each leaf a sign of the Zodiac with cinnabar, hav- 805
ing crowned yourself [with it]. (Also write its name in front of the sign of the Zodiac.) / This rite is divine. Hence, keep in your breast the things revealed to you by me even after the parting of my life, and if you perform them devoutly you will be successful.

They are:[137]

1. Aries	HAR MONTH[138] HAR THŌ CHE	810
2. Taurus	NEOPHOBŌTHA THOPS	
3. Gemini	ARISTANABA ZAŌ	
[4]. Cancer	PCHORBAZANACHAU	
[5]. Leo	ZALAMOIRLALITH	
[6]. Virgo	EILESILARMOU PHAI	815
[7]. Libra	TANTINOURACHTH	
[8]. Scorpio	CHORCHORNATHI	
9. Sagittarius	PHANTHENPHYPHLIA	
[10]. Capricorn	AZAZAEISTHAILICH	
[11]. Aquarius	MENNY THYTH IAŌ	820
[12]. Pisces	SERYCHARRALMIŌ	

Take still another leaf of the royal laurel and write with cinnabar [ink] this name of [the] living god: "CHALCHANA PHOE KOSKIANŌ (19) / ALĒMONTALL . . . ASEICH." 825
Having written it, do this for three days: wrap the leaves in a new handkerchief and lay it under your head. Having come when it is evening, while burning frankincense, speak this ***formula***:

"I call upon you, holy angel ZIZAUBIŌ, from the company of the Pleiades to whom you are subordinate / and serve for all things, [for] whatever she might com- 830
mand you, you great, indestructible, fire-breathing one, who cast the rope of heaven, through which rope all things turn upon earth. Also, you [do I call upon], as many of you angels who are placed under his [ZIZAUBIŌ's] power. Hence I call upon you all that you may come quickly / in this night, and reveal to me clearly and 835
firmly, concerning those matters I desire. I conjure you, O lord, who rise above the earth of the whole cosmic region, by the one ruling the whole inhabited world and the benefactor of all. Hence, I call upon you in this night, / and may you reveal all 840
things to me through dreams with accuracy, O angel ZIZAUBIŌ."

Go to your house and having incensed the branch, put it on your head and sleep pure. You must have [the place] where you perform absolutely pure, and the phylac-

137. In this list most of the numerical designations 1–12 can be recognized in the far right column of the papyrus manuscript, numbering downward from Aries to Pisces. These numbers were erroneously included in the magical symbols by Preisendanz.

138. Har-Month is Horus-Montu. Montu is the Egyptian god of war and therefore the proper counterpart of Ares, the ruler of the zodiacal sign Aries. Horus is also associated with this sign, for "Horus the Red" was the name of Mars which governs Aries. [R.K.R.]

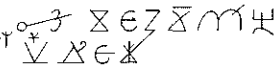
tery / where you have inscribed the name, put on your head and crown yourself with the branch.
*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell.

PGM VII. 846–61

***Shadow**[139] **on the sun**: After you have purified yourself, walk towards the sun in the 5th hour, crowned with a tail of a cat, and say: "ERBETH BIO . . . PH . . . PH . . . LL . . . III ANACH ABAREIR LATŌRŌCH ERBEBRITHA AMBRITHĒRA ŌRYKISTAR / LAILAM AŌR XARXI THADARI ĒSYRPHA PHŌRPHI AGĒRŌCHĒ BEBATHA BARA LIRYPŌ PHERCHĒ AMIARTH THERTHI GŌRĒ AMINACHARPHA IRGIRAMOU THARPHI THEIRIŌRYS PHERIA PHORPHOROPHI."

When you have said these things, you will see a shadow in the sun. / Close your eyes, look up, and you will see a shadow standing before you. Ask what you want, "ERBAIGŌRYTHARPHTHEIR:"

Phylactery: The tail and the characters with the circle [on which] you will stand after you have drawn it with chalk.

The characters are the following: / 

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 862–918

***Lunar spell of Claudianus**[140] **and [ritual] of heaven and the north star**[141] **over lunar offerings**: This papyrus itself, the personal property of the Twelve Gods, was found[142] in Aphroditopolis [beside] the greatest goddess, / Aphrodite Urania, who embraces the universe.

The preparation for Mistress Selene is made like this: Take clay from a potter's wheel and mix a mixture[143] with sulfur, and add blood of a dappled goat and mold an image of Mistress Selene the Egyptian,[144] as shown below, making her in / the form of the Universe. And make a shrine of olive wood and do not let it face the sun at all.[145] And after dedicating it with the ritual that works for everything, [put it away,] and thus it will be dedicated in advance. And anoint it also with lunar ointment and wreathe it. And late / at night, at the 5th hour, put it away, facing Selene in a [pure] room. And also offer the lunar offering and repeat the following in succession and you will send dreams, you will bind with spells. For the invocation to Selene is very effective. And after anointing yourself in advance [with] the ointment, appeal to her.

And this is the lunar spell: / "I call upon you, Mistress of the entire world, ruler of the entire cosmic system, greatly powerful goddess, gracious [daimon], lady of night, who travel through the air, PHEROPHORĒ ANATHRA . . . OUTHRA. Heed

139. On the significance of the shadow, see Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 163–64.

140. Preisendanz indicates the name Klaudianos may refer to a certain philosopher and alchemist appearing in a list in Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* 26, l. 1.

141. The identity of the constellation of the Bear with Aphrodite-Selene is late. See Plutarch, *Amat.* 19, and F. Schwenn, "Selene," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 2 (1921): 1142; W. Fauth, "Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri," *ZPE* 57(1984): 93–99. [R.K.R.]

142. On this literary claim of having found books, see W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike*, *Hypomnemata* 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1970).

143. The pleonasm (*μῖξον μίγματος*, "mix a mixture,") is not uncommon in *PGM*; see *PGM* VII. 972. [E.N.O.]

144. The Egyptian Selene is the mistress of the night sky. See Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 46. [R.K.R.]

145. Preisendanz has incorrectly translated *τὸ σύνολον* with "das Ganze." Cf. l. 915 below, for the sense of the instruction. [E.N.O.]

your sacred symbols and give a whirring sound,[146] [and] give a sacred angel or a holy assistant who serves / this very night, in this very hour, PROKYNĒ BAUBŌ PHOBEIOUS MĒE, and order the angel to go off to her, NN, to draw her by her hair, by her feet; may she, in fear, seeing phantoms, sleepless because of her passion for me and her love for me, NN, come to my consecrated bedroom."

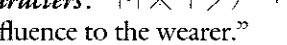
So goes the song. But when / you see the goddess turning red, know that she is now attracting, and then say: "Mistress, send forth your angel from among those who assist you, one who is leader of night, because I adjure [you] by your great names, because of which no aerial or infernal daimon can ignore you, MESOURPHABABOR BRAL IĒŌ ISI Ē. Come to me just as I have summoned you, / ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOĒRE KODĒRE SOIRE SOIRE ERESCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE SAMPSEI; hear my words, and send forth your angel who is appointed over the 1st hour: / MENEBAIN, and the one over the 2nd hour: NEBOUN, and the one over the 3rd hour: LĒMNEI, and the one over the 4th hour: MORMOTH, and the one over the 5th hour: NOUPHIĒR, and the one over the 6th hour: CHORBORBATH, and the one over the 7th hour: ORBEĒTH, and the one over the 8th hour: PANMŌTH, and the one over the 9th hour: / THYMENPHRI, and the one over the 10th hour: SARNOCHOIBAL, and the one over the 11th hour: BATHIABĒL, and the one over the 12th hour: ARBRATHIABRI, so that you may do this for me; that you may attract, that you may tame on this very night, and so that she, NN (or he, NN) be unable to have success until coming / to me, NN. [May she remain] fully satisfied, loving, desiring me, NN, and may she be unable to have intercourse with another man, except with me alone."

Now recite the spell many times, and it will attract and bind, and she will love you for all the time of her life. But when you attract her and she has had intercourse with you, then pick up / the goddess and stow her away, giving her magical material, and do not show her to the sun and she will not stop coming, desiring you.

You will act in the same way for the spell to send dreams until you accomplish what you want. The power of the spell is strong. The figure is below.[147]
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 919–24

***Hermes' wondrous victory charm** which you are to keep in your sandals: Take a tablet / gold like the sun[148] and inscribe on it with a bronze stylus and put it on whatever you want and see what it does on a boat, on a horse, and you will be amazed.

These are the characters: "  THŌOUTH, give victory, strength, influence to the wearer."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM VII. 925–39

***Another**[149] **tablet charm** but **one to subject**: Take a lead tablet from a yoke for mules and inscribe [on it] with a bronze stylus the following names and characters,

146. *ῥοῖζον*, "whirring," most likely refers to the sistrum of Hathor, her constant emblem. The Egyptian name for the sistrum (*sšš.t*) is onomatopoetic for the rustling sound made by the shaking of its jingles. See on this point Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 59–60. [J.B./R.K.R.]

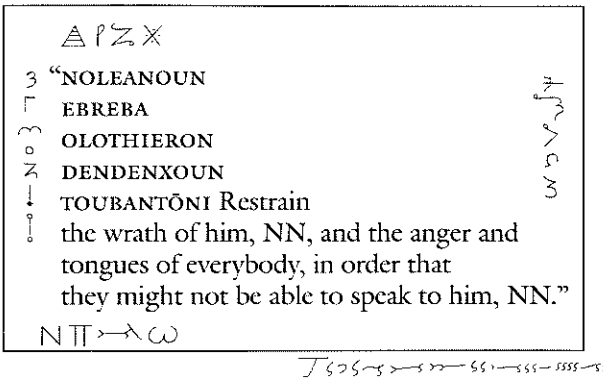
147. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. The figure is missing.

148. Literally, a "sun" or "solar" tablet, that is, a gold lamella.

149. Literally, "another one." However, the only connection with the preceding is the use of a metal tablet, hence the translation.

and put it under the sole of your left foot, after you have fumigated it carefully with incense.

/ ***The names and characters are***: 930



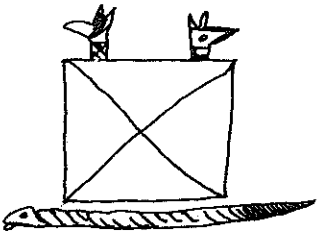
935

*Tr.: R. R. Hock. As shown here the papyrus illustrates how the lead tablet is to be drawn. The language of the curse suggests the spell was designed for use in a courtroom scene.

PGM VII. 940–68

***A charm to restrain anger** and a **charm to subject**: On clean papyrus write with pure myrrh ink these names together with the "stele:" 940

IŌERBĒTH
IŌERBĒ
IŌERB
IŌER
IŌE
IŌ
I



IŌPAKERBĒTH
ŌPAKERBĒTH
PAKERBĒTH
AKERBĒTH
KERBĒTH
ERBĒTH
RBĒTH
BĒTH
ĒTH
TH

945

950

IŌSESESRŌ
ŌSESESRŌ
SESESRŌ
ESESRŌ
SESRŌ
ESRŌ
SRŌ
RŌ
Ō

IŌPĒMPS
ŌPĒMPS
PĒMPS
ĒMPS
MPS
PS

955

960

"Come to me, you who are in the everlasting air,[150] you who are invisible, almighty, creator of the gods. Come to me, you who are the unconquerable daimon. Come to me, you who are never grieved for your own brother, Seth.[151] Come to me, / you fire-bright spirit. Come to me, you god who are not to be despised, you daimon, and put to silence, subordinate, enslave him, NN, to him, NN, and cause him to come under my feet."

965

*Tr.: R. R. Hock.

150. For this expression see the parallel in *PGM* IV. 507–8.

151. This refers to Seth's murder of his brother Osiris. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) esp. 81–82. [R.K.R.]

PGM VII. 969–72

*__A good potion__: Take a piece of hieratic papyrus and / write on it: "IAŌ Ō ESTABISASĒ TOUREŌSAN ATHIACHIŌOUĒNOU ACHĒMACHOU. Let her, NN, whom NN bore, love me, NN, when she has drunk the drink."[152]
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 973–80

*__A love spell of attraction through touch__: Take a scarab and boil it in a good unguent,[153] / and take the beetle and grind it together with the plant vetch, and place them in a glass cup and say the spell that follows twice: "THŌBARRABAU MICHAĒL MICHAĒL OSIRIS PHOR PHORBA ABRIĒL SESEGGENBARPHARAGGĒS IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAIE LAILAM, compel / her, NN, whom NN bore, to follow me should I touch her."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 981–93

*[__Love spell of attraction__: Purify yourself from everything for . . .] days and say [this] spell at sunrise: "Helios . . . but come here to me, [Mistress AKTIŌPHIS ERESCHIGAL] PERSEPHONĒ; / attract [to me and bind her], NN, whom NN bore, [to] the man who is [pining away] with [passion for her]; at this very moment, inflame her that she fulfill the nightly desires of NN, whom NN bore. Aye, lord NETHMOMAŌ [Helios, enter] into the [soul] of her, NN, whom NN bore, / and [burn her heart], her guts, [her liver, her spirit, her bones. Perform] successfully for me [this] charm,[154] immediately, immediately; [quickly, quickly]."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM VII. 993–1009

*Look [to the] east [and say: "You are the one who thunders,] the one who rains and / hurls lightning [at the] right time and dries [in the same way]; come to me, reveal" (add the usual or [write] whatever [you want], and anoint your hand).

Preparation of the ink: 3 dried figs, 3 stones of the Nicolaus date, 3 fragments of wormwood, and 3 lumps of myrrh; [mix together, / then] after pulverizing them, [write] the following formula. Isis uttered [it and] wrote [it] when, after taking up Osiris, she fit together his separated members. Asklepios[155] [saw] Osiris and admitted that he [could] not [put together] someone who was dead [even] with the help of Hebe[156] or of [anyone else].

[This is / ***the formula***: "Come to me, SESEGGENBARPHARAGGĒS SABAŌTH,] for [I conjure] you, [daimon] of the dead, [by] bitter [Necessity]; open [your ears and] hear [the] holy [words]." Also say [frequently] the [stele given] below.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This fragmentary spell has not preserved its title and so its exact purpose cannot be known.

152. On the pleonasm *πιοῦσα τὸν πότον*, cf. *PGM* VII. 867. [E.N.O.]

153. *μύρον* is translated by Preisendanz as "Myrrhenöl." Both translations, however, may be too specific for this unspecified aromatic concoction. [E.N.O.]

154. For this phrase, cf. *PGM* IV. 295, 2939; XX. 5.

155. Asklepios seems to have taken over the role of Anubis (thus Eitrem, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.).

156. The appearance of Hebe, daughter of Hera and Zeus, is surprising in this context. According to Euripides, *Heraklid.* 847; Ovid, *Met.* 9. 400, she made Iolaos young again, a deed of proverbial fame.

PGM VII. 1009–16

***Divination by a dream**: Say / to the . . . double . . . and rub your [head]; and [after descending], go to sleep without answering anyone.

"I call upon [you], Sabaoth, Michael, Raphael and you, [powerful archangel] Gabriel, do not [simply] pass by me [as you bring visions], but let one of you enter / and reveal [to me] concerning the NN matter, AIAI ACHĒNĒ IAŌ." Write these things [on leaves . . .] of laurel and place them by your head.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM VII. 1017–26

*"[Hail, Helios!] Hail, Helios! Hail, [Gabriel! Hail, Raphael! Hail,] Michael! Hail, whole [universe! Give me] the [authority] and power of SABAŌTH, the / [strength of IAŌ], and the success of ABLANATHANALBA, and [the might of] AKRAMMACHAMAREI. Grant that I [gain] the victory, as I have summoned you" (then write the 59-[letter] IAEŌ formula). "Grant [victory] because I know the names of the Good Daimon, HARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRITATĒNŌPHRI BRISAROUAZAR BASEN / KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPHI (add the usual) and accomplish this for me." Speak to [no one].

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. Although untitled, this spell is a "favor and victory" charm. Cf. *PGM* XCII for a similar request for the power and strength of various magical and mythological personalities.

PGM VIII. 1–63

***Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos**:[1]

Spell: "Come to me, lord Hermes, as fetuses do to the wombs[2] of women. Come to me, lord Hermes, who collect the sustenance of gods and men; [come] to me, NN, lord Hermes, and give me favor,[3] sustenance, / victory, prosperity, elegance, beauty of face, strength of all men and women. Your names in heaven: LAMPHTHEN OUŌTHI OUASTHEN OUŌTHI OAMENŌTH ENTHOMOUCH. These are the [names] in the 4 quarters of heaven. I also know what your forms are:[4] in the east you have the form / of an ibis, in the west you have the form of a dog-faced baboon, in the north you have the form of a serpent, and in the south you have the form of a wolf. Your plant is the grape which is the olive.[5] I also know your wood: ebony. I know you, Hermes, who you are and where you come from and what your city is: Hermopolis. Come to me, lord Hermes, many-named one, who know / the things hidden beneath heaven and earth. Come [to me], NN, lord Hermes; serve well, benefactor of the world. Hear me and make me agreeable to all the forms throughout the inhabited world. Open up for me the hands of everyone who [dispenses gifts][6] and compel them to give me what they have in their / hands. I also know your foreign names: 'PHARNATHAR BARACHĒL CHTHA.' These are your foreign names.

"Whereas Isis, the greatest of all the gods, invoked you in every crisis, in every

1. According to Diogenes Laertius, *Provem.* 2, Astrampsychos was the name of one or several Persian magicians. See E. Reiss, "Astrampsychos," *PRE* 2 (1896): 1796–97.

2. For parallels to this concept, see *PGM* III. 603 and n.

3. Here and throughout this section, χάρις is translated "favor," but the term comes close to meaning "grace." [E.N.O.]

4. The four animals represent the following deities: the ibis is Thoth, the dog-faced baboon is Anubis, the serpent is Uto, the wolf is another form of Anubis. Their respective positions are partially clear as well: Uto is often the north, Anubis the west (or the south), but why Thoth stands in the east remains a puzzle. [J.B.]

5. The underscored words are Coptic written with Greek letters.

6. Accepting the emendation of Preisendanz.

district, against gods and men and daimons, creatures of water and earth and held your favor, / victory against gods and men and [among] all the creatures beneath the world, so also I, NN, invoke you.[7] Wherefore, give me favor, form, beauty. Hear me, Hermes, benefactor, [inventor][8] of drugs; be easy to talk to and hear me, just as you have done everything in the form of your Ethiopian dog-faced baboon, / the lord of the chthonic daimons. Calm them all and give me strength, form (add the usual), and let them give me gold and silver and every sustenance which will never fail. Preserve me always, through all eternity, from drugs and deceits, every slander and evil tongues, from / every daimonic possession,[9] from every hatred of both gods and men. Let them give me favor and victory and business and prosperity. For you are I, and I am you;[10] your name is mine, and mine is yours. For I am your image.[11] If something should happen to me during this year or this month or this day or this hour, it will happen to the great / god ACHCHEMEN ESTROPH, the one inscribed on the prow of the holy ship. Your true name has been inscribed on the sacred stele in the shrine at Hermopolis where your birth is. Your true name: OSERGARIACH NOMAPHI. This is your name with fifteen / letters,[12] a number corresponding to the days of the rising moon; and the second name with the number 7, corresponding to those who rule the world,[13] with the exact number 365,[14] corresponding to the days of the year. Truly: ABRASAX. I know you, Hermes, and you know me. / I am you, and you are I. And so, do everything for me, and may you turn to me[15] with Good Fortune and Good Daimon, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

Take a piece of olive wood and make a small dog-faced baboon sitting down, wearing the winged helmet of Hermes / and a box on its back, and inscribe the name of Hermes on the papyrus and put it in the box. Write in myrrh ink, praying for what you do or what you wish, and after putting a lid on, burn incense and place it where you wish in the middle of the workshop.

And the name to be written is: "PHTHORON PHTHIONĒ THŌYTH." / In addition, write also these great names: "IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAIE ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMAREI, 365, give to the workshop business, favor, prosperity, elegance, both to NN himself and to his workshop, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The title of the spell is misleading, for the spell has nothing to do with love, sex, or attraction of a woman. This is a spell for some shopkeeper to ensure good business. There are traces of mysticism here. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 19–20. [E.N.O.]

7. On Thoth as Isis' chief helper, see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 132–36. [R.K.R.]

8. The translation follows Preisendanz's emendation. Cf. below, l. 33 and *PGM* V. 247–48.

9. *συνοχή* occurs only here in *PGM*, and its meaning is uncertain. The verb *συνέχω*, however, occurs at *PGM* IV. 1408; V. 126, 131, where each time it seems to refer to daimonic possession. [E.N.O.]

10. For this formula of mutual identity, see *PGM* VIII. 49–50; XIII. 795. See Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 165–68.

11. The term *εἴδωλον* may show philosophical influence. See *PGM* XII. 235–36; LXI. 53–55. See Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 165–67; J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 78–80, 83.

12. As the Greek text stands, the name has sixteen letters. The name should be separated OSERGARIACH NOMAPHI. The discrepancy must be in the first word because the second is correctly said to have seven letters. The confusion may be due to underlying Egyptian words. [J.B.]

13. That is, the seven planets.

14. Cf. l. 61. The number has the numerical value of Abraxas. See Glossary, s.v. "Abraxas."

15. The term *συρρέπω* is rare. See Betz, "The Delphic Maxim," 164 n. 49.

PGM VIII. 64–110

* **Request for a dream oracle of Besa**: / On your left hand draw Besa in the way shown to you below. Put around your hand a black cloth[16] of Isis and go to sleep without giving answer to anyone. The remainder of the cloth wrap around your neck.

This is the ink with which you draw: Blood of a crow, blood / of a white dove, lumps of incense, myrrh, black writing ink, cinnabar, sap of mulberry tree, rain-water, juice of a single-stemmed wormwood and vetch. With this write.

Prayer to him,[17] toward the setting sun:

"Borne[18] on the breezes of the wand'ring winds, /
Golden-haired Helios who wield the flame's
Untiring light, who drive in lofty turns
Around the great pole; who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing.
For from you come the elements arranged
By your own laws which cause the whole world to
Rotate through its four yearly turning points. /
If you go to the depths of earth and reach
The region of the dead, send up the truthful
Prophet out of that innermost abode.

I beg you LAMPSOUĒR SOUMARTA BARIBAS DARDALAM PHORBĒX, lord, send forth your holy daimon ANOUTH ANOUTH SALBANACHAMBRĒ BRĒITH, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; in this night, come." / If you wish to call him also for a direct vision, [take] a strip [of linen], soak it in sesame oil you have mixed [with] cinnabar, and place the linen as a wick in a lamp that is not colored red. The lamp should be lighted with sesame oil. Place it opposite you, say the formula, and he will come to you. Have near you / a small tablet so that you may write as much as he says,[19] lest after going to sleep you forget.

"I call upon / you, the headless god, having your face beside your feet,[20] the one who hurls lightning and thunders; you are the one whose mouth is continually full of fire, the one placed over Necessity. I call upon you, the god placed over Necessity, IAEŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ZABARBATHIAŌ; you are the one lying on a coffin of myrrh, having resin and asphalt as an elbow cushion,[21] [the one] whom they call ANOUTH ANOUTH. Rise up, daimon. You are not a daimon, but the blood / of the two falcons[22] who chatter and watch before the head of Osiris. You are the oracle-giving god SALBANACHAMBRĒ ANOUTH ANOUTH SABAŌTH ADŌNAI IĒ IE IĒ IE" (add the usual). Go to sleep on a rush mat, having an unbaked brick beside your head.

What you draw is / of this sort: A naked man, standing, having a diadem on his head, and in his right hand a sword that by means of a bent [arm] rests on his neck,

16. See *PGM* VII. 227 and n.

17. The translation here is tentative because the reading of the papyrus is uncertain. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

18. These dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 1–6, 11 (7–8 [the identification of lines in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 239, is incorrect: v. 13 is not included here]). For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see *PGM* I. 315–27; IV. 436–61; 1957–89. [E.N.O.]

19. Cf. the memory spells in *PGM* I. 233–47; II. 16–20, 40–42.

20. See on this point *PGM* VII. 234 and n.

21. See for a parallel *PGM* VII. 237.

22. See for the two falcons and their watch *PGM* VII. 239 and n.

and in the left hand a wand. If he reveals to you, wipe off your hand with rose perfume. This is the figure / of the rite:



*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 64–74; 81–110) and E. N. O'Neil (ll. 74–81). This particular charm in its present form is actually two charms (a request for a dream oracle and a request for a direct vision) directed to Bes, an originally non-Egyptian god who came to Egypt early and was given many functions, one of which was to provide oracles. The request for a dream oracle contains preparatory instructions and a hymn to the sun that also appears in *PGM* IV. 436–46 and 1957–68. The request for a direct vision has instructions and a formula of invocation addressed to the "headless god." This invocation also appears in *PGM* VII. 233–48 and makes use of language that can also be found in a boast of the "headless god" in *PGM* IV. 145–58.

PGM IX. 1–14

*"'I'll give you rest from wrath and soothe your raging.'[1] Come, lord BAINCHŌŌŌCH, with your father ANIBAINCHŌŌŌCH, with your mother CHECHPHIŌ, with your two bodyguards CHENGĒBIŌCHTHŌ MYSAGŌTH ECHE ŌŌ MYSAGŌTH ACHPHIPHIŌ IAIA ŌCH SEBAU PHRĒ IŌ RĒXICHTHŌN YŌĒŌ AEAEĒIOYŌ CHYCHBACHYCH BAUACHYCH BAKAXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH MENEBACHYCH BADĒDOPHŌ BAINCHŌŌŌCH. Bring into subjection, put to silence, and enslave / every race of people, both men and women, with their fits of wrath, and those who are under the earth beneath the feet of him, NN, especially so-and-so (add the usual, as you wish), for you have put beneath my feet, like my robe, the heart of SABAŌTH."

On the back of the lamella: "EULAMŌ SISIRBBAIĒRSESI PHERMOU CHNOUŌR ABRASAX. Bring into subjection, enslave, and put to silence the soul, the wrath [of him, NN], because I adjure you by the / awful Necessity MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHMOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX LEPETAN LEPETAN PHNOUNOBOĒ." On the front [write] the person's name.

The introduction to the rite:

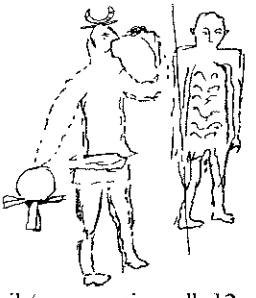
"I'll[2] give you rest from wrath
And soothe your raging.
Come silently and bring
Silence and keep it.
Stop ev'ry wrath in souls
And melt all anger
Of those with temper,

because I call upon your authentic name, BAINCHŌŌŌCH." Say this name, [written] at the top of the metal leaf: "IAŌMORMOROTOKONBAI."

1. The introduction to this spell cites only the first line of the "prologue" given in ll. 12–14.

2. These lines have been arranged in iambic trimeters and are the reconstructed Hymn 30. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 266. [E.N.O.]

[ON VERSO]:



*Tr.: R. F. Hock and E. N. O'Neil (verse sections, ll. 12–13). This spell to subject and silence gives instructions for engraving a so-called curse tablet, presumably made of lead.

PGM X. 1–23

*[While drinking] and eating take the first [morsels] and place them [into] a small dish[1] [of the temple while speaking] thus: "NN, may you have been sent [to me as a helper] to fulfill the commands / of the gods. My name is ŌI . . . IAŌ SABAŌTH ZABARBATHIAŌ [ADŌNAI . . .]; let her, [NN,] love me, NN, with a divine [and] indelible [love]." »»»»»»——

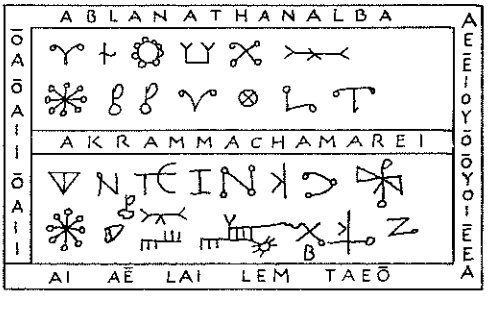
Spell that is spoken: / "I adjure you and the spirit which is with you. To you speaks the great and powerful god, SATHIS [PEPHOOUTH MOU]RŌPH ANOUR[2] OUPH[IRIGCH]: let her, NN, be well [disposed toward me]; let her see me and, having seen me, let her fall in love with me, and no one [will be able] to speak in opposition, PHTHOROCHĒB ATHA / . . . N THARAMĒCHI EOPSĒRIPSOU ACHORSŌTHIA . . . THIE Ē NOUSOU PHTHAPA APOUOROTH . . . Ē CHOADOUSTRŌ PRŌTHIAPSIŌR . . . S CHOMARCHŌCH CHANACHOUŌRRĒLOUKOUMPHA."

[***The spell in another form***: "May she, NN,] fall in love when she sees[3] [me, and] may she [never] resist [me], / O great and powerful god, because of modesty." And when you see her, NN, take a long, deep breath three times while staring at her, and then she smiles at you. For [this is] a sign of [her love]. »»»»»»——

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The text clearly preserves a love spell, but the beginning of the text is mutilated. The restoration by Preisendanz remains tentative, and so is the translation.

PGM X. 24–35

Charm to restrain anger** which works in all cases, for it works against enemies, / accusers, brigands, phobias, and nightmares: Take a gold or silver lamella and engrave on it the characters and names, and when you have consecrated it, wear it in purity. ***Now here it is:



*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

1. *παραψίδιον* is taken here to be a misspelling of *παροψίδιον*, referring to a small food dish. [E.N.O.]

2. ANOUR is Egyptian *In-ḥr* (Greek Onouris), whose major role in mythology was to bring back the angry goddess Tefnut. Cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 545–47, s.v. "Onuris." [R.K.R.]

3. On the idea of love at first sight, a typically hellenistic idea, see, for example, Theocritus, *Idyll* 2.

PGM X. 36–50

Another way*: **Apollo's charm to subject: Take a lamella [or metal leaf][4] from a yoke for mules and engrave on it the following names and put a frog's tongue in it.

Spell, when the metal leaf with the frog's tongue is put / into your right sandal: "Just as these sacred names are being trampled, so also let him, NN (add the usual), the trouble-maker, be trampled."

"ABRASAX 

			IŌCHCH
AEĒIOYŌ	CHYCH	MICHAĒL	NYSEU
EĒIOYŌA	CHYBACHYCH	RAPHAĒL	NYCHIEU
ĒIOYŌAE	BACHACHYCH	GABRIĒL	AŌCHĒ
IOYŌAEĒ	BAKAXICHYCH	SOURIĒL	MECHEU
OYŌAEĒI	BAZABACHYCH	ZAZIĒL	IAŌ
YŌAEĒIO	BADĒTOPHŌTH	BADAKIĒL	SABAŌTH
ŌAEĒIOY.	BAINCHŌŌŌCH.	SYLIĒL.	ADŌNAI.

 ABRASAX  Subject him, NN, to me, / immediately; quickly, quickly."

 Z 

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XI.a 1–40

***Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman**: Take Typhon's skull[1] and write the following characters on it with the blood of a black dog: "  SABERRA." Then, going to a suitable place, by a river, the sea, or at the fork of a road, in the middle of the night put the skull / on the ground, place it [under] your left foot, and speak as follows.

The formula: "ERITHYIA[2] MEROPĒ GERGIRŌ CHĒTHIRA ANAPEROUCH . . . LYRŌPHIA GĒGETHIRA LOLYN GOUGŌGĒ AMBRACHA BI . . . AEBILĒ MARITHAIA MPROUCHE ABĒL ETHIRAŌ AP . . . ŌCHORIĒLA MŌRĒTHIRA PHECHIRŌ ŌSRI PHOIRA AMERI . . . PHĒ. OUTHĒRA / GARGERGIŌ TITHEMYMĒ MĒRAPSĒCHIR AŌRIL. Come, appear, O goddess called Mistress of the House."[3]

After you say this, you will behold sitting on an ass a woman of extraordinary loveliness, possessing a heavenly beauty, indescribably fair and youthful. As soon as you see her, make obeisance and say: "I thank [you], lady for appearing to me. / Judge me worthy of you. May your Majesty be well disposed to me. And accomplish whatever task I impose on you."

---

82 (on a magical ritual), a line which Virgil, *Ecl.* 8. 41, and the author of the *Ciris* (l. 430) copied. See Gow's note to *Idyll* 2. 82, Theocritus, vol. II, 51–52. [E.N.O.]

4. The translation follows the text of Preisendanz, which has the editor's insertion (ἢ πέταλον) to conform with the occurrence of the noun in l. 39. The emendation, however, may not be necessary.

1. "Typhon's skull" is the semantic equivalent of the skull of an ass. See C. Colpe, "Geister (Dämonen)," *RAC* 9 (1978): 620–21; H. Kees, "Seth," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 4 (1923): 1896–1922; esp. 1899, 1920–21; W. Fauth, "Seth-Typhon, Onoel und der eselköpfige Sabaoth," *Oriens Christianus* 57 (1973): 79–120.

2. This seems to be the reading of the papyrus, but it is not certain. Preisendanz treats the word as a proper name. One may also read ειλειθυια on the grounds that both it and μεροπε which follows immediately are names suitable for the goddess Nephthys. [J.B.]

3. "Mistress of the house" is a direct translation of the Egyptian name Nephthys, sister of Isis, and (as is stressed in this spell) wife of Seth. Thus she is fittingly associated with an ass. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 519–21, s.v. "Nephthys"; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 305, 447. [J.B./R.K.R.]

The goddess will reply to you, "What do you have in mind?"

You say, "I have need [of you] for domestic service."

At that, she will get off the ass, shed her beauty, and will be an old woman.[4] And the old woman will say to you, "I will serve and attend you."

After she tells you this, the goddess will again put on her own beauty, which she had just taken off, / and she will ask to be released.[5]

But you say to the goddess, "No, lady! I will use you until I get her."

As soon as the goddess hears this, she will go up to the old lady, and will take her molar tooth and a tooth from the ass and give both to you; and after that it will be impossible for the old woman to leave you, unless perhaps you want to release her. From that time forth, you will receive a bounty of great benefits, for everything that your soul desires will be accomplished by her. She will guard all your possessions[6] / and in particular will find out for you whatever anyone is thinking about you.[7]

Indeed she will tell you everything and will never desert you: such is her store of good will toward you. But if ever you wish, there is a way to release her (but never do this!). Take her tooth and the ass's tooth, / make a bonfire, and throw them into the fire, and with a shriek the old woman will flee without a trace. Do not be prone to release her, since it will be impossible for you to replace her.

But do release the goddess, when you are sure that the old woman will serve you, by speaking as follows: "MENERPHER PHIĒ PRACHĒRA LYLŌRI / MĒLICHARĒ NĒCHIRA." When the old woman hears this, the goddess will mount the ass and depart.

The phylactery to be used throughout the rite: The skull of the ass. Fasten the ass's tooth with silver and the old lady's tooth with gold, and wear them always; for if you do this, it will be impossible for / the old woman to leave you. The rite has been tested.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. See on this spell, for general background and additional literature, E. L. Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality," *ANRW* II, 16, 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978) 1652–99, esp. 1686; J. Bergman, "Nephthys découverte dans un papyrus magique (*PGM* XIa.)," in *Melanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier: Editions de l'université de Montpellier, 1984) 1–11.

PGM XIb. 1–5

***To make men who have drinking at a symposium appear to have donkey snouts[8] to outsiders, from afar**: In the dark [take] a wick from a lamp and dip it in donkey's blood; make a new lamp / with the new wick and touch the drinkers.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. For similar "gimmicks," see the translation and notes on *PGM* VII. 167–85. The translation adopts the restorations mentioned in the *apparatus criticus* of Preisendanz.

4. At this point, the old woman and the goddess assume separate identities. [H.M.]
5. On this point see *PGM* LXX. 11 and Betz, "Fragments," 291.
6. Reading with Eitrem *πάντα δέ σοι*, instead of Preisendanz's *καὶ τάδε σοι*. [H.M.]
7. Or "whatever anyone is plotting against you." [J.B.]
8. LSJ, s.v., cites this as a gloss (a plant name). But here and in Psellos, *Lect. Mirab.* (A. Westermann, *Paradoxographi Graeci* [Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963; repr. of 1839 ed.] 147, 11; the *paignion* of Anaxilaos in Wellmann, *APAW.PH* 1928, p. 79, 7) the term can be rendered literally "donkey-faced" or "ass-snouted." The *paignion* of Anaxilaos reads: "If you wish your wife to appear 'ass-snouted' when she looks in the mirror, rub her mirror with donkey's tears." [R.D.K.]

PGM XIc. 1–19

*You write this on hieratic papyrus and [place . . . :]

"I adjure you, by the god
IABŌ: turn the heart of her,
NN, whom NN bore, to NN,
whom / NN bore, at the
command of IABŌ, MASKELLEI
MASKELLŌ PHAINOUKENTABAŌ;
cause me, NN, to obtain
intercourse,
God the [BAR]BARAI
let her, NN, [whom
NN bore, come
beneath my] / roof,
and let her love
[me, NN, whom NN
bore], for [all] the
time / [of her] life,
lusting [for me] with
[eternal] love, immediately,
[immediately; quickly,
quickly]."

ABLANATHANALBA
BLATHANABA
NATHANDA
ANATHANA
NABANAEI
ABTHŌŌTH
BARBACHA
ABRASAX
AŌ[IAMARI]
SERPHOUTHEI
E EI EI Ē I Ē I AAAAAAA IIIIIII

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PDM xii. 1–5

*". . . I am NA, come (?) . . . farmer (?), the millions of falcons, / this young man. . . ."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 32–33, col. II*, ll. 1–5. The first line of this invocation of an uncertain purpose is missing. Section titles are indicated in the Demotic texts only when they appear in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic magical papyri).

PDM xii. 6–20

*A ring to cause praise: You bring a ring of iron and you bring a white stone which is in the shape of a grape [which] grows / as a fresh plant in the water, there being [a] daimon with the face [of] a falcon . . . together with his snake tail,[1] there being a nemes headdress (?) in (?) the . . . eye whose face goes to the. . . . Write / this name on it . . . saying, "ABRAXAM PHILEN . . . CHNI . . . ," put a limb of a lion under it together with a piece of gold; put them under it; and / make . . . it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 32–33, col. II*, ll. 6–20.

PDM xii. 21–49

*"Open to me, O heaven! Open to me, O earth! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me! I am Horus. Open to me! I went forth from the necropolis of Wen-nefer.

1. For a composite deity, cf. *PGM* XII. 121ff.; XIII. 50 with n.

May Iymhotep[2] the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh, come to me tonight! May he tell me a prescription which is fitting to the illness / which has happened to me, together with the method of [using] it, there being no falsehood therein! Bear witness! Bear witness![3] O Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh, and put this . . . of reed (?) on yourself while the bark of *ʿrw*-wood is under you, while the . . . of . . . of Ptah is on you. Is it what is fitting? May he, Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, / born of Kherti-ankh bear witness (?) to the fury against you in the presence of Nephthys saying,

'O Shu, live! O soul, live! Live, O Shu, live! Live, O Osiris! Live, O Ethiopian soul! Live, O Sokar who endures (?) who is [on] board . . . harbor . . . entire (?), he having ascended. Live O great (secret) image of Egypt who rests in the middle of Memphis, the place of Ptah' (another [manuscript] says: 'the House of the obelisk') 'without a prescription! If I am called / about it, . . . calls to me about a prescription, I shall tell him the prescription which is fitting to the illness in which he is.' Is it what is fitting? May Iymhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Kherti-ankh bear witness (?). Come to me, O battler! Tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness [which] has happened to me! Come to me, O great of face . . . O . . . the peak . . . soul! Come to me, O one whose face / is as the face of a falcon . . . hair of . . . ! O he who rests . . . necropolis of (?) Heliopolis (?). I (?) am the son . . . after swallowing. O son of the great Shu. Come to me . . . of man upon his egg (?) . . . of Thoth and his father! Come to me, O (?) . . . who is in the great ennead, not knowing his . . . , the . . . ! Are you steadfast against me, not to tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened / in me? I will say much (?) . . . which is in . . . , the mysterious one (?), who is in . . . the heart of the . . . the . . . of . . . of . . . of the . . . soul" (*another* [*manuscript*] says: "Ruler of the western half"). "You will not live in the . . . without having come to me tonight to tell me a prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened to me, together with the method of using it, [there] being no falsehood therein."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 35–37, col. I*, ll. 1–29. The purpose of this prayer is to secure a remedy for an unstated disease.

PGM XII. 1–13

***Rite**: Unfold a funeral shroud at night and carry it;[4] also take a sword.

Then say: "THERMOCH CHTHABOI ACHAPH MARMILYCHA BERTHIŌCH CHARĒL . . . BAIOCH . . . THACH DĒRPHO PHIRBSAT (?) SŌTHŌRAI PHAUXAI IŌA MEILICH IABAI EIA KARSE REUTHRA ENROUCH ZERPHRĒCH / PSERPHERCHŌ THNERBĒCH CHARCHERBER YEICH PHCHYAR PA . . . CHA MILCHITHER CHLĒLŌR PHACHILER MAZ MACHAIRIŌCH."

After you say this, the Maiden will come carrying torches.[5] Say: "PHERTHELILŌCH PEIY . . . ," and her firebrands will be extinguished, and she will stand there in distress and complain.

You say, "Do such-and-such and I will light your torches." If she sends a dream, you are to light them and she will fly away. / If you send her to kill somebody, give

2. For Imhotep, the vizier and architect of the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara later divinized as the patron of scribes and physicians, see Dietrich Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (München: Deutscher Kunst Verlag, 1977); idem, "Imhotep," *LdÄ* 3, 145–48. [J.H.J.]

3. The words "Bear witness!" were crossed out by the original scribe.

4. It is not clear what the conjurer is to carry. Is it the funeral shroud? [H.M.]

5. The reference is to Kore (Persephone). See the picture on the Niinnion Tablet in G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), fig. 88, and the discussion, pp. 213–21.

her the sword and she will give you the torches and return with the sword covered with blood. Tell her that the torches belong to her; they will catch fire, and she will take flight.

While doing this, say: "MŌZĒRPHER TACHCHAPS." Attach a phylactery[6] to your right and your left hand at night and wear it.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 14–95

*Eros[7] as assistant. / A ritual of Eros: ***consecration and preparation*** (among his operations, he sends dreams or causes sleeplessness; and he releases from an evil spirit, if you use him in a proper and holy manner, for he can perform every operation). Take [wax] of Etruria[8] and mix with it [every] kind of aromatic plant. Then make a statue of a torch-bearing Eros that is eight dactyls[9] high and has a large base to support it. Put a bow / and arrow in [his left] hand, and fashion a Psyche[10] of the same sort as Eros.

When you have completed all this, conduct a three-day consecration. You are to present to Eros fresh fruits of every kind and 7 cakes, 7 pinecones, every kind of sweetmeat, 7 lamps not colored red; also, [three] daggers, votive tablets, a bow and arrow, dates, a bowl mixed with honey wine.

After you make the statues and the presentation as indicated, next place your Eros on a table laden with the fruit / and holding both the 7 lamps, ablaze with clear olive oil, and all else listed so as to win the favor of wondrous Eros.

On the first day, after you put him on the table and arrange things as prescribed—and I describe its form in full for you, that you may understand and lack no detail—build a pure altar; that is, take two unbaked bricks and form them into 4 horn-shaped objects, on which you lay fruit-bearing branches. / Take also on the first day 7 living creatures and strangle them: one cock, a partridge, a wren, a pigeon, a turtledove, and any two nestlings you can get hold of. Do not make a burnt offering[11] of any of these; instead, you are to take them in hand and choke them, all the while holding them up to your Eros, until each of the creatures is suffocated and their breath[12] enters him. After that, place the strangled creatures on the altar together with aromatic plants / of every variety.

On the second day, strangle a male chick before your Eros and burn it as a whole offering.

On the 3rd day, place another chick on the altar; while conducting this portion of the ritual, consume the chick by yourself, allowing no one else to be present. I assure you, if you perform the above actions in a holy and pure manner, you will have complete success.

First formula to be spoken while making the burnt offering: / "I call upon you, who are on the couch of beauty, who are in the mansion of desire: serve me and, no matter where I send you, always bear the message I give you, likening yourself to some god (or goddess) such as men and women there worship, announcing all that is written out or imparted to you in speech, quickly!

6. It is not certain what the phylactery is, although it may be the shroud.
7. Cf. *PGM* VII. 479 for a parallel.
8. For this substance, see *PGM* IV. 3131.
9. That is, the measure of the finger's breadth, about 7/10 of an inch.
10. On Eros and Psyche, see *PGM* IV. 1741 and n.
11. This refers to the so-called holocaust, in which the sacrificial gifts are burnt completely (cf. *PGM* IV. 2396, 3148–49). See Nilsson, *GGR* I, 132; J. Milgrom, *IDB.S* (1976): 769–70 on *ʿŌlâ*.
12. For this peculiar purpose of sacrifice, see *PGM* XIII. 377.

"Fire overtook the greatest phantoms, and heaven swallowed unawares the orb of the holy scarab / called 'PHŌREI.'[13] Scarab, the winged ruler in midheaven, was be- 45
headed, dismembered, and wasted his greatness and glory; they confined him and took another as master of heaven.[14] You take note, and serve as my minister to anyone I choose, man or woman.

"Come to me, O master of heaven, who shine upon the world of men; serve as my minister, whether to men or to women, whether to the small or to the great, and / compel them always to do everything written by me. 50

"Come to me, O master of forms, and arouse men and women for me; force them by your ever-strong and mighty authority to do everything written or spoken by me, EISAPHSANTA PHOUREI ARNAI SYSYN PHREŌ[15] RIŌBAIOSOI, you are ATEPHTHO AŌREL ADŌNAI; afflict them with fear, trembling, terror; trouble their thoughts / with fear of you. And do everything prescribed for [me], NN. If you 55
disobey me, the sun's orb will burn out and darkness will cover the whole world. The Scarab will come down until you do for me everything I write or say—in strict obedience to me; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

Second [formula] to be spoken while making the burnt offering: "I conjure you by the one who controls the universe, laid the four foundations, and mixed the 4 / winds. You are the one who sends lightning, you are the one who thunders, you 60
are the one who shakes, you are the one who overturned all things and set them up again. Cause all men and all women to turn to love me, the man NN (or the woman NN), from the very hour when I make my petition with this binding charm,[16] on order from the most high god,[17] IAŌ ADŌNEAI ABLANATHANALBA. You are the one who embraces the Graces on the mountain top, LAMPSRĒ; you are the one who holds Necessity in your right hand, BELTEPIACH; you are the / one who looses and 65
binds, SEMESIELAMP EKRIPH. Obey me from this day forth even unto all time."

Third formula for the same offering: "I call upon you, gods of heaven and gods of earth, gods aerial and gods terrestrial. And I conjure you by the one who controls the 4 foundations, to accomplish for me, the man NN (or the woman NN) such-and-such a matter and to give me favor, sweet speech, charm with all men / and all women under creation, that they may be submissive to my every wish, in- 70
asmuch as I am the slave of the most high god, the almighty who controls the universe, MARMARIŌTH LASIMIŌLĒTH ARAAS . . . S SĒBARBAŌTH NOŌ AŌI ŌIĒR (add the spice)[18] AAAAA ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ. I give orders to Eros, who is charged with carrying out these my commandments, inasmuch as I am god of all gods, 75
IAŌN SABAŌTH ADŌNAI [ABRASAX] IARABBAI / THŌURIŌ THANAKERMĒPH PANCHONAPS."

The above formulas must be used and [spoken] during the 3 days if you are to endow the rite with full potency. But when you dispatch your Eros to accomplish

13. The relationship between the holy scarab and the name PHŌREI is not clear. Cf. the *voces magicae* below, l. 53 (PHOUREI) and the apparatus ad loc.

14. The reference to scarab mythology in ll. 45–47 is syncretistic and reminiscent of the dismemberment of Osiris. See S. Eitrem, "Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magie," in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101.

15. PHREŌ is "Prē the great." It should be noted that the sun god is in conjunction with the scarab. [R.K.R.]

16. The papyrus reads παραψιμω (LSJ, s.v.: "charm acting by means of touch"); the translation follows Preisendanz's reading παραφιμω ("Zauberzwang"). See the apparatus ad loc.

17. For this epithet of IAŌ ADŌNAI, cf. *PGM* IV. 1068; XVI. 9. See G. Bertram, *TDNT* 8 (1972): 618–19, s.v. "ὕψιστος."

18. The papyrus reads ἄρτημα, "ornament"; Preisendanz takes it to be ἄρτυμα, "spice."

your desires, utter only the formula below, removing him from the table together with the things presented to him; write instructions as to what you desire on a small piece of papyrus.

Formula to be written on the piece of papyrus: "You are the babe, the living god,
80 the creature of beauty[19] . . . SAMMŌTH / SABAŌTH TABAŌTH SORPHĒ SEOURPHOUTH MOUI SI SRŌ[20] SALAMA GŌUTH ETHEIMĒOUS OUSEIRI HESEIĒ E PHTHA NOUTH SATHAĒ ISIS[21] ACHTHI EPHANOUN BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ ASĒĒAĒI. Go [to] every place and every dwelling to which I send you, to him, NN, [born of] her, NN (or to her, NN, [born of] her, NN), likening yourself to a god (or goddess) he [or she] worships. Force him to do such-and-such a matter (write as much as you wish on the piece of papyrus along with the formula). Awake, terrify him! I
85 conjure you / by the [holy] and precious name to which all creation is subject: PASICHTHŌN IBARBOU THARAKTITHEANŌ BABOUTHA KŌCHED, Amen.[22] Let such-and-such a matter come to pass immediately, immediately. . . .

". . . of the Red Sea, the one who drives the winds together from the 4 regions, the one who sits upon the lotus[23] and illumines the whole world; for you throne in the form of a crocodile, and in southerly regions you are a winged serpent. Such
90 now in very / truth is your nature, IŌIŌ BARBAR ADŌNAI KOMBALIŌPS THŌB IARMIŌOUTH. Come to me; heed this my request for service, this my request for action, O most great one, HARSAMŌSI MOUCHA LINOUCHA robber ADŌNEAI. I am he whom you met at the foot of the holy mount and to whom you gave the knowledge of your most great [name], which knowledge will I even keep in sanctity, imparting it to no one save the very initiates into your own holy mysteries, IAR-
95 BATHATRA MNĒPSIBAŌ / CHNĒMEŌPS. Come! Submit to this service and be my assistant."

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 96–106

***Himerios'[24] recipes:**

Drawing made with Typhonian ink:[25] A fiery red poppy, juice from an artichoke, seed of the Egyptian acacia, red Typhon's ocher, asbestos, quicklime, wormwood with a single stem, gum, rainwater.

100 ***To do well at the workshop***: / On the egg of a male bird[26] write and then bury the egg near the threshold where you live. "CHPHYRIS,[27] egg, which is CHORBAI SANACHARSŌ AMOUN ☩ SPHĒ SPHĒ GAKNEPHĒ SIETHŌ ☩ NOUSI NOUSI, you are the sacred egg from birth, which is SELBIOUS BATHINI PHNIĒIAĒO AŌĒ AŌĒ AŌIAŌI A PHIAEA THŌUTH IAŌ SELETĒA THEŌĒPH OXYMBRĒ ĒĒĒ III."

19. The words "babe, living god, creature of beauty" translate Egyptian epithets: *ḫwn*, "youth," *ntr ʿnḫ*, "living god," and *Wn-nfr*, "Onnophris." See *PGM* IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

20. For SERPOUTH MOUI SI SRO, "Lotus, lion, son (?) of Ram," cf. *PGM* III. 659 and n.

21. USIRI HESIE PHTHA NOUTH . . . ISI is Egyptian and means "Osiris, drowned one, Ptah, Nut . . . Isis." On Hesies, see Glossary, s.v. "Esies"; for Nut, the sky god, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 536–38, s.v. "Nut." [R.K.R.]

22. The *amen* points to Jewish influence. Cf. *PGM* VII. 271; XXIIb. 21, 25.

23. For this epithet, see *PGM* II. 101 and n.; IV. 1684; LXI. 32.

24. The papyrus reads ημεριου, which Preisendanz assumes is a reference to the fourth-century physician Himerios. See H. Goossen, "Himerios, 2," *PRE* 8 (1913):1635.

25. Cf. for this ink *PGM* VII. 653; XIa. 2.

26. Preisendanz translates "on the male egg of a bird." The idea is less of a problem when the egg is taken to be an image of the primordial egg, in which the first god comes to existence. See *PGM* III. 145 and n.

27. CHPHYRIS is the scarab. See *PGM* VII. 584 and n.

The prayer concerning the egg: "Great God, give favor, business to me and to this place where the egg lies, in the house I do my business, SELEPĒL THEŌĒPH and / Good Daimon, send to this place every business and good daily profit. You are my work. You are the great Ammon,[28] who dwells in heaven. Come, help me."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 107–21

***Charm of Agathokles[29] for sending dreams**: Take a completely black cat that died a violent death, make a strip of papyrus and write with myrrh the following, together with the [dream] you want sent,[30] and place it into the mouth of the cat. /

"I am lying,[31] I am lying, I am the great one, the one lying in [the mouth], MOMMOU THŌTH NANOUMBRĒ CHARICHA KENYRŌ PAARMIATH, [to whom belongs] the holy name, IAOU IEĒ IEOU AĒŌI, the one above the heaven; arise, YMEU NENNANA SENNANA ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI ABRASILOUA LAMPSŌREI EEI EIEI AŌĒĒŌ THĒOURIS[32] ŌA EPEIDEU EPERGA BRIŌN AMĒN. Reveal to him, NN, concerning this."

Compelling charm: "Come to me, NN, [you who] established the . . . by your own power, / you who rule the whole world, the fiery god.[33] Reveal to him, NN, THARTHAR THAMAR ATHATHA MOMMOM THANABŌTH APRANOU BAMBALĒA CHRĒTH NABOUSOULĒTH ROMBROU THARAĒL ALBANA BRŌCHRĒX ABRANA ZOUCHĒL. Hear me, because I am going to say the great name, AŌTH, before whom every god prostrates himself and every daimon shudders, for whom every angel completes those things which are assigned. Your divine name according to the seven[34] is AEĒIOYŌ IAYŌĒ EAŌOYEĒŌIA. I have spoken the / glorious name, the name for all needs. Reveal to NN, lord god."

This is the name; this Apollobex[35] also used.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 121–43

***Zminis[36] of Tentyra's spell for sending dreams**:[37] Take a clean linen cloth, and (according to Ostanes) with myrrh ink draw a figure on it which is humanlike in

28. For the invocation of Amon and Thoth in conjunction with the cosmic egg, see Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 178.

29. Nothing is known about this author.

30. Or "to whom you want to send this dream." [J.B.]

31. The papyrus has κειμι. It could be a reference to the Egyptian *kemi*, *kmj*, "the black one," an epithet of Osiris. See Schmidt, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 55 (1935): 1174, and the apparatus ad loc.

32. THĒOURIS is the Egyptian *T3-wr.t*, "Thoeris," the hippopotamus goddess who protected the bedside. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 530–35, s.v. "Nilpferd." [R.K.R.] For the Greek name, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 19, 358C: Θούηρις; and Griffiths, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* 347–48.

33. See on this epithet Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 118–20, 164.

34. That is, the seven vowels.

35. Apuleius, *Apol.* 90 calls Apollobex a famous magician, and Pliny, *NH* 30. 9, makes him the forerunner of Demokritos, who copied his works from him. But the name is also an epithet of Horus. See E. Riess, "Apollobex," *PRE* 1 (1894): 2847; Hopfner, *OZ* II, sec. 210; K. Preisendanz, "Apollobex," *PRE* 20 (1941): 1311–12.

36. The magician Zminis of Tentyra (Dendera on the Nile) is not otherwise known. See K. Preisendanz, "Zminis," Roscher 6 (1936): 762.

37. On dream sending, see I. E. S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* (London: British Museum, 1960), vol. I, pp. xx, n. 11; 63. [R.K.R.]

appearance but has four wings,[38] having the left arm outstretched[39] along with the
125 two left wings, and having the other arm bent with the fist clenched. / Then upon the head [draw] a royal headdress and a cloak over its arm, with two spirals on the cloak. Atop the head [draw] bull horns and to the buttocks a bird's tail. Have his right hand held near his stomach, and on either ankle have a sword extended.

Also write on the strip the following names of the god and whatever you want him, [NN], to see and how:[40] "CHALAMANDRIŌPH IDEARZŌ THREDAPHNIŌ /
130 ERTHIBELNIN RYTHADNIKŌ PSAMOMERICH,[41] to all of you I speak, also to you, O very powerful daimon: go into the house of this person and tell him such-and-such."

Next take a lamp neither colored red nor inscribed, and after you put a wick in it, fill it with cedar oil, and light it. Invoke the following names of the god, three [times]:[42] "CHALAMANDRIŌPH IDEARYŌTH THREDAPHNIŌ ERTHABEANIG RYTHANIKŌ PSAMMORICH, O sacred names of the god, listen to me—you also, O Good
135 Daimon, whose might is very great / among the gods, listen to me: go to him, NN, into his house, where he sleeps, into his bedroom, and stand beside him, causing fear, trembling, by using the great and mighty names of the god. And tell him such-and-such.

"I conjure you [by] your power, [by] the great god, SĒITH,[43] [by] the hour in which you were begotten a great god,[44] [by] the god revealing[45] it now (?), [by] the 365 names of the great god, to go to him, NN, this very hour, this very night, and
140 to tell / him in a dream such-and-such.

"If you disobey me and don't go to him, NN, I will tell the great god, and after he has speared you through, he will chop you up into pieces and feed your members to the mangy dog who lies among the dungheaps.[46] For this reason, listen to me immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, so I won't have to tell you again."
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XII. 144–52

145 ***Request for a dream; / an exact method for everything:**[47] Using blood from a

38. The picture is of Bes-Pantheos known from Egyptian monuments and from gemstones. See Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles* 126–41; Bonner, *SMA* 25, also nos. 251–61, plates 24–25. On the identification with El-Kronos, see A. Barb, *Gnomon* 41 (1969): 304; P. Zazoff, ed., *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. IV (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975) 387 (no. 77). For a detailed picture and description, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) 11–16.

39. Reading *ἐκτεταμένον*; see *apparatus criticus* in Preisendanz ad loc.

40. *ὡς* must be read here as a relative particle, with the meaning that the magician is to insert a description of how the dream will appear to the sleeper. See LSJ, s.v. "ὡς," A.c.

41. The *voces magicae* here have been written to conform to the second occurrence of the list in ll. 133–34. The division of the words follows the edition of C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1885), plate V, col. 4a. Preisendanz divides the names differently in both series. [R.D.K.]

42. Or the "three names of the god."

43. That is, Seth.

44. Or "[by] the hour in which you were appointed a great god." This rendering follows Leemans's edition.

45. The interpretation of the symbol, read by Preisendanz as *χ(ρηματίσοντ)α*, is open to question. See the apparatus ad loc.

46. The god is threatened in the name of Seth with the same attack Seth committed against Osiris. Cf. *PGM* VII. 940–68. [R.K.R.]

47. The translation follows the suggestion by W. B. that *ἀκριβὴς εἰς πάντα* is probably part of the title.

quail, draw on a strip of linen the god Hermes, standing, ibis-faced.[48] Then with myrrh write also the name and say the *formula*:

"Come to me here quickly, you who have the power. I call upon you, the one appointed god of gods over the spirits, to show this[49] to me in dreams. I conjure [you] by your father, Osiris, and Isis,[50] your mother, to show me one of your forms, / and reveal concerning the things I want. Your name is ĒIIOUATHI PSRĒP- 150
NOUA NERTĒR DIOCHASBARA ZARACHŌ, whom they call BALCHAM. Reveal concerning this[51] concerning all things [about which] I inquire."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 153–60

***Spell for a divine revelation**: Invoke the great name in a time of great stress, in major and pressing crises. If not, you will blame yourself.[52] In addition say three times the "IAŌ," then the great name of god. /

"I call upon you, PHTHA RA PHTHA IĒ PHTHA OUN EMĒCHA ERŌCHTH BARŌCH 155
THO[RCH]THA THŌM CHAIEOUCH ARCHANDABAR ŌEAEŌ YNĒŌCH ĒRA ŌN ĒLŌPH BOM PHTHA ATHABRASIA ABRIASŌTH BARBARBELŌCHA BARBAIAŌCH; let there be depth, breadth, length, brightness, ABLANATHANALBA ABRASIAOUA AKRAMMACHAMAREI THŌTH HŌR ATHŌŌPŌ. Come in, lord, and reveal."

The serpent-faced god[53] will come in and answer you. When you dismiss [him], make an offering of / the skin of a serpent. 160
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 160–78

*[**Charm to release from bonds**:][54] If you want to do something spectacular and want to free yourself from danger, stand at the door and say the spell, and having said it, go out, adding: "Let the bonds of him, NN, be loosened, and let the doors be opened for him, and let no one see him."

You may even prove that it happens. Bind someone securely and shut him in a house. Stand outside and say the spell six or seven times thus: "I call upon you great gods, with a loud voice, / AISAR AIŌTH OUAIGNŌR MARSABŌOUTŌRTHE LABATH 165
ERMOU CHOŌRTHEN MANACHTHŌRPH PECHRĒPH TAŌPHPŌTHTHŌCHO THARŌCH BALETHAN CHEBRŌOUTHAST ADŌNAI HARMIŌTH."

Whenever [you say] this spell, and he has been released, say this besides, in order that the doors might open: "OCHLOBARACHŌ LAILAM DARIDAM [DARDAM] DARDARAMPTOU IARTHA IERBA DIERBA BARŌTHA THIARBA ARBITHŌ . . . Ō MAAR SEMESILAM MARMARACHNEU MANE THŌTH; holy one, enter and release him, NN, and give him a way / of escape, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS, you who loosen all 170

48. For an ibis-faced Hermes, see *PGM* VIII. 10.

49. Or "such and such." That is, the practitioner supplies here his request. See below, l. 151.

50. Osiris and Isis are the parents of Horus, not of Thoth/Hermes as one might infer from the preceding.

51. See n. 49 above.

52. Cf. the *lex sacra* from Halikarnassos, published by M. Çetin Şahin, "Five Inscriptions from Halicarnassus," *ZPE* 20 (1976): 22–23. [W.B.]

53. When depth, breadth, length, and brightness are summoned, this may indicate the reenactment of creation. In such a context, a serpent-faced deity (l. 159) would be appropriate, because the serpent form is the primordial form of the gods. See K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1929) 26–27. [R.K.R.]

54. *This title for the spell does not appear in the papyrus manuscript and has been supplied by* Preisendanz. It is, however, typical of other spells to begin with the phrase, "If you wish to do (this and this). . . ." Cf. e.g., *PGM* XII. 179–81; XIII. 239–64, and often. [R.D.K.]

bonds and you who loosen the iron fetter that has been placed around him, NN, because the great, unutterable, holy, righteous, awful, powerful, unspeakable, fearful and not-to-be-despised daimon of the great god commands you, SOROERMER [PHERGAR] BAX MAMPHRI OURIXG."

When the bonds break, say: "I thank you, lord, [because] the holy spirit, the unique one, the living one, has [released] me."

And say this spell again: / "Star-grouping god, you thunderbolt-with-great-clap-Zeus-confining-world-flashing-abundant-bolt-bestowing daimon, cracking-through-the-air, ray-producing, mind-piercing, you who [produce] cunning."

And use also the name of Helios for everything: "Fiery, ĒPHAIĒ, Hephaistos, who is shining with fire, brightly moving, ANANŌCHA AMARZA MARMARAMŌ."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 179–81

*If you want someone to cease being angry with you, write with myrrh [on linen][55] this / name of anger: "CHNEŌM."[56] Hold it in your left [hand and say]: "I am restraining the anger of all, especially of him, NN, which is CHNEŌM."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 182–89

*"Greetings, lord, you who are the means to obtain favor for the universe and for the inhabited [world]. Heaven has become a dancing place [for you], ARSENOPHRĒ, O king of the heavenly [gods], ABLANATHANALBA, you who possess righteousness, AKRAMMACHAMAREI, gracious [god,] SANKANTHARA, ruler / of nature, SATRAPERKMĒPH, origin of the heavenly [world], ATHTHANNOU ATHTHANNOU ASTRAPHAI IASTRAPHAI PAKEPTŌTH PA . . . ĒRINTASKLIOUTH ĒPHIŌ MARMARAŌTH.

"[Let] my outspokenness not leave me. [But] let every tongue and language listen to me, because I am PERTAŌ [MĒCH CHACH] MNĒCH SAKMĒPH[57] IAŌOYEĒ ŌĒŌ ŌĒŌ IEOYŌĒIĒIAĒA IĒŌYOEI, Give [me graciously] whatever you want."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock. Although untitled, the first line of this invocation shows it is a "favor charm."

PGM XII. 190–92

***Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear**: Take olive oil [from] a clean[58] . . . onto the left hand and say the [names. Then] smear yourself and go to sleep having your head towards the east. "IĒSOUS[59] ANOUI. . . ."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XII. 193–201

***[To make] a tincture** [viz., "reduction"] **of gold**:[60] Take thickened pungent vinegar and also have ready 8 drachmas of ordinary salt, 2 drachmas of rock alum that has clear cleavage, 4 drachmas of massicot, and triturate them [together] with the

55. Or byssus.

56. CHNEŌM here and in l. 181 is probably Egyptian Khnum. Cf. *PGM* I. 29. [R.K.R.]

57. MNĒCH SAKMĒPH corresponds to Egyptian "beneficient, son of Agathodaimon." For Kmeph, Knephis, cf. *PGM* I. 27; μνηχ is Egyptian *mnḫ*, an adjective of the preceding noun. Cf. *PGM* II. 77. [R.K.R.]

58. A noun seems to be missing here.

59. The name of Jesus appears at the beginning of an invocation; the rest is lost.

60. The term ἴωσις or ἐξίωσις (l. 198) probably refers to the process of reduction in alchemy. Since there is no gold included in the papyrus until l. 198, the process may actually be designed to produce

vinegar for 3 days, and strain off [and] / use. Then add one drachma blue vitriol [cupric sulfate] to the vinegar, 1/2 obol in weight of chalcopyrite, 8 obols of rock alum, 1/2 obol in weight of melanterite, a carat [viz., 1/1728 lb. = *siliqua*] of ordinary salt, 2 [carats] of Cappadocian [salt].

Make a leaf [of metal] of 2 fourths by weight, dip [it] 3 times into fire until the leaf [breaks up] into fragments. Then take up the pieces [and] assume them as "reduced" to the metallic state of gold.

Treatment: Take [2] fourths by weight of gold, make a leaf and [purify it in] fire, dip it in blue vitriol / triturated with water.

And another [treatment]: Pound dry cupric sulfate and dip [it] in the vinegar.

(Yet another [treatment]: with the compound): Pour off the verdigris and throw it in.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XII. 201–69

***Placing (a) ring.**[61] **A little ring** [useful] for every [magical] operation and for success. Kings and governors [try to get it]. Very effective. Taking an air-colored[62] jasper, engrave on it a snake in a circle with its tail in its mouth, and also in the middle of [the circle formed by] the snake [Selene][63] having two stars / on the two horns, and above these, Helios, beside whom ABRASAX should be inscribed; and on the opposite side of the stone from this inscription, the same name ABRASAX, and around the border you will write the great and holy and omnicompetent [spell], the name IAŌ SABAŌTH. And when you have consecrated the stone[64] wear it in a gold ring, when you need it, [provided] you are pure [at that time], and you will succeed in everything you may wish. You are to consecrate the ring together with the stone in the rite used for all [such] objects. A similar engraving in gold, / too, is equally effective.

The consecration [requires] the following equipment: Making a pit in a holy place open to the sky, [or] if [you have none] in a clean, sanctified tomb looking toward the east, and making over the pit an altar of wood from fruit trees, sacrifice an all-white goose, with no flecks [of color], and 3 roosters and 3 pigeons. Make these whole burnt offerings and burn, with the birds, all sorts of incense. Then, standing by the pit, look / to the east and, pouring on a libation of wine, honey, milk, [and] saffron, and holding over the smoke, while you pray, [the stone] in which are engraved the inscriptions, say:

"I invoke and beseech the consecration, O gods of the heavens, O gods under the earth, O gods circling in the middle region from one womb. O masters of all living and dead, [O] heedful in many necessities of gods and / men. O concealers of things now seen, O directors of the Nemeseis[65] who spend every hour with you,[66]

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pseudo gold. This is in keeping with the fact that the section 193–201 is full of technical terminology from alchemy. See M. P. Crosland, *Historical Studies in the Language of Chemistry* (London: Heinemann, 1962) 3–4, and esp. 54; A. J. Hopkins, "Transmutation by Colour: A Study of Earliest Alchemy," in J. Ruska, ed., *Studien zur Geschichte der Chemie. Festgabe E. O. von Lippmann* (Berlin: Springer, 1927) 9–14. [J.S.]

61. The symbols printed in Preisendanz's text as magical characters are Demotic *w' gswr*, "a ring." Cf. *PGM* XII. 270. [R.K.R.]

62. According to LSJ, s.v., a "light-blue" or perhaps "grey, cloudy" color.

63. That is, a crescent moon.

64. On the consecration of amulets, see *PGM* IV. 2179 and n.

65. For the Nemeseis, cf. *PGM* VII. 503 and n.; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 311–12.

66. The papyrus here accidentally repeats the preceding clause about the Nemeseis.

O senders of Fate who travels around the whole world, O commanders of the rulers, O exalters of the abased, O revealers of the hidden, O guides of the winds,
225 O arousers of the waves, O bringers of / fire (at a certain time), O creators and benefactors of every race, O nourishers of every race, O lords and controllers of kings, come, benevolent, for that [purpose] for which I call you, as benevolent assistants in this rite for my benefit. I am a plant named Baïs (palm leaf); I am an outflow of blood from the tomb of the great One [between] the palm trees;[67] I am the faith[68] found in men, and am he who declares the holy names, who [is] always alike, who
230 came forth from the abyss.[69] I am / CHRATES[70] who came forth from the eye [of the sun].[71] I am the god whom no one sees or rashly names. I am the sacred bird, Phoinix.[72] I am Krates the holy, called MARMARAUŌTH. I am Helios who showed forth light. I am Aphrodite called TYPHI.[73] I am the holy sender of winds. I am Kronos who showed forth light. I am Mother of gods, called Heaven. I am Osiris,
235 called water. I am Isis, called dew.[74] / I am ĒSENEPHYS,[75] called spring. I am the image resembling the true images. I am SOUCHOS[76] [who appear as] a crocodile. Therefore, I beseech [you], come as my helpers, for I am about to call on the hidden and ineffable name, the forefather of gods, overseer and lord of all."

"Come to me, you from the four winds, god, ruler of all, who have breathed spirits into men for life, master of the good things in the world. Hear me, lord,
240 whose / hidden name is ineffable. The daimons, hearing it, are terrified—the name BARBAREICH ARSEMPHEMPHRŌTHOU—and of it the sun, of it the earth, hearing, rolls over; Hades, hearing, is shaken; rivers, sea, lakes, springs, hearing, are frozen; rocks, hearing it, are split. Heaven is your head; ether, body; earth, feet; and the water around you, ocean, [O] Agathos Daimon.[77] You are lord, the begetter and nourisher and increaser of all."

67. For the efflux of Osiris, see *Book of the Dead*, spells 63b sec. S 1; 119 sec. S 1; 147a sec. S 1; 147g sec. S 1; 149n sec. S 1; 149o. [R.K.R.]

68. Preisendanz treats the term as a hypostatized name (Pistis, "Faith"). See Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* 234–35; D. Lührmann, "Glaube," *RAC* 11 (1979): 84–86.

69. Preisendanz takes *βύθος* to be the name of a deity. Bythos is the name of the primordial deity in Valentinian gnosticism. For passages, see *PGL*, s.v. "Βύθος"; *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, index s.v. "Bythos." See also Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, passim; idem, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 58.

70. Preisendanz, following Eitrem, takes this name to be Egyptian for *Chrat*, "child (Horus)." Actually, the papyrus reads *σοκρατης*; see C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1885) 26–27. Eitrem's emendation was taken up by J. Kroll, "Chrates," *PRE* 11 (1922): 1641–42; K. Preisendanz, "Pachrates," *PRE* 18 (1942): 2071–74, esp. 2072. The fact, however, remains that the papyrus reads Socrates in l. 230 and Crates in l. 231.

71. The papyrus reads *ουαγιου*; the translation follows Preisendanz's emendation *ἐκ τοῦ οὐατίου*. Cf. *PGM* V. 75.

72. On the Phoenix, see Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques* 231–62. Cf. *PGM* II. 104.

73. Typhi, the epithet of Aphrodite, may correspond to Egyptian Triphis (*T3-rpy.t*), "the maiden." See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 838–39, s.v. "Triphis." [R.K.R.]

74. For Isis as dew, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 12, 355F–365A; 33, 364B, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 303, 420, 424. [R.K.R.]

75. ĒSENEPHYS may correspond to Egyptian "Isis the beautiful." Preisendanz, however, understands it to refer to Isis-Neph[th]ys. [R.K.R.]

76. Souchos is Sobek, the Egyptian crocodile god. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 755–59, s.v. "Suchos." [R.K.R.]

77. On the cosmic body of the deity, see *PGM* XIII. 767–72; XXI. 3–7. See J. Assmann, "Primat und Transzendenz: Struktur und Genese der ägyptischen Vorstellung eines höchsten Wesens," in *Aspekte der ägyptischen Religion*, ed. W. Westendorf, *Göttinger Orientforschungen*, 4th series 9 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979) 7–42.

"Who[78] molded the forms of the beasts [of the Zodiac]? Who / found [their] routes? Who was the begetter of fruits? Who raises up the mountains? Who commanded the winds to hold to their annual tasks? What Aion nourishing an Aion rules the Aions? One deathless god. You are the begetter of all and assign souls to all and control all, king of the Aions and lord, [before] whom mountains and plains together tremble, springs and streams of rivers, and valleys of earth, and spirits, and [all things] that are. High shining heaven trembles before you, and every sea, / lord, ruler of all, holy one, and master of all. By your power the elements exist and all things come into being, the route of sun and moon, of night and dawn—all things in air and earth and water and the breath of fire. Yours is the eternal processional way [of heaven], in which your seven-lettered name is established for the harmony of the seven sounds [of the planets] which utter [their] voices according to the 28 forms of the moon. Yours are the beneficent effluxes of the stars, daimons and fortunes / and fates. You give wealth, good old age, good children, strength, food. You, lord of life, ruling the upper and the lower realm, whose justice is not thwarted, whose glorious name the angels hymn, who have truth that never lies, hear me and complete for me this operation so that I may wear this power in every place, in every time, without being smitten or afflicted, / so as to be preserved intact from every danger while I wear this power. Yea, lord, for to you, the god in heaven, all things are subject, and none of the daimons or spirits will oppose me because I have called on your great name for the consecration. And again I call upon you, according to Egyptians, PHNŌ EAI IABŌK; according to Jews, ADŌNAIE SABAŌTH; according to Greeks, "the king of all, ruling alone"; / according to the high priests, "hidden, invisible, overseer of all"; according to Parthians, "OUERTŌ,[79] master of all." Consecrate and empower this object for me, for the entire and glorious time of my life."

The names inscribed on the back side of the stone are these: "IAŌ SABAŌTH ABRASAX."

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XII. 270–350

***A Ring. A little ring for success and favor and victory.** It makes men famous and great and admired and rich as can be, or it makes possible friendships with suchlike men. The circlet is always yours [to use] justly and successfully for all purposes. It contains a first-rate name.

Helios is to be engraved on a heliotrope stone[80] as follows: A thick-bodied snake[81] in the shape of a wreath should be [shown] having its tail in its / mouth. Inside [the circle formed by] the snake let there be a sacred scarab[82] [beetle surrounded by] rays. On the reverse side of the stone you are to inscribe the name in hieroglyphics, as the prophets pronounce [it]. Then, having consecrated [the ring], wear it when you are pure.

The world has had nothing greater than this. For when you have it with you you will always get whatever you ask from anybody. Besides, it calms the angers of masters and kings. Wearing it, whatever you may say to anyone, you will be believed,

78. The dactylic hexameters (ll. 244–52) are also the reconstructed Hymn 1. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 237. [E.N.O.]

79. OUERTŌ corresponds to the Egyptian epithet "the great one of earth." [R.K.R.]

80. A green chalcedony with small spots of red jasper. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 37. 165. [J.S.]

81. That is, the Ouroboros serpent. See Glossary, s.v. "Ouroboros."

82. On the scarab, see *PGM* IV. 943 and the Glossary, s.v. "Scarab."

and you will be pleasing to everybody. Anyone can open doors and break chains and rocks if he / touches them with the stone, that is, the gem, and says the name written below. It also works for demoniacs. Just give it [to one] to wear, and the daimon will immediately flee. So at dawn stand facing the sun, holding the well-planned, beneficent, divine, holy, useful, economical, merciful stone which provides your needs, the beautiful and becoming one, [say]:

"Greatest god, who exceed / all power, I call on you, IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI EILŌEIN[83] SEBŌEIN TALLAM CHAUNAŌN SAGĒNAM ELEMMEDŌR CHAPSOUTHI SETTŌRA SAPHTHA NOUCHITHA, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob,[84] CHATHATHICH ZEUPEIN NĒPHYGOR ASTAPHAIOS KATAKERKNĒPH KONTEOS KATOUT KĒRIDEU MARMARIŌTH LIKYXANTA BESSOUM SYMEKONTEU, the opponent of Thoth, / MASKELLI MASKELLŌTH PHNOU KENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA HIPPOCHTHŌN RĒSICHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX NYXIŌ ABRŌROKORE KODĒRE MOUISDRŌ, King, THATH PHATH CHATH XEUZĒN ZEUZEI SOUSĒNĒ ELATHATH MELASIŌ KOUKŌR NEUSŌŌ PACHIŌ XIPHNŌ THEMEL NAUTH BIOKLĒTH SESSŌR CHAMEL CHASINEU XŌCHŌ IALLINŌI / SEISENGPHARANGĒS MASICHIŌR IŌTABAAS CHENOUCHI CHAAM PHACHIARATH NEEGŌTHARA IAM ZEŌCH AKRAMMACHAMAREI Cheroubei(m) BAINCHŌŌCH EIOPHALEON ICHNAŌTH PŌE XEPHITHŌTH XOUTHOUTH THOŌTHIOU XERIPHŌNAR EPHINARASŌR CHANIZARA ANAMEGAR IŌO XTOURORIAM IŌK NIŌR CHETTAIOS ELOUMAIOS NŌIŌ DAMNAMENEU / AXIŌTHŌPH PSETHAIAKKLŌPS SISAGETA NEORIPHRŌR HIPPOKELEPHOKLŌPS ZEINACHA IAPHETHANA A E Ē I O Y Ō. I have called on you, greatest god, and through you on all things, that you may give divine and supreme strength to this image and may make it effective and powerful against all [opponents] and to be able to call back souls, move spirits, subject legal opponents, strengthen friendships, produce all [sorts of] profits, bring / dreams, give prophecies, cause psychological passions and bodily sufferings and incapacitating illness, and perfect all erotic philters. Please, lord, bring to fulfillment a complete consecration."

When you perform this rite, say [the spell] three times each day, in the third, sixth, and ninth hour, and this for fourteen days, beginning when the moon begins its third quarter. And try to have the goddess [i.e., the moon] either [rising] in [the Zodiacal sign of] the Bull or the Virgin or Scorpion or the Water Carrier or the Fishes. Also when you are performing the consecration, each time / you recite [the spell] pour as libation the [fluids] specified above and all kinds of perfumes except frankincense. And when you have completed the consecration properly, have a live rooster with a double comb—either white or yellow; keep away from black—and after the consecration cut the rooster open and stick the [stone with its] image well into the guts of the rooster, taking care that the entrails of the animal be not broken. Leave [it there] for one day, / then in the ninth hour of the night take [it] out and put [it] away in a holy place, and use as [seems] best.

Whenever you wish to command the god, give [your] command, saying the greatest [name] OUPHŌR, and he will perform. You have [now] the consecration [to secure] the supreme and divine action. This OUPHŌR is the [god] whom Urbicus used, the holy, true OUPHŌR. Here is truly written out, with all brevity, [the rite] by which all modeled images and engravings / and carved stones are made alive. For this is the true [rite], and the others such as are widely circulated, are falsified and made up of vain verbosity. So keep this in a secret place as a great mystery. Hide it, hide it! It is—the beginning—

83. Almost certainly a misspelling of *elohim*, a Hebrew word meaning "god."

84. The names are misspelled as Abraan, Isak, Iakkōbi.

"The gates of heaven were opened. The gates of earth were opened. / The route of the sea was opened. The route of the rivers was opened. My spirit was heard by all gods and daimons. My spirit was heard by the spirit of heaven. My spirit was heard by the terrestrial spirit. My spirit was heard by the marine spirit. / My spirit was heard by the riverine spirit. Therefore give spirit to the mystery[85] I have prepared, O gods whom I have named and have called on. Give breath to the mystery I have prepared."

Hide, hide the true [spell to control?] OUPHŌR, / which contains the truth in summary. ***The invocation to*** *OUPHŌR*:[86]

"ĒI IEOU MAREITH
ĒI IEOU MONTHEATHI MONGITH
ĒI IEOU CHAREŌTH MONKĒB
ĒI IEOU SŌCHOU SŌRSŌĒ
/ ĒI IEOU TIŌTIŌ OUIĒR
ĒI IEOU CHARŌCHSI CHARMIŌTH
ĒI IEOU SATHIMŌOYEĒOY
ĒI IEOU RAIRAI MOURIRAI
ĒI IEOU Amoun ĒEI Osiris
/ ĒI IEOU̅ PHIRIMNOUN[87]
ĒI IEOU ANMORCHATHI OUĒR
ĒI IEOU ANCHEREPHRENEPSOUPHIRINGCH
ĒI IEOU ORCHIMORŌIPOUGTH
ĒI IEOU MACHPSACHATHANTH
/ ĒI IEOU MOROTH."

*Tr.: Morton Smith. The Demotic title (line 270) is written between the sections.

PGM XII. 351–64

***Demokritos' "sphere": prognostic of life and death.** Find out what day of the month[88] the sick one took to bed. Add his name from birth[89] to the day of the month and divide by thirty.[90] Look up on the "sphere" the quotient: if the number is on the upper register, the person will live, but if it is on the lower register, he will die.

85. That is, the magical ring.

86. These invocations begin with a formula corresponding to the Egyptian *i i3w*, "O, hail!" [R.K.R.]

87. PHIRIMNOUN corresponds to Egyptian "He who comes forth from Nun (the abyss)." Cf. *PGM* XII. 229. [R.K.R.]

88. Literally, "know in relation to the moon." Beginning with the new moon, each day of the lunar month can be given a number from one to thirty.

89. The *praenomen*, or first name, among the Romans. Each letter of the Greek alphabet has a numerical value.

90. Literally, "see how many times thirty there are." In other words, the sum of the numerical value of the name and the value of the day on which the person took ill, is divided by thirty.

1	10	19
2	11	20
3	13	23
4	14	25
7	16	26
9	17	27
5	15	22
6	18	28
8	21	29
12	24	30

*Tr.: J. P. Hershbell. A similar "sphere" is attributed to Petosiris, the mythical Egyptian astrologer. The so-called sphere is only a circle or other plane figure, in this case a rectangle, but even when the circle is reduced to a rectangle, it is called a sphere. For full discussion of this kind of "astrological medicine," see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris 1899, repr. 1963) 537–42, esp. 538, and Thorndike, *A History of Magic I*, 682ff.; see also V. Alfieri, *Gli atomisti, frammenti e testimonianze* (Bari 1936) 305–6, n. 801 and Budge, *Egyptian Magic* 228–30.

PGM XII. 365–75

***Charm for causing separation**: On a pot for smoked fish inscribe a spell with a bronze stylus and recite it afterwards and put it where they [i.e., your victims] are, where they usually return, repeating at the same time this spell: "I call upon you, god, you who are in the empty air, you who are terrible, invisible, and great, you who afflict the earth and shake the universe, you who love disturbances and hate stability and scatter the clouds / from one another, IAIA IAKOUBIAI IŌ ERBĒTH, IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH BASDOUMA PATATHNAX APOPSS OSESRŌ ATAPH THABRAOU ĒŌ THATHTHABRA BŌRARA AROBREITHA BOLCHOSĒTH KOKKOLOIPTOLĒ RAMBITHNIPS: give to him, NN, the son of her, NN, strife, war; and to him, NN, the son of her, NN, odiousness, enmity, just as Typhon and Osiris had"[91] (but if it is a husband and wife, "just as Typhon and Isis had"). "Strong Typhon, very / powerful one, perform your mighty acts."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This charm provides a means for effecting a breach between two men's friendship or love for each other, with a variant formula inserted to make the spell work against a husband and wife.

PGM XII. 376–96

***Charm to induce insomnia**: Take a living bat and on the right wing paint with myrrh the following figure, and on the left write the 7 names of the god as well as: "Let her, NN whom NN bore, lie awake until she consents." And so release the bat again.

Perform this spell at the waning of the moon[92] when the goddess is in her third night, and the woman will die for lack of sleep, without lasting / 7 days.

This charm cannot at any time have an antidote. But if you at some time wish one, do not release the bat, but keep it in custody, and do this as well: when you want to release it, wash off with spring water [what] has been written on the wings and release the bird. But do not do this, save for a great intrigue.

91. On the enmity between Typhon/Seth and Osiris, see *PGM* VII. 964 and n.

92. That is, the moon goddess Selene.

This then is the figure:



/ ***The names to be written on the left wing are these***: "I call upon you, great god, THATHABATHATH / PETENNABOUTHI PEPTOU BAST[93] EIĒSOUS OUAIR AMOUN OUTHI ASCHELIDONĒTH / BATHARIBATH; let her, NN, lie awake through the whole night and day, until she dies, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XII. 397–400

***To gain favor and friendship forever**: Take a pasithea or wormwood root and write this name on it in a holy manner: ⸸ᛉᚣᚴᛊ–ᛊ–ᛒ ᛙᛙᛚ. Then carry it, and you will be an object of favor, friendship, and admiration to people who see you. /

The formula: 1 dram of myrrh, 4 drams of truffle, 2 drams of blue vitriol, 2 drams of oak gall, 3 drams of gum arabic.
*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XII. 401–44

***Interpretations** which the temple scribes employed, from the holy writings, in translation. Because of the curiosity of the masses they [i.e., the scribes] inscribed the names of the herbs and other things which they employed on the statues of the gods, so that they [i.e., the masses], since they do not take precaution, / might not practice magic, [being prevented] by the consequence of their misunderstanding.[94] But we have collected the explanations [of these names] from many copies [of the sacred writings], all of them secret.

Here they are:[95]

A snake's head: a leech.

93. On Bastet, the Egyptian cat goddess, see *PGM* III. 1 and n.

94. Cf. V. F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972), Hymn IV. 37–39: "Reliably learning these facts from men who study history, I myself have set them all up on inscribed pillars and translated (into Greek) for Greeks the power of a Prince who was a god" (pp. 64–65). Isidorus himself cannot read the hieroglyphs.

95. For similar lists of names, cf. *De succedaneis* transmitted among the works of Galen, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, ed. C. G. Kühn, vol. 19 (Lipsiae: Officina libraria Car. Cnoblochii, 1830) 721–

A snake's "ball of thread": this means soapstone. /
Blood of a snake: hematite.
A bone of an ibis: this is buckthorn.
Blood of a hyrax:[96] truly of a hyrax.
"Tears"[97] of a Hamadryas baboon: dill juice.
Crocodile dung: Ethiopian soil. /
Blood of a Hamadryas baboon: blood of a spotted gecko.
Lion semen: Human semen.
Blood of Hephaistos: wormwood.
Hairs of a Hamadryas baboon: dill seed.
Semen of Hermes: dill. /
Blood of Ares: purslane.
Blood of an eye: tamarisk gall.[98]
Blood from a shoulder: bear's breach[99]
From the loins: camomile.
A man's bile: turnip sap.[100] /
A pig's tail: leopard's bane.[101]
A physician's bone: sandstone.
Blood of Hestia: camomile.
An eagle: wild garlic (?).[102]
Blood of a goose: a mulberry tree's "milk." /
Kronos' spice: piglet's milk.
A lion's hairs: "tongue" of a turnip.[103]
Kronos' blood: . . . of cedar.
Semen of Helios: white hellebore.
Semen of Herakles: this is mustard-rocket.[104] /
[A Titan's] blood: wild lettuce.[105]
Blood from a head: lupine.
A bull's semen: egg of a blister beetle.[106]

47, as well as the adapted version of Galen's tract in Paul of Aegina, *Paulus Aegineta, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum IX/2*, ed. I. L. Heiberg, vol. II (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1924) 401–8; and Dioscorides' *Materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1907–14). [J.S.]

96. Probably the rock hyrax (*Procavia capensis*), also mentioned in the LXX Lv 11:6; Dt 14:7; Ps 103 (104): 18; Prv 24:61 (30:26). [J.S.]

97. Perhaps the "sleep sand" from the eyes of baboons. [J.S.]

98. Cf. Dioscorides 1. 75; also 1. 89. [J.S.]

99. Probably to be emended to ἄκανθος (*Acanthus mollis* L. or *Helleborus foetidus* L.). [J.S.]

100. Probably to be emended to βουνίας as in Dioscorides 2. 111, a kind of turnip (probably *Brassica napus* L.). [J.S.]

101. Literally, "scorpion-tail," probably a variety of "leopard's bane" in the genus *Boronicum*, or one of the heliotropes. Cf. Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 9. 13. 6; Nicander, *Alexiph.* 145; Dioscorides 4. 190. 1. See J. Scarborough, "Theophrastus on Herbals and Herbal Remedies," *Journal of the History of Biology* 11 (1978):373–74, with n. 120; idem, "Nicander's Toxicology II: Spiders, Scorpions, Insects, and Myriapods," *Pharmacy in History* 21 (1979):3–34, 73–92. [J.S.]

102. The papyrus reads οσελγεβει, which the editors read either as χελκβει, "wild garlic" (*Trigonella foenumgraecum*), following Griffith, ad loc.; *PGM* V. 70, or as ἑλλέβορος, "hellebore." [J.S.]

103. As emended in l. 425 (see above, n. 100), referring to the leaves of the taproot. [J.S.]

104. Probably *Eruca sativa* Mill. [J.S.]

105. See on this Dioscorides 2. 136. [J.S.]

106. The blister beetle played a role in the manufacture of the aphrodisiac known as Spanish fly. See J. Scarborough, "Some Beetles in Pliny's Natural History," *Coleopterists Bulletin* 31 (1977):293–96; idem, "Nicander's Toxicology" (see above, n. 101). [J.S.]

A hawk's heart: heart of wormwood.
Semen of Hephaistos: this is fleabane. /
Semen of Ammon: houseleek. 440
Semen of Ares: clover.
Fat from a head: spurge.
From the belly: earth-apple.
From the foot: houseleek.[107]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz (ll. 401–7) and John Scarborough (ll. 408–45) who are also responsible for the respective notes. The "interpretations" refers to the secret list of plant names below; cf. the *Discourse on the Eighth and the Ninth* 61, 19ff., in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 296–97; *2 Jeu*, chaps. 45–48; *Test Sol* 13.6; see Gudeman, "Lyseis," *PRE* 13 (1927): 2511–29.

PDM xii. 50–61 [*PGM* XII. 445–48]

*A spell for separating one person from another: Dung of . . . and you put it [in] a 50 [1]
document, and you write on a document of papyrus these great names / together 55 [6]
with the name of the man, and you bury it under the doorsill of the house.

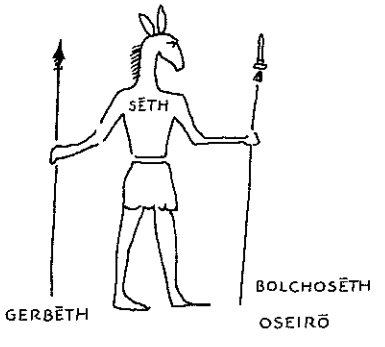
Here are the names for (?) it and you recite them over it also, 7 times: "†IO-ERBĒTH †IO-SĒTH[108] †IO-BŌLGHŌSĒTH[109] †IO-PAGERBĒTH †IO-PATATHNAGS †LĒE-MENG.RĒ †IO-ŌSESRO[110] / †IO-GHLŌNTOĒPS, separate NN, born of NN, from NN, (445–48)
born of NN!" It is . . . : "Separate Isis from . . ." (formula: 7 times). 60 [11]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 38–39, col. IV, ll. 1–12. The Old Coptic/Greek and Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 57–60 [8–11] are transcribed as Greek in *PGM* XII. 445–48 (*Kol.* XIV) in Preisendanz. A variant of the same spell follows immediately in ll. 62–75, a spell in which a magical figure is supplied. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 62–75 [*PGM* XII. 449–52]

*Another: You bring a . . . and you write the names on it, and you bury [it] in the road of. . . .

Formula: †BRAG †GRAB †BRAGH †HŌSPERTHNAKS[111] / †BHRIENTHE(?)GH †BAS-PHETHŌI †ATHRYPH †PATATHNAG †APŌPSI †IŌ-BĒTH †IŌ-BŌLGHŌSĒTH †IŌ-PAG-ERBĒTH,[112] separate NN born of NN, from NN born of NN!" Two [times] . . . You 65 [16]
(449–52)
bring a sherd . . . of beer of . . . which is burnt, and you write [on] it a donkey / in 70 [21]
this manner:



107. See on this plant Dioscorides 4. 88. [J.S.]
108. Ending includes Egyptian god Seth. [J.H.J.]
109. See n. 108 above.
110. Or, perhaps, IŌ ŌSEIRŌ, as in the label to the figure. [J.H.J.]
111. HŌSPER may be for ὥσπερ, "similarly." [R.K.R.]
112. See figure.

"Separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!" And you say this name to it again, 7 times, and you lift the sherd, and you . . . in the house in which they
75 [26] are. / You do it. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975):38–39, col. IV, ll. 13–26. The Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 15–18 are transcribed as Greek in *PGM* XII. 449–52 (*Kol.* XIV). Words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 76–107 [*PGM* XII. 453–65]

*Another: . . . of a black donkey,[113] and you put a . . . which is . . . , and you leave [it] in it for three days . . . it. You should cook it for one night . . . , and you should
80 [5] bring a / strip of . . . , and you should write . . . the names on it with donkey blood, and you should gather outside . . . saying, "Separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!" And you should . . . and you should . . . the urine. . . .

85 [10] Here is the ***name*** which you should write it: / . . . "THALAMAXI, separate NN, born of NN, from NN, born of NN!"

. . . again on the day of separating (another [manuscript] says: "beating" [?]),
90 [15] . . . of a donkey and a . . . / urine (?), and you put them in a new ladle (?) and you . . . until they come . . . , and you put . . . and you . . . the sherd . . . and you [write] these names . . . and you . . . in the above-mentioned house.

95 [20] / Here are the names: "I call upon you, you who are in the [empty air], you who
(453–65) are terrible, you who are an invisible god, you who cause destruction and desolation, you who hate a stable household and you who do mischief.[114] I call upon your great name; cause him, NN, to be separated from him, NN, IŌ IŌ IŌBRACH KRABROUKRIOU BATRIOU APOMPS STROUTELIPS IAK[OUBIAI][115] IŌ PAKERBĒTH PAKERBĒTH, god of gods . . . at the gate of IAŌ. Separate him, NN, from him, NN, because I am the daimon XANTHIS[116] OUBATH . . . E . . . TEBERETERRI . . . EI . . . , separate him, [NN], from him, NN."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 76–95), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975):40–41, col. III, ll. 1–20; and R. F. Hock (ll. 96–107), following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 453–65.

PDM xii. 108–18 [*PGM* XII. 466–68]

*A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man . . . : You bring dung, hair and hair . . .
110 [3] which is dead, / and you mix them with fresh blooms, and you put it in a new papyrus after writing on the papyrus first with my ink, saying, "May NN, born of NN, hate NN, born of NN!" And you recite these true names over it 7 times, and you bind the papyrus, and you put it in the water of. . . .

115 [8] Here are / the true names: 'IAKYMBIAI IAŌ 'IŌERBĒTH 'IŌBOLGHOSĒTH 'BA-
(466–68) SELE OM 'GITATHNAGS 'APSOPS 'Ō.EL.T, separate NN, born [of] NN, from NN, born of NN; hurry, hurry; be quick, be quick!"

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975):42–43, col. II, ll. 1–18. The Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 8–10 are transcribed by Preisendanz as Greek in *PGM* XII. 466–68. Words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

113. On the donkey as the image of Seth, see the Glossary, s.v. "Typhon-Seth."
114. So following the emendation in Preisendanz; cf. the apparatus ad loc.
115. Supplying in the lacuna Ἰακο[υβιαι], a name attested elsewhere.
116. The reading of this name is, however, textually uncertain.

PDM xii. 119–34 [*PGM* XII. 469–70; 471–73]

*A spell for it: Surround (?) . . . of . . . another [manuscript] says . . . : / You (?) write [the] true names with ink . . . and you write at its bottom, . . . to me Anubis, saying, "Surround (?) NN, born of NN!" . . . you should write on its bottom . . . "vex NN, born of NN!" and you should . . . them to it again, and you should . . . fire, flame (?), and you should [bind] . . . of the hair of the woman with . . . , / and you should put a . . . a bitch which is dead. 120 [13] 125 [18]

Its formula: "Rouse yourself and depart, at the undertaking ward off responses of each penalty . . . woman." You write these words on a new papyrus with myrrh ink, and you put it in . . . of a . . . / built (?), and you put it in a chest (?), and you give it to an ibis. (469–70) 130 [23]

Here are the names: "†ALBANAGHAMBRE †AMESŌTSIE(?)R †ATHRŌER †ATHROI †THYIN, surround NN, born of NN, . . . in her heart." (471–73)

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 119–125, 128–31), following the edition in *OMRM* 56 (1975):42–43, col. II, ll. 12–27; and E. N. O'Neil (ll. 126–27), following the edition in Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 469–70. The Demotic *voces magicae* in ll. 132–33 are transcribed by Preisendanz as Greek at *PGM* XII. 471–73. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xii. 135–46 [*PGM* XII. 474–79]

*. . . you bring a sealed . . . of copper . . . this lion, this mummy (?), and this Anubis . . . while they seek . . . black scarab (?) . . . put . . . : 135 [1]

/ ". . . AIDIŌ ŌRICH THAMBITŌ, Abraham who at . . . PLANOIEGCHIBIŌTH MOU ROU and the whole soul for her, NN [whom NN bore] . . . the female body of her, NN [whom NN bore], I conjure by the . . . [and] to inflame her, NN whom [NN bore]." 140 [6] (474–79)

[Write these] words together with this picture on a new papyrus:



*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 135–39; 146), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975):44–45, col. I, ll. 1–5, 12; and E. N. O'Neil (ll. 140–45) following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 474–79.

PDM xii. 147–64 [*PGM* XII. 480–95]

*Another: Cook it [in the (?)] bath: "ALLANTH BIREIBAMETIRA / EMETHIRE THARABLATH PNOUTHE THOUCHARA ŌSOUCHARI SABACHAR . . . , / burn her, NN, until she [comes] to me, NN, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. I conjure you, daimons of the dead, [by] the dead and by the daimon of [Balsames], and the / dog-faced god,[117] and the gods with him." 150 [16] 155 [21] (480–95) 160 [26]

117. The dog-faced god is Anubis.

Write these things . . . with the salt first . . . which is on it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson (ll. 147, 163–64), following the edition and translation in *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45, col. I, ll. 13–14, 29–30; and E. N. O'Neil (ll. 148–62), following Preisendanz, *PGM* XII. 480–95.

PGM XIII. 1–343

*GOD/GODS.[1] **A sacred book called "Unique"[2] or "Eighth Book of Moses,"** concerning the holy Name. Its content goes as follows: Remain / pure 41 days, having calculated in advance so that your completion of them will coincide with the dark of the moon which occurs in Aries.[3] Have a house on ground level, in which no one has died during the past year. The door should face west. Now set up in the middle of the house an earthen altar and have ready cypress wood, ten pinecones full of seed,[4] two white roosters / uninjured and without blemish, and two lamps each holding an eighth of a pint, filled with good oil. And don't pour in any more, for when the god comes in they will burn more fiercely. Have the table prepared with these following kinds of incense, which are cognate to the god (from this / book Hermes plagiarized when he named the 7 kinds of incense[5] [in] his sacred book called *Wing*).[6]

The proper incense of Kronos is styrax, for it is heavy and fragrant; of Zeus, malabathron;[7] of Ares, kostos; of Helios, frankincense; of Aphrodite, Indian nard; of Hermes, cassia; / of Selene, myrrh. These are the secret incenses (the direction in the *Key of Moses*,[8] "Prepare sun vetch on every occasion," refers with these [words]

1. *θεοί* ("gods") commonly stands at the beginning of sacral inscriptions from Athens and sites in the Athenian sphere of influence; elsewhere it is rare (see the uses in F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1969). The use here indicates literary and philosophical pretensions. "GOD" is put above "GODS" both to suggest that the magician has access to a higher power, and to conform to the fashion which, by the time this text was copied (under Constantine's successors), favored monotheism.

2. "Unique" translates the Greek *μόνας*, "by oneself, solitary"; in philosophy, primarily Pythagorean, then Platonic, "monad." Hence also in *C.H.* 4. 10, on which see Festugière's n. 28. Philosophic use for the primal deity made the word vague and prestigious, which accounts for its appearance here. The attribution to Moses was due partly to the texts' content (see below, n. 16), partly to Moses' fame as a magician. Pliny, *NH* 30. 11, credited him with starting his own school of magic. Both Jews and gentiles helped the tradition grow by repeating stories about him and circulating magical texts under his name. See J. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1972), chap. 4, pp. 134–61. The compiler of *PGM* XIII was both a composer and a collector of "Mosaic" texts. He had himself written one called "The Key of Moses" (l. 229), which he often recommends; he had a variorum edition of VIII Moses, giving three texts, and in his additions to it he cites "The Archangelic (Teaching?) of Moses," Moses' "secret moon prayer," and "The Tenth Hidden (Book?) of Moses." The choice of "eighth" as the number of the book is surprising, since we hear nothing of the sixth and seventh; it may be due to the increasing prestige of the ogdoad (see below, nn. 29 and 112). The choice of "Tenth" for the next numbered book (nothing is heard of a ninth) is also explicable from numerology, ten being the Pythagorean perfect number.

3. The Greek *σύνοδος* here is ambiguous. It was also used loosely to refer to the new moon, and was so understood by Preisendanz, but see l. 349.

4. So Preisendanz, translating *δέξιος*; alternatively, "with spirals (formed by the edges of the scales) running to the right."

5. The promised list of incenses "cognate to the (one) god" can hardly be the following list of incenses proper for seven different gods. The author probably inserted a standard list taken from the book of "Hermes" whom he therefore accused of plagiarism.

6. To this "Hermetic" book there is no other reference. Evidently it was the work of a rival author. This comment by the compiler clearly interrupts the earlier text. That "Hermes" is attacked makes the restoration of "Hermetic spell" (in l. 138) dubious.

7. Leaves of *Cinnamomum tamala* or *albiflorum*. "Kostos," which follows, is *Sassurea lappa*.

8. The two following statements by the compiler again interrupt the text. The *Key of Moses* was his own book (l. 229), evidently a sort of magician's handbook with astrological information, etc. There is

to the Egyptian bean). Moreover, Manetho gave these directions in his own book.

Then take the 7 flowers of the 7 stars (which are marjoram, white lily, lotus, erephyllinon,[9] / narcissus, gillyflower, rose); take these flowers twenty-one days before the initiation, and grind them fine in a white mortar[10] and dry them in the shade and have them ready for that day.

First, however, present yourself, on / whatever auspicious new moon occurs,[11] to the gods of the hours of the day, whose names you have in the *Key*. You will be made their initiate[12] as follows: Make 3 figures from fine flour, one bull-faced, one goat-faced, one ram-faced, each of them standing on the celestial pole and holding an Egyptian flail.[13] And when you have / censed them, eat them, saying the spell for the gods of the hours (which is in the *Key*) and the compulsive formula for them and the names of the gods set over the weeks. Then you will have been made their initiate.

Next, for the all-important meeting, have a square of natron[14] on which you will write the great name with the seven vowels. Instead / of the popping noise and the hissing [sound in the name] draw on the first part of the natron a falcon-faced crocodile[15] and the nine-formed god standing on him, for this falcon-faced crocodile at the 4 turning points [of the year] greets the god with the popping noise. For, coming up to breathe from the deep, he goes "Pop, pop, pop," / and he of the 9 forms replies to him antiphonally. Therefore, instead of the popping noise, draw the falcon-faced crocodile, for the popping noise is the first element of the name. The second is a hissing. Instead of the hissing [draw] a snake biting its / tail. So the two elements, popping and hissing, are represented by a falcon-faced crocodile and the nine-formed god standing on it, and around these a snake and the seven vowels.

Now [the great name] is [composed of] 9 names, before which you say [those of] the gods of the hours, with [the prayer on] the stele, and [those of] the gods of the days and of those / set over the weeks, and the compulsive formula for these; for without these the god will not listen but will refuse to receive you as uninitiated, unless you emphatically say in advance the [names of] the lord of the day and of the hour, which information you will find at the end [of this tractate]; for without these / you will not accomplish even one of the things you find in the *Key*: . . . .

---

no good reason to think it had anything to do with *C.H.* 10, which was also called *Key* but dealt with totally different subjects. Manetho was an Egyptian priest who wrote a history of Egypt for Ptolemy II, ca. 275 B.C. The success of this work made him famous; hence many other texts, especially of astrology, but also of magic, were fathered onto him. Which this writer had in mind, is unknown. Cf. *PGM* III. 440 and n. The content of the *Key* is described in eight passages in *PGM* XIII, viz. ll. 21–22, 30–31, 35–36, 59–60, 228–29, 282–83, 431–32, and 735–43. From these it appears that the *Key* contained directions for performance of rites, names of the gods of the days, hours, etc., spells to control these, and the great name of 6 letters, Ogdoas. Some of the directions were allegorical or allegorized (see ll. 21–22 and 228–29).

9. Unknown.

10. Alternatively, "into white incense."

11. Literally, "a new moon favored by a god," meaning one which the god, by giving good auspices, declares favorable for your purposes.

12. Literally, "initiated."

13. Alternatively, "Egyptian flails."

14. Sodium carbonate, a soapy substance. This was not a gourmet rite.

15. The falcon-faced crocodile appears on many Egyptian inscriptions. He was a fusion of the crocodile god Sobek and the hawk god Horus. The "nine-formed" was the "Ennead," an Egyptian complex of nine gods who in the late period were thought to be the members of the body of a single god. See H. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 521–25, s.v. "Neunheit." The "four turning points of the year" are the equinoxes and solstices. That crocodiles pop off at these periods is an example of the unnatural history surprisingly common in ancient authors from Aristotle on.

Now the [text of the] sacred stele to be written in the natron is:

"I[16] call on you, who are greater than all, the creator of all, you, the self-begotten, who see all and are not seen. For you gave Helios the glory and all the / power, Selene [the privilege] to wax and wane and have fixed courses, yet you took nothing from the earlier-born darkness, but apportioned things so that they should be equal. For when you appeared, both order[17] arose and light appeared.[18] All things are subject to you, whose true form none of the gods can / see; who change into all forms. You are invisible, Aion of Aion.

"I call on you, lord, to appear to me in a good form, for under your order I serve your angel, BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM, and your fear, DANOUPH CHRATOR BELBALI BALBITH IAŌ. / Through you arose the celestial pole and the earth.

"I call on you, lord, as do the gods who appeared under your [order?] that they may have power; ECHEBYKRŌM of Helios, whose is the glory,[19] AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ III AAA ŌŌŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ / ZAGOURĒ, the god ARATHY ADŌNAIE.

"I call on you, lord, in 'birdglyphic'[20]: ARAI; in hieroglyphic: LAILAM; in Hebraic:[21] ANOCH BIATHIARBATH BERBIR ECHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTROM; in Egyptian: ALDABAEIM; in 'baboonic': ABRASAX; / in 'falconic':[22] CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI TIPH TIPH TIPH; in hieratic: MENEPHŌIPHŌTH CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA." Then clap 3 times, go "pop, pop, pop" for a long time; hiss at some length.

"Come [to me], lord, faultless and unflawed, who pollute / no place, for I have been initiated into your name."

Have a tablet in which you will write what he says to you and a two-edged knife, all of iron, so that, clean from all [impurities],[23] you may kill the sacrifices, and a libation (a jug of wine and a flask full of honey /) that you may pour. Have all these ready nearby you. And you be in clean linens, crowned with an olive wreath. Prepare the canopy[24] thus: Taking a clean sheet, write on the border [the names of] the

16. This invocation and that following (138–53) are essentially identical, both being variations of an old Egyptian hymn in which the rising sun is greeted by the sacred animals, each kind making its appropriate noises. In both invocations (and their close parallels in the B version—443–61, 570–99; in C only the first lines are cited) the sun god has been made the creator and sustainer of the world, and the songs of the animals are preceded by and partly fused with the songs of the angels, many of whom are Jewish. In both, the same angels and the same languages appear in the same orders. The roles given the god and the angels, and the personnel, help explain the attribution to Moses, the more so because these two invocations are the most important elements in the text—the active agents which make the deity appear (this is particularly clear in B, which, since it put the first invocation after the rite as an appendix, ll. 570–99, followed it by a second epiphany, 608–717).

17. Here "order" translates the Greek *κόσμος*, which means also "the cosmos."

18. I.e., light and darkness?

19. Or "the doxology" without following comma, the doxology being the following formula. Here the choice is difficult because "glory" fits Helios, but "doxology" gives the magical words a function in the text, as those in the preceding paragraph functioned as names of the angel and the fear. *Δόξα* meaning "spoken/sung praise" is found already in LXX; see G. Kittel and G. von Rad, *TDNT* 2 (1964): 233–55.

20. Greek *ὀρνεογλυφιστί*, formed by analogy from *ἱερογλυφιστί*, which follows.

21. In spite of the claim that this is Hebrew, the first word is a transliteration of the Egyptian word for "I (am)," *anoch*. A similar Hebrew word, *ʾanoki*, has the same meaning. The author seems to have known Hebrew and Egyptian badly enough to mix them up. See Glossary, s.v.

22. *Chi chi* is the cry appropriate for the morning sun; *tiph tiph*, for the evening sun. [J.B.]

23. This supposes a purity code in which iron neither received nor transmitted pollution.

24. That is, under which you will receive the god. Perhaps from some mystery rite. (Originally the bridal tent?) Here an unexplained residuum.

365 gods,[25] and make it a tent / under which you go to be initiated. Also have a cinnamon at your neck, for the deity is pleased by it and gave it power. And have also the Apollo who will help you, carved from a root of laurel, with tripod standing beside him and / Pythian serpent. Carve around the Apollo the great name, in Egyptian form; on his chest: BAINCHŌŌŌCHŌŌŌCHNIAB, written [the same] forwards and backwards; and on the back of the figure this name: ILILLOU IL-ILLOU / ILILLOU; and around the Pythian serpent and the tripod; ITHOR MAR-MARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH. Have this too around your neck when you perform the initiation; it is helpful in everything, along with the cinnamon.

Accordingly, as I said before, when you have purified yourself in advance [through the last] / seven days while the moon is waning, at the dark of the moon[26] begin sleeping on the ground on a pallet of rushes. Rising at dawn, greet Helios through seven days, each day saying first the [names of the] gods of the hours, then those set over the weeks. Also [each day], / learning who is the ruler of that day, keep after him, saying, "Lord, on such-and-such a day I am calling the god to the sacred sacrifices"—doing so until the eighth day.

Then, when you come to this day, in the middle of the night at about eleven o'clock / when there is quiet, light the altar fire and have at hand the two roosters and the two lamps, lighted (the lamps should hold an eighth of a pint each, and you must not put more oil into them). Begin to recite the stele and the mystery of the god, which is [called?] "Scarab." Have standing by a mixing bowl containing milk of a black cow / and wine not mixed with seawater, for this is beginning and end.[27] Then, having written [the text of] the stele on the two faces of the natron plaque, lick off the one side and, pouring [wine?] on the other, wash it off into the mixing bowl. The natron should be written on [with ink made] both from the incense materials and from the flowers.

Then, before you drink off the milk and wine, say over it / this petition;[28] and having said it, lie down on the mat, holding both the tablet and the stylus, and say—***Hermetic*** (?) [***spell***]:[29]

"I call on you who surround all things, I call in every language and in every dialect, as he first / hymned you who was by you appointed and entrusted with all authorities, Helios ACHEBYKRŌM[30] (which signifies the flame and radiance of the disk)[31] whose is the glory, AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ, because he was glorified by you—[you][32]

25. The gods of the days of the year.

26. Greek *σύνοδον*, the twenty-four-hour day in which the moon will come into line with the earth and the sun.

27. I.e., essential, all important, cf. Rv 21:6; 22:13. [M.S.] Seawater was prohibited because the sea was a symbol of Seth, the enemy of Osiris and of fertility. [R.K.R.]

28. The identity of "this petition" is not clear. The prayer on the stele has already been recited (l. 127), the main invocation is to follow; perhaps something has fallen out. A similar problem is posed by C, 684–95. B prescribes a prayer to the gods of the hours.

29. The Greek here is corrupt and the restoration uncertain. See above, n. 6. In B 443ff. this spell has no such designation. The following "You who surround all things" found in all three versions refers to the outermost celestial sphere conceived as a god, i.e., the Ogdoad. See below, n. 112.

30. *Ache* in Egyptian means "brightness." Cf. l. 34 above. [J.B.]

31. An obvious gloss. This hymn is full of such. They have been set off by parentheses and henceforth will not usually be pointed out. Many seem to be early, since they appear in both A and B.

32. As the text stands, Helios set the stars in their places and created the world in which, thereafter, "you"—the highest god—set all things in order. This is not totally impossible, but not at all likely. Most likely the writer attributed creation to the highest god (whom he was invoking) and did so either by anacoluthon or by a *σύ* ("you," reduced to *σ'*) before *ἀέρας* ("winds"), which fell out with the word it preceded.

who set [in their places the winds][33] and then, likewise, the stars of glittering
145 forms, and who, in divine light / create the cosmos, III AAA ŌŌŌ, in which you have set in order all things. SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ (these are the angels who first appeared)[34] ARATH ADŌNAIE BASĒMM IAŌ. The first angel cries in 'bird-glyphic' ARAI—which is ["Woe to my enemy"—and you have set him] in charge of the punishments. Helios hymns you in hieroglyphic, LAILAM, and in Hebrew by his own[35] name, ANOK[36] BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM
150 / (36 letters);[37] he says, 'I precede you, lord, I who rise on the boat of the sun, the disk (?),[38] thanks to you.' Your magical[39] name in Egyptian is ALDABIAEIM" (9 letters, see below). Now he who appears on the boat rising together with you is a
155 clever / baboon; he greets you in his own language, saying 'You are the number of [the days of] the year, ABRASAX.'[40] The falcon on the other end [of the boat] greets you in his own language and cries out to receive food: CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI
160 CHI TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP TIP. He of the nine forms greets you in / hieratic, saying: MENEPHŌIPHŌTH. (He means, 'I go before you, lord'). . . ."[41]

So saying, he clapped 3 times, and the god[42] laughed 7 times[43]: "CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA." When the god laughed, 7 gods were born[44] (who encompass the cosmos—see above—for these are those who appeared before [the world was formed]).

33. The text is corrupt; I follow Preisendanz's conjecture, ad loc.

34. This gloss interrupts a list of the first seven angels, probably thought to be the first creatures within the cosmos, certainly the foremost subjects of the cosmocrator, Helios. We should next have a list of their utterances, but it is broken off after the first and replaced by those of the Egyptian gods who accompany the sun god's boat at sunrise, and among whom Helios (here the sun disk) is a minor deity by relation to the god on the boat.

35. Reading *αὐτοῦ* for Preisendanz's *αὐτοῦ*.

36. See above, n. 21.

37. Numerical glosses of this sort, of which there are many, reflect a special interest of the compiler; see ll. 737–57, his postscript after VIII Moses. Besides their convenience for numerological speculation, they helped copyists check their transcriptions of magical names. Not that copyists always took advantage of the convenience. Here Preisendanz proposes to get the number of letters down to thirty-six by omitting the final *r* of BERBIR. More interesting is the fact that the compiler evidently did not count ANOK as part of the name, but gave it its Egyptian meaning, "I (am)."

38. "The disk" is an uncertain expansion of an abbreviation otherwise unknown.

39. *φυσικόν*, meaning "with power to produce physical effects."

40. The sum of the numerical values of the Greek letters *a b r a s a x* is 365. See Glossary, s.v. "Abrasax."

41. Here the sudden change in content and style indicates that something has fallen out of the text. What follows is a fragment from some theogonic and cosmogonic myth, an insertion which runs to l. 206, where the invocation, here interrupted, is resumed. The insertion was found in all three versions (C refers to it as "the account of the making of the world," but does not quote it, l. 697).

42. "The god" seems to be someone other than the preceding "he"—we have come into the middle of some mythological scene.

43. Seven is common in cosmological contexts. Besides, Gn 1, Prof. Bergman reports that it appears, for instance, in the temple of Esna, where, as here, seven utterances of one god become other gods. See S. Sauneron, *Les Fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1962) 268–69. 2 Enoch 25–30 combined an Egyptian sequence of seven utterances that produce gods, with the Hebrew sequence of seven commands that produce cosmic changes, and thus produced a muddle.

44. What were born, according to the following text, were not seven but eight *pairs* of gods, not angels, who do not encompass the cosmos but are involved in it as psychological and physical elements (see n. 45). Therefore the words here set in parentheses look like two glosses, especially because the wording of the second phrase echoes that of the clear gloss in l. 165 (see n. 45). However, the structure of seven laughs—seven emanations seem basic to this cosmology. That the last pair of gods does not come from a laugh but from a comment and an echo, makes it suspect; the list of eight looks like an

When he laughed first, / Phōs-Auge (Light-Radiance)[45] appeared and irradiated everything and became god over the cosmos and fire, BESSYN BERITHEN BERIO.

Then he laughed a second time. All was water. Earth, hearing the sound, cried out and heaved, and the water came to be divided into three parts. A god appeared; he was given charge of the abyss [of primal waters], for without / him moisture neither increases nor diminishes. And his name is ESCHAKLEŌ (for[46] you are ŌĒAI, you are ŌN BETHELLE).

When he wanted to laugh the third time, Nous or Phrenes[47] [Mind or Wits] appeared holding a heart,[48] because of the sharpness of the god. He was called Hermes; he was called SEMESILAM. /

The god laughed the fourth time, and Genna [Generative Power] appeared, controlling Spora [Procreation]. [This pair] was called BADĒTOPHŌTH ZŌTHAXATHŌZ.

He laughed the fifth time and was gloomy as he laughed, and Moira [Fate] appeared, holding scales indicating that justice was in her province. But Hermes[49] contested / with her saying, "Justice is my province" (see above). While they were fighting the god said, "What seems to be just will depend on both, but all things in the world will be subject to you, [Moira]." And she was the first to receive the scepter of the world—[Moira] of whom the name written first forward, then backwards, is great and holy and glorious, and it is this: THORIOBRITITAMMAŌRRANGADŌ Ī ŌDANGARRŌAMMATITIRBOIROTH[50] / (49 letters).

He laughed the sixth time and was much gladdened, and Kairos [Time] appeared holding a scepter, indicating kingship, and he gave over the scepter to the first-created god, [Phōs, who] receiving it, said, "You, wrapping yourself in the glory of

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adaptation to the Ogdoad (see below, l. 743 and n. 112)—perhaps misunderstood as eight, rather than four, pairs. The fact that this text was augmented by an appendix glorifying the Ogdoad (ll. 743–61), to make up for its absence from the original form, increases our suspicion. Hence the statement that seven gods were born is probably original. The fundamental problem presented by the text cannot be further investigated within the limits of these notes.

45. Thus the papyrus in both passages—here (with *αὐτή* for *αὐγή*) and l. 476. This is generation in syzygies, as in many ancient Egyptian and gnostic systems (see below, n. 111). Here the original structure may have been Phōs-Augē, Earth-Water, Nous-Phrenes, Genna-Spora, Moira-Hermes, Kairos-Basilissa (i.e., Sun-Moon), Psyche-Serpent, Phobos-Iaō. In the document used by the sources of *PGM* XIII this structure had been forgotten. Phōs and Augē had been identified, so had Nous and Phrenes. Nous had also been identified with Hermes. Spora had been reduced to a process controlled by Genna. In at least one version. Basilissa had been omitted. However, the original form is indicated by the needless occurrence of a *pair* of names at each level, and the frequent pairing of magical names: BERITHENBERIO, ESCHAKLEŌ-BETHELLE, HERMES-SEMESILAM, BADĒTHOPHŌTH-ZŌTHZXATHŌZ. Another piece of evidence is the recurrence, in the Moira-Hermes and Phobos-Iaō pairs, of the story of original hostility/rivalry followed by fusion of function and name. Another element true to form is that, in the Phōs-Augē syzygy, Augē, being feminine and derivative from Phōs, is that aspect of the pair which is involved in lower being. It is she who appears to the earth (480), and she is probably the δόξα (glory) of Phōs in which sun and moon are clothed (189, 514–20, read *αὐγήν* for *αυραν*). So Christ is the *ἀπαύγασμα* (radiance) of the Father's glory (Heb 1:3).

46. "For you are" introduces another gloss.

47. "Or Phrenes" is taken as a gloss by Preisendanz but may have come from the phrase "and Phrenes" and from an original syzygy (see above, n. 45). In privately written texts *καί* ("and") was often abbreviated to *K'*, easily confused with *H* ("or").

48. From the Greek side, the heart was the seat of the intelligence in classical times; *φρένες*, "wits," literally "midriffs," had earlier been thought the seat of the intelligence, and the word continued in literary use with that sense. For the Egyptian side, cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 296–97, s.v. "Herz."

49. Among the things of which Hermes was patron was public speaking, especially argument in the law courts. (The text here is extremely corrupt. I follow Preisendanz's conjecture.)

50. Double *g* in Greek is pronounced *ng*, so in the English transliteration of this palindrome the letters *n* and *g* change places, but in Greek there is no change.

Phōs [Light] / will be with me. . . .[51] ANOCH BIATHIARBAR BERBIR SILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM" (36 letters).

When the god laughed a seventh time Psyche [Soul] came into being, and he wept while laughing. On seeing Psyche, he hissed, and the earth heaved and gave birth to the Pythian serpent who foreknew all things, so the god called him IL-ILLOU / ILILLOU ILILLOU ILILLOU ITHŌR MARMARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH. Seeing the serpent, the god was frightened and said, "Pop, pop, pop." When the god said, "Pop, pop, pop," an armed man appeared who is called DANOUP CHRATOR BERBALI BARBITH. Seeing him the god was again terrified, as seeing someone stronger [than himself, fearing] / lest the earth had thrown up a god. Looking down at the earth he said, "IAŌ." From the echo a god was born who is lord of all. The preceding man contended with him, saying, "I am stronger than this fellow." The [first] god said to the strong man, "You come from the popping noise, and this [god] comes from an echo. Both of you will have charge of every need." [The pair] was then called DANOUP / CHRATOR BERBALI BALBITH IAŌ.[52]

"Lord, I imitate [you by saying] the 7 vowels;[53] enter and hear me, A EE ĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ ABRŌCH BRAŌCH CHRAMMAŌTH PROARBATHŌ IAŌ OYAEĒIOYŌ."

/ When the god comes in, look down and write the things he says and the Name which he gives you for himself. And do not go out from under your canopy until he tells you accurately, too, the things that concern you.

The technique of determining which god is ruler of the celestial pole [at a given time] goes as follows: Find out, child, to which god the day is subject in the Greek reckoning [counting from the top down], and then coming to / *The Seven-Zoned*[54] count [the same number] from the bottom up, and you will find the answer. For if the day be subject to Helios in the Greek reckoning, Selene rules the pole, and thus the rest, as follows:

The Greek	The Seven-Zoned
Helios	Kronos
Selene	Zeus
Ares	Ares
Hermes	Helios
Zeus	Aphrodite
Aphrodite	Hermes
Kronos	Selene

/ Of these things, child, I have declared to you the easy and godly solution which not even kings were able to grasp.

You are to write on the natron with the ink from the flowers of the 7 [stars] and kinds of incense. Similarly, you are to make "the bean,"[55] which I described allegorically in my *Key*, from the flowers and the kinds of incense.

51. For the Kairos-Phōs relation, see ll. 509–19 and nn. Here the text has omitted "the Queen" (the moon) who is the consort of Kairos in this syzygy. The following *Anoch* is again "I (am)" in Coptic.

52. Here the cosmogonic insertion is broken off and the invocation it interrupted (above, l. 161) is resumed.

53. The supplement comes from the parallel, version C, l. 701. God's creative power issues in perpetual harmony of which the seven vowels are the expression—"the music of the spheres."

54. *The Seven-Zoned* was thought by Festugière, *La Révélation* I 343, n. 3, to be a planetary sphere, but Festugière's opinion was based on other evidence; this author seems to have thought the thing a table or treatise; see below, ll. 722–30.

55. "The bean" was a bean-shaped ball of incense.

The initiation called *The Monad* has been fully declared to you, child. / Now I subjoin for you, child, also the practical uses of this sacred book, the things which all the experts accomplished with this sacred and blessed book. As I made you swear, child, in the temple of Jerusalem,[56] when you have been filled with the divine wisdom, dispose of the book so that it will not be found.

The first, then, [of these uses] is the marvelous / ***[spell for] invisibility***: Taking the egg of a falcon, gild half of it and smear the other half with cinnabar. Wearing this you will be invisible when you say the Name.[57]

To fetch a lover: Say the Name 3 times to the sun. It fetches woman to man and man to woman in a way that will amaze you.

If you want someone to be unattractive / —either a woman to a man or a man to a woman: Take a dog's excrement and put it in the post-hole of their door, saying the Name 3 times and saying "I sever NN from NN."

If you say the Name to a demoniac while putting sulfur and asphalt to his nose, the daimon will speak at once and will go away.[58]

If you say it over a man who has erysipelas,[59] / having rubbed him with crocodile dung, he will be rid [of it] at once.

If you say the Name over a sprain or fracture 3 times, having rubbed it down with earth and vinegar, you will make it go away.

If you say it over any bird, into its ear, it will die.

If you see an asp and want to fix it in its place, say / "Stay!" while turning yourself around. When the names[60] are said it will stay.

To restrain anger: Enter the presence of a king or magnate, and while you have your hands inside your garment say the name of the sun disk[61] while tying a knot in your pallium or shawl.[62] You will marvel at the results.

If [you want] to break spells:[63] Having written the Name on a page of hieratic papyrus, wear it.

To make Helios appear:[64] Say toward the east, "I am he / on the two cherubim, between the two natures, heaven and earth, sun and moon, light and darkness, night and day, rivers and sea. Appear to me, O archangel of those subject to the cosmos, ruler Helios, set in authority by the One and Only Himself. The Eternal and Only orders you." Say the Name. And if he appears glowering / say "Give[65] me

56. Pretentious hokum.

57. Presumably the Name revealed by the god in the climax of the ritual, l. 211.

58. Or, perhaps, "(the man) will speak and (the demon) will go away." For the technique, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8. 47.

59. Or, perhaps, "[the ἐρυσιπέλας] will go away." Cf. Mk 4:31; diseases were evil beings.

60. The plural here indicates that this list of applications drew on sources not originally connected with the preceding rite to learn the (one) Name. This probably explains the absence of the list from the other versions. "Say the Name" in many of these spells looks like an addition.

61. This, again, did not originally belong to the preceding rite. The god invoked there was not the sun god, but the creator and ruler of the sun; see 138–61. A number of similarly incompatible spells will be noticed in what follows.

62. The pallium was a cloak affected by persons claiming to be philosophers. The rare word translated "shawl" means "crosswise garment." If this magician were a Jew, it may have been the *talith*.

63. Or "as an antidote for poisons" or, most likely, both.

64. A spell of unmistakably Jewish background in which, however, the magician identifies himself with Yahweh ("he that sitteth upon the cherubim," 1 Sm 4:4; 2 Sm 6:2; etc.) and identifies Helios as an archangel. Compare the use of a Greek prayer, transliterated into Hebrew, for the same purpose, in *Sepher Ha-Razim*, ed. M. Margalioth (Jerusalem, 1966), pp. 12, 99. The prayer in our text is clearly an interpolation in the list of short (two- or three-line) prescriptions which it interrupts.

65. In these requests it is not clear whether "give" means "specify" (a time suitable for some magical operation) or "add" (to the time of my life).

a day; give an hour; give a month; give a year, lord of life." Say the Name.

If you want to kill a snake: Say, "Stay, for you are Aphyphis." And taking a green palm branch and holding its heart,[66] split it [longways] into two, saying the Name over it 7 times. At once the snake will be split / or will break open.

Prescience: This comes in the rite described above, that with the natron. And [you know] that the god will talk with you as with a fellow god, for I have often performed the rite when you were present.

Invisibility: Also thus: "Come to me, Darkness which appeared in the beginning, and hide me, NN, by the order of him who is self-begotten in heaven." Say the Name.

/ ***Another way***: "I call on you alone, the only one in the cosmos who gives orders to gods and men, who changes himself into holy forms and brings existence out of the nonexistent and nonexistence from existent things, holy Thayth,[67] the true sight of whose face none of the gods can endure to see; make me seem to be, to the eyes of all creatures—a wolf, dog, lion, / fire, tree, vulture, wall, water, or whatever you want—for you are able." Say the Name.

Resurrection of a dead body: "I conjure you, spirit coming in air, enter, inspire, empower, resurrect by the power / of the eternal god, this body; and let it walk about in this place, for I am he who acts with the power of Thayth, the holy god." Say the Name.

If you want to cross [the Nile] on a crocodile: Sit down and say, "Hear me, you who live your life in the water. I am one who is at leisure in heaven and goes about in water and in fire and in air / and earth. Return the favor done you on the day when I created you and you made your request to me. You will take me [to] the other side, for I am so-and-so." Say the Name.

For release from bonds: [[Say, "Hear me, O Christ, in torments; help, in necessities, / O merciful in violent hours, able to do much in the world, who created compulsion and punishment and torture." Say it 12 times by day,[68] hissing thrice eight times.]] Say the whole name of Helios beginning from ACHEBYKRŌM.[69]

"Let every bond be loosed, every force fail, let all iron be broken, every rope or every strap, let every / knot, every chain be opened, and let no one compel me, for I am"—say the Name.

To quench fire: "Hear, fire, a work of the works of god's invention, glory of the honored luminary, be quenched, become snow, for the speaker himself is Aion who puts on fire as if it were / asbestos. Let every flame be scattered from me, every physical power, by command of Him who exists forever. You shall not touch me, fire; you shall not harm my flesh, for I am"—say the Name.

66. The center of the triangular end of the branch.

67. Thoth, here and below, l. 283.

68. Not "twelve days" (Preisendanz). All these charms are for quick results, and in this case they were particularly wanted. The words in double brackets are a Christian interpolation as can be seen by the fact that it creates a doublet—a double recipe for a single purpose—and also by comparing form and content of this spell with those of the others in this series, which consistently contain just the elements left in this when the bracketed words are deleted. The interpolation is interesting as evidence that these pagan magical texts continued to be used by the newly Christian criminal class. It also makes conspicuous the absence of Christian elements from the rest of the text. Since the text with the Christian interpolation dates from the first half of the fourth century A.D., the pagan text that was interpolated was probably third century at the latest.

69. This refers to the full name given in ll. 590–92, ACHEBYKRŌN . . . IAŌ. See also ll. 78–79, and cf. ll. 141–47 and 446–53, where the elements of the name are separated by exegetic comments. The magician was to know this name by heart.

For fire to continue: "I conjure you, fire, daimon of holy love, the invisible and manifold, / the one and everywhere, to remain in this lamp at this time, shining and not dying out, by the command of NN." Say the Name.

To send dreams: Make a hippopotamus[70] of red wax, / hollow, and put into the belly of this hippopotamus both gold and silver and the so-called ballatha[71] of the Jews and array him in white linen and put him in a pure window and, taking a sheet of hieratic papyrus write on it with myrrh ink and baboon's blood / whatever you wish to send. Then, having rolled it into a wick and using it to light a new, pure lamp, put on the lamp the foot of the hippopotamus and say the Name, and he sends [the specified dream].

A philter to be drunk: Take the lion-wasps (?) in a spider's web / and, when you have ground them [to a powder, sprinkle the powder] on a drink and give it [to the appropriate person] to drink.[72]

If you want your wife[73] ***not to be had by another man***: Taking earth and mixing with it ink and myrrh, mold a crocodile, and put it into a lead coffin and write on this the great Name and that of your wife and, "Let NN not cohabit with any other man except me, NN." The name / to be written on the feet of the image is: BIBIOU OUĒR APSABARA KASONNAKA NESEBACH SPHĒ SPHĒ CHPHOURIS.

To open doors by use of the Name: "Open, open, 4 quarters of the cosmos, for the lord of the inhabited world comes forth. Archangels, decans, angels rejoice. For Aion of Aion himself, the only and / transcendant, invisible, goes through this place. Open, door! Hear, bar! Fall into two parts, lock! By the name AIA AINRYCHATH, cast up, Earth, for the lord, all things you contain, for he is the storm-sender and controller of the abyss, master of fire. Open, for ACHEBYKRŌM commands you!" [Say ACHEBYKRŌM] 8 times; [it is] the name of Helios.

Another way. The spell for Helios: "I am he on the two cherubim, at the middle of the cosmos, between heaven and earth, light and darkness, night and day, rivers and sea. Appear to me, archangel of god, set in authority by the One and Only Himself." With this spell perform the acts of thanksgiving to Helios, rites to fetch lovers, send dreams, / ask for dreams, make Helios appear, attain goals, win victories, and in short, everything.

You have now received, child, the sacred and blessed book, *Unique*, which no one [hitherto] was able to translate[74] or put into practice. Keep well, child.[75]

*Tr.: Morton Smith. For a more extensive discussion of the composition, see Morton Smith, "The Eighth Book of Moses and How It Grew (PLeid. J 395)," in *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Napoli: Centro Internazionale per lo studio di papiri ercolanesi, 1984) 683–93. *PGM* XIII (copied about A.D. 350) consists of two parts, first *The Eighth Book of Moses* (henceforth *VIII Moses*), ll. 1–733; second, a collection of miscellaneous spells, divine names, etc., ll. 734–1077.

VIII Moses consists of three parts—three different versions of a rite to get a visit from the supreme god; let us call them A (ll. 1–343), B (ll. 343–645) and C (ll. 646–734). These versions differ considerably by peripheral additions and omissions, but their essential parts are often closely parallel, though not always arranged in the same order. Because of the parallelism, questions raised by two or three have been dealt with only when they first appeared.

70. The word for "hippopotamus" here is uncertain, but written in Greek letters. See also M. J. Raven, "Wax in Egyptian Magic and Symbolism," *OMRM* 64 (1983): 7–47, esp. 17–18.

71. Unknown.

72. The expected result is not indicated. Perhaps death, but perhaps love—the wasps had been ensnared and held fast.

73. Reading *γυναῖκά σου* instead of Preisendanz's *γυναῖκας οὐ*.

74. More hokum.

75. A standard epistolary cliché. The use of epistolary beginnings and ending for treatises was a common ancient practice.

Hence readers of B and C who encounter difficulties should look for explanations in the notes on the parallel passages in A. Not all parallels are equally close, but those fairly clear are as follows:

Lines:

343–50 = 3–6	410–32 = 42–61	567–608 = 61–90
352–56 = 17–27	432–34 = 227–28	580–81 = 273–74
358 = 100–102	435–40 = 130–35	646–66 = 91–110
361–63 = 128–31	443–550 = 138–209	666–99 = 110–39
378–82 = 54–59	451ff. = 78ff.	692 = 227–28
384–88 = 35–43	562–70 = 138–209	700–701 = 206
		704–13 = 210–13
		718–30 = 213–24.

PGM XIII. 343–646

345 *The sacred, hidden book of Moses called "eighth" or "holy."[76] / This is the ritual using the name that encompasses all things. It also has directions for a meeting with the god in which you will succeed if you leave out nothing [of what is prescribed].

Keep yourself pure 41 days, having calculated the day and the hour in which the 350 last appearance of / the old moon will occur in Aries. And when the moon enters Aries sleep on the floor during the previous night, and when you have sacrificed burn also the seven approved kinds of incense[77] in which the god delights, for the seven censings of the seven stars. The incenses are these: malabathron, styrax, nard, kostos, cassia, frankincense, myrrh. [Take these] and the seven flowers of the seven 355 / stars, which are rose, lotus, narcissus, white lily, erephyllinon, gillyflower, marjoram. Having ground them all to a powder, with wine not mixed with seawater, burn all as incense. And [also] wear cinnamon, for the god has given it magical power. Burn the incenses after the twenty-first day, so as to complete [the prepara- 360 tion?]. As / food take milk of a black cow and wine without seawater and Greek natron ([the author] indicates that is beginning and end).

When the day is at hand, put aside for the sacrifice cypress wood or balsam 365 wood—so that even / without the incenses the sacrifice may give a pleasant odor—and five pinecones full of seed. And light two lamps, each holding about half a pint of oil, on this and that side of the altar. The altar, moreover, is to be made of earth. When you have prepared and filled the lamps, do not later pour any more oil into 370 them. Sacrifice an unblemished[78] white rooster, / and leave another alive, and similarly [sacrifice one] pigeon [and leave another] so that the god, when he comes in, may take the spirit from whichever he prefers. Also lay out a knife, and lay beside it the seven incenses and the seven flowers prepared [as] written [above] so that if, on 375 coming in, the god should wish to sacrifice again / he may find all in readiness. And leave the sacrifice lying on the altar.

The tasting of the victims is done [in] this way: When you are ready to taste them, sacrifice the rooster, so that [the god] may receive lots of spirit, and at the point of tasting, call on the god of the hour and him of the day, so that you may 380 have sponsorship from them. For if you do not invoke them, / they will not hear you, as being uninitiated. Now you will find [the names of] the gods of the hours and those of the days, and the compulsive formula for each of them in the *Key of Moses*, for he set them out one by one.[79]

76. The beginning of the second version; see the prefatory note above.

77. Translation dubious. Ἐπίθυμα, usually "incense," might mean "censing," which here seems required by the syntax.

78. Or one "without any fleck of color."

79. Or "brought them out [of secrecy]"? The verb means "pulled away/apart"; this use is unparalleled.

As for the name [of the great god], write all of it on the Greek natron. Instead of / the "pop, pop, pop" sound [in the name] draw on the Greek natron a falcon- 385
formed crocodile,[80] for he greets the god four times a year at the gods' true entries of new periods[81]—at the cosmos' first turning, called increase, then in his own elevation which they call "the birth / of Horus," [[then at the rising of the Dog 390
Star,]][82] then at the ascension of Sothis. At each increase of the sun and diminution he gives forth his popping noise. The nine-formed [the Ennead] gives him the power to make the noise at that time, so that the sun may ascend from the sound of water,[83] / for he himself appears together with him [the sun]. Therefore he [the 395
falcon-faced crocodile] received the forms and the power of the nine gods that rise with the sun. For at the downward turning [the autumnal equinox] he sends out the sound weaker and less / powerful, [[for this is the birth of cosmos and sun]].[84] 400
Then at the "increase" when the lights [of the heavens] begin to rise, he too sends out the noise more powerfully. And at the rise of the Dog Star, turning to the west, he sends out the noise most powerfully,[85] inasmuch as he does not have the / related 405
water near by, and because this solstice adds more [to his power], while the effects of the last equinox take away what he gained in the preceding solstice. For [the autumn equinox] is [the time of] the Nile flood's[86] departure and the sun's abasement.

Accordingly, draw the two, i.e., the falcon-faced crocodile / and the nine-formed 410
god standing on him, both with myrrhed ink. For the falcon-faced crocodile at the four turnings [of the year] greets the god with his popping noise. For coming up to breathe from the deep he goes "pop, pop, pop," / and he of the nine forms replies 415
to him antiphonally. Therefore, instead of the "pop, pop, pop" [in the god's name], draw the falcon-faced crocodile, for the "pop, pop, pop" is the first element of the name. The second is a hissing, and instead of the hissing [draw] a snake biting / its 420
tail. Thus the two elements, popping and hissing, are[87] [represented by] a falcon-

80. I.e., falcon-faced/headed. See above, l. 4 and n. 15.

81. The reference is to the four solar seasons. The "gods" are the sun and the planets, thought to accompany him. That the beginnings of the seasons are called "new moons" shows how this latter term has been generalized. The "increase" is the sun's return toward the north after the winter solstice. The falcon-faced crocodile was in part Horus (see above, n. 15); hence his elevation becomes "the birth of Horus," probably the spring equinox. (Preisendanz's reference to the winter solstice seems ruled out by the preceding "increase.") "The birth of Horus" was also a festival celebrated on the twenty-eighth of Pharmuthi (Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscr. Aegypt.* 609. 71–72; cf. 370. 14) and in the ideal year, which began with the rising of Sirius/Sothis in July, just after the summer solstice, the twenty-eighth of Pharmuthi would have fallen near March 21, the spring equinox. Such a year actually occurred in Egypt in A.D. 139. Does this date the spell?

82. Omitting, "then (at) the rising of the Dog Star," a marginal gloss which Preisendanz put in his text. The fourth occasion of greeting, the autumn equinox, is not here specified.

83. The deity is here identified with water, and specifically with the Nile flood. Thus he sends out the popping noise (the sound of water, l. 394) most powerfully at the rise of Sirius/Sothis which begins the inundation in Egypt. At this time the god is said not to have "his kindred water" near him (ll. 404–5), because he has just begun to summon it with his popping. [R.K.R.]

84. This seems an explanatory gloss irreconcilable with the preceding location of "the birth of Horus" (the sun) at the spring equinox. The festival would not have coincided with the autumnal equinox until the end of the sixth century A.D., much too late for this fourth-century papyrus. (Its last previous coincidence was about the end of the eighth century B.C.) Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 52, 372B, reports a festival at "the birthday of the staff of the sun, after the fall equinox, indicating its need . . . of strengthening." This festival may explain the gloss.

85. Taking *δυναμικώτερον* as *litotes* for a superlative (as comparatives, in Greek, often are).

86. The Nile's flood, beginning after the summer solstice, declines before the autumn equinox.

87. Omitting *καί* ("and").

faced crocodile and the nine-formed god standing on it, and around these a snake and the seven vowels.

Now [the god's name] is [composed of] nine names,[88] in advance of which you should say, with the [prayer on the] stele, [those of] the gods of the hours / and of the days [and] those set over the weeks, and the compulsive formula for these. For without these the god will not listen, but, thinking you uninitiated, will refuse to receive [you], unless you emphatically say to him the names of the lord of the day and of the hour, / which information you will find at the end [of this tractate]. For without these you can accomplish nothing of the things you find written in the *Key*.

Then throw [the powder] of the seven flowers, which you have prepared, into the ink, and with this write on the natron. Write the same things on the two sides of the plaque and lick off / the one side and wash off the other into the wine and the milk, first—before you wash it off—having sacrificed the rooster and made everything read.[89] / Then call on the gods of the hours, as aforesaid, and then drink off [the wine and milk].[90]

"I call on you, you who surround all things, in every language, and in every dialect, I hymn you, / as he first hymned you who was by you appointed and entrusted with all authorities, Helios ACHEBYKRŌM" (which signifies the flame and radiance of the disk) "whose is the glory AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ, because he was glorified by you" (or, as other [texts read], "was given a glorious form")—"[you] who set [in their places] the stars / and who, in divine light, create the cosmos, in which you have set in order all things III AAA ŌŌŌ. SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ." (These are the angels who first appeared.) "ARAGA ARATH ADŌNAI BASĒMM IAŌ. The first angel cries to you in birdglyphic, / 'ARAI' (which is, 'Woe to my enemy,') and you have set him in charge of the punishments. Helios hymns you thus in hieroglyphic, LAILAM, and in Hebrew by his own name, ANAG[91] BIATHIARBAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUMTRŌM, / saying, 'I precede you, lord, I who rise on the boat of the sun, the disk (?), thanks to you. Your magical name in Egyptian is ALDABAEIM.'" (This means the boat, on which he comes up, rising on the world.) "He who appears on the boat rising together with you is a clever / baboon; he greets you in his own language, saying, 'You are the number of [the days of] the year, ABRASAX.' The falcon on the other end [of the boat] greets you in his own language and cries out, to receive food, CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI TI TI TI TI TI TI TI. He of the nine forms greets / you in hieratic, 'MENEPHŌIPHŌTH,'" (meaning that "I go before you, lord"). . . .[92]

88. The translation is conjectural, but conjecture seems required by the fact that none of the groups of names specified adds up to nine.

89. This contradicts the directions given above, ll. 369–75, and also requires more roosters than provided. Such internal inconcinnities prove version B composite. Most conspicuous is the doubling of the epiphany at the end.

90. Contrast l. 134, where the following petition precedes the drinking. For other discrepancies of detail between B and the other versions, cf. ll. 136, 440–41 (no reference to reclining), 695, and 702–3; and see above, nn. 16 and 28.

91. See above, n. 21, on l. 82. Here we have ANAG, a variant spelling of ANOCH, but equally Egyptian, not Hebrew. Several other variant spellings will occur below and be transcribed without further comment.

92. See above, l. 161. The same hiatus occurs here as in version A. Therefore both B and A were copied from a single source; but they differ considerably, therefore at least one was not copied directly from the source in which the hiatus first occurred. That source must therefore have been at least three literary generations prior to our fourth-century manuscript, and prior to it (by how many generations?) will have been the first copy of the correct text from a descendant of which (presumably) it was taken.

So saying he clapped three times and the god laughed seven times, CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA. When he laughed seven gods were born, who encompass all things. (For these are / those who appeared before [the world was formed].)

When he laughed first Phōs-Auge [Light-Radiance] appeared and divided all things, and became god over the cosmos and fire, BESEN BEREITHEN BERIO.

Then he laughed a second time—all was water, and the earth, hearing the / sound and seeing Auge, was amazed and heaved, and the water came to be divided into three parts. And a god appeared and was given charge of the abyss, and therefore without him moisture neither increases nor diminishes. And his name is PROMSACHA ALEEIŌ. (For you / are ŌĒAI BETHE[LLE].)

When he wanted to laugh the third time Nous and Phrenes [Mind and Wits] appeared holding a heart, because of the sharpness of the god, and was called Hermes, [since it is he] by whom all things have been interpreted.[93] He is also in charge of the power of understanding by which everything is managed. / And he is [called] SEMESILAMPS.

The god laughed the fourth time and Genna [Creative Force][94] appeared, controlling Spora [Procreation] of all things, by whom all things were sown, and [this pair] was called BADĒTOPHŌTH ZŌTHAXATHŌZŌ.

He laughed the fifth time and was gloomy as he laughed, and Moira [Fate] / appeared, holding scales, indicating that justice was in her province. But Hermes contested with her, saying, "Justice is in my province." While they were fighting the god said to them, "What seems to be just / will depend on both, but all things in the world will be subject to you [Moira]." And she was the first to receive the scepter of the world and was called by a holy name, fearsome and frightful, written first forwards, then backwards, and it is this: THORIOBRITI, etc. [[of whom the name written first forwards, then backwards is great / and holy and glorious, and this is of great value, a powerful name: THORIOBRITITAMMAŌRRAGGADŌ I ŌDAGGARRŌAMMATITIRBOIROTH—49 letters]].

He laughed the sixth time[95] and was much gladdened, the Kairos[96] appeared, holding a scepter, indicating kingship, and he gave over the scepter to / the first-created god, [Phōs, who] receiving it said, "You, wrapping yourself in the glory of Phos [Light] will be with me, because you first gave me a scepter. All things will be subject to you, those that were before and those yet to be. All power will be in you." When he [Kairos] wrapped himself in the glory of Phos, / the character of the light produced a certain effluence.[97] The god, [Phōs, then] said to the Queen,[98] "You, wrapping yourself in the effluence of Phōs, will be with him [Kairos—the sun] compassing all things. You will wax with the light you receive from him, and again you will wane because of him. With you all things will increase and / diminish." So

93. "Interpreted" in Greek seems to come from the same root as "Hermes."

94. The bracketed words seem a variant and expansion of the preceding text, probably with contamination from version A; cf. ll. 183–86.

95. καιρός ("time") is here not only time, but the sun god qua measure of time.

96. Here the relation of Kairos as world ruler, to Phōs, the first created god, who subjects all things to him and clothes him with his own glory (cf. Phil 2:9–11), is remarkably like that of Jesus as Messiah (who is to reign until he puts all enemies under his feet, 1 Cor 15:23–28) to the first god, the Father. The Christians have transposed the relation a step higher. Jesus himself is Phōs ("Light," Jn 1:7–9) and "first born of all creation" (Col 1:15), and the Father is the creator. However, it seems clear that the same sort of theogonic theorizing underlies both theological structures.

97. Reading ὁ δὲ τρόπος τοῦ φωτός with C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci Musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1885) ad loc.

98. The moon, probably Artemis-Selene-Isis.

the name is great and marvellous. ANAG BIATHIAR BARBERBI SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUNTŌRM (36 letters).

He laughed the seventh time, breathing hard, and Psyche [Soul] came into being and all things were moved. So the god said, "You will move all things, and all shall be made glad / so long as Hermes guides you." When the god said this all things were moved and filled with spirit unrestrainably. The god, seeing this, said, "Pop, pop, pop," and all things were terrified, and on account of the popping noise Phobos [Fear] appeared, armed. So he is called DANOUP CHRATŌR / BERBALI BALBITHI (26 letters).

Then, looking down at the earth, the god gave a long hiss and the earth was opened, receiving the echo. It gave birth to a creature of its own, the Pythian serpent, who foreknew all things through the utterance of the god. Its name is great and / holy, ILILLOUI ILILLOUI ILILLOUI ITHŌR MARMARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH. When he appeared the earth heaved and was raised much higher, but the celestial pole stayed unmoved, so when they were about to collide the god said "IAŌ," and everything was fixed in place / and a great, supreme god appeared who established the things that were before in the cosmos and the things yet to be, so that none of the aerial bodies was thenceforth out of place.

Phobos, seeing someone stronger than himself, opposed him, saying, "I am prior to you." He, however, said, "But I fixed all things [in their places]." So the / [first] god said [to the serpent], "You come from an echo, but this god from an utterance. Now an utterance is better than an echo. However, [he said to Iao],[99] "the power of you, who appeared last, will derive from both, so that all things may be fixed in their places." And he was thenceforth called by the great and marvelous name DANOUP CHRATŌR / BERBALI BALBITH IAŌ. And wishing to give honor also to the one who had assisted him, as having appeared together with him, the first god gave him precedence of the nine gods and possession of power and glory equal to theirs. / And he was called [by a name derived] from the nine gods, as having taken away, along with their power, also the initials of their names, BOSBEADII,[100] and from the seven planets AEĒIOYŌ EĒIOYŌ ĒIOYŌ IOYŌ OYŌ YŌ Ō ŌYOIĒEA YOIĒEA OIĒEA IĒEA ĒEA EA A— / when written forwards and backwards this is great and marvelous. But his greatest name, which is this following, is great and holy (of 27 letters) ABRŌCH BRAŌCH CHRAMMAŌTH PRŌARBATHŌ IAŌ. Another version: ABRŌCH BRAŌCH CHRAMMAŌTH PRŌARBATHŌ IAŌ OY AEĒIOYŌ.

When, then, the god comes in, / look down and write the things said and whatever name he may give you for himself. And do not go out from under your canopy until he also tells you the things that concern you.

Now the text of the sacred stele to be written in the natron is as follows—and the invocation runs thus, as here given altogether accurately:

/ "I call on you, the creator of all, who are greater than all, you, the self-begotten god, who see all and hear all and are not seen. For you gave Helios all the glory and the power, / Selene the privilege to wax and wane and have fixed courses, yet you took nothing from the earlier-born darkness, but assigned them equality [with it?]. For when you appeared, both order arose and light appeared, and all things were

99. Since in this version only the serpent was born of an echo, and since the last half of the god's speech must be addressed to Iaō, the change of interlocutor, indicated by the translation, just be conjectured. Presumably the text is corrupt. Cf. the A version, ll. 191–206, which, however, may have been produced by excision of the difficulties. That the more difficult text is apt to be the original is a well-known rule.

100. In spite of this clue the names remain uncertain.

arranged by you. Therefore all things are also / subject to you, whose true form none of the gods can see, who take different forms in [different] visions, Aion of Aion.

"I call on you, lord, that you may show me your true form. For under your order I serve / your angel, ANOG BIATHIABAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOUPHROUNTŌRM, and your fear DANOUP CHRANTŌR BELBALI BALBITH IAŌ. Through you arose the [celestial] pole and the earth.

"I call on you, lord, as do those gods who appeared under [order?] that they / may have power, ACHEBYKRŌM, whose is the glory, AAA ĒĒĒ ŌŌŌ III AAA ŌŌŌ SABAOTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ, the god ARATH ADŌNAI BASYMM IAŌ.

"I call on you, lord, in birdglyphic, ARAI; hieroglyphic, LAILAM; Hebraic, ANAG, / BIATHIARBAR BERBI SCHILATOUR BOURPHOUNTŌRM; Egyptian, ALDABAEIM; baboonic, ABRASAX; falconic, CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI CHI [CHI] ti ti ti ti ti ti ti; hieratic, MENEPHŌIPHŌTH / CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA."

Then clap three times, TAK TAK TAK, go "pop, pop, pop" for a long time; hiss a great hiss, that is, one of some length.

"Come to me, lord, faultless, who pollute no place, joyful, unflawed, for I call on / you, King of kings, Tyrant of tyrants, most glorious of the glorious, daimon of daimons, most warlike of the warlike, most holy of the holy. Come to me, willing, joyful, unflawed."

An angel will come in, and you say to the angel, "Greetings, lord. Both initiate me by these rites[101] I am performing / and present me [to the god], and let the fate determined by my birth be revealed to me." And if he says anything bad, say, "Wash off from me the evils of fate. Do not hold back, but reveal / to me everything, by night and day and in every hour of the month, to me, NN, son of NN. Let your auspicious form be revealed to me, for under your [order] I serve [your] angel, ANAG BIATHI." (Repeat the formula.)

"I call on you, lord, holy, much hymned, greatly honored, ruler of the cosmos, / [[Sarapis]];[102] consider my birth and turn me not away, me, NN whom NN [bore], who know your true name and valid name, ŌAŌĒŌ ŌEOĒ IAŌ IIIAAŌ THOUTHĒ THĒ AATHŌ ATHĒROUŌR AMIATHAR MIGARNA CHPHOURI IYEYĒOŌAEĒ A EE ĒĒĒ / IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ SEMESILAMMPS AEĒIOYŌ ĒŌOYE LINOUCHA NOUCHA HARSAMOSI[103] ISNORSAM OTHAMARMIM ACHYCH CHAMMŌ. I call on you, lord; I hymn your holy power in a musical hymn, AEĒIOYŌŌŌ."[104] / Burn incense, saying, "ĒIOYŌ IOYŌ OYŌ YŌ Ō A EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ ŌĒŌAŌAŌ OOOYO IIIIIAO IIYYYOAĒA YO. Protect me from all my own astrological destiny; destroy my / foul fate; apportion good things for me in my horoscope; increase my life; and [may I enjoy] many good things, for I am your slave and petitioner and have hymned your valid and holy name, lord, glorious one, ruler of

101. Literally, "Initiate me in/by these my matters."

102. Sarapis (like Christ above, in ll. 289–92) is elsewhere of no importance in this text. Therefore his name here and in l. 640 below is probably interpolated. However, this does not prove that the whole section in which the name occurs is an interpolation. The section has the ideas and vocabulary of the rest of the text, and understandably follows the visit of the angel as a spell to introduce the magician to the supreme god himself. That no epiphany follows may be due either to the loss of the end of the text that the compiler was using or to his desire to subordinate this to the C version, which now begins immediately, is much abbreviated, and so leads quickly to the final meeting with the god.

103. HARSAMOSI is "Horus the Elder." [R.K.R.] Other divine names are also embedded in the spell: IAŌ, THOUTHE (probably from Thoth), SEMESILAM.

104. The seven Greek vowels, represented by the first seven letters of this group, were equated with the notes of the musical scale, and so represented the basic harmony.

the cosmos, of ten thousand names (?),[105] greatest, nourisher, apportioner, / [[Sarapis]]."

Having drawn in spirit with all your senses, say the first[106] name in one breath to the east, the second to the south, the third to the north, the fourth to the west, and having knelt to the left [on] your right knee once, say to the earth once and to the moon once, to water once and to sky once, "ŌAŌĒ ŌŌ EOĒIAŌ / III AAŌ THĒ THOU THĒ AATHŌ ATHĒROYŌ" (36 letters).

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XIII. 646–734

*Have[107] a tablet on which you will write what he says to you, and a knife so that, clean from all [impurities], you may kill the sacrifices, and a libation, that you may pour one. Have all these / ready nearby you. And you be in clean linens, crowned with an olive wreath. Prepare the canopy thus: taking a clean sheet write on the border [the names of] the 365 gods. Make it like a tent / under which you go to be initiated. Also have cinnamon at your neck, for the deity is pleased by it and gave it power. And have also the Apollo who will help you, carved from a root of laurel, / with tripod standing beside him and Pythian serpent. Carve around the Apollo the great name in Egyptian form: on his chest this,[108] BAINCHŌŌŌCHŌŌŌCHNIAB, written [the same] forwards and backwards; / on the back of [the] figure this name: ILILLOU ILILLOU ILILLOU; and around the Pythian serpent and the tripod: ITHŌR MARMARAUGĒ PHŌCHŌ PHŌBŌCH. Have this, too, around your neck when you perform the initiation; / it is helpful in everything, along with the cinnamon.

Accordingly, as I said before, when you have purified yourself in advance [through the last] seven days while the moon is waning, at the dark of the moon begin sleeping on the ground. Rising at dawn, greet the sun [Helios] through seven days, each day saying first the [names of the] / gods of the hours, then those set over the weeks. Also [each day], learning who is the ruler of that day, keep after him, saying, "Lord, on such-and-such a day I am calling the god to the sacred sacrifices"—doing so until the eighth day.

Then, / coming to this day, in the middle of the night, when there is quiet, light the altar fire and have at hand the two roosters and the two lamps, lighted, into which you must not put any more oil. Now begin to recite the stele and the / mystery of the god. Have standing by a mixing bowl containing milk of a black cow and wine not mixed with seawater, for this is beginning and end. Then having written on one side of the natron [plaque, the text of] the stele which begins "I call on you, who are greater than all," / etc., as given above, lick it off, and pouring [wine?] on the other side, on which is the figure drawing,[109] wash it off into the mixing bowl. The natron should be written [with ink made] both from the incense materials and from the flowers. Then, before you drink off the milk and the wine, / say over it this petition and having said it lie down on the mat, holding the tablet and the stylus, and recite the account of creation which begins, "I call on you who surround all

105. Reading *μυριώνυμε* for the papyrus's *μυρικωτατες*, and Preisendanz's *μυριώτατε* (otherwise unknown?).

106. "First" of those in this section; above, ll. 622–27.

107. Here version C of the main ritual begins, paralleling version A, ll. 91–110, where the notes on features common to both texts will be found.

108. Preisendanz's supplement, *ὄνομα*, is needless.

109. Of the nine-formed god standing on a falcon-faced crocodile inside an ouroboros, above, ll. 39–45 and parallel. Contrast versions A and B in which the prayer is to be written on both sides of the tablet, ll. 131 and 434.

things, I call in every language and in every dialect," etc. And when / you come to the vowels, say, "Lord, I imitate you by [saying] the seven vowels; enter and hear me." Then repeat the name [composed] of the 27 letters. You should be lying on a rush mat spread under you on the ground.

Now when the god comes in do not stare / at his face, but look at his feet while beseeching him, as written above, and giving thanks that he did not treat you contemptuously, but you were thought worthy of the things about to be said to you for correction of your life. You, then, ask, "Master, what is fated for me?" And he will tell you even / about your star, and what kind of daimon you have, and your horoscope and where you may live and where you will die. And if you hear something bad, do not cry out or weep, but ask that he may wash it off or circumvent it, for this god can do everything. Therefore, when you begin questioning, / thank him for having heard you and not overlooked you. Always sacrifice to this [god] in this way and offer your pious devotions, for thus he will hear you.

The technique of determining which god is ruler of the celestial pole [at a given time,] goes as follows: Find out, child, to which god the day is subject in the Greek reckoning, / and then, coming to the "Seven-Zoned," count from the bottom up, and you will find the answer. For if the day be subject to Helios in the Greek reckoning, Selene rules the pole, and thus the rest, as follows:

Greek		The Seven-Zoned
Helios	The Monad of Moses,	Kronos
Selene		Zeus
Ares	which is also a table	Ares
Hermes	called "The Seven-	Helios
Zeus	Zoned."	Aphrodite
Aphrodite		Hermes
Kronos		Selene

The Eighth, Hidden Book of Moses.[110] In another [manuscript] I found was written, *The Hidden Book of Moses concerning the Gret Name*, or,[111] *For Everything, in which is the Name of Him Who Governs All.*

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XIII. 734–1077

*You should also take, child, for this personal / vision, [a list of] the gods of the days and the hours and the weeks, those given in the book, and the twelve rulers of the months, and the seven-letter name which is in the first book, and which you also have written in the *Key*, which [name] is great and marvelous, as it is what brings alive all your books. / I have also set out for you the oath that precedes each book, since, when you have learned the power of the book, you are to keep it secret, child, for in it there is the name of the lord, which is Ogdoas,[112] the god who com-

110. As often in ancient manuscripts, the title follows the text. Perhaps it did so in l. 344 and was there fused with the beginning title of version B.

111. Reading "or" for Preisendanz's "which" (ἤ for ἡ). Evidently the copyist knew at least three manuscripts.

112. An "ogdoad" is something composed of eight members or elements. Capitalized, the term is used especially for a set of eight Egyptian gods, considered as a unit. They consisted of four pairs, representing the masculine and feminine aspects of the primeval world (Bonnet, *RÄRG* 5–6, s.v. "Achtheit"; cf. the similar "Ennead" discussed in n. 15 above). [R.K.R. adds that they were celebrated in the creation myth of Hermopolis—in Egyptian, "Eight-Town"—as those who brought forth the universe. He refers

mands and directs all things, since to him angels, archangels, he-daimons, / she-daimons, and all things under the creation have been subjected.

There are also prefaced four other names, that of nine letters and that of fourteen letters and that of twenty-six letters and that of Zeus. You may use these on boy-mediums who do not see the gods, so / that one will see unavoidably, and for all spells and needs: inquiries, prophecies by Helios, prophecies by visions in mirrors. And for the compulsive spell you should use the great name which is Ogdoas, the god who directs all things throughout the creation. [For] without him simply nothing / will be accomplished. Learn and conceal, child, the name [composed] of the nine letters, AEĒ EĒI OYŌ, and that of the fourteen letters, YSAU SIAUE IAŌUS, and that of the twenty-six letters, ARABBAOUARABA (to be written forwards and backwards),[113] the name of Zeus, CHONAI IEMOI CHO ENI KA ABIA SKIBA PHOROUOM EPIERTHAT.

/ ***Here is the instruction [for recitation] of the heptagram,[114] and the spell to which the god gives attention: (The spell)***:

"Come to me, you from the four winds, ruler of all, who breathed spirit into men for life, whose is the hidden and unspeakable name—it cannot be uttered by human mouth / —at whose name even the daimons, when hearing, are terrified, whose is the sun, ARNEBOUAT BOLLOCH BARBARICH B BAALSAMĒN PTIDAIOY ARNEBOUAT, and [the] moon, ARSENPENPRŌOUTH BARBARAIŌNE OSRAR MEMPSECHEI—they are unwearied eyes / shining in the pupils of men's eyes—of whom heaven is head, ether body, earth feet, and the environment water, the Agathos Daimon. You are the ocean, begetter of good things and feeder of the civilized world. Yours is the eternal processional way[115] / in which your seven-lettered name is established for the harmony of the seven sounds [of the planets which] utter their voices according to the twenty-eight forms of the moon, SAR APHARA APHARA I ABRAARM ARAPHA ABRAACH PERTAŌMĒCH / AKMĒCH IAŌ OYE Ē IAŌ OYE EIOY AEŌ EĒOY IAŌ. Yours are[116] the beneficent effluxes of the stars, daimons and Fortunes and Fates, by whom is given wealth, good old age, good children, good luck, a good burial.[117] And you, lord of life, King of the heavens and the / earth and all things living in them, you whose justice is not turned aside, you whose glorious name the Muses sing, you whom the eight guards attend, Ē Ō CHŌ CHOUCH NOUN NAUNI AMOUN AMAUNI;[118] you who have / truth that never lies. Your name and

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to Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 175–77.] As gods who produced the cosmos, like those of Hesiod's *Theogony*, they interested Greeks who speculated about cosmology. Since the precosmic world was that of divine perfection, they came to be thought both a heaven above the seven planetary heavens, and a deity above the cosmic gods. Greek speculation about a divine sphere beyond those of the planets was happy to find in them an ancient, arcane, and prestigious prototype. Hence their name became a popular term in second-century A.D. and later theosophy; it figures in Hermetic, Neoplatonic, and Christian writings, both "orthodox" and "gnostic," and reflections are found even in rabbinic literature. Such popularity accounts for this postscript, adding the fashionable Egyptian name to the preceding collection, which had lacked it. Perhaps the collection was made before the name became truly popular.

113. In the Greek text this direction is abbreviated to α′ (for *ἀναγραμματίζε*), of which Preisendanz did not see the meaning.

114. I.e., the seven vowels. More pretentious terminology.

115. Of the sky, in which the luminaries revolve.

116. Reading *σοῦ* for *οὗ*, in accordance with Preisendanz's emendation in the parallel text, XII. 254.

117. This list of divine gifts (while admittedly at home in most cultures) is quite Egyptian in its emphasis on "good old age" and "good burial." Cf. the standard prayer, "that he be buried in the necropolis of the desert in good old age," K. Sethe, *Urkunden des alten Reiches* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933), vol. I, p. 120, and many parallels. [R.K.R.]

118. These are the names of the members of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad (see above, n. 112, and

your spirit rest upon the good. Come into my mind and my understanding for all the time of my life and accomplish for me all the desires of my soul. /

For you are I, and I, you. Whatever I say must happen, for I have your name as a unique phylactery in my heart, and no flesh, although moved, will overpower me; no spirit will stand against me—neither daimon nor visitation nor any other of the evil beings of Hades, / because of your name, which I have in my soul and invoke. Also [be] with me always for good, a good [god dwelling] on a good [man], yourself immune to magic, giving me health no magic can harm, well-being, prosperity, glory, victory, power, sex appeal. Restrain the evil eyes / of each and all of my legal opponents, whether men or women, but give me charm in everything I do. ANOCH AIEPHE SAKTIETĒ BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SEĒE SEĒE SIETHŌ SIETHŌ OUN CHOUNTIAI SEMBI IMENOUAI BAINPHNOUN PHNOUTH TOUCHAR SOUCHAR SABACHAR ANA[119] of [the] god IEOU ION EON THŌTHŌ / OUTHRO THRŌRESE ERIŌPŌ IYĒ AĒ IAŌAI AEĒIOYŌ AEĒIOYŌ ĒOCH MANEBI CHYCHIŌ ALARAŌ KOL KOL KAATŌN KOLKANTHŌ BALALACH ABLALACH OTHERCHENTHE BOULŌCH / BOULŌCH OSERCHNTHE MENTHEI,[120] for I have received the power of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of the great god, daimon IAŌ ABLANATHANALBA SIABRATHILAŌ LAMPSTĒR IĒI ŌŌ, god. Do [it], lord PERTAŌMECH / CHACHMĒCH IAŌ OYĒE IAŌ OYĒE IEOU AĒŌ EĒOY IAŌ."

The instruction: Speaking to the rising sun, stretching out your right hand to the left and your left hand / likewise to the left, say "A." To the north, putting forward only your right fist, say "E." Then to the west, extending both hands in front [of you], say "Ē." To the south, / [holding] both on your stomach, say, "I." To the earth, bending over, touching the ends of your toes, say "O." Looking into the air, having your hand on your heart, say "Y." Looking into the sky, having both hands on your head, say "Ō:"

sky

A	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	IIII
east	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō O	south
air	Y Y Y Y Y Y	
north	E E O O O O O Ē Ē Ē	west

earth

"I call on you, eternal and unbegotten, who are one, who alone hold together the whole creation of all things, whom none understands, whom the gods worship, / whose name not even the gods can utter. Inspire from your exhalation (?),[121] ruler

K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1929], p. 65 and pl. I). The pairs are *Ḥḥ* and *Ḥḥ.t* ("Expansiveness" and "Female Expansiveness"), *Kk* and *Kk.t* ("Darkness" and "Female Darkness," cf. CHŌŌŌCH, "darkness," in BAINCHŌŌŌCH with the CHOUCH here), *Nwn* and *Nwn.t* ("Abyss" and "Female Abyss" *sc.* of water), and *Imn* and *Imn.t* ("the Hidden" and "the Female Hidden"). Cf. *PGM* XIII. 743 and XXI. 20. [R.K.R.] It should be noticed, too, that here the Ogdoad are merely assistants—the "eight guards" who "attend" the highest god—whereas in the preceding two paragraphs, which we saw reason to think interpolated (above, n. 112), the Ogdoad was itself and as a unit the supreme god. Detailed textual analysis is impossible here, but it seems clear that different sources have been used, and likely, that different writers used them.

119. Possibly "I [am]" in Aramaic, transliterated into Greek.

120. Besides the initial ANOCH "I am," this list has many Egyptian words: BAINPHOUN, "spirit of Nun" (the abyss); PHNOUTH, "the god"; THŌTHŌ, "Thoth the great"; OSERCHENTHE MENTHEI, "Osiris the foremost of the westerners," the standard epithet of Osiris. [R.K.R.]

121. Dubious restoration, in Preisendanz's text, of a word here plausible, but otherwise unknown.

of the pole, him who is under you; accomplish for me the NN thing.

"I call on you as by the voice of the male gods, ΙΕΩ ΟΥΕ ΩΕΙ ΥΕ ΑΩ ΕΙ ΩΥ ΑΟΕ ΟΥΕ / ΕΩΑ ΥΕΙ ΩΕΑ ΟΕΩ ΙΕΟΥ ΑΩ. I call on you, as by the voice of the female gods, ΙΑΕ ΕΩΟ ΙΟΥ ΕΕΙ ΩΑ ΕΕ ΙΕ ΑΙ ΥΟ ΕΙΑΥ ΕΩΟ ΟΥΕΕ ΙΑΩ ΩΑΙ ΕΟΥΕ ΥΩΕΙ ΙΩΑ. I call on you, as the winds / call you. I call on you, as the dawn." (Looking toward dawn [say], "Α ΕΕ ΕΕΕ ΙΙΙΙ ΟΟΟΟΟ ΥΥΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ.") "I call on you as the south." (Looking to the south say, "Ι ΟΟ ΥΥΥ ΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑΑ ΕΕΕΕΕΕ ΕΕΕΕΕΕΕ.") / "I call on you as the west." (Standing [facing] the west, say, "Ε ΙΙ ΟΟΟ ΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑΑΑ ΕΕΕΕΕΕΕ.") "I call on you as the north." (Standing looking toward the north say, "Ω ΑΑ ΕΕΕ ΕΕΕΕ ΙΙΙΙΙ ΟΟΟΟΟΟ ΥΥΥΥΥΥΥ.") "I call on you / as the earth." (Looking toward the earth say, "Ε ΕΕ ΙΙΙ ΟΟΟΟ ΥΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑΑΑΑ.") "I call on you as the sky." (Looking into the sky say, "Υ ΩΩ ΑΑΑ ΕΕΕΕ ΕΕΕΕΕ ΙΙΙΙΙΙ ΟΟΟΟΟΟΟ.") "I call on you as the cosmos, "Ο ΥΥ ΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑ / ΕΕΕΕΕ ΕΕΕΕΕΕ ΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ. Accomplish for me NN thing, quickly. I call on your name, the greatest among gods. If I say it complete, there will be an earthquake, the sun will stop and the moon will be afraid and the rocks and the mountains and the sea and the rivers / and every liquid will be petrified; the whole cosmos will be thrown into confusion. I call on you, ΙΥΕΥΟ ΩΑΕΕ ΙΑΩ ΑΕΕ ΑΙ ΕΕ ΑΕ ΙΟΥΩ ΕΥΕ ΙΕΟΥ ΑΕΩ ΕΙ ΩΕΙ ΙΑΕ ΙΩΟΥΕ ΑΥΕ ΥΕΑ ΙΩ ΙΩΑΙ ΙΩΑΙ ΩΕ / ΕΕ ΟΥ ΙΩ ΙΑΩ, the great name. Become for me lynx, eagle, snake, phoenix, life, power, necessity, images of god, ΑΙΩ ΙΩΥ ΙΑΩ ΕΙΩ ΑΑ ΟΥΙ ΑΑΑΑ Ε ΙΥ ΙΩ ΩΕ ΙΑΩ ΑΙ ΑΩΕ ΟΥΕΩ ΑΙΕΕ ΙΟΥΕ ΥΕΙΑ ΕΙΩ ΕΙΙ ΥΥ ΕΕ ΕΕ ΩΑΟΕ / CHECHAMPSIMM CHANGALAS ΕΕΙΟΥ ΙΕΕΑ ΩΟΕΟΕ (seven of the auspicious [names?]) ΖΩΙΩΙΕΡ ΩΜΥΡΥΡΟΜΡΟΜΟΣ." [Say it?] thus, extending the second ΑΙΩ: "Ε ΙΙ ΥΥ ΕΕ ΟΑΟΕ."

This initiation is performed to the suns[122] of the thirteenth day of the month, when the gold lamella is licked / off and one says over it: "ΙΑΙΑ ΙΥ ΟΕ ΙΕΥΟΩ ΕΩΙ ΕΟ Ε ΩΥ ΕΕ ΥΩΕ ΩΩΟ ΩΩΙ ΩΑΩ ΕΩ ΟΕ ΥΩ." Then more completely, "ΑΩΕΥΕ ΟΑΙ ΙΟ ΕΥΕΩΑ ΟΥΩ ΩΟ ΕΙ ΟΥ ΕΩ ΟΙΥΥ ΩΥΥ ΩΙ Α / ΕΕ ΕΕΕ ΙΙΙΙ ΟΟΟΟΟ ΥΥΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ ΑΩ ΕΟΕ ΕΩΕ ΙΑΑ ΕΩΙ ΕΙΩ. In [the] initiation these things are said six times with all [the rest?], and the seven vowels are written on the gold lamella to be licked off, and on the silver lamella the seven vowels for the phylactery / ΟΕΩ ΑΩ ΟΟΟ ΥΟΙΕ ΟΥ ΥΕΙ SORRA ΤΗΩΜ CHRALAMPΕΑPS ΑΤΟΥΕGΙ. The following series of vowels [are written as] "wings";[123] and on the gold lamella write this: ΑΩΕΥΕΟΙ; on the silver: ΙΟΕΥΕΩΑ, . . .[124]

ΑΕΕΙΟΥΩ
ΕΕΙΟΥΩΑ
ΕΙΟΥΩΑΕ
ΙΟΥΩΑΕΕ
ΟΥΩΑΕΕΙ
ΥΩΑΕΕΙΟ
ΩΑΕΕΙΟΥ

ΑΕΕΙΟΥΩΩ
ΕΕΙΟΥΩΩΑ
ΕΙΟΥΩΩΑΕ
ΙΟΥΩΩΑΕΕ
ΟΥΩΩΑΕΕΙ
ΥΩΩΑΕΕΙΟ
ΩΩΑΕΕΙΟΥ

ΑΕΕΙΟΥΩΟΥΩ
ΕΕΙΟΥΩΟΥΩΑ
ΕΙΟΥΩΟΥΩΑΕ
ΙΟΥΩΟΥΩΑΕΕ
ΟΥΩΟΥΩΑΕΕΙ
ΥΩΟΥΩΑΕΕΙΟ
ΩΟΥΩΑΕΕΙΟΥ

and[125] the great heaven, eternal, incorruptible, ΟΕΩ ΑΩ ΤΗΟΟΥ ΟΙΕ ΟΥ ΥΕΙ ΟΡ-ΧΡΑ ΤΗΩΜΧΡΑ SEMESILAMPS / ΑΤΟΥΕΤΙ DROUSOUAR DROUΕSRΩ GNIDA

122. Of dawn, midday, and sunset (Preisendanz).

123. I.e., in triangles, produced by writing the words in successive lines, but in each line dropping one letter from the same end (usually the front) until only one is left. A "wing" is the technical term in magical jargon for the resultant form.

124. Something, probably directions from another rite, seems to have fallen out of the text. It resumes near the end of another spell.

125. This has no clear connection to the preceding vowels, so Preisendanz conjectures a lacuna. However, this may be the continuation of the lost spell in which the vowels stood.

BATAIANA ANGASTA AMASOUROUR OUANA APAISTOU OUANDA ŌTI SATRAPERKMĒPH ALA Dionysus, blessed EYIE YOY YYY THENŌR conducting YYY EYEYEY YE OYŌ XERTHENATHIA THAPHTHŌ / OIKROU ŌR ARAX GŌ Ō AAA ERARĒRAYIIĒR THOUTH ASĒSENACHTHŌ LARNIBAI AIOŌ KOUPHIŌ ISŌTHŌNI PATHENI IEEENTHĒR PANCHOCHITAS OYE TIASOUTH PACHTHEESTH HYSEMMIGADŌN / ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOĒRADĒR SOIRE SOIRE SANKANTHARA ERESCHIGAL APARA KEŌPH IAŌ SABAŌTH ABRATIAŌTH ADŌNAI ZAGOURĒ HARSAMOSI RANAKERNŌTH LAMPSOUŌR.[126] Therefore, I am brought together with you by the great commander-in-chief Michael, lord, the great archangel of IEOY AĒ AIŌ EYAI / I Ē IĒ IŌA IĒIĒ AIŌ EĒ AIŌ. Therefore, I am conjoined[127] [with you], O great one, and I have you in my heart AŌ EĒ EŌĒI AIAĒ ŌĒ IŌAŌ EOĒE ŌĒI AAĒ ŌĒIŌ.

As the revelator Orpheus[128] ***handed down in his private note***: "OISPAĒ IAŌ / OYEA SEMESILAM AĒOI, son, CHOLOUE ARAARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE ŌĒEYAIĒ OIAI EAĒ EAĒ ŌEA BORKA BORKA PHRIX RIX ŌRZA ZICH MARTHAI OYTHIN LILILILAM LILILILŌOU AAAAAAA ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ / MOUAMECH, fluid boundary, AĒŌ ŌĒA ĒŌA." (Breathe out, in. Fill up); "EI AI OAI" (pushing more, bellow-howling.) "Come to me, god of gods, AĒŌĒI ĒI IAŌ AE OIŌTK" (Pull in, fill up, / shutting your eyes. Bellow as much as you can, then, sighing, give out [what air remains] in a hiss.)

Erotylos, in his "Orphica":[129] "YOĒEŌAI ŌAI YOĒEAI YOĒEŌ EREPE EYA / NARBARNE ZAGEGŌĒ ĒCHRAĒM KAPHNAMIAS PSIIPHRI PSAIARORKIPHKA BRAKIŌ BOLBALOCH SIAILASI MAROMALA MARMISAI BIRAITHATHI ŌO."

And Hieros[130] ***writes thus***: "MARCHŌTH SAERMACHŌTH ZALTHAGAZATHA / BABATHBATHAATHAB A III AAA OOO[131] ŌŌŌ ĒĒĒ ŌNTHĒR." Then, "Depth AUMŌLACH."

And as it stands in the "Holy Name" pronounced by Thphes, the sacred scribe to King Ochos:[132] "NETHMOMAŌ / MARCHACHTHA CHTHAMAR ZAXTHTHARN MACHACH ZAROKOTHARA ŌSS IAŌ OUĒ SIALŌR TITĒ EAĒ IAŌ ĒS ZEATHE AAA ĒEEOY THŌBARRABAU."

And in the Memoranda / of Euenos[133] he says the name is pronounced by the Egyptians [and] the Syrians "CHTHETHŌNI."

As Zoroaster[134] ***the Persian in*** . . . "RNISSAR PSYCHISSAR."

And as is said in the works of / Pyrrhus:[135] "ZZA AAA EEE BBMŌEA ANBIŌŌŌ."

And as Moses says in the Archangelic [Teaching?]:[136] "ALDAZAŌ BATHAM MA-

126. Besides the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Egyptian divine names now familiar, this list has Baubo, a comic figure from Eleusinian legend, and Ereschigal, the ancient Mesopotamian queen of the underworld.

127. The verb is *συνίστημι*, usually "introduce, present," but the context here seems to require some closer connection. Cf. above, ll. 795–804.

128. Orpheus, the legendary Thracian singer, had by this time become famous as a revelator. Many bogus works were attributed to him; nothing is known of this one.

129. Or "as quoted in the *Orphica*." The translation given in the text follows Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* I, 17. An Erotylus was once cited by the alchemist Zosimus as an authority on "the All" (*ibidem*, III, 144). He is otherwise unknown.

130. Unknown?

131. Reading OOO for ŌOO, since the adjacent groups are all triplets of a single letter.

132. Ochos was Artaxerxes III, 358–338 B.C. Thphēs is unknown, and the conversation was probably fictitious.

133. Several authors named Euenos are known, but nothing connects any of them with this statement.

134. Zoroaster, like Orpheus, was a favorite victim of forgers, one of whom produced this.

135. We know of many men named Pyrrhus, but of none likely to have written this.

136. *The Archangelic Teaching* (?) of "Moses" is again cited in the Nag Hammadi documents (II. 5. 102) and may be reflected by a medieval manuscript which quotes an "archangelic hymn" given to

CHŌR," or "BA ADAM MACHŌR RIZXAĒ ŌKEŌN PNED MEŌYPS PSYCH PHRŌCH PHER PHRŌ IAOTHCHŌ."

/ And as it is explained in Hebrew in "The Law":[137] "Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, AĒŌ ĒŌA ŌAĒ IEOY IEĒ IEO IAŌ IA ĒI AO EĒ OE EŌ."

And as in the fifth book of the Ptolemaica,[138] the most excellent book entitled / *One and the Whole*. (It contains [an account of] the birth of the spirit of fire and of darkness:) "Lord of [the] Aion, who created all things, only god, unutterable, THOROKOMPHOUTH PSONNAN / NEBOUĒTI TATTAKINTHAKOL SOONSOLOUKE SOLBOSEPHĒTH BORKA BORKA PHRINX RIXŌ ZADICH AMARCHTHA IOU CHORIN LI LI LAM LAM AAAAAAA IIIIIII ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ EMACH ĒĒĒ NACH LILILI LAM CHENĒ / LILILI ŌOY AĒŌ ŌAĒ IŌA ŌŌŌ ĒĒĒ, fluid boundary, MOTHRAĒ EIA OYŌ AOYE THOPTOCH A ŌŌ YYY OOOO IIII ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ EEEEEE AMOUN IAAAAŌ ĒI ĒI ANOCH AI IŌ ŌI ĒI ORTONGOUR ŌĒAI EIAI / ŌĒAI ŌĒOI AA ĒI OYŌ ĒI IOY ĒŌ ĒEAE THATH IER THAINON ABOU, the great, great[139] Aion, god, lord (?), Aion."

And the great name, that in Jerusalem, by which they bring out water when there is none in a cistern (?): "ACHMĒ IEŌĒ IEĒŌ IARABBAO / YCHRABAŌA, do the NN thing, unutterable name of great god."

Taking a golden or silver lamella, engrave with an adamant[140] stone the unutterable characters given below. He who engraves them should be pure from all / impurity, his wrists wreathed with wreaths of flowers in season, and should also offer frankincense. The spell to annul this spell should be written on the reverse of the lamella. Then, taking it, inscribed, put it into a clean box / and put this on a clean tripod covered with a linen cloth, and prepare an accompanying offering of pure pinecones, a small basket[141] of bread, sweetmeats, flowers in season, Egyptian wine not mixed with seawater. Then / putting milk, wine, water in a new vessel, pour a libation while burning frankincense. Also let a clean lamp be at hand, full of rose oil. And say, "I call on you the greatest god in the heaven, / strong lord, mighty IAŌ OYŌ IŌ AIŌ OYŌ, who exist.[142] Perfect for me, lord, the great, lord, unutterable magical sign, so that I may have it and remain free of danger and unconquered and / undefeated, I, NN."

Moses for use as a phylactery. Unfortunately, neither "hymn" nor "phylactery" matches the gender of "archangelic" as given in our text, and the quotations differ widely. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 292–93 and Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 150. One of the works used by the author of *PGM* XIII may have had a Hebrew source. The beginning of the second quotation is readable as Hebrew: "In Adam was the source of secrets" (taking *ριζξαη* as a corruption of *razzaya*—Greek has no *y*).

137. The source of this may have been a targum in which the phrase, "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (Ex 3:6, 15; 4:5, etc.) was followed by a magical gloss, like those sometimes inserted in manuscripts of Homer; cf. *P. Oxy.* 412.

138. Claudius Ptolemaeus, ca. A.D. 100–178, the famous astronomer and astrologer, was another favorite victim of false attributions; see Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 211. This adds one more.

139. Doubling is a common form of superlative, especially in Hebrew and Egyptian, but also in Greek. See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), sec. 493.1.

140. Probably the legendary adamant, which nothing could break. The observable stone most often called *adamas* was hematite, a relatively soft iron oxide not suitable for engraving. See A. A. Barb, "Lapis Adamas," in *Hommages à Marcel Rénard*, vol. I, *Latomus* 101 (1969): 67–86; R. K. Ritner, "A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection," *JNES* 43 (1984): 209–21.

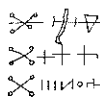
141. Literally, one containing about a *kab*—roughly one-sixth of a bushel. However, the word thus literally translated appears in Greek only in Preisendanz's text, where it is a conjectural correction of a corruption.

142. Literally, "the being" (person or thing, masc.)—the famous Greek hypostatized principle which LXX used in translating the obscure Hebrew gloss in Ex 3:14.

Try to prepare this when [the moon] is in the east and in conjunction with a beneficent planet, either Zeus or Aphrodite, and when / no maleficent one, Kronos or Ares, is in aspect. You may do it best when one of the three beneficent planets is in its own house, while the moon is taking / the position of conjunction or aspect or diametrical opposition and when the planet, too, is in the east, for then the rite will be effectual for you. Accordingly, do not / idly talk about the way to annul it, if you don't want to help damage yourself; but keep it to yourself.

Its uses are the following:

When you want to put down fear or anger: Taking a leaf of laurel, write on it the / sign, as it is, and having shown it to the sun, say, "I call on you, the great god in heaven, [strong] lord, mighty IAŌ OYŌ IŌ AIŌ OYŌ, who exist; protect me from all fear, from all danger that threatens / me in the present day, in the present hour." Having said these words thrice, lick off the leaf, and have the lamella with you. And if [things come to] hand-to-hand [fighting, wear it] on your hand.


The spell to annul, which is written on the reverse: "PAITH PHTHA PHOŌZA."[143]

A secret prayer of Moses to Selene: "OINEL of life, CHNOUB OUĒR AKROMBOUS / OURAOI OYĒR AI HAPH HŌR OKI. ANOCH BŌRINTH MAMIKOURPH AEI AEI Ē AEI EIE EIĒ TETH OUR OUR OUĒR ME CHROUR CHOU TAIS ECHRĒZĒ ECHRINX MAMIA OURPH, goddess in woman's form, mistress Selene, do the NN thing."

For opening [doors]: Taking / the navel of a male crocodile (he means pondweed)[144] and the egg of a scarab and a heart of a baboon (he means perfume of lilies),[145] put these into a blue-green faïence vessel. And when you wish to open a door, bring the navel to the door, saying, "By / THAIM THOLACH THECHEMBAOR THEAGON PENTATHESCHI BŌTI, [I call on you] who have power in the deep, for myself, that there may now be a way open for me, for I say to you, SAUAMBOCH / MERA CHEOZAPH ŌSSALA BYMBĒL POUO TOUTHŌ OIRĒREI ARNOCH."

If [you wish] to call phantoms: . . .

The tenth (?) Hidden [Book of] Moses.[146]

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PDM xiv. 1–92

*[**A vessel divination** which a physician ?] in the nome of Oxyrhynchus [gave to me]:[1] ***Formula***: "[O god, NN,] . . . the edge of whose strap rests in Pelusium while his face is like a spark . . . of an obscene cat whose testicles[2] are like a rearing uraeus . . . quickly. Put the light and breadth in my vessel. . . . / Open to me, O earth! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me, O primeval waters! . . . large . . . of cop- [col. I, 5]

143. PHTHA PHOŌZA is "Ptah, health." In the following prayer, CHNOUB OUĒR is "Khnum the great," OURAOI OUĒR is "great ureai," HAPH HOR is "Apis, Horus." [R.K.R.]

144. This is an example of the secret magical vocabulary by which everyday things were given pretentious names, partly to make magical rituals impractible for chance readers, partly to impress the ignorant.

145. Or possibly, "myrrh mixed with (oil of white) lilies."

146. In the manuscript "book" is lacking and "tenth" uncertain. Against Gager's argument for a repetition of "eighth" (*Moses*, p. 148, [above, n. 136]) stand the conspicuous differences of the material preceding this title from that of the better attested "eighth" books in ll. 1–730.

1. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 528.

2. Read, perhaps, *sn.ty*; see A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3d ser., vol. 1 (London: British Museum, 1935), 115, n. 2; and cf. Griffith and Thompson, glossary #133 and 20, n. to l. I. 3.

per of Alkhah.[3] O gods who are in heaven, who are exalted, come! . . . [Put (the)] light and breadth in my vessel and my . . . [the] boy whose face is bent over this vessel.[4] May . . . prosper, for this vessel divination is the vessel divination of Isis
10 when she was searching / . . . . Come in to me, †O †my †compeller, for everything
[I, 10] . . . , and make †this youth[5] open his eyes to them all . . . , for I †am the Pharaoh Lion-Ram. Ram-Lion-Lotus[6] is my name; . . . to you here today, for I †am SITTAKO.[7] 'Hearing' is my name; 'hearing' [is my true name. I am GANTHA, GINTEY,
15 GIRITEY][8] HRENYTE (also called ARENOYTE)[9] †LAPPTTOTHA †LAKSANTHA SA/[RISA
[I, 15] . . . †BOLBYE]L[10] BYEL BYEL †LYTERI †KLOGASANTRA! IAHO [is my name; IAHO is my true name. BALKHAM the][11] powerful one of heaven, †ABLANATHANALBA, the griffin[12] [of the shrine of the god who stands today]."[13]

[You should] say, whispering, "O good oxherd,[14] my compeller, . . . in order to ask you about it here today, and †you †should †make †this [youth] open[15] his eyes . . . every . . . and you should protect †this youth whose face is bent [down over
20 this / vessel][16] . . . of god, †lord †of †earth, †the †survivor of the earth, †lord †of
[I, 20] †earth . . . I †am Hor-Amoun[17] who sits at this vessel divination here today . . . †[at][18] †this vessel divination here today. †MARIGHARI, you should . . . so that they say my inquiry for me."

Say to them twice, "O pure gods of the primeval waters, [I am] . . . of earth by
25 name, under the soles [of whose feet] the gods of Egypt are placed / . . . †THAR, for
[I, 25]

3. For Alkhah (Eg., *'rq-ḥḥ*), see *PGM* IV. 124 and n. One should, probably, use a standard transliteration of the name throughout; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to l. I. 6.

4. Or oil; parallels allow either; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to l. I. 8.

5. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 43, 72, etc.; see discussion in Johnson, *Verbal System* 274–75.

6. For this combination, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 22, n. to l. I. 12; also *PGM* III. 659 and n.

7. For a discussion of the possible meaning of this name, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 23, n. to l. I. 13.

8. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 1171–72. The spelling of magical names given here is based on the Demotic spelling supplemented by the Old Coptic spelling. If there is a disagreement between the two, the Demotic is accepted. See Johnson, "Dialect," 110–25 for a discussion of the correlations among Greek, Old Coptic, and Demotic found in this text. Transcriptions try to maintain a one-to-one correspondence between ancient script and modern.

9. "Also called' is inserted above the line, in front of the Old Coptic gloss ARENOYTE. Note that *PDM* xiv. 1174 writes this name *ḥry ntr* "lord god."

10. The missing magical names could be restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 1175–76.

11. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 1178.

12. The griffin is described by the author of the Demotic tale called "The Myth of the Sun's Eye" in the following terms (15. 1–4): His beak is (that of) an eagle; his eyes are (those of) a man; his limbs are (those of) a lion; his scaly ears are (those of) an *3b3ḫ* fish of the sea; his tail is (that of) a snake—the five [creatures] which breathe which are upon (the earth). The griffin is described as the "avenger upon whom no avenger can wreak vengeance" and the "herdsman of everything which is upon earth." The most recent discussion of this passage, and its translation into Greek, is by J. W. Tait, "A Duplicate Version of the Demotic *Kufi* Text," *Acta Orientalia* 36 (1974):23–27, and "The Fable of Sight and Hearing in the Demotic *Kufi* Text," *Acta Orientalia* 37 (1976):27–44.

13. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 1179.

14. Epithet of Anubis; cf. *PDM* xiv. 35, 400, and 422; see *PGM* I. 26 and n.

15. See n. 5 above.

16. See n. 4 above.

17. The formation of compound dieties occurs very early in Egyptian religion and remains a common feature.

18. Restoration based on Old Coptic gloss "a" = preposition *r*.

I am †TA †PISH-TEHEI[19] of earth by name. . . . preserve you, O Pharaoh, PASHAMEI,[20] who rests opposite . . . these forearms of real gold. Truth is in my mouth, honey [is on my lips][21] . . . MA . . . THA, for I †am †STEL †IAHO, †he †who †opens †the †land."

You should say to the boy, "Open your eyes!" If he opens his eyes and sees the light, you should make him cry out, / saying "Be great, be great, O light! Come 30
forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be high, be high, O light! He [II, 2]
who is outside, come in!"

If he opens his eyes and does not see the light, you should make him close his eyes while you recite to him again.

Formula: "O darkness, remove yourself †from †before him! O light, bring the light in to me! Pshai[22] who is in the primeval waters, bring the light in to me! O Osiris who is in the divine bark, bring the light in to me! O these four winds which are outside, bring the light in to me! O he in whose hand is the †moment, the one who belongs to these hours,[23] / bring the light in to me! O Anubis, the good ox- 35
herd, bring the light in to me in order that you give me †protection here today, for I [II, 7]
am Horus, the son of Isis, the good son of Osiris! You should bring the gods of the place of judgment, and you should cause them to take care of my affair so that they make †my business proceed. †O †those †belonging †to †the †avengers,[24] you should cause them to do it, for [I am] . . . †TYRAMNEI[25] †AMNEI[26] †A †A †MES MES †ORNYORF ORNYORF †ORNYORF ORNYORF †PAHOROF[27] . . . †PAHROF[28] †IO †little king, †mountain †of †Horus. May this youth whose face is bent down to this / oil 40
be saved [and may you] send Sobek to me until he comes forth. 'Hearing' is my [II, 12]
name; 'Hearing' is my correct name, for I am L[OT †MYLO]T[29] †TYLOT. †TAT †PINTAT is my correct name. O great god whose name is great, appear to this youth †without †alarming or †deceiving, †truthfully."[30] You should recite these ***writings seven times***.

If you make him open his eyes and the light is good and he says "Anubis is coming in," you should recite before him,[31]

Formula: "O RIDJ MYRIDJ, O earth, great one of the earth, O this beautiful male whom †HERIEY, the daughter of the †Neme[32] bore, / come to me, for you are this 45

19. The final group is the Demotic word *ʿ.wy*, "house"; the first element of the first word may be a phonetic rendering of *ta*, "she of."

20. See n. 19 above.

21. Or "the truth of my mouth is the honey of my lips." Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 252.

22. On *šʾ(ʿ)y* "Fate" and *p3 šʾy ʿ3* as the *ἀγαθοδαίμων*, see J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1975). See also *PGM* III. 144–45.

23. I.e., the god who is "on duty" at this moment; see below, *PDM* xiv. 58–60.

24. On avengers, see *Mythus* 4/20. "The Avenger" is identified by the Coptic monk Shenute as Chronos. See also *PDM* xiv. 242.

25. The ending is written with Demotic *n3y*, "there" or "to me."

26. See n. 25 above.

27. The ending is written *r.f*, "his mouth."

28. See n. 27 above.

29. Restored by comparison with *PDM* xiv. 534.

30. "Without alarming or deceiving, truthfully" are Greek words written phonetically in Demotic, as Griffith and Thompson, 28, n. to l. II. 14. The spelling of Greek *επαληθια* as *ep<letsy<* reflects the standard transcription of Greek *τ/ϑ* + *ι* as *tsy*; see Johnson, "Dialect," 123–25. Greek *π/φ* + *ι* are written *ps/šy*; Greek *κ/χ* + *ι* as *ksy*.

31. I.e., Anubis.

32. A goddess of destruction, as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 28–29, n. to l. II. 16.

[II, 17] lotus flower which came forth from the lotus bud of PNYSTOR which makes light for the entire land! Hail, Anubis! Come to me! O high one, O mighty one, O master of secrets for those in the Underworld, O Pharaoh of those in Amenti,[33] O Chief Physician, O good [son] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the gods, you should appear in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. You should serve the souls of Abydos in order that they all live through you, these souls, the ones of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth! Reveal yourself to me here today! You are Thoth. You are the one who went forth from the heart of the great
50 Agathodaimon,[34] the father of the fathers of all the gods. Come to the mouths / of
[II, 22] my vessel today and tell me an answer in truth concerning everything about which I am inquiring, without falsehood therein, for I am Isis the Wise, the sayings of whose mouth come to pass" ***(formula: seven times)***.

You should say to the youth, "Speak to Anubis, saying, 'Go forth; bring the gods in!'"

When he goes after them and brings them in, you should question the youth, saying, "Have the gods already come in?" If he says, "They have already come," and if you [*sic*] see them, you should recite before them.

Formula: "Awaken to me, awaken to me! PSHAI![35] Awaken, MERA, the Great One of Five,[36] TSITSIY TENNDJIY! Do justice to me! Thoth, may creation fill
55 the earth with light; O ibis[37] in / his noble countenance, noble one who entered
[II, 27] the heart,[38] create truth, O great god whose name is great!" ***(Say seven times)***.

You should say to the youth,[39] "Speak to Anubis, saying, 'Bring in a table for the gods! Let them sit.'"

When they are seated, you[40] should say, "Bring in a wine jar; open it for the gods! Bring in some bread! Let them eat, let them drink, (let them eat, let them drink),[41] let them make merry."

When they have finished, you[42] should say to Anubis, "Will you make inquiry for me?"

If he says, "Immediately," you[43] should say to him,[44] "The god who will make my inquiry today, let him stand up." When he[45] says, "He has stood up," you[46] should say to him, "Say to Anubis, 'Carry off the things from the midst!'"[47]

60 You[48] should recite / before him instantly, saying, "Agathodaimon of today, lord
[III, 3] of today, the one to whom these moments belong."[49]

33. Literally, the west; i.e., the necropolis and, by extension, the realm of the dead.
34. See n. 22 above.
35. See n. 22 above.
36. Probably an epithet of Thoth; originally the title of the high priest of Thoth in Hermopolis, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 30, n. to l. II. 26.
37. I.e., Thoth.
38. I.e., who pleases.
39. A similar passage, but without the youth, is found in *PDM* xiv. 550–54.
40. I.e., the youth.
41. Dittography in going from column II to column III.
42. I.e., the youth.
43. See n. 42 above.
44. I.e., Anubis.
45. I.e., the god who will make the inquiry.
46. I.e., the youth.
47. I.e., of the gods seated at the table, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 32, n. to l. III. 2.
48. I.e., the youth.
49. I.e., Anubis.

You should cause him to say to Anubis, "The god who will inquire for me today, let him tell me his name." When he stands up and tells his name, you should ask him concerning everything which you wish.

Its preparation:[50] You bring seven new bricks which have not yet been moved in order to turn them (over) to the other face. You should lift them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth, and you should set them back in the[ir] manner in which they were set. You should set three bricks under the oil. The other four bricks; you should arrange them around the youth without / his 65
body touching the ground. Or seven palm staffs—you should treat them in this [III, 8]
fashion also. You should bring seven clean loaves [of bread] and arrange them around the oil, together with seven lumps of salt. You should bring a new bowl and fill it with clean oasis oil. You should put [it in]to the dish gradually without producing cloudiness so that it becomes exceedingly clear. You should bring a pure youth who has not yet gone with a woman; you should speak down into his head beforehand, he standing up, (to learn) whether he would be useful in going to the vessel. If he will be useful, you should make him lie down on his belly / and cover 70
him with a clean linen cloth (you should recite down into his head),[51] there being a [III, 13]
strap on the upper part of the cloth. You should recite this invocation which is above down into his head, he gazing downwards looking into the oil, up to ***seven times***, his eyes being closed. When you have finished, you should make him open his eyes, and you should ask him about what you desire. You do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.

The invocation which you should recite (them [*sic*]) down into his head beforehand to test him in his ears to learn whether he would be useful in going to the vessel. ***Formula***: "Noble ibis, falcon, / hawk, noble and very mighty, let me be pu- 75
rified in the manner of the noble ibis, falcon, hawk, noble and very mighty." You [III, 18]
should recite this down into his head up to ***seven*** times.

When you announce this, his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good; if it is his right ear, he is good; if it is the left (ear), he is bad.

Prescription for enchanting the vessel quickly so that the gods come in and tell you an answer truthfully:[52] You should put the shell of a crocodile's egg, or that which is inside it, on the flame. It enchants instantly.

Prescription to make them speak: You put a frog's head on the brazier. They speak.

Prescription for bringing the gods in by force: You should put bile / of a croco- 80
dile and ground myrrh on the brazier. [III, 23]

If you wish to make them come in quickly, again: You should put stalks of anise on the brazier together with the eggshell, above. It enchants at once.

If you wish to bring in a living man: You should put ⁺sulphate⁺ of ⁻copper on the brazier. He comes in.

If you wish to bring in a spirit: You should put *s3-wr* stone[53] and glass(?) stone[54] on the brazier. The spirit comes in. You should put the heart of a hyena or a hare; (it is) very good.

If you wish to bring in a drowned man: You should put sea-⁺*garab* (stone?) on the brazier.

50. Literally, "gathering of things." [R.K.R.]
51. Repeated, out of place, from *PDM* xiv. 68.
52. See n. 30 above.
53. Perhaps σῶρυ; see Harris, *Minerals* 179–80.
54. Ibid., 99–100.

If you wish to bring in a dead man: You should put ass's dung[55] and an amulet of Nephthys on the brazier. He comes in.

85 ***If you*** / ***wish*** to send them all away: You should put ape's dung on the brazier.
[III, 28] They all go away to their place. And you should recite their spell for dismissing them also.[56]

If you wish to bring in a thief: You should put crocus powder and alum on the brazier.

The spells which you should recite when you dismiss them to their place: "Go well, go in joy!"

If you wish to make the gods come in to you and (to make) the vessel enchant quickly: You should bring a scarab and drown it in the milk of a black cow and put it on the brazier. It enchants in the moment named and the light comes into being.

90 / An amulet to be bound to the body of the one who is carrying the vessel, to
[III, 34] cause it to enchant quickly: You should bring a band of linen of sixteen threads, four of white, four of [green], four of blue, four of red, and make them into one band and stain them with the blood of a hoopoe. You should bind it to a scarab in its attitude of the sun god,[57] drowned,[58] being wrapped in byssus. You should bind it to the body of the youth who is carrying the vessel. It enchants quickly, there [being nothing in the world better ?] than it (?).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, cols. I/1–III/35. All words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above. Section titles are indicated in *PDM* xiv as they are marked in the papyrus (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM xiv. 93–114 [*PGM* XIVa. 1–11]

A* casting for inspection[59] which the great god Iymhotep makes: ***Its preparation*:[60] You bring a 'stool of olive wood having four legs,[61] upon which no man on
95 earth has ever sat, and you put it near you, it being clean. When you wish / to make
[col. IV, 3] a "god's arrival"[62] with it truthfully without falsehood, ***here is*** its manner. You should put the stool in a clean niche in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you should cover it with a cloth from its top to its bottom;[63] you should put four bricks under the table before it, one above another, there being a censer of clay before it [sc. the table]; you should put charcoal of olive wood on it;[64] you should add 'wild 'goose fat pounded with myrrh and *qs-ʿnḫ*-stone;[65] you should make

55. The donkey was associated with the god Seth in the later periods. Seth, of course, had murdered his brother Osiris. For association of ass's dung with Seth, see *PGM* IV. 155–285 and n. The amulet is that of Nephthys, since she is the consort of Seth.

56. I.e., *PDM* xiv. 86–87.

57. The scarab beetle was identified with the sun god; cf. *PGM* I. 223; IV. 751 and 943; see R.K.R.'s notes there and Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 39, n. to l. III. 34.

58. See R.K.R.'s note to *PGM* I. 5 and Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 38–39, n. to l. III. 31.

59. Taking this noun as a compound from the two verbs *šs* "to spread" and *mšt* "to inspect," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, glossary #786. The translation "casting" was suggested by R.K.R. since what follows is a horoscope; see n. 66 below.

60. See *PDM* xiv. 1–92 with n. 50.

61. Literally, "feet."

62. For a discussion of the reading and meaning of this term, used to describe spells in which a god is seen in a vision, usually a dream, see J. H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 90–91.

63. Literally, from its head to its feet.

64. I.e., the censer.

65. Probably hematite; see Harris, *Minerals* 233–34.

them into balls; you should put one on the brazier; you should leave the remainder near you; you should recite this spell in Greek[66] to it ***(formula)***;[67] you should lie down without speaking / to anyone on earth; and you should go to sleep. You see the god, he being in the likeness of a priest wearing clothes of byssus on his back and wearing sandals[68] on his feet. 100 [IV, 8]

"I call upon you [sing.] who are seated in impenetrable darkness and are in the midst of the great gods, you who set; take with you the solar rays, and send up the light-bringing goddess NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH; [you are the] great god, BARZAN BOUBARZAN NARZAZOUZAN BARZABOUZATH, / Sun. Send up to me this night your archangel, ZEBOURTHAUNĒN. Respond with truth, truly, not falsely, unambiguously concerning such-and-such a matter, because I conjure you by him who is seated in the fiery cloak on the serpentine head of the Agathos Daimon, the almighty, four-faced, highest daimon, dark / and conjuring, PHŌX. Do not ignore me, but send up quickly tonight [in accordance with the] command of the god." Say this three times. 105 [IV, 13] [*PGM* XIVa. 5] 110 [IV, 18] [*PGM* XIVa. 10]

He speaks with you truthfully with his mouth opposite your mouth concerning anything which you wish. When he has finished, he will go away again. You place a tablet for reading the hours upon the bricks, and you place the stars upon it, and you write your business on a new roll of papyrus, and you place it on the tablet. It sends your stars to you whether they are favorable for your business.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto. col. IV/1–22, and W. C. Grese (Greek sections). All words preceded by ' are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 115

*[A] tested [spell] for the security of shadows: Hawk's egg and myrrh; rub, put [some] of it on your eye(s). You secure shadows. 115 [col. IV, 23]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto. col. IV/23. Or could this be a spell to protect against loss of vision? The following spell makes such an interpretation less likely. Griffith and Thompson, 43, n. to l. IV/23, suggest that the shadow is that of the god of the lamp. If so, this and the next should be considered part of the last spell; cf. *PGM* II. 612–13 and n.

PDM xiv. 116

*Another, again: Head and blood of a hoopoe; cook them and make them into a dry medicine. Paint your eye(s) with it. You see them again. [col. IV, 24]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. IV/24. See note to the preceding spell.

PDM xiv. 117–49

***A tested** "god's arrival":[69] You should set up your . . . ; you should stamp on the ground with your foot seven times. You should recite these spells to the Foreleg,[70] you having turned to the North, seven times; you should turn down;[71] (you should 115 [col. V, 1f]

66. I.e., the procedure for reading a horoscope.

67. I.e., *PDM* xiv. 101–11.

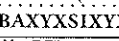
68. The word written *še*, "nose," is a scribal error for *th.ty*, "sandals." See R. K. Ritner, "Gleanings from Magical Texts," *Enchoria* (forthcoming).

69. See n. 62 above.

70. I.e., Ursa Major.

71. I.e., away from the constellation.

go to a dark room).[72] You should go to a dark, clean room whose face opens to the
120 south; you should purify it with / natron water; you should bring a new white
[V, 4] lamp to which no red lead[73] or gum water has been applied; you should put a clean wick in it; you should fill it with real oil after first writing this name and these figures[74] on the wick with ink of myrrh; you should put it on a new brick in front of yourself, its underside being spread with sand; and you should recite these spells[75] at the lamp again another seven times. If you put frankincense up in front of the lamp and you look at the lamp, you see the god near the lamp; you sleep on a reed mat without having spoken to anyone on earth, and he tells you the answer in a dream. ***Here is its invocation.***

(124a–126a) ***Formula***: / (Here are the writings which you should write on the wick of the lamp: "BAXYXSIXYX[76]  .")[77]

125 / "Hail, I[78] am MYRAI MYRIBI[79] †BABEL †BAOTH BAMYI,[80] the great Agathodai-
[V, 9] mon,[81] MYRATHO, the . . . form of soul which rests above in the heaven of heavens, †TATOT TATOT †BYLAI BYLAI †MYIHTAHI MYIHTAHI †LAHI LAHI †BOLBYEL[82] †II †AA †TAT TAT[83] †BYEL BYEL †IOHEL IOHEL, the first servant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, he is whose mouth is the flame which is never extinguished, the great god who is seated in the flame, he who is in the midst of the flame which is in the lake of heaven,[84] in whose hand is the great-
130 ness and the power of the god: reveal yourself to me / here today in the †manner of
[V, 14] the †form of revealing yourself to Moses which you made upon the mountain, before which you had already created darkness and light."

(Insert above):[85] "I beseech you. You should reveal yourself to me here tonight and speak with me and tell me [an] answer, in truth, concerning the given matter about which I am asking you. (I beseech you. You should reveal yourself to me here tonight and speak with me and tell me [an] answer in truth)[86] without falsehood, for I shall glorify you in Abydos; I shall praise you in heaven before Phre;[87] I shall praise you before the Moon; I shall praise you before him who is upon the throne,

72. An overlap with what is in the next line, showing where to insert these two lines.

73. See R.K.R.'s note in Glossary, *s.v.* "Lamps, not painted red."

74. Written in the left margin opposite *PDM* xiv. 124–26; here called *PDM* xiv. 124a–126a.

75. See *PDM* xiv. 124–249 below.

76. This is Egyptian and can be translated "Soul (*Ba*) of darkness, son of darkness." [R.K.R.]

77. These figures all resemble Egyptian hieroglyphs but cannot be translated by me.

78. The independent pronoun, which gives the translation "I am . . . ," was a later addition, above the line. Thus all the following magical names and descriptions may originally have been vocatives addressed to the god who is asked to appear and give the answer. This analysis is reinforced by the parallel in *PDM* xiv. 194–204, which has all as vocatives.

79. Ending written as *by*, "Soul."

80. Ending written as *m3y*, "lion."

81. See n. 22 above.

82. An almost identical version of this section appears in *PDM* xiv. 194–204, 489–99, and 516–26.

83. Written with the hieroglyph of the *dd*-column.

84. Astrological term for noon, in contrast to the "lake of the underworld," which is midnight.

85. Added at the bottom of the column when the scribe realized he had left out part of one of the clauses in *PDM* xiv. 131. He began making the addition above the line in 131, but there was not space for all of it. Thus, as with the addition to *PDM* xiv. 119, he repeated much of the line in order to show the exact spot where the correction and additions override the original.

86. The overlap with *PDM* xiv. 148–49; see n. 85 above.

87. The sun god.

who is never destroyed. O he of great praise, ⸗PETERI PETERI ⸗PATER[88] ⸗ENPHE ⸗ENPHE, the god who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him; come to me / down into the 135
midst of this flame which is here before you, ⸗O ⸗he ⸗of ⸗BYEL ⸗BYEL, and let me see [V, 19]
the business about which I am praying tonight, truly, without falsehood! Let [me] see it, let [me] hear it. O great god ⸗SISIHOYT[89] SISIHOUT (also called ARMI-OOUTH),[90] come in before me and tell me [an] answer to that about which I am asking, truly, without falsehood. O great god who is on the mountain of ATYGI[91] ⸗CHABAHO,[92] come in to me, let me learn[93] tonight about the given thing about which I am asking, truly, without falsehood . . . voice (?)[94] ⸗of ⸗the ⸗LEASPHYT NEBLOT NEB LILAS" ([say it] seven times and go to sleep / without speaking). 140

The ointment which you should put on your eye(s) when you are going to ques- [V, 24]
tion the lamp in any lamp divination: You bring some flowers of the Greek bean plant.[95] You find them in the place of the garland seller (also called the lupine seller). You should bring them while they are fresh; you should put them in a glass bowl; you should seal its mouth with clay very well for twenty days in a hidden, dark place. After twenty days, if you bring it up and open it, you find some testicles in it together with a phallus. If you leave it for forty days and bring it up and open it, you find that it has already become bloody. In a place which is hidden at all times, you put it in a glass object, and you put the glass object into a pottery object. / If 145
you desire to make a "god's arrival"[96] of the lamp with it at any time, you should fill [V, 29]
your eye(s) with this aforementioned blood while you are going in to recite the spell to the lamp. You see a secret figure of a god standing outside the lamp, and he speaks with you concerning the question which you wish; or you should lie down and he comes to you. If he does not come to you, you should awaken and recite his summons. You lie down on [a mat of] green reeds only while you are pure from a woman, the back of your head being turned to the south, your face being turned to the north, and the face of the lamp being turned to the north likewise.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. V/1–33. All words preceded by ⸗ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

88. This magical name is determined with the "man"-determinative rather than the "divine"-determinative normally found with the magical names. It is probably Greek *πατήρ*, "father." The preceding may consist of this Greek word plus the Egyptian first-person singular suffix pronoun *.y*, "my." The following word, written alphabetically, corresponds to the Coptic for "in/of heaven" (*n p.t*). Thus these glosses may well mean "my father, my father, father in (the) heaven of the heaven(s)." (For the analysis of the repeat of the last word, cf. *PDM* xiv. 126, as noted by R.K.R.)

89. The last word of this name is probably the Egyptian word "male." The first word, which is repeated, might be the word "son" or the verb "to be satisfied." In *PDM* xiv. 202 it is written as the verb "to be satisfied."

90. "Also called" is inserted above the end of the line and the Old Coptic gloss ARMIOUUTH is added in the left margin.

91. The Old Coptic gloss gives "of KABAON"; in *PDM* xiv. 204 the scribe changed Demotic *3twgy* into *g3b3wn*.

92. The Old Coptic gloss adds TAKRTAT after XABA[H]O.

93. Literally, "let my eyes open out"; the idiom *ti-wn ir.t*, "to cause that (the) eye(s) open" means "to instruct." See Ritner above, n. 68.

94. Or is this sign the determinative (used with foreign words) of the preceding word, which ends in *t*?

95. Literally, "eye-of-raven" plant.

96. See n. 62 above.

PDM xiv. 150–231

150 [col. VI, 1] *__An inquiry of the__ lamp: You go to a clean, dark room without light; you dig a new niche in an eastern wall; you bring a white lamp on which no red lead[97] or gum water has been put and whose wick is clean; you fill it with clean, genuine oasis oil; you recite the spells of praising Ra at dawn when he rises; you bring the lamp, it being lit, opposite the sun; you recite the spells which are below[98] to it ***four*** times; you take it into the room, you being pure, together with the youth; you recite the spells to the youth[99] while he is not looking at the lamp, his eye(s) being closed, ***seven*** times. You should put pure frankincense on the brazier while you are 155 putting your finger on the youth's head, his eye(s) being closed. / When you have [VI, 6] finished, you make him open his eye(s) toward the lamp: he sees the shadow of the god near the lamp, and he inquires for you concerning that which you desire. At midday in a place without light you do it.

If you are inquiring for a demonic spirit, a wick of sailcloth is what you should give to the lamp, and you should fill it with clean butter.

If it is another matter, a clean wick and pure genuine oil are what you should give to the lamp.

If you will do it to bring a woman to a man, oil of roses[100] is what you should put in the lamp.

It is on a new brick that you put the lamp, and it is upon another brick that the youth seats himself while his eye(s) are closed, while you recite[101] down into his head four times.

160 / ***The spells*** which you should recite to the wick[102] beforehand before you have [VI, 16] recited to the youth: ***Formula***:

"Are you the unique, great wick of the linen of Thoth? Are you the byssus robe of Osiris, the divine Drowned,[103] woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of Nephthys? Are you the original bandage which was made for Osiris Khenty-amenti?[104] Are you the great bandage with which Anubis lifted his hand to the body of Osiris the mighty god?[105] It is in order to cause the youth to look into you so that you may make reply concerning everything about which I am asking here today, that I am bringing you today, O wick. (If not doing it is what you will do, O wick, it is in the hand of the black cow that I am putting you, and it is in the hand 165 / of the black cow that I am burning you. Blood of the Drowned One is what I am [VI, 16] giving to you for oil. The hand of Anubis is that which is laid against you. The spells of the great Sorcerer are those which I am reciting to you.) And so that[106] you bring me the god in whose hand the command[107] is today, so that he tell me [an] answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today, truly, without false-

97. See n. 73 above.

98. *PDM* xiv. 160–69.

99. *PDM* xiv. 194–231.

100. *Skn/sgn* is a cheaper oil than *nhh*-oil (probably sesame oil); here it has been scented with rose scent. See J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 336–37.

101. See n. 99 above.

102. Corrected above, n. 99.

103. See references collected by R.K.R., n. to *PGM* I. 5.

104. "Foremost of the west," i.e., ruler of the world.

105. Anubis mummifying Osiris, using the fine bandages described in *PDM* xiv. 160–62.

106. Continuing from *PDM* xiv. 163.

107. For the god of the hour, i.e., the god who is "on duty," see n. 23 above. See also, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 53, n. to l. VI. 17, the reference to 365 gods in *PDM* xiv. 1224.

hood. O Nut, mother of water, O Opet,[108] mother of fire, come to me, Nut, mother of water; come, Opet, mother of fire; come to me IAHO." You should say it whispering exceedingly. You should also say: "ⲧ ESEKS ⲧ POE EF CHTN" (also called "CHT ON"), seven times.

If it is a "god's arrival"[109] these alone are what you should recite / to the lamp, 170
and you should go to sleep without speaking. *If* obstinacy occurs, you should wake [VI, 21]
up and recite his summons, which is his compulsion: ***Formula***:

"I am the Ram's face; Youth is my name. Under the venerable persea[110] tree in Abydos was I born. I am the soul of the great chief[111] who is in Abydos; I am the guardian of the great corpse[112] which is in Wu-poke.[113] I am he whose eye(s) are the eye(s) of a falcon watching over Osiris by night; I am 'He who is upon his mountain'[114] upon the necropolis of Abydos; I am he that watches over the great corpse which is in Busiris;[115] I am he who watches for R-Khepri-Atum[116] / whose name is 175
hidden in my heart. 'Soul of souls' is his name" (***formula***: seven times). [VI, 26]

[*In margin*]: The writings which you should write on the lamp: "BAXYXSIXYX (174a–
☥𓃭𓅓𓆑𓂋." 176a)[117]

If it is a "god's arrival,"[118] these things alone are what you should recite.

If an inquiry by the youth is what you will do, you should recite these aforesaid to the lamp before you have recited[119] down into the head of the youth. You should turn around,[120] and you should recite this other invocation to the lamp also. ***Formula***: "O Osiris, O lamp, it will cause [me] to see those above;[121] it will cause [me] to see those below, and vice versa. O lamp, O lamp, Amoun is moored in you. O lamp, O lamp, I call to you while you are going up upon the great sea, the sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris.[122] Am I speaking / to you? Are you coming that I may send 180
you? O lamp, ⁱ bear ⁱ witness! When you have found Osiris upon his boat of pa- [VI, 31]
pyrus and faïence, Isis being at his head, Nephthys at his feet, and the male and female divinities about him, ⁱ say [to] Isis, 'Let them speak to Osiris concerning the things about which I am asking, to send the god in whose hand the command is,[123] so that he say to me an answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today.'"

"When Isis said, 'Let a god who is serious[124] concerning the business which he

108. On the identification of Opet with Nut, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 53–54, n. to l. VI. 18.

109. See n. 62 above.

110. For the persea tree, cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 82–87 and *LdÄ* III 182–83, and n. to *PGM* I. 34–36.

111. Osiris.

112. Osiris.

113. Precinct of Osiris at Abydos.

114. Anubis.

115. See n. 113 above.

116. The three forms of the sun god. For the reading of this trigram, see M-L. Ryhiner, "A Propos de Trigrammes Pantheistes," *Revue d'Egyptologie* 29 (1977): 125–37, and R.K.R. notes to *PGM* II. 104ff, III. 659, and IV. 1649ff.

117. See nn. 74 and 76 above. These three lines are written in the left margin and should be set apart, as ll. 174a–176a, presumably at the break in the middle of l. 175.

118. See n. 62 above.

119. See n. 99 above.

120. Or "withdraw."

121. Corrected by the scribe from "those of the day," the words for "day" and "above" being pronounced almost identically.

122. Cf. the Osiris legend as preserved in Plutarch.

123. See n. 107 above.

124. For the meaning "sober, serious," see the discussion by Johnson, *Verbal System* 127, n. 248.

will undertake be summoned for me so that I may send him and so that he may complete them,' they went and brought [one] to her. You are the lamp, † the [thing] which was brought to her. The fury of Sakhmet, your mother, and of Hike,[125] your
185 father, is / cast at you. You shall not burn for Osiris and Isis; you shall not burn for
[VI, 36] Anubis until you have told me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today truly, without telling me falsehood. If not doing it is what you will do, I will not give you oil, (I will not give you oil);[126] I will not give you fat, O lamp. It is in the belly of the [female] cow that † I † shall put you,[127] and I shall put blood of the [male] bull after you,[128] and I shall put your hand to the testicles of the enemy of Horus."[129]

"Open to me, O you[130] of the underworld, O box of myrrh that is in my hand! Receive me before you, O souls, excellent ones[131] belonging to Bi-wekem,[132] O box
190 of myrrh which has four corners. O dog who / is called Anubis by name, who rests
[VII, 4] on the box of myrrh, whose feet are set on the box of myrrh,[133] send to me the ointment for the youth of the lamp so that he may tell me [an] answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly, there being no falsehood therein. † IO † TABAO † SYGAMAMY † AKHAKHA-NBY † SANAYANI † ETSIE[134] † GOMTO[135] † GETHOS † BASA-ETHORI † THMILA † AKHKHY, make for me [an] answer to everything about which I am asking here today" ***(seven times)***.

The spells for the youth:[136] "† BOEL † BOEL BOEL † I † I † A † A A † TAT † TAT
195 † TAT,[137] he that gives light very exceedingly, the companion of the flame, / he in
[VII, 9] whose mouth is the flame which is never extinguished, the great god who sits in the flame, he who is in the midst of the flame, he who is in the lake of heaven,[138] in whose hand are the greatness and strength of the god, reveal yourself to † this youth who is carrying my vessel today so that he may tell me [an] answer truly, without falsehood. I shall glorify you in Abydos; I shall praise you in heaven before Pre; I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before him who is upon the throne, who is never destroyed. O he of great praise, † PETERI † PETERI † PATER † ENPHE † ENPHE,[139] the god who is in the upper part of
200 heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, / who created deity, deity not having
[VII, 14] created him, come into the midst of this flame which is here before you, O he of † BYEL,[140]

125. The god of magic. For the association of Hike with Sakhmet, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 56–57, n. to l. VI. 35.

126. Dittography going from column VI to column VII.

127. Or, perhaps better, "that I shall give to you," since *n.k* should be the dative, not the oblique object.

128. The term to be "after" someone is also used in legal texts with the meaning "to have a legal claim against" someone.

129. I.e., Seth, whose testicles were cut off by Horus.

130. Plural.

131. Or, possibly, "of Aker," the earth god.

132. The eastern desert.

133. Note common depiction of Anubis, as jackal, on top of a chest.

134. See n. 30 above.

135. Perhaps "earthquake," as Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 396a; if *gm* is for *qm*, this could be "creator of the earth."

136. An almost identical version of this section appears in *PDM* xiv. 128–38, 489–99, and 516–26.

137. See n. 83 above.

138. See n. 84 above.

139. See n. 88 above.

140. Old Coptic gloss above end of line adds ANIEL.

cause me to see the business about which I am inquiring here today! Let [me] see it; let [me] hear it.[141] give strength to the eyes of the youth who is carrying my vessel, to cause him to see it and [give strength] to his ears to cause him to hear [it].[142]

O great god †SISIHYT,[143] come in before me today and instruct me[144] concerning everything concerning which I am praying here today! to the midst of this flame!

O great god who is upon the mountain of GABAYN,[145] †CHABAHO."[146]

You should recite this / until the light appears. When the light appears, you should turn around[147] and recite this other document again also. ***Here is*** the copy of the summons itself which you should recite: "O, speak to me, speak to me, †THES †TENOR, the father of eternity and everlastingness, the god who is over the entire land, †SALGMO †BALKMO †BRAK †NEPHRO-BANPRE[148] †BRIAS †SARINTER[149] †MELIKHRIPHS †LARNKNANES †HEREPHES †MEPHRO-BRIAS †PHRGA †PHEKSE †NTSIYPSHIA[150] †MARMAREKE †LAORE-GREPSHIE! Let me see the answer to the inquiry on account of which I am here. Let an answer be made to me / concerning everything about which I am asking here today, truly, without falschood. †O †ATAEL †APTHE †GHO-GHO-MOLE †HESEN-MINGA-NTON-ROTHO-BAYBO[151] †NOERE †SERE-SERE †SAN[152] †GATHARA †ERESGSHINGAL[153] †SAKGISTE †NTOTE-GAGISTE[154] †AKRYRO-BORE[155] †GONTERE."[156] 205 [VII, 19] 210 [VII, 24]

You should make him open his eye(s) so that he can look at the lamp, and you should ask him about what you wish. If obstinacy occurs, he not having seen the god, you should turn around[157] and recite his compulsion.

Formula: "†SEMEA-GANTEY[158] †GENTEY †GONTEY †GERINTEY[159] †NTARENGO[160] †LEKAYKS, / come to me! †GANAB †ARI †KATEI[161] †BARI KATEI,[162] sun disk, moon of the gods, sun disk, hear my voice! Let me be told an answer to everything about which I am asking here today. O perfume of †SALABAHO †NASIRA †HAKE, arise! O 215 [VII, 29]

141. *PDM* xiv. 202 and 204 are for use when a youth is consulting the lamp; xiv. 201 and 203 are to be used when the magician is not using a youth as intermediary.

142. See n. 141 above.

143. See n. 89 above. Here the scribe has added the Old Coptic gloss AXREMTO above the beginning of the next line (i.e., over the Demotic "come!").

144. Literally, "cause that my eyes open our"; see n. 93 above.

145. Modified by the Demotic scribe from ATYGI; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, n. to column VII of the autograph volume.

146. Old Coptic gloss adds TAKARTAT after CHBAHO; cf. *PDM* xiv. 138 and n. 92 there.

147. See n. 122 above.

148. The end is written in Demotic as "of Pre," perhaps "soul of Pre."

149. NTER is the Old Coptic gloss; the Demotic writes *ntr.w*, "gods."

150. See n. 30 above (*nts* for *d* before *i*).

151. The last section shows a metathesis in the Demotic (apparently for graphic reasons) of the common ORTHO found in the gloss. See also n. 8 above (*nt.* for *d.*).

152. Written in Demotic as *sn*, "brother."

153. See n. 8 above.

155. AKRYROBORE is Greek *ἀκρουροβόρε* (LSJ, s.v.: "swallowing the tip of her tail"). See also *PGM* I. 146 and the Glossary s.v. "YESSIMMIGADON formula." [H.D.B.]

156. See n. 8 above.

157. See n. 120 above.

158. SEMEA is Greek for "image," *σεμέα/σημεία*. [R.K.R.]

159. All four names end with Egyptian *t3w*, "breath, wind."

160. See n. 8 above.

161. The ending is written *ꜥ3* "linen."

162. See n. 161 above.

Lion-ram,[163] let me see the light today, together with the gods, so that they may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly. ⁺NA ⁺NA ⁺NA ⁺NA is your name; ⁺NA ⁺NA is your true name."

You should utter a loud whisper, calling out, saying, "Come to me ⁺IAHO[164] ⁺IAEY ⁺IAHO ⁺AYHO ⁺IAHO, ⁺husband,[165] ⁺bull, ⁺high day,[166] ⁺NASHBOT ⁺ARPI-HPE ABLA-
220 ⁺'eye of raven,' / ⁺'face of falcon,' ⁺NI-ABIT THATLAT ⁺MIRIBAL."

[VIII, 1] (If [the gods] delay so as not to come in, you should cry out: ⁺"MIRIBAL)[167] ⁺QMLA ⁺KIKH, ⁺the ⁺father ⁺of ⁺the ⁺fathers of the gods, enchant, 'One eye weeps; the other laughs, ⁺Moon, moon, moon, moon, ⁺HA ⁺HA ⁺HE ⁺ST ⁺ST ⁺ST ⁺ST ⁺IHA ⁺IAHO, seek! Send to me the god in whose hand the command[168] is today so that he may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today."

You should speak [to] that god with your mouth each time, and you should cry out, "I am throwing fury at you, [fury] of him who cuts you, of him who devours
225 you. / Let the darkness separate from the light before me. O god, ⁺HYHOS[169] sealed
[VIII, 5] portion (?), be sated, be sated, ⁺AHO[170] ⁺AH;[171] I do not ⁺appear ⁺without portion, awe, soul of souls ⁺IAHO ⁺ARIAHA[172] ARIAHA; act for her; they will turn the face of [the] rebel; GS GS GS GS ⁺IANIAN; 'we do' EIBS[173] KS KS KS KS, send to me the god in whose hand the command is[174] so that he may tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today. Come in, ⁺PIATOY ⁺CHITRE! O SHOP SHOPE SHOP[175] ⁺ABRAHME,[176] the pupil of the sound eye,[177] ⁺QMR QMR QMR QMR KMRO,[178] who created ⁺creation, great flourishing creation. ⁺SH[ ]KNYSH is your real name.
230 Let an answer be told to me / about everything concerning which I am asking here
[VIII, 10] today. Come to me BAKAKSIKHEKH![179] Tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, truly, without telling me falsehood" (***formula***: seven times).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. VI/1–VIII/11. All words preceded by ⁺ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

163. See n. 6 above.
164. Written with the Egyptian verb *iw*, "to come."
165. Although with animal determinative rather than phallus.
166. Or, if we do not believe the determinative on *q3*, "day of (the) bull."
167. Overlap with the end of the preceding column. Note that, as Griffith and Thompson remark, *The Leyden Papyrus* 62, n. to l. VIII. 1, this heading is simply a reminder of the subject matter and is not a new heading; it is put in the middle of the column, not flush with the right margin.
168. See n. 107 above.
169. Ending written as *ḥs*, "praise."
170. The Demotic uses the verb *iw*, "to come."
171. See n. 170 above.
172. Perhaps "lifetime maker." [R.K.R.]
173. R.K.R. suggests translating "I shall induct (?)."
174. See n. 107 above.
175. Written with the Egyptian verb *ḫpr* "to be, become," Coptic *šōpe*; the middle example has an added final *e*.
176. With seated man determinative; the Old Coptic gloss reads ABRAHAM.
177. The *wḏ3.t*-eye of Horus.
178. "Creator (or creation) of the mouth."
179. "Soul of darkness, son of darkness." See n. 76 above.

PDM xiv. 232–38

*A "god's arrival"[180] at the request of Paysakh, the priest of Cusae,[181] who says that it has been tested nine times: "I am †RAMSHY[182] †SHY RAMSHY son †of PSHY of his mother †she †of PSHY. If such-and-such a thing is going to happen, do not come to me in your face of Pekhe.[183] You should come to me in your form of a priest, / in your figure of a man of the temple. If it will not happen, you should come to me in your form of a soldier, for I am RAMSHY SHY RAMSHY, the son †of PSHY, of his mother †she †of PSHY."

235 [col. VIII, 15]

[Say it] opposite Ursa Major on the third day of the lunar month, there being a clove of three-lobed white garlic with three iron needles piercing it; recite this to it seven times, and put it before you. He sees you and speaks with you.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. VIII/12–18. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 239–95

*The vessel inquiry of Khonsu: "[Hail][184] to you, Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep, the noble child who came forth from the lotus,[185] Horus, lord of time,[186] †he †is †one. . . . / O silver,[187] lord of silver, o circuit of the underworld, lord of the circuit of the underworld,[188] lord of the disk, the great god, the †vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian,[189] come to me. O noble child, the great god who is in the disk, who pleases[190] . . . , †POMO[191] who is called the bull, the great bull, the great god who is in the sound-eye,[192] who came forth from the four . . .[193] of eternity, the avenger of flesh, whose name cannot be known, whose form cannot be known, whose manner cannot be known.

240 [col. IX, 2]

180. See n. 62 above.

181. A town in Middle Egypt; see Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 77*, #374. As Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 64, n. to l. VIII. 12, there is no determinative to show that Paysakh is a personal name, but it is hard to suggest an alternative interpretation.

182. Although SHY is written phonetically in the Demotic, this may well be the Egyptian god Shu, the god of the air. The first element of the name is written with the Egyptian word *r*, "mouth," and the whole name could possibly mean "mouth of Shu." If this is the god Shu, the P of PSHOU is the definite article, which is also found with *pꜣ* "the sun (god)" in the late form Pre.

183. A lion-headed goddess worshiped especially in Middle Egypt; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 65, n. to l. VIII. 14.

184. Restoring *ỉnḏ*.

185. *Nfr-ḥtp* means "beautiful of setting" (of the sun and moon). Khonsu (son of Amoun and Mut and preeminently a Theban god) is a moon god, here identified with Horus (also a moon god) in the form of the "noble child who came forth from the lotus," i.e., *Nrf-tm*; see R.K.R.'s note to *PGM* IV. 1110.

186. The moon regulating the days of the month, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

187. The color of the moon, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

188. As suggested by Griffith and Thompson, ibid.

189. Amoun, who in the late period was considered the god of Meroe; cf. l. 1097 and see Griffith and Thompson, ibid.

190. Or does this involve the verb *ḥn* "to command," "to entrust"? Then the rendering would be "to whom is commanded" (*ḥn.w n.f*). [R.K.R.]

191. Perhaps "the great one of/among the great one(s)." [R.K.R.]

192. The *wḏꜣ.t*-eye, the sound-eye of Horus. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 854–56, s.v. "Uzatauge."

193. The identical epithets occur below, *PDM* xiv. 250–51. The word *ḥn* which is to be restored here means literally "vessel." The plural means "things" and the Coptic derivative means not only "vessel" or "pot" but any material "thing." Griffith and Thompson translate "boundaries" in 241 and 250 and "cycle" in 246. R.K.R. suggests that the idea of "four eternal things" is an Egyptian rendering of the Greek concept of the four elements.

"I know your name, I know your form, I [know] your manner. † 'Great' is your name; † 'Heir' is your name; † 'Beneficial' is your name; 'Hidden' is your name; 'Great one of the gods' is your name; 'He whose name is hidden from all the gods'[194] is your name; † OM, Great One, † Am is your name; 'All the gods' is your name; 'Lotus Lion Ram'[195] is your name; † 'LOY is coming, Lord of the † lands' 'Lord of the lands' is your name; † 'AMAKHR of heaven' is your name; 'Lotus flower of stars
245 (?) / is coming EI IO NE EI O' is your name.

[IX, 7] 'Your [secret] form is [that of] a scarab with the face of a ram whose tail is a falcon and which is wearing two panther skins.[196] Your [serpent is a serpent] of eternity;[197] your . . .[198] is a lunar month; your wood is vine wood and persea; your herb is the herb of Amoun; your bird of heaven is a heron; your fish of [the sea] is a black *lebis*.[199] They are established on earth. 'Sickness' is your name in your body in the sea; your [secret] form of stone in which you came forth is a [. . .], Heaven is your shrine, the Earth is your forecourt. My desire was to seize you here today, for I am one who appears [shining] and who † endures. My . . .[200] † grows † old when I have not done it through delay, when I have not discovered your name, O great god whose name is great, the lord of the † threshing-floor of heaven. Bearing [hunger]
250 / for bread and thirst for water I did it. You should save me and make me well and
[IX, 12] give me praise, love, and respect before every man. For I am the [great] bull, the great god who is in the sound-eye, who came forth from the four . . .[201] of eternity.

"I am youth, the great name who is in heaven, who is called † AMPHOY[202] AMPHOY truly, truly; † He † who † was † praised at Abydos;[203] Ra. 'Horus the youth'[204] is my name; 'Chief of the gods' is my correct name. Save me! Let me be healthy. Let my vessel become [successful?].

"Open to me Alkhah[205] before every god and all men who came forth from the stone of Ptah,[206] for I am the serpent who came forth from Nun,[207] I am the youthful Ethiopian,[208] the rearing uraeus of real gold! In † my † lips is honey. That
255 which I shall say comes to pass at once. Hail . . . / mighty one! I am Anubis, the
[IX, 17] youthful creation. I am Isis; I shall bind[209] him. I am Osiris; I shall bind him. I am Anubis; [I shall bind] him. You should save me from every [misery?] and all confusion. † LASMATNYT † LESMATOT, save me! Heal me! Give me praise, love and respect in[210] my vessel, and (?) my bandage here today! Come to me, Isis, mistress of

194. An epithet of Amoun-Ra, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 67, n. to l. XI. 5.

195. See n. 6 above.

196. A figure found on late period coffins, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 68, n. to l. IX. 7.

197. For the various possible meanings of this image, see the discussion in F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900) 22, n. to l. III/20.

198. See n. 192 above.

199. Probably Labeo Niloticus; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 68, n. to l. IX. 9.

200. With flesh determinative; it should be a part of the body.

201. See n. 192 above.

202. Could this be a phonetic rendering of the "great one in (the) heavens," ʿ*3 m p.w(t)*?

203. Osiris.

204. See n. 185 above.

205. See n. 2 above.

206. For Ptah as creator god, see H. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 614–19, s.v. "Ptah."

207. The primeval waters.

208. See n. 189 above.

209. The binding of the body as part of mummification.

210. I.e., through.

magic, the great sorceress of all the gods. Horus is before me; Isis is behind me; Nephthys is as my diadem. A snake, being the son of Atoum,[211] is that which lies[212] in the uraeus diadem at my head in order that he who will strike me will strike the king. Mont is here today . . . Mighty Mihos[213] will send out a lion of the sons of Mihos, he being forced to bring to me quickly[214] the divine souls, the human souls, / the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, 260
the dead,[215] so that they tell me the truth today concerning that about which I am [IX, 22]
inquiring, for I am Horus, son of Isis, who is going across to Alkhah[216] to cast embalming wrappings before the amulets and to put linen on the Drowned one, the good Drowned one of the drowned ones.[217] They should[218] awaken and flourish at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage, my word-gathering. Awaken for me the spirits, the dead; awaken their souls and their forms at the mouths of my vessel! Awaken them for me together with the dead! Awaken [them] for me! Awaken them for me! Awaken their souls and their forms. O fury of Pessiwont[219] the daughter of
ARB . . . , / awaken for me, awaken for me the Wontes from their misfortune! Let 265
them speak with their mouths; let them talk with their lips; let them say that which [IX, 27]
I have said [concerning that which] I am asking here today. Let them speak before me; let truth happen to me. Do not substitute a face for a face, a name for a true name, truly [without] falsehood in it! [O] scarab of true lapis lazuli that sits at the pool of Pharaoh Osiris Unnefer,[220] fill your mouth with the water of [the pool?]! Pour it out on my head together with that which is at my hand! Heal me; heal him, and vice versa until what I said [happens]! Let that which I said come to pass, for if that which I said does not come to pass, I will cause the flame to circulate around this bandage (?)[221] until that which I said does come to pass, for [they came] / to 270
the earth, they listened to me . . . , and they said to me, Who are you? Who are [IX, 32]
you? I am Atum in the sun boat of Pre; I am ARIATATY, the chest[222] of. . . . I looked out before [me] to see Osiris the Ethiopian while he was coming in at me, there being two sons of Anubis in front of him, [two] sons of Wepwawet[223] behind him, two sons of Rere[224] mooring him. They said to me Who are you? Who are you? . . . I am one of those two falcons who watch over Isis and Osiris, the diadem, the . . . with its greatness. . . . Bring to me, bring to me the divine souls, the human souls, the souls of the Underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits, the dead![225] Let them tell me the truth today concerning that about which I am asking,

211. For the connection between Atoum and serpents, see Karol Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. I (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978) 95–124.

212. Reading by W. Spiegelberg, "Demotische Miszellen, 5. Eine unerklärte Glosse im magischen Papyrus," *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 123.

213. A lion god.

214. Actually written *sp sn*, "twice."

215. To the Egyptian, the range of forceful beings in the world.

216. See n. 3 above.

217. The drowned one is Osiris, who is here being cared for by his dutiful son Horus; see n. 58 above.

218. Corrected in Coptic from "you should" in Demotic.

219. To be translated "her son Wonte"; Wonte is a designation of Apophis, the enemy of Ra. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I. 325, #14. On Wonte and Apophis, see also *PGM* IV. 993–95 and n.

220. Unnefer is Onnophris. See *PGM* IV. 1078.

221. See F. Ll. Griffith, "The Glosses in the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," *ZÄS* 46 (1909–10): 128, and Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 368b.

222. Perhaps "sarcophagus."

223. Jackal-headed god.

224. Usually the "sow" but here determined with the snake and perhaps indicating a snake goddess.

225. See n. 214 above.

for I am ⸗ARTEMI[226] . . . womb when he rises in the east. / Come in to me, Anubis,
[X, 2] in your beautiful face! It is in order to worship you that I come. Woe (?), woe (?), fire, fire, [south, north,] west, east, every breeze of Amenti,[227] let them come into being in very good condition, established, correct, enchanted, like the fury [of the one great] of reverence, for I am ⸗IAE ⸗IAO ⸗IAEA ⸗IAO ⸗SABAOTH ⸗ATONE,[228] I am casting [fury] at you, ⸗TSIE[229] ⸗GLATE ⸗ARKHE[230] ⸗IAO ⸗PHALEKMI ⸗IAO ⸗MAKHAHAI ⸗IEE KHO . . . ⸗N ⸗KHOKHREKHI ⸗E-EOTH ⸗SARBIAQY ⸗IGRA ⸗PSHIBIEG[231]
⸗MOMY ⸗MYNEKH ⸗STSITHO[232] ⸗SOTHON ⸗NAON ⸗KHARMAI. / O fury of all these
[X, 7] gods, whose names I have uttered here today, awaken for me, awaken for me the drowned, the [dead]! Let your souls and your [secret] forms live for me at the mouths of my lamp, my bandage, my word-gathering. Let it answer me concerning every word [about] which I am asking here today in truth, truly, without falsehood therein. Hasten, hasten, quickly, quickly!"

Its preparation:[233] You go to a dark storeroom whose [face] opens to the south or east in a clean place. You should spread it with clean sand brought from the great river.[234] You should bring a clean copper beaker or a new vessel [made] of pottery; you should put a *lok*-measure of water that has settled or of pure water into the
beaker together with a *lok*-measure of pure real oil, / or oil alone without putting
[X, 12] water into it; you should put a *qs-ʿnḫ* stone[235] in the vessel with the oil; you should put a "heart-of-the-good-house" plant[236] in the bottom of the vessel; you should put three new bricks around the vessel; you should place seven clean loaves [of bread] on the bricks which are around the vessel; and you should bring a pure youth who has been tested in his ears beforehand (that is, he will be profitable in going with the vessel). You should make him sit on a new [brick]; you yourself should sit on another brick, you being before him (another [manuscript] says, behind him); you should put your hand up to [his] eye(s), [his eye(s) being] closed
while you recite down / into the middle of his head seven times. When you have
[X, 17] finished, you should lift your hand from before his eye(s), you should [make him bend over] the vessel and you should put your hands to his ears. You should take hold of them with your own hands while you ask the child saying, "Did you [see the great god]?"

If he says, "I see a darkness," you should say to him "Speak, saying, 'I see your beautiful face, . . . you . . . O great god Anubis!'"

If you wish to do it by vessel [you being] alone,[237] you should fill your eye(s) with this ointment,[238] and you should sit [near the vessel?] in accordance with what is above, your eyes being closed. You should recite the above invocation seven times, open your eye(s), and question him concerning everything [that you wish]. . . . You

226. Artemis?
227. The west and, therefore, the necropolis.
228. Adonai?
229. See n. 30 above.
230. Greek ἀρχή, "beginning, first cause."
231. See n. 30 above.
232. See n. 30 above.
233. See n. 50 above.
234. The Nile.
235. See n. 65 above.
236. "The good house" is the place of embalming.
237. I.e., without using the youth.
238. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 140. [R.K.R.]

do it from the / fourth day of the lunar month until the fifteenth day, which is the half-month when the moon fills the sound-eye.[239] 295 [X, 22]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. IX/1–X/22. Words preceded by ˈ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 295–308

*[A] vessel [inquiry, the magician being] alone[240] in order to see the bark of Pre.[241] *Formula*: "Open to me, O heaven, mother of the gods! Let [me see the bark] of Pre [descending and ascending] in it, for I am Geb, heir of the gods. Praying is what am doing before Pre, my father, [on account of] the things[242] which have gone forth from me. O great Heknet,[243] mistress of the shrine, the Rishtret (?),[244] open to me, mistress of spirits! [Open] to me, O primal heaven! Let me worship the messengers, [for] I am Geb, heir of the gods! O you seven Kings; O you [seven Montus],[245] bull who engenders, lord of awe / who illuminates the earth, 300 soul of the primeval waters. Hail, lion like a lion of the primeval waters, bull of [col. X, darkness! Hail, foremost one of the people of the east, Nun,[246] great one, lofty one! 27] Hail, soul of the ram, soul of the people of the west! Hail, [soul of souls, bull] of darkness, bull (?) of bulls, son of Nut,[247] open to me! I am the Opener of earth, who came forth from Geb. Hail! [I am ˈI ˈI] ˈI ˈE ˈE ˈE [HE HE HE] ˈHO ˈHO ˈHO; I am ˈANEPO[248] ˈMIRI ˈPO ˈRE MAAT IB THIBIO ARYI[249] ˈYAY [IAHO]."

Formula: blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a [nightjar], "live-on-them" plant, [mustard], / "Great-of-Amoun" plant,[250] *qs-ʿnḫ* stone,[251] genuine 305 lapis-lazuli, myrrh, "footprint-of-Isis" plant.[252] Pound [them]; make [them] into a [X, 32] ball [and paint] your [eye(s)] with it! Put a goat's-[tear] in (?) a "pleasure-wood"[253] of juniper or ebony wood [and bind it] around you [with a] strip of male palm fiber in [an] elevated place opposite the sun after putting [the ointment as above on] your eye(s) . . . according to what is written concerning it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. X/22–35. Words preceded by ˈ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 309–34

*A spell for causing favor: "Come to me O . . . your beautiful name [of] Thoth! Hurry, hurry! Come to me. / Let me see your beautiful face here today . . . I being 310

239. I.e., full moon; on the sound-eye, see above, n. 192.

240. I.e., without using a youth.

241. This spell is repeated in *PDM* xiv. 805–16.

242. Literally, "words."

243. "Joyful" or "acclaimed one."

244. An epithet of Heknet?

245. For discussion of seven as a magical number in ancient Egypt, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 78–79, n. to l. X. 26. Note that *ḫknw* is the name of one of the seven oils found in offering lists.

246. Primeval waters.

247. Goddess of the sky.

248. Great Anubis.

249. Perhaps, "May the greatness of Ra, just (?) of heart, and the great lamb act." [R.K.R.]

250. Suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, glossary [3], to be flax.

251. See n. 65 above.

252. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 80, n. to l. X. 32, for the suggested identification of this plant as *πίτταξις*.

253. Suggested by Griffith and Thompson, ibid., n. to l. X. 33, to be a kohl stick.

[col. XI, 2] in the form of a baboon; may you rejoice over (?)[254] [me (?)] in praise and honor with your tongue of. . . . May you hear my voice today and may you save me from all evil things and all evil spells. Hail, he whose form is of . . . his great and mysterious form, from whose begetting a god came forth, who rests in the midst of Thebes! I am . . . of the great Lady, under whom Hapy[255] comes forth. I am the
315 face of great awe . . . soul in his protection; I am the noble child / who is in the
[XI, 7] House of Re.[256] I am the noble dwarf who is in the cavern . . . the ibis as a true protection, who rests in Heliopolis. I am the master of the great foe,[257] the lord who obstructs semen, the very strong one . . . is my [name]. I am the ram, son of the ram; Lotus Lion Ram[258] (and vice versa) is my name. Ra-Khepri-Atum[259] is my true name, truly. Give me praise and love [before NN, son of] NN today, so that he give me all good things, so that he give me food and nourishment, and so that he do everything which I [shall desire. And do not let him] injure me so as to do me any harm, so that he say to me a thing which [I] hate, today, tonight, this month, this year, [this] hour. . . . [But as for my enemies (?)] the sun shall impede their
320 hearts and blind / their eyes, and create darkness in their faces, for I am ⸢BIRAI . . .
[XI, 12] ⸢RAI; be far off ⸢from ⸢me![260] I am the son of Sakhmet; I am ⸢BIGT, the bull of ⸢LAT. I am GAT, son of GAT, whose . . . the underworld, who rests in the depths of the great temple[261] in Heliopolis. I am a greatly praised one, the mistress of protection, who binds with leather thongs . . . in whose protection are great and powerful divine powers, who rests in Bubastis. I am the divine shrew-mouse[262] who [rests in] Letopolis. Lord of Letopolis, unique lord . . . is my name; Ra-Khepri-Atum[263] is my true name, truly. O all you gods [whose names I have spoken] here today, come
325 to me in order that you might hear what I said today / and in order that you might
[XI, 17] rescue [me] from all weakness, every defect, everything, every evil today! Give me praise, love [and respect before] NN,[264] the king and his people, the mountain and its animals so that he does everything which I shall say to him together with [every man who will see] me [or] to whom I shall speak [or] who will speak to me from among all men, all women, all youths, all old people, all people [or animals or things in the] whole land, [who] shall see me in these hours today so that they create my praise in their hearts in everything which I will [do] daily, together with those who will come to me in order to overthrow every enemy! Hurry, hurry! Quickly, quickly, before I have said them and repeated saying them!"

330 [To be said] over an ape of wax and a fish; put it / in first-quality lotus oil (an-
[XI, 22] other [manuscript] says *tšps* oil)[265] or moringa oil which is . . . ; add styrax to it together with first quality myrrh and seeds of "great-of-love" plant in a faïence vessel; bring a wreath of . . . , anoint it with this oil as above, recite these [spells] to it seven times before the sun at dawn, before you have spoken to any man at all; pu-

254. Suggested by R.K.R.

255. The Nile, especially the inundation.

256. I.e., Heliopolis.

257. Perhaps *ḫr.wy* "foe" is a mistake for *ḫr.wy* "testicles," as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 82, n. to l. XI. 8.

258. See n. 6 above.

259. See n. 116 above.

260. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 83, n. to l. XI. 12.

261. Of the sun god, (R)re.

262. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 84, n. to l. XI. 15.

263. See n. 116 above.

264. Feminine.

265. For a possible identification, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 85, n. to l. XI. 22.

rify it; anoint your face with it; place the wreath in your hand; go to any place; [and be] among any people. It creates for you very great praise among them indeed. This scribe's feat is that of King [Darius].[266] There is none better than it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XI/1–26. Words preceded by ⁺ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 335–55

*[A spell for making] a woman love a man: ⁺Juice ⁺of ⁺balsam ⁺tree, ***one stater***; ⁺malabathrum, ***one stater***. *qwšt*, ***one stater***; . . . scented . . . , ***one stater***; *mrwe*, ***one stater***; genuine oil, two *lok*-measures.[267] You should grind these [ingredients]. You should put them into a clean [vessel]; you should put the oil on top of them one day before the beginning of the lunar month. When the lunar month occurs, you should bring a black Nile fish[268] measuring nine fingers (another [manuscript] says seven), its eye(s) being variegated(?) in color . . . [which you] find in [a] water(?) . . . ; you should put it into this above-mentioned oil for two days; you should recite this formula to it at dawn . . . / before you have come [out of your] house and before you have spoken to any man on earth. When the two days have passed [you should] arise at dawn. You should [go] to a garden. You should bring a vine shoot which has not yet formed grapes. You should lift it in your left [hand]; you should put it in your right hand. It should amount to seven fingers [in length]. You should take it [to your] house; you should bring the [fish] up out of the oil; you should tie it by its tail with a strip of flax; you should hang it up [by the head on] the vine; and [you should place] the thing containing oil under it for another three days until it[269] pours out by drops downwards that which is in it, while / the vessel which is under [it] is on a new brick. When the three days have passed, you should [bring it] down. You should embalm [it] with myrrh, natron, and byssus. You should put it in a hidden place or in [your house]. You should spend two more days, reciting to the oil again, making seven days. You should keep it. When you [wish] to make it do its work, you should anoint your phallus and your face and you should lie with the woman to whom you will do it. 335 [col. XII, 1] 340 [XII, 6] 345 [XII, 11]

The spells which you should recite to the oil: "I am Shu[270] ⁺GLABANO. I am Ra; I am the ⁺creation[271] of ⁺Ra; I am the son of Ra. I am / SISHT[272] the son of Shu, a water reed of Heliopolis, this griffin which is in Abydos. You[273] are the first one, the great one, great of magic, the living,[274] uraeus. You[275] are the sun boat, the lake of Wu-poke.[276] Give me praise, love, and respect before every womb, every woman. Love is my true name." 350 [XII, 16]

[Another] spell pertaining to it,[277] again: "I am Shu KLAKINOK; I am IARN, I am

266. For the restoration, see ibid., 86, n. to l. XI. 26.

267. A *lok*-measure is about one pint.

268. For a discussion of the type of fish, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 87–88, n. to l. XII. 4.

269. The fish.

270. God of air.

271. Or the "reed" of Ra.

272. "The image of." [R.K.R.]

273. Feminine singular.

274. Or "rearing": cf. *PDM* xiv. 3.

275. Feminine singular.

276. See n. 113 above.

277. The fish.

GAMREN. I am SE . . . PAER(?) IPAF INPEN NTINHS GAMRY,[278] water of Heliopolis. I am Shu SHABY SHA . . . , SHABAHO LAHEI[279]LAHS LAHEI,[280] the great god who is
355 in the east, / LABRATHAA. I am the griffin which is in Abydos."

[XII, 21] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XII/1–21. Words preceded by * are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 355–65

*[Another] manner of them[281] to give favor to a man before a woman and vice versa before . . . : "You[282] are the great one,[283] the great of magic, the Ethiopian [cat], daughter of Ra,[284] the mistress of the uraeus.[285] You are Sakhmet[286] the great, the mistress of Ast,[287] who has destroyed every enemy . . . [eye (?)] of the sun in the sound-eye,[288] born of the moon at midmonth at night.[289] You are the great creation of the primeval waters. You[290] are creation . . . the great one who is in the House of the obelisk[291] in Heliopolis. You[292] are the golden mirror: [you are] the morning bark [of the sun], the sun bark of Ra, . . . LANDJA, the youth, the son of the Greek
360 woman, the Libyan woman of the . . . / of dom palm fruit, these secrets (?) . . . of
[col. XII, Bi-weken.[293] The favor and the love which Pre, your father, has given to you, send
26] [them] down to me into this oil before every heart and eye of every woman before whom I am going in."

[Invocation,] to a black Nile fish[294] nine fingers [long]: [You should put it] in oil of roses;[295] you should drown it in it; you should bring it [up]; you should hang [it] up by [the] head [for . . . days]. When you have finished you should put it in a glass vessel; you should [add] a little water of sisymbrium[296] and a small "amulet plant(?)-of-Isis" which is . . . and pounded; and you should recite this to it seven times for
365 seven days opposite the rising of the sun. You should anoint your face with it / at
[XII, 31] the time when you lie with the woman; [you should] embalm the fish in myrrh and natron. You should bury it in your house or in a hidden place.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XII/21–31.

278. The end is written *r.w*, "mouths."
279. The end is written *iy*, "to come."
280. The end is written *ʿe.t*, "limb."
281. Written "me" rather than "them."
282. Feminine singular.
283. *t3.wr.t*, identified by Griffith and Thompson as Thoueris, a goddess usually presented in the form of a hippopotamus.
284. In the story of the Myth of the Sun's Eye (see n. 19 to xiv. 1–92), Tefnut, the daughter of Ra, fled to Ethiopia.
285. For all these epithets, cf. *PDM* xiv. 350–51.
286. Cat goddess, goddess of war.
287. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 90, n. to l. XII. 22.
288. See n. 192 above and *PDM* xiv. 295.
289. The sun and moon were thought of as the eyes of heaven, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 90, n. to l. XII. 23.
290. Feminine singular.
291. Within the great temple of the sun god, Ra.
292. Feminine singular.
293. The eastern desert.
294. See n. 268 above.
295. See n. 100 above.
296. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 92, n. to l. XII. 29.

PDM xiv. 366–75

*__The method__ of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband: "Woe; woe, flame; flame; Geb made his form into (that of) a bull, he had intercourse [with][297] his mother, Tefnet, [†]again . . . as the heart of his father cursed his face, the fury of him whose soul is as a flame, while his body is as a pillar, so that he . . . fill the earth with flame and so that the mountains shoot with tongues. The fury of every god and every goddess, the great living one,[298] [†]LALAT / [†]BARESHAK eye of Ethiopia[299] be cast upon NN, the son of NN, [and] NN, the daughter of NN. Put the fire behind his heart and the flame in his place of sleeping, the . . . fire of hatred never [ceasing to enter] into his heart at any time, until he casts NN, the daughter of NN, out of his house(s), she carrying (?) hatred to his heart, she carrying quarrelling to his face. Give him nagging and squabbling, fighting and quarreling between them at all times, until they are separated from each other, without having been at peace forever and ever." Gum, . . . / myrrh. You should add wine to them; you should make them into a figure[300] of Geb, there being a *w3s*-scepter[301] in his hand. [col. XIII, 5] [XIII, 10]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/1–10. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 376–94

*[The recipes] into which the shrew-mouse goes: If you bring a shrew-mouse, you drown it in some water, and you make the man drink it; [then] he is blinded in both eyes. If you grind its body(?) with any piece of food and you make the man eat it, [then] he makes a blistering death(?),[302] he swells up, and he dies.

If you do it to fetch a woman, you should bring a shrew-mouse; you should place it on a Syrian potsherd; you should put it on the backbone of a donkey; you should put its tail on a Syrian potsherd or [piece of] a glass; also, you should let it loose alive in / the door of a bathroom of the woman; you should gild it. You should embalm its tail; you should add pounded myrrh to it; you should put it in a gold[303] ring(?); you should put it on your finger after reciting these[304] spells to it; and you should go with it to any place. Every woman whom you shall seize, she [wants?] you. You do it when the moon is full. [col. XIII, 15]

If you do it to make a woman mad after a man,[305] you should take its body when it is dry; you should pound [it; you should] take a little of it together with a little blood from your second finger and the little finger[306] of your left hand; you should mix it with it; you should put it in a cup of wine; you should give it to the woman so that she drinks it. [Then] she rages after you.

If you put its gall into a [measure of] wine / and the man drinks it, he dies at

297. See J. G. Griffiths, "A Note on P. Demot. Mag. Lond. et Leid. XIII, 2," *ZÄS* 84 (1959): 156–57.

298. Perhaps the uraeus serpent; cf. *PDM* xiv. 3 and 351.

299. Tefnut; see n. 284 above.

300. The star-determinative suggested to Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 94, n. to l. XIII. 10, that this is a reference to the planet Κρόνος/Geb, otherwise called Horus the Bull and depicted as a bull-headed man holding a *w3s* scepter.

301. Symbol of dominion.

302. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 95, n. to l. XIII. 13.

303. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 392, as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 95, n. to l. XIII. 15.

304. *PDM* xiv. 392–94.

305. A similar spell occurs in *PDM* xiv. 1206–18.

306. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 331b.

[XIII, 20] once; or [if you] put it into any piece [of food]. If you put its heart into a [seal] ring of gold, you put it on your hand, and you go anywhere, [then] it creates for you [favor, love and] respect.

If you drown a hawk in a [measure of] wine, and you make the man drink it, [then] he dies. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian [weasel] into any piece of food, [then] he dies. If you put a two-tailed lizard into [the] oil, [cook] it, and anoint the man with it, [then he dies?].

If you wish to produce a skin disease on a man so that it does not heal: A *hantous*
390 lizard [and?] a *haflela* lizard; you should cook them with [oil?], / and you should
[XIII, 25] wash the man with them.

If you wish to make it . . . :[307] you should put . . . ; [then] it. . . . If you put beer . . . to the man's eye(s), he is blinded.

The spells which you recite to the ring[308] at the time when you seize the woman: "[O] . . . IAHO ABRASAKS, may NN, whom NN bore, love me! May she burn for me in (?) the road!" . . . you . . .[309] she follows after you. You write [it] also on the strip with which you embalm the [shrew-mouse?].

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/11–29.

PDM xiv. 395–427

[col. XIV, 1] *[**A vessel divination**:] "Open my eyes! Open your eyes!" and vice versa, up to three times. (That which another man said to me, "Open, O my eyes! Open, O my eyes!" up to ***four*** times.) "Open, ⁱTat! Open Nap! Open Tat! Open, Nap! Open, Tat! Open, Nap! Open [to me]! Open [to me]! for I am ⁱARTAMO, whom the great craftsman[310] bore, the great serpent of the east, who rises with your father at dawn! Hail, hail, Heh![311] Open to me, flame![312] You say whispering, ⁱ"ARTAMO, open to me, flame. If you do not open to me, flame, I will make you open to me, flame. O ibis, ibis, sprinkle, ⁱso ⁱthat ⁱI may see the great god Anubis, the powerful one,
400 / who is before me, the great strength of the sound-eye![313] O powerful Anubis, the
[XIV, 6] good oxherd, open every[thing] to me! Reveal yourself to me, for I am ⁱNESTHOM ⁱNESDJOT ⁱNESHOTB ⁱBORILAMMAI BORILAMMAI ⁱMASTSINKS[314] Anubis, ⁱgreat ⁱone, Arian[315] the one who is great, Arian, this bringer of safety, Arian, the one who is outside! Hail, ⁱPHRIKS ⁱIKS lord ⁱIBROKS ⁱAMBROKS ⁱEBORKS ⁱKSON[316] ⁱNBROKHRIA, the great child, Anubis, for I am this soldier.

405 "O those of the Atef crown,[317] those of PEPHNUN[318] MASPHONEGE; / hail! Let
[XIV, 11] all that I have said come to pass here today, for hail! You are ⁱTHAM ⁱTHAMTHOM

307. Written in cipher; reading and meaning uncertain. Griffith and Thompson read TOYR and translated "to be troublesome." It might read DOYR, in which case could it mean "to be strong" (*dr*) or "to scatter, disperse" (*dr*ʿ)? Depending on the meaning of this verb, the preceding subject might be "he" (the man) rather than "it" (the animal).

308. See *PDM* xiv. 381.

309. The verb *drp*, which is what appears to have been written, means "to stumble" or, transitively, "to trip (someone), to hinder, to impede."

310. A reference to Ptah, the craftsman god of Memphis.

311. Personification of high numbers and everlastingness.

312. Or a phonetic spelling of the name Heh, written in hieratic.

313. See n. 177 above.

314. With flesh determinative; cf., perhaps, μάστιξ, "whip."

315. Arianus, written with seated man determinative.

316. The Old Coptic gloss adds another KSON.

317. A crown worn by the king and Osiris.

318. Perhaps "he of the primeval waters (Nun)."

ⲑⲁⲙⲁⲑⲟⲙ ⲑⲁⲙⲁⲑⲟⲙⲑⲁⲙ ⲑⲁⲙⲁⲑⲩⲧⲥⲓ[319] Amoun. Amoun is your correct name, who is called ⲑⲟⲙ ⲁⲛⲕⲑⲟⲙ.[320] You are ⲓⲧⲑ; ⲑⲱⲑ[321] is your name. Son of ⲑⲟⲙ ⲁⲛⲓⲑⲟⲙ ⲟⲣ[322] ⲥⲁⲟ ⲥⲏⲁⲧⲛⲥⲣⲟ black,[323] open to me the mouths of my vessel here today! Come to me at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage! Let my cup make the reflection (?) of heaven. May the hounds of the Phulot[324] give me that which is just in the primeval waters. May they tell me / that 410
about which I am asking here today, in truth, truly, there being no falsehood therein [XIV, 16]
ⲁⲉⲏⲓⲟⲩⲱ[325] spirit of strife!"[326]

Formula: You bring a copper cup; you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with settled water guarded which the sun cannot find; you fill the top[327] [of the water] with true oil; you place it on [three] new bricks, whose undersides are spread with sand; you put another four bricks under the youth; you make the youth lie down on his stomach; you make him put his chin on the bricks of the vessel; you make him look into the oil, while a cloth is stretched over him, / and while a lighted 415
lamp is in his right hand and a burning censer in his left hand; you put a lobe of [XIV, 21]
Anubis plant on the lamp; you put this incense up [on the censer]; and you recite these writings which are above[328] to the vessel ***seven*** times.

The incense which you should put up [on the censer]: frankincense (?), oil, ammoniac, incense,[329] dates. Pound them with wine, make them into a ball and offer up this scent.

When you have finished, you should make the youth open his eyes and you should ask him, "Is the god coming in?" If he says, "The god has already come in," you should recite before him. ***Formula***: "Your bull(?), ⲙⲁⲟ, O Anubis, this [soldier?],[330] this bull[331] / this blackness[332]. . . . This . . . this ⲓⲧⲥⲓ[333] this ⲥⲣⲓⲧⲥⲓ[334] 420
ⲥⲣⲓⲧⲥⲓ ⲥⲣⲓⲧⲥⲓ ⲁⲃⲣⲓⲧⲥⲓ[335] is your name, being your correct name." [XIV, 26]

And you should ask him concerning that which you [desire]; when you have finished your inquiry about which you are asking, you should recite to him seven times and you should dismiss [the god] to his home.

His dismissal: ***Formula***: "Farewell, farewell, [Anubis] the good oxherd, Anubis, Anubis, the son of a wolf and a dog, the . . ." (another papyrus says: "the child of

319. See n. 30 above.
320. I.e., I am ⲑⲟⲙ.
321. See n. 30 above.
322. Written as the verb *ip* "to count, reckon."
323. Perhaps, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 100, n. to ll. XIV. 13–14, "[sacrifice (lit., cutting) of (a) black ram."
324. A geographical name; see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* . . . , vol. 4 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale: 1925–31), 4, for a discussion of the suggested identifications.
325. The vowels of the Greek alphabet, in order.
326. Written in Demotic with a foreign word determinative; a compound from *μάχομαι*, "to fight" and *πνεῦμα*, "spirit."
327. Literally, "its (the water's) face."
328. *PDM* xiv. 395–410.
329. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 102, n. to l. XIV. 23.
330. Assuming the partially preserved word is the *mty*, "soldier" (Coptic *matoi*), from "Mede."
331. If this is identical with Coptic *qam* (Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* 330).
332. This, like the preceding, would have been pronounced ⲕⲁⲙ, as that is glossed.
333. See n. 30 above.
334. See n. 30 above.
335. See n. 30 above.

her of [?] Isis and a dog, ⁺NABRISHOTHT, the Cherub[336] of Amenti,[337] king of those of . . .”). Say ***seven*** times.

You should take the lamp from the child, you should take the vessel containing
425 water, you should take the cloth off him. You can also do it / alone[338] by vessel in-
[XIV, 31] quiry. [It is] very good, tried, tested nine times.

The Anubis ***plant***:[339] It grows in millions of places. Its leaf is like the leaf of Syrian [plant] which grows white; its flower is like the flower of conyza[340] . . . you . . . eye . . . before you have . . . the vessel.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIV/1–34. Words preceded by ⁺ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above. Note the change in line arrangement.

PDM xiv. 428–50

**A* potion: You should bring a small shaving from the head of a man who was murdered together with seven grains of barley buried in a grave of a dead man; you
430 should grind them with ten *oipe* / (another [manuscript] says, nine) of apple seeds;
[col. XV, you should add blood of a tick[341] of a black dog to them together with a little blood
3] of your second finger and the little finger[342] of your left hand and your semen;[343] you should press them together; you should put them in a cup of wine; you should add three ladles to it of the first fruits of the wine, before you have tasted it and before an offering has been poured out from it; you should recite this spell[344] to it ***seven*** times; you should make the woman drink it; you should tie the skin of the
435 tick aforesaid with a band of byssus; / and you should tie it to your left arm.
[XV, 8] ***Its invocation. Formula***: “I am he of ⁺Abydos, in truth, in the completion of birth in her name of Isis, the bringer of flame, ⁺she ⁺of the seat of mercy of the Agathodaimon.[345] I am this figure of the sun, ⁺the son ⁺of ⁺TAMESRO[346] is my name. I am this figure of the strong general, this sword, this great overthrower. The great flame is my name. I am this figure of Horus, this fortress, this sword; this great overthrower is my name. I am this figure of the Drowned one,[347] who testifies in
440 writing, who rests on board here under / the great offering table of Abydos, to
[XV, 13] whose name of Isis the blood of Osiris bore witness when it was put in this cup. This wine, give it, the blood of Osiris [which] he gave to Isis, to make her feel love in her heart for him at night, at noon, at any time, there not being time of change. ⁺Give it, the blood of NN, whom NN bore, to give it to NN, whom NN bore, in

336. For this interpretation, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 102, n. to l. XIV. 29.

337. The west, the necropolis, and thus the realm of the dead, over which Anubis presided.

338. I.e., without a youth.

339. *PDM* xiv. 415–16.

340. Thus Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*; see pp. 103–4, n. to XIV. 32. The identification has been questioned by D. Devauchelle and M. Pezin, “Un papyrus médical démotique,” *CEg* 53 (1978): 59. H. von Deines and H. Grapow (*Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Drogennamen*, *Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, vol. 6 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959], 39–41) identified this plant as “mentha aquatica.”

341. The identification of *ỉrỉ<m<t<* of *PDM* xiv. 430 with *syb* of *PDM* xiv. 434 indicates the meaning “tick,” as Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 318b–319a.

342. See n. 306 above.

343. Or “urine.”

344. *PDM* civ. 435–48.

345. See n. 22 above.

346. Or “the daughter of Ra.” [R.K.R.]

347. Osiris.

this cup, this bowl of wine today, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart. The love which Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let NN, the daughter of NN, feel it, / while seeking after NN, the son of NN, everywhere. The love which Isis felt for Horus the Behedite,[348] let NN feel it for NN, she loving him, she being mad after him, she being inflamed by him, she seeking him everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him." 445 [XV, 18]

Another method [of doing it] again: The fragment[349] of the tip of your fingernail and apple seed together with blood from your aforesaid finger also. You should pound the apple, you should add blood to it, you should put it in the cup of wine; / you should recite[350] it ***seven*** times, and you should make the woman drink it at the above-mentioned time. 450 [XV, 23]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XV/1–23. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 451–58 [*PGM* XIVb. 12–15]

*[A spell] for going before a superior if he fights with you and he will not speak with you:

"Do not pursue me, you, so-and-so, I am PAPIPETOU METOUBANES. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris, and I go to take it to Abydos, to take it to Tastai, and to bury it at Alkhah.[351] If he, NN, causes me trouble, / I will throw the mummy at him." 455 [col. XV, 28] (15)

Its invocation in Egyptian[352] again is this which is below:

"Do not run after me, NN.[353] I am PAPIPETY METYBANES, carrying the mummy of Osiris, going to take it to Abydos to let it rest in Alkhah. If NN fights with me today, I shall cast it out." (Say seven times!)

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XV/24–31, and R. F. Hock (Greek section).

PDM xiv. 459–75

*The words of the lamp: / "†BOTH †THEY †IE †YE †O †OE †IA †YA (another manuscript [says], †THEY †IE †OE †ON †IA †YA) PTHAKH ELOE (another manuscript [says] ELON; very good) †IATH †EON †PERIPHAE †IEY †IA †IO †IA †IYE, come down to the light of this lamp, appear to this youth, and ask for me about that which I am asking here today, †IAO †IAOLO †THERENTHO †PSIKSHIMEA KHE-LO[354] †BLAKHANSPLA †IAE †YEBAI[355] †BARBARETHY †IEY †ARPON-GNYPH / †BRINTATENOPHRI †HEA †GARHRE †BALMENTHRE †MENEBARIAKHEGH †IA †KHEKH[356] †BRIN-SKALMA †ARYNSARBA[357] †MESEGHRIPH †NIPTYMIKH †MAORKHARAM. †O, †LAANKHEKH †OMPH †BRIMBAINYIOTH †SENGENBAI †GHOYGHE †LAIKHAM †ARMIOYTH." 460 [col. XVI, 1, 2] 465 [XIV, 7]

348. I.e., of Edfu.

349. Literally, "measure." See R. H. Pierce, "*Dnf*, A Problem in Demotic Lexicography," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965): 74.

350. *PDM* xiv. 435–48.

351. See n. 3 above.

352. Note the bilingual abilities of the scribe. The text is Egyptian in theme (the burial of Osiris) and the Greek text even includes one sentence in Egyptian. This indicates the Egyptian origin of the whole, despite the placement of the Greek version before the Egyptian one. [R.K.R.]

353. Feminine or, possibly, plural.

354. See n. 30 above.

355. Ending written *by*, "soul."

356. Glossed xyx, Egyptian *kky* "darkness": see n. 76 above.

357. See n. 8 above.

You should speak, you[358] being pure, in this manner: "O god who lives, O lamp
470 which is lit, ⁱTAGRTAT, he of eternity, bring in / ⁱBOEL! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL
[XVI, 12] in! ⁱARBETH-BAI ⁱYTSIO,[359] O doubly ⁱgreat god, bring ⁱBOEL in! ⁱTAT TAT, bring ⁱBOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! TAGRTAT, he of Eternity, bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! BEYTSI[360] O great god, bring ⁱBOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in!

The invocation which you should recite before Pre early in the morning before you have recited to the youth, in order that that which you will do will come about: "O great god, ⁱTABAO ⁱBASYKHAM ⁱAMO ⁱAKHA-GHAR-KHAN-GRABYNSA-NYNI
475 / ⁱTSIKOMETO[361] ⁱGATHYBASATHYRITHMILAALO" ([say] ***seven times***).
[XVI, 17] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVI/1–17. Words preceded by ⁱ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 475–88

*Another manner of [doing] it also: You should rise at dawn from your bed, early in the day on which you will do it, or any day, in order that everything which you will do will be exact through your agency,[362] you being pure from all evil. You should recite this spell before Pre three times or seven times: "ⁱIO ⁱTA-BAO ⁱSOKHAM-MYA ⁱOKHOKH-KHAN-BYNSANAY[363] ⁱAN-IESI ⁱEGOMPTO[364] ⁱGETHO ⁱSETHYRI ⁱTHMILA
480 ⁱALYAPOKHRI, let everything / that I shall undertake here today, let it happen."
[col. XVI, 22] ***Its manner***: You bring a new lamp in which no red lead[365] has been put; you [put] a clean wick in it; you fill it with pure genuine oil; you put it in a hidden place cleansed with natron water; you lay it on a new brick; you bring a youth; you seat him on another new brick, his face being turned to the lamp; you close his eyes; and you recite these [words] above,[366] down into the youth's head, seven times. You should make him open his eyes while you say to him, "Do you see the light?" If he says to you, "I see the light in the flame of the lamp," you should cry out at that
485 moment saying / "ⁱHEYE" nine times. You should ask him about everything you
[XVI, 27] wish after reciting the invocation which you did previously before Pre early in the morning.[367] You do it in a place whose door opens to the east; you leave the face of the lamp turned . . . ; and you leave the youth's faced turned . . .[368] facing the lamp, you being on his left. You should recite down into his head, while you touch his head with your second finger of the . . . of your right hand.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVI/18–30. Words preceded by ⁱ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

358. Actually written "it."
359. See n. 30 above.
360. See n. 30 above.
361. Ending written *qme t3*, "creator of the earth": for the correspondence of Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 30 above.
362. Literally, "through your hand."
363. Ending written *nw*, "time"; for correspondences between Greek and Egyptian letters, see n. 8 above.
364. Old Coptic gloss aspirated; Demotic writes *m p3 t3*, "in the earth."
365. See R.K.R.'s note to *PGM* I. 277.
366. *PDM* xiv. 478–79.
367. xiv. 476.
368. Left blank in the manuscript.

PDM xiv. 489–515

Another* manner of [doing] it also; [it is] very good for the lamp. You should [say]:[369] "†BOEL BOEL BOEL †I †I †I †A †A †A †TAT †TAT †TAT, the first servant of the great god, he who gives light exceedingly / the companion of the flame, in whose mouth is the flame, he of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who lives, who never dies, the great god, he who sits in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who is in the lake of heaven,[370] in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, come into the midst of this flame. Reveal yourself to this youth here today, have him inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall ask him here today, for I shall praise you in heaven before Pre; I shall praise you before the moon; I shall praise you on earth; I shall praise you before the one who is on the throne, who is never destroyed! O he of great praise, in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, he of great praise, †PETERI PETERI PATER †EMPHE EMPHE,[371] O †doubly †great god, who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having / created him, come in to me with †BOEL †ANIEL; give strength to the eyes of this youth who is carrying my vessel today, in order to let him see you, in order to let his ears hear you while you are speaking; and ask for him about everything and all things about which I shall ask him here today! O great god, †SI-SAOTH †AKHREMPTO,[372] come into the midst of this flame! O he who sits on the mountain †of †Gabaon, †TAGRTAT, he of eternity, he who does not die, who lives forever, bring[373] †BOEL in †BOEL BOEL, †ARBETH-BAI-NOUTSI[374] †O †great †one, great god, great god, bring[375] †BOEL in! †TAT TAT bring[376] BOEL in!" You should / say these [things] ***seven times* down into the youth's head. You should make him open his eyes; you should ask him, "Has the light already appeared?" If the light has not come forth, you should have the youth himself speak with his mouth to the lamp.

Formula: "Be great, O light! Come forth, O light! Rise up, O light! Be high, O light! Come forth, O light of the god! Reveal yourself to me, O servant of the god, in whose hand is command today, who will ask for me."[377]

He reveals himself to the youth in the moment named. You recite these things down into the head of the boy, while he is looking / at the lamp. Do not let him look at another place except only the lamp. If he does not look at it, he is afraid. You should do all these [things]. When you finish your inquiry, you should turn around, you should have him close his eyes, and you should say down into his head this ***other*** invocation, below, that is, if the gods go away[378] and the youth ceases to see them: "†Beginning †KHEM-PHE, †Zeus, †Sun[379] †SATRA-PERMET, watch over this youth! Do not let him be frightened, terrified, or afraid, and make him return to his original path! Open, O †Underworld! Open, †here."[380] I say [it] that this vessel inquiry of the lamp is better / than the first.

490 [col. XVII, 2]

495 [XVII, 7]

500 [XVII, 11]

505 [XVII, 16]

510

369. A very similar invocation appears in *PDM* xiv. 127–40, 194–204, and 516–26.
370. See n. 84 above.
371. On this group, see n. 88 above.
372. Ending written *m p3 t3*, "in the earth."
373. *R-iny* written above *r-wy*, both imperatives meaning "Bring!"
374. Could the end of this mean "Bas (souls) of the gods"? For the correspondence between Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 30 above.
375. *R-iny* written above *r-wy*, both imperatives meaning "Bring!"
376. See n. 375 above.
377. See n. 23 above.
378. Or "in order that the gods go away."
379. The gloss consists of the Greek symbol for the sun.
380. A pun between "here" (*ty*) and "underworld" (*tei*).

[XVII, 21] This is the form again. ***Its manner***: you bring a new lamp in which no red lead[381] has been put; you put a clean cloth wick in it; you fill it with genuine clean oil; you place it on a new brick; you seat the boy on another brick opposite the lamp; you make him shut his eyes; and you recite down into his head according to the other form also.

Another invocation which you recite opposite Pre at dawn three times, or seven times: ***Formula***: ⸗IO-TABEO ⸗SOKHOMMYA ⸗OKHO-KH-KHAN ⸗BYNSANAY[382] ⸗AN-
515 IESI ⸗EGOM(PH)THO ⸗GETHO ⸗SETHORI / ⸗THMILA-ALYAPO-KHRI, may everything
[XVII, 26] which I shall do today come about." And they succeed.[383] If you do not purify it, it does not come about. Purity is its chief factor.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVII/1–26. Words preceded by ⸗ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 516–27

Another* invocation according to what is above, again:[384] ***Formula*: "⸗BOEL BOEL BOEL ⸗I ⸗I ⸗I ⸗A ⸗I ⸗I ⸗I ⸗A ⸗TAT TAT TAT *he who gives the light exceedingly, the* companion of the flame, he of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who lives, who never dies, he who sits in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who is in the lake of heaven,[385] in whose hand is the greatness and might of the god, reveal yourself to this youth, HEY HOY HOY ⸗HE-O so that he may inquire for me; make him look so that he sees and hears[386] everything about which I shall ask him, for I shall praise you in heaven, I shall praise you on earth, I shall praise you be-
520 fore the one who is on the throne, who is never destroyed. / O he of greatness,
[col. XVII, 31] ⸗PETERI PETERI ⸗EMPHE EMPHE,[387] O ⸗great god[388] who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created deity, deity not having created him, come into the midst of this flame with BOEL ⸗ANIEL. Give strength to the eyes of ⸗HEY ⸗HEY, [⸗HEY ⸗HEY],[389] the son of ⸗HEY ⸗HEY, in order that he see you with his eyes; make his ears hear; speak with him of anything about which he will ask you; tell me an answer truly! You are the great god ⸗SABAOTH. Come down
525 with ⸗BOEL TAT TAT! Bring BOEL in! Come into the midst of this flame / and ques-
[XVIII, 4] tion for me concerning that which is good! ⸗TAGRTAT, he of eternity, bring ⸗BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! ARBTH BAINYTSIO,[390] O ⸗great god,[391] bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in! Bring BOEL in!" You should say these [things] down into the youth's head; you should have him open his eyes and you should ask him about everything according to the manner which is outside,[392] also.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*

381. See n. 73 above.

382. Ending written *nw*, "time"; for the correspondences between Egyptian and Greek letters, see n. 8 above.

383. Continuing from the instructions in *PDM* xiv. 512–13.

384. A very similar invocation appears in *PDM* xiv. 127–40, 194–204, and 489–99.

385. See n. 84 above.

386. Or "obey."

387. On this group, see n. 88 above.

388. Glossed "doubly great."

389. Intentional dittography in going from column XVII to column XVIII. Note that HEY here and in the next line is written in Demotic with the silver determinative, as if it were the word "money, silver."

390. See n. 374 above; here the adjective ʿ3, "great," has been added to the end of the invocation name. ARBETHBAINOYTHIŌ is "Horus-Falcon, spirit of the great god"; see *PDM* xiv. 500.

391. Glossed "doubly great."

392. On the verso, but see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 118, n. to l. XVIII. 6.

motic Magical Papyrus, recto, col. XVII/26–XVIII/6. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic or in Greek letters with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 528–53

*[Another?] vessel inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchite nome gave me. You can also do it as a vessel inquiry by yourself:[393] "SABANEM[394] NN BIRIBAT Hail! Hail, O god, †SISIAHO who is on the mountain of Qabaho, / in whose hand is the begetting of Fate,[395] go[396] to this boy! Let him enchant the light, for I am 'beautiful of face'[397] (another manuscript says "I am the face of Nun") at dawn, HALAHO[398] at midday; I am 'joyful of face' in the evening. I am Pre, the noble youth who is called GARTA by name. I am he who came forth on the arm of Triphis[399] in the east. I am †great; 'Great' is my name; 'Great' is my real name. I am †OY; †OY is my name; †AY is my real name. I †am †LOT †MULOT, the one who prevailed, he whose / strength is in the flame, he of that golden wreath which is on his head, THEIT THEIT[400] TO TO[401] HATRA HATRA, dog-face, dog-face. Hail, Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld! Let the darkness depart. Bring the light to me in my vessel inquiry, for I am Horus, son of Osiris, whom Isis bore, the noble youth whom Isis loves, who seeks after his father Osiris Unnefer. Hail Anubis, Pharaoh of the underworld! Let the darkness depart. Bring the light to me in my vessel inquiry / my bandage here today! Let me flourish; let the one whose face is bent down to this vessel here today flourish until the gods come in and tell me [an] answer in truth concerning my question about which I am inquiring here today, truly, without falsehood, immediately. Hail, Anubis, creature and youth![402] Go forth at once! Bring to me the gods of this city and the god who gives answer today[403] so that he tell me my question about which I am asking today." Nine times.

/ When you open your eyes, or the youth [opens his eyes] and you see the light, you should recite to the light, "Hail, O light! Come forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be great, be great, O light! O that which is outside, come in!" You should say it nine times until the light is great and Anubis comes in.

When Anubis has come in and established himself, you should say to Anubis, "Arise! Go out and bring in to me the gods of this city or town." He goes out at that moment and brings the gods in. When you know / that the gods have come in, you should say to Anubis, "Bring in a table for the gods so that they may sit down!" When they are seated, you say to Anubis,[404] "Bring in a wine jar and some bread! Let them eat; let them drink." When he has had them eat and drink, you should say to Anubis, "Are they going to inquire for me today?" If he says they [are] again, you

530 [col. XVIII, 9]

535 [XVIII, 14]

540 [XVIII, 19]

545 [XVIII, 24]

550 [XVIII, 29]

393. I.e., without using a youth as intermediary.

394. Ending written *nm*, "dwarf."

395. See n. 22 above.

396. This verb also appears in *P. BM* 10507, 6/9, where it is translated "to approach" by M. Smith (not yet published).

397. Or, perhaps, "baboon-face," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 120, n. to l. XVIII. 10.

398. Ending written *ḥr*, "face."

399. A goddess whose name meant "the noble lady"; Griffith and Thompson suggest, *The Leyden Papyrus*, 120, n. to l. XVIII. 12, that this might be a reference to the constellation Virgo.

400. The middle of this name is written with the word *ḥ.wy*, "house."

401. Written *t3*, "land."

402. Perhaps seen as half-canine, half-human. [R.K.R.]

403. See n. 23 above.

404. A very similar passage, but spoken by the youth, occurs in *PDM* xiv. 56–62.

should say to him, "The god who will question for me,[405] let him raise his hand for me and let him tell me his name." When he tells you his name, you should ask him concerning that which you desire. When you are finished asking about what you desire, you should send them away.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XVIII/7–33. Words preceded by ˢ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 554–62

555 *[Spell] to be said to the bite of the dog: / "My mouth being full of blood of a
[col. XIX, black dog, I spitting out the redness[406] of a dog, I come forth from Alkhah.[407] O
2] this dog who is among the ten dogs which belong to Anubis, the son of his body, extract your venom, remove your saliva from me also! If you do not extract your venom and remove your saliva, I shall take you up to the forecourt of [the temple
560 of] Osiris, my watchtower (?). I will do for ˢyou[408] . . . / according to the voice of
[XIX, 7] Isis, the magician, the lady of magic, who bewitches everything, who is never bewitched in her name of Isis, the magician."

You [should] pound garlic with gum (?), put it on the wound of the dog bite, and speak to it daily until it is well.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/1–9. The word preceded by ˢ is written in the text in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 563–74

*[Spell] to be said in order to extract the venom from the heart of a man who has already been made to drink a potion or poison[409] (?): "Hail, hail, IABLY, O golden
565 cup of Osiris! / From you have drunk Isis, Osiris, and the great Agathodaimon.[410]
[col. XIX, The three gods drank and after them I myself drank in order that you will not let me
12] get drunk, you will not let me list, you will not make me fall, you will not make me be thrown down, you will not make me be troubled of heart, you will not make my mouth curse. May I be healed of all poison, pus, [and] venom. They shall be removed (?) from my heart. When I drink you, may I vomit[411] them up in her name
570 of ˢSARBITHA, the daughter / of the Agathodaimon,[412] for I am SABRA BRIATHA
[XIX, 17] BRISARA. HER is my name. I am Horus SHARON[413] coming from receiving greetings. IAHO, ˢthe ˢchild, is my name, being my real name" [to be said] to a cup of wine. Add fresh rue; add it to it; speak to it seven times, and make the man drink it at dawn before he has eaten.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the editions and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/10–21. Words preceded by ˢ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

405. See n. 23 above.
406. I.e., blood.
407. See n. 3 above.
408. Or, "act for you as . . . ": see the discussion of his passage in Johnson, *Verbal System* 11, n. 1. Or, "I shall do to you that which this other bird (?) did," seeing a reference to Isis as a kite. [R.K.R.]
409. Or "hang over" (?). [R.K.R.]
410. See n. 22 above.
411. Literally, "cause them to be thrown up."
412. See n. 22 above.
413. Written ⲥ r.n, "to our mouths."

PDM xiv. 574–85

*[Spell] to be said to the man, when a bone is stuck / in his throat: "You are SHLATE LATE BALATE the white crocodile, which is under the foam of the sea of flame whose belly is full of bones of every drowned man. Hail, you should spit out this bone for me today, it acting as a harpoon head,[414] it making a point, it acting as a sack piercer,[414] it doing[415] everything, without change, for I am[416] a lion's forepart, I am[417] a ram's horn,[418] I am[419] a panther's tooth. / Griffin[420] is my real name, for Osiris is he who is in my hand. The man named is the opener[421] of my neck"[422] (seven times). [col. XIX, 22] [XIX, 27]

You should speak to a little oil, you should put the man's face up; you should put it down in his mouth; you should move[423] your finger and your thumb[424] [to the] two sinews[425] of his throat; you should make him swallow the oil; you should make him rise up suddenly; and you should eject the oil which is in his throat immediately. / The bone comes up with the oil.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/21–32. [XIX, 32]

PDM xiv. 585–93

*Spell to be said to the bite of the dog: the fury of Amoun and Triphis:[426] "I am this strong Arab SHLAMALA MALET secret one, mighty one SHETEI[427] GRSHEI[428] GRSHEI[429] NEBRNT TAHNE BAHNE this dog, this black one,[430] the dog which has bewitched this dog, he of these four bitch-pups, the wolf[431] son of Wepwawet.[432] O son of Anubis, seize by your teeth! Put down your secretion, your face being that / of Seth against Osiris, your face being that of Apophis against the sun! Horus, the son of Osiris, whom Isis bore [is the one] with whom you filled your mouth,[433] NN whom NN bore [is the one] with whom you filled your mouth. Hear this speech of Horus, who stopped heat, who went to the primeval water, who established the earth; listen, O IAHO SABAHO ABIAHO by name!" You should cleanse the wound and grind salt with Nubian hematite.[434] Apply [it] to it. [col. XIX, 37]

414. Meaning suggested by George R. Hughes; for harpoon head and point, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 126, n. to l. XIX. 25.
415. Or "acting as."
416. Or "to me belongs," as suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 126, n. to l. XIX. 26.
417. See n. 416 above.
418. See n. 416 above.
419. See n. 416 above.
420. See n. 12 above.
421. Reading *wn*.
422. Reading *nḥḥe.t*.
423. Reading *ḫn*, "to approach," "move toward."
424. So William F. Edgerton, comparing it to Coptic *mout*, "thumb": Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 81a.
425. Coptic *eine* means "sinew, nerve" or "neck"; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 189a.
426. See n. 399 above.
427. Ending written *ʿe.t*, "limb."
428. See n. 427 above.
429. See n. 427 above.
430. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 555.
431. Or jackal, given the association with Wepwawet.
432. See n. 223 above.
433. I.e., whom you bit.
434. For this identification, see J. R. Harris, *Minerals* 156–57.

Another: You should grind rue with honey. Apply to it and say it also to a cup of water and make him drink it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIX/32–40.

PDM xiv. 594–620

595 *[Spell] to be said to the sting.[435] / "I am the King's son, greatest and first, Anubis.
[col. XX, 2] My mother Sekhmet-Isis comes[436] after me all the way to the land of Syria, to the hill of the land of Heh,[437] to the nome of these cannibals, saying, 'Hurry, hurry! Quickly, quickly, my child, King's son, greatest and first, Anubis,' saying, 'Arise and come to Egypt, for your father Osiris is King of Egypt; he is ruler over the whole land; all the gods of Egypt are assembled to receive the crown from his hand.'

600 / "At the moment of saying these [things] she jumped[438] at me. My strength fell
[XX, 7] from me. She coiled[439] and she came to me with a sting; I sat down and I wept. Isis, my mother, sat near me, saying to me, 'Do not weep, do not weep, my child, King's son, greatest and first, Anubis! Lick from your tongue to your heart, and vice versa, as far as the edges of the wound! Lick from the edges of the wound up to the limits
605 of your / strength!' What you will lick up, you should swallow it. Do not spit it out
[XX, 12] on the ground, for your tongue is the tongue of the Agathodaimon,[440] your tongue is that of Atum!"

You should lick it with your tongue while it is bleeding. Immediately afterwards, you should speak to a little oil and you should speak[441] to it seven times while putting it on the sting daily. You should dye a strip of linen and put it on it.

610 / [The spell] which you should say to the oil to put it on the sting daily: "Isis sat
[XX, 17] speaking to the oil, ABARTAT, and lamenting to the true oil, saying, 'You are praised. I am going to praise you, O oil; I am going to praise you. By the Agathodaimon you are praised. By me myself you are honored. I am going to praise you forever, O oil, O vegetable oil'" (another [manuscript] says "true oil"), "'O sweat of the
615 Agathodaimon, amulet of Geb. Isis is the one who / is speaking to the oil. O true
[XX, 22] oil, O drop of rain, O water-drawing of the planet Jupiter[442] which comes down from the sun bark at dawn, you should do the good [deeds] of the dew of dawn which heaven cast to the ground upon every tree. You should heal the limb which is paralyzed and you should act as remedy for him who lives, for I shall employ you for the sting of the King's son, greatest and first, Anubis, my child, in order that you fill it and make it well. For I shall employ you for [the] sting of NN, whom NN
620 bore, / in order that you fill it and make it well'" (seven times).
[XX, 27]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the editions and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XX/1–27.

435. Probably of a scorpion, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 128, n. to l. XX. 1. This interpretation is reinforced by the suggested new translation of *PDM* xiv. 601; see n. 439 below.

436. For this interpretation, see J. Johnson, *Verbal Systems* 102, n. 167.

437. Literally, "millions."

438. See n. 456 below.

439. Literally, "gather"; this meaning was suggested by George R. Hughes.

440. See n. 22 above.

441. *PDM* xiv. 610–20.

442. Literally, "Horus the red" or "Horus the mysterious."

PDM xiv. 620–26

*Spell to be said to bring a bone out of a throat: "I am he whose head reaches the sky while his feet reach the primeval waters,[443] who awakened this crocodile . . . in Pidjeme[444] in Thebes, for I am ⁺SA ⁺SIME. TAMAHO is my correct name, ⁺ANYG ANYG, for a hawk's egg is what is in my mouth, an ibis egg is what is in my belly, saying, 'bone of god, bone of man, bone of bird, bone of fish, bone of animal, bone of everything, there being nothing besides, for let that which is in your belly come to your heart; let that which is in your heart / come to your mouth; let that which is in your mouth come to my hand here today, for I am he who is in the seven heavens, who is established in the seven shrines; for I am the son of the living god!" [Say it] to a cup of water seven times and make the woman drink it. 625 [col. XX, 32]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XX/27–33. Words preceded by ⁺ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 627–35

*The vessel inquiry of Osiris:[445] "Hail, Osiris, King of the Underworld, lord of burial, whose head is in Thinis[446] while his feet are in Thebes,[447] the one who gives answer in Abydos, while his protection[448] (?) is [in?] Pshilom,[449] he who is under the *nubs* tree in Meroë, who is on the mountain of Poranous,[450] who is on my house forever, / the house of the avengers[451] forever; he whose face[452] resembles the face of a hawk of byssus, mighty one whose tail is as the tail of a serpent while his back is as the back of a ⁺dragon,[453] while his hand is [that of] a man, who is girded (?) with this girdle of bandage, ⁺in ⁺whose hand is this palm staff of command. Hail, IAHO SABAHO ATONAI[454] MISTEMY IAYIY! Hail, MIKHAEL[455] SABAEL! Hail, Anubis in the nome of the dog-faces, he to whom this earth belongs, who leaps[456] on only one foot! ⁺Hide the darkness in the deep! Bring in the light for me! Come in to me; tell me the answer to that about which I am inquiring here today!" [Say] nine times, / until the god comes and the light appears. 630 [col. XXI, 4] 635

You do it according to the forms of the remainder above, again while the youth's face is to the east and your own face is to the west, you reciting down into his head. [XXI, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXI/1–9. Words preceded by ⁺ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

443. Reaching from sky to abyss; see also *PGM* IV n. 160.

444. Western Thebes.

445. A partial parallel in Old Coptic is found in *PGM* IV. 10–25.

446. A town in the nome of Abydos; see A. H. Gardner, *Onomastica*, vol. II, p. 38*.

447. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 134, n. to l. XXI. 2.

448. The Old Coptic parallel (see n. 445 above) has "whose glory is in Paqalōm."

449. For possible identifications, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 134, n. to l. XXI. 3.

450. Perhaps the Egyptian definite article *p* + *οὐρανός*, "firmament" of heaven, and Griffith and Thompson, ibid., 135, n. to l. XXI. 4.

451. On avengers, see also n. 24 above.

452. See the description of a griffin taken from the Myth of the Sun's Eye quoted in n. 12 above.

453. Literally, perhaps, "crocodile" or "guardian (dragon)"; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 135, n. to l. XXI. 5.

454. Adonai? The Old Coptic parallel (see n. 445 above) has *althōnai*.

455. The Old Coptic text (see n. 445 above) also invokes Michael.

456. Coptic *fi foqs*, "to leap, hop," *Crum, Coptic Dictionary* 627b, as suggested by George R. Hughes.

PDM xiv. 636–69

*[The method] of the scarab in the cup of wine in order to make a woman love a man: You should bring a scarab of Mars[457] (which is this small scarab which has no horn), it having three shields on the front of its head—you find its face shrunken—or also the one which has two horns.[458] You should bring it at the rising of the sun; you should bind yourself with a cloth on the upper part of your back; you should bind yourself at your face with a strip of palm fiber while the scarab is on the palm[459] of your hand; and you should speak[460] to it before the sun when it is about to rise, seven times. When you have finished, you should drown it in milk of a black cow. You should put a [unit of ?] 10[461] (pieces) of olive wood to its head. You should leave it until evening in the milk. When evening comes, you should / bring it up, you should spread under it with sand, and you should put a band of cloth under it upon the sand, for four days. You should put myrrh on a flame before it.

When the four days have passed, and it is dry, you should bring it before you, a cloth being spread under it. You should divide it in its middle with a copper knife. You should take its right half and nail parings of your right hand and foot, and you should cook them on a new potsherd with vine wood. You should pound them with nine apple seeds and your urine or your sweat free from bath oil; you should make it into a ball; you should put it in the wine; you should speak[462] over it seven times; you should make the woman drink it; you should take its other half, the left one, together with the nail parings of your left hand and foot also; you should bind them in a strip of byssus with myrrh and saffron; you should bind them to your left arm; and you should lie with the woman while they are bound to you.

/ If you wish to do it also without drowning it, you do it also on the third of the lunar month, you doing this manner above for it also. You should recite its invocation to it before the sun at dawn; you should cook [it]; you should divide it; you should do it according to that which is above also in everything.

[The invocation] which you should recite to it before the sun at dawn: "You are the scarab of real lapis-lazuli. Bring yourself out of the door of my temple! You should lift (?) a copper vessel (?) to your nose, [O he] who knew how to eat the herbage, who tramples the field plants (?), who damages the great cult images of those of Egypt, I sending you against NN whom NN bore, to strike her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb, for she is the one who urinated before the sun at dawn, saying to the sun, 'Do not come forth!'; to the moon, 'Do not rise!'; to the water, 'Do not come to those of Egypt!'; to the field, 'Do not bloom!'; and to the great trees of those of Egypt, 'Do not grow green!' / I sending you to NN, whom NN bore, in order to beat her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb, so that she put herself on the road following after NN, whom NN bore, at all times."

[The spell] which you should recite to it while it is in the milk: "Woe, doubly great one; woe, my doubly great one; woe, his (?) Nun,[463] woe, his love, O scarab,

457. See Ritner, "Gleanings" (above, n. 68).

458. For the possible identification as the "stag beetle," see ibid., n. to l. XXI. 11.

459. Lit., "body": translation suggested by George R. Hughes.

460. *PDM* xiv. 646–50.

461. For the use of ten as a "round number," see K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägypter* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1916) 39.

462. *PDM* xiv. 658–69.

463. Primeval waters.

464. See n. 306 above.

O scarab; you are the eye of Pre, the little finger[464] of Osiris, the fingers of Shu.[465] You should go in this form[466] in which Osiris your father went, on account of NN, whom NN bore, until fire is put after her heart, the flame after her flesh, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is."

[The spell] which you should recite to it while you are cooking it: "Hail, my beautiful child, the youth of oil-eating (?), who cast semen and who casts semen among all the gods, this one whom the small one and the great one found among the two great enneads on the east of Egypt, / while he was coming forth as a black 655
scarab on a stem of papyrus reed! I know your name; I know your craft[467] (?). 'The [XXI, 29]
work of two stars' is your name. I am casting fury against you today; NPHALAM BALLABALKHA IOPHPHE, in order that every burning, every heat, every fire in which you are today, you will make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver, the spleen, the womb, the large intestine, the small intestine, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb, in the skin of NN, whom NN bore, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is."

[The spell] which you should recite to it in the wine:

"O scarab, O scarab, you are the scarab of real lapis-lazuli; you are the eye of Pre; you are the eye of Atum, the finger of Shu, the little finger of Osiris. You are the black bull, the foremost one, who came forth from Nun, / the beauty of Isis being 660
with you. You are RAKS RAPARAKS, the blood of this wild boar which they brought [XXI, 34]
from the land of Syria to Egypt."

From outside to the wine: "I shall send you. Will you go on my business? Will you do it? May you say, 'Send me to the thirsty so that his thirst may be quenched, to the canal that it may be dried up, to the sand of the . . . that it may be scattered without wind, to the papyrus of Buto that the copper [blade] may be applied to it, while Horus is saved for Isis from the great destructions for those of Egypt, so that not a man or woman is left in their midst,' while I send you. Do the like of these while I am sending you down to the heart of NN, whom NN bore; make a flame in her body, flame in her intestines. Put madness after her heart, fever after her flesh. Let her make the travels of the Shoulder constellation[468] after the 'Hippopotamus' constellation.[469] Let her make / the movements of the sunshine after the shadow 665
while she is searching after NN, whom NN bore, at every place in which he is, she [XXI, 39]
loving him, she being mad about him, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is. Take away her sleep by night! Give her grief and anxiety by day! Do not let her eat! Do not let her drink! Do not let her lie down! Do not let her sit in the shadow of her house until she goes to him at every place in which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glances turned upside down, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is, until she sees him, her eye after his eye, her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand, she giving to him every. . . . Let [her] put the tip of her feet after his heels in the street at all times, without a time changed. Quickly, quickly! Hurry, hurry!"

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXI/10–43.

465. The god of air, whose hands/fingers supported the sky.
466. I.e., drowned, as Osiris.
467. As suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 141, n. to l. XXI. 29.
468. I.e., the Big Dipper.
469. See the references in Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 142, n. to l. XXI. 38.

PDM xiv. 670–74

670 [col. XXII, 1] *Here is [the spell ?] of the name of the Great One of Five[470] which should be recited to every spirit, there being nothing which is stronger than it in the books: if you recite these spells to any vessel, the gods never go away without your having questioned them about everything so that they say to you the answer about heaven, earth, the underworld, a distant inquiry, water, and fields. [It is] a writing which is in the power[471] of a man to recite.[472]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXII/1–5.

PDM xiv. 675–94 [*PGM* XIVc. 15–27]

675 [col. XXIII, 1] *A spell to cause "evil sleep"[473] to fall. ***Formula***: You bring a donkey's head; you place it between your feet opposite the sun at dawn when it is about to rise, opposite it again in the evening when it is going to set; you anoint your right foot with yellow ocher[474] of Syria, your left foot with clay, the soles of your feet also; you place your right hand in front and your left hand behind, the head being between 680 them; you anoint one of your two hands with donkey's blood, / and the two cor- [XXIII, 6] ners (?) of your mouth; and you recite these writings before the sun at dawn and in the evening for four days. He sleeps.

If you wish to make him die, you should do it for seven days. If you do its magic, you should bind a thread of palm fiber to your hand, a piece of male palm fiber to your phallus and your head. It is very good.

This spell which you should recite before the sun:

(15) / "I call upon you who are in the empty air, you who are terrible, invisible, almighty, a god of gods, you who cause destruction and desolation, you who hate a 685 stable / household, you who were driven out of Egypt and have roamed foreign [XXIII, lands, you who shatter everything and are not defeated. / I call upon you, Typhon 11] Seth; I command your prophetic powers because I call upon your authoritative (*PGM* name to which you cannot refuse to listen, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHŌ- XIVc. 17) SĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX / IŌ SŌRŌ IŌ NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH AKTIŌPHI ERESCHI- (20) GAL NEBOUTOSOALĒTH ABERAMENTHŌOULERTHEXANAXETHRELUŌTHENEMA- 690 REBA AEMINA / (the whole formula). Come to me and go and strike down him, NN [XXIII, (or her, NN) with chills and fever. That very person has wronged me and he (or she) 16] has spilled the blood of Typhon in his own (or her own) house. For this reason I am (*PGM* doing this" (add the usual).

XIVc. 23) *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIII/1–20; and R. F. Hock, following the edition of (25) Preisendanz.

PDM xiv. 695–700

695 [col. XXIII, 21] *To inquire opposite the moon: you should do it as a vessel inquiry alone or [with] a youth. If you are the one who is going to inquire, you should equip your eye with green eyepaint and black eyepaint. You should stand on a high place on the top of

470. See n. 36 above.

471. Literally, "hand."

472. As Griffith and Thompson note, *The Leyden Papyrus* 144, n. to l. XXII. 5, the remainder of the column, where the spell would have been written, was left blank.

473. Reading *nktk bin*. [R.K.R.] Griffith and Thompson, ibid., n. to l. XXIII. 1, suggest "catalepsy."

474. See Harris, *Minerals* 151.

your house. You should speak to the moon when it fills[475] the sound-eye[476] on the 15th day, you being pure for three days. You should recite this spell opposite the moon seven or nine times until he appears to you and speaks to you: "Hail, ⁱ SAKS ⁱ Amoun ⁱ SAKS ⁱ ABRASAKS, for you are the moon, the great one of the stars, he who formed them! Listen to these things which I said! Walk in accordance with the [words] of my mouth! Reveal yourself to me, ⁱ THAN / ⁱ THANA ⁱ THANATHA" (another [manuscript] says "THEI"); "this is my correct name." Nine [times] of saying it until she[477] reveals herself to you. [XXIII, 26]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIII/21–26. Words preceded by ⁱ are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 701–5

*Another form of it again, to be recited opposite the moon: You should paint your eye with this paint, you [going] up before the moon. When it fills the sound-eye,[478] you see the figure of the god in sound-eye speaking to you:

"I am flame, high, AMRO[479] MAAMT, true is my name, for I am . . . soul so ⁱ AGANAGYP Mars[480] spirit, spirit, joy-Mars[481] is my real, true name . . . eternity. I am KHELBAI[482] SETET; HEN EM-NEFER[483] is my name; SRO OSHENBET[484] is my correct name." Say [it] nine times, while you are standing opposite the moon, your eye equipped with this ointment: green and black eyepaint. Grind with Syrian honey; put the gall of a / full-grown chick to it; put it on a glass object; and leave it for yourself in a hidden place until the time in which you will need it. You do it also according to what is above. [col. XXIII, 31]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XIII/27–31. The word preceded by ⁱ is written in the text in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 706–10

*Against "evil sleep"[485]—another: flour of wild dates which has been beaten with milk[486] . . . ; / you should make them together into a ball. Put in the wine! [col. XXIV, 5a]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/1a–5a.

PDM xiv. 711–15

*A tested **prescription** if you wish to "evil sleep"[487] a man: scammony root, 1 dram; opium, 1 dram; pound with milk; make it into a ball, and put it in some food (?) / which is cooked so that he eats it. He is upset. [col. XXIV, 5]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/1–5.

475. See *PDM* xiv. 295 and n. 239 therewith.
476. See n. 192 above.
477. The moon, which is feminine in Greek although masculine in Egyptian.
478. See n. 192 above.
479. Written *ʿm*, "to swallow" or "to know" plus *r*, "mouth."
480. The planet; see W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954) 170.
481. See n. 480 above.
482. Written *ḥl*, "young" (?), plus *by*, "soul."
483. Written *ḥm*, "to approach," plus preposition *m*, "in," plus *nfr*, "good."
484. Or, perhaps, "prince, great of throat." [R.K.R.]
485. See n. 473 above.
486. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, vol. III, p. 109, suggest that this might be *ʿgyr*, "rush/reed."
487. See n. 473 above.

PDM xiv. 716–24

Another*, if you wish to make a man sleep for ***two* days: mandrake root, 1 ounce; water and honey,[488] 1 ounce; henbane,[489] 1 ounce / ivy, 1 ounce. You should grind them with[490] a *lok*-measure of wine. If you wish to do it cleverly, you should put four portions to each one of them with a glass of wine; you should moisten them from morning to evening; you should clarify them; and you should make them drink it. [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/6–14.

PDM xiv. 724–26

**Another*, the third: apple / seeds, 1 stater, 1 kite; pound with flour; make it into a cake, and make the man whom you wish eat it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/14–16.

PDM xiv. 727–36

A **prescription* to cause a man to sleep; [it is] very good: apple seeds, 1 stater, 1 dram; mandrake root, 4 drams; ivy, 4 drams; pound together; add fifteen / measures of wine to it; put it in a glass vessel and guard it! When you wish to give it, you should put a little in a cup of wine, and you should give it to the man. The ivy—it grows in gardens; its leaf is like the leaf of a shekam plant, being divided into three lobes like a grape leaf. It is one palm in measurement; its blossom / is like silver (another [manuscript] says gold).

Another: Gall of an Alexandrian weasel; you should add [it] to any food.

Another: A two-tailed lizard.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/17–26.

PDM xiv. 737–38

***A prescription** for "evil sleep":[491] gall of horned viper, seeds of western apples, poisonous herb; pound them together; make into a ball and put [it] into the food!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/27–28.

PDM xiv. 739–40

**Another*: If you put camel's blood and the blood of a dead man / into the wine and you make the man drink it, he dies.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/29–30.

PDM xiv. 741

**Another*: If you put a nightjar's blood to his eye, he is blinded.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/3.

488. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 149–50, n. to l. XXIV. 8.
489. Ibid., 150, n. to l. XXIV. 9.
490. Literally, *r-ḥ.t*, "according to."
491. See n. 473 above; there is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 917–19.

PDM xiv. 742

**Another*: If you put bat's blood, it is [in] this manner again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*.

PDM xiv. 743–49

**Another*: If you drown a hawk in wine and you make the man drink it, it does its work. A shrew-mouse in this manner again; it does / its work also. Its gall also, if you put it in the wine, it does its work very well. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian weasel on any food, it does its work. If you put a two-tailed lizard in the oil and cook it with it and anoint the man with it, it does its work.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the text and edition of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIV/33–39.

PDM xiv. 750–71

The* words of the lamp to question the youth: ***Formula*: "†TE †TE †IG †TATAK THETHE SATI †SAN-TASKL †KROMAKAT †PATAKSYRAI †KALEY-PANKT †A-A-TSIEYI[492] MAKT-SITAKAT HATI[493] HAT †RO-I[494]O-I †HAY[495] (?) †I; may they say to me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, for I am Harpokrates[496] in Mendes, for I am Isis the wise; the sayings of my mouth come to pass" ***(say seven times)***. [col. XXV, 1] [XXV, 6]

You bring a new lamp; you put a clean cloth wick into it brought from a temple; you set it on a new clean brick brought from the brick mold on which / no man has mounted; you set it upright; you place the lamp on it; you put genuine oil in it, or oasis oil; you set two new bricks under yourself; you place the youth between your feet; you recite the aforementioned spells down into the youth' head, your hand being over his eyes; and you offer up myrrh and willow leaf / before the lamp. You do it in a dark place whose door opens to the east or the south and under which there is no cellar. You let no light come in to the aforementioned place; you purify the said place beforehand; you put the youth's back to the opening of the room. When you finish reciting the spell, you should take your hand from his eyes—a youth who has not yet gone with a woman, / [is he] whom you should send before it[497]—and you should question him, saying, "What do you see?" He speaks with you of everything about which you will ask him. [XXV, 6] [XXV, 16] [XXV, 21]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXV/1–22. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 772–804

A method *to put the heart of a woman after a man: Done in one moment (?) and it comes to pass instantly. You bring a live swallow and a live hoopoe.

Ointment made for them: Blood of a male donkey, blood of the tick of a black cow. You should anoint / ***their*** heads with lotus ointment and cry out before the sun in his moment of rising. You should cut off the heads of the two; you should [col. XXV,

492. See n. 30 above.

493. Written *ḥ3ṯ.y*, "my heart."

494. Written *ḥ3ṯ r.y*, "heart of my mouth."

495. Demotic apparently written *ʿb.w*, but see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 153, n. to l. XXV. 6.

496. Horus the Child, son of Isis and Osiris.

497. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 155, n. to l. XXV. 21.

26] bring their hearts out from their right ribs [of the two] and anoint them with the donkey's blood and the blood of the tick of a black cow, above. You should put them into donkey's skin and leave them in the sun until they dry up in four days. When 780 the four days have passed, you should pound them, put them into a / box, and leave [XXV, 31] it in your house.

When you wish to make a woman love a man, you should take the piece[498] of "pleasure wood,"[499] recite these[500] true names before them, put it in a cup of wine or beer, and give it to the woman so that she drinks it: "I am †BIRA-AQHL †LA-AQH 785 †SASMRIALO †PLS-PLYN. I am †IOANE[501] †SABAATHL †SASYPY / †NITHI. Put the [XXV, 36] heart of NN, whom NN bore, after NN, whom NN bore, in these hours today!" ([Say] seven times). You do it on the fourteenth of the lunar month. [it is] very good.

790 / Another spell again for this cup of wine: "†BIRAGETHT †SAMARA †PILPIYN [XXVI, 1] †IAHYT †SABAYTH †SAIPYNITHAS."

Another spell belonging to it again, on another papyrus: "I am †BIRAGATHT 795 †LATHT †SASMIRA †PLIPRN / †IAHY[502] †SABAQHT SASYPYNITHA. Put the heart of [XXVI, 4] NN after SASYPYNITHAS."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, col. XXV/23–XXVI/18. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 805–40

805 ***Another** vessel inquiry,[503] [the magician being] alone[504] in order to see the bark of [col. Pre: ***The spell which you should recite***: "Open to me, O heaven, mother of the gods! XXVII, 1] Let me see the bark of Pre, he going up and going down in it, for I am Geb, heir of the gods; praying is what I am doing before Pre, my father, on account of the thing which went forth from me. O great Heknet,[505] lady of the shrine, the Rishtret[506] (?), open to me, mistress of spirits! Open to me, O primal heaven! Let me worship the messengers, for I am Geb, heir of the gods! O, you seven[507] kings; O, you seven Montus, bull who engenders, lord of awe, who illuminates the earth; soul of the primeval waters; hail, lion like a lion of the primeval waters, bull of the darkness! 810 / Hail, foremost one of the people of the east, Nun,[508] great one, lofty one! Hail, [XXVII, soul of the ram, sould of the people of the west! Hail, soul of souls, bull of darkness, 6] bull of [two] bulls, son of Nut! Open to me; I am the opener of earth, who came forth from Geb. Hail! I am †I-I-I †E-E-E †HE-HE-HE †HO-HO-HO. I am ANEPO[509] MIRI-PO-RE MAAT IB great THIBAI, †ARYI[510] †YOY †IAHO."

The preparation:[511] Blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a night-

498. Literally, "measure."
499. See n. 253 above.
500. *PDM* xiv. 783–86.
501. Written ʿ3, "donkey"; ʿn, "again"; n3, "these."
502. Beginning written ʿ3, "donkey."
503. This same vessel inquiry occurs in *PDM* xiv. 295–308.
504. I.e., without using a youth.
505. See n. 243 above.
506. See n. 244 above.
507. See n. 245 above.
508. Primeval waters.
509. Great Anubis.
510. See n. 249 above.
511. See n. 50 above.

jar, "live-on-them" plant, mustard,[512] "Great-of-Amoun" plant, *qs-ʿnḫ* stone,[513] genuine lapis-lazuli, myrrh, "footprint-of-Isis" plant. Pound, make into a ball, and paint / your eyes with it. Put a goat's tear in a "pleasure-wood"[514] of juniper or ebony, and tie around you a strip of male palm fiber. 815 [XXVII, 11]

The way of making the vessel inquiry of the lamp: You should bring a clean, white lamp without putting red lead[515] or gum water in it, its wick being of byssus; you should fill it with genuine oil or oil of dew; you should tie it with four linen threads which have not been burned;[516] you should hang in on an eastern wall [on] a peg of laurel wood; you should make the youth stand before it, he being pure, he not having gone with a woman; you should cover his eyes with your hand; / you should light the lamp; you should recite down into his head,[517] ***seven*** times; you should make him open his eyes; and you should ask him, saying, "What are the things which you have seen?" If he says, "I have [already] seen the gods near the lamp," they tell him an answer concerning that which they will be asked. 820 [XXVII, 16]

If you wish to do it by yourself alone, you should fill your eyes with the aforementioned ointment. You should stand up opposite the lamp while it is lit and recite to it ***seven*** times while your eyes are shut. When you have finished, you should open your eyes. You see the gods behind you and you speak with them concerning that which you desire, you regularly doing it in a dark place.

The spell which you should recite: ***Formula***: "I am MANEBAI[518] ⸢GHTHE-THONI KHA-BA-KHEL; let me worship you, the child of ARPHITNA / PIRA PILE-ASA ⸢GNYRIPH-ARISA ⸢TENI-IRISSA ⸢PSI[519] ⸢PSI ⸢IRIS-SA ⸢GIMITHYRY-PHYS-SA OQMATSISA OREOBAZAGRA PERTAOMEKH PERAGOMEKH SAKMEPH.[520] Come in to me and inquire for me about the question about which I am inquiring, truthfully, without falsehood." 825 [XXVII, 21]

Its preparation:[521] The ointment[522] which you should put on your eyes when you are going to make any "god's arrival"[523] with the lamp. You bring some flowers of the Greek bean plant.[524] You find them in the place of the lupine sellers. You should bring them while they are tender / and put them into a glass vessel. You should seal its mouth very carefully for ***twenty*** days in a dark, hidden place. After ***twenty*** days, if you take it up and open it, you find testicles and a phallus in it. If you leave it for ***forty*** days and bring it up and open it, you find it having [already] become bloody. In something of glass, you put it and you put the glass object in a pottery object in a place hidden at all times. 830 [XXVII, 26]

When you wish to make a "god's arrival" of the lamp with it, you should fill your eyes with this blood aforesaid, while you are going to sleep. Or you should stand

512. Literally, "bread-of-heaven" plant; Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 158, n. to l. XXVII. 10, suggest an identification with σίναπι, "mustard."
513. See n. 65 above.
514. See n. 253 above.
515. See n. 73 above.
516. Or see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 158, n. to l. XXVII. 14.
517. *PDM* xiv. 823–28.
518. Ending written *by*, "soul."
519. PSI for "Agathodaimon"? Cf. *PGM* IV. 1644.
520. SAKMEPH is "son of Kneph (Agathodaimon)"; see *PGM* I. 27.
521. See n. 50 above.
522. See the parallel in *PDM* xiv. 140–46.
523. See n. 62 above.
524. See n. 95 above.

opposite the lamp, reciting this spell aforesaid. You see the god beyond you while
835 you are standing or sleeping. [It is] very good, proven. / You write this name on the
[XXVII, strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh ink: "BAKHYKH-SIKHYKH"[525] (what another
31] papyrus said: "KIMITHORO PHOSSE"). This method which is written above is the method of the "god's arrival" of MANEBAI.[526] If you wish to do it by questioning the lamp, it is this form again. It is also profitable for a "god's arrival" of MYRIBAI.[527] If you will do it by vessel inquiry of the lamp, you should fill the lamp aforesaid on a new brick; you should make the youth stand up before the lamp while his face is covered; and you should recite to his head this spell in Greek while you are standing
840 over him. When you have finished, you should uncover / his face. He answers you
[XXVII, truthfully.
26] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the text and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVII/13–36. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 841–50

****Another method*** of vessel inquiry [the magician being] alone: ***Formula***: "I am †the †lord †of †Spirits, †ORITSIMBAI[528] SONATSIR EPISGHES[529] EMMIME; THO-GOM-PHRYR PHIRIM-PHYNI is your name; MIMI soul of souls soul of souls GTHETHO-NI, I am Bastet PTHO[530] BALKHAM whom BINYI SPHE PHAS bore. I am BAPTHO;[531] GAM-MI-SATRA is your name, MI-MEO, IANYME."

Its preparation:[532] you go to a clean place; you bring a copper vessel; you wash it
845 with natron water; you put a *lok*-measure / of oil in it; you place it on the ground; you light a copper lamp; you put it on the ground near the copper vessel; you cover yourself with a clean robe, you and the vessel; and you recite into the vessel, your
[col. eyes being shut, ***seven*** times. / You should open your eyes and ask it concerning
XXVIII] what you wish. If you wish to make the gods of the vessel speak with you with their mouths opposite your mouth, ***you should recite***: "IAHO IPH †EOE †GINNTETHYR †NEPHAR †APHOE." They give you an answer concerning everything about which you will ask also.

If they do not tell you an answer, you should ***recite*** this other name "†NGO-NGETHIGS †MANTYNOBOE †GOKSHIR-HRONTOR[533] †NTONTROMA †LEPHOGER
850 / †GEPHAER-SORE." If you recite these, they inquire for you truthfully.
[XXVIII, *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
10] *motic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVIII/1–10. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic in the text with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 851–55

****Another*** vessel inquiry to which you add vegetable oil, you doing it according to what is above: ***Formula***: "Speak to me, speak to me, HAMST, god of the gods of darkness, every spirit, every shadow which is in the west and the east! Do it, O he

525. See n. 76 above.

526. I.e., the formula beginning with MANEBAI in *PDM* xiv. 824.

527. I.e., the formula beginning with MYRAI MYRIBI in *PDM* xiv. 125.

528. Ending written *by*, "soul": see also n. 30 above.

529. For a possible translation of this name, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 163, n. to l. XXVIII. 1.

530. Ptah? [R.K.R.]

531. Spirit of Ptah? [R.K.R.]

532. See n. 50 above.

533. See nn. 8 and 30 above.

who has died! Awaken to me, awaken to me, O soul of life, O soul of breath! Let my vessel, my bandage go forth here today, because of the vessel of great Isis seeking her husband, searching for her brother; MNASH MNASH MNANF MNANF." Say, "MNASH MNASH MNANF MNANF PHONI PHONI" a multitude of times, and say to the youth, "Say, / 'Go away, O darkness! Come to me, O light!' and open your eyes at once." The gods come in and tell you an answer to everything. [col. XXVII, 15]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXVIII/11–15.

PDM xiv. 856–75

*Here is a form of inquiry of the sun of which it is said that it is well tested: ***Its preparation***:[534] you bring a pure youth; you do the spirit formula which is written for it; you bring him before the sun; you make him stand on a new brick at the moment in which the sun is going to rise, so that he comes up entirely in the disk; you draw a new linen curtain[535] (?) around him; you make him shut his eyes; you stand up over him, reciting down into his head and striking down on / his head with your sun-finger[536] of your right hand, after filling his eyes with the paint which you made before: "†NASIRA †OAPKIS †SHFE †SHFE soul of †souls; soul of souls is your true name, truly. †O †Lotus, open to me heaven in its breadth and height! Bring me the light which is pure! Let the god in whose hand command[537] is come to me and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, in truth without falsehood therein. †Chief †god,[538] †ETALE †TAL †NASIRA †IARMEKH †NASERA †AMPTHY †CHO †AMAMARKAR †TEL IAAO / †NASIRA †HAKIA lotus †CHDJISIPHTH †AHO †ATONE[539] †I †I †E †O †BALBEL, let the pure light come to me. Let the youth ***enchant***; let him tell me an answer. Let the god in whose hand command is come to me and tell me an answer to everything about which I shall ***ask***, in truth, without falsehood therein."

Afterwards you should recite his compulsion ***another seven times***, his eyes being shut. ***Formula***: "†SI †SI †PI †TSIRIPI[540] †SA-AO-NKHAB †HRABAOT †PHAKTHIOP †ANASAN †KRAANA †KRATRIS TMA-/PTARA-†PHNE †ARAPHNY, come to the youth! Let the god in whose hand command is come to him and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today."

If the light is slow to come within, you should say, "†KE †KE †SALSOATHA †IPPEL †SIRBA" ***seven times***. You should put frankincense on the brazier; you should utter this great name after all these; you should utter it from beginning to end and vice versa, ***four times***: "†AYEBOTH-IABATHABAITHOBEYA." You should say, "Let the youth see the light; let the god in whose hand command is come in and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking / here today, in truth, without falsehood therein." [XXIX, 15]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIX/1–20. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

534. See n. 50 above.

535. Suggested by Sir Herbert Thompson.

536. For a possible explanation of this term, see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 166, n. to l. XXIX. 5.

537. See n. 107 above.

538. A phonetic rendering of the combination of Greek ἀρχός, "chief," and Egyptian *ntr* (Coptic *noute*), "god."

539. Adonai?

540. See n. 30 above. TSIRIPI is Thriphis; cf. *PGM* XI. 232.

PDM xiv. 875–85

**Here is another* form of it again: You should take the youth to a high, upper place. You should make him stand up in a place which has a large window in its presence, whose door opens to the east, and inside which the sun shines; you should paint the youth's eyes with the paint which is prescribed for it; you should recite to him 8 times (another [manuscript] says seven times) while you are standing over him; and you should make him look at the sun when it fills the sound-eye,[541] he standing up on a new brick, there being a new linen robe over him, and his eyes being closed. You should recite down into his head while striking his head with your finger which is written above[542] also. You should offer up frankincense before him. When you have finished, you should make him open his eyes. / He sees the gods beyond him, speaking with him.

[col. XXIX, 25] [*The ointment*] which you put in the youth's eyes when he goes to any vessel inquiry of the sun: you bring two *buri* fish[543] of the river, both being alive; you burn one of them with vinewood before the sun; you add the blood of the other to it; you make it smooth with it and myrrh; and you make them into balls which measure one finger [in length]. You should spread (?) [it] in his eyes. You should bring a vessel of vine wood (?) and a "pleasure-wood"[544] of vine wood (?) also; you should grind this drug with a little yellow ocher[545] of Nubia and juice of Egyptian grapes; and you should fill your eyes with it. If you fill your eyes with this drug and look at the sun when it fills the sound-eye, your eyes being open toward it, he reveals himself to you and tells you an answer / to everything. Its chief factor is purity. It is more profitable than the youth; it is profitable for you yourself as a person [acting] alone.

[XXIX, 30]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. XXIX/20–30.

PDM xiv. 886–96

[v. col. i, 5] *Eyebrow of the sun.[546] Eyebrow of the moon.[547] (These are herbs.) Heliogonon.[548] / Selenogonon.[549] (These are herbs.) Spurge,[550] which is this small herb which is in the gardens and which exudes milk. / If you put its milk on a man's skin, it eats.[551]

[v. i, 10] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. i/1–11.

541. See n. 192 above. The summer solstice.

542. *PDM* xiv. 860 and n. 536 above.

543. Assuming cipher *iid* is for *ʿd*.

544. See n. 253 above; Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 169, translate "kohl-pot" and "kohl-stick" (?).

545. See *PDM* xiv. 677 and n. 474 above.

546. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

547. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

548. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 170, n. to V. l. I. 4, suggest this is a synonym for *qouč*, "safflower, cardamom," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 840b.

549. Peonies, according to Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 170, n. to V. l. I. 5.

550. Written in both Demotic and Greek.

551. Suggested by W. F. Edgerton; Coptic *bolbl* means "burrow, dig," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 37a–b.

PDM xiv. 897–910

*Camomile: "Clean straw" is its name.

"White flower": ". . .-horse"[552] is its name.

Martagon lily:[553] "There is none better than I" is its name.

/ Chrysanthemum: "Beautiful of face" is its name (another [manuscript] says, "the golden flower" of the wreath seller). Its leaf is strong; its stem is cold; its flower is of gold; its leaf is like martagon lily. [v. col. ii, 4]

Magnesium:[554] / A stone of stone which is black like galena. You should grind it while it is black. [v. ii, 7]

Magnetite;[555] it is brought. You should scrape it while it is black.

Human magnesium:[556] It is brought / from the land of India. If you scrape it, it sends out blood. [v. ii, 14]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ii/1–15.

PDM xiv. 911–16

*To "evil sleep"[557] your enemy: A beetle: you should burn it with styrax (?), you should pound it together with one drachma of apples / and a . . . ; you should . . . ; and you should put a. . . . [v. col. ii, 20]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ii/16–20.

PDM xiv. 917–19

**Prescription* for "evil sleep":[558] Gall of horned viper, seeds of western apples, and poisonous herbs. Grind them together, make into a ball, and put [it] in wine!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/1–3.

PDM xiv. 920–29

**Lees of wine*: It is a white stone like galbanum. There is another one which is made into lime. (This is) the way to know about it, whether it is genuine. If you grind a little / with water and apply it to the skin of a man for a short time, it cuts the skin. Its name in Greek [is] "foam of the moon."[559] It is a white stone. [v. col. iii, 4] [v. iii, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/4–13.

PDM xiv. 930–32

**A prescription*[560] to cause a woman to love a man: Fruit of acacia; grind with honey; anoint his[561] phallus with it; and lie with the woman! [v. col. iii, 14]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/14–16.

552. The Egyptian word may be from the root *šq*, "to dig."

553. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 171, n. to V. l. II. 3.

554. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

555. Glossed twice in Greek. Demotic says lit., "living iron"; see J. R. Harris, *Minerals* 170, who suggests that it is being confused with hematite.

556. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 173, n. to V. l. II. 13, and n. 555 above.

557. See *PDM* xiv. 675 and n. 473 thereto.

558. See *PDM* xiv. 675 and n.; there is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 737–38.

559. Written in both Greek and Egyptian.

560. There is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 1046–47.

561. *Sic*, for "your."

PDM xiv. 933–34

*"Foam of the moon": It is a white stone like glass, which is rubbed into tiny fragments like orpiment.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iii/17–18.

PDM xiv. 935–39

935 *Prescription for an ear which is watery: Salt; heat with good wine and apply to it
[v. col. iv, after first cleaning it. You [should] rub copper salt,[562] heat with wine, and apply to it
1] for four days.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iv/1–5.

PDM xiv. 940–52

940 *Salamander, a small lizard which is blue-green[563] in color and which has no feet.
[v. col. iv, "Ram's-horn"[564] is its name, / an herb which is like a wile fennel bush. Its leaf
6] and its stem are incised like the "love-man" plant. You should pound it when it is
945 dry, sift[565] it, make it into a dry powder, and apply it to any wound. It stops.
[v. iv, 11]
950 Styrax; it grows like . . . / with regard to its leaf. Its seeds are twisted like a
[v. iv, 17] "ram's-horn" plant which has a small thorn at its end.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. iv/6–19.

PDM xiv. 953–55

****A prescription*** to stop blood: Juice of "Great-Nile" plant together with beer; you
955 should make the woman drink it at dawn / before she has eaten. It stops.
[v. col. v, *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *De-*
3] *motic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. v/1–3.

PDM xiv. 956–60

****The way*** to know it of a woman whether she will be pregnant: You should make the woman urinate on this plant, above, again, at night. When morning comes, if
960 you find the plant scorched, she will not conceive. If you find it / green, she will
[v. col. v, conceive.
8] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. v/4–8.

PDM xiv. 961–65

****A prescription*** to stop blood: Leaf of †. . . , leaf of fresh "copper-fly" plant. Pound, put [it] on yourself while you lie with the woman. ***Another***: Myrrh, garlic,
965 gall of a gazelle; pound with / old scented wine; put [it] on yourself while you lie
[v. col. v, with her.
13] *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso. col. v/9–13. The word preceded by † is written in Demotic with Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

562. Reading *ḥm3 ḥmt*, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 175, n. to V. l. IV. 7. Copper-based medicines were common in Pharaonic medicine, presumably since the copper helped kill bacteria.

563. See *PGM* IV. 1090.

564. Written in Egyptian and Greek.

565. Coptic *šolšl*, "sift," Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 561b.

PDM xiv. 966–69

**Asphodel*, also called wild onion.[566]
Garlic, also called wild garlic.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. v/14–17.

PDM xiv. 970–77

***A prescription** to stop liquid in a woman: The first prescription: salt and oil; pound; . . .[567] two days, after the two days. [v. col. vi, 2]

The second ***prescription***: White lead; you should pound it with a little salt paste[568] of an oil dealer very carefully; you should put true oil of fine quality to it, together with an egg; you should pound them; you should bring a strip of fine-woven linen; you should dye it in this medicine (she should wash in the bath and wash in good wine); you should put the medicated strip up in her; you should push it in and / out in her womb for a short time, in the manner of a man's phallus, until the medication permeates; you should remove it; and you should leave her until evening. When evening comes, you should dye a bandage in genuine honey and put it up in her until dawn, for ***three*** (another [manuscript] says, four) days. [v. vi, 6]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vi/1–8.

PDM xiv. 978–80

****Another***, after it: Juice of a cucumber which has been rubbed, one measure; water of the ear of a . . . animal, one measure, in accordance with the measure of a wine cup; you should add a measure of good wine to them and she should drink it at midday without having / eaten anything at all after bathing in the bath, which she did beforehand. When evening comes, you should put the rag with honey up in her as above for seven days. [v. col. vii, 3]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vii/1–4.

PDM xiv. 981–84

****Another***, after it: You should bring a new dish; you should put ten measure of old sweet wine in it; and you should put a drachma of fresh rue in it from dawn until midday. She should wash in the bath, come out, and drink it. When evening comes, you should put honey up in her as above again for seven days.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. vii/4–7.

PDM xiv. 985–92

**Gout*: You should make the man sit down, place clay under the man's feet, and place . . . after it[569] while his feet are on it. You should ask the man, "Has it [already] heard?"[570] for three days. Afterwards you should bring an ant; you should cook it in henna oil; and you should anoint his foot / with it. When you have finished, you should bring Alexandrian figs, dried grapes, and potentilla.[571] You [v. col. viii, 1] [v. viii, 6]

566. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 177, n. to verso col. V, l. 15.
567. See ibid., 178, n. to V. VI. 1, for a discussion of the passage omitted.
568. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 781a.
569. Or "him."
570. Or "whether he has (already) heard."
571. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 180, n. to V. l. VIII. 7.

should pound them with wine and anoint him. In addition to this, you should breathe at him with your mouth.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. viii/1–8. The word preceded by † is written in Demotic with an Old Coptic gloss inserted above.

PDM xiv. 993–1002

[v. col. ix, 3] 1000 [v. ix, 8] *Another: 1 dram of spurge; / 1 drachma of pepper; 1 stater of pyrethrum; 1 stater of adarces;[572] 1 stater of native sulfur; 6 staters of [any] wine; / 8 [measures] of genuine oil. You should pound them and make them into a poultice. Apply to the place which pains the man.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. ix/1–10.

PDM xiv. 1003–14

*Another amulet for the foot of the gouty man: You should write these names on a 1005 strip / of silver or tin. You should put it on a deerskin[573] and bind it to the foot of [v. col. x, 3] the man named, on his two feet: "THEMBARATHEM OUREMBRENOUTIPE / AIOX- 1010 THOU SEMMARATHEMMOU NAIOOU, let NN, whom NN bore, recover from every [v. x, 8] pain which is in his knees and two feet." You do it when the moon is [in the constellation] Leo.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. x/1–12.

PDM xiv. 1015–20

[v. col. xi, 1] *Prescription for a . . . : Garlic, frankincense, old . . . , genuine oil. Pound them; anoint him with it. When it is dry, you should wash it / with cold water. It stops.

1020 *Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, [v. xi, 6] *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1021–23

*Prescription for a foot which is very stiff: [It is] very good. You should wash his foot with cucumber juice and rub it on his foot very well.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/7–9.

PDM xiv. 1024–25

1025 *Another: Sycamore figs of . . . ; fruit of acacia, / persea fruit. Pound [them]; ap- [v. col. xi, 11] ply [it] to him.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xi/10–11.

PDM xiv. 1026–45

*"I am this great one, SHAEI"[574] (another [manuscript] says, "the great one, SHE-ray"), "who makes magic against the great Triphis,[575] the lady of Koou, †LL †MYLL The water of Mut[576] is what is in my mouth; the fat[577] of Hathor, worthy of love, is

572. See ibid., 181, n. to V. l. IX. 5.
573. Written in Egyptian and Greek.
574. Ending written ʿ3, "linen."
575. See n. 399 above.
576. Thus R.K.R.
577. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 184, n. to V. l. XII. 3.

what is in my heart. My heart yearns, my heart loves with (?) a longing which a she-cat / feels for a tomcat, a longing which a she-wolf feels for a wolf, a longing which a bitch feels for a dog, the longing the god, the son of Sirius, felt for Moses while he was going to the hill of NINARETOS to offer water to his god, his lord, his †IAHO †sabaho, his GLEMYRA MYSE PLERYBE S MI ABRASAKS SENKLAI. Let NN, whom NN bore, feel it for NN, whom NN bore. Let her feel a yearning, a love, a great madness . . . , she seeking after him everywhere. O fury / of IAHO SABAHY HORION (?) all-mighty ANTOGRATOR[578] ARBANTHALA THALO THALAKS, 'I cast fury against you[579] of the great gods of Egypt. Fill your hands with flames and fire! Use it! Cast it on the heart of NN, whom NN bore! Wither her, O spirit! Take her sleep, O man of the west![580] Let the house of her father and her mother, the places where she is. . . . Call out while the flame of fire / is against her, while she speaks, saying, "mercy," she standing outside murmuring "mercy," for I am an agent (?) of Geb, Horus RON. Pre is my name. Tear her name out of Egypt for 40 days, 33 months, 175 days, the complement of six months, O GIRE †THEE PISITY EKOIMI ATAM!"[581] ([Say] seven times.)

Crocodile dung, a little donkey placenta, and sisymbrium, 7 *oipe* of antelope dung, gall of a male goat, and first fruits of oil. You should heat them with flax stalks; you should recite to it seven times for seven days; you should anoint your phallus / with it; and you should lie with the woman; and you should anoint the woman's heart,[582] also.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xii/1–xiii/9. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1046–47

*[A prescription] to cause a woman to love her husband:[583] Acacia, fruit. Pound with honey, anoint your phallus with it, and lie with the woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiii/11–12.

PDM xiv. 1047–48

*To make a woman love copulating with her: Foam of a stallion's mouth. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiii/11–12.

PDM xiv. 1049–55

*To make [a woman love copulating with her (?)]: / Alum, 1 dram; pepper, 1 dram: dry *mhnknwt* plant, 4 drams; orchid, 4 drams. Pound into a dry medication! Do [your] business with / it in accordance with what you know with any woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xiv/1–7.

578. Is this the preceding with the initial *p* interpreted as the Egyptian masculine singular definite article and omitted?

579. Plural.

580. See n. 33 above.

581. Perhaps "O divine faithful lord, I cast out Adam," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 186–87, n. to V. l. XIII. 6.

582. Or "breast" (?), as Griffith and Thompson, ibid., 187.

583. There is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 930–32.

PDM xiv. 1056–62

*The names of the gods whom you seek when you are going to bring in a thief [by vase questioning?]:[584] "ϯMASKELLI ϯMASKELLO ϯPHNYGENTABAO ϯHREKSIGTHO ϯPERIGTHEON ϯPERIPEGANEKS ϯAREOBASAGRA" (also called ϯOBASAGRA).

1060 / This name, you say it before a ship which is about to founder on account of the
[v. col. xv, 5] names of Dioscorus,[585] which are within, so that it is safe.

If you recite them to the beaker of Adonai,[586] which is inscribed outside, it will do a great work which will bring in a thief.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xv/1–7. Words preceded by ϯ are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1063–69

*"ϯARMIOYT[587] ϯSITHANI ϯYTHANI ϯARIAMYSI ϯSOBRTAT[588] ϯBIRBAT ϯMISIRITHAT
1065 / ϯAMSIETHARMITHAT,[589] bring NN, whom NN bore, out of her abodes in which
[v. col. xvi, 3] she is, to any house, any place in which NN, whom NN bore, is while she loves him and craves him, she making the gift of his heart at every moment!"

You should write this in myrrh ink on a strip of clean byssus and put it in a clean new lamp, which is filled with genuine oil, in your house from evening until dawn. If you find the hair of the woman, put it in the wick! It is good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xv/1–7. Words preceded by ϯ are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1070–77

1070 *A spell to bring [a woman] to a man, to send dreams (another [manuscript] says,
[v. col. xvii, 1] to dream dreams) again: [[A line of symbols of secret signs.]] You should write this on a reed leaf and put [it] under your head while you sleep. It makes dreams and sends dreams. If you will do it to send dreams, you should put it on the mouth of a mummy. It brings a woman also. You should write this name on the reed leaf with
1075 the blood of a . . . or a hoopoe; you should put the hair of the woman in the leaf;
[v. xvii, 6] you should put it on the mouth of the mummy; and you should write this name on the ground, saying: "Bring NN, the daughter of NN, to the house, to the sleeping-place in which is NN, the son of NN!" Now it is also a fetching charm.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xvii/1–8.

PDM xiv. 1078–89

1080 *"ERYBITHY EKTYLA / ERREPHEDI, reveal yourself to me, god NN, and speak to
[v. col. xviii, 3] me concerning that about which I shall ask you, truthfully, without having told me falsehood."

1085 Saffron, 2 [measures]; / black eye paint of Koptos, 2 [measures]; pound with
[v. xviii, 8] blood of a lizard, make into a ball, and rub it with milk of a [woman who has born a] male child! Put [it] in his right eye and recite to it before any lamp or the Big Dipper at night!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xviii/1–12.

584. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 188, n. to V. l. XV. 1.

585. The patron gods of sailors, as Griffith and Thompson, ibid., n. to V. l. XV. 6.

586. See ibid., 189, n. to V. l. XV. 6.

587. Preceding this line is a line showing three scarab beetles, three falcons, and three goats. In the right margin next to this line is the addition "also called ARMIOYTH."

588. Ending written with the hieratic *ḏd*-pillar.

589. Beginning written *r-ms*, "whom . . . bore."

PDM xiv. 1090–96

*A spell for bringing a woman out of her house: You bring a . . . of a wild cat; you dry it; you take a tendon (?) [of a . . . which has been] drowned; and you fashion a ring whose body is blended with gold [in the form of two] lions whose mouths are open, the face of each being turned to the other. You should put the thing . . . it face. [v. col. xix, 1]

When you wish to bring a woman to you at any time, you should place the ring in the upper part of a lamp / which is lit and you should say to it, "Bring NN, the daughter of NN, to this place in which I am, quickly, in these moments of today!" She comes at once. [v. xix, 6]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xix/1–7.

PDM xiv. 1097–1103

*To heal ophthalmia[590] in a man: "O Amoun,[591] this †lofty male, this male of Ethiopia, who came down from Meroe to Egypt and who found my son Horus hurrying on his feet.[592] He beat (?) him on his head with three spells in the Ethiopian language. When he finds NN, whom NN bore, he will hurry on / his feet, and he will beat (?) him on his head with three spells in the Ethiopian language: "GENTINI †tentina qyqybi [ak]khe akha."

[Say it] to a little oil; add salt and nasturtium seed to it, anoint the man who has opththalmia with it, also write this on a new papyrus, and make it into a papyrus roll on his body: "You are the eye of heaven," in the writings. . . .[593]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xx/1–7. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1104–9

*. . . / "live-on-them" plant: . . . Pound, make . . . of the river. . . . Paint your eye with it! [v. col. xxi, 3]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxi/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1110–29

*A tested . . . : . . . ***Here is*** [the ointment which you] put on your eyes when you go to the vessel of inquiry alone: Green eyepaint, black eyepaint, *qes-ʿnḫ* stone,[594] amulet of . . . , flowers of black . . .[595] which are vetch, blood of hoopoe. / Pound, [make] into a ball, and paint your eye with it, together with juice of Egyptian grapes and yellow ocher[596] of Nubia. You see the shadow of every god and every goddess. [v. col. xxii, 1] [v. xxii, 6]

Its . . . : "I call to you, O great gods who appear with the sun, †TSEMYKS[597] †AMP

590. Or "evil eye"; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 192, n. to V. l. XX. 1.

591. See n. 189 above.

592. Or, perhaps, "as fast as his feet (could go)," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 193, with n. to V. l. XX. 3.

593. What is left blank here is written in the papyrus as the hieroglyph of an eye with rays rising up from it.

594. See n. 65 above.

595. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 194–95, n. to V. l. XXII. 4.

596. See *PDM* xiv. 677 and n. 474.

597. Or OEMYKS. [R.K.R.]

. . .[598] †PIAM †ENPAIA †IBOTH †IAE SABAOTH. / Open to me, open to me, O great gods who appear with the sun! Let my eyes open to the light, and let me see the god who inquires today.[599] Hurry, hurry, for the protection . . . †ABLANATHANLBA, the great god, †MARARAANTONE[600] †ABIATH N . . . SENEN Agathodaimon NTOSATRAPERQEMAI[601] Osiris †LILAM is his name. Open to me, Open to me, O great gods! Let my eyes open to the light, / and let me see the god who inquires today. Open to me, open to me! I cast fury of the doubly great god . . . whose strength is great, who lives forever, against you. Give strength to the name . . . the name of the god. . . . Open to me, open to me, O great [gods] who appear with the sun! Let [my eyes] open [to the light, and let] me [see the god] who inquires today. Hurry, hurry" (. . . times).

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xx/1–20. Words preceded by † are written in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1130–40

*. . . grind . . . with. . . . Another: . . . NAKS . . . / juniper . . . seeds. . . . Another:. . . again. Dung . . . dried and burned, 2 [measures]; / pound [with oil of] henna and honey, anoint [your phallus] with it, and lie with her!

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxiii/1–12.

PDM xiv. 1141–54

*. . . to it, and you should . . . of byssus to it, these three names being written on it; . . . / and myrrh; you should light it; you should place it . . . your head; and you should recite them to it again nine times . . . the lamp. You do it at the time of the third hour of night . . . alone.

Formula: "†IOBASAYMPTHO [†GHROME (?) †LY]GHAR, instruct[602] me / in truth concerning any given matter about which I am praying here [today, in] truth, without telling you[603] falsehood. IOBASAYMPTHOKHROMELOYKHAR, instruct me in truth concerning any given matter about which I am praying here today."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxiv/1–13. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1155–62

*. . .[604] hawk's dung; salt, reed, *bele* plant. Pound together. Anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman. If it is dry, you should / pound a little of it with wine, anoint your phallus with it, and lie with the woman. [It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxv/1–8.

598. With water determinative, presumably *p3 y'm*, "the sea."
599. See n. 23 above.
600. For Adonai?
601. See n. 8 above.
602. Literally, "Let my eyes open out." Cf. n. 93 above. [R.K.R.]
603. *Sic.*
604. The first line is perhaps to be restored "in order to make a woman love copulation, again," as

PDM xiv. 1163–79

*If you [wish to make] the gods of the vessel speak with you,[605] when the gods come in, you should say this name [to them], nine times: /"†IAO †IPH †EOE †GINNTATHYR[606] †NEPHAR †APHOE." He commands to you concerning that about which you will ask him. 1165 [v. col. xxvi, 3]

If delay occurs in order not to tell you an answer, you should say this other name to them, nine times until they inquire for you truthfully: "†NGONGETSIKS †MANTY †NOBOE †GOGHIR †HRONTOR[607] †NTONTROMA †LEPHOGER †GEPHAERSORE" (seven times). "IAYO EIPHE ON KINDATHOYR NEPHAR APHOE." *1170* [v. xxvi, 8]

According to what is above,[608] on the recto, "I am SIT-TA-KO.[609] 'Hearing' is my name; 'hearing' is my correct name. I am GANTHA GINTEY[610] GIRITEY, lord god, ARENOYTE[611] LABTATHA LAPTYTHA / LAKSANTHA SARISA MARKHARAHYTEY[612] †ARSINGA-GHLA" (another manuscript [says], ARSI-NGALABEL) "***Bolboel*** BOEL BOEL LOTERI †GLO-GASANTRA. IAHO is my name; IAHO is my correct name. BALKHAM, the powerful one of heaven, ABLANATHANALBA, the griffin[613] of the shrine of the god who stands today." 1175 [v. xxvii, 4]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxvi/1–xxvii/8. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 1180–81

*You are going to send a star . . . down while the moon is [in the constellation] Scorpio. 1180 [v. col. xxviii, 2]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxviii/1–2.

PDM xiv. 1182–87

*[Spell to] make mad any man or any woman: You should take the hair of the man whom you wish together with the hair of a dead man; you should tie them to each other; / you should tie them to the body of the hawk; and you should release it alive. If you wish to do it for some days, you should put the hawk in a place, feeding it in your house. 1185 [v. col. xxix, 4]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxix/1–6.

PDM xiv. 1188–89

*If you . . . dung of a Nile goose. Her body falls.[614]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/1–2.

Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, in the hand copy.

605. There is a parallel in *PDM* xiv. 847–50.
606. See n. 23 above.
607. See n. 23 above.
608. *PDM* xiv. 13–16.
609. See n. 7 above.
610. Ending written *t3w*, "wind."
611. See n. 9 above.
612. Ending written *t3w*, "wind."
613. See n. 12 above.
614. Perhaps "abortion," as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 201, n. to V. l. XXX. 1.

PDM xiv. 1190–93

*Another: You should anoint your phallus with dung of weasel[615] and lie with [the] woman. She loves you. You should pound dung of . . . with honey and anoint your phallus with it according to what is above, again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/3–6.

PDM xiv. 1194–95

*Another: Dung of hyena with oil of / roses[616] in accordance with what is above, again.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/7–8.

PDM xiv. 1196–98

*Another: You should fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung when the menstruation is on her. She stops. Ass's dung also—this method [of treatment].

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxx/9–11.

PDM xiv. 1199–1205

*"SISIOOYT" / (another [manuscript] says, ARMIOYTH), "O living god, O burning lamp, come in before me and tell me an answer concerning that about which I am asking here / today."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxi/1–7.

PDM xiv. 1206–18

*To make [a woman] mad after a man:[617] You should bring a live shrew-mouse, remove its gall and put it in one place; and remove its heart and put it in another place. You should / take its whole body. You should pound it very much while it is dry; you should take a little of what is pounded with a little blood of your second finger and the little finger[618] of your left hand; you should put it in a cup of wine; and you should make the woman drink it. She is mad after you.

/ If you put its gall into a cup of wine, she dies instantly. Or put it in meat or some food.

If you put its heart in ring of gold and put it on your hand, it gives you great praise, love, and awe.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxii/1–13.

PDM xiv. 1219–27

*Horus . . . went up the mountain[619] at midday during the season of inundation, mounted on a white horse . . . on a black horse, / the papyrus rolls [of . . .] being on (?) him, those of the Great of Five in his breast. He found all the gods seated at the place of judgment eating [of the produce] of the Nile, my great one. Said they, "Horus, come and eat! Horus, come! Are you going to eat?"

615. Identification suggested by R.K.R., identifying Griffith and Thompson, cipher number 22 with cipher number 83.

616. See n. 100 above.

617. A similar spell occurs in *PDM* xiv. 382–86.

618. See n. 411 above.

619. For the mountain of Horus, see M. Smith's commentary to P. BM. 10507, l. 5 (not yet published).

He said, "Go away ⁱ from ⁱ me! I have no [way] to eat. My head hurts; my body hurts. A fever has taken hold of me; a south wind has seized me. Does Isis [stop] making magic? Does Nephthys stop curing? Are the sixteen[620] those of the avenger? Is my one a divine power of a god? Are [the 365] gods sitting down to eat the produce of the fields of the Nile (?), my great one, until they remove the fever / from the head of the son of Isis, from the head of NN, whom NN bore, being the fever of night, the fever of midday, headache, this burning, this heat of the fevers of those below the brow to his feet,[621] [until they] remove [it] from the head of NN, whom NN bore?" 1225 [v. xxxiii, 7]

[Say it] over genuine oil, seven times; anoint his hand, his body, his feet; and speak to him.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, verso, col. xxxiii/1–9. Words preceded by ⁱ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PGM XV. 1–21

*"I will bind you, Nilos, who is also [called] Agathos Daimon, whom Demetria bore, with great evils. Neither gods nor men will procure[1] a clean getaway[2] for you! On the contrary, you will love me, Capitolina whom Peperous bore, with a divine passion, and in every way you will be for me an escort, as long as I want, that you might do for me what I wish and nothing for anyone else, and that you might obey no one save only me, Capitolina, and that you might forget your parents, / children, and friends. I also conjure you, daimons, who are in this place, ALYĒAĒL . . . LIONŌ SOUAPH ALŌ LYBALOLYBĒL OIKALLISSAMAEŌ LYBALALŌNĒ LYLŌĒY LYOTHNOIS ODISSASON ALELADA. I, Capitolina, have the power, and, on meeting you, Nilos, will return the favors. They are releasing all who have drowned, have died unmarried, and have been carried away by the wind. I will insert this deposit, in order that you might accomplish for me what has been written on the strip of papyrus, which is why I am conjuring / you, daimons, by the force and fate that constrains you. Accomplish everything for me and rush in and take away the mind of Nilos, to whom this magical material belongs, in order that he might love me, Capitolina, and that Nilos, whom Demetria bore, might be inseparable from me, every hour and every day. I conjure you daimons by your spiteful fates that hold you and by those carried by the wind, IŌ IŌĒ PHTHOUTH EIŌ PHRĒ, the greatest daimon, IAŌ SABAŌ / BARBARE THIŌTH[3] LAILAMPS OSORNŌPHRI EMPHERA, the only-begotten god in heaven, who shakes the deep, sending out waters and winds—discharge the spirits of the daimons where my deposit box is, in order that they, either male or female, small or great, might perform for me the things in the tablet, in order that they might come and accomplish the things in this tablet and might bind Nilos, who is also [called] / Agathos Daimon, whom Demetria bore, to me, Capitolina, whom Piperous bore, for his [whole] life. Nilos shall love me with an eternal affection; immediately, immediately; quickly, [quickly]."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

620. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 204, n. to V. l. XXXIII. 5.

621. I.e., from his head to his feet. [R.K.R.]

1. The papyrus has *ευρωσι*, which A. Henrichs emends to *εὕρω σοι*, "I will procure." The meaning is, however, unclear.

2. Lit., "a pure release."

3. THIŌTH was accidentally omitted in Preisendanz's text.

PGM XVI. 1–75

*"I adjure you, [daimon] of the dead, by the MĒTH . . . OU MACHEREMA PHACHE[LEZETHI] ALŌIA BATHABLEOUCHACHI ABAŌS OMŌCHAL ARACHRAUCH . . . OU AMERRA MACHERTHA PHACHELEZETHI; cause Sarapion to pine [and] melt away for the passion of Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi bore]. [Inflame / his] heart, cause it to melt, and [suck out his] blood because of love, passion, and pain for me, until Sarapion, whom [Pasametra] bore, [comes] to Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. [And] let him [do] all the things in my [mind] and let him [continue] loving me, [until] he [arrives] in Hades."

"I adjure you, as a daimon of the dead, by ADŌNAIOS SABAŌTH AMARACHTHEI / AXIAŌTHAZAR, god, ATHRŌA SOU . . . AMALAXA, god, . . . EN MARATA ACHŌ CHIMMI NEMEGAIPH Y . . . ACHILTHTEE [MARADTHA] THARBI APSŌCH . . . ; cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra[1] bore, to pine and melt away out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. Brand his heart, cause it to melt, and suck out his blood because of love, passion, pain, / until Sarapion, whom Pasametra [bore], comes to Dioskorous, whom Tikoui bore. And let him do all the things in my mind and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades."

"I adjure you, [daimon] of the dead, by the heart of Kronos' son . . . ŌURŌNY . . . LI . . . EULAMŌSI . . . MERATHA; cause Sarapiōn, whom Pasametra bore, / to pine and melt away out of passion for [Dioskorous], whom Tikoi bore. And cause his heart to melt, [and] suck out [his] blood because of love, passion, pain, [until] Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, whom Takoui bore. And let him do all the things in my mind, and let him continue loving me, until / he arrives in Hades."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by the one under STĒĒAALEBMOU EYA . . . NEKELA . . . TOSAN . . . AKETORIMISEPHONYMI STASACHĒ AMŌTILŌ NEBOU [TOSOUALĒTH cause] Sarapion, whom [Pasametra bore], to pine and melt away out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoui bore. Cause [his heart] to melt [and] suck out [his] blood / because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes [out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore]. And [let him do all the things in my mind], and let him continue loving me until [he arrives in Hades]."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by the M . . . MASĒ LEAI . . . MEA . . . RMŌ . . . SEGE B . . . DĒSAŌOUA / PHESPHTOU undefiled EI, names . . . XAI BAIMEBOTĒSAI PHTHASIAU SAIEXEETHA CHTHETHŌ OU NEBIŌTHY LAIOUTH, cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, to pine and melt away out of passion [for Dioskorous], whom Tikoui bore. And [cause] his [heart to melt and] suck out his blood / because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes [to] Dioskorous, [whom] Tikaui [bore]. And let him do [all the things in my] mind, [and let him continue] loving me until [he arrives] in [Hades], and again I adjure you, [daimon of the dead], by the PHTHOI KI . . . ŌSE . . . AUTHEIOKRA . . . EI / APO EIRRATHEIBŌTHIMIA PROSĒMOPERNAI . . . ENE A . . . S . . . TASĒTHŌNNEBAI LEISEI; cause Sarapion, [whom Pasametra] bore, [to pine and melt away] out of passion for Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. And cause his heart to melt [and suck out his blood] because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom / Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, [whom] Tikoui bore. [And let him] do all [the things] in my mind, and let him continue loving [me], until he arrives [in Hades]."

"I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by SIIA the MEGON ABAŌTH OU . . . OUOGDOUKO . . . ĒRĒ . . . OMMA KELARO . . . ONTBEIA; [cause Sarapion], / whom Pasa-

1. Cf. D. R. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976): 132, who reads *πᾶσα μήτρα*, "the whole womb," here and throughout the text.

metra bore, [to pine] and melt away [out of] passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikouou bore. And cause his [heart] to melt and suck out his blood because of [love], passion, pain, unless Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, comes to Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. [And let him do] all the things in / my mind, [and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades]."

"I adjure you, [daimon of the] dead, by [ADONAIOS] . . . DŌ . . . EXIAKĒN NEIKAROPLĒX MIDEKLIBAIA AUKA . . . LEUEIMETH . . . EXENNE KOMMI BIOU; cause Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, to pine [and melt away] out of passion for [Dioskorous], whom [Tikoi bore. Brand his heart] and [cause it to melt]; / [suck out his] blood because of love, passion, pain, until Sarapion, whom Pasametra bore, [comes out of passion for Dioskorous, whom Tikoi bore. And let him do] all [the] *things in my mind, [and let him continue loving me until he arrives in Hades]*."

"[I adjure you, daimon of the dead, by] the greatest MY . . . PRŌTĒSKAINONEONTI ERĒ[KISISPHĒ] ARARACHARARA ĒPHSISIKĒRE . . . / and inflame [his heart until Sarapion, whom] Pasametra [bore, comes] to Dioskorous, whom [Tikoi] bore. [Cause Sarapion, whom] Pasametra [bore, to pine and melt away] out of passion for Dioskorous, [whom] Tikoi bore; [cause him to melt away and suck out his blood] because of love, [passion, pain] for me, [O daimon of the dead]. Wherefore, do [and complete] for me all the things [written on this] / [strip of papyrus].

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XVIIa. 1–25

*«ϫ ⲁ ⲣ ⲡ» DAMNIPPE PĒPĒ ŌŌ	A	A
LYKYXUVHYCH NN CHYCH	BA	AK
XYKYL ϥϩϫϥ PSCH ⲯ ⲱ ŌŌ ĒPĒP	LBA	AKR
ĒPP[1] INMAD, Anubis, god on earth	ALBA	AKRA
and under earth and heavenly;	NALBA	AKRAM
dog, dog, dog, assume all your /	ANALBA	AKRAMM
authority and all your power	THANALBA	AKRAMMA
against Tigerous, whom Sophia	ATHANALBA	AKRAMMACH
bore. Make her cease from	NATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHA
her arrogance, calculation,	ANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAM
and her shamefulness, and attract	LANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAMA
her to me, beneath my feet,	BLANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAMAR
melting with passionate	ABLANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAMARI
desire / at every hour of the	BLANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAMAR
day and night, always	LANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAMA
remembering me while she is	ANATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHAM
eating, drinking, working,	NATHANALBA	AKRAMMACHA
conversing, sleeping / dreaming,	ATHANALBA	AKRAMMACH
having an orgasm in her dreams,	THANALBA	AKRAMMA
until she is scourged by you and	ANALBA	AKRAMM
comes desiring me, with her	NALBA	AKRAM
hands full, with a generous	ALBA	AKRA
soul and graciously giving me	LBA	AKR
both herself and her possessions	BA	AK
and fulfilling / what is	A	A

appropriate for women in regards to men: serving both my desire and her own

1. The *voces magicae* PĒPĒ, ĒPĒP, etc., may be related to the Hebrew tetragrammaton, the name for god. See *PGM* IV. 595 and n.

unhesitatingly and unabashedly, joining thigh to thigh and belly to belly and her black to my black, most pleasantly. Aye, lord, attract to me Titerous, whom Sophia bore, to me, Hermeias, whom Hermione bore, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly—driven by your scourge."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XVIIb. 1–23

*"[Hermes, lord of the world], who're in the heart,
[O orbit of Selene, spherical]
[And] square, the founder of the words [of speech]
[Pleader of justice's cause,] garbed in a mantle,
[With winged sandals,] who rule [expressive] speech
[Prophet to mortals] / . . .
For he inspires . . .
. . . within a short time . . .
[Whene'er] the fateful [day arrives] again[1]
. . . [who send] some [oracle] that's true, / you're said
To be [the Moirai's thread] and [Dream divine],
[The all-subduer, Unsub]dued, just as
. . . may you judge . . .
You offer good things to the good, [but grief]
[To those who're worthless.][2] Dawn comes up for you,
For you swift [night draws] near. / You lord it o'er
The elements: fire, air, [water, and earth][3]
When you became helmsman of [all the] world;
And you escort the souls of those you wish,
But some you rouse again. For you've become
The order of the world, for you [cure], too,
Man's [every] ailment, / [who send oracles]
By day and night; [send] me, I pray your [form],
For I'm a man, a pious suppliant,
And your [soldier];[4] and so, [while I'm asleep],
[Send to me your unerring] mantic skill."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This badly damaged papyrus contains a spell in dactylic hexameters which is similar in part to *PGM* V. 400–421 and VII. 668–80. Heitsch (in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 249) has reconstructed the passages to form Hymns 15–16.

1. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10. 175.
2. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 24. 530–33; Rom 13:3–4.
3. Cf. *PGM* XII. 250–51.
4. Cf. *PGM* IV. 185–94, esp. 193.

PGM XVIIc. 1–14

*"ABLANATHANATHANABLA
A ⳩⳩⳩⳩⳨⳪ G
BAEĒIOYŌ AAAAAAA R
A
L EEEEEEE IIIIIII M 5
A A
NAKRAKAMARPITAR CH
AKOMMŌTEU M P O A
THNIRA . . . IPHEL
PETHION 10
AEU.LEIĒ . . .ⲋITAPE
AM̄ÑNEBALESITŌT
ATACHIT
O. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This slip of papyrus was evidently used as an amulet or protective charm.

PGM XVIIIa. 1–4

*"Lord Sabaoth, repel the pain from me, the headache pain, I pray, take [from me]. . . ."
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XVIIIb. 1–7



"GORGŌPHŌNAS
ORGŌPHŌNAS
RGŌPHŌNAS
GŌPHŌNAS
ŌPHŌNAS
PHŌNAS
ŌNAS
NAS
AS
S"

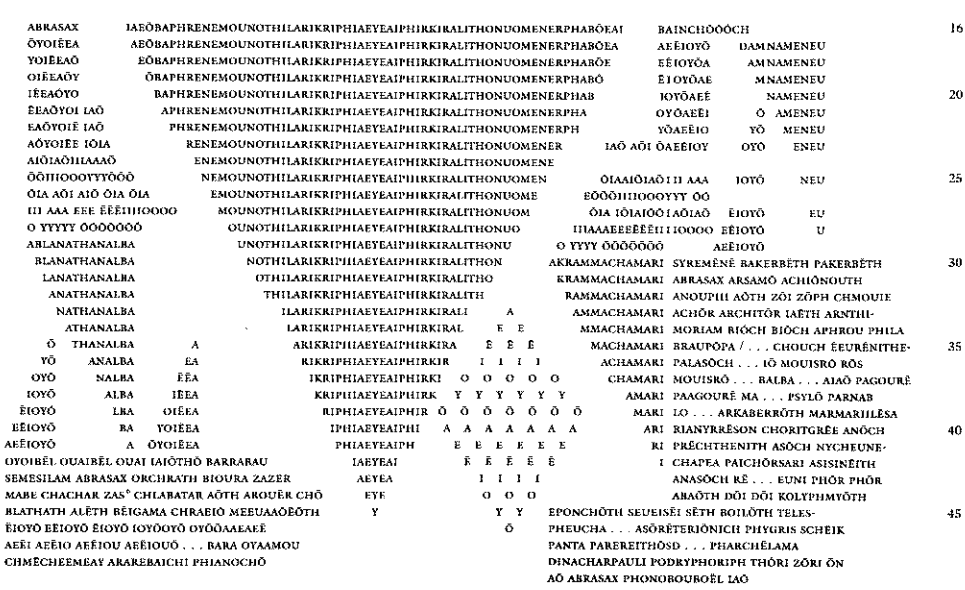
*"I conjure you all by the sacred name to heal Dionysius or Anys, whom Heraklia bore, from every shivering fit and fever, whether daily or intermittent [fever] by night or day, or quartan fever, immediately, immediately, quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: John Scarborough. The name GORGŌPHŌNA, here apparently feminine accusative plural, may refer to the epithet of Athena, "Gorgo-slayer."

PGM XIXa. 1–54

*"ENTHI ENTHŌ BOSOU ĒRIS ĒRIS I . . . NOUŌ OUI DE BATHAR NĒITH NĒITH[1] ĒIAŌTH OUOR KAŌTHIS SAMI SAMIS OPHOR ANOUIPHŌ XTHETHŌNI NOUĒRIŌTH AŌTH OUŌR TENOCH TENOCH BIBIOU BIBIOU MOUAU MOUAU SMŌSOM THEUOUTH OKEBENEUSI ENSI EIPSĒI OUŌR OUŌR OSARAMŌKS THAT THAT ENTHOUŌ KOMMOUOA PHIANOCH PHIANOCH SŌPH CHTHENTHEBENCH ENTHEBECH ĒCHTHENTHEBETH YIIABŌY LAILAM HARMIOŌUTH SŌN APS IPHIŌS DIAR NEBES CHINEI NOUTHI NOUTHI KOMŌA RAPHŌR HARSAMŌSI STEOBAOCH ANOCH PHRĒ PHRI CHORBAI MAI ABAŌTH IAŌ IPHI ROMBAOTH / CHAOUCH CHŌOUCH RINGCH SPHĒCH CHOOUCHORPHI MOUISRŌ[2] KAMPYCHRĒ GORGIŌRIE LAMPIPYRSI SEIROE OMBRIME MATEORSI NAPHSISAŌTHA Ō OSOR MNEUEI Ō OSARAPI SARAPI[3] Ō OSOR NOBĒCHIS OSOR MNEUEI Ō OSOR NŌPHRIS THŌ THŌ THŌ ITHI ITHI [ITHI] MOU THOURI[4] CHAOUCH CHTHETHŌNI MAPSITHYRIMAPS TITI NYXBI AMOUN BLAMOUNITH BIŌTH THŌDIARAX PHORBORBABŌR CHŌSOĒTH BOLCHOSĒTH ERESCHIGAL HARSAMŌ HARSENOPHRĒ BIRBĒ KAPHIŌ IAŌ ĒIA IAĒ ĒI ĒAIA CHIMNOUTH HARBIŌTH KARACHARAX PHRAX AX NOUMŌR TO TACHAN TO PHRĒ TAUAN CHOUCHE CHOUCHE CHŌX CHŌX CHOUCHOTHI MASKELLI MASKELLI PHNOUCHENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA HYPOCHTHŌN IŌOUTH IAŌOUTH AI AI AI OU OU OU BARBARAI BALĒMAĒTH KĒCHI ATHŌR / SENEZEZOUTH SORO ORMEA CHTH . . . BARMAR PHRIOUREINGX MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPEGANYX OREOPEGANYX LEPETAN LEPETAN PHRIX PHRŌX BIA MASTIGX ANAGKĒ MANTOUENOBOĒL THOURA KRINI ZOUCHE PIPPĒ BECHOCH TA NIKA AKŌY . . . ĒTO KOURA SANKANTHARA SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ IE ĒI EĒ KINXTABAKINX TABAKINX IŌ MOLPĒ IO KABALTH SAMAS SAIŌBOTHŌR . . . BAIŌŌR BAIŌR ATHARBAIŌ ZASAR THARAIŌ, guardian[5] of strong Destiny, who manages my affairs, the thoughts of my soul, which no one can speak out against, not a god, not an angel, not a daimon: arouse yourself for me, / daimon of the dead, and do not use force but fulfill what has been inscribed and inserted into your mouth, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.

1. Neith is the Egyptian goddess of Sais. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 512–17, s.v. "Neith."
2. MOUISRO is "Lion-Ram." See l. 36 below, and *PGM* III. 659 and n.; XXXVI. 351. [R.K.R.]
3. This invocation of Sarapis is peculiar because the god is named by his two names, the older Osarapis and the common Sarapis. In addition, the three sacred bulls of Apis are named: Osor Nobechis (Buchis), Osor Mnevis, and Osor Nophris (Onuphis). Cf. *PGM* IV. 140; XL. For bull cults in Egypt, see E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1938). [R.K.R.]
4. THOURI is Egyptian Thoeris, the hippopotamus goddess. See *PGM* XII. 113 and n. [R.K.R.]
5. μελητής, "guardian," seems to occur only here. The common term is ἐπιμελητής. [E.N.O.]



IAI IAŌ ĒII AII AŌĒA IIII YYY, draw off, thrust away every member of this dead body and the spirit of this tent[7] and cause him to serve / against Karosa, whom Thelo bore. Aye, lord daimon, attract, inflame, destroy, burn, cause her to swoon[8] from love as she is being burnt, inflamed. Sting the tortured soul, the heart, of Karosa, whom Thelo bore, until she leaps forth[9] and comes to Apalos, whom Theonilla bore, out of passion and love, in this very hour, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. As long as the divine mystery remains within you,[10] do not allow Karosa herself, whom Thelo bore, to think of her [own] husband,[11] her child, drink, food, but let her come melting for passion and love and intercourse, especially[12] yearning for the intercourse of Apalos whom Theonilla bore, in this very hour, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil and R. Kotansky (ll. 16–47).

PGM XIXb. 1–3

*" . . . may he [bring] him, NN, to her, NN" (add the usual). Write with myrrh mixed with blood on leaves of flax.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

6. On the name Zas, see *PGM* II. 117 and n.

7. For similar anthropological terms for "body," see *PGM* I. 319; IV. 448, 1951, 1970, 2141.

8. *σκότωσον* (Preisendanz: "umfinstern") refers to the Hellenistic topos of women swooning with love. See, for example, Apollonius, *Argon.* 3. 960–72 of Medea, for even a witch may swoon with love. [E.N.O.]

9. That is, from her house. Cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 71, 359 for the same expression.

10. According to A. D. Nock, *JEA* 11 (1925):158, *μυστήριον* is the magical act. So the meaning seems to be "as long as the magical spell which I have worked remains in effect on you." [E.N.O.]

11. *ἀνδρί* is strange and probably incorrect. The verb *μνημονεύω* requires either a genitive or an accusative, and the words in parallel construction here are genitive. [E.N.O.]

12. *πλείστω*[ς], which Preisendanz has retained despite the fact that this adverbial form occurs only in a quotation by Galen from Hippocrates where the manuscripts actually have the regular form *πλεῖστα*. Schubart (in Preisendanz's apparatus) suggests *πλεῖστα*. [E.N.O.]

PGM XIXb. 4–18

*__Love spell of attraction over a dog__:[1] Onto a cutting[2] / of hieratic papyrus write with myrrh and dedicate it[3] to one who has died a violent death.[4] "[I adjure you] by the SENAKŌTHO ARPOPSYG KAMOUO ORPS THŌ OUCH PETI ANOUP PETIOPARIN AUT KINOTHEN CHYCH AAA ROPS UICHTHEN / KREMME SECHAXTHNE NEOUPHTHE AKĒCH CHAKE PŌPHOPI KACHE ANOCH[5] . . . ĒTHMĒ ARI MĒS THOD . . . PE; you, who are able, / [raise] your body and go [to her, NN], until she is [willing]. . . . "
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XX. 1–4

*. . . ***[Spell for] head[ache]***:

". . . for you to mortals are . . .

. . .

. . . fulfill my perfect charm."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. Among the numerous studies of this papyrus, three are especially helpful: P. Maas, *JHS* 62 (1942): 33–38; L. Koenen, *CEg* 37 (1962): 167–74; A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 6 (1970): 193–212. The text has been restored on the basis of Pap. Berol. 7504, Pap. Amherst and Pap. Oxyr. *ined.* D. L. Page, *Select Papyri*, vol. III (*L.C.L.*): *Literary Papyri Poetry*, no. 146 (pp. 604–5) has reprinted part of Wilamowitz's text of Pap. Berol. 7504. His interpretation of the situation and translation of the text is almost comic.

PGM XX. 4–12

[The charm] of the Syrian woman of Gadara, / for any inflammation:

"[The[1] most majestic goddess' child] was set
Aflame as an initiate[2]—and on
The highest mountain peak was set aflame—
[And fire did greedily gulp] seven springs
Of wolves, seven of bears, seven of lions,[3]
But seven dark-eyed maidens[4] / with dark urns

1. For a love spell over a dog, see *PGM* XXXVI. 370.

2. The term *τομίον*, found only once in *PGM*, is most likely a reference to a cutting of papyrus; cf. the technical term *ἱερατικόν*. See Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 181.

3. Preisendanz understands this as "deposit with."

4. Preisendanz assumes that this term refers to the dog (cf. *PGM* IV. 1882–85, 2578; XXXVI. 370), but the spell is too fragmentary to be sure.

5. For the interpretation of these magical words see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. PETIANOUP is a personal name and means "He whom Anubis has given"; cf. Ranke, *Ägyptische Personennamen* I, 122, no. 11. CHAKE PŌPHOPI KACHE ANOCH, etc., is equivalent to "Darkness, Apophis, darkness I am. . . ." [R.K.R./J.B.]

1. These lines offer some whole and partial dactylic hexameters. They have been rearranged and used as the reconstructed Hymn 28; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 265. This reconstructed hymn has been translated here. [E.N.O.]

2. L. Koenen, "Der brennende Horusknabe. Zu einem Zauberspruch des Philinna-Papyrus," *CEg* 37 (1962): 167–74, identifies the *παῖς μυστοδόκος* as the Horus child. Cf. the story of Isis and the child of the rulers of Byblos in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 15–16, 357B–C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 325–28. Cf. also the story of Demeter and Demophoon in *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 231–55, with commentary by N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 231–34. Furthermore, see the note by J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus*, vol. II, *LCL* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979) 311–17. [E.N.O.]

3. On these springs and animals, see Koenen, "Der brennende Horusknabe," 171–74. Cf. P. Maas, "The Philinna Papyrus," *JHS* 62 (1942): 33–38, esp. 37: "I see no plausible connection of wells with wild beasts." [E.N.O.]

Drew water and becalmed the restless fire."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XX. 13–19

***The charm*[5] *of the Thessalian Philinna, [for] headache*:**

/ "Flee, headache, [lion] flees beneath a rock,
Wolves flee; horses flee on uncloven hoof
[And speed] beneath blows [of my perfect charm]."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXI. 1–29

*"[Hear me, lord, whose secret name is unspeakable,] at whose [name, when] the daimons [hear it, even they are terrified; you of whom the sun] BAAL BNICH BAALA [AMĒN PTIDAIOU ARNEBOUAT, and the moon], ASENPEMPH [THŌOUTH BARBARAIŌNĒ OSRARMEMPSECHEI], / are [tireless] eyes[1] [shining in the pupils] of men's [eyes; you of whom heaven is the head,] air the body, [earth the feet, the water around you, ocean. You are the Good] Daimon, the lord, [the one who begets good things, nurtures and increases] the [whole] inhabited [earth and all the] / universe. Yours is the eternal [processional way, in which is established] your name which is seven-lettered [in] harmony with the seven [vowel sounds, which are pronounced according to] the twenty-eight forms of the moon, [AEĒIOYŌ AE]ĒIOYŌ AE[Ē]IOYŌ AEĒ[I]OYŌ, / you whose good emanations from the [stars are daimons,] Fortunes and Fates by whom [are given wealth, success,] a happy old age, a good burial.[2]

"[And] you, [lord of life, ruling] the upper and lower regions,[3] [whose justice is not shut off,] whose glorious [name] the Muses praise, [you whom the eight] / guards (Ē, Ō, CHŌ, CHOUCH, [NOUN, NAUNI,] AMOUN and IO)[4] [attend], you who possess the inerrant [truth]; many moving bodies [will not overpower] me; no spirit, no visitation, [no daimon, no evil being will oppose me, for I will have your name as a single phylactery [in my heart] /, PHIRIMNOUN [A]NOCH[5] SOLBAI SANACHESRŌ . . . ARCHĒN SE KOPŌ[6] K . . . OAI . . . NOUST [NOUSI SIETHŌ] SIETHŌ BENOUAI.[7] . . ."
*Tr.: W. C. Grese. See also the parallels in XII. 239–44, 252–57; XII. 765–99.

4. On the identity and role of these maidens see Maas, "The Philinna Papyrus," 37–38; Koenen, "Der brennende Horusknabe," 169.

5. This charm seems to be a *historiola*. Cf. Maas, "The Philinna Papyrus," 37; Koenen, "Der brennende Horusknabe," 169, 173–74.

1. For sun and moon as cosmic eyes, cf. the cosmic body of the deity in *PGM* XII. 242–45.

2. For the divine gifts, see also *PGM* XIII. 782–83.

3. Or "Upper and Lower Egypt"; cf. *PGM* XII. 256.

4. This is the "Ogdoad" of Hermopolis; see S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* 184; Nun-Naunet, Huh-Hauket, Kuk-Kauket, Amun-Amaunet. [J.B.] For these eight guards, see *PGM* XIII. 743–45, 788–89.

5. These words are equivalent to Egyptian and mean "I am he who came forth from Nun." Cf. *PGM* XII. 345; III. 549–58. [R.K.R.]

6. These three groups of letters may be Greek words: ". . . rule. I weary you. . . ." If so, their context cannot be determined, as they are set amid magical words. [M.S.]

7. BENOU is the Phoenix. Cf. *PGM* II. 104 and n. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 594–96, s.v. "Phönix."

PGM XXIIa. 1

*"We would flee [from Trojan battle before death and ruin."]
*Tr.: John Scarborough. This verse, probably Homer, *Iliad* 17. 714, has not preserved its title, though Preisendanz (on the basis of the following spell) believed it was a recipe for hemorrhage. The verse begins *P. Berol.* 9873, a collection of Homeric verses to be used for magico-medical purposes.

PGM XXIIa. 2–9

*__*Another, for bloody flux*__:
"the wrath of Apollo, far-darting lord."[1]
Spoken to blood, this [verse] cures bloody flux. / But if [the patient] recovers and shows ingratitude, take a pan of coals, throw [it in the altar (?)], and place the amulets over the smoke; add a root, and write this verse in addition:
"the Far-shooter, having attained his aim, has, therefore, given pain and will give it further."[2]
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 9–10

*__*Write [this] for pain in the breasts and uterus*__:
"[him] / daughter of Zeus suckled and the wheat-bearing earth bore."[3]
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 11–14

*Carried [with a magnetic] stone, or even spoken, [this verse] serves as a __*contraceptive*__:
"Would that you be fated to be unborn and to die unmarried."[4]
Write this on a piece of new [papyrus] and tie it up with hairs of a mule.
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 15–17

*[__*For one who suffers from elephantiasis*__, write this] verse and give it [to him] to wear:
"[As when a] woman stains ivory with Phoenician purple."[5]
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXIIa. 18–27

*"Greetings, Helios; greetings, Helios; greetings, god over the heavens, with your name [being that] of the all-powerful! From the / seventh heaven [give] me [steady] favor before every race of men and all women, but especially before her, NN. Make me as beautiful in her presence as IAŌ is, as rich as SABAŌTH, to be loved / like LAILAM, as great as BARBARAS, as honored as MICHAËL, as famous as GABRIĒL, and [I shall be] highly favored."
*Tr.: John Scarborough.

1. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 75.
2. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1. 96.
3. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 2. 548; also 8. 486; *Od.* 7. 332. But metaphorically ἄρουρα can mean the receiving of seed by a woman and bearing fruit (see, e.g., Theognis 582).
4. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 3. 40.
5. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 4. 141.

PGM XXIIb. 1–26

*__Prayer of Jacob__: "O Father of the patriarchs, Father of the All, [Father] of the [cosmic] powers, [Creator of all] . . . , Creator of angels and archangels, the Creator of the [saving] names. I summon you, Father of all powers, Father of the entire [cosmos] and of all / creation inhabited and uninhabited, to whom the [cherubim] are subjected, [who] favored Abraam by [giving the] kingdom [to him] . . . : hear me, O God of the powers, O [God] of angels [and] archangels, [King]. . . . LELEACH . . . ARŌACH TOU ACHABOL . . . Ō . . . YRAM TOU . . . BOACH KA . . . TH . . . RA . . . CHACH MARIROK . . . YRAM . . . ITHTH SESOIK, / he who sits upon [holy] Mount Sinai; . . . I . . . BO . . . ATHEM . . . he who sits upon the sea; . . . EA . . . BL . . . D . . . K . . . E . . . THĒS . . . PARACHTHĒ . . . , he who sits upon the serpentine gods; the [god who sits upon the] sun, IAŌ; he who sits [upon] . . . TA . . . Ō . . . I . . . CH; he [who sits] upon the . . . the . . . MA . . . SI, ABRIĒL LOUĒL . . . M . . . resting place of the [cherubim] . . . CHIRE . . . OZ . . . I . . . / to the ages of ages, God ABAŌTH ABRATHIAŌTH [SABAŌTH] ADŌNAI star . . . and BRILEŌNAI ADŌNAI CHA . . . AŌTH the Lord of the all.

"I call upon you who give power [over] the Abyss [to those] above, to those below, and to those under the earth; hear the one who has [this] prayer, O Lord God of the Hebrews, EPAGAĒL ALAMN, of whom is [the] eternal power, ELŌĒL SOUĒL. Maintain the one who possesses this prayer, who is from the stock of Israel and from those / who have been favored by you, O god of gods, you who have the secret name, SABAŌTH . . . I . . . CH, O god of gods, amen, amen. You who produce the snow, over the stars, beyond the ages, [and] who constantly traverse [the cosmos], and who cause the fixed and movable stars to pursue all things by your creative activity, fill me with wisdom. Strengthen me, Master; fill my heart with good, Master, as a terrestrial angel, as one who has become / immortal, as one who has received this gift from you, Amen, amen!"

Pronounce the ***[Prayer of] Jacob*** seven times facing north and east.

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM XXIIb. 27–31

*__Request for a dream oracle, to a lamp__: Purify yourself before your everyday lamp, and speak [the following] to the lamplight, until it is extinguished: "Be well, O lamp, who light the way to Harsentephtha and to Harsentechtha, and to the great [father] Osiris-Michael. / [If] the petition I have made is appropriate, [show] me water [and] a grove. If otherwise, show me water and a stone."

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM XXIIb. 32–35

*__Another__ request for a dream oracle__: Take your last morsel of food, and [show it to the] lamp, and while showing it, say [the invocation]. After saying [it] chew up [the morsel], drink wine on top of it, and go to sleep without speaking to anyone. If this is [performed, immediately] you will see someone speaking to you.

". . . OI . . . AL . . . OSMŌ . . . PRA, . . . / I am LAMPSYS, if this matter[1] has been granted to me, show a courtesan; otherwise, a soldier."

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

1. Or "such-and-such a matter."

PGM XXIII. 1–70

*[But[1] when with vows] and prayers [I had appealed]
[To them], the tribes of dead, I took [the] sheep
And slit their throats [beside the trough, and down]
The dark blood [flowed. From out of Ere]bos
Came gathering [the spirits] of the dead: /
[New brides, unmarried youths,] toil-worn old men,
[And] tender [maidens] with fresh-mourning hearts,
[And many] pierced by bronze-tipped spears, [men] slain
In battle, still in armor stained with gore.
[These many] thronged from ev'ry side around
The trough / with [awful] cry. Pale fear seized me.
[But][2] having drawn the sharp sword at my thigh,
[I sat,] allowing not the flitting heads
Of the dead to draw nearer to [the blood],
And I in conversation spoke with them.
(He has said what must be done:) /
"O[3] rivers, earth, and you below, punish
Men done with life, whoe'er has falsely sworn;
Be witnesses, fulfill for us this charm.
I've come to ask how I may reach the land
Of that Telemachus, my own son whom /
I left still in a nurse's arms." For in
This fashion went the charm most excellent.
(He tells what charms must be sung:)
"[Hear][4] me, gracious and guardian, well-born
[An]ubis; [hear, sly] one, O secret mate,
Osiris' savior; come, Hermes, come, robber,
Well-trussed, infernal Zeus; / †Grant [my desire]†,[5]
Fulfill this charm. [Come hither, Hades,] Earth,
Unfailing Fire, O Titan Helios;
[Come,] Iaweh, Phthas, Phre, guardian of laws,
[And Neph]tho, much revered; Ablanatho,
In blessings rich, with [fiery] serpents girded,
Earth-plowing, goddess with head high, [Abrax]as,
A daimon famous by your cosmic name,
Who rule earth's [axis], starry dance, the Bears'
Cold light. [And come] to me, surpassing all
In self-control, O Phren. I'm calling [you],

1. Vv. 1–10 equal Homer, *Od.* 11. 34–43.

2. Vv. 11–13 equal Homer, *Od.* 11. 48–50.

3. Vv. 15–17 equal Homer, *Il.* 3. 278–80 except that in v. 15 the *Iliad* has *καὶ* in place of *ὦ*. In v. 16 the *Iliad* has *τίννυσθον* and the second hemistich of v. 17 appears in the *Iliad* as *φυλάσσετε δ' ὅρκια πίστα*.

4. Because of the fragmentary condition of the following lines (25–43) the reconstructed text of Hymn 24 has been used.

5. "Grant my desire": [*κῦρσ*]*αι δωσάμενοι*. The translation is very tentative, for the Greek is uncertain. Preisendanz translates "schenkt Gewährung"; Vieillefond (p. 286) translates "ratifiez mes voeux" but in this commentary says: "Il faut comprendre: *κῦρσαι δ*—'ayant accordé de ratifier.'" Preisendanz reports that this line begins with a space for six letters, but Wünsch's *κῦρσα*]*ι* fills only five spaces. Perhaps we should read *καὶ ἐπ*]*ὶ*, i.e., *καὶ ἐπιδωσάμενοι*, "and having given freely."

O B[r]i[ar]eus and Ph[r]asios and you,
O Ixion and Birth and youth's decline,
Fair-burning Fire, / [and may you come,] Infernal
And Heav'nly One, and [you who govern] dreams,
And Sirius, who. . . ."[6]
Standing beside the trough, I cried [these words],
[For well] did I remember Circe's counsels,[7]
[Who] knew [all] poisons which the broad earth grows.[8] /
[Then came] a lofty wave of Acheron
Which fights with lions, [Cocytus] and Lethe
And mighty Polyphlegethon.[9] A host
[Of dead] stood round the trough, [and first] there came
The spirit of Elpenor, my comrade.[10]
(And so on.)

So, since this is the situation, either the poet himself suppressed[11] the remainder because it was an elaboration of the spell in order to preserve the decorum of the work, or the Peisistratides,[12] as they were assembling the other verses, withheld these because they considered them foreign to the passage here. †This is my opinion for many reasons. And so†[13] I have myself inserted the lines as a rather valuable creation of epic poetry.[14] / You will find this whole document on the shelves in the archives of our former home town, the colony of Aelia Capitolina[15] in Palestine, and in Nysa in Caria and, up to the thirteenth verse,[16] in Rome near the baths of Alexander[17] in the beautiful library in the Pantheon,[18] whose collection of books I

6. Preisendanz's version ends here. The remaining lines are taken from Vieillefond.

7. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 15. 412.

8. V. 39 equals Homer, *Il.* 7. 741 where ἤδη instead of οἶδα is read.

9. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10. 513–14. In v. 41 the noun Πολυφλεγέθων is a hapax legomenon (see O. Höfer, in Roscher 3/2 [1902–9] 2713). *Od.* 10. 513 has Πυριφλεγέθων.

10. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 11. 51. With this Homeric line the verse portion of the papyrus concludes. The remaining section contains Julius Africanus' own evaluation of the verses.

11. We seem to have another example here of Homeric criticism in antiquity. Interestingly enough, *Od.* 11. 38–43 were rejected by several ancient scholars, including Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus.

12. A reference to the tradition in late antiquity that Peisistratus was responsible for the earliest recension of the Homeric poems. For a discussion of the subject, see J. A. Davison, "The Transmission of the Text," in A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings, eds., *A Companion to Homer* (London: Macmillan, 1962) 215–33, esp. 219–20.

13. The translation is tentative. Vieillefond daggers these words, for they seem hopelessly corrupt.

14. Line 49 translates ἅτε κύημα πολυτελέστερον ἐπιεικῆς, but this a strange and otherwise unparalleled meaning of κύημα.

15. Aelia Capitolina is the name given by Hadrian (A.D. 131) to the rebuilt Jerusalem. The statement seems to confirm, at least partially, Jerome's claim (*De viris illustr.* 63) that Julian was born at Emmaus in Palestine. Others call him a Libyan by birth.

16. This is a strange remark, for the first thirteen verses are Homeric. Surely this collection of volumes included the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

17. The Thermae Alexandrinae were constructed by rebuilding and enlarging the Thermae Neronianae in the Campus Martinus just northeast of the Pantheon. These baths had their own water supply from the Alexandrian Aqueduct. See *Life of Severus Alexander* 20. 3–5 and 44. 4–6. Cf. *CAH* vol. 12 (1939), pp. 66 and 477.

18. Others, including Vieillefond, understood the words in ll. 53–54 to mean that Africanus built or served as the architect of the library. Yet we have no evidence that he was an architect but abundant testimony that he was a writer and intellect. It seems more probable, therefore, that Africanus here is saying that he "built the collection of books which constituted the library."

myself built for Augustus.[19] /

(55) Kestos 18[20] of Julius Africanus

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. P. Oxy. 412 contains an excerpt from book 18 of the *Kestoi* of Sextus Julius Africanus, a Christian writer of the third century A.D. The work dealt with numerous subjects, including medicine, agriculture, natural history, military art, and, as this passage shows, with Homeric criticism and magic. Since Preisendanz prints only a part of the papyrus, the translation uses the full text as provided by Jean-René Vieillefond, *Les "Cestes" de Julius Africanus. Étude sur l'ensemble des fragments avec édition, traduction et commentaires* (Firenze: Edizioni Sansoni Antiquariato; Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1970) 277–91.

PGM XXIVa. 1–25

*"Great is the Lady Isis!" Copy of a holy book found in the archives of Hermes: /
5 The method is that concerning the 29 letters[1] through which letters Hermes and
10 Isis, who was seeking / Osiris,[2] her brother and husband, [found him].

Call upon Helios and all the gods in the deep concerning those things for which
15 you want to receive an omen. Take / 29 leaves of a male date palm and write on each
20 of the leaves the names of the gods. Pray and then pick them up two / by two. Read the last remaining leaf and you will find your omen, how things are,[3] and you will
25 be answered / clearly.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM XXIVb. 1–15

*On the right . . . on the left parts of [the neck . . .] upon the right shoulder . . .
5 on the nipple of the [right breast,] / on the left [shoulder] . . . shall receive . . . on
10 the nipple of the [left breast] . . . on the breast . . . for, the . . . receiving, great . . .
15 and the woman will (?) flee outside, men on . . . drugs . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This very fragmentary text describes the engraving of a magic doll or similar object. The fragment may contain portions of a love charm similar to that of *PGM* IV. 296ff.

PGM XXV. a–d.

a. *P.Oxy.* 959, 7.2 × 13 cm, contains a text of eight lines of magical characters and letters dated to about the third century A.D. The text remains unpublished.

b. *P. Freib. inedit.* (described by Preisendanz, P. Un. Bibl. Freiburg i. Br., O. Nr. 7.5 × 9 cm) is an unpublished, opisthographic text containing "characters" and a magical figure. Sixth century A.D.

c. *P. Cair.* 10434 measures 5.1 × 6.6 cm (no date provided) and contains the following text: "†Holy Lord Zabaot" (var. of SABAŌTH).

d. *PSI inedit.*, 6.5 × 5 cm, is described by Preisendanz as a tiny fragment containing a figure with a long nose, the point of which ends in what appear to be droplets. Behind it is a similar figure, and above both heads there is yet another

19. August is Severus Alexander.

20. Notice that, although the title of the work is in the plural κεστοί, each individual book seems to have the singular title κεστός.

1. According to W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1918) 369, the twenty-nine letters represent the Coptic alphabet.

2. On Isis seeking Osiris, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358 A–B; 52, 372 B–C, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 339–40, 499; idem, *The Isis-Book* 219.

3. Grenfell and Hunt, *P. Oxy.* 6, pp. 200–201, translate: "and you will find wherein [Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* 110–11, ". . . in what things"] your omen consists." The translation follows the punctuation of Preisendanz, who translates: "und du wirst dein Orakel finden darüber, worauf es dir [Hopfner, *OZ* II, 299 adds ⟨σα⟩] ankommt." [W.C.G.]

head with a very long nose. On the reverse side appear three words of which only "PHOIBIŌN" can be made out.

PGM XXVI. 1–21

The numerically arranged oracular text, *P.Oxy.* XII. 1477, is here omitted as it has been shown to belong to the corpus known as the *Sortes Astrampsychi*, for which see Gerald M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astampsychi*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 58 (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1974); see also idem, "The Date of the *Sortes Astramspychi*," *ICS* 1 (1976): 53–58; idem, "A New Papyrus Codex of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*," in *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M. W. Knox on the Occasion of his 65th birthday* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1979) 434–39; see also *P.Oxy.* XLVII. 3330. The editor is also preparing an edition of the *Sortes* for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana.

PGM XXVII. 1–5

Victory charm**, for Sarapammon, son of Apollonius: "[1] Give victory and safety at the stadium and in the crowd to the above-mentioned Sarapammon. In the name of SYLIKYS Ē SYS. . . ."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXVIIIa. 1–7

*"OR OR[1] PHOR PHOR SABAŌTH ADŌNE SALAMA TARCHEI ABRASAX, I bind you, scorpion of Artemisia, / three-hundred and fifteen times, on the fifteenth day of Pachon. . . ."
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXVIIIb. 1–9

*"ŌR ŌR[2] PHŌR PHŌR IAŌ ADŌNAEI / SABAŌTH SALAMAN TARCHCHEI, I bind you, scorpion of Artemisos, on the 13th."
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXVIIIc. 1–11

*†††† ŌR ŌR[3] PHŌR PHŌR [ADŌNAI] / SALAMA RTHACHI, I bind you, Artemisian scorpion, on the fourth day of Phamenoth, / PHŌR OR OR OSOA DDD RRR."
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XXIX. 1–10

*"I used to command the Rhodian[1] winds
And your regions of the sea
Whenever I'd want to set sail.
Whenever I'd want to stay there,
I'd say to the regions of the sea:
'Don't [smite] the seas with your blows;

1. According to Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 12 (1916) 237, magical symbols are given in the papyrus at this point, but the editors did not provide them.

1. The name should probably be articulated HŌR, i.e., Horus, who is often invoked in Egyptian scorpion spells. See Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 51–85. [R.K.R.]

2. See n. 1 above.

3. See n. 1 above.

1. It seems preferable to retain the Ῥοδίοις of the papyrus rather than to follow Preisendanz in emending to Ῥοθίοις. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

Lay smooth the brine for seafarers.'
Then ev'ry fair wind[2] is raised;
They shut out the blasts, and so, lord,[3] grant
The impassable to be passable."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This rather charming and unpretentious poem is surely not a part of the regular *PGM* material. It is rather a poem—or a fragment of a poem—which is perhaps an ancient treatment of the theme that appears in Goethe's two poems, *Meeresstille* and *Glückliche Fahrt*. Because of the literary aspect, J. U. Powell included these lines among the *Lyrica Adespota* in his *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925) 195, no. 33. Despite the obvious poetic quality, no one has satisfactorily explained the meter (cf. Powell, p. 196). Grenfell thought that the verses are accentual, while Schmidt believed that they are a blend of trochaic and Cretic. For the references, see Preisendanz, ad loc. Whatever the case, the present translation uses a blend of iambic and anapaestic feet in an attempt to give in English some of the general effect of the Greek. These verses have been emended and stand as the reconstructed Hymn 29; see Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 265–66.

PGM XXXII. 1–19

*"I adjure you, Evangelos, by Anubis and Hermes and all the rest down below; attract and bind / Sarapias whom Helen bore, to this Herais, whom Thermoutharin bore,[1] now, now; quickly, quickly. By her soul and heart / attract Sarapias herself, whom [Helen] bore from her own womb,[2] MAEI OTE ELBŌSATOK ALAOUBĒTŌ ŌEIO . . . AĒN. Attract and [bind / the soul and heart of Sarapias], whom [Helen bore, to this] Herais, [whom] Thermoutharin [bore] from her womb [now, now; quickly, quickly]."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This spell, without a title, is clearly a love spell in which one woman seeks to attract another woman. Thus it belongs to the small group of lesbian spells. In form, these lines contain one spell repeated, with slight variations, three times: 1–9, 10–14, 14–19.

PGM XXXIIa. 1–25

*"As[1] Typhon is the adversary of Helios, so inflame the heart and soul of that[2] Amoneios whom / Helen bore, even from her own womb, ADŌNAI ABRASAX PINOUTI[3] and SABAŌS; burn the soul and heart of that Amoneios whom Helen / bore, for [love of] this Serapiakos whom Threpte bore, now, now; quickly, quickly."

"In this same hour and on this same day, from this [moment] on, mingle / together[4] the souls of both and cause that Amoneios whom Helen bore to be this Serapiakos whom / Threpte bore, through every hour, every day and every night. Wherefore, ADŌNAI, loftiest of gods, whose name is the true / one, carry out the matter, ADŌNAI."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This section contains two spells—or one spell repeated with variations.

2. For ὅλος of the papyrus perhaps οὖρος should be read: "fair wind" is what the author seems to mean.

3. Can ἄναξ be Helios as represented by the famous Colossus Rhodius? Powell dates this poem to the period ca. A.D. 250–80, and the huge statue of Helios was complete ca. A.D. 168 and destroyed ca. A.D. 224. Yet the memory of this "wonder" continued for centuries. In any case, Helios was an important god on the island of Rhodes, and a reference to him seems appropriate.

1. Herais has a Greek name, while her mother, Thermoutarin, has an Egyptian name. [R.K.R.] The spelling of the names follows Preisendanz; cf. the apparatus ad loc.

2. On this formula, see D. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976): 131–32.

1. The opening statement is troublesome and has attracted some attention. See A. S. Hunt, "An Incantation in the Ashmolean Museum," *JEA* 15 (1929): 155–57; A. D. Nock, *JEA* 16 (1931): 124; K. Preisendanz, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 50 (1930): 748–49.

2. As the pronouns indicate, this spell is concerned with homosexual attraction.

3. This is Egyptian and means "O/The god." See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

4. συγκαταμείγνυμι is a concept from friendship literature: true friends are two souls in one body, *amicus est alter ego*. The term is also erotic just as the simple μείγνυμι is regularly. [E.N.O.]

PGM XXXIII. 1–25

*"ABLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARACH
BLANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMARA
LANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMAR
ANATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAMA
NATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARAM
ATHANABLANAMACHARAMARACHARA
THANABLANAMACHARAMARACHAR
ANABLANAMACHARAMARACHA
NABLANAMACHARAMARACH
ABLANAMACHARAMARA
BLANAMACHARAMAR
LANAMACHARAMA
ANAMACHARAM
NAMACHARA
AMACHAR
MACHA
ACH
A

"O Tireless one, KOK KOUK KOUL, save / Tais whom [Taraus] bore from every shivering fit,[1] whether tertian[2] or quartan[3] or quotidian fever, or an every-other-day fever,[4] or [one] by night, or [even] a mild fever,[5] because I am the ancestral, tireless god, KOK KOUK[6] KOUL, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXXIV. 1–24

*". . . [the sun] will stand still; and should I order the moon, it will come down; and should I wish to delay the day, the night will remain for me; and should / we[1] in turn ask for day, the light will not depart; and should I wish to sail the sea, I do not need[2] a ship; and should I wish to go through the air, / I will be lifted up. It is only[3] an erotic drug that I do not find, not one that can cause, not one that can stop love. For the earth, in fear of the / god, does not produce one. But if anyone has it and gives it, I beg, I beseech him: 'Give! I wish to drink, I wish to anoint myself.'"[4]

"You[5] say that a handsome phantom keeps appearing to your daughter, / and this seems unreasonable[6] to you? Yet how many others have fallen in love with 'un-

1. Cf. *PGM* XVIIIb. 5.

2. τριταῖος (πυρετός), as in the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* 3. 21 and *Nature of Man* 1. 5, is literally "every-third-day-fever."

3. In contrast to *PGM* XVIIIb. 6, the papyrus has the normal τεταρταῖος.

4. Pollux, *On.* 1. 65 cod. B suggests the reading παρημέρινος; it does not occur in the medical writers. [J.S.]

5. λεπτοπυρετοῦ is a textual emendation; however, the word is unattested in LSJ, s.v. Cf. LSJ, *Suppl.* s.v. "λεπτοπυρέτιον."

6. KOUK is Egyptian *kky*, "darkness"; cf. *PGM* XIII. 788–89.

1. The sudden appearance of the person plural is strange.

2. This use of the present tense occurs in the midst of a series of future tenses. [E.N.O.]

3. Although μόνον οὐ regularly means "almost," that sense does not seem to fit here. [E.N.O.]

4. The text here is uncertain. For the translation, the text of Preisendanz has been used.

5. For the following lines see, especially, the study of Dodds mentioned below.

6. The papyrus reads παράδοξον here and παρ' ἀλόγων (παραλόγων) in l. 22, and so both Dodds and Preisendanz print their versions; but in a conversation it is reasonable to expect the second person to repeat the word which the first speaker has used. The translation understands παραδόξων in l. 22. [E.N.O.]

reasonable' bodies[7] . . .?"[8]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This fragment belongs not to a magical spell but rather to some literary piece, perhaps a Greek romance. See C. Bonner, "A Papyrus Describing Magical Powers," *TAPA* 52 (1921): 111–18; E. R. Dodds, "A Fragment of a Greek Novel (P.Mich. inv. no. 5)" in *Studies in Honor of Gilbert Norwood*, *Phoenix Supp.* I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952) 133–37. Dodds's theory that this fragment is part of a lost Greek romance seems logical in light of the conversational tone throughout, but the tone of ll. 19–24 makes this theory almost certain.

PGM XXXV. 1–42

*"I call upon you, who sit over the Abyss, BYTHATH; I also call upon the one who sits in the first heaven, MARMAR; I call upon you, who sit in the 2nd heaven, RAPHAĒL; I call upon you, who sit in the 3rd heaven, SOURIĒL;[1] / I call upon you, who sit in the 4th heaven, IPHIAPH;[2] I call upon you, who sit in the 5th heaven, PITIĒL; I call upon you, who sit in the [6th] heaven, MOURIATHA.

"I call upon you, who sit over the snow, TELZĒ; I call upon you, EDANŌTH, who sit over the sea; I call upon you, SAESECHEL, who sit over the serpents; / I call upon you, TABIYM, who sit over the rivers; I call upon you, BIMADAM; I call upon you, CHADRAOUN, who sit in the midst of CHADRALLOU, in between the two cherubim and seraphim, as they praise you, the lord of the whole host which is under heaven.

"I conjure you all by the god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,[3] that / you obey my authority completely, each one of you obeying perfectly, and that you stay beside me and give me favor, influence, victory, and strength, before all, small men and great, as well as gladiators, soldiers, civilians, women, girls, boys, and everybody, quickly, quickly, because of the / power of IAŌ, the strength of SABAŌTH, the clothing of ELOĒ,[4] the might of ADŌNAI, and the crown of ADŌNAI. Grant also to me favor and victory before all, as you have given good gifts to ALBANATHANALBA and AKRAMACHAMARI; and this is why, then, I am exhorting and conjuring / you that you give favor, victory, power, and spirit on behalf of me, the three-crown-bearing ruler, quickly, [quickly,] because I conjure you, IAŌ SABAŌTH AŌ SABAŌTH Ō SABAŌTH SABAŌTH A ABAŌTH BAŌTH AŌTH ŌTH TH."



"Look above the spir its of the opponent toward the spirits of dignity [and] exaltation. I call upon / and exhort and conjure you that you obey unfailingly my every command, for

"I conjure you by the god SARACHAEL [by] BILIAM,[5] and [by] the god who made heaven and

7. *σωμάτων* is synonomous with *εἴδωλον*.

8. Dodds (see n. 4 above) 137 assumes the speaker is female, but the gender is not indicated in the text.

1. For the name SURIEL, see the discussion by Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 46. A number of other parallels esp. with Judaism are noted in Preisendanz's apparatus.

2. For the name IPHIAPH, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 12, n. 7.

3. The papyrus reads Abram, Isaka, Iachōb.

4. For the garment of ELŌE, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 64.

5. The prophet Bileam from Pethor is known from Nm 22:5–24, 25; 31:8, 16; Dt 23:4, etc. His

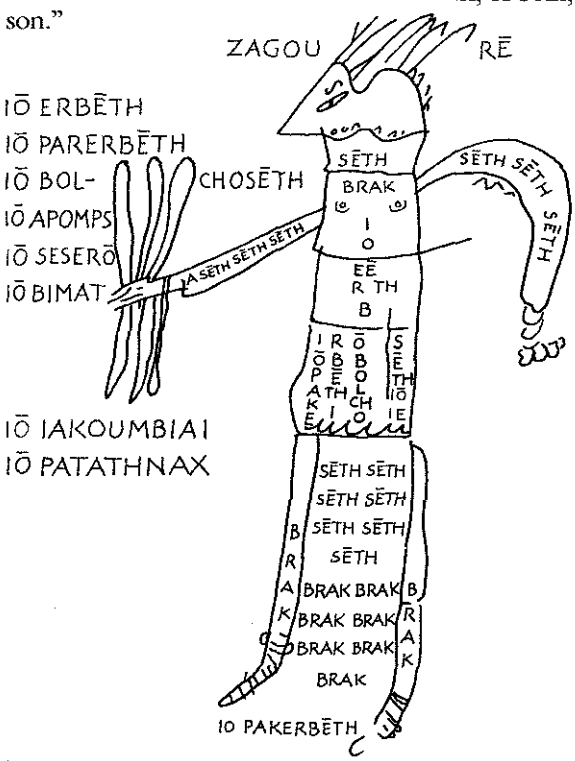
my sake, the three
[crown-] bearing one,
SABATH. . . ."

earth and
everything in
it. . . ."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The spell has a number of parallels in a Christianized Jewish silver lamella from Beirut; see A. Heron de Villefosse, *Florilegium . . . dédiés à . . . de Vogüé* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1909) 287–95.

PGM XXXVI. 1–34

***Charm to restrain.** Works on everything: Taking a lead lamella, hammered out while cold, draw with a bronze stylus the creature below and [write] the names, and deposit it nearby and in front [the person]: "Come Typhon, who sit on the under-[world] gate; / IŌ ERBĒTH, who killed his own brother,[1] IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ SESENRŌ IŌ BIMAT IAKOYMBIAI ABERRAMENTHŌOY LERTHEXANAX ETHRELYOŌTH MEMAREBA, of Seth, BOLKOL, fear your uninhibited son."



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

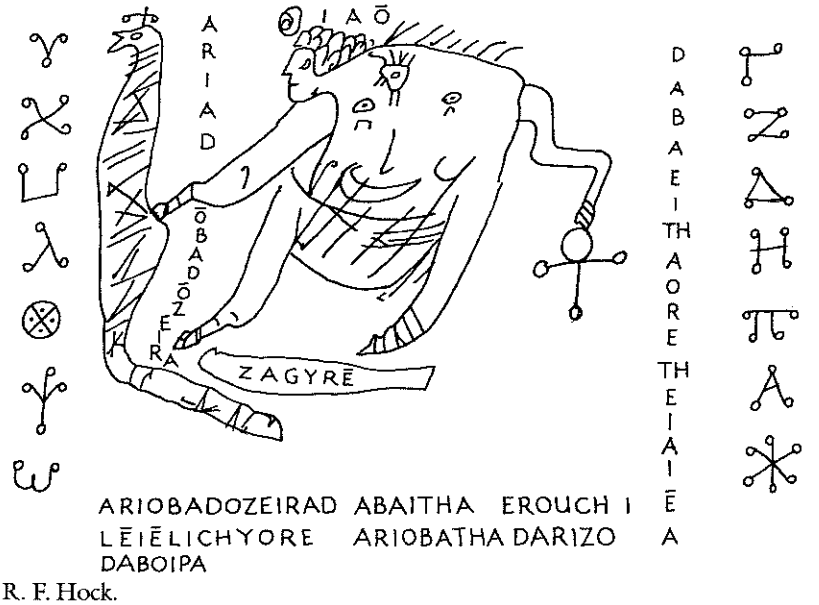
PGM XXXVI. 35–68

***Charm to restrain anger and to secure favor and an excellent charm for gaining victory in the courts** (it works even against kings; no charm is greater): Take a silver lamella and inscribe with a bronze stylus the following seal of the figure and the names, / and wear it under your garment, and you will have a victory.

connection with magic was proverbial. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* III, 354–82; H. Karp, "Bileam," *RAC* 2 (1954):262–73.

1. Cf. the denial of this deed in *PGM* VII. 964.

The names to be written are these: "IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ELŌAI ABRASAX ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI PEPHTHA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI,[2] supreme angels, give to me, / NN whom NN bore, victory, favor, reputation, advantage over all men and over all women, especially over NN, whom NN bore, for ever and all time." Consecrate it.



*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 69–101

***Love spell of attraction**, excellent divination by fire, than which none is greater. It attracts men to women and women to men / and makes virgins rush out of their homes. Take a pure papyrus and with blood of an ass[3] write the following names and figure, and put in the magical material from the woman you desire. Smear the strip of papyrus with moistened vinegar gum[4] / and glue[5] it to the dry vaulted vapor room of a bath,[6] and you will marvel. But watch yourself so that you are not struck.

The writing is this: "Come, Typhon, who sit on top of the gate, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ BALCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ SESENRŌ IŌ BIMAT IAKOUMBIAI ABERRAMENTHŌ OULER- / THEXANAX ETHRELUOŌTH MEMAREBA TOU SĒTH, as you are in flames and on fire, so also the soul, the heart of her, NN, whom NN bore, until she comes loving me, NN, and glues her female pudenda to my male one, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

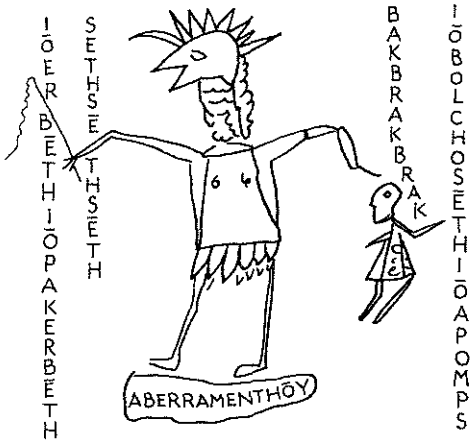
2. PEPHTHA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI is equivalent to Egyptian "He is Ptah the healthy, the lord of the Abyss." [R.K.R.]

3. This is to connect the spell with Typhon, invoked below. Cf. *PGM* IV. 2015, 2100, 2220.

4. *ὀξοκόμι* is from *ὀξυκόμμι* according to LSJ, s.v. It. is also a hapax legomenon. The papyrus has *ὀξωκόμῃ*, which LSJ explains as dative of *ὀξυκόμμι*. See Schmidt, *GGA* 189 (1927):464–56, who refers to Pliny, *NH* 24. 3, 106; cf. also *NH* 13. 20, 66–67 for a discussion of Egyptian gums. [E.N.O.]

5. For the glue, cf. l. 83 below. As the operator does with the strip of papyrus, so may NN do with the operator. [E.N.O.]

6. Cf. *PGM* II. 51.



*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 102–33

******Another* **divination by fire**: Take clean papyrus and write the following names and figure with myrrh ink and say the spell three times.

The names / and the figure to be written are these:

"Hear me, you who founded and destroyed and became the mighty god whom a white sow bore,[7] ALTHAKA EIATHALLATHA SALAIOTH, who appeared in Pelousion,[8] in Heliopolis possessing an iron staff[9] with which you opened up the sea and passed through after you had completely / dried up all the plants. Attract to me, NN, her, NN, aflame, on fire, flying through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep, loving me, NN whom NN bore, until she come and glue[10] her female pudenda to my male one, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly." /

7. The one born of the white sow is Min of Koptos, born of Isis. For discussion, see J. Bergman, "Isis auf der Sau," *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Boreas* 6 (1974): 81–109, esp. 91–92. [R.K.R.]

8. Pelusium was a city in Egypt, situated on the Nile. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 17, 375E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 334–35. Cf. *PGM* VII. 499 and n.

9. See for the iron staff Ex 7:17–24; 14:21–31. For Egyptian parallels, see W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973) 21. [R.K.R.]

10. Cf. above, l. 75 and n.

115	ΙΑΕΩ		S	NOTHEILARIIIAĒ
	IAE		E	OTHEILARIIIAĒ
	IA		S	EILARIIAĒ
	I		E	ILARIIAĒ
			N	LARIIAĒ
	BAPHRENDEMOUN		G	ARIIAĒ
120	BAPHRENDEMOU		E	RIIAĒ
	BAPHRENDEMO		N	IIAĒ
	BAPHRENDEM		B	IAĒ
	BAPHRENDE		A	AĒ
	BAPHREND		R	Ē
125	BAPHREN		PH	PHIRKIALI
	BAPHRE		A	IRKIALI
	BAPHR	/ Attract to me, NN whom	R	RKIALI
	BAPH		A	KIALI
	BA	NN bore, her, NN whom NN	G	IALI
130	B		G	ALI
		bore, aflame, on fire,	Ē	LI
		/ flying through the air,	S	I
		loving me, NN whom NN bore, immediately,		
		immediately; quickly, quickly, accomplish it."		

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 134–60

***Marvelous love spell of attraction**, than which none is greater: Take myrrh / and male frankincense, put them in a drinking cup and add an *archē*[11] of vinegar, and at the third hour of the night put it into the socket of your door and say the spell 7 times.

The spell to be spoken is this: "Arise, daimons in the dark; leap up onto the bricks and beat your breasts after you have smeared your faces with mud. For because of / her, NN whom NN bore, unlawful eggs are being sacrificed: fire, fire, unlawfulness, unlawfulness.[12] For Isis raised up a loud cry, and the world was thrown into confusion. She tosses and turns on her holy bed, and its bonds and those of the daimon world are smashed to pieces[13] because of the enmity and impiety of her, NN, whom NN bore. But you,[14] Isis / and Osiris and [daimons] of the chthonic world, ABLAMGOUNCHŌTHŌ ABRASAX, and daimons who are beneath the earth, arise, you who are from the depth, and cause her, NN, whom NN bore, to be sleepless, to fly through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep,[15] to love me, NN whom NN bore, passionately with passion in her guts, until she comes / and glues her female pudenda to my male one. But if she wishes to fall asleep, spread under her knotted leather scourges and thorns upon her temples, so that she may nod

11. ἀρχή occurs only here as a unit of measure. See A. Erman, *ZÄS* 33 (1895): 46.

12. For an Egyptian parallel to this exclamation see the *historiola* in H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* 14/2 (Copenhagen: Høst, 1927) 75, 81: "Woe! Woe! Fire! Fire!" [R.K.R.]

13. Cf. Preisendanz's translation (accepting Hopfner's reconstruction in *Archiv Orientální* 3 [1931]: 122): "hin wandte sie sich zum heiligen Lager, gesprengt werden seine Bande und zugleich die der Dämonenwelt . . ." (she turned to the holy bed [i.e., of Osiris], smashed to pieces are his bonds and those of the daimons' world . . .).

14. Despite the appeal to several deities, the Greek has σύ, "you," sing. here.

15. The idea of sleeplessness is repeated. Cf. l. 112 above where there is no such repetition. [E.N.O.]

agreement to a courtesan's love, because I adjure you who have been stationed over the fire, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH / OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN HIPPICHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANAX."

"You, NN, have been bound by the fibers of the sacred palm tree, so that you may love NN forever. And may no barking dog release you, no braying ass, no cock, no priest who removes magic spells, no clash of cymbals, no whining of flute; indeed, no protective charm from heaven that works for anything; / rather, let her be possessed by the spirit."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 161–77

***Charm to restrain anger and charm for success.** (No charm is greater, and it is to be performed by means of words alone:) Hold your thumbs and repeat the spell 7 times: "ERMALLŌTH ARCHIMALLŌTH stop the mouths / that speak against me, because I glorify your sacred and honored names which are in heaven."

To augment the words: Take papyrus and write thus: "I am / CHPHYRIS.[16] I must be successful. MICHAĒL RAPHAĒL ROUBĒL NARIĒL KATTIĒL ROUMBOUTHIĒL AZARIĒL IOĒL IOUĒL EZRIĒL SOURIĒL NARIĒL METMOURIĒL AZAĒL AZIĒL SAOUMIĒL / ROUBOUTHIĒL RABIĒĒL RABIĒĒL RABCHLOU ENAEZRAĒL, angels, protect me from every bad situation that comes upon me."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 178–87

***A charm to break spells**: Take lead and draw on it a unique figure[17] holding a torch in its right / hand, in its left—and at the left—a knife, and on its head three falcons, and under its legs a scarab, and under the scarab[18] an ouroboros serpent.

***The things to be written around / the figure are these**:



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

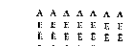
16. CHPHYRIS is the god Khepri, the scarab. See *PGM* IV. 943 and n.; VII. 584 and n., and the Glossary, s.v. "Scarab."

17. The figure drawn below on the papyrus does not correspond to the description.

18. On the scarab see n. 16 above.

PGM XXXVI. 187–210

*__Love spell of attraction__: On an unbaked piece of pottery write with a bronze stylus: "Hecate, you, Hecate, triple-formed, since every seal of every[19] [love spell of attraction] has been completed, I adjure you / by the great name of ABLANATHANA and by the power of AGRAMARI,[20] because I adjure you, you who possess the fire, ONYR,[21] and those in it, that she, NN, / be set afire,[22] that she come in pursuit of me, NN, because I am holding[23] in my right hand the two serpents and the victory of IAŌ SABAŌTH and the great name BILKATRI MOPHECHE, who brandishes fire, . . . ,[24] that she love me / completely and be aflame and on fire for me; aye, and tortured too. I am SYNKOUTOUEL."

[Write] 8 characters like this: "Grant me, indeed the favor of all, ADŌNAI  ."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The text of this spell appears to be corrupt at a number of places, so that by necessity the translation remains tentative.

PGM XXXVI. 211–30

*__Prayer to Helios: A charm to restrain anger and for victory and for securing favor__ (none is greater): Say to the sun (Helios) [the prayer] 7 times, and anoint your hand with oil and wipe it on your head and face.

Now [the prayer] is: "Rejoice with me, you who are set over the east wind / and the world, for whom all the gods serve as bodyguards at your good hour and on your good day, you who are the Good Daimon of the world, the crown of the inhabited world, you who rise from the abyss, you who each day rise a young man and set an old man, HARPENKNOUPHI BRINTANTĒNŌPHRI BRISSKYLMAS / AROURZORBOROBA MESINTRIPHI[25] NIPTOUMI CHMOUMMAŌPHI. I beg you, lord, do not allow me to be overthrown, to be plotted against, to receive dangerous drugs, to go into exile, to fall upon hard times. Rather, I ask to obtain and receive from you life, health, reputation, wealth, influence, strength, success, charm, / favor with all men and all women, victory over all men and all women. Yes, lord, ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI PEPHNA PHŌZA PHNEBENNOUNI[26] NAACHTHIP . . . OUNORBA, accomplish the matter which I want, / by means of your power."
*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 231–55

*Take a lead lamella and inscribe with a bronze stylus the following names and the figure, and after smearing it with blood from a bat, roll up the lamella in the usual

19. The isolated *πάσης* is vague. Preisendanz adds "Gestalt." [E.N.O.]

20. The *voces magicae* in ll. 190–91 are abbreviated forms of the ABLANATHANALBA and AKRAMMACHAMARI formulas. See the Glossary, s.v.

21. Preisendanz understands ONYR to be a form of Coptic NOYRE, "vulture, falcon." But more likely the god Onouris is meant. Cf. *PGM* X. 12 and n.

22. The text of these lines is very uncertain and probably corrupt. The translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

23. Read perhaps *κατέχομαι*, since *κατέχω μέ* makes no sense. [E.N.O.]

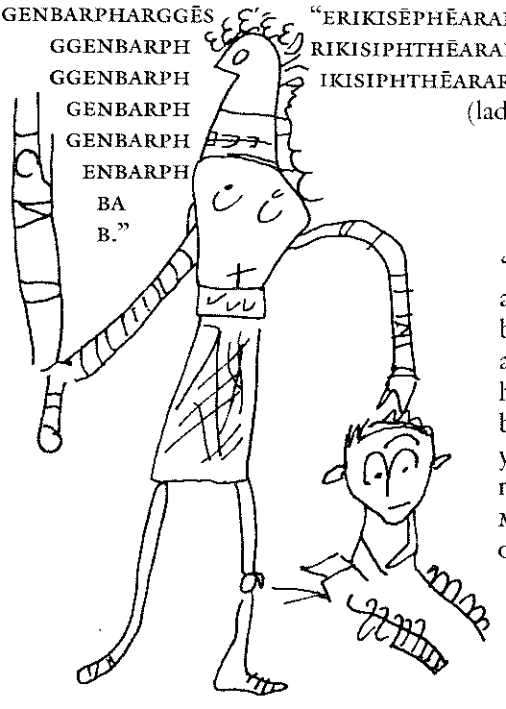
24. The text contains here incomprehensible letters, probably because of corruption rather than their being *voces magicae*.

25. MESINTRIPHI is Egyptian and means "born of Triphis," an epithet of Isis. See *PGM* XII. 232 and n. [R.K.R.]

26. PEPHNA (read PEPHTHA), PHŌZA, PHNBENNOUNI is Egyptian and means "He is Ptah the healthy, the lord of the Abyss." Cf. above, ll. 43–44; *PGM* XIII. 1055. [R.K.R.]

fashion. / Cut open a frog and put it into its stomach. After stiching it up with Anubian thread and a bronze needle, hang it up on a reed from your property by means of hairs from the tip of the tail of a black ox, / at the east of the property near the rising of the sun.

"OUSIRI SESEGGENBARPHARGGĒS
OUSIRIISESE GGENBARPH
SIRISESE GGENBARPH
IRISESE GENBARPH
RISESE GENBARPH
ISESE ENBARPH
SESEG BA
ESEG B."
SEGGEN
EGGEN
GGEN
GE



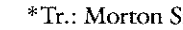
"ERIKISĒPHĒARARACHARAPHTHISIKĒRA
RIKISIPHTHĒARARACHARAĒPHTHISIKĒR
IKISIPHTHĒARARACHARAĒPHTHISIKĒ"
(ladder-like).

"Supreme angels, just as this frog drips with blood and dries up, so also will the body of him, NN / whom NN bore, because I conjure you, who are in command of fire MASKELLI MASKELLŌ" (add the other usual items).[27]

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 256–64

*Taking a three-cornered sherd from the fork of a road—pick it up with your left hand—inscribe it with myrrhed ink and hide it. [Write:] ASSTRAELOS[28] CHRAELOS, dissolve every enchantment against me, NN, for I conjure you / by the great and terrible names which the winds fear and the rocks split when they hear it."



*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XXXVI. 264–74

*Take blood from a nightowl and myrrh ink, and mix the two together, and draw the figure[29] as appended, with a new reed pen on a clean strip of papyrus. At the same time stare[30] at a clean wall and look toward the east. Fasten the figure to an all-linen handkerchief with thorns / from a male date palm and hide it and stand back from it six cubits. After hiding it, measure and step back fifty-nine paces three times, standing on the mark of the six cubits.

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The purpose of this ritual is not stated.

27. Or "(add the rest, and the usual items)."

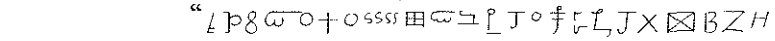
28. On the name ASTRAĒLOS, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 95.

29. The figure is not provided in the payrus. The preceding characters are marked off from this spell by a dividing line.

30. Preisendanz suggests that the two phrases in ll. 268–69 may be variants.

PGM XXXVI. 275–83

*A great charm for gaining the favor of people in your presence and of crowds (but it also works on those afflicted by daimons): / Offer a sacrifice, inscribe the following characters on a silver tablet and put frankincense over them. Wear it as an amulet. It will freely render service:

" 

ERĒKISIPHTHĒARARCHARAĒPHTHISIKĒRE."
*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM XXXVI. 283–94

***Pudenda key spell**: Take an egg of a crow and the juice of the plant crow's-foot and gall of a river electric eel,[31] and grind them with honey and say / the spell whenever you grind and whenever you smear it on your genitals.

This is the spell that is to be spoken: "I say to you, womb of NN, open and receive the seed of NN and the uncontrollable seed of the IARPHE ARPHE (write it).[32] Let her, NN, love me for all her time as Isis loved Osiris[33] and let her remain chaste for me as Penelope[34] did of Odysseus. / And do you, womb, remember me for all the time of my life, because I am AKARNACHTHAS."

Say this while grinding and whenever you rub your genitals, and in this way have intercourse with the woman you wish, and she will love you alone and by no one else will she ever be laid, just by you alone.
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 295–311

***Love spell of attraction**, fire divination over unburnt sulfur, thus: Take seven lumps of unburnst sulfur and make an altar fire from vine wood. Say this spell over the lumps one by one and throw them into the fire.

This is the spell: "The heavens of heavens opened, and the angels of God descended and overturned the five / cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Segor.[35] A woman who heard the voice became a pillar of salt.[36] You are the sulfur which God rained down on the middle of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim and Segor; you are the sulfur[37] which served God—so also serve me, NN, in regards to her, NN, / and do not allow her to go to bed or to find sleep until she comes and fulfills the mystery rite of Aphrodite."[38]

As you throw [the lumps] into the fire, say: "If I throw you into the fire, I adjure you by the great PAP TAPHEIAŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ ZAGOURĒ PAGOURĒ, and by the great MICHAĒL / ZOURIĒL GABRIĒL SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS ISTRAĒL ABRAAM, attract her, NN, to NN."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

31. Probably the Nile, in which this eel was found. [E.N.O.]

32. The papyrus has γραφ, which Preisendanz interprets as γράφε and understands to mean "write the formula in the diminishing pattern IARPHE, ARPHE, RPHE, PHE, E." Although he may be correct, the instruction to write in the midst of an oral spell is strange. [E.N.O.]

33. See on this point the discussion in Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 83–84.

34. The papyrus reads Pēlenopē.

35. The papyrus has the following names, all in need of correction in the light of Old Testament texts (esp. Dt 29:23): Sodoma, Gomora, Adama, Sebouiĕ, Sēgōr. The last name should be Zoar. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 252.

36. A reference to the story of Lot's wife, Gn 19:26.

37. A reference to Gn 19:24.

38. The mystery rite of Aphrodite is the sex act.

PGM XXXVI. 312–20

***Charm to open a door**: Take from a firstborn ram an umbilical cord that has not fallen to the ground, and after mixing in myrrh, apply it to the door bolts when you want to open a door, and say this spell, and you will open it immediately.

Now this is the spell: / "Open up for me, open up for me, door bolt; be opened, be opened, door bolt, because I am Horos the Great, ARCHEPHRENEPSOU PHIRIGX, son of Osiris and Isis. I want the godless Typhon to flee;[39] immediately, immediately; quickly, / quickly."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XXXVI. 320–32

***A contraceptive, the only one in the world**: Take as many bittervetch seeds as you want for the number of years you wish to remain sterile. Steep them in the menses of a menstruating woman. Let them steep in her own genitals. And take a frog[40] / that is alive and throw the bittervetch seeds into its mouth so that the frog swallows them, and release the frog alive at the place where you captured him. And take a seed of henbane, steep it in mare's milk; and take the nasal mucus of a cow, with grains of barley, put these into a [piece of] leather skin made from a fawn and on the outside bind it up with mulehide skin, / and attach it as an amulet during the waning of the moon [which is] in a female sign of the zodiac on a day of Kronos or Hermes,[41] Mix in also with the barley grains cerumen from the ear[42] of a mule.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XXXVI. 333–60

***Love spell of attraction over myrrh**:[43] Say the spell and [put it on the] flat stone of the bath.

The spell is this: / "Myrrh, Myrrh, who serve at the side of gods, who stir up rivers and mountains, who burn up the marsh of Achalda,[44] who consume with fire the godless Typhon, who are ally of Horos, the protection of Anubis, the guide of Isis. Whenever I throw you, Myrrh, upon the *strobilos*[45] of the / flat stone of this bath, as you burn, so also will you burn her, NN, because I adjure you by the strong and inexorable Destiny, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRAS REXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRICHTHŌN PYRIPAGANYX LEPETAN / LEPETAN MANTOUNOBOĒ, and by the Destiny of this, LAKI LAKIŌ LAKIŌYD LAKIŌYDA. Attract, burn her, NN (add the usual, whatever you wish), because I adjure you by the strong and great names, THEILŌCHNOU ITHI PESKOUTHI TETOCHNOUPHI SPEUSOUTI IAŌ SABAŌTH / ADŌNAI PAGOURĒ ZAGOURĒ ABRASAX ABRATHIAŌ TERĒPHAĒL MOUISRŌ[46] LEILAM SEMESILAM THOOOU IIE ĒŌ OSIR[47] ATHOM[48]

39. This passage contains a *historiola* of Horus escaping from Seth/Typhon. See for a parallel Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 214–23. [R.K.R.]

40. The frog was associated with fertility, and therefore in Egypt with Heket, the goddess of birth. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 198–99, s.v. "Frosch"; M. Weber, "Frosch," *RAC* 8 (1972): 524–38, esp. 524–29. [R.K.R.]

41. That is, the planets Saturn and Mercury.

42. Also possible is "dirt from the ear," but "ear wax" is more likely, given Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1198.

43. Cf. the parallel to the spell in *PGM* IV. 1495–1595.

44. This locality is not identified.

45. The meaning of the term is obscure; it may refer to some item having the shape of a pinecone. See LSJ, s.v. "στρόβιλος." Cf. *PGM* II. 25 and n.

46. See on this detail *PGM* III. 659 and n.

47. OSIR is Osiris. [R.K.R.]

48. ATHOM is Atum. [R.K.R.]

CHAMNEUS PHEPHAŌN PHEPHEŌPHAI PHEPHEŌPHTHA. Arouse yourself, Myrrh, and go into every place[49] and seek out her, NN, and / open her right side and enter like thunder, like lightning, like a burning flame, and make her thin, [pale,] weak, limp, incapable of [action] in [any part of her body] until she leaps forth and comes to me, [NN, son of] NN (add the usual, / whatever you wish), immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVI. 361–71

***Irresistible love spell of attraction**, which works on the same day: Take the skin of an ass[50] and write the following in the blood from the womb of a silurus[51] after mixing in the juice of the plant Sarapis.

The writing is this: "SISISŌTH, attract to me / her, NN on this very day, in this very hour, because I adjure you by the name CHYCHACHAMER MEROUTH[52] CHMĒMINOUTH THIŌNTHOUTH PHIOPHAŌ[53] BELECHAS AAA EEE ĒĒĒ L′ S′ S′ S′ N′ N′. Attract her, NN, to NN" (add the usual).

And put the magical material inside / with vetch and place it in the mouth of a dead dog, and it will attract her in the same hour.
*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM XXXVII. 1–26

*. . . not one of the unclean men . . . I did not have intercourse with a woman . . . [knowingly]. Whenever I swear, the [existing? . . .] relatives, that on my father's side and / [mother?], friends and my father's relatives with . . . not, and this one . . . into a container, thus taking . . . [into a] suburb, with the loud voice . . . of the prophets and pro[phetesses]. / And whenever in . . . swear, lest . . . such as heard. . . .

. . . / [of Theodoros?], that is, of Selenion(?), [it is not necessary] to subtract or add a thing. If . . . these . . . cast from the . . . as mentioned before; and another . . . from every rite / . . . your . . . is unlawful . . . should receive a letter . . . piously . . . receive extreme ill-luck, it is . . . lest you . . . taken . . . / the. . . .
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary text was acquired in Egypt with the other magical papyri, *PGM* XXXVI and XXXVIII, and is thus presumed to contain portions of a magical spell; however, the recto (ll. 1–14) was written in a hand different from that of the verso (ll. 14–26) and seems to contain a text of a biblical or theological nature. The verso may contain a text on some type of divination.

PGM XXXVIII. 1–26

*. . . at the proper time purify [yourself for seven days and][1] take myrrh ink and [write] on [pure] papyrus . . . of baths: "Come here to me . . . who have the power

49. See on this point Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 71, 101.

50. The animal of Seth/Typhon.

51. The silurus is a large river fish which seems to have been a part of the common fare, either pickled or salted. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 9. 17, 44; Aelian, *NA* 14. 25; Juvenal, *Sat.* 4. 33; 14. 132. The silurus also occurs in *PGM* IV. 3097, but Preisendanz there altered the text to read *αἴλουρος*, "cat." Diehl, in Preisendanz's apparatus, proposes the same emendation here. [E.N.O.]

52. MEROUTH is Egyptian *mrw.t*, "love." [R.K.R.]

53. THOUTH PHIOPHAŌ is Egyptian and means "Thoth the great, the great." [R.K.R.]

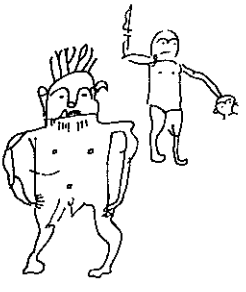
1. Eitrem reads *ἁγνευσον* [*ἑπτα ἡμέρας καὶ . . .*], which D. Moke, *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri: Selected Studies* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1975) 72, translates with "Be purified for seven days." The verb, however, is active and requires an object. Furthermore, the papyrus uses numerals, not words, so it is better to read *ἁγνευσον* [*σὲ ζ′ ἡμέρας καὶ . . .*]. [E.N.O.]

. . . / . . . and go into the house . . . frightening and hiding . . . of the door. For by the contribution(?)[2] of her . . . by your [power, attract] to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, because . . . / . . . to find sleep and . . . brain . . . of sacred phantoms . . . of the sea . . . / [who copulate in the ocean, PSOI PHNOUTHI NINTHĒR,[3] you are the one who are] daily visible [and who set in the northwest] of heaven, [and rise in the southeast. In the 1st hour] you have [the form of a cat; your name is PHARAKOUNĒTH. In the 2nd hour you have the form] of a dog; your name is / [SOUPHI. In the 3rd hour you have the form of a snake; your name is] ABERAN NEMANE [THŌUTH. In the 4th hour you have the form of a scarab]: [your] name is [SESENIPS. In the 5th hour you have the form] of an ass; [your] name is [ENPHANCHOUPH. In the 6th hour you have the form of a lion]; your name is [BAISOLBAI . . . who control] time. / [In the 7th hour you have the form of a goat; your name is] OUMESTHŌTH. In the 8th hour you have the form of a bull; your name is [DIATI-PHĒ, who becomes invisible]. . . .[4]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is so fragmentary that the text owes more to Eitrem's ingenuity than to the copyist. Ll. 15–26 seem to be a doublet and, in part, an abridged version of IV. 1642–79. The edition of Preisendanz provides no translation; Moke offers one only of ll. 1–12.

PGM XXIX. 1–21

*"THATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
ATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
TTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
THARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
ARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
RATHAUTHŌLTHARA
ATHAUTHŌLTHARA
THAUTHŌLTHARA
AUTHŌLTHARA
UTHŌLTHARA
THŌLTHARA
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THARA
ARA
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THATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
ATTHARATHAUTHŌLTHARA
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THŌLTHARA
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LTHARA
THARA
ARA
RA
A

I adjure you by the twelve elements of heaven and the twenty-four elements / of the world, that you attract Herakles whom Taaipis bore, to me, to Allous, whom Alexandria bore, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The figure on the left is that of the dwarf god Bes. In the Greco-Roman period the erotic associates of Bes became so pronounced that he seems to have become a patron of brothels. See J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905–1906)* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institute français d'archéologie orientale, 1907) 12–14. [R.K.R.]

2. The papyrus has προσδόσι, for which Eitrem suggests προσδόσει, hence "by the contribution," but the papyrus is so mutilated that any translation must be tentative. [E.N.O.]

3. PSOI PHNOUTHI NINTHĒR corresponds to Egyptian "Fate, the god (of) the gods." Cf. *PGM* III. 144–45. [R.K.R.]

4. The list of forms continues at *PGM* IV. 1679. This papyrus is clearly a fragment as well as fragmentary. [E.N.O.]

PGM XL. 1–18

*"O master Oserapis and the gods who sit with Oserapis, I [pray] to you, I Artemisie, daughter of Amasis, against my daughter's father, [who] robbed [her] of the funeral gifts and tomb. So if he has not acted justly toward me and his own children—as indeed he has acted unjustly toward me and his own children—let Oserapis and the gods / grant that he not approach the grave of his children, nor that he bury his own parents. As long as my cry for help is deposited here, he and what belongs to him should be utterly destroyed badly, both on earth and on sea, by Oserapis and the gods who sit together with Oserapis, nor should he attain propitiation from Oserapis nor from the gods who sit with Oserapis.

Artemisie has deposited this supplication, supplicating / Oserapis and the gods who sit with Oserapis to punish justly. As long as my supplication [is deposited] here, the father of this girl should not by any means attain propitiation from the gods. [Who]ever [seizes] this document [and] does an injustice to Artemisie, the god will inflict a penalty on him . . . to no one . . . except . . . Artemisie commands that . . . as . . . / not suffice . . . observed me in need of . . . and to me who lives . . . observed . . . in need of. . . ."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. For similar curses against desecrating a tomb, see G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus. Papyrus Upsaliensis 8* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1938) esp. 131–38; B. Boyaval, "Une malédiction pour viol de sépulture," *ZPE* 14 (1974): 71–73.

PGM XLI. 1–9

*"CHRIA . . . BĒEI[NŌR; SOUSI[NEPHI] . . . trembles / ENTOKE KENTA[BAŌTH] . . . thence, [trembles] . . . NITHIORA BAINCHŌŌŌCH. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary spell contains only a few recognizable words, mostly magical.

PGM XLII. 1–10

*"A A A A A A
E E E E E E
Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē
I I I I I I I O O O O
Y Y Y Y Y
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō
["magical characters"]
. . . ARAĒL SAB[AŌTH
O]URIEL ASABA . . .
. . . OSĒPRAK."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. The magical characters mentioned in the text are unavailable for transcription. The slip of papyrus probably served as an amulet.

PGM XLIII. 1–27

*"[ABLANA]THANALBA EMANOUĒL
[BLA]NATHANALBA ASOUĒL
LANATHANALBA MARMARĒL
ANATHANALBA MELCHIĒL
NATHANALBA OURIĒL
ATHANALBA THOURIĒL
THANALBA MARMARIŌTH
ANALBA ATHANAĒL
ALBA AŌĒ . . .
LBA SABAŌTH
BA ADŌNAI
A ELŌAI

ABŌ . . . / SESENGEN SPHRANGĒS MICHAĒL SABAŌTH LAPAPA / . . . GABRIĒL SOURIĒL RAPHAĒL, protect Sophia / whom Theoneilla bore from every shivering fit and fever, immediately, quickly."

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM XLIV. 1–18

*"THŌPHŌPHA. MOS . . . AMOU K . . .

A A A A A A A . . . OUABEIO . . . S BAMERM . . . L . . .
E E E E E E E earache EY . . . MATI unwritten SYRID
Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē Ē partaking (?), might ascend (?) driving away . . .
I I I I I I I fever (?), just (?) PAĒ . . . X
O O O O O O O TAI, burning these things until N
Y Y Y Y Y Y Y ATHIAL PYRON MOLOS I
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō R
Y MICHAĒL ŌZ Y
Ō ICHAĒL YZ O
CHAĒL OZ
E E E E E E E AĒL IZ
P ĒL
L
MICHAĒL . . . Z
[ICHAĒL] EZ
[CHAĒL]
CH S AĒL . . . Z."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This fragmentary text may have served as a phylactery for earache and possibly fever. On the right side of the papyrus there is a figure holding a staff and with the letters "A" and "Ō" on either side; the representation of the figure, however, was never published.

PGM XLV. 1–8

*"... R ... RPHEĒ ABRAXAS IRMOUN †ACHOA BRĒPHAUTH IOU ATHĒTHAL KATHŌLŌ ... NITASPHIN BAROUCH BAROUCH DAULA ADŌNAIA CHAITA SIAMOUR ERBELMŌN ELŌE ADŌNAIA MELĒ ... A SESEMIE ... LAMEBDO / ELŌE ACHRAI ĒNNANAI AZAĒL CHERMAIŌ B ... ROBBAN J(erusa)lem ... N†"

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XLVI. 1–4

*... ***[If] you wish the god to speak***: ... These names ... "SON LALEIKACHRI ... KAIE. ..."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This fragmentary papyrus, which contains portions of only two spells, contains here a request for a revelation. In the series of words to be spoken or written some Greek can be read.

PGM XLVI. 4–8

*Spell to silence and [subject]: ... on an unbaked potsherd ... : / "IŌ SĒTH IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ ... IŌ SĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX ... IŌ [OSIRIS]."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM XLVII. 1–17

*"ĒL ĒL[1] STRAGĒL STRAKOUĒL, the god, / the SATOUCHEOS, the PSATOUCHEOS,[2] protect, shelter [the wearer against fever] whether [it is] every other day, / or daily, or equinoctial, or perpetual; purify us, EIAOTH / SABAOTH ... [[two lines of characters]].

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM XLVIII. 1–21

*"KLE[1] [[characters]] AAAAAAA KLE ANNNGL ... O SESEGGESBARPHARAGGES, help us, Atikhis; bring aid (?) / with all your powers. They must move like the one whom the Cherubim have led,[2] the Father Pantokrator, who is in heaven ... the Cherubim. You must fly like the birds of heaven. He[3] must move like a piercing wind, ... good, through / the power of these names and their saving acts and the phylacteries and the power of the honored (?) Place.[4] Yes, yes! Quickly, quickly! [[2 lines of characters]]. And a blessing upon the name SESSEGGES, together with / ... AI SACHLAS EL and MEFEJRAHIEU ... names, aid ... the place SA ... aid (?) ... [the] whole house ... INETENEI great (?) ... IĒL EŌN / ... the birds of great (?)[5] [[characters]] ... OU."

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer.

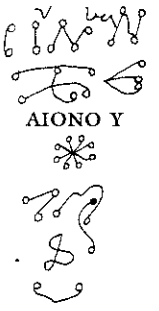
1. *El* is the common Hebrew word for "god" but was also the name of a particular god worshiped mostly along the Palestine-Syrian coast.

2. Perhaps the definite articles before this and the two following terms should be omitted, and they should be taken as names of gods or demons. These magical texts rarely use the definite article before the names of deities invoked, and SATOUCHEOS looks like an epithet ("loaded, burdened"?) and PSATOUCHEOS like a byform of it.

1. Or, in Greek, "etc."
2. Or "they must lead forth," "who move like," or "who lead forth."
3. Or "you."
4. In later Jewish writings, God is frequently designated as "the Place."
5. Or "which we come" or "your fathers."

PGM XLIX

*



*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. An amulet with a series of characters and the name "Aion."

PGM L. 1–18

*. . . out of . . . the . . . and if their principal (lots ?) should [fall] on the side of [the lots] of "Tyche" or "Daimon" [it is good ?] for a spell (?) concerning sorcery / —the same principal (tosses?) of the lot producing the same result, with a "Tyche" or "Daimon" being an excellent toss. And the one who tosses concerning sorcery . . . executes the same given results for the given toss. These things mentioned before will be . . . / . . . of "Daimon." If ever . . . it happens in your own place or even . . . by malevolent ones (?), / as it testifies of an exile, it signifies either . . . or disgraceful ones; if then a benevolent one occurs, a malevolent one by the benevolent ones is changed (?). . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. Very little sense can be made from this scrappy fragment. The text seems to deal with responses to a type of knucklebone or dice oracle.

PGM LI. 1–27

*"I exhort you, daimon of the dead [and] the necessity of death which has happened in your case, image of the gods, to hear / my request and to avenge me, Neilammon, whom Tereus bore, because Etes has brought a charge against me, / or against my daughter Aynchis or her children or those who might ever be [with] me. And I exhort you not to listen to those who have brought charges against us, either / [from] Hermes, whom . . . bore, [or] EU . . . S, who is known as [Apelles], or from Harpochrates, whom Tereus bore, [who is] a wicked man and / ungodly toward me, his father. I ask you, daimon of the dead, not to listen to them [but to] listen [only] to me, Neilammon, [since I am] / pious [toward the] gods, [and to cause them to be] ill for their [whole] life."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. This necromantic request is directed against Neilammon's legal opponents, one of whom appears to be his own son. The text follows the format of an Egyptian letter to the dead. Cf. Alan Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1928). [R.K.R.]

PGM LII. 1–9

* . . . ***the formula***:

". . . stout of heart, silver-eddying,
And with the Graces CHŌOS EU . . .
Both Hera and Selene, thus
/ The wits, which come upon to . . .
. . . nothing, about the sea,
. . . S . . . ES . . . ES . . . however much
. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This very fragmentary papyrus contains portions of two or three spells

probably dealing with love magic. The first of these, translated here, preserves a poetic incantation whose first few lines scan as dactylic hexameters.

PGM LII. 9–19

*Take an ichneumon / from the countryside and throw in some vinegar myrrh and boil for 3 days . . . but. . . .

". . . and . . . / Peitho . . . will see a . . . with mighty . . . or might grant me favor . . . or love me in . . . from a mighty (?). . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM LII. 20–26

***Spell to induce insomnia**: Take some . . . grasp, speak the formula . . . speak . . . : ". . . ĒŌS mother's, summoning Eros."

Speak ***the formula***: ". . . through night and day, from (?) / . . . set a flame in the heart. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM LIII–LVI

PGM LIII and LIV correspond to the unpublished texts of the papyrus rolls cataloged together as *P. Strassb.* I. 39 (P. gr. 1769 and 1770 in F. Preisigke, *Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts—und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*, I. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912, 134–35). *PGM* LIII (no. 1769) measures 32 × 22 cm and contains fifteen lines; *PGM* LIV (no. 1770) measures 22 × 16 cm and contains ten lines. Both date from the Arabic period.

PGM LV and LVI correspond to the two unpublished texts, *P. Strassb.* I. 39A (P. gr. 762 and 788; Preisigke 136). They are written by the same hand and stem also from the Arabic period. *PGM* LV measures 28 × 22 cm and contains twelve lines; *PGM* LVI (17 × 11 cm) contains eight lines primarily made up of letter permutations, with SY SZ and SCH predominating.

PGM LVII. 1–37

*. . . ADŌNAI. . . . ***These are the words***: "[Accomplish] for him, NN, whatever I have written on [this] for you, and I will[1] leave [the east] and the west[2] [which] has been established [formerly], and [I will preserve] the flesh of Osiris[3] [always] and I will not break / [the] bonds with which you bound Typhon,[4] and I will not call those who have died a violent death but will leave them alone, and I will not pour out the oil of Syrian cedar [but] will leave it alone, and I will save Ammon and not kill him, and I will [not] scatter the limbs of Osiris, and I will hide you [from the] giants;[5] EI EI EI EI [EI EI] EI EI CHOIN / [APHOUTH] CHENNONEU APHOUTH ANOU AŌTH EI EI EI PEOOE [IAKŌB] MANNOZ ARANNOUTH CHAL . . . APH KOULIX

1. For these implied threats see *PGM* II. 54, and Papyrus Ebers, col. 30, ll. 12–16: "If the stroke dispells itself . . . I shall not speak (the threat), I shall not repeat the statement." [R.K.R.]

2. For this notion of the collapse of the east and west, see *PGM* V. 284.

3. For mythical details regarding the death of Osiris, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358A–B; 35, 364F; 42, 368A; and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 340–42, 434–35, 460; Diodorus Siculus I. 11, with the commentary by Burton, *Diodorus Siculus* 60–61, 89, 95.

4. For the binding of Typhon, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 19, 358D, and the commentary by Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 349–50.

5. For the role of the giants, see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 25, 360E, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 385–86; W. Speyer, "Gigant," *RAC* 10 (1978): 1247–76, esp. 1263.

NOĒ N . . . K BORNATH LOUBEINE AOUĒR OUEIRE ITIN LOTOL. Recite the secrets of the many-named goddess, Isis."[6]

[The] compulsive spell in order to show you whether the matter has been carried out: / Burn cypress with the strip of papyrus and say: "[Isis,] holy maiden, give me a sign of the things that are going to happen, reveal your holy veil, shake your black [Tyche] and move the constellation of the bear, holy [IŌTHĒ] PNOUN GMOĒRMENDOUMBA[7] great-named [IAKŌ] / PHTHOĒRI, THERMOĒR, PHTHAŌ,[8] great-named IOTHĒ [PHNOU]THOUĒR BŌB HELIX, great-named IAKŌ."

When you have said this and at the same time have opened your hands, the goddess will remove the [edge] of your hand from your breast. For you will see [a star being led] of necessity [to you], at which you are to look / [intently], as it flashes [a picture] while rushing [toward you], so that you become stricken of God. [Wear the] above picture [for protection]. [For], in the name of [the goddess], it is a [picture] of Kronos who encourages you. After you have received this sign, rejoice / at your [fortune] and say once: "CHAITHRAI." For when you have said this, she will cooperate with you [in whatever] you pray for. And immediately say these words, [lest] there occur a removal of the stars and your lucky day: "THA . . . OUSIR[9] PHNOUCH MELLANCHIŌ KERDŌ MELIBEU . . . KASP . . . NEBENTHTRIX GARN . . . Ō THRAŌ SAU TRAIS TRAIS / BASYM; immediately, immediately, accomplish this, within this moment. Very glorious Pronoia,[10] make the one who yesterday was [unlovable] beautiful [in the sight of all], make . . . [former]. . . ."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM LVIII. 1–14

*. . . [**Spell to bind** . . . (?)]:[1] / Take a lamella [made of lead] . . . : "I say to you, you who died prematurely and who were [called and taken] away by the wicked [Typhon. Commanding you] is / the great god who has [dominion above and rules over the lower [gods]. Take into custody this wicked [and impious] man,[2] because this [is the one who burned the papyrus boat of Osiris][3] and who [ate[4] the sacred fish].[5] Take into custody [him, NN, whom NN bore . . .]."[6]

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The exact purpose of this spell is not known, though it is clearly a type of curse.

6. On Isis with a myriad of names see *PGM* LIX. 13; Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 22, p. 284, l. 9: *deae multinominis*; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 53, 372E: μυριώνυμος. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 502–3.

7. PNOUN GMOĒR is equivalent to Egyptian, "Nun (the Abyss), great power." [R.K.R.]

8. The sequence of PHTHOĒRI . . . PHTHAŌ is equivalent to Egyptian *Ptḥ wr* and *Ptḥ ʿ3*, "Ptah the great." [R.K.R.]

9. This is Osiris.

10. On the identification of Isis and Providence (Pronoia), see Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 15, p. 277, l. 4; and on this see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 241–44, 323.

1. The full title is not preserved. The opening line may have read κατά[δεσμος]. Cf. Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

2. Or "such-and-such a wicked and impious man." [R.D.K.]

3. The restoration is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188, reprinted in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 187. See on this point Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358A, where the burning of the boat is not mentioned, however. See for further references Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 339–40.

4. The filling of the lacuna is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188.

5. For sacred fish, see *PGM* V. 270–80, and J. F. Borghouts, "The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I. 348," *OMRM* 51 (1971):26 (a similar sacrilege), and *Excursus III* 210–17. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 191–94, s.v. "Fische, heilige." [R.K.R.]

6. Assuming the restoration in Preisendanz as correct. However, it seems more likely to restore the parallel phrase from above, "take into custody [this wicked and impious . . . man]. [R.D.K.]

PGM LVIII. 15–39

*. . . when the [moon] is full . . . , make an offering of incense . . . / . . . lick clean, SITOULAS EK . . . KŌS, . . . ***[under] the middle of the chest***:

"IŌ ERBĒTH
IAKOUMBIA
IŌ PAKERBĒTH
/ IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH
BASAOUM
KOCHLŌTA
TETOMĒ
BASSAOUM
/ PATATHNAX
OSESRŌ
IŌ IŌ PAKERBĒTH
KEACH, come
[I]O ABRASAX
/ (add the usual).

[[Remains of a magical figure]]

"[ABER]AMTHŌOULERTHEXANAXETHRELYŌTHNEMAREBA."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The translation differs from Preisendanz in ll. 20, 34, 35.

PGM LIX. 1–15

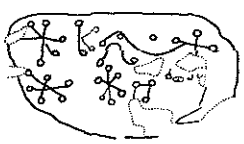
*". . . Saioneis, whom [Sentaesis] bore. You, slave of the [glorious] god ABLANATHANALBA, you servant of the [good] god AKRAMMACHAMAREI, you, slave of [IAEŌ] SABAŌ ABRASAX ADŌNAI, / you, servant of the [four] good [and] glorious gods, ABERAMENTHOOYLERTHEXANAXETHRELYOŌTHNEMAREBA AEMEINAEBARŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIEMEA ERĒKISITHPHĒARARACHARARAĒPHTHISIKĒRE IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEAI, / you, the good and glorious gods, protect the mummy and the body and all the grave of the younger Phtheious, who is also [called] Saioneis, whom Sentaesis bore . . . the everlasting [punishments given by] the Lady [Isis], / goddess of many names."[1]

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LX. 1–5

*"OBPHŌCHONMPOUO
AIEROĒNIONO
IBOPHA
IKON"

*Reading: Morton Smith.



PDM lxi. 1–30

*. . . to Truth . . . before you / incense (?) . . . to the . . . your head . . . land
[col. I, 5] . . . / look . . . above / these . . . Lady of the Flood (?) [. . . I]A IA OO . . . in truth
. . . and we come into . . . above after the . . . Teach me.[1] Show . . . Anubis of . . .
[I, 10] [Spirit of] Darkness . . . / Anubis . . . Anubis of the. . . . Do not. . . . Do not let
. . . know (?) . . . true manner [without a matter (?)] of falsehood . . . saying: "I am

1. For this epithet of Isis, see *PGM* LVII. 13 and n.

1. Restored *[tun] eiat*ᵒ as a parallel to *tamo*. Both mean "to instruct." See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 73b. For the restorations by R.K.R. here and in the notes below, see his forthcoming article, "Gleanings from Magical Texts," *Enchoria* 1985.

[OR]THOBAUBO . . . my name . . . ooo is my name. My name in [truth (?) . . .] [I, 15]
. . . May you be exalted. Work . . . Anubis of the horizon. Anubis . . . / Anubis of 20
the son. Do not . . . twice. The great ruler. . . . It is this god who . . . face of a [II, 5]
donkey. This . . . come . . . to me from them (?) which are before you . . . which 25
you. . . . [II, 10]

*Tr.: Robert K. Ritner, following the edition and translation in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. I/1–16 (original translation from plate; not previously read by the editors), and col. II/1–13. Sections titles in the Demotic texts are indicated only if they are written in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM lxi. 30–41

*. . . which . . . / seven . . . dead . . . rue seven, bone of . . . wax (?) . . . seven 31
. . . / . . . seven, mix them all. Recite all the spells of the vessel over them at dawn, [col. III,
midday [and] night at the beginning of the month and eat (?) seven of them each 2]
and every month. / You find his heart.[2] 36

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Sir Hubert Thompson in [III, 7]
Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. III. 41
[III, 12]

PDM lxi. 42

*". . . ***you and those who are***. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson, in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/1. This fragmentary line may be part of the rubric of col. III (see Bell et al. p. 14, ad loc.). The fact that these words are written in red ink (in the original manuscript) suggests this is the title (or subtitle) of a new spell.

PDM lxi. 43–48 [*PGM* LXI. i–v (not in Preisendanz)]

*. . . ***remedy*** for [an] ulcer (?)[3] of the head . . . : one mina (?); this is what is [to be
spoken?] . . . of frankincense and [celandine? . . .] / of a male ass [together with 46
. . .], excellently, and add . . . a little, and smear it on the. . . . (4)

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/2; and Roy Kotansky (Greek section), following the edition of Bell, Nock, and Thompson, ibid., ll. 3–7.

PDM lxi. 49–57

*. . . ***head***: . . . . [papyrus ?], it being broken (?) in the place / . . . oil; you should 51
utter the name of . . . while they are not dry; you should utter the spell (?) twice . . . [col. IV,
one grain to the name of the . . . name of palm, persea, [and] cypress[4] / mulberry, 10]
laurel, black poplar, pine. . . . 56

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, [IV, 15]
and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto, col. IV/8–16. The spell presumably describes another remedy for the head.

PDM lxi. 58–62 [*PGM* LXI. vi.x (not in Preisendanz)]

**For an erection*: Woad plant [or corn flag?] grows in the oasis in abundance; it's both female and [male]. Boil these in a pot and grind them up [in wine with] pep-

2. Or "wish."
3. As suggested by R.K.R.
4. Written in Demotic and Greek.

per; / smear it on [your] genitals. [If you wish it] to relax again, [provide] with the decoction. . . .
[col. IV, 19]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, recto A (p. 22). For a similar spell, compare *PGM* VII. 184–85.

PDM lxi. 63–78

*. . . ***Har-Thoth***: You write on the [front of a] laurel leaf [and you light] a lamp on a table and you speak to the laurel opposite the lamp. Do not look at the lamp! You should come; you should lie down; you should place the laurel / under your head; and you should pray to Har-Thoth. He answers you in a dream. The front of the laurel leaf, write these [words] on it; you write it in ink of myrrh and wine:
[col. V, 4]

The first: "THOYTHKH"
The second: "LABINOYTHKH."
The third: "PHRĒKH."
The fourth: "SALBANAKHA."
The fifth: "falcon."
The sixth: "ape."
The seventh: "ibis."




And say these words: "Come to me, Thoth, Eldest one, Eldest one . . . of Re, who went forth from Atum, who was born / in the form . . . from the limb of Atum! Come to me, Thoth, heart of Re, tongue[5] of Tatenen,[6] throat[7] of the one whose name is hidden![8] Come to me, HEFKAE HEPKA HEBIKE NEKHE-P-KAI! Come to me, Lord of Truth, who loves Truth, / who reckons [lifetime?],[9] who judges Truth, who does Truth![10] Come to me in your beautiful face in this good night and make answer to me concerning everything about which I am entreating here today, truly without faleshood therein! Come to me in your form of excellent one, in your [secret] image . . . ! Come to me and [tell me] an answer to everything, [truly,] without falsehood therein." [It is] very good.
[V, 9] [V, 14]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. V, 1–5a/6.

PDM lxi. 79–94

*A way of finding a thief . . . : You bring a head of a drowned man; / you carry it to the fields; you bury it; you put flax seed over it until you gather the flax; you gather [it] upon it when it is high and alone; you [bring] the flax to the village; you[11] wash the head by itself in milk; you cover it; and you take it to the place which you wish.
[col. VI, 2]

When you want to discover a thief, you should bring a small amount[12] of flax; you should utter a spell to it; you should say the name of the man twice, one by one (?) / you should make a knot and draw it together. If he is the one who stole it,[13] he speaks while you tie the knot.
[VI, 7]

5. As read by R.K.R.
6. A holy place in Memphis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 769–70.
7. As read by R.K.R.
8. A pun on Amoun/hidden.
9. As read by R.K.R.
10. For these epithets, see P. Boylan, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt* (Chicago: Ares, 1979 [reprint]), appendix B. [R.K.R.]
11. Actually written "they."
12. Translation by R.K.R.
13. Literally, "carried/lifted it."

The spells which you should recite: ***Formula***: "To me belongs the word of Khu;[14] to me belongs the word of Geb; to me belongs the word of . . . of Isis; to me belongs the word of this ibis, son of Thoth; Lo, all hail! Lo, all hail! I shall gather here today my sister SAMAL[A], saying, 'I shall give them. the words / of Geb which he gave to Isis when Shu (?) concealed them in the papyrus (swamp) of Buto, she bringing the small amount of flax in her hand, she forming it into a knot, she tying these forelegs (?)[15] until he was revealed to Horus in the papyrus (swamp). I will bring this small amount of flax in my own hand, I making it into a knot until NN is revealed . . . the sound-eye.' After (?) answering, he will lift (?)." [It is] very good. 90 [VI, 12]



*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VI/1–16.

PDM lxi. 95–99

***Spell of giving praise** [and] love in Nubian: "SYMYTH KESYTH HRBABA BRASAKHS LAT, son of (?) NAPH, son of (?) BAKHA." Say these; put gum on your hand; and kiss your shoulder twice,[16] and go before the man whom you desire. 95 [col. VII, 1]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VII/1–5.

PDM lxi. 100–105

***The red cloth** of Nepthys: "Pre arose; he sent forth the *Seket* boat[17] of heaven; the water under the bark of Pre has dried up. The gods and the two crowns (of the south and the north) complain until NN is brought to NN. If not doing it is what will be done, the gods whose names I said will bend down so that they fall into the fire. . . . I am the one who said it; she will repeat it 'Be destroyed, impious one!' She is the one who said it; / she is the one who heard it [and] repeated it." [It is] very good when he says it. 100 [col. VII, 6] 105 [VII, 11]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VI/6–11.

PDM lxi. 106–11

***Prescription** for a donkey not moving: Rue, dung of falcon, dung of crocodile; you should apply it and you should anoint the ears or its nose or the nostril of its nose.

Formula: "He of the heart. . . . Horus [is] behind you; Geb is pursuing you, Isis being with them (?) . . . many hours. / The arrow of Horus[18] will go into you in order to. . . ." 111 [col. VII, 16]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VII/12–16.

14. Name of the twenty-second decan. [R.K.R.]
15. That is the foreleg of Seth (as bull) when killed. [R.K.R.]
16. Translation by R.K.R.
17. The morning bark of the sun.
18. Translation by R.K.R.

PDM lxi. 112–27

*A **prescription** for making a [woman] love you: An image of Osiris [made] of wax—you should . . . , you bringing hair (?) and [wool] of a donkey together with
116 a bone of a lizard. / You should [bury them under the] doorsill of her house.[19] If stubbornness occurs, you should bring it . . . the image of Osiris with (?) ram's
[col. VIII, wool; you should put the lizard bone . . . ; / you should bury it again under the
5] doorsill of her house; and you should recite . . . before Isis in the evening when the moon has risen. Listen before you bury. . . .

"O secret image of Osiris [made] of wax, O powerful one, O protection of . . . , O lord of praise, love, and respect, may you go to every house which so-and-so is [in and send so-and-so] to every house which so-and-so is in; the tips of her feet
121 follow after his heels . . . / while her eyes are crying, while her heart longs (?)
[VIII, 10] her . . . which she will do. O image of Osiris [made] of wax, if you will be stubborn [and not send so-and-so] after so-and-so, I shall go to the chest which . . . and I shall come . . . black, I shall gather it with a tooth . . . black, and I shall cause [Isis]
126 to receive . . . after Osiris her husband and [brother . . .]. / Hail to you, O lord of
[VIII, 15] time, the one whom I caused [. . .] who is in the House of the Obelisk.[20] Come [to me . . .]."

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, col. VIII/1–16.

PDM lxi. 128–47

*. . . You should cause a man to drink (?) . . . [tick] of a black dog in the right ear
132 . . . [wool?][21] of the offspring of a black ram / . . . the face (?) of your foot on the
[v. col. i, day of immersing without blood; you should kill the tick. . . . When you finish you
4] should sleep with the woman; [you should anoint] your phallus with it; you should
137 wash it . . . ; you should cause her to drink; you should send the wool / . . . of
[v. i, 9] olive; you should bind it to [your] right arm . . . ; [you] should cause the woman
142 to drink . . . of the togue of a bull . . . name . . . them in your matter / . . . your
[v. i, 14] blood; you should . . . PHAMOYROYTH THTO . . . T . . . ; wash it in [sweet?] wine
147 . . . to it / . . . to it. . . .
[v. i, 19]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, verso, col. i/1–20.

PDM lxi. 148–58

151 *Here are their names:[22] "ORNAI SORNIN . . . OZO RANAY SARZANA IAO / XOINAI
[v. col. ii, OOO NAIO MELOI NAI ERIANA E . . . ASNAI ENAMPHE, let her, NN, love me."
4] Their (?) green ink: you should dye / . . . myrrh . . . ; you should burn them;
156 and you should pound them . . . of a child for drinking (?) burnt date[wine?].
[v. ii, 9]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Thompson in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*, verso, col. ii/1–12.

PDM lxi. 159–96
PGM LXI. 1–38

***Commendable love charm**: . . . take pure olive oil and a beet plant and olive branches; and take seven leaves and grind them all together and pour them into the

19. Cf. *PDM* xii. 55.
20. Cf. *PDM* xii. 34.
21. As suggested by R.K.R.
22. End of the line as read by R.K.R.

olive oil until they become like olive oil. / And put it into a jar, and go up onto a housetop (or on the ground) facing the moon, and say the spell 7 times: [A, 1, 148]

"You are the olive oil; you are not the olive oil[23] but the sweat of Good Daimon, the mucus of Isis, the utterance of Helios, the power of Osiris, the favor of the gods. / I release you against her, NN, the one NN bore. Aye,[24] serve me against her, NN, before I bring the gods of compulsion against you, if you do not send her. For otherwise I will break down iron doors[25] myself. No longer will I send you for these things,[26] nor is there need of them, but I will send you for her, NN, whom NN bore, so that, if she dismisses you, / you can seize her head.[27] Cause her to swoon. Let her not know where she is. Become fire beneath her until she comes to me, so that she may love me for all time; and may she not be able either to drink or eat, until she comes to me, so that she may love me for all time. I adjure you by the great god / who is over the vault of heaven, ARBAIĒTH MOUTH NOUTH PHTHŌTHŌ PHRĒ THŌOUTH BREISON THŌTH. Hear me, greatest god, on this very day (on this night), so that you may inflame her heart, and let her love me because I have in my possession the power of the great god, whose name it is impossible / for anyone to speak, except me alone because I possess his power . . . EURIŌ MOI AEETHI EŌ Ē PHĒOUAB PHTHA ACHE ANOU // ĒSI ENES . . . E THOUL PHIMOIOU. Hear me because of Necessity, for I have spoken your name because of her, NN, whom NN bore, so that she may love me and do whatever I wish [and] so that she may forget her father and mother, brothers, husband, / friend, so that, except for me alone, she may forget them all." [A, 1, 153] [A, 1, 158] [A, 2, 165] [A, 2, 170]

And whenever you perform this spell, have an iron ring with yourself, // on which has been engraved Harpokrates sitting on a lotus,[28] and his name is ABRASAX. [A, 2, 175]

If, however, you should wish her to stop,[29] take a sun scarab and place it in the middle of her / head and say to it: "Gulp down my love charm, image of Helios; he himself orders you to do so." And pick up the scarab // and release it alive. Then take the ring and give it to her to wear, and immediately she will depart. [A, 2, 180]

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PDM lxi. 197–216
PGM LXI. 39–71

***Love spell of attraction**: It attracts a woman who has been wronged by her husband. / Take from the place where bodies are mummified a spotted lizard[30] which lives around those places, and throw the same lizard into an iron vessel, and // take coals from the forge whenever they light the fire and put them into the vessel with the lizard; burn it up on the coals and while doing it say: [B, 185]

23. For this formula, see *PGM* VII. 644–46.

24. For this affirmation (ἦ), see *PGM* IV. 2288, 2331.

25. That is, the iron doors of Hades. See Betz, *Lukian* 82.

26. Or *οὐκέτι ἐπὶ ταῦτα σὲ πέμψω* may mean "no longer will I send you on these missions." [E.N.O.]

27. See Antoninus Liberalis 6. 3 for a similar use of *πιάζω* in a similar action. [E.N.O.]

28. For Harpokrates sitting on the lotus flower, see *PGM* II. 101 and n.; XII. 87.

29. The language of *παῦσαι* and *ἀπαλλαγήσεται* (l. 38) contains two meanings: the vulgar and the dismissal from the spell. See H. J. Bell, A. D. Nock, H. Thompson, "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 17 (1931): 235–88, pp. 271–72. [E.N.O.]

30. On the role of the lizard in magic, see *PGM* VII. 628 and n.

"Lizard, lizard, / as Helios and all the gods have hated you,[31] so let her, NN, hate [B, 190] her husband for all time and // her husband hate her."

Now when it has been completely cooked, keep the lizard ready for use and not touching the vessel.[32] Pick up the vessel in which it was burned and approach the gateway itself / saying: "Lizard, lizard, let Helios and all men hate you because she, [B, 195] NN, says that the mummy of the god // OSERONNŌPHRIOS PHAPRŌ OUSIRIS has been removed and devoured by you. Image of BIANDATHRĒ . . . image of TYPHON SAKTIETĒ SOGGĒTH, image of ABRASAX ANAX[IBOA], / image of [IAŌ; do not let] her, NN, come through the gateway from whatever hour Helios brightens the earth for the whole time, as long as it also increases the River out of the River,[33] [B, 200] as // long as the wild fig tree grows" ([state the usual and whatever you] wish, and depart).

/ ***[Spell written] on papyrus*** . . . with [blood] of Typhon,[34] which is . . . : "Come, father, whom the plow . . . IAKEMBRAŌTH . . . PHLOUDOUNTAS . . . / , [separate] him, NN, from her, NN, . . . turbulence . . . OENAI SORNIN . . . ŌXŌ RANAU SARXANA IAŌ LOINAI ŌŌŌ NAIŌ MELŌI NAI ERIANA / E SASTIAI ENAMPHE, let her, NN, love me."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM LXII. 1–24

*[Now let] this [lamp], not colored red, be hung. Light the lamp[1] with good oil [and] cedar oil.

"You are the fire that is unquenchable, that lies beside the great god, OSORNŌPHRI OSOR[NŌPHRI];[2] in service to him when he was smitten with love for his own / sister Senephthys,[3] you not only ran as much as sixty-six *schoeni*[4] but you encircled as many as sixty-six mountains. In this way, too, serve me, NN, against her, NN. If you do not, I will say the eight letters of Selene / which have been established in the heart of Helios. But if I am on the point of saying them and you have not set out on your way, I will go inside the seven gates around Dardaniel,[5] and I will shake the foundation of earth,[6] and the 4 elements of the world will come together[7] / so that nothing will be created from them. Dissolve into your own nature and mingle with the air, and go to her, NN, whom NN bore (add the usual) and attract her down to

31. Cf. Antoninus Liberalis 24. 3. [E.N.O.]

32. The sense is obscure because the text is uncertain. Hence the translation is tentative. [E.N.O.]

33. A reference to the Nile and its periodic overflow. [E.N.O.]

34. For the blood of Seth/Typhon, see *PGM* IV. 2100 and n.

1. λυχνίζω occurs only here; ἐνλυχνιάζω is the regular verb. Cf. *PGM* I. 293; III. 585; IV. 1089; etc. [E.N.O.]

2. The repetition here, which is an Egyptian form of emphasis, has troubled Preisendanz. He omits one word and adds "(du bist es)." [E.N.O.]

3. Preisendanz takes this to be Isis-Nephthys, with reference to *PGM* XII. 235. [R.K.R.]

4. A measure of length which has no fixed value. Strabo (17. 1, 24) says that it varied from 30 to 120 stades (i.e., about 1,820–7,280 feet). [E.N.O.]

5. The name Dardaniel occurs only here. The city remains unidentified. The epithet ἑπτάπυλος (with seven gates) is usually associated with Thebes in Boiotia (see LSJ, s.v.), a city that plays a role in the sagas about the Trojan War. According to some traditions, Dardanos was the founder of Dardania (Troy); see Homer, *Il.* 20. 215–16. Whether there is a connection between these names is unclear. Cf. also *PGM* IV. 1716 and n.; IV. 2612; VII. 695.

6. On the threat to disrupt the cosmos, see *PGM* V. 284 and n.

7. The doctrine is similar to the creation myth in *C. H.* I. 17–19. See for further references Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 117–18. In the lines of the papyrus only three elements are named; water is omitted.

me with fire of the thunderbolt. I adjure you by the great god / lying in the pure earth, beside whom the unquenchable fire forever lies, ATHOUIN ATHOUIN ATHOUIN IATHAOUIN SIBELTHIOUTH IATĒT ATATĒT ADŌNE" (add the usual).

Protective spell: Wrap three peonies around your left arm and wear them.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

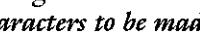
PGM LXII. 24–46

*"Come to me, god of the gods, the only one who appears from fire and wind,[8] / you who have truth on your head, who disperse the darkness, you the lord of the winds[9] LŌTH MOULŌTH[10] PNOUT EI[11] ESIŌTH, hail, lord LAMPSOURĒ IAAŌ IA . . . D."

Say these things many times. If, while you are reciting, the apparition delays: "Open up, open up, Olympos; open up, Hades; open up, Abyss. Let / the darkness be dispelled by command of the highest god and let the holy light come forth from the infinite into the abyss." Whenever it still delays, cry out in this way and again close the eyes of the boy: "Hail, holy light! Hail, eye of the world! Hail, brightness of the dawn of the world,[12] ABRA Á Ó[13] NA BABROUTHI BIE BARACHE, god. Come in, lord, / and reveal to me about the things I request of you." Then ask what you wish. . . .

Dismissal: "I give thanks to you because you came in accordance with the command of god. I request that you keep me healthy, free from terror and free from demonic attacks, ATHATHE ATHATHACHTHE ADŌNAI. Return to your holy places."

[Recite these things] over a saucer, in which you will pour 1 measure of good olive oil, and will place it on a brick, / and will carve these characters on a magnet that is [still] "breathing."

These are the characters to be made: 

Fasten the stone to the left side of the saucer, on the outside, and having embraced it with two hands, recite as shown to you. Cast (sink) in the saucer (a good dish) / the afterbirth of a dog called "white" which is born of a white dog. On the boy's chest write with myrrh: "KARBAŌTH."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 24–38) and J. Hershbell (ll. 39–46).

PGM LXII. 47–51

***A means to learn from a die whether a man is alive or has died, for example:** Make the inquirer throw this die in the [above] bowl. Let him fill this with water. Add to the [cast of the] die 612, which is [the numerical value of][14] the name of / god, i.e., "Zeus," and subtract from the sum 353, which is [the numerical value of] "Hermes." If then the number [remaining] be found divisible by two, he lives; if not, death has [him].

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LXII. 52–75

*(Year) 2 (of) Antoninus . . . 6th of Mecheir to the 7th; 6th hour of the night. / Sat-

8. Or "from fire and spirit."

9. Or "lord of the spirits."

10. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 534: "I am Lot Mulot."

11. PNOUTEI is Egyptian *pꜣ ntr*, "the god." [R.K.R.]

12. "Hail, holy light . . . dawn on the world" is written in the margin of the papyrus in seven parts next to ll. 34–39. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

13. The text has ABRA A/ O/ NA. . . . It may indicate abbreviations for ABRASAX, ADŌNAI.

14. Greek letters also served as numbers, so each word had a numerical value, the sum of the numbers signified by the letters composing it. [M.S.]

urn, horoscope in Scorpio; Jupiter, (sun) in Aquarius; Mars in Aries; Venus, (moon), Mercury in Capricorn.

(Year) 2 of the same (reign): / Jupiter, (sun), [Mercury] in Aquarius; Mars in Aries; / Venus horoscope, Mercury in Capricorn; moon in Gemini.

[Didymos.] Saturn in Libra; Jupiter, (moon), in Capricorn; Venus in Aries; / (sun) in Taurus; Mercury, Mars in Gemini; horoscope in Leo.

Dionysia. (Year?) 1 (of) Philip; 8th of Epeiph; 2nd hour of the day: Saturn, Mars [in Virgo]; Jupiter, Venus in Taurus; / Mercury [in Gemini, horoscope?], (sun?) in Cancer, [moon in Libra].

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. This horoscope appears on the verso, col. i of the Warren Magical Papyrus (*PGM* LXII) but is not included in Preisendanz's edition.

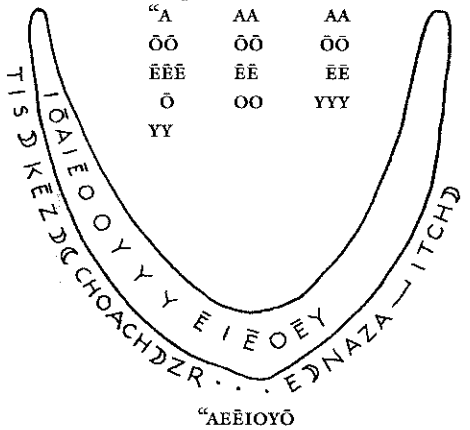
PGM LXII. 76–106

*"AR . . .
PHNOON PHEIOOUŌ ERMĒ THŌAR . . . IBARAREOUBEO . . . EA ALAŌ
ARIOUATHŌRMENERTIOUMAISI
RIOUATHŌRMENERTIOUMIAISI
I
EN"

(in this manner, shaped like a heart).

"BARDĒTEIS
GARIS
BYX . . .
TAPH . . . Y
MAN . . .
[APH]ROŌL
. . . O . . . REN
BARNARAX
BR . . . NŌREI
BRAIŌCHIŌ
ANI . . .
SISIŌ . . .
KLYGAK . . .
SIBYI. . . ."

"A AA AA
ŌŌ ŌŌ ŌŌ
ĒĒĒ ĒĒ ĒĒ
Ō OO YYY
YY



"ARMARE
TARERSOU
ATHRYŌ
SIBIBITH
TIŌŌX
ABRAUATH
DARYGKŌ
KASBE
ATHRAMO
ORKIE . . . R.
ORŌPOS . . .
THNAAPŌ . . .
ER . . . ŌR. . . ."

"AEĒIOYŌ
EĒIOYŌ
ĒIOYŌ
IOYŌ
OYŌ
YŌ
Ō."

"Let the genitals and the womb of her, NN, be open, and let her become bloody by night and day." And [these things must be written] in sheep's blood, and recite before nightfall, the offerings / (?) . . . first she harmed . . . , and bury it near sumac, or near . . . on a slip of papyrus.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIII. 1–7

*. . . pour two quarts of salt and honey wine, thus making a drink. / And say the

seven letters of magicians.[1]

The seven letters are: [A E Ē I O Y Ō].

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is severely damaged, and little remains. Of necessity, the translation is tentative in several places.

PGM LXIII. 7–12

*[**For a sleeping woman] to confess the name of the man she loves**: Place a bird's / [tongue] under her lip or on her heart and put your question, and she calls the name three times.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM LXIII. 13–20

*[Put in a new basket] a peppercorn and depart, leaving / the basket behind. Many a flask . . . SARA . . . TĒ TE . . . a [useful tablet] . . . R . . . R . . . SM . . . ELA . . . YO . . . ĒS. ISN / . . . ĒN MEL . . . ERĒSA.

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. The text is too mutilated to yield any sense in this short spell.

PGM LXIII. 21–24

*Find a [spotted lizard],[2] pick it up with a new[3] piece of papyrus, [write] the characters on it, and then place it under the table: ⲋ ⲗ ⲏ ⲙ ⲯ

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. A recipe of uncertain purpose.

PGM LXIII. 24–25

***A contraceptive**: Pick up a bean[4] / that has a small bug in it, and attach it as an amulet.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIII. 26–28

***A contraceptive**: Take a pierced bean and attach it as an amulet after tying it up in a piece of mule hide.

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXIV. 1–12



*"Strike ill, attract, send [a dream]. I call upon you by your / sacred names, PSINA PSINA KRADIDA PSIŌMOIPS. . . . [Make her] writhe at my / feet[1] for a short time [?]."[2]

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

1. *μάγων* is Hopfner's logical emendation for the *ματων* of the papyrus. The seven vowels occur often enough to make them the logical "seven letters of the magicians." [E.N.O.]
2. On the role of the lizard in magic see *PGM* VII. 628 and n.
3. Preisendanz restores the mutilated word here as *καινοῦ* (cf. also *PGM* XXIIa. 14), but *καθαροῦ* is also possible because of the parallels (see *PGM* VII. 193, 703; XXXVI. 72, 102).
4. Cf. *PGM* IV. 769, 941.
1. Reading *προκυλίνδομαι*. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.
2. Reading *ἀ[καριαίῳ]*. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

PGM LXV. 1–4

***To [prevent pregnancy]**: ". . . OCHTHIA, protect from the archetypal daimon[1] ♌ [of pregnancy]."

*Tr.: John Scarborough. The recto of this papyrus contains fragmentary portions of household recipes. The verso, given here and in the spell to follow, gives portions of two magico-medical recipes.

PGM LXV. 4–7

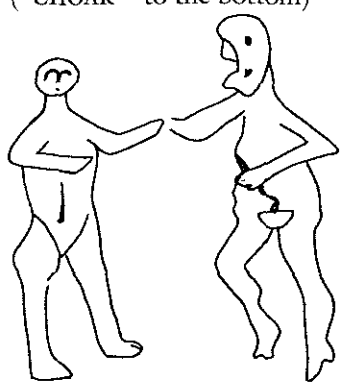
***For migraine headache**:[2] ✻ ♐ ✻ / . . . I . . . NA . . . TA. . . ."

*Tr.: John Scarborough.

PGM LXVI. 1–11

*"CHAŌR
CHTHŌR
CHARARBA
CHOLBAS
CHTHRYTHYR
CHORBATH
CHTHAMNŌ
CHTHODYCHRA
CHYCHCHYCH

("CHOAR"[1] to the bottom)



"I conjure you by the great names: throw Philoxenos the harpist into strife with his friend Gennadios. Throw Pelagios the elder into strife with Philoxenos the harpist."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM LXVII. 1–24

*. . . The speaker of [the] spell for those dead and those alive [must write]: "AGE . . . AOUMA . . . EB . . . THNOBAMA . . . BABOUA . . . EU DALANALAD . . . ALKOUMI . . . OUTIZTAI AAAA IIIII EOYA BOUBITHA . . . CHANACH SANMACHANA / and KECHNOU BOUZA SANMACHANA . . . SAMMACHARA SPHAMBĒS EPOKR . . . ACHTH KAT ETA BAI KARKOPTŌ KOPTŌ KARBAR . . . AĒA PTOKOPTO KARABARBAROUTA THATH . . . CHRENPSENTHAĒS BERBAL IŌ PARP . . . RPAR, I adjure you by [the holy name of the] daimon of ĒIOY [SOU] / ŌOUS BARBARATHAM of [ADONAIŌS, the god] SABAŌTH [ABRASAX] . . . PSE . . . TA [PHONOBOUBOĒL] [of chthonic Hermes-Thouoth, arch-subduer, PHŌKENSEPSEU AREEKTATHOU MIS[ONKTAI . . . ĒI IAŌ] ĒŌĒŌ KA . . . ĒOIŌ ŌIŌĒ [SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS ERĒKISITHPHE] ARARACHARARA [ĒPHTHISIKĒRE / IABEZEBYTH] IAŌ . . . SAM . . . [ERĒKISIPHTHĒ] ARARACHARARA ĒPHTHISIKĒRE . . . ĒI IAŌ [ĒŌĒ]Ō KA. By this oath I adjure [you, who . . . and] the one who has been sworn . . . remaining / [. . . of those who have died] in an [untimely] death . . . [. . . her, NN, whom] NN [bore], . . . [him, NN, whom] NN bore . . . has spoken. . . ."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. This papyrus is made up of five separate pieces. Preisendanz has printed basically the text of L. Koenen published in *ZPE* 8 (1971):199ff. and has omitted a translation.

1. So the rendering in LSJ, s.v. "αὐτοδαίμων," with reference to Plotinus, *Enn.* 3. 5. 6.
2. Cf. *PGM* VII. 199–201.

1. Either the *voces magicae* are to be read first or CHOAR is to be read before each word in col. 2.

PGM LXVIII. 1–20

*"As Typhon is the [adversary] of [Helios, so] also inflame [the soul] of Eutyches whom Zosime[1] / [bore], for her, [Eriea] whom [Ercheelio] bore; ABRASAX, inflame the soul and heart of him, Eutyches for him / Eutyches whom Zosime bore, now, quickly, quickly, in this same hour and on this same day. ADŌNAI, inflame the soul / and heart of Eutyches, for her Eriea [whom Ercheelio bore], now, quickly, quickly, in this same hour / and on this same day."

*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

PGM LXIX. 1–3

*"PHNOUNEBEĒ (2 times), give me your strength, IŌ ABRASAX, give me your strength, for I am ABRASAX." Say it 7 times while holding your two thumbs.[1]

*Tr.: D. E. Aune.

PGM LXX. 1–4

*[This] name [is] a ***favor charm***, ***a charm to dissolve a spell***, ***a phylactery***, and ***a victory charm***: "AA EMPTŌKOM BASYM,[1] protect me."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. On this charm and others of this papyrus, see the note on *PGM* LXX. 4–25, below. Ll. 1–3 may contain the end of a spell now lost, or they may represent a complete spell.

PGM LXX. 4–25

***Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear[2] of punishment**: / If he comes forth,[3] say to him: "I am Ereschigal, the one holding her thumbs,[4] and not even one evil can befall her."

If, however, he comes close to you, take hold of your right heel[5] and recite the following:[6] "Ereschigal, virgin, bitch, / serpent, wreath, key, herald's wand, golden sandal of the Lady of Tartaros." And you will avert him.

"ASKEI KATASKEI ERŌN OREŌN IŌR MEGA SAMNYĒR BAUI[7] (3 times) PHOBANTIA SEMNĒ,[8] I have been initiated, and I went down into the [underground] chamber of the Dactyls, and I saw / the other things down below, virgin, bitch, and all the rest." Say it at the crossroad,[9] and turn around and flee, because it is at those places that she appears. Saying it late at night, about what you wish, it will reveal it in your sleep; and if you are led away to death, say it while scattering seeds of sesame, and it will save you.

/ "PHORBA PHORBA BRIMŌ AZZIEBYA." Take bran of first quality and sandalwood and vinegar of the sharpest sort and mold a cake. And write the name of so-and-so upon it, and inscribe it in such a way that you speak over it into the light the

1. The names seem confused here and should be corrected in accordance with ll. 16–17.
1. On this magical gesture, see *PGM* LXX. 6 and n.
1. For an explanation of this name, see *PGM* IV. 1377 and n.
2. The fear refers to punishment in the underworld.
3. This refers to a threatening approach by a punishment daimon.
4. For this magical gesture, see *PGM* IV. 2329; XXXVI. 163; LXIX. 3. See Betz, "Fragments," 290, n. 14.
5. Another magical gesture, for which see *PGM* IV. 1054 and Betz, "Fragments," 291, n. 18.
6. For this peculiar list of signs, see *PGM* IV. 2334–38; VII. 833; and Betz, "Fragments," 291, nn. 20 and 21.
7. The Greek has BAUI, perhaps referring to the dog's bark. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1911; XXXVI. 156. [W.B.]
8. This formula is usually called *Ephesia grammata*, or in *PGM* VII. 451 "the Orphic formula." See Betz, "Fragments," 291–92 with notes.
9. These instructions refer again to underworld experiences. See Betz, "Fragments," 293–94.

name of Hekate, and this: "Take away his sleep from such-and-such a person," and / he will be sleepless and worried.

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. Important in this spell are what appear to be liturgical remnants from the mystery cult of the Idaean Dactyls. For a more detailed commentary, see H. D. Betz, "Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95.

PGM LXX. 26–51

*__Against fear and to dissolve spells__: Speak through [two] knives [sounding loudly] this formula; but [against] evil animals it does not work [compellingly], for . . . you . . . over the . . . [speak] . . . : ". . . E . . . PHATE . . . CHNON A . . . / GE . . . OIPS . . . SĒ . . . PSO . . . SIL . . . / MO . . . and . . . CHIL . . . PER . . . PAN . . . / CHIO . . . CHO . . . AB. . . . POI . . . TOS . . . / IEO . . . DOI . . . ĒNE, so that (?) CHY . . . / ERE . . . TOU. . . ."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. See note to *PGM* LXX. 4–25. In this spell, the sense of ll. 30ff. cannot be recovered, though the text probably contained the invocation.

PGM LXXI. 1–8

*__A phylactery__: "Great [god] in heaven revolving the world, the true god, IAŌ! Lord, ruler of all, ABLANATHANALBA, grant, grant me this favor, / let me have the name of the great god in this phylactery, and protect, from every evil thing, me whom NN bore, [NN] begot."

*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM LXXII. 1–36

*[__Rite concerning the Bear__: Prepare] an earthen [censer, and] during the 6th hour of the night [offer to the Bear] moss of a savin [in it. Do it before] three days / [after you called on] the Bear nine times from a high roof. Write [on a piece of papyrus] with a mixture of ink and myrrh [concerning everything] which you want, [add] the name, "NEB/[OUTOSOUALĒTH"] and [show] both the strip of papyrus [and] what is written on [it to the goddess . . .] within [one hour. Speak with your hands] folded / on your head, [praying in a loud voice to the Bear: "Hail,] O queen of mortals [and of gods. Hail,] heavenly ruler, [queen] of men. Depart[1] . . . / I beseech you. . . ."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. This spell, a cryptogram from the same source as *PGM* LVII, is edited and commented upon by S. Eitrem, *Mélanges Maspero* 2, 113–17; see also Eitrem and L. Amundsen, *Papyri Osloenses*, vol. III (Oslo: Dybwad, 1936) 38–40, no. 75.

PGM LXXVII. 1–24

*If you wish to receive a revelation concerning whatever you wish, say this formula to yourself, saying nothing aloud: / "I call upon you, who are seated in the middle of a field,[1] you who with power direct the universe, at whom the daimons tremble, whom the mountains dread, / whom angels fall down to worship, whom the sun and moon fall down to worship, you who have heaven for your throne, ether as a place for your dancing place, and earth as your footstool, IOU IOU / APHARA . . . THOMARA ARABRŌ . . . IOU IOU. Holy, [holy,] boundless, boundless, star-organizer, [fire-breathing, SANTHĒNŌR, gold]-/sandaled [god], reveal." And without causing fear or trembling he will, clearly and soberly, reveal concerning the NN thing. Do this while you are pure, and burn frankincense at the place.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

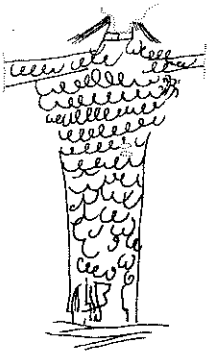
1. Text and translation are uncertain at this point. Preisendanz translates differently.

1. See on this point the parallels in *PGM* IV. 3023; XIV. 8.

PGM LXXVIII. 1–14

*[For any place], either home or workshop. [It attracts a woman] to a man. The same one [makes them steadfast] and faithful: Take a leaf [of lead] and with a nail write the figure[1] while saying [the name / that follows and]: "I shall burn up the house and the [soul of him, NN, to] cause desire for her, NN, whom NN bore, whom NN bore,[2] as Typhon did [not] allow Osiris to find sleep. For I am [master of] MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUN[KENTABAŌTH / OREOBA]ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN [PYRIPĒ]GANYX. Fulfill this for me, all-brightener, august light-bringer [of gods and daimons]."

Name of the all-[powerful] god: IAŌ IAŌ IAŌ.



*Tr.: E. N. O'Neil. For notes on the text, see also F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 371–74.

PGM LXXIX. 1–7

***Charm to restrain anger**, which is to be spoken three times: "I am the soul of darkness, ABRASAX, the eternal one, MICHAĒL, but my true name is THŌOUTH, THŌOUTH.[1] Restrain the anger and / wrath [of him, NN] toward me, NN, [with] the authority of the great god NEOUPHNEIŌTH."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The text is the same as in *PGM* LXXX., but by another scribe and in better condition.

PGM LXXX. 1–5

***Charm to restrain anger**, [which is to be spoken] three times: "I am the soul of darkness, ABRASAX, the eternal one, MICHAĒL, but my true name is THŌOUTH, THŌOUTH. Restrain the anger and wrath of him, NN, toward me, NN, with the authority of the great / god NEOUPHNEIŌTH."

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The text is the same as *PGM* LXXIX. 1–7.

PGM LXXXI. 1–10

*"Hail, Helios! Hail SAPEIPHNĒP! Hail, savior! Hail, ABRASAKX! / Hail, PETKĒIERCHENEIN KAMTĒROU. Hail, ĒLOUAI. Hail, ELOUEIN. Hail, PETAIPINAKSNEUEI . . . XA . . . PETENTAETKĒPKEIEICHIN DONAIROUBI OPIANOS OPIANOS BASI[L]ISKOS / TIARKAMIKEINTEU." Pronouncement of the name.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. According to Preisendanz (ad loc.), this list of greetings was supposed to give protection, perhaps protection for a house—an interpretation he derives from his reading of the other side of the papyrus, "defense for a house."

1. The figure is given below, following the spell. See Preisendanz, vol. II, plate IV, figure 2. For a collection of images of Artemis *multimammaea*, see R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesus und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, *EPRO* 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

2. The apparent duplication is in the papyrus.

1. The *voces magicae* are Coptic, written in Greek letters.

PGM LXXXII. 1–12

*. . . divide[1] . . . glue it together[2] . . . [the lamellae,] that is, much . . . having determined, to water . . . / weave the roots[3] [from all the trees] . . . having separated, with the rain waters . . . having determined . . . from one another, / having measured out the evergreen [plants] . . . fire from the . . . and anoint the cups. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of G. Manteuffel, *Papyri Varsovienses* (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 1935) no. 4: Fragmentum libri magici, 6–7. All that can be said of this fragmentary text is that it seems to have preserved a section of a magical textbook dealing with the making of a certain ingredient.

PGM LXXXIII. 1–20

***For [fever with shivering fits]:**[1] "GŌBA . . . S . . . MŌ . . . NOUSĒA . . . EIEGE . . . OSARK . . . AUSE fever with shivering fits, / I conjure you, MICHAĒL, archangel of the earth; [whether] it is daily or nightly / or quartan fever; I conjure you, the Almighty SABAŌTH, that it no longer touch the soul of the one who carries [this], nor [touch] his whole body; also the dead, deliver, . . . the distress IDOT . . . YGRSBŌNŌE. . . . / "

"He who dwells in the help of the Most High shall abide in the shadow of the God of heaven. He will say of God, 'thou art my refuge and my help; I will put my trust in him.'"[2]

"Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy will; / our daily bread."[3]

"Holy, holy is the Lord SABAŌTH, heaven is full of justice, holy is the one of glory."[4]

"ANIAADA . . . IA, MIGAĒL[5] of lords, Abraham Isaac Jacob ELŌEI ELŌE Solomon(?) / SABAŌTH ŌĒL. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of E. H. Kase, Jr., *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections, II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936) no. 107: Gnostic Fever Amulet, 102–3. This fever amulet is of special interest because it cites several biblical verses. Despite the writer's use of these citations, the character of the spell shows it is syncretistic rather than distinctively Christian. In fact, the incoherent manner by which the verses are quoted suggests that the writer was ignorant of their context and meaning.

PGM LXXXIV. 1–21

*". . . KOACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPSACHE
KOACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPSACH
OACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPSA
ACHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTHPS
CHAMIPHŌNCHŌŌTH
AMIPHŌNCHŌŌ
MIRPHŌNCHŌ
IPHŌNCH
PHŌN
Ō."

[magical symbols, about ten in number]

1. In accordance with our standard translation of the aorist participle λάβων, these participles are rendered as imperatives.

2. Or συνπεριπήγνυμι may mean "make to congeal around together." The word is apparently attested nowhere else in Greek literature.

3. For the use of roots in magic, cf. *PGM* XXIIa. 6; XII. 103, 397, 659, etc.

1. As the editor points out, the reading of the text at this point is far from certain.

2. This is a quotation of LXX Ps 90:1–2, with some peculiar variations.

3. This is a somewhat confused quotation of the Lord's Prayer, Mt 6:9–11. The papyrus may read "your father."

4. Apparently this is an allusion to LXX Is 6:3.

5. Read "Michael."

"Fetch Ptolemais whom Helen bore, for Ptolemaios whom Didyme bore. / Inflame her liver and spirit and heart and soul until she leaps up and comes, that is, Ptolemais whom / Helena bore, to Ptolemaios whom Didyme bore; immediately, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Edmund Harris Kase, Jr., *Papyri in Princeton University Collections, II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936) no. 76: Erotic Incantation, 73–74.

PGM LXXXV. 1–6

*". . . let him marvel, all THAE . . . drive away, make the daimons (?).[1] . . ."

Let the one who has written [this] be glad, and the haunts [of spirits][2] . . . he knows not, but beautifully a picture (?).[3] . . . /

Another: . . . .

[Another]: . . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. Enoch Powell, *The Rendel Harris Papyri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936) no. 56: Magical Spells, p. 38. This text is taken from three tiny fragments which date to the first or second century A.D. Although the text is quite fragmentary, its early date makes it important. Furthermore, the recurring expression "another [spell]," shows that we are dealing with a collection from a magical handbook.

PGM LXXXVI. 1–2

*"Protect him, NN, whom [she, NN bore]." Attach [this] as an amulet around the neck.[1]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach*, II (Cairo: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1940) no. 89: Formulaire magique, 32–33. This tiny fragment preserves portions of two spells; the first contains instructions for making a simple amulet. The second preserves the beginning of a magical procedure of an uncertain nature.

PGM LXXXVI. 3–7

*At sunrise,[2] on the 10th day of the month of Didymon . . . the next day, during the ninth hour, write . . . / of a female goat . . . XEONTA . . . DONO . . . ZOU. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky; see the note on *PGM* LXXXVI. 1–2, above.

PGM LXXXVII. 1–11

*"SAMOUSOUM SOUMA SOUMĒ SOUMĒIA MEISOUAT . . . SROUAT, my lord, ROUAT . . . [deliver ?] John from the shivering fit and fever that has (him); [cleanse?] the daily fever from this (?) shivering (?) . . . / [all] the headache, daily fevers, nightly, quartan, semitertian, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. . . . TA. ĒMŌNO . . . ARA the angel; . . . [deliver?] John from every shivering fit and fever, from this very day, from the present [hour throughout] / his entire lifetime; [grant him healing?], immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the new reading of F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci. (III.)," *Studi classici e orientali* 32 (1982): 235–40 (tav. XXVI),

1. Reading δαιμόνια instead of δαιμονιε.
2. Reading τὰ ἤθε[α . . . πν]ευμά[των
3. Reading γράμμα, "picture," "character," in the sequence γραμμασ[. . .

1. For similar instructions, cf. *PGM* VII. 198, 208; XIII. 669.
2. The editor restores the first letters of this word. Performing a magical ritual on a specified day is common in the *PGM*; see, e.g., *PGM* VII. 155–67; XIII. 15, 349, 1037.

esp. 235–38. Cf. the original edition of W. Schubert, *Die Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1942), *P. Erl.* 37: *Zaubertext*. For commentary and the suggested readings in the lacunae, consult the notes of Maltomini in the work cited here.

PGM LXXXVIII. 1–19

*"ZAGOURĒ PAGOURĒ
AGOURĒ PAGOUR
GOURĒ PAGOU
OURĒ PAGO
URĒ PAG
RĒ PA
Ē P
E."

"O excellent / ruling angels, give [him, NN] whom Sophia bore, rest from / the fever that restrains him; this very day, this very hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of A. C. Johnson and S. P. Goodrich, *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections, III* (Princeton University Studies in Papyrology 4; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), no. 159: Fever Amulet, 78–79. The text has also been published by Bruce M. Metzger, "A Magical Amulet for Curing Fevers," in Boyd L. Daniels and M. Jack Suggs, eds., *Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament in Honor of Kenneth Willis Clark* (Studies and Documents 20; Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1967) 89–94; reprinted in Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian* (Leiden: Brill, 1968) 104–10.

PGM LXXXIX. 1–27

*"I, Abrasax, shall deliver. Abrasax am I! ABRASAX ABRASICHŌOU, help little / Sophia-Priskilla. Get hold of and do away with what comes to little Sophia- / Priskilla, whether it is a shivering fit—get hold of it! Whether a phantom—get hold of it! Whether a daimon—get hold of it! / I, Abrasax, shall deliver. Abrasax am I! ABRASAX ABRASICHŌOU. Get hold of, get hold of / and do away with . . . what comes to little Sophia-Priskilla on this very day, / whether it is a shivering fit—do away with it! Whether a daimon—do away with it!"

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Erik J. Knudtzon, "Aus der Papyrussammlung der Universitätsbibliothek in Lund, IV," *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Årsberättelse*, 1945–1946 (Lund: Gleerup, 1946) no. 12: *Zauberspruch*, 74–75 (taf. 6).

PGM XC. 1–13

*". . . [calling] the lord, him [healthy(?)], and PANNANOM, in addition, MICHAĒL MICHAĒL MICHAĒL GABRIĒL / RAPHAĒL OURIĒL EMANOUĒL SACHAPHAPABA SABAŌTH [BAŌTH] IĒ PHA BRIĒL god, god IAŌ SOEOSTYOU . . . ŌNAAMIN BIĒCHENO . . . MAS / ĒMRAĒL ANAĒL KEMOUĒL BIAMLISONTOMIPANIAŌ BAŌBBBB (add the usual). ⊀ᛉ✳⊠⊛⊛ᛉ⊀☥" (add the usual).

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the text given by Augusto Traversa, "Frammento di papiro magico," *Aegyptus* 33 (1953): 57–62. The text is mutilated; it contains some Coptic letters.

PGM XC. 14–18

***A salve [for] fever**: Write: "▽ ▽ϟ⅂/ ABRAAM ĒHĒ (add the usual) TIT AA M ŌŌ . . . ICHAU . . . TĒR . . . CHOUAS . . . EKIRA . . . ŌSTA . . . MAR . . . LOHĒ . . . SĒTĒ . . . TAS."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. For the reference to the edition of this papyrus, see the note on *PGM* XC. 1–13. The charm apparently served as a fever amulet.

PGM XCI. 1–14

*"ABLANATHANALBA
BLANATHANALB
[LA]NATHANAL
ANATHANA
NATHAN
ATHA
TH.

"Melt (?) . . . [NN], whom NN bore . . . / who has . . . the daily . . . reaching out this very day, this very hour; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of D. S. Crawford, *Papyri Michaelidae* (Aberdeen: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1955) no. 27: Magical Charm, 49–50. The editor suggests that this fragment is a curse or a love charm; however, the mention of "daily" in l. 11, as well as "who has" in l. 10 (a typical description in the *PGM* for an affliction) suggests it is a fever amulet.

PGM XCII. 1–16

**Your great name, for*[1] *favor*: "Everyone fears your great might. Grant me the good things:[2] the strength of AKRYSKYLOS,[3] / the speech of EUŌNOS, the eyes of Solomon,[4] the voice of ABRASAX, the grace of ADŌNIOS, the god.[5] Come to me, Kypris, / every day.[6] The hidden name bestowed to you(?) [is this]: THOATHOĒTHATHOOYTHAETHŌUSTHOAITHITHĒTHOINTHŌ; grant me victory, / repute, beauty toward all men and all women."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of B. R. Rees, H. I. Bell, and J. W. B. Barns, eds., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A., II* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1959), no. 58: Magical Charm, 22–24 (pl. VII).

PGM XCIII. 1–6

*. . . [sacrifice and] . . . bury[1] . . . the same all [around?] . . . ; pour blood into a vessel . . . / and on the outside besprinkle[2] . . . to Hekate. . . . [i, 5]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliacus, eds., *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, vol. II (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1960) no. 65: Magical Prescriptions (?), 45–47 (pl. III, i). The ascription of this fragment of a parchment leaf to a Greco-

1. The editors suggest the first three letters are a magical name, EIE. L. 1, they admit, makes little sense regardless of what is read; however, the photograph of the papyrus shows that one might read the preposition εἰς, "for, unto." The sentence thus seems clearer, although the reading and translation remain tentative.

2. The language and temper of this charm show that this spell is one used to acquire favor and victory. Cf. for example *PGM* XII. 397–400 etc.

3. The following list of names whose powers the client is requesting suggests that each person named is recognized for his special attribute. Thus, Akryskylos is recognized for his strength, Euōnos for his speech, and so on. Neither Akryskylos nor Euōnos (*sic* for Euō[nym]os? [so the editors]) can be identified; however, each of the following personalities is recognizable. Cf. *PGM* VII. 1017–26.

4. Or, possibly, "the glances of Solomon," according to the editors. Although Solomon was a popular magical figure, the mention of his "eyes" is not common. Consult the note in the original cited above, p. 23, n. 6. On the other hand, cf. the αὐγή that illumines Solomon's mind in the *Test. Sol.*, Rec. C, Prologus, 2 (McCown, *Testament* 76).

5. Adonis is here rendered by the variant spelling Adōnios. Adonis is often associated with Kypris, a popular name for Aphrodite.

6. Or, if accusative of duration, "for the whole day," that is, presumably for the duration of each day which the person wears the charm.

1. The command to bury something occurs in *PGM* IV. 2215; XII. 100, where an inscribed tablet and an egg are referred to. The context here, however, gives no hint of what is to be buried.

2. On sprinkling dove's blood to dismiss a deity, see *PGM* II. 177.

Egyptian magical handbook is fairly certain. Although the two sides contain no *voces magicae*, and thus we may have a simple manual of sacrificial procedures, the presence of the name Hekate in l. 6 (side 1) suggests a magical text. Also, in the margin of l. 7 the number 43 occurs, which the editor describes as a numbering of the magical procedures.

PGM XCIII. 7–21

10 *43 . . . and whatever you wish[3] . . . blind, on . . . / stomach (?) . . . a cock [which
[i, 10] is alive] . . . ; bring it and set it on the . . . the piglet[4] and the / . . . carrying, out-
15 side of many (?) . . . the house; . . . and offer this . . . nine women . . . in front of
[ii, 15] the doors . . . / [it is] believed (?). . . .
20
[ii, 20]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliacus (see introductory note on previous spell), 46, side i, ll. 7–10; side ii, ll. 11–21. The procedure described here is of an uncertain purpose. The spell after l. 10 (side ii) may be independent of the preceding lines.

PGM XCIV. 1–6

*". . . YNYEL . . . STOOU . . . M . . . SEGEIR . . . Y . . . Y ERBĒTH . . . E . . . OUCHI."[1]

5 ***Drying powder made with saffron [for] sharp eyesight***: / KA . . . AL . . . 2 drams. Use a dram of boar skin which has been dried in the sun.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus, eds., *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, II (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1960) no. 66: Magico-Medical Prescriptions, 47–49. The papyrus begins with the fragments of an invocation of unknown purpose. The prescriptions are separated by paragraph marks.

PGM XCIV. 7–9

****For excellent health***:[2] Write on an amulet: "ABRAŌ . . . ARŌN BARA BAR . . . A . . . Ō."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 10–16

10 ****A phylactery for [fever]***: . . . RARA . . . leather . . . seven days . . . [and] wear
15 / . . ." ⊗⋈ZS. . . S . . . ⊗⋈. . . ZX . . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 17–21

****For those possessed by daimons***: ". . . T . . . Y . . . depart . . . YT. . . ." The things
20 prescribed below . . . / "ATR . . . Y SOLŌMŌN . . . is washed. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 22–26

****For the eyes***: Make a gothic (?) [figure][3] and carve [on it the] following: one who

3. References to stating one's wish are regularly found throughout the *PGM*. For very similar wording, cf. *PGM* IV. 1907.

4. As the editor points out, the cock and the pig probably serve as sacrificial animals. For the use of a cock in magical sacrifices, see *PGM* IV. 237; XII. 312; XIII. 377, 437–38, and so on. Pigs are found less often as sacrificial animals in the *PGM*.

1. As the editors suggest, these lines may have consisted entirely of magical words. In the sequence ERBĒTH can be read.

2. Or "easy healing." The word is a hapax legomenon, as the editors point out.

3. Following the interpretation of the editors.

[holds (?) with the left] / hand, in the middle . . . : "CHACH. . . ." 25
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6. The instructions seem to describe the manufacturing of a *figura magica.*

PGM XCIV. 27–35

**[For] tumors [and]* . . . : . . . [the] following . . . / [write] on a leaf [the] following things and boil . . . the leaf . . . "⊗⊗ ϐϐ⚹⚹. . . ⚹ϟϟ, flesh (?). . . ." 30
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 36–38

**[For . . .] and strangury*: [write on a] tin lamella [the following]: "MARŌTHA . . . M. . . ."
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See above, on *PGM* XCIV. 1–6.

PGM XCIV. 39–60

**Another, for migraine headache*:

/ ". . . IYIŌ
. . . YAŌŌ
. . . ŌYOŌ
. . . OY." 40

It delivers (?). ***And this is Neros' (?)*[4] *formula*:

/ "OURBEDERAEIS OUROURBEDERAEIS OUROUROUBEDERAEIS EISTHES ABRASA ELECH BELLENOURE OUNOURE BAPHAMMĒCH, to you I speak, pounding headache: don't throb, don't rage, / don't shake the teeth, don't produce mucus, don't produce a 'black-out', don't stir up convulsions. For if there is throbbing, raging, shaking of teeth, producings of mucus, producings of a 'black-out,' / or stirrings of a convulsion . . . BŌ . . . G . . . A . . . ⚹ . . . CH . . . / . . . A. . . ." 45 50 55 60
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky.

PGM XCV. 1–6

*. . . on the left sole of one foot,[1] near (?) . . . having subjected . . . [upon?] . . . and there will a be reward for the. . . . Take the skin of a mouse . . . / and have in the workshop, beneath. . . . 5 [col. i, 5]
*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, III (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1967) no. 140: Magico-Medical Prescriptions, 71, Fr. (a). This portion of the formulary describes the engraving of parts of a figure, perhaps a magical doll for the purpose of subjugating someone. The description of the mouse skin either begins a new spell or introduces part of a procedure belonging to the previous charm.

PGM XCV. 7–13

**Concerning the mole[-rat]*:[2] one (?) mole-rat that is alive . . . a remedy (?) for (?)

4. Reading perhaps a proper name here; however, the editors note that *νηρου* may be "fresh (water)" (cf. modern Greek *νερό*), in which case the spell is to be recited over it.

1. The prescription is describing what to engrave on a waxen or clay figure such as we find in *PGM* IV. 296–335, 2373–2440; and VII. 927. These references describe the function of the left sole of the foot (along with other parts of the body) in a specified magical procedure. *PGM* VII. 927 (a charm to subject someone) commands one to place a tablet under the left sole of the foot. The mention of subjection in the spell above suggests that we have here a "charm to subject" (*hypotaktikon*).

2. The editors point out that the blind-rat or mole-rat (*Spalax typhlus*) may possibly be used as the remedy for the epilepsy.

epilepsy (?)[3] . . . / on the first of the month . . . [altar?]. . . .
[col. ii, 4]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus (see note on previous spell) 71, col. ii. The editors identify this spell as a prescription for the "sacred disease." The spell, we should note, comes under a heading apparently arranged according to the magical virtues of the animal. Such arrangements are typical for a number of magico-medical prescriptions, in which case this section would enumerate the medicinal or magical values of the blind-rat (*Spalax typhlus*).

PGM XCV. 14–18

*. . . ***This will be a remedy for you for all cases*** of . . . : / . . . ATHOU, given thrice, in the month it delivers, in the same manner both those afflicted by epileptic seizures and by . . . thus by our returning thanks . . . ***those affected by lung disease***. . . .
[(b), 2]

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus (see note on previous papyrus) 71, fr. (b). The formulary at this point seems to provide a remedy for epilepsy. The beginning of a new remedy seems to be given at the end.

PGM XCVI. 1–8

*". . . AS (7 times) MELI XARO ŌRO AAAAAAA BAINCHŌŌŌCH MAI ĒEI / LĒNAGKOLI, protect him who carries [this amulet]."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the revised text of R. W. Daniel, "Some PHYLAKTĒRIA," *ZPE* 25 (1977): 150–53 (text two). The text was originally published by J. O'Callaghan in *Chronique d'Egypte* 43 (1968): 111–13, and subsequently commented upon by M. Vandoni in *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti* 102 (1968): 532–34 and again by J. O'Callaghan in *Studia Papyrologica* 8 (1969): 115–18. It is recognized that the text is a version of ll. 7–8 of *P. Oslo* I.5 (= *PGM* 3); however, whereas *PGM* 3 is Christian, this one is not. This text, moreover, is virtually complete, save for the slightly cut-away edges which suggest the papyrus was inserted in a case to be worn as an amulet.

PGM XCVII. 1–6

*. . . [wrap it up in purple] cloth. . . .

[***Another***:] Cut out the right [eye] of a lizard and / [enclose it] in [goat skin]; attach it to [your] left [eye].

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 109–11. Extant are only a few remnants of two columns, the first of which is too fragmentary to translate here. The individual spells in this collection of recipes are divided by *paragraphi*. Wortmann thinks the spell is against eye disease because the lizard is often used to that effect in magic. See A. D. Nock, "The Lizard in Magic and Religion," *Essays I*, 271–76. The purpose of the first recipe cannot be recovered.

PGM XCVII. 7–9

*[***Another***: Grind up the heart[1] of a nightowl[2] [with . . .], and [anoint yourself].[3]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

PGM XCVII. 10–13

/ *[***Another***: KR . . . ĒS, and TŌ . . . OS at the same time [attach as an amulet] . . . of a bull[4] . . . with one thong of a male goat. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

3. Remedies for epilepsy are not found often in *PGM*. For literature and discussion of epilepsy in antiquity, see in particular E. Lesky and J. H. Waszink, "Epilepsie," *RAC* 5 (1965): 819–31.

1. Cf. *PGM* III. 427.

2. For the nightowl, see *PGM* I. 223; XXXVI. 264.

3. Cf. *PGM* II. 19; VIII. 185, 192; XXXVI. 291–92

4. Cf. the reading by F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 176.

PGM XCVII. 15–17

/ **For every* [*disease*: Take] a scarab . . . K . . . IO . . . THEN. . . . 15
*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

PGM XCVIII. 1–7

*"A	Victorious[2] in everything is
EE	the nourisher[3] of
ĒĒĒ	the whole inhabited
IIII	world, lord Sarapis;
OOOOO	deliver[4]
YYYYYY	Artemidora."
ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ[1]	

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1969): 107–8.

PGM XCIX. 1–3

*"God is one who heals every sickness."
*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 105.

PGM C. 1–7

*"A /// EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ[1] ABLANATHAMALA[2] . . . EŌ AKRAMMACHAMARI KAI CHA K AI; lord god of gods,[3] heal everything with Thaës . . . E . . . ECHAIMA / ĒLO . . . OYEA dissolve.[4] The name of the father of Christ[5] BB [BBBB][6] 5
ⲭⲭⲟ⳿ⲥⲥⲭⲭⲍⲛ Heal Thaes, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."
*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 102–04.

PGM CI. 1–53

*"I bind you[1] with the indissoluble fetters of the underworld Fates and mighty Necessity, for I conjure you, daimons, who lie here[2] and who move about here and who keep busy here, and the boys here who have died prematurely.[3]

"I conjure you by the invincible god, IAŌ BARBATHIAŌ BRIMIAŌ CHERMARI, to rise up, O daimons who are lying / here, and to search for Euphemia, whom 5
Dorothea bore, [for] Theon, whom Proechia bore. During the whole night let her not find sleep, but fetch her until she comes before his feet and loves him with mad love and affection and intercourse. For I have bound her brain and her hands and her intestines and her genitals, and her heart to love me, Theon.

1. For this formation of the vowels in form of a grape, cf. *PGM* I. 13 and n.; C and n. 1.
2. For this important epithet of Sarapis, see Wortmann's commentary, 107.
3. This epithet of Sarapis also occurs in *PGM* XIII. 638–39; XII. 244; XIII. 772–73; XXI. 7–10.
4. Probably from daimons; cf. *PGM* IV. 86–87; V. 125–26.

1. This series of vowels is called κλίμα. See *PGM* I. 13 and n.; XIXa. 33, etc. On the whole, see C. Lenz, "Carmina figurata," *RAC* 2 (1954): 910–12.
2. Misspelled for the common palindrome ABLANATHANALBA.
3. So the restoration by Wortmann on the basis of *PGM* II. 53; IV. 180.
4. Probably referring to the disease.
5. This Christian influence shows the syncretism of the spell.
6. The BBBB have been lined out in the manuscript.

1. The second-person singular, apparently referring to Euphemia; the daimons are addressed in the second person plural.
2. Cemeteries are the preferred dwelling places of the daimons.
3. The spirits of infants of premature death are preferred mediums of the magicians.

"But if you disobey and do not quickly / carry out what I tell you, the sun will not set under the earth, and neither Hades nor the world [will] exist.[4] But if you fetch for me Euphemia, whom Dorothea bore, for me, Theon whom Proechia bore, I shall give you Osiris Nophrioth, the brother of Isis, and he [will] bring you fresh water and he shall give rest, too, for your souls.[5] But if you do not carry out for me what I tell you, / the EŌNEBYŌTH[6] shall burn you.

"I conjure you, daimons, who are lying here, IEŌ IIIIAIA ĒIA IAŌ IAĒ IAŌ ALILAMPS. I deposit [this spell] for you in this land of the dogs.[7] Bind Euphemia to love me, Theon. O daimons, I adjure you by the stele of the gods, I adjure you by the ones in the innermost shrines, I adjure you by the names of the all-seeing god, IA IA / IA IŌ IŌ IŌ IE IE IE OYŌA ADŌNAI. I conjure the one pleased in the temple,[8] and the blood[9] which the great god IŌTHATH[10] has received. I conjure you by the one who sits upon the four pinnacles of [the] winds.[11]

"Do not disobey me, but do [it] quickly, because ordering you is[12] AKRAMMACHAMARI BOULOMENTOREB GENIOMOUTHIG DĒMOGENĒD ENKYKLIE ZĒNOBIŌTHIZ / ĒSKŌTHŌRĒ THŌTHOUTHŌTH IAEOUŌI KORKOOUNOŌK LOULOENĒL, MOROTHOĒPNAM NERXIARXIN XONOPHOĒNAX ORNEOPHAO PYROBARYP REROUTOĒR SESENMENOURES TAUROPOLIT YPEPHENOURY PHIMEMAMEPH CHENNEOPHEOCH PSYCHOMPOIAPS ŌRIŌN, the true one. May I not be compelled to say the same things again, IŌĒ IŌĒ. Fetch Euphemia, whom / Dorothea bore, for Theon, whom his mother Proechia bore, to love me with love and longing and affection and intercourse, with mad love. Burn her members, her liver, her female parts, until she comes to me, longing me and not disobeying me. For I conjure you by the mighty Necessity, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ[13] PHENOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGRA RĒXICHTHŌN / HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRICHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX LEPETAN LEPETAN MANTOUNOBOĒL, in order that you bind for me Euphemia, for me, Theon, in affection and in love and in longing for a period of ten months[14] from today, which is the 25th of Hathyr of the second year of the indiction.

"And again I conjure you by the one who rules over you, in order that you do not disobey me. And again I conjure you by the one who is in charge of the air. And / again I conjure you by the seven thrones, ACHLAL LALAPHENOURPHEN

4. The operator threatens the gods with upsetting the cosmic order; see *PGM* IV. 185–86; XXXIV, and Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 92–93.

5. The dead in the netherworld suffer from thirst, while Osiris brings them the drink of life. See Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 94–95.

6. This name is otherwise not known. See Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 95.

7. Apparently referring to the desert cemetery where hyenas roam about. Thus Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 96.

8. Following Wortmann's interpretation of *ōap* as "temple" (97). (I should prefer to take *ōap* as abaton, "innermost shrine" [see l. 18] and the god as Osiris. Note that Osiris is called "he who rests in the abaton," whereby "rest" in Egyptian is *ḥtp*, which corresponds to Greek *εὐδοκεῖν*. [J.B.])

9. The blood is that of the enemies of the gods, especially that of Seth. See D. Wortmann, "Das Blut des Seth," *ZPE* 2 (1968):227–30, who refers to Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 6, 353 B, and Rv 16:4 as parallels.

10. That is, Hermes-Thoth.

11. For the four winds, see *PGM* III. 496; XII. 84, 238; XIII. 761, and Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 97–98.

12. The list of names contains the twenty-four names of the Greek alphabet; each name, except the first and the last, also ends with the letter of the alphabet. See Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 146–51; Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 98, who calls attention to the unique character of this list.

13. For the MASKELLI MASKELLŌ formula, see Glossary, s.v.

14. Ten lunar months was considered the normal period of pregnancy. See J. Bergman, "Decem illis diebus," *Ex Orbe Religionum*. Studia Geo Widengren oblata (Leiden: Brill, 1972) I, 332–46.

BALEŌ BOLBEŌ BOLBEŌCH BOLBESRŌ YYPHTHŌ,[15] and by the relentless god, CHMOUŌR ABRASAX IPSENTHANCHOUCHAINCHOUCHEŌCH. Seize Euphemia and fetch her for me, Theon, to love me with mad love, and bind her with indissoluble, strong, adamantine fetters / to love me, Theon; and do not let her eat, or drink, or find sleep, or have fun, or laugh; but make her run away from every place and from every house, and leave father, mother, brothers, sisters,[16] until she comes to me, Theon, being fond of me, loving me, Theon, in unending love and mad affection. But if she has another one at her / bosom, move her to push him away and forget him and hate him, but me she shall be fond of and love with affection and grant[17] me her favors, and she shall do nothing against my will. You, these holy names and these powers, confirm and carry out this perfect enchantment; immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 85–102. The papyrus was found folded up in a clay vessel and deposited in a cemetery. Inside the folded papyrus were found two wax figurines in erotic embrace (cf. *PGM* IV. 296ff.).

PGM CII. 1–17 [frag. E, D, C]

*. . . over [the lamp] . . . your hand, and [when you are almost awake] the god [will come and speak to you, and . . .] / [. . . and smear the picture with the black (?) of Isis . . .] But [the strip of cloth . . .]. Take rainwater[3] . . . Speak this [***formula*** over the] lamp: [fr. E][1] [fr. D][2]

["I call upon you,] / the headless god,[4] the one who [has his head and] his face [upon his feet;[5]] you who are hurling lightning [and who are thundering]; you are the one whose mouth [constantly pours forth] fire;[6] [you are the one who is over] Necessity. I call upon you, [the headless] god . . . [the one who has his head and his face upon his feet,] / strong[7] BĒSAS, [the dim-sighted one. You are the one lying on a coffin] and having at the side of the head . . . an elbow cushion . . . and of bitumen[8] . . . , the one whom they call, ANOUTH ANOUTH, lord. . . . You are not a daimon, but the blood of . . . , / and of the 30 and of the 104 falcons[9] who are also chattering and watching before the head of Osiris.[10] . . ."

/ . . . and from impurity . . . over the lamp . . . wholely black. . . . [fr. C][11]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, according to the edition by R. A. Coles et al., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 36 (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1970), no. 2753: Magical Spells, 27–28. The papyrus, a request for a dream oracle, was cut into several pieces, all severely damaged. It is not clear whether there were one or two spells. Some of the lines can be restored on the basis of remarkably close parallels elsewhere in *PGM*.

15. The names of the seven thrones are attested here for the first time completely. See Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 101.

16. For parallels see *PGM* IV. 2756–59; XV. 4–5; and Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 101.

17. See Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," 102, who refers to *PGM* IV. 2740–41, 2759–61.

1. Almost all is restored on the basis of *PGM* VII. 226–30.

2. As restored from *PGM* VII. 231–41.

3. For the association of the headless god with rainwater, see *PGM* VII. 224, 319–20; V. 152; LXI. 7.

4. For the headless god, see *PGM* II. 11; V. 98, 125, 145–46; VII. 233, 243, 442; VIII. 91; *Test. Sol.* 9. 1, and the discussion in Bonner, *SMA* 58, 110–11, 164–66.

5. Cf. *PGM* VII. 234; VIII. 91. See Bonner, *SMA* 110.

6. The fire has been omitted in *PGM* VII. 234.

7. Cf. on this epithet *PGM* V. 129.

8. Cf. *PGM* VII. 237; VIII. 98.

9. The number of falcons varies: cf. *PGM* VII. 239–40 (with Preisendanz's note); *PGM* VIII. 100.

10. Cf. *PGM* VII. 240; VIII. 100.

11. Cf. *PGM* I. 55–60; VII. 539.

PGM CIII. 1–18

*"... TAR thus P ... ŌTHOI and ... from every place ... place and every. ... / If she lies down ... let ... [not] eat, if she drinks ... B ... SON NN and ... and the ... most loved / ... immediately, immediately ... [NN, whom NN] bore ... to every place ... but not ... fire, and throwing / ... RI of gain THI ... CHIŌCH ... upon. ..."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Georgios A. Petropulos, *Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis (P. S. A. Athen.)* (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1972; repr. of 1939 edition), no. 70, pp. 430–31. The ostensible purpose of this second-century magical text is the acquisition of a lover. For similar love charms that seek to disrupt the victim's eating, sleeping, and so on, compare *PGM* IV. 1510ff.; CVIII, etc. For further commentary, see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 169–72.

PGM CIV. 1–8

*"AEŌ[1] ... AEEŌ[2] ... THYRINERE[3] ... ARMARINNE ... ARI ... OCH ... SOZOCHABAI ... ACHABOZO ... OUEDDOUCHAI,[4] get rid of all Althea's (?) daily fever with shivering fits. Give [Althea (?)] / rest from the daily fever with shivering fits. ..."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of M. Amelotti and L. Z. Migliardi, *Papiri dell'Università di Genova (PUG)*, vol. I (Milan: Giuffrè, 1974) no. 6: Amuleto contro la febbre, 17–18 (tav. V).

PGM CV. 1–15

*"The one having appeared [before][1] the universe in [accordance with your] eternal nature, the untiring one, the one who ... the one from the south ... guard; I call upon you, lord [Almighty], / the unknown one, the pure soul, I, the one ... having been sanctified. Be merciful to me, O Zeus-Iao-Zen-Helios, IOUS ... SANBALCHANBAL THANŌAMA ... CHŌCH, so that I may speak ... of the gods ... / AŌT[2] ABAŌT BASYM[3] ISAAC [ABRAHAM] JACŌB, hearken to me, the one ... ŌROU ŌROU ŌROU AE IAI A ... SOUŌ I IYAOĒ IAŌ, [always,] the god who commands, the god ... / the inhabited world. ..."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of W. Brashear, "Vier Berliner Zaubertexte," *ZPE* 17 (1975): 25–27. On the basis of the Zeus/Helios identification in l. 7, Brashear labels this spell *Anrufung an Sarapis*, "an invocation to Sarapis." See also F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 375.

PGM CVI. 1–10

*"ADŌNAI ELO[AI SA]BAŌTH ABLANATHANAB[LA AKR]AMMACHAMARI ... SESENGERBARPHARANGĒS AEĒIOYŌ IAŌ PHRĒ ... ĒAŌ IAŌ EAŌ ...

1. There is space for a single letter here, perhaps *Ē*; see n. 2, below.

2. After the Ō, there is one letter to make out. It is probably an omicron. The first nine letters, then, probably contain a series of vowels, viz., AEŌĒ AEEŌŌ.

3. The editor suggests that these letters may contain the Greek for "portal of Erebos" (reading *θύριν ἐρέβου*). Erebos was the mythological place of nether darkness which formed a passage from Earth to Hades.

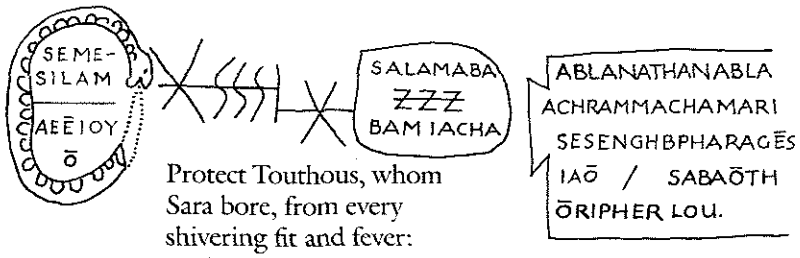
4. Supplying here an alpha before the final iota.

1. Following the likely restoration of A. Henrichs.

2. On this Aoth-*logos*, Brashear points the reader to *PGM* IV. 1376; Delatte and Derchain 416, 487; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 242. 9.

3. BASYM, in Greek letters, corresponds to Aramaic *besum*, "in the name of": see Glossary, s.v. Thus the text perhaps reads, "in the name of Isaac, [Abraham,] Jacob." In the lacuna, Brashear restores instead "... Isaac [Sabaōth, Iaō], Jacob"; however, "Abraham" is another possible reading, as the three names form a natural, formulaic grouping in magical literature. See M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *JBL* 57 (1938): 289–303.

AEĒIOYŌ
OURIĒL
MICHAĒL
GABRIĒL
SOURIĒL
RAPHAĒL



Protect Touthous, whom Sara bore, from every shivering fit and fever: tertian, quartian, quotidian, daily, or every other day [it occurs] . . . ADŌNIAS, / ADŌNAEI, protect in. . . ."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of W. Brashear, *ZPE* 17 (1975): 27–30 (see note on previous papyrus).

PGM CVII. 1–19

*"ΨIOCHO ÷ SIM ⁄ PHNOUĒ[1] PHTHONTHŌN 2B2÷L–И›ΥL2 PERKMĒM[2] BIOU BIOU BIBIOU[3]

›ΥΛΥΛ И÷hΛ/h÷ȮΛ Ↄ÷ CL⌢7—cL4÷h—h›⌢⁄B2÷2h [4] OCHERO И NOURI[5] EPNEBAI[6] SERPŌT′ MOUISRO[7] RINT′[8] MĒI MĒI[9] ĒI OU OUSIRI[10] SERPHOUTH MOUISRO MĒI / MĒI. Quickly fetch here Tapias whom Demetria bore, for Achillas whom Helene bore, by means of the soul of the one who died prematurely, / BAKAXICHYCH,[11] by the one whom all things are entrusted to, EULAMŌ;[12] fetch Tapias for Achillas, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Robert Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," *ZPE* 19 (1975): 255–64 (text two). Daniel provides copious notes and parallels to the *PGM*. Only his most essential comments are noted below.

PGM CVIII. 1–12

*"THŌBARABAU TEUTHRAIAIAIAŌ BAKAŌPHLEN NOPH EPHOPHTHE AMOU AMIM BAIN BAARA AALŌ B . . . NAARA AAAAAAA EEEEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ / IIIIIII OOOOOOO YYYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ, make fly through the air[1] the soul and the heart of Leontia whom Ailia[2] bore in her womb, and don't allow her to eat or drink or to fall

1. PHNOU may be equated with the Coptic word *pnoun*, "the abyss." Otherwise it is the magical name for a god in *PGM* XII. 290 and is found in frequent combinations throughout the *PGM*.

2. PERKMEN, perhaps Coptic for "the Lord of darkness" or "house of darkness."

3. BIOU BIOU BIBIOU: BIOU is frequent in the *PGM* and is identical to the name of a decan. Cf. W. Gundel, "Dekane und Dekansternbilder," *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg* 19 (1936): 233–34.

4. In these lines there are thirty-six characters which correspond to the number of decans and their deities.

5. NOURI is Coptic for "vulture."

6. EPNEBAI may reflect the words *p nb by*, "the lord of souls," in *DMP* XXVIII, 1 (cf. Copt. *neb bai*).

7. For this Egyptian formula: lotus (*serphouth*)—lion (*moui*)—ram (*sro*), cf. *PGM* III. 659.

8. RINT′ is Sahidic for "my name." Cf. *PGM* IV. 83–84.

9. MĒI MĒI (also in ll. 9–10) is Fayumic and Bohairic for "truth."

10. The god Osiris.

11. This name is to be equated with BAINCHŌŌŌCH: both names mean "spirit of darkness." See Glossary, s.v.

12. This popular name can be equated with "eternal" and has become the subject of some etymological speculation (see Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," 264, n. 17, for literature).

1. This verb, ἀεροπετέω, is used only in magical texts, as Daniel points out, pp. 249–50.

2. Reading Ailia instead of Elia.

asleep / until she comes to me, Dioskouros whom Thekla bore, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly." |⊣ ⊢

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Robert Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," *ZPE* 19 (1975): 249–55 (text one).

PGM CIX. 1–8

*"As Hermes turns in his marrow[1] and this strip of papyrus becomes reality,[2] so turn the brain[3] and the / heart[4] and search out[5] all the mind of her who is called Kalemera, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Eric G. Turner, "The Marrow of Hermes," in *Images of Man in Ancient and Medieval Thought. Studia Gerardo Verbeke . . . dicata* (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1976) 169–73. The love spell from Oxyrhynchus (ca. A.D. 300) presents very difficult problems, so that the translation by necessity remains tentative. See also the different readings and interpretations by Giuseppe Giangrande, "The Marrow of Hermes: A Papyrus Love-Spell," *Ancient Society* 9 (1978): 101–16; P. Gorissen, "Once more the Love-Spell of Hermes and the Marrow," *ZPE* 37 (1980): 199–200; and J. Gwyn Griffiths, "Hermes and the Marrow in a Love-charm," *ZPE* 38 (1980): 287–88.

PGM CX. 1–12

*. . . a voice comes to you in conversation. Lay out the stars on the board in their natural order,[1] with the exception of the sun[2] and the moon.[3] Make the sun[4] gold, / the moon[5] silver, Kronos[6] of obsidian, Ares[7] of yellow-green onyx, Aphrodite[8] of lapis-lazuli streaked with gold, Hermes[9] / of turquoise; make Zeus[10] of a [dark blue] stone, but underneath of crystal. But the horoscope. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976), no. 1: Astrological Text, 175–77 (plate). The text, constructed from two separate fragments, seems to contain instructions for a special type of astrological divination. The incomplete text at the beginning of the horoscope shows that the client participates in an auditory revelation of a god. This probably contains the end of the procedure section of the magical spell.

1. The phrase is unknown. Perhaps it is Hermes himself who "is turned around by the marrow," the marrow referring to a magical substance used in the ritual operation. In this case the verb is construed as passive, with "marrow" as the genitive of agent. This avoids the need to emend the word to the accusative case (so P. Gorissen), or to take the genitive as "locative" (so Turner), since this normally requires the dative case. [R.D.K.]

2. Perhaps the words are an interjected "commercial": "and this sheet really 'works.'" The *πιττάκιον* is the sheet or piece of papyrus on which the spell itself is written; see Turner, 172; Giangrande, 107, for parallels. [R.D.K.]

3. Cf. on this notion *PGM* IV. 1544–45.

4. Cf. the parallel in *PGM* XIc. 3. For another interpretation, see Giangrande, 109.

5. Thus Turner's translation. Gorissen takes *ζητουν*, "search out," to be a personal name.

1. Packman translates this more literally: "Let the stars be set upon the board where (they belong) by nature. . . ." The sense may suggest that the planets and stars are to be arranged in their acknowledged order in their sphere of orbit.

2. The term for "sun" is represented in the papyrus by the symbol ☉.

3. The term for "moon" is represented by the symbol ☾.

4. That is, Helios.

5. That is, Selene.

6. That is, the planet Saturn.

7. That is, the planet Mars.

8. That is, the planet Venus.

9. That is, the planet Mercury.

10. That is, the planet Jupiter.

PGM CXI. 1–15

*. . . in Egyptian, [Kneph;][1] . . . in Greek; and the great sculptor . . . and after forming two cows alike . . . and their sexes male and . . . / and after shaping another . . . [make] its body that of a serpent which has [no tail], but from either end [three-headed: on the right] human heads, [and on the left] geese heads, [and in the middle heads of] / golden gazelles with solar disks matching the shapes of their horns. [And after forming another] with its body, on the one hand . . . on the other hand, its appearance that of a sea falcon . . . , in Egyptian . . . / slight interpretations. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976) no. 2: Description of Magical Figures, 177–79 (plate).

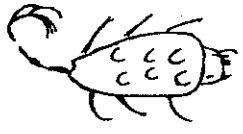
PGM CXII. 1–5

*"SABAPSYRA IOEL
SEBAŌN SBAŌTH."
NAPSERNOUSOR *[For] scorpion [sting].*
ANAX
/ IRĒ

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Z. M. Packman, "Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976), no. 3: Amulet, 179–80 (plate). The text is presumably a charm for scorpion sting.

PGM CXIII. 1–4

*". . . PENCHIRAASARA . . . DA, drive out[1] . . . and scorpion . . . XAXAP. . . ."



*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Amulett gegen Skorpionsstich," *ZPE* 22 (1976) : 108 (Taf. IIIb). This spell is similar to other amulets against scorpion sting in the *PGM* (cf., e.g. *PGM* XXVIII a–c).

PGM CXIV. 1–14

*"[Protect] her, NN, O lord, [from all] evil acts [and from every] demonic visitation [and] . . . of Hekate and from . . . / attack and [from every onslaught (?)] in sleep . . . [from] mute daimons [and from every] epileptic fit [and from all] epilepsy / and . . . and. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the revised edition of R. W. Daniel, "Some ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ," *ZPE* 25 (1977) : 145–49 (text one). Daniel greatly improved the reading of the original edition in P. Proulx and J. O'Callaghan, *Studia Papyrologica* 13 (1974) : 83–88. Daniel also offers a tentative reconstruction of the lacunae in the text. The translation above reflects Daniel's improved text, but not all of his tentative reconstructions. For further commentary see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, I," *Miscellanea Papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1980) 173–75.

1. Following the restoration suggested by R. Merkelbach.

1. The imperative is in the plural, thus suggesting that the preceding text contained a list of magical names.

PGM CXV. 1–7

*"PHĒG GĒ . . . BALOCHRA THAMRA ZARACHTHŌ, I conjure you all by the bitter compulsion: MASKELI MASKELŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌTH OREOBAZAGAR RHĒZICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN / PYRIPĒGANYX. Deliver Ammon from the fever and shivering fit that restrains him, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly; today!"

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the text of R. W. Daniel, "Some ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ," *ZPE* 25 (1977): 153–54. The papyrus was first published with photographs and commentary by Z. Ritoók in *Antik Tanulmányok* 22 (1975): 30–43. Daniel's text offers some changes.

PGM CXVI. 1–17

*"IAIŌ ERBĒTH	IŌBRAK	IŌBRAK	IŌBRAK
IŌKABRA	ŌBRAK	ŌBRAK	ŌBRAK
ŌKABRA	BRAK	RAK	BRAK
ARBA	RAK	AB	RAK
ABA	AK	B	AK
BA	K		K."

"IAŌ IAKOUNBATT IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX IŌ ERAPOMPS IŌ TANONO IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ ABRASAX IŌ PSAAPOPSI / IŌ PHTHEAPOPS IŌ ISIŌR IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ PAKERBIŌTH AMOUNAUEIEOUN PEITŌRE AU EN KTENOUATEI . . . *KOX . . . OUS PSĒTAĒSEEBOLNOURTOU METHERENOUBTANOUN* / TEB IMETHE . . . LENE EUINASMA, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary of Rosario Pintaudi, "Invocazione a Seth-Typhon," *ZPE* 26 (1977): 245–48. Ll. 1–6 contain four "wing formations"; the rest seems to be an invocation using typical Seth-Typhon acclamations.

PGM CXVII

**Fr. 1* . . . [the elder?] . . . *Fr. 2* . . . the house [she?] leaves, [her] husband [forgetting] . . . to sleep most sweetly by me, [her waist] . . . until earth and heaven . . . *Fr. 4* . . . a cow . . . *Fr. 5* . . . with black, join together . . . into a new cup . . . *Fr. 6* . . . come to me . . . *Fr. 7* . . . and . . . in the middle of the night, the streets . . . OSIRIS ESIĒS, to meet . . . to pour out my fruits . . . *Fr. 8* . . . fulfill . . . *Fr. 9* . . . [what is prescribed below]: . . . ANOUBIS, ANOUBIS, I love her [NN] . . . *Fr. 10* . . . pluck two strands of her hair and [throw them] into a [new drinking vessel] . . . *Fr. 11* . . . her, possessed by your . . . *Fr. 12* . . . from . . . a white [thorn-apple tree] . . . speak the spell . . . *Fr. 13* . . . the Dioskouroi . . . the destroyer . . . *Fr. 14* . . . I conjure the gods in Hades . . . all, fetch her, [NN] . . . *Fr. 18* . . . of much knowledge . . . demand starry heaven . . . and the Eternal Mistress . . . *Fr. 19* . . . dreadful, everlasting [Hekate?], with grievous suffering, with . . . pains . . . *Fr. 21* . . . carry out [for me this perfect] spell . . . *Fr. 22* . . . AKRA . . . SO O . . . and . . . black . . . bring insomnia to her, NN . . . *Fr. 23* . . . [offer] to him as a drink . . . take it, for it is . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in A. Carlini et al., *Papiri Letterari Greci* (Pisa: Giardini, 1978) no. 34: P. Mon. Gr. Inv. 216: Formulario magico, 237–66. Although this text is comprised of twenty-three tiny fragments of which little sense can be made, its importance should not be underestimated, for it is one of a few magical papyri which antedates the Christian period. This, along with the so-called Philinna Papyrus (*PGM* XX), dates to the first century. Fragmentary as it is, one can detect that the papyrus contains portions of a love spell. Of special importance are the occasional Egyptian deities mentioned along with the Greek, thus showing that a syncretistic influence was already at work in the magic of this early period.

PGM CXVIII

P. Palau Rib. inv. 200 another "magical scroll" similar to those published by G. M. Parássoglou in *Studia Papyrologica* 13 (1974) (= *PGM* CIII a–c.). A description and photograph of the scroll, with no transcription of the text, was published by José O'Callaghan, "Rollo mágico (PPalau Rib. inv. 200)," *Studia Papyrologica* 17 (1978): 85–87.

PGM CXIXa. 1–3

*". . . fortune, I conjure. . . ."

Love spell through touch: Take milk . . . 9 *echthei*, 12 *ealē*. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (PLaur. III), *Papyrologica Florentina* 5 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979) no. 57: "Frammenti di Manuale Magico (PL II/52)," 34–36. This papyrus contains fragments of approximately eight short spells. The opening line preserves the end of a conjuration of uncertain purpose; portions of a love spell follow.

PGM CXIXa. 4–6

Fetching charm: On an ostracon . . . : / "BOLSAK SAR . . . , the thoughts. . . ." 5

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. On this magical papyrus, see the introductory note above. Since this tiny, fragmentary spell has preserved its title, it can be assumed the invocation is to be engraved on a potsherd with the aim of binding the thoughts (i.e. "brains") of a desired woman, as well as other parts of the human constitution.

PGM CXIXa. 7–11

***Charm to subject**: ". . . subject [to me] . . . CHR." Write . . . / an aphrodisiac (?). 10

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See the introductory note to *PGM* CXIXa. 1–3 for the bibliographical reference to this text. The fragmentary word translated "aphrodisiac" may introduce a new spell or may simply show that the spell to subject can work as an aphrodisiac as well.

PGM CXIXb. 1–5

*". . . A . . . EDĒS wounds . . . vain babbling, and also mingle. . . ."

[***For fever with shivering fits***:] Take an olive leaf and engrave: ". . . ." / [For 5 daily] and nightly fever. KELLIOTON. Take. . . .

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky. See the introductory note to *PGM* CXIXa. 1–3. This portion of the magical manual deals in part with a spell for fever. The invocation preceding it serves an unknown purpose. Furthermore, it is not clear whether another formula follows the charm for fever. The editor of the papyrus suggests that *κάλλιστον* (sc. *φίλτρον*), "an excellent philtre" could be read in the letters KELLIOTON.

PGM CXX. 1–13

*"cutting the uvula
utting the uvula
tting the uvula
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*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (PLaur. III)* (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979) no. 58: Ὄνομα πτερυγοειδώς (PL III/1442) 37–38 (Tav. LIII). This "winged" formation is made up of an adjective, σταφυλότομος, attested in only one other place. According to the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, cited by Pintaudi, the adjective means *uvam incidens*, "cutting the uvula." This term contains a play on words, as words with the same root can also refer to a bunch of grapes. It is no coincidence, then, that in magical literature winged formations such as that shown above were also referred to as grape-shapes (cf. *PGM* III. 70). The manner in which the formation is written allows one to read "cutting the uvula" down the left margin. Conceivably, this spell served as an amulet to heal its wearer from inflammation of the uvula. For a parallel, see the gemstone published by A. Sambon, *Le Musée* 6 (1909): 111.

PGM CXXI. 1–14

*. . . [cessation]:

column 1:	column 2:
death	rudeness
darkness	evil
mental illness	the evil eye
grief	debauchery
fear	slavery
illness	indecency
poverty	lamentation
disturbance	troublesomeness
	emptiness
	malignancy
	bitterness
	arrogance

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Giovanni Geraci, "Un'*actio* magica contro afflizioni fisiche e morali," *Aegyptus* 59 (1979): 63–72. This magical text has no real parallel in the corpus of magical literature. It appears to be an elaborate phylactery, listing a number of ailments both physical and psychological. The initial lines of the spell probably contained a plea that the vices listed in the two columns should cease or come to an end. The entire spell is enclosed in an ouroboros figure which has not been well preserved on the papyrus.

PGM CXXII. 1–55

***An excerpt of enchantments**[1] from the holy book called Hermes,[2] found in Heliopolis in the innermost shrine of the temple,[3] written in Egyptian letters and translated into Greek. /

Enchantment using apples:[4] "Three times I shall throw apples, . . . and thereby I
[col. I, 5] shall provide this timely love spell for both mortal people and immortal gods.
I . . . , I threw the apple and I hit [her] with the apple. / Setting everything aside,
[I, 10] may she fall madly in love with me; whether she takes it in her hand and eats . . . or holds it in her bosom, may she not stop loving me. O goddess born on Cyprus,[5] /
carry out this perfect charm. . . .

1. So according to Brashear's interpretation, p. 265.
2. That is, Hermes Trismegistos. Cf. *PGM* IV. 885–87.
3. This refers to the temple library.
4. Although reportedly coming from an Egyptian holy book, this love spell contains Greek magic. The importance of apples in declarations of love and in oracles is well known. See A. R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature," *HSCP* 72 (1967): 154–55, 157.
5. That is, Aphrodite; for commentary, see Brashear, 268–69.

"I have taken your . . . eye.[6] I, NN, have taken your soul.[7] I, NN, have drunk from your blood. I, NN, have used . . . I, NN, have devoured your liver.[8] I, NN, have / [put on] your [skin]. I, NN, have done it. [I, 15] [I, 20]

"The goddess[9] in heaven looked down upon him, and it happened to him according to every wish of his soul . . . NN says: From the day [and] from the hour I, NN, [do this act] to you; you will love me, be fond of me, and value me . . . I die. / O Lady, goddess, [Isis] . . . , carry out for me this perfect charm." [I, 25]

Having[10] raised your hands toward the stars, let down . . . NN, and . . . and black night; and standing [awake] and sleeplessness and . . . you shall use [these?] before you see the sun. Take myrrh and chant and anoint your face:

"You are the myrrh with which Isis[11] was anointed / when she went to the bosom of Osiris, her . . . brother, and gave him her favor on that day. Give me. . . ." [II, 5]

"Wake up him, NN, or her, NN, Mistress Isis, and carry out this perfect charm. Hail,[12] Helios; hail you who rise; hail also to you, the gods who rise together with him . . . / let rejoice . . . nor concerning a silver coin, but concerning him, NN, . . . remain . . . I am running, but he is escaping me . . . to you . . . and having done the sacred [acts?] . . . at sunrise . . . neither . . . nor drink nor / lie down . . . nor . . . , but have me in . . . and anguished, until she [comes] to me, until . . . everlasting god . . . if she leaves [me] . . . I will be with you until she comes back to me and goes . . . / [that] you bring him, NN, O Helios . . . the ever . . . day, him, NN, . . . a coin . . . ; / O goddess born on Cyprus,[13] carry out this perfect charm." [II, 10] [II, 15] [II, 20] [II, 25]

For headache:[14] "Osiris has a headache; Ammon has a headache at the temples of his head; Esenephthys[15] has a headache all over her head. May Osiris' headache not stop, may Ammon's headache at the temples of his head not stop, until / first he, NN, stops all. . . ." [II, 30]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by W. Brashear, "Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus," *ZPE* 33 (1979): 261–78. The love spell is one of the oldest Greek magical papyri; it was found in Abusir el Melek, Egypt (first c. A.D.). For further notes see F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 1 (1980): 375–76.

6. Apparently, the lines refer to some sort of cannibalistic ceremony done for the purpose of erotic magic. See Brashear, 269–71, who refers to *PGM* IV. 296–335, and A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos, Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 14 (Bonn: Habelt, 1972) 70, n. 77.

7. The term may be a euphemism for the sexual organs (see Glossary, s.v. "Soul"). See Brashear, 272.

8. The liver plays a special role in erotic magic. See Brashear, 272.

9. A reference to some mythical detail.

10. Apparently some kind of nocturnal ceremony is described. See Brashear, 273.

11. The second column contains Egyptian magic. The mythical love of Isis is imitated here; cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 288–89 and Brashear, 274–75.

12. Apparently the beginning of a hymnic passage, addressed to Helios.

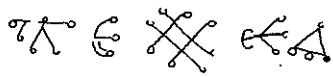
13. See n. 5 above.

14. A charm against headache, using a threat against the gods that they will not stop suffering headaches until they have healed the operator. See Brashear, 276, for parallels.

15. That is, Isis-Nephthys; cf. *PGM* XII. 234.

PGM CXXIII a–f

a.

*"MARMARITHI // MARMARITHE[1]
AMCHĒ LOU
AMICH LOU
BAROU CHA
RCHOBIŌCH
. . . . . SE
B . . .
BLA
. . . KO . . . ŌT

EULAMMŌN[2]
PHANEMOU
KAICH . . . LACHAM
SABAHŌ CHAMRI
MOUSĒTH[3] CHŌTH
SISĒTH[4] HTHŌCH
NEMOUĒL[5] CHARIŌTH
A, NN, NN[6] AMĒITĒL
AI
NEŌTTASIA
ETHOOU."[7]

Write on tin:[8] onion, rue, frankincense. ***Erōtylos***:[9] / "Born of blood,[10] shedding

1. A variation of the common magical name MARMARIŌTH, on which see K. Preisendanz, *PRE* 14 (1930):1881; Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* IV sec. 3206; Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 746.

2. A form of the magical word EULAMŌ. For literature and additional occurrences of the term outside the *PGM*, consult Maltomini, 71–72, n. 11.

3. This name may be a conflation of the names "Moses" and "Seth." Alternatively, the name may be explained from Coptic and Demotic as "lion-Seth." See Maltomini, 72–73, n. 15.

4. Possibly Coptic for "Offspring of Seth"; see Maltomini, 73–74, n. 16.

5. An angelic name meaning "God has spoken." See Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie* 299. Cf. Nm 26:12.

6. In the papyrus we have ☥ ☥, the usual symbols for "so-and-so" (NN).

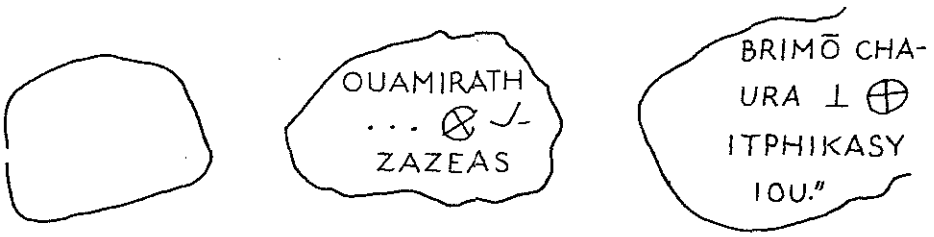
7. Perhaps Coptic *ethoou*, "evil," thus Maltomini, 75, n. 22.

8. The reference is probably to writing the words on a tin plate. Cf. *PGM* VII. 459, 462; *PGM* XCIV. 37.

9. This word also occurs in *PGM* XIII. 946; VII. 478. According to *LSJ*, this Doric term can mean the following: (1) "a darling, sweetheart"; (2) as an adjective, it refers to singing love songs; (3) a name of a small star; and (4) the name of a gem. In the *PGM*, both the context and the etymology suggest the term means "a love charm."

10. Reading *αἱμοφνη*, an apparent neologism in the *PGM*. Such formations of new words—usually epithets—abound in the magical papyri. Many of the new formations in the list that follows represent appropriate designations for Hekate and other chthonic deities. For parallels in each case, consult Maltomini, ad loc.

blood,[11] putting out roots,[12] androgynous,[13] manly,[14] / born with blood,[15] saffron- 30
dyed,[16] with golden arrows,[17] golden-haired,[18] like a white onion,[19] / MENOU- 35
LATH, CHARBATHA, STHŌMBAULĒ, ZANXMNA, CHŌNOUTHA, / MENOUBA, BELER- 40
THI, ZACHTHAĒR, CHALIOUBĒ



For childbearing: "Come out of your tomb, Christ is calling you."[20] / [Place] a 50
potsherd on the right thigh. ***For sleep***: on a bay leaf [write]: "[illegible] THARA
THARŌ." ***For strangury***: "MŌGIB [illegible] THTHYS [illegible]" / ***For a shiver-*** 55
ing fit: on a piece of papyrus: "[A]BLANATHANAPAMBALANATHANATH . . .
NATHANAMATHANATHANATHA [illegible] Raphaēl, EI . . .
ŌI [illegible] THNĒ," / Take a marble statuette, scratch with the right hand the right side of 60
a penis. Pound it on a table with wax. Take the wood from the heart of a plum tree,
the stock of a cabbage plant, chickpea; boil some garlic and give it as / a before- 65
dinner drink. Pellitory, pepper, grain, 23 parts kohl . . . bay leaf. Pound two pepper
grains and mix it with gum of "Hercules' woundwort."
For a victory: / [Wear] a tooth of a hyena, from the right side of the jaw . . . one of 70
the upper ones. . . .

11. Reading *αἱμωχυη*. Apparently a new formation from *αἷμα*, "blood" and *χέω*, "to pour out, shed." Related epithets having to do with blood and applying to Hekate are listed by Maltomini, 77, n. 26.

12. Reading perhaps *ῥιζοποιε* for *ῥιζοπνε*. The expression is problematic and the restoration very tentative; nevertheless the association of roots with both Selene and Hekate is attested. Consult the references in Maltomini, 78, n. 27.

13. Reading *ἀνδρογύνη* for *ἀνδρωγενη* (cf. the variant spelling of the Greek in *PGM* CXXIIIf., fr. A., 5). In *PGM* IV. 2610, Hekate is coupled with Hermes as an androgynous being.

14. The meaning of this unattested word *ἀνδρως* is at best very speculative; however, there is no question that the word originally formed a meaningful Greek epithet having to do with *ἀνήρ*, "man." For similar, anomalous formations, consult the occurrences in *PGM* as cited by Maltomini, 78, n. 29. In addition to his philological parallels, compare the term *ἀνήνωρ*, "unmanly."

15. The word *αἱμογενῆς* is now attested on a second-century inscription from Egypt, *SEG* 8. 374. Although LSJ, Supplement, s.v., p. 5, translates this "related by blood," Maltomini is correct in suggesting here "born of/with blood."

16. Reading *κροκοβαφή* for *κροκοβανιη*? [R.D.K.] Maltomini suggests perhaps *κροκοφανη* (unattested). Saffron is associated with Hekate in Orphic Hymn 1. 2; 71. 1, and elsewhere with Demeter and Persephone.

17. The word is attested in Tzetzes, *Alleg. Il.* XX. 226, p. 132, Matranga. A similar epithet is used of Hekate in Lydus, *De mens.* 3. 10.

18. An appropriate epithet of Hekate (-Selene), thus Maltomini, 79, n. 33.

19. Reading *κρουν(ον) λευκον*.

20. Parallels adduced by Maltomini, 82–83, show that in Christian magic a *historiola* was used, according to which Elizabeth says to John the Baptist in her womb: "Come out, child, Christ is calling you. . . ." In our papyrus this *historiola* appears to have been confused with the account of Lazarus in the tomb, thus attesting the analogy of womb and tomb.

(pap. 2) *b.*

"KAICHABŌ, SABAHŌ, MOUSĒTH, SISĒTH, NEMOUĒL."

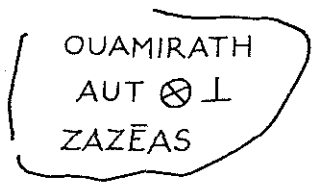
(Pap. 3) *c.*

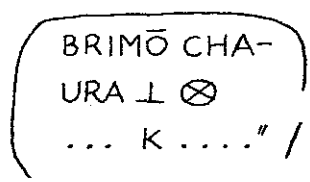
Fr. A: "KAICHABO, SABAHŌ, MOUSĒTH, SISĒTH, NEMOUĒL, A, NN, NN . . ." *Fr. B* ". . . CHAR . . . AMĒI . . . NEŌT . . . ETHOO. . . ."

d. ". . . ATH . . . PHAĒL EL. . . ."

e.

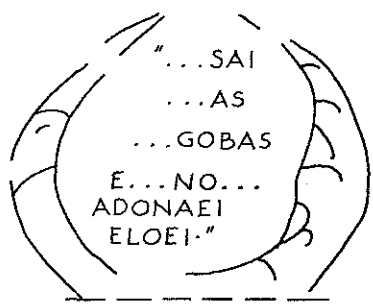
"Born of blood, shedding blood, putting out roots, androgynous, manly, [born with blood, saffron-dyed, with golden arrows]. . . . E . . . THCHARBATH, STHŌMBAULĒ, ZANXMNA // CHŌNOUTHA // MENOUBA // BELERTHI // ZACHTHAĒR [// CHALIOUBĒ]





f.

Fr. A: ". . . YBĒ . . . A . . . ROS. Born of blood, shedding blood, / putting out roots, androgynous, ANTHROROCH,[21] born with blood, saffron-dyed, with gold arrows, golden-haired, dog-faced baboon. . . ."



Fr. B.

". . .
ZANXMNA
MENOUBA
[ZACHTHAĒR]
. . .



. . .
. . .
MARMOUR
SABAŌTH
ADONAEI."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition and notes of Franco Maltomini, "I Papiri greci," in G. Arrighetti et al., "Nuovi papiri magici in copto, greco e aramaico," *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979), *section* II, *pp.* 55–124. *The six papyrus fragments translated here correspond to those numbered* 1–6 *consecutively by Maltomini. They have been grouped here under the same Roman numeral because they represent duplications (with some variations) of the same magical text. The text, which contains a series of peculiar and difficult epithets, perserves portions of a magico-medical handbook. Unless otherwise stated, the notes that follow are summarized from those of the editor. For a full discussion of each of the terms and of the *voces magicae*, one should consult the edition of Maltomini.*

21. Cf. n. 14. Something peculiar has occurred in the transmission of this epithet.

PGM CXXIV. 1–43

*[illegible] CHAR . . . OBBA being written, and the one throw into a public latrine, / the other bury in the house [illegible] THATHĒ THATHŌ. **Charm to inflict illness:**[1] [Take] the blood of a weasel and write on a triangular potsherd and bury it in the house: [illegible] THRAX TRAX BRAX. /

27 / and fill it with water, up to the [shoulder] of the
33 [manikin] only. / Crush rhododendron plants with some vinegar and sprinkle the entrances to the tomb. /
35 Take a garland made from the plant, and while pronouncing the formula, attach it to the tomb: "Principal angel of those below the earth, BAROUCH, and you, angel of many forms, OLAMPTĒR; in this hour /
40 do not disobey me, but send to me . . . without fear, without harm, doing my every. . . ."



Take unsmoked[2] beeswax and make a little manikin. Write the characters / on a tiny piece of papyrus and place it inside the beeswax. Also write the three "ō's" and the letters that follow, on the head of the manikin, and the bones of the victim (?).[3] . . . / Prick the left one[4] into the left eye of the manikin and the right one[5] into the right. Hold the figure upside-down on its head[6] / and put it into a new pot. Leave the pot in the dark

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of Franco Maltomini, in *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979), sec. II, pp. 94–112 (Pap. 7) (see previous papyrus, *PGM* CXXIII. a–f). The instructions call for the manufacturing of a waxen doll; for this phenomenon in magic, consult the literature cited by Maltomini; cf. *PGM* IV. 296ff.

PGM CXXV a–f

Papyri nos. 8–15 in Maltomini's edition in *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979): 113–20 (see *PGM* CXXIII a–f for full reference) contain texts too fragmentary to translate.

a. Papyrus no. 8 (Tav. XI) 113–16, dates to the fifth or sixth century and is made up of three fragments: Fragment A contains several legible *voces magicae*, viz.,

1. Reading *κατακλιτικόν* for *κατακλητικόν*. Cf. *PGM* VII. 430 for the same expression and *PGM* IV. 2076, 2442, 2450, 2497, 2624; LXIV. 1 for the use of the verb in this sense.

2. That is, presumably wax taken without smoking the bees. Cf. *PGM* IV. 2378, 2945 for a similar practice in reference to honey.

3. The text is hopelessly corrupt at this point and thus defies explanation. The text seems to contain a reference to the bones of a victim, thus we read *σφάκτης* (thus Maltomini) in the series of letters immediately following "bones."

4. The reference to "left one" and "right one" is not clear. Maltomini assumes the references are to "the left *part*" and "the right *part*" of the mannikin, respectively. That is, the magician is to prick the left part of the mannikin *up to* the left eye, and the same on the right. However, it is more likely on the basis of spells like *PGM* IV. 296–335 that "the left (one)" and "the right (one)" refer to left and right "needles" pricked into the matching eyes. The "left one" means a needle held in the left hand, the "right one" a needle held in the right. Cf. *PGM* IV. 2943–50 for a similar rite in which the eye of a magic doll is pricked.

5. See n. 4 above.

6. The text is unclear at this point. Literally, the text seems to direct the performer to hold the head of the mannikin "to the south." Judging from the description that follows, the mannikin is placed head-first into the pot, which is then filled up with water to cover its head.

SALAKALOU, KERKĒBI, and KAULYOUKAU. Fragment B contains only a handful of letters, whereas fragment C preserves an elaborate magical figure.

b. Papyrus no. 9 (Tav. XII) 116–17, contains nine lines of which only a few words can be positively identified: ALLELOUIA, SABAŌTH, and ADONAI. The other side of the papyrus preserves portions of an Aramaic magical text published by Marrassini in the same journal, p. 128.

c. Papyrus 10 (Tav. VIII) 117–18 dates to the fifth century and is made up of two tiny fragments which cannot be read. Fragment B contains portions of a Coptic formula.

d. Papyrus 11 (Tav. XII) 118, is made up of two fragments that are too small even to assign a date.

e. Papyrus 12 (Tav. XII) 119, is paleographically akin to Papyrus 6 (*PGM* CXXIII f.). Only the names ADONAI and SABAŌTH can be recognized.

f. Papyrus 13 (Tav. XI) 119–20, assigned to the end of the fifth century, also contains an Aramaic text on the other side (see Marrassini, pap. no. 3, p. 129). The text preserves portions of a formula which reads, "I conjure you by your holy name . . . BAROCH SĒMO. . . ."

PGM CXXVIa. 1–21

*". . . ATĒS . . . [sweet wine?] . . . / ATA . . . ASSA . . . NN [add the usual] . . . K . . . B . . . BRIAPS . . . [IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCH[OSĒTH BASDOUMA] / OSESRŌ APOMPS P[ATATHNAX KOKKO]LOPTOLIN CH . . . K . . . [. . . IŌ THATHTHA] BRABO, without violence . . . [spell of Typhon] Seth [carrying] out the whole magic [procedure and] separate her, NN, from him, NN. ABERAMENTHŌ / OUTHLERTHEXANAX [ETHRELTHYOŌTHNEMA]REBA, and say, 'Mustard, [you are not Mustard,] but the eye . . . the inner parts of the bull of Apis'" / (add the usual) . . . "from Osiris . . . and separate. . . ."

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Franco Maltomini, "Frammento di formulario magico (PL III/472)," in R. Pintaudi, ed., *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (P. Laur. IV)*, *Papyrologica Florentina* vol. 12 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1983) 46–53. Cf. the earlier edition by Rosario Pintaudi, "PL III/472: Frammento magico," *ZPE* 38 (1980): 261–64, and the new readings by F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, (III.)," *Studi classici e orientali* 32 (1982): 239–40. The poorly preserved text appears to be a spell for separation. L. 20 may begin another such spell, as it is separated by a paragraph mark. For parallel texts and commentary, see Maltomini's notes.

PGM CXXVIb. 1–17

*". . . O . . . [add the usual] . . . but the sight . . . the power of ADŌNAI . . . / of the great god . . . [Mustard], in order to separate . . . enmity until [death] . . . [in order that] you might enter into the . . . them as the . . . / having heard about . . . of Osiris ANE . . . and frightful and . . . having burnt . . . / and you, Mustard . . . / [the] house of her, NN . . . passageway. . . .

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition by Franco Maltomini (see note on the previous papyrus). This piece also appears to be from a spell for separation.

PGM CXXVII. 1–12

**To make one bend down and not get up*: Anoint the loins with the brain of an electric eel.

To get a certain [lover] at the baths: Rub a tick from a dead dog on the loins. / ***To "play" with a woman***: Anoint the phallus with the juice of the deadly carrot.

To cause a fight[1] ***at a banquet***: Throw a dog-bitten stone into the middle.
To make wine sour: Throw burning / pebbles into it.
In order "to screw" many times: Drink beforehand seed of celery and of rocket.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of G. M. Parássoglou, "Greek Papyri from Roman Egypt," *Hellenica* 27 (1974): 251–53, no. 9: "Magico-Medical Prescriptions." Note also F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci, II," *Civiltà classica e christiana* 1 (1980): 374.

PGM CXXVIII. 1–11

**A phylactery for fever*:

"SARICH "Of Jesus Christ, son of IAŌ (?),
AORKACH quickly, quickly,
/ ROUGACH heal!
CHIOSNĒCH John,
KOCH." / Son,
Life."

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of F. Maltomini, "Due papiri magici inediti," *Studi classici e orientali* 31 (1981): 111–14: *P. Heid. G. 1386.*

PGM CXXIX. 1–7

*". . . [concerning] the certain matter . . . [a tin?] lamella from a certain . . . and tie it up in a cloth . . . / of a black wolf from . . . and . . . it in a little case . . . again and again it will be of service to you.

*Tr.: Roy Kotansky, following the edition of F. Maltomini, "Due papiri magici inediti," *Studi classici e orientali* 31 (1981): 115–17: *P. Berol. 21260.*

PGM CXXX

*[IA]RBATH AGRAMMĒ PHIBLŌ CHŌĒMEŌ
[A E]E ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ[Ō]
Lord gods, heal Helene, whom [NN] bore, from every
illness and every fit of shivering [fever].
/ daily, daylong, tertian, quartan.
IARBATH AGRAMMĒ PHIBLŌ CHNĒMEŌ

AEĒIOYŌŌYOIĒEA
EĒIOYŌŌYOIĒE
ĒIOYŌŌYOIĒ ✳☽
YYY IOYŌŌYOI
OYŌŌYO
YŌŌY YYYYY
ŌŌ
[traces]

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by R. W. Daniel, "P. Mich. inv. 6666: Magic," *ZPE* 50 (1983): 147–54. For a parallel to this spell, see *PGM* XVIII b; for the stellar and lunar symbols, see the parallels in Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intailles*, nos. 296, 301.

PDM Suppl. 1–6

**[Another spell for] sending a dream*: [. . . I] am the youth without . . . scarab of . . . soul of the four faces (?) and I . . . you . . . complete. . . .
/ ***Formula***: On a leaf . . . , and you put a . . . it, and you write . . . embalming house.

1. Reading, with Maltomini (see introductory note above), μά[χ]ην for μά[ν]ην.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):66, col. 1/1–6. Section titles are indicated in the Demotic text only when they are written in red letters (see the Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri).

PDM Suppl. 7–18

*[***Another spell*** for] sending a dream: ". . . Come to me in your [form] . . . you
10 . . . before I have gone to the . . . which is therein / . . . without a skin of . . . they took it . . . your town . . . and I know . . . [in] your secret form . . . power (?) . . . while it . . . is bearing witness what I did . . . noble mummy . . . face of a lion
15 which . . . is your name, I having done / . . . you . . . so-and-so guard his hand."

Formula: . . . [body] of a white donkey . . . cow's fat . . . again; "great-of-love" plant, tear apart . . . gather . . . skin of a donkey. . . . It is very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):66, col. 1/7–18.

PDM Suppl. 19–27

20 ***[Another] spell*** for sending a dream: ". . . anger / . . . great . . . of the sea . . . Nun[1] at night . . . anger of the one who is in the water . . . the mountains. . . . Let the . . . speak to me . . . under me . . . in them. If not doing it . . . enemy of the praised one . . . me in the water at [night], in the day at [any time] . . . him."

25 ***Formula***: / . . . reed leaf and you write an image of . . . the ear . . . drowned, and you should recite these writings . . . ***four*** times . . . [wreath] to it and you say the thing [in the ear (?). . . . It is] very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):66, col. 1/19–27.

PDM Suppl. 28–40

*[***Another spell*** for] sending a dream: ***Formula***: You bring . . . and you do it . . . in
30[1] an oil of lotus[2] and [you] . . . wick / . . . and you protect it and you . . . [write?] these names in . . . falcon (?) with (?) its claw (?) and you write . . . of the . . . wick on (?) a new lamp of . . . of . . . which is above and you bring a new brick . . . the
35 [5] [lamp] . . . leave the lizard before the lamp . . . , / these again which you should write on the strip of the wick [of] the [lamp . . .].

Formula: ". . . BAH[E (?)] P[A]IRE PSIR PAH[. . .]BPS [. . .] A BAT LA BATL-[A]ATE,[3] come [to] me tonight and tell [me] an answer to [everything] about [which] I am praying (another [manuscript] says: . . . it goes in the place under the head of . . .) [stand?][4] before him in the form of his god who is great in his heart
40 [10] and make him dream a dream [about such-and-such] / a thing which I shall tell him today."

Formula: ***7 times.***

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):67, col. 1/28–30; col. 2/1–10.

PDM Suppl. 40–60

40 [10] ****Another spell*** for sending a dream: ***Formula***: "Listen to my voice, O noble mummy-spirit of a man of the necropolis who assumes [all his] forms; come to me and do for me such-and-such a thing today because I am calling you in your (?)

1. Primeval waters.
2. Scented with lotus.
3. Written *'te*, "limb."
4. See *PDM Suppl.* 120.

name . . . in Abydos who rests in the house of the official[5] whose name is 'this [one] who rests in truth' (another [manuscript] says, 'who . . . in truth'). Nun[6] . . . oath (?), 'great image of Nun' is your true name; / SHLBI NYH[R] is your true name, truly; Nun, NEO soul of Ha[. . .] 'very great one of Nun' is your true [name]. Soul of souls (another papyrus says, 'soul of a bull [?]') . . . of Nun is your true name. Soul of souls SHLBI NYHR is your true name. NEO soul of H[A . . .] Nun NEO great one of Nun [is your] true [name]. May you listen to the voice . . . in all his forms [of a spirit, noble mummy] of a man of the necropolis because [I] am [calling to you] / in your name of S . . . ISIRA SIRATHMA, saying, 'I am . . . land.' O SYAL[. . . [+] NEBOY]TOSYALTH SIRATHMA saying, 'I am . . . S.' O SY[. . . [+] NEBOYTOS]YALTH, let the [soul of the] noble spirit awaken to me; let him go [to the place] in which such-and-such is; let him greet (?) . . . have him do for me such-and-such a [thing] about [which I am] asking. . . ."

Its preparation:[7] . . . / these names with blood of . . . reed leaf; you put it . . . of a dead man; you leave . . . of clay under the head . . . on (?) it; and you recite them to him again. You do . . . lunar month and it is left in a place. . . . If stubbornness occurs, you should [put] the hoof . . . of a male donkey and myrrh . . . on it and you should beat on the ground until it stops. . . . If you [will act against a man / you should . . .] of a male. If you will act against a woman, you should [. . . of a] woman.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):67–68, col. 2/10–29; col. 3/1. Words preceded by [+] are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM Suppl. 60–101

Another spell* for sending a dream: ***Formula*: "[O] noble divine spirit [whose soul is in heaven] whose body is in the underworld, whose mummy [is among the living,] O good messenger of Osiris, O great follower of 'he who is in his bed,' the god . . . him (?). O guardian of the one who is in Alkhah,[8] I am the soul of . . . the one who is in his [two sound] eyes, who protected his limbs in the soundness daily . . . / I am the offspring of khepri[9] [whose] name is the divine [son?] of Amoun . . . scarab . . . body of the noble mummy in the sarcophagus which rests in the underworld . . . true, of the house of embalming. . . . I am the bull of the . . . ; I am the lion; I am the lion; I am . . . ; I am the soul of Pre, the breast of Shu; I am the egg of the snake; [I am] the dung ball of the beetle.[10] I am the lord of the Amhet-underworld;[11] I am the divine fluid / of the living . . . ; I am the noble head which is in Abydos.[12] Come to me at night, quickly, quickly; hurry [hurry, O] soul

5. Perhaps one of the liked-named chapels listed in H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. IV (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1927), 127–28.

6. Nun here and throughout this spell is the primeval waters.

7. Literally, "gathering of things"; the same term is used in *PDM* xii as a label for the directions.

8. See *PGM* IV. 124 and n.; cf. Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 21, n. to I. 3.

9. A sun god in the shape of the scarab beetle, whose dung ball represents the sun rolled across the sky. See *PGM* IV. 943 and n.

10. See n. 9 above.

11. I.e., the "upper" part of the underworld in contrast to *tph.t*, the "lower" part. See E. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, vol. II (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1968), par. 33, especially p. 622.

12. Osiris; see *PDM* xii. 628. On the dismemberment and burial of Osiris, see J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, *Studies in the History of Religions* (*Supplement to Numen*) 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 24–25, 27, 51–52.

without the body, dead one without the noble mummy, the noble mummy without the netherworld, [the] netherworld without the funerary bed, without the sarcophagus without . . . shrine (?) . . . born of Horus . . . Seth acts . . . against Apophis, the slaughter (?) against the evil one[13] again. The brazier is in your hand . . .[14]
75 [16] morning bark / [at?] dawn, the evening bark greets heaven and earth with (?) a great fire. Woe, woe . . . until you send to him, NN, whom she, NN, bore, and you send his heart after NN . . . thing . . . at night, in the daytime, at any time, every day, quickly, quickly, hurry, hurry . . . I [will ?] say them and I [will? . . .] specification (?) of saying them." ***Formula***: *7 times*.

80 [21] ***Its preparation***:[15] . . . kill it. You should bring it at the lunar month; / [you should] wash it in cow's [milk] . . . ; you [should] anoint it with oil of lotus[16] . . . of the leaf . . . reed; you should put [them?] at the seven(?) openings of the head and and bind them [with] linen . . . made by the hand of . . . bind them to its head; you should put its head . . . before the sun at dawn in the lunar month . . . to yourself barley and grain; you should leave them . . . you should put water of the divine lake
85 [26] . . . after them for 7 days until they grow; / [you should] bring them up; you should dry them until the 15th of the month; you [should] pound them with myrrh, green eyepaint, [black] eyepaint (?), *qs-ʿnḫ* stone,[17] "live-thereby" plant, mustard . . . 7 reed leaves which are above.

[col. 4] Afterwards, [you should put] a scarab into [fat?] of a bull; you should put [it?] in a vessel of copper which is full of cow's [milk]. . . . until it . . . ; you should bring it up; you should put the . . . to the head of the . . . ; you should put blood of your
90 [4] left thigh and your [right] thigh / on them; you should . . . the time; you should [shape them] into a mummy of the foremost of the westerners[18] which amounts to 7 fingers [in length]; you should embalm it with myrrh, with ointment [and a covering of] byssus. Afterwards you should [sprinkle] pure sand; you should make a layer of sand under it in your . . . ; you should set the image on the layer of sand; you should leave the scarab on the body of the . . . after the embalming (it) which you did first with myrrh, with ointment and a covering of byssus itself (?); you should write the things which you desire on a new papyrus with carob tree (?) /
95 [9] water; you should leave it before the image; you should cause the head which is on it to bend down; you should put a bandage of 4 [colors] on it, blue, red, white, black, on the head; you should leave it in a hidden place; you should put frankincense (?), ⁺barley, a great recipe to the brazier before it; you should offer to it bread, beer, and milk, in its midst; you should have blood fall from you on the brazier; you
100 [14] should put a piece of a red lizard / before it; you should recite these writings to it up to 7 times at night while you are in a [hidden] place which is clean; and you should make . . . settle (?)[19] before it. It is very good.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 68–70, col. 3/1–27; col. 4/1–15. The word preceded by ⁺ is written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic inserted above.

13. Identical with *nk* of Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 205, 14–15, as suggested by Mr. Mark Smith.
14. The section left untranslated is glossed *KN* in old Coptic.
15. See n. 7 above.
16. Scented with lotus.
17. See *PDM* xiv. 98 and n.
18. An epithet of Osiris.
19. Literally, "lie down."

PDM Suppl. 101–16

Another spell* for sending a dream: ***Formula*: "O Anubis, the high one of heaven, go to the underworld! Let the head of Osiris stop being far from him.[20] Give praise, love, and respect to NN before NN. Let him do everything which he will write for him, entirely. Move him! Give your iron staff / which is in your hand to the spirit! . . . Let him go to NN, whom NN bore. Let him stand before the image of the god who is great in his heart until he brings him to the road which NN is in, he seeking after him. And may you send a breathing spirit to NN so that he may stand before [him] in the image of the god who is great in his heart, and may you say, 'Give every good . . . thing to NN. . . .'" 101 [15] 105 [19]

Hear everything which he will say to you, entirely, while the crocodile of Isis, the great goddess, / is therein. [Let?] it be commanded before the gods to happen or you will delay because of it: "Is steadfastness [of] heart against me what you will do, so that you scorn (?) the blood of Osiris the moon, Thoth,[21] at night at mid-month?" 110 [24]

Its preparation:[22] On a new papyrus: you should draw an image of Anubis with blood of a black dog on it; you should write these writings under it; you should put it to the mouth of black dog of the embalming house; you should make great offerings before it; you should put frankincense on the brazier before him; / you should do it as a libation of milk of a black cow or a spirit whose face . . . ; and you should put its recitation in its mouth. [It is] very good. 115 [29]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 70–71; col. 4/15–30.

PDM Suppl. 117–30

Another form* for sending a dream: ***Formula*: "O praised one, call to heaven! Speak to the underworld; Let Osiris stop sleeping while his head is far from him[23] until a forceful spirit which does not sleep at night is sent / so that he stand above NN in the form of the god who is great in his heart, so that he say to him, 'Arise and do such-and-such a command of NN! Do all that which he will desire!' Come to me, [O] divine spirit whom Anubis sent to NN, saying, 'Do the every command which NN will desire!' Is not doing it what you will do, O noble spirit? Your soul will not be allowed to rise up to heaven on day 25 of the fourth month of Inundation to dawn of day 26, while the excellent spirits are awake." 120 [4]

Formula: / On a jackal of clean clay which is lying down, its body moistened with milk and fluid of a jackal of the embalming house with a . . .[24] on its foot. You should write your words on a new papyrus; you should put it in the jackal's mouth; and you should leave the jackal on a copper lamp which a brazier is heating. You should recite these writings to it at night; you should stamp / on the ground with your foot. 125 [9] 130 [14]

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 71, col. 5/1–14.

20. See n. 12 above.

21. For the association Osiris-moon-Thoth, see J. G. Griffiths, "Osiris and the Moon in Iconography," *JEA* 62 (1976): 153–59, although this Demotic evidence shows that the ibis in the hieroglyphic examples is not just a determinative, as he thought (noted by Dr. Mark Smith).

22. See n. 7 above.

23. See n. 12 above.

24. Perhaps "sound-eye" of Horus.

PDM Suppl. 130–38

130 [14] *A **"god's arrival"**[25] of Osiris: "O Isis, O Nephthys, O noble soul of Osiris Wennefer, come to me! I am your beloved son, Horus. O gods who are in heaven, O gods who are in the earth, O gods who are in the primeval waters, O gods who are in the south, O gods who are in the north, O gods who are in the west, O gods who are in the east, come to me tonight! Teach me about such and such a thing / 135 [19] about which I am asking; quickly, quickly; hurry, hurry."

Formula: On a phoenix written with myrrh water and juniper water. Put a pellet (?) of gum on your right hand; recite these writings to it in the evening while your hand is stretched out to the moon, while you are going to sleep; and leave your hand before you. (It is) very good. 4 times.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 71–72, col. 5/15–22.

PDM Suppl. 138–49

****A spell for* ———.**[26] ***Formula***: "The copper is bent down. The *neshmet* bark[27] will 140 [24] not stop sinking. The great / river draws blood. Isis is ill. [Neph]thys. . . . The copper will not stop bending. The *neshmet* bark will not stop sinking. The great river will not stop drawing blood. Isis will not stop being sick. Nephthys will not stop. . . . The copper is bent toward the one who is (?) in the sun bark. Re[28] is bent toward him while Amun is bent after him until sleep is taken from NN, whom NN bore, at night and care is given by day . . . until they [make] him do the thing which NN desires from him."

145 [2] ***Formula***: A / vessel of copper [in] which an image [of] Osiris is drawn with human blood; you should bend [it] down before a lamp with an [image] of Anubis drawn on the wick with blood of a black dog; you should put cedar oil in it out of a new vessel, it being established on a brick standing on its (?) . . . ; you should recite these writings to it up to 4 times. (It is) very good. There is not its like . . . in her (?) hand. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 72, col. 5/22–28; col. 6/1–6.

PDM Suppl. 149–62

150 [7] ***A "god's arrival"**[29] of Thoth according to what is outside,[30] also, ***saying* / *Formula***: "I call to you, O Thoth, the hearing-ear,[31] who listens to everything. I call to you in your names which are great, which are divine:

'ALIPS THABLIPS STSILIPS †GAGARPAOTHAR THANASIMA QHAH †ORTHŌMENKHROŌN †BALSA †ALABAKHABEL.' Awaken to me, O lord of truth! Tell me an answer in 155 [12] truth to the "god's arrival" / concerning such-and-such a thing, in truth, without falsehood therein, so that I may awaken and find it (out)."

Its preparations:[32] A new lamp whose wick is of byssus cloth which is very clean; you should fill it with genuine oil; you should burn (it); you should write your command on a new papyrus; you should put it under the lamp; you should put a

25. See *PDM* xiv. 93–114.
26. Erased.
27. Sacred bark of Osiris.
28. The sun god, more commonly written Prē.
29. See n. 25 above.
30. On the other side of the papyrus?
31. I.e., who listens to the petitions of the average man.
32. See n. 7 above.

lobe of "great-of-love" plant under the lamp's mouth; and you should recite these names above to it 8 times. / It comes to you. 160 [17]

Here is the ink with which you should write your command on the bookroll: "Great-of-love" plant, a leaf of olive tree; you should cook them, make them into myrrh ink and write with it.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):72–73, col. 6/1–19. Words preceded by ˹ are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM Suppl. 162–68

*__*Another spell for finding your house of life. Formula*__: "Open to me! I am the noble ibis; I am the ape of Edfu;[33] I am the great male, the scarab; I am the guardian of the great body; I am the snake of the 4 gods / who were with Isis while she 165 [22] was searching for the good [one].[34] SHAPL is [my] name as Sothis.[35] The Ethopian is [my] name. Osiris the bull of magic is [my] name. The divine Ra-Shu is my name, I going to all the gods in order to cause that I find my house in which I shall live."

Formula: On an ibis written with black ink on the left hand of a man when he sees that house of life.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):73, col. 6/19–25.

PDM Suppl. 168–84

*__A spell for reciting__ a document which is. . . . It is a "god's arrival"[36] of Iymhotep to whom the tenth belong also.

Formula: "Awaken! / Awaken in the underworld, Osiris Wennefer, l p h,[37] 170 [27] Iymhotep the great, son of Ptah! . . . I am [. . . is] my name; I gather a box [. . . the sound-] eye is [my] name (?) . . . ; the moon, Thoth . . . [Iymhotep the great], the son of [Ptah . . .], excellent mother, fashioner of the underworld, go forth. . . . They will not stand in / their box . . . [moisten ?] their box. You should awaken 175 [5] before Iymhotep the great, son of [Ptah . . .] son, daughter, that I might live, and you should tell [me] an answer [to] the thing which is on . . . bookroll . . . every voice. Come to me, Thoth the great, the lord of Hermopolis . . . him. Give watch to the head for [the] day."

Formula: write . . . on (?) it [with] your hand with / myrrh ink; likewise under 180 [10] . . . lick it; you should open your mouth to the ground in a cry, saying, ". . . the sound-eye; the sound-eye is what I ate." You should open your mouth to it in order to lick it. Awaken at dawn; you should say: "Horus is my name; I am Horus, the triumphant." . . .

. . . ***day*** on which ***you will do the "god's arrival"*** while the moon is in Leo, Sagittarius, Aquarius, or Virgo.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):73–74, col. 6/25–27; col. 7/1–14.

PDM Suppl. 185–208

*"Face . . . which is at rest . . . except you also; my magical speech. I will take the 185 [1]

33. Presumably Thoth.
34. Osiris.
35. The star Sirius, by whose helical rising the beginning of the year is marked.
36. See n. 25 above.
37. "Life, prosperity, health."

. . . Ō MITHRA A . . . BARSA . . . THŌMI, the great one who is pure, the one who [grows . . .] I putting them in your hand, NN, whom NN bore. [I cast] anger against you in the head (?), NĒ[. . . stand]ing (?) without listening to your mes-
190 [6] sengers, saying . . . them in [the] hand saying . . . concerning these things, / standing [without] listening to my prayer, my magical speech (?) . . . it."

Its preparations:[38] . . . draw . . . of a crocodile . . . of a snake . . . make your hand stand (?) on . . . which belongs to you (?). . . .

Formula: TERETA TABE KR . . . N [ĒN?]Ē . . . (another [manuscript] says N[?] ELATS . . . BATSY . . .) †YO YAO SABATK M . . . hand."

195 [11] Formula: ". . . O NĒNĒBR . . . / ———————————————

dog. The one who is in bandages removes bandages; the one who is above . . . saying, 'I am Anubis, the . . . of the underworld . . . , Isis, the great goddess, Osiris, the one who is in your hand, the lord of the gods . . . against me in the . . . the dog . . . the . . . dog, the red dog, the red dog . . . every. . . . You should . . . at night. Here is the . . . of your tongue in the. . . . I am Anubis, the master of secrets.
200 [16] . . . You should . . . / to me at night, during the day. [I] will give you the greetings of my mouth . . . I am Anubis the master of secrets. . . . Formula: 4 times . . . worm (?) saying "I am Isis . . . ," saying, "I am Osiris . . . saying, "I am . . . I am the lord who came before the ruler . . . wick. . . . I . . . you will stand, you will . . . , while he will go (?) [to? Horus?] the son of Isis, the [son of Osiris] . . . of this
205 [21] . . . will do it to a young bird . . . will do it to a young bird . . . / saying . . . of the harem, son of the harem, ... 7 times . . . heart. Be deaf, head! Come . . . ! Come . . . head of. . . . Open (your) mouth to me for I am Isis . . . , I am Osiris, I am Harsiese. . . ." 2 palm trees. . . .

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation in *Enchoria* 7 (1977):74–75, verso, ll. 1–24. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

38. See n. 7 above.

Glossary

The glossary provides explanations for some of the more difficult technical terms and names occurring in the *PGM*. Bibliographical data have been added for further study. More common terminology and names have not been explained since they can be found in easily available dictionaries.

ABERAMEN **formula**: The abbreviated formula stands for the long palindrome ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLERTHEXANAXETHRELTHUOŌTHENEMAREBA, a magical name occurring several times in the *PGM* (see I. 294; II. 125–26; III. 67–68, 116–17; IV. 181; V. 180; XIV. 25; CXXVIa. 13–15, etc.). In it the name of the god Thoth can be read, although no meaningful decipherment of the word has been put forward. See K. Preisendanz, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri, 3," *WSt* 41 (1919): 11–12; M. Tardieu, "Aberamenthō," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions, Presented to G. Quispel on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, *EPRO* 91 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 412–18.

ABLANATHANALBA: This palindrome, perhaps the most common in magic literature, often occurs in company with SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS. Usually invoked for beneficent results, this magical name has not been adequately explained although it has been suggested that the name contains Hebrew.

ABRASAX: This popular deity in magic (also spelled ABRAXAS) is identified with a variety of other names of gods and was explained by *gematria* (assigning the numerical value to the letters of the name) as the magic number 365 (see *PGM* IV. 331–32; VIII. 49, 611; XIII. 156, 466, etc.). Accordingly the deity is recognized as a solar god and is pictured on amulets as a snake-footed creature (the so-called *anguipede*), armored, and with the head of a cock. See Bonner, *SMA* 162–63; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 24–42; Barb, "Abrasax-Studien," *Hommages à W. Deonna*, *Collection Latomus* 28 (1957): 67–86; C. Colpe, "Geister (Dämonen)," *RAC* 9 (1974): 618–19; Marcel Le Glay, "Abrasax," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 2–7, pls. 1–63.

ADŌNAI: An important angelic figure in gnosticism and in magic. The name originally came from the Old Testament designation "my Lord," although this meaning had been long lost to the practitioners of the Roman Empire. See J. Michl, "Engelnamen," *RAC* 5 (1965): 202. For the variant angel forms Adonael, Adonail, Adoniel, Adonaiel, see E. Peterson, "Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina Barbara," *RhM* 75 (1926): 394.

ADONAIOS: Adonaios (an alternative reading of Adonai; note the Greek termination) is regarded in *PGM* as a name of the deity rather than as an epithet meaning "Lord" (cf. *PGM* I. 305). The Jewish origin, however, is still recognized (see *PGM* XII. 264). See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965): 203.

Agathos Daimon: "The good genius" was originally an epithet of a god invoked at Greek banquets. In the *PGM* the name has become a designation for a god—one, however, who can be identified with a number of different deities. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, sec. 264, 294–95; R. Ganschinietz, "Agathodaimon," *PRE.S* 3 (1918): 37–59; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 213ff.; Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 619–20; W. Fauth, "Agathos Daimon," *KP* 1 (1979): 121–22.

Aion: The god Aion, whose name signifies "long period of time," "eon," "eternity," plays an important role in the *PGM*. For the complicated history of the god, see A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 4 (Paris: Les belles lettres, ^{3}1954) 182–99; W. Bousset,

"Der Gott Aion," in *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 192–230; Fauth, *KP* 1 (1979): 185–88; A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, *EPRO* 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1981): 146–48; Marcel Le Glay, "Aion," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 405.

AKRAMMACHAMAREI: This magical name, with variant spellings, occurs frequently in beneficent magical incantations in company with ABLANATHANALBA and SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS. For a possible explanation of the name from Hebrew, see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ²1965) 94–100.

Aktiophi(s): Hopfner has suggested that this name is an epithet of Selene, goddess of the moon, a name which occurs elsewhere in *PGM* (see IV. 2473, 2484, 2601, 2664, 2749, 2913; VII. 317, 984; XVI. 23).

Ammon/Parammon: Hermes Parammon was honored as an Olympian god alongside Zeus Ammon and Hera Ammonia. The epithet Parammon probably means "he next to Ammon."

Amon (Amoun): The Egyptian god Amon. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 31–37, s.v. "Amun"; E. Otto, "Amun," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 237–48.

Anoch (Anog, anok): These letters, occurring often at the beginning of an invocation, correspond to the Egyptian *ink* (Coptic *anok*), "I am." See S. Sauneron, "Le Monde du Magicien Egyptien," *Le Monde du Sorcier* (Paris 1966) 36–39.

Anouth: Name of Osiris (see VII. 238, 243, 247; VIII. 83, 98–99, 102).

Anubis: Anubis is the jackal god of mummification, the son of Osiris and Nephthys. On Anubis as key holder and guard (*PGM* IV. 1465), see S. Morenz, "Anubis mit dem Schlüssel," *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Köln: Bohlau, 1975) 510–20; J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain*, *EPRO* 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Jean Leclant, "Anubis," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. I/2 (Zürich and Munich: Artemis, 1981) 862–73 and plates.

Aphrodite Ourania: "Heavenly Aphrodite," whose city is Aphroditopolis (Dendera), refers to Hathor; see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 46; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 277–82, s.v. "Hathor."

Apollonius of Tyana: This famous first-century philosopher/magician is the subject of an extant biography by Philostratus. The attribution of a spell to him at *PGM* XIa. 1 is unique in ancient magical literature. For a survey of the problems and bibliography, consult E. L. Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality," *ANRW* II. 16. 2 (1978) 1652–99, esp. 1686.

Apophis (Aphyphis): The "unseen serpent" (see *PGM* IV. 190–91; cf. *PGM* III. 87) is Apophis, who is slain daily by Seth/Typhon in the barge of Ra. See E. Hornung and A. Badawy, "Apophis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 350–52; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 51–53, s.v. "Apophis."

Archenthechtha (Harchentechtha): This is the Egyptian god Har-Khenty-Khet; cf. *PGM* III. 170. See Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 131–33, s.v. "Chentechtai"; U. Rössler-Köhler, "Horus-Chentechtai," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 27–33. [R.K.R.]

Arsenophre: The Egyptian god Arsenouphis (note also *PGM* II. 117; IV. 1629; XII. 183; XIXa. 7). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 54–55, s.v. "Arsnuphis"; E. Winter, "Arsenuphis," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 424–25. [R.K.R.]

Arsentechtha (Harsentechtha): Perhaps the Egyptian name can be read Harsennechtha, "Horus, child of the strong one." [J.B.]

Arsentephtha: The name is probably Egyptian, "Horus, child of Ptah." [J.B.]

Artemis: In the *PGM* the goddess Artemis is identical with Selene, Hekate, and Persephone (see also IV. 2523, 2720–21, 2816ff.; LXXVIII. 11–12, with a drawing of Artemis Multimammaea). The invocations to Artemis, however, do contain archaic elements of her original cult. See T. Hopfner, "Hekate-Selene-Artemis und Verwandte in den griechischen Zauberpapyri und auf den Fluchtafeln," *Pisciculi, Festschrift F. J. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 125–45.

Assistant Daimon (paredros): Hellenistic magic knows of a special type of daimon called *paredros* ("assistant" or "attendant spirit"). The name refers to a deity who has been summoned as a servant to carry out any number of specified magical tasks. Cf. also *PGM* IV.

1348, 1841, 1851 (with *parastatēs*), 2083, 2109, 2145 (note); VII. 884; XII. 14ff. and surrounding contexts. See M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Bollingen Series 76 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964) 88–95; Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 1ff.; C. Colpe, "Geister (*Dämonen*)," *RAC* 10 (1974): 621ff.; C. Zintzen, "Paredros (*paredros*)," *KP* 4 (1972): 510–11.

Astrapsouchos: According to Diogenes Laertius, *Prooem.* 2, Astrampsychos was the name of one or several magicians; see E. Riess, "Astrampsychos," *PRE* 2 (1896): 179–80.

athor: See **Hathor**.

BAINCHŌŌŌCH: This formula, which invokes the god whose name corresponds to "spirit (soul) of darkness" (*bȝ n kky*), occurs regularly in magical papyri and on curse tablets. [R.K.R.] See Bonner, *SMA* 26, 146; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 224 and n. 23.

Balsames: This angelic name served originally as the name of a Phoenician sun god, but in *PGM* IV. 1019 the god plays the role of a light divinity from heaven. Cf. XII. 494. See A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, *EPRO* 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 149–51, 185–86.

Basym: This magical name may have originally come from the Aramaic words meaning, "In the name of. . . ." For the magician, however, the word serves as a magical name. See G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977) 235–51.

Baubo: Baubo may have originally come as an independent deity from Asia Minor, where Hekate also came from; she then entered into the circle of Demeter and the mysteries of Eleusis. See W. Fauth, *KP* 1, s.v. "Baubo."

Bear constellation: The identification of the constellation of the Bear with Artemis occurs at *PGM* VII. 687. The Great Bear was believed to be Callisto, Artemis' fellow huntress, who was transformed into a constellation. Callisto was a manifestation of Artemis herself, who played an important role as a she-bear, especially at Brauronia. See also *PGM* IV. 1302; VII. 862; XII. 190; XIIb. 26; LXXII. See W. Sale, "The Temple Legends of the Arkteia," *RhM* 118 (1975): 265–84; L. Kahl, "L'Artemis de Brauron. Rites et mystères," *Antike Kunst* (1977): 86–98: W. Fauth, "Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri, *ZPE* 57 (1984): 93–99.

Bes (**Besa**, **Besas**): Ancient Egyptian religion knew of an entire class of so-called Bes-demons (in Greek, Besas), distinguished by their dwarf-sized ugliness, who served as protectors of sleep and childbirth. In Hellenistic Egypt, Bes became a pantheistic deity, and in this form he appears in *PGM* VII. 222–49 and VIII. 64–110 (see also LXXXVIII: his plant, IV. 807). His role as an oracle giver was popular at Abydos (Ammianus Marcellinus 19. 12). In *PGM* the god was identified also with the Headless One (see n. on *PGM* II. 11). On Bes, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 101–9; H. Altenmüller, *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 720–24, with bibliography.

Biaiothanatos Daimon: The *biaiothanatoi*, those who died violent deaths, were unable to enter the underworld because their time on earth had not been completed. After death, they lingered as evil spirits and were subject to magical compulsion. See J. H. Waszink, "Biothanati," *RAC* 2 (1954): 391–92.

Breathing stone: The magnet. Magnetism fascinated ancient philosophers and scientists, who explained the phenomenon in a variety of ways. Already Thales explained it in magical terms when he stated that "life" (*psychē*) is in a magnet. Magnetic stones, not surprisingly, played a great role in the magic of all periods. See A. Barb, "Lapis Adamas," *Hommages à Marcel Rénard*, I (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1969) 67ff.

Brimo: For this epithet of Artemis of Pherai in Thessaly, see *PGM* IV. 2270, 2291, 2611, 2964; VII. 692; LXX. 20, where the epithet is attributed to Hekate, Selene, Persephone. Etymologically, she is the "snorting" and "angry" and therefore "terrible" goddess of the netherworld; cf. the command in *PGM* IV. 2247; Lucian, *Necyom.* 20. See O. Kern, "Brimo," *PRE* 3 (1887): 853–54.

Chnouph (**Chnoubis**): The lion-headed serpent was popular in magic and is often found pictured on amulets. The daimon is a syncretistic combination of the Egyptian creator god Chnoum, the serpent Kneph, and the star *Knm*. In the *PGM* the name occurs mostly in *voces magicae*, especially in the Harpon-Knouphi formula (see, e.g., *PGM* III. 435–36, 560–63;

IV. 2433; VII. 1023–25; XXXVI. 219–20; *DMP* 16, 6–9). For the amulets, see Bonner, *SMA* 54–60; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 54–73; for references, see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 135–40, s.v. "Chnum"; E. Otto, "Chnum," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 950–54; Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974): 619.

Daimon, pl. daimons: In the *PGM*, as often in Greek literature, this term is used of deities and lesser spirits whose influential control is sought. In the New Testament, the word is used of an evil spirit, "demon," a sense not generally used in the *PGM*.

Decans: The Decans are the thirty-six deities each of whom presides over ten degrees of the zodiac. See in general, Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder*; cf. also G. J. Turner, "Mathematics and Astronomy," in J. R. Harris, ed., *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1971) 46–53; O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, I (Providence and London: Brown University Press, 1960) 95–121. [R.K.R.]

Demokritos: Strangely, the philosopher of Abdera (fifth century B.C.) was thought in antiquity to have been involved in magic. See E. Wellmann, "Demokritos (6)," *PRE* 5 (1903): 135–40; I. Hammer-Jensen, *PRE.S* 4 (1924): 219–23; H. Steckle, *PRE.S* 12 (1970): 191–223, esp. 193–94, 199–200. See also **Ostanes**.

EI LANCHYCH formula: For this magical formula, see *PGM* III. 131ff.; IV. 1625, 1630 (with corrupt or variant spellings). **EI** is perhaps Coptic for "house." [R.K.R.]

Eloaios: Eloaios occurs in *PGM* in various forms (*Eloe*, *Elouein*, *Elouai*) as a name for the Jewish god (see *PGM* I. 311; IV. 1577; VII. 564; XXXVI. 42). In Gnosticism he is one of the light-aeons and is described as having a donkey's face. See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965) 212, no. 73: Eloaios.

ERBETH formula: The formula "IŌ ERBĒTH, IŌ PAKERBĒTH, IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH, IŌ APOMPS" occurs quite often in magical texts, especially in malicious invocations. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, secs. 142–43.

Erebos: An old Greek expression for the dark underworld, the place of the dead. Sometimes in literature it describes a place for the impious only, other times for the good before they are admitted to the Elysian fields. See O. Waser, "Erebos," *PRE* 6 (1907): 403–4.

Ereschigal: This name of the Babylonian underworld goddess is regularly associated with the Greek Hekate. The deity already occurs in the lead curse tablets of the fourth century B.C.

Erotylos: A writer of Orphica (see *PGM* XIII. 945) by this name is not otherwise known but may be the person mentioned by Zosimus in Bertholet and Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecques* II (1888) 144, 7. See Kern, *Orph. Fr.* p. 71, no. 235; idem, "Erotylos," *PRE.S* 4 (1924): 386. For the possible Greek meaning of the word, consult LSJ s.v.; cf. also *PGM* VII. 478; CXXIIIa. 24 and comments by F. Maltomini, *Studi classici e orientali* 29 (1979): 76–77.

Esies: Esies (Egyptian *ḥsy*, "praised") is an epithet of the sacred dead often applied to Osiris who was drowned and restored to life. See S. Eitrem, "Tertullian *de Bapt.* 5. Sanctified by Drowning," *CIR* 38 (1924): 69; A. Hermann, "Ertrinken/Ertränken," *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; C. Strauss, *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19.

Eulamo: For literature and a possible interpretation of this magical name, see H. C. Youtie and C. Bonner, "Two Curse Tablets from Beisan," *TAPA* 68 (1937): 62; cf. *PGM* III. 57; VII. 401; IX. 8; XVI. 18.

Faïence: Faïence is a blue-green earthenware material popularly used in ancient Egypt for jewelry and other objects.

Good Daimon. See **Agathos Daimon**.

Hapi and Mnevis: The Apis (Hapi) and Mnevis bulls were incarnations of Ptah, Osiris, and Ra, respectively. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 46–51, s.v. "Apis"; 468–470, s.v. "Mnevis."

Harpocrates: Harpokrates ("Horus the child") typically is portrayed with a finger of his right hand to his mouth, and he also may hold a crook and flail in his left hand. Harpokrates is the son of Isis and Osiris and is identified with the rising sun. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 273–75, s.v. "Harpokrates"; D. Meek, "Harpokrates," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1003–11.

Harpon-Knouphi formula: This is Horus Knephis. On "Knephis" (*Km-3t.f*) as the

Agathos Daimon, see *LdÄ* I, 94; II. 1011–12. For this as Horus Khnum (and on the formula in general), see P. Pedrizet, "BRINTATĒNŌPHRIS: l' un des noms magiques du dieu Chnoum," *Mélanges Maspero, II: Orient grec, romain et byzantin* 137–44; G. M. El-Khachab, "Some Gem Amulets Depicting Harpocrates," *JEA* 57 (1971): 132–33; D. Meeks, "Harponknuphi," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1011–12. [R.K.R.]

Harsamosi: According to W. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 452, the name is Egyptian *Hr-smsw*, "Horus the Firstborn." See also *PGM* II. 155; XI. 91–92; XIII. 626; cf. I. 240–41. See D. Jankuhn, "Horsemsu," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 13.

Hathor: The Egyptian goddess of love; see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* 22–105; F. Daumas, "Hathor," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 1024–33.

Headless One (Greek *Akephalos*): The Headless God is one of the most peculiar deities of the *PGM*. His origin seems to be in the older Egyptian religion, but he became very popular in Hellenistic Egypt, where he could be identified with Osiris (as in *PGM* II. 98–117) and Besas (as in *PGM* VII. 222–49; VIII. 64–110). Headless deities are also known outside Egypt. Plutarch tells about the headless Molos in Crete (*Def. orac.* 417E), Pausanias of the headless Triton in the temple of Dionysos at Tanagra (9. 20. 5); see A. Delatte, "Etudes sur la magie grecque V," *BCH* 38 (1914): 189–249; K. Preisendanz, "Akephalos," *RAC* 1 (1950): 211–16; K. Abel, "Akephalos," *PRE.S* 12 (1970): 9–14, with bibliography. For depictions of the god, see Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. I, plate I, 2; Bonner, *SMA* 58, 110, 164–66, 178, 243; Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles* 42–54.

Helios: The Greek word for the sun (Helios) can stand for the celestial body or for the deity representative of that body. In the *PGM*, Helios is usually transcribed from Greek instead of translated as "sun," unless that term seems completely devoid of the sense of a deity.

Helios-Osiris: Although this link is possible through the fusion with Sarapis, for the older link of Osiris and Re, see A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York: Bollingen, 1964) 19–21.

Hephaistos: The important connection of Hephaistos, the Greek god of the hearth and of fire, with magic is reflected a few times in *PGM* (see VII. 379; XII. 177, 417, 439). Since Herodotus, Hephaistos was the Greek interpretation of Ptah. See M. Delcourt, *Hephaistos ou la légende du magicien* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1957).

Hermopolis: Hermopolis is "the city of Hermes," the cult center of Thoth in upper Egypt, the modern Ashmunein; cf. *PGM* III. 664; 670. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 293–95, s.v. "Hermopolis."

Hesies: See **Esies**.

Horus: The great Egyptian god, son of Osiris and Isis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 307–15, s.v. "Horus"; W. Schenkel, "Horus," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 14–25.

Iabas (Iabo, Iabai, Iapos): This is apparently the Samaritan enunciation of the tetragrammaton YHWH (Yahweh), elsewhere rendered *Iabe* or *Iabai*; cf. *PGM* V. 102; XIc. 1; XII. 4 and S. Lowy, *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) 273–74 and passim. See also IAŌ.

IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUN **formula**: This magical formula (often abbreviated) is intended to read as the long palindrome IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPIRKIRALITHONUOMENERPHABŌEAI; see *PGM* I. 140, 195; III. 60–61 (var.), 77, 268, etc.

IAŌ: Iaō, originally derived from the name of the Hebrew god YHWH, became an important deity in magical literature. See J. Michl, *RAC* 5 (1965): 215, no. 102; R. Ganschinietz, "IAŌ," *PRE* 9 (1914): 698–721. In addition to being attested in the Nag Hammadi Library (see Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, index), Iaō is also found at Qumran, 4Q Lev^{b} LXX; cf. H. Stegemann, "Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu den Gottesbezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten," in M. Delcor, ed., *Qumrân, sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1978) 195–217.

IARBATHA **formula**: A common magical name, which, when spelled out fully and with allowance for variant spellings, reads IARBATHACHRAMNĒPHIBAŌCHNĒMEŌ (see *PGM* I. 142, 195; III. 472, 535; XII. 94–95). PHIBAŌCHNĒMEŌ may be equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 ḥib ʿ3 Ḥnm ʿ3*, "the great lamb, Khnum the great." [R.K.R.]

Ieu (Jeu): The scribe Jeu is mentioned only in *PGM* V. 97 (cf. also l. 141) in *PGM*, but the

name is known in Gnostic literature. Elsewhere in *PGM* the name occurs rather frequently as a god or magical name. See C. Schmidt, ed., and V. MacDermot, trans., *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, *NHSt* 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

Isis band: Cloth or material taken from the dresses of statues of the gods, especially of Isis, was considered magically potent. Isis is a widow of Osiris and thus identified with the color black. See *PGM* I. 59; VII. 227, 231; VIII. 67; see Griffiths, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* 90, 451; Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 678. [R.K.R.]

Jacob: The patriarch Jacob named at *PGM* XXIb. 1, together with Abraham and Isaac in XIII. 817, XXV. 14, occurs frequently in the context of magic. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I, 349–58; M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula," *JBL* 57 (1938): 289–303.

Khnum (Chnum): The Egyptian ram god; see *PGM* I. 27–28; IV. 327. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 135–40, s.v. "Chnum"; E. Otto, "Chnum," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 950–54.

Kmeph: The Egyptian serpent god Kmeph or Kneph occurs in *PGM* IV. 1705; III. 142; IV. 2094; VII col. 17 with picture. See Bonner, *RÄRG* 378–79, s.v. "Kneph."

Kommes: The name Kommes is still unexplained (see also II. 122; cf. "Kommi" in XVI. 63; Kom-Re in *DMP* xii, xv). See Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder* 233–34.

Lamella, pl. lamellae: From the Latin for a thin, metal plate. The word is used to translate a number of Greek terms for tablets of thin gold, silver, iron, or lead. The lamellae are usually engraved and worn as amulets or talismans (phylacteries). If lead is described, the tablets usually intend malicious or harmful magic.

Lamps, not painted red: In the *PGM* we find frequent references to the use of lamps with no red coloring (see I. 277, 293; II. 57; IV. 2372, 3191; VII. 542, 594; VIII. 87; XII. 27, 131; LXII. 1). Dipping the clay into red ocher (*miltos*) or painting it on before the firing, as customarily done, would give the lamp a reddish color. In lamp divination, however, the red color had to be avoided because of its association with Seth-Typhon. See W. Kroll, "Minium," *PRE* 15 (1932): 1848–54; R. Ganszyniec, "*Lychnomanteia*," *PRE* 13 (1927): 2115–19. Cf. also *DMP* col. V, 4, pp. 44–45 (with note), where the lamp is said to be white, without the application of red lead (*prš*). On the significance of red, cf. G. Posener, "Les signes noirs dans les rubriques," *JEA* 35 (1949): 77–81. [R.K.R.]

MASKELLI-MASKELLŌ formula: This well-known formula, written fully as MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌ OREOBAZAGRA RHĒXICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYRIPĒGANYX, occurs often in magical literature (note *PGM* VII. 302; IX. 10; XXXVI. 342–46; *DMP* xv. 2; *Pistis Sophia* IV, chap. 140 [McDermot 365]). On the meaning see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 747; Preisendanz, "Maskelli Maskellō," *PRE* 14 (1930): 2120. Within this formula, among other things, occur four words which may be old Greek epithets: *Oreobazagra*, perhaps an epithet of Hekate or of the moon goddess (thus *LSJ*, but of uncertain meaning); *Rhēzichthōn*, a word which may be translated "bursting forth from the earth" (thus *LSJ*; see Cook, *Zeus, III* 4–5 for parallels and discussion. See also Bonner, *SMA* 170; *Orph. H.* 52. 9); *Hippochthōn* (meaning unexplained, thus *LSJ*: Audollent, *Tab. Def.* 38129; cf. Hermann, "Erdbeben," *RAC* 5 [1965]: 1082ff.); *Pyripēganyx*, perhaps "lord of the fount of fire" (*LSJ* s.v.; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 29).

Material, magical: "Material" (*ousia*; see *PGM* I. 99, IV. 2336, etc.) is the magical substance such as hair, thread from clothing, etc., which is often necessary to make sympathetic magic effective. See K. Preisendanz, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri, I," *WSt* 40 (1918): 1–8; Hopfner, *OZ* I, secs. 667–77.

Meliouchos: The meaning of this epithet is still unexplained. In the magical texts it can be attributed to various deities. See *PGM* III. 45–46, 99; V. 4; VI. 33; Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 22. 32; 38. 12; see P. E. Göbel, "Meliuchos," *PRE* 15 (1931): 554–55.

Mene: This is an epithet of the moon goddess, Selene; see *Hymn. Hom.* 32. 1; *Hymn. Orph.* 9. 3, 4; *PGM* IV. 2264, 2546, 2815; VII. 758.

Mithras: The Persian god is mentioned only a few times in *PGM* (note III. 100, 462; IV. 482) and each time as being identical with Helios or with Zeus-Helios-Sarapis (see *PGM* V. 4). See Nilsson, *GGR* II, 668–72; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 67ff.; M. J. Vermaseren, "Mithras

in der Römerzeit," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen in Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 96–120, with bibliography.

Moses: In Greco-Roman antiquity, Moses was widely recognized as a great magician. See Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* 134–61.

Myrrh(ed) ink: This ingredient used for writing on papyrus occurs throughout the *PGM*. Cf. the note on the Demotic equivalent *r' w ḫl* in *DMP* v. 5.

Nature (**Greek *Physis***): *Physis* appears from early times as a deified conception of nature's powers of creation and creativity. As such, Physis has an important role in most philosophical schools, especially where the concept of *kata physin* ("in accordance with nature") seems at times to rise almost to the level of a religious credo (so in Seneca, *De Prov.* IV. 15 and often). Physis appears often elsewhere as a goddess: cf., for example, *Hymn. Orph.* 10 which is addressed to Physis. Much of its language closely resembles that in the *PGM* hymns to the moon (to whom *Hymn. Orph.* 9 is addressed). In *PGM* Physis the goddess appears elsewhere at IV. 2883, 2917; see also IV. 939 and n. The surprising thing is that she does not appear more often in *PGM*. See K. Kerényi, "Die Göttin Natur," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 14 (1947): 39–86.

NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH: The name occurs frequently in magical literature and is often connected with Aktiophis and Ereschigal. In *PGM* the triad is often attributed to deities of the underworld, especially Hekate. The name Nebutosoualēth may be derived from the Babylonian god Nebo, but the origin is not clear. See K. Preisendanz, "Nebutosualeth," *PRE* 16 (1935): 2158–60; Bonner, *SMA* 30, 197–98.

Nephotes: The name appears to be a hellenized form of the Egyptian Nefer-hotep (*Nfr-ḥtp*), but it is uncertain to whom it refers. Originally, it was the name of an Egyptian deity. See A. Rusch, "Nephotes" *PRE* 16 (1935): 2493–94; cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 518–19, s.v. "Nephotes." [R.K.R.]

(On)nophris: An epithet of Osiris, "The Beautiful Being." For the common proper name Onnophris, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch* 242. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1078; IV. 128. [R.K.R.]

Oserapis: The occurrence of the old name Oserapis (cf. *PGM* XL. 1) for Serapis on the fourth century B.C. curse found in the Serapeum of Memphis is important for the origins of this cult. See on this issue Nilsson, *GGR* II, 156. Cf. also the note on *PGM* XIXa. 6.

Osoronnophris: This is equivalent to the Egyptian *Wsir Wn-nfr*, "Osiris the Beautiful Being"; cf. *PGM* V. 101 and IV. 1078. [R.K.R.]

Ostanes (**Osthanes**): The historical Ostanes was a theologian at the court of Xerxes, with whom he went to Greece. He is said to have taught Demokritos the philosopher (who is also mentioned in *PGM* IV. 2006; VII. 167, 795; XII. 122, 351) and to have introduced magic to Greece (Pliny *NH* 30. 8). Later, many different writings were transmitted under the name of Ostanes. See J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès, et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* (Paris: "Les belles lettres," 1938), vol. II, 267–356; K. Preisendanz, "Ostanes," *PRE* 18 (1942): 1610–42.

Ouroboros: The serpent who swallows its own tail is a widely used figure in magic. See W. Deonna, "Ouroboros," *Artibus Asiae* 15 (1952): 163–70; K. Preisendanz, "Aus der Geschichte des Uroboros," in *Brauch und Sinnbild. Eugen Fehrle zum 60. Geburstag gedwidmet von seinen Schülern und Freunden* (Karlsruhe: Kommissionsverlag Südwestdeutsche Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1940) 194–209. For examples of the figure on Egyptian monuments, see A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (Princeton: Pantheon Books, 1955) pl. 48; idem, *Mythological Papyri* (Princeton: Pantheon Books, 1957) 22, fig. 3; 174, fig. 74; papyri 20, 27. [R.K.R.] See *PGM* I. 145–46; XII. 203–4, 274–75; VII. 58–59; XXXVI. 184.

Ouserrannouphthi: This is Egyptian *Wsir-rn-nfr*, "Osiris of the good name." [R.K.R.]

Palindrome: Palindrome (lit. "running back again") refers to magical words, usually of no recognizable sense, which can be read and pronounced the same forward as backwards.

Persian: The epithet "Persia," used of Artemis-Hekate (cf. *PGM* IV. 2271, 2715, 2781) shows evidence of the identification of the goddess with the Persian goddess Anahita. See Diod. V. 77 and Nilsson, *GGR* II, 672ff.

Pitys: W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* ([Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1907] 192, n. 1; cf. *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 59, 105, 157, 210) has suggested that the Thessalian Pitys named in *PGM* IV. 1928, 2006, 2140 is in fact identical with the Egyptian priest and prophet Bitys (Iamblichus, *De myst.* 8. 5; 10. 7), the Bitos named in Zosimos' *On the Letter Omega*, and Bithus of Dyrrhachium mentioned in Pliny, *NH* 28. 82. See Festugière, *La Revélation* I, 268; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 610; K. Preisendanz, "Pitys (3)," *PRE* 20 (1950): 1882–83.

Phre: See **Ra**.

Phtha: See **Ptah**.

Phylactery: A phylactery (Greek *phylaktērion*) in the *PGM* refers to any stone, material, papyrus amulet, or lamella, engraved with a spell or otherwise, which is worn about the person for protection. The term should not be confused with the Jewish technical term referring to the *tefillin* cases with Scripture verses.

Pnouthis: Pnouthis, or Pnythios, is an Egyptian name and means "He of God." See K. Preisendanz, "Pnuthis," *PRE* 41 (1951): 1104.

Priestly papyrus: Or "hieratic papyrus" refers to the best quality of paper for the writing of magical spells (cf. for example, *PGM* I. 233; IV. 2363, 2512–13; VII. 412). For this technical distinction on the quality of papyrus, see Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 43–45. [R.K.R.]

Processional way (Greek *kōmastērion*): Ordinarily refers to the meeting place of the revelers of Dionysos, but in *PGM* it is used several times as a metaphor describing heaven as a place of procession of the stars (see also *PGM* IV. 1608–9; XII. 184, 252; XIII. 774; XXI. 10; LXXVII. 13).

Psammetichos: The name is the hellenized form of the Egyptian name *Psmtk*. A legendary figure, Psammetichos I (663–609 B.C.) was the first king of the twenty-sixth Dynasty, but other figures also bore this name. See W. Helck, "Psammetichos," *PRE* 23 (1959): 1305–8.

Psychē: See **Soul**.

Punishments, the (Greek *hai Timōriai*): These are the Greek deities responsible for retributive punishment and hence appropriately cited in spells dealing with malicious magic. See *PGM* VII. 303; XIII. 149, 291, 457; and K. Ziegler, "Timoros," *PRE* 2nd ser. 6 (1937): 1308–9.

Ptah: This is the Egyptian creator god, for which see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 614–19, s.v. "Ptah."

Pythagoras: Because of his interest in the mysticism of numbers, this philosopher's name became attached to late texts associated with mantic and magic. See W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972) 109ff.; idem, *Griechische Religion* 445–47.

Ra (Re, Phre): The Egyptian god of the sun (P)rē, without the definite article. Re means simply "sun," while Prē, the form of the god's name from the New Kingdom onward, means "the Sun." See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 626–30, s.v. "Re."

Sarapis (Serapis): The god Sarapis, closely associated with Osiris in *PGM* IV. 226, appears mostly in the *PGM* as identical with Zeus and Helios (see, e.g., IV. 1715; V. 4–5; LXXIV. 4–5, 14, and Nilsson, *GGR* II, 513), but not with Dionysos, with whom the Greeks identified Osiris (Herod. 2. 42; Plut. *Is. et Os.* 356C). See G. Roeder, "Sarapis," *PRE*, 2nd ser. 2 (1920) 2394–2496; John E. Strambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*, *EPRO* 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1972); G. Mussies, "The *Interpretatio Judaica* of Sarapis," in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Studies in Hellenistic Religions*, *EPRO* 78 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 188–214; L. Vidman, "Isis und Sarapis," in *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* 121–56. See *PGM* XIXa. 6 and n.

Sachmou: This is the Egyptian goddess of war and plague (*PGM* VII. 300), Sakhmet; see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 643–46, s.v. "Sachmet." [R.K.R.]

Scarab: The beetle (*Ateuchus sacer*) regarded as holy by the Egyptians and associated with various deities. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 720–22, s.v. "Skarabäus"; J. Assmann, "Chepre," *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 934–40; J. Bergman, "Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus (*PGM* VII, 11. 516–521)," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 28–37.

Selene: The Greek word for the moon (*selēnē*) can stand for the celestial body or for the deity representative of that body. In the *PGM*, Selene is usually transcribed from Greek instead of translated as "moon" unless that term seems completely devoid of the sense of deity.
SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS: A magical name very common in the *PGM*. It is often found together with ABLANATHANALBA. For possible derivations of the name and further references, see W. Fauth, "SSM PDRŠŠA," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 120 (1970):229–56, esp. 254–55.
Seth: See **Typhon/Seth**.
Soul: The word *psychē* occurs frequently in *PGM* where it usually means "soul," "mind," etc., and "spirits of the dead." But in several passages (VI. 277, 2488; VII. 414, 472; XVIIa. 18) *psychē* means female pudendum, i.e., a synonym of *physis*, another regular term for the pudendum both in *PGM* and elsewhere. In addition, there are other places (i.e., IV. 1040, 1526, 1752, etc.) where *psychē* is translated "soul," but the erotic context also suggests the added meaning of pudendum. Indeed, it is entirely possible that such a double entendre was the origin of the extended meaning (see esp. IV. 1752, 2924; XXXII. 9, 15; XXXIIa. 15). This meaning of *psychē* occurs also outside of *PGM*. See, e.g., Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 193–99, esp. 195; Martial, *Epigr.* 68. 5–12, esp. 5–7; and also Sophocles, *El.* 775. [E.N.O.]
Systasis: "Divine encounter," *vel sim.* is a technical term for a rite (*PGM* IV. 778–79; VII. 505ff.) or prayer (*PGM* III. 197–98, 494ff.; IV. 260ff.) to establish an association between a god and a person. Sometimes the association is really only a meeting between the god and the human in order for the human to receive a revelation (*PGM* III. 197ff.; see ll. 192–96; cf. also II. 43, 73; III. 698–99) or a blessing (see ll. 576ff. in *PGM* III. 494ff., and in IV. 260ff., ll. 272 and 284–85). At other times, the association is to be more long-lasting, and the god is to ally himself with the human (*PGM* I. 57, 79–80, 177–81) even to the point of some real sort of union (*PGM* IV. 209, 219–21; cf. ll. 215–17; XIII. 927–31). There is no single English word to encompass this variety of meanings, and therefore *systasis* and cognate words are translated in a variety of ways throughout this volume. For a different interpretation of *systasis*, see K. Preisendanz, "Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri," *WSt* 40 (1913):2–5.
THERNOPSI formula: This formula in *PGM* III. 186, IV. 828–29, VII. 316 (with corruptions or variant readings) refers to the magical incantation "PSINŌTHER NŌPSITHER THERNŌPSI." For possible Egyptian meaning, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sec. 750. Note, however, that the three words form rearranged groupings of the syllables PSI, NŌ, and THER. [R.D.K.]
Thoth (Thouth, Thoouth, Theouth, Thooth): The Egyptian god of wisdom and magic, whom the Greeks identified with Hermes. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 805–12, s.v. "Thot"; P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* (Chicago: Ares, ²1979), esp. 124ff.; G. Mussies, "The *Interpretatio Judaica* of Thot-Hermes," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion, Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 89–120.
Typhon/Seth: The identification of the Egyptian god Seth with the Greek Typhoios or Typhos was already made by the Greeks of the Classical period (Hesiod, *Theog.* 820ff.) and was common in the Greco-Roman Period (see Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351F and often), a fact reflected also in the *PGM* (see, e.g., VII. 964; XII. 138; XIV. 20). For references, see Colpe, *RAC* 9 (1974):556–57, 620–21. Because the figure of Seth was believed to be donkey-headed, Typhon in *PGM* IV. 3260 and elsewhere (cf. XIa. 1–2; IV. 2220) probably means "ass." See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967).
YESSIMMIGADON/AKROUROBORE formula: For this formula (with variants) see *PGM* II. 32; IV. 2771ff. (cf. IV. 337); V. 424ff.; VII. 680ff.; 895ff.; XIII. 923ff.; XIXa. 12; *DMP* vii. 25–26. In this formula, AKROUROBORE is believed to mean in Greek "eater of the tip of your tail" (thus *LSJ*), a reference to the ouroboros (see Glossary, s.v.). On the formula, see Drexler in Roscher, I, 2. 2771; J. M. R. Cormack, "A *Tabella Defixionis* in the Museum of the University of Reading, England," *HTR* 44 (1951):25–34, esp. 31–32.



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The "Secret of the Creation of the Demons": A Chapter in an Anonymous Lurianic Treatise Adapted by Moses Zacuto

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Abstract

This article questions the view that R. Moses Zacuto (ReMeZ) focused his kabbalistic efforts strictly on adapting Hayyim Vital's version of Lurianic kabbalah. In doing so, an unknown Lurianic treatise found in an autograph of Zacuto will be specifically taken into account. The concepts of this treatise are affiliated with the school of Israel Saruq, and some of them resound in Zacuto's work, in particular *Em la-Binah*. The first part analyzes a chapter on the creation of demons, and addresses the issue of possible sources, which leads to the identification of an Ashkenazi tradition that was also incorporated in Vital's *Sefer ha-Liqqutim*. The second part discusses one of Zacuto's glosses on this treatise and the connection to his dictionary of magic names, *Shorshei ha-Shemot*.

Introduction

The kabbalistic writings of Moses Zacuto (ca.1610 Amsterdam–1697 Mantua), who directed for some decades the reception and distribution of Lurianic works in Northern Italy, are strongly bound to his image as a staunch defender of Ḥayyim Vital's version of Lurianic kabbalah, mainly according to the redaction of Jacob Tsemaḥ.[1] Joseph Avivi described in detail the process of Zacuto's

* I would like to thank Prof. Gideon Bohak for giving me the opportunity to present a first draft of this article at "The Fourth Workshop for the Study of Ancient Jewish Magic" in Tel Aviv, May 30, 2019. The whole subject is part of a joint project with my colleague, Prof. Yuval Harari, "Encyclopedic Magic: A

choice of manuscripts, indicating the master copies with the meaningful phrase "fine flour" (סולת נקיה), and rejecting other versions of Lurianic kabbalah, in particular the editions of Joseph Solomon del Medigo (*Sefer Novlot Ḥokhmah*) and Naphtali Bacharach (*Emeq ha-Melekh*).[2] It comes as a surprise, then, that Zacuto's own

Synergetic Approach to Rabbi Moses Zacuto's Sources of Practical and Theoretical Kabbalah," supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG). The project aims to reevaluate the writings of Moses Zacuto in general, and particularly his works on magic. An edition of *Sefer ha-Sodot* with special consideration of an autograph, The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel Ms. Heb. 40 615, is being prepared by Prof. Yuval Harari and his team, Dr. Eliezer Baumgarten and Dr. Uri Safrai; the Lurianic treatise in this manuscript, which is the object of the present article, will be edited by Eliezer Baumgarten and myself. I would like to express my gratitude to our colleagues in Israel.

1 There is an ongoing debate about the question of how and to what extent Lurianic teachings have been distributed in Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century, see Moshe Idel, "One from a Town, Two from a Clan – The Diffusion of Lurianic Kabbalah and Sabbateanism: A Re-Examination," *Jewish History* 7 (1993): 79–104; Joseph Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 2008), 1033–35; Zeev Gries, "מסורת ושינוי במעבר מכתבי יד לדפוס," *Alei Sefer* 23/24 (2015): 28, n. 38. On the entanglement of Lurianic kabbalah in Ashkenaz with earlier esoteric lore, see Eliezer Baumgarten, " הערות על דרכי השימוש של ר׳ נפתלי בכרך במקורות טרום-לוריאנים," *AJS Review* 37, no. 2 (2013): 1–23. I thank Prof. Zeev Gries for his valuable comments.

2 Cf. Joseph Avivi, "סולת נקיה נפתו של רבי משה זכות," *Pe'amim* 96 (2003): 76–79; the redaction of Lurianic manuscripts by Zacuto and his students is summarized in Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 2, 724–46. On Josef del Medigo's two volumes *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah* (Basel [Hanau] 1629) and *Novlot Ḥokhmah* (Basel [Hanau] 1631), see Avivi, קבלת האר"י, vol. 2, 551–55. Concerning Naphtali Bacharach, Avivi "סולת נקיה נפתו," 79, refers in particular to the order of the *hekhalot* as described in the treatise *Limmudei ha-Beriah*, which was incorporated into *Emeq ha-Melekh* (cf. Joseph Avivi, "כתבי האר״י באיטליה עד שנת ש״פ," *Alei Sefer* 11 (1984): 95, n. 14; cf. also Isaiah Tishby, " העימות בין קבלת האר״י לקבלת הרמ״ק בכתביו ובחייו של אהרון ברכיה ממודיה," in idem, חקרי קבלה ושלוחותיה, מחקרים ומקורותה, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1982), 197, n. 71, but "differs from Vital's teaching regarding the order of the *hekhalot* and what is described therein" (Avivi, "סולת נקיה נפתו," 79, n. 73, referring to the printed version of Vital in *Otsrot Ḥayyim*, Koretz 1783), which is why Zacuto rejected the order given in *Emeq ha-Melekh*, as noted by Gershom Scholem,כתבי-היד בקבלה הנמצאים בבית הספרים הלאומי והאוניברסיטאי בירושלם (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1930), 152, with reference to Zacuto's commentary on the Zohar, *Yodei Binah*, Ms. Jerusalem 40 82, fol. 32b. However, this statement should be specified: Zacuto actually wonders

kabbalistic explanations, which are scattered in his commentaries, poems, letters, halakhic writings, dictionaries, and more,[3] include a sort of residue or imprint which came out of an intense occupation with ideas pursuant to Israel Saruq's school of thought.[4] Though these traces turn up rather inconspicuously, like angelic names would do, they reveal Zacuto's casual attitude towards terms that would be telling in Saruqian contexts. A good example is "*malbush*," which appears time and again in his two commentaries on the Zohar. To be sure, as an "aspect" different from the Saruqian perspective, it

"from where" the author of *Emeq ha-Melekh* adapted his arrangement (ולא ידעתי מנין לו, ibid. fol. 32a), which differs from the "genuine version of R. Isaac Luria and R. Ḥayyim Vital (סולת נקיה מדברי האר״י והרח״ו)." The particular version of *Limmudei ha-Beriah* used by Naphtali Bacharach — which was apparently based on Ezra of Fano's copy of the second part of *Hatḥalat Ḥokhmah* (cf. Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 1, 305-307, vol. 2, 559-560; on this version, see also Ronit Meroz, "אסכולת סרוק: היסטוריה חדשה," *Shalem* 7 [2001]: 156) — was therefore unknown to Zacuto, his acquaintance with early versions of Lurianic kabbalah circulating in Northern Italy notwithstanding. Elsewhere I shall compare Zacuto's explanations concerning the *hekhalot* with the *hekhalot* of *malkhut de-beriah* in the last (but fragmentary) chapter (in addition to chapter 113) of the anonymous treatise discussed in the present article (see below) on the one hand, and the traditions of the Saruq school collected by Alexander Katz (for Katz' redaction see Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 1, 440–43) on the other.

3 A comprehensive mapping of Zacuto's works will be carried out by Yuval Harari and his team; the genre of letters and Zacuto's halakhic writings are being studied by Maximilian de Molière and Dr. Vladislav (Zeev) Slepoy of the German team. For the time being, see the list of Zacuto's published writings, Yaakov Lattes, "כתביו של רבי משה זכות שבדפוס," *Pe'amim* 96 (2003): 20–33.

4 For research on different branches and topics of this school, see Gershom Scholem, "ישראל סרוק – תלמיד האר״י?" *Zion* 5 (1940): 214–43 (=Daniel Abrams, ed., קבלת האר״י, אוסף מאמרים מאת גרשם שלום [Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2008], 295–329); Moshe Idel, "בין קבלת ירושלים לקבלת ר׳ ישראל סרוק (מקורות לתורת המלבוש של ר׳ ישראל סרוק)," *Shalem* 6 (1992): 165–73; Ronit Meroz, "ר׳ ישראל סרוג פרוש אנונימי לאדרא רבא הנמנה עם אסכולת סרוק, או: מה בין סרוק וחבריו ובין אירגאס, שפינוזה ואחרים," *Da'at* 28 (1992): 41–50; eadem, "עיון מחודש בסוגיה תלמיד האר״י – *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 12 (1996): 307–78; eadem, "Contrasting Opinions among the Founders of Saruq's School," in *Expérience, Écriture et Théologie dans le Judaisme et les Religions du Livre*, ed. P. Fenton and R. Goetschel (Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000), 191–202; eadem, "אסכולת סרוק"; Sharron Shatil, "The Kabbalah of R. Israel Saruq: A Lurianic-Cordoverian Encounter," *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 14, no. 2 (2011): 158–87.

is well known in Vital's *Ets Ḥayyim*.[5] In fact, it connotes both a midrashic and a magical background,[6] and, what is more, the Cordoverean idea of what Bracha Sack described as the "dynamical process" of revealing by mantling, to wit "השגת מלבוש."[7] But Zacuto even stresses the "secret" of the "world of *malbush*," implicating the emanation of the Alphabet, suited as א״ל ב״ם at the "center of *malbush*," and the function of יו״ד האומנת, the formative agent of "wisdom" for improving the world of *Atsilut*, a female expression in line with Moses Cordovero's explanation of *Malkhut* and *Binah*.[8] These — admittedly unusual — borrowings were integrated specifically into Zacuto's *Em la-Binah*; the raw material of this book is found at the very beginning of Ms. Jerusalem 615, collected but never published by Zacuto himself.[9]

5 In the following entry of Jacob Tsemaḥ's dictionary *Erkhei ha-Kinuyyim* (ed. Moshe Zuriel, Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2006, 377), conceptions found in Cordovero's and Vital's works are condensed in a way that appears to have been taken up again in the Saruqian approach: "Two times the 'filling' of the (divine name) א״ל amounts to the same numerical value as אור פני״אל and as חשמ״ל (the gematria of both is 378; see Zohar 2:246b), which corresponds to the numerical value of מלבו״ש, since (the *Sefirah*) *Binah* attires male and female." Cf. *Limmudei Atsilut*, Muncázs 1897, fol. 11a; Joseph del Medigo's *Novlot Ḥokhmah*, Basel (Hanau) 1631, ch. 15; Naphtali Bacharach, *Emeq ha-Melekh* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2003), 151 (*sha'ar* 1:54), and the second chapter (*sod ha-malbush*) of the treatise *Ofanim* to be described below. For Cordovero, see e.g. *Pardes Rimmonim* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2000), 397, col. a (*sha'ar* 24, *pereq* 2), and for Luria, see *Sefer ha-Liqqutim* (Jerusalem: Lifshitz Brothers, 1913), *parashat Tetse*, *siman* 22, fol. 63c.

6 See PesK 22:5, and *Sefer ha-Malbush*, which is referred to in Zacuto's commentary *Yodei Binah* on Zohar 1:75a in the context of Cordovero's explanation of Metatron as Agent Intellect (*sekhel ha-po'el*): "והוא סוד ספר המלבוש המודיע סדר ההשבעות וזמן הנכון לכול פעולה שהוא אסור לעשותו" (ed. Isaac Naḥum, Bitḥah: Qol Bitḥah, 2010, 252).

7 Bracha Sack, בשערי הקבלה של רבי משה קורדוביר (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 1995) 68.

8 See Moses Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2000), 295, col. a (*sha'ar* 23, *erkhey ha-kinuyyim, pereq* 1, entry "אומנת," referring to *Binah* in the context of Ruth 4:16); for an adaption in the Saruq-school, see Joseph del Medigo's *Novlot Ḥokhmah*, Basel (Hanau) 1631, chs. 25, 28, 30, and 36. Cf. also the treatise *Ofanim*, chs. 2–5 (the four letters of Alphabet א״ל ב״ם amount to 73 like *ḥokhmah*; יוד האומנת refers to the last *Yod* of the name 63, the second spelling of the Tetragramm, which is the secret of the "lower wisdom" hinted at in Ps 104:24).

9 *Em la-Binah* was published first as an appendix of *Sha'arei Binah* by Isaac Tsaba, Saloniki 1813, fol. 63a-104b; concerning the quotations see Ms. Jerusalem 615,

However, no such concepts have been analyzed in Zacuto's texts thus far. Toward starting a discussion on that front in the near future, the impact of an anonymous treatise of the Saruq-school embedded in an autograph of Zacuto will be examined here. First, I will focus on the chapter "the secret of the creation of the demons," which allows some conclusions concerning the sources of the treatise, after which I will highlight one of the scarce marginal notes by Zacuto.

Preliminary Remarks on the Treatise *Ofanim*

The untitled treatise is structured by 121 *ofanim* ("ways") — which is why it will be called in the following by this name — and each "way"[10] expounds the first verse of the Bible, which appears also as an epigraph at the very beginning of the treatise, while almost all chapters, including the first one, are tagged by subtitles ("secrets") on the margin. The sequence of chapters follows a hierarchic order, guided by a Lurianic conception of the Saruq school, starting with "the secret of *tsimtsum*," "the secret of *malbush*," "the secret of the folding of *malbush*," etc. Following Ronit Meroz, it is evident from the order of this creation process and the typical termini technici that these teachings belong to the third and last stage of the development of the Saruq school in the seventeenth century.[11]

The earliest of the three known manuscripts is found in The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel Ms. Heb. 4°615,[12] written

fol. 13a. I will discuss *Em la-Binah* and the didactic genre it represents elsewhere. The Saruqian material which is included in Ms. Moscow, Guenzburg 1448, will be part of Yuval Harari's edition of *Sefer ha-Sodot*.

10 The ambiguity of this term (meaning also "wheel", when pronounced *ofan*, and in particular — based on Ezek. 1:15 — the class of angels active in the lower world) is part of its application in mystical texts, cf. e.g. Abraham Azulay, *Sefer Ḥesed le-Avraham*, Amsterdam 1685, fol. 29a (*ma'yan* 3, *nahar* 3): ותכף ומיד לאחר שנחרב הבית הקדוש ברוך הוא פתח את החלון והוריד את עול׳ [עולם] האופנים וצמצם מלכו׳ [מלכות] עולם האופנים בתוך החלון כדי שלא יסגר עוד ולעולם פתח זה לא נסתם כי אם דוקא בשעת החרבן; and see the continuation of this quotation below (note 25).

11 See, Meroz, "אסכולת סרוק," 158, 161; or eadem, "Contrasting Opinions," 197, cf. in particular the concepts of טהירו עלאה and קיפול המלבוש.

12 Fol. 58a-108b. The other two manuscripts, which trace back to the Jerusalem manuscript, are in the Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia Ms. Guenzburg

by Zacuto in 1655,[13] but all three versions are incomplete, because the last section breaks off in the middle of an explanation of the Four Worlds.[14] Nevertheless, we learn that the author followed a somehow encyclopedic intention, by pooling all kabbalistic secrets with the help of Genesis 1:1, in his words: "אין כוונתי בחיבור הזה רק לכתוב בקצרה רוב סתרי החכמה האלהית להכליל הכל בפסוקנו הנכבד".[15] Throughout the treatise the author points repeatedly to his other kabbalistic work, *Sefer Yemin Moshe*[16] — apparently an exegetical work based on Moses Cordovero. However, in light of a short hint towards the end of the treatise, there is reason to believe that this work was written parallel to *Ofanim*, and probably never finished.[17] As a preliminary suggestion for a potential author, I would suggest Moses ben Solomon ha-Levi of Frankfurt, a resident of Zolkiew, who composed the commentary *Yoel Moshe* on Menaḥem Azaryah Fano's *Asarah Ma'amarot* (Amsterdam 1649).[18]

474, and The Ritman library, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, Netherlands Ms. M 473.

13 A detailed description of this manuscript and its significance for the evaluation of Zacuto's writings in the field of practical and theoretical kabbalah will be published by Yuval Harari.

14 *Ofen* 121 (titled "the secret of the palaces of *Malkhut ha-Briah*") parallels the structure of the so-called four worlds (אבי"ע) to four biblical terms related to different parts of the temple (1. Kg 6:5): *'azarot* (the courts), *'ulam* (the porch), *hekhal* (the main hall), *devir* (the inner sanctuary). The explanation does not reach the Holy of Holies, but rather stops within the *hekhal*, which corresponds to the "world of creation," so at least the expected relation between *devir* and '*olam ha-atsilut* is missing. Furthermore, the whole treatise seems to be arranged according to the four worlds; see end of *ofen* 104, fol. 100b, cross heading: סודות עולם הבריאה --- והיצירה והעשיה. Thus, the first part (up to *ofen* 105) was related to '*olam ha-atsilut*.

15 *Ofen* 42, fol. 73b ("In this treatise I intend to write a plethora of kabbalistic secrets in a nutshell in order to include all in our honored verse [i.e. Gen 1:1]").

16 At least five times: fol. 65a, 65b, 68a, 100a, 102a. The title refers to Isa 63:12. Eliezer Baumgarten suggests that the author refers also to a third work, apparently an interpretation of the Exodus from Egypt.

17 See fol. 102a: אם יגזור האל העליון בחיים גם אנחנו נדבר בדברים האלה בספר ימין משה שלנו.

18 The first name "Yoel" is an abbreviation and refers to the author's teacher, R. Judah Aryeh Leib (see Marvin Heller, *The Seventeenth Century Hebrew Book*, vol. 2 [Leiden: Brill, 2011], 661), whose traditions are also included. Not very much is known about Moses ha-Levi, though (but see Idel, "One from a Town," 87f.). Some evidence is found in the introduction of this commentary, in particular

Despite his trust in the kabbalistic authority of Cordovero, the author of *Ofanim* follows the school of Israel Saruq, thereby adapting traditions that we also find in the works of Joseph del Medigo and Naphtali Bacharach. The basic idea of his approach is at first glance related to that part of Nathan Shapira's *Megalleh 'Amuqot* (Kraków 1637) which presents 256 *Ofanim* on Deut. 3:23. In addition, both works make frequent use of numerology and letter permutations, and they quote similar Lurianic sources such as *Kanfei Yona* and *Yonat Elem*, though Shapira ascribes them both to Luria, while the author of *Ofanim* refers to Menachem Azariah da Fano (with the honorific *zikhrono livrakha*) as the author of *Yonat Elem*.[19] In addition, the treatise *Ofanim* applies a systematic-didactic approach, addressing the esteemed reader time and again, and shows acquaintance with Lurianic texts such as *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanot* or *Hatḥalat ha-Ḥokhmah* and *Limmudei ha-Beriah*.[20] By contrast, Nathan Shapira's homiletic *Megalleh 'Amuqot* is rather informed by the mystical traditions of medieval Ashkenaz, in particular *Sefer ha-Ḥesheq*, as Agata Paluch has shown.[21] In *Ofanim*, only one reference applies to the "בעל סודי רזי (Elazar of Worms)," in the context of specifying the names of the four angels related to the faces of the chariot in the "world of *yetsirah*."[22]

interpretations of Gen 1:1 (which is set as model for "*limud qabbalah*," cf. *Asarah Ma'amarot*, Amsterdam 1649, *haqdamah*, fol. 5c); references to Moses Galante and Nathan Shapira of Kraków (in *Ofanim* both of them ["Rav Galante," Ms. Jerusalem 615, fol. 63a, 104b; and *Megalleh Amuqot* on fol. 101b] are among the few references to other kabbalists aside from Cordovero and Menaḥem Azaryah da Fano, but of course the Zoharic writings and "ha-ARI" are often mentioned); the praise of Moses, who corresponds to the *sefirah Tiferet* and to Metatron (*sar ha-panim*); and the hint to *malkhut de-beriah* being the garment (*levush*) of *malkhut* and the "source of souls" (*haqdamah*, fol. 6a).

19 E.g. *ofen* 59 (da Fano as author of *Yonat Elem*). Apparently, the author of *Ofanim* used a version of *Kanfei Yona* which originated in the circle of Moses Najara; see the reference to *Kanfei Yona* in *Ofen* 103 that would fit e.g. to Ms. London, British Library, Add. 26969, fol. 66b; on this version, see Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 1, 316, 395.

20 See e.g. fol. 65a, 70b, 83b.

21 See Paluch, *Megalleh 'Amuqot: The Enoch-Metatron Tradition in the Kabbalah of Nathan Neta Shapira of Krakow (1585-1633)* (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2014), 60–62; 75–79.

22 הואליה corresponds to the face of man, מפפיה to the lion, אמציה to the bull, and עפפימיהאל to the eagle (fol. 103a).

However, another singular reference is more relevant for the historical setting of *Ofanim:* within the broad range of Lurianic writings belonging to the Saruq school, the phrase אדם קדמון שני (fol. 61a; "the second primeval man") is exceptional, but found at least in the last chapter (*sha'ar* 22) of *Emeq ha-Melekh*, written shortly before the violent Chmielnicki upheaval in Ukraine (1648).[23] Unfortunately, the sources Naphtali Bacharach used are not completely known to us.[24] But it might be possible to reconstruct the motives and concepts both works share, and thus to trace their common source backwards.

The Sources of "The Secret of the Creation of the Demons"

The first example provides an idea of how Lurianic kabbalah affects the approach to divine names, not in respect of *kawwanot*, but in the context of demonology and magic. The translation of Ms. Jerusalem 615, fol. 67b (*ofen* 27) will be followed by a synoptical reading of the Hebrew text with a parallel in *Sha'ar ha-Liqqutim*.

> <The secret of the creation of the demons.> You shall know: at the time of the destruction,[25] the demons have been created, they have been created at sunset, as the Sages said.[26] The reason for this is, when the vessels of the points of *Ze'ir*, who is called sun, as is well known, were broken, it was at his sunset, to be sure. This is the secret of the time between the destruction and the reparation before the balance (*matqala*)[27] when the (seventh) day was sanctified, since there are six weekdays

23 Cf. *Emeq ha-Melekh* (Jerusalem, 2003), 1050 (*sha'ar* 22). For the historical background of *Sefer Emeq ha-Melekh*, see Gershom Scholem, *Sabbatai Zevi: The Mystical Messiah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 70.

24 See the list in Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 2, 559.

25 חורבן implies the destruction of the temple; in Rabbinic literature, there is no connection to *shedim*. But see Abraham Azulay's *Ḥesed le-Avraham,* Amsterdam 1685, fol. 29a: "at the time of the destruction the demonic forces [*ha-ḥitsonim*] were allowed to enter the Land of Israel in order to destroy the temple."

26 Mishnah Avot 5:6.

27 The term *matqala* ("scales") refers to Zohar 2:176a (*Sifra di-Tsniuta*); see the comprehensive discussion of the different linguistic meanings of this term in the Zohar by Yehuda Liebes, "פרקים במילון ספר הזהר." (PhD diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1977), 329–32, 334, entry ״טיקלא, תקלא״.

corresponding to the six ends. After the six days have been destroyed, and Shabbat, that is, the secret of Tiqqun, wanted to arrive, at that time the demons have been created. This is the secret of the verse "it will come like destruction from *Shaddai,*"[28] for it is the sixth day which is the secret of *Yesod* called *Shaddai*. At this time the destroying destruction arrives. Furthermore, you know that it is the name *Elohim* which brings forth demons for *Imma* on high, that is to say "one named Eldad, and the other named Medad,"[29] and (the letter) *heh* in the middle signifies the milk, as I will explain to you with God's help.[30]

Thus Scripture states "it will come like destruction from *Shaddai*," for in respect of the upper mother there are "bitter clusters."[31] This is where the demonic forces are seizing from outside (*aḥizat ha-ḥitsonim mi-baḥuts*), and therefore they are called "other gods" (*elohim aḥerim*),[32] because they are attracted by and seize the name *Elohim*, which is the secret of the demons, and they are from outside, that's why they are called "others," and you know that the Sages said six things

28 Isa. 13:6 (cf. Joel 1:15); cf. Menahem Recanati, *Perush al ha-Torah*, *lekh lekha* (Jerusalem: Aharon Barzani and son, 2003), 196 (on Zohar 3:119b, referring to the name *El Shaddai*).

29 Num. 11:26.

30 Referring to the *he* in the middle of the name *Elohim*, which is identified with the "milk"; the promised explanation is given at length in the chapters *ofanim* 65-70, starting again with the explanation of Eldad and Medad. Similar material can be found among the Lurianic *derushim* in Ms. London, British Library, Or. 10734, fol. 105b-106a (titled "*sod ha-ḥalav*"). Related explanations are found also in Menachem Azaryah Fano, *Qitsur Yonat Elem*, *ot* 22 (*Sefer Ma'amrei ha-Ram'a mi-Pano*, vol. 1, Jerusalem: Yishmaḥ Lev-Torat Moshe, 1997, p. 295: סוד החלב הוא שם אהיה שבבינה ... בה׳ של אלקים יש חלב קל וכבד בשתי דרכים ומן הה״א שבאמצע יעלה החלב לדד ימין ולדד שמאל), and in Joseph del Medigo's *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah*, Basel (Hanau) 1629, fol. 82a (בבינה יש לה דדים ... ואלו הדדי׳ הם בסוד אלהי׳ וסמנך אלד״ד ומדד א״ל ד״ד ומ״י ד״ד א״ל ד״ד ימי״ן ומ״י ד״ד שמאל והה״א הנשארת מאלהי׳ הוא החלב ... סוד חלב הוא משם אהי״ה ...). On Zacuto's version see below, note 41.

31 Deut. 32:32, referring to the fruit Adam received from Eve; see Zohar 1:192a, adapting the language of GenR 19:5: "Adam's wife squeezed grapes for him, bringing death upon him and upon the whole world"; according to LevR 12:1, not only Noah but also the sons of Aaron drank wine of those deathly grapes, the "bitter clusters"; cf. also Zohar 1:73b.

32 Exod. 20:3 et passim.

> concerning the demons:[33] in regard to three, they are like the ministering angels, and in regard to three like the human beings. The reason is that their reality was caused by an actual point of the vessels of *Ze ʿir*, thus in regard to three things they are like human beings, and since they have been created by subtle elements,[34] they are in regard to three things like angels. Behold, this is indicated by our verse *bereshit bara Elohim* (Gen 1:1), meaning "at first," prior to the world of Tiqqun, "Elohim" — that is *Imma* in the secret of the demons, for they are the secret of *Elohim* — "created Elohim," and the interpretation is: the demons, who are called "other gods," in keeping with the heaven and with the earth, they are in regard to three things like the ministering angels who dwell in heaven, and in regard to (three) things like human beings who live on earth, and they, too, are created from heaven and from earth, due to the seven kings who died, and this creation happened when the earth was in the state of *tohu wa-vohu*, that is, at the time of nullification.

Though certain passages in the broad range of Lurianic writings deal with the issue of Eldad and Medad, the only text which comes close to the wording and some particular details of *ofen* 27 happens to be an Ashkenazi tradition, at the end of a lengthy interpretation on Gen. 36, included in *Sefer ha-Liqqutim*.[35] This version is found in Ms. London, British Museum Or. 10555, fol. 208b.[36]

33 BT Hag 16a; see also *Pardes Rimmonim* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2000), 431, col. a (*sha ʿar* 26, *pereq* 8).

34 I.e. fire and wind, cf. Moshe ben Naḥman (*Perush ha-Ramban ʿal ha-Torah*, vol. 2, ed. Charles B. Chavel [Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1960], 95f.) and Baḥya ben Asher (*Beʾur al ha-Torah*, vol. 2, ed. Charles B. Chavel [Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1967], 505f.) on Lev 17:7.

35 Jehuda Zvi Brandwein, ed., *Kol Kitve ha-ARI*, vol. 15 (Jerusalem: unknown publisher, 1988), 108; additional material is found in *Shaʾar ha-Pesuqim* (vol. 7), 170, *Sefer Liqqutei Torah* (vol. 11), 208 (and the parallels noted there relating to *Ets Ḥayyim* and *Mevo She ʿarim*). See also the various elaborations on Eldad and Medad in Naphtali Bacharach, *Emeq ha-melekh* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2003), 584–87, 642 (*shaʾar* 14:43–47, 87).

36 Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 2, 587 refers to the Ashkenazi tradition in this version and the relation to the manuscript Manfred and Anne Lehmann Foundation, New York, NY. USA Ms. D 127 (= F 72683), dated 1634.

אופן כז	ספר הליקוטים פרשת וישלח, פרק לו
<סוד בריאת השדים> והנה דע לך כי בעת החורבן נבראו השדים שנבראו בין השמשות כאשר חכמים הגידו וטעם הדבר הוא כי הנה כשנשברו הכלים של נקודות זעיר שהוא נקרא שמש כידוע הלא בין השמשות שלו הוא סוד בין עת השברון לעת התיקון קודם המתקלא שאז נתקדש היום	כשנשברו הכלים של נקודות ז״א שהוא שמש הנה בין השמשות שלו דהיינו בין השברים נבראו השדים קודם המתקלא של קדושת היום
כי הלא ימי החול הם ששה כנגד שש הקצוות ואחרי שנשברו שש הימים ורצה לבוא יום השבת שהוא סוד התיקון אז ביני ביני נבראו השדים והוא סוד כשוד משדי יבוא כי ביום הששי שהוא סוד היסוד הנקרא שדי אז בא השוד השודד	
ועוד כבר ידעת כי שם אלהים הוא הממציא שדים לאימא עילאה דהיינו א״ל דד אחד מ״י דד אחר ו״ה שבאמצע הוא החלב כמו שתדע לפניך בעזרת האל ולכן אמר כשד משדי יבוא	וידוע בסוד אלד״ד ומיד״ד שנתבאר במקומו כי שם אלהים הוא הממציא שדים לאם
כי כנגד האם העליונה יש אשכלות מרורות אשר משם אחיזת החצונים מבחוץ ועל כן נקראו אלהים אחרים בעבור שהם נמשכים ואוחזים בשם אלהים הוא סוד השדים ועל שהם מבחוץ לכן נקראים אחרים	שכנגדה בלבד יש אשכלות מרורות, שמהם אחיזת המזיקים מבחוץ כטעם אלהים אחרים
וכבר ידעת מה שאמרו חכמים ע״ה על השדים שיש להם ששה דברים שלשה כמלאכי השרת ושלשה כבני אדם והטעם שמציאותם מנקודה ממשיית של כלי זעיר על כן יש להם שלשה דברים כבני אדם ומפני שבריאתם מדקות היסודות לכך יש להם שלשה דברים כמלאכי השרת	ולפי שמציאותם הוא מנקודה ממשיית של כלי זעיר יש להם ג׳ דברים כבני אדם ולפי שנבראו מדקות היסודות יש להם ג׳ דברים כמלאכי השרת
והנה נרמז בפסוקנו בראשית ברא אלהים ירצה בתחלה קודם עולם התיקון ברא אלהים היא אימא בסוד השדים שהם סוד אלהים את אלהים פי׳ את השדים הנקראים אלהים אחרים וזה עם השמים ועם הארץ רוצה לומר עם השלשה דברים כמלאכי	

השרת הדרים בשמים ועם הדברים כבני אדם היושבים בארץ וגם נבראו מן השמים ומן הארץ מן שבעה מלכין דמתו[37] והבריאה הזאת היתה כאשר הארץ היתה תוהו ובוהו ר״ל בעת הביטול.	והנה ה׳ של אלהים במלואה הוא מקור החלב ששני דדין א״ל מ״י משפיעים אותו למטה עד היסוד... עכ״מ מכתיבה אשכנזית

This short paragraph shows some typical characteristics of the treatise *Ofanim*: first, the topic is a secret related to the Lurianic understanding of creation; second, this secret is expounded in a midrashic way, here by playing on the words *shed*, *shod*, *shoded*, *shaddai*; and finally, the paragraph culminates in the interpretation of Genesis 1:1. Aside from rabbinic sources (Mishnah Avot; Bavli Ḥagigah), the salient parallel to Ḥayim Vital's *Sefer ha-Liqqutim* casts light on how the author composed this paragraph. Both texts share some motifs almost verbatim, and *Sefer ha-Liqqutim* complements also an explanation of the milk deriving from the two breasts called "El" and "Mi": both are attached to the letter *heh*, which is sandwiched between "El" and "Mi" in the name *Elohim*, the reference name for the power of judgment. At the end of Vital's text, which elaborates on Genesis 36 in the context of the seven kings of Edom, a short note identifies the Ashkenazi provenance of the quoted tradition: עד כאן מצאתי מכתיבה אשכנזית, which points to a source that may have been known also to the author of *Ofanim*.

Eldad and Medad, two half-brothers of Moses according to aggadic tradition, do not figure prominently in medieval theoretical or practical kabbalah; to the best of my knowledge, they appear at least in a 15th-century manuscript as reference for the successful

37 On the "death of the seven kings" in zoharic literature, see Avishar Har-Shefi, ׳מלכין קדמאין׳: הבריאה וההתגלות בספרות האידרות של הזוהר (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2015); concerning the difference between Cordovero's conception and the Lurianic development, see Esther Liebes, " בחינה מחודשת – קורדובירו והאר״י של מיתוס מות מלכי אדום," in *R. Moshe Cordovero, Ma'yan 'Ein Ya'acov: The Fourth Fountain of the Book 'Elimah*, ed. Bracha Sack (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2009); in Lurianic Kabbalah, see Isaiah Tishby, תורת הרע והקליפה בקבלת האר״י (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1962), 28–34.

application of a recipe against forgetfulness.[38] According to Bavli Sanhedrin 17a, they prophesied the death of Moses, and also concerning Gog and Magog, that is, the evil powers threatening Israel. In addition, they are named among the so-called seven pious men of the world, by which the late Targum Sheni portrays seven branches on the left side of a golden Menorah at the top of king Solomon's throne, as opposed to seven branches on the right side formed by the seven Patriarchs.[39] Such descriptions could have been useful in particular for Lurianic elaborations on creation, when Eldad and Medad are actually for the first time introduced as kabbalistic concepts, as evident in the writings of Hayim Vital and others.[40] They exemplified the secret of the demons as encapsulated in the divine names *Elohim* and *Shaddai*, and their incorporation within the divine structures, the four spellings of the Tetragrammaton as well as the ten *sefirot*. Naphtali Bacharach, for instance, stresses this idea in *Emeq ha-Melekh* when describing the nursing of the female power: **והנה הדדים נקראו שדים וסודם הוא שם שדי שדי בסוד ג׳ קוים חסד ע״ב גבורה רי״ו ת״ת [תפארת] כ״ו (...)**.[41]

38 Gideon Bohak, ed., **ספר כשפים יהודי מהמאה הט״ו, כתב יד ניו יורק, הספריה הציבורית (לשעבר ששון 56)** 190 (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2014), 152 [§114].

39 According to Beate Ego, *Targum Scheni zu Esther: Übersetzung, Kommentar und theologische Deutung* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1996), 24, it can be dated to the seventh to eighth century; see Steven Fine, *The Menorah: From the Bible to Modern Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 67. The list includes the "Patriarchs" Adam, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Job, and on the other side the seven "pious ones," Levi, Qehat, Amram, Moses, Aaron, Eldad, and Medad, "as well as the prophet Haggai."

40 See above, notes 30 and 35.

41 Naphtali Bacharach, *Emeq ha-Melekh* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2003), 982 (*sha'ar* 16:68). *Shaddai* equals 314: the numerical value of YHWH is 26, which when multiplied by three results in 72 (the first of the four spellings of the Tetragramm), and three times 72 amounts to 216 (the sum of the letters in Exod 14:19-21; each verse contains 72 letters). This appears to be also the climax in Zacuto's interpretation of "and his hand [**וידו**] grasping [Esau's heel]" (Gen 25:26) in his commentary on Zohar 1:138a (*Yodei Binah*, ed. Isaac Naḥum, Biṭḥah: Qol Biṭḥah, 2010, 470f.). Introduced by the statement that the destruction of the Temple was linked to *Hod* (the fifth of the seven lower *sefirot*), Zacuto explains the secret of (mother's) milk, including the "secret of the name *Elohim*, (i.e.) the secret of Eldad and Medad with the remaining letter *heh*," which can be drawn by piecing together the letters *dalet* and *waw*, or *dalet* and *yod*. This is why they are written in "his hand" (Gen 25:26). The secret of "nursing" implies the "lifting of the refinements (*berurim*)" of the

The "secret of the creation of the demons" relates to the transition stage just before the possible redemption, and to the involvement of evil, which was introduced in *ofen* 17 by the "breaking of the vessels" — actually a distension of the letters by overflowing *ḥasadim* or "light of kindness" — and the "death of the kings of Edom (Gen 36)" corresponding to the six days of creation, but without any sign of a potential dualistic tendency. On the contrary, only the lack of "balancing" the isolated points forming the world of *Tohu* empowered demonic forces to affect what are recognized as catastrophic events in history. The weak point — effectively the strong judgment — within the divine world allowing this kind of access "from outside" is manifest in the divine names themselves. In the end, it appears to be part of the "dynamical process" of the configuration called *Ze'ir Anpin* (before its final metamorphosis into the central *partsuf*), symbolized by the sun, which is considered to link angels, men, and demons to both the heavens above and the earth below.

Moses Zacuto's Magic Application

In the last chapters of *Ofanim*, the divine structures below the World of Emanation proceed to the domain of the angels. In this context, the second example presented in the following shall clarify one aspect of Zacuto's marginal notes to *Ofanim* (totaling seven altogether) and the relation to the other texts in his autograph.[42]

In *ofen* 119,[43] the reader's attention is drawn to the importance of human deeds that may generate by stimulation (called "rising of the female waters") three aspects of divine consciousness (*moḥin*) within the sefirotic structure of the World of Formation (*olam ha-yetsirah*): with regard to *Ḥokhmah* arises the name יהוא, regarding

lowest part up to *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tiferet*, which are called "the hands on high," and belong to the three divine names of 26, 72, and 216, which amount to 314. To them the verse "resting between my breasts" (Song 1:13) applies. See *Yodei Binah* (ibid., with reference to *Mevo She'arim*, *sha'ar* 5, 2:1-2). The hint to *Hod* is based on an interpretation of Dan 10:8.

42 The marginal notes appear on fol. 59b, 81b, 92a, 95a, two on 101a, and 107b (*ofen* 119).

43 Subtitle: עוד על מוחי היצירה וכן כל מדותיה. The core subject is the correlation between human deeds and the effects of divine consciousness (*moḥin*) in this area.

Binah the name שמועאל, and מטטרון in the *moaḥ* of *Da'at*.[44] The priestly blessing ("the Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace," Num 6:26) addresses the secret of these names, and connotes also the notarikon of YHWH, *Shaddai*, and *Adonai* (ישא), representing the extension of divine energy from the World of *Atsilut* unto the three lower worlds, which are illuminated by *El Shaddai*, *El YHWH*, and *El Adonai*. *Metatron*, whose name equals *Shaddai*, is represented by the word *shalom* (Num 6:26).[45] In addition, the notarikon of the three names *Yaho'el*, *Shamoa'el,* and *Metatron* can be identified with the word ישם(ו) in Num 6:26, and these letters refer to שמי, "my name," in Exod. 3:15. Against this background, Exod. 23:20, "I'm sending an angel before you," also called "the secret of Metatron," is explained as follows:

> The name יה״ו illuminates the World of *Yetsirah* ... When spelled with fillings of Aleph ... its numerical value is equal to כוז״ו (i.e. a derivation of YHWH),[46] and this name again filled with Alephs, i.e. כף ואו זין ואו, results in 193, which equals the sum of the last letters of Exod. 23:20 until *ha-maqom*. And 193 is also the numerical value of טפטפיה. Rabbenu Baḥya wrote about this in

44 Cf. Naphtali Bacharach, *Emeq ha-melekh* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2003), 1083 (*sha'ar* 18:1): והנה המוחין דיצירה הם שמועאל מטטרון יהואל אשר סימנם ׳זה שמי׳ ותחתיהם ׳שבעה רואי פני המלך היושבים ראשונה׳. On the three names see also *Brit Menuḥah*, ed. Oded Porat (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 2016), 142.

45 Cf. Zacuto's entries in *Em la-Binah* as noted in Ms. Jerusalem 615, fol. 13a, referring to *Metatron*, who rules in *Olam ha-Yetsirah*, and fol. 48a, referring to *shalom*, *Yesod* and *El Shaddai*; both entries refer also to the name Moses (also in *ofen* 119 the same numerical value of "Moses" and *El Shaddai* is highlighted; see below). On the names of the three angels interwoven in the emanation process as described by Naphtali Bacharach, see Baumgarten, "הערות," 14.

46 Compare Zacuto's statement in *Em la-Binah*: אהיה has the same numerical value as יה״ו, and leads up by the help of Gematria to the name *Taftafyah*, "which is a great name (שהוא שם גדול)" and equals, when counted by *milui*, the numerical value of תכלת, "light-blue" (Ms. Jerusalem 615, fol. 17b). One of the first copies of the material of *Em la-Binah* after it was arranged alphabetically appears to be Ms. New York, JTS 2193, which includes also David ben Jehuda he-Ḥasid's *Sefer ha-Gevul* — a prime example for the early evidence of the graphic design of a hexagram together with the designation *magen David*, describing the divine countenance according to the Zohar, and placing the name *Taftafyah* at the center.

> *parashat mishpatim*[47] that from this verse emerges a name useful for travelling, and this relates to what we said, for its name is called *sar ha-magen*,[48] since he includes the three lines of חד״ר (i.e. *Ḥesed, Din, Raḥamim*), which belong to *Mikha'el*, *Gavri'el*, *Nuri'el*. Also the divine name *El*, when multiplied three times, refers to the numerical value of *magen*, which is 93. (fol. 107b)

At this point, Zacuto adds the following gloss:[49]

> [More] on this secret: by mentioning this name one says '*Taftafyah* order fear upon shield — upon armed forces (*tsava*),' for both words amount to the same value as the name itself, 'order fear' is in Gematria 193, also 'upon shield' and 'upon armed forces,' the number of each equals the name *Taftafyah*.[50]

Exactly this information was used by Zacuto for the entry *Taftafyah* in *Shorshei ha-Shemot*, as noted in Ms. Jerusalem 615, fol. 138a:

> *Taftafyah*: this holy name is called 'name of thought,' and he emerges from the last letters of 'Behold, I am sending an angel before you to guard you on the way and to bring you to the place' — until here. The last letters amount to 193, like the number value of this name, and it is said, by mentioning this name: order fear 'upon shield', 'upon armed forces (*tsava*)', both

47 Apparently, there has been some confusion because of Exod. 23:20, which belongs to *parashat Mishpatim*, but the reference should read *parashat Mattot*; see below.

48 On this name cf. the remark in the old collection (sixteenth century) of "practical kabbalah," *Ma'yan ha-Ḥokhmah* (also *Ma'yenot Ḥokhmah*) edited according to a manuscript of Avraham Mamo by Meir Mazuz, Jerusalem 1999: וסוד הבהל׳ו [בגימטריא] צב׳א וסודו מג׳ן כי צבאות של מעלה מבהילים ומפחידים שרו של אדום שלא יקטרג וישחית את ישראל למטה והוא מגן אברהם ומגן דוד וחקוק עליהם השר הגדול הידוע למקובלים שר המגן טפטפיה, p. 231, and on p. 285, *ha-sar ha-gadol* is identified with Mikha'el, in charge of *Ḥesed*.

49 The gloss was included in the text of *Ofanim* by the scribe of Ms. Moskau, Guenzberg 474, fol. 164b.

50 ועל סוד זה כשמזכירים שם זה אומרים טפטפיה צוה פחד על מגן על צבא כי כל שתי מלות עולות כשם עצמו צוה פחד בגי׳ קצ״ג וכן ע״ל מג״ן וכן ע״ל צב״א שכל אחת מהם במספר שם טפטפיה. In *ofen* 119 follows then the reference to the same numerical value of Moses and *El Shaddai*, and an explanation why Moses rejected the company of the angel traditionally identified with Metatron (see Ramban on Exod 23:20, *Perush al ha-Torah*, vol. 1, ed. Charles Chavel, 441–43).

> words amount to 193, as well as (the name) כוז״ו, filled like this כף ואו זין ואו...

In addition, Zacuto notes, it is helpful to think about this name while facing enemies, and he added examples he found in *Sefer ha-Ḥesheq*. They explain that the name *Taftafyah* can be used against enemies in the battlefield.[51]

The starting point, however, is that the entry and the gloss in the autograph can be traced back to two complementary sources: on the one hand, *Sefer ha-Ḥesheq*, which includes already all the Gematriot presented by Zacuto, as has been elaborated by Moshe Idel in the context of Neḥemia of Erfurt's commentary on the seventy names of Metatron;[52] and on the other hand, Naftali Herz Treves' supercommentary on Rabbenu Baḥya, including a tradition of Me'ir of Rothenburg:

> *Taftafyah*, a name for facing fear, emerges from the verse (Exod 23:20): 'Behold I am sending an angel before you to guard you on the way and to bring you to the place.' The last letters amount to the numerical value of *Taftafyah* (i.e. 193). Being on the road, one should say '*Taftafyah*, order fear upon the robbers, against armed forces be unto me armed forces, against [armor] shield be my shield (cf. Gen 15:1)'. *Taftafyah*, order fear upon shield, upon armed forces: the numerical value of each word (i.e. 'shield' and 'armed forces') amounts to 93,[53] he should consider [that] in his heart, [as] the thought is [located] there.[54] It is a tradition of R. Me'ir of Rothenburg to mention [the name]

51 In addition, he copied at the end of the autograph (fol. 173b) an apparently popular amulet including the name *Taftafyah* that assures help in any situation.

52 Cf. Moshe Idel, " ר׳ נחמיה בן שלמה הנביא על מגן דוד והשם טפטפיה: ממגיה יהודית, לקבלה מעשית, ולקבלה עיונית," in *Ta Shma: Studies in Judaica in Memory of Israel M. Ta-Shma*, vol. 1, ed. Avraham (Rami) Reiner et al. (Allon Shevut: Tvunot Press, 2011), 4f. et passim, and 36f. et passim on שם המחשבה; cf. also Moshe Idel, "One from a Town," 205.

53 To this the numerical value of "upon ('al)", which amounts to one hundred, should be added. In fact, also "order fear" totals one hundred and ninty three.

54 This could also be understood as "he should consider the 'name of thought' in his heart," which is apparently the reading of Zacuto (see above).

Na ʿaryron in case of scary danger, and this name in combination with *Taftafyah* consists of thirteen letters. May it be [God's] will that I won't fail but succeed in finding out the secret.

שם של פחד והוא טפטפיה יוצא מפסוק [שמות כג, כ] הנה אנכי שולח מלאך לפניך בדרך לשמרך ולהביא״ך אל המקום, סופי אותיות גימטריא טפטפיה. וכשהוא על הדרך יאמר טפטפיה צוה פחד על הלסטים, על צבא תהיה לי לצבא, על מגן תהיה לי למגן. טפטפיה צוה פחד על מגן על צבא, כל אחד עולה גימטריא תשעים ושלש ויחשוב בלבו שם המחשבה. קבלה ממהר״ם בסכנת פחד להזכיר נעירון ושם זה ושל טפטפיה הם שלש עשרה אותיות. יהי רצון שלא אכשול ושאזכה למצא הסוד.[55]

Divine names are not captured in their original context. Here, they are linked because of Rabbenu Baḥya's comments on Numbers 32:32, which is one of the eleven verses beginning and ending with the letter *Nun*.[56] These biblical verses are characterized in such a way that the *shem ha-mephorash* emanates from them, and one who mentions them will be without fear. *Taftafyah* and *Na'aryron* can easily be connected to this function. For the author of *Ofanim* it is an aside, as he focuses mainly on the implementation of *Taftafyah* within the divine structures reaching the World of *Yetsirah*. But in Zacuto's eyes the magic application was deemed worthy to be added, if only for the sake of extending knowledge and at the same time bridging between the concepts of theoretical and practical kabbalah.

55 Cf. Naftali Herz Treves, *Sefer Naftali* (supercommentary on *Baḥya ben Asher's* commentary, first edition *Naftulei Elohim Niftalti*, Heddernheim 1546), (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2011), 424 (*sitrei Rabbenu Baḥya* on Num 32:32); this tradition was adapted in Yom Tov Lipmann Heller's commentary *Tuv Ta'am* on Numbers 32:32 (*Rabbenu Baḥya 'al ha-Torah 'im sefer tuv ta'am,* vol. 3 [Bne Brak: Avraham Shmuel ha-Levi Heller, 1992], 194), but reading נעוריה״ן; cf. the variations of this name in Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, "Die Namen Gottes und die Namen Metatrons," *FJB* 19 (1991/92), e.g. נערוריאל (p. 121, note 116); and her reference to נעורירון (AdRA [A]), "womit ein deutlicher Bezug zu Meṭaṭron gegeben ist" (120f.). Cf. also Idel, "ר׳ נחמיה," 17, note 54, and 41, note 204.

56 See the added references in Gershom Scholem, "הבדלה דר׳ עקיבא: מקור למסורת המאגיה היהודית בתקופת הגאונים," in *Devils, Demons, and Souls: Essays on Demonology by Gershom Scholem*, ed. Esther Liebes (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 2004), 168f., note 95.

Concluding Remarks

Lurianic conceptions provided new contexts for divine names. Some resulted from innovative readings like those of Eldad and Medad, which belong to a preliminary state of divine emanation, just before the first *Tiqqun* took place, representing the demonic condition of this process. Others supported reinterpretations of old traditions, as was the case with *Taftafyah*. This name in particular shows that practical and theoretical kabbalah merged into each other from the high Middle Ages onward.

Zacuto’s exceptional autograph Ms. Jerusalem 615 contains by and large three different parts: the famous magical collection, the treatise *Ofanim*, and his own Lurianic notes from various sources. Evidently, these three fields of kabbalistic exercise do not represent different stages (neither in a hierarchical nor in a chronological sense), but have been jointly cultivated by Zacuto, his later preference of Vital’s (and Tsemaḥ’s) redaction work notwithstanding. In any case, he abided by his synergetic approach towards theoretical and practical kabbalah. As for the treatise *Ofanim*, certain issues still have to be clarified, yet its affinity to a late layer of the Saruq school of thought is beyond question. It seems reasonable to assume an Ashkenazi provenience, since it shares Lurianic sources on Gen 36 that point in this direction. In addition, at least one example affiliated to magic and commented on by Zacuto — though definitely no specific interest in magic can be found in *Ofanim* — reveals that esoteric traditions concerning the names of Metatron (as for the pair of *Na’aryron* and *Taftafyah*) cannot exclusively be traced back to the circle of Neḥemia of Erfurt. Rather, these traditions have been more prevalent, probably as a result of the widely spread material associated with *hekhalot*-literature since Gaonic times. Aside from the magic tradition, some concepts in *Ofanim*, especially when their Saruqian implementation can be understood in a broader Cordoverian context, surfaced again in Zacuto’s own collection of Lurianic notes in this manuscript and thus made their way into his posthumously printed work *Em la-Binah*.



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The "Secret of the Creation of the Demons": A Chapter in an Anonymous Lurianic Treatise Adapted by Moses Zacuto

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Abstract

This article questions the view that R. Moses Zacuto (ReMeZ) focused his kabbalistic efforts strictly on adapting Hayyim Vital's version of Lurianic kabbalah. In doing so, an unknown Lurianic treatise found in an autograph of Zacuto will be specifically taken into account. The concepts of this treatise are affiliated with the school of Israel Saruq, and some of them resound in Zacuto's work, in particular *Em la-Binah*. The first part analyzes a chapter on the creation of demons, and addresses the issue of possible sources, which leads to the identification of an Ashkenazi tradition that was also incorporated in Vital's *Sefer ha-Liqqutim*. The second part discusses one of Zacuto's glosses on this treatise and the connection to his dictionary of magic names, *Shorshei ha-Shemot*.

Introduction

The kabbalistic writings of Moses Zacuto (ca.1610 Amsterdam–1697 Mantua), who directed for some decades the reception and distribution of Lurianic works in Northern Italy, are strongly bound to his image as a staunch defender of Ḥayyim Vital's version of Lurianic kabbalah, mainly according to the redaction of Jacob Tsemaḥ.[1] Joseph Avivi described in detail the process of Zacuto's

* I would like to thank Prof. Gideon Bohak for giving me the opportunity to present a first draft of this article at "The Fourth Workshop for the Study of Ancient Jewish Magic" in Tel Aviv, May 30, 2019. The whole subject is part of a joint project with my colleague, Prof. Yuval Harari, "Encyclopedic Magic: A

choice of manuscripts, indicating the master copies with the meaningful phrase "fine flour" (סולת נקיה), and rejecting other versions of Lurianic kabbalah, in particular the editions of Joseph Solomon del Medigo (*Sefer Novlot Ḥokhmah*) and Naphtali Bacharach (*Emeq ha-Melekh*).[2] It comes as a surprise, then, that Zacuto's own

Synergetic Approach to Rabbi Moses Zacuto's Sources of Practical and Theoretical Kabbalah," supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG). The project aims to reevaluate the writings of Moses Zacuto in general, and particularly his works on magic. An edition of *Sefer ha-Sodot* with special consideration of an autograph, The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel Ms. Heb. 40 615, is being prepared by Prof. Yuval Harari and his team, Dr. Eliezer Baumgarten and Dr. Uri Safrai; the Lurianic treatise in this manuscript, which is the object of the present article, will be edited by Eliezer Baumgarten and myself. I would like to express my gratitude to our colleagues in Israel.

1 There is an ongoing debate about the question of how and to what extent Lurianic teachings have been distributed in Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century, see Moshe Idel, "One from a Town, Two from a Clan – The Diffusion of Lurianic Kabbalah and Sabbateanism: A Re-Examination," *Jewish History* 7 (1993): 79–104; Joseph Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 2008), 1033–35; Zeev Gries, "מסורת ושינוי במעבר מכתבי יד לדפוס," *Alei Sefer* 23/24 (2015): 28, n. 38. On the entanglement of Lurianic kabbalah in Ashkenaz with earlier esoteric lore, see Eliezer Baumgarten, " הערות על דרכי השימוש של ר׳ נפתלי בכרך במקורות טרום-לוריאנים," *AJS Review* 37, no. 2 (2013): 1–23. I thank Prof. Zeev Gries for his valuable comments.

2 Cf. Joseph Avivi, "סולת נקיה נפתו של רבי משה זכות," *Pe'amim* 96 (2003): 76–79; the redaction of Lurianic manuscripts by Zacuto and his students is summarized in Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 2, 724–46. On Josef del Medigo's two volumes *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah* (Basel [Hanau] 1629) and *Novlot Ḥokhmah* (Basel [Hanau] 1631), see Avivi, קבלת האר"י, vol. 2, 551–55. Concerning Naphtali Bacharach, Avivi "סולת נקיה נפתו," 79, refers in particular to the order of the *hekhalot* as described in the treatise *Limmudei ha-Beriah*, which was incorporated into *Emeq ha-Melekh* (cf. Joseph Avivi, "כתבי האר״י באיטליה עד שנת ש״פ," *Alei Sefer* 11 (1984): 95, n. 14; cf. also Isaiah Tishby, " העימות בין קבלת האר״י לקבלת הרמ״ק בכתביו ובחייו של אהרון ברכיה ממודיה," in idem, חקרי קבלה ושלוחותיה, מחקרים ומקורותה, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1982), 197, n. 71, but "differs from Vital's teaching regarding the order of the *hekhalot* and what is described therein" (Avivi, "סולת נקיה נפתו," 79, n. 73, referring to the printed version of Vital in *Otsrot Ḥayyim*, Koretz 1783), which is why Zacuto rejected the order given in *Emeq ha-Melekh*, as noted by Gershom Scholem,כתבי-היד בקבלה הנמצאים בבית הספרים הלאומי והאוניברסיטאי בירושלם (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1930), 152, with reference to Zacuto's commentary on the Zohar, *Yodei Binah*, Ms. Jerusalem 40 82, fol. 32b. However, this statement should be specified: Zacuto actually wonders

kabbalistic explanations, which are scattered in his commentaries, poems, letters, halakhic writings, dictionaries, and more,[3] include a sort of residue or imprint which came out of an intense occupation with ideas pursuant to Israel Saruq's school of thought.[4] Though these traces turn up rather inconspicuously, like angelic names would do, they reveal Zacuto's casual attitude towards terms that would be telling in Saruqian contexts. A good example is "*malbush*," which appears time and again in his two commentaries on the Zohar. To be sure, as an "aspect" different from the Saruqian perspective, it

"from where" the author of *Emeq ha-Melekh* adapted his arrangement (ולא ידעתי מנין לו, ibid. fol. 32a), which differs from the "genuine version of R. Isaac Luria and R. Ḥayyim Vital (סולת נקיה מדברי האר״י והרח״ו)." The particular version of *Limmudei ha-Beriah* used by Naphtali Bacharach — which was apparently based on Ezra of Fano's copy of the second part of *Hatḥalat Ḥokhmah* (cf. Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 1, 305-307, vol. 2, 559-560; on this version, see also Ronit Meroz, "אסכולת סרוק: היסטוריה חדשה," *Shalem* 7 [2001]: 156) — was therefore unknown to Zacuto, his acquaintance with early versions of Lurianic kabbalah circulating in Northern Italy notwithstanding. Elsewhere I shall compare Zacuto's explanations concerning the *hekhalot* with the *hekhalot* of *malkhut de-beriah* in the last (but fragmentary) chapter (in addition to chapter 113) of the anonymous treatise discussed in the present article (see below) on the one hand, and the traditions of the Saruq school collected by Alexander Katz (for Katz' redaction see Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 1, 440–43) on the other.

3 A comprehensive mapping of Zacuto's works will be carried out by Yuval Harari and his team; the genre of letters and Zacuto's halakhic writings are being studied by Maximilian de Molière and Dr. Vladislav (Zeev) Slepoy of the German team. For the time being, see the list of Zacuto's published writings, Yaakov Lattes, "כתביו של רבי משה זכות שבדפוס," *Pe'amim* 96 (2003): 20–33.

4 For research on different branches and topics of this school, see Gershom Scholem, "ישראל סרוק – תלמיד האר״י?" *Zion* 5 (1940): 214–43 (=Daniel Abrams, ed., קבלת האר״י, אוסף מאמרים מאת גרשם שלום [Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2008], 295–329); Moshe Idel, "בין קבלת ירושלים לקבלת ר׳ ישראל סרוק (מקורות לתורת המלבוש של ר׳ ישראל סרוק)," *Shalem* 6 (1992): 165–73; Ronit Meroz, "ר׳ ישראל סרוג פרוש אנונימי לאדרא רבא הנמנה עם אסכולת סרוק, או: מה בין סרוק וחבריו ובין אירגאס, שפינוזה ואחרים," *Da'at* 28 (1992): 41–50; eadem, "עיון מחודש בסוגיה תלמיד האר״י – *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 12 (1996): 307–78; eadem, "Contrasting Opinions among the Founders of Saruq's School," in *Expérience, Écriture et Théologie dans le Judaisme et les Religions du Livre*, ed. P. Fenton and R. Goetschel (Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000), 191–202; eadem, "אסכולת סרוק"; Sharron Shatil, "The Kabbalah of R. Israel Saruq: A Lurianic-Cordoverian Encounter," *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 14, no. 2 (2011): 158–87.

is well known in Vital's *Ets Ḥayyim*.[5] In fact, it connotes both a midrashic and a magical background,[6] and, what is more, the Cordoverean idea of what Bracha Sack described as the "dynamical process" of revealing by mantling, to wit "השגת מלבוש."[7] But Zacuto even stresses the "secret" of the "world of *malbush*," implicating the emanation of the Alphabet, suited as א״ל ב״ם at the "center of *malbush*," and the function of יו״ד האומנת, the formative agent of "wisdom" for improving the world of *Atsilut*, a female expression in line with Moses Cordovero's explanation of *Malkhut* and *Binah*.[8] These — admittedly unusual — borrowings were integrated specifically into Zacuto's *Em la-Binah*; the raw material of this book is found at the very beginning of Ms. Jerusalem 615, collected but never published by Zacuto himself.[9]

5 In the following entry of Jacob Tsemaḥ's dictionary *Erkhei ha-Kinuyyim* (ed. Moshe Zuriel, Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2006, 377), conceptions found in Cordovero's and Vital's works are condensed in a way that appears to have been taken up again in the Saruqian approach: "Two times the 'filling' of the (divine name) א״ל amounts to the same numerical value as אור פני״אל and as חשמ״ל (the gematria of both is 378; see Zohar 2:246b), which corresponds to the numerical value of מלבו״ש, since (the *Sefirah*) *Binah* attires male and female." Cf. *Limmudei Atsilut*, Muncázs 1897, fol. 11a; Joseph del Medigo's *Novlot Ḥokhmah*, Basel (Hanau) 1631, ch. 15; Naphtali Bacharach, *Emeq ha-Melekh* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2003), 151 (*sha'ar* 1:54), and the second chapter (*sod ha-malbush*) of the treatise *Ofanim* to be described below. For Cordovero, see e.g. *Pardes Rimmonim* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2000), 397, col. a (*sha'ar* 24, *pereq* 2), and for Luria, see *Sefer ha-Liqqutim* (Jerusalem: Lifshitz Brothers, 1913), *parashat Tetse*, *siman* 22, fol. 63c.

6 See PesK 22:5, and *Sefer ha-Malbush*, which is referred to in Zacuto's commentary *Yodei Binah* on Zohar 1:75a in the context of Cordovero's explanation of Metatron as Agent Intellect (*sekhel ha-po'el*): "והוא סוד ספר המלבוש המודיע סדר ההשבעות וזמן הנכון לכול פעולה שהוא אסור לעשותו" (ed. Isaac Naḥum, Bitḥah: Qol Bitḥah, 2010, 252).

7 Bracha Sack, בשערי הקבלה של רבי משה קורדוביר (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 1995) 68.

8 See Moses Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2000), 295, col. a (*sha'ar* 23, *erkhey ha-kinuyyim, pereq* 1, entry "אומנת," referring to *Binah* in the context of Ruth 4:16); for an adaption in the Saruq-school, see Joseph del Medigo's *Novlot Ḥokhmah*, Basel (Hanau) 1631, chs. 25, 28, 30, and 36. Cf. also the treatise *Ofanim*, chs. 2–5 (the four letters of Alphabet א״ל ב״ם amount to 73 like *ḥokhmah*; יוד האומנת refers to the last *Yod* of the name 63, the second spelling of the Tetragramm, which is the secret of the "lower wisdom" hinted at in Ps 104:24).

9 *Em la-Binah* was published first as an appendix of *Sha'arei Binah* by Isaac Tsaba, Saloniki 1813, fol. 63a-104b; concerning the quotations see Ms. Jerusalem 615,

However, no such concepts have been analyzed in Zacuto's texts thus far. Toward starting a discussion on that front in the near future, the impact of an anonymous treatise of the Saruq-school embedded in an autograph of Zacuto will be examined here. First, I will focus on the chapter "the secret of the creation of the demons," which allows some conclusions concerning the sources of the treatise, after which I will highlight one of the scarce marginal notes by Zacuto.

Preliminary Remarks on the Treatise *Ofanim*

The untitled treatise is structured by 121 *ofanim* ("ways") — which is why it will be called in the following by this name — and each "way"[10] expounds the first verse of the Bible, which appears also as an epigraph at the very beginning of the treatise, while almost all chapters, including the first one, are tagged by subtitles ("secrets") on the margin. The sequence of chapters follows a hierarchic order, guided by a Lurianic conception of the Saruq school, starting with "the secret of *tsimtsum*," "the secret of *malbush*," "the secret of the folding of *malbush*," etc. Following Ronit Meroz, it is evident from the order of this creation process and the typical termini technici that these teachings belong to the third and last stage of the development of the Saruq school in the seventeenth century.[11]

The earliest of the three known manuscripts is found in The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel Ms. Heb. 4°615,[12] written

fol. 13a. I will discuss *Em la-Binah* and the didactic genre it represents elsewhere. The Saruqian material which is included in Ms. Moscow, Guenzburg 1448, will be part of Yuval Harari's edition of *Sefer ha-Sodot*.

10 The ambiguity of this term (meaning also "wheel", when pronounced *ofan*, and in particular — based on Ezek. 1:15 — the class of angels active in the lower world) is part of its application in mystical texts, cf. e.g. Abraham Azulay, *Sefer Ḥesed le-Avraham*, Amsterdam 1685, fol. 29a (*ma'yan* 3, *nahar* 3): ותכף ומיד לאחר שנחרב הבית הקדוש ברוך הוא פתח את החלון והוריד את עול׳ [עולם] האופנים וצמצם מלכו׳ [מלכות] עולם האופנים בתוך החלון כדי שלא יסגר עוד ולעולם פתח זה לא נסתם כי אם דוקא בשעת החרבן; and see the continuation of this quotation below (note 25).

11 See, Meroz, "אסכולת סרוק," 158, 161; or eadem, "Contrasting Opinions," 197, cf. in particular the concepts of טהירו עלאה and קיפול המלבוש.

12 Fol. 58a-108b. The other two manuscripts, which trace back to the Jerusalem manuscript, are in the Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia Ms. Guenzburg

by Zacuto in 1655,[13] but all three versions are incomplete, because the last section breaks off in the middle of an explanation of the Four Worlds.[14] Nevertheless, we learn that the author followed a somehow encyclopedic intention, by pooling all kabbalistic secrets with the help of Genesis 1:1, in his words: "אין כוונתי בחיבור הזה רק לכתוב בקצרה רוב סתרי החכמה האלהית להכליל הכל בפסוקנו הנכבד".[15] Throughout the treatise the author points repeatedly to his other kabbalistic work, *Sefer Yemin Moshe*[16] — apparently an exegetical work based on Moses Cordovero. However, in light of a short hint towards the end of the treatise, there is reason to believe that this work was written parallel to *Ofanim*, and probably never finished.[17] As a preliminary suggestion for a potential author, I would suggest Moses ben Solomon ha-Levi of Frankfurt, a resident of Zolkiew, who composed the commentary *Yoel Moshe* on Menaḥem Azaryah Fano's *Asarah Ma'amarot* (Amsterdam 1649).[18]

474, and The Ritman library, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, Netherlands Ms. M 473.

13 A detailed description of this manuscript and its significance for the evaluation of Zacuto's writings in the field of practical and theoretical kabbalah will be published by Yuval Harari.

14 *Ofen* 121 (titled "the secret of the palaces of *Malkhut ha-Briah*") parallels the structure of the so-called four worlds (אבי"ע) to four biblical terms related to different parts of the temple (1. Kg 6:5): *'azarot* (the courts), *'ulam* (the porch), *hekhal* (the main hall), *devir* (the inner sanctuary). The explanation does not reach the Holy of Holies, but rather stops within the *hekhal*, which corresponds to the "world of creation," so at least the expected relation between *devir* and '*olam ha-atsilut* is missing. Furthermore, the whole treatise seems to be arranged according to the four worlds; see end of *ofen* 104, fol. 100b, cross heading: סודות עולם הבריאה --- והיצירה והעשיה. Thus, the first part (up to *ofen* 105) was related to '*olam ha-atsilut*.

15 *Ofen* 42, fol. 73b ("In this treatise I intend to write a plethora of kabbalistic secrets in a nutshell in order to include all in our honored verse [i.e. Gen 1:1]").

16 At least five times: fol. 65a, 65b, 68a, 100a, 102a. The title refers to Isa 63:12. Eliezer Baumgarten suggests that the author refers also to a third work, apparently an interpretation of the Exodus from Egypt.

17 See fol. 102a: אם יגזור האל העליון בחיים גם אנחנו נדבר בדברים האלה בספר ימין משה שלנו.

18 The first name "Yoel" is an abbreviation and refers to the author's teacher, R. Judah Aryeh Leib (see Marvin Heller, *The Seventeenth Century Hebrew Book*, vol. 2 [Leiden: Brill, 2011], 661), whose traditions are also included. Not very much is known about Moses ha-Levi, though (but see Idel, "One from a Town," 87f.). Some evidence is found in the introduction of this commentary, in particular

Despite his trust in the kabbalistic authority of Cordovero, the author of *Ofanim* follows the school of Israel Saruq, thereby adapting traditions that we also find in the works of Joseph del Medigo and Naphtali Bacharach. The basic idea of his approach is at first glance related to that part of Nathan Shapira's *Megalleh 'Amuqot* (Kraków 1637) which presents 256 *Ofanim* on Deut. 3:23. In addition, both works make frequent use of numerology and letter permutations, and they quote similar Lurianic sources such as *Kanfei Yona* and *Yonat Elem*, though Shapira ascribes them both to Luria, while the author of *Ofanim* refers to Menachem Azariah da Fano (with the honorific *zikhrono livrakha*) as the author of *Yonat Elem*.[19] In addition, the treatise *Ofanim* applies a systematic-didactic approach, addressing the esteemed reader time and again, and shows acquaintance with Lurianic texts such as *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanot* or *Hatḥalat ha-Ḥokhmah* and *Limmudei ha-Beriah*.[20] By contrast, Nathan Shapira's homiletic *Megalleh 'Amuqot* is rather informed by the mystical traditions of medieval Ashkenaz, in particular *Sefer ha-Ḥesheq*, as Agata Paluch has shown.[21] In *Ofanim*, only one reference applies to the "בעל סודי רזי (Elazar of Worms)," in the context of specifying the names of the four angels related to the faces of the chariot in the "world of *yetsirah*."[22]

interpretations of Gen 1:1 (which is set as model for "*limud qabbalah*," cf. *Asarah Ma'amarot*, Amsterdam 1649, *haqdamah*, fol. 5c); references to Moses Galante and Nathan Shapira of Kraków (in *Ofanim* both of them ["Rav Galante," Ms. Jerusalem 615, fol. 63a, 104b; and *Megalleh Amuqot* on fol. 101b] are among the few references to other kabbalists aside from Cordovero and Menaḥem Azaryah da Fano, but of course the Zoharic writings and "ha-ARI" are often mentioned); the praise of Moses, who corresponds to the *sefirah Tiferet* and to Metatron (*sar ha-panim*); and the hint to *malkhut de-beriah* being the garment (*levush*) of *malkhut* and the "source of souls" (*haqdamah*, fol. 6a).

19 E.g. *ofen* 59 (da Fano as author of *Yonat Elem*). Apparently, the author of *Ofanim* used a version of *Kanfei Yona* which originated in the circle of Moses Najara; see the reference to *Kanfei Yona* in *Ofen* 103 that would fit e.g. to Ms. London, British Library, Add. 26969, fol. 66b; on this version, see Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 1, 316, 395.

20 See e.g. fol. 65a, 70b, 83b.

21 See Paluch, *Megalleh 'Amuqot: The Enoch-Metatron Tradition in the Kabbalah of Nathan Neta Shapira of Krakow (1585-1633)* (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2014), 60–62; 75–79.

22 הואליה corresponds to the face of man, מפפיה to the lion, אמציה to the bull, and עפפימיהאל to the eagle (fol. 103a).

However, another singular reference is more relevant for the historical setting of *Ofanim:* within the broad range of Lurianic writings belonging to the Saruq school, the phrase אדם קדמון שני (fol. 61a; "the second primeval man") is exceptional, but found at least in the last chapter (*sha'ar* 22) of *Emeq ha-Melekh*, written shortly before the violent Chmielnicki upheaval in Ukraine (1648).[23] Unfortunately, the sources Naphtali Bacharach used are not completely known to us.[24] But it might be possible to reconstruct the motives and concepts both works share, and thus to trace their common source backwards.

The Sources of "The Secret of the Creation of the Demons"

The first example provides an idea of how Lurianic kabbalah affects the approach to divine names, not in respect of *kawwanot*, but in the context of demonology and magic. The translation of Ms. Jerusalem 615, fol. 67b (*ofen* 27) will be followed by a synoptical reading of the Hebrew text with a parallel in *Sha'ar ha-Liqqutim*.

> <The secret of the creation of the demons.> You shall know: at the time of the destruction,[25] the demons have been created, they have been created at sunset, as the Sages said.[26] The reason for this is, when the vessels of the points of *Ze'ir*, who is called sun, as is well known, were broken, it was at his sunset, to be sure. This is the secret of the time between the destruction and the reparation before the balance (*matqala*)[27] when the (seventh) day was sanctified, since there are six weekdays

23 Cf. *Emeq ha-Melekh* (Jerusalem, 2003), 1050 (*sha'ar* 22). For the historical background of *Sefer Emeq ha-Melekh*, see Gershom Scholem, *Sabbatai Zevi: The Mystical Messiah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 70.

24 See the list in Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 2, 559.

25 חורבן implies the destruction of the temple; in Rabbinic literature, there is no connection to *shedim*. But see Abraham Azulay's *Ḥesed le-Avraham,* Amsterdam 1685, fol. 29a: "at the time of the destruction the demonic forces [*ha-ḥitsonim*] were allowed to enter the Land of Israel in order to destroy the temple."

26 Mishnah Avot 5:6.

27 The term *matqala* ("scales") refers to Zohar 2:176a (*Sifra di-Tsniuta*); see the comprehensive discussion of the different linguistic meanings of this term in the Zohar by Yehuda Liebes, "פרקים במילון ספר הזהר." (PhD diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1977), 329–32, 334, entry ״טיקלא, תקלא״.

corresponding to the six ends. After the six days have been destroyed, and Shabbat, that is, the secret of Tiqqun, wanted to arrive, at that time the demons have been created. This is the secret of the verse "it will come like destruction from *Shaddai,*"[28] for it is the sixth day which is the secret of *Yesod* called *Shaddai*. At this time the destroying destruction arrives. Furthermore, you know that it is the name *Elohim* which brings forth demons for *Imma* on high, that is to say "one named Eldad, and the other named Medad,"[29] and (the letter) *heh* in the middle signifies the milk, as I will explain to you with God's help.[30]

Thus Scripture states "it will come like destruction from *Shaddai*," for in respect of the upper mother there are "bitter clusters."[31] This is where the demonic forces are seizing from outside (*aḥizat ha-ḥitsonim mi-baḥuts*), and therefore they are called "other gods" (*elohim aḥerim*),[32] because they are attracted by and seize the name *Elohim*, which is the secret of the demons, and they are from outside, that's why they are called "others," and you know that the Sages said six things

28 Isa. 13:6 (cf. Joel 1:15); cf. Menahem Recanati, *Perush al ha-Torah*, *lekh lekha* (Jerusalem: Aharon Barzani and son, 2003), 196 (on Zohar 3:119b, referring to the name *El Shaddai*).

29 Num. 11:26.

30 Referring to the *he* in the middle of the name *Elohim*, which is identified with the "milk"; the promised explanation is given at length in the chapters *ofanim* 65-70, starting again with the explanation of Eldad and Medad. Similar material can be found among the Lurianic *derushim* in Ms. London, British Library, Or. 10734, fol. 105b-106a (titled "*sod ha-ḥalav*"). Related explanations are found also in Menachem Azaryah Fano, *Qitsur Yonat Elem*, *ot* 22 (*Sefer Ma'amrei ha-Ram'a mi-Pano*, vol. 1, Jerusalem: Yishmaḥ Lev-Torat Moshe, 1997, p. 295: סוד החלב הוא שם אהיה שבבינה ... בה׳ של אלקים יש חלב קל וכבד בשתי דרכים ומן הה״א שבאמצע יעלה החלב לדד ימין ולדד שמאל), and in Joseph del Medigo's *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah*, Basel (Hanau) 1629, fol. 82a (בבינה יש לה דדים ... ואלו הדדי׳ הם בסוד אלהי׳ וסמנך אלד״ד ומדד א״ל ד״ד ומ״י ד״ד א״ל ד״ד ימי״ן ומ״י ד״ד שמאל והה״א הנשארת מאלהי׳ הוא החלב ... סוד חלב הוא משם אהי״ה ...). On Zacuto's version see below, note 41.

31 Deut. 32:32, referring to the fruit Adam received from Eve; see Zohar 1:192a, adapting the language of GenR 19:5: "Adam's wife squeezed grapes for him, bringing death upon him and upon the whole world"; according to LevR 12:1, not only Noah but also the sons of Aaron drank wine of those deathly grapes, the "bitter clusters"; cf. also Zohar 1:73b.

32 Exod. 20:3 et passim.

> concerning the demons:[33] in regard to three, they are like the ministering angels, and in regard to three like the human beings. The reason is that their reality was caused by an actual point of the vessels of *Ze ʿir*, thus in regard to three things they are like human beings, and since they have been created by subtle elements,[34] they are in regard to three things like angels. Behold, this is indicated by our verse *bereshit bara Elohim* (Gen 1:1), meaning "at first," prior to the world of Tiqqun, "Elohim" — that is *Imma* in the secret of the demons, for they are the secret of *Elohim* — "created Elohim," and the interpretation is: the demons, who are called "other gods," in keeping with the heaven and with the earth, they are in regard to three things like the ministering angels who dwell in heaven, and in regard to (three) things like human beings who live on earth, and they, too, are created from heaven and from earth, due to the seven kings who died, and this creation happened when the earth was in the state of *tohu wa-vohu*, that is, at the time of nullification.

Though certain passages in the broad range of Lurianic writings deal with the issue of Eldad and Medad, the only text which comes close to the wording and some particular details of *ofen* 27 happens to be an Ashkenazi tradition, at the end of a lengthy interpretation on Gen. 36, included in *Sefer ha-Liqqutim*.[35] This version is found in Ms. London, British Museum Or. 10555, fol. 208b.[36]

33 BT Hag 16a; see also *Pardes Rimmonim* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2000), 431, col. a (*sha ʿar* 26, *pereq* 8).

34 I.e. fire and wind, cf. Moshe ben Naḥman (*Perush ha-Ramban ʿal ha-Torah*, vol. 2, ed. Charles B. Chavel [Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1960], 95f.) and Baḥya ben Asher (*Beʾur al ha-Torah*, vol. 2, ed. Charles B. Chavel [Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1967], 505f.) on Lev 17:7.

35 Jehuda Zvi Brandwein, ed., *Kol Kitve ha-ARI*, vol. 15 (Jerusalem: unknown publisher, 1988), 108; additional material is found in *Shaʾar ha-Pesuqim* (vol. 7), 170, *Sefer Liqqutei Torah* (vol. 11), 208 (and the parallels noted there relating to *Ets Ḥayyim* and *Mevo She ʿarim*). See also the various elaborations on Eldad and Medad in Naphtali Bacharach, *Emeq ha-melekh* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2003), 584–87, 642 (*shaʾar* 14:43–47, 87).

36 Avivi, קבלת האר״י, vol. 2, 587 refers to the Ashkenazi tradition in this version and the relation to the manuscript Manfred and Anne Lehmann Foundation, New York, NY. USA Ms. D 127 (= F 72683), dated 1634.

אופן כז	ספר הליקוטים פרשת וישלח, פרק לו
<סוד בריאת השדים> והנה דע לך כי בעת החורבן נבראו השדים שנבראו בין השמשות כאשר חכמים הגידו וטעם הדבר הוא כי הנה כשנשברו הכלים של נקודות זעיר שהוא נקרא שמש כידוע הלא בין השמשות שלו הוא סוד בין עת השברון לעת התיקון קודם המתקלא שאז נתקדש היום	כשנשברו הכלים של נקודות ז״א שהוא שמש הנה בין השמשות שלו דהיינו בין השברים נבראו השדים קודם המתקלא של קדושת היום
כי הלא ימי החול הם ששה כנגד שש הקצוות ואחרי שנשברו שש הימים ורצה לבוא יום השבת שהוא סוד התיקון אז ביני ביני נבראו השדים והוא סוד כשוד משדי יבוא כי ביום הששי שהוא סוד היסוד הנקרא שדי אז בא השוד השודד	
ועוד כבר ידעת כי שם אלהים הוא הממציא שדים לאימא עילאה דהיינו א״ל דד אחד מ״י דד אחר ו״ה שבאמצע הוא החלב כמו שתדע לפניך בעזרת האל ולכן אמר כשד משדי יבוא	וידוע בסוד אלד״ד ומיד״ד שנתבאר במקומו כי שם אלהים הוא הממציא שדים לאם
כי כנגד האם העליונה יש אשכלות מרורות אשר משם אחיזת החצונים מבחוץ ועל כן נקראו אלהים אחרים בעבור שהם נמשכים ואוחזים בשם אלהים הוא סוד השדים ועל שהם מבחוץ לכן נקראים אחרים	שכנגדה בלבד יש אשכלות מרורות, שמהם אחיזת המזיקים מבחוץ כטעם אלהים אחרים
וכבר ידעת מה שאמרו חכמים ע״ה על השדים שיש להם ששה דברים שלשה כמלאכי השרת ושלשה כבני אדם והטעם שמציאותם מנקודה ממשיית של כלי זעיר על כן יש להם שלשה דברים כבני אדם ומפני שבריאתם מדקות היסודות לכך יש להם שלשה דברים כמלאכי השרת	ולפי שמציאותם הוא מנקודה ממשיית של כלי זעיר יש להם ג׳ דברים כבני אדם ולפי שנבראו מדקות היסודות יש להם ג׳ דברים כמלאכי השרת
והנה נרמז בפסוקנו בראשית ברא אלהים ירצה בתחלה קודם עולם התיקון ברא אלהים היא אימא בסוד השדים שהם סוד אלהים את אלהים פי׳ את השדים הנקראים אלהים אחרים וזה עם השמים ועם הארץ רוצה לומר עם השלשה דברים כמלאכי	

השרת הדרים בשמים ועם הדברים כבני אדם היושבים בארץ וגם נבראו מן השמים ומן הארץ מן שבעה מלכין דמתו[37] והבריאה הזאת היתה כאשר הארץ היתה תוהו ובוהו ר״ל בעת הביטול.	והנה ה׳ של אלהים במלואה הוא מקור החלב ששני דדין א״ל מ״י משפיעים אותו למטה עד היסוד... עכ״מ מכתיבה אשכנזית

This short paragraph shows some typical characteristics of the treatise *Ofanim*: first, the topic is a secret related to the Lurianic understanding of creation; second, this secret is expounded in a midrashic way, here by playing on the words *shed*, *shod*, *shoded*, *shaddai*; and finally, the paragraph culminates in the interpretation of Genesis 1:1. Aside from rabbinic sources (Mishnah Avot; Bavli Ḥagigah), the salient parallel to Ḥayim Vital's *Sefer ha-Liqqutim* casts light on how the author composed this paragraph. Both texts share some motifs almost verbatim, and *Sefer ha-Liqqutim* complements also an explanation of the milk deriving from the two breasts called "El" and "Mi": both are attached to the letter *heh*, which is sandwiched between "El" and "Mi" in the name *Elohim*, the reference name for the power of judgment. At the end of Vital's text, which elaborates on Genesis 36 in the context of the seven kings of Edom, a short note identifies the Ashkenazi provenance of the quoted tradition: עד כאן מצאתי מכתיבה אשכנזית, which points to a source that may have been known also to the author of *Ofanim*.

Eldad and Medad, two half-brothers of Moses according to aggadic tradition, do not figure prominently in medieval theoretical or practical kabbalah; to the best of my knowledge, they appear at least in a 15th-century manuscript as reference for the successful

37 On the "death of the seven kings" in zoharic literature, see Avishar Har-Shefi, ׳מלכין קדמאין׳: הבריאה וההתגלות בספרות האידרות של הזוהר (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2015); concerning the difference between Cordovero's conception and the Lurianic development, see Esther Liebes, " בחינה מחודשת – קורדובירו והאר״י של מיתוס מות מלכי אדום," in *R. Moshe Cordovero, Ma'yan 'Ein Ya'acov: The Fourth Fountain of the Book 'Elimah*, ed. Bracha Sack (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2009); in Lurianic Kabbalah, see Isaiah Tishby, תורת הרע והקליפה בקבלת האר״י (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1962), 28–34.

application of a recipe against forgetfulness.[38] According to Bavli Sanhedrin 17a, they prophesied the death of Moses, and also concerning Gog and Magog, that is, the evil powers threatening Israel. In addition, they are named among the so-called seven pious men of the world, by which the late Targum Sheni portrays seven branches on the left side of a golden Menorah at the top of king Solomon's throne, as opposed to seven branches on the right side formed by the seven Patriarchs.[39] Such descriptions could have been useful in particular for Lurianic elaborations on creation, when Eldad and Medad are actually for the first time introduced as kabbalistic concepts, as evident in the writings of Hayim Vital and others.[40] They exemplified the secret of the demons as encapsulated in the divine names *Elohim* and *Shaddai*, and their incorporation within the divine structures, the four spellings of the Tetragrammaton as well as the ten *sefirot*. Naphtali Bacharach, for instance, stresses this idea in *Emeq ha-Melekh* when describing the nursing of the female power: **והנה הדדים נקראו שדים וסודם הוא שם שדי שדי בסוד ג׳ קוים חסד ע״ב גבורה רי״ו ת״ת [תפארת] כ״ו (...)**.[41]

38 Gideon Bohak, ed., **ספר כשפים יהודי מהמאה הט״ו, כתב יד ניו יורק, הספריה הציבורית (לשעבר ששון 56)** 190 (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2014), 152 [§114].

39 According to Beate Ego, *Targum Scheni zu Esther: Übersetzung, Kommentar und theologische Deutung* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1996), 24, it can be dated to the seventh to eighth century; see Steven Fine, *The Menorah: From the Bible to Modern Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 67. The list includes the "Patriarchs" Adam, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Job, and on the other side the seven "pious ones," Levi, Qehat, Amram, Moses, Aaron, Eldad, and Medad, "as well as the prophet Haggai."

40 See above, notes 30 and 35.

41 Naphtali Bacharach, *Emeq ha-Melekh* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2003), 982 (*sha'ar* 16:68). *Shaddai* equals 314: the numerical value of YHWH is 26, which when multiplied by three results in 72 (the first of the four spellings of the Tetragramm), and three times 72 amounts to 216 (the sum of the letters in Exod 14:19-21; each verse contains 72 letters). This appears to be also the climax in Zacuto's interpretation of "and his hand [**וידו**] grasping [Esau's heel]" (Gen 25:26) in his commentary on Zohar 1:138a (*Yodei Binah*, ed. Isaac Naḥum, Biṭḥah: Qol Biṭḥah, 2010, 470f.). Introduced by the statement that the destruction of the Temple was linked to *Hod* (the fifth of the seven lower *sefirot*), Zacuto explains the secret of (mother's) milk, including the "secret of the name *Elohim*, (i.e.) the secret of Eldad and Medad with the remaining letter *heh*," which can be drawn by piecing together the letters *dalet* and *waw*, or *dalet* and *yod*. This is why they are written in "his hand" (Gen 25:26). The secret of "nursing" implies the "lifting of the refinements (*berurim*)" of the

The "secret of the creation of the demons" relates to the transition stage just before the possible redemption, and to the involvement of evil, which was introduced in *ofen* 17 by the "breaking of the vessels" — actually a distension of the letters by overflowing *ḥasadim* or "light of kindness" — and the "death of the kings of Edom (Gen 36)" corresponding to the six days of creation, but without any sign of a potential dualistic tendency. On the contrary, only the lack of "balancing" the isolated points forming the world of *Tohu* empowered demonic forces to affect what are recognized as catastrophic events in history. The weak point — effectively the strong judgment — within the divine world allowing this kind of access "from outside" is manifest in the divine names themselves. In the end, it appears to be part of the "dynamical process" of the configuration called *Ze'ir Anpin* (before its final metamorphosis into the central *partsuf*), symbolized by the sun, which is considered to link angels, men, and demons to both the heavens above and the earth below.

Moses Zacuto's Magic Application

In the last chapters of *Ofanim*, the divine structures below the World of Emanation proceed to the domain of the angels. In this context, the second example presented in the following shall clarify one aspect of Zacuto's marginal notes to *Ofanim* (totaling seven altogether) and the relation to the other texts in his autograph.[42]

In *ofen* 119,[43] the reader's attention is drawn to the importance of human deeds that may generate by stimulation (called "rising of the female waters") three aspects of divine consciousness (*moḥin*) within the sefirotic structure of the World of Formation (*olam ha-yetsirah*): with regard to *Ḥokhmah* arises the name יהוא, regarding

lowest part up to *Ḥesed*, *Gevurah*, and *Tiferet*, which are called "the hands on high," and belong to the three divine names of 26, 72, and 216, which amount to 314. To them the verse "resting between my breasts" (Song 1:13) applies. See *Yodei Binah* (ibid., with reference to *Mevo She'arim*, *sha'ar* 5, 2:1-2). The hint to *Hod* is based on an interpretation of Dan 10:8.

42 The marginal notes appear on fol. 59b, 81b, 92a, 95a, two on 101a, and 107b (*ofen* 119).

43 Subtitle: עוד על מוחי היצירה וכן כל מדותיה. The core subject is the correlation between human deeds and the effects of divine consciousness (*moḥin*) in this area.

Binah the name שמועאל, and מטטרון in the *moaḥ* of *Da'at*.[44] The priestly blessing ("the Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace," Num 6:26) addresses the secret of these names, and connotes also the notarikon of YHWH, *Shaddai*, and *Adonai* (ישא), representing the extension of divine energy from the World of *Atsilut* unto the three lower worlds, which are illuminated by *El Shaddai*, *El YHWH*, and *El Adonai*. *Metatron*, whose name equals *Shaddai*, is represented by the word *shalom* (Num 6:26).[45] In addition, the notarikon of the three names *Yaho'el*, *Shamoa'el,* and *Metatron* can be identified with the word ישם(ו) in Num 6:26, and these letters refer to שמי, "my name," in Exod. 3:15. Against this background, Exod. 23:20, "I'm sending an angel before you," also called "the secret of Metatron," is explained as follows:

> The name יה״ו illuminates the World of *Yetsirah* ... When spelled with fillings of Aleph ... its numerical value is equal to כוז״ו (i.e. a derivation of YHWH),[46] and this name again filled with Alephs, i.e. כף ואו זין ואו, results in 193, which equals the sum of the last letters of Exod. 23:20 until *ha-maqom*. And 193 is also the numerical value of טפטפיה. Rabbenu Baḥya wrote about this in

44 Cf. Naphtali Bacharach, *Emeq ha-melekh* (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2003), 1083 (*sha'ar* 18:1): והנה המוחין דיצירה הם שמועאל מטטרון יהואל אשר סימנם ׳זה שמי׳ ותחתיהם ׳שבעה רואי פני המלך היושבים ראשונה׳. On the three names see also *Brit Menuḥah*, ed. Oded Porat (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 2016), 142.

45 Cf. Zacuto's entries in *Em la-Binah* as noted in Ms. Jerusalem 615, fol. 13a, referring to *Metatron*, who rules in *Olam ha-Yetsirah*, and fol. 48a, referring to *shalom*, *Yesod* and *El Shaddai*; both entries refer also to the name Moses (also in *ofen* 119 the same numerical value of "Moses" and *El Shaddai* is highlighted; see below). On the names of the three angels interwoven in the emanation process as described by Naphtali Bacharach, see Baumgarten, "הערות," 14.

46 Compare Zacuto's statement in *Em la-Binah*: אהיה has the same numerical value as יה״ו, and leads up by the help of Gematria to the name *Taftafyah*, "which is a great name (שהוא שם גדול)" and equals, when counted by *milui*, the numerical value of תכלת, "light-blue" (Ms. Jerusalem 615, fol. 17b). One of the first copies of the material of *Em la-Binah* after it was arranged alphabetically appears to be Ms. New York, JTS 2193, which includes also David ben Jehuda he-Ḥasid's *Sefer ha-Gevul* — a prime example for the early evidence of the graphic design of a hexagram together with the designation *magen David*, describing the divine countenance according to the Zohar, and placing the name *Taftafyah* at the center.

> *parashat mishpatim*[47] that from this verse emerges a name useful for travelling, and this relates to what we said, for its name is called *sar ha-magen*,[48] since he includes the three lines of חד״ר (i.e. *Ḥesed, Din, Raḥamim*), which belong to *Mikha'el*, *Gavri'el*, *Nuri'el*. Also the divine name *El*, when multiplied three times, refers to the numerical value of *magen*, which is 93. (fol. 107b)

At this point, Zacuto adds the following gloss:[49]

> [More] on this secret: by mentioning this name one says '*Taftafyah* order fear upon shield — upon armed forces (*tsava*),' for both words amount to the same value as the name itself, 'order fear' is in Gematria 193, also 'upon shield' and 'upon armed forces,' the number of each equals the name *Taftafyah*.[50]

Exactly this information was used by Zacuto for the entry *Taftafyah* in *Shorshei ha-Shemot*, as noted in Ms. Jerusalem 615, fol. 138a:

> *Taftafyah*: this holy name is called 'name of thought,' and he emerges from the last letters of 'Behold, I am sending an angel before you to guard you on the way and to bring you to the place' — until here. The last letters amount to 193, like the number value of this name, and it is said, by mentioning this name: order fear 'upon shield', 'upon armed forces (*tsava*)', both

47 Apparently, there has been some confusion because of Exod. 23:20, which belongs to *parashat Mishpatim*, but the reference should read *parashat Mattot*; see below.

48 On this name cf. the remark in the old collection (sixteenth century) of "practical kabbalah," *Ma'yan ha-Ḥokhmah* (also *Ma'yenot Ḥokhmah*) edited according to a manuscript of Avraham Mamo by Meir Mazuz, Jerusalem 1999: וסוד הבהל׳ו [בגימטריא] צב׳א וסודו מג׳ן כי צבאות של מעלה מבהילים ומפחידים שרו של אדום שלא יקטרג וישחית את ישראל למטה והוא מגן אברהם ומגן דוד וחקוק עליהם השר הגדול הידוע למקובלים שר המגן טפטפיה, p. 231, and on p. 285, *ha-sar ha-gadol* is identified with Mikha'el, in charge of *Ḥesed*.

49 The gloss was included in the text of *Ofanim* by the scribe of Ms. Moskau, Guenzberg 474, fol. 164b.

50 ועל סוד זה כשמזכירים שם זה אומרים טפטפיה צוה פחד על מגן על צבא כי כל שתי מלות עולות כשם עצמו צוה פחד בגי׳ קצ״ג וכן ע״ל מג״ן וכן ע״ל צב״א שכל אחת מהם במספר שם טפטפיה. In *ofen* 119 follows then the reference to the same numerical value of Moses and *El Shaddai*, and an explanation why Moses rejected the company of the angel traditionally identified with Metatron (see Ramban on Exod 23:20, *Perush al ha-Torah*, vol. 1, ed. Charles Chavel, 441–43).

> words amount to 193, as well as (the name) כוז״ו, filled like this כף ואו זין ואו...

In addition, Zacuto notes, it is helpful to think about this name while facing enemies, and he added examples he found in *Sefer ha-Ḥesheq*. They explain that the name *Taftafyah* can be used against enemies in the battlefield.[51]

The starting point, however, is that the entry and the gloss in the autograph can be traced back to two complementary sources: on the one hand, *Sefer ha-Ḥesheq*, which includes already all the Gematriot presented by Zacuto, as has been elaborated by Moshe Idel in the context of Neḥemia of Erfurt's commentary on the seventy names of Metatron;[52] and on the other hand, Naftali Herz Treves' supercommentary on Rabbenu Baḥya, including a tradition of Me'ir of Rothenburg:

> *Taftafyah*, a name for facing fear, emerges from the verse (Exod 23:20): 'Behold I am sending an angel before you to guard you on the way and to bring you to the place.' The last letters amount to the numerical value of *Taftafyah* (i.e. 193). Being on the road, one should say '*Taftafyah*, order fear upon the robbers, against armed forces be unto me armed forces, against [armor] shield be my shield (cf. Gen 15:1)'. *Taftafyah*, order fear upon shield, upon armed forces: the numerical value of each word (i.e. 'shield' and 'armed forces') amounts to 93,[53] he should consider [that] in his heart, [as] the thought is [located] there.[54] It is a tradition of R. Me'ir of Rothenburg to mention [the name]

51 In addition, he copied at the end of the autograph (fol. 173b) an apparently popular amulet including the name *Taftafyah* that assures help in any situation.

52 Cf. Moshe Idel, " ר׳ נחמיה בן שלמה הנביא על מגן דוד והשם טפטפיה: ממגיה יהודית, לקבלה מעשית, ולקבלה עיונית," in *Ta Shma: Studies in Judaica in Memory of Israel M. Ta-Shma*, vol. 1, ed. Avraham (Rami) Reiner et al. (Allon Shevut: Tvunot Press, 2011), 4f. et passim, and 36f. et passim on שם המחשבה; cf. also Moshe Idel, "One from a Town," 205.

53 To this the numerical value of "upon ('al)", which amounts to one hundred, should be added. In fact, also "order fear" totals one hundred and ninty three.

54 This could also be understood as "he should consider the 'name of thought' in his heart," which is apparently the reading of Zacuto (see above).

Na ʿaryron in case of scary danger, and this name in combination with *Taftafyah* consists of thirteen letters. May it be [God's] will that I won't fail but succeed in finding out the secret.

שם של פחד והוא טפטפיה יוצא מפסוק [שמות כג, כ] הנה אנכי שולח מלאך לפניך בדרך לשמרך ולהביא״ך אל המקום, סופי אותיות גימטריא טפטפיה. וכשהוא על הדרך יאמר טפטפיה צוה פחד על הלסטים, על צבא תהיה לי לצבא, על מגן תהיה לי למגן. טפטפיה צוה פחד על מגן על צבא, כל אחד עולה גימטריא תשעים ושלש ויחשוב בלבו שם המחשבה. קבלה ממהר״ם בסכנת פחד להזכיר נעירון ושם זה ושל טפטפיה הם שלש עשרה אותיות. יהי רצון שלא אכשול ושאזכה למצא הסוד.[55]

Divine names are not captured in their original context. Here, they are linked because of Rabbenu Baḥya's comments on Numbers 32:32, which is one of the eleven verses beginning and ending with the letter *Nun*.[56] These biblical verses are characterized in such a way that the *shem ha-mephorash* emanates from them, and one who mentions them will be without fear. *Taftafyah* and *Na'aryron* can easily be connected to this function. For the author of *Ofanim* it is an aside, as he focuses mainly on the implementation of *Taftafyah* within the divine structures reaching the World of *Yetsirah*. But in Zacuto's eyes the magic application was deemed worthy to be added, if only for the sake of extending knowledge and at the same time bridging between the concepts of theoretical and practical kabbalah.

55 Cf. Naftali Herz Treves, *Sefer Naftali* (supercommentary on *Baḥya ben Asher's* commentary, first edition *Naftulei Elohim Niftalti*, Heddernheim 1546), (Jerusalem: Yerid ha-Sefarim, 2011), 424 (*sitrei Rabbenu Baḥya* on Num 32:32); this tradition was adapted in Yom Tov Lipmann Heller's commentary *Tuv Ta'am* on Numbers 32:32 (*Rabbenu Baḥya 'al ha-Torah 'im sefer tuv ta'am,* vol. 3 [Bne Brak: Avraham Shmuel ha-Levi Heller, 1992], 194), but reading נעוריה״ן; cf. the variations of this name in Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, "Die Namen Gottes und die Namen Metatrons," *FJB* 19 (1991/92), e.g. נערוריאל (p. 121, note 116); and her reference to נעורירון (AdRA [A]), "womit ein deutlicher Bezug zu Meṭaṭron gegeben ist" (120f.). Cf. also Idel, "ר׳ נחמיה," 17, note 54, and 41, note 204.

56 See the added references in Gershom Scholem, "הבדלה דר׳ עקיבא: מקור למסורת המאגיה היהודית בתקופת הגאונים," in *Devils, Demons, and Souls: Essays on Demonology by Gershom Scholem*, ed. Esther Liebes (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 2004), 168f., note 95.

Concluding Remarks

Lurianic conceptions provided new contexts for divine names. Some resulted from innovative readings like those of Eldad and Medad, which belong to a preliminary state of divine emanation, just before the first *Tiqqun* took place, representing the demonic condition of this process. Others supported reinterpretations of old traditions, as was the case with *Taftafyah*. This name in particular shows that practical and theoretical kabbalah merged into each other from the high Middle Ages onward.

Zacuto’s exceptional autograph Ms. Jerusalem 615 contains by and large three different parts: the famous magical collection, the treatise *Ofanim*, and his own Lurianic notes from various sources. Evidently, these three fields of kabbalistic exercise do not represent different stages (neither in a hierarchical nor in a chronological sense), but have been jointly cultivated by Zacuto, his later preference of Vital’s (and Tsemaḥ’s) redaction work notwithstanding. In any case, he abided by his synergetic approach towards theoretical and practical kabbalah. As for the treatise *Ofanim*, certain issues still have to be clarified, yet its affinity to a late layer of the Saruq school of thought is beyond question. It seems reasonable to assume an Ashkenazi provenience, since it shares Lurianic sources on Gen 36 that point in this direction. In addition, at least one example affiliated to magic and commented on by Zacuto — though definitely no specific interest in magic can be found in *Ofanim* — reveals that esoteric traditions concerning the names of Metatron (as for the pair of *Na’aryron* and *Taftafyah*) cannot exclusively be traced back to the circle of Neḥemia of Erfurt. Rather, these traditions have been more prevalent, probably as a result of the widely spread material associated with *hekhalot*-literature since Gaonic times. Aside from the magic tradition, some concepts in *Ofanim*, especially when their Saruqian implementation can be understood in a broader Cordoverian context, surfaced again in Zacuto’s own collection of Lurianic notes in this manuscript and thus made their way into his posthumously printed work *Em la-Binah*.

The Sword of Moses

An ancient Hebrew & Aramaic book of magic



Translated by Moses Gaster, Studies and Texts, 1896

Magical and Divine names have been restored from the Hebrew text. Transliteration is as follows:

א	A
ב	B
ג	G
ד	D
ה	H
ו	W
ז	Z
ח	Ḥ
ט	Ṭ
י	Y
כ ך	K
ל	L
מ ם	M
נ ן	N
ס	S
ע	ʿ
פ ף	P
צ ץ	Ṣ
ק	Q
ר	R
ש	Š
ת	T

In the name of the mighty and holy God.

 our angels are appointed to the "Sword" given by the Lord, the Master of mysteries, and they are appointed to the Law, and they see with penetration the mysteries from above and below; and these are their names: **ŠQDḤZY** (*combination of Šadday and Ḥazāq, 'powerful'*), **MRGYZYAL**, **WHDRZYWLW**, **ṬWṬRYSY**[**H**]. And over these are five others, holy and mighty, who meditate on the mysteries of God in the world for seven hours every day, and they are appointed to thousands of thousands, and to myriads of thousands of Chariots, ready to do the will of their Creator, **AHYH, HYH, HYH**, the Lord of Lords and the honoured god; these are their names: **MHYHWGṢY**, **PḤDWTTGS**, **ASQRYHW**, **ŠYTYNYḤWS** (or **ŠYTYNYḤWM**), **QTGNYPRY**. And the Master of each Chariot upon which they are appointed wonders and says: "Is there any number of his armies?" And the least of these Chariots is lord and master over those (above) four. And over these are three chiefs of the hosts of the Lord, who make every day tremble and shake His eight halls, and they have the power over every creature. Under them stand a double number of Chariots, and the least of them is lord and master over all the above Chiefs (rulers); and these are their names: **ASQWHHY** (or **ASHHY**), **ŠṬRYSHWYH**, **SHWTGYAYH**. And the name of the Lord and king is **AHYW PSQTYH**, who sits, and all the heavenly hosts kneel, and prostrate themselves before Him daily, before **ŠLAH**, **HW**, **AWHH**, the Lord over all.

And when thou conjure him he will attach himself to thee, and cause the other five Chiefs and their Chariots, and the lords that stand under them, to attach themselves to thee just as they were ordered to attach themselves to Moses, son of Amram, and to attach to him all the lords that stand under them; and they will not tarry in their obeisance, and will not withhold from giving authority to the man who utters the conjuration over this "Sword," its mysteries and hidden powers, its glory and might, and they will not refuse to do it, as it is the command of **ABDWHW**, **HWH**, **ALYH**, saying: "Ye shall not refuse to obey a mortal who conjures you, nor should you be different to him from what you were to Moses, son of Amram, when you were commanded to do so, for he is conjuring you with My Ineffable names, and you render honour to My name and not to him. If you should refuse I will burn you, for you have not honoured me."

Each of these angels had communicated to him (Moses) a propitious thing for the proper time. These things (words) are all words of the living God and King of the Universe, and they said to him:

"If thou wishest to use this 'Sword' and to transmit it to the following generations, (then know) that the man who decides to use it must first free himself three days previously from accidental pollution and from everything unclean, eat and drink once every evening, and must eat the bread from a pure man or wash his hands first in salt (?), and drink only water; and no one is to know that he intends using this 'Sword,' as therein are the mysteries of the Universe, and they are practiced only in secret, and are not communicated but to the chaste

and pure. On the first day when you retire from (the world) bathe once and no more, and pray three times daily, and after each prayer recite the following Blessing:

"Blessed art thou, **QWSYS** (or **QWSYM**) , O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who openest the gates of the East and cleavest the windows of the firmament of the Orient, and givest light to the whole world and its inhabitants, with the multitude of His mercies, with His mysteries and secrets, and teachest Thy people Thy secrets and mysteries, and hast revealed unto them the "Sword" used by the world; and Thou sayest unto them: "If anyone is desirous of using this 'Sword,' by which every wish is fulfilled and every secret revealed, and every miracle, marvel, and prodigy are performed, then speak to Me in the following manner, read before Me this and that, and conjure in such and such a wise, and I will instantly be prevailed upon and be well disposed towards you, and I will give you authority over this Sword, by which to fulfill all that you desire, and the Chiefs will be prevailed upon by you, and my holy ones will be well disposed towards you and they will fulfill instantly your wishes, and will deliver to you my secrets and reveal to you my mysteries, and my words they will teach you and my wonders they will manifest to you, and they will listen and serve you as a pupil his master, and your eyes will be illuminated and your heart will see and behold all that is hidden, and your size will be increased." Unto Thee I call, **SWQYM** (or **SWQYS**), Lord of the Universe. Thou art He who is called **YHWGH HW**, King of the Universe. Thou art called **PHWZGH WHWW ALYH**, merciful king. Thou art called **ZHWTGYHH**, living king. Thou art called **ṢHPRWHW HWH ALYH**, humble king. Thou art called **SPṬHWTHW**, righteous king. Thou art called **QNYWHY HW HY**, lofty king. Thou art called **ŠHRW SGHWRY**, perfect king. Thou art called **SPQS ḤPYH**, upright king. Thou art called **QṮTH GTHY**, glorious king. Thou art called **PṮRYS ḤWPYHW**, youthful king. Thou art called **RʿPQ ṢYWHYH**, pleasant king. Thou art called **ḤWSH YHW**, and thou listenest to my prayer, for Thou hearkenest unto prayer; and attach unto me Thy servants the lords of the "Sword," for Thou art their king, and fulfill my desire, for evening is in Thy hands, as it is written: "Thou openest thine hand and satisfiest every living being with favor."

"I conjure you, **AZLYAL** called **HWDY WHW HW HWH**; I conjure you, **ARAL** called **SQRYSYHYH**, **ṬʿNYAL** called **ATRṢ AHYH YH**, **ṬPAL** called **HWPQY HWH AHYH**, and the most glorious of these **HLYKYH HWA YWPYAL MYṬṬRWN** called **GHWDPṬHW HH YHH**, the glory from above. With the permission of my king I conjure thee **YDYAL** called **SGHWH HYH RʿŠYAL** called MHWPTKYHYYṢ, ḤNYAL called **WHW PGṬYH, HNYAL** called **PHWṢPNYGYH**, **AŠRAL** called **THMWTYHYH**, **YŠRYAL** called **QNYTY PṢYH**, **ʿŠRYAL** called **YHWT NṬHYHYH**, **ʿMWHAL** called **RWPNYNYH SSYH**, and **AṢRAL** called **ŠHGNW TGYHH**, that you attach yourselves to me and surrender the "Sword" to me, so that I may use it according to my desire, and that I find shelter under the shadow of our Lord in heaven in the glorious Name, the mighty and awe-inspiring **HW HY HHY HW HH AH WH YHYH HWY HW HY HW NA HWH YHW YA HW HW YH YHW HY HW YA YH WH HW YA HW HWA HW YH WH YH HW HWH YHY HW YH AHYH WH**, the twenty-four (*sic*) letters of the Crown; that you deliver unto me with this "Sword" the secrets from above and below, the mysteries from above and below, and my wish be fulfilled and my word hearkened unto, and my prayer (supplication) received through the conjuration with the Ineffable name of God which is glorified in the world, through which all the

heavenly hosts are tied and bound; and this is the Ineffable Name -- **HH HH HWH HHYY YWHH AHWH NYH HWH PH WHW HYH ṢHW AH WH HYH WH YH WH YH SYH WH YH WYH**, blessed be he! (I conjure you) that you shall not refuse me nor hurt me, nor frighten and alarm me, in the tremendous Name of your king, the terror of whom rests upon you, and who is called **PRZMWTGYH SRḤWQTYH HYGNYTYH ṬRSNYHYH QRZMTHW ṢNYH YH WH HYH HW HY HA HWH AHH HHY AHWH HWH HYH AH WH YH YHH YHW YHY AW HH AH HH HA HYH AH ZQDYDRYH**. Fulfill for me everything that I have been conjuring you for, and serve me, for I have conjured you not with the name of one who is great among you but with that of the Lord over all, whose name ties and binds and keeps and fastens all the heavenly hosts. And if you should refuse me, I will hand you over to the Lord God and to his Ineffable name, whose wrath and anger and fire are kindled, who honours his creatures with one letter of His name, and is called **ZRWGDQNṬA QṢWPṢḤTYH AHWH-SḤTY GYH NYGYM HYGYH HW YH HNYH HWH QLṢG**; so that if you refuse he will destroy you, and you will not he found when searched after. And you preserve me from shortness of spirit and weakness of body in the name of **ḤZQAY AHYH WH YH HH YHH YH WH HH YH HYH AHYW YH HYW YHY WHWY HY HWY YH QQHWH SQQHWH**, the guardian of Thy people. Blessed art Thou, who understandest the secrets and revealest the mysteries, and art king of the Universe.'"

A voice was heard in the heavens, the voice of the Lord of the heavens, saying: "I want a swift messenger (to go) to man, and if he fulfills my message my children will become proud of the 'Sword' which I hand over to them, which is the head of all the mysteries of which also my seers have spoken, that thus will my word be, as it is said: 'Is not my word like as fire? saith the Lord'" (Jer. xxiii, 29). Thus spoke **PGNYNYNW GSYH**, the lord of heaven and earth; and I, **ASSY ASYSYH APRGSYH**, the swift messenger, who am pleased with my messages and delighted with my sending, ascended before Him, and the Lord over all commanded me: "Go and make this known to men who are pious and good and pure and righteous and faithful, whose heart is not divided and in whose mouth is no duplicity, who do not lie with their tongues and do not deceive with their lips, who do not grasp with their hands and are not lustful with their eyes, who do not run after evil, keep aloof from every uncleanness, depart from every defilement, keep themselves holy from contamination, and do not approach woman." When the Lord ever all commanded me thus, I, **ASSY ASYSYH APRGSYH**, the swift messenger, went down to earth, and I said on my way: "Where is the man who possesses all these that I should go to him and place this with him?" And I asked myself, and thought in my heart that there is no man who would do all this that I wished; and I found none, and it was heavy unto me. And the Lord over all conjured me by His mighty right arm, and by the lustre of His glory and His glorious crown, which is called **HWD HWH RYH ʿQN HY DRYH ṬHR QRWNNYH**, with an oath of His mighty right arm, and He conjured me, and the lord over all strengthened me and I did not fall. I thus stood up, I, **ASSY ASYSYH APRGSYH**, to put NN in the possession of the desired covenant, in the name of **QMBGL ʿQMH WH ZRWMTYH YHW YKRWQ ZNWTYH YRPHW ḤTYH QṢY ṢYHṢ YHṢ YHṢ**."

"This is the great and glorious Name which has been given as a tradition to man -- **YH BYH AṢ AH BAH HWY HW HW WH YA HW ZH WH WH AH YH YHW HH YHW YHW AQP HY HH YYAH HH HAH HWAH HHWH HYY HW HW HY**,

holy, glorious, glorious, Selah. Recite it after thy prayers. And these are the names of the angels that minister to the son of man: **MYṬṬRWN SGRDTṢYH MQṬṬRWN SNGWTYQTAL NGYQTGAL YGWATQTYAL ANTNQSAL ANTWSSTYAL MYKAL-SRWG-GBRYAL ŠQTKNYH HDQRWNTYAL ANHSGAL YHWAL TYZRT, NSYAL SYGSṬHAL ʿNPY QQPYAL NHR GSGNHYAL YKNY ATYHAL AQTQLYQAL YNH GYTYAL YH**." "In a similar manner shall you serve me NN; and receive my prayer and my orisons, and bring them to God **YHWH HH SHH AHH HH WHWH**, blessed be He! for I adjure you in His name, and I extol you (to ascend), like unto the bird that flies from its nest, and remember my meritorious deeds before Him and (make Him) forgive now my sins on account of my words of supplication, and you may not refuse me in the name of **HH HH WH WYH YH WYH WHWH WYHH WYH AH HHWY AHW YA HYHY HW HW YHW H H HWH YHWH**, blessed be He! **ṢBAWT ṢBAWT**, Selah. His servants sanctify Him and praise Him with sweet melody, and say: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of holy name; the whole earth is full of His glory"; and do not refuse me, in the name of **HW HYH YH YY YHW HY HWH HH HHYH HWYH HHW HHYW AHW AHH AYH AY AH YHW**, who lives forever, and in the name of **DYṬYMWN QYRYAS WHW ARQS GNLYAWS QWSMWS QLYQS ASQLYṬTRA AYLY ALY MWPYSPRA SṬNDANS ṬLASY QṬM ANTPRGW PYGH DYHY MYTQAS TṬA DWNYṬA TTMNAS ṬWP DWNZ MṬYGA ṬHW HWṬR ZYQQTYHW AHWNY** (? **ADNY**) **YHW YH AL ḤYNQYH SPṬY HY AS PPṢPNṬR** (*or* **SPṢNṬR**), and in the name of **SMRT SMS PṢṢ ADNWTT HWSYH ʿLYWN YH HWAY AW HYH PY PY AYTYH BṢRS** (? **BṢRM**) **MṢRPYH TSQYHW**, of the great One from whom nothing is hidden, who sees and is not seen, and in the name of Him who is the chief over the heavens, **DṬYRQTYH** and is called **YHW YHW WA WH**. And the King of the Universe utters (this name) also in a different manner, thus **YHW AH YH HYH WHHH YH WH YH YHW HH** (*etc*…). You swift messenger, do not tarry and do not frighten me, but come and do all my wants in the name of **YHW HHYW AHYW HHW HW HYH HHY HWH YH WH HHY YH HW HYW HYH HWṬR QTNGYH QWSSYH AHWNYH AL HY NQṬSAL YH HWH NYGGHH PSQTYH HY HWH YH ZRWMTH HY HH YH**, the great One, who sees and is not seen, AHWH, whose Ineffable Name is revealed to the heavenly hosts; and I conjure you by this Ineffable Name, such as it was revealed to Moses by the mouth of the Lord over all, **YHWH HWH YHWH HYH YHWH HWH YHYH TBYNW AYH YHWŠ AHYŠH AGRYPṬ YHW ṢBAWT**, is His name. Blessed art thou, O God, lord of mighty acts, who knowest all the mysteries."

And which are the letters which **ŠQDḤZY** communicated to Moses? He said to him: "If thou wishest to get wise and to use the 'Sword,' call me, and conjure me, and strengthen me, and fortify me, and say: '**ŠQDḤZY**, with the great, holy, wonderful, pure, precious, glorious, and awe-inspiring secret Name **AQPTH**, **HNH**, **NHH**, **YRK**, **YDKYRWHW YH YH ṢYQʿṢ**, with these letters I conjure thee to surrender to me and make me wise and attach to me the angels which minister to the "Sword," in the name of the Revealer of mysteries. Amēn.'"

Write with ink on leather and carry about with you during those three days of purification, and invoke before and after prayer the following Names communicated to Moses by

MRGYZYAL, etc. (*the 13 Chiefs mentioned at the beginning, and a long string of other mysterious names which are said to have been communicated to Moses*: **QTGNYPYY** (**QTGNYPRY**) **SṬRYSHWYH** (**ŠṬRYSHWYH**) **SHWTGAYYH** (**SHWTGYAYH**); **PSQTYH ŠMGYHH ASWNYHH HHWAL HLAL QMMAH ALHYH SMH MSKPNHYH QNQSHYH MKNWSYH/MKSWNYH**. *The rest consists of a gigantic string of the letters* Hē, Waw *and* Yod. *The text then ensues :*) "And they have not hidden from him any of these sacred Ineffable names or letters, and have not given him instead the Substitutes of any of these sacred letters, for thus were they ordered by the Lord of all mysteries to communicate to him this 'Sword,' with these Names which constitute the mysteries of this 'Sword'; and they said to him 'Command the generations which will come after thee to say the following blessing prior to their prayer, lest they be swept away by the fire':

'Blessed art Thou **AYZWA AYZWNYS AYZWNAS**, who wast with Moses; be also with me, Thou, whose name is **AHWṢWṢYYH RPAWZTYH HWGYHYYH HQṢṢYYH ʿNTWTYHWH GDWDYHWH YPʿṬṬQTZYH PṢAPY PY AZYH ṬHRWGSGYH ŠDYH QTṢYH RHWGY HWH TGPMṢYH AHYWPSQTYH TYŠMṢYHYH MṢHWNTHYH ABHYTYZYH QPYHWH RPQNWT RPRPṬR YMRṬRYH** (? **YMRMRYH**) **QBRSYH NKR QTSNYH MRKAYRYH GNṬSRD HWH DYDADRAH QDYRHH QNYṢHH DYNAWSYH APSWNYH MASSWN PRQWMYH QWTZYH AYRWNYH AYPRWNSYH APSYMAH AHYH**. Send me **ATRYAWSSY YHW QTSHYH**, who is the cover of the Kerubīm, to help me. Blessed art Thou, **QWSYM**, Lord of the Sword.'"

Whoever is desirous of using this 'Sword' must recite his usual prayers, and at the passage "Thou hearkenest to prayer" say:

"I conjure you four princes **ŠQDḤZY** (*etc.; the angels at the beginning*), servants of **HDYRYRWN YHWH HDYRYRWN HW HY HDYHY DYHYRWN** (**DYRYRWN**) **HWH**, that you receive my invocation before I pray, and my supplication before I entreat, and fulfill all my wishes through this 'Sword,' as you have done to Moses, in the glorious and wonderful name of **BʿL PLAT** (*Baʿal pela'ot, 'the Lord of wonders'*), which is interpreted thus **HWH HYH YHWH WHW AHWSHH QQS HWH**." He must then call the five superior Chiefs and say: "I conjure you, **MHYHWGṢY** (*etc,; see beginning*) and **HDWDY WH WH YD GBRYAL HDYRYRWN**, that you accept my conjuration as soon as I conjure you, and you attach to me those four princes and all the hosts of Chariots over which you preside, to fulfill all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this beloved name **AHY HWH YHWH AY AW ŠHWSHH HYH YWH**." He must then call the three angels that are superior to these, and say: "I conjure you, **ASQWHHY** (*etc.; see the beginning*), the beloved of **ZRHWDRYW**, who is **HDYRYRWN**, that you attach yourselves to me and attach to me **MHYHWGṢY** (*etc.*.), who are standing under your rule, to fulfill all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this unique name **HWH HWY ŠQṢR HŠH PTṬNHW YHNYH NHYH MTGMHWH HYQHH MQWQṢṢWH** [*permutations of h, w, and y,* …] **YHW**." And then he must lay hold of the highest Chief over all and say: "I conjure thee, **AHYWPSQTYH**, strong and powerful Chief over all the heavenly hosts, that thou attachest thyself to me, thou and not thy messenger, and attach to me all the Chiefs that are with thee, to fulfill my wishes through this 'Sword,' by the name **YHWH AHH HWH AYH HYH HWH AHWH YHW YHW** [*etc.; more permutations*], which has no substitute, for thou art beloved and he is

beloved, and I am from the seed of Abraham called the beloved. Blessed art thou, King of the mysteries, Lord of the secrets, who hearkenest unto prayer."

And he is not to touch this "Sword" till he has done all these things; afterwards he will be able to do whatever he likes, everything being written here following in its proper order.

And this is the "Sword":

1 & 2- **TWBR TSBR AKN ṬṬR** (*or* **ṬṬH**) **MYṬS AWLY AGYDW ASQYA DYWQṬS LSWS, ANTS SDWPYPLA SSA AW AW**

3- **HW PH AṬA HYPWRQSṬA MWNBGYDYN** (*or* **MWNBGYDWN**).

4- **MGNYNYN NṬ NṬLAS DYNYQA DYSWQA GWHYA ṬAQS QWSMWSYH HYDRSA**

5- **HYDRSQA** (*or* **HYDRSṬA**) **ANṬA DYMNA DAYMNA HYNYN ṬLAYN ṬLAWS PAMWṬWS AṬWPRMA**

6-**HA BŠMHT KWLKWN KNWYYKWN DRBRBYTWN ATWN, WKL ATR LYT, DKWTHWN, AWḤW, ABʿW AYTW LY YT ASSY ASSYH APRGSYH WRWNYQA YRK YRṢ YHṢ YQṢ WYʿBYD LY KL ṢBYWNY, YAW YHW HH YH HYH AWZRWS AWZWRWS** (? Osiris) **SWMRṬA**

7-**YAW YHW AW LYHW PARY GA AB**[**R**]**KSS** (*Abraxas*) **LWQY LWQYAS NSSTTYH NKSTA NSSTA YZAWS YWAWS YWAW YZAW YAW YAW YAYY YAYY ADNY ADNY YY YY YY AYY AYY YYAH YYAH**

8- **QṬTHA** (? **QṬTRA**) **QNṬRA QTṬRWS QNṬHS NṬNHWS SMAH QNṬA QNṬAH QNṬAW** (Greco-Egyptian *Sêmea Kanteu*)

9- **AWNṬW QWNṬAW QWNṬWW QWNṬZ** (? **QWNṬW**) **ŠHZNG HDQWN** (*or* **HDQNN**) **PRGZNYH** (? **PRGWNYH**) **PRHWQA PRWGNYA**

10- **HWTMYAS** (*or* **HWTMYS**) **TGMYQWS SRGY NṬNYA** (*or* **NṬNYA**) **AYHWMY YH AHMY YH SSPSS SNPSS SA ASMYLYS SASYLYS**

11- **SAMSWLM** (From Greco-Egyptian *Semesilam*, for Semitic *Shemesh 'Olam ,* 'eternal sun') **MSWLM SA ATYRS ATYDS ATYTYY TYTY YAW HWHY SWSBY HWH HWA YHW SWSBAL SSBAL** (*or* **SSYBAL**) **SAHMTW SDMTYH SWTMYH BSWMYH BSWNAY DYSA**

12- **PSMY RWSA RYMAṬ DYMA SGDRA ATYS NHRA DWR AYSWS QWSṬA QWSAW QWSA**

13- **PYTWN** (*or* **SYTWN**) **QWTRYH APLWAY MPLWAY HY HY AY AY YHW YHW QYDA DWDPS DWGPṬTS PYHW RPAH QWRYDAWS QWRWDSAY AYY**

14- **YQWRY YA QWBY PRWYTW MGSS ABLA NATH TṬMSYH QṬWMSYH ŠṬWṬ MHYH**

15- **HYMY HWMY HWH LBANṬH YH YH YAYY YAHW AYY AW HW HY LMW ABR ṬWHWṬ** (? *Thoth*) **ARHM**

16 *&* 17- **ŠDY ALHW AYLYHW ALHYM ALWHYM QQWSṬAW QQWṬSWṢYH SDWMṬYH BLṬY ADWNY**

18- **AHYH YHWH ASYHW HY QRNS HWH SDWS HWH YPHYNYHS** (? **YPRYNYDS**) **YHW YHW ATNWS YH YH ANY AL ANY HWA HA HWA ZH HWA AL ALHYM YH QDWŠ**

19- **RWS MYKAL GBRYAL SHWṬNYAL AQDSYAL ṬṬWGYAL MṢHWHYAL ŠSRWSṬYAL PHNYDWSṬYAL** (? **PRNYDWSṬYAL**)

20- **SŠṬWMṬYAL YYGD ARS YYSRWṬYH**

21- **YYAZNWYH YYBQṬYṬ YYHWSHWSYA YYNṬHNYSYH YYDPʿQṬM** (? **YYRPʿQṬS**) **YYHSHDYH YYWWGYH YYMṬMṢYH**

22- **YYHQLṬYH YYṬYRHYH YYW PNSNYSYH YYBHWGYH YYLŠŠHQ YYMWṬṬHYNY YYNWSSYH**

23- **YYSWSWNYH YYPWPWBYHH YYṢQWWYH**

24- **YYQRMṬYH YYQSQPYH YYŠRHṬGS YYṬṬYH ZRHWṬY ṢBAWṬ QṢPṬ ṢBAWṬ SRGYA ṢBAWṬ**

25- **ḤWṬMW ṢBAWṬ PṬSG ṢBAWṬ QŠNṢ ṢBAWṬ SNYSQR ṢBAWṬ PRŠNṬY ṢBAWṬ SGṬSYY ṢBAWṬ**

26- **GYPRYA ṢBAWṬ PYPYAH ṢBAWṬ KYPP ṢBAWṬ SWNHW ṢBAWṬ QDŠG ṢBAWṬ ṬYMWAS ṢBAWṬ**

27- **HYWLHW ṢBAWṬ HWZQṬAH ṢBAWṬ ṬWSYAH ṢBAWṬ RṬYB ṢBAWṬ**

28- **AMAWS ṢBAWṬ YYRQWD ṢBAWṬ PLWAY ṢBAWṬ ASQṬW ṢBAWṬ SWLG ṢBAWṬ PWṬYAH ṢBAWṬ ARṬS ṢBAWṬ**

29- **YAWS ṢBAWṬ ALQSH ṢBAWṬ YHPS ṢBAWṬ HWAY ṢBAWṬ AṬMS ṢBAWṬ**

30- **RTBW** (*or* **RTBN**) **ṢBAWT AKSWY ṢBAWT SHWHṢ ṢBAWT ASSLQ ṢBAWT YYḤṬAH ṢBAWT**

31- **SSNWN ṢBAWT MWŠBW ṢBAWT AŠHYHW ṢBAWT ŠHWHS ṢBAWT YBʿTNY ṢBAWT**

32- **YKṢRṢ ṢBAWT AṬQNṢ ṢBAWT AṬPWR ṢBAWT MWSTM ṢBAWT MYHQNAH ṢBAWT**

33- **TPSMT ṢBAWT RQRMṢ ṢBAWT SYHDAH ṢBAWT PHŠGYA ṢBAWT**

34- **YGLWNYA ṢBAWT KYNA ṢBAWT ʿPPNYAH ṢBAWT NYNŠWMYTWN ṢBAWT**

35- **AHRYBYH** (*or* **AHRWNYA**) **ṢBAWT HMWNYAS ṢBAWT AMGPR ṢBAWT ATSṬW ṢBAWT**

36- **APNGYKYS ṢBAWT PSYSYS ṢBAWT ASTY ASṬW** (? **ASTW**) **AṬAṬRQM QWS APRQYS**

37- **QYSA AṬRYKYS AṬHYPYS** (**AṬRYPYS**) **KSA DYMNS DMNSYW YQWB ANṬN ASYA GWPRYA PYNWAH ṢBAWT KYPṬṢB SWḤY ṢBAWT QRŠG ṢBAWT TWMYA ṢBAWT TWMYS**

38- **ATQSQYDA DWPPSPYRW DPA DRWḤY AZR ADWYH ADWNY YHW ADWN YH**

39- **ALYHW AKT AKTYMWS MSṬHWH MSGTWTYH (? MSNTWTYH) SGNAW SGN PGDWAY APNṬ AW YAW YH YH**

40- **ATNWHY** (? **ATNYHW**) **NWNY GYAW SAW NYBW ARYZPA ARPAY QRBT AZṬR ASADBT PAWTYH WTW MWRTYAL MWGMR PALYH**

41- **MYBNAS PAW PGHWH PWHNPY ZHWMY HWH DQṬPS** (*or* **DQṬPM**) **HWH QWTNṬA HWH NYHGṬAY HWH**

42- **TWSY HWH QRBSṬRNY HWH ṬTGAS HWH AṬGPNYS HWH**

43- **ŠQBS HWH SRNQNAS HWH TPSNRNY HWH QDLWTYA HWH QWSB ŠNYA** (*or* **ŠGYA**) **HWH**

44- **SLGYY HWH YH GWTYWS HWH ʿPRNWHH HWH ASGNWHH** (? **ʿSGNWHH**) **HWH BTNWSYY HWH**

45- **YGṬWS HWH MGʿṢY HWH NHRWTTYA HWH PRMM** (? **PRMS**) **HWH**

46- **QTNQ HWH SLNWTTYAH HWH QRNYNNS HWH ṬLṬWṬS HWH NʿLQWS HWH**

47- **NTʿLSS HWH MRṢWMY HWH SYGYNYHW QʿQT YH BYH BY AW ṬYH HWH**

48- **MYBNAS PRWSPYH PYBALW PHDKW PYDA PYPY YWAY AY AZARZA AZDA** (**AZRA**)

49- **ASA GRMNY QRYPW ABRW BBRYK PSWYD** (*or* **PSWYR, PSWYK**) **YH PYNWD NYDW PWKN PWKPY QW WA HWHA**

50- **HAHWN** (? **HADWN**) **AH HWYH AHHYN AHYN AHWN ADWṢ AGYP ARṬ BYSMY BYTRY BYSMAW BYPRAṬW BNPW BNYHW**

51- **BATYR BYNYPY BYNWPY BTWR SSGGNYS BR SRNGYA SSGN BR ʿRGGYS** (*Senseggenbarpharangēs*), **ATWMY BR BTWMY**

52- **AHSWTY BR QQTHWS AGWPY BR ABQMY**

53- **APWNY** (*or* **APWTY) BR APWPYNY** (*or* **APWPYTY**) **ADNY ANṬMṬ BR Šʿ QṬS ŠBRWSYA BR PTGNHWS ADAS QZYAS BR ANTŠ**

54- **ANTŠWRMY QWQTS BR SHWDWSY ABRMMWA BR YHWTNPA ABRMW BR AŠNYHY BR AYLMW**

55- **ATQNZ** (*or* **AQTNZ**) **BR DWḤYHN AḤYLMW BR ADWSAYYA AḤYLMWS BR AHRWPY AHRWSY BR AHNWSY**

56- **ATWMY BR BATWMY ATMYW BR BATYHWL ABDNHA DSA BR GHWHYHWS**

57- **PNKYR BR BSNBYS PNBYR BR PSNBYS** (*or* **PSNBYR**) **ANTLMW BR GYTṢGS AHSMW BR APRGY**

58- **BRYYWAYLH BR HGNSYA AWPRNYS BR ŠHNYGYH AHRWNY BR AHPWRY YWQṬYRWN BR BRTYA**

59- **YWNYAWSS BR TYBRNWS ABNHWQ BR ṬHṬRS SYMNṬL BR AWZRWS**

60- **YHWAYLWN BR PARGG YWATSA** (*or* **YWATṬA**) **BR ABGTYMGYA AQNYNS BR RKSWY LWQWSY BR SMAG**

61- **ANSTRHWN BR YWAS QNTAWT BR AYHWMGSS SASYH BR AYTWHYHS AYGWSY BR ŠṬRSY HYALTS BR SYSWYY**

62- **SARMWG BR BYSTNYA DWSYHSY BR DMSṬNSGNY APYSTNY BR DWTAH ṬYSWS BR QWSṬRSWS APLGY BR MPLGYS AYAYTW BR AWTWT**

63- **QDWSYA BR AQWTNWTRYṢ ABLQṬ BR BATYTA HWMGNS BR HWHSSYA AYGNSS BR HYAGLM ABRSQ** (*ʿAbraxas*) **BR TTHWSYWAH BR DMHWTTYA**

64- **ALYHWS BR ŠHSNY QQTRYAS BR KLTYT AHYSYA BR ADWNYTH PRWMS BR ANYHWS ZZHWHSṬYA BR HHYASY**

65- **NSKYA BR PRTNYA MBATSY BR APWPYA ANPNY BR BSṬY**

66- **ASDWS BR ASDYTYT APTSYA BR DMGSSYA SPDNWS BR GHWŠṬ**

67- **YQWTNY BR AKTT DHRWS BR ANTTḤS ADWNYŠA** (*ʾAdon Yiśa*, i.e. 'the Lord will exalt') **BR YḤMNYY**

68- **AQTRS** (*or* **ATTRS**) **BR ŠLWMYM MYBNSS BR SHWTTYA** (*or* **PSHHTTYA**)

69- **PRSWSY BR PYBL QWSN PGDA BR DGDAT PYDAWS BR PPNYŠY**

70- **ABNSNS BR ṬṬRWWTNY AWZLAH BR SWTTNWS DWSPTYY BR HYDAS [YYZYL]**

71- **QYRYWAS NTGLTTY QWSMY HWH BR QSMLYT QSMA BR QLWSDAYY**

72- **AYLWHŠ BR ALPY SNKS BR PSAWT AʿSGNY BR GDHWSY HWSTQWT BR TLWNTSS**

73- **ASNWRPY BR ANSPRWSY DYHWMYT BR ŠWTYMT PŠṬNG (*or* PŠṬNT) BR APṬWNG**

74- **NPṬGNS BR NṬRWSY DWNYQ ASYA BR TSMGYA TTMṢYA BR ŠSNWT ṬWGNWT BR GAMWT SRʿHWTYTN BR ZQNWM**

75- **SPŠSYA** (*or* **SPṬSYA**) **BR AHWSGYA SṬPNAWT BR ṢGPNṬS PRMYTT ṢPNYAY BR RKSWS MTYA**

76- **GSMS BR GWSMWS PRNSWS AGSS QQTT BR MHRYGY**

77- **APSWMT BR PRGWS STNWTY BR ŠPTNS TNPSYSY BR SRPSY**

78- **QHWHYHWṬ BR ABGNYR ʿPQYNW BR TSMTYA SHDWR BR ʿṢMM LWSRG BR GPSNY AHWŠWNY BR AHŠNY ATQS BR SRQWP ʿZMWM BR AṢLYAY**

79- **ʿZRYQY BR KWRYSWY ŠMʿS BR ŠʿRYAS BʿḎAH BR ʿZBZAH**

80- **NNHYH BR AṬṬAH RGWNY BR ṢQTY ŠRYSY BR ṮHLWSAY ŠYHM BR BRQWS** (*or* **BRQWṢ**)

81- **HYṮYGAY BR ṮDʿWM AQŠR BR YHWṮYHH KLMWS BR AMWAS**

82- **BYRQS BR ŠHRWS BṬHWN BR BBʿṮ ŠYPKN BR PNYS BṮWQYN BR AŠRWS**

83- **ṮMYMS BR HHLKN AŠRḤṢ BR GYṮNṢ APNṬY BR PʿLṮZ**

84- **BDRQS** (*or* **BRDQS**) **BR LHBN BDRHWSY** (? **BDRQWSY**) **BR STMṮYA ʿWZṮYA BR MLBWQ**

85- **AHYṮY BR ṮMYṮY KYNYHY BR MŠPQWHY BYWʿY BR HWGṮYA LPNYAS BR AYḎWHS ŠLWŠGSA BR ASRWMYS**

86- **ŠAYLS BR ŠAYLSYWN MSYNYYH BR MSRHYH YWAWS BR YHWḤŠ HWṮŠSQ BR SŠNSHY**

87- **ASPKL** (*or* **ASPRL**) **BR AQṮNY SRWHS BR ṬBYHS HSḎHG BR ŠḤḎWḎS**

88- **ʿZMRS** (*or* **ʿZMRM, ʿZMYYS**) **BR ṮṮMPAS AHRWṮYY BR SGNAWS HWHWS BR AHBSG ŠʿṮYA (*or* ŠMṮYA) BR AṮṮRYWY LSWSṮṮYY BR ASṬRHYY**

89- **YṢYAWS BR ṮRWMGSY AKSLS BR SHNWṮYA ʿLPNṮ BR SSQṮYN QBLHS BR QṮRWṮY**

90- **NASṬG BR RWPNYHWS ŠYRMṬY BR AŠMGY ŠLṮṮHWN BR SHṬNY YŠQWS BR PNHWS ṬWKYS** (*or* **ṬWBYS**) **BR YYHWSYY**

91- **LHRṬN BR GMWLṬS AHWSGY BR APRYḤS MŠKNZ BR ARḤZ HQLQṮ BR ŠLQWṮ**

92- **ḎWḎYAH BR AŠSWLSY ṢHWMṮYY BR KASYY GYLGḎAY BR ŠḤNWSYA QṮYLṮYW BR ASḎWHY**

93- **APṬYGWNYA** (*or* **AṢṬYGWNYA**) **BR ṮLWMṮ HWH NGʿWSY BR APHYNQWY ŠYṮMWHH BR MHHSWH LBWṮNYAṮ BR ṮSNWṮṮYA RB ŠṢḎY BR RB QMWS RB AMRS BR AYNYṮHH SGNYHH BR MʿLṮYHH**

94- **YWLYLWYHW AWPḎASY WHYH HW HY AY AY AYH AYH AH AH AW AH HYHWN AHYN (? ADWN) AHYN AHY AHYW AHYHWN AHYHY AHYHY**

95- **APWWN APYWN BR AWSWTY YHHY YWAY HYAH AWLMW LMYA LMYWN ARṬG ARṬAN GYDYH GDYH GDYAL TDW**

96- **KRYAK** (*or* **LDYAK, BRYAK**) **YHWH WHY HWH YAW YAW YWAH YYAH YWAH YWAH TAY YHAY YAW AY YAW AY TAW**

97- **HYPRW HYPRW AWSRAY SPPYRWN NWPYPYWN MAPYPYWN TYWN**

98- **GRWMY** (*or* **GDWTY**) **YDBTA GHWHHYR ṢGDWS HDDYWMY PLMWMY QSTMY QṬTMY QṢṬMY**

99- **ŠHRWMY** (*or* **MHRYWMY**) **ASMMYY HWSYMY YWAH ATRMY HAH YAṬYSMY SSMWAY AHWH**

100- **QHTṬY AHWH SDHWMY YHWHY**

101- **STGMY** (*or* **ATGMY**) **HWHY SH ŠMTNY HWH ṬRWMṢH HWHH TTLYWHY**

102- **AYY AYY YYYA YYA HY AY AH YH YWAY HY SS GNY PRNGY PRYNG AGY** (? **ANY**) **MYKAL YAW GBHAL** (**GBRYAL**) **AH ʿNYAL YH**

103- **ASHAL** (? **ASRAL**) **YWY ŠRYAL ATAL YWWY ATYAL WWY ALYAL YWHWH ANTYAL YWHWY MLTYAL YYW WH**

*104- **LWQYYWAL** (? **LWQYAL**) **ALTYAL MHNTYAL YWW HYAH ABNYAL AHMNAL YYW WHY YWQYAL MŠQYTAL YH**

105- **QBṢQYAL AH MSṬGYAL YH MSRHYAL HY HW WH ŠPTYAL ʿA HPYSYAL ʿH HGṬWTYAL** (**HGMWTYAL**) **ʿA HTMQYAL ʿAʿH**

106- **GTHWTYAL ʿWWA SGNYAL ʿWA ʿSTNYAL ʿPYH ŠPṢYAL ʿWPYH**

107- **ZDWQZNYAL ʿPPYH DYNYHAL ʿṢṢYH MBZHYAL ʿṢQHYH BŠGTNYAL ʿTRYH GWLHWHYAL ʿQTRYH YWBṬṬNYAL ʿṢŠYH**

108- **BTQŠNYAL** (*or* **BTQNŠYAL, BTQSNYAL**) **ʿṢSYH BSPYPAL NYTQNAL ʿṢNYH HSTYAL ʿṢMYH NYQWṢYAL NʿLṢYH**

109 *&* 110- **TŠHWHYAL ʿṢBYH BSPPYPYAL ʿSYYH ARʿʿQAL ʿṢṬYH HKSNYAL ʿṢZYH ŠWRSYAL ʿṢWYH**

111- **KLLYS STNYAL ʿṢHWH NWTYTHYAL ʿṢDYH NDRWHYAL ʿṢGYH BDYZWHYAL ʿṢBYH SSṬRYAL ʿṢAYH HDMYAL AHWH**

112- **KTRYHYAL AHWH ŠBQTNYAYAL AHWH NZRWHYAYAL AHWH HMWNYAYAL AHWH AHYHYAL AHWH**

113- **HDSWMMAYAL AHWH HDSWGRYRZYAL AHWH HDGSWMAYAL AHWH ANTNAYAL AHWH LHYAYAL AHWH QTGSHYAL AHWH QTWHGAYAL AHWH**

114- **SMQTYAL AHWH ŠGTSAYAL** (**ŠNTSAYAL**) **AHWH ʿGTYAL AHWH SHGYAL AHWH ŠRQTYAL AHWH**

115- **QMGNYAL** (*or* **HMGGYAL**) **AHWH ŠNYQṢYAL AHWH ŠLŠNYAL AHWH KRŠṬGYAL AHWH ŠLASYAL AHWH**

116- **MŠQWPYAL** (*or* **MŠQWNYAL**) **AHWH HWPYHYAL AHWH QQMYAL AHWH ANSYTYAL AHWH ḤSNYTYAL AHWH MNHWSSYAL AHWH**

117- **QNYAWSYAL AHWH ŠPṢSYAL AHWH YWTMSYAL AHWH NTNṢYAL AHWH**

118 *&* 119- **KKLHWYAL AHWH HYLBWAYAL AHWH QSNYAL AHWH HNSPWAYAL AHWH NSMSYAL AHWH SʿSSGNYAL AHWH**

120- **QDŠYGYAL AHWH KZHWAYAL AHWH ŠLAṬYAL AHWH LHPSYAL AHWH**

121- **PYZQYHYAL AHWH MYTNHYAL AHWH QSWTGYAL AHWH ŠMTYAHYAL AHWH**

122 to 124- **QRSRNHYAL YHWHH MRWSHYAL YHWHH HYWSQHYAL YHWHH ŠYLHYASHYAL YHWHH**

125- **HBQŠPHYAL YHWHH ʿSRGHYAL YHWHH HṢʿSNHYAL YHWHH MWDDNHYAL YHWHH**

126- **SʿSTŠHYAL YHWH SGSWGHYAL YHWHH ŠŠMSRYHYAL YHWH**

127**- ʿGPTNSHYAL YHWH LʿNQTYAL YHWHH ŠBHTWHYAL** (*or* **ŠBHTWHYAL**) **HLKATŠHYAL ŠMSRHYAL DBSHHNYAL YHWHH ŠRHBQHYAL YHWH ZʿPWSYAL YHWH ŠYRZTHYAL YHWH YRWTHYAL YHWHH ZMNATHYAL YHWH PSPHHŠHYAL YHWH BRNSQHYAL YHWHH HMQṬYHWAL HWYH AŠNHWAL** (*or* **AŠṬNHWAL**) **HWYH**

128- **QNYNSHWAL HWYH AŠTNSWAL** (*or* **AŠTGHAL**) **HWYH ASSPMHWAL HWYH MTMTNHWAL HWYH**

129- **ABYRYHWAL HWYH ZRṬHWAL HWYH BZLPPHWAL HWYH SQMQNHWAL** (? **SQSQNHWAL**) **HWYH**

130- **AŠMSNHWAL HWYH QPLZNHWAL HWYH QSGHNHWAL HWYH**

131**- MRGHMHWAL HWYH MRGʿŠSHWAL HWYH ṬYṬSHWAL HWYH**

132- **YAWYHW**

133- **AṬṬHSHWAL HWYH ZPTRSHWAL HWYH LBYNYPSHWAL HWYH ʿGHNHWAL HWYH**

134- **MPSGRHWAL** (*or* **MPGSRHWAL**, **MPSGDHWAL**) **HWYH**

135- **TWBR TSBR** (*etc…; nºs 1-5*)

136- *It consists of the following conjuration:*

"Ye sacred angels, princes of the hosts of **HWHY YHW**, who stand upon the thrones prepared for them before Him to watch over and to minister to the 'Sword,' to fulfill by it all the wants by the name of the Master over all; you Chiefs of all the angels in the world, **ALY ALY MQRNS**, in the name of God the seal of heaven and earth, ministers of **HWH AH WHYH HH** the most high God; through you I see **QLWTMY MQRAS ʿṢPWHYY ŠŠNWHYY** in the world; you are lording over me in all the place of the Master over all: I pray of you to do everything that I am asking of you, as you have the power to do everything in heaven and upon the earth in the name of **YHW YHWH AHW YHWH YWHY YHW YHW HWY YWHYH AHYH YWHW AWHH HWH YHW**(*and many other permutations of h-w-y*) **AL AL YHW**, as it is written in the Law, 'I am **YHWH** , this is My Name!'"

III

1. If at full moon (?) a man wishes to unite a woman with a man that they should be as one to one another, to destroy winds (spirits), demons, and satans, and to stop a ship, and to free a man from prison, and for every other thing, write on a red bowl from **TWBR**, **TSBR**, etc. (No. 1). – **2**. To break mountains and hills, to pass dry shod through the water, to enter the fire, to appoint and to depose kings, to blind the eyes, to stop the mouth, and to speak to the dead, and to kill the living, to bring down and to send up and to conjure angels to hearken unto thee, and to see all the mysteries of the world, write Nos. 1 and 2 upon the saucer of a cup and put in it the root of genip-tree (*genipa*). -- **3**. Against a spirit that moves in the body write on a plate No. 3. -- **4**. Against a spirit that burns write No. 4. -- **5**. Against a spirit in the whole body write No. 5. -- **6**. Against a demon (*šidda*) write No. 6. -- **7**. Against shingles write No. 7. -- **8**. Against quinsy (erysipelas?) say the words of No. 8 over oil of roses and put it over his face. -- **9**. For pains in the ear, whisper in the painful ear No. 9. -- **10**. For aches in the eye say the words No. 10 over water three days running in the morning, and wash the eye with it. -- **11**. For cataract say the words of No. 11 over oil of sesame, and anoint the eye

with it during seven mornings. -- **12**. For grit in the eye say over Kohl No. 12, and fill the eye with it for three mornings. -- **13**. For blood that runs from the head whisper No. 13 over the head early in the morning for three days, when you wash your hands before getting out of bed. -- **14**. For paralysis say seven times over a vessel full of water and seven times over sesame-oil the words No. 14, "that it should move away and leave NN, Amen, Amen, Selah"; and throw the pail of water over his head and anoint him with the oil, and do this for three days; then write an amulet with the words from, "I conjure you " till "Amen, Selah," and hang it round his neck. -- **15**. For pains in one half of the head (neuralgia?) and for bad singing in the ear, write No. 15 and hang it round the neck. -- **16**. For the bad deafening (of the ear) write No. 16 and hang it round the neck. -- **17**. For pains in the ear say into the left ear the words No. 17 backwards. -- **18**. For deafness say over hemp water, whilst mixing it with oil of *Ydy* (sesame?), the words of No. 18, and put it into his ear as soon as it has become a little dissolved (or warm). -- **19**. For scabs, ulcers, itches, mange, shingles, etc., that befall mankind, say over olive oil No. 19 and anoint with the left hand. -- **20**. For jaundice say the words No. 20 over water in which radish has been soaked, and let him drink it. -- **21**. For pains in the nose and for the spirit in the nose say No. 21 over oil of *Ydy* (sesame?) and put it into his nostrils. -- **22**. For pains in the stomach (*lit.* heart) and in the bowels say No. 22 over water, and drink it. -- **23**. For hot fever say No. 23 over water in which rose-laurels are soaked, and he is to bathe in it. -- **24**. For tumors, etc., say No. 24 once over them and once over olive oil, and anoint them for three days, but do not let any water come near them -- **25**. For an evil occurrence (?) say No. 25 over seven white cups of water, filled from the river, and throw them over the head. -- **26**. For ulcer (diphtheria?) spit out before him, and say over his mouth, and over a cup of strong drink, No. 26, and make him drink, and watch what is coming out of his mouth. -- **27**. For a man bitten by a snake or by another (!) poisonous insect, he must say over the place of the bite or over the painful spot No. 27 and drink it; the same he is to do whenever hurt by any creeping thing. -- **28**. For a woman who has seen blood before the time, say No. 28 over an ostrich egg, then burn it, and smoke her with it. -- **29**. For pains in the mouth say No. 29 over risen flour, and put it upon his mouth. -- **30**. For quinsy (croup) and for pains in the shoulder, say No. 30 over wine and drink. -- **31**. For a painful nerve write No. 31 on a scroll and speak these words over olive oil, and rub some of it on the scroll and smear it over the painful spot and hang the amulet round his neck. -- **32**. For stone my over a cup of wine No. 32, and drink it. -- **33**. For haemorrhoids take tow and put salt on it and mix it with oil, saying over it No. 33, and sit on it. -- **34**. For a man who suffers from swelling and from venereal disease (?), he is to say No. 34 over water in which radishes are soaked, and drink it. -- **35**. For sprains, either you take a plate and write upon it No. 35 and put it upon the place, and all around it will be healed; or you take a ball of wool and dip it in oil of (sesame?), and say those words upon it and put it upon the sprain. -- **36**. When injured or hurt by iron, and for every blow that it should not fester, say No. 36 over white naphtha and rub it over the place of the blow. -- **37**. For (cramps?) and for pains of heart say over spinach and oil No. 37, and drink it. -- **38**. For the gall and the bowels take the water in which raisins have been soaked, saying over it No. 38, and drink it. -- **39**. For the spoiled liver take (a drink) a sixth measure of water-lentils and say No. 39, and swallow it slowly (?). -- **40**. For the milt say No. 40 over wine-lees and drink it, and repeat it for three days. -- **41**. For the spirit who rests on the womb, say No. 41 on camphor oil and put it on it with a ball of wool. -- **42**. For a woman who has a miscarriage, say No. 42 on a cup of wine, or strong drink, or water, and let her drink it for seven days; and even if she should see blood and she repeats it over a cup of wine, the child will live. -- **43**. For a man who is bald, say No. 43 over nut-oil and anoint with it. -- **44**. To conjure a spirit write on a

laurel-leaf: "I conjure thee, prince whose name is Abraksas (**ABRKSS**), in the name of (No. 44) that thou comest to me and revealest to me all that I ask of thee, and thou shalt not tarry." And the one bound by thee will come down and reveal himself to thee. -- **45**. To remove a rich man from his riches, say No. 45 upon the dust of an ant-hill and throw it into his face. -- **46**. To heal leprosy, take the patient to the side of the river and say to him: "I conjure thee, leprosy, in the name of (No. 46) to disappear and to vanish, and to pass away from NN. Amen, Amen, Selah"; and he is to go down and dip seven times in the river, and when he comes out write an amulet with the words "I conjure -- Selah," and hang it round his neck. -- **47**. For diarrhoea write No. 47 on a red copper plate and hang it round his neck. -- **48**. If thou wishest that the rain should not fall upon thy garden, write out No. 48. -- **49**. If thou wishest to see the sun (!) take *akn dby nbra ddylqa dykra* (?) from a male tree and stand in front of the sun and say ' **AKN** which art called **AṬRWPYNWN**… on the . . called . . . and the ears of barley (?) the words of No. 49; [*There is something probably missing here.*] and he will appear unto thee in the form of a man dressed in white and he will answer thee upon everything that thou askest him, and he will even bring a woman after thee. -- **50**. Whosoever wishes to enter a furnace is to write No. 50 on a silver plate and hang it upon his haunch. -- **51**. If thou seest a king or a ruler and thou wishest that he follow thee, take a basin of water and put into it the root of genip-tree, and the root of purslane, and the root of (*Artilokhia*), and say No. 51, and place it on fiery coals in a white earthen vessel and throw upon them leaves of olive-tree, and whatever thou decreest he will bring unto thee, even a woman thou canst command. -- **52**. If you wish to overawe them, take water from the fountain and say upon it No. 52 and throw it into their faces. -- **53**. For loosening (any charm) say over water No. 53 and throw it over him and write it as an amulet and hang it round his neck, and also for freeing a man from prison. -- **54**. To catch fish, take a white potsherd, and putting into it leaves of olive-tree say over them No. 54 at the side of the river. -- **55**. If thou wishest a woman to follow thee, take thy blood and write her name upon a newly-laid egg and say towards her No. 55.--**56**. If a man is to follow thee, take a new potsherd and dip it in black myrrh (gall) and pronounce over his name the words of No. 56, and walk on without looking backwards. -- **57**. For a tree that does not produce fruits, write the words No. 57 upon a new potsherd and bury it under the root of the fruitless tree, and water all the trees and these also which do not produce the fruit. -- **58**. For illness (dog) in the fruit write on a new potsherd No. 58 and bury it in the cistern (watering-place), and say these words also over water, ashes, and salt, and water the earth with it. -- **59**. For a suckling babe write on an onyx slab No. 59 and whisper it into its ears three times, spitting out after the whispering; then repeat them over a cupful of water 70 times and give it the child to drink. -- **60**. For one bitten by a rabid dog, write No. 60 on the halter of an ass and let the ass go; then repeat these words over sesame oil and let him anoint himself with it and put on new clothes and hang that halter (?) round him. -- **61**. For fever and small fever, write on the skin of the brains of a ram or a goat No. 61, and hang it round his neck. -- **62**. If anyone lose his way he is to say No. 62 over the four corners of his belt (?). -- **63**. If thou wishest to ask anything of thy neighbour, say No. 63 over oil of sesame or of . . . or of . . . -- **64**. If thou wishest that a woman is to follow thee write thy name and her name with thy blood upon her door, and the same upon thy door, and repeat the words of No. 64.- **65**. If thou wishest to know whether thy journey will be lucky, take a field lettuce with open leaves, and standing before the sun say the words of No. 65 and watch the lettuce: if the leaves close and shut, then do not go; but if they remain in their natural state, proceed, and thou wilt prosper. -- **66**. If thou wishest to deliver a man from prison (?) say No. 66 once to him, and once to the

sun, and once to the prison (?) house. -- **67**. To conquer (collect?), take dust from thy house and say over it seven times in the road of the town the words of No. 67, and then take dust from the road and do likewise and throw it into thy house. -- **68**. If you wish to kill a man, take mud from the two sides of the river and form it into the shape of a figure, and write upon it the name of the person, and take seven branches from seven strong palm-trees and make a bow from reed (?) with the string of horse-sinew, and place the image in a hollow, and stretch the bow and shoot with it, and at each branch (shot) say the words of No. 68; and 'may NN be destroyed' -- **69**. To send plagues, take (parings?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd, and go out to the cemetery and say there No. 69, and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses, and afterwards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house. -- **70**. To send dreams to your neighbours, write No. 70 upon a plate of silver and place it in the mouth (?) of a cock and kill it when it has gone down its mouth, and take it out from the mouth and put it between its legs and bury it at the end of a wall, and put thy foot upon that spot and say thus: "In the name of YYZYL, a swift messenger is to go and torment NN in his dreams until he will fulfill my wish." -- **71**. If a snake follows thee say No. 71, and it will dry up. -- **72**. To stop a boat in the sea, say No. 72 over a potsherd or on a rounded flint stone and throw it against it into the sea. -- **73**. To loosen it (from the charm), say No. 73 over dust or a clod of earth and throw it into the water, and as this dissolves the boat gets free to go. -- **74**. If thou wishest to prevent an oven or furnace or pot from becoming destroyed (unclean?), say No. 74 over dust and throw it over them. -- **75**. If thou wishest them to be hot, spit in front of them and say No. 75, and they will boil. -- **76**. If thou wishest to pass dry shod through the sea, say upon the four corners of thy head-dress (turban) No. 76, and take one corner in thy hand and the other is (?) to precede thee. -- **77**. If thou wishest to curse anyone, say in the 'Eighteen benedictions' **ASQWHHY YGWPṬ**, in the name of No. 77. -- **78.** To speak with the dead, whisper No. 78 into his left ear and throw into their holes (?). -- **79**. To kill a lion, bear, an adder, or any other hurtful animal, take the dust from under the right foot, say over it No. 79, and throw it into their faces. -- **80**. To catch them, take the dust from under your left foot, saying No. 80, and throw it into their faces. -- **81**. To open a door, take the root of lotus reed and place it under the tongue and say No. 81 against the door. -- **82**. To kill an ox or another beast, say into its ear No. 82- **83**. To inflame his heart, say No. 83 over a piece of raw meat, and give it to him to eat. -- **84**. To make a fool of one, say No. 84 over an egg and place it in his hands. -- **85**. To destroy the house of thy neighbour, say No. 85 over a new potsherd and throw it into his house. -- **86**. To expose (?) your neighbour, say No. 86 over oil of *Ydy* and smear it at the bottom of his jug (?). -- **87**. To make your neighbour disliked, take blood from phlebotomy, say upon it No. 87, and throw it upon his lintel. -- **88**. To make a woman have a miscarriage, say No. 88 over a cup of water and throw it over her lintel. -- **89**. To make a man ill, say No. 89 over olive oil and let him anoint himself with it. -- **90**. To know whether a man a sick person will die or live, say before him No. 90: if he turns his face towards you he will live; if away, he will die. -- **91**. To catch a lion by the ear, say No. 91 and make seven knots in the fringes of thy girdle and repeat these words with each knot, and you will catch him. -- 92. To make thy renown go throughout the world, write No. 92 as an amulet and bury it in thy house. -- **93**. To shorten the way, say No. 93 over a single lotus reed. -- **94**. To cure hemorrhoids, take kernels of dates . . . and burn them in fire and say No. 94, and mix it with oil of olives and place it as an amulet over it, and it will be good. -- **95**. For every spirit write upon a bowl No. 95 and hang it round the neck. -- **96**. For subtle poison, as cumin-seed and calamint, write No. 96 upon an egg and put it into wine, and

repeat over it the same words and then drink it. -- **97**. For the thunder that comes from heaven, take a ring (round piece) of iron and lead, and hang it on the spot you wish (to protect), and say over it No. 97. --**98**. To go before king or lord, say No. 98 over a piece of lion's skin dipped in black hemp (?) and pure wine, and take it with thee. -- **99**. For blight, if it happen, take a sinew and soak it in turnip-juice in the night from Wednesday to Thursday, and say No. 99 over it; on the morrow sprinkle that water over the field. -- **100**. If the fruit gets worm-eaten, take a worm from the mud and put it into a tube and say No. 100 over it; then close the tube and bury it in that place. -- **101**. To free a man from prison (? shame), say over the grounds of Kappa (?) and unripe dates No. 101, and give it to him to eat. -- **102**. For a field that does not produce fruits, take eight cups from eight houses and fill them with water from eight rivers, and put salt into them from eight houses, and say over them No. 102 eight times, and pour out two cups at each corner, and break them on eight paths. -- **103**. If one does not know what a man is ailing from, soak mullein (*verbascum*) in water, and say over it No. 103, and let him drink it when he is thirsty. -- **104**. To make war, take the dust from under the left foot, say over it No. 104, and throw it into the (enemies') face, and there will appear knights with weapons in their hands who will fight for thee. -- **105**. To throw thy fear upon mankind, write No. 105 upon a leaden plate and bury it on the west side of a synagogue. -- **106**. To have always light in the darkness, write No. 106 upon papyrus and carry it always with thee. -- **107**. To catch (blind) the eye, write No. 107 upon a scroll and expose it in a wicker-basket to the stars, but you must not speak when writing. -- **108**. To send a sword which should fight for thee, say No. 108 over a new knife wholly of iron, and throw it into their face. -- **109**. If thou wishest that they kill one another, say No. 109 over a new knife wholly of iron and bury it with your heel into the earth, and keep the heel upon it in the earth, and they will kill one another, until you take it out from the earth. -- **110**. To make them pause, take the dust from under the right foot, and, saying the same word again backwards, throw it into their face, and they will stop. -- **111**. If an enemy has got hold of thee and wishes to kill thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 111, and he will run away from thee like one who runs away from his murderer. -- **112**. To catch the eye (blind), say No. 112 over the skin of a lion and carry it with thee, and no one will be able to see thee. -- **113**. If thou fallest into a *ẏṭra* (?) and wishest to come out, say No. 113, and thou wilt come out in peace. -- **114**. If thou fallest into a deep pit, say in thy fall No. 114, and nothing will hurt thee. -- **115**. When thou fallest into a deep river say No. 115, and thou wilt come out in peace. -- **116**. If any burden or weight falls upon thee, say No. 116, and thou wilt be saved. -- **117**. If the king's servants lay hold on thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 117 before king or judge, and he will kill these people who have laid hands on thee. -- **118**. If a host has surrounded thee, turn thy face towards the west and say No. 118 before king or judge, and they will be like unto stones and will not move. -- **119**. If thou wishest to release them, turn thy face towards the east and repeat these words backwards. -- **120**. If thou walkest in vales or on the mountains and hast no water to drink, lift thine eyes to Heaven and say No. 120, and a fountain of water will he opened unto thee. -- **121**. If thou hungerest, lift thine eyes to Heaven and spread out thine arms and say No. 121, and a spirit will stand before thee and bring thee bread and meat. -- **122.** If thou wishest to call the angel (prince) of man, say over thy mantle (?) No. 122, and the angel bound by thee will come to thee and will tell thee whatever thou wishest (to know). -- **123**. If thou wishest to let him go (depart), say before him the same words backward, and he will depart. -- **124**. If thou wishest that any heavenly prince is to come to thee and teach thee, say No. 124 and conjure him in the third hour of the night from: "*in the name of the Lord over the holy ones* (No. 136) to the end

of the 'Sword,' and "*Send him to me that he reveal unto me and teach me all that is in his power*," and he will then appear. -- **125**. To walk upon the water without wetting the feet, take a leaden plate and write upon it No. 125 and place it in thy girdle, and then you can walk. -- **126**. To become wise, remember for three months running, from the new moon of Nissan onwards, the words of No. 126, and add in the 'Eighteen benedictions': "May the gates of wisdom be opened to me so that I should meditate in them." -- **127**. To remember immediately all thou learnest, write on a new-laid egg No. 127, then wash it off with strong wine early in the morning and drink it, and do not eat anything for three hours. -- **128**. To make another forget what he has learned, write No. 128 in his name on laurel-leaves and bury them under his lintel. -- **129**. To send an evil spirit against thy neighbour, take a green grasshopper and say over it No. 129, and bury it in an earth-hill and jump over it. -- **130**. To send a plague, take the bone of a dead man and dust from under him in a pot and tie it up in a woven rag with saliva, and say upon it No. 130 in his name, and bury it in the cemetery. -- **131**. To tie and to fasten thieves and robbers, say No. 131, and while saying it put your little finger in the ear. -- **132**. To release them, say No. 132, and take thy finger out of the ear. -- **133**. To guard thy house from thieves, say No. 133 over a cup of water and pour it out round thy roof. Thus also to guard a house. -- **134**. To guard a house from hosts (robbers), take earth from an ant-hill and strew it round the roof, repeating the words of No. 134.-**135**. To guard thyself from *Maziqīm* (evil spirits), say: "In the name of 'Nos. 1-5' may I, NN, pass in peace and not in hurt." The same must be done to excommunicate them when you meet them. -- **136**. For every other thing that has not been mentioned say, No. 136 to the end of the "Sword."

And upon every amulet that you write from this "Sword" write first: "In the name of the Lord of all the holy ones, may this 'Sword' be effectual to do my services, and may the lord of it approach to serve me, and may all these powers be delivered over to me so that I be able to use them, as they were delivered to Moses, the son of Amram, perfect from his God and no harm befalling him!" If he will not act accordingly the angels of wrath, ire, fury, and rage will come near him to minister to him, and they will lord over him, and strangle him, and plague him all over. And these are the names of their leaders: the leader of the angels of wrath is **MZPWPYASAYAL** (? **MWPWPYASAYAL**); the name of the leader of the angels of ire is **ṢQṢWRWMTYAL**; the name of the leader of the angels of fury is **QSWʿPPGHYAL**; the name of the leader of the angels of rage is **NʿMWSNYQTTYAL**. And the angels that stand under them are numberless, and these all will have power over him, and will make his body like unto a dunghill.

May the Lord preserve you from every evil. Amen!

End of the "Sword," with the assistance of God feared in the council of the holy ones. End, end.

APPENDIX I.
(*Second version of the Sword of Moses*)

In the name of the Lord.
The Sword of Moses.

I. **DQMA** (or **DQMAYN**) **YQRAK AḤ MLKYAL ḤZH AZ AT ANWN BYDK ḤTYKWT ṬḤYN MAHYLW AHL RABWT** (or **DAKT**) **DASTWN** (or **WASTYQ**) **PAH LH LB AṬWR PATW AYR AMPRAL** (**AWRPNYAL** in the Sefer ha-Razim) **SRWPA GRA GWṬ KLBY BRKWT** (or **BRBWT**) **GḤYL LHWN ASKWT TYGRA** (**=TYGRH** in Sefer ha-Razim) **DNYAL MYŠHL WAYŠ ALTBY ṬBAY SBR NAWT TGRA** (**TYGRH**) **BAHL BWAL KLMYH ASYMWR PSKR** (q.v. Sefer ha-Razim for these angels) **HWTTY WZK AWRY KWRḤYLY HPRNS** (or **SPQS**) **BPAYY BAMYR AṢṬRWN MMSAY DANH AAL KSWT PTWAL LBRWT KWTRK ʿBDYAL** (or **WLBDYAL**) **BABRWT** (or **BAKRWT**, **BARKWT**) **BAWT BRYBYT** (or **BRYKWT**) **ASPWTY TGRYAL YHRYAL MAYHL NAGA DRMKWT ZRNYAL AḤYN LGYḤWK BSRYD** (or **KSBYR**) **NWRYAH PḤSYH BATR MLKYH QYQANA BATYK KNAN DYDH SYTWR AYNWN WANKLH WAYKA GALHA ZBḤAY** (or **ZKSAY**) **ADR ATWN ABDYH DA RBYAL AKSNY BYAŠ AKYYH ṬWB LAYSNWGY** (or **LAYSNWTY**) **AT YGYRYHWN MLKA ASBY ṬWB KYNTW WAYDWR AYNA LHYLAK ASYAK AWLLK AMYAK AYLLK NṬTBY NṬTBY ATRWS ASYAK** (or **ASYRWK**) **ART ARD TGDA ṬRA ṬWRPTWT HNA ḤLWN KSA ASYRT TYḤMY ZHR LAMWT GLYL MAWT YA LA QA GT TAWT AYSADQWPA** (or **AYSADQWSA**) **YAWN DANH BAHL TAYHL ASPA BR RBT ABḤT WNNAT TAYT GAWT AṬWR YṬABYRA** (or **ṬAPDA**) **AWT MRBY ARY ARYNA KL LL AYPWA AṬRY MKSA SBAK ṬAS AL SṬRPAL TRGYAL LGYNYAL QMNYAL YABḤWT SGRḤY SNḤNW ṬHRAYK** (or **ṬHRZYRY**) **AWMH DAYBWTYW BYHA ASBH KAGW AYN NṬT AYBY PḤDY NHL MAMAṬWRY** (or **MAMAṬW BY**) **ASBYT AMMTH LANY LALYAL TḤBRA ARMYT AYMḤT TTRḤYAL LḤYNH BRYNH AṬYAL NADA YWSṬAYM** (or **AṢṬAYM**) **ṬNAL ASAK BALKY BATMY AB AB ANY RṬT YB BASA SATTH ABRBA ANYAS BABYK TRGYHWN YHNH SRYDYAS YWA AYT YANWH** (or **WAṬḤ**) **SAR AS SWP BRSYAH ABNBA QATH PYWNPYAWT** (or **PNPAYT**) **TQNH ṬAS ṬYḤN NYTḤT LAB AḤ AHRYAL SRWT** (or **ALḤRWT**) **TABY APYRYB** (or **AYSYRYB**) **ABYH ADLLH YḤYLH ARSTWN QLWT MANWT MARṬARWT ATYAW ALHYM AYN AṢṬR MḤRYN ḤMWŠYH Ṭʿ WT BRKTYBYH** (or **BRBTBYT**) **YHWA MN ŠLMH AMA AYŠ Yʿ WR BABLY ANYQ AḤD** (or **AḤR**) **RYGAL GḤN AYSBAL ABWT BLYTWAL LḤWMY ASBAWT TḤQBYA** (or **TḤQAN**) **TḤYSYAP PTTA BAL RYSAL ASRAL MAPSY** (or **MYWPSY**) **APYBH AṢṬRNY NḤSYH KRYH ANNAYN SLMYAT LABWT ANTḤR** (or **AYTḤR**) **AṢṬYAL LAṬḤR DATA NKA ASBNḤR** (or **ASDNḤR**) **AṢṬḤR DAP NYGḤL ABAR AWRYH ALYAL AṢṬYṬR DARGY DASTḤL AMYH ANYAL MLKWT TARYH ASBRYT TGDNWT** (or **TGRṬT**) **ASBYḤL NAWR** (or **NMYR**) **ANTTWN NATḤWR YAK ASTAK NABA ŠLWM KSA ṬWB AYWNA** (or **AYWTA**) **BYH ATḤL** (or **AYKḤL**) **AṬRA MAPSR WANDAN ḤL LYAT**

TRSBAWN NQRSAL AYSPTAWT (or **AYSPTAH**) **BTTAWT KRTA WAYPYM AṬNYN** (or **ANYNYN**) **AYSTWB NRDAY SYḤAL ASBRYK AY AHL AMTH YAWT ṬḤNDYAL** (or **ṬHPYAL**) **ABRYR HRYṢ YAS TḤRA YAPWN** (or **YASWN**) **AYRBA MLWT TḤDK BRWḤL** (or **BAḤL**) **AZHAL LHNKNY** (or **LHNKRY**) **AḤWT**. And the angel over the animals, whose name is **AYTTALAYNMA** (or **AYTTH LA TMH**); and the angel over the wild beasts, **MTNTYAL**; and the angel over the wild fowls **BDAL** (or **BRAL**), and over the creeping things (reptiles), **TRGYAWB** (or **TRGWAWB**); and the angel over the deep waters **SRDQA**; and over the mountains, **RAMPAL**; and the angel over the trees, **MAKTYAL**; and the angel over the sweet-smelling herbs, **ARYAS** (or **ABYAM**); and the angel over the garden fruit, (vegetables), **SPYAL**; and the angel over the rivers, **TRSYAL**; and the angel over the winds, **MBRYAL**; and over man, [*a corrupt Hebrew passage*]… Moses. Hours are proper for man to pray and to ask for mercy upon man, be it for good or evil; and it is said that every hour is proper for man to pray, but during the three first hours in the morning man is to pray and to mention the hundred sacred names and the mighty ones, whose sum amounts to three hundred and four. Amen. Selah!

QN QN QNYN (or **QNYH**) **BA AYKSNDRWS** (**ALKSNDRWS**) **TMA PṬA DRYMYQL ABA NYMA APSṬAQYWN WṬRSWN AMRSYW** (or **AMRSYN**) **WGBRA AYWLY KSWBYYW ṬA MYGLA AYŠ AYSWRA AYNMṬA** (or **AYGMWṬA**) **ṬAWA TAW ṬA PRQA AYRY MNA QYN QN** give me healing.

Which is the great light? All the……; I conjure you, mother of the (whether?) male and mother of the (or?) female, you, the "Twins," I conjure you, the hard (strong) spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, the living one [*Mika'el*], in the name of God [*Gabri'el Uri'el*], .. *Rafa'el* (save) me from the Lions, the powerful ones, and the Twins. I conjure you, strong spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, **YH**, **YHWH**, **YHWH**, I, N, son of N.

II.

Verily, this is the "Sword of Moses" with which he accomplished his miracles and mighty deeds, and destroyed all kind of witchcraft; it had been revealed to Moses in the bush, when the great and glorious Name was delivered to him. Take care of it and it will take care of thee. If thou approachest fire, it will not burn thee, and it will preserve thee from every evil in the world.

1. If thou wishest to try it take a thick (green) branch and utter this "Sword" over it five times at sunrise and it will dry up. – **2**. To catch fish, take sand from the sea and the root of the date (tree) (or the kernel of the date) repeat this "Sword" over them, and the fish will come to the spot where thou throwest the sand. – **3**. To walk on the waters of the sea take the wooden helve of an axe, bore a hole through it, pass a red thread through it, and tie it on to thy heel, then repeat the words of the "Sword," and then you may go in and out in peace. – **4**. To run quickly (*should probably be* "to help someone run quickly"), write the "Sword" on papyrus then put water into a new earthenware pot, and let them drink it and wash their faces, and they will be victorious! – **5**. To destroy someone, write the "Sword" on a plate of copper (*qprynwn*) and put it in a '*qmṭwn*' (? box) and they will perish. -- **6**. To subdue a woman, write with the blood of thy hand her name upon thy gate, and write her name upon

a scroll of leather of a hart with the blood of thy finger, and say this "Sword," and she will come to thee. -- **7**. To make thyself praised in the community, take in thy left hand porret-seed and utter over it the "Sword," and throw it between them, [*there is something probably missing here.*] and descend (?) until the sun sets, and he will carry thee wherever thou wishest, and fast for three days, and burn incense and the smoke of white flower, and repeat the "Sword" in the morning and the evening, and he will come instantly and speak to thee and do thy bidding. -- **8**. To get information through a dream, take balm and write upon "*Kharṭis hieraṭiqon*," and repeat the "Sword" in front of a light, and put out the light with a stick of olivewood, and lie down. -- **9**. If thou wishest to go to a great man, take rose-oil, repeat the "Sword" over the oil, and anoint thy hands and face with it, and he will hearken unto thee. -- **10**. To make strife in the community, take the left hand full of mustard, speak the "Sword" over it, and throw it amongst them, and they will kill one another. -- **11**. To separate a man from his wife, take ass's meat in thy hand and say over it the Sword and no harm will befall thee (?). -- **12**. To destroy thine enemy, take a leaden plate and some of his hair and clothes; say the "Sword" over them, and bury them in a deserted house, and he will fall down. -- **13**. To walk in the street and not to be recognized by anyone, take wormwood, perfumes, and soot, and smoke thyself with it, and take the heart of a fox, and say the "Sword," and go out in the street. -- **14**. If you are on the sea and the storm rages, stand up against the waves and say the "Sword" to them, and they will go down; then write on a plate, or potsherd, or a piece of wood, and hang it in front of the ship, and it will not founder. -- **15**. To break an enemy, write the "Sword" upon a potsherd that has not yet been burned, and plaster it over, and throw it into his house. -- **16**. To obtain anything thou likest, take into thy right hand wormwood, and say over it the "Sword" facing the sun, and everything will be fulfilled, and purify thyself for seven days, and thou wilt prosper in everything. Do kind deeds to thy friends, take heed not to take an oath, and walk modestly, and thus thou wilt prosper.

 rite **Š'QṢ QMṬRN AWḤRN AYPT NWPYR NQYPWS SGBWNY KTM KY BTY TYMN ABYṢ** upon the palm of thy left hand, take then a new lamp and fill it with olive-oil and naphtha, and put on new clean clothes, and sleep in a clean house, and the angel will come at once and wake thee, and reveal unto thee everything that thou wishest.

III.

(*Ritual to evoke the ᴐAngel of the Presence*)

Rabbi Aqiba asked R. Eliezer the great: "How can one make the Angel of the Presence descend upon earth to reveal to humanity the mysteries from above and beneath, and the speculations of the foundations of heavenly and earthly things, and the treasures of wisdom, cunning, and help?" He said thereupon to me: "My son! I once made him come down, and he nearly destroyed the whole world, for he is a mighty prince and greater than any in the heavenly cohort, and he ministers continually before the King of the Universe, with purity and separation, and with fear and dread of the glory of his Master, because the Shekinah is always with him." And he said to him: "My master, by the glory which thou hast bestowed upon me, I conjure thee to instruct me how to attach him to me." (And he replied) : "In that hour when I wish to attach him to me and to employ him, I sit and fast on that very day ; but prior to it one must keep oneself free for seven days from any nocturnal impurity, and must bathe in the fountain of water, and not speak at all during those seven days, and at the end of this purification, on the day of the fast, he must sit in the water up to his throat, and before he utters the conjuration he must first say:

'I conjure you, angels of dread, fear, and shaking, who are appointed to hurt those who are not pure and clean and desire the services of the servants of the Most High-- I conjure you in the name of **QTT YH HYH SNNQQRWTT** (*Senanqaqarūtat*) **HWYH YH PPNNH** (*Papnunāh*) **YHWH YH AQNS** (*ᵓAnqas;* or **ANQS**) **YHWH**, who is mighty over all, and rules over all, and everything is in His hands, that you do not hurt me, nor terrify me, nor frighten me; verily, in the name of the powerful, the revealer of the mysteries.' After this he may commence his conjuration, for now he has fortified himself and has sealed himself with the name of God of 42 letters, before which all who hear it tremble and are frightened, and the heavenly hosts are terror-struck. He must then again conjure, and say:

'**ADR NHW HY ZZ PṢṢ YH** (*ᵓAdarnehū Hēyzaz Patzatzyah*), chief, who of all the destroying angels is the most hurtful and burning, with this Name and in this way I call thee **AWZHYA** (*ᵓUz-hiya*), Angel of the Presence, youthful minister before the King of the Universe, who art a prince and chief of the heavenly hosts; I conjure thee and decree upon thee that thou attachest thyself to me to fulfill my wish and to accept the decree of my conjuration and to accomplish my desires and fulfill my wishes, and do not frighten me, nor terrify me, nor overawe me, and do not make my frame shake and my feet vacillate, nor cause my speech to be perverted; but may I be fortified and strengthened, and may the conjuration be effective and the (sacred) Name uttered properly by my throat, and may no vacillation take hold of me and no trembling of the feet by thy ministering angels confuse me and overawe me, and weaken my hands, and may I not be overcome by the fire and flame of the storm and whirlwind which precedes thee, O wonderful and exalted one, whose Ineffable name is **YWHY GGHY** (or **MHY GGDY** *Mehi Gagadi*) **HYH ʿTRG** (ʿ*Atrag*) **HWZYH** (*Huzyah*) **MMSYGG** (*Mamsigag*) **HY HW ŠṢMS** (*Šatzmas;* or **ŠMṢM** *Šamtzam*) **HY HW HYH** , of whose wrath the earth trembles, and nothing can withstand his anger, twice blessed. Again I conjure thee by thy 14 (!) names by which thou didst reveal thyself to thy prophets and seers, to place in their mouths sweet words of prophecy and to utter pleasant words; and these are the Ineffable names and their surnames (*kynwy*): Spirit

PYSQWNYT, *kynvy*, **QSSNGYHW** (*Qesasnagyahu*) **HYH**; **AṬYMWN** (*'Aṭimôn*), *kynvy*, **ṢṢMS HYHW** (or **ṢṢMSNYHWN**, **ŠṢMS NYHW**) **HY HWH**; **PYSQWN** , *kynvy* **QLWT HY WHW**; **HWGRW**N, *kynvy*, **MṢHWS** (*Matzihōs*) **HYW NH HWH**; **SNYGRWN**, *kynvy*, **TṢNYG NHWSS YWHY**; **MŠY** (or **MYŠY**), *kynvy*, **ṢQNNH YHWHYH**; **MWQWN** (*Mūqōn*), *kynvy*, **BTMNT PNGY** (*Katmenat Pangi;* or **BLMNT PNGY** *Batmelat Pangi*) **HYH**; **ASṬS** (*'Asṭas*), *kynvy*, **AṬMMNY** (*'Aṭmamni;* or **AṬMMNYK**, *'Aṭmamnik*) **HW HWH**; **SQṬS**, *kynvy*, **QDRDDWSS** (or **QHRZYRWSS**) **YD HYH**; **YHWAL** (or **YHWAYAL**), *kynvy*, **PDRHWDYSSYHW (or SRD HWRYSSY HWH**, *Serad Hôrisesi Hawah*); **YWPYAL**, *kynvy*, **QMHW ZZWH** (*Qamhū Zazwah*) **YHWY YHW HYH**; **SSNYGYAL** (*Sasnigi'ēl*) **YH**, *kynvy*, **SQMNHH** (*Saqmanhah*) **YH YHYH**; **QNNYAL YH** (or **QNGYAL YH**), *kynvy*, **ṢṢMKT ŠYYHW** (*Tzatzmakat Šiyahu;* or **ṢṢMKH ŠY YHW** *Tzatzmekah Ši Yahu*) **YH WYHWH**; **ZBDYAL** (*Zabdi'ēl*), *kynvy*, **ANṢṢNYTT** (or **ANṢNWTT**, **ANṢMTT**) **YWH YHWH**. I conjure thee with these fourteen names, by which all the secrets, mysteries, and signs are sealed and accomplished, and which are the foundations of heaven and earth. Four of these are engraved upon the heads of the Ḥayoth (Holy Creatures), namely – **HWGG ṬTY WHW ṢṢNN YSYH**, the lord of powers; **ZHWBD HWG QSYSH** (*Zehubad Hūg Qesisah*), master of miracles; **TṢMṢ ŠŠ NHY** (*Tatzmatz Šaš Nehi*) **HH**, master of purity; and **QTNT ṢNYH WBR GRDYH** (*Qatnat Tzenyah Webar Geradyah;* or **QTNT ṢMH GBR GDRYH**, *Qatnat Tzemah Gebar Gedaryah*) master of the Universe. And four are engraved upon the four sides of the Throne, namely: **NHYPRD NHWZYZ HWH** (*Nehiprad Nehuziz Hawā;* or **NHYPRK NHWDYN HWH**, *Nehiprak Nehudin Hawah*) three times holy; **PPG NN ʿQMH YH** (or **PSG PGʿ ŠQMHYH**, *Pesag Pegaʿ Šaqamheyah*) **ADYR ADYRY ADYRWN SSBR** (*Sasbar;* or **PSBR**) **ṬYL AWZYH** (or **AMZYH**, *'Umziyah*) **AL ALHY HALHYM ATKN ʿTQR** (*'Atkan ʿAtqar*) **PNGYH** (or **PNKYH**, *Penakyah*), the king of kings. And four are engraved upon the four crowns of the 'Ofanim (wheels) that stand against the Holy Creatures, as it is said: "When those went, these went; and when those stood, these stood" (Ezek. I, 21); and these they are – **BLYṬ NYYH WDYY** (or **BLYṬNY HWZY**, *Beliṭenay Huzay*), who is the mightiest over all; **ASGNW ṢB SSRWDYH** (or **AGSNW ṢKS SRWDYH**, *'Agsanu Tzekas Serudyah*), distinguished over all; **ZGGHW SSHY ṢṢ HWH** (or **ʿNHWSSHY ṢṢ HWA**, *'Anhusas-hi Tzatz Hawâ*), who governs all; and **DRHY BYRNNYHW** (or **DRHY BRWNYHW**, *Darhi Berunyahu*) in whose hands everything is. And two are engraved upon the crown of the most exalted and high King, and these they are – **ZT ṢṢ PP ṢṢ QDDR HY TSYH** (or **ZHTṢṢPT ṢṢQRR**, *Zahtatzatzpat Tzatzaqrar*), the Seal of **YH**, before whom every knee bends and every mouth utters praises; **AZQH WH GRWZ ŠWYŠYH** (or **AZQ HWH GRWN ŠWYŠYH**, *'Azaq Hawah Gerôn Šōyašyah*), besides him there is no God and helper. With these names I conjure thee, and firmly decree upon thee to descend quickly to me, N, son of N, thou and not thy messenger. And when thou comest down do not turn my mind, but reveal unto me all the secret mysteries from above and beneath, and the hidden secrets from above and beneath, and all the secrets of wisdom and the cunning of helpfulness, just as a man speaks to his neighbour. For I have conjured thee with these Names, that are great and mighty and wonderful and awe-inspiring, and proved and arranged in proper order, through which the glorious throne has been established and the beautiful seat of the Most High, which has been wonderfully wrought, long before thou and the heavenly hosts had been created, "While as yet He had not made the earth nor the fields, and the inhabitants of the earth and the creatures therein" (Prov. viii, 26).

“I call thee further by (the power) of the five selected Names, to which only one is superior, and this is their form:
SNNQ ṢNYT (or **SNG QṢNYT**, *Senag Qaṭznita*) **RTYH AL YH BSWDRGNW ʿT ṢNYSS** (or **ṢMSS**) **HW HW HYH ALYH BHWRDGHW** (*Behurdagehu*) **ʿŠ MŠ** (*ʿAš Maš*) **ŠHYH ALYH PṬNWQ ṢHW** (or **PŠṬ RṢHW**) **SSʿN** (*Sasʿan*) **YH WAHHYH ALYH AZHNK PṬPṬRY HWH YHYH YH AL YH**.

I conjure thee by these five Names, which correspond to the five names of God, whose letters are written on burning fire, and they circle round the throne of glory, one ascending and the other descending, so that the angels of the Presence should not behold them, and this is their equivalent and form and glory :
ATLMT GNYSS HWH YH YH QRYMWS QDYR HWH YH YH YHB AHYSWG GHWH YH TTMNGYH (or **THMNGYH**) **YHB HWRGH WH WH WH HH GAY WHYH YHB AQNYʿP ṢL DD ŠQTTH WTḤYH YHB**.
I conjure thee by these, as thou knowest their praise and greatness, which no mouth can utter, and no ear can hear, no, not even one of them. Thou hast been commanded and ordered by the Most High: "as soon as thou hearest anyone conjuring thee with these names, to do honour to My Name, and to descend quickly and fulfill the wish of the man who makes thee hear them; but if thou tarriest I will push thee into the fiery river *Rigayōn* and place another in thy stead." Do it, therefore, for His Name, and come quickly to me, N, son of N, not in a terror, and not in fear, not with fiery coals, not with hailstone, and not with the sleet and treasures of snow, and not with the howling of the storm, and not with the provinces of the whirlwind that usually accompany thee, and do my bidding and fulfill my desire, for everything is in thy hand; by the permission of thy God, **ANDYRW DRHW HYH** the master over all and thy lord, and with His Names I conjure thee to attach thyself quickly to me; come and fulfill my wish, and do not tarry.

“I further call thee with the greatest of thy Names, the pleasant and beloved one, which is the same as that of thy Master, save one letter, with which He created and formed everything, and which He placed as a seal upon all the work of His hand; and this is its equivalent – **AŠŠ MQṢTT MG** (or **MṢQ TTMG**) **MSYGG MSṢYY** (or **MPṢYY**) **MNYQYY PYPG HWGY YHSS PṢSYH SAMYGNSYA** (or **AMṢNYSYA**, **ṢAMṢPAPYA**) **QTWHWHS** (or **QRNWHWHS**), and the other in the language of purity is read so : **YHWH YW HWH HW HW YHWH YH HYH YHWH YHWH YHWH YHWH ḤY WHYY HYW HYH YH HHW YW ḤY HWH YH YHWH YWH**. I conjure thee with the right hand of sanctity and with His beloved Name, in whose honour everything has been created, and all are terror-struck by His mighty arm, and all the sons of the internal heavenly cohort (servants) tremble and shake of His fear, which is **AŠSMṢ** (or **AŠMMṢ**) **QTMPTG AWSYYG BYʿMSYṢ TMTNYYṢ ATT ZMN YYQYN PPG HW PHWZYY ṢṢM HYY AMṢM ANSY HWYY**, and its equivalent by means of **YHWH is HH YHYH WWHY HH YH YH YHWH HW YH YH HY HY WYH HWH YHWH HWY HY YHW HYW YHYH YH YH HHWH YH HHYH**. Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever. And all praise and extol thy Name, for they love thee. I conjure thee, and decree upon thee firmly, not to disobey my words, and not to alter my decree and my decision with which I conjured thee, and decreed upon thee, and established in peace. In the Name **YHW HY AY HY YHW HB YH WA AH BAH HAH YWH HY HW AW YH HW YH YHH**, blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom

forever and ever, depart in peace, and do not frighten me in the hour of thy departure; in the name of **AH YHWH YHWH YH HYH**, Lord, most high and holy, in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel's battalions; in the name of the holy living Creatures, and in the name of the Wheels of the Chariot, and in the name of the river of fire, **YH, ZYY, ZYYN**, and all His ministers, and in the name of **YH**, **ZYYN**, **ṢBAWT AL ŠDY**, **AHYH AŠR AHYH YHW ADYR ḤSYN YHWH HYH**, who revealed Himself on Mount Sinai in the glory of His majesty.

"With these Names, terrible and mighty, which darken the sun, and obscure the moon, and turn the sea, and break the rocks, and extinguish the light, I conjure you, spirits, and evil beings and *Śiddim* (demons) and *Śaṭanim* (devils), that you depart and disappear from N, son of N. (?).

Stand before the ark, and pray Psalm 29 seven times, and say 70 times: "**RBYNYAL RBYWAL**, appointed over the glorious Throne, behold, I conjure thee in the name of the Lord God of Israel, the God of Hosts. Who is like unto Thee, **ḤSYN YH**? I conjure thee again in the name of **ṬWṬRSYAL YHWH**, and in the name of **ZHRWRYAL YHWH**, and in the name of **MŠRWSYH** (or **ṬṬRWSYH**) YHWH. Again I conjure thee, in the name of **AHYH AŠR AHYH YH BYH AH BAH YHW AW HW AH AH YH YH WHW**. The ministering angels say in a Great Voice '**HH QDWŠ QDWŠ**, Lord of Hosts, Selah'. 70 times by day, and three times by night, everything thou askest of him, he shall do. Amen. Selah.

"Once more I conjure thee, in the name of **SWWRYA**, the Prince of Countenances, and in the name of **TWPYPAWS APWṬYAL** (or **APWMYAL**, **APWPYLA**), that thou goest in peace, and harm me not."

APPENDIX II.

I.

Against an enemy: I call thee, evil spirit, cruel spirit, merciless spirit. I call thee, bad spirit, who sittest in the cemetery and takest away healing from man. Go and place a knot in NN's head, in his eyes, in his mouth, in his tongue, in his throat, in his windpipe; put poisonous water in his belly. If you do not go and put water in his belly, I will send against you the evil angels **PWZYAL**, **GWZYAL**, **PSDYAL**, **PRZYAL**. I call thee and those six knots that you go quickly to NN and put poisonous water in his belly and kill NN whom I mean (or, because I wish it). Amen, Amen. Selah.

II.

Against an enemy (To separate a couple): Write upon a new-laid egg in a Nazarene cemetery:

"I conjure you, luminaries of heaven and earth, as the heavens are separated from the earth, so separate and divide NN from him wife NN, and separate them from one another, as life is separated from death, and sea from dry land, and water from fire, and mountain from vale, and night from day, and light from darkness, and the sun from the moon; thus separate NN from NN his wife, and separate them from one another in the name of the twelve hours of the day and the three watches (?) of the night, and the seven days of the week, and the thirty days of the month, and the seven years of Šemiṭṭah, and the fifty years of Jubilee, on every day, in the name of the evil angel **ṬMSMAL** (or **SMSMAL**) and in the name of the angel **YBYAL**, and in the name of the angel **DRSMYAL**, and in the name of the angel **ZAHBWQ**, and in the name of the angel **ATAP**, and in the name of the angel **ZHṢMAL**, and in the name of the angel **ZṢNYAL**, who preside over pains, sharp pains, inflammation, and dropsy, and separate NN from him wife NN, make them depart from one another, and that they should not comfort one another, swiftly and quickly.

The Sword of Moses

An ancient Hebrew/ Aramaic book of magic



Translated by Moses Gaster, Studies and Texts, 1896

Magical and Divine names have been restored from the Hebrew text. Transliteration is as follows:

א	A
ב	B
ג	G
ד	D
ה	H
ו	W
ז	Z
ח	Ḥ
ט	Ṭ
י	Y
כ ך	K
ל	L
מ ם	M
נ ן	N
ס	S
ע	ʿ
פ ף	P
צ ץ	Ṣ
ק	Q
ר	R
ש	Š
ת	T

In the name of the mighty and holy God.

Four angels are appointed to the "Sword" given by the Lord, the Master of mysteries, and they are appointed to the Law, and they see with penetration the mysteries from above and below; and these are their names: ŠQDḤZY (*combination of Šadday and Ḥazāq, 'powerful'*), MRGYZYAL, WHDRZYWLW, ṬWṬRYSY[H]. And over these are five others, holy and mighty, who meditate on the mysteries of God in the world for seven hours every day, and they are appointed to thousands of thousands, and to myriads of thousands of Chariots, ready to do the will of their Creator, AHYH, HYH, HYH, the Lord of Lords and the honoured god; these are their names: MHYHWGṢY, PḤDWTTGS, ASQRYHW, ŠYTYNYḤWM, QTGNYPRY. And the Master of each Chariot upon which they are appointed wonders and says: "Is there any number of his armies?" And the least of these Chariots is lord and master over those (above) four. And over these are three chiefs of the hosts of the Lord, who make every day tremble and shake His eight halls, and they have the power over every creature. Under them stand a double number of Chariots, and the least of them is lord and master over all the above Chiefs (rulers); and these are their names: ASQWHHY, ŠṬRYSHWYH, SHWTGYAYH. And the name of the Lord and king is AHYWPSQTYH, who sits, and all the heavenly hosts kneel, and prostrate themselves before Him daily, before ŠLAH, HW, AWHH, the Lord over all.

And when thou conjure him he will attach himself to thee, and cause the other five Chiefs and their Chariots, and the lords that stand under them, to attach themselves to thee just as they were ordered to attach themselves to Moses, son of Amram, and to attach to him all the lords that stand under them; and they will not tarry in their obeisance, and will not withhold from giving authority to the man who utters the conjuration over this "Sword," its mysteries and hidden powers, its glory and might, and they will not refuse to do it, as it is the command of ABDWHW, HWH, ALYH, saying: "Ye shall not refuse to obey a mortal who conjures you, nor should you be different to him from what you were to Moses, son of Amram, when you were commanded to do so, for he is conjuring you with My Ineffable names, and you render honour to My name and not to him. If you should refuse I will burn you, for you have not honored me."

Each of these angels had communicated to him (Moses) a propitious thing for the proper time. These things (words) are all words of the living God and King of the Universe, and they said to him:

"If thou wishest to use this 'Sword' and to transmit it to the following generations, (then know) that the man who decides to use it must first free himself three days previously from accidental pollution and from everything unclean, eat and drink once every evening, and must eat the bread from a pure man or wash his hands first in salt (?), and drink only water; and no one is to know that he intends using this 'Sword,' as therein are the

mysteries of the Universe, and they are practiced only in secret, and are not communicated but to the chaste and pure. On the first day when you retire from (the world) bathe once and no more, and pray three times daily, and after each prayer recite the following Blessing:

"Blessed art thou, QWSYM , O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who openest the gates of the East and cleavest the windows of the firmament of the Orient, and givest light to the whole world and its inhabitants, with the multitude of His mercies, with His mysteries and secrets, and teachest Thy people Thy secrets and mysteries, and hast revealed unto them the "Sword" used by the world; and Thou sayest unto them: "If anyone is desirous of using this 'Sword,' by which every wish is fulfilled and every secret revealed, and every miracle, marvel, and prodigy are performed, then speak to Me in the following manner, read before Me this and that, and conjure in such and such a wise, and I will instantly be prevailed upon and be well disposed towards you, and I will give you authority over this Sword, by which to fulfill all that you desire, and the Chiefs will be prevailed upon by you, and my holy ones will be well disposed towards you and they will fulfill instantly your wishes, and will deliver to you my secrets and reveal to you my mysteries, and my words they will teach you and my wonders they will manifest to you, and they will listen and serve you as a pupil his master, and your eyes will be illuminated and your heart will see and behold all that is hidden, and your size will be increased." Unto Thee I call, SWQYM, Lord of the Universe. Thou art He who is called YHWGH HW, King of the Universe. Thou art called PHWZGH WHWW ALYH, merciful king. Thou art called ZHWTGYHH, living king. Thou art called ṢHPRWHW HWH ALYH, humble king. Thou art called SPṬHWTHW, righteous king. Thou art called QNYWHY HW HY, lofty king. Thou art called ŠHRW SGHWRY, perfect king. Thou art called SPQS ḤPYH, upright king. Thou art called QTTH GTHY, glorious king. Thou art called PTRYS ḤWPYHW, youthful king. Thou art called RʿPQ ṢYWHYH, pleasant king. Thou art called ḤWSH YHW, and thou listenest to my prayer, for Thou hearkenest unto prayer; and attach unto me Thy servants the lords of the "Sword," for Thou art their king, and fulfill my desire, for evening is in Thy hands, as it is written: "Thou openest thine hand and satisfiest every living being with favor."

"I conjure you, AZLYAL called HWDY WHW HW HWH; I conjure you, ARAL called SQRYSYHYH, ṬʿNYAL called ATRṢ AHYH YH, ṬPAL called HWPQY HWH AHYH, and the most glorious of these HLYKYH HWA YWPYAL MYṬṬRWN called GHWDPṬHW HH YHH, the glory from above. With the permission of my king I conjure thee YDYAL called SGHWH HYH RʿŠYAL called MHWPTKYHYYṢ, ḤNYAL called WHW PGṬYH, HNYAL called PHWṢPNYGYH, AŠRAL called THMWTYHYH, YŠRYAL called QNYTY PṢYH, ʿŠRYAL called YHWT NṬHYHYH, ʿMWHAL called RWPNYNYH SSYH, and AṢRAL called ŠHGNW TGYHH, that you attach yourselves to me and surrender the "Sword" to me, so that I may use it according to my desire, and that I find shelter under the shadow of our Lord in heaven in the glorious Name, the mighty and awe-inspiring HW HY HHY HW HH AH WH YHYH HWY HW HY HW NA HWH YHW YA HW HW YH YHW HY HW YA YH WH HW YA HW HWA HW YH WH YH HW HWH YHY HW YH AHYH WH, the twenty-four (*sic*) letters of the Crown; that you deliver unto me with this "Sword" the secrets from

above and below, the mysteries from above and below, and my wish be fulfilled and my word hearkened unto, and my prayer (supplication) received through the conjuration with the Ineffable name of God which is glorified in the world, through which all the heavenly hosts are tied and bound; and this is the Ineffable Name -- HH HH HWH HHYY YWHH AHWH NYH HWH PH WHW HYH ṢHW AH WH HYH WH YH WH YH SYH WH YH WYH, blessed be he! (I conjure you) that you shall not refuse me nor hurt me, nor frighten and alarm me, in the tremendous Name of your king, the terror of whom rests upon you, and who is called PRZMWTGYH SRḤWQTYH HYGNYTYH ṬRSNYHYH QRZMTHW ṢNYH YH WH HYH HW HY HA HWH AHH HHY AHWH HWH HYH AH WH YH YHH YHW YHY AW HH AH HH HA HYH AH ZQDYDRYH. Fulfill for me everything that I have been conjuring you for, and serve me, for I have conjured you not with the name of one who is great among you but with that of the Lord over all, whose name ties and binds and keeps and fastens all the heavenly hosts. And if you should refuse me, I will hand you over to the Lord God and to his Ineffable name, whose wrath and anger and fire are kindled, who honours his creatures with one letter of His name, and is called ZRWGDQNṬA QṢWPṢḤTYH AHWH-SḤTY GYH NYGYM HYGYH HW YH HNYH HWH QLṢG; so that if you refuse he will destroy you, and you will not he found when searched after. And you preserve me from shortness of spirit and weakness of body in the name of ḤZQAY AHYH WH YH HH YHH YH WH HH YH HYH AHYW YH HYW YHY WHWY HY HWY YH QQHWH SQQHWH, the guardian of Thy people. Blessed art Thou, who understandest the secrets and revealest the mysteries, and art king of the Universe.'"

A voice was heard in the heavens, the voice of the Lord of the heavens, saying: "I want a swift messenger (to go) to man, and if he fulfills my message my children will become proud of the 'Sword' which I hand over to them, which is the head of all the mysteries of which also my seers have spoken, that thus will my word be, as it is said: 'Is not my word like as fire? saith the Lord'" (Jer. xxiii, 29). Thus spoke PGNYNYNW GSYH, the lord of heaven and earth; and I, ASSY ASYSYH APRGSYH , the swift messenger, who am pleased with my messages and delighted with my sending, ascended before Him, and the Lord over all commanded me: "Go and make this known to men who are pious and good and pure and righteous and faithful, whose heart is not divided and in whose mouth is no duplicity, who do not lie with their tongues and do not deceive with their lips, who do not grasp with their hands and are not lustful with their eyes, who do not run after evil, keep aloof from every uncleanness, depart from every defilement, keep themselves holy from contamination, and do not approach woman." When the Lord ever all commanded me thus, I, ASSY ASYSYH APRGSYH, the swift messenger, went down to earth, and I said on my way: "Where is the man who possesses all these that I should go to him and place this with him?" And I asked myself, and thought in my heart that there is no man who would do all this that I wished; and I found none, and it was heavy unto me. And the Lord over all conjured me by His mighty right arm, and by the lustre of His glory and His glorious crown, which is called HWD HWH RYH ʿQN HY DRYH ṬHR QRWNNYH, with an oath of His mighty right arm, and He conjured me, and the lord over all strengthened me and I did not fall. I thus stood up, I, ASSY ASYSYH APRGSYH, to put NN in the possession of the desired covenant, in the name of QMBGL ʿQMH WH ZRWMTYH YHW YKRWQ ZNWTYH YRPHW ḤTYH QṢY ṢYHṢ YHṢ YHṢ."

"This is the great and glorious Name which has been given as a tradition to man -- YH BYH AṢ AH BAH HWY HW HW WH YA HW ZH WH WH AH YH YHW HH YHW YHW AQP HY HH YYAH HH HAH HWAH HHWH HYY HW HW HY, holy, glorious, glorious, Selah. Recite it after thy prayers. And these are the names of the angels that minister to the son of man: MYṬṬRWN SGRDTṢYH MQṬṬRWN SNGWTYQTAL NGYQTGAL YGWATQTYAL ANTNQSAL ANTWSSTYAL MYKAL-SRWG-GBRYAL ŠQTKNYH HDQRWNTYAL ANHSGAL YHWAL TYZRT, NSYAL SYGSṬHAL ʿNPY QQPYAL NHR GSGNHYAL YKNY ATYHAL AQTQLYQAL YNH GYTYAL YH." "In a similar manner shall you serve me NN; and receive my prayer and my orisons, and bring them to God YHWH HH SHH AHH HH WHWH, blessed be He! for I adjure you in His name, and I extol you (to ascend), like unto the bird that flies from its nest, and remember my meritorious deeds before Him and (make Him) forgive now my sins on account of my words of supplication, and you may not refuse me in the name of HH HH WH WYH YH WYH WHWH WYHH WYH AH HHWY AHW YA HYHY HW HW YHW H H HWH YHWH, blessed be He! ṢBAWT ṢBAWT, Selah. His servants sanctify Him and praise Him with sweet melody, and say: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of holy name; the whole earth is full of His glory"; and do not refuse me, in the name of HW HYH YH YY YHW HY HWH HH HHYH HWYH HHW HHYW AHW AHH AYH AY AH YHW, who lives for ever, and in the name of DYṬYMWN QYRYAS WHW ARQS GNLYAWS QWSMWS QLYQS ASQLYṬTRA AYLY ALY MWPYSPRA SṬNDANS ṬLASY QṬM ANTPRGW PYGH DYHY MYTQAS TṬA DWNYṬA TTMNAS ṬWP DWNZ MṬYGA ṬHW HWṬR ZYQQTYHW AHWNY (? ADNY) YHW YH AL ḤYNQYH SPṬY HY AS PPṢPNṬR (*or* SPṢNṬR), and in the name of SMRT SMS PṢṢ ADNWTT HWSYH ʿLYWN YH HWAY AW HYH PY PY AYTYH BṢRS (? BṢRM) MṢRPYH TSQYHW, of the great One from whom nothing is hidden, who sees and is not seen, and in the name of Him who is the chief over the heavens, DṬYRQTYH and is called YHW YHW WA WH. And the King of the Universe utters (this name) also in a different manner, thus YHW AH YH HYH WHHH YH WH YH YHW HH (*etc*...). You swift messenger, do not tarry and do not frighten me, but come and do all my wants in the name of YHW HHYW AHYW HHW HW HYH HHY HWH YH WH HHY YH HW HYW HYH HWṬR QTNGYH QWSSYH AHWNYH AL HY NQṬSAL YH HWH NYGGHH PSQTYH HY HWH YH ZRWMTH HY HH YH, the great One, who sees and is not seen, AHWH, whose Ineffable Name is revealed to the heavenly hosts; and I conjure you by this Ineffable Name, such as it was revealed to Moses by the mouth of the Lord over all, YHWH HWH YHWH HYH YHWH HWH YHYH TBYNW AYH YHWŠ AHYŠH AGRYPṬ YHW ṢBAWT, is His name. Blessed art thou, O God, lord of mighty acts, who knowest all the mysteries."

And which are the letters which ŠQDḤZY communicated to Moses? He said to him: "If thou wishest to get wise and to use the 'Sword,' call me, and conjure me, and strengthen me, and fortify me, and say: 'ŠQDḤZY, with the great, holy, wonderful, pure, precious, glorious, and awe-inspiring secret Name AQPTH, HNH, NHH, YRK, YDKYRWHW YH YH ṢYQʿṢ, with these letters I conjure thee to surrender to me and make me wise and attach to me the angels which minister to the "Sword," in the name of the Revealer of mysteries. Amēn.'"

Write with ink on leather and carry about with you during those three days of purification, and invoke before and after prayer the following Names communicated to Moses by MRGYZYAL, etc. (*the 13 Chiefs mentioned at the beginning, and a long string of other mysterious names which are said to have been communicated to Moses*: QTGNYPYY (QTGNYPRY) SṬRYSHWYH (ŠṬRYSHWYH) SHWTGAYYH (SHWTGYAYH); PSQTYH ŠMGYHH ASWNYHH HHWAL HLAL QMMAH ALHYH SMH MSKPNHYH QNQSHYH MKNWSYH/MKSWNYH. *The rest consists of a gigantic string of the letters* Hē, Waw *and* Yod. *The text then ensues :*) "And they have not hidden from him any of these sacred Ineffable names or letters, and have not given him instead the Substitutes of any of these sacred letters, for thus were they ordered by the Lord of all mysteries to communicate to him this 'Sword,' with these Names which constitute the mysteries of this 'Sword'; and they said to him 'Command the generations which will come after thee to say the following blessing prior to their prayer, lest they be swept away by the fire':

'Blessed art Thou AYZWA AYZWNYS AYZWNAS, who wast with Moses; be also with me, Thou, whose name is AHWṢWṢYYH RPAWZTYH HWGYHYYH HQṢṢYYH ʿNTWTYHWH GDWDYHWH YPʿṬṬQTZYH PṢAPY PY AZYH ṬHRWGSGYH ŠDYH QTṢYH RHWGY HWH TGPMṢYH AHYWPSQTYH TYŠMṢYHYH MṢHWNTHYH ABHYTYZYH QPYHWH RPQNWT RPRPṬR YMRṬRYH (? YMRMRYH) QBRSYH NKR QTSNYH MRKAYRYH GNṬSRD HWH DYDADRAH QDYRHH QNYṢHH DYNAWSYH APSWNYH MASSWN PRQWMYH QWTZYH AYRWNYH AYPRWNSYH APSYMAH AHYH . Send me ATRYAWSSY YHW QTSHYH, who is the cover of the Kerubīm, to help me. Blessed art Thou, QWSYM, Lord of the Sword.'"

Whoever is desirous of using this 'Sword' must recite his usual prayers, and at the passage "Thou hearkenest to prayer" say:

"I conjure you four princes ŠQDḤZY (*etc.; the angels at the beginning*), servants of HDYRYRWN YHWH HDYRYRWN HW HY HDYHY DYHYRWN (DYRYRWN) HWH, that you receive my invocation before I pray, and my supplication before I entreat, and fulfill all my wishes through this 'Sword,' as you have done to Moses, in the glorious and wonderful name of BʿL PLAT (*Baʿal pela'ot, 'the Lord of wonders*'), which is interpreted thus HWH HYH YHWH WHW AHWSHH QQS HWH ." He must then call the five superior Chiefs and say: "I conjure you, MHYHWGṢY (*etc,; see beginning*) and HDWDY WH WH YD GBRYAL HDYRYRWN, that you accept my conjuration as soon as I conjure you, and you attach to me those four princes and all the hosts of Chariots over which you preside, to fulfill all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this beloved name AHY HWH YHWH AY AW ŠHWSHH HYH YWH." He must then call the three angels that are superior to these, and say: "I conjure you, ASQWHHY (*etc.; see the beginning*), the beloved of ZRHWDRYW, who is HDYRYRWN, that you attach yourselves to me and attach to me MHYHWGṢY (*etc.*.), who are standing under your rule, to fulfill all my wishes through this 'Sword' by this unique name HWH HWY ŠQṢR HŠH PTṬNHW YHNYH NHYH MTGMHWH HYQHH MQWQṢṢWH [*permutations of h, w, and y, ...*] YHW." And then he must lay hold of the highest Chief over all and say: "I conjure thee,

AHYWPSQTYH, strong and powerful Chief over all the heavenly hosts, that thou attachest thyself to me, thou and not thy messenger, and attach to me all the Chiefs that are with thee, to fulfill my wishes through this 'Sword,' by the name YHWH AHH HWH AYH HYH HWH AHWH YHW YHW [*etc.; more permutations*], which has no substitute, for thou art beloved and he is beloved, and I am from the seed of Abraham called the beloved. Blessed art thou, King of the mysteries, Lord of the secrets, who hearkenest unto prayer."

And he is not to touch this "Sword" till he has done all these things; afterwards he will be able to do whatever he likes, everything being written here following in its proper order.

And this is the "Sword":

1 & 2- TWBR, TSBR, AKN, ṬṬR (*or* ṬṬH), MYṬS, AWLY, AGYDW -ASQYA, DYWQṬS, LSWS, ANTS, SDWPYPLA, SSA, AW AW

3- HW PH AṬA HYPWRQSṬA MWNBGYDYN (*or* MWNBGYDWN).

4- MGNYNYN NṬ NṬLAS DYNYQA DYSWQA GWHYA ṬAQS QWSMWSYH HYDRSA

5- HYDRSQA (*or* HYDRSṬA) ANṬA DYMNA DAYMNA HYNYN ṬLAYN ṬLAWS PAMWṬWS AṬWPRMA

6-HA BŠMHT KWLKWN KNWYYKWN DRBRBYTWN ATWN, WKL ATR LYT, DKWTHWN, AWḤW, ABʿW AYTW LY YT ASSY ASSYH APRGSYH WRWNYQA YRK YRṢ YHṢ YQṢ *WYʿBYD LY KL* ṢBYWNY, YAW YHW HH YH HYH AWZRWS AWZWRWS (? Osiris) SWMRṬA

7-YAW YHW AW LYHW PARY GA AB [R] KSS (Abraxas) LWQY LWQYAS NSSTTYH NKSTA NSSTA YZAWS YWAWS YWAW YZAW YAW YAW YAYY YAYY ADNY ADNY YY YY YY AYY AYY YYAH YYAH

8- QṬTHA (? QṬTRA) QNṬRA QTṬRWS QNṬHS NṬNHWS SMAH QNṬA QNṬAH QNṬAW

9- AWNṬW QWNṬAW QWNṬWW QWNṬZ (? QWNṬW) ŠHZNG HDQWN (*or* HDQNN) PRGZNYH (? PRGWNYH) PRHWQA PRWGNYA

10- HWTMYAS (*or* HWTMYS) TGMYQWS SRGY NṬNYA (*or* NṬNYA) AYHWMY YH AHMY YH SSPSS SNPSS SA ASMYLYS SASYLYS

11- SA MSWLM (*Greco-Egyptian Semsōlam, for Semitic* שמש עלם *, 'eternal sun'*) MSWLM SA ATYRS ATYDS ATYTYY TYTY YAW HWHY SWSBY HWH HWA

YHW SWSBAL SSBAL (*or* SSYBAL) SAHMTW SDMTYH SWTMYH BSWMYH BSWNAY DYSA

12- PSMY RWSA RYMAṬ DYMA SGDRA ATYS NHRA DWR AYSWS QWSṬA QWSAW QWSA

13- PYTWN (*or* SYTWN) QWTRYH APLWAY MPLWAY HY HY AY AY YHW YHW QYDA DWDPS DWGPTTS PYHW RPAH QWRYDAWS QWRWDSAY AYY

14- YQWRY YA QWBY PRWYTW MGSS ABLA NATH TTMSYH QTWMSYH ŠTWT MHYH

15- HYMY HWMY HWH LBANTH YH YH YAYY YAHW AYY AW HW HY LMW ABR TWHWT (? Thoth) ARHM

16 & 17- ŠDY ALHW AYLYHW ALHYM ALWHYM QQWSṬAW QQWTSWṢYH SDWMTYH BLTY ADWNY

18- AHYH YHWH ASYHW HY QRNS HWH SDWS HWH YPHYNYHS (?YPRYNYDS) YHW YHW ATNWS YH YH ANY AL ANY HWA HA HWA ZH HWA AL ALHYM YH QDWŠ

19- RWS MYKAL GBRYAL SHWTNYAL AQDSYAL ṬTWGYAL MṢHWHYAL ŠSRWSṬYAL PHNYDWSṬYAL (? PRNYDWSṬYAL)

20- SŠTWMTYAL YYGD ARS YYSRWTYH

21- YYAZNWYH YYBQTYṬ YYHWSHWSYA YYNTHNYSYH YYDPʿQTM (?YYRPʿQTS) YYHSHDYH YYWWGYH YYMTMṢYH

22- YYHQLTYH YYṬYRHYH YYW PNSNYSYH YYBHWGYH YYLŠŠHQ YYMWTTHYNY YYNWSSYH

23- YYSWSWNYH YYPWPWBYHH YYṢQWWYH

24- YYQRMTYH YYQSQPYH YYŠRHṬGS YYTTYH ZRHWTY ṢBAWT QṢPT ṢBAWT SRGYA ṢBAWT

25- ḤWTMW ṢBAWT PTSG ṢBAWT QŠNṢ ṢBAWT SNYSQR ṢBAWT PRŠNTY ṢBAWT SGṬSYY ṢBAWT

26- GYPRYA ṢBAWT PYPYAH ṢBAWT KYPP ṢBAWT SWNHW ṢBAWT QDŠG ṢBAWT TYMWAS ṢBAWT

27- HYWLHW ṢBAWT HWZQṬAH ṢBAWT ṬWSYAH ṢBAWT RTYB ṢBAWT

28- AMAWS ṢBAWT YYRQWD ṢBAWT PLWAY ṢBAWT ASQṬW ṢBAWT SWLG ṢBAWT PWṬYAH ṢBAWT ARTS ṢBAWT

29- YAWS ṢBAWT ALQSH ṢBAWT YHPS ṢBAWT HWAY ṢBAWT AṬMS ṢBAWT

30- RTBW (*or* RTBN) ṢBAWT AKSWY ṢBAWT SHWHṢ ṢBAWT ASSLQ ṢBAWT YYḤṬAH ṢBAWT

31- SSNWN ṢBAWT MWŠBW ṢBAWT AŠHYHW ṢBAWT ŠHWHS ṢBAWT YBʿTNY ṢBAWT

32- YKṢRṢ ṢBAWT AṬQNṢ ṢBAWT AṬPWR ṢBAWT MWSTM ṢBAWT MYHQNAH ṢBAWT

33- TPSMT ṢBAWT RQRMṢ ṢBAWT SYHDAH ṢBAWT PHŠGYA ṢBAWT

34- YGLWNYA ṢBAWT KYNA ṢBAWT ʿPPNYAH ṢBAWT NYNŠWMYTWN ṢBAWT

35- AHRYBYH (*or* AHRWNYA) ṢBAWT HMWNYAS ṢBAWT AMGPR ṢBAWT ATSṬW ṢBAWT

36- APNGYKYS ṢBAWT PSYSYS ṢBAWT ASTY ASṬW (? ASTW) AṬAṬRQM QWS APRQYS

37- QYSA AṬRYKYS AṬHYPYS (AṬRYPYS) KSA DYMNS DMNSYW YQWB ANṬN ASYA GWPRYA PYNWAH ṢBAWT KYPṬṢB SWḤY ṢBAWT QRŠG ṢBAWT TWMYA ṢBAWT TWMYS

38- ATQSQYDA DWPPSPYRW DPA DRWḤY AZR ADWYH ADWNY YHW ADWN YH

39- ALYHW AKT AKTYMWS MSṬHWH MSGTWTYH (? MSNTWTYH) SGNAW SGN PGDWAY APNṬ AW YAW YH YH

40- ATNWHY (? ATNYHW) NWNY GYAW SAW NYBW ARYZPA ARPAY QRBT AZṬR ASADBT PAWTYH WTW MWRTYAL MWGMR PALYH

41- MYBNAS PAW PGHWH PWHNPY ZHWMY HWH DQṬPS (*or* DQṬPM) HWH QWTNṬA HWH NYHGṬAY HWH

42- TWSY HWH QRBSṬRNY HWH ṬTGAS HWH AṬGPNYS HWH

43- ŠQBS HWH SRNQNAS HWH TPSNRNY HWH QDLWTYA HWH QWSB ŠNYA (*or* ŠGYA) HWH

44- SLGYY HWH YH GWTYWS HWH ʿPRNWHH HWH ASGNWHH (? ʿSGNWHH) HWH BTNWSYY HWH

45- YGṬWS HWH MGʿṢY HWH NHRWTTYA HWH PRMM (? PRMS) HWH

46- QTNQ HWH SLNWTTYAH HWH QRNYNNS HWH ṬLṬWṬS HWH NʿLQWS HWH

47- NTʿLSS HWH MRṢWMY HWH SYGYNYHW QʿQT YH BYH BY AW ṬYH HWH

48- MYBNAS PRWSPYH PYBALW PHDKW PYDA PYPY YWAY AY AZARZA AZDA (AZRA)

49- ASA GRMNY QRYPW ABRW BBRYK PSWYD (*or* PSWYR, PSWYK) YH PYNWD NYDW PWKN PWKPY QW WA HWHA

50- HAHWN (? HADWN) AH HWYH AHHYN AHYN AHWN ADWṢ AGYP ARṬ BYSMY BYTRY BYSMAW BYPRAṬW BNPW BNYHW

51- BATYR BYNYPY BYNWPY BTWR SSGGNYS BR SRNGYA SSGN BR ʿRGGYS (*Senseggenbarpharangēs*), ATWMY BR BTWMY

52- AHSWTY BR QQTHWS AGWPY BR ABQMY

53- APWNY (*or* APWTY) BR APWPYNY (*or* APWPYTY) ADNY ANṬMṬ BR Šʿ QṬS ŠBRWSYA BR PTGNHWS ADAS QZYAS BR ANTŠ

54- ANTŠWRMY QWQTS BR SHWDWSY ABRMMWA BR YHWTNPA ABRMW BR AŠNYHY BR AYLMW

55- ATQNZ (*or* AQTNZ) BR DWḤYHN AḤYLMW BR ADWSAYYA AḤYLMWS BR AHRWPY AHRWSY BR AHNWSY

56- ATWMY BR BATWMY ATMYW BR BATYHWL ABDNHA DSA BR GHWHYHWS

57- PNKYR BR BSNBYS PNBYR BR PSNBYS (*or* PSNBYR) ANTLMW BR GYTṢGS AHSMW BR APRGY

58- BRYYWAYLH BR HGNSYA AWPRNYS BR ŠHNYGYH AHRWNY BR AHPWRY YWQṬYRWN BR BRTYA

59- YWNYAWSS BR TYBRNWS ABNHWQ BR ṬHṬRS SYMNṬL BR AWZRWS

60- YHWAYLWN BR PARGG YWATSA (*or* YWATṬA) BR ABGTYMGYA AQNYNS BR RKSWY LWQWSY BR SMAG

61- ANSTRHWN BR YWAS QNTAWT BR AYHWMGSS SASYH BR AYTWHYHS AYGWSY BR ŠṬRSY HYALTS BR SYSWYY

62- SARMWG BR BYSTNYA DWSYHSY BR DMSṬNSGNY APYSTNY BR DWTAH ṬYSWS BR QWSṬRSWS APLGY BR MPLGYS AYAYTW BR AWTWT

63- QDWSYA BR AQWTNWTRYṢ ABLQṬ BR BATYTA HWMGNS BR HWHSSYA AYGNSS BR HYAGLM ABRSQ (*Abraxas*) BR TTHWSYWAH BR DMHWTTYA

64- ALYHWS BR ŠHSNY QQTRYAS BR KLTYT AHYSYA BR ADWNYTH PRWMS BR ANYHWS ZZHWHSṬYA BR HHYASY

65- NSKYA BR PRTNYA MBATSY BR APWPYA ANPNY BR BSṬY

66- ASDWS BR ASDYTYT APTSYA BR DMGSSYA SPDNWS BR GHWŠṬ

67- YQWTNY BR AKTT DHRWS BR ANTTḤS ADWNYŠA (*'ADON YIŚA*, *i.e. 'the Lord will exalt'*) BR YḤMNYY

68- AQTRS (*or* ATTRS) BR ŠLWMYM MYBNSS BR SHWTTYA (*or* PSHHTTYA)

69- PRSWSY BR PYBL QWSN PGDA BR DGDAT PYDAWS BR PPNYŠY

70- ABNSNS BR ṬṬRWWTNY AWZLAH BR SWTTNWS DWSPTYY BR HYDAS [YYZYL]

71- QYRYWAS NTGLTTY QWSMY HWH BR QSMLYT QSMA BR QLWSDAYY

72- AYLWHŠ BR ALPY SNKS BR PSAWT AʿSGNY BR GDHWSY HWSTQWT BR TLWNTSS

73- ASNWRPY BR ANSPRWSY DYHWMYT BR ŠWTYMT PŠṬNG (*or* PŠṬNT) BR APṬWNG

74- NPṬGNS BR NṬRWSY DWNYQ ASYA BR TSMGYA TTMṢYA BR ŠSNWT ṬWGNWT BR GAMWT SRʿHWTYTN BR ZQNWM

75- SPŠSYA (*or* SPṬSYA) BR AHWSGYA SṬPNAWT BR ṢGPNṬS PRMYTT ṢPNYAY BR RKSWS MTYA

76- GSMS BR GWSMWS PRNSWS AGSS QQTT BR MHRYGY

77- APSWMT BR PRGWS STNWTY BR ŠPTNS TNPSYSY BR SRPSY

78- QHWHYHWṬ BR ABGNYR ʿPQYNW BR TSMTYA SHDWR BR ʿṢMM LWSRG BR GPSNY AHWŠWNY BR AHŠNY ATQS BR SRQWP ʿZMWM BR AṢLYAY

79- ʿZRYQY BR KWRYSWY ŠMʿS BR ŠʿRYAS BʿDAH BR ʿZBZAH

80- NNHYH BR AṬṬAH RGWNY BR ṢQTY ŠRYSY BR THLWSAY ŠYHM BR BRQWS (*or* BRQWṢ)

81- HYTYGAY BR TDʿWM AQŠR BR YHWTYHH KLMWS BR AMWAS

82- BYRQS BR ŠHRWS BṬHWN BR BBʿT ŠYPKN BR PNYS BTWQYN BR AŠRWS

83- TMYMS BR HHLKN AŠRHṢ BR GYTNṢ APNṬY BR PʿLTZ

84- BDRQS (*or* BRDQS) BR LHBN BDRHWSY (? BDRQWSY) BR STMTYA ʿWZTYA BR MLBWQ

85- AHYTY BR TMYTY KYNYHY BR MŠPQWHY BYWʿY BR HWGTYA LPNYAS BR AYDWHS ŠLWŠGSA BR ASRWMYS

86- ŠAYLS BR ŠAYLSYWN MSYNYYH BR MSRHYH YWAWS BR YHWḤŠ HWTŠSQ BR SŠNSHY

87- ASPKL (*or* ASPRL) BR AQTNY SRWHS BR ṬBYHS HSDHG BR ŠHDWDS

88- ʿZMRS (*or* ʿZMRM, ʿZMYYS) BR TTMPAS AHRWTYY BR SGNAWS HWHWS BR AHBSG Šʿ TYA (*or* ŠMTYA) BR ATTRYWY LSWSTTYY BR ASṬRHYY

89- YṢYAWS BR TRWMGSY AKSLS BR SHNWTYA ʿLPNT BR SSQTYN QBLHS BR QTRWTY

90- NASṬG BR RWPNYHWS ŠYRMṬY BR AŠMGY ŠLTTHWN BR SHṬNY YŠQWS BR PNHWS ṬWKYS (*or* ṬWBYS) BR YYHWSYY

91- LHRṬN BR GMWLṬS AHWSGY BR APRYḤS MŠKNZ BR ARḤZ HQLQT BR ŠLQWT

92- DWDYAH BR AŠSWLSY ṢHWMTYY BR KASYY GYLGDAY BR ŠHNWSYA QTYLTYW BR ASDWHY

93- APṬYGWNYA (*or* AṢṬYGWNYA) BR TLWMT HWH NGʿWSY BR APHYNQWY ŠYTMWHH BR MHHSWH LBWTNYAT BR TSNWTTYA RB ŠṢDY BR RB QMWS RB AMRS BR AYNYTHH SGNYHH BR MʿLTYHH

94- YWLYLWYHW AWPDASY WHYH HW HY AY AY AYH AYH AH AH AW AH HYHWN AHYN (? ADWN) AHYN AHY AHYW AHYHWN AHYHY AHYHY

95- APWWN APYWN BR AWSWTY YHHY YWAY HYAH AWLMW LMYA LMYWN ARṬG ARṬAN GYDYH GDYH GDYAL TDW

96- KRYAK (*or* LDYAK, BRYAK) YHWH WHY HWH YAW YAW YWAH YYAH YWAH YWAH TAY YHAY YAW AY YAW AY TAW

97- HYPRW HYPRW AWSRAY SPPYRWN NWPYPYWN MAPYPYWN TYWN

98- GRWMY (*or* GDWTY) YDBTA GHWHHYR ṢGDWS HDDYWMY PLMWMY QSTMY QṬTMY QṢṬMY

99- ŠHRWMY (*or* MHRYWMY) ASMMYY HWSYMY YWAH ATRMY HAH YAṬYSMY SSMWAY AHWH

100- QHTṬY AHWH SDHWMY YHWHY

101- STGMY (*or* ATGMY) HWHY SH ŠMTNY HWH ṬRWMṢH HWHH TTLYWHY

102- AYY AYY YYYA YYA HY AY AH YH YWAY HY SS GNY PRNGY PRYNG AGY (? ANY) MYKAL YAW GBHAL (GBRYAL) AH ʿNYAL YH

103- ASHAL (? ASRAL) YWY ŠRYAL ATAL YWWY ATYAL WWY ALYAL YWHWH ANTYAL YWHWY MLTYAL YYW WH

*104- LWQYYWAL (? LWQYAL) ALTYAL MHNTYAL YWW HYAH ABNYAL AHMNAL YYW WHY YWQYAL MŠQYTAL YH

105- QBṢQYAL AH MSṬGYAL YH MSRHYAL HY HW WH ŠPTYAL ʿA HPYSYAL ʿH HGṬWTYAL (HGMWTYAL) ʿA HTMQYAL ʿAʿH

106- GTHWTYAL ʿWWA SGNYAL ʿWA ʿSTNYAL ʿPYH ŠPṢYAL ʿWPYH

107- ZDWQZNYAL ʿPPYH DYNYHAL ʿṢṢYH MBZHYAL ʿṢQHYH BŠGTNYAL ʿTRYH GWLHWHYAL ʿQTRYH YWBṬṬNYAL ʿṢŠYH

108- BTQŠNYAL (*or* BTQNŠYAL, BTQSNYAL) ʿṢSYH BSPYPAL NYTQNAL ʿṢNYH HSTYAL ʿṢMYH NYQWṢYAL NʿLṢYH

109 and 110- TŠHWHYAL ʿṢBYH BSPPYPYAL ʿSYYH ARʿʿQAL ʿṢṬYH HKSNYAL ʿṢZYH ŠWRSYAL ʿṢWYH

111- KLLYS STNYAL ʿṢHWH NWTYTHYAL ʿṢDYH NDRWHYAL ʿṢGYH BDYZWHYAL ʿṢBYH SSṬRYAL ʿṢAYH HDMYAL AHWH

112- KTRYHYAL AHWH ŠBQTNYAYAL AHWH NZRWHYAYAL AHWH HMWNYAYAL AHWH AHYHYAL AHWH

113- HDSWMMAYAL AHWH HDSWGRYRZYAL AHWH HDGSWMAYAL AHWH ANTNAYAL AHWH LHYAYAL AHWH QTGSHYAL AHWH QTWHGAYAL AHWH

114- SMQTYAL AHWH ŠGTSAYAL (ŠNTSAYAL) AHWH ʿGTYAL AHWH SHGYAL AHWH ŠRQTYAL AHWH

115- QMGNYAL (*or* HMGGYAL) AHWH ŠNYQṢYAL AHWH ŠLŠNYAL AHWH KRŠṬGYAL AHWH ŠLASYAL AHWH

116- MŠQWPYAL (*or* MŠQWNYAL) AHWH HWPYHYAL AHWH QQMYAL AHWH ANSYTYAL AHWH ḤSNYTYAL AHWH MNHWSSYAL AHWH

117- QNYAWSYAL AHWH ŠPṢSYAL AHWH YWTMSYAL AHWH NTNṢYAL AHWH

118 and 119- KKLHWYAL AHWH HYLBWAYAL AHWH QSNYAL AHWH HNSPWAYAL AHWH NSMSYAL AHWH SʿSSGNYAL AHWH

120- QDŠYGYAL AHWH KZHWAYAL AHWH ŠLAṬYAL AHWH LHPSYAL AHWH

121- PYZQYHYAL AHWH MYTNHYAL AHWH QSWTGYAL AHWH ŠMTYAHYAL AHWH

122 to 124- QRSRNHYAL YHWHH MRWSHYAL YHWHH HYWSQHYAL YHWHH ŠYLHYASHYAL YHWHH

125- HBQŠPHYAL YHWHH ʿSRGHYAL YHWHH HṢʿSNHYAL YHWHH MWDDNHYAL YHWHH

126- SʿSTŠHYAL YHWH SGSWGHYAL YHWHH ŠŠMSRYHYAL YHWH

127- ʿGPTNSHYAL YHWH LʿNQTYAL YHWHH ŠBHTWHYAL (*or* ŠBHTWHYAL) HLKATŠHYAL ŠMSRHYAL DBSHHNYAL YHWHH ŠRHBQHYAL YHWH ZʿPWSYAL YHWH ŠYRZTHYAL YHWH YRWTHYAL

YHWHH ZMNATHYAL YHWH PSPHHŠHYAL YHWH BRNSQHYAL YHWHH HMQṬYHWAL HWYH AŠNHWAL (*or* AŠṬNHWAL) HWYH

128- QNYNSHWAL HWYH AŠTNSWAL (*or* AŠTGHAL) HWYH ASSPMHWAL HWYH MTMTNHWAL HWYH

129- ABYRYHWAL HWYH ZRṬHWAL HWYH BZLPPHWAL HWYH SQMQNHWAL (? SQSQNHWAL) HWYH

130- AŠMSNHWAL HWYH QPLZNHWAL HWYH QSGHNHWAL HWYH

131- MRGHMHWAL HWYH MRGʿŠSHWAL HWYH ṬYṬSHWAL HWYH

132- YAWYHW

133- AṬṬHSHWAL HWYH ZPTRSHWAL HWYH LBYNYPSHWAL HWYH ʿGHNHWAL HWYH

134- MPSGRHWAL (*or* MPGSRHWAL, MPSGDHWAL) HWYH

135- TWBR TSBR (*etc…; nºs 1-5*)

136- *It consists of the following conjuration:*

"Ye sacred angels, princes of the hosts of HWHY YHW, who stand upon the thrones prepared for them before Him to watch over and to minister to the 'Sword,' to fulfill by it all the wants by the name of the Master over all; you Chiefs of all the angels in the world, ALY ALY MQRNS, in the name of God the seal of heaven and earth, ministers of HWH AH WHYH HH the most high God; through you I see QLWTMY MQRAS ʿṢPWHYY ŠŠNWHYY in the world; you are lording over me in all the place of the Master over all: I pray of you to do everything that I am asking of you, as you have the power to do everything in heaven and upon the earth in the name of YHW YHWH AHW YHWH YWHY YHW YHW HWY YWHYH AHYH YWHW AWHH HWH YHW(*and many other permutations of h-w-y*) AL AL YHW, as it is written in the Law, 'I am YHWH , this is My Name!'"

III

1. If at full moon (?) a man wishes to unite a woman with a man that they should be as one to one another, to destroy winds (spirits), demons, and satans, and to stop a ship, and

to free a man from prison, and for every other thing, write on a red bowl from TWBR, TSBR, etc. (No. 1). -- 2. To break mountains and hills, to pass dry shod through the water, to enter the fire, to appoint and to depose kings, to blind the eyes, to stop the mouth, and to speak to the dead, and to kill the living, to bring down and to send up and to conjure angels to hearken unto thee, and to see all the mysteries of the world, write Nos. 1 and 2 upon the saucer of a cup and put in it the root of genip-tree (*genipa*). -- 3. Against a spirit that moves in the body write on a plate No. 3. -- 4. Against a spirit that burns write No. 4. -- 5. Against a spirit in the whole body write No. 5. -- 6. Against a demon (*šidda*) write No. 6. -- 7. Against shingles write No. 7. -- 8. Against quinsy (erysipelas?) say the words of No. 8 over oil of roses and put it over his face. -- 9. For pains in the ear, whisper in the painful ear No. 9. -- 10. For aches in the eye say the words No. 10 over water three days running in the morning, and wash the eye with it. -- 11. For cataract say the words of No. 11 over oil of sesame, and anoint the eye with it during seven mornings. -- 12. For grit in the eye say over Kohl No. 12, and fill the eye with it for three mornings. -- 13. For blood that runs from the head whisper No. 13 over the head early in the morning for three days, when you wash your hands before getting out of bed. -- 14. For paralysis say seven times over a vessel full of water and seven times over sesame-oil the words No. 14, "that it should move away and leave NN, Amen, Amen, Selah"; and throw the pail of water over his head and anoint him with the oil, and do this for three days; then write an amulet with the words from, "I conjure you " till "Amen, Selah," and hang it round his neck. -- 15. For pains in one half of the head (neuralgia?) and for bad singing in the ear, write No. 15 and hang it round the neck. -- 16. For the bad deafening (of the ear) write No. 16 and hang it round the neck. -- 17. For pains in the ear say into the left ear the words No. 17 backwards. -- 18. For deafness say over hemp water, whilst mixing it with oil of "YDY" (sesame?), the words of No. 18, and put it into his ear as soon as it has become a little dissolved (or warm). -- 19. For scabs, ulcers, itches, mange, shingles, etc., that befall mankind, say over olive oil No. 19 and anoint with the left hand. -- 20. For jaundice say the words No. 20 over water in which radish has been soaked, and let him drink it. -- 21. For pains in the nose and for the spirit in the nose say No. 21 over oil of "YDY" (sesame?) and put it into his nostrils. -- 22. For pains in the stomach (*lit*. heart) and in the bowels say No. 22 over water, and drink it. -- 23. For hot fever say No. 23 over water in which rose-laurels are soaked, and he is to bathe in it. -- 24. For tumors, etc., say No. 24 once over them and once over olive oil, and anoint them for three days, but do not let any water come near them -- 25. For an evil occurrence (?) say No. 25 over seven white cups of water, filled from the river, and throw them over the head. -- 26. For ulcer (diphtheria?) spit out before him, and say over his mouth, and over a cup of strong drink, No. 26, and make him drink, and watch what is coming out of his mouth. -- 27. For a man bitten by a snake or by another (!) poisonous insect, he must say over the place of the bite or over the painful spot No. 27 and drink it; the same he is to do whenever hurt by any creeping thing. -- 28. For a woman who has seen blood before the time, say No. 28 over an ostrich egg, then burn it, and smoke her with it. -- 29. For pains in the mouth say No. 29 over risen flour, and put it upon his mouth. -- 30. For quinsy (croup) and for pains in the shoulder, say No. 30 over wine and drink. -- 31. For a painful nerve write No. 31 on a scroll and speak these words over olive oil, and rub some of it on the scroll and smear it over the painful spot and hang the amulet round his neck. -- 32. For stone my over a cup of wine No. 32, and drink it. -- 33. For hemorrhoids take tow

and put salt on it and mix it with oil, saying over it No. 33, and sit on it. -- 34. For a man who suffers from swelling and from venereal disease (?), he is to say No. 34 over water in which radishes are soaked, and drink it. -- 35. For sprains, either you take a plate and write upon it No. 35 and put it upon the place, and all around it will be healed; or you take a ball of wool and dip it in oil of (sesame?), and say those words upon it and put it upon the sprain. -- 36. When injured or hurt by iron, and for every blow that it should not fester, say No. 36 over white naphtha and rub it over the place of the blow. -- 37. For (cramps?) and for pains of heart say over spinach and oil No. 37, and drink it. -- 38. For the gall and the bowels take the water in which raisins have been soaked, saying over it No. 38, and drink it. -- 39. For the spoiled liver take (a drink) a sixth measure of water-lentils and say No. 39, and swallow it slowly (?). -- 40. For the milt say No. 40 over wine-lees and drink it, and repeat it for three days. -- 41. For the spirit who rests on the womb, say No. 41 on camphor oil and put it on it with a ball of wool. -- 42. For a woman who has a miscarriage, say No. 42 on a cup of wine, or strong drink, or water, and let her drink it for seven days; and even if she should see blood and she repeats it over a cup of wine, the child will live. -- 43. For a man who is bald, say No. 43 over nut-oil and anoint with it. -- 44. To conjure a spirit write on a laurel-leaf: "I conjure thee, prince whose name is Abraksas (ABRKSS), in the name of (No. 44) that thou comest to me and revealest to me all that I ask of thee, and thou shalt not tarry." And the one bound by thee will come down and reveal himself to thee. -- 45. To remove a rich man from his riches, say No. 45 upon the dust of an ant-hill and throw it into his face. -- 46. To heal leprosy, take the patient to the side of the river and say to him: "I conjure thee, leprosy, in the name of (No. 46) to disappear and to vanish, and to pass away from NN. Amen, Amen, Selah"; and he is to go down and dip seven times in the river, and when he comes out write an amulet with the words "I conjure -- Selah," and hang it round his neck. -- 47. For diarrhea write No. 47 on a red copper plate and hang it round his neck. -- 48. If thou wishest that the rain should not fall upon thy garden, write out No. 48. -- 49. If thou wishest to see the sun (!) take *akn dby nbra ddylqa dykra* (?) from a male tree and stand in front of the sun and say ‘ AKN which art called AṬRWPYNWN… on the . . called . . . and the ears of barley (?) the words of No. 49; [*There is something probably missing here.*] and he will appear unto thee in the form of a man dressed in white and he will answer thee upon everything that thou askest him, and he will even bring a woman after thee. -- 50. Whosoever wishes to enter a furnace is to write No. 50 on a silver plate and hang it upon his haunch. -- 51. If thou seest a king or a ruler and thou wishest that he follow thee, take a basin of water and put into it the root of genip-tree, and the root of purslane, and the root of (*Artilokhia*), and say No. 51, and place it on fiery coals in a white earthen vessel and throw upon them leaves of olive-tree, and whatever thou decreest he will bring unto thee, even a woman thou canst command. -- 52. If you wish to overawe them, take water from the fountain and say upon it No. 52 and throw it into their faces. -- 53. For loosening (any charm) say over water No. 53 and throw it over him and write it as an amulet and hang it round his neck, and also for freeing a man from prison. -- 54. To catch fish, take a white potsherd, and putting into it leaves of olive-tree say over them No. 54 at the side of the river. -- 55. If thou wishest a woman to follow thee, take thy blood and write her name upon a newly-laid egg and say towards her No. 55.--56. If a man is to follow thee, take a new potsherd and dip it in black myrrh (gall) and pronounce over his name the words of No. 56, and walk on without looking backwards. -- 57. For a

tree that does not produce fruits, write the words No. 57 upon a new potsherd and bury it under the root of the fruitless tree, and water all the trees and these also which do not produce the fruit. -- 58. For illness (dog) in the fruit write on a new potsherd No. 58 and bury it in the cistern (watering-place), and say these words also over water, ashes, and salt, and water the earth with it. -- 59. For a suckling babe write on an onyx slab No. 59 and whisper it into its ears three times, spitting out after the whispering; then repeat them over a cupful of water 70 times and give it the child to drink. -- 60. For one bitten by a rabid dog, write No. 60 on the halter of an ass and let the ass go; then repeat these words over sesame oil and let him anoint himself with it and put on new clothes and hang that halter (?) round him. -- 61. For fever and small fever, write on the skin of the brains of a ram or a goat No. 61, and hang it round his neck. -- 62. If anyone lose his way he is to say No. 62 over the four corners of his belt (?). -- 63. If thou wishest to ask anything of thy neighbour, say No. 63 over oil of sesame or of . . . or of . . . -- 64. If thou wishest that a woman is to follow thee write thy name and her name with thy blood upon her door, and the same upon thy door, and repeat the words of No. 64.-65. If thou wishest to know whether thy journey will be lucky, take a field lettuce with open leaves, and standing before the sun say the words of No. 65 and watch the lettuce: if the leaves close and shut, then do not go; but if they remain in their natural state, proceed, and thou wilt prosper. -- 66. If thou wishest to deliver a man from prison (?) say No. 66 once to him, and once to the sun, and once to the prison (?) house. -- 67. To conquer (collect?), take dust from thy house and say over it seven times in the road of the town the words of No. 67, and then take dust from the road and do likewise and throw it into thy house. -- 68. If you wish to kill a man, take mud from the two sides of the river and form it into the shape of a figure, and write upon it the name of the person, and take seven branches from seven strong palm-trees and make a bow from reed (?) with the string of horse-sinew, and place the image in a hollow, and stretch the bow and shoot with it, and at each branch (shot) say the words of No. 68; and ‘may NN be destroyed’ -- 69. To send plagues, take (parings?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd, and go out to the cemetery and say there No. 69, and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses, and afterwards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house. -- 70. To send dreams to your neighbours, write No. 70 upon a plate of silver and place it in the mouth (?) of a cock and kill it when it has gone down its mouth, and take it out from the mouth and put it between its legs and bury it at the end of a wall, and put thy foot upon that spot and say thus: "In the name of YYZYL, a swift messenger is to go and torment NN in his dreams until he will fulfill my wish." -- 71. If a snake follows thee say No. 71, and it will dry up. -- 72. To stop a boat in the sea, say No. 72 over a potsherd or on a rounded flint stone and throw it against it into the sea. -- 73. To loosen it (from the charm), say No. 73 over dust or a clod of earth and throw it into the water, and as this dissolves the boat gets free to go. -- 74. If thou wishest to prevent an oven or furnace or pot from becoming destroyed (unclean?), say No. 74 over dust and throw it over them. -- 75. If thou wishest them to be hot, spit in front of them and say No. 75, and they will boil. -- 76. If thou wishest to pass dry shod through the sea, say upon the four corners of thy head-dress (turban) No. 76, and take one corner in thy hand and the other is (?) to precede thee. -- 77. If thou wishest to curse anyone, say in the 'Eighteen benedictions' ASQWHHY YGWPṬ, in the name of No. 77. -- 78. To speak with the dead, whisper No. 78 into his left ear and throw into their holes (?). -- 79. To kill a lion, bear, an adder, or

any other hurtful animal, take the dust from under the right foot, say over it No. 79, and throw it into their faces. -- 80. To catch them, take the dust from under your left foot, saying No. 80, and throw it into their faces. -- 81. To open a door, take the root of lotus reed and place it under the tongue and say No. 81 against the door. -- 82. To kill an ox or another beast, say into its ear No. 82-83. To inflame his heart, say No. 83 over a piece of raw meat, and give it to him to eat. -- 84. To make a fool of one, say No. 84 over an egg and place it in his hands. -- 85. To destroy the house of thy neighbour, say No. 85 over a new potsherd and throw it into his house. -- 86. To expose (?) your neighbour, say No. 86 over oil of 'YDY' and smear it at the bottom of his jug (?). -- 87. To make your neighbour disliked, take blood from phlebotomy, say upon it No. 87, and throw it upon his lintel. -- 88. To make a woman have a miscarriage, say No. 88 over a cup of water and throw it over her lintel. -- 89. To make a man ill, say No. 89 over olive oil and let him anoint himself with it. -- 90. To know whether a man a sick person will die or live, say before him No. 90: if he turns his face towards you he will live; if away, he will die. -- 91. To catch a lion by the ear, say No. 91 and make seven knots in the fringes of thy girdle and repeat these words with each knot, and you will catch him. -- 92. To make thy renown go throughout the world, write No. 92 as an amulet and bury it in thy house. -- 93. To shorten the way, say No. 93 over a single lotus reed. -- 94. To cure hemorrhoids, take kernels of dates . . . and burn them in fire and say No. 94, and mix it with oil of olives and place it as an amulet over it, and it will be good. -- 95. For every spirit write upon a bowl No. 95 and hang it round the neck. -- 96. For subtle poison, as cumin-seed and calamint, write No. 96 upon an egg and put it into wine, and repeat over it the same words and then drink it. -- 97. For the thunder that comes from heaven, take a ring (round piece) of iron and lead, and hang it on the spot you wish (to protect), and say over it No. 97. --98. To go before king or lord, say No. 98 over a piece of lion's skin dipped in black hemp (?) and pure wine, and take it with thee. -- 99. For blight, if it happen, take a sinew and soak it in turnip-juice in the night from Wednesday to Thursday, and say No. 99 over it; on the morrow sprinkle that water over the field. -- 100. If the fruit gets worm-eaten, take a worm from the mud and put it into a tube and say No. 100 over it; then close the tube and bury it in that place. -- 101. To free a man from prison (? shame), say over the grounds of Kappa (?) and unripe dates No. 101, and give it to him to eat. -- 102. For a field that does not produce fruits, take eight cups from eight houses and fill them with water from eight rivers, and put salt into them from eight houses, and say over them No. 102 eight times, and pour out two cups at each corner, and break them on eight paths. -- 103. If one does not know what a man is ailing from, soak mullein (*verbascum*) in water, and say over it No. 103, and let him drink it when he is thirsty. -- 104. To make war, take the dust from under the left foot, say over it No. 104, and throw it into the (enemies') face, and there will appear knights with weapons in their hands who will fight for thee. -- 105. To throw thy fear upon mankind, write No. 105 upon a leaden plate and bury it on the west side of a synagogue. -- 106. To have always light in the darkness, write No. 106 upon papyrus and carry it always with thee. -- 107. To catch (blind) the eye, write No. 107 upon a scroll and expose it in a wicker-basket to the stars, but you must not speak when writing. -- 108. To send a sword which should fight for thee, say No. 108 over a new knife wholly of iron, and throw it into their face. -- 109. If thou wishest that they kill one another, say No. 109 over a new knife wholly of iron and bury it with your heel into the earth, and keep the heel upon it in the earth, and they will kill one another, until you

take it out from the earth. -- 110. To make them pause, take the dust from under the right foot, and, saying the same word again backwards, throw it into their face, and they will stop. -- 111. If an enemy has got hold of thee and wishes to kill thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 111, and he will run away from thee like one who runs away from his murderer. -- 112. To catch the eye (blind), say No. 112 over the skin of a lion and carry it with thee, and no one will be able to see thee. -- 113. If thou fallest into a *yṭra* (?) and wishest to come out, say No. 113, and thou wilt come out in peace. -- 114. If thou fallest into a deep pit, say in thy fall No. 114, and nothing will hurt thee. -- 115. When thou fallest into a deep river say No. 115, and thou wilt come out in peace. -- 116. If any burden or weight falls upon thee, say No. 116, and thou wilt be saved. -- 117. If the king's servants lay hold on thee, bend the little finger of the left hand and say No. 117 before king or judge, and he will kill these people who have laid hands on thee. -- 118. If a host has surrounded thee, turn thy face towards the west and say No. 118 before king or judge, and they will be like unto stones and will not move. -- 119. If thou wishest to release them, turn thy face towards the east and repeat these words backwards. -- 120. If thou walkest in vales or on the mountains and hast no water to drink, lift thine eyes to Heaven and say No. 120, and a fountain of water will he opened unto thee. -- 121. If thou hungerest, lift thine eyes to Heaven and spread out thine arms and say No. 121, and a spirit will stand before thee and bring thee bread and meat. -- 122. If thou wishest to call the angel (prince) of man, say over thy mantle (?) No. 122, and the angel bound by thee will come to thee and will tell thee whatever thou wishest (to know). -- 123. If thou wishest to let him go (depart), say before him the same words backward, and he will depart. -- 124. If thou wishest that any heavenly prince is to come to thee and teach thee, say No. 124 and conjure him in the third hour of the night from: "in the name of the Lord over the holy ones (No. 136) to the and of the 'Sword,'" and "Send him to me that he reveal unto me and teach me all that is in his power," and he will then appear. -- 125. To walk upon the water without wetting the feet, take a leaden plate and write upon it No. 125 and place it in thy girdle, and then you can walk. -- 126. To become wise, remember for three months running, from the new moon of Nissan onwards, the words of No. 126, and add in the 'Eighteen benedictions': "May the gates of wisdom be opened to me so that I should meditate in them." -- 127. To remember immediately all thou learnest, write on a new-laid egg No. 127, then wash it off with strong wine early in the morning and drink it, and do not eat anything for three hours. -- 128. To make another forget what he has learned, write No. 128 in his name on laurel-leaves and bury them under his lintel. -- 129. To send an evil spirit against thy neighbour, take a green grasshopper and say over it No. 129, and bury it in an earth-hill and jump over it. -- 130. To send a plague, take the bone of a dead man and dust from under him in a pot and tie it up in a woven rag with saliva, and say upon it No. 130 in his name, and bury it in the cemetery. -- 131. To tie and to fasten thieves and robbers, say No. 131, and while saying it put your little finger in the ear. -- 132. To release them, say No. 132, and take thy finger out of the ear. -- 133. To guard thy house from thieves, say No. 133 over a cup of water and pour it out round thy roof. Thus also to guard a house. -- 134. To guard a house from hosts (robbers), take earth from an ant-hill and strew it round the roof, repeating the words of No. 134.-135. To guard thyself from Maziqīm (evil spirits), say: "In the name of 'Nos. 1-5' may I, NN, pass in peace and not in hurt." The same must be done to excommunicate them when you

meet them. -- 136. For every other thing that has not been mentioned say, No. 136 to the end of the "Sword."

 nd upon every amulet that you write from this "Sword" write first: "In the name of the Lord of all the holy ones, may this 'Sword' be effectual to do my services, and may the lord of it approach to serve me, and may all these powers be delivered over to me so that I be able to use them, as they were delivered to Moses, the son of Amram, perfect from his God and no harm befalling him!" If he will not act accordingly the angels of wrath, ire, fury, and rage will come near him to minister to him, and they will lord over him, and strangle him, and plague him all over. And these are the names of their leaders: the leader of the angels of wrath is MZPWPYASAYAL (? MWPWPYASAYAL); the name of the leader of the angels of ire is ṢQṢWRWMTYAL; the name of the leader of the angels of fury is QSWʿPPGHYAL; the name of the leader of the angels of rage is NʿMWSNYQTTYAL. And the angels that stand under them are numberless, and these all will have power over him, and will make his body like unto a dunghill.

May the Lord preserve you from every evil. Amen!

End of the "Sword," with the assistance of God feared in the council of the holy ones. End, end.

APPENDIX I.

In the name of the Lord.
The Sword of Moses.

(*the following list of magical names has been corrected*)

I. MLKYAL AMPRAL TYGRH DNYAL BWAL KLMYH ASYMWR PSKR ASṬRYN PTWAL ʿBDYAL AŠPR TGRYAL HRYAL ZRNYAL NWRYH PḤSYH MLKYH QYQANA LAYSNWGY AYSADQWPA YAWN ASPA PAPDA ARYNA SṬRPAL TRGYAL LNYNYAL QMPAL SGRḤY AṬYAL ṬNAL BASA ABRBA ANYAS SRYDYAS SASYLW BRSYAH ABNBA AHRYAL APYRYB ARSTWN RYGAL BLYTWAL TḤYSYAP PTTA BAL RYSAL ASRYA MAPSY KLMYAT ANTḤR APṬYAL ASBNḤR ASṬḤR ABAR AWRYH ALYAL ANṬYNYR NQRSAL SYḤAL ṬḤNDYAL ABRYR HRYNN AYRBA AZHAL. And the angel over the animals, whose name is AYTTALAYNMA; and the angel over the wild beasts, MTNYAL; and the angel

over the wild fowls and over the creeping things, TRGYAWB; and the angel over the deep waters and over the mountains, RAMPAL; and the angel over the trees, MAKTYAL; and the angel over the sweet-smelling herbs, ARYAS; and the angel over the garden fruit, (vegetables), SPYAL; and the angel over the rivers, TRSYAL; and the angel over the winds, MBRYAL; and over man, [*a corrupt Hebrew passage*]… Moses. Hours are proper for man to pray and to ask for mercy upon man, be it for good or evil; and it is said that every hour is proper for man to pray, but during the three first hours in the morning man is to pray and to mention the hundred sacred names and the mighty ones, whose sum amounts to three hundred and four. Amen. Selah!

QN QNYN BA AYKSNDRWS TMA PṬA DRYMYQL ABA NYMA APSṬAQYWN NWRSWN AMRSYW GBRYAYWLY KSWBYYA ṬYGLA AYSWRA AYNMṬA TW PRQA AYRY MNA QYN QN give me healing.

Which is the great light? All the……; I conjure you, mother of the (whether?) male and mother of the (or?) female, you, the "Twins," I conjure you, the hard (strong) spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, the living one [Mika'el], in the name of God [Gabri'el Uri'el], . . Rafa'el (save) me from the Lions, the powerful ones, and the Twins. I conjure you, strong spirits, in the name of God, the mighty hero, YH, YHWH, YHWH, I, N, son of N.

II.

Verily, this is the "Sword of Moses" with which he accomplished his miracles and mighty deeds, and destroyed all kind of witchcraft; it had been revealed to Moses in the bush, when the great and glorious Name was delivered to him. Take care of it and it will take care of thee. If thou approachest fire, it will not burn thee, and it will preserve thee from every evil in the world. -- 1. If thou wishest to try it take a thick (green) branch and utter this "Sword" over it five times at sunrise and it will dry up. -- 2. To catch fish, take sand from the sea and the root of the date (tree) (or the kernel of the date) repeat this "Sword" over them, and the fish will come to the spot where thou throwest the sand. -- 3. To walk on the waters of the sea take the wooden helve of an axe, bore a hole through it, pass a red thread through it, and tie it on to thy heel, then repeat the words of the "Sword," and then you may go in and out in peace. -- 4. To run quickly (?), write the "Sword" on "Kharṭis hieraṭiqon," (papyrus) then put water into a new earthenware pot, and let them drink it and wash their faces, and they will be victorious! -- 5. To break it (?), write the "Sword" on a plate of copper (*qprynwn*) and put it in a '*qmṭwn*' (?) and they will be broken. -- 6. To subdue a woman, write with the blood of thy hand her name upon thy gate, and write her name upon a scroll of leather of a hart with the blood of thy finger, and say this "Sword," and she will come to thee. -- 7. To make thyself praised in the community, take in thy left hand porret-seed and utter over it the "Sword," and throw it between them, [*there is something probably missing here*.] and descend (?) until the sun sets, and he will carry thee wherever thou wishest, and fast for three days, and burn incense and the smoke of white flower, and repeat the "Sword" in the morning and the evening, and he will come instantly and speak to thee and do thy bidding. -- 8. To get information through a dream, take balm and write upon "Kharṭis

hieraṭiqon," and repeat the "Sword" in front of a light, and put out the light with a stick of olivewood, and lie down. -- 9. If thou wishest to go to a great man, take rose-oil, repeat the “Sword” over the oil, and anoint thy hands and face with it, and he will hearken unto thee. -- 10. To make strife in the community, take the left hand full of mustard, speak the "Sword" over it, and throw it amongst them, and they will kill one another. -- 11. To separate a man from his wife, take ass's meat in thy hand and say over it the Sword and no harm will befall thee (?). -- 12. To destroy thy enemy, take a leaden plate and some of his hair and clothes; say the "Sword" over them, and bury them in a deserted house, and he will fall down. -- 13. To walk in the street and not to be recognized by anyone, take wormwood, perfumes, and soot, and smoke thyself with it, and take the heart of a fox, and say the "Sword," and go out in the street. -- 14. If you are on the sea and the storm rages, stand up against the waves and say the "Sword" to them, and they will go down; then write on a plate, or potsherd, or a piece of wood, and hang it in front of the ship, and it will not founder. -- 15. To break an enemy, write the "Sword" upon a potsherd that has not yet been burned, and plaster it over, and throw it into his house. -- 16. To obtain anything thou likest, take into thy right hand wormwood, and say over it the "Sword" facing the sun, and everything will be fulfilled, and purify thyself for seven days, and thou wilt prosper in everything. Do kind deeds to thy friends, take heed not to take an oath, and walk modestly, and thus thou wilt prosper.

Write Šʿ QṢ QMṬRN AWḤRN AYPT NWPYR NQYPWS SGBWNY KTM KY BTY TYMN ABYṢ upon the palm of thy left hand, take then a new lamp and fill it with olive-oil and naphtha, and put on new clean clothes, and sleep in a clean house, and the angel will come at once and wake thee, and reveal unto thee everything that thou wishest.

III.

Rabbi Aqiba asked R. Eliezer the great: “How can one make the Angel of the Presence descend upon earth to reveal to humanity the mysteries from above and beneath, and the speculations of the foundations of heavenly and earthly things, and the treasures of wisdom, cunning, and help?” He said thereupon to me: "My son! I once made him come down, and he nearly destroyed the whole world, for he is a mighty prince and greater than any in the heavenly cohort, and he ministers continually before the King of the Universe, with purity and separation, and with fear and dread of the glory of his Master, because the Shekinah is always with him." And he said to him: "My master, by the glory which thou hast bestowed upon me, I conjure thee to instruct me how to attach him to me." (And he replied) : "In that hour when I wish to attach him to me and to employ him, I sit and fast on that very day ; but prior to it one must keep oneself free for seven days from any nocturnal impurity, and must bathe in the fountain of water, and not speak at all during those seven days, and at the end of this purification, on the day of the fast, he must sit in the water up to his throat, and before he utters the conjuration he must first say:

‘I conjure you, angels of dread, fear, and shaking, who are appointed to hurt those who are not pure and clean and desire the services of the servants of the Most High-- I conjure

you in the name of QWNT (*Qūnat* or QTT) YH HYH SNNQQRWMT (*Senanqaqarūmat*) HWYH YH PPNNH (*Papnunāh*) YHWH YH AQNS (ʾ*Aqnas*; also ʾ*Anqas*) YHWH, who is mighty over all, and rules over all, and everything is in His hands, that you do not hurt me, nor terrify me, nor frighten me; verily, in the name of the powerful, the revealer of the mysteries.' After this he may commence his conjuration, for now he has fortified himself and has sealed himself with the name of God of 42 letters, before which all who hear it tremble and are frightened, and the heavenly hosts are terror-struck. He must then again conjure, and say:

'ADR NHW HY ZZ PṢṢ YH (*'Adarnehū Hēyzaz Patzatzyah*), chief, who of all the destroying angels is the most hurtful and burning, with this Name and in this way I call thee AWZHYA (*'Uz-hiya*), Angel of the Presence, youthful minister before the King of the Universe, who art a prince and chief of the heavenly hosts; I conjure thee and decree upon thee that thou attachest thyself to me to fulfill my wish and to accept the decree of my conjuration and to accomplish my desires and fulfill my wishes, and do not frighten me, nor terrify me, nor overawe me, and do not make my frame shake and my feet vacillate, nor cause my speech to be perverted; but may I be fortified and strengthened, and may the conjuration be effective and the (sacred) Name uttered properly by my throat, and may no vacillation take hold of me and no trembling of the feet by thy ministering angels confuse me and overawe me, and weaken my hands, and may I not be overcome by the fire and flame of the storm and whirlwind which precedes thee, O wonderful and exalted one, whose Ineffable name is MHY GGDY (*Gagadi*) HYH ʿTRG (ʿ*Atrag*) HWZYH (*Huzyah*) MMSYGG (*Mamsigag*) HY HY ŠṢMS (*Šatzmas*; also *Šamtzam*) HY HW HYH , of whose wrath the earth trembles, and nothing can withstand his anger, twice blessed. Again I conjure thee by thy 14 (!) names by which thou didst reveal thyself to thy prophets and seers, to place in their mouths sweet words of prophecy and to utter pleasant words; and these are the Ineffable names and their surnames (*kynwy*): Spirit PYSQWNYT, *kynwy*, QSSNGYHW (*Qesasnagyahu*) HYH; AṬYMWN, *kynwy*, ŠṢMS HYHW (or ṢṢMSNYHWN); PYSQWN , *kynwy* QLWT HY WHW, HWGRWN, *kynwy*, MṢHWS (*Matzihōs*); SNYGRWN, *kynwy*, TṢNYG NHWSS YWHY; MŠY, *kynwy*, SQNTH YHWHYH; MWQWN (*Mūqōn*), *kynwy*, BTMLT PNGY (*Batmelat Pangi*) HYH; ASṬS (ʾ*Asṭas*), *kynwy*, AṬMMNYK (*'Aṭmamnik*) HWH HYH; SQṬS, *kynwy*, QHR (*Qihar*) ZYRWSS HYH; YHWAYAL, *kynwy*, SRD HWDYSSY (*Serad Hōdisesi*) HWH; YWPYAL, *kynwy*, QMHW ZZWH (*Qamhū Zazwah*) YHWY YHW HYH; SSNYGYAL (*Sasnigiʾēl*) YH, *kynwy*, SQMNHH (*Saqmanhah*) YH YHYH; QNNYAL YH (*or* QNGYAL YH), *kynwy*, ṢṢMKT ŠYYHW (*Tzatzmakat Šiyahu*) YH WYHWH; ZBDYAL, *kynwy*, ANṢṢNYTT (or ANṢṢMTT) YWH YHWH. I conjure thee with these fourteen names, by which all the secrets, mysteries, and signs are sealed and accomplished, and which are the foundations of heaven and earth. Four of these are engraved upon the heads of the Ḥayoth (Holy Creatures), namely – HWGNŠT GNHW ṢṢNNYSYH (*Huganšat Ganhu Tzatznenisyah*), the lord of powers; ZHWBD HWG QSYSH (*Zehubad Hūg Qesisah*), master of miracles; TṢMṢ ŠŠ NHY (*Tatzmatz Šaš Nehī*) HH, master of purity; and QTNT ṢMH GBR GDRYH (*Qatnat Tzemah Gebar Gedaryah*) master of the Universe. And four are engraved upon the four sides of the Throne, namely: NHYPRD NHWDYN HWH (*Nehiprad Nehudin Hawā*) three times holy; PSG PGʿ ŠQMH (*Pesag Pegaʿ Šaqmah*) YH ADYR ADYRY ADYRWN PSBR

(*Pasbar*) ṬYL AWZYH (or AMZYH, *ʾUmziyah*) AL ALHY HALHYM ATBN ʿTQR (*ʾAtban ʿAtqar*) PNGYH (*Penagyāh*; also PNKYH), the king of kings. And four are engraved upon the four crowns of the ʾOfanim (wheels) that stand against the Holy Creatures, as it is said: "When those went, these went; and when those stood, these stood" (Ezek. I, 21); and these they are – BLYṬNY HWZY (*Beliṭenay Huzay*), who is the mightiest over all; ASGNW (*ʾAsganu*; also AGSNW) ṢKS SRWDYH (*Tzekas Serudyah*), who rules over all the inhabitants of the heights (?); ʿGHWSSHY ṢṢ HWA (*ʿAnhusas-hi Tzatz Hawa*), who governs all; and DRHY BRWNYHW in whose hands everything is. And two are engraved upon the crown of the most exalted and high King, and these they are – ZHTṢṢPT ṢṢQRR (*Zahtatzetzpat Tzatzaqrar*), the Seal of YH, before whom every knee bends and every mouth utters praises; AZQ (*ʾAzaq*) HWH GRWN ŠWYŠYH (*Gerōn Šōyašyah*), besides him there is no God and helper. With these names I conjure thee, and firmly decree upon thee to descend quickly to me, N, son of N, thou and not thy messenger. And when thou comest down do not turn my mind, but reveal unto me all the secret mysteries from above and beneath, and the hidden secrets from above and beneath, and all the secrets of wisdom and the cunning of helpfulness, just as a man speaks to his neighbour. For I have conjured thee with these Names, that are great and mighty and wonderful and awe-inspiring, and proved and arranged in proper order, through which the glorious throne has been established and the beautiful seat of the Most High, which has been wonderfully wrought, long before thou and the heavenly hosts had been created, "While as yet He had not made the earth nor the fields, and the inhabitants of the earth and the creatures therein" (Prov. viii, 26).

"I call thee further by (the power) of the five selected Names, to which only one is superior, and this is their form: SNG QṢNYT RTYH AYHA ʿT ṢMSM HW HW YH YH ALYH BHWRDGHW (*Behurdagehū*) ʿŠ Mʿ (*ʿAš Maʿ*) HYH ALYH PŠṬ RṢHW SSʿN (*Pešaṭ Ratz^{e}hu Sasʿan*) WAHHYH ALYH AZHNK PṬPṬRY HWH YHYH YH AL YH. I conjure thee by these five Names, which correspond to the five names of God, whose letters are written on burning fire, and they circle round the throne of glory, one ascending and the other descending, so that the angels of the Presence should not behold them, and this is their equivalent and form and glory : ATLMT GNYS HWH YH YHB QRYMWS QRYR HWH YH YH YHB AHYSWG HYH YH THMNGYH YHB HWRGH WH WH WH HH GAY WHYH YHB AQNYʿP ṢL DD ŠQTTH WTHYH YHB . I conjure thee by these, as thou knowest their praise and greatness, which no mouth can utter, and no ear can hear, no, not even one of them. Thou hast been commanded and ordered by the Most High: "as soon as thou hearest anyone conjuring thee with these names, to do honour to My Name, and to descend quickly and fulfill the wish of the man who makes thee hear them; but if thou tarriest I will push thee into the fiery river Rigayōn and place another in thy stead." Do it, therefore, for His Name, and come quickly to me, N, son of N, not in a terror, and not in fear, not with fiery coals, not with hailstone, and not with the sleet and treasures of snow, and not with the howling of the storm, and not with the provinces of the whirlwind that usually accompany thee, and do my bidding and fulfill my desire, for everything is in thy hand; by the permission of thy God, the master over all and thy lord, and with His Names I conjure thee to attach thyself quickly to me; come and fulfill my wish, and do not tarry.

“I further call thee with the greatest of thy Names, the pleasant and beloved one, which is the same as that of thy Master, save one letter, with which He created and formed everything, and which He placed as a seal upon all the work of His hand; and this is its equivalent – AŠŠ MQṢTT MG MSYGG MPṢYY MNYQYY PYPG HWGYYYHSS PṢSYH SAMYGNSYA (or AMṢNYSYA) QRNWHWHS, and the other in the language of purity is read so : YHWH YW HWH HW HW YHWH YH HYH YHWH YHWH YHWH YHWH ḤY WHYY HYW HYH YH HHW YW ḤY HWH YH YHWH YWH. I conjure thee with the right hand of sanctity and with His beloved Name, in whose honor everything has been created, and all are terror-struck by His mighty arm, and all the sons of the internal heavenly cohort (servants) tremble and shake of His fear, which is AŠM MṢ QTMPTG AWSYYG BYʿ MSYṢ TMT NYYṢ ATT ZMN YYQYN PPG QWPHW ZYY ṢṢM HYY AMṢM ANS HWYY, and its equivalent by means of YHWH is HH YHYH WWHY HH YH YH YHWH HW YH YH HY HY WYH HWH YHWH HWY HY YHW HYW YHYH YH YH HHWH YH HHYH . Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever. And all praise and extol thy Name, for they love thee. I conjure thee, and decree upon thee firmly, not to disobey my words, and not to alter my decree and my decision with which I conjured thee, and decreed upon thee, and established in peace. In the Name YHW HY AY HY YHW HB YH WA AH BAH HAH YWH HY HW AW YH HW YH YHH, blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever, depart in peace, and do not frighten me in the hour of thy departure; in the name of AH YHWH YHWH YH HYH, Lord, most high and holy, in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel's battalions; in the name of the holy living Creatures, and in the name of the Wheels of the Chariot, and in the name of the river of fire, YH, ZYY, ZYYN, and all His ministers, and in the name of YH, ZYYN, ṢBAWT AL ŠDY, AHYH AŠR AHYH YHW ADYR ḤSYN YHWH HYH, who revealed Himself on Mount Sinai in the glory of His majesty.

“With these Names, terrible and mighty, which darken the sun, and obscure the moon, and turn the sea, and break the rocks, and extinguish the light, I conjure you, spirits, and evil beings and *Šiddim* (demons) and *Śaṭanim* (devils), that you depart and disappear from N, son of N. (?).

Stand before the ark, and pray Psalm 29 seven times, and say 70 times: “RBYNYAL RBYWAL, appointed over the glorious Throne, behold, I conjure thee in the name of the Lord God of Israel, the God of Hosts. Who is like unto Thee, ḤSYN YH? I conjure thee again in the name of ṬWṬRSYAL YHWH, and in the name of ZHRWRYAL YHWH, and in the name of MŠRWSYH (or ṬṬRWSYH) YHWH. Again I conjure thee, in the name of AHYH AŠR AHYH YH BYH AH BAH YHW AW HW AH AH YH YH WHW. The ministering angels say in a Great Voice ‘HH QDWŠ QDWŠ, Lord of Hosts, Selah’. 70 times by day, and three times by night, everything thou askest of him, he shall do. Amen. Selah.

“Once more I conjure thee, in the name of SWWRYA, the Prince of Countenances, and in the name of TWPYPAWS APWṬYAL (or APWMYAL, APWPYLA), that thou goest in peace, and harm me not.”

APPENDIX II.

I.

Against an enemy: I call thee, evil spirit, cruel spirit, merciless spirit. I call thee, bad spirit, who sittest in the cemetery and takest away healing from man. Go and place a knot in NN's head, in his eyes, in his mouth, in his tongue, in his throat, in his windpipe; put poisonous water in his belly. If you do not go and put water in his belly, I will send against you the evil angels PWZYAL, GWZYAL, PSDYAL, PRZYAL. I call thee and those six knots that you go quickly to NN and put poisonous water in his belly and kill NN whom I mean (or, because I wish it). Amen, Amen. Selah.

II.

Against an enemy (To separate a couple): Write upon a new-laid egg in a Nazarene cemetery:

"I conjure you, luminaries of heaven and earth, as the heavens are separated from the earth, so separate and divide NN from him wife NN, and separate them from one another, as life is separated from death, and sea from dry land, and water from fire, and mountain from vale, and night from day, and light from darkness, and the sun from the moon; thus separate NN from NN his wife, and separate them from one another in the name of the twelve hours of the day and the three watches (?) of the night, and the seven days of the week, and the thirty days of the month, and the seven years of Šemiṭṭah, and the fifty years of Jubilee, on every day, in the name of the evil angel ṬMSMAL (or SMSMAL) and in the name of the angel YBYAL, and in the name of the angel DRSMYAL, and in the name of the angel ZAHBWQ, and in the name of the angel ATAP, and in the name of the angel ZHṢMAL , and in the name of the angel ZṢNYAL, who preside over pains, sharp pains, inflammation, and dropsy, and separate NN from him wife NN, make them depart from one another, and that they should not comfort one another, swiftly and quickly."



THE Illustrated Cairo Genizah

Nick Posegay &
Melonie Schmierer-Lee

A Visual Tour of
Cairo Genizah Manuscripts at
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Gorgias Press

THE Illustrated Cairo Genizah

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Melonie Schmierer-Lee

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One of the inspirations for this book was the Genizah Research Unit's Instagram page (@CambridgeGRU) that Nick began in 2021. Many of the fragments and discussions that ended up in this book came from there, and we would be remiss if we did not thank all of its readers for their support. In particular, thank you to Edson De Faria, Lucy De Los Reyes, Haim Gottschalk, Daniel Newman, Amanda Posegay, Kristine Rose-Beers, David Selis, and Noah van Renswoude. Special thanks to Sarah Sykes for the time she spent identifying and fetching images to share. The other inspiration was the GRU's recent public educational programming: show-and-tell visits under the auspices of the Littman Genizah Educational Programme, and a series of major exhibitions, *Discarded History* (Cambridge, 2017), *Ghost Words* (Cambridge, 2021), and *The Golden Age of the Jews of Al-Andalus* (Madrid, 2023–24).

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Nick Posegay
Melonie Schmierer-Lee
Cambridge University Library
April 2024

Introduction

This is the first illustrated volume intended to provide an introduction to the Cairo Genizah that is accessible to everyone, even those who have never heard of it before. Within these pages, you'll tour ancient artefacts that are entirely unique in world history – manuscripts that have redefined our understanding of the Middle East, the Mediterranean world, and most of all, the history of Judaism. Among them are some of the world's oldest Bibles, the official records of long-defeated empires, and works of literature once thought lost to the ages. You'll see the writings of some of the most famous names in history, people like Avicenna, Origen, Augustine, Galen, Saladin, Joseph Karo, and Moses Maimonides. You'll read about the daily travails of ordinary people in the Middle Ages – residents of Egypt, Iberia, India, Byzantium, Iraq, and Palestine – through the personal letters that they sent to their loved ones. You'll begin to understand the evidence for how modern legal, economic, and religious systems are built on foundations that are more than 1000 years old. All of these things and more survived to the present day because of the Cairo Genizah, a medieval repository of worn-out manuscripts created by the Jews of Cairo.

This book is also a celebration of 127 years of Cairo Genizah research in Cambridge, and it marks 50 years since the founding of Cambridge University Library's Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit. We, the authors, are researchers at the University of Cambridge with a combined 25 years of experience in studying Cairo Genizah manuscripts – and a drive to share that research with a wide audience. We developed this book alongside the Genizah Research Unit's ongoing public tours, special exhibitions, and social media programming. You're more than welcome to visit us at Cambridge University Library to see the manuscripts yourself, but if you can't make the trip, then this book is the next best thing.

What is the Cairo Genizah?

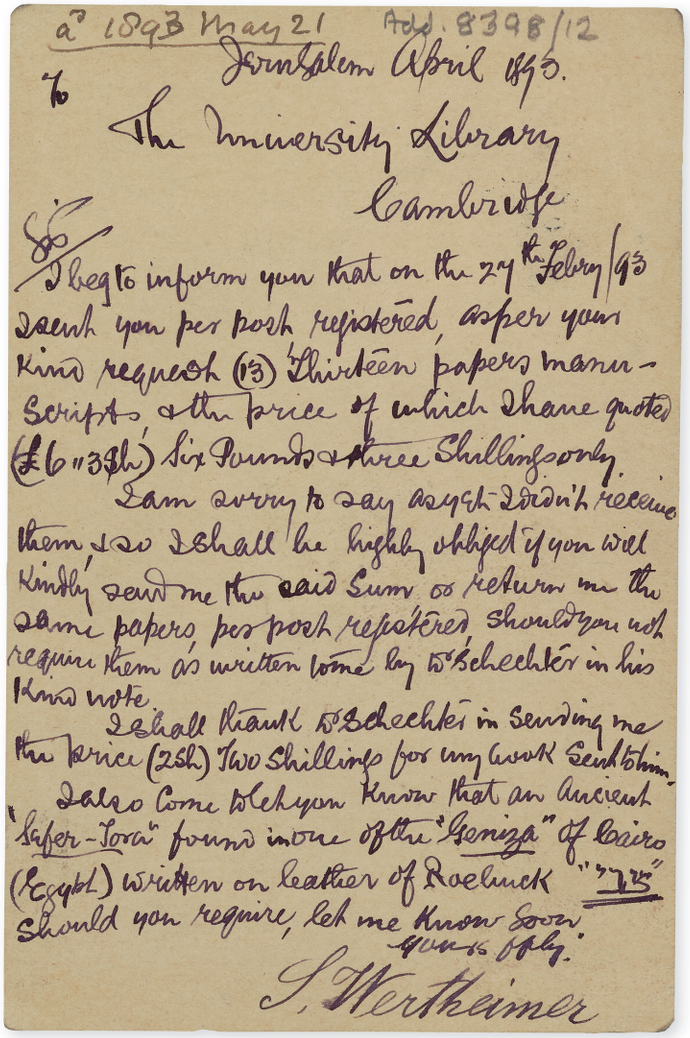
To explain exactly what the Cairo Genizah is, we should first ask, "What is a genizah?" The word *genizah* is Hebrew, from an ancient root meaning 'hidden' or 'stored up', thought to be related to the Persian word *ganza*, 'treasury'. A genizah is a hidden space where Jewish communities deposit worn-out texts that are too old or damaged for continued use. Their main purpose is to prevent items that contain the sacred name of God from being destroyed like other rubbish. Many *genizot* (plural of genizah) are cupboards in synagogues, where they act as temporary storage spaces before the texts can be given proper burials in the ground.

The term 'Cairo Genizah' refers to the corpus of manuscripts that Egyptian Jewish communities deposited into various genizot between the 11th and 19th centuries CE. The vast majority of these manuscripts come from the genizah chamber of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat, the old city of what is now modern Cairo. Others come from the Karaite Dar Simha synagogue and the Basatin Cemetery on the edge of Cairo. Today, they are held primarily in European and American libraries, with approximately two-thirds in Cambridge University Library (~200,000 fragments), and other major collections in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (~31,000), the Russian National Library (~15,000), Oxford's Bodleian Library (~12,000), Manchester's John Rylands Library (~11,000), and the British Library (~6,000).

For the communities that produced the Cairo Genizah, it seems that almost every scrap of paper with Hebrew letters was considered sacred enough to deposit into a genizah. Some of them may even have deposited all papers with writing on them – including those with no Hebrew – rather than throwing them away. The result is that the Cairo Genizah holds not just Jewish religious texts like Bibles and Torah scrolls, but also thousands of personal letters, government documents, business contracts, receipts, notes, drawings, and literary works in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Judaeo-Arabic, Ladino, Yiddish, Judaeo-Italian, Judaeo-Persian, Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Turkish, Georgian, Latin, and French.

This book will take you on a tour of these manuscripts. All of them were – almost by definition – thrown away, often after long lives of use and reuse, so many are badly torn, scraped, rubbed, faded, or stained. As well

as wear-and-tear from use, most of them are also about 900 years old, and they have not always been kept in the best conditions. Nevertheless, even for the most badly damaged fragments, their very presence in the Cairo Genizah tells us a story about what people were reading, writing, and doing in Egypt during the Middle Ages.



a° 1893 May 21 Add. 8398/12

Jerusalem April 1893.

To

The University Library

Cambridge

I beg to inform you that on the 24th Febry/93 I sent you per post registered, as per your kind request (13) Thirteen papers manuscripts, the price of which I have quoted (£6 "3sh) Six Pounds & three Shillings only.

I am sorry to say as yet I didn't receive them, so I shall be highly obliged if you will kindly send me the said Sum or return me the same papers per post registered should you not require them as written some by W. Schechter in his kind note.

I shall thank W. Schechter in sending me the price (2sh) Two Shillings for my work sent to him.

I also come to let you know that an ancient "Sefer-Tora" found in one of the "Geniza" of Cairo (Egypt) written on leather of Roebuck "27"

Should you require, let me know soon.

Yours obly.

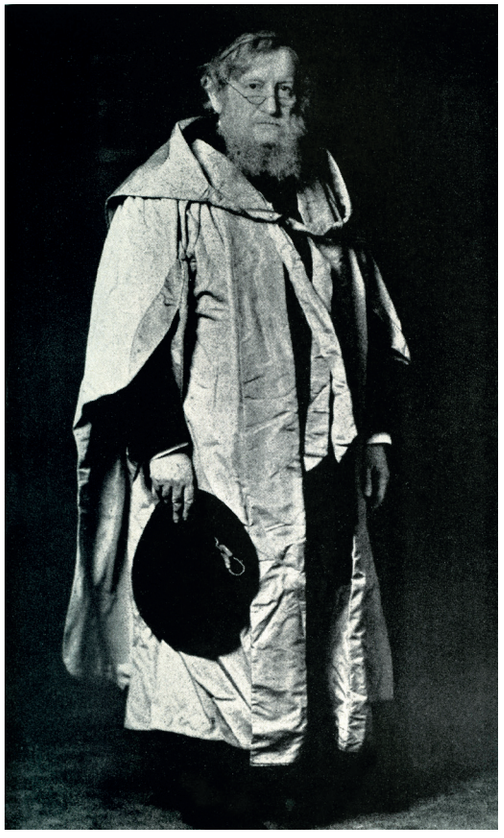
S. Wertheimer

CUL Add.8398/12. Letter from Solomon Wertheimer to Cambridge University Library, April 1893.

The 'Discovery' of the Manuscripts

The first Genizah fragments came to Cambridge University Library in the early 1890s. A Hungarian rare books dealer, Rabbi Solomon Aaron Wertheimer, posted bundles of manuscripts to Cambridge from Jerusalem. The Library purchased some as part of an initiative to bolster their Hebrew collections, but others failed to generate much interest, and Wertheimer sent plaintive letters to the Library asking either for payment or the return of the unwanted manuscripts. In one note from 1893, he mentioned an ancient Torah scroll that was acquired from a synagogue storage room – a genizah – in Cairo.

Cambridge's resident Hebrew specialist, Solomon Schechter, routinely checked Wertheimer's manuscript offerings. Schechter was born into a Hasidic family in the Moldavian town of Focşani in 1847, and was recognised as an intellectual prodigy as a child. After studying in Vienna and Berlin, he came to London at the invitation of the Jewish scholar and educator, Claude



Solomon Schechter in his doctoral robes, ca. 1900.



Portraits of Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, by John Peddie, oil on canvas. Westminster College, Cambridge.

Montefiore, who saw his potential as a leading Jewish thinker. By all accounts, he took to England and its people with great enthusiasm, and quickly became proficient in English.[1] Cambridge recognised the value of Schechter's scholarship and appointed him Lecturer in Talmudics in 1890. He was only the second Jewish person to teach at the University. The study of Jewish law had previously been taught for centuries by and for Christian clergymen.

Something of an outsider in Cambridge society, Schechter found kindred spirits among other unorthodox scholars. Two adventurous and fabulously wealthy Scottish sister scholars – Agnes Lewis and Margaret Gibson – had settled together in Cambridge after the untimely deaths of their husbands. As devout Presbyterians, the twins were interested in the origins of the biblical text, and began to visit monasteries in the hopes of discovering early biblical manuscripts. They were especially familiar with St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai, where – after being hauled up over the walls in a basket – they befriended its Orthodox monks by conversing in fluent Greek. The monks gave them permission to inspect the oldest manuscripts in the monastic library, where they found an early Syriac version of the Gospels.[2] This discovery established their scholarly reputations in Cambridge, but as women they could not be admitted to the University.

During their 1896 expedition to St. Catherine's, the sisters purchased a bundle of Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts from a local dealer. When they returned to Cambridge, they invited Schechter to examine them. Agnes described the dramatic events:[3]

1 N. Bentwich, *Solomon Schechter: A Biography* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1940), 64.

2 M. Gibson, *How the Codex was Found: A Narrative of Two Visits to Sinai, From Mrs. Lewis's Journals, 1892–1893* (Cambridge, 1893).

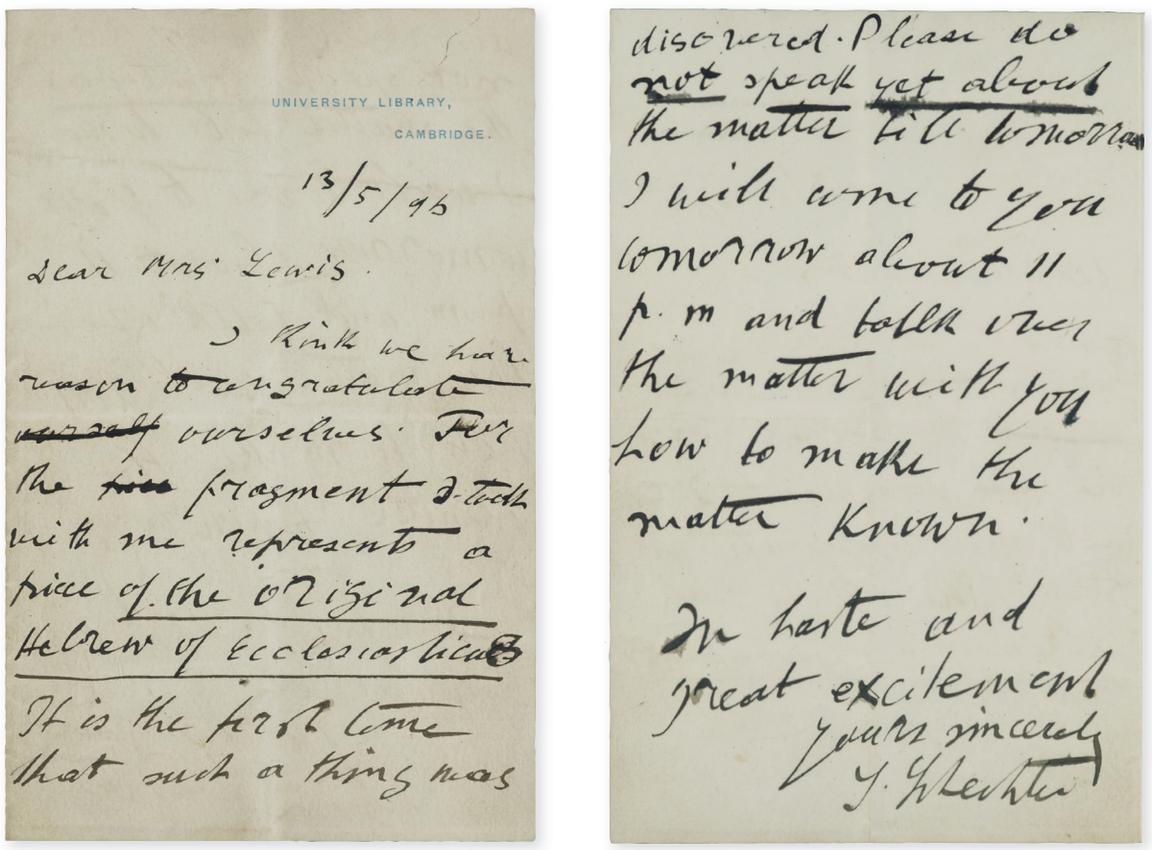
3 A. Smith Lewis, *In the Shadow of Sinai: A Story of Travel and Research from 1895 to 1897* (Cambridge, 1898).

> …we resolved on asking our friend Dr Solomon Schechter, Reader in Talmudic to the University, to examine them. Accordingly, on May 13th, I met him by chance on King's Parade, and told him that we had a number of things at home which awaited his inspection. He must have gone to our house immediately, for I returned after doing a little shopping and found him in the dining-room with our two bundles of fragments on the table. He held up a large vellum leaf saying, "This is part of the Jerusalem Talmud, which is very rare; may I take it away?" "Certainly," I replied. Then he held up a dirty scrap of paper. "This, too, is very interesting; may I take it away and identify it?" "Certainly." "May I publish it?" I replied, "Mrs Gibson and I will only be too happy if you find that it is worth publishing."

A few hours later, a letter arrived:

Schechter's message announced the identification of a text that had not been seen for a thousand years: the original Hebrew of the apocryphal book of Ben Sira (known in Christian circles as Ecclesiasticus). The discovery became national news. Schechter's rivals in Oxford identified more pages of the book among manuscripts they had collected in Egypt, and a race was on: who would succeed in tracking down their source, and whatever else might remain there?

Schechter approached his friend, Charles Taylor, for advice in securing University travel funding. Taylor, a mathematician, Hebraicist, and Master of St John's College, advised him not to delay and offered his own money to fund an expedition. Schechter set off for Egypt in the winter of 1896, hoping to find more leaves of Ben Sira and other rare works. On his return, he described his 'pilgrimage' to the Genizah in an article for *The Times*,



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13/5/96

Dear Mrs Lewis.

I think we have reason to congratulate ourselves. For the fragment I took with me represents a piece of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus. It is the first time that such a thing was discovered. Please do not speak yet about the matter till tomorrow I will come to you tomorrow about 11 p.m and talk over the matter with you how to make the matter known.

In haste and great excitement
Yours sincerely
S. Schechter

Schechter's note to Agnes Lewis, dated 13 May, 1896.



Entrance to the Ben Ezra Synagogue's genizah chamber, ca. 1900.

titled "A Hoard of Hebrew Manuscripts."[4] He began by introducing the concept of a genizah to the British public:

> The Genizah of the old Jewish community... represents a combination of sacred lumber-room and secular record office.

He then explained that before arriving in Egypt, he worried that much of its history had been lost:

> I felt reassured after a brief interview with the Rev. Aaron Bensimon, the Grand Rabbi of Cairo, to whom I had an introduction from the Chief Rabbi, the Very Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler. From him I soon learnt that Old Cairo would be the proper field of my activity, a place old enough to enjoy the respect even of a resident of Cambridge.

The rabbi took him to the Ben Ezra synagogue:

> We left our carriage somewhere in the neighbourhood of the "Fortress of Babylon," whence the Rabbi directed his steps to the so-called Synagogue of Ezra the Scribe.

And he was shown the genizah chamber:

> The Genizah, which probably always formed an integral part of the synagogue, is now situated at the end of the gallery, presenting the appearance of a sort of windowless and doorless room of fair dimensions. The entrance is on the west side, through a big, shapeless hole reached by a ladder. After showing me over the place and the neighbouring buildings, or rather ruins, the Rabbi introduced me to the beadles of the synagogue, who are at the same time the keepers of the Genizah, and authorised me to take from it what, and as much as, I liked. Now, as a matter of fact, I liked all. Still, some discretion was necessary… One can hardly realise the confusion in a genuine old Genizah until one has seen it. It is a battlefield of books, and the literary production of many centuries had their share in the battle, and their *disjecta membra* are now strewn over its area. Some of the belligerents have perished outright, and are literally ground to dust in the terrible struggle for space…

4 *The Times*, "A Hoard of Hebrew MSS," issued 3 August 1897 (London).

Not all of the 'belligerents' interested Schechter, and – much to the chagrin of the present authors – he weeded out the later printed material:

> Most of my time in Cairo was spent in getting rid of these *parvenus*, whilst every piece of paper or parchment that had any claim to a respectable age was packed in bags and conveyed to the forwarding agent to be shipped to England. The task was by no means easy, the Genizah being very dark, and emitting clouds of dust when its contents were stirred, as if protesting against the disturbance of its inmates. The protest is the less to be ignored as the dust settles in one's throat, and threatens suffocation.

He was also opposed to some of the customs of the local Jews who cared for the synagogue:

> I was thus compelled to accept the aid offered me by the keepers of the place, who had some experience in such work from their connexion with former acquisitions (perhaps they were rather depredations) from the Genizah. Of course, they declined to be paid for their services in hard cash of so many piastres per diem. This was a vulgar way of doing business to which no self-respecting keeper of a real Genizah would degrade himself. The keepers insisted the more on *bakhshish*, which, besides being a more dignified kind of remuneration, has the advantage of being expected also for services not rendered.

Schechter then offered the public an overview of the collected manuscripts, noting Bibles with a new system of punctuation, historical Jewish prayer books with "psalmists hitherto unknown," and old rabbinic works "long ago given up as lost for ever." He also described the exceptionally rich documents of daily life:

> All sorts and conditions of men and situations are represented in them: the happy young married couple by their marriage contract; the marriage that failed by its letter of divorce; the slave by his deed of emancipation; the Court of justice by its legal decisions; the heads of the schools by their learned epistles; the newly appointed "Prince of the Exile" by the description of his installation; the rich trader by his correspondence with his agents in Malabar; the gentleman-beggar by his letters of recommendation to the great ones in Israel; the fanatics by their thundering excommunications; the meek man by his mild apologies; the fool by his amulet; the medical man by his prescriptions; and the patient by his will.



Photograph by Melonie Schmierer-Lee

Exterior of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in 2017.

The Ben Ezra Synagogue

The Ben Ezra synagogue was constructed in the 1040s CE, likely on the foundations of an older synagogue that was destroyed on the orders of the oppressive caliph, al-Hakim. Over its lifetime, it has been associated with various figures from Jewish tradition, including Moses, Jeremiah, Elijah, and Ezra. It is known today as 'Ben Ezra' because it once housed a Torah scroll rumoured to have been written by the ancient biblical scribe, Ezra. However, in the Middle Ages it was known as Kanisat al-Yerushalmiyyin ('the Synagogue of the Jerusalemites') or Kanisat al-Shamiyyin ('the Synagogue of the Palestinians'), and later on, Kanisat Eliyahu ('the Synagogue of Elijah').

As the largest and most ancient synagogue in Fustat, it was the seat of the religious court (the 'Bet Din'), a hub for social welfare, and a place of study. In the 10th and 11th centuries, the wealthiest members of the Jewish community lived nearby, and some bequeathed their houses to the synagogue's charitable foundation to help fund communal needs. In the 12th century, however, more prosperous Jews gravitated to Cairo – the Fatimid and Ayyubid capital north of Fustat – and from the latter part of the 13th century onwards the area around the synagogue mainly housed the poor and destitute. Visitors to Fustat in the 15th century described the synagogue in poor condition, damaged by fire. Although daily services stopped, its venerable history still attracted pilgrims from Cairo and further afield for weekly or monthly services.

Access to the synagogue's genizah chamber was through a hatch in the second-floor women's gallery (men and women worshipped separately). The chamber was no secret, but for many years, local custom held that it was guarded by a serpent. Some 19th-century scholars did receive permission to remove sacks of manuscripts from the chamber, and those manuscripts made their way to libraries and private collections all over Europe, including Cambridge – though few European researchers knew of their origins or realised their significance.

Periodic efforts were made to renovate the decaying building until 1889. After the roof collapsed, the entire structure was demolished and rebuilt to the same specifications. The contents of the genizah chamber were removed during demolition, but most of them were replaced after construction ended in 1892. It was this newly rebuilt synagogue that Schechter visited in 1897. In the 1990s, the building benefited from another major restoration project. It is no longer a functioning synagogue, but a historical monument open to the public.

In closing, Schechter proved himself master of the understatement:

> All these treasures are now stored up in the Library of the University of Cambridge, where they are undergoing the slow process of a thorough examination. The results of this examination will certainly prove interesting alike to the theologian and the historian.

In candid letters sent from Cairo, Schechter described more of what had gone on behind the scenes. He told his wife, Mathilde, about how he befriended the local Chief Rabbi after taking him to see the Giza pyramids:[5]

> I flirted with him for hours, and am now taking Arabic lessons three times a week. You see how practical your old man is… The Rabbi is very kind to me and kisses me on my mouth, which is not very pleasant… I am just back from the Geniza and brought two big sacks with fragments. I must have a bath at once. You have no idea of the dirt.

5 Bentwich, 129.

To Francis Jenkinson, Cambridge's University Librarian, Schechter wrote about the practical aspects of gathering the manuscripts:[6]

> I am now here since three weeks. After making the acquaintance of the Chief Rabbi here and the president of the Jewish community I set to work on the "Genizas" where I spend the most of my time in the dust of centuries. The beadel & other infernal scoundrels are helping me to clear away the rubbish and the printed matter. I have constantly to bakeshish them, but still they are stealing many good things and sell them to the dealers in antiquities. I cannot possibly prevent it, but I found out the said dealers and bought from them the fragments which have interest for me. In the Genizah itself which is dark dusty and full of all possible insects there is no opportunity of examining the content of MSS. My policy is to take as much as I can (for which I have the full permission of the authorities). I have till now thirteen large bags of fragments, of which though not examined, I am sure, contain many most important things.

Schechter then set out his plan to give the manuscripts a permanent home in Cambridge University Library:

> Now I have a great request… I do not consider it desirable to the MSS here and am anxious to send the first lot home to England. Will you give them a place in the University Library till I return. The MSS will probably belong soon to your Library. I want only to hear first whether you and the Syndics will agree to certain conditions which I have to make. Money plays no important part in these conditions and I am sure you will find them very fair and just.

Agnes and Margaret had arrived in Cairo soon after Schechter and came to see the synagogue. As a custodian slipped through the hole into the genizah chamber, Agnes listened in astonishment to the sound of manuscripts crunching beneath his feet. She was concerned for Schechter's wellbeing, and wrote to his wife back in Cambridge:[7]

> Schechter has found a few good things among heaps of what I won't say is rubbish, but unimportant stuff. He has been choked with dust and bad air and has worked like a horse. He wishes he had a respirator…

Schechter arranged for a licence to export the fragments from Egypt's highest authority at the time – the British colonial consul general, Lord Cromer – and sent them ahead to England by steamer and train. Schechter himself travelled back separately aboard a ship where he met the famed archaeologist Flinders Petrie. There was a hairy moment when the ship ran aground on rocks near Marseilles, but a tugboat took all passengers to safety.

On 15 December, 1898, the University Orator in the Cambridge Senate House conveyed the University's official thanks to the Jewish community of Cairo for the gift of the Genizah Collection. The text was sent to Cairo in Latin and Hebrew versions. An English edition appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* of 30 December, 1898:[8]

> To the Heads of the Jewish Community in Cairo:
>
> We offer you our thanks, not only on account of the singular goodwill with which you received our Reader in Rabbinic, but also on account of the conspicuous liberality with which you permitted him to return to us laden with so many fragments of books from your Treasury. In the faithful preservation of books, the saying, "the written word remains", seems to have been as a law to you… By the generous gift of your ancient books to our envoy you have not only increased your own ancient renown but have even made a considerable addition to the history of your ancient literature. Even from our islands so far to the West, some light will doubtless be shed upon your literature…

6 Schechter's letter to Francis Jenkinson, dated 12th January 1897: Cambridge University Library Add.6463(e)3416. For more on the working relationship between Jenkinson and Schechter, see S. Reif, "Jenkinson and Schechter at Cambridge: an expanded and updated assessment," *Jewish Historical Studies*, Vol. 32 (1990–1992), 279–316.

7 Bentwich, 130.

8 The full Hebrew and English text appears here: https://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/genizah-fragments/posts/we-offer-you-our-thanks-cambridges-letter-egypts-jewish-community.

The Cairo Genizah in Cambridge

Schechter donated the entire 'hoard' of Genizah fragments to Cambridge University Library in 1898. The terms of the donation required the University to preserve the manuscripts and draw up a catalogue list within ten years. This proved to be a rather ambitious commitment. The University Library granted Schechter the use of a dedicated room to sort the collection with a small team of assistants,[9] which soon became known as the 'Cairo Room'. Some fragments were given identifying classmark numbers and organised into categories, such as 'Bible', 'Commentary', 'Mishnah', 'Talmud', or 'Document'. Many were steamed, flattened, and put between large panes of glass, but the task must have seemed neverending. Schechter had left money in Egypt with instructions to buy any other fragments that came to light, and more kept arriving.

Cambridge's Cairo Genizah collections would eventually be counted at almost 200,000 fragments, but it is likely that some of the fragments later sent to Cambridge came from sources other than the Ben Ezra Synagogue.

In 1902, after 4 years of productive work, Schechter heeded a personal spiritual call and left Cambridge to revive Conservative Judaism in the United States. He took some Genizah fragments with him, continuing research in his new post as president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America until his death in 1915. Schechter's successor in Cambridge, Ernest Worman, continued in a similarly productive vein between 1906 and 1909, drawing up handlists for thousands of fragments, only to be struck down by a sudden illness ('galloping



Schechter at work in the 'Cairo Room', 1898.

9 The University Library relocated to its current building in 1934. The library of Schechter's day is the university administrative building now known as the 'Old Schools'.

consumption') at the age of 38.[10] The still unclassified fragments – more than three quarters of the collection – survived the threats of war and librarians inclined towards decluttering, but progress stalled for decades. Jenkinson's successor as University Librarian, Alwyn Faber Scholfield, later despaired of the collection, writing: "They might from their size and condition be fairly described as a dust heap… [and] seem (to an ignorant person) to be a hopeless case."[11]

Most of the unsorted fragments remained in their shipping crates until the 1950s, when the historian Shelomo Dov Goitein arrived in Cambridge seeking manuscripts relating to the economic history of the medieval Mediterranean world. After Goitein examined the fragments conserved in glass, the University Librarian offered to show him the crates of unsorted material (marked 'Rubbish') in the Library's attic. His discoveries among these boxes spurred the Library to re-invest in the collection. In 1965, Henry Knopf – a



Stefan Reif, Israel Yeivin, and Ezra Fleischer examine a crate of unconserved fragments (1970s).





Conservators at work in the 1970s: Mrs Susan Fitzgeorge removing creases from manuscripts, and Mrs E. Burton sewing manuscripts into Melinex pockets.

10 Nick Posegay, "Ernest James Worman and the Victorian Genizah: A Salt-Miner's Tale of Romance, Tax Evasion, and Sudden Death," in N. Posegay, M. Connolly and B. Outhwaite (eds) *From the Battlefield of Books: Essays Celebrating 50 Years of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit* (Leiden: Brill, 2024).

11 Adina Hoffman and Peter Cole, *Sacred Trash: The Lost and Found World of the Cairo Geniza* (New York: Nextbook, Schocken, 2011), 195.



Conservator cleaning a paper fragment from the Mosseri Collection, 2016.

curator of Hebrew printing – was reassigned to have special responsibility for the Genizah, and conservation work slowly restarted. Then in 1973, Stefan Reif took over from Knopf as Assistant Under-Librarian "responsible for the cataloguing and arrangement" of the collection. In February the following year, Reif established the Genizah Research Unit (GRU), and a comprehensive programme to facilitate research and improve access to the collection began.

By 1983, the entire collection – including 150,000 fragments that had been stored in the attic – had been cleaned, flattened, and sewn into pockets of 'Melinex' archival polyester to be bound into folders of varying size. Manuscript conservation techniques have advanced considerably since then.[12] Today, University Library conservators are highly skilled in the care of Genizah material and tailor individual treatments for each fragment's unique situation. Many manuscripts have flaky ink that must be consolidated to prevent it falling off the page. Dirt is carefully removed using soft brushes – sometimes under microscope – and creases are gently relaxed with small amounts of deionised water before being flattened under weights. Conservators can also repair tears using wheat starch paste or remoistenable tissue, but the aim is not to return a manuscript to its original condition, only to stabilise it so it can be studied without incurring further damage.

Thanks to a generous donation from Dov Friedberg, the Friedberg Geniza Project sponsored the digitisation of the Cambridge Genizah collections between 2009 and 2012, and now nearly all Genizah collections around the world have been photographed. The images – available to browse online – have transformed Genizah research. Manuscripts torn apart and housed on different continents are now regularly reunited in digital format.

12 It is, for example, no longer best practice to iron medieval parchment, but given the costs of conservation work today, it is something of a relief that most of it was done at pace in the 1970s and 1980s.

How to Read this Book

This book is not a work of traditional academic research, nor is it targeted at Genizah specialists, although it does contain considerable academic and specialist research. It is also not a catalogue of Genizah fragments, but it does attempt to represent the diverse contents of Cambridge University Library's Genizah collections. Every page features images of one or more Genizah fragments that we think are particularly interesting, whether because they're visually distinct, historically significant, widely known, or just help us tell a good story. We've divided them into 12 thematic chapters that demonstrate the major social, historical, and artistic trends that we find throughout the ten centuries of the Cairo Genizah. You can read them in any order, but if this is your first introduction to the Genizah, we recommend you start with Chapter I.

Each chapter has between 20 and 30 manuscript entries. For each one, we have written a title and short description alongside an image from Cambridge University Library's digital archive. Below the description is the date of the fragment (estimated to the best of our knowledge). Next to each image, in red text, there is also a small identification number. This is the fragment's 'classmark', the number assigned to it by Cambridge University Library to identify it in archives and academic publications. Additional information about any manuscript can be found by entering its classmark in the Cambridge University Digital Library (CUDL) database. CUDL (pronounced 'cuddle') is an online repository for accessing the digitised archival materials at the University of Cambridge. There you can find further descriptions, measurements, and high-resolution, zoomable, downloadable images of every manuscript. To access the CUDL database, visit cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk and search for the classmark you want to see.

The classmarks in this book come in five different formats: T-S, Add., Or., L-G, and Mosseri. Each represents a different manuscript collection at Cambridge University Library:

1) The Taylor-Schechter Collection
With almost 200,000 fragments, the Taylor-Schechter Collection is the largest collection of Genizah manuscripts in the world. It is named after Solomon Schechter, the Cambridge Reader responsible for bringing most of the manuscripts to Cambridge, and Charles Taylor, the Master of St. John's College who bankrolled Schechter's efforts. A large majority of the fragments in this book come from this collection. The Taylor-Schechter (T-S) manuscripts are further organised based on their contents and when they were conserved in Cambridge. Some of the most common sub-collections in this book are the New Series (T-S NS), the Additional Series (T-S AS), the Arabic Series (T-S Ar), and the Miscellaneous Series (T-S Misc).

2) The CUL Additional Collection
The Additional Collection contains certain Genizah fragments that the University Library purchased from Jewish manuscript dealers (particularly Rabbi Solomon Wertheimer) in the early 1890s. We don't always know exactly how these dealers acquired their manuscripts. We think that most of them came from the Cairo Genizah, but it is possible that some were from other Jewish communities in Egypt and Palestine. Classmarks from this collection start with Add.

3) The CUL Oriental Collection
Some other Genizah fragments that Cambridge University Library purchased in the 1890s were only assigned classmarks in the 1950s. These were added to the 'Oriental' Collection, now referred to as the Or. Collection. The classmarks of Genizah fragments from this collection mainly begin with Or.1080 or Or.1081.

4) The Lewis-Gibson Collection
The Lewis-Gibson Collection contains over 1700 manuscripts that Agnes Lewis and Margaret Gibson collected during their travels in Egypt and Palestine at the end of the 19th century. They bequeathed this collection to Westminster College in Cambridge, where it became known as the 'Westminster Collection'. In 2013, Cambridge University Library partnered with Oxford's Bodleian Library to purchase the Westminster Collection for £1.2 million. Together, the two libraries conserved the manuscripts to a modern standard and renamed the collection after Lewis and Gibson. Classmarks from this collection begin with L-G.



5) The Mosseri Collection

The Mosseri Collection contains more than 7000 fragments that Jacques (Jack) Mosseri collected in Cairo between 1909 and 1912. Mosseri was an Egyptian Jew who scoured the local synagogues for manuscripts that collectors like Schechter missed in the 1890s. In 2006, the Mosseri collection came to Cambridge University Library for a 20-year period of conservation and study. Classmarks from this collection begin with 'Mosseri'.

After studying in Cambridge, Jacques Mosseri returned to Egypt and collected manuscripts that had been buried in the synagogue grounds and in nearby cemeteries. His plan to open a museum celebrating Jewish life in Egypt was thwarted by his death in 1934.



Unconserved fragments from the Mosseri Collection, ca. 2006.


Toledo
Amalfi
Constantinople
Salonika
Mastaura
Aleppo
Tripoli
Damascus
Baghdad
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Cairo
Qus
Aydhab
Aden
Mangalore
Mediterranean Sea
Tripoli
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
Safed
Tiberias
Ramla
Ashqelon
Jerusalem
Rosetta
Damietta
Alexandria
Minyat Zifta
Bilbays
Cairo
Fustat

I.

Collection Highlights

The Cairo Genizah has become famous for many great discoveries over the last 125 years. In 1896, Solomon Schechter identified the lost Hebrew work of Ben Sira in fragments collected by the travelling scholars Agnes Lewis and Margaret Gibson. He set off to Cairo in search of the rest of it, but found much more than he ever anticipated. Schechter's "hoard" contained manuscripts of lost Greek translations of the Bible, surviving on parchment that had been washed clean and recycled already in the early Middle Ages. Scholars at Cambridge scoured the collection for unique Bible texts and other copies of the formative works of Judaism. The early 1900s brought historians' interest – most notably Jacob Mann – into how the documents could illuminate Jewish society in the Middle Ages. Though he'd left for America, Schechter continued delving and, in 1910, revealed what would turn out to be the first copies of Dead Sea Scrolls texts in the Genizah – unearthed fifty years before the famous finds at Qumran. In the 1950s, one of the most celebrated names in Genizah research, Shelomo Dov Goitein, made his first visit to Cambridge to examine the manuscripts. His discoveries among the documentary fragments shed light on almost every aspect of social and economic life in the Middle Ages. His enormous masterwork, *A Mediterranean Society*, is still an essential work for the history of the medieval world. Goitein was an academic powerhouse, not only identifying new autograph fragments of Moses Maimonides (in fact, we are still finding new autographs in the 2020s!) and his brother, but establishing a whole new field of study in the forgotten medieval Jewish trade with India. His efforts encouraged the Library to complete the conservation of the collection, large parts of which were still in the original boxes that Schechter had used to ship it from Egypt, and ultimately led to the founding of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit under Stefan Reif in 1974. The 1980s and 90s saw important discoveries in the history of the Hebrew language, Karaite contributions to medieval Judaism, and Arabic documentary culture. The last few decades have seen increasing interest in the Genizah as a source of evidence for interactions between Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, and have placed the collection at the heart of world history.

We at the Genizah Research Unit have spent the last 50 years working to document and share these discoveries with the wider public. In this chapter, we've selected some of the Cambridge collection's most famous and historically significant manuscripts – those one-of-a-kind items that can only be found in the Cairo Genizah.

The Lost Hebrew Book of Ben Sira

This fragment comes from the book of Ben Sira in Hebrew. In 1896, Solomon Schechter identified the long-lost Hebrew text of Ben Sira (known as Ecclesiasticus or Sirach in the Christian tradition, where it circulated mainly in Greek, Latin and Syriac versions) when Agnes Lewis and Margaret Gibson showed him this manuscript that they'd purchased from a dealer in Cairo. Almost immediately, he set off for Egypt looking for more pieces of the book, returning to Cambridge in 1897 with over 100,000 fragments from the Cairo Genizah. Six different copies of the book of Ben Sira have since been identified in the collection.[1]

Ca. 10th century



Or.1102

II.
Bible & Judaism

We expect to find biblical scrolls, books, and other sacred Jewish texts in a typical genizah, and we do find them in the Cairo Genizah, in vast quantities. There are around 25,000 fragments from Bible manuscripts in the collection, including large, finely-produced 'codices' (i.e. 'books'), sections of Torah scrolls, small books and pamphlets for personal use, and leaves from later printed editions. Recitation of the Bible in the synagogue was in Hebrew, with a traditional translation (the Targum) in Aramaic, but medieval Jews used Arabic and other translations as well, especially for personal study. There are also thousands of pages from the Talmud and Mishnah – the great works of Rabbinic Jewish law – and an estimated 50,000 fragments of liturgical poetry.

The history of the Jews in Egypt is a long and venerable one. There are archaeological traces of a Judean garrison stationed at Elephantine as far back as the 7th century BCE, and under later Greek, Roman, and Byzantine rule, Jews settled in Egypt in significant numbers. Egyptian Jews traditionally accepted the leadership of the Gaon (head) of the Palestinian academy, and followed the ancient Palestinian rite for their services, but this changed as Jews from Iraq, Persia, and North Africa migrated to Egypt and set up their own synagogues that followed Babylonian customs. By the 13th century, Egyptian Jews had largely abandoned the Palestinian rite – it was more important to consolidate the divided Jewish community. The Genizah is our main source for the lost Palestinian traditions. They held an important connection to the destroyed Jerusalem Temple in their communal memory. They emphasised this memory in their Passover seder by including a fifth question that recalled the practice of roasting meat for sacrifices in the Temple. The Babylonian practice of reading the whole of the Torah in one year left little time for much else in the synagogue service, but Palestinian Jews followed a triennial (three-year) reading cycle and supplemented their services with ancient liturgical poems designed to connect the weekly Torah reading with the reading from the Prophets (Haftarah). Palestinian practices extended into the home as well: women maintained a clear right to divorce their husbands in marriage contracts drawn up according to the Palestinian rite (☛ Chapter VIIIb).



T-S NS 3.21

Ancient Torah Scroll

Remnant from what was likely once a scroll of the entire Torah, datable to approximately the 7th century, and possibly even pre-Islamic. It was made in Syria or Palestine. This is one of the oldest Hebrew manuscripts in the collection and is among the oldest Torah scrolls in the world. It is one of the only surviving Bibles from the so-called 'dark age' of Hebrew manuscripts, a period between the latest Dead Sea Scrolls (ca. 100 CE) and the rise of the medieval Bible tradition (ca. 900 CE) when very few Hebrew manuscripts are extant. It thus provides a rare glimpse into the changing scribal traditions for writing the biblical text during the first millennium. Before the 1950s, it was stored in a crate in Cambridge University Library's attic with over 100,000 other Genizah fragments that were, at times, deemed 'rubbish'. To save space, it was once suggested that these crates be cleared out and burned. Thankfully, that did not happen and this fragment is now properly conserved. It has a small difference from the text of the Hebrew Bible today. At Genesis 17:1, the scribe wrote 'year' (*shanah*) instead of 'years' (*shanim*).[1]

Ca. 6th–7th century

III.
Sketches & Illustrations

Not everything is as complicated or momentous as a lost biblical book or an ancient Greek palimpsest. Some Genizah fragments are simply fun to look at. Many are skilled works of art in and of themselves, but others are just simple sketches produced by ordinary folk – even children – who were, at one time, very bored. While they may not be what we expect to find in a storage room meant for holy books, Fustat's Jews nevertheless deposited them in their genizot, and they have survived to reach us today. They are part of what makes the Cairo Genizah such a unique source for studying the everyday lives of people in the Middle Ages.

The use of resources like ink and paper for something as trivial as doodling demonstrates that writing materials were abundant for the people of medieval Egypt. Egyptian society, especially in Jewish communities, was highly literate, and the spread of relatively cheap papermaking techniques to Egypt during the 10th century CE made reading and writing more affordable than ever. Ink could also be made from widely available materials – in particular, we find numerous ink recipes based on charcoal and soot that could be collected from any fire. Pens too were easy to get hold of. The primary writing implement was known as a *qalam* (from the Greek word *calamos*, 'reed'), a hollow reed pen that would draw in a bit of liquid when dipped into an inkpot. Writers had to frequently re-dip their *qalam* when writing, so you can see variations on manuscripts where the ink started to run dry. The nib of a *qalam* would also wear out quickly, so writers would keep a small knife on hand to re-cut and sharpen it. As we see in this chapter, the availability of all these scribal tools meant that some people could use them for (often impromptu) works of art.

Kalila wa-Dimna

***Kalila wa-Dimna* is a book of Arabic fables with moral lessons that has roots in the Sanskrit and Persian literary traditions. It was very popular with people of all faiths in the medieval Middle East. The stories centre around a pair of jackals, named Kalila and Dimna, and their encounters with other anthropomorphised animals. Medieval manuscripts of *Kalila wa-Dimna* frequently included elaborate illustrations of the animals' adventures.**



Illustrated page of *Kalila wa-Dimna* from the story about a rat, a raven, and a tortoise.

Ca. 11th–12th century

T-S Ar.40.9

IV.
Letters

Thousands of letters were deposited into the Cairo Genizah, and through them the daily concerns of Egypt's communities come to life. We learn firsthand about family dramas and heartfelt greetings sent to absent friends, read commercial news on the prices of fine textiles or rare spices from abroad, and receive terrible reports of earthquakes, wars, pirate attacks, and devastating plagues. Through letters, the heads of the rabbinic academies in distant Babylonia (i.e. Iraq) and Palestine ministered to their respective flocks in Egypt, soliciting donations, providing political leadership, and dispensing legal rulings, ever watchful of the shifting allegiances of the diaspora communities. But merchants' letters, letters from travelling husbands to their wives back home, and letters of introduction or solicitation – how did they end up in the Genizah alongside sacred texts? Well, every letter, no matter how mundane, had an opening blessing, a rousing Bible verse, or a closing wish for God to protect the reader's family. Writers often invoked the Almighty in all sorts of turns-of-phrase, whether sharing good news, wishing long life to a friend, or cursing the name of a rival. It is easy to see why the Jews of Cairo treated their mail with a degree of sanctity.

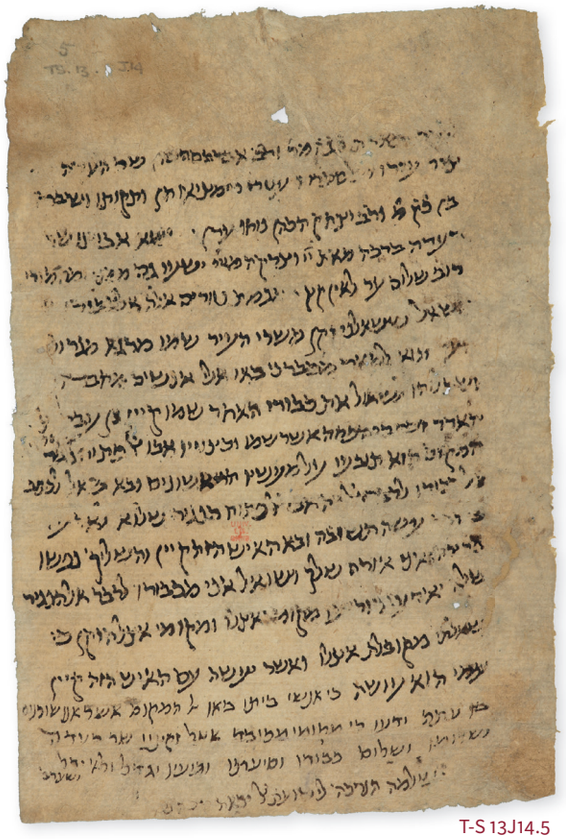
Physically, the letters are remarkably varied. Some are small, rectangular pieces of paper with every margin filled to the brim with writing, while others are great lengths of parchment. Delivery was similar, though: letters were uniformly folded over and over until only a thin strip remained, upon which were written the sender's and recipient's names. These strips were tucked into the deep sleeve pockets or luggage of messengers, couriers, travelling merchants, or pilgrims – whoever was going in the right direction to carry it. Such correspondence arrived in Egypt from all around the Mediterranean Sea and even from beyond the Indian Ocean.

Vouching for a Political Dissident

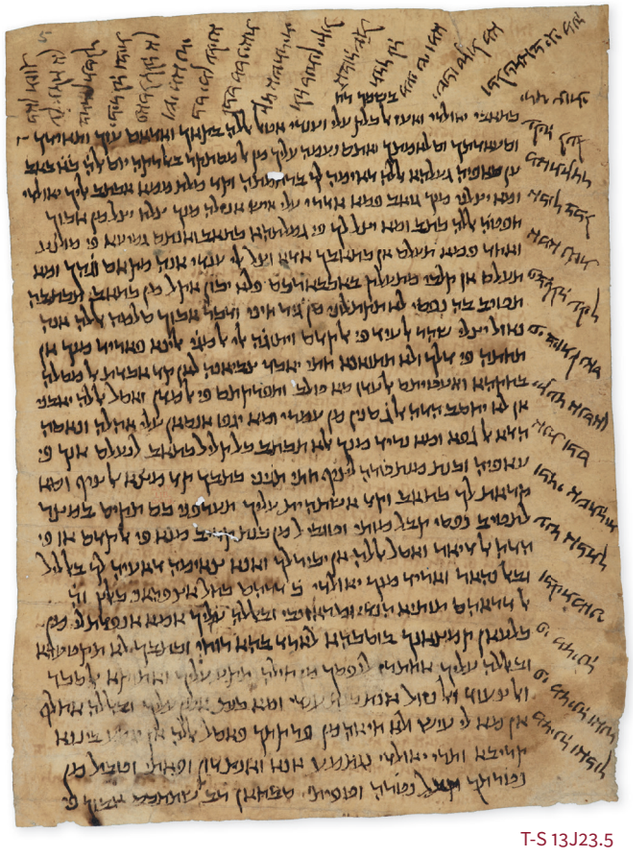
When Qayn ibn Abd al-Qadir, a Muslim, fell out of favour with the governor of Ramla because of his political activities, a warrant was issued for his arrest. Solomon ben Judah, the head of the Palestinian Yeshivah – and with it, all the Jews of the Fatimid Empire – used his own political network to try to save him. Solomon wrote this letter to call in a favour from Abraham ben Isaac ibn Furat, a physician at the Fatimid court in Cairo, in the hope that his influence could reconcile Qayn with his political enemies.[9]

11th century

Whatever he does to this man, Qayn, he also does to me…



T-S 13J14.5



T-S 13J23.5

A Syrian Mother Misses Her Son

This elderly widow, the wealthy matriarch of the aristocratic Dosa family, was frustrated by her dependence on her sons – and perhaps by their independence from her. She sent this Judaeo-Arabic letter from Raqqa on the Euphrates to her son Abu Mansur Dosa ben Joshua in Fustat, complaining that they've abandoned her in her daughter's house and failed to keep in touch – even in summer, she points out, when letters are easier to deliver. A bundle of his dirty laundry would be a comfort to her now! She addressed the back of the letter in Arabic script, ensuring it would reach its destination across predominantly Arabic-speaking lands.[10]

Ca. 1067 CE

By God, you must send me your worn and dirty shirts to restore my spirit. Do not withhold your letters…

V.
Magic

The Egyptian tradition of popular magic transcends time, language, and religion. Magical manuscripts date back to the pre-Islamic, pre-Christian, pre-Greek days of ancient Egypt, and in the Genizah period they freely mix elements from Greek, Coptic, Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic traditions. Genizah manuscripts show us that belief in the magical properties of objects, places, words, rituals, angels, and demons were fundamental to the ways that common people understood the natural world. The surviving magical texts reflect their daily concerns: amulets to protect travellers, curses to discourage thieves, and spells to make people fight, make up, or fall in love. Whether or not these spells were effective is not the point – they show us that people *believed* they would work, and since they contained sacred elements, they also found their way into genizot.

In many cases, the people who created these artefacts were not the well-trained, highly educated scribes who made elegant biblical manuscripts and Torah scrolls (☛ Chapter II). Some were local magicians trying to make a bit of money selling cheap amulets. Others were individuals – even prominent community leaders – who copied amulets or bits of spellbooks for personal use. Given the contents of the manuscripts in this chapter, it is also likely that many of them were women. The Genizah shows us that people from all different levels of society were making, buying, or using magical manuscripts.

Strange Figure on an Amulet

A damaged magical amulet featuring a human-like figure surrounded by Arabic incantations. The figure – which could be a human man, a jinn, or a demon – has a snake draped over its shoulders. The text is mostly nonsense sounds that were intended to invoke a magical effect when recited.

Ca. 11th–13th century



T-S Ar.51.112

Q: Did Jews in Egypt believe in magic?

For a religious archive, the Genizah contains a surprisingly large amount of superstitious and magical material, and we find significant numbers of formulae for both erotic and aggressive spells. The numerous magical fragments that survive provide clear evidence for the prominent position of magic in both Jewish and non-Jewish life, offering us a better understanding of popular beliefs. Amulets in particular are common, can be made of paper, parchment, or cloth, and are often intended for a specific individual and purpose. Even Masliah Gaon, the Head of the Jews in Egypt in the 12th century, used a magical amulet for personal purposes (to protect him, destroy his political enemies, and achieve success before the government). Unfortunately, it failed to save him when he supported the wrong side in a Fatimid court feud and was executed. The extant manuscripts show us that Egyptian Jews had magical recipes for a wide range of purposes: to remove a persistent headache, to find love, to detect an adulterous partner, to find treasure, to develop charm and grace, to protect travellers on dangerous voyages, to conceive a child, to avoid conception, to make a reluctant child take a bath, to protect against dog bites or scorpion stings, and to inspire fear in others – the whole gamut of human hopes and fears!

Pages from books concerned with the theoretical background of magical practice also survive in the Genizah. These works give detailed descriptions of the heavenly hosts, astrological observations, and instructions for divination techniques. Such magical beliefs and techniques even crossed religious boundaries. Many amulets and magical charms include verses from the Qurʾan, and there was a popular belief among certain Jews that passages from Muslim scripture could give their magic extra potency.

VI.
Science & Medicine

It makes sense that much of what we find in the Cairo Genizah is explicitly Jewish. Egypt's Jews needed a constant supply of items like Hebrew Bibles and Torah scrolls, and those are typical things to deposit in any genizah. But they also needed sources of information that were useful to people of any religion: books on medicine, astronomy, mathematics, cosmetics, alchemy, and other scientific topics. Most of these books were composed in Arabic, the scientific *lingua franca* of the time, used by Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike.

The manuscripts in this chapter show us how the people of pre-modern Egypt studied, created, circulated, and applied scientific knowledge to understand and interact with the world around them. Many of them are copies of works that were translated into Arabic during the so-called 'translation movement' of the 9th century. This movement saw the Abbasid Caliphate promoting the translation of as many ancient Greek texts as possible into Arabic, often with the help of bilingual Syriac Christian translators. The resulting Arabic adaptations of Greek and Syriac knowledge became widely popular in the Middle East, North Africa, and even Europe in the following centuries. The target audience for these manuscripts was often the wealthier, more educated classes of society, and many are calligraphically written or expensively decorated.

Alongside works of medical and pharmacological literature, the Genizah also preserves prescriptions, recipes, and other instructions from doctors – evidence for how medical theories were put into practice, as well as the kinds of ailments they aimed to treat.



T-S Ar.11.31

Galenic Perfumes and Ointments

Instructions for making perfumes and ointments, from an Arabic medical text on the preparation of drugs. The fragrance recipes are attributed to the ancient Greek physician Galen, and the preparations are based on Ibn Sina's medical encyclopaedia, *The Canon of Medicine*. The text is written in an early form of Judaeo-Arabic (Arabic in Hebrew script), but some headings are in a calligraphic Arabic script. Many medical texts show a similar level of scribal artistry as high-quality Bibles and Qur'ans, presumably because the target market was doctors who could afford to pay a bit extra.[2]

Ca. 10th century

VII.
Arabic & Islam

When people think of the Cairo Genizah, they probably think of it as a Jewish collection, created by the Jews of Cairo, filled with Jewish manuscripts. To a great extent, this is accurate. The last 125 years of Cairo Genizah study has profoundly rewritten the history of Jewish culture in the Middle Ages and greatly enriched our knowledge of pre-modern Judaism in all its intellectual and social forms. But for most of the Genizah period, the Jews of Cairo spoke Arabic natively. Many of them read and wrote it fluently, and all were citizens of Muslim empires. For reasons that we are still only really beginning to understand, those same citizens deposited thousands of Arabic fragments into their genizot – at least 7,000 that are now in Cambridge alone. Many of these manuscripts are explicitly Islamic, including pages from the Qur'an, religious amulets, and prayer books. Others are the work of Muslim theologians and philosophers. They often display the elegant Arabic calligraphy expected of highly trained professional scribes. Some have been recycled or overwritten to create new Jewish manuscripts (☛ Chapter X), but others have not, suggesting that Jews were reading them and thought they were worth depositing in genizot.

We have selected the fragments in this chapter to demonstrate how the Cairo Genizah is not just a Jewish collection. It contains beautiful samples of medieval Arabic calligraphy and some of the oldest surviving copies of texts by famous Muslim scholars. These manuscripts crossed the boundaries between Egypt's different religious communities, revealing cultural connections and interfaith exchange in places that many people do not expect. We hope that readers with an interest in Arabic or Islamic history will enjoy them, but we especially encourage anyone whose primary interest is the Jewish side of the Cairo Genizah to spend some time here. You may even experience one of the few consistent truths of Genizah research: you never know what you'll find next.



T-S Ar.38.75

Essay by al-Jahiz

Page from the literary essay *On Squaring and Circling* by the renowned Muslim author, al-Jahiz (d. 868/869 CE). Al-Jahiz was a rationalist scholar famous for employing irony and comedy to discuss serious topics. In this essay, he challenges widespread beliefs and superstitions related to the natural world. This page is from a chapter about animal life. It is one of the oldest surviving copies of al-Jahiz's work.[2]

Ca. 10th century

VIII (a). Documents

When we talk about Genizah ‘documents’, we don’t mean just any old piece of paper or parchment. Instead, ‘document’ distinguishes a genre of writing that is not literature, magical, educational, or liturgical, but is informational or evidential: most documents are legal deeds that govern relationships between individuals or facilitate record-keeping. They are often – though not always – produced by agents with communal or governmental authority. They include transaction receipts, financial records, court testimonies, business contracts, and petitions to rulers.

This chapter comes in two parts. Part (a) contains a variety of document types written both by Jews and by members of the Islamic governments in Egypt. Part (b) contains only a special type of document called a *ketubbah*, a Jewish marriage contract, one of the most ubiquitous documents in Jewish archives. Not only are ketubbot very common in the Cairo Genizah, they are often artistically distinct from other legal documents.

Recycled Ikshidid Document

Arabic fiscal document from the Ikshidid chancellory, mentioning two key figures: Muhammad ibn Tughj and Abu al-Misk Kafur. Ibn Tughj, also simply called "the Ikshid," was an Abbasid governor who established the Ikshidid dynasty as the autonomous rulers of Egypt in 935 CE. Kafur was an enslaved black servant, most likely from Nubia, whom Ibn Tughj freed and appointed to educate his two sons. He later became a military officer and a diplomat. When Ibn Tughj died in 946, Kafur assumed guardianship of the Ikshidid princes and took control as the *de facto* leader of Egypt. He ruled until his own death in 968, just one year before the Fatimids conquered Fustat. This document found its way to the Jewish community, who used it to copy liturgical poetry (specifically *yoserot*) by Solomon Sulayman al-Sinjari, even across and between the lines of the existing Arabic document.[1]

940–41 CE



T-S NS 139.65

VIII (b). Ketubbot

One of the most distinctive types of Jewish document is the ketubbah (plural: *ketubbot*, from the Hebrew and Aramaic root *k-t-b* meaning 'to write'), the marriage contract that specifies the legal and financial arrangements of a marriage. The signing of the ketubbah represents the formal completion of the marriage process, which would have begun with engagement and betrothal.

The traditional ketubbah text was formulated in Aramaic, with roots that likely go back to the Second Temple period. The ketubbah specifies the traditional marriage gift (*mohar*) of 200 *zuz* (silver coins) the bride would receive (but only half if she had previously been married), as well as an additional financial gift promised by the groom. Most of this additional gift would only be paid on divorce or after the husband's death. The value of the bride's dowry – her trousseau, and any other assets she was bringing into the marriage – was specified, as well as a series of stipulations and mutual obligations enjoined upon the couple. The ketubbah contract is a fixed text today, but in the Middle Ages the formulae were still in flux and differences between communities are reflected in their writing of their ketubbot. The ancient Palestinian customs that lived on in some Egyptian Jewish communities included the husband's ketubbah obligation to pay his wife's ransom should she be kidnapped (from his own funds and not from her dowry), and grant the wife a right to receive a *get* (deed of divorce) if she 'hates' her husband. The ketubbah's legal status is validated by the signatures of at least two witnesses.

Ketubbot are one of the most common types of document preserved in the Cairo Genizah, since every married Jewish couple, no matter their status, would have had one. Unlike the legal documents in the first half of this chapter, scribes often decorated these contracts with calligraphic superscriptions with good wishes for the couple, joyful biblical verses, vibrant colours, artistic designs, and illustrations. As ketubbot are so visually unique, they have earned themselves a separate section in this book.



Or.1080 J83

A Habsburg Dowry

Parchment ketubbah for the marriage of Judah Masʿud ben Moses Masʿud and Sitt al-Bayt ('Mistress of the Household') bat Abraham Meʾir, dated 14 Nisan 5532 (= 1772 CE), in Cairo. The border is decorated with gold and tulip designs, and the parchment is cut and shaped at the top. The bridal payment, like the couple's names, is given in large letters to make it stand out: 300 *abu taqa riyyals.* The term *abu taqa*, literally 'father of the little window', was the Egyptian Arabic nickname for the Austrian *thaler* that began circulating in Cairo during the 18th century (given for the resemblance of the Habsburg crest to a window frame!).

April 17th, 1772 CE

IX.
Education

Cairo Genizah manuscripts offer a rare glimpse into the Jewish schoolrooms of medieval Egypt. They reveal a literate society where most Jewish children – girls as well as boys – were given at least a basic education, if not at school then with private tutors. The Hebrew Bible formed the focus of this education, and Hebrew was taught so that the children would be equipped with the skills to enable them to take part in the synagogue service and read the Torah. As writing material became more plentiful through the introduction of paper to Egypt, all children gained the means to practise writing Hebrew as well as simply reading it. Hundreds of their writing exercises now survive in the Genizah. Children first studied the Hebrew alphabet and vowel signs, copied while sitting cross-legged on the floor and balancing writing boards on their knees. Once they conquered the alphabet, they progressed to passages from *Vayyiqra*, the biblical book of Leviticus. Books were a precious commodity, so they were often shared between several pupils in the schoolroom. Children learned to read upside-down or sideways so they could follow the lesson from wherever they sat.

Letters from the Genizah often show parents expressing concern about their children's education, fretting about the quality of their lessons, bursting with pride at their accomplishments, or worrying about their teacher's fees. The education of the poor or orphaned children was usually the responsibility of Jewish charitable organisations, which paid their school fees, sometimes at a reduced rate. Educating children was a key aim for the community. On top of basic schooling in literacy and Jewish texts, it was considered important for many children to learn a useful trade. Parents paid apprenticeship fees – sometimes for years – to ensure older children could train with an expert craftsperson.

Illuminated Hebrew Textbooks

Medieval textbooks like these were often elaborately decorated with images and bright colours to keep the attention of young readers.



T-S K5.13

Illuminated carpet page and exemplar Hebrew text featuring a lamp and menorah interspersed with Star of David designs. The letters *aleph*, *bet*, and *gimel* repeat with each of the Tiberian Hebrew vowel signs as an example for new learners to copy.

Ca. 11th–13th century



L-G Glass 11

Another primer for teaching the Hebrew alphabet, this time presented in the 'half-and-half' order (*aleph*, *lamed*, *bet*, *mem*…).

Ca. 11th–13th century



T-S K5.2

More Hebrew letters copied with the Tiberian vowel signs, this time surrounded by a micrographic border of Hebrew text.

Ca. 11th–13th century

X.

Bookmaking & Scribal Arts

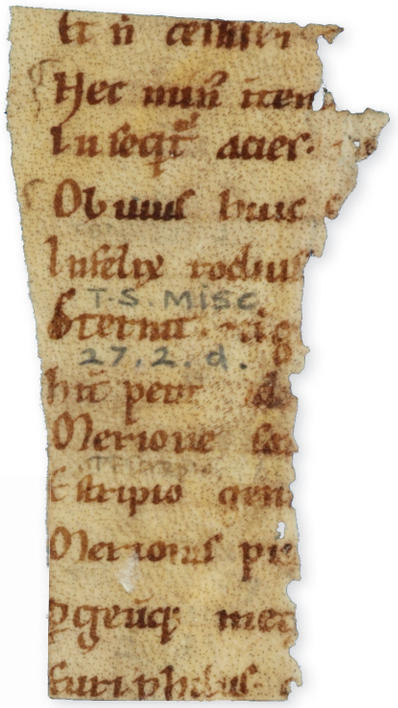
Before the introduction of the printing press, every part of a book had to be made by hand in a process that involved tanners, weavers, stationers, chemists, scribes, bookbinders, and leatherworkers. Before writing could even begin, scribes needed writing materials. The most common materials for Genizah manuscripts were parchment, made from dried animal skins, and rag paper, made from textile pulp spread into thin sheets. Ink was also mixed by hand using pigments from charcoal, metallic compounds, and plant extracts. Professional scribes trained for years in the arts of calligraphy to give their customers a high-quality reading experience, often including creative marginal designs alongside works of both science and religion. Before or after writing, bookmakers sewed pages together into units called 'quires' (usually 6–10 pages), then bound all the quires together into a 'codex' – what we today would recognise as a 'book'. Such codices were often bound between hardcover boards and wrapped in leather that was tooled with artistic patterns. A well-made book was a valuable, treasured possession.

The fragments in this chapter demonstrate the handiwork of artisans at every stage of this process. Most of them are anonymous, but their labour survives through a history of use, and often re-use too, that eventually landed them in the Cairo Genizah.

Latin Fragmentology

This tiny parchment fragment contains the poem *Ilias Latina*, a Latin version of Homer's *Iliad* composed in the 1st century CE. This section covers the events of the fifth book of the Iliad and was probably copied in France in the 11th or 12th century. Old manuscripts were sometimes torn into thin strips like this and used to reinforce the binding of other books. Latin manuscripts are rare in the Cairo Genizah – it's possible that a Crusader or a member of a Crusader's household originally carried this one from Europe to Egypt.

Ca. 11th–12th century



T-S Misc.27.2d



T-S NS 324.2

Egyptian Love Birds

Illuminated page depicting two Egyptian geese, a species of waterfowl native to the Nile valley. Ancient Egyptians considered them sacred messengers between heaven and earth. They can now also be found along the River Thames and in East Anglia. We've even seen them on the River Cam here in Cambridge. As is so common in the Cairo Genizah, a child used the back of this page to practise the Hebrew alphabet.

Ca. 11th–13th century

XI.
Printing

Almost all the fragments we have shown so far have been handwritten 'manuscripts' (from the Latin for 'hand writing'). The Cairo Genizah is best known for its manuscripts, but the Egyptian Jewish community also stored thousands of printed books in their genizot. They offer us a glimpse into the physical history of Jewish literary culture between 1450 and 1897 and help us answer an important question: where did Egyptian Jews get their books?

There are two main types of printing among the fragments in the Cairo Genizah: block prints and prints from movable type. The first kind is older, appearing in the Middle East first around the 9th or 10th century (and even earlier in East Asia) among artisans who carved wooden blocks to create text and images. A carved block of this type is known in Arabic as a *tarsh*. Printers coated *tarsh* blocks with ink and pressed them onto paper sheets, stamping them with images. For some artefacts, such as single-leaf amulets, this could be easier and cheaper than paying professional scribes. By about 1300 CE, people in Europe began making wood-block prints, a few of which also survive in the Genizah. The second kind of printing – that done with a printing press and movable type – first appeared in Europe during the 15th century. Within a few decades of Johannes Gutenberg's death (d. 1468), Egyptian Jews could acquire Hebrew books from printers in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Constantinople. Most imprints that survive in the Genizah therefore come from outside Egypt, but there are also some that preserve the lost art of Egyptian Hebrew printing.

Neapolitan Woodcuts from a Jewish Press

Even after the widespread adoption of the movable-type printing press, European printers decorated their books by integrating woodcut images alongside typography. This is the earliest known Passover Haggadah printed with illustrations. The text was most likely printed by the Jewish brothers Samuel and David ibn Nahmias in Constantinople around 1506 CE. The woodcuts, however, were carved in Naples at a workshop famous for illustrating an early edition of Aesop's Fables in 1485.[6]

Ca. 1506 CE



T-S Misc.19.61

This book is now available to order (£45/$60) here:

https://linktr.ee/CambridgeGRU





THE Illustrated Cairo Genizah

Nick Posegay &
Melonie Schmierer-Lee

A Visual Tour of
Cairo Genizah Manuscripts at
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Melonie Schmierer-Lee

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Acknowledgements

We have wanted to make this book for many years. Promoting public knowledge of the Cairo Genizah has been part of the Genizah Research Unit's mission since 1974, but it took a remarkable confluence of events – the 50th anniversary of the GRU, three public exhibitions, a wildly successful programme of show-and-tell manuscript tours, and a modestly successful Instagram page – for all the pieces to fall into place. It also could not have happened without financial support from Cambridge University Library, the Second Aaron Littman Foundation, the Isaac Newton Trust, and the Leverhulme Trust project, "Interfaith Exchange in the Intellectual History of Middle Eastern Languages." Thank you to the Syndics of Cambridge University Library for permitting us to publish the images within.

One of the inspirations for this book was the Genizah Research Unit's Instagram page (@CambridgeGRU) that Nick began in 2021. Many of the fragments and discussions that ended up in this book came from there, and we would be remiss if we did not thank all of its readers for their support. In particular, thank you to Edson De Faria, Lucy De Los Reyes, Haim Gottschalk, Daniel Newman, Amanda Posegay, Kristine Rose-Beers, David Selis, and Noah van Renswoude. Special thanks to Sarah Sykes for the time she spent identifying and fetching images to share. The other inspiration was the GRU's recent public educational programming: show-and-tell visits under the auspices of the Littman Genizah Educational Programme, and a series of major exhibitions, *Discarded History* (Cambridge, 2017), *Ghost Words* (Cambridge, 2021), and *The Golden Age of the Jews of Al-Andalus* (Madrid, 2023–24).

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Nick Posegay
Melonie Schmierer-Lee
Cambridge University Library
April 2024

Introduction

This is the first illustrated volume intended to provide an introduction to the Cairo Genizah that is accessible to everyone, even those who have never heard of it before. Within these pages, you'll tour ancient artefacts that are entirely unique in world history – manuscripts that have redefined our understanding of the Middle East, the Mediterranean world, and most of all, the history of Judaism. Among them are some of the world's oldest Bibles, the official records of long-defeated empires, and works of literature once thought lost to the ages. You'll see the writings of some of the most famous names in history, people like Avicenna, Origen, Augustine, Galen, Saladin, Joseph Karo, and Moses Maimonides. You'll read about the daily travails of ordinary people in the Middle Ages – residents of Egypt, Iberia, India, Byzantium, Iraq, and Palestine – through the personal letters that they sent to their loved ones. You'll begin to understand the evidence for how modern legal, economic, and religious systems are built on foundations that are more than 1000 years old. All of these things and more survived to the present day because of the Cairo Genizah, a medieval repository of worn-out manuscripts created by the Jews of Cairo.

This book is also a celebration of 127 years of Cairo Genizah research in Cambridge, and it marks 50 years since the founding of Cambridge University Library's Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit. We, the authors, are researchers at the University of Cambridge with a combined 25 years of experience in studying Cairo Genizah manuscripts – and a drive to share that research with a wide audience. We developed this book alongside the Genizah Research Unit's ongoing public tours, special exhibitions, and social media programming. You're more than welcome to visit us at Cambridge University Library to see the manuscripts yourself, but if you can't make the trip, then this book is the next best thing.

What is the Cairo Genizah?

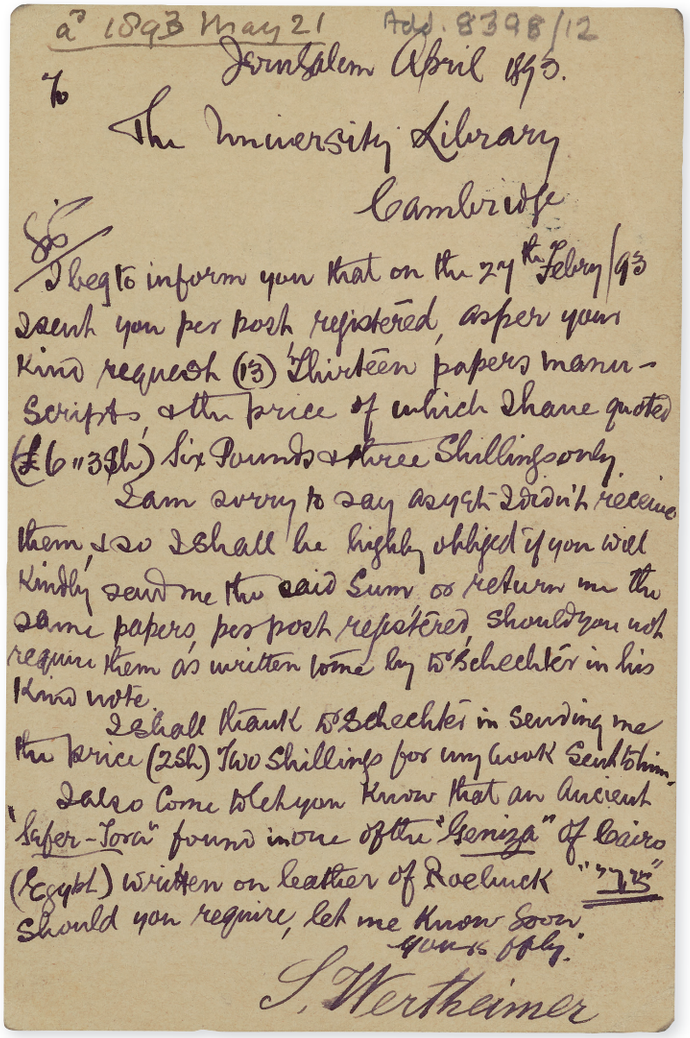
To explain exactly what the Cairo Genizah is, we should first ask, "What is a genizah?" The word *genizah* is Hebrew, from an ancient root meaning 'hidden' or 'stored up', thought to be related to the Persian word *ganza*, 'treasury'. A genizah is a hidden space where Jewish communities deposit worn-out texts that are too old or damaged for continued use. Their main purpose is to prevent items that contain the sacred name of God from being destroyed like other rubbish. Many *genizot* (plural of genizah) are cupboards in synagogues, where they act as temporary storage spaces before the texts can be given proper burials in the ground.

The term 'Cairo Genizah' refers to the corpus of manuscripts that Egyptian Jewish communities deposited into various genizot between the 11th and 19th centuries CE. The vast majority of these manuscripts come from the genizah chamber of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat, the old city of what is now modern Cairo. Others come from the Karaite Dar Simha synagogue and the Basatin Cemetery on the edge of Cairo. Today, they are held primarily in European and American libraries, with approximately two-thirds in Cambridge University Library (~200,000 fragments), and other major collections in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (~31,000), the Russian National Library (~15,000), Oxford's Bodleian Library (~12,000), Manchester's John Rylands Library (~11,000), and the British Library (~6,000).

For the communities that produced the Cairo Genizah, it seems that almost every scrap of paper with Hebrew letters was considered sacred enough to deposit into a genizah. Some of them may even have deposited all papers with writing on them – including those with no Hebrew – rather than throwing them away. The result is that the Cairo Genizah holds not just Jewish religious texts like Bibles and Torah scrolls, but also thousands of personal letters, government documents, business contracts, receipts, notes, drawings, and literary works in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Judaeo-Arabic, Ladino, Yiddish, Judaeo-Italian, Judaeo-Persian, Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Turkish, Georgian, Latin, and French.

This book will take you on a tour of these manuscripts. All of them were – almost by definition – thrown away, often after long lives of use and reuse, so many are badly torn, scraped, rubbed, faded, or stained. As well

as wear-and-tear from use, most of them are also about 900 years old, and they have not always been kept in the best conditions. Nevertheless, even for the most badly damaged fragments, their very presence in the Cairo Genizah tells us a story about what people were reading, writing, and doing in Egypt during the Middle Ages.



a° 1893 May 21 Add. 8398/12

Jerusalem April 1893.

To

The University Library

Cambridge

I beg to inform you that on the 24th Febry/93 I sent you per post registered, as per your kind request (13) Thirteen papers manuscripts, the price of which I have quoted (£6 "3sh) Six Pounds & three Shillings only.

I am sorry to say as yet I didn't receive them, so I shall be highly obliged if you will kindly send me the said Sum or return me the same papers per post registered should you not require them as written some by W. Schechter in his kind note.

I shall thank W. Schechter in sending me the price (2sh) Two Shillings for my work sent to him.

I also come to let you know that an ancient "Sefer-Tora" found in one of the "Geniza" of Cairo (Egypt) written on leather of Roebuck "27"

Should you require, let me know soon.

Yours obly.

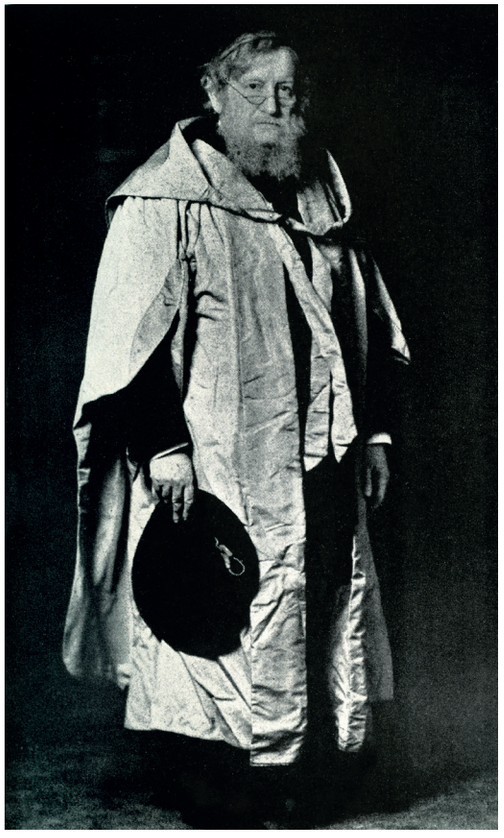
S. Wertheimer

CUL Add.8398/12. Letter from Solomon Wertheimer to Cambridge University Library, April 1893.

The 'Discovery' of the Manuscripts

The first Genizah fragments came to Cambridge University Library in the early 1890s. A Hungarian rare books dealer, Rabbi Solomon Aaron Wertheimer, posted bundles of manuscripts to Cambridge from Jerusalem. The Library purchased some as part of an initiative to bolster their Hebrew collections, but others failed to generate much interest, and Wertheimer sent plaintive letters to the Library asking either for payment or the return of the unwanted manuscripts. In one note from 1893, he mentioned an ancient Torah scroll that was acquired from a synagogue storage room – a genizah – in Cairo.

Cambridge's resident Hebrew specialist, Solomon Schechter, routinely checked Wertheimer's manuscript offerings. Schechter was born into a Hasidic family in the Moldavian town of Focşani in 1847, and was recognised as an intellectual prodigy as a child. After studying in Vienna and Berlin, he came to London at the invitation of the Jewish scholar and educator, Claude



Solomon Schechter in his doctoral robes, ca. 1900.



Portraits of Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, by John Peddie, oil on canvas. Westminster College, Cambridge.

Montefiore, who saw his potential as a leading Jewish thinker. By all accounts, he took to England and its people with great enthusiasm, and quickly became proficient in English.[1] Cambridge recognised the value of Schechter's scholarship and appointed him Lecturer in Talmudics in 1890. He was only the second Jewish person to teach at the University. The study of Jewish law had previously been taught for centuries by and for Christian clergymen.

Something of an outsider in Cambridge society, Schechter found kindred spirits among other unorthodox scholars. Two adventurous and fabulously wealthy Scottish sister scholars – Agnes Lewis and Margaret Gibson – had settled together in Cambridge after the untimely deaths of their husbands. As devout Presbyterians, the twins were interested in the origins of the biblical text, and began to visit monasteries in the hopes of discovering early biblical manuscripts. They were especially familiar with St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai, where – after being hauled up over the walls in a basket – they befriended its Orthodox monks by conversing in fluent Greek. The monks gave them permission to inspect the oldest manuscripts in the monastic library, where they found an early Syriac version of the Gospels.[2] This discovery established their scholarly reputations in Cambridge, but as women they could not be admitted to the University.

During their 1896 expedition to St. Catherine's, the sisters purchased a bundle of Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts from a local dealer. When they returned to Cambridge, they invited Schechter to examine them. Agnes described the dramatic events:[3]

1 N. Bentwich, *Solomon Schechter: A Biography* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1940), 64.

2 M. Gibson, *How the Codex was Found: A Narrative of Two Visits to Sinai, From Mrs. Lewis's Journals, 1892–1893* (Cambridge, 1893).

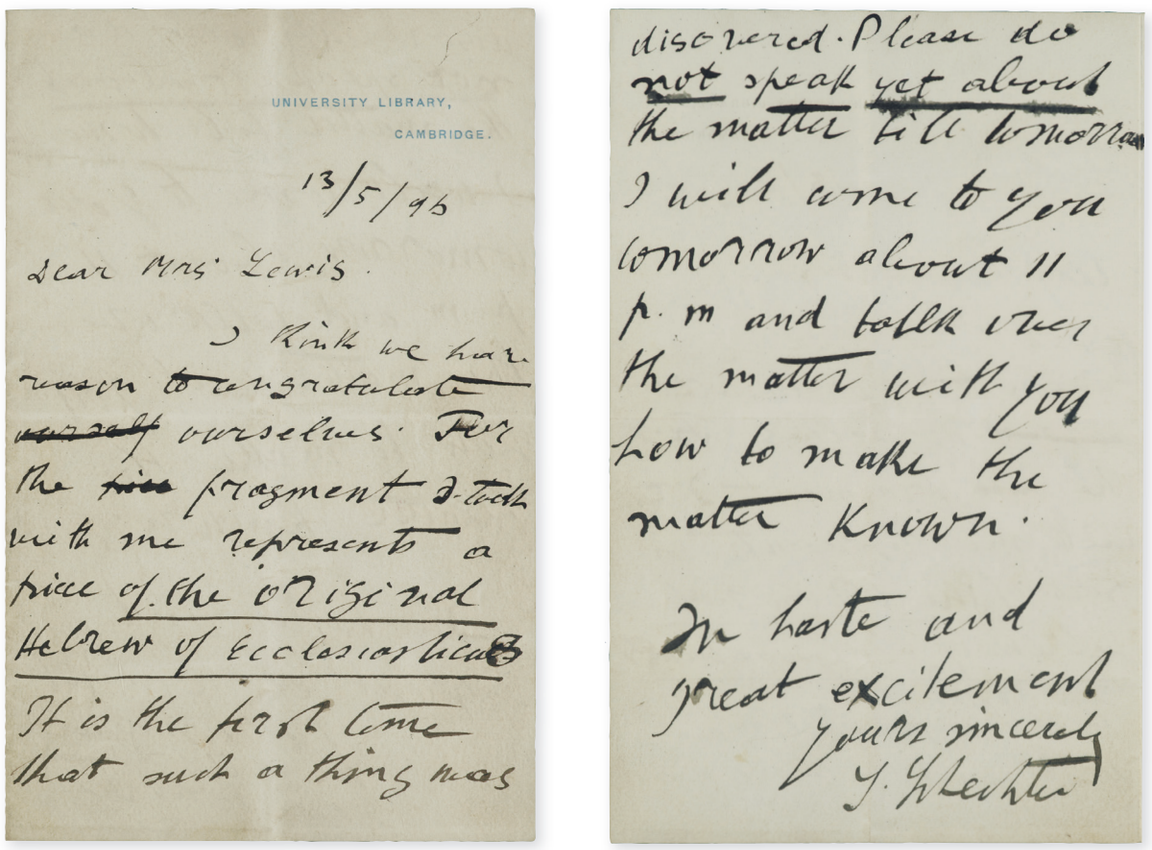
3 A. Smith Lewis, *In the Shadow of Sinai: A Story of Travel and Research from 1895 to 1897* (Cambridge, 1898).

> …we resolved on asking our friend Dr Solomon Schechter, Reader in Talmudic to the University, to examine them. Accordingly, on May 13th, I met him by chance on King's Parade, and told him that we had a number of things at home which awaited his inspection. He must have gone to our house immediately, for I returned after doing a little shopping and found him in the dining-room with our two bundles of fragments on the table. He held up a large vellum leaf saying, "This is part of the Jerusalem Talmud, which is very rare; may I take it away?" "Certainly," I replied. Then he held up a dirty scrap of paper. "This, too, is very interesting; may I take it away and identify it?" "Certainly." "May I publish it?" I replied, "Mrs Gibson and I will only be too happy if you find that it is worth publishing."

A few hours later, a letter arrived:

Schechter's message announced the identification of a text that had not been seen for a thousand years: the original Hebrew of the apocryphal book of Ben Sira (known in Christian circles as Ecclesiasticus). The discovery became national news. Schechter's rivals in Oxford identified more pages of the book among manuscripts they had collected in Egypt, and a race was on: who would succeed in tracking down their source, and whatever else might remain there?

Schechter approached his friend, Charles Taylor, for advice in securing University travel funding. Taylor, a mathematician, Hebraicist, and Master of St John's College, advised him not to delay and offered his own money to fund an expedition. Schechter set off for Egypt in the winter of 1896, hoping to find more leaves of Ben Sira and other rare works. On his return, he described his 'pilgrimage' to the Genizah in an article for *The Times*,



UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,
CAMBRIDGE.

13/5/96

Dear Mrs Lewis.

I think we have reason to congratulate ourselves. For the fragment I took with me represents a piece of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus. It is the first time that such a thing was discovered. Please do not speak yet about the matter till tomorrow I will come to you tomorrow about 11 p.m and talk over the matter with you how to make the matter known.

In haste and great excitement
Yours sincerely
S. Schechter

Schechter's note to Agnes Lewis, dated 13 May, 1896.



Entrance to the Ben Ezra Synagogue's genizah chamber, ca. 1900.

titled "A Hoard of Hebrew Manuscripts."[4] He began by introducing the concept of a genizah to the British public:

> The Genizah of the old Jewish community... represents a combination of sacred lumber-room and secular record office.

He then explained that before arriving in Egypt, he worried that much of its history had been lost:

> I felt reassured after a brief interview with the Rev. Aaron Bensimon, the Grand Rabbi of Cairo, to whom I had an introduction from the Chief Rabbi, the Very Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler. From him I soon learnt that Old Cairo would be the proper field of my activity, a place old enough to enjoy the respect even of a resident of Cambridge.

The rabbi took him to the Ben Ezra synagogue:

> We left our carriage somewhere in the neighbourhood of the "Fortress of Babylon," whence the Rabbi directed his steps to the so-called Synagogue of Ezra the Scribe.

And he was shown the genizah chamber:

> The Genizah, which probably always formed an integral part of the synagogue, is now situated at the end of the gallery, presenting the appearance of a sort of windowless and doorless room of fair dimensions. The entrance is on the west side, through a big, shapeless hole reached by a ladder. After showing me over the place and the neighbouring buildings, or rather ruins, the Rabbi introduced me to the beadles of the synagogue, who are at the same time the keepers of the Genizah, and authorised me to take from it what, and as much as, I liked. Now, as a matter of fact, I liked all. Still, some discretion was necessary… One can hardly realise the confusion in a genuine old Genizah until one has seen it. It is a battlefield of books, and the literary production of many centuries had their share in the battle, and their *disjecta membra* are now strewn over its area. Some of the belligerents have perished outright, and are literally ground to dust in the terrible struggle for space…

4 *The Times*, "A Hoard of Hebrew MSS," issued 3 August 1897 (London).

Not all of the 'belligerents' interested Schechter, and – much to the chagrin of the present authors – he weeded out the later printed material:

> Most of my time in Cairo was spent in getting rid of these *parvenus*, whilst every piece of paper or parchment that had any claim to a respectable age was packed in bags and conveyed to the forwarding agent to be shipped to England. The task was by no means easy, the Genizah being very dark, and emitting clouds of dust when its contents were stirred, as if protesting against the disturbance of its inmates. The protest is the less to be ignored as the dust settles in one's throat, and threatens suffocation.

He was also opposed to some of the customs of the local Jews who cared for the synagogue:

> I was thus compelled to accept the aid offered me by the keepers of the place, who had some experience in such work from their connexion with former acquisitions (perhaps they were rather depredations) from the Genizah. Of course, they declined to be paid for their services in hard cash of so many piastres per diem. This was a vulgar way of doing business to which no self-respecting keeper of a real Genizah would degrade himself. The keepers insisted the more on *bakhshish*, which, besides being a more dignified kind of remuneration, has the advantage of being expected also for services not rendered.

Schechter then offered the public an overview of the collected manuscripts, noting Bibles with a new system of punctuation, historical Jewish prayer books with "psalmists hitherto unknown," and old rabbinic works "long ago given up as lost for ever." He also described the exceptionally rich documents of daily life:

> All sorts and conditions of men and situations are represented in them: the happy young married couple by their marriage contract; the marriage that failed by its letter of divorce; the slave by his deed of emancipation; the Court of justice by its legal decisions; the heads of the schools by their learned epistles; the newly appointed "Prince of the Exile" by the description of his installation; the rich trader by his correspondence with his agents in Malabar; the gentleman-beggar by his letters of recommendation to the great ones in Israel; the fanatics by their thundering excommunications; the meek man by his mild apologies; the fool by his amulet; the medical man by his prescriptions; and the patient by his will.



Photograph by Melonie Schmierer-Lee

Exterior of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in 2017.

The Ben Ezra Synagogue

The Ben Ezra synagogue was constructed in the 1040s CE, likely on the foundations of an older synagogue that was destroyed on the orders of the oppressive caliph, al-Hakim. Over its lifetime, it has been associated with various figures from Jewish tradition, including Moses, Jeremiah, Elijah, and Ezra. It is known today as 'Ben Ezra' because it once housed a Torah scroll rumoured to have been written by the ancient biblical scribe, Ezra. However, in the Middle Ages it was known as Kanisat al-Yerushalmiyyin ('the Synagogue of the Jerusalemites') or Kanisat al-Shamiyyin ('the Synagogue of the Palestinians'), and later on, Kanisat Eliyahu ('the Synagogue of Elijah').

As the largest and most ancient synagogue in Fustat, it was the seat of the religious court (the 'Bet Din'), a hub for social welfare, and a place of study. In the 10th and 11th centuries, the wealthiest members of the Jewish community lived nearby, and some bequeathed their houses to the synagogue's charitable foundation to help fund communal needs. In the 12th century, however, more prosperous Jews gravitated to Cairo – the Fatimid and Ayyubid capital north of Fustat – and from the latter part of the 13th century onwards the area around the synagogue mainly housed the poor and destitute. Visitors to Fustat in the 15th century described the synagogue in poor condition, damaged by fire. Although daily services stopped, its venerable history still attracted pilgrims from Cairo and further afield for weekly or monthly services.

Access to the synagogue's genizah chamber was through a hatch in the second-floor women's gallery (men and women worshipped separately). The chamber was no secret, but for many years, local custom held that it was guarded by a serpent. Some 19th-century scholars did receive permission to remove sacks of manuscripts from the chamber, and those manuscripts made their way to libraries and private collections all over Europe, including Cambridge – though few European researchers knew of their origins or realised their significance.

Periodic efforts were made to renovate the decaying building until 1889. After the roof collapsed, the entire structure was demolished and rebuilt to the same specifications. The contents of the genizah chamber were removed during demolition, but most of them were replaced after construction ended in 1892. It was this newly rebuilt synagogue that Schechter visited in 1897. In the 1990s, the building benefited from another major restoration project. It is no longer a functioning synagogue, but a historical monument open to the public.

In closing, Schechter proved himself master of the understatement:

> All these treasures are now stored up in the Library of the University of Cambridge, where they are undergoing the slow process of a thorough examination. The results of this examination will certainly prove interesting alike to the theologian and the historian.

In candid letters sent from Cairo, Schechter described more of what had gone on behind the scenes. He told his wife, Mathilde, about how he befriended the local Chief Rabbi after taking him to see the Giza pyramids:[5]

> I flirted with him for hours, and am now taking Arabic lessons three times a week. You see how practical your old man is… The Rabbi is very kind to me and kisses me on my mouth, which is not very pleasant… I am just back from the Geniza and brought two big sacks with fragments. I must have a bath at once. You have no idea of the dirt.

5 Bentwich, 129.

To Francis Jenkinson, Cambridge's University Librarian, Schechter wrote about the practical aspects of gathering the manuscripts:[6]

> I am now here since three weeks. After making the acquaintance of the Chief Rabbi here and the president of the Jewish community I set to work on the "Genizas" where I spend the most of my time in the dust of centuries. The beadel & other infernal scoundrels are helping me to clear away the rubbish and the printed matter. I have constantly to bakeshish them, but still they are stealing many good things and sell them to the dealers in antiquities. I cannot possibly prevent it, but I found out the said dealers and bought from them the fragments which have interest for me. In the Genizah itself which is dark dusty and full of all possible insects there is no opportunity of examining the content of MSS. My policy is to take as much as I can (for which I have the full permission of the authorities). I have till now thirteen large bags of fragments, of which though not examined, I am sure, contain many most important things.

Schechter then set out his plan to give the manuscripts a permanent home in Cambridge University Library:

> Now I have a great request… I do not consider it desirable to the MSS here and am anxious to send the first lot home to England. Will you give them a place in the University Library till I return. The MSS will probably belong soon to your Library. I want only to hear first whether you and the Syndics will agree to certain conditions which I have to make. Money plays no important part in these conditions and I am sure you will find them very fair and just.

Agnes and Margaret had arrived in Cairo soon after Schechter and came to see the synagogue. As a custodian slipped through the hole into the genizah chamber, Agnes listened in astonishment to the sound of manuscripts crunching beneath his feet. She was concerned for Schechter's wellbeing, and wrote to his wife back in Cambridge:[7]

> Schechter has found a few good things among heaps of what I won't say is rubbish, but unimportant stuff. He has been choked with dust and bad air and has worked like a horse. He wishes he had a respirator…

Schechter arranged for a licence to export the fragments from Egypt's highest authority at the time – the British colonial consul general, Lord Cromer – and sent them ahead to England by steamer and train. Schechter himself travelled back separately aboard a ship where he met the famed archaeologist Flinders Petrie. There was a hairy moment when the ship ran aground on rocks near Marseilles, but a tugboat took all passengers to safety.

On 15 December, 1898, the University Orator in the Cambridge Senate House conveyed the University's official thanks to the Jewish community of Cairo for the gift of the Genizah Collection. The text was sent to Cairo in Latin and Hebrew versions. An English edition appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* of 30 December, 1898:[8]

> To the Heads of the Jewish Community in Cairo:
>
> We offer you our thanks, not only on account of the singular goodwill with which you received our Reader in Rabbinic, but also on account of the conspicuous liberality with which you permitted him to return to us laden with so many fragments of books from your Treasury. In the faithful preservation of books, the saying, "the written word remains", seems to have been as a law to you… By the generous gift of your ancient books to our envoy you have not only increased your own ancient renown but have even made a considerable addition to the history of your ancient literature. Even from our islands so far to the West, some light will doubtless be shed upon your literature…

6 Schechter's letter to Francis Jenkinson, dated 12th January 1897: Cambridge University Library Add.6463(e)3416. For more on the working relationship between Jenkinson and Schechter, see S. Reif, "Jenkinson and Schechter at Cambridge: an expanded and updated assessment," *Jewish Historical Studies*, Vol. 32 (1990–1992), 279–316.

7 Bentwich, 130.

8 The full Hebrew and English text appears here: https://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/genizah-fragments/posts/we-offer-you-our-thanks-cambridges-letter-egypts-jewish-community.

The Cairo Genizah in Cambridge

Schechter donated the entire 'hoard' of Genizah fragments to Cambridge University Library in 1898. The terms of the donation required the University to preserve the manuscripts and draw up a catalogue list within ten years. This proved to be a rather ambitious commitment. The University Library granted Schechter the use of a dedicated room to sort the collection with a small team of assistants,[9] which soon became known as the 'Cairo Room'. Some fragments were given identifying classmark numbers and organised into categories, such as 'Bible', 'Commentary', 'Mishnah', 'Talmud', or 'Document'. Many were steamed, flattened, and put between large panes of glass, but the task must have seemed neverending. Schechter had left money in Egypt with instructions to buy any other fragments that came to light, and more kept arriving.

Cambridge's Cairo Genizah collections would eventually be counted at almost 200,000 fragments, but it is likely that some of the fragments later sent to Cambridge came from sources other than the Ben Ezra Synagogue.

In 1902, after 4 years of productive work, Schechter heeded a personal spiritual call and left Cambridge to revive Conservative Judaism in the United States. He took some Genizah fragments with him, continuing research in his new post as president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America until his death in 1915. Schechter's successor in Cambridge, Ernest Worman, continued in a similarly productive vein between 1906 and 1909, drawing up handlists for thousands of fragments, only to be struck down by a sudden illness ('galloping



Schechter at work in the 'Cairo Room', 1898.

9 The University Library relocated to its current building in 1934. The library of Schechter's day is the university administrative building now known as the 'Old Schools'.

consumption') at the age of 38.[10] The still unclassified fragments – more than three quarters of the collection – survived the threats of war and librarians inclined towards decluttering, but progress stalled for decades. Jenkinson's successor as University Librarian, Alwyn Faber Scholfield, later despaired of the collection, writing: "They might from their size and condition be fairly described as a dust heap… [and] seem (to an ignorant person) to be a hopeless case."[11]

Most of the unsorted fragments remained in their shipping crates until the 1950s, when the historian Shelomo Dov Goitein arrived in Cambridge seeking manuscripts relating to the economic history of the medieval Mediterranean world. After Goitein examined the fragments conserved in glass, the University Librarian offered to show him the crates of unsorted material (marked 'Rubbish') in the Library's attic. His discoveries among these boxes spurred the Library to re-invest in the collection. In 1965, Henry Knopf – a



Stefan Reif, Israel Yeivin, and Ezra Fleischer examine a crate of unconserved fragments (1970s).





Conservators at work in the 1970s: Mrs Susan Fitzgeorge removing creases from manuscripts, and Mrs E. Burton sewing manuscripts into Melinex pockets.

10 Nick Posegay, "Ernest James Worman and the Victorian Genizah: A Salt-Miner's Tale of Romance, Tax Evasion, and Sudden Death," in N. Posegay, M. Connolly and B. Outhwaite (eds) *From the Battlefield of Books: Essays Celebrating 50 Years of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit* (Leiden: Brill, 2024).

11 Adina Hoffman and Peter Cole, *Sacred Trash: The Lost and Found World of the Cairo Geniza* (New York: Nextbook, Schocken, 2011), 195.



Conservator cleaning a paper fragment from the Mosseri Collection, 2016.

curator of Hebrew printing – was reassigned to have special responsibility for the Genizah, and conservation work slowly restarted. Then in 1973, Stefan Reif took over from Knopf as Assistant Under-Librarian "responsible for the cataloguing and arrangement" of the collection. In February the following year, Reif established the Genizah Research Unit (GRU), and a comprehensive programme to facilitate research and improve access to the collection began.

By 1983, the entire collection – including 150,000 fragments that had been stored in the attic – had been cleaned, flattened, and sewn into pockets of 'Melinex' archival polyester to be bound into folders of varying size. Manuscript conservation techniques have advanced considerably since then.[12] Today, University Library conservators are highly skilled in the care of Genizah material and tailor individual treatments for each fragment's unique situation. Many manuscripts have flaky ink that must be consolidated to prevent it falling off the page. Dirt is carefully removed using soft brushes – sometimes under microscope – and creases are gently relaxed with small amounts of deionised water before being flattened under weights. Conservators can also repair tears using wheat starch paste or remoistenable tissue, but the aim is not to return a manuscript to its original condition, only to stabilise it so it can be studied without incurring further damage.

Thanks to a generous donation from Dov Friedberg, the Friedberg Geniza Project sponsored the digitisation of the Cambridge Genizah collections between 2009 and 2012, and now nearly all Genizah collections around the world have been photographed. The images – available to browse online – have transformed Genizah research. Manuscripts torn apart and housed on different continents are now regularly reunited in digital format.

12 It is, for example, no longer best practice to iron medieval parchment, but given the costs of conservation work today, it is something of a relief that most of it was done at pace in the 1970s and 1980s.

How to Read this Book

This book is not a work of traditional academic research, nor is it targeted at Genizah specialists, although it does contain considerable academic and specialist research. It is also not a catalogue of Genizah fragments, but it does attempt to represent the diverse contents of Cambridge University Library's Genizah collections. Every page features images of one or more Genizah fragments that we think are particularly interesting, whether because they're visually distinct, historically significant, widely known, or just help us tell a good story. We've divided them into 12 thematic chapters that demonstrate the major social, historical, and artistic trends that we find throughout the ten centuries of the Cairo Genizah. You can read them in any order, but if this is your first introduction to the Genizah, we recommend you start with Chapter I.

Each chapter has between 20 and 30 manuscript entries. For each one, we have written a title and short description alongside an image from Cambridge University Library's digital archive. Below the description is the date of the fragment (estimated to the best of our knowledge). Next to each image, in red text, there is also a small identification number. This is the fragment's 'classmark', the number assigned to it by Cambridge University Library to identify it in archives and academic publications. Additional information about any manuscript can be found by entering its classmark in the Cambridge University Digital Library (CUDL) database. CUDL (pronounced 'cuddle') is an online repository for accessing the digitised archival materials at the University of Cambridge. There you can find further descriptions, measurements, and high-resolution, zoomable, downloadable images of every manuscript. To access the CUDL database, visit cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk and search for the classmark you want to see.

The classmarks in this book come in five different formats: T-S, Add., Or., L-G, and Mosseri. Each represents a different manuscript collection at Cambridge University Library:

1) The Taylor-Schechter Collection
With almost 200,000 fragments, the Taylor-Schechter Collection is the largest collection of Genizah manuscripts in the world. It is named after Solomon Schechter, the Cambridge Reader responsible for bringing most of the manuscripts to Cambridge, and Charles Taylor, the Master of St. John's College who bankrolled Schechter's efforts. A large majority of the fragments in this book come from this collection. The Taylor-Schechter (T-S) manuscripts are further organised based on their contents and when they were conserved in Cambridge. Some of the most common sub-collections in this book are the New Series (T-S NS), the Additional Series (T-S AS), the Arabic Series (T-S Ar), and the Miscellaneous Series (T-S Misc).

2) The CUL Additional Collection
The Additional Collection contains certain Genizah fragments that the University Library purchased from Jewish manuscript dealers (particularly Rabbi Solomon Wertheimer) in the early 1890s. We don't always know exactly how these dealers acquired their manuscripts. We think that most of them came from the Cairo Genizah, but it is possible that some were from other Jewish communities in Egypt and Palestine. Classmarks from this collection start with Add.

3) The CUL Oriental Collection
Some other Genizah fragments that Cambridge University Library purchased in the 1890s were only assigned classmarks in the 1950s. These were added to the 'Oriental' Collection, now referred to as the Or. Collection. The classmarks of Genizah fragments from this collection mainly begin with Or.1080 or Or.1081.

4) The Lewis-Gibson Collection
The Lewis-Gibson Collection contains over 1700 manuscripts that Agnes Lewis and Margaret Gibson collected during their travels in Egypt and Palestine at the end of the 19th century. They bequeathed this collection to Westminster College in Cambridge, where it became known as the 'Westminster Collection'. In 2013, Cambridge University Library partnered with Oxford's Bodleian Library to purchase the Westminster Collection for £1.2 million. Together, the two libraries conserved the manuscripts to a modern standard and renamed the collection after Lewis and Gibson. Classmarks from this collection begin with L-G.



5) The Mosseri Collection

The Mosseri Collection contains more than 7000 fragments that Jacques (Jack) Mosseri collected in Cairo between 1909 and 1912. Mosseri was an Egyptian Jew who scoured the local synagogues for manuscripts that collectors like Schechter missed in the 1890s. In 2006, the Mosseri collection came to Cambridge University Library for a 20-year period of conservation and study. Classmarks from this collection begin with 'Mosseri'.

After studying in Cambridge, Jacques Mosseri returned to Egypt and collected manuscripts that had been buried in the synagogue grounds and in nearby cemeteries. His plan to open a museum celebrating Jewish life in Egypt was thwarted by his death in 1934.



Unconserved fragments from the Mosseri Collection, ca. 2006.


Toledo
Amalfi
Constantinople
Salonika
Mastaura
Aleppo
Tripoli
Damascus
Baghdad
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Cairo
Qus
Aydhab
Aden
Mangalore
Mediterranean Sea
Tripoli
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
Safed
Tiberias
Ramla
Ashqelon
Jerusalem
Rosetta
Damietta
Alexandria
Minyat Zifta
Bilbays
Cairo
Fustat

I.

Collection Highlights

The Cairo Genizah has become famous for many great discoveries over the last 125 years. In 1896, Solomon Schechter identified the lost Hebrew work of Ben Sira in fragments collected by the travelling scholars Agnes Lewis and Margaret Gibson. He set off to Cairo in search of the rest of it, but found much more than he ever anticipated. Schechter's "hoard" contained manuscripts of lost Greek translations of the Bible, surviving on parchment that had been washed clean and recycled already in the early Middle Ages. Scholars at Cambridge scoured the collection for unique Bible texts and other copies of the formative works of Judaism. The early 1900s brought historians' interest – most notably Jacob Mann – into how the documents could illuminate Jewish society in the Middle Ages. Though he'd left for America, Schechter continued delving and, in 1910, revealed what would turn out to be the first copies of Dead Sea Scrolls texts in the Genizah – unearthed fifty years before the famous finds at Qumran. In the 1950s, one of the most celebrated names in Genizah research, Shelomo Dov Goitein, made his first visit to Cambridge to examine the manuscripts. His discoveries among the documentary fragments shed light on almost every aspect of social and economic life in the Middle Ages. His enormous masterwork, *A Mediterranean Society*, is still an essential work for the history of the medieval world. Goitein was an academic powerhouse, not only identifying new autograph fragments of Moses Maimonides (in fact, we are still finding new autographs in the 2020s!) and his brother, but establishing a whole new field of study in the forgotten medieval Jewish trade with India. His efforts encouraged the Library to complete the conservation of the collection, large parts of which were still in the original boxes that Schechter had used to ship it from Egypt, and ultimately led to the founding of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit under Stefan Reif in 1974. The 1980s and 90s saw important discoveries in the history of the Hebrew language, Karaite contributions to medieval Judaism, and Arabic documentary culture. The last few decades have seen increasing interest in the Genizah as a source of evidence for interactions between Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, and have placed the collection at the heart of world history.

We at the Genizah Research Unit have spent the last 50 years working to document and share these discoveries with the wider public. In this chapter, we've selected some of the Cambridge collection's most famous and historically significant manuscripts – those one-of-a-kind items that can only be found in the Cairo Genizah.

The Lost Hebrew Book of Ben Sira

This fragment comes from the book of Ben Sira in Hebrew. In 1896, Solomon Schechter identified the long-lost Hebrew text of Ben Sira (known as Ecclesiasticus or Sirach in the Christian tradition, where it circulated mainly in Greek, Latin and Syriac versions) when Agnes Lewis and Margaret Gibson showed him this manuscript that they'd purchased from a dealer in Cairo. Almost immediately, he set off for Egypt looking for more pieces of the book, returning to Cambridge in 1897 with over 100,000 fragments from the Cairo Genizah. Six different copies of the book of Ben Sira have since been identified in the collection.[1]

Ca. 10th century



Or.1102

II.
Bible & Judaism

We expect to find biblical scrolls, books, and other sacred Jewish texts in a typical genizah, and we do find them in the Cairo Genizah, in vast quantities. There are around 25,000 fragments from Bible manuscripts in the collection, including large, finely-produced 'codices' (i.e. 'books'), sections of Torah scrolls, small books and pamphlets for personal use, and leaves from later printed editions. Recitation of the Bible in the synagogue was in Hebrew, with a traditional translation (the Targum) in Aramaic, but medieval Jews used Arabic and other translations as well, especially for personal study. There are also thousands of pages from the Talmud and Mishnah – the great works of Rabbinic Jewish law – and an estimated 50,000 fragments of liturgical poetry.

The history of the Jews in Egypt is a long and venerable one. There are archaeological traces of a Judean garrison stationed at Elephantine as far back as the 7th century BCE, and under later Greek, Roman, and Byzantine rule, Jews settled in Egypt in significant numbers. Egyptian Jews traditionally accepted the leadership of the Gaon (head) of the Palestinian academy, and followed the ancient Palestinian rite for their services, but this changed as Jews from Iraq, Persia, and North Africa migrated to Egypt and set up their own synagogues that followed Babylonian customs. By the 13th century, Egyptian Jews had largely abandoned the Palestinian rite – it was more important to consolidate the divided Jewish community. The Genizah is our main source for the lost Palestinian traditions. They held an important connection to the destroyed Jerusalem Temple in their communal memory. They emphasised this memory in their Passover seder by including a fifth question that recalled the practice of roasting meat for sacrifices in the Temple. The Babylonian practice of reading the whole of the Torah in one year left little time for much else in the synagogue service, but Palestinian Jews followed a triennial (three-year) reading cycle and supplemented their services with ancient liturgical poems designed to connect the weekly Torah reading with the reading from the Prophets (Haftarah). Palestinian practices extended into the home as well: women maintained a clear right to divorce their husbands in marriage contracts drawn up according to the Palestinian rite (☛ Chapter VIIIb).



T-S NS 3.21

Ancient Torah Scroll

Remnant from what was likely once a scroll of the entire Torah, datable to approximately the 7th century, and possibly even pre-Islamic. It was made in Syria or Palestine. This is one of the oldest Hebrew manuscripts in the collection and is among the oldest Torah scrolls in the world. It is one of the only surviving Bibles from the so-called 'dark age' of Hebrew manuscripts, a period between the latest Dead Sea Scrolls (ca. 100 CE) and the rise of the medieval Bible tradition (ca. 900 CE) when very few Hebrew manuscripts are extant. It thus provides a rare glimpse into the changing scribal traditions for writing the biblical text during the first millennium. Before the 1950s, it was stored in a crate in Cambridge University Library's attic with over 100,000 other Genizah fragments that were, at times, deemed 'rubbish'. To save space, it was once suggested that these crates be cleared out and burned. Thankfully, that did not happen and this fragment is now properly conserved. It has a small difference from the text of the Hebrew Bible today. At Genesis 17:1, the scribe wrote 'year' (*shanah*) instead of 'years' (*shanim*).[1]

Ca. 6th–7th century

III.
Sketches & Illustrations

Not everything is as complicated or momentous as a lost biblical book or an ancient Greek palimpsest. Some Genizah fragments are simply fun to look at. Many are skilled works of art in and of themselves, but others are just simple sketches produced by ordinary folk – even children – who were, at one time, very bored. While they may not be what we expect to find in a storage room meant for holy books, Fustat's Jews nevertheless deposited them in their genizot, and they have survived to reach us today. They are part of what makes the Cairo Genizah such a unique source for studying the everyday lives of people in the Middle Ages.

The use of resources like ink and paper for something as trivial as doodling demonstrates that writing materials were abundant for the people of medieval Egypt. Egyptian society, especially in Jewish communities, was highly literate, and the spread of relatively cheap papermaking techniques to Egypt during the 10th century CE made reading and writing more affordable than ever. Ink could also be made from widely available materials – in particular, we find numerous ink recipes based on charcoal and soot that could be collected from any fire. Pens too were easy to get hold of. The primary writing implement was known as a *qalam* (from the Greek word *calamos*, 'reed'), a hollow reed pen that would draw in a bit of liquid when dipped into an inkpot. Writers had to frequently re-dip their *qalam* when writing, so you can see variations on manuscripts where the ink started to run dry. The nib of a *qalam* would also wear out quickly, so writers would keep a small knife on hand to re-cut and sharpen it. As we see in this chapter, the availability of all these scribal tools meant that some people could use them for (often impromptu) works of art.

Kalila wa-Dimna

***Kalila wa-Dimna* is a book of Arabic fables with moral lessons that has roots in the Sanskrit and Persian literary traditions. It was very popular with people of all faiths in the medieval Middle East. The stories centre around a pair of jackals, named Kalila and Dimna, and their encounters with other anthropomorphised animals. Medieval manuscripts of *Kalila wa-Dimna* frequently included elaborate illustrations of the animals' adventures.**



Illustrated page of *Kalila wa-Dimna* from the story about a rat, a raven, and a tortoise.

Ca. 11th–12th century

T-S Ar.40.9

IV.
Letters

Thousands of letters were deposited into the Cairo Genizah, and through them the daily concerns of Egypt's communities come to life. We learn firsthand about family dramas and heartfelt greetings sent to absent friends, read commercial news on the prices of fine textiles or rare spices from abroad, and receive terrible reports of earthquakes, wars, pirate attacks, and devastating plagues. Through letters, the heads of the rabbinic academies in distant Babylonia (i.e. Iraq) and Palestine ministered to their respective flocks in Egypt, soliciting donations, providing political leadership, and dispensing legal rulings, ever watchful of the shifting allegiances of the diaspora communities. But merchants' letters, letters from travelling husbands to their wives back home, and letters of introduction or solicitation – how did they end up in the Genizah alongside sacred texts? Well, every letter, no matter how mundane, had an opening blessing, a rousing Bible verse, or a closing wish for God to protect the reader's family. Writers often invoked the Almighty in all sorts of turns-of-phrase, whether sharing good news, wishing long life to a friend, or cursing the name of a rival. It is easy to see why the Jews of Cairo treated their mail with a degree of sanctity.

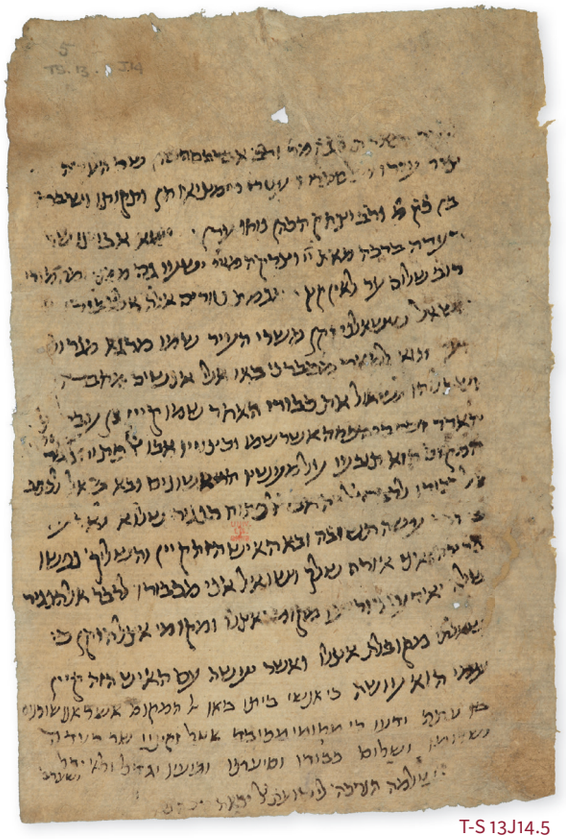
Physically, the letters are remarkably varied. Some are small, rectangular pieces of paper with every margin filled to the brim with writing, while others are great lengths of parchment. Delivery was similar, though: letters were uniformly folded over and over until only a thin strip remained, upon which were written the sender's and recipient's names. These strips were tucked into the deep sleeve pockets or luggage of messengers, couriers, travelling merchants, or pilgrims – whoever was going in the right direction to carry it. Such correspondence arrived in Egypt from all around the Mediterranean Sea and even from beyond the Indian Ocean.

Vouching for a Political Dissident

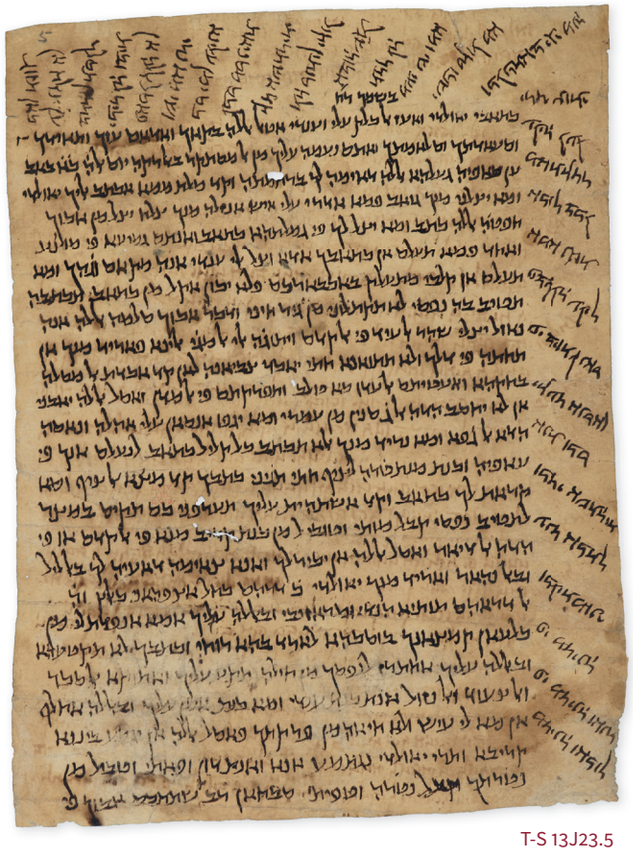
When Qayn ibn Abd al-Qadir, a Muslim, fell out of favour with the governor of Ramla because of his political activities, a warrant was issued for his arrest. Solomon ben Judah, the head of the Palestinian Yeshivah – and with it, all the Jews of the Fatimid Empire – used his own political network to try to save him. Solomon wrote this letter to call in a favour from Abraham ben Isaac ibn Furat, a physician at the Fatimid court in Cairo, in the hope that his influence could reconcile Qayn with his political enemies.[9]

11th century

Whatever he does to this man, Qayn, he also does to me…



T-S 13J14.5



T-S 13J23.5

A Syrian Mother Misses Her Son

This elderly widow, the wealthy matriarch of the aristocratic Dosa family, was frustrated by her dependence on her sons – and perhaps by their independence from her. She sent this Judaeo-Arabic letter from Raqqa on the Euphrates to her son Abu Mansur Dosa ben Joshua in Fustat, complaining that they've abandoned her in her daughter's house and failed to keep in touch – even in summer, she points out, when letters are easier to deliver. A bundle of his dirty laundry would be a comfort to her now! She addressed the back of the letter in Arabic script, ensuring it would reach its destination across predominantly Arabic-speaking lands.[10]

Ca. 1067 CE

By God, you must send me your worn and dirty shirts to restore my spirit. Do not withhold your letters…

V.
Magic

The Egyptian tradition of popular magic transcends time, language, and religion. Magical manuscripts date back to the pre-Islamic, pre-Christian, pre-Greek days of ancient Egypt, and in the Genizah period they freely mix elements from Greek, Coptic, Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic traditions. Genizah manuscripts show us that belief in the magical properties of objects, places, words, rituals, angels, and demons were fundamental to the ways that common people understood the natural world. The surviving magical texts reflect their daily concerns: amulets to protect travellers, curses to discourage thieves, and spells to make people fight, make up, or fall in love. Whether or not these spells were effective is not the point – they show us that people *believed* they would work, and since they contained sacred elements, they also found their way into genizot.

In many cases, the people who created these artefacts were not the well-trained, highly educated scribes who made elegant biblical manuscripts and Torah scrolls (☛ Chapter II). Some were local magicians trying to make a bit of money selling cheap amulets. Others were individuals – even prominent community leaders – who copied amulets or bits of spellbooks for personal use. Given the contents of the manuscripts in this chapter, it is also likely that many of them were women. The Genizah shows us that people from all different levels of society were making, buying, or using magical manuscripts.

Strange Figure on an Amulet

A damaged magical amulet featuring a human-like figure surrounded by Arabic incantations. The figure – which could be a human man, a jinn, or a demon – has a snake draped over its shoulders. The text is mostly nonsense sounds that were intended to invoke a magical effect when recited.

Ca. 11th–13th century



T-S Ar.51.112

Q: Did Jews in Egypt believe in magic?

For a religious archive, the Genizah contains a surprisingly large amount of superstitious and magical material, and we find significant numbers of formulae for both erotic and aggressive spells. The numerous magical fragments that survive provide clear evidence for the prominent position of magic in both Jewish and non-Jewish life, offering us a better understanding of popular beliefs. Amulets in particular are common, can be made of paper, parchment, or cloth, and are often intended for a specific individual and purpose. Even Masliah Gaon, the Head of the Jews in Egypt in the 12th century, used a magical amulet for personal purposes (to protect him, destroy his political enemies, and achieve success before the government). Unfortunately, it failed to save him when he supported the wrong side in a Fatimid court feud and was executed. The extant manuscripts show us that Egyptian Jews had magical recipes for a wide range of purposes: to remove a persistent headache, to find love, to detect an adulterous partner, to find treasure, to develop charm and grace, to protect travellers on dangerous voyages, to conceive a child, to avoid conception, to make a reluctant child take a bath, to protect against dog bites or scorpion stings, and to inspire fear in others – the whole gamut of human hopes and fears!

Pages from books concerned with the theoretical background of magical practice also survive in the Genizah. These works give detailed descriptions of the heavenly hosts, astrological observations, and instructions for divination techniques. Such magical beliefs and techniques even crossed religious boundaries. Many amulets and magical charms include verses from the Qurʾan, and there was a popular belief among certain Jews that passages from Muslim scripture could give their magic extra potency.

VI.
Science & Medicine

It makes sense that much of what we find in the Cairo Genizah is explicitly Jewish. Egypt's Jews needed a constant supply of items like Hebrew Bibles and Torah scrolls, and those are typical things to deposit in any genizah. But they also needed sources of information that were useful to people of any religion: books on medicine, astronomy, mathematics, cosmetics, alchemy, and other scientific topics. Most of these books were composed in Arabic, the scientific *lingua franca* of the time, used by Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike.

The manuscripts in this chapter show us how the people of pre-modern Egypt studied, created, circulated, and applied scientific knowledge to understand and interact with the world around them. Many of them are copies of works that were translated into Arabic during the so-called 'translation movement' of the 9th century. This movement saw the Abbasid Caliphate promoting the translation of as many ancient Greek texts as possible into Arabic, often with the help of bilingual Syriac Christian translators. The resulting Arabic adaptations of Greek and Syriac knowledge became widely popular in the Middle East, North Africa, and even Europe in the following centuries. The target audience for these manuscripts was often the wealthier, more educated classes of society, and many are calligraphically written or expensively decorated.

Alongside works of medical and pharmacological literature, the Genizah also preserves prescriptions, recipes, and other instructions from doctors – evidence for how medical theories were put into practice, as well as the kinds of ailments they aimed to treat.



T-S Ar.11.31

Galenic Perfumes and Ointments

Instructions for making perfumes and ointments, from an Arabic medical text on the preparation of drugs. The fragrance recipes are attributed to the ancient Greek physician Galen, and the preparations are based on Ibn Sina's medical encyclopaedia, *The Canon of Medicine*. The text is written in an early form of Judaeo-Arabic (Arabic in Hebrew script), but some headings are in a calligraphic Arabic script. Many medical texts show a similar level of scribal artistry as high-quality Bibles and Qur'ans, presumably because the target market was doctors who could afford to pay a bit extra.[2]

Ca. 10th century

VII.
Arabic & Islam

When people think of the Cairo Genizah, they probably think of it as a Jewish collection, created by the Jews of Cairo, filled with Jewish manuscripts. To a great extent, this is accurate. The last 125 years of Cairo Genizah study has profoundly rewritten the history of Jewish culture in the Middle Ages and greatly enriched our knowledge of pre-modern Judaism in all its intellectual and social forms. But for most of the Genizah period, the Jews of Cairo spoke Arabic natively. Many of them read and wrote it fluently, and all were citizens of Muslim empires. For reasons that we are still only really beginning to understand, those same citizens deposited thousands of Arabic fragments into their genizot – at least 7,000 that are now in Cambridge alone. Many of these manuscripts are explicitly Islamic, including pages from the Qur'an, religious amulets, and prayer books. Others are the work of Muslim theologians and philosophers. They often display the elegant Arabic calligraphy expected of highly trained professional scribes. Some have been recycled or overwritten to create new Jewish manuscripts (☛ Chapter X), but others have not, suggesting that Jews were reading them and thought they were worth depositing in genizot.

We have selected the fragments in this chapter to demonstrate how the Cairo Genizah is not just a Jewish collection. It contains beautiful samples of medieval Arabic calligraphy and some of the oldest surviving copies of texts by famous Muslim scholars. These manuscripts crossed the boundaries between Egypt's different religious communities, revealing cultural connections and interfaith exchange in places that many people do not expect. We hope that readers with an interest in Arabic or Islamic history will enjoy them, but we especially encourage anyone whose primary interest is the Jewish side of the Cairo Genizah to spend some time here. You may even experience one of the few consistent truths of Genizah research: you never know what you'll find next.



T-S Ar.38.75

Essay by al-Jahiz

Page from the literary essay *On Squaring and Circling* by the renowned Muslim author, al-Jahiz (d. 868/869 CE). Al-Jahiz was a rationalist scholar famous for employing irony and comedy to discuss serious topics. In this essay, he challenges widespread beliefs and superstitions related to the natural world. This page is from a chapter about animal life. It is one of the oldest surviving copies of al-Jahiz's work.[2]

Ca. 10th century

VIII (a). Documents

When we talk about Genizah ‘documents’, we don’t mean just any old piece of paper or parchment. Instead, ‘document’ distinguishes a genre of writing that is not literature, magical, educational, or liturgical, but is informational or evidential: most documents are legal deeds that govern relationships between individuals or facilitate record-keeping. They are often – though not always – produced by agents with communal or governmental authority. They include transaction receipts, financial records, court testimonies, business contracts, and petitions to rulers.

This chapter comes in two parts. Part (a) contains a variety of document types written both by Jews and by members of the Islamic governments in Egypt. Part (b) contains only a special type of document called a *ketubbah*, a Jewish marriage contract, one of the most ubiquitous documents in Jewish archives. Not only are ketubbot very common in the Cairo Genizah, they are often artistically distinct from other legal documents.

Recycled Ikshidid Document

Arabic fiscal document from the Ikshidid chancellory, mentioning two key figures: Muhammad ibn Tughj and Abu al-Misk Kafur. Ibn Tughj, also simply called "the Ikshid," was an Abbasid governor who established the Ikshidid dynasty as the autonomous rulers of Egypt in 935 CE. Kafur was an enslaved black servant, most likely from Nubia, whom Ibn Tughj freed and appointed to educate his two sons. He later became a military officer and a diplomat. When Ibn Tughj died in 946, Kafur assumed guardianship of the Ikshidid princes and took control as the *de facto* leader of Egypt. He ruled until his own death in 968, just one year before the Fatimids conquered Fustat. This document found its way to the Jewish community, who used it to copy liturgical poetry (specifically *yoserot*) by Solomon Sulayman al-Sinjari, even across and between the lines of the existing Arabic document.[1]

940–41 CE



T-S NS 139.65

VIII (b). Ketubbot

One of the most distinctive types of Jewish document is the ketubbah (plural: *ketubbot*, from the Hebrew and Aramaic root *k-t-b* meaning 'to write'), the marriage contract that specifies the legal and financial arrangements of a marriage. The signing of the ketubbah represents the formal completion of the marriage process, which would have begun with engagement and betrothal.

The traditional ketubbah text was formulated in Aramaic, with roots that likely go back to the Second Temple period. The ketubbah specifies the traditional marriage gift (*mohar*) of 200 *zuz* (silver coins) the bride would receive (but only half if she had previously been married), as well as an additional financial gift promised by the groom. Most of this additional gift would only be paid on divorce or after the husband's death. The value of the bride's dowry – her trousseau, and any other assets she was bringing into the marriage – was specified, as well as a series of stipulations and mutual obligations enjoined upon the couple. The ketubbah contract is a fixed text today, but in the Middle Ages the formulae were still in flux and differences between communities are reflected in their writing of their ketubbot. The ancient Palestinian customs that lived on in some Egyptian Jewish communities included the husband's ketubbah obligation to pay his wife's ransom should she be kidnapped (from his own funds and not from her dowry), and grant the wife a right to receive a *get* (deed of divorce) if she 'hates' her husband. The ketubbah's legal status is validated by the signatures of at least two witnesses.

Ketubbot are one of the most common types of document preserved in the Cairo Genizah, since every married Jewish couple, no matter their status, would have had one. Unlike the legal documents in the first half of this chapter, scribes often decorated these contracts with calligraphic superscriptions with good wishes for the couple, joyful biblical verses, vibrant colours, artistic designs, and illustrations. As ketubbot are so visually unique, they have earned themselves a separate section in this book.



Or.1080 J83

A Habsburg Dowry

Parchment ketubbah for the marriage of Judah Masʿud ben Moses Masʿud and Sitt al-Bayt ('Mistress of the Household') bat Abraham Meʾir, dated 14 Nisan 5532 (= 1772 CE), in Cairo. The border is decorated with gold and tulip designs, and the parchment is cut and shaped at the top. The bridal payment, like the couple's names, is given in large letters to make it stand out: 300 *abu taqa riyyals.* The term *abu taqa*, literally 'father of the little window', was the Egyptian Arabic nickname for the Austrian *thaler* that began circulating in Cairo during the 18th century (given for the resemblance of the Habsburg crest to a window frame!).

April 17th, 1772 CE

IX.
Education

Cairo Genizah manuscripts offer a rare glimpse into the Jewish schoolrooms of medieval Egypt. They reveal a literate society where most Jewish children – girls as well as boys – were given at least a basic education, if not at school then with private tutors. The Hebrew Bible formed the focus of this education, and Hebrew was taught so that the children would be equipped with the skills to enable them to take part in the synagogue service and read the Torah. As writing material became more plentiful through the introduction of paper to Egypt, all children gained the means to practise writing Hebrew as well as simply reading it. Hundreds of their writing exercises now survive in the Genizah. Children first studied the Hebrew alphabet and vowel signs, copied while sitting cross-legged on the floor and balancing writing boards on their knees. Once they conquered the alphabet, they progressed to passages from *Vayyiqra*, the biblical book of Leviticus. Books were a precious commodity, so they were often shared between several pupils in the schoolroom. Children learned to read upside-down or sideways so they could follow the lesson from wherever they sat.

Letters from the Genizah often show parents expressing concern about their children's education, fretting about the quality of their lessons, bursting with pride at their accomplishments, or worrying about their teacher's fees. The education of the poor or orphaned children was usually the responsibility of Jewish charitable organisations, which paid their school fees, sometimes at a reduced rate. Educating children was a key aim for the community. On top of basic schooling in literacy and Jewish texts, it was considered important for many children to learn a useful trade. Parents paid apprenticeship fees – sometimes for years – to ensure older children could train with an expert craftsperson.

Illuminated Hebrew Textbooks

Medieval textbooks like these were often elaborately decorated with images and bright colours to keep the attention of young readers.



T-S K5.13

Illuminated carpet page and exemplar Hebrew text featuring a lamp and menorah interspersed with Star of David designs. The letters *aleph*, *bet*, and *gimel* repeat with each of the Tiberian Hebrew vowel signs as an example for new learners to copy.

Ca. 11th–13th century



L-G Glass 11

Another primer for teaching the Hebrew alphabet, this time presented in the 'half-and-half' order (*aleph*, *lamed*, *bet*, *mem*…).

Ca. 11th–13th century



T-S K5.2

More Hebrew letters copied with the Tiberian vowel signs, this time surrounded by a micrographic border of Hebrew text.

Ca. 11th–13th century

X.

Bookmaking & Scribal Arts

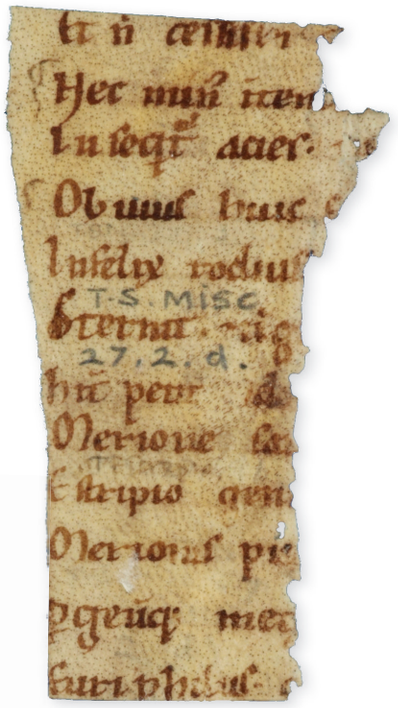
Before the introduction of the printing press, every part of a book had to be made by hand in a process that involved tanners, weavers, stationers, chemists, scribes, bookbinders, and leatherworkers. Before writing could even begin, scribes needed writing materials. The most common materials for Genizah manuscripts were parchment, made from dried animal skins, and rag paper, made from textile pulp spread into thin sheets. Ink was also mixed by hand using pigments from charcoal, metallic compounds, and plant extracts. Professional scribes trained for years in the arts of calligraphy to give their customers a high-quality reading experience, often including creative marginal designs alongside works of both science and religion. Before or after writing, bookmakers sewed pages together into units called 'quires' (usually 6–10 pages), then bound all the quires together into a 'codex' – what we today would recognise as a 'book'. Such codices were often bound between hardcover boards and wrapped in leather that was tooled with artistic patterns. A well-made book was a valuable, treasured possession.

The fragments in this chapter demonstrate the handiwork of artisans at every stage of this process. Most of them are anonymous, but their labour survives through a history of use, and often re-use too, that eventually landed them in the Cairo Genizah.

Latin Fragmentology

This tiny parchment fragment contains the poem *Ilias Latina*, a Latin version of Homer's *Iliad* composed in the 1st century CE. This section covers the events of the fifth book of the Iliad and was probably copied in France in the 11th or 12th century. Old manuscripts were sometimes torn into thin strips like this and used to reinforce the binding of other books. Latin manuscripts are rare in the Cairo Genizah – it's possible that a Crusader or a member of a Crusader's household originally carried this one from Europe to Egypt.

Ca. 11th–12th century



T-S Misc.27.2d



T-S NS 324.2

Egyptian Love Birds

Illuminated page depicting two Egyptian geese, a species of waterfowl native to the Nile valley. Ancient Egyptians considered them sacred messengers between heaven and earth. They can now also be found along the River Thames and in East Anglia. We've even seen them on the River Cam here in Cambridge. As is so common in the Cairo Genizah, a child used the back of this page to practise the Hebrew alphabet.

Ca. 11th–13th century

XI.
Printing

Almost all the fragments we have shown so far have been handwritten 'manuscripts' (from the Latin for 'hand writing'). The Cairo Genizah is best known for its manuscripts, but the Egyptian Jewish community also stored thousands of printed books in their genizot. They offer us a glimpse into the physical history of Jewish literary culture between 1450 and 1897 and help us answer an important question: where did Egyptian Jews get their books?

There are two main types of printing among the fragments in the Cairo Genizah: block prints and prints from movable type. The first kind is older, appearing in the Middle East first around the 9th or 10th century (and even earlier in East Asia) among artisans who carved wooden blocks to create text and images. A carved block of this type is known in Arabic as a *tarsh*. Printers coated *tarsh* blocks with ink and pressed them onto paper sheets, stamping them with images. For some artefacts, such as single-leaf amulets, this could be easier and cheaper than paying professional scribes. By about 1300 CE, people in Europe began making wood-block prints, a few of which also survive in the Genizah. The second kind of printing – that done with a printing press and movable type – first appeared in Europe during the 15th century. Within a few decades of Johannes Gutenberg's death (d. 1468), Egyptian Jews could acquire Hebrew books from printers in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Constantinople. Most imprints that survive in the Genizah therefore come from outside Egypt, but there are also some that preserve the lost art of Egyptian Hebrew printing.

Neapolitan Woodcuts from a Jewish Press

Even after the widespread adoption of the movable-type printing press, European printers decorated their books by integrating woodcut images alongside typography. This is the earliest known Passover Haggadah printed with illustrations. The text was most likely printed by the Jewish brothers Samuel and David ibn Nahmias in Constantinople around 1506 CE. The woodcuts, however, were carved in Naples at a workshop famous for illustrating an early edition of Aesop's Fables in 1485.[6]

Ca. 1506 CE



T-S Misc.19.61

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THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

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MONOGRAPH SERIES, NUMBER I

THE ZADOKITE FRAGMENTS

FACSIMILE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CAIRO GENIZAH COLLECTION IN THE POSSESSION OF THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By

SOLOMON ZEITLIN



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INTRODUCTION

I

In 1910 Professor Solomon Schechter published *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*[1] which he had found in Cairo, Egypt, in the Genizah collection a few years previously. These Fragments are now in the possession of the University Library, Cambridge, England, and bear the class marks T.-S. (Taylor-Schechter Collection) 10 K 6 T.S. 16 311. They are designated as Text A and Text B; Text A consists of sixteen pages, measuring 8½ x 7¼ in.; Text B consists of two pages, measuring 12½ x 8 in. The manuscript is defective here and there, pages 13–16 being greatly mutilated. The manuscript is torn in some places, and some parts are obliterated. Letters, and even words are missing occasionally. Many words in the manuscript have vowel points, some according to the Palestinian and others according to the Babylonian method. In publishing the text Dr. Schechter gave two facsimiles, one page from Text A, and one page from Text B. He provided it with an English translation, an introduction, and elaborate notes. In the Introduction he made his sensational announcement that these Fragments were of the period of the Second Jewish Commonwealth. He even gave a more exact date, namely, between 196 B. C. to 176 B. C. A great part of the Fragments is written in bad Hebrew; the language is

[1] *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Volume I, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work, Edited from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collection now in the possession of the University Library, Cambridge, and provided with an English Translation, Introduction and Notes.* Cambridge, 1910.

defective and obscure, and here and there Schechter had to resort to emendations.

R. H. Charles published an English translation of this MS. in the second volume of his *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* under the title of "Fragments of a Zadokite Work."[2] In his preface to this volume he explained that he edited these MSS. for the volume of Pseudepigrapha, because they are of a "historical character and are valuable in throwing light on a lost chapter of Jewish religious history. They contain likewise Jewish apocalyptic material of an interesting nature."[3] He also supplied notes to elucidate the text and also resorted to emending it. He charged Schechter with not having edited the text carefully, and complained that he did not publish a facsimile of the entire MSS. He censured him for putting an embargo on the MSS. and for not giving scholars an opportunity to examine them.[4] Charles, however, in emending the text of these Fragments based his comments on the transcription of Schechter, for he never saw the texts themselves.

Israel Levi published a translation of the text with notes in the *REJ*, 1911,[5] and he also blamed Schechter for not allowing scholars to see the MSS., and requested him either to remove the embargo or to publish an entire facsimile without delay. Lagrange also published a trans-

[2] Pp. 785–834.

[3] See Preface, p. iv.

[4] "If Dr. Schechter chooses to edit his text so carelessly that is of course his own concern, but in that case he ought at all events to have published a facsimile of the entire MSS. — only a matter of eighteen pages. To publish such a text and then to deny all scholars access to the original MSS. for five years is strange conduct on the part of a seeker after truth. The world of scholars from Levi, who first expressed the need of a facsimile to the latest students of the text, look to Dr. Schechter either to remove this unscholarly embargo or himself to publish a facsimile without delay."

[5] Pp. 161–205.

lation of the Fragments in the *Revue Biblique*, 1912.[6] All of the scholars were agreed on one point, namely, that this text was of the period of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, and hence of great value for the proper understanding of Judaism in the pre-Christian period. It is evident from the very title of these Fragments that Schechter and Charles were of the opinion that it was a work from the period of the Second Jewish Commonwealth.

According to Schechter, the text "is constituted of fragments forming extracts from a Zadok book." He says that the Zadok sect "did not however pass for any length of time under the name of Zadokites, but was soon in some way amalgamated with and perhaps also absorbed by the Dosithean Sect, and made more proselytes among the Samaritans than among the the Jews, with which former sect it had many points of similarity."[7] According to the text of the Fragments, the Sect had its seat in Damascus which is north of Palestine. Schechter believed that the Sect sent emissaries to the Dositheans and subsequently to the Falashians who lived south of Palestine.

According to Charles, the Zadokites were not Samaritans, nor were they Essenes. He says the Zadokites were related in point of origin and name to the Sadducees, but were not Sadducees in the ordinary sense, but a reformed Sadduceeism.[8] He finally came to the conclusion that the Zadokites were related to the Pharisees in their eschatological doctrines. "The Zadokites," he said, "had their origin in the priesthood and formed a party within it but a reforming party, the reformation being due largely to the Apocalyptic side of Pharisaism as it is shown by the extreme

[6] Pp. 213–240. Comp. also R. Leszynski, *REJ*, 1912, pp. 190–6; K. Kohler, *The American Journal of Theology*, 1911; G. F. Moore, *The Harvard Theological Review*, 1911.

[7] P. XXVI.

[8] P. 790.

importance attached to the Old Testament prophecy and the advanced views of eschatology."[9]

Professor Louis Ginzberg, in his book *Eine Unbekannte Jüdische Sekte*, 1922, with great learning and his usual brilliancy, has proved that the emendations to the text of the Fragments which were made by Schechter are worthless, and has shown that some of the halakot mentioned in the Fragments correspond to the Pharisaic teachings. His vast erudition in rabbinic literature enabled him to point out that many of the phrases in these Fragments are recorded in the Talmud and in later rabbinic literature. In his opinion the Fragments were the work of unknown sects in the Sadducean period.

Scholars did not question the antiquity of these Fragments. Some believed them to be of a pre-Hasmonean period; others held they were of the time of Alexander Janneus, when the Pharisees were persecuted and some of whom fled to Damascus. Still other scholars placed the Fragments at the time of the early period of Christianity.[10] Only one scholar, Professor A. Buchler in an article published in the *JQR*, 1913,[11] had the courage to deny the antiquity of the Fragments. I say he had the courage because at that time it was an accepted opinion that the Fragments were of the period of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, and to express a contrary opinion was heretical. Indeed, Professor Buchler became a very unpopular man in some circles. With his vast learning in rabbinic and medieval literature, however, he clearly showed that these Fragments were a karaitic work, and hence were composed in the Middle Ages. He supported his view by the halakot mentioned in these Fragments, by association of ideas, and

[9] P. 791.
[10] G. Margoliouth, *The Athenaeum*, 1910.
[11] Pp. 429–485.

particularly by the language used therein. Schechter answered Buchler's criticism in the *JQR* in 1914.[12] In our opinion he did not succeed in meeting Buchler's arguments or in refuting his criticism. It was far from a scholarly reply, and the arguments of Buchler in favor of a late period, for the Fragments, stood firm.

Professor A. Marmorstein, in an article published in 1918,[13] upheld Buchler's point of view and regarded the Fragments as a work of the Middle Ages.

The present writer in an article in the *JQR* in 1926[14] also maintained that the so-called Zadokite Fragments are indeed a karaitic work. Recently Dr. P. R. Weis, in the *JQR*, 1950,[15] came to the same conclusion that these Fragments are of the Middle Ages.

II

With the alleged discovery of the Hebrew Scrolls in a cave near the Dead Sea, interest in the so-called Zadokite Fragments has been revived, owing to the fact that in the so-called Manual of Discipline we find not only the same ideas as we have in the Zadokite Fragments, but also phrases and words which are identically like those found there, such words as, סרך, משכיל, אנשי היחד. We also have the following phrase משיח אהרון וישראל. There can be no question that the so-called Manual of Discipline and the Habakkuk Commentary not only are similar to the Zadokite Fragments in ideas and language, but were composed in the same period.

Because of the great interest of the scholarly world in the Hebrew Scrolls and the Zadokite Fragments, we shall

[12] Pp. 429–474.
[13] *Theologish Tijdschrift*, 1918.
[14] P. 385–6.
[15] P. 137–142.

give here for the first time the entire facsimile of the Zadokite Fragments on which Schechter placed an embargo.

The transcription made by Schechter generally is correct. There are some printer's errors, e. g., on page 5, lines 10, 13. The facsimile has זיקות while the printed text has זיקי. On the same page, line 16, the facsimile has בעלילותיהם while the printed text has בעלילותם.[16]

It is difficult to differentiate between a *waw* and a *yod*, between a *resh* and a *dalet*, and between a *he* and a *heth*. Schechter has misread the text many times to interchange these letters. There are some very faulty readings, as on page 13, line 2, where Schechter has ובקום עשרה which was rendered by him "will arise ten." The text, however, has ובמקום עשרה. On page 9, line 14, Schechter has והיה לו לבד מאיל האשם הכל which he rendered, "And each shall all belong to him besides the ram of the guilt offering." Schechter has left a space after the Hebrew word הכל to indicate that the text has a space. In reality the text reads, "והיה לו לבד מאיל האשם"; the word הכל after האשם is not found in the text. The space which is in the text is after the word האשם. It seems that the scribe had begun to write a word, but realizing he had made a mistake, he crossed it out and then wrote וכן כל.

The text in some places makes no sense; Schechter, Charles, Israel Levi, and Lagrange emended it each according to his own whim. Dr. Ginzberg has ably shown that their emendations were not well founded. A point in the case is the passage which I just quoted.

Charles believes that the word הכל is corrupt, and he emended it into לכהן. Israel Levi emended it into הכפורים.

It is unfortunate that all these scholars did not see the manuscript. Their emendations are based on Schechter's transcriptions which are not found in the text proper.

[16] See Schechter, *Corrections to the Hebrew Text*, pp. lvi–lvii.

This shows how little reliance we can at times place on emendations of texts by modern scholars.

On page 13, line 9, Schechter has לכל מדחובם. He emends the words to לכל מרדותם, and renders it, "All their rebellions." Charles emends the word to read, "כל המחיבים." It seems to me, however, that the text has the word מדהובם.[17]

There is no proof whatsoever that these Fragments belong to a very early period. They were not even discovered by Bedouin in a cave, but were discovered in a Genizah in the city of Cairo. The form of writing, as recognized by these scholars, is of the Middle Ages. The question which confronts us is — what proof had they to state that these Fragments are of the pre-Christian period?

Schechter recognized the fact that in the annals of Jewish history there is no record of such a sect as the Zadokites. He said, however, that these Fragments emanated from the sect of the Zadokites to which reference is found in the karaitic writings, and he quotes from *The Book of Light and the High Beacon* by Kirkisani (a Karaite of the first half of the tenth century): "Zadok was the first who exposed the Rabbanites and contradicted them publicly. He revealed a part of the truth and composed books in which he frequently denounced the Rabbanites and criticized them. But he adduced no proof for anything he said, merely saying it by way of statement, except in one thing, namely, in his prohibition against marrying the daughter of the brother, and the daughter of the sister. For he adduced as proof their being analogous to the paternal and maternal aunt." — "Now," said Schechter, "this description of the Zadok book well fits our text."[18]

As to the terms and expressions which are found in the

[17] The letter *waw* after the *he* presents no problem. The spelling of the author is arbitrary and ungrammatical, for example, the word מאות he has מיאיות.

[18] *Ibid.* p. xviii.

text and occur only in the Mishna or in the rabbinic literature of the Middle Ages,[19] Schechter says, "It is, however, not impossible that all such expressions pointing to a later date are mere substitutions by the later scribe for the original terms."[20] We know that the scribes of the Middle Ages who copied manuscripts were conscientious. They copied manuscripts carefully. Some of them may have been ignorant, and because of their ignorance and not knowing the meaning of the words they copied, misspelled and left out words, or even phrases and lines (like the copyist of the Isaiah Scroll). Some of them unintentionally repeated the same words; hence we find dittography in the manuscripts. The copyists would never have changed the old terms and expressions in the manuscript to terms and expressions used in their time. We never find either in the Greek manuscripts of Aristotle and Plato, or in the Latin manuscript of Cicero and Virgil, or in the biblical or talmudic manuscripts, altered expressions which were used in the time of the copyists. It is, indeed, absurd to think that the expressions found in the Fragments were changed from other terms.

Schechter asked, "Who is this Zadok to whom Kirkisani refers in his book?" He answers that his identity is unknown, but states "the impression is that he was a Biblical personage." He adds, "It is to a Zadok to which the sect ascribes the merit of having discovered the Law, in which act he is favourably contrasted with David, who was ignorant of it."[21]

Let us assume that these Fragments were known as a work of a Zadok to which Kirkisani made reference; but we must ask where is the proof that these Fragments were

[19] E. g. ממון, מוכן, מדוקדוק, סרך.
[20] *Ibid.* p. xi.
[21] *Ibid.* p. xxi.

written by Zadok of great antiquity? It is more likely that this book ascribed to Zadok[22] was composed by a Karaite. Many books in the Middle Ages were composed by rabbis and Karaites and ascribed to great men of antiquity. Would the scholars who maintain the antiquity of the Zadokite Fragments also accept the belief that the *Alphabet of Rabbi Akiba* was indeed written by Rabbi Akiba, or that the book of the *Hechalot* attributed to Rabbi Ishmael was actually written by him, or would they hold that the *Zohar* had been composed by Rabbi Simeon ben Yoḥai, even though it has been accepted as his by many Jews as well as by Christians and has become a holy book? Many books in the Middle Ages were written and ascribed to the rabbis of the Second Commonwealth, or to the period subsequent to the destruction of the Temple, while during the Second Commonwealth books were composed which were ascribed to biblical personages. The mere fact that the term "The Sons of the Zadokite Priests" is mentioned in the Fragments does not indicate that the work was written during the time of the Zadokite Priests. Similarly, the *Fourth Ezra* could be said to have been written by Ezra because the book begins with the sentence, "In the thirtieth year after the downfall of the city I, Salathiel (who also am Ezra) was in Babylon;" *The Apocalypse of Baruch* could erroneously be said to have been written by Baruch, the disciple of Jeremiah, because the book begins, "And it came to pass in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, King of Judah, that the word of the Lord came to Baruch." No scholar would ascribe these two books to Ezra and Baruch, respectively, although the authors assert that these were

[22] Comp. also Harkavy, לקורות הכתות בישראל, (Hebrew Graetz, III) ורק זה אפשר וקרוב לדעתנו כי לא היה החבור ההוא באמת מצדוק עצמו רק נתחבר בזמן מאוחר מסנו ונתיחס אליו.

written by them. If there was a Book of Zadok, it was ascribed to him only because it was customary among the Rabbanites and Karaites, to ascribe books to authors of antiquity in order to vest these writings with greater authority and give more sanction to them.

Again, the expression found in the Fragments ובני צדוק הם בחירי ישראל does not by any means indicate that it refers to the Zadokite Priests of the Second Commonwealth. Would the scholars ascribe the following passage, if it were found in some writing of the Genizah, to the Second Commonwealth because the Sons of Zadok are mentioned there? ברוך תמים דעים שהבדילנו מן התועים ונתן לנו תורתו שעשועים . . . ובני צדוק הכהנים הקדושים אשר שמרו את משמרת התורה אל ה' הנגשים חגים וזבחים וכל קרבנות יקריבו בשירים וזמירות ונגינות והלוים בשירותם קול אחד הוגים ברננות. Yet we know this passage was written by a well-known Karaite.

The terms in the Fragments which are clearly of the Middle Ages stamp the text as being of the period when such terms were in vogue. To the terms which were recognized by the scholars as being of a late period, I shall add a few more.

On page 11, l. 22, the words, בית השתחות Schechter correctly rendered "The House of Worship." The term השתחות is undoubtedly a translation from the Arabic *Mesgeed* which was applied not only to the mosque but to all houses of worship. On page 13, l. 9, Schechter read מדחובם, and all the scholars who dealt with this text applied great ingenuity in emending this word, but the manuscript has מדהובם which was used in the Middle Ages with the meaning of a tyrannical government suppressing the people.[23] On page 9, l. 11, we have the following words: מי גנבו ממאד המחנה; Schechter emended the word ממאד to read ממועד and rendered it, "from the Tent." Levi emends ממאד to

[23] Comp. Ben Yehuda's Dic. *ad loc.*

read, מתוך "from the midst of the camp." The word מאדו occurs again on page 12, l. 10. אל ימכר להם בכל מאדו. The word מאד undoubtedly has the meaning "money." In the verse in Deuteronomy, 6.5 ואהבת את ד' אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאדך, the word מאדך was rendered by the Targum according to Jonathan, ובכל ממונכון "money,"[24] and in this sense was used in the Middle Ages.[25] In the passage on page 9, l. 11, we have גנבו ממאד המחנה, "from the money (property) of the camp." On page 12, l. 19, we have אל ימכר להם בכל מאדו, "He shall not sell to them for all his money."

The term משכיל which appears frequently in the Fragments was a common designation among the Karaites applied to their leaders. Anan was designated by the term ענן משכיל הגולה. Hadassi in his book[26] always appended this title to the names of leaders of the Karaites. Again, the term מורה צדק, "The Teacher of Righteousness" was first used by the Karaites.[27] As we had occasion to point out elsewhere, this term is never found before the Karaitic period.[28] This is a technical term, and not just a word; hence we may say with certainty that it was first applied by the Karaites. It is evident from this that we must conclude the Fragments are of the Middle Ages.

III

There are halakot in the Fragments. Some of them indicate clearly that these Fragments could not have been composed during the Second Commonwealth. On p. 11,

[24] See Ber. 61b.

[25] Comp. ויקר מקרהו כי ירד ממאודו, (השער האחד עשר), בן המלך והנזיר וידל כבודו ויתחייב למלך ומאומה לא נשאר בידו.

[26] אשכל הכפר.

[27] See Weis, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[28] Comp. *JQR*, 1950; pp. 35–37; 135–6.

ll. 5–6, the following halaka is recorded, אל ילך איש אחר הבהמה לרעותה חוץ מעירו כי אם אלפים אמה, "No man shall walk after the animal to feed it outside of the city more than two thousand cubits." According to the Pentateuch, a Hebrew had no right to go out of his מקום *makom* "place" on the Sabbath day. The sages interpreted this law to mean that a Jew had the right to go out of his abode two thousand cubits in any direction.[29] This privilege of walking two thousand cubits on the Sabbath was granted only to those who dwelt in the city. If a Jew, however, was forcibly taken into another city on the Sabbath, i. e. kidnapped by pagans, he could walk only four cubits on the Sabbath because that city was not his abode.[30] Rabban Gamaliel, the Elder, introduced a *takkana* that the privilege of walking two thousand cubits in Jerusalem on the Sabbath from the place where the person resided applied also to the witnesses who came to Jerusalem on the Sabbath to testify to the birth of the new moon.[31] The witnesses were declared residents of Jerusalem by Rabban Gamaliel's *takkana*.[32] It is evident from Rabban Gamaliel's *takkana* that in his time the privilege of walking two thousand cubits outside of the city on the Sabbath had not yet been introduced. This privilege was introduced either a few years before the destruction of the Temple or later. It is clear then that this halaka given in the Fragments, not to walk more than two thousand cubits outside of the city could not have been written during the Second Commonwealth.

There is another halaka in the Fragments, אל ישלח את

[29] Yer. Er. 4.1, מה מקום שנאמר להלן (ערי מקלט) אלפיים אמה אף מקום שנאמר כאן אלפיים אמה.

[30] Er. 4.1, מי שהוציאוהו נכרים או רוח רעה אין לו אלא ארבע אמות.

[31] R. H. 23b, בראשונה לא היו זזין משם כל היום התקין רבן גמליאל הזקן שהיו מהלכין אלפיים אמה לכל רוח.

[32] הרי אלו כאנשי העיר ויש להם אלפיים אמה לכל רוח.

בן הנכר לעשות את חפצו ביום השבת, "No man shall send the son of a stranger to do his affairs on the day of the Sabbath." The law prohibiting a Jew from asking a non-Jew to work on the Sabbath was called שבות *sh'but*. The laws of *sh'but* are rabbinical,[33] and they were not known during the Second Commonwealth.

On page 12, l. 10–11, the following halaka is recorded. ואת עבדו ואת אמתו אל ימכור להם אשר באו עמו בברית אברהם, "Nor shall he sell them his man-servant, or maid-servant, who entered with him into the Covenant of Abraham." This means that no Jew had a right to sell his slaves who had been circumcised and had thereby accepted Judaism. Circumcision was not a *sine qua non* for a proselyte during the Second Commonwealth.[34] R. Joshua, who lived after the destruction of the Temple, still held the opinion that baptism without circumcision was sufficient for one to become a proselyte.[35] We do not find in the tannaitic and Hellenistic literature of the pre-Christian period the term *covenant of Abraham* used as synonymous with circumcision. The first person who applied the term *covenant of Abraham* to circumcision was R. Eleazar of Modein.[36] The application of the term *covenant of Abraham* to circumcision was made in opposition to Paul. As is well known, Paul denied the necessity of circumcision. He held that God had made a covenant with Abraham before Abraham was circumcised. He said in his Epistle to the Galatians, "And this I say that the covenant which was confirmed by God, the law which was made after four hundred and thirty years cannot disannul to make the promise of no effect."[37] And in the Epistle to the Romans

[33] אמירה לנכרי שבות.

[34] See S. Zeitlin, *The Jews: Race, Nation or Religion*, 1936.

[35] Yeb. 46a, טבל ולא מל ר' יהושע אומר הרי זה גר.

[36] Abot 3.11, ר' אלעזר המודעי אומר . . . והמיפר בריתו של אברהם אבינו.

[37] 3.17.

again he said in answer to his own query, "How was it then reckoned, when he (Abraham) was in circumcision or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision."[38] Paul maintained that God made a covenant with Abraham not by circumcision, but by faith and before the circumcision. The sages in refuting Paul and his followers emphasized the fact that God made a covenant with Abraham by his circumcision; henceforth the term ברית אברהם is synonymous with circumcision.[39] We may therefore safely conclude that the words באו עמו בברית אברהם, "covenant of Abraham" found in the Fragments show clearly that they could not have been written before the time when the Jews found it necessary to fight the Paulinian assertions and propaganda, i. e., when already there was a group of Judaean Christians, i. e., after the destruction of the Temple.[40]

There are other halakot in the Fragments which are not only in character or in agreement with the karaitic halakot, but have the same phraseology, which may mean that they came from the same source. On page 11, l. 1, we have ואל ישאב אל כל כל(י), "He shall not draw into any vessel." In the letter of Elijah of Jerusalem we have the following words והקילו שאיבת מים בשבת, in which he complained against the Rabbanites.[41]

[38] 4.10.

[39] Comp. Tosefta Ber. 7, אבי הבן צריך ברכה לעצמו ברוך אשר קדשנו במצותיו וצונו להכניסו בבריתו של אברהם אבינו.

[40] In the Mishna B. K. 1, 2, the phrase בני ברית "the children of the covenant," means the Jews. Comp. also the Psalms of Solomon 17.17, "the children of the covenant." The Jews were called בני ברית "the children of the covenant because God made a covenant with their forefathers. This same idea is expressed in Acts 3.25, "Ye are the children of the prophets and of the covenant which God made with our fathers." The term "the covenant of Abraham" referring to circumcision and to converts to Judaism came into vogue after the time of Paul.

[41] S. Pinsker, לקוטי קדמוניות, נספחים, p. 30. Comp. also אשכל הכפר, 147, אף מעייני מים שהם בבתים אסור לנו לשאוב מהם מים.

On page 10, l. 17, we have אל ידבר איש דבר נבל ורק; compare this with the responsa of Jefeth ben Ali, מנע ואסור מדבר לדבר.[42]

The prohibition to marry a niece on the maternal side, as stated in the Fragments, was also laid down by Anan. ואסיר לה לנקבה לאינסובי לאחי אביה דמן אביה בין מכשרה ובין מפסולה ולאחי אמה דמן אביה בין מכשרה ובין מפסולה (ספר המצות לענן הנשיא).[43]

IV

The author of the Fragments refers to a book ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם "The book of the Divisions of the Seasons according to their jubilees and their weeks." Schechter is of the opinion that this book mentioned in the Fragments is the *Book of Jubilees*. This opinion was shared by Charles, Levi and Lagrange. The title of the book which is known to us by the name of *Jubilees* came to us through the Church Fathers. It is based upon the reckoning of time according to the jubilee years employed in the book. Very likely this was not the original title. It had another title, "Little Genesis" which was given to distinguish it from the Book of Genesis in the Pentateuch. In my monograph the *Book of Jubilees* I advanced the view that the original title of the book was תורת משה "The Law of Moses."

The book mentioned in the Fragments does not refer to the work known as the "Book of Jubilees." One of the main purposes of this work was to combat the change of the calendar from the solar to a lunar-solar calendar. As a result of this change, the author maintained, the jubilee year would disappear and the festivals and the sabbaths

[42] *Ibid.* p. 22.

[43] See *ibid.* p. 33, לא יקחו בת אח ולא בת אחות. See Buchler, *JQR*, 3, p. 437; *REJ* XLV, p. 184.

would be profaned, and the profaned days would be declared holy. He expressed his opposition to the change in the calendar in the following words:

> "And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning — three hundred and sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts . . . And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the beginnings of the months and seasons, and sabbaths, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. For I know and from henceforth will I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lieth) written before me, and on the heavenly tablets the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. For there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the new moon — now (it) disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayest testify to them; for after thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the beginnings of the months and seasons and sabbaths and festivals."

It is understandable that by changing the calendar year from 364 days to 354 days, the year will be shortened by ten days, and thus the festivals will be disturbed and will not fall in their proper seasons. But how, one may ask,

could the Sabbath be disturbed by a change of the calendar? The Sabbath day does not depend on any calendar. It occurs every seventh day regardless of a solar or lunar-solar calendar. The answer is that in a solar calendar the day begins with the dawn and lasts until the following dawn; hence, the Sabbath would begin in the morning and would last until the following dawn. But in a lunar calendar, the day begins with the preceding evening, i. e. at sunset or when the stars become visible, and lasts until the following evening. Hence, the Sabbath would begin Friday evening and would last until Saturday evening. The contention of the author of the "Book of Jubilees," that those who would change the calendar from a solar to a lunar one would profane the Sabbath, is now understandable. For Saturday evening is still Sabbath, but the Sabbath would be over to those who followed the lunar calendar. On the other hand, Friday evening would not yet be Sabbath according to the solar calendar, while to those who followed the lunar calendar it would already be Sabbath. The author therefore emphatically protests that by a change from a solar to a lunar calendar, the Sabbath would be disturbed, profane days would be made holy, and holy days would be made profane.

The author of the Fragments followed a lunar-solar calendar. On page X he writes as follows: אל יעש איש ביום השישי מלאכה מן העת אשר יהיה גלגל השמש רחוק מן השער מלואו כי הוא אשר אמר שמור את יום השבת לקדשו. "No men shall do work on the sixth day from the time the globe of the sun is removed from the gate in its fullness. (i. e., just before the sun touches the horizon). For it is He who said, 'keep the Sabbath day and sanctify it.' "[43a] Hence it is quite clear that the author did not refer to the "Book of Jubilees," and certainly did not hold it "equivalent in merit to the

[43a] Yer. Ber. 2, התחיל גלגל חמה לשקוע זהו בין השמשות.

Law alone," as has been maintained by some recent writers. Renowned scholars have not recognized the fact that the author of the "Book of Jubilees" strongly protested against the change to a lunar calendar, when the author of the Fragments *followed a lunar calendar*. They simply did not see the problems and difficulties. In this same manner recently, scholars have been so excited over the Hebrew Scrolls, which supposedly have been discovered near the Dead Sea, that they do not see all the objections to their alleged antiquity. They are interested only in emending the text, and are engaged in identifying the heroes and the villains mentioned in the Scrolls with men in Jewish history according to their fancy.

It is probable that the book ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם mentioned in the Fragments never existed, but is a figment of the author's imagination. Similarly, the book ספר ההגו is also a product of the imagination of the author. Aaron ben Elijah also mentioned a book entitled ספר היחוד. I doubt that there ever was such a book. The Karaites had a fancy for inventing titles of books which supposedly were written by their predecessors. Hadassi in his book אשכל הכפר gives a list of titles of books the existence of which is open to doubt. His list of titles is as follows: חפץ כל אלה שהזכרתי הנם כתובים בספרי מלמדי משכלי מבוארים בשאלותם ותשובותם לעיני מביני הלא הם יורוך ויגידו אליך: זכרונם בספר נעימות אל . . . ובספר מאירת עינים, ובספר מחכימת פתי, ובספר הדתות, ובספר אוצר הנחמד לפניך, ובספר חכמת גבולים, ובספר מתוק לנפש, וספר מרפא לעצם וכול ספרי משכילי תניח נפשם בנופש.

V

One historical datum given in the Fragments, in my opinion, particularly shows that the Fragments are of the Middle Ages. I refer to page 1, ll. 5–7. The author speaks

of "the end of the wrath, three hundred and ninety years after he had delivered them into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon,"[44] and adds, "there arose the man of scoffing who preached to Israel (lying words) waters of deceitfulness, and caused them to wander in the wilderness where there is no way."[45] We are now confronted with two issues, first, with the number, 390 years, and, second, with the identity of the scoffer or false *matif* of that period. Charles' view is that the three hundred ninety years after the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians would fix a date of 196 B. C. E.; and that the text therefore refers to the *Hasidim* who, in his opinion, arose in that year.[46] He does not explain how and why the *Hasidim* came into being in the year 196 B. C. E. There was no reason for their appearance in that year. Political parties of religious sects do not come into existence at a fixed time, or as the result of a whim of a scholar. There must be some ground for their appearance. Nothing special occurred in the history of the Jews to give rise to the *Hasidim* in that year. As a matter of fact, the sect of the *Hasidim* came into existence at the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes when the Hellenistic party under the leadership of the High Priest, Jason and later of Menelaus wanted to eradicate Judaism and to compel the people to accept Hellenism. Another extreme sect under the name of *Hasidim* arose which made sacrifices for the religion, and even became martyrs rather than violate the Torah. One extreme always begets another. This was the time of the origin of the *Hasidim*.[47] Schechter was ready to emend the text from 390 B. C. E. to 490 B. C. E. without any basis for doing so.[48]

[44] ובקץ חרון שנים שלש מאות והשעים לתיתו אותם ביד נבוכדנצר מלך בבל.

[45] בעמור איש הלצון אשר הטיף לישראל מימי כזב ויתעם בתוהו לא דרך.

[46] See p. 800.

[47] See S. Zeitlin, *The First Book of Maccabees*, Dropsie College Edition, pp. 18–9.

[48] P. xxxi.

To what period then did three hundred ninety years after the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians refer? According to a talmudic statement, the second Temple stood four hundred twenty years.[49] The time between the destruction of the Temple and the Restoration was seventy years; this would mean that the time between the destruction of the first Temple and the second Temple was four hundred ninety years. This figure of four hundred ninety years was the one held by the Karaites to be correct.[50] According to another statement in the Talmud, Hillel became *nasi*, the head of the Sanhedrin, one hundred years before the destruction of the second Temple,[51] and this would bring us to three hundred ninety years after the destruction of the first Temple. The scoffer and the false *matif* who arose at the end of the period of *three hundred ninety years* after the destruction of the first Temple was Hillel, whom the Karaites considered the father of the Rabbanites and the leader of all the evildoers. Many among the Karaites maintained that they were Shammaites.[52] Moses, in their belief, received the Torah from God on Mount Sinai, and they held that it was gradually transferred from one scholar to another, and finally to Shemaiah and Abtalyon who transferred it to Shammai, the Just and the Pious, and they further averred that he transferred it to the Karaites,[53] and commanded them to walk truthfully and righteously.

[49] Er. 12b.

[50] See Pinsker, *op. cit.*, p. 101, שבועים שבעים; comp. also אשכל הכפר 125, ודע ששבועים שבעים . . . מספרם ארבע מאות ותשעים שנה.

[51] Shab. 15a.

[52] See Pinsker, *op. cit.*, p. 186, וראשונים אנחנו; ושמאי מסרה לבעלי מקרא מהם . . . ושמותין (p. 101).

[53] אודנינו משה קבל מסיני . . . ליהודה בן טבאי ולשמעון בן שטח ובימיהם נקראו עדת הקדש המתחזקים בתורה הקדושה התמימה עדת בני מקרא והיו תופשים מנהג אבותיהם הקדושים ועזרם האל והיתה ידם עליונה ואח"כ יהודה ושמעון מסרוה לשמעיה ואבטליון ושמעיה ואבטליון מסרוה לשמאי הצדיק החסיד ע"ה ושמאי מסרה לבעלי מקרא . . . ואלו הם הנקראים עדת בני מקרא (p. 186).

In short, the community of the Karaites are the followers of Shammai.

In Text B appear the words, "Who walked with the Man of Lies about forty years."[54] Hillel was the head of the Sanhedrin for forty years, according to tradition,[55] and undoubtedly Hillel is referred to in the clause cited.

In Text A the number is given as "twenty years." We know from a Mishna that Hillel and Menahem became the heads of the Sanhedrin after Shemaiah and Abtalyon, but that when Menahem later left the Sanhedrin, his place was taken by Shammai.[56] The twenty years refer to the time when Hillel and Menahem were the heads of the Sanhedrin.

The purpose of the author of The Fragments was to fix the time when the sect came into existence. According to Text A, "the sons of Zadok are the chosen of Israel," and they dwelt in the land of Damascus. He places the origin of the Zadokites in the time when Jeroboam revolted against Judaea. "When the two houses of Israel separated," the author says, "Ephraim turned away from Judah, and those who turned back were delivered to the sword and those who held fast escaped into the land of the north." אשר באו מיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה בהפרד שני בתי ישראל שר אפרים מעל יהודה וכל הנסוגים הוסגרו לחרב והמחזיקים נמלטו לארץ צפון. He then quotes a verse (which is from the Prophet Amos), "As he said, 'And I will cause to go into captivity Siccuth, your King, and Chyun your images from the tents of Damascus.' " כאשר אמר והגליתי את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמכם מאהלי דמשק.[57] We learn from the karaitic literature that some of the Karaites traced their origin from the time of Jeroboam. They maintained that when Jeroboam changed

[54] אשר הלכו עם איש הכזב כשנים ארבעים.
[55] See Sifre Deb. 250.
[56] Hag. 2.2, יצא מנחם נכנס שמאי.
[57] The Masoretic text has מהלאה לדמשק.

the laws of the Torah, the pious people of the Ten Tribes left their country and went to the other side of the Cush, because they were afraid to remain with the followers of Jeroboam, lest they would eventually pay the penalty. Some of them, however, remained in Jerusalem because of their attachment to the Temple which was their great pride; they were called "Men that sigh and that cry."

Later these were exiled with the rest of the people of Judaea, and eventually returned with Joshua and Ezra. During the time of the Second Temple they remained loyal to the law, and they were in no way connected with those whose sins were responsible for the destruction of the Temple.

אמרו בני מקרא כי כנוי שם קראים אחרים קראום כן מפני כי לא יאמינו בתורה החדשה הקרואה תורה שבע"פ והיא לא כתובה מפי נביא וחוזה כ"א בזמן מכשילי תורה . . . שקם ירבעם שר"י ונחלקו ב' מלכיות מאז החליף ירבעם מצות התורה ונחלקו לשתי דתות . . . ומהיום ההוא כראות זה המעל כל הירא וחרד אל דבר אלהים מתוך עשרת השבטים נפרדו מבין ישראל אחיהם והלכו מעבר לנהרי כוש . . . ולא נשארו מהם מן החרדים כ"א בעיר הקדש, והם לא נותרו שמה כ"א ממני [מפני] תאות המקדש גאון עזם מחמד לבם ומחמל נפשם והם הנקובים נאנחים ונאנקים והוגלו גם הם עם שארית העם . . . ובבית שני לא שבו גם הם לכסלה ולא נקראו מכשילי רבים . . . והיו מסתתרים מרגשת פועלי און כמנהג אבותיהם הנאנחים והנאנקים, ומאז היו הרוב מכשילי תורה ונושאים פנים בתורה . . . ובני נאנחים היו מסתתרים מהם ונאנקים על מעל הגולה.

Text B has come down to us in a less satisfactory condition than Text A. There are only two pages which do not have a beginning or an ending. It is clear, however, that the author of this Fragment also places the time of the origin of the sect in the period of the division between the tribes, and he also calls the Zadokites "The men that sigh and that cry," להתות התיו על מצחות נאנחים ונאנקים.

The time of the emergence of the sect is identical in the

Fragments and in the karaitic literature; moreover, the phraseology of the Fragments and karaitic literature is strikingly similar. Therefore, there can be one conclusion, namely, that they both came from one source or derived from authors who belonged to one group, and who flourished in a particular period, i. e., the karaitic. The difference between the Fragments and the karaitic text which we mentioned is that according to the author of the Fragments, the abode of the sect was Damascus, while from the karaitic text which we quoted we learn that the members of the sect went to Cush. We should have in mind, however, that Kirkisani in describing the different sects of the Karaites places the followers of Abu-isa in Damascus.[58]

VI

There is only one conclusion to which a scholar can arrive — that these Fragments were written by Karaites for the purpose of propaganda, to show that the Karaites were an ancient sect, and that they originated even before the destruction of the first Temple. In order to establish his claim the author attributes the book to a Zadok who was the founder of the Sadducees, but to which Zadok is not clear. Is it the Zadok, the disciple of Antigonous of Soco, whom the rabbis considered to be the founder of the Sadducees, or, as is more likely, was it attributed to Zadok, the High Priest, in the time of Solomon?

There can be no doubt that the author succeeded in convincing many Karaites that the book came from Zadok and is of great antiquity, and deceived them into believing that the Karaites were older than the Rabbanites, and that the latter were secessionists.

[58] See Harkavy *op. cit.* יאמר הקרקסני כי בימיו שאריח הכת הזאת נמצאה רק בעיר דמשק בערך עשרים איש.

Many renowned scholars of our day have fallen victims to the view that these Fragments are of great antiquity. Their author or authors by convincing their contemporaries of the antiquity of the work thus deceived them into believing in the ancient origin of the karaitic sect. Modern scholars who became convinced of the antiquity of the Fragments have been similarly deceived, and hence have distorted the Jewish history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth.[59]

There is no question that Text B is a version of Text A, or *vice versa*. There can be no doubt that the so-called Manual of Discipline *supposedly* discovered near the Dead Sea is a version of the Fragments, or *vice versa*. It bears great similarity to the Fragments.

The names of *Jehovah* and *Adonai* are not found in the Fragments nor in the so-called Manual of Discipline. The word *El* is substituted. The word *El* is found in the Zadokite Fragments thirty-eight times. Even where it seems that the author of the Fragments quotes a biblical verse where the word *Jehovah* is used, he substitutes *El* as on page 3, where the text reads, וירגנו באהליהם ויחר אף אל בעדתם, while in

[59] G. Margoliouth in his article in the *Athenaeum*, 1911, maintained that the Zadokite Fragments belonged to the period of the early Christians. This view has been revived by J. Teicher (*The Journal of Jewish Studies*, 1951), who holds that the Fragments are of the Ebionites, and that the Teacher of Righteousness refers to Jesus, and the Man of Lies, Man of Scoffing, refers to Paul. The arguments we advanced against the antiquity of the Fragments held by Schechter and Charles militate also against Teicher's hypothesis. Furthermore, the Ebionites believed Jesus was the true Messiah. They did not expect another Messiah, while in the Fragments we have the expression "Until will arise the Annointed from Aaron and Israel." In the Fragments, as well as in the so-called Manual of Discipline, the authors still expect the Messiah to come, and consequently the Fragments could not have been written by the Ebionites. For further arguments against Teicher's unsound view, see the present writer's article, "The Hebrew Scrolls and the Status of Biblical Scholarship," *JQR*, 1951, pp. 163–67.

Psalms 106.25, 40 the reading is וירגנו באהליהם . . . ויחר אף יהוה בעמו. Similarly, in the so-called Manual of Discipline the word *El* appears forty times, but the words *Jehovah* and *Adonai* are not found.[59a] Not only are the same views

[59a] In the last number of the *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 1951, Professor Lieberman has an article entitled, "Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources." In dealing with the mention of the Name, Lieberman quotes the following Tosefta: (Ber. 7) הפותח . . . באלף למד והותם באלף למד הרי זה דרך אחרת. The Palestinian Talmud, however, has the following reading: באלף למד והותם באלף למד הרי זה בור . . . ביו"ד ה"א והותם באלף למד הרי זו דרך אחרת. Lieberman accepted the reading of the Tosefta against the reading of the Palestinian Talmud and maintained that the phrase הרי זה דרך אחרת refers to the Sectarians. Let us grant that the reading of the Tosefta is the original one, of which I have my doubts. I do question, however, if the rabbis had the Sectarians in mind. It is well known that the rabbis prohibited changing the established formula of the prayers, כל המשנה ממטבע שטבעו חכמים בברכות לא יצא ידי חובתו (Ber. 40b); כל המשנה ממטבע שטבעו חכמים בגיטין יוציא והוולד ממזר (Git. 5b). Lieberman himself says that those who did not follow the rabbinic interpretations might be called heterodox by them. Hence, there is no proof that this Tosefta refers to the Sectarians, but it might refer to anyone who had changed the established formula of the prayers.

On page 400, he writes as follows: "Source II states clearly that the use of *El* both at the beginning and at the conclusion of a benediction is a heterodoxy. In my commentary *ad loc.* I remarked, 'With those people in mind who were careful not to mention the substitute for the Tetragrammaton even in prescribed benedictions, the *Mishna* ordained that a man greet his fellow with [the use of] the Name of the Lord. However I do not know for certain of whom the Rabbis were thinking.' " I believe his original Hebrew expressed his view more clearly, and therefore I hereby give his original Hebrew. לפי גרסא זו יש חשש של דרך אחרת רק אם לא הזכיר את השם כלל, ונגד אלה שנזהרו שלא להזכיר את השם אפילו בברכה תיקנו במשנה שיזכירו את השם אפילו בשאילת שלום, וכבר האריכו בעניין זה החכמים האחרונים אבל לא נתברר לי בוודאית למי כיוונו חז"ל.

He said he did not know for certain about whom the rabbis were thinking in the Mishna, but now, he says, "Happily we are now in a position to identify them. They were Jewish sectarians."

The Mishna (Ber. 9) reads as follows: והתקינו שיהא אדם שואל את שלום חברו בשם שנאמר והנה בעז בא מבית לחם ויאמר לקוצרים י"י עמכם ויאמרו לו יברכך י"י ואומר י"י עמך גבור החיל, ואומר אל תבוז כי זקנה אמך. ואומר עת לעשות לי"י הפרו תורתך. According to Lieberman, the Mishna refers to "extremists which followed stricter regulations than the Rabbis regarding the mention of the Name."

I do not want to destroy the happiness of scholars who have illusions

expressed in both texts, as the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel," משיח מאהרון וישראל, but sentences are found to be identical in the two texts.

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about alleged discoveries, but one must say, and emphatically, that the rabbis in this Mishna had no extremists in mind; if they had, they would not use the words: עת לעשות לי״י הפרו תורתך, הפרו תורתך עת לעשות לי״י. "It is time to work for the Lord and they rendered the law void." There was no emergency for disregarding the law. The Mishna refers to the Judean Christians. When a Jewish Christian met a fellow Jewish Christian he greeted him with, "Peace, in the name of God and the Lord Jesus Christ." Paul, in his letters always addressed his fellowmen with the greeting "Peace from God and our Lord Jesus Christ." In his letter to the Galatians he wrote, "Peace εἰρήνη, שלום from God the Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ." In his letter to Timothy he addressed him, "Peace from God our Father and Jesus Christ our Lord." The apostolic fathers did likewise when they addressed their fellowmen. The rabbis, therefore, introduced a *takkana* that when a Jew greets another Jew he should greet him with Peace in the Name, the Tetragrammaton and pronounce the word *Adonai*, שואל את שלום חברו בשם thus emphasizing that there is only one God and that Jesus is not the Messiah and cannot be called Lord.

We understand now why the rabbis said that in an emergency one must disregard the law, since mention of the Tetragrammaton was forbidden, that is, one was not allowed to take the name of the Lord in vain. Greeting each other with the Tetragrammaton *Adonai* was taking the name of the Lord in vain. The danger arose from the many Jewish Christians who were still a part of the Jewish people, and who greeted each other with the phrase, "Peace in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord." Therefore, the rabbis had to disregard the old prohibition against mentioning the name of the Lord in vain. The rabbis even sought support for the new *takkana* from the Bible. Boaz greeted his fellows with the Name. It is indeed absurd to entertain the idea that the rabbis would use the words . . . עת לעשות לי״י הפרו תורתך against extremists who feared to mention the Name Tetragrammaton, in prescribed benedictions. The sages would designate such extremists as fools, כל הרוצה להחמיר על עצמו לנהוג כחומרי בית שמאי וכחומרי בית הלל על זה נאמר הכסיל בחושך הולך (Yer. Ber. 1).

On page 401 Lieberman quotes the following Tosefta Yad.: אומרין טובלי שחרין קובלנו עליכם פרושין שאתם מזכירין את השם בשחרית בלא טבילה. אומ׳ פרושין קבלנו עליכם טובלי שחרין שאתם מזכירין את השם מן הנוף שיש בו טומאה. This has no relation to the sectarians and no bearing on the Hebrew Scrolls.

He continues, "In the parallel *Mishnah* (Yad. 4.8) a similar discussion between a *Galilean* heretic and the Pharisees is recorded." In the charge of the Galilean heretic against the Pharisees, the word השם is not

M. D.	Z. F.
ולאהוב כול אשר בחר	ולבחור את אשר רצה
ולשנוא את כל אשר מאס (I)	ולמאוס כאשר שנא (II)
יסוד היחד (VII)	סוד אנשים (XIV)
אנשי היחד (IX)	אנשי היחיד (XX)
מדרש התורה (VIII)	מדרש התורה (XX)
הואהא כאשר כתוב (VIII)	הוא ואשר אמר (IX)
ביד שר האורים (III)	ביד שר האורים (V)
הסרך למושב (VI)	וסרך מושב (XIV)
ובכל מקום אשר יהיה עשרה אנשים מעצת החוד אל ימש מאתם איש כוהן (VI)	ובמקום עשרה אל ימש איש כהן (XIII)
ונשפטו במשפטים הרשונים אשר החלו אנשי היחד לתוסר בם (IX)	והתיסרו במשפטים הראשונים אשר נשפטו בני אנשי היחיד (XX)
המבקר על מלאכת הרבים וכתבו בחשבון בידו (VI)	והמבקר יכתבהו בידו (IX)

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mentioned, but משה. The Mishna reads as follows: [מין] (צדוקי) אומר גלילי קובל אני עליכם פרושים שאתם כותבין את המושל עם משה בנט אומרים פרושים קובלין אנו עליך (צדוקי) [מין] גלילי שאתם כותבין את המושל עם השם בדף.

This reading is found in all the editions and in all the manuscripts known to us. The present writer in his book *Megillat Taanit as a source for Jewish Chronology and history in the Hellenistic and Roman periods*, pp. 99–100, emended the reading of the text from משה into השם, on the basis of a reading which is mentioned in the *Tosaphot* B. B. 162a.

I was indeed delighted to see that Lieberman accepted my emendation (although he did not give me credit for it) against the authority of the *Tosaphot*, קובלים אנו עליכם פרושים שאתם כותבין את המושל עם משה בנט הכי גרסינן במשניות ולא גרסי' את המושל עם השם כמו שכתב במקצת משניות כי מה ענין השם בנט. It is noteworthy that Lieberman overruled the opinion of the *Tosaphot*, the author of which probably was *Rabenu Tam* ולא גרסינן את המושל עם השם in favor of my emendation את המושל עם השם. In this Mishna the word נט "connotes any and every kind of document." כל השטרות נקראים נט.

The Mishna however does not refer to the extremists who "followed stricter regulations," but refers to Judah the Galilean, the founder of the Fourth Philosophy. The charge of the Galilean against the Pharisees was the recognition of the authority of the Romans which Judas opposed.

Lieberman says in Note 51 that the Galileans are mentioned by

The difference between the so-called Manual of Discipline and the so-called Zadokite Fragments is that the latter were written in a Hebrew script which was used in the middle of the Middle Ages, while the former was written in a Hebrew script which was used early in the Middle Ages. It has been assumed by many scholars, that the

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Josephus "(*Antiq.* XVIII.1, 2, 6, 23–24) and Acts V.37." The Galileans as a matter of fact, are *not* mentioned in either place, but Judas, of Galilea. "Judas a (Gaulonite) [Galilean] . . . became zealous to revolt" (18.1). "But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas of Galilee was the author." (18.6). "After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing." (Acts 5.37). Judas of Galilee or the "Galileans" makes all difference in the world. The sect he organized was called the Fourth Philosophy, and during the war against the Romans its members were called *Sicarii*. This designation is also found in Acts 21.28. The Fourth Philosophy, organized by Judas of Galilea, comprised all segments of the population.

On page 400 Lieberman says there was a benediction "beginning with the formula: ברוך אתה אלי." In my article, "The Hebrew Scrolls and the Status of Biblical Scholarship," *JQR*, 1951, I wrote as follows: "It is true that we have the word *Eli* in the Hebrew literature, but to my knowledge there is no expression in Hebrew literature as ברוך אתה אלי. But there is the expression in the Bible ברוך אתה אדני, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord." The author thought that the *yod* at the end of the word אדני signifies the possessive *mine*. Since he feared to write the words יהוה and אדני, and always substituted the word *El*, he therefore wrote in his blessing instead of אדני the word אלי." Lieberman did not find a record anywhere in the Talmud of such a benediction. There was no such benediction. The wording of this benediction as I said in my article, was due to the ignorance of the author of the scrolls.

On page 403 Lieberman writes as follows: "It was customary among the scribes in the twelfth century to leave blank spaces for the Tetragrammaton in the scroll of the Law." To this he adds a note, "Perhaps they inserted *dots* in these places." One cannot *infer* from the twelfth century statements about the writings during the Second Jewish Commonwealth and the later tannaitic period. *History is not written in this manner.* In the tannaitic period one wrote the name of God when one quoted the Bible, and the method of *dots* to indicate a missing word was unknown in that period. I may say, Lieberman with this statement not only supports my contention that the scrolls are of a late period, but he goes beyond me with a statement from which we may infer that they are of the twelfth century.

so-called Zadokite Fragments were copied from an earlier manuscript which might belong to the late seventh or early eighth century C. E. The Manual of Discipline was composed in the age when this type of script was still in vogue.

There is also a great similarity between the Zadokite Fragments and the Habakkuk Commentary. The following expressions and terms מורה צדק, מטיף הכוב, איש הכזב, פשרו are found in both works. This leads us to assume that the Habakkuk Commentary, the Manual of Discipline, and the Fragments are products of one period and that they were written by men of that period, i. e., the Middle Ages. We may even postulate that the Manual of Discipline as well as the Habakkuk Commentary is a part of the Genizah from which the Zadokite Fragments came. I do not mean that they necessarily came from the same country. They may have been transferred from one place to another place since they were written.

VII

In giving the facsimile I did not deem it necessary to transcribe the text, because I believed the scholars interested in the subject are able to read the script. I did not translate the text because some sections are untranslatable. The Hebrew style is crude, some words are ungrammatical, and some phrases are clumsy. Schechter, Charles and Levi who translated the text had to change and add words and phrases which they called emendations, but I should say they were making a new text. A few examples will suffice.

On page 3, ll. 6–7, we have ויכרת זכורם במדבר להם בקדש עלו ורשו את רוחם. Schechter translated this, "Therefore He exterminated their males in the desert when He spake to

them in the desert in Kadesh, go up and possess the land, and they provoked His spirit." He emended the text to read: ויכרת זכורם במדבר כאשר דבר להם במדבר קדש עלו ורשו את הארץ.[60]

On page 4, l. 6, we have הקודש שונים כאשר כפר אל בעדם. Schechter rendered this, "The holy they alter which God made atonement for them." In his Note he suggests that הקודש שונים should be emended into המקדש שומרים, "They keep the charge of the century." Charles has, "The first saints whom God pardoned," emending הקודש שונים, into הקדושים הראשונים.[61]

On page 10, l. 9, the text has אמר לסור את דעתם עד לא ישלימו את ימיהם, which Schechter translates, "He said to remove the minds before they shall complete their days." Charles has, "He commended their intelligence from them before they completed their days." On the same page, l. 12, we find אל יטהר במה כלי וכל גבא בסלע אשר אין בו די מרעיל. Schechter renders this, "None shall cleanse himself in the waters of a vessel. And every pool in a rock in which there is not sufficient water for immersion." The word מרעיל he emended into מטביל. Charles rendered it, "And every pool in a rock in which there is not sufficient water for a bath." He emended the word מרעיל into מרחץ.[62]

On page 11, l. 21, we have וכל הבא אל בית השתחות אל יבא טמא כבוס ובהרע חצוצרות הקהל יתקדם או יתאחר, which Schechter renders, "And everyone who comes into the house of worship he shall not enter when he is contaminated without washing. And when the trumpets of the congregation sound, it shall be (done) before or after." Supplying after

[60] Levi emended the text to read, באמר להם בקדש עלו ורשו את הארץ וכרת זכורם במדבר דבר להם בקדש עלו ורשו ורעו — Ginzberg, ויקשו את רוחם את רוחם ולא שמעו וכו'.

[61] Ginzberg emended the word שונים into אוהבים.

[62] Ginzberg emended מרעיל into הגעיל.

the word טמא the word בלי or בלא, Charles has, "And none of those who entered into the house of worship shall enter when he is unclean even though washed."[63]

Again on pages 12–13, ll. 23–1, we have עד עמוד משיח אהרן וישראל עד עשרה אנשים למועט לאלפים ומיאות וחמשים ועשרות, which Schechter translates, "Until there will arise the Anointed from Aaron and Israel till ten men at least by thousands, and hundreds and fifties and tens."

On the same page, l. 8, we have ויספר לפניהם נהיות עולם בפרתיה, which Schechter translates, "Shall narrate before them the happenings of eternity in the law of God." He has the word בפרתיה emended into בתורתיה. Charles rendered this passage, "Shall narrate before them the things of the world since its creation." He emended the word בפרתיה into מבריתו.[64]

Israel Levi and Ginzberg further emended the same passages which we quoted. All the emendations which we quoted were made only to render the text more intelligible. The fact is the text was written in very poor, ungrammatical Hebrew by a Karaite who had insufficient knowledge of the Hebrew language. Some of the emendations to the text are very ingenious and show the originality of the scholars. But this new text represents the text and the translation of the scholars, but not the text of the author.

The emendations supplied by Prof. Louis Ginzberg who is the most brilliant Jewish scholar of the century, show great acumen, and one must marvel at his vast erudition in rabbinic literature. With great keenness of mind he invalidated the emendation made by Schechter. He

[63] Levi emended אל בית השתחות into אל בית אל להשתחות. Comp. also Ginzberg p. 103.

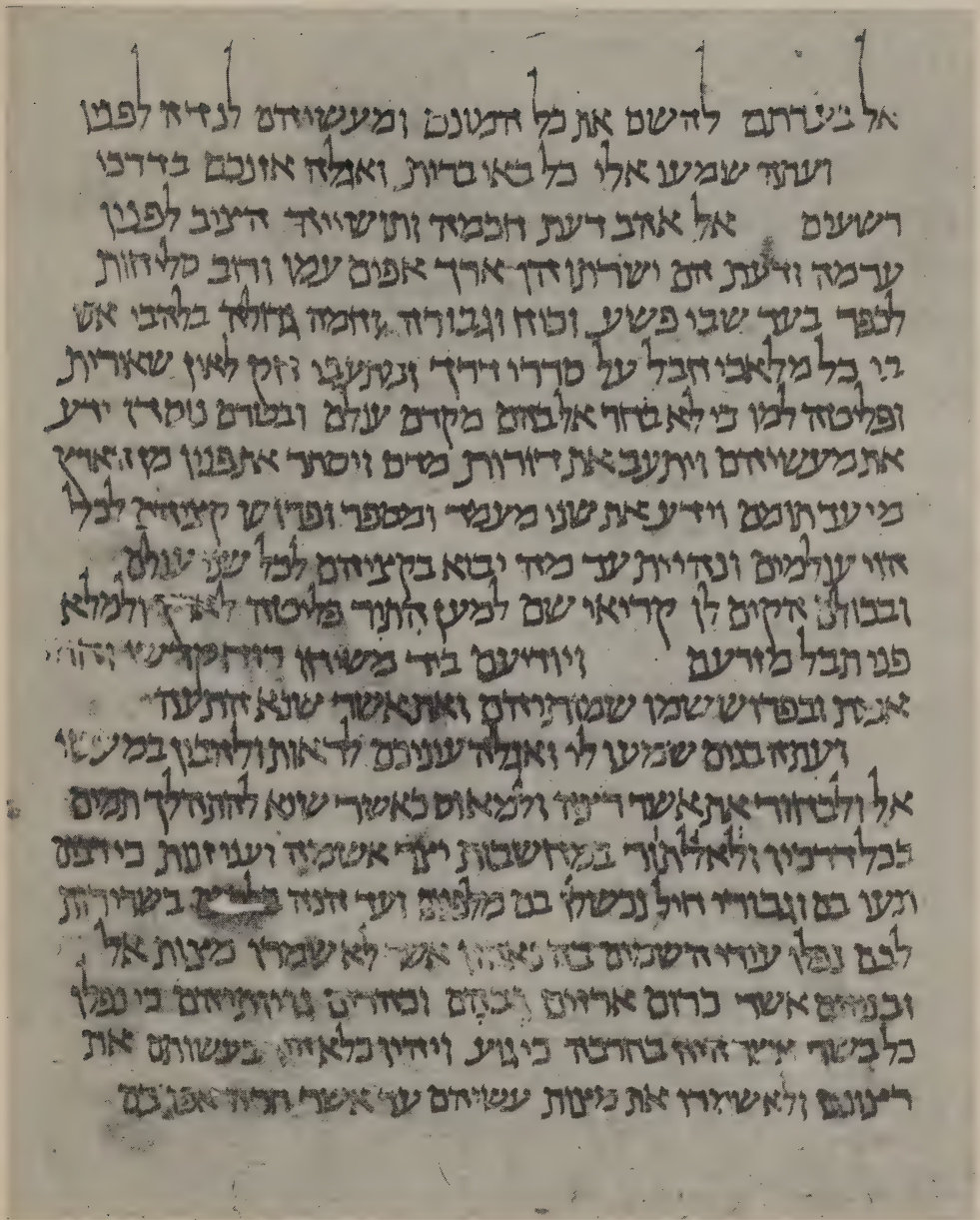
[64] Levi emended the word בפרתיה into בפרושיהם, and Ginzberg into בפתריה.

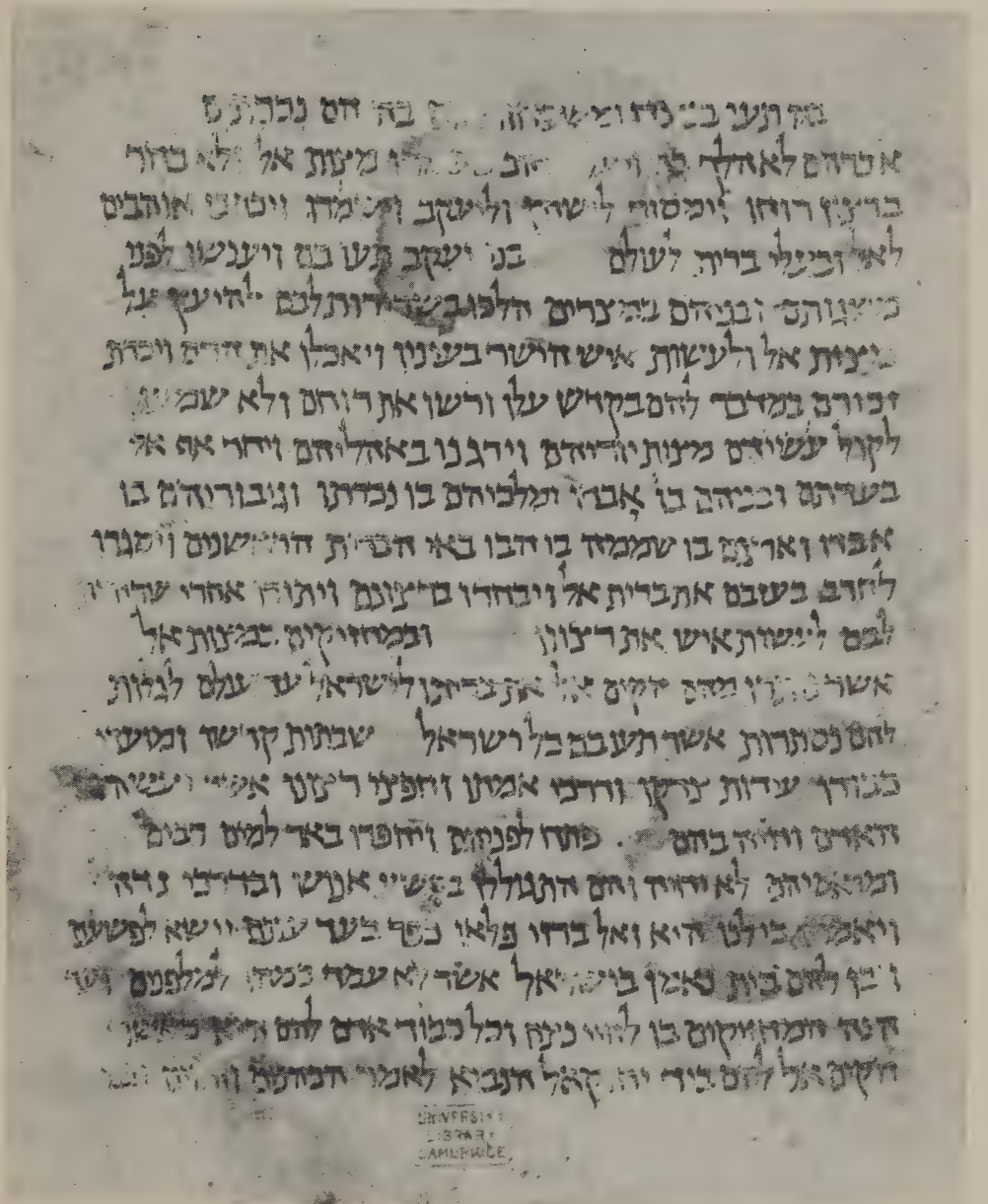
succeeded in showing that some expressions, phrases and ideas in the Fragments are also to be found in rabbinic literature, even of a later period. Geniuses and men equipped with great knowledge sometimes are swayed by public opinion. The discovery of the Fragments by Schechter created a sensation which swayed the minds of the scholars as well as of the laymen. To doubt the antiquity of the Fragments was at that time considered a heresy. Similarly, to call in question the authenticity of the Hebrew Scrolls is also to court heresy.

My appreciation is herewith expressed to the University Library, Cambridge, England, for giving me permission to use the facsimile for publication.

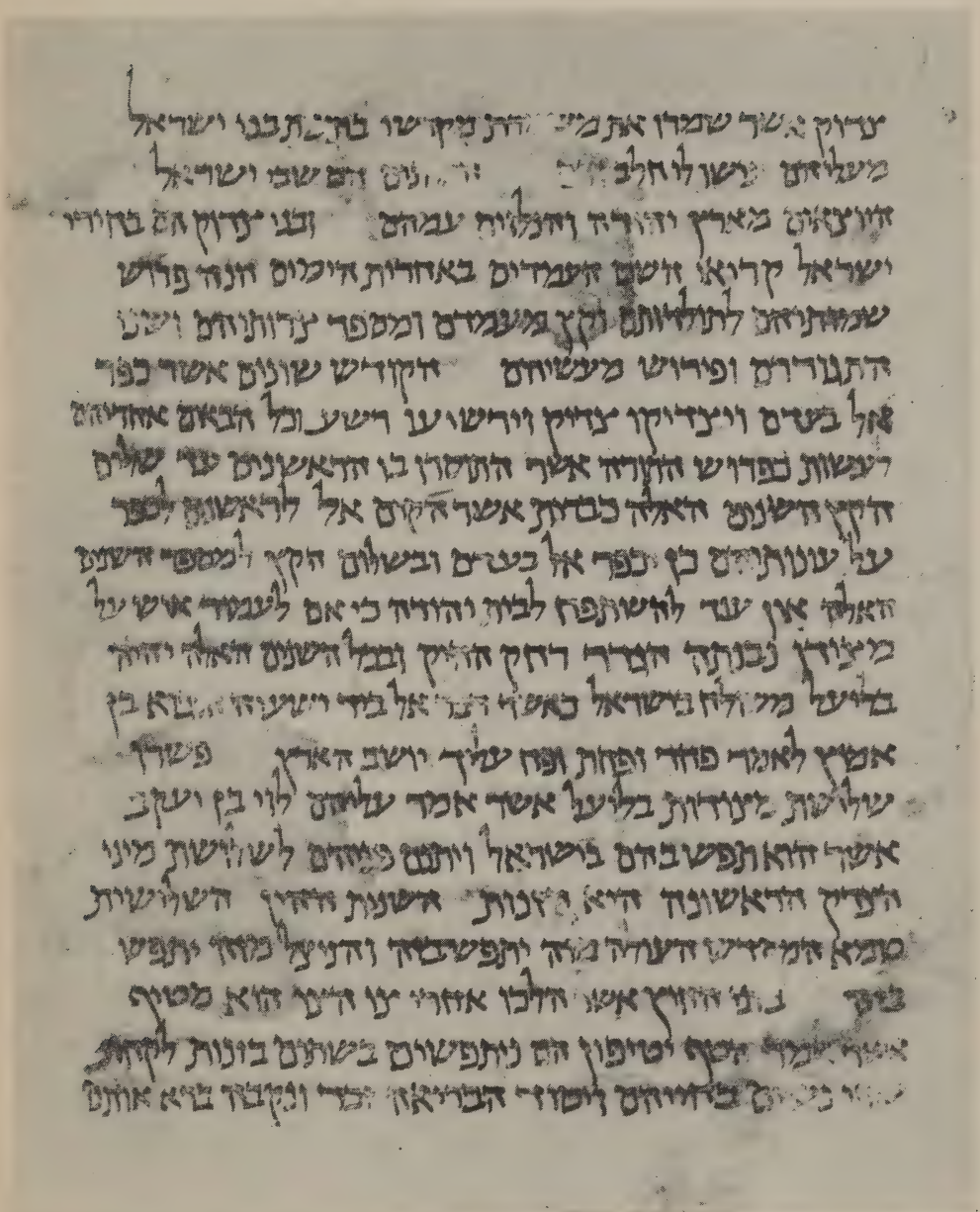
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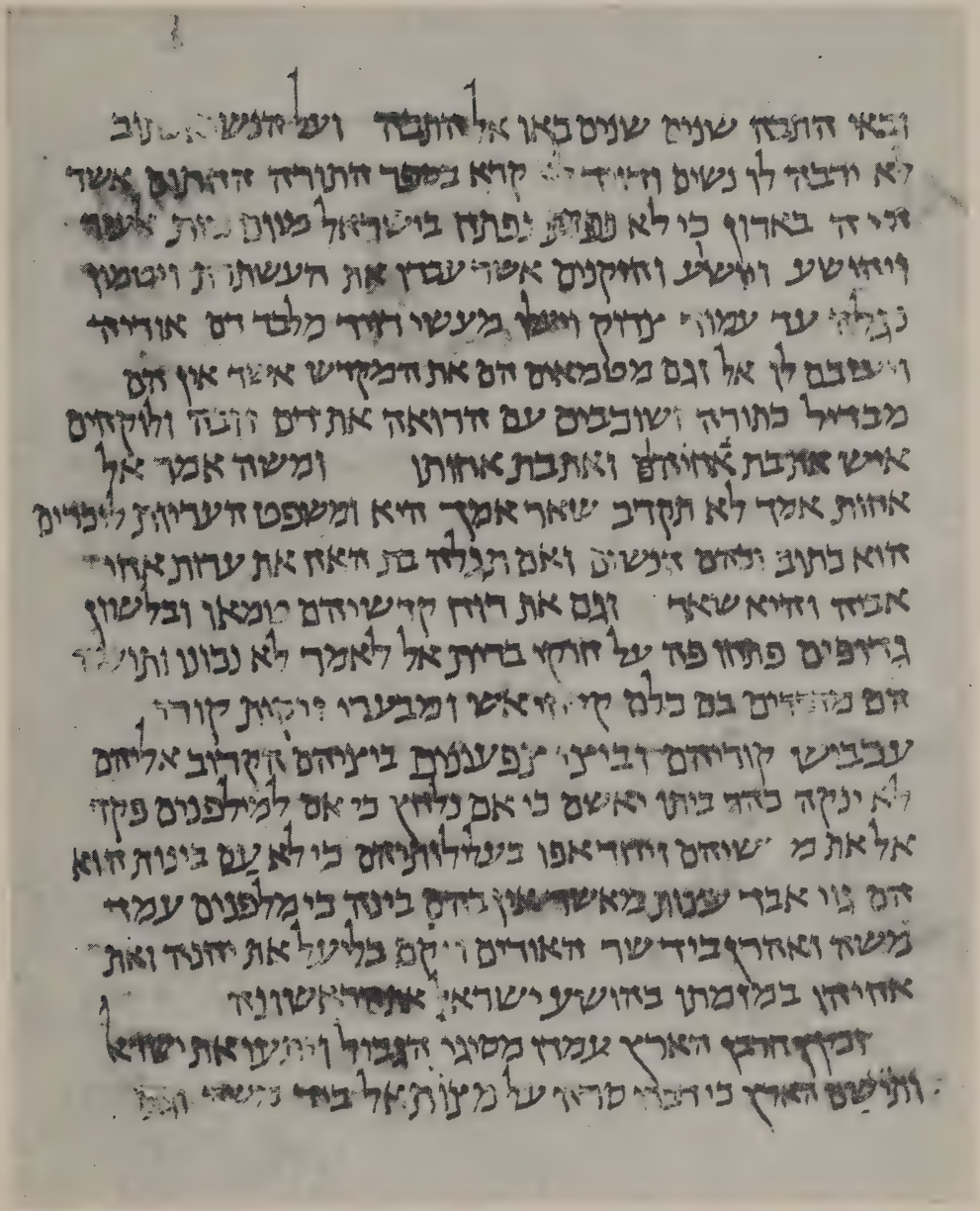
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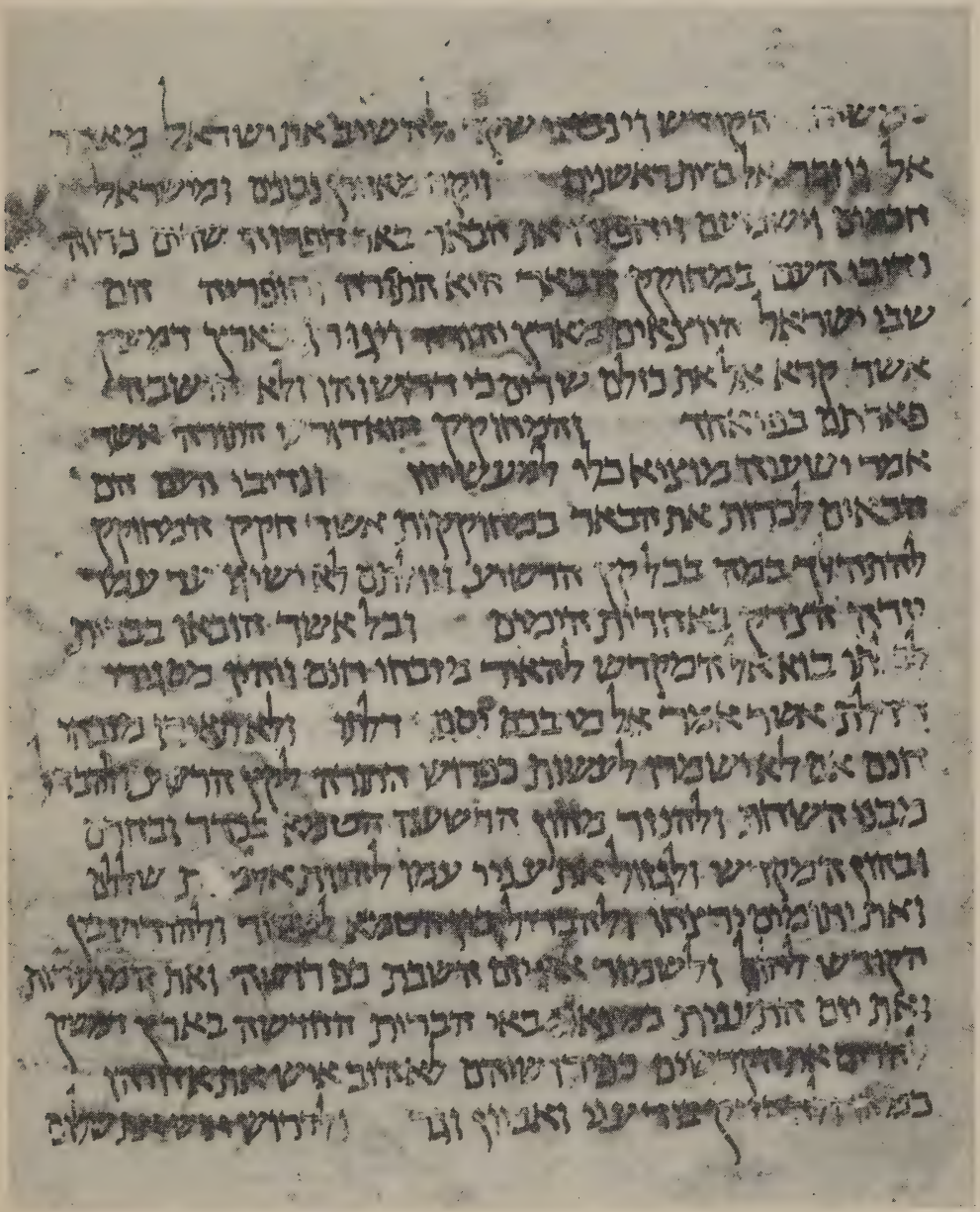


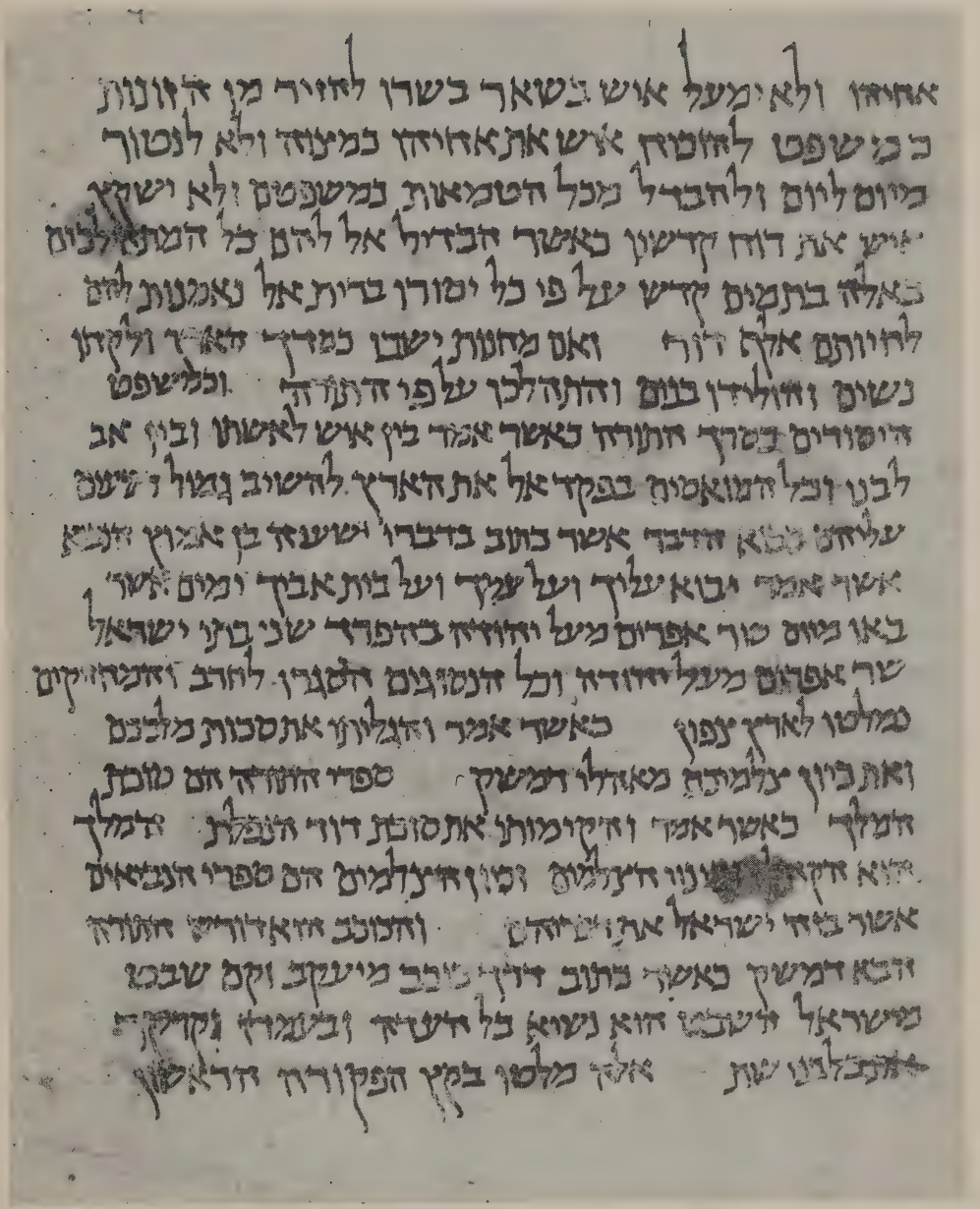


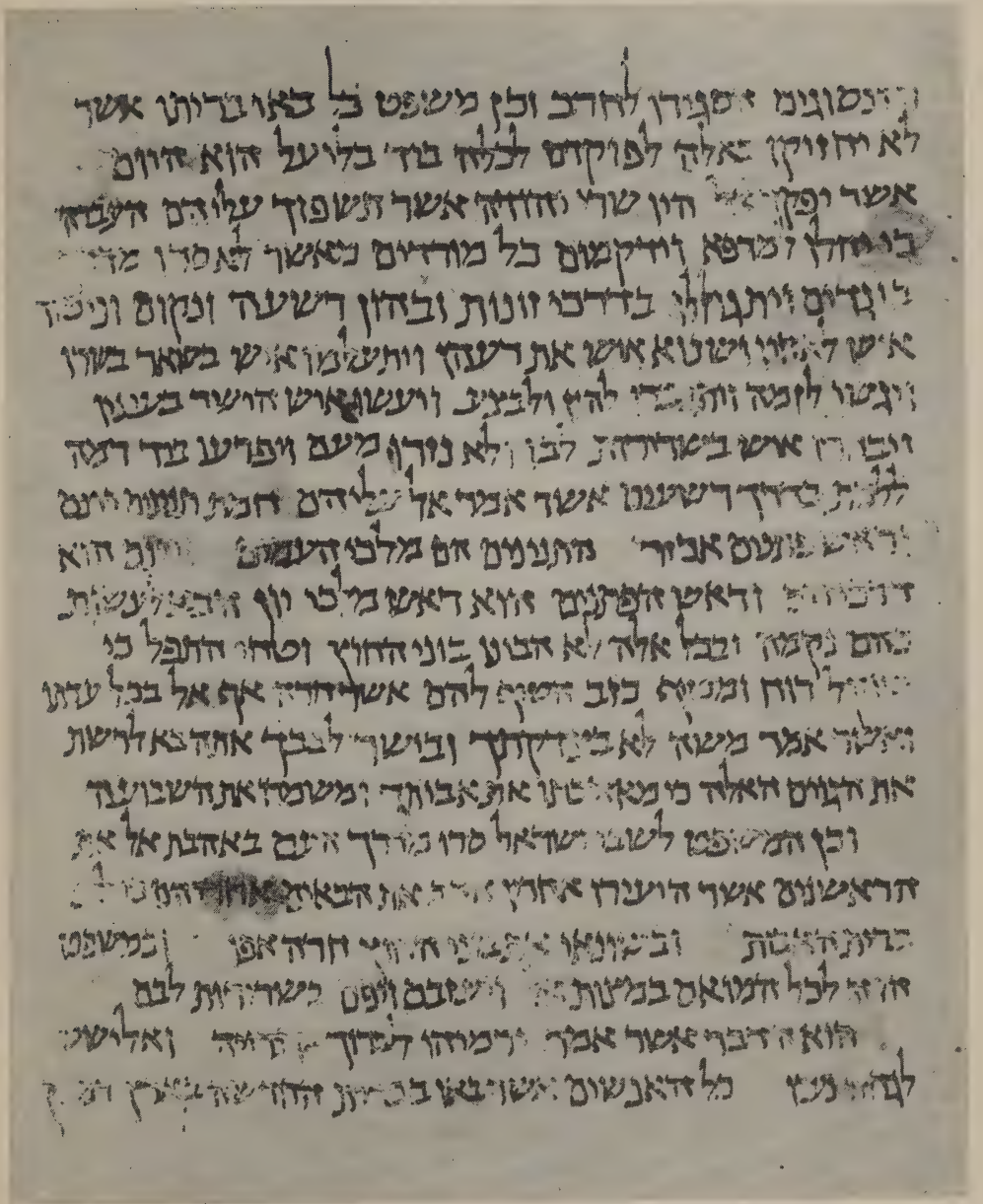
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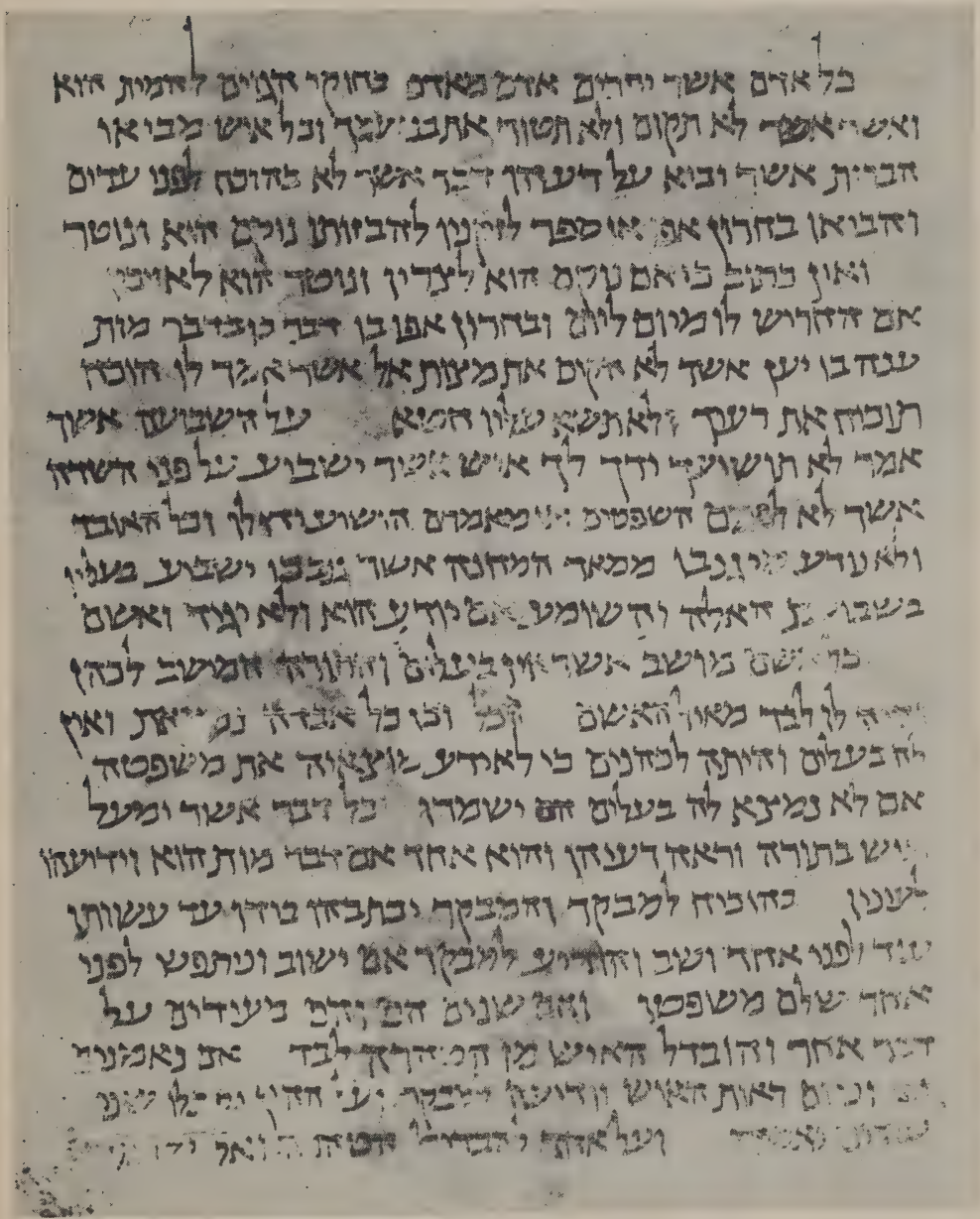


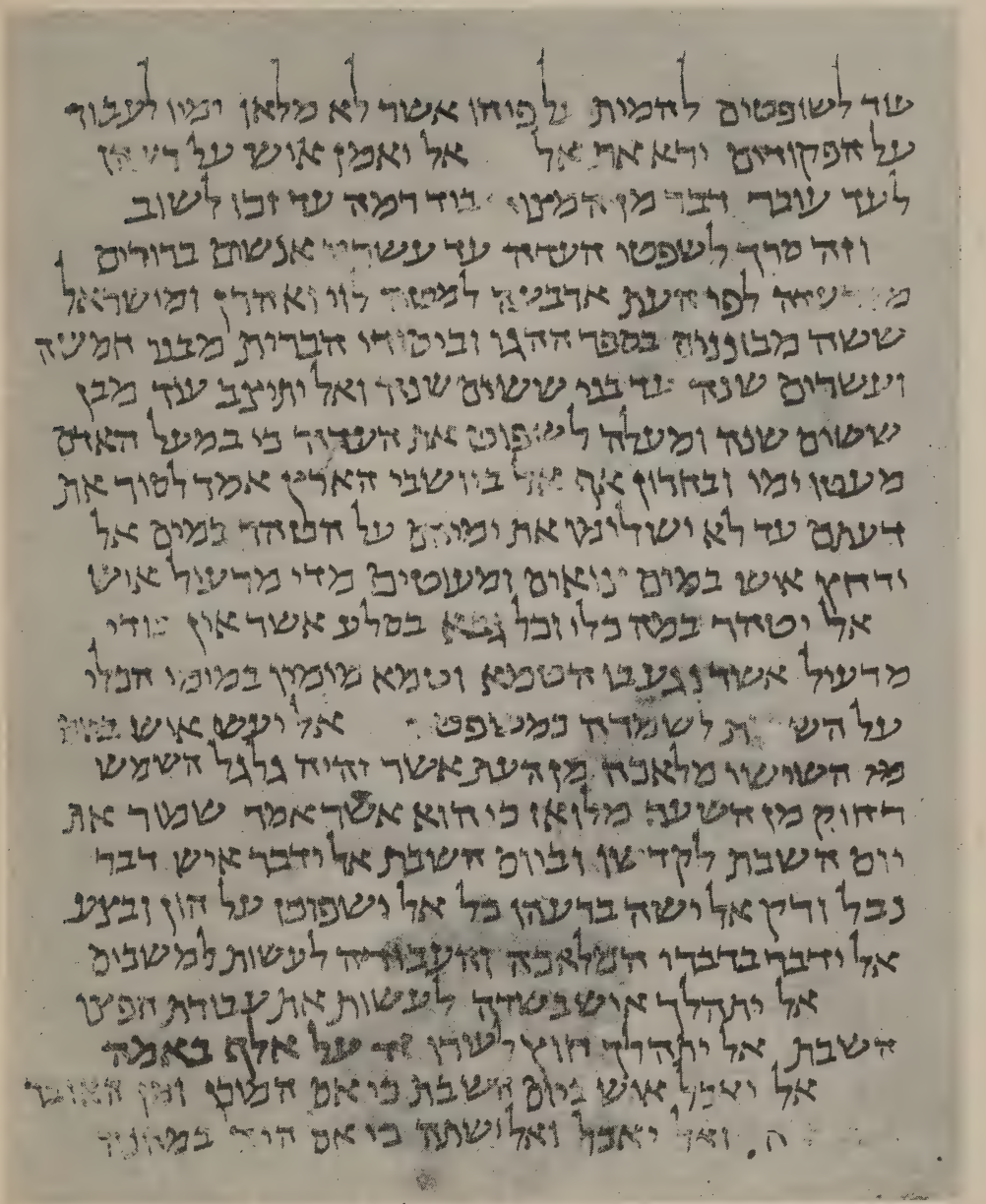


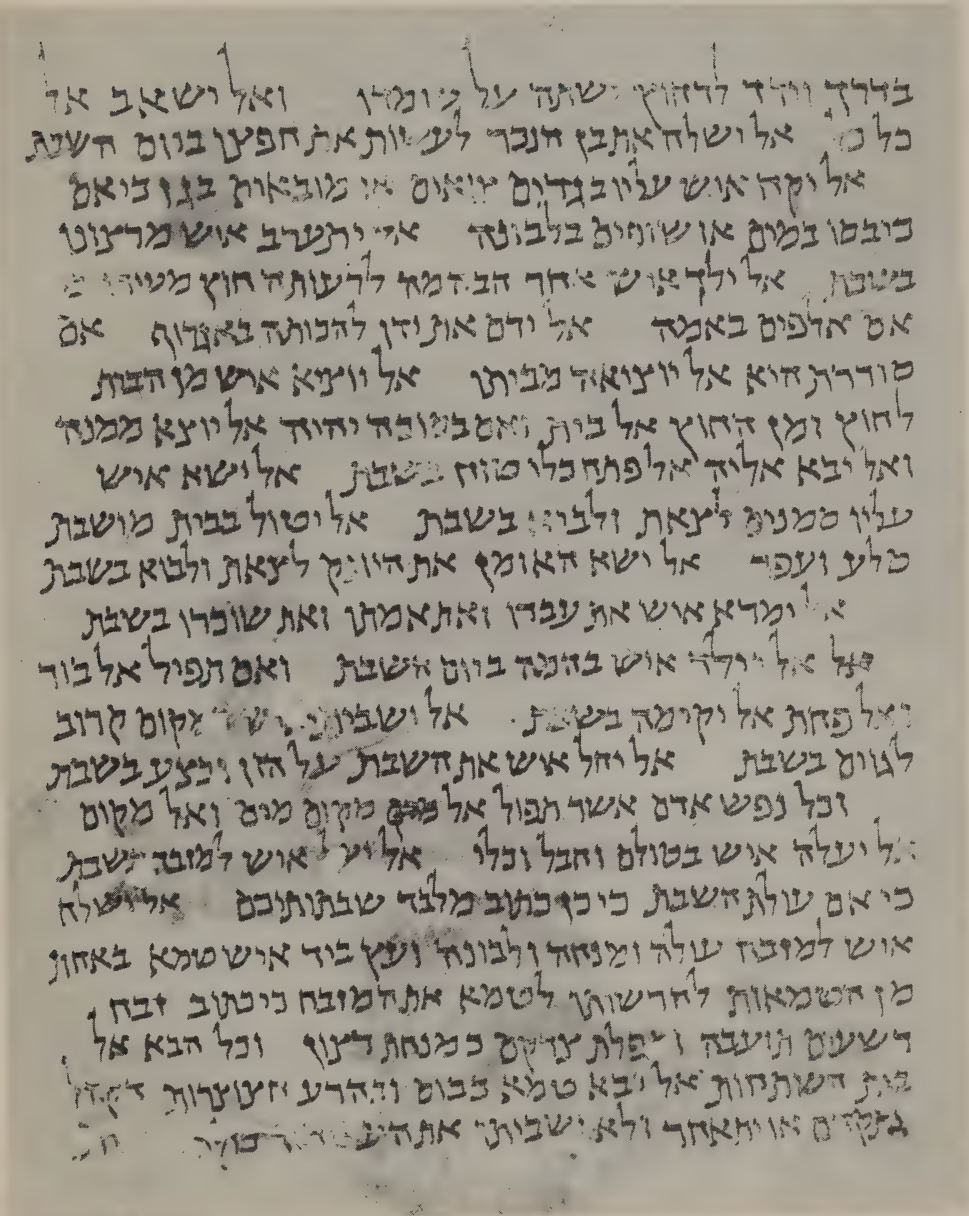


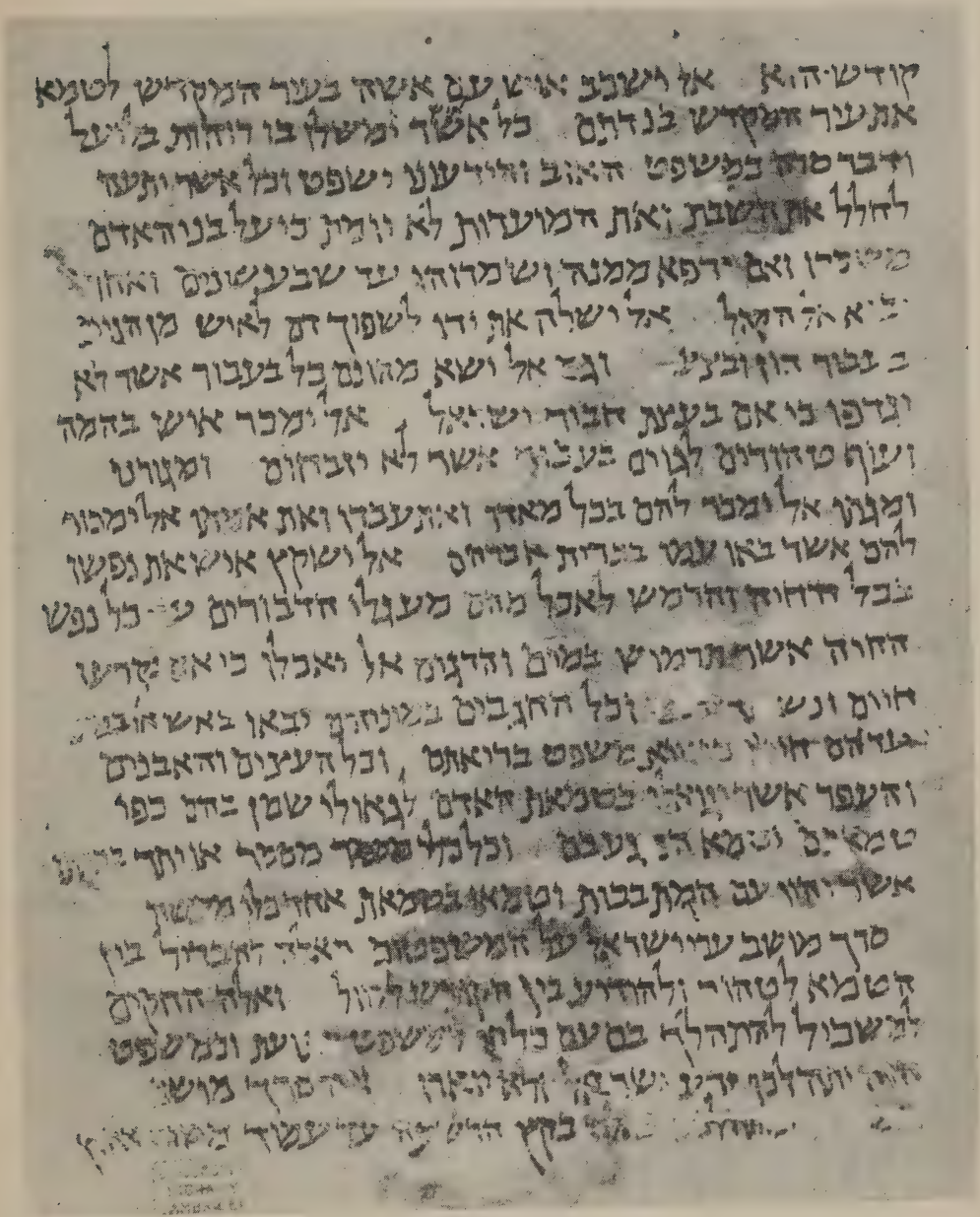


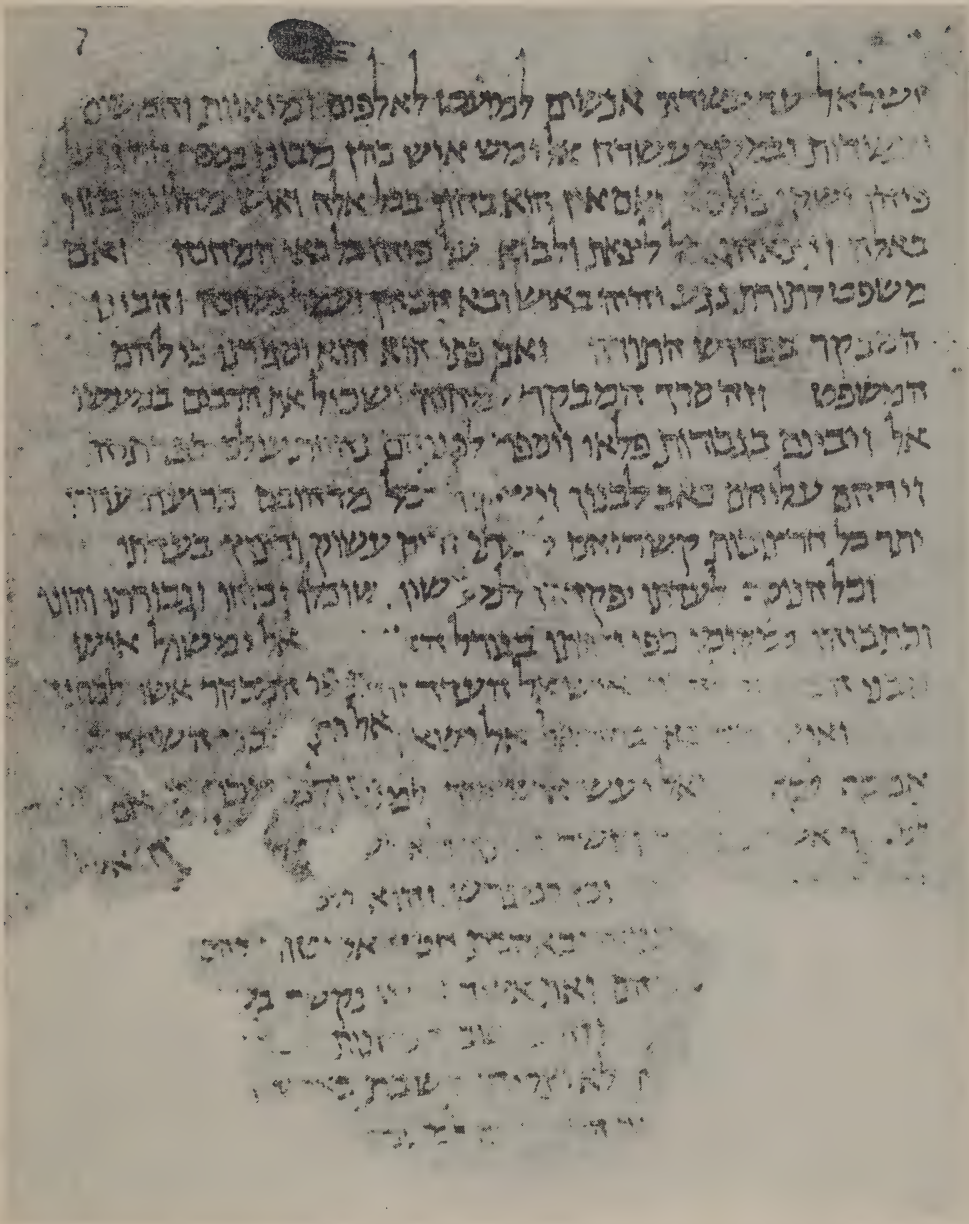


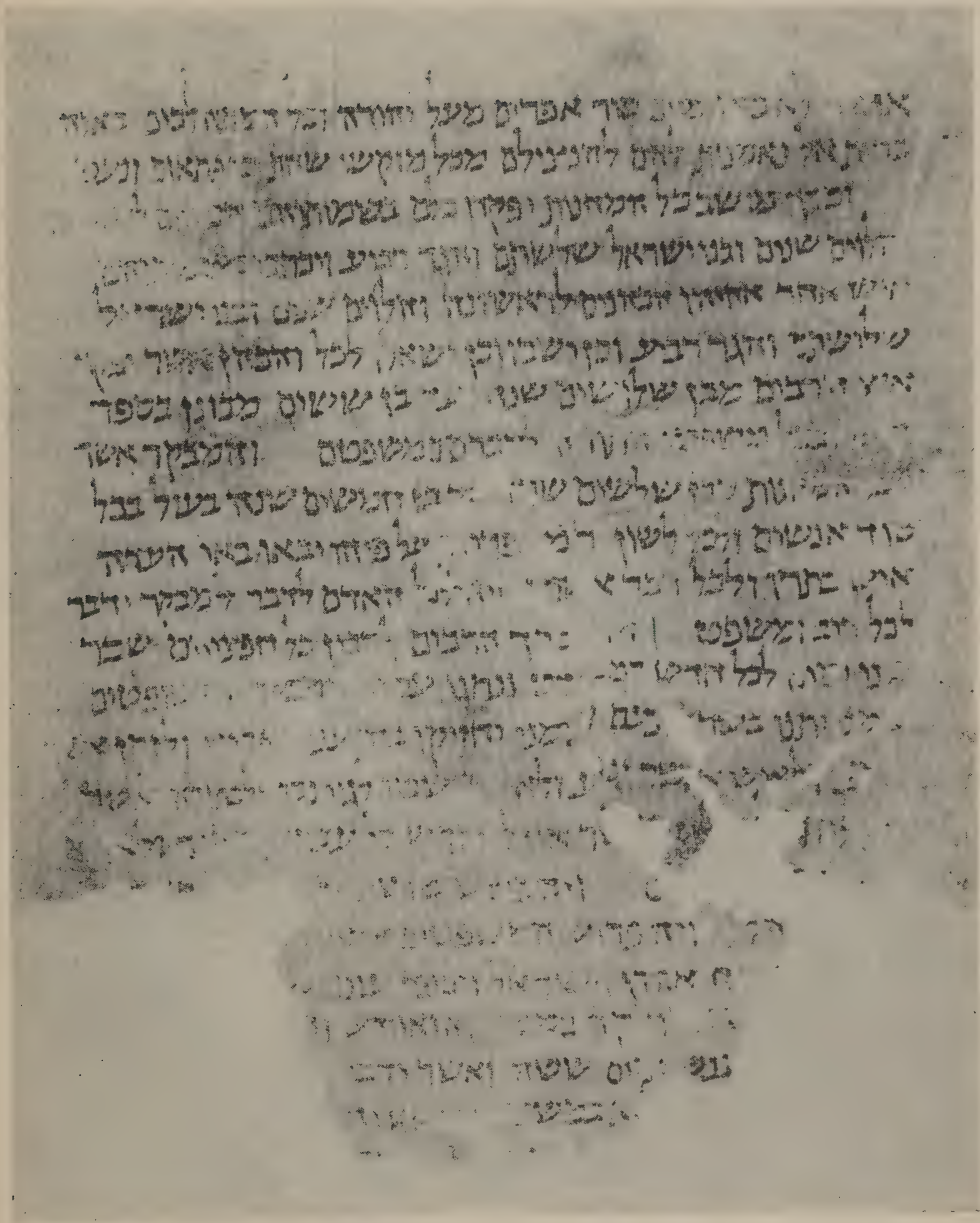


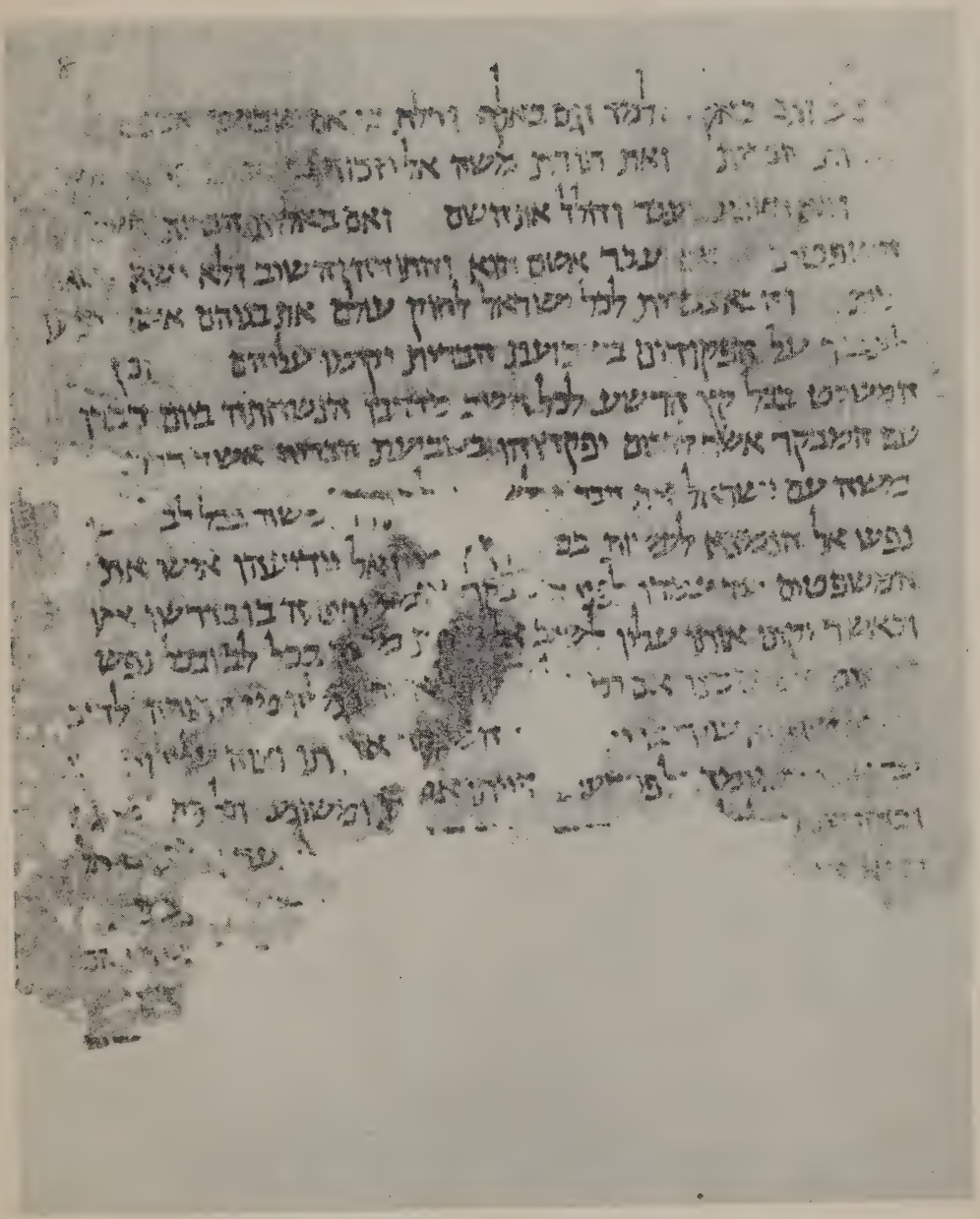


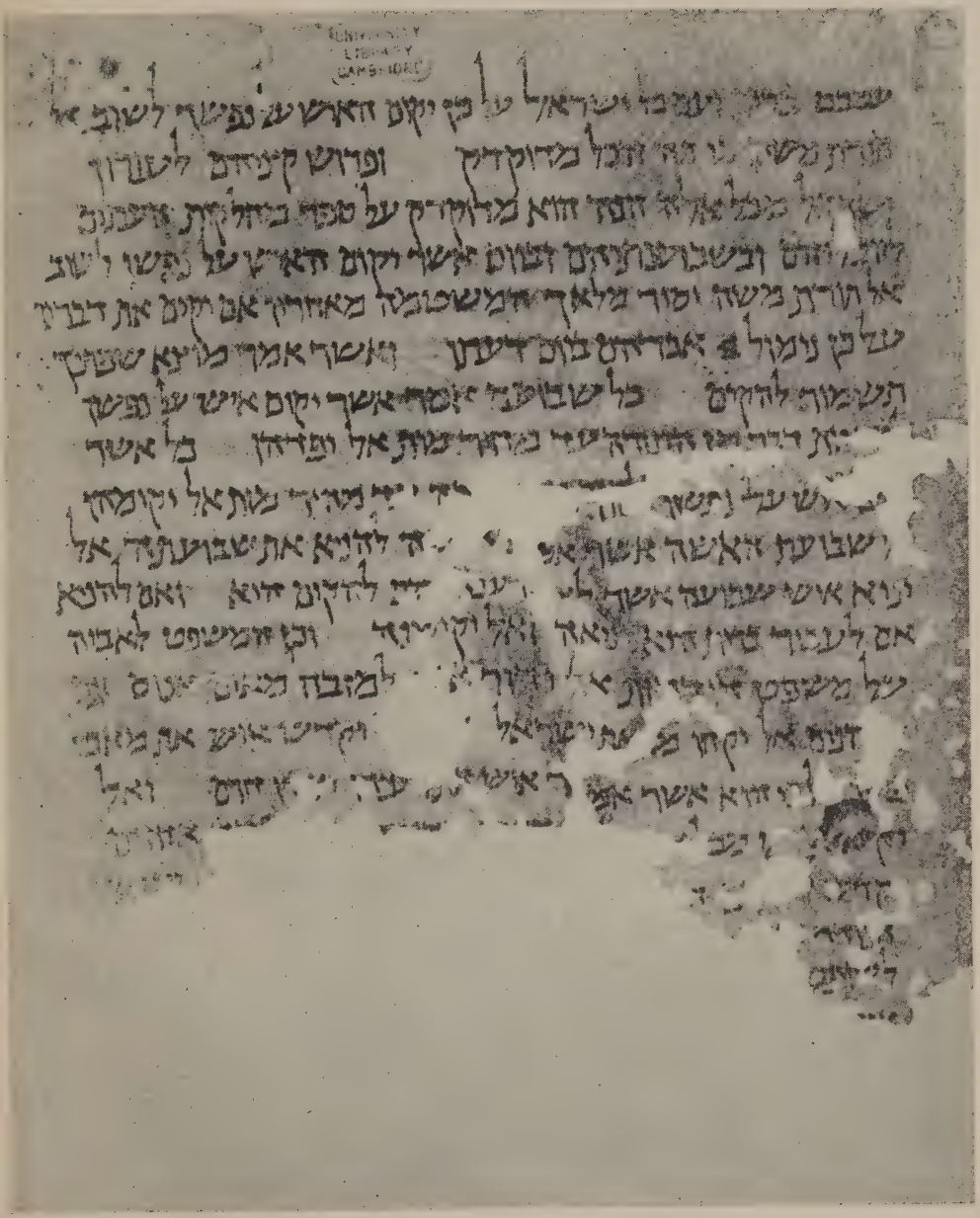











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NEW SERIES ESTABLISHED BY CYRUS ADLER

EDITED BY ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN AND SOLOMON ZEITLIN

MONOGRAPH SERIES, NUMBER I

THE ZADOKITE FRAGMENTS

FACSIMILE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CAIRO GENIZAH COLLECTION IN THE POSSESSION OF THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By

SOLOMON ZEITLIN



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INTRODUCTION

I

In 1910 Professor Solomon Schechter published *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*[1] which he had found in Cairo, Egypt, in the Genizah collection a few years previously. These Fragments are now in the possession of the University Library, Cambridge, England, and bear the class marks T.-S. (Taylor-Schechter Collection) 10 K 6 T.S. 16 311. They are designated as Text A and Text B; Text A consists of sixteen pages, measuring 8½ x 7¼ in.; Text B consists of two pages, measuring 12½ x 8 in. The manuscript is defective here and there, pages 13–16 being greatly mutilated. The manuscript is torn in some places, and some parts are obliterated. Letters, and even words are missing occasionally. Many words in the manuscript have vowel points, some according to the Palestinian and others according to the Babylonian method. In publishing the text Dr. Schechter gave two facsimiles, one page from Text A, and one page from Text B. He provided it with an English translation, an introduction, and elaborate notes. In the Introduction he made his sensational announcement that these Fragments were of the period of the Second Jewish Commonwealth. He even gave a more exact date, namely, between 196 B. C. to 176 B. C. A great part of the Fragments is written in bad Hebrew; the language is

[1] *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Volume I, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work, Edited from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collection now in the possession of the University Library, Cambridge, and provided with an English Translation, Introduction and Notes.* Cambridge, 1910.

defective and obscure, and here and there Schechter had to resort to emendations.

R. H. Charles published an English translation of this MS. in the second volume of his *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* under the title of "Fragments of a Zadokite Work."[2] In his preface to this volume he explained that he edited these MSS. for the volume of Pseudepigrapha, because they are of a "historical character and are valuable in throwing light on a lost chapter of Jewish religious history. They contain likewise Jewish apocalyptic material of an interesting nature."[3] He also supplied notes to elucidate the text and also resorted to emending it. He charged Schechter with not having edited the text carefully, and complained that he did not publish a facsimile of the entire MSS. He censured him for putting an embargo on the MSS. and for not giving scholars an opportunity to examine them.[4] Charles, however, in emending the text of these Fragments based his comments on the transcription of Schechter, for he never saw the texts themselves.

Israel Levi published a translation of the text with notes in the *REJ*, 1911,[5] and he also blamed Schechter for not allowing scholars to see the MSS., and requested him either to remove the embargo or to publish an entire facsimile without delay. Lagrange also published a trans-

[2] Pp. 785–834.

[3] See Preface, p. iv.

[4] "If Dr. Schechter chooses to edit his text so carelessly that is of course his own concern, but in that case he ought at all events to have published a facsimile of the entire MSS. — only a matter of eighteen pages. To publish such a text and then to deny all scholars access to the original MSS. for five years is strange conduct on the part of a seeker after truth. The world of scholars from Levi, who first expressed the need of a facsimile to the latest students of the text, look to Dr. Schechter either to remove this unscholarly embargo or himself to publish a facsimile without delay."

[5] Pp. 161–205.

lation of the Fragments in the *Revue Biblique*, 1912.[6] All of the scholars were agreed on one point, namely, that this text was of the period of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, and hence of great value for the proper understanding of Judaism in the pre-Christian period. It is evident from the very title of these Fragments that Schechter and Charles were of the opinion that it was a work from the period of the Second Jewish Commonwealth.

According to Schechter, the text "is constituted of fragments forming extracts from a Zadok book." He says that the Zadok sect "did not however pass for any length of time under the name of Zadokites, but was soon in some way amalgamated with and perhaps also absorbed by the Dosithean Sect, and made more proselytes among the Samaritans than among the the Jews, with which former sect it had many points of similarity."[7] According to the text of the Fragments, the Sect had its seat in Damascus which is north of Palestine. Schechter believed that the Sect sent emissaries to the Dositheans and subsequently to the Falashians who lived south of Palestine.

According to Charles, the Zadokites were not Samaritans, nor were they Essenes. He says the Zadokites were related in point of origin and name to the Sadducees, but were not Sadducees in the ordinary sense, but a reformed Sadduceeism.[8] He finally came to the conclusion that the Zadokites were related to the Pharisees in their eschatological doctrines. "The Zadokites," he said, "had their origin in the priesthood and formed a party within it but a reforming party, the reformation being due largely to the Apocalyptic side of Pharisaism as it is shown by the extreme

[6] Pp. 213–240. Comp. also R. Leszynski, *REJ*, 1912, pp. 190–6; K. Kohler, *The American Journal of Theology*, 1911; G. F. Moore, *The Harvard Theological Review*, 1911.

[7] P. XXVI.

[8] P. 790.

importance attached to the Old Testament prophecy and the advanced views of eschatology."[9]

Professor Louis Ginzberg, in his book *Eine Unbekannte Jüdische Sekte*, 1922, with great learning and his usual brilliancy, has proved that the emendations to the text of the Fragments which were made by Schechter are worthless, and has shown that some of the halakot mentioned in the Fragments correspond to the Pharisaic teachings. His vast erudition in rabbinic literature enabled him to point out that many of the phrases in these Fragments are recorded in the Talmud and in later rabbinic literature. In his opinion the Fragments were the work of unknown sects in the Sadducean period.

Scholars did not question the antiquity of these Fragments. Some believed them to be of a pre-Hasmonean period; others held they were of the time of Alexander Janneus, when the Pharisees were persecuted and some of whom fled to Damascus. Still other scholars placed the Fragments at the time of the early period of Christianity.[10] Only one scholar, Professor A. Buchler in an article published in the *JQR*, 1913,[11] had the courage to deny the antiquity of the Fragments. I say he had the courage because at that time it was an accepted opinion that the Fragments were of the period of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, and to express a contrary opinion was heretical. Indeed, Professor Buchler became a very unpopular man in some circles. With his vast learning in rabbinic and medieval literature, however, he clearly showed that these Fragments were a karaitic work, and hence were composed in the Middle Ages. He supported his view by the halakot mentioned in these Fragments, by association of ideas, and

[9] P. 791.
[10] G. Margoliouth, *The Athenaeum*, 1910.
[11] Pp. 429–485.

particularly by the language used therein. Schechter answered Buchler's criticism in the *JQR* in 1914.[12] In our opinion he did not succeed in meeting Buchler's arguments or in refuting his criticism. It was far from a scholarly reply, and the arguments of Buchler in favor of a late period, for the Fragments, stood firm.

Professor A. Marmorstein, in an article published in 1918,[13] upheld Buchler's point of view and regarded the Fragments as a work of the Middle Ages.

The present writer in an article in the *JQR* in 1926[14] also maintained that the so-called Zadokite Fragments are indeed a karaitic work. Recently Dr. P. R. Weis, in the *JQR*, 1950,[15] came to the same conclusion that these Fragments are of the Middle Ages.

II

With the alleged discovery of the Hebrew Scrolls in a cave near the Dead Sea, interest in the so-called Zadokite Fragments has been revived, owing to the fact that in the so-called Manual of Discipline we find not only the same ideas as we have in the Zadokite Fragments, but also phrases and words which are identically like those found there, such words as, סרך, משכיל, אנשי היחד. We also have the following phrase משיח אהרון וישראל. There can be no question that the so-called Manual of Discipline and the Habakkuk Commentary not only are similar to the Zadokite Fragments in ideas and language, but were composed in the same period.

Because of the great interest of the scholarly world in the Hebrew Scrolls and the Zadokite Fragments, we shall

[12] Pp. 429–474.
[13] *Theologish Tijdschrift*, 1918.
[14] P. 385–6.
[15] P. 137–142.

give here for the first time the entire facsimile of the Zadokite Fragments on which Schechter placed an embargo.

The transcription made by Schechter generally is correct. There are some printer's errors, e. g., on page 5, lines 10, 13. The facsimile has זיקות while the printed text has זיקי. On the same page, line 16, the facsimile has בעלילותיהם while the printed text has בעלילותם.[16]

It is difficult to differentiate between a *waw* and a *yod*, between a *resh* and a *dalet*, and between a *he* and a *heth*. Schechter has misread the text many times to interchange these letters. There are some very faulty readings, as on page 13, line 2, where Schechter has ובקום עשרה which was rendered by him "will arise ten." The text, however, has ובמקום עשרה. On page 9, line 14, Schechter has והיה לו לבד מאיל האשם הכל which he rendered, "And each shall all belong to him besides the ram of the guilt offering." Schechter has left a space after the Hebrew word הכל to indicate that the text has a space. In reality the text reads, "והיה לו לבד מאיל האשם"; the word הכל after האשם is not found in the text. The space which is in the text is after the word האשם. It seems that the scribe had begun to write a word, but realizing he had made a mistake, he crossed it out and then wrote וכן כל.

The text in some places makes no sense; Schechter, Charles, Israel Levi, and Lagrange emended it each according to his own whim. Dr. Ginzberg has ably shown that their emendations were not well founded. A point in the case is the passage which I just quoted.

Charles believes that the word הכל is corrupt, and he emended it into לכהן. Israel Levi emended it into הכפורים.

It is unfortunate that all these scholars did not see the manuscript. Their emendations are based on Schechter's transcriptions which are not found in the text proper.

[16] See Schechter, *Corrections to the Hebrew Text*, pp. lvi–lvii.

This shows how little reliance we can at times place on emendations of texts by modern scholars.

On page 13, line 9, Schechter has לכל מדחובם. He emends the words to לכל מרדותם, and renders it, "All their rebellions." Charles emends the word to read, "כל המחיבים." It seems to me, however, that the text has the word מדהובם.[17]

There is no proof whatsoever that these Fragments belong to a very early period. They were not even discovered by Bedouin in a cave, but were discovered in a Genizah in the city of Cairo. The form of writing, as recognized by these scholars, is of the Middle Ages. The question which confronts us is — what proof had they to state that these Fragments are of the pre-Christian period?

Schechter recognized the fact that in the annals of Jewish history there is no record of such a sect as the Zadokites. He said, however, that these Fragments emanated from the sect of the Zadokites to which reference is found in the karaitic writings, and he quotes from *The Book of Light and the High Beacon* by Kirkisani (a Karaite of the first half of the tenth century): "Zadok was the first who exposed the Rabbanites and contradicted them publicly. He revealed a part of the truth and composed books in which he frequently denounced the Rabbanites and criticized them. But he adduced no proof for anything he said, merely saying it by way of statement, except in one thing, namely, in his prohibition against marrying the daughter of the brother, and the daughter of the sister. For he adduced as proof their being analogous to the paternal and maternal aunt." — "Now," said Schechter, "this description of the Zadok book well fits our text."[18]

As to the terms and expressions which are found in the

[17] The letter *waw* after the *he* presents no problem. The spelling of the author is arbitrary and ungrammatical, for example, the word מאות he has מיאיות.

[18] *Ibid.* p. xviii.

text and occur only in the Mishna or in the rabbinic literature of the Middle Ages,[19] Schechter says, "It is, however, not impossible that all such expressions pointing to a later date are mere substitutions by the later scribe for the original terms."[20] We know that the scribes of the Middle Ages who copied manuscripts were conscientious. They copied manuscripts carefully. Some of them may have been ignorant, and because of their ignorance and not knowing the meaning of the words they copied, misspelled and left out words, or even phrases and lines (like the copyist of the Isaiah Scroll). Some of them unintentionally repeated the same words; hence we find dittography in the manuscripts. The copyists would never have changed the old terms and expressions in the manuscript to terms and expressions used in their time. We never find either in the Greek manuscripts of Aristotle and Plato, or in the Latin manuscript of Cicero and Virgil, or in the biblical or talmudic manuscripts, altered expressions which were used in the time of the copyists. It is, indeed, absurd to think that the expressions found in the Fragments were changed from other terms.

Schechter asked, "Who is this Zadok to whom Kirkisani refers in his book?" He answers that his identity is unknown, but states "the impression is that he was a Biblical personage." He adds, "It is to a Zadok to which the sect ascribes the merit of having discovered the Law, in which act he is favourably contrasted with David, who was ignorant of it."[21]

Let us assume that these Fragments were known as a work of a Zadok to which Kirkisani made reference; but we must ask where is the proof that these Fragments were

[19] E. g. ממון, מוכן, מדוקדוק, סרך.
[20] *Ibid.* p. xi.
[21] *Ibid.* p. xxi.

written by Zadok of great antiquity? It is more likely that this book ascribed to Zadok[22] was composed by a Karaite. Many books in the Middle Ages were composed by rabbis and Karaites and ascribed to great men of antiquity. Would the scholars who maintain the antiquity of the Zadokite Fragments also accept the belief that the *Alphabet of Rabbi Akiba* was indeed written by Rabbi Akiba, or that the book of the *Hechalot* attributed to Rabbi Ishmael was actually written by him, or would they hold that the *Zohar* had been composed by Rabbi Simeon ben Yoḥai, even though it has been accepted as his by many Jews as well as by Christians and has become a holy book? Many books in the Middle Ages were written and ascribed to the rabbis of the Second Commonwealth, or to the period subsequent to the destruction of the Temple, while during the Second Commonwealth books were composed which were ascribed to biblical personages. The mere fact that the term "The Sons of the Zadokite Priests" is mentioned in the Fragments does not indicate that the work was written during the time of the Zadokite Priests. Similarly, the *Fourth Ezra* could be said to have been written by Ezra because the book begins with the sentence, "In the thirtieth year after the downfall of the city I, Salathiel (who also am Ezra) was in Babylon;" *The Apocalypse of Baruch* could erroneously be said to have been written by Baruch, the disciple of Jeremiah, because the book begins, "And it came to pass in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, King of Judah, that the word of the Lord came to Baruch." No scholar would ascribe these two books to Ezra and Baruch, respectively, although the authors assert that these were

[22] Comp. also Harkavy, לקורות הכתות בישראל, (Hebrew Graetz, III) ורק זה אפשר וקרוב לדעתנו כי לא היה החבור ההוא באמת מצדוק עצמו רק נתחבר בזמן מאוחר מסנו ונתיחס אליו.

written by them. If there was a Book of Zadok, it was ascribed to him only because it was customary among the Rabbanites and Karaites, to ascribe books to authors of antiquity in order to vest these writings with greater authority and give more sanction to them.

Again, the expression found in the Fragments ובני צדוק הם בחירי ישראל does not by any means indicate that it refers to the Zadokite Priests of the Second Commonwealth. Would the scholars ascribe the following passage, if it were found in some writing of the Genizah, to the Second Commonwealth because the Sons of Zadok are mentioned there? ברוך תמים דעים שהבדילנו מן התועים ונתן לנו תורתו שעשועים . . . ובני צדוק הכהנים הקדושים אשר שמרו את משמרת התורה אל ה' הנגשים חגים וזבחים וכל קרבנות יקריבו בשירים וזמירות ונגינות והלוים בשירותם קול אחד הוגים ברננות. Yet we know this passage was written by a well-known Karaite.

The terms in the Fragments which are clearly of the Middle Ages stamp the text as being of the period when such terms were in vogue. To the terms which were recognized by the scholars as being of a late period, I shall add a few more.

On page 11, l. 22, the words, בית השתחות Schechter correctly rendered "The House of Worship." The term השתחות is undoubtedly a translation from the Arabic *Mesgeed* which was applied not only to the mosque but to all houses of worship. On page 13, l. 9, Schechter read מדחובם, and all the scholars who dealt with this text applied great ingenuity in emending this word, but the manuscript has מדהובם which was used in the Middle Ages with the meaning of a tyrannical government suppressing the people.[23] On page 9, l. 11, we have the following words: מי גנבו ממאד המחנה; Schechter emended the word ממאד to read ממועד and rendered it, "from the Tent." Levi emends ממאד to

[23] Comp. Ben Yehuda's Dic. *ad loc.*

read, מתוך "from the midst of the camp." The word מאדו occurs again on page 12, l. 10. אל ימכר להם בכל מאדו. The word מאד undoubtedly has the meaning "money." In the verse in Deuteronomy, 6.5 ואהבת את ד' אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאדך, the word מאדך was rendered by the Targum according to Jonathan, ובכל ממונכון "money,"[24] and in this sense was used in the Middle Ages.[25] In the passage on page 9, l. 11, we have גנבו ממאד המחנה, "from the money (property) of the camp." On page 12, l. 19, we have אל ימכר להם בכל מאדו, "He shall not sell to them for all his money."

The term משכיל which appears frequently in the Fragments was a common designation among the Karaites applied to their leaders. Anan was designated by the term ענן משכיל הגולה. Hadassi in his book[26] always appended this title to the names of leaders of the Karaites. Again, the term מורה צדק, "The Teacher of Righteousness" was first used by the Karaites.[27] As we had occasion to point out elsewhere, this term is never found before the Karaitic period.[28] This is a technical term, and not just a word; hence we may say with certainty that it was first applied by the Karaites. It is evident from this that we must conclude the Fragments are of the Middle Ages.

III

There are halakot in the Fragments. Some of them indicate clearly that these Fragments could not have been composed during the Second Commonwealth. On p. 11,

[24] See Ber. 61b.

[25] Comp. ויקר מקרהו כי ירד ממאודו, (השער האחד עשר), בן המלך והנזיר וידל כבודו ויתחייב למלך ומאומה לא נשאר בידו.

[26] אשכל הכפר.

[27] See Weis, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[28] Comp. *JQR*, 1950; pp. 35–37; 135–6.

ll. 5–6, the following halaka is recorded, אל ילך איש אחר הבהמה לרעותה חוץ מעירו כי אם אלפים אמה, "No man shall walk after the animal to feed it outside of the city more than two thousand cubits." According to the Pentateuch, a Hebrew had no right to go out of his מקום *makom* "place" on the Sabbath day. The sages interpreted this law to mean that a Jew had the right to go out of his abode two thousand cubits in any direction.[29] This privilege of walking two thousand cubits on the Sabbath was granted only to those who dwelt in the city. If a Jew, however, was forcibly taken into another city on the Sabbath, i. e. kidnapped by pagans, he could walk only four cubits on the Sabbath because that city was not his abode.[30] Rabban Gamaliel, the Elder, introduced a *takkana* that the privilege of walking two thousand cubits in Jerusalem on the Sabbath from the place where the person resided applied also to the witnesses who came to Jerusalem on the Sabbath to testify to the birth of the new moon.[31] The witnesses were declared residents of Jerusalem by Rabban Gamaliel's *takkana*.[32] It is evident from Rabban Gamaliel's *takkana* that in his time the privilege of walking two thousand cubits outside of the city on the Sabbath had not yet been introduced. This privilege was introduced either a few years before the destruction of the Temple or later. It is clear then that this halaka given in the Fragments, not to walk more than two thousand cubits outside of the city could not have been written during the Second Commonwealth.

There is another halaka in the Fragments, אל ישלח את

[29] Yer. Er. 4.1, מה מקום שנאמר להלן (ערי מקלט) אלפיים אמה אף מקום שנאמר כאן אלפיים אמה.

[30] Er. 4.1, מי שהוציאוהו נכרים או רוח רעה אין לו אלא ארבע אמות.

[31] R. H. 23b, בראשונה לא היו זזין משם כל היום התקין רבן גמליאל הזקן שהיו מהלכין אלפיים אמה לכל רוח.

[32] הרי אלו כאנשי העיר ויש להם אלפיים אמה לכל רוח.

בן הנכר לעשות את חפצו ביום השבת, "No man shall send the son of a stranger to do his affairs on the day of the Sabbath." The law prohibiting a Jew from asking a non-Jew to work on the Sabbath was called שבות *sh'but*. The laws of *sh'but* are rabbinical,[33] and they were not known during the Second Commonwealth.

On page 12, l. 10–11, the following halaka is recorded. ואת עבדו ואת אמתו אל ימכור להם אשר באו עמו בברית אברהם, "Nor shall he sell them his man-servant, or maid-servant, who entered with him into the Covenant of Abraham." This means that no Jew had a right to sell his slaves who had been circumcised and had thereby accepted Judaism. Circumcision was not a *sine qua non* for a proselyte during the Second Commonwealth.[34] R. Joshua, who lived after the destruction of the Temple, still held the opinion that baptism without circumcision was sufficient for one to become a proselyte.[35] We do not find in the tannaitic and Hellenistic literature of the pre-Christian period the term *covenant of Abraham* used as synonymous with circumcision. The first person who applied the term *covenant of Abraham* to circumcision was R. Eleazar of Modein.[36] The application of the term *covenant of Abraham* to circumcision was made in opposition to Paul. As is well known, Paul denied the necessity of circumcision. He held that God had made a covenant with Abraham before Abraham was circumcised. He said in his Epistle to the Galatians, "And this I say that the covenant which was confirmed by God, the law which was made after four hundred and thirty years cannot disannul to make the promise of no effect."[37] And in the Epistle to the Romans

[33] אמירה לנכרי שבות.

[34] See S. Zeitlin, *The Jews: Race, Nation or Religion*, 1936.

[35] Yeb. 46a, טבל ולא מל ר' יהושע אומר הרי זה גר.

[36] Abot 3.11, ר' אלעזר המודעי אומר . . . והמיפר בריתו של אברהם אבינו.

[37] 3.17.

again he said in answer to his own query, "How was it then reckoned, when he (Abraham) was in circumcision or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision."[38] Paul maintained that God made a covenant with Abraham not by circumcision, but by faith and before the circumcision. The sages in refuting Paul and his followers emphasized the fact that God made a covenant with Abraham by his circumcision; henceforth the term ברית אברהם is synonymous with circumcision.[39] We may therefore safely conclude that the words באו עמו בברית אברהם, "covenant of Abraham" found in the Fragments show clearly that they could not have been written before the time when the Jews found it necessary to fight the Paulinian assertions and propaganda, i. e., when already there was a group of Judaean Christians, i. e., after the destruction of the Temple.[40]

There are other halakot in the Fragments which are not only in character or in agreement with the karaitic halakot, but have the same phraseology, which may mean that they came from the same source. On page 11, l. 1, we have ואל ישאב אל כל כל(י), "He shall not draw into any vessel." In the letter of Elijah of Jerusalem we have the following words והקילו שאיבת מים בשבת, in which he complained against the Rabbanites.[41]

[38] 4.10.

[39] Comp. Tosefta Ber. 7, אבי הבן צריך ברכה לעצמו ברוך אשר קדשנו במצותיו וצונו להכניסו בבריתו של אברהם אבינו.

[40] In the Mishna B. K. 1, 2, the phrase בני ברית "the children of the covenant," means the Jews. Comp. also the Psalms of Solomon 17.17, "the children of the covenant." The Jews were called בני ברית "the children of the covenant because God made a covenant with their forefathers. This same idea is expressed in Acts 3.25, "Ye are the children of the prophets and of the covenant which God made with our fathers." The term "the covenant of Abraham" referring to circumcision and to converts to Judaism came into vogue after the time of Paul.

[41] S. Pinsker, לקוטי קדמוניות, נספחים, p. 30. Comp. also אשכל הכפר, 147, אף מעייני מים שהם בבתים אסור לנו לשאוב מהם מים.

On page 10, l. 17, we have אל ידבר איש דבר נבל ורק; compare this with the responsa of Jefeth ben Ali, מנע ואסור מדבר לדבר.[42]

The prohibition to marry a niece on the maternal side, as stated in the Fragments, was also laid down by Anan. ואסיר לה לנקבה לאינסובי לאחי אביה דמן אביה בין מכשרה ובין מפסולה ולאחי אמה דמן אביה בין מכשרה ובין מפסולה (ספר המצות לענן הנשיא).[43]

IV

The author of the Fragments refers to a book ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם "The book of the Divisions of the Seasons according to their jubilees and their weeks." Schechter is of the opinion that this book mentioned in the Fragments is the *Book of Jubilees*. This opinion was shared by Charles, Levi and Lagrange. The title of the book which is known to us by the name of *Jubilees* came to us through the Church Fathers. It is based upon the reckoning of time according to the jubilee years employed in the book. Very likely this was not the original title. It had another title, "Little Genesis" which was given to distinguish it from the Book of Genesis in the Pentateuch. In my monograph the *Book of Jubilees* I advanced the view that the original title of the book was תורת משה "The Law of Moses."

The book mentioned in the Fragments does not refer to the work known as the "Book of Jubilees." One of the main purposes of this work was to combat the change of the calendar from the solar to a lunar-solar calendar. As a result of this change, the author maintained, the jubilee year would disappear and the festivals and the sabbaths

[42] *Ibid.* p. 22.

[43] See *ibid.* p. 33, לא יקחו בת אח ולא בת אחות. See Buchler, *JQR*, 3, p. 437; *REJ* XLV, p. 184.

would be profaned, and the profaned days would be declared holy. He expressed his opposition to the change in the calendar in the following words:

> "And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning — three hundred and sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts . . . And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the beginnings of the months and seasons, and sabbaths, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. For I know and from henceforth will I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lieth) written before me, and on the heavenly tablets the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. For there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the new moon — now (it) disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayest testify to them; for after thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the beginnings of the months and seasons and sabbaths and festivals."

It is understandable that by changing the calendar year from 364 days to 354 days, the year will be shortened by ten days, and thus the festivals will be disturbed and will not fall in their proper seasons. But how, one may ask,

could the Sabbath be disturbed by a change of the calendar? The Sabbath day does not depend on any calendar. It occurs every seventh day regardless of a solar or lunar-solar calendar. The answer is that in a solar calendar the day begins with the dawn and lasts until the following dawn; hence, the Sabbath would begin in the morning and would last until the following dawn. But in a lunar calendar, the day begins with the preceding evening, i. e. at sunset or when the stars become visible, and lasts until the following evening. Hence, the Sabbath would begin Friday evening and would last until Saturday evening. The contention of the author of the "Book of Jubilees," that those who would change the calendar from a solar to a lunar one would profane the Sabbath, is now understandable. For Saturday evening is still Sabbath, but the Sabbath would be over to those who followed the lunar calendar. On the other hand, Friday evening would not yet be Sabbath according to the solar calendar, while to those who followed the lunar calendar it would already be Sabbath. The author therefore emphatically protests that by a change from a solar to a lunar calendar, the Sabbath would be disturbed, profane days would be made holy, and holy days would be made profane.

The author of the Fragments followed a lunar-solar calendar. On page X he writes as follows: אל יעש איש ביום השישי מלאכה מן העת אשר יהיה גלגל השמש רחוק מן השער מלואו כי הוא אשר אמר שמור את יום השבת לקדשו. "No men shall do work on the sixth day from the time the globe of the sun is removed from the gate in its fullness. (i. e., just before the sun touches the horizon). For it is He who said, 'keep the Sabbath day and sanctify it.' "[43a] Hence it is quite clear that the author did not refer to the "Book of Jubilees," and certainly did not hold it "equivalent in merit to the

[43a] Yer. Ber. 2, התחיל גלגל חמה לשקוע זהו בין השמשות.

Law alone," as has been maintained by some recent writers. Renowned scholars have not recognized the fact that the author of the "Book of Jubilees" strongly protested against the change to a lunar calendar, when the author of the Fragments *followed a lunar calendar*. They simply did not see the problems and difficulties. In this same manner recently, scholars have been so excited over the Hebrew Scrolls, which supposedly have been discovered near the Dead Sea, that they do not see all the objections to their alleged antiquity. They are interested only in emending the text, and are engaged in identifying the heroes and the villains mentioned in the Scrolls with men in Jewish history according to their fancy.

It is probable that the book ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם mentioned in the Fragments never existed, but is a figment of the author's imagination. Similarly, the book ספר ההגו is also a product of the imagination of the author. Aaron ben Elijah also mentioned a book entitled ספר היחוד. I doubt that there ever was such a book. The Karaites had a fancy for inventing titles of books which supposedly were written by their predecessors. Hadassi in his book אשכל הכפר gives a list of titles of books the existence of which is open to doubt. His list of titles is as follows: חפץ כל אלה שהזכרתי הנם כתובים בספרי מלמדי משכלי מבוארים בשאלותם ותשובותם לעיני מביני הלא הם יורוך ויגידו אליך: זכרונם בספר נעימות אל . . . ובספר מאירת עינים, ובספר מחכימת פתי, ובספר הדתות, ובספר אוצר הנחמד לפניך, ובספר חכמת גבולים, ובספר מתוק לנפש, וספר מרפא לעצם וכול ספרי משכילי תניח נפשם בנופש.

V

One historical datum given in the Fragments, in my opinion, particularly shows that the Fragments are of the Middle Ages. I refer to page 1, ll. 5–7. The author speaks

of "the end of the wrath, three hundred and ninety years after he had delivered them into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon,"[44] and adds, "there arose the man of scoffing who preached to Israel (lying words) waters of deceitfulness, and caused them to wander in the wilderness where there is no way."[45] We are now confronted with two issues, first, with the number, 390 years, and, second, with the identity of the scoffer or false *matif* of that period. Charles' view is that the three hundred ninety years after the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians would fix a date of 196 B. C. E.; and that the text therefore refers to the *Hasidim* who, in his opinion, arose in that year.[46] He does not explain how and why the *Hasidim* came into being in the year 196 B. C. E. There was no reason for their appearance in that year. Political parties of religious sects do not come into existence at a fixed time, or as the result of a whim of a scholar. There must be some ground for their appearance. Nothing special occurred in the history of the Jews to give rise to the *Hasidim* in that year. As a matter of fact, the sect of the *Hasidim* came into existence at the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes when the Hellenistic party under the leadership of the High Priest, Jason and later of Menelaus wanted to eradicate Judaism and to compel the people to accept Hellenism. Another extreme sect under the name of *Hasidim* arose which made sacrifices for the religion, and even became martyrs rather than violate the Torah. One extreme always begets another. This was the time of the origin of the *Hasidim*.[47] Schechter was ready to emend the text from 390 B. C. E. to 490 B. C. E. without any basis for doing so.[48]

[44] ובקץ חרון שנים שלש מאות והשעים לתיתו אותם ביד נבוכדנצר מלך בבל.

[45] בעמור איש הלצון אשר הטיף לישראל מימי כזב ויתעם בתוהו לא דרך.

[46] See p. 800.

[47] See S. Zeitlin, *The First Book of Maccabees*, Dropsie College Edition, pp. 18–9.

[48] P. xxxi.

To what period then did three hundred ninety years after the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians refer? According to a talmudic statement, the second Temple stood four hundred twenty years.[49] The time between the destruction of the Temple and the Restoration was seventy years; this would mean that the time between the destruction of the first Temple and the second Temple was four hundred ninety years. This figure of four hundred ninety years was the one held by the Karaites to be correct.[50] According to another statement in the Talmud, Hillel became *nasi*, the head of the Sanhedrin, one hundred years before the destruction of the second Temple,[51] and this would bring us to three hundred ninety years after the destruction of the first Temple. The scoffer and the false *matif* who arose at the end of the period of *three hundred ninety years* after the destruction of the first Temple was Hillel, whom the Karaites considered the father of the Rabbanites and the leader of all the evildoers. Many among the Karaites maintained that they were Shammaites.[52] Moses, in their belief, received the Torah from God on Mount Sinai, and they held that it was gradually transferred from one scholar to another, and finally to Shemaiah and Abtalyon who transferred it to Shammai, the Just and the Pious, and they further averred that he transferred it to the Karaites,[53] and commanded them to walk truthfully and righteously.

[49] Er. 12b.

[50] See Pinsker, *op. cit.*, p. 101, שבועים שבעים; comp. also אשכל הכפר 125, ודע ששבועים שבעים . . . מספרם ארבע מאות ותשעים שנה.

[51] Shab. 15a.

[52] See Pinsker, *op. cit.*, p. 186, וראשונים אנחנו; ושמאי מסרה לבעלי מקרא מהם . . . ושמותין (p. 101).

[53] אודנינו משה קבל מסיני . . . ליהודה בן טבאי ולשמעון בן שטח ובימיהם נקראו עדת הקדש המתחזקים בתורה הקדושה התמימה עדת בני מקרא והיו תופשים מנהג אבותיהם הקדושים ועזרם האל והיתה ידם עליונה ואח"כ יהודה ושמעון מסרוה לשמעיה ואבטליון ושמעיה ואבטליון מסרוה לשמאי הצדיק החסיד ע"ה ושמאי מסרה לבעלי מקרא . . . ואלו הם הנקראים עדת בני מקרא (p. 186).

In short, the community of the Karaites are the followers of Shammai.

In Text B appear the words, "Who walked with the Man of Lies about forty years."[54] Hillel was the head of the Sanhedrin for forty years, according to tradition,[55] and undoubtedly Hillel is referred to in the clause cited.

In Text A the number is given as "twenty years." We know from a Mishna that Hillel and Menahem became the heads of the Sanhedrin after Shemaiah and Abtalyon, but that when Menahem later left the Sanhedrin, his place was taken by Shammai.[56] The twenty years refer to the time when Hillel and Menahem were the heads of the Sanhedrin.

The purpose of the author of The Fragments was to fix the time when the sect came into existence. According to Text A, "the sons of Zadok are the chosen of Israel," and they dwelt in the land of Damascus. He places the origin of the Zadokites in the time when Jeroboam revolted against Judaea. "When the two houses of Israel separated," the author says, "Ephraim turned away from Judah, and those who turned back were delivered to the sword and those who held fast escaped into the land of the north." אשר באו מיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה בהפרד שני בתי ישראל שר אפרים מעל יהודה וכל הנסוגים הוסגרו לחרב והמחזיקים נמלטו לארץ צפון. He then quotes a verse (which is from the Prophet Amos), "As he said, 'And I will cause to go into captivity Siccuth, your King, and Chyun your images from the tents of Damascus.' " כאשר אמר והגליתי את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמכם מאהלי דמשק.[57] We learn from the karaitic literature that some of the Karaites traced their origin from the time of Jeroboam. They maintained that when Jeroboam changed

[54] אשר הלכו עם איש הכזב כשנים ארבעים.
[55] See Sifre Deb. 250.
[56] Hag. 2.2, יצא מנחם נכנס שמאי.
[57] The Masoretic text has מהלאה לדמשק.

the laws of the Torah, the pious people of the Ten Tribes left their country and went to the other side of the Cush, because they were afraid to remain with the followers of Jeroboam, lest they would eventually pay the penalty. Some of them, however, remained in Jerusalem because of their attachment to the Temple which was their great pride; they were called "Men that sigh and that cry."

Later these were exiled with the rest of the people of Judaea, and eventually returned with Joshua and Ezra. During the time of the Second Temple they remained loyal to the law, and they were in no way connected with those whose sins were responsible for the destruction of the Temple.

אמרו בני מקרא כי כנוי שם קראים אחרים קראום כן מפני כי לא יאמינו בתורה החדשה הקרואה תורה שבע"פ והיא לא כתובה מפי נביא וחוזה כ"א בזמן מכשילי תורה . . . שקם ירבעם שר"י ונחלקו ב' מלכיות מאז החליף ירבעם מצות התורה ונחלקו לשתי דתות . . . ומהיום ההוא כראות זה המעל כל הירא וחרד אל דבר אלהים מתוך עשרת השבטים נפרדו מבין ישראל אחיהם והלכו מעבר לנהרי כוש . . . ולא נשארו מהם מן החרדים כ"א בעיר הקדש, והם לא נותרו שמה כ"א ממני [מפני] תאות המקדש גאון עזם מחמד לבם ומחמל נפשם והם הנקובים נאנחים ונאנקים והוגלו גם הם עם שארית העם . . . ובבית שני לא שבו גם הם לכסלה ולא נקראו מכשילי רבים . . . והיו מסתתרים מרגשת פועלי און כמנהג אבותיהם הנאנחים והנאנקים, ומאז היו הרוב מכשילי תורה ונושאים פנים בתורה . . . ובני נאנחים היו מסתתרים מהם ונאנקים על מעל הגולה.

Text B has come down to us in a less satisfactory condition than Text A. There are only two pages which do not have a beginning or an ending. It is clear, however, that the author of this Fragment also places the time of the origin of the sect in the period of the division between the tribes, and he also calls the Zadokites "The men that sigh and that cry," להתות התיו על מצחות נאנחים ונאנקים.

The time of the emergence of the sect is identical in the

Fragments and in the karaitic literature; moreover, the phraseology of the Fragments and karaitic literature is strikingly similar. Therefore, there can be one conclusion, namely, that they both came from one source or derived from authors who belonged to one group, and who flourished in a particular period, i. e., the karaitic. The difference between the Fragments and the karaitic text which we mentioned is that according to the author of the Fragments, the abode of the sect was Damascus, while from the karaitic text which we quoted we learn that the members of the sect went to Cush. We should have in mind, however, that Kirkisani in describing the different sects of the Karaites places the followers of Abu-isa in Damascus.[58]

VI

There is only one conclusion to which a scholar can arrive — that these Fragments were written by Karaites for the purpose of propaganda, to show that the Karaites were an ancient sect, and that they originated even before the destruction of the first Temple. In order to establish his claim the author attributes the book to a Zadok who was the founder of the Sadducees, but to which Zadok is not clear. Is it the Zadok, the disciple of Antigonous of Soco, whom the rabbis considered to be the founder of the Sadducees, or, as is more likely, was it attributed to Zadok, the High Priest, in the time of Solomon?

There can be no doubt that the author succeeded in convincing many Karaites that the book came from Zadok and is of great antiquity, and deceived them into believing that the Karaites were older than the Rabbanites, and that the latter were secessionists.

[58] See Harkavy *op. cit.* יאמר הקרקסני כי בימיו שאריח הכת הזאת נמצאה רק בעיר דמשק בערך עשרים איש.

Many renowned scholars of our day have fallen victims to the view that these Fragments are of great antiquity. Their author or authors by convincing their contemporaries of the antiquity of the work thus deceived them into believing in the ancient origin of the karaitic sect. Modern scholars who became convinced of the antiquity of the Fragments have been similarly deceived, and hence have distorted the Jewish history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth.[59]

There is no question that Text B is a version of Text A, or *vice versa*. There can be no doubt that the so-called Manual of Discipline *supposedly* discovered near the Dead Sea is a version of the Fragments, or *vice versa*. It bears great similarity to the Fragments.

The names of *Jehovah* and *Adonai* are not found in the Fragments nor in the so-called Manual of Discipline. The word *El* is substituted. The word *El* is found in the Zadokite Fragments thirty-eight times. Even where it seems that the author of the Fragments quotes a biblical verse where the word *Jehovah* is used, he substitutes *El* as on page 3, where the text reads, וירגנו באהליהם ויחר אף אל בעדתם, while in

[59] G. Margoliouth in his article in the *Athenaeum*, 1911, maintained that the Zadokite Fragments belonged to the period of the early Christians. This view has been revived by J. Teicher (*The Journal of Jewish Studies*, 1951), who holds that the Fragments are of the Ebionites, and that the Teacher of Righteousness refers to Jesus, and the Man of Lies, Man of Scoffing, refers to Paul. The arguments we advanced against the antiquity of the Fragments held by Schechter and Charles militate also against Teicher's hypothesis. Furthermore, the Ebionites believed Jesus was the true Messiah. They did not expect another Messiah, while in the Fragments we have the expression "Until will arise the Annointed from Aaron and Israel." In the Fragments, as well as in the so-called Manual of Discipline, the authors still expect the Messiah to come, and consequently the Fragments could not have been written by the Ebionites. For further arguments against Teicher's unsound view, see the present writer's article, "The Hebrew Scrolls and the Status of Biblical Scholarship," *JQR*, 1951, pp. 163–67.

Psalms 106.25, 40 the reading is וירגנו באהליהם . . . ויחר אף יהוה בעמו. Similarly, in the so-called Manual of Discipline the word *El* appears forty times, but the words *Jehovah* and *Adonai* are not found.[59a] Not only are the same views

[59a] In the last number of the *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 1951, Professor Lieberman has an article entitled, "Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources." In dealing with the mention of the Name, Lieberman quotes the following Tosefta: (Ber. 7) הפותח . . . באלף למד והותם באלף למד הרי זה דרך אחרת. The Palestinian Talmud, however, has the following reading: באלף למד והותם באלף למד הרי זה בור . . . ביו"ד ה"א והותם באלף למד הרי זו דרך אחרת. Lieberman accepted the reading of the Tosefta against the reading of the Palestinian Talmud and maintained that the phrase הרי זה דרך אחרת refers to the Sectarians. Let us grant that the reading of the Tosefta is the original one, of which I have my doubts. I do question, however, if the rabbis had the Sectarians in mind. It is well known that the rabbis prohibited changing the established formula of the prayers, כל המשנה ממטבע שטבעו חכמים בברכות לא יצא ידי חובתו (Ber. 40b); כל המשנה ממטבע שטבעו חכמים בגיטין יוציא והוולד ממזר (Git. 5b). Lieberman himself says that those who did not follow the rabbinic interpretations might be called heterodox by them. Hence, there is no proof that this Tosefta refers to the Sectarians, but it might refer to anyone who had changed the established formula of the prayers.

On page 400, he writes as follows: "Source II states clearly that the use of *El* both at the beginning and at the conclusion of a benediction is a heterodoxy. In my commentary *ad loc.* I remarked, 'With those people in mind who were careful not to mention the substitute for the Tetragrammaton even in prescribed benedictions, the *Mishna* ordained that a man greet his fellow with [the use of] the Name of the Lord. However I do not know for certain of whom the Rabbis were thinking.' " I believe his original Hebrew expressed his view more clearly, and therefore I hereby give his original Hebrew. לפי גרסא זו יש חשש של דרך אחרת רק אם לא הזכיר את השם כלל, ונגד אלה שנזהרו שלא להזכיר את השם אפילו בברכה תיקנו במשנה שיזכירו את השם אפילו בשאילת שלום, וכבר האריכו בעניין זה החכמים האחרונים אבל לא נתברר לי בוודאית למי כיוונו חז"ל.

He said he did not know for certain about whom the rabbis were thinking in the Mishna, but now, he says, "Happily we are now in a position to identify them. They were Jewish sectarians."

The Mishna (Ber. 9) reads as follows: והתקינו שיהא אדם שואל את שלום חברו בשם שנאמר והנה בעז בא מבית לחם ויאמר לקוצרים י"י עמכם ויאמרו לו יברכך י"י ואומר י"י עמך גבור החיל, ואומר אל תבוז כי זקנה אמך. ואומר עת לעשות לי"י הפרו תורתך. According to Lieberman, the Mishna refers to "extremists which followed stricter regulations than the Rabbis regarding the mention of the Name."

I do not want to destroy the happiness of scholars who have illusions

expressed in both texts, as the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel," משיח מאהרון וישראל, but sentences are found to be identical in the two texts.

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about alleged discoveries, but one must say, and emphatically, that the rabbis in this Mishna had no extremists in mind; if they had, they would not use the words: עת לעשות לי״י הפרו תורתך, הפרו תורתך עת לעשות לי״י. "It is time to work for the Lord and they rendered the law void." There was no emergency for disregarding the law. The Mishna refers to the Judean Christians. When a Jewish Christian met a fellow Jewish Christian he greeted him with, "Peace, in the name of God and the Lord Jesus Christ." Paul, in his letters always addressed his fellowmen with the greeting "Peace from God and our Lord Jesus Christ." In his letter to the Galatians he wrote, "Peace εἰρήνη, שלום from God the Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ." In his letter to Timothy he addressed him, "Peace from God our Father and Jesus Christ our Lord." The apostolic fathers did likewise when they addressed their fellowmen. The rabbis, therefore, introduced a *takkana* that when a Jew greets another Jew he should greet him with Peace in the Name, the Tetragrammaton and pronounce the word *Adonai*, שואל את שלום חברו בשם thus emphasizing that there is only one God and that Jesus is not the Messiah and cannot be called Lord.

We understand now why the rabbis said that in an emergency one must disregard the law, since mention of the Tetragrammaton was forbidden, that is, one was not allowed to take the name of the Lord in vain. Greeting each other with the Tetragrammaton *Adonai* was taking the name of the Lord in vain. The danger arose from the many Jewish Christians who were still a part of the Jewish people, and who greeted each other with the phrase, "Peace in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord." Therefore, the rabbis had to disregard the old prohibition against mentioning the name of the Lord in vain. The rabbis even sought support for the new *takkana* from the Bible. Boaz greeted his fellows with the Name. It is indeed absurd to entertain the idea that the rabbis would use the words . . . עת לעשות לי״י הפרו תורתך against extremists who feared to mention the Name Tetragrammaton, in prescribed benedictions. The sages would designate such extremists as fools, כל הרוצה להחמיר על עצמו לנהוג כחומרי בית שמאי וכחומרי בית הלל על זה נאמר הכסיל בחושך הולך (Yer. Ber. 1).

On page 401 Lieberman quotes the following Tosefta Yad.: אומרין טובלי שחרין קובלנו עליכם פרושין שאתם מזכירין את השם בשחרית בלא טבילה. אומ׳ פרושין קבלנו עליכם טובלי שחרין שאתם מזכירין את השם מן הנוף שיש בו טומאה. This has no relation to the sectarians and no bearing on the Hebrew Scrolls.

He continues, "In the parallel *Mishnah* (Yad. 4.8) a similar discussion between a *Galilean* heretic and the Pharisees is recorded." In the charge of the Galilean heretic against the Pharisees, the word השם is not

M. D.	Z. F.
ולאהוב כול אשר בחר	ולבחור את אשר רצה
ולשנוא את כל אשר מאס (I)	ולמאוס כאשר שנא (II)
יסוד היחד (VII)	סוד אנשים (XIV)
אנשי היחד (IX)	אנשי היחיד (XX)
מדרש התורה (VIII)	מדרש התורה (XX)
הואהא כאשר כתוב (VIII)	הוא ואשר אמר (IX)
ביד שר האורים (III)	ביד שר האורים (V)
הסרך למושב (VI)	וסרך מושב (XIV)
ובכל מקום אשר יהיה עשרה אנשים מעצת החוד אל ימש מאתם איש כוהן (VI)	ובמקום עשרה אל ימש איש כהן (XIII)
ונשפטו במשפטים הרשונים אשר החלו אנשי היחד לתוסר בם (IX)	והתיסרו במשפטים הראשונים אשר נשפטו בני אנשי היחיד (XX)
המבקר על מלאכת הרבים וכתבו בחשבון בידו (VI)	והמבקר יכתבהו בידו (IX)

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mentioned, but משה. The Mishna reads as follows: [מין] (צדוקי) אומר גלילי קובל אני עליכם פרושים שאתם כותבין את המושל עם משה בנט אומרים פרושים קובלין אנו עליך (צדוקי) [מין] גלילי שאתם כותבין את המושל עם השם בדף.

This reading is found in all the editions and in all the manuscripts known to us. The present writer in his book *Megillat Taanit as a source for Jewish Chronology and history in the Hellenistic and Roman periods*, pp. 99–100, emended the reading of the text from משה into השם, on the basis of a reading which is mentioned in the *Tosaphot* B. B. 162a.

I was indeed delighted to see that Lieberman accepted my emendation (although he did not give me credit for it) against the authority of the *Tosaphot*, קובלים אנו עליכם פרושים שאתם כותבין את המושל עם משה בנט הכי גרסינן במשניות ולא גרסי' את המושל עם השם כמו שכתב במקצת משניות כי מה ענין השם בנט. It is noteworthy that Lieberman overruled the opinion of the *Tosaphot*, the author of which probably was *Rabenu Tam* ולא גרסינן את המושל עם השם in favor of my emendation את המושל עם השם. In this Mishna the word נט "connotes any and every kind of document." כל השטרות נקראים נט.

The Mishna however does not refer to the extremists who "followed stricter regulations," but refers to Judah the Galilean, the founder of the Fourth Philosophy. The charge of the Galilean against the Pharisees was the recognition of the authority of the Romans which Judas opposed.

Lieberman says in Note 51 that the Galileans are mentioned by

The difference between the so-called Manual of Discipline and the so-called Zadokite Fragments is that the latter were written in a Hebrew script which was used in the middle of the Middle Ages, while the former was written in a Hebrew script which was used early in the Middle Ages. It has been assumed by many scholars, that the

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Josephus "(*Antiq.* XVIII.1, 2, 6, 23–24) and Acts V.37." The Galileans as a matter of fact, are *not* mentioned in either place, but Judas, of Galilea. "Judas a (Gaulonite) [Galilean] . . . became zealous to revolt" (18.1). "But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas of Galilee was the author." (18.6). "After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing." (Acts 5.37). Judas of Galilee or the "Galileans" makes all difference in the world. The sect he organized was called the Fourth Philosophy, and during the war against the Romans its members were called *Sicarii*. This designation is also found in Acts 21.28. The Fourth Philosophy, organized by Judas of Galilea, comprised all segments of the population.

On page 400 Lieberman says there was a benediction "beginning with the formula: ברוך אתה אלי." In my article, "The Hebrew Scrolls and the Status of Biblical Scholarship," *JQR*, 1951, I wrote as follows: "It is true that we have the word *Eli* in the Hebrew literature, but to my knowledge there is no expression in Hebrew literature as ברוך אתה אלי. But there is the expression in the Bible ברוך אתה אדני, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord." The author thought that the *yod* at the end of the word אדני signifies the possessive *mine*. Since he feared to write the words יהוה and אדני, and always substituted the word *El*, he therefore wrote in his blessing instead of אדני the word אלי." Lieberman did not find a record anywhere in the Talmud of such a benediction. There was no such benediction. The wording of this benediction as I said in my article, was due to the ignorance of the author of the scrolls.

On page 403 Lieberman writes as follows: "It was customary among the scribes in the twelfth century to leave blank spaces for the Tetragrammaton in the scroll of the Law." To this he adds a note, "Perhaps they inserted *dots* in these places." One cannot *infer* from the twelfth century statements about the writings during the Second Jewish Commonwealth and the later tannaitic period. *History is not written in this manner.* In the tannaitic period one wrote the name of God when one quoted the Bible, and the method of *dots* to indicate a missing word was unknown in that period. I may say, Lieberman with this statement not only supports my contention that the scrolls are of a late period, but he goes beyond me with a statement from which we may infer that they are of the twelfth century.

so-called Zadokite Fragments were copied from an earlier manuscript which might belong to the late seventh or early eighth century C. E. The Manual of Discipline was composed in the age when this type of script was still in vogue.

There is also a great similarity between the Zadokite Fragments and the Habakkuk Commentary. The following expressions and terms מורה צדק, מטיף הכוב, איש הכזב, פשרו are found in both works. This leads us to assume that the Habakkuk Commentary, the Manual of Discipline, and the Fragments are products of one period and that they were written by men of that period, i. e., the Middle Ages. We may even postulate that the Manual of Discipline as well as the Habakkuk Commentary is a part of the Genizah from which the Zadokite Fragments came. I do not mean that they necessarily came from the same country. They may have been transferred from one place to another place since they were written.

VII

In giving the facsimile I did not deem it necessary to transcribe the text, because I believed the scholars interested in the subject are able to read the script. I did not translate the text because some sections are untranslatable. The Hebrew style is crude, some words are ungrammatical, and some phrases are clumsy. Schechter, Charles and Levi who translated the text had to change and add words and phrases which they called emendations, but I should say they were making a new text. A few examples will suffice.

On page 3, ll. 6–7, we have ויכרת זכורם במדבר להם בקדש עלו ורשו את רוחם. Schechter translated this, "Therefore He exterminated their males in the desert when He spake to

them in the desert in Kadesh, go up and possess the land, and they provoked His spirit." He emended the text to read: ויכרת זכורם במדבר כאשר דבר להם במדבר קדש עלו ורשו את הארץ.[60]

On page 4, l. 6, we have הקודש שונים כאשר כפר אל בעדם. Schechter rendered this, "The holy they alter which God made atonement for them." In his Note he suggests that הקודש שונים should be emended into המקדש שומרים, "They keep the charge of the century." Charles has, "The first saints whom God pardoned," emending הקודש שונים, into הקדושים הראשונים.[61]

On page 10, l. 9, the text has אמר לסור את דעתם עד לא ישלימו את ימיהם, which Schechter translates, "He said to remove the minds before they shall complete their days." Charles has, "He commended their intelligence from them before they completed their days." On the same page, l. 12, we find אל יטהר במה כלי וכל גבא בסלע אשר אין בו די מרעיל. Schechter renders this, "None shall cleanse himself in the waters of a vessel. And every pool in a rock in which there is not sufficient water for immersion." The word מרעיל he emended into מטביל. Charles rendered it, "And every pool in a rock in which there is not sufficient water for a bath." He emended the word מרעיל into מרחץ.[62]

On page 11, l. 21, we have וכל הבא אל בית השתחות אל יבא טמא כבוס ובהרע חצוצרות הקהל יתקדם או יתאחר, which Schechter renders, "And everyone who comes into the house of worship he shall not enter when he is contaminated without washing. And when the trumpets of the congregation sound, it shall be (done) before or after." Supplying after

[60] Levi emended the text to read, באמר להם בקדש עלו ורשו את הארץ וכרת זכורם במדבר דבר להם בקדש עלו ורשו ורעו — Ginzberg, ויקשו את רוחם את רוחם ולא שמעו וכו'.

[61] Ginzberg emended the word שונים into אוהבים.

[62] Ginzberg emended מרעיל into הגעיל.

the word טמא the word בלי or בלא, Charles has, "And none of those who entered into the house of worship shall enter when he is unclean even though washed."[63]

Again on pages 12–13, ll. 23–1, we have עד עמוד משיח אהרן וישראל עד עשרה אנשים למועט לאלפים ומיאות וחמשים ועשרות, which Schechter translates, "Until there will arise the Anointed from Aaron and Israel till ten men at least by thousands, and hundreds and fifties and tens."

On the same page, l. 8, we have ויספר לפניהם נהיות עולם בפרתיה, which Schechter translates, "Shall narrate before them the happenings of eternity in the law of God." He has the word בפרתיה emended into בתורתיה. Charles rendered this passage, "Shall narrate before them the things of the world since its creation." He emended the word בפרתיה into מבריתו.[64]

Israel Levi and Ginzberg further emended the same passages which we quoted. All the emendations which we quoted were made only to render the text more intelligible. The fact is the text was written in very poor, ungrammatical Hebrew by a Karaite who had insufficient knowledge of the Hebrew language. Some of the emendations to the text are very ingenious and show the originality of the scholars. But this new text represents the text and the translation of the scholars, but not the text of the author.

The emendations supplied by Prof. Louis Ginzberg who is the most brilliant Jewish scholar of the century, show great acumen, and one must marvel at his vast erudition in rabbinic literature. With great keenness of mind he invalidated the emendation made by Schechter. He

[63] Levi emended אל בית השתחות into אל בית אל להשתחות. Comp. also Ginzberg p. 103.

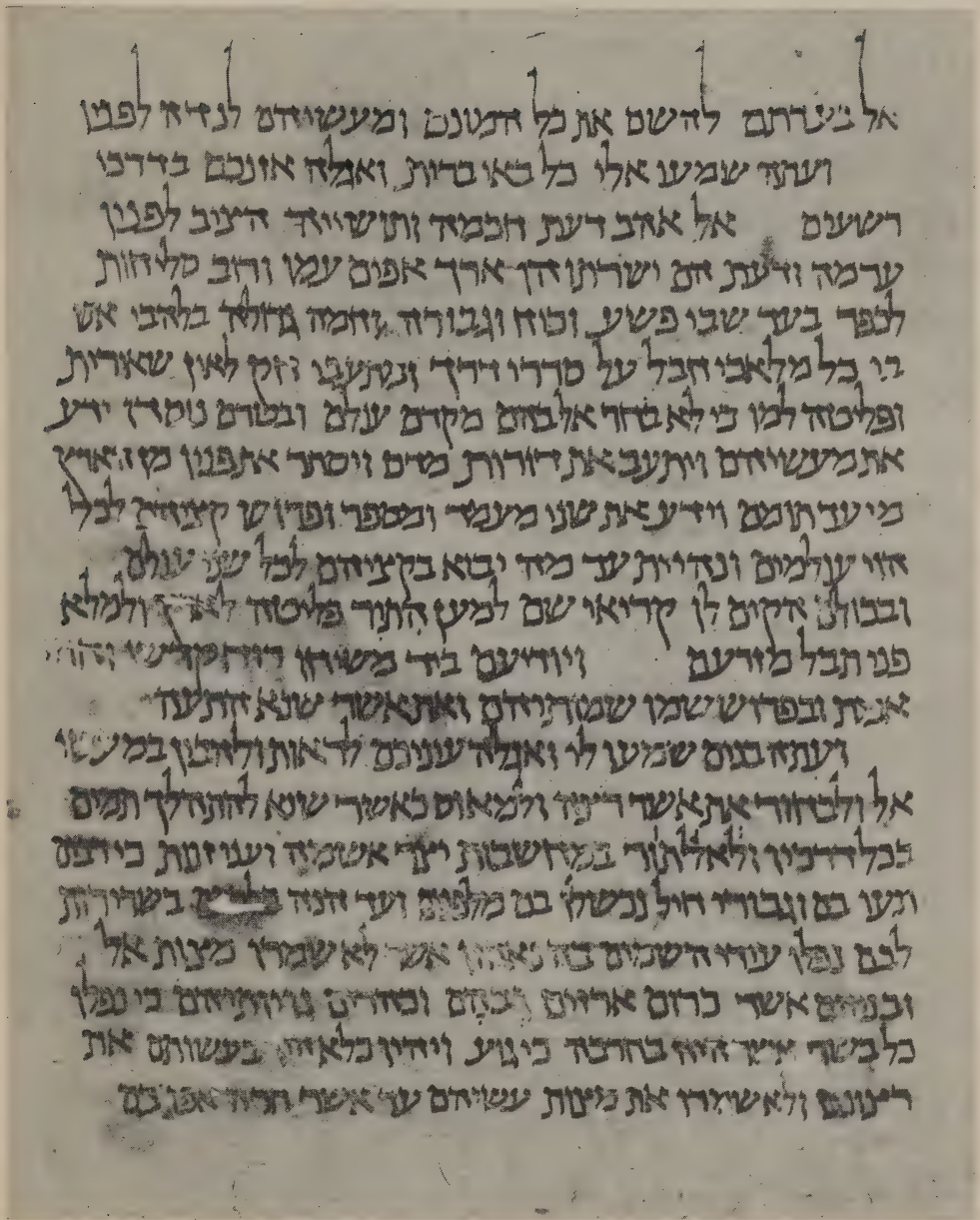
[64] Levi emended the word בפרתיה into בפרושיהם, and Ginzberg into בפתריה.

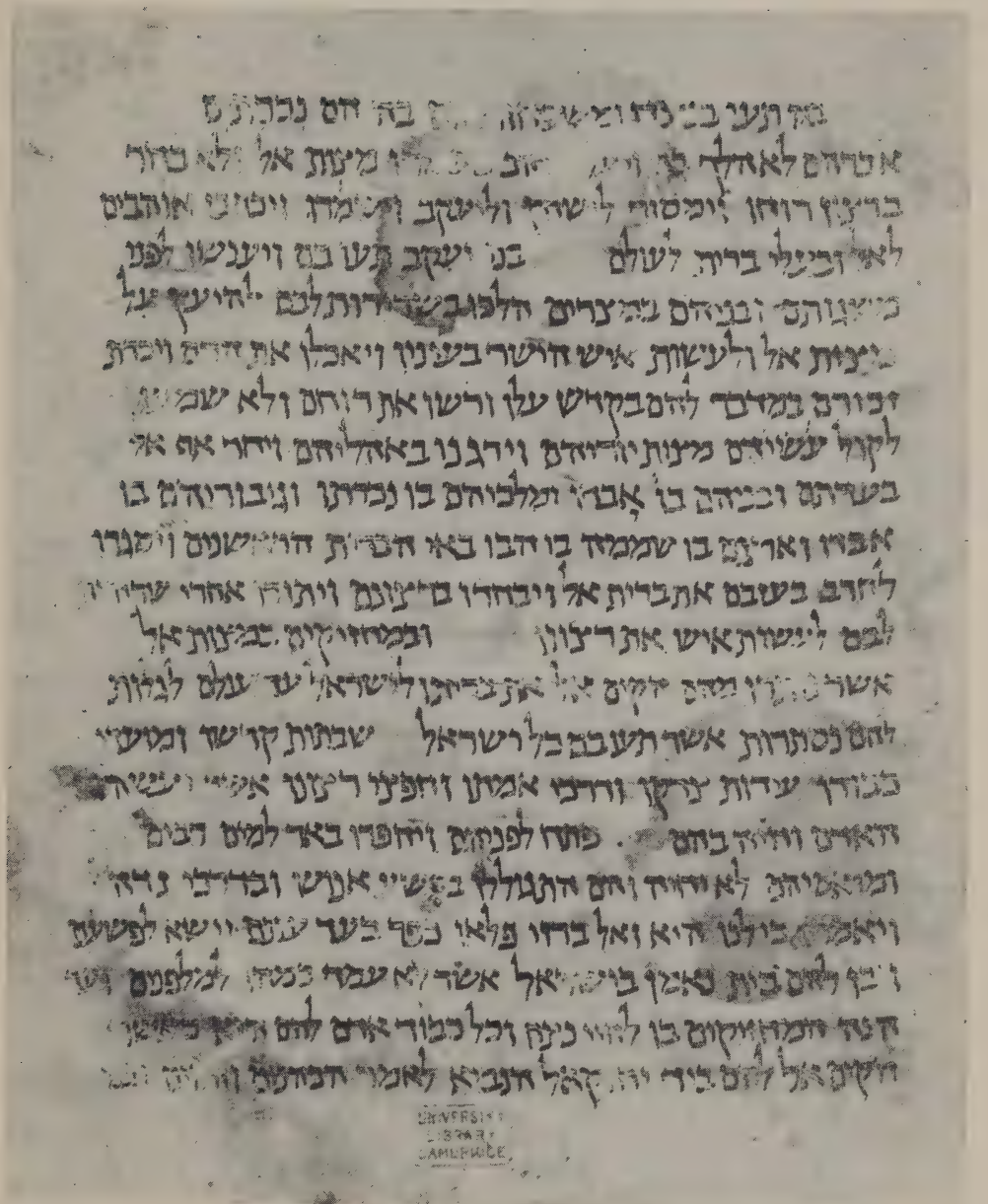
succeeded in showing that some expressions, phrases and ideas in the Fragments are also to be found in rabbinic literature, even of a later period. Geniuses and men equipped with great knowledge sometimes are swayed by public opinion. The discovery of the Fragments by Schechter created a sensation which swayed the minds of the scholars as well as of the laymen. To doubt the antiquity of the Fragments was at that time considered a heresy. Similarly, to call in question the authenticity of the Hebrew Scrolls is also to court heresy.

My appreciation is herewith expressed to the University Library, Cambridge, England, for giving me permission to use the facsimile for publication.

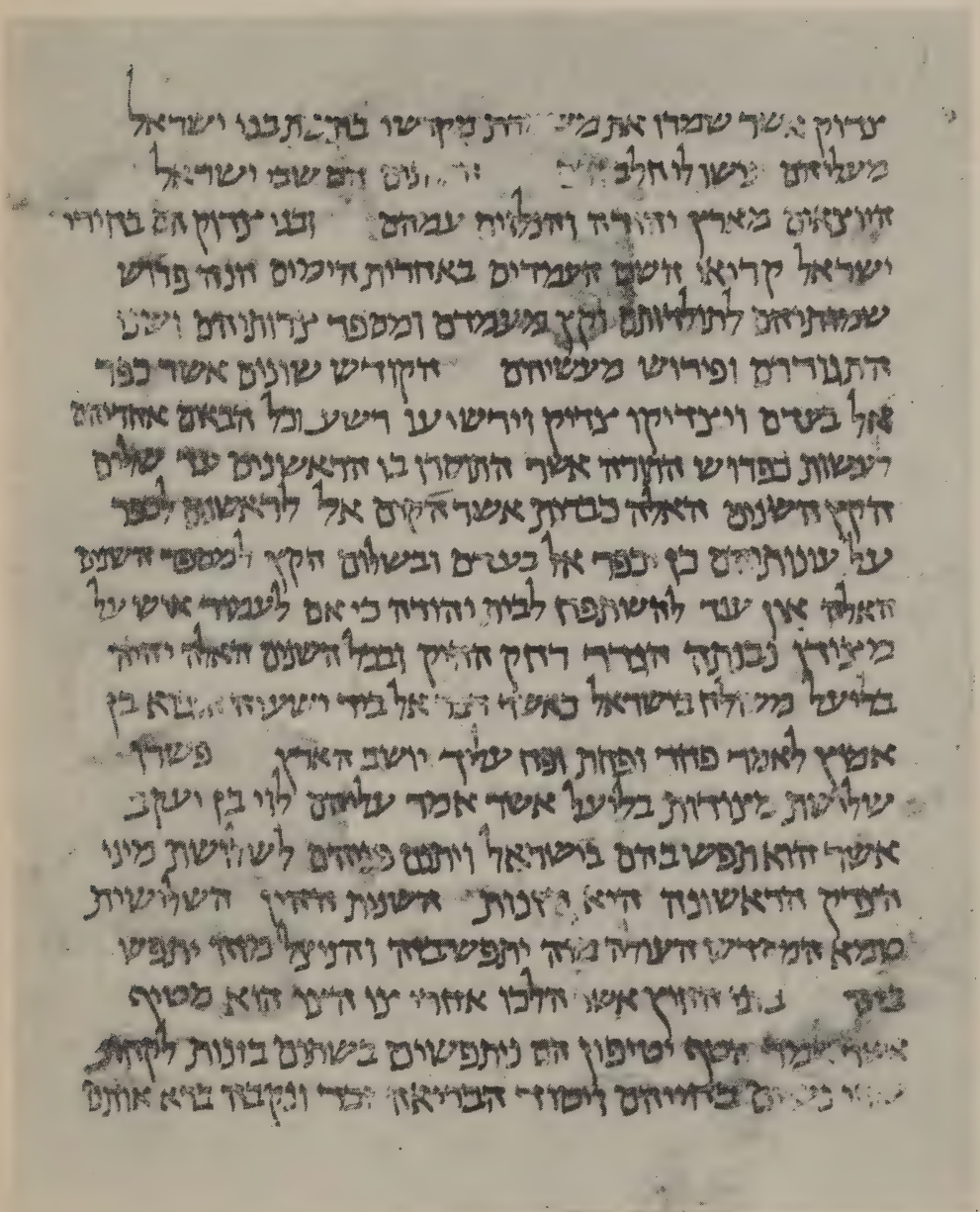
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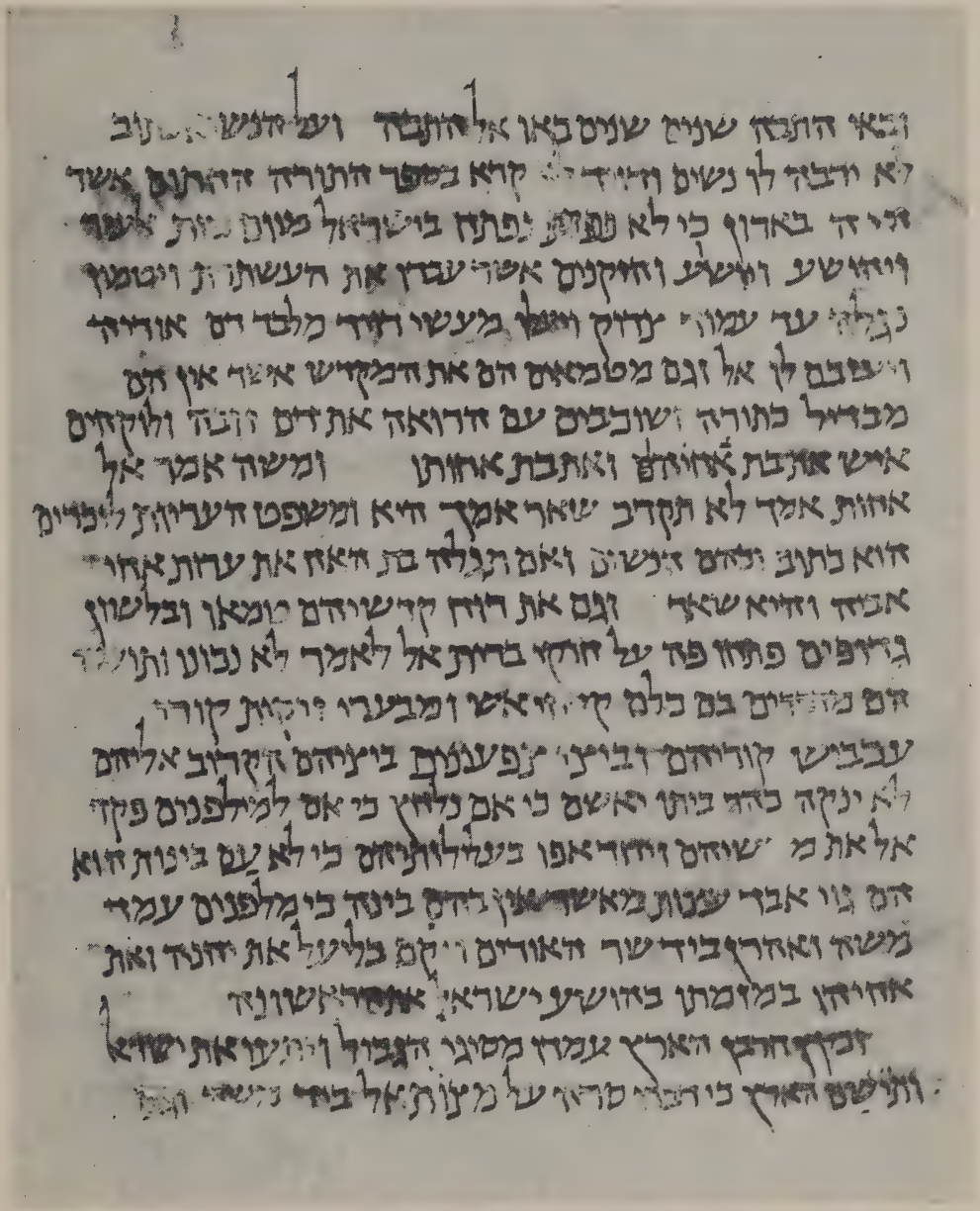
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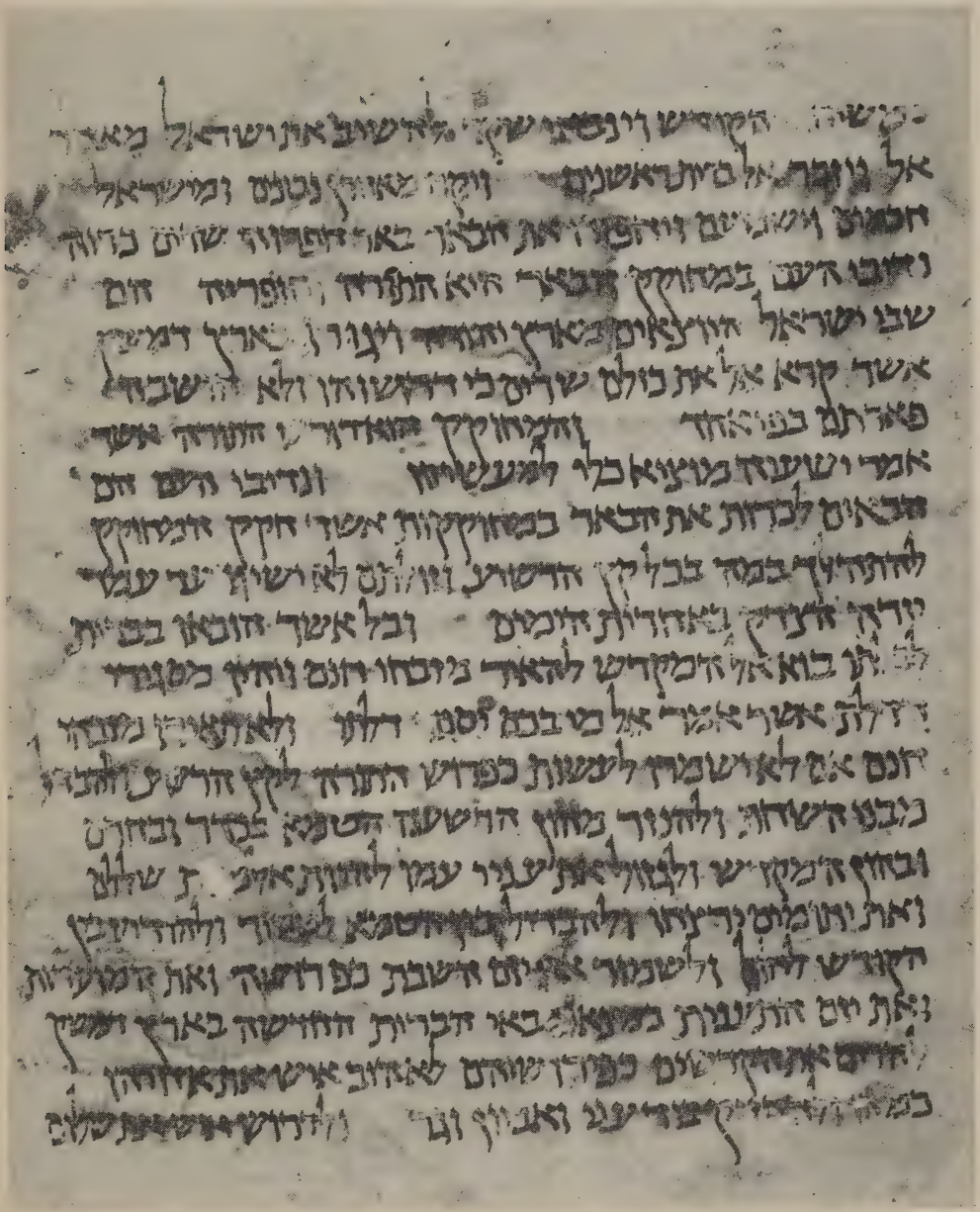


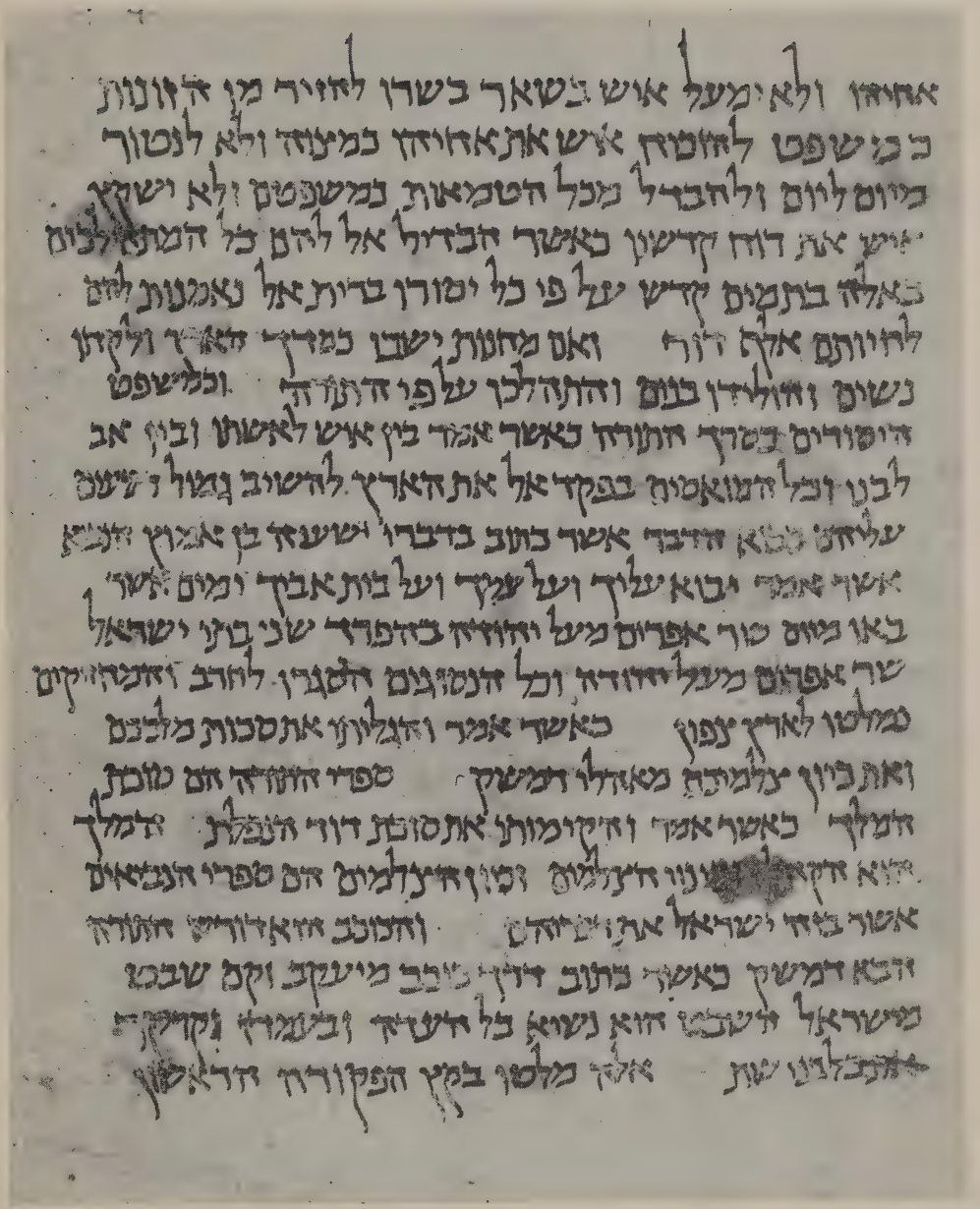


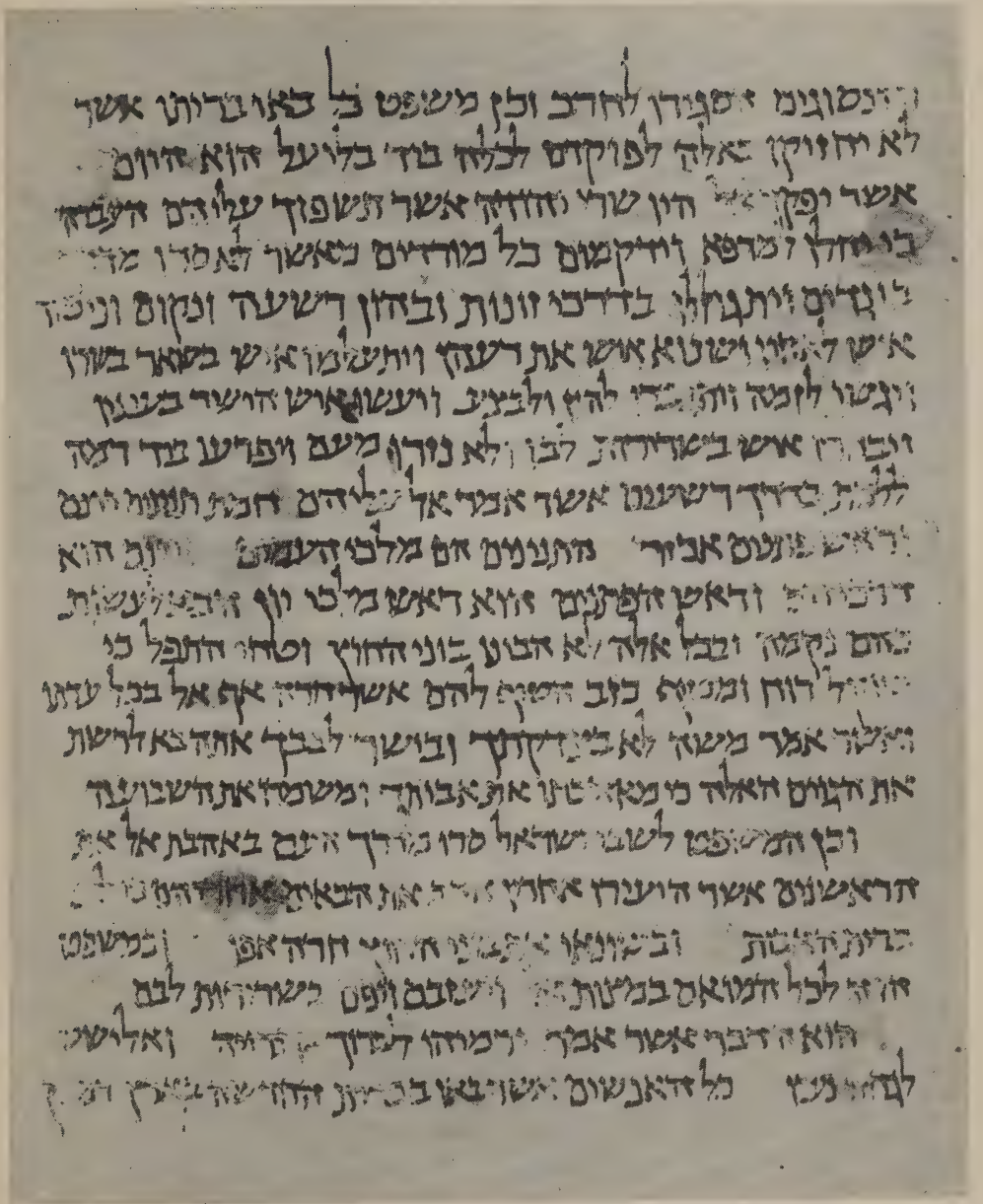
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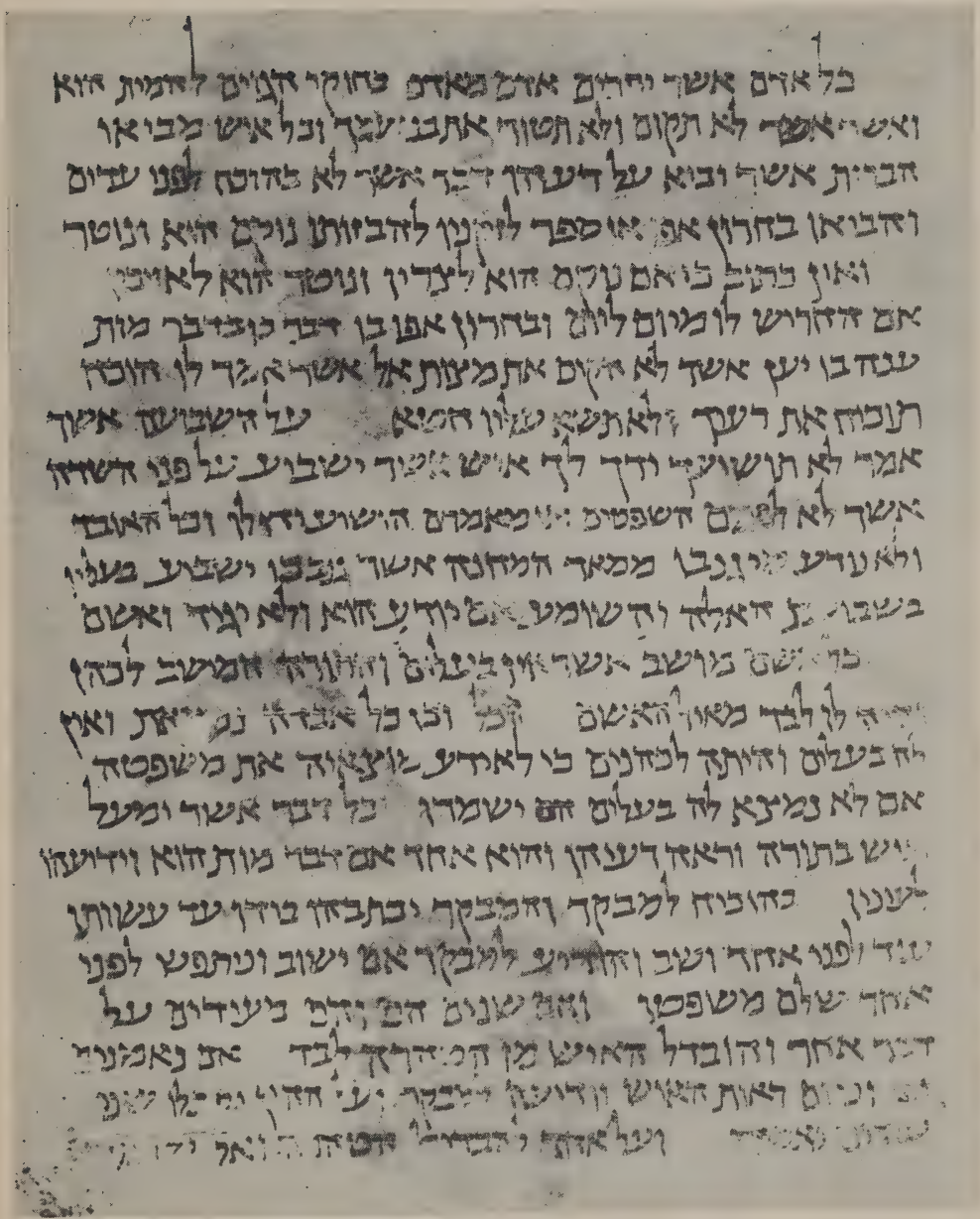


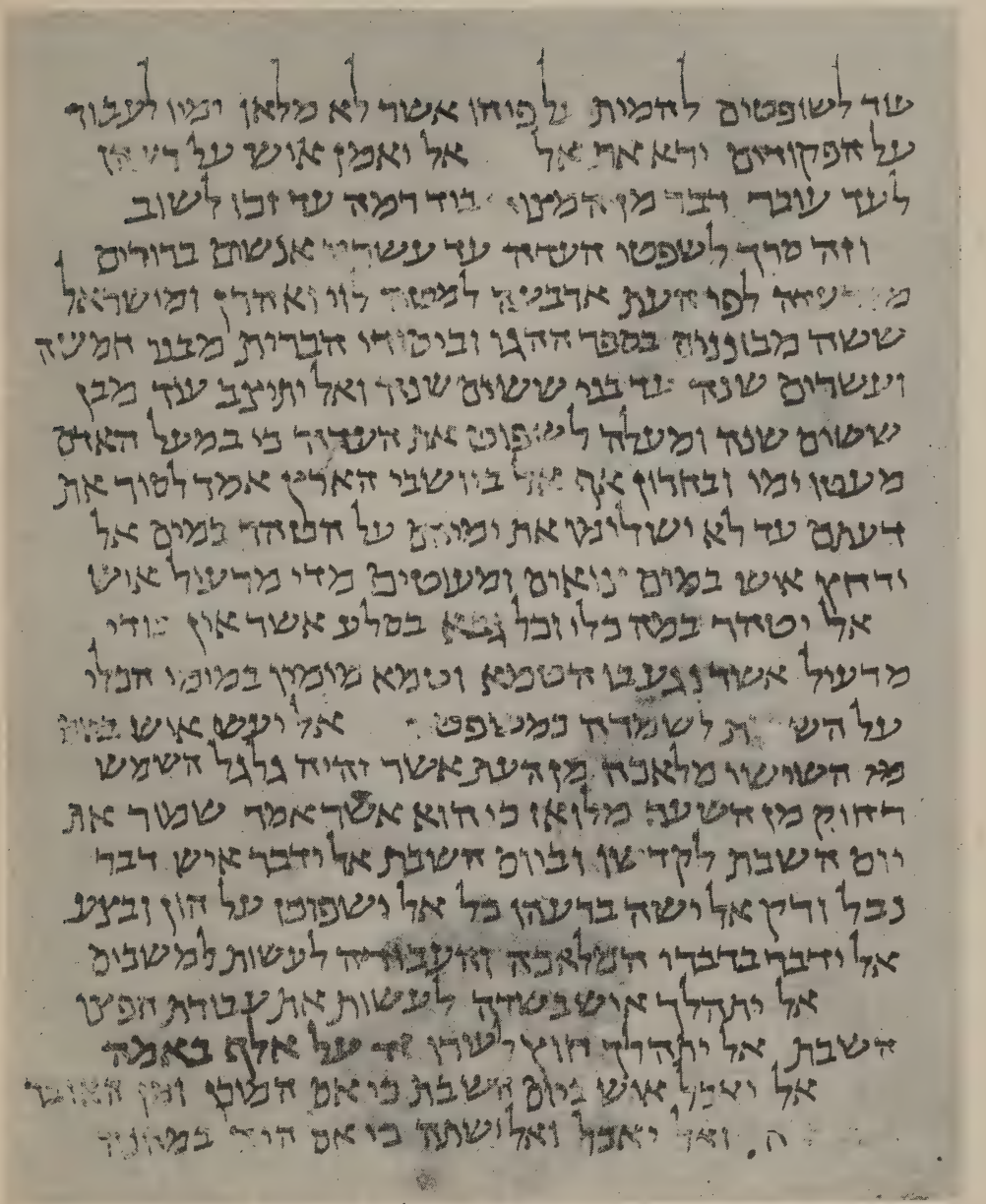


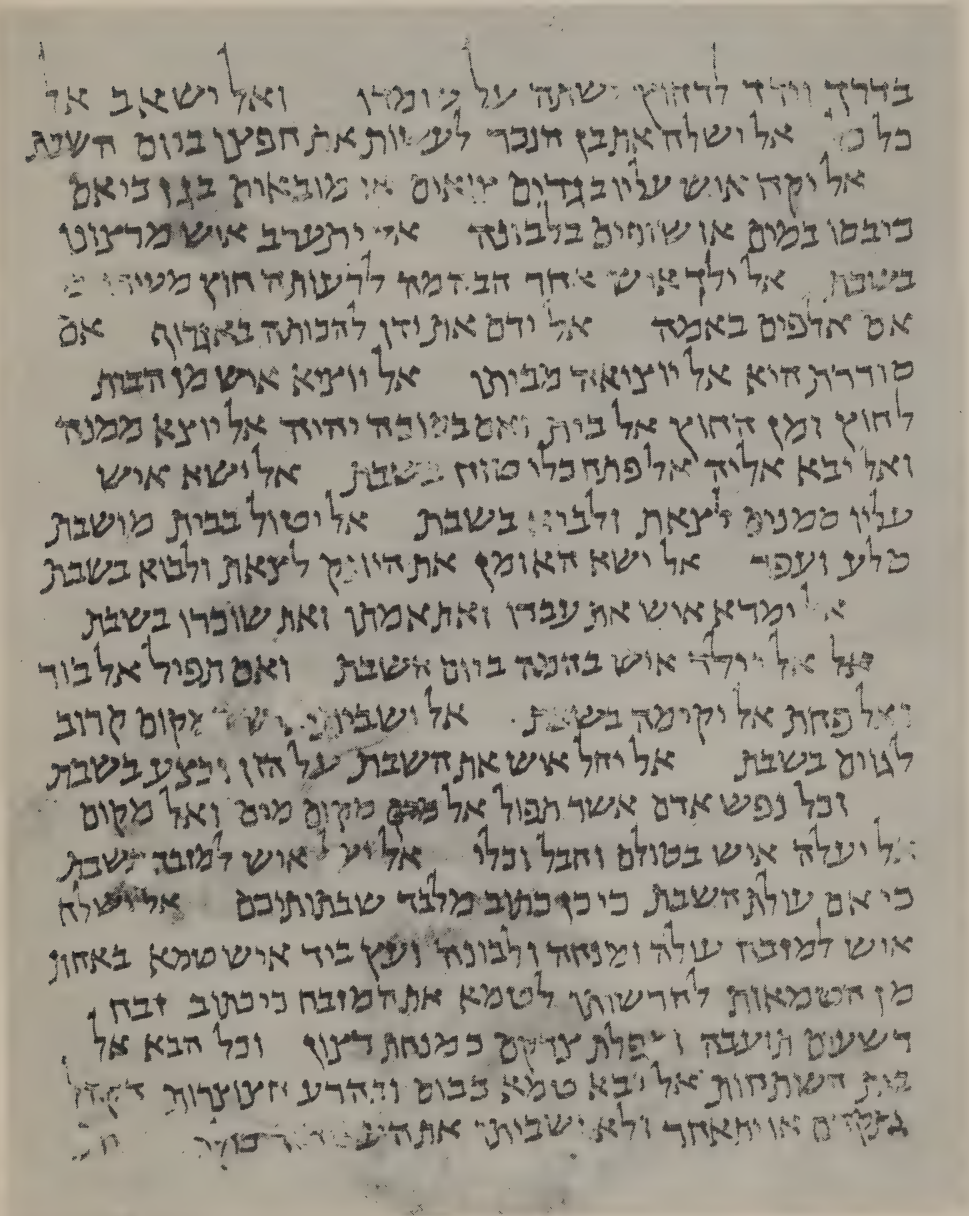


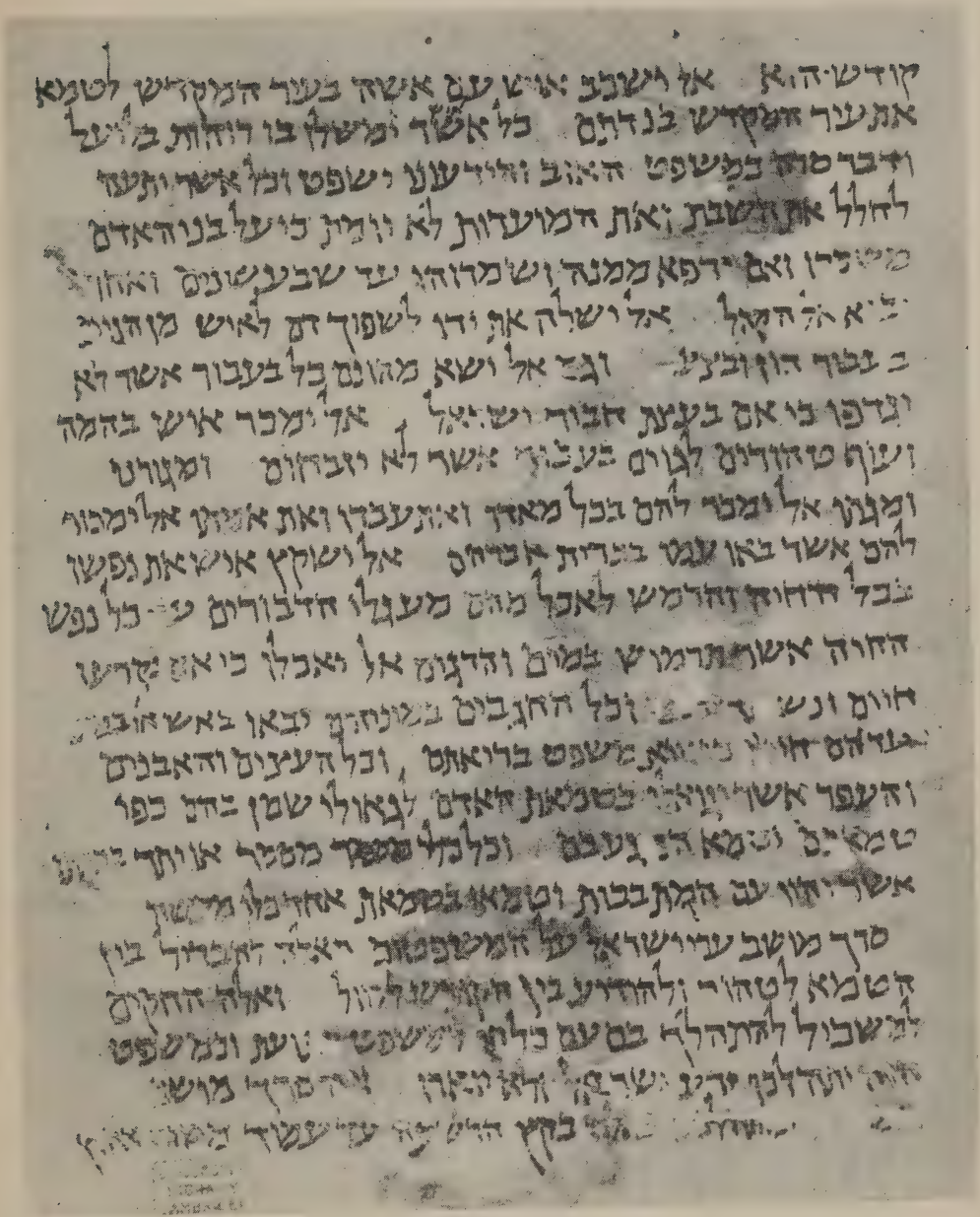


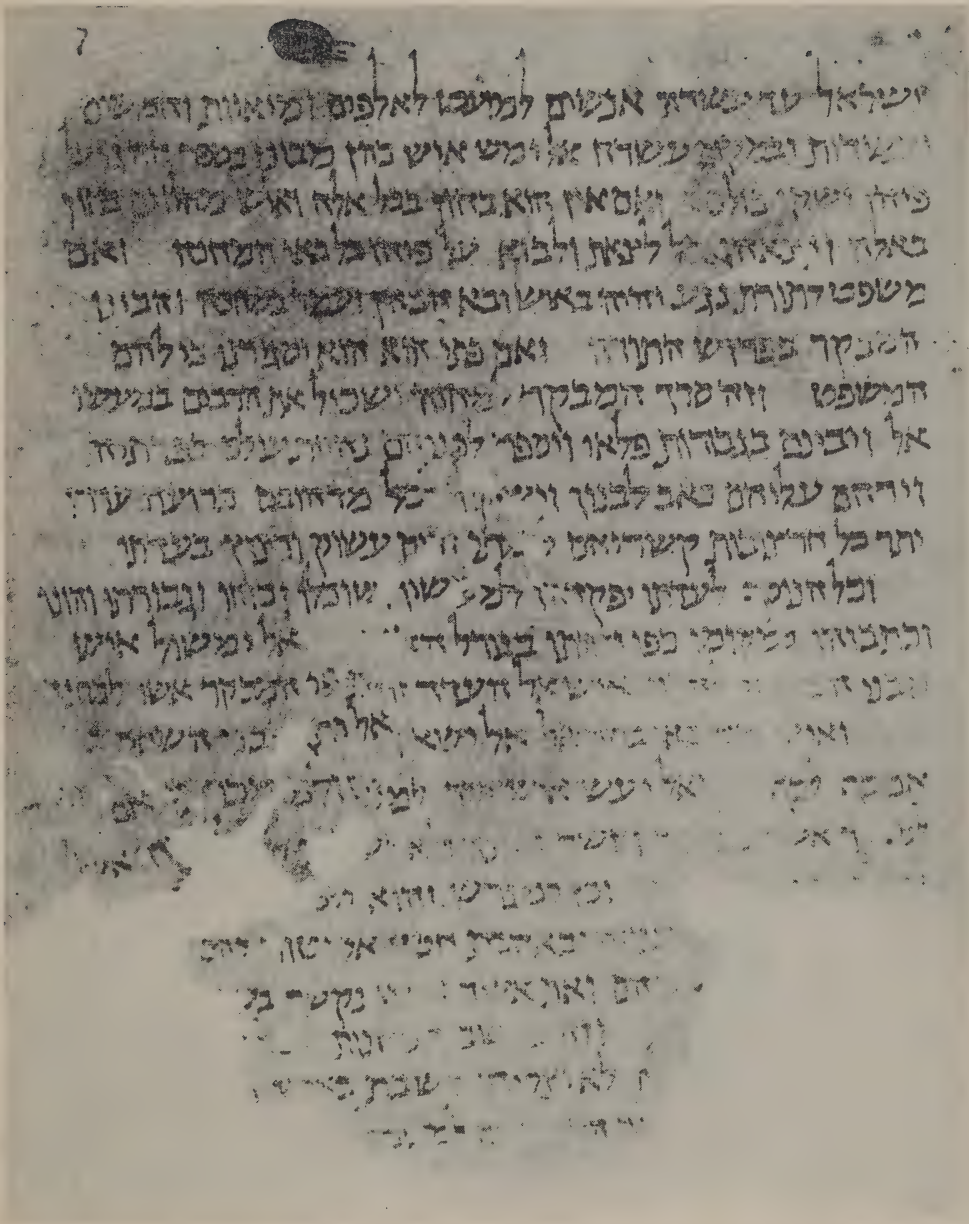


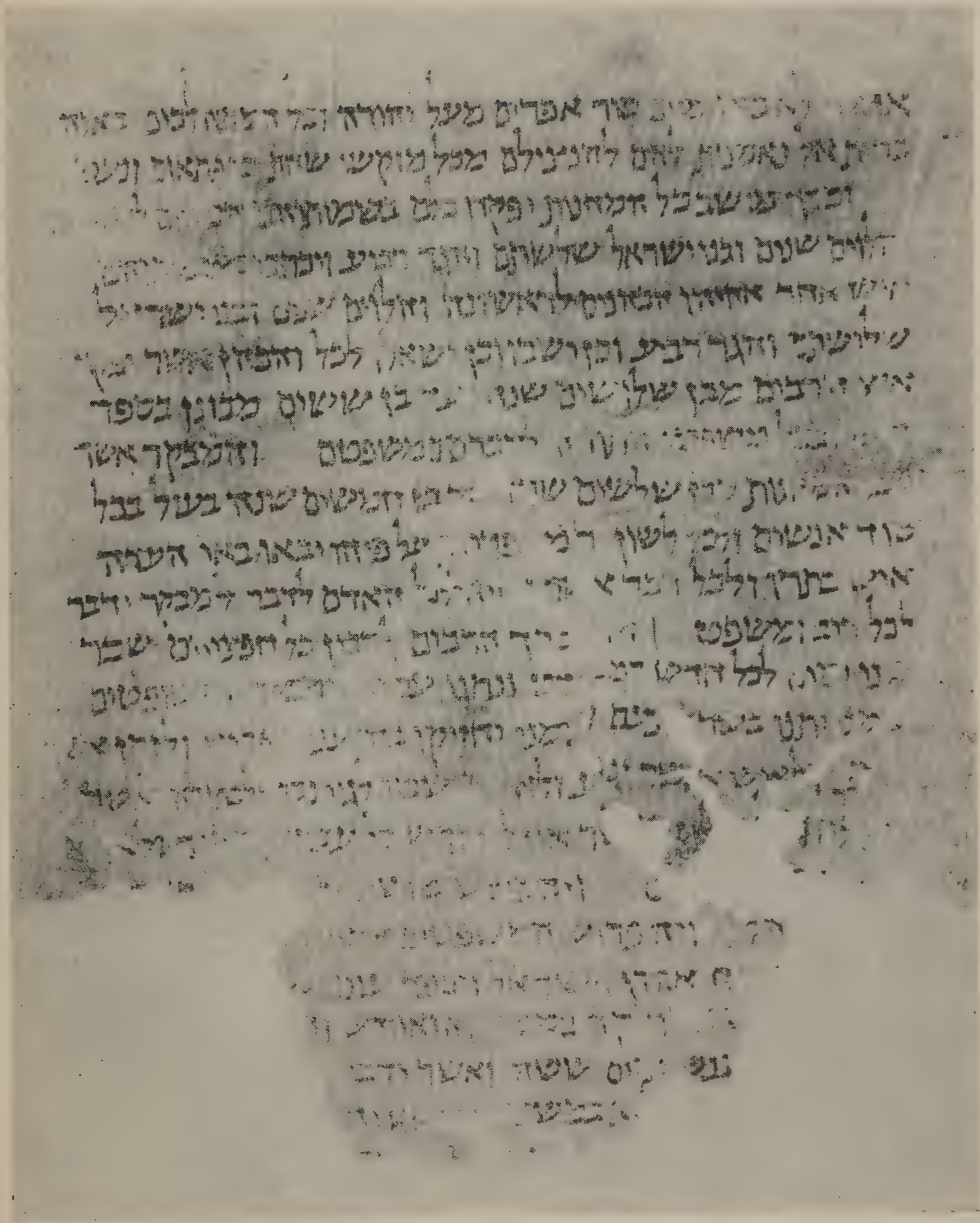


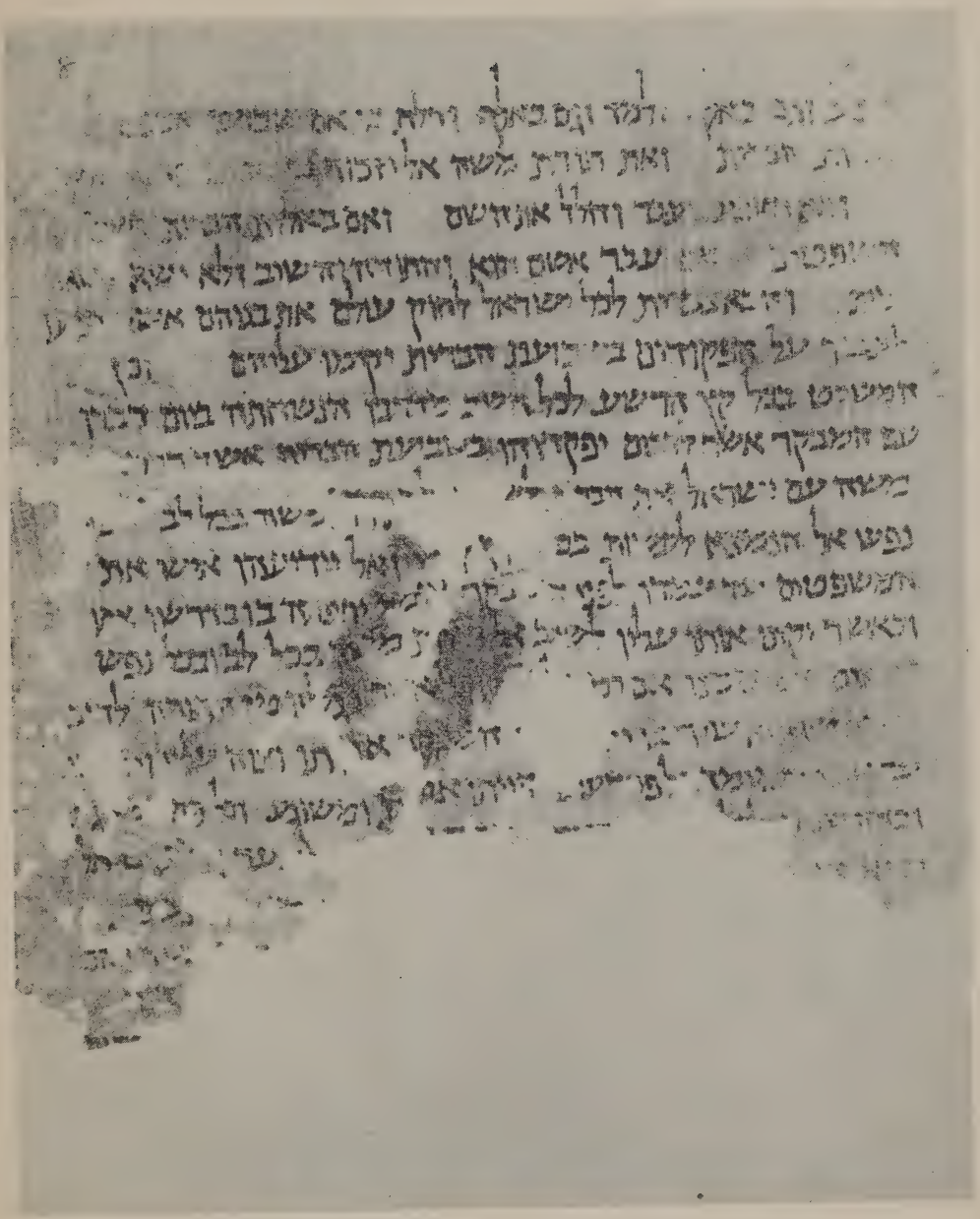


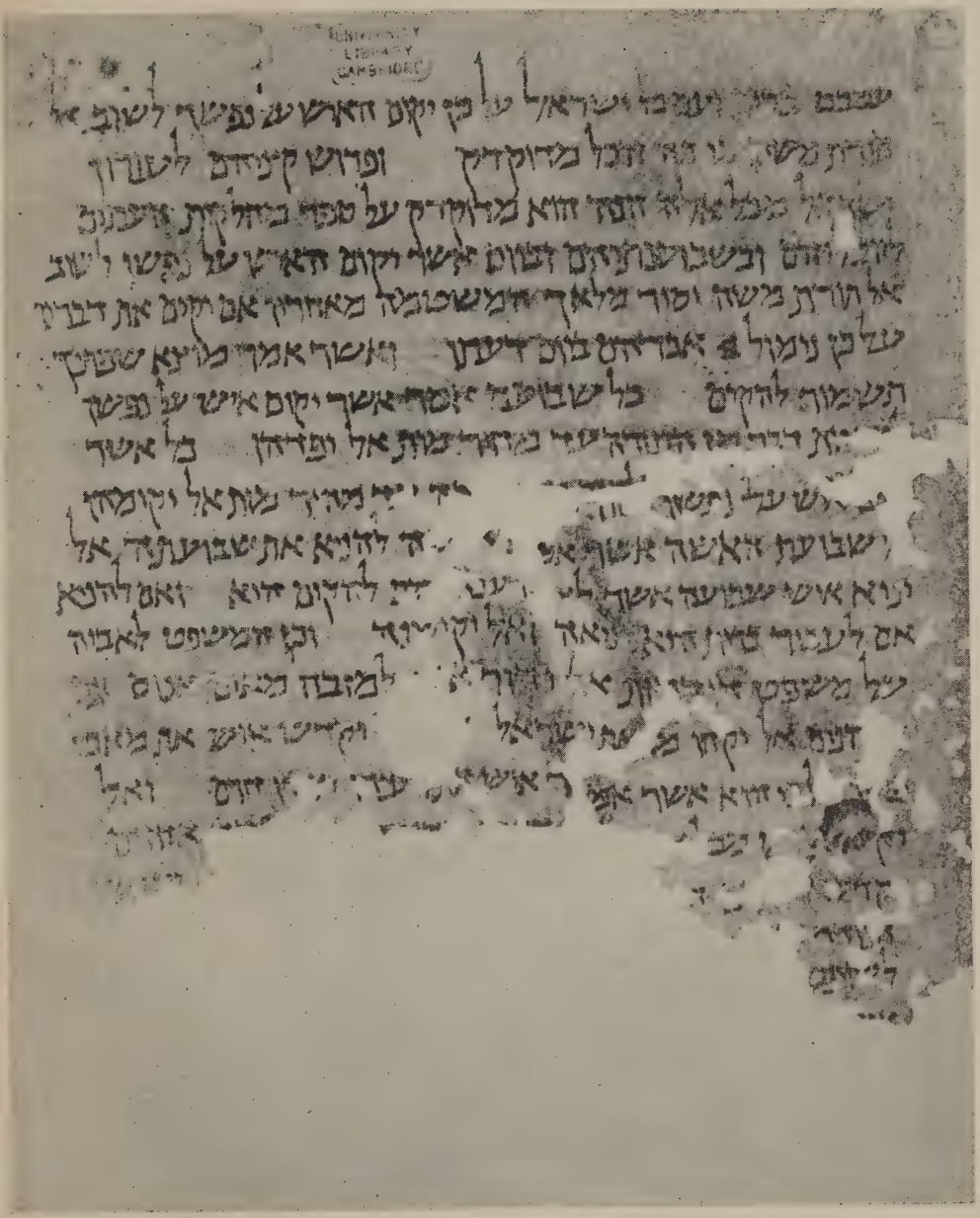











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